BOOK VIII.

THE

VEDA-HYAYI

of

PANINI,

PARTS XXIX—XXXII.

S. C. VASU.
OPINIONS OF DISTINGUISHED PROFESSORS OF SANSKRIT.

Professor Max Müller, Oxford, 9th February, 1892.—* * * From what I have seen of it, it will be a very useful work. What should I have given for such a work forty years ago when I puzzled my head over Pāṇini’s Sūtras and the Commentaries. * * * * I hope you may succeed in finishing your work.

Professor Gopalji S. Desai, Rajkot in Kathiawar, 20th February, 1892.
* * * The first part that has already been out before the Public shows clearly that the author has spared no pains to make the translation as exact and pithy as possible. The work when completed will no doubt claim a high place amongst the best works by European scholars on Sanskrit Grammar. The paper, printing and the general get-up of the book are excellent.

Professor T. Jolly, Ph. D., Würzburg, (Germany), 23rd April, 1893.—*
* Nothing could have been more gratifying to me, no doubt, than to get hold of a trustworthy translation of Pāṇini’s Ashtādhyāyī, the standard work of Sanskrit literature, and I shall gladly do my best to make this valuable work known to lovers and students of the immortal literature of ancient India in this country.

Professor W. D. Whitney, New Haven, U. S. A., 17 June, 1893.—* * The work seems to me to be very well planned and executed, doing credit to the translator and publisher. It is also, in my opinion, very valuable undertaking, as it does to give the European student of the native grammar more help than he can find anywhere else. It ought to have a good sale in Europe (and correspondingly in America).

Professor V. Fausbøl, Copenhagen, 15th June, 1893.—* * * It appears to me to be a splendid production of Indian industry and scholarship, and I value it particularly on account of the extracts from the Kasika.

Professor Dr. R. Pischel, Halle (Saale), 27th May, 1893.—* * * I have gone through it and find it an extremely valuable and useful book, all the more so, as there are very few Sanskrit scholars in Europe who understand Pāṇini.

Pandit Lalchandra Vidyabhaskar, M. R. A. S. (London), Guru to H. H. the Maharaja of Jodhpur,
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THE BEQUEST OF

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Dear Sir,

Allow me to congratulate you on your successful termination of Panini's Grammar. It was a great undertaking, and you have done your part of the work most admirably. I say once more, what should I have given for such an edition of Panini when I was young, and how much time would it have saved me and others. Whatever people may say, no one knows Sanskrit, who does not know Panini. *

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) F. Max Muller.
OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

The Indian Union, (Allahabad), 26th November, 1891.—* * * The original Text and Commentaries, carefully edited with English notes and explanations, bespeak of much diligence, care and ability; and those of the English-reading public who have a taste for Sanskrit cannot be too thankful to Babu Sris Chandra for offering them so easy an access to the intricate regions reigned over by that Master Grammariam. * * * We recommend this book to all English-knowing lovers of the Sanskrit Language.

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Karnatak Patria, (Dharwar), 7th February, 1892.—* * * Mr. Vasu gives ample proof of his competency to undertake the work which is not an easy task even to learned Sanskritists.

The Punjab Times, (Rawalpindi), 17th February, 1892.—* * * Babu Sris Chandra is well-known for his scholarly attainments. He has done the translation in a lucid and clear English. We can strongly recommend it to those who wish to study Sanskrit Grammar through the medium of English.

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Lucifer (London), March 1896.—* * * We are pleased to find that the translation is clear and easy and the extracts from the Kāśihika are not only very numerous but also valuable. The large number of references to the preceding sūtras for the formation of 'padas' will save much time and trouble, and obviate a difficulty which discourages many from the study of Pāṇini. Indeed the English translation of the grammar could rightly be called "Pāṇini Made Easy." * * * It can be recommended as of great importance, not only to all who wish to have a general knowledge of Pāṇini but also to the few who desire to master the great grammar thoroughly and enjoy all its benefits.

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BOOK VIII.

THE

ASHTÁDHYÁYI OF PÁNINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,

BY

SRISA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,

Provincial Civil Service, N. W. P.

Stuarta:
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AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S
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THE TRANSLATOR.
BOOK EIGHTH.

Chapter First.

1. From here up to VIII. 1. 15 inclusive, is to be supplied always the phrase "the whole word is repeated".

This is an adhikāra sūtra. Whatever will be taught hereafter up to पर्व (VIII. 1. 16) exclusive, there the phrase सर्वस्य देहे should be supplied to complete the sense. Thus VIII. 1. 4. teaches "when the sense is that of 'always', and 'each'". Here the phrase 'the whole word is repeated' should be supplied to complete the sense. i.e. "The whole word is repeated when the sense is that of always and each". What is to be repeated? That which is most appropriate in sound and sense both. Thus one पपाति becomes two, as पपाति पपाति 'he always cooks'. Similarly पपाति पपाति 'every village is beautiful'.

The sūtra 'sarvasya deve', should not be confounded as meaning 'the word-form sarva is doubled'. For then rules like VI. 1. 99, and VI. 1. 100 will find no scope. The word sarva has several meanings: (1) the totality of things (ब्रह्म) as सर्वत्रस्त्वाति, (2) the totality of modes (प्रकार:.) सर्वात्माण्यांभूताति: सर्वेष्या-रसमेव भक्ताति; (3) the totality of members (संबन्धं), as सर्वं पदोपथं. In the present sūtra, the word sarva has this last sense: namely all the members of a word are doubled, no portion is omitted. The force of the genitive case in sarvasya, is that of sthāna, i.e. in the room of the whole of the words like परि &c there is doubling. So one meaning of the sūtra is, that in the room of the one word, two are substituted. In making such substitution, we must have regard to the rule of nearness.
Doubling.

Another meaning of the sūtra however is, that it does not teach substitution but repetition or employment, not adesā, but prayoga. That is to say, one word is employed twice. In this sense, of course, there is no room left for finding out the proper substitute. The very word-form, प्रयोग &c, is employed twice, i.e. is repeated twice or pronounced twice.

The word sarvasya is employed in the sūtra for the sake of distinctness only. Otherwise, one may double only the last letter of a word by the rule of अलोकस्तम्ब, though that rule is not, strictly speaking, applicable to such cases.

Obj. The word पद्यम् should be employed in the sūtra, in order to prevent the application of the rule to समास (compound), to taddhitas, and to vākyas (sentences). Thus सत्सप्तपत्राणि। Here there is the sense of vipsā with regard to seven leaves, and does not mean a tree having seven leaves. There ought to have been doubling; but it would not take place, if we take the word padasya in the aphorism. Similarly वित्तवंकिता स्ताद्यि, here also the sense is that of vipsā, and there ought to have been doubling, before the affixing of the taddhita affix. So also in यादे माये पाल्येष्वर the sentence पालियेष्वर is not doubled, if we employ padasya. So the word padasya, should be employed in the sūtra. Moreover, it would prevent our employing the word padasya again in VIII. 1. 16.

Ans. We could not employ the word padasya in this sūtra, for then the rule would become very much restricted. Moreover in the above examples, there can be no doubling; for सत्सप्ताद्यि means 'that whose every twig bears seven leaves परमां वर्षी सत्सप्ताद्यि स्त्रयः;' so that the sense of vipsā is not here inherent in the word saptā or parnā. In the case of the taddhita example, there would be no doubling, because the force of vipsā is there denoted by the taddhita affix itself, and so doubling is not necessary. Moreover, a sentence can never be doubled, because vipsā can take place with regard to a word, and not a sentence. Therefore the word पद्यम् should not be employed in the sūtra.

On the contrary, if we employ the word padasya in the sūtra, it would give rise to the following anomalies. We could not have प्रयोगम् प्रयोगम्; for upasarga being considered as a separate pada, only प्रयोगम् would be doubled, and प्रयोगम् would not. So also, we have two forms ह्रेमभा and ह्रेमभा। Here ह्रेमभा is added to the root ह्रेम, and ह्रेम is optionally changed to र्र्म by VIII. 2. 77, and in the other alternative there is ह्रेम। As प्रयोगम् and ह्रेम are both asiddha (VIII. 2. 1), the doubling would take place without making this प्रयोगम् or ह्रेम substitution. So that having first doubled the word (something as ह्रेमभा ह्रेमभा) then optional प्रयोगम् or ह्रेम change will take place, and we shall get wrong forms, like ह्रेमभा ह्रेमभा, ह्रेमभा ह्रेमभा in doubling. While the correct forms are ह्रेमभा ह्रेमभा, or ह्रेमभा ह्रेमभा, and not the hybrid doubling as given above. Hence the necessity of the vārtika पुरोपतिःवदनम् (vārtika).
Or the word चर्च may be considered to be formed by चर्च affix of चर्च माध्यम, meaning चर्च कार्य वालमध्यम सत्त्वे चर्च, सत्त्वे हे नयत्। That is, all operations having been first performed, then the word is doubled; so that a word in its inchoate state is not doubled.

2. Of that which is twice uttered, the latter word-form is called अम्रेदिता (repeated).

Thus in पौरा पौरा । पौरा पौरा । रात्विश्वास त्यस, रात्विश्वास त्यस, the second word being अम्रेदिता is pluta. The word रात्विश्वास occurs in Sūtras VI. 1. 99, VIII. 1. 57, VIII. 2. 95, VIII. 10. 3 &c.

The मस्त here denotes ayavaya-shašṭhi: and the word पौर denotes the ayavaya. In fact, this sūtra indicates by implication, that a Genitive case is employed, when a member (ayavaya) is denoted. So that the sentences like पौर कायम become valid.

In the above examples, the word has become pluta by VIII. 2. 95.

अनुउच्चर्च च ॥ ॥ पद्धति ॥ अनुउच्चर्च, च ॥

3. That which is called अम्रेदिता is gravely accented.

Thus छुछे छुछे; पपूर पपूर॥

That is, all the vowels of the अम्रेदिता become anudatta or accentless. In the above examples, the root चूछ becomes अत्मनपदी by I. 3. 66: the Personal endings are anudatta by VI. 1. 186; the vikaraṇa त्वत्त gets the acute by III. 1. 3; the म of this म is elided by VI. 4. 111, and thus छुछे becomes finally acute by udatta-nivṛtti-svara (VI. 1. 161). The अम्रेदिता bhunkte becomes wholly anudatta. The word चूछ is formed by the affix छ and is finally acute.

निलवीप्यायोऽ॥ ॥ पद्धति ॥ निलय, सीप्यायोऽ॥

4. The whole word is repeated when the sense is of ‘always’ and ‘each’.

What words express ‘always’? The finite verbs, and the Indecinclusional words, formed by kṛt affixes. What ‘always’ is meant here? The word ‘nitya’ here means ‘again and again’, and this idea of ‘repetition’ is the quality of an action. That action which the agent does principally, without cessation, is called “nitya”. So that nitya refers to an action (See III. 4. 22). Thus पचि पचि ‘he cooks continually’. ज्ञति ज्ञति ‘he talks incessantly’. भूमि भूमि भूमि or
Doubling of Words.

\[ Bk. VIII Civ. I \ §\, 6 \]

When a finite verb is repeated owing to the idea of nityatā; and we also wish to add to such a verb the affix denoting comparative or superlative degree, such affix must be added after the word has been repeated, as प्रचारित प्रचारिततम्. But in the case of a noun, which is repeated owing to vīpaśā, the whole superlative or comparative word should be repeated, as भास्करसामायसामायम्.

5. The word परि is repeated when employed in the sense of 'with the exception or exclusion of'.

As ये परि विशेषतः एको देव (I. 4. 88 and II. 3. 10) 'It rained round about (but with the exclusion of) Trigarta'. Similarly परि परि वैसीरि, परि परि वैसीरि. Why do we say when meaning exclusion? Observe भोजनं परिभ्रंशाय.

\[ Vārt.:\]—Optionally परि, meaning 'exclusion', is repeated when it occurs not in a compound, as ये परि विकम्पितः or परि बिगच्छितः. In a compound, there is no repetition as, परिचितं वेष्टितः, because the word ये has not the meaning of exclusion only here; in fact, the whole compound word denotes here the idea of exclusion, and not the word ये alone.

The word ये is here a Karmaprayachchhīna (I. 4. 88), and governs the fifth case by II. 3. 11. In परिभ्रमणम् the word is an upasarga.

\[ प्रस्तुतोऽदः पावपुष्पणे § \ § \ पवार्नि \ म, \ सम, \ उप, \ उदः, \ पाद, \ पुरूषे ॥ \]

\[ पुः • म • साम, \ उप, \ उदः, \ पाद, \ पूर्णे ॥ \]
6. प्र, सम, उँ and उद are repeated, when by so doubling, the foot of a verse is completed.

As प्र गायत्रिम् ग्रन्थः (Rig VII. 8.4), संसारिष्टं खुच्छर् II (Rig X. 191. 1), उस्म्य ने परस्त्र (Rig I. 126. 7), किं में सुधैर सर्वमात्र (Rig IV. 21. 9). Why do we say when 'a foot of a verse is completed there by'? Observe प्रथे देवा शिखा II. This rule applies only to the Vedic verses, for there alone the Preposition may be used separate from its verb. In the secular literature, this rule has no applicability, as Prepositions are never so used.

उपर्यण्यः सामीयः इत्या प्रस्तावी उपर्यंति, अधिः, अधिः, सामीयः II.

7. उपरिः, अधिः, and अधिः are repeated, when it expresses uninterrupted nearness.

The word sāmipya means ‘proximity’ whether in time or space. As उपर्यण्ये दुःखम्, or उपर्यण्ये भाँतम्, अपर्यण्ये भार्यम् II. Why do we say ‘meaning near’? Observe उपरः प्रस्तावम् II. Why the word is not repeated here: उपरः किरছो पंत भार्यम् II. The relation expressed here is not that of nearness, but that of above and below.

उपर्यण्ये दुःखम् सर्वं एव श्रव्ति II.

अधिः दुःखम् कस्य गत्वा भ्राम्य भ्राम्यावते II.

Here the doubling is in the sense of vīpta.

ाधिकार्ये भार्यम्भर्त्यो भार्यम्भर्त्यो सामीयतोपकुलसम्भर्त्येनेषु II. प्रस्तावी बालस्नाते II.

8. A Vocative, at the beginning of a sentence, is repeated, when envy, praise, anger, blame, or threat is meant by the speaker.

A collocation of words, expressing one idea, is called a sentence or vākya. Thus (1) envy:—गायत्रकः गायत्रेऽगिरिपकः गिरिपकः शिरसः द्रविष्टिः. (2) praise — गायत्रकः गायत्रेऽगिरिकर् गिरिकर् श्रेणिः श्रेणिः. (3) anger:—गायत्रेऽगिरिकर् गायत्रेऽगिरिकर् गिरिकर् श्रेणिः श्रेणिः. (4) blame:— श्रेणिः श्रेणिः श्रेणिः. (5) Threat:—देवी देवीः देवीः देवीः देवीः देवीः देवीः देवीः देवीः देवीः देवीः. The first word becomes pluta as well as gets svarita accent, by VIII. 2. 103, in the case of the first four; in the case of ‘threat’, the second word or the Amṛṛdita becomes pluta by VIII. 2. 95. Why do we say “at the beginning of a sentence”? The Vocative in the middle or the end of a sentence is not to be repeated, as श्रीमण लग्न्त्वम् गायत्रकः II. Why do we say of a Vocative? Observe उस्म्य देवायेवतः II. Why do we say ‘when meaning envy &c’. Observe देवतं गायत्रे श्रीमणः II.
In some books, the vākyā is defined as a collocation of words having one finite verb; (एककलित वस्तुधूतक) ॥ In the first example, कत्र is added.

9. When एक is repeated, it is treated like a member of Bahuvihi compound.

The making it a Bahuvihi is for the sake of eliding the case-affix, and treating the word as a masculine, even when it refers to a feminine. Thus एकाकर (not एककर), एककवालता सुहोति (not एककवालता). The accent is regulated by VI. 2. 1. the case-affix is elided by II. 4. 71, and masculinising by VI. 3. 34. This double word एक should not however be treated like a Bahuvihi for the purposes of the application of the following three rules, (1) The sūtra I. 1. 29 by which pronouns are not declined as pronouns when members of a Bahuvihi compound. The word एक however is declined like a Pronoun, as एकले ॥ For sūtra I. 1. 29 applies to a compound which is really a Bahuvihi, and not to a word-form which is treated like a Bahuvihi. The repetition of the word Bahuvihi in that sūtra, though its anuvṛtti was understood from the preceding one; indicates this. (2) The application of the rule of accent. Thus by the following sūtra, a word is repeated when a mental pain or affliction over something is expressed. Thus नन करति, सबुज्जागरति ॥ This double-word is treated like a Bahuvihi, but not for the purposes of accent. For by VI. 2. 172 a Bahuvihi preceded by न or छ gets acute on the final, but not so न or छ ॥ Here four rules of accent present themselves 1st VI. 1. 223 ordaining acute on the final, 2nd VI. 2. 1 the first member retaining its accent, 3rd VI. 2. 172 already mentioned, 4th VIII. 1. 3 by which the second member becomes anudatta. The rule VI. 2. 1 however regulates the accent, in supersession of the other three. (3) The third rule which does not apply to this Bahuvihi-vat एक is the rule of samāsanta affixing. Thus छछ पृथः पृथः (doubled by VIII. 1. 10) do not get the samāsanta affix छ by V. 4. 74.

10. A word is repeated, and is treated like a member of Bahuvihi compound, when a mental distress over something is expressed.

Thus गङ्गास: 'gone, gone to my affliction', पृथः, शतिपतिन, in the masculine, and नमस्थ, नहन, पृथिपतिन in the Feminine (not पहलवात for the reasons given in the preceding aphorism). The accent is governed by VI. 2. 1.
11. In the following rules, the double-word is treated like a Karmadhāraya compound.

The reason for making it a Karmadhāraya is to elide the case-affix (II. 4. 71), to make the first member a masculine term even when the word refers to a feminine (VI. 3. 42), and to regulate the accent by VI. 1. 223. Thus पुष्प, पुष्पः where the first member has lost the case-affix; पुष्पकाः, पुष्पः where the first member is treated as a masculine, even when there is a क in the penultimate as कानककान्तिक (See VI. 3. 37 and 42); पुष्पः, पुष्पी, the accent falls on the final, for the rule VI. 1. 223 was debarred by VII. 1. 3, but the present rule re-instates VI. 1. 223. The word उत्तरेषु is for the sake of distinctness, the sūtra being an adhikāra one, would have applied to the subsequent aphorisms, without even the word uttareshu.

12. An adjective is repeated, when it is meant to express that the said attribute belongs to a thing only to a limited degree, and the double word is treated like a Karmadhāraya.

The word प्रकार means both ‘difference’ and ‘resemblance’. It means ‘resemblance’ here: i.e. the person or thing resembles, but is not fully like, the thing expressing the attribute. Thus प्रकारः, ‘tolerably sharp’, प्रकारः “pretty soft”, प्रकारः &c. The sense is that the attribute is not fully possessed by the person. The affix जातिको (V. 3. 69) also expressing प्रकार, is not debarred by this sūtra. Thus प्रकारः प्रकारः.
"agni" and "gau" are not naturally adjective words, though employed here like adjectives.

Vārtt.:—An adjective is repeated when denoting that persons or things possessing that attribute are to be taken in their due order. Thus ओऽें ओऽें गुणैः; यथे यथे गुणैः, सुचि ऊष्मस्य मष्ठः।

Vārtt.—A word denoting more than one is repeated without change of sense, when it denotes the limit or extent of the thing. Thus अथर्ववाच वर्णार्थस्य वचनमान गाम्य नाम देहि ‘give a māsha, a māsha out of this kārshāpaṇa to you two’: i.e. give only two masha one to each. A kārshāpaṇa contains many māshas, out of them, the extent of gift is limited to two only. This therefore is distinguishable from the distributive double (vīpā). The words गाम्य नाम देहि = हि-देहि; the noun does not take the dual case here. Why do we say when it expresses the limit? Observe अथर्ववाच वर्णार्थस्य वचनमान गाम्य नाम देहि, हि-देहि, हि-देहि, यथा नाम देहि. Here the word नाम itself does not express limit, but the qualifying words एकं, हि, यथा, &c. Why do we say 'denoting more than one'? Observe अथर्ववाच वर्णार्थस्य वचनमान गाम्य नाम देहि।

Vārtt.—In expressing perplexity or alarm, a word may be repeated twice. The word चापल in the vārtika means 'a confused state of mind'. As चापल चापल “a snake, a snake, beware. beware'. It is not a necessary condition that the word should be repeated twice only, but as many times as one likes, so long as his meaning is not manifest. As: चापल चापल चापल चापल।

Vārtt.:—When intensity or frequency of an action is denoted, the word is uttered twice: as, च मनोधान हरिष्टिः हरिष्टिः इत्ययय दुनाति। See III. 4. 2.

Vārtt.—In re-iteration the word is doubled; as, सुक्तत्स सुक्तत्स सङ्क्रान्ति, लोकः लोकः प्रजाः। See III. 4. 22. This has also been illustrated under VIII. 1. 4.

Vārtt.—The word is repeated when the affix राॅच follows; as, प्रथम राॅच, प्रथम राॅच। This doubling takes place when the word denotes an imitation of an inarticulate sound (V. 4. 57). Therefore, not here, हिस्तिः करोऽति, हिस्तिः करोऽति, where the affix राॅच denotes 'to plough', (V. 4. 58). Because of this restriction, some read the vārtika as, चापल चापल।

Vārtt.—The words पूर्व and प्रथम are repeated when a comparative or superlative sense is to be denoted: as पूर्व पूर्व प्रथम, प्रथम प्रथम प्रथम। The comparative and superlative affixes are not debarrèd hereby, as, पूर्विते प्रथमिते, प्रथमिते प्रथमिते।

Vārtt.—The words ending in the affixes उस्त्र and उस्त्र (comparative and superlative), are doubled when they refer to feminine nouns and are employed in determining or pondering upon the relative condition of the superiority of one out of two or many; as इष्टार्थितार्थकः, कृत्य कृत्या मनोरथता। “Both these are rich: let us ponder how much is their richness.” लस्य हरि भास्यः; क्वत्ना क्वत्ना एद्रास्माः.
This is found in words other than those ending in रं and तम; as, उभावि-
मयाभिः, किराहि किराहि भन्योदकस्त। This is also found where the abstract noun
denoting condition (as भावः) is not in the feminine: as, उभावि-भावमयाभिः, किराहि-
किराहि भन्योदकस्त। “Both these are rich, let us see what is their respective greatness.”

Vārta—In denoting reciprocity of action, the Pronominal is doubled;
and diversely it is treated like a compound (II. 2. 27) when it is not treated
like a compound, then the first word is always exhibited in the nominative
singular. See I. 3. 14, III. 3. 43, and V. 4. 127. Thus. भयवस्यानि भावस्य भैरबस्य
“these Brāhmaṇas feed one another.” भन्योदकस्ते भन्योदकस्ते हैसतहतः॥ भन्योदकस्ते
देहभावस्य भैरबस्य भैरबस्य हैसतहतः॥ The word भन्य and भर are never treated
as a compound, and भर is always so treated. The following are from Siddhānta
Kaumudi:— भन्योदकस्ते, भन्योदकस्ते भन्योदकस्ते, भन्योदकस्ते, भन्योदकस्ते पुष्पोरत्यस्ते(माघ)

Vārta—In the feminine and neuter, the augment भो is added optionally
to the second term under the above circumstances, as, भन्यो द्वारानि भन्यो द्वारानि
भैरबस्य; भन्योदकस्ते भैरबस्य; भन्योदकस्ते नौदरानि; भन्योदकस्ते भैरबस्य; भन्योदकस्ते
देहभावस्य भैरबस्य; भन्योदकस्ते हैसतहतः॥ भन्योदकस्ते हैसतहतः॥ भन्योदकस्ते
देहभावस्य भैरबस्य; भन्योदकस्ते हैसतहतः॥

13. The words ‘priya’ and ‘sukha’ are repeated optionally, when they mean “easily, without any difficulty”.

The word कुश्य means ‘difficulty and sorrow’, कुश्ति means ‘without
difficulty or sorrow, i.e. pleasantly’. Thus कुश्यविक्षिण वदास्ति, कुश्तिविक्षिण वदास्ति, तरिविक्षिण
वदास्ति, कुश्यविक्षिण वदास्ति = विक्षिणवित्व तयय नावासिन वदासि ॥ That is, he gives with
pleasure, without feeling it as a trouble. Why do we say “when meaning
easily”? Observe श्रवण वुच्छ “beloved son”. श्रवण एकः ॥

यथायथ् यथायथ् ॥ १५ ॥ पदार्थः यथा वेद्व यथा यथम् ॥

14. The word यथायथ्यम् is irregularly formed in the
sense of “respectively, fitly, properly”.

What is one’s own nature, and whatever is natural to one, that is called
यथायथ्यम् ॥ In this sense is formed यथायथ्यम्, there being doubling and neuter
gender. It is an Indecinable. As शास्त्रः धृते पदार्थो यथायथ्यम्=यथायथ्यानि all ob-
jects have been known according to their respective nature”. शास्त्राः तु यथायथ्यम्=
यथायथ्यम् ॥

कुश्यम्, रहस्यम्, भन्योदकस्ते, भैरबस्य, भैरबस्य, भन्यो यथायथम्, भन्यो यथायथम् || १५ ॥ पदार्थः ||
Doubling of Words. [Bk. VIII. Ch. I. § 17

15. The word "dvandvam" is irregularly formed, in the sense of 'secret', and when it expresses a 'limit', 'a separation', 'employing in a sacrificial vessel', and 'manifestation'.

The word इन्द्र is formed from हिं by doubling it, changing the first ह into म, and the second ह into श. The word इन्द्र itself means इन्द्र or secret; while it marks 'limit' मात्रा &c only secondarily, by context of the sentence. Thus इन्द्र मात्रा 'they are consulting some secret'. Limit or भूमिकाव्यम; as, भूमिकाव्यम हर्षीयो इन्द्रियम विद्युत्यालयते = नासा भूमिका विद्युत्यालयते, चौधरी, तस्मिन्हितानि (See Maitri. S. I. 7. 3 Sākh. Br. III. 97). Separation of भूमिका—इन्द्रभूमिका = भूमिका—भूमिका भूमिकार्यानि:—भूमिका भूमिकार्यानि भूमिकार्यानि:—भूमिकार्यानि।

Vyutkramana means bheda or separation, placing at a different place. Employment with regard to a sacrificial vessel (साहस्यभूमिका:) as—इन्द्र भूमिकार्यानि भूमिकार्यानि: (See I. 3. 64) भूमिकार्यानि: or manifestation : as—इन्द्र भूमिकार्यानि, इन्द्र भूमिकार्यानि:—भूमिकार्यानि: भूमिकार्यानि:।

The word इन्द्र is found employed in connection with other senses also; as, इन्द्र भूमिकार्यानि: इन्द्रियम: दशानि: चायाश: इन्द्र: &c.

16. Upto VIII. 3. 54, inclusive, should be always supplied in every subsequent sūtra, the phrase "of a word", or "to the whole of a word".

This is an adhikāra sūtra, and extends up to VIII. 3. 55. Whatever we shall treat of hereafter, should be understood to apply to a full 'pada' or a completed word. Thus VIII. 2. 23, (सूत्रिकाश्वर ग्र्तवेद:) teaches "there is elision of the final of what ends in a conjunct consonant ". The word पर्यावृत्त must be supplied here to complete the sense: viz, of a word which ends in a conjunct consonant, the final is elided. Thus पर्यावृत्त, पर्यावृत्त, from पर्यावृत्त and वास्तव।

Why do we say 'of a Pada'? Observe वास्तव, वास्तव where the though sanyogānta is not elided, because the stem is no longer called pada. The force of the Genitive in पर्यावृत्त must be construed according to the context, sometimes as श्वाता-शश्विषा i.e. "in the room of the whole pada"; and sometimes as avayava-शश्विषा i.e. "of a pada-of the portion of a pada".

17. Upto VIII. 1. 68, inclusive should always be supplied the phrase "after a pada".
Whatever we shall teach hereafter should be understood to apply to that which comes after a pada. Thus the sūtra VIII. 1. 19, teaches “of an Amantrita.” The phrase पहास्, must be supplied to complete the sense. That is, “of a pada, which is in the Vocative case, and which comes after another pada, all vowels become anudatta.” Thus पनि देवस्थन “Coolest thou, O Devadatta”. Why do we say, “after a pada”? Observe देवस्थन पनि. Here Devadatta is not anudatta (VI. 1. 198).

अनुदत्तम सर्वमपात्रं त्तूषि: || पत्रि: || अनुदात्तम, सर्वम्, अपद-आत्रू ||

18. Upto VIII. 1. 74, inclusive is to be supplied the phrase “The whole is unaccented, if it does not stand at the beginning of the foot of a verse”.

The three words anudāttaṃ “unaccented”, सर्वम् “the whole”, and अपदाल्लू “not in the beginning of a Pāda of a verse”, should be understood to exert a governing influence over all the subsequent sūtras of this chapter, upto its end. Whatever we shall treat of hereafter, must be understood to be wholly unaccented, provided that, it does not stand as the first word of a verse or stanza. Thus VIII. 1. 19, says “of a Vocative”. The whole of this sūtra should be read there to complete the sense, viz: “all the syllables of a Vocative are unaccented when a word precedes it, and it does not stand as the first word of a hemisticch”; as पनि देवस्थन

Why do we say “when not at the beginning of a hemisticch”? Observe के निष्ठे चर्मशृङ्गेषु अनुदत्तम, here पुजो though in the Vocative case, is not anudatta, as it stands at the beginning of a Pāda.

Similarly VIII. 1. 21, teaches “ष्ठि and ष्ठि are the substitutes of धातू भक्ति in the plural”. The present sūtra must be read there to complete the sense, viz, when not at the beginning of a verse. Thus प्राणिः शङ्करोऽपि अपदाल्लू ||

But at the beginning of a hemisticch, we must have the forms धातूकर्त and धातूकर्त instead of ष्ठि and ष्ठि || As,

स्त्रृ विपयति देवो धातूकर्त कुन्यकर्ता ||

व एव नाथो भवनानमार्थ धातूकर्ता: ||

The word अष्ठि in the sūtra refers both to the hemisticches of the sacred RV hymns, as well as to secular ālokas.

Q. Why do we employ the word अष्ठि in the sūtra?

Ans. The word sarvam is used in the sūtra, in order to indicate that a word, which has not acute accent on the first syllable, should also become anudatta. For the word पहास (VIII. 1. 17) is in the ablative case, and shows that the operation taught in any sūtra governed by it, will be performed on
the first syllable, according to the maxim शास्त्रः परस्य। Therefore, by rule VIII. 1. 28, the word देशति, which is acutely accented on the first syllable, (because देश and ति are anudatta), will only lose its accent in देशत: शति; but not so the verb करोति which is acutely accented in the middle (by the vikaraṇa accent) in देशत: करोति। But by force of the word सर्वेऽ जरोति also loses its accent.

Q. This cannot be the reason, for the author indicates by his prohibition in Sūtra VIII. 1. 29, that a verb loses its accent, wherever that accent may be. For there is no verb when conjugated in सर्वेऽ which has acute on the first syllable.

Ans. The word ‘sarvam’ is used to prevent the operation of अनोद्धर्यन्यस्त यथा; for where the rule शाश्वतः परस्य will not apply there the other will apply: so that, if “sarvam” was not used, the rule would apply to the finals, and not to cases where there were other than initials to be operated upon. Thus the rule VIII. 1. 28 would apply to कुर्तवः which is finally acute by VI. 1. 186, in देशतावरिते कुर्तवः; but not to देशत: करोति।

Q. No; this cannot be the reason of employing the word ‘sarvam’ in the sūtra, for the author indicates that the rule is not confined to the finals, by the prohibition he makes in favor of सर्व in VIII. 1. 51; for there is no verb, when conjugated in लित, which has acute on the final. All लित is acute in the middle by VI. 1. 186. So the शास्त्रः यथा rule does not apply.

Ans. The word ‘sarvam’ is used for this reason. Had ‘sarvam’, not been used, then in those cases where there was no other rule to apply, like VIII. 1. 19, there only the word would become anudatta. But in cases where another rule also operated, there this anudatta rule would not apply, for then there would be two different sentences. For a thing which is already in existence can be made the subject of a rule ordering certain operations to be performed on it; but not so a thing which will come in existence in future time. Thus the words श्राति and मैफ़ और are ordained as substitutes of yushmad and asmad by one sentence VIII. 1. 20; while another sentence ordains their anudatta-hood. So here there is separation of sentences (वाक्य-भेद): which is not desireable; for a vakya bheda should be avoided, if possible. But by employing the word ‘sarvam’, this vakya-bheda is made tolerable.

Another reason for employing this word is that the substitutes श्राति and मैफ़ should come in the room of the whole declined forms of yushmad and asmad, with their case-affixes. Had not this word (sarvam) been used, then श्राति and मैफ़ would have replaced only, yushmad and ‘asmad’. Obj. Will not the anuvṛtti of the word ‘padaśaya’, cause the whole declined word to be replaced by श्राति and मैफ़, not only the crude-forms yushmad and asmad? And there cannot be a full word unless it takes case-affixes; so the whole of yushmad and asmad with their case-affixes will be replaced. Where is the necessity of using the word ‘sar-
vam? Ans. This objection will apply to those cases where a Pada is a word ending in a case-affix. But the word वष is a technical term also, and applies to crude forms before certain case-affixes. Thus a nominal stem (not a full word) is also called Pada by 1. 4. 17, before non-sarvanamasthana case-affixes. Therefore yushman and asmad will be pada before those affixes. Thus before the affix of Dative Dual, they will be called Pada; and had सन not been used, then only “yushman” and “asmad” will be replaced and not their case-affixes. Thus गानो हाँ होते, जनस्वते मे लाखते || Here गान and मे would require after them the case-affix भान otherwise.

अहम्नितत्स्व च ॥ ५६ ॥ पदार्थिनि ॥ भामनितत्त्वस्य, च ॥
कृति: ॥ भामनितत्स्व पस्तव पस्तवस्यवादाय मर्मानस्व सर्वाःप्राृत्तिः भवति ॥
पातित्रयाः ॥ समव गाने विचाराय दुन्दव समावेश नक्षे: ॥

19. All the syllables of a Vocative are unaccented when a word precedes it, and it does not stand at the beginning of a hemistich.

Thus पञ्चिण बद्रण ्, पञ्चिण शुद्धण ॥ The Vocative is acutely accented on the first by VI. 1. 198, the present makes it all unaccented.

Vṛtt:- The rules relating to nighāta (by which all syllables of a word become unaccented, such as the present, and VIII. 1. 28 &c) and to the substitutes of yushman and asmad apply then only, when the preceding word which would cause the nighāta or the substitution, is part of the same sentence with the latter word. Therefore not here:—यान वषो, हतिनम ॥ “This is the staff. Carry by means of it.” Here ष does not lose its accent by VIII. 1. 28, though preceded by the Noun daṇḍa, because these are parts of two different sentences. नीत्वते पच, तत्व भविष्यति ॥ नीत्वते पच, मम भविष्यति ॥ “Cook the food, it will be for thee. Cook the food, it will be for me.” That is the rice cooked by thee, will do both for thyself and myself. Here the ष and ष substitutions have not taken place (VIII. I. 22) for yushman and asmad, for the same reason.

Another example is, भवतीर्व भिभुमिज्जो, रेवस्तासाभ्य ॥ “Vishnumitra is here. Come back Devadatta.” Here Devadatta, though in the Vocative case, does not lose its accent. Nor can you say that समधि पश्चिमं will make this vārtika redundant. In all the above examples, the different sentences are connected with each other in sense. Thus in the last example, Devadatta was searching for Vishnumitra, when some one says to him, ‘Here is V. come back D.’ Thus the two sentences are samartha, yet there is no nighāta. But the rule will apply here:—यह व्रेष्ठार्य ् गाता तेस कपयति ॥ नयात्तिष्ठति (VIII. 1. 28) कृल्ल। धातुनाम ् ् ते
कोद्वन शास्तिनिः ॥ In the last examples the Vocatives, the verbs and the substitutes of yushman and asmad are not in syntactical construction with the words that immediately precede them, and yet the nighāta rule &c does apply: inspite of the general maxim समधि: पश्चिमि: (II. 1. 1), for rules relating to completed words apply to such words only which are in construction.
In the last example, the construction is त्व रिवस्य गता ते वेदवत्, and not त्व रेवास्त्. Thus त्व is in syntactical construction with रिवस्य and not रेवास्त्, yet it causes nighata of Devadatta. Similarly in नागासिः तृतीयो मूल्य, the word मूल्य is not in construction with तृतीयो, but with मूल्य, i.e. मूल्य मूल्य; yet it causes the nighata of तृतीयो. Similarly शालीना is not in construction with ते, but with शालीना, i.e. शालीना शालीना से शालीना. Yet it causes ते substitution of yushmad. Though the preceding words are not samartha with regard to the words that follow them, they cause the changes, because the words are in the same sentence.

20. For the Genitive, Dative and Accusative Dual of yushmad and asmad, are substituted वामु and जै respectively, when a word precedes, and these substitutes are anudatta.

All the three sūtras वामु, वामु और वामु are applicable here. Thus माने मां स्वच् जनपदे जै स्वच् माने मां दीवति मानो मां वदवति जनपदे मां प्रवति.

These two मां and जै come in the Dual only, because other substitutes have been taught for the Singular and Plural in the two subsequent sūtras.

Why do we say “for the Genitive, Dative and Accusative”? In other cases there will be no substitution. As, मानो योगत्वां कृतम्. The word स्वच् in the sūtra indicates that the case affixes must be express and not understood, for the purposes of this substitution. Therefore, not here: जै योगत्वां though here yushmat is preceded by a word in a sentence, and is in the Genitive case yet जै substitution (VIII. 1. 21) does not take place, because the case-affix is elided.

बहुचरस्य चक्रती । पदानि । बहुचरस्य, घर, तस्मी ।

21. For (the Genitive, Dative, and Accusative) plural of yushmad and asmad are substituted धर्मस् and धर्मस् respectively, (when a word precedes, and these substitutes are anudatta).

Thus मानो: धर्मस् जनपदे: धर्मस् मानो में दीवति जनपदे में दीवति मानो: पदानि जनपदे । पदानि ।

ते ते भरचरस्य । पदानि । ते, तरी, एक, बचनस्य ।

22. For the Genitive and Dative Singular (of yushmad and asmad are substituted) ते and ते respectively, (when a word precedes and these are anudatta).
Thus भास्ये लम्ब, भागी ने लम्ब, भागसे दीवते, भागे ने दीवते. For the Accusative singular, other substitutes have been taught in the next सूत्र, hence ने and ने come only in Genitive and Dative.

त्वामि तिरितीयाया: || 23 || पद्यतः || लम्ब, मी, तिरितीयाया: ||

चपित: || एकात्तथनखंडि १०७ते। तिरितीयाया एकात्तथन सङ्कल्पे तिरितीयायांवंशाण्वकं सा हृदेतावाहं गति नव: ||

23. For the Accusative Singular of yushmadd and अस्मद are substituted लम्ब and मा respectively, under the same circumstances.

The word युष्मदन्याय is understood here. Thus भास्ये पद्यतः, भागे ने पद्यतः.

न चासाहायै पुरुषे || 24 || पद्यतः || न, च, वा, ह, मह, पद्य, युष्मे.

चौत्ति: || “च वा हणे एवं द्वारे द्वयाद्विवस्याविग्यवाने न भवति.”

24. The above substitutions do not take place when there is in connection with the pronouns any of these:— च, ‘and’ या, ‘or’ ह, ‘oh! हणे ‘wonderful’, or पद्य ‘only’.

Thus भास्ये न पद्यतः, भागे मा पद्यतः.

युष्मदन्याय सूत्र || अस्मदन्याय सूत्र || युष्मदन्याय सूत्र || अस्मदन्याय सूत्र || युष्मदन्याय सूत्र || अस्मदन्याय सूत्र || युष्मदन्याय सूत्र || अस्मदन्याय सूत्र || युष्मदन्याय सूत्र || अस्मदन्याय सूत्र || युष्मदन्याय सूत्र || अस्मदन्याय सूत्र || युष्मदन्याय सूत्र || अस्मदन्याय सूत्र || युष्मदन्याय सूत्र || अस्मदन्याय सूत्र || युष्मदन्याय सूत्र || अस्मदन्याय सूत्र

The word युष्मद is employed in the सूत्र to indicate direct conjunction. There is, therefore, where the conjunction is not direct but intermediate the employment of the shorter forms. As भास्ये ने र, मा ने र, ना ने र

The particles च, वा, & c denote conjunction, ‘separation’ ‘wonder’.
&c. Where the sense of ‘conjunction,’ ‘separation’ &c. are inherent in the pronouns yushmad and asmad, and these particles are employed to manifest that sense, there the present sūtra will apply its prohibition.

25. The above substitutions do not take place also in connection with verbs having the sense of “seeing”, when physical seeing is not denoted.

The word पदार्थः is equivalent to वर्णनार्थः, and वर्णन means ‘knowledge’, i.e. verbs denoting ‘to know’, भावना means perception obtained through sight i.e. physical ‘seeing’ opposed to metaphorical “seeing” = “knowing”. The substitutions of राज्यां and भावां &c. for पदार्थः and भावां do not take place when these pronouns are employed in connection with verbs denoting ‘seeing’ (metaphorically) but not ‘looking’ (physically).

Thus भावनां तथा सन्यासस्याः, भावो गम तथा सन्यासस्याः; भावसुभो देवीस्यां सन्यासस्याः, भावो भास्य सन्यासस्याः; भावस्य सन्यासस्याः, भावो गम सन्यासस्याः.

Why do we say when not meaning ‘to look’? Observe भावना ज्ञानस्य,
भावो गम ज्ञानस्य.

Ishiti:—With regard to verbs of “seeing”, the rule should apply even where the connection is not direct: as, we have already illustrated above.

26. When the pronoun follows after a Nominative, which itself is preceded by another word, then the above substitutions may take place optionally.

Thus भावो कदनलस्य, or भावो कदनलस्य समस्तः; भावो कदनलस्य समस्तः यथाबन्धोपाद्यत्वः; भावो कदनलस्य समस्तः यथाबन्धोपाद्यत्वः; भावो कदनलस्य समस्तः यथाबन्धोपाद्यत्वः.

Why do we say “which itself is preceded by another word”? Observe कदनलस्य लग्न, कदनलस्य लग्न; कदनलस्य लग्न.

Why do we say “after a Nominative”? Observe कदनलस्य भावो तत्काल, कदनलस्य भावो तत्काल.

Vārt:—The option herein taught is restricted to पदार्थः and भावाः when not employed in anvādeśa. But when there is anvādeśa, then the substitution is
compulsory and not optional. This vārtika restricts the scope of the sūtra, and makes it a vyavasthita vibhāṣā. Therefore, there is no option here, where there is anvādesa:—यथौ यथौ कन्यालोके रघु, यथौ यथौ कन्यालोके न रघु।

Vārt.:—Others say, that the substitutes श्र, श्रृ &c are all optional, when not employed in anvādesa, whether the nominative is preceded by another noun or not. Thus the rules 20, 21, 22, 23 are optional. As: कन्यालोके रघु, or कन्यालोके रघु, कन्यालोके न रघु, or कन्यालोके मयुर रघु। Why do we say “when not in anvādesa”? Observe यथौ कन्यालोके रघु, यथौ कन्यालोके न रघु। Q. If this is so, where is the necessity of the present sūtra at all? Ans. The present sūtra is for the sake of anvādesa: i.e. the option taught in the present sūtra will take place only then, when there is anvādesa and not otherwise; thus यथौ यथौ कन्यालोके रघु, or यथौ यथौ कन्यालोके रघु, यथौ यथौ कन्यालोके न रघु, or यथौ यथौ कन्यालोके मयुर रघु। In other words, according to this vārtika, rules 20, 21, 22 and 23 are all optional in anvādesa, but compulsory where is no anvādesa; but when the pronoun is preceded by a nominative which itself is preceded by another word, then the above rules are not compulsory, even in anvādesa: there also the option will apply.

तिन्द्रेन गोविन्दीनी कुस्तनास्मातः प्रथमः II २७ II प्रथमः II तिन्द्रेन गोविन्दीनी, कुस्तनस्मातः, आसीनः प्रथमः II

भूतः II तिन्द्रायन्यानावेणि गोविन्दीनी कुस्तनस्मातः भावोऽध्वनिते वर्णवाच्यानि विदग्धस्तोतिनि वचनः II

27. The words गोत्र &c, become unaccented after a finite verb, when a contempt or a repetition is intended.

Thus पथति गोत्र, जतिति गोत्र, when contempt is meant.

Here पथति गोत्र गोत्र means ‘he proclaims his Gotra &c, so that he may get food &c’. पथति is from the root पथिते व्यक्तिकरणे ‘to make evident’ (Bhu. 184). Similarly जतिति गोत्र, “he repeatedly utters, his descent &c, in order to get married &c”. Where contempt is not meant, it has the force of repetition, i.e. he repeatedly utters his Gotra as one is bound to do, in marriage-rites &c. And पथति गोत्र गोत्र, जतिति गोत्र गोत्र, when repetition or intensity is denoted. Similarly पथति गोत्र, पथति पथति गोत्र, “The word गोत्र is a noun derived from the root गुर्व by the affix कन्य, the पथ substitution for गुर्व has not taken place, as an anomaly.

1 गोत्र, 2 गुर्व, 3 प्रकट, 4 प्रकर, 5चक्सुत, 6 प्रकर, 7 प्रकट, 8 प्रक्ष, 9 श्राव, 10 प्रकल्प, 11 विपपस, 12 अवसन्ध, 13 शालध्वनि, 14 शविभूति, 15 वा नाम (नाम श्र) 16 प्रकल्प, 17 प्रक्षजनम,

The word नाम optionally becomes anudātta: in the alternative, it is first-acute. Thus पथति नाम or पथति नाम II
Why do we say 'after a finite verb'? Observe । इति नाथ ।।
Why do we say "Gotra and the rest"? Observe इति पायर ।। Here पायर
is an adverb.

Why do we say 'when contempt or repetition is meant'? Observe इति गो भर संवेदी ।। "He digs a well having assembled the Gotra".

The words 'contempt and repetition' in the text qualify the whole sentence or सुत्र, and not the word गो भर nor the word बहु दश दि understood. For we find that wherever the word गो भर is used in this Chapter, it always implies the sense of 'contempt or repetition'. Thus the word गो भर is used in VIII. i. 57
and there also the sense is of contempt and repetition.

१२ < पदार्थ | तित्र, अतित्र |
१४ चुनि | तित्रस्ते पतिति | नातित्रातसभरसथ भयति |

28. A finite verb is unaccented, when a word precedes it, which is not a finite verb.

Thus तथापि: पदार्थ ।। Why do we say "a finite verb"? Observe नीलांक्ष
लम, धृष्टवन धिष्य ।।

Why do we say 'when the preceding word is not a finite verb'? Observe भाषा वेद्यि: 'the act of cooking exists' - वाके किता भवति ।। Here the word भवति is a finite verb, therefore the verb पचाति does not lose its accent. So also हरिनीत्रिः वाम्बि, अति, शुचि: पुष्वाति 'successful he conquers, rules, thrives'. अर्क्षा ओऽ चै वानिच "for us conquer and fight". The word भवित्र is in one sense redundant, because in one simple sentence, two finite verbs cannot be employed; one sentence consists of one finite verb only. But the very fact of this सुत्र indicates that the condition of समानधात्रम does not apply to this सुत्र; so that the two words need not be portions of the same sentence, for the application of this नाथा: as we have already explained in VIII. i. 19. Other examples are: मन्त्रधात्रेः पुष्का दिन (Rv. i. 1. 1), श हरिस्व पुष्कार्ध (Rv. i. 1. 4), बाह्ने मुनिवरो धुर (Rv. V. i. 1), बेल्जा भाषाय शुचि नाथ समानवति ।।

न हुद्ध ।। २९ ।। पादार्थ ।। न, हुद्ध ।।
sthि: ।। दुरिवासितस्ते प्रतिशत शारद्ये ।। हृत्ति तित्रस्ते नालासयं मन्यति ।।

29. But the Periphrastic Future is not unaccented, when it is preceded by a word which is not a finite verb.

This restricts the scope of the last सुत्र which was rather too wide. Thus हृ: कर्ति, हृ: कर्तिः, सती, कस्मधु:।। The Sāvadāṃkata affixes रा, रे, रस, are anuddatta after the affix दास by VI. i. 186, the whole affix दास becomes udāta (III. i. 3) and where the ह of दास i. e. the syllable रस, is elided before the affix रा, there also the रा of रा becomes udāta, because the udāta has been elided. See VI. i. 161.
30. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with the particles यत्, 'that', 'because', यदि, 'if', हन्ते, 'also!', 'O!', कुवित्, 'well', नेत्, 'not', इति, 'if', च 'if', कावित्र (interrogative particle, implying 'I hope' or 'I hope not'), and यदि 'where'.

Thus यदि कैमाति, यदि इति, यदि यदोति or यदि विचारति, हन्ते कावित्र, हन्ते विचारति, कृतित कावित्र, कृतित इति, नेत् भिन्नायकायो नवप्र मतात्मम (Nir. I. 11), स इति, छुट्ट एक्को, एक्को एक्को।
The particle यत् with the indicatory यदि has the force of इति. Thus यदि च गारिकम्भि = यदि इति गारिकम्भि। Other examples are लभुः यदि लोधो नीलो गङ्गासुः म साक्षे 'if thou, Soma willest us to live, we shall not die' क्रो द ऋषिन्यो विक्षिप्तम् वाक्यः "if he will come here, we will make friends with him." इति इति इति इति इति। नति: नानात्वं नानात्वं "If Indra makes us happy &c". This rule does not apply to the च which is a conjunction meaning 'and'. So also: कावित्र छुट्टिक्रो, कावित्र एक्कित्र, बन्धु छुट्टिक्रो, वन्धु एक्कित्र।

Why do we say "with particles"? Observe यदि कृतित्र शास्त्रम् = शास्त्रम् कृतित्र शास्त्रम्. Here यदि is not a particle, but the Present Participle of the root यदि 'to go'. It means शास्त्रम् 'the car creaks while going'. Rule VIII. 1. 28 applies here.

Q. Now by the rule of Pratipadkta &c. that यदि should only be taken, 'which is a Particle; moreover it is read in connection with other Particles like यदि &c, so it must be a Particle. How then can the Present Participle यदि be taken at all? Ans.—This sūtra indicates that the प्रतिपोत्सक rule and the शास्त्र rule do not apply here. Thus the word यदि formed with the affix शास्त्र (V. 2. 39) is also included in the word यदि of this sūtra. As यदि शास्त्रम् यदि ताल्योग यदि सभ्यो गृहान्तम् = यदि शास्त्रम् यदि ताल्योग यदि सभ्यो गृहान्तम्.

Why do we use the word यदि "in connection with". Observe यदि कृतित्र शास्त्रम् यदि शास्त्रम् यदि शास्त्रम्.

Other examples are: यदि शरीराः परिप्रवृतिः (Rv. I. 1. 4.) 'what offering thou protectest'. यदि न: पुरुषस्य गित्तुः 'whither our fathers of old departed'. यदि च 'the body यदि तस्य पुरुषाः परिप्रवृतिः let me die on the spot, if I am a sorcerer'. यदि इति तस्य पुरुषाः परिप्रवृतिः 'come on, let us share up this earth'. यदि तस्य पुरुषाः परिप्रवृतिः 'if a Brahman has grasped her hand', 'सत्त च तस्य पुरुषाः परिप्रवृतिः 'that the sun may not burn thee with his beam'. यदि इति तस्य यदि इति 'will he come hither for our praises' (Whitney's Grammar, Para 595).

नान प्रत्यास्मे न ४१ नान प्रत्यास्मे नान प्रत्यास्मे

बृहस्प: नान इतिश्च उद्भवमपि तत्र नानात्वं भवति.
31. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with नह when employed in the sense of forbidding.

When something urged by one is rejected insultingly by another, then the reply made by the first tauntingly, with a negation, is pratyārambha. Thus A says to B: "Eat this please". B rejects the offer repeatedly, in anger or jest. Then A in anger or jest says 'No, you will eat"—as नह भोजये॥ Here भोजये retains its accent, which is acute on the middle, for ए becomes accentless as it follows अनुवर्त्ते (VI. 1. 186), and ए becomes udātta by the pratyārambha (III. 1. 3).

Another example is गहावत्ते 'No, you will study'. Why do we say, 'when asseverative'? Observe नह दै हृदिवति भोजे हृदिवति भोजे "Verily in that world they do not wish for fee". Here it is pure negation. तत्सिद्धिः is first acute by किंतु accent, भोजे is final acute because it is formed by अनु of प्रत्यालि (III. 1. 134). हृदिवति is first acute, because it is a Pronoun ending in ए (स्वास्तिकाःप्रत्यालिष्टः, Phit II. 6) and भक्ति is anudattra by VIII. 1. 28.

32. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with स्त्रय when used in asking a question.

Thus स्त्रय मे हिंदी 'Truly will you eat? स्त्रयमैवेशकद्॥ Why do we say 'in questioning'? Observe स्त्रय मे रस्तहि नावतुर्व 'I shall tell the truth, not falsehood', स्त्रयिद्वा हैं वेक्ति लङ्कास्त्र॥

अनुपासितलोस्ये इत्यं पदानि ए बहु, अपासितलोस्ये इत्यं पदानि ए बहु इत्यं पदानि ए बहु।

33. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with बहु when used in a friendly assertion.

Anything done to injure another is prati-loma, opposite of this is apratiloma, or friendliness. In fact, it is equal to anuloma. Thus बहुत ‘yes, you may cook’. Here anga has the force of friendly permission. So also बहु is इत्यं। But when it has the force of prati-loma, we have:—बहुत दुश्चिहत् इत्यं दुश्चिहत् शाल्वाते जाते “Well, chuckle O sinner I soon wilt thou learn, O coward”. Here बहु is used in the sense of censure, for chuckling is a thing not liked by the person: and is pratiloma action; for prati-vowel see VIII. 2. 96.

हि ए इत्यं पदानि ए हि, ए इत्यं पदानि ए।

34. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with हि when used in a friendly assertion.
Thus यि क्रोऽः, सहि दैष, सहि हृद || Why do we say 'in friendly assertion'?
Observe यि क्रुद्ध यष्टम || द्वारां भाषाय जातं ||

छन्दसन्नेकमकृपि साकारत्सम || १५ || पदान्ति || छन्दसिः, अनेकम, अपि, साकारत्सम ||

वृद्धः || वि वेदः सहि विषयं विख्यति तिन्वले साकारसन्नेकमकृपि नादुदारसं महति. ||

35. In the Veda, the finite verb retains its accent (but not always), in connection with यि, when it stands in correlation to another verb, even more than one.

That is sometimes one verb, sometimes more than one verb retain their accent. Thus of more than one verb, we have the following example:—

ब्राह्मणेः यि नसो भाषति. पण्डया एवं वि हुष्टसति 'Because the drunkard tells falsehood, therefore sin will make him impure; i. e. he does incur sin'. Here both verbs वसति and विपसति retain their accent: and यि has the force of यदृ 'because'. According to Kaiyiyata the meaning of this sentence is ब्राह्मणेः यि नसो भाषति. तसां त्रासन्यतं राजेष्य न दुस्किते. I. e. a drunkard does not incur the sin of telling a falsehood, because he is not in his senses. See Maitr. Sanhita I. 11. 6. As regards one verb in a correlated sentence retaining its accent and the other losing it, we have:—अनिन्दहि पुर्णग्रंवतं तिन्वले साकारत्सम || Here the first retains its accent and the second not. The force of यि is to denote here cause and its effect. So also:—अनुभा हरिस्त्रस्वाधिन सर्वग्यथा (or गर्भं), सा यि ज्ञायते जनितारम्य (Taittariya Samhita IV. 2. 10. 4). The word ज्ञायते is first acute, the augment यथा having the accent; while अनुभवतं is an anudatta.

उयायायेः || १६ || पदान्ति || यथा, यथायायेः ||

वृद्धः || उयायायेः हेतुतथा दुस्र्य सहितं नादुदारसं महति. ||

36. A finite verb retains its accent in connection with यथा, and यथा.

Thus यथा, सहि दैषेः, यथायायेःतः वायुः, चाराः, सहि दैषेः, चाराः: वृद्धि वायुः, चाराः स यथा दैषेः. The meaning is that the verb retains its accent, even when यथा and यथा follow after it. Another example is यथा चित्र क्रुद्धावस्था || The word यथायायेः is the Imperative (सहि) Second Person Dual of the root अन || यथा लोपस्वाहोऽयायेः.|| The verb यथा is Imperfect (सहि) Second Person singular of the root दैषे 'to scratch'. The accent is on यथा (the augment).

पूजयायां नानास्थरसः || १७ || पदान्ति || पूजयाया, न, अनन्तरसः ||

वृद्धः || अनिन्दहि हेतुतथा दुस्र्य सहितं नादुदारसं महति. ||

37. But not so when these particles यथा, and यथा immediately precede the verb and denote 'praise'.
That is, the verb loses its accent, and becomes anudatta. Thus स्वाभि प्रवृत्ति शोभनं, बया पतिष्ठि शोभनं, स्वाभि करोति चाह॥

Why do we say when denoting 'praise'? Observe शापतु चुडैल्लेन, बया चुडैल्लेन॥
Why do we say 'immediately'? Observe शापतु वेष्ठ: वेष्ठि शोभनं, बया वेष्ठ: करोति चाह॥ Here the verbs retain their accent by the last sūtra.

उपसर्गविशेषेत्र च॥ ३८॥ पदानि उपसर्गे, व्यपेतम्, च॥
वृत्ति: बाध्यपाना पूजनं उपसर्गविशेषेत्र च पूजनां विषये नादुवानं न भाष्ठि किं चाहि नादुवानं न भाष्ठि॥

38. A finite verb loses its accent when it denotes 'praise' and is joined immediately with यावत् and यथा through the intervention of an upasarga or verbal-preposition.

The last sūtra taught that the verb loses its accent when immediately preceded by यावत् and यथा. This qualifies the word 'immediately' and teaches that the intervention of a Preposition does not debar immediateness. Thus यथा वक्रोति चाह, यथा वपति चाह, यथा वपति चाह, यथा यावत् चाह, यथा यावत् चाह, यथा यावत् चाह॥

The word 'immediately' is understood here also. Thus यथा वेष्ठ: प्रवृत्ति, चोभनं, बया विद्यति निजः: करोति चाह॥ The upasarga न has udātta accent. Prof. Bohlingk's Edition reads the sūtra as चोभनं॥

तुषद्यपवत्तातैहुः पूजायाम् ३९॥ पदानि । तु, पदव, पद्यत्, अहैः, पूजायाम्॥
वृत्ति: तु पदव पदवि अह इल्लेनुक्त तितिवं नादुवानं न भाष्ठि पूजायाम् विषये॥

39. A finite verb retains its accent in connection with तु, पदव, पद्यत, अह, when meaning 'praise'.

Thus नान्तकां शुचि शोभनं; पदव नान्तकां शुचि शोभनं, पदव नान्तकां चुडैल्लेन, बया नान्तकां शुचि शोभनं॥ Why do we say 'when meaning praise'? Observe, पप्य पप्य पप्य भाष्ठि॥

The repetition of the word पूजायाम् here, though its anusvritti could have been supplied from VIII. त ३७, shows that the negation of that sūtra does not extend here: for the पूजायाम् of that sūtra is connected with two negatives, the न of that sūtra, and the न of VIII. त ३९, but the पूजायाम् of this sūtra is connected with the general न of VIII. त ३९ only.

Another example is बह्यं क्षुद्रास्युः इवदेवात्मेनुक्तं विषये॥

बह्यो च ४०॥ पदानि । बह्यो, च॥
वृत्ति: बह्यो इवदेवात्मेनुक्तं नादुवानं न भाष्ठि पूजायाम् विषये॥

40. A finite verb retains its accent when in connection with बह्यो meaning 'praise'.

Thus बह्यो वेष्ठ: वेष्ठि शोभनं, बह्यो विद्यति निजः: करोति चाह॥ The separation
of this श्रेय from तु &c, of the last sūtra, indicates that the next rule applies to श्रेय only. Had श्रेय been joined with तु &c, then Rule VIII. 1. 41, would have applied to तु &c, which is not desired. Hence the making of it a separate sūtra.

41. A finite verb retains its accent optionally when in connection with श्रेय in the remaining cases (i.e. where it does not mean praise).

What is the श्रेय alluded to here? The श्रेय means here senses other than पूजा or ‘praise’. Thus कर्माणि कार्याविषय or कर्माणि कार्याविषय. This is a speech uttered in anger or envy and not in praise (असुष्ठ वचन). So also नम मोहनेयोः.

The word श्रेय is employed in the sūtra simply for the sake of distinctness; for sūtra 40 applies to cases of pujā, while this sūtra will give option in cases other than pujā.

42. A finite verb retains its accent optionally in connection with पुरा when it means ‘haste’ (i.e. when पुरा means ‘before’).

The word परिप्ला means च्या or ‘quick’. Thus धार्मिक तत्त्वयो यथा विषयते निष्ठु, or दुरा सत्यतैः सत्यविषयतु. The word पुरा here expresses the future occurrence which is imminent or very near at hand. It is against the rule of Dharmaśastras to study while it thunders of lightens.

Why do we say ‘when meaning haste’? Observe ना वेतन को पुराधिको. Here the word पुरा expresses a past time; that is, it means “long ago”. So also रूपमा को पुराधिको. See III. 2. 118 and 122, for the employment of पुरा in the Past Tense, and III. 3. 4, for the Present.

43. A finite verb retains its accent in connection with ना, when with this Particle, permission is asked.

The word रूपमा means ‘asking, praying’. The word अद्वैत means ‘permission’. The compound अद्वैत means ‘asking-of permission’. Thus ना को रूपमा ना, “may I do it, sir”; ना अद्वैतम ना, ‘can I go sir’. The sense is ‘give me permission to do or to go’.
Why do we say when ‘asking for’ permission? Observe बचायी कहे
लेबद्ध? मधु कसाम कि: ‘Devadatta hast thou made the mat? Well, I am making
it’ Here मधु has the force of an answering particle, and not used in asking
permission and hence the verb loses its accent.

कि स्त्रीयप्रेयेंशुद्धप्रभावतिविभ्रमय II ५४ II पदांति किम्, किम्-प्रेयो, अनु-
परस्तवं-अपरिविभ्रमय II

बृहि: II स्त्रीयप्रेयेनिन्द्रियासह बहु सर्वतो बद्धम व दृश्यम निकल्मादुर्गार्मप्रभावतिविभ्रम नादुसत् भवति II

44. A finite verb retains its accent in connection
with किम्, when with this is asked a question relating to an
action, and when the verb is not preceded by a Preposition or
by a Negation.

Thus कि देवदत्त्: नेपाति, भाषी निम्पु नहस्ते || कि देवदत्त्: चोले, भाषी निम्पु निर्गति ||

Here some say, that the first verb (चोले or चोले) being directly joined with कि
retains its accent, whilst the second verb (नहस्ते or नामवते) not being joined
with कि, loses its accent by the general rule VIII. 1. 28. Others say, though the
word कि is heard in connection with one verb only, yet as both verbs are objects
of doubt, therefore, कि is logically connected with both of them, and so both
verbs retain their accents. Thus नहस्ते will retain its accent according to this
view.

Why do we say when the question relates to a किम् or action? The
rule will not apply, when the question relates to an object or लाभ् || Thus
कि देवदत्त् बोधो नादुर्गार्मप्रभावतिविभ्रमयार्थे भवति ||

Why do we say “when a question is asked”? Observe किम्-प्रेयो देवदत्त्: ||

Here कि is used to express contempt, and not to ask a question.

Why do we say ‘not preceded by a Preposition’? Observe कि देवदत्त्:

Why do we say “not preceded by a negative particle”. Observe, कि
देवदत्त् न प्रेयो नादुर्गार्मप्रभावतिविभ्रमयार्थे भवति ||

लोपे विनाशका II ५५ II पदांति II लोपे, विनाशका II

बृहि: II किम्-प्रेयो किम्-प्रेयो निकल्मादुर्गार्मप्रभावतिविभ्रम निकल्मादुर्गार्म नादुसत् भवति II

45. When however किम् is not added in asking
such a question, the finite verb may optionally retain its accent.

When किम् is elided in asking a question relating to an action, the
finite verb which is not preceded by a Preposition or a Negative Particle,
optionally does not become anudatta. When is there the elision of this किम्
because no rule of Pāṇini has taught it? When the sense is that of an in-
terrogation, but the word किम् is not used. In short, the word ‘lopa’ here does
not mean the Grammatical substitute, but merely non-use. As देवदत्त्: नेपाति (or
Accent.

