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THE

ASHTÁDHYÁYÍ OF PÁÑINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

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Allahabad:

INDIAN PRESS.

1891.

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Check: May 10, 1893.

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PREFACE.

Since the advent of the British rule and the peace and prosperity that has followed in its train, India has witnessed a glorious revival of her ancient literature, in which is embodied some of the highest philosophies and religions of the world. Among the various blessings which our benign Government has conferred upon us, none can be greater in value or usefulness than this revival of Sanskrit. Our schools and colleges are annually turning out hundreds, nay thousands of scholars, who have entered upon the study of Sanskrit literature, and have thus learnt to appreciate the beauties of this language. Very few of them, however, have the opportunity of studying the language, with that depth and fulness, as it was and is mastered by the Pandits of the old school. To properly understand Sanskrit language, and especially that portion of it in which is locked up the highest aspirations of the ancient Aryan hearts *vis.,* the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, the Upanishads &c. it is absolutely necessary to have a complete knowledge of the Grammar elaborated by Pāṇini. The Grammar is reckoned as one of the Vedāṅgas, or the helps to the study of the Vedas; and it is unquestionably one of the most important of the Vedāṅgas. The four thousand sūtras of Pāṇini contain within themselves almost all that a student need know to enable him to understand the language of the Vedas.

Not only is this excellent treatise of Pāṇini necessary for those who are desirous of learning the ancient Sanskrit literature, but a knowledge of this is even necessary for understanding the modern Sanskrit, which is modelled on the rules laid down by that great Grammarian, whose aphorisms are being constantly quoted in all Vedic commentaries, and classical authors and law books.

Further, as a master-piece of close reasoning and artistic arrangement, it ought to be an object of study with every one who wants to cultivate his intellectual powers. In fact what the Geometry of Euclid has done towards the logical development of the western intellect, the Ashṭādhyāya of Pāṇini has fulfilled the same purpose in India. No one who has studied this book can refrain from praising it. It has evoked admiration even from the Sanskrit savants of the west. Professor Max Müller thus gives his opinion about the merits of this excellent Sanskrit Grammar:— "The Grammatical system elaborated by native Grammarians, is in itself most perfect, and those who have tested Pāṇini's work will readily admit, that there is no Grammar in any language, that could vie with the wonderful mechanism of his eight books of Grammatical rules."

The style of these sūtras is studiedly brief, but then this brevity is its greatest recommendation. That, which appears to many obscurity and ambiguity in the sūtras, vanishes before the clear and exhaustive explanations of
the commentators; and shows the extreme skill and wonderful ingenuity of
the author of these aphorisms. These sūtras, therefore, which though at first
sight may appear difficult and repulsive, if once mastered, will enable a
student to know and remember more of the Sanskrit Grammar, than he can
ever learn through other methods, with twice that labour. Unfortunately,
however, for our college and school students, and also for that vast majority
of our English reading countrymen, whose number is daily on the increase,
and who depend for their knowledge of what is contained in Sanskrit books,
on English translation of Sanskrit authors, no translation of this important
work exists in English. To supply this want, I have undertaken to translate
Pāṇini's aphorisms, as explained by the Commentators Jayāditya and Vāmana
in their well-known book, called Kāśikā vṛitti and issue one chapter every
month. Though, it is not a close translation of the whole of Kāśikā,
it may be regarded as a free rendering of the most important portions of that
book. I have closely followed on the foot-steps of those authors, translating their
commentary, explaining it where necessary; and in short, making my work
a help to the student, desirous of studying the Kāśikā in the original.

The translation of Sanskrit texts, especially those like Kāśikā, is
always beset with great difficulties, even for the masters of Sanskrit learning.
For a beginner, like the present translator, those difficulties were many
and great, and I am fully conscious that here and there, I may have
failed to grasp the full drift of the arguments of the authors of Kāśikā. But
on the whole, I have spared no pains to render this work as free from errors
as lay in my humble power. I shall feel much obliged to those gentlemen, who
will be good enough to point out any errors, or suggest any improvements, so
that I may be benefited by their advice.

I must here acknowledge the great assistance I have derived from the
well-known translation of Laghu Kaumudi by Dr. Ballantyne; Mr. Iengar's
Guide to Pāṇini; Professor Apte's Sanskrit Composition as well as from Dr.
Kielhorn's Paribhāshenduśekhara. I have freely quoted from these authors and
absorbed their rendering into my own, without distinguishing them by marks
of quotation.

When I first undertook the translation of Pāṇini, I had thought that
the work when completed, will not occupy more than 1200 pages. But from
the present sample it will be seen, that that estimate was far below the mark.
The complete translation, together with the Introduction, Glossary and the
Indices, which I intend to add, will take up nearly double as much space i.e.,
nearly 2000 pages or more. I have, however, kept the price of the book the
same, namely, Rs. 14 (payable by two instalments), for subscribers, who have
already got their names registered, or who will do so within the 31st January
1892, and Rs. 20 for non-subscribers.

14th November, 1891.

ŚRĪṢA CHANDRA VASU.
THE

ASHTADHYAYI OF PANINI.

Salutation to the Supreme Spirit.

Now an explanation of words.

The term प्रय “now” in the sutra indicates a commencement, and points out that a dissertation is to be offered on the science of words, viz. Grammar and Philology. The term बौद्धीक्षण means explanation of any system. This is an बौद्धीक्षण sutra, and introduces the subject.

An aphorism or sutra is of six kinds, संज्ञा or ‘a definition,’ विषय or ‘the key to interpretation,’ विचित्र or ‘the statement of a general rule,’ निवेदन or ‘a restrictive rule,’ चिन्हार्थ or ‘a head or governing rule, which exerts a directing or governing influence over other rules,’ and चिन्हेश्वर or ‘extended application by analogy.’

The Pratyāhāra Sūtras.

The above fourteen aphorisms contain the arrangement of Sanskrit alphabets for grammatical purposes. The anusvāra and the visarga, the jihvā-mullya and the upadh mānya are not contained in the above list. The final च in the consonants ह, च &c., is merely for the sake of articulation. The final pure consonants in the several aphorisms as च, च, च &c., are non-efficient or हच. The प्रत्याहार is a grammatical symbol or abbreviation and is formed by taking any letter which is not a non-efficient letter and joining it with any non-efficient letter that follows it. This gives a name which stands for the former non-efficient letter and for all the other letters intervening between it and the non-efficient letter. Thus चचच means all the vowels, हचच means all the consonants, जचच means all soft unaspirate consonants, चचच means all hard unaspirate consonants. Though numerous pratyāhāras could be formed, practically however, there are only 42 pratyāhāras; as given below:

The same letter च is made use of as प्रत्याहार or an indicatory letter both in the sixth sutra चचच and in the first चचच. There arises consequently
the doubt, whether the pratyahāras अङ्क and वच्छ when they are employed in Pāṇini's Grammar are formed with the रु of the former or with the रु of the latter sūtra, and one might, on that account, consider it impossible to ascertain what Pāṇini intended to denote by अङ्क and वच्छ when he employed these terms. To remove this doubt there is the following paribhāṣa:

"The precise meaning of an ambiguous term is ascertained from interpretation, for a rule, even though it contain an ambiguous term, must never the less teach something definite."

Accordingly we learn from interpretation that the term अङ्क except in Sutra I. 1. 69, is formed by means of the रु of the first sūtra and that the term वच्छ is formed by means of the रु of the subsequent sūtra.
BOOK I.
CHAPTER FIRST.

1. भा, ए and ओ are called vṛiddhi.

This defines the word vṛiddhi. The letters भा, ए and ओ are vṛiddhi letters. The sūtra consists of three words vṛiddhi, ए and ओ. भा means the long भा, the final ए being indicatory only, and is for the sake of the pratyāhāra ओ, and the pratyāhāra ओ means the letters ओ and ओ.

The indicatory ए in भा serves the purpose of showing that the very form भा having two mātrās or prosodical measure, is to be taken. This ए also joins with the succeeding vowels ओ and ओ by the rule of अः (I. 1. 70) or that "which precedes or succeeds ए," and indicates that these vowels must be taken as having two mātrās only, though they may be the result of the combination of vowels whose aggregate mātrās may be more than two. A short vowel has one mātra, a long vowel has two, and a consonant has half a mātra. Thus by a rule of संधि or euphonic conjunction of letters भा + ओ = भा, as भा + ओ = भा. Here ओ has two mātrās and not four. So also in ख्रेक: the vowel ओ is the resultant of ओ and ओ has only two, not four, mātrās.

Thus the initial vowels in the following secondary derivative nouns are vṛiddhi forms of their primitive vowels. भाकु: "bodily", from प्रकु; 'body' भिद्वकु: "optional", from द्वया "option"; भौगकु: "the son of Upagū", from the word उपाय: meaning "a sage called Upagū." Similarly in शालीकु: "belonging to the house" the ओ is radical, and is also called vṛiddhi. The word vṛiddhi occurs in sūtras like विष्रुस्त्वोपस्पर्शसु (VII. 2. 1.) "Let the final ओ of the base get vṛiddhi substitute before the affix विष्रु of the Parasapadaa".

2. भा, ए and ओ are called gūna.

Each one of the letters भा, ए and ओ whether radical or secondary is called a gūna letter; as the initial vowels in the following:—भा, "he
moves”; एवि “he comes”, चोलाबि “he goes.” Here the initial vowels of the roots चा, धा, and खा have been respectively gunated into छा, ्धा, and छो before the third person’s singular termination ति.

The term Guna occurs in sūtras like सिन्हिर्य (VII. 3. 82). “Let there be guṇa substitute for the ik of the root वि “to melt.”

इच्छा गुणाचिन्ह || ३ || पद्मानिशं स्मः || गुण-प्रद्रढः, (धड्ढिः, गुणः) ||

त्रिसिः इव इश्वरियाः स्वसंदर्भा (ईश्वर गुणार्था) विलक्षणांविवक्तं एव स्थाने वेदितथाच ||

3. In the absence of any special rule, whenever guṇa or vriddhi is enjoined about any expression by using the terms guṇa or vriddhi, it is to be understood to come in the room of the ik vowels only. (i, u, १; and २ long and short,) of that expression.

This is a paribhāṣa sūtra, and is useful in determining the original letters, in the place of which the substitute guṇa and vriddhi letters will come. The present rule will apply where there is the specification of no other particular rule.

Thus sūtra VII. 3. 84 declares:—“when a sārvadhātuka or an ārdhadhātuka affix follows there is guṇa of the base.” Here the sthāni or the original expression which is to be gunated, is not specified, and to complete the sense, the word “īkaḥ” must be read into the sūtra. The rule then being, “when a S. or an A. affix follows there is guṇa of the ik vowels of the base.”

The guṇa of धा or धें is ्धा; of धू or धृ, is ्धो, of सूर ख्व्र is ्ब्रह्, of न्स is ्न्स; and their Vṛddhi is धृ, धो, धार and ्ब्रार respectively. Thus न्स+चक्ति = न्स+चक्ति = न्सवि “he leads.”

Therefore, wherever in any rule in this Grammar, guṇa or vriddhi is ordained by employing the terms guṇa or vriddhi, there the word “īkaḥ” in the genitive case, meaning “in the place of ik”, is to be supplied to complete the sense.

The word ‘ik’ is thus understood in the following rules, and is there qualified by the term चाक्र or ‘base’:—विलक्षणाः (VII. 3. 82) इवेश्वरियाः (VII. 2. 114) गुणालोकपिय &c., (VII. 3. 86); सरस्वतिक्राण (VII. 4.11) क्रमालोकषिप्य (VII. 4.16) स्वैलोकर्षिप्य &c., (Vl. 4. 156).

In the following sūtras, the term ‘ik’ is understood and qualifies the word अंगा or base, वृक्ष (VII. 3. 83), वायपाराकण्यावुक्तोऽ (VII. 3. 84).

These sūtras will be explained in their proper places.

The word ‘ik’ has been used in the sūtra to show that the long त्वा, न्न्त्र or the diphthongs and न्त्र or the consonants, are not to take guṇa or vriddhi by this
Exception to Guna and Vriddhi.

rule, as in the following examples सा “a carriage”, न्वषि “he feels aversion,” दमिता “confined.”

Here न्वषि is formed by adding the affix न्वित, third person singular termination, with the class a affix श्रिष्ट, to the root श्रि; as श्रि + श्रि + न्वित = श्रि + श्रि + न्वि. At this stage, rule VII. 3. 84, would require the guṇa substitution of the vowel of the base before the sārvadhatu termination श्रि; the guṇa substitute of श्रि being श्रि, there would be श्रि + श्रि = श्रषि. But this is wrong, the letter श्रि, being not included in the pratyahāra ik, is not affected by rule VII. 3. 84, and there is no guṇa substitution in this case. Similarly there is no change in the long श्रि of श्रषि. Thus श्रि + र्घुर्द्र (III. 3. 115) = श्रषि (VII. 1. 1). Here had there been guṇa by Rule VII. 3. 84, the श्रि of श्रि, would have been changed into श्रि, and the form would have been श्रषि which is wrong. But it is not so, as श्रि is not an ह्रू vowel. So also श्रषि + श्रि = दमिता. Here, there is no guṇa substitution in the place of the consonant श्रि.

The repetition of the words guṇa and vriddhi in this sutra, (though by दुहृष्टि or the supplying of a word from the previous sutra, these words followed from the two preceding sutras) is for the purpose of indicating that, this is a restrictive rule applicable only there, where guṇa or vriddhi has been ordained by the employment of the words guṇa or vriddhi. Therefore, it is not so in the following cases: — श्रि: “sky”, पन्या: “way” श्रि: “he,” दमित्रि “this.” श्रि: is the nominative singular of the base श्रि. It is formed by rule VII. 1. 84, which declares that “in the nominative singular the letter श्रि takes the place of र्घुर्द्र.” Here the letter श्रि is no doubt a vriddhi letter, but as this substitution is not enjoined by the enunciation of the term vriddhi, श्रि does not take the place of the vowel श्रि of र्घुर्द्र, but it replaces the final श्रि. Thus श्रि + श्रि = श्रि:

Similarly rule VII. 1. 85, declares that of the word पतिन, श्रि is the substitute. The श्रि is a vriddhi letter no doubt, but not being enunciated by the term vriddhi, it takes the place of श्रि of पतिनि and not of श्रि. Thus we have पन्या:, the श्रि being added by VII. 1. 87.

Similarly श्रि: from श्रि, which is formed by VII. 2. 102 “short श्रि is the substitute of tyad, &c.” Here श्रि takes the place of श्रि. Thus we have श्रि, which is changed again into श्रि by VII. 2. 106.

4. The Guna and vriddhi substitutions, which otherwise would have presented themselves, do not
take place, when such an ārdhadhātuka (III. 4. 114) suffix follows, which causes a portion of the root to be elided.

This is an exception to sūtra 3. By that sūtra ikṣ were to be gunated or vṛiddhied and by sūtra VII. 3. 84, the root is to be gunated before all ārdhadhātuka terminations. All primary affixes, that are applied directly to roots in Sanskrit, are divided into two broad classes, called sārvadhatuka and ārdhadhātuka. The affixes marked with an indicator श (called रिचु), and the conjunctival affixes, such as त्रि, त्र &c., (called त्रित) are sārvadhatuka; all other affixes are called ārdhadhātuka.

Though by the general rule, VII. 3. 84, the root is to be gunated before ārdhadhātuka terminations, yet it is not to be so, before those affixes which cause the कोष ‘lapping off or ellipses’ of a portion or a member of the original dhātu Thus the termination श्वाखि is a first person singular termination of the future tense (कुट) and is an ārdhadhātuka termination; when this is added to root शि ‘to excel’ the श of शि becomes gunated and we have श्वाखि “I shall or will excel.” But in those cases where there is a lopa of the member of a root formed, by an affix, there is no gunation. Thus in लोकृष, “a great cutter,” the original root is शू “to cut” which forms the Intensive verb लोकृष. In forming the noun of agency from the verb लोकृष, an ārdhadhātuka suffix शष्ट्र III. 1. 134, is added. Thus लोकृष + शष्ट्र. At this stage, by force of sūtra II. 4. 74. which declares that “before the affix शष्ट्र (III. 1. 134) the श of the Intensive verb must be suppressed,” the या is dropped and we have लोकृष + श. Here by the general rule VII. 3. 84, the final श would have been gunated. But by virtue of the present sūtra, no guṇa takes place, because here on account of the ārdhadhātuka affix शष्ट्र, a portion of the root, namely, श, has been elided; therefore no guṇa takes place. Thus we have लोकृष: “a great cutter.”

The word राधृ “root” has been used in the sūtra, in order to indicate that the exception does not apply where there is an elision of an anubandha or of an affix. As in नृष + त्रि = नृष + त्रि = नवित्रि. Here the indicatory letter श has been elided, but that does not prevent gunation. Similarly in रेत the affix रिचु is added to the root रिच “to injure.” Thus रिच + रिचु (III. 2. 75.) = रिच + रि (I. 3. 2. and 3.) = रिचु + (VI. 1. 67.) Here the affix श is elided, but nevertheless, the guṇa substitute must take place in रिचु. Thus we have रिचु + (VII. 3. 86 and I. 1. 62) = रेत (VIII. 2. 39).

The word ārdhadhātuka has been used to indicate that a sārvadhatuka affix which causes the elision of a portion of a root, does not prevent guṇa or vṛiddhi as in रोढखिलि, (Rig Veda IV. 58. 3) “he roars much.” रो + रोढखिलि = रोढखिलि (III. 1. 22). रोढखिलि + त्रि = रोढखिलि (II. 4. 74.). Here the sārvadhatuka
affix तिः causes the elision of च, a portion of the root. The गुप्त substitution however takes place, and we have रोरे + ति (VII. 3. 94) = रोर्लीवि, the augment युत being added by सूत्र VII. 3. 94.

The word “िकाह” of the previous सूत्र is understood in this सूत्र also. The उक letters only are not gunated or व्रिद्धied before such अर्धहातुका affixes; the other vowels may do so. Thus in खमष्टि the equation is as follows:—चः + नस्तिः + विषु ध = चः + नस्ति + ध (VI. 4. 33). Here the अर्धहातुका affix विषु has caused a portion of the root नस्ति to be suppressed, विषु, the letter ध has been elided. But nevertheless the ध of नस्ति is व्रिद्धied before विषु because ध is not included in the प्रत्याहारा ik; and the exception contained in the present सूत्र only applies to the उक letters. So also रष्टिः + वष्टिः (III. 3. 18) = रष्टि + वष्टि (VI. 4. 27.) = रष्टिः (VII. 2. 116. and VII. 3. 52).

5. And that, which otherwise would have caused guna or व्रिद्धi, does not do so, when it has an indicatory च or ध.

Thus the past participle terminations क and फस्तिः are अर्धहातुका affixes, which would, by the general rule VII. 3. 84, have caused गुप्तa, but as their indicatory letter क is धृत, the real terminations being, च and धृत, they do not cause गुप्तa. Therefore, when these terminations are added to a root, the उk of the root is not gunated. Thus with the root धि “to collect” we have धित: or धितित्वादधि, धि, “to hear,” धिताः, धितादधि; धिताः; धि; “to fear” धि, धितवादधि.

Similarly the terminations कप्तिः कप्तिः कप्तिः कप्तिः, &c., are all धित terminations ‘the indicatory letters of all being धि, the real affixes being धि, एकसूत्र, वष्टिः &c. &c. Before these, the root is not gunated. Thus we have from धि “to bear” धितिः, from धितं “to pierce” धितित्वाद.

The terms धितं &c., of this सूत्र are in the locative or seventh case. The force of this case termination here is that of निविन्त or cause, that is the गुप्तa or व्रिद्धi which would otherwise have been caused, does not take place, if an affix is धितं, धितं, धितं. Thus all अर्धहातुका and सार्वधातुका affixes cause gunation of the final उk of the inflective base (VII. 3. 84.) Thus the सार्वधातुका affix शय् ( श ) in the following:—

धृ + गष्ट्व + धितं = शै + गष्ट्व + धितं प्रक्ष = “he is.” Similarly सार्वधातुका and अर्धहातुका affixes cause the गुप्त substitution of the short penultimate उk of the inflective base (VII. 3. 85.) Thus धृ + गष्ट्व + धितं = नेवधि.

The general force of the locative case in an aphorism is to cause the operation directed, on the expression immediately preceding it (I. 1. 66.) If the force of the locative case in the present सूत्र were also that as
explained in I. 1. 66, then the interpretation would be this: — An affix having an indicatory क, ग or इ, would not cause the गुना substitution of the vowel इक, immediately preceding it. The case of the penultimate short इक will not be covered by it. Then though the rule may apply to छि + इक्त = छित्त: “collected” it would not apply to छित्त + इक; there would be nothing to bar the गुना substitution of the penultimate इ of छित्त. This however is prevented by explaining the locative as one of “occasion” and thus छित्त + इस = छित्त: “broken.”

Similarly from the root झे we have a word झिञ्जु: ‘victorious,’ in which the affix झिजू has an indicatory झे. Thus झे + झिजू = झिञ्जु: “victorious” (III. 2. 139), so also ख्याति: “durable,”

Similarly the affix श्रद्ध इ a हिन्दू affix, the real suffix being ढ; the ढ being merely indicatory. Therefore when ढ is added to a root, there is no gunation or र्यिद्विङ्ग. Thus we have from दिञ्ज: “to know”.

Similarly by I. 2. 4, all sārvadhatu affixes that are not marked by an indicatory ष, are treated as हिन्दू. Thus the second person singular termination दित्त is हिन्दू, and we have दित्तम: “they two collect,” similarly दित्तमलिङ्ग, “they collect,” दित्त + इस = दित्त: “cleansed,” गुड्डनिं “they cleanse.”

The phrase “when indicated by the term इक” is understood in this sūtra. The prohibition, therefore, applies to इक vowels only, and not to all vowels in general. Thus by III. 1. 30, the root र्द्ध “to desire” takes the affix हिज; of this affix the letters र्द्ध and द्ध are indicatory, the real affix is द्ध. The force of द्ध is to cause र्यिद्विङ्ग (VII. 2. 116). The indicatory द्ध does not prevent such र्यिद्विङ्ग, as the letter द्ध of र्द्ध is not included in इक. Thus we have कामि + गर्वि = कामि + गर्वि = कामवे “be desires.”

According to the wish of the author of the Mahābhāṣya, the verb ग्रृह्थ optionally takes र्यिद्विङ्ग, before kit or नित affixes beginning with a vowel. As परिष्कर्तिनि or परिवार्तिनि “they rub.” Here in this sūtra there is prohibition of the गुना of the short penultimate इक also.

The indicatory द्ध of the verbal tense affixes i.e., लह, लिः, लिः, लह, लह, is an exception to this rule of हिज. This is an inference deduced from III. 4. 104 which declares “when the sense is that of benediction, then the augment बाच्य of लिः is as if it were distinguished by an indicatory द्ध.” There would have been no necessity of making बाच्य a हिज, if लिः were a हिज, but the very fact of making बाच्य a हिज indicates by implication or is झापक that the final द्ध of लिः, लह &c. does not make these tense affixes हिज. Thus in लह or Imperfect tense we have चाकिनि “he collected” (चाकिनि + लह = चाकिनि + धृ + चाकिनि + धृ = चाकिनि.)
6. The guna and vriddhi substitutions, which would otherwise have presented themselves, do not however come, in the place of the vowels of didhi 'to shine,' and vevi 'to go,' and of the augment called त्र.

The roots हस्ति and बैस्ति never take the gupa or vriddhi substitutions under ordinary circumstances. Thus the affix युट्स generally causes vriddhi substitution when added to any root; and so the धांक युट्स causes gupa. But these affixes when applied to the verbs didhi and vevi, never cause vriddhi or gupa substitution. As धास्ति + युट्स = धास्ति + धान (VII. 1. 1) = धास्ति-धान: (VI. 1. 77). So also धास्ति + युट्स = धास्ति + सन (VII. 1. 1) = धास्ति-सन। Similarly from बैस्ति we have बैस्ति-नू and बैस्ति-कृ। In the Vedas, however, these verbs take gupa. Thus धास्ति (Rig Ved. X. 98. 7), and धातित्व (Rig Ved. V. 40. 5). These two verbs are confined generally to the Vedic literature, and the present rule therefore, seems to be an unnecessary prohibition; as they take gupa in spite of such prohibition.

Of the augment त्र the real affix is त्र। In the general tenses, it is added to certain terminations beginning with consonants of the class, i.e., all consonants except य (VII. 2. 35). Thus the future termination, first person, singular is त्रस्ति; this when added to the root चरो "to move" requires an intermediate त्र, and thus we have the form चरिस्ति, 'I shall walk.' This त्र is never gipated or vriddhied, though according to the general rule, coming before an अर्धहातुत्तक termination, it ought to have been gipated.

The augment त्र could under no circumstances have taken vriddhi, the prohibition therefore, is in the case of the gupa substitute of त्र।

7. Consonants unseparated by a vowel are called conjunct consonants.

This defines the word sanyoga. The sūtra consists of three words, हस्ति, the plural of the pratyāhāra हस्ति, denoting all the consonants, चरम: means "without any separation or space" and चरम: which is the word defined, and means "conjoint consonants." So that the sūtra means, conjunct consonants are those consonants between which there is no heterogeneous separating vowel and which are pronounced jointly, such as च च in the word कुकुत्, "cock." The word "sanyoga" applies to the whole of the conjunct consonants jointly and not to them separately. The plural number shows that the conjunction may be of two or more consonants.
Why do we say "consonant"? If two vowels come together they will not be called "sanyoga". Thus वितज्ज्वर्णम् "a sieve umbrella," the two vowels ख and ङ have come together unseparated by any consonant; yet they are not called sanyoga, otherwise the final ङ would have been rejected by VIII. 2. 23 "there is elision of the final of that pada which ends in a sanyoga letter." Why do we say "unseparated by a vowel"? If consonants separated by a vowel were also called sanyoga, then in the sentence पञ्चम पञ्चम, the syllable सम् would be called sanyoga, and by VIII. 2. 29, the initial ङ would be elided.

8. That which is pronounced by the nose along with the mouth is called Anunāsika or nasal.

This defines the word anunāsika. The śūtra consists of four words मुख "mouth" नाधिका "nose" वचन: "utterance or pronunciation" and अनुनासिक: "nasals." Though the words मुख नाधिका (II. 4. 2) will by the rule of composition form मुखनाधिकाङ्क and not मुखनाधिक, yet the latter form might be held to be an irregularity; or the phrase मुखनाधिकाङ्क may be regarded as a compound of मुखनाधिक + वचन, the word अवचाच्या meaning "partial utterance." That is a letter partially uttered by the nose and partially by the mouth would be called anunāsika. Therefore the nasals are those letters which are pronounced from two organs or places, i.e., the mouth and the nose. The pure nasal is anuvāra, while anunasikas are different from this, in as much as, that in pronouncing these, the breath passes through the nose and the mouth.

The vowels are generally so nasalised. ‘If, instead of emitting the vowel sound freely through the mouth, we allow the velum pendulum to drop and the air to vibrate through the cavities which connect the nose with the pharynx, we hear the nasal vowels (anunāsika).’ Thus च्र, छै. In the Vedas, the particle चाह is anunāsika. As चाह चाह चाह (Rig Veda. V. 48. 1); so also चाह चाह चाह चाह चाह (Rig Ved. VIII. 67. 11).

The consonants ढ, छ, झ, न and ङ are also anunāsika. Thus ढ is pronounced by the throat along with the nose, छ by the palate and nose, झ by the upper palate and nose; न by the teeth and nose, and ङ by the lip and nose.

The semi-vowels ढ, ष and ङ are also nasalised and are then called anunāsika. The term anunāsika is used in śūtra V. 1. 126 &c.

Why have we used the word "by the mouth"? This definition will not include anuvāra or the pure nasal, which is pronounced wholly through
the nose. Why have we used the word "by the nose"? In order to exclude
the consonants क, च, ट, द, प &c. &c., which are pronounced wholly and solely
through the mouth.

9. Those whose place of utterance and effort
are equal are called savarna or homogeneous letters.

This defines the word savarṇa or a homogeneous letter. The sūtra
consists of four words:—बुध्ग "equal or similar," बाल्व "mouth or place of
pronunciation," प्रवाह "effort" and शब्देत्रु "words of the same class."

The बाल्व or places or portions of the mouth by contact with which
various sounds are formed are chiefly the following:—1. कह "throat" 2.
लाबु "palate," 3. गुहा, (head,) 4. दन्ता "teeth," 5. घोडी 'lips,' 6. नाबिकता 'nose.'

The प्रवाह or quality or effort is of two sorts primarily, भावन्तर: “internal” and बाल्व "external." The first is again sub-divided into five parts:—
1. स्पूद्रत् or complete contact of the organs. The twenty-five letters
from क to म belong to this class. In pronouncing these there is a complete
contact of the root of the tongue with the various places, such as throat,
palate, dome of the palate, teeth and lip.

2. र्श्रस्त्रु or slight contact. The letters च, त, द, प belong to this
class of contacts. "In pronouncing these semi-vowels the two organs, the
active and passive, which are necessary for the production of all consonantal
noises, are not allowed to touch each other, but only to approach."

3. विश्रुत्व or complete opening. The vowels belong to this class.

4. र्ष्रस्त्रु विश्रुत्व or slight opening. The letters श्र, च, ख, ह belong to
this class. Some however place the vowels श्र &c., into one group and call
them all vivita.

5. संवन्द्रत् or contracted. In actual use, the organ in the enunciation
of the short श्र is contracted but it is considered to be open only, as in the case
of the other vowels, when the vowel श्र is in the state of taking part in some
operation of grammar.

The abhyantara prayatna is the mode of articulation preparatory to
the utterance of the sound, the bāhya-prayatna is the mode of articulation
at the close of the utterance of the sound.

The division of letters according to abhyantara prayatna has been
already given. By that we get, 1. the sparsa or mute letters, 2. the
antastha or intermediate between sparasas and ushmans, or semi-vowel or
liquid letters, 3. the svaras or vowels or vivrīta letters, 4. the uṣhmanas or sibilants or flatus letters.

The division of letters according to bāhya prayatna gives us first surds or aghoṣha letters, 2. sonants or ghōsha letters. The aghoṣha are also called svāsā letters, the ghōshas are called nāda letters.

The second division of letters according to bāhya prayatna is into:

The vowel ख has eighteen forms. The acute ख (udāṭta), grave ख (anudāṭta) and circumflexed ख (svarīta). Each one of these three may be nasalised (anunāsika), or not (niranunāsika).

Then lastly everyone of these six may be short, long, or prolated.
Thus:—अ, आ, ा, अ, आ, ा, आ, ा, आ, ा, आ, ा, आ, ा, आ, ा.

Similarly the letters र, ल and च have also eighteen forms. The letter च has no long form; it has therefore 12 modifications. The diphthongs have no short forms, they have therefore, only 12 forms. The antastha or semi-vowels with the exception of र have two forms each vis., nasalised and un-nasalised. The semi-vowels have no homogeneous letters corresponding to them. All letters of a varga or ‘class’ are homogeneous to each other.

Thus then the homogeneous or savaṇa letters must satisfy two conditions before they could be called savaṇa. First, their place of pronunciation or भास्य must be the same. Secondly their प्रच्छ or quality must be equal. If one condition be present and the other be absent, there can be no savaṇa-hood. Thus च and छ are both palatals, their भास्य or place of pronunciation being ताल ‘palate,’ but still they are not savaṇa, because their प्रच्छ is different, the प्रच्छ of छ being spīrīṣṭa and that of च being vivrīta.

Similarly क and ढ though their प्रच्छ is the same i.e., spīrīṣṭa, yet their भास्य being different, one being guttural and the other palatal, are not savaṇa.

There is exception to this rule in the case of छ and घ, which though having different भास्य are still called savaṇa by virtue of the vaṛttika of Kāṭyāyana; “the homogeneousness of छ and घ, one with another, should be stated.” Thus होड + लक्तार: = होटकार: ; here घ and छ have coalesced into long घ by rules of sandhi, on the assumption that they are savaṇa letters.

The word savaṇa occurs in sūtras like छः: छः छः छः: (VI. 1. 101).

Why do we say “the place of pronunciation”? So that there may not be homogeneous relationship between क्ष्ठ and ष whose prayatna is the same but whose द्य is different. What is the harm if we make them savaṇa? Then in words like स्तः and स्तदः, the ष would be elided, if it be held homogeneous with ष, by VIII. 4. 65, “there is optional elision of छ, preceded by a consonant, when a homogeneous छ छ follows.”
Why do we say “effort”? That there may be no homogeneity between ः and the palatals, and ṣ and ṣa, whose organ of pronunciation is the same, but whose prayatna is different. What harm if it be so? Then in प्रकृतीयोकलित, the ṣa would be elided before ṣ by the rule already referred to, VIII. 4. 65.

10. There is however no homogeneity between vowels and consonants, though their place and effort be equal.

This sūtra lays down an exception to the former sūtra. There can be no homogeneity or savarṇa relationship between vowels and consonants, though their ṣa and ṣ may be the same. Thus ṣ and ṣa have the same खास्य namely तानु ‘palate,’ and the same ताम्बः namely विविठा, but still they are not to be called savarṇa. Thus in द्रव्यस्य, संस्कृतिश्च &c., the letters ṣ and ṣa in the first example, and ṣ and ṣa in the second not being homogeneous letters, there is no combination or sandhi, which would otherwise have taken place.

Similarly if ṣ and ṣa be held homogeneous, then विष्याय + चा (IV. 3. 53) = विष्याय + चा (VI. 4. 148) ; here ṣa would be elided by VI. 4. 148, but it is not so and we have विष्याय: “belonging to vipāṣā or born therein.” So also in चानुनं “ox-skin,” the ṣa would have been omitted, if held homogeneous with चा.

11. A dual case affix ending in ṣa or ṣ or ṣa is called Pragrihyya, or excepted vowels which do not admit of sandhi or conjunction.

As a general rule, Sanskrit allows of no hiatus in a sentence. If a word ends in a vowel, and the next word begins with a vowel, the two vowels coalesce, according to certain rules. This is called sandhi. But pragrihyas are exceptions to this sandhi, “they are certain terminations, the final vowels of which are not liable to any sandhi rules.” (VI. 1. 125). This sūtra gives three of these terminations, viz., the duals of nouns or verbs ending in ṣa (हृत्र), Ś (क्लू), or ए (एष्ठ). Thus:—कोकी हेम “these two poets,” so also याृ “two winds;” माले हविं “these two garlands.” पश्चेष्टे हविं “they two cook” पश्चेष्टे हविं “you two cook.” Here according to the general rule of sandhi, the final ṣ of कर्ति and the initial ṣ of हेम ought to have coalesced into an ṣa, but it is not so, because कर्ति is the nominative dual of कर्ति.
Why do we say ending in थ, ध and ष? Because when the dual ends in any other vowel this rule will not apply. As ढुँसो + धर्म = पुलाय, “these two trees” (VI. 1. 78). Of course it follows from the definition, that ह, ध, or ष of the dual number only are pragrhiya; if these vowels terminate any other number they will not be pragrhiya but will follow the general rule of sandhi, as कुनारी (1. s.) + धर्म = नकुणायण, “the girl is here” (VI. 1. 77).

Vart: The prohibition of मनी &c., should be stated in treating of the pragrhiya nature of ह, ध &c. Thus मनी (two gems) + धर्म = मनीधर्म “like two gems.” So also मनीधर्म “like a couple,” मनीधर्म “like man and wife,” रोशनी “like heaven and earth.” Some say that this vārtika is unnecessary. Because the final member of the above words is not धर्म, but the particle धर्म only; which has the same meaning as धर्म.

12. (The same letters) after the ध of the pronoun धवस are Pragrhiya.

In the pronoun धवस, the dual termination in ह, ध or ष will be pragrhiya by force of the last सूत्र, but the present सूत्र makes this addition, that in the case of धवस, all terminations ending in ह, ध or ष and preceded by ध, of whatever number they may be, will be pragrhiya. As a matter of fact, there are only two such terminations satisfying the above conditions namely धवस and धवस. The rule may therefore be put in the following words of Dr. Max Muller—“The terminations of धवस and धवस nom. plur. masc. and nom. dual of the pronoun धवस are pragrhiya.” As धवस धवस: “Those horses,” and धवस धवस. There is no example of the word adas ending in ह.

Why do we say “of the word adas”? The letters ह, ध, ष following after the ह of any other word will not be pragrhiya. As धवस + धर्म = धवस “this sami tree.”

Why do we say “after the letter ध”? Because in the example धवस + धर्म = धवस, “those here,” the ह, preceded not by ह but by the ध of धवस (V. 3. 71) is not pragrhiya, which it would have been by the influence of सूत्र 11, which includes ह as well as ह and ध, and from which the word dual is not supplied here, else this rule would be useless.

13. The affix ध, (the Vedic substitute of the case-affixes), is a pragrhiya.

In the Vedic Sanskrit, the declension of nouns sometimes differs somewhat from the ordinary Sanskrit. One of the peculiar Vedic terminations, which
replace the ordinary declensional terminations is called श्र (VII. 1. 39.)
Thus परशुरामहस्तिः.
Of this substitute श्र, the initial श्र is indicatory, the real suffix being श्र.
This final श्र is a pragrihya.
In the sacred literature there is only one example of this pragrihya,
as given above; while in imitation of this, we have in secular writing phrases
as, स्वेदति, वर्जने हति, अनि हति &c.

निपात एकाश्चायाती । इह । पदाति । निपातः, एकाशः,
अनादः (प्रभु द्वादश) ।

हति: । एकधावाचर एकाशः निपातः एकाशः भावनातः श्र ग्रहणवंतो भवति ।

14. A particle I. 4. 56 consisting of a single vowel, with the exception of the particle श्र is a Pragrihya.

This sūtra consists of three words:—निपात: “particle,” एकाश: “consisting of one vowel,” अनादः “with the exception of श्र.”

All such particles technically called nipāta (I. 4. 56) which consist of a simple vowel without any consonant, are pragrihya and therefore are not liable to the rules of sandhi. As र हर्षः “Oh, Indra” र वाचि “O arise.”

It follows from the above definition that those nipātas which consist of two or more letters, vowel and consonant, are not pragrihya, e.g. श्र in आनमे श्राणीरेशः.

श्र which is not a pragrihya, has four significations:— As a diminutive particle when joined to adjectives and nouns, as श्र + रेषेः = श्रोषेः “little, hot, tepid” (2) as a prefix to verbs, it expresses the senses of “near” “nearto,” and with verbs of “motion,” “taking” &c., it shows the reverse of the action, as यावें ‘to go,’ यावें ‘to come;’ श्र + रेषेः = यावेः (3) as showing the limit indicative (आवश्यकिणिः) “from,” “ever since,” as यावें: “ever since his birth,” (4) as showing the limit exclusive (नावेः), “till” “until” as श्र + राधवनात् = श्राधवनात्, “until the reading begins.” When the particle श्र has not any one of the above four senses and is used in expressing regret &c., it is a pragrihya, as श्र + एवं किञ्चीति “Ah! such there once was,” श्र एवं मन्वे. “Oh! do you think so.”

The word एकाशः in this aporiaism has a peculiar meaning. It means “consisting of one vowel and nothing else.” In other words, the vowels themselves when used as निपात, e.g. यावे, एवं श्रे &c. But the term एकाशः has a wider signification than that given to it in this sūtra. It means “a word or a portion of a word consisting of one vowel which can be pronounced at once”—in other words एकाशः means “a syllable.” In that sense the words र, श्र, एवम् &c. will also be एकाशः, but not so here. Therefore the rule of sandhi will apply
to them, thus  ज्ञाने वाचनीरूऽ.  See sūtra VI. 1. 1. where the word  एकाच्  means a monosyllable.

Why do we say "a nipāta?" Because if the single vowel is not a particle, but something else, an affix &c., then it will not be a pragrihya, as the final  in  ज्ञान "he did," is the affix of third person perfect tense, and is liable to sandhi; as  ज्ञानार.

15. The final  of a particle is a pragrihya.

This sūtra consists of one word  ज्ञान the final  is a surplusage. The words "pragrihya" and "nipāta" are to be supplied from the preceding sūtras to complete the sense. The meaning is that those particles which end in  ज्ञान though consisting of several letters, are pragrihya. As  यही  ज्ञान हल्लो, गो अवयव.

संबुधी शाकल्यस्याध्यायापि १५॥ पदानि  संबुधी, शाकल्यस्य, इति, अनायः ( प्रवहाः ) ॥

२९वि  निमित्ते य ज्ञान:  शाकल्यस्याध्यायापि संबुधी गो यही  शाकल्यस्याध्यायापि ॥

16. The final  of the vocative singular (II. 3. 49) before the word  हवि  according to Sākalya, in secular or non-vedic literature, is pragrihya.

This sūtra gives the opinion of the Rishi Sākalya, so that it is an optional rule. Thus both forms  हवि (formed according to the general rule of sandhi) and  हवि (where  हवि  is pragrihya) are correct.

In ārsha literature the sandhi is imperative, not optional, as  हवि गा  श्रवणविहितविशिष्ठ.

The mention of the name of any sage, such as that of Sākalya in this sūtra, serves generally one of the two purposes:—(1) either it makes the rule an optional one, vībhāṣārtham, or (2) the mention is merely for the sake of showing respect to the particular sage, the rule would have stood as well without such mention; pujārtham, as the word Kāśyapa in sūtra I. 2. 25.

उग: २५॥ पदानि  उगः ( प्रवहाः शाकल्यस्याध्यायापि ) ॥

२५वि  उगः: प्रवहाः संस्कृता हवि  इति शाकल्यस्याध्यायापि संवेदन ॥

17. The particle  उग before  iti, according to Sākalya is a Pragrihya.

This sūtra consists of the single word  उग  meaning  उ . According to the same Rishi Sākalya,  उग  is a pragrihya, before  हवि, in modern Sanskrit. This is also an optional rule. Thus  हवि  or  इति.
18. The particle स replaces भम in non-vedic literature, and it is a prāgrihya in the opinion of Sakalya.

Before the word हृति the word भम is replaced sometimes by स the long nasal ट. Thus टे + हृति = से हृति or शष्ठि.

In some authorities the sūtras 17 and 18 form but one sūtra, and then it is divided by the method of yoga-vibhāga, the division of a single sūtra into two separate sūtras having two distinct rules.

19. The final √ and व of words giving the sense of the locative case are prāgrihya.

This sūtra finds its scope in the Vedic literature generally. There is a sūtra (VII. 1. 39) which declares that “in the Vedic Sanskrit, the case-affixes र are often replaced either by त (1. s.), or are altogether elided, or they are changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior letter, or च, or या, or श, or श, or या, or धा, or ध, or ध, or ध, or ध, or ध, or ध, and श takes their place.” Let us take the example where a case-affix is changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior. Thus the case-affix of the seventh case is हि (हि). In forming the 7. s. of भद्र “body,” we have भद्र + हि. The हि will be changed into a homogeneous letter with व and we have भद्र + व = भद्र “in the body,” as, भाष्यस्य मानशमहात्र (for मानशम मन्त्रध्व). This is the Vedic form, the secular form being सम्ब्रह्म. Similarly गीति + हि = गीति “on the Gauri,” as सोम गीति प्राध्येत (Rig Veda IX. 12. 3). It is in such cases, therefore, that the long त and ट are used in the sense of locative, and are prāgrihya.

It is only long त and ट which are prāgrihya, and not any other vowel, though used in the sense of locative. Thus by the same aphorism (VII. 1. 39) दा (आ) may be employed to denote the seventh case-affix. Thus धनि + कि = धनि + दा = धनि ‘in the fire,’ as, विबाय: दूरे दूर धनि भवाति व दयाया: दूरुस्तसयो शस्त्रयु (Rig Veda V. 37. 5). Here धनि though in the locative case, its final is not prāgrihya. Therefore धनि + हृति = धनि हृति.

The हृ and व must be of the 7th case. Therefore धनि + व (3rd s.) = धनि + हि (letter homogeneous with the prior) = वति ‘with wisdom’. Here हि is in the sense of the instrumental case and is not prāgrihya. Thus वति + हृति = वति हृति.
The word घृये is used in the aphorism, in order to exclude the application of this rule to cases like the following. Thus in forming the compound of साध्वः “in the well” and घृय घृ “horse,” the case-affix is elided, and we get घृयी घृय. Here, no doubt, the word घृयी is in the locative case, though the case-affix is elided; but we cannot say that the long घृ of घृपि has the sense of the locative. Here, therefore, we shall have sandhi; as, घृयः घृः “the horse near the well.” In other words, the present aphorism is not to apply to the final घृ or घृ of words standing as the prior member of a compound term (पृथ्व-पाडः); for words like घृयी एक्षी, in the above example, can never, by themselves and alone, denote the locative case; while words like शौरी, formed in the way described already, give the sense of the locative, even alone, though they be placed anywhere in a sentence.

20. The verbs having the form of दा ‘to give’ and धा ‘to place,’ are called ghu.

This defines the word ghu. Four verbs have the form of घृ, or assume it by the application of VI. 1. 45, and two, of घृ; they are called घृ. The ghu verbs have certain peculiarities of conjugation to be described hereafter.

The घृ verbs are the following:—क्रास्र “to give,” as प्रदिष्टस्यः; घृष “to give,” as, प्रदिष्टस्यः; हे “to cut” as, प्रदिष्टस्यः; घृष “to place” as, प्रदिष्टस्यः.

In the above examples, because of the verbs being घृ, the घृ of घृपि is changed into घृ by VIII. 4. 17.

Similarly घृष “to cut” and हृष “to clean” not being called घृ, rules VII. 4. 46 and 47 do not apply to them. Thus घृष “what is cut,” as, घृष घृवः. So also घृः “washed” as, घृवः घृवः “a bright face.” But with घृ “to give,” एक्षी घृष घृष (VII. 4. 46) = घृष ‘given;’ so also we have घृष घृष + घृष = घृष (VII. 4. 47). The word घृ occurs in sutra VI. 4. 66, &c. The word घृष includes also घृष of the paribhāṣā given under III. 4. 19, घृष घृष घृष घृष by VI. 1. 45.

21. An operation should be performed on a single letter, as upon an initial or upon a final.

This is an atidesa sutra and consists of four words, घारि “beginning,” घान्त “end,” घृष “like,” एक्षितम् “in one;” the literal translation being “beginning is end-like in one.” The affix घृष has the force of the locative, and the
meaning is "on the beginning," and "on the end," i.e., let an operation be performed on a single letter, as upon an initial or upon a final. Thus by III. 1. 3. an affix has udātta or acute accent on its initial vowel. Thus the affix tavya has accent on the first \( \dot{a} \), and we have \( \text{हौआयभू} \). But when an affix consists of a single vowel, it is itself the beginning and the end, and, as such, will have the accent. As in \( \text{धौनमवेय} \) aupagavam the last \( \dot{a} \) has the accent, which \( \dot{a} \) represents the affix \( \text{च्छ्र} \).

Similarly, by VII. 3. 102, the final of a base ending in short \( \dot{a} \) is lengthened before a case-affix beginning with a consonant of वस्त्र class. Thus \( \text{रत्र+धाम=रत्नाधम} \). This rule will apply when the word consists of one letter only, and that letter is a short \( \dot{a} \). Thus \( \text{य+धाम=धामधाम} \) "by those two." Here it must not be objected that the solitary \( \dot{a} \) is initial, and cannot be final.

Why do we say "in one"? If a word consists of more than one letter, then the beginning is not like the end. Thus in the word चम्म the initial short \( \dot{a} \) is not like the final long \( \dot{a} \); otherwise चम्म would get the name of चम्म (I. 1. 73), and the secondary derivative from चम्म would be formed by the affix \( \text{छ्र} \) (IV. 2. 114). But this is not so, the affix \( \text{छ्र} \) is employed instead, and the form is चम्मचम्म.

22. The affixes tarap and tamap are called \( \dot{a} \).

This sutra defines \( \dot{a} \) affixes. They are two, \( \dot{k} \) and \( \dot{n} \), the \( \dot{n} \) in them being \( \dot{a} \). The special use of these affixes will be described later on. These affixes are useful in forming the comparative and the superlative degrees respectively of adjectives, adverbs, &c. The base undergoes certain changes before these terminations, which will be treated of in its proper place.

Thus the words कुमारित म and कुमारिविन म are formed by adding the affixes \( \dot{a} \) and \( \dot{n} \) to the word कुमारी 'a girl,' whose long \( \dot{a} \) is shortened before these affixes by sutra 43 of the third chapter of the 6th Book.

23. The words balu 'many,' gara 'class,' and the words ending in the affix vatu (V. 2. 39), and dati (V. 2. 41) are called numerals (sankhya).
This sūtra defines the word saṅkhyā, or numeral. These are certain words, besides the ordinary numerals, having some peculiarity of declension. The words like बहु 'many,' and गण 'class,' and those that have the affixes वर्ग and भवि after them, belong to this class. The letters र and र of बहु and भवि are or indicative, the actual affixes being बहु and भवि.

The word saṅkhyā means "numerals," and this class contains, among others, the Sanskrit numerals. The words formed by adding बहु are generally compound pronouns, e.g. तारण "so much," चारण "as much," एवारण "so much," similarly words formed by the affix चत्वारि, e.g. कश "how many," चत्वारि "so many," चत्वारि "as many."

Thus बहु + क्रृत्तभु (V. 4. 17) = बहुक्रृत्तभु: "many times" the affix क्रृत्तभु being added only to saṅkhyā words in the sense of the repetition of the action. So also बहु + भा (V. 3. 42) = बहुभा "in many ways." Here also the affix भा is added by virtue of बहु being a saṅkhyā. Similarly बहु (V. 1. 22) "purchased for a big sum," बहु (V. 4. 43) "manifold." So also गणक्रृत्त; गणभा; गणक; गणा; so also तात्त्वकभा; तात्त्व; तात्त्वभा; कलिकभा; कलिक; कलिक.

When the words बहु and गण mean "abundance" and "multitude" they are not saṅkhyā. It is only when they are expressive of numbers, that they get the designation of saṅkhyā. The necessity of defining saṅkhyā arose in order to exclude such words as, भूरि "numerous," &c., which though they express numbers, are not to be treated as "numerals," technically so called.

Vart:—The word पञ्च "half" when standing as a first term in a compound number which takes an affix giving the sense of an ordinal, gets the designation of saṅkhyā, for the purposes of the application of the rules of saṃsa, and of the affix क्रृत्त. The ordinal affixes or पुराṇ ध्रायास are like चत्वारि (V. 2. 48), चत्वारि (V. 2. 49), चत्वारि (V. 2. 51), &c. Thus चत्वारि: "eleventh," पंचम: "fifth," चत्वारि: "fourth," &c. Similarly we have पञ्चमशु (V. 4. 51), a bahuviṣṭi compound meaning 4½ baskets (a dvigu). Here पञ्च + पञ्चम (an ordinal) = पञ्चमशु, a bahuviṣṭi compound meaning 4½, viz., that in which half is the fifth term. पञ्चमशु: चारि = पञ्चमशु: the taddhita affixes चारि and चारि required by V. 1. 19 and 26 being elided by V. 1. 28.

Here, there is compounding (dvigu) by taking पञ्चमशु as a saṅkhyā, and then applying sūtra II. 1. 51. The saṃsa here is in the sense of taddhita, and this compounding is only possible by rules (II. 1. 50 and 51), when पञ्चमशु gets the appellation of saṅkhyā. Having got this name, it forms dvigu compound in the sense of the taddhita affixes चारि and चारि (V. 1. 26). The word चारि takes both these affixes in the sense of "being
bought with." Thus चौध्रेविक्रम and श्वेत्त्र both mean "bought with a measure called सूर्पा." In the above compound of प्रतिरेंचनपूर्वे: the sense is that of the above-named taddhita; but the affixes have been elided by V. 1. 28 after dvīgu compounds. So also we have प्रतिरेंचनपर्व: by applying the affix कन्त्र. For these two purposes, namely samāsa and the application of कन्त्र, compounds of artha, like artha-paṭichama are treated as saṅkhyā.

शान्ताः पद् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ध-प-अन्त, पद्, (शंख्या) ॥

इति: ॥ पयात्रान्त नक्यान्त पद् या शंख्या एां पद्यान्त भवविः ॥

24. The Sankhyās having ष or ष as their final are called shat.

This sūtra defines the term ष which is a subdivision of the larger group saṅkhyā. Those saṅkhyās which end in ष or ष are called ष. The word saṅkhyā is understood in this sūtra, because the word षान्ताः is in the feminine gender, showing that it qualifies saṅkhyā which is also feminine.

The numerals that end in ष or ष are six, namely पंचचुः 'five,' षष्ठ 'six,' सप्ताः 'seven,' अष्टाः 'eight,' नवाः 'nine,' दशाः 'ten.'

It is one of the peculiarities of ष words that they lose their nominative and accusative plural terminations (VII. 1. 22). Thus पदा विद्यनि, पंच सवस्त्रिििि.

The word पदा in the sūtra shows that the letters ष and ष must be aupadeśika i.e., must belong to the words as originally enunciated and not added afterwards as affix &c. Thus in पतानि 'hundreds,' चंद्राणि 'thousands,' चालानि 'of eights' the ष is not radical, but an augment, and therefore they are not ष and the nominative and accusative plural terminations are not elided; as शान्ताः + ष = शान्तानि &c.

इति ष ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हति, ष, (शंख्या, पद्) ॥

इति: ॥ पदानि या शंख्या एां पद्यान्त भवविः ॥

25. And the saṅkhyās ending with the affix ष are called shat.

This sūtra enlarges the scope of the definition of ष by including in it, words formed by ष. By sūtra 22, words in ष are already saṅkhyā; by this they are also ष. Therefore we have कष पवित्रि, 'how many are reading,' कष पवित्रि 'see how many.' Here कष has lost its plural termination by VII. 1. 22.

ष-षयो निष्ठा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ष-षयो, निष्ठा ॥

इति: ॥ षय पद्यानि षयान्त निष्ठानि भवविः ॥

26. The affixes kta and ktavatu are called Nishṭā.
This defines the nishtha affixes, that is to say, the affixes of the past participle. The actual affixes are त, सत्ति, the क and त being indicatory. They being किति are liable to all the rules applicable to किति affixes, such as rule I. 1. 5. Thus we have, कुसः, कुसविन्य, सुन्य; सुनसविन्य.

The force of the indicatory त in kavatu is, by IV. 1. 6, to indicate that in forming the feminine of nouns ending in an affix having an indicatory vowel of उक pratayahāra (उ, स, ल), the affix हारु (ह) must be added. Thus नवकव (masc.), नवसव (fem.). The word nishtha occurs in sūtra VII. 2. 14.

बर्धारीनि बर्धनाजानि ॥ २५ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ सर्व-वार्धारीनि,
बर्धनाजानि ॥

अः || सर्ववार्धा पारिवेंद्रानानानि वर्धारीनि वर्धनाजानि वर्धजनानि वर्धनिविन्य ॥

27. The words sarvā, ‘all,’ and the rest are called sarvanāma or pronouns.

This defines sarvanāma or pronominals. To know what are the other words comprised in the phrase ‘and the rest’ we must refer to Pāṇini’s Gaṇapātha where a list of all groups referred to in the sūtras, is given. Thus we know from it, that the following are sarvanāma:—

सर्व ‘all,’ सव िर्व ‘all,’ सव ‘two,’ सव ‘both,’ words formed by the affix उत्तर such as क्तति ‘which of two,’ words formed by the affix उत्तम as क्तम ‘which of many,’ जान ‘other,’ जानव ‘either,’ जान ‘other,’ सति ‘other,’ सति ‘other,’ जान ‘half,’ सम ‘all,’ सम ‘whole,’ सति ‘he, she, it,’ सति ‘he, she, it,’ नति ‘who,’ नति ‘this,’ नति ‘it,’ नति ‘that,’ नति ‘one,’ नति ‘two,’ नति ‘you,’ नति ‘I,’ नति ‘you,’ किमि ‘what.’ So also यी ‘east,’ प्रिम ‘prior,’ पर ‘subsequent,’ सव ‘west or posterior,’ सव ‘south or right,’ सव ‘north or inferior, subsequent,’ सव ‘other or inferior,’ सव ‘west or inferior,’ are sarvanāmas when they imply a relation in time or place, as shown above, and not when they are names. So also िर्व when it does not mean a ‘kinsman or a treasure,’ but means ‘own.’ So also िर्व when it means ‘outer,’ or ‘an under or lower garment’ is a sarvanāma.

There are certain peculiarities in the declension of sarvanāma words. Thus िर्व though ending in िर्व, is not declined like िर्व which also ends in िर्व, the plural of िर्व being िर्व, that of िर्व being िर्व:... Similarly the dative singular िवाय, िवाय; the abl. sing. िवाय, िवाय; the loc. sing. िवाय, िवाय; the Gen. pl. िवायाप, िवायाप &c.

The compounds (with certain exceptions) ending in these words are also sarvanāmas. The word ििि ‘both’ is always used in the dual number as ििि, ििि. The object of its being inserted in the list of pronominals, (whilst its declension does not differ from that of ि) is its taking the augment शान्ति (V. 3. 71) which it could not have taken, if it were not a pronominal.
as बनकृ. Another object gained by its being so called, is the application of II. 3. 27, by which a pronominal may take the case-affix of the 3rd case or the 6th case in denoting cause.

There are two ख in the above list, namely, खु and ख having the same meaning, and both ending in ख. But the final ख of one is udātta, and of the other anudātta. Some give खु only and not the other, and say that both have anudātta accent. The word मनु is a sarvanāma, when it is synonymous with the word सर्व ‘all,’ and not when it means ‘equality.’ When it has the latter sense of ‘equality,’ it is declined like नक i.e. like ordinary words ending in ख, as Pāṇini himself indicates in I. 3. 19, where he uses the regular genitive plural शमनात, meaning ‘among or of equals.’ As a pronominal the genitive plural would have been सभेमात.

The above words sarva &c. are not to be treated as pronouns when they are used as appellatives. For example, if खु खु be the name of a person then it will be declined like ordinary nouns, as सर्वेऽखु शेखर ‘give to Sarva (a person’). Here the dative singular is regularly formed. Similarly when these words are so compounded with others as to lose their original independent character, namely when they are शमनात, they are not treated as sarvanāma, but follow the regular declension, as याध्वव सर्वेऽखु शेखर ‘give to (him who is) above all.’ Here in the compound खुवे सर्वेऽखु शेखर ‘Above-all’ or ‘Supreme Being,’ the word खु loses its independent character and defines and determines the sense of another word. Fuller explanation of the word upasajana will be given later on in I. 2. 43. This term खेवनाभ is an खमनाभए that is a term the application of which accords with its meaning.

विन्यासं दिक्कात्मकेये बहुत्रीत्रीये || २८ || पदाविकन्त विन्यासं, दिक्कात्मकेये, बहुत्रीत्री, ( श्वावदीन, श्वेनासानि ) ||

विन्यासं दिक्कात्मकेये विन्यासानि श्वावदीन, श्वेनासानि ||

28. The above words are optionally sarvanāma when they occur in a bahuvrihi compound signifying direction (II. 2. 26.)

This is an exception to sūtra 29 which follows. As a general rule (see sūtra 29), in bahuvrihi compounds, these words sarva &c. are declined like ordinary nouns. The present sūtra declares an option to this, in special cases relating to compounds signifying direction. Thus the bahuvrihi compound of direction उत्तरपूर्व ‘north-east’ may form its dative case as a pronominal, e.g. उत्तरपूर्वाये or it may form its dative like ordinary words ending in ख, i.e. उत्तरपूर्वाये. So श्वापूर्वाये or श्वापूर्वाये.
Why do we say "when signifying a direction"? The next sūtra will enjoin that in bahuvrihi compounds, these words are not treated as pronominals. Therefore, if in the present sūtra, we had not used the word रिक, it would have been impossible to know where there was option and where prohibition. By employing the word "direction," it is thus determined, that in a samāsa, relating to direction (II. 2. 26), there is allowed option, while there is prohibition in all other kinds of bahuvrihi compounds.

Why do we say "in compound"? So that the option may be in that bahuvrihi which is purely samāsa, and in no other bahuvrihi. There is no option allowed in that bahuvrihi where there is a semblance of bahuvrihi but not exact bahuvrihi.

