

Sanskrit language have their own sets of *Unādi* rules. Thus, the system of the Cāndra (368 sūtras), the Kātantra or Kalāpa system (399 sūtras), the Sārasvata school (381 sūtras), Bhoja's system, viz. the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhā-bharaṇa* (792 sūtras), as well as the Samkṣiptasāra school (220 sūtras), all have their own sets of *Unādi* rules. Among these the *Unādi Sūtras* of Bhoja are the most elaborate and these give the derivation of about 2,500 words. But even Bhoja's performance has been surpassed by the great medieval scholar, Hemacandra, who composed not less than 1,006 *Unādi Sūtras* deriving about 4,000 words. He included these sūtras with his own commentary in his *Bṛhad-Vṛtti*, the 'great commentary' on his own *Siddha-Hema-Śabdānuśāsana*. Hemacandra was one of the most learned men India has ever produced. Apart from being a grammarian, he was the author of three lexicons, viz. *Abhidhāna-Cintāmaṇi*, *Anekārtha-Saṅgraha* and *Deśināmamālā*. On the first of these works, he composed a commentary in which the derivation of every word occurring in the lexicon has been given. He has referred not only to his own *Unādi Sūtras*, but has also, in many cases, given alternative derivations. Since Hemacandra was a distinguished lexicographer himself, it may very well be presumed that he spared no pains in making his *Unādi Sūtras* as much comprehensive as possible. His *Unādi Sūtras* were separately edited by Kirste and published from Vienna in 1895-96. 'The work is long out of print.

Śakatāyana's *Unādi Sūtras*, about 750 in number, are available in two recensions. The Sūtras deal mainly with words current in classical Sanskrit but some Vedic words have also been derived. In one of them, the Sūtras are divided in five chapters and in the other in ten chapters. The first one, *Pañcapādi* version, is the more popular and has many commentaries including two of the great Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita. Bhaṭṭoji has included the *Pañcapādi* version in his *Siddhānta Kaumudī* with a brief *vṛtti* which has been elaborately commented upon by himself in his *Praudha Manoramā*, and by all the commentators of the *Siddhānta Kaumudī*. The *Pañcapādi* version had two other famous commentators, namely Ujjvaladatta,¹ who was possibly a Bengali, flourishing probably in the thirteenth century *circa* and Śvetavanavāsīn,² a South Indian of uncertain date. Both are very learned commentators and since none of them quotes the other, it may be presumed that both were more or less contemporaries. The two texts of the *Pañcapādi Sūtras*, commented on by these authors, are practically the same except in respect of a few sūtras only. Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita's text is more or less identical with that of Ujjvaladatta. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, a South Indian scholar of the seventeenth century, has also commented on the *Unādi Sūtras* in his *Prakriyā Sarvasva*.³ He has generally followed the text commented on by Śvetavanavāsīn but his commentary has the merit of mentioning most of the additional words noticed in Bhoja's Sūtras.

The *Dasapādi* version is not an independent one but is more or less a rearrangement of the *Pañcapādi* version. In the *Pañcapādi* version, there is no logical arrangement of the Sūtras and it is indeed very difficult to find out the derivation of a particular word in the absence of an index of words arranged alphabetically. In the *Dasapādi* version, the Sūtras have been, so far as possible, arranged alphabetically according to the final and then penultimate letters of the suffixes. It is a very practical redaction but systematizers like Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita and Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa did not adopt this version. The *Dasapādi* version was published in 1875

¹ Edt. Aufrecht, London, 1859; also ed. Jivānanda, Calcutta, 1873.

² Edt. T. R. Chintāmaṇi, Madras University, 1933.

