BOOK I.
CHAPTER FIRST.

1. भ, र and घ are called vriddhi.

This defines the word vriddhi. The letters भ, र and घ are vriddhi letters. The sutra consists of three words vriddhi, र and अ. अ means the long अ, the final अ being indicatory only, and is for the sake of the pratyaḥhara aich, and the pratyaḥhara र means the letters र and अ.

The indicatory अ in अर serves the purpose of showing that the very form अर having two mātrās or prosodical measure, is to be taken. This अ also joins with the succeeding vowels र and अ र by the rule of समु (I. 1. 70) or that “which precedes or succeeds अ,” and indicates that these vowels must be taken as having two mātrās only, though they may be the result of the combination of vowels whose aggregate mātrās may be more than two. A short vowel has one mātrā, a long vowel has two, and a consonant has half a mātrā. Thus by a rule of समु or euphonic conjunction of letters अर + अर = अर, as महा + मारामा = महारा. Here र has two mātrās and not four. So also in वरेस: the vowel र the resultant of अर + र has only two, not four, mātrās.

Thus the initial vowels in the following secondary derivative nouns are vriddhi forms of their primitive vowels. भाज्ज: “bodily”, from भ: ‘body’ अन्वः: “optional”, from अ “option”; धौधः: “the son of Upagru”, from the word उपगु: meaning “a sage called Upagru.” Similarly in शाजी: “belonging to the house” the अ is radical, and is also called vriddhi. The word vriddhi occurs in sutras like सिन्यवानपरस्थरण (VII. 2. 1.) “Let the final अक of the base get vriddhi substitute before the affix सिन्य of the Parasmaipada”.

2. भ, र and घ are called guna.

Each one of the letters भ, र and घ whether radical or secondary is called a guna letter; as the initial vowels in the following:—चालि, “he
moves”; यह “he comes”, योजिति “he goes.” Here the initial vowels of the roots सा, ता, and बहा have been respectively gunated into धा, धा, and धो before the third person singular termination भि.

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

ब्रह्म गुणाद्वृत्ति || ॥ पदार्थसिद्धिः || इहः || गुण-द्वृत्ति || (सूक्ति, गुण:) ||

तत्त्विः || निर्मली || (सूक्ति, उपदोष या) || निर्मलायतानांद्र यस्माते वेदान्तवाची ॥

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

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

Thus sūtra VII. 3. 84 declares—“when a sārvadhatu or an ardhdhatu affix follows there is guṇa of the base.” Here the sthāni or the original expression which is to be gunated, is not specified, and to complete the sense, the word “ıkḥ” must be read into the sūtra. The rule then being, “when a S. or an A. affix follows there is guṇa of the ik vowels of the base.” The guṇa of इ or ओ is ओ; of ऐ or ऑ, is ऑ, of स्र or स्र is स्र, of तु is तु; and their vṛddhi is दे, धो, पार, and धार respectively. Thus नी + पारि = नी + धारि = नमति “he leads.”

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

The word ‘ık’ is thus understood in the following rules, and is there qualified by the term छठु or ‘base’.—निर्मली (VII. 3. 82) ब्रह्मेऽलिन्न (VII. 2. 114) निर्मलायतानां (VII. 3. 86); वर्क्रस्यात् (VII. 4. 11) निर्मलायतानां (VII. 4. 16) निर्मलायतानां (VI. 4. 156).

In the following sūtras, the term ‘ık’ is understood and qualifies the word अंग or base, जायत (VII. 3. 83), श्रवणार्थाद्वृत्तिक (VII. 3. 84).

These sūtras will be explained in their proper places.

The word ‘ık’ has been used in the sūtra to show that the long या, थु or the diphthongs and धु or the consonants, are not to take guṇa or vṛddhi by this
rule, as in the following examples यान् “a carriage”, न्यायति “he feels aversion,” विन्यास “confined.”

Here न्यायति is formed by adding the affix ति, third person singular termination, with the class a affix गृहः, to the root गृहः; as गृहः+ति = गृह +ति. At this stage, rule VII. 3. 84, would require the gupta substitution of the vowel of the base before the sārvadhatuka termination ग; the gupta substitute of ग, being ग, there would be ग +ति = न्यायति. But this is wrong, the letter ग, being not included in the pratyāhāra ik, is not affected by rule VII. 3. 84, and there is no gupta substitution in this case. Similarly there is no change in the long ग of गात्. Thus ग + क्वत्र (III. 3. 115) = गात् (VII. 1. 1). Here had there been gupta by Rule VII. 3. 84, the ग of ग, would have been changed into ग, and the form would have been गात् which is wrong. But it is not so, as ग is not an ग vowel. So also क्वत्र + क्वत्र = क्वत्रत्र. Here, there is no gupta substitution in the place of the consonant ग.

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

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

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

न चतुष्कोष चारुधाराट्युते ॥ १ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ न, चारु-धारे, चारु-धारे, (शताधुरते) ॥

इत्यः ॥ घास्त्रेषु घास्त्रः स्वयम् चारुधारात्युते गारुधारात्युते चारुधारात्युते तव दे गारुधारात्युते गारुधारात्युते न नास्ति:।

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

This is an exception to sūtra 3. By that sūtra iks were to be gunated or vriddhied and by sūtra VII. 3. 84, the root is to be gunated before all ārdhadhātuka terminations. All primary affixes, that are applied directly to roots in Sanskrit, are divided into two broad classes, called sārvadhatu and ārdhadhātuka. The affixes marked with an indicatory श (called रिष्ठ, रि &c., (called रिष्ठ) are sārvadhatukas; all other affixes are called ārdhadhātuka.

Though by the general rule, VII. 3. 84, the root is to be gunated before ārdhadhātuka terminations, yet it is not to be so, before those affixes which cause the लोप 'lopping off or ellipses' of a portion or a member of the original dhātu. Thus the termination श्यायिः is a first person singular termination of the future tense (स्याद्) and is an ārdhadhātuka termination; when this is added to root श् 'to excel' the य of श् becomes gunated and we have श्यायिः "I shall or will excel." But in those cases where there is a lopa of the member of a root form, caused by an affix, there is no gunation. Thus in लोकुश् "a great cutter," the original root is लु "to cut" which forms the Intensive verb लोकुश्. In forming the noun of agency from the verb लोकुश्, an ārdhadhātuka suffix वभृ I. 1. 134, is added. Thus लोकुश् + वभृ. At this stage, by force of sūtra II. 4. 74, which declares that "before the affix वभृ (I. 1. 134) the य of the Intensive verb must be suppressed," the य is dropped and we have लोकु+भृ. Here by the general rule VII. 3. 84, the final य would have been gunated. But by virtue of the present sūtra, no guna takes place, because here on account of the ārdhadhātuka affix वभृ, a portion of the root, namely, भृ, has been elided; therefore no guna takes place. Thus we have लोकु: "a great cutter."

The word भृ "root" has been used in the sūtra, in order to indicate that the exception does not apply where there is an elision of an anubandha or of an affix. As in लृ + राग = लो + राग = लविश्या. Here the indicatory letter लृ has been elided, but that does not prevent gunation. Similarly in रेष the affix रिष्ठ is added to the root रिष्ठ "to injure." Thus रिष्ठ + रिष्ठ (II. 2. 75) = रिष्ठ + रिष्ठ (I. 3. 2. and 3.) = रिष्ठ + रिष्ठ (VI. 1. 67.) Here the affix रि is elided, but nevertheless, the guna substitute must take place in रिष्ठ. Thus we have रिष्ठ + रिष्ठ (II. 3. 86 and I. 1. 62) = रेष (VIII. 2. 39)."

The word ārdhadhātuka has been used to indicate that a sārvadhātuka affix which causes the elision of a portion of a root, does not prevent guna or vriddhi as in रोहिष्ठि, (Rig Veda IV. 58. 3) "he roars much." र + वर = रोहि (III. 1. 22). रोहि + रिष्ठ = रोहि + रिष्ठ (II. 4. 74). Here the sārvadhātuka
affix विद्र �causes the elision of च, a portion of the root. The guṇa substitution however takes place, and we have रो+ह+वि (VII. 3. 94) = रोशो, the augment हु हु being added by sūtra VII. 3. 94.

The word “ikaḥ” of the previous sūtra is understood in this sūtra also. The ik letters only are not gunated or vriddhied before such ardhdhātuka affixes; the other vowels may do so. Thus in प्रधाणिग the equation is as follows:-य + महार्थ + विद्र = य + महार्थ + ह (VI. 4. 33). Here the ardhdhātuka affix विद्र has caused a portion of the root महार्थ, to be suppressed, i.e., the letter य has been elided. But nevertheless the य of महार्थ is vriddhied before विद्र because य is not included in the prayāhāra ik; and the exception contained in the present sūtra only applies to the ik letters. So also रक्ष = रक्ष (III. 3.18) = रक्ष + च (VI. 4. 27.) = रक्ष (VII. 2. 116. and VII. 3. 52).

5. And that, which otherwise would have caused guṇa or vriddhi, does not do so, when it has an indicatory त् or ह.

Thus the past participle terminations त् and हस्त् are ardhdhātuka affixes, which would, by the general rule VII. 3. 84, have caused guṇa, but as their indicatory letter ह is ह, the real terminations being, ह and हस्त्, they do not cause guṇa. Therefore, when these terminations are added to a root, the ik of the root is not gunated. Thus with the root विद्र “to collect” we have धितः: or धितवार्, च्, “to hear,” शुचि, शुचि, तस्; “to fear” शीपि, शीपि.

Similarly the terminations सक्ष, सक्ष, सक्ष, सक्ष, सिदृष्टि, &c., are all विद्र terminations the indicatory letters of all being ह, the real affixes being त्, नित्मन, च्, च्, च्, &c. &c. Before these, the root is not gunated. Thus we have from ह “to bear” हास्य, from विद्र “to pierce” विद्रस्य.

The terms विद्र &c., of this sūtra are in the locative or seventh case. The force of this case termination here is that of नित्मन or cause, that is the guṇa or vriddhi which would otherwise have been caused, does not take place, if an affix is विद्र, विद्र, विद्र. Thus all ardhdhātuka and sārvadhatukā affixes cause gunation of the final इक of the inflective base (VII. 3. 84.) Thus the Sārvadhatukā affix शुचि (क्ष ) in the following:-

शुचि = शुचि + विद्र = शुचि + ह + शुचि = हुहु “he is.” Similarly sārvadhātuka and ardhdhātuka affixes cause the guṇa substitution of the short penultimate इक of the inflective base (VII. 3. 85.) Thus शुचि + ह + विद्र = हुहुहु.

The general force of the locative case in an asphorm is to cause the operation directed, on the expression immediately preceding it (I. 1. 66.) If the force of the locative case in the present sūtra were also that as
Exception to Guna and Vriddhi. (Bk. I. Ch. I. § 5.)

explained in I. 1. 66, then the interpretation would be this:—An affix having an indicatory k, g or ṣ, would not cause the gupa substitution of the vowel ik, immediately preceding it. The case of the penultimate short ik will not be covered by it. Then though the rule may apply to त्विन्द + कत् = त्विन्द: “collected” it would not apply to त्विन्द + कत्; there would be nothing to bar the gupa substitution of the penultimate ṣ of त्विन्द. This however is prevented by explaining the locative as one of “occasion” and thus त्विन्द + कत् = त्विन्द: “broken.”

Similarly from the root त्विन्द we have a word त्विन्दु: ‘victorious,’ in which the affix गुप्त has an indicatory ṣ. Thus त्विन्द + गुप्त = त्विन्दु: “victorious” (III. 1. 139), so also लहरु: “durable.”

Similarly the affix, योज, is a हिदु affix, the real suffix being ण, the ṣ being merely indicatory. Therefore when योज is added to a root, there is no gunation or योज्यing. Thus we have त्विन्द “to know.”

Similarly by I. 2. 4, all सर्वदेशुतजक affixes that are not marked by an indicatory ṣ, are treated as हिदु. Thus the second person singular termination त्वित is त्वित, and we have त्वितु: “they two collect,” similarly त्वितयस्, “they collect,” गुप्त + कत् = गुप्त: “cleansed,” मुज्यत् “they cleanse.”

The phrase “when indicated by the term ik” is understood in this sutra. The prohibition, therefore, applies to ik vowels only, and not to all vowels in general. Thus by III. 1. 30, the root कत् “to desire” takes the affix त्वित; of this affix the letters त and त are indicatory, the real affix is त. The force of त is to cause योज्य (VII. 1. 116). The indicatory त does not prevent such योज्य, as the letter ṣ of कत् is not included in ik. Thus we have कामि + योजि = कामि + योजि = कामबन्य “he desires.”

According to the wish of the author of the Mahābhāṣya, the verb गुप्त optionally takes योज्य, before ik or नित affixes beginning with a vowel. As परिगुप्तैन or परिगुप्तैन “they rub.” Here in this sutra there is prohibition of the gupa of the short penultimate ik also.

The indicatory ṣ of the verbal tense affixes i.e., लहरु, लिन्द, लद्द, लद्द, is an exception to this rule of हिदु. This is an inference deduced from III. 4. 104 which declares “when the sense is that of benediction, then the augment योजुर of हिदु is as if it were distinguished by an indicatory क.” There would have been no necessity of making योजुर a हिदु, if हिदु were a हिदु, but the very fact of making योजुर a हिदु indicates by implication or is दर्शन that the final ṣ of हिदु, लहरु &c. does not make these tense affixes हिदु. Thus in लहरु or Imperfect tense we have बारिवनष् “he collected” (हिदु + लहरु = हिदु + गुप्त = हिदु + गुप्त = हिदु + गुप्त.)

दीर्घी बोबोरकं ॥ पदवि ॥ दीर्घी-बोबोरकं (गुप्तवर्ती) ॥
गृहा: ॥ सर्वायमायोगिकं गुप्तवर्ती मानवन्येत स भवन: ॥}
6. The guṇa and vṛiddhi substitutions, which would otherwise have presented themselves, do not however come, in the place of the vowels of dīdhī 'to shine,' and vevt 'to go,' and of the augment called ṣr.

The roots झी and झी never take the guṇa or vṛiddhi substitutions under ordinary circumstances. Thus the affix गृहस्ती generally causes vṛiddhi substitution when added to any root; and so the affix गृहस्ती causes guṇa. But these affixes when applied to the verbs dīdhī and vevt, never cause vṛiddhi or guṇa substitution. As झासी + गृहस्ती = झासी + खण (VII. 1. 1) = झासीखण: (VI. 1. 77). So also झासी + गृहस्ती = झासी + खण (VII. 1. 1) = झासीखण:.

Similarly from झी we have प्रत्ययन्तज्ञ and प्रत्ययन्तज्ञ. In the Vedas, however, these verbs take guṇa. Thus प्रत्ययन्तज्ञ (Rig Ved. X. 98. 17), and प्रत्ययन्तज्ञ: (Rig Ved. V. 40. 5). These two verbs are confined generally to the Vedic literature, and the present rule therefore, seems to be an unnecessary prohibition; as they take guṇa in spite of such prohibition.

Of the augment हृ, the real affix is हृ. In the general tenses, it is added to certain terminations beginning with consonants of the हृ class, i.e., all consonants except ह (VII. 2. 35). Thus the future termination, first person, singular is झासी; this when added to the root गृहस्ती “to move” requires an intermediate हृ, and thus we have the form प्रत्ययन्तज्ञ, ‘I shall walk.’ This हृ is never guṇated or vṛiddhied, though according to the general rule, coming before an ardha-dhātuka termination, it ought to have been guṇated.

The augment हृ, could under no circumstances have taken vṛiddhi, the prohibition therefore, is in the case of the guṇa substitute of हृ.

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

This defines the word sanyoga. The sūtra consists of three words, हृज, the plural of the pratyāhāra हृ, denoting all the consonants, संज्ञान: means “without any separation or space” and संज्ञान: which is the word defined, and means “conjunct consonants.” So that the sūtra means, conjunct consonants are those consonants between which there is no heterogeneous separating vowel and which are pronounced jointly, such as हृ in the word क्रुद्ध, “cock.” The word “sanyoga” applies to the whole of the conjunct consonants jointly and not to them separately. The plural number shows that the conjunction may be of two or more consonants.
ANUNASIKÁ DEFINED. [BK. I. CH. I. §. 8.]

Why do we say “consonant”? If two vowels come together they will not be called “sanyoga”. Thus तितिवच्छा “a sieve umbrella,” the two vowels ति and वच्छा have come together unseparated by any consonant; yet they are not called sanyoga, otherwise the final वच्छा would have been rejected by VIII. 2. 23 “there is elision of the final of that pada which ends in a sanyoga letter.” Why do we say “unseparated by a vowel”? If consonants separated by a vowel were also called sanyoga, then in the sentence धनादिति दन्तवर्धन, the syllable धन्त would be called sanyoga, and by VIII. 2. 29, the initial ध would be elided.

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

This defines the word anunásika. The sútra consists of four words पुंक “mouth” नासिक “nose” वचन: “utterance or pronunciation” and अनुनासिक: “nasals.” Though the words पुंक + नासिक (II. 4. 2) will by the rule of composition form मुनुनासिकम् and not मुनुनासिक, yet the latter form might be held to be an irregularity; or the phrase मुनुनासिकम् may be regarded as a compound of मुनुनासिक + नासिकन, the word avachana meaning “partial utterance.” That is a letter partially uttered by the nose and partially by the mouth would be called anunásika. Therefore the nasals are those letters which are pronounced from two organs or places, i.e., the mouth and the nose. The pure nasal is anuvára, while anunásikas are different from this, in as much as, that in pronouncing these, the breath passes through the nose and the mouth.

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

The consonants थ, ढ, ण, त, न and न are also anunásika. Thus थ is pronounced by the throat along with the nose, थ by the palate and nose, थ by the upper palate and nose; र by the teeth and nose, and र by the lip and nose.

The semi-vowels ः, ः and ः are also nasalised and are then called anunásika. The term anunásika is used in sútra V. 1. 126 &c.

Why have we used the word “by the mouth”? This definition will not include anuvára or the pure nasal, which is pronounced wholly through
the nose. Why have we used the word “by the nose”? In order to exclude the consonants क, ख, च, छ, अ, ए &c., which are pronounced wholly and solely through the mouth.

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

This defines the word savarṇa or a homogeneous letter. The sūtra consists of four words:—तुल्य “equal or similar,” अर्थ “mouth or place of pronunciation,” प्रयोग “effort” and सर्वाणु “words of the same class.”

The आर्थ or places or portions of the mouth by contact with which various sounds are formed are chiefly the following:—1. क्षूद्र “throat” 2. लघु “palate,” 3. मध्यी “head,” 4. स्खलन: “teeth,” 5. धोषी “lips,” 6. नाभिक “nose.”

The प्रयोग or quality or effort is of two sorts primarily, देह-वन्य: “internal” and इन्द्र: “external.” The first is again sub-divided into five parts:—

1. रहस्य or complete contact of the organs. The twenty-five letters from क to म belong to this class. In pronouncing these there is a complete contact of the root of the tongue with the various places, such as throat, palate, dome of the palate, teeth and lip.

2. इन्द्रियोपयोग or slight contact. The letters ज, झ, झ, झ belong to this class of contacts. “In pronouncing these semi-vowels the two organs, the active and passive, which are necessary for the production of all consonantal noises, are not allowed to touch each other, but only to approach.”

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

4. इन्द्रिय-निरुपस्त or slight opening. The letters य, र, स, श belong to this class. Some however place the vowels and य &c., into one group and call them all vivṛta.

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

The अभ्यान्तर pratyayatna is the mode of articulation preparatory to the utterance of the sound, the बाह्य-pratyayatna is the mode of articulation at the close of the utterance of the sound.

The division of letters according to अभ्ययन्त्र pratyayatna has been already given. By that we get, 1. the sparsa or mute letters, 2. the antastha or intermediate between sparsas and ushmans, or semi-vowel: or
liquid letters, 3. the svaras or vowels or vivṛita letters, 4. the ushmans or sibilants or slatus letters.

The division of letters according to bāhya prayatna gives us first surds or aghosha letters, 2. sonants or ghosha letters. The aghosha are also called svaśa letters, the ghoshas are called nāda letters.

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

The vowel अ has eighteen forms. The acute अ (udāttā), grave अ (anudāttā) and circumflexed अ (svarita). Each one of these three may be nasalised (anānāśika), or not (nirānāśika).

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

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

Thus then the homogeneous or savarṇa letters must satisfy two conditions before they could be called savarṇa. First, their place of pronunciation or बालक must be the same. Secondly their प्रवृत्त or quality must be equal. If one condition be present and the other be absent, there can be no savarṇa-hood. Thus ः and ृ are both palatals, their बालक or place of pronunciation being सातु ‘palate,’ but still they are not savarṇa, because their प्रवृत्त is different, the प्रवृत्त of ः being spriṣṭa and that of ृ being vivṛita.

Similarly ऍ and ् though their प्रवृत्त is the same i.e., spriṣṭa, yet their बालक being different, one being guttural and the other palatal, are not savarṇa.

There is exception to this rule in the case of ठ and ०४, which though having different बालक are still called savarṇa by virtue of the vārttika of Kātyāyana; “the homogeneousness of ठ and ०४, one with another, should be stated.” Thus हो + क्ष: = होक्षा; here ठ and ०४ have coalesced into long ठ०४ by rules of sandhi, on the assumption that they are savarṇa letters.

The word savarṇa occurs in śāstras like चतुर्व: चतुर्व: सतु: (VI. 1. 101).

Why do we say ‘the place of pronunciation’? So that there may not be homogeneous relationship between क्षत्रव and ः whose prayatna is the same but whose अया is different. What is the harm if we make them savarṇa? Then in words like वाणि and वाङ्कु, the ः would be elided, if it be held homogeneous with ः, by VII. 4. 65, “there is optional elision of ृ, preceded by a consonant, when a homogeneous ः follows.”
Why do we say "effort"? That there may be no homogeneity between 
and the palatals, and श and श, whose organ of pronunciation is the same,
but whose prayatna is different. What harm if it be so? Then in पर //
रत्ति, the श would be elided before श by the rule already referred to, VIII. 4. 65.

मान शती || 30 || पदानि || न, अषृह्द्वी, (सवर्ष्य) ||
श्रिषि || द्विश्चरति प्रवविष्याि शवधवस्य च वेदे यानि न व वचः ||

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

This sūtra lays down an exception to the former sūtra. There can
be no homogeneity or savarşa relationship between vowels and consonants,
though their धार्मिक and प्रवद्ध may be the same. Thus श and श have the same
धार्मिक namely सांस्थ ‘palate,’ and the same प्रवद्ध: namely vivrita, but still they
are not to be called savarşa. Thus in श्याहवत्ति, श्याहविष्यि असे, the letters श and श
in the first example, and श and श in the second not being homogeneous
letters; there is no combination or sandhi, which would otherwise have
taken place.

Similarly if श and श be held homogeneous, then श्याहए + श्याह (IV. 3.
53) = श्याहए + श्याह (VI. 4. 148; here श्य is would be elided by VI. 4. 148, but it is not so
and we have श्याहः: “belonging to vipāśa or born therein.” So also in चानुवसंधि “ox-skin,”
the श would have been omitted, if held homogeneous with शः.

ईड़शःहविनवनम् प्रवविष्यि || 99 || पदानि || ईड़-अस्त-युस्त
द्विधवचनि, प्रवविष्यि ||

श्रिषि || ईड़चः अस्त ईड़विनवनम् द्विधवचनि प्रवविष्यि संहः भवति ||

11. A dual case affix ending in श or श or श is
called Pragrihyā, or excepted vowels which do not ad-
mit of sandhi or conjunction.

As a general rule, Sanskrit allows of no hiatus in a sentence. If a
word ends in a vowel, and the next word begins with a vowel, the two vowels
coalesce, according to certain rules. This is called sandhi. But pragrihyās
are exceptions to this sandhi, “they are certain terminations, the final vowels
of which are not liable to any sandhi rules.” (VI. 1. 125). This sūtra gives
three of these terminations, विसा, the duals of nouns or verbs ending in श
(ईड़चः), श (ईड़चः), or श (ईड़चः). Thus:—कवी इन्थि “these two poets,” so also
वायु हवि “two winds;” गाते द्वि “these two garlands.” पचये द्वि “they two
cook” पचये द्वि “you two cook.” Here according to the general rule of
sandhi, the final श of कवी and the initial श of इन्थि ought to have coalesced into
an श, but it is not so, because कवी is the nominative dual of कवी.
Why do we say ending in \( i, u \) and \( e \)? Because when the dual ends in any other vowel this rule will not apply. As \( न् + चस् = चसमस् \), “these two trees” (VI. 1. 78). Of course it follows from the definition, that \( हे, \ \& \, \text{or} \, \text{हे} \) of the dual number only are pragrihya; if these vowels terminate any other number they will not be pragrihya but will follow the general rule of sandhi, as \( न् \, (1. s.) + चस् = चसमस् \), “the girl is here” (VI. 1. 77).

Vārttikā: The prohibition of \( न् \) &c., should be stated in treating of the pragrihya nature of \( हे, \ \& \, \text{हे} \). Thus \( न् \) (two gems) + \( चस् = \, न् \) “like two gems.” So also \( सम्यक \) “like a couple,” \( जम्यक \) “like man and wife,” \( लोक्यक \) “like heaven and earth.” Some say that this vārttika is unnecessary. Because the final member of the above words is not \( हे \), but the particle \( हे \) only; which has the same meaning as \( इि \).

अद्दैः || १२ || पदरि || अद्दैः || नात् || (हूड़बेल् प्रधानम्) ||

śrī: ॥ जातवः प्रग्रीतः जो गदायतत्सिद्धातः पर गदायतः प्राप्तेः संहनः संहनः ॥

12. (The same letters) after the \( हे \) of the pronoun \( धस् \) are Pragrihyas.

In the pronoun \( धस् \), the dual termination in \( हे, \ \& \, \text{or} \, \text{हे} \) will be pragrihya by force of the last sūtra, but the present sūtra makes this addition, that in the case of \( धस् \), all terminations ending in \( हे, \ \& \, \text{or} \, \text{हे} \) and preceded by \( न् \), of whatever number they may be, will be pragrihya. As a matter of fact, there are only two such terminations satisfying the above conditions namely \( धनी \) and \( धस् \). The rule may therefore be put in the following words of Dr. Max Muller:—“The terminations of \( धनी \) and \( धस् \), nom. plur. masc. and nom. dual of the pronoun \( धस् \) are pragrihyas.” As \( धनी धस्ता \): “Those horses,” and \( धस् धस्ते \). There is no example of the word \( अदस् \) ending in \( हे \).

Why do we say “of the word \( अदस् \)? The letters \( हे, \ \& \, \text{हे} \) following after the \( हे \) of any other word will not be pragrihya. As \( धनी + चस् = धन्िचस् \)

“this sami tree.”

Why do we say “after the letter \( न् \)? Because in the example \( धन्ि + चस् = धन्िचस् \), “those here,” the \( हे \), preceded not by \( न् \) but by the \( न् \) of \( चस् \) (V. 3. 71) is not pragrihya, which it would have been by the influence of sūtra 11, which includes \( हे \) as well as \( हे \) and \( न् \), and from which the word dual is not supplied here, else this rule would be useless.

शे ॥ १३ ॥

\( पदरि ॥ \) \( प्रधानम् \) ॥

śrī: ॥ शे हस्येत् प्रणार्येत् भवचि ॥

13. The affix \( शे \), (the Vedic substitute of the case-affixes), is a pragrihya.

In the Vedic Sanskrit, the declension of nouns sometimes differs somewhat from the ordinary Sanskrit. One of the peculiar Vedic terminations, which
repece the ordinary declensional terminations is called śr (VII. 1. 39.) Thus खलस्यन्यन्यस्यय स.

Of this substitute श्र, the initial श्र is indicative, the real suffix being य.
This final य is a pragrihya.

In the sacred literature there is only one example of this pragrihya, as given above; while in imitation of this, we have in secular writing phrases as, 'वेत्रिल, वृषि हिलि, वे हिलि &c.

निपात एकानाद (प्रकरण) II ॥ ॥ पद्तान ॥ निपातं, एकानाद अनादः (प्रकरण) II

इति: II एकानाय एकानाद निपातो एकानाद चार्जुमित्वः ल घुरापयंति व वर्तिमयंति वर्तिमयंति ॥ 14. A particle I. 4. 56 consisting of a single vowel, with the exception of the particle याह्र is a Pra-grrihya.

This sūtra consists of three words:—निपातं: “particle,” एकानाद “consisting of one vowel,” अनादः “with the exception of याह्र.”

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

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

याह्र which is not a pragrihya, has four significations:—As a diminutive particle when joined to adjectives and nouns, याय = यायो “little hot, tepid” (2) as a prefix to verbs, it expresses the senses of “near” “nearth,” and with verbs of “motion,” “taking” &c., it shows the reverse of the action, as याय ‘to go,’ यायम ‘to come;’ यायिणि यायिनि (3) as showing the limit inceptive (यायिविनति) “from,” “ever since,” as यायिनति: “ever since his birth;” (4) as showing the limit exclusive (यायिविनति) “till” “until” as यायिविनति: यायिविनति, “until the reading begins.” When the particle याय has not any one of the above four senses and is used in expressing regret &c., it is a pragrihya, as याय द्वम निजःशियो “Ah! such there once was,” याय द्वम निजः “Oh! do you think so.”

The word एकानाद in this aphorism has a peculiar meaning. It means “consisting of one vowel and nothing else.” In other words, the vowels themselves when used as निपातं, ए. g. याय, यायि, यायितं &c. But the term एकानाद has a wider signification than that given to it in this sūtra. It means “a word or a portion of a word consisting of one vowel which can be pronounced at once”—in other words एकानाद means a “syllable.” In that sense the words या, या, या, या &c., will also be एकानाद, but not so here. Therefore the rule of sandhi will apply
Pragrihyā. 

Bk. I. Ch. I. § 15 to 18.

to them, thus प्राग्नावे शाक्तविदय. See sūtra VI. 1. 1. where the word प्राग्नाव means a monosyllable.

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

अति ॥ १५ ॥ पद्विनि ॥ अति, ( प्रभवः ) ॥

This is: || अति किन्तु शोभाये व मुख्य वंस्तीतिचय. ॥

15. The final त of a particle is a pragrihyā.

This sūtra consists of one word जास अति, the final त is a surplusage. The words “pragrihyā” and “nipāta” are to be supplied from the preceding sūtras to complete the sense. The meaning is that those particles which end in त through consisting of several letters, are pragrihyā. As घरी घरे है “Halloo, go away.”

सन्धुदी शाक्तविदयांचयां ॥ १६ ॥ पद्विनि ॥ सन्धुदी, शाक्तविदयां, शति, अनावः, ( प्रभवः ) ॥

This is: || सन्धुदी नितिचय ब शोभाये व शाक्तविदयांचयां वेतन मुख्य वंस्तीति भवति, इति रहे अनावः च भवैलक्ष्ये प्रति. ॥

16. The final त of the vocative singular (II. 3. 49) before the word भव according to Śākalya, in secular or non-vedic literature, is pragrihyā.

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

In ārsha literature the sandhi is imperative, not optional, as इति गा प्रक्रियतिवरस्ति.

The mention of the name of any sage, such as that of Śākalya in this sūtra, serves generally one of the two purposes:—(1) either it makes the rule an optional one, vibhāṣākāra, or (2) the mention is merely for the sake of showing respect to the particular sage, the rule would have stood as well without such mention; pujākāra, as the word Kātyāyaṇa in sūtra I. 2. 35.

उनम् ॥ १७ ॥ पद्विनि ॥ उनम् , ( प्रभवः शाक्तविदयांचयां ) ॥

This is: || उनम्: प्राग्नावं संज्ञा भवति इसी शाक्तविदयांचयां वेतन. ॥

17. The particle उन before iii, according to Śākalya is a Pragrihyā.

This sūtra consists of the single word उन meaning उ. According to the same Rishi Śākalya, उन् is a pragrihyā, before इति, in modern Sanskrit. This is also an optional rule. Thus उ हि or सिद्धि.
Pragrihya.

18. The particle तै replaces यम in non-vedic literature, and it is a pragrihya in the opinion of Sakalya.

Before the word हति the word एग्ग is replaced sometimes by तै the long nasal त. Thus तै + हति = तै हति or तैति.

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

19. The final तै and तै of words giving the sense of the locative case are pragrihya.

This sutra finds its scope in the Vedic literature generally. There is a sutra (VII. 1. 39) which declares that “in the Vedic Sanskrit, the case-affixes यं are often replaced either by तै (1st s.), or are altogether elided, or they are changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior letter, or चा, or चा, or रा, or रा, or वा, or वा, or वा, or वाल् takes their place.” Let us take the example where a case-affix is changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior. Thus the case-affix of the seventh case is तै (तै). In forming the 7. s. of तै “body,” we have तै + तै. The तै will be changed into a homogeneous letter with तै and we have तै + तै = तै “in the body,” as, चापरस्यामान्यसूभवहति (for मानवसतिः सूभवहति). This is the Vedic form, the secular form being तै “on the Gaurt,” as सोमाये गौरी यधिकारित (Rig Veda IX. 12. 3). It is in such cases, therefore, that the long तै and तै are used in the sense of locative, and are pragrihya.

It is only long तै and तै which are pragrihya, and not any other vowel, though used in the sense of locative. Thus by the same aphorism (VII. 1. 39) तै (तै) may be employed to denote the seventh case-affix. Thus चापरस्यामान्यसूभवहति चापरस्यामान्यसूभवहति, “in the fire,” as, विवर्ची भृति भृति नवाति व रंद्वयुक्तोमि सरस्वत (Rig Veda V. 37. 5). Here भृति though in the locative case, its final is not pragrihya. Therefore चापरस्यामान्यसूभवहति चापरस्यामान्यसूभवहति.

The तै and तै must be of the 7th case. Therefore मानि + तै (3rd s.) = मानि + तै (letter homogeneous with the prior) = मानि “with wisdom”. Here तै is in the sense of the instrumental case and is not pragrihya. Thus मानि + तै = मानि.
The word धात्व is used in the aphorism, in order to exclude the application of this rule to cases like the following. Thus in forming the compound of धातुष्ठ “in the well” and धन “horse,” the case-affix is elided, and we get धातुष्ठ + धन. Here, no doubt, the word धातुष्ठ is in the locative case, though the case-affix is elided; but we cannot say that the long हे धातुष्ठ has the sense of the locative. Here, therefore, we shall have sandhi: as, धातुष्ठ: “the horse near the well.” In other words, the present aphorism is not to apply to the final हे or हे of words standing as the prior member of a compound term (पुर्वपाद); for words like धातुष्ठ &c., in the above example, can never, by themselves and alone, denote the locative case; while words like धातुष्ठ, formed in the way described already, give the sense of the locative, even alone, though they be placed anywhere in a sentence.

इत्यत्प्रयाधिकारः ॥ २० ॥ पदार्थम् ॥ धातु, धातुष्ठ, धन, अवधातुष्ठ ॥
इति: ॥ धातुष्ठप्रयाधिकारी धातुष्ठप्रयाधिकारी धातुष्ठ है, धातुष्ठप्रयाधिकार पृच्छकार संपन्न। ॥
20. The verbs having the form of धातु “to give” and धातुष्ठ “to place,” are called ghu.

This defines the word ghu. Four verbs have the form of धातु, or assume it by the application of VI. 2. 45, and two, of धातु; they are called धातु. The ghu verbs have certain peculiarities of conjugation to be described hereafter.

The धातु verbs are the following—धातु “to give,” as प्रयाधिकार; धातु “to give,” as, प्रयाधिकार; धातु “to cut,” as, प्रयाधिकार; है “to pity” as, प्रख्यातव्याधिकार; धातु “to place” as, प्रख्यातव्याधिकार, धातु to “feed,” as, प्रख्यातव्याधिकार.

In the above examples, because of the verbs being धातु, the ध of प्रख्यात is changed into ध by VIII. 4. 17.

Similarly धातु “to cut” and है “to clean,” not being called धातु, rules VII. 4. 46 and 47 do not apply to them. Thus है + है = धातु “what is cut,” as, है है.

So also है also “washed” as, है + है “a bright face.” But with है “to give,” धातु + है = है धातु (VII. 4. 46) = है “given;” so also we have धातु + है "= धातु (VII. 4. 47). The word धातु occurs in sūtra VI. 4. 66, &c.

The word धातु includes also धातु by the paribhāṣā given under III. 4. 19, it changed into धातु by VI. 1. 45.

आधृतवैद्यकसिद्ध ॥ २१ ॥ पदार्थम् ॥ आधृत-अंत-यत्, एकसिद्ध ॥
इति: ॥ आधृतवैद्यकसिद्धएकसिद्धवाचकध्वनिन्दित ॥
21. An operation should be performed on a single letter, as upon an initial or upon a final.

This is an atidēśa sūtra and consists of four words, आधृत “beginning,” अंत “end,” यत् “like,” एकसिद्ध “in one;” the literal translation being “beginning is end-like in one.” The affix है has the force of the locative, and the
meaning is "on the beginning," and "on the end," i.e., let an operation be performed on a single letter, as upon an initial or upon a final. Thus by III. 1. 3 an affix has udatta or acute accent on its initial vowel. Thus the affix tatya has accent on the first ग्र, and we have सुर्वसन्त्र। But when an affix consists of a single vowel, it is itself the beginning and the end, and, as such, will have the accent. As in चौप्रत्र, नापगवम the last ग्र has the accent, which ग्र represents the affix ग्रः।

Similarly, by VII. 3. 102, the final of a base ending in short ग्र is lengthened before a case-affix beginning with a consonant of ग्र class. Thus ग्रम+वायुं=ग्राम-वायुं। This rule will apply when the word consists of one letter only, and that letter is a short ग्र। Thus ग्रम+वायुं=ग्राम-वायुं।

"by those two." Here it must not be objected that the solitary ग्र is initial, and cannot be final.

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

तर्पमपि ग्रः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तर्प-तमपि, ग्रः। ॥

प्रसः ॥ तर्पम नगर हस्तेऽनि सवस्यि ग्रं ग्रं भवः। ॥

22. The affixes tarap and tamap are called ग्रः।

This sūtra defines ग्र affixes. They are two, ग्र and ग्र, the ग्र in them being हुः। The special use of these affixes will be described later on. These affixes are useful in forming the comparative and the superlative degrees respectively of adjectives, adverbs, &c. The base undergoes certain changes before these terminations, which will be treated of in its proper place.

Thus the words कुमारितरा and कुमारितम are formed by adding the affixes ग्र and ग्र to the word कुमारि 'a girl,' whose long हुः is shortened before these affixes by sūtra 43 of the third chapter of the 6th Book.

बहुगणवत्ततिः संख्या ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रु-गण-हु-हति, संख्या।

प्रसः ॥ ग्रुगणवत्ततिः हस्तेऽनि संख्यावंत्ता सम्बन्धः।

चारिकर्तृ || ग्रुगणवत्ततिः हस्तेऽनि संख्यावंत्ता सम्बन्धः।

विशेषे ॥

23. The words bahu 'many,' gana 'class,' and the words ending in the affix vatu (V. 2. 39), and dāti (V. 2. 41) are called numerals (sankhya)।
This sūtra defines the word sāṅkhya, or numeral.

These are certain words, besides the ordinary numerals, having some peculiarity of declension. The words like वहु ‘many,’ and वध ‘class,’ and those that have the affixes वहु and वधि after them, belong to this class. The letters व and ध of वहु and वधि are (७८) or indicator, the actual affixes being वहु and वधि.

The word sāṅkhya means “numerals;” and this class contains, among others, the Sanskrit numerals. The words formed by adding वहु are generally compound pronouns, e.g. वहुत “so much,” वहुत “as much,” वहुत “so much,” similarly words formed by the affix वधि, e.g. कलिः “how many,” वधि “so many,” वधि “as many.”

Thus वहु + क्रियासूच (V. 4. 17) = वहुतक्रियासूच: “many times” the affix क्रियासूच being added only to sāṅkhya words in the sense of the repetition of the action. So also वहु + ध (V. 3. 42) = वहुध “in many ways.” Here also the affix ध is added by virtue of वहु being a sāṅkhya. Similarly वहुत (V. 1. 22) “purchased for a big sum,” वहु (V. 4. 43) “manifold.” So also वधुतक्रियासूच: वधुध, वधुध, वधुध; so also वधुतक्रियासूच: वधुध, वधुध; कविक्रियासूच: कविध, कविध, कविध.

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

Vart:—The word भार “half” when standing as a first term in a compound number which takes an affix giving the sense of an ordinal, gets the designation of sāṅkhya, for the purposes of the application of the rules of samāsa and of the affix भार. The ordinal affixes or pūrpaṇa pratayas are like वहु (V. 2. 48), ध (V. 2. 49), ध (V. 2. 51), &c. Thus होत्त: “eleventh,” धम्म: “fifth,” धम्म: “fourth,” &c. Similarly we have भारभारभारभारभार: “purchased for 4½ baskets” (a dvigu). Here भार + संबन्ध (an ordinal) = भारभारभारभारभार, a bahuvrīhi compound meaning 4½, viz., that in which half is the fifth term. भारभारभारभारभार: भार = भारभारभारभारभार: the taddhita affixes भार and भार required by V. 1. 19 and 26 being elided by V. 1. 28.

Here, there is compounding (dvigu) by taking भारभारभारभारभार as a sāṅkhya, and then applying sūtra II. 1. 51. The samāsa here is in the sense of taddhita, and this compounding is only possible by rules (II. 1. 50 and 51), when भारभारभार gets the appellation of sāṅkhya. Having got this name, it forms dvigu compound in the sense of the taddhita affixes भार and भार (V. 1. 26). The word भार takes both these affixes in the sense of “being
bought with." Thus दोषिधि and कृष्ण both mean "bought with a measure called शुर्पा." In the above compound of चालेव्याच्यां: the sense is that of the above-named taddhita; but the affixes have been elided by V. I. 28 after dvigu compounds. So also we have चालेव्याच्यां: by applying the affix कृ. For these two purposes, namely samāsa and the application of कृ, compounds of ardha, like ardha-pañchama are treated as sañkhyā.

शान्ति पद् || २४ || पदार्थि || शु-च-अस्ति, चर्दो (संब्यः) ||
कृतिः || गर्भारान्ति गककारान्ति च या संब्यः सा पद्संगम वर्धिः ||
24. The Sankhyās having च or च as their final are called shat.

This sūtra defines the term चतृ which is a subdivision of the larger group sañkhyā. Those sañkhyās which end in च or च are called चतृ. The word sañkhyā is understood in this sūtra, because the word शान्ति is in the feminine gender, showing that it qualifies sañkhyā which is also feminine.

The numerals that end in च or च are six, namely पञ्चच 'five,' चर्द 'six,' सात 'seven,' चर्दु 'eight,' नव 'nine,' दश 'ten.'

It is one of the peculiarities of चतृ words that they lose their nominative and accusative plural terminations (VII. 1. 22). Thus चतृ विद्विन्न, पञ्च चत्वरिति ||

The word शान्ति in the sūtra shows that the letters च and च must be upadेशिका i.e., must belong to the words as originally enunciated and not added afterwards as affix &c. Thus in शान्ति 'hundreds,' चहलादि 'thousands,' चहलादि 'of eights' the च is not radical, but an augment, and therefore they are not चतृ and the nominative and accusative plural terminations are not elided; as शान्ति + च = शान्ति &c.

कृति च || २५ || पदार्थि || कृति, च, (संब्यः, चर्दो) ||
कृतिः || वस्त्रान्ति च चतृव्यः सा पद्संगम वर्धिः ||
25. And the sankhyās ending with the affix dati are called shat.

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

चत्वारिस्मि निषिद्धः || २६ || पदार्थि || च-चत्वारिस्मि, निषिद्ध ||
श्रिति || च-चत्वारिस्मि चत्वारिस्मि, पद्संगम निषिद्धं भएस्ति ||
26. The affixes kta and ktavatu are called Nishthā.
This defines the nishtha affixes, that is to say, the affixes of the past participle. The actual affixes are त, इवत्, the क and इ being indicatory. They being जिद्ये are liable to all the rules applicable to किद्ये affixes, such as rule I. 1. 5. Thus we have, तुम्हा, कुम्भवावर्, गुलच, गुलचानादि.

The force of the indicatory इ in kavatu is, by IV. 1. 6, to indicate that in forming the feminine of nouns ending in an affix having an indicatory vowel of ओक pratayahara (व, च, श), the affix हिन्दु (ि) must be added. Thus कुववाति (masc.), कुववाति (fem.). The word nishtha occurs in sutra VII. 2. 14.

सर्वशीनि सर्वनामानि II 27 II पदार्थाय II सर्व-आदि अवनिः

सर्वनामानि II

ब्रह्म : II सर्वेऽनि धार्मिक पदार्थानि सर्वशीनि सर्वनामवंशानि नावनि II

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

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

सर्वा ‘all,’ विद्रू ‘all,’ द्वन्द्व ‘two,’ द्वन्द्व ‘both,’ words formed by the affix द्वात्र such as द्वात्र ‘which of two,’ words formed by the affix द्वात्र as कतां ‘which of many,’ छेद ‘other,’ घटक ‘either,’ और ‘other,’ घट ‘other,’ नेष ‘half,’ सं ‘all,’ सिम ‘whole,’ श्लो ‘he, she, it,’ श्रु ‘he, she, it,’ वर ‘who,’ वर्ष ‘this,’ द्वास ‘it,’ डाश ‘that,’ द्वास ‘one,’ ति ‘two,’ कुल ‘you,’ पर्स ‘I,’ भार ‘you,’ किन्द्र ‘what.’ So also पूर ‘east,’ प्रर ‘prior,’ पर ‘subsequent,’ चार ‘west or posterior,’ यस्त ‘south or right,’ उत्त ‘north or inferior, subsequent,’ घ्य ‘other or inferior,’ चाप ‘west or inferior,’ are sarvanāmas when they imply a relation in time or place, as shown above, and not when they are names. So also तु when it does not mean a ‘kinsman or a treasure,’ but means ‘own.’ So also ऊत्त ‘when it means ‘outer,’ or an under or lower garment is a sarvanāma.