The quasi-bahuvrihi, or analogical bahuvrihi compounds, or to use the Sanskrit phrase, bahuvrihi-vadbāva, is taught in sūtra VIII. 1. 9. where words in repetition are treated like bahuvrihi. Thus एक + एक = एक-एक अर्थे 'one and one, each one.' Bahuvrihi compounds are possessive compounds, but in the above example, no idea of possession enters. However the compound here is treated like a bahuvrihi, for the purposes of the elision of the case-affix of the first member, and the whole compound gets the designation of prātipadika. In compounds like this, therefore, which are bahuvrihi-vat, but not exactly bahuvrihi, the present rule and the succeeding sūtra do not apply. Thus एकाएक अर्थे give to each one,' शतिकाकाकाः सूत्रेः अर्थे.

Why do we say "in the bahuvrihi"? So that there may be no option in the dvandva compound. Thus शतिकाकाः सूत्रेः अर्थे 'of the south, north and east.' The prohibition in the case of dvandva by rule 31 is absolute and invariable.

न बहुव्रीहिः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, बहुव्रीहिः, (सब्दोपनि, सब्द-नामावि, समावे) ॥

श्रसिः ॥ बहुव्रीहिः समावे सब्दसीनि सब्दनामसंस्तानि न भक्ति ॥

29. The words sarva &c., are not sarvanāma when occurring in a bahuvrihi compound.

As a general rule (see sūtra 72), when any definition, rule, operation &c. is made applicable to a particular word, the same would also apply to any other word which ends in that word. Thus the plural of man being 'men' in English, the plural of blackman will be blackmen. So the definition of sarvanāma given to sarva &c., separately, will also apply to the words ending in sarva &c.

This sūtra introduces thus an exception to sūtra 27. In bahuvrihi or possessive compounds, the nature of which compounds will be described
Later on, the above mentioned words are not pronominals, and must follow
the ordinary rule of declension. Thus the compound विश्वरीष्म meaning
'beloved of all' is a bahuvrhi compound of विश 'beloved,' and रीष 'all,'
(which is a sarvanâma). The declension of this compound will follow the
general rule. Thus, in the dative singular, we have विश्वरीष्म, though the
dative singular of रीष by itself is रीष, like other pronominals. So also
विश्वरीष्म "to him who is beloved of both." So also रीष, रीष &c.

Similarly in bahuvrhi compounds, these words not being treated as
pronominals, they do not take also the special affix यक्ष, but the general
affix कन्य. As, स्वस्तकिन्यको, रस्तविन्यको (V. 3. 70).

Though the word bahuvrhi was present in this sūtra by anuvṛtti
from the last aphorism, the object of using the word bahuvrhi again in this
sūtra, is this:—that the prohibition may apply to those expressions also
which are no longer bahuvrhi, but whose original components were once
bahuvrhi. Thus the words स्वत्त्वन्तरा and स्वहन्तरे are bahuvrhi compounds;
but when these two words are further compounded into a dvandva compound,
the present rule still applies. As, स्वत्त्वन्तरावत्त्वन्तरा: II

गुतियासमादे II 30 II पद्रानि II सुतीयासमादे, (स्वस्तकिन्य
स्वस्तकिन्य, न, ) II

प्रवचन: II गुतियासमादे स्वस्तकिन्य स्वनामसंधानि न भवानि II

30. In Instrumental Determinative Com-
ounds the words sarva &c. are not sarvanâma.

This is another exception to the definition of sarvanâma. There is
a class of compounds in Sanskrit called tatpurusha compounds, in which
the last word governs the preceding one. The word governed may be in any one
of the six cases: when it is in the third or instrumental case, the com-
 pound is called tritulya tatpurusha. When, therefore, there is such a samâsa,
the words mentioned in sūtra 26 are not to be declined like pronominals.
Thus the word नास्सूः is a compound of नास and पूः - नास्सूः meaning 'prior by
a month,' where the word मास is in the instrumental case. This compound
will be declined like ordinary words, e.g. its dative will be मासपूः, though the
dative of पूः, when standing by itself, is पूः; so also संवत्सरपूः.

The tritulya-samâsa of the present sūtra has reference to the special
tritulya-samâsa ordained by the particular sūtra II. 1. 31. namely, "that which
ends with the 3rd case affix, is compounded with the words पुर्वा, साद्रिषा,
सामा, &c." and has not reference to the tritulya-samâsa in general, such as one
ordained by II. 1. 32, "that which ends with the 3rd case-affix when it denotes
the agent or the instrument, is compounded diversely with what ends in a
krit affix." Therefore, in phrases शब्दका कुथे ‘done by thee,' शब्दका कुर्वे ‘done by me,' these words are treated as pronominals, though in the instrumental case followed by a word ending in a krit-affix. In other words, reading this sūtra with II. 1. 31, we find that pūrva is the only sarvanāma which is so compounded, and to which only the present sūtra would seem to apply.

The word समाख may appear to have been mentioned redundantly, as it has already been mentioned in the previous sūtra, the primary object of the sūtra authors being to shorten the rules by the keeping out of every unnecessary word. But here, the word समाख has been repeated, to show that even in phrases like नावेन पूर्वेव, though not a compound, but used in construction with an instrumental case, the word पूर्वे is not a sarvanāma, that is to say, the prohibition extends even to phrases, which bear the sense of the instrumental compound, though not exhibited in the form of the instrumental compound.

हन्दे च II 31 II पदानि II हन्दे, च. (सवादीनि, सवेनासानि,
समासे, न) II

श्रिः II हन्दे च समासे सवादीनि सवेनासवेनानि न भविष्टि II

31. And in Collective Compound, II. 2. 26 the words sarva &c., are not sarvanāma.

This sūtra mentions another exception. In collective compounds the above words are not sarvanāma. Dvandva is a compound in which two words are simply joined together, the compound taking the terminations of the dual or plural according to the number of compounded words, or the terminations of the singular, being treated as a collective term. Thus, the compound वर्णाभेवेत means, वर्ण ‘the castes,' अभेव ‘the orders’ and इत्यत ‘the others’. The word इत्यत in this compound is not to be treated as a sarvanāma, but an ordinary word. Therefore, in the genitive plural we have:—वर्णाभेवेतरणानि and not इत्यतरणानि. So also पूर्वपराशाय ‘of the priors and the posteriors.’

The word च ‘and' in the sūtra indicates that it closes the list of exceptions or prohibitions that began with sūtra. 29.

विभाषा जशि II 32 II पदानि II विभाषा, जशि, (सवादीनि,
सवेनास, हन्दे समासे, न ) II

श्रिः II हन्दे समासे जशि विभाषा सवादीनि सवेनासवेनानि न भविष्टि II

32. (Their dvandva compounds) are optionally sarvanāma when the nominative plural termination jas follows.

This is a proviso to sūtra 31, and declares that before the termination जस (which is the termination of the nominative plural, as we shall find later on, and which in the pronominals is replaced by श्री), the dvandva
compounds may be treated either as sarvanāmas or as ordinary words. Thus the plural of वर्णानेतर may be either वर्णानेतरा or वर्णे, that is, the word may take either ज्ञु or शी.

This sūtra governs the four succeeding sūtras. The option allowed in the case of the application of the affix ज्ञु 1st pl. to the dvandva compounds of pronominals, does not extend to the dvandva compounds of pronominals which take the affix चक्र (V. 3. 71). There the sūtra 31 is absolute. Thus, कतर + कतमक = कतरकतमक (in the plural). This affix चक्र comes before the last vowel, with what follows it, of the pronominals and indeclinables.

33. And also the words prathama 'first'; charama 'last,' words ending with the affix taya (V. 2. 42); alpa 'few' ardha 'half' katipaya 'some,' and nema 'half' are optionally sarvanāma, before the nom. pl. termination.

Thus we have यमे or प्रमा, चणे or चरमा, ख़ल्ले or खल्ल, ड़ौँ or डाँ, कतिपये or कतिपया, नेम नेमा, विभाय वर्णनामं भविष्यति।

The words "optionally when the affix ज्ञु follows" are understood in this sūtra. The governing force of the word "dvandva" does not extend to this, and stops at this. By the word तव in the aphorism, is meant words ending in the affix चक्र. The rest are prātipadikas or crude bases. The word नेम has already been enumerated among the pronominals, therefore, the option in its case, is what is called prāpta-vibhāsa, the result of which will be that though in the nom. pl. it may be declined like नर, the rest of its declension is like sarva, while in the case of prathama &c. the nom. pl. may be like sarva, but the rest of their declension must be like that of nara. The word ubhaya, has been formed by the addition of the affix तव, and it is already enumerated in the list of pronominals, therefore, by the present sūtra its nom. pl. admits of two forms.

The application of the affix kan or akach must depend upon the nature of these words, if pronominals, then akach, otherwise kan.
34. The words पुर्व 'prior,' पारा 'after,' अवरा 'posterior,' दक्षिण 'south,' उत्तरा 'north,' अपरा 'other,' and अधरा 'inferior,' when they discriminate relative position, not when they are appellatives, are optionally sarvanāma before the affix jas.

These seven words have already been mentioned in the list of sarvanāmas. They are always sarvanāmas, when they have the meaning given to them in the list, i.e., when they imply a relation in time and space, but when used in any other sense than the one which has been determined or fixed for them, they are not sarvanāmas, nor are they so when they are used as appellatives (का). Thus, when the word शतिष्ठा means 'clever,' it is not a sarvanāma, as, शतिष्ठा है गाथ्रा: 'these clever minstrels,' similarly in बस्त्रा: बुर्ज: 'the northern Kurus,' the word उत्तर is not a pronominal, for though it declares a direction, it is a proper noun.

When these seven words are sarvanāma, they are declined like sarva, except in the nominative plural, when they may be declined either as sarvanāmas, or as ordinary nouns. The option allowed in the case of these words is a प्राभविब्हासा.

That there is a 'specification' (niyama), or tacit implication, of a determinate point (avadhi), with reference to which something is to be described by the word itself, is what we mean when we say "that a relation in time or place (avasthā) is implied." For example, if we wish to describe Benares as being southern (dakshina), to do this, we may specify some point, say one of the peaks of the Himalayas with reference to which Benares may be described as a "place to the southward." Again we in the north may thus speak of the people to the south of the Vindhya mountains, as being southern, not with reference to the inhabitants of Ceylon, but with reference (as every one here understands by tacit implication) to us ourselves, who live to the north the Vindhya range. Thus, (पूर्व or पूर्वोऽ, प्रवर्ता or प्रवर्ता; प्रवर्ता or पर: ) शतिष्ठे or शतिष्ठा: ; उत्तरे or उत्तार: ; प्रवर्ते or प्रवर्ता: ; प्रवर्ते or प्रवर्ता:.

35. The word sva 'own,' when it does not mean a kinsman or property is optionally sarvanāma before the affix jas.

The word श्र when it does not mean a ता: 'kinsman' or वन 'property' or 'wealth' is always a sarvanāma, in every number and case, as it has been
enumerated among the pronominals, except in the nominative plural where it is optionally so. Thus स्वाते: or स्वा: सुत्रा: ‘one’s own sons,’ स्वा: गाव: or गाव: ‘one’s own cows’.

But when it means ‘kinsmen’ or ‘articles of property’ त्वा: alone is the nom. pl. As, द्वा: ज्ञातो ‘these kinsmen’ भूत्वा: त्वा: ‘much riches’.

अन्तरं बहिःपोथथपत्त्यनामोऽऽ: ्कृ || पदार्थ || अन्तरम्भ-वही-प्रेग्न-पप्त्यनामोऽऽ: ( बिभाषा, जाति, सबोद्धनि, सब्भनामानि ) ||

पुनः: अन्तरस्यस्तिर्मित्वंस्यं विभाषा जाति संब्याजसं न्याति वहेयां उपस्याबाने गण्यानि ||

वाचिकम् ॥ *वरतीत ज वर्त्याः* ॥
वाचिकम् ॥ *विभाषा भवत्रची तीव्रेंबा व विश्व संब्याजस्वत्वंब्यानूः* ॥

36. The word any anta being always a sarvanāma, when meaning “outer” or “a lower garment,” is optionally so before the affix jas.

The word अन्तर when it means वहिःपोथ, *vis.*, ‘outer’ is always sarvanāma, so also, when it means उपस्याबान or ‘a lower garment.’ Thus, अन्तरम्भ गुहा: or अन्तरम्भ गुहा: ‘outer houses, the residence of Chandal, and other low castes.’ So अन्तरम्भ or अन्तरम्भ शास्त्राः: ‘the inner garments, such as petticoats worn under the upper garments.’ The word अन्तर when used in the above sense is always sarvanāma, but in the nominative plural, it is optionally so. But, when it is not used in the above senses, it is never a sarvanāma, e.g., मामचोरोंतरे वसवत ‘he lives between the two villages,’ where the regular locative is अन्तरे.

With this sūtra ends the section on sarvanāmas, which began with sūtra 26.

Vart.:—The word अन्तर when qualifying the word पुरी: ‘a city,’ is not to be treated as a sarvanāma, and is, therefore, declined like ordinary nouns. As, अन्तराविण पुरी: वसवत ‘he lives out of the city.’

Vart.:—The words formed by the affix स्वाति: such as, द्वातीसन and द्वातीसन, are optionally declined as sarvanāma before the case-affixes having an indicatory क्ष (क्ष्य), which are the singular terminations of dative, ablative, genitive and locative, as, द्वातीसन or द्वातीसन, द्वातीसन or द्वातीसन.

खरादि निपातसाःमत्यन्तम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदार्थ ॥ स्वर-अदि, निपातस्य,

अवभयवः ॥

पुनः: खरादीसी बहिःपोथपत्त्यनामाश्चापत्त्यनामाश्च भवत्वः ॥

37. The words svar ‘heaven,’ &c., and the particles (I. 4. 56) are called indeclinables.

This defines avyaya or indeclinables. The words स्वर &c. must be found out from the Ganaपात्वा; they are the following:—

स्वर ‘heaven,’ अन्तर ‘midst,’ प्राति ‘in the morning,’ पुनर् ‘again,’ सन्तत ‘in concealment,’ स्वप्न ‘high, aloft’ गुपत ‘low, down,’ दानेश ‘slowly,’ सर्वकः
'rightly, separately, aside, singly, particularly, truly,' बत्रे 'except, without,' नेष्टु 'at the same time, at once,' चारात 'near, far from, directly.' प्रयत्न 'separately, apart,' तात्त्व 'yesterday,' तात्त्व 'to-morrow,' हिंद 'by day,' रात्रि 'by night or in the night,' सावन 'at eve,' लिखित 'long, long since, a long time,' नात्र 'a little,' इत्यादि 'slightly, a little,' शृेत 'ever,' शोभ 'gladly,' अनेक 'silently,' बाह्य 'outside,' चारित्र 'below, without, outside. सनात 'near,' निक्रम 'near, hard, close by,' स्वयं 'of one's self,' पहर 'in vain,' नात्र 'at night, by night,' नात्र 'negative particle, not,' नात्र 'for this reason, by reason of,' अक्त 'truly, really' हे हे 'exclamation,' बत्र 'evidently, truly,' लाबि 'half,' नात्र 'enclitic like, as ब्राह्मणोवत, priestly,' सनात 'perpetually,' उष्ण 'division,' तिरु 'crookedly, awry, over,' जन्त्र 'perpetually,' उष्ण 'except, without' स्वयं, बत्र 'long,' क्रिय 'expletive particle,' अस्ति 'ease,' लाबि 'perpetually,' शाह 'suddenly, hastily,' शाह 'without,' नात्र 'variously,' शाह 'greeting, peace,' शाह 'exclamation, oblation to Manes,' भृत 'enough,' लाव 'exclamation,' शृेत 'interjection' 'oblation of butter,' जन्त्र 'again, moreover, otherwise.' शाह 'being present,' उष्ण 'in a low voice, secretly, privately,' चतु 'patience, pardon,' ब्रह्मणव 'aloft in the air,' शृेत 'at night or in the evening,' उष्ण, निक्रम 'falsely,' उष्ण 'in vain,' पुर 'formerly,' निक्रम 'mutually, together,' शृेत 'frequently, almost,' शृेत 'again, repeatedly' जन्त्र 'or जन्त्र 'at the same time,' बायेक 'violently' जन्त्र 'repeatedly,' नात्र or जन्त्र 'with' नात्र, 'reverence,' तिरु 'without,' तिरु 'fie!' चप 'thus,' अत्र 'with fatigue,' अत्र 'alike,' प्राची 'widely,' ना, नात्र 'do not.'

So, also the words formed by the affixes ktv atosun, kasun, by the krit affixes ending in य or य, दे, बो or बो, and the avyayabhava compounds, are indeclinables. So, also the words formed by the affixes beginning with तविज्ञ (V. 3. 7) and ending with पार (V. 3. 47), by the affixes beginning with श्र (V. 4. 42) and ending with सारसत: (V. 4. 68), by the affixes कुलवर्ष, इत्यादि, बायेक and शृेत by the affixes having the sense of the affix र, or by the affixes शृेत or शृेत, शृेत or शृेत, शृेत or नात्र are also indeclinables.

The words called nipa will be given under stricta, I. 4, 56 to 61. Thus a word which changes not (न रति), remaining alike in the three genders and in all cases, and in all numbers, is what is termed an शर्यप or indeclinables.

तद्वितयायविविधतिः II 38 II पदार्थः II तत्त्वः च, अवयव-विविधतः:

वृंचिः II तत्त्वातः: चावृंचिस्तविविधितस्तविविधतः भवति II

38. And the words ending in taddhita or secondary affixes (IV. 1. 76.) which are not declined in all the cases are also indeclinables.
This expands the definition of avyaya. There are three words in the sūtra taddhitaḥ, cha and asarva-vibhaktiḥ. Taddhitas or secondary affixes are certain affixes, by which nouns are derived from other nouns, such as, from मृग we have मृत्त:, skarva-vibhaktis are those words which take all case-terminations, asarva-vibhaktis are those which do not take all vibhaktis but some only. Thus the adverb तत्त: is declined in the singular ablative only, and does not take the dual and plural terminations.

Those derivative words which do not take all the case-terminations, but only some of them and which are formed by the addition of Taddhita affixes are indeclinables. As तत्त: 'thence,' तत्त: 'there.' Both these words are formed by taddhita affixes from the pronoun तत्त: 'that,' the one is used in the ablative case only and the other in the locative. So also तत्त:, तत्त:, तत्त:, तत्त:, तत्त: &c.

कमस्यान्तः || ३९ || पद्यिनी || कतृष्ठ, म-एम-अन्त: (अष्टवयस्)

वृन्ति: || कृष्णो मकाराः। एन्न्यथा वहनवं श्याधिकारवर्त्तं शर्मिनव।

39. The words formed by those krit or primary affixes, (III. 1. 93) which end with म or in न, शे and छै are also indeclinables.

All affixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds:—1. Those by which nouns are derived directly from roots: Primary affixes. 2. Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns: Secondary affixes. The former are called krit, the latter, taddhita.

Words formed by krit affixes which end in म or शे, छै, जै, or छै (connote by the pratyahara ए) are avayyas. Thus the affix युत्र (technically युत्र) and युत्र (technically युत्र, III. 3. 10) are affixes which end in म. The words formed by the addition of these affixes will be indeclinables. Thus युत्र 'to give,' and युत्र 'remembering' are avayyas. So also words like जीवंते 'to live,' पित्रवं 'to drink,' are also avayyas as they end in शे, &c.

Thus, in the following examples, the words within quotation are avayyas 'स्वादुकारः,' 'स्वाच्छकारः,' 'स्वाच्छकारः,' 'स्वाच्छकारः,' शूष्णः, 'he eats first having made it relishing' (III. 4. 26). "वसे" राव: (युत्र + शे III. 4. 9 = शूष्णः); ता 'शूष्णः,' एण्णात्तूत्र रचितंगिः (ि + शे=एण्णः. Rig Veda V. 66. 3). तर्क वाते शान्ते जीवंते शान्ते जीवंते भीरास्त्रेयद्दिन इस शिष्मित्रिः (Rig Veda III. 36. 10). शान्त: शूष्णः नवपेण नवदे नन। स्वादुः शूष्णः इति(?), (Rig Veda L. 25. 21, शूष्ण + केन्तृ III. 4. 11 शूष्णः).

The word तत्त: is used in this sūtra for the same purpose, as it was employed in sūtra 24, showing that these terminations must be (saupadesika) and not derivative. Therefore the following words are not avayyas:—कापिते (d. s.), चापिते (g. s.) पितापिते (शीतीपिते; विदितीपिते; कुम्भकारिते; मग्नागारिते; तत्त: || पद्यिनी || क्षत्र, तत्तःकुम्भः। (अष्टवयस्) ||

पृष्टि: || क्षत्र तत्तः कुम्भः श्याधिकारवर्त्तं शर्मिनव॥
40. The words ending with *ktva*, *tosun* (III. 4. 16) and *kasun* are indeclinables.

As कृप्या 'having done' उद्देश्य: 'having risen,' विसूचः: 'having spread.' Thus in the following examples the words within quotation are indeclinables:—पुरातने 'स्वतंत्री' रापेऽय, पुरातनस्से 'मापाक्तरः,' पुरातनन्दः 'विसूचः' विरिवन्नुरः शास्त्राय पृष्ठः जीवनसत्तुः. (Yajur Veda. I. 28) च स्तो विनिभिः: पुरा जर्जेष्य 'साधुः.' (Rig Ved. VIIIa. 1. 12).

अवयवीभावण || वृद्धि || अवयवीभावण: -ि (अवयव) ||

41. (The compound called) अवयविभावा (II. 1. 5) is also indeclinable.

The Avayavibhava or adverbial or indeclinable compounds are formed by joining an indeclinable particle with another word. The resulting compound, in which the indeclinable particle forms generally the first element, is again indeclinable, and generally ends, like adverbs, in the ordinary terminations of the nominative or accusative neuter. Thus बन्धिरि 'upon Hari,' अनुरूपप्रमान 'after the form *ी,* *ि,* accordingly.'

The word च in the sutra shows that here ends the definition of avyaya. The avyayas, therefore, are all those words which are comprised in the above five sutras.

What is the object gained by making the avayavibhava compounds avyayas? Three objects are gained, by making these compounds, indeclinables, viz., we can apply to them (1) the rule relating to the elision (जूठ) of the case- affixes and feminine affixes, i.e., sutra II. 4. 82 thus, in the following example, the words upāgni and pratyagni though qualifying the word शालव, do not take the gender and number of the latter, उपान्यशालवः शालवः; पत्रिः (2) the rule relating to accent when an avyaya is compounded with the word mukha, (पुष्च स्तर), i.e., sutras VI. 2. 167 & 168. Thus, उपान्यशुरः here, sutra VI. 2. 167, required the final vowel to take the udatta accent, but the preceding word being an avyaya, sutra VI. 2. 168, intervened, and the first word retains its natural accent: (3) the rule relating to the change of visarga: into च, this change being technically called उपशः: thus उपवः-कारः, उपवः-कामः, as compared with धाकः: Here, the compound उपवः: being treated as avyaya sutra VIII. 3. 46, applies and prevents the change of : into च.

The four sutras 38, 39, 40, and 41 have all been enunciated under the svaradigama. see sutra 37. These sutras properly, therefore, belong to the gana-patha; their repetition here in the Ashtadhyayi indicates that these rules are तात्त्विक or not of universal application, viz., all rules relating to avyayas in general, do not apply to them. Thus II. 3. 69. declaring that the genitive case is not used along with an avyaya is not a rule of universal application, for we see
indeclinables like वरेतो: governed by the genitive case as, सुरेस्वोरेतो; or सुरसव विधि:

\[\text{सर्वनामस्वानस्} \sim 42 \sim \text{पदार्थे} \sim \text{सर्वनामस्वानस्}\]

\[\text{वृत्ति:} \sim \text{रुपेक्षर्वनामस्वानस्बन्धमय} \sim \]

42. The affix श्र (VII. I. 20) is called sarvanāmasthāna.

This defines the word sarvanāmasthāna. The affix श्र is the nominative and accusative plural termination of neuter nouns. It replaces the ordinary nominative and accusative plural affixes श्रु and श्र्य used in every other gender. The श्र of श्र is servile, and the actual termination is श्र; the peculiarity of the affix श्र is that it lengthens the penultimate vowel (VI. 4. 8) and adds a श्र (VII. I. 72). Thus the plural of फल 'fruit' is फलानि 'fruits.' So also कुण्डानि विहानि, and कुण्डानि परव. Here, there is no difference of form in the nominative and the accusative cases. So also नमुनि, नमुनि, जनमि. The word sarvanāmasthāna occurs in sūtra VI. 4. 8.

\[\text{इन्द्रपुन्सक्स} \sim 43 \sim \text{पदार्थे} \sim \text{इन्द्र, अन्यपुन्सक्स, (सर्वनामस्वानस्)}\]

\[\text{वृत्ति:} \sim \text{इन्द्रिति पञ्च वर्णानि वर्णनामस्वानस्बन्धाति भर्ति निरुपकारक} \sim \]

43. The first five case affixes comprised in the pratyāhāra sut. (i.e., the three case-terminations of the nominative, and the singular and dual of the accusative) are called also sarvanāmasthāna; except the case-affixes of the neuter gender.

This defines further the word sarvanāmasthāna. The case-terminations in Sanskrit are 21 as arranged below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>मपना</td>
<td>श्र (श्र)</td>
<td>चो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>हृत्या</td>
<td>धषु</td>
<td>चोर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>लत्या</td>
<td>शा (शा)</td>
<td>बापु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>चुर्य</td>
<td>के (के)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>पञ्चमी</td>
<td>हस (हस)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>पढी</td>
<td>धश (धश)</td>
<td>चोश</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>प्रवनी</td>
<td>हि (हि)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above are the 21 vibhaktis, the श्र of जश, the श्र of शर, the श्र of चोर, and चो एc. are indicatory. All these vibhaktis are included in the pratyāhāra श्रृ formed by taking the first vibhakti and the last letter of the last vibhakti. Similarly the first five terminations (श्र, चो, जश, शर, and चोर) are represented by श्रृ and are called sarvanāmasthāna in the masculine and feminine genders. In the declension of nouns, it will be seen, that some nouns have two bases, one before these sarvanāmasthāna and the other before the rest.
Thus the word राज्य् 'king' has the base राजान् before the सूर्य vibhaktis, while in the remaining cases, the base is राज्य and राज as:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Dual.</th>
<th>Plural.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>राजा</td>
<td>राजावै</td>
<td>राजान:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>राजान्यु</td>
<td>राजानी</td>
<td>राज:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>राजा</td>
<td>राज-वा</td>
<td>राजामिः</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But in the neuter nouns there is no such difference.

न बेति विभाषा ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, वा, इति, विभाषा ॥

४४. "May or may not" is called vibhāsha or option.

This sūtra defines the word विभाषा. We had already had occasion to use this word in sūtras 28 and 32. Where there is a prohibition as well as an alternative course left open, it is called option or vibhāsha. The commentators mention three kinds of vibhāsha:—प्राप्त-विभाषा, aprapt-विभाषा and प्राप्ताप्राप्त-विभाषा. The first occurs where there is a general rule already given, and then follows the optional rule; the second belongs to that class where there is no such general rule, but there is an optional rule, the third is intermediate between the two.

Thus the root रिङ 'to swell,' by virtue of the rule विभाषा रिङ (V. i. 30), forms its perfect tense, either by samprasāraṇa, or in the ordinary way. Thus the third person singular is either रिङ or शिरसाय.

४५. The ik vowels which replace the semi-vowels य an are called samprasāraṇa.

This defines the word samprasāraṇa. It is the name given to the change of semi-vowels into vowels. The pratyahāra ik includes the four simple vowels ः, ः, ः and ः, and their corresponding semi-vowels are ः, ः, ः, and ः included in the pratyahāra य. The word samprasāraṇa is properly the name of the vowel which has replaced the semi-vowel. Thus the past participle of स्वः 'to sleep,' is formed by adding the nishthā affix स (see sūtra 26). So that we have स्वः + स. But there is a rule (VI. i. 15) by which there is samprasāraṇa of the स of स्वः before the क्रिया affixes, and we have the form स्वः: 'slept.' Similarly from रूः-विषिः, रूः-स्त्रूः, रूः-विः, रूः-हर्ष्यत्-महृ:-प्रस्त्रूः. The term samprasāraṇa is also employed to designate the whole process of the change of the semi-vowels into vowels as in VI. i. 13; VI. 4. 131.
46. Of whatsoever the augments enunciated are distinguished by an indicatory र or ख्र, they precede or follow it accordingly.

This sūtra explains the special use of two of the indicatory letters र and ख्र. Where the indicatory letter of an augment is र that augment is to be placed before the word in the genitive case with regard to which it is enjoined; while a ख्र augment is to be added after the word exhibited in the 6th case with regard to which it is enjoined. Thus, there is a sūtra (VII. 2. 35) which says “ārdhadhātuka affixes beginning with a consonant except र, have ख्र”. The question may arise where is this ख्र to be added, in the beginning or the end or the middle of the ārdhadhātuka affix? This sūtra answers the question. The indicatory र shows, that it is to be placed before the ārdhadhātuka affix. Thus the future termination स्यति, is an ārdhadhātuka affix: when this is added to the root, it takes the augment ख्र. Thus र + ख्र + स्यति = भविष्यति, ‘he will be.’ Similarly जनित ‘he will cut’.

Similarly by sūtra VII. 3. 40. the root श्र takes the augment ख्र in forming the causative. This having an indicatory र is to be added after the word श्र; as, श्र + ख्र + चित्र + त = श्रेष्ठसे ‘he frightens.’

47. The augment that has an indicatory र comes after the last among the vowels, and becomes the final position of that which it augments.

This sūtra explains the use of the indicatory र. The augments having an indicatory र, technically called श्र am augments, are placed immediately after the final vowel of a word. Thus there is an augment called ख्र, in which र and र are ख्र, and the actual augment is र. When, therefore, it is said “let ख्र be added to the word,” the letter र is added after the last vowel. Thus the plural of प्रवत ‘milk’ is formed in the following way: —प्रत्र + ख्र + र (VII. 1. 72) = प्रत्रानि (VI. 4. 8). Here र is added between र and र i. e. after the र of र, which is the final vowel of the word: and before this र the preceding short vowel is lengthened. Similarly ख्र + श + ति (III. 1. 77) = ख्र + श्र + श + ति (VI. 1. 59) = ख्राति। Similarly भविष्याणि.

The word ख्र is in the genitive case, having the force of nirdhāraṇa or specification; it has the force of the plural, though exhibited in the singular, being taken as representing the class. The meaning is ‘among the vowels.’ This sūtra is an exception to sūtras I. 1. 49 and III. 1. 2, by which an affix is added at the end of the word exhibited in the 6th case.

There is, however, an exception, in the case of the root त्रस्त्र, in
which the augment न्नू is added not after the last vowel य of य, but between
उ and ज. The result of adding the augment न्नू between उ and ज is, that
sūtra VIII. 2. 29. applies, and the न is elided. Thus नस्त्रू + ता = नस्नू + न्नू +
ता (VII. 1. 60) = नस्नू + ता = नस्नू + ता (VII. 2. 29) = नस्नूता “He will im-
merse”. So also मन्: ‘immersed,’ मन्नवान्, मन्नत्तुम्.

48. Of एष्य vowels, ए is the substitute, when
short is to be substituted.

This sūtra points out the एष्य substitutes of एष्य. We know there are
short and long vowels in Sanskrit, but properly speaking the एष्य vowels have
no corresponding short vowels. Therefore, when, in any rule, एष्य vowels are
told to be shortened, this sūtra declares that the short vowels of ए and ऐ, ओ
and औ, for the purposes of the rule, will be ए and ऐ respectively. Thus, I. 2.
47 declares:—“the short vowel is the substitute in the neuter of a crude form
provided it end in a vowel.” Therefore in compounding चार + ए, the ए
must be shortened. Properly speaking ए has no short vowel corresponding
to it, but by virtue of this sūtra, ए supplies the place of such a short vowel,
and we have चारित ‘extravagant’ so नी, चारितू ‘disembarked or landed,’
तो, चारू ‘near a cow.’ All avayabhāva compounds are neuter (II. 4. 18).

Why do we say ‘of एष्य’? Because the short of other vowels will not
be एष्य. Thus the short of वा is वा. As, चारि + खूरा = चारिखूरा; चारि + माला =
चारि माला.

Why do we say ‘when short is to be substituted?’ Because when
उ or prolated vowels are to be substituted for एष्य, the एष्य will not be the
substitute. As देववत्सरम् O Devadatta! देववत्सरम्!

49. The force of the genitive case in a sūtra
is that of the phrase “in the place of” when no special
rules qualify the sense of the genitive.

This sūtra explains the mode of interpreting words used in the posses-
sive case (sixth case) in the sūtras of Pāṇini. The genitive case or शाश्वत
denotes many sorts of relations in Sanskrit, such as causation, possession, relation in place, comparison, nearness, proximity, change, collection, component member, &c. So that when a word is in the genitive case in a sūtra generally,
the doubt may arise in what sense that genitive is to be used. This aphorism
lays down the restrictive rule for the interpretation of such words. It says that the force of such genitive is to convey the meaning of 'in the place of.'

Thus in the sūtra 3, the word इत्यौ is in the genitive case; the literal translation being: — "of ik there is guṇa and vyāddhi." But "of" here means by virtue of the present rule of interpretation "in the place of." So that the sūtra means 'in the place of इत्यौ.' Similarly in the sūtra immediately preceding this, vis. 48, we have the word इत्यौ in the genitive case and the sūtra means 'of इत्यौ.' Here also "of" means "in the place of."

Thus in sūtra हन्तेः (VI. 4. 36) 'of hanti, there is अ the word हन्तेः, is the genitive of हन्ति; this genitive is used generally and its force is that of "in the place of." Therefore, अ displaces the verb हन्त in अन्त्र or imperative mood, and we have अहि 'kill thou.'

This sūtra is also thus translated by Dr. Kielhorn: —Only that which is enunciated in a rule, i.e. that which is read in a rule or rather that which in the real language is like that which is read in a rule in a genitive case, or that which forms part of that which is enunciated in a genitive case, assumes the peculiar relation denoted by the word स्थान 'place' i.e., is that in the place of which some thing else is substituted, but some thing suggested by the former does not assume that relation.

The word स्थान here is synonymous with प्रत्युष्ठ or 'occasion.' Thus in the sentence वैस्याय स्थाने वहः: प्रत्युष्ठित्वम्, the word sthāne, means 'prasangē' i.e. wherever there is occasion to spread darbha grass, spread there the sara instead. Similarly in sūtras प्रस्तुतेऽ: (II. 4. 52), or हुनो वषि: (II. 4. 53), the words 'asti,' and 'हन्तेः' are in the genitive case, and mean, 'wherever there arises occasion to use the verbs हन्त or हन्त instead respectively.' Thus भविष्या, भविष्यम्, भविष्यम्, are the future, gerund, and passive participle respectively of हन्त; so also, क्ति, क्ति and क्ति are the same forms of हन्त.

The word स्पन्दनोण्या is a bahuṣṛṣṭi compound of two words, not in apposition, (vyadhikaraṇa bahuṣṛṣṭi, see II. 2. 248 35), and it qualifies the word shāśthiḥ. The compound means स्त्राने योगोङ्गत्या, 'that which assumes the peculiar relation denoted by the word sthāna.' Consequently the seventh case-affix is not elided in this compound; on the analogy of compounds like क्रिणक्रिणः: &c.

स्थानेन्तरतमः: || 50 || पदार्थः || स्थाने-अन्तर्तमः: ||

कृति: ||स्पाने प्राथम्यायानांतर्तमम् प्रवृत्तो भविष्य सद्याजनम: ||

50. When a common term is obtained as a substitute, the likest of its significates to that in the place of which it comes, is the actual substitute.
This sūtra also lays down another rule of paribhāsha. To explain this we must take an example. The guṇa of ं, ः, तः, and थः is घ, घू, घृ. There is nothing to specify what letter is the guṇa of what. It might be said that घः is the guṇa of घ because the definitions as laid down up to so far, do not say anywhere that घः is not the guṇa of घ. So that when in a word like सत्वः we are told 'let there be the guṇa of घ' we do not know what specific guṇa letter is to be substituted, whether it is घ, घू or घृ. To clear up this doubt, this sūtra declares that the likest of its significates is to be substituted. Now the nearest in place to घ is घ, both having their place of pronunciation, the palate. Similarly घः is the guṇa of घ, because both are labials.

There are four sorts of proximity or nearness:—(1) nearness in place or श्लान (i.e. palate, throat &c.); (2) nearness in meaning or घृद्व (such as, singular terminations to be used after words used in the sense of singular); (3) nearness in quantity or प्रमाण (such as a short vowel to replace a short vowel, a long vowel, a long one); (4) nearness in quality or घु (such as aspirates to replace aspirates, and sonants to replace sonants). Of all these approximates the first vis., the nearness in the organ of utterance has preference, in the selection of proper substitute.

(1). Thus in applying rule VI. 1. 101, "when a homogeneous vowel follows ak, the corresponding long vowel is the substitute for both," we must have recourse to the present sūtra for finding the proper vowel. Thus—

\[ \text{घ्वः + घ्वः = घ्वः} \]

here the substitution of the long घ, for the two short घः's, is an example of substitution by nearness of place, for both घ and घः are gutturals.

(2). A good example of substitution by the sense of the word is afforded by VI. 1. 63:—"The words घ्वः, घृः, घृः &c., are the substitutes when the case-affixes घू (acc.-pl.) &c., follow." Here, we know the substitutes, but we do not know of what they are the substitutes. We apply the maxim of घर्मः: "that only can become a substitute which has the power to express the meaning of the original, i.e., a substitute takes the place of that the meaning of which it is able to express." Thus we find that घ्वः is the substitute of घछ, घछः of घछ, घछः of नाभिकः, &c., which convey the same meaning and contain almost the same letters. Another example of this is afforded by VI.3.34, by which feminine words in a compound are changed into masculine. Thus वाक्यन्ति (fem.) + घृःति = शाल्लभत्वति.

(3). An example of prosodical substitution (प्रमाणः) is afforded by rule VIII.2.80, "ः is the substitute of what comes after the घ of घर्मः not ending in घ and in the room of घ there is घ." Thus घः + घू = घः + घः = घः; घः + घः = घः + घः (VII. 3. 102) = घः + घः = घः. Here, short घ replaces the short घः, and the long घ replaces the long घः.
(4). An illustration of qualitative substitution is afforded by VII. 3. 52, "a letter of the guttural class is substituted for ṣ and ṭ when an affix having an indicatory ṣ follows." Applying the rule of ṣvēṣa we find that ṭ which is an alpapṛṇa and aghosha letter replaces ṣ having the same quality; while ṭ which is ghosha, and alpapṛṇa is replaced by the letter ṭ possessing similar quality. Thus पष्ट + पष्ट (III. 3. 18) = पष्ट; वष्ट + पष्ट = वष्ट; रष्ट + पष्ट = रष्ट.

Though the anuvṛtti of the word sthāna was understood in this sūtra from the last, the repetition of this word indicates the existence of the following paribhāṣa:

Wherever there exist several kinds of proximity between that for which something else shall be substituted, and its possible substitutes, there the proximity as to the organ of speech is weightier than the rest, i.e., there that only is substituted which is nearest as regards the organs of speech with which both are uttered.

Thus in finding the guṇa substitutes of ṭ and ṣ out of the three guṇa letters ṭ, ṭ and ṣ, we find that ṭ is a proximate substitute having regard to prosodical measure, i.e., ṭ and ṭ and ṭ have all one maṭṭrā; while having regard to the proximity of the organ of utterance, we get ṭ and ṣ; the latter however prevails to the exclusion of the first; as, वष्ट, रष्ट.

Why do we use the word "likest" in the superlative degree? Where there are many sorts of proximities, the likest must be taken. Thus वष्ट + ह्रवति = वष्टचतुष्टि. Here, by VII. 4. 62, "after a letter of ṭḥṛ class, ṭ is changed into a letter homogeneous with the preceding," ṭ must be changed into a letter of the class ṭ. Out of the five letters of this class, ṭ and ṭ are both aspirates, but ṭ is hard, and ṭ is soft; so ṭ and ṭ are both soft, but ṭ is unaspirate, and ṭ is aspirate, therefore these must be rejected; the only letter which has the nearest approach to ṭ is ṭ, which is both soft and aspirate. Similarly in चन्द्रचतुष्टि, the ṭ has been changed into ṭ.
are only three guṇa vowels ṣ, ṭ, and ṭh. Of these what is the proper guṇa for ṣ? By the application of the rule of 'nearness of place' we see that ṣ is the nearest substitute. So that ṣ is the guṇa of ṣr; and further by this rule, this ṣ must have a r after it. Thus though technically speaking ṣ is the guṇa of ṣr, the actual substitute is ṣṛ. Thus ṣ + ṭ + ṭ = ṭṭṭ; similarly ṭṭṭ.

So also when ṣṛ is replaced by ṭ, as by sūtra VII. 1. 100, this substitute ṭ must be followed by a r. As ṭṛ + ṭ + ṭṛ = ṭṛṭ, 'he scatters.' Similarly ṭṛṛ 'he swallows.'

So also when ṣṛ is replaced by ṭ, as by sūtra IV. 1. 115 this ṭ must be followed by a r. As ṭṛ + ṭ + ṭṛ = ṭṛṭ, 'son of two mothers.' This ṭ is to be added only when ṣṛ is replaced by ṭ, ṭ or ṭ (ḥṛ) vowels, and not when it is replaced by any other letter.

Thus by IV. 1. 97, "the ṣ of the word सुधात्रि is replaced by श्रक (technically श्रक) when the suffix ṭṛ is added." Thus, सुधा + ṭṛ + श्रक + ṭ = श्रकत्र, 'a descendant of Sudhātṛi.' Here the substitute of ṣṛ, that is to say, the syllable श्रक is not followed by ṭṛ.

The ṭ in the text has been taken by some to be a pratyāhāra formed by the letter ṭ and ṭṛ of लक्ष; and thus it includes the letters ṭ and ṭṛ. In that case the sūtra would mean that श्रक substitutes of ṣṛ and ṭṛ are always followed by ṭ and ṭṛ respectively. Thus guṇa of ṭṛ aspirated, of ṭṛ = al.

52. The substitute takes the place of only the final letter (of that which is denoted by a term exhibited in the genitive or sixth case).

The rule of substitution by nearness of place applies to the last letter of the word which is exhibited in the genitive case and not to all its letters. Thus by sūtra VII. 2. 102, it is declared ṭṛस्यमानम्: "in the place of ṭṛ &c., there is ṭṛ." It does not mean that the whole word ṭṛस्य, is replaced by ṭṛ; though at first sight it may appear to mean so; but it means, by virtue of the present explanatory sūtra, that the last letter of ṭṛस्य, namely ṭṛ is to be replaced by ṭṛ.

So also in sūtra I. 2. 50 हर्यथ:, the short ṭṛ replaces only the final letter of हर्यथि: and not the whole word, as हर्यथि: 'purchased for five gopis.'
53. And the substitute which has an indi
catory (even though it consists of more than one letter) takes the place of the final letter only of the original expression.

This sūtra is an exception by anticipation to sūtra 55. By that all substitutes, consisting of more than one letter, replace the whole word.

Thus in forming the dvandva compound of भाव and विधा there is a rule (VI. 3. 25) by which it is declared:—'In the place of words ending in रा there is the substitution of धानक in forming dvandvas.' Now the substitute धानक is a हित substitute, and therefore it applies to the last letter of the word and not to the whole word, viz, the रा of भाव is only changed into धा and not the whole word; and we have the compound भावधानक, so also होवधानक.

There is an exception, however, in the case of the substitute वाद्य (VII. 1. 35) which, though it has an indicatory र, yet replaces the whole expressions धार and विधा and not only their finals. As जीवंत 'may he live, or may you live'; instead of जीवंत 'may he live,' or जीत 'live thou.'

54. That which is enjoined to come in the room of what follows is to be understood as coming in the room only of the first letter thereof.

When any operation is to be made in a word following another, such operation is to be made in the initial letter of such subsequent word. To give an illustration:—there is a rule (VI. 3. 97) by which it is declared:—'In the place of धार used after the words धिर and धन्त्र and the particles called उपसर्ग there is हि.' This rule may be stated in other words as:—'In the place of धार there is हि when धार follows धिर or धन्त्र.' Now it is clear that हि is not to replace all the letters of धार but only one. By sūtra 52 that letter would have been the last letter of धार, but this sūtra makes an exception, namely, where an operation is directed to be made in a word, simply by reason of its being placed after another word; such change is to be made in the beginning of such second word. Therefore, the हि replaces the धा of धार and we have हि + धार = हीर (the final धा is added by V. 4. 74) 'an island,' धन्त्रीर 'promontory.' So also in the sūtra इति: (VII. 2. 83) 'long हि is the substitute of धन when the latter comes after the root धार.' Thus धार + धन = धार + हि + धार = हीर. Here also the हि replaces the initial धा of धन.

How can we find when an operation is to be performed on a subsequent word? When the previous word is exhibited in the 5th or ablative case, see sūtra 67.
55. A substitute consisting of more than one letter, and a substitute having an indicatory ः take the place of the whole of the original expression exhibited in the sixth case.

This sutra is an exception to sutra 52 by which it was declared that an adeśa or substitute replaces only the last letter. This sutra on the contrary enjoins that an adeśa consisting of more than one letter replaces the whole expression in the genitive case, and not only its last letter. Even where an adeśa consists of a single letter, but if it has a ः as its indicatory letter, it replaces the whole word.

Thus, there is a sutra त्रस्ती विष्ठि: (II. 4. 53) which means 'in the place of ः let there be ः.' Here the adeśa ः consists of three letters (more than one), and therefore, it replaces the whole word ः and not only the last letter ः. That is to say in forming certain tenses the verb ः is replaced by ः. Thus the future tense of ः is ःत्त 'he will speak.'

So also there is a sutra (V. 3. 3.) by which it is declared:—"In the place of ः there is ः." Here the adeśa ः is an adeśa having the ः for its indicatory letter, and though it consists of only one letter, it replaces the whole word ः, and not only its last letter ः.

Of course, it must be understood that the phrase 'consisting of more than one letter' applies to the actual substitute, and not to the substitute with its indicatory letters, the latter being for the purposes of counting regarded as mere surplusages and not to be taken into account. To see whether an affix is अनेकाल्लयत्मकान्तिप्रभावी or not, the indicatory letters must not be counted; and the affix must be stripped of all its ः letters.

56. A substitute (adeśa) is like the former occupant (sthāni) but not in the case of a rule the occasion for the operation of which is furnished by the letters of the original term.

This is an explanatory sutra, or this may be considered also as an atideśa sutra, in as much as it declares that the operations to be performed
on or by the original, may be similarly performed on or by the substitute, but with certain restrictions. The words of this sūtra require some detailed exposition. Sthāni is the word or the portion of a word which is replaced. Ađesa is the expression which replaces something. Al-vidhi is a compound of 'al' meaning alphabet, or letters in general, and 'vidhi' rule i.e. any rule applicable to letters.

There is an exception, however, to this rule in the case of rules, the occasion for the operation of which, is furnished by the letters of the original term. That is to say for the purposes of orthographic rules, an ađesa is not like the sthāni. A rule which is applicable to the letters of the sthāni, need not be applicable to the letters of the ađesa.

Thus the gerund of verbs is generally formed by adding the affix त्ता e.g. गृृ + त्ता. Now VII. 2. 35. prescribes the insertion of an intermediate रू before ardhadhātuka affixes beginning with any consonant except व. This rule is clearly an al-vidhi, because the occasion for its application is conditional on the letters of the affix. The affix त्ता begins with व and is an ardhadhātuka affix and fulfils all the conditions of the rule. Therefore, we have गृृ + र + त्ता = गृृत्ता (VI. 1. 16; VII. 2. 37).

Now in compound verbs the affix त्ता is replaced by व (tech. वचर). Thus संगृृ + व. This ađesa व which takes the place of त्ता has all the functions of त्ता viz. it has the power of making gerunds; it makes the word an indeclinable (see rule 41 ante), as the affix त्ता does. But the affix त्ता takes an intermediate र; should, therefore, the ađesa व take also the र or not?

Now the augment र which त्ता takes is by virtue of VII. 2. 35, because it begins with a consonant of ब्न pratyāhāra; while व is the only consonant which is not included in this pratyāhāra. Therefore, for the purposes of taking र by rule VII. 2. 35. the ađesa व is not like त्ता; since that rule is one which has its scope when there are certain initial letters; or an al-vidhi. Therefore, we have संगृृ.

Substitutes replace either a ज्‍ञ 'root,' or an घञ 'base,' or a krit affix 'primary affix,' or a taddhita affix 'secondary affix,' or an avyaya 'indeclinable,' or a ज्‍ञ affix 'case affix,' or a लित्र affix 'conjugational affix,' or lastly the full word or pada.

The substitute of a dhātu becomes like a dhātu. Thus sūtras II. 4. 52 and 53 declare:—"म् is the substitute of the root छ्च, and च् of the root छ when an ardhadhātuka affix follows." Here the substitutes म् and छ्च are treated as dhātu, and as such get the affixes च्च &c. by III. 1. 96, &c. Thus अभिता, अभित्ता, अवि च्च; चक्त, चक्त्, चक्तवत्त.

The substitute of an anga becomes like an anga. Thus VII. 2. 103 declares:—' क्षित is the substitute of the base च्च when a case-affix follows.'
Here, क ग et the designation ‘base’ and so rules applicable to base, are applied to क also. Thus in केन, कायायु, क्रात्: &c., we have हन, the lengthening of the vowel, and हस्य substituted by VII. 1. 12, and VII. 3. 102, and VII. 1. 9.

The substitute of a क्रित affix becomes like a क्रित affix. Thus VII. 1. 37 declares:—‘हस्य is the substitute of the क्रित affix सत्ता when the verb is a compound, the first member of which is an indeclinable, but not नस्य. Here, हस्य is also called a क्रित affix, and as such, सूत्रा VI. 1. 71 applies, and मुख is added.

As प्रभ + हस्य = प्रभ + ध + य = प्रभुस्य; similarly प्रभुस्य &c.

The substitute of a taddhita affix is like a taddhita. Thus VII. 3. 50 declares:—‘हस्य is the substitute of the affix ध’ as धि + हस्य (IV. 2. 18) = शाश्वत्, here, हस्य being treated as a taddhita, sūtra I. 2. 56 applies and the word formed by it, gets the name of प्रतिपदिक, and is so declined.

The substitute of an avyaya is like an avyaya. As, प्रस्तुतसः; प्रस्तुतसः. The affix क्रात् makes avyayas (I. 1. 40), its substitute हस्य will also make the word an avyaya, and as such sūtra II. 4. 82 applies, and the case-affixes are elided after these words.

The substitute of sup-affixes becomes like sup. Thus VII. 1. 13 declares:—‘ह is the substitute of the sup-affix हे after an inductive base ending in short य.’ Here, य is treated as a sup-affix, and therefore sūtra VII. 3. 102 applies, and there is lengthening of the vowel, as, ह्याय; ह्याय.

The substitute of तिन becomes like तिन. Thus III. 4. 101 declares:—‘नमु, नमु, य and श्राय are substituted for नस्य, ध्यान, य, and विन when tense-affixes having indicatory ह follow.’ Here the substitutes यात्र &c., also make the words ending in them pada by rule I. 4. 14 as, यात्रसः, यात्रसः &c.

The substitute of a pada is like a pada. Thus VIII. 1. 21 declares:—‘हस्य is the substitute of ह्यान, ह्यान, ह्यायान, and ह्याय of श्रायस, श्रायस, श्रायस, and श्रायस.’ Here, यान and नस्य are treated as pada, and the final य is changed into visarga, as या; ना.

Why have we used the word हस्य in the sūtra? Without it the aphorism would have been स्थायायायायायायायिस, and this being a chapter treating of definitions, the meaning would have been, ‘an अदेशa is called स्थान।’ This certainly is not intended, for had it been so, then all operations would be performed by or on the substitute, but none by the original. But this is not so. Thus rule I. 3. 28, says ‘the root हस्य preceded by या is अतमायनध।’ या the substitute of हस्य will be अतमायनध, as यावाधिक; but हस्य also will be so in its proper sphere, as, यावाधि.

The word अदेशa is used in the sūtra to indicate, that the rule applies even to partial substitutions: as changing the य of तिं into य (III. 4. 86) in the Imperative e. g. यस्तु.

The word स्थान is used in order to indicate that the substitutes of हस्य.
Bk. I. Ch. I. § 57. Substitute is like the principal.

भाष्य, श्वेत &c., such as the change of यू into यू (VII. 1. 84), यू into थ (VII. 1. 85), यू into थ (VII. 2. 102), are not to be treated like the original: as यू; श्वेत.

Had these substitutes been treated like the original, rule VI. 1. 68 would apply, and the case-affix छ would have been elided.

अष्ट: परसिन्युच्छेति || ६७ || पदानि || अष्ट: परसिन्युच्छेति, (यानिधित्वार्थेः) ||

वृत्तं: ॥ भाषादेशः परनिधित्वा: पूर्वविधौ कर्त्तायेच्यानिधित्वार्थेः ॥

57. A substitute in the room of a vowel caused by something that follows, should be regarded as that whose place it takes when a rule would else take effect on what stands anterior to the original vowel.

This सूत्रa consists of three words:—चन्त: genitive of the pratyāhāra चन्त meaning 'of a vowel,' and means an ādeśa which takes the place of a vowel. The words आदेश and sthānivat are understood and are to be supplied from the preceding सूत्रa. The second word is 'parasmin' loc. sing. of 'para' meaning 'in the subsequent.' The locative has the force of 'on account of or by reason of.' The third word is pūrva-vidhau loc. sing. of pūrva-vidhi meaning 'a rule applicable to a preceding thing.' The whole सूत्रa thus comes to mean that an आदेश which replaces a vowel, becomes sthānivat (like vowel), provided that the substitution has been occasioned on account of something following and when a rule is to be applied to anything preceding such an आदेश.

Thus there is an affix called लिंग्म the actual affix being द; the other letters द and द being द्व. The peculiarity of every affix having an indicatory द्व is to cause the व्रिद्धि of the penultimate द्व; (सूत्रa VII. 2. 116) as द्वद्वेद्वप्. Now in forming the denominative verb from the word द्व, we have to add the affix लिंग्म. Thus द्व + द, but before लिंग्म, the द of द्व is substituted by a 'lopa' or blank, and this blank takes the place of the vowel द of द्व and becomes sthānivat by force of the present सूत्रa. The result of becoming sthānivat is that though the द of द्व is really a penultimate and ought to be vṛiddhied before 'pich' it is not so, the lopa-substitute not allowing the द to be regarded as penultimate, and thus we have the form द्व the present tense third person singular of which is द्वविस्त. The equation being द्व + • + द्व, the zero preventing the द्व of द्व from becoming penultimate. So also in the word द्वपित्त, the aorist (द्व) of द्व. Thus द्व + द्व + द्व = द्व + द्व + • + द्व. Here, the द्व of द्व is elided by VI. 4. 48. (when an Ārdhāṅgīruka affix follows there is elision of the short द्व of that which ends in short द्व;) this elision is thus caused by something which follows (parasmin.) Now there is a rule (VII. 2. 7.) which declares 'vṛiddhi is optionally the substitute of a laghu द्व preceded by a consonant when लिंग्म (aorist) follows.' However in the present case the zero is consi.
dered as sthānīvat, and prevents the application of sūtra VII. 2. 7; otherwise we get the form चाराविन्ध which is inadmissible.

Similarly वरुक्रु + कर्त् = वरुक्रक. Here, the short छ is the substitute of the long चा of चान्ध by VII. 4. 15; because of the subsequent (parasmin) affix kap. However, the word वरुक्रक will not be considered as a word ending in a short vowel, for the purposes of the application of rule VI. 2. 174, (the udātta accent falls on the last vowel but one of a word that ends in a short vowel and is the last member of a bahuvrīhi compound followed by the affix kap). On the contrary the short छ is regarded as sthānīvat to long चा. Thus वरुक्रक:

It is needless to say that this rule applies only to vowel ādeṣa, therefore, where an ādeṣa replaces a consonant, the previous sūtra 56 has its scope and prevents its being sthānīvat. Thus there is a kṛt affix called च्यु, the real suffix being य, the ढ and च being diacritical letters. Before this छ the verb चान्ध (to come) loses it च, and lopa or blank takes the place of च. Here then lopa or blank is an ādeṣa and ढ a consonant is sthāni.

Now there is a rule which says (VI. 1. 71), that before kṛt affixes having an indicatory छ, the letter छ is added after verbs ending in light vowels. Now in चान्ध, when छ is omitted, the छ of छ becomes final; and therefore a छ is required before छ (which is a śiṣṭ affix). Thus we have चान्ध.

But had lopa or blank become sthānīvat to छ then the छ of छ would have remained penultimate as it was when it was चान्ध; and no छ would have been required. But it is not so.

Similarly in forming the word प्रभ. Thus प्रभ + च्यु (III. 3. 90) प्रभ + च्यु (VI. 4. 19). Here, छ is substituted for च्यु; this will not be sthānīvat to च्यु; though this substitute is caused by something that follows (parasmin). Were it to be sthānīvat, there would come the augment च्यु (छ) by VI. 1. 73.

Similarly च्युकान्त, the aorist of कुष्ठ. Thus च्यु + कुष्ठ + विष्ठ + ताश्य = च्यु + कुष्ठ + विष्ठ + ताश्य (VIII. 2. 26). Here the छ is elided on account of what follows, but still the lopa substitute here is not sthānīvat for the purposes of VIII. 2. 41. Had it been sthānīvat, छ of कुष्ठ would be changed into च्यु.

Moreover this rule applies where a vowel is changed on account of something which follows (parasmin). Therefore, where the change has not been occasioned by anything subsequent, the ādeṣa (though of a vowel) is not sthānīvat. Thus the words उराजानि: and उरातिमानि:

The word उराजानि is a bahuvrīhi compound of उष्टिति and जाष्ठा, meaning 'he who has a young wife.' In forming this compound, the छ of जा is replaced by छ (tech. छिं) by sūtra V. 4. 134. This छ will not be sthānīvat to जा, as it is not caused by anything which follows. Had it been regarded as sthānīvat, the छ could not be elided by VI. 1. 66 ('there is elision of छ
and द when any consonant except द or द follows). Thus, दुर्वासा + दिन = दुर्वासा + दिन (V. 4. 134) = दुर्वासिनः (VI. 1. 66).

Similarly the word श्रावण्य व 'a descendant of श्रावण्य ' also illustrates this rule. श्रावण्य is a bahuvrhi compound of श्रावण्य श्रावण्य पाद, meaning 'whose foot is like that of a tiger.' Now the final द of 'पाद' is elided in such compounds by V. 4. 138. This lopa substitution is not caused by anything that follows, therefore, this lopādeśa will not be sthānivat for the purposes of the application of sūtra VI. 4. 130 ('षु is the substitute of the word पाद when part of an inflective base ending in the word पाद and entitled to the name of Bha. I. 4. 18'). Therefore, श्रावण्य + दम (IV. 1. 105) = श्रावण्य. Had the lopa been like the original, there could not have been the substitution of 'pad' for 'pād.'

Similarly the word पार्थवी, 1st per. sing. atm. present tense of the root पार्थ 'to shine.' Thus पार्थवी + दर = पार्थवी + दर (III. 4. 79). This change of द into र is not caused by anything that follows, hence र is not sthānivat to र, for the purposes of the application of rule VII. 4. 53 ('the finals of didht and vevt are elided when an affix beginning with द or द follows'). Had द been sthānivat, the final द would have been elided.

Similarly an ādeśa though of a vowel, and even though occasioned by a subsequent something, would not be sthānivat, if there is not the application of a rule to something that precedes the ādeśa (pūrva-vidhi). If the rule is to be applied to something subsequent to the ādeśa; it will be applied to the exact ādeśa without considering what was the letter which the ādeśa had replaced. It is only when a rule is to be applied to a prior object, that it becomes important to consider whether the ādeśa is sthānivat or not. Thus the vocative case of गो is ह गो: The vocative is formed from the nominative case (II. 3. 49). The nominative of गो is formed by changing दी into दी and adding the case termination दू. Here the ādeśa गो, replaces दी, on account of the subsequent termination दू. Now there is a rule applicable to vocative cases which declares that the final दू is dropped after short vowels and द and दू (VI. 1. 69).

Now is the दी of गो to be regarded as sthānivat to गो, which it replaces; for the purposes of this rule of elision of finals? If so, the consequence would be that the final दू would have to be dropped in the vocative. But it is not so. Because the rule VI. 1. 69, which ordains the dropping of दू after short vowels and द and दू applies to a letter, which is not anterior to the ādeśa गो, but to one which follows it, and consequently there being no pūrva-vidhi here, the final दू is retained and we have the vocative गो:.