³ Edt. T. R. Chintāmaṇi, Madras University, 1933.

with an anonymous commentary from Banaras. The author of this commentary was a Māṇikyadeva according to Aufrecht's Catalogue. A very competent edition of this version with the same commentary was published from Banaras in 1942 under the editorship of Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka who has provided a very learned introduction and has appended some very valuable notes on the Sūtras. Viṭṭhala has very briefly commented on the *Dasapādi* version of the *Unādi Sūtras* in his commentary *Prasāda* on the *Prakriyākaumudī*.¹

There were many other *vṛttis* or commentaries on the *Unādi Sūtras* which are at present not traceable. Ujjvaladatta mentions सूतीवृत्ति (3.140), देववृत्ति (2.23, 3.1, 28, 86), क्षपणकवृत्ति (1.168), गोवर्धनवृत्ति (2.107, 3.40, 4.20, 4.68), नग्नवृत्ति (4.66), प्राचीनवृत्ति (2.32) and सतीवृत्ति (3.25). The Sūtra No. 3.144 (कपश्चाक्रवर्मणस्य) indicates that there were *Unādi Sūtras* by Cākravarmaṇa before Śakatāyana. Nārāyaṇa (on I.93) mentions a नाथवृत्ति, which seems to be Daṇḍanātha's commentary on Bhoja's Sūtras (see Sūtra No. 714).

Subsequent to Ujjvaladatta also there have been many commentaries. Of them, *Unādi Kośa* of Mahādeva Vedāntin² and the available portion of *Aunādika Padārṇava* of Perusuri³ have been published from Madras. Dayānanda Sarasvatī published a commentary of his own on the *Unādi Sūtras* in 1884 from Ajmer.

As will be seen from the *Unādi Sūtras* themselves, the derivations in most cases hardly bring out the meanings of the derived words. Carrying Śakatāyana's view to its extreme limits, all words must *somehow* be derived from verbal roots. It does not much matter if the meaning of the words is not indicated by the meaning of the basic root.⁴

An extreme example is provided by Nyāsakāra. The word डवित्र्य means a wooden toy deer. The nearest root is phonetically डी and so the suffix must be श्, with the augment अवित्. To get ड for डी, we may have recourse to a suffix with the 'anubandha' ड्. So the rule is 'डीडश्च डिड् डविच्च'. Similarly ऋफिड and ऋफिडु may be derived from √ऋ by the addition of फिड and फिडु. The rule accordingly is 'अर्त्तः फिड फिडौ', cf. *Mbh.* ('ऋलृक्' सूत्र), 'फिडफिडौ औणादिकौ'.⁵

¹ Edt. K. P. Trivedi, Poona, 1925, 1931.

² Edt. Kunhan Raja, Madras University, 1956.

³ Edt. Chintāmaṇi, Madras University, 1939.

⁴ Cf. Śvetavanavāsīn (on अद्भुत), 'उणादिप्रत्ययान्ताः संज्ञाशब्दाः, (तेषां) यथा-कञ्चिद् व्युत्पत्तिः । तेन क उपपदार्थः कोऽपि प्रकृत्यर्थः कश्च प्रत्ययार्थ इत्यभिनवेशो न कार्यः ।'

⁵ The process of derivation is succinctly stated in the following verse of the *Mahābhāṣya* (P. 3.3.1): 'संज्ञासु धातुरुपाणि प्रत्ययाश्च ततः परे । कार्याद् विद्यादनुबन्ध-मेतच्छास्त्रमुगादिषु ॥' Nyāsakāra explains: 'यत्र शब्दरूपे निज्ञातिधात्ववयवेन शब्दान्तरेण किञ्चिद् भागगतं सारूप्यमस्ति तत्र प्रकृति दृष्ट्वा परिशिष्टभागः प्रत्ययेनोहितव्यः ।'