There are certain peculiarities in the declension of sarvanāma words. Thus तु though ending in त, is not declined like तर which also ends in त, the plural of तर being सत्र, that of तर being तर. Similarly the dative singular नाम, नाशः; the abl. sing. नाशः, नाक्षरः; the loc. sing. नाम, नावः; the Gen. pl. नारायणः, सर्वोप प्रति.

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

There are two र in the above list, namely र and र, having the same meaning, and both ending in र. But the final र of one is udātta, and of the other anudātta. Some give one र only and not the other, and say that both have anudātta accent. The word सर्वान्ना is a sarvanama, when it is synonymous with the word सर्व 'all,' and not when it means 'equality.' When it has the latter sense of 'equality,' it is declined like न इ. e. like ordinary words ending in र, as Pāṇini himself indicates in I. 3. 10, where he uses the regular genitive plural सर्वान्ना, meaning 'among or of equals.' As a pronominal the genitive plural would have been सर्वना.

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

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

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

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

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

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

न बहुद्रेष्ठं II 29 II पदानि II न, बहुद्रेष्ठं, ( सर्वोद्देशं, सर्वावसानिः, समारे ) II

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

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

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

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

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


dvandva साधनाय न ।

30. In Instrumental Determinative Compounds the words sarva &c. are not sarvanāma.

This is another exception to the definition of sarvanāma. There is a class of compounds in Sanskrit called tatpurusha compounds, in which the last word governs the preceding one. The word governed may be in any one of the six cases: when it is in the third or instrumental case, the compound is called trītyā tatpurusha. When, therefore, there is such a sāmasa, the words mentioned in sūtra 26 are not to be declined like pronominals. Thus the word गातिपुर्व is a compound of गात and पुर्व = गातिपुर्व meaning 'prior by a month,' where the word मासa is in the instrumental case. This compound will be declined like ordinary words, e.g. its dative will be गातिपुर्व, though the dative of पुर्व, when standing by itself, is पुर्ववै; so also संवरसपुरवै ॥

The trītyā-sāmasa of the present sūtra has reference to the special trītyā-sāmasa ordained by the particular sūtra II. 1. 31. namely, "that which ends with the 3rd case affix, is compounded with the words पुर्व, सद्रिषा, साम, &c." and has not reference to the trītyā-sāmasa in general, such as one ordained by II. 1. 32, "that which ends with the 3rd case-affix when it denotes the agent or the instrument, is compounded diversely with what ends in a
krīt affix." Therefore, in phrases श्रयकः कृते 'done by thee,' श्रयकः कृते 'done by me,' these words are treated as pronominals, though in the instrumental case followed by a word ending in a krīt-affix. In other words, reading this sūtra with II. 1. 31, we find that पूवर्य is the only sarvānāma which is so compounded, and to which only the present sūtra would seem to apply.

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

ढळे प्र 31 वर्मणि ढळे प्र (स्मार्य, स्मार्य, न)।।

प्रस्त: इद्दः त स्मार्य सत्तात स्मार्य सत्तात सत्तात सत्तात सत्तात न भविष्यी।।

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

This sūtra mentions another exception. In collective compounds the above words are not sarvānāma. Dvandva is a compound in which two words are simply joined together, the compound taking the terminations of the dual or plural according to the number of compounded words, or the terminations of the singular, being treated as a collective term. Thus, the compound द्वन्द्व-संज्ञा अर्थात means, द्वन्द्व 'the castes,' अर्थात 'the orders' and द्वन्द्व अर्थात 'the others'. The word द्वन्द्व in this compound is not to be treated as a sarvānāma, but an ordinary word. Therefore, in the genitive plural we have:—स्मार्यसंज्ञानादुर्त्रिः and not द्वन्द्वसंज्ञानादुर्त्रिः. So also पूवर्यसंज्ञानादुर्त्रिः 'of the priors and the posteriors.'

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

गृहीता जाति 32 पदर्मं गृहीता जाति (स्मार्य, स्मार्य, स्मार्य, न)।।

प्रस्त: इद्दः स्मार्य जाति गृहीता जाति स्मार्य सत्तात सत्तात सत्तात न भविष्यी।।

32. (Their dvandva compounds) are optionally sarvānāma when the nominative plural termination जाति follows.

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

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

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

Thus we have प्रथम or प्रथम, चरम or चरम, अल्प or अल्प, अर्ध or अर्ध, कतिपय or कतिपय, नेमा or नेमा, हितन्त or दितन्त.

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

The application of the suffix kan or akach must depend upon the nature of these words, if pronominals, then akach, otherwise kan.
34. The words pūrva ‘prior,’ para ‘after,’ avara ‘posterior,’ dakshina ‘south,’ uttara ‘north,’ aparà ‘other,’ and adhara ‘inferior,’ when they discriminate relative position, not when they are appellatives, are optionally sarvanāmas before the affix jas.

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

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

That there is a ‘specification’ (niyama), or tacit implication, of a determinate point (avadhi), with reference to which something is to be described by the word itself, is what we mean when we say “that a relation in time or place (avasthā) is implied.” For example, if we wish to describe Benares as being southern (dakshina), to do this, we may specify some point, say one of the peaks of the Himalaya with reference to which Benares may be described as a “place to the southward.” Again we in the north may thus speak of the people to the south of the Vindhya mountains, as being southern, not with reference to the inhabitants of Ceylon, but with reference (as every one here understands by tacit implication) to us ourselves, who live to the north the Vindhya range. Thus, (पूर्व or पूर्वोऽ, पूर्ववर्त or पूर्ववर्ता; पूर्व or पूर्वा) स्वाभिः or स्वीयः; उत्तरो उत्तराः; पश्चात् or पश्चाताः.

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

The word धात ii when it does not mean a धाति ‘kinsman’ or धात ‘property’ or ‘wealth’ is always a sarvanāma, in every number and case, as it has been
enumerated among the pronominals, except in the nominative plural where it is optionally so. Thus से पुत्र: or स्वा: पुत्रा: ‘one’s own sons,’ से गाय: or स्वा गाय: ‘one’s own cows’.

But when it means ‘kinsmen’ or ‘articles of property’ स्वा: alone is the nom. pl. As, स्वा तात्त्वोत्त: these kinsmen’ ध्रुवव: स्वा: ‘much riches’.

अन्तर वधियोगवसयायो: III 36 II पदाति II अन्तरेश्-वधि-शेग-उपसयायो: (विश्वाय, जित, शवादीति, शवेनावलि) II

वृत्ति: II अन्तराविन्यवहस्त: विनाय पति सर्वानमांभवति बहियोऽवसंवायने गम्यने II

शास्तिकुमः II अनुसेर्यि व वक्रयस्तः II

शास्तिकुमः II नविनाध प्रकरणं सबस्तात् शा हिस्सू सर्वानमांसैत्रवमेत्यथावानूः II

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

The word चन्द्र when it means वधियोग, viz., ‘outer’ is always sarvanāma, so also, when it means उपसयाय or ‘a lower garment.’ Thus, चन्द्रे ग्रह: or चन्द्र ग्रहः: ‘outer houses, the residence of Chandal, and other low castes.’ So चन्द्रे or चन्द्र रास्ता: ‘the inner garments, such as petticoats worn under the upper garments.” The word चन्द्र when used in the above sense is always sarvanāma, but in the nominative plural, it is optionally so. But, when it is not used in the above senses, it is never a sarvanāma, e.g., मानन्यादेशैः क्षाति ‘he lives between the two villages,’ where the regular locative is चन्द्रे. With this sūtra ends the section on sarvanāmas, which began with sūtra 26.

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

Vart:—The words formed by the affix तीया such न्द, तिसीर्म and िसीस, are optionally declined as sarvanāma before the case-affixes having an indicatory ः (हिः), which are the singular terminations of dative, ablative, genitive and locative, as, तिस्वरूप, or तिस्वरूप, तिस्वरूप or तिस्वरूप.

व्याययम् II

शृष्टि: II त्यान्यानि चलस्मापिश निपादातामयंसंहाति मेलन्त: II

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

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

स्त्रू ‘heaven,’ चन्द्र ‘midst,’ ग्रहः ‘in the morning,’ जप ‘again,’ ग्रहः ‘in concealment,’ उपेश ‘high, aloft’ नौश्रु ‘low, down,’ शवेन ‘slowly,’ शवेन.
rightly, separately, aside, singly, particularly, truly,' स्वेति 'except, without,' द्वैत पु 'at the same time, at once,' चाराति 'near, far from, directly,' पुष्क 'separately, apart,' हसा 'yesterday,' शसा 'to-morrow,' हिषा 'by day,' जसा 'by night or in the night,' सावस 'at eve,' निरस 'long, long since, a long time,' नसस 'a little,' हीसु 'slightly, a little,' शासस 'ever,' जोस 'gladly,' उपाप 'silently,' बाहु 'outside,' बाहु 'below, without, outside. समव 'near,' विक 'near, hard, close by,' लवः 'of one's self,' ध्या 'in vain,' नामस 'at night, by night,' नाम 'negative particle, not,' सै 'for this reason, by reason of,' हात 'truly, really,' हेः 'exclamation,' चतु 'evidently, truly,' लारि 'half,' राज 'enclitic like, as Brāhmaṇavat, priestly,' सन्तु 'sensuous,' फल 'perpetually,' उप्ख 'division,' विर ग 'crookedly, awry, over,' धनसु 'garnet, garnet,' जस 'except, without' जोक 'long,' जस 'expletive particle,' शह 'ease,' जन 'perpetually,' शहस 'suddenly, hastily,' शिस 'without,' नाम 'variously,' शासित 'greeting, peace,' वचन 'exclamation, oblation to Manes,' राजस 'enough,' श्राव 'exclamation,' श्राव 'interjection' oblation of butter,' धार 'again, moreover, otherwise' शासित 'being present,' शुर 'in a low voice, secretly, privately,' चन 'patience, pardon,' विहा 'aloft in the air,' शुर 'at night or in the evening,' शुर 'false,' शुर 'in vain,' दु 'formerly,' रिशा 'or दुर 'mutually, together,' रिशा 'frequently, almost,' दु 'again, repeatedly' धान 'at the same time,' धान 'violently,' धान 'repeatedly,' शन 'or शन 'with' शन 'reverence,' शिक 'without,' शिक 'tie!' दु 'thus, thus,' दु 'with fatigue,' ल्यान 'alike,' ल्यान 'widely,' ना, नाम 'do not.'

So, also the words formed by the affixes kṣvā tosun, kasun, by the kṛta affixes ending in य or य, थो or थौ, and the avyayibha compounds, are indeclinables. So, also the words formed by the affixes beginning with kṣvā (V. 3. 7) and ending with द्व (V. 3. 47), by the affixes beginning with द्व (V. 4. 42) and ending with द्वार (V. 4. 68), by the affixes द्वत्तु, द्वत, द्वार and द्वार by the affixes having the sense of the affix विद, or by the affixes द्वार or द्वार, द्वार or द्वार, द्वार or द्वार, द्वार or द्वार are also indeclinables.

The words called nipāta will be given under sūtras, I. 4, 36 to 61. Thus a word which changes not (न विद्हक्ति), remaining alike in the three genders and in all cases, and in all numbers, is what is termed an विनाम or indeclinables.

38. And the words ending in tadhita or secondary affixes (IV. 1. 76) which are not declined in all the cases are also indeclinables.
This expands the definition of avyaya. There are three words in the sūtra taddhīrtya, cha and asarva-vibhaktiḥ. Taddhītas or secondary affixes are certain affixes, by which nouns are derived from other nouns, such as, from मृत् we have मात्र, skṛta-vibhaktiṣis are those words which take all case-terminations, asarva-vibhaktiṣis are those which do not take all vibhaktiṣis but some only. Thus the adverb वा is declined in the singular ablative only, and does not take the dual and plural terminations.

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

39. The words formed by those kṛit or primary affixes, (III. 1. 93) which end with or in त, थ, ह and थ are also indeclinables.

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

Words formed by kṛit affixes which end in म or श्च, श्, श्, श् (connoted by the pratyahāra ए च) are avyayas. Thus the affix मृत् (technically मृत्) and च (technically चन्त्, III. 3. 10) are affixes which end in म. The words formed by the addition of these affixes will be indeclinable. Thus मृत् 'to give,' and चाः 'remembering' are avyayas. So also words like जीवः 'to live,' रिजाः 'to drink,' are also avyayas as they end in म, रि, च.

Thus, the following examples, the words within quotation are avyayas 'स्वायत्सकार,' सप्तवमस्कार,' 'सप्तवमस्कार,' श्रीकृष्ण, 'the caste first having made it relishing' (III. 4. 26). चाव: राव: (व्यृत् + च इ III. 4. 9-या) या 'दातने,' रघुनाथरूर्कृ गद्धात्तानन्द (ग + च = ए रूर्कृ. Rig Veda V. 66. 3). चाव: शारस्त्राः 'सीता' धः चाव: शारस्त्राः 'सीता' धः (Rig Veda III. 36. 10). शारस्त्राः श्रीकृष्ण श्रीकृष्ण तत् तत् तत्। चाव: च च च च च च (Rig Veda I. 25. 21, ए रूर्कृ + कृष्ण III. 4. 11 रूर्कृ).

The word चाव is used in this sūtra for the same purpose, as it was employed in sūtra 24, showing that these terminations must be 'अपादेशिका,' and not derivative. Therefore the following words are not avyayas:—पाप (d. s.), वापेष (g. s.) चिविरपेष, चिविरपेष, चिविरपेष, चिविरपेष, चिविरपेष, चिविरपेष.
40. The words ending with ktva, tosun (III. 4. 16) and kasun are indeclinables.

As कृता 'having done,' उसे: 'having risen,' विसुष्फ: 'having spread.' Thus in the following examples the words within quotation are indeclinables:—पुरासुदे 'स्वस्वलो' राष्ट्रेचः। पुरास्तङ्गो 'स्वस्वलो' विरलित्त्वेऽः। नरसुद्रो जीवनस्तक्ते। (Yajur Veda. I. 28) य सतो द्वितीयनिमीश: पुरा अर्जव्य 'शाबडः.' (Rig Ved. VIIIa. 1. 12).

अवययेचार्यम् || 41 || पद्यिनी || अवययेत्रायैः-च (अवययम्)॥

बृत्ति: || अवययेर्मकम्यकालाभवस्तंत्रसंयोऽस्यसि ||

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

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

The word च in the sūtra shows that here ends the definition of āvyaya. The āvyayas, therefore, are all those words which are comprised in the above five sūtras.

What is the object gained by making the āvyayibhāva compounds āvyayas? Three objects are gained, by making these compounds, indeclinables, viz., we can apply to them (1) the rule relating to the elision (उप्रुख) of the case-affixes and feminine affixes, i.e., sūtra II. 4. 82 thus, in the following example, the words upāgni and pratyagni though qualifying the word śalavāh, do not take the gender and number of the latter, उपाग्नि प्रत्याग्नि शालान्याः: प्रत्याग्नि (1) the rule relating to accent when an āvyaya is compounded with the word mukha, (चुक्त स्त्रेष्ठ), i.e., sūtras VI. 2. 167 & 168. Thus, उपाग्नि मुखः, here, sūtra VI. 2. 167, required the final vowel to take the udatta accent, but the preceding word being an āvyaya, sūtra VI. 2. 168, intervened, and the first word retains its natural accent: (2) the rule relating to the change of visarga: into स, this change being technically called उपश्रृः thus उपश्र:कार: उपश्रुः:कार:, as compared with श्रवः:कार:. Here, the compound उपश्रुः:being treated as āvyaya sūtra VIII. 3. 46, applies and prevents the change of: into स. The four sūtras 38, 39, 40, and 41 have all been enunciated under the svaradigama. see sūtra 37. These sūtras properly, therefore, belong to the gana-patḥa; their repetition here in the Ashtādhbyāṭi indicates that these rules are धार्मिक: or not of universal application, viz., all rules relating to āvyayas in general, do not apply to them. Thus II. 3. 69. declaring that the genitive case is not used along with an āvyaya is not a rule of universal application, for we see
indeclinables like ग्रेसो: governed by the genitive case as, 'ग्रेसोजबोते; or 'ग्रेसो
विनुस:.

श्री शर्वानामास्ति ॥ ४२ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ श्री, शर्वानामास्ति ॥

कृपा: ॥ श्री हर्षेन्द्रशर्वानामास्ति ॥

42. The affix श्री (VII. I. 20) is called sarvanāmāsthāna.

This defines the word sarvanāmāsthāna. The affix श्री is the
nominative and accusative plural termination of neuter nouns. It replaces
the ordinary nominative and accusative plural affixes युर and युर used
in every other gender. The युर of श्री is servile, and the actual termination
is युर; the peculiarity of the affix श्री is that it lengthens the penultimate
vowel (VI. 4. 8) and adds a युर (VII. 1. 72). Thus the plural of कल 'fruit' is
श्रीकलानि 'fruits' So also कलानि, विशनि, and कलानि पुरुष. Here, there is no
difference of form in the nominative and the accusative cases. So also
कलानि, विशनि, विशनि. The word sarvanāmāsthāna occurs in sūtra VI. 4. 8.

श्रीस्नायुक्तस्य ॥ ४३ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ युर, श्रीस्नायुक्तस्य, (शर्वāनामास्ति)

कृपा: ॥ पदार्थ पुरुष, शर्वानामास्ति शर्वानामास्ति। सर्वश्री कालानि ॥

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

This defines further the word sarvanāmāsthāna. The case-termina-
tions in Sanskrit are 21 as arranged below:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>प्रयत्न</td>
<td>युर (युर)</td>
<td>युर (युर)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>विनयावा</td>
<td>युर</td>
<td>युर (युर)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>विनयावा</td>
<td>युर (युर)</td>
<td>युर (युर)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>नार्युष</td>
<td>हेतु (हेतु)</td>
<td>”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>नार्युष</td>
<td>हेतु (हेतु)</td>
<td>”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>पार्युष</td>
<td>युर (युर)</td>
<td>युर (युर)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>पार्युष</td>
<td>हेतु (हेतु)</td>
<td>”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above are the 21 vibhaktis, the युर of युर, the युर of युर, the हेतु of हेतु
&c. are indicatory. All these vibhaktis are included in the pratyāhāra युर formed
by taking the first vibhakti and the last letter of the last vibhakti. Similarly
the first five terminations (युर, युर, युर, युर, and युर) are represented by युर
and are called sarvanāmāsthāna in the masculine and feminine genders. In
the declension of nouns, it will be seen, that some nouns have two bases, one
before these sarvanāmāsthāna and the other before the rest.
Thus the word राजः ‘king’ has the base राजः before the हूः vibhaktis, while in the remaining cases, the base is राजः and राजः as:

Sing. | Dual. | Plural.
--- | --- | ---
Nominative राजः | राजः | राजः
Accusative राजः | राजः | राजः
Instrumental राजः | राजः | राजः

But in the neuter nouns there is no such difference.

न चेति विषाणा || सौ || पदानि || न, या, इति, विषाणा ||

चूषित: || नेति प्रिसेप्ति चेति विषाणकठ्ठोऽप्रतिपापयंति वं तंता भविषि ||

44. “May or may not” is called vibhāsha or option.

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

Thus the root फ़िर ‘to swell,’ by virtue of the rule विषाणा (V. i. 39), forms its perfect tense, either by samprasāraṇa, or in the ordinary way. Thus the third person singular is either दुःखः or शिश्राय.

चूषित: || संप्रसारणम् || सौ || पदानि || धृष्टः, यणः || संप्रसारणम् ||

चूषित: || इति यणः: थः मृतः सप्तरी या सर्व थःसप्तरणेष्यं सत्यम् भविषि ||

45. The ीक vowels which replace the semi-vowels यण are called samprasāraṇa.

This defines the word samprasāraṇa. It is the name given to the change of semi-vowels into vowels. The pratyāhāra ीk includes the four simple vowels ः, ः, ः and ः, and their corresponding semi-vowels are ः, ः, ः, and ः included in the pratyāhāra यण. The word samprasāraṇa is properly the name of the vowel which has replaced the semi-vowel. Thus the past participle of घृः ‘to sleep,’ is formed by adding the nishtha affix ः (see sūtra 26). So that we have घृः + ः. But there is a rule (VI. i. 15) by which there is samprasāraṇa of the ः of घृः before the कत्व affixes, and we have the form घृः: ‘slept.’ Similarly from तुः-विषिक, दः-विषिक, धः-विषिक, धः-अधिक-विषिक, धः-अधिक-विषिक.

The term samprasāraṇa is also employed to designate the whole process of the change of the semi-vowels into vowels as in VI. i. 13; VI. 4. 131.
46. Of whatsoever the augments enunciated are distinguished by an indicatory र or ख, they precede or follow it accordingly.

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

Similarly by sūtra VII. 3. 40. the root ध्र takes the augment द्रुर in forming the causative. This having an indicatory ख is to be added after the word ध्र, as, ध्र + द्रुर + द्रु+स = शीघ्रवचेः 'he frightens.'

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

This sūtra explains the use of the indicatory ख. The augments having an indicatory ख, technically called खस्त्र augment, are placed immediately after the final vowel of a word. Thus there is an augment called त्रुर, in which र and ख are त्रुर, and the actual augment is ख. When, therefore, it is said "let त्रुर be added to the word," the letter ख is added after the last vowel. Thus the plural of चर्चस 'milk' is formed in the following way: — चर्चस + त्रु्रि + ह (VII. 1. 72) = पचालि (VII. 4. 8). Here ख is added between च and ख, i.e. after the ख of ख, which is the final vowel of the word: and before this ख the preceding short vowel is lengthened. Similarly त्रु + ख + वि (III. 1. 77) = त्रु + ग्रु + ख + वि (VI. 1. 59) = ग्रुर्ति. Similarly विलिविलिवि.

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

There is, however, an exception, in the case of the root तर्क, in
which the augment न्र is added not after the last vowel य of र्र, but between स्र and र्र. The result of adding the augment न्र between स्र and र्र is, that सू्रa VIII. 2. 29 applies, and the र्र is elided. Thus मग्निर + र्र = मग्निर + न्र + र्र (VII. 1. 60) = मग्निर + र्र = मग्निर + र्र (VII. 2. 29) = मग्निर “He will immerse”. So also ग्नि: ‘immersed’, मग्निरां, मग्निरां.

एष इग्नादिभेः || ४८ || पदार्थि || एष, || एष, इग्नादिभेः ||

पृष्ठि: || एषोऽहारिषे कन्तकवाते आक्षो भवानि नामः ||

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

This sू्रa points out the इग्न substitutes of एष. We know there are short and long vowels in Sanskrit, but properly speaking the एष vowels have no corresponding short vowels. Therefore, when, in any rule, एष vowels are told to be shortened, this sूरa declares that the short vowels of र्र and र्र, र्र and र्र, for the purposes of the rule, will be र्र and र्र respectively. Thus, I. 2. 47 declares—“the short vowel is the substitute in the neuter of a crude form provided it end in a vowel.” Therefore in compounding चाचि + र्र, the र्र must be shortened. Properly speaking र्र has no short vowel corresponding to it, but by virtue of this sूरa, र्र supplies the place of such a short vowel, and we have चाचि ‘extravagant’ so चाचि, चाचि ‘disembarked or landed,’ चाचि, चाचि ‘near a cow.’ All ayaय यः यः compounds are neuter (II. 4. 18).

Why do we say ‘of एष’? Because the short of other vowels will not be एष. Thus the short of चा is चा. As, चाचि + ल्र = चाचिल्र, चाचि + मल्ल = चाचिल्ल.

Why do we say ‘when short is to be substituted’? Because when न्र or prolated vowels are to be substituted for एष, the एष will not be the substitute. As ॐ नमो भर्ति O Devadatta! ॐ नमो भर्ति!

प्रदोषी स्वायत्ते ने का || ४९ || पदार्थि || प्रदोषी, स्वायत्ते-ने का ||

पृष्ठि: || इस धाराया या पहिले भावनवादि आक्षे या स्वायत्ते नवति भावनय्योगा स्वायत्ते-यथानिर्मित्तादि सिद्धि या प्रतिक्रिया ||

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

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

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

Thus in sūtra 46 (VI. 4: 36) 'of hanti, there is ज the word हनि, is the
genitive of हनि; this genitive is used generally and its force is that of "in the
place of." Therefore, ज displaces the verb हनि in सार्व or imperative mood, and
we have जहि 'kill thou.'

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

The word स्थान here is synonymous with घर or 'occasion.' Thus
in the sentence स्थानेन स्थानेन घर: सतारितब्ध्यः, the word स्थाने, means 'prasange'
i.e. wherever there is occasion to spread darbha grass, spread there the घर
instead. Similarly in sūtras 45 (II. 4: 52), or घरोः वधि: (II. 4: 53), the
words 'asti,' and 'वधि' are in the genitive case, and mean, 'wherever there
arises occasion to use the verbs घर or घर use there the verbs घर or घर instead
respectively.' Thus नित्य, नित्य, नित्य, नित्य, are the future, gerund, and pas-
sive participle respectively of घर; so also, घर, घर and घर are the
same forms of घर.

The word स्थानेनेवा is a bahuvrhi compound of two words, not in
apposition, (vyadhikaranam bahuvrhi, see II. 2. 248 35), and it qualifies
the word शष्ठि. The compound means स्थानेन शष्ठि, 'that which assumes
the peculiar relation denoted by the word शष्ठि.' Consequently the seventh
case-affix is not elided in this compound; on the analogy of compounds like
क्रवेष्ट्या &c.

स्थानेनेवा । ५० । पदार्थ । स्थानो-अन्तरस् ।

३५ । स्थानोऽन्यायांतरस्तरम् पादेशौ नात्ति स्वतरम् ।

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

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

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

(2). A good example of substitution by the sense of the word is afforded by VI. 1. 63:—“The words प्रप, प्रप, नुप &c., are the substitutes when the case-affixes प्रप (acc.-pl.) &c., follow.” Here, we know the substitutes, but we do not know of what they are the substitutes. We apply the maxim of परमेव: “that only can become a substitute which has the power to express the meaning of the original, i.e., a substitute takes the place of that the meaning of which it is able to express.” Thus we find that प्रप is the substitute of प्रप, प्रप of प्रप, प्रप of नालिका, &c., which convey the same meaning and contain almost the same letters. Another example of this is afforded by VI. 3. 34, by which feminine words in a compound are changed into masculine. Thus शाक्षी (fem) + चुशिं = शाक्षीयशुशिं.

(3). An example of prosodical substitution (प्राणाशः) is afforded by rule VIII. 2. 80, “र is the substitute of what comes after the व of चन्द्र, not ending in य and in the room of र there is र.” Thus चच + ती = चचु + चचल = चचल; चच + त्याल = चचा + त्याल (VII. 3. 102)= चचु + त्याल = चचु + त्याल. Here, short र replaces the short च, and the long च replaces the long च.
The substitutes of खः.

(4). An illustration of qualitative substitution is afforded by VII. 3. 52, "a letter of the guttural class is substituted for खः and खः when an affix having an indicatory खः follows." Applying the rule of खः, we find that खः which is an alpaprāṇa and aghosha letter replaces खः having the same quality; while खः which is ghosha, and alpaprāṇa is replaced by the letter खः possessing similar quality. Thus प्र + प्र (III. 3. 18) = प्रकः; खः + प्र = प्रकः; रः + प्र = रःः.

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

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

Thus in finding the guṇa substitutes of खः and खः out of the three guṇa letters खः, खः and खः, we find that खः is a proximate substitute having regard to prosodial measure, i.e., खः and खः and खः have all one mātra; while having regard to the proximity of the organ of utterance, we get खः and खः; the latter however prevails to the exclusion of the first; as, श्रेष्ठ, खोऽऽः.

Why do we use the word "likest" in the superlative degree? Where there are many sort of proximities, the likest must be taken. Thus प्र + प्र = प्रकः = प्रकः: Here, by VIII. 4. 62, "after a letter of खः class, खः is changed into a letter homogeneous with the preceding," खः must be changed into a letter of the class खः. Out of the five letters of this class, खः and खः are both aspirates, but खः is hard, and खः is soft; so खः and खः are both soft, but खः is unaspirate, and खः is aspirate, therefore these must be rejected; the only letter which has the nearest approach to खः is खः, which is both soft and aspirate. Similarly in ब्रह्मतंत्रदत्ति, the खः has been changed into खः.

51. When a letter of खः pratyāhāra comes as a substitute for खः it is always followed by a खः.

This sutra consists of three words: खः, खः which is the genitive singular of खः and means literally 'of खः' or 'in the place of खः'; the second word is खः, a pratyāhāra denoting खः, खः and खः long and short; the third word is खः: which qualifies खः and means 'having a खः after.'

This sutra is useful in fixing the proper substitutes of खः. Thus, there
are only three guṇa vowels ख, घ and घोऽ. Of these what is the proper guṇa for घा?
By the application of the rule of ‘nearness of place’ we see that घा is the nearest substitute. So that घा is the guṇa of घा; and further by this rule, this घा must have a घ after it. Thus though technically speaking घा is the guṇa of घा, the actual substitute is घछा. Thus क्र + ता = क्रता; similarly हा.

So also when घा is replaced by घा as by sūtra VII. 1. 100, this substitute घा must be followed by a घा. As क्र + पाति = क्र + पाति = क्रपाति ‘he scatters,’ similarly सिद्धि ‘he swallows.’

So also when घा is replaced by घा, as by sūtra IV. 1. 115 this घा must be followed by a घा. As हि + गाव = हिगाव = हिगाव ‘son of two mothers’

This घा is to be added only when घा is replaced by घा, घा or घा (घाण) vowels, and not when it is replaced by any other letter.

Thus by IV. 1. 97, “the घा of the word घाण घाव is replaced by घाण (technically घाणघान) when the affix घाण is added.” Thus घाणघाव + घान = घाणघावघान + घा = सीघाणघानकीः, ‘a descendant of Sudhātṛi’ Here the substitute of घा, that is to say, the syllable घाण is not followed by घा.

The घा in the text has been taken by some to be a pratyāhāra formed by the letter घा and घा of घाण; and thus it includes the letters घा and घा. In that case the sūtra would mean that घाण substitutes of घा and घा are always followed by घा and घा respectively. Thus guṇa of ग्राण, of ज्राण.

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

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

So also in sūtra I. 2. 50 घाणघाव: the short घा replaces only the final letter of घाण and not the whole word, as घाणघाव: ‘purchased for five gopis.’

घाण�ाव: 53. पद्धाति वर्त्ता, घा, (आदेशः, अन्त्यसः) स्वतिः: विषय य वाचेऽस: स्थितिकालिन्य वाच्यस्य भवति ॥
53. And the substitute which has an indicatory \( \text{ष} \) (even though it consists of more than one letter) takes the place of the final letter only of the original expression.

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

Thus in forming the dvandva compound of गाव and विद्य there is a rule (VI. 3. 25) by which it is declared:—‘In the place of words ending in ः there is the substitution of यान्त्र in forming dvandvas.’ Now the substitute यान्त्र is a हिंदू substitute, and therefore it applies to the last letter of the word and not to the whole word, \( \text{विद्य} \) of गाव is only changed into यान्त्र and not the whole word; and we have the compound गावयान्त्रिक, so also हिंदूवयान्त्रिक.

There is an exception, however, in the case of the substitute गाव (VII. 1. 35) which, though it has an indicatory \( \text{ष} \), yet replaces the whole expressions गाव and हिंदू and not only their finals. As जीविसाथ ‘may he live, or may you live’; instead of जीविसाथ ‘may he live,’ or जीविसाथ ‘live thou.’

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

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

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

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

Thus, there is a sūtra यथे वर्णः (II. 4. 53) which means ‘in the place of त let there be तच्छः.’ Here the ādeśa तच्छ consists of three letters (more than one), and therefore, it replaces the whole word तच्छ and not only the last letter त. That is to say in forming certain tenses the verb त is replaced by तच्छ. Thus the future tense of त is तच्छ त ‘he will speak.’

So also there is a sūtra (V. 3. 3) by which it is declared:—‘In the place of तच्छ there is तच्छ.’ Here the ādeśa तच्छ is an ādeśa having the त as its indicatory letter, and though it consists of only one letter, it replaces the whole word तच्छ, and not only its last letter त.

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

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

This is an explanatory sūtra, or this may be considered also as an atideśa sūtra, in as much as it declares that the operations to be performed
Substitute is like the principal.

on or by the original, may be similarly performed on or by the substitute, but with certain restrictions. The words of this sūtra require some detailed exposition. Sthāni is the word or the portion of a word which is replaced. Adeśa is the expression which replaces something. Al-vidhi is a compound of ‘al’ meaning alphabet, or letters in general, and ‘vidhi’ rule i. e. any rule applicable to letters.

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

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

Now in compound verbs the affix घरे is replaced by त्रु (tech. घरे). Thus संगृह + त्रु. This adeśa त्रु which takes the place of घरे has all the functions of घरे viz. it has the power of making gerunds; it makes the word an indeclinable (see rule 41 ante), as the affix घरे does. But the affix घरे takes an intermediate त्रु; should, therefore, the adeśa त्रु take also the त्रु or not? Now the augment त्रु which घर takes is by virtue of VII. 2. 35, because it begins with a consonant of त्रु pratyāhāra; while त्रु is the only consonant which is not included in this pratyāhāra. Therefore, for the purposes of taking त्रु by rule VII. 2. 35, the adeśa त्रु is not like घर; since that rule is one which has its scope when there are certain initial letters; or an al-vidhi. Therefore, we have संगृह.

Substitutes replace either a प्रादेक ‘root,’ or an भाजक ‘base,’ or a krit affix ‘primary affix,’ or a taddhita affix ‘secondary affix,’ or an avyaya ‘indeclinable,’ or a सूत्र affix ‘case affix,’ or a तिथि affix ‘conjugational affix,’ or lastly the full word or pada.

The substitute of a dhatu becomes like a dhatu. Thus sūtras II. 4. 52 and 53 declare:—‘घु is the substitute of the root घषु, and वच of the root व when an ārdhadhātuka affix follows.’ Here the substitutes घु and वच are treated as dhatu, and as such get the affixes त्रु &c. by III. 1. 96, &c. Thus गुलित, भविष्यु, भवितितव, वच, वचक, वचाव, वचपव.

The substitute of an ananga becomes like an ananga. Thus VII. 2. 103 declares:—‘क is the substitute of the base फ्रु when a case-affix follows.’
Here, \( \text{क्} \) gets the designation ‘base’ and so rules applicable to base, are applied to \( \text{क्} \) also. Thus in \( \text{केन्}, \text{कामवन्}, \text{कै्} \& \text{c.}, \) we have \( \text{क्} \), the lengthening of the vowel, and \( \text{र्षु्} \) substituted by VII. 1. 12, and VII. 3. 102, and VII. 1. 9.

The substitute of a krit affix becomes like a krit affix. Thus VII. 1. 37 declares:—‘र्षु् is the substitute of the krit affix \( \text{क्ष्} \) when the verb is a compound, the first member of which is an indeclinable, but not \( \text{न्त्} \).’ Here, र्षु् is also called a krit affix, and as such, sūtra VI. 1. 71 applies, and यु् is added. As \( \text{प्र्+र्षु् = प्र्+र्+व} = \text{प्रवर्ष्}; \) similarly \( \text{प्रग्न्} \& \text{c.} \).

The substitute of a taddhita affix is like a taddhita. Thus VII. 3. 50 declares:—‘प्र् is the substitute of the affix \( \text{र्} \) ’ as \( \text{श्+र्} \) (IV. 2. 18) = \( \text{शाध्न्} \), here, \( \text{प्र्} \) being treated as a taddhita, sūtra I. 2. 56 applies and the word formed by it, gets the name of prātipadika, and is so declined.

The substitute of an avyaya is like an avyaya. As, \( \text{प्रत्} \text{व्}; \text{प्रह्} \text{व्}. \) The affix \( \text{व्य्} \) makes avyayas (I. 1. 40), its substitute \( \text{व्य्} \) will also make the word an avyaya, and as such sūtra II. 4. 82 applies, and the case-affixes are elided after these words.

The substitute of sup-affixes becomes like sup. Thus VII. 1. 13 declares:—‘\( \text{व्} \) is the substitute of the sup-affix \( \text{क्} \) after an inflective base ending in short \( \text{च} \).’ Here, \( \text{व्} \) is treated as a sup-affix, and therefore sūtra VII. 3. 102 applies, and there is lengthening of the vowel, as, \( \text{इवाय्}; \text{इवाय्} \).

The substitute of \( \text{त्} \) becomes like \( \text{त्} \). Thus III. 4. 101 declares:—‘\( \text{तात्}; \text{त्} \& \text{च्} \) are substituted for \( \text{त्}; \text{च्}; \text{र्} \& \text{व्}; \) and \( \text{व्} \text{व्} \) when tense-affixes having indicatory \( \text{क्} \) follow.’ Here the substitutes \( \text{तात्} \& \text{c.}, \) also make the words ending in them pada by rule I. 4. 14 as, \( \text{चाह्यव्}; \text{चाह्यव्} \& \text{c.} \).

The substitute of a pada is like a pada. Thus VIII. 1. 21 declares:—‘\( \text{व्} \) is the substitute of \( \text{व्य्}; \text{व्य्य्}; \text{व्य्य्}; \text{व्य्य्}; \text{व्य्य्} \) and \( \text{व्य्य्}; \text{व्य्य्}; \text{व्य्य्} \) and \( \text{व्य्य्}; \text{व्य्य्}; \text{व्य्य्} \).’ Here, \( \text{व्} \) and \( \text{व्} \) are treated as pada, and the final \( \text{व्} \) is changed into visarga, as \( \text{व्}; \text{व्} \).

Why have we used the word \( \text{त्त्} \) in the sūtra? Without it the aphorism would have been \( \text{त्त् त् त्} \text{ार्थिक्} \) and this being a chapter treating of definitions, the meaning would have been, ‘an ādesa is called sāhāni.’ This certainly is not intended, for had it been so, then all operations would be performed by or on the substitute, but none by the original. But this is not so. Thus rule I. 3. 28, says ‘the root \( \text{त्} \) precede by \( \varphi \) is åmanepad.’ त् the substitute of \( \text{त्} \) will be åmanepad, as सावधि; but \( \text{त्} \) also will be so in its proper sphere, as, चाहिस.

The word ādesa is used in the sūtra to indicate, that the rule applies even to partial substitutions: as changing the \( \text{र्} \) of \( \text{र्त्} \) into \( \varphi \) (III. 4. 86) in the Imperative e. g. वच्चु.

The word al-vidhi is used in order to indicate that the substitutes of \( \text{व्य्} \).
Substitute is like the principal.

Bk. I Ch. I. § 57.

Such as the change of य into य (VII. 1. 84), म into म (VII. 1. 85), भ into भ (VII. 2. 102), are not to be treated like the original: as या, समा, भ: Had these substitutes been treated like the original, rule VI. 1. 68 would apply, and the case-affix य would have been elided.

रावण: परसिंधुपृविञ्चिन्न || ६७ || पद्यानि || अति: परसिंधु, पृविञ्चिन्न-बिचिन्न, (स्वानिष्ठवः बालोन्दः) ||

कुष्टि: || प्रतानेन: परिविचिन्न: पृविचिन्न: स्वानिष्ठवादि: ||

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

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

Thus there is an affix called विचिन्न the actual affix being य; the other letters य and य being विचिन्न. The peculiarity of every affix having an indicatory य is to cause the vṛddhi of the penultimate य; (sūtra VII. 2. 116) as वच्चः। अवच्चः। Now in forming the denominative verb from the word बुध, we have to add the affix विचिन्न. Thus बुध + य; but before pich, the य of बुध is substituted by a 'lopa' or blank, and this blank takes the place of the vowel य of बुध and becomes sthānavat by force of the present sūtra. The result of becoming sthānavat is that though the य of बुध is really a penultimate and ought to be vṛddhied before 'pich' it is not so, the lopa-substitute not allowing the य to be regarded as penultimate, and thus we have the form परि the present tense third person singular of which is परि. The equation being बुध + * + य, the zero preventing the य of बुध from becoming penultimate. So also in the word गर्भिज, the aorist (तुष्ट: ) of बुध. Thus तुष्ट + य + युः = तुष्ट + य + युः। Here, the य of बुध is elided by VI. 4. 48. (when an ārdhāñjñataka affix follows there is elision of the short य of that which ends in short य;) this elision is thus caused by something which follows (parasmin.) Now there is a rule (VII. 2. 7) which declares 'vṛddhi is optionally the substitute of a laghu य preceded by a consonant when विचिन्न (aorist) follows.' However in the present case the zero is consi-
dered as sthānivat, and prevents the application of sūtra VII. 2. 7; otherwise we get the form घरारे, which is inadmissible.

Similarly था + कप = थारेकप: Here, the short था is the substitute of the long था of थारेकप by VII. 4. 15; because of the subsequent (parasmin) affix 'kap'. However, the word थारेकप will not be considered as a word ending in a short vowel, for the purposes of the application of rule VI. 2. 174, (the udātta accent falls on the last vowel but one of a word that ends in a short vowel and is the last member of a bahūvrihi compound followed by the affix kap).

On the contrary the short था is regarded as sthānivat to long था. Thus थारेकप:

It is needless to say that this rule applies only to vowel अदेशा, therefore, where an अदेशा replaces a consonant, the previous sūtra 56 has its scope and prevents its being sthānivat. Thus there is a krit affix called थारेकप, the real suffix being था, the था and था being diacritical letters. Before this था the verb थारेकप (to come) loses it था, and lopa or blank takes the place of था. Here then lopa or blank is an अदेशा and था a consonant is sthāni.

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

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

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

Similarly ग्रामाय, the aorist of कृषि. Thus था + कृषि + सरि + सारि = थ + कृषि + सरि + सारि (VIII. 2. 26). Here the था is elided on account of what follows, but still the lopa substitute here is not sthānivat for the purposes of VIII. 2. 41. Had it been sthānivat, थ of कृषि would be changed into थ.

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

The word ग्रामा is a bahūvrihi compound of ग्राम्य and जाना, meaning 'he who has a young wife.' In forming this compound, the था of ग्रामा is replaced by न (tech. नारि) by sūtra V. 4. 134. This न will not be sthānivat to था, as it is not caused by anything which follows. Had it been regarded as sthānivat, the था could not be elided by VI. 1. 66 ('there is elision of थ
and श when any consonant except ष or ्ष follows). Thus, ब्रह्मविद्य = ब्रह्म-विद्य + o + ति (V. 4. 134) = ब्रह्मविद्य (VI. 1. 66).

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

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

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

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

Similarly the word ब्रह्मविद्य, 'the pupils of Bāhravya.' The word ब्रह्मविद्य is derived from ब्रह्म in this wise. ब्र + षू (IV. 1. 105) = ब्रह्मविद्य.
Substitute is like the principal. [Bk. I. Ch. I. § 58.]

From this is formed बा्र्वं (VI. 4. 146 and VII. 2. 117) = दास्य + ब्र्वं (VI. 1. 79) = दास्यं.
From this is formed वास्यं (IV. 2. 114) = वास्यं + ह्र्वं (VII. 1. 2) = वासं + ह्र्वं (VI. 4. 148) = वासं + ह्र्वं (VI. 4. 150).
Here, had the substitute ह्र्वं which replaced the ह्र्व of ह्र्व, been sthānivat to ह्र्व, rule VI. 4. 150 (‘there is elision of the च of a taddhita affix coming after a consonant, when long ह्र is follows’), could not have applied. But this substitute ह्र्व is not sthānivat for the purposes of rule VI. 4. 150, inasmuch as that rule does not apply to any letter that precedes the substitute ह्र्व, but to the very letters of the substitute itself.

Similarly the word वैधेय, which is evolved from the root वा, in this wise वि + वा + क्र्व (III. 3. 92) = वि + वा + ह्र्व (I. 3. 8) = वि + ह्र्व + ह्र्व (VI. 4. 64) = वि. Let us then form a secondary derivative from the word वि applying ह्र्व (IV. 1. 122), the whole of which affix is replaced by ह्र्ब (VII. 1. 2). Thus वि + ह्र्व = ह्र्व + ह्र्ब (VI. 4. 148) = वैधेय (VII. 2. 118). Here, the lopa substituted for the च of च by VI. 4. 64 is not sthānivat for the purposes of the application of IV. 1. 122 by which the affix ह्र्व is added. Rule V. 1. 122 says, ‘dham is added to a word ending in ह्र, provided it be a word containing two vowels.’ Now वि ends in ह्र and contains two vowels; but if the lopa were sthānivat to the elided च, then it would be a word of three syllables. That is however not so; because the rule enjoining the affix ह्र is not applicable to anything preceding the lopa-āśa, but is enjoined with regard to something after this substitution.

च पदान्तिष्ठविजनानविज्ञानमन्वन्ति-परमसर्ववा-परापालिणिकाः परिच्छिन्तिषु। पदानिः न, पदान्ति-विज्ञान- वरो-विज्ञान-सर्वम्यवर्ष- अनुपवर्ष-दीर्घ- जब्-चर्-विष्णु। (स्वामिनवृत्ति)

वृत्ति: पुरुषोत्तमवाचः स्वामिन्नवद्वेषो विचित्रम्यविश्वाभिषेकवते।

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

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

1. पारमानवृत्ति:—‘A rule relating to the last letter of a word.’ Thus the उ of उस्म is elided before the terminations of dual and plural numbers (VI. 4. 111). Thus we have राति ‘he is,’ राति ‘they two are,’ सति ‘they are.’ Now in the technical phraseology of Sanskrit grammarians, the उ of उस् and उस्म is
replaced by an ádeśa called आधु, the peculiarity of which is that the whole of it vanishes. So that before the word श्रय there is this ádeśa existing, though it is in an invisible form. This invisible ádeśa will be sthānīvat, as it replaces a vowel, by reason of something that follows, i.e. the affixes श्रय and गातिक्षित being किं (I. 2, 4); and it will have all the powers of गातिक्षित by the last sūtra, in the absence of any rule to the contrary. Therefore, in the sentence को श्रयि ‘who two are’ the final श्रय of को and the invisible श्रय of श्रयि ought to coalesce by rules of sandhi into श्रयि (VI. 1. 78). But this incongruity is prevented by the present sūtra, by which the change of श्रयि into श्रयि is a वादन विशिष्ट or a rule relating to the finals of a word, therefore, we have को श्रयि. So also in श्रयि बंधित, rule VI. 1. 77 is not applied.