Similarly the word बाबरव्या: 'the pupils of Bābhravya.' The word बाबरव्या is derived from, बाबर in this wise. बाबर + बाबर (IV. 1. 105) = बाबर
Substitute is like the principal. [Bk. I. Ch. I. § 58.]

+ ब्रू (VI. 4. 146 and VII. 2. 117) = बार्ष + ब्रू (VI. 1. 79) = बास्वम। From this is formed बास्वमी in this wise:—बार्ष + छ (IV. 2. 114) = बार्ष + छ (VII. 1. 2) = बार्ष + हू (VI. 4. 148) = बार्ष + हू (VI. 4. 150). Here, had the substitute हू which replaced the छ of बार्ष, been sthānīvat to छ, rule VI. 4. 150 ('there is elision of the छ of a taddhita affix coming after a consonant, when long ह follows'), could not have applied. But this substitute हू is not sthānīvat for the purposes of rule VI. 4. 150, inasmuch as that rule does not apply to any letter that precedes the substitute हू, but to the very letters of the substitute itself.

Similarly the word नैषेध, which is evolved from the root धा, in this wise नि + धा + क्र (III. 3. 92) = नि + हू + छ (I. 3. 8) = नि + छ + हू (VI. 4. 64) = निषेध। Let us then form a secondary derivative from the word निषेध applying हू (IV. 1. 122), the whole of which affix is replaced by ए (VII. 1. 2). Thus निषेध + ए = निषेध + हू (VI. 4. 148) = नैषेध (VII. 2. 118). Here, the lopa substituted for the छ of धा by VI. 4. 64 is not sthānīvat for the purposes of the application of IV. 1. 122 by which the affix हू is added. Rule V. 1. 122 says, 'dhak is added to a word ending in हू, provided it be a word containing two vowels.' Now निषेध ends in हू and contains two vowels; but if the lopa were sthānīvat to the elided छ, then it would be a word of three syllables. That is however not so; because the rule enjoining the affix हू is not applicable to anything preceding the lopâdeśa, but is enjoined with regard to something after this substitution.

न पद्यांत्रिकवर्तयोऽपि रसाधिकारिणोपाधिकरणं दीर्घवर्ष्णं दीर्घवर्ष्णं दीर्घवर्ष्णं दीर्घवर्ष्णं (स्याबिधिकत)।

वृत्ति: || पूर्वार्थसंस्कृत: स्याबिधि एवेऽपि बिधिप्रतिविधिभेदे।

58. Not so, in rules relating to the finals of words, to the doubling of letters, to the affixing of varach, to the elision of ya, to accent, to homogeneous letters, to anusvāra, to the lengthening of vowels, and to the substitution of ja and char letters.

This sūtra lays down an exception to the previous sūtra, by which it was ruled that an âdeśa which replaced a vowel becomes sthānīvat under certain conditions. This sūtra says that a vowel âdeśa is not sthānīvat under the following circumstances.

I. पक्षांविस्मिति:—'A rule relating to the last letter of a word.' Thus the छ of प्रस् is elided before the terminations of dual and plural numbers (VI. 4. 111). Thus we have सति 'he is,' हू: 'they two are,' हूति 'they are.' Now in the technical phraseology of Sanskrit grammarians, the छ of हू: and हूति is
replaced by an ádesa called अेः, the peculiarity of which is that the whole of it vanishes. So that before the word रेः there is this ádesa existing, though it is in an invisible form. This invisible ádesa will be sthânivat, as it replaces a vowel, by reason of something that follows, i.e. the affixes ई and पतिर्क being निद्र (I. 2, 4); and it will have all the powers of ध ध by the last sūtra, in the absence of any rule to the contrary. Therefore, in the sentence को त्ते तेत two are the final भौ of को and the invisible ध ध of त्तेought to coalesce by rules of sandhi into भान्त्र (VI. 1. 78). But this incongruity is prevented by the present sūtra, by which the change of भौ into भान्त्र is a पवत्ते सैरे or a rule relating to the finals of a word, therefore, we have को त्ते : I So also in वाचिन सिन्तिन, rule VI. 1. 77 is not applied.

2. विचारचारचार-'a rule relating to the doubling of letters.' In the sandhi of ऊ ऊ ऊ ऊ ऊ, we have द्रू. Here ऊ is changed into ऊ. If this ऊ were sthânivat to ऊ, then the rule by which ऊ could be doubled before ऊ would be inapplicable. But ऊ is not equivalent to ऊ, though its substitute; and we have the doubling of ऊ and get the form ऊवर्ण. Therefore, in rules relating to the doubling of letters the ádesa is not equivalent to the sthân.

3. विचारचारचार-'a rule relating to the affix वर्चन.' The affix वर्चन is a krit affix which is added to certain roots to form nouns of agency; thus from रूचि 'to rule' we have रूज़रु 'ruler.' So from the intensive verb यावय यावय we have यावयार 'a vagrant.' It is formed in this wise यावय + वर (III. 2. 176) = यावय + + वर (VI. 4. 48). Here the ध of ध has been dropped and replaced by लोपa, on account of its being followed by the Ārdhāśātuka affix वर्चन. The next step is to drop the ध by rule VI. 1. 66 which declares that the letters ध and ध are dropped before affixes beginning with any consonant except ध i.e., beginning with consonants of धू pratyāhāra. Thus यावय + o + वर. Now there is a rule (VI. 4. 64) which declares that the final long ध ध of a base is dropped before Ārdhāśātuka affixes having an initial vowel. Here therefore, if the ádesa 'lopa,' which replaced the vowel ध ध, be considered as sthânivat, and लोपa be considered as an affix having a latent initial vowel, then the ध ध of ध ध requires to be dropped. But this sūtra prevents this and we have the form यावयार; as, चपूच यावयार: पवत्ते सुप्तांन्.

4. विचारचारचार-'a rule relating to the dropping of ya.' Thus there is a verb कण्डूव 'to scratch.' In forming an abstract noun from it, the affix वि (tech. निद्रू) is added. Thus कण्डूव + वि = कण्डूव + + वि, the ध ध of ध being dropped by VI. 4. 48. Now there is a rule (VI. 1. 66) already mentioned above which requires the elision of ध ध before consonantal affixes. Now if the lopa-substitute be considered as sthânivat to ध ध, then the affix वि is not an affix having an initial consonant and the rule, which requires the dropping of ध ध, would not apply. The present sūtra, however, provides for this, and we have the form कण्डूवि 'scratching.'
5. स्वरविधि: 'a rule relating to accent.' There is a sūtra (VI. 1. 193) which says that when a word is formed by an affix that has an indicatory छ, the vowel that immediately precedes such an affix has the udātta accent. Now युक्त is an affix that has an indicatory र, the real affix being रक्त (VII. 1. 1.). It is an affix used in forming nouns of agency. Adding this affix to the desirerative verb विक्रियेश 'desirous of doing' we have—विक्रियेश + रक्त = विक्रियेश + र + रक्त, the र being dropped by VI. 4. 48. Now if the zero be considered as sthānivat, then the accent must fall on this latent र but it is not so. The accent falls on the र of क्री; and we have विक्रियेश, so also विक्रियेश.

6. सबविशिष्ट: 'a rule relating to the substitution of homogeneous letters.' To explain this, let us form the second person singular of the verb शिष्म in the imperative mood. The affix हि is the sign of the second person imperative singular; and the verb शिष्म belongs to the seventh-class of verbs called Rudhādi. This class of verbs take the vikaraṇa शुम (III. 1. 78) the शु being indicatory the real affix is न. This न is inserted between the radical vowel and the final consonant (I. 1. 47). Therefore we have the following equation:—शिष्म + शुम + हि = शिष्म + न + शु + हि = मित्र + शु + 0 + शु + हि. The शु of शुम is dropped by VI. 4. 111, which declares that the शु of शुम is dropped before those sārvadhātuka terminations which are कित्र or कित्रु. By I. 2. 4 all sārvadhātuka terminations which have not got an indicatory छ are considered as कित्रु. The affix हि therefore is a कित्रु sārvadhātuka affix, and by rule III. 4. 101, हि is to be regarded as ब्रित्र, not having an indicatory छ. The next stage is:—छिन्न + न + 0 + शु + हि; the हि being changed into हि by rule (VI. 4. 101) which says that हि is changed into हि, when it follows a root—which ends in a consonant of हलु pratyahāra: here छ and शु are changed by general rules of sandhi into र and र and we have हिश + र + 0 + र + हि (VIII. 4. 41). Then there is a rule (VIII. 3. 24), which says that in the body of a word the र is changed into anusvāra when followed by a consonant of हलु pratyahāra. Therefore we have:—छिन्न + 0 + 0 + र + हि. This is the form to which the present rule is applicable. Thus, there is a rule (VIII. 4. 58) which says that an anusvāra followed by a letter of हलु pratyahāra i.e., any consonant except र, र and शु is changed into a letter homogeneous or savarṇa to the letter that follows. Therefore, if we regard zero as sthānivat to the र which it replaces, the anusvāra cannot be changed into र as homogeneous to र. But it is not to be so regarded, and we have the form हिश + र + र + हि = शिरु or शिलिक्र; so also गश्रि.

7. युक्तविशिष्ट: 'a rule relating to anusvāra.' The above example will serve the purpose here:—छिन्न + र + 0 + र + हि. This by the rule already mentioned (VIII. 3. 24), requires the र to be changed into anusvāra,
Now if zero be considered as sthānivat, then र is not followed by a letter of pratyāhāra, and cannot be changed into anusvāra. However, the zero is not regarded as sthānivat, and we change the र into anusvāra. Other examples are \( \text{सिंधिऄ} + \text{र} + \text{ि} + \text{ष} + \text{ष्ठिं} = \text{शिंग्लं}; \) so also रिङ्गलं.

8. शीषिविडः: a rule directing the substitution of long vowels for short vowels. Let us form the Inst. sing. of the noun प्रतिविडः. The termination of the Inst. sing. is र or रा. Therefore, we have प्रतिविडः + या = प्रतिविडः +ि +ि या. Here the य has been elided by rule VI. 4. 134, which teaches that words ending in रा lose their य before terminations technically called Bha. The termination of Inst. sing. is a Bha termination by force of rule I. 4. 18. The next rule that now comes into operation, is VIII. 2. 77, which requires the lengthening of the short penultimate vowels, of the श्र pratyāhāra, of words that end in र or र and are followed by a consonant. Here ह्र is a root that ends in र; and if the zero be considered as sthānivat, then this र is not followed by a consonant, but by a latent vowel, and so the short र of ह्र will not be lengthened. This rule, however, provides for such lengthening, and therefore we have:—प्रतिविडः +ि + र + या = प्रतिविडः.

9. जगविडः: a rule requiring the substitution of soft unaspirate consonants, of pratyāhāra य्र, in the place of hard consonants. In this case also the अदेश that takes the place of a vowel is not sthānivat.

Let us add the affix लिन्तु to the root चार 'to eat,' compounded with the word र or सान्. In Vedic literature चार is replaced by प्रस्र, (II. 4. 39); so we have, च + प्रस्र + लिन्तु = च + प्रस्र + लिन्तु (VI. 4. 100) = च + प्रस्र +ि +ि लिन्तु (VIII. 2. 26) = च + प्रस्र +ि +ि लिन्तु (VIII. 2. 40).

It is at this stage, that rule VIII. 4. 53 requires the र to be changed into य. This is a जसु rule, and teaches that in the place of letters of श्र class, the letters of जसु class are substituted, if followed by letters of श्र class. If the zero which was obtained by dropping the र of र, be considered as sthānivat, then the र is not followed by a consonant of श्र class, and cannot be changed into य. But it is not so. Therefore सप्र +ि +ि लिन्तु = लिन्तु (Yaj. Ved. XVIII. 9). The various rules, by which first र is omitted, and then र is dropped, have been referred to in brackets, and will be explained in their proper places.

Similarly the word वष्पाम्, which is the Imperative (loṭ) 2nd per. dual of the root वष्र, and is thus evolved. This root belongs to the Jhuṭyādī class, and therefore, there is reduplication. Thus वष्र + नाद्र = वष्र + नाद्र + नाद्र = न + भ्र + नाद्र = व + भ्र + नाद्र = व + भ्र +ि + र + नाद्र (VI. 4. 100) = व + भ्र +ि +ि नाद्र (VIII. 2. 26) = व + भ्र +ि +ि नाद्र (VIII. 2. 40) = व + भ्र +ि +ि नाद्र (VIII. 2. 40) = व + भ्र +ि +ि नाद्र = वष्पाम्. Here the change of र into य is by the application of VIII. 4. 53, which is a जसु rule, and therefore, the zero is not sthānivat.
10. वा० श्लोकः: ‘a rule requiring the substitution of the letters of च्छ र प्रत्याहारा instead of other consonants.’ In the application of this rule, also the substitute that replaces a vowel is not sthānivat.

Let us form the 2nd pers. sing. perfect of the verb च्छ ‘to eat.’ च्छ is replaced by प्रठः (II. 4. 40) and प्रत्या is the termination of the second person singular of लि० or perfect tense. प्रठ + प्रठः = प्रठ + प्रठ + प्रठः (VI. 1. 8) = च + प्रठ + प्रठः (VII. 4. 60) = च + प्रठ + प्रठः (VIII. 4. 54) = च + प्रठ + प्रठः (VI. 4. 98) = च + प्रठ + प्रठः.

At this stage comes the च्छ rule in operation, which says that the letters of च्छ प्रत्याहारा are replaced by those of च्छ प्रत्याहारा, when followed by letters of च्छ प्रत्याहारा. Here च्छ is a letter of च्छ class, and if zero is not sthānivat, it is followed by च्छ which is a letter of च्छ class, and therefore च्छ is required to be changed into च्छ of च्छ class. By the present rule, zero is not sthānivat and thus we have:—च्छ + प्रठः = प्रठः: (VIII. 3. 60).

Similarly च्छत्रः the 3rd per. plural aorist of प्रठः is thus formed:—च्छ + प्रठः + च्छ + च्छ = च्छ + प्रठः + च्छ (II. 4. 80) = च्छ + प्रठ + + च्छ + च्छः (VI. 4. 98). Here had the lopa been sthānivat, rule VIII. 4. 55 could not have applied. But it being a char rule, the lopa is not sthānivat. Therefore we have, च्छत्रः.

When lopa is the substitute of a vowel, it is not sthānivat, for the purposes of the application of the rules of accent, rules relating to the doubling of letters, and the rules relating to the elision of या. In other places, with the exception of the above three; the lopa substitute of a vowel is, and must be treated as sthānivat. Thus च्छविकृः, किरित्, गिरित्, चापित्. In these cases the lopa-ādēśa being sthānivat, the rules relating to accent, lengthening and the elision of या, do not apply.

हिर्बन्धेण्यथा || ५५ || पदानि || हिर्बन्धेने, अचि, ( स्यालिवल्, आदेशः, लच्: ||

कृति: || हिर्बन्धननिमित्तीष्ठः यगार्थः स्यालिवविर्मित्त हिर्बन्धन एव कर्मचये ||

59. Before an affix having an initial vowel, which causes reduplication, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel is like the original vowel even in form, only for the purposes of reduplication and no further.

This sūtra has been explained in different ways by the authors of the Kasika and of the Siddhānta Kaumudi. According to the latter, the sūtra means:—‘when an affix beginning with a vowel follows, that is a cause of reduplication, a substitute shall not take the place of a preceding vowel, whilst the reduplication is yet to be made: but the reduplication having been made,
the substitution may then take place.’ The explanation given by Kasika is more in harmony with the Great Commentary. For all practical purposes, the two explanations lead to the same conclusion. According to Kasika, the vowel-substitute is sthānivat, in the sense, that it is exactly of the same form as the original, and retains this form only for a fixed time vis., so long as the reduplication is being made; but as soon as the reduplication has been made, the substitute takes its proper form. This rule has its scope in the rules relating (a) to the elision of long या, (b) to the elision of the penultimate, (c) to the elision of the affix विन्द्र, (d) to the substitution of semi-vowels for vowels, and lastly (e) to the substitution of येत् यत्, यत् and यत् for हे, यो हे and यो respectively by the rules of sandhi.

(a). Elision of या. Let us form the 2nd person perfect tense of the root या ‘to drink.’ The termination of 2nd person perfect is यत्. This is, therefore, a termination beginning with a vowel, and it causes the reduplication of the root. The conditions of the present sūtra all exist in this. Thus we have या + यत् = या + + यत् (VI. 4. 64). Here the या is elided by VI. 4. 64, which teaches that ‘the या of the root is elided before अर्ध-धातuka affixes beginning with a vowel and which are कित् or कित्, and before हस्.’ The affix यत् is such an affix (I. 2. 5, III. 4. 115).

Now comes the rule about reduplication which is contained in sūtra VI. 1. 8, and teaches that a root consisting of a single vowel is reduplicated before the terminations of the perfect. Here, by the elision of या, the only visible root left to us is या which is a consonant without any vowel. The rule of reduplication, therefore, would not have applied to it, because there is no vowel in it, but for the present sūtra, which solves the difficulty. Here the vowel-substitute zero must be considered sthānivat i.e. as if it were the very या itself. Thus we have या + या + या = यत् (VII. 4. 59). The long या of the reduplicative syllable has been shortened by VII. 4. 59. So also यत्:

(b). The elision of the penultimate. Let us form the same tense of हस् ‘to kill.’ हस् + यत् = हस् + + यत् (VI. 4. 98).

Here also the preliminary conditions are all fulfilled, the affix begins with a vowel and it causes the reduplication of the root. The penultimate य of हस् is replaced by the substitute lopa by VI. 4. 98, which teaches that the roots यस् ‘to go’ हस् ‘to kill’ and a few others lose their penultimate before affixes beginning with a vowel and which are also कित् or कित्. We know यत् to be such an affix. For the reasons already given, we can not reduplicate the consonants हस् as they have no vowel. However, this reduplication is effected by virtue of the present rule, and we have: — ह + ह + यत् = यत्: (VII. 4. 62, VII. 3. 55). The first ह is changed into ह by VII. 4. 62 and the second ह into ह by VII. 3. 55.
(c). The elision of the affix लिखत्र्. Let us form the Aorist (लु) of the causative form of चन्त्र्. The causative is formed by adding the affix लिखत्र् to the root; and the aorist takes the augment च. Thus we have:—च + चन्त्र् +लिखत्र् +न् = चात् + ह + न् = चात् + ह + चन्त्र् + ह. The affix चन्त्र् (III. 1. 48) is added in forming the aorist of causatives. The letters च and ह are indicative, the real affix being च. Now by VI. 4. 51, the affix लिखत्र् is elided before an अर्धधातुका affix that does not take the intermediate ह. Now चन्त्र् is such an affix. Therefore we have चात् + ह + चन्त्र्.

At this stage, comes into operation another rule (VI. 1. 11), which declares that 'the root is reduplicated before the affix चन्त्र्.' The चन्त्र् is, thus, an affix which causes reduplication; it is an affix which also begins with a vowel. Therefore, it satisfies the conditions of this sutra. Therefore, the zero which was a substitute in place of the vowel ह, becomes sthānīvat to ह; as if it were the very ह itself. Thus we have the reduplicative syllable ह, by rule VI. 1. 2, which says that a verb beginning with a vowel reduplicates its second syllable. But as soon as the reduplication is over, the ādea takes up its original form of zero. Thus चात्तिर् + ह + चन्त्र् = चात्तिर्।

(d). The fourth class of cases, where this sutra has scope, is the substitution of चन्त्र् for vowels. Thus let us form the perfect 2nd person singular of क ‘to do’:—क + चन्त्र् = क + चन्त्र्, the semi-vowel ह taking the place of च by the general rule of sandhi VI. 1. 77. Now we have already learned that चन्त्र् is an affix which causes reduplication and it begins with a vowel. Now ह is a substitute which comes in the place of a vowel (i.e., ह), it will therefore be sthānīvat by this sutra. Had it not been sthānīvat, the consonants ह could not be reduplicated, as they have no vowel. The substitute ह being taken equal to ह, we reduplicate ह; in reduplication the क is changed into च by VII. 4. 62, and ह into ह by VII. 4. 66. Thus we have:—चन्त्र्; similarly चन्त्र्।

(e). The fifth case is the substitution of चन्त्र् &c. Let us form 1st person singular of the perfect of नि ‘to lead’ नि + चन्त्र् = नि + ह = नात्र् + ह. The ह is vṛddhied before the termination ह of the perfect (VII. 2. 115), and then changed into चात् by the general rule of sandhi (VI. 1. 78). Now the ह of the perfect causes reduplication, and it is an affix which begins with a vowel. It satisfies the conditions of this sutra. Therefore the चात् which was a substitute for ह, being a vowel substitute, becomes sthānīvat to ह in form. In reduplicating the word नात्र्, we reduplicate as if it were still ह. Thus we have the form निनाद् and not नंनाद्. Similarly निनाद्, लुलद्, and लुलमाद्।

Why have we used the word “dvirvachane” in the sutra? Without it, the aphorism would have stood thus:—‘Before an affix having an initial vowel which causes reduplication, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel
is like the original vowel." Let us form जले the 3rd per. sing, perfect tense (निःस्) of the root जल "to be exhausted," in the atmanepada. The affix of 3rd per. sing. atm. of लिः, is ल्पु (III. 4, 81). Thus जल + ल्पु = जल + ल्पु (VI. 1. 45). Now here हे is changed into या, on account of the affix ल्पु; this affix causes reduplication, but still या is not to be considered as sthānivat to हे. For if या be considered so, then in the next stage जल + ल्पु = जल + न + ल्पु (VI. 4. 64) the lopa will be regarded as sthānivat to हे and the reduplicative syllable will be न and not न; the form being सिग्ले and not सिग्ले. But या is not sthānivat to हे, because for the purposes of reduplication, the change of हे into या is immaterial; it is the second and further change of या into zero which is directly connected with reduplication, (for if zero be not considered sthānivat, there can be no reduplication); and therefore, this substitute zero should be regarded as sthānivat to या.

Why do we say "which causes reduplication?" Without these words the sūtra would have stood thus:—"Before an affix having an initial vowel, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel is like the original vowel, for the purposes of reduplication." In that case we could not get the form द्यूषपति, 3rd per. sing, desiderative present tense of दिः 'to shine, to play.' This form is thus evolved:—दिः + सत्र (III. 1. 7) = दिः + अ + सत्र (VI. 4. 19) = दुष्पति + अ + सत्र (VI. 1. 77). Here, the change of ह into व is caused by अ (tech. असूर), which begins with a vowel; is this व to be regarded as sthānivat to हे? No, because अ does not cause reduplication, it is सत्र which causes reduplication. Therefore the equation is:—व + सत्र = दुष्पति (VI. 1. 9) = द्यूषपति. If व could be regarded like हे, then the form would have been द्यूषपति.

Why do we say "beginning with a vowel"? Otherwise the sūtra would have run thus:—"Before an affix which causes reduplication, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel, is like the original vowel, for the purposes of reduplication." The affix यह of the Intensive verbs causes reduplication (VI. 1. 9); but as it does not begin with a vowel, the substitute will not be sthānivat. Let us form श्रीरत्से the 3rd per. sing. Intensive of the root श्री, 'to smell.' Thus श्री + दह = श्री + दह (VII. 4. 31) = श्रीरत्से (VII. 4. 82). Here, या is changed into हे on account of दह; but हे is not sthānivat to या; had it been so, the form would have been श्रीरत्से. Similarly श्रीरत्से.

अद्धैनं द्वायः ॥ ६० ॥ पद्धानि ॥ अद्धैयनस्स, थायः ॥

मुखः ॥ वाचान्यमश्चमश्चमवास्मि, वाचान्यमवास्मि: वाचान्यमवास्मि: वाचान्यः वाचान्यभाष्यनि।

60. The substitution of a blank (lopa) signifies disappearance.

This defines elision. When a letter or word-form becomes latent,
is neither heard, nor pronounced, nor written, it becomes lopa or is said to be elided. Lopa is the term for the disappearance of anything previously apparent.

In Sanskrit Grammar, this "lopa" is considered as a substitute or adesam, and as such this grammatical saro has all the rights and liabilities of the thing which it replaces. This blank or lopa is in several places treated as having a real existence and rules are made applicable to it, in the same way as to any ordinary substitute that has an apparent form. The Grammarians do not content themselves with one sort of blank, but have invented several others; there are many kinds of them, such as lopa blank, slu blank, lup blank, and luk blank, which like different sorts of zeroes of a Mathematician, have different functions.

The word lopa occurs in sūtras VI. 1. 66 and VI. 4. 118 &c. The lopa substitute is a sense substitute, and not a form substitute. Thus when we say 'let the substitute lopa take the place of such and such a letter or word,' we do not mean that the letters ल, चो, र and य should be substituted there, but the sense of the thing, namely 'disappearance.'

61. The disappearance of an affix when it is caused by the words luk, slu or lup are designated by those terms respectively.

When an affix is elided by using the term luk, that disappearance gets the appellation of luk, similarly when an affix is elided by using the terms slu or lup, the disappearance gets the name of slu or lup.

Thus in खरु + ग्राह्यकुक् + वि = वल्लि 'he eats.' Here the vikarana ग्रु has been elided by using the word luk (II. 4. 72). Similarly in जुहोति 'he invokes,' the vikarana ग्रु is elided by the word slu (II. 4. 75), so in बर्या: 'a city in the vicinity of weeds called varanā.' Here the Taddhita affix indicating vicinity has been elided by the word lup. (IV. 2. 82).

Why do we use the words "of the affix"? Without these words, the sūtra would have run thus: "The disappearance is called luk, slu or lup." So that the disappearance of a base would also be caused by the use of these terms. Thus in II. 4. 70, there would have been 'luk' of the bases agnastyam and kausānityam; which however is not intended. In that sūtra, the 'luk' of the affixes is only intended. So also in sūtra IV. 3. 168 there would have been the substitution of 'luk' for the bases of the words.

62. When elision of an affix has taken place (lopa), the affix still exerts its influence, and the operations dependant upon it, take place as if it were present.
This śūtra declares that when an affix disappears by lopa-elision its potency does not disappear. Thus the term ‘pada’ is defined to be that which ends in a case-affix or a conjugal-affix. But after certain bases, these affixes vanish; still those bases become ‘pada’ in spite of the vanishing of the whole affix. How can an operation directed by an affix take place, when the affix itself vanishes, is a doubt which may naturally arise. This śūtra answers the question. Though an affix may be elided by lopa, yet an operation of which such an affix was the cause, must take place. Thus घमिरित is a pada though the case-termination has been elided. Similarly the word चपोक्र ‘he milked,’ which is the Imperfect (ज्ञ) of पुक्र, and is thus formed. चरोष + तिज = परोष + च (III. 4. 100) = चरोष + (VI. 1. 68) = परोष + (VIII. 2. 32) (here ह is changed into ज by taking the word ‘aduh’ as a ‘pada’) चरोष + (VIII. 2. 37) = चरोष (VIII. 2. 39).

Why have we used the word प्रथम in this aphorism again, when its anuvṛtti was understood in this śūtra from the last? This repetition indicates that the present rule applies where the whole of the affix is elided, and not when a portion of an affix is elided. The present śūtra, therefore, does not apply to forms like चाचार्य and सहस्त्रीय. These forms are the 1st person sing. निक्र Atmanepada of हृ and गृ. Thus चाहत्र + हृ = चाहत्र + च (III. 4. 106) = चाहत्र + सीष्रु + च (III. 4. 102) = चाहत्र + चौष + च. Here, च a portion of the affix सीष्रु is elided by VII. 2. 79; now there will be no प्रथमवविल्लय of this partial elision of an affix. Had it been so, the final nasal च of चाहत्र would have been elided by VI. 4. 37: but that is not so: and we have चाचार्य (VII. 3. 54 and VI. 4. 98).

The word लक्षण means that by which a thing is recognised. The word प्रथमवविल्लय, therefore, means the effect by which an affix could be recognised. The orthographical changes, like the following, are not however pratyaya-lakshana. In forming the genitive singular of रे ‘wealth,’ we have रे + चरु = राव; here, the change of रे into राव by the rules of sandhi, though caused by the affix चरु; is not such an effect, which the affix causes, by virtue of being an affix, but it is an effect caused by the accidental fact, that the affix begins with a vowel, and thus gives scope to the euphonic rule VI. 1. 78. Therefore, when in forming the genitive compound of राव: + चुलेन, we elide the case-affix चरु; we get the form रेकुलेन. Here the elided affix will not cause the peculiar orthographic change mentioned above, which is dependent upon its letters, and not upon the affix as such.
63. Of the base (anga), whose affix has been elided by the use of any of the three words containing च, the operations dependent on it do not take place, regarding such base.

This sutra is a special exception to the previous aphorism which was too extensive. It declares, that when an affix is elided by using the words त्रस्त, रस्त, or ह्रस्त, then the 'sign' or लक्षण or the peculiar virtue of the affix also vanishes. Thus there is an important difference in the elision of an affix by force of the words तुष्य &c.; and by the word लोप. In one case the virtue of the affix subsists inspite of the elision, in the other it does not.

The word चर्च in this sutra requires some explanation. "A root, followed by a suffix (pratyaya), is raised to the dignity of a base (pratipadika); and finally becomes a real word (pada) when it is finished by receiving a case-termination (vibhakti). Every base, with regard to the suffix which is attached to it, is called Anga, body."

Thus the word गर्गद is the plural of the word गर्गद: The word गर्गद: is formed by adding the affix व्रस्त to गर्गद (IV. 1. 105); the force of the indicator च being to cause the व्रiddhi of the first vowel of the word (VII. 2. 117). But in forming the plural of गर्गद: rule II. 4. 64 presents itself, which declares that there is लुक of the affix व्रस्त when the word takes the plural. Here the affix व्रस्त is elided by the word लुक, which means not only the elision of the च of गर्गद: but also the shortening of च into च, that is, the affix being elided, it vanishes altogether, leaving no trace behind, in the shape of the व्रiddhing of the first vowel, which the affix was competent to cause.

Similarly च्छ: is the 3rd per. dual present tense of च्छ: 'to clean.' It belongs to Adádi class in which the vikaraṇa च्छ: is elided by 'luk' (II. 4. 72); and hence there is no व्रiddhi substitution, which would have taken place by VII. 2. 114, (the ik of the base च्छ: is व्रiddhied before verbal affixes).

Similarly च्छ:; 'they two sacrifice'; here the vikaraṇa च्छ: has been elided by using the word 'श्लु' (II. 4. 75, let श्लु be substituted in the room of शप after the verbs हु &c). The effect of this elision is, that there is no गुना substitution of the vowel of the base, which च्छ: was competent to cause.

When an affix is elided in any other way than by the enunciation of the three terms containing च, it is competent to cause its proper effect. Thus च + लिः + व्रस्त + व्यः = कारिः + व्रस्त + व्यः = कारिः + व्रस्त + व्यः = कारिः. Here the elision of the affix nih is by 'lopa,' (VI. 4. 51) and hence though the affix vanishes, its effect remains. Why do we say 'in respect of an Anga or inffective base?' Observe पञ्च: 'five,' सन्च: 'seven,' मृण: 'milk,' साम: 'sáma veda.' Here in the word पञ्च: the plural case-affix is elided by VII. 1. 22
(after the words called shat, the अ and शात are elided by 'luk').
Here the affix is elided by enouncing the word 'luk,' the result is,
that the affix cannot produce any change which it would otherwise.
have caused, in the anga or intransitive base; such as lengthening, as in rājan, 'a
king,' 1 p. rājanya 'kings.' But though it is inoperative as regards the
anga, the elided affix is not altogether inactive. It retains the virtue of rais-
ing the base to the dignity of a pada. Thus:—पञ्चफ + न्द्र = पञ्चन + 0, (luk VII.
1. 22). The word pañchana is now a pada, and as such, it drops its final र.

अथोपन्यायिति ति ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनि, अन्यायिति, ति ॥

पुत्रि:―चचा सारानिधियानां योङन्योग तत्तति शास्त्रोप दिपंतं गयति ॥

64. The final portion of a word, beginning with
the last among the vowels in the word, is called ति.

This sūtra defines ति. It is that portion of a word which is included
between the last letter and the nearest vowel. Thus in the word सारानिधित्र the
portion ति is ति; so also in शास्त्रोप the portion ति. The word ति occurs in
sūtra III. 4. 79.

The word चचा in the sūtra is in the genitive case, which has the
force of nirdhāraṇa or specification; and though it is in the singular number,
it represents class name, meaning 'among the vowels.'

अथोपन्यायात्पुरे उपधा ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनि, अन्यायिति,

पूवे; सपि ॥

पुत्रि:―पाराक्षारै पाण्डवजपि शास्त्रोपि: पूवेऽवर्त्यो सोङलेशयप वंशी नयति ॥

65. The letter immediately preceding the
last letter of a word is called the penultimate.

This defines उपधा or penultimate. Thus in the words पाण, निष्ठ, उप, युप
the letters प, ह, व, and य are उपधा.

The word 'upadhā' occurs in sūtra VII. 2. 116.

तस्मिन्जिति निर्दिष्टे पूवेस ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मिन्, पुत्रि,

निर्दिष्टे, पूवेस ॥

पुत्रि:―तस्मिन्जिति सब्यम्यपिनेष्वि पूवेऽवर्त्यायाम कार्यं नयति नानाश्रयं ॥

66. When a term is exhibited in the seventh
case in these sūtras, the operation directed, is to be
understood as affecting the state of what immediately
precedes that which the term denotes.

This is a declaratory or interpreting sūtra. When in a sūtra, a word
is used in the locative case, the operation ordained by that sūtra is to be per-
formed on the word preceding it. Thus in the sūtra इत्य वाणिज्य (VI. i. 77) the word वाणिज्य is in the locative case, which sūtra, therefore, means that इत्य वाणिज्य followed by a vowel (नायान) are changed into इत्य वाणिज्य, इत्य वाणिज्य, इत्य वाणिज्य, इत्य वाणिज्य. The literal translation of the sūtra being:—'Of इत्य there is वाणिज्य in वाणिज्य.' The force of 'in' or the locative case being to induce changes in the letter preceding the vowel. Thus शिव + वद्यक्य = शिवबृहदस्य ; so जगत्सिद्ध, परम्परयोगसिद्ध.

The word nirdishṭa (meaning 'exhibited') has been used in the sūtra to indicate immediateness. Thus in भमतेष्वर, the द of भमतेष्वर is not directly followed by the द of सिद्ध, there being the letter त intervening, therefore, rule VI. i. 77, does not apply here: and we have no sandhi.

वस्त्रादित्युत्तरस्य \( \| \) ६७ \( \| \) पदानि \( \| \) तस्मात्, इति, उत्तरसः, (निर्देशे) \( \| \)

इति: \( \| \) वस्त्रादित्युत्तरस्य निर्देशे उत्तरस्येद कार्ये भविष्य न प्रूःसः \( \| \)

67. An operation caused by the exhibition of a term in the ablative or fifth case, is to be understood to enjoin the substitution of something in the room of that which immediately follows the word denoted by the term.

This sūtra explains the force of words in the ablative case when employed in these aphorisms. As the locative case refers to a preceding word, so the ablative refers to a succeeding word.

Thus sūtra VIII. 4. 61 declares that 'after इत्य, of स्थान and स्ताम्भ, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior.' Thus इत्य + स्थानम्. Here the word इत्य: is exhibited in the original sūtra in the ablative case, and by the present sūtra it means that a dental letter इत्य must be substituted in the place of स्थान, and by I. 1. 54 ante, this dental takes the place of इत्य; we have इत्य + स्थानम् = इत्यम्. Similarly in sūtra तित्व: हतितः: (VIII. 2. 18, 'a word ending in a conjunctival affix, when following after a word ending in a non-conjunctival affix, becomes anudatta.') Here the word 'तित्व: हतितः' is exhibited in the ablative case, therefore, the operation directed by this aphorism, namely, the substitution of anudatta accent, must take place in the word that follows. Thus तित्व: हतितः; but not so in भविष्यादित्युत्तरस्य \( \| \)

लं दृढ्य शास्त्रादित्युत्तरस्य \( \| \) ६५ \( \| \) पदानि \( \| \) लं, दृढ्य, शास्त्र, अशास्त्राभविष्यादित्युत्तरस्य \( \| \)

इति: \( \| \) शास्त्रादित्युत्तरस्य शास्त्रम् अशास्त्रम्। अधिक शास्त्राधिक \( \| \) अधिक अशास्त्राधिक \( \| \) शास्त्राभविष्यादित्युत्तरस्य \( \| \)

वाणिज्यम् \( \| \) * सिद्धेनिर्देशे इतिस्वास्त्रादित्युत्तरस्य * \( \| \)
68. In this Grammar, when an operation is directed with regard to a word, the individual form of the word possessing meaning is to be understood, except with regard to a word which is a definition.

This is a rule of interpretation. The word नाव which means 'one's own' denotes 'the meaning,' and the word नावı denotes 'the individual form of a word.' The sense of the sūtra is that a word denotes both things expressed by those two words नाव and नावı, viś., its meaning, and its form. Thus a rule applicable to ज्ञान will be applicable to the word composed of च, च, च, च and not to the words synonymous with ज्ञान, such as, पाक, र्वन, &c.

In this science, therefore, the very word-form is to be taken, and understood and operated upon, and not external sense: with the exception of words which are definitions, in the latter case the things defined are to be taken:

This sūtra is begun in order to remove the difficulty which might otherwise arise from a consideration that a word connotes a certain meaning, and as no grammatical operation is possible in a concrete object, we must take the words having the same meaning. As when a person is called to bring a 'cow,' he brings the animal cow, and not the letters c, o, w. It may therefore be said, that as no grammatical operation is possible in a material thing, we may take all the names synonymous with the word and operate upon them; this sūtra removes that doubt.

Thus the sūtra श्रान्विन्न (IV. 2. 33) declares:—"that the affix 'घाक' comes after the word 'agni.'" Thus श्रान्विन्न + घाक = श्रान्विन्न "belonging to agni," as in the following sentence श्रान्विन्नहाकाले निर्सेदायु. Here the word श्रान्विन्न indicates the individual word-form श्रान्विन्न and not its synonyms. Similarly sūtra IV. 2. 19 declares:—'let there be optionally घाक after उरस्विता.' As श्रान्विन्न(IV. 3. 50 and 51) or श्रान्विन्न. The rule applies to the word-form 'udaśvīta' meaning 'curd-milk' and not to तक, चरित, कालेश, द्वाहव and नाथिर्म, which are synonyms.

There is an important exception to this rule, and that is in favour of terms which are technical terms of Grammar and have been so defined.

Thus श्रान्विन्न (I. 1. 20) and श्रान्विन्न (I. 1. 22). Here the words 'ध' and 'प' denote the words connoted by those terms and not to their word-form. There are, however, some sūtras in Pāṇini which are ap-
apparently exceptions to this rule. These exceptions have been arranged under four heads, technically called शिलेऽऽ, विरु, जिस्त, and कळ्ट्टू. When there is a rule about a word, it may mean that very word-form, or words representing species falling under that word, or words which are synonymous with it. Thus rule II. 4. 12 declares:—"पृष्ठ ‘tree’, बुध ‘deer’, ब्राह्म ‘grass,’ &c., may optionally be compounded as dvandva.” Here the word पृष्ठ stands as a generic name for the species falling under it, and does not represent the word-form, पृष्ठ. Thus we have dvandva-compound of पृष्ठ + न्यायो, as पृष्ठन्यायोन्यस्य or पृष्ठन्यायोन्यस्य। Such sūtras are called द्वित.  

Then in sūtra III. 4. 40, we have an example of द्वित. That sūtra means "the word पृष्ठ ‘to feed’ takes the affix गदाज्ज (द्वित.) when compounded with the word लघु.” Here the word लघु means both the word-form लघु, as well as the synonyms of लघु and the species of लघु. Thus लघु and ब्राह्म ‘wealth’ are synonyms; while लघु ‘wealth’ and ब्राह्म ‘cow’ are genus and species. Thus लघु + द्वित + गदाज्ज = लघुद्वितज्ज. Similarly द्वितक्षेत्र, द्वितक्षेत्र, द्वितक्षेत्र, द्वितक्षेत्र. Such sūtras are called द्वित.  

Then in sūtra II. 4. 23, we have an example of द्वित. "A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word जना ‘court’ is neuter, provided that it is preceded by the word राजा, or by a word denoting a non-human being.” Here the synonyms only of the word राजा are taken, and neither the word-form राजा, nor the special instances falling under it. Thus लघु ‘king’ + जना = लघुजना ‘king’s assembly,’ द्वित + जना = द्वितज्जजना ‘king’s assembly.’ But not राजसेवा, but राजसेवा. Nor can we take particular kings, such as चंद्रगुण or शुपातिन. In their case we must have गदाज्जज्ज, गदाज्जज्ज.  

Then in sūtra IV. 4. 35, we have an example of द्वित. The sūtra means “the words पक्ष ‘bird,’ खम्ब ‘fish,’ धुन ‘deer,’ take the affix द्वित when the meaning is the killer thereof.” Here the words पक्ष &c. denote both the word-forms पक्ष &c. as well as the species denoted by those terms, but not their synonyms. Thus पक्ष + द्वित = पक्षपक्ष ‘a bird-killer,’ मार्लिक: ‘a fish-catcher.’ शब्दण + द्वित = शब्दणशलिक: ‘a vulture-killer.’ But we cannot take the synonyms of पक्ष, &c. except in the case of खम्ब, when we may take the word ‘मीन.’ As मार्लिक: and शलिक: ‘a fish killer.’

अघुदिस्तवण्येऽण्यो यथात्मयः। दृश्यम्। अणू, वदितो, 
खवंश्यं, च, यथात्मयः ( खन्यन्त )।।

इति। यथृष्ठ ग्याणाय विद्यम सर्वर्गाणां धातुर्ग भवति श्वस्य गुप्तस्य गतस्यं वैशिष्या।।

69. The letters of the Pratyāhāra प्रण i.e. the vowels and semi-vowels, and a term having ः for its indicative letter, refer to their own form as well as to their
homogeneous letters, except when they are used as pratyāṣas or affixes.

The pratyāṣa รส in thus sūtra includes all the vowels and liquids. This is the only instance where र्थ pratyāṣa refers to the second र of र्त. The letters included in र्त, and the letters having an indicatory र, refer to, and include their homogeneous letters also. Thus र्थ refers to all the five gutturals क, ख, ग, घ, ङ, similarly र्स, र्ह, र्फ, and र्य, as in sūtra I. 3. 8. Similarly र्स includes short, long and protracted र्त. The words 'its own form' are understood in this sūtra, being drawn from the previous sūtra: Thus sūtra जातुपुधः (VI. 1. 87), 'when a vowel comes after र्त, guṇa is the single substitute for both.' Here though the rule mentions only short र्त, we take the long र्त also. Thus not only नर+र्तः = नरेशः; but वास+र्तः = वाशेशः.

So also in sūtra भरस्वत्रो (VII. 4. 32), 'there is long र्त in the room of र्त when the affix 'chvi' (V. 4. 50) follows.' Here long र्त is also included; thus क्रुष्ण+क्रोधि = क्रुष्णीक्रोधः, and ख्रुष्ण+क्रोधि = ख्रुष्णीक्रोधः. So also in sūtra वरस्वयः (VI. 4. 148). 'When long र्त follows, there is elision of the र or र्त of the base,' the rule applies to the bases ending in long र्त and र्त also.

This rule of course does not apply to affixes. Thus sūtra III. 2. 168; says, 'after words ending in the affix san, and the words āsansa and bhiksha, there is र्त.' Here र्त is an affix and therefore does not include long र्त. Thus अस्तु: 'a beggar.' So also in IV. 3. 9, the short र्त only is to be taken and not the long one.

लपसत्तकालस् ॥ ७० ॥ पद्यानि ॥ त-परः, तत्-कालस्, ( र्तं र्तरः ) ॥

संबंधः ॥ तत्रते वर्गसत्तकालस्यवालनायुक्तकालस्य गुणान्तरकुशलस्य वशत्तको भाष्य तस्य र्तः कुष्ठः ॥

70. The letter which has र्त after or before it, besides referring to its own form, refers to those homogeneous letters which have the same prosodial length or time.

By the previous sūtra it was declared that a vowel standing by itself included all the letters of its class. Thus र्त includes र्त; and र्त, र्त; &c. This sūtra lays down the rule by which the very form of the letter is taken and not all the letters of its class. This is done by placing a र्त either after or before the letter. Thus र्त means the very letter र्त and not all its homogeneous letters. Similarly र्त means short र्त only and not long or protracted र्त. We had to refer to this sūtra, in our very first sūtra, in explaining the term र्त.
The sūtra consists of two words सत्त्र: and तत्कालस्त्वः. Taparāḥ means that which has a रु after it or that which is after रु. Tat-kāla means having the same time. According to time the vowels are divided into short, long and protracted. Short vowels have one measure, long vowels two, and protracted vowels three. A consonant lasts half the time of a short vowel. Therefore a letter preceded or followed by रु, refers to its own form as well as to those only of its homogeneous letters which have the same time. Thus the letter सत्त्र will include the udātta, anudātta, svarita (both nasalised and non-nasalised) रु and not the long and protracted forms.

This sūtra declares an injunction. The anuvṛtti of क्रु of the previous sūtra does not run into this sūtra. Any other letter than रु may be followed by रु and the rule of this sūtra will apply to that also. This rule qualifies the previous sūtra which would therefore mean that an रु letter which is not followed or preceded by a रु includes its homogeneous letters also.

Thus in the sūtra VII. 1. 9 रुक्त क्रुति रुत्स. ‘After words ending in क्रु (i.e. short क्रु), रु takes the place of क्रु.’ Thus क्रुति. But in क्रु which ends in long क्रु and whose prosodical time is different from क्रु, this rule will not apply, and we have क्रुति...

71. An initial letter, with a final रु letter as a final, is the name of itself and of the intervening letters.

This sūtra explains the mode of interpreting pratyāhāras. Thus the pratyāhāra रुत्र means those letters whose beginning is रु and whose final रु is रु.

Why do we say with the ‘final indicatory letter?’ Because a pratyāhāra like सत्त्र would be otherwise ambiguous. It might be doubted whether it is formed with the final रु of चोद and refers to the first five case-affixes, or whether it is formed with the initial रु of च and therefore refers to the first seven case-affixes. The present sūtra clears up the doubt. A pratyāhāra is formed with the final रु and not with the initial रु.
72. An injunction which is made with regard to a particular attribute, applies to words having that attribute at their end as well as to that attribute itself.

This sūtra consists of three words:—वेन 'by what (attribute),' विष 'rule,' तत्तत्तव 'having that (attribute) at its end.'

This is a rule of interpretation. When a rule is made with regard to a particular attribute or letter, it means also words having those attributes or letters at their end. Thus there is a rule (III. 1. 97) declaring "let there be the affix ब्रु after the vowels." Here the phrase "after the vowels" means and includes "after the roots ending in vowels, as well as roots consisting of a single vowel." Thus शि + ब्रु = शष्य. Therefore, this sūtra means that when a rule is laid down in this grammar with regard to a particular attribute, that rule, besides being applicable to that particular attribute, is also applicable to words ending in that particular attribute. Thus a rule laid down generally with regard to vowels, will apply to words ending in vowels; a rule laid down with regard to certain forms, will apply to words ending in those forms.

Thus the sūtra रण (III. 3. 56) 'after र there is ज्ञ' declares that the affix ach would come not only after र, but after any expression that ends in र. Thus र + ज्ञ = ज्ञ, शि + ज्ञ = ज्ञ.

Vartt:—The present rule, (called tadanta-vidhi) must not be applied to rules relating to compounds (samāsa), and to pratyayas (affixes). Thus sūtra II. 1. 24, declares that a word in the accusative case is compounded with the words śrita, atita &c. As कट्ट + विष = कट्टविष: 'involved in pain.' The present sūtra must not be applied here, and we cannot say that a word in the accusative case would be compounded with another that ends in śrita; for tadanta-vidhi does not apply here. Hence we cannot form a compound of कट्ट + परमविष:.

Similarly, in rules of affixes. Thus sūtra IV. 1. 99 declares "that the words नव &c., take the affix फळु." Thus नव + फळु = नावा. But we cannot apply the affix phak to the word सूजनन, the tadanta-vidhi not being applicable here. The descendant of सूजनन will be called सूजनानि and not as above.

The above vārtika is however qualified by the following:

Vartt:—The above vārtika does not apply to words formed by affixes
that have an indicatory व्र (व, व्र, व्र), short or long, or where a rule is propounded with regard to letters. Thus the affix kta (I. 1. 26) has an indicatory व, and we have क्रतवत्. A rule which will apply to kritavat will apply also to the word which ends in kritavat. Thus the feminine of kritavat is क्रतवती (IV. 1. 6), the feminine of sukritavat will be sukritavatī. Similarly rule IV. 1. 95 व्रत ह्रू says "after व्र there is the affix ह्रू." This is a rule relating to prayyasas, but as it is propounded by mere letters, the rule of tadanta-vidhi will apply here. Thus ह्र + ह्रू = ह्रतिं 'the son of Daksha.'

Vart:—When a term, which denotes a letter, is exhibited in a rule in the form of the locative case and qualifies something else which likewise stands in the locative case, that which is qualified by it must be regarded as beginning with the letter which is denoted by the term in question, and not as ending with it.

Thus sūtra VI. 4. 77, achi ān dhatu bhṛvām yvor iya ṣu uvaṇau, means "iyaṇ and uvaṇ are the substitutes of what ends with the prayaya śnu and what ends in a verbal root in ह or व्र, whether long or short, and of the inflective base bhṛ, when an affix beginning with a vowel follows." Here the word 'achi' is exhibited in the seventh case, which literally means 'when a vowel follows;' but by virtue of the present vārtika it means, 'when an affix beginning with a vowel follows,' as. भ्रम: भ्रू: ॥

चृंतिर्यायाचारादितिष्ठात् भ्रूर्थः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदार्थि: चृंतिः यस्य, अचाम्, आदिि, तद्, भ्रूर्थः ॥

इति: ॥ अचामस्ये वश्य बश्यस्वंक बश्यस्वस्वस्मर्थवृषे इश्यवृषे वश्यि: ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ *भ्रामणस्वस्मस्वस्मर्थवृषे भ्रामणस्वस्मर्थवृषे* ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ * या नामपेयस्य इश्य संता बश्यि: ॥ *
वार्तिकम् ॥ * सिद्धार्थार्थवृषेर्वृषे वर्णूः ॥ *

73. That word, among the vowels of which the first is a vriddhi, is called vriddham.

This defines the word श्रूर्थः. The sūtra consists of five words:— श्रूर्थः 'the vriddhi vowel;' यस्य 'whose,' अचाम् 'among the vowels,' आदिि 'is first;' तद् 'that;' श्रूर्थः 'is called vriddham.'

If a word consisting of many vowels, has a vriddhi vowel coming first in the order of vowels, that word is called vriddham. Thus the words नाला, शाला &c., have the first vowel शा a vriddhi vowel, therefore, they are called vriddham.
The word vriddham has been defined in order to make applicable to these peculiar words certain taddhita affixes. Thus there is a rule (IV. 2. 114) by which the affix छू is added to vriddham. Thus माता + छू = मातीज:।
Why do we say "the first?" Because a word like सनातनान, which is not a vriddha word, will not admit of the affix छू. Its corresponding derivative will be सनातनान:।

Vart:—A proper noun, though not coming under the above definition, may yet be regarded optionally as a vriddham. Thus द्वित + छू = द्वितज्ञीया, or we may have द्वितज्ञा.

Vart:—A compound ending in a Gotra word, is regarded for the purposes of the addition of this affix, as if it was not compounded. Thus धौरि is a Gotra word and also vriddham. Its compound धौरीवरिष्ठ will be regarded as a vriddham too, for the addition of the affix. As धौरीवरिष्ठ + छू = धौरीवरिष्ठीया: 'the students of Gṛitarāγī.' So also योजनपाथिनीया, उदात्मनीया: उदात्मकर्मणीया: &c.

Vart:—Exception must be made in the case of नन्दवाकार्य and हरिवाकार्य. They do not take छू. Thus नन्दवाकार्य and हरिवाकार्य:।

74. The words tyad &c., are also called vriddham.

The स्वृः &c. have been given in the list of sarvanāmas. See sūtra 27. These words are also called vriddham. Thus वरू + छू = तद्दीय, एववीय, मारीय, इत्यदि, ब्रह्मीय, ब्रह्माणि:; माराणि: &c.

75. A word that has the letters र and श as the first among its vowels, gets also the designation of vriddham, when it is the name of Eastern countries.

As गोनरेः is a country of the east, it is a vriddham word and we have गोनर + छू = गोनरवृः; similarly एष्टीपवनाय, भोजकविं:.
Vriddham Defined.

[ Bk. I. Ch. I. § 75.]

The word prak in the sutra has been differently interpreted. The Grammarian Kunin takes the word prak as an epithet qualifying the word achārya, 'professor' understood. In that case the sutra will be thus translated:—'In the opinion of the Eastern (or ancient) professors, a word that has the letters c and a as the first among its vowels, and is the name of a country, is called vriddham.' Under this interpretation, this will be an optional rule only, giving the opinion of eastern or ancient grammarians.

Others however take the word prak as qualifying the word desa and the meaning then is as given in the text.

Why do we say 'having the letters य and चे'? If a simple vowel is first among the vowels of a word, that word will not be called vriddham: as यांहित्यम्, कान्तिकृतम्.

Why do we say of 'Eastern country'? Because this rule does not apply to a word like देशस्त्र: which is the name of a town in the Punjab, which is not an eastern country. Its secondary derivative will be देशर्ता, born in Devadatta.

Why do we say 'country'? The rule will not apply to rivers &c. Thus from गोमति we have गोमन्ता: 'fish born in the river Gomati.'
BOOK I.
CHAPTER II.

1. All affixes after the verb gān 'to study' and the verb kuṭ 'to be crooked,' and the rest, are as if they had an indicatory र (nīt), except those affixes which have an indicatory च (nīt) or च (nīt).

This is an atiśāa sūtra, and makes certain affixes, though not having an indicatory र, to produce the same effect as if they were really हिन्दू.

The root गाहः is substituted for the verb हृद in certain tenses, in which the verb हृद is defective (II. 4. 49). The कुतारि verbs are roots belonging to the Tūţādi class of verbs, and they are forty roots beginning with कु with the exception of those affixes which are नि or हिन्दू.

Thus from गाहः, we have in the aorist the form चापाः; which is thus evolved: चापि + चाह + हृद + निश्च + त = चाप + गा + चू + ि (II. 4. 50) = चापि + गी + ि (VI. 4. 66) = चापाः 'he studied,' चापाः 'they two studied;' चापाः 'they studied.' Here by VI. 4. 66, the गा is changed into र before the affix निश्च, which is regarded as हिन्दू.

Similarly, after the verbs कुद्र &c., all affixes are treated as हिन्दू, with the exceptions already mentioned.

Thus कुहः + चाह (III. 1. 133) = कुहः + हृद + चाह (VII. 2. 35) = कुहः, nominative singular कुत्रिता 'who acts crookedly.' Here the affix चाह being regarded as हिन्दू does not cause the गुणा substitution of the र of कुहः by I. 1. 15.

Similarly with the affixes दुहृद and द्वहृद, we have कुद्रित्र and कुद्रित्रित्व. So on with all the forty roots of कुतारि class: e.g. नणुषित्र, नणुषित्रित्व, नणुषित्रित्व.
But the affixes marked with छ or ष will not be so treated. Thus, शिष्ट by which causatives are formed, is such an affix; e.g. श्रकृ = शिष्ट + रकृ + ष + विष्ट = रकृष्ट + ष + विष्ट = रकृष्टवति. Here there is gupa of the ण of कृ. So also before the affix घान of the perfect tense, we have बण्डकौर्ण and therefore before the affix घान we have उस्तकौर्ण.

Vārtika:—The root वच्छ 'to deceive,' is also treated like κुतादि verbs, except before the affix घान. As विचारत 'he shall deceive,' विचारितम् 'for the purpose of deceiving' विचारितम् &c. Here there is samprastāna before the न त terminations ना, कृ and सवयु, and the ण of वच्छ is changed into ण by rule VI. 1. 16.

But the affix घान is not nit and consequently there is no sampraśāna before it. Thus वच्छत 'an imp.'

विज वश ॥ ॥ पदानि ॥ विजः, वश, (विजु) ॥

2. An affix that begins with the augment व (VII. 2. 35) is nit after the root विज 'to fear, to move.'

The root विज does not strengthen its vowel before the affixes that take the intermediate ण, because those terminations are treated like शिष्ट affixes. The root विज belongs to the Tuddādi class. Thus विजित 'he will be agitated,' विजितम् 'for the purpose of being agitated.' विजितम् 'ought to be agitated.'

But those affixes, which are not preceded by the augment व, are not like शिष्ट, and they consequently produce their own proper action, such as gunation &c. As व + विज + श = शानम्, शाननयम् 'that which ought to be agitated.'

विभाषणम्: ॥ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वर्णाः: ॥ (विजु, वश) ॥

3. After the verb युन 'to cover,' the affix beginning with the augment व is regarded optionally like nit.

Thus before the शिष्ट termination नित of the future, we may have either शिष्टवित or शिष्टवित 'he will cover.'

The equation of the form is:—म + श्र + ष + ता = म + श्रष्ट + नित (VI. 4. 77) = श्रष्टिवता. When the affix is not regarded as शिष्ट, it produces gupa, and we have the second form श्रष्टिवता ॥

Of course there is no option allowed before those affixes which do not take the augment व, and before those terminations, consequently, we have only one form: as श्रष्ट + द्व = श्रष्ट + द्व = श्रष्टस्वन 'covering,' श्रष्टस्वन च 'which ought to be covered.'
4. A Sārvadhatu (III. 4. 113) affix not having an indicatory र is like नित.

The terminations which are added to roots are either Sārvadhatu or Ārdhadhatu. The Sārvadhatu terminations are all those that are marked with ख and also the tense terminations called तिङ्क, the latter are the following:

| 3rd Pers. | दिङ्क | दिङ्क | दिङ्क |
| 2nd Pers. | दिङ्क | दिङ्क | दिङ्क |
| 1st Pers. | दिङ्क | दिङ्क | दिङ्क |
| 3rd Pers. | ख | ख | ख |
| 2nd Pers. | ख | ख | ख |
| 1st Pers. | ख | ख | ख |

Except the terminations marked with ख such as दिङ्क and दिङ्क &c. all the other Sārvadhatu terminations are दिङ्क. The दिङ्क terminations like शाण्ड, शाण्ड &c. are also Sārvadhatu terminations. These affixes are also दिङ्क, unless they have a ख as indicatory, as शाण्ड. Thus the affix तस्य, being an दिङ्क Sārvadhatu affix, is a दिङ्क, and before it the vowel is not gunated: e.g. कृत्व: 'they two do.' The equation is:—कृ + अ + तस्य (the अ is added by Rule III. 1. 79)= कृ + अ + तस्य (VI. 4. 110)= कृ + तस्य = कृत्व: || Similarly कृत्व: 'they do.'

Here the ख of कृ is changed into अ and we have कृ, by virtue of rule VI. 4. 110, which declares that the ख of the verb कृ is changed into अ before those Sārvadhatu affixes which are दिङ्क or दिङ्क. Here तस्य is a Sārvadhatu दिङ्क affix by the present rule, and hence the change.

These four sūtras describe the दिङ्क terminations.

Why do we say 'a Sārvadhatu affix'? Because an Ārdhadhatu affix though not being marked with an indicatory र will not be a दिङ्क. As करी 'doer,' करुः 'to do' करवयम् 'duty.'

Why do we say 'not having an indicatory र'? If a Sārvadhatu affix has an indicatory र it will not be नित. As कृ + अ + दिङ्क = करोति 'he does:' करावि 'thou doest,' करोति 'I do.'
5. The affixes of Lit (Perfect Tense) not coming after a conjunct consonant, are as if they had an indicatory ख (kit).

With this सूत्र begins the description of affixes which are regarded as ख though not actually having a ख to mark them as such. The terminations of लित (Perfect) not being लित terminations, are ख, after verbs that have no compound consonants. The phrase चावित्र (not being marked with वृ) qualifies this सूत्र also, being drawn from the previous सूत्र by the rule of Anuvṛtti.

Thus from बिः ‘to tear’ the Reduplicated non-पित second person perfect is बिनितु: ‘thou hast torn.’ विनितु: ‘they have torn.’