Here the sentence is interrogative, even without the employment of किंचि॥ The option of this sutra is a प्राप्ति-विभाषा, as it is connected with the sense of किंचि॥ The counter-examples are the same as in the last aphorism, but without किंचि॥

46. In connection with पाठमन् used derisively, the First Future that follows it, retains its accent.

The word प्रहस्व means great laughter, i.e. derision, mockery, raillery, jeering, gibing, sneering. Thus एति मन्ये भोजनं भोजयेव, नन्द मन्ये, तत्त्व: सौरितिभिः॥ एति मन्ये भेयम् वाचस्य: भोजिस्ति, नन्द मन्ये, तत्त्व: तेन विताः॥ The word एति is the Imperative second Person of the root एष्ट्र preceded by the preposition भोजस॥

Why do we say "used derisively"? Observe एति मन्ये भोजनं भोजः हि; चतुष्क मन्ये, सातृ च मन्ये॥

By sutra VIII. 1. 51, in fn., after the Imperative एति which is a verb of 'motion' (सन्दर्शन), the following First Future (तद्व) would have retained its accent. The present sutra makes a niyama or restriction, namely that in connection with the Imperative एति मन्ये, the तद्व is accented only then when 'derision' is meant and not otherwise. Thus the तद्व loses its accent here:— एति मन्ये भोजनं भोजः॥ The employment of the First Person in मन्ये in the sutra is not intended to be taught: for by I. 4. 105, the verb मन्ये (यथात) takes the affix of the First Person instead of the second, when 'derision' is meant and not otherwise. When प्रहस्व is not intended, the proper personal affix of the Second Person is employed. The employment of the First Person ceases there also by this restrictive rule. Thus एति मन्ये भोजनं भोजः॥

The above counter example is given according to काल्किक, according to which एति मन्ये हृदि उच्चारिताननामयम्॥ But according to महाभाष्य, the counter-example is एति मन्ये यथा उपयोग्यस्य:॥ एति मन्ये हृदि उच्चारितअति मन्ये, एति॥ According to काल्किकत्याता, this would be an example also under the rule, the First Person not being necessary:—एति मन्ये यथा उच्चारिताननामयम॥

47. A finite verb retains its accent after जातु, when this जातु is not preceded by any other word.
Thus शाद मैथिलि, जात मैथिलि, जात कार्यधारि. Here he is anusattta by VI. 1. 186, as it is an sarvadhatuka affix coming after an भव्यपरस्; the word जात is first acute, as it is a Nipata. Why do we say 'when not preceded by any other word'? Observe:—करते जात करिप्राणि। The word करते is end-acute as it is a फ्रुत or noun.

कित्सूत च कित्सूतस्म च | पदानि || कित्सूत, च, कित्सूतस्म ।

‘कित्सूतस्म’ कित्सूत, कित्सूतगणेन तहवचारत मसीषापुरस्त तत्त्वे, कलिःकृत्यो नित्सूतस्म-विचारमयमार्गै बचेन उस्म तिर्तानि गान्ताशरण गवति ॥

48. Also after a form of कित्सूत, when the particle चित्सूत follows it, and when no other word precedes such form of कित्सूत, the finite verb retains its accent.

The word कित्सूत is a Genitive Tatpurusha meaning कित्सूतस्म। The word कित्सूतस्म means any form of कित्सूत with its case-affixes, as well as the forms of कित्सूत when it takes the affixes वद्र and वद्रम ॥ Thus कित्सूत सुब्रजिः, कित्सूत नामिकिः, कित्सूत सुदेवी, कित्सूत अपीति, कित्सूत कार्यधारि, कित्सूत चित्सूत, कित्सूत कार्यधारि, कार्यधारि वैद्यविद्, कार्यधारि वैद्यविद्, कार्यधारि वैद्यविद् ॥

Why do we say 'followed by कित्सूत'? Observe को छुट्टे॥

The word कित्सूत in the last सूत्र qualifies this also; therefore, the verb loses its accent here:—वेदवव: कित्सूत वद्र ॥

आहोजयां चान्तरस्त ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि || आहो, उतारो, च, अन्तरस्त ॥

चित्सूत: निष्पापसिद्धिः सिद्धिः ॥ भव्यसिद्धिः ॥ भव्यसिद्धि ॥ भव्यसिद्धि ॥ भव्यसिद्धि || भव्यसिद्धि ॥ भव्यसिद्धि ॥ भव्यसिद्धि ॥

49. Also after an immediately preceding आहो and उतारो, when these follow after no other word, the verb retains its accent.

The prohibition of nightsta or want of accentuation is understood here, so also there is the anusvṛtti of भूपूर्ण from the last.

Thus भावस् ओर भवस् छुट्टे, भवस् छुट्टे। Why do we say 'immediately preceding'? In the following सूत्र will be taught option, when these particles do not immediately precede the verb.

Why do we say “when no word precedes them”? Observe ०ेवदवस भावस् ओर उतारो चुट्टे ॥

देवेयौ विनासाः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि || देवेयौ, विनासाः ॥

चित्सूत: भावस् उतारो इत्यादि। उतारो विनासाः देवेयौ विनासाः नति ॥ काम चेष्य: बस्यानस्मादस्त ॥

50. When the above-mentioned Particles भावस् and उतारो do not immediately precede the verb, the verb may optionally retain its accent.
51. The First Future retains its accent in connection with the Imperative of a verb denoting ‘motion’ (‘to go, ‘to come’ to start’ &c), but only in that case, when the subject and object of both the verbs are not wholly different one from another.

Those verbs which have similar meaning with the word भविष्य ‘motion’ are called प्रजापतिः. The Imperative of the प्रजापतम् verbal roots, is called प्रजापतिः. In connection with such an Imperative of verbs of ‘motion’, the First Future does not become anudatta, if the कारक is not at all different. The sense is; with whatever case-relation (कारक), whether the Subject or Object, the Imperative is employed, with the same कारक, the First Future must be employed. In connection with the finite verb here, the word कारक denotes the Subject and Object only, and not any other कारक, such as Instrument, &c.

Thus भविष्यं वेदवर्गमाँ, भविष्येन ‘Come O Devadatta to the village, thou shalt see it’. Here the subjects of both verbs भविष्यं and भविष्यति are the same, and the objects of both verbs are also the same, namely घातनं and अग्रम्. भवि is a Preposition and is accented, ग्रubits and भविष्यति both lose their accent by VIII. 1. 19 and 28, भवि is first-acute being formed by the नित्य affix मव. So also भविष्यति वेदवर्गमाँ, वेदवर्ग अग्रम् भविष्येन। Here the subjects of both verbs are the same, only the objects are different, and so the rule still applies. घातनं वेदवर्गमाः, घातनं अग्रम् वेदवर्गेन। Here the subjects are different, but the objects are the same, namely घातनं। Similarly वेदवर्गमाः वेदवर्गमाः, वेदवर्ग अग्रम् वेदवर्गेन। “Let the rice be carried by Devadatta, and let them be eaten by Yajñadatta.”

Why do we say ‘verbs of motion’? Observe अग्रेष्यस्ति भाग्यस्ति, अग्रेष्यस्ति एतत्र। Why do we say ‘After the Imperative’? Observe अग्रेष्यस्ति वेदवर्गमाः, अग्रेष्येन। Here the Potential mood is used.

Why do we say the ‘First Future’? Observe अग्रेष्यस्ति वेदवर्गमाः, पश्चात्तिः एतत्र। Here the Present Tense is used.

Why do we say ‘if the kāraka is not wholly different’? Observe
52. Also an Imperative, following after an Imperative of verbs of ‘motion’, retains its accent, when the subject or object of both the verbs, is not wholly different. Thus भागच्छ इस्वरच मान्य भाष्य | भाग्य विश्वाचित मान्य भाष्य | भाग्यात्मादेवस्वर भाष्य |

But not here धृष्टेस्वर्यां, धृष्टेस्वर्यां because the first Imperative is not one of भाष्य verb. Nor here, भाग्येवस्वर भाष्य, because the first verb is not Imperative but Potential.

If the subject and object of both Imperatives are wholly different, the rule will not apply. Thus भाग्य इस्वरच मान्य, पद्यां एवं वर्णात्।

By the force of the anuvṛtti of तद् the rule will apply to the following: भाग्च्छ इस्वरच मान्य, धृष्टेन पद्यां।

The separation of this stūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent stūtra, by which the ‘option’ is with regard to कोशर and not तद्।

53. An Imperative preceded by a Preposition, and not in the First Person, following after an Imperative of verbs of ‘motion’, may optionally retain its accent, when the Kāraka is not wholly different.

The whole of the preceding stūtra is understood here. This is a Praptā-vibhāsha. Thus भागच्छ इस्वरच मान्य प्रविष्ट or मान्य | भागच्छ इस्वरच मान्यप्रविष्ट or मान्य। When the verb is accented, the upasarga loses its accent by VIII, 1. 71.
Why do we say शोपम् ‘joined with a Preposition’? When there is no Preposition, there is no option allowed, and the last rule will apply. As भाग्यतः देवस्य भाष्यते॥

Why do we say महाः—उसने ‘not a First Person’? Observe का भाष्यानि देवस्य, भाष्य मद्यपादित्य।

हस्तः च || ५४ || पदानि || हस्तः, च, ||

भृत्ति: पूर्व तथाकथितात् गत्वार्थस्तु भृत्तिक्षेत्रा हस्त हलनेन दुःखः भृत्ति: शोपस्य इत्यादिज्ञात: संदिग्धित्वा नालासाने विवेकित्वा।

54. An Imperative, with a Preposition preceding it, may optionally retain its accent, in connection with हस्त, but not the First Person.

With the exception of गत्वार्थोऽस्य &c, the whole of the preceding sūtra is understood here.

Thus हल्ल || दिप्त्व || च वित्त्र, हल्ल || दीप्त्व || च वित्त्र। न्याय || पदानि || हल्ल || दीप्त्व || च वित्त्र। न्याय || पदानि || हल्ल || दीप्त्व || च वित्त्र। न्याय || पदानि || हल्ल || दीप्त्व || च वित्त्र। न्याय।

But no option is allowed here हल्ल, as it is not preceded by a preposition. Here rule VIII. १. ३०, makes the accent compulsory after हल्ल। So also हल्ल प्रत्यः, हल्ल प्रत्यः, where the 1st Person is used, the verb retains its accent compulsorily by VIII. १. ३०।

The word प्रत्यः is Imperative First Person, Dual of the root क्श्य in Atnāne pada (I. ३६६)। The Personal ending तस्य is anudāttā by VI. १. १८६, because the verb is anudāttā-it. The vikāraṇa त therefore retains its accent।

आम एकान्तरमानन्तरवस्तिकः || ५५ || पदानि || आयमः, एकान्तरमः, आमनि चतुर्थमः, अनित्तीकः ||

इतिन्यायः। आयम उक्तरुपमानयोऽस्यमन्तरवस्तिकान्तरवस्तिकः यदाचार्याने मनस्ते इति।

55. After आयम, but separated from it by not more than one word, the Vocative retains its accent, when the person addressed is not near.

Thus आयम पद्मसद्यवस्तर्वः || आयम हि वेयदसः || न्याय यो वेयदसः || The nighāta being hereby prohibited, the vocative gets accent on the first syllable by VI. १. १९८। In the second example, though हि itself is a Vocative, it is not considered to be nonexistent by VIII. १. ७२, but becomes effective by virtue of VIII. १. ७३, as it is in apposition with the Vocative that follows।

Why do we say भागः? Observe भाग पद्मसद्यवस्तः || Here it is anudāttā by VIII. १. १९।

Why do we say एकान्तरमः 'separated only by one word'? Observe आयम पद्मसद्यवस्तः ||

Why do we say ‘the Vocative’? See आयम पद्मसद्यवस्तः ||

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Why do we say नाकिनके 'not near'? See भाव प्रक्ति एव: इ. Here some hold that नाकिनके is equivalent to दूर 'far off'. Therefore, according to them, the prohibition applies to एकाः: as well as to निपात: 11 Had it been merely a prohibition of niphāta, then the sūtra would become redundant, as the nīghāta is precluded by the rule of eka-śrutī (I. 2. 33). Thus arguing, they hold that eka-śrutī being asiddha, the pluta-udātta of VIII. 2. 84, is not prohibited: and so the last vowel is prolated.

Others say that the word नाकिनके means 'that which is not far off (दूर) nor very near'. It does not mean दूर only. For had it meant दूर, the author could have used the word दूर in the sūtra. Therefore the rule of eka-śrutī (I. 2. 33), has no scope here at all, for it applies to दूर vocatives. Not being दूर, the plutodātta also should not be exhibited in the illustration; for the rule VIII. 2. 84, applies also to दूर Vocatives.

In the example भाव नी शेषस न, the word भाव, being a Nīpaṭa is first acute; the word गी is a shortened form of ग्रहः (VIII. 3.1. Vārt). and it is accentless by VIII. 1. 19, being a Vocative case preceded by another word. शेषस would also have become accentless by the same rule, this sūtra prohibits it. The निपात being thus prohibited by this sūtra, two rules make themselves manifest now for application. The one is of एकांकुलिअसन्तुस्तः (I. 2. 33) causing एकाः or monotony; the other causing पूर्वाभ्यासं by वर्तमानं (VIII. 2. 84). The opinions referred to above, relate to this doubt.

यिन्दपरे यत्ज्ञ्य स || ५६ || पवानिः यद्व, व्र, तु, परस्म, चन्द्रिः स ||
शृङ्खः || भावनिलक्षेयस्यसत्यायामाकादपपर्वते || सिः हिरण्य सस्त्रेष्ठ || वास्तवं हिरण्यं द्रवं जिहिन्तं द्रवं नानुसर्य स नान्ति ||

56. A finite verb followed by यद्व or व्र or तु retains its accent in the Chhandas.

The anuvṛtti of भावनिलक्षेय should not be taken in this sūtra, but that of तिं || Thus with वर्तमान we have:—गी वृहद्धर्षिः। वर्तमाने || The verb वर्तमान is the Imperfect (सह) 2nd person singular of दृढः of Tūdādī class. With दृढः we have, दृढळो या दृढळिः (Rig Ved. I. 2. 4). The verb वर्तमान is the Present (त) Plural of दृढः of Adādī class. The samprasārana takes place because it belongs to दृढळि class. With दृढः we have, भावनिलक्षेय तु न || By the previous sūtra VIII. 1. 30 a verb in connection with तु would have retained its accent, so also in connection with दृढः by the sūtra VIII. 1. 34, and in connection with तु by VIII. 1. 39: the present sūtra is, therefore, a niyama rule. The verb retains its accent when these three Particles only follow and not any other. If any other Particle follows, the verb need not retain its accent. Thus विजय स्यु रोहिते ||

Here विजय is the 1st Person Dual of the Imperative of श्रुतृ (व्र, व्र, व्र = श्रुत- ||
57. A finite verb retains its accent, when it is not preceded by a Gati Particle (I. 4. 60 &c), and when it is followed by चन्, स्वस्त्र, द्व, योग &c, a Taddhita affix, or by its own doubled form.

Thus रूपः: श्रवः चन्; रूपः: श्रवः प्तितम्, रूपः: श्रवः स्वस्त्रः। The list of Gotrādi words is given under sūtra VIII. 1. 27. Thus रूपः प्तितम् गोष्ठम, रूपः: प्तितम् हुरम, रूपः प्तितम् पवचनम् &c. The Gotrādi words, here also, denote censure and contempt.

With a Taddhita affix, रूपः: प्तितम् कल्पः, रूपः: प्तितम् कल्पः। The examples should be given with anudātta Taddhita affixes, like कल्पः, कल्पः (V. 3. 65 and 67). Any other Taddhita affix added to the verb would cause the verb to lose its accent, the Taddhita accent overpowers the verb accent: श्रवः प्तितम् (V. 3. 67).

With a doubled verb, as: रूपः: प्तितम् प्तितम्।

Why do we say 'when not preceded by a Participle called Gati'? Observe रूपः: य प्तितम् चन्। The word गति in this sūtra as well as in श्रवः प्तितम् (VIII. 1. 68) should be taken in its restricted sense, namely upasargas treated as Gati, and not the extended definition of Gati as given in I. 4. 61. Therefore the verb retains its accent here: श्रवः प्तितम् चन्, यद् कांश्य श्रवः प्तितम्, क्यूँ कांश्य इत्यस्य।

According to others, throughout this Book Eighth, the word Gati means, the Upasarga Gati.

58. A finite verb, not preceded by a gati, retains its accent before the Particles च (चा, ह, अह and अव VIII.1. 24).
The words are those mentioned in śūtra VIII. 1. 24. Thus रेवरणपञ्चतिः च शौकतिः च, रेवरणपञ्चतिः शौकतिः या, रेवरणपञ्चतिः हृध्यंति, शौकतिः भवि
कालिकः, and रेवरणपञ्चतिः हृध्यंति, शौकतिः भवि

But when preceded by a gati, we have रेवरणपञ्चतिः च शौकतिः च शौकतिः या
Here the first verb retains its accent by virtue of the next śūtra, but the second verb loses its accent.

59. The first finite verb only retains its accent in connection with च and या

The anuvṛtti of दाग्य दुःशान्ति which was drawn in the last śūtra, does not run into this. Thus गर्भानां गर्भानां सत्यं पञ्चतिः गर्भानां सत्यं पञ्चतिः

The word शोष्य in the śūtra indicates that the mere connection with the verb is meant, whether this connection takes place by adding these words च and या, before the verb, or after the verb, is immaterial for the purposes of this śūtra, (not so in the last). The word प्रयत्न shows that the first verb is governed by this rule and not the second.

60. In connection with हृ, the first verb retains its accent, when an offence against custom is reprimanded.

The word शिष्य means an error or mistake of duty, a breach of etiquette or a fault against good breeding.

Thus तव हृ रोचक बोधिता हृ, उपाध्याय पनूति सत्यं हृ
उपाध्याय पनूति सत्यं हृ, उपाध्याय पनूति सत्यं हृ
उपाध्याय पनूति सत्यं हृ, उपाध्याय पनूति सत्यं हृ
उपाध्याय पनूति सत्यं हृ, उपाध्याय पनूति सत्यं हृ

61. In connection with भाष, the first verb retains its accent, when it refers to various commissions, (as well as when a breach of good manners is condemned).

The word वित्तोध also means sending a person to perform several commissions. The word च in the śūtra draws in the anuvṛtti of शिष्य also.

Thus तव भाष गच्छ तव भाष गच्छ च
So also when शिष्य is meant,
as स्वभाव लवण बालिः, उपायांलय पञ्चति, गद्याविष्णुः। लघुपौर्णम सुहलेः, उपायवां महारूपे पञ्चति। The prohibition of nuita and prolation are as in the last aphorism.

वाहुइति सवऺ्मापारणम्। ६२। पदांति। च, चाह, कोपे, पाधिरि, अव धारणार्गम्।

वृत्ति। चाहुइति सवऺ्मापारणां चः प्रव्यवहितासहसा नाति चतुर्भुजवारथारामये महृद्युः।

62. When च and चाह are elided, the first verb still retains its accent, when एव with the force of limitation, takes their place.

When does this चाह take place? Where the sense of च or चाह is connoted by the sentence, but these words are not directly employed, there is then the elision of च and चाह। There the force of च is that of aggregation (तथापतिः), and of चाह is that of ‘only’ (केवल)। The च is elided when the agent is the same, and चाह is elided when the agents are several.

Thus where च is elided:—रेवसस एव चारां नुष्टिः, रेवसस एव चारां माण्युः। चारां च माण्युः।

So where चाह is elided: as:—रेवसस एव चारां नुष्टिः, रेवसस एव अराम्य गण्युः। चारां च माण्युः।

Why do we say अवाहारां ‘when limitation is meant’? See रेवसस: चाह भोलसेरेवसस: चाह भोलसे। चारां एव चारां माण्युः। चारां च माण्युः।

The word एव here has the sense of ‘never’ ‘an impossibility’. The first sentence means च चाहितु भोलसे। एव + एव = चाहितु by परप्र (VI. 1. 94 Vart.).

बाहुइति सवऺ्मापारणशात्ति। ६३। पदांति। च, चाह, कोपे, विभाषाः।

वृत्ति। चारां सवऺ्मापारणां च भोलसे, चारां माण्युः। चारां सवऺ्मापारणां च माण्युः।

63. When च, ( चाह, एव, चाह एव एव ) are elided, the first verb optionally retains its accent.

Thus with च लेपः—सवऺ्म नीर्णीयं च भोलसे। एव चाहार भोलसे। Here भोलसे optionally may either lose or retain its accent. So also when चाह एव is elided, as:—सवऺ्मित नीर्णीयं एव एव भोलसे। एव एव एव। So also with the remaining.

बाहुइति च चः पदांति। ६५। पदांति। च च, चाह, चाह।

वृत्ति। चारां सवऺ्मापारणां च भोलसे, चारां माण्युः। चारां सवऺ्मापारणां च माण्युः।

64. Also in connection with च and चाह, may optionally, in the Chhandas, the first verb retain its accent.

Thus चाहाः रेवसस सवाहाः चाहितु ( or चाहिदी), रामिस्वर्णायाम सवाहाः। एव सवाहाः। भोलसे। चाहितु ( or चाहिदी), रामिस्वर्णायाम (Tatttariya Sanhita VI. 4. 10, 1. but with out the particle चे). चाहाः चाह चाहीतु ( or चाहीदी), मेलार भावतिः।
65. Also in connection with एक and अन्य, optionally in the Chhandas, the first verb retains its accent, when these words have the same meaning ('the one—the other').

Thus एक प्रलोक्ति किन्नरि (or किन्नरि), एकमेकाकस्मि (or कस्मि), अन्यमानी भनिष्काहस्ति (Rig Veda I. 164. 20, Mundaka Upanishad III. 1).

Why do we say समायन्या 'having the same meaning'? See एको भ्रमण-पाधिनय. Here एक is a Numeral and has not the sense of अन्य 'the one another'. The word अन्य is used, in fact, to restrict the meaning of एक, for it has various meanings: while there is no ambiguity about the word अन्य एकोन्यायेः अन्येः यथा: केले तथा. साप्ताहः साप्ताहेऽस्त्रायं च मुख्यते.

यथा तत्त्वातंस्य: 65. पदानि ॥ यथा, बुधार्थः, निश्चयः ॥

66. In connection with यथै in all its forms, the verb retains its accent always.

The anuvratti of यथान्तर and यथासि ceases. The prohibition of निधात by which commenced with न सह (VIII. 1. 29) is present here also. In what ever sentence the word यथै occurs, that is called यथैत्तरा. The word यथैं denotes here the form यथै in all its declensions with case affixes. According to कसिका, यथै and यथासि are not included, according to Panjæli, they should be included. See also the explanation of यथैत्तरा in VIII. 1. 48.

Thus यथैः सुधैः, गृहीतार्थीः, तेन सूति, ताक तामसेऽस्त्रायः: (Rig Veda X. 121. 10) वास्तेत गृहीतार्थीः (T. S. V. 5. 1. 1.) वश वाशः नैसर्गिकः. For the form यथैत्तरा see VI. 3. 92. Though the sōtra is in the Ablative (यथैतत्तरा) and therefore requires that the verb should im-mediately follow it, yet in वशायः शथि, the intervention of वशः does not prevent the operation of this rule, according to the opinion of Panjæli.

Vārtt.—Optionally when the sense is that of 'wheresoever' or 'whencever'. The word यथायां means वशस्य 'as one wishes', without regard of time or space. The निधात is prohibited here also. As यथैः यथैः जन्म जन्म सुदेशनः एव सम्बन्धः.

पुजयात्पुजितसत्तां भक्तिविद्या: ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुजयात, पुजितम, अनु- दार्शन, कांतिबिद्या: ॥

वृत्त: ॥ पुजयात्तः, कांतिबिद्या भक्तस्य पुजितसत्ताः भक्तिः ॥

वृत्तः ॥ गलोपः ॥
67. After a word denoting praise belonging to कान्तकक्ष class, the word whose praise is denoted, becomes आनुदत्त।

This refers to compounds, the first members of which are praise-denoting words. The word कान्तकक्ष, is added to the सूत्र from a वत्कतिका.

Thus कान्तकक्षक, कान्तकक्षक, कान्तकक्षक, कान्तकक्षक।

Vārttika:—The final र should be elided in forming these words. The word कान्तकक्ष is an adverb, and therefore in the accusative case, like. कान्तकक्ष। In such a case, there can be no compounding; hence the elision of र is taught. This is the opinion of वत्कतिका—कारा काययायायाया। According to काययायाया, there is compounding under नववत्कक्षक सूत्र, and so र is elided by the general rule of समास। This becoming of नववत्कक्ष takes place in the compound, and after composition. In fact, it is an exception to the general rule by which a compound is finally acute (VI. 1. 223) But there is no elision in नववत्कक्षक and there is no loss of accent also of the second word. By the वत्कतिका ‘नववत्’ this further fact is also denoted, where the case-affix is not employed and so the र is not heard, there the second member becomes आनुदत्त। When there is no compounding, there is no elision of र as आनुदत्तकक्षक, आनुदत्तकक्षक।

Though the word दृढ़ज्ञ would have implied its correlative term दृष्टिक, the specific mention of दृष्टिक in the aphorism indicates, that the word denoting दृष्टिक should follow immediately after the word denoting दृढ़ज्ञ। In fact, this peculiar construction of the सूत्र, is a ज्ञापक of the existence of the following rule:—ह वक्त्रायि दृष्टिक निर्देशिति नामस्वर्णमाय िवैते “In this subdivision or context, though a word may be exhibited in the Ablative case, it does not follow that there should be consecutiveness between the Ablative and the word indicated by it”。 This has been illustrated in the previous rule of नववत्कक्षक, निर्देशिति, in explaining forms like त्वषय वायुऽसिति &c.

Though the anuvritti of ‘आनुदत्त’ was current, the express employment of this term in the सूत्र indicates that the prohibition (of आनुदत्त) which also was current, now ceases.

On this subject, the following extract from the Commentary on Siddhânta-Kaumudi, will give the view of later Grammarians:—The words बाह &c, are all synonyms of नववत्, meaning wonderful, prodigious; and are words denoting praise. This is an aphorism appertaining to समास subject. In the examples the compounding takes place under the rule of Mayuravyanasakâdi.
Vârt.—The elision of शू should be mentioned. लोकः + मन्त्रावप्तिः, in making the compound of these two words, the elision of the case affix, in this case शू, is natural. The vârtika, therefore, teaches nothing new, but only repeats this general rule in a particular form. This is the opinion of the authors of Kâśika. But according to Kayyata, the commentator on the Great Bhâshya, this aphorism is not a samâsa rule: and the words लोकः &c, are adverbs not admitting of samâsa; and so the rule applies to these words when they are not compounded. There is no authority for holding these to be compounds under the Mâyuravayansakâdi class. Haradatta also says, had this been intended to be a samâsa rule, the word समसा would have been used in the sûtra and this is valid. There is no adhikâra of samâsa here, that could have caused samâsa and in this view, the vârtika कोशिः also becomes effective: had it been a samâsa rule, the vârtika would have been redundant.


समानिर्विधि नित्यः || दृष् || पदार्थि || स, गति; अर्थि, तित्रः || वृत्ति: || समानतिर्विधि प्रूमेयः काशार्थम्: परं प्रूमेयं तित्रि मात्रादाः समानि: ||

68. (After such words denoting praise) the finite verb (which is praised) becomes anudâtta, even along with the Gati, if any, that may precede it.

Whether a finite verb is compounded with a gati or stands single, both the compound and the simple verb lose their accent, when it is qualified by the adverbs काशि &c. Thus बहुः काशि प्राप्तिः, बहुः काशि प्राप्तिः || By VIII. 1. 28, the finite verb would have lost its accent after the word काशि, but this loss was prohibited by VIII. 1. 30 in connection with कुस; the present sûtra re-ordains the loss, by setting aside the prohibition of VIII. 1. 30.

The word समानिः ‘along with its Gati’, indicates that the Gati even loses its accent. The word Gati here is restricted to Upasargas. Therefore not here बहुः काशि हस्ति करोति, बहुः काशि हस्तिः करोति ||

The word नित्यः is used in the sûtra to indicate that the words qualified by काशि &c in the preceding sûtra, were non नित्यः words—i. e. were substantives. The rule of कोशिः of that sûtra, therefore, does not apply here.

कुस्तने च कुस्तने गायनार्थी || ६२ || पदार्थि || कुस्तने, च, छुपि, अगोचारी ||

यूरि: || परस्परिः निरुपः || समानिर्विधि तित्रिः सरसः || कुस्तने च छुपि गोचारिः सरसः || समा- निर्विधि नित्यः नाटवायुक्तिः सरसः |

गायनार्थी निमित्तम् नाटवायुक्तिः नाटवायुक्तिः नाटवायुक्तिः नात्मकः ||

नात्मकः निमित्तम् नाटवायुक्तिः नाटवायुक्तिः नाटवायुक्तिः नाटवायुक्तिः

कुस्तने च कुस्तने गायनार्थी गायनार्थी || निमित्तम् नाटवायुक्तिः नाटवायुक्तिः ||

69. A finite verb, along with its preceding Gati, if any, becomes anudâtta, when a Noun, denoting the fault of the action, follows, with the exception of गोचारि &c.
The anuvṛtti of पृथिवी (VIII. 1. 17) ceases. But the anuvṛtti of the last sūtra is current. Thus पृथिवी पृथिवी, पृथिवी पृथिवी, पृथिवी मिथ्या, पृथिवी मिथ्या.

Why do we say हस्ति ‘denoting the fault of the action?’ See हस्ति दो-गम्य.

Why do we say छूटि ‘a noun?’ Observe हस्ति निम्नमति.

Why do we say with the exception of गा पृथिवी. See हस्ति गा, पृथिवी हस्ति, पृथिवी परस्परम.

Vārttika: It should be mentioned that the ‘fault’ mentioned in the sūtra, must be the fault relating to the mode of doing the action, denoted by the verb. The rule will not apply, if the हस्ति refers to the agent and not to the action. Thus हस्ति पृथिवीवेद्वद्: पृथिवी पृथिवी.

Vārttika: It should be stated that पृथिवी has an indicatory जी. The effect of this is that the word पृथिवी is finally acute, because of the indicatory जी. The word पृथिवी is not a सिद्ध formed word, because it is not feminine, as we find it in sentences like पृथिवीवेद्वद्: nor is it a word formed by निम्न affix, because this is not a संक्षेप word; therefore, it is a word without a derivation. Therefore by भाषाबिद्रिक व्याकरण (Phit I. 1) it will be end-acute. The vārtika, therefore, indicates that when पृथिवी loses the accent of the verb, then it is end-acute, but in other cases it is acute on the beginning. According to Padamanjari, पृथिवी is derived from चो by adding the उपादि affix तिथिः diversely (Uṣ IV. 180), and is first acute.

Vārttika: A finite verb in the plural number, loses its accent optionally: when it loses its accent, then पृथिवी is end-acute. Thus पृथिवी पृथिवी: or पृथिवी पृथिवी: पृथिवी पृथिवी: or पृथिवी पृथिवी.

Kārikā. The following noun denoting fault must refer to the action. The elision of जी is intended only in the case of non-verbs, because it is so said by those of old. The word पृथिवी has an indicatory जी, but it is optionally so when the verb is plural. The elision of जी mentioned above refers to the elision of जी in याज्ञवल्लक: याज्ञवल्लक: सरस्वतीसम्प्रदायिक: याज्ञवल्लक.

The words उस्कर्मम् mean भाषाबिद्रिक याज्ञवल्लक.

गात्रेश्वरे। ७०। पदार्थं। पदार्थं। गात्रे। पदार्थं।

गात्रेश्वरेऽ पदार्थं याज्ञवल्लक: गात्रे।

बृहस्पति। गात्रे: गात्रे: गात्रे: पदार्थं याज्ञवल्लक: गात्रे।

70. A Gati becomes unaccented, when followed by another Gati.

Thus हस्ति हस्ति, नामस्वरूप्य: भाषाबिद्रिक: हस्ति। Why do we say गात्रे: “a Gati becomes &c”? Observe हस्ति हस्ति: परमपति। Here देवस्तम् is a Prātipadika and does not lose its accent. Why do we say ‘when followed by a Gati’? Observe गा मन्त्रे रिलेन्द्रिक हालिः बाह्य: गात्रे: देवस्तम्। Here गा is a Gati to the verb बाह्य, the complete verb is बाह्यायत। But as गा is not followed by a Gati, but by a Prātipadika मन्त्रे, it retains its accent. Had the word गात्रे not been used in the sūtra, this गा would have lost its accent, because the rule would have been too wide, without any restriction of what followed it.
71. A Gati becomes anudatta, when followed by an accented finite verb.

The word गति is understood here. Thus बहादुर वच्यति, बहादुर हृदयति.

Why have we used the word तिकित्र in the sūtra? In order to restrict the scope of the word वसाशति; so that a Gati would not become accentless before every udātta word, but only before udātta verbs. Thus a word does not become anudatta before गति; in अति रस्सिति रस्सिति बाहिर गति. If it be said that the word गति is a particular name which the Particles get before verb only, and therefore गति would always refer to its correlative term verb, and not to noun, like as the word father refers to its correlative term son and not nephew: and that, therefore, वसाशति must refer to the verb like गति and not to a noun like गति; then also we say that the employment of the term तिकित्र is necessary, in order to indicate that the verb must be a finite verb, and not a verbal root. So that though a verbal root be udātta, yet if in its conjugated form (तिकित्र) it is not udātta, the गति will not lose its accent. Thus in बहादुर करति, the root बहादुर is anudatta, but the तिकित्र form करति is udātta, hence the rule will apply here: which would not have been the case had वसाशति not been qualified by तिकित्र. For the maxim is अति वसाशति अति वसाशति अति वसाशति अति वसाशति अति वसाशति. Therefore in a तिकित्र, the designation of गति is with regard to भाव or verbal root. Obj: If तिकित्र is used for this purpose, then the rule will not apply to an अति ending forms, like प्रतिष्ठितानि and प्रतिष्ठितानि, for these are not तिकित्र; but as a matter of fact, we find that अति loses its accent, in these forms also. How is this explained? Ans. Here there are two views: some compound the Gati अति with the completed अतिष्ठित form प्रतिष्ठितानि. According to them, this अति would get the accent, on the rule that an Indeclinable first member retains its accent (VI. 2. 2); so that even if the word तिकित्र was not used in the sūtra, the form प्रतिष्ठितानि being the second member of a compound, became anudatta; and so अति being followed by an anudatta never loses its accent. According to them, therefore, the Gati never loses its accent in प्रतिष्ठितानि &c. Others compound the word ending in अति (प्रतिष्ठित) with the Gati, and having formed प्रतिष्ठितानि, then add the affix भाव. According to this view, the अति accent debar all other accents, on the maxim, ‘the accent of the last prevails’ (तिकित्र), and so अति is anudatta, not by this rule, but by अति being formed प्रतिष्ठितानि. According to them the word is प्रतिष्ठितानि. According to both of these views, this sūtra is not necessary for the purposes of प्रतिष्ठितानि &c. But there is a third view which makes this sūtra necessary even for this purpose. There is this maxim: अतिका आकर्षणानि कृति: धन्य लोकवचनं यथा दृष्टोऽस्मिन्. “It should be
stated that Gatis, Kārakas and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with kṛit-affixes, before a case-termination has been added to the latter”. This maxim itself has been explained in two different ways, one saying that the compounding takes place with kṛit-formed words only before the addition of case-affixes; but with words formed by Taddhita affixes, the compounding does not take place before a case affix has been added. The other view makes no such difference between kṛit-formed and non-kṛit formed words. This latter view is not necessary for our purposes. According to the first view, the Gati पम can never be compounded with पत्तितम as it is not a सम. So both पम and पत्तितम having different accents, the present sūtra became necessary to cause the loss of accent of पम.

Why have we used the word ब्याप्तधर? See पत्ति, पल्लि, द्विपल्लि. Here the verb loses its accent by VIII. I. 28, hence the Gati retains its accent.

आम्बन्ति पूजमविवधमानवत || ७२ || पत्ति || आम्बन्ति, पूजम, अविवधमानवत ||
प्रसि: || आम्बन्ति पूजमविवधमानवत, तस्मिन्ति वसयेः सम भवति.

72. A preceding Vocative is considered as non-existent, (for the purposes of the accent of the following word; and the enclitic forms of यथ्यम्ब and असम्य).

Such a Vocative is treated as if not at all existing, it is simply ignored. The operation which its presence otherwise would have caused does not take place, and that operation takes place which would have taken place had it not existed. What are the particular purposes served by considering it as non-existent? They are (1) the absence of the accent-less-ness of the subsequent vocative, which the first, taken as a पम, would have caused under VIII. I. 19. As देवस्त || देवस्त || Here the first Vocative देवस्त does not cause the second Vocative to lose its accent, but it remains first acute by VI. I. 198. (2) The accent less-ness of the verb required by VIII. I. 28 is prevented: as, एस्स पल्लि || (3) The substitution of the shorter forms of यथ्यम्ब and असम्य, required by VIII. I. 20-23 is prevented, as देवस्त तव (not तव) मां: सम, देवस्त मम (not मम) मां: सम || (4) The application of VIII. I. 37 takes place, in spite of the intervention of the Vocative between the Particle and the verb; such intervention is not considered as taking away anything from the immediateness (भवनतम) of the Particle from the verb: as, द्वारके देवस्त पत्ति || (5) For the purposes of VIII. I. 47, though a Vocative may precede जादु, the latter is still considered as भवनतम and VIII. I. 47 applies, as देवस्त जादु पत्ति. (6) So also in the case of VIII. I. 49, as भासे देवस्त पत्ति, उत्साहे देवस्त पत्ति, no option is allowed here by VIII. I. 50.
Why do we use the word ‘as if’ or तत्त्व in the sūtra, instead of saying ‘altogether’? In other words, why do we say “it is considered as if non-existent”, instead of saying “it is considered altogether non-existent”? The vocative does produce its own particular effect. Thus in भाज नेत्रेषस्ति the vocative नेत्रेष is considered as one word (एकान्तर) for the purposes of separating भाज from the vocative नेत्रेष under VIII. 1. 55. This is the opinion of Patanjali; but the opinion of the author of काष्ठिय is that नेत्रेष would have been considered as अविनाशित but for VIII. 1. 73.

Why do we say ‘a Vocative’? Observe नेत्रेष: प्रत्यः। Why do we say वृध्य ‘with regard to the subsequent word’? The vocative itself will not be considered as non-existent, for the application of rules that would apply to vocative as such. Thus in नेत्रेष वृध्य, the vocative नेत्रेष gets its accent by VI. 1. 193 also. In fact, the word वृध्य connotes its correlative वृध्य ‘subsequent’; and the vocative is considered as non-existent, for the purposes of the operations to be performed on such subsequent term, whether such operation be caused by the vocative itself, or by any other cause; but it is not to be considered non-existent for the purposes of operations to be performed upon itself. Therefore in नेत्रेष वृध्य, Devadatta does get the accent of the vocative. In वृध्य नेत्रेष बदने सरस्वती चतुर्थ तथा the first vocative नेत्रेष is considered as non-existent with regard to बदने, and, therefore, बदने is considered as following immediately after the pada नेत्रेष and thus बदने becomes anudatta, not because of नेत्रेष, but because of नेत्रेष; similarly चतुर्थि and चतुर्थि are anudatta, not because of the preceding Vocative, but because of नेत्रेष. In other words, the intervention of the vocatives does not stop the action of नेत्रेष.

नामसंवधितसमानाधिकारण सामान्यवचनम् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आत्मनिति, समानाधिकारणं, सामान्यवचनम् ॥
युष्मान: ॥ भाष्यदानवचनस्य प्रशिक्षो: ॥ आत्मनिति समानाधिकारणं: पूर्वान्त: समानाधिकारणं भाष्यदानस्य प्रशिक्षो: ॥

73. A preceding vocative, when it conveys a general idea, is not to be considered as if non-existent, for the purposes of the subsequent Vocative, which stands in apposition with the former.

This sūtra prevents the operation of the last sūtra in the particular case when the two Vocatives are in apposition, and the second qualifies the first. Thus द्योऽर्जनेन नामसंवदितसमानाधिकारणं ॥ The first vocative being considered as existing, second vocative loses its accent.

Why do we say ‘the vocative subsequent’? Observe नेत्रेष बदने here the verb does not lose its accent. Why do we say ‘standing in apposition or समानाधिकारणं’? Observe नेत्रेष बदने बदने here the word पदानि qualifies बदने, and is not in apposition with नेत्रेष, and hence it retains its accent.
Why do we say सामाय्यवचनम् 'which is a generic word'? The rule will not apply when the Vocatives are synonyms. Thus बृजेन्द्रेष्टे यस्तं सरस्वति हैं स्त्रियो ब्रजेति एतानां स माननि || All these Vocatives are synonyms of Saraswati, and hence all retain their accent of the Vocative (VI. 1. 198). According to Padamanjari the reading given in Tattariya Br. is:— हैं स्त्रियो एतानां सरस्वतिः mom माननि || सामाय्यवचनम् means 'a generic term'. When the first is a generic term, and the second is a specific term, (विशेष वचन) qualifying the first, and both are in the singular number, there the present rule will apply.

विभापितं विशेषवचने बहुवचनम् || 74 || पद्वनि || विभावितम्, विशेष- वचने, बहुवचनम् ||

पुरुषों || पुरुषविधानोपरान्ते महिलाओं विकल्प उपस्थते || विशेषवचने समाययवचनों माननिष्ठाते पर्यः: पुरुषमात्रानि बहुवचनानि स्वभावितमविषयानद्वारे।

74. When the preceding Vocative is in the Plural number, it is optionally considered as non-existent, if the subsequent Vocative, in apposition with it, is a specific term.

This ordains option, where the last sutra would have made the consideration of the first vocative as existent compulsory. Thus हैं स्त्रिया: or हैं स्त्रिया: || विभावितम् || विशेषवचने: or विभावितम् विशेषवचने: ||

The anuvṛtti of सामाय्यवचनम् is understood here; the second vocative, therefore, must be a विशेषवचन, as being the correlative of the former: where is then the necessity of employing the word विशेषवचने in the sutra? This word is used in the aphorism for the sake of precision only.

Why do we say 'in the plural number'? Observe विशेषवचने स्त्रिया:। No option is allowed here, and the preceding vocative is always considered as existent and so rule VIII. 1. 73 applies.

The sutras 73 and 74 as enunciated by Pāṇini are:—73. सामाय्यवचने समाययव- चने:; 74. सामाय्यवचने विभापिते विशेषवचने (i. e. 73. The preceding Vocative is not considered as non-existent, if the subsequent word is a Vocative in apposition with it. 74. Optionally so, if the preceding vocative is a general term and the subsequent vocative is a particular term). Patanjali made the amendment by adding सामाय्यवचने to 73 also, and the author of Kāśikā has added बहुवचनम् to 74 from the commentary of Patanjali and has omitted सामाय्यवचनम् from it: though he reads its anuvṛtti.
BOOK EIGHTH.

CHAPTER SECOND.

1. Whatever will be taught hereafter, up to the end of the work, is to be considered as not taken effect, in relation to the application of a preceding rule.

This is an Adhikāra or governing rule, and extends up to the end of the Book. Whatever we shall teach hereafter is to be understood as non-existent, with regard to the preceding rule. With regard to whatever has been taught in the preceding Seven Books and a quarter, the rules contained in these three last chapters are considered as asiddha. And further, in these three chapters, a subsequent rule is, as if it had not taken effect, so far as any preceding rule is concerned. The word asiddha—vāsādīdāh, vijnānāne n kṛtoṭi. The rule is “as if non-effective, does not produce the operation of a siddha or effective rule”. This rule of non-effectiveness is for the sake of prohibiting the operation of an ādēśa rule, and establishing the operation of an utsarga or general rule. Thus तत्सत्स देश; हा शष; हा भागम, भस्ता भारिकिः. In all these, the elision of म and ध by VIII. 3. 19, being considered as not to have taken effect, there is no further sandhi, and ध + ध does not give rise to gūṇa, nor ध + ध = धा. In fact, for the purposes of the application of बालूक: rule of VI. 1. 87, or the शैच rule of VI. 1. 101, the rule VIII. 3. 19 is considered as not to have taken effect at all.

Similarly अति, अच्छमात, अद्वितियम from भासव. Thus भासव+ध्रन्य=धर्म+ध्रन्य (VII. 2. 102 धन्य being substituted for the final धन्य, which again merges in the
preceding म VI. 1. 97 = म द ो + क (VIII. 2. 80. द being substituted for म, and द for द of म) Now the substitution of म for क takes place only after Pronouns ending in म; but द is a pronoun ending in द, so this म (VII. 1. 14) should not take place. The present सृता helps us out of this difficulty, and the change of म into द by VIII. 2. 80 is considered asiddha for the purposes of the application of VII. 1. 14.

शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका

The forms शब्दिका, शब्दिका, शब्दिका, शब्दिका, शब्दिका, शब्दिका illustrate this rule excellently.

(1) शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका

To the root दृष्य, we add the Nishtha द, as दृष्य + द = दृष्य + क (क changed to द by VIII. 2. 51) = दृष्य Add the feminine affix दृष्य and we have दृष्य. Add to this the affix द (V. 3. 70, 73), as दृष्य + द = दृष्य, the feminine of which with दृष्य will be दृष्य (the shortening taking place by VII. 4. 13). Now क is changed to द by VII. 3. 44 and we have दृष्य. Now rule VII. 3. 46 makes this द substitution optional, when a क precedes the क, as in the case here: and that rule would require the alternative form दृष्य. But there is no such alternative form, because the क of दृष्य was the substitute of क by VIII. 2. 51, which is considered as asiddha for the purposes of the application of VII. 3. 46.

(2) शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका

Here rule VI. 3. 37 would have required the form to be दृष्य or दृष्य like दृष्य, there being no pun-व-व-ब्य-व-प when there is a penultimate क. But the क in दृष्य being the result of VIII. 2. 51 is considered as asiddha for the purposes of VI. 3. 37.

(3) शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका शब्दिका

This word may be considered to have been formed by adding the affix दृष्य to the Patronymic word शान्ति; or to the noun शान्ति [शान्ति = शान्ति; or शान्ति; शान्ति = शान्ति] शान्ति. The word शान्ति is formed by adding the Nishtha दृष्य to the root स, as दृष्य + क = दृष्य + क (VI. 1. 45) = दृष्य (the क being changed to द by VIII. 2. 53). Now this दृष्य is considered as non-effectual for the purposes of application of VIII. 2. 9, which requires the change of दृष्य to दृष्य, when दृष्य is added to a word having a penultimate दृष्य, as in दृष्य. Therefore we have शान्ति and not शान्ति.
40), the rule by which ः was changed to ः (VIII. 4. 41), and the rule by which the first ः was elided (VIII. 3. 13 as ः+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+�-→�+3

The rules of interpretation, however, contained in the previous part will apply to this part also; because such rules cannot be considered ‘prior’ or पूर्व; for they become operative only when occasion requires to apply them. The maxim which governs such rules is कार्यकाले विर्भाषण परिवर्तन. The rules, therefore, which are exhibited here in the sixth case such as VIII. 2. 23, or the seventh case, as VIII. 2. 26, or the fifth case, as VIII. 2. 27, should be interpreted in accordance with the सूत्र स्थापित अधिकार, तार्किक सिद्धांत व्यवस्था, तत्त्वार्थज्ञेय व्यवस्था.

But with regard to the paribhāṣā विपरितविचित्र परिभाषारूपक, the above will not hold good. For, by the very fact, that a subsequent rule in these chapters, is held to be asiddha, with regard to the prior, there cannot arise any conflict of two rules of equal force with regard to them. And it is only where there is such a conflict, that the above rule of interpretation applies. This being so, in विस्मृतस्िद्धि, नवलाभ रूप प्रमाणम् बयो (VIII. 1. 124) the guṇa ordained by VII. 3. 86 is not debarred by the दीर्घवितरण VII. 3. 86, because there is no conflict between guṇa-rule VII. 3. 86 and the dīrgha-rule VIII. 2. 77, for the latter is simply non-existent with regard to the former.

But though the विपरितविचित्र rule does not apply in these chapters; yet an apavāda rule here even, does over-ride an utsarga rule, for otherwise, the enunciation of an apavāda rule would be useless. The apavāda rule is therefore, not considered asiddha. Thus the utsarga rule हेव (VIII. 2. 31) is set aside by the apavāda rule श्रवणालाम्रीत (VIII. 2. 32), and thus we have श्रवण, हेव (हेव + हेव = हेव + हेव)।

नमोऽपि: हुयायतयातात्त्विनिमित्त छटि || २ || पद्धानि: न होपि; हुय-स्वर-संघा-तुषृ-विचित्र, छटि ||

श्रुति: || नमोऽपि: हुयायतयातात्त्विनिमित्त छटि ||

বিশেষাধিকারে বিশঞ্জিরিত তথ্যায়িত সংস্কৃতিতে উপাসনা হবে সিদ্ধান্ত। যেমন ছুপি: স্থানে তো বিভিন্ন ছুপি যে পর্যায়ে সঙ্গেরো উপাসনিতে সংস্কৃতিতে মনস্তি।

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2. The elision of a final ध (VIII. 2. 7) is considered as if not to have taken effect, in applying the following rules; (1) rules regarding case-endings, (2) rules regarding accents, (3) rules regarding any technical term of Grammar, and (4) rules regarding the augment ध before a Krit-affix.

The word ध in the śūtra applies to all the four words preceding it: as धधधधि, स्तत्तत्तत्ति &c. The force of the Genitive compound in स्तत्तत्ति, संसाधकि धत्तिक्ति is that of ordaining the existence of something: e.g. when an accent is to be given to a word, or a particular designation is to be given to it or when ध is to be added to it, (भाषाविधि)। The compound धधधधि means however, the rule relating to the case-endings themselves, as well as, the rule which would apply to a word, when a case-ending follows (कर्मविधि)।

(1) धधधधि:—As धधधि; मधधि:। Here the elision of ध of धधधि and धधधि being asiddha, the ध is not changed to ध��ि by VII. 1. 9. So also धध�ि, धधधि, धधधि, धधधि। Here the finals of ध�ि and धधि are not lengthened before ध�ि by धधि (VII. 3. 102) and nor changed to ध�ि before ध�ि by (VII. 3. 103): as in धधि and धधि of the stem ending in ध�ि।

(2) स्तत्तत्ति:—As धधधि and not धधधि। For the elision of ध�ि being asiddha, the rule VI. 1. 220, does not apply, for the word is considered not to end in धধि but धधि। Similarly in पाप्तमेद्व सहस्रेष्ठ, the elision of ध�ि being asiddha, the first member does not become धधि-udātta by VI. 2. 90. Similarly पाप्तमेद्व: the elision of ध�ि being asiddha, the first member does not retain its original accent as required by VI. 2. 29.

The word धधि is first acute, as it is formed by the affix कित (Uṣ I. 156). धधि is formed by adding कित to the धधि ending word, by IV. 1. 6. पाप्तमेद्व is a compound under rule II. 1. 50 of पाप्तमेद्व-आधि, and when ध�ि is elided, the first member becomes a word ending in ध�ि and would require the accent of VI. 2. 90.

(3) संसाधकि:—As पाप्त सहास्व, सहास्व:। The elision of ध�ि being asiddha, the words धधि and धधि are still called shash though they no longer end in ध�ि (धधि पाप्त I. 1. 24). Being called पाप्त, they do not take धधि in the feminine (IV. 1. 10).

According to the Vārtikakāra, there is no necessity of using the word संसाधिक in the śūtra (संसाधिक महानन्देयं न तत्तत्तत्त्तत्त्ति), because the elision of ध�ि is caused by reason of its having such a designation (as पाप्त). Thus without its having the name of पाप्त there would be no elision of ध�ि and ध�ि, without such elision, there is no pada sanjīha of these words, and unless these words get Pada designation, there can be no elision of ध�ि by VIII. 2. 7. The shash designation, however, would not be retained by these words after taking
plural affixes, when feminine affixes are to be added to them, but for this sūtra. The प्रवत्त and विस्ता ending in न would require कृत in the feminine, which is however prohibited, for when ज्ञ and श्च are elided, the words end in भ and require श्च for their feminine, which is also prohibited, because, by the present sūtra the word still retains its designation of पुरुष.

Q. How can this be the purpose of this sūtra? There are two views as regard definitions (संज्ञा), the one is that a particular name is given to a thing once for all, prior to any operations; and operations are performed afterwards upon it or with it, as occasions arise. This view is embodied in the maxim ‘Sanjña, and Paribhāṣas remain where they are taught.’ The other view is that the sanjña sūtra is to be read with every particular operative sūtra, and the sanjña given to the word afresh, with every new operation. In other words, the sanjña sūtra becomes identified with a vidhi sūtra, every time that a vidhi is to be applied. This is embodied in the maxim ‘Sanjña and Paribhāsas are attracted by or unite with the rules that enjoin certain operations.’ In the first view, the पुरुष sanjña will be good throughout, both for the purposes of eliding ज्ञ and श्च, and for prohibiting श्च. Hence thus sūtra is not necessary in that view. But in the other view, the sūtra is necessary. For if the view be taken that a sanjña is to be applied with regard to each operation, then that पुरुष sanjña which had taken effect for the purposes of eliding ज्ञ and श्च, will no longer hold good for the purposes of preventing the application of the feminine affix. Hence, the word संज्ञा is taken in this sūtra, to prevent the application of the second view.

(4) संज्ञा—Thus धर्मसनस्त, पुरुषिनि. On account of the elision of न being asiddha, the पुरुष augment is not added, though required by VI. 1. 71. (प्रवत्त निति कृति धर्म.)

Some hold that पुरुष need not be read in the sūtra. They argue in this way:—There is this maxim संज्ञा तमा भविष्यति विनिरमिनिन्ते विषयात संज्ञा “That which is taught in a rule, the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination.” Now the elision of न of पुरुष took place because of the case affix आ, this elision cannot be the cause of adding पुरुष. Or the पुरुष being a विनिरमिनिन्ति operation would be asiddha with regard to the antaranga elision of न. This opinion is, however, not sound. The employment of पुरुष in this sūtra indicates, that the two maxims above referred to, are not of universal application i.e. they are anitya.

Why do we say before a कृत - affix? Observe दृष्टवन्नान्त, दृष्टवत्ता। Here पुरुष is added by VI. 1. 73.

The elision of न taught by VIII. 2. 7 &c would be asiddha by the
general rule VIII. 2. 1; the specification of the four cases in which it is asiddha shows that it is a restrictive or niyama rule. That is, the elision of ए is considered as asiddha only with regard to these four rules, and no other. It is not asiddha in राजायेः ( राज + व + त् = राज + व + त् = राजायेः III. 1. 8, VII. 4. 33.). There would not have been long ह had the लोप been asiddha. So also राजायेः there is lengthening, (VII. 4. 25) and राजायेः there is ekādeśa (VI. 1. 101).

3. The sūtra VIII. 2. 80, teaching the substitution of म for the द्वार of the Pronoun मद्य, is however not treated as asiddha in relation to the case-ending ना.

The existence of ए is not considered unaffected when there is to be added ना. On the contrary, it is considered as siddha or existing. Thus ए being considered as siddha, मद्य gets the designation of सि by I. 4. 7, and as such, its Instrumental Singular is by VII. 3. 120, मद्यना. Had the ए been considered as non-effected, then the stem would not have been called ग्भी, and there would have been no ना added. But when ना had been added, then the ए being asiddha, मद्य is considered to be as द्वार ending in म, and this म would require lengthening by सि. VII. 3. 102: but it is not done on the maxim सानिद्यतान्य सिद्धान्तम् निधिरसिद्धिः. "that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination". There being no long म the म of मद्य remains short. Or this sūtra may be considered to be the condensation of two sūtras (१) ए is siddha when म is to be added, (२) ए is siddha when any operations, otherwise to be caused when म is added, are to take place. Or the sense of the sūtra is that पल्लवी ए रानोति वाक्यं कर्मविवेके मद्यनो माति जातम्. "the ए is not non-effected in relation to any operation that would otherwise be occasioned when म followed". From this, it would follow by implication that ए must be considered valid for the purposes of मद्य, itself. So ग being always siddha, म is added: and there is no lengthening.

Vārt.:—That ekādeśa accent which is antaranga, should be considered as siddha. What is the necessity of this vārtika? In order to regulate the accents of १. भार, २. भाव, ३. भार, substitutions of ए, द्वार and भी; ४. the accent of
Asiddha rule.  

Ekādeśa substitutes, 5. the accent of the शत्रु formed words, 6. for the purposes of rule VI. 1. 158, by which all syllables of a word are anudatta except one, and 7. for the purposes of VIII. 1. 28, by which all syllables become anudatta.

Thus (1) let us take बाज first. दुर्ग is finally acute by Phit I. 1. The locative of this is दुर्ग + हि (anudatta III. 1. 3) = दुर्ग+ हि (VIII. 2. 5). Now combine दुर्ग+ हि = दुर्ग+ हि = दुर्ग+ हि = दुर्ग+ हि = दुर्ग+ हि = दुर्ग+ हि = दुर्ग+ हि. So also दुर्ग+ हि. The udatta ekādeśa दुर्ग must be considered as siddha, so that the दुर्ग substitute of दुर्ग should also become udatta. (2) भाव: As कुरतें हि. Here also भाव is udatta for similar reasons. कुरतें+ हि = कुरतें+ हि (VII. 3. 112) = कुरतें + हि = कुरतें + हि (VI. 1. 174) = कुरतें + हि (VI. 2. 90) = कुरतें (VIII. 2. 5). The दुर्ग is udatta and its भाष substitute will also be udatta. How do you give this example? This example is then valid, when by VI. 1. 174, first the affix भाष is made udatta, then this भाष (भाष VII. 3. 112) augment is added to दुर्ग, and then (दुर्ग + हि) there is व्रह्द्धि दुर्ग; and then दुर्ग+ हि = दुर्ग+ हि. But if the order be reversed and भाष + हि be first combined into दुर्ग, and then this दुर्ग be made udatta by VI. 1. 174, then there would be no necessity of this vārtika for the purposes of भाष. The word कुरतें is end-acute by Phit accent (Phit I. 1). Add to it शी in the feminine (IV. 1. 26), as कुरतें+ हि = कुरतें+ हि (VII. 1. 161) = कुरतें+ हि (VI. 1. 148) = कुरतें+ हि (IV. 1. 20). (3) भाव. As नृद्धारिवेद or नृद्धारिवेद, for the same reasons as above [दुर्ग+ हि (anudatta) = दुर्ग+ हि (anudatta) = दुर्ग+ हि (anudatta) = दुर्ग+ हि (anudatta) = दुर्ग+ हि (anudatta) = दुर्ग+ हि (anudatta) = दुर्ग+ हि (anudatta) = दुर्ग+ हि (anudatta) = दुर्ग+ हि (anudatta) = दुर्ग+ हि (anudatta) = दुर्ग+ हि (anudatta)].

(4) एकादेश accent. भाष+ हि. Here भाष+ हि = भाष+ हि. The word भाष is formed by भाष affix (भाषार्थ हि) and is end-acute. The ekādeśa भाष is udatta by VIII. 2. 5. This udatta accent will remain valid: so that when for भाष+ हि there is पुर्व-रुप-ekādeśa by VI. 1. 109, this ekādeśa भाष will be udatta by VIII. 2. 5, or it will be svarita by VIII. 2. 6. The word भाष is a प्रथिभाष compound, भाषार्थ-भाषार्थ = भाषार्थ. Here by VI. 2. 2, the Indeclinable first term would have retained its accent: but the word is end-acute by VI. 2. 189.

(5) शत्रु - accent. As शत्रु+ हि. Here in शत्रु+ हि+ शत्रु, the affix हि is udatta, and शत्रु is anudatta. The ekādeśa हि will be udatta by VIII. 2. 5. This ekādeśa - udatta should be considered valid for the purposes of the rule VI. 1. 173 by which the feminine affix and the weak case-ending are udatta. Thus शत्रु+ हि = शत्रु+ हि = शत्रु+ हि. The prohibition भाष in VI. 1. 173 is a खापका or indicator of the fact, that the ekādeśa accent should be considered siddha, in the accent of the शत्रु, because without this ekādeśa accent, there is no फळ्टी ending word with शत्रु which is antodatta.

(6) एकादेशवृण्ड accent. As दुर्ग+ हि+ वृण्ड (VI. 1. 186) the ekādeśa हि is udatta by VIII. 2. 5, and this ekādeśa accent is considered valid for the purposes of rule VI. 1. 158, by which all the remaining syllables become anudatta, as दुर्ग+ हि+ वृण्ड.
(7) सर्वदुःसः: accent. अभावार्थात्वर्तिते, अभावाः तिलकतिते। Here the ekādesa'-accent of सन्ति and तिलकतित्व बत्तिप्रयुक्तिः ति is valid, rule VIII. 1. 28 applies, and all the syllables become anudatta.

The word antaranga is used in the vārtika to indicate that the Bahranga ekādesa accent will not be siddha. Thus प्रचन्दीति and (प्रचन्दीति), where the word हि is first acute, as it is an Indeclinable. And चैन्प्रयुक्त प्रचन्दीति। The accent of प्रचन्दीति हि = प्रचन्दीति is governed by VIII. 2. 5. This ekādesa accent of long हि has reference to external sandhi, and therefore naturally it is a bahranga. This bahranga ekādesa accent is not siddha for the purposes of the application of previous sūtras. Thus sūtra VIII. 1. 71. requires that the gati should be unaccented before an accented verb: but हि does not lose its accent, as प्रचन्दीति is not considered as an accented verb. In the second example, the हि of हि is not considered as accented, therefore, it does not become anudatta by VIII. 1. 28.

Vārtt.: The rule VIII. 2. 23 causing the elision of the final consonant in a word ending with a conjunct consonant, should be valid for the purposes of changing हि into हि। What is the necessity of this vārtika? Observe हरियः मेरियः लग। The word हरियः is formed by मतुष्ठ अप्पूर्गहरित्व चतुर्विन्यस्ति = हरि + हृ। Now by VIII. 2. 15 the हि is changed to हि, as हरि + हृ = हरि + हृ। Then add हृ अठार्ड, as हरियः + हृ। Then there is elision of the final consonant = हरियः। Now by VIII. 3. 1. the final हि is changed to हि, and we have हरियः, the हि would be changed to हि by VI. 1. 114, if the elision of the conjunct consonants be considered as siddha: for then this हि is followed by हि, a हि letter. But if such elision be considered asidhā, then हि is considered not to be followed by हि letters, but by the consonants which were elided.

Vārtt.: When ekādesa हि is to be done, the elision of हि is to be considered siddha or valid. अभावार्थ एवं अभावमयः। Here the हि is elided by हि हि (VIII. 2. 28.) This elision is considered valid or siddha, and thus we have dirgha single substitution of हि for हि हि as मलादः = मलादः + हि + हि = मलादः = मलादः।

Vārtt.: The substitute of the Nishṭha affixes should be considered as valid or siddha for the purposes of the rules relating to the (1) changing of हि to हि, (2) accent, (3) affix, and (4) हृ अठार्ड. As (1) हृ अठार्ड, हृ अठार्ड। The root is ब्रह्मचर्य (VI. 11) the indicatory ति shows that the nishṭha हि is changed to हि (VIII. 2. 45). This nishṭha substitute is considered as valid or siddha, and the final of the root is not changed to हि, as it otherwise would have been by VIII. 2. 36: for हि would have been still considered as हि or a हि letter. The equation is as follows:—प्रचन्दीति + हि = प्रचन्दीति + हि = हि + हि = हि (VIII. 2. 45) = हि + हि (VIII. 2. 29) + हि + हि (VIII. 2. 30) = हि + हि (VIII. 4. 1)। The हि is changed to हि by VIII. 2. 30, by considering हि as asidhā and therefore equal to हि or a हि letter. Thus it will be seen that this हि is की लिख के for the purposes of
rule VIII. 2. 30, but it is सिद्ध only for the purposes of rule VIII. 2. 36.

As regards the other three cases, viz, accent, affix and त्र ऺ augment, the one word त्र ऺ, will illustrate them all. The irregular formation of this word is variously explained. It is formed by “nipātana” under VIII. 2. 55. It is the Past Participle of the root त्र, thus evolved त्र + द + त = त्र + ह + त = त्र + द (त्र being elided, this is the anomaly) = त्र। Here the elision of त्र ऺ is considered as valid and siddha, and therefore, त्र ऺ is considered as a word of two syllables, for the purposes of accent, under rule रिमन्द र ालाण (VI. 1. 205). Had the lopādesa of त्र ऺ been considered asiddda, the word would have been considered as if of three syllables, and that rule of accent would not have applied.

Similarly श्रेष्ठ सर्वसिद्धिक formed by ह्र (IV. 4. 7) which affix is added, because it is considered a word of two syllables, the elision of ह्र being considered as valid for the purposes of IV. 4. 7.

Similarly श्र विषय may be considered to have been formed by eliding the ह्र; as श्र + ह + द + ह्र। In this view of its formation, the augment ह्र is not added, because the lopa of ह्र is considered as valid and siddha for the purposes of ह्र augment. In the opinion of Patanjali, the words ह्र विषय may well be omitted from the vārtika, for ह्र being a portion of a syllable, the word विषयविषय would include ह्र विषय also.

Vārt.—The prolation modification of a vowel (pluta) should be considered as valid and siddha, for the purposes of the rule relating to ह्र augment before the letter श। Thus by VIII. 2. 107, the Vocative words भ्रम्न and परी assume the forms मात्र भ्रम्न and परी। These श and भ्र are pluta-vikāras. As भ्रम्न ह्र द्रवी, परी ह्र द्रवी। Here the modification caused by VIII. 2. 107, is considered as valid and siddha; otherwise there would have been no compulsory ह्र augment as required by VI. 1. 73 but optional ह्र under VI. 1. 76.

