BOOK III.

The

AHTHAYAVI

of

PANINI.

PARTS IX–XII.

S. C. VASU.

Price Rs. 3.
OPINIONS OF DISTINGUISED PROFESSORS OF SANSKRIT.

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OPINIONS (continued.)

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II पाणिनीय व्याकरण अक्ष्यायी का भूत्रेष्वी अनुवाद II

वह युग स्वतंत्र पाणिनीय व्याकरण का भूत्रेष्वी अनुवाद है। अध्यापकों ने वह युग स्वतंत्र पाणिनीय व्याकरण का भूत्रेष्वी अनुवाद किया है। तथा अनुवादकों ने भूत्रेष्वी अनुवाद किया है। अध्यापकों ने यह युग स्वतंत्र पाणिनीय व्याकरण का भूत्रेष्वी अनुवाद किया है। अध्यापकों ने यह युग स्वतंत्र पाणिनीय व्याकरण का भूत्रेष्वी अनुवाद किया है।
BOOK III.

THE

ASHTÁDHYÁYÍ OF PÁÑINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

ŚRÍṢĀ CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,

Munsiff, Ghanipur.

Allahabad:
Published by Satyajnan Chaterji,
at the Panini Office,
1894.

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TO THE

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AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S
SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF ADMINISTRATION OF
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THE TRANSLATOR.
PREFACE.

SINCE the advent of the British rule and the peace and prosperity that have followed in its train, and especially since the foundation of the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society, India has witnessed a glorious revival of her ancient literature, in which is embodied some of the highest systems of philosophy and religion of the world. 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 that classic language. Many Europeans too are taking pains to have some knowledge of the immortal literature embodied in this ancient language. Very few of them, however, have the opportunity of studying the language with that deep insight and fulness of comprehension with which it was and is mastered by the Pandits of the old school. To understand properly Sanskrit language, and especially that portion of it in which are locked up the highest aspirations of the ancient Aryan hearts, viz., the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, the Upanishads, &c., it is absolutely necessary to have a complete knowledge of the Grammar elaborated by Pāṇini.

Further, as a master-piece of close reasoning and artistic arrangement, it ought to be an object of study to 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 Astādhyāyī of Pāṇini has done for that of the Sanskrit scholars. No one who has studied this book can refrain from admiring 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."

Unfortunately, however, for our college and school students, and also for that vast majority of English-educated gentlemen, whose number is daily on the increase, and who depend for their knowledge of what is contained in Sanskrit books, on English translations of Sanskrit authors, no translation of this important work exists in English. To supply this want, we have undertaken to translate Pāṇini's aphorisms, as explained in the well-known commentary, called the Kāśikā. Though it is not a close translation of the whole of the Kāśikā, it may be regarded as a free rendering of the most important portions of that book. We have closely followed this commentary, explaining it where necessary, and in short, making the work a help to the student, desirous of studying the Kāśikā in the original.
The work when completed would, it is estimated, cover nearly two thousand pages. It would not therefore be possible to complete it and publish it as a completed work within a short time. We have on that account thought it expedient to publish the work in parts, that it might be of great advantage to our readers and a matter of great convenience to the publisher. The Ashtadhyayi, as indicated by its name, is divided into ashta Adhyayas, i.e., eight Books. Each of these Books again is divided into four padas or chapters. It has thus been found expedient to publish the work in 32 parts which are available to our subscribers only, and, when four parts are out, to have them bound in one volume available to the non-subscribing public as well as to our subscribers.

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Our hearty thanks are due to the Honourable E. White, C.S., Director of Public Instruction, N.-W. P. and Oudh, for his kindly subscribing for 10 copies of our work, and to all those gentlemen who have hitherto subscribed for any number of copies or in any way encouraged us in our undertaking.

Panini Office, Allahabad.

THE PUBLISHER.
BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER I.

PRATYAKH:

1. An affix.

This is an aphorism intended solely to regulate the sense of others. From this place forward up to the end of the Fifth Book, whatsoever we shall treat of, will get the name of ‘Pratyaya’ or an affix, except the ‘prakṛiti’ or base (such as गुणे, गुद्ध, कृतिः in III. 1. 5 are bases, the affix being तुम्ब, the ‘upapada’ or dependent word (such as बुद्धता, ज्ञात्सप्तम् in III. 2. 24 are upapadas), the ‘upādhi’ or attribute, the special cause that occasions changes (such as घृणा in III. 2. 25 is an upādhi); in the sūtra, III. 2. 25, the word हर्षित is a prakṛiti, हर्षित तथा प्राय is upapada, बुद्धि an upādhi, the affix being हर्षित, the substitute and the augment. Such as the affixes तत्वम्, तत्त, अर्थवृद्धि taught in III. 1. 96, as कर्षवधयम्, कर्षवधयम् ‘to be done’.

2. And subsequent.

This is also an ‘adhikāra’ or regulating sūtra, and is understood in all subsequent aphorisms; or it might also be called a ‘paribhāṣā’ or interpreting aphorism. That which is called an affix comes after, or is placed after, the ‘dhātū’ or root, or the ‘pratipadika’ or crude form; as कर्षवधयम् and शैतिः.

The force of the word अ’ and’ in this sūtra is to indicate that the affixes here treated of, are to be placed after a root &c.; not so, however, the affixes not taught in this Adhyāya. These latter, such as Unādi affixes, may sometimes, be placed in the beginning or the middle of a word.

3. That which is called an affix, has an acute accent on its first syllable.

This sūtra may also be treated as a Paribhāṣā or an Adhikāra sūtra. The udātta accent falls on the affix, and if it consists of more than one vowel, then on the first of the vowels. Thus the affix तत्त has udātta on the first त, as in कर्षवधयम्. This general rule of accent applies only where there is no special
rule laid down. Thus, rule VI. I. 163, declares that affixes having an indicatory ः will have udātta on the final; those having an indicatory ः have accent on the middle (VI. I. 217); those that have an indicatory ः are anudatta; those having an indicatory ः, throw the acute accent on the syllable immediately preceding the affix (VI. I. 193); the affixes having an indicatory ः and ः throw the acute accent on the first syllable of the word to which they are added (VI. I. 197); the taddhita affix having an indicatory क takes acute accent on the final (VI. I. 163); and the affix having an indicatory ः is svarita (VI. I. 185).

अनुदाता तुषितिः \| ॥ \| पदानि \| अनुदाता, सुप्-पिती,

(प्रत्ययः) ॥

पुल्लि: \| सुप् नित्यः प्रवाहः अनुसर्तम् नतसि ॥

4. The case-affixes (sup) and the affixes having an indicatory ः (pit) are anudatta.

This is an exception (apavāda) to the last aphorism. As वृषस ‘two stones’; the case-affix ः भै is anudatta; so also वृषस; so also एकः; The third person singular affix तिः has an indicatory ः, and is anudatta. But not एकः:

गुप्तिशौकीम् सन् \| ॥ \| पदानि \| गुप्त-लिः-किद्वस्यः, सन्

(प्रत्ययः) ॥

पुल्लि: \| गुप्त नीपि, नित्य नित्या, नित्य नित्यान्, एते-ते भावः सन् पत्वाय अनुसि।

बालिकः ॥ निमीतबाधियाधिभारिकारणु साथिष्ठस्यस्य स्वाधिभाष्यम् प्रवाहः नतसि ॥

5. After the verbs गुप्त, नित्य and किद्वस् comes the affix सन्:

This affix is to be added to the above verbs, when they mean to ‘despise’, ‘to endure’ and ‘to heal’ respectively, though they ordinarily mean ‘to hide’, ‘to whet’ and ‘to dwell’. As गुप्तसस्य ‘he censures or despises’; नित्याः ‘he endures patiently’; किद्वसस्य ‘he heals’. But रोपाधिति ‘he protects’; सेविति ‘he sharpens’; समेतविति ‘he makes sign’.

When सन् is added, there is reduplication of the root, by VI. I. 9. Thus,

गुप्त + सन् = गुप्तस + व (VII. 4. 62) = गुप्तस to which is added the third person singular termination अन् = गुप्तसः.

सान्तविकार्यान् दीर्घत्वाधार्याय ॥ ॥ पदानि \| सान्

बाल-वान-शास्त्रोऽर्थस्य, दीर्घेऽर्थ, (सन्, प्रत्ययः) ॥

पुल्लि: \| सान्त गुप्तसस्य, बाल बालगः, शास्त्र शास्त्रायान्, शास्त्र शास्त्रायान्, इत्यादिः शास्त्रायान् शास्त्रायान्

सन् पत्वाय अनुसि. शास्त्रायान् चेष्टारथं हीनानि भवति ॥

बालिकः ॥ अनाधिपि समेतविति हस्तवे ॥

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6. The affix स्वू is the substitute of the र (VII. 4. 79) of the Reduplicative (VI. 1. 4) syllable.

The स्वू is to be added only then, when the sense of the Desiderative verb is as below: नीताः 'he investigates', वीताः 'he loathes', वीताः 'he straightens', वीताः 'he sharpens'. The verbs given in this and the preceding Sūtra, are Desiderative in form, but not in meaning. The word 'optionally' in the next Sūtra, may be read into this also, whereby the addition of स्वू becomes optional. Thus गानवित, बापवित, शापवित and ज्ञानवित are also valid forms.

7. The affix स्वू is optionally attached, in the sense of wishing, after a root expressing the object wished, and having the same agent of the action as the wisher thereof.

As, कृ 'to do'; किकोर्षितिः कल्तुमिष्ठितिः 'he wishes to do'. This is the Desiderative proper. It is optional to employ the desiderative affix, the same sense may be expressed by a phrase. The root must also be simple and not compounded with any upasarga, when the affix स्वू is to be added. Thus प्रकटर्वेनिन्सात् = गाजिकेर्षितः.

Why do we say कर्मेन्द्र 'after (a root expressing) an object'? The affix will not come after an Instrumental case. Thus गानवितः; here there is no affix. But स्वू मिलितिः will be निलितिः.

Why do we say समानकल्यांकु 'when the subject of the verb to wish, is also the subject of the verb denoted by the object wished'? Observe ज्ञात्व वेंसद्व शाननिष्ठिति वहस्त: Here Yajñadatta is agent of the verb इष्ठिति; but he is not agent of the action शानन; hence there is no affixing.

Why do we say इष्ठाबां 'when the sense is that of wishing'? Observe कन्यानाति 'he knows how to make'; here the sense being that of knowing, there is no affix.

The word स्वू 'optionally' shows that a sentence may also be employed to express the same idea. Thus कर्मेन्द्रिष्ठिति or किकोर्षिति.
The word यान्त्र: being especially used in this sutra, shows that this सन्न is an आर्धदाह्तुका affix, while the सन्न taught in the two preceding sutras, will not get this designation.

Vart: The affix सन्न is added, when the sense is that of 'in imminent danger'; as शान्ते शपिष्टलेखनम् = शपिष्टलेखनम् 'the bank is in imminent danger of falling down'. So also ब्या मुम्लेकेनि.

Vart: There is no affixing of सन्न after a verb which has already taken सन्न in the sense of wishing. As विप्रोचिनिस्पृश्यिति. But the सन्न of III. I. 5, 6 not denoting wishing, we have सङ्गुपिणः, स्मृतिपिणः, सौरान्तः, वष्णुः.

8. The affix कवित्र is optionally employed, in the sense of wishing; after a word ending in a case-affix expressing the object wished as connected with the wisher's self.

This forms the Denominative verbs, i.e., verbs derived from nominal bases. As, शुष्ण 'son', शुष्णिस्पृश्यिति 'he wishes for a son of his own' (कवित्र + कवित्र = शुष्णिस्पृश्यिति) (II. 4. 71, VII. 4. 33).

Why do we use the word शुष्ण? The affix should not come after a whole sentence, but only after the particular word ending in the case-affix. Thus in शुष्णिस्पृश्यिति, the affix comes only after शुष्णिस्पृश्यिति and not शुष्णिस्पृश्यिति.

Why do we say दत्तनाह? Observe राष्ट्र: शुष्णिस्पृश्यिति 'he wishes a son for the king'. Here there is no affixing as the wishing is for another and not for one's own self.

The क in कवित्र is for the sake of classing क्याच, क्यान and क्याच in one common group by simply using the word कवित्र, as in शुष्ण: कवित्र I. 4. 15; while शू distinguishes क्याच from क्यान &c., and is not for the sake of accent, the affix will be udatta by III. I. 3.

Vart:—In affixing क्याच, prohibition must be stated of pronouns in शू and of Indeclinables. Thus in शूष्णिस्पृश्यिति, शूष्णिस्पृश्यिति, there is no affixing.

Vart:—In the Vedas, the affix is added even when the wish is with regard to another. As ना क्या पुरा भाषायें (वहष्). Here भाषाय (pl. भाषायि) is
formed by *kyach*, भ being added by III. 2. 170, and आ is added by VII. 4. 37. See Rig Veda I. 120. 7; 27. 3 &c.

9. And the affix काम्यच is also employed, in the sense of wishing, after a word ending in a case-affix, expressing the object wished as connected with the wisher's self.

Thus, पूजकाम्यचि 'he wishes for a son of his own'.

The making of this a separate sūtra instead of adding it with the last aphorism and making one sūtra of them both, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, where the anuvṛtti of *kyach* only runs, and not that of *kāmyach*. The ख of *kāmyach* is not indicatory, but is a part of the real affix. Here, therefore, rule I. 3. 8 which would have made the letter ख indicatory, does not apply; because no particular purpose would be served by making indicatory. Or the affix *kāmyach* may be considered to have an indicatory च before it *i.e.* the affix being *chakāmya*.

10. The affix कवच is optionally employed, in the sense of treatment, after a word ending in a case-affix denoting the object of comparison.

Thus, उपसनिधारणि छाणि = पुवर्भवित छाणि 'he treats the pupil as a son'

*Note*: So also in a locative case. As धाॅसः खुऽ च 'he dwells in hut as if it were a palace'. द्राॅसः खुऽ 'in a cot he lies down as if he were on a royal bedstead; he treats a cot as a royal bedstead'.
11. The affix कवः is optionally employed in the sense of behaving, after a word ending in a case-affix, denoting the object of comparison of the agent; and there is elision (lopa) of the final न of the noun, if it ends with a न.

Thus, अन्वेषणायति काकः, अन्वेषनासि, 'the crow behaves like a hawk'; अवश्य, ये behaves like an Apsarā'; पवसते or पवाशते 'it becomes milk': (पवन + न = पवना + न = पवनाय, VII. 4. 25).

In the words भोजसा — भोजसि, and अतसू — अतसः the final न is invariably elided when forming the denominative verb: but not so in the case of पवसते where the elision is optional, as पवाशते or पवसते.

The elision of न refers to the final न and not when it is followed by any vowel. Thus हंस—हंसते; सारस—सारसते; here the न is not elided as it is not final. See. I. r. 52.

Vart:—After the words अवशय, भोञ्ज, and होसि, the affix कवः is optionally added in the sense of behaving like some one or some thing. As अवशयते or अवशयते, भोञ्जते or भोञ्जते, होसि or होसिते. The alternative forms are derived by the affixing of कवः.

Vart:—According to the opinion of some Grammarians, the affix कवः comes optionally in this sense after all crude nouns. As अवशयति or अवशयति, गर्वति or गर्वन्ति.

भूष्यादित्वो मुख्यादित्वार्थं हस्तं || १२ || पदवार्त || भूष्य-आदित्वः:
भूषि, अफळे, लोपः, च, हस्तः, (कवः) ||

भूषि: || भूष्य ऐतिहासिकः प्राचीनादेशोऽवशयादित्वोऽधिति भूष्यादित्वं कवः परववो भवति, हस्त्व च लोपः: ||

12. The affix कवः in the sense of becoming what the thing previously was not, is employed after the crude forms भूष्य and the rest, which do not end with the affix कवः (V. 4. 50); and there is elision (lopa) of the final consonant of these words, if they end in a consonant.

Thus, अभूष्यो भूष्यो भवति=भूष्यादि ‘he becomes much (from a little)'; शीतः ‘he becomes swift (from being tardy)'. All these roots will be Atmanepadi (I.3.12).

The phrase अवशये: ‘not ending in the adverbial affix हैं’ refers to every one of the words belonging to the class विधिवति. It may be objected, what was the necessity of adding this condition, since the affix हैं itself denotes that something has become what it was not before; and therefore a word which has
taken the affix फिष, will not again take कवच, in that very sense. The repetition of फिष here shows that the words नृष प्लां &c. never take the affix फिष, in the sense of ‘something becoming what it was not before’, Thus the present śūtra is an exception to śūtra V. 4. 50 which ordains फिष.

13. The affix कवच in the sense of becoming what the thing previously was not, is employed after the words लोहित, &c. and after those that end with the affix कन्न (V. 4. 57), when these words do not take the affix फिष (V. 4. 50).

Thus लोहितावस्था or लोहितावस्थित ‘he becomes red’; पट्टावस्था or पट्टावस्थित ‘he makes a noise like patapata’; (लोहित अं = लोहितावस्था + अं = लोहितावस्थित, VII. 4. 25).

The word पट्टावस्था is formed by adding the affix दच to the word पट्टा which is first reduplicated, and then takes the denominative affix क्याश. The affix दच is added to express inarticulate sounds.

There is no special class called लोहिताद्द्व. The Vārtika, therefore, proposes that the śūtra should read without the word द्व, as लोहितावस्थित: कवच; ‘the affix क्याश comes after लोहिता, and words ending in दच’.

This rule applies to words other than ब्रह्मण्यि which are always invariably Amanprādi owing to the फिष, affix कवच, while कवच is optionally both. (I. 3. 90). Thus बर्मण्यि or बर्मण्यित, निर्मण्यि or निर्मण्यित, कन्नण्यि or कन्नण्यित, कुण्यि or कुण्यित. The लोहिताद्द्व is an आक्रामित, the following being some of the words of this class; लोहित, बिरित, निरित, निरित, ब्रह्मण्य, ब्रह्मण्यि and निरित.

The indicatory क in कवच is not for the sake of prohibiting गुना and वृद्धि (I. 1. 5). For गुना or वृद्धि takes place in a दक्तु followed by a सत्ववधातु or अद्वधातु affix. The affix कवच is not added to a दक्तु but to a nominal stem: hence there is no scope for the operation of गुना &c. The क is for the sake of grouping कवच, कवच, and कवच in one class as कवच; as in śūtra V. कवच (I. 4. 15). There is, however, no word ending in क among those enumerated above.
The affix गर्ज (V. 4. 57) comes when the verb following is one of the three शुरु,  मूर्त, or जैस; as परस्परार्थिन्यंतरं, भयन्ति or स्वात्र. The present सूत्र teaches by implication that when कथाय follows गर्ज, the above restriction, that the verb should be शुरु, मूर्त or जैस, is not applicable. Here गर्ज comes without the addition of शुरु, मूर्त or जैस.

The anuvṛtti of कथाय: comes from the last सूत्र; and hence the affix कथाय is added in the sense of अनुवृत्तिकारिण: i.e. something becoming that which it was not before.

14. The affix कथाय, in the sense of exerting in dishonesty, is employed after the word कथ 'mischief', when the latter has the fourth case-affix in construction.

Thus, कथाय कथर्यां गर्जस्य=कथायर्ये 'he is assiduous for trouble, i.e. he is assiduous in the commission of dishonesty, or he plots'.

Vart:—The affix कथाय comes in the sense of exerting in evil, after the words श्रण, धरण, धस्य, कृष्य, and गहन; as, श्रणकर्म, धरणकर्म, कृष्यकर्म, क्षयकर्म, and गहनकर्म.

When the sense is not of 'evil', the affix is not added, as भवं: कथाय गर्जस्य.

15. The affix कथाय is employed after the words, रेक्ष्य 'ruminating' and कथ 'austerity', when they are used as the objects of the action of repeating and performing respectively.

Thus, रेक्ष्य गर्जस्य=रेक्ष्यार्थिन्यं 'the cow ruminates.'

Vart: This is restricted to the word signifying movements of the jaws. Therefore there is no affixing here; as, क्रोटे रेक्ष्यार्थिन्यं गर्जस्य.

Vart: The Prasinaipada affixes are used after the word तपस्य; as तपस्यार्थिन्यं तपस्यार्थिन्यं 'he performs austerity'.
16. The affix कवङ्ग is employed in the sense of ejecting, after the words बाण्य ‘vapour’ and कश ‘heat’ as the object of the action.

Thus, काँपते ‘it emits vapour’; कमाते ‘it sends out heat’. So also कुणाते ‘it ejects froth’.

17. The affix कवङ्ग, in the sense of making, comes after these words, as the object of the action, viz.:—अन्न ‘sound’, वैर ‘hostility’, कलह ‘strife’, अभ्य ‘cloud’, कप ‘sin’ and नेभ ‘cloud’.

Thus, करते करोति = श्रावणैं ‘he makes a noise’. So also वैराक्ते, कलहस्य, अभ्यवे, वैधावे, मेघावे।

*Vart.*—It should be stated that the affix comes after वृत्ति, उभितं and विभार; as, सुविष्ठत्वम्, उपविष्ठत्वम्, विवृत्तित्वम्।

*Vart.*—So also should be included the words भास, वैट, श्रीक, श्रीकास, श्रीकासे, कपाल, कपाले, सदासे and कपाले।

The word कर्त्ता in the sutra is not the Grammatical Karana or the Instrumental case, but has here its primary meaning of ‘doing’.

18. The affix कवङ्ग in the sense of feeling, comes
after the words सुख 'pleasure' &c., when the pleasure &c. belong to the agent as feels thereof.

Thus सुखावते 'he feels pleasure'; सुखावते 'he feels pain'.

Why do we say 'when the feeling belongs to the agent'? Observe सुखें वेदायति मवातों' 'he feels the happiness of his master Devadatta.' Here the agent viz. a valet, is not the percipient of the 'happiness,' which belongs to his master; hence there is no affixing.

धृष्टिः

धृ, धृत, धृता, धृता, कृत, भ्रम, भ्रम, भ्रम, कृष्य, कृष्य, सोत

नाममविचित्रितम: कप्‍ष || धृत || प्रदाति || नामस्-वरिष्टि

पदानन || नामस्-वरिष्टि चिन्तः स्वे-कथा वा कथा प्रवचनो भवति करणविनो पुराणो ||

19. The affix कप्‍ष, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action viz:—

मन्त्र 'adoration', शिविः 'honour' and यिः 'wonder'.

Thus नामातवति वेदायत, 'he worships the gods'; विशिष्टतिः पुनः, 'he honors or serves the elders'; चिन्तति 'he astonishes (makes it wonderful)'. The ह in चिन्तः indicates that it takes the affixes of the Atmanepada. (चिन + ह = चिन्तः) (VII. 4. 33) = चिन्तः)

पुष्च-भावव-चिन्तः || पदानन || पुष्च-भावव-चिन्तः

विरु, (कर्से) ||

वृति: || पुष्च भावव चीवर हस्येभी धिनः प्रस्त्री भवति करणविनो ||

वार्तरः || पुष्चाद्वैटनेन परबद्धन का ||

वार्तरः || भावाद्वैटनेन ||

वार्तरः || चीवरविनो परिस्थाने ||

20. The affix विरु, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action, viz:—पुष्च 'tail', भाष्च 'pot' and चीवर 'rag'.

Thus उपासनेन 'he lifts up the tail', (the sense must be that of lifting or throwing about); चार्माराच्छति 'he collects pots in a heap'; चीवरविनो तितः: 'the beggar collects or wears rags'. Of the affix विरु, the effective portion is ह, the other letters are servile. The ह indicates Atmanepada (I. 3. 12) and ह serves the purposes of the application of the rule VI. 4. 51 which applies generally to all affixes containing वित्, such as वित्तु, वित्तु, &c.

Part:—After the word पुष्च the sense of the affix is that of lifting or throwing about.
Vart:—After अण्ड the sense of the affix is that of accumulation in a heap.

Vart:—After चीण the sense of the affix is that of acquiring or wearing.

21. The affix निच्छ, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action viz: सूच चु 'shaving', मिच च 'mixture', भार 'soft', नाय 'salt', वर 'vow', द्रश 'dress', हल 'plough', कल 'strife', हल 'done', and सूच 'matted hair'.

Thus मुच्छबत्ति 'he shaves'; मिचबत्ति 'he mixes'; भारादभत्ति 'he softens or alleviates'; नायबत्ति 'he salts'; पलारावत्ति 'he fasts on milk'; संबत्ति 'he covers with clothes i.e. dresses'; हातसिः 'he ploughs'; कस्यवति 'he makes war'; कस्यवति 'he appreciates kindness'; भिन्नबत्ति 'he combs the hair, or disentangles matted hair or delivers from sin'.

The affix after the word छत has the sense of 'eating' or 'abstaining therefrom'; as छायो रावत्ति 'he drinks milk'; भूतानय भावत्ति 'he abstains from the food prepared by a low caste'; after the word हल the affix denotes the sense of covering. After हल and कल the sense is that of taking; as हलरे नापुस्कर्तम् = हल-वत्ति. The words in the sūtra are हल and कल and not हलि and कोलि. This anomalous form shows that in forming the Aorist of these by adding the affix वत्ति (III. 1. 48) the reduplication takes place, but not in the same way as if the affix were सम; i.e. the सम्ब्रह्म does not take place here in the Aorist (VII. 4. 93). Thus the Aorists are अमच्छति and अमवाति; and not अमंच्छतिः and अमंवातिः, which would have been the forms by the application of rules VII. 4. 79. & 94. if there was सम्ब्रह्म.

The word हलि means either hair, or matted hair, or sin.

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22. The affix  with, in the sense of repetition of the act, comes after a root, having a single vowel and beginning with a consonant.

The phrase kriyā-samabhikhāra means repetition of the act or its intensity. As पष्ण् 'to cook', वाशिपत से 'he cooks again and again'; शायदुमसे 'he shines with great intensity'. The root must be a simple root, and not compounded with any upasarga. We cannot therefore make Intensives of verbs like प्रदृष्ट 'to go', (because the root प्रदृष्ट is preceded by the upasarga र); or भाजु 'to be awake,' (because it contains two vowels); or हेषु 'to see' (because it begins with a vowel).

Vart:—The intensive affix वहः comes after सूचि, बृंज, पृथिवि, भले, भले, भरा and भरा, though some of these contain more than two vowels and others begin with a vowel.

As, शोभुष्टे, शोभुष्टे, शोभुष्टे, अभावे, भारार्के, भारार्के, and शोभुष्टे.

The affix is not added in these cases पुर्णा शोभुष्टे शोभुष्टे, as it is against usage to make Intensive forms of these verbs on the sense of intensity, though in the sense of repetition we have रोहिसधः शोभुष्टे.

In making the Intensives, the root is reduplicated and it takes the terminations of the Atmanepada as the root is हेषु.

नितल्यो कौशिले गती || २३ || पदार्थ || नित्यन्य, कौशिले, गती,
( यवऺ् )

पुष्ण: || महितवचनासिद्धिः कौशिले मध्यमान्य नितल्यो वहः प्रत्ययः महति ||

23. The affix  when, invariably comes, in the sense of crookedness, after a simple verb expressing motion.

Thus भवयू 'to move', भवयू 'he moves crookedly'. So also रहस्यः. After a verb of motion, the वहः never expresses intensity or repetition; so if the latter sense is to be expressed, a phrase must be employed; as भूर्यं भास्ति 'he wanders much'. This is inferred from the word नित्य used in the सिद्ध इ. e. वहः always has the sense of crookedness and no other sense after a verb of motion.

लुप्तशत्सयङ्गदृश्यस्वरुपायाः प्रवाहार्याः || २४ || पदार्थ ||
लुप्त-दृष्ट-चर-जय-जत्त-दृष्ट-मृत्य:; प्रवाह-गहरायाय: ( यवऺ् )

पुष्ण: || लुप्त दृष्ट चर जय जत्त दृष्ट मृत्य: यवऺ्कयाः-भ्रमणाः प्रवाहार्याः वहः प्रत्ययः
महति ||

24. The affix  when it is intended to convey the sense of contempt (गहरायाः) in respect of the sense
of the root (नाघ) comes always after the following roots, viz.:—लघु ‘to cut off’, दर ‘to sit’, चर ‘to walk’, गर ‘to mutter silently any sacred formula’, जम ‘to gape or yawn’, चर ‘to burn’, चर ‘to bite’ and न ‘to swallow’.

Thus लघुवते ‘he cuts off badly’; सज्जवते ‘he sits badly’; चरयुते ‘he walks badly’; जमयुते ‘he recites badly’; so also अज्जयते, दरयते, गरयते, जमरयते. The suffix वह does not come in the sense of repetition &c. after the above verbs, but only in the sense of censurable performance of the action denoted by the verbs. Separate words must be used to express the intensive or the frequentative meaning. As नून ‘he cuts off much’.

Why do we say ‘when contempt in regard to the sense of the root is meant’? Observe चर ‘he recites well’. There is no affixing as no contempt is denoted. Why do we say ‘in regard to the action denoted by the root’? When the contempt is not with regard to the sense of the root, but with regard to the action as accomplished, the affix is not employed. Thus नून जलति कुष्मान्तः: ‘the Sūdra recites the sacred mantras’. The word नियम of the last aphorism is understood here also.

25. The suffix विष is employed after these words, viz.—लघु ‘truth’ (which then takes the form of सत्य as exhibited in the sūtra), चर ‘a fetter’, रूप ‘form’, बीण ‘a lute’, गुण ‘cotton’, श्लोक ‘celebration’, लंग ‘an army’, लम ‘the hair of the body’, नत ‘the skin’, वर ‘mail’, वर ‘celebration’, फूल ‘powder’ and the verb of the Churādi class.

Thus सत्यवति ‘he speaks truly’; चरवति ‘he unsets or liberates’; रूपवति ‘he looks’; बीणवति ‘he sings with the lute’; गुणवति ‘he makes a brush’; श्लोकवति ‘he praises in verse’; लंगवति ‘he advances with the army’; फूलवति ‘he rubs over the hair’; नतवति ‘he feels of the skin’; वरवति ‘he puts on the mail armour’; वरवति ‘he celebrates or colors’; लमवति he pulverises. The roots of the Churādi class belong to the tenth conjugation, for a list of which see the Dhātupātha. After the verbs of the Churādi class, the suffix विष is employed without alteration of the sense; as चोरवति ‘he steals’. So also विम्नवति.
Vart:—The words अर्थ, वेष and साख take the augment अर्थ before the affix चिन्न; as, साक्षार्थप्राप्त, अमत्यप्राप्त, वेषप्राप्त. The whole equation is thus shown अर्थ + अर्थ्युत + चिन्न + वेष + चिन्न = अर्थ + अर्थ्युत + चिन्न = अर्थ्युतचिन्न (VII. 3. 85). The final syllable called चिन्न is not elided in this case, i.e. of अर्थ्युत the syllable अर्थ is not elided before चिन्न, as it would have been by VI.4.155. The reason is that if अर्थ was to be elided, there would have been no necessity of adding it. The affix चिन्न has the sense of 'unfettering' after the word चिन्न, of 'seeing' after चिन्न, of 'singing in accompaniment' after चिन्न, of 'brushing' after चिन्न, of 'praising' after चिन्न, of 'leading' after चिन्न, of 'rubbing' after चिन्न, of 'taking' after चिन्न, of 'putting on' after चिन्न and of 'taking' after चिन्न.

26. The affix चिन्न is employed after a root, when the operation of a causer is to be expressed.

The hetu (I. 4. 55) means the mover of the independent agent; an operation relating to the hetu, such as directing &c. is called hetumati; as कहः कारणति 'he causes to prepare a mat'; रूपान्तरणति 'he makes the rice to be cooked'. In other words, the affix चिन्न forms the causative verbs.

Vart:—The affix comes also in the sense of 'he does that' after the words लूकः&c. Thus लूकः करोति = लूक्ष्यति 'he makes sutra.' So also मृत्युति.

Vart:—After words ending in रूपः affixes and describing legends, comes the affix चिन्न, when the sense is 'he does that'. The रूपः affix is elided, the word reassumes its basic (प्राकृतिक) form, and the base is as if the agent, thus कांस्यविभासितः = कांस्य प्राप्ति; बलिविभासितः = बलिव बन्धनति; राजापस्यविभासितः = राजाम् अवश्यविभासित.

Vart:—Under the conditions mentioned in the last चिन्नक, the upasarga अ is elided, when duration of time is meant expressing limit. Thus अराध्विविभासितः अराध्विविभासितः; here the अ of अराध्विविभासित is elided.

Vart:—Under the conditions mentioned in the second vartika the affix चिन्न has the sense of 'making wonderful', meaning 'attaining that'. Thus
27. The affix बक् is employed after the roots कर्त्तु ‘to itch’, &c.

Thus, कर्त्तुति or कर्त्तुवेद ‘he itches or scratches’. This word takes terminations indicative. The words कर्त्तु एवं न्ति are both roots and nouns, and are placed therefore in a separate list by themselves and are not included in the general list of verbs. The affix applies to these words as roots and not as nouns.

28. The affix आप्त comes after गुप्त ‘to protect’, गुप्त ‘to heat’, विच्छेद ‘to approach’, पण्ड ‘to contract or praise’ and पण ‘to praise’.

Thus आप्तायति ‘he protects’; गुप्तायति ‘he heats’; so also, विच्छेदायति, पण्डायति, and पणायति.

The verb पण ‘being read along with पण ‘to praise’ has here the sense of praise only; so that the affix does not come after the verb पण when it means ‘to make a contract’; as राजस्व पणाति, विपहवस्य पणाति.

The verbs in आप्त do not take Atmanepada affixes, as there is no indicative letter to show that.
29. The affix देवतास comes after the sūtra root देवता "to reproach".

The indicatory देवता shows that the verb will take the affixes of the Atmanepada; as देवता देवता - "he pities or reproaches"; so also, कामचा देवता, कामचा देवता.

30. The affix विषय comes after the root कः "to desire".

The वाण indicates व्रिड्धि (VII. 2. 115) and देवता shows Atmanepada; as कामचा - "he desires"; so also कामचा and कामचा.

31. The affixes भाव and those that follow it, (i.e. भाव, देवता and विषय) are optionally added, when it is desired to express one's self with an Ārdhadhātuka affix.

Thus बा 3rd. sing. of the Future is an Ārdhadhātuka affix. It is optional to retain the द्वार of gopāya before this affix. So we have गोपायिता or गोपा "he will protect". So also भिषिता or भिषिता, कनिसा or कनिसा.

But for this sūtra, the affixes भाव &c. would have come always even when Ārdhadhātuka affixes were to be applied. This makes it optional. Therefore proper Ārdhadhātuka affixes should be applied when we retain भाव &c. and when we do not retain them. Thus the Ārdhadhātuka किरत (III. 3. 95) will be employed in forming the feminine noun from the simple root, but the Ārdhadhātuka त (III. 3. 102) will be employed in forming the feminine when भाव &c. are retained. Thus जुति or जोमाया.

32. All the words ending with the affixes बन्ध and others are called Dhatu.

This extends the sphere of Dhatu or roots already defined in sūtra I. 3. 1. These roots may be called derivative roots. They are separate independent roots, and have all the functions of a root, as taking tense-affixes &c. as shown in the above examples. Thus फ़िनिति "to wish to do", कारि "to
cause to do; चेकिर 'to do repeatedly' are separate roots and not the same as कू 'to do' and thus take ग्रुण &c.

स्तासी लउटी || ३३ || पद्वणि || स्र-साबी, लू-लूटी, (चाटली)||

वृत्ति: || लूठपत्तूित्रायिं सागायनेिकेि सामसिन्, लूटि च परतो भासीयासाबवष वासाशी प्रसवो नवतः ||

33. When लू and लूट follow, then लू and लूट are respectively the affixes of a verbal root.

लू is the common expression for लूट and लूट, formed by rejecting their special anubandhas, and means therefore the 2nd Future and the Conditional tensile. लूट is the 1st Future also called the Periphrastic Future. Thus कारणिति भक्तिचित्र, भक्ति. The लू of लूट is indicatory and shows that the nasal of the root is not to be dropped before this; as मू 'to think', मूष 'he will think'.

विष्णुन लेटि || ३४ || पद्वणि || विष्, बहुलम्, लेटि, (चाटली)||

वृत्ति: || चाटली: विष् बहुलम् भवती बहुलम् लेटि परस्: ||

34. विष् is diversely the affix of a verbal root when लेट follows.

The tense called लेट or subjunctive is found in the Vedas only. When the subjunctive tense is employed, the affix लेट is diversely added.

Thus झाणिष्ठ, झाणिष्ठ, नल्लिष्ठ. Sometimes this augment is not employed; thus लवति विष्णुन उत्ति ब्रवासति. Thus in Rig Veda I. 1. 2, शासि is an example of लेट with विष्.

कालांस्यादासािनं सिरि || ३५ || पद्वणि || काल-मात्स्यािु, आन्, असन्, सिरि, (प्रत्यय: चाटली: )

वृत्ति: || कालं शाक्ति सापासां, तत्: प्रवासनिेष्ठा प्रातुच आन् प्रवासी भवति लिजि परसौिन्मासिपि इति

प्रार्थिकत || कालांस्यादासािनं सिरि विष्णुन पुलसाधारनम्,

35. आन् is the affix of the verb काल् 'to cough', and of those roots that are formed by affixes (i.e. the derivative verbs), when लेट follows, except in the Mantra.

This forms the Periphrastic Perfect. The Perfect of काल् will be कालान्, after which the terminations of the Perfect are all elided (II. 4. 81) and instead, the perfect tense of the auxiliary verb लू or लूट or लू is added. As कालान्तरस 'he coughed'; चोर्यानास 'he stole'. So also लूषान्तरस.
This rule however does not apply to the Vedas; as कृष्णो नोमाष Rig.
Veda I. 79. 2.

*Vart*:—This rule also applies where the root is polysyllabic consisting of more than one vowel; as जयवभाष्कार, प्रतिप्रभात.
The final म of भानम is not indicatory.

इष्टादेशः गुहस्तोल्लोच्छः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छ-आदे, च,
गुहस्तः, अन्वः; (सिंहा, आयः) ॥

पूवः ॥ इष्टादेशः भानः प्रभाषायितस्यस्मार्थः लिंति परस्य: भानस्य नवतः ॥
बानिक्षः ॥ कृष्णेऽवच प्रतियोगः वर्णः; ॥

36. The affix भानम is used when निन्तः follows, after a root beginning with a letter of रुप pratyāhāra and having a heavy vowel, excepting the root सङ्ख्य ‘to go’.
Thus रूः ‘to try’, रूः ‘he tried’; so also क्रास्मकः ‘he guessed’,
एपाछकः ‘he grieved’.

But सङ्ख्य forms भानम ‘he failed or went’. This applies to mono-
syllabic roots which begin with any vowel prosodically long, except म or अा. The verb क्राः ‘to cover’ is, however, an exception; its perfect is क्राः नाप ‘he covered’.
Why do we say ‘beginning with रुप or any vowel except म or अा’? Observe भानः, Perfect भानः (VII. 4. 71). Why do we say ‘heavy vowel’? Observe त्रम, Perf. त्रोद (VI. 4. 78) क्राः; क्राः. Why do we say ‘vowel’? Observe क्राः, Perf. क्रुः; पु, Perf. क्रुः.

द्यापास्यकः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्यृ-अभ-ाः; च, (सिंहा,
आयः) ॥

पूवः ॥ द्यृ सङ्ख्यानिविचारस्य, भान गतिः, भान उपर्यक्त, एष्ट-अभ लिंति परस्य: भानस्य नवतः ॥

37. After the verbs रूः ‘to give’, ‘to go’ and ‘to protect’, अन्त ‘to go’, and अन्त ‘to sit’, there is the affix भानम, when निन्तः follows.
Thus रूः ‘he gave’; पलास्वकः ‘he ran away’; अन्तायः ‘he sat’.

उन्निद्याभ्योग्ययस्मान ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उन-विदः
अन्निद्याभ्योग्यः, अन्निद्याभ्योग्यः, (अन्त, प्रत्यः; सिंहा) ॥

पूवः ॥ उन शाहें, विद शाहें, भान निपान्त, एष्ट-अभ लिंति परस्येऽवःप्रत्यः भानस्य नवतः ॥

38. The affix भानम is optionally employed after these, viz.—रूः ‘to burn’, विद, ‘to know’, and अन्त ‘to wake’, when निन्तः follows.
Thus भीमार्ककार or विश्लेषकार or विशेष, वागार्दकार or जागार. As there is an agreement in the present instance to regard the verb विध as ending in a short अ, गुना is not substituted, as it would otherwise have been by rule VII. 3. 86.

39. आम is optionally affixed, when निर्देश follows; after these verbs भी ‘to fear’, भी ‘to be ashamed’, नृ ‘to nourish’, नृ ‘to sacrifice’; and when आम is affixed, the effect is as if there were नृ elision and the roots belonged to IIवृद्धि class.

The effect of नृ is to cause reduplication by rule VI. 1. 10. As भीमार्ककार or भीमार्ककार or भीमार्ककार or भीमार्ककार, भीमार्ककार or भीमार्ककार or भीमार्ककार.

40. After a verb which ends with आम, the verb नृ ‘to do’ is annexed, when निर्देश follows.

After the above verbs formed by taking the augment आम the perfect tense of नृ is added to form their Perfect. This has already been illustrated in the above examples. The word नृ includes also the verbs नृ and नृ. All these three may be used as auxiliaries. The verb नृ when used as an auxiliary, is not replaced by नृ (III. 4. 52) before the निर्देश affixes which are अर्धद्वातुका affixes. Thus पाषवार्दककार, पाषवार्दककार, पाषवार्दककार.

41. The form निर्देशकुर्ण्य is optionally employed as an irregular form.

This irregular form is obtained by adding the affix आम to the root विध ‘to know,’ when followed by लक्ष्य or the Imperative tense; the tense-affixes of लक्ष्य are then elided by लक्ष्य; moreover there is no substitution of गुना.
as required by VII. 3. 86; and when we have thus obtained the form विसम्, we annex to it the वाद of the verb चु; thus we have विसादवतति or विसादम् ‘let them know’. The third person plural is not only intended to be spoken of by the employment of the form विसादवतति in the aphorism; on the contrary, the word विसति shows that all the numbers and persons of the Imperative may be so employed; as विसादम् विसादत् &c.

अभ्युत्साद्याप्रज्ञानांप्रकाशिकाः पावयांक्रियादित्यागः क्रियाति चन्द्रिष्
42 || पदाति || अभ्युत्साद्याप्रज्ञानांप्रकाशिकाः पावयांक्रियादित्यागः
रक्षापति, पावयांक्रियादित्यागः क्रियाति, चन्द्रिष्, (अन्यतरसायस्)

वृत्ति : || विसादवतति || प्रकाशिकाः पावयांक्रियादित्यागः क्रियाति
लिनीयान् ||

42. The forms अभ्युत्साद्याप्रज्ञानांप्रकाशिकाः पावयांक्रियादित्यागः are irregularly formed in the Chhandas.

The first two of these and the fourth are the Aorists (लूि) of the causatives of the roots चन्द्रि ‘to sit’, चन्द्रि ‘to be born’, and चन्द्रि ‘to sport’: to which the affix अचन् is added. The third is the Aorist of the root चन्द्रि ‘to collect’, to which अचन् has been added after the reduplication and the change of च into च of the root. The auxiliary अचन्: is added to all these four. The fifth is derived from the root चु ‘to blow, to purify’, by adding the causative affix चु, annexing the affix अचन् before the terminations of the Potential (चुष्ठ) and then using after the form so obtained, the auxiliary चुष्ठाति. The last is the Aorist of चुष्ठ ‘to know’, to which अचन् is added and the auxiliary अचन् is employed. These are the archaic forms; their modern forms are as follows:—

चुष्ठ: चुष्ठि || पदाति || चुष्ठि, चुष्ठि, (पाठ: प्रत्य:)

वृत्ति : || पाठ: || प्रत्य: चुष्ठि प्रत्य: गरिष्ठिः प्रत्य: ||

43. When चु follows, the affix चु is added to the verbal root.

The चु of चुष्ठ is for the sake of articulation, the च is for the sake of accent (VI. 1, 162.) showing that an affix which has an indicatory च has uddatta on its final. Then remains only च, which after all, is to be replaced by other affixes, as we shall show below. In fact च is the common name for all Aorist affixes.
44. Of भिन्न, भिन्न is the substitute.

The of भिन्न is for the sake of pronunciation, the थ is for accent, and the real affix is थ; as भाजयो ‘he did’. When भिन्न is added, the terminations of the Aorist assume the following forms.

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The substitution of भिन्न is optional in the Aorist of the roots धृत ‘to touch’, धृत ‘to rub’, धृत ‘to plough’, धृत ‘to become satisfied’, and धृत ‘to light’. Thus the Aorist of धृत has three forms; धातयो, धातयो or धातयो. Similarly धृत has धातयो, धातयो or धातयो; धृत, धातयो or धातयो; धृत, धातयो or धातयो; धृत, धातयो or धातयो.

45. After a verb that ends in a थ consonant, and has an थ vowel for its penultimate letter, and does not take थ (VII. 2. 10), कृष्ण is the substitute of भिन्न.

The forms of the terminations of the Aorist with कृष्ण are as follows:

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As, धृत and कृष्ण in the last ુռत्रा have their Aorist with कृष्ण as धातयो and धातयो; so धृत ‘to milk’ forms धातयो ‘he milked’, धृत ‘to lick’ धातयो.

Why do we say ‘when ending in थ, थ and थ’? Observe भाजयो, भाजयो; here भिन्न is employed. Why do we say ‘having for its penultimate थ, थ or थ’? Observe भाजयो. Why do we say ‘not having an intermediate थ’? Observe भादयो and भादयो. See VII. 2. 4 and VIII. 2. 28.

46. कृष्ण is the substitute of भिन्न after the verb भिन्न, when it is employed in the sense of embracing.
This is a restrictive aphorism. As भविष्यति कथाय ते 'he embraced the girl'. But समाहितञ्च ज्ञान कदाचन 'the glue joined the wood'.

च ज्ञान: || ॥ ॥ पदरानि च, ज्ञान: (छोः, बचः) इि
बृहत: || द्विविकारसि यथ: कथायोऽन भविष्यति

47. च न इत्ये the substitute of चिन्त इत्ये the verb चिन्त 'to see'.
This is an exception to the śūtra III. 1. 45. enjoining च. The root चिन्त will form its Aorists by III. 1. 57. and will take भवः and विचि; as वर्त्तति or वर्त्तति 'he saw'.

चिन्तितकुल्य: कार्तिक चह || चैपूणि चिन्तितकुल्य: || चिन्तितकुल्य: कार्तिक, चह (छोः, लुबि) इि
बृहत: || व्यवसति यथावज्जं चि साधुवं चिन्तितकुल्य सति कथायोऽन भविष्यति चिन्तितकुल्य परस्य: ||

वार्तकम् || कथायोऽनसम्बन्धम्

48. After a root which ends in चि (III. 1. 20, 21, 44, &c.) and after the verb चिन्त 'to serve', चिन्त 'to run', and चिन्त 'to drop', चि is the substitute of चिन्त, when चि follows signifying an agent.

The च prevents गुण and वृद्धि and चि is to distinguish it from भवः. When चि is added, there is reduplication (VI. 1. 11). The usual terminations of the Imperfect are employed after the root, when चि is used; as वर्ति 'he caused to make'; अर्थितति 'he served or went'; अवदुवति 'he ran'; अवदुवति 'it flowed'. This form is not used in Passive ; as, वर्ति वथापासि.

The root कस्म 'to love' should also be included in this rule. कस्म, when it takes the affix गिरि (III. 1. 30) will of course be included in this śūtra, by virtue of its ending in चि; the वार्तिक makes the additional statement that even when the root कस्म does not take the affix गिरि, the present aphorism must apply to it. Thus we have वर्ति 'he loved'; when it takes गिरि, the Aorist will be वर्ति 'he loved' (VII. 4. 93, 79, 94.)

चिन्तितकुल्य चेत्यो: || चैपूणि चिन्तितकुल्य, चेत्योऽनसां (छोः, चह, कार्तिक, लुबि) इि
बृहत: || चेत्योऽन सां, चिन्तितकुल्य चेत्योऽनसां (छोः, चह, कार्तिक, लुबि)

49. After the roots चि 'to suck', and चिन्त 'to grow', चि is optionally the substitute of चिन्त, when चि follows signifying an agent.
As, भवच, ‘he sucked’. When it takes the alternative रिन्य, then
rule II. 4. 78. comes into operation, and we have भवान, and भवसव, ‘he
sucked’. So also of देव, we have भविसिन्यव, ‘he grew’. It also takes the भू
(III. I. 58) and then its form is भवस or भवसवी.

गुप्तेऽनवरेदि ॥ ५० ॥ पदार्थ ॥ गुणे ॥ देवरि ॥ (शै), चक,
वचचास, कोरौरि, (लूकि) ॥

पूजं: || पद_coupon: परस्य तल्यंत्रिति विषये विषया चकावेशीं अभिनि ||

50. After the verb गुण ‘to protect’, रक्ष is op-
tionally the substitute of देव in the Chhandas.

This rule applies where the root गुण does not take the affix अभव (II. I. 28). As यस्मान नि मिनावंगरो वसः मूर्यान भजनुगमनम् ‘Mitra Varuna protected these
our houses’. The other forms are भवसव, भवसविन्यव or भवसवविन्यव. In the secular
literature, the latter three forms are used, but not the first.

मन्यतिरचन्दनयवेस्यरयेद्यस्यतिमित्रं ॥ ५१ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ न, जननवि-
चन्दनयति-प्लवयति-अद्यस्यतिमित्रं: (शै ॥ चक च, देवरि) ॥

पूजं: || रक्ष परिहारो, भव शाहो, देव परिहारो, भवो सती साबो रक, देवरि
देवानं: पूजंए देवरि देवित्रेता देवनिति विषयं न भविनि ||

51. After the causatives of the verbs रक ‘to de-
crease’, भव ‘to sound’, देव ‘to send’, and भव ‘to go or to beg’,
रक्ष is not the substitute of देव in the Chhandas.

Thus we have रक्ष: in the Vedas; भवस्व in the classical literature;
so also भवसव, देवरि: and भवसव; their classical forms being भवसव, भवसवि,
and भवसवि. See Rig Veda I. 53, 3, I. 162. 15. and Pānini VII 2, 5.

अस्सतिरिविन्यमितियंदिकं ॥ ५३ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ अस्सतिति-वरि-
स्तितिपयो, अभू, (शै ॥ कोरौरि, (लूकि) ॥

पूजं: || भवस्व कोरौरि । भव परिहारि, भवस्व भव, भव परिहारि, भवस्व भव ||

52. After the verbs भव ‘to throw’, भव ‘to speak’,
and भव ‘to speak’, रक्ष is the substitute of देव, when देव follows
signifying the agent.

भव may be either the root, or the substitute of भव (II. 4. 53)
and so also भव may be the root, or the substitute of भव (II. 4. 54). The
root भव belonging to the भवि or the Fourth conjugation, falls under the
subdivision भवि, and therefore it would have taken भव in the Parasmaipada
by rule III. 1. 55. The repetition is to indicate that it takes भङ्ग in the Atamanepada also; as भङ्ग (VII. 4. 17), अभिज्ञत and भावन. In the Passive, we have पराष्ठितानम.

लिपिविचित्रव्यवस्था ॥ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ लिपिविचित्र-ह्वः, च, (चः, अङ्कः, कर्त्तरी, लुकः) ॥

पृष्ठि: ॥ लिपिविचित्रां लिपिविचित्रां लिपिविचित्राः हस्ते श्लोकेः इत्यादि परि भावः चारहवेन्द्रों भवितः ॥

53. After the verbs लिपिविचित्र 'to paint', लिपिविचित्र 'to sprinkle' and च 'to call', भङ्ग is the substitute of निःjing when निःjing follows signifying the agent.

Thus भङ्गम 'he painted or wrote'; भङ्घम 'he sprinkled'; and भङ्घम 'he called or challenged'.

आत्मानेपदेशन्यतंतरस्यां ॥ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ आत्मानेपदेशः, अन्यतंतरस्यां, (चः; अङ्कः, लिपिस्वरूपः तथा: ह्वः;) ॥

पृष्ठि: ॥ लिपिविचित्रां लिपिविचित्रां स्वरूपः चारहवेन्द्रों भवितां अन्यतंतरस्यां ॥

54. After the verbs लिपिविचित्र, लिपिविचित्र and ह्व, भङ्ग is optionally the substitute of निःjing when the affixes of the Atmanepada follow.

Thus भङ्गम or भङ्घम 'he painted'; भङ्घम or भङ्घम 'he sprinkled'; भावम or भावम 'he challenged'.

पुषारुढायुतायुद्धहितः: परस्तीपदेशः ॥ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ पुषारुढ़-युद्धहितः: परस्तीपदेशः, (चः; अङ्कः;) ॥

पृष्ठि: ॥ पुषारुढायुद्धप्राप्तिक: भािक्ष्यात्वाभासः परस्त चः: परस्ते परस्ते परस्ते प्राप्तो भावायो भवितः॥

55. भङ्ग is the substitute of निःjing after the verbs पुष, 'to nourish', and the rest, पुष, 'to shine', and the rest, and the verbs having an indicatory निःjing when the affixes of the Parasmaipada follow.

The verbs classed as पुषारुढि, are a sub-division of the 4th conjugational verbs; and पुषारुढि verbs belong to the 1st conjugation. As पुष, अभिज्ञत 'he nourished'; पुष, अभिज्ञत 'he shone'; गन्ध, अभिज्ञत 'he went'. But not so in the Atmanepada; as भावायिक, भावायिक.

वर्तिष्यायस्यस्तेऽप्रयोगः ॥ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ वर्तिष्य-ग्रास्ति-अस्थिः, च, (चः; अङ्कः;) ॥

पृष्ठि: ॥ चात्म, गर्वतूर्ण, गर्भ्यो भाषायिको, पर गर्भ्यो: परस्त चारहवेन्द्रों भवितः॥
56. After the verbs चु to go, चाचु to order, and चु to go, अछु is the substitute of चित्व in the Parasmai-
pada as well as in the Atmanepada.

Thus अचत 'he went'; अचित 'he ordered'; अचत 'he went'. This सूत्रa has been separately enunciated in order to make the rule applicable to Atma-
epada as सूत्र (I. 3. 29). The छ in the text is for the sake of drawing the anuvritti of the phrase 'in the Parasmai-pada' of the last सूत्रa, into the pre-
sent and its anuvritti will extend to future सूत्रas also.

इतरतो या || पदार्थ || इतरतो या, (च्छैः, अछू) ||

युपि: || इतरतोपि: परस्य ष्ट्रेरजातेऽया वा भवति ||

57. अछु is optionally the substitute of चित्व after that root which has an indicatory र, when the Parasmai-
pada terminations are employed.

Thus from चित्व (च्छै) 'to divide', we derive अचित or अचतीत. But we have अचत in the Atmanepada. So from चित्व — अचित or अचतीत.

पुस्तम्सुप्रस्तुतां चापि चापि पुस्तम्सु || पदार्थ || चु-
चुस्तम्सुचुस्तम्सुचुस्तम्सुचिंचिं (छे:ः, अछू वा) ||

पुस्तम्सु: चुस्तम्सु चुस्तम्सु चुस्तम्सु चुस्तम्सु चिंचिं रिवरि. एतेऽया धारणम्: परस्य ष्ट्रेराय
अचतेऽस्य भवति ||

58. And, optionally अछु is the substitute of चित्व after the verbs चु 'to grow old', चल्व 'to stiffen' दुधु and चल्व 'to go', चूतु and चल्व 'to steal', चल्व 'to go' and रिम 'to grow', when the terminations of the Parasmai-pada are em-
ployed.

Thus अचत or अचतीत 'he grew old'; अचतम्सु or अचतीतम्सु 'he stiffen-
ed'; अचतुचु or अचतीचु 'he went'; अचतुस्तु or अचतीस्तु 'he went'; अचतुः or अचतीः 'he stole'; अचतुः or अचतीः 'he stole'; अचतुः or अचतीः 'he went'; अचत, अचतीत or अचतीतम्सु 'he grew'. The roots चल्व and चल्व both give rise to the same three forms, viz. चल्व, चल्व, and चल्व. The use of one root would, therefore, have served the purpose. The employment of both indicates separateness of their meanings. Others say that the use of both roots indicates that in the case of चल्व, the nasal is never elided. Thus the Aorist of चल्व will be अचल्व and अचल्वीतः.

कल्वहिंचिंश्चाहिंश्च च || पदार्थ || क-चु-चु-चिंचिं
चिंचिं (छे:, अछू) ||
59. After the verbs कृति ‘to do’, मृति ‘to die’, तृति ‘to tear’, and मृति ‘to rise’, भ्रम is the substitute of न्ति when used in the Chhandas.

Thus भ्रम, ‘he did’; भ्रम, ‘he died’; भ्रम, ‘he tore’; भ्रम, ‘he rose’. See Rig Veda X. 85. 17, X. 44. 6. The classical Aorist of these verbs are भ्रम, भ्रम, भ्रम, and भ्रम.

60. भ्रम is the substitute of न्ति after the verb घर, ‘to go’, when the affix ग is follows.

The affix ग here means the third person singular tense-affix of the Atmanepada; as भ्रम, ‘he went’; but not so in the dual and plural; as भ्रम, ‘they two went’; भ्रम, ‘they went’; भ्रम, ‘he + + + ग; ग, ग, ग, ग, ग (the affix ग being elided by rule VI. 4. 104).

61. भ्रम is optionally the substitute of न्ति when ग, the third person singular of the Atmanepada follows, after the verbs घर, ‘to shine’, ग, ‘to be produced’, धुष, ‘to teach or know’, धुष, ‘to be full’, ग, ‘to extend or protect’ and ग, ‘to smell’.

Thus भ्रम or भ्रम, ‘he shone’; भ्रम or भ्रम, ‘he was produced’; भ्रम or भ्रम, ‘he knew’; भ्रम or भ्रम, ‘he was full’; भ्रम or भ्रम, ‘he extended’; भ्रम or भ्रम, ‘he grew’.

62. भ्रम is optionally the substitute of न्ति when ग, the third person singular of the Atmanepada follows, after a root which ends with a vowel, and when the object itself is spoken of as the agent.

A reflexive verb is one in which the object is spoken of as the agent. In reflexive verbs therefore, भ्रम is employed after roots ending in
vowels; as अभातिः कर्त: लील्ये, ‘the mat became made of itself. This is an
optional rule (माथिसिद्धि). Therefore we have also अनुवति कर्त: लील्ये; similarly
भलारथिः अभलारथिः कर्त: लील्ये, ‘the embankment broke of itself.

But in verbs other than those that end in vowels, i.e. in those which
end with a consonant, the विप्र is obligatory in the reflexive voice, and not
optional; as अभाति काद्यन्त सर्वल्ये, ‘the wood split of itself’. So also in verbs
other than reflexives; as अभारति कहो श्वसनेर.

दुर्घट || दुस || परागिः || दुस || (चिन्ता, चिन्ता, अन्यत्रस्वात्,
कर्म-कर्तः) ||

प्रति: || दुस पुरुषोऽथम, भस्वाल्लस च्चेळुराधर्षी भवति भयस्वात्रस्वात् ||

63. विप्र is optionally the substitute of विप्र after
the verb दुस ‘to milk’, when it is used reflexively, and
when न follows.

Thus अभातिः अभातिः गोऽ लील्ये, ‘the cow milked of itself’. In verbs
other than reflexive, the विप्र is compulsory, e.g. अभाति जीर्णापालक समुद्र ‘the cow
was milked by the cowherd’.

न हुच: || दुस || परागिः || न, हुच: || (चिन्ता, चिन्ता, कर्म-कर्तः) ||

प्रति: || हुच भावार्थोऽथम, भस्वाल्लस च्चेळुराधर्षी विप्राधिः न भवति ||

64. विप्र is not the substitute of विप्र, after the
verb हुच ‘to obstruct’, when used in the reflexive sense
in the third person singular of the ज्ञानपाल.

Thus अन्यत्रायस्थ गोऽ लील्ये ‘the cow was obstructed of itself’. In verbs
other than reflexive, विप्र is employed, e.g. अन्यत्रायस्थ जीर्णापालकान.

तपोभवायः || दुस || परागिः || तपः, अनुमापे, च ||

चिन्ता, कर्म-कर्तः) ||

प्रति: || तप चंताः, भस्वाल्लस च्चेळुराधर्षी न भवति कर्म-कर्तः अनुमापे ||

65. विप्र is not the substitute of विप्र after the
verb हुच ‘to suffer’, when used reflexively, and when the
sense is that of experiencing remorse.

This prohibition applies even to the passive and impersonal voices
of the verb हुच; as अभात सर्वार्थ: ‘the ascetic performed austerity’; अभातस साधन
कर्मेय ‘he repented from evil deeds’.

चिन्ता भावार्थः || दुस || परागिः || चिन्ता, भाप-कर्मेवः || (चिन्ता,
चिन्ता, ते) ||
66. निम्न is the substitute of स्वाभ when त्रितीय of the third person singular अत्मानेपाद follows, denoting the action (अभाव) or the object कपयुः.

A verb is said to denote an action when it is used impersonally; and it is said to denote an object when used in the Passive sense. आभावि भवति ‘it was lain by you i.e. you lay’; भक्तिके व्यक्तिके ‘the mat was made by Devadatta’. The repetition of निम्न here is for the sake of distinctness.

67. The suffix त्रितीय comes after a root, when त्रितीय (III. 4. 113) follows, denoting the action or the object.

In forming Impersonal and Passive verbs, this suffix is employed in the conjugational tenses. Thus in Impersonal verbs शर्यते भवति ‘you sit’, शर्यते भवति ‘you lie’. So in passive verbs; as क्रिया कपयुः and सिद्धि पायते. The स of त्रितीय is servile, and prevents guna and vridhdi. This suffix is also used in reflective voice (कपयुःकपयुः); as क्रिया कपयुः ‘the mat becomes made of itself’.

68. The suffix एष्म comes after a root, when a एष्म (III. 4. 113) follows, signifying the agent.

In active voice, एष्म is employed in the conjugational tenses. This suffix, which is technically called a विकरण comes after roots of the एष्म class and after compound roots formed by सम् &c. (III. 1. 32). The indicatory एष्म makes it a एष्मालक suffix by III. 4. 113, the एष्म indicates that the vowel has anuddita accent (III. 1. 4). As एष्म+एष्म+नर्त्रि० +अ +वि० +वि० +वि० नर्त्रि० (VII. 3. 84). So also पर्यासि.

69. The suffix एष्म comes after a root of the एष्म class, when a सार्वधातुर्मृक suffix denoting the agent follows.

This debars एष्म. The servile त्रितीय of एष्म is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 197), showing that the uddita accent falls on the radical verb and not on the suffix; and the indicatory एष्म makes the suffix सार्वधातुर्मृक; as एष्म+एष्म+
The Divdhi verbs belong to the Fourth conjugation.

70. The affix रत्न is optionally employed in the active voice after the following verbs; ब्रम् ‘to shine’, त्वाग् ‘to shine’, ब्रम् ‘to whirl’, क्षम् ‘to walk’, क्षम् ‘to be sad’, वच् ‘to fear’, वच् ‘to cut’, and नव ‘to desire’.

Thus ब्रह्मा ‘he shines’; त्वाग् ‘he shines’; ब्रम्मि or ब्रम्मि ‘he whirls’; क्षमि or क्षमि ‘he walks’; क्षमि or क्षमि ‘he is sad’. So also वचि or वचि; वचि ‘to cut’; नवि or नवि.

ब्रह्मा रत्न ॥ २९ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ यस्, अनुपस्यात्, ( ॥ यस्, या, सार्वभावतुके, करति ) ॥

71. The affix रत्न is optionally employed after the verb ब्रह्म ‘to strive’, when it is employed, without a preposition, and when a सार्वभावतुका affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus ब्रह्मि or ब्रह्मि ‘he strives’. But no option is allowed in ब्रह्मि, ब्रह्मि. The root ब्रह्म belongs to the Divdhi class.

संयथा ॥ ३१ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ सं-यथा; च, (यस्, या) ॥

72. The affix रत्न is optionally employed after the root ब्रह्म ‘to strive’, when it is preceded by the preposition सं, and when a सार्वभावतुका affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus संब्रह्मि or संब्रह्मि ‘he strives’.

क्षातिस्य: लुमु ॥ ३१ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ सु-आदिप्रणु; लुमु; (सार्वभावतुके, करति) ॥

73. The affix लुमु comes after the roots of Svādi class when a सार्वभावतुका affix denoting an agent follows.
This debars अ. As, सु+दु+लिप्त = सु+दु+लिप्त = गृहोभित ‘he presses out’. These are roots of the Fifth class.

74. गु is the substitute of गु, and there is the affix दु after it, when a सार्वधातुक affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus सु+दु+लिप्त = सु+दु+लिप्त = गृहोभित ‘he hears’; गृहसु: ‘they two hear’.

75. The affix दु is optionally employed after the root अस ‘to pervade’, when a सार्वधातुक affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus अशोधि or अशहि ‘he pervades or obtains’.

76. The affix दु is optionally employed after the root अस ‘to bore or hew’ when a सार्वधातुक affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus असहि or अशोधि कार्य ‘he hews the wood’. But असहि शब्दि: ‘he cuts with speech’.

77. The affix शि is employed after the roots of the Tuddi class, in denoting the agent when a सार्वधातुक affix follows.

This debars शि. The indicatory शि makes this affix a सार्वधातुक affix. As दु+शि+भि = दु+शि+भि = गृहि (1.2.4) ‘he pains or torments’.

78. The affix दि comes after the roots of the Rudhadi class, in denoting an agent when a सार्वधातुक affix follows.
This debars श्रु. The indicatory ए of the affix एम्म shows that the affix ए is to be placed after the last vowel of the root; see सूत्र I. 1. 47. As ए + एम्म + ए = ए + ए + ए = एम्म 'he obstructs'. So also ए 'he splits'. The indicatory ए is for the sake of सूत्र VI. 4. 23.

79. The affix ए comes after the roots of the Tanàdî class and after the verb क्ष 'to make' when a sàrvadhâtuka affix follows, signifying the agent.