Similarly बिनिद्रस्तु: ‘thou hast divided;’ बिनिद्रस्तु: ‘you divided;’ इजमु: and इजु:.

This rule will not apply if the root ends in a conjunct consonant. Thus लब्ध ‘to fall down’ forms its second person Perfect:—लब्ध्व + चावित्र = लब्धसत्वः. Here the affix is not treated as ख; for had it been so treated, it would have caused the elision of the penultimate nasal (anuvāra) of लब्ध by rule VI. 4. 24. Similarly from चत्त्रु we have चचन्ते.

The पित terminations of the Perfect are not ख; and therefore, we have विनेत ‘he has divided,’ where the root is gminated before the 3rd person singular termination चत्त्र which is a ख termination, because it being the substitute of चत्त्र is regarded like चत्त्र by I. 1. 56.

6. The Lit or Perfect Tense affixes after the roots इन्हि ‘to kindle,’ and भु ‘to become,’ also are ख.

After these two roots the terminations of the Perfect are ख. These roots have been especially mentioned, because the root दान्त ending in a compound consonant will not be governed by सूत्र 5; and the root रु is mentioned because all the terminations of the Perfect are ख after रु, not excepting the रु terminations. Thus the verbs दान्ते and दान्ते are illustrations of Perfect Tense from the root दान्त as in the following examples:—सप्ते हस्यन्तमु, (Rig Veda VI. 16. 15), and घु घु घु घु घु घु (Rig Veda VI. 16. 14). Here the nasal of the root is dropped by regarding the affix as ख. Similarly from the root रु, we have रु, रु, रु.

Vart:—This rule should be applied also to the verbs भ्रम ‘to loosen,’ भ्रम ‘to fasten,’ भ्रम ‘to injure’ and भ्रम ‘to embrace.’ As भ्रम: ‘thou hast
loosened' अघू + चन्द्रु = अघू + चन्द्रु. (The मू is elided by the rule already mentioned in the last सूत्र vis., VI. 4. 24).

=अघू + अघू + चन्द्रु =अघू (VI. 4. 120). Similarly अघू;; अघू:, परिष्ठः,
परिष्ठः.

7. The affix *k*ɪ*ʊ* is *k*ɪ*ɪ* after *m*ɪ*ɪ* ‘to be gracious,’ *m*ɪ*ɪ* ‘to squeeze,’ *g*ᴜ*dh* ‘to wrap up,’ *k*ᴜ*ṣ* ‘to tear,’ *k*ɪ*ɪ* ‘to suffer,’ *v*ᴀ*ḍ* ‘to speak’ and to *v*ᴀ*ḥ* ‘dwell.’

After these seven verbs, the gerundial *k*ɪ*ʊ* is *k*ɪ*ɪ*. It might be objected, what was the necessity of this सूत्र? The affix *k*ɪ*ʊ* is clearly a *k*ɪ*ɪ* affix, as it is marked with the diacritical letter खू, and it was useless to call it a *k*ɪ*ɪ* affix after these verbs. The reason of this apparent repitition is this. Though *k*ɪ*ʊ* is a *k*ɪ*ɪ* affix generally; but there is a later सूत्र in this chapter (I. 2. 18) which declares that the prefix खू is not *k*ɪ*ɪ*, if it is preceded by the intermediate ह. Or in other words, if *क* is added to those verbs, which are called चेत �verbs, viz., that take an intermediate ह, it is not then *k*ɪ*ɪ*. Thus the verb श्री ‘to sleep’ is चें. Therefore श्री + ह + श्रा = श्री + ह + श्रा = श्राध्वरा.

Now it happens that all the seven verbs mentioned in the सूत्र are चें �verbs, and take an intermediate ह. The श्रा before these verbs would have lost its *k*ɪ*ɪ*ness by virtue of सूत्र 18; therefore arose the necessity of this सूत्र, to provide in anticipation an exception to that सूत्र, in favor of these verbs, where the affix *k*ɪ*ʊ* is *n*ᴇ*c*ess*ā*r*ɪ*ly *k*ɪ*ɪ*. Thus we have खू*टिक्थ* ‘being gracious’ गौ*टिक्थ* ‘having squeezed’ गौ*टिक्थ* ‘having wrapped’ खू*टिक्थ* ‘having torn,’ खू*टिक्थ* ‘having suffered’ खू*टिक्थ* ‘having spoken’ खू*टिक्थ* ‘having dwelt.’ The खू of श्रृ and श्रृ are changed into ह by the rule of Samprasaṇa (VI. 1. 15).

Moreover in the case of the verbs गृह, कृष्ण and हिः, सूत्र 26 would have made श्रा *o*p*t*i*o*n*ally *k*ɪ*ɪ*; the present सूत्र makes it *n*ᴇ*c*ess*ā*r*ɪ*l*y so.

8. The affixes *k*ɪ*ʊ* and *s*ᴀ*n* (III. 1. 7) are *k*ɪ*ɪ*, after *r*ᴜ*ḍ* ‘to weep,’ *v*ɪ*ɪ* ‘to know,’ *m*ᴜ*ʃ* ‘to steal,’ *g*ʀᴀ*ḥ* ‘to seize,’ *s*ᴠ*ᴀ*ḥ ‘to sleep,’ and *p*ʀ*a*c*h*ᴄ*ʜ ‘to ask.’
After the above mentioned verbs the \textit{kvad} though taking an intermediate \textit{r}, and the affix \textit{san} are \textit{kit}. The affix \textit{san} is employed in forming desiderative verbs. The \textit{r} of \textit{san} is \textit{ru}, the real affix being \textit{s}. The root is reduplicated before this \textit{san} suffix. Thus \textit{kritva} 'having cried,' \textit{ruhishati} 'he wishes to cry'; \textit{vahis} 'having known,' \textit{vahih} 'he wishes to know'; \textit{vahis} (VI. 1. 16). 'having taken,' \textit{janus} 'he wishes to take'; \textit{gurah} 'having stolen,' \textit{gurah} 'he wishes to steal'; \textit{sah} (VI. 1. 15) 'having slept,' \textit{sah} 'he wishes to sleep,' \textit{shu} (VI. 1. 16) 'having asked,' \textit{shu} 'he wishes to ask'. The verb \textit{shu} is changed into \textit{shu}, \textit{shu} into \textit{shu}, \textit{shu} into \textit{shu} before \textit{kit} affixes by sampras\textit{ara}na (VI. 1. 16).

The \textit{kvad} and \textit{san} would have been \textit{optionally} \textit{kit} after the verb \textit{ra}, \textit{vad} and \textit{ru} by virtue of Rule 26 of this chapter, but this \textit{sutra} makes them \textit{necessarily} so, after these three verbs. In the case of the verb \textit{shu}, these affixes are \textit{kit} by virtue of this \textit{sutra} only. In the case of the verbs \textit{shu} and \textit{shu} the affix \textit{ka} is of course \textit{kit}, because these two verbs are anit, that is, they do not take the intermediate \textit{r}; and therefore the \textit{ka} being directly affixed to them, and rule 18 not applying, the indicatory \textit{ka} would make it \textit{kit}. In reference to these verbs, therefore, the present \textit{sutra} teaches something new, only with regard to the affix \textit{sa}, by making that also \textit{kit}. The verb \textit{shu} takes the intermediate \textit{ru} when the affix \textit{sa} follows, by virtue of \textit{sutra} VII. 2. 75.

9. The affix \textit{san} beginning with a letter of the \textit{Praty\textit{\textad{h}a}ra jhal} is like \textit{kit}, after verbs ending in ik vowels.

In this \textit{sutra} there is the \textit{anuv\textit{\textad{r}it}i} of \textit{san} only and not of \textit{ka}. The \textit{sutra} literally translated means:—"After \textit{ik} the \textit{jhal}," The \textit{Praty\textit{\textad{h}a}ra} \textit{ru} contains the four letters \textit{r}, \textit{u}, \textit{a} \textit{a}. The Praty\textit{\textad{h}a}ra \textit{ru} contains all the consonants, except the nasals and the liquids. After the verbs ending in \textit{ru} the desiderative suffix \textit{ru} is \textit{kit}, when it is \textit{hl\textit{\textad{a}ri}}, that is to say when the affix \textit{sa} does not take the intermediate \textit{ru}. The affix \textit{sa} is an affix which begins with \textit{ru} a letter of the \textit{hl\textit{\textad{a}ri}} class. But if the intermediate \textit{ru} is added before it, it is no longer a \textit{hl\textit{\textad{a}ri}} affix, and in that case it is not \textit{kit}. Thus from \textit{ru} 'to conquer' which is a verb ending in \textit{ru}, we have \textit{ru} 'to conquer' \textit{ru} 'to mix' \textit{ru} 'to be'; \textit{ru} 'to cross' \textit{ru} 'to be' \textit{ru} 'to do.'

If however, verbs ending in \textit{ru} or \textit{ru} or \textit{ru} or \textit{ru}, take an intermediate \textit{ru}, they likewise take guna. As:—\textit{ru} 'to smile' takes guna, and makes its desiderative \textit{vis\textit{\textad{r}it}i}.
The घनारि घन is not kit after verbs ending in any other letter than the घन. As फिसावि (from बा) 'he wishes to drink.' So from बा we have विसावि.

The object of making the affix घन kit affix after verbs ending in घन vowels, is to prevent the guna of the vowel of the root, as in विषयावि 'wishes to collect' गुलावि 'wishes to praise.' To this it might be objected "this cannot be: for rule VI. 4. 16 (when घन beginning with a jhal i.e., not preceded by the augment हर follows, a long vowel is the substitute of verbs ending in a vowel, and of the verbs हर और घन) would prevent guna by substituting long vowel." To this it may be replied "if rule VI. 4. 16, enjoining long vowel, debars rule VII. 3. 84 requiring guna, it should a fortiori debar rule VI. 4. 51 which requires the elision of the affix घन before Ardha-dhatuka affixes not taking the augment हर. But evidently that is not so; for the elision of हर is not debarred by VI. 4. 16. Therefore, the present sūtra is made, so that even by giving scope to the rule of lengthening, the affix घन be treated as कित्व।" Thus in विषयावि scope is given to rule VI. 4. 16, and the vowel is lengthened. But this rule in its turn will be debarred in those cases where rule VI. 4. 51 will apply: in such cases the maxim contained in I. 4. 2 is our guide, and a subsequent rule will debar a prior rule of Pāṇini when both find their scope in a single case. Thus in forming the desiderative of the verb हर + to inform,' both the rules VI. 4. 16 and VI. 4. 51 present themselves, but the latter prevails. The verb हर belongs to the churādi class of verbs, and takes the affix घन। Thus हर + घन + घन + घन; here the present sūtra comes into force, and घन being treated as कित्व, the guna of the ह of घन is prevented. Thus sūtra VII. 3. 84 requiring guna being set aside, sūtra VI. 4. 51 comes into play, and causes the elision of घन and we have हर + घ + घि = घनावि (VII. 4. 55 घि changed to हि) 'he wishes to inform.'

हरणावि । 12। पदावि। हर-अन्तरू, घ , ( घन , घन ,

कित् , कित्।)

प्रमोऽ: । हरणावित्वक्ष्मीपालकः प्र: घन हनावि: विसावि।

10. And after a root ending in a consonant, and preceded by a vowel of the pratyāhara īk, the affix san beginning with a jhal consonant, is like kit.

Thus from घि 'to pierce' we have विसावि 'he wishes to break,' here the root घि contains the īk vowel ह; it ends in a consonant ह; the affix घि is directly added without taking an intermediate ह, and therefore it fulfills all the conditions of the sūtra; and the vowel is not gunated.
If the final consonant of the verb is not preceded by a vowel of the *ik* class, the affix घूँ is not *kit* after such a verb. As घूँ + घूँ + ध - विश्वास 'wishes to sacrifice.' Had the affix घूँ been here a *kit* affix, there would have been samprastāraṇa by rule VI. 1. 16 which declares that there is samprastāraṇa of the verbs घूँ, घूँ, and घूँ, &c., before *kit* affixes.

If the *sañ* takes the intermediate ि and is then no longer a हळादि घूँ, it is not *kit*; and causes gunation etcetera. As घूँ + ि + घूँ - विश्वास 'he desires to be.' Here there is guna of ि.

Roots like घूँ, घूँ, &c., are governed by this rule, though they end in conjunct consonants, for the word घूँ of the sūtra means जाति or class; thus घूँ + घूँ + धूँ = घूँ + धूँ (VI. 4. 24 the म being elided by treating घूँ as कित्रू) = कीति or क्षिति (VII. 4. 56).

11. After roots ending in a consonant, that adjoins a vowel of *ik* pratyāhāra, the substitutes of लिन (III. 3. 161) and *sich* (III. 1. 44) when they begin with a consonant of jhal pratyāhāra, are *kit*, when the atmanepada affixes follow.

The sūtra consists of two words लिक्षितिक्षयि and ब्राह्मणपेशेषु, literally meaning "the affixes लिन and *sich* in the Atmanepada." The other phrases, given in the above text must be supplied from the previous sūtras, to complete the sense. The anuvṛtti of the word घूँ, that began with sūtra 8. does not extend further. As:-निस्त्रीत 'may he break' and मुख्तिन 'may he know,' ज्ञाति 'he broke' गच्छति 'he knew.'

Thus the root घूँ ends with a simple consonant, is preceded by ि a letter of *ik* pratyāhāra; after this root the jhalādi affix सीत of Benedictive in the Atmanepada is treated like कित्रू:; therefore there is no guna substitution of the vowel of the root before this affix. नित्र + सीत = निस्त्रीत. Similarly in the Aorist we have भावित = धूँ + नित्र + सीत + ध, the ध of Aorist being elided by VIII. 2. 26. So also घूँ + सीत = घूँ + सीत (VIII. 2. 37) - मुख्तिन.

If the final consonant is not preceded by an *ik* vowel, this rule will not apply. Thus Ben. घूँ + सीत = घूँ + सीत (VIII. 2. 36) - घूँ + सीत (VIII. 2. 41) = ल्युक्ष (VIII. 3. 58). Similarly its Aorist is घुसति. Had the affixes सीत and ध been *kit*, they would have caused samprastāraṇa of ध by VI. 1. 16.
This rule will not apply, if the Benedictive and Aorist affixes are Parasmaipadi. Thus the Aorist of जत् ‘to let off,’ is म + हतू + शीर्ष = स + य + भ + म + न + शीर्ष (VI. 1. 58) = प्रजतू + शीर्ष (VI. 1. 77) = भवासिद्ध (VII. 2. 1). Similarly from हतष् we have Aorist Parasmaipadi प्राकारार्थिक. Had the Aorist been कित्र, rule VI. 1. 58 (यत्र is the augment of the verbs यत्र and हतष् when an affix beginning with a jhal and not having an indicatory क follows), would not have applied.

This rule will also not apply, if the verb ends in a vowel. Thus of the verb स्थू, we have Ben. चेचित, Aor. बचित. Had the affixes been कित्र, there would have been no guna substitution of i into e.

The rule will not apply if these affixes are not jhaladi but take the augment हत. Thus Ben. हतू + हपीट = हपिनीट, so also Aorist पञ्चलिङ्ग. Had they been कित्र, there would have been no guna substitution.

This rule, of course, is confined to the Benedictive and the Aorist. Other tenses will not be affected by this rule. Thus the 1st and 2nd Future of तित्र is त्वत्रा and देवत्वत्र.

वध || १२ || पदरास || च, च, (विद्विनिक भास्मकेनेपदे श्न्थू कित्र)

वत्र: || चतर्दवर्षधाबः परो लिनिद्वित्वाल्ल्येनेपदे हलासी कित्रो न्यायः ||

12. And after verbs ending in च, the substitutes of लिन and the affix sich, are kīt, when they begin with jhal, and the Atmanepada affixes follow.

As from हू ‘to do’ the benedictive is हपीट ‘may he do.’ So also विचु, as चक्रू ‘he did.’ So also हपीट and चहदत.

Of course this rule would not apply if these terminations take the intermediate ह; as म + हपीट = हपिनीट ‘may he choose,’ (Benedictive); म + ह + हं = हष्ठिन्त or हष्ठित ‘he chose or covered,’ the ह being lengthened by VII. 2. 38.

वा गस || १३ || पदरास || वा, गमः, (विद्विनिक भास्मकेने पदे श्न्थू कित्र)

वत्र: || गन्येर्वतः परो लिनिद्वित्वाल्ल्येनेपदे हलासी वा कित्रो न्यायः ||

13. Optionally after the verb gam, the līn and sich beginning with jhal consonants, in the Atmanepada, are kīt.

The verb मात्र ‘to go’ is Atmanepadi after the preposition स्थू by Rule I. 3. 29.

The result of its being kīt is that the nasal is dropped in the Atmanepada, in forming the Aorist with वित्र, and the Benedictive. Thus we have
the forms: संगतीत or संगतीत in the Beneficitive; and समगत or समगस्त in the sich Aorist. These forms are thus evolved:—

सङ्ग + गम + सीट (VI. 4. 37) = संगतीत 'may he combine.'

Here the nasal ग of गम is elided by treating the affix शीट as कित् by Rule VI. 4. 37. In the alternative we have संगतीत.

So in the aorist सङ्ग + गम + शीट + त = सम + बाब + गम + त (VI. 4. 37) = समगत.

The शीट being elided by VIII. 2. 27 (after a short inceptive base, there is elision of शीट, if a ज्ञति follows). So when ग of गम is elided by VI. 4. 37, there remains only ग which is a base ending in short ग, hence, the elision of शीट. But in the alternative we have समगस्त.

हन: कित् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन: , कित् । (कित्) ॥

हसि: ॥ हनेनपौरी: प्रस: कित् कितति ॥

14. The sich Atmanepada affixes are kit after the root han 'to kill.'

As वाहत्र, वारसात्र, वाहत्र are the aorist of हन. When a कित् or second aorist is kit the verb loses its nasal, by Rule VI. 4. 37. After the verb हन the कित् is only kit and not the Beneficitive शीट terminations, as was the case in the previous sūtra; hence the repetition of the word sich in this sūtra. The sūtras 12, and 13 were governed both by कित् and शीट; from and after this sūtra, the governing power of शीट ceases. The governing power of the word "Atmanepada" in sūtra 11 does not however cease, and its anuvṛtti runs through the succeeding sūtras; though as regards this sūtra, its anuvṛtti is redundant, inasmuch as before the Parasmaipada terminations, the root हन is always replaced by शीट in the aorist, there is no necessity of making the affix sich a kit. For the object served in making sich, kit, after the verb हन, is to elide the nasal, while in the case of शीट, no such purpose can be served.

यनेन गत्ते ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस: , गत्ते, (कित् आरसने- पदेशु कित् ॥)

हसि: ॥ यनेनपौरीगम्यने वसेनानात्स: कित् भस्यः कित् भवति वाष्टनेपदेशु परसः ॥

15. The affix sich before Atmanepada affixes, is kit after the verb yam, when meaning 'to divulge.'

The word gandhana means 'to divulge,' 'to make known that which had been concealed.' The verb हन has various meanings.

The result of kit is that the nasal is elided. The verb हन becomes Atmanepada when preceded by the preposition साध् by rule I. 3. 28. Thus हन + पा + दात्र + त = हनात्रत्ति = 'he devulged,' वारसात्र, वारसात्र, the sich is elided by VIII. 2. 27 and हन by VI. 4. 37. When the verb हन has any other meaning than 'to divulge,' then the शीट in the Atmanepada is not kit; as वायास्त वाया, 'he raised the foot.' So also स्तायत्र क्षायसक्षात्र 'he raised water from the
well.” Though here the verb *yam,* is in the transitive form and takes an object after it, yet it is Atmanepadi by Rule I. 3. 75 which declares “after the verb *yam* to strive, preceded by सम्, वृद्धि and पाठ when it does not refer to a book, the Atmanepada is employed.”

16. The *sich* before अटमनेपदा affixes is *kit* optionally, when *yam* means ‘to espouse.’

Thus रामायण कथाम् or वायुस्म कथाम् ‘he espoused the girl,’ रामायण or वायुस्म भार्याम् ‘he espoused his wife.’

The word ‘Upayamana’ in the sūtra means ‘to accept in marriage,’ ‘to espouse.’ The verb यथा preceded by the preposition यथा is Atmanepadi when it means ‘to espouse’ by Rule I. 3. 56.

17. The affix *sich* before अटमनेपदा affixes, is *kit* after *sthā* “to stand” and ग्हु (I. 1. 20) verbs, and these verbs change their या into य before these terminations.

The roots यथा ‘to stand,’ यथा ‘to give,’ यथा ‘to place’ है ‘to pity’ है ‘to feed’ है ‘to cut’ change their vowels into य before the terminations of the Aorist of the Atmanepada; and those terminations are also *kit.* As वायुस्म, ‘he worshipped’ वायुस्मांताम्, वायुस्मेत्; सत्यं ‘he gave’ सत्यं ‘he fed.’

18. The affix *kīva* when it takes the augment वर (i.e. when it is set) is not *kit.*

We had had occasion to refer to this sūtra in explaining sūtra 7. The affix *kīva* (the actual affix being *tavad,* the *k* being merely त or indicator letter) is on the face of it a *kit* affix. This sūtra however limits its kinship to cases where it is not *set.* If it is *set* i.e., has before it the intermediate वर it will not be treated like a *kit* affix. Thus in कृष्णा, कृष्णा, the affix कृष्ण is added directly to the root कृ ‘to do’ and कृ ‘to sacrifice,’ without an intermediate वर and therefore the root has not been gunated, the affix here being *kit.* But in
The affixes like कित्

80  Affixes like कित्.  [ Bk. I. Ch. II. § 19, 20.

Of course this sūtra relates to  कित् only. Other affixes though having an intermediate ह will be treated as  कित, if they have an indicatory क. Thus the affix कित् (III. 3. 94) by which feminine nouns are formed from roots is a कित् affix. This affix when चेद्, will remain कित्, as नि + यष्ट + इद् कित् नि + महत् + इद् (VI. 1. 16) = कित् (VII. 2. 37). Here there is samprasaśaṇa by treating  कित as  कित. So also in वमलितिर्दिक्त: and विकुलितिर्दिक्त: there is no गुप्त. After चेद् &c., the affix कित् takes the augment इद् by a Vārtika under sūtra VII. 2. 9 which see.

विषया शोध्यतिर्दिक्कितिर्दिविधित्वष्णय: ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ जित्या,
शीर्ष-विलित्व-निलित्व-विलित्व-पूष्ण: (न, शेष, कित् ) ॥

विवच: ॥ चेद् विलित्व निलित्व विलित्व शुष्ण: परस्पर: निश्चय प्रस्ताव: वेष्णुण कित्वविषय॥

19. The set Nishṭhā affixes are not  कित after the verbs  शि 'to lie down,'  स्ूव 'to sweat,'  मिद 'to melt,'  क्ष्याद 'to be unctuous,' and  ध्रिसिद 'to offend.'

The Nishṭhas are  क्ता and  क्तावत् (see sūtra 26, Chapter I). They are obviously  कित affixes. But in the case of the above five roots they are not  कित, and the vowels take गुप्त. Thus  शूष्ण:  शूष्ण:  शूष्ण;  शूष्ण:  शूष्ण;  प्रकाशित:  प्रकाशित:  प्रकाशित:  प्रकाशित:  प्रकाशित: &c. In all the above roots the Nishṭha affixes are also  सूत.

The roots निर्द (निर्दित्), निर्द (निर्दित्), निर्द (निर्दित्) and  ध्रिसिद (ध्रिसित्) have all long  द्व as indicatory, as well as the syllable  द्व. These roots therefore by Rule VII. 2. 16 are generally  आनि, and consequently beyond the scope of the operation of the present sūtra. As निर्दः, निर्दवर्. But when the Nishṭhā affixes denote 'a state or condition, भाव,' or 'beginning of action,' then the above four roots optionally become  सूत. (VII. 2. 17) It is in that case that the present sūtra is applicable to them.

विलितिर्दिक्सायुः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ सूष: तिलितिर्दिक्सायुः ( निद्या
वेद्न न कित् )

हिन्त: ॥ युज्यते: सिद्धितिर्दिक्सायुः योनिर्दिक्सायुः कित्रसमन ॥

20. The set Nishṭhā is not  कित after the verb  मिर्षिद when meaning 'to forbear.'

Thus मिर्षिद: 'forborne' मिर्षित्वत् 'forbore.'

Why do we say 'when meaning to forbear?' When it has not this sense, the set nishṭhā will be कित्. As चाप्पादेत वाक्यमान अ he spoke unintelligible language.'
The set Nishtha is optionally not kit, after the verbs with a penultimate ः if used impersonally or denoting the beginning of action.

According to some the set Nishtha suffixes are not kit after the verbs having a penultimate ः if those verbs are used impersonally (bhava) or denote the beginning of action (adi-karman). Thus दृश्य to shine पतितमनेन or धातितमनेन 'it has been lighted.' Similarly प्रयोगति: or प्रयुविव: 'he first illumined.' The word penultimate or upadh has been defined in sutra 65 ante.

If the verb has any other vowel than ः as penultimate, then the rule does not apply. As लिहितमनेन 'written by him.' Here ः is penultimate; and therefore no option is allowed.

This rule has no application where the Nishtha does not express either भाव 'condition' or 'Impersonal action'; or भारिकर्मे 'beginning of action' but is used as a verbal adjective. As सिध्यं कारङ्गां समव: 'he gives a shining coin (called kârshâpâna). Here the word सिध्य 'shining' is used as adjective.

The rule applies to the Nishtha which takes the intermediate ः and not to others as धृष्ट छोडः: 'the rice that has been eaten.' Here no option is allowed.

This optional form of past participle is restricted in its scope. Those verbs which take the vikarana दृष्ट i.e. the verbs of the Bhu class &c., admit of this option. Thus दृष्ट 'to wrap up' belongs to Divadi class, and therefore, its participle has one form only as धृष्टि.
By rule VII. 2. 51 after the verb द् the affixes निष्ठा and कृपा कितद take the intermediate द्. So that कृपा कितद being सङ्ग (by virtue of Rule VII. 2. 51) would have been non-kit by Rule 18; and it might be asked what is the necessity of repeating it in this सूत्र: when सूत्र 18 comprised the case. The reason of this repetition is that by mentioning कृपा कितद in this सूत्र, it has governing force over the succeeding सूत्रas. As पवित्र, पवित्राभारः.

नौपचार्यात्तु प्रतापासि || २३ || पदानि || व-उपभासैि-ि-च्च-असताल्पः (मा तेन न विविदु) ||

प्रतिन: || नकारोपभावात्नवास्प्रवादानात्मकांग कारानान्ताय। परं कृपा प्रत्ययः वेद्या न विविदुः.

23. The सङ्ग कितद is optionally कित, after the verbs having a penultimate द् and ending in द् and द्.

The सङ्ग कितद may or may not be कित after the verbs ending in द् or मृ or द् preceded by a nasal. The result of being कित will be that nasal will be dropped. In other words the dropping of the nasal is optional in such verbs. Thus from संघ्रुः we have पवित्र or पवित्राः 'having twisted,' गृहित्वा or गृहित्वा 'having tied round,' नवित्सा or नवित्सा.

The word "निष्ठा" does not govern this सूत्र, and comes to an end with the last सूत्र.

This rule does not apply to verbs that have not a penultimate द् though they may end in द् or द्. As रेक्षित्वा 'having reviled,' गृहित्वा 'having tied.' Here by rule 18, the संघ्रुः being non-kit, the vowels of the root रित, and गृह् have been gunated.

A verb may have a penultimate द्, but if it has not final द् or द्, the rule does not apply. As संघ्रुः + इत्त्वा-संघित्वा 'having dropped,' बृहित्वा 'having killed.' Had it been कित, the nasal would have been dropped.

विन्द्वालुप्यवंतः द् || २४ || पदानि || बन्धु-ि-त्रच्चाः च, (क्षा चेि न कितु) ||

प्रतिन: || बन्धु गुणस्वतः हर्षस्वरः || परं कृपा प्रत्ययः संदाः न कितुः.

24. The सङ्ग कितद is optionally कित, after the verbs भैरव, 'to cheat,' लुिल 'to pluck' and रित 'to dare or abhor.'

After the above three verbs, the कितद affix being सङ्ग, may or may not be कित. As शित्वा or शित्वा 'having cheated.' So also लुिल्वा or लुिल्वा 'having plucked,' त्रित्वा or त्रित्वा 'having dared.'

When the verb सङ्ग रित takes the affix रितत्व it is not governed by this सूत्र. See सूत्र III. 1. 29.
When the kīvā is not set, but anīt, then there is no option allowed.

As द्व + कर = कर्त्ता.

तुतीष्यापि ततः कायपस्य || २५ || पद्दति || तुभि-सुभि-कम्येः, कायपस्य, (द्वा चेदू न कित्) ||

वृत्ति: || दानि श्रेष्ठ दृष्टि इत्यतः: परः चुः परबः चेदू कायपस्वायायबृहो दृष्टि न किर्तितो ||

25. The set kīvā is optionally kīt, according to the opinion of Rishi Kāśyapa, after the verbs trish 'to be thirsty,' mṛish 'to sprinkle,' and kṛis 'to become lean.'

As हृषिशत् or सर्पिशत् 'having thirsted,' शुभिशत् or नरिशत् 'having sprinkled,' कृपिशत् or करिशत् 'having become lean.' By sūtra 18, the set kīvā is never kīt. This sūtra adds another exception to that general rule.

The special mention of Kāśyapa is for the sake of showing respect. The श is already understood in this sūtra by Anuvṛtti from sūtra 23.

रेत्व युधाधृतादेः: संह || २६ || पद्दति || रक्ष: न- इ-उपरादृ, एल-आदेः, चतू, च ( बाल्टित कित्) ||

वृत्ति: || दकार्याशिष्काराशाशास्ति रजन्तास्तुत्तादेःः परः संह क्रां चेदू च बितो भवसः ||

26. After a verb which begins with a consonant, and ends in a letter of Ral pratyāhāra, and has as its penultimate र or रे, र or र, the kīvā and san affixes are optionally kīt.

The wording of this sūtra requires a little explanation. It consists of the following words:

1. राश: ralabha, ablative of राश्च (after the consonants included in the Pratyāhāra raś, i.e., all the consonants except य and व):—Verbs having their final letter any single consonant except य or व.
2. युमास्त्वू means "after penultimate श." It is a compound of शिश + अस्वा. The श is itself is a compound of र + र = श, in the dual श. Therefore the phrase means "after (verbs) having for their penultimate either र or र अस्वा long or short."
3. इमाश्च: means "beginning with a consonant."
   All these three words qualify the word "verb" understood.
4. संह means "and san."

The sūtra means, those verbs which have a राश्च letter in the end, a राश्च in the beginning, and an रे, रे or र, रे in their penultimate, may optionally treat the affixes kīvā and san as kīt.
Thus शृङ्ग ‘to shine,’ makes शृङ्गित्वा or शृङ्गित्वा ‘having shone,’ लिङ्ग ‘to write’ makes लिङ्गित्वा or लिङ्गित्वा.

Similarly in san affix we have सिङ्गित्वा or सिङ्गित्वा ‘he wishes to write’ सिङ्गित्वा or सिङ्गित्वा ‘he wishes to shine.’

The rule does not apply if the verb ends in a letter other than र्ज्ञ. As रिङ्ग + कञ्ज = कञ्जित्वा; its desiderative will be कञ्जित्वा. No option is allowed here.

Similarly there is no option when the penultimate vowel is not र or ष. As प्रञ्ज + कञ्ज = कञ्जित्वा. Des. द्वितिष्वे.

The rule also does not apply if the verb does not begin with a consonant. As दृष्टिवा and दृष्टिििवते. There is no option allowed here.

The rule does not apply if the कञ्ज and सञ्ज are anus. As चञ्ज, चञ्जः.

In these 26 sūtras the description of affixes which are treated like कञ्ज and नञ्ज is comprised.

**कञ्जः दृष्टिवे दूषिते :** ॥ ॥ पदानि ॥ कञ्जः अष्टि, दृष्टिवे दूषिते ॥

**ृष्टि :** ॥ कञ्जः ॥ हस्येन कञ्जः नमकम हस्यिििवष्क इस्येन संतो भवि ॥

**27.** A vowel whose time is that of short u, long अ and the prolated u, is called respectively क्रस्वा short, दिर्ग्वा long, and पल्ता prolated.

The अ u having one मात्रा or measure is short, having two measures is long, having three measures is pluta. This sūtra defines the three kinds of vowels according to their मात्रा. The letter अ अ has been taken to illustrate the rule. The phrase हस्यिििवष्क is a Dvandva compound, in the Singular, and is exhibited in the masculine gender, contrary to the general rule II. 4. 17.

The word काला means measure of time required for pronouncing a vowel.

As श्च ‘curd’ नञ्ज ‘honey’ here अ and अ are short. तुनारि, नोरि, here इ is long. नेश्वराह नंतिव Devadatta! Here अ a is pluta or prolated.

These words are used in the following sūtras I. 2. 47, VII. 4. 25.

**88.**

**28.** A sūtra, II. 28. पदानि II अष्टि, च ( हस्य दूषिते मुनि : )

**ृष्टि :** हस्य श्च दूषिते: स्वाज्ञायाधिष्ठित्वाणि प्रस्तुतस्येन द्वितिष्वे:।

**28.** The short, long, and prolated, when enunciated as such, by using these terms, are to be understood to come in the place of vowels only.

This is a paribhāṣā sūtra, and declares the object to which the terms ‘short,’ ‘long’ and ‘prolated’ are to be applied. When in this book ‘short’
'long' or 'prolated' are taught by using the words *hrasva*, *dirgha* or *pluta*, they must be understood to apply to vowels. As will be found in the sūtra I. 2. 47. "there is the substitution of *hrasva* or short in the neuter gender of the crude-form." The word 'vowel' must be inserted in this sūtra to complete the sense. That is:—the hrasva is substituted for the final vowel of the crude-form. As रे बातिरि, नौ बातिनु, गौ बचु।

The substitution must take the place of vowel and not consonant.

As चुवागः बाबातिकुम्बः.

Similarly sūtra VII. 4. 25 * teaches "There is the substitution of *dirgha* or 'long vowel' before all affixes beginning with the letter श, except *krit* and *Sārvadhātuka* affixes." Here also the word 'vowel' must be read into the sūtra; which will then be "of an inflective base ending in a vowel, the long vowel shall be the substitute &c." As चि + बू + वे = चीवः 'it is collected'; शु + व + वे = शृवः 'it is heard'. Why do we say "in the place of vowels only"? The substitution must take place in the room of a vowel and not of a consonant. As निः + व + वे = निघः 'it is divided,' निघः 'it is pierced'.

So also in the case of *pluta* substitution. Thus rules VIII. 2. 82 and 84, * declare that in calling from a distance, *pluta* is substituted for the त portion of the word in the vocative. (The word त is defined in I. 1. 64). Here also the phrase 'of the vowel' must be read into the sūtra to complete the sense. The sūtra will then read:—"Pluta is substituted in the place of the vowel of the त &c." Thus हैवदस्ती, ओ देवदत्त! यक्षदत्ती, ओ यज्ञदत्ता!

Why do we say "in the place of vowels only"? The substitution must be in the place of the vowel of the त and not of the consonant. As चर्माचर्मुः, कौमुक्षः. Here the syllables रू and जू are त, and the vowels र and ज have been prolated and not the consonant त.

The substitution must be enunciated as such by using the terms, hrasva, dirgha, and pluta. Therefore it is not so here; चि, पन्थः; शी, चुवायः चुः. See I. 1. 4:

29. The vowel that is perceived as having a high tone is called *Udatta* or acutely accented.

With this sūtra begins the description of the three sorts of vowel accents. The accent placed on a vowel by raising the voice is called udātta or *acute* accent. As अग्नी: अग्नी, here i has the acute accent. The udātta is not marked
in writing. The word 'vowel' of the previous sūtra is understood in this also. These accents are the qualities of letters, and are well known in the sacred and profane literature. The vowel which is perceived as having a high tone is called udātta. This tone depends upon the organ from which the vowel is pronounced. In the various organs, such as the throat, palate &c., if a vowel is pronounced from a higher part of that organ, it is called udātta. The vowel in the pronouncing of which there is the restraining and checking of the bodily parts, and in which there is dryness and roughness of tone, as well as a contraction of the larynx, is said to have the acute accent. The word is used in sūtra III. 1. 3. 1 "the first vowel of an affix has the udātta accent." As कृ + कद्यु = कर्यूयम kartavyam.

30. The vowel that is perceived as having a low tone is called Anudattā or gravely accented.

The word "vowel" of s. 28 is understood in this sūtra. As यय: agnīḥ, here य has the grave accent. The vowel accent known as grave or anudattā is pronounced by lowering the voice. In writing, the anudattā is marked by a line underneath the vowel. The vowel which is uttered from the lower portions of its special place of pronunciation gets the grave accent.

This word is used in sūtra III. 1. 4. 9 "The case terminations called यय: and those affixes that have an indicatory य are anudattā" &c. As यत: ययाम.

In pronouncing an anudattā vowel, there is slackening of the organs, and mildness, as well as softness and sweetness of tone: while there is expansion and widening of the larynx.

31. The vowel that has the combination of Uddattā and Anudattā tones is said to be svarita or circumflexly accented.

The word "vowel" of s. 28 is understood here also. The svarita or circumflexed accent is pronounced by the combined raising and falling of the voice. It is marked by a perpendicular line on the top of the letter.

The word is used in sūtra VI. 1. 185. 3 "The affixes having an indicatory य have svarita accent." As कन्या kanyā यय:ः yasyaṃ kavyā, ले कवः kava.
This sūtra is not to be understood to mean that a svarita is the resultant of the combination of two vowels, an udāṭta vowel with an anudāṭta vowel. It means the accent midway between the two well-known qualities of letters known as acute and grave accents.

32. Of it (svarita) the first portion is udāṭta, to the extent of a half measure, or prosodical length.

It has been defined that svarita accent is a combination of udāṭta and anudāṭta. It remained doubtful what portion was acute and what grave. The present sūtra clears up the difficulty, by declaring that in svarita, the first half is acute and the other grave.

The phrase ardhaḥrasa is used to indicate half the measure of a short vowel. Thus if a short vowel is svarita, its mātrā being one, half will be udāṭta and the other half anudāṭta. If a long vowel, whose mātrās are two, be svarita, then \( \frac{1}{2} \) will be udāṭta, \( \frac{1}{4} \) will be anudāṭta. If a pūlita (protracted) vowel be svarita, then first half measure will be udāṭta, and the remaining \( \frac{2}{4} \) measures will be anudāṭta. In short, the udāṭta portion of a svarita must not occupy more time than is taken in pronouncing a half short vowel. Thus in विनिमयम् sīkym the a is svarita, half being acute, the other half, grave or monotony; in कन्या kanyā, the long a is svarita, its first half measure is acute, the remaining \( \frac{1}{2} \) is grave; in मनवाकa, here a prolated is svarita, its first \( \frac{1}{3} \) is acute, the balance \( \frac{2}{3} \) measure is grave.

33. In addressing a person from a distance, the tone is called Ekaśrutī or monotony.

Monotony or Ekaśrutī is that tone which is perceived when a person is addressed; in it there is an absence of all the three tones mentioned above; and there is no definite pitch in it. It is, therefore, the ordinary recitative tone.

The word 'Sambuddhi' means here addressing a person from a distance; and has not its technical meaning of the singular number of the vocative case. As पाण्डुराज नाथारुक रेवनार्क 'O boy Devadatta! come.' There is vanishing of all the accents in the above case; and the final short vowel of Devadatta is changed into pūlita by the rule already referred to in s. 28 ante (VIII. 2. 84 तुरातुरौ)
If the person is not addressed from a distance, then the word will get its proper accent. As \textit{ध्रुव} नौ मायक्षक \textit{रेषस्व} \textit{तम} O boy. Devadatta.'

\textit{वष्कर्मास्य जपन्युक्तसामन्तस्य श्रृ ष्टे पद्यानि \ वष्कर्मेशिणि, अज-}\
\textit{प-न्युक्त-शास्त्र, (एक्ष्युतिः:)}

\textit{वृत्ति: जपन्युक्तसामान्ति राज्याविद्या वष्कर्मेशिणि मन्त्राभाषामिक्यपुरविः भवति \}}

34. In sacrificial works, there is Monotony, except in \textit{japa} (silent repetition of a formula), Ny\=unkha vowels (sixteen sorts of \textit{om}) and the \textit{S\=ama} vedas.

In "sacrificial works" or on occasions of sacrifice, the mantras of the Veda are recited in Ek\=a\=s\=ruti or monotony. But on occasions of ordinary reading, the mantras are to be recited with their proper three-fold accents.

"Japa" is the repetition of mantras, and their recitation in a low voice or whisper. Ny\=unkha is the name of certain hymns of the veda, and the names of 16 sorts of "Om." Some of these are pronounced with ud\=atta and others with anud\=atta accent. S\=amas are songs, or the musical cadence in which some vedic hymns are to be uttered. As:—

\textit{रिज्ञितमुदरादिः ककुस्तिः शुद्धिया}\
\textit{सूक्ष्मतृत्वं इयादो विताविस्तरसु}\
\textit{रिज्ञितमुदरादिः ककुस्तिः (Rig Veda VIII. 14. 16).}

When a mantra is recited as a \textit{japa}, then it must be pronounced with accents:— As मायक्ष्मानि वदन्युक्तसामन्ती (Rig Veda X. 128. 1).

When not employed on occasions of sacrifice, but are ordinarily read, the mantras must have their proper accent, and there will be no Ek\=a\=s\=ruti.

In the \textit{s\=ama} chanting, the mantras should have their accent, there can be no Ek\=a\=s\=ruti there. As ए निबद्ध नम्रशिष्य एसा. Here there is no Ek\=a\=s\=ruti.

\textit{दैस्तरार्जन वष्पकारः \ षष्ठि पदानि \ वष्पकारः \ बाखृस्तरार्जन, च \ वष्पकारः, (वष्कर्मेशिणि, एक्ष्युत्तिः:)}

\textit{वृत्ति: वष्कर्मेशिणि वष्पकारः उष्पास्तरार्जन भवति एक्ष्युतिः}}

35. The pronunciation of the word \textit{vasha\=t} may optionally be by raising the voice (accurately accent- ed), or it may be pronounced with monotony.

The phrase "yaj\=na-karma" is understood here. Even in yaj\=na-karmas or sacrifices the word शौचाः may optionally be pronounced in a raised tone. The word त्रस्त्र in the \textit{s\=utra} signifies त्रस्त्र. But why was not the word त्रस्त्र used in the text, it could have been used with as much ease as त्रस्त्र? To this natural query, the only answer is, विपिना: \textit{हृ} सूक्ष्मे \textit{कृति:} साधिनेः: strange and wonderful is the structure of Papini's aphorisms. Thus सोमस्वाने शीघरः वैर यथा यथा सोमस्वाने शीघरः वैरः।
Ekasruti defined.

36. The Monotony is optional in the recitation of the Vedas, or they may be recited with accents.

In the Chhandas or the Vedas there is option either to use the Ekasruti tone or the three tones. Even on the occasion of ordinary reading, the Chhandas might be uttered either with the three accents or monotonously. Some say this is a limited option (vyavasthita-vibhāsha).

The option allowed by this sūtra is to be adjusted in this way. In reading the Mantra portion of the Veda, every word must be pronounced with its proper accent: but in the Brāhmaṇa portion of the Veda there might be Ekasruti; while some say there must be Ekasruti necessarily and not optionally in the recitation of the Brahmaṇas.

Thus:—चतुर्विभाषी पुरोहित् or simply चतुर्विभाषी पुरोहित्. “I praise Agni the purohita.”

The word श “optionally” of the last sūtra could easily have been read into this sūtra by the rule of anuvṛtti; why then use the word विभाषा “optional” again? To this we reply, this apparently redundant repetition is for the sake of indicating that the anuvṛtti of the word चतुर्विभाषी, which was understood in the last sūtra, does not extend to this. Had we taken the anuvṛtti of श, the other word also would have been attracted; hence the separate use of the word विभाषा.

37. There should be no Monotony in the recitation of the Subrahmaṇya hymns and in those hymns, the vowels, that would otherwise have taken the svarīta accent, take the udātta accent instead.

The subrahmaṇya hymns are portions of Rig Veda mentioned in satapatha Brāhmaṇa.

This sūtra prohibits Ekasruti in the case of certain prayers called subrahmaṇya. By rule 34 read with 36 ante, prayers might be optionally uttered with Ekasruti accent. This ordains an exception to that rule. In subrahmaṇya prayers there is no ekaśruti; and in these hymns, a vowel which otherwise by any rule of grammar would have taken a svarīta accent, takes an udātta accent instead.

As सुग्राम्यो ॥ विन्द्राग्राम्यं हरिम योगयथ ॥. Here the word सुग्राम्य is formed by the addition of the affix वन to the word सुग्राम्य, and this श will get svarīta
accent by VI. 1. 185, (सिस्सविस्सर) as it has an indicatory र; by the present sūtra, this nascent svarita is changed into udātta. In the phrase हन्न भागच्छ, the word Indra being in the vocative case, र is udātta, the च of Indra is anudātta VI. 1. 198 ¹ The anudātta preceded by an udātta is changed into svarita (VIII. 4. 66) ².

Thus the च of हन्न must become svarita, but by the present sūtra this nascent svarita is changed into an udātta. Thus in हन्न, both vowels become udātta. In the word भागच्छ, the च is udātta; the next letter which was anudātta becomes svarita, and from svarita it is changed to udātta by the present rule. Thus in the sentence हन्न भागच्छ the first four syllables are all acutely accented, the fifth syllable is only anudātta. So also in हरीं भागच्छ, for the reasons given above, the letters च and च are anudātta, the rest are all acutely accented.

38. The word deva and Brahmāṇa in those hymns have anudātta accent.

By sūtra 37, it was declared, that in subrahmanya hymns, svarita accent is replaced by udātta accent. This sūtra makes an exception in favor of the words हेश and भ्रज्ञ occurring in those hymns. These words have anudātta accent. As हेश भ्रज्ञ भागच्छ 'come ye Devās and Brahmāṇas.' Here the word हेश gets udātta accent on the first syllable by rule VI. 1. 198 ¹ (in the vocative the accent is on the beginning); च च has originally an anudātta accent which by rule VIII. 4. 66 ² (an anudātta following an udātta is changed into svarita) would have been changed into svarita. This svarita, by the previous sūtra required to be changed into udātta; but by this rule, it is replaced by anudātta. In other words, the original anudātta remains unchanged.

39. The Monotony takes the place of the anudātta vowels which follow the svarita vowels, in close proximity (sanhīta).

Sahīta is the joining of two or more words in a sentence, for the purposes of reading or reciting. When words are thus glued together, then

¹ भाषानितल्य च ² उदासाहायनात्व मधिक सालिं
the anudatta accents become Ekaśruti if they are preceded by svarita vowels; and are pronounced monotonously. As इं ने. गङ्गः यमुने शरस्वति (Rig Veda X. 75. 5) O Ganga, Yamuna, Sarasvati! this mine.

Here the word इं has udatta on the last syllable: the word ने is originally anudatta, but by rule VIII. 4. 66 1 following an udatta, it is changed into svarita; after this svarita all anudatta like गङ्गः, &c., are replaced by ekaśruti. All the vowels of the words गङ्गः यमुने &c., had anudatta accent by rule VIII. 1. 19 6 (all vocatives get anudatta if standing in the middle of a sentence and not beginning a stanza.)

The word "sanhitā" has been used in the sūtra to show that when there is a hiatus between the words then there is no change of anudatta into ekaśruti. The word sanhitā will be defined in sūtra I. 4. 109 6.

वद्वयत्विरिपरसः सन्तति: || 80 || पदानि || उद्भास-प्रविरित-परसः, सन्तति: || (अनुदात्तानाम्) ||

वृत्ति: || वद्वयत्विरिपरसः सार्विनलसः सन्ततिपरक्षेत्रो न्यूति ||

40. The accent called Sannatara is substituted in the room of an anudatta vowel, which has an udatta or svarita vowel following it.

In the previous sūtra it was said that an anudatta preceded by a svarita becomes Ekaśruti. If however such an anudatta is followed by an udatta or a svarita, it does not become Ekaśruti but becomes sannatara i.e. lower than anudatta.

The sannatara is therefore that accent which was originally anudatta, and which is preceded by a svarita and is followed by an udatta or a svarita.

This is one explanation of the sūtra. There is another explanation which does not take the anuvṛtti of Ekaśruti in this sūtra. The anudatta is replaced by sannatara when such anudatta immediately precedes an udatta or a svarita. The sannatara is also called anudatta. As रेवा भवत: प्राधिमातरोपः।

Here the word मात्र: is anudatta. The word इं has udatta on the last syllable by VI. 1. 171 6 In the phrase मात्रः (मात्र: + प्रत:) The syllable न is anudatta, because anudatta + anudatta = anudatta. This anudatta न, preceding the udatta प:, is changed into sannatara.

�पृक्त: एकाद्रयमः || 83 || पदानि || अपृक्तः, एक-अठः,

मर्ययः, ||

वृत्ति: || अपृक्त: इत्यायं शंतः नतर्वे एकाद्रः आः प्रयः ||

(१) वद्वयत्विरिपरसः स्वरित: || (२) धामनितिर्वचः || (३) पर: संनिकर्ष: शंकिता ||

(४) वितिक्वायतः वैध: ||

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41. An affix consisting of a single letter is called an *Aprika*.

This defines *Aprika* affixes. They are those affixes which consist of only one letter of the alphabet. Thus the affix न्‍‍ in स्वकेशित्व is a one lettered suffix and is an *Aprika*. Similarly the affix किन्‍‍ क्रिन्‍‍ is an *Aprika*, because the letters क, न, and न are merely indicatory, the real affix is न्‍. This न्‍ being a single letter, and therefore an *Aprika*, when added to a base, is elided by rule VI. 1. 67 (the *Aprika* न्‍ is elided). Thus पुरुस्तुः + किन्‍ = पुरुस्तुः + न्‍ (III. 2. 58) = पुरुस्तुः || बच्चमन्त्र + निर्मिण्‍ = भ्रात्राभास 'co-sharer.' (III. 2. 62). An affix which consists of more than one letter is not an *Aprika*. As पित्‍ 'a ladle' formed by the उन्द्री affix विन्‍ (पित्‍विन्‍).

42. A Tat-purusha compound, the case of each member of which is the same, is called *karmadhāraya* or Appositional Determinative compound.

> "Karmadhāraya or Appositional Determinative compounds form a sub-division of the determinative compounds (Tat-purusha). In them the first portion stands as the predicate of the second portion, such as in black-beetle, sky-blue." (Max Müller).

The compounds like नीलोत्तर 'the blue lotus' गरुङ्ग 'the supreme spirit' &c. are examples of karmadhāraya compounds. "The component words, if dissolved, would stand in the same case, (samānādhiḥkaraṇa), whereas in other Tat-purushas, the preceding word is governed by the last."

As, परमराज्यः, is a karmadhāraya compound meaning "the best Government." Had it not been a karmadhāraya compound, the udātta accent would have fallen on the syllable ज् by rule VI. 2. 130, (the word राज्यः has udātta on the first syllable in Tat-purusha compounds, except in karmadhāraya).

Similarly पाणिका + ज्ञानिका = ज्ञानकानिका. (VI. 3. 42.) the feminine adjective is changed into masculine in the karmadhāraya).

Each member of a compound may have the same case, but if it is not a Tat-purusha compound, it won't be karmadhāraya. As पाणिका + नायी = पाणिकायाय. 'He who has a wife for a cook.' This is an example of a Bahuvarhi compound, and therefore the word पाणिका retains its gender sign.
A compound may be a Tat-purusha, but if its component parts do not refer to the same thing and are not in the same case, it won't be karmadhāraya:—साधृष्ठ राज्यम् Brāhmaṇa rājyaṃ 'a Brahmaṇa kingdom.' Here राज्या gets udātta on the first syllable by the rule already mentioned (VI. 2. 130).

43. In (this book, in the sūtras relating to) compound, the word that is exhibited in the first (Nominative) case, is called upasarjana or the secondary word.

This defines or rather describes the Upasarjana. In the sūtras referring to compounds, the words that have the case termination of the nominative, are called Upasarjanam.

Thus sūtra II. 1. 24 (द्रिवीया शिलापीतव शतितवायवश्वकारापापेः:) is a samāsa sūtra enjoining composition. In this sūtra the word द्रिवीया is exhibited in the nominative case, and the remaining words are in the Instrumental case. The sūtra means, "An accusative (द्रिवीया) is compounded with the words भिन्त, चर्मोत, परवित, गत, चर्मस्त, त्रा, and चापर्ण and forms Tat-purusha." Therefore, in forming accusative compounds, the word having the accusative case will be called Upasarjana. Thus कर्त् + भिन्त = कर्त्तिन्त. Here the word कर्त् being Upasarjana, stands first in the compound, by Rule II. 2. 30. उपसर्जनस् (in a compound the Upasarjana should be placed first). Similarly in rules relating to the formation of Instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative Tat-purusha, the words standing in those cases will be Upasarjana. Thus चकुलानाक्षर; वृपर; चकनाग; राजपुर्ण; भलेनावः.

Upasarjana is, therefore, that word which either by composition or derivation loses its original independent character, while it also determines the sense of another word called मध्यान or principal.

44. A word which has one fixed case, (while the word compounded with it may vary its case) is also upasarjana, except for the purposes of the rule which requires the upasarjana to stand first in a compound.
A word which in the analytical statement of the sense of a compound
has one fixed case, whilst the word with which it is compounded may vary
its case is also called upasarjana, but does not necessarily stand first.

That which has one fixed case-termination is called eka-vibhakti,
that is, a word whose case termination has been determined by a rule of samāsa
i.e., while the second word in composition with it may take many case-
affixes, it takes only one case affix; apūrva-nipāte, such a word will be an
upasarjana for all purposes, except for the purpose of the rule (II. 2. 30)
which requires an upasarjana to stand first in a compound.

Thus the prepositions नि: &c., when meaning across &c., are com-
pounded with another word in the ablative case. Though the first word may
have any one of the several case terminations, the second member must
always be in the fifth (ablative) case, when analytically stated. Ex निष्काक्षः;
+ कौशाम्भव्या = निष्कासौकर्षीयः; निष्कासौकर्षीयम् + कौशाम्भव्या = निष्कासौकर्षीया निष्कासौकर्षीयम् + कौशाम्भव्या = निष्कासौकर्षीया; निष्कासौकर्षीयाय + कौशाम्भव्या = निष्कासौकर्षीयम् निष्कासौकर्षीयाय + कौशाम्भव्या = निष्कासौकर्षीयायः.

Similarly the word निष्कालायः:

If the word, when analytically stated, does not retain the one and the
same case, it will not be called upasarjana, as the word कृष्णारी in the compound
राजकुमारी, 'the king's daughter,' because राजः + कुमारी = राजकुमारी; राजः +
कुमारी = राजकुमारी; राजः + कुमारी = राजकुमारी, राजः + कुमारी = राजकुमारी.

Had it been an upasarjana, the long ह of री would have been shorten-
ed into ह as in the previous example.

This upasarjana, however, contrary to the general rule (II. 2. 30)¹
can not stand first in the compound, because there is no such form as, कौशाम्भव्या:

अपेक्षाद्धातुरप्रत्ययः भार्तिप्रदिक्षणस् ॥ ५४ ॥
अव्ययः ॥

45. A significant form of a word, not being a verbal root (dhātu), or an affix (pratyaya) is called a
pratipadika or crude-form.

This defines the word "pratipadika" or crude-form. The pratipadika
is the intermediate stage in the development of a full word (pada), from the
undifferentiated one called the dhātu or root. It is that part of a word which is
capable of receiving the case-terminations.

The word धातु means having significant. With the exception of
verbal roots and affixes, a word-form having a significance or meaning is called

¹) उपसर्जनं पूर्वम् ॥
a pratipadika, as विश्व: ‘a wooden elephant,’ कविष्य: ‘the wood-apple tree,’ कुण्डः ‘a bowl,’ श्रेष्ठ ‘a seat’.

Why do we say “significant”? Of course it must have some meaning, thus of the word थर्ने, we cannot say that the portion थर्न is pratipadika; as it has no meaning, and had it been a pratipadika, the final र् would have been dropped by Rule VIII. 2. 7 । (the final र् of a pratipadika is dropped).

The word must not be a verb, as the word धर्न्द र (the third person sing. number, Imperfect tense of हन्दा); he killed. Had it been a pratipadika, the र् would have been dropped.

The word must not be an affix or ending in an affix:—as कुण्डः ‘in the bowl.’ Here the word ends in the affix र् of the locative case, and is consequently not a ‘pratipadika’ or crude form, but a complete word. Had it been a pratipadika, the र् would have been shortened into र by rule 47 succeeding.

A nipāta or particle though not a significant form of a word, yet gets the designation of pratipadika in the opinion of the author of the Mahābhāṣya. As प्रत्ययाकएति, मल्लम्बे.

कृत्तिवङ्कमासाधि ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्त-सकित-विसादः ॥ च ॥ (प्रातिपदिकः) ॥

श्री: ॥ कृत्तिवङ्कति: समासाद्वा माणिकिकमवता अशतिति ॥

46. The forms ending in Krit affixes, or Taddhita affixes, or compound are also called Pratipadika.

This further explains the use of the word pratipadika. “Suffixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds. Those by which nouns are derived direct from roots, primary suffixes. Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns; secondary suffixes. The former are called Krit, (III. 1. 93) the latter Taddhita (IV. 1. 76).” Thus जन, man, is derived from the root जन, जा by the krit suffix र्; but जन्न जनिना, appropriate for man, is derived from जन, जान by the Taddhita affix इन इना. The name pratipadika would apply both to जन jana and जनिन जनिना, as nominal bases ready to receive the terminations of declension” (Max Müller).

Of the compounds, of which there are six varieties, we had occasion to refer to five already विस., Tat-purusha, Karmadhāraya, Dvandva, Bahuvrihi and Avyayibhāva. They will be fully dealt with in their proper places.

In the last sūtra, the words “not ending in an affix” were too extensive; this sūtra makes an important provision in favor of words ending in Krit or Taddhita affixes. So also compounds are also called pratipadika. Being restricted to compounds only, it, of course, does not apply to sentences.

(1) नलोष्टि: माणिकिकान्तसब ॥ (2) कुण्डः ॥ (3) सरिष्ठि: ॥
The words formed by krit affixes are pratipadika as, कृ (to do) + पृ = कृ + पृ = कार + पृ = कारक. The affix पृ is a krit affix, and it is added to the root to form agent by Rule III. 1. 133. The letters पृ and पृ are indicative, the force of पृ being to cause the vṛddhi of the vowel of the root. The real affix पृ is changed into पृ by (VII. 1. 18) the affixes पृ and पृ are replaced by पृ and पृ respectively), thus the form कारक is a pratipadika, and is capable of declension by receiving case terminations, as, कारक: II
Similarly पृ + पृ (III. 1. 133) = कृ; nom. case कृः.

The word formed by Taddhita affixes are also pratipadika; उपू + पृ = उपपृ + पृ = उपपृः ‘the son of the Rishi Upag’: nom. case उपपृः, similarly कारकः.

In fact in the chapters treating of these affixes, the derivative substantives formed by them are always shown by the Indian Grammarians in the nominative case singular number. The examples of nouns given in this book will be always declined nouns and not pratipadikas, except in peculiar cases. So also in the chapter of samāsa or compounds.

The words ending in compound are pratipadika: as राजः + पृ = राज-पृः, nom. case राज-पृः.

हृस्तो नपूर्णके प्रातिपदिक्यः || ॥ पद्यालि || हृस्तो, नपूर्णके, प्रातिपदिक्यः ||
हृस्तो: नपूर्णकालिः स्वयं स्वातिकी वर्तं नस्य हृस्तो नवति चालिकाजङ्गक्यस्य: ||
47. The short vowel is substituted in the neuter, for the final vowel, of a pratipadika.

In the neuter gender, the pratipadika that would have ended in a long vowel, changes it into short. Thus भवति + पृ = भवतिः ‘extravagant’ as भवतिः = कुलस् ‘an extravagant family’; भवति लो = भवतिः ‘very hairy’ भवतिः कुल ‘a very hairy family’.

There is no substitution of short vowel, if the noun is not in the neuter gender, as मान + नी = मानः, nom. case मानः: ‘the leader of a village or head-borough,’ similarly वैनानी: ‘the leader of an army.’

