

Valentina Ferrero
ferrerovalentina13@gmail.com
(Independent researcher)

***Laghupāṇinīyam: the Relevance
of a navya vyākaraṇa Text in Kerala
with a Special Reference to the sarvanāman Section****

ABSTRACT: The *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and the *kaumudīs* of Varadarāja were normally used as primers to introduce the Indian students to the *vyākaraṇa* science. Nevertheless, as times passed, Sanskrit became less practiced, and these grammatical works began to be considered as too difficult. For this reason, new handbooks have been created during the 20th century, both in other vernacular languages—such as in Hindī—and in a simpler contemporary Sanskrit, including the *Laghupāṇinīyam* by Rājarājavarma.

KEYWORDS: Pāṇini, *vyākaraṇa*, *sarvanāman*, *Laghupāṇinīyam*

* I had the opportunity to study this grammatical commentary as part of a project titled How hard can a dead heart beat? Reflections on Modern Sanskrit Literature, OPUS 22 2021/43/B/HS2/02046 funded by the National Science Centre, Poland. The entire project (2022–2026) is conducted by Professor Lidia Sudyka (Jagiellonian University of Kraków), with the support of Professors Ganesh U. Thite and Chettiathodi Rajendran, experts in modern Sanskrit literature and great connoisseurs of the grammatical context of Kerala.
All the translations are by the author, unless specifically stated.

1. Introduction to the *Laghupāṇinīyam*²

The present research analyses the *sūtras* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (A) of Pāṇini devoted to the pronominal stems as they are treated in the *Laghupāṇinīyam* (LP)³ with the aim of grasping the characteristics of this Sanskrit grammatical primer, in order to understand why this manual becomes so popular—even more than the *kaumudīs*—in the south of India, and in particular in Kerala.

The *Laghupāṇinīyam* was composed in Sanskrit by A. R. Rājarājavarma (1863–1918) and was then published in 1911 in Trivandrum. This commentary, defined by the same author as *Popular Sanskrit Grammar for Beginners*,⁴ can be methodologically placed between the *Kāśikāvṛtti* (KV), as the main exponent of the ‘ancient grammar’ (*prācīna vyākaraṇa*), and the very first attempt at the ‘new grammar’ (*navya vyākaraṇa*), namely, the *Rūpāvatāra* (R).

In fact, in the introduction to the *Laghupāṇinīyam*, Rājarājavarma compares the treatise of Pāṇini to a citadel that, surrounded by moats and walls, is extremely difficult to be approached. The author continues by mentioning a double entrance—formed by the *Kāśikāvṛtti* and the *Rūpāvatāra*—opened by the ancients for those who desire to enter this inaccessible citadel. However, these commentaries show

² The Sanskrit text of the *Laghupāṇinīyam* is slightly corrupted. For this reason, all diacritics and final letters not shown in the printed version of the manual are here enclosed in square brackets, while typos and incorrect word separations are signalled with the sigla (*sic*!).

³ This article is part of a broader research project on *sarvanāmans* presented for the first time in my PhD dissertation “*Sarvanāmaprakaraṇam*. Tracing the relevance of pronouns by reading *navya vyākaraṇa* commentaries”. It moves from the necessity to present a new original work on *sarvanāmans*, aiming at re-establishing the importance of this grammatical category; in fact, even if the pronominal stems are treated in a peculiar way in the entire history of Sanskrit literature, no other scholars have worked in a detailed way on this topic.

⁴ *Popular Sanskrit Grammar for Beginners* is the English subtitle of the *Laghupāṇinīyam*, so called because it is composed in a manner similar to the *navya vyākaraṇa* commentaries that are usually employed in teaching Pāṇinian grammar to beginners; moreover, this manual is so appreciated for its simplification of the Sanskrit language adopted in the explanation of the *sūtras* of Pāṇini.

a completely different approach to the subject that, according to the author of the *Laghupāṇinīyam*, is too complicated for a student: the *Kāśikāvṛtti* guides a precise investigation of the individual rules at the expense of a general understating of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, while the *Rūpāvatāra* tries to recreate a complete picture of the topic in question without clarifying the individuality of the aphorisms. For this reason, having abandoned these two old approaches, Rājarājavarma proposes a new method in his work, the *Laghupāṇinīyam*.⁵

The *sūtras* treating the *sarvanāman* designation, the compounds made up of pronominal stems and the pronominal inflection are analysed in detail in order to better understand the structure of this grammatical commentary composed by Rājarājavarma. Its drawing from the *Kāśikāvṛtti* and the *Rūpāvatāra* is reflected in the clarity of exposition found in the analysis of the pronominal compounds, and in the *prakriyā* explanations of the pronominal inflection respectively. It is undeniable that the *Laghupāṇinīyam* is also based on the *Siddhāntakaumudī* (SK) of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita that, along with the following *kaumudīs* of Varadarāja, was currently used in India when this commentary was composed. In particular, the works of *navya* vyākaraṇa are the main sources to recover the traditional *vṛttis* and some of the classical instances, which were already well-established and widely accepted by the general public by the beginning of the 20th century—and

⁵ *eva ca pāṇinīya[m] tantra[m] parikhābhi prākāraiś ca parikṣipta durgam iva durāsada[m] saṃvṛttam. durge śmin pravivikṣūṇā[m] purātanaṁ uddhāṭita dvāradvayaṃ vartate – kāśikākṛtam eka, rūpāvatārakṛtam anyad iti. tatra ca prathamena (dvareṇa) praviśan didṛkṣu puruṣo rathyoparathyākameṇa babhramyamāṇa sarvato nīto 'pi tatratyānām adbhutapadārthānā[m] śakalikṛtya tata ito vikīrnatvāt prthak kṛtān ekadeśāneva paśyati, na tu samagra kim api dr̥śya vastu. dvitīyena tu praviśan śakalikṛtya vikṣiptānekadeśānucitya yathāsthāna vini-veśya samagrīkartum pura paścāt pārśvayoś ca padepade vikṛpyamāṇa āyāsyate. eva ca dvārābhyām ubhābhyām api praveśe kleśa eva praviṣṭasya. ato vaya[m] prakāṣam ida[m] prācinai prahata dvāradvayaṃ api viḥāya pakveṣṭa kacit āmv api prākārabhittiṣu tatra tatra sulabhair jālamārgair bālān anta[m] praveśya tatra ca sukhasavāsocitāsu virālāsv api kāsucid valabhiṣu niveśya dūradarśinīprabhṛtīnā[m] navinadr̥ṣṭānā[m] yantrāṇā[m] sāhāyyena dūravikīrṇāni śakalāni sannidhāpy āvaśyadarśanīya[m] sarvam apy arthajāta darśayiṣyāma (LP: 4–5).*

which, in fact, continue to shape teaching practices even today, well into the first quarter of the 21st century, at least in northern India and as far south as Maharashtra and Gujarat.