This debars श्रु. As श्रु + क्ष + ए = श्रु + क्ष + ए = श्रु + क्ष 'he makes'. Though the root क्ष is included in the list of the Tanàdî verbs, for which see Dhâtupâtha, yet its separate enunciation in the present sûtra is for the sake of making a restrictive rule with regard to this verb; that is to say, the root क्ष is a Tanàdî root only for the purposes of taking the affix ए; all the other operations of Tanàdî verbs are not to be performed upon it. Thus the rule II. 4. 79. does not apply to क्ष. Thus भुजय and भुजय:; the ए elision being compulsory and not optional.

80. The affix ए comes after the roots धिशिन 'to please', and क्षव 'to hurt', when a sàrvadhâtuka affix denoting the agent follows; and in these verbs ए is the substitute of the final ए.

The root धिशिन or धिशिन belongs to the Bhuàdî class. Thus धिशिन + क्ष + ए = धिशिन + क्ष + ए = धिशिन + क्ष + ए (VI. 4. 48) = भिन्नित 'he pleases'. It might be asked, why there is no गुना of the ए of धिशिन by rule VII. 3. 86 which requires the base to be gunated before a sàrvadhâtuka or an ārdhadhâtuka affix. The answer is to be found in sûtra I. 1. 57; the substitute of ए which is a blank, is like the former occupant (sthânavat), and thus prevents गुना.

81. The affix ए comes after the roots of the Kryàdî class when a sàrvadhâtuka affix follows denoting the agent.
This debars र, As क्रू + इन + लिन = क्रोनिन 'he buys'. So also राइनिन 'he pleases'?

सत्यात्मकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्सकपुन्ः ।

82 And there is the affix र ना after सत्य, सत्य, सत्य or सत्य 'to hinder', 'to be dull or insensible', 'to support', and सत्य 'to go by leaps', as well as the affix रु, when a सृवद्धातुका affix follows, in denoting the agent.

As सत्याणिति or सत्यानादिति, सत्यानादिति or सञ्ज्ञानाति, सञ्ज्ञानाति or सञ्ज्ञानाति, सञ्ज्ञानाति or श्रीनादिति. The first four of these roots are not found in the Dhātapātha and are to be found in the sūtras, and hence called Saūtra roots.

हस्ति: श्री: श्रीयक्षी । १३ ॥ पदार्थि: । हस्ति: श्री: श्रीयक्षी-है ।

83. The affix र ना is the substitute of र ना after a root ending with a consonant, when र ना follows.

The affix र ना is the 2nd person singular of लोक or the Imperative mood. Thus पुन्त 'do thou nourish', मृग 'do thou take', from roots पुत्र and म्र which end with consonants. But we have क्रूथि 'do thou buy'; here there is no substitution of र ना, because the root ends with a vowel. The repetition of र ना in the sūtra shows that र ना is a mere substitute and not an independent affix.

( हस्ति: र ना: श्रीयक्षी, है ।)

84. In the Chhandas, श्रीयक्ष is also the substitute of र ना after roots ending in consonants, when र ना follows.

Thus गुर्ज श्रीयक्षदेव, (Rig Veda VIII. 17. 5.) The affix श्रीयक्ष is also employed; as वण 'kill the beasts'.

उत्तमो बुल्लम् । १५ ॥ पदार्थि: । उत्तमो: बुल्लम्, (हस्ति, श्रवद्यः ।)

85. In the Chhandas there is diversely an interchange of the various विकाराणों र ना and the rest.
which have been previously ordained under special circumstances.

The word स्वर्ग means transgression of the fixed rule, or interchange, taking of two vikaranas at a time, and so on. Thus नेतरि = नेत्र + झाँ+ति instead of नेत्रति from the root नेत्र 'to split', belonging to the Rudhādi class; e.g. पुष्पमा भ्रात नेत्रिः (Rig. VIII. 40. 11.) 'He (Indra) break the eggs (children) of Shushma; so also, जरता गरवे पिता (Rig. X. 86. 11); here there is गरवे=गर + झाँ + ति instead of गरवे; the root ग बelonging to the Tudādi class. So also there are two vikaranas at one and the same time, in the following. इन्द्रेऽ गरवेण न नाचु 'May Indra lead this abode'; here there is नाचु 3rd. per. sing. of the Imperative नाच of the root न 'to lead'; there are two vikaranas नाचु and नाचू instead of नाचू=(नी + झाँ + ति); इन्द्रेऽ बुज तह वस च युम्भा (Rig. VII. 48. 1). The word तह चेत (त + आ + ति + झाँ + ति) is the 1st. per. sing. of the Optative (ति) of the root त, the classical form being तरेछ or तीर्यां 'may we cross'.

In the Vedic literature we have many apparent irregularities with regard to the rules of declension of nouns, conjugation of verbs, application of Parasamipada or Atmanepada affixes; rules of gender, person or tense, rules of interchange of consonants, or of vowels, rules of accent, rules relating to क्रिया and सहिष्णु affixes and rules relating to the affixes included in the pratyangāra ब्रह्म (III. 1. 22 to III. 1. 86).

86. The affix अम is employed in the Chhandas when the affixes of the Benefactive (आत्मागति) follow.

This debars झाँ. The affixes of the Benefactive are ārdhahātuka by III. 4. 116; but in the Vedas they are sārvadhātuka as well; see Rule III. 4. 117. The scope of the present rule is confined to the Benefactive of the verbs स्थ, गा, गृह, ख, खू, खु, खुक्कु and श; as उपस्थेक्ष, स्थवरपरेयंक्ष, स्थवर जनस्य गृहादहृ, स्थव शोचेन्यांक्ष, ब्राह्म प्रेक्षा ब्राह्म; तथा निर्वाचनाथिति लघुक्षेत्र्य, स्वम लोकमागहेवम्.

The affix अम is employed in the Chhandas after the verb दृश्य in the Benefactive. Had there been अम, it would have caused दृष्टा by rule VII. 4. 16; to prevent this, अम is ordained; as दृश्य दृष्टे मातार्य 'May I see the father and the mother'.

कर्तव्याकर्तनां तुल्यक्रियः॥ ८९ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ कर्तव्यः कार्तना, तुल्य-क्रियः ॥
Reflexive Affix. [Bk. III. Ch. I. § 87, 88.

87. The न denoting the agent, when the action affecting the agent is similar to the action which affects the object, is treated as if it were a न denoting the object.

This rule applies to reflexive verbs. "This direction implies the substitution for the operations incident to a tense-affix or न, denoting an agent, of all the operations, which fall to be performed when the tense-affix or न denotes the object. Hence there shall be the affixing of खण् (III. 1. 67) the employment of Atmanepada terminations (I. 3. 13), the substitution of विच्छ for विद्य (III. 1. 66), and the treatment of the word as directed in sūtra VI. 4. 62." (Dr. Ballantyne). Thus नियते कार्यां त्वयमेव 'the wood splits of itself'; अन्यें कार्यां त्वमेव 'the wood splits of itself'.

When an action is participated by or affects the agent in the same way as is done by the object, the agent is treated like an object.

When an object, though it stands as an agent, the action is perceived to take place as in an object, then that agent becomes like an object; and all grammatical rules applicable to the object apply to such an agent.

The word वषु 'like' in the sūtra signifies that the rules which apply to an agent also come into operation; thus नियते कुशोंेत्र.

The word कर्मण 'with the object' in the sūtra indicates that the tulyakriya or similarity of action must be with the object, and not with the instrument or the location. Thus सांविकलितम् त्वमेव 'the sword cuts well'; here 'sword' is not agent but instrument. So also साप्त स्वाली वषु 'the pot cooks well'; here स्वाली is a location.

This 'karma-vad-bhāva, the passive-like-construction takes place only in cases of some verbs.

88. The agent of the verb न 'to heat' becomes similar to the object, only when the object is the word शाप itself.

Thus नाथसिस वायुसिस: 'the devotee performs austere devotion'; but not so in शापतिर मृत्युं शरद्याकार: 'the goldsmith heats the gold'.
89. The affix या (III. 1. 67) and बिष्य (III. 1. 62) are not employed in the reflexive voice of the verbs दूध 'to milk', शूष 'to fall in drops' and नृप 'to bow'. The affixes या and बिष्य are used in forming the reflexive verbs, when the action affecting the agent is similar to the action which affects the object. With regard to the root या, the affix या is only prohibited by the present sutra; the बिष्य being optionally employed by rule III. 1. 63, as दूधे, भुति and भूरे ती; दूध 'the cow flows or flowed of itself' प्रयूनि or धालोपि ती; दूध 'the cow flows or flowed of itself'; दूधे or धालीसि हर्ष: दूध 'the stick bends or bent of itself'.

This prohibition of the employment of the affixes या and बिष्य is extended to the verbs that take the affix फळ (such as causatives &c.), to the verbs या 'to loosen', या 'to compose' and या 'to speak', and to the Atmanepadi. Intransitive verbs. As कारवसे 'it is caused to be made of itself'; भाविकति 'it was caused to be made of itself'; भाविति 'it loosens of itself'; अभाविन्द 'it loosened of itself'; भाविति 'it composes or composed of itself'; या and या 'it speaks and spoke of itself'; या and या अभावित भाविताणि: दूधे.

90. The affix रक्षति comes after the roots दूध 'to pull', and रक्षति 'to colour', in the reflexive voice, according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, and these verbs take the affixes of the Parasmaipada. This debar the affix या and the Atmanepada terminations. As कृपति पावः: दूध 'the foot draws up of itself'; रक्षति रक्षति 'the cloth colours of itself'.

The phrase 'in the opinion of the Eastern' shows that it is an optional rule; so that we have also the forms कृपति and रक्षति.

91. As far as the end of the Third Book
reckoning from the present aphorism, the affixes treated of are to be understood as coming after some verbal root. This is an Adhikāra Sūtra. All these verbal affixes are broadly divided into two parts क्रुद्ध and क्रुद्ध affixes, which will be described later on.

92. Here in this Third Book of Grammar referring to verbal roots, the word implied in a term exhibited in the locative case, is called ‘upapada’ or dependant word.

Thus in sūtra III. 2. क्रमबृहस्पति the word क्रमबृहस्पति is exhibited in the 7th case; therefore the word implied by the word क्रमबृहस्पति, namely, the word having the accusative case, will be called उपपद. Thus क्रमबृहस्पति क्रमबृहस्पति क्रमबृहस्पति ‘a potter’; here the word क्रमबृहस्पति is an upapada.

93. In this portion of the Sūtras in which there is a reference to verbal roots, any affix except विऱ्य (tense-affixes), is called क्रुद्ध.

Thus the affixes सन्नवर्तमान &c. are क्रुद्ध. All affixes up to the end of this Book belong to this class. These are affixes by which substantives are formed from verbal roots; and they have, therefore, most aptly been termed primary affixes. Words formed by these affixes will be Prātipadikas or crude forms or nominal bases (1. 2. 46). Thus क्रुद्ध + तत्त्व = क्रुद्धतत्त्व. Why do we say ‘except विऱ्य affixes’? Observe भीमान ‘may he collect’, शुचिः ‘may he praise’ which form verbs and not nouns.

94. In this portion of the Sūtras, in which there is a reference to verbal roots, an affix which is calculated to debar a general one, not being of the same
form, optionally debars it; but not so in the case of feminine affixes (III. 3. 94 &c.)

Thus the affixes भुज़् and ह्रद् (III. 1, 133) are general affixes applicable to all roots in forming nouns of agency; and the sūtra III. 1. 133 which ordains these affixes, is an utsarga or a general rule; while the sūtra III. 1. 135 ordaining the affix क after verbs having a penultimate ḫ vowel, and the roots शार, श्री and कृ is an apavāda or a special aphorism. In the latter case, therefore, we may have the affixes भुज़् and ह्रद् also. Thus ग्रंङ्ग is a root that has a penultimate ḫ belonging to the pratyāhāra ḫ; and therefore, in forming the noun of agency from it, the affix क will have to be applied by rule 135 of this chapter already mentioned; thus विलिप् + क = विलिप् + भ = विलिप्; but this special rule however does not debar the operation of the general rule, and we have optionally विलिप् + भुज़् = विलिप्; and विलिप् + ह = विलिप् nom. sing. विलिप्.

Why do we say 'not being of the same form'? Because if two affixes have the same form, the present rule will not apply; and in the case of such affixes, the special affix will debar the general affix. Thus the affixes भास्कर, and क are, when stripped of their indicatory letters, affixes having the same form i.e. भ; and therefore the sūtra III. 2. 1. ordaining भास्कर as a general rule, will be always debarred by sūtra III. 2. 3 ordaining क, as the latter is a special sūtra applicable only to those roots which end in long भ, or which are simple roots not compounded with any preposition. Thus गी + ह + क = गी: 'giver of cows'. So also ग्रंङ्गः: 'blanket-giver'. In these cases we cannot have the affix भास्कर.

It follows from this sūtra as a necessary corollary, that the addition of indicatory letters does not make two or more affixes dissimilar in form (असंरूप) when their essential effective element is the same. Thus the affixes क, भास्कर, भुज़्, छ &c. are similar.

Why do we say 'but not so in the case of feminine affixes'? Because in the case of feminine affixes, a special affix will debar a general affix, though they may be dissimilar in form. Thus sūtra III. 3. 94 ordaining क in forming feminine nouns from roots is a general or utsarga rule, while sūtra III. 3. 102 ordaining क after roots that have already taken some affix is a special or apavāda rule, and though क and क are dissimilar in form, they being feminine affixes, the former will always debar the latter. Thus the compound desiderative roots विलिप् and विलिप् will form feminine nouns in भ and not by भुज़्. Thus विलिप् and विलिप् and not विलिप् &c.

ऋत्या: प्राक्रुयुल्: || क || पदरि || ॠत्या: माक्, कृपुल्: ||
From this aphorism, as far as the aphorism (III. 1. 133), all the affixes treated, will get the name of Kritya.

This defines the class of affixes known as kritya, a subdivision of krit affixes. These are certain affixes like सम्भ, अनीच &c., which may be treated as declinable verbal terminations. (III. 4. 70). The following 38 sutras treat of these affixes. These verbal adjectives correspond in meaning to the Latin participles in udos conveying the idea that the action expressed by the verbs ought to be done or will be done. The word formed by them may be called Passive Potential Participles or Future Passive Participles. The illustrations will be given hereafter under each affix as taught. The word kritya occurs in sutras II. 1. 33, II. 3. 71 &c.

96. The affixes सम्भ, अनीच and अनीच are come after verbal roots.

The phrase ‘after verbal roots’ is understood in this aphorism by anuvṛtti from शृङ्ख. The final letters र of सम्भ and र of अनीच are for the sake of indicating accent, being merely diacritical letters. The letter र indicating svarita accent (VI. 1. 183) and the letter र indicating penultimate udatta accent (VI. 1. 217); these being exceptions to the general rule of accent given in सूत्रa 3 ante of this chapter.

Thus र्त in सम्भ = कर्तव्य, and र्त in अनीच = ‘must be done’. In these cases the sense bearing that of the action itself, there is neuter gender singular number.

*Var:*—The affix शृङ्ख when coming after the verb शृङ्ख ‘to dwell’ in marking the agent, is treated as if it had an indicatory श. The force of श is to cause vṛiddhi. Thus शृङ्ख + शृङ्ख = शृङ्ख: ‘a dweller’. Here the word is in the masculine gender, as the force of the affix is that of the agent, and not as it generally has that of an act or object (III. 4. 70).

*Var:*—The affix केलिमुर should be enumerated in addition to those already enumerated in this aphorism. Thus पशुलिमुर नाम: ‘kidney beans fit to be
cooked'; नवंरिमिनि कावानि 'the woods are apt to be split: i.e. fragile'. This affix is to be employed when it is intended to express an object alone (i.e. in the passive and reflexive sense) and cannot be employed like those enumerated above, to denote also the action.

अधी यत् || 62 || पदार्थि || अब्, यत्, (धाति:) ||

पृष्ठ: || भजनजातासोसुमस्मो नदनि ||

वाक्षिकम् || तत्त्वसिद्धिः चतुष्विनानातुपपसंघवात्मन् हमो या वध य ||

97. The affix वदि comes after a root that ends in a vowel.

The letter त of this affix is indicative showing that the udātta accent falls on the first vowel (VI. 1. 213); thus ता + बत् = बेत्, noun sing. बेंग् 'what is to be sung'; so also बेंखु 'what is to be drunk'; बेंध् 'what is to be conquered'. The भा of गा and गा is changed into ए by VI. 4. 65. Why do we say 'that ends in a vowel'? By sūtra 124 of this chapter, a root ending in a consonant takes बवं affix instead of बस्; reading these two aphorisms together, the conclusion to be drawn is that the affix बस् comes after roots which primarily end in a vowel, though in the course of development they may end in a consonant by the application of other rules. Thus from हो 'to cut', we have the desiderative root हिस्, which ends in a vowel भा. This भा is elided before ardhaadhātuka affixes and thus the root becomes हिस्, which ends in a consonant; nevertheless we shall have the affix बस् and not बवं. Thus हिस् 'what is wished to be cut'; हिस्वम् 'what is wished to be placed'. Similarly खु before ardhaadhātuka affixes becomes हो, the खु is changed into हव before बs (VI. 1. 79) and the form then is भव्. The root भव् however takes बस् and not बवं; as लक्ष्यो, बल्कर्, &c.

Vart:—The verbs हव् 'to fly', हाच 'to leap', हस् 'to ask', हस् 'to attempt' and हस् 'to be born', should be enumerated in addition; that is to say, these verbs, though ending in a consonant, take बस् and not बवं; as तक्ष्यम्, तक्ष्यम्, तक्ष्यम्, तक्ष्यम्, and तक्ष्यम्.

Vart:—And of the verb हस् 'to kill' बस् is the substitute when it optionally takes the affix बस्. Thus we have हस् or बस्. The latter form is evolved by sūtras VII. 3. 32 and 54. The affix बस् comes only after the बस् substitute; after हस् the affix बवं comes which changes the ब into ब, and ब into ब and causes vriddhī.

98. The affix बव् comes after a root, which ends in a labial letter preceded by a short भ.
This debars वच्च; thus शाप + वच्च = शापम् ‘to be sworn’; भगव + वच्च = भगवन् ‘to be acquired’.

Why do we say ‘which ends in a labial’? Because if a root ends in any other consonant, though preceded by a short अ, the root will take वच्च; thus त्र्युष् + वच्च = त्र्युषम् ‘what is to be cooked’; धाप्याम् ‘speech’.

Why do we say ‘when preceded by a short अ’? When preceded by any other vowel, it will take वच्च; thus खुर + वच्च = खुरम् ‘to be angry’; so also गोष्णम् ‘to be concealed’.

The word अत्र is used in the सूत्र in the original. The force of त्र here is, by I. 1. 70, that short अ having one मात्रा or prosodial length is to be taken and not long अ. Therefore, after the root धाप्य ‘to obtain’, we have वच्च and not वच्च; thus भास्यम् ‘to be reached’ i.e. ‘attainable’.

99. The affix वच्च comes after the roots ग्रह ‘to be able’, and श्रव ‘to bear’.

Thus धाप्यम् ‘possible’; शापम् ‘endurable’.

100. The affix वच्च comes after the roots धाप ‘to speak’, श्रव ‘to be mad’, श्रव ‘to go, to eat’, and श्रव to restrain, when these roots do not take any proposition.

Thus धाप्य ‘what is to be spoken, i.e. prose’; श्रव ‘wine’; श्रव ‘what is to be followed; श्रवम् ‘what is to be restrained’.

Why do we say ‘when not preceded by a preposition’? When compounded with an upasarga, these roots will take वच्च; thus प्रायम्; प्रायम् &c.

The root धाप would have taken the affix वच्च by सूत्र 98 also, as it ends in अ and is preceded by अ; its separate enumeration in this सूत्र is in order to show, that the compound verb धापम् will not take the affix वच्च. Therefore with regard to धाप, this is a नियम or restrictive rule and not a विद्धि or original rule.

Vart:—The root धाप when preceded by the preposition भाग takes the अत्र affix when the sense is not that of a preceptor; thus भाप्ये भेष ‘an approachable or communicable country’. But when the sense is that of a teacher the root takes वच्च; thus भाप्ये ‘a preceptor’.
101. The words अच्छा, एवं and बाह्य are irregularly formed, having the sense of 'condemnable', 'saleable' and 'unobstructable' respectively.

Thus, अच्छा वार्त 'censurable sin'. Another and regular form is अच्छु. This is formed by adding the affix अच्छु to the root अच्छु by III. 1. 106. So also एवं: कभीन: 'saleable blanket'; एवं: गौ: 'saleable cow'. The other and regular form is गौ, formed by the addition of गौ. So also श्राव सा 'unobstructed by hundred'; श्राव सा 'unobstructed by thousand'. The other and regular form is पुरा from the root पु 'to choose'. बाह्य means a girl choosing her own husband and is non-obstructable by any body. The word बाह्य in the sūtra is in the feminine gender, and it is in this gender only that the word is so formed. In the masculine gender, the word is regularly formed; thus बाह्य निरूपम.

102. The word बाह्य is irregularly formed, when the meaning of the word is an instrument of carrying.

The word बाह्य is derived from root बाह्य 'to carry' and means 'a vehicle', i.e., that by which a thing is carried; as बाह्य शाकार. When it does not mean a carriage, the root takes the affix बाह्य; thus बाह्य 'an ox'.

103. The word अर्थ is irregularly formed when meaning 'lord' and a 'Vaisya'.

The root अर्थ 'to go', would have taken अर्थ by sūtra 124 of this chapter; but it takes अर्थ when the sense of the word formed by it is that of a 'lord' or a man of 'Vaisya' caste. As अर्थ: अर्थी, 'honored lord', अर्थ वैथ: 'honored Vaisya'.

Vart: Though by VI. 1. 213, the affix अर्थ makes the udāta accent fall on the first syllable of the word, yet in the case of the word अर्थ, when it means 'lord', the accent falls on the last syllable.

Why do we say 'when it means a lord or a Vaisya'? Otherwise the root takes the affix अर्थ; as अर्थी अर्थ: 'the respectable Brāhmaṇa'.

11
104. The word उपस्थत्व is irregularly formed when meaning what has reached the time favorable to conception, or ripe for fruition.

The word उपस्थत्व is formed by adding वि affix to the root ग्व ‘to move’, compounded with the preposition वि. The word काल्पनिक means having reached the time. The word रञ्जन means the first conception. Thus उपस्थत्व ग्री: ‘the cow fit for the bull’; उपस्थत्व वि: ‘the mare fit for the horse’.

Why do we say ‘when meaning what has reached the time favorable to conception’? Otherwise the affix वि will be used; as उपस्थत्व ग्री: ‘Madhura is approachable in Sarat season’.

105. The word असर्वेग ‘imperishable’ is irregularly formed when qualifying the word संगति ‘friendship’ expressed or understood.

The word असर्वेग is formed from the root ग्व by the addition of वि, and affixing the negative particle अ; as अ + ग्व + वि = असर्वेग.

Thus असर्वेग ‘नमस्तु संगति let our friendship be imperishable’. So also असर्वेगमहेनसंगति.

Why do we say ‘when qualifying the word संगति’? Observe भाषरिता कम्मल ‘undecaying blanket’.

106. After the root ग्व ‘to speak’, governing a case-inflected word as its upapada, and not having a preposition annexed to it, there comes the affix ग्व also.

The phrase ‘not having a preposition’ is to be read into this sūtra by anuvṛtti from sūtra 100 ante. The force of the word ‘also’ is to indicate that the affix ग्व is also employed. The word सुचि means ‘in construction with an upapada that ends in case-affix’.

Thus कद्व + ग्व + कद्व = कद्व + ग्व + ग्व = कद्वप्रभृति; कद्व + ग्व + ग्व = कद्वप्रभृति ‘told by the Vedas or Brahma’. Similarly संवोधत or संवधत ‘truth-mouthed’.

Why do we say ‘when it has a case-inflected word as upapada’? Otherwise ग्व + ग्व = ग्व ‘a musical instrument’.
Why do we say 'not having a preposition'? Observe अनुपस्वन्त् 'a rumour' formed by the affix अनु and not by अन्त or अन्तः.

मुचि सावे मुचि १०७ पदानिर्दाता सावे, (अनुपस्वन्त्, सुचि, अनुपस्वन्त्)

बुधि: मन्त्री: पुदन्तृपस्वन्त् अनुपस्वन्त् मात्र: कथित: मर्यादा: धर्मि: ।

107. After the root नूते 'to be', in construction with a case-inflected word as its upapada and when used without a preposition, the affix कथित: is employed to denote condition (भावा).

The words मुचि and अनुपस्वन्त् of previous sutras are understood in this. The anuvrāti of तथा does not cover this aphorism. As मः पुदन्तृपस्वन्त् गतः = मः पुदन्तृपस्वन्त् गतः: 'gone to or arrived at Brahmanhood.; पुदन्तृपस्वन्त् = पुदन्तृपस्वन्त्: 'gone to divinity'.

The word भावा of this sūtra governs the succeeding ones.

Why do we say 'in construction with a case-inflected word'? Otherwise it will take तथा, as तथा + तथा = तथा + तथा = तथा (VI. 1. 79).

Why do we say 'not taking a preposition'? Observe अनुपस्वन्त्.

हनस: || १०८ पदानिर्दाता हनस: सत् सत् (सुचि, अनुपस्वन्त्, कथित:)

बुधि: हनस: अनुपस्वन्त् अनुपस्वन्त् मात्र: कथित: मर्यादा: धर्मि: ।

108. After the root नूते 'to kill', when in construction with a case-inflected word as its upapada, and when used without a preposition, comes the affix कथित: in denoting condition, and the letter क is the substitute of its final.

The phrases मुचि अनुपस्वन्त् and मात्र: are understood in this sūtra.

As मः + पुदन्तृपस्वन्त् + तथा = मः + पुदन्तृपस्वन्त् + तथा = मः पुदन्तृपस्वन्त् 'Brahman-murder'. So also अनुपस्वन्त् 'killing a horse'.

When not in construction with a noun, the form is तथा 'a blow' (तथा + विशिष्ट: + गः). This verb does not take the affix बुधि: in denoting condition, there being no example of such formation.

Why do we say 'when not taking a preposition'? Observe अनुपस्वन्त् सत्: 'there is a combat'.
109. After the verbs य ‘to go’, स्त्रे ‘to praise’, शास्त्रे ‘to govern’, श्रृ ‘to choose’, श्रे ‘to respect’ and पृष्ठ ‘to please’, comes the affix वर्ण.

The anuvruttī of चुः, अतुर्वस्त्रे and भावे does not extend to this aphorism. The present sūtra ordains generally the affix वर्ण after the above verbs. Thus य + कवर्ण = य + त + व (VI. 1. 71) = वर्ण: ‘to be gone’. The letter त being added by Rule VI. 1. 71 which declares ‘स’ is the augment of a short vowel when a कूल affix, with an indicatory न follows’. So also स्त्रे + कवर्ण = स्त्रे + व: ‘to be praised’; शास्त्रे + कवर्ण = शास्त्रे + व (आ being changed into आ by VI. 4. 34) = शास्त्रे: ‘to be instructed i.e. a pupil’. So also श्रृ + कवर्ण = श्रृ + व: ‘to be chosen’; श्रे + कवर्ण = श्रे: ‘to be honoured’; पृष्ठ + कवर्ण = पृष्ठ: ‘to be served’.

Though the anuvruttī of कवर्ण was coming from the previous sūtra 100, its repetition in this aphorism is to indicate that other rules such as 125 of this chapter should not take effect in the above verbs. Thus Rule 125 requires चुः ‘after the verb चुः, but the present rule prohibits that. Thus we have भावे ल्युटु: ‘must be praised’.

By श्रे in the sūtra the root पृष्ठ is intended to be taken, and not the root पृ. The equivalent derivative of the latter is चार्य: as चार्यम् वर्जितम्.

Vart.—The roots शास्त्रे ‘to praise’ पृष्ठ ‘to milk’ and पृष्ठ ‘to cover’ optionally take the affix कवर्ण. As शास्त्रे or शास्त्रे (VI. 4. 37); पृष्ठ or पृष्ठ, पृष्ठ or पृष्ठ.

Vart.—The verb ल्युटे ‘to anoint’, preceded by the preposition भावे takes the affix कवर्ण, when used as an apppellative. As भावे + ल्युटे + कवर्ण = भावे, meaning clarified butter. The nasal is elided by VI. 4. 24.

Obj.—How do you explain the form चार्यम् which is evidently formed from the root चा by adding यु? According to the present sūtra, the affix यु ought to have been added. Ans. The य in चार्यম् is a different root from that taken here. The root in this sūtra is पृष्ठ of the Adādi class.

110. After verbs having a penultimate short श्रे, the affix वर्ण is employed, with the exception of the verbs श्रे ‘to be able’, and पृष्ठ ‘to hurt’.

Thus पृष्ठ + कवर्ण = पृष्ठवर्ण; so also श्रे, श्रे. But पृष्ठ and पृष्ठ will form कवर्ण, and पृष्ठ.

Why have we used the letter यु in कवर्ण? It is to indicate that short श्रे
is meant and not long  (I. 1. 70). Therefore the root  will take  and form  

Vart:—The root  takes the affix  when compounded with the word  Thus  is ‘a rope.’

Vart:—The root  when preceded by both  and  takes  as

111. The affix  is employed after the root  ‘to dig’, and long  is substituted for the final of the root.

Thus  +  =  +  +  =  ‘to be dug’. The long  is used in the sūtra for the sake of euphony. The same purpose would have been served by using short  thus ‘  ‘. But the long  indicates that the rule VI. 4. 43 does not apply here. By that rule the  of  would have been lengthened into  before the affix  

112. The affix  is employed after the verb  ‘to bear’ when not used as a name.

Thus  +  =  Pl.  ‘those who ought to be supported’  i.e. ‘servants’. Why do we say ‘when not used as an appellative’? Observe  +  =  ‘a Kshatriya’.

Vart:—The use of kyap is optional when this verb takes the preposition . Thus  or  

113. The affix  optionally comes after the root  ‘to cleanse’. 

This is an example of Prāpta-vibhāskā. By rule 110 ante, the root  having a penultimate  would have necessarily taken kyap; this sūtra declares an option. As pariprav: or parināmāṃ: ‘to be cleansed’. The second form is thus evolved:—

pariprav +  (III. 1. 124) = pariprav + (VII. 3. 52) = parināmāṃ (VII. 2. 114)
114. The words राजसूय are irregularly formed by the addition of the affix कवर. Thus राजसूय is formed by the addition of कवर.

Similarly घ or घ + कवर = घुड़ी: 'the sun', literally that which moves (सरि) in the sky; or that which impels (सुल्तन) creation to action. कुत् + कवर = कुम्भ 'false speech'; this is an exception to rule 106, by which कुत् would also have been applied. This rule prevents it. Thus रीष + ति, तु + कवर = तुह 'an agreeable lover'. So also गुरु + कवर = गुर्म 'a base metal (other than gold and silver)'; the other form is गुरुम्. कृष्ण + पञ्च = कृष्णपञ्च 'that which ripens of itself in cultivated ground'. नदये = नदया: 'a snake (what does not move by legs)'.

115. The words विष and वदव are irregularly formed by the affix कवर when meaning a 'river'.

Thus विष + कवर = विषाद: 'a river that breaks its banks by the rush of its water', the name of the Bhidya river.

उद्यम + कवर = उद्यत 'a river whose waters overflow the banks', name of the Uddhyo river; the य is changed into य.

When not meaning or qualifying the river, the regular forms are used; thus नेता and निष्प्राय.

116. The words पुष्प and सिद्ध are irregularly formed by the affix कवर, when used as names of asterisms.

Thus पुष्प + कवर = पुष्प: 'the Pushya asterism'. It is so called because objects are nourished under the influences of this asterism. सिद्ध + कवर = सिद्ध: 'the asterism Siddhya' another name of Pushya, so-called because things are accomplished under the influence of this star.

When not the names of asterisms, the forms are श्रीस 'nourishing', श्रीशष्ठ 'accomplishing'.

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117. The words निरूक, निरीव and निर्म are irregularly formed when they mean, the 'muñja grass', the 'sediment' and the 'plough' respectively.

Thus निर + पु + कर = निर्मुक्त: etymologically 'that which has to be purified to make rope'; निर + मी + कस = निर्मीय 'a sediment or sin'; निर + कर = निर्म 'a plough that which is to be conquered by strength'.

The regular derivatives are निरिन्ध, निरिच्छ and निरन.

118. The verb वाण 'to seize', preceded by the prepositions मित्र and भय, takes the affix कर in the Vedic literature.

Thus मित्र वाण मित्रवाण ! सताभाषियाः द्वारा !

In the classical Sanskrit the proper forms are प्रियादास, and अविमादास.

प्रकृति शिराहःवाणस्य च ! २१५ ! पदार्थ ! प्रतिविश्वां, प्रकृति । अपि त्वां, वाण (कर) !

119. The root वाण takes the affix कर, when it means a 'word', a 'dependent', 'outside', or a 'partisan'.

Thus प्रकृतियाः the Pragṛihya words that do not admit of sandhi, already defined in sūtra I. 1. 11. So also अविमादास.

The word अविमादास means dependent upon others, not free to provide for himself. Thus मुक्तता: सुंकता: 'the captive parrots'.

The word ताण means 'situated outside'. Thus ताणवाणु: केडं 'an army lying outside the village'. The word ताण being in the feminine gender indicates that the derivative word formed from ताण must also be feminine in gender to have this sense.

The word ताण is derived from ताण 'a side, a party', and means a partisan, follower or friend. Thus ताणवाणुवाणु: 'siding with or being the partisans of Vāsudeva'. So also ताणवाणु: 'belonging to the party of Arjun'.
120. After the verbs हृत्त 'to do', and पृष्ट 'to rain' the affix कर्ष is optionally employed.

The root हृत्त would have taken the affix कर्ष, by 124, and the verb पृष्ट would necessarily have taken कर्ष by 110; the present sūtra therefore declares an optional rule. Thus: हृत्त + कर्ष = कर्ष 'to be done'; or हृत्त + धर्म = कार्यम. So also धर्म or कर्ष 'stimulating'.

121. The word धर्म is irregularly formed meaning a vehicle.

The word धर्म means that by which a thing is carried. Thus धर्म 'the carrier bull or the yoked bull'. धर्म 'the harnessed elephant ready to carry'. धर्म + कर्ष = धर्म. The धर्म is changed into धर्म. When not meaning a carrier or a carriage, it has the form धर्म.

122. Optionally the word अभास्वत्स is irregularly formed.

The word अभास्वत्स means 'along' or 'together'. अभास्वत्स in composition with the root धर्म 'to dwell', takes the affix धर्म in the sense of location of time. Optionally the धर्म is not substituted in such a case. The time or the day on which the sun and the moon dwell together in the same constellation is called अभास्वत्स or अभास्वत्स.

The final धर्म in अभास्वत्स is indicative and is for the sake of showing where should the proper accent fall.

The two forms अभास्वत्स or अभास्वत्स are the same word, and a fortiori a rule made with regard to one will be made applicable to the other. And to this effect there is a paribhāṣā which declares एकत्राशेषविद्युत्सत्यावत्सत्यम; 'that which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place'. Therefore sūtra IV. 3. 30, though it, in terms, says अभास्वत्स धर्म is made applicable to the form अभास्वत्स also.
123. In the Vedas the following words are found which are formed irregularly: —निष्के, वेष्टुमान, प्रश्नव, उपशास्त्र, वेश्याक, सवत्, सवत्, सवन, वेष्टुमान, भेष्टुमान, प्रश्नव, प्रश्नव, प्रश्नव, प्रश्नव, भेष्टूमान.

The formation of the above words are extremely irregular and they are all met with in the Vedic literature only. Thus the word निष्के is derived from the root कृत्य ‘to cut’, with the preposition कित्, and the affix विषम, instead of कयु, which is the regular affix, by 110; कित्+कृत्+षम = कित्+कृत्+षम (the root कृत् transformed into कृत् by transposition) = निष्के. As निष्के विषम (प्रश्नव) pagan.

The above is apparently a guess-work etymology of grammarians.

So also वेष्टुमान is formed by adding to the root वेष्टु ‘to call’ or हृ ‘to invoke’, the affix कयु and the upapada वेष्टु; the vowel of the root is then lengthened and the augment यु (VI. 1. 71), is not allowed, हृ+हृ or हृ+कयु = वेष्टुः: So also प+श (to lead) +कयु = पश्चिम; वस+श+कयु = वस्त्रियम; वस+रिः (to leave) + कयु = रिध्विश्चाय; इ (to die) + वत् = वशी; स्त्र (to cover) + वत् = लव; it is always feminine. धु (to bend) + वत् = धाव: ; वस (to dig) + वत् = धार्म: धार्म+वत् = धार्म: ;

124. The affix वत् comes after a verb that ends in श (long or short), or in a consonant.

The phrase महलोऽये is in the genitive case dual number, the force of genitive here being that of ablative. As कृ + वत् = कार्यष् ‘to be made’; हृ + वत् =
125. The affix यत्र comes after a root that ends in the letter r long or short when the sense is that of necessity.

This debars the affix यह. Thus लू+यत्र = लौ+र = लाल्यम् (VII. 2. 115 and VI. 1. 79) 'must be cut'; so also लू+यत्र = पायत्रम् 'must be purified'.

When 'necessity' is not indicated we have the form लाल्य ‘to be cut’
The sūtra as given in the original is rather ambiguous; it may be construed to mean, 1st when the word भावणक or a word having the sense of this term is in construction as upapada, the affix यत्र is employed: or 2ndly when, the sense of the affix is that of 'necessity', the यत्र is employed. There are objections to both these interpretations taken separately. For in the first case, though we could form the words भावणकल्य &c., we could not form the word लाल्य by itself. In the second case, though we could form the single word लाल्य, we could not form the compound. The best solution is to take the second interpretation and form the compound by the universal rule of Tatpurusha contained in II. 1. 72, which would also regulate the accent.

126. The affix यत्र, comes after the verbs भावु ‘to distil’, लू ‘to join’, मू ‘to sow’, लू ‘to speak distinctly’ लू ‘to prate’, लू ‘to be ashamed’, and लू ‘to drink’.

The verb भावु is a compound verb formed by the preposition भाव and the root लू. This sūtra debars वर्म that would otherwise have come by sūtra 97 and 98.

Thus भावु+यत्र = भावणकल्य (VII. 2. 115 and VI. 1. 79); so also भावणक, भावणक, भावणक, भावणक, भावणक, and भावणक:

The force of the word ल ‘and' in the sūtra is to indicate that the roots not included in the above enumeration should also be taken. Thus लू+यत्र = लाल्यम्:

127. भावणक इति सिद्धान्तम् भविष्यंतं भविष्यंतेन विषयं इति सिद्धान्तम् इति सिद्धान्तम्
127. The word आन्य्यय is irregularly formed when meaning 'impermanent'.

This word is thus formed: — अङ्कुष्य + नी + त्वल्य = द्वार + नी + त्व = आन्य्यय, (the त्व being changed into न्यय by the analogy of VI. 1. 79).

As आन्य्यय शक्तिनायस: This is a species of Dakshināgni fire. As this fire is brought from the Gārhapatya fire and is not permanently kept alive, therefore it is called Anāyya. This however, is not co-extensive with Dakshināgni. It is that fire which is brought from the Gārhapatya, and has the same source with the Dakshināgni and Ahavaniyāgni. A Dakshināgni fire may be taken from different sources, as from the family of a well-to-do Vaishya, or from a frying place, or from Gārhapatya fire. When it is taken from the last i.e. from Gārhapatya fire, it is Anāyya Dakshināgni. Ahavaniya is also taken from Gārhapatya.

It is not every thing, that is not lasting, which is called Anāyya; for a fragile pot will not be called so. It applies only to the consecrated fire. When it has not this sense, the form is आन्यय meaning 'what ought to be brought'.

128. The word अस्मति is irregularly formed when meaning 'disapproved'.

The word अस्मति is a negative word meaning 'non-agreement'. It means also 'disrespect'.

Thus अस्मति: 'the thief is to be disliked'.

Why do we say when meaning 'disapproved'. Because otherwise the regular form is म + नी 'to lead' + त्व = मण्डय: 'tractable'.

The word in the सूत्र is अस्मति which we have translated as 'disapproved'. But the word समति also means अनिलाय or 'desire'; and अस्मति would therefore, mean 'free from desire or worldly attachment'. Therefore the word अस्मति means also 'free from attachment', as in the following sentence:—

क्योंकी दुष्काल चित्त मधुर: प्राणाव अन्ते विश्वदेश: नान्ययसे कहनेत्तर: 'let the father teach the Secret Doctrine to his eldest son, or to such pupil who is free from worldly attachment, and to no one else'.

पाचारयबन्ध निकाःपापदन जानहितिर्विनायखानिपायनेनान्यसे

प्राचीनि पाचारय-वाचारय-सिन्धाय-चारिया: सान-हिविनिवार-वाचिनीया

प्राचीनि पाचारय: शास्त्र निपार्वसे बध्यतमभवे नामे हिविनिवारी सामी: वाचिनी

वेयवागुः
129. The words पात्र, सतात्र, निकाय and धाव्य are irregularly formed meaning ‘a measure’, ‘an oblation to fire’, ‘a dwelling’, and ‘a sacrificial prayer’, respectively.

These words are supposed to be formed thus:—अ (to measure) + न्य = पात्रम्, the न being changed into न and another न being added by VII. 3. 33. The regular form is मेंम् ‘to be measured’ (म + न्वति = में + स VI. 4. 65 = में) (to lead) + न्वति = सतात्रम् ‘the oblation’. It being a crude form applies to a particular kind of oblation. The regular form is संधयाम्। नि + न्वि (to collect) + न्वति = नि + न्वि = नि + सतात्र + स = निकाया: ‘a dwelling’. The regular form is निकाय। भ (to put) + न्वति = धाव्य (fem.). The समाधेनि is the name of certain Ṛik hymns used as supplemental verses in a Litany. The other form is धेव।

क्रृति कुष्ठापायवंचारयो || १३० || पदानि || क्रृति, कुष्ठापाय-संचारयो ||

बृत्ति: || कुष्ठापाय संचारय स्वयं राजवर्गीय निपासवेच्छि कसावलिते चे ||

130. The words कुष्ठापाय and संचारय: are irregularly formed meaning a sacrifice.

These words are thus formed: कुष्ठ + या (to drink) + अष्ट = कुष्ठ + या + अष्ट (VII. 3. 33) = कुष्ठापाय. ‘the sacrifice in which Soma is drunk with a bowl’. The accent falls on the first syllable by VI. 3. 33. समू + न्वि (to collect) + न्वति = संचार्य: ‘the sacrifice in which Soma is collected’.

If not applied to sacrifices, the forms will be कुष्ठापाय and संचयेचे.

अग्नि परिचयोपचारयवृत्तिः || १३१ || पदानि || अग्नि, परिचय-उपचारय-सूत्त्रयः ||

बृत्ति: || परिचारक उपचारण समूहै इसेय निपासवेच्छि भानातोतिते चे ||

131. The words परिचायक, उपचारय: and समूह: are irregularly formed when they are names of fire.

These words are thus formed:—परि + न्वि + न्वति = परि + न्वि + अष्ट = परि + सतात्र + अष्ट = परिचायक: ‘sacrificial fire arranged in a circle’ (the अष्ट being changed into अष्ट by the analogy of VI. 3. 79. This peculiar sandhi before the semivowel अ has been illustrated in the previous examples also). So also उपचारक: ‘a kind of sacred fire’. समू + अष्ट + ब्रुति = समू + अष्ट + ब्रुति = समूह: ‘a kind of fire’. समूहम् जियिते प्राकुल: let him kindle! the Samhôya fire desirous of a victim’.

Why do we say ‘when they are names of fire’? Observe otherwise, परिचारक ‘to be heaped’, उपचारक ‘to be increased’, समूहम् ‘to be carried’.
132. The words विषय and अविषय are also irregularly formed.

The word विषय: comes from the root विष ‘to collect’, and means fire i.e. that which is collected. As विषयिति: ‘the funeral pile fire’. The word अविषय means, arranging the fire. The affix य has been added to denote condition, together with the augment तु (तु). These words have utdita accent on the last vowel. The regular form is संबंध ‘to be gathered’.

133. The affixes य (अक) and य (अ) are placed after all verbal roots, expressing the agent.

The word ‘root’ is understood in the above aphorism. Thus क ‘to do’ + य(तु) = कार + य (VII. 2. 115) = कार + य (VII. 1. 1) = कारक nom. sing. कारक: ‘doer.’ क + य(तु) = कर + य (VII. 3. 84) = कर से nom. sing. करा. So also हराक: and इस्म.

The य of य is not indicatory, but distinguishes this affix from य; the simple य includes both य and य, as in V. 3. 59, and VI. 4. 154.

134. After the verbs classed as नव ‘to be happy’, यज्ञ ‘to take’ and यज्ञ ‘to cook’ there are the affixes य (अन) यिनि (य) and अव (अ) respectively.

The word द्वि meaning stettra, is to be joined with every one of the above three words. These three affixes come respectively after the verbs of the above three classes. Thus after the verbs of नव class, comes the affix य (अन); after the verbs of यज्ञ class, comes the affix यिनि; after the verbs of यज्ञ class, comes the affix अव (अ).

The नव class verbs will not be found in one place in the Dhātupātha. The list of the words formed by these affixes have, however, been collected in the Gaṇapātha. Thus नव + य = नव (I 3. 8) = नव + य (VI. 1. 1) = नव nom. sing. नवन: ‘son’ (lit. what gladdens). So also from the following causa-

The affix *sa*.

The words श्रद्ध 'God', सेव 'service' and श्रम 'ram', should be read in the यात्र class of the last सूत्र, being formed by the affix अष्टि and not by क.

136. Also after a verb ending in long भ when there is a preposition along with it, the affix क is placed.

This is an *apavada* of III. 1. 40, and debars the affix छ. Thus निज़ + क = निज़ + भ = निज़ (VI. 4. 64). निज़ + क = निज़ + भ = निज़: 'very weary'(भ substituted for ह् by VI. 1. 45.). निज़ + क = निज़ + भ = निज़: 'very languid'.

The final भ is dropped before the affix क by rule VI. 4. 64. There is elision of long भ when an अङ्गिनतुका affix follows with a vowel and having an indicatory क or क.

137. The affix क (भ) is employed after the roots भ 'to drink', प्र 'to smell', भा 'to blow', भे 'suck', and भर 'to see' when there is a preposition along with these roots.

Thus उत् + पा + भ = उत् + विष + भ (VII. 3. 78) = उत्तिष्ठ: nom. sing. विषव: ; so also विशव: ; विश्वशु: and विश्वशु:। उत् + भ + भ = उत् + ध्वं + भ = (VII. 3. 78)। उत्त्र: ; विषग: ; उत् + ध + भ = उत्त्र: ; विषव: ; so also उत् + ध + भ = उत्त्रस: (VII. 3. 78). so also विषव: ;

Some commentators do not read the word 'upasarga' into this सूत्र. According to them the forms like पर्व: &c., can be formed also.

The affix क, of which भ is indicatory, the real affix being श्र, causes the root to undergo all those changes, which it undergoes in special tenses; for it is a सार्वभौमक affix there; see सूत्र III. 4. 113 and VII. 3. 78.

*Vart.*—Prohibition must be stated of the root भ, when the word to be formed is a name. As निज़ + भ + प्र + क = निज्ञापु: 'tiger' (an animal that goes about smelling). Here there is क and not the affix क.
The affix  is employed after the following verbs when used without a preposition: and the causatives

Thus , 'smearing'; , 'acquiring'; , 'holding'; , 'ferrying'; , 'knowing'; , 'shaking'; , 'perceiving'; and .

Why do we say 'when used without a preposition'? Observe ; here the affix is .

Part:—The verb with the preposition takes the affix . As 'the name of certain deities', 'a cow'.

Part:—The affix is employed after when compounded with the words &c. and when the word to be formed is a proper noun. As 'Krishna' (protector of cows); 'a lotus' (having petals like spokes).

The affix is optionally employed, after the root 'to give', and 'to hold', when used without a preposition.

This debars . Thus , 'giving'; or , 'inheritance'; , 'holding' or , 'having'.

When a preposition is used, the affix is not employed; as , .

The affix is optionally employed, after the verbs beginning with 'to shine' and ending with 'to go', when used without a preposition, the affix is optionally employed.
The word न in नक्तित्व indicates beginning. These are about 56 verbs, all belonging to the Bhuddi class. See No. 804 to 860 in the Dhātupāṭha, Bombay Edition in the Appendix to Siddhānta Kaumudi.

This debars the affix न; as वहन: or नहन:; चाल: or चल:.

The affix अ having an indicatory अ causes the vriddhi of the penultimate अ. When the affix अ is not used, then अ is used, and we have the other form. But compound verbs take अ as अवस्थ: 'luminous'.

Vart.—The verb तन 'to stretch' must be included in this list, and it takes the affix अ; as अवस्थन: The conditions 'option' and 'without preposition' do not apply in this case. The verb तन necessarily takes this affix, though compounded with an upasarga.

141. The affix अ is employed after the following verbs also:—रौं 'to go', verbs ending in long भ, भय 'to pierce', भाव 'to pain', भासु 'to flow', भास 'to pass on', भरस 'to complete', भाम 'to take away', भिन 'to lick', भिग 'to embrace', and रस 'to breathe'.

The root रौं, before affixes, becomes रौं, (VI. 1. 45) and is thus included in the phrase 'verbs ending in long भ'. What is then the use of its separate enumeration? The separate enumeration is for the sake of excluding the application of every other rule which might have prohibited अ. Thus III. 1. 136 enjoins अ when a compound verb ends in भ. But that rule does not apply to the verb रौं.

Thus भांवान्त: 'frost', पतिवाबास 'catarrh', भय 'inheritance', भाव 'having', भाय 'pain', भास 'wound', भासु 'flow', भास 'transgression', भरसास 'conclusion', भरस 'taken away', भिन 'licking', भिग 'embracing', रस 'breath'. See VII. 3. 33.

142. The affix अ is employed after the verbs रौं 'to burn', and रौं 'to lead', when used without a preposition.
Thus रू + य = रू + य (VII. 2. 115) = याह: (VI. 1. 78) 'burning'. So also भू + य = भू + य = भूह: 'leading'.

Why do we say 'when used without a preposition'? Observe रूह: 'burning'; प्रवृत्ति: 'friendship'.

विभाषा यह: II १६५ II पदार्थ: II विभाषा, यह: ( यह: ) II

वृत्ति: II विभाषा प्रयोगाल्पवयः भविष्य: II

पारिक्रमण: II भविष्येकोण रक्षणम् II

143. The affix य is optionally employed after the verb वाह: 'to seize'.

This debars the affix अर्जु. Thus गह + य = गह + य (VII. 2. 116) = गिह: 'seizing', 'a crocodile'; or य + अर्जु = गह: 'a planet'.

The option allowed by this aphorism is a न्यायस्थिताविबहस्त as or definite option, that is to say, the affix य is always used when the word to be formed means a water-animal, such as a crocodile, shark &c., and in that sense the word is गाह. But not so, when heavenly luminaries are meant; there the word is गह.

Vart:—This rule should be extended to the root अर्जु 'to be' also. Thus:—नार्जु: 'condition' and नार्जु: 'existence'.

गेहें क: II १६५ II पदार्थ: II गेहें, क: ( यह: ) II

वृत्ति: II परिचर्याय: कर्तवयः भविष्य गेहें कर्तवयः II

144. The affix क is employed after the verb वाह when the agent so expressed denotes a house.

Thus दह + क (VI. 1. 16) = दहुव: 'a house'. The द is changed into दह by the rule of सामप्रस्तरणा. The plural form दहुः means 'wife', as she is especially the person that constitutes the house; while the plural of दहुः meaning 'house' will be दहानि.

शिशिरम् खुन् ॥ १६५ II पदार्थ: II शिशिरम्, खुन् ॥

वृत्ति: II धार्मिक: धार्मिकवयः भविष्य शिशिरिः कर्तवयः II

पारिक्रमण: II नृत्ति: नृत्तिष्ठितिक्रमण: परिंत्रपत्र: कर्तवयः II

145. The affix खुन् (भक) comes after a verb; when the agent so expressed denotes an artist.

Vart:—This affix should be confined to the verbs खुन् 'to dance', खुन् 'to dig' and खुन्त 'to dye'.

Thus खुन् + खुन्त = गह + भक (VII. 1. 1) = गहक: 'dancer'. The letter ख is indicatory (I. 3. 6) and by Rule IV. 1. 41, it denotes that words formed by prefixes having indicatory ख form their feminine gender by the affix खिन्. Thus
the feminine of यज्ञक is यज्ञकी; so also लाॅक: 'miner', fem. लाॅकी; रज्ञक: 'washer-
man', fem. रज्ञकी.

In the case of the root रज्ञ the nasal is elided. According to the opini-
on of the author of Mahabhashya, only two verbs are governed by this sutra
namely गुरु and वान्. According to him, the verb रज्ञ takes the affix 

Thus रज्ञ + गुरु = रज्ञ + गुरु (VI. 4. 37) = रज्ञ + गुरु (VII. 1. 1) = गुरु, feminine 

रज्ञिका.

146. The affix धक्कन, (धक्क) comes after the verb 

स, श्रेणि to 'sing', when the agent so expressed, denotes an 

artist.

As, श्रेणि + धक्कन = गायक (VI. 1. 45) 'a singer', fem. गायिका.

147. The affix धक्क is also employed after the 

verb स, 'to sing', when the agent so expressed denotes an 

artist.

By the word स 'also', the word धक्क is of the last sutra is drawn into this.

Thus श्रेणि + धक्कन = गायक, अध (VII. 1. 1) = गायक: fem. गायिका; the स is added by VII.

3. 33.

The separation of these rules (yoga-vibhaqa) relating to श्रेणि is for the 

purpose of the sutras that follow. Had गायक and धक्क been made one a-

phorism, the anuvritti of both these affixes would have run into the subsequent 
sutras. But it is intended that the anuvritti of धक्क should only run, and 
hence this yoga-vibhaqa or division of one sutra into two.

148. After the verb श्रेणि, also the affix धक्क is 

employed when the agent so expressed denotes 'rice' and 

'time'.

The verb श्रेणि denotes two verbs श्रेणि 'to abandon' and श्रेणि 'to go' both 

belonging to the Third Conjugation, forming श्रेणि and श्रेणि as 3rd per. sing.

Thus श्रेणि + धक्कन = श्रेणि: 'a kind of rice' (that which जहाती 'leaves off' all water) 

श्रेणि: 'a year' (that which जीत्ते 'goes through' all conditions.)
The accents are however different in the two. In one case the udātta is on the middle; in the other, on the last.

149. After the verbs दू ‘to go’, दृ ‘to move’, दृ ‘to flow’ and दृ ‘to cut’, the affix दृ is employed, when repetition is meant.

The word समस्मित्र in the sūtra indicates that the action done by the agent must be well performed. The affix दृ being thus ordained for the action, when it is well performed, it follows, that it will not be employed where the action is repeatedly ill performed. The affix will be employed even when there is no repetition but the action is well performed even at the first attempt.

150. The affix दृ is employed after all verbs, when benediction is intended.

The word आशिवा means a sort of prayer; and it relates to action. The force of this affix is that of ‘an agent with the addition that the action is simply the object of a prayer of some one who wishes that that may be the action of that agent’.
BOOK THIRD.
Chapter II.

1. The affix अष्ट comes after a verbal root when the object, (of whatever sort it may be), is in composition with it, (as an upapada).

The object or karma is of three sorts, namely nivartya, vikārya and prāpya.

The object which has a material cause, but such cause is however unexpressed in the sentence, is called nivartya object; as कृमि करति 'he makes a pot'; here शृङ्ख 'mud' the material cause of कृमि is unexpressed, therefore, कृमि is nivartya object. Where the material cause itself is changed, by a modification, into something else, such an object is called vikārya object; as काण्डक: 'the branch-cutter'. While the object which cannot be approached by any action, and is not affected by it, but is always constant, is called the prāpya object; as बैद्यराय: 'the reading of Veda'; the Veda is always the same.

They will be illustrated by the following examples:—Of the first kind, we have कुमार: 'a potter' and नगरक: 'a city-builder'; of the second, we have काण्डक: 'a branch-cutter' and शराज: 'a reed-cutter'. Of the third, वेदाश्वः: the learning of Veda' and चार्चार: 'the reading of Charcha'. But compound nouns cannot be formed of such sentences as पार्श्व पश्चिम 'he goes to the village', अधिश्च प्रचार 'he sees the sun', 'हंसवंस स्मृतिः 'he hears the Himavat'. The reason is that it is against the usage of the language to form nouns out of these.

Varia:—The affix य ए comes after the verbs शृङ्ख, काण्ड, नगर and शराज and the noun in composition with it, retains its original accent. As मांसशृङ्ख: 'addicted to flesh', fem. मांसशृङ्खा; मांसक: 'loving flesh', fem. मांसकाम; मांसथ: 'carnivorous', fem. मांसथा; and क्राचायार: 'good-conducted', fem. क्राचायारा.
THE AFFIX KA. [Bk. III. CII. II. § 2-4.

Varṇa:—The affix ka comes after the roots देख ‘to look’ and नह ‘to forbear’ under similar circumstances. As सृष्टशीलश्च; fem. सृष्टशीला ‘expecting happiness’; व्यक्त: fem. व्यक्त ‘much forbearing’.

हृद्यञ्जैल || ॥ पद्यनि || हर, या, न:, द, (अ) ॥

वृःत: || हेम्य, देव, माह, वृश्चिक कर्मणुपधोषणुपत्सोभासिध्वतिः ॥

2. The affix अष्ठ comes after the root ह्य ‘to call’, ब्रम्ह ‘to weave’, माह ‘to measure’, when the object is in composition with it.

This debars the affix क (III. 2. 3); as स्त्रेष्ठ + ह्य + अष्ठ = स्त्रेष्ठ+ह्य+अष्ठ (VII. 3. 33) = स्त्रेष्ठह्यनव: (the व is added by rule VII. 3. 33, ‘when a krit affix with an indicatory य or अ follows, the augment व is added after the verbs that end in long अ’). So also तनुश्राव:; धान्यमाय: ॥

आतोपूपणः क: || ॥ पद्यनि || आत:, अनुपस्यं, क:, (कमेरिजः) ॥

वृःत: || आक्षेपाःतथा भाष्योपुपपपपपपसब्बस: कमेंवपुपपयाचार्यो निदिष्टः ॥

3. The affix क comes after a verbal root that ends in long अ when there is no upasarga preceding it and when the object is in composition with it.

This debars अष्ठ; as गाँ+रा+क = गाँ+रा+अ = गोह: ‘Giver of cows’, (the long अ is elided by VI. 4. 64,)= So also, कम्भल: ‘who gives a blanket’; पांगिविवय ‘what protects the rear’; अकु-लियय ‘what protects the finger’ (a thimble).

Why do we say ‘when there is no upasarga’? Witness गोर्जस्थान: ‘who ceremoniously gives a cow’, यवसंस्थान ‘who ceremoniously gives a mare’. Here the compound verb सत्र takes the affix अष्ठ.

बृःत: || स्त्रेष्ठ सृष्टि || पद्यनि || बृःत, स्त्र्य:, (क: ) ॥

वृःत: || स्त्रेष्ठ सृष्टि || पद्यनि || बृःत, स्त्र्य:, (क:) ॥

वृःत: || स्त्रेष्ठ आयनिष्ठे लिह्रे: कर्मचारियभविः ॥

4. The affix क comes after the root स्त्र्य when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, as an upapada.

In the three previous sūtras, the word in composition was always in the accusative case. This sūtra declares that with regard to the verb स्त्र्य, the upapada may have any case not necessarily the accusative. As सवस्य: = वसे तिष्ठति ‘who dwells in accessible position’; and विष्णुस्य: ‘having an inaccessible position’.
This sūtra should be divided into two sūtras (yoga-bibhāga). Thus:—

(1) चूँचः II. The affix क comes after every root ending in long भ, when in composition with a case-inflected word; as हास्यः विदितः = हि + या + क = विदितः (VI. 4. 64) 'who drinks with two organs' i.e., the proboscis and the mouth, an elephant'. So also पापः: 'a plant' (what drinks through the foot). कष्ठः: 'a tortoise' (that always protects its mouth by drawing it in, at the approach of danger).

(2) सूचः II. The affix क comes after the root स्था when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix. Why do we make this two-fold division, when we see the second rule is included in the first as the verb स्था also ends in a long भ? The reason is that the first rule applies where the agent is indicated, while the second rule applies where condition is to be denoted. As आलंकृताः= 'a swarm of rats'; so also शृङ्गीयः: 'a swarm of locusts'.

Both the words कर्मविषय और सूचि are understood in the sūtras that follow: vis: the word कर्मविषय in sūtras that relate to transitive verbs, and the word सूचि everywhere else.

5. The affix क comes after the verbs शरिः 'to wash out' and अभमः 'to drive away', when in composition with the words घात 'navel' and श्रोक 'grief', as objects, respectively.

As घात शरिः भास्ते 'he lay lazy'. So also श्रोकारुपः पूर्णो जाय: 'a son, destroyer of sorrow is born'.

Vart.—This affix is to be applied only then, when the meaning of the word to be formed is 'lazy' and 'giver of happiness'.

Vart.—The epithet घात शरिः: is applied to a lazy person; while घात शरिः: means who clears his navel. So श्रोकारुपः means giver of happiness, while श्रोकारः: means 'removal of sorrow'.

Vart.—The words श्रोकारुपः: 'a chariot' and the rest should be included in the subdivision of words formed by the affix क. The words belonging to this head can only be recognised by their form, there being no list of them to be found anywhere. Thus श्रोकारुपः: 'a chariot', नखाः: 'a bow', भाज्याः: 'sesamums', खुद्दुः (को मौले): 'a lotus'.

Bk. III. Ch. II. § 5] THE AFFIX KA. 409
The affix क comes after the root श ‘to give’ and श ‘to know’, when taking the preposition श and in composition with a word in the accusative case.

We applied by sutra 3 the affix क after verbs that ended in long श and had no upasarga. Now begins the case of verbs with upasarga. This debars the affix भए; as सबिष्ठ: (VI. 4. 64) ‘giver of all; liberal’, पवित्र: (VI. 4. 64) ‘acquainted with roads’. The long श of श and श is elided by VI. 4. 64.

Why do we say ‘when taking श’? With any other upasarga these verbs will take the general affix भए; as सद्यंबय.

7. The affix क comes after the root बत ‘to tell’, when preceded by the preposition श, and when the object is in composition with it.

The verb बत ends in long श and by III. 2. 3 when compounded with an upasarga, it would have taken the affix भए. This debars भए; as गौंडसब्जय (VI. 4. 64) ‘a cowherd’ (स शंसेत).

8. The affix तक comes after the verbs न ‘to sing’ and न ‘to drink’ when used without a preposition, and when the object is in composition with it.

The phrase anupasarga is to be read again into this sutra by anuvritti from sutra 3, though this anuvr̥tti had temporarily lain dormant in sutra 6 and 7. as being unnecessary. This debars क; of this affix श and क are indicative the श showing among others that the feminine is formed by the affix श्री (IV. 1. 14)

As, श्रीगायतिः = श्री+गा+त्रेगा=श्रीगायत: (VI. 4. 64) ‘who sings Saka hymns’. सामव: ‘singer of Sāma’. fem. श्रीस्वी and सामवी.

Vart.—The affix तक comes after the verb श when it means to drink and only when it is in composition with the words श्या and श्या as its object,
This is an important modification of the general sūtra. Thus सुराय: fem. सुरायी ‘wine-bibber’; श्रीपुर: fem. श्रीपुरी ‘spirit-drinker’.

Why do we say ‘when in composition with sura and sidhu’? Observe जीवनस्राव ‘the milk-drinking Brāhmanī’; formed by the affix श्र and the feminine, therefore, not formed by the affix आ but by आ.

Why do we say ‘when शा means to drink’? When शा means ‘to protect’ this affix is not used; as शुराय ‘who protects wine’.

When these words are compounded with an upasarga they do not take र् but भ: as शाक्ष्यगाव: शाक्ष्यगावः.

Vart.—There is diversity in the Chhandas as to the employment of these affixes; as शा भागां शुराय: or शुराय: भागां शुराय: पल्लवोऽस्मिन ‘the gods do not carry that Brāhmanī to the regions of her husband who drinks wine’.

9. The affix भ: comes after the verb हुम when it does not mean ‘to raise up’, when the object is in composition with it.

This debarrs भ: The word स्मालत्र means ‘to raise a load’. Thus भागां हुम अण्डार्ग: भागां अण्डार्ग: ‘who takes a share, or sharer’; so रिकुर्ष: ‘an heir’. (हआृ = ह + आृ = हर; VII. 3. 84).

Why do we say ‘when it does not mean to raise up’? For then the affix भ: will be employed; as भागां: ‘a burden-bearer, a porter’.


Vart.—This affix comes after the verb मह when the word स्मालत्र is in composition with it and the sense is that of ‘holding’; as स्मालत्र ‘a thread-holder’. When it has not this meaning we have स्मालत्र ‘a thread-taker’.
10. The affix भव्य comes after the verb दृष्ट when the object is in composition with it and when the meaning of the word to be formed is descriptive of age.

In this sūtra the verb दृष्ट has the sense of udyamana which was specifically excluded in the last. The word भव्य means the condition of human body as dependent upon time. This rule applies to those words which indicate the attainment of appropriate age for the accomplishment of objects described by the upapada, or the reaching of that age in which the thing described by the upapada naturally takes place; as भव्यार्थ: 'the dog that has reached the age when it can chew bones' (lit. when it can raise it up); कविपार्थ: भव्यार्थक: 'the Kshatriya boy old enough to wear (lit. to raise up or bear) the shield'; so that the verb here has the sense of 'raising up'.

11. The affix भव्य comes after the verb दृष्ट (when the object is in composition with it), the root taking the preposition भव्य, and the sense of the word to be formed is inclination or accustomed occupation.

The word सत्त्विन्न means a natural inclination or habitual occupation; as पूजार्थ: (पूज्य+भाविति =पूज्य+भाव) 'he who has a natural tendency towards fetching flowers or whose habitual occupation is to collect flowers'; so also फलार्थ:.

Why do we say ' when denoting inclination'? Otherwise the affix will be भव्य; as भावार्थिति = भावार्थ: 'who brings load'.

12. The affix भव्य comes after the verb भव्य 'to respect', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars भव्य. The words so formed are especially of feminine gender. As पूजार्थ: 'deserving of respect'; so also गृहार्थ, गार्थार्थ:.