Vārt.—The श्र and palatal change should be considered siddha and valid before त्र (VIII. 3. 29). The root श्रुतिर, शरी (I. 41) is read as beginning with श्र, which is changed to श्र because of the subsequent श by VIII. 4. 40. This is not considered asiddda. Had it been so, there would come ह्र augment by VIII. 3. 29, in श्र श्रव्यालिति, श्र श्रव्यालिति। The words श्र and श्र are श्र and श्र formed from the roots श्रव्यालिति and श्रव्यालिति by श्रि।

Why is the root श्रुतिर considered to begin with श्र in the root श्रुतिर and not with श्र as we find it written? Because had it been a root beginning with श्र originally, we could not get the form मश्रुति which would have been मश्रु। The form मश्रु is thus evolved. Thus मश्रु श्रव्यालिति—मश्रुष्टिति by adding श्रि। From मश्रुष्टिति, we form a Derivative root in श्रि in the sense of मश्रुष्टिति—मश्रुष्टिति।

Add again श्रि to this Derivative root मश्रु, the श्रि will be elided, and we have मश्रुष्टि, then श्र (which represents श्र) is elided because it is at the beginning of a compound letter (VIII. 2. 29), and श्र is elided, because it is at the
end of a conjunct letter final in a pada (VIII. 2. 23), and thus there remains \( \text{च} \), and \( \text{न} \) is changed to \( \text{र} \) (VIII. 2. 30) we have \( \text{नहूँ} \). Had the root been \( \text{भुतातिः} \), then this \( \text{र} \) could not be elided, and so we should elide only the final \( \text{च} \) and \( \text{र} \) and the form would be \( \text{चहूँ} \) which would be changed to \( \text{र} \) and then to \( \text{र} \) and we should get \( \text{हूँ} \) which is not desired.

\textit{वद्व्यः}—The \( \text{च} \) and \( \text{र} \) substitution of letters in the reduplicate should be considered siddha and valid for the purposes of \( \text{र} \) change (VI. 4. 120) and \( \text{हूँ} \) augment. Thus \( \text{वनहूँ} \) and \( \text{वनहूँ} \). Here the \( \text{च} \) change of \( \text{न} \), to \( \text{र} \) in the reduplicate should be considered as valid, otherwise this would be नयेवतातिः root and the Perfect would be \( \text{बचूँ} \) and \( \text{बचूँ} \). Similarly from \( \text{छिन्न} \) we have छघिन्नतातिः, and from \( \text{छिन्न} \), छघिन्नतातिः. In the latter, the second syllable छिन्न of छिन्न (Desiderative) is reduplicated by VI. 1. 2. Here had the reduplicate substitute \( \text{र} \) for \( \text{च} \) been considered asiddda, there would not have been \( \text{हूँ} \) augment by \( \text{र} \) (VI. 1. 73).

\textit{वद्व्यः}—The change of letter homogeneous with the subsequent is valid and siddha for the purposes of doubling. As \( \text{सहूँ} \), \( \text{सहूँ} \), \( \text{सहूँ} \), \( \text{सहूँ} \). In \( \text{सहूँ} \) &c the \( \text{र} \) is changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 23, and the anusvāra is then changed to a letter homogeneous with the subsequent by VIII. 4. 58. Had the \( \text{सहूँ} \) change been asiddda, there would have been no doubling by VIII. 4. 47.

\textit{वद्व्यः}—If there be the adhikāra of the word ‘pada’ in those sūtras which ordain the following changes, then those changes are considered siddha for doubling, namely, 1. \( \text{सहूँ} \) the change into \( \text{र} \) (VIII. 2. 21), 2. \( \text{हूँ} \) the change into \( \text{र} \) (VIII. 2. 31), 3. \( \text{सहूँ} \) the change in to \( \text{र} \) (VIII.2.33), 4. \( \text{सहूँ} \) the change into \( \text{र} \) (VIII. 2. 55), 5. \( \text{हूँ} \) the change to \( \text{र} \) (VIII. 2. 75), 6. \( \text{हूँ} \) the change to \( \text{र} \) (VIII. 3. 85), 7. \( \text{सहूँ} \) the change to \( \text{र} \) (VIII. 4. 11), 8. anunāsika change (VIII. 4. 45), 9. \( \text{सहूँ} \) the change to \( \text{र} \) (VIII. 4. 63).

As \( \text{हूँ} \), \( \text{हूँ} \), \( \text{हूँ} \), \( \text{हूँ} \), \( \text{हूँ} \), \( \text{हूँ} \), or \( \text{हूँ} \), \( \text{हूँ} \) or \( \text{हूँ} \), \( \text{हूँ} \), \( \text{हूँ} \), \( \text{हूँ} \), \( \text{हूँ} \), \( \text{हूँ} \), \( \text{हूँ} \), \( \text{हूँ} \), \( \text{हूँ} \), \( \text{हूँ} \), \( \text{हूँ} \), \( \text{हूँ} \). This is the second person singular of \( \text{हूँ} \), the \( \text{र} \) of \( \text{हूँ} \) is elided by VI. 1. 68, and the final \( \text{र} \) changed optionally to \( \text{र} \) by VIII. 2.74. The \( \text{र} \) is the vikarana \( \text{र} \) by VI. 1. 68, and the final \( \text{र} \) changed optionally to \( \text{र} \) by VIII. 2.74. The \( \text{र} \) is the vikarana \( \text{र} \) by VI. 1. 68, and the final \( \text{र} \) changed optionally to \( \text{र} \) by VIII. 2.74. The \( \text{र} \) is the vikarana \( \text{र} \) by VI. 1. 68, and the final \( \text{र} \) changed optionally to \( \text{र} \) by VIII. 2.74.

The \( \text{सहूँ} \) &c, changes being all optional, had the changes been considered asiddda, we would have got the following double forms also \( \text{सहूँ} \), \( \text{सहूँ} \) which are not desired.

All these can be explained by dividing the sūtra \( \text{हूँ} \) \( \text{र} \) into two. The first being \( \text{र} \), and this negative will prohibit all asiddda-ness mentioned in the
preceding vārtikas. The second sūtra would be छ न, and we would here draw in the anuvṛtti of न from the preceding.

उद्भवस्वरितयोगेन: स्वारितो ज्ञावाचलस्य || ॥ पद्याः || उद्भव-स्वरितयोः:,
यन्त्, स्वारित:, ज्ञावाचलस्य ||
पूज्यतैः || उद्भवविक: स्वरितविध्य परस्यादुरचलस्य स्वरित आदेशो भविष्यत् ||

4. A svarita vowel is the substitute of an anudātta vowel, when the latter follows after such a semi-vowel, which has replaced an udātta or a svarita vowel.

An unaccented vowel becomes svarita, when it comes after a य (semi-vowel), which य does not have the room in the room of a vowel which was acute or svarita once.

Let us first take the vowel following an udātta य य. Thus क्ष्यां, क्षुरत् || The word क्ष्यां is acutely accented on the final, because the long य (कृष्) replaces म of क्षर (VI. 1. 161). The semi-vowel र is substituted in the room of this acute र; the anudātta य य and र र become svarita after such a र र.

Now to take an example of a svarita-yañ. The words सहस्कृत, and नाम, are finally acute by krit-accent (VI. 2. 139). The Locative singular of these words are महस्कृत + य = महस्कृत, and सहस्कृत by VI. 4. 83. This र is a semi-vowel which comes in the room of the acute र, therefore, it is udātta-yañ. After this udātta-yañ, the anudātta य of the Locative becomes svarita by the first part of this sūtra. Now when सहस्कृत + य य and सहस्कृत + य य are combined by sandhi, this svarita र is changed to र र; it is, therefore, a svarita-yañ.

The unaccented य य will become svarita, after this svarita-yañ. As य य य, य य य, and य य य. The word य य is finally acute and consequently य is not acute (Phit. I. 18).

Obj:—Here an objector may say: that the svarita accent on र in रामविः is by this very sūtra, this svarita is to be considered as asiddha for the purposes of य य य य य of VI. 4. 83. How can then the र substituted for this र be considered as svarita-yañ?

Ans:—This is considered as siddha by अस्याय (भाष्याकाल स्वराचार.) ||

Obj:—If this be so, then उद्भवस्वरितयोः वक्रितम (VIII. 4. 66) should also be considered as siddha: and we should have svarita in वक्रितम &c also. For the word वक्रितम is first-acute by Phit II. 3. Therefore वक्रितम is svarita by VIII. 4. 66. The र is svarita र, the anudātta र after this should become svarita according this view, but this is not so.

Ans:—To avoid this difficulty, we have the following.

Vārt:—वातस्यो वातस्ये विज्ञो स्वक्रितम: || "The र accent should be considered as valid, for the purposes of य य य substitution".
Some say, that even in such cases as त्र्यंसा the above rule applies, and that the unaccented vowel becomes svarita, if it follows a svarita-yaṇ which is preceded by an acute vowel. They quote the following from Taittirīya Śāhkā:—वस्त्रे विचक्षा दातभः सत्वरेः, where the भ of भमें is pronounced as svarita. So also in the Brāhmaṇa portion as: त्र्यावस्ति the भ is read as svarita. But according to Kātyāyana and Patanjali, the unaccented vowel does not become svarita by this sūtra, when it follows a svarita-yaṇ which is preceded by an acute vowel.

To get rid of these anomalies, the Māhabhāṣya proposes several alternatives, two of which will be mentioned here. The first proposal is to divide this composite sūtra into two parts: (1) वस्त्रवण: परस्य भद्रायस्त्व सवरतिः भवति “an unaccented vowel becomes svarita when it follows after an udāṭṭa-yaṇ”. (2) सवरतिः परस्य भद्रायस्त्व सवरतिः भवति “an unaccented vowel becomes svarita, when following a svarita yaṇ” and in this second sūtra, we shall read the anuvṛtti of udāṭṭa-yaṇ from the preceding half. So that this half will mean: वस्त्रवण हेतुष्य न निरुत्त्याः सवरति, तत्त्व यतः परस्य भद्रायस्त्व सवरतिः भवति. The svarita must have been obtained by the application of the first half of this sūtra and this svarita should be changed to ब, which would change the anudāṭṭa into svarita. So that the सवरति यतः means this particular svarita obtained by the application of this very sūtra.

The second proposal is not to read svarita into the sūtra at all. The svarita in सक्रुप्याशा would then be explained by udāṭṭa-yanah rule. सक्रुप्याशा + ह + भाषा = सक्रुप्याशा + ह + भाषा || Here ह is udāṭṭa-yaṇ. This will cause भ to become svarita. The intervening svarita ह is considered as not existent for the purposes of accent सवरतिः वरस्त्व भवति || Nor is this ह to be considered as sthāṇī-vad to ह by I. 1. 57, for in applying the rule of accent, such a substitute is not considered as sthāṇīvat by I. 1. 58.

Why do we say “of udāṭṭa and svarita”? Observe ब्रह्मव + भाषा = वरस्त्व, so also शात्रवणोष्ठा. Here the semi-vowel replaces an unaccented ह, and is भद्रायस्त्व यतः || These words are first acute owing to भवति accent (IV. 1. 73).

Why do we say “an unaccented vowel becomes svarita”? Observe क्रुप्याशा, निरुत्त्याः. The word ह, is acutely accented on the first by भवति accent. (VI. 1. 193).

एकावेशं उदासेनोनेत्राः || पद्याः क्रुप्याशा, उदासेन, उदासः || वशि: वरस्त्व भद्रायस्त्व एकावेशः व वरस्त्वो भवति ||

5. The single substitute of an unaccented with an udāṭṭa vowel is udāṭṭa.

The word “of an anudāṭṭa” is understood here. An unaccented vowel,
which combined with the preceding udātta vowel remains as a single substitute, becomes udātta. Thus for the udātta  of भाषिन् and for the case-ending भि which is anudātta, there is always substituted long  single by VI. i. 102. This single substitute will be udātta according to the present sūtra, as अश्रुगत् II. Similarly वाक्; देवत्: II

Why do we say "with udātta vowel"? Observe यज्ञत्, यज्ञम् II. Here प्र + यज्ञ + मत्त = प्र + य + मत्त. Here यज्ञ is anudātta by III. i. 4, so also मत्त by VI. i. 186. The ekādeśa of these two non-accented  will be anudātta. In forming this para-rūpa ekādeśa by VI. i. 97, the svarita of the  of यज्ञ caused by VIII. 4. 66 is considered as invalid or asiddha.

Other examples are कु बोध् (Rig. V. 61. 2) and काश्यां सदा: II. The word  is anudātta by VIII. 1. 21. read with VIII. i. 18. The word  is acutely accented on the first, as it is formed by adding कु to मत् (Up. i. 151). The of मत् is changed to र (VIII. 2. 66), which is again changed to थ (VI. i. 113). Thus कु था: II. Here  becomes pūrva-rūpa by VI. i. 109, which is udātta. कु is formed from कुष्ठ by कु प्रभा (V. 3. 12 and VII. 2. 105) and is svarita (VI. i. 185). The word कुष्ठ is acutely accented on the first by the Phit II. 6. The single long substitute is udātta.

व्यक्ति त द्रुत्रार्ते पदार्थः II ॥ पदार्थः व्यक्तिः व्यक्तिः व अनुवादने पदार्थं व एकविद्यः व व्यक्तिः व भविः अस्मि च य II ॥

6. The single substitute of an unaccented vowel, standing at the beginning of a word, with an udātta vowel, may optionally be svarita or udātta.

Thus हु + द्रिष्टिः = द्रिष्टिः or द्रिष्टिः; वि + हस्ति = हस्ति or हस्ति; वधु = वधुकार्यविधिः व वधुकार्यविधिः II. Here the word हु is a Karmapradhanya by I. 4. 94, when it is compounded by प्रभिः and with the Past Participle, the Avayiśbhava compound retains the accent of its first member (VI. 2. 2), and so it is acutely accented on the first, and the rest are anudātta. Thus the udātta हु of हु is compounded with the anudātta हु of भाविः: which stands at the beginning of a Pada, and so the ekādeśa is optionally svarita. In हस्ते and हस्ते सहिः also the verbs हस्ते and हस्ते lose all accent by VIII. i. 28 and so हु and हु become anudātta, which when compounded with हु and हु become optionally svarita.

The word व्यक्तिः is employed in the sūtra only for the sake of distinctness, for the sūtra may have well stood as व्यक्तिः पदार्थः II. In this form of the sūtra, the udātta of the preceding sūtra would become optional when the second member is a word beginning with anudātta. Udātta being optional, in the other alternative, where there will not be udātta, the svarita will be substituted by reason of the nearness in position.
Why do we say “anudatta beginning”? Observe रहस्यम्। Here ते तेषां begins with udatta and not anudatta, and hence no option is allowed.

Why do we say “beginning of a word”? Observe तस्मात्, तस्मात्, तस्माद्, प्रतपति, where anudatta case-endings are not beginnings of words.

According to Bhattoji Dikshita this is a vyavasthita-vibhāṣā; in this wise. There will necessarily be svarita (1) where a long ह is the single substitute of (ह + ह) or of two short ह, (2) where there is pārva-rūpa by the application of अःपणनाशाय असि (VI. 1. 109). There will be udātta where a long vowel comes in. Thus in वित्यु+रूपम् प्रदेशम् in वैरक्तिकं वत्सल, the long ह is substituted for two short ह’s. This substitution of a long ह for two short ह’s is technically called ग्रहणम्। Where there is Pras’lesha, the long ह is necessarily svarita. Similarly when there is भाष्मिनिद्वस्तावामि i.e. the peculiar sandhi taught in VI. 1. 109. Thus तेवदयः, तस्मात्वामागम्। So also where there is क्षण: सुधाḥ i.e. the substitution of a semi-vowel in the room of an udātta or svarita vowel, as भाष्मि। The above rules about svarita are thus summarised in the Prātiśākhya: इत्यार्थो ग्रहणं क्रियानुपादानो नुपादः। But where a long ह is substituted as a single substitute for ह + ह (one of the ह’s being long), there it must always be acute. As भास्कर प्रकृतिको विद्वानः (Rig. I. 190. 4). The words लिङ्गः + हिथः are compounded into लिङ्गितः। The word लिङ्गितः Locative singular is finally acute by VI. I. 171. इतः is from the Divādī root इत् गते, and has lost its accent by VIII. I. 28.

नलोपः प्रातिपदिकार्थम् || 7 || पद्यानि || न लोपः प्रातिपदिकः अन्तस्वम् ||

वृक्षः प्रातिपदिकतः पत्तस्तः गोस्तिः यक्षादशाय मतिः ||

वासिणिः गन्धर्वगतिपदिपितः व्यक्तः \||

7. The न at the end of a Nominal-stem, which is a पदा (I. 4. 17), is elided.

The word पत्तस्तः ‘of a Pada’ is understood in this sūtra. Thus राजा, राज्यायां राजानि, राजस्त, राजस्त: राजस्त: \। The Nominal stem राजस्तः gets the designation of Pada, before these affixes, by I. 4 17.

Why do we say ‘of a Prātipadika or Nominal stem’? Observe नायाम्। Here नायः is a verb, the 3rd Per. Sg. Imperfect (नायः) of the root नायः।

Why do we say ‘at the end’? If the word अन्तस्तः had not been used in the sūtra, then the sūtra would have stood thus मन्येन प्रातिपदिकः; and as the word पत्तस्तः is understood here, the sūtra would have meant, there is elision of न, where ever it may be, of a Pada called stem. So that the न of नायाम् would also have required elision. In fact, the genitive case here in पत्तस्तः is not sthāna shasṭhiḥ, but viṣeṣaṇa shasṭhiḥ, नलोप अन्तस्तः पराधिकार्य विद्वानार्थः \।

Q. But even if you use the word नायः in the sūtra, it is compounded with the word प्रातिपदिकः, and the sense of the sūtra will be “न which is at the
end of a pratiпadika, which (pratiпadika) is a portion of a pada" &c. and not "which is at the end of a pada". So that the rule will not apply to भजस्वरेष्यान्त but will apply to रजानी &c.? Ans. The word प्रतिपदक is not compounded, with the word बन्ध in the sūtra. It is used without any case-affix, on the analogy of Chhandas usage. In fact, it is in the genitive case, the affix being elided by VII. 1. 39.

Vārt: The prohibition must be stated with regard to the elision of the द of भजस्वरेष्यान्त. As भजस्वरेष्यान्त, the case-affix द is luk-elided by VII. 1. 23, the pratyaya-lakshana is prohibited by I. 1. 63, and hence the द of भजस्वरेष्यान्त is changed to र by VII. 2. 69. भजस्वरेष्यान्त, रजानी: For the rules VII. 2. 68 and 69 by which the final of भजस्वरेष्यान्त is changed to र, are asiddda with regard to this present rule requiring elision of द, hence this vārtika.

Q. There is no necessity of this vārtika, for the subsequent rules VIII. 2. 69, 68 will debar नरिष्ण: Ans. But द and र are considered asiddda for the purposes of द elision. The द and र would have debarred द elision, had they otherwise found no scope. But they have their scope. Q. Where have they their scope? Ans. In the penultimate द i.e. in the द preceding the द: Q. The very fact that the author has used the word भजस्वरेष्यान्त in the sūtra VII. 2. 68, shows that द does not replace र but द: Ans. If so, then र will find scope in the Vocative, भजस्वरेष्यान्त where द is retained by VIII. 2. 8, and it will be this द which will be replaced by र, as द भजस्वरेष्यान्त and so also द श्रीपापीनि विषयः.

The word श्रीपापीनि is a Bahuavrīhi (II. 2. 24), the Vocative affix is elided (VI. 1. 68), and the द changed to र by VIII. 2. 68, and it is changed to द (VI. 1. 114). In भजस्वरेष्यान्त! the द is not elided by the option of the Vārtika under VIII. 2. 8.

To remove these objections, they say, the word भजस्वरेष्यान्त which is used in VIII. 2. 68 is in nominative singular without the elision of द, and it is to be repeated as भजस्वरेष्यान्त. The one indicates the exact form, showing that the द is not elided; and by the second word the द is ordained for this final द.

न किंतुत्कालोऽ: द च पदामि न, किं दमुद्द्वातः: द
पदिति: दे च परशः संवृत्ते द नकारावस्योऽ भवति: द
पा: पद द न कोंडाकानामिनि समस्तयम्: पा: पा द न कोंडाकानामिनि समस्तयम्: पा:

8. (But such द) is not elided in the Locative and Vocative Singular.

This debars the elision of द, which otherwise would have taken place by the preceding sūtra. The examples of non-elision, of द in the Locative singular are to be found in the Vedas. As परस्मयः (Rig. I. 164. 39), भाजेः परस्मयः, लोधिस्य परस्मय: Here the sign of the Locative, namely, द (किं) is elided by VII. 1. 39. In the Vocative Singular, the द is not elided, as दे परस्मयः, दे तस्तः.
Q. When र or the Vocative is elided, the preceding stem is no longer a Pratipadika, and the stem does not get the designation of व before the affix but is इ, hence where is the necessity of making the present prohibitory rule, when the elision of व would not have taken place in the Locative and Vocative singular, by any rule?

Ans. The very fact of the prohibition of the elision of व, as contained in this aphorism, indicates by implication (jñāpaka), that a word retains the designation of pratipadika, though an affix has been elided after it and though such elided affix may produce its effect (I. 2. 45 read with I. 1. 62). Nor will such elided affix give the designation of Bha (भ) to such a stem. Thus देहः दुःः = देहः, ज्ञानः= ज्ञानः, here the व is elided by considering the word ज्ञानः as a pratipadika, even after the elision of the Genitive affix in the compound, and it is not a Bha, which would have required the elision of भ by VI. 4. 134.

Vārd :—Prohibition of the prohibition must be stated, when the Locative word is followed by another word in a compound. That is, when a compound is a Locative Tatpurusha, the व is elided: as, पदानि लिताः पशुः = पर्यय सिलिकां

In हे राजसुलारा the first member राजः does not retain its व by the present सूत्र, because the whole compound, as such, is in the Vocative case, and not the word राजः. In fact, there can be no compound, which in its analysis, will give the first member as a Vocative word.

Vārd :—Optionally so in the neuter nouns. As हे र्यायः, हे र्याः

मादुपधायांध मतोऽर्थं स्थानिदेशम् || ॥ ॥ पदानि || म, आत्, उपाधायः, ब, मतोऽर्थं, ब, अ यत्विनिहः ॥

शृः || जनकपातांप्रकाशाध्यायांत्यसर्वाभावादीशर्वाति शर्वाधीशशुरः परसो न मनति ||

9. For the व of the affix मतः is substituted इ, if the stem ends in म or भ (and भा) or if these are in the penultimate position; but not after यात्र and the rest.

After a stem ending in म or having म as its penultimate letter, and after a stem ending in भ or भा, or having these letters as its penultimate, there is substituted इ for the व of मतः. First after stems ending in म, as विज्ञानं (विज्ञानं), विज्ञानं (विज्ञानं). Secondly व penultimate: as चारसन्तर, चार्यसन्तर ॥ Thirdly a stem ending in भ or भा, as विज्ञानं, नन्द्यावाद, नन्द्यावाद, मातुरावाद। Fourthly य or या in the penultimate: as—पर्ययावाद, पर्ययावाद, पर्ययावाद ॥

Why do we say "म or भ ending or म or भ penultimate"? Observe भाणिमाण, वाणिमाण। Why do we say “with the exception of म एवc"? Observe चारसन्तर, शन्यसन्तर, शन्यसन्तर ॥

The following is the list of वसाहि words.
These words either end in म and श or have these as their penultimate.

These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 15. 13. हल, 14. कक, 15. मल। These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 10. 16. श्व, 17. स्व, 18. बुम, 19. गण, 20. श्रम। These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 11.

This is an akritigāna. Wherever in a word, the म of मना is not changed to श, though the rules require it, that word should be classified under बधाति class. In the secondary word नार्ति (= नार्ति हं), the श change has not taken place, because the श is here a Bahiranga, the real vowel being श।

The word मत in the sūtra is the Ablative of म, i.e. of म+ म; it is a Samāhāra Dvandva of these two letters.

10. The श is substituted for the म of मत after a stem ending in a mute consonant.

As भाषिकिस्थान मान, उदिक्षा घन, ब्रह्मचार बलाक, हेमा महत्व, श्रेष्ठ रेष।

संस्कारम् २१। पदार्थ। संस्कार।

11. The श is substituted for म of मत, when the word so formed is a Name.

As भारीसी, करीसी, बारीसी, इकीसी। For long vowel, see VI. 3. 120.

आसन्नीवदोविवर्तित कविन्दकारि मण्डलेश्वरति। २२। पदार्थ। आसन्नीवद, अतीत, चारीत, काशीत, कपाल, कमणि, चारण च।

12. The following Names are irregularly formed: असंदिवत, अश्ठिवत, चक्रिवत, काक्षिवत, रुमापवत, चर्मवत।

The change of म to श in these was obtained from the last sūtra. The irregularity consists in the substitutions of stems. आसन्नीवद, is from the stem भासन which is here changed to भासन। As भासनीवद धामा, भासनीवद महिषलम।

As in the following śloka:

आसन्नीवदि धामसि शविशिष्ट उत्तिश्राह।

When not a name, we have आसन्न्वद। Others say, that there is a separate and distinct stem भासनी, as in the sentence भोजुर्वरिमाण्न भासन नरि। The change of म to श after this word would take place regularly by the last sūtra: its mention here, according to these authors, is merely explanatory. 2. अश्ठिवत is from
The word उद्वास्य is irregularly formed, in the sense of “a sea”.

It is derived from तस्म ‘water’ with the affix मद्य। उद्वास्य is the name of a Rishi, because he controlled the rains, it rained at his command. It also means ocean or that in which water is held, like तस्म &c. The affix क् is added by III. 3.93, and तस्म changed to तस्म by VI. 3.58, and thus we have तस्म: Why do we say “when meaning a sea”? Observe उद्वास्य पदि: ‘a pot having water’. Here the main idea is not that of “holding or containing”, but simply the general fact of possessing water: a human being may also possess water in the same way.

राजायाम्सौराय: । ॥ १२ । पदामि । राजायाम्स, सौराय: ॥

14. Also राजायाम्स, when the sense is of a good government.

The kingdom whose king is good is called राजायाम्स हेतु, राजायाम्स: पृथी। The affix मद्य is used here in the sense of परंशा or praise. Otherwise राजायाम्स: ॥

छ्रिक्सी: । १५ । पदामि । छ्रिक्सी, ह: । ॥

15. In the Chhandas छ्र is substituted for the म of मद्य, when the stem ends in ह (or श्व) or ह॥

To take some examples of a stem ending in ह, as चितृती चायाज्ञातया मथित; हारियो न इस्म त:; अयिष्टिति: वतिः क्ष्रिसिति;; चन्द्रचापदिवंति; भारिष्टान्तु मा विष्ठानु (भारिष्टां from एविं with vocalisation). छ्रिसिंहियाम, भारसिंहांस, ॥ ॥ As all rules have
optional force in the Chhandas, we have no change here सरसिंहसम्बन्ध, शस्यगत, शमि, नृभीमी, नृभीमी इत्येको तत्त्वादिविशेषतः। Of stems ending in र we have शश्रेष्ठ, शश्रेष्ठ, शश्रेष्ठ। अन्यों तुषा र १६॥ पारसि्मी अन्तः, तुषा ॥

16. The affix तुषा gets the augment तुष, in the Chhandas, after a stem ending in अन्तः॥

As शस्यगतः: शश्रेष्ठ: साधारणः; श्यामनस्तः सदनस्तः विभाषितः (Rig. 1. 164. 4), शस्यगतः श्यामनस्तः; श्यामनस्तः, श्यामनस्तः॥

The word शस्यगतः is thus formed: शश्रेष्ठ + तुषा = शश्रेष्ठ + तुषा (अन्तः is substituted for the final of akshi by VII. 1. 76) = शस्यगतः (the श is elided by VIII. 2. 7). Now we add the augment तुषा। If this augment is added to तुषा, as तुषा then it becomes a portion of तुषा, and this श would be changed to श by VIII. 3. 9 read with I. 1. 54, and not the letter श, because श intervenes. If we add this augment to the end of the stem, then in शस्यगतः &c. we cannot change it to श because of the prohibition in VIII. 4. 37, and the augment being तुषा, the श would be changed to श by VIII. 3. 7 in शस्यगतः: &c (VIII. 2. 17). The first view, however, is the correct one and the difficulty in its acceptance is obviated by तुषाष्ट्र.सर्वनामः तुषा च वर्णं न नवति: ततः परस्परं भवति; as shown above.

The तुषा augment being considered as asidhā, is not changed to श, but the letter following it, is so changed. Thus शश्रेष्ठ (VII. 1. 76) + तुषा = शश्रेष्ठ + तुषा (the श of the stem is elided by VIII. 2. 7). Add the augment तुषा now, and we have शश्रेष्ठ + तुषा। The augment according to VIII. 2. 1, is asidhā, so that according to VIII. 2. 9, श is substituted for श, and not for श, as would have been required by I. 1. 54.

17. In the Chhandas, the affixes तर तर and तस्म प्राप्तवयोऽहारामहात्वस्य तत्त्वादिविशेषतः। शश्रेष्ठसम्बन्धः तरां शश्रेष्ठसम्बन्धः तस्म पारसि्मी॥

In the Chhandas, the affixes तर तर and तस्म प्राप्तवयोऽहारामहात्वस्य तत्त्वादिविशेषतः। शश्रेष्ठसम्बन्धः तरां शश्रेष्ठसम्बन्धः तस्म पारसि्मी॥ The affixes तर तर and तस्म प्राप्तवयोऽहारामहात्वस्य तत्त्वादिविशेषतः। शश्रेष्ठसम्बन्धः तरां शश्रेष्ठसम्बन्धः तस्म पारसि्मी॥

The affixes तर, तर and तस्म प्राप्तवयोऽहारामहात्वस्य तत्त्वादिविशेषतः। शश्रेष्ठसम्बन्धः तरां शश्रेष्ठसम्बन्धः तस्म पारसि्मी॥ Thus शश्रेष्ठ + तर = शश्रेष्ठ + तर (VIII. 2. 7) = शश्रेष्ठ + तर (VIII. 2. 17) = शश्रेष्ठसम्बन्धः। So also तस्म प्राप्तवयोऽहारामहात्वस्य तत्त्वादिविशेषतः। शश्रेष्ठसम्बन्धः तरां शश्रेष्ठसम्बन्धः तस्म पारसि्मी॥

Vdrtr:—The augment तुषा is added to these affixes after शश्रेष्ठसम्बन्धः; as शश्रेष्ठसम्बन्धः (III. 2. 74, the affix is तस्म प्राप्तवयोऽहारामहात्वस्य तत्त्वादिविशेषतः। शश्रेष्ठसम्बन्धः तरां शश्रेष्ठसम्बन्धः तस्म पारसि्मी॥

Vdrtr:—Long श is the substitute of the final of शश्रेष्ठ before तर and तस्म। The word शश्रेष्ठ is formed by the affix शश्रेष्ठ in the sense of शश्रेष्ठ॥ The final श is first elided by VIII. 2. 7, and then for the short श of शश्रेष्ठ the long श is substituted by the present vārtika. If the long श were substituted for the final श of शश्रेष्ठ as शश्रेष्ठ + तर, then this long श being asidhā, it could not be compounded by ekādeśa with the preceding तर into तर, and the form would always remain शश्रेष्ठसम्बन्धः। शश्रेष्ठसम्बन्धः तरां शश्रेष्ठसम्बन्धः तस्म पारसि्मी॥ Or this श may be considered to have come after शश्रेष्ठ in the sense of शश्रेष्ठ॥
18. For the  of the root कृप, there is substituted ा।

The  here merely indicates the sound, and includes both the single
consonant  and the same consonant of the vowel ा। So also with ा। So
that for the single  there is substituted ा; and for  when a portion of ा, the ा
is substituted, i.e.  becomes ा। Thus कृप = क्षेत्र, as in the śūtra गुह्ये पद्मः
(I. 3. 93).

The word कृप is derived from the root कृप by vocalisation, as it has
been enumerated in Bhidādi class (कृपं संप्रारपन  ई. 3. 104). The vocalised
root-form कृप is not to be taken here, as it is a lakshaniya form.

Vārd:—The words कृपन, कृपण, कृपी, कृपृर &c, are also from कृप। Or
by the Uṇādi diversity, the ा change does not take place.

Vārd:—Optionally so of बाल &c. As, बाल: or बार; गुला: or गुल, लघु: or
रघु, अद्वृत or सफु, अवलोक or अर्ज , अहृत्व: or अहृत्वः।

Vārd:—Optionally so in the Vedas, or when names, of कृपिका &c, as
कापिक: or कापिक:; किमतीक: or किमतीक:; कृपाणि or कृपाणि, वार्षिक: or वार्षिक:; करण: or
कल्य, चक्ष: or चक्षः; कल्पन:; कर्त्त:।

Some say ‘and  are one’: and operations regarding  may be
performed with regard to ा।

उपसर्गस्यायता कृप | पद्धतिः उप परिषेध, अयतो ||

19. ा is substituted for the  of a Preposition,
when अयतो follows.

Thus पल्ले, प्रशेष। Here arises the question, does the word अयति
qualify the word  , or does it qualify the word Preposition. In the first view,
the sūtra would mean, “the  immediately followed by अयति is changed to ा।
But as a matter of fact,  is never immediately followed by अयति। Thus in
प + अयति or पर + अयति, the letter ा and ा intervene respectively. The ekādeśa
sandhi of these, will make  immediately followed by अयति; but the ekādeśa,
bearing sthānivaṭ will prevent it. This difficulty however, is overcome by the
maxim वेद गायत्र्यायां वेद अयत्तेति वधानमानाध्यायाः, for otherwise the rule will be
useless. For the same reasons, परि + अयते = परस्यायते, though here ा intervenes
between  and अयते। In short, the intervention of one letter is considered as
no intervention.

In the second view, the sūtra would mean when a Preposition is fol-
lowed by ayat then its  is changed to ा, and none of these difficulties will arise
with regard to the above forms. But then would arise a fresh difficulty, for the र of प्रभि would also require to be changed into हू। Some say, that प्रभि is never followed by मर्यम; while others hold that the form प्रभिवं (प्रभि + मर्यम) is valid. According to the first view, the valid form is प्रभिवं। The स of the Prepositions दुर्यु and मिन्य is changed to र्, but this र् is not changed to हू, because it is asiddha: thus we have the forms निरसवष, दुर्युल। But there is a preposition निष्कृ also the र of which is changed to हू, as निष्कृन्य। See VII. 2. 46. According to the Siddhānta Kaumudi, there is a Preposition हूर् also, which gives हूल।

प्रभि यक्ति 20 पदार्थ। प्रभि, यक्ति।

सूति: गृ हस्तस्य स्त्रादो एक्षां लकर्ष भारिष्ठि मद्वि यक्ति परस्।

20. हू is substituted for the र of हू in the intensive.

Thus निग्रिस्वद्व, निग्रिल्यद्व, निग्रिलंद्व। The root हू takes हू, when the sense of contempt is conveyed, with regard to the action denoted by the root, (III. 1. 24). गृहसंग्रिस्वद्व — निग्रिल्यद्व।

Some say that र of the sūtra includes the two roots हू (निग्रिस्वद्व Tūd. 117) and हू (निग्रिस्वद्व Kṛy. 28). Others hold that the Tūdāyi ग्रि� is only taken and not the Kṛyādi. The Kṛyādi ग्रि� never takes the Intensive form, no example of which is to be met in literature.

Why do we say in the Intensive? Observe निग्रिस्वद्व with the Passive affix वसू।

अष्टि विभाजा 21 पदार्थ। अष्टि, विभाजा।

सूति: अष्टि परकारे परस् तथा विभाजा लकारिपरस् मद्वि।

21. The र of ग्रि� is optionally changed to हू before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As निग्रिस्वद्व or निग्रिल्यद्व, निग्रिलंद्व or निग्रिलंद्व, निग्रिलंद्व: निग्रिलंद्व। This is a vyavasāhita-vibhāṣā, the optional forms have particular meanings. Thus गृ meaning ‘neck’ is always with हू; while गृ ‘poison’ is always with र।

In निग्रिद्व or निग्रिल्यद्व, the elision of हू is considered sthānivad, and hence this option, though the actual affix begins with हू। Obj.—The sthānivad-bhāva rule is invalid here by VIII. 2. 1. Ans. The rule प्रभिवं does not hold good with regard to the rules of संयोजकस्य, सत्त्व and कच्छ on the maxim “सत्त्व श्रेयः संयोजकस्यस्य सत्त्वम्”

Or the र will be first changed to हू, as being antaranga, and then the गृ will be elided.

The forms हूति, हूति: are either from the Kṛyādi root ग्रि�, or 7-change has not taken place on the maxim श्रेयः संयोजकस्यस्य सत्त्वम् and as the
affixes तो and श्य are not affixes which are ordained after a verb, but are affixes added to nouns, hence the श change has not taken place. In fact the words ‘an affix beginning with a vowel’ in the sūtra, means “a verbal affix beginning with a vowel,” and not a noun affix. These are the Dual and Plural of the Nominative case of म formed with the affix विषय, "

परेख्य घास्यो : || 22 || पदार्थिः || परेख्य, चन्द्र-अक्षरोऽसोः ||
शुन्म : || परि इतेवकथा च रहस्यति सह चावले च पशी विभाच्य तकार वाहिनो भवति ||
पदिकं || योगम प्रति वाच्यम ||

22. The र of परि is changed to ि, before gha and anka.

As परिः: or पलिः; परिः: or पलिः || The word र here means the word-form र, and not the technical र of रसर and रसु: || See III. 3. 84 by which र is replaced by र ||

Strength:—So also, it must be stated, before the word रीम: || As, परिवेशः
or पलिवेशः: ||

संयोगतस्य लोपः || 23 || पदार्थिः || संयोगालस्य, लोपः: ||
सुस: || संयोगालस्य परश्यके भवति ||

23. When a word ends in a double consonant, the last consonant is dropped.

As गोमल, द्वंपल, कताल, इत्यादिः. In वेयव, द्वयव, the श though subsequent in order, does not prevent the operation of this rule, because it is asiddha (VIII. 2. 66). Thus भवल + श = भवल्य + श (VII. 1. 70) = भवल्य (VII. 1. 68) = भवल्य (VIII. 2. 66) = भवल्य (VIII. 2. 23) = भवल्य (VI. 4. 8). But though the श does not debar lopa, it debars the श change. By VIII. 2. 39, the final श required to be changed to a letter of श class; श prevents it. As शष, पष: ||

For शष is ordained even where the present संयोगालस्य applies and where it does not apply. Thus it is ordained in वेयव, where the present sūtra applies, as well as in अष्ट where अष्ट does not apply. But the अष्ट rule (VIII. 2. 39) covers the whole ground of अष्ट, hence if अष्ट rule were not debarred by अष्ट, the latter would find no scope. Therefore अष्ट debars अष्ट to justify its existence, but it does not debar संयोगालस्य: for it still has scope left to it else where.

In अष्ट and अष्ट, formed from शष्टि + अष्ट and मष्टि + अष्ट, by changing श and य to ि and ि, we have शष्टि + अष्ट and मष्टि + अष्ट, where ि and ि are final in a pada, and so they require to be elided. It is, however, not done, because अष्ट substitution is a Bahiranga operation, as it depends upon two words and consequently, is considered asiddha for the purposes of this rule, which depends on one word only.

Why do we say ‘of a Pada’? Observe गोमली, गोमल: ||
24. Of a word ending in a conjunct consonant, only र is elided, if it comes after र; (but any other consonant coming after र is not elided).

Thus भक्त्र: and भक्त्र: for भक्त्र: and भक्त्र: the Aorist of श्र and शर in the following passages: गीतित्र: प्रवचनमत्र:। The ह्र is not added as a Vedic diversity. See VII. 3. 97.

So also मात्र:, भित्र for मात्र:, and भित्र:। Here by VI. 1. 111, the र of मात्र: + भ्र is changed to र, which is followed by र by I. 1. 51.

 Though the final र would have been elided even after र by VIII. 2. 23, the special mention of र after र shows, that this is a niyam rule. So that any other letter than र following after र will not be dropped. Thus क्रृ from क्रृ+विन्द्र (III. 2. 177), here र is not elided, though final in a pada, but is changed to a guttural by VIII. 2. 30, and to र by VIII. 4. 56. Also भक्त्र: from श्र in भक्त्र: the श्र (प्र) is elided by VI. 1. 18; there is विर्द्धि by VII. 2. 114, the र is changed to र by VIII. 2. 36, which is changed to र VIII. 4. 53 and finally to र (प्र)।

25. The र is dropped before an affix beginning with र।

As भलित्र:, भलित्र:, भलित्र:, भलित्र:, for भलित्र: and भलित्र:, Had this श्र (of विन्द्र) not been elided; then श्र would be first changed to र, and then to a letter of र class (VIII. 4. 53); श्र would never be heard even optionally, though so required by VIII, 3. 79, but the forms would be always with र, as भलित्र:, &c.।

From an इश्ति, the elision of र is confined to the र of the Aorist इश्ति, and not to any other र। Thus र is not elided in जकाः जकाः परिन इश्ति (इश्ति: परिन जकाः जकाः श्रावस्त्रयः:). It is the Imperative of जकाः; the र is changed to र, and र to र (VI. 4. 101), and र to र by VIII. 4. 53. Similarly it does not apply to प्रस्ता भावः, where र is changed to र and then to र (VI. 1. 114).
The elision of स in सति: from पद्य with तिष्ठ, and in वचनम् from भस्म in the Imperative with तास्, is a Vedic diversity. But according to Patanjali परावर्त्ति is the proper form; while in पद्य धाति the antaranga इ debars this bahrānga स elision.

Obj.—If so, how do you form भाषायं by the elision of स of धारा; for स would not be elided?  Ans.—The स is not here elided but changed to जग्य letter, by VIII. 2. 39. Obj. If so, स may always be changed to जग्य letter, and there is no need of eliding it; in pronouncing, it will make no difference, whether you pronounce with one consonant or two, e.g. भाषायं or भाष्यं.

Moreover by so doing, you will shorten the sūtra VIII. 3. 78, by omitting the word चुः from it. For the forms like भस्मोध्यम, भस्मोध्यम्, will be evolved regularly by changing स of तिष्ठ to जग्य; and the जग्य after it will be changed to स, and then स changed to जग्य by जग्य (VIII. 4. 53). Ans.—So far it will be all right, but in श्रेय Aorist we shall never get the alternative forms अत्थिष्ठम् etc., though we may get the form अत्थिष्ठम् (VIII. 3. 79). Therefore, the word चुः should be taken.

Obj. —If सिष्ठ is to be taken here, then the स of पद्य and सिष्ठ will not be dropped, and we shall not get the forms सिष्ठ: and वचनम् in the passages सिष्ठम् ने चपीतम् ने, and वचनम् ने हराभास:।। Therefore, the present sūtra should not be confined to सिष्ठ only. Ans.—We shall explain सिष्ठ: by saying, that it is a word derived from सिष्ठ, and so also वचनम् from the root वच्य।।

[N. B.—The word सिष्ठ: is generally thus derived; थ्रु + सिष्ठ = पद्य + सिष्ठ (II. 4. 39) = पद्य + सिष्ठ (VI. 4. 100) = पद्य + सिष्ठ (VIII. 2. 26). Had the present rule been confined to सिष्ठ: the जग्य could not have been elided by VIII. 2. 26. See VI. 4. 100, where these two forms are developed]. Or we may explain these forms as Vedic irregularity, by which letters are sometimes dropped, and so पद्य and वचनम् have lost their स।। That letters are sometimes dropped in the Chhandas, we see in passages like the following एक्ष्यार्तिः सेवसिष्ठम्: नृत्यं सिष्ठम्:; भाष्यम् पज्ञिः for भाष्यम् पज्ञिः; भाष्यम् च पज्ञिः for भाष्यम् च पज्ञिः; भाष्यवधिः हस्य: or भाष्यवधिः हस्य:।।

The above discussion is summarised in the following:

Kārikā:-पिल्लर रिपृयुरावचकालिति भोक्त्रिनम्, "This rule is confined to the elision of the स of सिष्ठ: only, for the sake of preserving the स in बकालि।।

भाषायं श्रेयं? अवै वकाल्य महाविनेति।। "How then do you form भाषायं by the elision of स? The स is not elided but changed to जग्य letter"।।

सिष्ठम् प्रशोदे साहचर्, जुभिः चानिः न चिक्षते। हुष्ठानिः न चुर्णीः प्रशोदे यदां श्रेय: चिक्षते।। "If this be so, then we come every where, for there is no difference in sound, moreover this will shorten VIII. 3. 78 by omitting the word चुः from it. The जग्य cannot come every where, as the difficulty will be in श्रेय Aorist"।। पिल्लर विशेषं श्रुति: सत्ष्ठम् श्रुतिः न तत्।। "The forms सिष्ठ: and वचनम् could not be formed
from पञ्च and भञ्ज if the elision of स् were confined to विच्. Hence विच् should not be read into this सूत्रा."

The elision of स् in संधि: and संख्या will be explained as a Vedic anomaly, for letters are often dropped in Vedic forms, as in संष्ड्या and संख्या, instead of विष्ड्या and विष्ण्ड्या."

26. The स् is elided when it is preceded by a jhal consonant (any consonant except semi-vowels and nasals), and is followed by an affix beginning with a jhal consonant.

Thus भषण्डि for भषण्डि, भषण्डि for भषण्डि: So also भषण्डि, भषण्डि;
भषण्डि, भषण्डि: The last example may also be explained by VII. 4. 49; the elision of the स् of विच् being considered as asiddha, the स् of the root is changed to स्.

Why do we say ‘of a jhal consonant?’ Observe भषण्डि and भषण्डि: Why do we say followed by a jhal consonant? Observe भषण्डि, भषण्डि.

The स् of this सूत्र refers also to the स् of विच्; no other स् is elided. As शीद्धर्ष्ड्यम् श्लोका; इत्यत् यथान्. Here the स् of श्लोका and श्लोका, though preceded by a jhal letter स्, could never be elided as they do not form portion of one word.

27. The स् is elided, before an affix beginning with a jhal consonant, when it is preceded by a stem ending in a short vowel.

As श्रुति; श्रुति: Why do we say after a short vowel stem? Observe श्रुति, श्रुति: Why do we say ‘after a stem?’ Observe मन्त्रि, मन्त्रि, मन्त्रि, मन्त्रि: Why do we say “before an affix beginning with a jhal”.

Observe मन्त्रि, मन्त्रि.

28. The स् is dropped after the augment द्व, if after this स् the augment द्व also follows.

Thus the Aorist-stem of द्व is मन्त्रि (III. 1. 44; VII. 2. 35), the Personal ending द्व gets the augment द्व by VII. 3. 96; and by the present
29. The स or क, when initial in a conjunct consonant, is dropped, before a jhal affix, and at the end of a word.

A conjunct consonant, having स or क as its first member, when coming at the end of a Pada, or when followed by a jhal beginning affix, loses its स or क. Thus from the root तस have तस; and तसतस before the jhal affix त and तसस; the substitution of स for क is considered asiddha for this purpose (VIII. 2. 1). So also तसतस at the end of a Pada. Similarly तस, तसतस from तस. So also with initial त, as तत from तत; so also तत, ततत, ततत.

Vart:— It should be rather stated that "before a jhal affix included in the pratyahāra तस." The तस is a pratyahāra formed with the स of तस (III. 1. 5) and the क of तस (III. 4. 78). It thus includes all the kīrt affixes, and dhātu affixes i.e. affixes which come after a verb and not the Taddhita or the Feminine affixes. This Vartika applies to all the preceding sutras of this sub-division and is of use in the following places.

So that in तित, there should not be the optional स by VIII. 2. 21. In तमविष, the स of तमस is not elided before तित as required by VIII. 2. 25. In तीत, the rule VIII. 2. 27 does not apply. In तततस, the rule VIII. 2. 26 does not apply. In कास्तिते, the rule VIII. 2. 29 is non-applicable. In तुत्तत, the rule VIII. 2. 30 does not apply. In तुत (तुति पश्चि) there is not lengthening by VIII. 2. 77. Thus कास्तिता. Here तस would require to be elided as initial in a consonant, followed by a jhal consonant तस. कास्तिता is formed by adding तित to तस. But according to Patanjali, there can be formed no valid word from स with तित, a fortiori, no such word can be formed as कास्तिता (कास्तिता कितिति).

In तस्तित्व, कास्तित्व, the स and क are not elided, because स is a Bahiranga substitute and asiddha, and the word तस्तित्व कास्तित्व are not considered as Pada, ending in a conjunct consonant.

Why do we say "of तस and कस"? Observe तसतस, कसतस.
Why do we say 'initial in a conjunct consonant'? Observe तस: कस.
Why do we say 'at the end of a word'? Observe तसतत, कसत.

को; कस: 2. 30 पश्चि को; कस.
बुद्धि: परमव्यवाहरांशी मनस्ति हाति परम: पाठि च.
30. A Guttural is substituted for a Palatal, before a jhal affix, or at the end of a word.

Thus वत्स, वकु, वकुव्य and वोनपक्ष from वत्स. Similarly वनत, वलक, वलक्य and वाल.

In कुर्च्छा the feminine in श्र of कुर्च्छ (कुर्च्छ) by IV. 1. 4 list, the श्र a palatal is followed by श्र a jhal letter, and therefore, it should be changed to a guttural. It is not so, because Pāṇini himself uses this word, in this form, in sūtra III. 2. 59. Or because the rule is confined to स् affixes only. Or the root is कुर्च्छ without श्र and with a penultimate श्र, and not श्र as we find in Dhātu-pāṭha कुर्च्छ कौशिकालः भाषीः (Bhu. 200). With the elision of श्र we have निकृष्णतः before the स् affix (VI. 4. 24) कृष्णतः in Past Part. and भशर्कुः. In निच्छिस्तम् we cannot have the optional कृष्ण of the Nishṭha by I. 2. 21, because the elision of the penultimate श्र by VI. 4. 24 preceded on the basis of the affix being कृष्ण, thus कृष्ण+श्र=कृष्ण+श्र. This elision of श्र, will not make the root दुर्श्य for the purposes of the application of rule I. 2. 21, on the maxim सत्यपालनस्य विपरितिनिर्दिष्टं वििििितम्. In fact, one of the reasons on which this maxim is based, is this very fact, that the elision of श्र does not make the root दुर्श्य for the purposes of making the affix non-कृष्णतः. The affix कृष्ण takes the augment श्र under VII. 2. 9 (वृत). The word कुर्च्छ is formed from this root by कृष्ण affix (III. 2. 59): the final श्र is first elided by VIII. 2. 23, and then श्र is changed to श्र by VIII. 2. 62. The rule VI. 4. 24 thus finds no scope here.

In this view of the case we say कुर्च्छ is an irregular form of this root kunch, because it is so exhibited in III. 2. 59. There the anusvāra and parasavarṇa change of this श्र to श्र by VIII. 3. 24 being considered asidha, there is no palatal श्र, and hence there is no guttural change.

31. श्र is substituted for श्र before a jhal letter and at the end of a word.

Thus श्रीश्य, श्रोपुष्य, श्रोप्यम्. The श्र is not added by VII. 2. 48, श्रीमप्य, श्रोपुष्य by श्रिद्व (III. 2. 63, VI. 3. 137 and VIII. 3. 56) बहुश्च, श्रोपुष्य, श्रोप्यम्, बिक्ष्याद (III. 2. 64) from श्र and श्र, with the affixes श्र, श्रु, श्रज्ञ and श्र. For the श्र of these affixes there is substituted श्र by VIII. 2. 40, and this श्र is changed to श्र by VIII. 4. 41, before which is dropped the first श्र by VIII. 3. 13. For the श्र in श्रम्य, either श्र is substituted by VIII. 2. 39, or श्र by VIII. 4. 56.

32. Of a root beginning with श्र, the श्र is substituted for श्र, before a jhal letter or when final in a Puda.
For the final १ of a १-beginning root, १ is substituted under similar circumstances. As द्रुष्य, प्रत्र, प्रत्र, कालायु, स्वर, रेवु, रेववम्, रेववम्, from द्रुष्य and प्रत्र. For the १ of the affixes १ &c. १ is substituted by VIII. 2. 40, before which, the १ becomes य by VIII. 4. 53. For the १ in कालायु is substituted य by VIII. 2. 39, or ह by VIII. 4. 56, and १ becomes य by VIII. 2. 37.

Why do we say “of a root beginning with द्र”?! Observe द्रवच, द्रवच, द्रवच, द्रवच, द्रवच, द्रवच.

The force of the genitive case in द्रस्ति: is not to make it in apposition with the word द्रवच, but it has the force of denoting a part as related to the whole: so that it means “the word which begins with द्र and forms part of a root, for the द्र of such a part is substituted द्र.” What does follow from it? The letter द्र is substituted in कालायु also, which begins with द्र. For without the above explanation (कालायु कालायु कालायु कालायु कालायु कालायु), the द्र would have come in examples like माला द्रव, without the augment द्र, but not where there was the augment य. Moreover, that it is an वाचकवा प्रकार will appear necessary in सूत्र VIII. 2. 37.

If it has the force of denoting a ‘portion or member’, how do you explain the forms द्रोभ, द्रोभ, for here no portion is taken but the whole word? This will be explained on the maxim of द्रवचद्रवच: “An operation which affects something on account of some special designation, which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone, and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach”. (द्रवचद्रवचद्रवच) Or we may explain the सूत्र, by saying ‘that root which begins with द्र in its original enunciation in द्रापाधा’? Thus in original enunciation the root is द्र not beginning with द्र. If a Derivative root be formed from it like द्रापाधा (द्रापाधा द्रापाधा द्रापाधा), it is a root which begins with द्र; the द्र of this Denominative root, however, will not be changed to द्र, for it is not a root of upadeśa. Therefore, when we add द्रव to this root, we get द्रापाधा by VIII. 2. 31, and not द्रापाधा.

२३ || पदानि || या, द्रुह, द्रुह, द्रुह, द्रुह, द्रुह, द्रुह, द्रुह, द्रुह, द्रुह, द्रुह, द्रुह, द्रुह, द्रुह, द्रुह.

33. The द्र of druh, muh, shṇuh, and shṇih is optionally changed to द्र, before a jhal letter or at the end of a word.

Thus द्रुह, द्रुह or द्रुह, द्रुह, द्रुह, द्रुह, द्रुह, द्रुह, द्रुह, द्रुह, द्रुह, द्रुह, द्रुह, द्रुह, द्रुह, द्रुह, द्रुह.

The root द्रुह would have taken always द्र by the last sūtra, this makes it optional. The others would not have got द्र but for this sūtra.

These roots belong to Radhādi sub-class of Divādi gana: and are
taught there in this very order (Div. 89-91). By belonging to Radhādi subdivision, the द्व is optional (VII. 2.45). Instead of making the sūtra याहूहारिद्वाद, this longer formation of the aphorism indicates that the rule applies to वद्व also; as नाथक or श्रेष्ठ. See VII. 1.6, for if the roots were taught not specifically but by त, then the rule would not apply to यान luk.

34. The ह of नहूँ is changed to घ before a jhal letter or at the end of a word.

As नाना, नापुष्प, नवजन्म, उपासना, परिना. The ह of the affixes घ &c, is changed to घ by VIII. 2.40; and for the preceding ह is substituted ह by VIII. 4.53. उपासना is formed by VIII. 2.39, read with VIII. 4.56. परिना is formed by फिन as it belongs to त-प्रयत्न class, the lengthening is by VI. 3.116, and च-change by VIII. 4.14. It would have shortened the processes of transformation, had only ह been ordained in the sūtra, instead of घ; but the ordaining of घ is for the purposes of VIII. 2.40, by which there should be घ for the participial घ &c, in नाना, and that there should not be the change of this Nishṭhā त into य by VIII. 2.42. Thus नाना + त = नाना + घ (VIII. 2.40) नाना-पत्र (VIII. 4.53). But had the substitute been ह, we should have नाना + घ = नाना by VIII. 2.42.

35. For the ह of the root आहूँ, there is substituted घ before a jhal letter.

As आहाश्य, बिनास्य. The word आहाश्य becomes बाहाश्य by VIII. 4.55. Why has the last mentioned substitute ह not been ordained here, for this ह would also have given the form बाहाश्य by चर change, as the घ is also changed to ह; and by so doing there would have been only one sūtra, instead of two i.e. आहाश्य ह would have been enough? Making this separate substitute, is for the sake of indicating that the rule VIII. 2.40, does not apply here. For had VIII. 2.40, still applied, the substitute ह of the last sūtra would have been enough. The ह substitute, however, would have been the best.

The word हाश्य is understood here. Hence there is no change before vowel affixes, ए न, भाष्य; बाहूँ.

Vār:— In the Chhandas, ह is substituted for the ह of ह and मह. Thus गर्गेन केन्द्रित; गर्गेन प्रचारित; सारीत्वे विविध, सार्थमलाप विभयमलाप वग्र वै विभयमलाप.
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36. For the final consonants of vräska, bhräska, spii\(j\), yaj, ṛaj, and bhrāj, and for the final \( \text{ṣ} \) and \( \text{ṣ} \), there is substituted \( \text{ṣ} \) before a jhal letter, or at the end of a word.

Thus \( \text{ष} \) (ṣa), \( \text{श} \) (śa), \( \text{ष} \) (ṣa), \( \text{श} \) (śa), \( \text{ष} \) (ṣa), \( \text{श} \) (śa), \( \text{ष} \) (ṣa), \( \text{श} \) (śa).

The \( \text{ṣ} \) ending words would have been changed to \( \text{श} \)-letters and the others to Gutturals; this sūtra debars that by ordaining \( \text{ष} \) (ṣa). In मुळ्यांकः and धनांकः there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 16, the \( \text{ष} \) is elided by VIII. 2. 19, and \( \text{ष} \) becomes च्य-letter \( \text{च्छ} \), which becomes \( \text{च्छ} \) by VIII. 4. 56. The word च्यमात्र is formed by विन्य, there is lengthening and no vocalisation.

The roots राज and भा are never followed by a jhal beginning affix, because such affixes will always take द्वृत augment. These roots are, therefore, mentioned here, for the sake of the change of their \( \text{ष} \) to \( \text{ष} \), when at the end of a word. Some, however, form nouns like राज्य, भार्य with द्वित affix from these roots by III. 3. 94, vārt, and द्वृत augment is prevented by VII. 2. 9.

Of roots ending in \( \text{ष} \) we have ग्रष्ण:—ग्राज, ग्रुष्ण, ग्रष्ण, ग्रष्णमाद. According to one view, the letter \( \text{ष} \) should not be mentioned in this sūtra: for by VI. 4. 19, \( \text{ष} \) is always changed to \( \text{ष} \), and this \( \text{ष} \) will be changed to \( \text{ष} \) by the present sūtra. Others hold, that the change of \( \text{ष} \) to \( \text{ष} \) by VI. 4. 19 is confined before क्ष्ट्र or क्ष्ट्र affixes, and therefore the mention of \( \text{ष} \) is necessary in this sūtra; moreover the \( \text{ष} \) substitution here, and the \( \text{ष} \) substitution in VI. 4. 19, refer to the conjunct letter \( \text{ष} \) (with the augment द्वृत). For if it were not so, then \( \text{ष} \) alone being changed to \( \text{ष} \), the \( \text{ष} \) of दुःक्ष would be changed to \( \text{ष} \), and we should have दुःक्ष; instead of दुःक्ष.

Of roots ending in \( \text{ष} \) we have लिप्य:—लेखा, लेख्य, लेख्य, लिप्य, विप्य:—विप्या, लेख्य, लेख्य, विप्य, निप्य.

एकाची वर्णो मयू हाप्तस्य रूपो: \( \text{ष} \): \( \text{ष} \). द्वादनी \( \text{ष} \)-अच्छ, \( \text{ष} \)-नय, \( \text{ष} \)-क्ष्ट्रत, \( \text{ष} \)-क्ष्ट्र.

हुँ कलिकर्मवाय एकाचार हाप्त: तत्रत्वस्यान रूपः स्पृश्च नयः भार्यो मयू मति हालि रक्षो फळवेरे क पर: पवलो क.

37. For the letters ष, ष, ष or ष in the beginning of a monosyllable, and belonging to a root, and which ends in ष, म, ष, ष or ष, there is substituted म, ष, ष or ष respectively, before ष or ष, or at the end of a pada (word).

Thus from दृष्ट:—नौस्यन, भास्यप्रण, and भास्यप्रण; from दृष्ट:—विषेयवेद नायकः, यज्ञवादः. दृष्ट: becomes दृष्ट: by VIII. 2. 31, and thus it is a root ending in ज्ञाय.
From दूर- (which becomes दूर by VIII. 2. 32, and thus is a jhash ending root)

So also from दूर we have दयार्थ: the 2nd Person. Sing. Imperfect (सा) Intensive (यह लक्ष). There is gupta of दूर, the दूर (of दूर 2nd Pers. Sing.) is elided (VI. 1. 68), and we have दयार्थ, and for the letter दू of the monosyllabic root, दू is substituted by the present aphorism. दयार्थे॥ Then the final दू is changed to दू, दयार्थे (VIII. 2. 39). Then दू is changed to दू by VIII. 2. 75, दयार्थे॥ Then the first दू is elided दयार्थे (VIII. 3. 14). Then there is lengthening by VI. 3. 111, and we have दयार्थे॥

The monosyllable should be such that it should begin with a दू/ and end with a दू लetter, and should be a full root or the portion (भस्व) of a root. In fact, this word which we found necessary in VIII. 2. 32, is absolutely necessary here, in order to explain forms like दधे, from the Denominative root सदन, by दधे॥

Why do we say "a monosyllable beginning with दू ल and ending with दू?" Observe दधे from the Denominative root सदन।।। For had दधे not been employed in the sutra, the word दधे (VIII. 2. 32) would have qualified दधे: and the sutra would have meant "in a root which ended in a jhash, and which contained a दू letter as its member; there is jhash substitution for such दू", and the दू of सदन दधे would be changed then.

Why do we say "for a दू ल letter"? Observe दधे-योंवति here दू is not changed to दू।।। Why do we say ending in jhash? Observe सदन।।। Why before दू and दू? Observe दधे, दधे, दधे。

Why have we taken दू and not merely दू? Observe योंवति from दू in the दू दू, Imperative 2nd Per. singular, the दू being changed to दू (VI. 4. 101). The substitutes are four दू, दू, दू, दू, and their respective sthanis are also four, i.e. दू, दू, दू and दू; so that दू is the substitite of दू; but, as a matter of fact, दू never so stands at the beginning of a monosyllable, and so there is no दू substitution.

38. For the दू of दधे (the reduplicated form of दधे) is substituted दू, before the affixes beginning with त, य, र, and before दधे॥

The word दू is taken in the sutra as the reduplicated form of दधे and not the root दधे भार्ये of Bhuādi class, as दधे intervenes there. By the word दू we draw in the words दू and दू।।। Thus दधे, दधे, दधे, दधे, दधे, दधे।।। By the express injunction of this sutra, the elided दू is not
considered as sthānivat. The last sūtra could not have applied to ॑ for two reasons. 1st. It does not begin with a द्वृत्त letter, for the real reduplicate is द्वृत्त, and ॑ is merely a substitute, and is considered asiddha. 2ndly. The form द्वृत्त does not end in a jhash consonant, but in a vowel अ, and though this अ is elided before these affixes, yet the lopa would be sthānivat. Hence the necessity of अ in this sūtra. See contras, the vārtika in Mahābhāṣya.

The word द्वृत्त is understood here, and so also द्वृत्त; and there can be no affix, but begins with अ or अ, that can come after द्वृत्त। Why do we employ then the words ‘before अ and अ’? Had we not used these, the sūtra would have referred to अ and अ only, as being in immediate proximity, and the अ draws them in. According to Padamanjari the words द्वृत्त could have been dispensed with: for before द्वृत्त and द्वृत्त, the अ change would have taken place by the last sūtra, whilst by this sūtra, the same change would have taken place before all other द्वृत्त-beginning affixes, and such affixes that can come after द्वृत्त are अ or अ-beginning affixes.

The word द्वृत्त is understood here also, therefore the rule applies to द्वृत्त then only, when it assumes the form of द्वृत्त, by the elision of अ; and hence not here अति।

हान्यं ज्योतिः॥ ३९॥ पदाति ॥ हान्यम्, जसा; अन्ते ॥

हृणि: ॥ हान्यं ज्योतिः भावितं मय्यात्मस्ति वर्गावलि भवेत्वमर्यादात्॥

39. A corresponding अ, अ, अ or अ is substituted for all consonants (with the exception of semivowels and nasals) at the end of a word.

As अयं भव, अन्तिक्तः भव, अन्तिमितः भव, भद्रः भव। The word अतिः is formed by changing the अ of अति to अ first, and then changing this अ to अ, a jās-letter.

The word अति ‘at the end’ is used in the sūtra to indicate that the anuvṛtti of हृणि ceases. Thus वत्स, वत्स, वत्सः।

The exceptions to this have been given in VIII. 2. 30 &c, and VIII. 2. 66. At an avasāna or pause, a अर्थ consonant may be substituted for a हान्य by VIII. 4. 56.

हान्यः उपस्थितः॥ ४०॥ पदाति ॥ हान्यः, त-योः, अः, अः।

हृणि: ॥ हान्य उपस्थितांवर्गामय्यात्मस्ति ृवः पवित्र्यात्मा मय्यात्॥

40. अ is substituted for अ or अ coming after ह, अ, अ, अ or अ (jhash), but not after the root अ (द्वृत्त)।

Thus from हान्य we have तम्य, तम्य, तम्य, तम्य, तम्य, तम्यः।

The अ of हान्य is changed to अ by VIII. 4. 53. From हान्य:—प्रार्थ, प्रार्थ, प्रार्थ, प्रार्थ, प्रार्थ, प्रार्थः। The अ is changed to अ by VIII. 2. 32, and then it is changed to अ by VIII. 4. 53.
From तिः—तेत्र, तेत्रम्, तेत्रद्वयं, तात्री, तात्रीस्। If तेत्र &c, the े is changed to े by VIII. 2. 31, and े changed to े by VIII. 4. 41, before which the preceding े is elided by VIII. 3. 13.