After investigating the sources of the *Laghupāṇinīyam*, and their importance in the establishment of this grammatical text in the context of Sanskrit teaching, some preliminary conclusions will be drawn on the work of Rājarājavarma with the final purpose of verifying if it can be considered a valid primer to teach Sanskrit grammar through the masterpiece of Pāṇini. In fact, the present research aims at finding a modern commentary that can decide the future perspectives of the ancient *vyākaraṇa* science.

2. The tradition of the *Siddhāntakaumudī* in the *sarvanāman* designation

The *Laghupāṇinīyam* is divided into four *kāṇḍas*: *śikṣākāṇḍaḥ* (concerning the phonemes of the language), *pariniṣṭā°* (dealing with morphological problem), *nirukta°* (focusing on the etymologies, that is, the derivation of words) and *ākāṅkṣā°* (regarding the word-relationship). In particular, in the *pariniṣṭākāṇḍaḥ*, there is a further sub-division into *liṅgaprakaraṇam* (treating the feminine affixes), *subantaprakriyā* and *tiṇantaprakriyā* (dealing with the nominal declension and the verbal conjugation respectively), *kṛtprakaraṇam* (mentioning the *kṛt* affixes), and so on and so forth.

This article focuses mainly on the *sarvanāman* designation, the compounds made up of pronominal stems and the pronominal inflection. This is the reason why the present research is conducted within the *subantaprakriyā* section; in fact, the *sarvanāman* designation (A 1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmani*) is first quoted in the sub-section called *saṃjñā*, as well as the aphorisms dealing with compounds made up of pronominal stems (see below, A 1.1.28–A 1.1.31), whereas the pronominal declension (A 7.1.14–A 7.1.17 and A 7.1.52) will be subsequently mentioned in another sub-section entitled *pratyāyānām ādeśā[h]*.

A 1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmani*

LP 170: *sarvādīni śabdarūpāṇi sarvanāmasaṃjñāni syu[h]*.

The word-forms beginning with *sarva-* will be designated as *sarvanāman*.

First of all, it is worthy to note that the numbers of aphorisms are different from the previous commentaries, because the author of the *Laghupāṇinīyam* modifies once again the order of *sūtras* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*; for this reason, A 1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmani* is the rule number (170) here in the *Laghupāṇinīyam*, while it is number (213) in the *Siddhāntakaumudī*.

Even though the explanations of the *Laghupāṇinīyam* are generally clear, as this work is thought as a Sanskrit Grammar for Beginners, some passages of these aphorisms result more understandable after studying the other *kaumudīs*, in particular the *Siddhāntakaumudī*. This appears as very clear in the analysis of the *sarvanāman* designation, because it is extensively based on the text of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita. First of all, the traditional *vṛtti* is repeated:

SK 213: *sarvādīni śabdasvarūpāṇi sarvanāmasaṃjñāni syuh*.

The word-forms beginning with *sarva-* will be designated as *sarvanāman*.

The 35 *sarvādī* are then listed:

LP 170: *sarva, viśva, ubha, ubhaya, ḍatara, ḍatama, anya, anyatara, itara, (tvat, tva), nema, sama, (= sarvaparyaya ‘synonym of sarva’) sima. pūrvarāvaradakṣiṇottarāparāvarāṇi vyavasthāyām asaṃjñāyām. svam ajñātidhanakhyāyām. antara[m] bahīryogopasa[m]vyānayo[h]. [trīṇy etāni gaṇasūtraṇi “these are three gaṇasūtra”] tyad, tad, yad, etad, idam, adas, eka, dvi, yuṣmad, asmad, bhavatu, kim.*⁶

⁶ The term *sarvādī* is used to introduce a list of thirty-five pronominal stems, the first member of which is *sarva*, i.e., (1) *sarva* ‘all’, (2) *viśva* ‘all’, (3) *ubha* ‘two’, (4) *ubhaya* ‘both’, (5) word-forms ending with the affix *Ḍatara*, and (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’,

Furthermore, some of these pronominal stems are better explained by simplifying the very lucid analysis made by the author of *Siddhāntakaumudī* in different points of the *sarvanāman* section:

LP 170: [...] *svābhidheyāpekṣo 'vidhiniyamo vyavasthā. tatraiva pūrvādīnā[m] sarvanāmatā. tena kuśala ity arthe dakṣiṇaśabdo na sarvanāma. asaṃjñāyām ity ukte uttarā kurava ity ādau satyām api vyavasthāyā[n] na sarvanāmatā* (see SK 218 ad A 1.1.34).⁷

The relative position (*vyavasthā*) consists in the specification of a determinate point with reference to its own denotation (i.e., the denotation of the pronominal stems). Here, there is the property of being [designated as] *sarvanāman* for the word-forms beginning with *pūrva-* (namely, the *pūrvādī*).⁸ For this reason, the word-form *dakṣiṇa-* is not [designated as] *sarvanāman* when it is used in the sense of *kuśala* ‘skilful’. There is not the property of being [designated as] *sarvanāman* [for the *pūrvādī*] when they are used in the meaning of *vyavasthā*, such as in [the example] *uttarāḥ kuravaḥ* ‘the inhabited northern Kuru country’, because it is said *asaṃjñāyām* ‘not in the case of a proper name’.

(14) *sīma* ‘whole’, (15) *pūrva* ‘east or prior’, (16) *para* ‘subsequent’, (17) *avara* ‘west or posterior’, (18) *dakṣiṇa* ‘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).