स्त्रेष्ठकैवदेव रोगिण्योऽ: || १२ || पदार्थ || सत्त्व-कविवेणः; रसि–

ज्ञापि: (भृगु, भव्य) ||

वृत्ति: स्त्रेष्ठकैवदेव रोगिण्योऽ: सत्त्व-कविवेणः भावार्थिति.

वृत्ति: वार्षिक: विशेषते: सत्त्व-कविवेणः भावार्थिति.

वृत्ति: वार्षिक: विशेषते: सत्त्व-कविवेणः भावार्थिति.
13. The affix अन्त्र comes after the verb र्न 'to sport' and गृ 'to whisper' when the case-inflated words स्त्रम 'a clump of grass' and कर्ण 'ear' are in composition with them respectively.

The verb र्न is intransitive and the verb गृ can take an object under very limited circumstances, only namely when the object denotes Sebda; therefore in the case of both these verbs, the object cannot be in composition as an accusative case; therefore, the upapada here must be a general case-inflated word. Hence we have read the anuvritti of the word त्रुू from सुत्रा 4 into this, the anuvritti of the word कर्ण being inapplicable here.

Vart.—The words to be formed must have the sense of 'elephant' and a 'tale-bearer'. Thus स्त्रम्बदमवर्धन = स्त्रम्बदत्र = स्त्रम्बदमस: 'an elephant (lit. who sports in cluster of grass)' कर्णमायिन = कर्णलेप: 'a slanderer (lit. who whispers in the ear)'.

The affix अन्त्र is not employed when the words to be formed do not mean an 'elephant' and a 'traducer'. Thus स्त्रम्बदमवर्धन 'who plays in clusters of grass'. कर्णमायिन मायक = 'the mosquito that hums near the ear'.

शनि पाली: संभायस् || १४ || पदानि || शनि, पाली: संभायस् (अन्त्र) ||

शुचि: || यानुपपदे पानुपाचलंहावो विषेषे ८पृशस्वो बुविति ||

14. The affix अन्त्र is employed after the verbal roots when शुू 'well', is in composition, and the word to be formed denotes a name.

As शुू + कु + अन्त्र = शंकर: lit. 'who does good'. So also शनि, शुक्स: अन्त्र: || All these are proper nouns.

Why have we repeated the word ध्तु in this aphorism, when it was understood by anuvṛtti from सुत्रा III. १. ९१? To this the reply is, that the repetition of the word ध्तु shows that there is prohibition of the affix र, that comes after the verb रू in certain senses (III. 2. 20), when the word शुू is in composition. The affix अन्त्र will be employed after the verb रू and not the affix र, when शुू is an upapada, even when the sense to be indicated is that of cause, habit &c. (III. 2. 20). The result is that the feminine of शंकर will be शंकरा, and not शंकर, which, had the affix been र, would have been the proper feminine (See IV. 1. 14). शंकरा means 'a female-ascetic,' 'a vulture' and 'one having the habit of doing good'.

अधिकस्ब शेते || १५ || पदानि || अधिकस्ब, शेते: (शुचि, शनि) ||
15. The affix अथ (to lie down) comes after the verb श्री 'to lie down' when in composition with a case-inflected word indicating location, i.e., in the locative case.

The word सूर (III. 2. 4) a noun ending in a case-affix is understood in this aphorism. As श्रे सूरेः = सूरेभ 'who lies in the sky'.

Vart.—The affix अथ comes after the verb श्री when in composition with the words शर्ह 'ribs', &c., though not necessarily denoting location; as पार्श्रैशोस्त्रे = पार्श्रैशर्ह: 'who reclines on his sides', उद्वर्शः = उद्वर्शर्ह: 'who lies on his stomach', प्रश्नयः = प्रश्नयर्ह: 'who lies on his back'.

Vart.—And when the verb श्री is preceded by the word विस्त त; as विस्त त श्रे श्रेभ = विस्त तर्ह: ॥

Vart.—So also when the words व्यस्त &c. are in composition with it denoting agent and in the nominative case. As व्यस्त: श्वेतेऽव्यस्त = व्यस्तावशे ॥ अभयशा श्रे श्रेभ = अभयशा श्रे श्रेभ = अभयशा श्रे श्रेभ: ॥

Vart.—In the Chhandas the affix अथ comes after the verb श्री when in composition with the word दिशि in the locative. As दिशि नास्ते = दिशिनास्तेः = दिशिनास्तेः: 'who lies on the mountain'.

The letter अ of अथ is indicative denoting that there is elision of the final vowel with what follows it (I. 1. 64).

16. The affix अ comes after the verb चर 'to go' when a case-inflected word in composition with it, denotes location.

The word adhikaruna of the last sūtra is understood in this. As चरुचरु चरिन्दुर्शष्ट्रे = कुरुशष्ट्रे: 'who goes among the Kurus'. चरिन्दुर्शष्ट्रे: 'who goes among the Madras'.

Of the affix अ the real affix is अ, the letter अ being indicatory, showing that the feminine of these words is formed by the affix अ (See. IV. i. 14), as: दुःसर्सी, दुःसर्सी।
The affix ता is employed after the verb चर, "to go", when the words in composition with it are भस्म, जन, भवय, भस्म, 'having taken'.

The aumrûti of the words 'in-the-locative case' does not extend to this aphorism, and hence the necessity of making a distinct and separate sūtra.

Thus भस्म: 'a beggar' (who goes for alms); जन: 'one who goes with an army'; भवय: 'one who goes after having taken'.

18. The affix ता comes after the verb विद्व, 'to move' when the words in composition with it, are चर, भवय, जन, all meaning 'in front of or before'.

As चर: विद्व = चर: विद्व: 'who goes in front, a harbinger'. So also भवय: चर = भवय: चर: 'going in front, a leader'.

19. The affix ता comes after the verb चर, 'to go', when चर is in composition with it, denoting the agent.

Thus चर: चर = चर: चर: 'going in front'.

Why do we say 'denoting the agent'? Otherwise the affix चर will be employed. As चर: चर = चर: चर: 'going to the east'.

20. The affix ता comes after the verb कुम, 'to make' when the object is in composition with it denoting cause, habit and going with the grain (concession).

The word कुम of this sūtra means the final or conclusive cause, and is not the grammatical कुम meaning agent. कालज्ञ means habit, and literally, the
The affix ता comes from भव्यम meaning ‘with the hair’, that is to say, regular, in natural order, successive, and hence favourable, and agreeable complaisance, acquiescence &c. Of हेतु, we have श्रीकारी कामा ‘the daughter that causes sorrow’; भृत्यान्तिविशा ‘honorable science’; कुलकार कवम ‘the family making wealth’. Of तात्त्वाह, we have भाषाकर ‘who performs obsequies’; अभयार ‘who amasses wealth’. Of भावोच्छ, we have भृकुटिकर ‘who promptly does what he is directed’; कपोलकर ‘who regularly does what he is told’.

Why do we say ‘when having these senses’? Otherwise the affix will be भम. As कुलकार ‘potter’, नगरकार ‘city-maker’.

दिवाबिभानिषाध्निभाषाभास्कारानानादिविनिर्मितिलिब-बलिभिकालाेत्र शंक्षापाथायाहवर्षेतहुरूहुपु सा पदाति दिवा-बिशा-निषा-भाषा-भाषा-कार-अनन्त-अनन्त-ाता-बाह-नान्त-किं-लिपिलिव-बलि-भिक-कृृ-चित्र-शेष-विभा-जादा-बाह-अह-वत-तत-णपु-अहु, (कमतख, सुतिक, करोति; दो)।

पृष्ठः दिवाबिभाषारुप खरोवनारोतयायभवी मर्मसी।

भार्ष्यकार, फळक अंशिकापुरुषु कमोदुज्विवान्यु।


Both the words ‘karma’ and ‘sup’ are understood in this aphorism; that is to say, sometimes these upapadas stand as accusative case and sometimes they have other cases, as the construction may require. This affix ता comes when the sense is not that of cause &c., as it was in the last सूत्र.

Thus भिवार ‘the sun.’ The word भिवा is an indeclinable and means ‘in the day time’. There the upapada, therefore, is in the locative case. The sun is so called, because it makes creatures active in the day time.

So भिवार भिवार ‘the sun’ (light-maker); भिवार ‘the moon’ (the night-maker); भाषा भाषा ‘the sun’; भाषा ‘the sun’ (the letter त is not changed into विसार्गा, as it has been so read in the सूत्र); कार ‘agent’; भाषा ‘death’ (end-maker); भाषा ‘magnifying to any extent’; भाषा ‘the creator’; भाषा ‘the busy’; भाषा ‘the speaker of benediction’; भाषा ‘a servant’; भाषा ‘a
scribe'; लिपिकार: 'a scribe'; बलिकर: 'offering sacrifice'; शलिकार: 'a devotee'; करुङ्कर: 'an agent'; निम्बकर: 'a painter'; शेषकर: 'a cultivator'; एककर: 'doing only one thing', दिकर: 'doing two things'; चिकर: 'doing three things'; नान्दकर: 'a runner, an express'; बाजुकर: 'a hero', 'a manual labourer'; वहस्कर: 'the sun'; तक्र: 'doing that'; बाज्र: 'doing that'; भुजुकर: 'bow-maker'; भवस्कर: 'causing or inflicting wounds'.

Vart.—The affix अच्छ comes after the verb क क when जिन, वह, तथा and बहु are in composition with it. The speciality of अ affix is that the feminine of words derived from it is formed by long ह; while the feminine of words derived by अ is formed by long अ. Thus दिकर, तकर, तकर and बाजर; these words might be said to belong to the भनजि class (See IV. i. 31).

करेन्डि तृतीय || २२ || पदानि || करीक्षि, भूति, (करेन्डि, करीति,)

22. The affix अ comes after the verb क ‘to make’, when the word के is in composition with it, and the sense of the word to be formed is that of wages.

The word भूति means service for hire, wages. The word के does not mean the grammatical object but the word-form के; as करेन्डि: 'a hired labourer' (not a slave); otherwise the affix is अ; as करीक्षि: 'an artisan'.

न शब्दश्लोककल्पहायावैरवाृत्तमंगमपदेवु || २२ || पदानि||
न, शब्द-श्लोक-कल्प-गाया-वैर-चाँदू-सूत्र-संज-पदेवु, (करीति, त: ) ||

23. The affix अ does not come after the verb क ‘to make’, when the following words are in composition with it:— गधर, 'sound', लोक 'verse', कल्प 'quarrel', गाया 'praise', वैर 'enmity', चाँदू 'flattery', सूत्र, 'thread', शंख 'hymns' and पद 'word'.

This prohibition relates even when the sense is that of cause, habit &c. The affix अ being prohibited, the general affix अ takes its place. As कल्पकर: 'sounding, sonorous'; श्लोककर: 'a verse-maker'; कल्पकर: 'one who foment quarrels'; गायकर: 'a writer of Gathás or prakritee verses'; वैरकर: 'an enemy'; चाँदूकर: 'a flatterer'; सूत्रकर: 'an author of sūtras'; शंखकर: 'a composer of Mantras'; पदकर: 'an author of Padapātha'.

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24. The affix त्रि comes after the verb त्रि when the objects in composition with it, are the words त्रि 'a sheaf', and त्रि 'ordure'.

Thus त्रि + त्रि + त्रि = त्रि, sing. त्रि; so also त्रि करि.

Vart.—This rule is applicable when the sense of the words to be formed, is that of 'rice' and 'a calf' respectively. Therefore त्रि करि: means 'rice', and त्रि करि: 'a calf'.

When the words have not the senses of 'rice' and 'a calf', the affix अत्रि is employed. As नालवर: 'sheaf-maker', त्रि करि: 'ordure-maker'.

25. When the agent indicated is an animal, the affix त्रि comes after the verb त्रि 'to take', the object in composition with it being the words त्रि 'a leather-bag' and नारी 'a master'.

Thus उत्रि: 'a dog' (a carrier of skin); नारी: 'a beast' (that carries its master).

When the words formed do not denote an animal, the affix अत्रि is employed as उत्रि: 'a water-carrier' (a carrier of a leather-bag for holding water). नारी: 'a carrier of his master'.

26. And the words फलेष्वर and आलम्भिक are irregularly formed.

The word फलेष्वर: is formed by adding the affix अत्रि to the verb अत्रि and making the upapada end in the vowel अ. Thus फलेष्वर: फलेष्वर: 'the fruit-bearing i.e. a tree'.
The word भास्मार्गी is formed by adding the augment भुञ्छ (m) to the upapada भास्म, and the affix हुन्न to the verb भुञ्छ. Thus भास्मार्गी निम्निधि = भास्मार्गी: 'selfish' (one who feeds his own self).

The word 'and' indicates that there are other such irregularly-formed words. As कुस्मार्गी: 'gluttonous, selfish' (eating to feed his own belly). हरस्मार्गी: 'gluttonous, selfish'.

27. In the Vedic literature, the affix हुन्न comes after the verbs नन्न 'to honor' नन्न 'to worship' नन्न 'to protect' and नन्न 'to agitate', when the object is in composition.

Thus ब्राह्मण्वि नन्न ब्रह्मशिवि (Vaj. San. I. 17, V. 12., VI. 3); भुस्स मो गोविंदि (Rig. Ved. VI. 53. 10) से ते दश्मोस पारसा (Rig. Ved. X. 14. 11) हरस्मा ब्राह्मणमशि पाराधारि हारसेयीह तिर्य्गायि (Rig. Ved. VII. 104. 21).

28. The affix श्वास comes after the verb श्व 'to tremble' when ending in श्व (III. 26) and when the object is in composition with it.

This affix comes after the causative of श्व. Of the affix श्वास the letters श्व and श्व are indicative, the real affix is श्व. The श्व indicates that the augment भुञ्छ is added to the upapada ending in a vowel (VI. 3. 67). The श्व indicates that this is a Sārvadhatuka affix (III. 4. 113), and therefore the vikaraṇas like श्व &c. (III. 1. 68.) will be employed here. Thus अभुहेत्रेषि = अभुहेत्रेषि (अभु + दीर्घ + श्व + लङ्क्ष्य) अभुहेत्रेषि + अभु + भाष (who awes the 'limbs'); अभुहेत्रेषि: 'who awes mankind'.

Part:—The affix श्वास comes after the verbs भुञ्छ 'to go', भुञ्छ 'to suck', भुञ्छ 'to strike', भुञ्छ 'to leave' when in composition with the words भास 'wind', भास 'a bitch', श्रीस 'sesamum' and श्रीस 'flatulence'. As श्रीस: श्रीस: 'swift antelopes' (going with the wind); श्रीस: 'a bitch-sucker'; श्रीस: 'an oilman'; श्रीस: 'a kind of bean' (that causes or cures flatulence). The long श्व of श्रीस is shortened by VI. 3. 66.
29. The affix \textit{kha} comes after the verbs भा, 'to blow' and चे, 'to suck' when नाफिकेक्ष 'nose' and सत्न, 'breast', are in composition with them as object.

The rule of \textit{jathdsankhya} as given in I. 3. 10 does not however, apply here. For सत्न is compounded with चे; as (सत्न + चे + ा + नाफिकेक्ष = सत्न + मृग + चे + ा + ा = सत्न + मृग + ा + ा) = सत्नानव: 'an infant' (sucking the breast).

But नाफिकेक्ष is compounded with both भा and चे; as नाफिकेक्ष + भा + ा = नाफिकेक्ष + मृग + ा (VI. 3. 66 and 67; VII. 3. 78) = नाफिकेक्ष: 'blowing and breathing through the nose'. So also नाफिकेक्ष: 'drinking through the nose'.

That the rule of \textit{jathdsankhya} does not apply here, is indicated by the irregular construction of the \textit{Dvandva} compound नाफिकेक्षनय. By rule II. 2. 84, the word सत्न containing fewer syllables ought to have stood first; one irregularity lets in another.

The feminine of सत्ना is सत्ना, as the verb चे has an indicator चे.

30. And when the words नाफिकेक्ष 'a tube' and मृग 'fist' are objects in composition with the verbs भा and चे, the affix \textit{kha} is employed.

Here also the irregularly-formed \textit{Dvandva} compound नाफिकेक्षनय shows the non-applicability of the rule of \textit{jathdsankhya}; for मृग being a चे ought to have stood first (II. 2. 32).

Thus नाफिकेक्ष: 'blowing through the tube'; मृगिन्य: 'blowing through the fist'; नाफिकेक्ष: 'sucking through the tube', an infant; मृगिन्य: 'an infant'.

The word 'and' in the apherism indicates that there are other words also so formed. Thus पिन्य: पिन्य, सारिन्य: सारिन्य, सारिन्य: सारिन्य: गांव, गांव: 'a mountain'.

This सूत्र is not P\text{ā}ṇini's, but is really a \textit{Vārtika}, raised to the rank of a सूत्र by the author of the \textit{Kāśikā}. The \textit{Vārtikakāra} divides the last सूत्र in this way: (1) सत्ने चे; (2) सत्ने मृग चे; (3) नाफिकेक्षनय; (4) मृगिन्य।
31. The affix ḍham comes after the verbs जम ‘to break into pieces’ and अजम ‘to carry’, when preceded by the upasarga त in and the word जम ‘bank’ is in composition with them as the object.

Thus कुलमुद्राः कुलमुद्राः ‘breaking down banks’ (such as a chariot, river, elephant, &c.); कुलमुद्राः ‘tearing up or carrying away the bank’.

32. The affix जम comes after the verb बिज्ज ‘to lick’ when the object in composition with it, is the word बिज्ज ‘the shoulder of an ox’ or बिज्ज ‘a cloud’.

As बिज्जमा गो ‘the shoulder-licking cow’; बिज्जमा गायु ‘the cloud-licking wind’.

33. The affix गम comes after the verb गम ‘to cook’ when the object in composition with it denotes a measure.

Thus परंगमसति = परमंगसति ‘a pot having the capacity to cook a prastha of food’; so also प्रायवधनसति; सारिन्यशा ‘a kettle’.

34. The affix गम is employed after the verb गम, when मिट ‘a measured partition’ or गम ‘a nail’ is the word in composition with it as an object.

The aphorism has its scope when the words formed do not denote measures, which was the case in the last sūtra. Thus निर्मलश्रामण ‘the Brahmāṇi who cooks a little i. e. a niggardly Brāhmāṇi’; निर्मलश्रामण ‘the nail-scorching barley gruel’.
35. The affix िच comes after the verb िच ‘to strike’, when िच ‘the moon’ or िच ‘a wound’ is the word in composition with it as object.

As िचस: राहु: ‘the Rahu that eclipses the moon; िचस: ‘corrosive, wounding the vital parts’. For the addition of the augment िचस after the word िचस, see VI. 3. 67.

अश्रूळात् याईऽृञितरयोऽ: II Ṣ II पदार्थः II अश्रूळ-लात्योऽः,
बुधि-तयोऽः (बारेरि, िचस) II

पूर्णति: II भस्माः स्त्रेसवै: कर्मस्वरस्वती: बुधिस्वरोऽर्थास्वोऽ: भस्माः भवति III

36. The affix िच comes after the verb िच ‘to see’ and िच ‘to heat’ when िचस and िचस are the words in composition with them respectively as objects.

Thus िचस+िच=िचस; as िचसक्या राजदारः ‘the king’s wives not even seeing the sun’ (being shut up in the harem, and so ‘having no opportunity of seeing the sun, that is, they are so well protected that even the sun cannot see them, much less any irreverent gaze).

So also जलायसः ‘heating the fore-head’ (such as the sun).

The word िचस is an incomplete or impossible compound, as the negative िच applies to the verb िच and not to the word िचस. This is in opposition to the rule of samartha pada vidhi (II. 1. 2).

प्रस्थादरक्षृरस्वरविष्कृष्णस्वरश: II Ṣ II पदार्थः II प्रस्थाद-
प्रस्थाद-पारिवर्णशाल:., च II

पूर्णति: II प्रस्थाद प्रस्थाद पारिवर्णशाल प्रस्थादेऽशः प्रस्थादनस्ववरशः II

37. The words िचस, िरमस and िरमस are irregularly formed.


प्रर्मति: II प्रस्थाद िरमसवै: िरमसवरस्वरविष्कृष्णस्वरश:ः िरमसवरस्वरविष्कृष्णस्वरश:ः II

पार्वतिकाम् II पार्वतकामेऽगमे: सुपुर्वसंवासान् II

पार्वतिकाम् II पार्वतिकाम्यः विह च II

पार्वतिकाम् II पार्वतिकाम्यः विहः II

पार्वतिकाम् II पार्वतिकाम्यः विहः II
38. The affix खच् comes after the verb वच ‘to speak’ when वचि or वच्य is the word in composition with it as an object.

Thus वचि धारिति = वचित्वम् ‘who speaks kindly’; वचित्वम् ‘who professes submission’.

Of the affix खच्, the letters ख and च are indicatory; ख indicates the insertion of the augment मुम् (VI. 3. 37), and च shows that there is shortening of the vowel in certain cases (VI. 4. 94).

In the case of विशं and वशं with वच, the affix खच् would have given the same result as the affix खच्. Making a separate affix in this śūtra is for the sake of the aphorisms that follow, where this affix will produce different effects than खच्.

Vart.—The affix खच् comes after the verb गम् ‘to go’ when a word ending in a case-affix is in composition with it. As विशंगम् हल्लि ‘the slow-moving i.e. an elephant’; विसिंहगम् हस्ति ‘the slow-moving i.e. a she-elephant’.

Vart.—This affix comes under similar circumstances when the word in composition with गम्, is विशंबरस्; and the letter is then replaced by the word विशं. As विशंगसा गच्छति = विशंगम्: ‘a bird (that which goes through the sky)’.

Vart.—In the Vārtikas above given, the affix खच् may optionally be considered as if it had an indicatory च. The force of च is to cause elision of the final vowel with what follows it. As विशंग: or विशंगम्: ‘a bird’. So also विशंगम्: or नुमङ्ग: ‘a serpent’ (what goes crookedly).

Vart.—विशंत्र, is replaced by निश when the affix च (III 2. 48) comes after the verb गम्: as निशं ‘a bird’. Thus we have three forms: निशं, निशंकृं, निशंजः.

ढिल्लिकपरेरतेय: || ॥ निशं || पद्दरणि || निशंकृंपरेरतेय: || तारे,

(खच्) ॥

पृष्ठा: || विशंगस्य प्रमोंपालस्यपराश्रयोऽसि: || खच्यमयो शर्ति ॥

39. The affix खच् comes after the verb वाच ‘to heat’, when वचस् or चर is the word in composition with it as an object.

The verb शर् belongs both to Bhist and Chur classes. Both are meant in the śūtra. In the case of Bhuddi, the verb शर्ि is the causative ending in चि of शर्; while in Churddi, all verbs take चि.

Thus शिन्दस्य चारवति = शिन्दस्य: (VI. 4. 94) ‘one who destroys his enemies’, so also परस्तृ: ‘one who subdues his enemies, a hero’.
This affix however, will not apply when the above upapadas are in the feminine gender. In this case the general affix कण्ड will be employed; as 

चाचि सनी प्रते || ॥ पदार्थि || चाचि, यन; प्रते, (खच) || 

पुति;|| वाकश्रेण कर्मणुपर्ये बनेखार्थौः; खचुपस्तवि भवति प्रते गम्यामि इल। 

40. The affix खच comes after the verb वच ‘to curb’ when the word शक ‘speech’ is in composition with it as object, and the sense indicated is that of a vow.

The word वच means a vow taken according to the rules of Dharma-सूत्र. Thus शब्दक्षमे गाय व ‘he has taken the vow of rigid silence’.

Why do we say ‘vow’? Otherwise the form is शार्याम्: ‘restraining speech’ (VI. 3. 69).

41. The affix खच comes after the verbs धरि ‘to split’ and सह ‘to bear’ when respectively in composition with the words धर ‘a city’ and सह ‘all’, as objects.

As पुरं धरबति = पुरबत: ‘name of Indra (who splits asunder cities)’ (VI. 3. 69 and VI. 4. 94); धर्महो राजा ‘the king who is all-forbearing’.

Part.—So also when the word धर is in composition with the verb धरिः, as नंदनः ‘a fistula in the anus’.

42. The affix खच comes after the verb कर ‘to rub’ when the words सर ‘all’, कूल ‘bank’, कर ‘cloud’ and करींक ‘a dry cow-dung’, are in composition with it as object.

As करवर्ते: खच: ‘a villain, a rogue’; कूलखास नदी ‘a river’; करवर्ति गिरि: ‘a mountain’; करींकरुक्ता शालव ‘a strong wind’. 
43. The affix खण्ड comes after the verb ॥ 'to make' when the words नेष्ट 'cloud', कवि 'misfortune' and मध्य 'fear' are in composition as objects.

As नेष्टकर: 'producing clouds'; खण्डकर: 'giving pain'; गर्भकर: 'frightful'.

Vart.—The tadanta vidhi applies in the case of upapadas like मध्य &c. This is an exception to the वद्रिका under I. i. 72. by which, in the case of affixes, tadanta-vidhi was prohibited. Thus we have गर्भकर: 'who causes security'.

44. And the affix भण्ड as well as खण्ड comes after the verb ॥ 'to make' when the words भण्ड 'happiness', बिन 'pleasant' and मध्य 'joy' are in composition as objects.

The word 'and' denotes that the affix खण्ड is also to be included.

Thus खण्डकर: or खण्डकर: 'propitious'; भण्डकर: or भण्डकर: 'showing kindness'; गर्भकर: or गर्भकर: 'causing delight'.

The repetition of the affix भण्ड, when its anuvritti could have been read into this sutra by using the word भण्ड 'optionally', indicates that these words never take the affix ॥ of sutra 20 though cause, habit, &c., may be denoted; so that the feminine of those words is formed by भण्ड and not by ॥; as भण्डः... खण्डकर: 'small beginnings lead to or cause prosperity'.

45. The affix खण्ड comes after the verb ॥ 'to be' when in composition with the case-inflected word भण्डकित 'satisfied by eating' and the sense is that of instrument or condition.

The word 'भण्डकित' of sutra 4 is understood here.
Thus भागिण्यक: meaning ‘food’, literally that by which one is satiated. भागिण्यक: also means ‘satiety’, which denotes condition.

46. The affix खण्ड comes after the following verbs when the words to be formed denote a name:—viz. नृ ‘to bear’, पु ‘to cross over’, जि ‘to conquer’, धागि ‘to hold’, कि ‘to bear’, ति ‘to heat’ and ग ‘to subdue’.

Both the words कष्ट and सुष्मक of sūtra 1 and 4 are understood here and should be applied as the occasion requires. Thus विषय ‘earth’ (that which supports all); रथव “the Rathantara Sāma”; यविष्ठ ‘a girl’ lit. (who is about to choose a husband); शत्रुत्य: ‘an elephant’ lit. (who conquers the enemy); गुरुधर: ‘a mountain’ or ‘the pole of a carriage to which the yoke is fixed’; तुषस्व: ‘Satrunkasa’ (withstanding an enemy); शत्रुपपि ‘Satruntapa’ (destroying an enemy); अरविष्ठ: ‘Arindama’ (victorious).

Why do we say ‘when denoting a name’? Observe कुटुम्बक: ‘he who supports his family’.

47. And the affix खण्ड comes after the verb गम ‘to go’ when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, and when the word to be formed denotes a name.

As गुरुधर: ‘Sutangana’. Though the verb गम could well have been included in the last aphorism, the separation serves the purpose of carrying the anuvrtti of गम into the subsequent sūtras.
48. The affix ए comes after the verb गृ ‘to go’ when in composition with the following words as its objects:—भाव ‘end’, अत्यन्त ‘excessive’, अभाव ‘road’, दूर ‘far’, पार ‘across’, सर्व ‘all’ and अत्यन्त ‘endless’.

The anuvṛtti of the word संतायान्त does not extend to this. As अभाव: ‘having gone to the end, thoroughly conversant’; अत्यन्तत: ‘going too fast’; अभाव: ‘a way-farer’; दूर: ‘going to a distant place’; पार: ‘completely familiar’; सर्व: ‘going everywhere, the Supreme Being’; अत्यन्तत: ‘going to infinity, moving for ever’.

Of the affix ए the letter र is indicatory, the real affix being ए. The ए indicates that the हिर portion of the word to which this is added, must be elided (VI. 4. 143) as अभाव + सर्व + ए = अभाव + दूर + ए (the हिर portion भाव of सर्व is elided). Now though the rule VI. 4. 143 says ‘when that which has an indicatory ए, follows, there is elision of the हिर of a ए’; yet in the present case, such elision takes place, although the word दूर here is not one of those called ए (I. 4. 18); because the presence of ए as an indicatory letter must not be unmeaning.

Vart.—The ए is also employed when the words in composition are सर्व ‘everywhere’ and दूर ‘creeping’; as सर्वात: ‘Supreme Spirit’; दूरात: ‘snake.’

Vart.—So also when the word in composition is उरस ‘breast’, and there is elision of its final. As उरस + सुर + ए = उरस: ‘moving on breast, a snake’.

Vart.—So also with the words सु ‘well’ and दूर ‘bad’, when. the resulting words denote location. As सु: ‘that in which one goes easily, easy of access’. दूर: ‘difficult of access, a fort’.

Vart.—So also with the preposition निर, the word to be formed meaning country; as निर: ‘a country’.

Vart.—Others say, that this ए is added when other words besides the above stand as upapadas. Thus स्थापितर: (झा+भार+संह+ए) ‘who goes to the women’s compartment’; मानव: ‘going to the village’; संहल्ल्य: ‘who pollutes the bed of his guru’.
49. The affix ः comes after the verb हृ ‘to kill’ when the object is in composition with it, and when benediction is intended.

The affix ः is understood in this sūtra. Thus तिमि काश्याः =तिमि: ‘may he kill the whale’; रागुस: ‘may he kill the enemy’.

Why do we say ‘when benediction is intended’? Otherwise we have रागुस: ‘who kills his enemy’.

Vart.—The affix ः comes after the verb भाइः when the word शाख ‘wood’ is in composition with it, and the final letter of the word so formed is changed into ः, when the word so formed denotes a name. As शाख भाइः=शाखापाट: (शाख + भाइ + ः) ‘the wood-pecker’.

Vart.—So also optionally when the word चाद ‘beautiful’ is in composition under the circumstances detailed in the last वार्तिका: as चादापाट: or चादापाट:.

Vart.—So also, when the verb हृ is preceded by the preposition स्म, and is in composition with a word in the objective case, the affix ः is employed; and the final is replaced by ः; as वनानं+स्महिः=वनसंपाद: or वनसंपाद: ‘the alphabet’; शाकनि स्महिः=शाकसंपाद: or शाकसंपाद: ‘connecting the words that are separated, an annotator’.

अपि केक्षार्ततपिसो: || ५० || पदार्थि || अपे, केक्ष-तपसो:; (कर्मचिः, 
हृः; ः) || पुत्रि: || अपपर्वतान्ते: केक्षार्ततपिसो: कर्मचिःपर्वतान्तेष्वांश्वो नवति ||

50. The affix ः comes after the verb हृ ‘to kill’ when it is compounded with the preposition स्म, and when the object in composition with it, is the word हृ ‘pain’ or ः ‘darkness’.

As, केक्षार्त: पुत्र: ‘the pain-allayer i. e. the son’; शाश्वप: सूत्रे: ‘the darkness-destroyer i. e. the sun’.

This aphorism has its scope when the sense is not that of benediction.

कुमारशीषयोक्षिणिः || ५१ || पदार्थि || कुमार-शीषयो:; खिनि:,
(हृः) || पुत्रि: || कुमार श्रीपि इवेलेश्वराविखोऽविखः; इवेलेश्वराविखः प्रस्वति नवति ||

51. The affix खिनि comes after the verb हृ ‘to kill’ when the word in composition with it is कुमार ‘a child’, or शीष ‘head’.
Thus कुमार + हुष + िनि = कुमार + पाल + हुष (VII. 3. 54 and VII. 3. 32) = कुमारायिनित्र nom. sing. कुमारायि ‘child-killer’. So also शीर्षायिनित्र. nom. sing. शीर्ष-पालि ‘head-killer’.

The word शीर्ष is an irregular form of the word शिरस्.

लक्षणे यायाययोद्वे || पदरति || लक्षणे, याया-पत्रोऽऽ

पृष्ठे: || इसे यायायि: कर्मर्थायपयोपले कलायिनित्तिकयिनित्र इक्ष्यायिनेव भवति ||

52. The affix त्त्त्र comes after the verb हुष ‘to kill’ when it is in composition with the word गाय ‘wife’ or गाय ‘husband’ as object, and when the word so formed denotes the agent possessed of that attribute (or when the word so formed denotes a mark).

The word लक्षण of this śūtra gives rise to the doubt whether it means लक्षण कर्तविरि or लक्षयुक्त कर्तविरि. In the former case the meaning will be ‘when the agent is itself the mark’; as यायायिनु: ‘a mole’ (a mark on the body indicative of the death of one’s wife). In the latter case the meaning will be ‘when the agent is possessed of the attribute denoted by the word’; as यायायिनु: ‘the murderer of his wife’; तत्रिवते ‘the murderer of her husband’.

Of the affix त्त्त्र the letters ह and क are indicatory. The ह shows that the feminine is formed by ह, and क causing elision of the penultimate भ of हुष. Thus गाया + हुष + त्त्त्र = गाया + हुष + भ (VI. 4. 98) = गायायिनु: (VII. 3. 54).

असुनुष्ट्यायिनेव e || पदरति || अनुष्ट्य: त्राशै, e. (त्त्र, हृष: ||

पृष्ठे: || अनुष्ट्यायिनेव त्त्यायायिनेव: कर्मर्थायपयोपले कलायिनित्तिकयिनित्र भवति ||

53. And the affix त्त्त्र comes after the verb हुष ‘to kill’ when the object is in composition with it, and when the word to be formed denotes an agent other than a human being.

As यायायिनुसिसिनित्तिकयिनु: ‘the mole’ (literally that which indicates the death of one’s wife); पवित्रेः पात्त्रायिनेः ‘the line of the palm of the hand’ (that which indicates the death of one’s husband). These two forms were deducible also from the last aphorism. शुष्मगुण्ये भुष ‘honey’ (literally that which has the property of destroying the phlegm). विषार्दुः पुष्य ‘clarified butter’ (lit. that which destroys the bile).

Why do we say ‘when the agent is not a human being’? Observe भाषुपात: श्रृः ‘a Sādra’ (literally one who kills the mice). Here the affix त्त्रः
Why is the affix दक्ष not employed in the following? चौरचाली हस्ति: ‘an elephant’ (i.e., who kills a thief). Here the word is formed by the affix भल्य on the analogy of सूत्र III. 113 which allows a diversity in case of क्रिया affixes, which diversity is extended in this case to a कृत affix.

शक्ति हस्तिकर्मात्रा(यो) ट्योर: || ॥ पदार्थ: || शक्ति, हस्तिकर्मात्रा(यो): (इनः, दक्षः) ॥

पृष्ठ: || शक्ति गन्नयमनात्सा हस्तिकर्मात्रा(यो): कर्मपञ्चारयपञ्चवर्गोऽविनाक्षरवर्गोऽविनिति ॥

54. The affix दक्ष comes after the verb हनु ‘to kill’ when the word in composition with it as its object is हनु ‘elephant’ or कन्न ‘gate’ and when the sense indicated is that of power.

This सूत्र applies where the agent is a human being. As हस्तिन् हनु गाल: हस्तिकर्मात्रा: अनुवच: ‘a man who is strong enough to kill an elephant’; so also कन्नकर्मात्रा: ‘a burglar’ (who is capable of breaking open the doors).

Why do we say ‘where power is indicated’? Observe विषेष हस्तिन् हनु = हस्तिकर्मात्रा: ‘who kills the elephant by poison’. Here the affix is भल्य.

पाबित्ताथिर्य गिरिपिन्न || ॥ पदार्थ: || पाबित्ताथिर्य, गिरिपिन्न.

पृष्ठ: || पाबित्ताथिर्य गिरिपिन्न शब्दे शब्दे शिष्णवेः शिष्णविन्न करते रिः ॥

पाबित्तकर्मात्रा: राज्य: वर्णविवाहात् ॥

55. The words पाबित्त and राज्य are irregularly formed when denoting an artificer.

These forms are thus evolved. The affix दक्ष is employed after the verb हनु in composition with पार्थ ‘hand’ and राज्य ‘a blow’ as object; then the दक्ष portion of हनु i.e., दक्ष is elided, and हनु is changed into दक्ष irregularly. Thus पार्थ+हनु+दक्ष = पार्थ+हनु+दक्ष = पार्थिकर्मात्रा: ‘a drummer’ (workman or handicraftsman); राज्य: ‘a smith’.

Why ‘when denoting an artificer’? Observe पाबित्त्यात्यात्य: ‘boxing’; राज्याक: ‘hammering’.

Vart:—The word राज्य: should be enumerated in this connection; राज्य: ‘a regicide’.

आदिपुवुमघुपुष्पस्थ्राणाराग्निधर्मिणेऽपृष्ठात् रुग्न: कर्ते खुन || ॥ पदार्थ: || आदिपुवुमघुपुष्पस्थ्राणाराग्निधर्मिणेऽपृष्ठात्, चितो-अधेषु, लघुदी, हुण: कर्ते, खुन ||
The affix ख्यु म्, when the sense of the word to be formed is that of an instrumental agent, comes after the verb क् ‘to make’, when the following words are in composition with it as objects:—भाव ‘rich’, सुभ ‘fortunate’, स्थूल ‘big’, पलित ‘grey’, गम ‘naked’, अभ्य ‘blind’ and पित ‘pleasant’, provided that these words have the sense of the words formed by the affix भित्, though not actually ending in the affix भित्.

The affix भित् (V. 4. 50.) is added to a noun when it is in composition with the verbs सू ‘to become’, क् ‘to make’ and भव ‘to be’; its force being that a thing attains to a condition in which it previously was not. The भित् being an optional affix, its sense is two-fold; namely, words ending in भित् and words not ending in भित्. Both may have the force of भित्. [In the present sūtra, however, the words that actually end in भित् have been excluded, while words which do not take the affix भित्, but have the force of भित् are included in the present sūtra.

Thus भाव + सू + ख्यु म् = भाव + क् + भव = भावकरणम् ‘that by the instrumentality of which the poor becomes rich, viz., wealth, prosperity, means of enriching’; सुभकरणम् ‘making happy’; स्थूलकरणम् ‘by which one becomes big’; पलितकरणम् ‘rendering grey’; गमकरणम् ‘making naked’; अभ्यकरणम् ‘making blind’; पितकरणम् ‘showing kindness’.

Why do we say ‘when the force is that of the affix भित्’? Otherwise भाव तैलेन सुभित्वम् i.e. अभ्यवभित्वम् ‘they anoint with oil’. Here though something is joined with what it previously was not joined, namely with oil, yet as the radical word is not prominent here, the sense is not that of भित् and hence this counter-example.

Why do we say ‘when not ending in the affix भित्’? Observe भावि सुभित्वम् अलेव ‘they make rich by this’. Here the affix ख्यु म् is not employed.

It might be objected: ‘well if ख्यु म् is not used, then the affix स्थूल् must be used (III. 3. 117) as there is no difference between स्थूल् and ख्यु म्; both having the efficient portion सु; what is then the use of prohibiting भित्? We reply, ‘because there is this prohibition, when the affix ख्यु म् is not employed the affix स्थूल् will also be not employed. Thus by implication the affix स्थूल् is also prohibited. The prohibition of भित् in this sūtra is for the sake of the aphorisms that follow.’
Patanjali observes this prohibition as superfluous, because there is no distinction between सुधु and सुधुन्त्र. For the word formed by any one of these affixes have the same form and the same accent. Nor there is any distinction in the feminines of their derivatives. For the word formed by मस्त्र, नस्त्र, इंस्त्र, बल्न्त्र and बल्न्त्र take ह in the feminine as well as the words सहुन्त्र and सहुन्त्र. Nor there is any distinction in their samāsas. For in both the cases it will be nitya sa-

57. The affixes सिघुचु and सिखु, when the word to be formed denotes an agent, come after the verb तू ‘to become’, when it is in composition with words अभ्य &c., provided that these have the sense of the words formed by the affix त्रिष्ठ though not ending in त्रिष्ठ.

Thus आश्वेत्तिविभच्छ: ‘becoming rich (who was not rich before)’; आश्वेत्तिविभच्छ: ‘becoming rich’; सुनग्निविभच्छ: or -सुधुक: ‘becoming happy’; सम्भविविभच्छ: or -सुधुक: ‘becoming big’; सन्नाश्विविभच्छ: or -सुधुक: ‘becoming grey’; सन्नाश्विविभच्छ: or -सुधुक: ‘becoming naked’; सन्नाश्विविभच्छ: or -सुधुक: ‘becoming blind’; सिन्यविभच्छ: or -सुधुक: ‘becoming an object of affection, amiable’.

Why do we say ‘when denoting the agent’? Not so when it denotes the instrument. The affixes will apply when the sense of the upapada is that of त्रिष्ठ, otherwise not; as भावित ‘he will be rich’.

These affixes will not apply when the upapada ends in त्रिष्ठ; भावित भवित.

58. The affix किन्त्र comes after the verb तू ‘to touch’, when it is in composition with a case-inflected word other than वात्र ‘water’.

By sutra 4 of this chapter, the anuvritti of the word सुधु is to be read into this sutra. It might be objected ‘why do we not read the anuvritti of the word तू instead of तू, because the verb तू is a transitive verb, and after
such verbs, the anuvṛtti of ञञे ought to come by sūtra 4. To this we say there is no harm in reading the anuvṛtti of सूचि in this case; because the word क्षेति of the last sūtra is also, in a way understood here, and indicates the collection of all sorts of agents whether objects, instruments &c., and this can only be when the first member of the compound is a word in general.

Thus पुंस स्पृहा = दु:श्लायः, nom. sing. दु:श्लायः ‘he who touches clarified butter’. स्मृतिः + तित्तु + स्मृतिः + तित्तु + तित्तु (VI. 1. 68) = स्मृतः + तित्तु (VI. 1. 67, and VIII. 2. 62). So also चेतो दु:श्लायः = दु:श्लायः ‘who touches with hymns’; चेतो दु:श्लायः = जलश्लायः ‘who touches with water’. But सहस्त्र = सहस्त्रम्; here we have the general affix अष्टा.

The न of फित्त is to distinguish this affix from affixes like फित्त &c. For, had it been merely फित्त, then in sūtra VIII. 2. 62. we should have used फित्त अष्टा, and it would have been ambiguous, for फित्त might be explained as meaning both फित्त and फित्त, as कन means कन, कन &c. To remove this ambiguity, न is added to make a distinctive affix. The न cannot be for the sake of accent. (VI. 1. 117), the verb being monosyllabic would of itself have taken that accent.

59. The words अन्तिक ‘a domestic priest’, रणक ‘impudent’, रण ‘a garland’, विक ‘a direction’ and अन्तिक ‘a quatrains’ are irregularly formed by adding the affix फित्त; and so also after the verbs अन्तिक ‘to worship’, विक ‘to join’ and अन्तिक ‘to approach’, the affix फित्त is employed.

The first five words are irregular forms. Thus दु:श्लायः + तित्तु + तित्तु = दु:श्लायः ‘he who performs sacrifice in the season (स्मृति) or to the season (स्मृति). This word, however is a क्षेत्र word in which it is fruitless to search for its etymological meaning. दु:श्लायः + तित्तु = दु:श्लायः. Here there is reduplication and the final has acute accent. दु:श्लायः + तित्तु = दु:श्लायः. Here there is augment अन्तिक. दु:श्लायः + तित्तु = दु:श्लायः. So also दु:श्लायः + तित्तु = दु:श्लायः. All these are in fact crude nouns, their current meaning having little traces of their root meaning.

The affix फित्त comes after the three roots दृश्य, अस्त्र, and लक्ष. Being read along with the five above-mentioned irregularly-formed words, there is some irregularity in the application of फित्त to these verbs. Thus the affix फित्त comes after अस्त्र only when a word ending with any case-affix precedes it in composition. As ग + अस्त्र + फित्त = अस्त्र = अन्तिक. (VI. 4. 24; VII. 79, VIII. 2. 23 and 62) ‘east’; so also ग + अस्त्र + फित्त = अन्तिक. ‘west’; ग + अस्त्र ‘north’. 

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The affix किन्न comes after बृजिर and भुजच when these are uncombined.
Thus बुजु + किन्न = बुजु। In nominative singular, बुजु + किन्न = बुजु + किन्न (VII. 1. 71) = बुजु + किन्न (VII. 1. 68) = बुजु (VIII. 2. 62) 'who joins'. When the root बुजु is in composition with an upapada, it takes the affix किन्न (see sutra 61). As अभिधु 'yoked with horses'.

So also कृत्त + किन्न = कृत्त, nom. sing. कृत्त, 'a curlew'. The non-elision of the म (VI. 4. 24) of कृत्त is an irregularity, as this word has been taught in connection with other irregular words.

60. And the affix कम comes after the verb दात, 'to see' when it is in combination with दात &c. and does not signify perception.

The force of 'and' is that the किन्न also comes under similar circumstances. दात &c. are pronouns, for a list of which see I. 1. 27. Thus दातकन्न nom. sing. दातकन्न, 'such-like' when it is formed by किन्न; and दातकन्न: 'such-like' when the affix is कम। So also दात + किन्न = दातकम (VI. 3. 91) nom. sing. दातकम (VI. I. 68, VIII. 2. 36 and 62, VIII. 4. 56); and दातकम: when कम is the affix. So दातकम or दातकम: 'what-like'.

What is the force of the letter म of कम? It is for the sake of accent; the uddita is on the first syllable of those words which are formed by an affix having an indicatory म or म (VI. I. 117). But the indicatory म would have given the same accent, there being no difference between कम्म and कम in this respect. The indicatory म then serves only the purpose of distinguishing the affix कम्म from कम्म in sutra IV. I. 15 in which कम्म is taken and not कम्म. Had we not formed this separate affix, then for कम्मकर्ण of that sutra, we should have read कम्म कर्ण so that the feminine of words formed by कम्म would have also taken long ह, so that the feminine of वासक: (बाप + कम्म V. 4. 29) would have been बासकी instead of बासका.

Why do we say 'when not signifying perception'? See म परिवर्त = म परिवर्त: 'who sees that'. The words दातकम, दातकम &c. are crude nouns, in which the etymological sense of the root not being visible, the act of seeing can never be denoted by these words.

Vart.—This rule applies also when the words वासक and बासक are in composition with हुँ. 'As हुँ or हुँ: 'like' (वासक + हुँ + किन्न = हुँ + हुँ बासक VI. 3. 89); so also अस्त्रहुँ: or अस्त्रहुँ 'of another kind'.
Vart.—The affix कृष्ण comes also after the root छाड़. As तावृष्णः, चावृष्णः,
अनावृष्णः: तावृष्णः, च (VI. 3. 91.) = तावृष्णः, व (VIII. 2. 36) = तावृष्णः, व (VIII. 2. 41) = तावृष्णः, व (VIII. 3. 59) = तावृष्णः: ।


The phrase ‘the word ending with a case-affix’ is understood in this sūtra. The anuvritti of भूः is not to be taken in this sūtra for the same reasons as in sūtra 58 ante. The upasargas are also words ending in a case-affix i.e. they are also subanta words. Their special mention in this section, indicates by implication (jādṛpa), that wherever in the previous sūtras, the word subanta (a case-inflected word) is used, it does not include an upasarga (III 1. 106).

This sūtra is a continuation and expansion of sūtras 75 and 76 sup.

62. The affix विष comes after the verb भग्न ‘to share’ when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix whether it be an upasarga or not.

The words ‘upasarga’ and ‘supi’ are understood in this sūtra. As भग्न = भग्न ‘nom. sing. भग्न ‘sharing a half’. So also when in composition with a preposition; as भग्न ‘division’.

63. In the Chhandas, the affix विष comes after the verb भग्न ‘to bear’ when it is in composition with a word ending in a case-affix.

The words ‘upasarga’ and ‘supi’ are understood here. As भुज + भग्न + विष = श्रुतां, nom. sing. श्रुतां ‘name of Indra’. The dental भ is changed into cerebral व by VIII. 3. 56, and the भ into ठ by VIII. 2. 31. The final भ of भुज is lengthened by VI. 3. 137. See Rig Veda. I. 175. 2, III. 48. 5.

64. The affix विष comes after the verb वह ‘to carry’, in the Chhandas, when a word ending with a case-affix is in composition with it.

As महाविष 1st sing. महविष ‘carrying a prashīna measure’; so, विषवाद।

The division of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvṛtti of वह only is carried and not of वह। See Yajur Veda. XIV. 10, XVIII. 26.

65. In the Chhandas the affix विष comes after
the verb श्च when it is in composition with the words कर्म 'oblation of food to deceased ancestors', पुरुष 'fæces' and श्रेणि 'water'.

As कर्मवाहः सिद्धाया (Yajur. Ved. II. 29) 'fire that carries the oblation to the pitris'; पुरुषवाहः 'carrier of water'; पुरुषवाहः (Yaj. Ved. XI. 44). The feminine of these words is formed by adding long ईः।

66. The affix मुद्र comes in the Chhandas, after the verb मुद्र 'to carry' when it is in composition with the word ह्व 'an oblation to gods', provided that the word so formed does not occur in the middle of a पाद (fourth part of a stanza).

As ह्ववाहः 'fire, the carrier of oblation to the gods'. (Rig. Ved. I. 44. 2).

When this word occurs in the middle of a पाद, or at the beginning, the form is ह्ववाहः, which is derived by adding the affix श्च (सूत्र 64). As ह्ववाहःनामस्य निः: निः: the never-decaying अग्नि or fire that carries oblation to the gods, is our father'. (Rig. Veda. III. 2. 2.)

67. The affix विन्द (the whole of which is elided) comes in the Chhandas after the verbs श्रु 'to be born', श्रु 'to bestow', श्रु 'to dig', श्रु 'to pace' and श्रु 'to go', when a word ending in a case-affix is in composition, and the final nasals are changed into long अ.

The words श्रु, श्रु and श्रु are understood in this सूत्रa. The verb श्रु includes two verbs meaning 'to be born' and 'to happen'; so also श्रु means both 'to give' and 'to worship'.

Of the affix बिन्द the letter द is indicative, and is qualifying, as in VI. 4. 41, by which rule the final nasal of जन, जन &c. is replaced by long अ when the affix बिन्द follows, and the whole affix is elided by VI. 1. 67.
THE AFFIX KAP.  [Bk. III. Ch. II. § 68, 70.

As अष्ट+मन्त्+विद्—सर्वज; (Rig. Ved. VII. 34. 16) ‘born in water’ (VI. 4. 41); गोष्ठ: ‘born in the heaven i.e. God’ (Rig. Veda IV. 40. 5). So also from चन्द्र—गोष्ठ: ‘acquiring or bestowing cows’ (VIII. 3. 108); गोष्ठ: इंद्रीय पूर्ण भवति ‘O Indra bestower of cows! thou art lover of mankind’ (Rig. Veda IX. 2. 10). From लतू—विषाल्या: ‘digger of lotus stalk’; कुलाल्या: ‘digger of well’. From कुल—विषाल्या: ‘who gets milk’ (Rig. IV. 39. 1 and 40. 5). From लतू—अवेशणा वर्णदुःस्रावः ‘the leader’.

68. The affix विद् comes after the verb भुव ‘to eat,’ when in composition with a case-inflected word other than भुव ‘food’.

The anuvṛtti of the word ‘Chhandasi’ does not extend to this sūtra. Thus अहमवति = अहान्ति ‘eating raw food’; अहान्ति ‘granivorous’.

But with अहान as an upapada, we have अहान: ‘eating food’, which is formed by the general affix अहान (III 2.1.)

69. The affix विद् comes after the verb भुव ‘to eat,’ when the word कुल्य is in composition with it.

As कुल्यमिति = कुल्याय ‘carnivorous’.

Why has it been made a separate sūtra, when this form could have been obtained by the last sūtra also? To this the vārtika replies: ‘This has been made a separate sūtra in order to indicate that the rule of भ्रात्र (III. 1. 94) does not apply here. Therefore the affix अहान will not apply in the alternative. If the affix अहान does not apply, how then we get the form कुल्याय: which is evidently formed by the affix अहान? The affix अहान comes after the root when the word formed means the eater of meat which has been cut, dressed and cooked; thus कुल्याय: means a man who eats meat cooked and prepared, i.e. a meat-eater as opposed to a vegetarian, while भ्रात्र means an animal which eats raw flesh; the word कुल्याय: in fact may be regarded as an irregular form falling under प्रोक्तार्थ class of sūtra VI. 3. 109.

70. The affix कुल्य comes after the verb युध् ‘to milk’ when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix and the letter य replaces its final.
As कामुक्ति वेनु: 'a milch cow, giving abundance of milk'; so also अर्ध्वस्य, परशुरा।

71. In the Mantra literature, the affix विभव, comes after the words वेष्टव, वक्य्यस्य, and पुरोवाहः.

The above words contain both the verb and the upapada; the fact of their being so given indicates that there is some irregularity in the application of the affix.

Thus the affix विभव comes after the verb धर्म preceded by the upapada धर्म as denoting an agent, while the force of the whole word so formed denotes an object. As धर्म धर्म धर्मीति = प्रेमवाहः, nom. sing. प्रेमवा: 'a name of Indra' (whom white horses carry).

The affix विभव is applied to the verb श्रास्त्र, 'to praise' when preceded by the word वक्य as object or instrument; and then the nasal is irregularly dropped. As वक्यात्र वक्य गंगाति = वक्यात्र नमः, nom. sing. वक्यात्र: (Rig. Ved. II. 39. 1.), 'a reciter of hymns, the name of the sacrificer'.

The विभव is applied after the verb शाशु 'to give', preceded by पुरें, and it is changed into द, the force of the whole word denoting an object. As पुरें शाशु द्विधा = पुरोवाहः, nom. sing. पुरोवा: (Rig. Ved. III. 28. 2) 'an offering'.

Vart.—The augment वास्त्र is added to the words वेष्टव, वक्य्यस्य, when the \textit{pada} affixes follow. Thus before \textit{pada} terminations वेष्टवाहः becomes वेष्टवाहः. Therefore its Instrumental dual is वेष्टवाहान, pl. वेष्टवाहोनि:.

The augment वास्त्र is not applied before सन्ते सन्तु यान, and त �terminations. As वेष्टवाहः, वेष्टवाहः.

72. In the Mautra literature, the affix विभव comes after the verb व्रध्म 'to sacrifice' when in composition with the word भवः.

As भवहान, भवः (Rig. Ved. I. 173. 12) 'name of a Vedic priest'; as त वते वहस्वस्य अभि 'Thou art the priest of Varuna in the sacrifice'.

The division of this aphorism from the last in which it could have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras in which the \textit{anuvṛtti} of व्रध्म
only runs. This word is thus declined:

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<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Dual</th>
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<tr>
<td>1st.</td>
<td>अश्रवणः</td>
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<td>2nd.</td>
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<td>3rd.</td>
<td>अश्रवणः</td>
<td>अश्रवणः</td>
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73. The affix विच comes after the verb वच when वच precedes, in the Chhandas.

As उपवचनक्षे वहित ‘they carry it up with the उपवचन formulas’. उपवचन is the name of eleven formulas at a sacrifice.

The word ‘Chhandas’ has been repeated here though the anuvṛtti of the word ‘mantra’ was present in it, in order to include the Brāhmaṇa literature also.

The च is indicatory and is useful in including the affix विच in the larger group called विच (which includes कनि, कनिं, विच, विचि), as in the sūtra वेयश्चल (VI. 1. 67).

Why has this sūtra been made, since the affix विच would have been valid even by aphorism 75? The āsura has been separately made to show that it is a restrictive rule here. The form उपवचन is found in the Chhandas only, and not in the ordinary literature.

74. The affixes मनि(मन), कनिः(कन), मनिः(मन) and विच come in the Chhandas, after verbs which end in long भ, when a case-inflected word or an upasarga is in composition.

The force of ‘and’ is to include विच. Thus सुधा + मनि = सुधानि, 1st. sing. सुधानि (Rig. VI. 20. 7) ‘one who gives liberally’; भ्राति + र्थ + मनि = भ्रातिस्यासम, 1st. sing. भ्रातिस्यासम ‘the name of Asvatthāman’; सुधा + कनि = सुधी + कन् (VI. 4. 66) = सुधीकन्, 1st. sing. सुधीकनि ‘having good understanding’; सुधा + कनि = सुधीकनि, 1st. sing. सुधीकनि ‘a good drinker’. भूरि + शा + विचि = भूरिश्चल, 1st. sing. भूरिश्चल (Rig. II. 27. 17) ‘liberal’; सुधास्वर (Yaj. VI. 19) ‘ghee-drinker’.

The affix विच is also included in this aphorism. As कीलालत + शा + र्षि = कीलालत, (Rig. X. 91. 14) ‘nectar-drinker’; भूरंि = भूरंि (Rig. IV. 3. 6. and Pāṇini VII,

अनेविष्टेऽपरि द्रव्यां || सः || पदार्थे || समेभ्य: || अथेर्य, अति, द्रव्यांते,
(भन्निनः क्रियाप्रेयः वाचिकः बिंशु) ||

पुष्टि: || अनेविष्टेऽपरि भाष्यही: सारायकेऽत्रि मनमणि बननिद्राय वाचिक प्रस्तुता दस्सराय, ||
बिंशु ||

75. These affixes viz. मनमणि, क्रियाप्रेयः, वाचिकः and बिंशु are seen after other verbs also besides those ending in long भ.

The word द्विशस्य is not understood here. As सु + श्रृ ‘to injure’ + मनमणि = सुश्रुभ्य, 1st. ‘sing. सुश्रुभ्य ‘who destroys well i.e. destroys sin or ignorance’. पालवर्त + ह ‘to go’ + क्रियाप्रेयः = पालवकस्त + रव + क्रियाप्रेयः (VI. 1. 71) = पालवकस्त, 1st. sing. पालवकस्त ‘who goes early’. बिं + न्न + वाचिकः = बिं + न्न + ब्य (VI. 4. 41) = बिंवाचिक, 1st. sing. बिंवाचिक ‘who brings forth’. अभ्यापा ‘who goes before’. (अभ्यापस्व + बिं = अभ्यापस्व (VII. 3. 86) 1st. sing. अभ्यापस्व ‘who injures’; as in अभ्यापस्व परस्य नसे: (Yajur. Ved. VI. 18).

The word ‘also’ in this aphorism has the force of removing all conditions under which these affixes were employed in the previous aphorisms, that is to say, these affixes come even when there is no upapada. As द्विशस्य, द्विशस्य.

The words ‘are seen’ in this śūtra show that all verbs do not admit of these affixes indiscriminately. It is only when we see a particular form that we can infer the existence of these affixes.

क्रियः च || सः || पदार्थे || क्रियः च ||

पुष्टि: || सारायकेऽत्रि मनमणि च वाचिकः नापायतो च क्रियाप्रेयः भवति ||

76. And the affix क्रियः is also seen after all verbs, whether having an upapada or not in the Vedic as well as in the modern Sās̄krit.

As उस्ताह = उस्ताह (VI. 4. 24) ‘falling from the pot’; उपस्ताह ‘falling from the leaves’; बाहारक ‘बाहारक, 1st. sing. बाहारक ‘falling from a car’. The ह is long by VI. 3. 137. See Rig. Ved. I. 3. 8.

स्य: च || सः || पदार्थे || स्यः च, (सुपि, उपस्ये, क्रियः) ||

पुष्टि: || स्य इस्ताहकलाभाय: सुपिदुपिद कुलकर्मिणि क्रियः च भवति ||

77. The affixes क and क्रियः come after the verb स्य when it is in composition with a word ending in a case-affix or an upasarga.

Why has this aphorism been made, when by rule III. 1: 4, स्या would have taken क and by rule III. 1: 75, it would have taken क्रियः also? This repetition is for the purpose of prohibiting the prohibition, that is to say, the
sūtra III. 2. 14 prohibited the sūtra III. 2. 4, and the present sūtra removes that prohibition. Thus श्रुति: and श्रवण: । But for this sūtra, this form could not have been evolved; for, with the upapada श्रम, the verb श्रवण: would have taken the affix अन्त: by III. 2. 14.

78. When habit is to be expressed, the affix श्रवण: comes after a verb, provided the word with a case-affix in composition with it, does not mean a genus.

Thus उप्ता + श्रुति + श्रवण: = उप्ताश्रवण:, 1st. sing. उप्ताश्रवण: 'who eats his meal hot'. So also श्रुतान्तर्गु: &c.

Why do we say 'when it does not mean a genus'? Witness श्रुताश्रवण: मन्त्रिता ‘the inviter of Brāhmaṇas’. We cannot form श्रुताश्रवण: मन्त्रिता.

Why do we say 'when habit is to be expressed'? Witness उप्ताश्रवण: कर्तव्य: कर्तव्य: ‘he sometimes eats hot’.

Though the anuvṛtti of the word ‘supi’ was understood in this aphorism, its repetition here declares that upasargas are not included. This is contested by the author of the Siddhānta Kaumudi. According to him this affix comes even with upasargas. As अनुव्रती:, अनुवृतानु:, अनुवृत्ती:, &c.:

Vart.—The verb श्रवण: in composition with the prepositions अन्तः or गति should be enumerated as taking this affix. As श्रवणिर्द्व, fem. श्रवणिर्द्व: 1st. plural श्रवणिर्द्व: । So also श्रवणिर्द्व, pl. श्रवणिर्द्व: ।

Vart.—So also when the sense is ‘having skill in such and such action’. As श्रवणिर्द्व: ‘excellent worker’; श्रवणिर्द्व: ‘giving liberally’.

Vart.—So also after the verb लेख्य: preceded by श्रवण: As श्रवणिर्द्व: in श्रवणिर्द्व: ‘the knowers of Brahma say’.

79. The affix श्रवण: comes after a verb when it is in composition with a word denoting an object of comparison, expressing the agent, the sense of the affix being ‘doing something like that’, that is to say, when the
upapada agent is the standard of comparison of the agent denoted by the word to which the sense of the affix refers.

Thus प्रतिकूल वृत्ति ‘who makes a noise like a camel’; अवश्यविन्न ‘who makes a noise like a crow’.

This sūtra applies where ‘habit’ is not indicated: or where ‘genus’ is denoted in opposition to the last aphorism.

Why do we say ‘when expressing the agent’? Witness as अप्रथक ‘he eats māsha like apāpa’. Here अपूर्ण is object and not agent, and hence no composition takes place.

Why do we say ‘denoting a standard of comparison’? Otherwise there will be no composition. As वचः क्रेयति ‘the camel makes noise’. For the accents of these words, see VI. 2. 80.

80. The affix विनि comes after a verb, in composition with a word ending in a case-affix.

The word प्रति means a ‘vow’ as regulated and ordained by the Scriptures. This condition ‘when vow is expressed’ applies to the completed word, that is to say, when the complete word made up of the root, the upapada, and the affix, denotes a vow. As स्वाधिकरण ‘the vow of sleeping on bare ground (and nowhere else) or a person who has taken this vow’. अखण्ड ‘who has vowed not to eat during the performance of a Śraddha ceremony.

Why do we say ‘when vow is to be expressed’? Otherwise there is no composition. As स्वाधिकरणे ‘Devadatta sleeps on bare ground’.

This sūtra is also an exception to III. 2 78 applicable when habit is not meant, or when genus is to be expressed.

81. The affix विनि comes after a verb diversely when continued repetition of an action is to be expressed.

The word अन्यायापद means continued repetition, that is to say, zealous practice or assiduous performance of anything, but does not mean habit. As कष्टादपि गायत्री ‘the people of Gāndhāra are kṣaṇya-drinkers’. कष्टाद् + प + विनि = कष्टाद् + प + बुज् + विनि (VII. 3. 33). So also साधारण ‘the people of Usināra are milk-drinkers’. गौर-पालिणि गोल्कलि ‘the people of Bāhlika are sauviya-drinkers’.

By using the word ‘diversely’ in the sūtra, this affix is not applied in other places, as in the following: —प्रतिकूल ‘a grain eater’.
82. The affix विनि comes after the verb निज ‘to think’ when there is a word with a case-affix in composition with it.

The word ‘supi’ is understood in this śūtra. As श्रन्तीविनमि ‘who thinks himself handsome’; शीभभिनमि ‘who thinks himself beautiful’.

The verb निज belonging to the 4th conjugation is taken here and not that belonging to the 8th conjugation; because the anuvṛtti of the word ‘diversely’ is understood here. In the present aphorism, whether we take the Divādi or Tanādi निज the resulting form would be the same, namely मानिन्. But not so in the next aphorism, where before the affix विनि there would be difference of form owing to the vikarana, i.e., in the 4th conjugation रञ् would be added, but not so if the verb belonged to the 8th class.

83. And the affix विनि comes after the verb निज ‘to think’ when the word in composition with it is a word with a case-affix, and when it is employed to signify thought, whereof the object is self (the sense of the affix being ‘thinking himself as such’).

The word भावना means thinking of one’s own self. By the word ‘and’ it is meant that the affix विनि may be employed in the same sense. This rule applies where the agent, indicated by the sense of the affix, thinks himself possessed of the qualities of ‘handsomeness’ &c., denoted by the upapada. As ‘वस्तपीविनमि: or ‘श्रन्तीविनमि ‘who thinks himself handsome’; ‘पलिबतेनय: or ‘पलिबिनमि ‘who thinks himself learned’.

Why do we say ‘when employed to signify thought whereof the object is self’? Witness श्रन्तीविनमि रञ्चवसच बहसच: ‘Yajñadatta is thought handsome by Devadatta.

Of the affix विनि the letter श causes मुन augment by VI. 3. 66; and श makes it a sārvadhatuca affix, which brings in the proper vikaranas. The affixes so far treated of are applicable in all tenses. The others that follow denote some particular time.

भूति: || पदार्थि: || सूति: || भूति: || श्रवणिकारो वर्णनागे लक्षित बावतं: वहित सन्देहनुवेदिन्यानामः मृत्यु हर्षवेष्टत् तथेऽपि।
84. All the affixes to be treated of hereafter should be understood to come in the sense of past time.

The phrase 'with the sense of past time' is an adhikāra or governing aphorism and exerts its influence up to aphorism 123 of this chapter; that is to say, these affixes give a signification of the past tense to the verb whose anuvṛtti is also understood throughout the subsequent sūtras; see III. 1. 91.