2. विद्युत्तथतिविष्य: ‘a rule relating to the doubling of letters.’ In the sandhi of श्रयि + श्रयि we have श्रयि. Here श्रयि is changed into श्रयः. If this श्रयः were sthānīvat to श्रयि, then the rule by which श्रयः could be doubled before श्रयः would be inapplicable. But श्रयः is not equivalent to श्रयि, though its substitute; and we have the doubling of श्रयः and get the form श्रयः. Therefore, in rules relating to the doubling of letters the ádeśa is not equivalent to the sthānī.

3. ब्रहमपतिविष्य: ‘a rule relating to the affix श्रयः. The affix श्रयः is a krit affix which is added to certain roots to form nouns of agency; thus from श्रयः ‘to rule’ we have श्रयः ‘ruler.’ So from the intensive verb श्रयात we have श्रयाति ‘vagrant.’ It is formed in this wise श्रयाति + श्रयि (III. 2, 176) = श्रयाति + 0 + श्रयि (VI. 4, 48). Here the श्रय of श्रयः has been dropped and replaced by lopa, on account of its being followed by the अर्धहातुका affix श्रयः. The next step is to drop the श्रय by rule VI. 1. 66 which declares that the letters श्रयः and श्रयः are dropped before affixes beginning with any consonant except श्रयः, beginning with consonants of प्रत्याहार. Thus श्रयाति + 0 + श्रयि. Now there is a rule (VI. 4, 64) which declares that the final long श्रय of a base is dropped before अर्धहातुका affixes having an initial vowel. Here therefore, if the ádeśa ‘lopa,’ which replaced the vowel श्रयः, be considered as sthānīvat, and श्रयः be considered as an affix having a latent initial vowel, then the श्रय of श्रयः requires to be dropped. But this sūtra prevents this and we have the form श्रयाति श्रयः, श्रयाति श्रयः: श्रयाति श्रयः.

4. ब्रहमपतिविष्य: ‘a rule relating to the dropping of या.’ Thus there is a verb श्रयाति ‘to scratch.’ In forming an abstract noun from it, the affix श्रयः (tech. किं) is added. Thus श्रयाति + श्रयः = किं + श्रयः, the श्रय of श्रयः being dropped by VI. 4, 48. Now there is a rule (VI. 1. 66) already mentioned above which requires the elision of श्रयः before consonantal affixes. Now if the lopa substitute be considered as sthānīvat to श्रयः, then the affix श्रयः is not an affix having an initial consonant and the rule, which requires the dropping of श्रयः, would not apply. The present sūtra, however, provides for this, and we have the form किं: ‘scratching.’
5. स्वरविधि: 'a rule relating to accent.' There is a sūtra (VI. 1. 193) which says that when a word is formed by an affix that has an indicatory त्, the vowel that immediately precedes such an affix has the udātta accent.

Now प्रति is an affix that has an indicatory त्, the real affix being श्रू (VII. 1. 1.). It is an affix used in forming nouns of agency. Adding this affix to the desiderative verb विक्रीषि 'desirous of doing' we have:—

विक्रीषि + श्रू = विक्रीषि + + श्रू, the श्रू being dropped by VI. 4. 48.

Now if the zero be considered as sthānivat, then the accent must fall on this latent श्रू but it is not so. The accent falls on the श्र of की; and we have विक्रीषि, so also विक्रीषि:

6. वर्णविधि: 'a rule relating to the substitution of homogeneous letters.' To explain this, let us form the second person singular of the verb शिष्य in the imperative mood. The affix शि is the sign of the second person imperative singular; and the verb शिष्य belongs to the seventh-class of verbs called Rudhādī. This class of verbs take the vikaraṇa समु (III. 1. 78) the प्रति and त् being indicatory the real affix is त्. This त् is inserted between the radical vowel and the final consonant (I. 1. 47). Therefore we have the following equation:—

शिष्य + शिष्य + शि = शिष्य + प्रति + प्रति + शि + शि + प्रति + शि + शि + शि.

The शि of त् is dropped by VI. 4. 111, which declares that the शि of शिष्य is dropped before those sārvadhātuka terminations which are शिष्य or शिष्य. By I. 2. 4 all sārvadhātuka terminations which have not got an indicatory त् are considered as शि. The affix शि therefore is a शिष्य sārvadhātuka affix, and by rule III. 4. 87, शि is to be regarded as शि, not having an indicatory त्. The next stage is:—

शि + शि + शि + शि; the शि being changed into शि by rule (VI. 4. 101) which says that 'शि is changed into शि, when it follows a root—which ends in a consonant of शिष्य pratyasūra' here प्रति and शि are changed by general rules of sandhi into हि and हि and we have शि + हि + हि + हि (VIII. 4. 41).

Then there is a rule (VIII. 3. 24), which says that in the body of a word the हि is changed into anusvāra when followed by a consonant of हि pratyasūra.' Therefore we have:—

शि + हि + हि + हि शि. This is the form to which the present rule is applicable. Thus, there is a rule (VIII. 4. 58) which says that an anusvāra followed by a letter of हि pratyasūra i.e., any consonant except प्रति, प्रति, हि and हि is changed into a letter homogeneous or savarṇa to the letter that follows. Therefore, if we regard zero as sthānivat to the हि which it replaces, the anusvāra cannot be changed into हि as homogeneous to हि. But it is not to be so regarded, and we have the form शि + हि + हि + हि = शि or शि; so also शि.

7. वर्णविधि: 'a rule relating to anusvāra.' The above example will serve the purpose here:—

शि + प्रति + हि + हि. This by the rule already mentioned (VIII. 3. 24) requires the हि to be changed into anusvāra,
Now if zero be considered as sthānīvat, then रू is not followed by a letter of निष्ठ्रक pratyahāra, and cannot be changed into anusvāra. However, the zero is not regarded as sthānīvat, and we change the रू into anusvāra. Other examples are निष्ठ्रू + रू + * + रू + चन्त्रivor = सिंधिनिव or also सिंधिव।

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

9. निष्ठ्रविशिष्ट: 'a rule requiring the substitution of soft unaspirate consonants, of pratyahāra चन्त्र, in the place of hard consonants.' In this case also the अदेश that takes the place of a vowel is not sthānīvat.

Let us add the affix निष्ठ्रू to the root चन्त्र हृत to eat, compounded with the word च or समान. In Vedic literature चन्त्र is replaced by चन्त्र, (II. 4. 39); so we have, चन्त्र + निष्ठ्रू + निष्ठ्रू = चन्त्र + निष्ठ्रू + निष्ठ्रू + निष्ठ्रू + निष्ठ्रू (VI. 4. 100) = चन्त्र + निष्ठ्रू + निष्ठ्रू + निष्ठ्रू (VIII. 2. 26) = चन्त्र + निष्ठ्रू + निष्ठ्रू + निष्ठ्रू (VIII. 2. 40).

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

Similarly the word बस्मास्य, which is the Imperative (lot) 2nd per. dual of the root भ्रम्स्य, and is thus evolved. This root belongs to the Jhutyal class, and therefore, there is reduplication. Thus भ्रम्स्य + भ्रम्स्य = भ्रम्स्य + भ्रम्स्य + भ्रम्स्य = भ्रम्स्य + भ्रम्स्य + भ्रम्स्य + भ्रम्स्य (VI. 4. 100) = भ्रम्स्य + भ्रम्स्य + भ्रम्स्य + भ्रम्स्य (VIII. 2. 26) = भ्रम्स्य + भ्रम्स्य + भ्रम्स्य + भ्रम्स्य (VIII. 2. 40) = भ्रम्स्य + भ्रम्स्य + भ्रम्स्य + भ्रम्स्य। Here the change of रू into च is by the application of VIII. 4. 53, which is a जास rule, and therefore, the zero is not sthānīvat.
10. चालृतिः: ‘A rule requiring the substitution of the letters of चालृतिः pratyahāra instead of other consonants.’ In the application of this rule, also the substitute that replaces a vowel is not sthānivat.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(a). Elision of शा. Let us form the 2nd person perfect tense of the root शा 'to drink.' The termination of 2nd person perfect is शच्चु। This is, therefore, a termination beginning with a vowel, and it causes the reduplication of the root. The conditions of the present sūtra all exist in this. Thus we have श + चच्चु = श + * + चच्चु (VI. 4, 64). Here the श is elided by VI. 4, 64, which teaches that 'the श of the root is elided before ārdhadhātúka affixes beginning with a vowel and which are दित्र or दित्र and before द्र.' The affix चच्चु is such an affix (I. 2, 5, III. 4, 119).

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

(b). The elision of the penultimate. Let us form the same tense of शृ, 'to kill.' शृ + अच्छु = शृ + * + शृ + चच्छु (VI. 4, 98).

Here also the preliminary conditions are all fulfilled, the affix begins with a vowel and it causes the reduplication of the root. The penultimate श of शृ is replaced by the substitute lopa by VI. 4, 98, which teaches that the roots शृ 'to go,' शृ 'to kill,' and a few others lose their penultimate before affixes beginning with a vowel and which are also दित्र or दित्र. We know चच्छु to be such an affix. For the reasons already given, we can not reduplicate the consonants शृ as they have no vowel. However, this reduplication is effected by virtue of the present rule, and we have:—श + ध + चच्छु = चच्छु (VII. 4, 62, VII. 3, 55). The first श is changed into श by VII. 4, 62 and the second श into श by VII. 3, 55.
(c). The elision of the affix शिष्य. Let us form the Aorist (प्रति) of the causative form of चार्कृ. The causative is formed by adding the affix शिष्य to the root; and the aorist takes the augment रा. Thus we have:—चा + चार्कृ + शिष्य + रा = चार्कृ + रा + चार्कृ + रा + शिष्य + रा. The affix चार्कृ (III. 1. 48) is added in forming the aorist of causatives. The letters श and रा are indicatory, the real affix being रा. Now by VI. 4. 51, the affix शिष्य is elided before an ārdhādr̥tukā affix that does not take the intermediate रा. Now चार्कृ is such an affix. Therefore we have चार्कृ + रा + चार्कृ.

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

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

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

Why have we used the word “dvīrvachane” in the sūtra? Without it, the aphorism would have stood thus:—“Before an affix having an initial vowel which causes reduplication, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel
is like the original vowel." Let us form गङ्गे the 3rd per. sing, perfect tense (क्षत्रित्य) of the root गङ्गे "to be exhausted," in the atmanepada. The affix of 3rd per. sing. atm. of गङ्गे, is गङ्गे (III. 4. 51). Thus गङ्गे + गङ्गे = गङ्गे + गङ्गे (VI. 1. 45). Now here गङ्गे is changed into गङ्गे, on account of the affix गङ्गे; this affix causes reduplication, but still गङ्गे is not to be considered as sthānīvat to गङ्गे. For if गङ्गे be considered so, then in the next stage गङ्गे + गङ्गे = गङ्गे + गङ्गे (VI. 4. 64) the lopa will be regarded as sthānīvat to गङ्गे and the reduplicative syllable will be गङ्गे and not गङ्गे; the form being गङ्गे and not गङ्गे. But गङ्गे is not sthānīvat to गङ्गे, because for the purposes of reduplication, the change of गङ्गे into गङ्गे is immaterial; it is the second and further change of गङ्गे into zero which is directly connected with reduplication, (for if zero be not considered sthānīvat, there can be no reduplication); and therefore, this substitute zero should be regarded as sthānīvat to गङ्गे.

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

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

Thus in खृष्टि + ग्रामुक्त + वि = खृष्टि 'he eats.' Here the vikaraṇa ग्रामुक्त has been elided by using the word luk (II. 4. 72). Similarly in बुध्विष 'he invokes,' the vikaraṇa ग्रामुक्त is elided by the word slu (II. 4. 75), so in बुध्विष: 'a city in the vicinity of weeds called varaṇā.' Here the Taddhita affix indicating vicinity has been elided by the word lup. (IV. 2. 82).

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

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

Why have we used the word वर्तय in this aphorism again, when its anuvṛtti was understood in this sūtra from the last? This repetition indicates that the present rule applies where the whole of the affix is elided, and not when a portion of an affix is elided. The present sūtra, therefore, does not apply to forms like भागीरतिः and सहस्त्रवीर्यम. These forms are the 1st person sing. लिङ्ग्य Atmanepada of हस्त and गाम. Thus चाहु + हस्त = चाहु + गाम (III. 4. 106) = चाहु + चस्त + गाम (III. 4. 102) = चाहु + हस्त + गाम. Here, गाम a portion of the affix चस्त is elided by VII. 2. 79; now there will be no प्रवर्तकाः of this partial elision of an affix. Had it been so, the final nasal ग of चाहु would have been elided by VI. 4. 37: but that is not so: and we have चाहु (VII. 3. 54 and VI. 4. 98).

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

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

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

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

Similarly वृक्ष: is the 3rd pers. dual present tense of वृक्ष 'to clean.' It belongs to Adādi class in which the vikaraṇa श्र in is elided by 'लक' (II. 4. 72); and hence there is no य of the base वृक्ष in य of the verbal affixes.

Similarly शुद्र: 'they two sacrifice'; here the vikaraṇa श्र in has been elided by using the word 'शु' (II. 4. 75, let न be substituted in the room of य of the verbs हु &c). The effect of this elision is, that there is no य of the base श्र in य of the base, which श्र was competitor to cause.

When an affix is elided in any other way than by the enunciation of the three terms containing द्र, it is competent to cause its proper effect. Thus द्र + विष = विष = विष + व = व व + व = व व + व = व व व. Here the elision of the affix निच is by 'लोप,' (VI. 4. 51) and hence though the affix vanishes, its effect remains. Why do we say 'in respect of an Anga or inflective base?' Observe पक 'five,' सात 'seven,' पिप 'milk,' खात 'sama veda.' Here in the word पञ्च, the plural case-affix is elided by VII. 1. 22.
(after the words called sāt, the सत् and पञ्चु are elided by ‘luk’). Here the affix is elided by enunciating the word ‘luk,’ the result is, that the affix cannot produce any change which it would otherwise have caused, in the अंग or inflective base; such as lengthening, as in राजन, ‘a king,’ 1. p. राजानं ‘kings.’ But though it is inoperative as regards the अंग, the elided affix is not altogether inactive. It retains the virtue of raising the base to the dignity of a pada. Thus:—पञ्चु + जस् = पञ्चु + ०, (luk VII. 1. 22). The word पञ्चान is now a pada, and as such, it drops its final न्.

अंतःतयारि दि || ६४ || पदानि || अच्, अस्तादि, दि ||
पूजि: || बच्छ। संक्रियकोष दोहान्यायोग ताहिः रुपाहवं तिव्यं गभति ||

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

This सूत्र defines दि. It is that portion of a word which is included between the last letter and the nearest vowel. Thus in the word पालिकिलिकपुर the portion ह्यु is दि; so also in सान्तुम the portion त्. The word दि occurs in सूत्र III. 4. 79.

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

अख्यान्तयात्सूरु उपधा || ६५ || पदानि || अच्, अस्तादि,
पूर्ब्, उपधा ||
पूजि: || बालाशौचप्रयं समुद्रस्यत्याल्वः पूर्ववा वर्षः सोऽस्त्रोपधा वंशो गभति ||

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

This defines उपधा or penultimate. Thus in the words ग्रह्, निवृ, इत्यादि the letters च, र, त, and म are उपधा.

The word ‘upadhā’ occurs in सूत्र VII. 2. 116.

तस्मिनिवि निरिद्धे पूर्वव्य || ६६ || पदानि || तस्मिन् || दि, निरिद्धे, पूर्वव्य ||
पूजि: || तस्मिनिवि सम्यक्यतिस्य पूर्वव्य कार्य गभति नोचरमव ||

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

This is a declaratory or interpreting सूत्र. When in a सूत्र, a word is used in the locative case, the operation ordained by that सूत्र is to be per-
formed on the word preceding it. Thus in the sūtra देवी वर्णम (VI. 1. 77) the
word वर्णम is in the locative case, which sūtra, therefore, means that देव, च, च, च
followed by a vowel (वर्णम) are changed into देव, च, च, च, च (वर्णम). The literal
translation of the sūtra being:—‘Of this there is च in चचः.’ The force of
‘in’ or the locative case being to induce changes in the letter preceding the
vowel. Thus रषिः + दक्ष = रषिःदक्षः; so मामित्रः, वधवायोपि.

The word nirādhiśa (meaning ‘exhibited’) has been used in the
sūtra to indicate immediateness. Thus in रजस्मिन्, the r of रजस्मि is not directly
followed by the r of रजस्मि, there being the letter रा intervening, therefore,
rule VI. 1. 77, does not apply here: and we have no sandhi.

सत्त्वातिद्वितीयः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्त्वात्, इति, उत्तरः,
( निदेशः ) ॥

इतिः ॥ सत्त्वातितिपन्नथःप्राप्तः उत्तरवेदः कारं नयितम् न प्रेदेशः ॥

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

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

Thus sūtra VIII. 4. 61 declares that ‘after वर्णम, of sthā and stambha,
the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior.’ Thus वर्णम+स्थानम्.
Here the word वर्णम is exhibited in the original sūtra in the ablative case, and
by the present sūtra it means that a dental letter च must be substituted in
the place of sthāna, and by I. 1. 54 ante, this dental takes the place of च; we
have वर्णम+स्थानम् = वर्णम+पानम्. Similarly in sūtra देवी वर्णम (VIII. 2. 18, ‘a word
ending in a conjunctival affix, when following after a word ending in a non-
conjunctival affix, becomes anudāttā.’) Here the word ‘atiñah’ is exhibited in
the ablative case, therefore, the operation directed by this aphorism, namely,
the substitution of anudātta accent, must take place in the word that follows.
Thus छोउँचनाः मृतम्; but not so in वर्णमहलमिति.

खं लुप्तं शव्यसाथयसरस्वः ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्, रुपम्,
शष्यम्, अशष्यसः ॥

इति: ॥ शालेस्वरः रुपं शव्यस्य पाठोऽथौ संस्थर्यायस्य असतिः न शाश्वोऽपि: शष्यसः सम्—
विद्यमान ॥

सत्त्वातिद्वितीयः ॥ निदेशःप्राप्तः इत्यादिः ॥
68. In this Grammar, when an operation is directed with regard to a word, the individual form of the word possessing meaning is to be understood, except with regard to a word which is a definition.

This is a rule of interpretation. The word एक which means ‘one’s own’ denotes ‘the meaning;’ and the word एक denotes ‘the individual form of a word.’ The sense of the sutra is that a word denotes both things expressed by those two words एक and एक, विः, its meaning, and its form. Thus a rule applicable to एक will be applicable to the word composed of एक, एक, एक, एक and not to the words synonymous with agni, such as, पाणिन, वशिष्ठ, &c.

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

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

Thus the sutra अग्नि (IV. 2. 33) declares:—“that the affix ‘धक’ comes after the word ‘agni’.” Thus अग्नि + धक = धकाग्नि “belonging to agni,” as in the following sentence धकाग्नि-वाचकेऽव निषेधेऽ. Here the word अग्नि indicates the individual word-form अग्नि and not its synonyms. Similarly sutra IV. 2. 19 declares:—‘let there be optionally धक after वाचकेऽ.’ As वाचकेऽ (VII. 3. 50 and 51) or वाचकेऽ. The rule applies to the word-form ‘udaśvita’ meaning ‘curd-milk’ and not to हक, धक, कालेख, इष्टाव and निषेध, which are synonyms.

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

Thus सपा (I. 1. 20) and वर्णन (I. 1. 22). Here the words ‘एक’ and ‘एक’ denote the words connoted by those terms and not to their word-form. There are, however, some sutras in Pāṇini which are ap-
parently exceptions to this rule. These exceptions have been arranged under four heads, technically called रित्व, रित्व, रित्व, and रित्व. When there is a rule about a word, it may mean that very word-form, or words representing species falling under that word, or words which are synonymous with it. Thus rule II. 4. 12 declares:—“इन्त्र ‘tree,’ गांड ‘deer,’ गांड ‘grass,’ &c., may optionally be compounded as dvandva.” Here the word इन्त्र stands as a generic name for the species falling under it, and does not represent the word-form, इन्त्र. Thus we have dvandva-compound of इन्त्र + गांड, as इन्त्रज्ञापक्ष, इन्त्रज्ञापक्ष, इन्त्रज्ञापक्ष. Such śūtras are called रित्व.

Then in śūtra III. 4. 40, we have an example of रित्व. That śūtra means “the word गांड ‘to feed’ takes the suffix गांड (गांड) when compounded with the word गांड.” Here the word गांड means both the word-form गांड, as well as the synonyms of गांड and the species of गांड. Thus गांड and गांड ‘wealth’ are synonyms; while गांड ‘wealth’ and गांड ‘cow’ are genus and species. Thus गांड + गांड + गांड = गांड. Similarly गांड, गांड, गांड, गांड. Such śūtras are called रित्व.

Then in śūtra II. 4. 23, we have an example of रित्व. “A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word गांड ‘court’ is neuter, provided that it is preceded by the word राज्य, or by a word denoting a non-human being.” Here the synonyms only of the word ‘राज्य’ are taken, and neither the word-form ‘राज्य,’ nor the special instances falling under it. Thus राज्य ‘king’ + गांड = राज्यगांड, ‘king’s assembly,’ राज्य + गांड = राज्यगांड, ‘king’s assembly.’ But not गांडगांड, but गांडगांड. Nor can we take particular kings, such as गांडगांड or गांडगांड. In their case we must have गांडगांड, गांडगांड.

Then in śūtra IV. 4. 35, we have an example of रित्व. The śūtra means “the words पक्ष ‘bird’ मश्ल ‘fish’ गांड ‘deer,’ take the suffix गांड when the meaning is the killer thereof.” Here the words पक्ष &c. denote both the word-forms पक्ष &c. as well as the species denoted by those terms, but not their synonyms. Thus पक्ष + गांड = पक्षगांड, ‘a bird-killer,’ ‘a fish-catcher.’ गांड + गांड = गांडगांड, ‘a vulture-killer.’ But we cannot take the synonyms of पक्ष, &c. except in the case of ‘मश्ल, when we may take the word ‘मश्ल.’ As पक्ष, and गांड, ‘a fish killer.’

अयानित्रिक विषयः चामस्तः। दृष्टं। विद्विष्टा। सम्बंधं, स, अस्त्रयः ( सम्बंधं ) ॥

इति: च। गांड गांडगांड विषय विषयं संबंधसि च गांडगांड प्रयत्नं त्वज्जनसि। ॥

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

The pratyāhāra घ in thus sūtra includes all the vowels and liquids. This is the only instance where घ pratyāhāra refers to the second घ of त्र. The letters included in घ, and the letters having an indicatory घ, refer to, and include their homogeneous letters also. Thus घ refers to all the five gutturals क, घ, घ, घ, घ, similarly ह, ह, ह, ह, and ह, as in sūtra I. 3. 8. Similarly घ includes short, long and protracted घ. The words 'its own form' are understood in this sūtra, being drawn from the previous sūtra: Thus sūtra चालुक्य (VI. 1. 87), 'when a vowel comes after घ, gūṇa is the single substitute for both.' Here though the rule mentions only short घ, we take the long घ also. Thus not only न + हेः = नरेः; but मह + हेः = महेः. So also in sūtra तत्कथा (VII. 4. 32), 'there is long ह in the room of घ when the suffix 'chhi' (V. 4. 50) follows.' Here long घ is also included; thus क्रम + करोति = क्रमविकरोति, and लघु + करोति = लघुविकरोति. So also in sūtra बर्षरि (VI. 4. 148). 'When long ह follows, there is elision of the घ or घ of the base,' the rule applies to the bases ending in long ह and घ also.

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

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

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

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

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

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

"अादिन्रयेन साधृता इ । धानिया अादि। अनस्वेया, धान्,
हता, ( धान् धापस् ) ।"

"पश्चिमान्यस्वाद्य धान् गुणमाकारणमध्यपतिताभ धातृं धातृ कर्तितं धारित ।"

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

This sūtra explains the mode of interpreting pratyāhāras. Thus the pratyāhāra चन्द्र means those letters whose beginning is अ and whose final लू is रू.

Why do we say with the ‘final indicatory letter?’ Because a pratyāhāra like लू would be otherwise ambiguous. It might be doubted whether it is formed with the final लू of चू and refers to the first five case-affixes, or whether it is formed with the initial लू of चा and therefore refers to the first seven case-affixes. The present sūtra clears up the doubt. A pratyāhāra is formed with the final लू and not with the initial लू.

"येन लिङ्गविश्वरतिः । भुगलिः पदानि येन, विशि, लू-अम्मस्,
( लू धापस् ) ।"

"प्रश्चिमान्यस्वाद्य लिङ्गविद्ययन्ति लिङ्गविद्ययात् वयस्तरवायत्तव भाषको भवि
लक्ष मध्यार्थ ।"
72. An injunction which is made with regard to a particular attribute, applies to words having that attribute at their end as well as to that attribute itself.

This sūtra consists of three words: विद्या 'by what (attribute)', विधि: 'rule,' वहनतय 'having that (attribute) at its end.'

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

Thus the sūtra यस्य (III. 3. 56) 'after द there is यस्य' declares that the affix ach would come not only after द, but after any expression that ends in द. Thus नि + यस्य = नम्य, नि + यस्य = नक्षय.

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

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

The above vārtika is however qualified by the following:—

Vart:—The above vārtika does not apply to words formed by affixes
that have an indicatory ब्र (व, भ्र, ब्र), short or long, or where a rule is propounded with regard to letters. Thus the affix kta (I. 1. 26) has an indicatory व, and we have क्रतवत्. A rule which will apply to क्रितवत् will apply also to the word which ends in kritavat. Thus the feminine of kritavat is क्रिता (IV. 1. 6), the feminine of sukritavat will be sukrtavatī. Similarly rule IV. 1. 95 थन इन्द्र says “after श there is the affix इन्द्र.” This is a rule relating to pratayyas, but as it is propounded by mere letters, the rule of tadanta-vidhi will apply here. Thus इन्द्र + इन्द्र = इन्द्रि ‘the son of Daksha.’

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

Thus sūtra VI. 4. 77, achi śnu dhātu bhrvāṁ yyor iyaṁ uvaṇau, means “iyaṁ and uvaṇau are the substitutes of what ends with the pratayaya śnu and what ends in a verbal root in श or ब्र, whether long or short, and of the indelictive base bhrū, when an affix beginning with a vowel follows.” Here the word ‘achi’ is exhibited in the seventh case, which literally means ‘when a vowel follows;’ but by virtue of the present vārtika it means, ‘when an affix beginning with a vowel follows,’ as. विच, ब्रहः॥

व्रद्धिः यन्त्र द्रव्यं धातुः इन्द्रस्य व्रद्धीं स यहुः।
अमाधस्य आदि: तद्रू यहुः॥

वर्त्तिः वर्त्तिः वर्त्तिः वर्त्तिः वर्त्तिः॥

वर्तिः वर्तिः वर्तिः वर्तिः वर्तिः॥

वर्तिः वर्तिः वर्तिः वर्तिः वर्तिः॥

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

This defines the word इन्द्र। The sūtra consists of five words:—
व्रद्धी: ‘the vriddhi vowel;’ ब्रह्म ‘whose;’ अध्याय ‘among the vowels;’ अदि ‘is first;’ इन्द्र ‘is called vriddham.’

If a word consisting of many vowels, has a vriddhi vowel coming first in the order of vowels, that word is called vriddham. Thus the words मनो, न्याय &c., have the first vowel श as a vriddhi vowel, therefore, they are called vriddham.
The word vṛddham has been defined in order to make applicable to these peculiar words certain taddhita affixes. Thus there is a rule (IV. 2. 114) by which the affix छ is added to vṛddham. Thus माना + छ = मानीवः।

Why do we say "the first?" Because a word like बनावेष्टन, which is not a vṛddha word, will not admit of the affix छ. Its corresponding derivative will be सानावेष्टन:।

Vart:—A proper noun, though not coming under the above definition, may yet be regarded optionally as a vṛddham. Thus ड़ेवस + छ = ड़ेवसीवः, or we may have ड़ेवसा।

Vart:—A compound ending in a Gotra word, is regarded for the purposes of the addition of this affix, as if it was not compounded. Thus रोविज is a Gotra word and also vṛddham. Its compound रूपरोविज will be regarded as a vṛddham too, for the addition of the affix. As पुनरोविज + छ = पुनरोविज्यः: 'the students of Ghṛitaraughşi.' So also भोजनपालिनीवः, इक्षुनीवः: इक्ष्कारिनीवः: &c.

Vart:—Exception must be made in the case of निरुक्ताक्षरव: and हरिवक्ताक्षरव:। They do not take छ। Thus नैयुक्ताक्षरवा and हरिवक्ताक्षरवा:।

व्यासदीर्णिः च || सौं || पद्यनि || व्यास-यादीर्णिः, च ||

प्रि: || व्यासदीर्णि ग्रंथस्थापिति इक्ष्वंशानि भविष्याः.

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

The ययू &c. have been given in the list of sarvanāmas. See sūtra 27. These words are also called vṛddham. Thus तू+छ = ततीयू, ततीयवर्ग, मरीयू, इत्यादिः, च।

एड़, प्राचाधी || सौं || पद्यनि || एड़, प्राचाद, देशे, (सस्य-चाकारिहि, यदूदू)।

प्रि: || एड़ यस्यतःशास्त्रविश्वमानिभवने इसं तदं सधवि।

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

As गोवर्द्धे is a country of the east, it is a vṛddham word and we have गोवर्द्धे +छ = गोवर्द्धेवः; similarly द्रष्टिपालिनीवः, योजकादिवः.
The word prâk in the sūtra has been differently interpreted. The
Grammarian Kuṇin takes the word prâk as an epithet qualifying the word
śchârya, 'professor' understood. In that case the sūtra will be thus trans-
lated:—'In the opinion of the Eastern (or ancient) professors, a word that has
the letters े and े as the first among its vowels, and is the name of a country,
is called vṛiddham.' Under this interpretation, this will be an optional
rule only, giving the opinion of eastern or ancient grammarians.

Others however take the word prâk as qualifying the word deśa
and the meaning then is as given in the text.

Why do we say 'having the letters उ and च'?
If a simple vowel
is first among the vowels, of a word, that word will not be called vṛiddham:
and as such will not take the affix उ; as चारिष्ट्य:, काल्यकुडङ्गः.

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

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

1. All affixes after the verb गान ‘to study’ and the verb कुत्त ‘to be crooked,’ and the rest, are as if they had an indicatory न (नित), except those affixes which have an indicatory न्न (नीत) or न (नित).

This is an atideśa śūtra, and makes certain affixes, though not having an indicatory न, to produce the same effect as if they were really नित.

The root गान is substituted for the verb हृद in certain tenses, in which the verb हृद is defective (II. 4. 49). The नटारि verbs are roots belonging to the Tūḍādi class of verbs, and they are forty roots beginning with न्तु ‘to be crooked’ and ending with कुत्त ‘to groan.’

After these roots all affixes are treated as if they were marked with a न्तु with the exception of those affixes which are नितु or नितु.

Thus from गान, we have in the aorist the form गानार्ज्ञ; which is thus evolved. गान + वर्त + हृद + विन + न्तु = गान + वर्त + हृद + न्तु + न्तु (II. 4. 50) = गान + वर्त + हृद (VI. 4. 66) = गानार्ज्ञ ‘he studied,’ गानार्ज्ञ ‘they studied’ गानार्ज्ञ ‘they studied.’ Here by VI. 4. 66, the न्तु is changed into न्तु before the affix नितु, which is regarded as नितु.

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

Thus कुत्त + हृद (III. 1. 133) = कुत्त + हृद + हृद (VII. 2. 35) = कुत्तित, nominative singular कुत्तित ‘who acts crookedly.’ Here the affix तु being regarded as नितु does not cause the gūna substitution of the त of तु, by I. 1. 15.

Similarly with the affixes तुतु and सत्वतु, we have कुतितु and कुतितसत्वतु. So on with all the forty roots of कुत्त class: e.g. तुतितव तुतितसत्वतु, तुतितसत्वतु.
But the affixes marked with य or य will not be so treated. Thus विष्रु by which causatives are formed, is such an affix; e.g. वर्पु + विष्रु + गुप्त = वर्पुरोत्तर्यितं र्य + गुप्त + तित = वर्पुरोत्तर्यितं. Here there is गुप्त of the य of कृत. So also before the affix यानु of the perfect tense, we have वर्पुरोत्तर्यितं, and before the affix यान्न्न we have वर्पुरोत्तर्यितं.

Vārtika:—The root ब्याप्त 'to deceive,' is also treated like कुत्दि verbs, except before the affix भाल. As विभिन्न 'he shall deceive,' विभिन्न 'for the purpose of deceiving,' विभिन्न &c. Here there is सम्प्रदायित्व before the नित terminations वाल, द्वारक and त्याव, and the य of ब्याप्त is changed into य by rule VI. 1. 16.

But the affix यान्न्न is not नित and consequently there is no सम्प्रदायित्व before it. Thus ब्याप्त 'an imp.'

विज्ञेय ॥ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ विज्ञेय: गुप्त, (विष्रु) ॥

प्रकृति: विभिन्नत्वसम्यवस्तं, विभिन्नत्वसम्यवस्तं कथ्यति॥

2. An affix that begins with the augment या (VII. 2. 35) is नित after the root विज्ञेय, 'to fear, to move.'

The root विज्ञेय does not strengthen its vowel before the affixes that take the intermediate या, because those terminations are treated like हिंदु affixes. The root विज्ञेय belongs to the तुढ़ि class. Thus विभिन्नत्व 'he will be agitated,' विभिन्नत्व 'for the purpose of being agitated,' विभिन्नत्व 'ought to be agitated.'

But those affixes, which are not preceded by the augment यान्न, are not like हिंदु, and they consequently produce their own proper action, such as गुनं. As या + गुप्त + यान्न = यान्नन्न, यान्नन्न 'that which ought to be agitated.'

विभिन्नत्वसम्यवस्तं: या ॥ पदार्थि ॥ विभिन्नत्वसम्यवस्तं, ज्ञाति: (विष्रु, विज्ञेय) ॥

प्रकृति: यान्न, यान्न, यान्न, यान्न, यान्न विभिन्नत्वसम्यवस्तं कथ्यति॥

3. After the verb उष्म 'to cover,' the affix beginning with the augment या is regarded optionally like नित.

Thus before the उष्म termination उष्म of the future, we may have either यान्नतित्वसम्य or यान्नतित्वसम्य 'he will cover.'

The equation of the form is:—या + यान्न या + तित्व या + यान्न या (VI. 4. 77) = यान्न. When the affix is not regarded as हिंदु, it produces गुप्त, and we have the second form यान्नतित्वसम्य.

Of course there is no option allowed before those affixes which do not take the augment यान्न, and before those terminations, consequently, we have only one form: as यान्न + तित्व = यान्न + तित्व = यान्न 'covering,' यान्न 'which ought to be covered.'
4. A Sārvadhyātuka (III. 4. 113) affix not having an indicatory य is like nit.

The terminations which are added to roots are either Sārvadhyātuka or Ārdhadvātuka. The Sārvadhyātuka terminations are all those that are marked with य and also the tense terminations called निद्र, the latter are the following:

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Atmanepada.

Except the terminations marked with य such as वि वि and वि &c. all the other Sārvadhyātuka terminations are निद्र. The निद्र terminations like श्रु, श्रवः &c., are also Sārvadhyātuka terminations. These affixes are also निद्र, unless they have a य as indicatory, as श्रु. Thus the affix निद्र, being an चारण Sārvadhyātuka affix, is a निद्र, and before it the vowel is not yunated: e.g. कु़ेल: ‘they two do.’ The equation is:—कु + य + सय (the य is added by Rule III. 1. 79) = कु + य + ससू (VI. 4. 110) = कु + य + ससू = कुहसू:॥

Similarly क्युेलिं ‘they do.’

Here the य of करू is changed into य and we have कु, by virtue of rule VI. 4. 110, which declares that the य of the verb करू is changed into य before those Sārvadhyātuka affixes which are निद्र or निद्र. Here ससू is a Sārvadhyātuka निद्र affix by the present rule, and hence the change.

These four sutras describe the निद्र terminations.

Why do we say ‘a Sārvadhyātuka affix?’ Because an Ārdhadvātuka affix though not being marked with an indicatory य will not be a निद्र. As कतै ‘doer,’ कतै ‘to do’ कतै ‘duty.’

Why do we say ‘not having an indicatory य’? If a Sārvadhyātuka affix has an indicatory य it will not be निद्र. As कु + य + निद्र = करोथि ‘he does.’ करोथि ‘thou doest,’ करोथि ‘I do.’

अत्योगान्तिक फिटू ॥ ॥ पदवनि ॥ अत्योगान्तिक, रिडू, फिलू, (अविद्वा) ॥

प्रत्येकम: ॥ अत्योगान्तिकान्तरती: शरो निद्र सर्वोपिनि निद्रपदार्थ। ॥
5. The affixes of Lit (Perfect Tense) not coming after a conjunct consonant, are as if they had an indicatory स् (kit).

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

Thus from फित् 'to tear' the Reduplicated non-पित second person perfect is चित्वित्: 'thou hast torn.' चित्वित्: 'they have torn.'

Similarly चित्वित्: 'thou hast divided;' चित्वित्: 'you divided;' ग्रज्ञ: and ग्रज्ञ.

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

The पित terminations of the Perfect are not kit; and therefore, we have ध्रुध्रु: 'he has divided,' where the root is grafted before the 3rd person singular termination ध्रु which is a फित termination, because it being the substitute of ध्रु is regarded like ध्रु by I. 1. 56.

(वित् कित्) II

6. The Lit or Perfect Tense affixes after the roots indhi 'to kindle,' and bhu 'to become,' also are kit.

After these two roots the terminations of the Perfect are कित्.

These roots have been especially mentioned, because the root ध्रु ending in a compound consonant will not be governed by sūtra 5; and the root ध्रु is mentioned because all the terminations of the Perfect are कित् after ध्रु, not excepting the फित terminations. Thus the verbs ध्रीचि and ध्री are illustrations of Perfect Tense from the root ध्रु as in the following examples:—सध्रुध्रु (Rig Veda VI. 16. 15), and ध्रु हेवे पचिवे (Rig Veda VI. 16. 14). Here the nasal of the root is dropped by regarding the affix as कित्. Similarly from the root ध्रु, we have ध्रुध्रु, ध्रुध्रु.

Vart:—This rule should be applied also to the verbs ध्रु 'to loosen,' ध्रु 'to fasten,' ध्रु 'to injure' and ध्रु 'to embrace.' As ध्रुध्रु: 'thou hast
loosened) अन्य + अन्तूर=अप + तुर. (The तुर is elided by the rule already mentioned in the last sūtra viś., VI. 4. 24).

=अन्य + अप + तुर=अपुरः (VI. 4. 120). Similarly शेषूः,; शेषूः,; परिष्ठलः,
परिष्ठलः.

एक्ष-तिन्य-यद-वष्णु, त्र्य (कित्) ॥

प्रश्नः॥ इस द्वितीय संस्कृत शब्द है जिस द्वारा इसदिवर्षीय परस्पर वित्तदंतैः परः स्त्रापंशयोऽन्तवादी।

7. The affix kīt is kit after mṛqd ‘to be gracious,’ mṛdz ‘to squeeze,’ gudh ‘to wrap up,’ kush ‘to tear,’ kliś ‘to suffer,’ vād ‘to speak’ and to vas ‘dwell.’

After these seven verbs, the gerundial kītā is kit. It might be objected, what was the necessity of this sūtra? The affix kītā is clearly a kit suffix, as it is marked with the diacritical letter त, and it was useless to call it a kit suffix after these verbs. The reason of this apparent repetition is this. Though kītā is a kit suffix generally; but there is a later sūtra in this chapter (I. 2. 18) which declares that the prefix तुर is not कित्, if it is preceded by the intermediate त. Or in other words, if तम is added to those verbs, which are called तुर verbs, viz., that take an intermediate त, it is not then kit. Thus the verb तम ‘to sleep’ is तम.

Therefore तम + त + तम = तम + त + तम = तमितम.

Now it happens that all the seven verbs mentioned in the sūtra are तुर verbs, and take an intermediate त. The तम before these verbs would have lost its kitness by virtue of sūtra 18; therefore arose the necessity of this sūtra, to provide in anticipation an exception to that sūtra, in favor of these verbs, where the affix kītā is necessarily kit. Thus we have श्रीतिं ‘being gracious’ श्रीतिः ‘having squeezed’ गुप्तिः ‘having wrapped’ कुणिं ‘having torn,’ क्तितिः ‘having suffered’ श्रीतिः ‘having spoken’ श्रीतिः ‘having dwelt.’ The त of तम and तम are changed into त by the rule of Samprasārāṇa (VI. 1. 15).

Moreover in the case of the verbs तम, तम and तम, sūtra 26 would have made तम optionally kit; the present sūtra makes it necessarily so.

एक्ष-तिन्य-यद-वष्णु, (कित्) ॥

प्रश्नः॥ इस विशेष्य शब्द में शीतर श्रीतिः प्रचक्यकृते हः प्रचक्यकृते हः च फलोऽन्तवादी ॥

8. The affixes kītā and san (III. 1. 7) are kit, after rud ‘to weep,’ vid ‘to know,’ mush ‘to steal,’ grāh ‘to seize,’ svāp ‘to sleep,’ and prachchh ‘to ask.’
After the above mentioned verbs the \( \text{ktu} \) though taking an intermediate \( \text{r} \), and the affix \( \text{sru} \) are \( \text{kitu} \). The affix \( \text{sru} \) is employed in forming desiderative verbs. The \( \text{ru} \) of \( \text{sru} \) is \( \text{ru} \), the real affix being \( \text{r} \). The root is reduplicated before this \( \text{sru} \) affix. Thus शहिस्वत् ‘having cried,’ शहिस्वत श ‘he wishes to cry’; शहिस्वत् ‘having known,’ शहिस्वतिवि ‘he wishes to know’; शहिस्वत् (VI. 1. 16). ‘having taken,’ शहिस्वति ‘he wishes to take’; शहिस्वत् ‘having stolen,’ शहिस्वतिवि ‘he wishes to steal’; शहिस्वत् (VI. 1. 15) ‘having slept,’ शहिस्वति ‘he wishes to sleep,’ शहिस्वत् (VI. 1. 16) ‘having asked,’ शहिस्वति ‘he wishes to ask’. The verb शहिस्वत् is changed into शहिस्वत्, शहिस्वत् into शहिस्वत्, शहिस्वत् into शहिस्वत् before \( \text{kit} \) affixes by samprastāna (VI. 1. 16).

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

9. The affix \( \text{san} \) beginning with a letter of the \textit{Pratyāhāra jhal} is like \( \text{kit} \), after verbs ending in \( \text{ik} \) vowels.

In this sūtra there is the \textit{anuvṛtti} of \( \text{san} \) only and not of \( \text{r} \). The sūtra literally translated means:— “After \( \text{ik} \) the \textit{jhal}.” The \textit{Pratyāhāra jhal} contains the four letters \( \text{ru} \), \( \text{ru} \), \( \text{ru} \), \( \text{ru} \). The \textit{Pratyāhāra jhal} contains all the consonants, except the nasals and the liquids. After the verbs ending in \( \text{ru} \) the desiderative suffix \( \text{sru} \) is \( \text{kit} \), when it is \( \text{ru} \); that is to say when the affix \( \text{sru} \) does not take the intermediate \( \text{r} \). The affix \( \text{sru} \) is an affix which begins with \( \text{ru} \) a letter of the \( \text{ru} \) class. But if the intermediate \( \text{ru} \) is added before it, it is no longer a \( \text{ru} \) class affix, and in that case it is not \( \text{kit} \). Thus from \( \text{r} \) ‘to conquer’ which is a verb ending in \( \text{ru} \), we have \( \text{nu} \) \‘he wishes to conquer’ \( \text{ru} \) ‘to mix’ \( \text{ru} \); so also \( \text{ru} \) ‘to do,’ श्रव्याभिधि \( \text{ru} \) ‘to cross’ विवर्भिधि, \( \text{ru} \) ‘to be’ \( \text{ru} \).

If however, verbs ending in \( \text{ru} \) or \( \text{ru} \) or \( \text{ru} \) or \( \text{ru} \), take an intermediate \( \text{r} \), they likewise take \( \text{gūpa} \). As:— \( \text{r} \) ‘to smile’ takes \( \text{gūpa} \), and makes its desiderative विवर्भिधि.
The अन्नार्षि चर्च is not *kit* after verbs ending in any other letter than the अन्नार्षि. As विपश्चि (from पर) 'he wishes to drink.' So from पर, we have विद्यशि.

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

हस्तस्तालि II 39 II पद्यनि II हस्त-अस्तालि, च, (इक, इक, चर्च, चर्च, चर्च, चर्च) II

प्रमिः 5 इगन्नार्षिकम्भीरस्वः: पर: चर्च अन्नार्षि: चर्च (चर्च) II

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

Thus from चर्च 'to pierce' we have चर्च 'he wishes to break.' Here the root चर्च contains the इक vowel इ; it ends in a consonant इ; the affix चर्च is directly added without taking an intermediate इ, and therefore it fulfills all the conditions of the sūtra; and the vowel is not gunated.
If the final consonant of the verb is not preceded by a vowel of the \( \text{श} \) class, the affix \( \text{श} \) is not \( \text{कित} \) after such a verb. As यत्र + सत्व. + श् = नियमिते ‘wishes to sacrifice.’ Had the affix \( \text{श} \) been here a \( \text{कित} \) affix, there would have been samprāṣāraṇa by rule VI. 1. 16 which declares that there is samprāṣāraṇa of the verbs वत्र., रवत्र., and वज., &c., before \( \text{कित} \) affixes.

If the \( \text{सन्} \) takes the intermediate \( \text{ष} \) and is then no longer a िमादि \( \text{ष} \), it is not \( \text{कित} \); and causes gunation etcetera, As वत्र. + ष + सन्. = नियमिते ‘he desires to be.’ Here there is gupā of \( \text{ष} \).