⁷ SK 218 ad A 1.1.34: *eteṣāṃ vyavasthāyām asaṃjñāyām sarvanāmasaṃjñā gaṇapāthāt sarvatra yā prāptā sā jasi vā syāt. pūrve, pūrvāḥ. svābhidheyāpekṣāvidhiniyamo vyavasthā. vyavasthāyām kim? dakṣiṇā gāthakāḥ. kuśalā ity-arthaḥ. asaṃjñāyām kim? uttarāḥ kuravaḥ.*

⁸ The *sarvanāmans* comprehended in the *pūrvādī* list are those enunciated by Pāṇini in aphorism A 1.1.34, i.e., *pūrva*, *para*, *avara*, *dakṣiṇa*, *uttara*, *apara*, and *adhara* (see (15)–(21) in fn. 6), when their signification is restricted to that of a spatial limit (*vyavasthā*), and provided they are not used as proper names (*asaṃjñā*).

LP 170: *svaśabdasya* (1) *ātmā*, (2) *ātmīya*, (3) *jñāti*, (4) *dhana iti ca-turṣv artheṣu prathame 'rthadvaya eva sarvanāmasaṃjñā* (see SK 219 ad A 1.1.35).⁹

The *sarvanāman* designation only applies to the first two senses of the four meanings of the word-form *sva-*,¹⁰ i.e., (1) *ātman* 'self', (2) *ātmīya* 'own', (3) *jñāti* 'kinsman', and (4) *dhana* 'belonging'.

LP 170: *ḍataraḍatamau pratyayau, tatas tadantā grāhyā[h]*. *anyathā hi saṃjñā niṣprayanā syāt. etau ca pratyayau kiyattadekebhya eva bhavata[h]*—*katara, katama, yatara, yatama, tatara, tatama, ekatara, ekatama, iti* (see SK 217 ad A 7.1.52).¹¹

Ḍatara and *Ḍatama* are two affixes, [when these *pratyayas* are mentioned,] the items ending with them should be understood. Diversely, the [*sarvanāman*] designation will be without a scope. These two affixes are [prescribed] after *kim-*, *yad-*, *tad-*, and *eka-*; therefore, *katara* and *katama*, *yatara* and *yatama*, *tatara* and *tatama*, *ekatara* and *ekatama*.

LP 170: *anyatara, anyatama ity api śabdau vartete, kintu tau na ḍataraḍatamāntau, tayo 'anyatara' śabdo gaṇe viśiṣya pāṭhitatvāt sarvanāma, anyatamas tu na [...]* (see SK 217 ad A 7.1.52).¹²

anyatara- and *anyatama-* are also two word-forms, but these two do not end with [the affixes] *Ḍatara* and *Ḍatama*; of these two, the word-form *anyatara* is [designated as] *sarvanāman* as is read in the [*sarvādi*] list, whereas *anyatama* is not [read there].

⁹ SK 219 ad A 1.1.35: *jñātidhanānyavācīnaḥ svaśabdasya yā prāptā saṃjñā sā jasi vā syāt. sve. svāḥ. ātmīyā ityarthaḥ. ātmāna ita vā. jñātidhanavācīnastu svāḥ jñātayo 'rthā vā.*

¹⁰ The pronominal stem *sva-* is mentioned in *sūtra* A 1.1.35 (see (22) in fn. 6) and, according to the author of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, it can be designated as *sarvanāman* only when it does not stand for 'kinsman' (*jñāti*) or 'wealth' (*dhana*).

¹¹ SK 217 ad A 7.1.52: *ḍataraḍatamau pratyayau. pratyayagrahaṇe tadantagrahaṇam iti tadantā grāhyāḥ. yadyapi saṃjñāvidhau pratyayagrahaṇe tadantagrahaṇam nāsti. sūptiṇantam iti jñāpakāt. tathāpīha tadantagrahaṇam kevalayoh saṃjñāyāḥ prayojanābhāvāt.*

¹² SK 217 ad A 7.1.52: *anyatarānyatamaśabdāvavyutpannau svabhāvāddvibahuviṣaye nirdhāraṇe vartete. tatrānyatamaśabdasya gaṇe pāṭhābhāvānna saṃjñā.*

For the sake of completeness, it is worthy to note that Rājarājavarma composed the following *kārikās* containing a very brief explanation of all the *sarvādi*:

LP 170:

sarvaviśvobhayasama ḍatara ḍatama puna[h] /
itarānye anyatarat (svamor aḍ (sic!) ḍatarādiṣu) //1//

*sarva, viśva, ubhaya, sama, Ḍatara, Ḍatama, and also itara, anya, anyatara (aḍḍ in the place of su and am in [the word-forms] beginning with Ḍatara).*¹³

pūrvāparāvarasvāntarādharaṭṭaradakṣiṇam /
para (pūrvādinavaka smāt-smin-śīṣu vikalpitam) //2//

pūrva, apara, avara, sva, antara, adhara, utara, dakṣiṇa,
*para (the nine pūrvādi are optionally [sarvanāman] before smāt-smin-śīṣ).*¹⁴

tadyadetadida cādo dvyekam (atva tadādiṣu) /
yušmadasmadbhavatu kim iti sarvādaya smṛtā //3//
*tad, yad, etad, idam, adas, and dvi, eka (the substitute -a in tadādi)*¹⁵
yušmad, asmad, bhavatu, kim – sarva-, etc. are thus taught.

¹³ A 7.1.25 *aḍḍ ḍatarādibhyaḥ pañcabhyaḥ* prescribes the substitute *aḍḍ* in the place of the affixes *sU* (nom. sg.) and *am* (acc. sg.) when they occur after the five pronominal stems beginning with *Ḍatara*, i.e., the word-forms ending with the affixes *Ḍatara* and *Ḍatama*, *anya*, *anyatara*, and *itara*.

¹⁴ First of all, A 1.1.32 *vibhāṣā jasi* teaches an optional replacement of the substitute *Śī* in the place of the affix *Jas* (nom. pl.) when it occurs after the nine pronominal stems beginning with *pūrva-*, namely, *pūrva*, *para*, *avara*, *dakṣiṇa*, *utara*, *apara*, and *adhara* (A 1.1.34), *sva* (A 1.1.35), and *antara* (A 1.1.36); moreover, A 7.1.16 *pūrvādibhyo navabhyo vā* teaches an optional replacement of the substitutes *smāt* and *smin* in the place of the affixes *ṆasI* and *Ni* (abl. and loc. sg.) when they occur after the same pronominal stems beginning with *pūrva-*.