A word may be in the neuter gender, but if it is not a pratipadika, the vowel is not shortened, as काण्डे लितद्: ‘two cantos remain.’ Here the ए of काण्डे is formed by the coalescence of ए (of the pratipadika काण्डे) and ए (the dual case termination); thus काण्डे + ए = काण्डे. Now it might be urged, that here one letter ए replaces two letters ए and ए, therefore this substitute is equivalent to each of those letters separately, and consequently ए is the vowel of the pratipadika and ought to be shortened. But this is not

(1) पृ + पृ || (2) पृ + पृ ||
to be so, because the word prātipadika has been especially mentioned in the text, and therefore this ekādēsa is not treated as the final of the form which precedes it.

(Prātipadikacarita)

_Iṣṭa_: II upasana-yogāgaśanatsya rastvārnamakaravāyanatsya ca prātipadikacarita hṛdayo naṣṭaḥ II

48. A short vowel is the substitute of prātipadika which ends with the word गो 'a cow,' and of that which ends with what has as its termination a feminine affix; when regarded as upasarjana.

The word upasarjana has been defined in sūtra 43. In compounds the word गो becomes shortened when it stands last and is an upasarjana.

Thus तित्त्र + गो = तित्वगु: 'possessed of a brindled cow.' This is an example of a Bahuvrihi or possessive compound. So also शत्रुगु 'a spotted cow.' Similarly in those prātipadika upasarjanas which end in feminine suffixes having a final long vowel, there is a shortening. Thus दित्त: + गोधाम्भी = दित्त्वा: गोधाम्भी: Here the final long द is shortened. So also तित्त्वा: गोधार्मासिं.

The word prātipadika of the previous sūtra is understood in this.

The word गो in the sūtra means the form गो and not other words synonym with it. The word गो means "a word ending in a feminine affix," because it has the śvarita accent. The word upasarjana qualifies both these words, i.e. when गो is an upasarjana and when a word having a feminine termination is an upasarjana.

Other examples are:—प्रति + श्रूय = श्रूयाहु: 'without a bed stead.'

Pratimāja: 'surpassing a necklace in beauty'.

If such a word is not an upasarjana, there is no shortening, as, राजकुमारी 'the king's daughter.' Here the word राजकुमारी is upasarjana, and not the word कुमारी, which latter is therefore not shortened. The word must be a derivative word formed by the addition of an affix, which makes it feminine. Thus the words राजसी, भृ &c. are feminine originally, and are not derived from the masculine nouns, by the addition of any feminine affix. Therefore we have राजसी: 'surpassing Lakshmi in beauty' राजसी:.

Vart:—In Bahuvrihi compounds, exception must be made of feminine nouns ending in the affix राजसी, as बुधेयसी, वियमण्डेशी.

(jñānāntardhakacarita) 49 II पदानि II हुक्क, तित्त्व-हुक्क, (को, रसाजनसत्स) II

_Iṣṭa_: II नक्षिरतुकचि शरि श्रीराज्यसत्स रसाजनसत्स हुक्कवि.
49. When a Taddhita affix is elided by the word luk there takes place the elision by luk of the feminine affix of the upasarjana.

The word लुक defined in sūtra 61 Chapter I, is twice used in this sūtra. Where a Taddhita affix is elided by the word लुक; there the feminine suffix of the prātipadika is also dropped, or becomes luk. Thus there are certain Taddhita suffixes by which patronyms are formed (one of them being जात्र) from other nouns. Before this जात्र the initial vowel of the word is vṛiddhied and the final is gunated. Thus सिन्धु 'ocean'; forms सिन्धु+प्रष्ण = सैन्ध्व + प्रष्ण 'born in ocean or oceanic.' But there are certain words e.g. अविष्ट, जन्मगुणि &c. which are all feminine gender (see sūtra IV. 3. 34) after which the patronymic suffix is totally elided, without leaving any trace of its action, by using the word luk. Thus अविष्ट+(प्रष्णतुष्ट) = अविष्ट: II. Here then the present sūtra finds its scope. The Taddhita suffix being luked; the original feminine termination घा also becomes luk. Therefore the patronymic derivative of अविष्ट (is not a longer word, as might have been expected) but actually a shorter word, namely अविष्ट; similarly from जन्मगुणी we have जन्मगुणि: &c.

Thus there is a feminine suffix called नीष (actually नीष) and certain words like दिन्द्र &c., (IV. 1. 49) take an additional suffix called धारुकः (actually धात्र). Thus the feminine of दिन्द्र will be दिन्द्र + धारुक + नीष = दिन्द्र + धात्र + नीष = दिन्द्राणी. Now in forming Dvīgu compound (Numerical Determinative compound); the Taddhita suffixes are dropped. Thus भद्धचण्ड: 'an offering (purodash) made in a dish with five compartments.' In this compound the Taddhita suffix धात्र is dropped. Otherwise the form would have been काण्डः II. Similarly when the word दिन्द्राणी forms a Dvīgu compound, the Taddhita suffixes are dropped. But not only that, even the original radical affixes are also dropped by force of the present sūtra. Thus भद्ध: which means the cake sacred to the five goddesses दिन्द्राणी. Here the full form was धात्र + धात्राणी + धात्र. (The suffix धात्र has the force of "sacred to God." Thus दिन्द्र + धात्र = दिन्द्राणी, sacred to God Indra). In the above expression, first the Taddhita-suffix धात्र is luked by rule contained in sūtra IV. 1. 88* relating to Dvīgu compounds: we have then remaining धात्र + धात्राणी. In this stage, the present sūtra comes into force and declares that where a Taddhita suffix has been luked, the final feminine suffixes of the upasarjana prātipadika are also luked.

Therefore, the feminine suffixes धात्र and नीष are also dropped, and we have धात्र: which means "cake sacred to the five Indrānis (goddesses)."

(1) अविष्टादिकोन्युद्योगरागरागसितिस्य पुर्वविश्वविद्वायपाददानाल्वा (2) इति विश्ववर्ग-महायस्मुर्कुर्महाकेशवयस्मायलावायनानुष्ठ (3) दिन्द्राणीति.
The words लक्ष्मी and upasarjana of the last sūdra are understood in this. By the last sūtra, a word ending in a feminine affix was told to be shortened when it was an upasarjana; this sūtra teaches the total suppression of such an affix in special cases. To take another example: Thus Rule IV. 3. 163 declares लक्ष्मी “luk takes the place of an affix signifying modification or product when fruit is meant.” Thus लक्ष्मी is an affix which means modification. Thus गो + खर = गोखर ‘cow’s milk or the product of cow.’ This affix is suppressed when applied to a tree, in the sense of the fruit of the tree. Thus the fruit of the tree गांधारक will be called गांधारक i.e., first the Taddhita affix is laked, and then the feminine affix is also dropped. Similarly fruits of बाँस or बाँस्की trees, are बाँस or बाँस्की.

This rule only applies when a Taddhita affix is elided; and not so when any other affix is laked. Thus गांधारक: + कुल = गांधारकुल ‘the family of Gārgī.’ Here in forming the samāsa, the case affix of the word gārgī is laked by II. 4 71. But this suppression of the genitive termination does not necessitate the elision of the feminine affix हें of gārgī.

This rule would also not apply if there is no elision by luk of a Taddhita affix, as in गांधारकुल.

Nor will the rule apply when the word is not an upasarjana. As गांधारकुल, गांधारकुल, गुल.

इत्यादि गोष्यां: II 50 II पदार्थां II वहत्, गोष्यां:, (तद्विद्वाकृति) II

इति: II गोष्यांतात्त्विकृति साधि इकारापेशो भवति।

50. The short is substituted in the place of goun, when the Taddhita affix is elided by luk.

By the former sūtra when a Taddhita is elided, the long हें of the feminine also required elision. But this rule makes an exception in favor of the word गोष्यां in which, under similar circumstances the short हें replaces the long हें, as in the compound पंक्तमाणि: ‘purchased for five gonias.’ Here the Taddhita suffix which conveys the meaning of “purchased for,” has been rejected after गोष्यां by V. 1. 28, therefore by previous sūtra, the feminine suffix हें also required rejection. But this sūtra intervenes and changes the long हें into short हें.

This sūtra is divided into two separate rules by the process called yoga-vibhāga. Thus हु र is made one sūtra by itself, and then it means, when there is a suppression of Taddhita affix by हु, then the long हें is replaced by short हें. Thus purchased with five needles –पंक्तमाणि: पुलिन्धिष्क: क्रिय: –पंक्तमाणि: वाचायिष्कः. This is restricted to such examples of purchase only.
51. When a Taddhita affix is elided by using the word नृप, then the gender and number (of the derivative word) agree with those of the original word.

This sūtra consists of four words: नृप, 'where there is a rejection by using नृप' 2 यूक्त, 'appropriate to the same.' 3 व्यक्ति, 'gender,' 4 संख्या, 'number.' The form vyakti vachane is dual.

When a Taddhita affix is loped, then the derivative word retains the gender and number of the primitive word. Note the difference between the rejection of a Taddhita by saying 'let there be a नृप' and 'let there be a नृप.'

The direct action of both words is the rejection of the suffix; but a derivative formed by lop rejection may not retain the number and gender of the original word; while a derivative formed by lup—rejection does retain the number and gender of the original word.

Thus in the secondary derivative word नृपिशिरोमणियासागर meaning 'a village not far away from नृपिशिरोमणि trees'; the masculine gender and plural number of the original word has been retained, though made applicable to a village, which is in the singular number and neuter gender; similarly the word पृथ्विज्ञ: is masculine plural in form though applicable to a single province.

This sūtra is not an approved rule; as will be mentioned by Pāṇini in sūtra 53 following and is consequently of little practical importance.

Thus पृथ्विज्ञ: are a class of Kshatriyas, as such it is masculine gender and plural number. The country in which Pāṇḍava live is also called पृथ्विज्ञ:; similarly बुध, नाग: &c. There is a rule जनवेलक्षण: (IV. 2. 81, the नृप takes the place of an affix when signifying the proper name of a country or kingdom). Thus पृथ्विज्ञ: + नृप (this is one of the affixes forming country) —पृथ्विज्ञ:.

This rule does not apply when the affix is suppressed by the word नृप &c. and not नृप. Thus औपरु: नृप 'salted soap' लवणयावण: 'salted gruel,' नवर्ग शास्क 'salted vegetable.' Here the affix नृप has been elided by the word नृप, by IV. 4. 24, जनवेलक्षण: (after the word lavana; the affix is luted).

These derivatives retain only the gender and number of the original, but no other quality. Thus as we have already seen that नृपिशिरोमणि: सीताशाह, is the name of a village and is formed by the नृप of the affix. Now compounding it with बन we have नृपिशिरोमणि: 'the forest of the village सीताशाह.' Here
the word गृहस्थ: means village, and not trees. Had it meant trees called सिर्षा, then the न of गृहस्थ would have become य optionally by Rule VIII. 4. 6. (विभागौपचि वनस्पतिः: || the य of the word वन is optionally changed into य when preceded by words signifying annual herbs and trees).

Vart:—In the case of the words Haritaki &c. the gender only is retained and not the number. As हीराट्कः फलानि 'the fruits of Haritaki.' Here फले is neuter in form, while हीरात्की is feminine.

Vart:—The words खन्तिक &c. retain their number only but not gender, as खन्तिकंबनानि 'mountain forests i.e. forests in the vicinity of mountains.' Here खन्तिक is singular and बनानि plural, but the gender of both is the same vis. neuter.

52. And of adjectives, (the gender and number are the same as of the word formed by lup elision of the Taddhita and which they qualify) so far as the jāṭi (or kind or species) is concerned; (or when not expressing jāṭi).

When a Taddhita is luped, the adjectives which qualify such secondary derivatives agree with them in number and gender. This is a rule of syntax. Thus पञ्चालः रमणीयः: बुध्वत, बुध्वीरप्रमुः: बुध्वात्मकः: 'the pleasant पञ्चालाः having plenty of food, plenty of milk and butter.' Here the adjective रमणीयः: pleasant &c., agrees in number and gender with the पञ्चालः: being also in masculine plural. But when such a derivative is used as a jāṭi word then the adjective does not agree in number and gender, as पञ्चालः जनपदः: गोत्रीयः गोविन्दः: गोविन्दाद्रि: Here जनपद though qualifying पञ्चालः does not agree with it in number and gender, as it is a noun of class. All attributes of such words formed by the lup of Taddhita agree with their substantives in number and gender: provided that such an attribute is not a common noun used as an adjective. Similarly adjectives which do not directly qualify such Taddhita-formed nouns, but do so through the medium of a noun of class, do not agree in gender and number with the Taddhita-word. Thus पञ्चालः: जनपदः: रमणीयः बुध्वः: 'the country of पञ्चालाः is pleasant and fertile.' Here the words रमणीयः: and बुध्वः: qualify directly the word जनपदः: and indirectly the word पञ्चालः, and therefore do not agree with the latter.
The explanation of this sūtra as given by Patanjali in the Mahābhāshya is somewhat different from that of the Kāśikā. The phrase जाति जाति is analysed by him as जि and जाति; the sense being "and as far as the jāti goes." The word jāti is thus explained:—

A word expressing whatever is distinguishable by its form or figure, or which being the name of an individual is easily found applicable to others without any further teaching, (a common name) provided it is not a word used in all genders, (common noun मुख्यालित genus); and (only for the purpose of grammar as coming under the rules relating to the above mentioned words), a word expressing descendants by their parentage as well as a word expressing a person by the branch of the Vedas (शाखा) which the family to which the person belongs is competent to read. शाखायेव (ङ्गखाद्येत्र) (भौगोलिक) = जातिवाचकः (jātivāchakāḥ) जातितु पृथ्वीमालितिनिः. ज नस्त्वंभावै।

The following examples will illustrate the meaning of the above definition:—(1) जि is a jāti word because it denotes what is distinguishable by its form, i.e. by its being contiguous to a place covered with water, (2) चूहा is such a word, because when given as the name of an individual, is applicable to other śūdras (common name), (3) चौपार is such a word, and (4) कइ a person belonging to the family competent to read the branch of the Vedas called kātha is also such a word. But देवस्त is not such a word; because it is a proper name applicable to only one individual and शुष्क is likewise not such word, because it, though a common name, is used in all genders.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of nouns formed by the चूहा elision of an affix relating to man. Thus the Taddhita affix कइ (क) is employed in denoting representation by imitation. Thus चौपार means a figure like a horse (in wood or clay or paper). But when the imitation is that of a man, this affix is elided. Thus चौपार means a "doll of straw." But when we want to say a doll in the figure of a man, we will have चौपार + कइ (सुमनुष्ये V. 3. 98) = चौपार. Here this word is formed by the elision of an affix relating to man. Adjectives qualifying this word will not agree in gender and number. Thus चौपार जनितस: 'the delightful straw figure of man.' जनितस: विविधानीव: ‘a beautiful representation of an eunuch.'
53. This (concord of gender and number, of primitive and derivative nouns, and of attributes and substantives) need not be taught (or approved), because it has the authority of samjñā (or conventional term or idiom).

The agreement between the number and gender of the nouns and attributes; of primary and secondary words formed by suffix rejection, is not an approved syntax. The gender and number of particular derivatives or adjectives are not blindly to be fixed by the primary words or the governed substantives; but it is a matter more or less of usage or idiom: and no hard and fast rule can be laid down for it. Thus the word पति: 'wife' has the form of masculine plural, but is always applied to females, similarly पाव: 'water' is always feminine plural in form, so also गुहा: 'cave'. This sūtra, therefore, modifies the former sūtras, and leaves the whole question of syntactic agreement to be decided by usage and idiom.

The words like पञ्चालास, Kurava &c., should not be considered as derivative words formed by the lup elision of Taddhita; but they must be taken as proper nouns and appellatives of certain countries; consequently the gender and number of such words are fixed by the nature of such words and not by any rule of grammar.

हुव्र योगप्रस्तानात्॥ ५४॥ पदार्थि ॥ हुप्, योग-अप्रस्तानात्॥

(अशिष्या)॥

हुव्रि॥ योगः जनः हुप्वर्यास्तिष्ठहेति हुप्वत्ते हवयं हर्ययः, विकार्यो योगाप्रस्तानात् गहिः पर्यात वर्ण हुव्रि योगः प्रस्तानात् । सम्प्रत्यः प्रमुखायते जैवपयास्माते पुनर्योगास्वर्गे वर्णा हुव्रि॥

54. The sūtras declaring lup elision need not also be taught, because of the non-currency of the etymological meaning of the words supposed to be formed by lup elision.

In explaining certain words, it is a round-about way of going to work to say that there was a suffix after them, which has been rejected, without producing any effect. It is easier to say that the form is what we find it to be, and that its peculiar meaning depends upon usage. Moreover, in many cases, the would-be etymological meaning is not in fact the current meaning which the word has in ordinary language. It is therefore a useless circumlocution to presuppose the existence of a suffix, to add it to a word, and, then after all, to make it vanish.
Thus वर्तन्द्र: Varanā is the name of a city. To say that it is derived from वर्त: a kind of tree, because the city is situated near such trees, and the trees gave the name to the city, is a cumbersome process. Because there might be no trees वर्त at all near the town Varanā. Let us therefore call words like वर्त, पवल्ल, &c., as simply proper nouns. Therefore there is no occasion for the application of the Taddhita affixes given in IV. 2. 69 and 70 (सत्व निवासं: पवल्लसः), relating to residence and vicinity; much less of rules relating to 'lup' elision contained in IV. 2. 81 and 82 (दनपदोऽऽु, वर्ताकर्षण)।

योग-प्रमाणे च तद्दाबेदस्यांस्यात् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि।।

योग-प्रमाणे, च, तद्द-अभावे, अद्भावन्सू, स्यात्।

इसी: पवल्लसः संस्कृते श्रवा न योगोनितिनिर्दित्युक्तं, तत्तवार्यमेा-शुभगतवसं योग-प्रमाणे। हि वर्तभोरे अर्जौरे स्यात, यदः पवल्लादिर राजां योगस्य प्रमाणे। योगस्य वाष्टक: स्यातू, स्यातू, भावेषयुग्मस्योऽस्य:।

55. And if the etymological meaning be held authoritative, then when such meaning is absent, the word also should vanish.

This śūtra strengthens the former śūtra. If it be said that a word always retains its etymological meaning in current language; then when there is an absence of such etymological meaning, then the word itself ought to vanish. But we know, as a matter of fact, that there are words which have altogether lost their etymological sense, and connotate a thing different from their radical meaning. Therefore to explain such words by lūp elision of affixes is improper, because they do not retain the meaning of their primitive words.

It has already been said that words like वर्त्तन्द्र: &c. are not derivative words, &c. but are appellatives. If these words be taken as proving their etymological meaning, that is, as expressing or dependent upon, the sense of the original word, then when there is a loss of the original word signification, the secondary word must also cease to be employed. Thus if Pañchālās be the name of the country in which the Kshatriyas called Pañchālās live, then when they cease to live in this country, it should cease to be called Pañchālās. But we know, as a matter of fact, these words are now used without any reference to the people who once inhabited the countries. These words are consequently not derivative, but their sense is determined by usage. They are what may be called वृत्ति words.
56. (Nor need be taught) the rule relating to the dependence of the meaning of a word on the principal (pradhāna, in a compound) or on the affix (pratyaya), because the authority of the meaning (of a word, compound or derivative) consists in something else.

This sūtra may be divided into two parts. The first part stating the proposition and ending with the word vachanam. The second part giving the reason. The first part consists of four words; Pradhāna: 'Principal in a compound.' As in the compound rājan: 'king’s man,' the word rāja is Upasajana; and vālas: is pradhāna. 2. Pratyaya: 'affix.' 3. vartaye 'meaning.' 4. vartanā 'word or sentence."

In the time of Pāṇini, there were some grammarians, who held the opinion, that the meaning of a word is determined, if a compound word, then by its principal word; and if a derivative word, then by the suffix. Pāṇini controverts this opinion by declaring that in as much as the meaning of a word is fixed by usage and idiom, therefore the proofs for the meaning of a word are not to be searched either in the affixes which go to form it; or by its principal word, if it is a compound. Because, says Pāṇini, the proof of the meaning of a word is in something else, that is to say in the usage of a people and not in the suffixes &c. A person who has never heard the name of grammar, understands full well when told to bring a Raja-purusha. He brings an official and not a king, nor even any person in general. Similarly when told to bring an gopakṣa he brings a cowherd’s child, not a cowherd, nor a child in general, nor both. When, therefore, the sense of a word is determined by usage, there is no use to strive to find out the sense by grammatical rules.

57. And a rule fixing the meaning of Tense (kāla) and Upasajana (sequence) is equally (unnecessary, and need not be taught).

Here Pāṇini controverts the opinion of those grammarians who would even define time and sequence. Thus there were authors who defined pluperfect as a tense relating to time hundred years past, others said a thousand years past &c. Pāṇini declares that these are redundant definitions and comprehensible, for the same reason as given in the previous sūtra.
To give another example. Thus ब्रत्तम: काल: or the period of the current day, has been thus defined by some Acharyas:—"The period of time beginning from the point when one rises (or ought to rise) from his bed, according to the law, and ending with the point when one goes to bed, according to rule, is called adyatana." Others say "from midnight to midnight is the period of the current day." Similarly others have explained the ‘upasarjana’ to mean "that which is not the principal word in a compound is called upasarjana." The sage Pāṇini has not thought it worth his while to define such words as upasarjana, in as much as their sense is well understood by all as a matter of usage. Thus common people who have never heard of grammar, also know the correct use of tenses, they say, "This is to be done by me to-day, this will be done by us to-morrow, this was done by us yesterday."

Similarly common people also know the use of the word upasarjana, for they say:—"ब्रत्तम गृहे पाने वा उपसर्जनस् ‘we are secondary or unimportant persons in this house or village,’ meaning that they are not the principal persons. Therefore that which is valid according to the usage of the people is needless to be taught.

Why was not this sūtra included in the last? What is the necessity of making a separate rule of this? The answer is that it is an illustrative sūtra, and does not exhaust the subject. There are other rules made by former sages which are also not taught by Pāṇini. Thus the following rules of old Rishis are not taught herein, they being supposed to be well-known. "A Bahuvrihi compound connotes ownership." "In Dvanda compounds the sense of both the members of a compound are principal" "In Avyayibhāva compounds the sense of the prior word is the principal" &c.

58. In (a common) name (expressive of) class, in denoting the singular, the plural is optionally employed.

The words of this sūtra require some detailed explanation. The name of a jāti or species, always denotes one, since it is a collective noun, and will naturally take the singular number; by the present sūtra such words may take the plural number also. In such nouns of class, the plural number has also the force of the singular. The anuvṛtti of aśishyam does not go further.
It follows from this that adjectives which are not themselves common noun, such as संप: &c., agree with the noun and will also get the plural number. Thus संप: वर्ण: or संप: ब्रह्म:; "Full grown barley" पृष्ठ: श्रावण: प्रस्त: or पृष्ठ: श्रावण: प्रस्त: II

Why have we used the word जाति in this sūtra? For this aphorism does not apply to Proper Nouns. Thus देवदत्त: वज्र: यज्ञवल्क्य: Yajñadatta.

Why have we used the word श्रावणाय? A word may be a class noun or जाति, but it may not be the appellation of a class. Thus the statue of काश्यप may also be called काश्यप: this is a class noun, but as it is not the appellation श्रावण: or name of a class, such words cannot take the plural form and still denote a singular sense.

Why do we say 'ekasmin'? When two or more class names are compounded as श्रीयुत: 'the rice and barley:' the rule does not apply.

Vart:—An exception must be made when a class noun is qualified by a numeral adjective. As एक: श्रीयुत: संप: श्रीयुत: करीफ़: अस्त: द्वेष: च, (एक:-सिन्न: चुङक: अन्तर्थ: एक:-सिन्न: चुङक: अन्तर्थ:)

151. The plural of the pronoun अस्त, 'I,' is used optionally, though the sense requires a singular or dual number.

Thus "I speak" or "we speak" (वाच्यत श्रीयुत: or वाच्यत श्रीयुत:), may be spoken by one person, similarly two persons may either use the dual case or the plural case, thus बाण श्रीयुत: 'we to speak' or बाण श्रीयुत: 'we speak.'

Vart:—There is prohibition when the pronoun of the 1st person is qualified by an attribute:—as वाच्यत श्रीयुत: श्रीयुत: 'I Devadatta am speaking:' वाच्यत श्रीयुत: श्रीयुत: 'I Gārgya am saying.' Here we cannot use the plural.

Vart:—The word गुहा 'master' may have plural form though referring to one person, when following the word श्रीयुत: as गुहा नेत: गुहा नेत: गुहा नेत: 'Thou art my master,' or 'you are my master.'

50. And the dual of Phālguṇi and Proshṭha-pada, when signifying asterisms, (also connotes optionally plural).
The word छ in this aphorism draws in the anuvṛtī of the word उष्ण: from the last. Of the stars phalguna and proshṭapaḍā, the forms may be either dual or plural. As ग्रहिते पूर्णस् पन्नुन्यो (dual); or ग्रहिता पूर्णस् (plur.)

So also पूर्णस् मोहवर्णे or पूर्णस् मोहवर्णे. There are two pairs of stars of the name of phalguna and proshṭapaḍā, both being of feminine gender, and their logical number being 'dual.' The present sūtra ordains plural optionally. If phalguna and proshṭapaḍā are not names of asterisms they must have their proper number: as पन्नुन्यो माहसिसे.

छन्दसि पुनर्वेंद्रेरकवचनस् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, पुनर्वेंद्रेरकवचनस् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, पुनर्वेंद्रेरकवचनस् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, पुनर्वेंद्रेरकवचनस् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥

61. In the Vedas, the two stars, Punarvasu, may optionally be singular, and connote a dual.

In the Vedas, the star punarvasu which is always dual in form, may be in the singular form and connote a dual meaning. As पुनर्वेंद्रेरकवचनस् or पुनर्वेंद्रेरकवचनस्. The option is only allowed in the Vedas and not in profane literature. In the latter it must be in the dual, that is, पुनर्वेंद्रेरकवचनस्. Similarly when it is not the appellation of an asterism but of a man, there is no option.

62. In the Vedas, the two stars Viṣākhā may optionally be in the singular number.

The word बिशाखा is in the dual number as a rule. In the Vedas, it is found sometime to have the singular form, denoting duality. Thus बिशाखा नक्षत्र or बिशाखे नक्षत्रादिग्रामानि हेतुता.

63. In the Dvandva compounds of the stars Tishya and Punarvasu, the dual constantly comes in the place of the plural.

When there is a collective compounding of the words Tishya and Punarvasu (meaning two groups of stars), the final compound is always in the dual. Thus ग्रहिते तिश्यपन्नुन्यो (dual) 'the Tishya and Punarvasu having risen are seen (dual)'.

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There is one star called Tishya; and there are two stars called Punarvasu. As the Dvanda compound of these stars refers to more than two stars, it ought to have been in the plural number. This rule teaches that there should be a dual number, where otherwise there would have been a plural number. Why do we say ‘Tishya’ and ‘Punarvasu’? Observe विराधाकुषा: ‘the stars Visākhā and Anurādhā.’ The compound is in plural number.

This rule would not apply if these words do not connote stars but are used in any other sense. As विष्णुप्तस्वग साधक्षाः, ‘Boys called Tishya and Punarvasu.’

Why is the word ‘star’ repeated in the sūtra, when the previous sūtras and the context show that stars were being treated of. The repetition is for the sake of including the synonyms of Tishya and Punarvasu. लिप्युन्तर्दूर्; पुष्युन्तर्दूर्; बिज्युन्तर्दूर्.

The rule only applies when these words form a Dvandva compound, and not when they are compounded in any other way. Thus लिप्युन्तर्दूर्: is an example of Bahuvrihi compound meaning “persons who confound the Tishya with the Punarvasu.”

The rule only applies to the plural Dvandva. If the Dvandva takes the singular termination, this rule has no application. लिप्युन्तर्दूर्: इसाबिवि.

This sūtra indicates by implication (jñāpaka) that “every Dvandva compound may optionally take the terminations of the singular” for otherwise the employment of the term बुद्धचन्द्रम in the sūtra would be superfluous.

The word ‘always’ has been used in the text to show that the governing power of “option” stops here with this sūtra and does not extend to it or any further.

सदपापणमेकशेष एकविनक्ती महुः पदानि सदपापणमुः एक-शेष, एक-विनक्ती,

हुः ि सदपापणां शब्दानां एकविनक्तो परव एकोऽयो भविः

64. Of the words having the same form, and all in the same one case-termination, the last one is only retained.

This is a very important sūtra, and deals with what is technically called Ekaśesha (or retention of one). When there are two or more words of the same form, and the same case termination, standing together, one is retained and the rest are dropped. Thus वृक्षः + वृक्षः = वृक्षः (trees, in dual) वृक्षः + वृक्षः + वृक्षः = वृक्षः.

Every individual thing requires an individual word to express it; one word therefore could not express many things; to prevent the repetition of
the same word to express many objects of similar form, is the purpose of this sūtra, by which one word is only retained.

This applies only to words having the same form and not if they have different forms; as बृज्य नय्युग: the plaksha and nyagrodha trees.

The word "form" is used in the text to show that even if two words have different meanings, but the same form, the rule of Ekaśesha will apply, as बृज्य: (die) + बृज्य: (eye) + बृज्य: (axle) = बृज्य: Similarity पात: and नाश:.

The present rule only applies to the retention of one, and prevents the retention of two or more.

The word शेष (retention) is used to show that there is not a substitution (देश) of one for many, but the retention of one out of many.

The rule will not apply if the two words are in different case-terminations, though they may have the same form. As पव: (1. s.) पव: (2. s.) जरयात्; नाहारण: (3. d.) स इनज़ नाहारण: (4. d.) रेशि.

65. The वृद्ध (or patronymic Gotra word becomes ekaśesha, and is retained, when compounded) with a patronymic word called yuvan, provided that the specific difference in form between them be in their signs (affix) only.

The word शेष of the previous sūtra is understood here. The word "युनाः" in the text is in the instrumental case. The yuvan word is dropped when read along with a Vṛddha word. The word Vṛddha means gotra: the old Acharyas (grammarians) used the word Vṛddha for gotra. The vṛddha (or in other words, the gotra) word designates a person between whom and original head of the family a son (or a word formed by an apatya affix) intervenes. In using together two words, one formed by a gotra affix and the other by a yuvan affix, the Vṛddha is retained, where the difference between those words is in their affixes only. These two words gotra and yuvan are defined in sūtras IV. 1. 162 and 163. (विशेष वृद्धभवन्ति नान्म । जीवित ॥ वृद्धाः ॥) Roughly speaking a gotra word is formed from the original noun which is the name of the head of the family when a son of such person is living; and a vṛddha word represents thus a grandson, or lower than that, but not a son; while a yuvan word is derived from such last mentioned gotra word by another affix and thus represents persons lower than grandsons.
The word 'tad' in the sūtra refers to the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word lakṣaṅa 'sign' in the sūtra is synonymous with 'cause' or 'occasion'; meaning the specific difference is caused or occasioned by the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word चेत in the sūtra means 'if.' The word श्रेः 'only' is used to exclude others. The word विशेष: in the sūtra means the 'dissimilarity of form.'

Thus गार्ग्य: + गार्ग्योऽवष्ठ: = गार्ग्य: Here the first word denotes a clan called Gārgya (the offspring or grandsons of Garga formed by the affix चेत (IV. I. 105)) the second word denotes a younger branch of the same, and is formed by the Taddhita affix वक्ष: denoting a secondary derivative. In this then, the first or "Vṛiddha" remains; the second or the yuvan is dropped; and the form "Gārgyau" means both the old and the new clan. Similarly वास्तवः + वास्तवावष्ठ: = वास्तवावष्ठ: This Ekaśesha is to be done only in those cases, where the two words have the same radical form, the only difference between them being in their derivative formation.

The words must differ only by their affixes, but their radical element must be the same. The rule therefore does not apply to:—गार्ग्य: (a Vṛiddha word( + वास्तवावष्ठ: (a yuvan word) = गार्ग्यास्तवावष्ठ: This rule of ekaśesha does not apply if one of the words be not a Vṛiddha word. Thus गार्ग्य: + गार्ग्योऽवष्ठ: = गार्ग्यागार्ग्योऽवष्ठ: Similarly vice versa गार्ग्य: + गार्ग्य: = गार्ग्यागार्ग्य: Here the one word is Vṛiddha, but the other is not yuvan.

The word "only" is used in the sūtra in an exclusive sense, the force being, that two words may stand in the relation of Vṛiddha and yuvan, their radical element, i.e., form may be the same; but if the secondary word has another sense over and above the sense of a yuvan affix, this rule is not applicable. Thus Rule IV. I. 148 says a "Vṛiddha word may optionally take the affix वक्ष: to form a yuvan word and to indicate contempt and born in the country of Sauvitra." Thus भागवतिचिति: + भागवतिचिति: = भागवतिचिति: भागवतिचिति: Here the second word, though a yuvan word, connotes the additional sense of contempt and degradation. The affix वक्ष: is not merely a yuvan affix but conveys the other sense also. The pure yuvan word being भागवतिचिति:.

N. B.—The system of domestic economy among the ancient Aryas was considerably different from the prevalent one. The surnames or the gotras represented the patriarchal system. Three forms of surnames are constantly met with in ancient literature. The first was most important; it was the patronymic by which the lord of the united family the patriarch was known. For example, Garga or Gargāchārya was the recognised head of all the Gargas who may be a hundred. His eldest son and heir was called Gārgi. This is the first form of the patronymic (apāya). The grandsons or sons of Gārgi were named Gārgyas (Vṛiddham or Gotra). On the decease of the old patriarch, Gārgi began to be called Garga; and the eldest of the grandsons was called Gārgi; and those great grand-sons who belonged to the family, and were designated Gārgyaṇas (yuvan) were now called Gārgyas.

(1) गर्गास्योऽवष्ठ: (2) वर्णितोऽवष्ठ: (3) युवास्तवावष्ठ: बहुस्त:.
66. And so also a feminine word, ending with a \textit{vṛiddha} affix, when similarly spoken along with the same word but which ends with a \textit{yuvan} affix, is only retained; and it is treated like a masculine.

When a word denoting gotra and in the feminine gender is compounded with another word denoting a yuvan, the first is retained and the last is dropped; and the feminine noun so remaining is then treated like the masculine. This aphorism makes an addition to the previous sūtra and is governed by all the conditions mentioned in that sūtra. Thus \textit{गार्ग्य+गार्ग्यावण्य} = \textit{गार्ग्यी}. Here note that the resultant form is the same as in the former sūtra namely the masculine.

Similarly \textit{शक्ति+शक्तावण्य} = \textit{शक्तिः} (masculine dual of \textit{शक्ति}).

\textit{Vart}—The word \textit{stri} in the sūtra means \textit{Vṛiddhā 'stṛ}, that is the eldest daughter of a grandson, or a further descendant considered as the female head of the family. The words 'tal lakṣānaś chedeva viśeṣāḥ' of the previous sūtra govern this sūtra also i.e. the distinction between the two words must be in their formative element and not in any thing else.

67. A word in the masculine gender, similarly spoken along with the same word, but ending with the feminine affix, becomes ekaśesha, and the latter is dropped.

When two words of different genders differ only in their derivative elements but not in their radical elements, that is to say, one is masculine and the other feminine because of certain affixes, the masculine-only is retained and the feminine is dropped.

The governing force of the words 'vṛiddha' and 'yuvan,' of sūtra 65, does not extend to this sūtra, but the remaining portion of sūtra 65 is to be read into this sūtra. When a masculine word is read along with a feminine word, the feminine word is dropped and the masculine is retained, when the difference between the two words is caused only by the feminine and masculine affixes: as \textit{मार्ग्यम+मार्ग्य结尾 = मार्ग्यम 'the Brāhmaṇa and the Brāhmaṇi'}; \textit{कृकुरु+कृकुरुची = कृकुरुची}. 'the cock and hen'.
But not so in the following: कुछ + मगरी = कुछमगरी ‘the cock and the peahen.’ Similarly गल्क + गल्की = गल्कगल्की. Here the feminine affix डी, by which the word ganakā is formed from ganaka; in addition to its feminine signification, has the further signification given to it by Rule IV. 1. 48, पुष्पोगनाशायाम, meaning the “wife of” a ganaka and not a feminine ganaka; so also इन्द्र इन्द्रायी खेनेन्द्रायी. Similarly घायाय = घायाओ, भायाओ but घायें + भायाओ = भायार्गायाय. Because the feminine affix in aryani conveys more than its feminine signification. See Rule IV. 1. 49.

This rule does not, of course, apply when it is not a masculine noun which is compounded, but it is a noun without any gender or neuter noun which is compounded with a feminine noun. Therefore प्राक + प्राखी = प्राकप्राखी. The word प्राक is an indeclinable and is without any gender.

भारदुप्ती सख्दहिनेवायस् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदराजि भार-पुत्री, सख्द-दुहित्यास्, (शेष:) ॥

६८. The words bhıatrī, ‘brother,’ and putra, ‘son,’ when spoken of along with svasrī, ‘sister’ and duhītṛī ‘daughter’ respectively are only retained, and the latter are dropped.

With this sūtra ceases the governing force of the remaining conditions contained in sūtra 65. Even where the radical elements of two words are different, there may be an ekaśesha under special circumstances. Thus भार + सख्द = भारतर (brother and sister or brothers), similarly पुष्प + पुष्पद = पुष्पद, (son and daughter or sons).

N. B.—The practical application of this sūtra is very neatly illustrated by the following example. There is a verse in Yājñyavalkya smṛiti प्रभुदुहितलोकपितव्र भारतरस्त्रा which declares that on the death of a sonless person his property passes to his wife, daughters, parents and bhṛataraḥ.

Here the word bhṛataraḥ, if it be taken as simply the plural of bhrātrī, it means “brothers” and excludes sisters. But if it be interpreted according to this sūtra, it means “brothers and sisters”; and thus gives sisters a right to inherit property of their brothers.

नःपुष्कन्तनःपुष्कन्तेणक्रवस्यायायतस्याम् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदराजि नन्मपुष्क अन्नपुष्कन्त, एकवत, च, अस्त्र, अन्यतास्याम्, (शेष, तत्सपथान्त्राहितबिशेष:) ॥

६५. नन्मपुष्कन्तनन्मपुष्कन्तेणक्रवस्यायायतस्याम्; एकवत्तायावचार- कार्येन नन्मपुष्कन्ताय, (शेष अन्यतास्याम्) ॥
69. A neuter noun, which has the same form, only differing in affix; is optionally retained, and the other is dropped, and it is like a singular number.

A neuter prevails over a masculine or feminine noun when spoken of along with them; provided that the words differ in gender signs only; but radically they be the same. Thus श्रान्नस्य, नैयुष्ण, निर्म संज्ञानानिः विविधे 'Idleness, lust, and sleep, indulged in, increase.' Here the adjective 'sevyamānām' is in the neuter gender, though it qualifies the words 'ālasya' which is in the masculine; 'maithunam' which is in the neuter, and 'nīdṛā' which is in the feminine gender. The rule, therefore, may be stated in these words, that where one adjective qualifies several nouns, in different genders, but one of which must be neuter, the adjective agrees with the neuter.

The above illustration also shows that the neuter ekaśesha may be in the singular number.

If the neuter is compounded with another neuter, this rule does not apply. Thus श्रष्ण + श्रष्ण + श्रष्ण = श्रष्णानि the word is in the plural; there is no ekavadbāva.

The words सन्नपत्तेव निरोषः of sūtra 65 governs this sūtra also: thus श्रष्णेक निर्माणसा; श्रष्णा श्रष्णतिका, श्रष्णे श्रष्णे. "The white (masc.) blanket, the white (fem.) wrapper, and the white (neut.) garment," may all be spoken of collectively as श्रष्णे (neut.).

पिता माता || 90 || पदानि || पिता, माता (षेषा,अन्यत्तरस्याश्)||

70. The word pitṛi, 'father' is optionally only retained when spoken of along with mātri, 'mother.'

Thus पिता + माता = पितरै, 'father and mother, or parent' or नातापिताः.
The verse quoted under sūtra 68 illustrates this sūtra also. There the word 'pitarau' has been explained by all commentators as "father and mother." The word "ekavād" of the last sūtra does not govern this sūtra; though the anuvṛtti of 'optionally' is to be read into this.

वश्वविः वश्वविः || 91 || वदानि || वश्वविः, वश्वविः (षेषा, अन्य-तरस्याश्)||

71. The word śvasūra, 'father-in-law,' is optionally only retained, when spoken of along with śvasūrī, 'mother-in-law.'
Thus रूपघृ + रूपम् may be either रूपघृति ‘father-in-law and mother-in-law,’ or रूपभ्रश रूपम्।

72. The pronouns ‘tyad &c.’ when spoken of along with any other noun, (pronoun other than ‘tyad &c.’) are always retained as ekaśesha, (to the exclusion, of others).

The list of ‘tyadādi’ pronouns has been given under sūtra I 1. 27. They are 12 words beginning with ‘tyad’ and ending with ‘kim,’ when these tyadādi pronouns are compounded with any other noun, (or a pronoun, which does not belong to their class), they prevail, the rest are dropped. The word ‘sarva’ is used in the aphorism to indicate ‘universality’; i.e. whatever may be the word in composition with them, the ‘tyad &c.’ are retained to the exclusion of others. The word ‘nitya’ is used to indicate that this is an obligatory rule, and not optional, as were the last rules.

Thus त: (he)+देवस्ततः (Devadatta)=तौ (they two).

Vart.—When श्यासारि words are compounded among themselves, the word which is read last in the order given in the Gaṇapātha remains, the rest are dropped. Thus यः+ कः=यो; कः+ कः=को। Thus यः is read after यः (see I. 1. 27), so यः will be retained and not यः; similarly कः is read after कः, and therefore कः is retained to the exclusion of यः.

73. The feminine noun is only retained, when denoting a collection of domestic animals, not being young.

As a general rule, when there is a compounding of masculine and feminine nouns, the masculine noun is retained (see 67). The present sūtra is an exception to that rule. It ordains that when there is a compounding of words denoting group of domestic animals, of different genders;
the feminine noun is preferred; provided that the words should not relate to the young of such animals. The word ‘ataruṇa’ in the aphorism qualifies the word ‘paśu’ with which it is in construction, and not the word ‘saṅgha.’ 

As गाय रूप: ‘these cows (and bulls).’ बक्षा रूप: ‘these goats’ (both males and females).

The rule only applies to domestic (grāmya) animals and not to wild animals; and only to beasts (paśu) and not men. As हरस रूप: ‘these wild deers’ (male and female), प्रसा रूप: ‘these antelopes’ (male and female), ब्राह्मणा: ‘the Brāhmaṇas’ (male and female) भारत: ‘the Kshatriyas.’ In all these, the masculine noun is retained by Rule 67.

Vart.—This rule must be confined to domestic animals having divided hoof. Therefore सर्वा रूप: ‘these horses’ (male and female). Here the masculine noun is retained, because horse has no divided hoof.

Why have we used the word (saṅgha) “collection”? Observe गायो वर्त: ‘these two cows are grazing.’ Here the word ‘gāvau’ does not connote ‘bull’ also.

Why do we say “not being young”? वस्त्र रूप: ‘these calves’; बक्षा रूप: ‘these kids.’ Here the masculine noun is retained, by the application of Rule 67.
BOOK I.

CHAPTER III.

1. The words beginning with bhû ‘to become,’ and denoting action, are called dhātu or verbal roots.

This defines the word dhātu or root. The list of Sanskrit verbs begins with the root bhû ‘to be.’ Sanskrit grammarians have divided all verbs into ten classes, according to certain modifications which their roots undergo before certain terminations. The ten classes are as follows:—


There are nearly two thousand verbs, and they are conjugated in two forms, some taking the Parasmaipada terminations only, the others the Atmanépada terminations and some both. The present chapter deals mostly with rules determining the nature of the verbal root, whether it is Parasmaipadi or Atmanépadi or both. A verb expresses action. The word dhātu is a word coined by older grammarians than Pâpini and they employed the term in denoting a word expressing action. Here also therefore, the word dhātu means a word which expresses action.

The vā in the sūtra is for the sake of auspiciousness; for the regular sandhi of v̄ + vāri is vāri and not vāvari; while Dr. Ballantyne considers that vā is a separate root: he translates the sūtra thus:—“Let the verbal roots bhû ‘be,’ vā ‘blow’ and the like be called dhātu.”

2. The nasalized vowels are ṛṣṇ in Upadeśa, or original enunciation.
Anunāsika or nasalized vowels are ceği that is indicatory, when occurring in technical words. Thus in फिल, विद्य, विद्ध the anunāsika ceği is ceği. The original sūtra contains the word ‘upadesa’ which we have translated as technical term. ‘Upadesa’ literally means ‘instruction’ or the first mentioning of a thing either in a sūtrapātha, or gānapātha or dhātupātha &c.

From this sūtra up to sūtra 9, there is a description of servile or indicatory letters called ceği “In Pāṇini’s Grammar there is no visible sign of the nasality of a vowel—hence we can know a vowel to be nasalized only from Pāṇini’s explicitly asserting that it is so, or from our finding that he treats it in such a way that we must conclude he regarded it as nasal.” An upadesa is defined as signifying an original enunciation, that is to say, an affix (pratyaya), or an augment (āgama), or a verbal root (dātu), or in short, any form of expression which occurs only in technical treatises of grammar, and which is not a word ready for use, but one of the supposed original elements of a word. Thus in the root यय ‘to increase,’ the final ध is indicatory, the real root is यत्यः. So also the final ध of स्वर्धेसि is ceği.

If the word is not an upadesa, then the nasal vowel is not ceği. As यन्त्य यन्त्याभासः ceği. A word may be an upadesa and nasal, but if it is not a vowel, it need not be ceği as the affix मन्त्र in sūtra III. 2. 74. (वासी मन्त्रहि द्वितियं विनिलोहि)
It is only the nasal vowel of an upadesa that becomes ceği, and not all the vowels. The word ceği occurs is sūtras 7. 2. 16. (वासितत्व &c.).

हस्तवन्यम् ceği 2 पदानि ceği। हल्ल-अन्त्यम्। (उपदेशे हल्ल)

3. In upadesa, the final consonant of roots &c. is ceği.

All the final consonants of roots, affixes &c. are indicatory. As in the pratyāhāra sūtras न इ एः; here एः is ceği। एः थः; here थः is ceği। एः थः; here थः is ceği। एः थः। एः थः। एः थः। It is only in upadesa, that a final consonant is ceği. Not therefore, in शास्तित्व or सीमात्व, which are complete words.

न विभस्तीय तुस्मा: ceği 3 पदानि ceği। न विभस्ती, तु-स्माः।

4. The final dental consonants, and the final ध, and ष, are not ceği, in affixes called vibhakti or inflective affixes.
This is an exception to the previous sūtra which declared all final consonants to be हस्तः. In case terminations, the final स्, च्, र्, ख्, ङ्, and न्, are not हस्तः. Thus the case termination of nominative plural is जस्त्. Here the final स्, though a consonant is not an हस्तः; and is not rejected, as in वास्तवः. The word स् in the sūtra means the letters of the class न, by virtue of sūtra 69 Chapter I. (see ante). The word vibhakti will be defined later on in sūtra I. 4. 104. These are terminations applied to nouns in declining them through various cases; and to verbs in conjugating them. Thus in sūtra VII. 1. 12, (शास्तिसिद्धानित्यत्वः;) the vibhaktis इन्द्र, पालुः and श्व replace र, वृद्धि and दहुः. Here the final स् of the affix ग्राह्यं is not indicatory and hence not rejected, as ग्राह्यं. Similarly verbal terminations सद्ध and यस्त् as प्रस्त्; प्रस्त्. So also the final स् as नाम्प्र और and गुण in व्रतमश्याम and व्रतमश्याम.

This exception applies only to vibhaktis and not to affixes in general. Thus the finals of यस्त् (III. 1. 97 अत्योदयम्;) दुः (V. 2. 123 दुःस्त्वा दुः) and यस्त् (III. 1. 78 र्या-ियं यस्त्;) are हस्तः and are rejected. This exception, however does not apply to the vibhakti यस्त् (in V. 3. 12 इन्द्रज्ञो or III. 4. 106, इन्द्रज्ञः). In those two sūtras the final स् of the vibhakti is हस्तः. The reason of this is, that the present sūtra is an anitya sūtra, i.e. a rule not of general application. In sūtra V. 3. 24, (वस्त्रभवः;) we find, 'the word हस्तः takes the vibhakti यस्त् in the sense of mode or manner.' As हस्तः + हस्तः = ग्राह्यं, 'in this manner.' Now यस्त् is a vibhakti by V. 3. 1. (प्रमुद्धियो विनम्यः;) the उ is हस्तः, the real vibhakti is यस्त्. Now had the present sūtra been of universal application, then there would have been no necessity of adding this उ as indicatory letter, which has been evidently added to save the स् of यस्त् from becoming an हस्तः. This sūtra is consequently an anitya sūtra.

नारिद्रितुहः: ॥ ५ ॥ पदार्थ: आदि: , जिन-हवः; (हस्तः) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ हि हस्त इस्ये तथे सबूतायावमादितो वस्त्रभवावमादितं भवनित्यः ॥

5. The initial नि, त्रि, and द्वि are हस्तः.

The syllables नि, त्रि and द्वि, standing at the beginning of a root are indicatory; as विनम्यः 'to have affectionate pleasure.' The real root is हस्तः, the नि is servile. So हस्तः 'to rejoice, be glad' the real root being नि. So हस्तः 'to give' the real root being नि.

The नि shows that the past participle नि has the power of the present III. 2. 187 (प्रेच्छ: कः). As भिक्षा-नि: 'blown'; भितिः-नि: 'fat'; भिधष्णा-पुष्ट: 'bold,' भिठिवसा-नि: 'soft,' भिन्नी-हस्तः 'kindled.'

The द्वि subjoined to a root serves to show that it admits the affix यस्त् to form a noun indicative of the act (III. 3. 89 इन्द्रज्ञः); as इन्द्रज्ञः-स्त्रि: 'shaking'; इन्द्रज्ञः-स्त्रप्त: 'swelling.'

The यस्त् indicates that the root to which it is subjoined admits of the affix श्रेष्ठ (III. 3. 88, िवः श्रेष्ठः:) to form a noun or adjective attributive of the act.
by which the substantive thing has been produced, as बुध्रासि—क्रियाˈम् ‘artificial’
दुर्बल्—‘ripe’; दुर्बल्—‘sown.’

If these three syllables do not stand in the beginning of a verb, they are not indicatory; as फूलमति, कप्पुबति &c.

ष: प्रत्ययः ṣ Ⅱ ṣ Ⅱ पदार्थः ṣ: प्रत्ययः (आदि इत्य) Ⅱ
शुश्रु: Ⅱ पकारः प्रत्ययःसंस्तनो भवति Ⅱ

6. The initial ष of an affix is indicatory.

The initial ष of an affix gets the name of द्रु & is rejected. Thus by Rule III. 1. 145 (पिल्लि पुनः) the affix षुष्य is added to a verb to indicate proficient in the art expressed by the verb. The ष and ष are द्रु and षुष्य takes the place of षु (VII. 1. 1, बुध्रासिको). Thus नुषु+पुषुष्य = नुषु+षुष्य = नतुषु: ‘a dancer’ (by profession); fem. नतुषु (IV. 1. 41, पिल्लि पुनः ‘words formed by affixes having an indicatory षु take the affix हिः in the feminine’): so also रजुषु: fem. रजुषु.

The initial ष of an affix only is द्रु and not every initial षु. Thus not in धोकः ‘six,’ or परितः Ⅱ The ष must be initial, therefore it is not द्रु in the affix धिष्य in अहिष्योदिष्य (U Ⅰ. 45) as ध्रिष्य: ‘an ocean’ ध्रिष्य: ‘a buffalo.’

षुष्य Ⅱ Ⅱ पदार्थः षुष्य (प्रत्ययः आदि: इत्य) Ⅱ
षुष्यः Ⅱ सवर्ग्यमण्डलम: प्रत्ययःसंस्तनो भवति Ⅱ

7. The initial palatals and linguals of an affix are indicatory.

The consonants ष, षु, ू, ु, ू, ू, त, तु, तू, and षु are always द्रु and are rejected when initial in affixes. The word ‘affix’ of the previous sūtra governs this also.

As the affix षुष्य chphaṇ in sūtra (IV. 1. 98 मोक्ष वहिः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः). Here षु is indicatory, as, कृत्वान्यः: Ⅱ The initial षु of an affix is always replaced by इषु (VII. 1. 2 धान्यतिनिविध: फात श्रेणिया प्रत्ययः समुहा). The initial षु of an affix is द्रु. As. षु (Nom. Pl. term.) भाष्यः: Ⅱ The initial ष of an affix is always replaced by अषु, as षु+षुष्य+हिः = अषुष्यः (VII. 1. 3 शीतस्य:). The initial षु of an affix is द्रु, as in द्रृ, which comes after the words एषुक्क &c. As एषुक्क: (IV. 3. 92 एषुक्कस्योऽस्य:). The indicatory षु causes वृद्धि by rules VII. 2. 115, 116 and 117: (प्रत्ययः इषु: प्रत्ययः इषु: प्रत्ययः समुहा).

The initial ष of an affix is द्रु as in III. 2. 16 (षूर्तेः the root षू र्त takes the affix र्त when compounded with a noun in the locative). As कुर्सिः: ‘who goes among the Kurus.’ The feminine of words formed by this affix take हीषु (IV. 1. 15 दिक्क्यवर्मिकोऽक्कमयि &c.) As कुर्सिः: महसिः. The initial ष of an affix is always replaced by इषु (VII. 3. 50 श्वेतः.). The initial ष of an office is द्रु, as in III. 2. 97 (सम्भविः जनेः: the root जनू takes the affix ज when in composition
with a word in the locative, as उपस्थित:, मन्विन्य. The े indicates that the
final of the word called इ should be elided when an affix having indicatory
ी is added. The initial े of an affix is replaced by न व (VII. 1. 2).

The letter े is always an हूँ when initial. As in the aphorism IV. 4
85 (पत्रांकः) the affix े comes after the word भद्र "food." As ब्रह्म+े=भद्रः.
The े causes विद्धि.

This सूत्र could very well have been included in the last aphorism.
Why has it then been made a separate aphorism? The reply is that the
present सूत्र declares an anitya rule—that is to say, a rule which is not uni-
versally true. The initial palatal or lingual of every affix is not indicatory.
Thus in the affixes चुन्तुःपुरुष नदिपुषुः the initial े is not indicatory but forms
part of the real affix. As विद्धि: विचारण: ‘famous for one’s learning.’ See
S. V. 2. 26 तेन विचारणः चप्पणी. Similarly the initial े of the affix शीतूः (V.
2. 31 मवादःहेतुगर्भः, नव नामिकायः संहायः शीतूः नाटूः हर्षः,) is not it. As शेषीतूः
‘flat nosed.’

Of course it is the initial palatal and lingual which are servile; if
these letters occur in the middle of an affix, they will not be indicatory. As
े of the affix अक्षुः is not indicatory in सूत्र V. 2. 35 (कर्ममिक शेषिकः) कर्मजः:
‘dexterous.’

8. The initial े and ॄ, and the gutturals of all
affixes, except taddhita, are indicatory.

The initial े, ्र, ्क, ्व, ्र, ्प, ्त of affixes are indicatory, except in
Taddhita affixes. Thus the initial े in न्हुः is न्हुः (III. 3 115 न्हुः) तिः+न्हुः=
कण्यामुः (VII. 1. 1) ‘collecting.’ The initial े in श्राधुः is श्राधुः (III. 1 68 कर्मरे श्राधुः)
े+न्हुः+तिः=न्हुः+भं+तिः=वांति ‘he is.’ The initial े is हूः as in हूः and भूः
(I. 1. 26), as शुः: ‘eating’ शुः।. The initial े is हूः as in हूः (III. 2. 33
विचारः व्यः कार्यः the word व्यः takes the affix khach when compounded with विच
and शुः) विचारः: ‘speaking kindly’ शुःः: ‘submissive.’ The initial े is हूः as
in the affix म्नुः (III. 2. 139 श्वासित्स्वस्थः म्नुः), म्नाः: ‘languid’ शुःः: ‘victorious,
श्याः: ‘unmoveable.’ The initial े is हूः as in शुःः (III. 2. 161 भूःःमीनैव पृथ्वीः)
भूः+ पृथ्वीः=भूक्तः ‘brittle.’ The initial े is हूः, as in हूः (termination
of the ablative sing.) हूः ditto of genitive sing. (IV. 1. 2), as म्नाः+े=
म्नाः+े=म्नाः ‘of a well minded.’ In Taddhita affixes however,
these initials े गृ and gutturals are not हूः; and are therefore not elided.
Thus ्रूः+े=्रूःः (V. 2. 96 प्राचीनस्तातीम नागमन्वतरस्बाः) ‘crested’; लौः+े
A rule of assignment. [Bk. I. Ch. III. § 9, 10.

- लोप: (V. 2. 100 लोमावशामायिण्यात: द्वैनेद्रवः) 'hairy;' रुष + कार = रुषकः
(V. 3-81-86 चालिनाः करुः) 'a small tree.'

तस्य लोपः || 9 || पदानि || तस्य, लोपः, (द्वैनेद्रव) ||

बुद्धि: || तत्त्वज्ञातक्रमः लोपे नस्ति ||

9. Of this, (namely of that which has been called रुष), there is elision.

This sutra declares the function of रुष; namely it is a mere indicative letter, and must be rejected. It is useful only as a mnemonic and is not a part of the term.

The word tasya in the sutra indicates that the substitution of lopa must be in the place of the whole term called रुष, and not only in the place of the final letter, which last is the general rule (see I. 1 52). Therefore, the whole of स्त्र, रुष and रुष is rejected and not only their finals.

यथा सहिष्णुदेशः सतानाय || 10 || पदानि || यथा-सहिष्णुः

अनुदेशः, सतानाः ||

बुद्धि: || स्त्राः समस्यायाः समाद्विपिवताःधिनमुदिनांधिनां च यथा कन्ठि

तत्त्वज्ञातः ||

10. When a rule involves the case of equal numbers of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted, their mutual correspondence or assignment of each to each, is according to the order of enumeration.

Thus sutra III. 1 134 (नवविधिचारकोऽभिलयन्याः) declares:—'the affixes रुष, फिनि and चुष are applied to नस्त्र, भागि and चुष class of words.' It means the affix रुष is applied to the words of नस्त्र class, the affix फिनि to words of भागि class, and चुष to words of चुष class. The application must be respectively according to order, and not hap-hazard. Similarly in VI. 1 77 रुषी

बाणिः (if a vowel follows) in the place of र, च, छ, ल there is यष्ट i.e., रुष, रः, लः, छ. So also see S. IV. 3. 94 (सूक्ष्मविज्ञानतर्काधेशीकृत्तिकाव्यप्रदेशु ष्ठुष्ठ ष्ठुष्ठ यष्ठ) where the four affixes धहक, चहाँ धहाँ, and यष्ठ are applied respectively to the words तुल्य, चलुरिः, वर्मैल्लि and कृष्णावर्ता; i.e., the first affix in the order of enumeration to the first word, the second affix to the second word &c. As तौरेषु; जानानविरेषु; बर्मेण्वेषु; and कृष्णावर्तः.

Why do we say 'of equal members'? This rule will not apply if the number of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted are unequal. As in sutra I. 4. 90 शस्त्रेष्यपूर्वावनावबालीष्ठः प्रत्येकः (for here the words lakshaṇa &c. in the first part of...
Atmanepada Verbs.

The sūtras are four in number, while the words prati &c. are only three. That sūtra therefore must be read as thus. “The words ति, परि and धनु are karma-pravachanīya, whenever they indicate either lakśaṇa (a mark), itthambhūtākhyāna (a statement of mere circumstance); bhāga (division); or vipsā (desire).”

स्वार्थेनार्थिकाः: ॥ ११ ॥ पदार्थिः ॥ स्वार्थेन, अथिकाः: ॥

नृत्ति: ॥ स्वार्थेन्द्र नाम स्वार्थद्विगुल्लाधिकारावेंद्रिकाश्च: ॥

11. In these aphorisms, when a word is marked with a svarita accent, by that an adhikāra or a governing rule is to be understood.

When in this collection of grammatical sūtras, there is any sūtra that has a circumflex accent, it denotes that it is either the beginning of a subject and the subsequent sūtras are governed by it, or that it ends a subject and separates the previous sūtras from the following.