Thus it will be taught in the next aphorism: 'after the verb रहति, when the word in composition is in the instrumental case, the affix निः is employed'. Here to complete the sense we must read into the sūtra, the words 'with the sense of past time'. As अभिसत्तत्व = अभिसत्तत्वाशिन 'who has sacrificed with an Agniṣṭोma or a five-day series of offerings'.

Why do we say 'with the sense of past time'? Otherwise these affixes will not be employed. As अभिसत्तत्व वशिष्ठ 'he sacrifices with Agniṣṭोma'.

85. The affix निः comes after the verb रहति 'to sacrifice' with the sense of past time, when the word in composition is in the instrumental case.

The anuvṛtti of निः and not of कृष्ण is to be read into this sūtra. As अभिसत्तत्वाशिन 'who has sacrificed with Agniṣṭोma'. Here Agniṣṭोma is the instrument for the attainment of the desired fruit.

86. The affix निः comes after the verb हति 'to kill', with the sense of past time, when the word in composition is in the accusative case.

As विद्युष्पालित 'who has killed his paternal uncle'; मनुष्यपालित 'who has killed his maternal uncle'; हति + निः = हति + निः (VII. 3. 54) = वति + निः (VII. 3. 32) = परिवार (VII. 2. 116).

This affix is employed only when censure is implied. Therefore it is not employed in चौरा हत्तम, 'he has killed the thief'.

The anuvṛtti of the word कर्मेष्वि of this aphorism extends up to sūtra III. 2. 96.

87. The affix बिः comes after the verb हृदि 'to
kill’ with the sense of past time, when the following words in the accusative case are in composition: भक्त ‘a Brähmana’, भृव ‘a foetus’ and भृ ‘Vritra’.

As भक्त, 1st. sing. भृव ‘who has killed a Brähmana’; भृवत ‘who has killed a foetus’; भृ ‘who has killed Vritra, a name of Indra’.

Since by sutra 76 ante, the affix तिर्कि was ordained to come after all verbs, and therefore would have come after the verb हृत्य also, where is the necessity of the present aphorism? This aphorism makes a nityam. i.e. the verb हृत्य takes the affix तिर्कि only when it is in composition with the words भक्त &c. Four-fold restriction is here intended.

1. When हृत्य has, as upapada, the words भक्त &c., and not any other word; as भृव: भृतविविव ‘he has killed the man’.

2. When the words भक्त &c. are upapadas of any other verb than हृत्य, then this affix is not employed; so that the verb must be हृत्य; thus भक्तानां भृतविविव ‘he has read the Veda’.

3. The तिर्कि is the only affix to denote past time in the case of हृत्य preceded by भक्त &c., and no other affix can be employed in this sense.

4. This is employed only in the past tense and not in any other tense; as भक्तानां हृत्य or हृतविविव ‘he kills or will kill the Brähmana’. This sutra anticipates the diversity taught in the next sutra, and is an example of भृव use of the affix.

88. In the Chhandas, the affix तिर्कि diversely comes after the verb हृत्य ‘to kill’ with the sense of past time, even when the word in composition with it is other than those mentioned in the last aphorism.

This aphorism ordains तिर्कि in cases which are not governed by the restrictive rule contained in the last aphorism. As भक्तानां भृतविविव ‘may the matricide enter the seventh hell’; so also तिर्कि ‘patricide’.

Diversely we find also भृतविविव and तिर्कि.

89. The affix तिर्कि comes after the verb हृत्य ‘to make’ with the sense of past time, when the following words in the accusative case are in composition:— भृव ‘well’; भृव ‘action’, भृव ‘sin’, भृव ‘hymn’ and भृव ‘virtue’.
The phrase 'in the accusative case' is understood in this aphorism, and applies to all the above-mentioned words, except लु, which being an attributive word, of course, cannot take any case-terminations. As बुधी (VI. 1. 71) 'who has done well'; कामहृद 'who has done all works'; धार्मिक 'who has committed sins'; संपुत्र 'who has made a mantra'; ज्ञानवृत्त 'who has done virtuous actions'.

This śūtra also ordains a restrictive rule or niyama. Three-fold restriction is intended here: namely, restrictions with regard to time, upapada, and affix; but not with regard to verbs. See III. 2. 87. There being no restriction with regard to the root, this affix is employed when words other than these are upapadas. As, शाखाहृद 'who has made Scriptures'; भ्रान्वित 'who has made a commentary'. The लु is added to the root by VI. 1. 71.

90. The affix विद्यम् comes after the verb लु 'to press out juice', with the sense of past time, when the word लु, in the accusative case, is in composition.

As, लोष्यु 'who has pressed the soma juice, or soma-distiller'; 1st. dual लोष्य = लोष्य; 1st. plural लोष्य:.

This śūtra is also for the sake of making a niyama or restrictive rule. The four-fold restriction is here intended. i.e. as regards the verb, the tense, the upapada and the affix.

91. The affix विद्यम् comes after the verb न 'to collect' with the sense of past time, when the word न, in the accusative case, is in composition.

As, भगविद 'one who has kept the sacred fire'; 1st. dual भगविद; 1st. plural भगविद:

Here also, as in the last aphorism, four-fold restriction is intended.

92. In expressing an object the affix विद्यम् comes after the verb न 'to collect' with the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case, provided the word so formed is the name of fire.

The words न and विद्यम् are understood in this śūtra. The Name is
expressed by taking the complete word consisting of the verbal root, the upapada and the affix. As ईवनुविग्यम् ‘a fire which has been arranged in the shape of a hawk’; कक्कुतिम् ‘fire arranged like a heron’.

The word भववा indicates that these words are rüshi words, their sense depending upon usage rather than etymology. The arrangement of bricks for sacrificial purpose with regard to fire, gets these various names; that is, when the bricks are arranged like a falcon, it is called ईवनुविग्यम्, and so on.

93. The affix रनि comes after the compound verb विरुण ‘to sell’, in the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case.

The repetition of the word कवेशिन in the sūtra, though its anuvṛtti might have been drawn from the last aphorism, indicates that when the object carries with it a sense of censure on the agent, then only this affix is employed and not with every and any object. As चौमहिकिविम्, ‘the seller of soma plant’; राज्यविकविम्, ‘the seller of liquors’; employing disapproval of the action of those persons who carry on these mean professions. But not so in बालसिनवाव: ‘the seller of paddy’.

94. The affix काविनपु comes after the verb ददु ‘to see’ in the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case.

As बेल्देकसन, 1st. sing. बेल्देकसन ‘who has seen the Meru’. परसौक्षक रेणा ‘who has seen the hereafter’.

Though the affix काविनपु was valid by sūtra III. 2. 75 its repetition here shows that no other affix comes in this sense after this verb.

95. The affix काविनपु comes after the verbs ददु ‘to fight’ and द ‘to make’ with a past signification when the word राज्य ‘king’ is in composition, in the accusative case.

How can the verb ददु, which is an intransitive verb, govern an object? It is a transitive verb, inasmuch as it is taken to be a causative verb, with the विकृ affix latent. As राज्यक्षेत्र, 1st. sing. राज्यक्षेत्र (VIII. 2. 7) ‘who has caused the king to fight’; राज्यक्षेत्र, 1st. sing. राज्यक्षेत्र (VI. 1. 71) ‘who has made a king’.
96. The affix धि comes after the verbs युग्म and यस्य with a past signification, when the word यस्य 'with', is in composition.

The word यस्य, being a particle, and not denoting a substance, is incapable of taking any case. As सहजुप्त 'who has made to fight with'; सहजूप्त 'who has done any thing along with another'.

97. The affix अcomes after the verb जनस 'to be produced', with a past signification, when the word, in composition with it, is in the locative case.

As उपसने जनस: उपसर्गम: जनस + अ = जनस (VI. 4. 143) = ज 'born of the first conception'; मनुसर्ग: 'born in the stable'.

98. The affix अ comes after the verb जनस, with a past signification, when the word in composition with it, is in the ablative case, which does not denote a genus.

As बुद्धिज: 'born through understanding'; संस्कृतज: 'born of habit'; दुःसम: 'born through pain'.

Why do we say 'when not denoting a genus'? Observe इस्लिने जनस: 'born of elephant'; भाईजान: 'born of horse'.

99. The affix अ comes after the verb जनस with a past signification, when an upasarga is in composition and when the sense is simply appellative.

The term here being simply appellative, and not descriptive, cannot be explained by giving the signification of its component elements. As प्रजा: 'people', or 'a son'; as in the sentence अनेकां ं नानारु प्रजा:.

100. The affix अ comes after the verb जनस with
a past signification, when the root takes the preposition अनु and is compounded with a word in the accusative case.

As पुत्रपिता 'a girl born after the male child i.e. a girl having an elder brother'; श्रवणनुष्ठ 'a boy born after the female child i.e. a boy having an elder sister'.

अन्येकान्वि दूसरोते || १०१ || पदार्थ || अन्याय, अन्य, दूसरोते, (अनि; ड़;) ||

पुष्यि: || अन्येकान्वि दूसरोते कारकों गते: मत्वो दूसरोते ||

101. The affix ब is seen to come after the verb जन with a past signification, though it be in composition with other nouns, having cases other than those mentioned in the previous sūtras.

Thus the locative case has been dealt with in sūtra III. 2. 97; but the affix comes when the upapada has any other case than the seventh. As ब जान्यते = अम्: 'unborn'; देवम् = दिन: 'twice-born'.

Thus, it is said in sūtra III. 2. 98 that the upapada may be in the ablative case, when genus is not denoted. We see, however, the affix employed when genus is denoted. As अम्बैबो धर्म: || द्रविष्यां बहुनु.

It is declared in sūtra III. 2. 98 that when appellative is meant, the affix ब comes after the compound verb जन: We find, however, the affix employed when the sense is not simply appellative; as अभिज्ञ: or परिन: 'born or produced all round i.e. hair'.

It is declared in sūtra III. 2. 100, 'When an object is in composition with the verb भक्ति: this affix is employed'. But it may also be employed when no object is in composition. As अनुज: 'born after i.e. younger brother'.

The force of the word अभि 'though' is to free this rule from all restrictions and conditions. So this affix comes after other verbs and other cases in composition with such verbs. As परिन: भाषा = परिन्या 'a moat' (literally that which has been dug all round); अभा 'a pond'.

मिद्य || १०२ || पदार्थ || मिद्य, (भि) ||

व्रति: || साधननिर्देशकान्ध न विद्यानिता: मर्यादी भूतं विविधि ||

पार्थिव्य || अविनिर्देशिता निश्चितेन वक्ता: ||

102. The affixes called मिद्य come after a verbal root, employed with the sense of past time.

The affixes फ़ and कर्म are मिद्य (I. 1. 26). As फ़ + कर्म = कर्म 'made'; कर्म + कर्म = कर्मान्, 1st. sing. कर्मान्त, 'done'; so also मुनौ and मुनौ 'eaten'.

Vart.—The Nishtha affixes come when adi-karma is meant. For a fuller description of what constitutes adi-karma see sūtra III. 4. 71, and the illustrations under it, Thus मक्खि: कर्ते वर्णि:, मक्खिवास, कर्ते वर्णि:.
103. The affix नाः comes after the verbs षु ‘to press out or extract juice’ and ष to ‘sacrifice’, with a past signification.

As षु + नाः = षुनाः (VI. I. 71) = गुष्टन्, 1st. sing. गुष्टा ‘who has pressed out or extracted juice’; गुष्टन्, 1st. sing. गुष्टा ‘who has sacrificed’. The षु is added by VI. I. 71. See Rig. Ved. I. 3. 1.

104. The affix अन्त्र comes after the verb षु ‘to grow old’ with the sense of past time.

As षु + अन्त्र = षुन्त्र (VII. 3. 84) = नर्त्र, 1st sing. नर्त्र, 1st. dl. नर्त्रते, 1st. pl. नर्त्र: ‘grown old’ (VII. 1. 70).

By the rule of साधः (III. 1. 94), the Nishtha affixes also come after this verb. As भैरो and भैरोऽऽ (VII. 1. 100 and I. 1. 51) = भैरो + भैर (VIII. 2. 42) = भैरो (VIII. 2. 77 and VIII. 4. 4) ‘grown old’.

105. In the Chhandas, the affix लिः comes after a verb with a past signification.

As लिः सूर्यनर्षस्य लिः ‘I saw the sun from both sides’; लिः नास्तिभिः भावन ‘I stretched the heaven and the earth’. Here the words लिः and नास्तिभिः have the force of nishtha. See Yaj. Ved. VIII. 9.

Why this separate sūtra, when by aphorism III. 4. 61, in the Chhandas the lī, lāh and līt come in all tenses? That rule is made with regards to two or more verbs when in syntactical relation (प्रत्ययमित्र) with each other (III. 4. 1). The present rule is general, and without any such limitations.

Līt is the affix of the Present Perfect and will be fully treated of in the conjugation of verbs.

106. In the Chhaudhas the affix लिः is optionally replaced by the affix कान्ति.

As भूतिः निबुधाः: ‘he consecrated the fire’; फूविः सुपुष्पाः: ‘he pressed the soma juice’. This being an optional affix, is sometimes not employed; as in the examples in the last aphorism.
Why has the word *āt* been repeated in this sūtra, when its anuvṛtti could have been drawn from the last sūtra? The substitute कान्धु replaces not only the special त्रिक of sūtra III. 2. 105, but the general त्रिक which comes after the roots in forming the perfect tense; so that the suffix कान्धु forms verbal adjectives as well as the perfect tense.

This suffix comes after those verbs only which take Atmanepada terminations. See I. 4. 100. सत्यान (Rig. Ved. I. 3. 6).

107. In the Chhandas the suffix कस्म is optionally the substitute of निर.

As वस्त्रित्त 1st. sing. वस्त्रित्त 'eaten' (Yaj. VIII. 19); पाण्डु, 1st. sing. पाण्डुर 'drunk'.

Sometimes it does not come, as in the example under sūtra III. 2. 105.

The division of this sūtra from the last, in which it could well have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvṛtti of कस्म only runs.

108. In the modern Sanskrit, the suffix कस्म optionally replaces निर after the verbs सत्य, वस्त्र and शु with a past signification.

This being a substitute only, the original suffix निर also comes after these verbs. As, वस्त्रित्त वस्त्रित्त 'Kautsa served Panini'. In the alternative, the proper affixes of the past tense will be employed. As वस्त्रि 'he served'; वस्त्रित्त and वस्त्रित्त.

So also वस्त्रित्त, कोष्ठ: पाण्डु, वस्त्रित्त. In the alternative we have वस्त्रित्त and वस्त्रित्त.

So also वस्त्रित्त, कोष्ठ: पाण्डु, वस्त्रित्त. In the alternative we have वस्त्रित्त and वस्त्रित्त.

The suffix कस्म is employed with the force of कु, and क, also.

109. The forms वस्त्रित्त भन्न, भन्न, भन्न are irregularly formed.
These forms are thus evolved:—To the verb गृह ‘to go’ with the preposition एव, the affix वस्रु is added: as उप + ह + वस्रु. The root is reduplicated: as उप + ह + ह + वस्रु. The reduplicate is here long ह by VII. 4. 69. This long ह does not coalesce with the short ह by the rules of sandhi; for then the rule by which this ह was introduced would have no scope. Now we add the augment ह्रस्त, contrary and in opposition to the rule VII. 2. 67; and this is the irregularity. As वर + ह + ह + ह + वस्रु. Then the root ह is replaced by ए by सूत्र VI. 4 81. As उप + ह + ह + ह + वस्रु = उपहविनन् 1st. sing. उपहविन्न. The augment ह्रस्त is however dropped in those cases (म) where वसरू is changed into वसः; because the insertion of ह्रस्त was itself an exceptional case of limited scope:—for while the general rules VII. 2. 75 &c. ordained it, the special rule of VII. 2. 67 prohibited it; and it was by prohibition of this prohibition that ह्रस्त was employed before वसः. Therefore in accusative plural we have उपहविन्नः; instrumental sing उपहविन्नः &c.

This irregular participle is not limited to the upasarga एव; we find such irregular forms with other upasargas and without them also; thus समीयिन्नः, and हार्म्यिन्नः as well.

By the anuvṛtti of the word एव read in this aphorism, we have एव &c. in the alternative. As in Aorist उपायाय, Imperfect उपायित, Perfect उपायविषय।

The word भन्तः is thus formed:—To the verb भन्त, ‘to enjoy’ we add the negative particle भन; apply the affix र्तु and donot insert the augment ह्रस्त; so, we have भन्त + भन्त+र्तु = भानापस्त, 1st. sing. भानापस्तः. In the alternative we have Aorist भानापस्तः, Imperfect भानापस्तः and Perfect भानापस्तः.

The word अनुभवः is thus derived:—The affix कान्तच is added in expressing the agent to the verb वचः preceded by भन्तो. In the alternative we have Aorist अनुभवोऽस्मि, Imperfect अनुभवस्त, Perfect अनुभवः.

110. The affix लुक्कः comes after a verb in the sense of past time.

The लुक्कः forms what is known as aorist. It is in fact the name of the aorist, as the whole of this affix is replaced by other personal terminations. See III. 1. 43 and subsequent sūtras.

The aorist has reference to a past time indefinitely or generally, without reference to any particular time. An action done before today is expressed by the perfect or imperfect; whatever remains for the aorist is, therefore, to express a past action, done very recently, say, in the course of the current day or having reference to a present act. Aorist, therefore, merely implies the completion of an action at a past time generally, and also an action done at a
very recent time, as during the course of this day. The imperfect and perfect are used in narrating events of past occurrence, generally in remote past time; the aorist is used in dialogues and conversations which refer to recent past actions, but it is not used to denote past specified time or to narrate events. — Apte's Composition. As अकारः ‘he did’; अहारः ‘he took’.

Vart.——The affix लूकः comes after the verb बस् ‘to dwell’, when ‘end of the present night’ is indicated. Supposing a person rising from his bed at the proper time of rising (not in the middle of the night, but in the early morning) and finding another near him were to ask that one, ‘where did you dwell i.e. pass the night?’. That person so asked should answer in the लूकः and not in लहः. As अनुवावः ‘I dwelt there’; and not अनुवायः.

Vart.——The above rule applies only in connection with waking after regular sleep. He who has not slept the whole night, but only for half an hour or so, should reply अनुवायः.

अनुमायः लहः II १११ II पदार्थः II अनुमायः, लहः (पूर्ते) II

वृत्ति: II अनुमायः लहः अनुमायः लहः अनुमायः लहः अनुमायः लहः

वार्तः II परीश्रमः लहः अनुमायः लहः अनुमायः लहः अनुमायः लहः अनुमायः लहः अनुमायः लहः

111. The affix लहः comes after a verbal root employed in the sense of past before the commencement of the current day.

The word अनुचलम is a Bahuvarihi compound, meaning that which has not occurred during the course of the current day (adyatana). The whole of this affix is replaced by conjugational terminations, and the affix लहः by itself denotes the Imperfect tense. As अहारः ‘he did’; अहारः ‘he took’.

Why have we explained anadyatana as a Bahuvarihi compound? Because when there is a doubt as to the time, whether it was to-day or yesterday, the Imperfect should not be used. As अहारः ‘we ate to-day or yesterday’. In such a case the affix is लहः.

Vart.——The affix लहः is also employed in signifying what is not witnessed by the narrator, when it relates to a well-known public event which can form the object of perception by the narrator. Thus in speaking of a recent public occurrence we may say:—अनुसायः अनुमायः ‘the Yavanas have besieged Sāketa’; अनुमायः अनुसायः ‘the Yavanas have besieged Mādhyaamika’.

Why do we say ‘not witnessed by the speaker’? Observe अनुसायः अनुमायः: ‘the sun arose’. Why do we say ‘a popular public event’? Observe प्रकाशः प्रकाशः: ‘Devadatta has made the mat’. Why do we say ‘which is the object of perception by the speaker’? Observe अनुसायः अनुमायः ‘काला यावः: ‘Vāsudeva killed Kansa’.

अनुमायः लहः II ११२ II पदार्थः II अनुमायः-वचने, लहः (पूर्ते, अनुमायः) II
112. When a word implying 'recollection' is in connection with it, a verb takes the affix नृ (2nd future) in the sense of the past before the commencement of the present day.

The word भविष्या means 'recollection'. This rule sets aside the affix लक्ष. As भविष्यालक्ष हृदवस्त कर्तिरुैव वर्ष्यासः 'rememberest thou, Devadatta, we were dwelling (lit. we will dwell) in Kashmir'.

The word वचन meaning 'signification' in the sūtra, denotes that the construction is the same when the synonyms of भविष्या are used; as स्वर्णि 'dost thou remember'; सूक्ष्मि 'dost thou know'; चेतनि 'dost thou reflect'; and the like.

113. The affix नृ (the 2nd future) is not applied in the sense of the past when the upapada donoting recollection has in connection with it the particle यत्.

This prohibits यत् which the verb यत् obtained from the last sūtra. As भविष्यालक्ष हृदवस्त सतुैव कर्तिरुैव वर्ष्यासः 'thou rememberest Devadatta how we did dwell in Kashmir'. Here the mere fact of dwelling is recollected, there being no other idea implied; therefore the subsequent aphorism has no scope here. That aphorism has its scope, when with recollection, is added another dependent idea or action, without which the sentence is not complete.

114. The affix नृ is optionally applied in the sense of the past, when a word implying 'recollection' is in connection with it, and whether such word has the particle यत् or is employed simply; provided that the two verbs, occurring in the same complex sentence, are so connected together, that each is necessary to the other, to complete the sense of the speaker.

The word साकाशा means the relation between the sign and the thing signified, wished for or wanted by the speaker, or in other words, when the first verb is related to another verb used in the same sentence, as a sign is to that which is indicated by the sign. As भविष्यालक्ष हृदवस्त कर्तिरुैव गविष्यासः, तथ यत्
The affix लिप �comes after a verb in the sense of the past before the commencement of the current day and unperceived by the narrator.

The word परिलिप 'unperceived' qualifies the words भूत 'past' and अनवधत 'non-current day' understood in this aphorism.

'Well, are not the senses of verbs all unperceived, since they are mere words, and words cannot be perceived? Exactly so; but in popular phraseology, the perception is imagined to attach to the agent with regard to certain verbs; this rule relates to cases where such perception does not take place. As, चाकार 'he did'; महार 'he took'.

'It is evident that the लिप (perfect) should not be used in the first person, i.e. when the agent of the action is the speaker or writer himself; for it is impossible that the action should not have been witnessed by him. But if by reason of some distracted, unconscious or absent state of mind, it is possible for the agent to speak of the action as one, of which he was not a conscious witness, the perfect may be used even in the first person. As शुद्धं निकल विलुप्त 'indeed I prated while asleep'.

Vartː—The perfect should be employed (in denoting past time simply, whether of the current day or otherwise, and whether the action has been witnessed personally or not) if the sense is total denial of the action. As कलिस्य धिलित सितोतिसि? गाई कलिस्या जताम 'did you live in the Kalinga country? I did not even go to the Kalinga country'; शगुणाच्छय प्रविद्वेद्य सि? गाई शगुणाच्छय प्रित्येकः.
116. And the affix लङ्ग comes after a verb when the particles ह and शिक्षा are in connection with it, and when the verb denotes past action unperceived by the speaker, and before the commencement of the current day.

The force of य 'and' is that the affix लङ्ग (perfect) may also be employed in similar construction. As तस्मि हर्षतारु (imperfect), or तस्मि हर्षतारु (perfect) 'Alas I he did it'. शशवकरोऽ or शशवकरी 'again and again he did it'.

प्रथे चास्मकाले || ११६ || पदार्थ || प्रथे, च, आमस्काले, (मूर्ति, अन्यायन, परोसे, लड़ि, लिंट) ||

117. The affixes लङ्ग (imperfect) and लङ्ग (perfect) come after a verb (in expressing a past time not belonging to the current day and unperceived by the speaker) when the past time referred to is recent, and the sentence is interrogative.

This sūtra also qualifies the words पूर्व, अन्यायन and परोसा understood in this sūtra. The word सम means 'what should be asked'; and आस्मकाल 'time close at hand': As, some one may ask another, अस्मृत, हेवसत: or निमान हेवसत: 'did Devadatta go or has Devadatta gone (just now)?' अवसमृत वेवसत: or निमान वेवसत: 'Did Devadatta sacrifice or has Devadatta sacrificed'?

Why do we say 'in asking question'? Otherwise there would be Perfect tense only. As, निमान वेवसत: 'Devadatta has gone'.

Why do we say 'when the past time referred to is imminently recent'? Observe सम्बन्ध, पुप्पकमिति, समेत कर्ता किरत चालुपुव: 'I ask you, did Krishna indeed kill Kansa in days of yore'.

लटे च || ११७ || पदार्थ || लटे, लमे, (मूर्ति, अन्यायन, परोसे)||

118. The affix लङ्ग (present) comes after a verb, when the particle त is in connection with it, (and denotes a past time not belonging to the current day and unperceived by the speaker).

All the words within brackets are understood in this aphorism. This debars लङ्ग, or the perfect tense. Thus वर्तिति श चुपिति: 'Yudhishthira sacrificed'; so also नजेन श पुरापहदासः || उवंकाम श परानिवेशः ||

अपरोसे च || ११८ || पदार्थ || अपरोसे, च, (मूर्ति, अन्यायन, रमे, लट) ||
119. The affix लत (present) comes after a verb when the particle य is in connection with it, and denotes a past action not belonging to the current day, and when the action is perceived by the agent.

As एवं य नित्यादि तददि ‘thus said the father’; इति स्मोऽमाव्याब तद्यतादि ‘thus said the preceptor’.

गौरी पुष्पप्रतिवचने || १२० || पदार्थि || गौरी, पुष्प-प्रतिवचने,
(अन्ते, लत) ||

120. The affix लत is employed after a verb in denoting past action, when the word य is in connection with it, and an answer is given to a question.

The anuvritti of the words ‘anadyatana’ and ‘paroksha’ does not extend to this sūtra. This declares a rule with regard to past time in general. This debarṣ युक्त (the Aorist tense). As भक्ति: कर्तरे नवनम्?—युक्त करोऽः: ‘Deva-
datta, did you make the mat? O, yes, I did make it’. अऽऽह्यम् क्रिष्णः नवनम्,—युक्त
क्रियाम् भो: ‘Devadatta, did you speak there anything? O, yes, I did speak’.

Why do we say ‘in reply to an interrogation’? Observe नवकामास्तीता मित्तवंको: ‘certainly, Manavaka did it’.

लग्वोद्धर्वनाय || १२१ || पदार्थि || न-वृत्ति; रिक्षार्थ; (अन्ते, पुष्प-
प्रतिवचने, लते) ||

121. The affix लत comes optionally after a verb, denoting past time, in reply to an interrogation, when the words य ‘not’ and युक्त ‘what of that’ are in connection with it.

As, भक्ति: कर्तरे नवनम्—युक्त करोऽः: or नाकामायन;—युक्त युक्त करोऽः or युक्त
क्रियाम्, ‘Devadatta, did you make the mat?—No I did not;—what of that, I did’.

पुरि लुकः सार्वे || १२२ || पदार्थि || पुरि, लुकः, च, सार्वे, (अन्ते,
नवकामास्तीता, रिक्षार्थ, लते) ||

122. Optionally the affixes लुकः and लतः come after a verb, in denoting past time not belonging to the current day, when the word युक्त is used in the sentence, provided that the word य is not used.
The anuvṛtti of the word anadyatana which had come to a stop with III. 2. 120 manifests itself again in this sūtra by a process of jumping over the two intermediate aphorisms. This sort of anuvṛtti is technically called manduka-pluti 'the leap of a frog' i.e. skipping of several sūtras and supplying a word from a previous sūtra.

This is an optional rule, so that when lat and lun are not used, the proper tenses, as the case may be, must be employed. As वर्रमणे पुरा ज्ञाना: 'the pupils lived here formerly'. So also, Aorist, भवत्स: पुरा ज्ञाना: ; Imperfect, भवसंहि पुरा ज्ञाना: ; Perfect, क्युरि पुरा ज्ञाना: .

Why do we say 'when the word ह्य is not used'? Observe विद्वति कुरा पुरा ज्ञाना: 'Yudhishthira did perform a sacrifice formerly'. Here rule 118 ante exerts its influence.

123. The affix लत comes after a verb when denoting a present action.

The word वर्रमण means that which is begun and which has not yet come to an end. The action denoted by a verb in the present tense is yet continuing and has not stopped. As पचलि 'he is cooking'; व्यक्ति 'he is reading'. So also whatever is constant, regular, uniform, is represented by the Present Indefinite. As तिलकते पर्त्सा: 'the mountains stand'; बलान्ति नव: 'the rivers flow'.

शत: ग्रहणवायप्रमाणाभानावाहिकरं ॥ १२४ ॥ पदार्थ: ॥ लत:।

शत-शान, अभाव-वनावाहिकरं ॥

124. The affixes लत and शान are substitutes of लत when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix.

As प्रभासं पचलि पचलि 'behold Devadatta who is cooking'; पचलि दुःसम् 'or प्रभासं कुसम् 'done by one who is cooking'. पचू+शान = पचू+हर+शान (III. 4. 113, III. 1. 68)= पचू+हर+सुक्त+शान (VII. 2. 82)= प्रभासं . So also पचू+हर+शाह = पचू+हर+अर्थ = पचलि .

Why do we say 'when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix'? Observe ह्यमेवः पचलि 'Devadatta cooks'.

Since the term लत might have been supplied from the last aphorism, its double citation is for the sake of larger application of this rule; that is to say, this rule applies sometimes even when the word is in concord with a nominative case. As सप्त राज्य: 'who is a Brāhmaṇa' = भविष्य राज्या: ; so also
SATRI AND SANACH. [BK. III. CH. II. § 125, 126.

Part.—These affixes are employed after a verb, when the particle न is in composition, and censure or curse is implied. As न रथम् and न वर्जनम्: 'may he not cook'; न जीवनम्: 'may he not live' who though smitten by the pain of the contempt of others, still lives'. Some commentators read the anuvṛtti of the word 'option' from सूत्रa 121 into this. That option, however, is a limited option (व्यवस्थिता-विक्षोद्धन) and not of universal application. Whenever a particular form is found as differing from the general form, there it should be understood that the option has been allowed, and not everywhere.

स्वरुपसे च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदार्थे ॥ सम्बोधने, च, (लङ्के, शाद्य-नवी) ॥

125. The affixes श्रवण and यावनष्प are the substitutes of न even when agreeing with what ends with a first case-affix, provided that it is in the vocative case.

This aphorism declares when these participles may be employed even in the first case; as है दशम् or है दशम 'O thou who art cooking'.

शाबद्देश्वरी: क्रियायाः ॥ १२६ ॥ पदार्थे ॥ शाब्द-हेतव्योऽऽ, क्रियायाः, (लङ्के, श्रवण-नवी) ॥

126. The affixes श्रवण and यावनष्प are the substitutes of न and come after a verb, in expressing an attendant circumstance or characteristic, and the cause of an action.

The word लक्षण means that by which a thing is recognised or known i.e. an attribute; हेतु means producer or cause. Both these words are attributes of the word क्रिया. Of लक्षणa:—as, शाब्द: बुद्धि वा तथा क्रिया: 'the Yavanas take their meals lying down'. लिखित: तुलुगति गयात्रा। Of हेतु:—as है दशम् मुख्ये 'by (reason of) seeing Hari, he gets absolution'; भविष्यानि वस्त्रि 'for the sake of study he dwells here'.

Why do we say 'when denoting a characteristic or a cause'? Observe क्रियां 'he cooks'; वस्त्रि 'he reads'.

Why do we say 'of the action'? Not so when the participle is the characteristic or cause of a substance or a quality. As श्रवणे श्रवणां: 'that which is shaking is the Aswattha'; या या 'whatever floats is light'; श्वसिति तस्मात 'that which sinks down is heavy'.

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Vart.—This participle also defines the agent of an action as, चौर्य्यलक्ष भास्ते स देवदत्त: ‘he is Devadatta who sits studying’.

Vart.—This participle is also used to state a general truth: as शास्त्राना चरणं तुषा ‘the Dūrva grass grows in a recumbent position’; असाधिन चरणं विवेय ‘a lotus stalk grows in an upright position’. The compound लक्ष्यायते: of the sūtra contradicts the rule by which a word of fewer syllables stands first (II. 2. 14). This shows that the rule II. 2. 14. is not universal.

127. These two श्रवं and शान्ति are called श्रवं.

These participial affixes get collectively this name; and as such they are not limited by the conditions enumerated above; so that they replace not only the affixes of the Present tense but sometimes of Future also (III. 3. 14.), as well as other tenses. Thus शास्त्रायुः कुर्सिनः, करिष्यनः, कुर्सिनः, करिष्यनः.

The word श्रवं occurs in sūtra II. 2. 11. &c.

128. The affix शान्ति comes after the verbs पुरुषो ’to purify’ and पुरुष ‘to sacrifice’.

As पुरुषानः ‘purifier (fire or air)’; पुरुषानः ‘sacrificer.

It might be asked ‘is the शान्ति with others that follow, an affix suo generis, or is it merely a substitute of श्रवं, as श्रवं शान्ति? Why we ask this question is this. If they are affixes and not substitutes of श्रवं, then they should govern genitive case by rule II. 3. 65. instead of nominative or the accusative. If, on the other hand, they are substitutes of श्रवं, then by rule II. 3. 69. they should not govern the genitive case. But evidently they are not the substitutes of श्रवं, as they are not so taught. How is it then that we have such forms as श्रवं पथानाः ‘drinking Soma’; and श्रवं पथानाः? These forms can be explained on other grounds than supposing that शान्ति &c. must be the substitutes of श्रवं. The term श्रवं in sūtra II. 3. 69. is not the affix श्रवं taught in this Chapter sūtra 135; but it is a pratyāhāra including several affixes. It is a pratyāhāra formed by taking the श्रवं of श्रवं in sūtra 124; and श्रवं of श्रवं in 135; and thus it means all the affixes from श्रवं in 134 down to श्रवं in 135. Thus though शान्ति, शान्ति &c. are not substitutes of श्रवं, still the rule II. 3. 69. applies to them, as they are included in the term श्रवं.

Vart.—The rule II. 3. 69. applies only optionally when the verb श्रवं takes the affix श्रवं. As श्रवं or श्रवं द्रष्टव, ‘hating the thief’.
129. The affix ानथ comes after a verb in expressing 'habit', 'standard of age' and 'ability'.

The word ानथ means 'habit' or 'disposition'; ानथ means the condition of body such as 'infancy', 'youth' &c; ानथ means 'capacity to do a thing'. As ानथ नुम्बाण 'habituated to enjoy'; ानथ विश्वास 'wearing an armour (of the age at which armour may be worn)'; ानथ निमिस 'able to destroy his foe'. So also, ानथ नुम्बाण, नुम्बाण; ानथ नुम्बाण, नुम्बाण: and ानथाण.

130. The affix ाव comes after the verbs ाव 'to go' and ाव 'to hold' in denoting that the agent does the action without trouble.

The word ाव means that which is accomplished by the agent with ease and facility. As ाव पाराष्ट्र 'the facile reading of the Purāṇa'; ाव व निमिस 'easily mastering the Upanishad'. The root ाव is causative of ाव and means here 'to master'.

Why do we say 'when facility is indicated'? Otherwise ाव 'he reads with difficulty'; ाव ाव 'he remembers with difficulty'.

131. The affix ाव comes after the verb ाव when the agent indicated means an enemy.

The word ाव means 'enemy'. As ाव 'enemy', ाव 'two enemies', ाव 'enemies'.

Why do we say 'when denoting an enemy'? Observe ाव ाव 'the wife hates her husband'.

132. The affix ाव comes after the verb ाव 'to press out juice' when the sense is that of association with sacrifice.
The word भ्रमण is an instrumental compound, meaning association or connection (संबंध) with sacrifice. As चु + तु + त्व (III. 1. 76, III. 4. 113) = चु+तु, चु+त्व (I. 2. 4.) = चु+त्व (VI. 1. 77), 1st. sing. चु, चु+त्व, 1st. pl. चु+त्व: 'the sacrificers'; as in चु+त्व: सम्बन्ध: 'all are interested in, or partake of, or share in the sacrifice'.

The word संभ्रमण indicates that the principal sacrificer, i.e. the व्रतमान is meant and not every person who is associated in the performance of a sacrifice in a subordinate capacity; such as व्रतका: 'the sacrificing priests'.

When connection with sacrifice is not meant we have सुमोऽि चूर्णि: 'he distils liquor'.

हैः: प्रशंसायति II १३३ II पदार्थ II अहेत्, प्रशंसायति (शय) II

वृत्ति: II अहेत्यहेतुः प्रशंसायति शय्ययते अग्नि: II

133. The affix शय comes after the verb अहेत् in expressing praise.

As अहेत्यहेतुः प्रशंसायति, 'thou art worthy of this knowledge here'; अहेत्यहेतुः प्रशंसायति 'thou art worthy of honor in this place'.

Why do we say 'when meaning to praise'? Witness अहेत्य चोरी शय्ययते 'the thief deserves death'.

आ (त्वत्तिष्ठतिःत्वत्वापुरुषारिष्ट) II १३४ II पदार्थ II आ, केशीः, तत्वत्तिष्ठतिःत्वत्वापुरुषारिष्ट II

वृत्ति: II आ (त्वत्तिष्ठतिःत्वत्वापुरुषारिष्ट) समायद्वित्तिष्ठतिःत्वत्वापुरुषारिष्ट कर्त्ताबृह्येते देविन्यन्त: II

134. From this śūtra as far as किंत्र in śūtra 177 inclusive, the affixes that we shall treat of, are to be understood in the sense of agents having such a habit, or nature, or having skill in such and such action.

The force of आ in this śūtra is limit inclusive, and includes किंत्र also. The term तत्तिष्ठति means 'the natural inclination towards an action not prompted by a contemplation of its fruit or result'. The term तत्कारे means 'who enters upon an action not from habit but thinking that it is his duty'. The term तत्साधिकारः means 'who does the action expressed by the verb in an excellent way'. Illustrations of these will be given under the subsequent aphorisms.

चु + १३४ II पदार्थ II चु (तत्तिष्ठतिःत्वत्वापुरुषारिष्ट) II

वृत्ति: II चु चु चु चु+चु+त्ववात्सवात्मेन भवति समायद्वित्तिष्ठतिः कर्त्ताबृह्येते II

शास्त्रकृत्युः महाध्यक्षायविष्ठ शास्त्रपारस्यवस्म विभिषिकाः

शास्त्रकृत्युः नवस्ते: पुजुः, च III

शास्त्रकृत्युः शिष्येऽववादाववायक्षोधवाया अविद्वशः

शास्त्रकृत्युः शास्त्राध्येनविन्यूक्ते II

शास्त्रकृत्युः चु चु चु चु चु चु
135. The affix यून comes after all verbs in the sense of 'agents having such a habit &c'.

The यू of यून is indicatory, and regulates the accent (VI. 1. 197). As यू + इन = कार्य, 1st sing. कार्य. This affix denotes habit in the following; as, कार्य कार्य 'who is accustomed to make mats. Nature:- as, यू-वर्व्याचताः भाविष्यते भाविष्यते वषु मूंशु ता 'the family of Srāvīṣṭāyaṇa shave the heads of their widows'; भ्रमण-यह भाष्य कर्मिते भाष्य 'the Ahvarakas steal away food as soon as Srāḍḍha is accomplished'; अस्ते तिस्वद्वा भाष्यते भाष्य 'the Taulvalāyaṇas become elated on the birth of a son'. Skill :- as, कार्य कार्य 'skilful maker of mats'. गतिः स्त्रेष्ठे 'skilful hunter'.

Vart:- The simple verbs, without upasargas, take the affix यून, when the words so formed are names of sacrificial priests. As यू + इन = होव, 1st sing. होव 'the Hotri priest'; so also यूप 'the Potri priest'.

Why do we say 'when not taking the upasargas'? Observe अथर 'the Udgātri priest'; प्रतिहार 'the Pratihātri priest'. Here the affix is यून. Though the form is the same, there is difference however in the accent; i.e. यून places utāṭa accent on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197), while यू places it on the last (VI. 1. 163).

Vart:- The augment पुष्च is added when नी takes the affix यून; as नी + पुष्च + इन = नीह, 1st sing. नीह 'the Neshtri priest'.

Vart:- When signifying diety, the verb स्त्रेष्ठ takes यून; the letter यू is the substitute for the य of the root; and the affix does not take the intermediate यू augment; as, स्त्रेष्ठ + इन = स्त्रेष्ठ, 1st sing. स्त्रेष्ठ 'Tvashtri'.

Vart:- The root यून takes यू, when the word to be formed means an officer; as यू 'an attendant, a door-keeper'.

Vart:- In the Veda, the root यून takes यून, as यून. The form is the same as the last, but there is difference of accent.

136. The affix वृन्द comes after the following verbs in the sense of 'agents having such a habit &c'; viz.- अत्र 'to adorn', निराक 'to expel', मन्जु 'to be born', तथाप 'to be ripe', व्रत 'to fly', मन्द्र 'to be mad', रुप 'to shine', अत्रयु 'to be ashamed', चद 'to be', चुर 'to grow', चर 'to bear' and चर 'to walk'.

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Vart.:—The affix इष्टपुष्ट debares by anticipation the affix िष्ट of III. 2. 151, after the root भूलक, though it has the sense of decorating’.

137. The affix इष्टपुष्ट in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’, comes in the Chhandas after a verb that ends in the causative िष्ट.

The Causatives take this affix in the Vedic literature. As हृष्य बाधित्व: ‘who hold the stones’; धीर्ष: पारिभाषित: 


dva इष्टपुष्ट पदार्थ: भूल, तथ्य, तथ्य, भ्य, भ्य.

138. The affix इष्टपुष्ट in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’, comes in the Chhandas, after the verb िष्ट to be’ also.

Thus भविष्य: ‘becoming’.

The yoga-vidhāga or the division of this sūtra from the last, with which it could well have been read, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras.

The word ‘also’ indicates the existence of other verbs not included in the above two sūtras; as, भविष्यत: लोकित्वप्रविष्ट: 


dva इष्टपुष्ट पदार्थ: श्ला-िष्ट, भूल, भूल.

139. The affix भूल comes after the following verbs in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c.’

viz.—क्ष्या ‘to be weary’, िष्ट ‘to conquer’ and िष्ट ‘to stand’, as well as after िष्ट ‘to be’.


The anuvṛtti of the word Chhandasi does not extend to this sūtra. The indicatory letter of this affix is really िष्ट and not भू, and therefore, there is
no substitution of long \( \text{ह} \) for the झ of झा, which would otherwise have taken place, had the affix been छिन्न (VI. 4. 66).

In the sūtra I. 1. 5. (अविनस्य च) the letter झ is also included; for coming before क, is changed by the rules of sandhi into क and is not therefore visible. This affix therefore does not cause gūna.

So also in sūtra VII. 2. 11 (अविनुक्त: किस्म), the augment हृ (or वृ) does not come after the verb हृ, or a monosyllabic verb ending in the pratyāhāra बढ़, when an affix having an indicatory क follows. Here also क includes झ; and therefore in भूषण we have no intermediate augment हृ.

Vart.—In the Chhandas this affix comes after the verb वृह्त ‘to bite; as वृह्त्य: प्राप्त: ‘the beasts that bite’.

140. The affix कः comes after the verbs चर्च ‘to tremble’, चर्च ‘to be greedy’, चर्च ‘to be bold’ and चर्च ‘to throw’ in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’.


141. The affix चिन्त comes after the eight verbs beginning with द्रम ‘to be calm’, in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’.

The word चिन्त in the aphorism indicates beginning. These eight verbs begin with द्रम and end with द्रम in the list of verbs. Of the affix चिन्त the real affix is चिन्त, the other letters are servile; the द्र is for the sake of substituting guttural for the final palatals; द्र is for the sake of euphony, or for the sake of rule VI. 3. 45; and the letter द्र causes vṛddhi-(VII. 2. 116): which in the case of roots ending in द्र is prohibited by the rule VII. 3. 34, the only verb taking vṛddhi’ being द्रम.

As शर्मः 1st. sing. शर्म ‘calm’; likewise शर्म ‘desiring’; शर्म ‘taming’; शर्म ‘laborious’; शर्म ‘willing’, ‘moving round’; शर्म ‘fatiguing’; शर्म ‘forbearing’; शर्म ‘mad’ and शर्म ‘mad’. Though by rule 136, the verb शर्म takes the affix चिन्त, it also takes the affix चिन्त by the rule of वर्तमान (III. 1 94).

All these verbs belong to the Divādi class. After other verbs than these eight, we have other affixes; as शर्मः.
The affix विदुष in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The root संवृष is to be taken as belonging to the Rudhādi class, and not as belonging to Adādi, because the vikaraṇa is elided in the latter. The root विदुष belongs to Bhvādi class, the simple verb being विदुष 'to sport'. The verb विदुष 'to throw' is common both to Tudādi and Divādi, and both are taken here. विदुष 'to concentrate' is Divādi, and विदुष 'to join' is Rudhādi; both are meant here. The verb विदुष 'to color' has lost its nasal in this sūtra, irregularly.

Thus संवृष + विदुष = संवृष + विदुष (VII. 2. 52) = सम्बलिप्त, 1st sing. सम्बलिप्त 'mixture'; similarly, अभ्रोधी 'compliant'; भावावी 'one who restrains'; भावावी 'one who exerts'; विदुष 'that which flows round'; संवृष 'united'; विदुष 'lamenting'; संवृष 'greatly heating'; विदुष 'moving about'; विदुष 'crying aloud'; विदुष 'reviling'; विदुष 'burning'; विदुष 'beguiling'; विदुष 'guilty'; विदुष 'hating'; विदुष 'quarrelling'; विदुष 'milking'; विदुष 'uniting or concentrating'; विदुष 'playing'; विदुष 'discriminating'; विदुष 'renouncing'; विदुष 'yearning after'; विदुष 'sharing'; विदुष 'transgressing'; विदुष 'offending'; विदुष 'a thief'; विदुष 'attacking'. (VII. 3. 52 and 54).

The indicatory व of the affix shows that the final palatal is changed into a corresponding guttural before this affix.

The affix विदुष comes after the verbs कर 'to injure', लम 'to embrace and sport', कस्य 'to praise' and कर 'to believe', when these are in composition with the preposition वि.
As विकारी 'injuring'; विलासी 'sportive, a sensualist'; विकस्यी 'vaunting'; and विनस्यी 'confiding'.

अस्मि च लब्ध: || पद्धति || 194 || पदर्थि || अस्मि, च, लब्ध: (चिन्तन) ||

वृत्ति: || लब्ध कार्य, अभिनयात्तेदिग्नवेद वाक्यारोऽष दत्तात्त्वोऽणि ||

144. The affix िन्नन्तः comes after the verb िन्न 'to wish' when compounded with the preposition िन्न and िन्न.

As भान्ती 'thirsty'; भिजारी. The term िन्न is to be read into this सूत्र by the force of the word 'and'.

प्रे िपसुद्धनस्वद्वृः || 195 || पदर्थि || िन्न-िपसुद्धनस्वद्वृः-िपसुद्धनस्वद्वृः (चिन्तन) ||

वृत्ति: || िपसुद्धनस्वद्वृः िन्नन्ता िन्नन्तात्तत्त्वो भिजारी भि ||

145. The affix िन्नन्तः comes after the verbs िन्न, िन्न, िन्न and िन्न when compounded with the preposition िन्न.

As भान्ती 'prattling'; भान्ती 'extending around'; भान्ती 'running away, fugitive'; भान्ती 'tormenting'; भान्ती 'reporting'; भान्ती 'a traveller'.

The root वस्य here is the Bhāvadi वस्य meaning 'to dwell' and is not Adādi meaning 'to cover', because in the latter the vikarana is elided.

निन्दिःिन्नन्तःिन्नन्तःिन्नन्तःिन्नन्तःिन्नन्तःिन्नन्तःिन्नन्तःिन्नन्तःिन्नन्तःिन्नन्तःिन्नन्तःिन्नन्तः भिजारी (चिन्तन) ||

वृत्ति: || िन्नन्ता भान्ती चात्त्तत्त्वात्ति भिजारी कदाचि बुध्यत्तत्त्वात्ति भि ||

146. The affix िन्न is added to the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c':—

ििन्न, ििन्न, ििन्न, ििन्न, ििन्न, ििन्न, ििन्न, ििन्न, ििन्न, ििन्न, ििन्न, ििन्न, ििन्न.

In this सूत्र the whole phrase ending with िन्न has taken the termination of the first case; which, however, has the force of the ablative here.

As ििन्नानुिपसुद्धन || िन्नानुिपसुद्धन (VII. 1. 1) 'blaming'; so also ििन्नानुिपसुद्धन: 'injuring';
ििन्नानुिपसुद्धन: 'tormenting or troublesome'; ििन्नानुिपसुद्धन: 'eating'; ििन्नानुिपसुद्धन: 'destroying'; ििन्नानुिपसुद्धन: 'surrounding'; ििन्नानुिपसुद्धन: 'who cries aloud'; ििन्नानुिपसुद्धन: 'a plaintiff'; ििन्नानुिपसुद्धन: 'detracting'; and ििन्नानुिपसुद्धन: 'detracting'.

The same forms as the above would have been obtained by adding the affix िपसुद्धन taught in III. 1. 133, as by adding िपसुद्धन; its separate enunciation indicates the existence of this paribhāsha:

"The rule of III. 1. 94 by which an apavāda-affix which is not uniform with an utsarga-affix should supersede the latter only optionally, has no concern with apavāda-affixes added in the sense of 'having such a habit' i.e. with the affixes taught in III. 2. 134—177'. Therefore the affixes िपसुद्धन &c, are not added in the sense of 'having such a habit &c'. 
147. The affix युञ्ज comes after the verbs शंबि ‘to lament’ and बुञ्ज ‘to cry’, when an upasarga is in composition with them.

As भावः: ‘one who sports or laments’; भावः: ‘vociferous, a reviler’; परिवेशः: ‘one who laments’; परिवेशः: ‘a reviler’.

Why do we say ‘when in composition with an upasarga’? Observe वेशिन्य and शोभा formed by वेश (III. 2. 135).

148. The affix युञ्ज comes, in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’. after intransitive verbs denoting ‘motion’ or ‘sound’.

As, चल-युञ्ज = चलन: ‘moving’ (VII. 1. 1); चीप: ‘creeping’; गङ्ग: ‘sounding’; रङ्ग: ‘roaring’.

Why do we say ‘intransitive’? Observe पवित्रा विधान.

149. The affix युञ्ज comes in the same sense after such intransitive verbs as are अत्मापदी and begin with a consonant and are अनुदत्तेत i.e. have a gravely accented vowel as indicatory.

As असम: ‘being’; करः: ‘growing’.

Why do we say ‘Anudattet’? Observe शिवा.

Why do we say ‘beginning with a consonant’? Observe चवित्र, which though अत्मापदी, takes नम.

Why have we used the term भाव ‘beginning’ in the सूत्र? Observe जुयन्तिन: ‘censuring’; भांगिन: ‘an investigator. For without the word भाव, the rule would have stood thus:—अनुदत्तेता च: which by I. 1. 72. would mean ‘the affix युञ्ज comes after the verbs which end with a consonant’; so that even after युञ्ज we shall have युञ्ज; and there would be no युञ्ज after युञ्ज which ends with a vowel.

This rule will not apply if the root is transitive; as चवित्र-पथियः.
THE AFFIX YUCH. [BK. III. CH. II. § 150-152.

150. The affix युच comes after the following verbs in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’, viz:—सु, संक्रम्य, संक्रम्य, स, गृह, स्वर, स, ः, ः and ः.

The verb युच is not to be found in the Dāhupātha, and is taught in the aphorisms and is hence called a sautra cādītu. It means ‘to go’, ‘to be quick’. As सु+ सूच =तौ+भाव (VII. I. 1. and VII. 3. 84) = वास्त: (VI. I. 78, II. 3. 46) ‘a courser, a swift horse’. संक्रम्य+सुच =संक्रम्य+भाव (II. 4. 74) = संक्रम्य: ‘moving about’; so also संक्रम्य: ‘wandering’; संक्रम्य: ‘flowing’; संक्रम्यन: ‘greedy’; संक्रम्य: ‘burning’; संक्रम्य: ‘grieving’; संक्रम्य: ‘desiring’; संक्रम्य: ‘falling’; संक्रम्य: ‘moving’.

The enumeration of the word युच in the above, indicates that this sūtra applies to the transitive verbs; otherwise the sūtra III. 2. 148 would have been sufficient, as युच is a bhātanāi verb. Others say that the inclusion of युच in this aphorism indicates the existence of the paribhāṣa already given under sūtra III. 2. 146 i.e. the rule of III. 1. 94 has no concern with affixes added in the sense of ‘having such a habit &c’. The affix युच by III. 2. 136 is added to अलंकृत, supersedes therefore not merely the addition of युच to अलंकृत (III. 2. 135), but also the addition of युच to the same. If a tādhāṅkīka api-vādā were to supersede only an atādhāṅkīka uṭṣarga, it would have been superfluous for Pāṇini to teach in this sūtra the addition of युच to युच, because in that case the addition of अलंकृत to युच by III. 2. 154 would not have debarred the addition of युच to युच by III. 2. 149. The repetition is for the sake of jñāpaka, therefore, and it indicates the existence of the above-mentioned maxim. The jñāpaka is not, however, of universal application; for sometimes both affixes are applied concurrently; as, गान्ता शोंग विकादनः.

151. And after the verbs having the sense of युच ‘to be angry’ and युच ‘to adorn’, the affix युच is employed.

As युच: ‘wrathful’; युच: ‘rasable’; युच: ‘adorning’; युच: ‘ornament’, But not so after the verb अलंकृत to which sūtra III. 2. 136 applies.

152. The affix युच is not employed after those verbs which end in the letter य.

This debars III. 2. 149. As कन्यातिक ‘making creaking sound’; कन्यासिद्व ‘trembling’. In these cases the affix युच is employed (III. 2. 135)
153. The affix वृच्छ does not come after the verbs वृच्छ ‘to strike’, शीर ‘to shine’ and शीर ‘to initiate’.

These three verbs are anudattti, and by sūtra III. 2. 149, would have taken वृच्छ. The present sūtra prohibits that. Therefore they take लुच्छ. As, लुच्छ 1st. sing लुच्छत ‘one who strikes’; लुच्छत ‘one who shines’; लुच्छत ‘one who initiates’.

Now, it might be objected—“We find that sūtra III. 2. 167 specifically enjoins the affix र after शीर; this apavāda rule will therefore, supersede the general rule; where is then the necessity of the present rule? If you say that the affix वृच्छ is also obtained by the rule of non-uniformity (III. 1. 94), we reply that the Paribhāṣā given under sūtra 146 and 150 will prevent that.”

This objection is answered by saying that the above-mentioned Paribhāṣā is not of universal application; there are exceptions to it, as क्रम वृच्छति: and क्रम दृष्टिः ‘a young girl’ which are both valid forms derived by adding र and वृच्छ to the verb क्रम. So also क्रम and क्रम दृष्टिः ‘a shaking branch’.

If we prohibit वृच्छ after the root सुच्छ, how do we get the forms महसुच्छ न and सुच्छ? This objection may be answered in three ways: (1) the present is an anitiya rule, not of universal application, which can be inferred from finding this sūtra separated from the last (yogavibhāga), when it was easier to make them one, (2) the words महसुच्छ न &c belong to the nitisā class (III. i. 134) taking the affix वृच्छ or (3) they are formed by III. 3. 113 by the affix वृच्छ.

154. The affix वृच्छ comes after the following verbs, in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’—कृप, पत्र, पत्र, श्राद, म, वृच्छ, हन, कन, मग and गु.

As अनुलत्तच्छ लुच्छलत्तच्छ, अनुलत्तच्छ लुच्छलत्तच्छ, अनुलत्तच्छ लुच्छलत्तच्छ, अनुलत्तच्छ लुच्छलत्तच्छ, अनुलत्तच्छ लुच्छलत्तच्छ, अनुलत्तच्छ लुच्छलत्तच्छ. The र is added after श्राद in श्रादलत्तच्छ by VII. 3. 33. The वृच्छ is changed into गुच्छ by VII. 3. 32 and 54.

155. The affix पाकत्त, comes, in the sense of the ‘agent having such a habit &c’, after the following verbs:—गुच्छ, निश्च, रुच्छ, वृच्छ, गुच्छ and कृप.

The  is indicatory showing that the feminine of the words so formed take the affix कृषि i.e. long है (IV. 1. 41). As जन्याकक: ‘talkative’; निशाकक: ‘a beggar’; बुद्धाकक: ‘who or what cuts’; ज्ञानकक: ‘a thief or robber’; वराकक: ‘low, miserable’. In the feminine जन्याकक &c.

प्रजीतिनि: ॥ १५६॥ पदाति ॥ प्रजा:, इति: (तच्छीलादितिः) ॥
पुस्ति: ॥ प्रपूर्वाजयस्तप्च्छीलाजिंद्रसिद्धाद्वैयमनात्मनोपितवाप्रकृतिः ॥

156. The affix हि comes in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit etc’. after the verb मष्ठ ‘to hasten forward’.

As प्रभिन्न, 1st sing. प्रभी ‘an express, courier’, 1st dual प्रभिन्नी &c.

प्रजीतिनि: ॥ १५६॥ पदाति ॥
पृष्ठः (विम हि विषिल इति द्वादश अतिष्ठ अतिष्ठ परिकालितृ-प्रसूतिः) ॥
पुस्ति: ॥ प्रम्प्रजीतिनि: प्रभिन्न इति: प्रभी वात्य तच्छीलादितिः कर्त्याः ॥

157. The affix हि comes in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’, after the verbs वि ‘to conquer’, र ‘to respect’, वि ‘to waste, to dwell, to go’, वि ‘to shelter’, र ‘to go’, वि ‘to vomit’, अम्ब ‘not to give pain’, अम्ब ‘to injure’, प्रजीतिनि ‘to humiliate’ and वि ‘to beget’.


प्रजीतिनि: ॥ १५७॥ पदाति ॥
प्रजीतिनि: प्रपूर्वाजयस्तप्च्छीलाजिंद्रसिद्धाद्वैयमनात्मनोपितवाप्रकृतिः आलुकः ॥
पूर्वाय ओष्ठी-पलित्र-दृष्टि-निर्माण-निर्माण-समाप्ति: आलुकः (तच्छीलादितिः) ॥
पुस्ति: ॥ प्रजीतिनि प्रपूर्वाजयस्तप्च्छीलाजिंद्रसिद्धाद्वैयमनात्मनोपितवाप्रकृतिः आलुकः
पुस्ति: ॥ प्रजीतिनि प्रपूर्वाजयस्तप्च्छीलाजिंद्रसिद्धाद्वैयमनात्मनोपितवाप्रकृतिः आलुकः

158. The affix आलुकः comes in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’, after the following words:— एव ‘to desire’, गृह ‘to seize’, एव ‘to go’, एव ‘to give, to go, to protect’, मर्य ‘to be tired’ and एव ‘to venerate’.

The word निर्म त is formed by adding the preposition वि to the verb हि ‘to go crookedly’; so also निर्म त is formed by adding तं to हि, and then irregularly changing the ह into हि. The term निर्म त is formed by adding नि to the verb द्वार ‘to hold’. The first three verbs belong to Churādī class and take णुए.

As, स्नायात्स: ‘disposed to be desirous of’; गृहावालः ‘disposed to catch hold of or seize’; गृहावालः ‘tending or prone to fall’; खरालः ‘compassionate’; गृहावालः ‘disposed to sleep’; खरालः ‘slothful’; खरालः ‘full of faith’. See VI. 4. 55 for adding एव.
Vart:—The affix आज्ञा comes also after the root शीत 'to lie down'; as श्राज्ञा: 'disposed to lie down'.

159. The affix ह ए comes after the verbs श to give', श्र 'to suck', श्र 'to bind', श्र 'to fall' and 'to sit'.

As, श्र: 'a munificent man'; श्रवेश्वरी माताक 'a sucking child of the mother'. The genitive case is here prohibited by II. 3. 69, the ह being taken as equivalent to श. As वेंक: 'binding'; श्रेन्द: 'falling'; and श्रेद्व: 'resting'.

160. The affix बहसम in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', comes after the verbs ब 'to flow', गेंक 'to eat' and गेंक 'to eat'.

As सम्ब: 'going, a kind of deer'; गस्म: 'gluttonous'; शम्ब: 'voracious'.

161. The affix पुरुष comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs प 'to break', प 'to shine', and प 'to be fat'.

As भुक्क+पुरुष = भुक्क+प (VII 3. 52) = भुक्क: 'brittle'; the palatal being changed into guttural, because of the indicatory प. So also भुक्क: पु: 'a fat beast'; शुक्क: 'splendid light'.

After the verb भुक्क this affix gives a reflexive signification—that which naturally breaks of itself.

162. The affix पुरुष comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs प 'to know', प 'to divide' and प 'to pierce'.

As विविक: 'on knowing Pandit'; विविकर कालिन 'a splitting or fragile wood'; विपुरुष रासु: 'a cutting or breaking rope'. The affix is employed in a reflexive sense after the verbs प and पुरुष.
Vart.:—The affix ग्रहः comes after the verb ज्ञाप्ति ‘to kill’; and there is vocalisation of the semivowel; as ग्रिः:

ब्रह्मण्येकर्षितं: करप् । १६३।। पदार्थ । दज्ञ-य-निव-सतीश्: । । करप्: (तथियादिदिगु) ।

163. The affix करप् comes, in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’, after the verbs र ‘to go’, मग ‘to destroy’, लि ‘to conquer’, and घ ‘to flow’.

The घ is indicatory in order to introduce the augment बुः between the verb and the affix (VI. 1. 71). Thus र + करप् = र + घ + वर् = दज्ञः; fem. दज्ञः ‘a traveller’; गवः; fem. गवः ‘transitory’; दिनर; fem. दिनर ‘victorious’; घसः: fem. घसः ‘going, a river’.

Though the affix दज्ञ begins with a letter of कत्व pratyāhāra, and ought to have taken the intermediate श्र (VII. 2. 35) yet it is prohibited by VII. 2. 8.

गत्वर । १६४।। पदार्थ । गत्वर । ।

164. And the word गत्वर is irregularly formed.

The word गत्वर is formed by eliding the घ of ग्घ and adding the affix करप्. As गत्वर, fem. गत्वर ‘locomotive, transient’.

आगुागुः: । १६५।। पदार्थ । आगुः, घकः: (तथियादिदिगु) ।

165. The affix घकः comes after the verb नाग ‘to be awake’ in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit’.

As आगुकः: ‘wakeful’.

यस्तेनमद्यः यकः । १६६।। पदार्थ । यच-चप-दधाम: । यकः (त-तथियादिदिगुः, घकः:) ।

166. The affix घकः comes in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’, after the verbs घण्ठा आर्ण and घण्ठ when they end in the affix घण्ठ.

The intensives of these verbs take घकः. As वाधकः: ‘a performer of frequent sacrifices’; श्राधकः: ‘a mutterer of prayers repeatedly’; श्राधकः: ‘a snake (what bites frequently)’. 

जनिष्ठ पिन्नवर्मनानिस्तिष्ठ-दीर्घो: । १६७।। पदार्थ । जनिष्ठ-पिन्नवर्मनानिस्तिष्ठ-दीर्घो: । (तथियादिदिगु)
167. The affix -r comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' after the verbs नम ‘to bow’, क्रम ‘to shake’, लिस ‘to smile’, अनन्त ‘not to cease’, क्रम ‘to desire’, हिस ‘to injure’, and शीव ‘to shine’.

Thus, नम्ब ‘soft wood’; क्रम्ब ‘shaking branch’; लिस्ब ‘smiling face’; अनन्त ‘he sacrifices perpetually’; क्रम्ब ‘a beautiful maiden’; हिस ‘रज ‘the injuring Rakshas’; शीव ‘brilliant wood’.

The word अनन्त‘ is an adverb, and is derived from the root अन्त ‘to set free’, with the negative particle अ and the affix -र as अ + जन्तु + र = अंतन ।

मनाक्षिनिय द ॥ १६७ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ सन-अन्तेक्ष-निय, दः, (तत्त्वलोकिति) ॥

168. The affix -r comes after roots that have taken the affix यन्त्र, and after the verbs अनन्त ‘to wish’ and हिस ‘to beg’ in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’.

The term यन्त्र in the aphorism means Desiratives in the affix यन्त्र, and not the verb, यन्त्र because the verb यन्त्र is never seen with this affix.

As, तिस्तूछि ‘desirous of doing’; निलोधु ‘desirous of taking’; अर्थु ‘desisious’; निलु ‘a beggar’.

The verb अर्थु with the upasarga अ is the verb अर्थ ‘to desire’ and not the verb यन्त्र ‘to praise’.

विकुटरिच्छुः: ॥ १६८ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ विलु, हस्थु, (तत्त्वलोकिति) ॥

169. The words विलु and हस्थु are irregularly formed by the addition of the affix यन्त्र, in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’.

To the verb विल ‘we add the augment तुष्य and then the affix -र; as, विल + तुष्य+र = विल्लु: (I. 1. 47) = तिस्तू ‘intelligent’, so of रज ‘to wish’, the र is replaced by हस्थु = रस्थु: ‘desisious’.

कार्यक्षणिचिस: ॥ १७० ॥ पदार्थि ॥ क्षैत, हस्थिचि, (तत्त्वलोकिति) ॥

170. The affix -r comes in the Chhandas, after the roots that have taken the Denominative affix क्व in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’.

The term क्व includes the three affixes वद्य, वस्य and वम्प (see sūtras III. 1. 8, 11, 13, &c). As निलसु, संस्तेजसु, चुन्सु: (Rig. Ved. I 3. 4).
In the modern Sanskrit तुष्ण will be employed. As निमीतित. By सूत्र VII. 4. 33, the long त replaces the final त्र when खा च follows; as तुष + खा च = पुष्ण + त्र-पुष्ण। Why then in the case of दिन्त्र: there is not the substitution of long त for the त्र of दिन? Because the rule VII. 4. 33 is set aside by VII. 4. 35 which declares that in the Chhandas the long त is not substituted for the त्र।

171. In the Chhandas, the affixes कि and कित्र in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' come after the verbs that end in long त्र, or short or long क, and after the verbs गम 'to go', गृह 'to kill', and गृह 'to be produced', and these affixes operate like लिङ्ग causing reduplication of the root.

The ा after त्र is either for the sake of euphony, or for the sake of precision. Had it been ा, then by the rule of लातर (I. 1. 70) short ा would only be included and not long ा। But the present rule is applicable to long ा as well.