¹⁵ A 7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ* prescribes the final substitute *a* in the place of the final phonemes of those pronominal stems beginning with *tyad* when a *vibhakti* follows. It is important to mention that the word-form *tyad* is not cited in these *kārikās*; therefore, the list of *tadādi* is here quoted, including *tad*, *yad*, *etad*, *idam*, *adas*, *eka*, and *dvi*.

3. The clarity of exposition of the *Kāśikāvṛtti* in the pronominal compounds

The *Laghupāṇinīyam* paraphrases the *sūtras* dealing with compounds made up of pronominal stems (i.e., A 1.1.28 *vibhāṣā dīksamāse bahuvrīhau*, A 1.1.29 *na bahuvrīhau*, A 1.1.30 *ṭṭīyāsamāse*, and A 1.1.31 *dvandve ca*) immediately after A 1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni*.¹⁶ Thus, if A 1.1.27 is the rule number (170), A 1.1.28 *vibhāṣā dīksamāse bahuvrīhau* is (171) and so on and so forth.

bahuvrīhi compounds denoting direction

A 1.1.28 *vibhāṣā dīksamāse bahuvrīhau*

LP 171: *uttarasūtreṇa vakṣyamāṇena prāpte viśedhe vibhāṣate*.

Once obtained the prohibition [of the *sarvanāman* designation] through the mention of the following *sūtra* (namely, A 1.1.29 *na bahuvrīhau*), the optionality is stated.

The *Laghupāṇinīyam* introduces *sūtra* A 1.1.28 by referring to one of its models, the *Kāśikāvṛtti*. In fact, while paraphrasing this rule, the *Kāśikāvṛtti* explains that the prohibition will be mentioned in the next rule, that is, in A 1.1.29 *na bahuvrīhau* “not in a *bahuvrīhi* compound”—‘*na bahuvrīhau*’ *iti pratiśedham vakṣyati*—but once established that the prohibition is permanent, the optionality is undertaken here in A 1.1.28 *vibhāṣā dīksamāse bahuvrīhau*—*tasmin nitye pratiśedhe prāpte vibhāṣeyam ārabhyate* (see KV ad A 1.1.28).

¹⁶ The author of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* dedicates a specific section of rules to those compounds that are made up of pronominal stems. In fact, according to rule A 1.1.28 *vibhāṣā dīksamāse bahuvrīhau*, the pronouns are marginally (*vibhāṣā*, see Kiparsky 1979: 1) designated as *sarvanāmans* when they are used in a *bahuvrīhi* compound signifying direction (*dīksamāse bahuvrīhau*). However, they cannot be designated as *sarvanāmans* when they are used in a *bahuvrīhi* compound (A 1.1.29 *na bahuvrīhau*), in an instrumental *tatpuruṣa* compound (A 1.1.30 *ṭṭīyāsamāse*) or in a *dvandva* compound (A 1.1.31 *dvandve ca*).

LP 171: ‘*diñnāmāny antarāḷe*’ *iti sūtreṇa vihita pūrvasyā uttarasyāś ca diśo* ‘*ntarāḷa uttarapūrvā ity ādi samāso diksamāsa, tasya bahuvrīhite*’ *pi vikalpena sarvanāmatā syāt*.

A compound indicating direction (*diksamāsa*) is a compound such as *uttarapūrvā-* that indicates the direction in the middle of *uttara* ‘north’ and *pūrvā* ‘east’, according to the aphorism *diñnāmāny antarāḷe* (A 2.2.26); in the *bahuvrīhi* [compound] of this [*diksamāsa*], there will optionally be the property of [being designated as] *sarvanāman*.

The *Siddhāntakaumudī* simply paraphrases this rule as *atra sarvanāmatā vā syāt* (see SK 292 *ad* A 1.1.28), that is, “Here (i.e., *diksamāse bahuvrīhau*), there will optionally be the property of [being designated as] *sarvanāman*”. It is evident that the final part of the *vṛtti* provided by the *Laghupāṇinīyam* is very similar to that of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, with the difference that Rājarājavarma explains the optionality with the word *vikalpa* ([...] *vikalpena sarvanāmatā syāt*), typical of modern and contemporary works, while the *Siddhāntakaumudī* and the following *kaumudīs* still prefer to use *vā* ‘optionally’.

LP 171: *tena ca uttarapūrvasyai, uttarapūrvāyai iti rūpavikalpa phalam* (*sic!*).

Therefore, the forms *uttarapūrvasyai/uttarapūrvāyai* (dat. sg.) are the fruit of the optionality.

The examples *uttarapūrvasyai/uttarapūrvāyai* (dat. sg.) are the traditional ones, quoted for the first time by the *Kāśikāvṛtti ad* A 1.1.28 and then repeated by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in his masterpiece. Nevertheless, in order to justify this optionality, the *Siddhāntakaumudī* mentions a counterexample taken from the *Mahābhāṣya*, that is, *uttarapūrvāyai* ‘for the [confused] person (feminine) according to whom the northern [direction] is the eastern one’.¹⁷ It appears as immediately clear

¹⁷ See SK 292 *ad* A 1.1.28: [...] *yottarā sā pūrvā yasyā unmugdhāyās tasyai uttarapūrvāyai* ‘for the [person (feminine)] (dat.) according to whom—confused (gen.)—the northern [direction] is the eastern one’.

that, even though the constituents of the compound individually denote direction, the *bahuvrīhi* compound thus obtained signifies here something different from the ‘intermediate direction’ (*antarāle*) and, therefore, *uttarāpūrva-* is inflected as a nominal stem (and not as a pronominal one).¹⁸

***bahuvrīhi* compounds**

A 1.1.29 *na bahuvrīhau*

LP 172: *bahuvrīhisamāsasyottarapadabhūta sarvādir (sic!) api na sarvanāma*.

[The word-forms] beginning with *sarva-* consisting of the last member of *bahuvrīhi* compounds will also not be [designated as] *sarvanāman*.