From तुः—तोत्र, तोत्रम्, तोत्रद्वयं, तादुः, तादृश्। For the थ of तुः there is substituted े by VIII. 4. 53.

Why do we say “but not after the root था”? Observe थस्, पथा।

पदोः क: सि || पदवि || पदोः कः सि ||

बृवि: करार्यार्थोऽयं करार्योऽयं पन्ति पत्ति ||

41. े is substituted for े or े before े.

Thus for थ of चिं we have चिं, चिं, निहितम्। For थ of चिं (सिं)
VIII. 2. 31) we have चिं, चिं, निहितम्।

For the थ of the affix थ &c, is substituted े by VIII. 3. 59.

Why do we say “before े”? Observe थस्, पथा।

राज्याम् निम्बर्ताः न्: पूर्वेऽस्य च दुः || पदवि || पदवि, निम्बर्ताः, न्: पूर्वेऽस्य, च दु: ||

बृवि: करार्यार्थोऽयं करार्योऽयं पन्ति पत्ति || पूर्वेऽस्य करार्यार्थोऽयं पन्ति पत्ति ||

42. After र and े, for the त of the Participial suffix र and तव, there is substituted न, and the same substitution takes place also for the preceding दे।

After र:—पा, निरीणम्, निन्निरीणम्, निप्रार्थम्, निब्रार्थम्, निप्रार्थम्, निब्रार्थम्।

After दे:—पा, दिष्टम्, दिष्टम्, दिष्टम्, दिष्टम् from दि and दे।

Why do we say “after र and दे”? Observe दि, दि। The word र here does not denote the common sound र, which would include र also, but the consonant र। But even if र be taken a common sound-name including र and र, yet the र change does not take place in र &c, because between र and the र-sound, there intervenes vowel-sound, for र is sounded not like pure र, but र+ a vowel sound.

Why do we say “of the Participial suffix”? Observe न्याः, एत्त॥

Why do we say “for the दे”? Observe तिः, इत्त॥ Here the दे of the Nish्ठा does not follow immediately after र, the augment दृ दृ engages.

Why do we say “of the preceding”? The succeeding दृ will not be changed. As भियम्-भाम्, भियम्॥

In the word कार्ति: the descendant of कार्ति: the दे of Nish्ठा is immediately preceded by र, but no change has taken place, because the Vṛiddhi, by which क is changed to कार्ति, is Bahiranga and consequently asiddha, and for the purposes of न change, the े so obtained is invalid.

संयोगबिरताः चातोयर्चनत: || पदवि || संयोग-आदे:, आत्, घातो:, यष्टि: ||
43. For the त of the Nishṭhā there is substituted न, after a root ending in खा and commencing with a conjunct consonant, if the latter contain a semi-vowel.

Thus from खा we have प्रह्राण: प्रह्राणवान्: प्रह्राधान्: प्रह्राधान्: खऽ।

These roots खा and ख्या end in खा, have a conjunct consonant in the beginning, one of which is a semi-vowel र and ल।

Why do we say “beginning with a double-consonant”? Observe खा: खातासः।

Why do we say “ending in खा”? Observe ख: खान: खान:।

Why do we say “after a root”? Observe निवा: निवा:। For the roots here खा and खा do not begin with a conjunct consonant, and that which is a conjunct i.e. खा and खा is not a root, hence the rule does not apply.

Why do we say “having a खा or semi-vowel”? Observe खा: खातासः।

44. The त of Nishṭhā is changed to न, after the roots ख and those that follow it.

These roots belong to Kṛyādi class, and commence from ख (IX. 13) and end with ख (IX. 32).

Thus खन: खान: ख: ख: खान: खान: खान: from खा the vocalisation is by VI. 1. 16.

Vārt.:—After a root ending in ख or ख and after a root of Luśadi class, the त of the affix ति is changed to न, like as in Nishṭhā. Thus शी: शी: शी: शी:।

These are from ख (IX. 26), ख (IX. 28), ख (IX. 18), ख and ख।

Vārt.:—The vowel of the roots ख नस्ति (Bhu. 991) and ख (Bhu. 997), are lengthened before the Nishṭhā which is changed to न। As खान: खन:।

Vārt.:—The त change takes place after पू: ‘to destroy’ (Bhu. 1015).

As पू वा बिन: वि:। But पू वा बिन: from पू: ‘to purify’ (IX. 12).

Vārt.:—The same change takes place after the root त स्व: of Svādi class (2) when used in a Reflexive sense of becoming a morsel fit for swallowing. As त: माति: तत: where a morsel by being mixed with curd, condiments &c, becomes rounded of itself, there this form is used. तथाकारः तथाकारः तथाकारः तथाकारः प्रयोगः। But
when not used in this sense, we have सिता पाण्डव सुकृति। Moreover, the यान must be the object and not the subject of the verb. Therefore not here: सितो पाण्डव रेवस्येन।

वाक्यित्व: ४५। पदार्थ: वाक्यित्व:। च।

वृत्ति: भाकारसो पाण्डव करतास्व निग्रहावलय नकारावटे भवतः।

45. The त of निष्ठाः is changed to न, after a root, which has an indicator यो in the धातुपाठा।

Thus भोस्की—सम्प्र, तत्वार्थ, भोज्विधि—वार्त्त्व, धार्मिकाः। भोज्विधि स्वोः—अयो

-पीमाः। यो तत्वार्थः। The roots शुरुः धातिकाव्याः (Div. 24) &c. are considered as वाक्यित्व। Thus,

सर्न: सर्नवार; शुरु—दस्म; दस्मवार; शीतः—दस्म; दस्मवार; शीतः—दस्म; दस्मवार; शीतः—दस्म; दस्मवार; शीतः—दस्म; दस्मवार।

वृत्ति: सियो वृहयः ४६। पदार्थः। वृहयः। दृश्यात्मः।

The त of निष्ठाः is changed to न, after वित, when the root-vowel is lengthened.

Thus कीमाः—कीमाः; कीमा: मान्यम्; कीमावपस्वः। The vowel of वित is lengthened by VI. 4. 60 and 61.

Why do we say ‘when the vowel is lengthened’? Observe भाकिंविकी मामेसेष्ठा। The word वाक्यित्व is formed with तत्त्व in the sense of मान्यम् and means ‘imperishable’. The निष्ठाः being added in the sense of नकारा, there is no lengthening of the vowel by VI. 4. 60.

The root तत्त्व includes the two roots तत्त्व क्ष्र्ये and तत्त्व निजायामेती। As तत्त्व:

कारण गद्य। See also the commentary of सायना on भाकिंविकी: सायनिया धार्मिकाः। क्ष्र्येष्ठ। (Rig I. 5. 9).

Obj.—The form तत्त्व in the सूत्रा is the Genitive singular of the root-noun कीमा ending in long त, and will denote the root कीमा ending in long त according to the maxim परिवर्तनस्करणे मन्त्रित “an imitative name (as कीमा here) is like its original (the root कीमा)”. What is then the necessity of employing the word कीमाः in the सूत्रा? For had the root तत्त्व with short त been meant, the form would have been कीमा।

Ans.—The धातु imitative noun though taking इत्यः (VI. 4. 77) as in तत्त्व, includes the धातु ending in short त also, as in सूत्रा VI. 4. 59, 60 where तत्त्व ending in short त is taken.

Q. If a root ending in short vowel may also be indicated by an imitative name, declined with इत्यः augment, then why is the root तत्त्व exhibited in सूत्रा 1. 3. 19 as कीमा: instead of तत्त्व: i. e. the सूत्रा ought to have been कीमाः तत्त्वः and not तत्त्व कीमा:?
Ans. Here the word निष्ठा is not used as a धातु-imitative word, there is no intention here to denote the verbal idea of the particular act connotated by the root निष्ठ; on the contrary, it simply expresses the more form निष्ठा.

47. The Nish्ठा श is changed to न after द्रवी, but not when the Participle denotes 'cold'.

Thus द्रवी मृत्त, मृत्ती मृत्त, मृत्ति मृत्त; but मृत्ती द्रवी, मृत्ती द्रवी, मृत्ती मृत्त. The श of मृत्त is vocalised to ह by VI. 1. 24.

The prohibition applies when the noun is an adjective and means 'cold'; and not when it means a disease. Therefore we have निष्ठविन with न change.

The word स्वर्ण is a guna word formed by ब्य, and denotes the particular guna or sensation to be sensed through the organ of touch. In this sense it is derived from the root स्वर्न संस्कारित. It also denotes a disease, derived from स्वर्न उपयोगी. There is nothing to show, what स्वर्ण is meant in the sutra. Explanation is the only refuge here.

48. The Nish्ठा श is changed to न, after अभ्य, but not when it is in connection with an Ablative case.

Thus समाः बहुः पाः = समाः पाः; अभ्याः यवेच यवेच. Why do we say 'when not in construction with an Ablative case'? Observe उद्यतमुद्रं = उद्यतं 'drawn out'.

The word अभ्यस्य is from the root अभ्यास्य अभ्यास्य कालिनासिद्ध, and not from the root अभ्य; and hence the Nish्ठा is not changed.

49. The Nish्ठा श is changed to न, after द्रवी, when the sense is not that of 'play'.

The word विष्ठविन means "desire of conquest or gain", but here it means "gambling".

Thus विष्ठविन = विष्ठविन, परिश्ठविन = परिश्ठ, विष्ठविन = विष्ठविन. Why do we say " when it does not mean to play”? Observe द्रवी बहुः पाः. Here the throwing of dice is with the desire of winning or gaining victory (विष्ठविन) over the opponent.
50. The word निर्वाण is irregularly formed by changing the Nishtub त to न, when the sense is not that of ‘wind’.

The word निर्वाण is formed from the root त, with the preposition निर् and the Participle suffix त: Thus निर्वाणोऽस्मी; निर्वाण: प्रतज्ज्ञ; निर्वाणोऽन्ध्र: निर्वाण:

Why do we say when not meaning “the wind”? Observe निर्वाणोऽवास; निर्वाणोऽहित:.

In the sentences निर्वाण: प्रतिप्रावरण, निर्वाणोऽउद्गम, the न change has taken place, because the location of the verb त is in the प्रति and अवास, and not in the त, which is merely an Instrument. Hence the above vṛttī uses the words “if the sense of the verb त does not govern अवास in the locative case”.

शुष्कः कः || ५१ || पदानि || शुष्कः, कः ||

वृत्तिः || शुष्कोऽप्रावरण निन्दत्तकावरण वकारागाभो मनवति. ||

51. क is substituted for the Nishtub त after the root शुष्कः.

As शुष्कः, शुष्कवासः.

पञ्जः तः || ५२ || पदानि || पञ्जः, तः ||

वृत्तिः || पञ्जोऽप्रावरण निन्दत्तकावरण वकारागाभो मनवति. ||

52. त is substituted for the Nishtub त after the root पञ्जः.

As पञ्जः, पञ्जवासः.

क्षायो मः || ५३ || पदानि || क्षायः, मः ||

वृत्तिः || क्षायोऽप्रावरण निन्दत्तकावरण मकारागाभो मनवति. ||

53. म is substituted for the Nishtub त after the root क्षायः.

Thus क्षायः, क्षायवासः.

प्रस्तृतयतस्यायः || ५४ || पदानि || प्रस्तृतः, अन्यतर रस्यायः ||

वृत्तिः || प्रस्तृतैऽप्रावरण निन्दत्तकावरणायस्यायस्यायस्य मकारागाभो मनवति. ||

54. म is optionally substituted for the Nishtub त, after the root क्षायः preceded by म.

Thus प्रस्तृतिः or प्रस्तृतिः, प्रस्तृतव्यः or प्रस्तृतव्यः. In the second alternative when म does not come, we first vocalise the root स्या into स्यी, and then add म. Had Samprasारणa not taken place first, then the Nishtub त would have been changed to म after स्या by VIII. 2. 43. But when samprasāraṇa is
once made, the root no longer has a semi-vowel and so there remains no occasion for the application of VIII. 2. 43. See VI. 1. 23 for vocalisation.

55. The irregular Participles फुस, श्रीव, क्रस and वश्य are formed then only, when no Preposition precedes them.

The word क्रस is derived from the root भव्यता भिलास्ते the त is changed to त. The change of त to त (VII. 4. 88) and the want of ह्र augment (VII. 2. 16) are regular. The same change takes place before फल also, as क्रसायत.

The affix त is elided after the roots श्रीयात्, क्रस and सत—सत, and the augment ह्र is prohibited; this is the irregularity in श्रीव; क्रस and वश्य.

Why do we say when not preceded by a Preposition? Observe प्रक्षः: छुसत, प्रतश्विता, महक्षिता, प्रत्याक्षिता. In the case of बहु, prepositions other than बहु are prohibited.

Or the augment ह्र is added, and then ह्र is elided from श्रीव: &c. See VIII. 2. 3 vārt.

Vārt:—The forms छुस्कह and संक्षः should be enumerated. Here त is changed to त, though the root has taken a Preposition.

In the word परिश्च, the word परि is not a Preposition with regard to the verb क्रस। परिश्चः क्रस = परिश्चः। So that परि is upasarga of the verb गहः understood, hence we have the form क्रसः.

56. The Nishṭha स may optionally be changed to स, after छुस, बिश, उन्द्र, च्र, श्र, छ्र, महस्त, अन्तयस्त, सहस्त।

Thus छ्र: or छ्रः, बिशः or बिशः, छुसः or छुसः, च्र: or च्रः, श्र: or श्रः, छ्र: or छ्रः, महस्तः or महस्तः, महस्तः or महस्तः.

With regard to ह्र, the त change was not ordained by any rule, and so it is an aprapta-vibhāṣā. With regards to others, the त change would have always taken place by VIII. 2. 42 and 43, this makes it optional.

The root बिश भिलास्ते of Rudhādi is to be taken here, and not the other बिश roots. Thus the following: Karikā
The Nishtha of दिश्र—वेदिः of Adadi class is दिश्रा; (2) of दिश्र योगो of Divadi class is दिश्रा only; (3) of दिश्र of Tudadi is दिश्र; (4) of दिश्र of Kudhadi are both दिश्रा: and दिश्र: । The Tudadi दिश्र has also the form दिश्रा: in the sense of मोग by VIII. 2. 58.

न व्यासपुर्विन्द्रवाध्यायम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदाति ॥ न, ध्या, क्या, पू, मूख, सत्ता ॥ ब्रूति: ॥ ध्या ध्या पू मूख वह त्रेतायं निराकारस्य मनसार्थवी न भवति ॥

57. The Nishtha न is not changed to न after ध्या, क्या, पू, मूख and सत्ता ॥

Thus ध्यान्त, ध्यान्त, ध्यान्त, ध्यान्त, ध्यान्त, ध्यान्त, ध्यान्त, ध्यान्त, ध्यान्त ॥

This debars the न change prescribed by VIII. 2. 42, 43.

The root मूढ़ is exhibited in the सूत्रa in its lengthened form; the root हुर्य is lengthened by VIII. 2. 78, and the क is elided before ह by VI. 4. 21.

विषयो मोगप्रस्थायीयो: ॥ ५७ ॥ पदाति ॥ विषयो: । मोग, प्रस्थायीयो: ॥

58. The irregularly formed Participle विषय denotes 'possessions' and 'renowned'.

This is derived from विषय of Tudadi class, the ह is not changed to न though so required by VIII. 2. 42.

Thus विषयस्य बड़ा—धनस्य बड़ा 'he has much riches'. Because riches are enjoyed (मुख्यते), so they are called मोग or 'enjoyments' par excellence.

In the sense of 'renowned', we have विषयस्य महावर्ग: "this man is renowned or famous". Here विषय:—प्रवृति: ॥ प्रवृति:—महावर्ग: ॥

Why do we say when having the sense of 'possessions' and 'famous'? Observe विषय: ॥

सिद्ध शाक्तम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदाति ॥ निरस्य, शाक्तम् ॥

59. The word निरस्य is irregularly formed in the sense of 'a fragment, a portion'.

Thus निरस्य निरस्य, निरस्य प्रतिस्थापित: ॥ This is synonymous with शाक्तम् ॥ The root-meaning of निरस्य is not very manifest in this word, it may be taken as a ruḏhi word. The regular form is निरस्य निरस्य under VIII. 2. 42.

पुष्पमाध्यमम् ॥ ६० ॥ पदाति ॥ पुष्पम्, आधमम् ॥

60. The word पुष्प is irregularly formed in the sense of 'debt'.

It is derived from पु, the ह is changed to न ॥ The word पुष्पम् is compounded from धम पु "he who in a debt transaction holds a lower position"—
i.e. a debtor. This nipatana shows that such irregular Locative compounds may be formed; for here the first member is not in the Locative case, but the second member. The condition of being a debtor is भावमयि or “indebtedness.”

If this is so, then the word इतनम्: ‘creditor’ cannot be formed? This is no valid objection. For भावमयि is illustrative only of something to be paid hereafter, in consideration of something formally received; and thus includes इतनम् also; which also has been so employed by the author himself in भ्रेत्रमयि:

(1. 4. 35);

The word दुः ज्ञ we use in sentences like दुः ज्ञ प्रतियोगी, दुः ज्ञ भारतीयी.

Why do we say when meaning ‘debt’? Observe वि, ज्ञ भारती, नागरिक; नरणां, तु, दुः, ज्ञ दुः, ज्ञ ज्ञ, भारतीयी, दुः ज्ञ, भारतीयी, दुः ज्ञ ज्ञ, भारतीयी.

६१. In the Chhandas we have the following irregular Participles:—nasatta, nishatta, anutta, pratūrta, sūrta, gūrta.

The words नसत्र and निसत्र are derived from the root सत्र preceded by न and नि, and there is not the न change of VIII. 2. 42. Thus नसत्रम् is.

In secular literature we have नसत्र. So also निसत्र in the Vedas, but निसत्र: in secular literature. The word भद्र: is from भद्र: with the negative भह. The option of VIII. 2. 56 does not apply here. As भद्र: मयि मद्यम् (= मद्यम्) प्रत्यक्ष is from न and न, as गृही: शास्त्रम् (= गृही: शास्त्रम्.

When it is derived from न and न, then ज्ञ is added by VI. 4. 20; and when from ज्ञ, then VI. 4. 21 is applied. ज्ञ: is from ज्ञ, the ज्ञ is changed to ज्ञ irregularly, as सुरमयि: दुःसमयि: पुरमयि: is from ज्ञ, as पुरमयि: ज्ञ: मयि.

भ्रेत्रमयि: कः? II ६२ II पदाति II किन्तु, प्रवृत्तिपद्यः, कः?

६२. A stem formed with the affix किन्तु under III. 2. 58 &c., substitutes, at the end of a word, a guttural for the final consonant.

The word पवश्च is understood here. The word किन्तु is a Bahuvrihi meaning ‘that stem which has kvin as its affix.’ For the final consonant of such a stem, a guttural is substituted. As पवश्च (III. 2. 58), हस्तरः, मनस्तरः.

The sūtra could have been किन्तु: कः; the word पवश्च is used in the sūtra to show the Bahuvrihi compound; so that the क of किन्तु may not be changed to a guttural. Moreover this Bahuvrihi also indicates that the roots which take the किन्तु affix, change their final to a guttural before other affixes than किन्तु.
Thus the roots श्रुतं and त्रुष्ण take ष्ट्रित्र् to form त्रुष्ण- and श्रुतं-nouns by III. 2. 59, 60. The guttural change will take place even when these roots are declined as verbs: शास्त्रं, शास्त्रं, शास्त्रं, शास्त्रं, where सास्त्रं and शास्त्रं are the Aorist of श्रुमं and श्रुमं. The augment यत्र is not elided, though the य is added (VI. 4. 75) as a Vedic diversity. The यत्र augment also does not take place as a Vedic irregularity. The augment यत्र is added by VI. 1. 58, and the vowel is lengthened by व्रत्तिक्ष्य by VII. 2. 3. Thus मयह+इष्टिः+विष्टिः+विष्टिः=मयह (VI. 1. 58)=मयह (VII. 2. 3 and VIII. 2. 62). Otherwise it would have been य by VIII. 2. 36. So also in गृहमह, गृहमह, the य is changed to a guttural, though the noun गृहमह is a क्रिया formed noun and not formed by क्रिया; and this is so, because the verb गृहमह does take क्रिया also.

Obj. If this be so, there ought to be a guttural change in श्रुतं from the root श्रुतं with ष्ट्रित्र्? Ans. The guttural change however is not desired here.

In gutturalisation, य is changed to य, and य to य, which both become य by यानिक (VIII. 4. 56)

63. The final of नय्य at the end of a word is optionally changed to a guttural.

The word नय्य is understood here also. As य ध य ध (Maitr. S. I. 4. 13): or य ध य (Maitr. S. I. 4. 13): or य According to Pro. Bohtlingk this latter form is not found in the Samhita.

Here the root य has taken ष्ट्रित्र् in denoting ‘condition or state’, by considering it as belonging to संप्रयाविक class.

यय्य नान्यः=यय्य यय्य or यय्य यय्य. The gutturalisation optionally debars the य change of VIII. 2. 36. When the य change takes place, this य is changed to य by VIII. 2. 39 and VIII. 4. 56.

64. य is substituted, at the end of a word, for the final य of a root.

As यमं, यमं, यमं. These are formed by adding ष्ट्रित्र् to the roots यमं, यमं, and यमं. The lengthening takes place by VI. 4. 15. The य being considered as asiddha is not elided.

Why do we say “of य-ending roots”? Observe निम्न, रित्र्.

Why do we say “of a root”? Observe इष्टिः, क्रिया.
The word प्रत्यय is understood here also. So we have प्रत्यय, प्रत्यय: where म is not at the end of a word.

65. न is substituted for the म of a root before the affixes beginning with म and च.

As न्वम्न, न्वम्न the Imperfect of गम, as in the sentence गम्न तत्संप. पारा. The श is elided as a Vedic diversity. So also गम्न with च, the augment च is not added by the option allowed, owing to VII. 1. 68. This sutra applies to those cases where the म is not at the end of a word, as it was in the last sutra.

66. For the final स and for the य of सद्युष्ट is substituted स, at the end of a word.

Thus न्वम्न, स्वारण स. So also चद्वस्वमिविन, चद्वस्वमिविन: चद्वस्य is derived from चद्वस्य with the affix चद्वस्य and the preposition स which is changed to स in Bahuvrihi. The lengthening takes place by VIII. 2. 76, and the word means चद्वस्य: The च is स, but it should be distinguished from it. This secondary च (or स) undergoes a distinct and separate Sandhi change from that of the primary स.

67. The same substitution takes place for the final of the Nominatives of अवयव, अवत्तत्, and पुरोहित.

The word अवयव is from अव + यव; अवत्तत् from अव + तत्, and पुरोहित from पुरस् + हि. The affix यव is added to the two latter by III. 2. 71. The word अवयव is also formed by यव (III. 2. 72). Thus the three words अवत्तत्, पुरोहित and अवयव are formed. These words take the affix यव before the Pada- terminations (See Varttika to III. 2. 71). After having taken यव the above forms अवयव: &c., are made in Nominative singular irregularly.

Why is this nipatana, when म would have come by the last sutra and the lengthening would have taken place by VI. 4. 14, of the words अवत्तत्, अवत्तत् and दशरथ? They are so exhibited here, for making them long in the Vocative singular also. For they could not have been lengthened in the Vocative singular, because VI. 4. 14 does not apply to it. Thus म अवत्तत्, अवत्तत् वेदस्य, हे पुरोहित.
The word च shows that other forms, not enumerated, may also be included here under. As च नक्तवायः †

अहस् च पदानि अहस्

चूति: † महतिवेदिन्ति पश्चात् सम्बन्धिति †

पारिक्षः च नरोऽधिनश्रव्यमनस्तीत्वाः कर्तव्यम् †

68. च is also substituted for the च of अहस् at the end of a Pada.

Thus महोऽचाच, महोऽचि: † The sūtra exhibits the form महस् without the elision of म, in order to indicate that there is not elision of म. † As सीमांसि, निषुष्ण, हे सीमांसि: पूजसि † See Vārtika to VIII. 2. 7. The च of महस् is not changed to च in the sūtra by VIII. 2. 69, because it is intended to show the word-form महस्. † The Nominal stem is Pada in the above examples by I. 4. 17.

Vārt.:—Before the words च, रिचि and रिपत्तिः, the च of महस् is changed to च † As महोऽक्रम, महोऽरस, महोऽरसं प्राप्तम् † This is an exception to VIII. 2. 69. Others say, that this च change takes place universally before all words beginning with च; as महोऽर्मस्, महोऽमनि †

रोऽमद्वः † 69. पदानि च, अ-चुपपि

चूति: † महानिवेदकशे रेनादिहि भवस्तुपि प्रसं: †

69. When no case-ending follows (i.e. at the end of a Pada in the narrower sense), च is substituted for the च of अहस् †

Thus महोऽदाति, महोऽदु: † Why do we say 'when no case-ending follows'? Observe महोऽचाच, महोऽचि: † Here च-called च replaced the final च of महस्. † The difference between this च-called च and the ordinary च is illustrated in the above set of examples. The च-called च is changed to च by VI. 1. 113, the ordinary च is not so changed.

Obj. In महोऽसाति and महोऽहृदे the case-ending is elided after महस्, and so by Pratyaya - lakṣāṇa, we may say that there is a case-ending here also? Ans. This is not so, because of the following maxim अहस्ति एवाधिश तत्त्वः तत्र वाक्य समाप्तम् न समाप्ति † The rule of pratya lakṣāṇa does not apply to the substitution of च for the final of महस् when the affix has been elided by च or च. Therefore, this महस् is not considered to be followed by च or case-affix. But where an affix is elided by using the word चोच, there the rule of Pratyaya - lakṣāṇa does apply to महस्. † As हे सीमांसि, हे सीमांसि: निषुष्ण. (VIII. 2. 7). Here the affix is elided by using the word 'lopa' by VI. 1. 68.
70. In the Chhandas, both अः and ऋ are substituted for the final of annas, उल्हास, and अवास.

Thus अभ्य or अवास, ऋत्वर or ऋप्र, ऋद्भर or ऋप्रव. When अः is substituted for the finals, this अः is replaced by ऋ by VIII. 3. 17, which is elided by VIII. 3. 19. The word अभ्य means 'a little', and ऋष्य 'protection'.

Vart:—अः and ऋ both replace the final of प्रेस्तस् before राजस्व, in the Vedic as well as in the secular language. As प्रेस्तता राजस्व (VIII. 3. 14, VI. 3. 111) ऋषत-पास राजस्व

Vart:—The words महार &c before पूति &c should be enumerated. That is, the finals of महार &c are replaced by अः or ऋ before पूति &c. As अभ्यप्तिः or अवाप्ति पूति: or अवाप्ति: पूति:, अभ्यूः, अमूः, पूति:, महार पूति:, महाः पूति:, महाः पूति:, महाः पूति:, महाः पूति:, महाः पूति:, महाः पूति: I. Here ऋ is substituted for the final ऋ of महार &c, which at first sight may appear superfluous. But it is so ordained, in order to prevent the visarga change of this ऋ.

71. In the Chhandas, अः and ऋ may replace the final of the word महास when used as a महाव-व्याहरित.

Thus महारित्वनिनिमित्त or महास इत्यादिनिमित्त. The महाव-व्याहरितis three, used generally before the famous Gāyatrī mantra. They denote respectively the earth, the firmament and the heaven. महास् is an Indefinable and a Vyāhriti denoting the firmament. The other two are ऋ and ऋ:

Why do we say when it is a महाव-व्याहरित? Observe स्रोती विलेचुः स्रोतेः वाहिनिः. Here स्रोत is a verb, 2nd Pers. Singular, Imperfect (स्रोत) of the root स्रोत, without गृंव of the root, and the ऋ ऋ ऋ ऋ ऋ ऋ ऋ ऋ ऋ ऋ ऋ ऋ ऋ ऋ ऋ are added as a Vedic diversity.

72. अः is substituted for the final अः of a word ending in the affix अः, and for the final of अः, अः, अः, अः, अः, अः, अः, अः at the end of a Pada (in the wider sense I. 4. 14, 17).

The anuvṛtti of अः is understood here from VIII. 2. 66. It qualifies अः only, and not the rest. That is, when the word formed by the affix अः ends with अः, such अः is replaced by अः. For a word formed by अः does not
sometimes end in स, and in those cases the rule will not apply. As संस्कृत and अस्त्र, always end in स, there is no necessity of qualifying these by the स of VIII. 2. 66. अनुन्त स ends in स, and so स cannot qualify it.

Thus विद्युतः, विद्युतमः, परिपूर्वमः, परिपूर्वमी: with य अन्वितः—स्नेहाद्यालार्थः, रूपार्थिनः: (VII. 1.70 and III. 2. 36). परंतु—परंतुपूर्वमः, परंतुतथिर्मीः अनुन्तु—
अनुन्तुप्रयासः, अनुन्तुतथिर्मीः।

But when a य formed word does not end in स, the rule does not apply. अस्त्र, परिपूर्वम। Here स is not changed to य।

In the case of स, the य is ordained, before any other rule manifests itself; thus in निद्रान्लाम्यान्य this य debarrs स; so why should it not debar the rule relating to the elision of the final in निद्रान्लाम्यान्य also? This rule sets aside स, but it does not, however, over-rule the elision-rule, because it is not directly connected with this change.

Why in अनुन्तु it is not changed to य? By the very fact, that य is ordained (विधानान्तव्यायः), this य will not be changed to य: otherwise य rule would become superfluous; for it would be easier to say let य be changed to य, and we should get the form अनुप्रयास by this rule without य।

Obj:—If this be so, that the य is not changed to य, because of giving it a scope, then in अनुन्तु महत्र, this य should not be changed into य by VIII. 3. 9?

Ans:—No; the maxim is that that rule is set aside, with regard to which a particular rule would become useless, if not so over-rulled: but that rule is not set aside which is only an occasion for the application of another rule (य अन्वितः प्रति य अन्वित अन्नस्तत्मक)), सांत्वध, दण्ड, वह य शास्त्रिय नन्तत्मक), अनुन्तु महत्र। With regard to य change, the य महत्र is useless (anarthaka), with regard to य change, it is merely an occasion.

The word परस्म is understood here also, so the change does not take place in विधानी and विधानमः।

\text{संतप्राल्प:} \ 73 \ \text{पदन्ति} \ \text{संतप्राल्प:} \ \text{अन्तर्क्तते} \ \text{संतप्राल्प:} \ \text{क्षिप्} \ \text{पदन्ति} \ य पति य पति य पति य पति य पति य पति य पति य पति य पति य पति

73. स is substituted for the final स of a root, with the exception of अस्त्र, before the Personal ending ति (स), when it stands at the end of a word.

The स of a root can stand at the end of a word when the Personal-ending is dropped. Thus अन्तर्क्तत म्यां, अन्तर्क्तत म्यां, from the roots अन्तर्क्तत and शास्त्र। The Personal affix is elided by VI. 1. 68, and thereby स comes to stand at the end of a Pada.

Why do we say 'before ति)? Observe चक्रात्रू formed by च अन्वितः affix added to the root.
Why do we say 'with the exception of भस्त्र'? See भ्ययु सत्तैल सत्तैल वस्त्रैल। Here भस्त्र is the Imperfect 3rd Person singular of भस्त्रः। The दूर is not added as a Vedic irregularity. See VII. 3. 93, 97.

सिपिपिचारो दुर्ग || प्रदान्ति || सिपिपिचारो दुर्ग || को. || को.

बृजः || सिपिपिचारो दुर्ग || पारंतः सिपिपिचारो दुर्ग || को.

74. दूर or दुर may optionally be substituted for the दुर of a root, before the Personal ending सि (सि), when such दुर stands at the end of a Pada.

Thus मश्यकतावः दुर्ग or मश्यकतावः दुर्ग, मश्यकतावः दुर्ग or मश्यकतावः दुर्ग. For the दुर is first substituted visarjanija, which is then changed to दुर.

Thus धावः is employed in the sūtra for the sake of the subsequent sūtras: so also the word दुर.

दुर्ग || प्रदान्ति || दुर्ग. || को.

बृजः || राजाराज्याबः सिपिपिचारो दुर्ग || पारंतः सिपिपिचारो दुर्ग || को.

75. दूर or दुर may optionally be substituted for the final दूर of a root, before the Personal-affix सि, when such दूर stands at the end of a Pada.

Thus मश्यकतावः दुर्ग or मश्यकतावः दुर्ग, मश्यकतावः दुर्ग or मश्यकतावः दुर्ग.

बृजः || राजाराज्याबः सिपिपिचारो दुर्ग. || पारंतः सिपिपिचारो दुर्ग. || को.

76. A penultimate दुर or दुर is lengthened, when the final दुर or दुर of a root can stand at the end of a Pada.

Thus मश्यकतावः दुर or मश्यकतावः दुर. These are all examples of roots ending in दुर. Of roots ending in दुर, examples will be given in the next sūtra.

Why have we used the word 'penultimate'? Observe मश्यकतावः मश्यकतावः, here the दुर of the reduplicative syllable is not to be lengthened.

Why do we say 'of दुर vowels'? So that the दुर of दुर in the above example मश्यकतावः may not be lengthened.

Thus मश्यकतावः, दुर or मश्यकतावः, दुर. These are not lengthened in मश्यकतावः मश्यकतावः. The word दुर is understood here also, therefore, not here, दुर, दुर.

हृदि च || प्रदान्ति || हृदि, च ||

बृजः || हृदि च || पारंतः सिपिपिचारो हृदि || राजाराज्याबः हृदि ||

77. Of a root ending in दुर or दुर, the penultimate दुर or दुर is lengthened, before a consonantal beginning affix.

Thus मश्यकतावः, मश्यकतावः, मश्यकतावः, मश्यकतावः, all ending in दुर. So also, दुर, दुर, दुर.
The Nishṭā of विद्—वेदि of Adādi class is विद्वत्; (2) of विद्—विद्वत् of Divādi class is विद्वत्; only; (3) of विद् of Tudādi is विद्वत्; (4) of विद् of Rudhādi are both विद्: and विद्वत्. The Tudādi विद् has also the form विद्वत्: in the sense of भोग by VIII. 2. 58.

न च्यास्त्यापृत्तिद्विद्वत् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, च्या, क्या, प, पूर्ण, मदाम ॥

57. The Nishṭā ह is not changed to न after च्या,

क्या, प, पूर्ण and मद ॥

Thus च्यास्, च्यालस्य, क्यास्, क्यायास्, पूर्ण, पूर्णास्, पूर्णां, च्यास्, च्यास्य, मदा, मदास् ॥

This debarrs the म change prescribed by VIII. 2. 42, 43.

The root पूर्ण is exhibited in the sūtra in its lengthened form; the root पूर्ण is lengthened by VIII. 2. 78, and the द is elided before ह by VI. 4. 21.

58. The irregularly formed Participle बिद्स denotes 'possessions’ and ‘renowned’.

This is derived from बिद्स लगे of Tudādi class, the ह is not changed to न though so required by VIII. 2. 42.

Thus बिद्स लगे—पलनल लगे ‘he has much riches’. Because riches are enjoyed (पूर्णले), so they are called भोग or 'enjoyments' par excellence.

In the sense of ‘renowned’, we have बिद्स निपत्ने: “this man is renowned or famous”. Here बिद्स—पलने। बिद्स निपत्ने=पलने।

Why do we say when having the sense of ‘possessions’ and ‘famous’? Observe बिद्स ॥

59. The word बिद्स is irregularly formed in the sense of ‘a fragment, a portion’.

Thus बिद्स निपत्ने, निपत्ने पलने। This is synonymous with पलने। The root-meaning of बिद्स is not very manifest in this word, it may be taken as a rudhi word. The regular form is बिद्स under VIII. 2. 42.

60. The word बुद्ध is irregularly formed in the sense of ‘debt’.

It is derived from बुद्ध, the ह is changed to न। The word बुद्ध is compounded from भोग बुद्धे “he who in a debt transaction holds a lower position”—
i.e. a debtor. This nipatana shows that such irregular Locative compounds may be formed; for here the first member is not in the Locative case, but the second member. The condition of being a debtor is abharpayam or “indebtedness.”

If this is so, then the word abharpayam: ‘creditor’ cannot be formed. This is no valid objection. For abharpayam is illustrative only of something to be paid hereafter, in consideration of something formerly received; and thus includes abharpayam also; which also has been so employed by the author himself in brhatasginam:

(1.4.35).

The word धन we use in sentences like धने वसाति, धने चार्याति॥

Why do we say when meaning ‘debt’? Observe कांस वश्याति, नानुतयाः॥

सन्तानशिकायतुक्तुरुद्दिनं ज्ञाति १२॥ पदानि ॥ नलसं, निम्मि, अनु, मधुरि, सूति, गृहानि, छलसिः॥

ईदुः॥ निम्मि निम्मिः मधुस्थः पूर्णः इलायानि ज्ञाति विषेषे निम्माने॥

61. In the Chhandas we have the following irregular Participles:—nasatta, nishatta, anutta, pratūrtha, sūrtha, gūrta.

The words nāsa and nispa are derived from the root हस्त preceded by न and न, and there is not the न change of VIII. 2. 42. Thus nāsaṃsvarah. In secular literature we have नसास || So also निस्पा in the Vedas, but निस्पाय: In secular literature. The word मधुस: is from महस: with the negative मात्र. The option of VIII. 2. 56 does not apply here. As मधुस: मधुस: (सभुताः) मधुसेञ्जः is from गात्र or हृदेः, as पहासेः साहिनः (सम्प्रतः)॥ When it is derived from हृदेः then हृदेः is added by VI. 4. 20; and when from हृदेः then VI. 4. 21 is applied. हृदेः is from हृदेः, the हृ is changed to हृ irregularly, as सुनामाः: सुनामाः॥ पूर्णः is from पूर्ण, as .पूर्ण

ब्रह्मािसर्वस्य कृ: ॥ १२॥ पदानि ॥ किंतु, प्रस्यस्य, कृ: ॥

ईदुः॥ पदानि ॥ इवन लिङ्गमयवर्तमानसम्भवेऽस्य इवन लिङ्गमयवर्तमानं ॥ किंतु सम्भवेऽस्य वसालासासी: ॥ किंतु सम्भवेऽस्य तस्य परस्परस्य कसंहारः ॥

62. A stem formed with the affix किंतु under III. 2. 58 &c. substitutes, at the end of a word, a guttural for the final consonant.

The word परस्य is understood here. The word किंतुसम्भव is a Bahuvrihi meaning ‘that stem which has kṣina as its affix.’ For the final consonant of such a stem, a guttural is substituted. As ग्रहस्तुकः (III. 2. 58), हतस्तुकः, मनस्तुकः॥

The sūtra could have been किंतु: कृ; the word परस्य is used in the sūtra to show the Bahuvrihi compound; so that the ह of किंतु may not be changed to a guttural. Moreover this Bahuvrihi also indicates that the roots which take the किंतु affix, change their final to a guttural before other affixes than किंतु.
Thus the roots शुचि and दृश्य take त्वित to form सक्ति and दृश्य nown by III. 2. 59, 60. The guttural change will take place even when these roots are declined as verbs: as, नाना स्मार्क नाना स्मार्क, where स्मार्क and अनुस्मार्क are the Aorist of शुचि and दृश्य The augment दत्र is not elided, though the ना is added (VI. 4. 75) as a Vedic diversity. The दत्र augment also does not take place as a Vedic irregularity. The augment दत्र is added by VI. 1. 58, and the vowel is lengthened by Vṛddhi by VII. 2. 3. Thus दत्र+धृष्टि+सत्त्वि+त्वित्र=वत्र (VI. 1. 58)=वत्र (VII. 2. 3 and VIII. 2. 62). Otherwise it would have been ष्ट्र by VIII. 2. 36. So also in दर्शन, दर्शन, the ष्ट्र is changed to a guttural, though the noun दृश्य is a त्वित्र formed noun and not formed by दृश्य; and this is so, because the verb दृश्य does take त्वित्र also.

Obj. If this be so, there ought to be but guttural change in शुचिलाल्प्यान्त्र from the root शुचि with त्वित्र? Ans. The guttural change however in not desired here.

In gutturalisation, ष्ट्र is changed to ष्ट्र, and ष्ट्र to ष्ट्र, which both become ष्ट्र by दर्शन (VIII. 4. 56).

63. The final of दर्शन at the end of a word is optionally changed to a guttural.

The word दर्शन is understood here also. As ना छै जीवनगाहसि (Maitr. S. 1. 4. 13): or ना छै जीवनगाहसि. According to Pro. Bohtlingk this latter form is not found in the Samhitā.

Here the root नर has taken त्वित्र in denoting ‘condition or state’; by considering it as belonging to क्तित्व प्रक्ष class.

ाधित्य प्रक्ष: = अधित्य or अधित्य The gutturalisation optionally debars the ष्ट्र change of VIII. 2. 36. When the ष्ट्र change takes place, this ष्ट्र is changed to ष्ट्र by VIII. 2. 39 and VIII. 4. 56.

64. न is substituted, at the end of a word, for the final न of a root.

As प्रमाण, प्रमाण, प्रमाण. These are formed by adding निवित्र to the roots शुचि, दृश्य, and रूप. The lengthening takes place by VI. 4. 15. The न being considered as asidha is not elided.

Why do we say “of n-ending roots”? Observe निवित्र, निवित्र.

Why do we say “of a root”? Observe शुचि, शुचि.
The word प्रत्स्थ is understood here also. So we have प्रत्स्यम, प्रत्स्थ: where म is not at the end of a word.

65. म is substituted for the म of a root before the affixes beginning with म and य.

As वगमम, वगमम the Imperfect of गम, as in the sentence वगमम तलकि वर्धा. The गम is elided as a Vedic diversity. So also वगमाव with गम, the augment गम is not added by the option allowed, owing to VII. 1. 68. This सूत्र applies to those cases where the म is not at the end of a word, as it was in the last सूत्र.

66. For the final स and for the च of सत्य is substituted च, at the end of a word.

Thus भविष्य, सातुर्ग. So also सत्यासविष्य, सत्योपः: सत्य is derived from सत्य with the affix कुरुः and the preposition सस्त्र which is changed to स in बालुव्री. The lengthening takes place by VIII. 2. 76. and the word means सत्यः. The स is च, but it should be distinguished from it. This secondary च (or च) undergoes a distinct and separate Sandhi change from that of the primary च.

67. The same substitution takes place for the final of the Nominatives of अभया:, अभेयता: and पुरोड़ा:.

The word भविष्या is from भव + य; भेताः from भेत + य, and पुरोड़ा from पुरस्त + याः. The affix य is added to the two latter by III. 2. 71. The word अभया is also formed by य (III. 2. 72). Thus the three words भेतस्वः, पुरोड़ास्वः and भविष्या are formed. These words take the affix य before the Pada-terminations (See Vārtika to III. 2. 71). After having taken य, the above forms भविष्या: &c., are made in Nominative singular irregularly.

Why is this nipātana, when स would have come by the last सूत्र and the lengthening would have taken place by VI. 4. 14, of the words माहवा, भेतस्वः and पुरोड़ा? They are so exhibited here, for making them long in the Vocative singular also. For they could not have been lengthened in the Vocative singular, because VI. 4. 14 does not apply to it. Thus है भविष्या, है भेतस्वः, है पुरोड़ा:.
The word अहृत shows that other forms, not enumerated, may also be included here under. As हवक्यणा: ॥

अहृत ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहृत ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ अति श्रुवतम् प्रस्तव कर्मवति ॥

पारसिप्तः ॥ अधी श्रुवति श्रुवतिः प्रस्तवान्तः कर्मवत् ॥

68. र is also substituted for the र of अहृत at the end of a Pada.

Thus अशोच्यात्, अशोचिनि: ॥ The sūtra exhibits the form अहृत without the elision of र, in order to indicate that there is not elision of र ॥ As शीवावि, निधपः; हे शीवावि निधपः ॥ See Vartika to VIII. 2. 7. The र of अहृत is not changed to र in the sūtra by VIII. 2. 69, because it is intended to show the word-form अहृत ॥ The Nominal stem is Pada in the above examples by I. 4. 17.

Vart:—Before the words रि, राणि and रपति, the र of अहृत is changed to र ॥ As अहोरक्षाः, अहोरच, अहोरपतरस सान ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 2. 69. Others say, that this र change takes place universally before all words beginning with र; as अहो रमय, अहोग रतिनि ॥

रीत्वायपि ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ रि, अ-श्रूपि ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ अति श्रुवतम् रेवाविचि सर्ववति प्रति: ॥

69. When no case-ending follows (i.e. at the end of a Pada in the narrower sense), र is substituted for the र of अहृत ॥

Thus अहृतवात्. अहृतकेते ॥ Why do we say ‘when no case-ending follows’? Observe अशोच्यात्, अशोचिनि: ॥ Here र-called र replaced the final र of अहृत ॥ The difference between this र-called र and the ordinary र is illustrated in the above set of examples. The र-called र is changed to र by VI. 1. 113, the ordinary र is not so changed.

Obj. In अहृतवाति and अहृतकेते the case-ending is elided after अहृत, and so by Pratyaya - lakshana, we may say that there is a case-ending here also? Ans. This is not so, because of the following maxim अहृत राविवि श्रुति श्रुति राविवि लक्षनम् न भवति ॥ The rule of pratya lakshana does not apply to the substitution of र for the final of अहृत when the affix has been elided by र अथवा रि. Therefore, this अहृत is not considered to be followed by रि or case-affix. But where an affix is elided by using the word लोप, there the rule of Pratyaya - lakshana does apply to अहृत ॥ As हे शीवावि, हे शीवावि निधपः. (VIII. 2. 7). Here the affix is elided by using the word ‘लोप’ by VI. 1. 68.

अङ्करेन्छतुगतयुगमया छन्दिसि ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अचसू, अचसू, अचसू, धाति

दभमया, छन्दिसि ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ अन्वत् अन्वत् अन्वत् हेवेदेऽपां छन्दिसि निश्चये दमया भवति ॥
70. In the Chhandas, both ष and र are substituted for the final of annas, ādhas, and avas.

Thus भस्म एर or भस्म, रूप एर or रूप; भस्म एर or भस्म. When ष is substituted for the finals, this ष is replaced by ष by VIII. 3. 17, which is elided by VIII. 3. 19. The word भस्म means 'a little', and रक्ष 'protection'.

Vṛtt.—ष and र both replace the final of प्रेषत्त before राजा, in the Vedic as well as in the secular language. As प्रेषता राजा (VIII. 3. 14, VI. 3. 111) में प्रेषता राजा.

Vṛtt.—The words भस्म &c before पति &c should be enumerated. That is, the finals of भस्म &c are replaced by ष or र before पति &c. As भस्मपति: or भस्म पति: or भस्म; भस्म; भस्म पति; मी: पति; मी: पति; पूर्वि; रूप; पति:; ष पति; रूप पति; ष पति; रूप पति. Here र is substituted for the final ष of भस्म &c, which at first sight may appear superfluous. But it is so ordained, in order to prevent the visarga change of this ष.

भस्म महायानते: II ७१ II पवानि II भस्म:; महायानते: II पवानि II भस्म हस्ततः गम्भीरवायेऽहनिति विषये उनाया महायानति II पवानि II भस्म हस्ततः गम्भीरवायेऽहनिति विषये उनाया महायानति II

71. In the Chhandas, ष and र may replace the final of the word भस्म when used as a mahā-व्याहरिति.

Thus मुहारितसिद्ध or सुन्त हलातसिद्ध II The mahā-vyāhritis are three, used generally before the famous Gāyatri mantra. They denote respectively the earth, the firmament and the heaven. भस्म is an Indeclinable and a Vyāhriti denoting the firmament. The other two are ष: and र:.

Why do we say when it is a mahā-vyāhriti? Observe भस्म of the root वस्त्र, without guṇa of the root, and the भस्म augment is not added as a Vedic diversity.

भस्त्रस्तु परवायेऽहेतुं हस्ति II ७२ II पवानि II षस्त्र, षस्त्र, षस्त्र; षस्त्र नामदाम, षस्त्र II पवानि II षस्त्रस्तु परवायेऽहेतुं हस्ति वर्णास्तु महात्मनस्तु स्त्र महात्मा नामदाम, षस्त्रर्थे भवायेऽहेतुं हस्ति II

72. ष is substituted for the final ष of a word ending in the affix षस्त्र, and for the final of षस्त्र, षस्त्र and षस्त्र at the end of a Pada (in the wider sense I. 4. 14, 17).

The anuvṛtti of ष is understood here from VIII. 2. 66. It qualifies षस्त्र only, and not the rest. That is, when the word formed by the affix षस्त्र ends with ष, such ष is replaced by ष. For a word formed by षस्त्र does not
sometimes end in स्, and in those cases the rule will not apply. As ब्रह्म and अहस always end in स्, there is no necessity of qualifying these by the स् of VIII. 2. 66. अनहुः ends in स् and so स् cannot qualify it.

Thus विद्याम्, विद्याधि:... with स् affix. ब्रह्म:-विद्याम्, विद्याधि: II (VII. 1.70 and III. 2. 36). प्रान्त:-पर्याद्धनेत्या, पर्याद्धनेत्याऽः II अनहुः:- अनहुः, अनहुः। II

But when a स् formed word does not end in स्, the rule does not apply. As विद्याः, पर्याद्ध। Here स् is not changed to रूः.

In the case of रूः, the रू is ordained, before any other rule manifests itself; thus in विद्याः this रू debars रू; so why should it not debar the rule relating to the elision of the final in विद्या also? This rule sets aside स्, but it does not, however, over-rule the elision-rule, because it is not directly connected with this change.

Why in अनहुः the रू is not changed to रू? By the very fact, that रू is ordained (विद्याम्-रूः अतः), this रू will not be changed to रू: otherwise रू rule would become superfluous; for it would be easier to say let रू be changed to रू, and we should get the form अनहुः by this rule without रू।

Obj:-If this be so, that the रू is not changed to रू, because of giving it a scope, then in अनहुः रूः, this रू should not be changed into रू by VII. 3. 9?

Ans:—No; the maxim is that that rule is set aside, with regard to which a particular rule would become useless, if not so over-ruled: but that rule is not set aside which is only an occasion for the application of another rule (स् चिपेच प्रत्येकाः अवश्यकि, विशालिनिभो, विशालिनिभो यथा निर्भोगि न्यायेऽपि)। With regard to रू change, the रू विधि is useless (anarthaka), with regard to रू change, it is merely an occasion.

The word विद्या is understood here also, so the change does not take place in विद्याभिः and विद्याभिः।

तिप्पनिः: II ७३। प्रवेचनी:। तिप्पनी:। अनह-अर्थस्थ:।

73. रू is substituted for the final स् of a root, with the exception of अस्त, before the Personal ending ति (रू), when it stands at the end of a word.

The रू of a root can stand at the end of a word when the Personal-ending is dropped. Thus अमायाम् माया, अमायाम् माया, from the roots चक्रस्व and तास्व। The Personal affix is elided by VI. 1. 68, and thereby रू comes to stand at the end of a Pada.

Why do we say ‘before तिः’? Observe चक्रस्व formed by चिपेच affix added to the root.
Why do we say 'with the exception of अत्र'? See भाग सेििे सिििे लयिे ना। Here ना is the Imperfect 3rd Person singular of अत्र. The हृद is not added as a Vedic irregularity. See VII. 3. 93, 97.

सिचि ढालो दहो बहुः ॥ ७४ ॥ पद्रानि ॥ सिचि, ढालो; हृ, ठ; ॥

वृतीः ॥ सिचि पसि: सकरारात्मक पसि: पालो हृः रक्षात्मको भाविि रक्षारो पा ॥

74. दृ or ठ may optionally be substituted for the स् of a root, before the Personal ending सि (स्), when such स् stands at the end of a Pada.

Thus भर्षकास्य लम or भर्षकास्य लम, अन्नरास्य लम or अन्नरास्य लम ॥ For the स is first substituted visarjaneya, which is then changed to स् ॥

The word ठाहः is employed in the sūtra for the sake of the subsequent sūtras: so also the word हृ ॥

वृतीः ॥ ७५ ॥ पद्रानि ॥ हृः, हृ ॥

वृतीः ॥ रक्षारात्मक पालो: परस्पर सिचि पसि: रक्षारिि रक्षारे पा ॥

75. दृ or ठ may optionally be substituted for the final दृ of a root, before the Personal-affix सि, when such दृ stands at the end of a Pada.

Thus भर्षितलि लम or भर्षितलि लम, अस्तितलि लम or अस्तितलि लम ॥

बोध्नायता दीर्घे इकः ॥ ७६ ॥ पद्रानि ॥ चौः, उपाया:; चौः, इकः: ॥

वृतीः ॥ रक्षारात्मक पालो: परस्पर उपाया इको शीर्ष भविि ॥

76. A penultimate दृ or ठ is lengthened, when the final दृ or ठ of a root can stand at the end of a Pada.

Thus दृः, ठृः, ठाहः: ॥ These are all examples of roots ending in ठ ॥ Of roots ending in हृ, examples will be given in the next sūtra.

Why have we used the word 'penultimate'? Observe भर्षित भव, here the हृ of the reduplicative syllable is not to be lengthened.

Why do we say 'of ठ or ठ vowels'? So that the ठ of ठ in the above example भर्षित may not be lengthened.

The word ठाहः: 'of a root' is understood here also. Therefore ठ and हृ are not lengthened in भर्षित, ठाहः: ॥

The word पद्रानि is understood here also, therefore, not here, गिरि, गिरि: ॥

हृहि स् ॥ ७७ ॥ पद्रानि ॥ हृहि, हृ ॥

वृतीः ॥ हृहि च परस्पर: रक्षारात्मक पालोस्वाभावे इको शीर्ष भविि ॥

77. Of a root ending in दृ or ठृ, the penultimate दृ or ठ is lengthened, before a consonantal beginning affix.

Thus भान्तिप्राप्त, परिप्राप्त, प्राप्तिप्राप्त, भान्तिप्राप्त, all ending in दृ ॥ So also, श्रम्भित, श्रीवोत्तम ending in हृ ॥
1578 Penultimate Lengthening. (Bk. VIII. Ch. II. § 78.

The phrase "of the root", is understood here also. Therefore not here, निविदित and चतुर्दित, which are derived from the nouns निविद and चतुर्द i.e. निविद्विदित = निविदित, and चतुर्द्विदित = चतुर्दित.

The phrase दक्षि: "of the vowels अ or ह" is understood here also. Therefore not here, अयस्ति, अयस्तिता.

This rule applies to cases which are not final in a pada: but to cases where अ or ह are in the middle of a pada or word.

उपदायायो च अ च पदानि उपदायायेऽ च च शुचि: वासिकपथाविदस्तो वै रूढङ्कारिष त्वरिषा तावेशपथाय हिको रीरो अन्विता।

78. The short अ or ह of a root is lengthened, when the verb has अ or ह as its penultimate letter, and is followed by a consonant.

The anuvṛtti of शुचि is current. The root must end in a consonant, and must have a अ or ह as preceding such consonant, for the application of this rule. Thus पुर्वः, पुर्वः, पुर्वः, पुर्वः, पुर्वः, पुर्वः, पुर्वः, पुर्वः, पुर्वः, पुर्वः, पुर्वः, पुर्वः, पुर्वः, पुर्वः, पुर्वः, पुर्वः, शुचि.

The अ or ह must be followed by a consonant. Therefore not here: as, निविदित, निविदिति are roots having a penultimate अ, which however is followed by a vowel. Therefore we have निविदित्वि, निविदित्विति.

Q.—Why there is not lengthening in रिद्वित्, रिद्वि: or रिद्वि: रिद्वि: Perfect, forms derived from the roots रि गति and रि गति &c. Here the अ of the abhyāśa required lengthening, and it would not be shortened, as it is asiddha.

Ans.—The ब्रह्म substitute of अ here by VI. 4. 82, is treated as sthāniyat, to, and therefore, the अ or ह is considered as not to be followed by a consonant, and hence there is no lengthening. Another reason is, that the ब्रह्म substitute is taught in angādhikāra (VI. 4. 82), and depends upon the affix, and is consequently Bahiranga, with regard to this rule of lengthening which is antaranga. Hence ब्रह्मित्वा: is considered as asiddha. Therefore अ and ह are not followed by a consonant (for अ is not considered as such for the above reasons).

Similarly in चतुर्दित formed with अ affix from the Denominative (क्षत्र) root चतुर्दित्. Here हृ is added before शुचि as चतुर्दित् + हृ + हृ and then हृ is elided, चतुर्दित् + हृ + हृ. Here the elision of हृ is a Bahiranga process, and therefore, हृ is not here really penultimate, and so there is no lengthening of the vowel.

In प्रतीतित्वा (Instrumental singular) there is lengthening by VIII. 2. 77. To the root प्रतीतिष्ठ is added कनिष्ठ by Un. 1. 156, and we have प्रतीतित्वा. To this is added शा (Instrumental affix), as प्रतीतित्वा + शा, and शा is elided by VI. 4. 134, and we get प्रतीतित्वा। The lengthening takes place here, the elision of शा is not considered here as sthāniyat, and so शा becomes penultimate. In fact,
here we apply the maxim that a lopa substitute of a vowel is not to be considered as sthānivat when a rule of lengthening is to be applied (See I. 1. 58).

Q.—Well, let it not be sthānivat, but the elision by VI. 4. 134, depends upon a case-affix, and is Bahiranga, and therefore asiddha for the purposes of this rule which is antaranga: and so therefore, there would be no lengthening?

Ans.—The maxim of अभिज्ञ वार्तिकमन्तरः should not be applied here: because it is an anitya rule.

The word जिद्ध is formed by the Unādi affix जिद्ध added to the root उ (जिद्ध), the उ being changed to य (Un V. 49). So also जिद्ध and जिद्ध are formed by the Unādi affix जिद्ध added to य and य (Un IV. 143). The Genitive Dual of which is जिद्ध and जिद्ध. There is no lengthening in जिद्ध, जिद्ध and जिद्ध, on the maxim that the Unādi formed words are primitive words and not Derivative; and so the rules of etymological changes do not apply to them (स्लाबोवानिय भाषिपरिपाठि)

न महुर्भुवम् ॥ ७९ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ न, म, क्र, छुर, चूरार ॥

dus ॥ स्यावराणस्य भस्म कृ चूर इव व्यासवीनो न नवस ॥

79. The lengthening of vowel does not take place under VIII. 2. 77, when the Nominal stem ending in र or श is called Bha (i.e. when a ळ follows), and also not in क्र and चूर ॥

Thus पुरा (पुरा चति IV. 4. 77 or पुरा चति) ॥ Similarly पुरा, पुरा ॥ The latter is Benedictive of पुरा चति ॥

Why have we qualified the word ल by saying that it must end in ल or ल? Observe जिद्ध, जिद्ध ॥ For here the stem which ends in ल is not-Bha, and the stem which is Bha does not end in ल but in ल ॥

अद्वैते उत्संयुक्तो म: ॥ ५० ॥ पदार्थ ॥ अद्वा: अद्व: द्रात, उ, द्र, म: ॥

dus ॥ अद्वैते सत्कारात्मक वर्गस्य हास्यस्य वर्धार्थीम वाक्यम् एकार्थ च मकार ॥

dus ॥ अद्वैते अकेश हति वक्रावर ॥

Kārikā:—अद्वैते शुद्ध शुद्ध के चित्तावन्ति लवण ।

के प्रसन्नहरेश पैलैं अद्वैते हर्मसेन ॥

80. When the pronoun अद्वा does not end in श, then there is substituted ल or ल for the vowel after श, and श for द्र ॥

Thus भृष, भृष, भृष, भृष, भृष, भृष, ॥ शष is substituted for भृष before a case-ending by VII. 2. 102, which in Feminine becomes भष ॥ By the
present sūtra read with I. 1. 50, भाव is substituted for भाव and भार्य for भास. The य which replaces one-mātram vowel will be one-mātram य i.e. short य, and the य which replaces a two-mātram vowel will be a two-mātram य i.e. long य. See I. 1. 50.

Why do we say, “not ending in य”? Observe भाव इत्यति = भास्वानि। Obj. How can this be a valid example, as the word भस्य is understood here, and भस्य before the affix य is not a pada (I. 4. 15)? Ans. This indicates that the य change takes place, even when भस्य is not a pada. As भास्य.

Vṛtt:-—It should rather be stated that the rule applies to that भस्य which has no भ or य or र।। So that the prohibition may apply to भस्य, भस्य इत्यति।। The visarjaniya being considered as asiddha, this word is considered as ending in य।।

In order to apply the prohibition to भस्य and य also, some explain the sūtra thus:-ग वेदांश सोमासि। वच सङ्कारस्य मन्त्रः किंतु।। “The word भस्य in the sūtra is a Bahuvrihi, and means that in which य is substituted for य।। The sūtra is thus confined to the form भस्य derived by changing the य into य by VII 2. 102: and not to any other य।।

When भस्य takes the final-substitute भस्य by VI. 3. 92, how is this rule to be applied? Thus by III. 2. 59, the root भस्य takes भस्य।। We compound it with भस्य, as भस्यायति।। भस्य + भस्य + भस्य = भस्य + भस्य + भस्य + भस्य (VI. 3. 92) =भस्यायति (VI. 4. 24). Now there are three views, (1) the य of भस्य, and य of भस्य are both changed to य by the present sūtra; (2), the first य is not changed, but only य; (3) none is changed. Thus we have (1) भस्यायति (VII. 70, VI. 1. 68, VIII. 2. 23 and 62), भस्यायति, भस्यायति।। (2) Secondly, भस्यायति, भस्यायति, भस्यायति।। (3) Lastly भस्यायति, भस्यायति, भस्यायति।। The above verse summarises this:

“Some ordain that य should come separately for both adas and adri, as there is double य (in पर्यायस्य); others would have य only for the last portion which stands in proximity to the final, (i.e. for य); while a third class would have nowhere, because they explain भस्य: of the sūtra, by knowing it to: VII. 2. 102.” The first class interpret भस्य: by “that form of भस्य which has no य”; and they do not apply the maxim भस्यायति भस्यायति काये भस्यायति “when a modification is ordained with regard to some thing which is not final, the operation takes place on that only which is in proximity to the final.” The second class apply this maxim and make य change only for य which stands in proximity to the final; while the last class interpret the word भस्य: in a different way altogether ( य: भस्य सङ्कारस्य सोमासि भस्य:।।)

Why do we say भस्य ‘for the vowel after य’? Observe भस्य, भस्य, the final य as not changed to य।।
81. For the डू coming after the डू of अधर्म, there is substituted डू, and डू is changed to म, when plurality is to be expressed.

Thus धनि for धनि is changed to म in मते. The word बहुवचने in the सूत्रa does not mean the technical बहुवचन; for that would have made the सूत्रa have this sense “when the affixes of the Plural number follow”. In that case, we could not get the form धनि where no plural affix follows. Hence we have translated it, by saying when plurality is to be denoted.

82. Upto the close of this chapter (Pāda), it is always to be supplied: “the last vowel of a sentence is Pluta and has the acute”.

This is an adhikāra sūtra. All the three words i.e. “the last vowel (डू) of a sentence”, “Pluta” and “acute”—are to be supplied in the subsequent aphorisms to complete the sense, up to the end of this Pāda. Whatever we shall treat hereafter will refer to the final vowel (डू) in a sentence, and it will get the Pluta lengthening and acute accent. Thus VIII. 2. 83, says “In answer to a salutation, but not when it is addressed to a Śūdra”. We must supply the present aphorism to complete the meaning:—“In answer to a salutation, the last vowel of a sentence becomes Pluta and gets the acute accent, but not when it is addressed to a Śūdra”. As शास्त्रादेशम् देवसेविः (Mī भाषात्मागदेषिः देवसेविः). One adhikāra sets aside another adhikāra, this is the general maxim. Will therefore the adhikāra of the present aphorism set aside the adhikāra of the word पृथ्वी (VIII. 1. 16)? No, the adhikāra of पृथ्वी has not ceased, though latent. Otherwise in शास्त्रि &c. the डू would be required to be changed to म by VIII. 3. 7. But it does not become so, because पृथ्वी manifests itself there.

The employment of the word “vākya” would not debar the anuvṛtti of डू, for the final vowel of a sentence, will a fortiori be the final vowel of a word (pada), then what is the use of employing the word वाक्याः in this सूत्रa?
The word वाक्य is employed in the sūtra, so that a word which is not the last word of a sentence, will not get the pluta and acute. Had the sūtra been परशु ए&c. then all the words of a sentence would become pluta and acute in the final.

The word हि is employed to indicate that the final vowel becomes pluta and acute, though the word may end in a consonant. As मन्निथित् हि Had हि not been used, the rule would have applied to words ending in vowels only, and not to words ending in consonants.

83. In answer to a salutation, but not when it refers to a Sūdra, the last vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and gets the acute accent.

The word सन्मथितम means "respectful salutation of a superior or elder by an inferior or junior for the sake of obtaining his blessing. It consists of three acts 1. rising from the seat, 2. touching of the feet, 3. the uttering of the formula of salutation ". The word सन्मथितम means, the blessing given by the superior or elder in answer to such salutation. In giving utterance to such blessing, the last vowel of the final word gets udatta and acute, provided that, such blessing is not pronounced on a Sūdra.