Evidently, this is not a derivation but merely etymological speculation. All that can be said in favour of such derivations is that they settle the correct spellings of the words.¹ The grammarians were fully conscious that such derivations are no derivations at all. The words so derived are 'रूढ' in the sense that the derivation does not yield the sense. So we have the paribhāṣā (*Mbh.* on P. 3.1.1); उणादयोः व्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि—words ending with suffixes उणा, etc., do not (really) admit of a division into base and affix. However, they are treated as if they are derivable, and so the ordinary rules of grammar apply to *Uṇādi Sūtras*.² But as Nāgeśa states in *Laghuśabdendusekhara*, 'यत्रावयवार्थानुगमो नास्ति तत्र कथं व्युत्पादनम्'—how can there be derivation if from such derivation we cannot understand the meaning of the constituent parts. Pāṇini must have had a set of Uṇādi rules before him and as such he considered the words व्युत्पन्न in a way.³

There are about 1,950 roots in the various Dhātupāṭhas. Only about seven or eight hundred are in general use, but even those 1,950 roots are not sufficient for derivation of all words by the Uṇādi rules. Additional roots, designated Sautra roots, had to be resorted to. Vopadeva in his *Kavikalpadruma* enumerates 42 such roots. There are 79 such roots enumerated in *Nyāya-Maṅjūṣā* of Hemahamsagani (Banaras, 1910). Some of these roots are mentioned below in the footnote.⁴ The words within brackets are the words for the derivation of which these roots are necessary.

¹ 'स्वरवर्णानुपूर्वीमात्रफलम्' ŚV. echoing Hemacandra (Intro. *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*): 'व्युत्पत्तिरहिताः शब्दा रूढा आखण्डलादयः ।' यद्यपि शाकटायनमतेन रूढा अपि व्युत्पत्ति-भाजस्तथापि वर्णानुपूर्वीविज्ञानमात्र प्रयोजना तेषां व्युत्पत्तिः ।

² बहुलमित्युक्तेरव्युत्पन्नत्वेऽपि प्रत्ययसंज्ञानिमित्तं कार्यं भवति ।—*Laghuśabdendu°* on P. 3.3.1.

³ 'उणादयो बहुलम्' इत्यारम्भाद् व्युत्पत्ति पक्षोऽपि, but प्ररमार्थतः प्रकृत्यर्थः प्रत्ययार्थो वा नास्ति । 'अतः कृकमिकंस—' (P. 8.3.46) इति कमिग्रहणं कृत्वा कंसग्रहणाद् 'अर्थवदधानु—' (P. 1.2.45) इति सूत्रारम्भाच्चाव्युत्पत्तिपक्षोऽप्यस्ति । *Laghuśabdendu°* on P. 3.3.1.

⁴ कि (कीट, कीश, केकर), चिरि (चिर्भटी, चिरिगटी), कृ (कव्य), तर्क (तर्क), कर्क (कर्कट, कर्कार), सिक (सिकता), मर्क (मर्कट), चङ्क (चङ्कुर), मक (मकन्द, मुकुट, मुकुर), अर्घ (अर्घ), मञ्ज (मञ्जु, मञ्जुल, मञ्जीर, मञ्जरी, मञ्जूषा, मञ्जिष्ठा), पञ्ज (पञ्जिका), कञ्ज (कञ्जार), घण्ट (घण्टा), कुठ (कुठार), कृड (क्रीड), उड (उडु, उडुप), वड (वडभी, वडिश), नड (नड, नल, नाडी), किरण (किरण), पुत (पुत्तिका, पोत), लत (लता, लत्तिका), मिथ (मिथुन), क्षद (क्षत्, क्षत्र), सुन्द (सुन्दर), कद (कदली, कदम्ब, केदार, कोदरड), धन (धन, धनुस्, धाना, धान्य), रिप (रेपस्), कप (कपाल, कपोल), पर्प (पर्पट), पीय (पीयूष), तुर (आतुर, तोरण), तन्द्र (तन्द्रा, तन्द्रि), चुल (निचुल, चोल), उल (उल्का, उलप, उलुक), लुल (लुलाय, लोल), सल्ल (सल्लक), कश (कशा), कुश (कुश, कोश, कुशल, कोशल), स्पश (स्पष्ट, स्पश, पशु), ऋश (ऋश्य), रश (रश्मि, राशि, रशना), भिष (भेषज, भिषज्), युष (योषा, योषित्, युष्मद्), लुस (लुसभ), भस (भस्त्रा), etc.