Roots like यत्र., यत्र., &c., are governed by this rule, though they end in conjunct consonants, for the word यत्र. of the सूत्र means jāti or class; thus यत्र. + सन्. + छित्र. = यत्र. + छित्र. (VI. 4. 24 the \( m. \) being elided by treating यत्र. as \( यत्र. \) = नियमिते or नियमिते (VII. 4. 56).

\[ \text{विनियमकालेनेश्वरेऽ} \] \[ \text{र्गति} \] \[ \text{विनियमकालेनेश्वरेऽ} \] \[ \text{प्रति} \] \[ \text{विनियमकालेनेश्वरेऽ} \] \[ \text{प्रति} \] \[ \text{विनियमकालेनेश्वरेऽ} \] \[ \text{प्रति} \] \[ \text{विनियमकालेनेश्वरेऽ} \] \[ \text{प्रति} \] \[ \text{विनियमकालेनेश्वरेऽ} \] \[ \text{प्रति} \] \[ \text{विनियमकालेनेश्वरेऽ} \] \[ \text{प्रति} \] \[ \text{विनियमकालेनेश्वरेऽ} \] \[ \text{प्रति} \] \[ \text{विनियमकालेनेश्वरेऽ} \] \[ \text{प्रति} \] \[ \text{विनियमकालेनेश्वरेऽ} \] \[ \text{प्रति} \] \[ \text{विनियमकालेनेश्वरेऽ} \]

11. After roots ending in a consonant, that adjoins a vowel of \( \text{श} \) pratyāhāra, the substitutes of \( \text{līṅ} \) (III. 3. 161) and \( \text{sīc}k \) (III. 1. 44) when they begin with a consonant of jhal pratyāhāra, are \( \text{कित} \); when the ātmanepada affixes follow.

The sūtra consists of two words विनियमकालेनेश्वरेऽ and यत्र., सप्ति, literally meaning “the affixes \( \text{līṅ} \) and \( \text{sīc}k \) in the Ātmanepada.” The other phrases, given in the above text must be supplied from the previous sūtras, to complete the sense. The \( \text{सप्ति} \) of the word सय., that began with sūtra 8, does not extend further. As:—सित्सम्प्रदाय ‘may he break’ and चर्चार्थ ‘may he know,’ जनित ‘he broke’ चर्चार्थ ‘he knew.

Thus the root यत्र. ends with a simple consonant, is preceded by ष a letter of ष pratyāhāra; after this root the jhalādi affix यत्र. of Benedictive in the Ātmanepada is treated like षत्र.; therefore there is no gupā substitution of the vowel of the root before this affix. षत्र. + षत्र. = नियमिते. Similarly in the Aorist we have आत्मित्व. = ष + षत्र. + षत्र. + ष, the ष of Aorist being elided by VIII. 2. 26. So also वय. + षत्र. = वय. + षत्र. (VIII. 2. 37) = नियमिते.

If the final consonant is not preceded by an \( \text{कित} \) vowel, this rule will not apply. Thus Ben. यत्र. + षत्र. = यत्र. + षत्र. (VIII. 2. 36) = यत्र. + षत्र. (VIII. 2. 41) = वय. (VIII. 3. 58). Similarly its Aorist is यत्र. Had the affixes षत्र. and ष. been \( \text{कित} \), they would have caused samprāṣāraṇa of ष by VI. 1. 16.
This rule will not apply, if the Benedictive and Aorist affixes are Parasmaipadi. Thus the Aorist of छोटु ‘to let off,’ is भ + छोटु + छीतु = छ + भ + छी + भ + छीतु (VI. 1. 58) = छोट्व + छीतु (VI. 1. 77) = वासचतुर्भ (VII. 2. 1). Similarly from छूट we have Aorist Parasmaipadi छद्यात्मी. Had the Aorist been छितु, rule VI. 1. 58 (छूट is the augment of the verbs छूट and छूट when an affix beginning with a jhal and not having an indicatory छ follows), would not have applied.

This rule will also not apply, if the verb ends in a vowel. Thus of the verb धन, we have Ben. पधन, Aor. पधनह. Had the affixes been धितु, there would have been no guna substitution of र into र.

The rule will not apply if these affixes are not jhalāti but take the augment यह. Thus Ben. यह + शष्ठी = शष्ठीत, so also Aorist यष्ठीत. Had they been यितु, there would have been no guna substitution.

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

12. And after verbs ending in य, the substitutes of लित and the affix sich, are kit, when they begin with jhal, and the Atmanepada affixes follow.

As from य ‘to do’ the benedictive is यित ‘may he do.’ So also यित, as यित ‘he did.’ So also यित and यित.

Of course this rule would not apply if these terminations take the intermediate द as द + दष्टी = दष्टी ‘may he choose,’ (Benedictive); द + द + दष्टी = दष्टीत or दष्टीत ‘he chose or covered,’ the द being lengthened by VII. 2. 38.

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

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

The result of its being kit is that the nasal is dropped in the Atmanepada, in forming the Aorist with धितु, and the Benedictive. Thus we have
the forms: संस्तीत् or संस्तीति in the Benédictive; and स्थापन or स्थापत्ति in the sich Aorist. These forms are thus evolved:

सन्तु + धातु + सीत = सन्तु + धातु + सीत (VI. 4. 37) = संस्तीति 'may he combine.'

Here the nasal ध of धातु is elided by treating the affix सीत as धृत्र by Rule VI. 4. 37. In the alternative we have संस्तीति.

So in the aorist सन्तु + धातु + सीत + त = सन्तु + धातु + गुरु + त (VI. 4. 37) = गुरुगति.

The धृत्र being elided by VIII. 2. 27 (after a short inuctive base, there is elision of धृत्र, if a धृत्र follows). So when ध of धातु is elided by VI. 4. 37, there remains only ध which is a base ending in short ध, hence, the elision of धृत्र. But in the alternative we have गुरुगति.

एन्: धित्रि ॥ ॥ पदासनि ॥ एन्: धित्रि ॥ (धित्रि) ॥

इति: ॥ इस्तीवेदार्थ: परि: धित्रि विशेषवर्गः ॥

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

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

यदेन गम्यने ॥ ॥ पदासनि ॥ वन्: गम्यने, (धित्रि भाष्यने-पदेनु कित्रि) ॥

इति: ॥ इस्तीवेदार्थार्थ: यथावाचार्यः सित्रि वेद्याः कित्रि भवः भाष्यनेषां पदेनु परसः ॥

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

The word गद्धन is 'to divulge,' 'to make known that which had been concealed.' The verb हनु has various meanings.

The result of kit is that the nasal is elided. The verb हनु becomes Atmanepada when preceded by the preposition भाष्य by Rule I. 3. 28. Thus हनु + धा + हनु + त = भाष्यसित्रि 'he divulged,' भाष्यतातुर, भाष्यसित्रि, the sich is elided by VIII. 2. 27 and धा by VI. 4. 37. When the verb हनु has any other meaning than 'to divulge,' then the धित्रि in the Atmanepada is not kit; as भाष्यत हनु 'he raised the foot.' So also भाष्यसित्रि हन्तुहन्तु 'he raised water from the
well.' Though here the verb *yam*, is in the transitive form and takes an object after it, yet it is Atmanepadi by Rule I. 3. 75 which declares 'after the verb *yam* to strive, preceded by समु, द्वौ and चार्य when it does not refer to a book, the Atmanepada is employed.'

16. The *sich* before Atmanepada affixes is *kit* optionally, when *yam* means 'to espouse.'

Thus उपाय अन्य अन्य or वायाय अन्य 'he espoused the girl,' वचाय or वचायस्य अन्य 'he espoused his wife.'

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

17. The affix *sich* before Atmanepada affixes, is *kit* after *sthd* "to stand" and *ghu* (I. 1. 20) verbs, and these verbs change their चा into ्र before these terminations.

The roots ध्वन्य 'to stand,' ध्वन्य 'to give,' ध्वन्य 'to place,' ध्वन्य 'to pity' ध्वन्य 'to feed' ध्वन्य 'to cut' change their vowels into ्र before the terminations of the Aorist of the Atmanepada; and those terminations are also *kit*. As ध्वनिर्स्थि, 'he worshipped,' ध्वनिर्स्थि, ध्वनिर्स्थि; ध्वनिर्स्थि 'he gave' ध्वनिर्स्थि 'he fed.'

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

We had had occasion to refer to this sūtra in explaining sūtra 7. The affix *ktd* (the actual affix being *tud*, the *k* being merely *it* or indicatory letter) is on the face of it a *kit* affix. This sūtra however limits its kinship to cases where it is not *sét*. If it is *sét* i.e., has before it the intermediate र it will not be treated like a *kit* affix. Thus in ध्वन्य, ध्वन्य, the affix ध्वन्य is added directly to the root ध्वन्य 'to do' and ध्वन्य 'to sacrifice,' without an intermediate र and therefore the root has not been gunuted, the affix here being *kit*. But in
The affix is not kit, because there is an intermediate र before शा and the root has been consequently gunated.

Of course this sūtra relates to पूर्व kśet only. Other affixes though having an intermediate र will be treated as kit, if they have an indicator र. Thus the affix निन्द्र (III. 3. 94) by which feminine nouns are formed from roots is a क्रिया affix. This affix when थें, will remain निन्द्र, as निन्द्र + थें निन्द्र = निन्द्र + थें + थें (VI. 1. 16) = निन्द्रिणित (VII. 2. 37). Here there is samprastāpa by treating kitu as kit. So also in व्यतिनिबिधि and तिर्कवर्ति: there is no gupa. After थें &c., the affix निन्द्र takes the augment थें by a Vārtika under sūtra VII. 2. 9 which see.

19. The set Nishṭhā affixes are not kit after the verbs सि ‘to lie down,’ स्विद ‘to sweat,’ मिन ‘to melt,’ क्षोव ‘to be unctuous,’ and ध्रिप ‘to offend.’

The Nishṭhās are sta and kṣavatu (see sūtra 26, Chapter I). They are obviously kit affixes. But in the case of the above five roots they are not kit, and the vowels take gupa. Thus श्रियक: slept, श्रविहार, श्रेष्ठिक, श्रेष्ठक, श्रेष्ठिति; श्रविहित, श्राहित, श्राहिति; श्राहिति; &c. In all the above roots the Nishṭha affixes are also set.

The roots सिन्द्र (सिन्द्र), सिन्द्र (सिन्द्र), सिन्द्र (सिन्द्र) and पूर्व (पूर्व) have all long श as indicator, as well as the syllable सिन्द्र. These roots therefore by Rule VII. 2. 16 are generally anīṣ, and consequently beyond the scope of the operation of the present sūtra. As सिन्द्र, सिन्द्रवात्. But when the Nishṭhā affixes denote सि a state or condition, bhāva, or beginning of action, then the above four roots optionally become set. (VII. 2. 17) It is in that case that the present sūtra is applicable to them.

20. The set Nishṭhā is not kit after the verb mṛish when meaning ‘to forbear.’

Thus नाधित ‘forborne’ नाधितवात् ‘forbore.’

Why do we say ‘when meaning to forbear?’ When it has not this sense, the set nishṭhā will be क्रिया. As स्पद्यिते शास्त्रवात् ‘he spoke unintelligible language.’
21. The set Nishṭā is optionally not kit, after the verbs with a penultimate य if used impersonally or denoting the beginning of action.

According to some the set Nishṭā suffixes are not kit after the verbs having a penultimate य if those verbs are used impersonally (bhāva) or denote the beginning of action (ādi-karman). Thus युवव ‘to shine’युववत्तनेन or युववत्तनेन ‘it has been lighted.’ Similarly प्रववित: or प्रववित: ‘he first illumined.’ The word penultimate or upadha has been defined in śūtra 65 ante.

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

This rule has no application where the Nishṭā does not express either भाव ‘condition’ or ‘impersonal action’; or भाविक ‘beginning of action’ but is used as a verbal adjective. As रविष्णु, कारयोज्य रविष्णु ‘he gives a shining coin (called kāṛshāpaṇa).’ Here the word रविष्ण ‘shining’ is used as adjective.

The rule applies to the Nishṭā which takes the intermediate य and not to others as युववत्तनेन ‘the rice that has been eaten.’ Here no option is allowed.

This optional form of past participle is restricted in its scope. Those verbs which take the vikaraṇa युष्ण i.e. the verbs of the Bhu class &c., admit of this option. Thus युष्ण ‘to wrap up’ belongs to Divādi class, and therefore, its participle has one form only as सूचित:.

पूष्ण: द्वा: च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूष्ण, धा, च (वेष्ट: विष्णु, न निष्ट:.)

प्रववित: परे निष्टा परमाय: कृष्ण च वेष्ट: विष्णु कित्वति. ॥

22. The set Nishṭā and the set kvit are not kit after the verb puṇ ‘to purify.

The word ‘optionally’ of the previous śūtra 21 does not govern this śūtra, because the word ‘optionally’ has been again used in the next śūtra 23; of which there would have been no necessity, had the word ‘optionally’ governing force in this śūtra, for then this would have also governed the next śūtra. The anuvṛtti of न वेष्ट however is to be read in this śūtra.
By rule VII. 2. 51 after the verb यू the affixes निश्ठाः and क्रृत् क्तुर्द take the intermediate र. So that क्रृत् क्तुर्द being नेत्र (by virtue of Rule VII. 2. 51) would have been non-kit by Rule 18; and it might be asked what is the necessity of repeating it in this शृःत्रa when शृःत्रa 18 comprised the case. The reason of this repetition is that by mentioning क्रृत् क्तुर्द in this शृःत्रa, it has governing force over the succeeding शृःत्रas. As पार्वः, पार्वतप्रवा.

नौपानाया प्रजास्ताः शृःत्रा || पदानं || न-उपपानायाः-शृःताः

बा (ध्व वेद्न न निस्त्) ||

श्रवण: || नानाधिकाराप्राप्तव्रतानवाचकारानवाच पर: क्रृत् मर्ययः: वेद्ना न किस्मति ||

23. The नेत्र क्तुर् is optionally कित्, after the verbs having a penultimate न and ending in र and य.

The नेत्र क्तुर् may or may not be कित् after the verbs ending in र or य preceded by a nasal. The result of being कित् will be that nasal will be dropped. In other words the dropping of the nasal is optional in such verbs. Thus from श्याम we have श्यायित्वा or श्यायित्वा 'having twisted,' श्यायित्वा or श्यायित्वा 'having tied round' श्यायित्वा or श्यायित्वा.

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

This rule does not apply to verbs that have not a penultimate न though they may end in र or य. As रेणिश्वा 'having reviled' रेणिश्वा 'having tied.' Here by rule 18, the या क्तुर् being non-kit, the vowels of the root रेण, and रेन have been gusted.

A verb may have a penultimate न, but if it has not final र or य, the rule does not apply. As श्याय + दश्याय श्यायित्वा 'having dropped' यायित्वा 'having killed.' Had it been कित्, the nasal would have been dropped.

वर्णाक्षुज्ज्वलिता शृःत्रा || पदानं || वर्ण-वर्ण-ज्वलिता, च, (क्त्रा वेद्न न किस्त्) ||

श्रवण: || श्रवण रूपाणि सन्तु रूपाणि सन्तु: पर: क्रृत् मर्ययः: वेद्ना न किस्मति ||

24. The नेत्र क्तुर् is optionally कित्, after the verbs वार्ण, 'to cheat' लुन्च 'to pluck' and रित 'to dare or abhor.'

After the above three verbs, the क्तुर् affix being नेत्र, may or may not be कित्. As श्यायित्वा or श्यायित्वा 'having cheated.' So also लुन्चित्वा or लुन्चित्वा 'having plucked' लुन्चित्वा or लुन्चित्वा 'having dared.'

When the verb करत् रित takes the affix इस्त्र it is not governed by this शृःत्रa. See शृःत्रa III. 1. 9.
When the $ktu$ is not $s$, but $ani$, then there is no option allowed.

As प्रश्न + स्व. - स्वाति.

25. The सेत $ktu$ is optionally $kit$, according to the opinion of Rishi Kaśyapa, after the verbs trish 'to be thirsty,' mrish 'to sprinkle,' and krish 'to become lean.'

As घास्त्त or सप्त्त 'having thirsted,' दरिया or मरिया 'having sprinkled,' दुःस्त्त or कहरिया 'having become lean.' By sūtra 18, the सेत $ktu$ is never $kit$. This sūtra adds another exception to that general rule.

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

26. After a verb which begins with a consonant, and ends in a letter of Rat pratyāhāra, and has as its penultimate $r$ or $r$, अ or $a$, the $ktu$ and $san$ affixes are optionally $kit$.

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

1. रत्र: ralab, ablative of रत्र (after the consonants included in the Pratyāhāra $ra$ i.e., all the consonants except य and व).—Verbs having their final letter any single consonant except य or व.

2. रत्रपातास्त्त means "after penultimate शी." It is a compound of शी + रपास्त्त. The शी itself is a compound of य + र = रि, in the dual शी. Therefore the phrase means "after (verbs) having for their penultimate either रि or रि long or short."

3. शताश्च: means "beginning with a consonant."

All these three words qualify the word "verb" understood.

4. संत्त means "and san."

The sūtra means, those verbs which have a रत्र letter in the end, a रत्र in the beginning, and an र or र, अ in their penultimate, may optionally treat the affixes $ktu$ and $san$ as शताश्च.
Thus सुर्य ‘to shine,’ makes हस्तिश्व or दाॅतिश्व ‘having shone,’ लिखू ‘to write’ makes लिखित्व or लेखित्व.

Similarly in san affix we have लिखित्व or लेखित्व ‘he wishes to write’ लिखुत्तिपति र विज़ुतिपति ‘he wishes to shine.’

The rule does not apply if the verb ends in a letter other than द्र.  
As धित + कृष्ण = द्रेष्वत्र; its desiderative will be लिखितिपति. No option is allowed here.

Similarly there is no option when the penultimate vowel is not ह or ड. As द्रित + कृष्ण = द्रतिस्व. Des. चिताितिपति.

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

The rule does not apply if the द्र and दृ are anit. As शुक्ष, द्रुष्णते.

In these 26 सूत्रs the description of affixes which are treated like द्रित and द्रित is comprised.

श्रवणेण दृष्टि-प्रलयुः: || ॥ ॥ पदानि || अष्ट्र-काल: अष्ट्र, दृष्ट्र- 

प्रत्य्य: || र न न म दृष्ट्रे कालो-न्नम बायणमेन द्वितिपति दृष्ट्रे वचो पभिर || ॥

27. A vowel whose time is that of short उ, long ठ and the prolated ठ, is called respectively krasva short, dīrgha long, and pluta prolated.

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

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

As र्वे ‘curd’ मुख ‘honey’ here स and त are short. युग्म, गोरी, here त is long. श्रवणेण बायणमेन Devadatta ! Here ठ a is pluta or prolated.

These words are used in the following sūtras I. 2. 47, VII. 4. 25. 82.

अष्ट्र || ॥ ॥ पदानि || अष्ट्र, व ( दृष्ट्र दृष्ट्रे मुलः: ) ||

प्रत्य्य: || र्वे सौ बन्धा: सन्ततिमात्रवनानां बायणस्त्रे चेत्तिनां: ||

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

This is a paribhāṣā सूत्र, and declares the object to which the terms ‘short,’ ‘long’ and ‘prolated’ are to be applied. When in this book ‘short’
'long' or 'prolated' are taught by using the words *kṛṣṇa, dirgha or pluta*, they must be understood to apply to vowels. As will be found in the sūtra. 1. 2. 47. 1 "there is the substitution of *kṛṣṇa* or short in the neuter gender of the crude-form." The word 'vowel' must be inserted in this sūtra to complete the sense. That is—*the kṛṣṇa is substituted for the final vowel of the crude-form*. As है पालिवे, नौ पालिवे, गौ वर्षु.

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

As सूक्ष्मां भास्माध्यक्षुः.

Similarly sūtra VII. 4. 25 "teaches "There is the substitution of *dirgha* or 'long vowel' before all affixes beginning with the letter य, except *kṛṣṇa* and *Sārvadhatu* affixes." Here also the word 'vowel' must be read into the sūtra; which will then be "of an infective base ending in a vowel, the long vowel shall be the substitute &c." As ह + व + ह = निहोते 'it is collected'; य + य + ह = यूहदे 'it is heard'. Why do we say "in the place of vowels only"? The substitution must take place in the room of a vowel and not of a consonant. As ह + य + ह = हियोहे 'it is divided,' हियोहे 'it is pierced'.

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

Why do we say "in the place of vowels only"? The substitution must be in the place of the vowel of the ह and not of the consonant. As वर्मिनविभ्यः, सामसुचः. Here the syllables हम and हम are ह, and the vowels ह and ह have been prolated and not the consonant ह.

The substitution must be enunciated as such by using the terms, *kṛṣṇa, dirgha, and pluta*. Therefore it is not so here; घोः; पप्यः; ता, घूँघूँ खूँँ: See I. 1. 4.

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

With this sūtra begins the description of the three sorts of vowel accents. The accent placed on a vowel by raising the voice is called *udātta* or *acute* accent. As ख्रिमः: *agnih*, here i has the acute accent. The udātta is not marked

(1) हस्ते मृदुः प्रतिप्रतियां || (2) सहस्त्रयांतः || (3) बायस्याः: वर्षु वर्षः || दूसरा: सः ||
in writing. The word 'vowel' of the previous sūtra is understood in this also. These accents are the qualities of letters, and are well known in the sacred and profane literature. The vowel which is perceived as having a high tone is called udātta. This tone depends upon the organ from which the vowel is pronounced. In the various organs, such as the throat, palate &c., if a vowel is pronounced from a higher part of that organ, it is called udātta.

The vowel in the pronouncing of which there is the restraining and checking of the bodily parts, and in which there is dryness and roughness of tone, as well as a contraction of the larynx, is said to have the acute accent. The word is used in sūtra III. 1. 3. "the first vowel of an affix has the udātta accent." As क + तव्यस्त = कतव्यस्त कर्तव्यम.

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

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

This word is used in sūtra III. 1. 4. "The case terminations called द्रुप and those affixes that have an indicatory द are anudatta" &c. As न, बोधनि.

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

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

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

The word is used in sūtra VI. 1. 185. "The affixes having an indicatory द द have svarita accent." As क्रि कन्या क्रि कित्वं रसिभेद, क जुका.

(1) वाचनस्त्रय (9) अनुदात्तस्त्रय (3) वर्णावलि
This sūtra is not to be understood to mean that a svarīta is the resultant of the combination of two vowels, an udātta vowel with an anudātta vowel. It means the accent midway between the two well-known qualities of letters known as acute and grave accents.

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

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

The phrase ardhahrasa is used to indicate half the measure of a short vowel. Thus if a short vowel is svarīta, its mātrā being one, half will be udātta and the other half anudātta. If a long vowel, whose mātrās are two, be svarīta, then \( \frac{1}{2} \) will be udātta, \( \frac{1}{2} \) will be anudātta. If a pluta (protracted) vowel be svarīta, then first half measure will be udātta, and the remaining \( \frac{3}{4} \) measures will be anudātta. In short, the udātta portion of a svarīta must not occupy more time than is taken in pronouncing a half short vowel. Thus in शिक्षर Yāstam the \( \text{a} \) is svarīta, half being acute, the other half, grave or monotony; in कर्ण kārya, the long \( \text{a} \) is svarīta, its first half measure is acute, the remaining \( \frac{1}{2} \) is grave; in मानवका manavakā, here a prolated is svarīta, its first \( \frac{1}{2} \) is accute, the balance \( \frac{3}{4} \) measure is grave.

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

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

The word 'Sambuddhi' means here addressing a person from a distance; and has not its technical meaning of the singular number of the vocative case. As माणश्च शो माणक श्रवणां 'O boy Devadatta! come.' There is vanishing of all the accents in the above case; and the final short vowel of Devadatta is changed into pluta by the rule already referred to in s. 28 ante (VIII. 2. 84 सूत्राणुष्ठ)
If the person is not addressed from a distance, then the word will get its proper accent. As भागवन् नू भागवन् शेषम् ‘come, O boy. Devadatta.’

यज्ञाकर्ममेवपूर्णस्यादृश्यामास ॥ ३४ ॥ पद्धतिः ॥ यज्ञ-कर्ममेव, अज- । । । ।

कृत्ति: ॥ यज्ञाकर्ममेवपूर्णस्यादृश्यामास ॥ ३५ ॥ पद्धतिः ॥ यज्ञ-कर्ममेव, अज- । ।

34. In sacrificial works, there is Monotony, except in japa (silent repetition of a formula), Nyāṇkha vowels (sixteen sorts of om) and the Sāma vedas.

In “sacrificial works” or on occasions of sacrifice, the mantras of the Veda are recited in Ekaśruti or monotony. But on occasions of ordinary reading, the mantras are to be recited with their proper three-fold accents.

“Japa” is the repetition of mantras, and their recitation in a low voice or whisper. Nyāṇkha is the name of certain hymns of the veda, and the names of 16 sorts of “Om.” Some of these are pronounced with udātta and others with anudātta accent. Sāmas are songs, or the musical cadence in which some vedic hymns are to be uttered. As—सम्मुदाताः प्राणस्य: प्रशुद्धाः प्रवणस्य: प्रचन्दाः। नामाणि चि: नामाणि

35. The pronunciation of the word vashaṭ may optionally be by raising the voice (accurately accented), or it may be pronounced with monotony.

The phrase “yajña-karma” is understood here. Even in yajña-karmas or sacrifices the word भ्रेत्र may optionally be pronounced in a raised tone. The word भ्रेत्र in the sūtra signifies श्रेत्र. But why was not the word श्रेत्र used in the text, it could have been used with as much ease as भ्रेत्र? To this natural query, the only answer is, श्रेत्र श्रेत्र। श्रेत्र: प्राणिन: strange and wonderful is the structure of Pāṇini’s aphorisms. Thus सीताराम: श्रीसेना प्रभु प्रभु or दोन्तराम: श्रीसेना प्रभु प्रभु.
36. The Monotony is optional in the recitation of the Vedas, or they may be recited with accents. In the Chhandas or the Vedas, option either to use the Ekaśruti tone or the three tones. Even on the occasion of ordinary reading, the Chhandas might be uttered either with the three accents or monotonously. Some say this is a limited option (vyavasthita-vibhāshā).

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

Thus:—यात्रेः पुरोहिते or simply यात्रेः पुरोहिते. “I praise Agni the purohita.”

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

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

The subbrahmanya hymns are portions of Rig Veda mentioned in ātaphatha Brāhmaṇa.

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

As सुमुद्रस्यो । निन्द्रास्या बतिरु पुराण:। Here the word सुमुद्रस्य is formed by the addition of the affix वरु to the word सुमुद्र, and this षा will get svarita
accent by VI. 1. 185, (सिस्तिशिर) as it has an indicatory ङ्; by the present sūtra, this nascent svarīta is changed into uddāta. In the phrase इद्व यागः, the word Indra being in the vocative case, ्व is uddāta, the ्व of Indra is anuddāta VI. 1. 198. The anuddāta preceded by an uddāta is changed into svarīta (VIII. 4. 66) *.

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

38. The word deva and Brahmāna in those hymns have anuddāta accent.

By sūtra 37, it was declared, that in subrahmānya hymns, svarīta accent is replaced by uddāta accent. This sūtra makes an exception in favor of the words ्व and ्व occurring in those hymns. These words have anuddāta accent. As इद्व यागः यागः 'come ye Devas and Brahmāpas.' Here the word इद्व gets uddāta accent on the first syllable by rule VI. 1. 198. (in the vocative the accent is on the beginning): ्व इद्व has originally an anuddāta accent which by rule VIII. 4. 66 * (an anuddāta following an uddāta is changed into svarīta) would have been changed into svarīta. This svarīta, by the previous sūtra required to be changed into uddāta; but by this rule, it is replaced by anuddāta. In other words, the original anuddāta remains unchanged.

39. The Monotony takes the place of the anuddāta vowels which follow the svarīta vowels, in close proximity (sahita).

Sahita is the joining of two or more words in a sentence, for the purposes of reading or reciting. When words are thus glued together, then
the anudatā accents become Ekaśruti if they are preceded by svarita vowels; and are pronounced monotonously. As हे स्म गङ्गे वयुने सरस्वति (Rig Veda X. 75. 5) O Ganga, Yamuna, Sarasvati! this mine.

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

The word “sanhita” has been used in the sūtra to show that when there is a hiatus between the words then there is no change of anudatā into ekaśruti. The word sanhita will be defined in sūtra I. 4. 109.

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

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

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

This is one explanation of the sūtra. There is another explanation which does not take the anuvṛtti of Ekaśruti in this sūtra. The anudatā is replaced by sannatara when such anudatā immediately precedes an udātta or a svarita. The sannatara is also called anudatā. As हे भृगु: गृहितानुसारः (१) Here the word भृगु: is anudatā. The word ब्रह्म has udātta on the last syllable by VI. 1. 171. (२) In the phrase मात्रमात्र: (भृगु; + प्रष्ठ:) The syllable स is anudatā, because anudatā + anudatā = anudatā. This anudatā भृगु: preceding the udātta प्रष्ठ:, is changed into sannatara.

(१) दशाचरितपरस्य चतुर्दशी: II III पद्य: अष्टकः, एक-अक्षः, यष्ठमः: II
(२) यष्ठमः चतुर्दशी: संहिता अनुवङ्गित: I द्वादशवर्तमात्रः II

(१') दशाचरितपरस्य चतुर्दशी: II (२') यष्ठमः चतुर्दशी: संहिता II (२') पद्य: अष्टकः, एक-अक्षः, यष्ठमः: II
(२') द्वादशवर्तमात्रः संहिता: II
41. An affix consisting of a single letter is called an *Apriktā*.

This defines *Apriktā* affixes. They are those affixes which consist of only one letter of the alphabet. Thus the affix तू in चर्चरी is a one lettered suffix and is an *Apriktā*. Similarly the affix फित मित is an *Apriktā*, because the letters फित and मित are merely indicative, the real affix is मित. This मित being a single letter, and therefore an *Apriktā*, when added to a base, is elided by rule VI. 1. 671 (the *Apriktā* मित is elided). Thus प्रतिश्व + फित = प्रतिश्व + मित (III. 2. 58)* = प्रतिश्व + फित = ब्रह्मण्ड + फित = ब्रह्मण्ड ‘co-sharer.’  
(III. 2. 62). A affix which consists of more than one letter is not an *Apriktā*. As र्र्व्ह ‘a ladle’ formed by the Upādi affix व्ह्ह (पुत्रव्ह व्ह्ह).

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

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

The compounds like शत्रुष्ण ‘the blue lotus’ परमात्म ‘the supreme spirit’ &c. are examples of karmadhāraya compounds. "The component words, if dissolved, would stand in the same case, (समांदिकारण), whereas in other Tat-purushas, the preceding word is governed by the last.”

As, राज्यार्थ, is a karmadhāraya compound meaning “the best Government.” Had it not been a karmadhāraya compound, the *uddita* accent would have fallen on the syllable र by rule VI. 2. 130, (the word राज्यार्थ has *uddita* on the first syllable in Tat-purusha compounds, except in karmadhāraya).

Similarly पारित्विक + क्षुद्रिक = पारित्विकक्षुद्रिक. (VI. 3. 42). The feminine adjective is changed into masculine in the karmadhāraya).

Each member of a compound may have the same case, but if it is not a Tat-purusha compound, it won't be karmadhāraya. As पारित्विक + पारित्विक = पारित्विकक्षुद्रिक. ‘He who has a wife for a cook.’ This is an example of a Bahuvrihi compound, and therefore the word पारित्विक retains its gender sign.

(1) प्रतिश्व (2) मित (3) ब्रह्मण्ड (4) ब्रह्मण्ड + (5) पारित्विक + (6) पारित्विकक्षुद्रिक
A compound may be a Tat-purusha, but if its component parts do not refer to the same thing and are not in the same case, it won’t be karmadhrāraya:—पञ्चमवर्ग ब्रह्माण्य राज्यम् ‘a Brahman kingdom.’ Here राज्यम् gets udatta on the first syllable by the rule already mentioned (VI. 2. 130).

प्रयासिणीद्वितीय समासउपसर्जनेन ॥ ४३ ॥ पद्यानि ॥ प्रयामा-निर्धेक्तस्
समावे, उपसर्जनेन् ॥

इति: ॥ प्रयामा विविधत्वानि गतिनिर्देयते समासाभावे तत्प्रसन्नत्वं भवति ॥

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

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

Thus sūtra II. 1. 24 (हिस्विविवैविविवैविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविवি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵िविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविवি঵ি঵िवি঵ি঵िविवি঵िविविविविविविविविवি঵ি঵ি঵िविवি঵िवি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵िविविविवি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵िवি঵िविविवি঵िविविविविविविविवি঵िविविविवি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵िविवি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵िविविविविविविवি঵िविवি঵िविविविविविविविविवি঵िविविविविविवি঵िविविविविवি঵िवি঵िविवি঵ি঵िविविविविविवি঵िविविविविविविविविविवি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ι
A word which in the analytical statement of the sense of a compound has one fixed case, whilst the word with which it is compounded may vary its case is also called upasrajana, but does not necessarily stand first.

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

Thus the prepositions घि: &c., when meaning across &c., are compounded with another word in the ablative case. Though the first word may have any one of the several case terminations, the second member must always be in the fifth (ablative) case, when analytically stated. Ex निश्चार्यमः + कौशल्यमः = निश्चार्यकौशल्यमः. निश्चार्यमः + कौशल्यमः = निश्चार्यकौशल्यमः. निश्चार्यमः + कौशल्यमः = निश्चार्यकौशल्यमः. निश्चार्यमः + कौशल्यमः = निश्चार्यकौशल्यमः.

Similarly the word विभागाशः:

If the word, when analytically stated, does not retain the one and the same case, it will not be called upasarjana, as the word ग्रामाः in the compound राजकुमारी, ‘the king’s daughter,’ because राजः + कुमारः = राजकुमारः; राजः + ग्रामाः = राजकृमाः; राजः + ग्रामाः = राजकृमाः; राजः + ग्रामाः = राजकृमाः.

Had it been an upasarjana, the long श of श would have been shortened into श as in the previous example.

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

अध्यात्मकतयामः प्रातिपदिकमः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्यात्मक, अपानुः, अमायः, प्रातिपदिकमः ॥

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

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

The word श means having signification. With the exception of verbal roots and affixes, a word-form having a significance or meaning is called
a prātipadika, as हिरण् ‘a wooden elephant,' लक्ष्म्य: ‘the wood-apple tree,' कुण्ड् ‘a bowl,' शीत् ‘a seat’.

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

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

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

A nipāta or particle though not a significant form of a word, yet gets the designation of prātipadika in the opinion of the author of the Mahābhāṣya. As याय्याप्रभावः, प्रज्ञास्ये.

कृत्तिरतिष्ठनानां || ४६ || पद्यानि || कृत्तित्वहिच-ध्वनाः || च

(प्रातिपदिकम्) ||

श्रेणि: || कृत्तिरतिष्ठनां: ध्वनाय: प्रातिपदिकंधनं भविष्यते ||

46. The forms ending in Kṛt affixes, or Taddhita affixes, or compound are also called Prātipadika.

This further explains the use of the word prātipadika. “Suffixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds. Those by which nouns are derived direct from roots, primary suffixes. Those by which nouns are derived from other roots; secondary suffixes. The former are called Kṛt, (III. 1. 93) 

Thus मन् juna, man, is derived from the root मन् jum by the kṛt suffix प्र; but जनीय jānīna, appropriate for man, is derived from मन् jana by the Taddhita affix न्त्र ina. The name prātipadika would apply both to मन् jana and मनी jānīna, as nominal bases ready to receive the terminations of declension” (Max Müller).

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

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

(1) नात्रेश्य: प्रातिपदिकानांतर || (2) कुशीक || (3) सख्याका: ||
The words formed by krit affixes are pratipadika as, क्र (to do) + क्रृ = क्रृ + क्र = कार + क्र = कारक. The affix क्रृ is a krit affix, and it is added to the root to form agent by Rule III. 1. 133. The letters य and य are indicative, the force of य being to cause the vriddhi of the vowel of the root. The real affix य is changed into य by (VII. 1. 18 the affixes य and य are replaced by य and य respectively), thus the form कारक is a pratipadika, and is capable of declension by receiving case terminations, as, कारक: II Similarly क्र + क्रृ (III. 1. 133) क्रृ = क्रृ; nom. case क्रृ.

The word formed by Taddhita affixes are also pratipadika; क्रृ + य = य + क्रृ + य = य + क्रृ + य 'the son of the Rishi Upagu': nom. case य + क्रृ, similarly क्रृ.

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

The words ending in compound are pratipadika: as रात्रे + श्रु = रात्रे-श्रु, nom. case रात्रे-श्रु.

इश्वर न्युनके प्रातिपदिकर्षय || के || पदार्थ || इश्वर: , न्युनके ,
प्रातिपदिकर्षय: ||
इश्वर: || न्युनके || एव व्यवहारिक || वाचने तस्य इश्वर || गति चैत्रेज्ज्ञात्स्वर्गः ||

47. The short vowel is substituted in the neuter, for the final vowel, of a pratipadika.

In the neuter gender, the pratipadika that would have ended in a long vowel, changes it into short. Thus चात्र + टर = चातरि 'extravagant' as चातिरि = क्षुद्र 'an extravagant family'; चात्र लो = चातिव्य 'very hairy' चातिव्य कुले 'a very hairy family.'

There is no substitution of short vowel, if the noun is not in the neuter gender, as मात्र + नी = मात्रनी, nom. case मात्रनी: 'the leader of a village or head-borough,' similarly चेननानी: 'the leader of an army.'

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

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

शीतियःशृङ्खलाःनस्य इति ॥ पदानि ॥ गो-लिङ्कः ॥ उपसर्जनस्य, ( प्रातिपदिकः ) ॥

इति: ॥ उपसर्जनञ्जिनानन्दस्य वर्तमानीन्यवाच्यानन्दस्य श्रवणिकस्य हस्ते भविषय: ॥

परिवर्तया: ॥ इवायोधूस्तः: प्रतिपदिकस्य: ॥

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

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

Thus गोऽर्तानाः समीयः ‘possessed of a brindled cow’. This is an example of a Bahuvrhihi or possessive compound. So also शालभश्रु ‘a spotted cow’. Similarly in those prātipadika upasarjanas which end in feminine suffixes having a final long vowel, there is a shortening. Thus किं: + कोभस्ती = किंकोभस्ती। Here the final long हृ is shortened. So also निष्क्रियः।

The word prātipadika of the previous sūtra is understood in this. The word गो in the sūtra means the form गो and not other words synonym with it. The word गो means “a word ending in a feminine affix,” because it has the svarita accent. The word upasarjana qualifies both these words, i.e. when गो is an upasarjana and when a word having a feminine termination is an upasarjana.

Other examples are:—पलवित/लुक्तः = पलविकः: ‘without a bed stead’

श्रवणिकः: ‘surpassing a necklace in beauty’.

If such a word is not an upasarjana, there is no shortening, as, राजस्वारी ‘the king’s daughter.’ Here the word राजस्व is upasarjana, and not the word श्रवणिक, which latter is therefore not shortened. The word must be a derivative word formed by the addition of an affix, which makes it feminine. Thus the words लक्ष्मी, श्री &c. are feminine originally, and are not derived from the masculine nouns, by the addition of any feminine affix. Therefore we have श्रवणिकः: ‘surpassing Lakshmi in beauty’ श्रवणिकः।

Vart:—In Bahuvrhi compounds, exception must be made of feminine nouns ending in the affix इवली, as बसुष्ठवली, दिव्यमन्दिरवली।

सुस्तितुस्तिरः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हुक्तः, तल्लित-लुक्तः, ( ख्री, उपसर्जनस्य ) ॥

इति: ॥ लक्ष्मीस्तिमुः समीयः वर्तमानीन्यवाच्यानन्दस्य लुक्तः।
49. When a Taddhita affix is elided by the word luk there takes place the elision by luk of the feminine affix of the upasarjana.

The word लुकः defined in sūtra 61 Chapter I, is twice used in this sūtra. Where a Taddhita affix is elided by the word लुकः there the feminine suffix of the pratinipātika is also dropped, or becomes लुकः. Thus there are certain Taddhita suffixes by which patronymics are formed (one of them being जन्मु) from other nouns. Before this जन्मु the initial vowel of the word is vrddhi and the final is gunate. Thus सिन्धु ‘ocean’, forms सिन्धु + जन्मु = सिन्धु + जन्मु ‘born in ocean or oceanic.’ But there are certain words e.g. भविष्य, ज्ञानुष्ठी &c. which are all feminine gender (see sūtra IV. 3. 34) 1 after which the patronymic suffix is totally elided, without leaving any trace of its action, by using the word luk. Thus भविष्य + (ज्ञानुष्ठी) = भविष्य: ॥ Here then the present sūtra finds its scope. The Taddhita suffix being laked; the original feminine termination ज्ञा also becomes लुकः. Therefore the patronymic derivative of भविष्य (is not a longer word, as might have been expected) but actually a shorter word, namely भविष्य:; similarly from ज्ञानुष्ठी we have ज्ञानुष्ठी: &c.

Thus there is a feminine suffix called जीर्ण (actually हितः) and certain words like हन्त्र &c., (IV. 1. 49) 2 take an additional suffix called ज्ञानुष्ठी (actually ज्ञानुष्ठी). Thus the feminine of हन्त्र will be हन्त्र + ज्ञानुष्ठी + हितः = हन्त्र + हितः + हितः = हन्त्राधी. Now in forming Dvīgu compound (Numeral Determinative compound), the Taddhita suffixes are dropped. Thus हन्त्राधी: ‘an offering (purodasha) made in a dish with five compartments.’ In this compound the Taddhita suffix जीर्ण is dropped. Otherwise the form would have been हन्त्राधी: ॥ Similarly when the word हन्त्राधी forms a Dvīgu compound, the Taddhita suffixes are dropped. But not only that, even the original radical affixes are also dropped by force of the present sūtra. Thus जन्मु: which means the cake sacred to the five goddesses हन्त्राधी. Here the full form was जन्मु + हन्त्राधी + जीर्ण. (The suffix जीर्ण has the force of “sacred to God.” Thus जन्मु + जीर्ण = हन्त्राधी: sacred to God Indra). In the above expression, first the Taddhita-suffix जीर्ण is laked by rule contained in sūtra IV. 1. 88 3 relating to Dvīgu compounds: we have then remaining जन्मु + हन्त्राधी: । In this stage, the present sūtra comes into force and declares that where a Taddhita suffix has been laked, the final feminine suffixes of the upasarjana pratinipātika are also laked. Therefore, the feminine suffixes ज्ञानुष्ठी and हितः are also dropped, and we have हन्त्राधी: which means “cake sacred to the five Indrāpis (goddesses).”

(1) भविष्यावस्था-भविष्यावस्था-परस्परविश्वासार्थविश्वासार्थविश्वासार्थविश्वासार्थविश्वासार्थविश्वासार्थ० । (2) ज्ञानुष्ठी- । (3) हन्त्राधी: । (4) हन्त्राधी: ।
The words स्त्री and upasarjana of the last सूत्र are understood in this.
By the last सूत्र, a word ending in a feminine affix was told to be shortened
when it was an upasarjana; this सूत्र teaches the total suppression of such
an affix in special cases. To take another example: Thus Rule IV. 3. 163
declares फलेश्वर् "luk takes the place of an affix signifying modification or
product when fruit is meant." Thus वृक्ष is an affix which means modification.
Thus गा + वृक्ष = गवृक्ष, 'cow's milk or the product of cow.' This affix is sup-
pressed when applied to a tree, in the sense of the fruit of the tree. Thus
the fruit of the tree फलेश्वर्की will be called फलेश्वरक i.e., first the Taddhita affix
is luked, and then the feminine affix is also dropped. Similarly fruits of
बांधी or बुकुली trees, are बुंधी or बुकुला.

This rule only applies when a Taddhita affix is elided; and not so
when any other affix is luked. Thus मात्रोऽ + कुला = मात्रोकुलां '"the family
of Gārgī.' Here in forming the samāsa, the case affix of the word gārgī is
luked by II. 4 71 1. But this suppression of the genitive termination does
not necessitate the elision of the feminine affix इं of gārgī.

This rule would also not apply if there is no elision by luk of a Tad-
dhita affix, as in मात्रोक्षे.

Nor will the rule apply when the word is not an upasarjana. As
बांधी, बुकुला, बुंधी:

ढउ गोप्या: || ५० || पदार्थ || गृहु, गोप्य; || (क्षयितुकि ) ||
श्रमि: || गोप्यासताविनकौकि शापि इकारवेषो मवि. ||

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

By the former सूत्र when a Taddhita is elided, the long इ of the fem-
nine also required elision. But this rule makes an exception in favor of the
word गोप्या in which, under similar circumstances the short ए replaces the long
इ, as in the compound वास्तवाकियि: 'purchased for five gonis.' Here the Taddhita
affix which conveys the meaning of "purchased for," has been rejected
after गोप्या by V. 1. 28, 8 therefore by previous सूत्र, the feminine suffix इ
also required rejection. But this सूत्र intervenes and changes the long इ
into short ए.

This सूत्र is divided into two separate rules by the process called
yoga-vibhāga. Thus गृहु is made one सूत्र by itself, and then it means, when
there is a suppression of Taddhita affix by गृहु, then the long इ is replaced by
short ए. Thus purchased with five needles = पंजाने: गुप्तामि: योहित: = पंजामुं, गुप्तामि:.
This is restricted to such examples of purchase only.

(1) सुमी भाग्याविनिर्दिष्टोऽ || (२) साप्तदश्यितिर्मुंगंग्यंतावाबद्ध. ||
A RULE OF LUP-ELISION. [Bk. I. Ch. II. § 51.

51. When a Taddhita affix is elided by using the word द्वृ, then the gender and number (of the derivative word) agree with those of the original word.

This śātra consists of four words: नलि, 'where there is a rejection by using द्वृ, 2 अन्धकारुपप्राप्त 'appropriate to the same'; 3 व्यक्ति, 'gender,' 4 द्वृ 'number.' The form vyakti vachase is dual.

When a Taddhita affix is loped, then the derivative word retains the gender and number of the primitive word. Note the difference between the rejection of a Taddhita by saying 'let there be a द्वृ' and 'let there be a द्वृ.' The direct action of both words is the rejection of the suffix; but a derivative formed by Luk rejection may not retain the number and gender of the original word; while a derivative formed by lop—rejection does retain the number and gender of the original word.