Thus सन्मथितम is said by Devadatta to his Guru. The latter says थे सन्मथितम एवि रेवती। " O Devadatta! be thou long-lived ".

Why do we say when not referring to a Sūdra? Observe सन्मथितम is said by a Sūdra. In reply to this the Guru replies थे सन्मथितम एवि रेवती।

Vārt.:—Prohibition must be stated with regard to women also. As सन्मथितम is said by Gārgī. To this the Guru replies थे सन्मथितम एवि रेवती।

Vārt.:—Some would have this prohibition where a detractor or an arrogant person is addressed. So long as one's arrogance or ridicule does not become manifest, there is prolation. But when one comes to know that he is my detractor, and is really ridiculing me by a show of respect; then the reply is not a blessing, but is, in fact, a curse. Thus सन्मथितम तथापि थे, is uttered by the detractor; and the Guru understanding the word Sthālin to be the Proper Name of the person, replies सन्मथितम एवि तथापि थे। Then the
detractor says, Sthālin is not my Proper Name, but an adjective, like dandīn, viz. he who has a śālā or cooking pot. The Guru, believing this to be true, again replies, Bāyuṣhaṇa ete śālāniḥ but without prolation, because the word is not a Proper Noun. The other then says “O Sir, it is not my epithet, it is my Proper Name”. The Guru now comes to learn that he is being laughed at, and so gets angry and says: Bāyuṣhaṇaṃ Bhāṣyam! Na sā vāpyaṃ parivāraṃ maḥāśi; Nipattantam bhūtaṃ śālāniḥ! Here it is a curse, as well as a pun: i.e. “burst thou, O sinner, like unto a cooking pot (sthalin = sthall-vat).

Ishti:—This prolation takes place there only, where the Proper Noun Gotra &c. with which the salutation was made, is employed by the Guru at the end of the sentence; and not where the position of the Proper Name &c. is different. Therefore not here, Bāyuṣhaṇaḥ Kuravāṇiḥ; Bāyuṣhaṇaḥ Bhāṣyam, etc., for here the word Devadatta is not used at the end of a sentence.

Vart:—The prolation is optional, when the follows such Proper Name, or when the Person addressed is a Kshatriya or a Vaishya. As the Bhāṣyavāla Ṛṣabhaśoṣāḥ. Reply (1) Bāyuṣhaṇaḥ ete śālāniḥ etc. (2) Bāyuṣhaṇaḥ ete śālāniḥ etc. So also when a Kshatriya is addressed, as Bhāṣyavāla Ṛṣabhaśoṣāḥ. Reply (1) Bāyuṣhaṇaḥ ete śālāniḥ etc. or (2) Bāyuṣhaṇaḥ ete śālāniḥ etc. Vaishya: Bhāṣyavāla Ṛṣabhaśoṣāḥ. Return: Guru: Bāyuṣhaṇaḥ ete śālāniḥ etc. or Bāyuṣhaṇaḥ ete śālāniḥ etc. etc. etc. etc.

84. The final vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and acute, when used in calling a person from a distance.

The word Bāṣaṅkū is in the Fifth case by II. 3. 35; the word Bāṣaṅkū means ‘calling’, ‘addressing’. Thus Bāṣaṅkū thā dā variṣṭhaḥ. The word Bāṣaṅkū thā dā variṣṭhaḥ. The word ‘distance’ is a relative term, and is not fixed at what distance there should be prolation. The prolation however takes place, when a voice is to be raised, in order that the sound may reach the person. That distance upto which the voice can be heard without raising its pitch and without any special effort, need not be considered as “distance” for the purposes of this sūtra.

The word Bāṣaṅkū here includes, ‘addressing in general’, and not only ‘calling’. Thus there is prolation here also Bāṣaṅkū thā dā variṣṭhaḥ. This pluta sentence becomes eka-fruti by I. 2. 33.

Why do we say “from a distance”? Observe Bāṣaṅkū thā dā variṣṭhaḥ!

Ishti:—This prolation takes place only then, when the noun in the vocative case stands at the end of the sentence. Therefore, there is no prolation here: Bāṣaṅkū thā dā variṣṭhaḥ.
85. When the words हे and हें are employed, in addressing a person from a distance, there the हे and हें alone get the pluta and the accent.

As हे हे देवस्त, देवस्त हे हे हे देवस्त, देवस्त हे हे

The repetition of the words हे and हें in the sūtra, is for the sake of indicating, that the prolation takes place even when हे and हें do not stand at the end of a sentence.

86. In the room of a prosodially long vowel, (with the exception of अ) though it may not stand at the end, there is substituted a pluta for one at a time, under the above circumstances (VIII. 2.83-84), in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians.

This sūtra indicates a special sthānī for the pluta vowel taught by VIII. 2.83 to 84. With the exception of अ, for every heavy vowel, though it may not be the final vowel of the vocative word, and for the final vowel also, but only one at a time, there is pluta substitution, in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians. Thus हे देवस्त or हे देवस्त or हे देवस्त। Similarly with वहरस्त, वहरस्त or वहरस्त।

Why do we say लोके: "of a prosodially long vowel”? So that the अ of अ and अ in Devadatta and Yajñadatta may not be prolated, for this अ is short.

Why do we say अमृतः: “with the exception of अ”? Observe कृष्णर्क, कृष्ण निर्माण, but never कृष्णमयः

The word एकेरस्त shows that the prolation should not be simultaneous, but of one at a time; not एकेरस्त।

The word प्राचाय in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians” is used for the sake of creating option. So in one alternative, there is no prolation at all.

As भायुष्माण एव देवस्त। Thus the present sūtra, makes VIII. 2.83 and 84, optional sūtras. This also is an authority for the following dictum of Patanjali “कर्ने एवं ने नेव: लोकस्मिनेव ने नेव:” (Mahābhāṣya VIII. 2.92. Commentary). Thus all rules relating to Prolation become optional. In short, the word प्राचाय should be read in all rules regarding prolation, and thus without doing violence (sāhasa) to grammatical authority, one may have optional pluta everywhere.
87. The vowel in भूष्ण is pluta in the beginning of a sacred text.

The word भूष्ण means the commencement of a sacred mantra or Vedic text. Thus भूष्ण भूष्णी संहितानि अस्त्वलं देवधार्मिकः (Rig I. 1. 1).

Why do we say “in the beginning”? Observe अमिथेयत्वस्मायुपासीत (Chāndogya Upanishad. I. 1. 1). Here भूष्ण is not used to indicate the commencement of a Text or Mantra, but is itself the subject of comment.

88. The vowel of ये becomes pluta in a sacred text, when it is employed in a sacrificial work.

Thus येश्व ज्ञानिः Why do we say when employed in sacrificial work? Observe ये वर्जनां इति प्रवर्फङ्गः "Ye yajamahe consists of five syllables". Here it is simple recitation.

Ishti:—The word ये is pluta before वर्जनां only. Therefore not so here: ये देवशीरो हिम्बकापरस्य (Rig. I. 139. 11).

89. In a sacrificial work, भूष्ण is substituted for the final vowel, with the consonant, if any, that may follow it, of a sentence.

The word भूष्ण is understood here also. The word प्रणः means भूष्ण It is the name given to this syllable. This भूष्ण is substituted for the final letter (ति) of that word which stands either at the end of a Pāda of a sacred hymns or at the end of a hemistich of such Rik. Thus for प्रणः रेवस्ति जस्ति (Rig. VIII. 44. 16), we may have प्रणः रेवस्ति जस्ति॥ So also for देवशीरो विभागस्ति द्विधः (Rig. III. 27. 1), we may have देवशीरो विभागस्ति द्विधः॥

The word ति is repeated in this aphorism in spite of its anusvṛtti from VIII. 2. 83, to indicate that भूष्ण replaces the whole last syllable, with its vowel and consonant. Had ति not been repeated, then by the rule of स्यस्य-स्यस्य the final letter only of the ति portion of a sentence would have been replaced. Thus in छ्रस्तः, the visarjaniya alone would have been replaced.

When not employed in connection with sacrificial works, there is no such substitution. Thus in simple reading of the Vedas, we should always recite प्रणः रेवस्ति जस्ति॥
90. The last vowel at the end of Mantras called Yājya, when employed in sacrificial works, is pluta and has the Acute.

Thus स्तोत्रतिच्यामात्रे (Rig. VIII. 43. 11), भिन्नाचारे पञ्चेष इत्यादास्याः (Rig. X. 8. 6).

Why do we say 'at the end'? There are some Yājya hymns, consisting of several sentences. The final vowel (ऋ) of every sentence would have become pluta, in such a hymn. To prevent it, the word "anta" is used, so that the final vowel of the hymn at the end of all, becomes pluta.

91. In a sacrificial work, the first syllable of इत्रत्र, रेत्र, औष्ट्र, औष्ट्र and अवह is pluta.

Thus भवेष्वरतुधिः (Maitr. S. I. 4. 11), भवेष्वर सोमवारी (or 'व') वेश्वर, बालक वेश्वर, बालक वेश्वर, भवेष्वर वेश्वर, भवेष्वर वेश्वर.

So also in विश्वास्तृतः on the analogy of इत्रत्र, so also भवेष्वर.

The word औष्ट्र is illustrative of the six forms वेश्वर, औष्ट्र, अवह, औष्ट्र, औष्ट्र, औष्ट्र.

But there is no prolation in अवह वेश्वर, वेश्वर; अवह आर वेश्वर.

92. In an order given to Āgnidhra priest, the first syllable as well as the succeeding syllable is pluta.

In a Yajña, the principal priests (र्विज) are four Adhvaryu, Udgātā, Hotā, Brahmā. Every one of these has three subordinate priests (र्विज) under them: as shown below.

**Names of Principal.**

| Adhvaryu (Yajur) | Pratipрастhātā | Nesthā (VI.4.11) Unnetā.
| Udgātā (Sāman)   | Prastotā       | Pratihartā Subrahmanyā. |
| Hotā (Rig) VI. 4. 11. | Maitra varuṇa | Achchhāvāk Potā (VI.4.11). |
| Brahmā (Atharvan) | Brāhmaṇaḥclhāhī Āgnidhra | Gravāvastuta. |

**Subordinate.**

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<td>Adhvaryu Pratipрастhātā Nesthā (VI.4.11) Unnetā.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Udgātā Prastotā Pratihartā Subrahmanyā.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hotā Maitra varuṇa Achchhāvāk Potā (VI.4.11).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brahmā Brāhmaṇaḥclhāhī Āgnidhra Gravāvastuta.</td>
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The duty of Agnidhra is to kindle the sacrificial fire. In a summons or call (वेषण) made by the Adhvaryu, who is the Director of ceremonies, to the Agnidhra to perform the functions of Agnidh, both syllable become pluta.

The word वेषण is a compound — वर्गीयं: वेषणम् “a call or summon relating to Agniddh.duty.”

Thus भा १ भा १ वचन, को १ भा १ वचन। The pluta takes place only in these examples; therefore, not here, as वर्गीयंसम विषयः, भरे स्मृयमहि। Some, therefore, read the aunvritti of the word विभाषा from the next sūtra, into this, and would have it an optional rule, of fixed jurisdiction (viyavasthitā vibhāṣā). Others say “all pluta rules are optional” (सर्व एव प्रश्नः साधनमविभाषा निगमा निश्चयः:)। In उदृत तत्त्वं, वास्तवं, भावविकलयति, there is Vedic diversity.

The words ‘relating to sacrificial work’ (तत्त्वार्थम्) are understood here also. Therefore not in भा भाष्यम्।

विभाषा युद्धपतियवचने हैं। प्रर्दनि विभाषा, युद्ध-प्रतिवचने, है।

93. हि at the end of an answer to a question may optionally be pluta.

Thus Q. अन्तःकी: करः इच्छाः? Ans. भक्तः है। or भक्तः हि। Q. अन्तःकी: केवलः इच्छाः? Ans. भक्तः हि। or हि।

Why do we say “in answer to a question”? Observe करतः करिस्यते हि।

Why do we say हे: “of हि”? Observe करिस्यते हि।

निगुष्ठादुक्षो च। प्रर्दनि चेथी, अनु योगेः, च।

94. The end syllable of that sentence is optionally pluta, when it asserts something which has been refuted, and is employed by the victor by way of censure.

The word विभाषा means the refutation of another’s opinion. विभाषा is a gerund, and means ‘having refuted’. विभाषा: is the expression of the same proposition which has been refuted. When a person has demonstrated the untenableness of another’s assertion, and then employs the said assertion by way of taunt, reproach or reprimand, then the final syllable of such a sentence becomes pluta. The sūtra literally means “Having refuted (it) when asserting (the same by way of censure).”

Thus an opponent asserts that “The word is not eternal.” (विश्वसं: विश्वं:). Proving by arguments the untenableness of this position, and after refuting it, the victor says by way of reprimand:—विश्वसं: यथात्यास्तः अर्थि or विश्वसं: यथात्यास्तः

‘This is then your assertion—that the word is not eternal’. Similarly यथा ज्ञानविकताः अर्थिः or यथात्यास्तः अर्थिः. अर्थात्यास्तः अर्थिः or यथात्यास्तः अर्थिः.
In some texts of Kāśikā, according to Padamanjari, only the last example is given.

95. The end syllable of an āmreśita Vocative is pluta, when threat is expressed.

A Vocative is reiterated when threat is meant (VIII. i. 8). Its final syllable becomes pluta. Thus परā योराः पातिकाणि त्या। So also दुष्ट दुष्टोऽष्ट्वसव वनवियोजि त्या, शत्र शत्रोऽश &c.

Though the anuvṛtti of the sūtra VIII. 2. 82, is current here, yet the final of the sentence is not pluta, but of the āmreśita.

Vṛdd :—It should be rather stated that any one of the repeated words may be pluta by alternation. Thus पराः पराः or पराः पराः। The word āmreśita is employed in the sūtra as illustrative of the doubling, for threat is expressed by both words, so pluta may be of both words in turn: and not of the second word only, though that is called technically āmreśita.

96. The final syllable of a finite verb, used as a threat becomes pluta, when the word अन्न is joined with it, and it demands another sentence to complete the conclusion.

Thus अन्नूर्जः इसाणम् हात्यति जात्यं। अन्न ज्ञात्यं। इसाणम् हात्यति जात्यं।

Why do we say ‘a verb’? Observe अन्न ज्ञात्यं विख्य विभाष सि।

Why do we say “when this calls for a conclusion”? Observe अन्न पष।

Here it is a complete sentence and does not demand another to complete the sense.

The word अर्थनेन of the last sūtra is understood here also. Therefore not here, अन्न धर्मीण, अधर्म ते हात्यति। Here अन्न has the force of solicitation, (VIII. 1. 33).

97. The end-syllable of those sentences is pluta, which denote acts of reflection (or balancing between two alternatives).

To determine a thing by weighing all arguments pro and con is called vichāra or judgment. Thus देशमेव सुनिज्ञकार्य गृह । न ते तेस्विताः “should one perform sacrifice in the house of an initiated person”. Similarly विक्र्याधिकार, अनुप्रयोग
98. In the common speech, the end-vowel of the first alternative is only pluta.

This makes a niyama or restriction. The previous sūtra, is thus confined to Vedic literature, and not to the vernacular. तु here has the force of ‘only’. Thus भगा देव यथार्थ ‘Is it a snake or a rope?’ तथ्यो देव कपोलु ‘Is it a clod of earth or a pigeon?’

The priority, of course, depends upon employment. The order of words depends upon one’s choice.

99. The end-syllable of the sentence which expresses assent or promise or listening to, is pluta.

The word प्रतिहारण means “agreement, assent or promise”. It also means “listening to”. All these senses are to be taken here, as there is nothing in the sūtra to restrict its scope. Thus it has three senses, 1. to promise something to a petitioner, 2. to acknowledge the truth of some proposition, 3. to listen to another’s words. Thus भगा ने नेहि भो; 1. हसने इसाम 2. निस: पहो मिशिलते हैं 3. वधारण भो; बिनामा 11

अनुदातः प्रमा नातिमिश्रितियोः 100 पद्वति अनुदातः प्रमा महत:, प्रस्त-अन्त, असि पुष्विति: 11

100. The end-vowel at the end of a question or of a praise is pluta, but unaccented.

That which is employed at the end of an interrogative sentence is called प्रश्न: According to some, this rule does not ordain pluta, but only ordains the anudatta-ness of those syllables which become pluta by the previous rules VIII. 2, 84 &c. The meaning of the sūtra then is:—That pluta which comes at the end of an Interrogative sentence or a sentence denoting admiration, is anudatta.

Thus अयन्त: दुष्श्रीति नागर्जुन अस्तित्वादिः अनुदातः अयन्त: दुष्श्रीप्राणि पदार्थः (i.e. नागम: दुष्श्री प्राणार्थ अस्तित्वादि अनुदात: पदार्थः) 11 The words अस्तित्वादि, and पदार्थ being finals in a
question, become anudatta as well as pluta. The other words वानम्: &c become svarita and pluta by VIII. 2. 105. See VIII. 2. 107.

As regards माण्यतिः we have श्रीमत्: लाभ्यमि माण्यतिः || Here the final of माण्यकि becomes anudatta and pluta.

चितित्वित चोपमायं पुरुषायम् || १०१ || पदानि || वित्व, हरि, ज, उपमा-रये, पुरुषायम् मा

कृति: || पुरुषायमि वर्षये चितित्वितान्तानि उपमा यथा पुरुषायमि सारस्वत देवसाय: प्रत्यो भवति इ

101. The end-vowel at the end of a sentence becomes anudatta and pluta, when the particle वित्व is employed, denoting comparison.

The word बहुदोषां is understood here. This sūtra ordains pluta as well and not merely accent.

Thus बहुदोषां माण्यति ‘may he shine as fire’. So also राजानि सारस्वत ‘may be shine as a King’.

Why do we say ‘when the sense is that of comparison’? Observe कर्म 

वित्व वाहुः इ || Here वित्व has the force of ‘littleness or difficulty’.

Why do we say प्रभुपानि ‘when expressly employed’? Observe भाव भावनां सारस्वत ‘Let the boy shine like fire’. Here वित्व is understood, hence the rule does not apply.

उपरिद्वर्रूसा विद्वर्रूस || १०२ || पदानि || उपरि-स्वित्व-असाइ, हरि, ज ||

कृति: इ || पुरुषायमि वर्षये उपरिद्वर्रूसा विद्वर्रूस: प्रत्यो भवति इ

102. In उपरि द्वित्वार्द्वृगम्य the end vowel is anudatta and pluta.

The word anudatta is understood here also. The end-vowel would have been pluta here by VIII. 2. 97: the present sūtra really ordains accentlessness of this pluta.

Thus भान्ति विद्वर्रूस, उपरि द्वित्वार्द्वृगम्य (Rig X. 129. 5). In the first portion तार्द्विति is pluta and udatta by VIII. 2. 97, in the second it is anudatta by the present sūtra.

स्वरित्वादेदेशस्य स्वायत्तां समुस्य शोचुस्येषु || १०३ || पदानि || स्वरित्वादेदेशस्य: हस्तिते, अस्यु, सम्मति, शोचे, कुस्येषु इ

कृति: || स्वायत: प्रत्यो गति ततुस्यित: परत्य: भास्यांसम्मत: कौये कुस्येषु च गम्येषु कृति

103. Of the two Vocatives of the same form standing at the beginning of a sentence, the end-vowel of the first becomes pluta and svarita, when envy, praise, anger, or blame is expressed.

The vocative is doubled by VIII. 1. 8. This sūtra ordains pluta there.

Thus’ Envy:—माण्यविधत्व माण्यकि, माण्यविधत्व माण्यकि, रिनं त वनिःधिः || Praise:—
104. When an error against polite usage is censured, or when a benediction or a bidding is intended, the end syllable of a finite verb becomes pluta and svarita, if this requires another sentence to complete the sense.

The word 'svarita' is understood here. The word शिवा means 'the error in usage' or 'want of good breeding'. (VIII.i.60) शाश्वि means 'benediction'. प्रेषि means 'order' or 'commanding by words'.

Thus (1) स्थवि रचेत शरिः, उपाधियों शरितं नमि। शरवियों न्यायविन्यों नामितं। In both these, the first sentence requires the second as its complement, and hence there is साकारता।

Benediction:—शलावि कसाििििि धों च तास; ठांगोंपंहीिििि वाकारणं च, मत॥
Order:—कार्य एंगें च गणें। ब्याप्त्युं शुभिः, तवथूम विष॥

Why do we say “when it requires another sentence as its complement”? Observe शिविे तेजा अयुज्य; अग्नि वितर॥ There cannot be any counter-example of शिविा, for there are two sentences are absolutely necessary to express the sense of censure.

अनन्त्यप्तायि प्रभृत्यायििि:॥१०५॥ पदानि॥ अनन्त्यप्त, अपि, प्रमि, भाषायििि:॥

105. In a question or narration, the end-vowel of a word, though not final in a sentence, becomes svarita and pluta, as well as of the word which is final in a sentence.

The word 'padasya' is understood here: and so also the word 'svarita'. The end-vowel of a word which is not the last word in a sentence, as well as of the last word, becomes svarita and pluta, when a question is asked, or a fact is narrated. In fact, all the words of a sentence become svarita and pluta hereby.

Thus in questioning we have:—शासनाष्ण। दुःशीिि चायाएँ भाषि सुशासन or पयाह॥ Thus all words have become svarita and pluta. The final word
would, in one alternative, become anudatta also, by VIII. 2. 100, as shown under that sūtra. The force of the word वति in the sūtra, is to make the final word also svarita, and thus this sūtra makes VIII. 2. 100 an optional sūtra with regard to question.

In धक्षयन or narration, there is no other rule, which is debarred by this. Therefore there, all words become svarita and pluta necessarily, by the force of this sūtra. Thus गस्मदपि द्वारं गारम्भः नेत्रः. II

Another view of this sūtra is that the word वति applies only to धक्षयन, so that in धक्षयन all words become svarita. But in praṇa, the final word will not become svarita, but anudatta necessarily by VIII. 2. 100. According to this view, this sūtra does not ordain option. This view is not adopted by Kāśikā, or Padamanjari or Siddhanta Kaumudi.

प्रत्ययायच हुतो || १०६ || पदानि || प्रत्ययायतो, प्रत्ययाय ||

106. In forming the pluta of the diphthongs ऐ and ओ, their last element इ and ऐ get the pluta.

The pluta ordained by VIII. 2. 84 &c. when applied to ऐ or ओ, cause the prolation of the last element of these diphthongs namely of ऐ or ओ. The word प्रत्ययाय in the sūtra is Nominative dual of प्रत्ययाय, and the aphorism literally means "ऐ and ओ are pluta of the diphthongs ऐ औ and ओ". II

Thus धक्षयनम्, ब्रह्मवाचः.

The letters ऐ and ओ are compound letters or diphthongs consisting of ऐ + ऐ and ओ + ओ. In making the pluta of these, the question arises, should both ऐ and ओ (or ओ) be prolated, or only the last element, or the first only. The present sūtra answers that doubt. If in the analysis of these letters, ऐ be taken as having one mātra (or morās), and ओ and ओ one mātra, then the pluta ऐ and ओ will have two mātrās, so that the whole pluta ऐ and ओ will have three mātrās. In fact, the word प्रत्ययाय is used here as a Past Participle of प्रत्यय, having the force of a verb; and हुतो यातायाय means हुतो यातायाय यातायाय, i.e. हुतो यातायाय, यातायाय. I.e. ऐ and ओ are lengthened. And ऐ and ओ are lengthened to that extent, so as to make ऐ and ओ three mātrās. Thus when ऐ + ऐ and ओ + ओ each has one mātra, then the pluta of ऐ and ओ will have two mātrās as we have said before. But when ऐ + ऐ (ऐ) and ओ + ओ (ओ) are considered to have ऐ half mātra, and ओ and ओ one mātra and a half, then ऐ and ओ are made pluta, so as to have two and a half (2½) mātrās each, thus the whole of ऐ and ओ, has still three mātrās. In fact, the definition of pluta is, that it is a vowel which has three mātrās: so that we should so prolate the vowel as to make it have three mātrās.

But according to Patanjali, this pluta of ऐ and ओ has four mātrās. Thus ऐ + ऐ and ओ + ओ each has one mātra. The pluta of ऐ and ओ will have
three mātrās. Thus अ + ॠ and अ + ऌ or the whole has four mātrās. According to this view a vowel may have four mātrās also.

107. In the diphthongs, which are not Prāgrhya (I. 1. 11 &c) and which become pluta under the circumstances mentioned in VIII. 2. 83 &c., but not when that circumstance is a call from a distance (VIII. 2. 84); for the first half, there is substituted the prolated आ, and for the second portion ह or े.

The diphthongs or ेष are े, ेष, े, े and ेष. Their elements are अ + ह, and अ + े. When these diphthongs are to be prolated, at the end of a word, the diphthong is resolved into its elements, the first portion आ is prolated, and ह or े added, as the case may be. This ह and े, in fact, are the substitute of the second portion, which may be ह or े, or ह or े.

This rule is not of universal application, but applies to Rules VIII. 2. 100, VIII. 2. 97, VIII. 2. 83, and VIII. 2. 90 only, according to the

Vārttika:—The scope of this sūtra should be determined by enumerating the rules to which it applies.

Vārttika:—It should be stated that it applies to sūtras VIII. 2. 100, 97, 83 and 90.

Thus VIII. 2. 100: As क्लोन्धः पूण्यादिन साधुसः मम्मतुः || or पूण्यादिन || गर्व षोड्य नामसः मम्मतुः || or पूण्यादिन || So also VIII. 2. 97: होत्येः क्षितित्व षोड्यन्ति || So also VIII. 2. 83, as:—आद्यायादे एषे मम्मतुः || or पूण्यादि || So also VIII. 2. 90:—as.

This pluta आ is udatta, anuddāta or svarita, according to the particular rule which has been applied, i.e. at the end of a question it is anuddāta or svarita, and every where else, udatta. The ह and े are of course, always udatta: because the anuvṛtthī of udatta is current here.

Why do we restrict this sūtra to the above-mentioned four rules? Observe विषुव्ययो विषुव्यये विन्दुव्यये विन्दुव्ययो द्वारा बिन्दुव्ययो द्वारा विन्दुव्ययः.

In fact, the present sūtra being confined to the above-mentioned four rules, the words भुगतुः पूण्यादि in the sūtra, are redundant: and should not have
been used. Moreover the word प्रासि should have been used in the sūtra, for it applies to diphthongs at the end of a pada. Therefore, not here, गृहिति तीतिवि. Here also before the sarvanāmasthāna affix ः is not a Pada (I. 4. 17).

Why do we say ‘when it is not a Pragṛhya’? Observe गृहिति तीतिवि सपि यात ॥

Vārt.:—This peculiar modification of pluta vowel takes place in the Vocative case in the Vedas. As भमाशा पदांभा: सत्तुरेण द्वा सोंम विष ॥ Here by no other rule, the Vocative would have become prolated.

तयोदृश्चिम संहितायाम ॥ १०५ ॥ पदांभा: तयो: द्वा; अधिक, संहितायाम ॥

Kārikā:—क्ष तद भगत मभिः स नीर्व नासिन्दुरूपस्वधार्म तत्साध ित हुव्ध ॥

Thus भमाशा, पदांभा: भमाशा:क्न्तर, पदांभा:क्न्तर ॥

Why do we say “when a vowel follows”? Observe भमाशा, पदांभा: ॥

Why do we say संहितायाम ‘in an uninterrupted flow of speech’? Observe भमाशा: हृद्ध, पदांभा: वर्ग, in Pada Pātha.

This sūtra is made, because द्वा and ः being Pluta-modifications are considered as asidhā (VIII. 2. 1) for the purposes of द्वा: च्यवि (VI. 1. 77). But supposing that some how or other, these द्वा and ः be considered siddha, still the present rule is necessary to prevent their lengthening before a homogeneos vowel (VI. 1. 101), or their retaining their form unchanged by VI. 1. 127. If it be said, that these rules VI. 1. 101, and VI. 1. 127, would not apply, because of the Vārtika द्वा: पदांभा: नूत्तरवित्त सत्तुरेण द्वा सोंम विषय: (Vārtika to VI. 1. 77); still the present sūtra ought to be made, in order to prevent य भ क accent (VIII. 2. 4).

Kārikā:—Q. Could not this have been accomplished by the च्यवि of VI. 1. 77, that the Achārya has taught this separate ः and ः substitution?

Ans.—If you say that pluta is siddha in the vowel sandhi rules, because of the ज्ञापक in sūtra VI. 1. 125, then still this rule is necessary in order to prevent the lengthening of VI. 1. 101, and the Sākala rule VI. 1. 127.
Q.—But those two rules VI. 1. 101, and VI. 1. 127, have already been debarred by the Vārtika which ordains that बन्धः takes place of such a vowel following a pluta (See vārtika to VI. 1. 77), what is then the necessity of the present sūtra?

Ans.—The necessity of the present sūtra is to prevent the वृञ्ज-accent of VIII. 2. 4.

According to one view, the vārtika under VI. 1. 77, refers to those vowels which are not pluta-elements, like the present र and ल, but which are independent vowels following after a pluta vowel. As नोरी ल द्रवम् = नोर विन्य द्रवम्

Here र is a Nipāta.
In some texts of Kāśikā, according to Padamanjari, only the last example is given.

95. The end syllable of an āmṛēṭita Vocative is Pluta, when threat is expressed.

A Vocative is reiterated when threat is meant (VIII. 1. 8). Its final syllable becomes Pluta. Thus पैरे पैरे पनपिक्यान ल्ला. So also हृदय हृदय वधाविचार ल्ला, इत्य इत्या &c.

Though the anuvṛtti of the sūtra VIII. 2. 82, is current here, yet the final of the sentence is not Pluta, but of the āmṛēṭita.

Vdrt:—It should be rather stated that any one of the repeated words may be Pluta by alternation. Thus पैरे पैरे or पैरे पैरे. The word āmṛēṭita is employed in the sūtra as illustrative of the doubling, for threat is expressed by both words, so Pluta may be of both words in turn: and not of the second word only, though that is called technically āmṛēṭita.

96. The final syllable of a finite verb, used as a threat becomes Pluta, when the word अहः is joined with it, and it demands another sentence to complete the conclusion.

Thus अहः दुर्जयः इत्यादि आलम् अहः झाण्डि ह, इत्यादि आलम्

Why do we say ‘a verb’? Observe अहः देवरण विभा पवलि

Why do we say “when this calls for a conclusion”? Observe अहः पवलि

Here it is a complete sentence and does not demand another to complete the sense.

The word इत्यादि of the last sūtra is understood here also. Therefore not here, अहः वष्णु, लोगें हे हस्तपिनिः. Here अहः has the force of solicitation. (VIII. 1. 33).

97. The end-syllable of those sentences is Pluta, which denote acts of reflection (or balancing between two alternatives).

To determine a thing by weighing all arguments pro and con is called vichāra or judgment. Thus हेतुसव सेवितवम् हृदयं न हेतुसवम्, “should one perform sacrifice in the house of an initiated person”. Similarly लिखेपाण्डि, अनुभवे
98. In the common speech, the end-vowel of the first alternative is only pluta.

This makes a niyama or restriction. The previous sūtra, is thus confined to Vedic literature, and not to the vernacular. तु here has the force of 'only'. Thus महि देव सहस्रोऽि 'Is it a snake or a rope?' तिषो देव कसोऽि 'Is it a clod of earth or a pigeon?'

The priority, of course, depends upon employment. The order of words depends upon one's choice.

99. The end-syllable of the sentence which expresses assent or promise or listening to, is pluta.

The word प्रतिशेष means "agreement, assent or promise". It also means "listening to". All these senses are to be taken here, as there is nothing in the sūtra to restrict its scope. Thus it has three senses, 1. to promise something to a petitioner, 2. to acknowledge the truth of some proposition, 3. to listen to another's words. Thus त्वा र देव मोि; 1. हति हि रामिि; 2. निलः चाकौऽिरिि 3. प्रतिशेष मोि; ग्रामवांििि रसििि

100. The end-vowel at the end of a question or of a praise is pluta, but unaccented.

That which is employed at the end of an interrogative sentence is called प्रश्नतः. According to some, this rule does not ordain pluta, but only ordains the anudatta-ness of those syllables which become pluta by the previous rules VIII. 2. 84 &c. The meaning of the sūtra then is:—That pluta which comes at the end of an Interrogative sentence or a sentence denoting admiration, is anudatta.

Thus अनुद्भतः प्रश्नतः यान्तः प्रतिनिधिन्तः or अनुद्भतः प्रश्नतः यान्तः (i.e. ब्रहः प्रश्नतः यान्तः अभिनुथिन्तः or पदे) II The words अनुद्भतः, and यान्तः being finals in a
question, become anudatta as well as pluta. The other words भगवनः &c become svarita and pluta by VIII. 2. 105. See VIII. 2. 107.

As regards भगवद् we have भगवनः स्वरूपित भगवनः. Here the final of माणसः becomes anudatta and pluta.

स्वरूपिते चौपार्श्च प्रयुक्तमाणः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिन्त, दति, च, उपमा-पर्यं, प्रयुक्तमाणे ॥

दृष्ट: प्रयुक्तमाणे वर्षे स्वरूपितास्तिरिप्येते उपमार्यं प्रयुक्तमाणे शास्त्राय देरुकारः। प्रकोटो भचित् ॥

101. The end-vowel at the end of a sentence becomes anudatta and pluta, when the particle चिन्त is employed, denoting comparison.

The word भगवद् is understood here. This सूत्रa ordains pluta as well and not merely accent.

Thus भगवद् माणसः 'may he shine as fire'. So also राजस्वरूपित भगवद् 'may be shine as a King'.

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of comparison'? Observe कार्यन्ति भगवद् ॥ Here चिन्त has the force of 'littleness or difficulty'.

Why do we say प्रयुक्तमाणे 'when expressly employed'? Observe भगवद् माणसः भगवद् 'Let the boy shine like fire'. Here चिन्त is understood, hence the rule does not apply.

उपरिहासितेन च ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपरिस्वरूपित-आसीनः, दति, च ॥

दृष्ट: प्रयुक्तमाणे उपरि स्वरूपितास्तिरिप्येते देशुकारः। प्रकोटो भचित् ॥

102. In उपरि रित्वा आसीनः the end vowel is anudatta and pluta.

The word anudatta is understood here also. The end-vowel would have been pluta here by VIII. 2. 97: the present सूत्रa really ordains accentlessness of this pluta.

Thus भगवद् रित्वा, उपरि रित्वा (Rig X. 129. 5). In the first portion माणसः is pluta and udatta by VIII. 2. 97, in the second it is anudatta by the present सूत्रa.

स्वरूपिताःस्वरूपिताः सार्वतंकोपकस्तेऽपि ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरूपितम्, भगवरूपितम्, अनुपयोगिक, समस्ततिः, कोण, कुत्तमेत् ॥

दृष्ट: स्वरूपित: प्रकोटो भचिति माणसः भगवरूपितम्, कुत्तमेत्यं, कुत्तमेति च माणसः माणसः ॥

वास ॥ अपयुक्तस्वरूपः वा च चर्चनां कर्तव्यस्वरूपः ॥

103. Of the two Vocatives of the same form standing at the beginning of a sentence, the end-vowel of the first becomes pluta and svarita, when envy, praise, anger, or blame is expressed.

The vocative is doubled by VIII. 1. 8. This सूत्रa ordains pluta there. Thus Envy:—माणसंकारो भगवरूपका, भगवरूपका भगवरूपका, रित्वा भविष्यत् ॥ प्रसन्न:—
104. When an error against polite usage is censured, or when a benediction or a bidding is intended, the end syllable of a finite verb becomes planta and svarita, if this requires another sentence to complete the sense.

The word ‘svarita’ is understood here. The word बिखा means ‘the error in usage’ or ‘want of good breeding’. (VIII.1.60) बांधि means ‘benediction’. वेष means ‘order’ or ‘commanding by words’.

Thus (1) स्वंि रेनििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििşi
would, in one alternative, become anudatta also, by VIII. 2. 100, as shown under that sūtra. The force of the word वाय in the sūtra is to make the final word also svarita, and thus this sūtra makes VIII. 2. 100 an optional sūtra with regard to question.

In ākhyāna or narration, there is no other rule, which is debared by this. Therefore there, all words become svarita and pluta necessarily, by the force of this sūtra. Thus अन्गां००७ पूण० पाणि० भाग० ॥

Another view of this sūtra is that the word वाय applies only to ākhyāna, so that in ākhyāna all words become svarita. But in praṣna, the final word will not become svarita, but anudatta necessarily by VIII. 2. 100. According to this view, this sūtra does not ordain option. This view is not adopted by Kāśikā, or Padamanjari or Siddhanta Kaumudi.


tva tvā ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पसूती, देवेन, हुतो ॥
tvā tvā ॥ दूरार्मितिः पत्तो विविष्यः वच ऐपम् द्वातरहणां वस्वावहणार्थ इत्यादि पसूती ॥

106. In forming the pluta of the diphthongs रे and ष्र, their last element र and ष get the pluta.

The pluta ordained by VIII. 2. 84 &c. when applied to रे or ष्री, cause the prolongation of the last element of these diphthongs namely of र and ष. The word पसूती in the sūtra is Nominative dual of प्रव, and the aphorism literally means “र and ष are pluta of the diphthongs रे and ष्री”.

Thus ऐसे लिखितात्म, उक्तशयान ॥

The letters रे and ष्री are compound letters or diphthongs consisting of र and ष. In making the pluta of these, the question arises, should both र and ष (or ष्र) be prolated, or only the last element, or the first only. The present sūtra answers that doubt. If in the analysis of these letters, र be taken as having one mātra (or mora), and ष or ष्र one mātrā, then the pluta र and ष will have two mātrās, so that the whole pluta रे and ष्री will have three mātrās. In fact, the word पसूति is used here as a Past Participle of प्रव, having the force of a verb; and पसूति पदानि means पुनः पदानि i.e. पूणि गण्यत । i.e. रे and ष्री are lengthened. And रे and ष्री are lengthened to that extent, so as to make रे and ष्री three mātrās. Thus when र + रे and ष + ष्री each has one mātrā, then the pluta of रे and ष्री will have two mātrās as we have said before. But when र + रे (र) and ष + ष्री (ष्री) are considered to have र half mātra, and ष and ष्री one mātrā and a half, then रे and ष्री are made pluta, so as to have two and a half (2½) mātrās each, thus the whole of रे and ष्री, has still three mātrās. In fact, the definition of pluta is, that it is a vowel which has three mātrās: so that we should so prolate the vowel as to make it have three mātrās.

But according to Patanjali, this pluta of रे and ष्री has four mātrās. Thus र + रे and ष + ष्री each has one mātrā. The pluta of रे and ष्री will have
three मात्राः. Thus स + ह and स + ॠ or the whole has four मात्राः. According to this view a vowel may have four मात्राः also.

107. In the diphthongs, which are not Pragrhya (I. 1. 11 ैc) and which become pluta under the circumstances mentioned in VIII. 2. 83 ैc., but not when that circumstance is a call from a distance (VIII. 2. 84); for the first half, there is substituted the prolated आ, and for the second portion ह or े ॥

The diphthongs or द्वृष्टi are ए, ऐ, ओ, and ॠ। Their elements are स + ह, and स + ॠ। When these diphthongs are to be prolated, at the end of a word, the diphthong is resolved into its elements, the first portion स is prolated, and ह or े added, as the case may be. This ह and े, in fact, are the substitutes of the second portion, which may be ह or े, or ह or े।

This rule is not of universal application, but applies to Rules VIII. 2. 100, VIII. 2. 97, VIII. 2. 83, and VIII. 2. 90 only, according to the

Vārtt.—The scope of this sūtra should be determined by enumerating the rules to which it applies.

Vārtt.—It should be stated that it applies to sūtras VIII. 2. 100, 97, 83 and 90.

Thus VIII. 2. 100: As कर्णाक्ष: पूर्ववर्तमानां भस्मादि ॥ or प्रत्यः ॥ कालपद्धतिः कालपद्धतिः or पराः। So also VIII. 2. 97: हिंदुस्त: हिंदुस्त: पुराण: ॥ So also VIII. 2. 83, as:—कालपद्धतिः पराः पराः। So also VIII. 2. 90:—as.

Uchāvalī पदार्थां कालपद्धतिः वेष्ट्ये।

This pluta आ is udātta, anudātta or svarita, according to the particular rule which has been applied, i.e. at the end of a question it is anudātta or svarita, and everywhere else, udātta. The ह and े are of course, always udātta: because the anuvṛtti of udātta is current here.

Why do we restrict this sūtra to the above-mentioned four rules? Observe विषयानुसारत: विषयानुसारत: पदार्थानुसारत: विषयानुसारत: विषयानुसारत: ॥

In fact, the present sūtra being confined to the above-mentioned four rules, the words नूर्बधूः in the sūtra, are redundant: and should not have
been used. Moreover the word श्लोष should have been used in the sūtra, for it applies to diphthongs at the end of a pada. Therefore, not here, न देवि नौरितिII Here तै before the sarvānām asthāna affix न is not a Pada (I. 4. 17).

Why do we say ‘when it is not a Pragṛhya’? Observe लोभे श्लोष श्लोष श्लोष II

Vārtî:—This peculiar modification of pluta vowel takes place in the vocative case in the Vedas. As भवप्राप्ति प्रत्यया:। लोष्टिति लोष्टिति श्लोष श्लोष II Here by no other rule, the vocative would have become prolated.

तपरोऽवचित्र संहितायाम् II १०२ II पदार्थ II तयों: य, त्रि, अष्टि, संहितायाम् II पुष्टि:। तयोरेव दौर्यांकारकामात्रोऽयोऽचर्यं संहितायाम् श्लोष श्लोष II

Kārika:—कि ह बन्य भवसंह म दिनो ज्ञानस्तोत्रस्वयं विषयं।

Tā: न म स्रावस्थितूः सिद्ध धार्मिकोपविधिः ह इत्यतोः।

बहु हस्त भवसंह प्रयोगस्वत्स्य वचनमिष्ठायामकाति।

तेन साज्ज्य: न धार्मिकोपविधिः भवस्त्वपायनेन तः हेतुः। II

108. For these vowels ई and ई are substituted ञ and ञ when a vowel follows them in a samhitā (in an unbroken flow of speech).

The word संहितायाम, is an adhikāra and exerts its influence upto the end of the Book. Whatever we shall teach hereafter, upto the end of the Book, will apply to words which are in Sanhitā.

Thus भवप्राप्ति, पदार्थ, भवप्राप्ति, पदार्थ हस्यकथा।

Why do we say “when a vowel follows”? Observe भवप्राप्ति, पदार्थ II

Why do we say संहितायाम ‘in an uninterrupted flow of speech’? Observe भवप्राप्ति, पदार्थ व्यक्तः in pada Pātha.

This sūtra is made, because ई and ई being Pluta-modifications are considered as asiddha (VIII. 2. 1) for the purposes of एको व्याक्तिः (VI. 1. 77). But supposing that some how or other, these ई and ई be considered siddha, still the present rule is necessary to prevent their lengthening before a homogeneous vowel (VI. 1. 101), or their retaining their form unchanged by VI. 1. 127. If it be said, that these rules VI. 1. 101, and VI. 1. 127, would not apply, because of the Vārtika हक: पदार्थस्थित लघुस्थितायां लघुस्थितायः पनस्त्वः (Vārtika to VI. 1. 77); still the present sūtra ought to be made, in order to prevent ई accent (VIII. 2. 4).

Kārika:—Q. Could not this have been accomplished by the व्याक्तिः of VI. 1. 77, that the Achārya has taught this separate ञ and ञ substitution?

Ans.—If you say that Pluta is siddha in the vowel sandhi rules, because of the jñāpaka in sūtra VI. 1. 125, then still this rule is necessary in order to prevent the lengthening of VI. 1. 101, and the Sākala rule VI. 1. 127.
Q.—But those two rules VI. 1. 101, and VI. 1. 127, have already been debarred by the Vārtika which ordains that ब्राह्मण takes place of such a vowel following a pluta (See vārtika to VI. 1. 77), what is then the necessity of the present sūtra?

Ans.—The necessity of the present sūtra is to prevent the ब्राह्मण-accent of VIII. 2. 4.

According to one view, the vārtika under VI. 1. 77, refers to those vowels which are not pluta-elements, like the present र and ल, but which are independent vowels following after a pluta vowel. As गोिरि रुष्ण — गोिरि विष्णु

Here र is a Nipāta.
BOOK EIGHTH.

Chapter Third.

1. For the final of the affixes मत् and वस्, there is substituted र, in the Vocative singular, in the Chhandas.

The word सहितायां is understood here. A word ending in the affix मत् or वस्, changes its final त् or ं into र, in the Chhandas, in the Vocative singular. Thus मत्:—सहितायां महारा र वाहि सोमप्रति (Rig. III. 51. 7) हरिः हरिः व्रिः त् कत्. Here महारा is Vocative Sg. of महारा and हरिः of हरिः, meaning "he who is possessed of Maruts or Hari horses". The र of मत् is changed to र by VIII. 2. 10; 15. The base मत् before this termination is Bha by I. 4. 19. The affix र (nom. sg.) is elided by VI. 1. 68; the र is elided by VIII. 2. 23, and the र (of मत् VII. 1. 70) is changed to र by this śūtra. So also हरिः हरिः व्रिः (Rig. I. 3. 6).

With रत्:—वर्कोमसायां सर्वायां रत् (Rig. II. 33. 14), हरिः हरिः See VI. 1. 12, for the formation of रत्, साहि, with कुर्.

Why do we say "of मत् and वस्"? Observe महारा सहितायां: Why do we say in the Vocative Singular? Observe र वाहि व्रिः त् (वाहि व्रिः) Why do we say in the Chhandas? Observe हं गामनु, हं पाविः.

Vṛt:—The affix रत् should also be enumerated. The affixes कुर् and व्रिः are both meant here. Its final is also changed to र in the Vocative Sg. As सर्वायांक्षेत्त्र हरिः पारिः: The word पारिः is formed by adding कुर् to the root र (रत्) preceded by रत्: See III. 2. 75. The रत् is added by VI. 1. 71.
Vārt :—The finals of भ्रष्ट, भवष्ट, and भवष्ट are changed to ः, optionally in the secular as well as the sacred literature, and the syllable क्रम, of these words is changed to भ्रं. This is a general rule, applying both in the Vedas and the Bhāṣā. Thus भ्रष्ट—हे भ्रष्ट; or हे भवष्ट; भवष्ट—हे भवष्ट; or हे भवष्ट; भवष्ट—हे भवष्ट; or हे भवष्ट. Or these words हे, भवष्ट, and भवष्ट, are so irregularly formed by the Āchārya himself in VIII. 3. 17. These are found in other numbers than the Vocative Singular, as हे भववत् सत्त्वोः, हे भववत् भववत् चिन्युनिष्ठा. It is found in connection with Feminine nouns also, as भ्रं भ्रं.

The adhikāra of the word भ्रंतिमयम does not exert any apparent influence in this sūtra. It however has influence in those subsequent sūtras, where the change in one word is occasioned by another word on account of sanhita or juxta-position, as in VIII. 3. 7.

See VIII. 2. 3 (Vārtika 2) by which the lopa is considered siddha in हरिः, otherwise there would have been no ः change in हरिः ने &c.

अनुवादासिफः पूर्वेऽतु वा ॥ २ ॥ पद्वानि भष, अनुवादासिफः पूर्वेऽतु वा। पुष्पिः॥ अनुवादासिफः हस द्वारा कवि स्थापितम् सर्वदेहे तत्। पूर्वेऽतु वर्णेत् रामानुजासिफः सर्वदेहिते वर्णावितम्यम् देशितम् ॥

2. In the following sūtras upto VIII. 3. 12, this is always to be supplied:—“But here a nasal vowel may optionally be substituted for the preceding vowel after which ः has been ordained”.

This is an adhikāra sūtra. For the letter which stands before that letter for which ः has been substituted, there is substituted a nasal vowel, in this division of Grammar, where ः is the subject of discussion.

Thus sūtra VIII. 3. 5 says “In the place of the final of भ्रष्ट, there is ः when ा augment follows”. The vowel ः of भ्रष्ट becomes nasal; as सम्भवस, दीर्घाच्छाः, दीर्घाच्छाः, दीर्घाच्छाः.

Why have we used the word भ्रष्ट in the sūtra? It means “here i.e. in this division where ः is the subject of discussion”. Obj. This object would have been gained, without using the word भ्रष्ट; since it is an adhikāra sūtra and would apply to ः ॥ Ans. No. Here ः is taught in connection with nasal, therefore, the rule would not apply to any other context. For had भ्रष्ट not been used, we could not have known the extent of the jurisdiction (adhikāra) of this nasal; and we might have applied the rule of nasality to those beyond the jurisdiction of ः, such as VIII. 3. 13. The employment of भ्रष्ट prevents this doubt and shows that ः and nasality are co-extensive.

आतोत्थि नित्यम् ॥ ३ ॥ पद्वानि ॥ भ्रष्टः, भ्रष्टि, नित्यम् ॥ पुष्पिः॥ भ्रष्ट प्रस्तृते हे। पूर्वेऽतुकारस्व स्थापि नित्यमनुवादासिफः भविः॥
3. A nasal vowel is always substituted for आ before ः, when it is followed by a letter of त्र य or प्रत्यः (i.e., when it is followed by a vowel or ः, य, थ, or र).

Thus VIII. 3. 9 teaches ः substitution of ः, the long बा preceding it, would have been optionally nasal by the last सूत्र. The present सूत्र makes it necessarily so. Thus गहौं मस्ति (Rig. III. 46. 2) गहस्त्रेव यो भोजस्तः (Rig. VIII. 6. 1).

Some (i.e. the Taittariyas) read it as anusvāra. This is a Vedic diversity.

Why do we say “for a long बा”? Observe बे या बनस्थितादि। Why do we say “when a vowel or ः, य, थ, or र follows”? Observe नृवाचार्यादि, नृवाचार्याति।

The word निः ‘always’ is employed for the sake of distinctness only. The very fact of making a separate सूत्र, would give it a compulsory force, even without the word nītya.

अनुनासिकात्वः अनुस्वारः || ४ || पदानि || अनुनासिकात्वः, परः, अनुस्वारः ||
ृविषः || अनुनासिकात्वः यथा परः: चै॥ पूर्णः: बल्कः नानुसिकात्वः न विचित्तादि: परः ।

4. After what precedes ः, if we omit to substitute the nasal, then anusvāra shall be the augment.

The substitution of nasal is optional by VIII. 3. 2. When nasal is not substituted, we add an anusvāra to such vowel. The word भम ऩ should be read into the सूत्र to complete the sense, i.e. अनुनासिकात्वः सन्ति यथा परः: “a letter other than a nasal”, i.e. a letter for which nasal has not been ordained, and which stands before ः.

Thus VIII. 3. 5, teaches ः substitution of the ः of सन्ति an anusvāra would be added. As संक्षेपः, संक्षेपस्यः। Similarly VIII. 3. 6, teaches ः substitution of the ः of पुरः। An anusvāra will be added here also, as, दुःखः।
Similarly VIII. 3. 7, teaches ः substitution of final ः। Here also an anusvāra will be added, as भवाचार्याति।

Some say “the word पर: in the सूत्र means भमः, and so we need not supply the word भमः from outside”. They say अनुनासिकात्वः परः = अनुनासिकात्वः। i.e. the anusvāra takes place in that alternative when there is no nasal. That anusvāra is an augment and not a substitute. It is an augment to the vowel which precedes ः.
5. ः is substituted for the म of सम (and thereby ः or ः is substituted for ः) when the augment ः follows, in a samhitā.

The augment ः is added by VI. 1. 137 &c. Thus हैस्कर्ता or संस्कर्ता, हैस्कर्तुत्र or संस्कर्तुत्र, हैस्कर्तुयय or संस्कर्तुयय or संस्कर्तुतयय II. The word is thus evolved: सम + ः + कर्ता = सम + ः + कर्ता (VIII. 3. 5). Here rule VIII. 3. 15 appears and requires ः to be changed to visarjanya. This visarga may optionally be retained unchanged by VIII. 3. 36. This, however, is not done in the present instance: but the visarga is always and necessarily changed to ः by VIII. 3. 34. In fact, the option of VIII. 3. 36 is a determinate option (vavavasthita vibhāśā) and does not apply to the present case.

Or even this sūtra may be so read as to teach the ः substitution as well. Thus, the sūtra is सम्स्थान with two ः, and the sūtra will mean, "� is substituted for the म of सम before ः, and this ः is always changed to ः." II

Why do we say "for the म of सम"? Observe उपस्कर्ता II. Why do we say "before ः"? Observe संस्कर्ता II.

Vārt:—For the finals of सम, पुप and कान there is always substituted ः II. There would arise anomalies, if ः be substituted. Thus संस्कर्ता, पुपस्कर्ता, कान्स्कर्ता II. In fact, according to this vārtika, ः is never substituted for सम (VIII. 3. 5), पुप (VIII. 3. 6) and कान (VIII. 3. 12).

Vārt:—सम्यो या शत्योऽकारे II. Some would have the elision of the म after सम II. This Vārtika is not given in the Kāśikā, but the Padamanjari gives it, and so also the Mahābhāṣya.

According to Bhattoji Dikṣita there will be 108 forms of this word संस्कर्ता II. Thus संस्कर्ता and संस्कर्ता with the elision of म II. Then with two म, as हैस्कर्ता, संस्कर्ता II. Then we apply VIII. 4. 47 to this latter, and have three म, as हैस्कर्ता or संस्कर्ता II. The anusvāra is considered to be a vowel (अन्तः) for this purpose. From the three nasal forms हैस्कर्ता, संस्कर्ता and हैस्कर्ता, we get three more by doubling the म by the vārtika म: म: II. The three forms having anusvāra, will also double their anusvāra in addition to म doubling. Thus we have 12 forms in anusvāra: and six in nasal, altogether 18 forms. Then the म will be doubled and trebled: and thus with one म, two म and three म, we have 3 × 18 = 54 forms. This will be doubled (2 × 54 = 108) when अत् is nasalised.

पुप: जत्यस्परे II 6 II पवानि II पुप: जति, अस्परे II.

6. ः is substituted for the म of पुप. (whereby the
is changed to \( \textit{\text{ृ or ।}} \) before a surd mute (\textit{\text{वर}}\textit{)} which is followed by a vowel, semivowel or a nasal (अन्य प्रत्याहारा).

Thus \( \textit{\text{पुंस्का}} \textit{म or पुल्क्षा} \textit{व}; \textit{पुल्क्षा} \textit{व or पुल्क्षा} \textit{व}; \textit{पुल्क्षा} \textit{व or पुल्क्षा} \textit{व}; \textit{पुल्क्षा} \textit{व or पुल्क्षा} \textit{व}. \textit{The visarga in पुल्क्षा required to be changed optionally to \textit{\text{x jihvā-}}\textit{mūlya}} \textit{by VIII. 3. 37, but it is not so done. It is changed \textit{always} to \textit{ृ} \textit{here by VIII. 3. 34, also. The \textit{ृ} of पुल्क्ष is dropped by VIII. 2. 23, and the preceding sound is व, which comes to light in forms like पुल्क्ष ए. \textit{For the sake of distinctness, \textit{Paṇini has elected to exhibit the shorter form पुल्क्ष when in the beginning of a composition: because this shorter form पुल्क्ष is the real stem in composition. क्ष प्रत्याहारा includes the ten hard consonants, and क्ष प्रत्याहारा includes all vowels, semivowels and nasals. पुल्क्षा is formed by the affix व = \textit{पुल्क्षा क्षणवे}}\textit{}}\textit{.}

In that alternative when we read the preceding sūtra as \( \textit{वव:सु} दिति, \textit{then the anuvṛtti of this व will be current in the present sūtra also, and so there will be no scope for the operation of VIII. 3. 37. And though the anuvṛtti of व is also current, yet it will not apply here, because of its non-appropriateness in that alternative.}

Why do we say \textit{‘before a surd mute’? Observe पुल्क्षा; पुल्क्ष (V. 4. 92). Why do we say \textit{‘followed by a vowel or semivowel or nasal’? Observe पुल्क्षे, पुल्क्ष. \textit{Why do we use the word वे in the sūtra? Had we not used it, the sūtra might have been open to this construction also. The व of पुल्क्ष is so changed before a क्ष्य letter which has an न्य letter, (whether \textit{preceding it or following it}). So that the rule would have applied to पुल्क्ष: पुल्क्षा.\textit{}}\textit{}}\textit{}}\textit{।}

\textlt{\textit{नक्षाप्रमाणा ॥ ॥ पद्धलि ॥ \textit{न}; छचि, प्रमाणार्}}

मृति: \textit{नक्षार्थल पत्र प्रायःप्रायःतथा रप्त्वर्मिरे छचि परता:} ॥

7. व is substituted for the final व of a word, with the exception of the व of प्रत्याब, before a क्ष्य letter (छ, ठ, ड, ढ, त, ठ), which is followed by an न्य letter (vowel, semivowel and nasal).

The word \textit{धम्मे} is to be read into this sūtra. The word \textit{धम्म} in the sūtra is in the Nominative case, but it has the force of Genitive.

Thus \textit{धम्मयःधर्म्य; धम्मयःधर्म्य; धम्मयःधर्म्य; धम्मयःधर्म्य; धम्मयःधर्म्य; (from the root द्रिक्त ‘to go’), धम्मयःधर्म्य; धम्मयःधर्म्य;}}

Why do we say \textit{‘before a क्ष्य letter’? Observe प्रधार; क्षेति}}\textit{। Why do we say \textit{‘with the exception of the व of प्रधार’? Observe प्रधार; क्षाव्यि, प्रधार}}

निष्ठि ॥ Why do we say \textit{‘when ब्रह्म follows क्ष्य’? See प्रधार; क्षक्षक; क्ष व is sword, he who is dexterous in it, is called क्षक्षक; (क्ष्य V. 2. 64).}
8. In both ways, in the Rig verses.

This ordains an option to the last sutra, by which the ṛ substitution was compulsory. A word ending in ṛ followed by a letter of ṣ class, which itself is followed by ṛṣ, changes its final ṛ to ṛ optionally in the Rig Veda. Sometimes there is ṛ and sometimes ṅ. Thus sāṃśaya, sāṃśaya or sāṃśita, sāṃśita; sāṃśita.

Why do we say “in the Rig verses”. No option is allowed here.

9 ṛ is optionally substituted for that final ṛ of a word which is preceded by a long vowel, and is followed by an ṛ letter (vowels and semi-vowels with the exception of ṛ), when these (ṛ and ṛ) come in contact with each other in the same stanza of the Rig Veda.

The ṛ of VIII. 3. 7 is understood here: and so also ṅ. The word sāṃśaya means ṛkṣaḥ, i.e. when both words are in one and the same Pāda of the verse. Thus pariṣṭīte (Rig. IX. 107. 19) ṛ rāvahṛṣita (Rig. I. 1. 2) rāvahṛṣita.

Why do we say “preceded by a long vowel”? Observe śaṁśiḥṛṣaḥ. Why do we say “when followed by a vowel or ṛ, ṃ or ṁ”? Observe ṅraṁśiḥḥṛṣaḥ. Why do we say “when both words are in the same Pāda of a verse”? Observe ṁraṁśiḥḥṛṣaḥ.

The word sāṃśaya of the preceding sutra is understood here also: so that it is an optional rule: and ṛ remains unchanged also, as śaṁśiḥḥṛṣaḥ. See VIII. 3. 3.

10. ṛ is optionally substituted for the ṛ of ṛ as before ṛ.

The ṛ in ṛ is for the sake of pronunciation only. Thus ṛ: paḥ or ṛ: paḥ; ṇ: pṛṣiṣṭiḥ or ṇ: pṛṣiṣṭiḥ.

Why do we say “before ṛ”? Observe ṛḥṛṣaḥ. Some read the anuvṛtti of sāṃśaya into this sutra, so that it is an optional one. Thus we have ṛḥṛṣiḥ also. The nominative case in ṛḥṛṣiḥ has the force of Genitive.
11. The द्र of स्त्रि is changed to द्र before पायु.

As द्रस्त्रि: पायुस्त्रि (Rig. IV. 2. 6). The word is स्त्रि, the द्र is added by VII. 1. 83. The word is derived from द्र द्रस्त्रि with the affix द्रस्त्रि (स्त्रि यो द्रूधो लघुपायु)।

कालाभेदिते 12 पदानि काल, आभेदिते।

द्रस्त्रि कालितेवसम कालतत्व भर्मावमिष्य आभेदिते पत्रस्त्रि।

12. द्र is substituted for the द्र of काल when it is followed by another काल which is an अम्रेदिता.

The सुत्र might have been काल काल; but the use of the longer form आभेदिते shows, that where there is ‘doubling’, and the word gets the designation of अम्रेदिता, then the rule applies. Thus कालकाल, आभेदिते, आभेदिते, भर्मावमिष्य; or कालकाल &c. When the second काल is not an अम्रेदिता, we have काल काल पदानि? Here one is asking question, and the other is used in the sense of contempt. This word is read in the list of कक्षानित (VIII. 3. 48), and hence सुत्र VIII. 3. 37, does not apply. Or the द्र of द्रम: स्थाणि (VIII. 3. 5), is understood here, and that the द्र is enjoined here and not द्र। It should not be objected that in the preceding सुत्रas also द्र should be enjoined and not द्र; because in those सुत्रas द्र is appropriate but not so here.

Why do we say ‘when an अम्रेदिता काल follows’? Observe काल काल पदानि where one is interrogatory and the other denotes contempt (II. 1. 64).

ıklı देव लेप: 13 पदानि द्र; देव, लेप: द्रस्त्रि।

कालकाल ब्राह्मण लेपयो भर्मित।

13. There is elision of द्र when द्र follows.

Though this सुत्र is read in the division of Grammar which is governed by पालिकार, yet this elision takes place only when the द्र is not at the end of a pada. Thus द्रेव from द्रे + द्र। The द्र is changed to द्र by VIII. 2. 31, and the द्र is first changed to द्र by VIII. 2. 40, and then to द्र by VIII. 4. 41. Thus द्रे + द्र। The change of द्र to द्र by VIII. 4. 41, should be considered as valid and siddha for the purposes of this rule, otherwise this rule will find no scope.

Obj:—It will find scope before that द्र which is primary, as in द्रे + द्रे + द्रे, where द्र of द्रे is primary.

Ans.—No. Here the first द्र will be changed to द्र by अण rule (VIII. 2. 39) and so there will be no occasion to elide it. The form will be द्रे द्रे द्रे। Nor is this द्रे rule an apavāda to अण rule, because it has its scope in द्रे &c. For the अण rule depends upon one pada, and is antaranga, or being
prior to this the lopa is asiddha with regard to it. Therefore ज्ञात्व will take place first. Moreover in निपिति there is similarity of sounds (गुस्तकल्य धान्यत्वेऽगुत्य); though there may not be theoretical similarity (धान्यत्वे�quil धान्यत्वेऽगुत्य) when the change of य into य by VIII. 4. 41, is considered asiddha. But this theoretical technical dissimilarity will be removed by the express text of the present sūtra. But in भास्कर्य it is said there is neither similarity of sounds (रुति क्रमानवत्य) between य and य, nor similarity created by any technical rule; therefore य लोक has no scope here. It is Bahranga as well as subsequent to ज्ञ सा rule (VIII. 2. 39), and therefore doubly asiddha; and consequently it does not debar the ज्ञात्व rule. So when य is changed to य by ज्ञात्व rule (VIII. 2. 39) in भास्कर्य, then there remains no sort of anantaryya—neither of रुति nor of ग्राह

रे रि ॥ रि ॥ पदानि ॥ रे; रि ॥

हृति: ॥ रेग्सक्ष रे पहळेलो लोपो मालि ॥

14. रे is elided before अ रे ॥

The sūtra is रे रि and not रे रि ॥ That is रे रि is the form which रे रि and रे रि will both assume. रे is the Genitive of रे, and रे would be the Genitive of रे ॥ The sūtra is not confined to रे only, but to every रे in general including रे ॥ Thus पीढ़क्ष, दृश्यक्ष, where it is simple रे of निर्माण and दृष्ट; and वास्त्री रे, and वास्त्री रे: where it is रे (भाषि: रे, एतु: रे)।

The lengthening is by VI. 3. 111. The word पद्धक्ष is understood here, and the Genitive here has the force of बिप्रिचण i.e. a quality, or avayava-shashṭhi; i.e. when रे is a portion of the pada. Thus a रे which is not at the end of a pada is also elided. Had the Genitive been construed as sthāna-shashṭhi, then रे would qualify रे, and the rule would mean "रे should be elided before रे when at the end of a word." See VIII. 1. 16. But we have the elision of the penultimate रे in अवर्ग्ये the second person singular of the Imperfect of the Intensive, and we get the form अवर्ग्ये; See VIII. 2. 37. So also बपुः from सर्प in Intensive, Imperfect. The reduplicate is lengthened by VII. 4. 83, the रे is elided, and सर्प is elided by VI. 1. 68, the final रे is changed to रे by VIII. 2. 39, and this रे changed to रे by VIII. 2. 75.