The *Kāśikāvṛtti* better explains that, since the *tadantavidhi* principle (see A 1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya*)¹⁹ can be resorted to in the *sarvanāman* designation, the risk is that there would also be the *sarvanāman* designation for *sarva*, etc. when they consist in the last member of a *bahuvrīhi* compound; thus, a prohibition is undertaken—*sarvanāmasaṅjñāyām tadantavidher abhyupagamād bahuvrīher api sarvādyantasya saṅjñā syāt iti pratiṣedha ārabhyate* (see KV *ad*

¹⁸ It is worthy to note that the interpretation of *diksāmase bahuvrīhau* as ‘in a *bahuvrīhi* compound signifying direction’ is given by *Mahābhāṣya* (Kielhorn 1880–1885, in short: M) *ad* A 1.1.28, Böhtlingk (1887: 4) and Vasu (1891–1898: 23–24), whereas, according to Katre (1987: 14), Sharma (1999–2002, II: 28–30), and Joshi and Roodbergen (1991–2011, I: 36), these word-forms are marginally designated as *sarvanāmans* ‘in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, the constituents of which signify direction’. Therefore, Patañjali provides the counterexample *tasmai pūr-vottarāya dehi* ‘give it to the [confused] one according to whom the eastern [direction] is the northern one’ to justify his interpretation of this rule at the expense of this second reading.

¹⁹ A 1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya* “That by means of which a provision is made, it denotes an item which ends in it”.

A 1.1.29)²⁰. Therefore, there will not be the *sarvanāman* designation in that which is intended to be designated as a *bahuvrīhi* compound—*ba-huvrīhau cikīrṣīte sarvanāmasaṃjñā na syāt* (see SK 222 *ad* A 1.1.29).

LP 172: *priyo viśvo yasya sa priyaviśva iti bahuvrīhe priyaviśvāya ity eva rūpa na tu priyaviśvasmai iti sarvanāmakāryam*.

In the *bahuvrīhi* [compound] *priyaviśva-* ‘the one to whom everyone is dear’, the form is *priyaviśvāya* (dat. sg.), and not the pronominal version *priyaviśvasmai*.

The instance *priyaviśvāya* (dat. sg.) comes directly from *Mahābhāṣya ad* A 1.1.29 and this is then repeated by *Kāśikāvr̥tti ad* A 1.1.29. However, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita mentions two other examples of Patañjali, namely, *tvatkapitrkaḥ* ‘the one whose father is you, poor you’, and *matkapitrkaḥ* ‘the one whose father is me, poor me’, that show a nominal construction with the affix *ka* (see A 5.3.70 *prāg ivāt kaḥ*); in this way, he demonstrates that the *taddhita* affix *akaC* (see A 5.3.71 *avyayasarvanāmnām akac prāk ṭeḥ*) cannot be introduced after the word-forms that do not have the pronominal status (in this case, *tvat* and *mat*).²¹

²⁰ The Sanskrit term for ‘designation’ is here transliterated as *sañjñā*, and not as *saṃjñā* (as in the rest of the article), in accordance with the Devanagari text of the *Kāśikāvr̥tti* (see KV).

²¹ The *taddhita* affix *ka* is taught by the *adhikāra* rule A 5.3.70 *prāg ivāt kaḥ* that prescribes the affix *ka* from this aphorism up to A 5.3.96 (*ive pratikritau*); the affix *ka* is introduced after a nominal stem to denote the meaning listed in this section. In these two examples, *ka* is understood in the meaning of A 5.3.75 *kutsite* (lit. ‘contemptible’); for this reason, *tvatka-* and *matka-* have been here translated as ‘you, poor you’ and ‘me, poor me’ respectively. On the other hand, the *taddhita* affix *akaC* is taught by *sūtra* A 5.3.71 *avyayasarvanāmnām akac prāk ṭeḥ* that prescribes the affix *akaC* before the syllable beginning with the last vowel (*prāk ṭeḥ*) of nominal stems consisting of *avyaya* ‘indeclinables’ and *sarvanāman* ‘pronouns’, and before the syllable beginning with the last vowel of verbal stems, to denote the senses listed before *iva* (A 5.3.96). This affix *akaC* together with its meanings has been analysed in detail in Ferrero 2023a.

Instrumental *tatpuruṣa* compounds

A 1.1.30 *ṭṛtīyāsamāse*

LP 173: *ṭṛtīyāsamāse ca sarvanāmatā na*.

The property of [being designated as] *sarvanāman* will not [belong to the word-forms beginning with *sarva*-] in the instrumental *tatpuruṣa* compound.

The *Siddhāntakaumudī* simply paraphrases this rule as *atra sarvanāmatā na syāt* (see SK 223 *ad* A 1.1.30), that is, “Here (i.e., *ṭṛtīyāsamāse*), there will not be the property of [being designated as] *sarvanāman*”.

LP 173: *māsena pūrvo māsapūrva tasmai māsapūrvāya ity eva, na tu -pūrvasmai iti*.

[In the instrumental *tatpuruṣa* compound] *māsapūrva*- ‘the one who was born a month before’, [the form is] *māsapūrvāya* (dat. sg.), and not *-pūrvasmai*.

Once again, the example *māsapūrvāya* (dat. sg.) is the traditional one, which was quoted for the first time by the *Mahābhāṣya ad* A 1.1.30 and then repeated both by the *Kāśikāvṛtti* and the *Siddhāntakaumudī*.

dvandva compounds

A 1.1.31 *dvandve ca*

LP 174: *dvandvasamāse ca na sarvanāmatā*.

The property of [being designated as] *sarvanāman* [will not belong to the word-forms beginning with *sarva*-] in the *dvandva* compound.

In conclusion, it is evident that the *sarvanāman* designation is also not applicable to the word-forms *sarva*, etc. when they are used

in a *dvandva* compound— *dvandve uktā saṃjñā na* (see SK 224 *ad* A 1.1.31).

LP 174: *varṇaś ca āśramāś ca itare ca varṇāśrametarā iti dvandve varṇāśrametarāṇā[m] ity eva rūpa, na tu itareṣām iti*.

[In the *dvandva* compound] *varṇāśrametarā-* ‘classes, stages of life and other (thing)’, [the form is] *varṇāśrametarāṇām* (gen. pl.), and not *varṇāśrametareṣām*.