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

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

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

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

These derivatives retain only the gender and number of the original, but no other quality. Thus as we have already seen that थीरिका: Sirishā, is the name of a village and is formed by the lop of the affix. Now compounding it with वन we have थीरिकाला 'the forest of the village Sirishā.' Here
the word झिरीसा: means village, and not trees. Had it meant trees called झिरशा, then the म of झिर द शा would have become श optionally by Rule VIII. 4. 6. (विषयोधस्य खुशनिकितोऽस्मात्स्य:॥ भजने न नेत्र यज्ञीयः ॥ भजने न नेत्र यज्ञीयः ॥ भजने न नेत्र यज्ञीयः ॥ भजने न नेत्र यज्ञीयः ॥ भजने न नेत्र यज्ञीयः ॥)

Vart: In the case of the words Haritaki &c. the gender only is retained and not the number. As हरितक्कण्डे ‘the fruits of Haritaki.’ Here फलम् is neuter in form, while हरितकी is feminine.

Vart:—The words खजनिकः &c. retain their number only but not gender, as खजनिकोन्नताः ‘mountain forests i. e. forests in the vicinity of mountains.’ Here खजनिकः is singular and पनानि plural, but the gender of both is the same विशेषणानां शकायते: ॥ ५२ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ विशेषणानाम् ॥, च, शकायत: (चुढ़ि) ॥

शकायत: (चुढ़ि) विशेषणानां सङ्कोचानि व्यक्तिवचने भवतो आचि वणिकं ॥

वाक्रित्ति: द्रव्यप्रस्तुतानि विशेषणानां सङ्कोचानि व्यक्तिवचने भवतो आचि वणिकं ॥

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

When a Taddhita is लुपेद, the adjectives which qualify such secondary derivatives agree with them in number and gender. This is a rule of syntax. Thus चंद्राण्य: चंद्राण्य: चंद्राण्य: चंद्राण्य: ‘the pleasant Pañcālās having plenty of food, plenty of milk and butter.’ Here the adjective चंद्राण्य: pleasant &c. agrees in number and gender with the Pañcālāḥ; being also in masculine plural. But when such a derivative is used as a जाति word then the adjective does not agree in number and gender, as चंद्राण्य: चंद्राण्य: चंद्राण्य: चंद्राण्य: ‘Pañcālās the country of Pañcālās is pleasant and fertile.’ Here the words चंद्राण्य: and चंद्राण्य: qualify directly the word ‘country,’ and indirectly the word Pañcālās, and therefore do not agree with the latter.
The explanation of this śūtra as given by Patanjali in the Mahābhāṣya is somewhat different from that of the Kāśikā. The phrase भाषाके... is analysed by him as श and भाषाके, the sense being "and as far, as the jāti goes." The word jāti is thus explained:—

A word expressing whatever is distinguishable by its form or figure, or which being the name of an individual is easily found applicable to others, without any further teaching, (a common name) provided it is not a word used in all genders, (common noun बुद्धमाति genus); and (only) for the purpose of grammar as coming under the rules relating to the above mentioned words), a word expressing descendants by their parentage as well as a word expressing a person by the branch of the Vedas (शाखा) which the family to which the person belongs is competent to read शाकाठेतो (शक्तःहेत्रे) (गौरवमाति) = शासनविवाह (jātivadhaḥkāh) भाषाकि गुणशास्त्राचलितामणि भ समवानी। शाक्तानां निमायायें च यथोऽष्ट्र: सह II

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

Vart:-Prohibition must be stated in the case of nouns formed by the बुद्ध elision of an affix relating to man. Thus the Taddhita affix कृत (कृत) is employed in denoting representation by imitation. Thus चार्मकाद means a figure like a horse (in wood or clay or paper). But when the imitation is that of a man, this affix is elided. Thus चत्वारी means a "doll of straw." But when we want to say a doll in the figure of a man, we will have चत्वारी + कुन्दुडू (मुन्नुदू V. 3. 98) = चत्वारी. Here this word is formed by the elision of an affix relating to man. Adjectives qualifying this word will not agree in gender and number. Thus चत्वारी संभव्य: 'the delightful straw figure of man.' चत्वारी: संभव्य: 'a beautiful representation of an eunuch.'

तद्गुणं संत्रासमाणायत्त इति ॥ ६२ ॥ पदार्थिः ॥ तद्गुणं श्रीमणि, चंद्रा म्याणायत्त ॥

इतिः ॥ नहंश्रीमणि न वस्तुः कलारंस्त्रासमायत्त ॥
53. This (concord of gender and number, of primitive and derivative nouns, and of attributes and substantives) need not be taught (or approved), because it has the authority of samijnâ (or conventional term or idiom).

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

This sūtra, therefore, modifies the former sūtras, and leaves the whole question of syntactic agreement to be decided by usage and idiom.

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

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

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

शोभाश्रये च तदभवेद्यद्वेष्ण स्मानुः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदावनि ॥ शेष-प्रमाणे, च, तद-अनुवादे, अध्यायमणू, स्मानुः ॥

श्रेष्ठः ॥ पदावनास्तवः अङ्कर ग्रहण योगाञ्जनमित्वाहुः, कथावर्यङ्गमोऽवत्तत्येऽवाचः योग-प्रमाणे हि सर्वाः परंतु न त्यथा वरणाः, किम् पदावनास्तवः ग्रहणोऽवाचः योगाञ्जन प्रमाणे योगाञ्जन वाचः मयाः सभायेऽवत्तत्येऽवाचः स्मानुः ॥ ५५ ॥

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

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

It has already been said that words like प्राचीनः &c. are not derivative words, &c. but are appellatives. If these words be taken as proving their etymological meaning, that is, as expressing or dependent upon, the sense of the original word, then when there is a loss of the original word signification, the secondary word must also cease to be employed. Thus if Pañcālās be the name of the country in which the Kshatriyas called Pañcālās live, then when they cease to live in this country, it should cease to be called Pañcālās. But we know, as a matter of fact, these words are now used without any reference to the people who once inhabited the countries. These words are consequently not derivative, but their sense is determined by usage. They are what may be called श्रेष्ठी words.

प्रभाषणामयवाष्पत्यमपथायध्यमण्याणांकाः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदावनि ॥ प्रभाषण-प्रत्ययम, अपृथव-वचनम् अथ्युः, अपृथव-प्रभाषणांकाः ॥ (अधिष्ठितः) ॥

श्रेष्ठः ॥ प्रभाषणां समाप्ते श्रीर्यस्तं प्रवद्यस्तवध्यः ताभधानमपथायध्यमण्याणांकाः प्रभ-रेण भवीतत्वतु पूर्ववाचाः: ताभधानमितम प्रवद्यस्तवध्यः प्रभाषणांकाः प्रभाषणान्तर्यादि: प्रभाषणामयवाष्पत्यमपथायध्यमण्याणांकाः ॥ (अधिष्ठितः) ॥ प्रभाषणं नि श्रावित्येऽशा समाप्ते श्रीर्यस्तं प्रवद्यस्तवध्यः प्रभाषणांकाः प्रभाषणांकाः प्रभाषणाय न प्रभाषणांकाः प्रभाषणामयवाष्पत्यमपथायध्यमण्याणांकाः ॥ (लोकच व्यापारये) ॥
56. (Nor need be taught) the rule relating to the dependence of the meaning of a word on the principal (pradhāna, in a compound) or on the affix (pratyayya), because the authority of the meaning (of a word, compound or derivative) consists in something else.

This śūtra may be divided into two parts. The first part stating the proposition and ending with the word vachanam. The second part giving the reason. The first part consists of four words; Pradhāna: 'Principal in a compound.' As in the compound राजपुरुष: ‘king’s man,’ the word राज is Upasarjana; and पुरुष: is pradhāna. 2. Pratyayya: ‘affix.’ 3. चन्द्र ‘meaning.’ 4. बचन ‘word or sentence.’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Why have we used the word जाति in this सूत्र? For this aphorism does not apply to Proper Nouns. Thus देहस्त: देहस्त: देहस्त: देहस्त: देहस्त:, यज्ञ: यज्ञ: यज्ञ: यज्ञ: यज्ञ:.

Why have we used the word शाश्वत: शाश्वत: शाश्वत: शाश्वत: शाश्वत: शाश्वत:, शाश्वत: शाश्वत:, शाश्वत: शाश्वत: शाश्वत: शाश्वत:, शाश्वत: शाश्वत:, शाश्वत: शाश्वत:.

So a word may be a class noun or जाति, but it may not be the appellation of a class. Thus the statue of काश्यप: may also be called काश्यप:, this is a class noun, but as it is not the appellation शाश्वत:, or name of a class, such words cannot take the plural form and still denote a singular sense.

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

Vart:—An exception must be made when a class noun is qualified by a numeral adjective. As एको: नीति: शंक: शंक: शंक: कारोऽि.

अस्त्ये, द्रोणि, व, तुह: क्षितिजौ, द्रोणि, अनंतरस्याः

प्रकृति: द्रोणि, अस्त्ये, द्रोणि, अस्त्ये, द्रोणि, अन्यतरस्याः शुचि:.

प्राकृतम्: व, द्रोणि, अस्त्ये, द्रोणि, अस्त्ये, द्रोणि, अन्यतरस्याः प्रकृतम्:.

प्राकृतम्: शुचि: द्रोणि, अस्त्ये.

59. The plural of the pronoun asmad, ‘I,’ is used optionally, though the sense requires a singular or dual number.

Thus “I speak” or “we speak” (ध्वनि: ध्वनि: or ध्वनि: ध्वनि:), may be spoken by one person, similarly two persons may either use the dual case or the plural case, thus ध्वनि: ध्वनि: ‘we to speak’ or ध्वनि: ध्वनि: ‘we speak.’

Vart:—There is prohibition when the pronoun of the 1st person is qualified by an attribute:—as ध्वनि: ध्वनि: ध्वनि:.

वर्ण: वर्ण: ध्वनि: ध्वनि: ध्वनि:.

60. And the dual of Phālguṇī and Proshṭha-pada, when signifying asterisms, (also connotes optionally plural).
The word द्व in this aphorism draws in the anuvṛtita of the word द्व: from the last. Of the stars phalgunī and proṣṭhapādā, the forms may be either dual or plural. As द्वन्द्रि पूर्णिः प्रस्त्रपातिः (dual); or द्वन्द्रि पूर्णिः प्रस्त्रपातिः (plural.) So also पूर्णिः पूर्णिः पूर्णिः पूर्णिः. There are two pairs of stars of the name of phalgunī and proṣṭhapādā, both being of feminine gender, and their logical number being 'dual.' The present sūtra ordains plural optionally. If phalgunī and proṣṭhapādā are not names of asterisms they must have their proper number: as पूर्णिः पूर्णिः पूर्णिः पूर्णिः.

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

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

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

The word विशाखा is in the dual number as a rule. In the Vedas, it is found sometime to have the singular form, denoting duality. Thus विशाखा विशाखा of विशाखाय पवित्रिणामी हेतु.

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

When there is a collective compounding of the words Tishya and Punarvasu (meaning two groups of stars), the final compound is always in the dual. Thus तिश्य-पुनर्वसु.
There is one star called Tishya; and there are two stars called Punarvasu. As the Dvandva compound of these stars refers to more than two stars, it ought to have been in the plural number. This rule teaches that there should be a dual number, where otherwise there would have been a plural number. Why do we say ‘Tishya’ and ‘Punarvasu’? Observe विरास्तावर्ता: ‘the stars Visākhā and Anuṣādha.’ The compound is in plural number.

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

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

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

The rule only applies to the plural Dvandva. If the Dvandva takes the singular termination, this rule has no application. As विद्युतरणेकी रासायनिक.

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

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

वहुआपानेकोषेत एकविविक्त: एकविविक्त: पद्यानिः वहुआपानेकोषेत, एक-शेष, एक-विविक्ती,

शृवि । वहुआपानेकोषेत एकविविक्त: पद्यानिः वहुआपानेकोषेत ।

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The rule will not apply if the two words are in different case-terminations, though they may have the same form. As पत्तः (1. s.) पत्तः (2. s.) [are seen]; प्रायः (3. d.) वृक्षं प्रायः (4. d.) वृक्षः.

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

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

Thus गार्ग्य+ गार्ग्यवर्गः = गार्ग्योऽहा. Here the first word denotes a clan called Gārgya (the offspring or grandsons of Garga formed by the affix वर्गः (IV. I. 105)¹ the second word denotes a younger branch of the same, and is formed by the Taddhita affix फळ denoting a secondary derivative. ² In this then, the first or 'Vṛiddha' remains; the second or the yuvan is dropped; and the form ‘Gārgya’u means both the old and the new clan. Similary वर्गः + वर्गःवर्गः: वार्गः. ²²

This Ekaśeṣha is to be done only in those cases, where the two words have the same radical form, the only difference between them being in their derivative formation.

The words must differ only by their affixes, but their radical element must be the same. The rule therefore does not apply to:—गार्ग्य: (a Vṛiddha word: + वर्गःवर्गः (a yuvan word)= गार्ग्यार्ग्यवर्गः.) ²²

This rule of ekāśeṣha does not apply if one of the words be not a Vṛiddha word. Thus गा: + गार्ग्यवर्गः = गार्ग्यार्ग्यवर्गः. ²²

Similarly vīce versa गार्ग्यः+ गा: = गार्ग्यार्ग्यः. Here the one word is Vṛiddha, but the other is not yuvan.

The word 'only' is used in the sūtra in an exclusive sense; the force being, that two words may stand in the relation of Vṛiddha and yuvan, their radical element, i. e. form may be the same; but if the secondary word has another sense over and above the sense of a yuvan affix, this rule is not applicable. Thus Rule IV. I. 148 ³ says a ‘Vṛiddhā word may optionally take the affix वर्गः to form a yuvan word and to indicate contempt and born in the country of Sauvīra.'” Thus भाषाविलितः + भाषाविलितः = भाषाविलिताभाषाविलितः.

Here the second word, though a yuvan word, connotes the additional sense of contempt and degradation. The affix वर्गः is not merely a yuvan affix but conveys the other sense also. The pure yuvan word being भाषाविलितः.

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

¹) गार्ग्यवर्गः वर्गः ²) गार्ग्यार्ग्यवर्गः ³) पुष्पाकृतिकौशलेशु बुधवरः
66. And so also a feminine word, ending with a vṛiddha affix, when similarly spoken along with the same word but which ends with a yuvan affix, is only retained; and it is treated like a masculine.

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

Similarly बासिः + बासियाः = बासिः (masculine dual of बासिः).

Part—The word strī in the sūtra means Vṛiddhā strī, that is the eldest daughter of a grandson, or a further descendant considered as the female head of the family. The words ‘tal lakshanaḥ chedeva viṣehaḥ’ of the previous sūtra govern this sūtra also i.e. the distinction between the two words must be in their formative element and not in any thing else.

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

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

The governing force of the words ‘vṛiddha’ and ‘yuvan,’ of sūtra 65, does not extend to this sūtra, but the remaining portion of sūtra 65 is to be read into this sūtra. When a masculine word is read along with a feminine word, the feminine word is dropped and the masculine is retained, when the difference between the two words is caused only by the feminine and masculine affixes: as भाग्याः + भाग्यी = भाग्यी ‘the Brāhmaṇa and the Brāhmaṇī’; कुकुरुः + कुकुर्वी = कुकुर्वी ‘the cock and hen.’
But not so in the following:—कुकुटः: + मृगी। कुकुटूर्मुँगी ‘the cock and the peahen,’ Similarly गाणकः: + गाणकी। गाणकृमुँगकी। Here the feminine affix हीणा, by which the word गाणकी is formed from गाणका; in addition to its feminine signification, has the further signification given to it by Rule IV. 1. 48, पुण्योग्युःवात्श्च, meaning the ‘wife of’ a गाणका and not a feminine गाणका. So also इन्द्रेश इन्द्रेश्चे च, चे। Similarly शाराकः: + शाराकी। शाराकृमुँगाराकी। But शाराकः: + शाराकी। शाराकृमुँगाराकी। Because the feminine affix in अर्यानि conveys more than its feminine signification. See Rule IV. 1. 49.

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

अर्जुन्तरी त्रागुःदििशास्याम्। 46. पदार्थः वातः-पुरी। स्वर्ण-दुर्दिक्षाणां। (शेषः)।

46. The words भ्रात्री, ‘brother,’ and पुत्रा, ‘son,’ when spoken of along with स्वारी, ‘sister’ and दुहित्री ‘daughter’ respectively are only retained, and the latter are dropped.

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

N. B.—The practical application of this सूत्र is very neatly illustrated by the following example. There is a verse in Yājñavalkya smṛiti प्राहुर्द्वारायणे किल्ले श्रावार्तत्त्वा which declares that on the death of a sonless person his property passes to his wife, daughters, parents and भ्राताराब.

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

नपुंसकमनपुंसकेन्द्रवस्मायत्तरस्माः 46। पदार्थः।

नपुंसकम्। अनपुंसकम्। युक्तम्। च। अर्ध। अन्यतरस्मा। (शेषः

सत्तत्त्वान्यमिति।)।

वृक्षः। नपुंसकानुपपुंसकानुपपुंसकोऽवृही। नपुंसकानुपपुंसकोऽवृही। नपुंसकानुपपुंसकोऽवृही।
69. A neuter noun, which has the same form, only differing in affix; is optionally retained, and the other is dropped, and it is like a singular number.

A neuter prevails over a masculine or feminine noun when spoken of along with them; provided that the words differ in gender signs only; but radically they be the same. Thus चतुर्स्थी, नैपुर्ण, निर्द्देशनामानि निःसर्जने ‘Idleness, lust, and sleep, indulged in, increase.’ Here the adjective ‘sevamāṇam’ is in the neuter gender, though it qualifies the words ‘ālasya’ which is in the masculine; ‘maithunam’ which is in the neuter, and ‘nidrā’ which is in the feminine gender. The rule, therefore, may be stated in these words, that where one adjective qualifies several nouns, in different genders, but one of which must be neuter, the adjective agrees with the neuter.

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

If the neuter is compounded with another neuter, this rule does not apply. Thus गृहम् + पुलित+ गृहम् = पुलिति the word is in the plural; there is no ekavadabhāva.

The words संज्ञानात्मक विशेषण: of sūtra 65 governs this sūtra also: thus शूरस्त्र कम्पन्, गुर्जा च गुर्जविका, दुर्गा च दुर्गाः. “The white (masc.) blanket, the white (fem.) wrapper, and the white (neut.) garment,” may all be spoken of collectively as गृहम् (neut.).

पिता मात्रा || 70 || पदाति || पिता, मात्रा (शेष, अन्यतरस्थान) ||

बृहि: || श्वासक चचन्ते नैविद्य नैविद्येन च नैविद्यस्त्रायो

70. The word pitṛi, ‘father’ is optionally only retained when spoken of along with mātrī, ‘mother.’

Thus पिता + मात्रा = पितारः, ‘father and mother, or parent’ or मातापितरी. The verse quoted under sūtra 68 illustrates this sūtra also. There the word ‘pitarau’ has been explained by all commentators as “father and mother.” The word “ekavā” of the last sūtra does not govern this sūtra; though the anuvṛtti of ‘optionally’ is to be read into this.

श्वासक: || 71 || पदाति || श्वासक, श्वासा, (शेष, अन्यतरस्थान) ||

बृहि: || श्वासक चचन्ते श्वासकं नैविद्य नैविद्यस्त्रायो

71. The word śvaśūra ‘father-in-law,’ is optionally only retained, when spoken of along with śvaśṛū, ‘mother-in-law.’
Thus इतुषुर + इष्टु may be either इतुषुर 'father-in-law and mother-in-law,' or इष्टुभर्षु. इष्टुभर्षु

त्युदशः स्वयंतिम्रयु || ३२ || पदानि || त्युद-आदिर्र | स्याः ||

निर्युङ् (शेषः) ||

तुः || त्युदशः स्वयंतिम्रयु धर्म्योः स्याः सहस्रस्वस्य दिनवि र्नादस्य न्याजात्रये ||

वानिकम् || त्युदशः स्वयंतिम्रयु र्नादस्य न्याजात्रये ||

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

The list of 'tyaddi' pronouns has been given under sūtra l. 1. 27. They are 12 words beginning with 'tyad' and ending with 'kim,' when these tyaddi pronouns are compounded with any other noun, (or a pronoun, which does not belong to their class), they prevail, the rest are dropped. The word 'sarva' is used in the aphorism to indicate 'universality;' i.e. whatever may be, the word in composition with them, the 'tyad &c.' are retained to the exclusion of others. The word 'nitya' is used to indicate that this is an obligatory rule, and not optional, as were the last rules.

Thus रः (he) + र्त्युत्रः (Devadatta) = रः (they two).

Vart:—When स्मार्धी words are compounded among themselves, the word which is read last in the order given in the Garapātha remains, the rest are dropped. Thus वः+कः = ०रः; बः+कः = कौ. || Thus यह is read after ग (see I. 1. 27), so यह will be retained and not गह; similarly किंसु is read after गह, and therefore किंसु is retained to the exclusion of गह.

प्राम्यपूवयुखुष्युङ्गेप्रृत्स्त्र || ५३ || पदानि || प्राम्य-पौषु-उङ्गेप्रृत्स्त्र,

अत्रहेयुः || स्याः || (शेषः) ||

शृङ्गः || त्युदशः पौषुस्य संवस्य: प्राम्यपूवयुखुष्युङ्गेप्रृत्स्त्र; वेले पह विश्वायाः क्रिय श्रित्स्ये ||

वानिकम् || चौकश्त्रयोऽवधिश्चत्रये ||

73. The feminine noun is only retained, when denoting a collection of domestic animals, not being young.

As a general rule, when there is a compounding of masculine and feminine nouns, the masculine noun is retained (see 67). The present sūtra is an exception to that rule. It ordains that when there is a compounding of words denoting group of domestic animals, of different genders;
the feminine noun is preferred; provided that the words should not relate to the young of such animals. The word 'ataruṇa' in the aphorism qualifies the word 'paśu' with which it is in construction, and not the word 'saṅgha.'

As गाव छन्ना: 'these cows (and bulls),' बक्र छन्ना: 'these goats' (both males and females).

The rule only applies to domestic (grāmya) animals and not to wild animals; and only to beasts (paśu) and not men. As हर्व छन्ने, 'these wild deers' (male and female), बक्र छन्ने, 'these antelopes' (male and female), ब्रह्मपा: 'the Brāhmapās' (male and female) शास्त्रिया: 'the Kshatriyas.' In all these, the masculine noun is retained by Rule 67.

Vart.—This rule must be confined to domestic animals having divided hoof. Therefore चर्व छन्ने, 'these horses' (male and female). Here the masculine noun is retained, because horse has no divided hoof.

Why have we used the word (saṅgha) "collection"? Observe एवो गावे छर्ना, 'these two cows are grazing.' Here the word 'gāvau' does not connote 'bull' also.

Why do we say "not being young."? चर्व छन्ने 'these calves'; चर्वरा छन्ने 'these kids.' Here the masculine noun is retained, by the application of Rule 67.
BOOK I.

CHAPTER III.

1. The words beginning with bhû 'to become,' and denoting action, are called dhâtu or verbal roots.

This defines the word dhâtu or root. The list of Sanskrit verbs begins with the root bhû 'to be.' Sanskrit grammarians have divided all verbs into ten classes, according to certain modifications which their roots undergo before certain terminations. The ten classes are as follows:


There are nearly two thousand verbs, and they are conjugated in two forms, some taking the Parasmai padai terminations only, the others the Atmanépadai terminations and some both. The present chapter deals mostly with rules determining the nature of the verbal root, whether it is Parasmai padai or Atmanépadai or both. A verb expresses action. The word dhâtu is a word coined by older grammarians than Pâñini and they employed the term in denoting a word expressing action. Here also therefore, the word dhâtu means a word which expresses action.

The ष in the sûtra is for the sake of auspiciousness; for the regular sandhi of मूष is षष्टि and not मूषष्टि, while Dr. Ballantyne considers that ष is a separate root; he translates the sûtra thus:—”Let the verbal roots bhû ‘be,’ व ष ‘blow’ and the like be called dhâtu.”

2. The nasalized vowels are ष्र in Upadeśa, or original enunciation.
Anunāsika or nasalized vowels are हुम् that is indicatory, when occurring in technical words. Thus in विन्द्र, विम्द्र, विन् the anunāsika ह is हुम्. The original sūtra contains the word ‘upadesa’ which we have translated as technical term. ‘Upadesa’ literally means ‘instruction’ or the first mentioning of a thing in a sūtrapātha, or gaṇapātha or dhatupātha &c.

From this sūtra up to sūtra 9, there is a description of servile or indicatory letters called हुम् “In Pāṇini’s Grammar there is no visible sign of the nasality of a vowel—hence we can know a vowel to be nasalized only from Pāṇini’s explicitly asserting that it is so, or from our finding that he treats it in such a way that we must conclude he regarded it as nasal.” An upadesa is defined as signifying an original enunciation, that is to say, an affix (pratyaya), or an augment (Agama), or a verbal root (dhatu), or in short, any form of expression which occurs only in technical treatises of grammar, and which is not a word ready for use, but one of the supposed original elements of a word. Thus in the root हुम् ‘to increase,’ the final ह is indicatory, the real root is हुम्. So also the final ह of स्थर्य is हुम्.

If the word is not an upadesa, then the nasal vowel is not हुम्. As ब्रम्ह भ्रम्भ्रम् हुम्: A word may be an upadesa and nasal, but if it is not a vowel, it need not be हुम् as the affix मन्त्र in sūtra III. 2. 74. (ब्राह्मणी मन्त्रहृदयम् मन्त्रिं)

It is only the nasal vowel of an upadesa that becomes हुम्, and not all the vowels. The word हुम् occurs in sūtras III. 2. 16. (ब्राह्मणिं &c.).

3. In upadesa, the final consonant of roots &c.

is हुम्.

All the final consonants of roots, affixes &c. are indicatory. As in the pratyāhāra sūtras च ह ए च: here ए is हुम्: ए च: here च is हुम्: ए च: here ह is हुम्. It is only in upadesa, that a final consonant is हुम्. Not therefore, in यम्म यम्म or यम्म, which are complete words.

न विभक्ती तुस्मा: हुम् पदानि न विभक्ती: हुम् तुस्मा: हुम्

3. The final dental consonants, and the final श, and म, are not हुम्, in affixes called vibhakti or inflective affixes.
This is an exception to the previous śūtra which declared all final consonants to be हि. In case terminations, the final ष, ष, ष, ष, ष, ष, ष, and ष, are not हि. Thus the case termination of nominative plural is मस्य. Here the final स, though a consonant is not an हि; and is not rejected, as in भाषणम्. The word म in the śūtra means the letters of the class म, by virtue of śūtra 69 Chapter I. (see ante). The word vibhakti will be defined later on in śūtra I. 4. 104. These are terminations applied to nouns in declining them through various cases; and to verbs in conjugating them. Thus in śūtra VII. 1. 12, (राजसिद्धवानिश्चित्यः) the vibhaktis हि, धाम and ध्य replace द्व, ध्व and ध्व. Here the final ध of the affix धात्व is not indicatory and hence not rejected, as ध्वार्थम्. Similarly verbal terminations धव धव and धव as धवकः, धवयः. So also the final म as नाम धव and धव in धवार्थम् and धवविम्.

This exception applies only to vibhaktis and not to affixes in general. Thus the finals of धत् (III. 1. 97 धत्रोधः;) धह् (V. 2. 123 धहःविरचरः) and धस् (III. 1. 78 स्वाच्छाय धस्;) are हि and are rejected. This exception, however, does not apply to the vibhakti धम् (in V. 3. 12 धमः or III. 4. 106, धौम्). In those two śūtras the final म of the vibhakti is हि. The reason of this is, that the present śūtra is an anitya śūtra, i.e., a rule not of general application. In śūtra V. 3. 24, (इति) we find, 'the word हि takes the vibhakti धत् in the sense of mode or manner.' As हि + धत् = इति, 'in this manner.' Now धत् is a vibhakti by V. 3. 1. (प्रागःविद्यो धवविम्;) the ध is हि, the real vibhakti is धस्. Now had the present śūtra been of universal application, then there would have been no necessity of adding this ध as indicatory letter, which has been evidently added to save the म of धत् from becoming an हि. This śūtra is consequently an anitya śūtra.

5. The initial न्ति, तु, and दु are हि.

The syllables न्ति, तु and दु, standing at the beginning of a root are indicatory; as न्ति, to have affectionate pleasure.' The real root is ति, the न्ति is servile. So इति 'to rejoice, be glad' the real root being ति. So इति 'to give' the real root being ति.

The न्ति shows that the past participle क्ति has the power of the present III. 2. 187 (भृद्वः क्ति). As सिद्धः—वुल्न्ति 'blown'; भिन्नः—निर्विन्न 'fat'; भिन्नः—पुन्यः—बोल्ड,' भिन्नः—निर्बल्कः 'soft,' भिन्नः—रुद्धः 'kindled.'

The दु subjoined to a root serves to show that it admits the affix ध्वय to form a noun indicative of the act (III. 3. 89 ध्वत्रोधः;) as ध्वय—ध्वय 'shaking'; ध्वय—ध्वय 'swelling.'

The दु indicates that the root to which it is subjoined admits of the affix धिम (III. 3. 88, धिमः धिमः) to form a noun or adjective attributive of the act.
by which the substantive thing has been produced, as उपयुक्त—कृतिकृत् 'artificial'
उपयुक्त—पद्धितम् 'ripe'; उपयुक्त—निर्मितम् 'sown.'
If these three syllables do not stand in the beginning of a verb, they
are not indicatory; as यूनितम्, अनुनितम् &c.

6. The initial य of an affix is indicatory.

The initial य of an affix gets the name of युक्त and is rejected. Thus
by Rule III. 1. 1.45 (सिद्धान्तानि युक्तुः) the affix युक्तम् is added to a verb to indicate
proficient in the art expressed by the verb. The य and य are घु and घव
takes the place of य (VII. 1. 1, यूनितम्). Thus नृत्य + युक्तम् = गुरु+ योय = गुरुक:‘ a dancer’ (by profession), fem. गुरुकी (IV. 1. 41, गुरुककृतिकृत युक्तम् 'words formed
by affixes having an indicatory य (take the affix गुरुक in the feminine.): so also रघुक: fem. रघुकी.

The initial य of an affix only is युक्त and not every initial य. Thus not
in the यूक्तम् ‘six,’ or परिकतः II. The य must be initial, therefore it is not युक्त in the
affix यिन्यवित्तम् in अभिनवित्तम् (U p I. 45) as याधिर: ‘an ocean’ गादिर: ‘a buffalo.’

7. The initial palatals and linguals of an affix
are indicatory.

The consonants चू, छू, घू, भू, रू, लू, डू, ढू, तू, and यू are always
घु and are rejected when initial in affixes. The word ‘affix’ of the previous
sûtra governs this also.

As the affix युक्तम् चफ्म in sûtra (IV. 1. 98 योंगो चुनां युक्तम्). Here
युक्तम् is indicatory, as, कौल्यवित्तम् II. The initial युक्तम् of an affix is always replaced
by युक्तम् (VII. 1. 2 यमंगविनिनिद्वित्तम् युक्तम् यमंगविनिनिद्वित्तम्). The initial युक्तम् of an affix is
युक्तम्. As. संस्कृ (Nom. Pl. term.) योयम् II. The initial युक्तम् of an affix is always replaced
by युक्तम्, as नृ+ युक्तम् + हू = गुरुक्तम् II (VII. 1. 3 हूम्नम्). The initial युक्तम् of an
affix is हूम् as in युक्तम् which comes after the words युक्तम् &c. As युक्तम्:
(IV. 3. 96 यूक्तम् युक्तम्). The indicatory युक्तम् causes यूक्तम् by rules VII. 2. 115,
116 and 117: (यूक्तम्, यूक्तम्, यूक्तम्, यूक्तम्).

The initial यम् of an affix is हूम् as in III. 2. 16 (वर्तमान: the root यम् takes
the affix हूम् when compounded with a noun in the locative). As यम्मि: ‘who
goes among the Kurus.’ The feminine of words formed by this affix take
हूम् (IV. 1. 15 दिव्यमम्मि दिव्यमम्मि). As यम्मि, यम्मि. The initial यम् of an
affix is always replaced by हूम् (VII. 3. 50 हूम्मि:). The initial यम् of an यम्मि is हूम्,
as in III. 2. 97 (साम्यमान: the root यम् takes the affix हूम् when in composition
with a word in the locative, as उपसर्ग:, मन्त्रण:. The ऍ indicates that the
final of the word called इ should be elided when an affix having indicatory
ङ is added. The initial ऍ of an affix is replaced by ए (VII. 1. 2).

The letter ऍ is always an ह्र when initial. As in the aphorism IV. 4
85 (प्रात्तः:) the affix गर comes after the word अनन्त ‘food.’ As छन्द + ण = धाण:.
The म causes Vṛddhi.

This sūtra could very well have been included in the last aphorism.
Why has it then been made a separate aphorism? The reply is that the
present sūtra declares an anitya rule—that is to say, a rule which is not uni-
versally true. The initial palatal or lingual of every affix is not indicatory.
Thus in the affixes बुधुप and भगु the initial ऍ is not indicatory but forms
part of the real affix. As विस्तुपु: विस्तापभ: ‘famous for one’s learning.’ See
S. V. 2. 26 देवता विद्वानुपुरुषः प्रमाणः. Similarly the initial ऍ of the affix शति (V.
2. 31 शतानुपुरुषः. वे नानादीभिः संतासः शतिः नानाय शतिः नानाय शतिः), is not it. As यक्षीति
‘flat nosed.’

Of course it is the initial palatal and lingual which are servile; if
these letters occur in the middle of an affix, they will not be indicatory. As
ङ of the affix एद्र is not indicatory in sūtra V. 2. 35 (कविका एद्रोत्तुषः) कहेः:
‘dexterous.’

खङ्कलत्विदते ॥ ८॥ पदावनि छ-श्रूकु, अत्तिते (प्रात्तः,
आदिः एल ॥)

बौँि॥ तद्वित्तविज्ञानर्थ प्रत्ययवस्थाक्रियः कर्णाणात् लकार एकार अर्थां इत्यतदा महत्ति ॥

8. The initial र, त्र, र्त, र्त, र्त, र्त of affixes are indicatory, except taddhita, are indicatory.

The initial ण, त्र, त्र, त्र, त्र, त्र of affixes are indicatory, except in
Taddhita affixes. Thus the initial ण in ध्र्व is ध्र्व (III. 3 115 ध्र्व) विन् + व्र्व =
प्रथम्बु (VII. 1. 1) ‘collecting.’ The initial ण in ध्र्व is ध्र्व (III. 1. 68 काृति प्रार:) ध्र्व + व्र्व + व्र्व = भ्र्व + व्र्व = भ्र्व ‘he is.’ The initial ण is ध्र्व as in ध्र्व and ध्र्व
(I. 1. 26), as भ्र्व: ‘eating’ भ्र्वः। The initial ण is ध्र्व as in ध्र्व (III. 2. 38
विकल्पेः ध्र्व: श्र्व the word श्र्व takes the affix khach when compounded with विच
and श्र्व) निविश्वस: ‘speaking kindly’ विश्वसः ‘submissive.’ The initial ण is ध्र्व as
in the affix ध्र्व (III. 2. 139 श्र्वनिर्ववम्बु), द्वार्वः ‘languid’ द्वार्वः ‘victorious,
ध्र्व: ‘unmoveable.’ The initial ण is ध्र्व as in पुर्व (III. 2. 161 भ्र्व:नामिनी
पुर्व:), भ्र्व + पुर्व = भ्र्वः ‘brittle.’ The initial ण is ध्र्व, as in क्षिति (termina-
tion of the ablative sing.) ध्र्व Rita ditto of genitive sing. (IV. 1 2), as ध्र्व +
ह्र्व = व्र्व + पुर्व = व्र्व ‘of a well minded.’ In Taddhita affixes however,
these initials ण and gutturals are not ध्र्व; and are therefore not elided.
Thus ध्र्व + त्र = ध्र्वः (V. 2. 96 श्र्वियसाहित्ये लक्ष्यवस्थः) ‘crested’; लोम + श
A RULE OF ASSIGNMENT. [Bk. I. CH. III. § 9, 10.

— लोकः: (V. 2. 100 लोकविविद्याविचारिका: चापेच्छ) ‘hairy’; हूँ + क्रू = क्रूक्रू: (V. 3. 81-88 भाविनामस: क्रू) ‘a small tree.’

तस्य हीः: || य || पदार्थी || तस्य, हीः: (हूँ) ||

पुनः: तस्वेवतसकृत्वा लोपे भवति.

9. Of this, (namely of that which has been called हूँ), there is elision.

This sutra declares the function of हूँ; namely it is a mere indicatory letter, and must be rejected. It is useful only as a mnemonic and is not a part of the term.

The word tasya in the sutra indicates that the substitution of lopa must be in the place of the whole term called हूँ, and not only in the place of the final letter, which last is the general rule (see I. 1 52). Therefore, the whole of खिं, धु and जु is rejected and not only their finals.

यथा संहारुद्धेशः समानां || 13 || पदार्थी || यथा—संहारुद्धेशः, समानां

पुनः: समानां समस्तव्रमणां सन्तपितिसमानुसारप्रम्पिनिन्यानसिन्या यथा क्लिमविविद्यानविविद्यानसिन्या

10. When a rule involves the case of equal numbers of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted, their mutual correspondence or assignment of each to each, is according to the order of enumeration.

Thus sutra III. 1 134 (नन्तिपितिविविद्याः रुपिन्यान्यः:) declares:—‘the affixes रुरु, विनिः and श्रृः are applied to नस्ति, भस्ति and भृत्ति class of words.’ It means the affix रुरु is applied to the words of नस्ति class, the affix विनिः to words of भस्ति class, and श्रृः to words of भृत्ति class. The application must be respectively according to order, and not hap-hazard. Similarly in VI. 1 77 इमी सदाचि (if a vowel follows) in the place of Ṛ, Ṛ, Ṛ, there is च्रु इ., रु, रु, रु. So also see S. IV. 3. 94 (सूक्तिप्रकृतिविविद्यानविविद्यानसिन्या यथा श्रृः भ्रृः तव) where the four affixes धस्त, चहाः द्वाः, and यक्त are applied respectively to the words तृती, दिश्वती, वार्मति and कुचवारा; इ., the first affix in the order of enumeration to the first word, the second affix to the second word &c.

As शिवेष्ट, धानपुरीय:, सारवेश्व: and कोषाच्यः: !

Why do we say ‘of equal members’? This rule will not apply if the number of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted are unequal. As in sutra I. 4. 90 (लक्षणीव्यवस्थानानायस्वततः भवि वर्तनः: for here the words lakṣapāya &c. in the first part of
the sūtra are four in number, while the words prati &c. are only three. That sūtra therefore must be read as thus. "The words गति, परि and बन्ध are karma-pravachanlya, whenever they indicate either lakṣaṇa (a mark), ithambhutā-khyāna (a statement of mere circumstance); bhāga (division); or vipsā (desire)."

11. In these aphorisms, when a word is marked with a svarīta accent, by that an adhikāra or a governing rule is to be understood.

When in this collection of grammatical sūtras, there is any sūtra that has a circumflex accent, it denotes that it is either the beginning of a subject and the subsequent sūtras are governed by it, or that it ends a subject and separates the previous sūtras from the following.

As a rule, the sūtras are not marked with accents; it is therefore from commentaries that one has to learn whether a sūtra has a svarīta or not. Thus the following sūtras, must evidently have svarīta as they are governing sūtras; पर्यायঃ (III. 11) भाष: (III. 1. 91), चक্র (VI. 4. 1), नर्त (VI. 4. 129).

12. After a root which has an indicatory anudātta vowel (anudāttet) or an indicatory न (nü), the affixes are those of the Atmanepada.

The word ‘atmanepada’ here governs all the subsequent sūtras up to sū. 77 inclusive, and is understood in them all; and will not therefore be repeated. Thus of the verb ईशा the final ई is anudātta and is ई. It is therefore an Atmanepadi verb. As भविः. So पूवः—पूवे, पूवः अते.

13. An atmanepada affix is the substitute of the affix न (III. 4. 69) when it denotes the action of the verb or the object of the verb.

Sūtra III. 4. 69 declares the "letter न (नू, नित &c.) is placed after transitive verbs in denoting the object also as well as the agent; and after intransitives in marking the condition (i. e., the action itself which the verb imports) also as well as the agent." The Paras. and Atman. affixes would
have come, therefore, generally after all these verbs. The present sūtra restricts Atman. affixes to bhāva and karma verbs.

This is clear. Impersonal verbs and passive verbs as a rule are conjugated in the Atmanepada and take the terminations of that pada. These originally were verbs expressive of states rather than of actions. As of महास् we have महास् भवति ‘you dislike’ (lit. ‘it is disliked by you’) महास् भवति ‘you sleep.’ Similarly passive verbs as ‘क्रियते कण ‘the mat is made’; ‘क्रियते भयो ‘the load is carried.’

All verbs in Sanskrit may have three voices viz. active, passive, and middle or impersonal; active voice is generally parasmaipada. The reflexive verbs known as कर्मकार्यार्थ are also Atmanepadi. Thus लूपते करणां ‘keep the wood cuts of it.’ See sūtra 78.

कर्म-व्यतिहारी इ १४ || पदार्थि || कर्मनि || कर्म-व्यतिहारी (आत्मनेयदृष्टि) ||

वृत्ति: || कर्म-व्यतिहारी सर्वत्रिषिद्ध किया वजनाद्वारारात्स भवति ||

14. In denoting the agent, when reciprocity of action is to be expressed, the affixes of the Atmanepada are employed.

The active or कर्मवाच्च्य verbs when denoting reciprocal action are आत्मानेयदृष्टि. As, व्यतिहारने, ‘they cook for each other,’ व्यतिहारे ‘he performs’ cutting of wood which was the appropriate office of another.

The words “reciprocity or interchange of action” of this sūtra govern and are understood in the two following sūtras also.

The word karma in the sūtra means action and not the technical ‘karma’ meaning ‘object’ and the word vyatihāra means reciprocity or interchange. When an action which was appropriate to one person is performed by another, whose duty it was not, that is called ‘interchange of action.’ When such interchange is not meant Paras. is used. As दुमति ‘they cut.’ The word kartari here is used for the sake of the subsequent aphorism 78, which see.

न गति हिन्दुत्योग्य: || १५ || पदार्थि || न गति-हिंदु-अर्पयस्य: ||

(आत्मनेयदृष्टि कर्मवाच्च्यतिहारे) ||

वृत्ति: || गस्य-योहि हिन्दुत्योग्य नाणुभ-कर्म-व्यतिहारे आत्मनेयदृष्टि न भवति ||

वार्तिकः || गस्य-योहि हस्ताक्षरिस्तयोग्य स्वामनुभु ||

वार्तिकः || हर्तेतर्हार्स: ||

15. After verbs having the sense of ‘motion,’ or ‘injury,’ when expressing interchange of action the Atmanepada affixes are not used.
This aphorism prohibits Atmanepada affixes in certain cases where by force of the last sūtra Atmanepada affixes would have been obtained. As व्यतिनेिग्निः ‘they go against each other,’ व्यतिनेिग्निः ‘they injure each other.’ व्यतिनेिग्निः ‘they fight together.’

The word ‘not’ of this sūtra is understood in the subsequent sūtra.

Vart.—This prohibition extends to the verbs हट्ट ‘to laugh,’ and the rest. As व्यतिनेिग्निः, व्यतिनेिग्निः, व्यतिनेिग्निः.

Vart.—Prohibition must be made of the verbs हट्ट ‘to injure,’ as अयामहस्येन सरास्य.

एतर्यश्रयोधिपुष्ट यत्र अन्य, पदानि एतर-इतर, अन्योः अन्यः, हर्षदासः, च ( कनेवः आत्मनेवः n )

पुस्तिः: इतरेऽर्यश्रयोधिपुष्ट एतर्यश्रयोधिपुष्टः कनेवतिविहारे द्वात्मनेवः न मन्त्रः.

परस्परप्रविशेषस्य ज्ञेयस्यैः.

16. And after the verbs which take the words itaretara ‘each other,’ and anyonya ‘one another,’ as upapada (or dependant qualifying words), the affixes of Atmanepada are not used, though reciprocity of action be denoted.

Thus इतरेऽर्यश्रयः व्यस्ति नुस्तिः ‘they cut each other’ चाम्वौिन्यायय व्यतिनेिग्निः व्यतिनेिग्निः ‘they cut one another.’

Vart.—This rule must also be applied when the word द्वात्म is in composition with the verb, as an upapada. As परस्परस्य व्यतिनेिग्निः.

नेत्रिः: n 17 पदानि नेत्रिः विधाः, ( अत्मनेच्छु )

पुस्तिः: नेत्रिः परस्पर रिवे तः अत्मनेवः मन्त्रः.

17. After the verb विस ‘to enter,’ when preceded by the preposition नि, the Atmanepada affixes are employed.

As अतिदति ‘he enters,’ but अतिदति ‘he enters in.’

Even when the augment यत्र of the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional tenses intervenes between the root and the preposition, terminations are of the atmanepada. As अतिज्ञेयः ‘he entered in.’

The नि of the sūtra must be an upasarga, because that has a sense, and not नि. On this there is this paribhāṣa:—वार्षिक्त्वपुष्ट नान्तरस्य ‘a combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote the same combination of letters void of a meaning.” Thus in धार्ति विधानिः द्वात्रः ‘the beetles enter the honey flowers.’
Here the नि is a part of the word सपुष्प्नि and has no sense by itself, and therefore the verb is in the Parasmaipada and not in the Atmanepada.

परिश्वेभ्य: किँया: इ १८ पदानि इ परि-चिन्ह-अवेश्य; किंया:
(आँ)

चुलत: परिश्वेभ्य परिश्वेभ्य वत्तात्र बिंकालेरामनेवाइं भवति

18. After the verb क्रि 'to purchase,' when preceded by pari, vi or ava, the Atmanepada affix is employed, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb बुधीसम् 'to buy or barter,' has an indicator ज्ञ and therefore, by सूत्र ७२ it will be Atmanepadi when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present सूत्र, therefore, refers to cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The root श्रि 'to buy' as a general rule takes the terminations of both padas, but when it is preceded by pari, vi, or ava, it is restricted to Atmanepada terminations. As प्रश्रीणिते 'he buys'; विश्रीणिते 'he sells'; भवश्रीणिते 'he buys'.