सर्वसात्तानोपरिवर्त्तक्षीयः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ रे, अवसायोः, बिरसस्यीयः ॥

शुस्ति: ॥ रेप्राभ्यस्त रेग्सक्ष रे परतो अस्स्ताने च रेग्नन्यावदेवी भवति ॥

15. The Visarjanftya is substituted for रे, before a क्ष consonant or when there is a Pause.

Tha word रे is understood. The visarga is the substitute of रे final in a Pada, before surd consonants and sibilants, or at a Pause,

Thus दृश्यक्ष (VIII. 3. 34, VIII. 4. 40), सर्पार्नक्ष, दृश्यक्ष, दृश्यक्रक्ष, दृश्यक्रक्ष, सर्पार्नक्ष, सर्पार्नक्ष, दृश्यक्रक्ष, सर्पार्नक्ष, सर्पार्नक्ष: पause:—दृश्यक्रक्ष: ॥

Who do we say "before a क्ष consonant or at a Pause"? Observe अथर्मवति, वर्णमवति, नार्जुऩः (रे क्षक्षण प्रक्ष), नार्जुऩः (क्षपरस्स्त्र) ॥ In these two latter,
the Vṛiddhi being considered as Bahiranga, and the ल being the result of such Bahiranga Vṛiddhi, is asiddha, and is consequently not changed to visarga.

The word ल is understood here, and the genitive should be construed here as sātana-saśṭhi, so that for the final ल of a Pada there is visarga, and not for that ल which is not final.

रे: चुप्पः पद्धति रे: चुप्पः

वृत्ति: ल ह्रवेद्यस्तर रेको द्वारा विरूपनवाचारशो म्या म्या

16. Visarjanīya is substituted for the ल called ल (and not any other ल), before the Locative Plural case-affix लु।

Thus ल, ल, ल, ल. The word ल is here the Locative Plural affix. Though the ल would have been changed to visarga by the last sūtra also; the making of this a special sūtra is for the sake of niyama. That is, only ल becomes visarga, and not any other ल. Thus ल, ल, ल, when the ल is not ल. In ल, &c, the ल becomes ल by VIII. 2. 66.

भोगेष्वयोत्पुर्वस्य योशि रचनि भो, भोगो, भोगो, अपुर्वस्य, दः, भदि

वृत्ति: भो भोगो भोगो इत्येकषु पुर्वस्य भोगोपुर्वस्य योगो इत्येकृ भविताय भविता पर्यो।

17. ल is substituted for the ल called ल, when it is preceded by भो, भोगो, भोगो, अ or आ, before an अ letter (vowels and soft consonants).

विष will be सृजन as in सृजन कोरिति। Here धु will require elision by VIII. 3. 22, before धु, but it is not so because धड़ qualifies हुलै।

Obj.—If so, why is the word हुत्र used in that sūtra VIII. 3. 22, it would have been better to say हुत्र करणाथ् instead of हुलै करणाथ्।

Ans.—The word हुत्र is used in that sūtra for the sake of the subsequent sūtra VIII. 3. 23, which applies to all consonants. Had हुत्र been used in VIII. 3. 22, then in VIII. 3. 23, हुत्र ought to have been used.

Moreover करित is used in this sūtra, so that rules VIII. 3. 18, 19 may not apply to हुत्र करित।

This sūtra applies to ह, therefore not here प्रातय, सुनय।

व्योङ्गस्पृयस्तततः अशाक्षादानस्य। पदत्रिः पद्योः, भूयस्पृयस्तततः, अशाक्षादानस्य।

वृंमिः। व्योङ्गस्पृयस्ततताः पश्चात्तर्भूतंस्मृतमेवः पश्चात्तर्युपस्ततताः भविषो मनसि, भाषा पति; अशाक्षादानलक्षशास्त्रमेव।

18. धु and ध (in मोहूर्त &c and after ध or धा, at the end of a Pada) are pronounced with a lighter articulation before an अ or ओ letter, according to the opinion of शाक्षात्यायान।

That the effort in pronouncing which is very light is called लघु-प्रायत्न-तरा. Effort or articulation is a quality of the person who utters and which is the cause of the utterance of a letter. धु and ध of lighter articulation are substituted for the final ध and ध in मोहूर्त, मोही, धमी, or after an ध or धा।

The lighter ध will replace the heavy ध, and so the lighter ध the heavy ध।

Thus भोय, मोही, धमी, कवाद, कवासे or क्वासे, क्वासुङ्ग or क्वसुङ्ग, क्वशा-चित्र: or क्वसा भाषिक:; हार्ष or हु भाष, हार्षय or हु भाषय।

The lighter articulation results from the relaxation of the muscles and the organs employed in speech. The places of pronunciation are palate &c, the organs are the root, the middle and the tip of the tongue. When the contact of the tongue with the various places is very light, the articulation is लघु अर्थात्-तरा। In fact, धु and ध are to be slurred over.

लोपः अशाल्यस्य १९॥ पदत्रिः। लोपः, अशाल्यस्य।

वृंमिः। शक्तिक्यकरिताः पश्चात्तर्युपस्ततताः मनसि अशाल्यस्यकार्यस्य मतेनालिपि परि:।

19. धु and ध preceded by ध or धा and at the end of a pada, are elided before an अ or ओ letter, according to the opinion of शाकल्यa।

As क भासे or क्वासे, काक्ष भासे or क्वाक्षासे, भसो वहर or भस्माः उङ्ग, हार्ष or हु भाष, हार्षय or हु भाषय:।

The name of शाकल्यa is used to make it an optional rule. Therefore, where there is not the lighter articulation of धु and ध by the last sūtra, there
also in the other alternative the fuller sounds of Ṛ and Ṛ are heard. Thus there
are three forms, heavy Ṛ and Ṛ, light Ṛ and Ṛ and elision of Ṛ and Ṛ.

When Ṛ and Ṛ are preceded by ओ, then there is elision by the next
śūtra compulsorily.

अतो गार्यव्यः || २० || पद्यानि || अतः, गार्यव्यः ||
वृत्ति: || अन्यायार्थस्य वक्तारस्य लेखे नरसि गार्यव्यक्तार्थस्य यस्माद् व्याख्या परसः ||

20. Ṛ preceded by ओ is elided, according to the
opinion of Gārgya, before an याॅ letter.

There can be no Ṛ preceded by ओ, so only Ṛ is taken in explaining
the sūtra. Thus ओ लघु, मनो लघु, ओ दुःख, मनो दुःख ||

The making of it a separate sūtra, is for the sake of indicating that
this is a necessary (nītya) rule and not a vibhāṣā rule. The name of Gārgya
is used simply honoris causa (pujārtha). The elision of laghu-pratyatnā Ṛ, which
VIII. 3. 19 would have otherwise caused, is hereby prohibited. So that
laghu pratyatnāra Ṛ does come also. As ओ लघु or ओ लघु, मनो लघु or मनोलघु,
अयो लघु and अयोलघु ||

According to others every kind of Ṛ (whether heavy or light) is to be
elided: and अन्याय is not valid in their opinion.

उदि च परे || २१ || पद्यानि || उदि, च परे ||
वृत्ति: || अन्यायार्थो च, ओ परे अन्यायार्थो अन्यतः वाच च परे परसः ||

21. Ṛ and Ṛ (preceded by ओ or ओ, at the end of
a pada), and followed by ओ, when it is a word, are elided neces-
sarily.

The particle ओ is a full pada or word. That Particle is meant here by
the word ओष्ठ, and not the ओष्ठ, which is a root obtained by the
samprasāraṇa of ओष्ठ ||

Thus ओ एकादि शासि: || ओ एकादि: ||

Why do we use the word पदे “orious when it is a pada”? So that the rule
may not apply to ओष्ठ the form assumed by ओष्ठ by samprasāraṇa as स ते रति स-नत्रयसः ||

Obj. ओष्ठ could never have meant the form assumed by ओष्ठ, for the
samprasāraṇa of ओष्ठ is ओ, the ओ is merely indicatory. Moreover the maxim of
lakṣaṇa-pratipadota &c, will prevent the inclusion of this ओष्ठ resulting from
vocalisation, when there is a separate particle ओष्ठ.||

Ans:—The word पदे is used here for the sake of the subsequent sūtras
like VIII. 3. 32. So that ओष्ठ may come before a word beginning with a vowel,
and not before a vowel which is an affix. Thus there is no double ओ in परसयथमना.||

This is also a nītya rule, and not optional. Had it been optional, there would
have been no necessity of this aphorism, because VIII. 3. 19, would have
been enough.
22. (The \( \text{ह्} \) preceded by भो, मनो, अन्य, or by \( \text{अ} \) or \( \text{आ} \), being final in a pada, is elided) before a consonant, according to the opinion of all आचार्यार्थ.

Thus भो हसति, मनो हसति, अन्य हसति; भो वास्ति, मनो वास्ति भाष्या, वास्ति, द्वृत्त हसति. Though the anuvṛtti of \( \text{र्} \) and \( \text{व्} \) both is present here, yet we have taken \( \text{व्} \) only to the exclusion of \( \text{र्} \). Because after भो, मनो and अन्य there is \( \text{व्} \) only, and never \( \text{र्} \); and \( \text{र्} \) can come only when preceded by \( \text{अ} \) or \( \text{आ} \): the only example of which given by Grammarians is \( \text{कृद्दर्श्य करोऽति} \) (VIII. 3. 17). Here \( \text{र्} \) is not elided, because the word अनुष्ठि qualifies the word हसति of this सूत्र.

Q.—But \( \text{र्} \) should be elided in \( \text{कृद्दर्श्य हसति} \), because \( \text{र्} \) is an अनुष्ठि letter.

Ans.—There is no such example to be found in any standard author. Moreover Patanjali in his commentary on the Pratyāhāra सूत्र says that no words can end in \( \text{र्} \), \( \text{र्} \), \( \text{र्} \) or \( \text{ल्} \). So that the existence of the very word \( \text{कृद्दर्श्य} \) is doubtful.

The word sarvēṣaṁ indicates that VIII. 3. 18, even does not apply, and there is no light articulation, but लोपा there too.


gी गुरुस्वारः \( \text{र्} \) \( \text{पद्वानि} \) \( \text{म्} \), गुरुस्वारः; \( \text{र्} \) \( \text{वृत्तिः} \) \( \text{कृद्दर्श्य पद्वानत्वादुव्यासार्थ भाष्यों म्वति हसति परस्} \).

23. The Anuṣvāra is substituted for \( \text{र्} \), at the end of a word, before a consonant.

Thus \( \text{कृद्दर्श्य हसति} \), \( \text{वृत्तिः} \), \( \text{कृद्दर्श्य वास्ति} \), \( \text{वृत्तिः} \) \( \text{वास्ति} \). The word \( \text{र्} \) is understood in this सूत्र. Therefore not here, लोकः, लोकः \( \text{र्} \) \( \text{र्थिः} \) \( \text{र्थिः} \) \( \text{वृत्तिः} \). The \( \text{र्} \) must be at the end of pada; therefore not here; गम्ये, गम्ये \( \text{लोकः} \).

24. The Anuṣvāra is substituted for the \( \text{र्} \) and \( \text{म्} \), not final in a pada, before all consonants, with the exception of Nasals and semi-vowels.

Thus प्रासिं, प्रासिं, प्रासिं with \( \text{च्} \) (VII. 1. 72); and भाकंस्ति, भाकंस्ति, भाकंस्ति, भाकंस्ति with \( \text{च्} \) \( \text{र्थिः} \). Why do we say ‘not final in a Pada’? Observe राजच, इति \( \text{र्थिः} \). Why do we say ‘before a खण्ड consonant’? See गम्ये, गम्ये \( \text{र्थिः} \).

भो राजिः सम: \( \text{कौ} \) \( \text{र्थिः} \) \( \text{पद्वानि} \) \( \text{म्} \), राजिः, सम: \( \text{कौ} \).

25. \( \text{म्} \) is substituted for the \( \text{म्} \) of सम, before the word राज, ending with the affix विप्.
Thus साभररः, साभरात्रवर। The substitution of श for न is for the sake of preventing the anusvāra change (cf VII. 1. 40). Why do we say ‘before राश्रः’? See संभार (VI. 4. 40 Vart). Why do we say ‘of राश्रः’? Observe किरर राश्र (V. 4. 70). Why do we say ‘ending with विर्ररः’? Observe संपर्वरर, संपर्वरात्रवर, संपर्वरात्रवर।।

The शिः is added by III. 2. 61, the शृं is changed to शृः by VIII. 2. 36, which is changed to श्रृः at the end of a word, in संस्कृतर्। साभररस्य is formed by श्रुः affix, as it belongs to Brāhmanādi class.

हे मपरे वा ॥ २६ ॥ पदार्लि ॥ हे, मपरे, वा ॥

रूः।। कारर मकरार्य परसु मकाराय वा मकार रावही नरवी ॥

पाररक्षर।। बनारसे बनासा या ॥

26. शृं is optionally substituted for शृः, before श्रृः, which itself is followed by a म।।

The शृः may be changed to anusvāra or remain unchanged before a word beginning with शृः। Thus किर or किर श्रृःलि, ‘what does he cause to shake’? किर् श्रृःलि or किर् श्रृःलि।।

Vart.:—Before शृः, श्रृः, and श्रृः, the preceding शृः may be changed to श्रृः, शृः or श्रृः respectively. Thus किर् श्रृः or किर् श्रृः, ‘what does it matter about yesterday’? किर् श्रृःलि or किर् श्रृःलि ‘what does he cause to shake’? किर् श्रृःलि or किर् श्रृःलि ‘what gladdens’.

नपरे न: ॥ २७ ॥ पदार्लि ॥ नपरे, न: ॥

रूः।। मकारपे हे परसु मकाराय वा मकारपे जनवी ॥

27. श्रृः is optionally substituted for शृः, when it is followed by श which has a शृः after it.

शृः becomes शृः before a word beginning with शृः; as किर् हृःलि or किर् हृःलि ‘what withholds’. किर् हृःलि or किर् हृःलि।।

कणोः: कुक्तुक्तु धारी ॥ २८ ॥ पदार्लि ॥ कुक्तु, कुक्तु, धारी ॥

रूः।। कमारकरात्रेः परसुः: कुक्तु हृः, हवेतवामाया वा भवव:।।

28. The augment शृः is added to a final शृः, and the augment शृः to a final शृः, before a sibilant, optionally.

Thus प्राहुः वे ते, or प्राहुः वे ते; प्राहुः पहः or प्राहुः पहः; प्राहुः साहे or प्राहुः साहे।।

The augments are कुक्तु and हृः with an indicative शृः, showing that they are to be added to the end of the prior word (1. 1. 46), and not to the beginning of the second word. In sanhita reading, it would have made no difference practically, whether these augments were added to the end of the first, or the beginning of the second. But they are added to the end of the first, in order to indicate that VIII. 4. 63, will take effect. Thus we have प्राहुः ले ते also. This शृः change of श would not have taken place had the augment शृः been added to
बक्षेत्र; because in गम्बित (VIII. 4. 63) the नाग letter must be at the end of a pada. So that if ना were added to ना of गम्बित, as कुष्ठेिे, here too ना follows a नाग letter, but this नाग letter (ना) is not at the end of a pada, so ना will not be changed to ना (VIII. 4. 63). Thus ना is not changed to ना in the body of a word, like निर्गुण although ना is a नाग letter. दृश्य केशव विद्येषी निर्गुणेषी, निर्गुणेषी—

Moreover in गम्बित गम्बित, the ना is not changed to ना by VIII. 3. 59. Had the augment ना been added to गम्बित, as हस्ताचे, the ना would have been changed to ना, as प्राह गम्बित, for then VIII. 3. 111, would not have applied, as ना was no longer at the beginning of a pada.

Moreover in गम्बित गम्बित, the ना is not changed to ना because of the prohibition of VIII. 4. 42. Had ना been the augment of गम्बित, as हस्ताचे, then there would have been the change of ना to ना by VIII. 4. 41.

29. After a word ending in ना, there may optionally be added the augment ना to a word beginning with ना.

Thus भगवद्गम्बित or भगवद्गम्बित, महुलित्व गम्बित or महुलित्व गम्बित.

The word ना is to be construed as Ablative singular, and not Genitive singular of ना, because of the maxim उभयनवीरेष्व पृष्ठी निर्गुणेषी निर्गुणेषी.

Q.—Why it is दृश्य दृश्य and not दृश्य, in other words, why is this augment added to the beginning of the second word and not to the end of the first?

Ans.—This is done in order to prevent the ना change by VIII. 4. 41. But being at the beginning of the second word, VIII. 4. 42 would prevent this change. भगवद्गम्बित + गम्बित, भगवद्गम्बित (VIII. 4. 41) but the correct form is भगवद्गम्बित.

For the ना of भगवद्गम्बित is ना substituted by VIII. 2. 31, which becomes ना by VIII. 2. 39, for the ना of the augment, ना is substituted by VIII. 4. 55, and for ना there is ना by the same rule.

30. After a word ending in ना, दृश्य is optionally the augment to a word beginning with ना.

Thus भगवद्गम्बित, महुलित्व गम्बित or महुलित्व गम्बित, भगवद्गम्बित. The ना of the augment becomes ना by VIII. 4. 55. This ना is asiddha (VIII. 2. 1), and therefore ना is not changed to ना by VIII. 3. 7. This is the reason why the augment is exhibited as ना and not ना. In सूत्र VIII. 3. 29 दृश्य would have done as well but not so here. This view of the काश्यक, however, is not approved by Padamanjari. The ना can never be changed to ना here, because ना is followed.
by द्व which is not an भ् letter. The word भञ्ज is understood in VIII. 3. 7. In fact, द्व would have been a better augment.

31. The augment द्व may optionally be added to a word ending in द्व, when a word beginning with द्व follows.

Thus भञ्ज ध्ेङे II The augment is added to the end of the preceding word, and not to the beginning of the second word, in order to change द्व into श्व. In fact, the augment ध् added to the second would have been as good as श्व, namely both are द्व; but then श्व change would not have taken place.

Obj.—If this be so, then why द्व is not changed to श्व, since it is no longer final in a pada, when श्व is added to it, in क्रृष्ण ध्ेङे II

Ans.—This is to be thus explained. The sūtra त्सेि ध् (VIII. 4. 40) should be divided into two parts, in order to prevent द्व change. Thus the first part will be त्सेि श्व, which will mean that द्व and द्व followed by श्व and श्व will not cause the change of द्व to श्व II. The next sūtra will be श्व, which will mean that the preceding द्व and द्व are changed to श्व and श्व respectively.

32. After a word ending in श्व, श्व or द्व which is preceded by a light vowel, the same consonant श्व, श्व or द्व is added invariably at the beginning of the next word, which commences with a vowel.

The word श्व is in the Ablative singular here; and श्व qualifies श्व; and श्व itself qualifies the word पद्व understood, and thus there is tadanta-viddhi. Though the word पद्व (VIII. 1. 16) is in the Genitive singular, yet it should be converted here into Ablative singular, because of its connection with श्व II. श्व is in the Locative singular, but should be construed as Genitive singular here: it is exhibited in the 7th case for the sake of brevity, and of the subsequent sūtras. श्व is a pratyāhāra meaning श्व, श्व and द्व; and so also श्व is a pratyāhāra containing the three augments द्व, श्व and द्व II.

In other words श्व is augment after श्व, श्व after श्व and श्व after श्व; or that these letters are doubled practically. Thus श्व is the augment after a word ending in श्व, as पद्वादाः॥ श्व is the augment after a word ending in श्व, as
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व जनाते स भृत्र is the augment after a word ending in र, as जरुरताले, जर्वस्योपट, जर-प्रस्ताले, जर्वस्योपरिभाषात्।

Why do we say ‘ending in र, ज or न’? See स्वालाते । Why do we say ‘preceded by a light vowel’? Observe प्रामाणीते, भन्नालाते। Why do we say “followed by a vowel”? Observe द्वारकोति।

The Mahabhāshya thus comments on this aphorism:—

Vṛtt:—भृत्रि पशाविभाषां। “The भृत्र �augment is added to a vowel which stands at the beginning of a word”. So that in सुन्द्रविध्व+ण (Ins. Sing.), भृत्र is not added to या, because it is not the beginning of a यादा. Then should this वर्तिका be held to be necessary? No, because the word पात्रहु is understood here: so भृत्र will not come in श्रमण। But then it will come in परस्परण्म+ण। Because it is a compound of two nouns, and though the case-affixes have been elided, yet श्रमण is here a यादा by reason of प्रत्ययालया कलशास्त्रा; and hence there should be भृत्र here added to या। Ans. This is no valid objection. सुन्द्रविध्व is not here a यादा, on the maxim उत्तरपदे वायानीतिभोग्यसः भ्रमण व्याख्यानं न भास्ति। “When an affix has been elided by भृत्र or भृत्र, the प्रत्ययालया कलशास्त्रा rule will not apply, when the object of it is to give the designation of यादा to the second member of a compound, with the exception of the rule applying to the beginning of a यादा”. Thus in परस्परण्म, the word सुन्द्रविध्व is not treated as a पर, because the rule to be applied is to the end here. But the second member of a compound is treated like a पात्र, when a rule is to be applied to the beginning of a यादा. Thus in श्रमणीती, the second member तच्छ is considered as a यादा for the purposes of the rule सत्तू पात्र्यम्: (VIII. 3. 111), and the या is not changed to या।

This view proceeds upon the supposition that the word पात्रहु governs this sūtra. But the anuvṛtti of पात्रहु ceased with VIII. 1. 27, as we stated before. How are we then to get out of this difficulty? Are we to make the above वर्तिका necessary? No: because the anuvṛtti of पात्र from VIII. 3. 21 runs into this sūtra. So that the sūtra means भाजाति पात्रे कठोर भवति। “The augment भृत्र is added to a vowel with which a यादा commences”. Not therefore to the case affix या in श्रमण।

मय उड़ो गो या ॥ ३३ ॥ प्रत्याति ॥ मयः, उड़ोः, गोः, या ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मय उड़ो व भावो गो वकारविभाषी भवति भविष्यति परतः।

33. या is optionally the substitute of the Particle या, when it is preceded by a मय् consonant (all consonants with the exception of semivowels, sibilants, र्य and या), and is followed by a vowel.

Thus दाइ बस्तु वेदिः or शास्त्रु वेदिः; दाइ र रथ रेकः or तास्य रेकः; किंतु र वाय्यवस्था or किस्माय्यवस्था। The या is a Pragrihya by I. 1. 14, and therefore would have remained unchanged, this ordsains या optionally. This या being considered asiṣṭha, the या is not changed to anuvāra in किस्माय्यवस्था, शास्त्रु &c, by VIII. 3. 23.

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When this ः is followed by हति, and preceded by a स्व स्व consonant, then by I. 1. 17, it is optionally दृष्टि, and it may be replaced by ः।। When it is not a prargrihya, then it is changed to ः by बन्धत्र (VI. 1. 77), or to ः by the present sūtra. In the case of बन्धत्र ः, there is anusvāra by VIII. 3. 23, as विनिमेयत।। When it is a Pragrihya, then it is changed to ः by the present sūtra as विनिमेयत or दृष्टि।। So also with ः substitute, where the ः will be nasal: as विनिमेयत, or ः will remain unchanged, as दृष्टि।। Thus we have five forms with ः।।

विषर्जनीयस्य सः।।शः।।पदानि।।विषर्जनीयस्य, सः।।

श्रेष्ठः।।विषर्जनीयस्य कर्ता आरोपः भयति शारि द्वारः।।

34. ः is the substitute of a visarga, when a hard consonant (खर) follows.

The word शारि is understood 'here. Thus युक्तायायति, युक्तायायति, युक्तायायति, युक्तायायति, युक्तायायति, युक्तायायति, युक्तायायति, युक्तायायति।।

By VIII. 3. 15, the ः was changed to visarga before a hard consonant, or at the end of a Pause. In the present sūtra, no special cause being mentioned, the ः change would take place, not only before a hard consonant, but at the Pause also, i.e. in ः।। When a change, this however, is not the case, because the word संहितायायति governs this sūtra; so the ः change will be in संहिताया only, and not in Pause, moreover we read the anusvāti of शारि here and so prevent the ः change in Pause.

शाप्ते विषर्जनीयः।।शः।।पदानि।।शाप्ते, विषर्जनीयः।।

श्रेष्ठः।।शाप्ते शारि परस्ता विषर्जनीयस्य विषर्जनीयायं भयति।।

35. The visarga is the substitute of visarga, when it is followed by a hard consonant (खर) which itself is followed by a sibilant (छर)।।

The word शाप्ते is a Bahuvrihi, meaning that which is followed by छर।।

In other words, when a sibilant follows a hard consonant, the preceding visarga remains unchanged. Thus बाणः।।श्रुतः।।श्रुतः।।श्रुतः।।श्रुतः।।श्रुतः।।श्रुतः।।श्रुतः।।

Though the sūtra could have been shortened by saying शाप्ते ः; yet the longer form is used in order to indicate that the jihvāmullyā and upadhmanya changes also do not take place, in cases like श्रुतः।।श्रुतः।।श्रुतः।।

शा शारि।।शः।।पदानि।।शा।।शारि।।

श्रेष्ठः।।विषर्जनीयस्य विषर्जनीयाद्वियो भयति शारि परस्त।।

शारिकाष्ठः।।शाप्ते शारि।।शारिकाष्ठः।।

36. The visarga is optionally the substitute of visarga, when a sibilant follows.
As वृष्ण: चेते or वृष्ण: चेते, श्वर्त: शेते or श्वर्त: शेते, श्वाः: पण्डे or श्वाः: पण्डे, श्वाः: साये or श्वाः: साये || Cf. VIII. 4. 40, 41, for श्रु and श्रू. ||

Vṛtt.—When the sibilant is followed by a hard consonant, there is optionally the elision of the preceding visarga. As वृष्ण: स्याताञ्च or वृष्ण: स्याताञ्च or श्वाः स्याताञ्च or श्वाः स्याताञ्च. ||

37. क × क and × प are optionally substituted for the visarga, when followed by a hard guttural or a hard labial.

Thus वृष्ण × करोति or श्वाः × करारस्वक्षति or श्वाः करारस्वक्षति or श्वाः × करारस्वक्षति or श्वाः × करारस्वक्षति. प्रचारिन्यम्, धर्मसाध्यम्, सयात्मनाः, प्रचारिन्यम्, प्रचारिन्यम्, प्रचारिन्यम्. The क and प in × क and × प are for the sake of pronunciation only. The substitutes are the Jihvāmūlīya and the Upadhāmānīya: two lost sibilants belonging to the class of क and प respectively.

When the rule VIII. 3. 34. does not apply, then this sūtra will apply; and will debar that. But VIII. 3. 35. will not be debarred. As शास्त्र: शीतम्, वानिन्यम्, वानिन्यम्, वानिन्यम्. There is no vipratishedha between VIII. 3. 35. and 37. because of the asiddhahood of one with regard to the other. (VIII. 2. 1). In fact, every rule in these three chapters stands by itself, and ignores the existence of the subsequent rule. Hence VIII. 3. 35 would not have been debarred by VIII. 3. 37.

To get this, some divide this sūtra into two:—(1) कृष्ण: “The visarga is the substitute of visarga before a guttural or labial which is followed by a sibilant.” (2) × क रपूच: The jihvāmūlīya and upadhāmānīya are substitutes of a visarga before a guttural and a labial in every other case.

38. श is the substitute of a visarga before an affix beginning with a hard guttural or labial.

The word शष्याङ्गस्वास्त्र means “when the guttural and labial are not at the beginning of a word,” in other words, when they stand at the beginning of an affix. This is possible only before the affixes पथ, कल्प, औ and कास्म. Thus पद्यात्र (V. 3. 47); पवस्यकल्पना, वास्यकल्पना (V. 3. 67), पवस्मा, वाशस्त्र (V. 3. 70); पवस्यायनम्, वाशास्त्रायनम् (III. 1. 9).

Why do we say ‘when not at the beginning of a word’? Observe पवः कामः, पवः कामः, पवः पवः. ||

Vṛtt.—Prohibition must be stated, when the visarga belongs to an Indeclinable: as, पाल: कल्पम्, दुः: कल्पम्. ||
Vārt :—The visarga which comes from े is only changed to ० before कान्य, and not any other visarga. As परकाम्यता, अर्धकाम्यति; but not here, सर्पकाम्यति वा-काम्यति।

Vārt :—० is the substitute of the Upadhmāniya when followed by a guttural. The root वृः (आज्ञे, तुद २०) has Upadhmāniya as its penultimate: though it is written in the Dhātupātha as वृज the ० only represents the े of वृः, and is not to be pronounced. This े is changed to े, when the final ० is changed to a guttural, as ० े ०, and then this े is changed to ०, as in अभ्युगः, सत्रः।

These words, however, may be derived from the root मथ with the Prepositions करि, वरि, and सम वरि, by adding the affix य।

० :ः ३९, पदर्थिः वृः, यः।

० : अपवरणाऽविष्ठि वर्षति। इन वस्तुस्मि वदर्शीनिवर्त्ति पकारे देवो मन्ति दुःश्रुतपालशेषोऽप्यति: परसः: पाप्तक-ल्पकाम्येय।

39. े is the substitute of that visarga, which is preceded by े or ० and is followed by an affix beginning with a hard guttural or a labial.

The word अपवरिः is understood here also. The affixes meant are the same पात्र, कान्य, े and सम। Thus सार्वकाम्यता, वस्तुपालप्रयत्न, सार्वंकाम्यता, वस्तुपालप्रयत्न, सार्वंकाम्यति, वस्तुपालप्रयत्न।

Why do we say 'by an affix'? Observe अपवरि: करोति, वापि: करोति, अपि: पाप्ति, वापि: पाप्ति।

The affix should begin with a guttural or a labial. Therefore not here, सर्पिः, व्रतिः।

In the succeeding sutras, the anuvṛti of े from VIII. 3. 39 and of र०: े: from this, are both current. The visarga will be changed to े if preceded by े or ०, otherwise it will be े।

According to some, this sutra ordains े in the room of the े taught in the preceding sutra, and not of visarga: and so also in the following sutras.

40. For the visarga of नन्द and दुःस्य there is substituted े before a hard guttural or a labial, when these words are Gati (I. 4. 67 and 74).

Thus नन्दकार्म, नन्दकार्म, नन्दकार्म; दुःस्य परस्परस्य, परस्परस्य।

Why do we say "when they are Gati"? Observe दुःस्यवरि, पुरि करोति, पुरि करोति। Here दुः is a noun, Accusative Plural of ०।

नमस् is Gati by I. 4. 74, and दुः is Gati by I. 4. 67. The anuvṛti of अपवरि ceases.
41. ख is substituted, before a hard guttural or a labial, for the visarga which is preceded by ह or ढ, and is not part of an affix.

This applies to the visarga of नि, दू, बह, आवि, खन्न, and खुर.

Thus निःकृति, निःसारिः, दृष्टि, दृष्टि, बहिः, बहिः, बहिः, बहिः, बहिः, बहिः, बहिः, बहिः, बहिः, बहिः, बहिः, बहिः, बहिः.

Why do we say 'when not belonging to an affix'? Observe भाषि करोति, भाषि करोति. How do you explain भाषि करोति, भाषि करोति? For here in भाषि &c, the ख of the affix is elided by VIII. 2. 24, and the ख of भाषि + ख is changed to visarga; this is not the visarga of an affix, and ought to be changed to ख.

Ans.—The inclusion of the word भाषि in Kṣaḍi class (VIII. 3. 48) indicates by implication, that ख change does not take place of this visarga in भाषि मात्र &c: the only exception being भाषि. The reason of this may be that the visarga here does not follow a simple झ, but an ekādeśa झ (VI. 1111).

Vārt.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of भुष and भुष; as भुष्काम, भुष्काम.

Vārt.—भुष्कामतां परं प्रकाश्याम। The visarga is changed to ख even when ह or ढ are vriddhiéd; as नैष्कृति, नैष्कृति.

Vārt.—भुष्काम ताहो ख। The visarga is changed to ख even when ह or ढ are pluta, and then before dentals as well as gutturals and labials. Thus निःकृति, निःकृति (VIII. 2. 86 for pluta). भुष्काम, भुष्काम.

These last two vārtikas may be dispensed with, because Vṛddhi and Pluta are Bahiranga change, and so the visarga will be changed to ख in these cases also by the sūtra itself; except so far as ह is concerned.

42. The visarga of the Gati तिरस् is optionally changed to स before a hard guttural or a labial.

Thus तिरस्कृति, तिरस्कृति, तिरस्कृति, or हि: करि:, हि: करि:, हि: करि:, हि: करि:, हि: करि:, हि: करि:, हि: करि:, हि: करि:, हि: करि:, हि: करि:, हि: करि:.

The word तिरस्कृति is understood here also. Therefore no option is allowed here, हि: करि: कान्तये मात्र, where हि: करि: does not mean 'disappearance'. (I. 4. 72).

द्वितिश्च भूतिः द्वितीये ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि हि:-हि:-चतुरा, द्वितीये, द्वितीये ॥

The word हि: is understood here also. Hence बिष्ट, बिष्ट, बिष्ट, बिष्ट, बिष्ट, बिष्ट, बिष्ट, बिष्ट, बिष्ट, बिष्ट, बिष्ट, बिष्ट, बिष्ट.

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43. छ is optionally the substitute of the visargas of ब्रिस्, बित्स् and चतुर when they are used as Numeral adverbs, (before a hard guttural and labial).

The affix छ (छ) is added to the three words dvi, tri and chatur in the sense of kṛtvasuch by V. 4. 18.

As छ: करोति or दिक्करोति, छिः करोति or दिक्करोति, छत: करोति or दिक्करोति, छतिः पचासि or दिक्कपासि, छिः पचासि or दिक्कपासि, छत: पचासि or दिक्कपासि.

Why do we say ‘when used in the sense of kṛtvasuch or Numeral adverbs’? Observe चतुष्कपास, चतुष्कपास, where छ is compulsory by VIII. 3. 41. चतुष्कपास संक्षेपः: (IV. 2. 16 and IV. 1. 88). This sūtra is an example of udbhayatra-vibhāṣā. With regard to छत, the visarga is a non-affix visarga, and hence VIII. 3. 41, would have made छ compulsory, this makes it optional. With regard to छिः and छिः the visarga is that of an affix (छ or छ V. 4. 18), and hence VIII. 3. 41, would not have applied. Thus with regard to छत it is a Prāpta-vibhāṣā, and with regard to छिः and छिः it is an Aprāpta-vibhāṣā.

Why have we used the words ‘dvis, tris and chatur’? Objector’s answer: so that the rule may not apply to चतुष्कपास: करोति, the visarga of kṛtvasuch (V. 4. 17) is not changed to छ.

The anuvṛtti of छ and छ is understood here from VIII. 3. 41: so that the visarga must be preceded by छ and छ for the application of this rule. In चतुष्कपास: the visarga is preceded by छ, and so there is no applicability of this rule.

In fact, by reading the anuvṛtti of चतुष्कपास into this sūtra, and qualifying the visarga by the further epithet of ‘belonging to a word that has the sense of kṛtvasuch’; we may dispense with the words धिक्करोति from the sūtra. The simple sūtra कृलोधः would have been enough. For there are no other Numerals that have a penultimate छ or छ, except these three. The chief objection to this view is, that in छत the visarga is not the affix छ, but a portion of the word (See V. 4. 18): so the rule would not apply to chatur, if this word were not expressly mentioned.

The various objections and their solutions are given in the following verses.

कृलोधः परस्त्र स्थिरति कल्पकनुष्ठापति ना
परस्त्रि विभाषया रुपमु सिद्धे स्तर पूर्णम्
सिद्धं धर्मं विचे चतुरं: परस्त्रि वसायं कृलोधः
हिः कृलोधायेऽरथू विस्तृतं हि
एवं सदैव विशालं बिधिमनुष्ठापिनं गीतं कार्यभः
कन्या हि नेतुदुपः कृलोधः कवित्वासि
अमिताभास्य महान्से विग्रंमीत्वम् विग्रंमित्वः

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Kārikā:—क्रत्ववर्थे प्रयथं वाक्यताः कथा? Why does the author teach प्रयथं when these words have the sense of Numeral-adverbs? In other words, why the word क्रत्ववर्थे is used at all in the sūtra? There is no necessity of using it at all, because चतुर्, ध्वनि are clearly adverbs as they are formed by the affix चतुर्दश favourable in the company will also denote the adverb चतुर्, in which चतुर् has been elided (V. 4. 18). So that all these three words are चतुर्दश-formed, and all चतुर्दश-formed words have the sense of क्रत्ववर्थे.

One answer to this is that the rule of साध्व वर्थे does not always hold good, as in साध्व वर्थे (I. 1.6), the words सध्वे and क्रत्वे are verbs, while चतुर् is an augment. Though therefore चतुर् and ध्वनि are क्रत्ववर्थे words, yet प्रयथं need not be so: and may be a simple Numeral. Ans. चतुर्क्रत्ववर्थे मा प्रयथं विनाथया पुत्रं. The word क्रत्ववर्थे is employed to indicate that there should be no optional प्रयथं in प्रयथंक्रत्ववर्थे. The प्रयथं here is compulsory by VIII. 3. 41. Q. चतुर् तिस्बे प्रयथं चतुर्दशं. Well this would be valid by the previous sūtra (VIII. 3. 41). That is, let in चतुर्क्रत्ववर्थे also there be optional प्रयथं, as चतुर्क्रत्ववर्थे चतुर्क्रत्ववर्थे. Now rule VIII. 3. 41 will apply to चतुर्क्रत्ववर्थे and will change this visarga to चतुर्क्रत्ववर्थे, so that with regard to चतुर्क्रत्ववर्थे, we shall have always चतुर्क्रत्ववर्थे. Ans. चतुर्क्रत्ववर्थे न चतुर्क्रत्ववर्थे प्रयथं विनाथया क्रत्ववर्थे, लोकः क्रत्ववर्थे देवता देवतां विनाथया. If VIII. 3. 41 be considered as applying here (siddha), then when the affix चतुर्दश is elided after चतुर्दशं and the र is changed to visarga, then the adverb चतुर्: also ends with a non-affix visarga, and will come under the compulsory प्रयथं rule of VIII. 3. 41; for though we may have optionally two forms as चतुर्: क्रत्ववर्थे and चतुर्दशक्रत्ववर्थे, by the present sūtra, yet in the former the visarga would be changed to चतुर् by VIII. 3. 41. Hence the necessity of employing the word क्रत्ववर्थे Q. But we say: that the र in the adverb चतुर् is that of चतुर्दश, thus चतुर्दश+र=चतुर्दश+र (VIII. 2. 66)=चतुर्+र (the first र is elided by VIII. 3. 14)=चतुर्दश; and that this र when changed to visarga, will be an affix-visarga and so VIII. 3. 41 will not apply to the adverb चतुर्. Ans. No. For चतुर् would require to be lengthened by VI. 3. 111, and the form would be चतुर्.

प्रयथं क्रत्ववर्थे सात्ति विनाथया क्रत्ववर्थे निःसात्ति. If this be so, then what is the purpose served by using the words चतुर् तिस्बे in the aphorism? The simple sūtra क्रत्ववर्थे would have been enough. Because (सात्ति नेवेवर्थे क्रत्ववर्थे कार्तिकक्रत्ववर्थे) there are no other numeral adverbs than these three which have a penultimate र or र.

भक्ष्यादेत्र चतुर्दश-क्रत्ववर्थे निःशुद्धिः. If we do not use the words चतुर्, tris, chaturiti in the sūtra, then the word क्रत्ववर्थे would qualify the word visarga, and the sūtra would mean "the visarga of an affix which has the sense of क्रत्ववर्थे is changed optionally to चतुर्." The result of this will be
that (चतुर्व न विपर्ययते तपार्थांस्यं विसर्गानबोधि) it will not apply to चतुर्व where the visarga is that of च and not of the affix द्वसः

Therefore by using dvis &c, the word क्रत्वर्था would qualify चतुर्व (सत्विनगर्धितकतस्य विकावयस्युपस्तयो विष्णुपर्युपास्य प्रभ)।

Ans.—क्रत्वर्था पर्वतस्य तत्वायते, विष्णुपर्युपास्य नापव्य। Though we may not use dvis &c, the word क्रत्वर्था will not qualify visarga, but will qualify the word पर्वত whose context runs here; and the rule of सत्विनगर्धितकतस्य विकावयस्युपस्तयो विष्णुपर्युपास्य प्रभ will apply; so that the sūtra क्रत्वर्थायं will mean, पर्वतस्य क्रत्वर्थायं वर्त्तमानस्य द्वितीयो विष्णुपर्युपास्य प्रभ। “The visarga of that word which is employed in the sense of a Numeral adverb, is optionally changed to ण or थ before a guttural or a labial, provided that such visarga is preceded by च or थ”.

The above is the opinion of Patanjali, who considers the words dvis &c, as redundant. The कासिकाद्वयविष्णुपर्युपास्य नापव्य however controverts this opinion. According to him, if these words were not used in the sūtra, then the mere sūtra क्रत्वर्थायं would be insufficient for the visarga of पर्वत; though used as an adverb, the च will be compulsory by VIII.3.41; for the present sūtra will be considered as asidham or non-existent for the purposes of VIII. 3. 41, (See VIII. 2. 1). But this however may be answered by saying that the rule of पुर्वभासिकतस्य applies in these chapters, with this modification, one subject-matter is considered as asidham with regard to another subject-matter gone before; but one aphorism is not considered asidham with regard to a previous aphorism, when belonging to the same subject matter. (प्रकारमपकरणमस्यं न क्षणे योगम:)। Therefore the present sūtra VIII. 3. 43, would not be considered asidham with regard to VIII. 3. 41. Or the present sūtra may be considered as an apavāda to VIII. 3. 41: and an apavāda is never asidham with regard to an utsarga.

द्वृत्ती: सामयिकं च ॥ ४४ ॥ पदार्थीं ॥ २५ ॥ सामवेदं ॥ तत्त्वं उस्तेः ॥ सामवेदं ॥

पुनिः: ॥ द्वृत्तं उस्तेः हविलेखानि हरिनीस्यायांकार्यायं चाकार्यायं भवति सामवेदं द्वृत्तं। परसः। ॥

44. For the visarga of words ending in िर्स् and उस्त्, before a hard guttural or labial, there is optionally substituted ण, when the two words stand in correlation with one another.

The ण is understood here. Thus चतुर्वधिरोवि or क्रत्वर्थायं: क्रत्वर्थायं: क्रत्वर्थायं: विद्वदे।

Why do we say ‘when the two words are correlated’? Observe चतुर्वधिरोवि नृपिं: विद्वदे । चतुर्वधिरोवि, where चतुर्वधिरोवि: is not in construction with चतुर्वधिरोवि: but with विद्वदे।

The word सामयिकं here means ज्ञापनं or mutual relation of two words; and not “having the same meaning”, or it may mean both. In fact सामयिकं is equivalent to व्यास्क्रमं i.e. the syntactical want of another word to complete the sense. It does not here mean ‘compound’. For it being a परविनिः: the word सामयिकं is
understood here (समाध्य: परिणिः II. 1. 1). The employment of the word समाध्य here indicates that it is a different सामयिकya from that of II. 1. 1. It does not denote रस्त्व-रस्त्व: or तु-तु-तु-तु: which is the सामयिकya of compounds where two or more words denote one object. The सामयिकya here means 'ययाक्षाधा, which is thus defined on the previous page: पतञ्ज्यों वी कही रस्त्वें, तो ओं: 'the syntactical union of two words expressing two different ideas'.

45. The visarga of an द्वि or द्वि-ending word, which is not preceded by any other word, is invariably changed to च in a compound, when followed by a hard guttural or labial.

The words द्वि and द्वि are understood here. Thus त्रिप्रक्तिका, द्विभक्ति-

Why do we say when it is not preceded by another word? Observe परस्परिका, परस्पर: परस्परः. The option even of the last सूत्र does not apply to these examples.

Q.—The word द्वि is derived from the root द्वि by adding the उन्नादि affix द्वि (Uṇ II. 109), and द्वि by the उन्नादि affix बसि (Uṇ II. 117), therefore on the maxim परस्परिका &c, the word द्वि and द्वि and not forms like परस्परिका &c. then what is the necessity of employing the word द्वि in the सूत्र?

The very employment of the word anuttara-pada-sthasya in this सूत्र, is an indicator (ज्ञापक), that the restriction of the following maxim does not apply with regard to the affixes द्वि and द्वि: परस्परिका द्वि and द्वि-सत्त्वां रस्त्वां विशिष्ट सत्त्वां-रस्त्वां रस्त्वां “an affix denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-

Q.—Why is not there option in the case of compounds also by the previous सूत्र?

Anw: —Because the word समाध्य there means चयेः, and therefore does not apply to compounds.

अति: क्षमित्त्रस्त्रुम्पास्मात्रुपाथाकर्मिक्यवयस्य: II ४६ || पदानि || अति: क्ष-
कर्मिक-क्ष-कुम्भ-पात्र-कुशा-कुर्मचु, अति-अवयस्य: II

गुष्ठि: II भक्तिकस्त्राः भव्यस्तिवत्त्वर्गीयवस्य समाध्यस्त्रुम्पास्मात्रुपाथाकर्मिक्यवयस्य निष्ठ: संकारोऽस्योऽस्य भवति क्ष कार
केस कुम्भ पात्र कुशा कल्पितेपरः II
46. For the visarga of a word ending in अस्, with the exception of an Indeclinable, र is substituted in a compound, when a form of क and कम, or the words कंस कुम्म, पात्र, कुशा and कर्णी follow, and the first word is not preceded by another word.

Thus कृ—अन्यकार, पवस्कार (III. 2. 1) कृन्—पवस्काम, पवस्काम, कंस—
पवस्काः, पवस्काः, कुम्ः; भवस्कुम्ः पवस्कुम्ः. So also भवस्कुम्ः पवस्कुम्ः, on the maxim अत्यपपितापिते स्वातिकविद्वत्त्वानि प्रवर्ते भवति. पात्र—अन्यस्त्रास, पवस्त्रास, भवस्त्राः, पवस्त्राः; कुशा—अन्यकार, पवस्कार कर्णि—अन्यस्त्रास, पवस्त्राः पवस्त्राः. The form हृस्कार belongs to Kaskādi class (VIII. 3. 48).

Why do we say अस्: “a visarga preceded by short र, or the visarga of the word ending in अस्”? See भीकार: भृकार. Why do we say ‘preceded by short र’? Observe भृस्क्कम्. The form भृस्क्कम् belongs to Kaskādi class (VIII. 3. 48). See also III. 2. 2.

Why do we say “with the exception of an Indeclinable”? Observe कृ:कार: पुष्कार."

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here; रस: करोति पव: करोति च अन्यकार: करोति.

The word अन्यस्त्रास is also to be read in this. Therefore not here, पवस्त्रास: कार, पवस्त्रास: कार.

Q. The word कंस need not have been taken, because it is a form of the root कंस, since it is derived from कर्ण by adding the Unādi affix र (III. 62 U9)?

Ans.—The employment of कंस indicates the existence of the following maxim:—प्राप्तोपरात्मिनि मात्रापितापिनि. “Words which end with रस &c. are crude-forms that do not undergo or cause such operations as would depend on their etymological formation.”


dhirsri pade U933 pardini U933 dhah:—dhirsri pade U933 km: U933 dhah: dhirsri pade U933.

47. For the visarga of अस्त्र or शिरस, when not preceded by another word, and followed by the word पद in composition with it, there is substituted रस.

Thus भवस्कुम्ः, पवस्कुम्ः; भवस्क्कम्, पवस्क्कम्. The word समासे is understood in this, therefore not here भव: पद भव: पद.

The word भवस्कुम्ः is also understood here. Therefore not in the following समासे: पद.

The word भवस्कुम्ः is a compound formed under Mayūravyānsa- kādi class.
48. स or श is substituted for the visarga, before a hard guttural and labial in the words कस्सक and the rest.

This is an Aparāśa to Sūtra VIII. 3. 37. न is substituted after श or श, and श everywhere else. Thus कस्सक: 2. कृत्स्यन: (with श of कृत्य बालय:). 3. आदिपुरुष: (VI. 3. 23) 4. शुद्धस्वरः (VI. 3. 21) 5. साधसत्वा; 6. सत्तस्तिन (from सत्त ‘to buy’ with the suffix विन्दुः, because it belongs to Sāmpadādi class.) 7. साधस्तिन: (from साधस्तिन in the sense of सत्तम: कतुः). 8. कस्सक (the श is by VIII. 3. 12). 9. सार्धुष्मण्डिकः, 10. चतुष्पालम: 11. द्विपालम: 12. चौपालम: 13. कक्षपालम: "The words 9 to 13 are exceptions to VIII. 3. 45, so that there might be श, even when सचिव &c are preceded by another word. Thus परसत्वति कुशिनिकः The counter-example then to VIII. 3. 45 will be परसत्वति कुशिनिकः " This is the opinion of the Pārayaṇikās. But in the Mahābhāṣya, the counter-example under VIII. 3. 45 is परसत्वति कुशिनिकः Another reason why these words are listed here, is that श change will take place, even where there is no correlation or vyapekṣāh. As किंतु सार्धुष्मण्डिकः भावः So also when there is correlation, as शस्ति सार्धुष्मण्डिकः: Here सचिव is an incomplete word. The श change, will take place even where there is no compounding. Where there is no compounding, and there is complete want of correlation, even there the श will invariably come. And where there is correlation, but no compounding there the श would have been optional by VIII. 3. 44, but it becomes invariable here, on account of these words being so listed. Thus we have these cases: (1) Without correlation, as किंतु सार्धुष्मण्डिकः: (2) Where there is correlation, as शस्ति सार्धुष्मण्डिकः: (3) Where there is composition, as सार्धुष्मण्डिकः (4) Where there is no composition and no correlation even, as, in example (1). (5) Where there is correlation but no compounding as in example (2). In all these cases there is श invariably in case of these words. 14. अक्रितकः", 15. नेतिनेत्रः "भविष्यत्र उच्चारः कस्सकः हृद्यः "

Every change of visarga to श or श, must be referred to Kaskādi class, if not governed by any other rule. Thus this is an Akṛtiṇa. Upachāra is the name of श and श which replace the visarga.

The Pārayaṇa is of two sorts, Dhatu-Par, and Nāma-Par. Those who devote themselves in committing to memory and reciting these are Pārayanikas.

49. श may optionally be substituted for the
visarga before a hard guttural and labial, in the Chhandas; but neither before ग, nor before a doubled word.

Thus य: पापस्, or बस्यापस्:। This is an example of non-compounds. In compounds, the श change is compulsory by VIII. 3. 46: because the option of the present sutra is asiddha there, and it finds its scope in cases other than compounds. If the maxim प्रकार्याः प्रकारयापस्य न बोधे कोम: be applied, then the two sutras VIII. 3. 46 and VIII. 3. 49 belong to the same प्रकारण and one is not asiddha with regard to the other. Then we could give examples of compounds also under this sutra: but then such compounds will also be governed by VIII. 3. 46, and so the श would be compulsory.

विभवस्यापस् or विश्वापस्: पापस्, here the word विश्वास: is an Indeclinable and hence the rule VIII. 3. 46, does not apply to it. वह य: कारे or वह श्लार:। Here न्त्र is substituted for श्लार, and then the न is changed to ण by VIII. 4. 27. The word कारे: is a पण formed word.

Why do we say "not before ग and a doubled word"? Observe अग्नि (Av. V. 26. 1), गुर्द: पुरुष: परि।

In सुरकोशबुक्लेश (Rig. X. 139. 1), श ग: पापस् (Rig. I. 12. 10), the श change has not taken place, as all rules are optional in the Vedas.

क:करस्तर्य श्वारितिकृतस्तेनविधिते। ॥ ५० ॥ पदार्थ:। क:-कारत: कारति-कृत: इत्येद:, अनु-अद्विते:।


50. The visarga is changed to स् in the Chhandas, before क:, कारत:, कारति:, कृति: and कृतः: but not so the visarga of अद्विति:।

Thus बि-पापस्:। क: is the Aorist of क: the श्व has been elided by II. 4. 80: the श्व of क: is gugated before the affix श्व, thus we have कृत:, the श्व is elided by VI. 1. 68; and the augment श्व is not added by VI. 4. 75. Similarly विभवस्यापस्। Here also कारत: is the Aorist of क: with कृत: by III. 1. 59. पापस्यापस्, here कारति: is the न्त्र of क:। श्व is added instead of श्व, as a Vedic anomaly. विकराणविधि, here कृति: is the Imperative of क:, the श्व is changed to श्व, the vikarana is elided, and ह is changed to ह्य by VI. 4. 102. See VIII. 4. 27, for the change of न to ण। सकारापायो, here कृता is Past Participle of क:।

Why do we say ‘but not of अद्विति:’? Observe वघा न अद्विति: कार: (Rig. I. 43. 2).
51. The visarga of the Ablative case is changed to स्त्र before परि meaning ‘over’.

The word Chhandas is understood here also. Thus विस्वसति प्रयंग जने (Rig X. 45. 1) धर्मविनिवससदर। दिशसति, नहसति।

Why do we say ‘of the Ablative’? Observe भावित नमः: प्रेवति वासुर। Why do we say “before परि”? See एष्टेना एष्टलोकेऽन्: प्रजापति: लमेरवत। Why do we say ‘when परि means ‘over’? See शिशु: पृष्ठद्वा: प्रेवानु उत्तृष्टम् (Rig. VI. 47. 27). Here परि has the sense of “on all sides”.

पातृः च बहुसद् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानिः पातृः, च बहुसद् ॥

52. स्त्र may diversely be substituted for the visarga of the Ablative before the verb पातृ in the Chhandas.

Thus विस्वसति एतहि। Sometimes, the change does not take place, as परिति: पातृ।

वस्तुः/पतिषु पुष्पारपरस्यपञ्चपोषेऽपुष्प प्रस्सति ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानिः पस्तुः। पस्तुः: पतिः: पुष्प-पुष्प-पार-पद पयस्त-पोषेऽपुष्प।

53. For the visarga of the Genitive, there is substituted स्त्र in the Vedas, before पति, पुष्प, पृष्ठ, पार, पद, पयस्त, and पोष।

Thus सापससि विस्तुसस्समुद्रः, (Rig. x. 81. 7), विस्तुसस्समुद्र, विस्तुसस्समुद्रानां इत्यर्यम, भवम, समस्तारम्, इत्यर्यम सत्यामसि, मूर्द्ध विस्तुसस्समुद्र:। एवस्तीश्च वगवस्समुद्रां।

Why do we say ‘after a genitive case’? See महः: वुष्ठो वस्त्रं वनजनव।

इदाया वा ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानिः इदायाः; वा ॥

54. स्त्र is optionally substituted for the visarga of इदाया:, before पति &c, (VIII. 3. 53.) in the Chhandas.

Thus इदाया: पति: or इदायासपति: इदायासदुत्स्। इदाया: पुष्पः। इदायासदुत्स्। इदाया: पृष्ठः। इदायासारः, इदायाः पारः। इदायासत्स। इदाया: पदः। इदायासुत्स।।

अपवत्तस्ति: मूर्द्धेऽन्तः: ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानिः अ-पदान्तस्ति, मूर्द्धेऽन्तः:।

55. Upto the end of the Pāda, is throughout to be supplied the following: “A cerebral letter is substituted always in the room of ————, when this letter does not stand at the end of a word.”
Here ceases the Padādhikāra which commenced with VIII. 1. 16. The two words अपराङ्गत ‘not final in a pada’, and मूर्तेय ‘cerebral’ exert a governing influence on all sūtras upto the end of this chapter. Thus VIII. 3. 59, teaches “of an affix and a substitute”. The whole of the present sūtra should be read there to complete the sense: i.e. “a cerebral sound is substituted always in the room of the स of an affix and of the श which is a substitute, when it does not stand at the end of a word”. Thus लिपेचा, ल्वयचा, ल्वयचा, वापुचा.

Why do we say ‘not final’? See भवत्वस्वत्, बस्वस्वत्. Though the anuvṛtti of व was understood here, yet the employment of the word ‘cerebral’ is for the sake of श; as ज्यूम, ज्यूम (VIII. 3. 78).

सत्त्र: साहः स: || ५६ || पदार्थि || सत्त्रः, साहः, सः: ||

वृत्: || सवशः तशः कश्चित्व य: सकारात्मक दृश्य व्याख्यानम्।

56. श is substituted for the स्त्र in साह, when this occurs in the form of साह (साह). ||

Thus जनासाह, तुतासाह, पत्तासाह || साह is derived from सह by the affix ग्यव (III. 2. 63), there is vṛddhi of the penultimate, the श is changed to स (VIII. 2. 31), and the upapada is lengthened (VI. 3. 137).

सह: स: would have been enough, for there is no other form साह except this derived from सह; why then the word साह: is used in the sūtra? There is another form साह not derived from सह. Thus सह शैव पत्तासाह: साहः, सरस्व अपलेन: साहः: || He in whose name there is the letter श is called साह; as शूचा.

Why do we say ‘in the form of साह’? The rule will not apply when the form is साह, as जनासाह, तुतासाह. Why do we say स: “for the श”? So that the श of साह may not be changed to cerebral: the श is already cerebral.

हिंकात: || ५७ || पदार्थि || हिंका कोः: ||

वृत्ति: || हिंकातैवहेतुदिकस्त्र केवलवायम्। हत उत्तरे विभागः हिंका: कर्मविनयेतेवं शैवधेतवायम्।

57. From this, upto the end of the chapter, should be supplied in every sūtra, the following:—“when a vowel (with the exception of अ or ए), or a र or a guttural precedes”.

The word हिंका is a pratyāhāra formed with the second श of साह. It includes all vowels and semivowels except अ and ए. Of the semi-vowels र is only efficient: so that only is taken in the translation. श means the letters of the श class. Thus हिंका is supplied in VIII. 3. 59, to complete the sense. Thus लिपेचा, ल्वयचा, ल्वयचा, वापुचा, काहुचा, हाहुचा, हाहुचा, वाहुचा, ल्वुचा, ल्वुचा.

Why do we say “when preceded by हिंका or कु”? Observe शाक्तिक, क्षेत्र: || Here the affix स of क्षेत्र, and the substitute स in शाक्तिक (VII. 2. 106) are not changed to श. ||
58. The substitution of ष for ष takes place when the augment ष (षुम्), the visarjantiya or a sibilant occurs between the said षु and ष letters or the षु.

The word व्यशष ‘separation, intervention’ applies to every one of the words षु, &c. Thus (1) when षु intervenes, as षणि, षणि, षणि (VII. 1. 72, VI. 4. 10). (2) When a visarjaniya intervenes, as षणिः, षणिः, षणिः (VIII. 3. 36) (3) When a Sibilant intervenes, as षणिः, षणिः, षणिः.

The षष takes place, when षु &c intervene singly and not when they intervene collectively. Therefore not here, निस्ते, निस्ते from the root षु ‘to kiss.’ Here there is the intervention of two, namely, षु and ष (III. 4. 91).

The word षणिः is in the Ablative case, and it required that the ष should follow immediately after it. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra for the intervention of certain letters.

59. ष is substituted for that ष which is a substitute (of the ष of a root in Dhātupātha by VI. 1. 64), or which is (the portion of) an affix, under the above mentioned conditions (VIII. 3. 57, 58), of being preceded by an ष ष vowel or a guttural.

The word cerebral is understood here from VIII. 3. 55, as well as ष. The sūtra अदेसाप्रत्ययो is in the Genitive case. The force of the Genitive however is different in the word अदेसा, from what it is in pratyaya. In the first it is samānādhikaraṇa-shaṣṭhi, in the latter avayava-yogāṣṭhitthi. That is that ष which is an अदेसा, and that ष which belongs to an affix. If we took it as avayavayogāṣṭhitthi in both places, then the sūtra would mean “of that ष which is a portion of a substitute, or of an affix,” and there would arise the following anomaly. In doubling a word by VIII. 1. 1, one view is that two are substituted in the room of one (See VIII. 1. 1). Thus निस्ते, निस्ते. Here the ष in these words, is a portion of a substitute, and would be changed to ष, if we translate the sūtra as above.

If we take the other view, and translate the sūtra as “of that ष which is a substitute or an affix”, we land on the following anomaly. We must have forms like कृत्यति and हृत्यति, and not the correct forms कृत्यति, हृत्यति;
for here श is not an affix, but a *portion* of an affix. In fact, with regard to affixes, the sūtra would be confined to those affixes only which consist of a single श, such as श्व in the Vedic subjunctive शऽ। That this is the proper interpretation of the sūtra is indicated by the sūtra VIII. 3. 60, (the next aphorism). The substitute श्व is taken in this sūtra. If therefore, the force of Genitive in श्रेष्ठ was—श्रेष्ठः श्वः सकारः and not=श्रेष्ठः श्वः सकारः; then there would have been no necessity of including the substitute श्व in the sūtra, for then the present sūtra would have covered the case of श्व also. Similarly, if the force of the Genitive in प्रशस्त was—प्रशस्तः श्वः सकारः, and not—प्रशस्तः श्वः सकारः; then there would have been no necessity of excluding the affix श्व (V. 4. 52) from the operation of the present rule by VIII. 3. 111, because it is not an affix consisting of a single letter श।

Having surmised this, we shall now give illustrations. First of that श which is a substitute. It can only be the श which replaces the श of a root in धातुपाठ. Thus श्वेत्, श्वभः। Of an affix, we have वेश्वरः, श्वेष्वरः, श्वेष्वरः; श्वतः in श्वतः ना पश्वः; and श्वतः in श्वेतः श्वतः।

Q.—In the case of शस्व and शस्व, the श is not the *portion* of an affix, but the *whole* affix itself: the present sūtra should therefore not apply to this श।

**Ans.**—Here we apply the maxim व्याधिप्रत्येकश्च एकस्वः। These words (शस्व and शस्व) are from the roots शष्ट्र and शष्ट्र, in शश्र with शश्र, the श is elided by III. 4. 97, the augment शष्ट्र (III. 4. 94), the affix शश्र by III. 1. 34; the श of शष्ट्र is changed to a guttural, and the श of शष्ट्र to श and then to a guttural.

The उपादि word शस्वरं (शष्ट्र+तर Un III. 70) complies with this rule, but not so the word शस्वरं and शस्वरं (Un III. 73) formed with the same affix श।

रशिनिसिद्वशस्वरं (60) पदानि। रशिनिप्रश्वस्वरं। रशिनिप्रश्वस्वरं। च।

५०। ५०। रशिनिप्रश्वस्वरं। रशिनिप्रश्वस्वरं। च।

५०। ५०। रशिनिप्रश्वस्वरं। रशिनिप्रश्वस्वरं। च।

५०। ५०। रशिनिप्रश्वस्वरं। रशिनिप्रश्वस्वरं। च।

५०। ५०। रशिनिप्रश्वस्वरं। रशिनिप्रश्वस्वरं। च।

५०। ५०। रशिनिप्रश्वस्वरं। रशिनिप्रश्वस्वरं। च।

५०। ५०। रशिनिप्रश्वस्वरं। रशिनिप्रश्वस्वरं। च।

५०। ५०। रशिनिप्रश्वस्वरं। रशिनिप्रश्वस्वरं। च।

५०। ५०। रशिनिप्रश्वस्वरं। रशिनिप्रश्वस्वरं। च।

५०। ५०। रशिनिप्रश्वस्वरं। रशिनिप्रश्वस्वरं। च।

५०। ५०। रशिनिप्रश्वस्वरं। रशिनिप्रश्वस्वरं। च।

५०। ५०। रशिनिप्रश्वस्वरं। रशिनिप्रश्वस्वरं। च।

५०। ५०। रशिनिप्रश्वस्वरं। रशिनिप्रश्वस्वरं। च।

५०। ५०। रशिनिप्रश्वस्वरं। रशि
This sūtra is made to cover cases not governed by the last sūtra, namely, where the श्र is not an ādēśa. Though the श्र in प्र is the श्र of a substitute, yet it is not governed by the preceding aphorism, because the word श्रवेश्यत् there means ‘the श्र which is a substitute’. Here श्र is not a substitute, but a portion of a substitute. The non-substitute श्र is not to be taken here: as it seldom occurs.

The word धश्यकाम is understood here also. Therefore the rule would not apply to सतिः, सति and अवास।

स्तूतिव्यवेरिय वर्णम्यासाच दृष्टि दर्शानि दर्शानि, पद्म, चाप, बृज्यासात।

६१। पद्मानि। स्तूतिव्यवेरिय वर्णम्यासात।

६१। श्र is substituted for श्र after श्र or श्र in the reduplication of a Desiderative, if the श्र of श्र is changed to श्र; but only in श्र and in Causative of roots which in द्वापत्त्रा begin with a श्र।

This rule is confined to the Desideratives of श्र and of श्र beginning roots in the Causative, provided that the Desiderative sign श्र is changed to श्र। The rule applies to the श्र of the substitute, and not to the affix श्र as there can be no such श्र after a reduplicate syllable. Therefore श्र means that श्र which replaces the श्र of the roots.

Thus from श्र we have तृणपति। Here the श्र of श्र is changed to श्र by the last sūtra, and therefore so also after the reduplicate श्र, the श्र of श्र is changed to श्र।

Of the Causatives of roots beginning with श्र In द्वापत्त्रा, we have तित्तिविद्वार, तित्तिविद्वार, श्रष्टिश्रष्टिस्ति। In this last, the श्र is changed to श्र by VII. 4. 67.

Though this श्र change would have taken place by the previous sūtra (VIII. 3. 59), yet the separate enunciation of this rule indicates that this is a niyama aphorism—the श्र change takes place only in these cases of श्र and Causatives of Desideratives under the conditions mentioned in this sūtra, and no where else. Thus तित्तिविद्वार from the root तित्तिविद्वार (Tud. 140). This is a root, which is exhibited in the द्वापत्त्रा with श्र, therefore the form ought to have been श्रष्टिश्रष्टिस्ति by VIII. 3. 59, but it is not so, because of the niyama of the present sūtra. So also तृणपति from तृणपति (Div. 24): and तृणपति from तृणपति (Tud 115).