Thus गम + कित्र = पशिः 'drinking'; as पशिः 'drinking the soma-juice'; कित्री: 'giving cows' (Rig. Ved. VI. 23. 4). कित्रीवत्रित्र शुद्रिः (Rig. Ved. IV. 39. 2, VI. 68. 7). त्रूर अभ्यासुरितिः (Rig. Ved. X. 108. 1). गम + कित्र = गानित्र: 'being in constant motion, wind'; गानित्र (Rig. Ved. II. 23. 11); गम + कित्र = गानित्र: 'killing, a weapon offensive'; गानित्र (Rig. Ved. IX. 61. 2); गम + कित्र = गानित्र: as काश्यित्रस्य (T. S. VII. 5. 20. 1).

The letter ा in these affixes is indicatory. It might be said 'it is superfluous to make these affixes कित्र, because these being treated like लिङ्ग, will be कित्र by rule I. 2. 5.' True, they would be कित्र by the rule I. 2. 5, but then the rule VII. 4. 11 (when लिङ्ग follows, guna is the substitute of the verb त्र and of those that end in the long ा) would also have applied to these affixes, and would have caused guna. It is to prevent this guna of the letter ा that we have annexed an indicatory ा to these affixes.

Vart.—The affixes कि and कित्र, are of universal application in the Chhandas, and not confined to the verbs enumerated in the सूत्र, as we see them in त्र &c.; as लिङ्गित्र: (Yaj. Ved XII. 105); लिङ्गित्र, (Rig. Ved. II. 5. 3).

Vart.—The affixes कि and कित्र, come after the roots धान्य, कृष्ण, ख, जनि,
Bk. III. Ch. II. § 172-175] THE AFFIX VARACH.

गमि, and गमि in the secular literature also; as, शिक्ष, चालिस, वात, जाति; जाति; मेति:।

**Vart.**—The affixes दिन and दिन, come after the Intensive (बहुव्य) roots of शह, वह, था, and वर्. As, सातिहि, चालिस, चालिस; बालिस; (VII. 4. 83).

172. The affix नजिक comes, in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c', after the verbs शह ‘to sleep’ and पुंश ‘to be thirsty’.

As शह + नजिक = शह्न 1st. sing. शह्न ‘sleeping, drowsy’; पुंशः 1st. sing. पुंशः ‘covetous, thirsty’.

Vart.:—So also after the verb पुंश ‘to insult, be bold’; as, पुंशः 1st. sing. पुंशः ‘bold, impudent’.

173. The affix आह comes in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c' after the verbs शह ‘to injure’ and वर् ‘to praise’, 'to salute'.

As शहः ‘noxious, a mischievous animal’; आहः ‘praising, a bard’.

निम्त: कुक्कुन्ती ॥ १७४ ॥ पदराचि निम्तः, कु-कुन्नी, (तच्छिल) ॥

पुर्णः: कुक्कुन्ती भिन्निनि गुणिनि भविषयानुगति कर्थव्यं दुधून्ति मय्यवयसं गति:।

Vart.:—The affix कुक्कुन्ती should also be stated; as शेब्स:।

174. The affixed कु and कुक्कु come in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit' after the verb स्थ ‘to fear’.

As, स्थः ‘fearful, timid’; कुक्कुः ‘timorous, a bear, a tiger, a jackal’.

Vart.:—The affix कुक्कुः should also be stated; as शेब्सः।

175. The affix वर्चः comes, in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c' after the verbs श्या ‘to stand’ इश्व ‘to rule’, भाव’ ‘to shine’, विश् ‘to go’ and कर् ‘to go’.

As श्यार्चः ‘immovable’; इश्वः ‘ruler, God’; भावः ‘going, destructive’; विश्वः ‘opening, expanding’.

वर्चः वर्चः: ॥ १७५ ॥ पदराचि यः, वर्चः, (तच्छिल, वर्चः)।
176. The affix वच्छ in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' comes after the verb श्राव when it ends with the affix वच्छ.

With the affix वच्छ, the intensives of verbs are formed; as जानवारः 'a vagrant, an ascetic.' See श्रूत्र I. 1. 58.

177. The affix किंप comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' after the verbs श्राव 'to shine' श्राव 'to shine', श्राव 'to injure', श्राव 'to shine', श्राव 'to be strong', श्राव 'to move rapidly' and श्राव 'to praise', when it is preceded by the word श्राव 'a stone'.

Thus, विषय 1st. sing. विश्व 'splendid'; श्राव 1st. sing. श्राव 'light'; श्राव, + किंप = श्राव (VI. 4. 21), 1st sing. श्राव 'who injures'; किंप 'lightening'; श्राव 1st. sing. श्राव 'strength'; श्राव 1st. sing. श्राव 'what fills'; श्राव 'swift'. In the case of श्राव, a long vowel is the substitute of श्राव; श्राव (VI. 1. 71) 'a stone-worshipper'. Though by the universal rule III. 2. 76, the affix किंप would have come after these verbs also, the repetition of the affix shows that श्राव does not apply in tāchhāchhīka affixes.

178. The affix किंप is seen after other verbs also, besides those mentioned above, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

As श्राव 1st. sing. श्राव 'joining'; किंप 'piercing'; श्राव 'dividing'.

By using the words 'is seen' in the aphorism, it is implied that other rules also apply concurrently with किंप. Thus in some cases we find lengthening of the vowel; in some, there is reduplication of the root; in some instances there is sampratā of the semivowel; and in other cases there is not.
The affix du.

Vart:—When दुः follows, the long vowel is the substitute of दुः ‘to speak’, प्रधान ‘to ask’, नन्दलक ‘to praise long’, काम ‘to move through a mat’, श्र ‘to move rapidly’, and श्र ‘to serve’, and there is no substitution of a vowel for the semivowel (VI i. 10).

As, बाल ‘the voice’; प्रधान + दुः = प्रधान + दुः (VI i. 10) = प्रधान + दुः (VIII. 2. 36) = प्रधान (VIII. 4. 56) ‘who asks’; नन्दलक ‘who praises long’; काम ‘a worm’; श्र ‘swift’; श्र ‘the goddess Lakshmi’.

The word श्र which was mentioned in the last sutra is redundant here.

Vart:—There is reduplication of the verbs दुः ‘to shine’, दु ‘to go’ and दु ‘to invoke’, when दु follows. As, विद्वान ‘shining’; गज ‘going, the world’.

Vart:—There is lengthening also of the vowel of दुः as दुः ‘a crescent-shaped wooden ladle used for pouring the sacrificial ghee into the fire’.

Vart:—The root दु ‘to tear’ is shortened also as दु ‘tearing’.

Vart:—The verb दु ‘to think’ has samprastaraṇa; as दु ‘thinking’.

भू: संवातातयो: १८९ पदानि || भू: संवातातयो: (हिं) ||

वृत्ति: || भू: संवातातयो: संवातातयो: गम्यानां कितेकवो भवनि ||

179. The affix दुः comes after the verb दु ‘to be’ when the word so formed denotes a name or a surety.

As, दुः ‘a person called Vibhū’; दुः ‘a surety’ i.e. he who stands intermediate between the debtor and the creditor.

भिमभिम्यो द्विमभिम्यो द्विमभिम्यो || १८० पदानि || भिमभिम्यो, हु.

संवातातयो: (हु: ||

वृत्ति: || च व दुः द्विमभिम्यो द्विमभिम्यो: द्विमभिम्यो भवनि न च दुः संवातातयो: गम्यानां ||

180. The affix हु comes after the verb हु when it is preceded by the upasarga दु and हु provided that the word to be formed does not mean an appellative.

As हु ‘all pervading’; हु ‘lord’; हु 'Creator'.

Why do we say ‘when it is not a proper name? Observe हु ‘a person called Vibhū’.

Vart:—The words निस्त्रु &c, also are formed by this affix. As निस्त्रु ‘the sea’; हु ‘causing happiness’.

Why have we applied हु and not हु to this root, as the forms would have been the same in either case? We have done so for two purposes: (1) To prevent the rules relating to dhātus from applying to this. (2) To prevent the insertion of तु augment. Thus the 1st. dual of निस्त्रु is निस्त्रु, 1st. pl. is निस्त्रु; Here there is no substitution of तु which the rule VI i. 4. 77 required, if हु had retained its dhātu characteristic; so also the rule of accent in VI i. 175
does not apply to Instrumental sing. नित्य &c., (2.) We have no \( \bar{\varepsilon} \) which rule VI. 1. 71 required. \\

\[
\bar{\varepsilon} : \text{कर्मिक} \text{ धार्म} \| \bar{\varepsilon} \| \text{पदार्थ} \| \bar{\varepsilon} : \text{कर्मिक, धार्म} \\
\]

181. The affix धर्म comes, in denoting the object, after the verb धर्म to feed.

The indicative धर्म denotes that the feminine is formed by धर्म (ह) affix. As धर्म 'a nurse whom the children suck (धर्मती); and 'Amalaki fruit which holds (धर्मती) all medicinal properties'.

\[
\text{दारोग्यायस्ययुनातिसिसिसिःनिष्ठपदस्थन} : \text{कर्म} \| \bar{\varepsilon} \| \text{पदार्थ} \\
\text{व: धर्म:-धर्म-धर्म-धर्म:धर्म-धर्म-धर्म-धर्म:धर्म-धर्म} : \text{कर्म} , (धर्म) \\
\]

182. The affix धर्म, with the sense of instrument, comes after the verbs धर्म to cut, धर्म to lead, धर्म to hurt, धर्म to join, धर्म to join, धर्म to praise, धर्म to inflict pain, धर्म to bind, धर्म to sprinkle, धर्म to urine, धर्म to fall, धर्म to bite and धर्म to bind.

As धर्म, 1st. sing. neuter धर्म 'a sickle' (lit. that with which one cuts); धर्म 1st. sing. धर्म 'eye'; धर्म (VII. 2. 9) 'a weapon'; धर्म 'the tie that fastens the yoke'; धर्म 'the tie of yoke'; धर्म 'a penagyric'; धर्म 'a goad', धर्म 'a ligament'; धर्म 'a sprinkling vessel'; धर्म 'the penis'; धर्म 'a vehicle'; धर्म 'a large tooth'.

The word धर्म belongs to the आज्ञी class and hence forms its feminine in धर्म (अ) and not in ह (IV. 1. 4).

The root धर्म is read in the aphorism without its nasal i.e., as धर्म. This indicates by implication that हस्त loses its nasal before some affixes such as हस्त; thus we have हस्त 'tooth'.

And lastly हस्त 'tooth'

And lastly धर्म, fem. धर्म (VIII. 2. 34 and 40), 'a thong'.

183. The affix धर्म is employed after the verb धर्म with the sense of instrument when denoting a member of the body of a plough or of a hog.

The verb धर्म includes both धर्म and पुर्ण as पुर्ण 'a plough-share'; पुर्ण 'the snout of a hog'.

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184. The affix इठ comes after the verbs गो ‘to go’, रु ‘to cut’, ख ‘to shake’, झ ‘to bring forth’, ख्व ‘to dig’, ब ‘to bear’, and र ‘to go’ with the sense of instrument.

Thus, अविष ‘a rudder’; लविष ‘a sickle’; धविष ‘a fan’; खविष ‘cause of production’; खिष ‘a spade’; झिष ‘patience’; धरिष ‘an instituted observance or a narrative’.

185. The affix इठ comes after the verb य ‘to purify’ with the sense of the agent so expressed being the instrument; when the sense of the complete word is simply appellative, and not descriptive.

The verb य includes two verbs यू and यू both meaning ‘to purify’, but belonging to two different conjugations; as पतिष an instrument for cleansing or purifying, such as a sieve or a strainer; and in this sense it means ‘two blades of Kusa grass used at sacrifices in purifying and sprinkling ghee’. It also means ‘the sacred thread, the clarified butter, &c.

186. The affix इठ comes after the verb य ‘to purify’ in the sense of ‘the agent or the instrument’ when it is respectively employed in connection with a sage or a deity.

That is to say, when applied to a Rishi the force is that of an instrument, and when applied to a Devatd the force is that of an agent. As, पविशोवविष ‘this sage is sacred’ (through whose instrumentality one is sanctified); अविष पविष र नापुन ‘the God Agni is sacred’ (one that purifies), ‘let him purify me’. So also, य ‘to make sacred’; पविष नापुन ‘the God Agni is sacred’.

187. The verbal roots, marked with an indicator न, take the affix इठ in denoting the present time.
The  *Nishtha* affix क, as a general rule, is a past participial affix and denotes past time; and is so ordained by rule III 2. 102. The present सूत्र makes an exception in case of those verbs which are marked with an indicatory भ in the *Dhātupāthka*; as भिजित्विः: 'to be affectionately inclined'; भिजिद्व: (भिजिद्व + क = भिजिद्व = भिजिद्व + क) (VIII. 2. 42) 'being affectionately inclined'. So भिजिद्व—भिजित्वि: 'sounding inarticulately'; भिजिद्व—भिजित्वि: 'bold'. The anuvṛtti of वर्तने 'in the sense of the present', is read into this सूत्र from III. 2. 123.

188. And after roots denoting inclination, understanding, or respect, the affix क is employed with the force of the present.

The word मति means 'wish' or 'desire'; भुजि means 'knowledge'; and पूजा means 'worship', 'honor' or 'respect'. As राजा मति:—द्वा:—हुँ:—हासः:—पूजितः: &c. 'the king wishes, desires, thinks, knows, honors, respects &c'.

The force of the word क is to include other kinds of verbs not included in the above सूत्र. Thus the following participles have their senses confined not to the past time only: श्रीलितं: 'practised'; श्रीलितं: 'protected'; श्रीलितं: 'forbearing'; भुकुः: 'censured'; भुः: 'pleased'; हः: 'angry'; हः: 'angry'; अभिवाहतं: 'uttered'; हः: 'happy'; तुः: 'satisfied'; श्रीलितं: 'favourite'; श्रीलितं: 'restrained'; श्रीलितं: 'ready'; कः: 'evil, misery' (with a future signification); and भुतं 'immortal'. So also:—दुः: 'sleeping'; शरिः: 'lying down'; भारितः: 'eaten'; श्रीलितं: 'smeared'; तुः: 'satisfied'; all these have a present signification.
BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER III.

1. The affixes 'Un' and the rest, with the force of the present, and with a sense simply appellative, are attached diversely.

The phrase 'with the force of the present' (implying neither past nor future time) and 'with a sense simply appellative' (and not descriptive) must be read into this sūtra by anuvṛtti from sūtras III.2.123 & 185. By using the word 'diversely' it is indicated that these affixes are, of course, applied after roots about which they are ordained, but they come also after roots about which they are not ordained. Sometimes we must infer their application by seeing actual words. Some affixes, though there be no express injunction regarding them, are to be inferred to belong to this class. The maxim in regard to the Undā affixes is that when, in appellatives, we find the forms of verbal roots and affixes coming after them, then we may know, from the result as presented in the word, what are the indicatory letters which the affix must be possessed of in order to produce the result.

These affixes are not given in Pāṇini's work, but they have been separately collected. The affix बद्ध is the first of these. The first sūtra of Undā affixes is the following—

The affix बद्ध comes after the verbs कृ 'to make', भा 'to blow', वा 'to drink', जि 'to overcome', जि 'to scatter', स्त्र 'to be pleasant to the taste', शाय 'to accomplish', and भाष 'to pervade'.

Thus कृ + बद्ध = बद्ध: 'an artisan'. So also, भाष: 'the wind'; भाष: 'the organ of excretion'; जाष: 'a drug (which overcomes disease)'; नाष: 'the bile'; शाष: 'sweet'; शाष: 'who accomplishes the object of another, hence virtuous'; and भाष: 'quickly'.

These Undā affixes come after a limited number of roots, and not after every root, as the affixes taught in this grammar whose application is general; hence the word बद्ध has been employed. Moreover there has been no exhaustive enumeration of the several roots after which these affixes come:
only some of them have been collected in works treating of Unadi affixes. Thus though the affixes रुप is ordained after यु, it comes also after रुप as श्रुतिका. In fact there is a long discussion and it was a moot point at the time of Pāṇini whether these words said to be formed by Unadi affixes were really derivative, or primitive ones. Moreover all the operations of these affixes have not been shown, that is, their effects are not without remainder (रूपे). They are valid and good if found in sacred Scriptures or secular literature. The authors of Nirukta and grammarians of the school of Śākaṭāyaṇa, consider all nouns and substantives (नाम) as derivative words from simple roots (प्रारूप). Therefore where the derivation of a word is not apparent, one should infer the existence of proper base (स्वरूप) or affix (रूप) to form such a word.

The following slokas will be of some use to the student for ascertaining the Unadi affixes:

वाचकं प्रकृतेन नुसारं; सामसुपथवत्तार्यं वैः सामायः।
कार्यारूपविषेष तुष्णं तैगः तहसुधिनिहवं वि युक्तानु ॥

नाम यथा सामायादि निमित्ते व्याकरणं रिप्रस्तावं यथा स्वरूपं ॥

वज्ञ पार्थिवरूपविषेषः प्रस्तावं: प्रकृतेतेष तथूपः ॥

संसारस: भाषाविषेषं प्रश्नावली च: पदार्थम्।
कार्यारूपविषेष तुष्णं खंडनं यथूपः ॥

भूतं दूरस्तवं ॥ ॥ पदार्थम् ॥ भूते, अपि, दृश्यते, (उदाहरण: ॥

3. The 'Unadi' affixes are seen also attached with the force of the past time.

By the last sutra, it was taught that the Unadi affixes come with the force of the present time. The present aphorism teaches that they come with the force of the past also, not as a general rule, but in special cases. The force of the words are seen being that no general rule can be laid down about it, but on finding that certain words have a past significance, we conclude that the affix in that particular case has the force of the past time.

Thus गृह-+निःसृत्त=गृहस्ति 'a way, road' (that which has been established as a rule); चित-+मनसून=चित्रम् 'skin' (that which is lived in); so also भलण 'ashes' (that which has been reduced to ashes).

चक्षुचरीति गर्भादयः; ॥ ॥ पदार्थम् ॥ अविद्यति, गस-आदयः॥

3. The words 'gami', &c. are valid forms, having the sense of the future time.

The force of the future time is in the affix, and is so ordained, and not in the original word which takes the affix. Thus we see that the Unadi
affixes, in a way, do come with the force of not only present, but past and future also, though in the latter two cases its scope is very limited. As गदी गदाम ‘intending to go to the village’; गाम ‘that which has to come’ So also प्रवक्त ‘departing’; प्रवक्त ‘an opponent, (who is going to obstruct). प्रवक्त ‘going to be awakened’. So also प्रवक्त ‘an adversary’; प्रवक्त ‘an enemy’; प्रवक्त ‘intends to
 go to the village tomorrow’.

Vart:—The Future, for the purposes of this rule, must be अनायतानु future i.e. the affix should come in the sense of what will happen but not in the course of the current day. In other words, the force must be of the first future अनायतक, and not of the second future अनायतक. As गदी गदाम ‘he intends to go to the village tomorrow’.

4. The affix ‘लट’ comes after a root, with the force of futurity, when it has in construction with it the particles ‘यावत’ and ‘पुरात’.

The present tense has the force of the future when the adverbs बालू and ताबू are used. The phrase ‘futurity &c’ is to be read into this sūtra from the last. Thus भावोक्ते में निपतति दुरा ‘he will surely fall in the range of your sight’. बालू नृव्यानं भावोक्ते मेयः भवाति. ‘I shall send Satruighna to exterminate this wretch’.

These words पुरा and बालू must be used as adverbs (nipātās), and not as relative pronouns. Therefore not here, बालू श्रव्यति ताबू. नृव्याने ‘as long as he will give, so long he will eat’; पुरा विलक्ति ‘he goes along the city’. Here बालू is a relative pronoun; and पुरा is the Instrumental singular of पुर ‘city’.

5. The affix ‘लट’ is optionally employed after a root with the force of the futurity, when it has in construction with it, the adverbs ‘कदा’ and ‘कर्ति’.

As कदा युक्ते ‘when will he eat’, or कदा भोज्यते or भोज्यते; so also कदा युक्ते or भोज्यते or भोज्यते ‘when will he eat’.
6. When the word 'kim' or its derivatives are in construction with the verb, the affix 'Lat' is employed optionally after a root, in denoting future time, provided that the sentence expresses a desire of gaining on the part of the speaker.

The word 'optionally' is understood in this sutra. By using the word वृत्त along with किः it is meant that the rule applies even when किः takes the affixes कतर and कुम. The word किः means the desire of gaining or acquiring, a wish to have something or an intention of begging.

As कः महत्तो भोजयति or भोजवित्तार् 'whom will you feed'? It implies a request on the part of the questioner to feed him also. So also कतरे नित्यं शास्विति, स्वाति, उत्ता, or कतरे नित्यं शास्विति &c, 'Which of the two or which of these all, will he give alms? Will he give something to me?'

When no desire of gain is implied, the future tense must be employed as कः पात्यं पवित्ति 'who will go to Pātaliputra'.

7. And when the success, that would accrue to another by fulfilling the desire of the speaker, is indicated in a sentence, the present tense may optionally be employed with the force of the futurity.

The word 'optionally' is also understood here. The word लिप्वनानविन्दृत is equal to लिप्वनानानविन्दृत, an Ablative-Tatpurusha Compound, signifying siddhi or success, that would be acquired by another by complying with the request of the speaker. The difference between this and the last sutra is, that whereas the last related to interrogative sentences having किः in construction, the present relates to sentences in general. As वो भलं हस्तिति, वा स्वारं स्वस्वतिः ‘he who gives food, goes to heaven’; वो भलं हस्तिति or हस्ति, वा स्वारं गवित्तिति or मस्वारं.

Here the speaker encourages the giver to the act of charity by holding out the hope, that from rice which is the object desired (लिप्वनानान) the success (विन्दृत), in the shape of स्वर्ग, will accrue to the giver.

In other words, the present is sometimes used for the future in conditional sentences, i.e. it is employed in connection with a sentence declaring the compensation or reward which follows from the granting of the wish.

लोहं-रत्नं च | || पद्यं || लोहं-रत्नं, च, (भविष्य- नित्याले, चिन्मया, लट) ||
8. The affix 'Lat' is optionally employed with the force of the futurity, after that root, which in a conditional sentence, is the condition precedent for the action indicated by another verb having the sense of the imperative mood.

The word लोद्ये means 'having the sense of the affix लोद् or imperative mood'. The force of lot is 'to command, direct, invite &c' as given in III. 3. 162 and 163. The sūtra, translated literally, will mean 'the present tense may optionally be employed when the action denoted by the verb is related to another action denoted by another verb in the imperative, as a sign (लक्षण) is to the thing signified (लक्षण)'. Thus वाल्षाबायेः शैलूस्मति (वाल्षाबायेः or अन्यायेः) अय लय खर्चोपस्य 'if the professor comes (i.e. will come) then read you prosody'. Here the coming of the professor is the lakṣaṇa of the direction as to reading.

9. The 'Lat' (present) or the 'Līn' (potential) is used under similar conditions in denoting futurity, when the future time is future by a 'muhūrta' (48 minutes).

All the conditions of the last sūtra apply here also, namely 'when the action denoted by the verb is related to another action denoted by another verb in the imperative, as a sign is to the thing indicated'. By force of the word अ we read the anuvṛtti of lat also into this aphorism. The word क्रम-मौहुर्तिक is a secondary derivative from क्रम-मौहुर्ती, meaning 'that which exists in time above a muhūrta'. This is an irregular compound; and the vṛiddhi takes place irregularly of the त of त and not of त as the general rule required. The whole word thus formed qualifies the word 'future'. Thus क्रम-नूनातिकुषुर्ग नूनातिक (भारिन्ति, भारिन्ति or भारिता), अय ११ क्रम-प्रवीण 'If the teacher comes after an hour (of 48 minutes), you had better read the Prosody'.

10. The affixes 'tumun' and 'nivul' are placed after a verbal root, with the force of the futuro, when the
word in construction therewith is another verb, denoting an action performed for the sake of the (future) action.

As भोजनः प्रजः ‘he goes to eat’; भोजनः प्रजः ‘he goes to eat’. Here the upapada or the verb in construction is प्रजः; it denotes an action performed for the sake of the future action (क्रियायां), namely, eating.

Why do we say ‘denoting an action’? The upapada must be an action and not a substantive; as निति गृहस्त्य अश्व च चित्र: ‘matted hair is for the purpose that he should beg.’ Here the affixes are not employed.

Why do we say ‘performed for the sake of another action’? Observe भावस्ये श्रेयानि श्रेष्ठ: ‘running, thy stick will fall’.

Now, it might be asked why निन्यूत्ति is taught a second time, when it was already taught generally by rule III. r. 133; and that being a common rule, would have applied to this subject also? If you reply that the future affix निन्यूत्ति would have prevented its application, in conditional sentences like the above, we say that the rule of ‘non-uniform affixes applying simultaneously’ given in III. r. 94 will step in and will conduce the application of निन्यूत्ति in spite of ज्रूत।

Vart.—The repetition of the affix निन्यूत्ति (ordained to come after a verbal root, when the word in construction therewith is another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action,) is for the sake of prohibiting the application of the affixes like दृश्य एस. in denoting the above sense; that is to say, the rule of भावश्रुति (III. r. 94) does not apply here and we cannot optionally employ any other affix, with this gerundial sense. Thus we cannot say क्रमेष्ठि प्रजः ‘he goes to do; but we must say क्रमेष्ठि instead.

These affixes form the gerund of the infinitive of purpose.

भावश्रुति II 91 पदानि II भाव-वचना, त, (शर्यारण, काले, क्रियायां, क्रियाश्रृव्याः) II

वृत्तिः II भावश्रुति पदानि वेय समावेश समावेश सर्वश्रुतिकाले क्रियाश्रृव्याये क्रियाश्रृव्याये

11. And the affixes that are ordained to come after a root with the force of denoting the mere action of the verb, such as ध्रूत एस. (III. r. 13.) have also the force of the future, when the word in construction therewith, is another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action.

As पाकाय प्रजः ‘he goes to cook’; श्रूतेऽ प्रजः ‘he goes for the sake of success’; निन्यूत्ति प्रजः.

Now it might be asked, why make this rule at all, when those affixes have already been ordained? It has already been said that the भावश्रुति rule
does not apply in regard to infinitive; and hence ध्वत्र would have prevented the
application of other affixes. So the making of the present sūtra.

Why the word धत्र has been employed in the sūtra? The meaning
is that the words should be expressive or धात्र. How do the affixes become
धात्र? When affixes which are ordained after certain bases, are employed
after those bases only, then they are said to be धात्र, not when they are
employed after other bases, or are even after those bases, but not in the mode as
directed. So that, in short, those nouns only which have been especially form-
ed by the धात्र affixes, पद्य &c, can be employed with the force of gerund,
and not every noun. The धात्र nouns correspond to the nouns of action or
verbal nouns.

अत्र कर्मविधि (कर्मविधि, अविनिश्चित, काले,
क्रियायां, क्रियार्थोऽयास)

12. The affix 'an' comes after a root with the
force of the future, when the word in construction with
it is in the accusative case, and when the action is per-
formed for the sake of another action.

The word 'future' is understood here. The force of अत्र is merely that
of a connective particle. By rule III. 2. 1, the affix अत्र comes after a root
when the word in composition is in the accusative case. That is a general
injunction; and the rule of धात्र not applying, the affix ध्वत्र would have de-
barred it as already said; hence this repetition. This rule being an apavāda
rule (an exception or a special rule with regard to those verbs which have the
accusative case in composition) will thus, within its own jurisdiction, prevent
the application of ध्वत्र of III. 3. 10; and by the rule of पर्वत given in I. 4. 2,
it will debar the affixes like क &c. Therefore this अत्र comes after even those
verbs also which were especially exempted from its operation by rules like III.
2. 3. Thus by rule III. 2. 3 the अत्र of III. 2. 1 could not have come after simple
verbs ending in long अ, such as हा 'to give' &c. But the present अत्र with a
gerundial force will come even after such verbs. As गाहायो वृत्ति 'he goes to
give cows', and not गा: हा + अत्र = शव: (VII. 3. 33).

So also कार्याद्वयो वृत्ति 'he goes to cut wood'. In this case अत्र would
have been applied even by III. 2. 1.
13. The affix 'Lṛit' is employed after a verb, in the remaining cases, where futurity pure and simple is indicated; and also where there is in construction with it another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action.

This is what is well-known as the Second Future. As करिस्मानि हि अभावी 'he goes that I will do'; इरिच्चालि हि अभावी 'he goes that I will take'. So also, कारिद्विति 'he will do'; इरिच्चालि 'he will take'. Thus the Second Future is used both in dependent sentences as well as to denote simple Future.

14. The affixes called 'Sat' i.e. 'satri' and 'sānach' are optionally the substitutes of 'Lṛit'.

The sati has been defined in III. 2. 127. This option is a regulated option; that is to say, the affixes श्रद्ध and शान्ति replace अभावी under the conditions in which they replace अभावी; thus by III. 2. 124, these affixes will replace अभावी when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix. In these cases श्रद्ध will invariably replace अभावी. In other cases it will optionally replace अभावी. In these cases they will form what is known as future participles. As कारिस्मानि श्रद्धां 'behold Devadatta about to do; कारिस्मानि श्‍वेत्वं 'behold Devadatta about to be done'. इरिच्चालि 'he dwells intending to earn his livelihood'; इरिच्चालि: शान्ति शान्ति 'intending to furnish his bows with arrows'.

When, however, it agrees with the nominative case, it is optionally employed. As कारिस्मानि, कारिस्मानि; कारिस्मानि or कारिस्मानि: 'Devadatta will do'.

The form कारिस्मानि is thus evolved. As हृ + सुर = हृ + स्व + सुर (III. r. 33)= कर + हृ + स्व + सुर = कारिस्मानि nom. sing. कारिस्मानि. In other words the participial affixes अभावी and अभावी, technically known as श्रद्ध and शान्ति, also come after a verb that has taken the personal ending श्रव of the Future.

15. The affix 'Lुत' comes after a verbal root in the sense of what will happen, but not in the course of the current day.

This debars 'Lṛit'. As वषः कर्त्ता 'he will do tomorrow'. रेखो भोजन 'he will eat tomorrow'.
The word 'anadyatana' is a Bahuvrihi compound. Therefore in cases where there is not pure futurity beyond today, but a mixture of the two, दृढ़ will be employed and not दृढ़. As अभाग जोहि अविगम्यति 'it will be today or tomorrow'. And where there is doubt, the second Future should be employed.

*Vart.*—The First Future (दृढ़) is employed with the force of the Second Future (दृढ़) when sorrow is expressed. As इस्वन तु कहा गण्न, वैदं परसी निपाति! 'Oh when will she go, who places her feet in such a way (who is such a slow walker)' अवन मु कहु अष्टेता, व जयवन्हितुति: 'when will he learn, who is so inattentive'!

### पद्धतिविधिप्रयोगः पदः || १६ || पद्धति || पद्ध-रुज-वृष-सुचः,

#### चः ||

16. The affix 'ghan' comes after the roots 'pad' (to pace), 'ruj' (to pain), 'viś' (to enter), and 'spriś' (to touch).

The anuvratti of 'future' does not extend to this sutra. The affixes hereinafter taught come in all the tenses.

As ध + धम्म = द्धम: 'foot'; धम्म + धम्म = धम्मम: 'disease'; so, धम्म + 'entrance'.

*Vart* — The verb धम्म takes धम्म when the sense is that of 'distress'; as धम्मम: 'disease' or 'warmth'. The word धम्म meaning 'touch' is formed by adding the affix धम्म, under rule III 1. 134; as धम्मम: 'touch'. There is difference in accent between these two words.

#### न्य स्त्रीः || १७ || पद्धति || न्य, स्त्रीः, (यम्) ||

17. The affix 'ghan' comes after the verb 'sri' (to move) when the agent is permanently fixed.

The word न्याय means an object remaining steady throughout any period of time. That which thus remaining permanent moves through any interval of time, will apply to the agent of the verb. Thus, न्य + न्यम = न्याय: 'an essence'; as न्यम्बल: 'the essence of sandal', न्यायचार: 'the essence of catechu'. Why do we say 'permanently fixed'? Observe न्या moves, न्याय: 'that which flows'.

*Vart* — The word so formed also applies to disease, fish and strength. As भागिक: 'dysentery'; विहिक: 'a fish'; तार: 'strength'.

#### भागः || १८ || पद्धति || भागः, (यम्) ||

18. The affix 'ghan' comes after a root when mere action is denoted.
Thus, पञ्ज्य + वचन = पञ्ज्य: 'cooking' (VII. 2. 116 and VII. 3. 52); वचन: 'abandoning'; रञ्ज: 'colouring' (VI. 4. 27). An action expresses a general state; so that all roots denote 'action' when their meaning is to be expressed. And as the meaning of the root can be expressed by the root itself, therefore, the affixes पञ्ज्य &c. come after all verbal roots, when the sense of the root is denoted as having attained to the completed state. It is not necessary that the words so formed should be always of the masculine gender, singular number. They may take any other gender or number. As गर्लिक, पञ्ज्यन, पञ्ज्य, पञ्ज:। These affixes form, in short, verbal nouns, or abstract nouns being names of action.

अक्षरंचि च कार्को संस्कारायम् || १९ || पदार्थः || अ-क्षरंचि, च, कार्को, संस्कारायम्, (पञ्ज्य) \||

पूजि: || कस्तैविविवे कार्को रञ्जात्वा रञ्जस्वे प्रञ्जाते प्रञ्जस्वे गर्लिता।

19. And the affix 'ghaṇ' comes after a root, when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as agent.

Thus गर्लिक: (i.e. पञ्ज्यनस्य सम्य) 'a dart, lit. that which men throw'; गर्लित: (i.e. पञ्ज्यनस्य सम्य) 'a sack, lit. that which men stitch together'; भानस: (i.e. पञ्ज्यनस्य सम्य) 'food, lit. that from which men take out the juice to nourish themselves'. As गर्लित: संस्कारायम्।

Why do we say 'not related as an agent'? Observe गर्लित: 'a sheep, lit. that which looks helplessly'. Here the word गर्लित is related to the verb विपत्तिः as agent, and the affix is consequently not पञ्ज्य.

Why do we say 'when denoting an appellative'? Observe कर्त्तव्य: कर्त: 'the mat must be made'.

The force of क in the sūtra is to indicate that पञ्ज्य may be applied irregularly in cases where appellative is not meant: as को गर्लित वचन: लक्ष्य: 'what gift was given by you'; को गर्लित वचन: लक्ष्य: 'what gain was gained by you'.

The word कारक is used in the sūtra for this purpose. The word अश्लेषि is a compound word formed by the negative पञ्ज्य. The word means a non-agent. Now the word 'non-agent' has two-fold significance; either it means any other kāraka which is not an agent-kāraka; or it may mean any thing in general which is not an agent. That is to say, the former negative, called पञ्ज्यकृतिः, points out, by implication, the objects which are different from the thing prohibited; and in fact, makes the rule applicable to those objects; while the second sort of negative called पञ्ज्यकृतिः is a simple prohibition of the particular matter specified, without mentioning what is different from it. Giving the former interpretation to the word अश्लेषि, the word कारक becomes redundant, because 'non-agent' would mean any kāraka other than an agent.
But the very fact, that कारक is used, indicates the existence of the following rule which is nowhere expressly taught by पाणिनि—That नम् is compounded even with the force of वसूल मलिस्येः. (VI. 1. 45). अभिभिः, non-sit.

Both the phrases, 'when denoting mere condition (आवर्त) and 'a कारका 'which is not an agent' are understood in the succeeding aphorisms. See II 2. 6 about नम् Compound.

20. The affix 'ghaṁ' comes after all roots when the word so formed is the name of a measure.

Thus, वि + वि + चम् = विन्ते + च (VII. 2. 118) = विन्ते (VI. 1. 78) 'a heap'; as एकस्तुण्डुलनिलाच्; हो 'to scatter' + चम् = कार्य: हो कारो; नय: कार्या:।।

By using the word 'all' in the सूत्रा, it is indicated that the affix अभ (III. 3. 57) is also superseded when this sense is to be indicated. Otherwise the affix अभ would only be prohibited by the परिभाषा:—"Apavaddas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavada-operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules". Thus अभ being taught in III. 3. 56 would be superseded, but not so अभ taught in the subsequent aphorism III. 3. 57.

Why do we say 'when they are the names of measures'? Observe निष्कर्ष: 'ascertaining'.

The word भाष्य: has been used in the aphorism in order to indicate that the words so formed are not Primitive words (क्रिया). The numerals are also there included, and not only measures like Prastha, Pala &c.

We have said above, that the force of the word भाष्य: in this सूत्रा is to indicate that the affix चम् must be used after all verbs (not excluding even such verbs as require अभ or अभ by सूत्रas 56 and 57), when we want to express measure. This must be taken however, with certain limitations. The word भाष्य: is not after all so wide as at first sight it may appear. If we wish to form a word indicating measure, in the feminine gender, we cannot use चम्; we must use the affix लिङ्गः (III. 3. 94). In other words, the feminine affixes are not superseded by चम् when it supersedes अभ and अभ. Thus in forming a feminine noun denoting measure, we have एकात्सिद्धिवच्छिन्नः; हूँ प्रभृति &c.

Vart:—The affix चम् comes after the causative verbs शरीर and नारी, and there is लक्ष elision of the causative affix लिङ्गः; when the word so formed is related to the verb as agent. Thus शर्यवल्ल अवू = शरीर: 'a wife' (lit 'who divides brothers' a wife breaking up the brotherly love); शर्यवल्ल = शारा: 'a paramour'.
21. The affix ‘ghan’ comes after the root ‘in’ (to study).

This debars अच (III. 3. 56). As अधि + र + प्रय = अधि + र + भ = अघि व ‘a lesson or lecture’; उपप्राक्ष (प्रेस्वलाशर्म) ‘a teacher’.

Vart.—When the word to be formed is related to the verb हस as an ablative, the word is feminine also and optionally takes the affix हस. As उपस्वासवत्स्या = उपस्वासवत्स्या or उपस्वासवत्स्या ‘a female teacher’.

Vart.—The affix घस comes after the root ग्र, when the word so formed means ‘wind’, ‘color’, or ‘cessation’. As ग्रां: ‘wind’, ‘green colour’ &c. नीरिकाल-मन्नीरां: मािष ग्रां क्षार:।

22. The affix ‘ghan’ comes after the verb ‘रु’ (to roar), when it has an upasarga in composition with it.

This debars रु (III. 3. 57). As संराव: ‘clamour’, उपराव: &c.

Why do we say ‘compounded with an upasarga’? Observe रु: ‘sound’;

23. The affix ‘ghan’ comes after the roots ‘यु’ (to join), ‘द्रु’ (to run) and ‘दु’ (to burn), when in composition with the preposition ‘sam’.

Vart. — The affix ‘ghan’ comes after the roots ‘स्री’ (to go to) ‘नि’ (to lead) and ‘भू’ (to be), when not in composition with an upasarga.


But with upasargas, we have प्रभाव: ‘respect’, प्रवाह: ‘love’, प्रभाव: ‘source’.

How do we explain the form प्रभाव in प्रभावी राज: ‘the splendour of the king’? Here the word प्रभाव is not made from the compound root प्रभू+भं, but by compounding प्र with भाव by the rules of samāsa, meaning ‘excellent condition’.
How do you explain the form नव in नवी राख? Here the root नव has taken the affix यह diversely by III. 3. 113.

25. The affix ‘ghañi’ comes after the roots ‘kshru’ (to sneeze), and ‘śru’ (to move and hear) when the preposition ‘vi’ is in composition.

This debars the affix यह (III. 3. 57): as, विस्तार: ‘cough’; विपण: ‘flowing forth’, ‘celebrated’. But when without preposition, we have यह: and यह:।

अवोदेविन्य: II लें II पदार्थ II अव-दौरे: लिये; (पह)।

26. The affix ‘ghañi’ comes after the verb ‘nię’ (to lead) when the prepositions ‘ava’ and ‘ut’ are in composition.

As भविष्य: ‘throwing down’; विस्तार: ‘elevation’.

How do you explain उजव in उजव: सहारमार? Here the affix is ‘ach’ by III. 3. 113.

मे हुस्तकुञ्ज: II लें II पदार्थ II मे, हु-स्त-स्कव:; (पह)।

27. The affix ‘ghañi’ comes after the roots ‘dru’, ‘stu’ and ‘śru’, when the word in composition is ‘pra’.

As प्रदर्शण: प्रस्ताव: प्रकाश:। But not so in द्रव: लत:; and सन:।

लििस्व: पूण्य: II लें II पदार्थ II नि: अल्पो:; पू-द्वी: (पह):।

28. The affix ‘ghañi’ comes after the roots ‘pû’ (to purify) and ‘lù’ (to cut) when ‘nir’ and ‘abhi’ are respectively in composition.

The word द्रव refers to both द्रव and द्रवृ. The rule I. 3. 10. must be applied here, and thus लिि comes before पू, and अल्प before सन। As विन्यास: ‘winnowing’; अल्पिनास: ‘moving’। But द्रव: and सन:; without these prepositions.

सम्बोधये: II लें II पदार्थ II सम-द्वी:; ये; (पह):।

29. The affix ‘ghañi’ comes after the root ‘gṛ’ when the upasargas ‘ut’ and ‘ni’ are in composition.

The verb द्रव here refers to both the verbs द्रव ‘to make sound’, and द्रव ‘to swallow’. As उत्सारा: समुद्रसा: ‘the roaring of the sea’; अल्पिनास: ‘the swallow-
ing of Devadatta'. But when without these prepositions, we have गरः।

30. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'krī', when the prepositions 'ut' and 'ni' are in composition and when the sense of the verb relates to grain.

The verb क्री here means 'to scatter', and not 'to injure', because no words formed by this affix are found in Sanskrit in that sense.

As श्रवङि धन्यम् 'the winnowing of corn'; धन्यरथित्वं 'the winnowing of corn'. But when not referring to grain, we have भैजोकर: 'a heap of alms', पुष्पायिक: 'the essence or heap of flowers'.

31. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'stu' when it is preceded by the upasarga 'sam' and the word refers to sacrificial subjects.

As संस्त्राफङ्गानाम् 'the Sanśtāva of the Chhandogas'; संस्तावः (=संस्त्रावः कवित्वं वशिष्टव्र दशे; दशे: दशे:) means 'the place which the Brāhmaṇas repeating hymns and prayers, occupy at a sacrifice'.

But when not referring to sacrifice we have संस्त्रावाण्वो: 'the praising together of the two pupils'.

32. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'stṛ' (to cover), when preceded by the preposition 'pra'; provided that the word so formed does not refer to sacrifice.

As, श्रेब्धवास: 'a bed of conch'; श्रेब्धस्त्रावन: 'strewing of gems'.

33. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'stṛ' (to cover), when the preposition 'vi' is in composition with it, when the sense is that of extension, and when such spreading does not refer to words.
The word वर्णः means 'extent, circuit, range'. As वर्णः विस्तारः 'the extension of the garment'.

Why do we say 'when meaning extent'? Observe, विस्तारः 'a collection of grass'. Why do we say 'not referring to words'? Observe विस्तारः व्यस्तः 'proximity of words'.

34. The suffix 'घनः' comes after 'स्त्री' with the upasarga 'वि', when the word so formed is the name of a metre.

The word घनः here means prosodial metre such as Gayatri &c; and not the Vedas; otherwise the word नाम would not have been used. Thus विः विः घनः.

The whole word विस्तारेन्द्रिकः is the name of a metre, and is not a word ending with the suffix घनः; only a member of this word, i.e. the first part ends with घनः. The seventh case-affix in the word विस्तारेन्द्रिकः has the force of location i.e. when the word so formed occurs in a portion of a name of a metre; it is not the full name, but it is in the name i.e. forms a portion of the name.

35. The suffix 'घनः' comes after the verb 'ग्रहः' (to seize), when the preposition 'उः' is in composition.

This debar the suffix ज्राहः. As ब्रह्मा: 'lifting up'.

Vart:—In the Vedas this suffix is applied even when the word घनः is preceded by विः; and the घ is changed into घ; the sense of the two words being 'to lift up' and 'throw down' respectively of the sacrificial ladle; as, ब्रह्मा ज निवार्यः ज विजार्यः ब्रह्मा:.

36. The suffix 'घनः' comes after the root 'ग्रहः' when in composition with the preposition 'समः' when the sense of the root refers to fist.

The word घनः means 'boxing', 'fist'; as, घनः ग्रहः यमः: 'Ol the clenching of the fist of the athlete'; घनः यमः 'Ol the seizing of the boxer', meaning grasping firmly.

Why do we say 'referring to fist'? Observe ग्रहः यमः 'a collection of grain'.

37. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'ni' (to lead), and 'i' (to go), when the prepositions 'pari' and 'ni' are respectively in composition with them, and when the words so formed respectively mean 'a game' and 'propriety or arrangement or law'.

Here again we take help of I. 3. 10 in interpreting this sūtra. The verbs परि and नी take ज्ञान when respectively meaning 'gambling' and 'fitness'. As परिगत छात्राम 'he kills (or takes) many pieces by moving a chessman.' Here परिगत छात्राम means 'the moving of chess-pieces from every side, and so winning the game'. So also मित्रयुक्त विद्युत 'the sin has been destroyed'. The word अनुपास रूप में means मित्रयुक्त विद्युत.

38. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'i' (to go) in composition with the word 'pari' when the sense is that of following in regular succession.

As परि 'turn, succession'; संपरि 'thy turn'; मन परि 'my turn'.
Why do we say 'when meaning turn'? Observe कालवस 'the lapse of time'. The word अनुपास रूप में 'अनुपास विद्युत' 'not breaking the series or order'.

39. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'āi' (to lie down) when the prepositions 'vi' and 'upa' are in composition with it, and when the sense of the word so formed is that of 'regular succession'.

As, संपरि स्वयं 'thy turn of sleeping' (i.e. the rest enjoyed in rotation by the sentinels on watch); संपरि शाप 'my turn of rest'; संपरि राजस्व 'my turn of sleeping the king'.
Why do we say 'regular succession'? Observe विवाह 'lying by the side of or ambush'; विवाह 'doubt'.
The affix 'ghan' comes after the root 'chi' (to collect), when the sense expressed is that of taking by hand, provided it does not refer to stealing.

By saying 'taking by hand' the close proximity of the person taking to the thing accepted or taken is indicated. As पुष्पमान्य: 'gathering flowers by hand'; फलमान्य: 'gathering fruits by hand'.

Why do we say 'taking by hand'? Observe वृक्षायत्वः प्रजानः कदाचि प्रयत्न करति 'he gathers with the stick the fruits hanging on the top of the tree'.

Why do we say 'when not meaning to steal'? Observe पुस्पमान्यायत्वः 'the gathering of flowers by theft'.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the word पण्य: 'gathering'; as पुष्पमान्य: 'gathering of flowers by hand'.

The affix 'ghan', comes after the root 'chi' (to gather), and 'k' is the substitute of the initial 'ch' in these senses viz.—'a dwelling', 'a fire on the funeral pile', 'the body' and 'collection'.

That in which people dwell (निबिष्ट) is called निबाष: or 'dwellings'. That which is gathered together (बूढ़िया) is called बूढ़िया or 'funeral pile'. शरीर means the body of all living beings; and उपसामायिक means making a heap. Thus निबिष्ट: 'a dwelling'; as in कार्यालय: 'Kāsi-dwelling'; आनंदार्थिनिर्माण: 'let him arrange the ākāya fire i.e. the funeral fire'; शरीर: 'body', as भविष्य: शरीर: 'a perishable body'; महत्त्वान्विताविवाह: 'a heap of cow-dung'.

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Observe शर: 'gathering'. Why is not this rule applied in महत्त्वान्विताविवाह: 'a large heap of wood'? Here multiplicity is expressed and not collection or aggregation.

The affix 'ghan' comes after the root 'chi' (to gather) and 'k' is the substitute of the initial 'ch' in
the sense of 'a multitude or assembly' (of living beings possessing some common characteristics), but not merely a confused crowd of men.

The word संघ means a collection or assembly of living beings. It is of two sorts:—either by collection of persons possessing common qualifications, or a mere confused crowd of men. The collection denoting a confused crowd is here excepted and by पर्युद्धा negation the other is taken. Thus निन्दनिकाय: 'the assembly of beggars'; ब्राह्मणानिकाय: 'the assembly of Brāhmaṇas'; वाक्यनिकाय: 'the assembly of Grammarians'.

But संघनिकाय: 'a herd of hogs'; because it is a mere collection. So also इतिहास: 'the collection of what is done and not done'; अथात्सुत्थव्र: 'the collection of proofs'. Here there is no संघ in either of the two senses, it not being a collection of living animals, the affix गहन is not employed.

43. The affix 'nach' comes after a root in denoting reciprocity of action, and the word so formed is in the feminine gender.

The word कर्म means 'action' and is not the technical 'Karma' meaning the accusative case. व्यतिष्ठार means reciprocity or interchange of action. The word so evolved is feminine in form and denotes mere 'action' (आचः) also. The anubandha ज्ञ in ज्ञाप is qualitative and is added to distinguish this affix from other affixes: thus in śūtra V. 4. 14 this particular affix is meant.

Thus वि + भव + कृ + ए + भव + वी = वास्तवोऽसि (V. 4. 14, and VII. 3. 6) 'mutual abuse'. So also व्याप्तवासि, व्याप्तवासि. The affix ज्ञाप forms only an imaginary stem; for this stem must take the affix भव by V. 4. 14, which even does not form the complete word until the affix डैष of the feminine is added.

Why do we say 'in the feminine'? Observe व्यतिष्ठाको वर्तने।

The making of this a separate śūtra by itself and not reading it in the subdivision of feminine affixes beginning with धिन (III. 3. 94) is for the sake of removing the obstructing aphorisms that would otherwise have prevented the application of this rule.

For, had it been taught in connection with धिन &c, then the affixes that would have debarred धिन &c, would a fortiori have debarred this also. But by keeping it separate from that class, it is indicated that those obstructive affixes which debar धिन &c, do not debar this. Thus धिनवासि, धिनवासि। Here डैष being a 3rd class root would have taken डैष (III. 3. 197) in the femi-
nine, as चोरण; and it would have taken भाष by III. 3. 104, as चर्च. The
roots चूर्ण and चूर्ण, by III. 3. 102 & 103, take भ by debarring सन्न। This debarr-
ing affix भ, however, is not debared by this rule; as चतुर्श्र, चतुश्राका are the
proper feminine forms, and not चतुर्सारी &c. The form चतुश्रान्ति is, however, an
apparent exception. All these exceptions, counter-exceptions &c. are examples
of ठहर taught in III. 3. 113.

44. The affix ‘inun’ comes after a root in de-
noting condition, when co-extensiveness is meant.

The word अनविष्ट means co-extensiveness, that is to say, the complete
comprehension or relation between the action and the quality. Thus बाधरी-
विघ्न, ‘a general or tumultuous uproar’; च + धू + ध + भु + (V. 4. 15. and VI 4.
164) = धूर्धिन्द्र, ‘a general confusion’; so धूर्धिर्द्धर ‘a general flow or stream’.

Why do we say ‘when meaning co-extensiveness’? Observe दक्षीण,
स्वराष, स्वहः।

The separateness of this sūtra is for the same purpose as the last
aphorism. The affix भ्वृत्त is not, however, prohibited; as सकुत्रम। See rule
हरविन्द्रिय धूर्ध (III. 3. 113). The affix भ्वृत्त (the operative part being भ्वृत्त)
forms but an imaginary stem, which does not become real and complete till it takes
the affix भ्वृत्त by V. 4. 15, as shown above.

45. The affix ‘ghaṇ’ comes after the verb
‘grah’ (to seize), in composition with ‘ava’, and ‘ui’; when
malediction is meant.

Though भ्वृत्त is immediately, near, we take the anuvṛtti of भ्व (III. 3.
16), because we see that its anuvṛtti is possible.

The word भ्वा means ‘cursing’. As भविष्य हन्त भविष्य, ‘cursed be
thou, O! sinner’. So also निमानपति भविष्य।

Why ‘when meaning cursing’? Observe भविष्य: पस्त; निमानपायन।

प्र लिप्यायाम् (प्र लिप्यायाम्, यह, यह)}
46. The affix 'ghāṇ' comes after the root 'grah', when the word 'pra' is in composition, and the sense denoted is the desire of acquisition.

As परिधानकरिता चतुरंतुः विन्दुः विन्दुः 'the beggar walks for the sake of alms, carrying a vessel in hand'; परिधानकरिता हीनो इत्यादिनार्थी 'carrying a sacrificial ladle, the Brāhmaṇa walks about for his fee'. The word फल्सा means the wish to have something'.

Why do we say 'when meaning desire of gain'? Observe मयो रेवसर्वाच.

47. The affix 'ghāṇ' comes after the root 'grah', in composition with 'pari' when it relates to sacrificial subjects.

As विन्दु परिधानकरिता: 'the northern fencing of the sacrificial altar'; भवर-परिधानकरिता: 'the southern fencing of the sacrificial altar'.

Why do we say 'when relating to sacrifices'? Observe परिधानकरिता देवदत्ता: 'the fencing of Devadatta'.

48. The affix 'ghāṇ' comes after the verb 'vṛi' preceded by 'ni'; when the sense is that of grain.

The नि here means both नि and नित्य. This debars the affix अत्र. As नीसता: 'rice growing wild or without cultivation'.

Why do we say 'meaning grain'? Observe निचर बन्धा 'a virgin girl'.

49. The affix 'ghāṇ' comes after the verbs 'śri', 'yu', 'pū' and 'dru', when the preposition 'ut' is in composition.

This debars the affix aṭh (III. 3. 56). Thus उत्तक्राव: 'rising of a planet'; उत्तक्राव: 'mixing'; उत्तक्राव: 'purifying ghee'; and उत्तक्राव: 'flight'.

How do you explain the form स्तुम्बर्क्ष: in पत्रभाषा: स्तुम्बर्क्ष? The word विन्दुः 'optionally' in the next sūtra, exerts a retrospective effect on this sūtra, and the form is an optional one. This is a most unusual thing and is
called सिक्कुकलक्षत्वप: ‘the maxim of the lion’s backward glance’. It is used when one casts a retrospective glance at what he has left behind, while at the same time he is proceeding, just as the lion, while going onward in search of prey, now and then bends his neck backwards to see if any thing be within its reach.

विमाया सहिषुप्लु: || पदार्थ: || विमाया, अक्षि, हु-पुशु: || (चन) ||

पुस्ति: || भाकि उपयोग रोते: इत्यतेत विमाया प्रमुखबोध भवति ||

50. The affix ‘ghaṇ’ is optionally employed after the verbs ‘ru’ (to roar) and ‘plu’ (to float), when the preposition ‘ añ’ is in composition.

As भारा: or भारा: ‘noise’; भारा: or भारा: ‘bathing’.

अवे नस्ले वर्ष-प्रतिवर्ष || पदार्थ: || अवे, ग्रह: || वर्ष-प्रति-वर्षे, (विमाया, चन) ||

पुस्ति: || भाकि उपयोग रोते: इत्यतेत विमाया वर्ष-प्रतिवर्ष ||

51. The affix ‘ghaṇ’ is optionally employed after the root ‘grah’, when the word ‘ava’ is in composition, the sense being withholding of rain.

The word ‘optionally’ is understood here. The word वर्ष-प्रतिवर्ष means the absence of rain, from some cause or another, when the season has arrived; as भवतास: or स्वयंहे हे वर्ष : ‘the draught of rain’.

Why do we say ‘when meaning ‘obstruction of rain’? Observe अधिकः:

पदार्थ: ||

प्रेत विखिताः || पदार्थ: || विखिताः, (विमाया, ग्रह:, चन) ||

पुस्ति: || प्रेत उपयोग रोते: इत्यतेत विखिताः प्रमुखबोध भवति प्रभवात्वस्य प्रतिवर्षे विशिष्ट सम्बन्धी भवति ||

52. The affix ‘ghaṇ’ is optionally employed after the verb ‘grah’ in composition with ‘pra’, when the word so formed relates to commerce.

Both the words ग्रह and वि-हाक्ष are understood here. By ‘relation to commerce’ is meant here the string of the balance; and not commerce in general. That string by which a balance is held is called तुलाप्राघ: or सुलाप्राघ:, as तुलाप्राघ: or सुलाप्राघ: चार्यि; and this may be said of any person whether he be a trader or not.

Why do we say ‘when belonging to commerce’? Observe ग्रहोहे वेदात्सय ‘the whip of Devadatta’.

राहती ह || पदार्थ: || राहती, ह, (ग्रह: विखिता, प्रेत, चन) ||

पुस्ति: || राहतीहे इत्यतेत विखिताः प्रमुखबोध भवति रतिवन्द्वात्वस्य प्रतिवर्षे निदित्ते ||
53. The affix 'ghañ' comes optionally after the verb 'grah' in composition with 'pra', when the word so formed means 'a rein'.

The word रेल means here the bridle by means of which horses &c. joined to the carriage, are held under control; as प्रव: or प्राव: 'a rein'.

54. The affix 'ghañ' comes optionally after the verb 'vṛi' (to choose), when 'pra' is in composition, and the word so formed means 'a sort of covering'.

As साक्ष: or चच: 'a cloak, a veil'.

Why do we say 'when it means a covering'? Observe जयांगो।

55. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verb 'bhū', the word 'pari' being in construction, and the sense of the word so formed being 'disregard'.

The word भवन means 'contempt', 'neglect', 'disregard' &c. As परिनाव: or परिन्द: 'insult, humiliation'.

Why do we say 'when meaning disregard'? The word परिन: may be then construed to mean वर्त्तततबर्तजन: 'parin: 'surrounding'.

56. The affix 'ach' comes after a root ending in 'i' or 'I' (when mere action is denoted, or when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as an agent).

The words within brackets are to be supplied from sūtras 18 and 19: and these words are to be supplied in every subsequent sūtra as far as sūtra 113 of this chapter. This debars चूँव. The चू in चूष is qualitative, in sūtras like VI. 2. 144.

Thus, चूव: 'collecting'; चूव: 'going'; चूव: 'victory'; चूव: 'wasting'.
Vart.—In this connection the words भए &c. should also be enumerated. As शि + भए = शमय ‘fear’; चरम् ‘rain’. These being neuter words, otherwise would have taken the affix अ &c. but for this Vārtika.

Vart.—The words भए and चरे are formed by this affix, and occur in the Vedas. As कसोरसु न शमय: पदार्थसरसः। These roots म and श would have otherwise taken the affix अयु. The form would have been the same, but there would be difference of accent. See Rig. I. 112. 21, and Yaj. XI. 2.

57. After a root ending in long ‘उ’, short ‘उ’, or long ‘उ’, there is the affix ‘अप’.

This debars चरस्. The उ is indicative for the sake of accent (III. r. 3); as, भए + अपकर: ‘scattering’; मुज्य-मर: ‘beverage, poison’; चर-शर: ‘arrow’; चरं-वंस: ‘barley’; चरु-जर: ‘reaping’; दुर-पं: ‘winnowing corn’.

The उ in चरु is merely for the sake of euphony: it is not उ changed into उ; for then by the rule ‘that which follows उ is also called उ’ short उ only would have been taken and not long उ (I. r. 70).


This debars भए; and in the case of चरे the affix अप् is debarréd. As भए: ‘a planet’; चरे: ‘a boon’; चरं: ‘tearing, a cave’; चरुं: ‘certainty’; चरम्: ‘march’.

The verb चरुं would have taken अप्, but takes अप् which causes difference of accent.

Vart.—The roots चरू and चरे should also be included in this; as चरू: ‘obedient’; चरे: ‘battle’.

Vart.—When the sense is that of चरू, the affix अ is directed to be employed, after the following verbs:—स्था, ल्या, वा, वध, चरू and चरुं। As चरूम्: ‘a table-land’ (on which they move); चरूः: ‘a vessel for bathing’ (in which they bathe); मात्रा: ‘a place where water is distributed to travellers’ (that out of which they drink); मात्रिण्यं: (VI. 1. 16) ‘an awl, a drill’ (that by which they pierce); विश्र: ‘an obstacle’ (in which they are obstructed); वातुभु: ‘battle’ (where they fight).
59. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'ad' (to eat) when an upasarga is in composition.

As विषय: (II. 4. 38) 'half-chewed morsel'; रस्सि: 'voracious'.

Why do we say 'when compounded with an upasarga'? Observe भाषा: 'grass'; भाषा+पान्य=पान्य+भाषा (II. 4. 38).

60. And the affix 'na' as well as 'ap', comes after the verb 'ad' (to eat), when the upasarga 'ni' is in composition.

As विषय+पान्य=विषय+भाषा+पान्य = नवाषा; (VII. 2. 116) 'eating, food'; नवाषा+भाषा= नवाषा+पान्य (II. 4. 38) = नवाषा: 'eating, food'.

61. The affix 'ap' comes after the verbs 'vyadh' and 'jap', when no upasarga is in composition with them. This debars रस्सि. As रस्सि: 'wound'; रस्सि: 'muttering'.

Why do we say 'when upasarga-less'? Observe भाषा: रस्सि.

62. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verbs 'svan' and 'has' when no upasarga is in composition with them.

Thus स्वन: or स्वन: 'sound'; हस्त: or हस्त: 'laughter'. But with upasargas, we have only one form; मस्तन: 'a loud noise'; हस्तन: 'a loud laughter'.

63. And the affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verb 'yam', when the upasargas 'sam', 'upa', 'ni' and 'vi' are in composition; or even when it is upasarga-less.

This debars प्रामाणि. As संबंध: or संबंध: 'restraint'; संबंध: or संबंध: 'marriage'; निवास: or निवास: 'restrictive rule'; निवास: or निवास: 'check, distress'; वन: or वन: 


64. The affix ‘ap’ comes optionally after the verbs ‘gadh’ (to speak), ‘nad’ (to sound), ‘path’ (to read), ‘svan’ (to sound), when the upasarga ‘ni’ is in composition with them.

This debars चम्म. Thus चिन्ह: or चिन्त: ‘recitation’; चितज: or चिताः ‘noise’; चित्र: or चिताः ‘reading’; चिन्त: or चिन्ताः ‘a noise’.

65. The affix ‘ap’ comes optionally after the verb ‘kvan’ (to jingle), when ‘ni’ is in composition with it, as well as when it is without any upasarga, or when ‘flute’ is meant.

This debars the affix चम्म. Thus चिन्ह: or चिन्त: ‘a musical tone’. चत: or चात: ‘sound’. When it refers to ‘flute’, it must have some upasarga not necessarily चि; as चाताताः ‘flute’.

But not so here, चाताताः छवि, where the upasarga being चि and the word not referring to ‘a flute’, no option is allowed. When flute is not meant the upasarga must be चि or no upasarga at all, for the optional application of the affix चि. To sum up, चाताः takes चि optionally under three conditions:—1st when preceded by चि, or 2ndly when having no upasarga, or 3rdly when it refers to ‘flute’, and then it must have some upasarga.

66. The affix ‘ap’ comes invariably after the verb ‘pan’ (to barter), when the sense is that of measure.

The word चिन्त: ‘invariably’ is used in the aphorism in order to stop the anuvritti of the word optionally. Thus चातकण्ड: ‘a handful of radishes’; चातकण्ड: ‘a handful of vegetable’. These words secondarily have come to mean ‘a measure equal to a handful’, irrespective of any thing.

When not meaning measure, we have चात: ‘trade’.

67. The affix ‘ap’ comes after the verb ‘mad’, when not in composition with an upasarga.
This debars विनायक: ‘pride of knowledge’; विचरण: ‘pride of wealth’; विकासन: ‘pride of family’. When compounded with upasargas, we have विनायक: ‘mad’; विचरण: ‘error or carelessness’.

68. The words ‘pramada’ and ‘sammada’ are irregularly formed, meaning ‘joy’.

As विजयाः: ‘the joy of girls’; विखिराति: ‘the rejoicing of cuckoos’.
Why do we say ‘when meaning delight’? Observe विचरण: ‘carelessness’; विचरण: ‘frenzy’.

Instead of saying ‘the verb mad preceded by pra and sam takes the affix ap’ which also would have given the above forms, the full forms have been used in the sūtra to indicate that these words are कृत्ति in this sense; for the sense of the root is not visible in these words.

69. The affix ‘ap’ comes after the verb ‘aj’ (to go), when the prepositions ‘sam’ and ‘ut’ are in composition, and the word so formed refers to beasts.

This debars चर: The root चर: ‘means to go, to throw’. When preceded by सम्, it means ‘a collection’; and preceded by उत् it means ‘driving’.

Why do we say ‘when applying to cattle’? Observe समार्थ: समार्थ: चर:.

70. The word ‘glaha’ is irregularly formed, when the sense of the root refers to gambling.

This word is derived from the root व्य. The verb व्यः takes the affix अप् and thus forms व्यः; and then irregularly अ is changed into ग्ला: as अवसंबंध प्रमाण: ‘cast of the dice’.

Why do we say ‘when referring to gambling’? Observe व्य: पालब.

Others say, this word is derived regularly from the root ग्ला: ‘to gamble’, by adding the affix अप्, and thus debarring व्यः. They suppose, therefore, the existence of the root ग्ला: to explain the form ग्ला:। The counter-example which they would give, is ग्ला: ‘receiving’, formed by adding the affix अप्।
71. The affix ‘ap’ comes after the verb ‘sri’ (to flow), in the sense of impregnating (the covering of cows &c).

This debars चम्पु. The word प्रजन्य means ‘the first covering of a cow by a bull’. As वासुपुत्र: ‘impregnation of cows’; पशुपुत्र: ‘impregnation of cattle’.

72. The affix ‘ap’ comes after the verb ‘hve’ (to call), when the preposition ‘ni’ ‘abhi’ ‘upa’ and ‘vi’ are in composition with it, and its semi-vowel is changed into the corresponding vowel.

This debars चम्पु. As नि + हवे = नि + ह = अ(III. 1. 108) = नि + हो + अ(VII. 3. 84) = निहव (VII. 1. 78) ‘invocation’; अनि: ‘invocation’; वहव: ‘invitation’; विहव: ‘calling’. But पावह: ‘a summons’.

73. The affix ‘ap’ comes after the verb ‘hve’ when the word in composition is the upasarga ‘অ’, and the semi-vowel of the root is changed into its corresponding vowel, when the word so formed means battle.

As भालव: ‘battle’ (where they challenge each other). But otherwise भालव: ‘calling’.