The word pari, vi, and ava must be upasargas, therefore, in the following example, there is no Atmanepada termination, because the vi there, is not a preposition but a noun, as, बहुविकृतानि बन्नुनूँ.

विपरालय्यं जे: इ १९ पदानि इ विपरालय्यं, जे: (आँ)

चुलत: परि परि पूर्वापरा भाषापारा भवति

19. After the verb जित 'to conquer,' preceded by vi or parà, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

This सूत्र debars S. 78 by which the root जि is generally Parasmaipadi.

As विजये 'he conquers' पराजये 'he conquers.' The words vi and parà must be upasargas (prepositions), for the application of this rule. In the following examples, they are used as substantives बहुविकृतानि बन्नुनूँ, परि भवति केना.

आड़े दुर्बलास विहरणे इ २० पदानि: इ आड़े: दृ: बनास्य-विहरणे, (आँ)

चुलत: आड़े परिश्वेभ्य परिश्वेभ्य मन्त्रविहरणे भवति

शारिकां: भाषानिमित्तानिमित्तानिमित्ता भविष्यां: इ

शारिकां: बहुविकृतानि बन्नुनूँ
20. After the verb dā 'to give,' preceded by ān, and when not meaning 'to open the mouth,' the Atmanepada affix is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The root ś is generally both Parasmai padi and Atmanepadi (see S. 72). But when preceded by the preposition ān, it is restricted to the Atmanepada. As विद्यामात्रे 'he acquires knowledge.' But when it means "to widen the mouth" whether actually or metaphorically, it is parasmai padi. As मेल् व्यास्ताः 'He expands his own mouth.'

*Vart.*—The prohibition also applies when the action is similar to the act of opening the mouth. As बिसारिष्णो व्यास्ताः 'he opes the tumour.' कुण्डः व्यास्ताः परस्पर 'the river breaks the bank.'

*Vart.*—When the action does not affect the agents' own body the verb is Atmanepadi, as व्यास्तविषाणि: पतंगसः गुरुः, 'the ants open the mouth of a locust.'

नृःणुच्छपरिश्र्यं II २१ II पदानि II क्रिया:, अनु-स्म-परिश्र्य:, च, (आङ्कः , आल्लने र०)

स्थितं II क्रियासंहिते अनुसमार्थं अनुसमार्थं तद्यथे वृक्षः भागः पुर्वायालेवं अस्विकं II
वातिकन्: II वन्दे: द्रश्यमुः स्वरति वस्त्रयथ: II
वातिकन्: II वाच्यम्: शभायालेवं पदे वस्त्रयथ: II
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21. After the verb kṛfi 'to play,' preceded by anu, sam or pari, as well as ān, the Atmanepada affix is used.

The word "भानु" is to be read into the śūtra by virtue of the conjunction इ in the text. As भानुकोः संहिते सन्धीकोः, or परिश्र्यः 'he plays.'

*Vart.*—When the verb क्रेण compounded with स्म means 'to make a rattling or creaking noise,' it does not take atmanepada terminations. As संहिते छुक्सीति 'the carts rattle or creak.' The word anu, pari &c., being taught along with sam, indicates that the upasargas anu, pari &c., are to be taken, and not the karmapravachanlya anu pari &c. Therefore, when these prefixes are used as karmapravachanlya, they do not cause the verb क्रिया to
take the Atmanepada terminations as मात्रवक्षणवृत्तिः ‘he plays in imitation of the boy.’ For the definition and action of karmapraavachanyya, see I. 4. 83 and II. 3. 8.

Vart.—The verb भागति takes the Atmanepada terminations when meaning ‘to wait for,’ ‘to over look’ ‘to have patience,’ भागनवर्ध गावू मात्रवक्षणवृत्ति ‘Have patience with the boy.’

Vart.—The verb तिक्त takes Atmanepada terminations, when meaning ‘to enquire’—स, विवाह रिऩेन ‘he investigates sciences.

Vart.—The verb गृह when meaning ‘to bless,’ takes Atmanepada terminations, गाति नयेति ‘he blesses with clarified butter.’ गृहानं गाति ‘Why do we say ‘when meaning to bless’ ‘Observe, मात्रवक्षणवृत्ति ‘he begs of Manavaka.’

Vart.—The verb हृति takes Atmanepada terminations when meaning ‘to take after the nature of the parents.’ तेषसदना भावति भ्राता ‘the horses resemble their father.’ भहते गातमुहर्ति ‘the cows always imitate their mother.’ But when not having this meaning, we have मात्रवक्षणवृत्ति ‘he resembles his mother.’

Vart.—The verb चन्द्राक्षि takes Atmanepada terminations when meaning ‘to scratch out or scatter with joy, for abode or food.’ अपस्वत्रेषु ब्रजेऽदु ‘the happy bull scratches with joy.’ चन्द्राक्षि रेण अस्ति ‘the cock scratches in search of food,’ चन्द्राक्षि श्च ‘the dog scratches to make his abode.’ When not having these senses we have चन्द्राक्षि ‘he scatters about the flowers.’ The dental ṣ in apaskarite is added by सूत्र VI. 1. 1. 142. भाषामण्डलबुद्धिनिर्वाचनात्वे॥

Vart.—The verbs गु ‘to cry’ and प्रचु ‘to ask’ take the Atmanepada terminations when preceded by the preposition भाकः, as भाकुः शुद्ध म ‘he questions the Guru.’

Vart.—The verb धर ‘when meaning ‘to touch the body by the word’ takes Atmanepada affixes. अश्वेषधर ‘he promises by oath to Devadatta.’ Otherwise we have ध्रव ‘he curses.’

वषयपुष्करिक्रेष तस्य ॥ २२ ॥ पदार्थम् ॥ भ्य-अव-प्र-विख्यः तथा ॥
हृति: गृह भय म वि हस्तेवऽर्धीत्या तिहिते दानमेवर्षे मंसिरी इति ॥
बालिक्रेष भाकः शर्यां विशेष्यानवर्षे इति ॥

22. After the verb श्याह ‘to stand,’ preceded by sam, ava, pra, vi, the Atmanepada affix is used.

As समिहिते ‘he stays with,’ प्रचुः ‘he waits patiently,’ निहिते ‘he sets forth,’ श्याहेऽ ‘he stands apart.’
Vart.—The verb व्यवहारण, meaning 'solemn declaration' takes अतमनेपदा terminations; as भास्कर विश्वासनाम अतमनेपदा इति. Or to take another example, जग विश्व तय कारणात्मकारण 'for thee I shall surely have recourse to water or poison'.

प्रकाशनःप्रेयोगः (ख्या, आलादित्व) पदान्ति प्रकाशनः-रaney-अत्यध्येऽः.

�्रेणि: प्रकाशनः प्रेयोगः श्रेणिः रविकेरायणक्रियाः अवश्यः

23. After the verb स्थाय when meaning 'to indicate one's intentions to another,' or 'to make an award as an arbitrator,' the अतमनेपदा affix is employed.

The word 'prākāśā' means disclosing one's intentions. The word sthe�-क्षेयक्षेय is a compound of stheय 'arbitrator' and kṣeय 'name.'

As शिष्य's शाषक, 'the wife expresses her wish to the husband,' गुरुः विद्वान, 'he refers to thee for settlement,' संपुस्तक करणिकां शिष्येऽस, 'who, when he is in doubt, has recourse to Karpa as his judge or umpire.'

प्रेयोगः-प्रेयोगः (ख्या, आलादित्व) पदान्ति ब्रवः, अनुप्रयोगः-क्षेयः,

श्रेणि: ब्रवः शिष्यादित्वं श्रेणिः रविकेरायणक्रियाः अवश्यः

24. After the verb स्थाय, preceded by ut, when not meaning 'to get up or rise,' as from a seat; the अतमनेपदा affix is employed.

The word 'karma' in this aphorism means 'action,' and does not mean the grammatical karma or 'object.'

As गोरे शिष्य, 'he strives for the house' so also कुरुः विद्वानि। But भाक्षणिक्षेयः 'he rises up from the seat.'

Vart.—The force of the preposition ut must be to express हुः, 'effort, exertion, wish or desire, to surprise or excell.' If this be not the force of ut, the terminations are those of the धराकसावपदा. As गोरे जामात्, गहुः 'a hundred is yielded by this village.' The word हुः qualifies the word 'anūrdhakarmapi,' and does not debar the latter.

उपान्तक्रियः (ख्या, आलादित्व) पदान्ति उपात्, मन्त्र-करणे,

श्रेणि: उपान्तक्रियः रविकेरायणक्रियाः अवश्यः

शास्त्रकारः शास्त्रकारः क्रियात्मकाति करणिकाति करणिकाति अवश्यः

शास्त्रकारः शास्त्रकारः हुः-प्रेयोगिकाति अवश्यः
25. After the verb sthâ, preceded by upa, when meaning ‘to adore,’ the Atmanepada affix is used.

As श्रवणमात्रस्थायु पाठात्रये ‘he approaches with prayers or worships the Gārhapatyā fire with andra hymns.’

If it does not mean ‘praising with hymns’ the terminations which the verb takes, are those of the Parasmaipada, as शतान्यपतिषति यीयन्ते ‘she approaches the husband through youth.’

Vart.—The verb चाल after the preposition चाल takes the terminations of the Atmanepada when meaning ‘worshipping a deity,’ ‘to approach for intercourse or uniting or joining,’ ‘to form friendship with,’ and ‘to lead to as a way.’ Thus:—1st Deva pujâ शदैवीथुपदिया ‘he worships the Aditya.’ 2. Sangati कराप शत्रुपदिताति नारी ‘the wife approaches the husband,’ रथिकावनमुपदितात ‘forms union with chariotiers.’ 3. Mitri करारा शत्रुपदिताति पाव ‘the good man approaches the saints to make friends with.’ What is the difference between Sangati-karanā and Mitri-karanā? Sangati-karanā means drawing near and approaching together in space, as नागाभिषुकुपदिताति ‘the Ganges joins the Jumna.’ While the friendly relations may be established without coming in physical contact. 4. Patha:—चस पथ ‘समुद्रुपदिताति ‘this road leads to Srughaṇa.

Vart.—It must be stated that the Atmanepada is optional when the sense is ‘desire of getting.’ As विषुक साधारणकुपदिताति or वस्त्रिलिपि ‘a beggar waits at the palace of a Brahmapā with the desire of getting something.’

अकमेकाद्, तपस्य ए, (उप स्या जायते)।

26. After the verb sthâ, preceded by upa, when used intransitively, the Atmanepada affix is used.

As भोजनकालस वासिष्ठ ‘he stands ready at the time of dinner,’ यात्रासुसुन्दपति ‘he is present whenever it is dinner time,’ यात्रासुसुन्दपति ‘he is present whenever there is food, that is he comes at the time of dinner.’ The word bhukta is formed by adding the affix kta to the root, and has the force of ‘condition’ here.

The phrase ‘when used in the Intransitive’ governs the three succeeding sutras also.

If it is transitive; the verb upasthâ takes the parasmaipada terminations. As राजानगुपतिषत ‘he approaches the king.’
27. After the verb tapa, ‘to shine,’ when used intransitively, and preceded by ut or vi the Atmanepada affix is employed.

As उत्तंते or नित्याय यिद्याय ‘The scholar shines with knowledge.’ But in transitive verbs, it is Parasmaipadi. As उसस्याऽत्तंते पुरस्याऽवार्तकाः, ‘the goldsmith heats the gold,’ नित्याय उत्तंते ‘the sun heats the back.’

Vart.—It must be stated that the terminations are of the Atmanepada, though the verb ut-tapa or vi tapa be transitive, when the object is some limb of one’s own body. As उसस्याऽवार्तकाः नित्याय ‘he heats his own hand or back.’ The word उत्तंते means one’s own body and not the परिभाषिका or the technical द्वारका meaning a thing which not being liquid or gaseous and being capable of being perceived by the senses, and not being one produced by a change from the natural state, exists in a living being and though elsewhere actually or at any particular time, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually (not figuratively) the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being.” (See IV. 1. 54 द्वारकायित्र्यं नित्याय प्राप्तम्) Therefore not so in the following न्यायसंस्कृतम् प्राप्तम् ‘Devadatta heats the back of Yajñadatta. When the preposition is other than ut or vi, parasmaipada affix is employed; as, नित्याय.

आद्ययमहनं || २८ || पदा || आद्य, यम-हनः, (अक्षरकाल् आद् ०) ||

पुस्ति: || नम उपर, हनहंसामासो || नामाधिनयक्षरिक्ष्यो वचनायामसाः पूर्वायामाल्यनि-पर्व नमि ||

28. After the verb yam, ‘to stop,’ and han, ‘to injure,’ when used intransitively and preceded by एन, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The word intransitive of s. 26 is understood here also. Both these verbs are generally parasmaipadi. When they take the affix एन they become Atmanepadi. Yam belongs to Bhvādi class; and han to Adādi class. Thus एन + हस्य + श्न्ध + न्ते = एन + हस्य + अते (VII. 3. 77 हस्यातिनां छ: ‘chh is the substitute of the finals of ish, gam and yam, when an affix having an indicative एन follows) = अवत्तेने ‘it spreads.’ अवत्तेने and अवत्तारिते; so also एन + हस्य + न्ते = एन + हस्य + न्ते (I. 2. 4 and VI. 4. 37 शयनायनायानस्सिर्यायामातिनां एनायातिनां तत्रातिनां अते || अरसेने ‘he strikes.’ एन = हस्य + अते = एन + हस्य + अते (I. 2. 4 and VI. 4. 98 तार्कस्यामायनातिनां शयनायानातिनां तत्र अरसेने ‘क्ष्य शयनाति’ = अरसेने (VII. 3. 54), (को हस्यायनातिनां तत्रातिनां तत्रातिनां अरसेने).

Not so when these verbs are used in the transitive, as अवत्तारिते कपाल-कर्पुर ‘he draws up the rope from the well,’ शरणं पश्यन्ते ‘they kill the sinner with the foot.’
Vart.—When the object is some member of the agent’s own body these verbs take the Atmanepada terminations though transitive. As भारवले पालियू ‘he puts forth his own hand,’ भारिते फिर ‘he hurts his own head.’ When the object is some limb of another’s body, the terminations are of the Parasmaiapada, as भारिते फिर: परकोट ‘they hurt others head.’

समे गात्रियावर्तमानस्य तत्सिद्धिविद्या: ॥ २४ ॥ पद्मनि: वन:,
गमि-जरहित-ग्रन्थि-स्वरति-अंति-शु-विद्या: ( अभसेद आत् एव: ) ॥

हरिति: ॥ तुरुष्यो गमि सर्दित्वारस्ति स्वरति अतिलिखितविद्येको-अभसेर्येको धानुः-भाग्ने भ्रमिति ॥

पालिकु: ॥ दूरे येति दक्षिण: ॥

29. After the verbs gam ‘to go,’ richchh ‘to become hard,’ prachchh ‘to ask,’ svar ‘to find fault,’ ri ‘to go,’ śrū ‘to hear,’ and vid ‘to know,’ when used intransitively and preceded by sam, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The above seven verbs when preceded by the preposition समु and used in the intransitive, take the terminations of the Atmanepada. As जरहिते (VII. 3. 77) ‘he joins,’ सर्दिते ‘he becomes hard or goes.’ जरहिते ‘he asks,’ सर्दिते he ‘blames.’ समु ‘they are attained.’ In the case of this last verb which belongs both to Bhvādi and Juhādyādi class it is Atmanepadi only in the Aorist. As समु+समु+अम्ब्र+त (III. 1. 56 सविज्ञायत्विनीयत्र) = सभु, as मा समु (VI. 4. 75 समुसरीरसवन्योपायोधि) सत्य+सत्य+अम्ब्र+अम्ब्र = श्रवणम् (VII. 4. 16 समुद्रोपाययुगूः). This occurs generally in the Vedas. The verb विद्यु must have the meaning of ‘to know,’ and not that of ‘to acquire.’ समु ‘he hears,’ समु ‘he knows.’

Vart.—The root हस्य (to see) after the preposition समु when used intransitively takes the terminations of the Atmanepada as जरहिते ‘he sees.’ But when transitive, it takes Parasmaiapada terminations as जरहिते जरहिति ‘he sees the town.’

निव सुपविस्यो हस्य: ॥ ३० ॥ पद्मनि: निव-सं-रुप-विद्या: न, हस्य: (आत् एव:) ॥

हरिति: निव-सं द्विते दुर्गृहित्वं हयवर्त-विद्येको मयादि ॥

पालिकु: ॥ उरवतीगतस्यन्याभिष्कृत वचन: ॥

30. After the verbs हस्य ‘to call,’ preceded by ni, sam, upa, and vi, the Atmanepada is used, even, when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.
The verb ते 'to call' whether transitive or intransitive is Atmanepadā after the above prepositions. The condition of being Intransitive does not apply to this sutra, and from this sutra forward general rules of Atmanepada are treated of. As निःत्ति, चन्द्रयने, यद्वाते. 

The verb हे is marked in the Dhātupātha with a स and therefore by sutra 72 of this Chapter, it will take the terminations of the Atmanepada when the direct fruit of the action accrues to the agent. But even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the verb हे takes the terminations of the Atmanepada when preceded by the above prefixes.

Vart.—The verbs चर्च 'to throw' and दृष्ट 'to note' take optionally Atmanepada affixes when compounded with upasargas. As शिरवस्ति—वे 'he casts out,' श्रव्यति—वे 'he collects.'

रघुत्रायानः || 31 || पदानि || स्पर्धायाम्, ाः, (हः: आः पृ) ||

|हमिः || स्पर्धायाम् विष्णु बाह्र पूर्वः हुम्भरालेवं नव ||

31. After the verb हे, when meaning 'to challenge' and preceded by अन, the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

As महते चन्द्रागण्ये 'an athlete challenges another athlete (in order to conquer him)' चतुरस्त्रागण्ये 'one student emulates with another student.'

This sutra is also for the purpose of showing that the root हे takes the Atmanepada terminations even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The word spardha means to emulate, to vie, to desire to conquer another. When the verb हे has not the above signification, it takes the terminations of the parasmaipada. As गान्धर्ववति शोभा: 'the cowherd calls the cows.'

गान्धर्वादिवेदनविभसानिश्रवव्यववृत्तिश्रववक्षणीयोपयोगे, क्रम: || 32 ||

पदानि || गान्धर्व-आदेव-विश्व-वाहिन्य-प्रतिप्रति-प्रक्षणवपयोगे, क्रम:., (आः पृ) ||

|हमिः || गान्धर्वादिवेदनविभसानिश्रवव्यववृत्तिश्रववक्षणीयोपयोगे, मर्य ||

32. After the verb क्रि when meaning 'to divulge,' to revile,' to serve,' to use violence,' to cause change,' 'to recite,' and 'to do an act tending to effect a desired purpose,' the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.
The verb कृष्ण by सूत्र 72 would take the affixes of the Atmanepada when the direct fruit of the action accrues to the agent. This सूत्र has been begun to show that this verb takes the Atmanepada terminations under certain circumstances even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The word gandhana comes from the root gandh 'to injure,' of churādi class and means to inform against another maliciously with the object of injuring such person. Avakshepana means 'to revile' 'to over-come,' sevana means 'to obey and serve,' sahasikya means 'an act of violence,' pratiyantna means 'imparting a new quality or virtue,' prakathana means 'to narrate fully,' upayoga means 'the disposal of a thing for the object of attaining merit &c.'

Thus बुढ़हे, बुढ़हे means he informs against (2) इथेदा वर्तिलोपुरुषाये 'the hawk overcomes or reviles a small' (3) गण्यानुपुषुहे 'he serves the prostitutes' महानानुपुषुहे 'he serves the mahamatra.' (4) पदराम्भ पशुहे 'he outrages another's wife.' (5) एष्टते विषयमुद्यते 'the fuel gives a new quality (boils) to the water (or he prepares the wood and water for a sacrifice). The object of the verb क्रि takes the affix of the sixth case i.e. genitive, only when the verb means pratiyantna, see S. II. 3. 53 (कृष्ण: प्रतिच्छ). Therefore udakasya, though an object, has genitive form. The verb takes the augment सूर्य only when it is preceded by upa and signifies pratiyantna see VI. 1. 139. (उदकः प्रतिक्रि शैवन देयायायाधारणाः) Therefore, there is the insertion of sibilant in upaskurute.

(5) गायन मुड़ते 'he recites stories,' जनानिष्ठमुड़ते 'he recites slander.' (6) एवं मुड़ते 'he devotes a hundred' pieces of money, for the sake of merit. बहुते मुड़ते he devotes a thousand.

Why do we say in these senses? Witness कर्ता करोति 'he makes a mat.' In this case the अत्मानपदा affix is not employed.

The verb क्रि is understood in the three succeeding सूत्रas.

अथे: पृथक्ते III 33 पद्द्यनि II अथे, पृथक्ते, (रुण: आऽ प) II

33. After the verb क्रि preceded by adhi, when the sense is that of 'overcoming or defeat,' the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

This सूत्र is commenced to show that क्रि may take the अत्मानपदा affix even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word prasahana means 'to over come, to be not defeated.' As महतिष्ठे 'he overcame him or he was not defeated by him.'

Why do we say, 'in the sense of to overcome?' Witness शर्मनिकरोति 'he learns the meaning' in which example the अत्मानपदा affix is not employed.
The necessity of making a separate sūtra of this rule, instead of including it in the last apporism, arose with the object of giving a distinctive meaning to the prefix adhi.

34. After the verb kṛi preceded by vi, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, and when the sense is that of ‘making sound,’ (literally, having ‘sound’ for its object) the Atmanepada is employed.

The word karma in the sūtra indicates objective case or kāraka; and does not express ‘action,’ as in some previous sūtras such as 24 ante.

As kaurava vinahane svaratru ‘the birds are making noise,’ bhājya vinahane svaratru.

The word vi governs the succeeding sūtra.

Why do we say “when governing a word expressive of sound in the objective case”? Witness विषये विकरारी काम ‘love affects the mind.’

35. After the verb kṛi preceded by vi, when used intransitively, the Atmanepada is used.

As vinahane sehnah ‘the horse move gracefully,’ बोद्धस्य पूल्लोकायाय विकरारी ‘the students being full of food are acting as they will or are aimlessly wandering about.’

36. After the verb nṛ ‘to lead,’ when used in the sense of ‘to guide so as to render the person worthy,’ ‘to lift up,’ ‘to make one a spiritual guide,’ ‘to determine the true sense,’ ‘to employ on wages,’
to pay as debt,' and 'to give as in charity,' even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the Atmanepada is used.

This sutra is begun in order to show that the verb नी may take the terminations of the Atmanepada, even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, in the following cases, विस., when it means to 'respect' &c.

Sammānāna means to respect; as चालवे चार्वी लोकायते 'the Chārvi gives instruction in the Lokāyata śāstra.' The word chārvi primarily means intelligence, and by secondary use it has been extended to the preceptor also, such a preceptor gives instruction in Lokāyata Sastra, that is to say, having established the truth of the doctrines of that philosophy by argumentation, imparts them to the pupils. Those doctrines being thus established by reason, become respected (Sannānāta) and honored.

Utsa槽ana, 'to throw up, or lift up,' as माणवकुशानये 'he lifts up Manavaka.'

Achārīya-करणा 'acting as a teacher,' that is to say, to bring a boy near oneself in such a way, that being so brought near (upa-meta), he may himself become an achārīya. As माणवकुशानये 'he initiates Manavaka (i.e., making himself the preceptor he brings the boy near himself.)'

Jnāna means 'knowledge, a demonstrated verity.' As चालवे चार्वी लोकायते 'the Chārvi investigates the truth of the Lokāyata doctrine.'

Bṛiti means 'wages.' As कर्मकारायुपनये 'he employs the servants on hire or wages.'

Vigāṇana means the paying off as a tribute, debts &c. As मद्रास करं विनयनये, 'the Madras pay the tax due to the king, that is, they discharge the debt.'

Vyaya means 'allotment of money on works of merit &c.' As श्रवण विनयनये, 'he expends a hundred pieces on religious acts.' वधन विनयनये 'he devotes a thousand.'

Why do we say, in these senses? Witness धन्य अद्वति धन्य 'he carries the goat to the village.' Here there is no Atmanepada affix, as the verb has not any one of the above significations.

कर्त्तेऽधारीर कर्माणि सः अष्टरीरे, कर्माणि, (लिय: अति पौ) ॥

श्रवण, कर्माविवर्तनायंनिकोवच्चे: कर्त्तेऽधारीर कर्माणि शर्ति नायकाला नाम ॥

37. After the verb नी, when it governs an incorporeal object existing in the agent, as its object, the Atmanepada is used.
The verb ती is Atmanepadi when governing an object which has no material body, but is an abstract noun, that is an object which has abstract but no concrete existence; and when such an object has its seat in a portion of the agent of the verb. As कौर्णिक निर्बन्ध 'he subdues his own anger,' मतु निर्बन्ध 'he suppresses anger.'

The word शरीर means the body of living beings, any portion of such body is also called शरीरa.

The object must reside in the agent, (कार्यर्थः), otherwise the verb will be parasmaipadi. As अधिन्यायः केशकम् कोर्णिक निर्बन्ध 'Devadatha removes Yajnadatta's anger.'

The object moreover must be immaterial, otherwise the affix will be of parasmaipada. As मतु निर्बन्ध ‘he removes his own wort.’ पार्वती निर्बन्ध ‘he bows his neck.’

Why do we say ‘in the case of an object?’ Witness कौर्णिक निर्बन्ध ‘he is submissive through knowledge,’ प्रत्येक निर्बन्ध. Here the verb निर्बन्ध has not taken an accusative case, but is in construction with an instrumental case, and therefore the present rule does not apply.

शृण्यारूपायानेहुः क्रमः || ३८ || पदार्थी || शृण्यारूपायानेहुः क्रमः ||

शृण्यारूपायानेहुः क्रमः || (आठ पद) ||

शृण्यारूपायानेहुः क्रमः ||

38. After the verb kram ‘to move’ when used, in the senses of ‘continuity,’ ‘energy’ and ‘development,’ the Atmanepada is employed.

The word ‘kram’ governs the succeeding sutras up to 43 and is understood in them all.

The verb kram by sutra I. 3. 78 (after the rest, let the parasmaipada affixes be employed in marking the agent), would have taken the affixes of the parasmaipada; the present aphorism enjoins Atmanepada affixes in certain cases when the verb means to have a taste for &c.

Vṛttī ‘continuity’ means unobstructed, or want of interruption (i.e., a taste for, or facility in, anything), ‘sarga energy’ means application resolution and determination. Tāyana ‘development’ means increase and growth.

As (१) कण्ठस्वर कमते श्रविष्टिः—his reason proceeds unobstructed through the Rig. scriptures i.e., he can easily comprehend the Rig. (२) पढ़कारणायां बननाथ कमते ‘the pupil shows energy or exerts to study the grammar.' (३) पारंपरिता धारायों कमते ‘the shastras are developed in him.’

Why in these senses only? Witness प्रत्यावर्तिति ‘he runs away.’
39. After the verb kram, preceded by upa and para, when used in the senses of continuity, energy and development, the Atmanepada is employed.

The words vritti &c., of the last sūtra are understood here also. Why has this been made a separate sūtra and not included in the last? The reason is to make a restrictive rule in the cases of upasargas; that is to say, only in the cases of the upasargas upa and para, there is Atmanepada affix; but not so when any other upasarga precedes the verb kram, though the sense may be of continuity &c., Thus upakramavah he commences to advance, paraakramavah he marches to attack.

Why do we say after the upasargas ‘upa and para’? Because, after any other preposition the affix will be of the parsmaiapada; as saukramavah he makes progress. If the sense is not that of “continuity” &c., parsmaiapada will be employed, as upakramavah, paraakramavah.

40. After the verb kram, preceded by aṅ, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of the rising of a luminary.

As aṅkramavah sunāra, ‘the sun rises,’ kaṅkramavah moonāra, ‘the moon rises’ kaṅkramavah sunaṁī ‘the stars rise.’

Vart.—This ascending must refer to heavenly bodies. Therefore in kaṅkramiti, ‘the smoke rises from the surface of the terrace,’ the verb kram is paraśmaiapadi. Why do we say in the sense of ‘to ascend’? Witness kaṅkramiti, kṣuram ‘the boy assails the girl.’

वेचे: पादविकहरे || ४३ || पदार्थि || बे: पादविकहरे (क्रम: आळ पठ) ||

इति: || वियुगदहारे: पादविकहरे द्वारा वर्णनात्मानवेचे भयति ||

41. After the verb kram, preceded by vi, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of ‘placing of foot-steps.’

As vahāni vikaṃvah ‘the horse is pacing.’ The term vikramaṇa is applied to the special movements of horse &c.
Though in the Dhātupātha (catalogue of verbal roots), the verb क्रमि and पद्यु have the meanings of पदा-विहारा and पदा-विक्षेपा, that is "throwing or placing of foot," and so it might be objected that the present sūtra is a useless repetition, yet as verbs have various other meanings than what is assigned to them in the dhātupātha, the present sūtra is not unnecessary.

Why do we say "in the sense of throwing of foot"? In any other sense, the terminations will be those of the parasmaipada. As विकामि भविष्यमि: the fold of the antelope skin is ruptured:

मौषयं सतप्रस्थायं \ ॥ ५२ \ भाष्यम् ( क्रम: आऽ पो ) ॥

भाष्यम्: स उव रहस्यतथा वर्तनात् कर्मवेदनियतं अवर्ति ॥

42. After the verb kram, the Atmanepada is employed when it is preceded by pra and upa, both conveying the same sense; viz. that of "beginning an action."

As पद्युते भोक्तु, उपकर्त्ते भोक्तु 'he commences to eat' &c.

The prefixes pra and upa are synonyms, when they denote the commencement of an action.

Why do we say, "when they are synonyms." Witness the following प्रुः प्रारंभिति प्रारंभिति 'he goes during the first part of the day and he comes back during the latter part of the day.' Here in one case the sense is "to go," in another it means "to return."

Why in the latter case of 'apareddy upakramati' there is not Atmanepada by virtue of sūtra 39 ante, as there is the upasarga upa here? The answer is that Rule 39 is not applicable, as that rule is limited by the condition of the sense of 'continuity' &c. while in the present sūtra, that limitation is not applicable.

अनुपवर्त्ती ॥ ६३ \ भाष्यम् ( क्रम: आऽ पो ) ॥

43. After the verb kram, the Atmanepada is optionally employed, when it is not preceded by any preposition.

The root 'kram' may always be conjugated as Atmanepadi when not having any upasarga. The upasarga will be defined in 1. 4. 59. The option allowed by this sūtra is an example of what is technically known as aprāpta vibhāsā vis., an option which is not an alternative limitation to a general rule already found or known.
Examples: जानते or जानति ‘he goes over.’ Why do we say ‘when it is without any preposition?’ For no option is allowed when it takes preposition.
As जानति.

अपनवे ध: ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपनवे: ध: ( ध: १७ ॥ ५० ) ॥

44. After the verb jña, when used in the sense of ‘denying,’ the Atmanepada is employed.

The root jña which ordinarily means ‘to know’ and is parasmaipadi by rule 78, becomes Atmanepadi when through the virtue of any prefix it means ‘to deceive.’ As घपणामिति ‘he deceives,’ दक्षिणात्मान ‘he denies the debt of a hundred rupees,’ शहस्त्रादिव ‘denies a thousand.’

Why do we say when meaning ‘to deny’? observe:—न ज्ञानस्मायज्ञानति जानति ‘thou knowest not anything.’

अक्षेत्रवर्तक ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अक्षेत्रवर्तक: ( ध: १७ ॥ ५० ) ॥

45. And when used intransitively, after the verb jña, the Atmanepada is employed, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

As घपणामि जानति मधुरी मधुरी ‘he engages in sacrifice by means of clarified butter or honey.’ (See II. 3. 51).

This Atmanepadi form of jña is employed when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. From sutra 76 it will be seen that when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the verb is Atmanepadi.

How in the above example the verb jña is intransitive? Because the word sarpiṣṭa is not the object of knowledge, but it is an instrument of sacrifice, into which one engages from complete knowledge (jñāna); and it (sarpīṣṭaḥ) is in the genitive case by virtue of II. 3. 51 (शीर्षिकार्थस्य कस्य) by which the instrumental kāraka of the jña is put in the genitive case.

Why do we say of “Intransitive”? Because in the transitive it is parasmaipadi, as रक्षेत्रपुपुष्यानि ‘he knows (recognizes) the son by his voice.’

उपसत्यास्मातहानि ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्तप्यासात् अनु-
आयतानि (ध: १७ ॥ ५० ) ॥

46. After the verb jña, preceded by sam, and prati, the Atmanepada is employed, when not used in the sense of “remembering with regret.”
The word jña is understood in this sūtra: and the aphorism applies to that jña which is used in the transitive. As धर्मो भावावते ‘he looks for a hundred’ so हर्षस्त्रे मलिनावते ‘he promises a thousand.’

Why do we say when ‘not meaning remembering with regret?’ Because it is not Atmanepadi, when it conveys that meaning. Thus भावम् तप्यानावति ‘he remembers with regret his mother’ विना: तप्यानावति ॥

साधनोपत्रं उपस्थित्य प्रत्येक्यस्त्रे वद्: ॥ ४३ ॥ पदार्थ ॥
साधन-उपस्थित्य प्रत्येक्यस्त्रे प्रयत्नस्त्रे वद्: ॥ ( खो ५० ) ॥

प्रस्तुति: ॥ भावानावति विना स्वप्नावति स्वप्न सर्वस्त्रे तप्यावति ॥

47. After the verb vad, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the senses of “showing brilliance, or proficiency in,” “pacifying,” “knowledge,” “effort,” “difference of opinion,” and “flattering.”

By sūtra 78, vad generally takes the terminations of the Parasmani-pada, by the present sūtra, it takes also the affixes of the Atmanepada when having certain meanings.

Bhāṣana, (shining) means to illumine as वर्णे चार्यते नीरार्थात्व: the charvi illumines the Lokayat shastras, by his discourses and clear exposition.

Upasamādhā (persuasions) means to appease, to conciliate as कर्म-काराद्वैते he conciliates or cajoles the servants.

Jñāna (knowledge) means to know completely as वर्णे चार्यते नीरार्थात्व मे the charvi knows completely to discourse upon Lokayat shastra.

Yatana (endeavour) means energy as वर्णे चार्यते ‘he toils in the field,’ येके चार्यते ‘he toils in the house.’

Vimati (disagreement) means dissension, want of unanimous opinion. As वर्णे विवशते ‘They disagree over the field’ i.e., holding different opinions they talk diversely.

Upamānāntara (enticing) means to coax in secret as, खुना-परा दृष्टे ‘he entices the wife of a respectable family (i.e., seduces her in secret)’ वर्णे विवशते ‘he flatters another’s wife.’

Why in the above senses only? See वर्णे विवशते ‘he says something’.

48. After the verb vad, the Atmanepada is employed when used in the sense of “speaking articulately in a similar manner.”
As खंभसमे याध्य: ‘the Brâhmanas are speaking.’ But in खंभसमि
कृष्ण: ‘the cocks are crowing’ it is properly Parasmaipadi.

The sense of the sūtra is that when men, who are only capable of
articulate speech, speak all in one and the same time, then the verb vad
takes the affix of the Atmanepada. When lower animals make a chorus of
noise, the verb does not take the Atmanepada.

There must be samuchchâra or speaking in a chorus, this rule does not apply,
as यार्द्यो वशति ‘the Brâhman speaks.’

अन्तरकर्मकाल् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनेन: , अकर्मकाल् , (खदः ,
आऽ प० ) अतःवाचाः ॥

श्रेष्ठ: अनुवृत्तार्ध-विधानं वक्तव्यं-वाच्यं च-तत्वं ॥

49. After the verb vad, preceded by anu when it is intransitively used, the Atmanepada is employed, when the sense is that of “speaking articulately in a similar manner.”

As खंभसमे कवः कलास्य कथा is echoing or imitates kalapa. He reutters exactly what the kalâpa-reader or the teacher says. The word anu here means similarly.

Why do we say ‘in the Intransitive’? Because when it is used in the transitive it takes the affixes of the Parasmaipada. As खंभसमे याध्य: he repeats the yajurveda which he had learned before.

The words “uttering of articulate speech” are understood here also. Otherwise अनुवृत्ति श्रेष्ठ the lute resounds, here it is Parasmaipada.

विशार्या विप्रस्त्रये ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विशार्या , विप्रस्त्रये ,
(खद: आऽ प० वक्तव्याः ) ॥

श्रेष्ठ: विभाषारः वक्तव्याः सन्युगार्थे वर्षमानादस्तक्तकाले यथार्थि विशार्या ॥

50. After the verb vad, the Atmanepada is employed optionally, when the sense is that of “contradicting each other.”

As विप्रस्त्रये or-नित वैविधय: (the doctors are at variance). The words vyaktavâchāom (articulate utterance) and samuchchâra or speaking together are understood in this sūtra also.

No option is allowed when the sense is not that of contradiction or wrangling as खंभसमे याध्य: . The Brâhmanas are speaking together.

The phrase ‘articulate utterance’ is necessary in this also. Because as विप्रस्त्रये चतुर्यं: the kites are quarrelling, the verb is in the Parasmaipada.
The wrangling must be by talking at one and the same time otherwise this rule will not apply. As छन्दो छीया छैन्धा छा निम्नादिः the doctors contradict by turn another doctor.

अत्राभ् ॥ धृ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ अवादु ॥ पु । (अाथ पो) ॥

दृश्यम् ॥ अवस्यात्तु गिरस्यताल्पपेः न्यतिं ॥

51. After the verb gri 'to swallow,' when preceded by ava, the Atmanepada is used.

As भग्नितर्चित (he swallows). The root gri to swallow preceded by the preposition ava is Atmanepadi. The verb gri taken in this sūtra means to swallow and belongs to the Tūdādi class, it is not the gri 'to make sound' which belongs to the kryādi class. Because there is no word formed with the latter verb by affixing the preposition ava to it. By sūtra 78 this verb gri 'to swallow' would have been Parasmaipadi, the present sūtra debars that.

When it is not preceded by ava, it is Parasmaipadi, as गिरि he swallows.

समृ: प्रतिगान्नी ॥ १२॥ पदार्थ ॥ समृ: ॥ प्रतिगान्नी ॥ (प्र:अाथ पो) ॥

दृश्यम् ॥ चल्यानां गिरियोऽवियो वर्णमनाल्पपेः न्यतिं ॥

52. After the verb gri preceded by sam, the Atmanepada is used, when employed in the sense of 'promising.'

As देने गिरिते (he promises to pay a hundred rupees) If it does not mean to promise or acknowledge, it takes parasmaipada terminations. As भग्नितर्चित गिरि he swallows the mouthful.

दद्दर ॥ सकर्मकाळ ॥ १३॥ पदार्थ ॥ तः ॥, पर: ॥, सकर्मकाळ ॥

(अाथ पो) ॥

दृश्यम् ॥ चल्यानां गिरियोऽवियो वर्णमनाल्पपेः न्यतिं ॥

53. After the verb char 'to walk' proceeded by ut, when used transitively the Atmanepada is employed.

As सैंहुपश्चातः he strays away from home; गुप्तज्ञापुर्वर्ते he transgresses the commands of his preceptor.

Why do we say "when used in the transitive"? Observe वाण्युगरि the vapour is rising. Here it is parasmaipadi.

समस्तितीयुक्तालू ॥ ५४॥ पदार्थ ॥ समृ: ॥ वृत्तिायुक्तालू

(पर: अाथ पो) ॥

दृश्यम् ॥ चल्यानां गिरियोऽवियो वर्णमनाल्पपेः न्यतिं ॥
54. After the verb char, preceded by sam, and connected with a noun in the Instrumental case, the Atmanepada is employed.

As भर् त्रस्त्रं च स्वरं हि, he rides on the horse-back.

The rule does not apply when it is not in composition with a word in the instrumental case. As यहीं लोकं संहारसुः इव यायुः च देवता! O Devala! thou wanderest through both regions, this and that. Here though the sense of the Instrumental case is implied, yet as it is not expressly stated, we use the parasmaipada terminations.

55. And after the verb dā to give, preceded by sam, and connected with a noun in the Instrumental case, the Atmanepada is employed, provided this Instrumental case have the sense of the Dative case.

When is the 3rd case used with the force of the 4th case? That is answered by the following.

Vart.—The Instrumental has the force of the Dative when immoral conduct is implied. As यक्ष्मा or बुद्धा लोभ्यानसेने (he gives with the object of enticing to the female slave or prostitute).

The verb dā to give, is generally parasmaipadi, it becomes Atmanepadi under the above conditions.

Why do we say “when it has the force of the dative case”? Because when it has not the sense of the dative, parasmaipada terminations will be used, as पाणिनि लोभ्यानसेने, ‘he gives with his hand.’

It might be asked how the Atmanepada terminations are employed when the preposition sam is not directly applied to the verb, but another preposition pra, intervenes between sam and the verb. The reply is that the word samah in śūtra 54 is not in the ablative case (which would have required its being placed immediately before the verb), but it is in the genitive case, and is used as an attribute.
56. After the verb yam, to give, preceded by upa, when used in the sense of "espousing," the Atmanepada is employed.

This is clear. As शाराब्यवस्थिते he espouses or knows his wife. But not so when another's wife is meant, there it is parasmaipadi.

By rule 78, the verb yam would have been parasmaipadi, but the present sūtra makes an exception, when the root takes the preposition upa and means "to marry, to espouse, or to accept." The meaning of sva-karana is confined to accepting in general. This is according to Kāsiṣka; according to Mahābhāṣya, sva-karana means to make one's own what was not previously his own.

Why do we say in the sense of "marrying"? When it has any other sense parasmaipada affixes will be employed as देवदत्ते वतत्सत्य शाराब्यवस्थिते, Devadatta has illicit intercourse with the wife of Yajñadatta.

57. After the Desideratives formed by the affix san, of the verbs jñā to know, sru, to hear, smṛi to remember, and dṛśi to see, the Atmanepada is employed.

The above four roots are Ātmanepadi when in the Desiderative form, the suffix "san" being the pratyaya by which desideratives are formed.

The verb jñā takes the terminations of the Ātmanepada when used in the senses indicated by the three sūtras 44, 45 and 46 already explained. The desiderative form of jñā would ex necessitate take Ātmanepada affixes when used in the above senses: see Rule 62. The present sūtra however enlarges the scope of Ātmanepada by declaring all desideratives of jñā to be Ātmanepada, in whatever sense they may be used.

Similarly by sūtra 29 ante and the vārīka under it, the roots sru, and dṛśi, take the terminations of the Ātmanepada, when preceded by sam, the desideratives of those would of course have taken Ātmanepada affixes by 62, but the present sūtra makes it general.

The present sūtra however enunciates a new rule in the case of the root smṛi.

As we wish to know (i.e. enquires after) religion श्रुः श्रुते he serves the teachers, शुभे श्रुते he wishes to remember the lost. शुचि श्रुते he wishes to see the king.

Why do we say, when taking the affix san? Because the primitive verbs will take the parasmaipada terminations as ज्ञानिति he knows; श्रुति he hears, समर्गिति he remembers दर्शयि he sees.
58. After the desiderative of jñā when preceded by anu the Ātmanepada is not employed.

This is an exception to the last sūtra. The desiderative of jñā with the prefix anu is not Ātmanepadi.

This sūtra read with sūtra 45 limits the scope of parasmaipada to the transitive, desiderative verb anu-jñā. As पुनःगुणितत्वति he inquires after the son.

Why do we say when preceded by anu? Because otherwise it will take the Ātmanepada terminations. As प्रथमे भिन्नत्वे he inquires after religion.

59. After the desideratives of ēru when preceded by prati and ān the Ātmanepada is not used.

The verb ēru when taking the prefixes prati and ān, is not Ātmanepadi, though taking the desiderative "san." This is also an exception to the rule of sūtra 57. Thus प्राप्तायुपायते and पापायुपायते

The word prati and ān must be upasargas; if they are used as karma-pravachaniyas (see 1. 4.—83) then the rule will not apply. As द्वारनं प्रति धूपाते

60. After the verb ēru to decay, when it has one of the affixes with an indicatory ē (sit) the Ātmanepada is used.

The root ēru when taking any affix which is marked with an indicatory, is conjugated in the Ātmanepadi. In connection with this, must be read sūtra VII. 3. 78. प्राप्तायुपायते by which the root ēru is replaced by ērī before affixes having an indicatory. Thus ēru + ē + kē = ērī + kē = ērī + kē he decays or withers, ērī + kē they two decay ērī + kē they decay.

Why do we say before affixes having an indicatory ē? Before other affixes, it is not Ātmanepadi. As द्वारनं kē if he decayed, प्रतियुपायति he will decay, प्रतियुपायति.

The well-known vikaranas like ēru, ē &c., the affixes like ka &c., are द्वारण affixes. In other words the root ēru is Ātmanepadi in all conjunctional tenses.
61. After the verb mṛi to die, when it has one of the affixes having an indicatory ा, as well as when it takes the affixes luṇ (aorist III 2.110) and liṅ (Benedictive III.3.159) the Atmanepada is used.

This is a restrictive śūtra, the root मृ (to die), is marked with ा as an indicatory letter, so by śūtra 12 it would be always Atmanepadi. But the present aphorism restricts it to लुण (Aorist) and लिङ (Benedictive) tenses, as well as to those tenses which are विधत. It will be found hereafter that out of the ten tenses, those that take विधत affixes are the special tenses i.e., the present, the Imperfect, the Potential and the Imperative.

It is only before these three affixes, namely, लिङ, लुण and विधत affixes, that the root mṛi takes the terminations of the atmanepada. Thus the aorist सम्र अभिः he died; Benedictive विधत म्रिष्टिहता 'may he die.' Similarly before विधत affixes thus विधते 'he dies,' = मृ + ा + ते (VII.4.28 बम् एमलितुक्तस्) विध + ा + ते = विधते (VI.4.77. भविष्यते जयते विधतहतस) विधते, विधते The root मृ belongs to the sixth class of verbs called Tuddá which take the vikaraṇa ा in the conjugational tenses (III.1.77).

In other tenses, viz., the two Futures, the Perfect and the conditional, this verb is parasmaipadi. श्रावणविन विन he will die. विधतास्तु.