If this is a niyama rule by the very fact of its separate enunciation, what is then the necessity of using the word श्र in the aphorism? Ans. द्वापत्त्रा श्रष्टिश्रष्टिस्ति; so that, the sūtra may mean “if श्र and Causatives only, when श्र follows” and not “if श्र and Causatives when श्र only follows”. In the
latter view, we could not get the form सुहावः; and the rule would have applied to नित्यासिन्य also.

Why do we say "in the Desiderative च"? So that the niyama may not be any where else. Had धनि not been used in the सूत्र, the restriction would have been with regard to every affix, and the सूत्र would have meant "if there is occasion of च change after a reduplicate, it should take place only in the case of सु and the Causatives". Therefore च change would not have taken place in लिपिः, as it is not a Causative.

Q.—की बिद्याकोडुर्भा? Why have we used the word वच्च with च, and not the word लग्ग? That is, what compulsion was there to exhibit the Desiderative affix च, in this changed form? The word विन्य is the name given in the Prāti- sākhyaṣ to च and च change.

Ans.—So that the restrictive rule may not apply to the अविन्य form of च. As इड्डली The च is here किंतु by I. 2. 8, and there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 15. For had लिपि been used in the सूत्र, then the restriction would have been with regard to all Desideratives in general, whether the च was changed to च or not. Therefore as there is restriction of VIII. 3. 59, in the case डिलिलिति where च is not changed to च; so there would have been restriction in इड्डली, the च could not have been changed to च by VIII. 3. 59. Similarly in विन्यासि.

Q.—What is the necessity of exhibiting वच्च with the anubandha च? So that the rule should not apply to च in general, but to the Desiderative affix च only. As इड्डलिन्यिच इष्टम्. This इड्डलिन्यिच is the Perfect of गच्छ, the affix धात is added as Chhandas irregularity instead of च; for चच्छ there is च, the affix is किंतु by I. 2. 8, and so there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 15, and reduplication, and the augment च is added by VII. 2. 13, the च is changed to च, as इड्डलिन्यिच इष्टम्, the च is elided by VIII. 3. 19. Here after the reduplicate च, the च is changed to च, in च by the general rule VIII. 3. 59, as the restriction of this सूत्र does not apply in this case. But had च in general been taken, then इड्डलिन्यिच has an affix च, and therefore सूत्र VIII. 3. 59, would have been restricted, and there would have been no change of च to च after the reduplicate, as it is not a causative. Hence वच्च has been employed with an anubandha.

Why do we say 'after a reduplicate'?

Ans.—So that this restriction may apply to that च which would have been caused by the च or च of an abhyāṣa, and not to that which would have been caused by an upasarga. As अपित्विपिचि, though without the Preposition, the form is लिपिःकाते.

Q.—No, this cannot be the reason, because the च caused by the upasarga is considered as asiddha, and hence there would be no restriction.
Ans.—Then we say, the abhyāsa is taken to be qualified by वर्ग, namely that abhyāsa which is caused by वर्ग, would give occasion to this rule and not any other abhyāsa. Therefore if a reduplication has been caused by वर्ग, and then वर्ग is added to it, then the restriction of the present sūtra will not apply, and वर्ग change will take place though the root may not be a Causative &c. Thus the वर्ग of वर्गसूत्र (VI. 1. 19), the Desiderative of this root is सोनिकतेः, with हूँ augment, the elision of वर्ग (VI. 4. 48) of वर्ग, the elision of वर्ग by VI. 4. 49.

Q.—No this also cannot be the reason: because the वर्ग change is antaranga, while the restriction niyama is Bahiranga. Therefore, the word abhyāsa is employed superfluously in the sūtra.

Ans.—The word abhyāsa is taken in the sūtra, so that the restriction may be with regard to that वर्ग which might have been caused by the वर्ग or वर्ग of the abhyāsa; and not to that वर्ग which might be occasioned by the वर्ग or वर्ग of a dhditiu or verbal root. Thus प्रशासितपि, कर्मचैवपि II. Here the root वर्ग in the sense of विभवनित, is turned to Desiderative with वर्ग; and by VI. 1. 2, the वर्ग is reduplicated, then by VII. 4. 79, the वर्ग is changed to वर्ग II. Thus विभव; here by the force of the वर्ग of the abhyāsa विभव, the वर्ग is changed to वर्ग as विभव; (VIII. 3. 59) then as the restriction of this sūtra does not apply, the root वर्ग causes the वर्ग of the abhyāsa, as विभव II. Had the word विभव not been used in the sūtra, the वर्ग of abhyāsa could not have been changed to वर्ग, for then the sūtra would have meant "स is substituted for वर्ग, only in the case of स and Causatives in the Desiderative वर्ग;" and as विभव is not a Causative-Desiderative, the restriction would have applied.

62. वर्ग is substituted for the वर्ग after the reduplicate of the वर्ग Desiderative of the Causatives of स्विस्व, स्विद्व, and वर्ग II.

The वर्ग substitute of वर्ग debar the cerebral change. In other words, the वर्ग of these roots remains unchanged. As स्विद्विविद्विनि, स्विद्विविद्विनि and स्विद्विविद्विनि II.

प्रकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृतिसूत्राद्यथादे भवन ४३ पद्धतिः प्राकृति
VIII. 3. 70, even when the augment अ० intervenes (between the ः and the efficient letter).

The root ष्ट्र occurs in sūtra VIII. 3. 70. Thus VIII. 3. 65 teaches ष change : as अभिषूषणि, परिषूषणि, तविषूषणि, निषूषणि. So also when अ० intervenes ; as अभ्यस्त, पर्याप्त, तव्याप्त, निष्काप्त. The force of ष्ट्र is that the change takes place even when the augment अ० does not come, i.e. in cases other than the augment.

स्याविष्कारेऽसे चाण्यासः ष 64 II पदार्थि स्याविष्कारे अभ्यासः ष, अभ्यासः

शुद्धः ष खिलाविष्कारे वग्ने ष उपसर्गार्थसाधीस्य वस्तेवस्यप्रेमेः स्याविष्कारे अभ्यासं श्रवणं श्रवण्मार्ग ज्ञानाक्षर ज्ञातव्यं भव्यासासहायतासम ष अभ्यासाये विताश्च ष।

64. In ष शा &c. upto ष्ट्र exclusive (VIII. 3. 65 to VIII. 3. 70), this ष substitution takes place then also, when the reduplicate intervenes, and the ष of the reduplicate is also changed to ष.

The words ष शा शा are understood here also. The शा roots are, ष, शा, भावन शा in VIII. 3. 65 and ending with शा in VIII. 3. 70. The sūtra consists of two sentences: (1) The ष takes place in ष शा &c. even when a reduplicate intervenes; (2) The ष of the reduplicates of ष शा is changed to ष.

The first is a vidhi rule, and the second is a niyama rule.

Thus परिष्को where the abhyāsa ष intervenes. This applies even to roots other than those which have been taught with a ष in the Dhātupātha. As अभिषूषणि, परिषूषणि (शरण अभिषूषणि). This applies moreover to reduplicates which end in ष, as अभिषूषणि; here the ष would not have been changed to ष (by VIII. 3. 59) as it is not preceded by ष or ष. Another raison d'être of this sūtra is that it prohibits ष (VIII. 3. 61). As अभिषूषणि, परिषूषणि.

The word अभ्यासः is for the sake of niyama, as we have said above.

ष of ष शा &c. and of no other roots is changed to ष. As अभिषूषणि from ष शा with ष, the augment is debarred by VII. 2. 12: the root ष is unchanged by the niyama prohibition of VIII. 3. 61; the reduplicate ष remains unchanged by the restriction of the present sūtra.

उपसर्गार्थसाधीस्य शा लोकांस्माती लोकांस्माती वस्तेवस्यविधाग्रः स्याविष्कारे 65 II पदार्थि उपसर्गार्थम्, शा लोकांस्माती-षा लोकांस्माती-षा लोकांस्माती-षा लोकांस्माती-षा-सेतु-षा-संग्रहे-षा-संग्रहे।

शुद्धः ष उपसर्गार्थसाधीस्य ष यापार्थम् ष त्वार्थम् ष त्वार्थम् ष त्वार्थम् ष त्वार्थम् ष त्वार्थम् ष।

65. ष is substituted for ष, after an ष and ष of an upasarga in the following verbs: ष (षषोत्सि), ष (षषवति), षो
Thus अनिष्ठित, परिष्ठित, अन्नमाद्यि, पर्येष्युमि, स्त्रियोऽस्मि, अन्नमाद्यि, पर्येष्युमि, स्त्रियोऽस्मि, अन्नमाद्यि, पर्येष्युमि, स्त्रियोऽस्मि, अन्नमाद्यि, पर्येष्युमि, स्त्रियोऽस्मि, अन्नमाद्यि, पर्येष्युमि, स्त्रियोऽस्मि, अन्नमाद्यि, पर्येष्युमि, स्त्रियोऽस्मि, अन्नमाद्यि, पर्येष्युमि, स्त्रियोऽस्मि, अन्नमाद्यि, पर्येष्युमि, स्त्रियोऽस्मि, अन्नमाद्यि, पर्येष्युमि, स्त्रियोऽस्मि, अन्नमाद्यि, पर्येष्युमि, स्त्रियोऽस्मि, अन्नमाद्यि, पर्येष्युमि, स्त्रियोऽस्मि, अन्नमाद्यि, पर्येष्युमि, स्त्रियोऽस्मि.

The root सिसूत is exhibited in the sūtra as सिसूत with श्रृङ्खला vikaraṇa, thus debarring सिसूत: sirūṭāṇि.

Why do we say "after an upasarga"? Observe श्रृङ्खला हस्पतिः, महा हिन्न्येशति (VIII. 3. 113). So निषेधकोऽद्वारस्य महापारस्त्र भस्माभित् हस्पतिः. Here भस्म is not an Upasarga to हस्पतिः, but to the noun हस्पति. Similarly in भूनिष्ठितस्य, the upasarga भूनि is not added to the root भू (भूनि), but to the third derivative of भू (भूनि). Namely, from भू we derive स्थान with भूत, and from स्थान we form the Denominative root स्थानस्य have with भूत; and to this Denominative root भूंि is added. The upasarga, however may be added to the root first, and then भूत and भूस्था added. In that case, the rule will apply. As भूभाषानिष्ठितता So also with the Causative, as भूभाषानिष्ठित, for here the upasarga is added to the root भूत and not to the causative form सावध.

The roots द्रुत्व भृनिष्ठित belongs to Svādi class, द्रुत्व, भृत्व, to Tūdādi class, द्रुत्व, भृत्व to Divādi class, द्रुत्व, भृत्व, to Adādi class and द्रुत्व, भृत्व, to Bhuādi Class. These have been shown in the sūtra in their declined form in order to indicate that the rule does not apply to their द्रुत्व and भृत्व. So VII. 1. 6 for this rule of विनिष्ठू exhibited roots. On the other hand, the roots निष्ठू &c. being not so exhibited, change their श्रृङ्खला in वहं द्रुः also, as निष्ठितस्स्थितता.

Thus निष्ठित, द्रुत्व भृत्व, where the upasarga is निष्ठू and द्रु, निष्ठितस्स्थितस्य, पद्धतिः, ज्ञातः, भृत्वः, वृत्तिः, स्थानः स्वरूपस्य शृङ्खलार्थितांश्वरूपस्य शृङ्खलाय स्थानेऽस्य निष्ठितस्य निष्ठितस्य स्थानितस्य श्रृङ्खलाय स्थानेऽस्य निष्ठितस्य निष्ठितस्य निष्ठितस्य श्रृङ्खलाय स्थानेऽस्य निष्ठितस्य निष्ठितस्य निष्ठितस्य श्रृङ्खलाय स्थानेऽस्य निष्ठितस्य निष्ठितस्य निष्ठितस्य

66. The श्रृङ्खला of श्रृङ्खला is changed to श्रृङ्खला after an Upasarga having an हं or उ, but not after प्रति.

The word श्रृङ्खला is in the first case, but has the force of genitive. Thus निष्ठितानि निष्ठितानि, द्रुत्वानि, भृत्वानि. निष्ठितानि, द्रुत्वानि. The second श्रृङ्खला remains unchanged in the Perfect by VIII. 3. 118.
Why do we say 'but not after मत्र'? Observe मनोविनिषयति. Prof.
Bohlingk points out that the सुत्र is सत्यमिति: as given by Sayanāchārya in
his commentary on Rig Veda VI. 13. 1. Panini, however, often uses the first
case with the force of the Genitive, as in VIII. 3. 80.

67. The ख of स्तन्धम is changed into ख after an up-
asarga, having an ः or उ.

Thus बनिष्ठभाषि: परिभाषि: बनिष्ठभाषि. परिभाषि: बनिष्ठभाषि.
The word बनिष्ठभाषि: of the last सुत्र is not to be read here. Hence we have forms
like:—मनोविनिषयति बनिष्ठभाषि, मनोविनिषयति।

वाचान्तरम्भाभिबृहस्पत्येऽयो: || भवन || पदानि || भविष्य: च, आलम्बन-भावित्वेऽयो: ||
वृत्ति: भविष्यवर्गेऽर्थ: भवि: भविष्यवर्गेऽर्थ: भवि:। भविष्यवर्गेऽर्थ: भवि: ।

68. The ख of स्तन्धम is changed into ख after the
preposition बहु in the sense of 'support,' and 'contiguity.'

The word बनिष्ठभाषि means "support, refuge, that upon which anything
depends or leans." भावित्वेऽयो means "the state of not being बहु or far off, i.e.
to be contiguous.'

Thus भविष्ठभाषि: "He remains leaning upon a staff" &c, भविष्ठभाषि: तिति:।
So also in the sense of to be near, as भविष्ठभाषि: वेथा 'the army near at hand'.

See V. 2. 13.

Why do we say "when having the sense of support or contiguity"?
Thus बनिष्ठभाषि: घुट्ट: शीतेऽ "the Śādra is afflicted with cold'.

The present सुत्र is commenced in order to make the ख change even
while the preceding letter is not ः or उ.

वेथ बनिष्ठभाषि: घुट्ट: । पदानि || च, स्तन्धम: || भवि: च, स्तन्धम: ||
वृत्ति: वेथान्तरम्भाभिबृहस्पत्येऽयो: भवि:। भविष्यवर्गेऽर्थ: भवि:।

69. The ख is substituted for the ख of स्तन्धम, after
बहु and बहु, when the sense is "to smack while eating".

Thus बिन्यमि, बनिष्ठभाषि, बनिष्ठभाषि, भविष्ठभाषि, भविष्ठभाषि।।
That is, he makes sound while eating, he eats with a smack.

Why do we say "when making a smacking sound in eating"? Observe
विन्यमि पुष्कर: "the drum sounds".

परिभाषि: सेवितसंसत्सिद्धस्तुदा स्तुद्वारायणम: । पदानि || परिभाषि: परिभाषि: परिभाषि:।
वृत्ति: परिभाषि: परिभाषि: परिभाषि: परिभाषि:।
70. य is substituted for the य of लित, सित, सय, सिव, सह, the augment यह, स्य, and स्य, after the prepositions परि, नि, and वि.

The root लेख belongs to Bhuādi class. The word सित is the Past Participle of लिख, कथ, and स्य is the noun derived from the same root with the affix यस्त; सित is a Divādi root.

Thus पारिचेति, निचेति, बीचेति, परिचेति, बीचेति, निचेति, परिचेति, बीचेति, निचेति; लिख; परिचेति, बीचेति, निचेति, परिचेति, बीचेति, निचेति; लिख; परिचेति, बीचेति, निचेति; लिख.

71. The य-change may take place optionally in the सिव and the rest (of the last sūtra), even when the augment य intervenes between the prepositions परि, नि or वि and the verb.

The सिव are the four roots सित, सह, and स्य, as well as the augment यह. This is an example of ubhayatra-vibhāshā. In the case of सह and स्य, it is prāpta-vibhāshā, in the case of others it is aprāpta. The examples have already been given under the preceding sūtra, and so need not be repeated here.

72. य is optionally the substitute of the स of स्य, after the prepositions बन्ध, वि, परि, अधि and नि, when the subject is not a living being.

The root सल्लव् प्रवस्य is anudātta. Thus बन्धनस्ये; रिचनस्ये; परिचनस्ये; अभिव्यक्तस तेनस्य; निभःस्ये; बन्धनस्ये; रिचनस्ये; परिचनस्ये;
Why do we say 'when the subject is not a living being'? Observe भवत्सत्तः मध्यवर्तमाणे. The option of this sūtra will apply, when the subject is a compound of living and non-living beings. Thus भवत्सत्तः मध्यवर्तमाणे. The subject here is a Dvandva compound, and it is not in the singular number because of II. 4. 6. The word भवत्सत्तः is a Paryudāsa and not a Prasajya-pratishedha. If it be the latter sort of prohibition, then the force will be on the word living; and in a compound like मध्यवर्तमाणे, consisting of living and non-living beings, the prohibition will apply because it has a living being in it, and so there will be no वस्त्र. In the other view, the force is on the word non-living, and because the compound contains a non-living being, therefore the option will be applied, and the presence of the living being along with it will be ignored.

The anuvṛtti of परि, नि and वि is understood here from VIII. 3. 70. So these words could well have been omitted from the sūtra, which might have then been भवत्सत्तः मध्यवर्तमाणे, and by the force of ये we would draw in the anuvṛtti of परि &c.

ये: स्त्रेरत्मिन्द्रायाम् || 73 || पदार्थे, स्त्रेरत्म, भाविष्यायाम् ||
वृत्ति: || वेच्छाभवत्सत्तः || स्त्रेरत्म इत्यादि था वर्तमाणे भविष्यायाम् ||

73. ये is optionally substituted for the सू of स्त्रेरत्म, after the preposition वि, but not in the participles in त and तवत्द्.

The root is स्त्रेरत्मगति चोपयोऽपि. Thus विच्छेदः or अस्त्रेरत्म, अविच्छेदः or विच्छेदः, विच्छेदः or विच्छेदः.

Why do we say 'but not in the Nishṭha'? Observe विच्छेदः.

परेष्यं || 74 || पदार्थे, च ||
वृत्ति: || परीराज्यावर्तमाणे || स्त्रेरत्म था वर्तमाणे थवति.

74. ये is optionally substituted for the सू of स्त्रेरत्म after the preposition परि every where.

Thus परिच्छेदः or परिस्त्रेरत्म, परिच्छेदः, परिच्छेदः or परिच्छेदः, परिच्छेदः or परिच्छेदः.

The word परि could well have been included in the last sūtra as विपरीतम् स्त्रेरत्म &c. The very fact that it has not been so included, indicates that the prohibition of भाविष्यायाम् does not apply to it. Thus परिच्छेदः or परिस्त्रेरत्म.

परिस्त्रेरत्म: माध्यमस्त्रेरत्म || 75 || पदार्थे, परिस्त्रेरत्म: माध्यमस्त्रेरत्म: ||
वृत्ति: || परिस्त्रेरत्म हति हि इति निवान्ते माध्यमस्त्रेरत्म: प्रवेशवा विधेये. ||

75. The word परिस्त्रेरत्म is used without the cerebral change in the country of Eastern Bharata.
This is an anomaly. The य required by the last sūtra is prohibited. The other form is परिपक्व. The word परिपक्व is formed by the suffix य, or it is a Nisthāṭha, the य being elided. The word यत्र qualifies the word प्रायः.

Prof. Bohlingk translates it "परिपक्व is seen in the usage of the Eastern People and the Bharata." He bases his construction on the sūtras II. 4. 66, and IV. 2. 113, where प्रायः यत्र means "the Eastern People and Bharata".

सूक्तिरस्त्रुक्तवर्तिनिनिविषयः || ७६ || पदानि || सूक्तिर, सूक्तलयः, नित्स, नि, विख्यः.

८८ || सूक्तलयः: सकारात्मा नित्स नि वि हस्तेन्य उत्सर्गः तः पुरुषैग्रहीषु मयति ||

76. य is optionally substituted for the स of सूक्त and सूक्तल after the prepositions नित्स, नि, and वि.

Thus निर्मित्स, निर्मित्सिर, निर्मित्सिः, निर्मित्सिः, निर्मित्सिः, निर्मित्सिः.

थे: स्याभाटोनिवृत्यः || ७७ || पदानि || थे:, स्याभाटो:, नित्सः.

८८ || वेदस्या व्यक्ति: सकारात्मा नित्स यज्ञार्थः यज्ञार्थः मयति ||

77. य is always substituted for the स of स्याध, after the preposition धि.

Thus निर्मित्स, निर्मित्सिर, निर्मित्सिः, निर्मित्सिः.

८८: वीर्भव्यक्तिः भोज्यः || ७८ || पदानि || य: || निर्मित्स: वीर्भव्यक्तिः, धः, अज्ञातः.

८८: मुर्ग्य: हस्तेन्यः यज्ञार्थः यज्ञार्थः मयति ||

78. The cerebral sound is substituted in the room of the य of यज्ञ, and of the Personal-endings of the Aorist and the Perfect, after a stem ending in हूः (a vowel other than अ).

The word 'cerebral' is understood here from VIII. 3. 55. Thus यज्ञ:—प्रायः, अस्यान्तः (VIII. 2. 25). Perfect: अष्ट्रः.

Though the anuvṛtti of अष्ट्रः was current here from VIII. 3. 57, yet the repetition of the word हूः here indicates that the anuvṛtti of य or the guttural ceases. As यज्ञः, स्याधः.

Why do we say "the य of भीष्मस्, लक्षः and नित्र"? Observe खुर्घे, अस्त्यानि, where the य is of स्त्र and नृर्छः.

Why do we say जन्माः "after a stem"? Observe परिवैशीभवस्, from विष्ठयस् of the Juhotyādī class. There is Guṇa of the reduplicate by VII. 4. 75, the य of स्त्रीःूः is elided by VII. 2. 79, and यज्ञः here is made up of the य of the root विष्ठ, and यज्ञः the affix; therefore यज्ञः here is not after the अग्नि परिवे नि, for the अग्नि here is परिने नि, and यज्ञः is the affix. This result could have been
obtained, without using the word भास्त्र in the sutra, by the maxim अर्नान्तो वचने नामर्यक्तम् "a combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning, denotes that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote a combination void of meaning".

79. The cerebral sound is optionally substituted for the छ of सीव्रम and of the Aorist and the Perfect after the augment हृ, when the stem ends in हृ.

Thus हृ + हृ + सीव्रम = सन्निस्वर्ग or सन्निस्वर्ग so also परश्रोविस्वर्ग or परश्रोविस्वर्ग from हृ. Aorist:—भालिवर्ग or भालिवर्ग Perfect:—हुल्लिवे or हुल्लिवे. The word हृ is understood here and it qualifies the word हृ, so that the stem should end in an हृ vowel which should be followed by the हृ augment and this letter should be followed by सीव्रम and the छ beginning affixes of the Aorist and the Perfect. If the stem does not end in an हृ vowel, the rule will not apply; as भालिवर्ग from the root भाल उपवेशने.

Then in the word सप्ति, will the cerebral change not take place by the option of this sutra or otherwise? This is from the root हृ अवे in the Perfect with the augment हृ (VII. 2. 13), and हृ (by VI. 4. 63). Some say that as the augment हृ intervene between the stem ending in हृ (हृ vowel), and the augment हृ, therefore this rule will not apply and there will not be the optional हृ. Others hold that the anusvṛtti of हृ has ceased, and the anusvṛtti of हृ is only current, in this sutra, and there is no intervention and so there will be the optional change into हृ.

80. छ is substituted for the छ of सक्ष्म after the word अक्ष्मित in a compound.

Thus भालिवशष्म भालिवशष्म वयानाम् भालिवशष्म यानाम् सादवति. Why do we say in a compound? Observe भालिवे सह्ये पवम. The word हृ is exhibited in the sutra in the nominative case. The force is here that of Genitive i.e. हृ.

81. छ is substituted for the छ of स्थान्य when preceded by भाल in a compound.

Thus भालस्थान्य. The word compound is understood here also; otherwise भाल स्थान्य पवम.
82. ठ is substituted for the ठ of स्तूत, स्तोम and सोम when preceded by धन्त in a compound.

Thus धन्त्य, धन्त्योम, धन्त्यीयेम.

Ishti:—The ठ of धन्त is lengthened before सोम and it is after such lengthened ठ, that the ठ of सोम is changed to ठ, otherwise not. As धन्त्योमैनी गृहग्राही सो also धन्त्योमी जिज्ञास: (where 'agni' means fire, and 'soma' a kind of herb) “the fire and the soma plant are here.”

When there is no compounding we have धान्ये सोम:.

The word धान्युष्ट्वि is formed by धिन्य, the sacrifice in which Agni is praised (स्त्रेते) is so called. धन्योम: is also the name of a sacrifice: the first division (संया) of the Soma-yāga. धम्योम: is a हेतु-धस: so where there is no Devatā-Dvandva, the ठ change will not take place. Thus where Agni and Soma are names of two boys, or where they refer to physical fire and herb. According to Āśvalāyana there is lengthening and ठ change in the last case also, as धान्योपयो नैत्यायानि.

83. The ठ of स्तोम is changed to ठ after धोन्तित्वः and आयुरुṣ in a compound.

As ध्योंतिहो: आयुरुष:, but ध्योति: स्तोमैवति where there is no compounding.

मातुधिन्युष्ट्वि वस्सा: || पदानि || ध्योति:, धायुष:, स्तोम:.

84. The ठ of स्तुष्ट्वि is changed to ठ after धातु and धिन्य in a compound.

As धातुस्त्रि, धिन्यस्त्रि || See VI. 3. 24.

मातु:पितुधिन्योमन्यतत्स्तुष्ट्वि: || पदानि || मातु:, पितुधिन्याम, अन्तर्भाय.

85. The ठ of स्तुष्ट्वि is optionally changed to ठ, after मातु: and धिन्य in a compound.

Thus मातु:स्तस: or मातु:स्तस:; धिन्यस्तस: or धिन्यस्तस: || The word मातु: and धिन्य end in ठ, which is changed to visarga (See VIII. 2. 24). In fact, the word धिन्य is so exhibited in the sūtra itself, with a ठ, the word मातु: therefore, by the rule of सजाच्च is also to be understood as a ठ ending word.

Q.—Well, if this be so, when this ठ is changed to a visarga, and the visarga changed to ठ by VIII. 3. 36, then there would be no ठ change?
Ans.—The ख change would take place both after the visarga-ending or ख-ending words, on the maxim एकदेवदिव्यः समानमन्यतः. "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, these words are taken to end in ख For if they were taken to end in ख, then the rule would not apply when they ended in a visarga. If they be supposed to end in a visarga, then the form तिन्नित्तिन्न when a ख before यम्म in the sutra is hard to explain.

The word समस्ति is understood here also. Therefore not here मात्रः स्वसा when the words are used separately in a sentence.

अभिनिष्ठत: शाब्दसंबंधायाः || पद्ध || पवाति || अभिनिष्ठ: || स्तन: || शाब्द-संबंधायाः ||

वृत्ति: || अभिनिष्ठ: इत्येतश्च द्रव्यसमर्थ स्तनसंबंधायाय पूर्ववाक्यस्मृति भवति यक्तस्यमात्राया यक्तस्य गम्यमात्रायाः.

86. The ख of स्तन is optionally changed to ख after the double preposition अभिनिष्ठ, when the word so formed is the name of a particular letter (i.e. visarga).

As अभिनिष्ठां वर्णः, अभिनिष्ठां विसर्जनीयः or अभिनिष्ठां वर्णः or विसर्जनीयः || The compound preposition अभिनिष्ठ causes this change, and not any one of them separately. Thus, अपास्तम्बः—ग्रामेण हतुससं या नामपूर्वस्तायांतः श्रीपरी-निष्ठां, पूर्ववाक्यसमर्थस्तु "a name (नामा) should be such that it should consist of two-syllables or four-syllables, that its first portion should be a noun (नामा-पूर्वा), and its second portion a verb (अक्ष्या), that it should end in a long vowel (दिर्गाय) or a visarga (अभिनिष्ठाया), that the first letter of such a noun should be a goshwa or sonant letter (goshwa-वदादिः), and a semi-vowel (अन्तस्था) should be in the body of it." Thus the names प्रभवोद्ध, पालियोषा fulfill these conditions and are good names.

Why do we say "when it is the name of a particular letter."? Observe अभिनिष्ठानि सूचयः || The anuvṛtti of समस्ति ceases from this place.

उपस्थर्ग्राहुद्वायमत्तपवपश्चर्शयः || पदानि || उपस्थर्ग्राहुद्वायमत्तपवपश्चर्शयः, अस्ति: ||

वृत्ति: || उपस्थर्ग्राहुद्वायमत्तपवपश्चर्शयः यक्तस्य वक्तस्य यक्तस्य गम्यमात्रायाः.

87. The ख of the verb अस्त्र is changed to ख, when it is followed by a vowel or ख and is preceded by प्रायुः, or an upasarga having ख or ख in it.

The word खच पर: means 'followed by ख or खच’ || The word प्रायुः is an Indeclinable, meaning 'evidently'.

Thus अभिप्रायः, निप्रायः, निप्रायः, प्रायुप्रायः; अभिप्रायः, निप्रायः, निप्रायः, प्रायः-प्रायः.”
Why do we say "when preceded by an Upasarga having an इ or उ?"
Observe संप्रवात, महस्वानु। Why do we say 'of the verb बस्'? Observe अष्टु-सूत्रम, विशिष्टम।

Q.—How is there any occasion for the application of the rule here? The context here relates to स, and the word "upasarga" qualifies that स, but here the upasarga is not applied to स but to the whole verb शू, therefore this is no counter-example. In fact, what is the necessity of using the word बस् at all in the sūtra: for even without it, the word 'upasarga' would qualify that verb which consists of शू only, and such a verb is शस्, with its ए elided and no other verb? Nor is the employment of शस् necessary for प्राप्त, for it comes only in connection with the verbs श्, शू and शस्।

Ans.—All that you urge, is true, yet the following counter-example should be given, as अष्टु, the son of Anusū will be अष्टुब्र: with शस् as it belongs to Subhrādi class. Thus अष्टु + ए = अष्टु + ए = अष्टु + ए। Here the ए is elided by VI. 4. 147. Now when ए is elided, the ए is the only verb-element that remains, अष्टु is upasarga, and ए is affix; so that had ए not been taken in the sūtra, the rule would apply to this ए also.

Why do we say "when it is followed by a vowel or उ"? Observe मित्र, वित्र, व्रुत्स।

सुब्रिंगतुऽन्यं: सुब्रिंगतुसः: परवानी। ए, वि, निर, दुध्वः, दुध्वः, सुर्वित, समाः।

शृवित: ए ब्र: निर्द्व: इत्यादिं बनात्वा दुध्वः मूर्तिः सम इत्यादियानि सकाय दुध्वः भवति।

Kārikā—प्रवेस: द्रव्योऽस्मिन् द्रव्यश्रेणिः केन न।

हस्ताक्षरशास्त्रं विशिष्टिं दूः प्रसारणम्।

स्नानीं निवोदो मथा प्रक्तिवादस्य: दुध्वः।

वनपथे विवुच्छ: दुध्वः हस्ताक्षरशास्त्रे।

88. The शू of शूप, शृवित, and सम is changed to शू after शू, वि, निर and दुर।

The word दुध्वित is exhibited in the sūtra as the form of दुध्वित with vocalisation. Thus दुध्वित, कि: दुध्व। दुध्वित is the final ending form of शू; the rule applies to this form only, as दुध्वित, विद्वित, विवुच्छि and दुध्वित। The word सम also means the noun सम and not the verb सम वैवच्छे। Thus दुध्वित, विवुच्छ, विवुच्छ, दुध्वित।

Kārikā—Why is प्रवेस taught with regard to the दुध्वित form of शूप? Ans.

शृवित: द्रव्योऽस्मिन् दुध्व, so that the प्रवेस change should not take place in दुध्व form, as सिन्ध: and निर्द्वसमाः (III. 2. 172)। Q. दुध्वित: केन न? For what reason the प्रवेस change has not taken place in the reduplicate दुध्वित, for here also in the reduplicate, is the form दुध्वि, as दुध्वित, and then by applying हस्ताक्षर rule, the ए is elided, and एकब्रिंगतुसःः शृवित: applies? Ans. हस्ताक्षर शृवित: न दुध्वि, we
reduplicate the form स्त्रृ, as विलस्त्रृत्वर and then elide ृ, as विस्त्रृत्वर, and then vocalise, as विस्त्रृत्वर so that there being no form हूरु, there is no रत्न हूरु रत्नवर्धमान, in fact, the vocalisation takes place first, and then elision according to an इष्टि. See VI 1. 17. Otherwise, in स्त्रृत्वर, as ृ is elided, ृ would also have been elided. Why is the ृ of विस्त्रृत्वर not changed to ृ by VIII. 3. 64? स्वार्थीनाम निर्मी स्वार्थीनाम निर्मी नाथ साधु, लिङ्गाचार: यावि, the rule VIII. 3. 64 does not apply, because that rule is confined only to verbs up to लिङ्ग in VIII. 3. 70, while हूरु is after that verb. Moreover the ृ of हूरु being elided, the mere ृ is अन्येक्ष, and the maxim is अन्येक्ष, यथा नानापर्यवस्था। Q. If this maxim is applied, how do you form विस्त्रृत्वर? Ans. अन्ये च विस्त्रृत्वर: पुनःविस्त्रृत्वरम्, here the form हूरु is doubled, and not हूरु। The root is first joined with the prefix वित्र त्वर, then there is vocalisation विस्त्रृत्वर, then there is च change, as विस्त्रृत्वर, then reduplication, as विस्त्रृत्वर। Now रत्न being considered as असिद्ध, the doubling should take place first? No, for we have already shown that for the purposes of doubling, the रत्न change is not असिद्ध (VIII. 2. 3 Vart.)

89. The ृ is substituted for स्त्रृ of स्त्रृ after न्द्र and न्द्र when the word so formed denotes "dexterous."

Thus निश्चायः कर्तव्यं। निश्चायः राज्यकर्मेन। नाम स्त्रृत्वर स्त्रृ।। This last word is formed by the prefix क्षत्रिय, added to स्त्रृ, preceded by the upapada नाम under सृत्र III. 2. 4.

Why do we say when meaning dexterous? Observe तिलीत: नसिद्धा। (नाम स्त्रृः)

स्त्रृत्वर त्यत्ति: ४०। पद्धारं । स्त्रृत्वर, त्यत्ति:।

ृत्ति: प्रर्वानात्तिक्षिप्तस्त्रृत्वर, स्त्रृत्वर विलिङ्गविषेण। प्रसिद्धेऽपि। प्रसिद्धेऽपि।

90. The word प्रतिप्रत्यय: is irregularly formed when meaning a सूत्र.

Thus प्रतिप्रत्यय: सूत्र। \(x \cdot \) 'pure'. When it has not this meaning we have प्रतिप्रत्यय: = 'bathed'.

कपिलसो गोचे। ८१। पद्धारं । कपिलसो, गोचे।

ृत्ति: कपिलसो विलिङ्गविषेण गोचे।

91. The word कपिलसो is irregularly formed denoting the founder of a gotra of that name.

Thus the son of Kapishṭhala will be कपिलसो: \(x \cdot \) The word gotra" here does not mean the grammatical "gotra," but the popular term 'gotra' denoting 'clans,' as described in the list of pravaras. Why do we say "when denoting the founder of a gotra"? Observe कपिलसो: The land of the monkeys.
92. The word प्राच is irregularly formed when denoting 'a chief' or 'one who goes in front'.

Thus प्राच meaning a 'best horse'. Why do we say when meaning 'going in front'? Observe प्राच ते हिमा: पुष्चे "On the sacred peak of the Himalaya". प्राच ाम 'a measure of barley'.

93. The word सिद्ध is irregularly formed in the sense of "tree" and "seat."

This word is formed by adding the affix झुप to the root स्थु preceded by the preposition सिद्ध. Thus सिद्ध झुप: सिद्धानायास्य. Why do we say when meaning a 'tree' or a 'seat'? Observe बौद्धिकास्य विश्वास्य. See sūtra III. 3. 33. by which झुप is added here instead of प्राच.

94. Also when it is the name of a metre, the irregular form सिद्ध is used.

By Sūtra III. 3. 34 the word सिद्ध is formed denoting a sort of metre called सिद्धास्य. Why do we say when denoting 'the name of a chandas'? Observe प्राच सिद्धास्य.

In fact this sūtra makes unnecessary the sūtra III. 3. 34. To avoid this difficulty, some say that the sūtra III. 3. 34 is not confined to the preposition सिद्ध, so that we can form प्राच सिद्धास्य सिद्धास्य.

95. The स्र of सिद्ध is changed to श्र after the words झुप and झुला.

Thus स्र प्राच, झुला: The compounding takes place by II. 1. 44. and the 7th case affix is not elided by VI. 3. 9. though the word झुप does not end in a consonant, yet it retains its Locative ending by virtue of this sūtra.
96. श is substituted for स in स्थल after वि, क, शामि, and परि.

Thus विग्न, कहन, शामिसन and परिरक्ष. The word वि, क and परि are compounded under II. 2. 18.; the word शामि forms a genitive by VI. 3. 63. In the aphorism the word शामि is shown with a short श, indicating thereby that when the श is not shortened, the cerebral change does not take place; as शामि-स्थन.

97. The श of स्थ is changed to श after अम्ब, अभ्य, गो, भूमि, सत्य, अप, धि, ति, क, शेक, शाङ्क, अस्तु, माङ्ग, पुर्व, परस, वाहिक, विचि, अप्रभ, श।

Thus शंस, भ्वसं, गोंस, भूमिसं, सत्यसं, अपसं, धिसं, तिसं, कसं, शेकसं, शाङ्कसं, अस्तुसं, माङ्गसं, पुर्वसं, परसं, वाहिकसं, विचिसं, अप्रभ।

The word स्थ is shown in the śūtra in the first case, and means the word-form स्थ, and it is not the genitive case of स्थ, for then the rule would apply to शोस्थम, शनिस्थम &c.

Vart.—The same change takes place in स्थ, त्यथ, and शृं. As स्वेशकः, परेशकः, सम्भव सारप्:.

सुपामादिषु स एव || पदानि || सुपामादिषु, श ||

बुधः || सुपामादिषु शब्देषु सकारस्तु सर्ववायस्योऽभिवति ||

98. The श is changed to श in the words सुपामादिषु and the rest.

Thus सुपामादिषु शाश्रयः = शोलनः सान स्थान शस्त्रोः.

1 सुपामादिषु, 2 निधातान, 3 हुष्मान, 4 सुपामादिषु, 5 शब्दिष्य: (निधातान), 6 हुष्मान, 7 सुपामादिषु, 8 निधातान: (निधातान), 9 जुष्मान, 10 हुष्मान (सुपामादिषु), 11 हुष्मान (सुपामादिषु), 12 नीचेष्यं: सन्तानयाः, 13 प्रस्तिनिधान, 14 जालायाद, 15 नीर्वेदन् (नीर्वेदन), 16 हुष्मान (सुपामादिषु) (निधातान:), 17 वेषलं सन्तानयाः, 18 विधिप्रम्प, 19 नवनागां, रागीशिष्यः: आश्विनिष्माय

Some of the above words would have been governed by the prohibition in VIII. 3. 111, others would never have taken श, hence their inclusion in this list. The word श here is a karmapravachanaya (I. 4. 94) and धि and दृ are also not upasargas, because they are so only in connection with the verbs सम and की; so VIII. 3. 65 does not apply to सेव preceded by निधि and दृ. The words निधि: and हुष्मान = निधि: शेष or दृष्टा शेष. The word शेष here is a पम形成的 word, from पिडिष्ट हृस संद्भाजः; if it be derived from
The words उपरेक्ष, उपरविष्ट &c are derived from अन with the prepositions अन and वत्र, and the affix कि (III. 3. 92); and the अ of अन is changed to अः. The words उपरेक्ष, उपरविष्ट are Unādi formed words (Un. I. 25). The word वैशिष्कः is a Bahuvarli, the अ of वैष्क is changed to अ and the Samāśanta अ is added (V. 4. 113). The long अ of the first member is shortened by VI. 3. 63. The word प्रतिनिधिका is formed by adding the Preposition प्रतित to the root ब्रह्म, and the affix कि (III. 3. 106), and we have प्रतिनिधिका with अः; then अ is added by V. 3. 73, and अ is shortened (VII. 4. 13), and अ is added by VII. 3. 44. The word वैशिष्कः is formed by adding इव to विष्क. इव उपविष्ट is also a सूक्ष्म formed word from सूक्ष्म or सूक्ष्मसम।

प्रति संहायनामात || ९९ || पदानि || प्रति, संहायनाम, अगत || प्रति; || एकारसरस सकारस्तु दुधार्यार्यो भवति हन्त्याहरस्यामगकानारस संहायनाम || प्रति संहायनामात || ९९ || पदानि || प्रति, संहायनाम, अगत || प्रति; || एकारसरस सकारस्तु दुधार्यार्यो भवति हन्त्याहरस्यामगकानारस संहायनाम || प्रति संहायनामात || ९९ || पदानि || प्रति, संहायनाम, अगत || प्रति; || एकारसरस सकारस्तु दुधार्यार्यो भवति हन्त्याहरस्यामगकानारस संहायनाम ||

99 The स followed by अ and preceded by अ or अ is changed to अ, when the word is a name, and when the स is not preceded by अ.

Thus श्रेष्ठ: सेना अस्त्र्य = श्रेष्ठः, परिवेन: सेना अस्त्र्य = परिवेनः, so also ब्रह्मेनः; बारेन्द्र: Why do we say ‘followed by अ’? Observe विशेषकणः Why do we say ‘when a Name’? Observe प्रभृति सेना भंस्त्रय स्प्रेत्वो राजा (VI. 3. 34). Why do we say ‘when the स is not preceded by अ’? Observe ब्रह्मेनः; राजा: The phrase हन्त्यां: is understood here also, so the rule does not apply to स्प्रेत्वो: ||

नक्षत्रान || १०० || पदानि || नक्षत्रान, चे || प्रति; || नक्षत्रानिन्द्र: राजादुस्तरस्य सकारस्तु श प्रति संहायनामकाराः दुधार्यो भवति ||

100 When the preceding word is the name of a Lunar mansion, the अ substitution for स्त्रय under the above mentioned circumstances is optional.

Thus ब्रह्मेनः or ब्रह्मेनः, विशेषकणः or विशेषकणः; || But not here श्राविष्कः: श्राविष्कः; were the preceded letter is अ. These two sūtras 99 and 100 are really Gaṇa-sūtras, being read in the अच्छामाः Gaṇa. The author of Kāśikā has raised them to the rank of full sūtras.

All cerebral अ changes, when not referable to any specific rule, should be classified under this Sushāmādi gaṇa.

हस्ताक्षराय तविरे || १०९ || पदानि || हस्तात, तावौ, तविरे || प्रति; || हस्तातुस्तरस्य सकारस्तु दुधार्यार्यो भवति तावौ, तविरे वस्त्रः; || पारस्कण: || तिक्ष्णस्तु प्रतिनिधियो वस्त्रः; वस्त्रः; ||

101. अ is substituted for a final स्त्रय preceded by a short अ or अ before a Taddhita affix beginning with अ.
The following are the affixes before which this change takes place, namely, स, त, तम, तव, स, सत, सद, सृप. As स—साविनस्ति वस्तुदारुस् त म त संप्रदानम् बस्तुस्नम्। तस। साविनस्ति वस्तुदारुस् त म त संप्रदानम् बस्तुस्नम्। तस। साविनस्ति वस्तुदारुस् त म त संप्रदानम् बस्तुस्नम्। तस। साविनस्ति वस्तुदारुस् त म त संप्रदानम् बस्तुस्नम्। तस। साविनस्ति वस्तुदारुस् त म त संप्रदानम् बस्तुस्नम्। तस। साविनस्ति वस्तुदारुस् त म त संप्रदानम् बस्तुस्नम्। तस। साविनस्ति वस्तुदारुस् त म त संप्रदानम् बस्तुस्नम्। तस। साविनस्ति वस्तुदारुस् त म त संप्रदानम् बस्तुस्नम्। तस।

Why do we say before affixes beginning with त। Observe साविनस्ति।

Q.—But this त would never have been changed to त because of the prohibition in VIII. 3. 111, how can you then give this counter-example?

Ans.—Though the त of the affix लात्र is prohibited by VIII. 3. 111, yet the counter-example is valid, because the त of the base साविनस्ति is also not changed. Why do we say ‘of a Taddhita’? Observe लात्रस्वरूपस्ति।

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of finite verbs before Taddhita affixes. As लात्रस्वरूपस्ति। लात्रस्वरूपस्ति। These are the Potential third person plural of लात्र and लात्र with the augment ओव्र; the Taddhita affix तश्रू is added by V. 3. 56, and ओव्र is added by V. 4. 11.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated with regard to ओव्र as ओव्रस्वरूप ओव्रस्वरूप॥

लात्रस्वरूपस्वस्ति॥ १०२॥ पदार्थं॥ निःष्ठ, तपत, अनासिन्धे॥

बृत्ति॥ निःष्ठ: लकारत्व दुःख्याप्वेदोव्यस्त तपत: परस्वासिन्धे॥

102. त is substituted for the त of निःष्ठ before the verb तश्रू when the meaning is not that of ‘repeatedly making red hot’.

The word लात्र means doing a thing repeatedly and here it means making it red-hot repeatedly. Thus निःष्ठति: ओव्रभेद्या—लात्र, भाविष्य स्वरूपकर्ति i.e. he puts the gold into fire only once.

Why do we say when not meaning repeatedly. Observe निःष्ठति दुःख्याप्वो रस्वार्थकार।=पुनः दुःख्याप्वो स्वरूपकर्ति॥

In the sentences निःष्ठति रसः, निःष्ठति भावावलय: the change has taken place either as a Vedic irregularity or because the sense of repeatedness is not implied here.

दुःख्याप्वेदोऽव्यस्त:पदार्थं॥ १०३॥ पदार्थं॥ दुःख्यातः, तम, तद्वशः सु, अवश: पदार्थं॥

बृत्ति॥ दुःख्यातः तम, तद्वशः हक्केपेतु तस्काराविन्दु पत: लकारत्व दुःख्याप्वेदोऽव्यस्ति स चेतस्वाप्वेद: पारे नाति॥

103. The त standing in the inner half of a stanza is changed to त before the त of त्वम्ब &c. and तद् and तद्वशः॥
The word यत्रादेव here means the substitutes तथा, तथापि, स, तत्र. As यत्रादेव, नामार्थस्तु || स, यत्रादेव वद्यानुसंधान || स, यत्रादेव विद्यानुसंधान || स, यत्रादेव साधनः (Rig VIII. 43. 9) || तत्र, यत्रादेव विद्यानुसंधान (Rig X. 2. 4) सतस्तु त्राया, यत्रादेवी विद्यानुसंधान || यत्रादेव विद्यानुसंधान, यत्रादेव विद्यानुसंधान || यत्रादेव विद्यानुसंधान, यत्रादेव विद्यानुसंधान || यत्रादेव विद्यानुसंधान, यत्रादेव विद्यानुसंधान ||

Why do we say in the inner half of a stanza? Observe यत्रादेवो विद्यानुसारे सतस्तु त्राया आचार्येः विद्यार्थिहृदयः. Here the word यत्रादेव is at the end of the first stanza while तत्र is at the beginning of the second stanza, therefore the स of यत्रादेव is not in the middle of a stanza.

105. The स of सत्तु and सतोम, in the Chhandas, is changed to ष in the opinion of some.

106. In the Chhandas, according to some, सत is changed to ष, when it stands in the beginning of a second word, preceded by a word ending in ष &c.

The words ष्ठमिति and ष्ठेत्य are both understood here. Thus ष्ठमिति; or ष्ठमिति, ष्ठमिति; or ष्ठमिति; मष्ठमिति or मष्ठमिति, ष्ठमिति ष्ठमिति or ष्ठमिति ष्ठमिति.

The word ष्ठमिति here means the first member of a compound word as well as the prior word other than that in a compound. Thus ष्ठमिति or ष्ठमिति ष्ठमिति or ष्ठमिति ष्ठमिति.
107. The य of the Particle छु is changed to य in the Chhandas, when preceded by another word having in it the change-effecting letter र &c.

Thus ब्रह्म य ज: सर्वसाधन (Rig. IV. 31. 3) कर्वे य हु ना (Rig. I. 36. 13). The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 134, and य changed to य by VIII. 4. 27.

संबंधानम्: || १०७ || पदानि || संबंधानम्: अन्: ।

वृत्ति: || संबंधानकसर्वस्य सर्वास्य संबंधायेऽऽपि भवति ।

108. The य of the verb सत्त्र, when it loses its य, is changed to य, under the same circumstances.

Thus गीता: (Rig. IX. 2. 10), formed by the affix नित्र (III. 2. 67), the य is elided by VI. 4. 41. So also नूतन: ॥

Why do we say ‘when it loses its य’? Observe गीता वाचस्पदारम (Atharv. III. 20. 10). Here the affix is नित्र (III. 2. 27). See however नूतनिधि in Rig. VI. 53. 10.

Though this य change would have taken place by VIII. 3. 106 also, the separate enumeration is for the sake of niyama or restriction. Some however read the word गीता in the list of सत्त्र words (VIII. 3. 110), and they hold that the proper counter-example is निस्तानविशिष्टि ॥ So also नूतनिधि: formed by adding त्वस्त्र to the Derivative root निशिन्ति, thus निशिन्ति + त्वस्त्र = निस्तानिधि (the य is elided by VI. 4. 48)+0. add त्वस्त्र, निशिन्ति + य = निशिन्ति+0 [य is elided by VI. 1. 68. Now the final य (of the Desiderative affix सत्र) is liable to be changed either to य or to र (स). The य being asiddha, the य change takes place.] = निस्तारि = नूतनिधि: (the lengthening is by VIII. 2. 76). Here the Desiderative affix सत्र is not changed to य, hence this word is not governed by VIII. 3. 61. This being the object of this सूत्र, there will be य change in निस्तानविशिष्टि in the Causative.

सत्रे: पूत्तनसाधनार्थः || १०९ || पदानि || सत्रे: पूत्तन-सत्रायायामः, य ।

वृत्ति: || पूत्तन पद्राय ममयांब्रह्मायानस्त्र सर्वास्य संबंधायेऽऽपि भवति ।

109. The य of सत्र is changed to य, after पूत्तन and ब्रह्मायाम ॥

Thus पूत्तन, सत्रायाम: ॥ Some divide this सूत्र into two; as (1) को: ि; (2) पूत्तनार्थाधिक ॥ So that the rule may apply to को: ि: also. The word यति is lengthened by VI. 3. 116, in saññhitä: and the य change takes place in saññhitä only. Otherwise the form is कृतसत्रायाम: ॥ The word य ‘and’in the सूत्र includes words other than those not mentioned in it. The word कृतसत्रायाम: would be valid by this also.
110. The श substitution does not take place if र follows the ः, as well as in घृप, घुज, स्यूह, and in स्वम and the rest.

Thus विनिपंचादः कांप्य स्वेत तत्तद् ॥ The word विनिपंचादः is formed by the affix शुद्धि (III. 3. 109), निर्माणः कपयते ॥ This word is from the root द्रुम्मु विनिपा, the शुद्धि is not added by VII. 2. 15 and the nasal is elided by VI. 4. 24. before the nisthā ॥ ॥ शुद्धि:—पुरुष फूल विनिपा ॥ The word फूल विनिपा is formed by the affix कांप्य (III. 4. 17), शुद्धि:—सन्निपातः ॥ शुद्धि:—विनिपातः ॥ शुद्धि:—विनिपातः ॥

The following is a list of स्वम words:

1 सम्सू लोक, 2 हृदं लोक, 3 घृप लोक, 4 घुज लोक, 5 क्रद्ध लोक: (क्रद्धीनसिद्धक्रद्ध), 6 धुम्मुनमुनमुनमु, 7 गोविन्दादिस्य, 8 धुम्मुनमुनमुनमु ॥ In some books this is the list 9 सम्सू लोक, 10 हृदं लोक, 11 धुम्मुनमुनमुनमु (धुम्मुनमुनमु), 12 हृदं लोक (हृदं 2), 13 घृप लोक, 14 हृदं लोक, 15 घुज लोक, 16 स्वम लोक, 17 घृप लोक, 18 घृप घृप (घृप घृप), 19 घृप घृप 20 गोविन्दादिस्य, 21 धुम्मुनमुनमु झ

सात्तप्रायः: ॥ ॥ पदविक् सात्त, पदविक्: ॥

ृपिष्ठिते पैदलय शुद्धि तत्तद् ुद्ध्वेणें न नभायि ॥

111. The श substitution does not take place in the affix सात्त and for that ः which stands at the beginning of a word.

Thus सात्त here is the affix ordained by V. 4. 52, and it would have been changed to श by VIII. 3. 59. The present सूत्रa prevents that. The Padādi श refers to those verbs which in the Dhātupātha are taught with श, and for which a श is substituted. This also is an exception to VIII. 3. 59. Thus श्रायतु: श्रायतु: श्रायतु: श्रायतु: So also with Padādi श as श्रि श्रिदाहिते, श्रि श्रिदाहिते ॥

सिचो यक्षिः ॥ ॥ पदाचिते सिचिः, यक्षिः ॥

ृपिष्ठि: सिचिः सिचिः सिचिः पत्तो धुम्म्विनिपाती न नभायि ॥

112. The श substitution does not take place in the स of सिच of the Intensive.

Thus सिचो and श्रायतुः सिचो ॥

Q.—The श of the reduplicate should be changed into ष by VIII. 3. 65, in श्रायःसिचो, and the ः of the root should be changed into ष by VIII. 3. 64. Because श्रि is one of the roots taught in VIII. 3. 65, and therefore, as this
latter rule prevents the operation of VIII. 3. 111 i.e. पठाति so far as it goes, so it would prevent also the operation of this rule and the form ought to be अभिनविषये?

Ans.—The य ordained by VIII. 3. 65 prevents only the operation of पठाति of VIII. 3. 111, and not the य of this rule. Therefore the present prohibition is of universal application.

Why do we say in the Intensive. Observe अभिनविषये।

सेविन्तेतातो II १९३ II पदानान II सेविन्ते, गतौ।
वुशः II गति वर्तमानस्य वैभवः सकारात्म हृदेन्यायनो न भवति।

113. The य of the verb सेविन्तेतातो is not changed to य when the meaning is that of moving.
Thus अभिनविषये गता। परि अभिनविषये गता। This is an exception to VIII. 3. 65.

Why do we say 'when meaning to drive'? Observe विषयकार्यायित्रीयेपथम्। Here the sense is that of preventing or prohibiting.

प्रतिस्थाप्तिनिस्थाप्ति II १९४ II पदानान II प्रतिस्थाप्तिनिस्थाप्ति-प्रतिस्थाप्ति। च।
वुशः II प्रतिस्थाप्ति प्रतिस्थाप्ति हृदेन्यायनाय प्रतिस्थाप्ति दिनेन्यायनाय।

114. The words प्रतिस्थाप्ति and निस्थाप्ति are anomalous.

In these words the य is not changed to य, though so required by VIII. 3. 67.

सोहः II १९५ II पदानान II सोहः।
वुशः II सहितं सोहःतः गुप्तं तस्य सकारात्म हृदेन्यायनो न भवति।

115. The य of the सोहः form of the root सह is not changed to य।

As परिसोहः, परिसोहः, परिसोहः। This is an exception to VIII. 3. 70.

Why do we say 'when सह assumes the form of सोहः'। Observe परिसोहः, विपरिसोहः।

स्तम्भसिद्धसमां चक्कि II १९६ II पदानान II स्तम्भसिद्धसमां सहाम, चक्कि।
वुशः II सम्भवितं सह हृदेन्यायनं चक्कि परं सकारात्म हृदेन्यायनो न भवति।
वाचिक्यः II सम्भवितं सहाम उपसागरितं वषिवः।

116. The य change does not take place in the reduplicated Aorist of the roots स्तम्भः, सिवः, and सहः।

The root स्तम्भ required य change by VIII. 3. 67, and the roots सिवः and सहः by VIII. 3. 70. Thus पर्यस्तसमां, पर्यस्तसमां II सिवः—पर्यस्तसमां, पर्यस्तसमां II सहः—पर्यस्तसमां, पर्यस्तसमां II.
Vārti:—This prohibition refers to the ś change that is caused by an Upasarga and not to the reduplicate change, as we have illustrated in the above example.

117. The ś of ॥ (॥) is not changed to ś in the Future, Conditional and Desiderative.

Thus:—भनिच्छेपति, परिच्छेपति, अभयोपति, पर्यष्टोपति

What example will you give under Desiderative? दुपुति। This is not a valid example, for by VIII. 3. 61, the reduplicate will not be changed here. Then we shall give the example भनिच्छेपति। This is not also a proper example, for it is governed by the restrictive rule of VIII. 3. 64. Then this is the example भनिच्छेपति, निच्छेपति derived from the desiderative root भनिच्छेपति by the affix विशः। Here the desiderative affix दुप is not changed to ś (VIII. 3. 61) and therefore the second ś would have been changed to ś as it comes after a reduplicate.

Why do we say before ś and स्रत्। Observe दुपस्।

सतित्वान्तः परस्य नीतिः ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि सतित्वान्तः यद्यः, परस्य,नीतिः।

मृत्यः सति यांत्रभिन्नयांना नीतिः परां रसायन शुरुवयं न मृत्यः।

118. The ś of स्रत् and श्रव्य after the reduplicate in the Perfect is not changed to ś।

In the Perfect, when these words are reduplicated, there are two ś’s, as स्रत्य and स्रव्य। After a preposition, the first ś will be changed to ś, but not so the second. Thus भनिच्छेपति, परिच्छेपति, निष्टायाः, निष्टायाः, परिष्टायाः, परिष्टायाः, भनिच्छेपति। The nasal of स्रव्य is elided though here, the विशः affix is not किन्तू, because it ends in a compound vowel (VI. 4. 24), (1. 2. 5 and 6).

The word स्रव्य does not occur in the sūtra, but has been inserted in it by the author of Kāśikā from the following Vārtika:—सति तिरि परां यांत्र कर्य निम्न अस्पष्टेऽवाच ॥

निम्नाय्यांक्यायायै च छन्दः ॥ ११९ ॥ चत्रीन ॥ निव-वि-अस्मिः, यद्य- व्यवायायैः, च, छन्दसि।

मृत्यः निव कुन्ति कर्य सर्पस्य उपास्य सकारात्मायायैः चन्दरिक निष्टे। ज्ञानस्य न मृत्यः।

119. The ś is optionally substituted in the Chhandas after the prepositions नि, वि and अस्त, when the augment अत्र intervenes.
Thus व्यासित्व or व्यसीत्व पिता न; व्यसीत्व; or व्यसीत्व पिता न; व्ययसीत्व or व्ययसीत्व II.

The anuvratti of शर and रंज is not to be read into this सूत्र. It is, in fact, a general rule and applies to verbs other than these two. As व्यस्तित्व, व्यस्तित्व, व्ययस्तित्व or व्ययस्तित्व II.
BOOK EIGHTH.

Chapter Fourth.

1. After ॠ and ॡ, the ० is the substitute of ृ, when they occur as component letters of the same word.

These letters must be parts of the same pada or word, one being the ‘occasion’ for the application of the rule as regards the other. As ॠत्स्यायेऽ, विस्मये, ॠत्श्चर्षम् ॥ So also after ॠ; as, ॠन्ध्यमि, �.origin. ॠन्त्यमि, ॠन्त्यमि ॥

The letter ० is included in this aphorism for the sake of subsequent sūtras: for ० will be changed into ० when preceded by ० by rule 41 of this Chapter, as well.

Why do we say “when occurring in the same word?” Observe कात्याय-मैति, ॠत्येनिति ॥

Vṛtti:—So also after the letter ० ॥ As ॠि०याये, ॠि०याये, ॠि०याये, ॠि०याये ॥

This vārtika may well be dispensed with; because the ० in the sūtra is the common sound ॠ which we perceive both in ॠ and ॡ; and so the ० will denote both the vowel ० and the consonant ॠ. See contra. VIII. 2. 42. Obj. But if even this be so, the letter ० has three parts, its first part is a vowel, in the middle is the ॠ sound of a quarter mātrā, and a vowel sound at the end. This vowel-sound will intervene between the ॠ-sound and the subsequent ०, and will prevent the application of the sūtra, hence the vārtika is valid?

Ans. This vowel-sound will be no intervention, because it will be included in the exception देव of the next sūtra. Obj. The vowel-sound at the end of ० is not a full vowel of one mātrā, but is of half-mātrā, being only a fragment of ०, and hence is not included in the pratyāhāra ०, it has no separate
र्मान or ग्रस्थ or homogeneity with any vowel. Hence this vowel-sound will prevent the application of this rule. Ans. The च change, however, does take place in spite of such intervention of a fragment of a letter, as we know from the jñāpaka of VIII. 4. 39. In the kshubhāṇḍi list there we find नुमन as an exception, implying that न is generally changed to न after such a fragmentary interposition. Or we may take नुमन as a jñāpaka, that after the letter च also the च change takes place.

अद्वक्ष्याद्यन्त्रय्यायेऽपि || 2 || पदानि || ब्रह्म-क्र-प्र-अक्र-नुम-च्यायेत्, अपि ||

वृत्तः || भरः क्र प्र ब्रह्म। नुम हस्तेश्वरायेति। रघुनाथासाहसर्वोक्तासाहसर्वोक्ताम्। भार्यतीः भवति ।

2. The substitute च takes the place of क्र, even when a vowel, or न, छ, च, ह or a guttural, or a labial, or the preposition अ, or the augment नुम intervenes, causing separation.

The pratyāhāra चत्रu stands for vowels and the letters च न र। Thus कालम्, हीणम्, विक्रियम्, मिल्लम्, नुमम्, नुमम् &c.

The क्र means all the gutturals, e. g. भ्राज्ञे, भ्राज्ञे, गर्जने, बन्धनेष।

The च means all the labials, e. g. द्वेश्चे, द्वेश्चे, गर्जने, बन्धनेष, बन्धनेष।

The च means the particle भा, e. g. पञ्चांश्रूव्रू from नुम (VIII. 2. 34) मिष्याणम् (cf VIII. 4. 14). The particle भा is a vowel and so included in क्र pratyāhāra. Its specification in the sūtra shows that the restriction of the rule to the letters occurring in the same word, does not apply in the case of च, in which case the rule applies to letters separated by another word.

So also when the anusvāra separates the letters e. g. श्रांस्त्र, श्रांस्त्रम्।

It is from the root चवित्तू, the नुम is added, because the root is हस्तित (VII. 1. 58) and च changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24. Q. Well the intervention is here by Anusvāra and not हस्तृ, why is then हस्तृ taken in the sūtra?

The word हस्तृ in the sūtra refers to anusvāra, and must be taken co-extensive with it. Otherwise the rule would not apply to words like श्रांस्त्र from श्रेष् च हस्तृ इत्यादि। Here the anusvāra is not the substitute of the augment हस्तृ but an original anusvāra. Even where there is an augment हस्तृ, but where it is changed into anusvāra, the rule does not apply. As प्रेत्यमुस्त्र, प्रेत्यमुस्त्र from हस्तृ: सिम्यायनम्।

The rule will apply even when these letters are combined in any possible way, or occur singly. As भ्राज्ञे, here a guttural and a vowel i. e. 2 letters come between च र न । See VIII. 3. 58 in the case of च।

पूर्वपदार्तस्यस्यायम् || 3 || पदानि || पूर्वपदार्त, संकायाय, भवः ||

बृत्तः || पूर्वपदार्तस्यस्यायम्, संकायाय, भवः। भवति। सिम्यायनां विचे।

3. So also, च is replaced by च, when the letter occasioning the substitution, occurs in the first member of a compound, and the whole compound is a Name, provided that the first member does not end with the letter च।
As बुज़ा; चारांमस; (a kind of antelope), खरस; पूर्णख; II See V. 4. 118 and IV. i. 58.

Why do we say "when a Name"? Observe, चमनासिक। II

Why do we say when 'not ending in the letter न'"? Observe; दर्पनम् II

Some say, that this सूत्र is a विद्यम or a restrictive rule, and not a नियम or original enunciation, so that the substitution takes place, only when the word is a Name, and not otherwise. A compound is one word or समानम्, though composed of two or more words or पद् II Therefore by VIII. 4. 11 the न will always be changed into न when preceded by र or ल. But the present सूत्र restricts its scope, to those cases only, when the compound denotes a Name, as not in चमनासिक। II The word पूर्णख is a relative term and connotes an Uतसरप। II

The present सूत्र therefore applies to those cases where the र or ल is in the पूर्णख, and न occurs in the Uतसरप। II It therefore, does not apply to चारांमस words, nor when both the letters occur in the पूर्णख। II In the case of a Taddhita, there is a पूर्णख, but there is no properly speaking उतसरप। II Thus सत्यसापपथ्य = सत्यसापन। (IV.1.99). Here the affix अवन is equivalent to अपय, and नर्र is the पूर्वपादा। But the affix अवन not being a Pada, we cannot call it an uttara pada. Hence न will be changed into न though सत्यसापन is not an Appellative but a generic term. So also मात्रोगण दिनस्त्व=मात्रोगण with न affix. Similarly in करणालिङ्ग, the words र and न both occur in the पूर्वपादा and are not affected by this rule, but by the general rule VIII. 4. 1. So also the proviso relating to न only prohibits the change of न into न, but does not prohibit the restrictive character of this सूत्र.