The instance *varṇāśrametarāṇām* (gen. pl.) can be found only in the work of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, because the *Mahābhāṣya* does not paraphrase this aphorism, while the *Kaśikāvṛtti ad* A 1.1.31 uses two other examples, that is, *pūrvaparāṇām* ‘of prior and subsequent (items)’ and *katarakatamānām* ‘of which of two and of which of many?’.

4. The *prakriyā* explanations of the *Rūpāvatāra* in the pronominal inflection

In the *pratyayānām ādeśā[h]* sub-section, the pronominal declension is presented, following the original order of Pāṇini’s rules: (208) A 7.1.14 *sarvanāmnaḥ smai*, (209) A 7.1.15 *naśinyoḥ smātsminau*, and (211) A 7.1.17 *jaśaḥ śī*. Therefore, there is not here the anticipation of *sūtra* A 7.1.17 treating the nominative plural, such as in the *Siddhāntakaumudī*—see SK 214 *ad* A 7.1.17, SK 215 *ad* A 7.1.14, and SK 216 *ad* A 7.1.15. Finally, the *Laghupāṇinīyam* concludes the analysis of the pronominal declension with aphorism (244) A 7.1.52 *āmi sarvanāmnaḥ suṭ*, which is discussed a few aphorisms later.

Dative singular

A 7.1.14 *sarvanāmnaḥ smai*

LP 208: *adantāt sarvanāmnaś tu ñe ity asya ‘smai’ ity ādeśa[h]*.

The substitute *smai* replaces this *Ñe* when it occurs after a pronominal stem ending in the short vowel *-a*.

The traditional *vṛtti* of the *Siddhāntakaumudī* *ad* A 7.1.14—and the following rules—is recalled: *ataḥ sarvanāmno ñe ity asya smai syāt* (see SK 215 *ad* A 7.1.14), that is, “*smai* will replace this *Ñe* (dat. sg.), when it occurs after a pronominal stem ending in the short vowel *-a*”, with the difference that Rājarājavarma desires to be more clear in explaining that this substitution takes place when the affix *Ñe* occurs after a pronominal stem ending in the short vowel *-a* (*ad-antāt*), whereas the *Siddhāntakaumudī* directly mentions the well-known Pāṇinian formula *ataḥ* ‘ending in the short vowel *-a*’.

LP 208: *yathā—sarvasmai, pūrvasmai, anyasmai, tasmā ity ādi*.

For instance, *sarvasmai, pūrvasmai, anyasmai, tasmā*, etc.

These instances of the pronominal dative singular shown by the *Laghupāṇinīyam* cover all the secondary *gaṇas* present in the list of *sarvādi* by simply mentioning their first member.

Ablative and locative singular

A 7.1.15 *naśiṇyoḥ smātśminau*

LP 209: *adantāt sarvanāmna ity eva*.

It is said ‘after a pronominal stem ending in the short vowel *-a*’, and only after that.

Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita analyses this *sūtra* A 7.1.15 on the basis of the traditional *vṛtti* just seen above—*ataḥ sarvanāmno naśiṇyor etau staḥ* (see SK 216 *ad* A 7.1.15), while the author of the *Laghupāṇinīyam* focuses here on the second part of the *Kāśikāvṛtti*’s explanation, which specifies *ataḥ ity eva bhavataḥ, bhavati* (see KV *ad* A 7.1.15), that is, “It is said: ‘after [a pronominal stem ending in the short vowel] *-a*’, and only after that; [otherwise,] *bhavataḥ* (abl. sing.), *bhavati* (loc. sing.).”

LP 209: *yathā—sarvasmāt, sarvasmin. tasmāt, tasmin.*

For instance, *sarvasmāt, sarvasmin; tasmāt, tasmin.*

Only the ablative and locative singular of *sarva-* and *tad-* are quoted as examples for this aphorism.

Nominative plural

A 7.1.17 *jasah śī*

LP 211: *adantāt sarvanāmno jasa śī ity ādeśa[h].*

The substitute *Śī* replaces *Jas* when it occurs after a pronominal stem ending in the short vowel *-a*.

Once again, Rājarājavarma explains this rule concerning the nominative plural with the traditional *ṛtti* that can be previously found in the *Siddhāntakaumudī*—*adantāt sarvanāmnaḥ parasya jasaḥ śī syāt* (see SK 214 *ad* A 7.1.17).

LP 211: *śittvād aya[m] sarvādeśo bhavati.*

Because of the marker *Ś* (of *Śī*), this is a complete substitution.

The rest of the analysis of A 7.1.17 is clearly taken from the *Rūpāvatāra*. However, in order to completely grasp its meaning, it is important to previously mention the aphorism A 1.1.55 *anekāl śit sarvasya*.²² In fact, the *Laghupāṇinīyam* focuses on the fact that the phoneme *Ś* of the substitute *Śī* has the aim of a total replacement of the affix *Jas* (nom. pl.), because it does not consist of more than one phoneme (*an-anekāltvāt*)—*śakāras sarvādeśārthaḥ ananekāltvāt* (see R *ad* A 7.1.17). These grammatical commentaries in-between the *prācīna* and *navya vyākaraṇa*, i.e., the *Rūpāvatāra* and the *Prakriyākaumudī* (Trivedi 1925, in short: PK), are the last commentaries that explain this

²² A 1.1.55 *anekāl śit sarvasya*: “A substitute consisting of more than one phoneme (*anekāl*) or marked with *Ś* (*śit*) replaces the whole (substituend)”.

substitution by defining $\acute{S}\bar{t}$ as $\acute{s}it$ ‘having the marker $\acute{S}$ ’. Conversely, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (followed by the other *kaumudīs*) starts designating $\acute{S}\bar{t}$ as *anekāl* ‘consisting of more than one phoneme’.²³

LP 211: *yathā sarva + as = sarva + ī = sarve*.

Thus, *sarva + as = sarva + ī = sarve*.

After the total replacement of *sarva-* + *Jas* with *sarva + \acute{S}\bar{t}*, the *Rūpāvatāra* also provides the *prakriyā* explanation *guṇaḥ; sarve* (see R ad A 7.1.17), that is, “[According to rule A 6.1.87] *ād guṇaḥ*,”²⁴ *sarve*”, to obtain the final form *sarve*.

LP 211: *eva[m̐] viśve, anye, eke ity ādi*.

Similarly, *viśve, anye, eke*, and so on.