62. The verb which is Atmanepadi in its primitive form before the taking of the affix san, will also be Atmanepadi when it ends in the affix san. In other words; after a desiderative verb, Atmanepada is employed, if it would have been used after the primitive verb.

If the primary verb is parasmaipadi, its desiderative will be also parasmaipadi; if the primary verb is Atmanepadi, its desiderative will be Atmanepadi. This is the general rule. Some exceptions to it have already been mentioned in śūtras 57, 58, and 59. A root which was तस्मान, before taking the Desiderative affix सम्र san, will be तस्मान even when it takes the affix सत् san. In other words, that by reason of which the तस्मान affixes were ordained in the primary verb, will cause the same termina-
tions to be applied when the verb ends in सन. Thus it was said in सूत्र 12, that roots having an anudatta accented vowel as indicatory or a सन as their indicatory letter take the terminations of the आत्मानेपद. Thus श्लोकः he sits down and श्लोकः he sleeps. The verb भाषा (to sit down) and श्लोकः (to lie down) will remain आत्मानेप, even when they are used as Desideratives. Thus श्लोकः 'he wishes to lie down.' Similarly सूत्र 17 declared that the verb भिष्म आत्मानेप, this will be आत्मानेप also in the Desiderative form, as भिष्म श्लोकः 'he wishes to enter.' So also by सूत्र 49, आत्मानेप, the Desiderative भिष्म श्लोकः will also be आत्मानेप.

But though by 60 and 61, श्लोकः and श्लोकः are आत्मानेप, yet श्लोकः 'he wishes to lie down' श्लोकः 'he wishes to die,' are parasmaipadi. Because the आत्मानेप affixes were ordained after the roots श्लोकः and श्लोकः only under exceptional conditions and not generically, and as those conditions do not exist in the desiderative, the latter does not take आत्मानेप terminations.

Of course that which in its primary state would not have taken the terminations of the आत्मानेप, there being a prohibition to that effect will not allow them in its Desiderative form. As चाकुमिनीति 'he wishes to imitate,' रसाधिशक्तिः. Here the root ठुः by rule 79 has been especially declared to be parasmaipadi, to the exclusion of आत्मानेप affixes which would otherwise have come by Rule 32 and 72, and therefore its Desiderative is also parasmaipadi. The force of ठुः causing आत्मानेप is counteracted by 79.

Now it might be asked:—True, this rule provides for those cases where a root is conjugated in two forms, one a Primitive and another a Desiderative conjugation. But what provision do you make for those partial verbs which take the affix श्लोकः even in their primitive form; and in whose case we have no prior form to look upon as a guide in the application of आत्मानेप affixes. And there are at least 7 such quasi-roots which take श्लोकः in this way, called also the self-descriptive श्लोकः. Those quasi-roots are गृहः, निष्प्रकाशः, निषु, निर्देशः, निर्देशः, निर्देशः and निर्देशः. What are we to do with these quasi-roots, which are always conjugated with the affix श्लोकः and have no simpler conjugation?" To this we reply: "In the case of these partial verbs which take the self-descriptive श्लोकः the pada will be regulated by the indicatory letters which these quasi-roots have. For though the full roots are गृहः निष्प्रकाशः, निषु, निर्देशः, निर्देशः, निर्देशः and निर्देशः, yet by the maxim abhayakah कृत्व निषुः समुदायन्ति विदेशयो भव नि, "a sign made in a portion of a thing, qualifies the whole thing;" the sign made in the expression गृहः निषु तथा, will qualify the whole verb गृहः निषु तथा. Thus we have गृहः निषु श्लोकः he despises, निषु श्लोकः he cures; निषु श्लोकः he investigates तथा.
63. Like the verb that takes the affix \( \text{ām} \), if the verb be conjugated with the Atmanepada terminations, so of the verb \( \text{kri} \) when subjoined thereto as an auxiliary, the terminations are of the Atmanepada, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

This sūtra applies where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. There are in Sanskrit two forms of the perfect tense (कृत): one formed in the ordinary way by the reduplication of the root and adding the terminations; the other called the periphrastic perfect, is formed by adding चारु to the root, and then affixing to it the perfect tense of the roots क (to do), भ (to be) or भ (to be). These latter verbs are called anuprayogas or auxiliary verbs, as it is with their help that the perfect tense is formed. The question then arises, what conjugation, parasmai or Atmanepada, are these auxiliaries take in forming the periphrastic perfect? This sūtra supplies the answer: the auxiliary भ follows the conjugation of principals, the other auxiliaries do not. Thus the root भ (to increase, prosper) is Atmanepadi, therefore in forming the periphrastic perfect, the verb भ will be also in the Atmanepada. Thus भृगु (he prospered). Similarly भ (to appear with great splendour) is Parasmapi and the auxiliary भ after it will be parasmapi, as भ (he appeared with great splendour).

But the other auxiliaries भ and भ retain their own peculiar conjugation and are not influenced by the conjugation of their principal. Thus भ or भ.

The word भ-प्रत्यय of the sūtra means 'that after which the affix भ (I. 35 and 36. कालस्वयंवाचमत्रे लिङ्गि) comes.' Of the verb भ, when subjoined to another as an auxiliary, the termination is that of the Atmanepada like the verb that takes the affix भ. If this sūtra enjoined a rule of injunction (vidhi), then there would be the termination of the Atmanepada even in examples like भत्वभविष्यति and भत्वभविष्यति where the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. This is no valid objection to the present sūtra. It is to be interpreted in both ways, that is, both as a vidhi (a general injunction) and a niyama (a restrictive injunction). How is that to be done? Because the word पदर्वत of the last sūtra is to be read in the present aphorism also. The second explanation in that case will be for the sake of establishing a niyama or restrictive rule.
It has already been said above that the auxiliary verbs क्रोण्टि and अन्यत्र are used in forming the periphrastic perfect. This is done by force of the aphorism III. I. 40 कृपयां कुष्ठवयमा विन्ने, meaning, the verb क्रिया is annexed in the perfect tense, to verbs that take अंत्र. In this śūtra (III. I. 40) the word क्रिया is a pratyāhāra, implying the verbs क्रोण्टि, अन्यत्र and अन्यत्र. It might be asked how is this pratyāhāra formed? The word क्रिया is taken from the fourth word of śūtra V. 4. 50, अन्यत्रत्वम् कृष्णिता वदयितये &c., and the letter त is taken from śūtra V. 4. 58 कृष्णितये &c. This is the way in which the commentators explain how not only the verb क्रिया is used as an auxiliary in forming the periphrastic perfect, but also the verbs अन्यत्र and अन्यत्र. These three verbs denoting absolute action unmodified by any especial condition have in all languages been fixed upon as the best auxiliaries.

It must however be noted that the word क्रिया in this śūtra is not used as a pratyāhāra and consequently does not include the verbs अन्यत्र and अन्यत्र.

मौनपान्यौ मुनेद्यप्रपातेऽषु || ६४ || पद्यतिः || म-वपयक्षम् युद्धे; 
अवध-पात्रेण , ( भाग ५० ) ||

वृत्तिः II म उप इत्येवं पुत्रोऽभु बुधे रविवासमयोऽविद्यविशालमेवः भविष्योऽविद्यविशालमेवः भविष्याः ||
पारिक्रमः II तत्रायर्वावस्थाविरंखति वक्ष्यम् ||

64. After the verb युद्ध to join, the Atmanepada is used, when it is preceded by pra and upa except with reference to sacrificial vessels even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb युद्ध ‘to join’ is svarīt, and consequently by śūtra 72 it is always Atmanepadi, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present śūtra declares when this verb may take the terminations of Atmanepada, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. After the verb युद्ध preceded by the prepositions म and य the terminations are of the Atmanepada, when not employed in reference to sacrificial vessels. As प्रयुज्य ‘he joins or employs’; वपयुज्य ‘he fits or uses.’

Why do we say “when not employed in reference to sacrificial vessels?” Because there the terminations will be of the Parasmaipada. As हृदं न्यायिका शापायि प्रयुज्य.

Vārtika:—It shall be rather stated that the root takes the terminations of the Atmanepada when preceded by any preposition beginning or ending with a vowel. This is an important modification of the above rule. Thus वायुज्यके and नित्रुज्यके. In fact, all upasargas, with the exception of युद्ध, नित्रु, and प्रयुज्य, either begin or end with a vowel, and therefore the Vārtika amounts to the inclusion of all prepositions with the above exception.
With भूष, नित्र and भृ, however, the root will take parasmaipada terminations; as सुभृति.

सुभृति: भृषुप्रि: भृष: भृष; (आः प्रो) भृष

65. After the verb kṣṇu, to sharpen, preceded by sam, the Atmanepada is employed.

The verb भृष् ‘to sharpen, whet, or grind,’ is generally parasmaipadi, but it is Atmanepadi when it is preceded by the prefix यथा; as भृष्णृष्ण ‘he whets the weapon’ भृष्णृष्ण ‘they two whet’ भृष्णृष्ण ‘they all whet’.

It might be objected, why has a separate aphorism been made of the verb kṣṇu, when it could well have been included in the sūtra 29 ante, which also speaks of the force of the prefix sam, when used with the verbs gam richchha &c. To this the answer is that, that sūtra treats of intransitive verbs, the word akarmaka being understood therein, while the present sūtra, as is evident from the example we have given above, treats of transitive verbs.

शुभृति भृषुप्रि: भृष: भृष; (आः प्रो) भृष

66. After the verb bhuj, the Atmanepada is used, except in the sense of protecting.

The root bhuj when it does not mean to protect, is Atmanepadi. This root belongs to the rudhadi class and has several meanings, as, to feed, to cherish, to preserve, to eat, and to enjoy. As भुजे ‘he eats or enjoys’ also bhujjate, bhujjate &c. But भुजन् भुजिक्षिता ‘the father cherishes the sons’,

The root bhuj belongs also to the tudadi class, but there it has the sense of being curved or crooked. The bhuj belonging to the tudadi class is not to be taken in this sūtra, because that bhuj has never the sense of protecting. Therefore भुजिक्षिता भानिय ‘he bends the hand,’ is in the parasmaipada.

न्योः यत्र कर्म शैव चेतु स कर्मार्थायाने भृष भृष; भृष: भृष; भृष; (आः प्रो) भृष

67. After a verb ending in the suffix ni (causal), the Atmanepada is employed, provided that when the object in the non-ni or non-causal sense becomes the
agent in the causal; and when it does not mean 'to remember with regret;' even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The causatives (निष्ठ) are conjugated in the ātmanepadi, when they are used in the passive voice, that is to say when a word which was an objective case in the ordinary verb becomes nominative case in the causative; and the nominative case of the ordinary verbs becomes objective case in the causative. In short when causatives are used in the passive voice, they are ātmanepadi. This round-about phraseology has been employed, because the base of the active and the passive causatives do not differ in form; as भारीहर्वते हस्तिपातष्ठु हस्ती.

The phrase 'के (after the causatives)' of this sūtra governs the four succeeding sūtras and is understood in them. The sūtra consists of the following words—के: 'after the causative,' अणो 'in the non-causative;' जस 'what;' कर्म 'object;' को 'in the causative;' चतुर 'if;' ति 'that;' कर्म 'nominative;' भाष्मायन 'except to remember.'

In general, by sūtra 74, the causative verbs take the terminations of the ātmanepada, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present sūtra applies to the case where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

After the verbs that take the affix निष्ठ, the terminations are those of the ātmanepada. How? When that which was the object when the primitive verb was used non-causatively, becomes also the object when the derivative verb is used causatively; and even that object becomes also the agent as well. There is exception however, in the case when the verb means to 'remember with regret.' As भारीहर्वति हस्तिनाः हस्तिपातष्ठु: 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant.' Let us paraphrase this sentence by transforming the primitive non-causative verb भारीहर्वति into a causative form. The sentence then will be, भारीहर्वति हस्तिनाः हस्तिपातष्ठु: 'the elephant makes itself to be mounted.' Similarly ललितपति हस्तिनाः हस्तिपातष्ठु: 'the elephant-keepers sprinkle the elephant'; and द्रवधर्षति हस्तिनाः हस्तिपातष्ठु: 'the elephant makes itself to be sprinkled'; भद्रवति भवति राजानाम् 'the attendants see the king'; and इत्यते राजा स्वपनेष 'the king makes himself to be seen.'

Why do we say 'after the causatives'? Because the rule of this sūtra will not apply, if the verb though conveying the sense of a causal verb, is, however, not formed by the affix निष्ठ: as भारीहर्वति हस्तिनाः हस्तिपातष्ठु: 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and भारीहर्वति हस्ति हस्ति 'the elephant that is being mounted, mounts gracefully.' Here the terminations are of the parasmaipada in the second case also.
Why do we say 'in the non-causative non-pi'? For this rule will not apply, when the primitive verb itself is formed by the affix फिथ; such are the roots of the tenth class or churādi in which the piḥ is added in the self-descriptive sense, and not for a causative purpose. Thus the root गण belongs to churādi class; whose causative and primitive forms are the same. As गणयति गण गीपशालम् 'the cowherd counts the herd;' and the causative form is गणयति गण: रशयेव 'the herd makes itself to be counted.' The terminations in both cases are those of the parasmaipada.

Why do we say 'when the object (karma) becomes the agent.' Because the rule will not apply, when any other kāraka or case, than the karma or object, of the primitive verb becomes the agent in the causative. Thus लुनारण्य श्रेपि 'he cuts with the scythe,' लाभवल्लर्थं रसयेव 'the scythe is made to cut of itself.' Here the word dātra was the instrument of the primitive verb which became agent in the causative, and therefore in the causative the terminations are of the parasmaipada only.

Why do we say 'if in the causative' in the sūtra? It is for the purpose of indicating that the verb must be one and the same, both in the primary sentence and the causative sentence. Therefore the rule does not apply here where the causative verb लेघयति in the second sentence was not used in the first sentence; खाभोस्विन रसयेव रसिकम्: 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and खाभोस्विन रसयेव रसिकम्: 'the elephant that is being caused to mount is made to sprinkle with urine the frightened men'.

The word अर्थ: 'that' is employed in the aphorism to show that the objects in both sentences must be the same and not different. Therefore in the following example where the objects are different, the terminations of parasmaipada are only used. खाभोस्विन रसिकम् रसिकम्: 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and खाभोस्विन रसिकम् रसिकम्: 'the elephant, that is being caused to mount, makes men mount on the land.'

Why do we use the word kartā (agent) in the sūtra? If the former object is not the agent in the second case, the terminations of the parasmaipada only would be used. As खाभोस्विन रसिकम् रसिकम्: 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and खाभोस्विन रसिकम् रसिकम्: 'the elephant-driver makes it to mount.'

Why do we say 'except when meaning to remember with tenderness?' Observe, खाभरसिन्नयति कोकिलः 'the dove remembers, with regret, the forest tree;' and खाभरसिन्नयति कोकिलः 'the forest tree is made to be remembered of itself.'
68. After the causatives of the verbs bhī to fear, and sṃī to wonder, even the fruit of the action accrues not to the agent the Atmanepada is employed, when the fear is produced directly by the causative agent.

The phrase ‘of the causative ending in र्थ’ is understood in this sūtra and is to be supplied from the previous aphorism. This sūtra is also restricted to cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word हेतू in the aphorism has been defined later on in sūtra 1. 4. 55 (स्वातः कर्मं); it is the agent which is the mover of another’s agent. When a fear is caused by a हेतु it is called हेतुमय. The word नय ‘fear’ in the aphorism is illustrative, and includes by implication विलय ‘astonishment’ also. As महिला विलय ‘the jatiла, the cock-headed frightens.’ युधिष्ठिर विलयवि ‘the munda, the shave-headed frightens’; जलती विलयवि ‘the jatila astonishes,’ सुप्रोद विलयवि ‘the munda astonishes’ i.e. the very fact of matted-hair or shaven-head frightens’ &c.

Why do we say हेतुमय? For if the fear or astonishment is not the direct result caused by the agent, but arises from something else, then the Atmanepada will not be used. As कुचिकैवं भयवि ‘he frightens him, with the kunchika,’ स्नेधि विलयवि ‘he astonishes with his form’. Here kunchika and rūpa are the instruments, which cause fear or astonishment, and are not the hetu thereof.

69. After the causatives of the verbs grīdha to covet, and vaśi to go, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of deceiving, even though the fruit of action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase ‘of the causatives ending in र्थ’ is to be supplied here from sūtra 67. This sūtra is also restricted to the cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word प्रसेन of the sūtra means deceiving. As मानवदेव गर्रदे ‘he deceives the boy,’ मानवदेव गरिवे ‘he cheats the boy.’
Why do we say 'when it means deceiving.' For these verbs have not this meaning, their causatives take parasmaiaka.

As द्वारेच्यं वृत्तवर्ति 'he causes the dog to bark,' वर्तवर्ति 'he avoids the serpent.'

70. After the causative of the verb लित to melt or stick, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of showing respect, subduing and deceiving, even though the fruit of action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in दिय' is to be supplied here from sūtra 67. This sūtra has its scope only when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. In the Dhātupātha, there are two roots ली, one is technically called लीष्ट and means to stick, and belongs to divadi class. The other ली meaning to 'melt' belongs to kṛyādi class. As there is no specification in the sūtra what ली is to be taken, both are therefore taken.

The force of the word दिय in the sūtra is to include the word अन्नम 'to delude' of the last sūtra into the present. The word द्वारेच्यं means to show respect. The word वृत्तवर्ति means to subdue. As द्वारेच्यं वृत्तवर्ति 'he gets respect or causes respect to be shown to him through or on account of his matted hair.' त्रेवसि वृत्तवर्ति 'the hawk subdues the partridge', कर्त्तव्यवर्ति 'who deceives thee.'

The sūtra निचया तीव्राये: VI. I. 51 declares that the द्वारेच्यं of ली is optionally changed into द्वारेच्यं before certain terminations. But there is no option allowed when the root ली has any of the above three senses: in these cases the substitution of द्वारेच्यं is necessary and not optional. For the option allowed by sūtra VI. I. 51 is a वृत्तवर्ति शिक्षा and not a general शिक्षा applicable everywhere.

Why do we say 'when it has the meaning of, to show respect &c.'? Because otherwise there is parasmaiaka. As बालकमृत्तियमयकः.

71. After the causative of the verb क्रि, the Atmanepada is used, when it has the word mithya, incorrect, as an upapada or dependent word, and is
employed in the sense of ‘repeated wrong utterance’ even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase ‘of the causative ending in शि’ is to be supplied from सूत्रा ५७. The aphorism is restricted to the cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word अभ्यास means doing again, or repetition; as यह ग्निध्या कार्यहि शि means ‘he repeatedly pronounces the word incorrectly that is with wrong accent &c., not once but constantly’.

Why do we say ‘when the word mithya is used as an upapada?’

The causative of क्रि will take parasmaiapada when it has any other upapada. Thus यह सूत्रम् कार्यहि ‘he pronounces the word correctly.’

Why do we say ‘of the verb क्रूरत्?’ Because the causative of any other verb used along with the word mithya will not have अत्मापेद; as यह ग्निध्या ग्निध्या शि ‘he repeatedly utters the word wrongly.’ Here क्रूरत् takes parasmaiapada.

Why do we say ‘repeatedly’? For if the incorrect utterance is not habitual, then parasmaiapada will be used; as यह ग्निध्या कार्यहि ‘he pronounces wrongly, not always but once.’

72. After the verb marked with a svarita, (svaritæ) or which has an indicatory न (‘nit’), the terminations of the अत्मापेद are employed, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The anuvṛtti of the phrase क्रूरत् does not go further. The word क्रूरत् is a compound, meaning ‘fruit of the action.’ When the principal object for the sake of which the action is begun, is meant for the agent indicated by the verb, there the अत्मापेद is used after verbs having an indicatory न or a svarita accent. As यह ‘he sacrifices for himself’ प्रेषः ‘he cooks for himself.’ Here the verb ग्रहतुष्ण and ग्रहतुष्ण are marked with svarita accent in the धातुप्रा, and therefore they take the अत्मापेद terminations.

Similarly यह ‘he presses the soma-juice,’ क्रूरत् ‘he does.’ Here the verbs ग्रहतुष्ण and ग्रहतुष्ण have an indicatory न.

In all the above cases, the principal object of the action such as getting heaven by performance of sacrifice, eating of food &c., is meant for the agent. That is to say, he sacrifices in order that he himself may attain heaven, he cooks in order that he himself may eat, &c.
Why do we say ‘when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent’? Otherwise it will have parasmaipada. As वैमस्तिन ब्राह्मण: the priests sacrifice, (not for themselves, but for their clients)’ पुष्पित्व पार्वद्यु: ‘the cooks cook (for their masters)’ कूदनिष्ठ कर्मनिर्णयः ‘the menials work (for their masters).’ Here though the fees and the wages are the fruits which the agent gets, yet as that fruit is not the principal object for which the action was begun—the principal object of the sacrifice was not that the priest should get his fee, but that the sacrificer may go to heaven—the verb takes the terminations of the Parasmaipada. Here the principal fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent; but to a third party.

अपादृतः: \( \text{\text{ṣ}} \) ष, ष (वनामप्रेमावधि विवाहव आदेव) इ

हस्ति: \( \) पुष्पपद्यप्रवेलयः कर्मभिषिज्जित्ववायुवं भवति इ

73. After the verb vad to tell, preceded by apn, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the terminations are of the Atmanepada.

The phrase “when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent,” is understood here. The sutra is clear. As वनामप्रेमो न्यायसंपादिते ‘the wealth-seeker forsakes justice, that is to say, he wishes to acquire wealth at the sacrifice of justice. But when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the parasmaipada is employed. As आदेव.

पिपल: \( \text{\text{७४}} \) पदार्थ: \( \text{\text{\textit{र्तः}} \text{\text{\textit{र्तः}} \text{\textit{र्तः}}}} \) \( \text{\text{विनिष्ठितिः कर्मभिषिज्जित्ववायुवं भवति आदेव} \)

हस्ति: \( \text{\text{प्रेमगतायाञ्चापः भवति कर्मभिषिज्जित्ववायुवं भवति} \)

74. After a verb ending in affix \( \text{\textit{ni}} \) (causal) when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the Atmanepada is employed.

The phrase “when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent” is to be supplied from sutra 72. The verbs that take the affix \( \text{\textit{निष्ठ}} \) are generally causatives. As कर्म कार्यम् ‘he causes the mat to be made for himself’ चोरन पर्यम् ‘he causes the food to be cooked for himself. When the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the parasmaipada is used. As कर्म कार्यम् पर्यम् ‘he causes another’s mat to be made.

वसुदासः यतो ज्ञाने: \( \text{\text{\text{७५}}} \) पदार्थ: \( \text{\text{सुन-उत-आह्यः}} \), यमः: अपने: \( \text{\text{कर्मभिषिज्जित्ववायुवं आदेव} \)

हस्ति: \( \) कर्म उर्वाच दवक्यम् पुराणम् कर्मभिषिज्जित्ववायुवं भवति पन्थविपुर्वभेदायौगोयण भवति इ
75. After the verb yam to strive, preceded by sam, ut and an, when it does not refer to a book, the Atmanepada is employed, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent' is read into this aphorism by anuvrtti from sūtra 72. As श्रीकृत्व संवर्णसे 'he gathers rice' आयुष्यस्त्ये 'he lifts up the load' वालवर्णसे 'he draws out the cloth.' The root yam preceded by the preposition चाहूँ takes the terminations of the Atmanepada by virtue of aphorism 28 ante; but in that aphorism the verb was intransitive, here it is transitive, and this explains the necessity of making two different sūtras for one compound verb धाश्व.

Why do we say 'when it does not refer to a book.' For otherwise the verb will take the terminations of the parasmaipada. As स्वसर्वति श्वसिताः शेषः 'the physician studies diligently the medicine.

When however the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent the above compound verbs are parasmaipadha. As स्वसर्वति, श्वसिति, आयुष्यस्ति.

अनुपस्मण्डता: || ५६ || पदानि || अनुपस्मणता: || (कल्याणियारे अाव यो ) ||

श्रृवः: || अनुपस्मण्डता: कर्मिनिमायेँ अन्वयाकें अध्यामते अध्यामपि अध्यामिति ||

76. After the verb jñā when not preceded by any upasarga, the terminations are of the Atmanepada, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent' is understood in this sūtra also. Thus गां जानीवे 'he recognises the cow as his own'; धर्मां जानीवे 'he recognises the horse as his own.'

Why do we say when not preceded by any upasarga? For when compounded with prepositions, it may take the Atmanepada terminations; as श्फुरे लोके न व्यावायते मूर्ति: 'the fool does not know the heavenly regions.'

When however, the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the simple root धर्म ज्ञानिवे 'he recognises Devadatta’s cow.'

विकारणे पद्यमेन प्रत्ययाणे || ५७ || पदानि || विकारणा, पद्यमेन, प्रत्ययाणे (कल्याणियारे अाव, यो ) ||

श्रुति: || गां जानीवे श्रुति: श्रुति: कर्मिनिमायेँ अन्वयाकें (कल्याणियारे अाव, यो ) ||
77. The Atmanepada is optionally used, when the fact of the fruit of the action accruing to the agent is indicted by an upapada i.e., by a word used along with the verb.

By the preceding five sūtras 72 to 76, Atmanepada terminations were ordained to come after verbs which implied the accrual of the fruit of the action to the agent, that is to say, where the verb by itself denoted this. But when the same idea, instead of being inherent in the verb, is expressed by an upapada, that is by a word governed by the verb, the necessity of using the Atmanepada affixes, to denote the same idea, is obviously removed, and in such a case it is optional whether we use the Atmanepada or the Parasmaiapada terminations. As स्त्रयः गृहस्य वेदांति or स्त्रयः ‘he sacrifices for his own yajña’ श्वरो गृहस्य वेदांति or श्वरो ‘he makes his own cot.’ श्वरुण double or श्वरुण, श्वरुणसे पाण्डवसे or पाण्डवसे &c. So on with all the above five sūtras.

78. After the rest i.e., after all those verbs not falling under any one of the previous provisions, the terminations of the Parasmaiapada are employed, in marking the agent (i.e., in the active voice).

The rules of Atmanepada have been declared in the preceding 66 sūtras, 12 to 77. The terminations of the Parasmaiapada, which are the general verbal terminations, will come everywhere else that is to say where its operation is not debarred by any one of the preceding aphorisms. The present sūtra declares this universal rule. The word sēsha or the rest, means that which is the residue after the application of all the previous restrictive rules. Thus it was declared by sūtra 12 ante that a root having an Anudātta vowel or a ख as it, will take Atmanepada terminations. As आत्माति, आत्मि. The converse of this will take parasmaiapada terminations, namely all verbs which do not have an anudātta accent or a ख as it. Thus यात्माति ‘he goes,’ यात्मि ‘it blows.’ It has been declared by sūtra 17 that the root विष when preceded by वि takes Atmanepada termination, as निरिष्ठि. When not preceded by वि but any other preposition it will take the parasmaiapada termination. As निरिष्ठि, निरिष्ठि.

Why do we say “when marking the agent”? For when used in the passive voice, the root will take the Atmanepada termination. As रज्जसे ‘it is cooked’ रज्जसे ‘it is gone.’
Why is not parasmaipa\ne\na used when the verb is employed reflexively? As in the following example:—च्यात्रा योगः स्वयंपि 'the food cooks of itself.'
Because in the present sutra, the word कर्तरि of sutra 14 ante is to be read in
by anuvritti, so that, in fact there are two कर्तरि in this aphorism which thus
means "when the agent of the verb is an agent pure and simple then para-
smapi\ne\na is employed." While when a verb is used reflexively (कर्मकर्तरि) the
agent of the verb is also, in one aspect, the object of the verb; and it is there-
fore, that in reflexive verbs the Atmanepada terminations are employed.

अनुपरामान्याः: II ६५ II पदानि II अनु-परामान्याः I रुप: I
(परस्रैवपदुः) II

श्रि: II अनुपरा हर्षेऽपि पूर्णं करोऽर: परस्रैवं नक्षत्रम II

79. After the verb k\ri\nto make, preceded by
anu and para, parasmaipa\ne\na is employed, even when the
fruit of the action goes to the agent, and when the sense
is that of "divulging" &c.

By aphorism 32 ante, the root क\rt\ntook the terminations of the Atmane-
pada when the sense denoted was that of "divulging, reviling" &c., and it
also took Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the
agent by virtue of sutra 72, because the root क\rt\n has an indicatory भ. The
present sutra makes an exception to those rules, and ordains parasmaipa\ne\na.
Thus वर्णकर्तरि he imitates, परस्रैवति he does well.

असीम्यास्ति: लिप: II ६० II पदानि II असी-मास्ति-असी: I
लिप: II (पर पर) II

श्रि: II पानिवि पानिवेऽपि पूर्ण्योऽतिप्रपि: परस्रैवं नक्षत्रम II

80. After the verb kship, to throw, coming
after abhi, prati and ati, parasmaipa\ne\na is used, even
though the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

The root श्रि\nto throw, is svarita therefore by sutra 72 ante it would
have taken Atmanepada termination, when the fruit of the action accrued to the
agent; this aphorism ordains parasmaipa\ne\na instead. As असीम्यास्ति 'he
throws on' पानिवि 'he turns away or rejects,' असीम्यास्ति 'he throws beyond.'

Why do we say "when coming after abhi, prati, and ati"? Because
when compounded with any other preposition, it will not take parasma-
pada, but will be governed by sutra 72. As श्रि\nto 'he throws down.'

The second कर्तरि of sutra 14 is also understood here, so that when the
verb is used reflexively, the agent not being purely an agent, the present
sutra will not apply. As पानिवि स्वयंपि 'it is thrown on of itself.'
81. After the verb vah to bear, coming after pra, parasmaipada is used, even though the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The root वह to carry is svarīt, and by śūtra 72 it would have taken the Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. But the present śūtra ordains parasmaipada instead. As वहसति 'it flows.'

Why do we say "when coming after pra"? Because after any other preposition it will not take parasmaipada as यावहे 'he brings."

82. After the verb mpish to bear, preceded by pari, parasmaipada is used, even when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The root वपि "to suffer" is svarīt, and by śūtra 72 it would have taken Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This ordains parasmaipada instead. As वपिसति he 'endures or he becomes angry.' When not preceded by this preposition, it takes Atmanepada termination. As भावति .

According to some authors, the root व in the last aphorism is said to be understood in this, so that व preceded by पारि will also take parasmaipada terminations; as विरहसति .

83. After the verb rām to sport, preceded by vi and अनि, parasmaipada is used.

The verb रम means 'to sport.' It is anuśātāt and therefore by śūtra 12 it would have taken Atmanepada terminations; the present śūtra ordains parasmaipada instead, as विरधसति 'he takes rest,' भावति 'he delights in,' परिमधसति 'he sports.'

With other prepositions than these, it will take Atmanepada termination. As भावति .
The parasmaipada verbs.

84. Also after upa, the verb ram takes the affixes of the parasmaipada.

As रेस्तम्याःप्रसीत 'he causes Devadatta to refrain.' The sense of the verb uparamati is causative here, as if it was उपरमयति. This is an example of a verb involving in it the force of the causative affix विशति.

It might be asked why was not the preposition द्व read along with the other preposition म in the last aphorism, instead of making this a separate sūtra. The answer is that the necessity of making a separate sūtra with the preposition upa arose from the exigencies of sūtra making. It is desired, that the next sūtra 85 should apply only to the root upa-ram, and not to other compounds of ram; and this could only be done by making these two distinct sūtras.

85. After the verb ram preceded by upa, parasmaipada is optionally used, when employed intransitively.

The last aphorism ordained parasmaipada absolutely, this declares an option under certain circumstances. As यास्तुन्यत्स्यनविति or उपनेति he desisted from or was quiet while it was eaten.

86. After the verbs budh to know, युध्य to fight, नास to destroy, jana to be born, in to go, pru to move, dru to run, and srutu to flow, ending in the affix नि (i.e., when used in the causative), parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

By sūtra 74 ante, causatives took the atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This makes an exception to that and ordains parasmaipada. As योप्यति he expands योप्यति he causes to fight; नाशयति he causes destruction, जनयति he begets; याचयति he teaches; याशयति he causes to obtain; याशयति he causes to melt; याशयति he causes to trickle.
Of the above eight roots, those which are intransitive would have taken the parasmaipada terminations under the conditions mentioned in sūtra 88 sub, that is to say, when the agent is a being endowed with a reason. The present aphorism in the case of such intransitive verbs makes this additional statement, that those intransitive verbs will take parasmaipada, even when the agent is not a being endowed with a reason. As औपयोगित वायुः he makes the lotus to expand, औपयोगित वायुः he makes the woods to strike each other, यथावति भुवनस्रावः he destroys the sorrow, यथावति भुवनस्रावः he produces pleasure.

Again of the above eight roots, those that have ordinarily the sense of "moving" will get parasmaipada by sūtra 87. The present sūtra, in their case makes this additional statement, that they will take parasmaipada terminations even when the sense is not that of moving. Thus चू, means both 'to move,' and 'to obtain,' चू means 'to run' as well as 'to melt,' and चू means 'to flow' as well as to 'trickle.' As यथावति he obtains; यथावति the iron melts; यथावति यथावति the water-vessels drip. The examples in the first paragraph have therefore been thus translated.

The root भ्रश is always compounded with यथावति.

निगरण-तद्वृत्तम्बल ॥ ८७ ॥ पदावर्तम् । निगरण-चन्द्रन-अविश्वः ॥

च ॥ ( यो: भ्रश) ॥

निगरण-चन्द्रन-अविश्वः ॥

87. And after the causatives of verbs which have the sense of the 'eating or swallowing' and 'shaking or moving' parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

The phrase 'when used in the causative (इति) of the last sūtra is to be read into this also. The parasmaipada is ordained as an exception to sūtra 74 by which ātmanepada was ordained when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. The word निगरण means 'eating,' and चन्द्रन means 'moving,' 'shaking.' As निगरणति he causes to swallow; चन्द्रनति he causes to eat. भ्रशति he feasts. चन्द्रनति he moves; यथावति, क यथावति he shakes. This aphorism applies to transitive verbs, and to verbs whose agents in non-causative state are inanimate objects i.e., not possessed with reason.

Vart:-The prohibition of the root भ्रश to eat, must be mentioned. The causative of भ्रश to eat, takes ātmanepada. Thus भ्रशस्त्र श्रावत: Devadatta eats; भ्रशस्त्र श्रावत: he is made to eat by Devadatta.

अपौर्षक्षेत्यकार्यकरिततः कर्तृक कालः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदावर्तम् । अपौर्षक्षेत्यकार्यकरिततः कर्तृक कालः ॥ ( यो: परष ॥८ ) ॥

तृतीयः ॥ यथावति यो भावुर्क्षेत्रकार्यकरिततः कर्तृक कालः परष ॥ गर्भति ॥
88. The affixes of the parasmaipada are employed after the causal of that verb, which in its non-causal state was intransitive and had a being endowed with reason for its agent; even when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase खः is understood here also. The Atmanepada was ordained by सूत्र ७४ when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This aphorism is an exception to that, and ordains parasmaipada. As भास्वः देवस्त: देवदत्तिः देशस्त: he makes Devadatta to sit. भोस्ते देवस्त: Devadatta sleeps, दायवतिः देवस्त: he causes Devadatta to lie down.

Why do we say 'in its non-causal state'? For if the causative root is from another causative root, and not from a simple non-causative root, then the parasmaipada will not be employed. Thus 'if one person such as Devadatta, causes another person Yajnavadatta, to cause a third person Ramadatta, to do an act denoted by an intransitive root, as 'mounting' for instance, though Ramadatta mounts for his own benefit, the verb to be used in such a case is चार्हस्वते in the Atmanepada, from the root चार्हस्व to mount; and not चार्हस्वा.' (Iengar's Guide to Panini).

Why do we say 'which was intransitive'? This rule will not apply if the verb in its non-causal state was transitive. Thus from कार्यः the causative from कृत्यः to dry if the person caused to do the act denoted by the verb does it for his own use, comes only कार्यस्थे though the person has a will; for the original root कृत्य थough a non-causative root, is not an intransitive root.' (Ibid).

Why do we say 'having a being endowed with reason for its agent'? For if the agent is a non-sentient object, the verb will be Atmanepadi. Thus from दीर्घः the causative from दूषः to dry if that which dries is a thing not possessed of a will as शीतः 'paddy,' for instance, though the fruit of the action i.e., the drying, affects only the paddy itself, comes दीर्घस्ते शीतिनालपः the sun-shine causes the paddy to dry.' (Ibid).
89. But the affixes of the parasmaipada are not used after the causals of the verbs pā to drink, dame to tame, āyam to extend, āyas to exert oneself, parimuh to be bewildered, ruch to shine, nyit to dance, vad to speak, and vas to dwell.

The last two aphorisms had ordained parasmaipada instead of Atmane-pada, even when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent, thus debarring the latter’s action which would otherwise have taken place by virtue of sūtra 74. This sūtra prohibits the last two sūtras, and re-instates Atmanepada of sūtra 74. Thus root pā to drink, has the sense of nigarana or swallowing, the roots ruch &c., have sentient beings as their agent; the root ruch to dance has the sense of flattening or moving, but still these verbs have Atmanepada affixes, and do not take parasmaipada in the causative. As yāvadhe he causes to drink, āvadhe he causes to be tame, yāyadhā he lengthens, yāyadhā he troubles, parimūhyadhā he entices, ruchadhā he makes agreeable, ruchadhā he causes to dance, yāvadhe he makes to speak, yāyadhā he causes to dwell.

Vart.–The root चेत should be enumerated along with या &c. Thus यापयोऽम् गिनुः मा सनीधि: The doe suckles a young infant.

варे: प्राप्ति कर्षिति या व विकर: (परस्मैपदम्)

उद्धरण: रूपान्तरामोरो शर्लेपं भविष्यति

90. The affixes of the parasmaipada are used optionally after the denominative verbs ending in the affix kyāsh.

The affix चेत is ordained by sūtra III 1.12 मुनायिः श्रवणवे भृगुवन्वेवत्वादनम् after the words चेतति &c. These root take optionally parasmaipada. As चेततम् or वे he reddens. चेतताम् or वे he makes पङ पङः.

वर्णित: पद्धति चुःच्च: चुःच्च: (वा परस्मैप- पदम्)

उद्धरण: गुणाक्षियो वृद्धि वा परस्मैपं घर्भिः

91. After the verbs dyut to shine &c. the terminations of the Parasmaipada are optionally employed, when the affixes of lūn (aorist) follow.

The Dyutādi verbs are 22 in number, to be found in Daṭāpāṭha in the Bhuadi class. By the use of the word चुःच्च: in the plural in the sūtra, the force is that of &c. These verbs are anudatta and so by sūtra 12 they would have been invariably Atmanepadi, this aphorism makes them optionally
so in the aorist. Thus एकाः or नन्द्यातिष्ठ रे he shone. In other tenses than the aorist (यन्) these verbs are invariably Atmanepadi. As भूत्वा he shines.

For a list of Dyutadi verbs see Dhatupatha.

92. After the verbs वृत्त to exist &c., Parasmai-pada is optionally employed when the affixes sya (Future and conditional) and san (Desiderative) follow.

The वृत्ति verbs are five in number and are included in the वृत्ति sub-class. They are वृत्ति to be, वृष्टि to grow, वृष्टि to fart or break wind; वृष्टि to ooze, and वृष्टि to be able. As 1st Future परस्वाधि or वाचनात्मक, it will be, conditional वृष्टि or वाचनात्मक; Desiderative विश्रासन्ति or विश्रासिद्धि &c.

In other tenses than the above, they are always Atmanepadi. As वृत्ति it is.

93. After the verb कि to be fit, Parasmai-pada is optionally employed, when लत (1st Future) is affixed, as well as when sya and san are affixed.

The verb लत is one of the five verbs of the sub-class, वृत्ति of the last aphorism. Therefore it will take both paraasmai-pada and Atmanepada, when the affixes स्व or स्वता follow. The present sutra makes the additional declaration in the case of 1st Future or लत. Thus in लत we have:—काल्पनि or काल्पन्ति thou wilt be; in 1st Future we have:—काल्पन्ति or काल्पन्ति he will be; in the Desiderative we have:—विकाल्पनि or विकाल्पनि; in the conditional we have:—विकाल्पन्ति or विकाल्पन्ति.
BOOK I.
CHAPTER IV.

1. From this sūtra up to the aphorism Kadāraḥ Karmadhāraye (II. 2. 38) only one name of each thing named is to be understood.

What is that name then? That which comes last, where the claims are otherwise equal (I. 4. 2.) and that which were its claim disallowed, would have no other opportunity of conducing to any result, would be the recognised name. As a short vowel is called ‘light’ by I. 4. 10, and it is also called ‘heavy’ when it precedes a conjunct consonant (I. 4. 11.) Thus a short vowel has two names ‘light’ and ‘heavy.’ But it will not be called ‘light’ when it precedes a conjunct consonant, but will have only one name, i.e., ‘heavy.’ Thus in कित्र to divide कित्र to split, the क is ‘light’ while the same letter is ‘heavy’ in रिता teaching रिता begging.

Thus in the root कित्र the क is ‘heavy’ and therefore in forming its aorist we have the form गित्रतात. Similarly पित्रात. The rule VII. 4. 93 not applying here as that rule is applicable to laghu vowels only.

2. When rules of equal force prohibit each other, then the last in the order herein given is to take effect.

The word विप्रतिवेष means ‘opposition of rules of equal force.’ When two topics having different objects in view find scope of action simultaneously in one particular case, that opposition of equal forces is called
vipratishedha. A general rule (utsarga) and its exception (upavāda), or an invariable (nitya) and an optional (anitya) rule, or an antaranga and a bahiranga rule, are not rules of equal force. There the stronger prevails against the weaker. As an example of rules of equal force, see VII. 3. 102. and VII. 3. 103. The first rule declares, ‘when a case-affix beginning with a letter of yaḥ pratyāhāra follows, the long vowel is substituted for the final of an inflective base ending in a short ś. ’ As Vṛksaḥ bhyāḥ = Vṛksabhyām. The next rule declares: ‘When a plural case-affix beginning with a letter of jhal pratyāhāra follows, ś is the substitute for the final short ś of an inflective base.’ As Vṛksaḥ + su = Vṛksheśu. But when the plural case-affix bhyāḥ follows, what rule are we to apply? For the letter bha belongs both to the pratyāhāras yaḥ and jhal. Are we to lengthen the short ś, or substitute ś? The present sūtra gives the reply, ś is to be substituted because VII. 3. 103 ordaining ś follows next to VII. 3. 102. Thus Vṛksaḥ + bhyāḥ = Vṛkshebhyāḥ.

3. Word-forms ending in long ṣ and ṛ being names of females are called Nadi.

The word ś is compound of ṣ + ṛ. The word stryākhya means that which by itself denotes the name of a female. These words must be always feminine, having no masculine of the same form, as the word grāmaṇi has. As the words kumāri Kumāri a virgin, yavāgō ṣ rice gruel. The declension of nouns of nadi class is somewhat peculiar which will be treated of later. As see Rule VII. 3. 112 śaṭṭu is the augment of the case-affixes having an indicatory ś when they come after a word ending with a Nadi.

Why do we say ending in ś and ṛ? Because feminine nouns not ending in these vowels will not be declined like Nadi words. Thus while the dative of kumāri will be kumaṇṭi, the dative of śaṭṭu will be śaṭṭe.

Why do we say ‘which are feminine’? Because if they are names of males, they will not be called Nadi. As gāmati: leader of a village; bhanāti: leader of an army; ṣalasti: a sweeper; their dative being gāmatē, bhanāti śalasti.

Why have we used the word ḍhāya ‘name’ in the text? Because feminine gender must be denoted by the word itself and not by any other epithet used along with the word. Thus if the head-borough or the sweeper should be of the female sex, the Dative Singular would still be gāmathē, bhanāṭē, and śalastē as before.
4. Feminine words ending in ś and u, which admit the substitute (राध) iyaḥ and (वर्ध) uvāh (VI. 4. 77) are not called Nadi; except the word strī (which is called nadi notwithstanding its substituting iyaḥ).

The definition of Nadi given in the last śūtra was rather too wide, this limits the scope. Thus śī, happiness, शृं, shrō, admit the substitutes iyaḥ and uvāḥ respectively, and are not nadi. Their vocative singular is śī, शृं &c., while the vocative singular of strī is śrī.

यायामिनि II 9 II पदानि II वा, आनि, (सम्भवाद्व-शु-नदी) II

वृजित: II इथाराप्रयानि शृं, शालिनिर्ती वा नारींिनं व भवस: II

5. Feminine words ending in ś and u, though admitting iyaḥ and uvāḥ substitutes, are optionally termed Nadi, when the affix ām (Gen Pl.) follows, but not so the word strī, which is always Nadi.

शी + भासु = शी इवत + भासु = भवासु; शृं + भासु = शृंभासु; or शी + भासु
= शी + वृं + भासु (VII. 1. 54.) = भासुभासु; शृं + भासु = शृंभासु. But strī is always nadi, and we have स्त्रीभासु strīnām.

To the absolute prohibition enjoined by the last śūtra, this allows an option in the case of Genitive Plural.

वृजित उस्मव II 9 II पदानि II वर्तक (क्र-वर्तक) दुखः, च,
(शु ह्य-नदी-इयुत-वा-अली) II

वृजित: II विभि पर्तो अस्त्य व्योः समनवी व: भवासुष्पुष्प्यानि शृं, शृं वा
नारींिनं भवस: II

6. When a case-affix having an indicatory न (nīt) follows, then feminine words ending in short ś and u are optionally termed Nadi, as well as feminine nouns in long ś and u which admit of iyaḥ and uvāḥ; but not so the word strī, which is always Nadi.

Feminine words in long ś and u have been defined as nadi; words in short vowels can never be termed nadi, while even some words in long vowels have also been excluded from the scope of the definition if they take iyaḥ and uvāḥ. The present śūtra declares an option in the case of all the above words, when a case-affix having an indicatory न follows.

The case-affixes having an indicatory न are the Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative singulairs. Thus we have:—
Dative गते or गते पनि or गते हि or हि, Ablative Genitive गते or गते; गते पनि or गते हि or हि; Locative गते or गते पनि or गते हि or हि. So also वे or वे पनि &c. But strl is always हि or हि &c.