74. The word ‘āhāva’ is irregularly formed when meaning a trough.

The word भालव: is irregularly formed from भ by the prefix भ, then संप्रसारण, and the vriddhi of the vowel. Thus भ + ह + भ = भाल + भ = भालो + भ = भालव: ‘a trough near a well for watering cattle’. Otherwise भालव: ‘calling’. Even in the word भालव: the sense of calling is understood. It is that place near a well, containing water, where cattle are called or invited to drink water.
75. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hvo' and there is the change of the semi-vowel to its corresponding vowel, when the root is upasarga-less, and mere action is denoted.

78. The verb ‘han’ preceded by the word ‘autar’ takes the affix ‘ap’, and ‘ghan’ is the substitute of the word ‘han’, when the word so formed means ‘a country’.

As अत्तर + हन + अप = अन्तर = पन + अप = अन्तर्धन: ‘name of a country of Bahlaka’; (a porch or court, an open space before the house between the entrance door and the house). Some write the word with अष as अन्तर्धन: that is also valid.

Why do we say ‘when meaning a country’? Observe अन्तायासी ‘striking in the middle’.

79. The words ‘praghana’ and ‘praghana’ are irregularly formed meaning ‘a portion of a dwelling house’.

Thus ग्घा: or ग्घा: ‘a porch before the door of a house, a portico’.
This is formed from ग्घा with य, irregularly.

Why do we say ‘when meaning a portion of a house’? Observe ग्घा:

80. The word ‘udghana’ is irregularly formed in the sense of ‘bench’.

This is formed from उ + दग्घा irregularly. Thus दग्घा: ‘a carpenter’s bench’ (the wood on which placing other planks &c. the carpenter carves &c).
When not having this sense, we have दग्घा: ‘uneven’.

81. The word ‘apagha’ is irregularly formed meaning ‘a member of the body’.

This is formed irregularly from आ + दग्घा: Thus दग्घा: ‘a limb or member of the body’. The word दग्घा means a portion of the body, such as hand or foot, and not the whole body. Otherwise we have दग्घा:

82. The affix ‘ap’ comes after the verb ‘han’
when the words 'ayas', 'vi' or 'dru' are in composition with it, when the word so formed is related to the verb as an instrument, and 'ghau' is the substitute of 'han'.

As भीमुष: 'a forge-hammer' (whereby the iron is destroyed); नेचु: 'a mallet'; दुण्ड: 'an axe'. Some write दुपण्ड: the न being changed into य either by rule VIII. 4. 3. or by including this word in the class of भारे (IV. 2. 80).

83. The affix 'ka' also comes after the verb 'han', when 'stamba' (a clump) is the word in composition, and the relation of the word so formed to the verb is that of an instrument.

The word अ in the sutra draws in अप्न from the last aphorism and in that case बग replaces न्य. Thus स्तम्भ: or स्तम्भः: 'a small hoe for weeding clumps of grass'. In the feminine gender, the forms are स्तम्भः as well as स्तम्भः. When क is added, we have स्तम्भः. Thus हन्यः + क = हन्यः + क (VI. 4. 68) =प्र (VII. 3. 54). When अप is added, हन्यः is totally replaced by चन्यः. When instrument is not meant, we have स्तम्भः.

84. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han', when the upasarga 'pari' is in composition, and the relation between the word so formed, and the verb, is that of an instrument, and 'gha' replaces 'han'.

Thus परिण: or पलिण: (VIII. 2. 22) 'an iron beam used for locking or shutting the gate, an iron club'.

85. The word 'upaghna' is irregularly formed meaning 'an inclined place for leaning or support'.

It is formed by adding भन (III. 3. 76) to the verb हन preceded by the upasarga भन, then eliding the penultimate भ of हन; this is the irregularity. Then by sandhi rules हन is changed into चन. This form would have been given by the affix क also, without any irregularity.

The word भब्ध refers to proximity, contiguity. Thus भब्धोपव: 'the declivity of the mountain'; so also भब्धोपव: 'bordering the village'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'support'? Observe भब्धोपव: ।
86. The words ‘sangha’ and ‘udgha’ are irregularly formed in the sense of ‘a collection’, and ‘a praise’ respectively.

These words are thus formed: सम् + हृष्ट+ अत्य + व + ब = सं + प + ब = संप. Thus संप: प्रस्तावत् ‘a herd of cattle’; so also रुद्रे मनुष्य: ‘an excellent man’. The word ‘respectively’ is inserted from I. 3. 10. When not used in these senses, we have संयोजन: ‘union’.

87. The word ‘nigha’ is irregularly formed in the sense of ‘as high as broad’.

The word निषिर means ‘measured all round’ i.e. ‘as high as broad’. As निषिर: वृःत्ता: ‘trees as high as broad’. निषिर: वृःत्ता: ‘square or cubic or circular halls’. Otherwise, when not meaning ‘as high as broad’, we have निषिर: ‘a blow’. The word निषिर=समयानिर्माणं, समारूहपरियोजनम्. It may be derived from भा or from बी. In the first case it will mean ‘measured’ and in the other, ‘erected, built’. Professor Bothlingk refers to Apastamba Dharma. I. 20. 30 for the meaning of this word.

88. The affix ‘kṣri’ comes after the verb which has an indicative ‘du’, when denoting mere action &c.

The phrases ‘when the sense is that of mere action’, and ‘when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as agent’, are of course understood in this, as in all the previous aphorisms. Then by IV. 4. 20, (of the affix व्र, मन् is always the augment) we must add म, for we can not use the affix व्र alone; but we must always use व्र. Thus व्रचू ‘to cook’—पदिकम् ‘what is ripe’; दुःष्ट—व्रचिनम् ‘sown’ (VI. 1. 15); दुःष्ट—व्रचिनम् ‘artificial’.
89. After that verb which has an indicatory 'tu', the affix 'athuch' comes with the force of denoting mere action &c.

As दुःखम्—वेगम्: 'a trembling'; दुःखितम्—वेगम्: 'swelling'; दृश्यु:—कर्मम्: 'sneezing'; दृश्यु:—कसौ: 'burning'.

89. After the verbs 'yaj' (to worship), 'yāch' (to ask for), 'yat' (to strive), 'vichchāh' (to shine), 'prachchāh' (to ask) and 'raksh' (to preserve), comes the affix 'nān' with the force of denoting mere action &c.

The conditions of sūtras 18 and 19 are understood here also. The क of न is for the sake of prohibiting guna or vṛddhi(I. 1. 5); as वह: 'sacrifice'; वाच्य 'solicitation'; व्रत: 'effort'; व्रतम्: (VI. 4. 19) 'lustre'; व्रतम्: 'a question'; व्रतम्: protection.

The root प्रस्तु, by VI. 1. 16, ought to have changed its र into ल before the लित affix ल. Its not doing so must be taken to be an irregularity countenanced by Pāṇini, as we know from the fact that Pāṇini himself uses the form प्रम: in III. 2. 117.

89. After the verbs 'yaj' (to worship), 'yāch' (to ask for), 'yat' (to strive), 'vichchāh' (to shine), 'prachchāh' (to ask) and 'raksh' (to preserve), comes the affix 'nān' with the force of denoting mere action &c.

The final न is indicatory and regulates the accent (VI. 1. 197); as नम: 'a dream'.

89. After the verbs 'yaj' (to worship), 'yāch' (to ask for), 'yat' (to strive), 'vichchāh' (to shine), 'prachchāh' (to ask) and 'raksh' (to preserve), comes the affix 'nān' with the force of denoting mere action &c.

The क is indicatory, by force of which the final न is elided (VI. 4. 64). Thus म + क + कित्वं = कित्वं: 'a present'; कित्वं: 'the periphery of a wheel'; वर्तित्वं: 'fraud'; वर्तित्वं: 'vanishing'.

89. After the verbs 'yaj' (to worship), 'yāch' (to ask for), 'yat' (to strive), 'vichchāh' (to shine), 'prachchāh' (to ask) and 'raksh' (to preserve), comes the affix 'nān' with the force of denoting mere action &c.
93. The affix 'ki' comes after a 'ghu' verb, when a word in the accusative case is in composition with it, and when the relation of the word so formed to its verb, is that of 'location'.

As जलकि: 'the ocean (in which water is held)'; शरकि: 'a quiver (that in which arrows are put)'.

The word 'location' in the aphorism indicates that the words so formed should have no other significance. The word न in the aphorism draws in the affix कि from the last sutra.

94. To express an action &c. by a word in the feminine gender, the affix 'ktin' is added to the root.

The conditions of rules III. 3. 18. and 19 are understood here also. This supersedes वष, भ्रष्ट and भृष affixes. Thus कुति: 'action'; चिति: 'a gathering'; निति: 'understanding'.

Vart.—The affix क्तिन should be declared to come after the verbs भ्रष्ट 'to get' &c. There is no list of these words given anywhere, but by seeing the form, we can infer the affix. Thus भ्रसि: 'getting'; शक्ति: 'accomplishment'; धृति: 'shining'; वृति: 'a slip'; ब्रह्मि: 'destruction'; लक्षि: 'gain'.

Vart.—So also after the verbs भु 'to hear', भश 'to worship' and भण 'to praise', when instrument is meant; as भुसि: 'ear' (that by which we hear); so भशि: 'a sacrifice'; भणसि: 'a praise'.

Vart.—The affix कि comes after the verbs भृ 'to be exhausted', भृ 'to fade, ब्रह्म 'to grow old' and न 'to leave'; as श्लासि: 'exhaustion'; श्लासि: 'fading', ब्राह्मि: 'old age'; हनि: 'loss'.

Vart.—The affix किन्तू coming after verbs ending in long खु and the verbs लू &c. is like a Nishṭhā. Thus किन्तू: 'scattering'; This form is thus evolved: खु + किन्तू = किन्तू + खु (VII. 1. 100) = किन्तू + खु (I. 1. 51) = क्रोद + खु (VIII. 2. 77). At this stage, खु is changed into ख by the affix being treated as a Nishṭhā (VIII. 2. 42), and this ख is changed into ख by the ordinary rules of sandhi; so
also नीलि: 'praise'; नीलि: 'old age'; नीलि: 'drying'; नीलि: (VIII. 2. 44) 'cutting'; नीलि: 'joining'; नीलि: 'agitation'; नीलि: 'destruction'.

Varst.—The affix क्ति comes after the verbs सन्ति &c; as सन्ति 'prosperity'; विसन्ति 'a calamity'; विसन्ति 'access'. The affix क्ति is also employed after these verbs:—as बि (VII. 1. 15); बि (VII. 4. 66); बि: 'a concert'; बि: 'a cistern'; बि: 'drinking together'; बि: 'cooking'.

The repetition of the word मा in this aphorism, in spite of its anuvṛtti being understood from सूत्र 18, is to exclude every other significance.

How do we get forms like भवस्या and संस्या? Panini himself, in his sūtras, has used forms like भवस्या &c. See I. 1. 34. This is enough justification for us to derive forms like भवस्या, संस्या &c. by applying the affix भव under rule 106, in spite of the present sūtra, which requires us to apply क्ति only.

96. In Mantra literature, 'ktin' acutely accented comes after the following roots, forming words in the feminine gender, denoting a mere action:—'विश' (to rain), 'िश' (to wish), 'पच' (to cook), 'मन' (to think), 'विद' (to know), 'भु' (to be), 'वि' (to go, to consume) and 'रा' (to give).

The construction of this sūtra is anomalous. Instead of the bases being put in the ablative case, they are put in the nominative case. Thus युज्ञ: 'raining'; युज्ञ: 'wishing'; युज्ञ: 'cooking'; युज्ञ: 'thinking'; युज्ञ: 'knowing'; युज्ञ: 'being'; युज्ञ: 'consuming'; युज्ञ: 'giving'.

The affix क्ति has been generally ordained by sūtra 94 after all verbs. The present sūtra is made for the sake of regulating the accent in the case of these nouns. From अन्न we have also an irregular noun अन्न (III 3. 101), and
another by the general rule 94 having acute accent on the first syllable, altogether 3 forms. See Rig Veda I. 116. 12; II 5. 6; I. 62. 3, 57. 2; IV. 24. 7; III. 39. 1; I. 6. 5., 60. 1; X. 95. 17 for these words.

97. And these words viz. 'ūti' (preserving sport), 'yūti' (joining), 'jūti' (velocity), 'sāti' (destruction), 'heti' (a weapon) and 'kīrti' (fame) are anomalous forms, acutely accented.

The anuvṛtti of the word अवि does not exist in this; but the word बहाव of the last syllable is understood here. The word अवि is thus formed: - अवि to protect' + रिनु = अवित्रिनु (VI. 4. 20) - बहाहि this form is 'regular' and could be evolved from शृंत्रा 94 also, but not so the accent. The irregularity in शृंत्रि consists in the lengthening of न् into न; in शृंत्रि: the न of the root शृं which becomes न by VI. 45, is not changed into न, as rule VII. 4. 40 required, and this is the irregularity. This form may also be derived from the root शृं with perfect propriety, except as to the accent which would be regulated by the present śūtra: thus शृं + रिनु = शृं + रिनु (VI. 4. 42) - बहाहि. The form बहाहि may be derived either from शृं or रिनु.

रिनु शृं. शृं गोव शृं. शृं गोव रिनु। रिनु गोव रिनु। (Rig. I. 7. 4) 'O Indra, mayst thou mighty, defend us in battles and in fights of a thousand duels, with thy mighty protections'.

98. The affix 'kyap' comes after the roots 'vraj' (to go) and 'yaj' (to worship) acutely accented in forming a word in the feminine denoting action.

This supersedes नित्रि. Thus शाक्य 'wandering about'; शाक्य (VI. 1. 15) 'worshipping'. The न of शाक्य is indicatory, and though it serves no purpose in this śūtra, it is, however, necessary in the next, for it is by force of न that we add a न by VI. 1. 71, in the words formed in the next aphorism.

शंक्यं, गर्भं-निष्फ-निर्मित-नम-विद्य-युध्य-शूल-पुरुषं; (सिद्यः, कण, उदासः)
99. The affix 'kyap' comes after the following verbs in forming a word in the feminine denoting an appellative and is acutely accented viz.—'sam-aj' 'nis-
shad', 'ni-pat', 'man', 'vid', 'suñ', 'śīn', 'bhṛīn' and 'in'.

Thus समझ्य 'an assembly'; निप्य 'a small bed or couch'; निस्प्य 'slip-
perry ground'; मन्य 'thinking'; विद्य 'knowledge'; उत्त्य (VI. 1. 71) 'extraction
of soma juice, parturition'; शब्द्य 'bed'; भूष्य 'wages, service'; हङ्ग्य 'a litter,
palanquin'.

Here a question arises as regards गु. By rule III. 1. 112, गु would have
taken क्ष, and we could have got the form भूष्य by that rule also. But the भूष्य formed under that rule would not have denoted an appellative which the present rule does. It would be said that rule III. 1. 112 when it used the words अवश्याः, was rather too wide, for क्ष does come in denoting शक्ति in feminine
nouns by the present rule; so that the word अवश्याः there, must be qualified by
the phrase, 'except in the feminine'. The test whether rule 112, is too widely
worded or not, has been made to hinge on the forming of the term भान्य meaning 'wife'. This word is formed by the affix धाक्ष to the exclusion of क्षः

संतायाः पुष्मह गुर्ध्या न हे भान्य महिष्यति।

क्षममाण्यो हिन्धण्यो नेन भान्य महिष्यति।

The word भान्यकार्यः is explained by the author of Kāśikā as भान्यकारी,
गाण्यणेन विशिष्टाय; नूत गाण्योजाकाराय।

कृम: श च १०० पदर्थाः कृम: श, च, (स्त्रियाः; क्षप्तु)।

90. And after the root 'kṛ' comes the affix 'sa' in forming a feminine, as well as the affix 'kyap'.

By the force of the word गु we draw the affix क्ष into this śūtra, and
by the process called योगाधिकार we can split up this aphorism into two:—

100. When the affix गु is added, the root assumes the form क्ष by III. 1. 67.

१०० १०० पदर्थाः औष्ठ: गुष्ठ, (श)।

101. The form 'ichchhā' (desire) is irregular.

The word is thus formed: इच्छाः गुष्ठ अस्त्रूष्ठाः गुष्ठाः. The गुṣ्ठ
ordained by III 1. 67 is not added, this is the irregularity.
Vart.—The following words are also irregularly formed:—परिसवर ‘perambulation’; पतिःवत ‘attendance, service’; भृगु ‘hunting’; भन्तर ‘the habit of roaming about as a religious mendicant’.

Vart.—From the root ब्रह्म we have either भात or भात ‘waking’. The first is formed by the affix भ, the latter by भ which brings in ब्र (III. 1. 67).

अ प्रत्ययात || १०२ || पदार्थ || अ, प्रत्ययात् (विवरण) ||

वृत्ति: || प्रत्ययात्मक पारम्परृचक: विवरणकार: प्रत्ययादित्व ||

102. After the verbs that end in an affix, there is the affix ‘a’, the word being feminine.

The verbs that end in an affix are derivative roots, such as Desideratives, Causatives, Intensives and Denominatives. Though taking affixes, they are called भ्र (III. 1. 32), after these verbs the affix भ is used in forming the feminine noun.

Thus त + सम्म = विहिरृश्च ‘to wish to do; this is a Derivative root; after this root विहिरृश्च, we add भ। Thus विहिरृश्च + भ (VI. 4. 48) = विनिव्य || Then we add दान by IV. 1. 4, and get विनिव्य ‘the desire to do’; so also निनिव्य ‘the desire to take’; ननिव्य ‘the desire to be like a son’; दुष्कस्म ‘desire of a son’; नोनिव्य ‘much cutting’; कण्ठु ‘itch’. The sūtra is also found as भ: प्रत्ययात।

103. The affix ‘a’ comes after that verb which has a prosodically heavy vowel and ends in a consonant, when the word to be formed is feminine.

This debars निव. Thus विहिरृश्च ‘an adulteress’; दुष्कस्म ‘a tigress’; हेंस ‘effort’; द्वा ‘supplying an ellipsis’.

Why do we say ‘which has a prosodically heavy vowel’? Observe भक्ति ‘devotion’. Why do we say ‘which ends in a consonant’? Observe नीति ‘polity’.

विनिव्यादित्वै: || १०३ || पदार्थ || विनिव्य-विनिव्यात् ||

वृत्ति: || निविव्यादित्व-विनिव्यात्मक: विवरणकार: निविव्यादित्व ||

104. The affix ‘a’ comes after those verbs that have an indicator ‘sh’, and after ‘bhid’ &c, when the word to be formed is feminine.

Thus त्रूष्ण has an indicator व, the real root being त्र:। From it we have त्रूष्ण ‘old age’ (VII. 4. 16); गुरूष्ण ‘bashfulness’.

So also from verbs of Bhiddā class we have त्रित ‘breaking’; in the alternative we have त्रित। So also त्रित ‘cutting’; त्रित ‘cutting’; त्रित ‘a knife, an
iron instrument'; भार्ष्म: 'distress'; धारा 'a stream'; धृति: The list of Bhiddi verbs will not be found given in one place in the Dhatupātha. They have been collected from different Ganas, and are the following:

निर्द, दिक्षा, मित्र, सिद्ध, गुलाम (सिरोनाथियों), भद्र, मेधा, होद्धा, भारा, भारा, कारन, भ्रमी, भव, धारा, धारा, लेखा, रेखा, तृक्त, रीता, वट, वट, राम, कुमार, राम, कुमार, (कर्मचंस्तराणं भ)।

विनिष्प्रला, विन्दुकृष्यक्षिप्तवर्षेः। १०५। पदार्थि। विनिष्प्रला, कृष्यकृष्यक्षिप्तवर्षेः। १०५। पदार्थि।

105. The affix 'अन' as well as the affix 'युँ' comes after the following verbs, forming feminine words:—'chint' (to think), 'puj' (to worship) 'kath' (to narrate), 'kumb' (to cover) and 'charch' (to learn).

The force of अ is to include the affix यु in this sūtra (see III. 3. 107). All these verbs belong to the Churndi or 10th class, and would have exclusively taken यु in III. 3. 107.

Thus बिन्दा 'thought'; एकत्र 'workship'; कथा 'narration'; कुम्भा 'a covering', 'a thick petticoat'; कवच्छ 'recitation'.

When the affix is यु, the forms are विन्दा &c. (VII. 1. 1).

आत्मोपसर्ग:। १०६। पदार्थि। आत्म, च, उपसर्ग:। (सिद्धां, भ)।

106. The affix 'अन' comes after those verbs which end in long 'अ' when an upasarga is in composition, and when the word to be formed is feminine.

This supersedes अन्न। Thus या, यु, उपाः, उपा, &c.

Vart.—For the purposes of this rule the particles अन्न and अम्नाः should be treated like upasargas. Thus भार 'faith' अन्नाः (I. 4. 59).

वायुक्ष्ययो गुच्छः। १०७। पदार्थि। विन्दु-अस्त्र-अयः; गुच्छ:। (सिद्धांस)।

107. After verbs ending in 'नी', and after 'अस' (to sit) and 'स्रान्थ' (to loose), there is the affix 'युँ' when the word to be formed is feminine.

This excludes the affix अ (III. 1. 102). Thus भू + फिण्ण = कादिर; कादिर + भूच् = कारणा: (the अ is elided by VI. 4. 51) 'the causing to do'; कारणा 'the causing to
take'; भास्ता 'the sitting'; भास्ता 'the loosening'. How do we get the form भास्ता? It is the feminine of भास्ता formed by adding गर्ग to the root भास्ता by III. 1. 124. Is not that rule made non-applicable by rule III. 1. 94, which declares that गर्ग rule does not apply to Feminine affixes? Yes, that is, however, not total exclusion. The phrase गर्ग in III 1. 94 is to be interpreted thus:—"Non-uniform affixes prohibit each other, when they belong to the class of affixes especially ordained for the feminine nouns; such as the affix द्वि (III. 3. 9), वर्ग (III. 3. 98), भ (III. 3. 102): That is to say, an utsarga-feminine affix will be always superseded by an apavada-feminine affix; but a feminine affix in general will not supersede another affix which is not enjoined in the feminine gender especially. In other words, feminine affixes inter se supersede each other totally, but not so with regard to general द्वि affixes". Now by the present sūtra the root भास्ता takes द्वि; this totally excludes other feminine affixes like भ (III. 1. 102); but it does not exclude the non-feminine affix वर्ग.

The root भास्ता taken here belongs to the Kṛṣṇa class, meaning 'to loosen' and is not the भास्ता of Churādi class, for the latter would be included, as a matter of course, by belonging to the Churādi class which class of verbs take the affix लिङ्ग.

Vart.—The verbs चक 'to move', चक 'to praise', and चक 'to feel', should also be enumerated, as taking द्वि. Thus चक 'shaking', चक 'praising', चक 'knowledge, feeling, pain'. The verb चक here belongs to the Tuddāi class, and means 'to move' and not भास्ता of the Churādi class, for that is already included by being लिङ्ग.

Vart.—The affix द्वि comes after द्वि when it does not mean 'to desire'. Thus भक्षण 'solicitation'; भक्षण 'the searching after'.

Vart.—So also optionally when द्वि takes the upasarga परि; as, परिभक्षण or परि: 'investigation by reasoning'.

108. The affix 'वुल' comes diversely after verbs when the word to be formed is a feminine noun, begin the name of 'diseases'.

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This debars फिर् and all the rest. By using the word भाव in the sūtra it is meant that the word so formed by this affix should be the appellation of the disease. The word 'diversely' shows the usual licence in the application of all the rules of grammar. Thus भावहीका (VII. 1. 1) 'vomiting'; भावहीका 'diarrhoea'; विषाधिका 'itch, scab'. Sometimes this affix does not apply; as राक्षसी: head-ache'.

_Vart._—The affix _nvul_ is employed also in simply pointing out the meaning of the roots; thus, भाविका 'to enjoy', शाबिका 'to lie down' &c.

_Vart._—The affixes अहु and दित्त (that is शुष्क and लिच) are also employed in merely pointing out the roots; as रात्रि, चिन्ति, दर्षणि, पद्धि: &c. The constant use of these affixes is to be found in these very sūtras. In the aphorisms the roots are exhibited in various ways; thus in sūtra 49 of this chapter we have the root लि and लू exhibited as अधिक: and चारि: These latter forms indicating nothing more than the simple roots. So also, see VIII. 4. 17; VI. 4. 49.

_Vart._—The affix क्रान्त is employed in merely pointing out letters; as क्रान्त: means 'the letter क'; so also भाविक: 'the letter भ'; इक्ष्या: 'the letter ह'.

_Vart._—The affix इक्ष्या is employed in pointing out the letter र; as रेवी.

_Vart._—The affix हुम comes after the word भवप्य in merely pointing it out, and there is elision of the final व; as नबप्या:

_Vart._—The affix नुम comes after the verbs भव &c; as भावित, भावि, भाबि:.

_Vart._—The affix नुम comes after the verbs वृृि &c; as, वृृि, फिरि, &c.

\[\text{संस्कायम्} \quad \text{१०२} \quad \text{पदार्थि} \quad \text{संस्कायम्} \quad \text{नुम्} \quad \text{चिन्तिया} \quad \text{चिन्तिया} \]

109. The affix 'nvul' comes after the verbal roots, when the word to be formed is an appellative.

As वहृतकपुष्पविषिका 'a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which उद्दलक flowers are broken or crushed'; वरकुष-प्रवाहिका 'a sort of game'; भावप्याहिका; भावप्याहिका; शालस्याहिका; शालस्याहिका.

\[\text{विभावायकप्रभविनकभिनन्तिच्} \quad \text{११०} \quad \text{पदार्थि} \quad \text{विभाषा, आ-}
\]

\[\text{क्षाय-परिमिष्ठो:} \quad \text{हृि,} \quad \text{चिन्तिया} \]

110. And the affix 'in' comes optionally after a root, when a question and answer is expressed, (as well as 'nvul' and other affixes ordained by other rules).

The word परिषम means 'question' and भाविका means 'answer'; in the sūtra, in making the compound of these words, the logical sequence is not observed. The compound भाविका-परिषम may, however, be justified on the ground that in a Compound a word consisting of smaller number of syllables should stand first (II. 2. 34) and hence द्वेय्यांना is put first.
The force of  in is to draw the anuvṛtti of the word भूम्य from the last into this. By the word 'optionally', it is meant that those affixes which would otherwise present themselves from the subsequent rules, should also be applied; thus:

Q. — कौं त्वं कारिनकारी? 'What work did you do?' A. — सर्वे कारिनकारध् 'I did all work'. Optionally we may have instead of कारि the following also.

Q. — कौं कारिद्रास, कृष्ण, कृष्ण, जिद्रास, भञ्जयि: A. — सर्वे कारिद्रास or कृष्ण or कृष्ण or कृष्ण or कृष्ण

Similarly, Q. — कौं गायि: (प्राणिनि, मल्लिका &c.) भञ्जीयि: A. — सर्वे गायि: &c.

Why do we say 'in question and answer? Observe कृषि: and हिति:.

पश्यो भवेऽसोत्सिपुर बहुम् || १११|| पदार्थ || पश्वय: — जहे—हहु—उत्तर

पिचु, श्रुतच (सत्यायन) ||

वृति: || एसे पुन्तु भासोपुपुर्ब्बो मध्यि: ||

111. The affix  'nvuch' comes optionally after a root in the sense of succession, merit, debt or production.

The word पञवृष means turn or order of succession; अहेम means worthy of respect; क्रेण means debt owed to another; and वल्चि means birth or production. This rule supersedes शचित्र and other affixes. Thus: (1) मयस: भासित 'your turn of sleeping'; नववति प्राणवित 'your turn of eating first'. (2) भासित भासादु भासितकाल् 'you deserve to have a meal of sugar and molasses'. (3) हसागित भासवि 'thou owest me a meal of sugar and molasses'; भासनागितकाल् 'a meal of rice'; पवनागितकाल 'a drink of milk'. (4) भासनिकाल भासवि.

The word 'optionally' is understood in this śūtra also; as विषदेश्या चावलदे।

The forms given by भूम्य and भूम्य, are the same, the difference is only in the accent. (VI. 1. 193, and VI. 1. 163).

आकोषेन नष्यिष्य: || ११२|| पदार्थ || आकोषेहि, नष्यि, अनि: ||

वृति: || अकोषे मन्यायेन मन्यायेन भासोपुरितर्यम:धर्मो वधिष्यि:||

112. The affix 'ani' comes after a verb when the particle 'nafi' is in composition with it, and the sense implied is that of cursing.

The anuvṛtti of the word 'optionally' does not extend to this aphorism. The word अकरोषि means to curse. This supersedes the affixes शचित्र &c. Thus अकरोषिते वृषवतेन भूम्य 'may failure be to thee, O sinner!' सदवकारितव्यस्तु 'may he be disappointed'.

Why do we say 'when meaning to curse'? Observe अहृतस्तव करस्व 'the non-making of his mat'.

Why do we say 'when नम्भ is in composition'? Observe इवति तुप्पत्ति भूम्य 'may death be to thee, O! sinner!'
113. The affixes called 'kritya' (III. 1. 95) and the affix 'lyut', are diversely applicable and have other senses than those taught before.

The anuvṛtti of the phrases 'when denoting action' and 'when the relation of the word formed to its parent verb is not that of an agent', which began with sūtras III. 3. 18 and 19, does not extend to this sūtra or further. By saying 'diversely' we mean that they occur in other places than those where ordained by the rules. Thus the kritya affixes are ordained to come when 'act' or 'object' is to be expressed, but they come also when the kdraka is other than the objective. Thus स्नानस्थलणे 'powder for bathing'; जानवरि जाेलि 'a Brāhmaṇa' to whom a donation is to be made'. In the first of these examples the 'powder' is the 'instrument' expressible by the 3rd. case, and in the second the 'Brāhmaṇa' is the recipient expressible by the fourth case; so that in both cases the affix is applied without any express rule.

Similarly, स्नात is ordained to come in denoting instrument, location, and a verbal noun (III. 3. 115 and 117). But it is applied in other senses also. Thus राजाज्ञानि: शालम् 'halls for the eating of kings'; राजापरमेश्वरि शालसि 'dresses to be worn by the king'.

By using the word 'diversely', even the krit affixes are applied in places other than those expressly ordained. Thus पाथीमानि, प्रति = पाथार्कि: गले चोले = गलेन्द्रपि: | For accent see VI. 2. 150.

114. The affix 'ktā' is added to the root, when action is expressed, the word being in the neuter gender.

These are neuter abstract nouns: thus, विश्वस् 'laugh'; अन्वित 'speech'; शालित 'sleeping'. So also गान, शहित &c.

115. The affix 'lyut' is added to the root, when the name of an action is expressed, in the neuter gender.

Thus वचनं छात्रयि 'the laughter of the student'; शोभनं 'beauty'; अन्वित 'speech'; शब्दनं 'sleep'; भास्त्रमं 'seat'.

The separation of this sūtra from the last, in which it might well have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms, in which the anuvṛtti of lyut only runs, and not that of क।
116. The affix 'lyut' is added to a root, when the name of an action is expressed in the neuter gender; provided that the verb has in construction with it, such a word in the accusative case, as indicates the thing, from the contact with which, there arises a pleasant sensation corporally to the agent.

This śūtra is thus translated by Bohtlingk:—"The affix 'lyut' comes in connection with an object, when through the contact with that, the agent of the action feels a lively pleasure". Though the affix 'lyut' would have presented itself by the last aphorism, under the circumstances mentioned in this śūtra, the framing of this śūtra, is really for the purpose of teaching, that the compound so formed is a विन्य or invariable compound i.e. a compound which cannot be analysed into its component members:—for every उपपद compound is a विन्य compound. (II. 2. 19) Thus धारण 'the pleasure of drinking milk'; लोकानाथ 'the pleasure of eating rice'.

Why do we say 'when the word in construction is in the accusative case'? Observe रुलिकावर उपवास सुख 'rising from a bed of down is pleasant'. Here there is no compounding as the upapada रुलिका is in the ablative case.

Why do we say 'from the contact'? Observe भविष्यके प्रवासनन्त्र सुख 'it is pleasure to sit near by a fire-hearth'. Here there being no contact between 'fire' and 'body', there is no compounding.

Why do we say 'to the agent'? Observe गुरूः स्नापमन्त्र सुख 'to the teacher it is pleasure, when he is made to bathe'. Here the word स्नापमन्त्र is not the agent, but the object of the verb स्नापति.

Why do we say 'corporally'? Observe दुधव परिवर्जनं सुखम् 'embracing of the son is a pleasure'. Here the pleasure is a mere mental satisfaction and not a physical one.

Why do we say 'a pleasant sensation'? Observe कर्तव्य न सुखम् 'it is painful to rub thorns'. In all the above counter-examples there is no compounding; see II. 2. 19 and the connected śūtras.

117. The affix 'lyut' comes after a root, when
the relation of the word to be formed to the verb is that of an instrument or location.

Thus धारितमेन: ‘an axe’ (lit. an instrument for cutting wood); पालस-रत्नम्: ‘palas-cutter’; गोशुलि: ‘a milk-pail’ (a vessel into which milk is milked); so also बांधुवानी। In other words, this affix expresses also the idea of the instrumental case (a tool), and of the locative case (a repository).

पुष्यम् संधारणां च: प्राणेष् ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुष्यम्, संधारणां, 

पुष्यम्, प्राणेष् (कर्माणि कर्मकारणे:) ॥

पुष्यम्: प्राणादिकर्मकारणोऽद्वितीयस्यार्थोऽयाम्: पाणि अति सवधावेन नि:ष्ठानि संधा गम्भेोऽ॥

118. The affix ‘gha’ generally comes in the sense of an instrument or location after a root, when the word to be formed is a name and is in the masculine gender.

The force of the word प्राणेष् ‘generally’ is to show that this rule is not a universal rule. Thus धारितमेन: ‘the lip’. हार्धिति ‘to cover’ + पूर्व (VI. 4. 96) = धार्थिति lit. ‘that by which the teeth are covered’; so also धारितमेन ‘a breast plate’; पर:। These denote instruments.

So also in denoting ‘location’. Thus भा + हु + च = भाकर: ‘a mine’, so named because men work (akurvanti) in it, भासन: ‘a house’ that in which men settle down.

Why do we say ‘in the masculine gender’? Observe प्राणायाम् ‘a comb’; (lit. that by which men decorate). Here the affix is तु।

Why do we say ‘when the complete word so formed is merely an apppellative? Observe भारविक: ‘the beating stick’.

The indicatory द्वि is merely qualifying; for the application of sutra VI. 4. 96. by which after the causative हार्धिति, when द्वि is added, the long भा is shortened.

गोशुलि संधारणां जापनायाम्बनिनिर्वाचनम् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोशुलि - 

संधारणां वहु-प्रज्ज्वलयाम्ब-निगमा; द्वि (चत्वारिक:) ॥

पुष्यम्: गोशुलि: प्राणायाम् निगमनस्मात्स्याम्पूर्विकिर्मिवद्वैः ॥

119. And the words ‘gochara’, ‘samchara’, ‘vaha’, ‘vraja’, ‘vyaja’, ‘apana’ and ‘nigama’ are anomalous:

These words are irregularly formed by the affix द्वि with the same force as in the last aphorism. This is an apruvadda or exception to rule III. 3. 121, by which after roots ending in consonants, the affix द्वि is added. Thus गोरेश्वर: ‘pasturage’, (lit. that in which the cows graze); लंग्धन: ‘a passage’, (lit. through which they move); चंद्र: ‘a vehicle’ (lit. by which men are carried); व्रेश्वर: ‘a cowpen’ (by which they go); वन्म: ‘a fan’ (by which they move the air); the anomaly
in this consists in not replacing the भास्त्र of भास्त्र (वि + भास्त्र) by the substitute भी as required by सूत्र II. 4. 56; भास्त्र 'a market' (lit. that in which men come and traffic); निर्मय: 'the Veda', 'a market' (that into which they enter).

The force of the word च in the aphorism is to include other words also, which have not been already mentioned. Thus चाच, निर्मय: 'a touch-stone', (lit. that on which they rub).

अच्य त्रिस्तोरणः || १२० || पदार्थ || अच्य, त्रितरणः, परम् (कर्तव्य-कर्मयोऽः प्राणायम्) ||

वृत्ति: || अच्य उपर्युर्वतस्य प्रतिस्तोरणः परमसन्योऽः कर्तव्य-कर्मयोऽः प्राणायमैः निर्मति ||

120. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'त्र' (to cross) and 'स्त्रि' (to spread), when the upasarga 'ava' is in composition with them, and when the word so formed is an appellative related to the verb either as an instrument or as a location.

This supersedes च। The च is indicative and causes the vṛiddhi of च (VII. 2. 115) and is also for the sake of regulating the accent (VI. 1. 195, 197). The indicative च is useful in the subsequent aphorism where it changes the palatals into gutturals. Thus भास्त्र: 'the descent (or incarnation of a deity); भवस्त्र: 'a screen round a tent'.

How do we apply भवस्त्र also in phrases like भवस्त्र: नव: 'the descent of rivers', for here the word अवत्तत्र is not an appellative? This use is also allowed, because the anusvṛtti of the word भव is understood here also; so that these words अवत्तत्र &c. may be employed in senses other than appellative.

हलख || १२१ || पदार्थ || हलखः, (पुंजिः, संज्ञायम्, कर्तव्य-कर्मयोऽः, परम्) ||

पृष्टि: || हलखातः: कर्तव्य-कर्मयोऽः प्राणायमैः निर्मति ||

121. And after a verb ending in a consonant, comes the affix 'ghañ', (when the word to be formed is masculine, and related to the verb as an instrument or a location, and thereby the palatal is changed into a guttural).

The whole of the phrase within brackets is to be read into this sūtra from sūtra III. 3. 118. This excludes च। Thus चेंक: 'a writing' (that in which something is inscribed); चेंक: 'the Veda' (that by which all is known); चेंक: 'dress' (that which is entered into); चेंक: 'obstruction'; चेंक: 'a way' (that on which they seek); चेंक: 'a plant' (that by which disease or the like is cleared away); चेंक: 'Rāma' (i.e. in which the devout delight).

अत्यावाय-धातुवंशनात्सरधारवायाये || १२२ || पदार्थ || अत्याव-धातुवंश-प्रधाव-संहर्ष-अधार-अधायम् ||
122. And the words 'adhyāya', 'nyāya', 'udyā-va', 'samhāra', 'ādhāra' and 'āvāya' are anomalous.

These words are formed by adding the affix वच्छ to the exclusion of च which would have come by rule III. 3. 118. All these words are derived from roots which end in vowels. Thus अधितिः + च + प्वस् = अधिविः 'a chapter or book' (lit. that in which they read); नी-न्यास: 'logic, justice', (lit. that by which men are lead); रत्न-घ-रत्ना: 'mixture' (lit. that in which they blend); सम-इ-सम्भर: 'destruction' (lit. by which they are destroyed); भ्र-प-भ्राद्वर: 'support' (lit. in which anything is held); भाविः भावविः भावनिः भावस्म.

The force of च is to include others not enumerated above; as, अव्भारः.

123. The word 'udānaka' is anomalous, when the sense of the root refers to subjects other than 'water'.

The word is thus formed: वच्छ + यस + चत = वच्छ: 'a vessel'.

Would not the affix चत have come by sūtra III. 3. 121, why then this aphorism? This is made a separate aphorism in order to prohibit the application of the affix, where the word to be formed means 'water'.

Thus मेलोखा: 'a leathen vessel for oil'.

Why do we say 'when not referring to 'water'? Observe तसांब्राहमि: 'a bucket for drawing water' (उच्छ + अल्प + चनु).

Why do not we give the counter-example by adding the affix च to the root जैव? Because the form evolved by applying च, would be the same in every respect as that evolved by चत; even the accent would be the same. For by sūtra VI. 2. 144, the udātta accent, in the case of चत, will fall on the final.

124. The word 'ānāya' is irregularly formed when meaning 'a net'.

The word is thus formed in the sense of instrument. अ + नी + प्वस् = आनायाः: 'a net' (by which they are caught); as आनायाः नामदाकस: 'a net for fish'; आनायाः समाधिः: 'a net for wild deer &c.'
125. The affix 'gha' as well as 'ghañi' comes after the verb 'khan' (to dig), when the word to be formed is an appellative related to the verb as instrument or location.

The affix ग्न् has been read into the sūtra by force of the word ग्नः.
Thus भास्कः or भास्कः: 'a spade, a hoe'.

Vart.—The affix ग्न also comes in this sense after the verb ग्नः. Thus भास्कः + ग्नः = भास्कः: 'a spade'. The indicatory ग्न showing that the final portion called र्ग्न should be elided.

Vart.—The affix ग्न also comes in the same sense; as भास्कः: 'a spade'.

Vart.—So also the affix ग्नसः as भास्किनः: 'a spade'.

Vart.—So too the affix ग्नवक as भास्किनः: 'a spade'.

126. In the sense of 'hard and difficult' or 'light and easy', the affix 'khal' is added to a verb, when 'ishad', and 'dur' and 'su' are combined with it as upapadas.

The anuvritti of the phrase 'when related as instrument or location' ceases with this aphorism. The word क्षत्तिः means heavy, and क्षत्तिः has the force of conveying that sense. The word क्षत्तिः means 'light, easy'; and the words क्षत्ति and सु convey that sense. Thus क्षत्तिः भवतः कतः: 'a mat is made easily by you'; so also क्षत्तिः: 'made with difficulty'; क्षत्तिः: 'made with ease'. Similarly क्षत्तिः: 'eating pleasantly'; क्षत्तिः: and क्षत्तिः:.

Why do we say 'after क्षत्ति &c.? See क्षत्तिः कार्यसः कतः: 'the mat which is made with difficulty'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'hard or light'? Observe क्षत्तिः 'a small work'.

Of the affix क्षत्ति, the letter क्ष and त्ति are indicatory; क्ष causing the insertion of a nasal (technically called मूः augment, VI. 3. 67); and त्ति regulates the accent (VI. 1. 196). The augment मूः will be added in the subsequent sūtra, the क्ष thus having no work in this sūtra.
127. The affix 'khal' comes after the verbs 'bhū' and 'kṛi', when the upapadas in composition with them are 'agent' and 'object' respectively, preceded by the words 'īshad' &c. in combination with them, meaning 'hard or light'.

Thus द्वेषारुच मय 'being enriched easily'; पुराण नय 'to be enriched with difficulty'; स्वाभाविक देवदत्तो भवत 'Devadatta can be made rich by you easily'.

Vart.—It should be stated that the agent and object in composition should be, as if they ended in the affix ल्य (V. 4. 50). Compare III. 2. 56 and III. 2. 57. &c. Therefore we do not have it here: स्वाभव नूतने या भावन सुभवते.

आतो रुचि 128. पदानि आत-, रुचि, (द्वेषदूत:सुधु, कुष्ठाकारणिकः) पृच्छ:। कुष्ठाकारणिकः पुंसामित्वपूर्वेण भाकारणिको वातुम्बो रुचि मयावो नधि।

128. The affix 'yuch' comes after roots ending in long 'a', (when 'īshad', 'dur' and 'su' are combined as upapadas, in the sense of easily or with difficulty).

The word द्वेष &c. are to be read into this sūtra, not so the words क्रेन्द्रक &c. This supersedes the affix ल्य. Thus द्वेषारुचः सीनो भवत त 'the soma juice can be lightly drunk by you'; पुराणः 'difficult to be drunk'; सुधुः 'easy to be drunk'. द्वेषारुचः गौर्णवत 'the cow can be given with ease by you'; पुराणः, सुधुः &c.

क्रेन्द्रक गत्यज्ञा:। १२९. पदानि क्रेन्द्रक, गति-अर्थव्यः। (द्वेषदूतःसुधु, कुष्ठाकारणिकः, रुचि) पृच्छ:।

129. The affix 'yuch' comes in the Chhandas, after roots having the sense of 'to go', when the word 'īshad' &c. meaning 'lightly' or 'with difficulty' are in composition with such verbs.

This debars the affix ल्य. Thus सुधुःसुधुःमन्नासनि। सुधुःसाधनमन्नासनि। See T.S. 7. 5. 20. 1.

अन्वेषोऽध्याहे दृष्टये। १३०. पदानि अन्वेषः, अष्टि, दृष्टये, (गत्यहस्यः, रुचि) पृच्छ:।

130. The affix 'yuch' is seen to come in the Vedas, after other verbs also, than those meaning 'to go'.
Thus त्रुटेष्व ग्नाय त्रुटेष्व, प्रायं गां; so also त्रुटेष्व ग्नाय त्रुटेष्व, प्रायं गां। (Rig. Veda. X. 112. 8).

**Var.**—In the modern Sanskrit, the affix 'yuch' comes after the verbs भानु, युनि, युनेन, and युनि; as भानुष: दुहसुसाणा; युनेन-नमुने; दुर्योधना; युनेन-नमुने; युनेन-नमुने; and युनेन-नमुने:।

रवेपालकानाथ्यो रवेपालकान्यं ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रवेपाला-
रवेपालकानाथ्यो, रवेपालकान्यं, वा, (दूः, भविष्यति) ॥

२३५:। रवेपालकानाथ्यो मूः अविष्कर्ति च रवेपालकानाथ्यो मूः भविष्यति च, भविष्यति। ॥

131. The affixes which are employed when the sense is that of present time, may, optionally in like manner, be employed when the sense is that of past or future time not remote from the present.

The words सर्वा and कान्यक्षम are the words with the same signification, the latter being derived from the first by adding the affix युनि. This affix is added with a self-descriptive force, without making any modification in the meaning. We learn thus incidentally from Panini's using the word सर्वा, that the affix युनि also comes with a self-descriptive (svārtha) force, and the words सर्वादृश्य: &c. are thus formed.

The affixes which begin with श्वरा III. 2. 123 (वर्गवाचय लहर) and end with III. 3. 1 (उपायवर्ष बहुः) are affixes which come in denoting the present time. These affixes come also with the force of the past or future time, when the sense is that the action has just taken place, or will immediately take place. Thus, to the question क्षत्र श्रेयस्ततोत्तराति 'when didst thou come Devadatta', it may be replied, either अभयायान्त्रम 'I come now', or अभयायान्त्रम मा विष 'know me even to have come'; or अभयायान्त्रम 'I have now come'; or अभयायान्त्रम 'I have come now'. So also to the question क्षत्र श्रेयस्ततोत्तराति 'when will you go Devadatta', it may be replied, either अभयायान्त्रम 'I go now' or अभयायान्त्रम मा विष or अभयायान्त्रम or अभयायान्त्रम &c.

The phrase 'in like manner' (दूः) has been employed to indicate complete resemblance; that is to say, with whatever qualifications, the affixes have been enjoined to denote present time, namely, with whatever bases (प्रकृति), and words in compositions (व्याया), and restrictive significations (व्याया), certain affixes have been enjoined;—the same affixes under those conditions and those circumstances, only will denote also immediate future and recent past. Thus श्रार्य by rule III. 2. 128 comes after the prakriti पृ and व्याया in forming present participles; this affix, to denote past and future, must come only after पृ and व्याया, and so on. Thus वर्गवाचय; वर्गवाचय; अभयायान्त्रम: (III. 2. 136) &c.

Why do we say 'not remote from the present, (दूहोष्ठ)? This rule will not apply when distant future or distant past is intended to be expressed.
As वह भाष्य स्वर चल्लिपुरुषः ‘he went day before yesterday to Pataliputra’; जेश गामिन्यं ‘he will go in a year’.

One may say that “the word गामिन्यम can denote by itself nothing but the present tense, and it is because it occurs in a sentence in connection with other qualifying words, that it is made to denote any other time; and it is a well-known fact that a tense which a sentence as a whole may indicate, has no bearing on the question as to what tense a verb must take, when we are preparing it for taking a grammatical tense; and hence the present सूत्र is superfluous”. To such we reply that the present सूत्र and those that follow are not meant for those who know the proper idioms of Sanskrit language; but for those only who do not know this.

Dr. Bohlingk translates this सूत्र thus:—‘Whatever is near to the present time, may be expressed as a present tense.

₁₃₂ The affixes which are employed, when the sense is that of the past time or of the present time, may, optionally, in like manner, be employed, after a root in denoting future time, when hope is expressed.

The word ‘optionally’ is understood here also. The phrase ‘not remote from the present’ is not valid in this aphorism. The word भाष्य means the wish or expectation of getting an object not yet obtained, and consequently this can refer only to future time. The force of जेश is to draw the word चल्लिपुरुषम from the last सूत्र in this aphorism. This सूत्र has been thus put by Mr. Apte:—“When hope is expressed in a conditional form, the Aorist (जुह्), the Present, or Simple Future is used in both the clauses to denote a future time. Thus ज्ञानशास्त्रावर्तम क्षयस्य or भाग्यसिद्धि or भाग्यविद्व वा एवं व्याकरणादिभिः, or भवितवन्न; or भवितवन्न or भवितवन्न ‘if the teacher were to come, we should read grammar’.

This construction is possible only when the past tense is expressed by जुह् (Aorist); and not by जेश or लिंग. For जुह् denotes past time in general, while जेश and लिंग denote particular forms of past time; (see III. 2. 110, 111 and 115). The phrase भाष्यम, making an analogy with time in general, will not therefore, refer to लिंग or जेश which refer to past time in special.

Why say ‘when hope is expressed’? Observe भवितवन्न ‘he will come’.
Bk. III. Ch. III. § 133-135.] Prohibition of second future.

133. When the word ‘kshipra’ (quickly) or its synonym is in construction with the verb, the future affix, ‘Lri’ is employed after the root, when ‘hope’ is expressed in a conditional form.

This supersedes the last rule by which Aorist could also have been employed. By the present rule the Second Future can only be employed. Thus उपपादावेष्ठित्वमाननिभयति (or उपपादावेष्ठः—Apt.) सिद्धं व्याकरणानैपदायानहे ‘if the teacher were to come soon, we shall soon learn grammar’.

By force of the word सन्त in the aphorism, we take the synonyms of लिङ्ग also, such as श्रीम, भागु, स्वार्थम्, &c.

An objector might say, “the use of the word सन्त in the sutra is redundant; for Future tense is the natural tense to be used, whenever hope is indicated. Sutra III. 3. 132 was merely an exception to this rule; so that the present sutra re-enacting the general rule, ought to have been worded thus;—व निमित्तवेदे ‘not so when a word expressing quickness is employed’; for such a rule debarring the past tenses given by III. 3. 132, would have, of necessity, given scope to the Future tense which is the natural tense to express hope’.

To them we say, that there are two future tenses, हूँ and हूँ. By specifying हूँ we mean that हूँ should not be employed even where it would otherwise have come, such as in the following:—व तिमाधिनायेदि ‘to-morrow we shall learn soon’.

आष्ट्रांसायनेति लिङ् ॥ १३५ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ आष्ट्रांसायनेति, लिङ् ॥

वृत्ति: || भाषणम् उत्तमवेष्ठी उत्तमावेष्ठीश्च शक्तिनाम् प्रयोगस्याचार्यम् भवति ॥

134. The affix of the Potential is employed in denoting Futurity, after a root, when the upapada in composition with it, is a word expressing ‘hope’.

This is also an apavāda of rule III. 3. 132, and teaches the employment of the Potential with a future force. Thus उपपादावेष्ठि, भाषांसे व्यक्तो श्रीवाह ‘if the teacher will come, I hope, you will study with diligence’. This being a subsequent rule, will apply even when the words expressive of quickness are in composition. Thus भाषांसे भिन्नवेष्ठी ‘I hope, you will learn soon’. So also, अन्तवाचे वृत्ति-शास्त्रीयानि, &c.

नान्यातन्त्र िञ्जयायामवासीप्रायोऽ ॥ १३५ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ न अन्यातन्त्राय, िञ्जयायामवासीप्रायोऽ ॥

वृत्ति: || नान्यातन्त्राय परन्तविपरिव भवति िञ्जयायामवासीप्रायोऽ गम्यमानि ॥

135. When constant continuance of action or a near Past or Future is meant, the Past and Future are not denoted as taught in III. 2. 111 and III. 3. 15, through
the Imperfect and the Second Future, but through the Aorist and the First Future.

The affixes लत्त (Imperfect Past) and लई (First Future), have been ordained to come, when past time not belonging to the current day, and future time not belonging to the current day, are respectively indicated. The present sūtra prohibits these two affixes. The word विष्णुप्रसं: means 'performing an action with continuity'; and रागीति means 'not remoteness of time, immediate-ness, without the intervention of anything of the same genus'. Thus वासवीरसं नमस्तमानं (not अवसानं) 'he gave food throughout his life'; or पूर्णमस्तं सरस्वति 'he will give much food'. वासवीरसं बुद्धिविनिपतेन 'throughout his life he taught', or वासवीरसं ज्ञानविनिपतेन 'throughout his life he will teach'. In both these cases the Aorist and the Second Future are used instead of the Imperfect and the First Future.

So also when recent past or immediate future is meant, the Aorist and the Second Future are employed, instead of the Imperfect and the First Future. Thus वेशं शैलेयो भक्तिकिरत्नः, एतस्यादानाध्योगीनाधिपि or ज्ञौ मयाच्य or गामिनि 'during the full-moon that has just past, the teacher consecrated the fire, or performed the soma-sacrifice or gave a cow'. Here the Aorist is for the Imperfect. ब्रह्मान्तप्रसं: नानागान्तानि, एतस्यादानाध्योगीनाधिपि or ज्ञौ मयाच्य, or गामिनि 'on the next new-moon day, the teacher will perform the fire-sacrifice or the soma-sacrifice, or he will give a cow'. Here the Second Future is employed instead of the First Future.

The double negative न अनयानस 'not non-today' implies the proper corresponding tenses which indicate adyatana.

अभिविष्टः सन्याद्यक्रि:वरसिंहः || १३६ || पदानि || अभिविष्टः, सन्याद्यक्रि:वरसिंहः (नानाध्योगी) इति

বুদ্ধি: || অভিবিষ্টঃ কালে সন্যাসাধ্যায়নগরিম্ প্রভাবগোগাণ্ডল্য প্রকাশমিয়স্কান্তেন ভাস্তি || ১৩৬। The Futurity is not expressed, as taught in III: 3. 15, through the Second Future, but through the First Future, when a statement is made of a limit on this (avara) side of another place.

The phrase नानाध्योगीता is valid in this sūtra also. The two conditions of the last aphorism, namely, 'continuity of action' and 'immediateness', however, do not apply here. Thus श्रेयसभाग्यवस्तुं भावाकथितिणः वस्त्रम श्रोत्रास्यभास्यानवतृति नीचावहे, तथा रागीतिमान: 'on this side of the road from the city of Kosāṃbi to the city of Pātaliputra, there we will eat rice, and there we will drink saktu'.

Why do we say 'in denoting future time'? Observe श्रेयसभाग्यवस्तुं भावाकथितिणः 'on this side of the road that leads from the city of Kosāṃbi to the city of Pātaliputra, we read together &c.

Why do we say 'when signifying limit'? Observe श्रेयसभाग्यवस्तुं
Bk. III. Ch. III. § 137] PROHIBITION OF THE FIRST FUTURE. 535

Why do we say ‘when the word अवर is in construction’? Observe योगावचारयाम्य अवरात्मनः तस्य बहसः कौराक्षाधार्मोऽस्मात् भोजनम् &c.

The examples of limit given in this aphorism, refer to local limit; in the subsequent sūtras examples will be given as to the limit of time and some difference will be observed therein.

137. The Second Future is employed instead of the First Future, in denoting Future time not belonging to the current day, when the word ‘avara’ is used together with a word expressing division of time, but not when it is a word giving the sense of ‘day’ or ‘night’.

The whole of the last sūtra should be read into this. The difference between this and the last sūtra is, that sūtra III. 3. 136 referred both to the limit of space and time, while sūtra III. 3. 137 refers to the limit of time only; moreover with regard to time, there is exception with regard to the portions of day and night. The योगावचारयाम्य, the separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of subsequent aphorisms. Thus भोजन संस्तम्य भागानि तव बहसाराजाधार्म्याः भोजनलाह अवरात्मनः ‘in the month of Chaitra, the year after next, we shall read together’; भोजनलाह ‘we ate rice then &c’.

This construction is, of course, only valid in denoting future time, otherwise not. Therefore not here: भोजन संस्तम्य भागानि तव बहसाराजाधार्म्याः भोजनलाह अवरात्मनः ‘in the month of Chaitra, the year before last, we read together’; भोजनलाह ‘we ate together &c’.

Why do we say ‘limit’? Observe भोजन विनाशी भागानि तव वहसाराजाधार्म्याः भोजनलाह अवरात्मनः ‘in the month of Chaitra, the year after next, we eat together’.

The limit must be ‘on this side i.e. nearer side’. With the पर side limit, this rule will not apply. With the word पर, this construction is optional. See the next sūtra.

Why do we say ‘when not divisions of day and night’? There are three sorts of counter-examples in this case; as, भोजन सल्लाभानि पर भोजनम्: or भोजन विनाशी भागानि तव वहसाराजाधार्म्याः or भोजन विनाशी भागानि तव भोजनम्: परवर्त्तिकाः दुधाः भोजनलाह सत्य सकून, पालासः। Here लुत्र, or First Future has been employed and not the Second Future.
138. Optionally so, when a declaration is made with regard to that side of a limit of time.

The whole of the last aphorism must be read into this: The sutra will then stand thus: "The Second and the First Futures are optionally both employed in denoting future time, not belonging to the current day, instead of the First Future alone, when the word या is used signifying a limit of time on that side of a fixed period, provided that this word does not give the sense of day or night".

This rule allows an option when the time refers to the या side of a starting limit. Thus या संस्तुतिः सभागोर्तिः तथा या या (वर्षम्) वर्षम् वर्षम् or अधि 'we will read together in the month of Chaitra, the year after next'.

All the counter-examples given under the last aphorism, are also valid here by substituting the word या instead of अधि.

139. Where there is a reason for affixing 'Lin' the affix 'Lin' is employed in the Future tense when the non-completion of the action is to be understood.

The words 'in denoting future time' are here. The reasons for affix लिङ्ग are such as cause and effect &c. mentioned in sutra III. 3. 156 and 157 &c. The लिङ्ग is called the conditional tense. "It comes in the conditional sentences in which the non-performance of the action is implied; or where the falsity of the antecedent is implied as a matter of fact. It usually corresponds to the English Pluperfect Conditional, and must, in Sanskrit, be used in both the antecedent and the consequent clauses".—Apte's Guide.

Thus सुकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृ�िकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृतिकृति
140. And (where there is a reason for affixing 'Liṅ', the affix 'Lṛṅ' is to be employed, when the non-completion of the action is to be understood) if the sense is that of past time.

The whole of the last aphorism is understood in this. The last sūtra enjoined लृत् in the Future tense; this sūtra ordains it in the Past, the Conditional tense having both these significations. The reasons for affixing लिङ्क are given in sūtras III. 3. 152 and those that follow it. In sūtra III. 3. 141 and those that follow, as far as III. 3. 152, optional rules for the employment of the Conditional tense will be given. Thus:—हृद्यो गया भरस्वगोऽस्त्रायाम् चाःक्ष्यमाणान् अभिरथ हिंद्रो भ्राम्यार्जर्जनः वर्ण तैतेत् हृद्योभिध्वतः सत्तर्मोऽस्त्रियन् न तु पुल्लादं अस्त्रेयो पया श वत्: 'I saw your son, wandering about in search of food, I saw also a twice-born in search of a Brāhmaṇa (whom he would feast); if he (your son) had been seen by him (the twice-born), then he would have been fed; but as a matter of fact, he has not been fed, he went by a different road'.

The conditional sentence वति तैतेत् हृद्योभिध्वतः सत्तर्मोऽस्त्रियन् is employed under circumstances set out above. It refers to a past time, there is the relation of cause and effect existing, one being in search of food, and another in search of a guest to feed; and the action is not completed; both taking different roads, did not come across each other.
141. From this point as far as śūtra III. 3. 152 (the whole of the following sentence is to be taken as exerting a governing influence on the śūtras that follow: where there is a reason for affixing ‘Liṅ’, the ‘Lṛṅ may be) optionally (employed in denoting past time, when the non-completion of the action is to be understood).

All the words within brackets must be supplied from the previous śūtras to complete the sense. This śūtra consists of three words वा ‘optionally’, अव ‘as far as’ and जयामो (the śūtra III. 3 152). The words वा + अव + ज form जयामो by the rules of conjunction. The particle अव in this aphorism has the force of limit exclusive and not that of limit inclusive. The optional use of the conditional tense will be illustrated in the following aphorisms, where, in addition to the special tenses to be employed by those rules, we may employ the conditional also under those very circumstances, in the alternative, provided that the non-completion of the action is understood. Prof. Bohlingk translates this aphorism thus: “optionally so, in connection with जयामो and अव, the conditional tense may be employed”.

142. The affix ‘Lat’ is employed after a root, when it has in composition with it the words ‘api’ or ‘jātā’, the sense implied by the sentence being that of ‘censure’.

The word गर्त्त means ‘censure, blame’. The affix जयाम has been enjoined to come with a present signification, and would not have come to denote time in general, which, however, it does here, for here the Present tense is employed in preference to the tense required by the time of the action, which is totally excluded. Hence the present śūtra.

Thus अनि तव नवानु वृपलं वाजवति ‘even your honor sacrifices (or sacrificed or will sacrifice) to a Śūdra’; गर्त्त तव नवानु वृपलं वाजवति गहारं, अनि अवाचकवेतस्तव ‘possibly your honor sacrifices for a Śūdra’; the sense implied being that such conduct on the part of those men are blameworthy.

In the present case, there being no occasion for the application of जयाम, of course, we cannot employ जयाम to denote the non-completion of the action.
So also भति or मा भति वायूं स्वेच्छा 'Fiel you abandon (or abandoned or will abandon) your wife'.

विभाषा कविष्ठ लिङ्गः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ विभाषा, कविष्ठ, लिङ्गः, (गहरायों, लट्ट, वोताप्यो:) ॥

वृत्तः ॥ कविष्ठम् उपपत्तिः गहरायों व्यवाहारायो व्यासलिङ्गसंबोधनम् भविः, कविष्ठम् ॥

143. The affix 'Liṅ' as well as 'Laṭ' is optionally employed after a root, when the word 'katham' is in construction with it, and censure is implied.

The word 'censure' is understood, and by लट we draw नद्र from the previous sūtra into this. By using the word 'optionally' in the aphorism, it is indicated that this rule does not exclude the application of the alternative tenses which would otherwise have been required by the time of the action. It is not total exclusion like the last. Thus कहन नाम तत्र भवान् वृष्णज्ञ वायुसद्वेदिन् or वायुवेदि or वायुविनिविनि 'Indeed, how your honor can (or will) sacrifice for a Śūdra'.

So also कहन नाम तत्र भवान् वृष्णज्ञ वायुसद्वेदिन्, भवानवेदिन् or वायुवेदि वायुविनिविनि.

Here there is an occasion for the application of the Potential mood (विनेश); therefore when we intend to express non-completion of action in the past time, we can optionally employ the Conditional also (लृह). As कहन नाम तत्र भवान् वृष्णज्ञ भवानवेदिन् or वायुवेदि 'Indeed, why did your honor (attempt to) sacrifice for that Śūdra (in vain)'.

Under similar circumstances, in denoting future time, the Conditional (लृह) must invariably be employed (III. 3. 139); as, करवेदव् मरवलिच्यो: 'why will you (attempt to) give up your duty'.

विनेश लिङ्गाः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ किन्युर्योऽति, लिङ्गाः, (गहरायों, वोताप्यो:) ॥

वृत्तः ॥ किन्युर्योऽति गहरायों गम्बरायों व्यासलिङ्गसंबोधनम् नद्रः ॥

144. The affixes 'Liṅ' and 'Laṭ' come after a verb, when the interrogative words like 'kim' &c., are in composition with it, and censure is implied.

Here also the Potential and the First Future are employed in preference to the time required by the action.

The word 'censure' is understood here; not so, however, the word 'optionally'. This excludes all other tense-affixes. The repetition of the word लिङ्ग in this sūtra, is for the sake of excluding लट, whose anuvṛtti would also have run into this sūtra, had we taken the anuvṛtti of लिङ्ग from the last sūtra, instead of repeating it. Thus क: कामरो वा इति निर्वेष्न, निर्विनिलि वा 'who will censure Hari?'
In the Past tense, when the non-completion of action is implied, we may optionally employ the Conditional (कृत); and in the Future tense, under similar circumstances, we must employ the Conditional necessarily; as को नाम पुष्पोऽ तन नाथस्वानविवचतः ‘who is the Sūdra for whom your honor did sacrifice (in vain)’. This sūtra may be rendered thus also:—‘In connection with an Interrogative Pronoun, when censure is implied, may be employed the Potential or the First Future’.

अतब्रह्मसप्तयोरकिंतुभिः पदायति अतब्रह्मसप्तयोः.

145. When it is to be expressed that some body holds that something is not likely to take place, or is not to be tolerated, the Potential and the First Future are employed, even without the Interrogative Pronoun.

The anuvṛtti of the word ‘censure’ ceases. The word अतब्रह्म: means ‘impossibility, not to be believed’. The word अथवः means ‘not endurable or not to be tolerated’. This excludes all other tenses, the Potential and the 2nd Future coming in preference to all other tenses required by the time of the action. In the Dvandva Compound अतब्रह्मसप्तयोऽऽ: the word अतब्रह्म: ought to have stood as second member of the compound as it contains larger number of syllables than the word अथवः (II. 2. 14). The non-compliance with rule II. 2. 14. indicates that the rule of ब्रह्मसप्तयोऽऽ: (I. 3. 10) does not apply here, which would otherwise have applied—the sense of the sūtra then being ‘that the Potential should be employed when the act is not likely to occur, and the 2nd Future to be used when the act is not to be tolerated’. This is not, however, the interpretation which we should put upon the sūtra.

Thus नावकर्मचाः, न सर्वत्सप्तयोः, न अनेकस्य, तच नानान् नाम पुष्पं अश्रवेत् or वाज्यितति ‘I do not believe, or think it possible or trust that your honor sacrifices (or sacrificed or will sacrifice) for a Sūdra’. न अनेकस्य स्वरूपान् पुष्पं बाज्यितति or वाज्यितति ‘I can not tolerate that your honor does (did or will) sacrifice for a Sūdra’.

When past time together with the non-completion of the action is to be expressed, we may optionally employ the Conditional (कृत), but necessarily so, when Future time is to be expressed. Thus नावकर्मचाः तच नानान् पुष्पम् अवाहितविवचतः ‘I do not believe that your honor did or will sacrifice for a Sūdra’.