All the other pronominal stems ending in the short vowel *-a* follow this pattern to form their nominative plural.

LP 211: *pūrvādīnā[m̐] jasi sarvanāmasamjñāyā[m̐] vikalpitaṭvāt pūrve, purvāḥ iti rūpadvayam*.

The word-forms beginning with *pūrva-* are optionally designated as *sarvanāman* when they occur before *Jas*: thus, *pūrve / pūrva*.

²³ The point in Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita’s thesis is that the substitute $\acute{S}\bar{t}$ is presented by A 7.1.17 *jasah \acute{s}\bar{t}*; however, the designation of *pratyaya* is taught by A 3.1.1 *pratyayah* and it extends up to the end of the fifth *adhyāya* (A 5.4.160 *niṣpravāṇiś ca*). This is why, in the beginning, $\acute{S}\bar{t}$ cannot be designated as *pratyaya*. In fact, Patañjali comments rule A 1.1.55 as follows: in the absence of the designation of *pratyaya*, the marker $\acute{S}$ will not be designated as *it* (A 1.3.8); moreover, in the absence of the designation of it, the marker $\acute{S}$ will not be zero-replaced (A 1.3.9); finally, in the absence of zero-replacement, the substitute $\acute{S}\bar{t}$ will be designated as *anekāl* ‘consisting of more than one phoneme’. This change of perspective has been analysed in Ferrero 2023b.

²⁴ A 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* prescribes a *guṇa*-replacement of both, a vowel following *a* and the *a* preceding that vowel, when they are in continuous utterance. In this specific case, the final *-a* of *sarva* and the $\bar{t}$ of the affix $\acute{S}\bar{t}$ are both substituted by the *guṇa*-vowel *e* and we obtain *sarve*.

The *Laghupāṇinīyam* remembers that the word-forms of the *pūrvādi* list, i.e., *pūrva-para-avara-dakṣiṇa-uttara-apara-adhara* (A 1.1.34), *sva* (A 1.1.35), and *antara* (A 1.1.36), are optionally designated (and hence inflected) as *sarvanāman* in the nominative plural, according to A 1.1.32 *vibhāṣā jasi*.²⁵

Genitive plural

A 7.1.52 *āmi sarvanāmnaḥ suṭ*

LP 244: ‘*āt*’ *ity anuvartate. avarṇāntāt (na tu adantāt) sarvanāmnaḥ parasya āma suḍāgama syāt.*

‘*āt*’ continues [here (from A 7.1.50)]. The increment *suṭ* will be inserted at the head of [the affix] *ām* when [it is prescribed] after a pronominal stem ending in the phoneme *a* (and not ending in the short vowel *-a*).

What is important to note is that the analysis of this rule is completely based on the *Kāśikāvṛtti ad A 7.1.52* and the *Rūpāvatāra ad A 7.1.52*. In fact, the *Kāśikāvṛtti* is taken as a model for the *vṛtti* of the *sūtra* with slight modifications—*āt iti vartate. avarṇāt sarvanāmna uttarasya āmaḥ suḍ āgama bhavati* (see KV *ad A 7.1.52*).

sarva + ām – sarva + sām—‘*bahuvacane jhaly et’* (227) *sarvesām*—*ṣatva, sarveṣām*. [...]

Therefore, *sarva + ām* > *sarva + sām* (A 7.1.52) > [because of] ‘*bahuvacane jhaly et’* (A 7.3.103), [the substitute *e* replaces *a*:] *sarvesām* > [there is] the occurrence of the retroflex *ṣ* [in the place of the dental *s*:] *sarveṣām*.

On the other hand, the *Rūpāvatāra* is the reference work in the explanation of the several sandhi passages involved in the formation of the genitive plural forms; in fact, once obtained the insertion of the

²⁵ A 1.1.32 *vibhāṣā jasi* [*sarvādīni sarvanāmāni* #27 *dvandve* #31] “The word-forms beginning with *sarva-* are marginally designated as *sarvanāman* when they occur in a *dvandva* compound before *Jas* (nom. pl.)”.

increment *suT* at the head of *ām* (therefore, *s-ām*), it is prescribed *et-vaṃ śatvaṃ ca; sarveṣām* (see R *ad* A 7.1.52), that is, “There is the occurrence of *e* [in the place of *a*]²⁶ and of the retroflex *ṣ* [in the place of the dental *s*]:²⁷ *sarveṣām*”, to obtain the form *sarveṣām* (gen. pl.).

5. Conclusions on the *Laghupāṇinīyam*

The investigation of the main sources of the grammatical commentary composed by Rājarājavarma has been extremely useful to understand how this text works, not only concerning the re-organisation of the rules (and topics) inside the book, which is typical of the *navya* vyākaraṇa works starting from the *Rūpāvatāra*, but also in reference to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini and to the previous commentaries, first of all the *Kāśikāvṛtti* and the *Siddhāntakaumudī*.

It results as evident from the research delineated in this article that the *Kāśikāvṛtti* is the reference work for those aphorisms of Pāṇini concerning the compound made up of pronominal stems. In fact, Jayāditya and Vāmana simplify the study of this complex topic (see above—KV *ad* A 1.1.28 and KV *ad* A 1.1.29) and introduce for the first time (or directly take from the *Mahābhāṣya*) some examples that are repropounded by the *Laghupāṇinīyam* for their easiness. For instance, *uttarapūrvasyai / uttarapūrvāyai* (see KV *ad* A 1.1.28), *priyaviśvāya* (see M and KV *ad* A 1.1.29), and *māsapūrvāya* (see M and KV *ad* A 1.1.30). Furthermore, the *Kāśikāvṛtti* is also used because of its precision in recalling specific *anuvṛttis* that are fundamental to understand

²⁶ A 7.3.103 *bahuvacane jhaly et* prescribes the substitution of *e* in the place of the final *-a* of a nominal stem when a plural affix beginning with a non-nasal consonant follows. In the inflection of the word-form *sarva-* + *sām*, the final *-a* of *sarva-* is substituted by *e*, because it is followed by a plural affix beginning with a non-nasal consonant.