According to others, this सूत्र is an original enunciation or a Vidhi rule, and not a नियम rule. They say that the word समानम् in VIII. 4. 1 is equivalent to नियम पद् i. e. a word integral and indivisible into component words. In other words, समानम् means, a 'simple-word'. The present सूत्र therefore enunciates a new rule for a "compound-word". For in a compound or समानम्, there being a division of पूर्णख and an Uतसरप, we cannot say that a compound is a समानम् or indivisible word. Hence this सूत्र is a विद्यम। II

The सूत्र should be thus divided:—पूर्वपादां संहायम् one सूत्र, and कगा another. So that every rule relating to न change would be debarred with regard to न intervention.

चारं पुरागाभिंसकाप्रस्रकाशारिकाकोटारामिठ्यः II ॥ पदलि II बनवः, धृग, मिघका-सिघ्रका-चारिकाकोटारामिठ्यः II

पूर्णख: II पूर्वपादांसंहायमिठ्य संहायम् I धृग मिघका सिघ्रका चारिकाकोटारामिठ्य अनेक इत्यादिः पूर्णखः पूर्वपादां संहायमिठ्य धृगमिघका चारिकाकोटारामिठ्य। II

4. The न of बन, is changed into न, when preceded by the words पुरागाः, मिघका, धृग, मिघका, धृग, मिघका-सिघ्रका-चारिकाकोटारामिठ्यः II
agree, as first members of the compound, and the whole compound is a name.

The words पृथ्वीवाक्य and संहाया are of the last सूत्र, are to be read into this aphorism. Thus पुरस्वायम्, निष्णायम्, निष्णायम्, कोषरायम्, श्रावरणम् (II. 2. 31)

The lengthening of the finals in the above is by VI. 3. 117. Though the word अनंत is not a Name, yet the rule VI. 3. 9, applies to it and the case-affix is not elided, because it is so read in राजान्तंद्व list (II. 2. 31).

The substitution of ज for न would have taken place by the preceding rule. The separate enunciation of the rule with regard to the word जन, shows that this is a restrictive or निवंत rule. The न of ब्रह्म is changed into ज, when preceded by these words only and no other. Thus कुंवरनं, वल्लर्वरनं, वल्लर्वर्वरवसम्।

प्रतिवादाय काव्यीवर्पीवसम्। ५। पदार्थ: प्रवेदिते-अन्तर-द्वार-हतु-मुख-अथ-कार्ये-वादिर-पीयासम्। संहायाः, आपि ||

४। निर्छल वर महाग वर्ष वर्ष स्वतः कार्ये संह रीव्वस हेलेनेव उत्सर्ब वनवकार्ये संहायां संहायां अपि कार्याद्वे भवति।

5. The न of वन is replaced by ज, even when the compound is not a Name, when it is preceded by the words प्रा, निर, अन्तर, शर, इक्षु, प्लक्षा, अम्र, कार्ष्या, कहदिरा, and पीयुक्षा.

Thus ब्रज्वेये बद्ध: || निर्जेन्ति वत्सरीपी, वथास्ते, वार्यमप, वार्यमप, वार्यमप, कार्यमप, लतिरमप, and पीयुक्षमप।

The words प्राव्यन्ति and निधेष्यति are प्राव: compounds. कार्यमप् is an Avyay-bhāva in the sense of a case-affix. The rest are Genitive compounds.

विमायायितसप्तासतम्: || ५। पदार्थ: पिपासा मोहित-कन्तस्तिन्द्र: ||

बुधि: || औषधिवर्गायुपेायेव वनस्पतिवाचित तस्मात्मिनिच्छन्न्यस्य बनवकारस्य जातानां च वा नाविक विपा

वाविक: || भृगुस्वामिरे युति व वफास, || शास || देवारिकांभ: प्रविष्टिवेदवर्य: ||

Kdrīka कल्लि वनस्पताःपतेऽवुष्टा: वुष्टार्करमथ:।

कोषध: कण्याकान्ता सता शुष्कच वैध:।

6. The न of वन is optionally replaced by ज, when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound and which denotes a perrenial herb or a forest tree.

When the pûrvapada is a word denoting कौषिण्ड or a perenniel herb, or denoting a वनस्पति or a tree, and it has a change-producing letter, then the न of वन is replaced by ज।। This is an optional rule. Thus :-—पुरस्वायम् or नूरस्वायम्;
8. The \( n \) of बाहुन is changed into \( n \), when the letter, producing the change, occurs in the first member of a compound, denoting the thing carried.

Thus खल्कशण ‘a sugar-cart’. धारावाहण ‘a reed-cart’. शर्मावाहण ‘a hay-cart’.

The thing which being placed on a cart is carried, is called बाहिन. Why do we say ‘denoting the thing carried’. Observe बसिंधिशण ‘a vehicle belonging to Dākshi’.
The word भान is formed by adding युत्र to भ, and lengthening of the penultimate is valid by the nipātana of this sūtra.

9. The न of पान is changed into ण, when it occurs as the second member of a compound, the first member of which contains a letter causing change; and the whole compound denotes a country or a people.


Why do we say “when denoting a country”? Observe विशिष्ठान the drink of the Dakshis.

The words भनिन्त and the rest are applied to persons also through the medium of being country-names.

वा माहवरयो: II १० II पदानि II वा, माह-करणयो: II
वृत्ति: II भवे करणे च: पानवसीनवसीन: नकारत्व वांचितो भवति वा पूर्वप्रस्थायिनिनितिसुद्धा वांचितकृ। वांचित महाराजानिनायपानान्।

10. Optionally when the compound denotes a condition or an instrument, the न of पान is changed into ण, when it is a second member, the cause of change occurring in the first member in a compound.

Thus श्रीपान्नa श्रीपान्न, “drinking of milk” कप्पान्न: or कप्पान्न: ‘drinking of kāṣāya’; युगपान्न: or युगपान्न: &c. are examples of भ भ or condition.

Similarly श्रीपान्न: of श्रीपान्न: कृमि: ‘a vessel for drinking milk’ This is an example of करण or instrument.

Vārt: — Optionally so in the case of विशिष्टी &c. Thus विशिष्टी or विशिष्टी; वक्रन् or वक्रन्, वक्षनित्या or वक्षनित्या ||

प्राप्तिप्रकाशान्तमितिमकिष्ण च II ११ II पदानि II प्राप्तिप्रकाशान्तमितिमकिष्ण: च ||
वृत्ति: II वृत्ति स्वरूपः प्राप्तिप्रकाशान्तमितिमकिष्ण च यो नकारत्व युगप्रस्थायिनिनितिसुद्धा वांचित वांचितकृ।

वांचितकृ। युगप्रकाशान्तमितिमकिष्ण च चक्षण: ||

11. Optionally ण is substituted for ्न when it stands at the end of a Nominal-stem (Prātipadika) or is the augment जुम or is ्न of a case-affix, (when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound).
Thus, to take the case a शास्त्रविवक्षण प्रथम प्रथमप्रतिफलकान्ति first. भाषाविवेकी or भाषाविवेकी from भाषाविवेकी माध्यमिक संस्कृत् 'māsha-sowing' formed by भाषाविवेकी under III. 2. 81.

To take the example of a गुण गुणित माध्यमिक or गुणित माध्यमिक नि, गुणितमाध्यमिक or गुणितमाध्यमिक nom. pl. neut. The augment गुण is here added by VII. 1. 72 from गुणित माध्यमिक with कर्मणि कर्मणि, the plural कर्म is added by VII. 1. 20, and then कर्म.

To take the विक्रमक or case-termination, भाषाविवेक or भाषाविवेक, भाषाविवेक or भाषाविवेक.

The word भाषाविवेकित भाषाविवेकित means 'final in a Prātipadika'. But here it means 'final in a prātipadika which is a second member, of compound, the first member containing the cause of change'. Therefore the change does not take place in गुणित माध्यमिक = गुणित माध्यमिक the sister of Garga'. But गुणितमाध्यमिक if the word is derived from गुणितमाध्यमिक: 'the share of Garga', with the adjectival suffix गुणि, feminine गुणी, meaning, "enjoying the share of Garga." In this case, like the word गुणितमाध्यमिक: 'fit to be possessed by a mother': the change will invariably take place.

The word भाषाविवेकी or भाषाविवेकी is to be understood to have a final न, the affix being added afterwards in accordance with the following maxim:—(II. 2. 19). "It should be stated that Gatis, Kārakas, and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with krit-affixes, before a case termination or a feminine affix has been added to the latter" गतिकारकोपपदान्त गृहि: तह द्वारालयां गुण द्रुपदि:।

Therefore the composition takes place first with the word ending in the krit affix, as भाषाविवेक (भाष + विवेक), and thus the second term भाषाविवेक is a Prātipadika which ends in न, and so the rule is applied to it, when the feminine affix is added.

Similarly द्रुपदि is not considered as the end portion of the second member of the compound, but as the end-portion of the full compound word.

Vārt.—Prohibition must be stated of the words द्रुपदि &c. As भाषाविवेक (VI. 4. 133 vocalisation), तत्त्वविवेक ग्रतिकारकोपपदान्त गृहि: श्रीधरी शास्त्र।

12. In a compound, the second member of which is a monosyllable, there is न in the room of न of the second member, provided that the न is at the end of a prātipadika, or is the augment गुण, or occurs in a vibhakti; and when the first member contains a cause of change.

Thus द्रुपदि and द्रुपदि: 'the Vītra-killer'. श्रीपाणि "Drinkers of milk": द्रुपदि 'drinkers of wine': being examples of द्रुपदि VII. 3. 88, श्रीपाणि and द्रुपदि are examples of case-terminations.
Why the letter न is repeated in this sūtra, while its anuvṛtti was understood from the context? It is repeated in order to show that this is not an optional rule, but an obligatory rule. In fact, it shows that the anuvṛtti of न ‘optional’ ceases, and does not extend further.

13. In a compound, the second member of which contains a guttural, there is न in the room of न, that follows anything which standing in the prior member is qualified to cause the change, provided the न be at the end of a prātipadika, or be the augment नु, or occur in a vibhakti.

If the second part of a compound contains a letter of the class ख, the change is obligatory, even though the second part be not monosyllabic. As चच्चुनिः, चच्चुनिः, चच्चुनिः, चच्चुनिः चच्चुनिः चच्चुनिः चच्चुनिः चच्चुनिः चच्चुनिः चच्चुनिः चच्चुनिः

The word चच्चुनिः is a compound of चच्चु with निः (the affix निः is added first to चच्चु and then the word so formed is compounded with vastra). Thus the न becomes प्रातिपदिकात i.e. it becomes the final of a Nominal-stein, which stands as a second member in a compound.

14. Of a root which has न in its original enunciation, when it comes after a cause of such change standing in an upasarga, even though the word be not a samāsa, the न is changed into न न

The word न न means a root which is enunciated in the Dhātupāṭha with an initial न न. Thus न न ‘he bows’. प्रातिपदिक, प्रातिपदिक ‘a leader’ परि- परि- परि- परि-

Why do we say “after an Upasarga”? Observe प्रातिपदिक प्रातिपदिक ‘a country without a leader’. Here the word न is not an upasarga, but a mere nipāta. See I. 4. 57, 58 and 59. In fact, न is upasarga here with regard to न न understood, and not with regard to न न.

Why do we say “even when it is not a compound”? Because by context, the anuvṛtti of the word न has, which is current throughout this sub-
division, would have been understood in this sūtra also, and the rule would have applied to samāśas only, for there only we have pūrvapada. By using the word अन्तानेत it is shown that the adhikāra of pūrvapada ceases, and the rule applies to non-compounds also where there is no पुर्वपत्र.

Why do we say “having अ in Upadeśa”? Observe प्रदेहित, प्रभृतिह, प्रवर्णेत. For the root अ is recited in Dhātupātha with अ. There are eight such roots अ, माद, मात, औ, नात, नाक, नू, तुर्क. See VI. 1. 65.

विजुर्मीना 15 पदानम् पितृ-मीना, पुर्वि. पितृ मीना इत्येवोपपरस्त्यातिस्वातिकतां स सकारात्मकार्थेऽथ।

15. The अ of पितृ and मीना is changed into अ, when coming after an upasarga containing in it a cause of change.

Thus प्रहितोति, प्रहितुत, प्रनिनाति, प्रनित: The root अ belongs to Svādi class of verbs and takes the vikaraṇa त्र technically त्र; and the root अ belongs to Kṛyādi class which takes the vikaraṇa त्र. In the sūtra the verbs are shown with the vikaraṇas affixed. Under certain circumstances the forms of the vikaraṇa is changed from त्र to अ and ना to अ, but the rule still applies, because the substitute of an त्र or vowel is like the principal. See I. 1. 57.

आनि तोड़ 16 पदानि आनि, तोड़। पुर्वि उपपानाशिर्य वहते। बानीत्वस्य संक्रामकोपपरस्त्यातिस्वातिकतां स सकारात्मकार्थेऽथ।

16. The अ of आनि, the affix of the Imperative, 1st Person, is changed into अ when it follows a letter competent to cause such a change standing in an Upasarga.

The word आनि is the termination of the Imperative. Thus आनि, ए-परापरि, बानि, परिबानि।

Why do we say ‘the Imperative’? Observe प्रत्यानि मातानि। Here आनि is the neuter plural termination, and the word means तद्भव यथा तेषु, तानि।

According to Padamanjari, the employment of the word तेषु in the sūtra is redundant. For without it also आनि would have meant the Imperative affix, and not the Neuter termination, on the maxim of मयेतवहै तहके &c. Moreover in the noun प्रत्यानि, अ is not an upasarga at all, on the maxim तद्भव किमविदुः। मातास्य-स्तर्य प्रतिष्ठा-वर्णस्य-स्त्रेष्ठे समानः।

विशेषरचिन्तितपुर्वतपयुद्धायत्वातितातिद्वातिपितातिद्वातिस्वातिकतांस्वातिकतांपितातिद्वातिस्वातिकतांस्वातिकतांनितीनितीश्रेष्ठो च 17 पदाति नै: गदं-नव-पत्र-पद-चू-मा-स्वाति-स्वाति-स्वाति-स्वाति-स्वाति-स्वाति-स्वाति-स्वाति-स्वाति-स्वाति-स्वाति-स्वाति-स्वाति-स्वाति-स्वाति-स्वाति-स्वाति-स्वाति-स्वाति-स्वाति-स्वाति-स्वाति-स्वाति। च।

पुर्वि निर्णेयस्यपरस्त्यातिस्वातिकतां स सकारात्मकार्थेऽथ। भवति गदं पत्र पद चू मा स्वाति इति आनि बानि गदति स्वाति स्वाति स्वाति धामस्य नितीनितीनिती नितीनिती श्रेष्ठ इत्येवे परस्क।
17. The त्र is the substitute of त्र of the prefix नि, following a cause for such change standing in an upasarga, when these verbs follow, gud ‘to speak’, nad ‘to be happy’, pat ‘to fall’, pad ‘to go’, the ghu verbs, mā ‘to measure’, sho ‘to destroy’, han ‘to kill’, yā ‘to go’, vā ‘to blow’, dṛś ‘to flee’, psā ‘to eat’, vap ‘to weave’, vah ‘to bear’, sam ‘to be tranquil’, chi ‘to collect’, and dih ‘to anoint’.

Thus

गात्र, प्रप्यात्रि, परिप्रियात्रि

पझूँ, प्रप्यात्रि, परिप्रियात्रि

पात्र, प्रप्यात्रि, परिप्रियात्रि

कात्र, प्रप्यात्रि, परिप्रियात्रि

मात्र, प्रप्यात्रि, परिप्रियात्रि

Iṣṭī:—By the word गा in the sūtra, both verbs गात्र and पझूँ are to be taken and not the roots ग or नि or मा नाते, for they also take the form मा by VI. 1. 50.

सखूँ, प्रप्यात्रि, परिप्रियात्रि

बात्र, प्रप्यात्रि, परिप्रियात्रि

हात्र, प्रप्यात्रि, परिप्रियात्रि

The last five roots belong to Adādi class.

पझूँ प्रप्यात्रि, परिप्रियात्रि

वा त्र प्रप्यात्रि, परिप्रियात्रि

(III. 3. 74)

Iṣṭī:—The above change takes place even when the augment त्र intervenes.

As प्रप्यात्रि, परिप्रियात्रि

The roots सखूँ &c, are exhibited in their declined form in the sūtra, in order to indicate that the rule does not apply to त्र त्र form of these roots (VII. 1. 6).

षोधे विभाषकालावधायायतउपदेशोऽि रि || पकानि || शेषे, विभाषा, मक्कारी, अपासे, उपदेशे ि

षोधे विभाषकालावधायायतउपदेशोऽि रि || पकानि || शेषे, विभाषा, मक्कारी, अपासे, उपदेशे ि

18. In the remaining verbs, optionally the त्र of त्र is replaced by त्र, when it is preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change; provided that, in the original enunciation, the verb has not an initial त्र or त्र, nor ends with त्र ||

The words त्रi and उपसर्गात्त are understood in the sūtra. The word षोधे means verbs other than those mentioned last. Thus प्रप्यात्रि or परिप्रियात्रि, प्रप्यात्रि or परिप्रियात्रि ||
Why do we say वचनांसि “not beginning with क or र”?
Observe प्रति
वरति, विनिभावति. Here there is no change.
Why do we say भावनः “not ending in ं”?
Observe प्रतिवर्तितः.
Why do we say वचन् “in original enunciation”?
So that the prohibition may apply to forms like प्रतिवर्तकः, प्रतिवर्तकः, प्रतिवर्त्तितं (VIII. 2. 41).
Here चक्षु स&c, do not begin with क or र nor does विनिभाव end with ्त but with क (VIII. 2. 41) but in the धातुपञ्च, the verb क and र begin with क and र and विनिभाव ends with ्त, and hence the rule will not apply. So also in प्रतिवर्त्तित्वम् and प्रतिवर्त्तितः from the root विनिभाव.
Here though the verb now ends with ्त by VIII. 2. 36, yet in the original enunciation or धातुपञ्च, it ends with ्त.

19. The न of the verb अन्न ‘to breathe’, is changed into ञ, when preceded by an upasarga competent to produce the change.
Thus न + वर्तिति = प्रति ‘he breathes’. प्रतितिः. For ्त augment, see VII. 2. 76.

20. The न of अन्न is changed into ञ, when it is preceded by an upasarga competent to produce the change, provided it occurs at the end of a pada.

As है प्राण | है प्राणः. This rule is an exception to VIII. 4. 37 sub, by which final न in a pada is not changed into ञ. The word अन्न: in the सूत्र is to be understood to be equivalent to वर्तित, and the rule applies when the word is in the vocative case.

According to some अन्न: is taken to be a part of the last सूत्र, and has the meaning of ‘proximity’. That is the न is changed to ञ, if the न is not separated from the न by more than one letter. Therefore there is no change in परि + प्रति = परितिः. In this view, another अन्न should be taken for the sake of final न, in है प्राणः.

According to others the form परितिः is valid, and they do not connect अन्न: with the last सूत्र.

The word प्राण is a विियौ formed word, and the न final is not elided in the Vocative Singular because of the prohibition of VIII. 2. 8; in every other place, when the न is padánta, it would be dropped; and therefore the illustration is given with Vocative singular, which alone satisfies the requirements of this सूत्र.
21. Both the नs are changed into ऋ in the reduplicated forms of the verb अन्त, when preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change.

Thus in the Desiderative नातिनिषिद्धि and Aorist of the Causative नामिन्द, and so also नातिनिषिद्धि and नामिन्द.

If the maxim तुल्याविनिषिद्धि be not applied here; then we have the following dilemma in, प्रति + ऋ + नि। Here the affix ऋ requires reduplication, and the present सूत्र requires a change of न। The ऋ being asiddha, the reduplication being made first, we have प्रति + ऋ + नि, and then the reduplicate ऋ intervenes between the cause ऋ and the root-ऋ of नि, and so this न would not be changed to ऋ। If however the above maxim be applied, we first apply the ऋ rule, as प्रति + ऋ + नि, and then reduplicate नि; and we get the form प्रतिनिषिद्धि even without this सूत्र.

If we could get this form by the application of the above maxim, where is the necessity of the present सूत्र? The सूत्र is necessary in order to indicate that the above maxim is anitya or not of universal application, and because it is anitya, that the form त्रावण्य is evolved by reduplicating ऋ (See VIII. 2. 1).

22. The ऋ, when preceded by ऋ, in the root ऋ, is changed to ऋ, when the verb is preceded by a preposition competent to cause the change.

Thus प्रति, प्रतिनिषिद्धि, महत्तत्त्व परिणाम।

Why do we say महत्तत्त्व 'when preceded by ऋ'? When ऋ is elided, the change does not take place. As प्रति, परिणाम (VI. 4. 98, and VIII. 3. 54).

Why do we say ऋ 'perceded by short ऋ'? Observe प्रति नि and प्रति नि, the Aorist of ऋ by the affix नि (III. 1. 60) प्रति + नि। प्रति + नि (VIII. 3. 54)

This ऋ is not changed.

23. Optionally when ऋ or ऋ follow, the ऋ of हन is changed to ऋ, when preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change.

Thus प्रति, प्रतिनिषिद्धि, or महत्तत्त्व and नातिनिषिद्धि, प्रहिन्द or प्रहिन्द, परिणाम or परिणाम: परिणाम.

This सूत्र enjoins an option in certain cases, where it would have been obligatory by the last rule.
24. The \( r \) preceded by short \( \text{म्} \) of the root अन्तर is changed into \( \text{म्} \), when the root follows the upasarga अन्तर, and the word does not mean a country.

Thus अन्तरभरते and अन्तरभरिनः.

Why do we say "when not meaning a country ततः?" Observe अन्तरिनः।

The phrase अन्तरभरिनः "preceded by short अम्" of sūtra 22 ante, is to be read into this sūtra also. Observe, अन्तरभरिनः।

Why do we say "short रू?" See, अन्तरभरिनः। The word antar is an upasarga for the purposes of ज change, by the vārtika under I. 4. 65; therefore, it would have caused the ज change by VIII. 4. 22. The present sūtra is made, to show that the change takes place only then, when it does not mean a country.

25. The न of जन्यन is changed to न, when preceded by the word अन्तर, and the word does not denote a country.

Thus जन्यनां तिरिनः। Why do we say "not denoting a country"? Observe जन्यनाः। This ज change would have taken place by VIII. 4. 29, this special sūtra is for short म purposes. The word जन्यन is formed by ज्ञ added to ज्ञ or ज्ञ।

26. In the Chhandas, न of a second term is changed into न, when the prior term ends with a short रू even when there is an avagraha or hiatus between the two terms.

In the Veda, ज becomes न, after a रू, after which in Padapāṭha, the word appertaining to it is divided. Thus in Pada-pāṭha the words ज्ञपा and ज्ञपा, are separated, and are read as ज्ञ, ज्ञ।। The word ज्ञपा ज्ञपा ज्ञपा ज्ञपा ज्ञपा, as in Pada-pāṭha. ज्ञपा means 'after a short रू which is an avagraha'. The न here, of course, means 'a word ending in न', because रू alone cannot be a pūrvapada. The ज्ञ took place during saṣṭhī, and in Pada reading this ज्ञ would not have remained, hence this sūtra.

Why have we used the word avagraha in the sūtra? Because we have already said that the word saṣṭhī governs all sūtras of this chapter. So the रू is changed to न in the Saṣṭhī state in these; and the ज्ञ is retained, when
In the state of avagraha. The word avagraha in the sūtra indicates the scope of the rule. The न is changed to च after that द्र only, which is capable of avagraha, namely that द्र which stands at the end of a word (pada), and not that which is in the body of a word. Thus in नन्नन्, नन्नन्नन्, the द्र is capable of avagraha, as it is at the end of a word द्र or द्रु; but when it is not at the end of a word, it can never become avagraha, and will not produce the च change.

The word द्रुद्देष्य is understood here. The word द्रवमष्ठ means a hiatus or separation. Thus द्रव द्रमष्ठ, न नन्नन्. Here द्र is द्रवमष्ठ. The change of न into च is effected ordinarily then, when the terms, one containing the cause, and the other न, are in द्रवमष्ठ or conjunction. For the rules of Sandhi and the rules like these can apply only to words in सान्हिता. The present rule is an exception to it, and here, even when the words are not in सान्हिता, but there is an actual hiatus between the two, the change still takes place. The word द्रवमष्ठ of VIII. 2. 108, exerts regulating influence up to the end of the Book.

27. In the Chhandas, the न of (the Pronoun) नन्नन् is changed into च, when it comes after a root having a or र or after the words द्र and द्रु (च) Interfaces of Chhandas: (Rig VII. 15. 13) 'O Agni! protect us'. द्र & द्रु द्रवमष्ठ (Rig. VII. 32. 26) 'Teach us this'. द्र:—द्रवसङ्ग्रहे (Rig. VIII. 75. 11) द्रु—द्रव सङ्ग्रहे (कर्मवाच) Rig IV. 31. 3). द्रवलिपि: द्रवलिपि (Rig. I. 36. 13).

The word द्र is here the pronoun नन्नन्, which is the substitute, in certain cases, of द्राश्व (VIII. 1. 21) and does not mean here the नन्न नन्ना substitute of नन्नन्नन्. In the next sūtra, however, both नन्नन्नन्नन् are taken. द्रवमष्ठ means 'that which exists in a द्राश्व', namely द्र and द्रु when occurring in a root. The word द्र means the word-form द्र; and द्रु means द्रु, and is exhibited with च-change. It does not mean the affix द्रu of the Locative Plural. Therefore, not here द्रद्र द्रद्र्यु द्रु: द्र Also the नन्न is the 3rd Person singular, Imperative, the lengthening is by VI. 3. 135. The root द्र means has the sense of द्र in the Veda. द्रु is 2nd Person sg. Imperative of द्र (VI. 4. 102), the visarga of द्र is changed to च by VIII. 3. 50. In द्रद्रु there is lengthening by VI. 3. 134: so also in द्रु: अ&c.

28. The न of नन्नन् is changed diversely into च, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.
Thus रञ्ज: शुष्कः; रञ्जस्य: रञ्जी राजा || The change does not sometime take, place, as, रञ्ज नी इत्यस्तचः ||

By force of the word नकारः the rule applies to secular literature also as distinguished from the Chhandas or sacred Vedic text. Thus रञ्जस्य इत्यस्तचः || The word नकारः does not govern this सूत्रा.

In रञ्जस्य इत्यस्तचः, the word नकारः is the substitute for नासिकः and means ‘nose’. See V. 4. 119.

This is not the सूत्रा as given by पाणिनि. His सूत्रा is उपसर्गार्धस्ततः: “after an Upasarga, the न of नकारः when not preceded by or followed by an और, is changed into ः”. There being several objections to this rule, the above rule is substituted as an amendment, in the महाभाष्या. For नकारः may have two meanings:—(1) नकारः परः, that which comes after और; (2) नकारः परः that which is followed by और. In both cases, the rule is objectionable. In the first case, the ः change would be required in नकारः हुष्कः; in the second case, there should be no ः change in प्रेमाविनिवेशः. In fact, we find in the Vedas रञ्जः as well as रञ्ज; so also रञ्जी as well as रञ्जी || Hence the necessity of this amendment.

क्रिया: २९ || पद्धारि || कृति, अचः || भूष्ण: क्रिया ये नकारः उपसर्गार्धस्तताय द्विचारादेशी वर्णित।

कारीकः क्रियान्नात्स्य: निर्विशेषादिबान्ध कर्तव्यः।

29. The ः of a क्रिया affix, preceded by a vowel, is changed into ः, when it follows an upasarga having the cause of change.

The following are the specific क्रिया affixes in which this change takes place:—नकारः न (२२), नकारः न (चातुर्यी, &c VII. 2. 82.), नकारः (III. 1. 96) नकारः (III. 3. 11) नकारः (III. 2. 78 &c) and the substitutes of नकारः (VIII. 2. 43.)

Thus

नकार: प्रवाहिन्, परिवाहिन्, प्रवाहिन्, परिवाहिन् ||
नकार: प्रवाहिन्, परिवाहिन्, प्रवाहिन्, परिवाहिन् ||
नकार: प्रवाहिन्, परिवाहिन्, परिवाहिन्, परिवाहिन्,
नकार: प्रवाहिन्, परिवाहिन्, परिवाहिन्, परिवाहिन् ||

निदानविदा: यहीः: पशुहीः, पशुहीः पशुहीः पशुहीः || Long हः by VI. 4. 66.

Why do we say नकारः ‘preceded by a vowel’? Observe प्रसुरः; परिकुयः: the Nishtha of सुरः. It is thus formed: सुषु + ः = सुषु + ः = सुषु + ः (VII. 2. 45, the root सुधः is read as सुधः जीविका: in the dhatupatha, having an indicatory और, thus giving scope to the rule). सुहः + ः = सुहः + ः (VIII. 2. 30) = सुहः

Vdrt.—The word निषिद्ध: should be enumerated in this place. As निषिद्ध:

विविधार्थं ३० || पद्धारि || गृः: विविधार्थं ||

वृषि: क्रियान्नात्स्य: निषिद्ध: सत्सर्यस्य मकार्योपायस्य परिवाहिन्नात्स्य निदानविदा नकारादेशो नकारः
30. The ः of a Krit-affix ordained after a causative verb (पञ्नति), is optionally changed to ः, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

Thus प्रवासम, or प्रवासम, परिवासम, or परिवासम, प्रवासम, प्रवासम, प्रवासम, प्रवासम, प्रवासम, प्रवासम, प्रवासम, प्रवासम, प्रवासम, प्रवासम, प्रवासम.

Why have we used the word मित्रिस्य 'ordained' in explaining the sūtra? Because the change takes place, even where the ः affix does not follow directly after the affix ः, where a third affix such as ः intervenes. As प्रवासम.

The ः being in the ablative, under the ordinary rule of interpretation (I. 1. 72), the krit-affix should come immediately after ः.

31. A krit-affix, coming after a verb, which begins with a consonant and has a penultimate ः vowel, changes optionally its ः, which is preceded by a vowel, into ः, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

The phrase ः is understood here. Thus प्रकोपम, or प्रकोपम, परिको-पम, or परिको-पम.

Why do we say ः: 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe ः and ः, where the change is obligatory, under VIII. 4. 29. These are from ः वेदवाद and ः विद्वान.

Why do we say ः: 'having a penultimate ः vowel'? Observe ः and ः; no option.

By the rule ः: the change was obligatory, this rule makes it optional.

The ः of the krit-affix must come after a vowel, otherwise there will be no change. See परिवर्तनः.

The word ः in the sūtra should be interpreted as ः, and not as ordinarily "after what ends in ः". For an ः verb implies that it ends with a consonant, and so the employment of the word ः: in the text would have been useless had it meant ः.

32. A krit-affix ordained after a verb beginning with an ः vowel, having the augment ः in it, and ending
with a consonant, changes its \( \text{r} \) into \( \text{ṣ} \), when preceded by an upasarga having in it the cause of change.

The word \( \text{हन} \) of the last sūtra is understood here. But contrary to the construction put upon it in the last sūtra, here it means \( \text{कुण्डल} \), by the natural rule of construction as given in I. 1. 72. We must interpret it so here, because it is impossible for an इवादि root to commence with a अ; while to have done so in the last aphorism would have been redundant.

Thus वर्हस्य, परेक्षणम् from इवि गलयः; the अ is added because it is इविति. वर्हस्य, परेक्षणम्, प्रोष्ठम्, परेक्षणम्. In this पुरुषे the nasal is part of the root. The rule will not apply to प्रेमणम्, because अ here means the anusvāra generally (VIII. 4. 2) though the change would have been valid by the general rule, (VIII. 4. 29) this sūtra makes a निबन्ध or restriction. That is, only in the case of इवादि लघु verbs the change takes place, not in other लघु verbs. Thus ममक्षम्, परिप्रेमम् from the root मानि सर्पेि.

This rule does not affect rule VIII. 4. 30, relating to व्यत्ति verbs, for those verbs cannot be said to end with a consonant. Moreover, we have used the word विधिः: in explaining the sūtra, in order to indicate this fact, that the krit-affix must be ordained after a consonant-ending verb. In the case of causative verbs, the krit-affix is ordained after a vowel-ending (ि) verb, and the vowel is elided after the adding of the affix. So that before the adding of the affix, the verb did not end in a consonant.

33. The न of लिस्न निक्ष and निंद्द is changed to \( \text{ण} \) optionally, when preceded by an upasarga having in it a cause of change.

Thus प्रविष्टम्, प्रविष्टम्, प्रविष्टम् or प्रविष्टम्, प्रविष्टम् or प्रविष्टम्.

These verbs are written with \( \text{ण} \) in the Dhātupātha, and therefore by rule VIII. 4. 14 ante, the change of न into ण would have been obligatory. The present sūtra makes it optional. The root विषि means ‘to kiss’, विषि देखोि, and विषि कूलावाद्.

34. The न of a krit-affix is not changed to ण, though preceded by an upasarga having in it a cause of change,
when the affix is added to the following verbs: शा ‘to shine’, चू ‘to be’, पू ‘to purify’, कम ‘to be brilliant’, गम ‘to go’, च्यादि ‘to increase’, वेष ‘to shake’.

This rule is an exception to VIII. 4. 29. Thus:

आ भासानु, परिभासानु, प्रभासानु, भच्च्यासानु, परिभासानु

Ishti—The verb पूर्म is to be taken and not the verb पू. In the case of the latter the change is obligatory, as, विषयम होमयम

कम ‘भच्च्यासानु, परिभासानु’

च्यादि प्रभासानु, परिभासानु

Vārt—The above roots, even when in the Causative, do not change the न of their krit-affix. As प्रभासानु, परिभासानु.

पाल्यानालात = ३५ पदानि पाल्यानालात

पूरः। पंक्त्रालातानुतुच्छानबालसं जातास्य चकाराद्वै न भवति।

35. After a श final in a Pada, the श is not changed to शृ।

Thus विभासानु, हृणानु; the visarga is changed to शृ here by VIII. 3. 41. The rule VIII. 4. 29 is debarred. विभासानु (is a genitive compound contra II. 2. 14). So also भर्त्यानु (II. 1. 32). The श is in these two by VIII. 3. 45, and VIII. 4. 10 is debarred.

Why do we say “पाल्यानालात after a श?” Observe निर्मित।

Why do we say पाल्यानालात ‘final in a Pada?’ Observe कृत्याति, कृत्याति।

The word पाल्यान is equivalent to देक्त्यान or Locative Tatpurusha; and does not mean final of a Pada. Therefore the rule does not apply here. वर्तिक्षेत्र (ins. sg.) वर्तिक्षेत्र। Here the शृ is added by V. 4. 154. देयमं वर्तिक्षेत्र = वर्तिक्षेत्र (a Bahuvrhi). The शृ is by VIII. 3. 39. Before the affix शृ, the word वर्तिक्षेत्र is a Pada (I. 4. 17), and thus शृ (शृ) is final of a Pada: but it is not final of a preceding member followed by another Pada. The rule, in fact, applies to compounds, the शृ being final in the first term.

शृंगे| पाल्यानालात | शृंगे| पाल्यानालात | शृंगे| पाल्यानालात

पूरचि। येषे| पंक्त्रालातानु| जातास्य | भवति।

36. शृ is not the substitute of the verb नृथ ‘to destroy’, when ending in शृ।

When the शृ is changed to शृ in नृथ, the शृ of नृथ is not changed. Thus नृथ: परिभास। देयमं अलाद्वै कृत्याति, नृथ। Here the शृ of नृथ is changed to शृ by VIII. 2. 36.

Why do we say पाल्यानालात? Observe कृत्याति, परिभास। The word नृथ is taken in order that the prohibition may apply to words like प्रभासानु, which did end with शृ though the शृ has been changed by other rules, and is no longer visible. For here the शृ of नृथ is changed to शृ by VIII. 2. 36, and then this शृ is changed to शृ by VIII. 2. 41; and the शृ is added by VII. 1. 60.
Bk. VIII. Ch. IV. § 40]  

Change.

37. Of a न final in a Pada, न is not the substitute.

Thus नृत्यः, नृत्यः, नरिन्यः, गिरिन्यः

पदव्यवहारिः न् । पदव्यवहारिः, अति ।

नृत्यः: पदेन व्यवहारिः वातिः निरितिनिषिद्धनामार्थ नकारायणि न मयति ।

पारसिकः न पदव्यवहारिः अतिन्यः न।

38. The अ is not changed to अ when a Pada intervenes between the cause of the change and the word containing the न.

The word पहुँचा is a compound meaning पेषेन व्यवह 'separated by a Pada'. Thus मापुङ्गमयान, चुङ्गमयोण, मापुङ्गमयान, पध्वमयान, मापुङ्गमयान: परिसारां ।

Here the Padas कुण्डः, द्रपः, ब्रह्म एवं, intervening, the change does not take place.

Vārtt:—It should be stated when there is separation by a Pada, except in a Taddhita. Prohibition does not apply to words like श्वाक्षोभे, श्वाक्षोभें । यहाँ नृत्यः पदेन व्यवहारिः नृत्यः: पदेन पदव्यवहारिः अति ।

39. The अ is not the substitute of अ in the words क्षुभिन्न, नरिन्यः.

The 'not' of सूत्र 34 is to be read into this. Thus श्वाखिन्न, so also in श्वाक्षीतः, श्वाभिन्न: the substitutes of अ when being like the principal I. 1. 57.

So नृत्यः: where the change was called for by VIII. 4. 3, and VIII. 4. 26.

नरिन्यः, नरिन्यः and नरिन्यः when second members in a compound, denoting a name, as, हरिन्यः, हरिन्यः: गिरिन्यः.

The word द्रपः when taking the Intensive अष्टः, अ, नरिन्यः.

द्रपः, गिरिन्यः also belongs to this class. नरिन्यः, गिरिन्यः, नरिन्यः, नरिन्यः ठाक्रि and श्वाक्षः when used as second terms in a compound. As, परिसारां, परिसारां, which required change by VIII. 4. 3. So विन्यः: contrary to VIII. 4. 14.

द्रपः, हरिन्यः, हरिन्यः, गिरिन्यः: All these are Names.

After the word श्वाक्षः there is no change, as, श्वाक्षोभे, श्वाक्षोभेी।

एक्षः, गिरिन्यः, ब्रह्म, द्रपः and हरिन्यः and क्षुभिन्न followed by अ न do not cause change in the न of अ when the compound is a Name. This is an श्वाक्षः.

1 श्वांः (श्वाक्षः), 2 नृत्यः: 3 नरिन्यः, 4 नरिन्यः: 5 नरिन्यः, एक्षः, द्रपः, श्वाक्षः, हरिन्यः, गिरिन्यः, ब्रह्माः, 6 हरिन्यः: 7 हरिन्यः: 8 गिरिन्यः: 9 श्वाक्षः: 10 नरिन्यः: 11 गिरिन्यः,
PALATAL CHANGE.

40. The letters श and the dentals when coming in contact with श and the palatalts, are changed to ष and palatalts respectively.

The rule of वदास्तक्त does not apply here with regard to first part स्यो शुना। The ष in contact with श is changed to ष but it is also so changed when in contact with letters of ष class. Similarly letters of ष class coming in contact with ष or a letter of ष class, are changed to ष class. The rule of वदास्तक्त, however, applies to the substitutes, namely ष is changed to ष, and ष to ष।

1st. ष in contact with ष as, ब्रुष्ठ + षते = बुष्ठषते, so also लष्ठषते।

2nd. ष in contact with ष as, ब्रुष्ठ + षति = बुष्ठषति, लष्ठषति, ब्रूष्ठषवयति।

3rd. ष with र: अर्हितत्व + षति = अर्हितत्वषति, so सोमष्ठषति।

4th. ष with ष: अर्हितत्व + षति = अर्हितत्वषति, so also सोमष्ठषति।

Similarly ष gives ष, the ष is changed to ष by हलंयुष्ठ हस्ती VIII. 4. 53, and then this ष is changed to a palatal i.e. to ष here; and ष obtained by ष rule is not considered asidhha here. See VIII. 2. 3. So also from ष ष we have षजस्य।

5th. षार्जक followed by षार्जक: ष, ष + ष (III. 3. 90) = ष + ष = षष, षष + ष = षषष। In fact the instrumental case षषा shows that the mere contact of ष and ष with ष and ष is enough to induce the change, whether षष is followed by ष or ष should be followed by ष। Other examples of mere contact are:—

5th(a) ष followed by ष is changed into ष: ष, षष + ष = षष + ष + ष (III. 1. 77, VI. 1. 16) = षष + ष + ष = षषष + ष = (VIII. 4. 53) = षजस्य। Similarly षजस्य forms षजस्य, प्रष forms प्रषजस्य।

The apophorism षजस्य (VIII. 4. 44) which prohibits the change of ष into ष when following the letter ष, indicates by implication that the rule of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration (I. 3. 10) does not hold good here.

Had the sūtra been स्यो ओ: षष i.e. instead of instrumental, had there been the locative case, then the rule would not have applied to cases covered by the fifth clause.

षुष्ठ ष: ॥ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ षुष्ठ ॥
41. The letters श and dentals in contact with र and cerebrals, are changed into श and cerebrals respectively.

The word सौ: is to be read into the śutra. Here also there is absence of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration.

(1) श with र as, वृंछः + रण्ये = वृंछःण्ये; वृंछःण्ये
(2) श with र, as, वृंछः + तीकते = वृंछःतीकते, वृंछःकऱ:ः, वृंछःतीकते and वृंछःकऱ:ः
(3) श with श as वेष्टः + ता = वेष्टः, वेष्टः, वेष्टः, कुँपीतः, कुँपीतः (Atmane, Aorist 2nd per dual).

(4) श with श, as, भास्करः + दीकते = भास्करःदीकते, भास्करः, भास्करःकऱ:ः, भास्करःकऱ:ः, भास्करःदीकते, भास्करः, भास्करःकऱ:ः.

The root भास्करः भास्करः, and भास्करः भास्करः, are read in the Dhātu-pātha with श and श penultimate, in order that when the affix विन्यू is added to them, the final श and श being elided by संस्कृत rule, the derivatives will be भास्करः and भास्करः ending in श and श. Another reason is that the śutra VI. 1, 3, should apply to their reduplicate. In these roots the श and श are changed, as शारदिति and शारदिति.

|| पद्मात्योर्जयम: || ४२: || पदानि || न, पदान्तावः, श्रोः, जनामः.

|| वृत्ति: || पदान्तावः वरणां वरणां स्नः: इत्येक भास्करः भास्करः भास्करः भास्करः.

|| पारस्करः || भास्करः भास्करः भास्करः भास्करः भास्करः भास्करः.

42. After श final in a Pada, the change of a dental (स्तु) to a cerebral (ष्ठ), does not take place, except in the case of the affix नामः.

Thus भास्करः + तातार = भास्करः, भास्करः, भास्करः, भास्करः.

Why do we say पदात्योर्जयम: ‘final in a Pada’? Observe तः + ते = तः + टे

Why do we say शो: ‘after श’? Observe शान्ति + तमः = शान्तिमसः.

Why do we say श्रामः ‘except in the case of the affix नामः’? Observe श्र + नामः = श्रणमः.

This exception is very inadequate. Hence the following.

Vārt.:- It should be stated rather that नायति and नायति as well as नायति are not prevented from undergoing the cerebral change. As, श्रणमः ‘of six’, श्रणमः: ninety-six, and श्रणमः ‘six cities’.

|| पदानि || तो: || श्र + नामः || पदानि || तो: || श्र + नामः.

43. In the room of श there is not a cerebral substitute, when श follows.

The word श is to be read into the aphorism. As, भास्करः + शणेऽ = भास्करः शणेऽ.

|| पन्नेऽ || महाप्रेपः || महाप्रेपः ||
44. In the room of तृ there is not a palatal substitute, when स precedes.

The words न and सत are understood here. This is an exception to VIII. 4. 40. Thus, पः + न (III. 3. 90) = पः + च (VI. 4. 19) = चपः, चिस्वः, एस्वः.

45. In the room of यः letter (every consonant except स final) in a Pada, when a Nasal follows, there is optionally a Nasal substitute.

The word सत is understood here. Thus, चः + नः = च्चः or चः. नः, चांगिक, वांगिक, वांगिक, वांगिक or वांगिक, वांगिक, वांगिक or वांगिक.

Why do we say 'final in a Pada'? Observe, यः + नः = यः. नः. Here there is no option. So also चः.

Vānī.—When it is a pratyaya or affix that follows, the nasalisation is obligatory in the secular language. Thus, चः + नांभ = च्चांभ, वांभचन. It is, however, only before the affixes म and न that this change is obligatory, and not before every affix beginning with a nasal.

46. There is reduplication of यः, i.e. all the consonants except स, after the letters र and ह following a vowel.

The word यः of last सूत्र is understood here. According to others, the यः is also understood, and this is an optional rule. Thus, दासः, नासः, डार्ना, डान्तः.

Why do we say यः 'following a vowel'? Observe, वृत्ते, वृत्ते.

47. When a vowel does not follow, there is reduplication of यः (all the consonants except स), after a vowel.

The words यः and सत are understood here.
Thus शच + यञ्च = शचु + यञ्च (VI. 1. 77) = शचु + यञ्च वर्षु + यञ्च (VIII. 4. 53) = शचु, so also नरण।

Why do we say यञ्च: "after a vowel?" Observe सिद्ध, सितार॥

Vārtak:—यञ्चो मयो है मनव।। This Vārtika may be interpreted in two ways. First taking यञ्च as ablative and मयो as genitive. "The letters of the pratyāhāra यञ्च are reduplicated after मयो letters." यञ्चा, यञ्ची॥ Secondly taking यञ्च as genitive, and मयो as ablative. "The letters यञ्च are reduplicated after मयो letters"।। यञ्चआ, यञ्चव॥

Vārtk:—यञ्चो यञ्चो है मनव।। This is also similarly explained in two ways. 1st "There is reduplication of यञ्च letters, after a sibilant for यञ्च letters"।। as सन्धान, सन्धान। Secondly "There is reduplication of a sibilant (यञ्च letters), after यञ्च letters, लस्यस, वस्सरस, वस्सरसा॥॥

Vārtak:—यञ्चमः यञ्चमः है मनव।। There is reduplication of यञ्च when a Pause ensues।। यञ्चसे, यञ्चसे, यञ्चसे, तस्य एस।

These reduplications are curiosities, rather than practicalities।


48. There is not reduplication of the letters of 'putra', when the word अदिनः follows, the sense being that of reviling or cursing।

This debars the reduplication required by the last sūtra। Thus पुष्पिनी व्यासित पूरे "O sinful one! thou art eater of thy own son"। Here the word पुष्पिनी is used simply as an abusive epithet। But when a fact is described, the word is not used as an abuse or गाढोर, the reduplication takes place। Thus पुष्पिनी व्याप्री 'a kind of tigress, that eats up her young ones।। विद्वानारिये व्यानी।।

Vārtak:—So also when अदिनः is followed by पुष्पिनी।। As अदिन अदिनः व्यासित पूरे।।

So also पुष्पिनी॥

Vārtak:—Optionally so when the words अदि and अदिनः follow।। As पुष्पिनी or पुष्पिनी, पुष्पिनी or पुष्पिनी॥

Vārtak:—According to the option of Āchārya Paushkarasādī, the letters of अदि pratyāhāra are replaced by the second letters of their class, when followed by a sibilant (a letter of त्र प्रत्याहारा)।।

As अदि: becomes त्रः।। अदिनः becomes त्रः।। अदिनः and अदिनः becomes त्रः।।

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49. There are not two in the room of a sibilant (शर), when a vowel follows.

The word  is to be read into the śūtra. This debars the application of rule 46 ante. Thus कर्मि, वर्षि, भाकर्मि, भासि:.

Why do we say भ्रमित्वम् when a vowel follows? Observe ब्रम्मत्वम्.

50. According to the opinion of Śakatāyana, the doubling does not take place when the conjunct consonants are three or more in number.

As लोकः, चन्द्रः, दण्डः, श्रयः.

51. According to the opinion of Śakalya, there is reduplication no where.

As भक्तः, भ्रमः, ब्रह्मः.

52. According to the opinion of all Teachers, there is no doubling after a long vowel.

As शाब्र, पाश्रम, श्रुष्टि, गुप्तम्.

53. In the room of शृङ्ग letters, there is substitution of ज्ञाल letters, when शृङ्ग letters follow.

A mute letter is changed to a sonant non-aspirate mute, when a sonant mute follows it.

This is the well-known rule of softening the hard letters. Thus श्वास्ते, ध्रास्ते, so also श्वास्ते, ध्रास्ते; श्, ध्, ध्र, ध्र; ब्रोज्ज, ब्रोर्ज्ज, ब्रोज्ज; ब्रोज्ज, ब्रोज्ज, ब्रोज्ज.

Why do we say ध्रोज्ज when a jham follows? Observe ध्रोज्ज. इत्यः.

54. The ध्र is also the substitute of शृङ्ग letters occurring in a reduplicate syllable, as well as ज्ञाल.

In a reduplicate syllable, a sonant non-aspirate (ध्र) as well as a surd non aspirate (ध्र) is the substitute of a Mute letter. By applying the rule of
'nearest in place (I. 1. 50), we find that sonant non-aspirate (अ) is the substitute of all sonants; and is the substitute of all surds. In other words all aspirate letters become non-aspirate. The word अ has been drawn into the sūtra by the word च 'also'.

Thus निष्णापिति || Here चन (Desiderative), is added to the root चन, the च is changed to च by VII. 4. 62, and this aspirate च is now changed to non-aspirate by the present sūtra. निष्णापिति, विभक्ताविभिन्नसिन्धि, विभारसिन्धि, विज्ञानाविभिन्नसिन्धि, एवापिति, निजपिति, इत्येकवि ||

If there is चन (non-aspirate surd) in the original, it will remain of course unchanged. As, चनवपिति, विभारचिते, विसारपिति ||

The original अ also remains unchanged. Thus निष्णापिति, इद्धे, श्री, विजेदे || Or to be more accurate a चन is replaced by a चन and a अ by a अ letter.

चनि च || ५५ || पदानि || चनि, च ||

वृष्टि: || चनि च परसि हल्लांचरवेधी मयति ||

55. In the room of अष्ट, there is the substitute चर्क, when चर्क follows.

A sonant non-aspirate mute is the substitute of a mute, when a surd mute or a sibilant follows. The words हल्लां and चर्क are supplied from the last sūtra. Thus महु + ता = मेज्जा, मेज्जु, मेज्जुम; पुढु + बस = पुढुबस; बारसेन, माफिते from रस and रस, the च is added by VII. 4. 54, in the room of अ of रस and रस, and we have रसेषु and शिष्य then the first च is elided by VIII. 2. 29.

चाबसाने || ५६ || पदानि || चाब, अब्साने ||

वृष्टि: || हल्लां चरिति वर्जने || अब्साने चर्कानारणे हल्लां च चरवेधी मयति ||

56. The चाब is optionally the substitute of a अष्ट that occurs in a Pause.

The words हल्लां चाब is understood in the sūtra. A sonant or a surd non-aspirate may stand as final in a Pause; but not an aspirate consonant. By VIII. 2. 39, a non-aspirate sonant can only stand in a final position. This ordains that a non-aspirate surd may also stand as the final, when there is Pause. Thus चाब or चाब, लष्क or लष्क, चलित or चलित, शिदु or शिदु ||

अणौसतवादुनासिनि: || ५७ || पदानि || अणि, अपृश्चाच्च, अनुसिनि: ||

वृष्टि: || अणि: अपृश्चातवादुनासि: वर्जने बादुनाविभिन्नसिन्धि मयति ||

57. The anunāsika is optionally the substitute of an अष्ट vowel which occurs in a Pause, and is not a Pragrihyā.

अ, ह and र, short and long, may, when final in a Pause, be pronounced as nasals, provided that they are not Pragrihyā (I. 1. 11 &c.) The अष्ट here
is a Pratyâhâra with the first ṣ. Thus śṛṅ or śṁ, mṛṛ or mṛṛ, kṛmr or kṛmr. Why do we say ‘of an anusvâra vowel?’ Observe, kṛṛ, ṣṛṛ. Why do we say ‘which is not a pragrihyā’? Observeप्राण, प्राण which are pragriya by I. 1. 11.

58. In the room of anusvâra, when ṣ follows, a letter homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus चन्द्र, चन्द्रत, चन्द्रस्य, चन्द्रवास्य, कुन्द्रत, कुन्द्रस्य, कुन्द्रवास्य, कुन्द्रित, कुन्द्रितस्य, कुन्द्रितस्य, कुन्द्रितस्य, कुन्द्रितस्य &c. These are from roots चन्द्र, चन्द्रत, चन्द्रवास्य, कुन्द्रत, कुन्द्रस्य, कुन्द्रवास्य, कुन्द्रित, कुन्द्रितस्य, कुन्द्रितस्य, कुन्द्रितस्य, कुन्द्रितस्य &c. Here ṣ is added because they are चन्द्र, and this ṣ becomes anusvâra by VIII. 3. 24, and this anusvâra is changed to क when followed by a guttural क &c, to क when followed by a palatal क &c, and so on to क, क and क. Why do we say when ṣ follows’? Observeप्राणक्ष, प्राणिक्षक्ष, प्राणिक्षक्ष.

In कुन्द्रति, प्राणि, the ṣ is not changed into ṣ, though required by VIII. 4. 2. Because the जन्त्र as is adid, and therefore by the prior rule VIII. 3. 24, the ṣ is first changed into anusvâra (VIII. 2. 1). That anusvâra is again changed into ṣ by the present rule, ह being homogeneous with ह. This change again being शास्त्र as if it had never taken place (VIII. 2. 1), the भ is never substituted for भ.

षा पदान्तस्य ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ षा, पदान्तस्य ॥

59. In the room of anusvâra final in a Pada, the substitution of a letter homogeneous with the latter is optional.

Thus ष अर्थं निर्पपसं नवमां नामत्रं दुर्गोष्ठिक्रेण or तद्विषिक्षपसर्ववाचारम: त्वस्मयोपभीत॥

तोष॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तोष, कत॥

वृच्छ:॥ तर्पनस्य त्तारे परं परस्परत्रिवेदो भवति।

60. In the room of ṣ (a dental) when the letter ṣ follows, one homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus भवेर्षषणिः + हुणाति = भवेर्षषणाति, समाभुखणाति; भवात्र + हुणाति = भवीर्षणाति, गर्भोष्णाति। Here ṣ has been changed to pure ṣ, while the dento-nasal ṣ is changed to a nasal ह.है॥

उद: अतस्सोऽः पूर्बस्य ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदः, खा सम्मोऽः, पूर्बस्य ॥

वृच्छा॥ उद दस्सर्स। त्व सम्म लोकस्य: पूर्बस्यार्थसी मयाति।

वृच्छमा, ॥ उदः, पूर्वस्ये त्वान्तेनाद्भुतस्यमेव। याद दाने भेति फलस्वयं।
61. After ॠ, in the room of the aphore, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior (i.e. a dental is substituted for this ॠ).

As ॠ + श्याता = ॠ + श्याता = ॠ + याता (VIII. 4. 65) = ॠ + याता (VIII. 4. 55) = याता, यातारुप, यातायताम्. So also with ॠम्, as, उष्मिनम्, उष्मिनिद्रयम् &c. (See I. i. 67 and 54).

Why do we say of ॠ and ॠम्? Compare बन्धुतात्.

Vārtt.—In the Vedas, the above substitution takes place in the case of ॠ preceded by ॠ. As, भले हाँकल्.

Vārtt.—So also when it means a disease. As बलकोऽनाम में रोगः. Or this form may have been derived from the root बल, and not बल ॠ.

ष्यो हेन्यतरसङ्काम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ ॠयः, हः, अन्यतरसङ्काम् ॥

तत्र तत्र वचनः इति कः पुरस्तम्यांस्यो भस्ति भन्यतरसङ्काम.

62. In the room of the letter ह, after (a sonant Mute) there is optionally a letter homogeneous with the prior.

The pratyāhāra हस्त includes all Mutes. But practically sonant Mutes are only taken here.

As बड़ + हस्ति = बायमसति or बायम हस्ति, भलिवः हस्ति or हस्ति, भलिविद्वः हस्ति or हस्ति, भलिविद्वः हस्ति or हस्ति, लोमशु महस्ति or हस्ति, लोमशु महस्ति or हस्ति.

Why do we say हयं 'after a sonant Mute'? Observe बड़ हस्ति, भवावः हस्ति.

षाक्षसीढ़ि ॥ ६३ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ ॠ यः, ॠति ॥

तत्र तत्र वचनः इति कः पुरस्तम्यांस्यो भस्ति भन्यतरसङ्काम.

तत्र तत्र वचनः इति कः पुरस्तम्यांस्यो भस्ति भन्यतरसङ्काम.

63. In the room of ॠ preceded by a surd Mute, there is optionally the letter ॠ when a vowel or य, य or र follows such ॠ.

Though हयं means all Mutes, the rule, however, applies to surd mutes.

The words ॠयं and अन्यतरसङ्काम are to be read into the sūtra. Thus बड़ + ग्ते = बाहकुटे or ग्ते. भलिविषु ग्ते or भलिविषु ग्ते, भलिविषु ग्ते or ग्ते, भलिविषु ग्ते or ग्ते.

Vārtt.—It should rather be stated when a letter of ॠयं pratyāhāra follows. The sūtra only gives तद् letters, the vārtika adds the letters ह, and the nasals. Thus तद्वास्यः तद्वास्यः, तद्वास्यः.

ष्यो याम्य यस्मि लोपः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ हलः, यमः, यस्मि, लोपः ॥

तत्र तत्र वचनः इति कः पुरस्तम्यांस्यो भस्ति भन्यतरसङ्काम.
64. After a consonant, the following semi-vowel or a nasal is elided optionally, when the same letters follow it.

The word बमुतास्साम् should be read into the sūtra. Thus स्वव्या or श्वया, the middle ध being elided. In द्वारा there are two न, one of the affix श्वया (III. 3. 99); and the second of ब्रह्म (VII. 4. 22), and the third arises by doubling (VIII. 4. 47). आवर्तम् (formed by doubling ध by the Vārtika under 47 ante), or आवर्तम् ‘son of Aditi’ In आवर्तम् there are two न, one of भ (IV. 1. 85), and the second arises by doubling.

Similarly आवर्तम् हेवता भवति स्वव्या पाकस्च् = आवर्तम्. Then by VIII. 4. 47, there is a third ध, as श्वव्या. Here also we may elide the one middle ध or both the middle ध's. Thus आवर्तम् or आवर्तम्.

Why do we say हम् ‘preceded by a consonant’? Observe ब्रह्म when ध is preceded by a vowel.

Why do we say ब्रम्ह ‘of ब्रम्ह letters’? Observe ब्रह्म (V. 4. 25) where ध is not a द्व.

Why do we say ब्रम्ह ‘when ब्रम्ह follows’? Observe ब्राम्ह here ध is not followed by a द्व.

हरो नारी सवर्णः द्। पदार्थः हरस्, हरि, सवर्णः

हृतः इति इत्यसर्वः हरस् हरि सवर्णे परि लेषी पशि बन्धुस्सवर्णः

65. A Mute or Sibilant (हर) preceded by a consonant and followed by a homogeneous mute or sibilant, is optionally elided.

The word हर is understood. Thus ब्रह्म, ब्रह्मचार्य have three ध, namely, one ध substituted for ध by VII. 4. 47, the second ध resulting from the change of ध to ध by धर्म change, the third ध is that of the affix. A fourth arises by doubling (VIII. 4. 47) of these four, one or two middle ones may be dropped.

हरस् here are four ध. A fifth may be added by doubling, and by this rule, one, two or three of them may be elided. महत्तव + ध + क = महत्त + ध + क (VII. 4. 47) the word महत्तव being treated as an Upasarga (I. 4. 59, vārt) - महत्तव.

Why do we say हर ‘of a jhar’? Compare हार्ष, here ध which is not a ध is not elided, though it is followed by a हर letter. Why do we say हार ‘followed by a jhar’? See विभ्रमस्त्राः. This is a Bhūvṛti compound. The word हार stands first in the compound under II. 2. 35. (uḍr). The full word is विभ्रमस्त्राः, the ध is elided by VI. 4. 134, and we have विभ्रमस्त्राः; and then this ध becomes a palatal ध. Here ध is preceded by a हर letter, and itself is a हर, and is followed by a homogeneous
letter य, but as य is not ह, the य is not elided. The elided य is not considered sthānīvat, and so य is considered to be immediately followed by य.

Why do we say यगन्ते 'when a homogeneous jhar follows'? Observe तद्वरा तद्वरः तस्मात् &c, where य and य are not homogeneous.

By using the word यगन्ते, the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) is avoided. Had the rule been यगन्ते यगि the rule of mutual correspondence according to order of enumeration would have applied, and the forms विद्विष्णु विद्विष्णु could not have been evolved by the elision of य before य. For the evolution of these forms see the commentary under I. 1. 58. These are the Imperative 2nd Person Singular of दिष्ट and दिष्ट. The य of यगन्ते is elided by VI. 4. 111: the दिष्ट is changed to दिष्ट by VI. 4. 101, the दिष्ट is changed to दिष्ट by VIII. 4. 53, the दिष्ट of दिष्ट is changed to anuvāra by VIII. 3. 24; this anuvāra is again changed to य by VIII. 4. 58; the य is changed to य, and by the present rule, the preceding य is elided before this य.

उद्वासाच्छोद्यसत्स स्वरित: ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्वासात, उद्वासास्य, स्वरित: ॥

66. The Svarita is the substitute of an Anudatta vowel which follows an Udatta vowel.

Thus भर्गाः + यी = भर्गायीन्ते ॥ Here यी which was यनुसार by rule VIII. 1. 28, becomes svarita by the present rule, as it comes after the udatta य of agni.

So also यार्येः, यास्त्य: ॥ Here य of यम is added by IV. 1. 105, and being मित्र the words are first acute. The final is anudatta, which becomes svarita. So also याप्तिः and यास्तिः, the प and स are anudatta, the root is accented, the य of यम becomes svarita.

The rule VI. 1. 158, does not change this svarita into an Anudatta, because for the purposes of that rule, the present rule is भर्गां, or as if it had not taken place (VIII. 2. 1). Therefore both the udatta and the svarita accent are heard.

नोद्वासाच्छोद्यसत्स वाग्यकास्तुर्मालवानाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उद्वासाच्छोद्यसत्स उद्वास: अ-गार्थेकास्तुर्मालवानाम् ॥

67. All prohibit the above substitution of svarita, except the Āchāryās Gārgya, Kāśyapa and Gālava; when an udatta or a svarita follows the anudatta.

This debar the preceding rule. That anudatta which is followed by an Udatta is वसात्माः or वसास्ते: ॥ The word वसाः means य in the terminology of ancient Grammarians. That anudatta which is followed by a svarita is called लर्त्तिस्वरः ॥ These are Bahuvrihi compounds. Thus वसात्माः—याया-
The word संत्र is first acute by लेख accent, before this udātta, the त्र of these words does not become svarita. So with स्वरिसर्वक—गार्त्त: कुः गार्त्त्वः कुः। The word कुः is svarita being formed by the लेख affix त्र (V. 3. 12); before this svarita the preceding त्र does not become svarita.

Why do we say “except in the opinion of Garga, Kasyapa and Galya”? Observe गार्त्त्वः कुः गार्त्त्वः। According to their opinion, the svarita change does take place.

The employment of the longer word दशव instead of the shorter word पर is for the sake of auspiciousness, for the Book has approached the end. The very utterance of the word दशव is auspicious. All sacred works commence with an auspicious word, have an auspicious word in the middle, and end with an auspicious word. Thus Paṇini commences his सूत्र with the auspicious word कुः: ‘increase’ (in Sūtra I. i. 1): has the word लेख ‘the well-wisher’ in the middle (IV. 4. 143), and व्रत at the end.

The mention of the names of those several Achāryas is for the sake of showing respect (pujārtham).

68. The अ which was considered to be open (ग्रहणे) in all the preceding operations of this Grammar, is now made contracted (संकृते)।

The first अ is here ग्रहणे or open; the second लेख or contracted. The open अ is now changed to contracted अ। “In actual use the organ in the enunciation of the short अ is contracted; but it is considered to be open only, as in the case of the other vowels, when the vowel अ is in the state of taking part in some operation of Grammar. The reason for this is, that if the short अ were held to differ from the long अ in this respect, the homogeneity mentioned in I. 1. 9, would not be found to exist between them, and the operation of the rules depending upon that homogeneity would be debarrèd. In order to restore the short अ to its natural rights, thus infringed throughout the Ashādhyāyi, Paṇini with oracular brevity in his closing aphorism gives the injunction अ अ; which is interpreted to signify—Let short अ be held to have its organ of utterance contracted, now that we have reached the end of the work in which it was necessary to regard it as being otherwise”. (Dr. Ballantyne).

Thus दशव, दशव। In this Grammar, the अ is regarded open or विबुधि, when operations are performed with it: but in actual pronunciation it is contracted. The long अ and the pluta अ are not meant to be included here in the open short अ; therefore those two are not contracted by this rule. Only
the short भ consisting of one मात्रa, with its various modifications is to be taken here. In other words the six shorts भ are only taken here, namely भ, भ, भ, भ, भ, भ। For these six short open भs, there are substituted six contracted corresponding भs. See I. 1. 9.

॥ शुम्भ सघनु ॥

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