किंकिलास्येपुष्पः स्तूति। पदायति किंकिल-स्तूति, स्तूतः.

(Aतब्रह्मसप्तयोऽऽ: वोतामया:)
146. The affix ‘Lrīt’ (the First Future) is used after a root, when the words ‘kimkila’ or those having the sense of ‘asti’ (he is) are in construction with it, (when the action is not likely to occur, or is not to be tolerated).

The words within brackets must be supplied from the last aphorism. The whole word किम्किल्य is to be taken as an upapada and not the word किंकिल्य and किल्य separately. This word expresses anger. The words having the sense of अस्ति are अस्ति, अस्तिति and विदायि। This rule supersedes the Potential (किंकिल्य). Thus किम्किल्य or अस्तिति or विदायि or विदायि नाम तन अस्ति

वृषभतः वाजिन्यसमस्ति, न अर्जनावयि, न नहुष्के

‘Is it possible that your honor will (or did or does) sacrifice for a Sūdra? I cannot believe or tolerate it.’

As there is no occasion for लर्त्त here, we cannot have the Conditional (शृङ्ख) required by rule III. 3. 141.

Another example is न अध्ययनं जानं यथे व फिन्किल्य 8वम शून्यानं शोध्यसेये ‘I do not believe or can tolerate that thou shouldst eat the food of Sūdra; अस्तिति शून्यिन विदायि शून्यिन गणिति ‘Is it possible that thou shouldst go to a female Sūdra’.

147. The affix ‘Līn’ comes after a root, the words ‘jātu’ and ‘yat’ being in construction with it, when the sense is that the action is not believed to be likely, or is not to be tolerated.

This excludes the First Future or ‘Lrīt’. जातु सव अस्ति, वृषभतन्य वाजिन्यसमस्ति, न अर्जनावयि, न अर्जनावयि।

Vart.—The words वसा and वदि should be enumerated along with the words जातु and वसा in this rule. As वसा or वदि ते भायायो हार्ति निन्देऽवाहिनेय वाजिन्यसमस्ति न अर्जनावयि ‘neither do I think, nor do I tolerate that one like you should blaspheme Hari’.

Here also when the non-completion of the action is implied, the Conditional (शृङ्ख) is necessarily employed in denoting future time, and optionally so in denoting past time. As जातु, वसा or वदि ते भायायो हार्ति निन्देऽवाहिनेय or वाजिन्यसमस्ति न अर्जनावयि वा ‘neither do I believe, nor do I tolerate that one like you did attempt to blaspheme Hari’.

वदि सुरुदमिनामसमस्ति वाजिन्यसमस्ति तव रति

राज्यवानं पुरोक्षों किमदिन्य ‘if you had felt (which you clearly have not) the fragrant smell of her breath, would you have had any liking for this lotus?’
148. The affix ‘Liṅ’ comes after a root, the words ‘yachcha’ and ‘yatra’ being in construction, when the sense is that the action is not believed to be likely, or not to be tolerated.

This supersedes the First Future. The separation of this aphorism from the previous one, is for the sake of the rules that follow. The rule I. 3. 10 does not also apply here. Thus वचन ति व शोभे कुजि: न भावे, न नय्याति: ‘I do not think, nor can I tolerate that thou wilt do so’.

The Conditional (ङ्कुः) will also be employed under its own proper conditions as shown in the last aphorism.

149. The affix ‘Liṅ’ comes after a root in all tenses when the words ‘yachcha’ and ‘yatra’ are in composition with it, provided that censure is implied.

The governing force of the words anavaklīpi and amārṣa ceases. This debars all other tense-affixes. Thus वचन य ति न भाव: पुष्टि: वामवे न: गहन न: अभि: अनवाचकाष्टि ‘we blame you who being an opulent, old Brāhmaṇa (who ought to know better) officiate as a sacrificial priest for a Sūdra, O! It is improper’.

When the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional tense must be employed under the rules given in III. 3. 139-140-141. As वचन: अर्थ ति न हैरं: निहः: अर्थविनियम्। गहन न: ‘we censure that you should (have attempted to) blaspheme Hari’, &c.

150. The affix ‘Liṅ’ comes in all tenses after a root, when used with the words ‘yachcha’ and ‘yatra’ and the sense implied is that of ‘wonder’.

The word स्वतति: means ‘wonder, astonishment, strangeness &c’. This debars all the other tense-affixes. Thus वचन य ति न भाव: पुष्टि: वामवे ‘this is a wonder that you should sacrifice for a Sūdra’.
When the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional is employed under the rules III. 3. 139, 140 and 141. Thus भाववेदवत् वच्च or वचचे श्रं चूं चावस्य: or भववेदवत् वच्च: ‘it is a wonder that you should (have attempted to) perform a sacrifice for a Sūdra’; भाववेदवत् वच्च: or वचचे श्रं चूं चावस्य: ‘it is a wonder that you should (hereafter attempt to) make a Sūdra perform a sacrifice.

श्रे, श्रुतं, श्रुतं, (विद्याकर्षे) ||

रुति: || समवेदवत् विशिष्ठकर्षे: गमयमे प्रायोजनात्प्रवाहो अवति बुधिजातीत प्रथम्भे: ||

151. In all other cases, when wonder is implied by other words than ‘yachcha’ and ‘yattra’, the affix ‘Liit’ is employed after a root, except when the word ‘yadi’ is used.

In all other cases, that is to say, in cases where the words वच्च or वच are not employed, as well as where the word श्रठि is not used, the First Future is used in preference to the Potential.

Thus भाववेदवत्, चित्र, असनम् अन्तो नाम देवताराहितत, विम्मो नाम देवताराहितत अवते ‘it is wonderful, strange and astonishing that the blind man should ascend a mountain, or a deaf person should read grammar’.

Not so, when the word श्रठि is employed. Thus भाववेदवत् श्रठि सुधीरायत ‘a wonder, if he study’. भाववेदवत् श्रठि सुधीत ‘a wonder, if he eat’.

As there is, in this case, no occasion to employ the Potential, we cannot employ the Conditional as directed in sūtras III. 3. 139, 140 and 141.

उपायोः सतैतेऽपि || भववेदवत् || वत-अयोः, सतैतेऽपि:

सिः ||

रुति: || तस भाववेदवत्: सतैतेऽपि विशिष्टहाथ्य प्रवाहो भवति ||

152. The affix ‘Liit’ comes after a verb in all tenses, when the words ‘uta’ and ‘api’, both having the same meaning, are in composition.

This excludes all the other tense-affixes. The meaning which is common both to वत and भववेदवत् is that of वत ‘assuredly, certainly, surely, really’. Thus वत भववेदवत् ‘certainly he does’; भववेदवत् भववेदवत् ‘assuredly he does’; उताधिवीति ‘certainly he studies (will study &c); भववेदवत् हृत ‘certainly he studies &c’.

Why do we say ‘when they mean certainly’? Observe वत भववेदवत् परिन्दवति ‘will the stick fall?’ भववेदवत् ‘he shuts the door’. Here भववेदवत् is employed in asking questions, and भववेदवत् with भव means ‘to shut’. The option allowed by rule III. 3. 141 ceases. Hereafter the Conditional (भववेदवत्) must invariably be used even in indicating Past action, when action is not completed, and there is reason for the employment of भववेदवत् (Potential). In indicating Future time, of course, भववेदवत्

must necessarily be employed as before. Henceforward, therefore, no option is allowed, but नृत्त must be employed where sutras III. 3. 139 and 140 require it.

कान्यमेवेदने काव्यिति II १५३ II पदापि II कान्य-प्रवेदने, काव्यिति,

(लिङ्ग) II

रुपि: II कान्य इद्यानिलाय इम्नायमिति, सत्ता प्रवेदने प्रकाशाण, वलित्तु रामसायाने काव्यिते

153. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, in expressing or making known of a wish, except when the word 'kachchhit' is in composition with it.

The phrase कान्यप्रवेदन means the expression of one's wish. This debars all other tense-affixes. As कान्यो मे नुस्थान नवापु = अभिलाभे मे नुस्थान नवापु 'it is my wish that you will eat'.

Why do we say 'except the word कार्तिर' ? Observe काृंकित्रति से माता कार्तिरति ले रिता। काृंकित्रति रूपि: इद्यानिलाय कार्तिरति भासे। II 'I hope thy mother is living, I hope thy father is living, I ask thee, O māravid I (Parrot), I hope that Pārvati is living'.

संभावनाधिकति चेति चिंद्रापयोगे II १५४ II पदापि II संभावने,

अलस्, इति, चेति, चिंद्र-आपयोगे, (लिङ्ग) II

रुपि: II संभावने, किरीतू बोला-द्वारसायानिलायन, कवितानीपाप्तय विशेषत्व, सत्ते संभावने परमानिलायण भवति, के इद्यानिलाय इद्यानिलायण, किरीतू बोला-द्वारसायान, यथा सम्यके पालं नावाने प्रमुख्यवति, सप्राप्ते सम्यकेनिलायानिलायण परमानिलायण भवति II

154. The affix 'Lin' is employed after a root, when the expectation (of a person or thing being able or competent to do or suffer the action denoted by the verb) is implied (or expressed by any other word used along with them) than 'alam'.

The word लिङ्ग is understood here. The word संभावन means supposition and expectation in the power or ability of another to perform any action. This word is here qualified by the sense of the word अलस. The word अलस means 'adequate'; so that the above-mentioned संभावन must be completed, full and true i.e. realised. The phrase चिंद्रापयोगे qualifies अलस, and means 'if the non-employment or omission of अलस is valid or unobjectionable. When is that unobjectionable, when the sense of अलस is implied by the sentence, but this word itself is not used? The Potential Mood is employed when the expectation is of the kind above described. This rule debars all other tense-affixes. Thus अलस परविन्द रिता चिंद्रापयोगे 'I expect he will break even the hill with his head'; अलस होगा-परविन्द नुस्थान 'I expect you will eat away even a droma of cooked food'.

Why do we use the word अलस 'competent to do'? Observe, निरेशासादी
Bk. III. Ch. III. § 155, 156. THE AFFIX LIN.

I expect Devadatta who is living in a foreign country, will some day go back to his country. Here though expectation is expressed the idea conveyed by भवत्, namely, the power to do something or adequacy to do is not present; and hence the Future is employed instead of the Potential.

Why do we use the phrase सत्तायांते 'when the actual result does not take place'? Observe, भवत् रेखणो हितनं हित्यति 'Devadatta is in a position to kill the elephant, and he will carry it out also'.

Under similar circumstances, in past and future times, when non-completion of action is indicated, the Conditional tense (करत) must be invariably used in preference to every other tense. Professor Bohlingk translates the सूत्रa thus: 'The Potential is employed when it is expressed that someone is believed to be capable of doing something, pre-supposing that the actual performance of the action does not take place'.

155. The affix 'Lin' is optionally employed after a verb when it has another verb which expresses 'expectation', in construction with it, but not so when the word 'yat' is used.

The whole of the last सूत्रa qualifies this सूत्रa; the 'expectation' indicated here being of the kind mentioned in the last सूत्रa and governed by the conditions laid down in that aphorism. The word by which an 'expectation' is expressed such as संभवं भवत् or भविष्यत, is called संभवं-भवत्. This सूत्रa enjoins an option where by the last aphorism, there would have been necessarily the Potential Tense. Thus संभावित्ति नुभवति or नोहोत्ते मयान् 'I expect you will eat'; अवकाशवित्ति भवति or 'I hope you will eat'; भवं भविष्यति 'I believe you will eat'. But no option is allowed, and the Potential must necessarily be used, when the word यत् is employed. As संभविक यत् 'I expect you will eat'.

The सूत्रa may also be rendered thus. 'The Potential is not necessarily employed where there is in connection with it a verb in the sense of 'to hold as possible', but not when यत् is employed.'

156. The affix 'Lin' is optionally employed after both those verbs which express the condition and its consequence.
The word हेतु means 'cause or 'condition' and हेतुम् means consequence or effect. This supersedes all other tense-affixes; in other words, 'in conditional sentences in which one statement is made to depend upon another as its reason or ground, the Potential is used in both the antecedent and the consequent, otherwise called the protasis (हेतु) and apodosis (हेतुम्), the former containing the condition or ground of argument, and the latter the conclusion based upon it. Thus:—वत्सिन्धो चन्द्रावासं शाक्रात् पर्वार्थेः, 'if he go by the right side, the cart will not be upset'; विन कललक्षन्न भार्येष शाक्रात् पर्वार्थेः 'if he calls Kamalaka, the cart will not be upset'. Here 'going by the right side' is the protasis (हेतु), and 'not-upsetting' the apodosis (हेतुम्).

This is an optional use of the Potential; we may use the Second Future in the alternative; thus वत्सिन्धो शेषा वाती न शाक्रात् पर्वार्थविवधिद् 'if he goes by the south, the cart will not be upset'.

The word विन्न अलग 'optionally' used in the sutra immediately preceding is also understood here.

Though the anuvrtti of लिङ्क could have been taken from the last aphorism, its repetition here is for the sake of pointing out the particular time, namely, the Future, in which the Potential should be employed. Therefore it is not employed in the following sentences: हस्तों वर्षाकं 'he kills therefore he flies'; सरीर हस्त वर्षाकं 'it rains therefore he runs'.

It, of course, follows that when the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional (अत्र) should be employed, under these very circumstances. See examples under sutra III. 3. 139.

157. The affixes 'Lin' and 'Lot' are employed after a root; when another verb having the sense of 'wishing, is in construction with it.

This supersedes all other tense-affixes. When words expressing 'wish', such as र्ध, कर, प्राय &c, are used, the Potential or Imperative is used; thus र्धायि करसि or प्रायः मन्त्रायि निष्क्रियकालम् or मुष्ट्यायि भवायि 'I wish, desire or pray that your honor may eat'.

Var. It is only when a desire is expressed that Potential or Imperative should be employed and not merely when the verb 'to wish' or its synonyms are in composition. Therefore the Potential or Imperative are not used here: र्धायि करोि 'wishing, he does'.

The sutra may be rendered thus: 'In connection with a verb in the sense of 'wishing' the Potential or the Imperative may be employed',

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158. The affix 'tumun' comes after a verb, when another verb meaning 'to wish' is in construction, provided that the agent of both the verbs is the same.

Thus र्ष्यार्थिति, वहि or वांछति भोज्यितः ‘he desires to eat’; कामवेदि भोज्यितः ‘he wishes to eat’; विनाकारणिः विलयितः भाटोः्यितः ‘wishes to obtain for her husband the Pīṇaka-handed God Siva’.

But why do we say 'when the agent of the Infinitive and the verb are the same'? We can not say श्रेष्ठस्यो भोज्यित र्ष्यार्थिति यज्ञदत्त याज्ञवल्लकाराः ‘Yajñadatta wishes Devadatta to eat'; for here the agents of श्रेष्ठ and र्ष्यार्थिति are not the same. We must say, श्रेष्ठस्यो भोज्यितः.

Thus why do we not use it here:—र्ष्यार्थिति वांछति ‘wishing, he does’? Because the Infinitive is never found in such constructions. In other words, the Infinitive in त्यौः is employed when both the verbs have the same agent.

159. The affix 'Lin' is used after a verb when verbs meaning 'to wish' are in construction with it, and the agent of both the verbs is the same.

Under similar conditions, with words implying 'wish', the Potential is used in the sense of the Infinitive; Thus त्यौः विविधति र्ष्यार्थिति ‘he wishes that he may eat’; अर्थोऽवस्यां चिन्तति ‘he wishes that he will read’.

When the non-completion of the action is implied, the Conditional must be employed under rule III. 3. 139.
161. The affix ‘Liṅ’ comes after a verb, when the agent either commands, invites, permits, politely expresses a wish, asks questions, or prays.

The word विधि means ‘commanding or directing a subordinate’; निमन्त्रण means ‘giving invitation’; भावनाय means ‘expressing permission to do as one likes’; वीः means ‘to politely express a wish’; सम्प्रेष्य means ‘a question’; and प्रार्थना means ‘a prayer’.

This excludes all other tense-affixes. Thus:—

(1) वाक्रभवानुरुत्तात् ‘let him make the mat’; भावन भावन भावनेत्र ‘you come to the village’;

(2 and 3) इह भावन भावन ‘you will or may dine here’; इह भावन भावन ‘here you will or may sit’;

(4) कथि हस्यमेक्षार्थैव भावनेवच ‘we wish that you should condescend to initiate this boy’;

(5) किं भी व्याकरणयोगीवे समाप्तिः ‘Sir, what shall I learn, the Grammar or the Logic?’

(6) भवति ने शास्त्राऽप्रार्थना भावनामीश्वर वे ‘this is my prayer that I should learn Grammar’.

162. The affix ‘Loṭ’ also is employed after a root in the sense of commanding, &c.

The Imperative Mood is employed also under the circumstances mentioned in the last aphorism. The division of this aphorism from the last, is for the sake of subsequent śūtras in which the anuvṛtti of loṭ only runs and not those of others. Thus:—

(1) करेऽ भावन भावन ‘make the mat’; भावन भावन भावन ‘I will or may sit’.

(2 and 3) भवन भवन भावन ‘there you are invited to, or you may sit’.

(4) पुनर्भावन ‘you will teach, I hope, the son’.

(5) किं भी वेत्तमये देवस्यन ‘Sir what shall I learn, the Veda or the Logic?’

(6) भवति ने पार्थना व्याकरणयोगीवे ‘this is my prayer that I may learn the Grammar, or that I may learn the Prosody’.
163. The affixes called ‘Kritya’, and the affix ‘Loṭ’ come also after verbs, in the sense of direction, granting permission, and proper (particular) time.

The word ै वै means ‘direction’; अतिस्वम: means ‘permission to do as one likes’; अवस्रास: means ‘arrival of appropriate occasion or time for the doing of an action’. The force of ष is to introduce the word ष्रू into this aphorism. Thus भव: करणीव, करण्य; कुल: or कार्य: ‘you must, (may, or it is proper time for you to) make the mat’.

So instead of the Passive Potential Participle, for such the Kritya affix (III. i. 95 &c) may properly be called; we may have the Imperative also. Thus करिश्च वह ‘you must (may or it is the appropriate time to) make the mat’.

It might be asked ‘Why the kriya affixes are enjoined to come with the force of direction, permission &c’. They have been ordained most generally to come in denoting action in the Abstract (अ) and object (क) and a fortiori they will come in denoting the senses of direction, permission &c; for the latter are but a species of action. If you say that ष्रू being ordained in these special senses, will (on the principle, that an apavāda or special rule excludes an utsarga or general rule within the jurisdiction of such special rule) exclude kriya affixes; we would reply, that kriya affixes will not be excluded, for the rule of non-uniform affixes (III. i. 94) will apply’.

To this objection we answer ‘the special mention of the word kriya in this sūtra, indicates the existence of the following maxim:—

‘The rule of non-uniform affixes (III. i. 94) does not necessarily apply in all cases after sūtra III. 3. 94 treating of primary affixes by which feminine nouns are formed’.

Q.—What is the difference between the words विशिष्ट and वै ? Some say विशिष्ट means a precept enjoining something for the first time; while वै means mere ‘direction’.

164. The affix ‘Lin’ (as well as the ‘Kritya’ and ‘Loṭ’) is used (under similar circumstances in the sense of direction, permission &c.) when the time is future by a Muhūrta (48 minutes or an Indian hour); (or the Potential may be used as well, when it signifies ‘at this very moment’),
The affix tumun. [Bk. III. Ch. III. § 165-167.

The words श्रेणि &c. of the last सूत्र must be read into this. The force of च is to introduce the words कुस्ता and निस्तित from the last सूत्र, into this. Thus कुस्ता मुन्नाराणि निस्तित स्वभावः निस्तित स्वभावः करत्वा च, करणीमे, कार्यः, or भावने करत्वा कुस्ता करत्वा च (Potential) or करोति (Imperative). 'You may make the mat after an Indian hour'; or you must &c., or 'it is proper time for you to make a mat just now'. Compare III. 3. 9.

समेत से लेटि || १६५ || पदार्थि || समेत, से लेटि (प्रेषातिसुप्रमाणकालेनु, अनुमानाहृतिनि) ||

165. The affix 'Lot' comes after a verb, when the word 'sma' is in composition; (when the sense is that of 'direction' permission) &c. and referring to time future by a Muhurta.

This supersedes the Potential (लिक) and Potential Passive Participles (अस्त्र). Thus करप्रेमू नमोगात्मने भावने करोति ल्य, तात्त्व भावने ल्य, भावनमभावापूयत त्य 'you (may, must, or it is proper time to) make the mat, or go to the village, or teach Manavaka just now'.

अधि प्रेमे च || १६६ || पदार्थि || अधि प्रेमे, च (सेते, लेति) ||

166. And when 'wish' is meant (the Imperative may be used when the word 'sma' is in composition with the verb).

The word ल्य is understood here. The word अधि has already been explained in सूत्र III. 3. 161. This rule supersedes the Potential. Thus भक्ति करोति श्राबन्ध मायवधानपञ्चोपन्त्र भक्ति करोति श्राबन्धमिज्जनेश्वरु पुष्पि 'O! king! I wish that you teach the boy or make Agnishatra sacrifice'.

कालाप्रायेलावृक्षु मुन्नु || १६७ || पदार्थि || काल-तय-वेलावृ, मुन्नु ||

167. The affix 'tumun' comes after a root, when the words 'kāla', 'samaya', and 'velā' (all meaning time) are in composition.

Thus काली भक्तिः 'time to eat'; समयं भक्तिः गतिकालेने वेलावृ 'it is time to bathe and take food'; श्रेणि श्रेणिः 'time to eat'. In short, Infinitive in मुन्नु may be used with words meaning 'time'; as अक्षकरोवधानलाम भक्तिः श्रेणिः 'this is, indeed, the time to show myself'.

Why do not we use the Infinitive here? कालि: प्रणालि 'time de-
vours all creatures'. The sense of 'direction &c.' is understood in the sūtra; so when 'direction &c.' is not meant, the Infinitive will not be used.

Why do not we use the Infinitive here, कालै योनिमवत 'proper time to eat'? Because, by the rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94), we can use also the affix युक्त (by which the word युक्त is formed). As we have already said in sūtra III. 3. 163 that after sūtras III 1. 113 and forward, namely, in other sūtras than those treating of feminine affixes, the rule of III. 1. 94 may be employed as an Anitya or a non-universal rule.

168. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, when the word 'yad' is in composition, and the words 'kāla', &c. occur in construction.

This ordains the Potential and supersedes the Infinitive in 'tumnum'. Thus कल, कमः, बेला या बध निशें 'it is time that your honor should take your meals'.

169. The affixes 'kritya', and the affix 'trich' are added to a root, when fitness as regards the agent is implied, (as well as the affix 'lin').

The force of च is to introduce the Potential (सुङ्ख) into this, from the last. Thus भवत कलन कथा शोभना गिया or शानिया, (kritya); or भावन, लक्ष्य कथा धीरा (trich); or मन्त्र न्यून कलन वहें (lin) 'your honor is fit to marry the girl'.

Why specifically enjoin 'kritya' and 'trich' in the sense of fitness? They being enjoined universally, would a fortiori, be applied when fitness is to be denoted? Because the सुङ्ख being specially enjoined to denote fitness, and being an Apavāda, would have debarred kritya and trich, which being universal affixes, would give way. Nor can we, to prevent this contingency, take shelter under rule III. 1. 94 of 'non-uniform affixes', for we have seen that that rule is not universally valid.

170. The affix 'nini' is added to the root in denoting agent, showing that there is some 'necessity'
or indebtedness or obligation on the part of the agent in connection with the action denoted by the verb.

Thus भवसं कारी ‘must be done’. The compounding here takes place by II. 1. 72. So also शत हावी ‘ought to be given a hundred'; शहान शाबी; निधक शाय (अ) &c.

कृत्याञ्च १७१ पदानि कृत्या, च, (आवश्यकार्यचन्दन्ते:) इ

२३३ १७१ कृत्याञ्च १७१ पदानि कृत्या, च, (आवश्यकार्यचन्दन्ते:) इ

२३३ १७१ कृत्याञ्च १७१ पदानि कृत्या, च, (आवश्यकार्यचन्दन्ते:) इ

171. The affixes called ‘कृत्या’ also come after a root when the sense to be indicated is that of ‘necessity or obligation’.

Thus भवसं चतुष्टी वर्गं कर्त्याञ्च; कर्त्याञ्च; कर्त्याञ्च; कार्यं or कृत्यं: ‘you ought to make the mat’; भवसं चतुष्टी शताधिकं शाबी, वेष, &c, ‘you ought to pay a hundred’.

Q.—Where is the necessity of this aphorism? The कृत्या affixes, being enjoined universally without any limitation would, of course, come under these special circumstances also.

A.—They would be excluded by the special affix लिङ्ग of the last सूत्रa, which comes especially with the force of ‘necessity’ and ‘obligation’.

Q.—Not so, for लिङ्ग comes in denoting the ‘agent’ (कारी), while कृत्या denotes the ‘action’ (कृत्या) and the ‘object’ (कृत्या); so their scope being different, how can one supersede the other?

A.—Well, to remove this objection, some say, that कृत्या words like अभवसं, वेष, &c (III. 4. 68) which especially refer to the agent, are the proper examples to be given under this aphorism; and not examples of कृत्या-formed words in general.

शक्ति लिङ्ग च १७२ पदानि शक्ति, लिङ्ग, च, (कृत्याञ्च:) इ

२३३ १७२ पदानि शक्ति, लिङ्ग, च, (कृत्याञ्च:) इ

172. And the affix ‘लिङ्ग’ as well as the ‘कृत्या’ affixes come after a verb, when the sense is that of ‘capacity’.

The word ‘capacity’ qualifies the root so that the sense of ‘capacity must be inherent in the root; Thus भवसं चतुष्टी शताधिकं शाबी; वेष; वापं (कृत्या), or भवसं चतुष्टी शताधिकं शाबी; वेष; ‘you can carry the load’.

Though कृत्या-affixes would have come in this sense, even without any special rule, for they are general affixes, their special mention in this सूत्रa is to guard against their being superseded by लिङ्ग, for rule III. 1. 94 is not universally valid.
173. The affixes 'Lin' and 'Lot' come after a verb by which 'benediction' is intended.

The word भाषा means the wish to obtain an object which one desires, a blessing, an expression of one's good wishes. The लिङ here referred to is what is known as the भाषालिङ or the Benedicive tense. Its conjugation is different from the conjugation of the ordinary लिङ, which we have called the Potential or Optative; as निर्बन्ध भवान or निर्बन्ध भवान 'may you live long'.

Why do we say 'when denoting benediction'. Observe निर्बन्ध भवान: 'Devadatta' lives long'.

174. The affixes 'ktich' and 'kta' are employed after a root, when benediction is intended, provided that the whole word so formed, is an appellative.

The affixes therefore, 'give the sense of the agent, with the addition that the action is simply the object of a prayer of some one who wishes that that may be the action of that agent, the sense being simply appellative.' Thus भवान: = भवान 'a weaver' (lit. may he weave); भवान: or भवान: = भवान (VI. 4.45) 'wealth or gift'; भवान: = भवान 'success'; भवान: = भवान 'respect'. These are examples of words formed by the affix भवान। Of words formed by भवान in this sense, we have देवान: = देवान एवं देवान: 'Devadatta (lit. may the Gods give him). Though the affix भवान has already once been generally ordained, its repetition here is to prevent its being superseded by भवान। The भ of भवान is qualifying only, distinguishing it from भवान &c. and is useful in sūtra VI. 4.39.

175. The affix 'Lun' comes after a verb when the word 'man' is used in connection with it.

This sets aside all other tense-affixes. As ना भाषाविल 'let him not do' ना भाषाविल 'let him not take'.

How have we then the Imperative and the Future tenses in the following sentence instead of the Aorist? ना भवान सत्य पार्श ना अवस्थात। This sentence is against good usage. Or, we may explain it by saying that there is another ना which has not the indicatory ना; and with that ना, other tenses may be used. The augment is elided after the prohibitive particle ना, by VI. 4.74.
176. When the word 'man' is followed by 'sma', the affix 'Lañ' as well as 'Luñ' may be employed after a verbal root.

By च we introduce लुञ्ज into the aphorism. Thus मास्न करोत्, or कार्ष्ण 'let him not make'; मास्न हर्व or हर्ष्ण 'let him not take'.
1. When there is a syntactical relation between the senses of the verbs, the affixes are valid, even in denoting time other than that for which they have been specifically enjoined.

The above sūtra is thus translated by Professor Bohtlingk:—“Words formed with affixes stand, (in reference to the time) in closer relation to the verb (with which they are allied).” Thus III. 2. 85 has taught that words like अनिधीनवास्वप्न have a past significance, i.e. they denote a person who has already performed the ceremony of Agnishṭoma. According to the present sūtra, in spite of this past significance, inherent in the word, one may use this word with a future tense, whereby it is reduced to a future-denoting word. Thus अनिधीनवास्वप्न पुरुष जनित means ‘to him a son will be born who will perform the said Agnishṭoma sacrifice’.

The above is not a literal translation but rather an adaptation. The literal translation will be something like this. “Affixes are employed in denoting relation (संबन्ध) between the senses of verbs”. The word पादुमण्ड is a Genitive Compound meaning ‘relation of root’. The word पादु ‘root’ is figuratively used for पाद ‘sense of root’; so that the above compound means ‘relation of the senses of roots’. In other words, the relation between the roots should be that of qualifier and the qualified. When there exists such a relation between the senses of two verbs, namely, that of qualifier and the thing qualified, then the affixes may be employed in denoting other times than that specifically ordained for them. In other words, to quote from the Guide to Pāṇini: “It is to be observed, that when primitive words are joined with verbs so as to qualify them, the time of the verbs being mainly the time that controls the sentence, any time denoted by the primitive affixes, by which the former words have been formed will be subordinate to and regulated by, but need not correspond to, the time of the verbs, so far as the form of those words is concerned.”
Thus तत्र धन्यः हाति ‘living there, he saw’; भविष्यनामकावयः पुनः भविष्यति ‘to him a son will be born, a performer of the Agnistoma sacrifice’; तात्: कर: भवि ‘he will be to-morrow maker of the mat’; भविष्यति ‘he will be future’.

Here, though the time of the action of living denoted by धन्यः is present, (III. 2. 124), this action is present only in relation to the action of seeing, and though because the latter action is past, the former action also is past with reference to the speaker or writer, this circumstance does not affect the form of धन्यः, which therefore may remain as it is. In other words, ‘affixes are related directly to the root, and not to the whole sentence’.

Similarly the word भविष्यनामकावयः is formed by an affix (III. 2. 85) denoting past time, while the word भविष्यति is in the Future tense. Now, this linking together of a word in the Past tense with a word in the future is a valid usage. Here the time of the qualified verb भविष्यति does not affect the special time of the qualifier Agnistomayāja.

Q.—Why has the word धन्यः been repeated in this sūtra, when it was understood in this from III. 1.1? Ans.—The repetition is for the sake of indicating that affixes which are not ordained to come after roots (वाचः), but which are enjoined to come after nouns &c. such as Taddhita affixes, are even valid in other tenses than those in which they have been specifically enjoined when related to a verb. Thus गौमानाधीक्षत ‘he was possessed of a cow’; गौमानः भविष्यति ‘he will be possessed of a cow’. Here the Taddhita affix गौः is added to the noun गौ ‘cow’, with a present signification (V. 2. 94), the word गौमाः meaning ‘who has cows’ or ‘in which there are cows’. This word गौमाः, however, is related and validly so, to the words धन्यः and भविष्यति—one in the Past tense and the other in the Future.

2. When the (frequency or) repetition of an action is indicated, the affix ‘Lot’ is added to the root, and the verb is repeated. And the affixes ‘hi’ and ‘sva’, or the affixes ‘tā’ and ‘dhvam’ are the substitutes of ‘Lot’.

Professor Bohtlingk translates this as follows: “When the repetition of an action is expressed, the Imperative is used, and though the second person singular is used, it may also stand for the second person plural.”

The phrase धन्यः of the last sūtra is understood here also. The frequency or repetition of an action is called भविष्यति: 1 This word qualifies the sense of the original. In other words, “when the sense of frequency &c. is under-
stood in connection with the action, this sense not being included in that of
the verb, as it may be in the case of a verb from frequentative roots.'

This Imperative mood is employed in all Tenses and Persons in con-
nection with all moods. But this peculiar use of the Imperative is confined to
the 2nd. person singular and plural Parasmaipada (ि and ◌); and 2nd. person
singular and plural Atmanepada (ः and ण）。 In other words, "the Imperative
second person (Parasmaipada and Atmanepada) is repeated, though the subject
of the main verb be different and the verb be in any tense." Thus सुनीति सुनीति-
स्वेषः सुना॒ति 'he cuts repeatedly', as if some one was always calling out to him
'cut thou, cut thou'. सुनीति सुनीति स्वेषः सुना॒ति: or इसे सुना॒ति 'they cut often and
often'. So also सुनीति सुनीति स्वेषः सुना॒ति, तुषारः सुनीि: or इसे सुना॒ति 'thou or you
two or you all cut repeatedly' as if some one was calling out to you 'cut you,
cut you'.

So also सुनीति सुनीति स्वेषः सुनीि: भर भरानि, भाषणाली &c. 'you cut, I
cut, he has cut repeatedly', as if some one was calling out to us 'cut ye, cut ye'.
Similarly with Atmanepada, roots; as अथिताधानीधिशतेषायपति, इसे अथिताले, इसे
अथिताले &c. 'he or they study hard' as if some one was calling out to them
'study thou, study thou'.

So also अथिताधानीधिशतेषायपति भरानि &c. Similarly in every tense,
mood and person; as, अथिताधानीधिशतेषायपति भरानि, भाषणाले, वाचनादि &c.

The Intensive verbs in बष also have this meaning of frequency, but
there the verb is not repeated, as the sense of frequency there is inherent in the
verb; in this case we must repeat the verb to express frequency. See VIII. i. 4.

This use of the Imperative is not found in Literature (Bohtlingk), but
in Marathi.

रसुचे स्वतरस्थान् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समुचे, अन्तरस्वायत.
(तोड़े, लोटूे, हिंसिते, वा, सर्वाने:) ॥

वृति: ॥ समुचे वेच जिः विबाचनादि तोड़े पर्यायो भवति, तत्स- लोटे हिन्दुः
वाचेर्ते भवते: ॥

3. The affix 'Lot' is similarly added to the root
optionally, when several themes follow one after another.

In this case also the terminations of the second person singular and
plural Atmanepada and Parasmaipada are employed, namely, ि, ॐ, or ण and
अः। Thus वाचनादि वाचनादि वाचनादि वाचनादि वाचनादि वाचनादि
Similar examples can be formed as in the last aphorism; only the Im-
perative is not doubled as in the last case.

Similarly स्वाताः धिशिः, व्याकरणपण्डित, निर्विदाधिशिः व्यासपण्डिते, or इसाधिशिः or
इसे धिशिः 'he or they two or they all learn, learning Prosody, learning Grammar,
learning Nirukta'.

This being an optional rule, we have these forms also; व्याकरणपण्डित,
4. In the first case (comprised under sūtra III. 4. 2), the same verb must be used in the subsequent clause, as the verb which was put in the Imperative mood.

The examples have already been given under sūtra III. 4. 2. We cannot say लूजसि लूजस्वते स्वाबिधः; we must use a verb from the root लू 'to cut'. Such as लूजाति, &c. So also अशीषाशिपाण्डत्व प्राप्तः only after it and not a synonymous verb like पालिति &c.

5. In the second case (III. 4. 3) where many actions are spoken of together, the verb that is made to follow, should be such as has the sense common to all those verbs.

Thus भोजनस्य भोजः, सज्जयिता, धानः: सामाज्यवस्त्रय सामाज्यवस्त्र: प्राप्तंसंवर्ति:; त्रिध्वति:.

6. In the Vedas, the Aorist, Imperfect and Perfect are optionally employed in all tenses, in relation to verbs.

The words भोजस्य and भोजावस्त्रि are understood here also. By saying 'optionally', other tense-affixes may be similarly employed.

Thus वें 'वेनेनिरामिदा' (Rig. I. 1. 5) 'O God Agni I come hither with the gods'. Here the Aorist भावति has the force of the Imperative.
Bk. III. Ch. IV. § 7-9.] THE AFFIXES SE &C.

7. The affix ['Let'] is optionally employed in the Vedas, wherever the Potential can be used.

Thus in the sense of 'command' &c., [Let] may be employed instead of [Let] This is called the Vedic Subjunctive and is peculiar to the Vedas only. Thus [Subjunctive] (Rig. II. 35. 1) 'may he make us beautiful'. [Subjunctive] (Rig. I. 25. 12) 'may he increase'. [Subjunctive] (Rig. VII. 25. 1) 'may the thunder-bolt fall'. [Subjunctive] (Rig. V. 37. 5) 'may he become'. So also [Subjunctive], [Subjunctive], [Subjunctive], [Subjunctive].

8. Where a contingent promise (a reciprocal agreement), or apprehension is implied, the affix ['Let'] is employed after a root, in the Chhandas Literature.

The word [Subjunctive] means 'reciprocal agreement, contracting to do'. Thus [Subjunctive] means [Subjunctive] 'If you do this for me, I will give this to you'. Agreements like these are called [Subjunctive]; while guessing or inferring the result from a cause is called [Subjunctive] 'apprehension or fear'.

Thus [Subjunctive] [Subjunctive] [Subjunctive] [Subjunctive] [Subjunctive] [Subjunctive] [Subjunctive] [Subjunctive]. All the above examples have the sense of Potential, but the Subjunctive ('Let') must be employed necessarily in these cases and not optionally, which anuvṛtti was understood in the last sūtra.

9. In the Vedas the following affixes come
after roots with the force of the suffix 'tumun', viz.:—
'se', 'sen', 'ase', 'asen', 'kse', 'kasen', 'adhyaï', 'adhyaïn',
'kadhyai', 'kadhyain', 'sadhyai', 'sadhyain', 'tavai', 'taven'
and 'taven'.

In the Vedic literature the Infinitive is formed by the above 15 suffixes. These, when stripped of their indicative letters, will be found to consist of the following five suffixes:—(1) के = से, के and के (2) असे = असे, असे and के (3) असे = असे, असे, के, के, के, शे and शे (4) शे (5) शे = शे and शे.

The difference in the suffixes is made by four indicative letters, viz. न्, श्, श् and श्. The forces of के, श् and श् have already been explained; the indicative न् makes the word take the uddita accent on the first syllable (VI. i. 197). Thus के is acute (III. i. 3); श् has acute on the first syllable of the word (VI. i. 197); श् has accent of the suffix (III. i. 3); श् throws the accent on the first syllable of the word; the indicative श् makes the numbers 1 and 12 Sārvadāhātuka, and the root takes the proper Vikaraṇa of its class before these suffixes; while before श्, the acute falls both on the first syllable and the last syllable simultaneously (VI. i. 200, VI. 2. 51).

Before going to give examples of these suffixes, let us explain what is meant by तुमुः 'the sense of the suffix तुमुः'. The word तुमम् is here equivalent to गा or 'action'; for the pratyayas or suffixes, to which no meaning has been assigned in grammar, convey the meaning of the bases to which they are added. Thus no special meaning having been attached to तुम, it will convey the meaning of the root to which it is added, i.e. it will denote the 'action' of the verb, or Infinitive mood. (1) से—से शे शे (Rig. V. 66. 3). (2) श्, —श् श् (Rig. V. 69. 2). (3 and 4) असे and असे—असे श् श् श् श् (Rig. III. 36. 10). So also श् श् श् श् श् (Rig. X. 57. 4). With श् the word will be श् (5) श् (6) श्—गर्भिक श् (Rig. V. 59. 3). It has not the तिन्त accent (VI. i. 197) which would have given us तिन्ते (7 and 8) असे, असे—कर्णमुपायम् (9) श्—कर्णमुपायम् (Rig. VI. 60. 13). (10) श्—श् (11 and 12) श्, श् (13) श्—भविष्यते (Rig. IV. 27. 5); the accent however is on विष्यते (Rig. VI. 60. 13). (13) श्—से ग्रंथम् हस्तिम् माधि श्री (Rig. X. 184. 3). (15) श्—विष्यते (Rig. I. 46. 7); के (Rig. I. 85. 9); हे (16)

प्रयो रोहिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽर्ब्धिष्येऽর্ব্ধিষ

10. The words 'prayai', 'rohisheya' and 'avyan-thishyai' are irregular Vedic Infinitives.
Thus (1) मे हे क्यों कहे? (Rig. I. 142. 6); व + वा + डै = मे = म् क्.म्। (2) भवानि-पीनि रोहि वे। हर्स + हवे + रोहि = रोहणि। (3) भ + वस्त्र + हरे = भवस्त्रिः = भवयणा।

11. The words ‘driśe’ and ‘vikhye’ are anomalous Vedic Infinitives.

Thus द् रीष विला (Rig. I. 50. 1) = द्वारम। विला स्था हरानि = विवाहित।

12. The affixes ‘nāmul’ and ‘kamul’ are added to roots in the Chhandas to form Infinitives, when they are governed by the verb ‘sak’ (to be able).

Of the affix यमक् the real affix is यम्; the letter य causes vṛddhi (VII. 2, 115); and य regulates the accent (VI. 1. 193). So also of कमुल्, the letter क prevents guṇa and vṛddhi substitution (I. 1. 5).

Thus भर्ति = हेंस विनाम नागाक्षुपुष् ‘the Gods were not able to divide Agni’.

13. The affixes ‘tosun’ and ‘kasun’ are added to roots in the Chhandas, to form Infinitives, when the word ‘īśvara’ is in composition.

Thus इत्थरी: = निरतिसु। इत्थरी विलिखा = निविनितसु। इत्थरी विलिखा =

14. The affixes ‘tavai’, ‘ken’, ‘kenya’ and ‘tvan’ are added to roots in the Chhandas, in the sense of the ‘Kritya-affixes’.

The force of kritya affixes is to denote ‘action’ (आचरण) and ‘object’ (क्राँण)।

Thus भलशेष = अभासेषवचन; परिशंक = अभिशंकवचन; नागारि = नागार्ग्रीववचन; दितस्य: (Rig. I.
The affix kasun. [Bk III. Ch. IV. § 15-17.

146. 5) = विद्विदात्मण; बुध्युर्यक्ष = गुप्तविद्विद्मण; कर्मवेन; (Rig. I. 10. 2) = कर्मवेन।

The affix त्वें was mentioned in सूत्रा III. 4. 9 also; there it has the force of the Infinitive, and here that of the Passive Participle. For its accent, see VI. 1. 200; 2. 51.

वाचस्य च १५ ॥ पद्यन्ति ॥ अवचास्ये, च, (हृद्याः, घट्टिः) ॥

वृत्तिः: अवचास्या ज्ञातिः एवमर्गी विनिश्चित, ॥

15. The word 'avachakshe' is an anomalous passive participle in the Vedas.

Thus, सूत्रा मान्यतया (Rig. IV. 58. 5) = नायकवात्स्यम्। अ+चत्+एष्य = अवचासः।

The सूत्रा II. 4. 54 is not applied here.

भावलीखे सूज्ञकाशिदिशिरुत्तनित्रणितयःसूत्रस्य ॥१६॥ पद्यन्ति ॥

भाव-लाखे, स्व-इहण-कुम्भ-कर-ह्य-पार-ह्य-तन्त्र-जातिः, सूज्ञस्। (हृद्याः, घट्टिः)

वृत्तिः: भावे अवचास्ये बहु वलिन्यवर्य हृद्रावान्या घट्टिः भावमहस्वतर्थो विशेषे पुनः

सिद्धेऽर्थम् अवचासे गतिः। ॥

16. The affix 'tosun' comes in the Vedas after the following verbs, when mere name of the action is indicated, viz: —'stha' (to stand), 'in' (to go), 'kri' (to make), 'vad' (to speak), 'char' (to walk), 'hu' (to sacrifice), 'tam' (to grow tired) and 'jan' (to produce).

These are also Infinitives. The phrase कुब्रायाः is not to be read into this सूत्रा. The word भावलीखे qualifies the sense of the root (भावे अवचास्ये बहु).

Thus, स्व—'हृद्रावान्याः' श्रीतिः = भावमहस्वतः। इहण—पुरा सूज्ञकाशि ताराप्राप्तः। कुम्भ—

पुरा वस्मादिपायक्रो । एष्य—पुरा सूज्ञकाशि विनिश्चित। एष्य—पुरा सूज्ञकाशि हृद्रावाः।

(Gopatha Brahmaṇa II. 2. 10)। हृ—भा होतिरमङ्गास्तित्वात्। थन—भा होतिरमङ्गास्तित्वात् (Taitt. Br. I. 4. 2)। अन—भा विज्ञयिः: शमयाम्। तात्त्वस्य (Taitt. S. II. 5. 1. 5). ॥

खित्यदोऽकुम् १६ ॥ पद्यन्ति ॥ खित-ददृशः; कुम्भः (तुषरः)

घट्टिः: इत्यविद्यात्मणां वर्णनानिवेशम् दिव्ययो तुषरः कुम्भः विज्ञयिः। ॥

17. In the Vedas, the affix 'kasun' comes after the verbs 'srip' (to creep) and 'trid' (to injure), in the sense of Infinitives indicating name of action.

Thus, नित्यः। पुरा वस्मादिपायक्रो: (Yaj. I. 28); भावः (Rig. VIII. I. 12); पुरा शमयाम् भावः (Rig. VIII. I. 12). These words are Indecinable by I. 1. 40.

अलंकारः: प्रतिपेक्षयेत: प्राचार्याः ॥१५॥ पद्यन्ति ॥ अलं-कुम्भोऽ

प्रतिपेक्षयेतः, प्राचार्याः, कुम्भः ॥
18. According to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix 'ktva' comes after a verb, when there are in combination with it, the words 'alam' and 'khalu', expressing the sense of prohibition.

The anuvriddhi of the words 'in the Vedas &c' does not extend further. Thus भाल दुःखा 'do not make'; खानु शस्था 'do not drink'; भाल दहल दहस्य 'do not weep, O girl!

Why do we say 'when there are भाल and खानु'? Witness आदायमि: 'do not make'. Why do we say 'when expressing prohibition'? Observe भालुपार्व: 'decoration'.

The phrase 'in the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians' shows that it is an optional rule. Therefore we have भालोरे देवी 'do not weep'. Or if rule III 1.94 be applied, then the use of the word पराण is for the sake of merely showing respect (पौजार्थम्); the rule could have stood without it.

19. According to the opinion of the Northern Grammarians, the affix 'ktva' is added to the root 'मेन' (to exchange), when the sense is that of interchange, (though the action denoted by the former word is not prior to the action denoted by the latter word).

Thus अनुविन्द वालें 'having offered an exchange, he asks' भाल + मेन + क्षाि = भाल + मा + राण्य = भाल + मि + तुः + व (VI 1. 45 and 71) = भाल + निर्मय (VII 4. 40). This is an optional rule, as the phrase 'according to the northern' indicates. So we have in the alternative, वापिन्द्वप्रमते 'having asked he exchanges'; and this is the more general use of 'ktva'; namely, it comes after that verb which is concerned about a time anterior to that of the other; see rule 21. The present सूत्र is an exception to III. 4. 21.

The root इम्र has been exhibited in the सूत्र as भाल, with the vowel अम instead of ल. This indicates the existence of the following Paribhāṣa:—

"A root, which, when destitute of anubandhas, ends in either इ, ओ or ह, must not be considered to have ceased to end in either इ, ओ, or ह, when an anubandha has been attached to it." By this Paribhāṣa हैव must be regarded as ending in ह, and as therefore भ while अ may be substituted for the vowel हे (VI 1. 45), even while इ remains, हैव does assume the form नुम and is consequently; by the prohibition अस्पर्छ in सूत्र I. 1. 20, forbidden to be termed है।
THE AFFIX KTVA. [Bk. III. Ch. IV. § 20, 21.

20. The affix 'ktva' is added to a root, to denote what is situated on that (para) side or on this (avara) side of something.

The situation on the para 'the other' side and avara 'this' side, is called paravarvam. Thus bhavarvam nairthe evasat: sriman: 'the mountain is situated without having reached the river i.e. on this side of the river, the river being on the other side. Here the word varvam is qualified by the word nair which is the point from which the situation is taken; and which in this case, is on the other side of the mountain. Similarly bhavarvam tva varvam nairthe kriya 'the river is situated on the other side of the mountain'. Here the relation between the 'mountain' and the 'river' is of para and avara.

In other words:—"The gerund of a root may be used to imply the situation of a thing with reference to the situation of another spoken of as the agent of the action denoted by that root and of the action denoted by another verb or primitive word used along with the gerund; though the action referred to in the gerund is not prior to the other action"—G. P.

21. When two actions have the same agent, the affix 'ktva' comes after that verb which takes place in a time anterior to that of the other (i.e. the Absolute in 'tva' refers to that action which precedes in time).

Thus putrastriya pragati 'having eaten he goes'; peertha pragati 'having drunk, he goes.'

The rule is not confined to the case of two verbs: thus, stava, peertha, prastriya, hama pragati 'having bathed, drunk, eaten and given, he goes'.

Why do we say 'having the same agent'? When the agents are different, the gerund cannot be used, but the Locative Absolute construction will have to be used to express the same sense. Thus bhurprastriya japatema putrastriya pragati: the 'Brāhmaṇa having been fed, Devadatta goes'.

Why do we say 'which denotes prior action'? For, if the actions are co-eval, the gerundial construction will not be employed. Thus pragati: putrastriya pragati 'he goes and chatters'.
THE AFFIXES KTVA AND NAMUL.

Vart.—The phrase भासमव्यासाभ्यासित, संजीवन्य हस्तिः 'he sleeps, with his mouth open, and laughs with his mouth closed’, is valid, though the affix कृत्त्रा is not added to the verb denoting prior action.

22. The affixes ‘namul’ and ‘ktvā’ come after a root; when re-iteration is to be expressed.

The phrases ‘when the agent of both the verbs is the same’ and ‘after the verb whose action occurs first in time’ are to be read into this sūtra to complete the sense. The force of व is to introduce the affix कृत्त्रा into this sūtra. The affixes ktvā and namul express ‘re-iteration’ then only when the verb is doubled, and not singly. See rule VIII. 1. 4. Thus भासमव्यासाभ्यासित ‘having eaten repeatedly, he goes’; similarly भासमव्यासाभ्यासित ‘having drunk repeatedly he goes’.

23. The affixes ‘ktvā’ and ‘namul’ are not added to a root, when the word ‘yad’ is used, in a simple sentence, which does not depend upon another to complete the sense.

The word भासमव्यासाभ्यासित means ‘inter-dependence’ or the inability of a word, phrase or sentence, to indicate the intended sense in the absence of another word, phrase, or sentence. In other words, when there are two actions one prior and another subsequent, and they complete the sense of the sentence, without standing in need of any other verb; in such a case, ktvā and namul are not used, when the word yad is in composition. This sūtra prohibits the affix ktvā also, though the affix namul is in immediate context. Thus वषवा मुद्र्यो ततः प्रतिस्थितयायुस्त: शृङ्खः, having eaten, he cooks; having read, he sleeps’.

But when there is inter-dependence or भासमव्यासाभ्यासित, we have वषवा मुद्र्यो ततः परस्यः। Professor Bohtlingk translates it thus: “In connection with the above-mentioned Absolutives will not be applied, unless the two verbs required one more as complement.”
24. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' come optionally after that verb which denotes the prior action, when both verbs have the same agent, provided that the following words are in composition:—'agre', 'prathama' and 'pūrya'.

This is an Aprāpta-vibhāṣā. The word 're-iteration' is not understood here. Thus अर्थं, नमं, दृष्टि शा शोभे भुक्तां ब्रजति 'having first eaten he goes'.

By using the word 'optionally' it is indicated, that the regular Tenses, such as the Present &c., may be employed also. Thus अर्थं वृक्षे ततः ब्रजति 'he eats first and then goes'.

Q.—The affixes of Lat (Present tense) &c. would have been applied by the rule of आक्रमण (III. 1. 94); why then use the word 'optionally'?

Ans.—The very use of the word 'optionally' in this sutra indicates the existence of this Pariṣṭhāṇa:—"The rule III. 1. 94 has no concern with the affixes ktvā and namul, when both these affixes are enjoined at one and the same time by a single rule."

Therefore, we cannot apply III. 1. 94 and use the affixes Lat &c., when 're-iteration' is meant. That is the exclusive province of क्रिया and गुरूः.

Why is not here the Upapada compounding by rule II. 2. 20? For an answer to this, see the commentary on II. 2. 20. Had only गुरूः been enjoined by this sutra, and not क्रिया also, then we could have formed the अपसर्व सञ्चालव for such is the force of the word एव in that sutra.

25. The affix 'khamuṇi' is added to the verb 'kri' (to make), when a word in the accusative case is in construction with it, if the sense intended implies 'abuse'.

Of the affix क्रमु, the efficient portion is क्रम; the indicator ए introduces the augment यु, (VI. 3. 67). Thus पौर्ख जाग्राहितवलि 'he reviles him as thief, i.e., he calls out in abuse 'thou art a thief, thou art a robber, &c.' The person is not really made a thief, but making him a thief is to express one's indignation.

26. (When the actions, signified by the verbs 'kri' and another, have the same agent), the affix 'namul' is added to the verb 'kri' (which is concerned
about a time anterior to that of the other), provided that a word signifying 'sweet' is in composition.

The words within brackets are to be read into the sūtra by anuvṛtti from III. 4. 21. Thus खादुर्दः or खादुर्दात् भुङ्गे 'he eats, having made his food sweet or seasoned'.

In the sūtra, the word स्वादः is used ending with a ध्. It is an anomalous form, and indicates that a ध् must be added to the upapadas in these cases the object served by this form being that rule IV. 1. 44, by which feminine of words like स्वादः ending in ध् is formed by long ध्, does not apply here. Thus स्वादीयस्मि कृत्या बनायमानस्मि भुङ्गे = स्वादुस्तार्या बनायमानस्मि भुङ्गे. Here though बनायमान is feminine, the attribute is still स्वादः and not स्वादीयस्मि.

It might be said 'why not use the previous affix खसूः? That will solve all difficulties; and will give us the augment णृः'. To this, however, there is a fatal objection. The augment णृः will, no doubt, come in the last example, but it will not come when the word to be formed is an Indeclinable (VI. 3. 67), such as, when the sense is of the affix च्छ्र्द्र and all chvi-ending words are Indeclinables (I. 4. 61). Therefore, the affix खसूः will not remove the difficulty in the following case; अभवान्ति स्वादीयस्मि कृत्या भुङ्गे = स्वादुस्तार्या भुङ्गे 'he eats, having first sweetened what was not sweet before'.

By applying rule III. 1. 94, we have the affix स्वादः in the alternative. Thus स्वादु कृत्या भुङ्गे. All these affixes form abstract nouns (आह) as they have the sense of the affix खसूः (III. 4. 16). In connection with खसूः, the Instrumental case can not, however, be used, i.e., we cannot use the Passive construction; e.g. स्वादुस्तार्या बनायमानस्मि वेदवीर भुङ्गे will be wrong.

अन्यायाधिनिंतपुस्थिताप्रयोगाधिनेतः ६॥ पदानि ॥ अन्याया-पूर्वः
कदन्-हत्मांडु, चित्रः-अप्रयोगः; चेत् (कुसः, खसूः) ॥

पुरुः: ॥ अन्यायाधिनिंतपुस्थिता कुसः एण्युः प्रवचनें भवति विज्ञायनवेदांस्तरोत्तमविश्वस्वत् ॥

27. When the words 'anyathā' (otherwise), 'evam' (so), 'katham' (how) and 'iittham' (thus) are compounded with the verb, then 'namul' comes after 'kri' (to make), if it be such that its omission would be unobjectionable.

When is the non-employment of कसू valid? When the same sentence will remain correct by omitting क, i.e., when without employing it, the same idea will be expressed. Thus अत्यात्तरः, एववित्तरः, कदम्यारं, एववित्तरः भुङ्गे 'he eats otherwise, he eats so, how does he eat, or he eats thus'. In fact, the sentence अत्यात्तरः भुङ्गे is equivalent to अत्यात्तरः भुङ्गे.

Why do we say 'if the non-employment would be valid'? Witness
The affix namul.

28. The affix 'namul' is added to the root 'kri' (to make), the words 'yathâ' and 'tathâ' being compounded with it, when an angry reply is made: (if the omission of 'kri' is unobjectionable).

When one questions or replies in indignation, displeasure or anger, then is this construction valid. Thus वयाकारः भोजये, कि तथा न 'I will eat in that way; what is that to you'? Similarly वयाकारः भोजये, कि तथा न.

Why do we say 'when an angry reply is made'? Observe वयाकालां भोजये, कि तथा न 'in what way will I eat, that thou wilt see'.

Why do we say 'when the omission of 'kri' would be valid'? Witness वयाकारः खिरो भोजये कि तथा न 'what is that to you, in what way turning my head I will eat'?

29. When the object is compounded with it, the verb 'driś' (to see), or 'vid' (to know), takes the affix 'namul', to denote the total number of such objects.

Thus कन्यायां वर्गनित 'he woos every girl that he sees i.e. all the girls seen'. नामायां भोजनित 'he feeds as many Brāhmaṇas as he knows, i.e. all'.

Why do we say 'when denoting the total number of such objects'? Observe नामायां दृष्टा भोजनित 'having seen the Brāhmaṇa he feeds him'.

30. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'vid' (to get) and 'jīv' (to live), when the word 'yāvat' is combined with them.

As वयाकारः तु 'he eats all that he gets'. वयाकारः तु 'he studies as long as he lives, i.e. throughout his life'. 
31. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pūr' (to fill), when the words 'charman' and 'udar' are compounded with it as object.

Thus उदरपुर 'he eats so as to fill his belly'? चर्मपुर 'he spreads so as to cover the skin'.

32. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pūr' (to fill), when the word so formed expresses a measure of rain-fall; and optionally the long '०' of this 'pūr' is elided.

Thus गोपवृष्टो or गोपवृष्टा 'it rained filling up small puddles (lit. the impression made by the foot of the cow on the soil)'. शीताबुर्यो or शीताबुर्या 'it rained filling up all furrows'.

Why have we used the word अवस्था 'of this pūr' in the sūtra? The long ऋ of उदर is to be elided, and not the long ऋ, if there be any, of the upapada. Thus गृहकालिनिपूर or गृहकालिनिपूर्या हेवः: Here the long ऋ of उदर is not shortened.

33. The affix 'namul' comes after the causative of the root 'kuṣy' (to wet), when there is compounded with it a noun denoting 'clothing', in the accusative case, as an upapada, if the whole word so formed expresses a measure of the rain-fall.

The verb कृष्यि is the causative root formed from the simple root कृष्य 'to wet'. Thus वस्त्रकृष्यः 'or वस्त्रकृष्यि or वस्त्रकृष्य &c. 'it rained so as to wet the clothes'.

निमलसूत्ययो: वषः:  34 पदार्थाः निमल-सूत्ययो: अषः: (कर्मेष्विः, गृहुल)
34. The affix ‘namul’ comes after the verb ‘kash’ (to rub), when the words ‘nimula’ and ‘samula’ are compounded with it in the accusative case.

Thus निमुलकार्यं क्रियां ‘he scrapes down to the roots’; समुलकार्यं क्रियां ‘he scrapes up to the roots’. In fact, the gerund of the root and the root itself denote the same thing; the whole sentence निमुलकार्यं क्रियां being equal to निमुलं क्रियं. From this सूत्रa up to सूत्रa III. 4. 46, the subsequent verb governing the previous word, must be derived from the same root from which the gerund is derived; see सूत्रa III. 4. 46.

35. The affix ‘namul’ comes after the verb ‘pish’ (to grind), when the words ‘šushka’ (dry), ‘chūna’ (powder), and ‘īrūksha’ (dry), in the accusative case are compounded with it.

Thus गुडक्ष्चिर्भिं पिनदिक्त = गुडक्ष्चिर्भिं पिनदिक्त ‘he grinds it dry’; गूढनेश्वर्षिः पिनदिक्त ‘he grinds to powder’; कृत्वावेष्ये पिनदित ‘he grinds it dry’. Here also an appropriate verb from the same root पिवित must be used to govern the gerund.

36. The affix ‘namul’ comes after the verbs ‘han’ (to kill), ‘kri’ (to make) and ‘grah’ (to seize), when the words ‘samula’, ‘akrīta’ and ‘jīva’ in the accusative case are respectively compounded with them.

Thus समुलकार्यं हनिः (VIII. 3. 32 and 54) ‘he destroys so as to tear up by the roots i.e., he totally extirpates’; अकृतिकार्यं क्रियां ‘he does a thing which was not done before’; ग्राहकार्यं गृहितां ‘captures him so as to preserve his life, i.e., captures him alive’. Here also appropriate verbs from the same roots are used to govern the gerund.

37. The affix ‘namul’ comes after the verb
'han', when a word in the Instrumental case is in composition with it.

Thus पाण्डुरंते बृज हस्ति (VII. 3. 32 and 54) = पाण्डुरंते बृज हस्ति 'he strikes the Vedi with the hand'; पाण्डुरंते मृणि हस्ति 'he strikes the ground with the foot'. Reading this sūtra along with III. 4. 48, we find that हस्ति here does not mean 'to kill', and the further difference between this aphorism and that is, that in the case of this sūtra a cognate verb from the same root must be used, as the gerund; not so in sūtra III. 4. 48; or this sūtra may be for the sake of forming Invariable compounds with the upapadas, such as पाण्डुरंते.

According to Pāṇini, this affix comes after हस्ति under this aphorism, even when हस्ति means 'to injure'; thus countering rule III. 4. 48, by anticipation, and in opposition to the general principle of interpretation enunciated in rule I. 4. 2. Thus अधिष्ठि हस्ति 'he kills with the sword'; अधिष्ठि हस्ति 'he kills with arrows'.

Rule III. 4. 46 applies here also, and an appropriate verb from the same root is employed to govern the gerund.

बत्तिर्देन विष: || ३८ || पदार्थि || लेख्नेन विष:; (कर्त्वे, जमुल) ||
बृसी: || लेख्न्दापिन्ति कारण उपरे निमिन्नेष्ठायोपुन्यम् प्रत्येको भवति ||

38. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pish' (to grind), when a word in the Instrumental case denoting 'liquid' is in composition.

Thus ईल्येन्न निन्हि = ईल्येन्न निन्हि (VI. 3. 58.) 'he grinds with water'; ईल्येन्न निन्हि 'he grinds with oil'. Here also III. 4. 46 applies, and an appropriate verb from the same root is employed to govern the gerund.

हस्तेन वस्तियोऽहः || ३९ || पदार्थि || हस्तेन, वस्ति-प्रहः; (कर्त्वे, जमुल) ||

बृसी: || हस्त्वापिन्ति कारणो उपरेष्ठायोपुन्यम् जमुल प्रत्येको भवति ||

39. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'varti' (causative of vṛti) and 'grah', when a word denoting 'hand', in the Instrumental case, is in composition.

Thus ईल्येन्न, कारणे अथवा पाण्डुरंते हस्ताभि = ईल्येन वस्तियोऽहि 'he revolves by the hand'. So also, ईल्येन हस्ताभि 'he takes him by the hand': so पाण्डुरंते, कारणे हस्ताभि &c.

Here also rule III. 4. 46 applies and appropriate verbs from the same roots must be employed to govern the gerund.

स्थेपुष्च || ४० || पदार्थि || स्थेपुष्च; (कर्त्वे, जमुल) ||
बृसी: || पाण्डुरंतिकारणो उपरे पुष्चाभि गुणम् परततो भवति ||
40. The affix ‘namul’ comes after the verb ‘push’ (to feed), when a word in the Instrumental case, having the sense of ‘sva’ is in composition.

The word स्व means ‘self’, ‘kinsmen’ and ‘property’. Thus स्वपीयं पुष्चाति ‘he feeds himself’; भास्यपं, गोपं, विस्यपं, मादर्षपं, चर्मोपं, नृस्यपं &c. See I. 1. 68. Rule 46 applies here also.

अधिकरणां वंचन: || ११ || पदानि || अधिकरणां, वंचन:, (सामुल) ||

41. The affix ‘namul’ comes after the verb ‘bandh’ (to bind), when a word expressing location is in construction with it.

Of course, rule III. 4. 46 applies here also, and the gerund must be governed by a verb from the same root bandh. Thus चक्रबंधवं बन्धति ‘he binds to the wheel’; सिद्धबंधवं बन्धति ‘he binds in a snare’.; सुदर्शनबंधवं बन्धति ‘he binds in the fist’. चौकबंधवं बन्धति = चौकबंधवं.

संद्रामशः || ४२ || पदानि || संद्रामशः, (वंचन:, सामुल) ||

42. The affix ‘namul’ comes after the verb ‘bandh’ (to bind) when the word so formed denotes an appellative.

Thus क्राँचापं बन्धति ‘he binds in the manner called kraunca-bandhan or ‘heron-knot’. क्राःरकापं बन्धति or ब्रस: ‘he binds or is bound in a ‘peacock-knot’. अत्तिकापं ब्रस: ‘bound in a knot called attālikā-bandhan’.

All the above, kraunca-bandhan &c. are names of various sorts of ‘bonds or knots’. The rule III. 4. 46. also applies here.

कृष्णपुस्तक: || ४३ || पदानि || कृष्ण:, श्री:—पुष्प:-

43. The affix ‘namul’ comes after the roots ‘naś’ (to perish) and ‘vah’ (to carry), when the words ‘jīva’ (life) and ‘purusha’ (person) expressing the agent of these verbs, are respectively in construction with them.

Thus श्रीपरं तदनि = श्रीपरं तदनि ‘perishes, so that his life perishes i.e. dies away’; पुरुषांवहि वहि ‘the man carries, i.e. the man becoming a servant, carries another on him = पुरुष: स्रोती स्वस्य वहि.

Why do we say ‘when denoting an agent’? Observe, श्रीपरं तदनि: ‘destroyed by life’; पुरुषेविदः: ‘carried by a man’.
44. The affix ‘namul’ comes after the roots ‘śush’ (to dry), and ‘pūr’ (to fill), when the word ‘ūrdhva’, denoting an agent, is in composition with them.