As a rule, the sūtras are not marked with accents; it is therefore from commentaries that one has to learn whether a sūtra has a svarita or not. Thus the following sūtras, must evidently have svarita as they are governing sūtras; प्रत्यय: (III. 1. 1) पालो: (III. 1. 91), चक्रवर्त (VI. 4. 1), नाश (VI. 4. 129).

अनुदात्तित्वा आलमनेपदम् ॥ १२ ॥ पदार्थिः ॥ अनुदात्त:-क-हतः

आलमनेपदम् ॥

नृत्ति: ॥ अनुदात्तित्वा वे पालो हिन्तथ केभ्य एव आलमनेपदं भवति नामदेवः: ॥

12. After a root which has an indicatory anudātta vowel (anudāttet) or an indicatory न (nit), the affixes are those of the Atmanepada.

The word ‘atmanepada’ here governs all the subsequent sūtras up to sū. 77 inclusive, and is understood in them all; and will not therefore be repeated. Thus of the verb आत्त the final ध is anudātta and is हत। It is therefore an atmanepadi verb. As भवति. So पृष्ठ-पृष्ठ, पीठ-पीठे.

भवकर्मणिः: ॥ १३ ॥ पदार्थिः ॥ साव-कर्मणि: (आलमनेपदम्) ॥

नृत्ति: ॥ भवे कर्मणि चालमनेपदम् भवति ॥

13. An atmanepada affix is the substitute of the affix न (III. 4. 69) when it denotes the action of the verb or the object of the verb.

Sūtra III. 4. 69 declares the “letter न (नृष, निष &c.,) is placed after transitive verbs in denoting the object also as well as the agent; and after intransitives in marking the condition (i.e., the action itself which the verb imports) also as well as the agent.” The Paras. and Atman. affixes would
have come, therefore, generally after all these verbs. The present śūtra restricts Atman. affixes to bhāva and karma verbs.

This is clear. Impersonal verbs and passive verbs as a rule are conjugated in the atmanepada and take the terminations of that pada. These originally were verbs expressive of states rather than of actions. As of भाव we have ग्लावते मन्त्र ‘you dislike’ (lit. ‘it is disliked by you’) सुपते भवत ‘you sleep.’ Similarly passive verbs as क्रियते करत ‘the mat is made’; विषयते भार ‘the load is carried.’

All verbs in Sanskrit may have three voices _vis._ active, passive, and middle or impersonal; active voice is generally parasmaipada. The reflexive verbs known as कर्मकर्तारी are also Atmanepadi. Thus गृहते क्रेश ‘he cut the wood cuts of itself.’ See śūtra 78.

कर्तिरि कर्मे व्यतिहारी || ॥ ॥ पदानि || कर्तिरि, कर्मे-व्याति-हारे || (आतमनेपदस्) ||

14. In denoting the agent, when reciprocity of action is to be expressed, the affixes of the Atmanepada are employed.

The active or कर्मचारी verbs when denoting reciprocal action are Atmanepadi. As, व्यतिहारेत ‘they cook for each other,’ व्यतिहारेत ‘he performs’ cutting of wood which was the appropriate office of another.

The words “reciprocity or interchange of action” of this śūtra govern and are understood in the two following śūtras also.

The word karma in the śūtra means action and not the technical ‘karma’ meaning ‘object’ and the word vyatihāra means reciprocity or interchange. When an action which was appropriate to one person is performed by another, whose duty it was not, that is called ‘interchange of action.’ When such interchange is not meant Paras. is used. As तुमिनि ‘they cut.’ The word kartari here is used for the sake of the subsequent aphorism 78, which see.

न गति हिंसायेन्यम्: || ॥ ॥ पदानि || न, गति-हिं सा-अर्थेयम्: || (आतमनेपदस् कर्मचारिहारे ) ||

15. After verbs having the sense of ‘motion,’ or ‘injury,’ when expressing interchange of action the Atmanepada affixes are not used.
This aphorism prohibits Atmanepada affixes in certain cases where by force of the last sutra Atmanepada affixes would have been obtained. As व्यतिकृतम् ‘they go against each other,’ व्यतिविलितम् ‘they injure each other,’ व्यतिविच्छिन्नम् ‘they fight together.’

The word ‘not’ of this sutra is understood in the subsequent sutra. 
Vart.—This prohibition extends to the verbs हस् ‘to laugh,’ and the rest. As व्यतिहासिन्यम्, व्यतिज्ञासिन्यम्, व्यतिप्रविद्धिन्।

Vart.—Prohibition must be made of the verbs हस्ति ‘to injure,’ as संबद्धरूपे राजन:।

16. And after the verbs which take the words इतर-इतर, अन्यः-अन्यः, उपपदात्, च, (केवलः आत्मनेवः न )।

Thus इतरेऽत्तर्य व्यतिकृतम् ‘they cut each other’ अन्योन्ययां व्यतिविलितम् ‘they cut one another.’

Vart.—This rule must also be applied when the word परस्पर is in composition with the verb, as an upapada. As परस्परस्य व्यतिविलितम्।

Vart.—This rule must also be applied when the word परस्पर is in composition with the verb, as an upapada. As परस्परस्य व्यतिलितम्।

17. After the verb विस् ‘to enter,’ when preceded by the preposition नि, the Atmanepada affixes are employed.

As विविधम् ‘he enters,’ but निमित्ते ‘he enters in.’

Even when the augment यद् of the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional tenses intervenes between the root and the preposition, terminations are of the Atmanepada. As व्यविष्टम् ‘he entered in.’

The नि of the sutra must be an upasarga, because that has a sense, and not any नि. On this there is this paribhāṣa:—पार्थेन द्वारादेव नामयथसः “a combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote the same combination of letters void of a meaning.” Thus in नगुणिः विशालिनि धनरा: ‘the beetles enter the honey flowers.’
Here the श्व is a part of the word मूलि and has no sense by itself, and therefore the verb is in the Parasmaipada and not in the Atmanepada.

परिभ्रमणे: क्रिया: || ७८ || पदार्थि || परि-वि-अवेगः, क्रिया, ||

(आठ )

वृत्ति: || परिभ्रमणे उत्तरान्त्र, श्रीतावर्त्तमानेऽवधि भवति ||

18. After the verb कृति 'to purchase,' when preceded by pari, vi or ava, the Atmanepada affix is employed, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb बुधीर्म् 'to buy or barter,' has an indicator मृ and therefore, by sūtra 72 it will be Atmanepadi when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present sūtra, therefore, refers to cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The root श्री 'to buy' as a general rule takes the terminations of both padas, but when it is preceded by pari, vi, or ava, it is restricted to Atmanepada terminations. As श्रीकीर्तिते 'he buys'; बुधीर्मिते 'he sells'; श्रीकीर्तिते 'he buys.'

The word pari, vi, and ava must be upasargas, therefore, in the following example, there is no Atmanepada termination, because the vi there, is not a preposition but a noun, as, बुधीर्मिति वष्णु.

विष्णुराम्ये जे: || ७९ || पदार्थि || विष्णुराम्य, जे: (आठ )

वृत्ति: || दि परा द्वाराजयंतरागंरागं भवति ||

19. After the verb जि 'to conquer,' preceded by vi or pari, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

This sūtra debars S. 78 by which the root श्व is generally Parasmaipadi.

As विजयते 'he conquers' पराजयते 'he conquers.' The words vi and pari must be upasargas (prepositions), for the application of this rule. In the following examples, they are used as substantives बुधीर्मिति वष्णु, परा भवति देना।

आदो द्रव्यास्य विहिरणे || २० || पदार्थि: || आदः, दृः, अनास्य-विहिरणे, (आठ )

वृत्ति: || आद: पुरावस्तेरास्यविहिरेऽवस्ते वर्तमानाधारास्यं भवति ||

वास्तकम् || परावस्तेहस्मानविशालार्थि प्रति मित्रशी० वष्णु: ||

वास्तकम् || स्वास्तः कर्मकायिति सत्क्षण्डः ||
20. After the verb dā ‘to give,’ preceded by an, and when not meaning ‘to open the mouth,’ the Atmanepada affix is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The root त is generally both Parasmaipadi and Atmanepadi (see S. 72). But when preceded by the preposition या, it is restricted to the Atmanepada. As विभाषेष्ये ‘he acquires knowledge.’ But when it means “to widen the mouth” whether actually or metaphorically, it is parasmaipadi. As वार्ते व्यास्ताति. ‘He expands his own mouth.’

Vart:—The prohibition also applies when the action is similar to the act of opening the mouth. As विपालिता व्यास्ताति ‘he opens the tumour.’ कृष्णे व्यास्ताति ननि ‘the river breaks the bank.’

Vart:—When the action does not affect the agents’ own body the verb is Atmanepadi, as व्यास्तान्तोस्योपिता: पतंगमुख्यः, ‘the ants open the mouth of a locust.’

21. After the verb krīḍ ‘to play’ preceded by anu, sam or pari, as well as an, the Atmanepada affix is used.

The word “आङ” is to be read into the sūtra by virtue of the conjunction य in the text. As चाक्रिडेति संक्रिडेति चानुण्डी, or परिक्रिडेति ‘he plays.’

Vart.—When the verb क्रृत्रु compounded with सम means ‘to make a rattling or creaking noise,’ it does not take Atmanepada terminations. As संक्रिगुणितोक्ताति ‘the carts rattle or creak.’ The word anu, pari &c., being taught along with sam, indicates that the upasargas anu, pari &c., are to be taken, and not the karmapraavachaniya anu pari &c. Therefore, when these prefixes are used as karmapraavachaniya, they do not cause the verb क्रृत्रु to
take the átmanepada terminations as मायवकमनुकृतिं 'he plays in imitation of the boy.' For the definition and action of karmapravachanlyya, see. I. 4. 83 and II. 3. 8.

Vart.—The verb भ्राम्यत takes the átmanepada terminations when meaning 'to wait for,' 'to over look' 'to have patience' as, भ्राम्यबलस्य सावनु मायवकम् 'Have patience with the boy.'

Vart.—The verb लोकस् takes átmanepada terminations, when meaning 'to enquire':—as, विद्वानु सिद्धवे 'he investigates sciences.

Vart.—The verb नायु when meaning 'to bless,' takes átmanepada terminations, as, काप्रभो नायुः 'he blesses with clarified butter.' काप्रभो नायुः Why do we say 'when meaning to bless?' Observe, मायवकमनुकृतलयति, 'he begs of Manavakaka.'

Vart.—The verb सर्पति takes átmanepada terminations when meaning 'to take after the nature of the parents.' As वेयकम्भ्या मुहुरस्तेऽ 'the horses resemble their father.' गायकम्भ्या मुहुरस्तेऽ 'the cows always imitate their mother.' But when not having this meaning, we have मुहुरस्तर्वति 'he resembles his mother.'

Vart.—The verb विक्षिति takes átmanepada terminations when meaning 'to scratch out or scatter with joy, for abode or food.' As भयोंतिवर्तेऽ 'the happy bull scratches with joy.' भयोंतिवर्तेऽ 'the cock scratches in search of food,' भयोंतिवर्तेऽ 'the dog scratches to make his abode.' When not having these senses we have भयोंतिवर्ति 'he scatters about the flowers.' The dental स in apaskarita is added by sūtra VI. 1. 142. भयोंतिनस्तकुकिस्तिनस्तिनाने ॥

Vart.—The verbs नः 'to cry' and प्रक्षः 'to ask' take the átmanepada terminations when preceded by the preposition शास्त्र, as शास्त्रे शास्त्र: 'the jackal howls.' शास्त्रे शास्त्र: 'he questions the Guru.'

Vart.—The verb शास्त्रः when meaning 'to touch the body by the word' takes átmanepada affixes. As शास्त्रस्य शास्त्रः 'he promises by oath to Devadatta.' Otherwise we have शास्त्रः 'he curses.'

22. After the verb sthā 'to stand,' preceded by sam, ava, pra, vi, the Atmanepada affix is used.

As सत्तुर्थः 'he stays with,' शास्त्रिद्वे 'he waits patiently,' प्रवधित्वे 'he sets forth,' विभिन्नः 'he stands apart.'
The Atmanepada verbs.

**Vart.**—The verb भाषा when preceded by भाषा and meaning ‘solemn declaration’ takes Atmanepada terminations; as भाषा संस्कृतमात्राणासिद्धे। Or to take another example, जलसिद्धं जलसिद्धं कारणावलम्बये ‘for thee I shall surely have recourse to water or poison.’

23. After the verb स्थान when meaning ‘to indicate one’s intentions to another,’ or ‘to make an award as an arbitrator,’ the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The word prakāśana means disclosing one’s intentions. The word stheyaśākhya is a compound of stheya ‘arbiter’ and śākhya ‘name.’

As तिलकते जागाल्पे ‘the wife expresses her wish to the husband,’ लक्षितरे ‘he refers to thee for settlement,’ संतप्त कथिते चित्रे ‘who, when he is in doubt, has recourse to Karpa as his judge or umpire.’

24. After the verb स्थान, preceded by उत, when not meaning ‘to get up or rise,’ as from a seat; the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The word ‘karma’ in this aphorism means ‘action,’ and does not mean the grammatical karma or ‘object.’

As गेहे चाषिते ‘he strives for the house’ so also चुदके चाषिते। But भाषानुनिश्चित ‘he rises up from the seat.’

**Vart.**—The force of the preposition उत must be to express दृष्ट, ‘effort, exertion, wish or desire, to surprise or excel.’ If this be not the force of उत, the terminations are those of the Parasmaipada. As यस्मात मानस्तः यथा अवस्थसिद्धिः ‘a hundred is yielded by this village.’ The word दृष्ट qualifies the word अनुभवकार्मनी, and does not debar the latter.

उपास्वच्छकर्मेण उपादि, स्वर्ग-कर्षेण, ( भाषा, आत्म प्रेत )

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25. After the verb sthå, preceded by upa, when meaning 'to adore,' the Atmanepada affix is used.

As देव्याहिंस्यपद्वतानुसारे 'he approaches with prayers or worships the Gārhapatyā fire with aindra hymns.'

If it does not mean 'praising with hymns' the terminations which the verb takes, are those of the Parasmaipada, as भववृत्तिकला यौवनेन 'she approaches the husband through youth.'

Vart.—The verb स्था after the preposition उप takes the terminations of the Atmanepada when meaning 'worshipping a deity,' 'to approach for intercourse or uniting or joining,' 'to form friendship with,' and 'to lead to as a way.' Thus:—1st Deva pujā व्यापित्तिविनिः 'he worships the Aditya.' 2. Sangati karāṇa पतिपदान्ति नारी 'the wife approaches the husband,' राज्यायत्तिविनिः 'forms union with charioteers.' 3. Mitri karāṇa अत्तिविनिः साधः 'the good man approaches the saints to make friends with.' What is the difference between Sangati-karāṇa and Mitri-karāṇa? Sangati-karāṇa means drawing near and approaching together in space, as गंगायात्तिविनिः 'the Ganges joins the Jumna.' While the friendly relations may be established without coming in physical contact. 4. Patha:—यद्य पाया उपस्थितिः 'this road leads to Srughna.

Vart.—It must be stated that the Atmanepada is optional when the sense is 'desire of getting.' As निष्कृत्ती नात्रायणकुलविनिः or उपस्थितादि 'a beggar waits at the palace of a Brahmaṇa with the desire of getting something.'

अकर्मकाढः || २६ || पदानि || अकर्मकात् || (उप स्था आयप) ||

बृति: || उपपुरसों निविन्दन्तमेकारकर्मकायवेष्ठानमानपूर्वे विदव ||

26. After the verb sthå, preceded by upa, when used intransitively, the Atmanepada affix is used.

As भौजसनकले उपस्थिते 'he stands ready at the time of dinner.' यात्रवृत्तपदान्ति 'he is present whenever it is dinner time,' यात्रितिविनिः 'he is present whenever there is food, that is he comes at the time of dinner.' The word bhukta is formed by adding the affix kta to the root, and has the force of 'condition' here.

The phrase 'when used in the Intransitive' governs the three succeeding sūtras also.

If it is transitive; the verb upasthå takes the parasmaipada terminations. As राजायात्तिविनिः 'he approaches the king.'

उद्दिष्यां तथ: || २७ || पदानि || उद्द-विस्थाम्, तथः || (अकर्म-काढः आय प०) ||

बृति: || उद्द विस्थां पूर्वतु राजसेवापि वारद्रश्यान्तर्नेषु भवति ||

पारोंके || स्वाभाव कर्मकायस्या वज्ररुपम् ||
27. After the verb tapa 'to shine,' when used intransitively, and preceded by ut or vi the Atmanepada affix is employed.

As उत्तमते or विलते वियया वियया 'The scholar shines with knowledge.' But in transitive verbs, it is Parasmaipadi. As उत्तमते श्रव्यवार्णकारः, 'the gold-smith heats the gold,' विलते हुवः विविवा 'the sun heats the back.'

Vart.—It must be stated that the terminations are of the अत्मनेपदा, though the verb ut-tapa or vi tapa be transitive, when the object is some limb of one's own body. As उत्तमते पाणिन्य or विलते पाणिन्य or हुवः 'he heats his own hand or back.' The word स्वार्थः means one's own body and not the पारिभाषिक्य or the technical स्वार्थः meaning "a thing which not being liquid or gaseous and being capable of being perceived by the senses, and not being one produced by a change from the natural state, exists in a living being and though found elsewhere actually or at any particular time, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually (not figuratively) the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being." (See IV. 1. 54। स्वार्थःपरबधानकस्यमोगानाम।) Therefore not so in the following रेवतीय वायस्यवुष्ट्रुवभारः 'Devadatta heats the back of Yajñadatta. When the preposition is other than ut or vi, parasmaipada affix is employed; as, नित्यपि.

आत्मोपिंिनः। ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि। ॥ आं। यस्यन।। (अकर्नेकावः

आते पारो)।

बृहत्।। वसन उपरने। हन हिंसाकुशयो। ताधायकर्तकाक्षिया जन्मायामानो। युक्तस्यालोकः

28. After the verb yam 'to stop,' and han 'to injure' when used intransitively and preceded by अन, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The word intransitive of s. 26 is understood here also. Both these verbs are generally parasmaipadi. When they take the affix अन they become अत्मनेपदि. Yam belongs to Bhādi class; and han to Adādi class. Thus अ + ब्रह्म + दहुः +ि = अ + ब्रह्म +ि अते (VII. 3. 77। दहुःविद्वानः। 'chh is the substitute of the finals of ish, gam and yam, when an affix having an indicatory शृ' follows) = ब्रह्मच्छः 'it spreads.' अब्रह्मच्छः and ब्रह्मच्छः; so also भ + ह्रु +ि = भ + ह्रु +ि (I. 2. 4 and VI. 4. 37। दहुःच्छःवर्णतिविनायामयात्रान्यात्रालोकहि

हातिक्षुकः।) = अह्रुः 'he strikes.' भ + ह्रु +ि = भ + ह्रु +ि अते (I. 2. 4 and VI. 4. 98। दहुःच्छःमिति। गमहत्रजनकात्मिना। लोप: कुक्ति स्यान्ति) = आपि (VII. 3. 54), (है हल्खेः

Not so when these verbs are used in the transitive, as अवस्थिति कपाल:। दहुः 'he draws up the rope from the well,' बाह्यिति द्रवल्पि पति 'they kill the sinner with the foot.'
Vart.—When the object is some member of the agent’s own body these verbs take the Atmanepada terminations though transitive. As भावते पतिते ‘he puts forth his own hand.’ भावते विश्राम ‘he hurts his own head.’ When the object is some limb of another’s body, the terminations are of the Parasmaipada, as पतिते विश्राम ‘they hurt others head.’

चरणंहृद्यप्रमुखस्थितानेविविधिम्: ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वनं,
गति-दोषित-प्रचिद-स्वरति-अर्थ-शु-विविधि:। (अक्षं घाते पति ॥)

शुष्क: ॥ संपूर्ण:यो गति स्थिर्य प्रचिद स्वरति अर्थविविधिप्रबोधेयो धातुभः
प्राचीनेष्वे अभवत ॥

वासिकम् ॥ दृष्टोऽनमः वद्वानस्य ॥

29. After the verbs गम ‘to go,’ रिच्छ्ह ‘to become hard,’ प्रच्छ्ह ‘to ask,’ स्वर ‘to find fault,’ रि ‘to go,’ श्रु ‘to hear,’ and विद ‘to know,’ when used intransitively and preceded by सम, the अत्राणेपाद प्रभक्षित is employed.

The above seven verbs when preceded by the preposition धनु and used in the intransitive, take the terminations of the Atmanepada. As संकुचेते (VII. 3. 77) ‘he joins,’ सबुधेते ‘he becomes hard or goes.’ संपूर्ण: ‘he asks,’ शंकरेते ‘he blames,’ दशरथ ‘they are attained.’ In the case of this last verb which belongs both to Bhavādi and Juhūtyādi class it is Atmanepadi only in the Aorist. As मदन + धनु + अन्तः + सम (III. 1. 56 शतिण्द्रस्त्वितिवध) = मदन, as मदन धनु (VI. 4. 75 षुम्मतस्वादस्यायेवप्रविण्यं) मदन + धनु + अन्तः + अन्तः = मदनस्त (VII. 4. 16 षुम्मतस्वादस्यायेवप्रविण्यं). This occurs generally in the Vedas. The verb धनु must have the meaning of ‘to know,’ and not that of ‘to acquire.’ शंकरेते ‘he hears,’ शंकरेते ‘he knows.’

Vart.—The root धृत (to see) after the preposition धनु when used intransitively takes the terminations of the Atmanepada as संपूर्ण: ‘he sees.’ But when transitive, it takes Parasmaipada terminations as पायम् संपूर्ण: ‘he sees the town.’

निमित्त मुनिक्ष्यो हः: ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ निम-सन्द-उप-विस्म:। हः।
(अभि पति ॥)

इति ॥ निमित्त मुनिक्ष्यो हः:। हः:।

वासिकम् ॥ दृष्टोऽनमः वद्वानस्य ॥

30. After the verbs हवे ‘to call,’ preceded by नि, सम, उप, and वि, the Atmanepada is used, even, when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.
The verb हे to call whether transitive or intransitive is Atmanepada after the above prepositions. The condition of being Intransitive does not apply to this sutra, and from this sutra forward general rules of Atmanepada are treated of. As निरुचे, चन्द्रुचे, उपचे II

The verb हे is marked in the Dhātupātha with a च्र and therefore by sutra 72 of this Chapter, it will take the terminations of the Atmanepada when the direct fruit of the action accrues to the agent. But even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the verb हे takes the terminations of the Atmanepada when preceded by the above prefixes.

Vart.—The verbs चृ to throw' and चृ 'to note' take optionally Atmanepada affixes when compounded with upasargas. As निर्स्रवि—० 'he casts out,' चृहृति—० 'he collects.'

ग्नुष्क्यानामः II ३१ II पदानि II ग्नुष्क्यायाम्, आदः, (हे) आठ पा) II

ग्नुषि: II ग्नुष्क्यायाये बाढ़ पूवः हुयस्वरालेवेच भवि II

31. After the verb हे, when meaning 'to challenge' and preceded by अन, the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

As मल्लो मल्लाना चेतो 'an athlete challenges another athlete (in order to conquer him)' ग्राहकदेवनामेन 'one student emulates with another student.'

This sutra is also for the purpose of showing that the root हे takes the Atmanepada terminations even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The word spardhā means to emulate, to vie, to desire to conquer another. When the verb हे has not the above signification, it takes the terminations of the parasamaipada. As गमारघि गोपालः 'the cowherd calls the cows.'

गनथनाक्ष्येशायनवाहिनिक्षिप्तियब्रम्हकथानोपयोगे रुजः II ३२ II पदानि II गनथन-अवलोकित-वाहिनि-साहित्य-प्रतियोगि-ब्रम्हकथानोपयोगे रुजः, (आठ पा) II

ग्नुषिति: II गनथनाक्ष्येशायनस्वातां करोतेतेआलेवेयस वभि II

32. After the verb kri when meaning 'to divulge,' 'to revile,' 'to serve,' 'to use violence,' 'to cause change,' 'to recite,' and 'to do an act tending to effect a desired purpose,' the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.
The verb कृ प् by sūtra 72 would take the affixes of the Atmanepada when the direct fruit of the action accrues to the agent. This sūtra has been begun to show that this verb takes the Atmanepada terminations under certain circumstances even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The word gandhana comes from the root gandha ‘to injure,’ of churādi class and means to inform against another maliciously with the object of injuring such person. Avakshepana means ‘to revile’ ‘to over-come,’ sevana means ‘to obey and serve,’ sāhasikya means ‘an act of violence,’ pratiyatana means ‘im-parting a new quality or virtue,’ prakathana means ‘to narrate fully,’ upayoga means ‘the disposal of a thing for the object of attaining merit &c.’

Thus वक्रः, वाक्रः means he informs against (2) प्रेतो भाराःःसंग्रहः ‘the hawk overcomes or reviles a snail’ (3) गणेशपुष्कः ‘he serves the prostitutes,’ महामात्राः ‘he serves the mahamatra.’ (4) पर्वताः प्रकृः ‘he outrages another’s wife.’ (5) एवस्यथाष्यपशुः ‘the fuel gives a new quality (boils) to the water (or he prepares the wood and water for a sacrifice).’ The object of the verb kṛi takes the affix of the sixth case i.e. genitive, only when the verb means pratiyatna, see S. II. 3. 53 (कृप्: प्रस्थिते। Therefore udakasaya, though an object, has genitive form. The verb takes the augment तु् only when it is preceded by upa and signifies pratiyatna see VI. i. 139. (पत्यः प्रस्थिते वेदव वाक्यायाधारः॥ Therefore, there is the insertion of sibilant in upaskurute.

(5). गायत्र्यः प्रकृः ‘he recites stories,’ जनापदाः प्रकृः ‘he recites slander.’

(6). एवं प्रकृः ‘he devotes a hundred’ pieces of money, for the sake of merit.

Why do we say in these senses? Witness कर्त किरीक ‘he makes a mat.’ In this case the Atmanepada affix is not employed.

The verb kṛi is understood in the three succeeding sūtras.

अधि: प्रस्थिते II 33 II पदार्थः II अधि: प्रस्थिते, (कृ: सा 70 प०) II

33. After the verb kṛi preceded by adhi, when the sense is that of ‘overcoming or defeat,’ the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

This sūtra is commenced to show that kṛi may take the Atmanepada affix even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word prasahana means ‘to over come, to be not defeated.’ As लगिपने ‘he overcame him or he was not defeated by him.’

Why do we say, ‘in the sense of to overcome?’ Witness पार्थिपिकरीति ‘he learns the meaning’ in which example the Atmanepada affix is not employed.
The necessity of making a separate sūtra of this rule, instead of including it in the last apporism, arose with the object of giving a distinctive meaning to the prefix adhi.

34. After the verb kṛi preceded by vi, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, and when the sense is that of 'making sound,' (literally, having 'sound' for its object) the Atmanepada is employed.

The word karma in the sūtra indicates objective case or kāraka; and does not express 'action,' as in some previous sūtras such as 24 ante.

As क्रोटा विकुरुते स्वाराणु 'the birds are making noise,' भान्नो विकुरुते स्वाराणु.

The word वि governs the succeeding sūtra.

Why do we say "when governing a word expressive of sound in the objective case"? Witness विचं विकृतोत्ति कामः 'love affects the mind.'

35. After the verb kṛi preceded by vi, when used intransitively, the Atmanepada is used.

As विकृतवर्षी वैष्णव 'the horse move gracefully,' भौतिक पूर्णार्जना विकृति 'the students being full of food are acting as they will or are aimlessly wandering about.'

36. After the verb ni 'to lead,' when used in the sense of 'to guide so as to render the person guided worthy,' 'to lift up,' 'to make one a spiritual guide,' 'to determine the true sense,' 'to employ on wages,'
'to pay as debt,' and 'to give as in charity,' even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the Atmanepada is used.

This śūtra is begun in order to show that the verb नी may take the terminations of the Atmanepada, even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, in the following cases, vis., when it means to 'respect' &c.

Sammānāna means to respect; as नवते घर्वी जोकायवें 'the Chārvī gives instruction in the Lokāyata śāstra.' The word chārvī primarily means intelligence, and by secondary use it has been extended to the preceptor also, such a preceptor gives instruction in Lokāyata Śāstra, that is to say, having established the truth of the doctrines of that philosophy by argumentation, imparts them to the pupils. Those doctrines being thus established by reason, become respected (Sanmānītā) and honored.

Utsaṣājana, 'to throw up, or lift up,' as शाप्तकमुःशानवें 'he lifts up Manavaka.'

Achārya-karaṇa 'acting as a teacher,' that is to say, to bring a boy near oneself in such a way, that being so brought near (upa-neta), he may himself become an achārya. As शाप्तकमुःशानवें 'he initiates Manavaka (i.e., making himself the preceptor he brings the boy near himself.)

Jñāna means 'knowledge, a demonstrated verity.' As नवते घर्वी जोकायवें 'the Chārvī investigates the truth of the Lokāyata doctrine.'

Bṛīti means 'wages.' As कर्मकारामुःशानवें 'he employs the servants on hire or wages.'

Vigāna means the paying off as a tribute, debts &c. As मत्रा कर्ते विनयंते, 'the Madras pay the tax due to the king, that is, they discharge the debt.'

Vyaya means 'allotment of money on works of merit &c.' As तवे विनयंते 'he expends a hundred pieces on religious acts.' सहले विनयंते 'he devotes a thousand.'

Why do we say, in these senses? Witness घर्वा नवतिं घाम्यु 'he carries the goat to the village.' Here there is no Atmanepada affix, as the verb has not any one of the above significations.

37. After the verb नि, when it governs an incorporeal object existing in the agent, as its object, the Atmanepada is used.
The verb नी is Atmanepadi when governing an object which has no material body, but is an abstract noun, that is an object which has abstract but no concrete existence; and when such an object has its seat in a portion of the agent of the verb. As कोशिस्नियते ‘he subdues his own anger,’ मनुष्यनियते ‘he suppresses anger.’

The word सार्वत means the body of living beings, any portion of such body is also called सार्वत.

The object must reside in the agent, (कार्यविश), otherwise the verb will be parasmaipada. As देवस्तो यज्ञस्तस्य कोशिस्नियते ‘Devadatha removes Yajnadatta’s anger.’

The object moreover must be immaterial, otherwise the affix will be of parasmaipada. As मांद्वि नियति ‘he removes his own wort.’ पापि नियति ‘he bows his neck.’

Why do we say ‘in the case of an object?’ Witness बुधविनियति ‘he is submissive through knowledge,’ मनुष्यविनियति. Here the verb नियति has not taken an accusative case, but is in construction with an instrumental case, and therefore the present rule does not apply.

वृत्तिश्रावशेषनेन क्रमः: ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृत्तिश्रावशेषनेत्यर्थः क्रमः: (अत चिन) ॥

वृत्तिः: वृत्तिश्रावशेषपर्यं क्रमेऽथरन्तरात्मानेन भवति ॥

38. After the verb kram ‘to move’ when used, in the senses of ‘continuity,’ ‘energy’ and ‘development,’ the Atmanepada is employed.

The word ‘kram’ governs the succeeding सुत्राः up to 43 and is understood in them all.

The verb kram by सुत्रा I. 3. 78 (after the rest, let the parasmaipada affixes be employed in marking the agent), would have taken the affixes of the parasmaipada; the present aphorism enjoins Atmanepada affixes in certain cases when the verb means to have a taste for &c.

Vṛttī ‘continuity’ means unobstructed, or want of interruption (i. e., a taste for, or facility in, anything), ‘sarga energy’ means application resolution and determination. Tāyaṇa ‘development’ means increase and growth.

As (१) चर्चार्य क्रमतेः हुस्ति—‘his reason proceeds unobstructed through the Rig. scriptures i. e., he can easily comprehend the Rig.’ (२). चाकार्याध्याय-वनाय क्रमतेः ‘the pupil shows energy or exerts to study the grammar.’ (३). परिमेण्य शालायिणि क्रमस्ते ‘the shastras are developed in him.’

Why in these senses only? Witness चर्चार्याध्यायति ‘he runs away.’
39. After the verb kram, preceded by upa and para, when used in the senses of continuity, energy and development, the Atmanepada is employed.

The words vṛtti &c., of the last sūtra are understood here also. Why has this been made a separate sūtra and not included in the last? The reason is to make a restrictive rule in the cases of upasargas; that is to say, only in the cases of the upasargas upa and para, there is Atmanepada affix; but not so when any other upasarga precedes the verb kram, though the sense may be of continuity &c., Thus उपक्रमसे 'he commences to advance,' पराक्रमसे 'he marches to attack.'

Why do we say after the upasargas ‘upa and para’? Because, after any other preposition the affix will be of the paraśmaipada; as वर्करिते 'he makes progress.' If the sense is not that of continuation &c., paraśmaipada will be employed, as उपक्रमिते, पराक्रमिते.

40. After the verb kram, preceded by an, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of the rising of a luminary.

As श्रोते सूर्य: 'the sun rises.' चामः 'the moon rises' श्रोते 'the stars rise.'

Var.—This ascending must refer to heavenly bodies. Therefore in चामिते पुष्पोहर्षव्यवहारू 'the smoke rises from the surface of the terrace,' the verb क्रम is paraśmaipadi. Why do we say in the sense of 'to ascend'? Witness चामिते माधवक: 'the boy assails.' श्रोते 'the crown rises.'

चेते पादविहरणे II चेते पदानि II चेते, पाद-विहरणे, (कन्ह: चेते पठ) II

41. After the verb kram, preceded by vi, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of 'placing of foot-steps.'

As शरीर चिकित: 'the horse is pacing.' The term vikramāṇa is applied to the special movements of horse &c.
Though in the Dhātupātha (catalogue of verbal roots), the verb क्रम and क्रिया have the meanings of पाद-विहाराण and पाद-विक्षेप, that is “throwing or placing of foot,” and so it might be objected that the present sūtra is a useless repetition, yet as verbs have various other meanings than what is assigned to them in the dhātupātha, the present sūtra is not unnecessary.

Why do we say “in the sense of throwing of foot”? In any other sense, the terminations will be those of the parasmaipada. As विक्रमति अभिनवचित्र: the foal of the antelope skin is ruptured.

प्रोपायथ्यां नन्यायः || 42 || पदार्थ || प्र-वाप्सचा, बवरो- भ्यास , ( क्रिया: वाच पट )

42. After the verb kram, the Atmanepada is employed when it is preceded by pra and upa, both conveying the same sense; viz. that of “beginning an action.”

As प्रक्रमने भोक्ताः, उपक्रमने भोक्ताः ‘he commences to eat’ &c.

The prefixes pra and upa are synonyms, when they denote the commencement of an action.

Why do we say, “when they are synonyms.” Witness the following पूर्वेशः: प्रक्रमति नापरेर्युपक्रमति ‘he goes during the first part of the day and he comes back during the latter part of the day.’ Here in one case the sense is “to go,” in another it means “to return.”

Why in the latter case of ‘aparedyur upakramati’ there is not Atmanepada by virtue of sūtra 39 ante, as there is the upasarga upa here? The answer is that Rule 39 is not applicable, as that rule is limited by the condition of the sense of ‘continuity’ &c. while in the present sūtra, that limitation is not applicable.

अतुःपर्यन्तः || 43 || पदार्थ || अतु-वप्सगतः वा ( क्रिया: वाच पट)

43. After the verb kram, the Atmanepada is optionally employed, when it is not preceded by any preposition.

The root ‘kram’ may always be conjugated as Atmanepadi when not having any upasarga. The upasarga will be defined in I. 4. 59. The option allowed by this sūtra is an example of what is technically known as aprāpta vibhāsa viz., an option which is not an alternative limitation to a general rule already found or known.
Examples:  

अपने or अस्त्र्यति 'he goes over.'  
Why do we say 'when it is without any preposition'? For no option is allowed when it takes preposition.  
As अस्त्र्यति.

अपने हैँ || पदानि || अपने:।  

44. After the verb ज्ञा, when used in the sense of 'denying,' the Atmanepada is employed.

The root ज्ञा which ordinarily means 'to know' and is parasmaipadi  

by rule 78, becomes Atmanepadi when through the virtue of any prefix it means 'to deceive;' as अज्ञानीते 'he deceives,' अज्ञानीते 'he denies the debt of a hundred rupees,' साधारणीते 'denies a thousand.'  

Why do we say when meaning 'to deny' observe:—न ज्ञातिः ज्ञातिः 'thou knowest not anything.'

अक्षेमकाढ || पदानि || अक्षेमकात्;  

45. And when used intransitively, after the verb ज्ञा, the Atmanepada is employed, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

As सर्पिणि जातिते वापनो जातिते 'he engages in sacrifice by means of clarified butter or honey.' (See II. 3. 51).

This Atmanepadi form of ज्ञा is employed when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. From सूत्रा 76 it will be seen that when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the verb is Atmanepadi.

How in the above example the verb ज्ञा is intransitive? Because the word sarpiṇi is not the object of knowledge, but it is an instrument of sacrifice, into which one engages from complete knowledge (ज्ञाना); and it (sarpisaha) is in the genitive case by virtue of II. 3. 51 (सूत्रायस्य करणे) by which the instrumental कारक of the ज्ञा is put in the genitive case.

Why do we say of "Intransitive"? Because in the transitive it is parasmaipadi, as सर्पिणि पुरुषो जातिते 'he knows (recognizes) the son by his voice.'

46. After the verb ज्ञा, preceded by sam, and prati, the Atmanepada is employed, when not used in the sense of "remembering with regret."
The word jña is understood in this sūtra: and the aphorism applies to that jña which is used in the transitive. As सर्वं अस्तानासे 'he looks for a hundred,' so सर्वं अम्लात्मानिवे 'he promises a thousand.'

Why do we say when 'not meaning remembering with regret?' Because it is not Atmanepadi, when it conveys that meaning. Thus नाना: अस्तानामिव 'he remembers with regret his mother' विद्यः अस्तानामिव.

शास्त्रोपपादाध्यायायाध्यायानविधमानवत्वोपसनन्त्रतेः दृष्ट: || ३७ || पदार्थः ||
शास्त्रोपपादाध्यायायाध्यायानविधमानवत्वोपसनन्त्रतेः || ( भाषा पौ) ||

47. After the verb vad, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the senses of "showing brilliance, or proficiency in," "pacifying," "knowledge," "effort," "difference of opinion," and "flattering."

By sūtra 78, vad generally takes the terminations of the Parasmai-pada, by the present sūtra, it takes also the affixes of the Atmanepada when having certain meanings.

Bhāsana, (shining) means to illumine as वसे स्वस्ती लोकाकाले. The chārvī illumines the Lokayat shastras, by his discourses and clear exposition.

Upasambhāṣa (persuasions) means to appease, to conciliate as करन-करातुक्तये he conciliates or cajoles the servants.

Jñāna (knowledge) means to know completely as परसे स्वस्ती लोकाकाले the chārvī knows completely to discourse upon Lokayat shastra.

Yatnā (endeavour) means energy as ये ये पदमे. 'He toils in the field,' ये ये पदमे 'he toils in the house.'

Vimati (disagreement) means dissension, want of unanimous opinion. As ये ये विपदने. 'They disagree over the field' i. e., holding different opinions they talk diversely.

Upamantrana (enticing) means to coax in secret as, कुलामायोग्य, कुलामायोग्य, 'he entices the wife of a respectable family (i.e., seduces her in secret)') परीतरपु-वसे 'he flatters another's wife.'

Why in the above senses only? See यदी किंचिदवि 'he says something'.

48. After the verb vad, the Atmanepada is employed when used in the sense of "speaking articulately in a similar manner."
As संभवतः ब्राह्मणः: ‘the ब्राह्मणाः are speaking.’ But in संपर्वतितः बुधुः: ‘the cocks are crowing’ it is properly Parasmaipadi.

The sense of the सूत्र is that when men, who are only capable of articulate speech, speak all in one and the same time, then the verb वद takes the affix of the अतमनेपदा. When lower animals make a chorus of noise, the verb does not take the अतमनेपदा.

There must be अमुच्छारण for the application of this rule, when there is no अमुच्छारण or speaking in a chorus, this rule does not apply, as ब्राह्मण बहति: ‘the ब्राह्मण speaks.’

अनेकर्मकात् || ४९ || पदानि || अनेन: , अकर्मकात् , (बदः , आऽ पः ) व्यक्तवाचाणि

इनि: || ब्रुपर्यासितर्मकाशुभ्यक्तवाचित्रावासानेपणेऽभवि

49. After the verb वद, preceded by अनु when it is intransitively used, the अतमनेपदा is employed, when the sense is that of “speaking articulately in a similar manner.”

As ब्रुविस्ते कः कलापस्य कथा is echoing or imitates कलाप. He reutters exactly what the कलाप-reader or the teacher says. The word अनु here means similarly.

Why do we say ‘in the Intransitive’? Because when it is used in the transitive it takes the affixes of the Parasmaipada. As यूजस्व बुझुबलितमुद्वति he repeats the याजुर्वेद which he had learned before.

The words ‘uttering of articulate speech’ are understood here also. Otherwise अनुवदति बीत्व the lute resounds, here it is Parasmaipada.

विनाशा विन्द्राये || ५० || पदानि || विनाशा , विन्द्राये ,

( बदः आऽ पः ब्यक्तवाचाः )

इनि: || विनाशापरस्येकं व्यक्तवाचार्य समुपारो वर्तमानहस्तररस्त्रायेऽभवि विनाशा

50. After the verb वद, the अतमनेपदा is employed optionally, when the sense is that of “contradicting each other.”

As विन्द्राये or-न्ति वैयाः: (the doctors are at variance). The words व्यक्तवाचार्य (articulate utterance) and अमुच्छारण (speaking together) are understood in this सूत्र also.

No option is allowed when the sense is not that of contradiction or wrangling as दवैवाद्ये ब्रह्मणः , The ब्राह्मणाः are speaking together.

The phrase ‘articulate utterance’ is necessary in this also. Because as विन्द्राये एदुनयेऽ: the kites are quarrelling, the verb is in the Parasmaipada.
The wrangling must be by talking at one and the same time otherwise this rule will not apply. As क्लेश ठैया ठैयें ठा विशेषतः the doctors contradict by turn another doctor.

अवाद्यः \[51\] पदार्थं अवादु, प्रः, (आप पर)

हृति: \[51\] क्लेशपुराध्य विवेदार्थनेपेकरे वर्णवि \[51\]

51. After the verb ग्रह ‘to swallow,’ when preceded by ava, the Atmanepada is used.

As ब्रह्मगिरित (he swallows). The root ग्रह to swallow preceded by the preposition ava is Atmanepadi. The verb ग्रह taken in this sūtra means to swallow and belongs to the Tuddādi class, it is not the ग्रह ‘to make sound’ which belongs to the kriyādi class. Because there is no word formed with the latter verb by affixing the preposition ava to it. By sūtra 78 this verb ग्रह ‘to swallow’ would have been Parasmaipadi, the present sūtra debars that.

When it is not preceded by ava, it is Parasmaipadi, as गिरित he swallows.

हरास्य: प्रति तत्स्याने \[52\] पदार्थं समः, प्रति तत्स्याने, (प्र:आप पर)

हृति: \[52\] क्लेशपुराध्य विवेदार्थनेपेकरे वर्णवि \[51\]

52. After the verb ग्रह preceded by sam, the Atmanepada is used, when employed in the sense of ‘promising.’

As शनि विगिरित (he promises to pay a hundred rupees) if it does not mean to promise or acknowledge, it takes parasmaipada terminations. As विगिरित भाषा: he swallows the mouthful.

वद्यं: सकर्मकाल् \[53\] पदार्थं उदः, परः, सकर्मकाल्

(आप पर) \[51\]

हृति: \[53\] क्लेशपुराध्य विवेदार्थनेपेकरे वर्णवि \[51\]

53. After the verb चार ‘to walk’ preceded by ut, when used transitively the Atmanepada is employed.

As धेशस्थानः he strays away from home; गुह्यस्थान यथा he transgresses the commands of his preceptor.

Why do we say ‘when used in the transitive’? Observe वायुष्कवति the vapour is rising. Here it is parasmaipadi.

वनस्पतीयायुक्तात्म  \[54\] पदार्थं समः, वनस्पतीयायुक्तात्म (चर: आप पर) \[51\]

हृति: \[54\] क्लेशपुराध्य विवेदार्थनेपेकरे वर्णवि \[51\]
54. After the verb char, preceded by sam, and connected with a noun in the Instrumental case, the Atmanepada is employed.

As अमृतं संपर्वे he rides on the horse-back.

The rule does not apply when it is not in composition with a word in the instrumental case. As उन्नी लोकी संपर्वि इन चारुः च देवता! O Devala! thou wanderest through both regions, this and that. Here though the sense of the Instrumental case is implied, yet as it is not expressly stated, we use the parasmaipada terminations.

द्राण्यः सा चेतुकियः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्राणः , च , सा , चेतुः , चेतुर्थी-अर्थः , ( समस्तो युधः परः आरो पथः ) ॥

श्रवः ॥ शायाने परस्परी ततः संस्तूताः देवीयाः मधुरामेश्वरीयाः अधिकाराः देवीया चुन्दयां भवति ॥

यागिकम् ॥ परस्परावस्थाः देवीया चुन्दयां भवतीति वस्तं धर्मम् ॥

55. And after the verb dā to give, preceded by sam, and connected with a noun in the Instrumental case, the Atmanepada is employed, provided this Instrumental case have the sense of the Dative case.

When is the 3rd case used with the force of the 4th case? That is answered by the following.

Vart:- The Instrumental has the force of the Dative when immoral conduct is implied. As देवता या शाया सम्पर्वे (he gives with the object of enticing to the female slave or prostitute).

The verb dā to give, is generally parasmaipadi, it becomes Atmanepadi under the above conditions. Why do we say “when it has the force of the dative case”? Because when it has not the sense of the dative, parasmaipada terminations will be used, as पानिता संपर्वस्ति, 'he gives with his hand.'

It might be asked how the Atmanepada terminations are employed when the preposition sam is not directly applied to the verb, but another preposition pra, intervenes between sam and the verb. The reply is that the word samah in śūtra 54 is not in the ablative case (which would have required its being placed immediately before the verb), but it is in the genitive case, and is used as an attribute.

उपायः: खङ्करे ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपायः , यः , खङ्करे ,

( आरो पथः ) ॥

श्रवः ॥ सपूर्वाधर्मः खङ्करे देवीयामधुरास्त्वेः भवति ॥
56. After the verb yam, to give, preceded by upa, when used in the sense of "espousing," the Atmanepada is employed.

This is clear. As मायावर्णवत्ते he espouses or knows his wife. But not so when another's wife is meant, there it is parasmaipadi.

By rule 78, the verb yam would have been parasmaipadi, but the present sūtra makes an exception, when the root takes the preposition upa and means "to marry, to espouse, or to accept." The meaning of sva-karana is confined to accepting in general. This is according to Kāsika; according to Mahābhāshya, sva-karana means to make one's own what was not previously his own.

Why do we say in the sense of "marrying"? When it has any other sense parasmaipada affixes will be employed as वेदार्टी चिंतित्व मायावर्णवत्ति, Devadatta has illicit intercourse with the wife of Yajñadatta.

57. After the Desideratives formed by the affix san, of the verbs jñā to know, sru, to hear, smṛi to remember, and dṛś to see, the Atmanepada is employed.

The above four roots are ātmanepadi when in the Desiderative form, the suffix "san" being the pratyaya by which desideratives are formed.

The verb jñā takes the terminations of the ātmanepada when used in the senses indicated by the three sūtras 44, 45 and 46 already explained. The desiderative form of jñā would ex necessitate take ātmanepada affixes when used in the above senses: see Rule 62. The present sūtra however enlarges the scope of ātmanepada by declaring all desideratives of jñā to be ātmanepada, in whatever sense they may be used.

Similarly by sūtra 29 ante and the vārtika under it, the roots śru, and dṛś, take the terminations of the ātmanepada, when preceded by sam, the desideratives of those would of course have taken ātmanepada affixes by 62, but the present sūtra makes it general.

The present sūtra however enunciates a new rule in the case of the root smṛi.

As धर्मं बन्धुं करते he wishes to know (i.e. enquires after) religion गुप्तं शुभुष्टिः he serves the teachers, नरं दुःङ्कते he wishes to remember the lost. गुप्तं विद्वानं स्तति he wishes to see the king.

Why do we say, when taking the affix san? Because the primitive verbs will take the parasmaipada terminations as जानानि he knows; छुपायि he hears, स्मरति he remembers पर्यः he sees.
THE Atmanepada verbs. [Bk. I. Ch. III. § 58-60.

58. After the desiderative of jña when preceded by anu the Atmanepada is not employed.

This is an exception to the last sūtra. The desiderative of jña with the prefix anu is not Atmanepadi.

This sūtra read with sūtra 45 limits the scope of parasmaipada to the transitive, desiderative verb anu-jña. As पुनःनिष्ठातः he inquires after the son.

Why do we say when preceded by anu? Because otherwise it will take the Atmanepada terminations. As धर्मम् निष्ठातः he inquires after religion.

59. After the desideratives of śru when preceded by prati and an the Atmanepada is not used.

The verb śru when taking the prefixes prati and an, is not Atmanepadi, though taking the desiderative “san.” This is also an exception to the rule of sūtra 57. Thus प्रतिपुन्यितः and यथपुनितः

The word prati and an must be upasargas; if they are used as karmapravachaniyas (see 1. 4—83) then the rule will not apply As द्वितीयं गति चूङ्खुते

60. After the verb sad to decay, when it has one of the affixes with an indicator ś (sit) the Atmanepada is used.

The root ‘sad’ when taking any suffix which is marked with an indicator ś, is conjugated in the Atmanepadi. In connection with this, must be read sūtra VII. 3. 78. पाप्राप्तातस्मातातपुःसत्वातिसादिक्षविविष्यितत्वः उपनष्टिः सर्वसंस्कारे श्रीवस्तीतः: by which the root चात् is replaced by श्रीव before affixes. having an indicator ś. Thus चात् + च + के = श्रीव + च + के = श्रीवेते he decays or withers, श्रीवेते they two decay श्रीवते they decay.

Why do we say before affixes having an indicator ś? Before other affixes, it is not Atmanepadi. As चातस्वतः if he decayed, चातस्वतः he will decay, चातस्वतः

The well-known vikaranas like चात्, चा &c., the affixes like पापः &c., are चित्र affixes. In other words the root sad is Atmanepadi in all conjunctional tenses.
The Atmanepada verbs.

61. After the verb mṛi to die, when it has one of the affixes having an indicatory व, as well as when it takes the affixes luṅ (aorist III 2. 110) and liṅ (Bene dicative III 3. 159) the Atmanepada is used.

This is a restrictive sūtra, the root दृष्ट (to die), is marked with a व as an indicatory letter, so by sūtra 12 it would be always Atmanepadi. But the present aphorism restricts it to मुः लुः (Aorist) and लिङ लिङ (Bene dicative) tenses, as well as to those tenses which are ग्रंं. It will be found hereafter that out of the ten tenses, those that take ग्रंं affixes are the special tenses i.e., the present, the Imperfect, the Potential and the Imperative.

It is only before these three affixes, namely, लिङ, लुः and शिङ affixes, that the root mṛi takes the terminations of the Atmanepada. Thus the aorist ब्रम्मत amṛita he died; Bene dicative सूपत mṛiṣhīśa 'may he die.' Similarly before शिङ affixes thus ग्रंं 'he dies,' - ग्रंं + ग्रंं + ग्रंं (VII. 4. 28 शिङ वर्धिलं) शिङ + ग्रंं + ग्रंं = शिङ (VI. 4. 77. शिङ शिङ लं ब्लं ग्रंं तन्त्रविद्युताल्प) शिङ, शिङ, शिङ The root ग्रंं belongs to the sixth class of verbs called Tudosdi which take the vikaraṇa ग्रंं in the conjugational tenses (III. 1. 77).

In other tenses, viz., the two Futures, the Perfect and the conditional, this verb is parasmai padi. As:—ग्रंं ग्रंं he will die. ग्रंं ग्रंं ग्रंं.

62. The verb which is Atmanepadi in its primitive form before the taking of the affix san, will also be Atmanepadi when it ends in the affix san. In other words; after a desiderative verb, Atmanepada is employed, if it would have been used after the primitive verb.

If the primary verb is parasmai padi, its desiderative will be also parasmai padi; if the primary verb is Atmanepadi, its desiderative will be Atmanepadi. This is the general rule. Some exceptions to it have already been mentioned in sūtras 57, 58, and 59. A root which was atmanepadi, before taking the Desiderative affix सन् san, will be atmanepadi even when it takes the affix सन् san. In other words, that by reason of which the atmanepada affixes were ordained in the primary verb, will cause the same termina-
tions to be applied when the verb ends in सन. Thus it was said in sūtra 12, that roots having an anudātta accented vowel as indicatory or a त्र as their indicatory letter take the terminations of the ātmanepada. Thus बाले he sits down and चेते 'he sleeps.' The verb भाव (to sit down) and शीघ्र (to lie down) will remain ātmanepadi, even when they are used as Desideratives. Thus चालिनिते 'he wishes to lie down.' Similarly sūtra 17 declared that the verb लिपिष्य is ātmanepadi as लिपिष्यते, this will be ātmanepadi also in the Desiderative form, as लिपिष्यते 'he wishes to enter.' So also by sūtra 40, भाषिते is ātmanepadi, the Desiderative भाषिते will also be ātmanepadi.

But though by 60 and 61. चिन्तें and चिन्तें are ātmanepadi, yet मिष्यति 'he wishes to lie down,' मुनेवति 'he wishes to die,' are paraśmaipadi. Because the ātmanepada affixes were ordained after the roots श्रु and श्रृ only under exceptional conditions and not generically, and as those conditions do not exist in the desiderative, the latter does not take ātmanepada terminations.

Of course that which in its primary state would not have taken the terminations of the ātmanepada, there being a prohibition to that effect will not allow them in its Desiderative form. As चनुष्कीर्ति 'he wishes to imitate,' परास्रीकीर्ति. Here the root श्रु by rule 79 has been especially declared to be paraśmaipadi, to the exclusion of ātmanepada affixes which would otherwise have come by Rule 32 and 72, and therefore its Desiderative is also paraśmaipadi. The force of श्रृ causing ātmanepada is counteracted by 79.

Now it might be asked:—True, this rule provides for those cases where a root is conjugated in two forms, one a Primitive and another a Desiderative conjugation. But what provision do you make for those partial verbs which take the affix श्रु in their primitive form; and in whose case we have no prior form to look upon as a guide in the application of ātmanepada affixes. And there are at least 7 such quasi-roots which take श्रृ in this way, called also the self-descriptive श्रृ. Those quasi-roots are गृहू, लिङ्ग, किल, नालु, बसिः, चार्ट, and गाय. What are we to do with these quasi-roots, which are always conjugated with the affix श्रृ and have no simpler conjugation?” To this we reply; “In the case of these partial verbs which take the self-descriptive श्रृ the pada will be regulated by the indicatory letters which these quasi-roots have. For though the full roots are गृहुष्य लिङ्गित, चिकिस्त, नीमार्ण, नीमार्ण, चीर्षत्व and चीर्षत्व, yet by the maxim अत्यधिर्भवेः कृते इति नामृतयक्ष्य किन्तु नामृतयक्ष्य बव ति, “a sign made in a portion of a thing, qualifies the whole thing,” the sign made in the expression गृहु एष्ट, will qualify the whole verb गृहुष्य एष्ट.’ Thus we have गृहुष्य he despises, चिकिस्त he cures; नीमार्णते he investigates &c.
63. Like the verb that takes the affix ām, if the verb be conjugated with the Atmanepada terminations, so of the verb kri when subjoined thereto as an auxiliary, the terminations are of the Atmanepada, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

This sūtra applies where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. There are in Sanskrit two forms of the perfect tense (तिर्य): one formed in the ordinary way by the reduplication of the root and adding the terminations; the other called the periphrastic perfect, is formed by adding एव to the root, and then affixing to it the perfect tense of the roots कृ (to do), भू (to be) or अभू (to be). These latter verbs are called anuprayoga or auxiliary verbs, as it is with their help that the perfect tense is formed. The question then arises, what conjugation, parasmai or Atmanepada, do these auxiliaries take in forming the periphrastic perfect? This sūtra supplies the answer:—the auxiliary कृ follows the conjugation of principals, the other auxiliaries do not. Thus the root एव (to increase, prosper) is Atmanepadi, therefore in forming the periphrastic perfect, the verb कृ will be also in the Atmanepada. Thus एवावर्ज्ज (he prospered). Similarly भू (to appear with great splendour) is parasmaipadi and the auxiliary कृ after it will be parasmaipada, as एवास्वर्ज्जक (he appeared with great splendour).

But the other auxiliaries भू and अभू retain their own peculiar conjugation and are not influenced by the conjugation of their principal. Thus एवाक्षेत्र, एवागच्छ.

The word ām-pratyaya of the sūtra means 'that after which the affix ām (III. I. 35 and 36. काश्यपयात्मकन्ये लिखित) comes.' Of the verb kri, when subjoined to another as an auxiliary, the termination is that of the Atmanepada like the verb that takes the affix ām. If this sūtra enjoined a rule of injunction (vidhi), then there would be the termination of the Atmanepada even in examples like ज्ञानोऽस्तक and ज्ञानोऽस्तकार where the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. This is no valid objection to the present sūtra. It is to be interpreted in both ways, that is, both as a vidhi (a general injunction) and a niyama (a restrictive injunction). How is that to be done? Because the word पूर्ववत of the last sūtra is to be read in the present aphorism also. The second explanation in that case will be for the sake of establishing a niyama or restrictive rule.
It has already been said above that the auxiliary verbs क, न्यूं and भूम, are used in forming the periphrastic perfect. This is done by force of the aphorism III. I. 40 क्रान्तिकारायण्यावे लित, meaning, the verb क्रीन is annexed in the perfect tense, to verbs that take अम. In this सूत्रa (III. I. 40) the word क्रीन is a pratyāhāra, implying the verbs क्रुद्ध, न्यूं and भूम, It might be asked how is this pratyāhāra formed? The word क्रीन is taken from the fourth word of सूत्रa V. 4. 50, भूनोत्तरावे क्रूतिच, ते &c., and the letter न is taken from सूत्रa V. 4. 58 क्रुतित्रिकष्ठ &c. This is the way in which the commentators explain how not only the verb क्रीन is used as an auxiliary in forming the periphrastic perfect, but also the verbs न्यूं and भूम. These three verbs denoting absolute action unmodified by any especial condition have in all languages been fixed as the best auxiliaries.

It must however be noted that the word क्रीन in this सूत्रa is not used as a pratyāhāra and consequently does not include the verbs न्यूं and भूम.

64. After the verb युज to join, the Atmanepada is used, when it is preceded by pra and upa except with reference to sacrificial vessels even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb युजी ‘to join’ is svarīt, and consequently by सूत्रa 72 it is always Atmanepadi, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present सूत्रa declares when this verb may take the terminations of Atmanepada, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. After the verb युज preceded by the prepositions न and द, the terminations are of the Atmanepada, when not employed in reference to sacrificial vessels. As युजकते ‘he joins or employs’; युजकते ‘he fits or uses.’

Why do we say “when not employed in reference to sacrificial vessels?” Because there the terminations will be of the parasmaipada. As इन्द्रे नवम्बि पानाचि प्रुष्टिकि -

Vārtika:—It shall be rather stated that the root takes the terminations of the Atmanepada when preceded by any preposition beginning or ending with a vowel. This is an important modification of the above rule. Thus युजकते and युजकते. In fact, all upasargas, with the exception of सत्र, निन्द्र, and पृत्र, either begin or end with a vowel, and therefore the Vārtika amounts to the inclusion of all prepositions with the above exception.
With दरा, निर्द and दूर, however, the root will take parasmaipada terminations; as संगुजनकः.

सम: दृशः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदार्थि : सम: , दृशः , ( आऽ यो ) ॥

65. After the verb kshnu, to sharpen, preceded by sam, the Atmanepada is employed.

The verb दृश् 'to sharpen, whet, or grind,' is generally parasmaipadi, but it is Atmanepadi when it is preceded by the prefix sam; as दृश्युजते शलच्यः 'he whets the weapon' दृश्युजते 'they two whet' दृश्युजते 'they all whet'.

It might be objected, why has a separate aphorism been made of the verb kshnu, when it could well have been included in the sutra 29 ante, which also speaks of the force of the prefix sam, when used with the verbs gam richchha &c. To this the answer is that, that sutra treats of intransitive verbs, the word akarmaka being understood therein, while the present sutra, as is evident from the example we have given above, treats of transitive verbs.