²⁷ A 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayaḥ* states that the retroflex *ṣ* replaces the dental *s* of a substitute or of an affix when it occurs after a vowel other than *a* or after a retroflex consonant, independently from what intervenes between them. With the substitution of the final *-a* of *sarva-* with *e*, also the replacement of *s* with *ṣ* is justified and we obtain *sarveṣām*.

the meaning and the application of the *sūtras*—*āt iti vartate* (see KV *ad A* 7.1.52).

On the other hand, the *Rūpāvatāra* is here considered as the very first attempt at the ‘new grammar’ and is taken as the model for the re-organisation of the *sūtras* according to the subject they deal with. For this reason, the *sarvanāman* rules are generally treated in what the *Laghupāṇinīyam* calls *subantaprakriyā* section: the *sarvanāman* designation, as well as the aphorisms dealing with compounds made up of pronominal stems, is mentioned in the *saṃjñā[h]* sub-section, while the pronominal declension is quoted in the *pratyayānām ādeśā[h]* sub-section. Another important contribution of the commentary of Dharmakīrti is constituted by the *prakriyā* explanations the author gives in the pronominal inflection—*śakāras sarvādeśārthaḥ ananekālvāt*. [...] *guṇaḥ; sarve* (see R *ad A* 7.1.17) and *etvaṃ śatvaṃ ca; sarveṣām* (see R *ad A* 7.1.52).

The *Siddhāntakaumudī* is also one of the sources of the *Laghupāṇinīyam* since, as anticipated above, it provides the traditional *vṛtti* and the classical instances to many of these rules. At first, the *sūtra* focusing on the *sarvanāman* designation is completely based on the analysis of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (see SK 213 *ad A* 1.1.27). Moreover, the *vṛttis* of the aphorisms dealing both with the compounds made up of pronominal stems and the pronominal inflection seem to be modelled on those created by the author of the *Siddhāntakaumudī*.²⁸ In conclusion, some of the classical examples seen above are re-proposed by this commentary, such as *uttarapūrvasyai / uttarapūrvāyai* (see SK 292 *ad A* 1.1.28), and *māsapūrvāya* (see SK 223 *ad A* 1.1.30), while *varṇāśrametarāṇām* (see SK 224 *ad A* 1.1.31) is presented by the author as a new instance.

Therefore, it is evident that being so well rooted in the grammatical tradition, the *Laghupāṇinīyam* becomes one of the most important grammatical works in Kerala. This handbook, which is similar to the

²⁸ For the pronominal composition, see SK 292 *ad A* 1.1.28, SK 222 *ad A* 1.1.29, SK 223 *ad A* 1.1.30, and SK 224 *ad A* 1.1.31, whereas for the pronominal inflection, see SK 215 *ad A* 7.1.14, SK 216 *ad A* 7.1.15, SK 214 *ad A* 7.1.17, and SK 217 *ad A* 7.1.52.

navya vyākaraṇa commentaries, is so appreciated also because of the simplification of the Sanskrit language and this is the reason why the Sanskrit students can really appreciate this manual as a Sanskrit Grammar for Beginners. Nevertheless, these qualities cannot face the standardisation of the entire subcontinent to a unique system of education, which prefers ‘the more traditional *kaumudīs*’, already well-established in India, to a new commentary known and appreciated only regionally.

References

Primary Sources

- A = Sharma, R. N. 1999–2003. *The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*. 6 Vols. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers.
- KV = Sharma, A. et al. 1969–1970. *Kāśikā. A commentary on Panini's grammar by Vāmana and Jayāditya*. 2 Vols. Hyderabad: Sanskrit Academy, Osmania University.
- LP = Rājarājavarma, A. R. 1911. *Laghupāṇinīyam. Popular Sanskrit Grammar for Beginners*. Trivandrum: BV Book Depot.
- M = Kielhorn, F. 1880–1885. *The Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya of Patanjali*. 3 Vols. Bombay: Government Central Book Depot.
- PK = Trivedi, K. P. 1925. *The Prakriyākaumudī of Rāmachandra (in Two Parts). With the Commentary Prasāda of Viṭṭhala and with a Critical Notice of Manuscripts and an Exhaustive and Critical Introduction. Part I (in Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, 78)*. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
- R = Rangacharya, M. 1916–1927. *The Rūpavātāra of Dharmakīrti. With Additions and Emendations for the Use of College Students by M. Rangacharya*. 2 vols. Vol. 1. Madras: Natesan, 1916. Vol. 2. Bangalore: The Bangalore Press, 1927.
- SK = Pancholi, B. K. 1966. *Śrībhaṭṭojidīkṣitaviracitā vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakaumudī, paṇḍitaśrīsabhāpatiśarmopādhyāyaviracitayā lakṣmī vyākhyayopetā, śrībālakṛṣṇa-pañcolinā sampādītā*. 2 Vols. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Secondary sources

- Böthlingk, O. 1887. *Pāṇini's Grammatik. Herausgegeben, übersetzt, erläutert und mit verschiedenen Indices versehen*. Leipzig: Verlag von H. Haessel.
- Ferrero, V. 2023a. 'Pre-Pāṇinian Occurrences of *sarvanāman* + *akāC* and Pāṇini's Analysis of the Meaning of *akāC*'. In E. Poddighe et al. (eds). *Resisting and Justifying Changes II*. Pisa: Pisa University Press: 423–441.
- Ferrero, V. 2023b. 'Total Replacement of the Affix *Jas* by the Substitute *Śt*. The *kaumudīs* Interpretation of A 1.1.55 *anekālsīt sarvasya*'. In: Bhasha 2(2): 1–19. <http://doi.org/10.30687/bhasha/2785-5953/2023/02/001>.
- Joshi, S. D. and J. A. F. Roodbergen. 1991–2011. *The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. With Translations and Explanatory Notes*. 14 Vols. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi.
- Katre, S. M. 1987. *Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. In Roman Transliteration by Sumitra M. Katre*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Kiparsky, P. 1979. *Pāṇini as a Variationist*. Publications of the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit. Class B, No. 6. Poona: Poona University Press.
- Sharma, R. N. 1999–2002 [1st ed. 1987]. *The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. Second Revised and Enlarged Edition with Index of Sūtras*. 6 Vols. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers.
- Vasu, S. C. 1891–1898. *The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. Translated into English by Śrīśa Chandra Vasu*. 8 Vols. Allahabad: Indian Press.