Thus: कर्मधीपि नुस: = कर्म शुद्धिन ‘the tree is dried up while it is still standing’. Compare बहुत्वशोधितवन्देवकः ‘or wither like the up-heaved grass drying up’ (Bhatti. III. 14); कर्मपूर्त पूर्वते ‘is filled full to the brim’. Rule III. 46 applies here also.

45. The affix ‘namul’ comes after a root, when an object or an agent, denoting similitude, is in composition with it.

The word ‘agent’ is read into the sūtra, by virtue of the word शुद्धिन ‘also’. That with which any thing is compared is called द्विभाषण or ‘object of comparison or similitude’. As पूर्वनिधित्व सन्यास ‘water was kept as ghee would be kept’. सन्यासविभास्व सिद्ध: ‘was kept as gold’. The force is that of इति; thus पूर्वनिधित्व सिद्ध: = पूर्वनिधित्व सिद्ध: इति. So also when the object of comparison is as agent: thus, अजनास: नम: ‘he perished like a goat’. So also पूर्वनिधित्व इति.

46. The same verb should be employed after the gerunds formed from the verbs ‘kash’ &c; as the verb from which the gerund is derived.

From sūtra III. 4. 34 up to sūtra III. 4. 45, a verb from the same root must be employed in the subsequent part, as anuprayoga, from which the gerund in namul was formed. This rule has been illustrated in the examples under the previous aphorisms.

The present is a restrictive or niyama rule. This chapter deals with affixes employed in denoting syntactical relation between two verbs (प्रासंगन्य रूपमण्ये). See III. 4. i: so a gerund in namul, would, of course, be followed by some verb as anuprayoga; the present sūtra declares that the other verb must be from the same root as the gerund.
47. The affix 'namul' comes after the root 'dans' (to bite) preceded by the preposition 'upa'; when a word ending with the third case-affix is in composition with it.

The Upapada samdsa is optional in this case (II. 2. 21). Thus मूलव-पर्व शाम शुक्ले or मूलवनीपर्व शुक्ले 'he eats after having relished the food with radish'. Similarly आईव-पर्व or आईवनीपर्व 'relished with ginger'.

The words मूलव &c in the above examples are the 'objects' of the verb जन्मतु, and 'instruments' of the verb जन्मतु.

By the rule of शहावर (III. 1. 94) the affix तथा (or its substitute स्क्रिय) may be optionally used, wherever we may use the affix यापुर. Thus मूलवनी-पर्व शुक्ले.

48. The affix 'namul' comes after roots having the sense of 'hins' (to strike), when the object of this gerund is the same as the object of the main verb, and when the noun with which it is compounded ends with the third case-affix.

Thus हिन्दीवपायतु गा: कालवित 'he collects together cows, beating them with a club'. The compounding is optional (II. 2. 21.). Thus we have also हिन्दीवपायतु. Similarly with other verbs having the sense of हिन्द; thus, हिन्दतात्र or हिन्दतात्र साहब।

Why do we say 'when the object of the gerund is the same as the object of the main verb'? When the objects are different, यापुर will not be employed. Thus पौरस हिन्दीवपाय, गोपालको गा: कालवित 'having beaten the thief with the club, the cowherd collects together the cows'.

49. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'pīḍ' (to press), 'rudh' (to obstruct), and 'krish' (to draw),
when they are preceded by the preposition ‘upa’, and
when they are compounded with nouns ending with the
7th case-affix or the 3rd case-affix.

The phrase ‘3rd case-affix’ must be read into the sūtra by virtue of
the word च। Thus प्रजीविन्द्रोऽधोऽ ‘he sleeps pressing on his sides’. The com-
ounding is optional (II. 2. 21); so we have in the alternative, पाण्डविधितरं
or पाण्डवमायुपस्म।

So also प्रजीवप्रियया (or जाते वयादिवष्णु or प्रजीवविप्रियया) या: स्याधितत ‘he stations
the cows so that they are all in the fold’. वाणुप्रियया (or पाण्युप्रियया or पाण्यीप्रियया
वर्ण) नाना: संमुहूर्तति। It is Bhuvādī चूँच here, and not Tudādī.

पञ्चालिनि || 50 || पदरति || पञ्चािनि, (बसयां, द्वीतीयायां,
खुलु) ||

वृत्ति: || पञ्चालिनि वयादिवष्णूऽ द्वीतीयायांवर्णवीणियौनियौऽपूमुलि भविति ||

50. (The affix ‘namul’ comes after a root, when
a word in the Locative or Instrumental case is in compo-
sition with it), and when immediate contiguity is in-
tended i. e. ‘to fall together by the ears’.

The word पञ्चािनि means ‘immediate contiguity’. Thus कंडािधाम (or
कंडािधाम यांशु or कंडािधाम) दुधाते ‘having closely caught each other by the hair,
they fight.’ Similarly इलाशामुख or इलाशु माइशु or इलासामाहु; so also विधिमाति इति
‘taking a stick’; लोप्पुहां &c. See II. 2. 21.

प्रमाये च || 51 || पदरति || प्रमाये, च, (द्वीतीयायां, बसयां;
खुलु) ||

वृत्ति: || प्रमाये गम्बनाये द्वीतीयायांवर्णवीणियौऽपूमुलि प्रभवो भविति ||

51. The affix ‘namul’ comes after a root, when
a noun in the Instrumental or Locative case is in compo-
sition with it, and when measure of length is intended.

The word पञ्चािनि means ‘length or extension’. Thus इलासामुकावर्ण
(इलासामुकावर्ण or इलासामुकावर्ण) कपिलोऽ द्विति ‘he cuts pieces of the length of
two fingers’. See II. 2. 21.

अपादाने परियुपायाम् || 52 || पदरति || अपादाने, परियुपायाम्,
(खुलु) ||

वृत्ति: || परियुपायाम् गम्बनायाम् अपादाने उपपे द्वािवेद्युमुलि प्रभवो भविति ||

52. The affix ‘namul’ is added to the root,
when a noun in the Ablative case is in composition, and
when ‘hasto’ is intoned,
The word परीक्षा means 'haste, hurry'. Thus गम्योत्सावं (or गम्योत्साव जाधार) पानिति 'having risen from bed, he runs away'. That is to say, he runs with such a haste that he does not perform even the necessary ablutions &c, but as soon as he rises from the bed, he runs off. Similarly रूपाकम्पेरुः रक्षति विविधं 'he drinks milk from a hole in the vessel', he being in such a haste, that he does not care to drink from the proper aperture. अद्वियाकन्तेन पुष्पादि 'he eats cakes hot from the frying pan', not waiting till they are placed on a dish.

Why do we say 'when meaning hurry'? Observe, भावजयावं गघरति 'having risen from the seat, he goes'. Here 'haste' not being intended, the affix तथा (ल्पण) is employed. See II. 2. 21.

53. The affix नामुल comes after a verb, when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, and when 'haste' is intended.

Thus चतुराखं (or चतुर्पण चाथुम्) चुकमु घु 'they fight, having hastily taken up sticks'. That is, they are in such a haste to fight, that they do not tarry to take up the proper weapons, offensive and defensive, but engage in fight with anything that is at hand, such as sticks, stones &c. Similarly जोगाधामम् or जोगाधामः.

54. The affix नामुल comes after a root, when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, signifying the limbs of one's own body, when the limb is such that its loss will not destroy life.

Thus द्वितीयायसं कपयसि 'he narrates, throwing his eye-brows (glances) about in all directions'. अविवेरिकोपालय सम्पति 'he prattles, having closed the eyes'.

The रसाः word is "a word denoting 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, or 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."

The word अगुष्म means 'non-vital organ', or a limb which even being cut off, does not necessarily destroy life. Therefore, we cannot use the affix
55. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after a root, when a word in the Accusative case denoting a limb of one's own body, which is completely afflicted by the action, is in composition.

The word नामुल means 'completely hurt or affected'. Thus द्वितीयायं, बुद्धस्वात् - द्वितीयायः: 'they fight so as to afflict their whole bosom'. So also द्वितीयायं or द्वितीयायं.

The difference between this and the last sūtra consists in this, that this sūtra applies even to vital organs, such as 'breast', 'head' &c; while the last aphorism applies 'non-vital organs' only.

56. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the verbs 'vis' (to enter), 'pat' (to fall), 'pad' (to go) and 'skand' (to leap), when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, and when the sense denoted is that of complete pervasion and total absorption.

The word ध्वास्ति (or ध्वास्ति) means the full and complete pervasion of the substances with the actions (denoted by the verbs धिङ्ग, &c). The word आसेणा means 'assiduous performance of any action, or absorption into it'. In other words, 'frequency' of an action is आसेणा. The word ध्वास्ति therefore refers to the noun (in the accusative case) and आसेणा to the verb (such as vis &c). These two words have the same significance here as the words निलव and शीखा in sūtra VIII, 1. 4. and by the application of that rule, both the noun and the verb require to be repeated. That rule, however, will not apply here, when there is compounding by II. 2. 21. But when there is no compounding, (for rule II. 2. 21. makes composition only optional) then there is repetition of the noun if ध्वास्ति 'all' is meant; and of the verb, if आसेणा 'frequency or assiduous performance' is meant. Thus गृहानुमुखे गृहानुमुखे, (or गृहमुखयास्तिरे गृहानुमुखे, गृहानुमुखे) 'having entered the house, he sits down', meaning either, 'having en-
entered every house in succession, he sits down', or 'having repeatedly entered the house, he sits down'.

Similarly with the root पत्र, we may have three examples as in the last, and so also with the roots एक and द्वितीय. Thus येहन्नपासालेस (or येहन्नपासालेस द्वितीय or येहन्नपासालेस); येहहन्नपासालेस (or येहहन्नपासालेस or येहहन्नपासालेस); येहहस्तिन्त्वाण्य (or येहहस्तिन्त्वाण्य or येहहस्तिन्त्वाण्य)

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of all or frequency'? Observe, येहन्नपासालेस 'having entered the house, he eats'.

Q.—By sūtra III. 4. 22, namul would have been valid, when द्वितीय was meant; and द्वितीय and द्वितीय mean the same thing i.e., 'frequency'. Why then ordain namul again, by the present sūtra, in the sense of द्वितीय? If you say, "we repeat it, in order to prevent the coming of the affix "तास", that is not so. For तास would come by अपापदा rule; (see III. 1. 94 and III. 4. 47).

A.—The repetition is for the sake of अपापदा-samāsa with a word in the accusative case. Under rule 22, there was no अपापदा, while in the present case there is an अपापदा.

Professor Bohlingk translates this sūtra thus:—"विनिग, पत्र, पर, and द्वितीय in composition with an accusative, form the absolutive gerund in नमुल (namul), when one wishes to express that every object of that name is completely affected by the action, or that the action is constantly repeated in that object."

अस्मयतित्वां: क्रियात्तरे कालेपु || 57 || पदानि || अस्मयति-वुष्किः,
क्रिया-अंतरे, कालेपु, (द्वितीयार्यं, द्वितीय) ||

57. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'as' (to throw) and 'trish' (to thirst), when it is intended to express an intermission of the action denoted by the root, provided that a word in the accusative case denoting time, is in composition.

The word क्रियान्तर means 'the interval between two actions'. Thus इवाण्यार्यं or इवाण्यार्यं सा: आयति 'he gives drink to the cows, after an interval of two days, i.e. every third day'. So also इवाण्यार्यं or इवाण्यार्यं सा: पायति 'having kept the cows thirsty for two days, he makes them drink'. That is to say, 'having given them a drink today, he gives them another drink after an interval of two days'; &c.

Why do we say 'after the verbs अवथ्यायं and तुप्स'? Because the affix युप्स will not be applied after other roots, though the sense be that of interval of time. Thus इवाण्यार्यं सा: 'having fasted for two days, he eats'.

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Why do we say 'when denoting an intermission of action'? Observe भास्त्रवेश्यन्यां गत:; here there is no intermission in the action of 'going'.

Why do we say 'denoting time'? Observe चोमनस्यव मा: पञ्चवार्तं 'allowing an interval of four miles to pass, he gives drink to the cows i.e. he waters the cows at every four miles'. Here the interval is that of 'space' and not of 'time', and hence the affix is स्या and not क्रिया।

नाम्याद्विप्रत्यायः: || पदानि || पदानि || नाभि, आदिरिच-प्रहि: (द्वितीयां, दुःकुलः)!

३५०. वृन्द: गामस्यो द्वितीयां उपर्यायो अभिधिरुपेन्या भालोपदेशु भालोपदेशु भालोपदेशु भालोपदेशु)

58. The affix 'नमुल' comes after the roots 'अदिः' and 'ग्रह', when the word 'नामम' (uame) in the Accusative, is in composition.

Thus गामस्यो 'he mentions it, telling his name'. गामस्यो गामस्यो गामस्यो he calls me by taking my name (i.e. by my name).

अभिधिरुपेयायानि कः: क्रियाकुलली || पदानि || पदानि || नाभि, अभिधिरुपेयायानि कः: क्रियाकुलली

३५०. वृन्द: अभिधिरुपेयायानि कः: क्रियाकुलली || पदानि || पदानि || पदानि || पदानि

59. The affixes 'क्वां' and 'नमुल' come after the root 'क्रिय' (to make), when an Indeclinable word is in composition with it, and the meaning is the communication of anything in a disagreeable or undesired way.

The word अभिधिरुपेयायानि कः: means literally 'to denote the expression of that which is not really intended' i.e. a manner not suited to the proper communication of that news, such as communicating a bad news in a loud voice and good news in a low voice. The compounding being optional, the affix तत्सा may be replaced by द्वितीयां. Thus we have three forms नाभि-क्रुः, नाभि-क्रुः, or नाभि-क्रुः. Thus if one had communicated an agreeable news like the birth of a son in a low voice, the other may retort "किमी ब्रह्म ब्रह्म ब्रह्म; नाभि-क्रुः, ब्रह्म or नाभि-क्रुः, ब्रह्म or नाभि-क्रुः, ब्रह्म; ब्रह्म or नाभि-क्रुः, ब्रह्म; ब्रह्म or नाभि-क्रुः, ब्रह्म; ब्रह्म or नाभि-क्रुः, ब्रह्म; (See II. 2. 22 for compounding).

Why do we say 'communicating in an undesired manner'? Observe तत्सा: क्रुः: तत्सा: तत्सा: पुत्रवाचः जातः! Here only तत्सा is added. Why have we repeated तत्सा in this सूत्रa, when in this chapter, by the rule of शास्त्र (III. 1. 94), क्रिया would have presented itself in the alternative? The repetition is for the sake of शास्त्रa or composition, by the application of II. 2. 22. The repetition
of क्वालु is for the sake of the subsequent सूत्रास, into which the anuvṛtti of क्वालु and नामुल runs concurrently.

दिनवेश्यपान्यं ॥ ६० ॥ पदार्थिनी ॥ तिर्यचिनी, अपराम्, (कुर्सा: कुर्सु-बुलली:) ॥

पृथि: ॥ तिर्यचिनी अपरामे कुर्सा: सत्वाणुमुलु प्रश्वाणो भवसहीमपाणे गग्नादे ॥

60. The affixes 'क्वालु' and 'नामुल' come after the root 'क्रिया', when the word 'तिर्यक' is in composition in the sense of 'carrying to the end'.

The word भवसहीम means 'completing or finishing'. Thus तिर्यचिन् क्राश्, तिर्यचिन् क्राश् or तिर्यचिन्तारागत: = समाप्त गत: 'having completed, he went away'.

Why do we say 'when meaning completion'? Observe तिर्यचिन् क्राश् कार्यकार गत: 'having placed the wood obliquely, he went away'. Here दिनवालु is not employed. See II. 2. 22 for compounding. The word तिर्यचिन् is the locative of the word-form तिर्यचिन्, and not of the word तिर्यचिन्. Other examples are: एलोगम्यु (V. 3. 5); भयभावानाः (I. 1. 12).

स्वाक्षे तस्यामि कुर्स: ॥ ६१ ॥ पदार्थिनी ॥ स्वाक्षे, तस्य-प्रयोगे, कुर्सु-हो:- (कुर्सु-बुलली:) ॥

पृथि: ॥ तस्यामिः स्वाक्षे नावाराहिनी अपरामे करोदेयस्वेभ धासी: सत्वाणुमुलु प्रश्वाणो भवसहीमः ॥

61. The affixes 'क्वालु' and 'नामुल' are added to the roots 'क्रिया' (to make) and 'भुत' (to become), in composition with a word denoting a member of one's own body; when the affix 'तस्य' is joined thereto.

The word स्वाक्षे has already been defined in सूत्र III. 4. 54. The स्वाक्षे word in the present case must be such as should end in the suffix तस्य—a तदच्छिन्ता suffix technically called क्वालु and नामुलु (V. 3. 78 &c). Though here there are two roots भुत and भुत, and there are two affixes to be applied i.e. भुत and भुतु, yet the rule of 'respective allocation' (I. 3. 10) does not apply here. Both the affixes are applied to each of the roots. Thus भुत= क्वालु गत: or भुत= क्राश् गत: or भुति: क्राश्य: गत: or भुति: क्राश्य: क्राश्य:। Similarly भुति: भुति: तिर्यचिन्ति or भुति: भुति: तिर्यचिन्ति or भुति: भुति: भुति: भुति: भुति:।

Why do we say 'a word denoting a limb of one's own body'? Observe क्वालुः क्राश्यः गत:।

Why do we say 'ending in the affix तस्य'? Observe भुति: क्राश्यः गत:; भुति: क्राश्यः गत:।

Why do we use the word 'the affix'? If तस्य is not an affix, but a verb, the rule will not apply. Thus भुति: तस्यि: = भुति: 'throws in the mouth'. With this भुति: so formed, we cannot apply the rule. Thus भुति: क्राश् गत:।
62. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'ṇamul' are added to the roots 'kṛi' and 'bhū', when a word ending in the affix 'nā' (V. 2. 27) or in an affix having the force of 'dhā' (V. 3. 42), or having the sense of the affix 'chvi' (to make or to become something which it had not been before, V. 4. 50), is in composition.

Two words, भवन 'various' and विना 'without' are formed by the affix न (V. 2. 27); affixes having the force of ध are ध्वन, ध्वन and ध (V. 3. 42 to 46) which are added to numerals in the sense of 'part' or 'fold' &c. The force of chvi has already been explained.

Thus भवन भवन कृष्ण गयः = भवन कृष्ण गयः Similarly भवन कृष्ण or भवन्याय गयः। So also विना कृष्ण, विना कृष्ण or विना कार गयः। So also भवन or विना कृष्ण—कृष्ण or भवन गयः। With words formed by ध and cognate affixes, we have:—धित्र or हेघ्व कृष्ण—कृष्ण—कृष्ण—कृष्ण—करण—कृष्ण—कृष्ण—कृष्ण गयः। But not so in हिन्दूस्तान, हृषिक हृषिक।

Why do we use the word 'affix (प्रत्यय)' in the sūtra? Without it, the sūtra would have run thus: भवन्याय ओघे, and then any word, having the sense of न, which has the force of 'except', 'various' or the sense of ध which means 'part or fold', when in composition with कु or छ, would have taken the affix प्रत्यय तथास। But that is not so. Thus the words हिन्दूस्तान 'except' and हृषिक 'separately' have the sense of न and ध respectively; as हिन्दूस्तान, or हृषिक कृष्ण।

Why do we say 'when the upapada has the force of the affix chvi'? Observe भवन कृष्ण कारणगतः।

The word भवन in भवन्याय qualifies only the term ध, and not न, for there are no other affix having the sense of न, which is a single affix taught in V. 2. 27; while, as shown above, there are other affixes having the force of ध। The composition optionally takes place by II. 2. 22.

63. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'ṇamul' are added to the root 'bhū', when the word 'tūṣṭum' (silently) is in composition.

Thus तूष्टिभवन्, तूष्टिभवन्, or सूष्टिभवन् 'having become silent'. The repetition of भ in this sūtra, shows that the anuvṛtti of कु does not run into it and altogether ceases.
THE AFFIX TUMUN. [BK. III. CH. IV. § 64, 65.

64. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'ṇamul' come after the root 'bhū', when the word 'anvak', in the sense of being favourably disposed, is in composition.

The word भालोध्य means 'agreeable, friendly or favourably disposed, or doing according to the wish of another'. Thus भाल सघु—भालसघु or भाल सघु भालनाले 'he is favourably disposed'.

Why do we say 'when meaning friendly'? Observe भालसघु भालित 'he remains behind'.

65. The affix 'tumun' is added to every verb, when another verb having the sense of 'sak' (to be able), 'dhriyā' (to make bold), 'jñā' (to know), 'glai' (to be wearied), 'ghat' (to strive), 'rabb' (to begin), 'labh' (to get), 'kram' (to set about), 'sah' (to bear), 'arh' (to be pleased or to condescend), and 'as' (to be), is in construction.

The use of the Infinitive in tumun formed by this rule, differs from that given in sutra III. 3. 10. In that sutra the Infinitive had the force of 'purpose' and here there is no such force. Moreover in this case there is an upapada in construction, though that upapada is a verb; in rule III. 3. 10, there was no such upapada.

Thus भालोध्य भालुक 'I am able to eat'. Similarly भालोध्य—भालोध्य—िरसे—भारमसे—िरसे—िरसे—िरसे—िरसे—िरसे 'he knows', he is wearied, he strives, he begins, he gets, he proceeds, he bears, he condescends or he is, to eat'.

This sutra presents a knotty point. Bhattoji Dikshita says भालोध्य—िरसे—िरसे—िरसे—िरसे—िरसे—िरसे i.e. the sutra gives roots from भाल to भाल and roots having the same sense as भाल 'to be'. But this is hardly consistent with the almost overwhelming evidence of usage. According to Dikshita's interpretation, भाल 'to be able' cannot be used with the Infinitive, but भाल भालित िरसे—िरसे (S. 4), भालित िरसे—िरसे (M. 3.) are instances from a standard author; similarly िरसे 'to know' cannot be used with the Infinitive; but िरसे िरसे िरसे िरसे िरसे िरसे िरसे िरसे िरसे (R. VI. 30) is as good an instance. We must, therefore, suppose...
that the sūtra indicates the existence of an interpretation connecting तुम्हः with all the preceding roots; otherwise we shall have to condemn as wrong, all such constructions as those given above. Taking this view I have interpreted the sūtra, connecting तुम्हः with all the above roots.—\textit{Apte's Composition}.

66. The affix \textit{tumun} comes after a verb having in composition with it, \textit{alam} and its synonyms, when these words express \textit{to be capable of something}.

The word पवृत्ति means \textit{capability, ability, fulness}. Thus लिखितविलासते वैश्मेलिकः कः: सम्य: (Hitopadesa) \textit{who is able to avoid that which is stamped on his forehead}. लोकानि भले हर्षोलि हि सम्य: (Kumāra II. 56) \textit{his penance is able to burn the worlds}. अंती ने विलंबः कर्मेऽपि वर्तमानः (Vikramorvasi 2) \textit{I have power to know every thing}. नोकानु हर्षशः कुशलः पदुर्यः \textit{skillful in eating}.

Another interpretation of the sūtra is \textit{the affix tumun is added to a verb, when it has in composition with it, the word पवृत्ति or भले or a synonym \textit{of alam} having the sense of paryāpti. Thus पवृत्तिः नोकानुः भले नोकानुः भले पारम्परिः}

Why do we say \textit{having the sense of capability}? Observe भले गुह्यः।

Why do we say \textit{having the meaning of भले}? Observe पवृत्तिः मुक्तः।
The word मुक्तः in the preceding sūtra has not the sense of भले in that aphorism. With the sense of भले, the present sūtra will apply: as शाक्यमुनि कतेरि।

67. The affixes called \textit{krit} are used in the sense of an agent.

The words formed by \textit{krit} affixes have the sense of agency; when no other special sense has been assigned to them by any rule, then this rule will apply, and fix the force of the affix. This rule will not, therefore, apply to \textit{krit} affixes like चज्जः (III. 2. 5 and 6) to which a special sense has been assigned, but affixes like चज्जः and द्वम्बी, (III. 1. 133). Thus कारकः \textit{means a \textit{doer}; कर्मः \textit{an agent}; ननन: \textit{one who causes happiness}; माधी \textit{who seizes}; वष: \textit{who cooks}.

68. The words \textit{bhavya}, \textit{geya}, \textit{pravachaniya},
The La affixes. [Bk. III. Ch. IV. § 69.

'upasthānyya', 'janya', 'āplāvya' and 'āpatya' may optionally be used to denote the agent.

These words are formed by kriya affixes and therefore by rule III. 4. 7o, they would generally denote an action in the abstract, and the object, but not the agent. The present sūtra, however, makes them denote optionally the agent also. In the alternative they denote the action-name and the object also. Thus वृक्ष may mean 'existed', 'existence', or 'one who exists'; गेव means 'a singer', 'a song', or 'singing'; प्रशस्तिः means 'one who explains', 'what ought to be explained', or 'an explanation'; उपस्थानिः means 'who waits upon', 'what ought to be waited upon or served', or 'waiting upon or attendance'; जनम = भावस्ते or जन्मनेन means 'one who gives birth i.e. a father', 'birth' or 'what is born'; भावस्ते = भावस्ते or भावावस्ते or भावावयमेव means 'who immerses', one 'immersing', or 'what ought to be immersed'; भावय = भावस्ते or भावावयमेव means 'what falls upon', 'falling upon', or 'what ought to fall upon'. Thus मेको सामार्क: राज 'the boy is the singer of the Sāma'; or गेवानि मायास्ते सामानि 'the boy ought to sing the Sāma'; प्रशस्तिः पुजः साधारण 'the guru is the expounder of the lesson'; वस्ती: गुहा साधारण: 'the lesson ought to be explained by the teacher'; वस्तानिः गुहानि 'the pupil is the servant of the teacher'; उपस्थानिः गुहानि 'the teacher ought to be served by the pupil'.

69. The tense-affixes called 'la' are used in denoting the object and the agent; and after intransitive verbs, they denote the action as well as the agent.

The term ल्र means the ten affixes known as ल्र. ल्र is the common element of them all; and these affixes, when stripped of all indicatory letters, leave behind only the letter ल्र which is thus common name for them all. The ल्र: in the sūtra, is the nominative plural of ल्र. By the word ल्र in the sūtra, we draw in the word कर्त or 'agent' from the last sūtra into this. The force of these tense-affixes, when placed after transitive verbs is to denote the object and the agent; and when placed after intransitive verbs, is to denote either 'action' (कर्त) or it may denote the 'agent'.

The verb itself denotes the action; to be or to do, generally; or to be or to do, in a particular manner. In the active voice the affix marks the agent; in the passive voice of a transitive verb, it marks the object; but in the passive form of an intransitive verb, the action itself. Thus गर्भे गायि रेस्सेन 'the village is gone to by Devadatta'; here गर्भे of गर्भे denotes the object
and is in passive construction. मद्यमत्र: ग्रंथ धर्मसतः: 'Devadatta goes to the village'; here the affix त्रि of मद्यमत्र denotes the agent, and the sentence is in active construction. The verb बुध being a transitive verb, can take both the active and passive constructions or, to use the Sanskrit technical phraseology, the tense-affixes, after transitive verbs, denote the agent and the object. They can never denote भाव or action after transitive verbs, that is, transitive verbs cannot be used impersonally. Let us now give examples of Intransitive verbs; भावसत् देवरसेव 'it is seated by Devadatta'; the verb भावसत् here denotes merely भाव or 'action'. In other words, we may call this an impersonal construction. भावसत् देवरसेव: 'Devadatta sits'; here the verb भावसत् denotes the agent or is in the active voice.

Professor Bohling translates the śūtra thus:—"A finite verb expresses the agent as well as the object; but the Intransitive verbs denote, in addition to that, the Impersonal idea of the action". The word भाव means action considered in the abstract.

70. The affixes called 'kritya' and the affix 'kta' and those that have the sense of 'khal', have only these last two senses, namely, an action and an object. (bhāva and karma).

The word तथार्थ: of those two refers to भाव 'an Impersonal act', and कर्म, 'object'. The word एव 'only' is used in the śūtra to exclude the word 'agent' from it. Thus कर्नाव: कर्त्ते भवति 'the mat must be made by you'; भोग्यम: भोग्यामुर्जत्व: भवति 'the rice must be eaten by you'. Here the affix तथार्थ has the force of denoting the object; we may, therefore, call it the Potential Passive Participle affix. So also भावितव्य भवति 'thou must eat'; गाबितव्य भवति 'thou must lie down'. Here the sense of the affix तथार्थ being that of the action itself, which being Impersonal, is in the singular number, as it is one only, and neither male nor female, there is, from the nature of the case, a singular affix, and the neuter gender is employed.

Similarly the affix क denotes both the object and the action; कुम: कर्त्ते भवति 'the mat is made by you'; भुवन: भोग्यामुर्जत्व: 'the rice is eaten by you'. Here भ is used with the force of denoting the object and may be called the past passive participle.

Similarly भ may be used in denoting the mere act; भावितव्य भवति 'you sat'; गाबितव्य भवति 'you lay down'.

Similarly the affixes having the sense of भज्जि (III. 3. 126) denote both
the object and the Impersonal act. In the following examples the affixes denote
the object; इक्ष्वाकृः कर्तीरे भवता 'this mat is made, by little at a time, by you'; सुकरः:
'what is made with ease'; वृक्षम् 'what is made with difficulty'. In the following
examples the affixes denote the act; इत्थशब्दगमयं भवता and शास्त्रगमयं भवता.

After transitive verbs, the kriya, the kta and the khalārtkha affixes only
denote the object, but never denote the भव or 'an Impersonal action'.

आत्मकरणेष। फः कर्तेरि च।। ५१।। पदार्थ।। आत्म-बन्धेष।। फः,
कर्तेरि, च, (भाये, कर्तेरि)।।

61. The affix 'kta' also denotes the agent, when
it expresses a beginning of an action.

The word आत्मकरणी means 'the beginning of an action' or when the
action signified by the roots, is intended to be expressed merely as having
been simply begun. The force of इ in the सूत्र to indicate that even when
the beginning of an action is intended to be expressed, the फः may be used
to denote the act and the object as well. Thus व्रुहतः करे वेतसः here the agent is
denoted. व्रुहतः करे वेतसः; here the object is denoted. व्रुहतः वेतसः; here
merely action is denoted. Similarly पञ्चक ओवसं वेतसः (agent); पञ्चक ओवसं वेतसः
(object); पञ्चक वेतसः (act).

गत्यांकक्षरतिक्ष्रियार्थवत्तावर्जनवोधिययतित्वस्र ॥ अ२।। पदार्थ।। गत्यांक-
क्षरतिक्ष्रियार्थवत्तावर्जनवोधिययतित्वस्र ॥, च,
(फः, कर्तेरि, भाये, कर्तेरि)।।

62. The affix 'kta' is employed in denoting
the agent as well as the act and the object, after verbs
implying motion, after intransitive roots, and after the
verbs 'slish'(to embrace), 'āś' (to lie down), 'sthā' (to stand),
'āś' (to sit), 'vāś' (to dwell), 'jau' (to produce), 'ruh' (to
mount) and 'jri' (to grow old).

The phrase 'the act and the object' has been added into the सूत्र by
virtue of the word च. Thus गती वेतसः भायम् 'Devadatta is gone to the village'
(agent); वेतसः गतिः जसः 'the village was gone to by Devadatta (object); गति वेत-
सः 'Devadatta went' (act). The past participle forms from Intransitive verbs,
describe the agent and the act only; or in other words, they are used impersonally
and in the Active voice, but never in the Passive voice or denoting the
object. Thus त्य भवसः 'you were wearied' (agent), भवसः (object); आत्मकरणी
73. The words 'dāsa' and 'goghna' are irregularly formed, and the affixa in these denotes the idea of the Dative or Recipient.

The word शार्य comes from the root शर्य 'to give' by adding the affixa अर्थ under rule III. i. 134. This being a कृतार्थ word would have, otherwise denoted the agent by rule III. 4. 67 of this chapter. The present sūtra makes it denote the recipient or have the force of the dative case. Thus शार्य means 'to whom something is given i.e. a servant'. Similarly goghna does not mean 'the killer of cow' but 'he on whose coming the cow is killed in order to give him, that is to say, a guest'. It is this irregularly-formed word goghna which is made applicable to the priests, guests, sons-in-law &c, and not the regularly-formed word gogha which means 'a killer of cow' or a 'Chandali'. Thus शार्य: = शार्स्य करें; गोघ: = गोघ काँग करि॥

74. The words 'bhima' &c. are irregularly formed and denote ablation.

These words are formed by Unādi affixa. Thus भी + नक्क = भीन (Uṇ. I. 145, 148); भी + बुझ्क + नक्क = भिन्न (Uṇ. I. 148) &c. By the next sūtra, Unādi words do not denote ordinarily the recipient and the ablation.

The present sūtra makes them do so in the case of Bhima words. The following is a list of Bhimādi words:—भीम, भीम, भिन्न: (Uṇ. III. 82), भर, भर;
The affix kta.

(Bk. III. Ch. IV. § 75, 76)

(Up. I. 7), तांत्रि: (Up. IV. 45), एकः (Up. IV. 217), संस्कृतः, संस्कारः, प्रत्यंतः; भष्यः, लघुः; or लघुः (Up. II. 61), नवः (Up. II. 62) राज्यवर:।

तांत्रिकान्तरे शरणां: || चर दस्ती || तांत्रिकान्तरे च ||

चर: || वर्तमानः: राज्यास्कारायमानप्रत्याशायमानप्रत्याशायमान कर्त्यं सम्मिलित।

75. The words formed by 'Unādi' affixes denote other ideas than these two, i.e., recipient and ablation.

The Unādi affixes being a subdivision of krit affixes, would have, by rule III. 4. 67, denoted the agent. By the present sūtra they are made to denote the object, the instrument and the location also. The word साध्य has been used in the sūtra in order to include the word sampradāna also. For, had the sūtra been अवस्थानोदय:, only the Apādāna kāraka would have been excluded, as being the nearest; but not so the Sampradāna kāraka. Thus कृषि (Un. IV. 120) 'agriculture i.e. what is ploughed' (object); भविष्यति (Un. I. 69) 'a thread i.e. what is drawn out'; पुस्तिका वर्प (Un. IV. 145) 'a way i.e. what is established'; बलिरथिति (Up. IV. 145) 'skin' (in which they live).

कृषिकर्मणि च प्रत्ययस्तवावनायांश्च: || चर || पदार्थी ||

चर: || अवस्थानोदय: च, प्रत्यय-स्थिति-प्रवशयस्तवावनायांश्च: (चर: भायः, कर्मिकृति, कर्तर्)

चर: || प्रत्ययस्तवावनायांश्च: च: कृषी-विविधोऽत्यंत्रिकान्तरे भविष्यति: प्रत्ययस्तवावनायांश्च: च प्रत्ययस्तवावनायांश्च: कार्यवर्तिकान्तरे गर्भयुक्तः कार्यवर्तिकान्तरे (कर्म) प्रत्ययस्तवावनायांश्च: कर्मवर्तिकान्तरे।

76. The affix 'kta' which is ordained after roots denoting fixedness (to cling to a place), motion and taking, gives the sense of location as well.

The verbs denoting प्राप्ति or 'persisting in a place' are Intransitive verbs. The word pratyavasāṇa means 'eating' also; the force of च in the sūtra is that the affix kta expresses other relations also. Thus after verbs denoting fixedness or dhauravyārtha it denotes the agent, the act and the location; after verbs denoting 'motion' it gives the sense of agent, object, act and location; after verbs denoting 'taking or eating', it has the sense of object, act and location. Thus भास्करो हैवथकः 'Devadatta sat'; भास्करो लेखन 'sitting by him (act); इमें प्रसंसितस्तवावनायांश्च: च इस तथा उनके 'Devadatta's seat' (location); बातैः हेवर्तिकान्तरे भास्करो 'Devadatta went to the village' (active); बातैः हेवर्तिकान्तरे भास्करो नामः (passive); बातैः हेवर्तिकान्तरे (abstract); इमें वा भास्करो 'this is their place of going' (location); यथा भास्करो हेवर्तिकान्तरे (abstract); यथा भास्करो हेवर्तिकान्तरे मात्र (active); हेवर्तिकान्तरे मुक्तत्त्व (abstract); इमें वा मुक्तत्त्व (location); यथा मुत्स्व भास्करो: (active)

लङ्काम् 99 || पदार्थी || लङ्काम्

चर: || लङ्काम्यवतिकान्तरे: भास्करो भास्करो यथा जन्यत्वस्तवावनायांश्च:।
77. In the place of 'la' will be substituted the affix which we shall announce hereafter.

This sūtra consists of one word लस्य meaning 'of ला'. It is an adhikāra sūtra. The word लस्य is the genitive singular of ला, the ल in ला being for the sake of pronunciation. The ला means the ten affixes: क्रत, present, निर्मित, first future, निर्मित, second future, निर्मित, imperative निर्मित, Vedic subjunctive, निर्मित, imperfect, निर्मित potential and benedictive, निर्मित aorist, निर्मित conditional. Six of these tenses have indicatory ला, and four have indicatory ला.

Professor Bohlingk translates this sūtra thus:—In the following sūtras, the word लस्य should be supplied to complete the sense, i.e. the phrase 'in the place of all those endings which are known as the Personal endings of various tenses and moods, and are known in their totality as ला'.

78. The following are the substitutes of 'la':—
'tap', 'tas', 'jhi', 'sip', 'thas', 'tha', 'mip', 'vas', 'mas'; 'ta', 'ātimā' 'jha'; 'thās', 'āthām', 'dhvam'; 'it', 'vahi', mahan.

These are the well-known Conjugational-affixes, called also Personal endings, and are ordained generally after all the ten tenses. But as a matter of fact, they undergo various additions and alterations in the different tenses. Some of these changes have already been mentioned before; see sūtra II 4. 85, III. 1. 33, &c. Others will be mentioned hereafter. It is only in the present tense or ला that the affixes as above given, may be applied to the root, in some cases, without any alteration.

The ल in लस्य, लस्य and लस्य is for the sake of accent (III. 1. 4); the ल in लस्य for distinguishing it in the sūtra लस्य (III. 4. 106); and the ल in लस्य for forming the Pratyākhyāta लस्य which is the general name of the above 18 conjugational or personal affixes. Stripped off their indicatory letters, the following table shows the conjugational affixes as added under various tenses:—

**Present Tense.**—लाः

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Parasmaipada.</th>
<th>Atmanepada.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st. pers.</td>
<td>लाः बलाः</td>
<td>लाः बलाः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd.</td>
<td>लाः बलाः</td>
<td>लाः बलाः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd.</td>
<td>ला भार्ताः</td>
<td>ला भार्ताः</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Imperfect or First Preterite.**—

<table>
<thead>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st.</td>
<td>भावोऽ</td>
<td>भावे</td>
<td>भावति</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>निर्ज्ञि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd.</td>
<td>भावे</td>
<td>भावायले</td>
<td>निर्ज्ञि</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>निर्ज्ञि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd.</td>
<td>भावे</td>
<td>भावायले</td>
<td>निर्ज्ञि</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>निर्ज्ञि</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Potential or Optative.**—

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>भाव</th>
<th>भावति</th>
<th>होि</th>
<th>होि</th>
<th>निर्ज्ञि</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st.</td>
<td>भाव</td>
<td>भाव</td>
<td>भावति</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>निर्ज्ञि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd.</td>
<td>भाव</td>
<td>भाव</td>
<td>भावति</td>
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<td>होि</td>
<td>निर्ज्ञि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd.</td>
<td>भाव</td>
<td>भाव</td>
<td>भावति</td>
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<td>होि</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Imperative.**—

<table>
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<th>भावति</th>
<th>होि</th>
<th>होि</th>
<th>निर्ज्ञि</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st.</td>
<td>भाव</td>
<td>भाव</td>
<td>भावति</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>निर्ज्ञि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd.</td>
<td>भाव</td>
<td>भाव</td>
<td>भावति</td>
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<td>होि</td>
<td>निर्ज्ञि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd.</td>
<td>भाव</td>
<td>भाव</td>
<td>भावति</td>
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<td>होि</td>
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**Perfect or Second Preterite.**—

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<th>भावति</th>
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<th>होि</th>
<th>निर्ज्ञि</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st.</td>
<td>भाव</td>
<td>भाव</td>
<td>भावति</td>
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<td>होि</td>
<td>निर्ज्ञि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd.</td>
<td>भाव</td>
<td>भाव</td>
<td>भावति</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>निर्ज्ञि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd.</td>
<td>भाव</td>
<td>भाव</td>
<td>भावति</td>
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<td>होि</td>
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**First Future or Definite Future.**—

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Person</th>
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<th>साहित्य</th>
<th>साहित्य</th>
<th>होि</th>
<th>होि</th>
<th>निर्ज्ञि</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st.</td>
<td>साहित्य</td>
<td>साहित्य</td>
<td>साहित्य</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>निर्ज्ञि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd.</td>
<td>साहित्य</td>
<td>साहित्य</td>
<td>साहित्य</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>निर्ज्ञि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd.</td>
<td>साहित्य</td>
<td>साहित्य</td>
<td>साहित्य</td>
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<td>होि</td>
<td>निर्ज्ञि</td>
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</tbody>
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**Second Future or Indefinite Future.**—

<table>
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<th>Person</th>
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<th>होि</th>
<th>निर्ज्ञि</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1st.</td>
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<td>साहित्य</td>
<td>साहित्य</td>
<td>होि</td>
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<td>निर्ज्ञि</td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd.</td>
<td>साहित्य</td>
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<td>साहित्य</td>
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<td>होि</td>
<td>निर्ज्ञि</td>
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<tr>
<td>3rd.</td>
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<td>साहित्य</td>
<td>साहित्य</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>निर्ज्ञि</td>
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**Aorist or Third Preterite.**—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>शालिः</th>
<th>शालिः</th>
<th>शालिः</th>
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<th>होि</th>
<th>निर्ज्ञि</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st.</td>
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<td>शालिः</td>
<td>शालिः</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>निर्ज्ञि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd.</td>
<td>शालिः</td>
<td>शालिः</td>
<td>शालिः</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>निर्ज्ञि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd.</td>
<td>शालिः</td>
<td>शालिः</td>
<td>शालिः</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>निर्ज्ञि</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Precative or Benedictive.**—

<table>
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<th>शालिः</th>
<th>होि</th>
<th>होि</th>
<th>निर्ज्ञि</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st.</td>
<td>शालिः</td>
<td>शालिः</td>
<td>शालिः</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>निर्ज्ञि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd.</td>
<td>शालिः</td>
<td>शालिः</td>
<td>शालिः</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>निर्ज्ञि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd.</td>
<td>शालिः</td>
<td>शालिः</td>
<td>शालिः</td>
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<td>होि</td>
<td>निर्ज्ञि</td>
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**Conditional.**—

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<th>शालिः</th>
<th>शालिः</th>
<th>होि</th>
<th>होि</th>
<th>निर्ज्ञि</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st.</td>
<td>शालिः</td>
<td>शालिः</td>
<td>शालिः</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>निर्ज्ञि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd.</td>
<td>शालिः</td>
<td>शालिः</td>
<td>शालिः</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>निर्ज्ञि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd.</td>
<td>शालिः</td>
<td>शालिः</td>
<td>शालिः</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>होि</td>
<td>निर्ज्ञि</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
79. The substitute 'e' replaces the last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, of the 'Atmanepada' substitutes of that 'la' which has an indicatory 't'.

The ṣ or the tense-affixes that have an indicatory ṣ are six:—कर, लिट, ज्ञ, ज्ञ, लो, लेद्र. In these tenses the final portion called द्र of the Atmanepada affixes is changed into र. Thus ṣ becomes शे, भावभा becomes भाव, श becomes श्रे &c, as shown in the foregoing table.

The affixes शान्, and रान् are also Atmanepada affixes. Why are not their finals changed into र as in पश्चात्, पञ्चम:? Because the word भावभा-पितान in the sutra refers by context to the Atmanepada affixes included in the Pratyāhāra लिट.

80. The word 'ṣe' is the substitute of 'ṭhās' in those tenses that have an indicatory 't'.

In the six tenses already mentioned in the last sutra, the Atmanepada शान् is replaced by शे, as we have already shown in the preceding table. Thus पश्चे, शेशे, पञ्चान्, पञ्चान्.

81. The words 'es' and 'irech' are the substitutes of 'ta' and 'jha' respectively in the Perfect tense.

The ṣ of झ indicates that it replaces the whole of the affix (I. 1. 55). The ु of शेच is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 165). Thus शे, शेचे शे शे. See the foregoing table of tenses for the Atmanepada.

82. In the room of the Parasmaipada affixes, the following are substituted in the Perfect tense:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>ṅal (श)</td>
<td>thal (ष)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual.</td>
<td>atus (अषु:)</td>
<td>athus (अषु:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural.</td>
<td>us (ष)</td>
<td>a (ष)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The indicatory न in तथा and यन्त्र is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 193). The indicatory त्र is for the sake of causing वृः (VII. 2. 25). Thus परा, वेश्यः, मुखः, रेखित्य or परक्रयः, वेश्यः, वेष्टः or परक्रयः, वेश्यः वेष्टः.

The above nine affixes of the Perfect tense are optionally added in the Present tense also after the verb 'vid'.

Thus:

Singular.

М or Мत्ति М or Мति М or Мति

Dual.

वितः or वितः वितः or वितः वितः or वितः

Plural.

वितः or वितः वितः or वितः वितः or वितः

83. Instead of the first five tense-affixes, in the Present tense coming after the verb 'brū' (to speak), there may optionally be the affixes of the Perfect; 'āha' being, at the same time, the substitute in the room of 'brū'.

Thus आहः 'he says'; आहुः 'they two say'; आहस् 'they say'; आहस्य 'thou sayst'; आहुः 'you two say'; the rest like М, as shown below:

Singular.

आहः or प्रवेशितः आह्यः or प्रवेशितः प्रवेशितः

Dual.

आहुः or मु०ः आहुः or मूः मूः

Plural.

आहुः or मु०ः मूः मूः

The word आहितः 'first' is used in the śūtra to indicate that the substitution should not take place in the case of the last four affixes. The repetition of the word मूः in the śūtra indicates the original expression which is to be replaced; and shows that this change occurs in the Parasmaipada affixes only.

85. The personal endings of the Imperative are as those of the Imperfect.

This is an अतिब्रोड़ śūtra; as in the तथा there are the affixes तथा, तथा, तथा and म, so also in the सोटा. Thus भवातः, भवस्यः, भवः, भवः, भवः.
Q. If लोक is like लम, why have we not the augment भन, भार, or the substitution of जुष, for हि (see III. 4. 111) in the case of लोक, also?

A. — The श of सूत्र III. 4. 83 is understood in this सूत्र also, so that the analogy between लोक and लम is a limited analogy and does not make all the rules which are applicable to लम, equally applicable to लोक also.

86. In the Imperative, ‘u’ is substituted for ‘i’.

Thus हि becomes तु, अत्यन्त बन्द्य, as have already been given in the above table.

Vatrt. — Prohibition must be stated in the case of affixes हि and हि of लोक. In the case of these two affixes, the श is not changed into श, either because they have been so taught in the सूत्रas, or because the श of सूत्र III. 4. 83 is understood here also and makes this rule an optional rule of limited scope as in the last सूत्र (वधधयत विनािच). Thus चन्द्र, पचन्द्र।

In fact, this सूत्र is confined to हि and हि only, and does not apply to हि to which the next सूत्र applies.

87. In the Imperative, ‘hi’ is substituted for ‘si’, and this has not the indicatory ‘p’ of ‘sip’, i.e., it is acutely accented.

The substitute being like the original expression (I. 1. 56), हि substituted for हि, would have been a विन्द affix, but for this सूत्र, which clearly states in its latter portion that this हि is not to be regarded as having an indicatory श।

Thus धन्ति, पुरुषि, राष्ट्रि, कपुषि; and as this affix is अत्यन्त, rule I. 2. 4 makes it हि also, and thereby no गुर तakes place.

88. In the Vedas, the substitute ‘hi’ is optionally treated as not having an indicatory ‘p’.

The result is that in the Chhandas the second person singular of लोक has two forms as लिवाहि or लीणाहि; लिवि or लिभि, हि being substituted for हि in the Vedas, by rule (VI. 4. 103) as in the following verse:

— Rig I. 189. 1: Yajur Veda, 40. 16.
Substitution in the Imperative. [Bk. III. Ch. IV. § 89-93.

89. In the Imperative, ’ni’ is substituted for the affix ’mi’.

This supersedes the rule relating to the change of ’r’ into ’s’, and the rule of lopa; see the table; thus pashati, pashtra.

80. In the Imperative ’am’ is substituted for what would have substituted otherwise ’e’ by III. 4. 79.

This relates to the Atmanepada affix ’a’. In the Atmanepada, ’am’ is substituted for ’a’ in the Imperative; see the table; pashatra, pashatra, pashatra.

81. For such an ’e’ coming after ’s’, is substituted ’v’, and for that coming after ’v’, is substituted ’am’, in the Imperative.

This supersedes the ’am’ substitution of the last sutra. Thus, for ’e’ we have ’a’, and for ’s’ we have ’a’; see the table; thus pashatra, pashatra.

82. In the Imperative ’at’ is the augment of the affixes of the first person and the termination is as if it had an indicatory ’p’.

This is clear. Thus in the Parasmaipada, we have ’ai’, ’av’, ’a’. Thus karatvati, karatvati, karatvati.

83. The ’ai’ is substituted for ’e’ forming part of the affixes of the first person of the Imperative.

This relates to the Atmanepada affix. Thus kara, karata, karata. But the ’r’ resulting from sandhi, is not to be changed into ’e’; Thus pashatra + ’r’ = pashatra. Here, no doubt, the ’r’ belongs to the Imperative by VI. 1. 85, being the substitute of ’a’ of ’a’ and ’a’. But this is not to be changed into ’e’, on the maxim that this ’a’ is the result of a svarupa rule, for
the rule of sandhi (VI. r. 87), is a वहरकुर्ण rule, while the present sūtra is an अन्तरकुर्ण rule; because of the following Paribhāṣās, भसिन्दे वहरकुर्णन्तरकुर्णे ‘that which is Bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect, when an Antaranga rule is to be applied.

94. The augments ‘at’ and ‘aṭ’ are added to the personal endings of the Vedic Subjunctive.

The augments भर and भाद are not to be added at once, but by turns. Thus युप + सिप + भर + ‘त्व = गोवियव्; ग्वियव्; नागियव्; similarly युष + भाद + ‘विव = शवति; श्वायवाति. See III. r. 34 for the addition of सिह in the above.

95. In the Subjunctive, ‘ai’ is the substitute of ‘ा’ in the first and second person dual of the Atmanepada.

Thus ननवेदेः, ननवेनेः, करवेर्मेः, करवेरोः. Why is not the augment भाद changed into भेः? Because otherwise the rule enjoining भाद would be superfluous.

96. In the Subjunctive, ‘ai’ is optionally the substitute of ‘े’ in other places than those mentioned in the last sūtra.

Thus ब्ये, द्ये, &c, in the following examples:—मवालिणि श्ये, भादेव पण्हणेऽत्रि, नवव यो वा गुरुवालेः, नाइवतनवेदेः व: प्रभाणवुयाक्षेः. And in the alternative we have simply ए, as वम्ब ए से मनो एष्म एष्मवतनरः.

Why do we say ‘in other places than those governed by the last sūtra’? Observe ननवेदेः, ननवेनेः.

97. In the Parasmaipada affixes the ‘i’ is optionally elided in the Subjunctive.

The व of the last sūtra is understood here also. Thus ग्रीवित्रत (Rig. II. 35. 1). ग्राहिः (Rig. I. 25. 12). ग्राहिः. In the alternative, it is not elided as पलावतिर्युन्तु (Rig. VII. 25. 1). श्वायं स्वायवाति. The द of दूर, द्वि and द्वि of the Atmanepada are not elided.

98. The 's' of the first person is optionally elided in the Subjunctive.

As कर्मवर्त or कर्मवर्त, कर्मवर्त or कर्मवर्त: I The first person is used in the sutra to indicate that the स is not elided in any other person.

99. There is always elision of the 's' of the first person of the affixes that come in the room of that 'la' which has an indicatory 'न'.

The tense-affixes having indicatory न are four, namely, लखः लिखः पृथकः and लृकः. In their case, the elision of स is not optional as was the case in the last sutra, but compulsory. See the table already given. In other words, in the Imperfect, Potential, Aorist and Conditional, the स is elided in the 1st person. Thus अपचार, अपसार. The word निथं 'always' is used in order to stop the anuvṛtti of the word 'optionally'.

100. And there is elision of the 's' of that Parasmaiapada affix which is the substitute of a 'la' having an indicatory 'न'.

Thus, for फि we have फि, for फि we have फि, &c, as in the above table. The फि of Atmanepada is, however, not elided, because the anuvṛtti of Parasmaiapada is understood here from sutra III. 4. 97. Thus अपचार, अपसार, but अपचारः and अपसारः.

101. The affixes 'tām', 'tam', 'ta' and 'āṁ' are the substitutes of the four affixes 'tas', 'thas', 'tha' and 'mīp' respectively, of any 'la' which has an indicatory 'न'.

This we have shown in the above table. Thus अपचारः अपचारः अपचारः अपचारः, अपचारः अपचारः, अपचारः अपचारः.

102. This we have shown in the above table. Thus अपचारः अपचारः अपचारः अपचारः.
102. The personal endings of the Potential and the Benedicive take the augment 'siyuṭ'.

The ṣ of शीरु is indicatory and shows that this augment is to be placed before the affixes (1. 1. 46). The ṣ is for the sake of pronunciation; this rule applies to the Atmanepada affixes. In the Potential, the ś of this augment is elided by VII. 2. 79, and the ś also, before a personal-ending beginning with a consonant, is dropped according to VI. 1. 66. In this way, we have प्रचेत, प्रचेतावा, and by III. 4. 105, प्रचेतर। In the Benedicive, the augment retains its full form, only so far as it is not governed by VI. 1. 66. Thus प्रचैर, प्रचैर्रत्वा प्रचैरर।

103. When the Parasmaipada affixes of the Potential follow, then 'yāsuṭ' acutely accented, is their augment, and the termination is regarded as having an indicatory 'ṅ'.

This debarś शीरु; the श of शाबु is indicatory; the real augment is शाबु। All augments being anudātta, the present sūtra therefore especially uses the word udātta to show that this augment is an exception to the general rule.

Though लिङ्ग has an indicatory ś, and therefore by the rule I. 1. 56, its substitutes would also be regarded as having an indicatory ś, the repetition of the word लिङ्ग in this sūtra shows the existence of the paribhasa "that the ś belonging to endtime does not influence its substitutes;" in other words, the substitutes of लिङ्ग, लिङ्ग, लिङ्ग and लिङ्ग are not to be regarded as having an indicatory ś (शराधविस्खगनाढानान्तः न निर्देशः). In the Potential, the ś of शाबु is elided by VII. 2. 79. So we get the forms कुशाल, कुशालावा, and by applying III. 4. 108 and VI. 1. 96, कुश। For the Benedicive लिङ्ग, the following sūtra applies.

104. The augment 'yāsuṭ' comes after that 'liṅ' also which denotes benediction, and it is acutely accented, and the substitutes of this 'liṅ' are as if they had an indicatory 'ṅ'.

The क्रम of this sūtra refers to the personal affixes of the Benedicive mood and not to the augment शाबु, for that would have been unnecessary,
being already कित् by the last rule. कित्व and कित्व are equal in prohibiting guna and vriddhi, but कित्व is distinguished from कित्व inasmuch as कित्व causes the guna of शाय (VII. 3. 85), and also there is distinction between them with regard to the change of semi-vowel to vowel (VI. 1. 15 and 16). Thus रमाय, रमाय, रमायु, and नागर्म, नागर्मकालास्म and नागर्मूः. In the Potential, रमाय (no samprasāraṇa); in the Benedictive, रमाय (vocalisation). So also नागर्म in the Potential.

105. The affix 'ran' is the substitute of 'jha' in the 'LIN' (Potential and Benedictive).

The र in other places, is replaced generally by भ्र (VII. 1. 3), but in लिं, it is replaced by रम. Thus पचरम, कचरम, उचरम.

106. Short 'a' is the substitute of 'i' of the Atmanepada first person singular in the Potential and Benedictive.

Thus पचर, कचर, कुचर, उचर.

Q.—In the sutra, the word भ्र is used, and the final र belongs to the भ्रमक्ष, therefore by rule I. 3. 4, this र is not indicative; why is it made so?

A.—This र is not any portion or member of the substitute भ्र; it is added to भ्र merely for the sake of euphony.

The र, refers to the भ्रमक्ष affix of the first person singular; and not to the augment रम on the strength of the maxim अर्थसंग्रहयो नागर्मकालास्म. 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.

107. The augment 'sut' is added to the affixes 'ta' and 'tha' when part of the affixes of the Potential and Benedictive.

The letters र and र are the objects to which the augment रम is to be added; provided that the र and र are the initial of the affixes employed in लिङ. The augment राय is applied to लिङ as such; in other words, लिङ is
there the भावनी; but in the case of सूर, लिख is not the भावनी, but ह and य are the भावनी. The scope of सीतूर, and दुर, being thus different, one does not debar the other.

In the सूत्र, the word ह is used; the ह of ह is merely for the sake of pronunciation. Thus कुबे, कुबे बालू, कुबे पान, कुबे हः; कुबे बालू। In the Potential, the सूर is elided by VII. 2. 79.

अध्यात्म 108 पदांकः भेषः, जुषः (लिखः) पुत्रः लिखावरः हर्षभोजः भविष्यः

108. In the Potential and Benedictive, ‘jus’ is the substitute of ‘jhi’, the ending of the first person plural Parasmaipada.

This debarrs भवि (VII. 1. 3); thus प्रधः, समः.

विष्णुधातुविद्यम् २५३ विष्णु-अयस्य-विद्यम् च (अध्यात्मम्)

पुत्रः विष्णु परव अवस्था बंधु वर्षी वर्षी भुसाहैव भविष्यः

109. (In those tenses which are marked with an indicatory ‘न’) ‘jus’ is the substitute of ‘jhi’, when it comes after an Aorist in ‘sich’, or the Imperfect of a reduplicated verb, or the root ‘विद’ (to know).

This applies to tenses having ह other than that of लिख, namely, the जूर and लुषः.

लिखः is employed in forming the first Aorist. The reduplicated verbs, as well as the verb श्रेष्ठ, form their third person plural in जुषः, in the tenses other than लिखः, and those that take विष्णु. The word लिखः of सूत्र III. 4. 99, is understood here also; and therefore this rule is restricted to the Imperfect (सूर) of the reduplicated verb. Thus of लिखः, we have भविष्यः, भविष्यः. Similarly, after the Imperfect of the reduplicated verbs, we have भविष्यः, भविष्यः; भविष्यः. In the case of विष्णु, we have भविष्यः.

विष्णु 110 पदांकः विष्णुः (अध्यात्मम्, लिखः)

पुत्रः विष्णु भविष्य भविष्य भविष्य भविष्य

110. (When ‘sich’ is elided), ‘jus’ is the substitute of ‘jhi’, after an Aorist stem which ends in long ‘अ’.

The लिखः is elided by rule (II. 4. 77). Thus श्रेष्ठः; श्रेष्ठः, भविष्यः. In other words, in those cases, where लिखः is elided by rules II. 4. 77, 78 and 79, only जुषः is the substitute of ह where the verbs end in long अः. In other words, this सूत्र restricts the scope of the last सूत्र, by which after every लिखः, जुषः was to replace ह.

The Present सूत्र says that after verbs in which लिखः has been elided,
Sarvadihatuka Affixes. [Bk. III. Ch. IV. § 111-113.

सुधः does not replace त्रिः in the case of any other verb than that which ends in long त्रिः; it is thus a niyama rule.

Thus, by rule II. 4. 77, त्रिः is elided after the verb सुधः, but as सुधः does not end in long त्रिः, its 3rd person plural Aorist will not be in सुधः. Thus, अनुवः.

Here, by the last rule, and on the maxim that ‘though त्रिः is elided, yet its force remains (I. 1. 62), सुधः would have replaced त्रिः; but the present sutra prohibits that. But where the त्रिः is not elided, there, of course, सुधः does come. Thus अनुवः, अनुवः:

खः शाक्तायनस्य ॥ १११ ॥ पदरक्ष ॥ खः, शाक्तायनस्य, (ेषः, सुधः, अलः) ॥

पृश्चिः ॥ अकारावर्तमानाय नकारावर्तः हृदयोदेशीय नकारावर्तमानवाचरावर्तः स्वेतः ॥

111. In the opinion of Sākāṭayaṇa only, ‘jus’ is the substitute of ‘jhi’, in the Imperfect of the roots which end in a long ‘ा’.

Thus अशः, अशः । In the alternative, we have अष्टः and अष्टः.

Why is खः repeated here, when the context would have supplied this word; for the sutra applies to क्रिया tenses, of which सुधः being dealt with in the last, would leave खः only to be dealt with by this aphorism, for no other क्रिया tense (like लक्षण or लक्षण) can end in त्रिः? The repetition shows that the rule applies to those affixes which come after लक्षण as लक्षण, and not to those which come after another tense which is treated like लक्षण । Thus खः is treated like खः, but for the purposes of this rule, खः would not be so treated. Thus the खः of खः will not be changed into सुधः by III. 4. 109. Thus बिषयः, भाषणः, बिषयः।

The word सुधः has been used in the sutra, for the sake of the subsequent sutra.

द्विषिः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदरक्ष ॥ द्विषः, च, (सुधः, शाक्तायनस्य, अलः) ॥

पृश्चिः ॥ द्विषः सरदयास्य नकारावर्तस्य ग्रंथिः शाक्तायनस्याचरावर्तः स्वेतः ॥

112. In the opinion of Sākāṭayaṇa only, ‘jus’ is the substitute of ‘jhi’, in the Imperfect after the verb ‘dvish’ (to hate).

Thus अशः । But according to others, अशः.

तिष्कित्वे वर्षापुर्वकः ॥ ११३ ॥ पद ॥ तिष्कित, सार्वभाषातुकः ॥

पृश्चः ॥ तिष्कित ॥ तिष्कितम् सार्वभाषाँतुकः अबन्धः ॥

113. All personal endings (III. 4. 78) and all affixes with an indicator ‘ś’, are called ‘sārvadhātuka’.

Of course, this applies to the affixes which have been already treated before, namely, the affixes which relate to verbal roots and not to क्रिया affixes &c. Thus, संर, दोर, प्रमण, प्रवधः: प्रवधः: तिष्कित, and आंशिकहः are exceptions.
114. The remainder, i.e. the affixes other than ‘tin’, and those with an indicatory ‘s’ subjoined to a verbal root, are called ‘ārdhadhātuka’.

Thus the affixes छ, चु, चम्म &c. are आध्यात्मक affixes as in the following words—जित्म, लावित्म, लावित्मम्. Here the augment हृ is added, because of these affixes being called आध्यात्मक by VII. 2. 35.

The word पाली: whose anuvṛtti began with sūtra III. 1. 91, is understood here also. So that the affixes in relation to the verbal roots get the name of साृवाहीत्तुक and आध्यात्मक: the affixes applied to nouns do not get these names. Thus the case-affix भल when added to the noun ज्ञ, is not called an आध्यात्मक affix, and therefore we have ज्ञणम्, ज्ञनि: &c. Had these affixes been आध्यात्मक, they would have caused the guna of the base (VII. 3. 84). Similarly the affixes छ and ठ in the words तुकहट्ज and तुकहट्ज are not आध्यात्मक affixes. Had they been so, there would have been the insertion of the augment हृ (VII. 2. 35).

Similarly in sūtra III. 1. 5, the affix चम्म is used without changing the sense, after the roots यु, तिन्द्र: and तिन्द्र: But as this affix is added without the enunciation of the word पाली: as it is in sūtra III. 1. 7, this चम्म is not called आध्यात्मक, and does not take the augment हृ, as चुपाले.

115. The personal endings of the Perfect are also called ‘ārdhadhātuka’.

This debars them from being called साृवाहीत्तुक and, being आध्यात्मक, some of them take the augment हृ as यशिय, यशिय: Moreover by their being आध्यात्मक they do not admit of the Vikaranas श्रु &c.

So from गरे (सा, VI. 1. 45) we have गरे: here the भग is elided by VI. 4. 64, the affix being treated as आध्यात्मक; similarly गरे: from गरे.

116. When the sense is that of Benediction, the substitutes of ‘tin’ are called ‘ārdhadhātuka’, i.e. the personal endings of the Benedicive are ‘ārdhadhātuka’.

This debars these affixes from being called साृवाहीत्तुक. Being आध्यात्मक they take the augment हृ, and before these affixes the root does
not take the Vikaraṇas शत् &c. Thus from the root लू 'to cut', we have in the भ्रात्सिङ्ग, लबित; and from the root नू 'to purify', पवचिन्द. But in the विद्यानिर्ग (Potential), we have the proper Vikaraṇas &c. as लूनीवर्त नूनीवर्त.

खड्डसुभया ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ढंगसिं ० बनोया ॥

११७. In the Vedas this distinction of 'sārvadhatuka' and 'ārdhadhatuka is not always maintained, and the affixes are promiscuously employed.

In the Vedas, there is no hard and fast rule about sārvadhatuka and ārdhadhatuka affixes. Sometimes the लिङ्ग and लिङ्गव are treated as if they were ārdhadhatuka. Thus वर्जन्तु लिङ्ग सुधवतः। Here the affixes of the लोका are treated as ārdhadhatuka and consequently there is the elision of the लिङ्ग by rule VI. 4. 51; the proper form of this word would be वर्जन्तु। Sometimes ārdhadhatuka affixes are treated like sārvadhatuka affixes; as निष्प्रतिवर्त; here the affixes of the लिङ्ग are treated as sārvadhatuka and so there is the Vikaraṇa शत् and the र is changed into र। Thus, व+श+श+हरे = व+ण+त+हरे (III. 1. 74) = व+ण+त+हरे (VI. 4. 87) = निष्प्रतिवर्त। Similarly, निष्प्रतिवर्त। The लिङ्ग is sometimes treated in the Vedas both as sārvadhatuka and ārdhadhatuka at one and the same time; as उपस्थितात्म दातरं दृष्टात्। Here, by treating the affix as sārvadhatuka, there is elision of र in the लिङ्ग (VII. 2. 79) and by treating it again as ārdhadhatuka, the भा of शत् is changed into ह। So also in शस्ति the affix is treated as sārvadhatuka and there is no substitution of श for शस्त्र as required by II. 4. 52.
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