Some Uṇādi rules are older than Pāṇini but an even earlier speculation regarding derivation of words from roots is that of the Nairuktas. The derivations proposed by the Nairuktas are for the most part extremely fanciful. They had hardly any reverence either for grammatical rules or for phonetic considerations.

Thus कल्याण is derived from √कम, लाङ्गूल from √लम्ब, पुरुष from √शी, हिरण्य from हित रमण, रूप from √रुच, दूत from दूरगमन, लक्ष्मी from √लज, √लख, etc., and so on. The Uṇādi derivation is equally fanciful in some cases. Thus, मक्षिका is derived from √दम्भ, रज्जु from √सृज, पङ्क from √खञ्ज (U), श्वशुर from √अश, कपिल from √कम्प, कत्तूण from √तृह, हिरण्य from √हर्ष, नग, नाग from √दह, सिंह from √सिञ्च, घोर from √हन्, and so on. But taken as a whole, the derivation by the Uṇādi rules in most cases appears to be reasonable.

In their commentaries on the *Amarakoṣa*, Rāmāśrama and Kṣīraswāmin have given derivations of their own in many cases without even referring to the *Uṇādi Sūtras*. Hemacandra has also done the same in the case of quite a good number of words in his gloss on his *Abhidhāna-Cintāmaṇi*. Uṇādi-derived words are usually 'concretes', 'संज्ञाशब्दाः', which, according to the orthodox view, may be derived in many ways.¹ It will be seen that many of the words may be derived with the aid of the ordinary Kṛt suffixes.

According to philologists, the Indo-Aryans adopted a large number of words, mostly 'concretes', in Sanskrit the language they spoke, from Dravidian and other languages. A short list from Dr. Burrow's *The Sanskrit Language* is given below.² Dr. Burrow is certain of such 'loan-words' but in some cases the borrowing may possibly have been the other way round. We may also refer in this context to Jaimini's *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra* (1.3.10), which constitutes the 'म्लेच्छप्रसिद्धप्रामाण्यधिकरण'. The words पिक, तामरस, क्लोमन्, etc., are admitted in the *Sābara Bhāṣya* to be non-Aryan in origin. Many of such 'loan-words' have been derived by the native grammarians with the aid of Uṇādi-suffixes.

In the following compilation, the basis is the *Vṛtti* on the *Uṇādi Sūtras* of Hemacandra with a few additional words from other sources.³ Uṇādi suffixes have been arranged alphabetically according to the final and then the penultimate letters of the alphabet.⁴ Under each suffix the words

¹ 'संज्ञाशब्दानां बहुधा व्युत्पत्तिः'.

² मातङ्ग, अङ्गना, अलाबू, कदली, कर्पास, ताम्बूल, मरिच, लाङ्गूल, सर्पप, कुराड, गरड, पिराड, पराड, परिडत, मयूर, बिल्व, कङ्क, अर्क, अलस, अनल, कटु, कठिन, काक, कानन, काल, कुटिल, कुराडल, कुन्तल, कुवलय, कूप, केतक, कोण, कोरक, खल, चतुर, चन्दन, चूडा, तामरस, ताल, तूल, दराड, नक्र, नीर, परा, पुङ्ख, वक, बल, विडाल, विल, मसी, महिला, माला, मीन, मुकुट, मुकुल, मुक्ता, वलय, बल्ली, शठ, शव, शूर्प, etc.

³ This has been done because Hemacandra in his *Vṛtti* has included practically every word derived by Śākatāyana, Bhoja and others. The additional words have been indicated by the sign +, e.g. +B, +U, etc. Words formed by the addition of suffix अ have been omitted.

⁴ This arrangement was invariably followed by Sanskrit lexicographers and is at the same time quite convenient.