भुजः अनचै ॥ ६६ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ भुजः , अनचै , ( आऽ यो ) ॥

66. After the verb bhuj, the Atmanepada is used, except in the sense of protecting.

The root bhuj when it does not mean to protect, is Atmanepadi. This root belongs to the rudhadi class and has several meanings, as, to feed, to cherish, to preserve, to eat, and to enjoy. As भुजळे 'he eats or enjoys' also bhujjate, bhujjate &c. But भुजः संगुजसि विशाः 'the father cherishes the sons'.

The root bhuj belongs also to the tudadi class, but there it has the sense of being curved or crooked. The bhuj belonging to the tudadi class is not to be taken in this sutra, because that bhuj has never the sense of protecting. Therefore भुजः पािति वाकुः 'he bends the hand,' is in the parasmaipada.

67. After a verb ending in the affix नि (causal) the Atmanepada is employed; provided that when the object in the non-नि or non-causal sense becomes the:
agent in the causal; and when it does not mean 'to remember with regret,' even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The causatives (विष्णु) are conjugated in the ātmanepadi, when they are used in the passive voice, that is to say when a word which was an objective case in the ordinary verb becomes nominative case in the causative; and the nominative case of the ordinary verbs becomes objective case in the causative. In short when causatives are used in the passive voice, they are ātmanepadi. This round-about phraseology has been employed, because the base of the active and the passive causatives do not differ in form; as भारीहङ्गस्ते हस्तिनान्म हस्ति.

The phrase 'नेव (after the causatives) of this sūtra governs the four succeeding sūtras and is understood in them. The sūtra consists of the following words:—दै: 'after the causative;' भगेत्व 'in the non-causative;' यथै: 'what;' करे 'object;' गो 'in the causative;' बेचु 'if;' सेचु 'that;' कर्ति 'nominative;' भवानाने 'except to remember.'

In general, by sūtra 74, the causative verbs take the terminations of the ātmanepada, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present sūtra applies to the case where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

After the verbs that take the affix विष्णु, the terminations are those of the ātmanepada. How? When that which was the object when the primitive verb was used non-causatively, becomes also the object when the derivative verb is used causatively; and even that object becomes also the agent as well. There is exception however, in the case when the verb means to 'remember with regret.' As पारोहित्य हस्तिनान्म हस्तिनान्म: 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant.' Let us paraphrase this sentence by transforming the primitive non-causative verb पारोहित्य into a causative form. The sentence then will be, पारोहत्के हस्ति स्वयन्ते 'the elephant makes itself to be mounted.' Similarly उपविष्णु हस्तिनान्म हस्तिनान्म: 'the elephant-keepers sprinkle the elephant'; and उपविष्णु हस्तिनान्म स्वयन्ते 'the elephant makes itself to be sprinkled;' प्रविष्णु भुज्या राजानण्य 'the attendants see the king'; and भुज्ये राजा स्वयन्ते 'the king makes himself to be seen.'

Why do we say 'after the causatives?' Because the rule of this sūtra will not apply, if the verb though conveying the sense of a causal verb, is, however, not formed by the affix विष्णु: as भारीहङ्गस्ते हस्तिनान्म हस्तिनान्म: 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and भारीहङ्गस्ते हस्तिनान्म हस्तिनान्म: 'the elephant that is being mounted, mounts gracefully.' Here the terminations are of the parasmaipada in the second case also.
Why do we say ‘in the non-causative non-pi’? For this rule will not apply, when the primitive verb itself is formed by the affix विष्णु; such are the roots of the tenth class or churādi in which the pich is added in the self-descriptive sense, and not for a causative purpose. Thus the root गण belongs to churādi class; whose causative and primitive forms are the same. As गणयति गण गोपपल्लि: ‘the cowherd counts the herd;’ and the causative form is गणयति गण: स्वयमेव ‘the herd makes itself to be counted.’ The terminations in both cases are those of the parasmaipada.

Why do we say ‘when the object (karma) becomes the agent.’ Because the rule will not apply, when any other कारक or case, than the karma or object, of the primitive verb becomes the agent in the causative. Thus दुनावति दृष्टि ‘he cuts with the scythe,’ स्वयमेव ‘the scythe is made to cut of itself.’ Here the word dātra was the instrument of the primitive verb which became agent in the causative, and therefore in the causative the terminations are of the parasmaipada only.

Why do we say ‘if in the causative’ in the sūtra? It is for the purpose of indicating that the verb must be one and the same, both in the primary sentence and the causative sentence. Therefore the rule does not apply here where the causative verb एष्येवति in the second sentence was not used in the first sentence; नारोहतिन्न हस्तिनं हस्तिमयका: ‘the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;’ and नारोहनयातो हस्तीहीततं हस्ययति मूँ मेव ‘the elephant that is being caused to mount is made to sprinkle with urine the frightened men’.

The word स: ‘that’ is employed in the aphorism to show that the objects in both sentences must be the same and not different. Therefore in the following example where the objects are different, the terminations of parasmaipada are only used. नारोहतिन्न हस्तिवं हस्तिमयका: ‘the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;’ and नारोहनयातो हस्तीहीततं हस्ययति मूं ‘the elephant, that is being caused to mount, makes men mount on the land.’

Why do we use the word kartā (agent) in the sūtra? If the former object is not the agent in the second case, the terminations of the parasmaipada only would be used. As नारोहतिन्न हस्तिवं हस्तिमयका: ‘the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;’ and नारोहनयातो मूँमात: ‘the elephant-driver makes it to mount.’

Why do we say ‘except when meaning to remember with tenderness?’ Observe, स्वयमि वनयुगे वोकिल: ‘the dove remembers, with regret, the forest tree;’ and स्वयमि वनयुगे: स्वयमि ‘the forest tree is made to be remembered of itself.’
68. After the causatives of the verbs bhī to fear, and smī to wonder, even the fruit of the action accrues not to the agent the Atmanepada is employed, when the fear is produced directly by the causative agent.

The phrase ‘of the causative ending in ख’ is understood in this sūtra and is to be supplied from the previous aphorism. This sūtra is also restricted to cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word हेतु in the aphorism has been defined later on in sūtra I. 4. 55 ( स्वतन्त्र कर्म); it is the agent which is the mover of another’s agent. When a fear is caused by a हेतु it is called हेतुनव. The word भय ‘fear’ in the aphorism is illustrative, and includes by implication विस्मय ‘astonishment’ also. As जन्तुः नीःवते the jatila, the cock-headed frightens; मुन्द्रो भोज्यते the munda, the shave-headed frightens; नातीतः विस्मयते the jatila astonishes; मुन्द्रो विस्मयते the munda astonishes i.e. the very fact of matted-hair or shaven-head frightens &c.

Why do we say हेतुनव? For if the fear or astonishment is not the direct result caused by the agent, but arises from something else, then the Atmanepada will not be used. As कुक्षिकः शारयति ‘he frightens him with the kunchika,’ कुक्षिकः विस्मयति ‘he astonishes with his form’. Here kunchika and rupa are the instruments, which cause fear or astonishment, and are not the hetu thereof.

69. After the causatives of the verbs grīdh to covet, and vañch to go, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of deceiving, even though the fruit of action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase ‘of the causatives ending in ख’ is to be supplied here from sūtra 67. This sūtra is also restricted to the cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word प्रत्येक of the sūtra means deceiving. As मानवम् गर्भवते ‘he deceives the boy,’ मानवम् नामवते ‘he cheats the boy.’
Why do we say 'when it means deceiving.' For these verbs have not this meaning, their causatives take parasmaipada. As रसान परस्मावि 'he causes the dog to bark,' रसाज परस्मावि 'he avoids the serpent.'

70. After the causative of the verb लिफ to melt or stick, the अत्मानेपदa is employed, when used in the sense of showing respect, subduing and deceiving, even though the fruit of action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in लिफ' is to be supplied here from सूत्रa 67. This सूत्रa has its scope only when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. In the द्वातुपाथa, there are two roots जी, one is technically called जीम and means to stick, and belongs to दिवध class. The other जी meaning to 'melt' belongs to ख्रिय class. As there is no specification in the सूत्रa what जी is to be taken, both are therefore taken.

The force of the word जी in the सूत्रa is to include the word पञ्चम्य 'to delude' of the last सूत्रa into the present. The word संमानव means to show respect. The word शालीनकरप means to subdue. As जानतिरालापश्चते 'he gets respect or causes respect to be shown to him through or on account of his matted hair,' श्चेयो द्वितामागापिवे 'the hawk subdues the partridge,' कस्माहापिवे 'who deceives thee.'

The सूत्रa विमाव लीते: VI. I. 51 declares that the देव देव is optionally changed into देव before certain terminations. But there is no option allowed when the root जी has any of the above three senses: in these cases the substitution of देव is necessary and not optional. For the option allowed by सूत्रa VI. I. 51 is a व्यवस्थितविभाषा and not a general विभाषा applicable everywhere.

Why do we say 'when it has the meaning of, to show respect &c.'? Because otherwise there is parasmaipada. As शालकमुलपातिषि.

71. After the causative of the verb क्रिक्रिक, the अत्मानेपदa is used, when it has the word mithya, incorrect, as an upapada or dependent word, ...
employed in the sense of 'repeated wrong utterance' even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in वित्' is to be supplied from सूत्रा 67. The aphorism is restricted to the cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word अभ्यासमा means doing again, or repetition; as परं मिद्ध्वा कारणाति means 'he repeatedly pronounces the word incorrectly that is with wrong accent &c., not once but constantly'.

Why do we say 'when the word mithyā is used as an upapada?'

The causative of क्रि will take parasmaipada when it has any other upapada. Thus परं स्थितम् कारणाति 'he pronounces the word correctly.'

Why do we say 'of the verb कुष्ठ?' Because the causative of any other verb used along with the word mithyā will not have अत्मानेपदा; as परं मिद्ध्वा प्राप्तवति 'he repeatedly utters the word wrongly.' Here वष्ठ तakes parasmaipada.

Why do we say 'repeatedly'? For if the incorrect utterance is not habitual, then parasmaipada will be used; as परं मिद्ध्वा कारणाति 'he pronounces wrongly, not always but once.'

स्वरितस्व: कर्त्रभिमारे क्षिप्रायो क्रियापदे (विषयत: वां भयो) ||

72. After the verb marked with a svarita, (svaritet) or which has an indicatory न ('नित'), the terminations of the अत्मानेपदा are employed, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The anuvṛtti of the phrase वष्ठ: does not go further. The word क्रियापदे is a compound, meaning 'fruit of the action.' When the principal object for the sake of which the action is begun, is meant for the agent indicated by the verb, there the अत्मानेपदा is used after verbs having an indicatory श्र or a svarita accent. As वष्ठे 'he sacrifices for himself' पश्चे 'he cooks for himself.' Here the verb वष्ठ and पश्चे are marked with svarita accent in the धातुपाठ, and therefore they take the अत्मानेपदा terminations.

Similarly चुरुरे 'he presses the soma-juice,' कुरुरे 'he does.' Here the verbs चुरुरे and कुरुरे have an indicatory ष्ठ.

In all the above cases, the principal object of the action such as getting heaven by performance of sacrifice, eating of food &c., is meant for the agent. That is to say, he sacrifices in order that he himself may attain heaven, he cooks in order that he himself may eat, &c. .
Why do we say 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent'? Otherwise it will have parasmaipada. As वजलनिवासकाः: the priests sacrifice, (not for themselves, but for their clients) पवनिवासकाः: 'the cooks cook (for their masters)' कर्त्तिविवेकाः: 'the menials work (for their masters).' Here though the fees and the wages are the fruits which the agent gets, yet as that fruit is not the principal object for which the action was begun—the principal object of the sacrifice was not that the priest should get his fee, but that the sacrificer may go to heaven—the verb takes the terminations of the Parasmaipada. Here the principal fruit does not accrue to the agent; but to a third party.

अपादृतः II 93 II पद्धारि II अपादृः वदः: (कर्त्तिविवाः कियाफळे (आठ पठ) II

इति: II चपू चुरःचरते: कर्त्तिविवाः कियाफळे भावनेवं भवति II

73. After the verb vad to tell, preceded by apa, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the terminations are of the Atmanepada.

The phrase "when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent," is understood here. The sutra is clear. As धनकालौ न्यायमर्वते: 'the wealth-seeker, forsakes justice, that is to say, he wishes to acquire wealth at the sacrifice of justice. But when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the parasmaipada is employed. As धनकालिं.

विचत्रय || 74 || पद्धारि || विचत्र: , च , ( कर्त्तिविवायेण कियावङ्के

आठ पठ) II

इति: II विचत्रन्यायास्यं भवति कर्त्तिविवायेन कियावङ्के II

74. After a verb ending in affix ni (causal) when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the Atmanepada is employed.

The phrase "when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent" is to be supplied from sutra 72. The verbs that take the affix विचत्र: are generally causatives. As कर्त्तार वात वोः 'he causes the mat to be made for himself' बोः पाषाणे 'he causes the food to be cooked for himself. When the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the parasmaipada is used. As कर्त्तार वात वात वातव वातव: he causes another's mat to be made.

समुद्राध्यो यन्नरुपाये II 75 II पद्धारि II समु-उद्ध-आइत्य: ,

यस: , अपादृः (कर्त्तिविवायेण आठ) II

इति: II समु-उद्ध चाल द्वियं पुरुषं चरते: कर्त्तिविवायेण कियावङ्के भावनेवं भवति प्रयाणिं

वृत्तेष्यांग्न भवति II
75. After the verb yam to strive, preceded by sam, ut and ân, when it does not refer to a book, the Atmanepada is employed, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent' is read into this aphorism by anuvrîtti from sûtra 72. As प्रीदीन संवध्दे 'he gathers rice' नालमय्यते 'he lifts up the load' सत्तायच्छते 'he draws out the cloth.' The root yam preceded by the preposition श्रासः takes the terminations of the Atmanepada by virtue of aphorism 28 ante; but in that aphorism the verb was intransitive, here it is transitive, and this explains the necessity of making two different sûtras for one compound verb श्रासः.

Why do we say 'when it does not refer to a book.' For otherwise the verb will take the terminations of the parasmaipada. As संवध्दि सिकित्सा श्रेयः 'the physician studies diligently the medicine.

When however the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent the above compound verbs are parasmaipadi. As संवध्दि, उपध्दि, भावध्दि.

अनुपसर्गोऽधिष्ठानः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुपसर्गान्तः ॥ (कर्त्तविभाये अतः पद ५७) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ अनुपसर्गान्त जानाते: कर्त्तविभाये क्रियाकले भास्यनेकरे भविष्यः ॥

76. After the verb jñâ when not preceded by any upasarga, the terminations are of the Atmanepada, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent' is understood in this sûtra also. Thus गाँ जानाते 'he recognises the cow as his own'; यहः जानाते 'he recognises the horse as his own.'

Why do we say when not preceded by any upasarga? For when compounded with prepositions, it may take the Atmanepada terminations; as रविहः लोकं न प्रतानाति अः: 'the fool does not know the heavenly regions.'

When however, the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the simple root जः takes parasmaipada terminations. देवदत्तः गाँ जानाति 'he recognises Devadatta's cow.'
77. The Atmanepada is optionally used, when the fact of the fruit of the action accruing to the agent is indicted by an upapada *i.e.*, by a word used along with the verb.

By the preceding five sūtras 72 to 76, Atmanepada terminations were ordained to come after verbs which implied the accrual of the fruit of the action to the agent, that is to say, where the verb by itself denoted this. But when the same idea, instead of being inherent in the verb, is expressed by an upapada, that is by a word governed by the verb, the necessity of using the Atmanepada affixes, to denote the same idea, is obviously removed, and in such a case it is optional whether we use the Atmanepada or the Parasmaipada terminations. As स्वं व तन्म वस्थि or वज्ने 'he sacrifices for his own yajña' स्वं वारे करीति or कुर् स्वे 'he makes his own cot' स्वं पुरामस्वति or भव्यस्ते, स्वं मोले पायवे or पायवति &c. So on with all the above five sūtras.

78. After the rest *i.e.*, after all those verbs not falling under any one of the previous provisions, the terminations of the Parasmaipada are employed, in marking the agent (*i.e.*, in the active voice).

The rules of Atmanepada have been declared in the preceding 66 sūtras, 12 to 77. The terminations of the Parasmaipada, which are the general verbal terminations, will come everywhere else that is to say where its operation is not debared by any one of the preceding aphorisms. The present sūtra declares this universal rule. The word śesha or the rest, means that which is the residue after the application of all the previous restrictive rules. Thus it was declared by sūtra 12 ante that a root having an Anudātta vowel or a ॐ as it, will take Atmanepada terminations. As आस्ते, धाते. The converse of this will take parasmaipada terminations, namely all verbs which do not have an anudātta accent or a ॐ as it. Thus वाति 'he goes,' वाति 'it blows.' It has been declared by sūtra 17 that the root विष when preceded by नि takes Atmanepada termination, as निविषवे. When not preceded by नि but any other preposition it will take the parasmaipada termination. As पाविरवि, प्रिषवि.

Why do we say "when marking the agent"? For when used in the passive voice, the root will take the Atmanepada termination. As गन्धवे 'it is cooked' गन्धवे 'it is gone.'
Why is not parasmaipada used when the verb is employed reflexively? As in the following example:—पन्ते गोजङ्गः स्वयमेव 'the food cooks of itself.' Because in the present śūtra, the word कर्त्तृ of śūtra 14 ante is to be read in by anuvṛtti, so that, in fact there are two कर्त्तृ in this aphorism which thus means "when the agent of the verb is an agent pure and simple then parasmaipada is employed." While when a verb is used reflexively (कर्मकर्त्तृ) the agent of the verb is also, in one aspect, the object of the verb; and it is therefore, that in reflexive verbs the Atmanepada terminations are employed.

अनुपरस्यांकर्त्तृः ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु-परास्यालू ॥ कः ।

79. After the verb kṛi to make, preceded by anu and para, parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent, and when the sense is that of "divulging" &c.

By aphorism 32 ante, the root कः took the terminations of the Atmanepada when the sense denoted was that of "divulging, reviling" &c., and it also took Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent by virtue of śūtra 72, because the root कः has an indicative अः. The present śūtra makes an exception to those rules, and ordains parasmaipada. Thus अनुकर्त्तृते he imitates, गर्त्तृते he does well.

अतिमयतिभः लिपः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अतिप्रति-अतिभः ॥

लिपः ॥ ( प्य प्य ) ॥

79. After the verb kṣip to throw, coming after abhi, prati and ati, parasmaipada is used, even though the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

The root लिप to throw, is svariteta therefore by śūtra 72 ante it would have taken Atmanepada termination, when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent; this aphorism ordains parasmaipada instead. As अतिलिपि ‘he throws on,’ अतिस्तिपि ‘he turns away or rejects,’ अतिलिपि ‘he throws beyond.’

Why do we say "when coming after abhi, prati, and ati"? Because when compounded with any other preposition, it will not take parasmaipada, but will be governed by sutra 72. As अतिलिपि ‘he throws down.’

The second कः of śūtra 14 is also understood here, so that when the verb is used reflexively, the agent not being purely an agent, the present śūtra will not apply. As अतिलिपि ते स्वेच्छ 'it is thrown on of itself.'
81. After the verb vah to bear, coming after pra, parasmaipada is used, even though the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The root vah to carry is svaritet, and by sūtra 72 it would have taken the Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. But the present sūtra ordains parasmaipada instead. As पद्मवि ‘it flows.’

Why do we say “when coming after pra”? Because after any other preposition it will not take parasmaipada as प्रनवहे ‘he brings.’

82. After the verb mṛish to bear, preceded by pari, parasmaipada is used, even when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The root mṛish “to suffer” is svaritet, and by sūtra 72 it would have taken Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This ordains parasmaipada instead. As परमुष्यि he ‘endures or he becomes angry.’ When not preceded by this preposition, it takes Atmanepada termination. As भाविते.

According to some authors, the root vah of the last aphorism is said to be understood in this, so that vah preceded by परि will also take parasmaipada terminations; as परिमौष्ठि.

83. After the verb ram to sport, preceded by vi and an, parasmaipada is used.

The verb रम means ‘to sport.’ It is anudattet and therefore by sūtra 12 it would have taken Atmanepada terminations; the present sūtra ordains parasmaipada instead, as भिरमति ‘he takes rest’; भारमति ‘he delights in,’ परिमौष्ठि ‘he sports.’

With other prepositions than these, it will take Atmanepada termination. As भाविते.
84. And also after upa, the verb ram takes the affixes of the parasmaipada.

As रेषिरमारतिः ‘he causes Devadatta to refrain.’ The sense of the verb uparamati is causative here, as if it was उपरमारति. This is an example of a verb involving in it the force of the causative affix विन.

It might be asked why was not the preposition उप read along with the other preposition in the last aphorism, instead of making this a separate सूत्रा. The answer is that the necessity of making a separate सूत्रा with the preposition upa arose from the exigencies of sūtra making. It is desired, that the next sūtra 85 should apply only to the root upa-ram, and not to other compounds of ram; and this could only be done by making these two distinct sūtras.

85. After the verb ram preceded by upa, parasmaipada is optionally used, when employed intransitively.

The last aphorism ordained parasmaipada absolutely, this declares an option under certain circumstances. As यात्रेयुइतुपरमति or उपसनि he desisted from or was quiet while it was eaten.

86. After the verbs buddh to know, yudh to fight, nas to destroy, jana to be born, in to go, pru to move, dru to run, and sru to flow, ending in the affix निः (i.e., when used in the causative), parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

By sūtra 74 ante, causatives took the ात्मनेपदा termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This makes an exception to that and ordains parasmaipada. As ापसति he expands वीपसति he causes to fight; नापसति he causes destruction, जनसति he begets; साधसति he teaches; ापसति he causes to obtain; ापसति he causes to melt; ापसति he causes to trickle.
Of the above eight roots, those which are intransitive would have
taken the parasmaipada terminations under the conditions mentioned in sūtra
88 sub, that is to say, when the agent is a being endowed with a reason. The
present aphorism in the case of such intransitive verbs makes this additional
statement, that those intransitive verbs will take parasmaipada, even when the
agent is not a being endowed with a reason. As चोप्लिन्ति वपूष्यम् he makes the
lotus to expand, चोप्लिन्ति कस्तोऽनि he makes the woods to strike each other, नात्र-
वत्तै दुःस्कृतम् he destroys the sorrow, जनवत्तै बुल्क्षम् he produces pleasure.

Again of the above eight roots, those that have ordinarily the sense of
"moving" will get parasmaipada by sūtra 87. The present sūtra, in their case
makes this additional statement, that they will take parasmaipada termina-
tions even when the sense is not that of moving. Thus च means both 'to move,' and 'to obtain,' दु means 'to run' as well as 'to melt,' and स means 'to flow'
as well as to 'to trickle.' As प्रवेशे वे obtains; चोप्लिन्ति the iron melts; चुंभितः
स्वतः the water-vessels drip. The examples in the first paragraph have there-
fore been thus translated.

The root दुह् is always compounded with प्रभि.

निगरणऽवज्जायेयाः साय दुह शन्ति निगरणऽतम-अर्थायेयः।
च । (परसंपदुधु)।

87. And after the causatives of verbs which
have the sense of the 'eating or swallowing' and 'shak-
ing or moving' parasmaipada is employed, even when
the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

The phrase 'when used in the causative (कः:) of the last sūtra is to
be read into this also. The parasmaipada is ordained as an exception to
sūtra 74 by which ātmaneṇa was ordained when the fruit of the action
accrued to the agent. The word निगरण means 'eating,' and चलन means
'moving,' 'shaking.' As निगरणवति he causes to swallow; चलनवति he causes to
eat. चुंभवति he feasts. चलनवति he moves; चोप्लिन्ति, कस्तोऽनि he shakes. This
aphorism applies to transitive verbs, and to verbs whose agents in non-causa-
tive state are inanimate objects i.e., not possessed with reason.

Vart:—The prohibition of the root दुह to eat, must be mentioned.
The causative of दुह to eat, takes ātmaneṇa. Thus दुह्ति रेवदहः: Devadatta
eats; दुह्ति देहस्तन्त वै व व दृष्टिक रक्षमेर्यम् दक्ष्मेर्यम् दस्याश्वासंवालम् परसंपदुधुः.

निगरणाः (परसंपदुधु)।

निगरणऽवज्जायेयाः साय दुह शन्ति निगरणऽतम-अर्थायेयः।
च । (परसंपदुधु)।
88. The affixes of the parasmaipada are employed after the causal of that verb, which in its non-causal state was intransitive and had a being endowed with reason for its agent; even when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase कः: is understood here also. The Atmanepada was ordained by śūtra 74 when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This aphorism is an exception to that, and ordains parasmaipada. As अहस्ते रेष्यत्: Devadatta sits, बासवः रेष्यत्: he makes Devadatta to sit. शोषः प्रेष्यत्: Devadatta sleeps, गायनति प्रेष्यत्: he causes Devadatta to lie down.

Why do we say 'in its non-causal state'? For if the causative root is from another causative root, and not from a simple non-causative root, then the parasmaipada will not be employed. Thus 'if one person such as Devadatta, causes another person Yajnadatta, to cause a third person Ramadatta, to do an act denoted by an intransitive root, as 'mounting' for instance, though Ramadatta mounts for his own benefit, the verb to be used in such a case is बारोहयते: in the Atmanepada, from the root बाहृत् to mount; and not बारोहयति:' (Iengar’s Guide to Panini).

Why do we say 'which was intransitive'? This rule will not apply if the verb in its non-causative state was transitive. Thus from कारि the causative from कृष्ण, if the person caused to do the act denoted by the verb does it for his own use, comes only कारकः though the person has a will; for the original root कृष्ण though a non-causative root, is not an intransitive root.' (Ibid).

Why do we say 'having a being endowed with reason for its agent'? For if the agent is a non-sentient object, the verb will be Atmanepadi. Thus from शोषिः the causative from शोष गृह ‘to dry’ if that which dries is a thing not possessed of a will as शोषयः: 'paddy,' for instance, though the fruit of the action i.e., the drying, affects only the paddy itself, comes शोषिः in the Atmanepadi, though 'to dry' is an intransitive root; e.g., शोषिः शोषितालयः: the sun-shine causes the paddy to dry.' (Ibid).

न पाद्यायनाद्यपरिमुखाद्यसहस्विचित्राभिविद्धः || ८९ || पदानि ||

न। पा-द्याय-अद्य-अद्य-परिमुख-रूचिः-चौः-बद-वस:। ( ति: । परसै-पदकृः ) ||

वृत्तिः। पास्यं प्रायृत्य चायत्र चारियाः हना नृति वदशस: हर्यते-वाच्यतेः । परसैपाः

न भवति ||

वार्तिनु। पारिष्ठ चेत उपस्थतानु। ||
89. But the affixes of the parasmaipada are not used after the causals of the verbs पा to drink, दम to tame, अयम to extend, अयस to exert oneself, parimumuh to be bewildered, रुचि to shine, नृत to dance, वद to speak, and वस to dwell.

The last two aphorisms had ordained parasmaipada instead of Atmanepada, even when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent, thus debarring the latter's action which would otherwise have taken place by virtue of सूत्र 74. This सूत्र prohibits the last two सूत्रs, and re-instates Atmanepada of सूत्र 74. Thus root पा to drink, has the sense of nigaraṇa or swallowing, the roots हन &c., have sentient beings as their agent; the root वृत्ति to dance has the sense of चलन or moving, but still these verbs have त्वस्मृति affixes, and do not take parasmaipada in the causative. As पायते he causes to drink, स्वयंते he causes to be tame, चायत्वते he lengthens, व्यासवते he troubles, प्रियोहते he entices, रोहते he makes agreeable, वरीयते he causes to dance, वाहते he makes to speak, वासवते he causes to dwell.

Vart:-The root घा should be enumerated along with पा &c. Thus पायते विमुखः समीजी. The doe suckles a young infant.

वाज्जस्य ॥ ९० ॥ पदार्थि ॥ घा ॥ कपः ॥ ( परस्नृपद्धः ) ॥

वर्णिनि: विवन्द्यायां कर्म्यति परस्परं नविनि ॥

90. The affixes of the parasmaipada are used optionally after the denominative verbs ending in the affix कदश.

The affix कदश is ordained by सूत्र III. 1. 12 मुनाहिष्वो भवस्य वेदेन्धन हतिय: after the words नोहित &c. These root take optionally parasmaipada. As नोहितायति or वे he reddens. प्रत्याद्यति or वे he makes पत पत.

युध्योक्षेति ॥ ९१ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ युध्यः ॥ कुड़ि ॥ ( या परस्ने-पद्मः ) ॥

वर्णिनि: युध्योक्षेति कुड़ि या परस्परं नविनि ॥

91. After the verbs दयुत to shine &c. the terminations of the Parasmaipada are optionally employed, when the affixes of लुह (aorist) follow.

The Dyutādi verbs are 22 in number, to be found in Dhatupātha in the Bhuadi class. By the use of the word युध्य: in the plural in the सूत्र, the force is that of &c. These verbs are anudatta and so by सूत्र 12 they would have been invariably Atmanepadi, this aphorism makes them optionally
so in the aorist. Thus वशुन्त् or वशावतिस्त् he shone. In other tenses than the aorist (सूच्य) these verbs are invariably Atmanepadi. As शोषते he shines.

For a list of Dyutādi verbs see Dhatupatha.

शुच्य: सचना: II ९२ II पदानि II झुट्स्य: II श-चना: I (या I षर्मापि)

शृष्टि: II झुट्सम् श्राप्योऽनन्तरः एस्यो धान्य: स्त्रेरहि च परन्तो या षर्मापिये अन्तरीम II

92. After the verbs vrit to exist &c., Parasmai-pada is optionally employed when the affixes sya (Future and conditional) and san (Desiderative) follow.

The शृच्य verbs are five in number and are included in the शृच्य sub-class. They are झुट्सम् to be, झुट्स to grow, झुट्स to fart or break wind; श्राप्य to ooze, and झुट्स to be able. As 1st Future श्राप्यति or श्राप्यस्तयेक, it will be, conditional श्राप्यस्तयत् or श्राप्यस्तथ्यत्: Desiderative श्राप्यस्ति or श्राप्यस्तच्चये &c.

In other tenses than the above, they are always Atmanepadi. As षर्मापिते it is.

झृष्टिचुप्त: II ९२ II पदानि II लुट्सि I श I झृप्त: I (श-चना या षर्मापि)

शृष्टि: II लुट्सि च स्त्रेरहि षर्मापिये षर्मापिये या नरवि II

93. After the verb क्लिप to be fit, Parasmai-pada is optionally employed, when luent (1st Future) is affixed, as well as when sya and san are affixed.

The verb झृप्त is one of the five verbs of the sub-class, शृच्य of the last aphorism. Therefore it will take both parasmai-pada and Atmanepada, when the affixes स्त्र or सन follow. The present sutra makes the additional declaration in the case of 1st Future or झृप्त. Thus in Luṭ we have:—कल्पिस्वते or कल्पिस्वतेस्वते thou wilt be; in 1st Future we have:—कल्पिस्वते or कल्पिस्वतेस्वतेस्वते he will be; in the Desiderative we have:—फिक्षि:स्ति or फिक्षि:स्तिये; in the conditional we have:—कल्पिस्वतृ or कल्पिस्वतृस्वतेस्वते.
BOOK I.
CHAPTER IV.

1. From this sūtra up to the aphorism Kadārāḥ Karmadhāraye (II. 2. 38) only one name of each thing named is to be understood.

What is that name then? That which comes last, where the claims are otherwise equal (I. 4. 2.) and that which were its claim disallowed, would have no other opportunity of conducing to any result, would be the recognised name. As a short vowel is called ‘light’ by I. 4. 10, and it is also called ‘heavy’ when it precedes a conjunct consonant (I. 4. 11.) Thus a short vowel has two names ‘light’ and ‘heavy.’ But it will not be called ‘light’ when it precedes a conjunct consonant, but will have only one name, i.e., ‘heavy.’ Thus in दित to divide दित to split, the द is ‘light’ while the same letter is ‘heavy’ in दित्ता teaching दित्ता begging.

Thus in the root द्ध the प is ‘heavy’ and therefore in forming its aorist we have the form द्धतवस. Similarly दण्डवस. The rule VII. 4. 93 not applying here as that rule is applicable to laghu vowels only.

2. When rules of equal force prohibit each other, then the last in the order herein given is to take effect.

The word विमतिवेच means ‘opposition of rules of equal force.’ When two topics having different objects in view find scope of action simultaneously in one particular case, that opposition of equal forces is called
vīpratishedha. A general rule (utsarga) and its exception (upavāda), or an in- 
variable (nitya) and an optional (anitya) rule, or an antaranga and a bahiranga 
rule, are not rules of equal force. There the stronger prevails against the weaker. 
As an example of rules of equal force, see VII. 3. 102. and VII. 3. 103. The 
first rule declares, ‘when a case-affix beginning with a letter of yaṇ pratyāhāra 
follows, the long vowel is substituted for the final of an inflective base ending 
in a short ś.’ As Vṛiksha + bhyām = Vṛikshābhyam. The next rule de-
clares:—‘When a plural case-affix beginning with a letter of jhal pratyāhāra 
follows, ś is the substitute for the final short ś of an inflective base.’ As 
Vṛiksha + su = Vṛiksheshu. But when the plural case-affix bhyāḥ follows, what 
rule are we to apply? For the letter bha belongs both to the pratyāhāras yaṇ 
and jhal. Are we to lengthen the short ś, or substitute ś? The present 
sūtra gives the reply, ś is to be substituted because VII. 3. 103 ordaining ś 
follows next to VII. 3. 102. Thus Vṛiksha + bhyāḥ = Vṛikshābhyāḥ.

3. Word-forms ending in long i and ū being 
names of females are called Nādi.

The word śū is compound of ś + ū. The word sṛyākhyā means that 
which by itself denotes the name of a female. These words must be always 
feminine, having no masculine of the same form, as the word grāmaṇi has. 
As the words kumāri Kumārī a virgin, vāyū yavāghū rice gruel. The declen-
sion of nouns of nādi class is somewhat peculiar which will be treated of 
later. As see Rule VII. 3. 112 बांधिः is the augment of the case-affixes having 
an indicatory ś when they come after a word ending with a Nādi.

Why do we say ending in ś and ū? Because feminine nouns not 
ending in these vowels will not be declined like Nādi words. Thus while the 
dative of kumāri will be kumārī , the dative of bāndhi will be bāndhī.

Why do we say ‘which are feminine’? Because if they are names of 
males, they will not be called Nādi. As pārami: leader of a village; vēnāni: 
leader of an army; kalan: a sweeper; their dative being pāramē , vēnānē kalanē.

Why have we used the word akhyā ‘name’ in the text? Because 
feminine gender must be denoted by the word itself and not by any other 
epithet used along with the word. Thus if the head-borough or the sweeper 
should be of the female sex, the Dative Singular would still be pāramē vēnē.

ने यथोक्तस्मातानाः स्त्री || ५ || पदानि || न, इवस-उवस-स्थानी, 
अक्षरी,, (युन्द्री) ||

पृष्ठ: || इवस उवस स्थान मनयोवरीयहुवस्थानो तो यू निसखो त क सह: ||
4. Feminine words ending in ı and ु which admit the substitute (षाट) ıyān and (ञास) uvaṇ (VI. 4. 77) are not called Nadī; except the word strī, (which is called nadi notwithstanding its substituting iyān).

The definition of Nadī given in the last sūtra was rather too wide, this limits the scope. Thus 惫, happiness, ू, brow, admit the substitutes iyān and uvaṇ respectively, and are not nadi. Their vocative singular is हे श्री: , हे भू &c., while the vocative singular of strī is हे स्त्री.

5. Feminine words ending in ı and ु, though admitting iyān and uvaṇ substitutes, are optionally termed Nadī, when the affix ām (Gen Pl.) follows, but not so the word strī, which is always Nadī.

भी + भाम् = भी ग्रहं + ग्राम् = भियाम्; ू + ग्राम् = ूभाम्; or भी + भाम् = भी + ग्राम + ग्राम् (VII. 1. 54.) = भीग्राम्; ू + ग्राम् = ूभाम्. But strī is always nadi, and we have स्त्रीग्राम् strīām.

To the absolute prohibition enjoined by the last sūtra, this allows an option in the case of Genitive Plural.

6. When a case-affix having an indicatory ṁ (नित) follows, then feminine words ending in short ı and ु are optionally termed Nadī, as well as feminine nouns in long ı and ु which admit of iyān and uvaṇ; but not so the word strī, which is always Nadī.

Feminine words in long ı and ु have been defined as nadi; words in short vowels can never be termed nadi, while even some words in long vowels have also been excluded from the scope of the definition if they take iyān and uvaṇ. The present sūtra declares an option in the case of all the above words, when a case-affix having an indicatory ṛ follows.

The case-affixes having an indicatory ॐ are the Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative singulars. Thus we have:
Dative गत्वे or गते चेन्ते or चेनैं गिने or गिने; Ablative Genitive गते; or मत्वा: चेनैं or चेनैं गिना; गिनया; Locative गतै or गतायै चेनै or चेनैन्त गिनया or गिनया. So also घूै or घूै &c. But strl is always घूै &c.

7. The rest of the words that end in short र and ज are called ghi with the exception of the word sakhi.

This defines the word ghi. The peculiarity of the declension of ghi words will be treated later on. The word hrasva is understood in this sūtra. The word šesha or 'the rest' implies 'the words ending in short र or ज which are not the names of females, or if they are feminine names, they are 'not nadi words.'

As अभिनि fire. Before case-affixes having an indicative न, the ghi nouns ginate their vowel VII. 3. 111. As अभिनि + रेनि = राष्णि + रेनि to the fire. So also गायु × रेनि = गायु to the wind. But the declension of sakhi in these cases is:—सक्षा सक्षे सक्षु; and सक्षी.

पाति: वनातु एव || ॥ पदाति || पाति:, वनासे, एव, (चि) ||

पृष्ठ: यविचय: वनातु एव पिनासो भवति ||

8. The word pati is called ghi only when it is in a compound.

The word pati would have been ghi by the last sūtra; the present sūtra is therefore a niyama rule, restricting the use of ghi in the case of pati to its occurring in composition. The word eva 'only' is used in a restrictive sense.

As पश्य by the lord but प्रजाः पति by the lord of creatures. So also पश्ये and प्रजापति; पति: and प्रजापति:; पति: and प्रजापति &c. When पति is ghi, there is gupa of the vowel before the four छिन्न affixes by VII. 3. 111.

पश्ये युक्ताः छावद्रवः वा || ॥ पदाति || पश्ये-युक्ते:, छावद्रवः, वा, (पति: चि) ||

पृष्ठ: पश्ये युक्ते पति: पति:चयः: छावद्रवः वा, विनीति भवति ||

9. The word pati when used in connection with a noun ending in the sixth or genitive case, is ghi, optionally, in the Chhandas (veda).

The word pati is understood in this sūtra. By the last sūtra, pati would have not been ghi when not in composition. This sūtra makes an exception to that when this word occurs in the Vaidic literature.
10. A short vowel is called 'light' (laghu).

This defines the word Laghu. A hrasva vowel which has already been defined (I. 2. 27), is under certain circumstances called laghu or 'light'; thus the i of स्नेत to break, is laghu; and by being laghu it is guptated before the affix ता + या, as मेता he will break, by virtue of the rule VII. 3. 86, which declares that a laghu penultimate vowel is guptated before a Sarvadhatuka or an ārdhadhatuka affix. So also क्षेत्र and भ्रजीहस्तः.

11. When a conjunct consonant follows, a short vowel is termed 'heavy' (Guru).

A hrasva vowel however is not to be called 'light' when it is followed by a conjunct consonant. As the i of स्नेत 'learning' is a heavy vowel. Thus शिष्य is derived from शिम + श (III. 3. 103, let the affix श come after that verb which has a heavy vowel and ends in a consonant when the word to be formed is feminine). So also कुण्ड and निष्पा.

12. And a long vowel is also termed heavy, (Guru).

This is clear the anuvratti of the word conjunct is not understood in this sūtra. As इ of इशांक्रे he endeavoured, इशांक्रे he saw. Here the letter इ is guru, and because of its being called guru, the rule III. 1. 36 is applied in forming the perfect tense by the addition of the augment यम्. Thus all long vowels, and short vowels followed by conjunct consonants are guru or heavy. All other short vowels are laghu.

यस्माद् प्रत्यय-विपश्यतिदादि प्रत्ययेऽऽन्तः || 33 || पदार्थ ||
प्रत्यय-विचित्रः, तद-आदि, प्रत्यये, अद्यः ||

इति: || यस्माद् परमः विशेषते पालीः मातिसहितेकः तद्यति पञ्चक्रययं प्रत्यर्गे परस्परसऽऽन्तेऽऽन्तेऽऽन्तेऽऽन्तेः

नविनः ||
13. After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether verbal root or crude-form, that which begins therewith in the form in which it appears when the affix follows it, is called an Inflective base (āṅga).

The words of this sūtra require some explanation. Yasmātr after whatsoever; prayāya-vidhiḥ compound of prayāya meaning an affix and vidhiḥ, a precept, i.e. a rule enjoying an affix; tadādi, I. S. that which begins therewith; prayāye 7. S. = in a prayāya i.e. when a prayāya follows (I. 1.) is called a base.

After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether it be a verbal root (Dhātu) or a nominal base (pratipadika), the word-form having that as its beginning, is called an āṅga, with regard to the affix that follows. The word yasmat is used in the aphorism to point out the thing named, as āṅga; because the word tadādi follows it. This defines the word āṅga. The word ‘base’ is thus a relative term with regard to its affix. Thus कु + ता = करता he will do हता he will lose. करिष्यात्, करिष्यति. Here because the root कु and हु gets the name ढण्ड they are gunated by (VII. 3. 84) similarly because ब्रणु &c. get the name Anga, their vowel is vṛiddhied in षणवण; &c.

The words क्रि ह्रि are āṅga with regard to the affix ता &c. वष्णु + क्रि = ब्रणवण; कारिष्यत्. Here upagu and kapaṭu are āṅga with regard to अ. Similarly कु + सव + श = करिष्य + व = करिष्यति. Here the whole word-form Karishya is regarded as āṅga, and as such the short a is lengthened by VII. 3. 101; because though the affix vaḥ is enjoined after the word क्रि, the form which begins with क्रि i.e. karishya will also be called āṅga when the affix is to be added. The word tadādi, therefore, has been used in the sūtra, to make the definition of Āṅga applicable to the forms which a word may assume after taking the intermediate affixes like sya &c., or दुष्ट before the final affixes. Thus ब्रणु + मुष्णु + द = ब्रणमुष्णु + द = ब्रणमुष्णनि (VII. 1. 72 and VI. 4. 8) कुप्पा + नुष्ण + त = कुप्पनुष्ण + त = कुप्पनुष्णनि, bowls. Here the whole form कुप्पनि is called āṅga, and as such it lengthens its vowel before the case-affix त by VI. 4. 8.

Why have we used the word prayāya? Without it the rule would have run thus:—‘After whatever there is anything enjoined &c., is called Āṅga.’ Then in क्रि + ह्रवति = ह्रवतक्रि. Here sandhi of vowels is enjoined between ह + ह = ह. If ह्रि was here an Āṅga, then its last vowel would have been replaced by हवः (VI. 4. 77), the form being स्त्रिवधामि.

Why have we used the word विषि? Had we omitted it the rule would have run thus:—‘After whatsoever there is an affix, whether root or pratipadika is Āṅga.’ Thus in स्त्रि भ्रम, though the affix adhunā is placed after
the word dadhi, it is not enjoined by any rule; and the word सुचि is not called
anga. Had it been so called, then the ध of dadhi should have been elided
by rule VI. 4. 148.

The word pratyaya has been repeated twice in this सूत्र in order to
show that when an affix is elided, the term anga will not apply to what stood
before it. Thus in the compound word लिल्ले + कर्णे = कर्ण्ये for the sake of
the woman. Here in forming the तत्त पुरुष the dative case-affix
after the word स्त्री has been elided, for as a general rule case-affixes are
elided in forming compounds. If the word स्त्री after its affix had been elided,
still retained its old designation of Anga, the स्त्री + कर्णे would have been;
स्त्रील्ले, the augment iya being added by the rule already referred to above.

14. That which ends in sup (case-affix)
IV. 1. 2; or in ti in III. 4. 78 (tense-affix), is called a pada
or inflected word.

The sup or case-affixes are those by which nouns are declined; and
ti in are tense-affixes by which verbs are conjugated. They have already
been given before. Thus श्रात्सर्वू - गत - ग्राह्या: the Brāhmaṇas प्रचार in they cook.

It might be asked by a caviler why the word अंत्त has been used in
the aphorism, for by the rule of tadanta given in Sūtra I. 1. 72 a rule relating
to sup will mean and include also that which ended with a sup-affix. To this
we reply, that the very fact that the word anta is used in this सूत्र, indicates
by implication (jñāpaka) that the Tadanta rule of Sūtra 72 Chapter I does
not apply to rules of sanjñā (definition) made with regard to affixes. Thus
tapar and tamap affixes are called gha by Sūtra I. 1. 22. The tadanta-vidhi
will not apply here; words ending with these affixes will not be called gha:
Thus श्रात्सर्वूत्तर will not be called gha, for had it been so called, the long ध
will be shortened in गृही ग्राह्या. In short, ‘an affix when employed in a
rule which teaches the meaning of a technical term (sanjñā) does not
denote a word-form ending with the affix.’

15. The word-form ending in n, is called
pada, when kya follows (i.e., the affixes kyach, kyan
and kyash).

These are affixes by which denominative verbs are formed from
nouns. See III. 1. 8, 11, and 13. A word ending in न is called pada, when
these affixes follow. Thus राज्नू + वच्यू = राज्यवू 3rd Per. s. राज्यवि.
behaves like a king. So also राजस्य + क्षत्रः - राजायोधि (VII. 4. 25.) राजस्य + क्षत्रः - 
राजस्य or राजायोधि. The result of its being called pada is that the भ of राजस्य,
राजस्य &c., is elided by Sūtra VIII. 2. 7. (there is elision of भ final in a pada
which is entitled to the designation of pratipadika). Thus राजस्य + क्षत्रः = 
राज + क्षत्र = राजीव (VII. 4. 33).

These three affixes क्षत्रः &c., come after case-inflected words (i.e.,
words ending in sup), and though, before these affixes, the case terminations
are elided, still by Sūtra I. 1. 62 such words would have retained the name of
pada which they got by Rule 14 of this Chapter. The present sūtra however
makes a restriction (niyama). It declares that only words ending in भ retain
the name of pada; while all other case-inflected words before these affixes
do not retain that designation. Thus the words क्षत्रः speech, तुष्ण a ladle are
not treated as pada and we have तुष्ण and तुष्ण. Had they been pada, the भ
would have been changed into भ by VIII. 2. 30.

स्थिति. 16. पदानि II सुर्यति, भ (पदस्)

16. When an affix having an indicatory भ
follows then that which precedes it is called pada.

The sūtra 18 of this chapter teaches that before certain affixes, the
preceding word is called bha. This sūtra declares an exception to that by
anticipation. Thus Rule IV. 2. 115 declares:—“Affixes हद्र and हद्र come
after the vṛddha (I. 1. 74) word भद्रः.” Here the affix हद्र has an indicatory
भ, therefore the word भद्रः standing before it, will be called pada. Thus
अधितः + हद्रः = भद्रः: VII. 1. 2. belonging to you. The result of being pada is
that भ is changed into भ (VIII. 2. 39). Similarly भ is हद्र in हद्रः (After the
word उऽपा there is युऽ V. 2. 123). Thus हद्रः ; so also पदः V. 1. 106, has
भ as indicatory. Thus क्षत्रः: There is no gūṇa because of its being pada.

स्वादिश वर्षनामस्यानि II 17. पदानि II ह-आदित्रु, अस्वर्तनाम
स्यानि, (पदस्) II

स्थिति: II स्वादित्रु प्रत्यदेवः प्रस: वर्षनामस्यानिमित्तु पूर्द्र परस्परम् भविषि II

17. When the affixes beginning with भ
(IV. 1. 2) and ending in क्ष (V. 4. 151.) follow, not being
Sarvanâmasthâna (I. 1. 43) then that which precedes is
called pada.

The affixes beginning with su and ending with kap are meant by the
above sūtra. Thus the case-affix सज्ञ्या (Ins Dual) is an affix included in the
above. Thus राजस्य + भायुः = राजायोधि, राजनि: , राजसः, राजसः, राजसः, राजसः.
The भ is elided by being pada.
Bhā defined.

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Why do we say 'when not a Sarvanāmasthāna'? Observe राजम् + श्रो = राजानी two kings. रामन: kings. The श्रो is not elided.

यचि भष्म ॥ २४ ॥ पदार्थं ॥ याचि, भल, र (स्वादिश्चतर)
्वृत्ति: ॥ यदातदात्मा गाये त सत्ये सर्वनामस्वात्मानस्मिन्ति प्रस्वसे परमः पुरूषं ब्रह्मवेदं ॥
वासिक्षण ॥ नमोधिज्ञितार्थनुप्त मथुरास्वात्मानम् ॥
वासिक्षण ॥ वृष्णुस्वातरक्रोऽयोऽऽ: ॥

18. And when an affix, with an initial य or an initial vowel, being one of the affixes, beginning with su and ending in k, follows, not being Sarvanāmasthāna, then what precedes, is called Bhā.

This debars the application of pada. Thus यथ + वम् (IV. 1. 105) गार्थ: a grandson of Garga. So also बासव:. The affix या begins with a ya and the word garga being treated as Bha its final श is elided before the affix by VI. 4. 148.

So also रत्न + वम् - शत्ति: (IV. 1. 95) grandson of Daksha. शत्ति:.

Here the affix वम् begins with a vowel the word standing before it being Bha, it causes elision of the final श of daksha.

The word यचि is in the 7th case meaning when य or चय follow; and by the last Vart of Sūtra I. 1. 72, it means 'when an affix beginning with ya or arch follow.'

Vart:—The words नमस्त्र, चाण्डरस्त्र and नवम्त्र should be treated as Bha when the affix वम् follows. Thus नमस्त्र, like the sky, चाण्डरस्त्र like the Angiras. नवम्त्र, like the man. By being Bha, the श is not changed into श, which it would have been, had it been a pada (VIII. 2. 66).

Vart:—The words पुष्पस् is treated as Bha in the vedas when the words वम् and चच्च follow. Thus पुष्पस्; पुष्पस्त्रव्यव्यव्य रेने । Here had the word पुष्पस्त्रव्यव्यव्य been treated as pada, the श would not have been changed into श (See Rule VIII. 4. 37); and this श would have been dropped before the affix vasu by VIII. 2. 7.

यचि स्वर्य: ॥ १९ ॥ पदार्थं ॥ ताचि, भल-अचि, (भम्) ॥
्वृत्ति: ॥ महतार९ स्मारतार२ शालूख्य स्तव्यम् प्रवचे परन्त स्वरत्त्व भवित: ॥

19. The word-form ending in त or in s is called Bhā when an affix with the force of matup (whose is it, ' or in whom it is ' V. 2. 94) follows.

The word Bhā is understood in this sūtra. Thus is the word शद्रुष्यत् having butter milk Nom. Sing. शद्रुष्यत् पोषः the herdsman having butter milk, शद्रुष्यत् भलाहं: the cloud full of thunder. So also वास्त्रि famous;
BHA CASES.

¶ 20. Words like ayasmaya &c., are valid forms in the chhandas (veda).

These words being taught here in the topic relating to pada and Bha, show that they have been properly formed in the chhandas by the application of the rules of Bha and pada. Thus अयस्मयम् + वस्त्र = अयस्मयवस्त्र made of iron. Here the word अयस्मयम् is treated as Bha and hence the स् is not changed into र्. Thus अयस्मयवस्त्र की iron-made coat of mail. अयस्मयवस्त्र पन्नित iron vessels. The present form of this word is अयस्मयवस्त्र. In some places both these pada and Bha apply simultaneously. Thus in the word अयस्मयवस्त्र formed by अयस्मयम् + वस्त्र, the स् is first changed into श् by treating the word rich as a pada. Then the word अयस्मयवस्त्र is treated as bha, and therefore the स् is not changed into र् before वस्त्र. For had it been pada, the form would have been अयस्मयवस्त्र Rigvad. These irregularly formed words occur only in the chhandas or Vedic literature. Thus स् चुंडेल्स सक्षमः मगेन.

¶ 21. In expressing multitude, a Plural case affix is employed.

When it is intended to denote multitude those affixes should be employed after nouns and verbs, which denote plural number. Thus त्रिवर्गयोगी त्रिवर्गयोगी त्रिवर्गयोगी त्रिवर्गयोगी The Brahmins read.

This rule applies to words which are capable of expressing numbers. Indeclinables (Avyaya) do not admit of numbers, and consequently they are always in singular number which is the general form.
22. The dual and singular case-affixes are employed severally in the sense of duality and unity.

This is also clear. When duality is to be expressed, a dual case-affix should be employed, and in the case of unit, the singular case-affix. Thus प्राप्त: एकत्र: the two Brahmins cook. प्राप्त: प्रधान: the Brahmin cooks.

23. The phrase 'kāraka' (meaning 'in the special relation to a word expressing an action') is to be understood in the following aphorisms.

Any thing that helps towards the accomplishment of an action is a kāraka. Thus in 'cooking,' the fire, the furnace, the vessel, the cook are all helpers in the accomplishment of the action. Thus 'Rama cooks food in a vessel, by the fire from the furnace for his master.' Here Rama is agent kāraka; 'food' is object kāraka; 'vessel' is a locative kāraka, fire is an instrumental kāraka, 'furnace' is the ablative kāraka and 'master' is the dative kāraka.

The word 'kāraka' thus is synonymous with the word cause (hetu) and occasion (nimitta). All the various causes and occasions that are required to complete an action will be kārakas. Out of the seven cases in which a sanskrit noun is declined, six represent such relation with an action. The Genitive or the sixth case can never be directly related with an action, and thus can never stand in the relation of a kāraka to a verb.

24. A noun whose relation to an action is that of a fixed point from which departure takes place is called apādāna or ablation.

This defines the Ablation or Apādāna kāraka. Thus धरातल: he comes from the village. पर्वत: he descends from the mountain. तलाव: lost his object. रथ: fallen from chariot. The Apādāna takes the 5th case-affix (II. 3. 28) and the above examples show this. When therefore this relation is to be expressed, 'the fixed point (like grāma, parvata &c., in the above) which is the limit denoted by a word dependent on a verb is called ablation.'
Vart:—The objects of verbs denoting ‘aversion,’ ‘cessation’ and ‘negligence’ are also called ablation. Thus:—उपहृतस्माचारे he dislikes injustice; उपहृतस्माचारे he ceases from injustice. उपहृतस्माचारे he neglects justice.

25. In case of words implying ‘fear’ and ‘protection from danger’ that from which the danger or fear proceeds is called आपदानकारकā.

The verbs signifying ‘fear’ or ‘protection’ govern the object feared of, or the danger to be protected from, in the ablative case. Thus चारोपयोगी विनेते he is afraid of thieves, चारोपयोगी दहीते he is agitated because of the thieves. चारोपयोगी प्रमाणण्ये or रक्षति. He protects or saves from the thieves.

Why do we say ‘the cause of fear (bhaya-hetū) is put in the ablative case’? Observe चारणां बिनेति or चारणां he fears or protects in the forest.

26. In the case of the verb पराजिः, ‘to be tired or weary of,’ that which becomes unbearable, is called आपदानकारकā.

When the verb जी to conquer, with the preposition पराः has the sense of ‘becoming tired or unbearable’ it governs ablative case of the thing become unbearable. As अभवनात्रां पराजिः he finds study unbearable.

Why do we say ‘that which becomes unbearable.’ Observe शापृतं पराजिः he defeats the enemies.

27. In case of verbs having the sense of ‘preventing, the desired object from which one is prevented or warded off is called Ablation or आपदानकā.

The obstruction to one’s natural inclination is called वारणा or prevention. As वरेह्वा गार बारणाति or निर्वर्ताति he wards off or withholds the cow from the barley.
Why do we say 'the object desired' is put in the ablative case? Observe या वारसिंह तेघे he wards off the cow in the field.

अन्नदाम् येनाद्रेण निस्थिति ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्नतुहा, वेन, अदृश्यन्, इत्यति, (कः अपादा) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ अन्नत्रिगति येनाद्रेणाद्रमालमप्रस्तुताधिकारकमम् ानवंतभवि ॥

28. When concealment is indicated, the person whose sight one wishes to avoid, is called आपदाना karaka.

Thus उपाध्यायावर्षेः or निलीये he conceals or hides from the teacher; so that the teacher may not find him out or see him.

Why do we say 'when concealment is indicated'? Observe सौत्रेण निलीये he does not wish to see the thieves. Here the term chauran is in the accusative case.

Why has the word ichchhati been used in the text? The आपदाना kāraka is to be used there only, where one desires that he should not be seen, yet he shows himself.

�ाव्यात्स्रष्याने ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव-स्वाता, उप-योगे, (कः अपाद) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ उपयोगे साधि व भारवायत्तत्तस्ता कारकमपातानवंतभवि ॥

29. The noun denoting the teacher is called आपदान or ablation, in relation to the action signifying formal teaching.

The word उपाध्यायā means teacher, and उपयोग means acquiring knowledge in the regular way. Thus उपाध्यायापिये or भागामित्र he learns from the preceptor.

Why do we say 'when meaning to learn'? Observe नस्त्र स्वर्णाधि he hears the player.

जनवस्तुः प्रकृति: ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ जन-कर्षुः, प्रकृतिः, (कः अपाद) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ जन्मस्वस्वज्ञान: कर्ता भारवाय: सत्या महते कारण हेतुः तस्कारकप्राप्तान- वंशंभविः ॥

30. The prime cause of the agent of the verb जन to be born, is called आपदाना.

That which is the Agent (कर्ता) of the verb जन, is called जनिकर्षः. That which is the prime-cause (प्रकृति) of the agent (or product) of the root जन
is put in the ablative case. As शुद्धिष्ठताः जायते, the arrow is produced from
horn गोमयाः पुष्कीते जायते the scorpion is produced from cowdung.

प्रथमः 31 पदार्थः पृष्ठः, (कात्र अपात्र) 18
पुष्टि: पृष्ठन्ति: प्रथमी: व रास्तकारकरकारानांतरं भवति इ

31. The source of the agent of the verb bhu,
to become, is called अपदाना.

The phrase 'of the agent (kartuḥ,) is understood here. The word
प्रथम means the source or that from which anything arises. As हिमयते गंगा
पुष्टि the Ganges has its source in the Himalayas. कास्मलीये विदवता प्रथम।
The Hydaspes has its source in Cashmere.

कर्मणा वस्त्रालेति स संप्रदानम् 32 पदार्थः कर्मणा, यथा,
वस्त्रालेति, ज्ञा, संप्रदानम्, (काट्र) ।
पुष्टि: कर्मणा, कर्मणीयोऽन्तरं कर्मणीयति वस्त्रालेति संप्रदानानातरं भवति ।
वार्तिकम् व विमायस्यनाम गति कर्मणीयम् ।
वार्तिकम् कर्मणा कर्मणीयं वस्त्रालेति संप्रदानस्य च कर्मणीयं।

32. The person whom one wishes to connect
with the object of giving, is called Sampradāna or re-
ceipient.

Though the word कर्मणा in the sūtra is indefinitely used, meaning
'with the object' yet it is not every object of any verb. The object must be
of the verb 'to give'.

As ज्ञानयास्याय साया व्यमि he gives the cow to the teacher. शाल्यकार विरिताम्
व्यमि he gives alms to the boy. Here the words 'cow' and 'alms' are the
object of the verb 'give'; the persons connected with this object are the
teacher and the boy respectively. These latter are in the Dative case and
take the 4th case-affix.

Vart:—The person whom one wishes to connect with the action
should also be called recipient. As शाल्ययास्याय निग्रहे he censures for the sake
of Sraddha. ज्ञानयास्याय he prepares for battle. ज्ञानयास्य श्लेष्ये she sleeps for her
husband.

Vart:—2. After some verbs (especially to sacrifice), the object
(karma) gets the name of Instrument (karaṇa) and the recipient (Sam-
pradāna) is called object (karma).

Thus धुधुषा रहि जनवे or धुधुषा रहि व्यमि he sacrifices with an animal to
Rudra, which is equivalent to, 'he gives an animal to Rudra.'
33. In case of verbs having the signification of the root ruch 'to like,' the person or thing that is pleased or satisfied, is called Sampradāna or receipient.

The verbs having similar meaning (artha) as the word ruchi or 'liking' are रुच्यां. A desire or longing caused by something else, is called ruchi. As विवश्यालय रोषदेव, भैरवक: the sweet meat pleases Devadatta. विवश्यालय वस्त्रेण दुपुष: Yajnadatta likes Apupa. Here modaka is the agent that draws out the longing which is latent in Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the person pleased?' Observe विवश्यालय रोषदेव, भैरवक: पधि. Devadatta likes modak in the way. The word pathi being in the 7th case.

श्वाघनुषुक्त्वा वाय दीप्समण: || 33 || पदालि || श्वाप-सुक्रक-त्वा-चापाम्, दीप्समणः, (कात शंद्रय) ||

34. In case of verbs स्लाघ to praise, hnu to take away, sthã to stand, and sap to curse, the person whom it is intended to inform of or persuade by, these actions, is called Sampradāna.

The word दीप्समण means whom it is desired to make known or inform. As विवश्यालय श्वापाते he praises Devadatta, i.e., while praising Devadatta, he wishes that he should know this praise. So also with other verbs. As विवश्यालय हुंदे he hides from (wishing that Devadatta should know of it) Devadatta. विवश्यालय सिद्धिये she offers herself to Devadatta for (sexual embrace, wishing that he should know of it). विवश्यालय श्रापेण he reviles Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the person whom it is intended to inform'? Observe विवश्यालय श्वालपिय पधि. Here pathi is in the Locative case.

घारे रूपमण: || 35 || पदालि || घारे:, वस्म-धर्मः, (कात शंद्रय) ||

35. In the case of the verb धारि 'to owe,' the creditor is called Sampradāna.

The word धारि is compounded of two words रूम best and धार debt meaning (whose debt is best) creditor, as opposed to धारण debtor. As विवश्यालय श्वापाते he owes hundred to Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the creditor is called Recipient'? Observe विवश्यालय श्वापाते धारष्ठारि धारे he owes hundred to Devadatta in the village. Here village is in the Locative case.
36. In the case of the verb स्रृधि to desire, the thing desired is called Sampradāna karaka.

The verb स्रृधि to desire, belongs to the churādi class. The word governed by this verb takes the Dative case. As पुष्पे: स्रृधिति he desires flowers, प्रज्ञे: स्रृधिति he desires fruits.

Why do we say ‘the thing desired.’ Observe पुष्पे: स्रृधिति he desires flowers in the forest. Here वे is in the Locative case.

37. In the case of the verbs having the sense of krudh to be angry, druḥ to injure, irṣhya to envy, asūya to detract, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called Sampradāna.

Krudh means non-tolerance, druha means doing wrong or hurt, irṣhya jealousy; and asūya means to find out the faults of another. The word kopa includes all the above four sorts of actions. As देवस्याभि कृष्णित: दुःखित: or दुःखित: as he is angry upon, (i.e. with) or bears malice to, or is jealous of, or finds out the faults of Devadatta. Here Devadatta is in the Dative case.

Why do we say ‘against whom the feeling of anger is directed.’ Because if there be no feeling of anger, then these verbs will not govern the dative case, but the accusative. Thus भार्याणिति he is jealous of his wife, i.e., does not wish her to be seen by others. Here the word bhāryā is in the accusative case.

38. But in the case of the verbs krudh and druḥ, when preceded by prepositions, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called karma karaka or object.
This aphorism is a proviso to the last, and enjoins accusative case, where by the last, there would have been dative. The word upasrīṣṭa means having upasarga or preposition. As देवस्मिनि कुष्यति चायनुष्ठाति. When used simply, those verbs of course govern the Dative case by the last aphorism. As देवस्मिनि कुष्यति.

राप्यीद्योपस्य विप्रसः || ३५ || पदार्थ || राणो-धृष्योऽस्, यस्य, विप्रसः, (कार संप्रदात) ||

पुनः || राप्यीद्योपस्य कारकं संप्रदातूंतं भवति कीर्त्या रस्य विप्रसः, विनिध: यस्य: विप्रसः; स कदस्य भवति यस्य भुजापूर्ण प्रछच्चे ||

39. In the case of the verbs राद्ध, to propitiate, and इक्ष्य to look to, the person about whose good or bad fortune questions are asked is called सामप्रदाता.

The word vipraśna means literally asking various questions; and denotes questioning about the good or bad luck of another. Thus देवस्मिनि राप्यादि रूपसे गर्यः Garga is favorable to or looks to Devadatta, the sense is that being casually asked by Devadatta, he reflects upon the good or bad fortune of Devadatta.

Another explanation of this sūtra is, the agent that puts various questions is put in the dative case. As शिष्याय राप्यादि or इक्ष्ये या गृहः meaning, the pupil asks the teacher various questions to resolve his doubts, and the teacher answers those questions to the pupil.

प्रश्नानिक्ष्यं गृहः पूर्वस्य कतरोः || ३५ || पदार्थ || प्रश्नाक्षरके, गृहः, पूर्वस्य, कतरो (कार संप्रदात) ||

पुनः || प्रश्नानिक्ष्यं हस्तेष्व पूर्वस्य गृहाय: कारकं संप्रदातूंतं भवति कीर्त्या पूर्वस्य कतरोः ||

40. In the case of the verb Sru preceded by the prepositions prati and अन; and meaning ‘to promise,’ the person to whom promise is made (lit: the person who was the agent of the former verb) is called सामप्रदाता.

The compound verb प्रतिब्द्ध and आप्तू means to promise. A promise is made on the motion or at the instance of another. The person so proposing who was the agent of the former action becomes the recipient of the promise in the latter case. As देवस्मिनि गां प्रतियोग्यति—आप्तूति he promises a cow to Devadatta.

अनुप्रतिःस्य || ३५ || पदार्थ || अनु-प्रति-गृहः, च, (कार संप्रदात पूर्वस्य कतरो) ||

पुनः || अनुप्रतिःस्य प्रतियोग्यस्य च गृहायः: कारकं पूर्वस्य: किर्त्यायः: किर्त्याय: सामप्रदातूंतं भवति ||
41. In the case of the verb gṛi, preceded by anu and prati, and meaning ‘to encourage by repeating,’ the person who was the agent of the prior action, which is repeated, is called Sampradāna.

The phrase pūrvasya kartā of the last is to be read into this aphorism. As हे तनुष्राति. They encourage the Hotri, i.e., the Hotri priest invokes first, the others then follow him in invocation and by so doing encourage him. The word भुः गर्धवर: and प्रतित्वित: mean encouraging the invoker.

साधकत्वत्सरणम् II 52 II पद्यनि II साधकत्सरणम् करणस् (कारके) II

वृत्ति: II क्रियायिविव्र: वच प्रत्यावकारव्रत: विविषित: तस्साधकत्वम् कारके करणस्तत: भविव: II

42. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action is called the Instrument or karaṇa kāraka.

As वामगम मुनाति he cuts with the sickle. परिचय दिविति he divides by the axe. The instrument कारक takes the third-case affix.

Why do we say ‘especially’? Because in the case of the other kārakās, the non-mention of the word ‘especially’ makes it possible for us to use those cases, in not their strict sense. Thus though the locative case should be used where strictly a thing is located in another, yet we may say मापाय यष्टं: the herdsman in the Ganges, not strictly in, but on the banks of, the Ganges. कूटे गर्भावनम् the family of frogs in the well, i.e. on the sides of the well.

दिव: कथे च II 43 II पद्यनि II दिव:, कथे, च, (कारण साधक तस्मौ करणस्) II

वृत्ति: II विव्र: साधकत्वम् कस्तकारकं सर्वाः कस्तवं भविव: पकारायु करणस्तं: च II

43. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action, of the verb dīv to play, is called karma object, as well as karaṇa, Instrument.

The present sūtra ordains accusative case, where by the operation of the last aphorism there ought to have been Instrumental case. The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that karaṇa is also to be read into this. As अन्तायः शब्द्यति or अन्तायः शब्द्यति he plays the dice or with the dice.
44. In the case of hiring on wages, that which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action of the verb parikrī, ‘employing on stipulated wages,’ is optionally called Sampradāna or recipient. This ordains dative case, where there would otherwise have been Instrumental case. The word parikrīmeans to engage for a limited period on payment of wages, and not absolute purchase for all time. As शावाव परिक्रीते अनुमृहि or शवेन परिक्रीते अनुमृहि.

Adhikarana.

आचारोत्तरकारणसः II ४५ II पदानि II आचारः अधि-
करणसः (कार्य) II

वृत्ति: II बर्त्ते क्षेत्रेने कियोस्युत्तरादय व्रियां प्रवि व आधारस्तत्तरकारणकरण संतजनबिव II

45. That which is related to the action as the site where the action is performed by reason of the agent or the object being in that place is called Adhikarana or the Location.

That in which the action is supported or located is called अधारा. As कठे आस्ते he is seated on the mat. कठे शीते he is sleeping on the mat. शाल्यां जिव्वा he cooks in the pot. The Adhikarana takes the 7th case-affix.

अधिश्रीवश्यासः कर्म II ४६ II पदानि II अधि-श्रीवश्याशः आसाः, कर्म, (कार्य आचारः)

वृत्ति: II बाधिपार्णार्ण श्रीवश्याभास्त स्त्रीवश्यामाधारिभिवर्तकरक्षकक कर्मवर्तभवव II

46. That which is the site of the verbs si to lie down, stha to stand, as to sit, when preceded by the preposition adhi, is however called karma kāraka or object.

This ordains accusative case, where otherwise by the last sūtra there would have been the Locative case. As शाल्यां प्रविष्टे प्राधिपदिवि or शाल्यां जिव्वे he lies down, occupies or lies in the village.

अधिशीविविशतः II ४७ II पदानि II अधि-शीविविशः,

च, (कार्य आचारः कर्म) II

वृत्ति: II अधिशीविविशताय विद्येतात्तुपरी यस्तककरक्षक कर्मवर्तभवव II

47. That which is the site of the verb abhīniviś to enter, is also called karma-kāraka.
As यामानिनिक्ष्रानि he resorts to the village. This is an optional rule, as the word "option" of sūtra 44 should be read into it. Thus we have the following forms also पारिवानिनिक्ष्रा: resorting to sin. कर्माैणिनिक्ष्रा: resorting to good. The rule here is that of vyavasthita vibhāsa.

उपास्याध्यास्रवस: || 48 || पदार्थ || उप-अनु-अधि-आह-वसः,

(काना आचार: कलमे) ॥

पूर्वं: || उप अनु अधि आह स्वयं पूर्वस्य वसोऽरागाऽरे बसस्यार्थां कर्मसंस्तु भस्वति ॥


classical sanskrit

48. That which is the site of the verb vas to dwell, when preceded by upa, anu, adhi, and anu, is called karma-kāraka.

As यामानिनिक्ष्रानि शेना the army: dwells in the village पर्वमुप्यवसति-अनुमुप्यादिव-पारमिनिनिक्ष्रा or भवसति.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated when the verb बसस्य means "fasting," or does not denote lying in a locality. As यामे उपवास स्ति he fasts in the village. Here the verb upavasati governs the locative case and not the accusative.

Karma.

कर्मेनिनिनिक्ष्रानि कर्मं || 49 || पदार्थ || कलेण, ईच्छितततमस्

कर्मं, (काना) ॥

पूर्वं: || कलेण: कत्यावदापुर्भिनि कर्मार्थां कर्मद्विण्डम् भस्वति ॥

49. That which it is intended should be most affected by the act of the agent is called the object or karma.

That which is especially desired by the agent to be accomplished by the action is called karma. As कर्मणां विश्विनि he goes to the village. Why do we say "desired by the agent"? Observe मानेष्ठ रत्स्यवासति he ties the horse in the gram field. Here gram is no doubt most desired by the horse, but as horse is not the agent of the verb, the word मान तां takes the locative case. Why do we use the word "most"? Observe परमार्थेऽण्यम् मुख्य: he eats the food along with the milk. Here milk is no doubt desired by the agent, but not being the principal object desired, takes the Instrumental case.

Though the word कर्म was understood in this sūtra by anuvrītti from the last sūtra, the repetition of this word here is to indicate that the anuvrītti of the word adhāra does not extend to this sūtra, because as we do not take the anuvrītti of the word karma into this sūtra, we do not take the
anuvratti of any word of the previous sūtra into this. Had we taken the
anuvratti of the word karma from the last sūtra, then we could use the ac-
cussative case in those limited instances, where the word is capable of taking
the Locative case also, but not in other cases. Thus while we could very
well say वे वनितवति he enters the house, we could not say भेरचण वरति he cooks
the food, सम्मु विवति he drinks saktu. By repeating the word karma in this
sūtra, such examples become valid everywhere. The karma-karaka, takes
the second case-affix.

तथा युक्तं चानेियितशस् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ तया, युक्तम्, ।
वनीितस्ताः, (काः कषो) ॥

युसि: ॥ वेन प्रकारिेण कर्नु रीििशवं क्रिया युक्तवे तेनेकः प्रेक् प्रकारिेण वनीितस्ताः
युक्तं भजति तत्त्व कर्मसंस्ता विशिष्टवे ॥

50. If that which is not intended to be most
affected by the act becomes however similarly con-
necte with the action it also is called karma.

That which is not desired by the agent is anāpsita or object of
aversion. Thus हिष्व भजति he eats poison; चारात्तः परति He sees the thieves.
्यासम् रच्छन्तु नूतनम् स्वापस्वति going to the village, he plucks the roots of the
trees.

अकथितत् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकथितस्त, ।, (काः कषो) ॥

युसि: ॥ अकथितग च वान्कारवः वकर्मसंस्ताः भजति ॥

51. And that kāraka which is not spoken
of as coming under any of the special relations of abla-
tion &c., is also called karma.

There are some verbs in Sanskrit which take what is called an
akathita object, in addition to their usual direct one. As its name indicates,
it is that object which is not otherwise kathita or mentioned by way of any
of the other case relations, such as भक्ष्यन्न वक्ष्यकरण &c. and is, therefore
optional. If the noun capable of taking this akathita object be not intended
for any other case, it is put in the Accusative case with such verbs; as, चेतुः
क्रोधित्वषः he milks the cow (her milk) नमनस्वहिन्ति गाथे 'he confines the cow to
the fold.' Here चेतुः and नम वे akathita or optional objects. If the speaker
does not intend to have this object, the words will be put in their natural
cases; as, केन्या: (ablative) पवोषिमिष, चेतु (locative) भवहिन्ति गाधे.

The roots that are capable of governing two accusatives are mentioned
in the following kārikā:—हुधात् पचः स्पष्टु हिष्व पचिष्व निश्च सातु नित्त्य म्म प्रकारः ॥
वनेषुकृ
ष्ट्राक किर्त्वते वथा ज्वाला द कुचे वहणः ॥
In the case of the roots धूः ‘to milk’ याचूः ‘to beg,’ रचूः ‘to cook,’ दशूः ‘to punish,’ रसूः ‘to obstruct or confine’ पशूः ‘to ask,’ बचूः ‘to collect’ बूः to tell ग्रासूः ‘to instruct’ नि ‘to win’ (as a prize of wager) बन्यूः ‘to churn’ गुरूः ‘to steal,’ and also in the case of नीः, हृः, कुः, and वरूः, all meaning ‘to take or carry’ and others having the same signification, that noun which, besides the direct object, is affected by the verb, is put in the Accusative case; as, गाः शोधिः परः (S. K.) ‘he milks the cow’; बलिः भापः वसुमा।

‘He begs the earth of Bali’; similarly तदुनानीस्तः प्रविष्टः, मार्गसूः शारः ह्यज्ञायित, प्रजनसममिष्टः गाः, माणकः संताः प्राप्तः, प्रमगाप्तिएः फालिनः, माणसकः भणः गृहैः-ग्रासिल वा, गर्तुः ज्याति लेयसत्, गुर्वौ सौरनिक गतुः-गति, लेयसत्र गर्तुः मुण्याति; भासमानः गति-हुः-कर्तिः-प्रहाति-वा are examples of the other roots in order. माणसकः भणः भापः परः बलिः वसुमा गिनेः ततोः शासनार्थायायं वद्यायित विभागी वे instances of this kind of object, because भापः or ग्रासिल and नि or लेयः have the same meaning as वरूः and ग्रासिल, the roots given in the kasika.

Obs.—The roots रचूः, गुरूः, नीः, हृः, बचूः एवं and ever बूः are of every rare occurrence as governing two accusatives, in classical literature, though given in the above list.

The roots mentioned above and others having the same sense, take two objects. One of them is principal, and the other, secondary. In the case of the first twelve roots from धूः to मुरूः, the nouns परः, शासनार्थायित, गुर्वौ, &c. are principal objects, and गाः, बलिः, गृहैः, श्रीरनिकितिः &c. are secondary objects, for they can, according to the speaker's volition, be put in other cases. And in the case of the last four roots ग्रासिल, is the principal object and गर्तुः the secondary. Thus that which is necessarily put in the accusative case in order to complete the idea of the verb, is the principal object, and that which may be put in the Accusative case, depending upon the speaker's will, is called the secondary object.

गति वृज्झ प्रत्यविधानयायं शरूः कर्मसः काणा मणिक्षान्न स जोी। ५२।।

पद्धारि। गति-वृज्झ-प्रत्यविधान-अर्थ-श्रृङ्खला-कर्मसारायान्, अणिक्षान्न, च: जोी (कार्के केघे)।

वृज्झ:। गति-श्रृङ्खला श्रृङ्खलायायं प्रत्यविधानयायं च भांगृः तथापश्च कर्मसः काणा मणिक्षान्न

वृज्झ:। गति-श्रृङ्खला श्रृङ्खलायायं प्रत्यविधानयायं च भांगृः तथापश्च कर्मसः काणा मणिक्षान्न।

वृज्झ:। गति-श्रृङ्खला श्रृङ्खलायायं प्रत्यविधानयायं च भांगृः तथापश्च कर्मसः काणा मणिक्षान्न।


52. Of the verbs having the sense of 'motion' 'knowledge or information' and 'eating,' and of
verbs that have some literary work for their object, and of intransitive verbs, that which was the agent of the verb in its primitive (non-मित्र or non-causal state), is called the object (karma) in its causative state (when the verb takes the affix (मित्र).

In the case of roots that imply ‘motion,’ ‘knowledge’ or ‘information’ or some kind of ‘eating,’ and other roots having a similar sense; also of roots that have some literary work for their object, and of intransitive roots, that which is the subject of the verb in its primitive sense is put in the Accusative case in the causal, the object remaining unchanged; e. g.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>CAUSAL</th>
</tr>
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<td>ग्रहण: स्नातमाच्छन्न</td>
<td>यानुप स्नातमाच्छन्न</td>
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<td>स्नेवः स्वाद्यपमाच्छन्न</td>
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<tr>
<td>देव्य घण्टानागापनु</td>
<td>देव्य घण्टानागापनु</td>
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<tr>
<td>विनयममाच्छन्न</td>
<td>विनयममाच्छन्न</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तथो चालिते भास्क</td>
<td>तथो चालिते भास्क</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But in गमयति रामो गोविन्द (Rama makes Govind go) if some body else (विष्णु भित्र) prompts Rāma to do this, we shall have to say विष्णुमित्रो रामेण गोविन्दे गमयति ‘Vishnu mitra prompts Rāma to cause Govind to go.’ Here ‘Rāma’ is not put in the Accusative case, because it is the subject of the verb, not in its primitive, but causal, sense.

Patanjali, in his Mahābhāṣya, adds this explanation on the meaning of the word शाश्वके in the sūtra गतिवृद्धि अर्थे. शाश्वके may be either शाश्वे चेवा चित्रा or शाश्वे चेवा कर्ते.

When we take the former interpretation, the roots युष्म (हि) कांति (कत्व) and शाश्वके (denom. of शाश्व) have to be excluded from the rule; as, युष्मि केरस्यं: शाश्वके केरस्यं; कांति-शाश्वके-केरस्यं: कांति-शाश्वके-केरस्यं। And the roots म, सा with वि and शा with व्र must be included in the rule; as, युष्मी विधाति-उपलब्धि-केरस्यं: शाश्वके-विधाति-उपलब्धि-केरस्यं। When we adopt the second interpretation, the roots जात्र, भान्ति with शा and ला with वि must be included in the rule; जात्र-भान्ति-उपलब्धि-केरस्यं: जात्र-भान्ति-उपलब्धि-केरस्यं।

There are several exceptions and counter-exceptions to the preceding rule, which are important.

Vart:—The causals of नी ‘to lead’ and ज्ञ, ‘to carry,’ do not govern the Accusative, but the Instrumental; e. g. भुत्यो मार महादित्य वही च च A servant carries a load. भुत्येन मार महादित्य वही च (S. K.) (He) causes a servant to carry a load.
Vart.—But बला, when it has for its subject in the causal a word
signifying a ‘driver,’ obeys the general rule; as, चाल रथ बला.
Horses
draw the chariot. चाल बला रथी.

Vart.—(b). The causals of the roots खाते and खाता, ‘to eat,’ govern
the Instrumental case; e. g. खातमयि खाता. The boy eats his food.

Vart.—(c). अज्ञि, when it has not the sense of निंशा ‘injury to a
sentient thing,’ governs the Instrumental; as, निंशायि निंशियि निंशि,
निंशायि निंशियि निंशि; but निंशायि निंशि निंशि, निंशायि निंशि
निंशि.

By ‘intransitive’ roots mentioned above is meant such roots as are
not by their nature capable of governing an object other than that of
‘time,’ ‘place’ &c., and not those roots which, though transitive, may
sometimes be used intransitively according to the speaker’s volition, or when their
meaning is, quite evident; as, फिङ्कः नारः नारः. Here नारः, though transitive,
is used without an object, because it can be easily understood; hence
फिङ्कः नारः and not फिङ्कः; but नारः नारः नारः.

In forming the passive construction of casual verbs, the principal
object in the causal, which is the subject (agent) of the verb in its primitive
sense, is put in the Nominative case, and the other object remains
unchanged; e. g.

**Primitive.**
रामो भाषी मण्डलि.
Rama goes to a village.

**Causal Active.**
रामो भाषी मण्डलि.
(He) causes Rama to
go to a village.

**Causal Passive.**
रामो भाषी मण्डलि.
Rama is caused to go &c.

भूखः कटः करोति.
The servant prepares a mat.

(He) causes the servant The servant is made to
to prepare a mat. prepare &c.

गोविंद मानसार्थै.
Govind sits for one month.

(He makes Govind sit &c. Govind is made to sit &c.

(a). But in the case of roots that imply ‘knowledge’ ‘eating,’ and
those that have a literary work for their object, the principal object is put
in the Nominative case, and the secondary in the Accusative, or vice versa
e. g. मानवकः धर्म बोधयि ‘he makes Manavaka know his duty’; मानवकः धर्म बोधयि
or मानवकः धर्म बोधयि ‘M. is made known his duty’ or ‘duty is made
known to M.’; बुधतपति भोजयि ‘he makes the boy eat food:’ बुधतपति भोजयि or
बुधतपति भोजयि (S. K.).

With regards to roots that govern two accusatives, the rules
mentioned above hold good in their case also; i.e., those roots that
imply motion &c., govern the Accusative of the subject of the primitive
Case, and others, the Instrumental case, sometimes; as, यामानो बलि बलि-
Agent defined.

53. The agent of the verb in its non-ni (primitive) form in the case of hṛi to lose and kṛi to make, is optionally called karma or object when these verbs take the affix.

nf (Causal).

PRIMITIVE.

As hṛati 'nārāvāsakā: 
The boy takes the load.

Causal.

Kāravatā kartā vākṣyakā: 
He causes the servant to take the load.

Vart.—The subject of the primitive verbs वात्मिवर्ष and हयः, when used in the Atmanepada, is either put in the Accusative or Instrumental case in the causal: as,

PRIMITIVE.

Devadatta nṝtra vākṣyakā: 
Devadatta bows down to the Guru.

Causal.

Svāhitaṁ vṛttam devaṁ nṝtra vākṣyakā: 
He makes Devadatta bow down to the Guru.

The servants see the king.

KARTRI.

54. Whatever the speaker chooses as the independent, principal and absolute source of action is called kartā or agent.

The agent is absolute and unconditioned, as, वेदः: पदम: Devala:

do not hallucinate.
55. That which is the mover thereof, i.e., of the independent source of action, is called Hetu or cause, as well as kartā or agent.

Thus kartā he causes to be made, kartā he cause to be taken. When hetu is employed as agent the verb is put in the causative form (III. 1. 26).

The force of the word cha is to give both names to the mover of an agent, vis., Hetu and kartā: otherwise by sūtra I of this Chapter only one name would have been given.

Nipāta.

The Particles.

56. From this point forward upto the aphorism Adhīr-śvare (I.4.97), all that we shall say is to be understood to have the name of Nipāta or Particles.

The word cha of this sūtra serves the same purpose as the word cha of the last; namely, it makes the words Gati, upasarga and karmaprayāchāṇya take two names, i.e., their one name as well as the name Nipāta. The letter r in pāyin is to remove doubt, i.e., aphorism I. 4. 97 should be taken as limit, and not sūtra III. 4. 13 which has the word iswāri also.

57. The word cha ‘and,’ &c., are called Nipāta or Particles, when they do not signify substances.

The following are particles (nipāta) cha ‘and’ ya ‘or’ ha ‘an expletive’ cha ‘vocative particle’ eva ‘only’ ‘exactly.’ Eva ‘so, thus,’ nāma ‘certainly,’ urvan ‘continually,’ yatra ‘at once,’ yathā ‘repeatedly,’ yathā ‘excellently,’ kāvya ‘abundantly,’ nāma ‘if,’ if, [the n is indicatory], cha ‘where,’ taḥ ‘there,’ kātavya ‘what if?’, nāma ‘no,’ ha ‘ah!’ maṁ/bhaṁ [māṁ/bhaṁ] mabhāva ‘do not’ maṁ/bhaṁ ‘indeed’ yaḥ ‘do not,’ nāma ‘not,’ yaḥ/bhaṁ ‘as much as,’ sāvah ‘so much,’ kāhē ‘perhaps,’ dhē (disrespectful interjection) svaḥ/svaṁ
58. The words pra &c., are called Nipāta when not signifying substances.

The following is the list of pra &c. or \textit{prepositions}: \textit{Y, Ph, Ta, Balt, Phu, Bh, Nis, Puṣ, Vi, Pād, Ni, Maḍhi, Maḍhi, Bhaṭi, Bh, Phu, Pāṭi, Vi, Na, Y}

The making of this a distinct aphorism, when it could well have been included in the last, is for the sake of giving the Pra &c., words two names, namely, those of Nipātas, as well as upasargas under certain circumstances, \textit{i.e.}, when they are in composition with verbs. Not so however the cha &c., words. They never get the designation of upasargas.

When these words signifying substances they are not Nipātas. As \textit{Vra} \textit{kṣatir} \textit{Kṣeta} the excellent army conquers. Here the word \textit{Vra} is not a Nipāta.
59. The words pra &c., get the designation of upasarga or prepositions, when in composition with a verb.

As pr + aditi = pra-aditi. Here the dental pr is changed into cerebral pr because of the pr getting the designation of upasarga (See sūtra VIII. 4. 14). Similarly prapya; prapravak; praprabak;.

Why do we say when in composition with a verb? When in composition with a noun they are not called upasargas. As prapya nāyakam Mahāyoginō = Manavākōśa: a country destitute of a leader. Here pr is not changed into pr. Thus while prapya means 'a leader' the term prapra means destitute of a leader; though both have the same radical elements:—pra in one is an upasarga, in the other a Nipata pure and simple.

Vart:—The word mahā should be included in the list of upasargas. As mahānāmnāma = mahān: given by Marut. mahā + pr + aditi = mahā + pr + aditi (VII. 4. 47). Here Marut being treated as an upasarga, though it does not end with a vowel, the pr is replaced by pr by rule VII. 4. 47 which declares 'pr the substitute of pr which is called ghu, when it is preceded by an upasarga that ends in a vowel, and is followed by an affix beginning with pr which has an indicatory k.'

It might be objected, that as mahā does not end with a vowel, sūtra VII. 4. 47 does not apply. To this we say that otherwise the giving the designation of upasarga to mahā is superfluous; and in order that this should not be so, the fact of its not ending with a vowel is overlooked.

Vart:—The particle bhū should be included in the list of upasargas. Thus bhū + pr + aditi = bhūs (III. 3. 106). Here because bhū is treated as an upasarga, that sūtra III. 3. 106 is made applicable.

60. The words pra &c., are called also Gati, when in composition with a verb.
As प्राच्य, Now the gerund of the simple root क् would have been कृत्य, but as it is compounded with a gati word (II. 2. 18) the कृत्य is replaced by कृत्य see S. II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37. प + क् + कृत्य = प्राच्य (VI. 1. 71). Here pra being called gati we have compounding by rule II. 2. 18; and then we apply S. VII. 1. 37. Similarly प्राच्यम्. Here pra being a gati word retains its own accent by rule VI. 2. 49. 'a gati retains in a compound its own accent when it immediately precedes a second member that ends in kta, provided the latter denotes the object of the action which is expressed by the root of which kta is added.'

Similarly प्रकरोपि, here pra being treated as gati gets annudatta accent by rule VIII. 2. 94. 1. 71 (a.4.6.8.1.57)

The yoga-vibhāga or the separation of one aphorism into two, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms. The annuvṛtti of gati only runs through the latter sūtras and not of upasarga. So that while pra &c., have two names upasarga and gati; uri &c., have only one name, namely, gati.

Thus in प्रणोदनम् and चालकिन्द्रम्, by treating the words य and भवि as upasargases we change the न and श into य and व by rule VIII. 4. 14 and VIII. 3. 87: and again treating them as gati we regulate the accent.

Vart:—The words कारिका should be included in the list of Gati. As (1) कारिकाकृत्य (2) कारिकाकृत्यम् (3) दस्तारिका कारोबि. In the first by taking it as gati we have samasa (II. 2. 18) and कृत्य (VII. 1. 37.) The other two cases illustrate accent.

Vart:—The words गुरुर् and बनवि are treated as Gati in the Vedas. As गुरुमस्वयमवसि हेवम्. Here the word गुरु being gati, causes स्वयम् to take annudatta accent (VIII. 1. 70) च्वयंतिः. Here also the accent is regulated by VIII. 2. 71.

उपायदि चिवहारय इ 61 पदानि इ तरी-आदि चिव-हावः, य (किर्यायोगै गतिः) इ

बृहि: इ 61. The words uri, assent, &c., and those that end with chvi (V. 4. 50), and those that end with च्वि (V. 4. 57), (when in composition with the verb bhū kri or as) are called Gati.

The affixes chvi and च्वि are ordained when the verbs in composition is either हृ, हृ or खष्ठ (V. 4. 50 and 57) uri &c., being read along with chvi and च्वि; shows that the verb in composition with them must also be any one of the above three verbs, and none else; in order to entitle च्वि to the name of gati.
The words करी and उररी mean to assent and spread. As करीक्षण (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37) करीक्षणम् (VI. 2. 49), वद्याकरोति (VIII. 2. 71). So with the word उररी. The following is a list of these words:

पारी.

चुटी.

वंशाकला.

फली.

शाली.

शाकला.

शुनयुथा.

विही.

मावली.

वंशाकला.

दम.

षाही.

वेलाली.

वंशाकला.

फलू.

The words ending in च्वि are also gati. As चुकस्वरम् having made white what was not white.

So also words ending in धाँ as परतरक्ष्य having made the sound pat.

अनुकरण-चारिति परम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ अनुकरणस्, च;
अनिधि-परस्, (क्तियायोगे गति:) ॥

ृसि: ॥ अनुकरणयानिधि-परम् क्तियायोगे गतिष्ठं अवसि ॥

62. A word imitative of sounds is also called Gati, when it is not followed by the word iti.

The phrase वनिलिपरस् is a Bahuvihi compound; अनु-श्विति-परम् = ‘that which has not the word इति after it.’

As शादुक्षर्म having made the sound khät. शादुक्षर्म, (VI. 2. 49), वशुशाद्यानि (VIII. 2. 71).

Why do we say ‘when it has not the word इति after it?’ Observe शाधिकुशा निर्देशिका.

आदरणादायो: चद्यासी ॥ ६३ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ आदुर-अनादायो:;
चदू-अचती, (क्तियायोगे गति:) ॥

ृसि: ॥ भावरा नासरयो वंशाकर कस्मच्चको गतिष्ठो अवसि: ॥

63. The words sat and asat when in composition with a verb are called gati, when used in the sense of ‘respect or love,’ and ‘disrespect or indifference.’

As चतुर्धम् having honored (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37) चतुर्धम्, चतुर्धम् or चतुर्धम् (VI. 2. 49) चतू सत् करोति or चतूसत् करोति (VIII. 2. 71).
Why do we say when meaning 'respect or disrespect'? Observe वचनस्वार्थः काण्डेम न ततः।

भूषणोऽधिशः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूषणे; अधिशः,
(क्षण गति: ) ॥

भूषि: ॥ भूषणे यो अघर्ष शब्दः व गविवष्ठी भविषि ॥

64. The word alam when in composition with a verb is called gati, when used in the sense of 'ornament.'

The word अगतः is an indeclinable and has four meanings:—'prohibition, competent, enough and ornament.' The term अगतः is gati when it means ornament. As भ्रमणः (II. 2. 18, VII. 1. 37); भ्रमणः (VI. 2. 49) वसुक्तकरणः (VIII. 2. 71) when it does not mean ornament we have भ्रमण पुराणः भविषि he goes having eaten enough.

अन्तरपरिप्रेषे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्त्रौ-अपरि-यापे,
(क्षण) गति: ॥

भूषि: ॥ अन्त्र: श्राश्रैरिस्वेय श्रेणितिधर्मी भविषि ॥
वासिकनः ॥ अन्त: श्राश्रैरिस्वेय विविषि नस्यपरुसार्थिभाष्यम् ॥

65. The word antar is called gati, when used in the sense of 'non-accepting,' in composition with a verb.

The word परिप्रेष means 'taking' or 'accepting,' अपरिप्रेष means therefore the opposite of this namely 'rejecting,' abandoning. As भ्रमणः गुहंगः he went away having abandoned home; भ्रमणवसुक्तकरणः falsehood being abandoned. यहां हेनिः .

Why do we say 'when meaning to abandon'? Observe गत्तात्या भूषणः यथेव्यासः the hawk went away taking hold of the mouse.

Vart:—The word अस्त्रौ is treated as an upasarga for the purposes of the application of the following rules; III. 3. 106 by which अगतः is added; rule III. 3. 92 by which क्षण is added; and rule VIII. 4. 14 by which य प्रति is changed into य. As भ्रमणः, अगतः: and गत्तात्याः.

कणिकासरी प्रदाप्तिपाटे ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कणे-मनसी, श्रृढ़ा-
p्रत्येकाते, (गति:) ॥

भूषि: ॥ कणिकासरी मनस्स्वाध्य भ्रमण प्रतीपावेगविवष्ठी भविषि: ॥

66. The words kāpe and manas are gati when in composition with a verb and used in the sense of 'reaction by satiation.'
The word भक्ति-मग्निप्राप्ति means 'satisfaction of desire.' As कन्येश्वर पण: पितारि he drinks milk to his heart's content or till he is satisfied. So also भक्ति-मग्निप्राप्ति पण: पितारि . That is to say, he drinks so much till his desire (भक्ति) is satisfied by revulsion of feeling. When not having this sense we have कन्येश्वर or भक्तिक्रियास्पद: he went away he satisfied.

67. The word purah in front of, when indeclinable, and in composition with a verb, is called gati.

The pronoun पूर्ण 'front' with the affix वाति forms पूरसु , and by S. I. 1. 38 it becomes an Avyaya. (See S. V. 3. 39 pur being substituted for पूर्वा). The object by making it gati is threefold (1) compounding by II. 2. 18 (2) accent by VI. 2. 49 (3) to change the: ह into स by VIII. 3. 40. As पूरस्त्रश्च, पूरस्त्रश्च, एष्टु पूरस्त्रश्च, when not an indeclinable we have पूर्ण , पूर्ण , पूर्ण: कार्य संक्षेप.

अस्तं च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदादिः ॥ अस्ततः , च , ( गति: अव्ययम् ) ॥

वृत्ति: अस्तत्त्र पशैः नकारात्मकोऽव्ययम् गनुपयते च गतिक्रिया भवति ॥

68. And the indeclinable word astam 'at home,' is called gati, when in composition with a verb.

The word पृस्तम् is an indeclinable as it ends in म् (I. 1. 39); and means 'not visible.' As पृस्तम्नाय करिता पुरस्त्रयेतिः the sun having set, rises again पृस्तम्नाय भनि च गतिक्रिया भवति। बहुतं गच्छति, when not an indeclinable it is not gati as अस्त चाकार्यम् the arrow has been thrown.

अस्तः गच्छे देवेदेवः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदादिः ॥ अस्तः , गति-अर्थ-देवेदेवः ,

( गति: अव्ययम् ) ॥

वृत्ति: अस्तः गच्छायां भवनिद्धिनिधिनिधिश्चाया स्थिते च गच्छे देवेदेवः भागुते च गतिक्रिया भवति ॥

69. The indeclinable word achchhha, meaning 'before in the presence of,' is called gati, when used in composition with verbs denoting 'motion' or with the verb 'vad' to speak.

The word अस्तः is an indeclinable and has the force of the word अभि: As अभि:नायकः, अभि:नायकः, and यथापच्छिच्छति. So, also यथापच्छि यथापच्छिष्ठ, and यथापच्छिष्ठ यथापच्छिष्ठ when not an Avyaya, we have यथापच्छि: गच्छि:।

ादौ अनुपदेशः ॥ ७० ॥ पदादिः ॥ अदृशः , अनुपदेशः , ( गति: ) ॥

वृत्ति: अदृशः अनुपदेशः गतिक्रिया भवति ॥
70. The word adas ‘that’ is called gati when in composition with a verb and not implying a direction to another.

The word upadeśa means a direction to another. When a person cogitates within himself and does not address another, that is anupadeśa. That is when it is not a demonstrative pronoun. As यह: कृत्व, यह: कृत्व, and वह: वहीर्दित when used as a demonstrative pronoun we have यह: कृत्व कार्ये गतये:

तिरो अन्तरु एँ ॥ ७१ ॥ पद्न नि ॥ तिरो : अन्तरु (गति) ॥

71. The word tiras when used in the sense of ‘disappearance,’ is called gati when in composition with a verb.

As तिरोमूः तिरोमूः और वह तिरोमूः why do we say when meaning disappearance? Observe तिरो मूः स्थितिः i.e., standing apart.

विभाषाकृति ॥ ७२ ॥ पद्न नि ॥ विभाषया, कृति, (गति: अन्तरु) ॥

72. The word tiras meaning ‘disappearance’ is optionally called gati, when the verb kri follows.

This is an example of शब्द-विभाषा. As तिर: कृत्व or विभाष्य (VIII. 3. 42): तिर: कृत्व or विभाष्य (VIII. 3. 42). The change of visarga into व is optional VIII. 3. 42. When not meaning disappearance we have तिर: कृत्व कार्ये विभाषये he stands having laid aside the stick.

उपाज-अवाजे ॥ ५३ ॥ पद्न नि ॥ उपाज-अवाजे, (विभाषा विभाषये गति:) ॥

73. The words upāje and anvāje both meaning ‘supporting or assisting the weak,’ are optionally called gati when used along with the verb kri.

As उपाजे कृत्व or उपाजे कृत्व having given support. पानवाजे कृत्व or पानवाजे कृत्व.

वास्तवभृतीनिविच ॥ ७४ ॥ पद्न नि ॥ वास्तव, प्रभृती, (गति: विभाषा कृति) ॥
74. The words sākshāt, 'in the presence of' &c., are optionally called gati, when used along with the verb kri.

Vart:—In the words साक्षात् &c. the force of the affix श्व is understood, namely making a thing what it was not before. As साक्षात् कृत्य or कृत्य विभावक्त्व, विभावक्त्व making evident what was concealed before.

अन्तयाधान उरसिनस्ती। II ७४ II पदानि। II अन्तयाधाने।; उरसिनस्ती (विभाषा कृति गतिः)।

पूर्व:। पदानि। मुखर्पदेक्षण सहयोगे अन्तयाधाने उरसिनस्ती श्वाया विष्णु-गतिसंसै भवति।

75. The word urasi, 'in the breast,' and manasi 'in the mind' are optionally gati when the verb kri follows, provided that they are not used in the sense of 'placing.'

As उरसिकृत्य or उरसिकृत्य; मनसिकृत्य or मनसिकृत्य. When it has the sense of placing we have उरसिकृत्य पाति श्रेये he lies down having clasped the hand on the breast, मनसिकृत्य श्रेयो ध्ययति he ponders having placed the word in his mind.

नाथे पदे निवचने। च II ७५ II पदानि। II नाथे पदे, निवचने, च, (विभाषा कृति गतिः अन्तयाधाने)।

पूर्व:। नाथे पदे निवचने इस्ते श्रव्य, अन्तयाधाने विभाषा कृति गतिकंता भवति।

76. And the words madhye ‘in the middle,’ pade ‘in the foot’ and nivachane ‘speechless’ are optionally gati, when kri follows, the sense not being of 'placing.'

As नाथे कृत्य or कृत्य; पाते कृत्य or कृत्य; निवचने कृत्य or कृत्य.

But when it has the meaning of placing we have हस्तिन: पाते कृत्य द्रीष्ट: श्रेये he lies down having put his head under the foot of the elephant.

नित्यं हस्ते पाणिकुपयाने। III ७६ II पदानि। II नित्यं, हस्ते-पाणी

वपयाने (गतिः कृति)।

पूर्व:। हस्ते पाणी इस्ते श्रव्य कृति नित्यं गतिकंता भवति उपयाने।

77. The word haste ‘in the hand,’ panau ‘in the hand’ are always and necessarily called gati when used with the verb kri in the sense of 'marriage.'

As पाणी कृत्य or हस्ते कृत्य having married. But हस्ते कृत्य कर्मवर्ण गति: he went out having taken in his hand a kárshāpana (a coin).
78. The indeclinable word prādhvam followed by the verb kṛi, is always called gati when used in the sense of binding.

The word prādhvam ends in ma and means 'favourably suitably.' When however it means 'bound' it is a gati: as, prāṣṭāyau having bound. But when not meaning to bind, we have:—prāṣṭā kṛau ekta gau: having made the carriage agreeable, he is gone.

79. The words Jīvika and upanishad followed by the verb kṛi are called gati when used in the sense of likeness or resemblance.

As Jīvika kṛau vighul having made it as if it was a means of living: upanishad—having made it like an upanishad. But Jīvika kṛau gau: having made his livelihood he is gone.

80. The particles called gati and upasarga are to be employed before the verbal root: (that is to say, they are prefixes).

The word ē has been employed to include the term upasarga also. The preceding examples all illustrate the application of this rule.

81. In the chhandas (veda) these gati and upasarga are employed indifferently after the verbal root, as well as before it.

As:—prāṣṭāyau ma prāṣṭā yātumaparāśāyau gau (Rig. I. 2. 6).
In this we have शास्त्रविद्युः 'vayu and thou Indra, ye heroes, come ye both quickly to the soma of the worshipper by this sincere prayer.'

82. In the chhandas (veda) these gati and upasarga are also seen separated from the verb by intervening words.

As:— हन्न शायु हे मुक्ता जप प्रयोगिसियामपूर्व। इदेशो वा मुहानिदि (Rig. I. 2. 4).
"Indra and vayu, here are soma—libations for you. Approach, ye with pleasures for us. For the libations are desiring you." Here उष्ण is separated from the word शायु by the intervening word प्रयोगिसियामपूर्व।

KARMA PRAVACHANIYA.

83. From this point as far as aphorism I. 4. 97 the particles treated of, are to be understood as having the name of karma-pravachaniya.

These particles govern a substantive and qualify a verb and differ from other particles termed upasarga and gati. As सुमुखुः भवता well praised by you. शुः विचार भवता you have sprinkled. Here शुः is a karma pravachaniya and qualifies the sense of the verb, i.e. it is an adverb. It is not an upasarga, for had it been so it, would have changed the शुः into शु (VIII. 3. 65). The term karma pravachaniya is a big term compared with other technical terms such as, दिः, धिः, पुः &c., which generally do not exceed more than two syllables. The word karmapravachaniya is not however merely a technical term; it contains within itself a definition of itself. It means that which qualifies or speaks about (शेषकार्) an action (कर्म) is so called.

84. The word anu when it denotes a sign, is called karma-pravachaniya.

The word lakshana means a sign; an attendant circumstance an invariable concomitant or accident in its logical sense and not merely an occasional concurrence. The force of लक्ष in this case is that of 'after,' 'in consequence of,' because of, or being indicated by.' As जगत्सन्धिनि प्राच्ये it rained
after or in consequence of the muttering of prayers. To put it in other words, anu is a karmapra\v c\'h\v a\v ni\v y\a when it governs the word which indicates the cause or the attendant circumstance of an action.

So also शासकलयं सहितामणु पार्यतम् - शाकलयं चुकुतां सहितामणुनिरस्यं हेवः पार्यतम्. The God (clouds) rained having listened to the well performed reading, by Śa\ka\ya. The force of a karmapra\v c\'h\v a\v ni\v y\a, therefore, when fully analysed will be found to be that of an upasarga whose verb is not expressed in the sentence but is understood; and because of its being so understood, the particle itself seems to govern the noun which in fact was governed by the unexpressed verb. Thus in the above example सहितां is in the accusative case, apparently governed by the preposition वनु, but really governed by the verb अनुग्रहं understood.

So also टासनुवर्णं बाह्यस्निःस्थितं. The Taurus sprinkled water after the sacrifice, समग्रस्यस्निःस्थितं पुनः the people began sprinkling water after the rising of the canopus.

Why make unnecessarily this śūtra, when अनु would have been called karma par\v c\'h\v a\v ni\v y\a even by force of śūtra 90 following, where also the word lak\sha\na occurs? This is for the sake of indicating that the karmapra\v c\'h\v a\v ni\v y\as should always govern the accusative case (II. 3. 8) even in expressing हेवु (II. 3. 23). Otherwise Rule 23rd of the third chapter of Book II would have set aside Rule 8 of the same by the maxim of परम् I. 3. 2; and would have caused a karama pr\v a\v ch\v a\v ni\v y\a to govern an Instrumental case where the sense was that of hetu.

उत्तीयाः II 85 II पदानि II उत्तीया-अर्थः, (अनु: करमप्र) II

वृत्ति: II अनुग्रहं उत्तीयाः अर्थे वर्जनस्चन्द्रवंते स्वर्णः भविष्य: II

85. The word anu is karma-pra\v c\'h\v a\v ni\v y\a when it has the force of the third case.

The meaning of अनु in this case will be that of ‘with’ or along with. As नरीमुन सरसिता चेना the army lying along side the river. परम्तमुन सरसिता चेना lying along the slopes of the mountain.

हीने II 86 II पदानि II हीने, (अनु: करमप्र) II

वृत्ति: II हीने धीरम् सनातनम् वर्जन प्रस्तवनयं संशोधितं भविष्य: II

86. The word anu is karma pr\v a\v c\'h\v a\v ni\v y\a when it is used in the sense of inferior or subordinate to.

The word हीन means ‘inferior,’ and being a comparative term requires the other term with which comparison is made, and which is superior; to complete the sense. In other words अनु governs the person to which others are inferior, in the accusative case. As अनुग्रहावर्जनविवर्जनः ‘all grammarians are inferior to Śa\ka\ya.'
87. The word upa when it means 'superior' or 'inferior to' is karma-pravachaniya.

That is when the sense is that of 'over, above,' or 'inferior' as उप खाद्यां द्रोन: a Drona is above a khāri. उप निचो कार्षपान: a karshapana is more than a Nishka. In this sense उप governs the Locative of the thing which is inferior (II. 3. 9). So also उप शाकतयां प्रायकरता: 'all grammarians are inferior to Śakatāyana.' In this sense उप governs the accusative case.

88. The words apa and pari are karma-pravachaniya when meaning 'exclusion.'

The force of ब्रह and परि is in this case that of 'with the exception of.' As भगवतीमनेष्योऽपो वृहो हेवः it rained outside of or with the exception of Trigartasa. So also परि विनेदीष्या वृहो हेवः . In this sense they govern the noun excluded in the ablative case (II. 3. 10). When not having these senses, they are not karma-pravachaniya. As ब्रह्मां परिविष्टत. He waters the rice. Here it is an upasarga, and hence changes the स into ष.

89. The word अन as far as, is karma-pravachaniya when it expresses limit (e.g. when it means 'as far as inclusive of' or, 'as far as exclusive of.')

The word बल in the text shows that both sorts of limits are here meant. As वर्षालिपिपुष्पोऽपो वृहो हेवः it rained as far as (but excluding) Pātaliputra भागालिपिपुष्पो वृहो हेवः it rained as far as (including) Pātaliputra पाकुरां यह: पाणिन: भागालिपिपुष्प, प्राय: स्पृहाय: when it means 'little' or is a verbal prefix it does not get this name.

हस्तमेधयुक्तायुक्तायांभवगच्छिन्यातुप्रति परसेव: || 87 || पदानि ||
हस्त-हस्तमेधयुक्तायुक्तायांभवगच्छिन्यातुप्रति-परि-अनन्तः, (कर्मप्रमो) ||

पुष्टि: || वर्षालिपिपुष्पो वृहो हेवः वर्षालिपिपुष्पो वृहो हेवः वर्षालिपिपुष्पो वृहो हेवः
90. The words prati, pari and anu are karma-pravachaniya when used in the sense of ‘sign’ (in the direction of) ‘mere statement of circumstance’ (‘as regards’) ‘division’ ‘share of’ and ‘pervasion’ severally.

As (1) पूर्ण प्रति-परि or भानु विद्योतिते विद्यूः ‘the lightening is flashing in the direction of the tree.’ (2) साँभुवाहिनी मातरे प्रति—परि = भानु ‘Devadatta is a good man as regards his mother.’ (3) हरे प्रति इत्याहेन ‘the poison fell to the share of Hara.’ यहाँप्रति प्रति स्वाभू that it may fall to my share. So with परि and भानु. (4) पूर्ण पूर्णाप्रति विद्याः विद्याः he sprinkles one tree after another. So with परि and भानु.

अभिवर्गने ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिः, अभाने (क्षण इतरं-पौर्तायया कर्मपूर्णो) ॥

91. The word abhi is karma-pravachaniya, in the above senses of ‘in the direction of,’ ‘as regards,’ and ‘each severally,’ but not when it means division, ‘share of.

The illustrations given under the last sūtra mutuś mutandu apply here also, with the exception of those given under head (९१) As पुलिनिस बिद्योतिते; मातरमयि &c. But it is not karma-pravachaniya when भानु is meant. भानु means the share which is allotted to one as his own. वर्तमानापि व्यासू तथः हीवीताम् give that which falls here to my share. Here abhi is an upasarga, and therefore स of एम् is changed into भ.

प्रति: प्रतिनिष्ठ: पूर्तिदानये: ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्ति:, पूर्तिनिष्ठ:पूर्तिदानये:, (कर्मपूर्ण) ॥

92. The word prati is karma-pravachaniya when used in the sense of representative (‘representative of’) or exchange (‘in exchange for.’)

That which is like to the principal is called प्रतिनिष्ठ गiving in return for what is obtained, is प्रतिदान. As प्रभिन्यप्रेवः: प्रति Abhi-manyu is the representative of Arjuna. नापानस्तैः विलेखः: प्रतिवर्ष्यापि he exchanges Māśās for these sesamum. In these senses prati governs the Ablative (II. 3. 11).

अभिपरी अनर्थका: ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-परी, अनर्थका:, (कर्मपूर्ण) ॥
93. The words adhi and pari are karma-pravachaniya when used as mere expletives.

As कुठे यागवस्ति whence has he come? or कुरु: पवश्यति. These words though mere surplusages, have been called karma-pravachaniya so that they may not get the designation of upasarga or gati and thus produce results peculiar to those words.

हुँ: पूजायाम् II ४२ II पदानि II हुः, पूजायाम्, (कर्मेऽम) II

वुचि: II लु शब्द: पूजायामेऽ कर्मावस्तनीयसऽज्जी भवति II

94. The word su is karma-pravachaniya in the sense of respect, (when it means ‘excellently’).

As सुधिक्षते भवता, सु स्तुते भवता excellently sprinkled by your honor. Well praised by your honor. By not being an upasarga, it does not change the श into च (VIII. 3. 65).

Why do we say ‘when respect is meant’? Observe सुधिक्षते शब्द: भवता has this your place been well sprinkled to-day.

अतिरतिरतिकरणेऽ II ७५ II पदानि II अति: अति करणे, च, (कर्मेऽम पूजायाम् ) II

तुचि: II अति शब्द: अतिकरणे भक्तारातु पूजायांच कर्म परमार्थसऽज्जी भवति II

95. The word ati in the sense of super-abundance (‘excessively’) and ‘excellently’ is karma-pravachaniya.

The word अतिकरण means to do more than what is necessary for the accomplishment of an object. The force of च in the aphorism is to draw in the word पूजायाम् from the last. As अतिरतिकरणेऽ भवता. It has abundantly been sprinkled by your honor, अतिरतिकरणेऽ भवता so also अतिकरणेऽ भवता excellently praised by your honor. चाति सिंह भवता.

अधि: पदार्थे संभावनान्यस्वस्तगहांसमुच्चयेत् II ६६ II पदानि II

अधि: पदार्थे-संभावन-अन्यस्वस्त-गहां-समुच्चयेत् (कर्मेऽम) II

तुचि: II पदार्थे संभावने अन्यस्वस्तगां गहां यथाश्रयेऽ च वर्त्यान: अधि: कर्मपरमार्थसऽज्जी भवति II

96. The word api is karma-pravachaniya, when it implies, the sense of word understood (‘somewhat’) or possibility (e. g., ‘even’ in the sense of such a great person), or permission to do as one likes, (‘if you like’), or censure (‘even’ in the sense of what is disgraceful); or collection (‘and’).
The word पार्वेन means the sense of another word which is not expressed but has to be supplied. As वर्गेश्वरि स्वात्त् there may be perhaps a drop of ghee मधुनिगि स्वात्. Here some word like विन्दु ‘a drop,’ शोका ‘a little’ मात्रा ‘a measure &c., has to be understood. The word संभावन means possibility, a supposition. As, शारि सिंचेत् मृत्कसाहि लंबे नैकेन possibly may sprinkle a thousand trees in one moment; शारि मृत्कार राजार्य हे माय प्रशाचनय प्रस्तुतयस्थित च. The word सम्पन्न means indifference on the part of the speaker where he permits another to do as he likes. It is used with the Imperative mood. As शारि सिंचेत you may sprinkle if you like. शारि स्तुति you may praise if you like. The word गति means censure, contempt or reproof. As शिल्पुलम् वेरक्षरमि निचेत् पल्लुदुम्. The word सम्पन्न means cumulative. As शारि स्तुति—अधि सिंच एशि praise as well as sprinkle.

In all the above instances, the word not being an upasarga, does not change the त into त.

97. The word अधि is karmpravachaniya when used in the sense of “lord” (“being as a lord” or “having as a lord”).

The word इसर means ‘master,’ and it therefore requires another correlative word denoting ‘property’ of which one is master. The word अधि governs a Locative case. Sometime locative of the person possessing, sometime locative of the property possessed: as अधि प्रहास्ते एतालया: or अधि पंचालेय प्रहास्ते. Brahmadatta rules over Panchalas.

98. The word अधि is optionally karma pravachaniya when the verb kri follows.

As वदन माधि कारिचति. Here the word अधि may be treated either as a गति or a कर्मवर्त्तीय. When it is a गति the accent will be regulated by S. VIII. 1. 71; otherwise not.
99. The substitutes of खः are called parasmaipada.

The word खः is in the genitive case, and means 'of खः'. The word भावेत् 'substitutes' must be supplied to complete the sense. The term खः is a generic word for verb in general, viz., लद्, लिद् नद् लद, लेद् लोद्, तद् लिद् नद् खः. The substitutes of खः are the well known personal terminations by which the verbs are conjugated in those tenses. Namely the following.

**Parasmaipada.**

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<th>Sing.</th>
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<th>Plural.</th>
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<tr>
<td>1st Pers.</td>
<td>लिद्</td>
<td>लद्</td>
<td>लद्</td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd Pers.</td>
<td>लिद्</td>
<td>लद्</td>
<td>लद्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Pers.</td>
<td>लिद्</td>
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And the affixes लद् and लद् (III. 2. 107, and 124, and III. 4. 78).

100. The nine affixes comprised under the Pratyāhāra tañ and the two ending in ाना (Sānach and Kānach), which are substitutes of खः are called Atmanepada.

The following are the Atmanepada affixes:

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<tr>
<td>1st हद्</td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd याद्</td>
<td>याद्</td>
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<tr>
<td>3rd व</td>
<td>व</td>
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And the affixes शानष and कानष (III. 2. 106).
101. The three triads in both the sets Parasmaipada and Atmanepada, of conjunctival affixes (comprised under the general name tin, a pratyâhāra formed of the first and last of them, viz., tip and mahin) are called, in order, Lowest (3rd person of European Grammar, the middle (2nd person), and the highest (1st person).

Of the 19 conjunctival affixes, above given; 9 are Parasmaipadi and 9 are Atmanepadi. Each of these two classes is subdivided into three classes, according to person, as shown in the above list.

102. These three triads of conjunctival affixes, which have received the name of Lowest &c., are called (as regard the three expressions in each triad) severally “the expression for one” (singular), “the expression for two” (dual), and “the expression for many” (plural).

Of the six triads thus formed, each is divided according to number into three classes, viz., singular, dual, and plural.

103. Of sup (which is a Pratyâhāra formed of su the first of the case affixes and the final p of the last of them) the three expressions in each successive set of the three, are also severally called singular, dual and plural.
The sup or the case-affixes by which nouns are declined are 21 in number corresponding to the seven cases, see sūtra IV. 1. 2. They also have three numbers singular, dual and plural.

104. The triads of conjugational affixes and case affixes are also called vibhakti or Inflective affixes.

The word vibhakti means a complete triad. Thus त्रिष्णि विभक्ति means the three affixes of the seventh case, i.e., the locative singular, dual, and plural. So प्रथम विभक्ति means the third person, singular, dual, and plural.

105. When the pronoun yushmad, "thou" understood, and also when the same expressed, is the attendant word in agreement with the verb, then there is the verbal termination called the middle (2nd person).

This defines the 2nd person of conjugational affixes. As र्व प्रथि thou cookest or प्रथि; यूर्व प्रथि: or प्रथि: you two are cooking; यूर्व प्रथि or प्रथि you cook.

106: When joke is implied with reference to an action, the verb denoting it is used in the 2nd person; provided that the word manya 'to think' is the attendant word (upapada) of such verb, and of the verb manya itself, the affix must be of the 1st person and singular number.
The word प्रसन्न means joke, sport. As एवं मन्ये भोजन भोजने उदि; नहि भोजने, युक्त: सौंभानितिन्यिन्य. Thus thou thinkest 'I shall eat rice,' thou shalt not eat, that has been eaten by a guest. एवं मन्ये रघु शास्त्रि नाहि शास्त्रि, बालस्तम्भे से सिता. I think thou wilt go by the chariot, no, thou wilt not, thy father has gone before thee on it. When joke is not intended, the proper persons should be used: as, एवं मन्ये रघु भोजन भोजने. Thus thou thinkest 'I shall eat rice.'

107. When the pronoun asmad "I," understood and also when expressed, is the attendant word in agreement with the verb, then there is the verbal termination called the Highest or the 1st person.

This is clear. As मां ० ० ० ० cook, or merely ० ० ० ० ०; or merely ० ० ० ०.

108. In the other cases, namely where, "thou" or "I" are not the attendant words in agreement with the verb, there is the verbal termination called the Lowest (or 3rd person).

As यहाँ ० ० ० ० ० they two cook. यहाँ ० ० ० ० ० they cook.

109. The closest proximity of letters, there being the intervention of half a मात्रा or prosodical length between them, is called contact or sanhita.

When words are in sanhita, they are glued together by the rules of sandhi. As एक्षय = एक्ष + यय. 
110. The cessation or the absence of succeeding letters is called pause or avasāna.

The word avasāna occurs in sūtras VIII. 3. 15 &c.