शेषः ग्मः इसः ॥ ॥ पदार्थः शेषः, पिं, असिः, (सुखः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषः इन निर्देशी बलविक्षिप्तभावान्तः वर्गविना । क शेषः? इत्यतः निर्देशीन्तः वर्गविना । सत्ताः स कला भाषायते, सत्ताः स कला भाषायते ॥

7. The rest of the words that end in short र and र are called ghi with the exception of the word sakhi.

This defines the word ghi. The peculiarity of the declension of ghi words will be treated later on. The word hrasva is understood in this sūtra. The word शेष or 'the rest' implies 'the words ending in short र or र which are not the names of females, or if they are feminine names, they are not nadl words.'

As अश्व fire. Before case-suffixes having an indicative अ, the ghi nouns gupate their vowel VII. 3. 111. As अश्व + हि = पाने + हि = पाने to the fire. So also वा + हि = पाने to the wind. But the declension of sakhi in these cases is:—सक्षा सत्ता सुक्ष्म: and सदर्थः.

प्रत्स: समास एव ॥ ॥ पदार्थः प्रत्सः, समासः, एव, (पिं) ॥

बृत्ति: प्रत्स: समास एव निर्देशी नन्दि ॥

8. The word pati is called ghi only when it is in a compound.

The word pati would have been ghi by the last sūtra; the present sūtra is therefore a nityāṁ rule, restricting the use of ghi in the case of pati to its occurring in composition. The word eva 'only' is used in a restrictive sense.

As अश्व by the lord but प्रश्न प्रा by the lord of creatures. So also वा and प्रणवप्रा; प्रणव: and प्रणवप्रा; पादम: and प्रणवप्रा &c. When प्रत्स is ghi, there is gupata of the vowel before the four हि affixes by VII. 3. 111.

वद्वियुक्तः एव या ॥ ॥ पदार्थः वद्वियुक्तः, छन्दः, या, (पति: चि) ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ वद्वियुक्तः वद्वियुक्तः परियुक्तः, छन्दः विद्वियुक्तः या, चित्तेऽस्क्षितः नन्दि ॥

9. The word pati when used in connection with a noun ending in the sixth or genitive case, is ghi, optionally, in the Chhandas (veda).

The word pati is understood in this sūtra. By the last sūtra, pati would have not been ghi when not in composition. This sūtra makes an exception to that when this word occurs in the Vaidic literature.
Laghu and Guru.

10. A short vowel is called 'light' (laghu).

This defines the word Laghu. A hrasva vowel which has already been defined (I. 2. 27), is under certain circumstances called laghu or 'light'; thus the i of शिष्ठ to break, is laghu; and by being laghu it is gupated before the affix sa + ा, as शिष्ठ he will break, by virtue of the rule VII. 3. 86, which declares that a laghu penultimate vowel is gupated before a Sarvadhatuka or an Ārdhadhatuka affix. So also ऋष, अर्थकल्यन्त and अस्तीत्वः.

11. When a conjunct consonant follows, a short vowel is termed 'heavy' (Guru).

A hrasva vowel however is not to be called 'light' when it is followed by a conjunct consonant. As the i of शिष्ठa 'learning' is a heavy vowel. Thus शिष्ठa is derived from शिष्ठ + ा (III. 3. 103, let the affix ा come after that verb which has a heavy vowel and ends in a consonant when the word to be formed is feminine). So also कुष्ठa and गिष्ठa.

12. And a long vowel is also termed heavy, (Guru).

This is clear the anuvratti of the word conjunct is not understood in this sūtra. As I of हैं he endeavoured, हैं he saw. Here the letter ह is guru, and because of its being called guru, the rule III. 1. 36 is applied in forming the perfect tense by the addition of the augment य. Thus all long vowels, and short vowels followed by conjunct consonants are guru or heavy. All other short vowels are laghu.

यस्मात् प्रत्ययविधितादि प्रत्यये गुष्ठ |||| पदानिः प्रत्यय-विधिः, तदृष्टा-मात्रै, प्रत्यये, अस्तीत्वः ||||

Hastin: Yasmāt pratyayavīdhitādī pratyayे gūṣṭa |||| padaṇiḥ pratyay-vidhiḥ, tadṛṣṭa-mātṛ, pratyayē, āsṭītva ||||
13. After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether verbal root or crude-form, that which begins therewith in the form in which it appears when the affix follows it, is called an Inflective base (aṅga).

The words of this sūtra require some explanation. Yasmat after whatsoever; prayāya-vidhiḥ compound of prayāya meaning an affix and vidhiḥ, a precept, i.e. a rule enjoying an affix; tadādi, 1. S. that which begins therewith; prayaye 7. S.—in a prayāya i.e. when a prayāya follows (I. 1.) is called a base.

After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether it be a verbal root (Dhātu) or a nominal base (prātipadika), the word-form having that as its beginning, is called an aṅga, with regard to the affix that follows. The word yasmat is used in the aphorism to point out the thing named, as aṅga; because the word tadādi follows it. This defines the word aṅga. The word ‘base’ is thus a relative term with regard to its affix. Thus कृ + सा = कर्ति he will do तत्त्व the he will lose. कारिवाय, हरिवाय Here because the root कृ and सा gets the name कर्ति they are gunated by (VII. 3. 84) similarly because कृपा &c. get the name Anga, their vowel is vṛiddhied in भृपाय &c.

The words kṛi hṛi are aṅga with regard to the affix-tā &c. वप्य + कृप्य = योपाय; कारिवाय. Here upagiu and kapṣu are aṅga with regard to ap. Similarly कृ + हर्व + व = कारिव + व = कारिवाय. Here the whole word-form Karishya is regarded as aṅga, and as such the short a is lengthened by VII. 3. 101; because though the affix vaḥ is enjoined after the word kṛi, the form which begins with kṛi i.e. karishya will also be called aṅga when the affix is to be added. The word tadādi, therefore, has been used in the sūtra, to make the definition of Anga applicable to the forms which a word may assume after taking the intermediate affixes like saya &c., or नुस before the final affixes. Thus कृप्य + हर्व + य = सून्दर + य = सून्दराय (VII. 3. 72 and VI. 4. 8) कुप्य + नु + य = कुप्यायन + य = कुप्यायन, bowls. Here the whole form kupjan is called aṅga, and as such it lengthens its vowel before the case-affix इ by VI. 4. 8.

Why have we used the word prayāya? Without it the rule would have run thus:—‘After whatever there is anything enjoined &c., is called Anga.’ Then in कृ + हर्वी = हर्वी. Here sandhi of vowels is enjoined between ह + ह = ह. If स्वी was here an Anga, then its last vowel would have been replaced by हद्व (VI. 4. 77), the form being तिनवायिरिति. तिति

Why have we used the word विशिष्ट? Had we omitted it the rule would have run thus:—‘After whatsoever there is an affix, whether root or prātipadika is Anga.’ Thus in दृष्टि भावत, though the affix adhunā is placed after
the word dadhi, it is not enjoined by any rule; and the word श्रविः is not called anga. Had it been so called, then the द्र of dadhi should have been elided by rule VI. 4. 148.

The word pratyaya has been repeated twice in this sūtra in order to show that when an affix is elided, the term anga will not apply to what stood before it. Thus in the compound word द्रब्ध + श्रविः = द्रब्धिः for the sake of the woman. Here in forming the Tat purusha compound the dative case-affix after the word श्रविः has been elided, for as a general rule case-affixes are elided in forming compounds. If the word श्रविः after its affix had been elided, still retained its old designation of Anga, the श्रविः + श्रविः would have been श्रविः।the augment iya being added by the rule already referred to above.

14. That which ends in sup (case-affix) IV. 1. 2; or in tin III. 4. 78 (tense-affix), is called a pada or inflected word.

The sup or case-affixes are those by which nouns are declined; and tin are tense-affixes by which verbs are conjugated. They have already been given before. Thus सान्त + मि = सान्तिः: the Brāhmaṇas वानि they cook.

It might be asked by a caviller why the word अन्ति has been used in the aphorism, for by the rule of tadanta given in Sūtra I. 1. 72 a rule relating to sup will mean and include also that which ended with a sup-affix. To this we reply, that the very fact that the word anta is used in this Sūtra, indicates by implication (jñāpaka) that the Tadanta rule of Sūtra 72 Chapter I does not apply to rules of sanjña (definition) made with regard to affixes. Thus ṭarpa and tamap affixes are called gha by Sūtra I. 1. 22. The tadanta-vidhi will not apply here; words ending with these affixes will not be called gha: Thus श्रविःवर will not be called gha, for had it been so called, the long ह will be shortened in श्रविःवर. In short, ‘an affix when employed in a rule which teaches the meaning of a technical term (sanjña) does not denote a word-form ending with the affix.’

15. The word-form ending in नृ, is called pada, when kya follows (i.e., the affixes kyach, kyan and kyash).

These are affixes by which denominative verbs are formed from nouns. See III. 1. 8, 11, and 13. A word ending in नृ is called pada, when these affixes follow. Thus राज + नृ = राजीव 3rd Per, s. राजीविः be
PADA DEFINED. [Bk. I. Ch. IV. § 16, 17.

behaves like a king. So also राजस् + यद्य=राजमये (VII. 4. 25.) यजुष् + यवधु= यजुस्ये or यजुस्वि. The result of its being called pada is that the म of राजस्,
यजुष् &c., is elided by Sūtra VIII. 2. 7. (there is elision of म final in a pada which is entitled to the designation of pratipadika). Thus राजस् + यवधु= राज + म = राजमय (VII. 4. 33).

These three affixes यजुष् &c., come after case-inflected words (i.e., words ending in sup), and though, before these affixes, the case terminations are elided, still by Sūtra I. 1. 62 such words would have retained the name of pada which they got by Rule 14 of this Chapter. The present sūtra however makes a restriction (niyama). It declares that only words ending in म retain the name of pada; while all other case-inflected words before these affixes do not retain that designation. Thus the words यजुष् speech, युष्ट्र a ladle are not treated as pada and we have राजस्ये and युष्ट्रे. Had they been pada, the म would have been changed into म by VIII. 2. 30.

विनि ४ १६ पदार्थि ४ व-इति, च (पदम्)

विनि:॥ विनि सर्वस्वते परम: पुंशि परस्यर्थं प्रयति।।

16. When an affix having an indicatory म follows then that which precedes it is called pada.

The sūtra 18 of this chapter teaches that before certain affixes, the preceding word is called bha. This sūtra declares an exception to that by anticipation. Thus Rule IV. 2. 115 declares:—"Affixes मव and मष्ट come after the vṛddha (I. 1. 74) word मवः." Here the affix मव has an indicatory म, therefore the word मवः standing before it, will be called pada. Thus मवः + मवः = मवः: VII. 1. 2 belonging to you. The result of being pada is that म is changed into म (VIII. 2. 30). Similarly म is मस in मस (After the word द्रप there is यस V. 2. 123). Thus कणाय : ; so also पस् V. 1. 106, has म as indicatory. Thus अविभाषित: There is no gupa because of its being pada.

स्वादिष्ठ सर्बनामस्यानि ॥ १६ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ म-आदिदुष्, असर्वनाम सःत्राण! (पदम्)॥

पुनि:॥ स्वादिष्ठ सर्वस्वते परमः सर्वनामस्यानास्ति तेषु परस्यभावि॥

17. When the affixes beginning with म (IV. 1. 2) and ending in मव (V. 4. 151) follow, not being सर्वनामस्यानां (I. 1. 43) then that which precedes is called pada.

The affixes beginning with म and ending with कप are meant by the above sūtra. Thus the case-affix मस् (Ins Dual) is an affix included in the above. Thus राजस् + मस् = राजस्यम्, राजस्, राजस्त्र, राजस्त्र, राजस्त्र, राजस्त्र. The म is elided by being pada.
Why do we say 'when not a Sarvanāmsthāna'? Observe राजा । राजा: = राजा: two kings. राजा: kings. The ० is not elided.

18. And when an affix, with an initial य or an initial vowel, being one of the affixes, beginning with su and ending in k, follows, not being Sarvanāmsthāna, then what precedes, is called Bha.

This debars the application of pada. Thus गर्ग + गर्ग (IV. 1. 105) गार्गा: a grandson of Garga. So also शांक्ष: . The affix यान begins with a ya and the word garga being treated as Bha its final ० is elided before the affix by VI. 4. 148.

So also शांत + शांत = शांति: (IV. 1. 95) grandson of Daksha शांति: .
Here the affix यान begins with a vowel the word standing before it being Bha, it causes elision of the final ० of daksha.

The word जस्ति is in the 7th case meaning when य or यान follow; and by the last Vart of Sūtra I. 1. 72, it means 'when an affix beginning with ya or ach follow.'

Vart:—The words मस्त्, माज्ञ्यरस्त् and मनुष्य. The words यान and मनुष्य should be treated as Bha when the affix यान follows. Thus मस्त् like the sky. माज्ञ्यरस्त् like the Angiras. मनुष्य like the man. By being Bha, the ० is not changed into ०, which it would have been, had it been a pada (VIII. 2. 66).

Vart:—The words मस्त् is treated as Bha in the vedas when the words मस्त् and यान follow. Thus मस्त्; मस्त् में. Here had the word जस्ति been treated as pada, the ० would not have been changed into ० (See Rule VIII. 4. 37); and this ० would have been dropped before the affix vasu by VIII. 2. 7.

19. The word-form ending in त or in ० is called Bha when an affix with the force of matup ('whose is it,' 'or in whom it is') V. 2. 94) follows.

The word Bha is understood in this sūtra. Thus is the word वातस्त् having butter milk Nom. Sing. वातस्त् पी: the herdsman having butter milk, वातस्त् पी: the cloud full of thunder. So also वातस्त् famous;
Thus श्रवण + यसु = श्रवयसु, यसु + रिति (V. 2. 121) = यासित्। By making these Bha, the operation of pada rule is debarred in their case. That is to say the final य of उदावित &c., and the य of यास &c., are not changed into र and य respectively, which had they been pada words would have been the case by the action of सूत्र VIII. 2. 39, and VIII. 2. 66. विश., यस्विद् and यज्ञोवित् which are incorrect.

अयस्मयादीनि चेमदिनि || २० || पदानि || अयस्मय-आदीनि, चेमदिनि, (सम्)

बुधि || चेमदिनि चेवहनानि चेमदिनि वैद्यानि मापे निविदि ||

20. Words like ayasmaya &c., are valid forms in the chhandas (veda).

These words being taught here in the topic relating to pada and Bha, show that they have been properly formed in the chhandas by the application of the rules of Bha and pada. Thus भवेः + तव = भवेतव made of iron. Here the word भवेः is treated as Bha and hence the त is not changed into त। Thus भवेतव तव iron-made coat of mail. भवेतव तव iron vessels. The present form of this word is अभोमवव। In some places both these pada and Bha apply simultaneously. Thus in the word भवेंत्र formed by भवे + त्र, the त्र is first changed into स्र by treating the word स्र as a pada. Then the word स्रेत्र is treated as bha, and therefore the स्र is not changed into स्र before स्र। For had it been pada, the form would have been भवेः र Rigved. These irregularly formed words occur only in the chhandas or Vedic literature. Thus स्र र भवेः स्रेत्र गणेन।

भवेः भवेः रववनम् || २१ || पदानि || भवेः, भवेः-रववनम्

बुधि || भवेः भवेः रववनम् नानि ||

21. In expressing multitude, a Plural case affix is employed.

When it is intended to denote multitude those affixes should be employed after nouns and verbs, which denote plural number. Thus मन्यम् पति The Brahmmins read.

This rule applies to words which are capable of expressing numbers. Indeclinables (Avyaya) do not admit of numbers, and consequently they are always in singular number which is the general form.
22. The dual and singular case-affixes are employed severally in the sense of duality and unity.

This is also clear. When duality is to be expressed, a dual case-affix should be employed, and in the case of unit, the singular case-affix. Thus प्राणेऽपि प्राणेऽ प्राणाः; the two Brahmins cook. 

23. The phrase ‘kāraka’ (meaning ‘in the special relation to a word expressing an action’) is to be understood in the following aphorisms.

Any thing that helps towards the accomplishment of an action is a kāraka. Thus in ‘cooking,’ the fire, the furnace, the vessel, the cook are all helpers in the accomplishment of the action. Thus ‘Rama cooks food in a vessel, by the fire from the furnace for his master.’ Here Rama is agent kāraka; ‘food’ is object kāraka; ‘vessel’ is a locative kāraka, fire is an instrumental kāraka, ‘furnace’ is the ablative kāraka and ‘master’ is the dative kāraka.

The word ‘kāraka’ thus is synonymous with the word cause (hetu) and occasion (nimitta). All the various causes and occasions that are required to complete an action will be kārakas. Out of the seven cases in which a sanskrit noun is declined, six represent such relation with an action. The Genitive or the sixth case can never be directly related with an action, and thus can never stand in the relation of a kāraka to a verb.

24. A noun whose relation to an action is that of a fixed point from which departure takes place is called apādāna or ablation.

This defines the Ablation or Apadāna kāraka. Thus धामास्ताभिषेकत्रि he comes from the village. शरावतास्ताभिषेकत्रि he descends from the mountain. श्लोष्यतास्ताभिषेकत्रि lost his object. धारणास्ताभिषेकत्रि fallen from chariot. The Apadāna takes the 5th case-affix (II. 3. 28) and the above examples show this. When therefore this relation is to be expressed, ’the fixed point (like grāma, parvata &c., in the above) which is the limit denoted by a word dependent on a verb, is called ablation.’
**Varṇa:**—The objects of verbs denoting 'aversion,' 'cessation' and 'negligence' are also called ablation. Thus:—चारणः प्राणार्चः दे he dislikes injustice; चारणः तत्त्वः he ceases from injustice. चारणः तत्त्वः he neglects justice.

चारणः प्राणार्थः: ॥ २५ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ बी-चा-अथानास्, सप्त-हेतुः: (कारणे अथानास्)॥

पुस्ति: ॥ विकृत्वाथ्यानां भावव्याप्तिः च भावनां प्रयोगे नवहेतुर्व स्त्राधरकानितायन्तिः

25. In case of words implying 'fear' and 'protection from danger' that from which the danger or fear procedes is called अपादान कारका.

The verbs signifying 'fear' or 'protection' govern the object feared of, or the danger to be protected from, in the ablative case. Thus पौराणिकि विनेत्रिकि he is afraid of thieves, पौराणि बहिःसद्वति he is agitated because of the thieves. पौराणिकि बहिःसद्वति. He protects or saves from the thieves.

Why do we say 'the cause of fear (bhaya-hetu) is put in the ablative case?' Observe पाणिकि विनेत्रिकि or पौराणि he fears or protects in the forest.

पराणे रन्दक: ॥ २६ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ पराणे: अथोः: (कार माधानस्)॥

पुस्ति: ॥ परापूराणिकि गहती: प्राणे-स्वस्तिः प्राणे: चारणः तत्त्वः रसिकासारकानितायन्ति ॥

26. In the case of the verb parāni, 'to be tired or weary of,' that which becomes unbearable, is called अपादान कारका.

When the verb त्रिकि to conquer, with the preposition parā has the sense of 'becoming tired or unbearable' it governs ablative case of the thing become unbearable. As आध्यात्मिक पराणि he finds study unbearable.

Why do we say 'that which becomes unbearable.' Observe श्रुति पराणि he defeats the enemies.

ग्राणाधान चीरतिः: ॥ २७ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ ग्राण-अथानास्.

पुस्ति: (कार माधानस्)॥

27. In case of verbs having the sense of 'preventing, the desired object from which one is prevented or warded off is called Ablation or अपादान कारका.

The obstruction to one's natural inclination is called वाराण or prevention. As वाराणि गाँ पाराणिकि or विवर्तिकि he wards off or withholds the cow from the barley.
Why do we say ‘the object desired’ is put in the ablative case? Observe गां शरणवति चेते he wards off the cow in the field.

अन्तर्नीति येनाद्वें निखति ॥ २८ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ अन्तर्नीति, वेन, अद्वेंसूर, कन्दू, (काठ अपार) ॥

पूर्विक: अन्तर्नीतिनिनित येनाद्वेणाया सुव्युहार्यं कायमं च सङ्करणम् सत्त्वं भवति ॥

28. When concealment is indicated, the person whose sight one wishes to avoid, is called आपदान कराका.

Thus उपायवाच्यार्योऽस or निकृताचो he conceals or hides from the teacher; so that the teacher may not find him out or see him.

Why do we say ‘when concealment is indicated’? Observe चौराकूर न दित्तसे he does not wish to see the thieves. Here the term चौराकूर is in the accusative case.

Why has the word ichchhati been used in the text? The आपदान कराका is to be used there only, where one desires that he should not be seen, yet he shows himself.

अन्तर्नीतिपदार्थः ॥ २९ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ आ-स्वाताः, उप-चेते, (काठ अपार) ॥

पूर्विकः उप्योगी शाष्ये य भायवाता तलकारणपादानवर्त्तं भवति ॥

29. The noun denoting the teacher is called आपदान or ablation, in relation to the action signifying formal teaching.

The word आ-स्वाता means teacher, and उप्योग means acquiring knowledge in the regular way. Thus उपायवाच्यार्ये or आ-स्वाता he learns from the preceptor.

Why do we say ‘when meaning to learn’? Observe निर्ध भूषणि he hears the player.

अनिर्धार्यः प्रकृतिः ॥ ३० ॥ पदार्थः ॥ अन्त-कपुर्यः, प्रकृतिः, (काठ अपार) ॥

पूर्विकः अन्तर्द्वेण स्वातः स्वाताः धर्म धर्मात महति: कारणं हेकु: तलकारणपादानवर्त्तं संतोषविषय ॥

30. The prime cause of the agent of the verb जन to be born, is called आपदान.

That which is the Agent (कर्ता) of the verb जन, is called अनिर्धार्य. That which is the prime-cause (प्रकृति) of the agent (or product) of the root जन
is put in the ablative case. As श्रुतिः प्रायां जाद्वां, the arrow is produced from horn गोमयां गृहीततिः जाद्वां the scorpion is produced from cowdung.

शुभ: प्रभवः || पदालनि || शुभः || प्रभवः, (काण्य अपान) ||
मुचिः || प्रायाः व स्त्राकारकस्त्रावावंति मनवि ||

31. The source of the agent of the verb bhu, to become, is called Apādāna.

The phrase of the agent (kartuh,) is understood here. The word मनव means the source or that from which anything arises. As हिमालय गंगा मनवि the Ganges has its source in the Himalayas. काफळिक्षिप्त विद्यम प्रभविः. The Hydaspes has its source in Cashmere.

हस्याम गमिमति स संप्रदायनम् || पदालनि || हस्याम, पसु
असिनिति, सः, संप्रदायनमः, (काण) ||
मुचिः || हस्याम, कराराम् कालां समिनिति स्त्राकारकस्त्रावावंति मनवि ||
वार्तिकम् || हिमालय गंगा कराराम् ||
वार्तिकम् || हस्याम कराराम्भा वस्त्रायं संप्रदायन्त्र स कराराम् ||

32. The person whom one wishes to connect with the object of giving, is called Sampradāna or recipient.

Though the word कर्मचा in the sūtra is indefinitely used, meaning 'with the object' yet it is not every object of any verb. The object must be of the verb 'to give'.

As उपासकाय गान्य शहाति he gives the cow to the teacher. मात्राकाय निशान्य शहाति he gives alms to the boy. Here the words 'cow' and 'alms' are the object of the verb 'give'; the persons connected with this object are the teacher and the boy respectively. These latter are in the Dative case and take the 4th case-affix.

Vart:—The person whom one wishes to connect with the action should also be called recipient. As भावाव निगाहि he censures for the sake of Sraddha. क्रामाय चम्पनि he prepares for battle. प्रस्थि हेवे she sleeps for her husband.

Vart:—2. After some verbs (especially to sacrifice), the object (karma) gets the name of Instrument (karāpa) and the recipient (Sampradāna) is called object (karma).

Thus पुष्टि हेवे or पुष्टि हशान्य शहाति he sacrifices with an animal to Rudra, which is equivalent to, 'he gives an animal to Rudra.'

हस्यामो नागीनायां प्रीयस्यां || पदालनि || हस्यामः, नागीनायां
प्रीयस्यां, (काण्य संप्रदायनम्)
वार्तिकः || हस्यामो नागीनायां प्रीयस्यां प्रीयस्यां योंसि स्त्राकारकस्त्रावावंति मनविः ||
33. In case of verbs having the signification of the root ruchī 'to like,' the person or thing that is pleased or satisfied, is called Sampradāna or receipient.

The verbs having similar meaning (artha) as the word ruchi or 'liking' are ruchal. A desire or longing caused by something else, is called ruchi. As ईश्वरसाध्व रोपये नीतकः: the sweet meat pleases Devadatta. ईश्वरसाध्ववर्षे जपुः: Yajnadatta likes Apupa. Here modaka is the agent that draws out the longing which is latent in Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the person pleased'? Observe ईश्वरसाध्व रोपये नीतकः: दिति. Devadatta likes modak in the way. The word pathi being in the 7th case.

रामत्रुक्षास्थापां श्रृद्धमाणि: || ३४ || पदानि || श्रृद्ध-सुक्ष्म-स्वा-शापम्, श्रृद्धमाणि: (कार संघर्षः) ॥

पुसि: || ईश्वरसाध्व नहुः स्वा शापदेवो श्रृद्धमाणि: भोजने भवैते स्वतु कारकं संस्कारं नस्ति ||

34. In case of verbs लाघ to praise, hnu to take away, sthā to stand, and sap to curse, the person whom it is intended to inform of or persuade by, these actions, is called Sampradāna.

The word श्रृद्धमाणि means whom it is desired to make known or inform. As ईश्वरसाध्व रोपये he praises Devadatta, i.e., while praising Devadatta, he wishes that he should know this praise. So also with other verbs. As ईश्वरसाध्व हुः he hides from (wishing that Devadatta should know of it) Devadatta. ईश्वरसाध्व निवः she offers herself to Devadatta for (sexual embrace, wishing that he should know of it). ईश्वरसाध्व श्रुतः she reviles Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the person whom it is intended to inform'? Observe ईश्वरसाध्व श्रृद्धमाणि: दिति. Here pathi is in the Locative case.

घारे उतस्मणोऽः || ३५ || पदानि || घारे: || उतस्मण-स्वः (कार संघर्षः) ॥

पुसि: || घारसः परमेषो नस्ति गंधर्वस्य शङ्कारकं संस्कारं नस्ति ||

35. In the case of the verb धारी 'to owe,' the creditor is called Sampradāna.

The word उद्धरण is compounded of two words उद्ध best and वर्ण debt meaning (whose debt is best) creditor, as opposed to वर्णवार debtor. As ईश्वरसाध्व शापमाणि he owes hundred to Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the creditor is called Receipient'? Observe ईश्वरसाध्व उद्धरणां धारी: he owes hundred to Devadatta in the village. Here village is in the Locative case.
36. In the case of the verb śūrṇ to desire, the thing desired is called Sampradāna karaka.

The verb śūrṇ to desire, belongs to the churādi class. The word governed by this verb takes the Dative case. As सुर्सः सुर्सः he desires flowers, क्षायते सुर्सः he desires fruits.

Why do we say ‘the thing desired.’ Observe सुर्सः श्रेयो श्रेयो he desires flowers in the forest. Here श्रेयो is in the Locative case.

37. In the case of the verbs having the sense of krudh to be angry, druh to injure, irshya to envy, asūyā to detract, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called Sampradāna.

Krudh means non-tolerance, droha means doing wrong or hurt, irshya jealousy; and asūyā means to find out the faults of another. The word kopa includes all the above four sorts of actions. As रोक्षायते रोक्षायते रोक्षायते सुर्सः he is angry upon, (i.e. with) or bears malice to, or is jealous of, or finds out the faults of Devadatta. Here Devadatta is in the Dative case.

Why do we say ‘against whom the feeling of anger is directed.’ Because if there be no feeling of anger, then these verbs will not govern the dative case, but the accusative. Thus रोक्षायते he is jealous of his wife, i.e., does not wish her to be seen by others. Here the word bhāryā is in the accusative case.

38. But in the case of the verbs krudh and druh, when preceded by prepositions, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called karma karaka or object.
This aphorism is a proviso to the last, and enjoins accusative case, where by the last, there would have been the dative. The word upasrishta means having upasarga or preposition. As राधेश्रेयस्वयं प्रविष्टिः. When used simply, those verbs of course govern the Dative case by the last aphorism. As राधेश्रेयस्वयं कृष्णिः.

राधेश्रेयः विप्रवतः || ३४ || पदार्थ राधि-श्रेयः, यस्य, विप्रवतः, (काः संप्रदायः) ||

पुरुषः || राधेश्रेयः श्रवणाद्वारे संप्राप्तमस्य भवति कीर्तिः यस्य विप्रवतः, विविचे मकः, विविचे; यस्य कार्यं भवति यस्य जुगाद्वरे प्रहस्ये ||

39. In the case of the verbs राधि, to propitiating, and फिख्स to look to, the person about whose good or bad fortune questions are asked is called संप्रदायः.

The word vipraśna means literally asking various questions; and denotes questioning about the good or bad luck of another. Thus राधेश्रेयः गार्गः. Garga is favorable to or looks to Devadatta, the sense is that being casually asked by Devadatta, he reflects upon the good or bad fortune of Devadatta.

Another explanation of this śūtra is, the agent that puts various questions is put in the dative case. As विप्रवतः राधेश्रेयः श्रवणाऽवरे यस्य मकः. meaning, the pupil asks the teacher various questions to resolve his doubts, and the teacher answers those questions to the pupil.

प्रत्यावृवण्यं श्रवणं पूर्णस्य कहतः || ४० || पदार्थ प्रतिभांगाः, पूर्णस्य, कहतः (काः संप्रदायः) ||

पुरुषः || प्रतिभांगाः श्रवणं पूर्णस्य चूँवते: कारं सवानसंसर्गं भवति कीर्तिः पूर्णस्य कहतः ||

40. In the case of the verb स्रुतः preceded by the prepositions प्रति and अन्य; and meaning 'to promise,' the person to whom promise is made (lit: the person who was the agent of the former verb) is called संप्रदायः.

The compound verb प्रतिभांगाः श्रवणं means to promise. A promise is made on the motion or at the instance of another. The person so proposing who was the agent of the former action becomes the recipient of the promise in the latter case. As राधेश्रेयः गां प्रतिभांगाः—भागाः he promises a cow to Devadatta.

अनुप्रविष्टिः || ४१ || पदार्थ अनु-प्रति-श्रवणं, यस्य, (काः संप्रदायः पूर्णस्य कहतः) ||

पुरुषः || अनुप्रविष्टिः प्रति-श्रवणं च मुखाथे: कारं पूर्णस्य: किवाद्या: कृष्णवृणोऽवरमस्य-मकः ||
41. In the case of the verb gri, preceded by anu and prati, and meaning 'to encourage by repeating,' the person who was the agent of the prior action, which is repeated, is called Sampradāna.

The phrase pūrvasya kartā of the last is to be read into this aphorism. As श्रेष्ठे मनुष्याः. They encourage the Hotri, i.e., the Hotri priest invokes first, the others then follow him in invocation and by so doing encourage him. The word अनुगर: and प्रतिकिर्तिः mean encouraging the invoker.

चापकामकाः करणम् ॥ १२ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ साधकतमस्, करणम्
(कारकः) ॥

पुरवः ॥ विद्यांशिश्रेष्ठे यद यहूदीयांकां विद्यां विद्यां विद्यां विद्यां कारकां कारणसंख्या नासका ॥

42. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action is called the Instrument or karaṇa kāraka.

As श्रेष्ठे मनुष्याः he cuts with the sickle. परगुणा विद्यां विद्यां he divides by the axe. The instrument kāraka takes the third-case affix.

Why do we say 'especially'? Because in the case of the other kārakās, the non-mention of the word 'especially' makes it possible for us to use those cases, in not their strict sense. Thus though the locative case should be used where strictly a thing is located in another, yet we may say गंगा यान: the herdsman in the Ganges, not strictly in, but on the banks of, the Ganges. कृषि गंगायन: the family of frogs in the well, i.e. on the sides of the well.

दिव: कभी च ॥ १३ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ दिव: कभी, च, (कार चापक तस्तमस् करणम्) ॥

पुरवः ॥ दिव: चापककां संकारक कारणसंख्या असीति चापकान्त तस्तमस: ॥

43. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action, of the verb div to play, is called karma object, as well as karaṇa, Instrument.

The present sūtra ordains accusative case, where by the operation of the last aphorism there ought to have been Instrumental case. The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that karaṇa is also to be read into this. As अभासित अव्ययति or पापे विद्यां he plays the dice or with the dice.

परिक्रमणे संप्रदाननम्यतरस्याः ॥ २४ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ परिक्रमणे,
संप्रदान, अन्यतरस्याः (कार चापकत्मस्) ॥

पुरवः परिक्रमणे साधकतम: कारकान्त्यांस्यांचापकान्ततः नसिसः ॥
44. In the case of hiring on wages, that which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action of the verb parikrāṇa, ‘employing on stipulated wages,’ is optionally called Sampradāna or recipient.

This ordains dative case, where there would otherwise have been Instrumental case. The word परिक्राण्य means to engage for a limited period on payment of wages, and not absolute purchase for all time. As श्लाव परिक्राण्य अनुसूचि or श्लेष्म परिक्राण्य अनूपसूचि.

Adhikarana.

अधिकाररूपिकरणम् II ४५ || पदार्थ आधारः, अधिकार च, (काठ) II
मूलिकः II कप्पिकृते: विशालभायुधोपापरा कियोऽथि च आधारस्तरसरकारसरिकरण वाचनमवि II

45. That which is related to the action as the site where the action is performed by reason of the agent or the object being in that place is called Adhikarana or the Location.

That in which the action is supported or located is called Adhāra. As कते भासे he is seated on the mat. कते शीते he is sleeping on the mat. क्रार्यार्थि प्रचारि he cooks in the pot. The Adhikarana takes the 7th case-affix.

अधिकाररूपिकरणम् कर्म II ४६ || पदार्थ II अधिकारोऽद्र्ग-स्थानां अथाराः, कर्म, (काठ आधारः)
मूलिकः II प्राध्यात्मिकां शीते भासे अधार इत्यथाय आधारस्तरसर्वकर्मकर्मकर्मसंसारं गति II

46. That which is the site of the verbs sit to lie down, sthā to stand, as to sit, when preceded by the preposition adhi, is however called karma kāraka or object.

This ordains accusative case, where otherwise by the last नुप्तra there would have been the Locative case. As यात्राचित्ते धाराविविशि or यात्राचित्ते he lies down, occupies or lies in the village.

अधिकाररूपिकरणम् II ४७ || पदार्थ II अधिकार-विविशिः
च, (काठ आधारः कर्म) II
मूलिकः II अधिकाररूपिकरण विविशेष्यार्थी वाचनत्वाध्याराय गति संसारं गति II

47. That which is the site of the verb abhiniviś to enter, is also called karma-kāraka.
As यामनन्दिनिष्ठा he resorts to the village. This is an optional rule, as the word “option” of sūtra 44 should be read into it. Thus we have the following forms also पापेविनिष्ठा: resorting to sin. क्रमाविनिष्ठा: resorting to good. The rule here is that of vyavasthita vibhāsa.

उपास्याकार वस: ॥ ४८ ॥ पदावि ॥ उप-अनु-अध-अह-वसः,
(कार आधार: कामे) ॥

पूर्वम्: उप अनु अधि अहु वसे द्वार द्वैतपिव वस्त्रवर्धवारो वस्त्रकारणां कर्मसंगत नक्षत्रं ॥

वार्तिकम्: अवर्दोपे वस्त्रवर्धवारो वस्त्रकारणां कर्मसंगत नक्षत्रं ॥

48. That which is the site of the verb vas to dwell, when preceded by upa, anu, adhi, and an, is called karma-कारका.

As यामनुष्ठित वस्त्र वेना the army dwells in the village पर्यंत वस्त्रवर्धवारो अनुपकारक-पूर्वसनि-परिवर्त्तित अधिष्ठितम्

Vart.:—Prohibition must be stated when the verb vas means “fasting,” or does not denote lying in a locality. As वार्तिकम् he fasts in the village. Here the verb upavasati governs the locative case and not the accusative.

Karma.

क्रमाविनिष्ठतम कर्मे ॥ ४९ ॥ पदावि ॥ कर्तृः, ईश्वितमतम्
(कार) ॥

पूर्वम्: कर्तृः किंवा बिषयविनिष्ठमं तत्संकारं कर्तृर्दं नक्षत्रं ॥

49. That which it is intended should be most affected by the act of the agent is called the object or karma.

That which is especially desired by the agent to be accomplished by the action is called karma. As कर्तृ करोति He makes the mat. पार्श्व गण्यवि he goes to the village. Why do we say “desired by the agent”? Observe वार्तिकम् रास भाबित he ties the horse in the gram field. Here gram is no doubt most desired by the horse, but as horse is not the agent of the verb, the word माया takes the locative case. Why do we use the word “most”? Observe वार्तिकम् नूतने he eats the food along with the milk. Here milk is no doubt desired by the agent, but not being the principal object desired, takes the Instrumental case.

Though the word कर्म was understood in this sūtra by anuvritti from the last sūtra, the repetition of this word here is to indicate that the anuvritti of the word अधिकार does not extend to this sūtra, because as we do not take the anuvritti of the word karma into this sūtra, we do not take the
anuvratti of any word of the previous sūtra into this. Had we taken the anuvratti of the word karma from the last sūtra, then we could use the accusative case in those limited instances, where the word is capable of taking the Locative case also, but not in other cases. Thus while we could very well say वेस्वर मन्त्रायन् he enters the house, we could not say वेस्वर मन्त्रायन् he cooks the food, वर्तन् विवादति he drinks saktu. By repeating the word karma in this sūtra, such examples become valid everywhere. The karma-karak, takes the second case-affix.

तथा युज्य चानायिदित्तुम्।। ५०।। पदानि।। तथा, युज्य, च, अनाविदित्तुम्, (काठ कर)।।

मुखः।। चेतन प्रदार्शं करतु। रेखिततवं किषया युज्यले चेतन प्रदार्शं चानायिदित्तुम् युज्यते भवति कर्मे कर्मसंसारी विचयसे।।

50. If that which is not intended to be most affected by the act becomes however similarly connected with the action it also is called karma.

That which is not desired by the agent is anlpsita or object of aversion. Thus विम वस्त्रायति he eats poison, पार्वती पार्फायति He sees the thieves. ग्रामं ग्रामे युज्यते वृक्षार्थम् व्रजन्यायति going to the village, he plucks the roots of the trees.

अकारित्तं च।। ५१।। पदानि।। अकारित्तं, च, (काठ कर)।।

मुखः।। चेतारित्तं च वद्यार्थं सरकर्मिभं भवति।।

51. And that kāraka which is not spoken of as coming under any of the special relations of ablation &c., is also called karma.

There are some verbs in Sanskrit which take what is called an akathita object, in addition to their usual direct one. As its name indicates, it is that object which is not otherwise kathita or mentioned by way of any of the other case relations, such as अपराधम यापिकरण &c. and is, therefore optional. If the noun capable of taking this akathita object be not intended for any other case, it is put in the Accusative case with such verbs; as, चेतू शेषिच प्रव: he milks the cow (her milk) प्रजामवायूसि गा ‘he confines the cow to the fold.’ Here चेतू and प्रम are akathita or optional objects. If the speaker does not intend to have this object, the words will be put in their natural cases; as, चेतना: (ablative) प्रशोधितभ, प्रमे (locative) परपरसिष्ठी गा.

The roots that are capable of governing two accusatives are mentioned in the following kārikā:—पुजयत् पुजयत्, प्रजामवायूसि गा च गयत प्रजामवायूसि गा। कर्मयुक्त, श्यामाघिनरं तथा श्यामाचो ह कृष्ण श्रावः।।
In the case of the roots दूध् ‘to milk,’ भाजू ‘to beg,’ रथ् ‘to cook,’ एए ‘to punish,’ रथ् ‘to obstruct or confine’ वण्ड ‘to ask,’ च ‘to collect’ बू ‘to tell,’ शारण ‘to instruct’ जित ‘to win’ (as a prize of wager) भांग ‘to churn’ चूर ‘to steal,’ and also in the case of श्र, दूध, and रथ, all meaning ‘to take or carry’ and others having the same signification, that noun which, besides the direct object, is affected by the verb, is put in the Accusative case; as, गा शोभित पवः (S. K.) ‘he milks the cow’; शारण यापते सुपुष्पी.

He begs the earth of Bali’; similarly शूलानीक्षण पसारि, गाराँ श्रात एएवाति, याज्ञवल्क्याति या, मायाकर्म यंत्रालि श्राहि, दुर्झातिस्वरूपाति फलाति, मायाकर्म धर्म जुप्त-श्राहिति या, श्रात ज्ञाति देवर, सुर्याति श्राहिति स्वानाति, देवरहस्य श्रात ज्ञाति, मायाकर्म स्वाति- इत्यादि-कर्मचित-प्रतिवद- सा are examples of the other roots in order. याज्ञवल्क्य धर्म नापे धरति या, शारण अपार निषिद्धि, तत् स्वातेन वर्णणायेन वर्णणाय विनामाति निषिद्धि are instances of this kind of object, because भाजू or रथ and चूर or बू have the same meaning as दूध and श्र, the roots given in the kasikā.

Obs.—The roots चित, दूध, रथ, रथ, चित, दूध हु एवर दूध are of every rare occurrence as governing two accusatives, in classical literature, though given in the above list.

The roots mentioned above and others having the same sense, take two objects. One of them is principal, and the other, secondary. In the case of the first twelve roots from दूध to चूर, the nouns दूध, शूलानि, फलानि, सुर्यानि, &c. are principal objects, and गा, भाजू, दुर्झानि, शरानिजिति &c. are secondary objects, for they can, according to the speaker’s volition, be put in other cases. And in the case of the last four roots श्रात, is the principal object and श्रात the secondary. Thus that which is necessarily put in the accusative case in order to complete the idea of the verb, is the principal object, and that which may be put in the Accusative case, depending upon the speaker’s will, is called the secondary object.

गति वृद्धि प्रमयसः खण्डः कर्मकामे काणा मणिक्षरे व जोि। ५२।।
पदानि। गति-वृद्धि-प्रम्यसः अयु-शूलानि-कर्मकाणामः, अभिवृद्धि, खः, चोि (कारणे कर्मे)।।

लृक्ति। गतियानि वृद्धि गतिसः प्रम्यसः खण्डः खण्डः समावेश कर्मकाणा कर्मकाणा रथ रथानि रथ एकात्मकः कर्मकाणां मणिक्षरे।
शारिकानि। गतियानि च चोि: प्रम्यसः वक्तव्यः।
शारिकानि। बहे गतिसः कर्मकाणां मणिक्षरे वक्तव्यः।
शारिकानि। पमानि खायोि: प्रम्यसः वक्तव्यः।
शारिकानि। गतिसः हिलात्तर्थ: प्रम्यसः वक्तव्यः।

52. Of the verbs having the sense of ‘motion,’ ‘knowledge or information’ and ‘eating,’ and of
verbs that have some literary work for their object, and of intransitive verbs, that which was the agent of the verb in its primitive (non-० or non-causal state), is called the object (कर्म) in its causative state (when the verb takes the affix ०).

In the case of roots that imply 'motion,' 'knowledge' or 'information' or some kind of 'eating,' and other roots having a similar sense; also of roots that have some literary work for their object, and of intransitive roots, that which is the subject of the verb in its primitive sense is put in the Accusative case in the causal, the object remaining unchanged; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRIMITIVE</th>
<th>CAUSAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>शिकार्: शिकारणमवत्</td>
<td>शिकार्: शिकारणमवत्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्वाच्छिद्यः</td>
<td>स्वाच्छिद्यः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हेतु यत्सनाययः</td>
<td>हेतु यत्सनाययः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>विभिन्नायेव</td>
<td>विभिन्नायेव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>प्रथम चलति भस्त</td>
<td>प्रथम चलति भस्त</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But in समस्त जनो गीतिः (Rama makes Govind go) if some body else (हिष्टु नित्य) prompts Rama to do this, we shall have to say हिष्टु नित्य रामो गीतिः 'Vishnu mitra prompts Rama to cause Govind to go.' Here 'Rama' is not put in the Accusative case, because it is the subject of the verb, not in its primitive, but causal, sense.

Patanjali, in his Mahābhāṣya, adds this explanation on the meaning of the word शिकार्थि in the सूक्ता शास्त्रिवि &c. शिकार्थि may be either एक्ष्ठो वेदश | किष्त्रा or ग्रावो वेदश करि

When we take the former interpretation, the roots इवति (ध) कालेकि (कर्ति) and शास्त्रि (denom. of शास्त्रि) have to be excluded from the rule; as, इवति हेवलि: इवति हेवलि: ; कालेकि-शास्त्रिलीलि-हेवलि: ; कालेकि-कालेकि-हेवलि: . And the roots पु: , सा with वि and लम् with वि must be included in the rule; as, श्रुतिकृति विद्यायि-हेवलि: इवलि: वहलि: वहलि: इवलि: इवलि: . When we adopt the second interpretation, the roots पु: , शास्त्रि with वा and लम् with वि , must be included in the rule; कालेकि-बिद्यायि-शास्त्रिलीलि-हेवलि: , कालेकि-बिद्यायि-शास्त्रिलीलि-हेवलि:.

There are several exceptions and counter-exceptions to the preceding rule, which are important.

Vart:- The causals of दी 'to lead' and शर, 'to carry,' do not govern the Accusative, but the Instrumental; e.g. मुखद्वार U G. नायदि शहि य शहि य A servant carries a load. मुखद्वार नायदि शहि य य (S. K.) (He) causes a servant to carry a load.
**Vart.—**But वै, when it has for its subject in the causal a word
signifying a ‘driver,’ obeys the general rule; as, याहा रथ यहति. Horses
draw the chariot. यहति याहार्य वहति वहति.

**Vart.—**(b). The causals of the roots खावः and खावः, ‘to eat,’ govern
the Instrumental case; e. g. बुधोजयसि खावति या. The boy eats his food.

**Vart.—**(c). मद्, when it has not the sense of हिंसा ‘injury to a
sentient thing,’ governs the Instrumental; as, मद्यावति गियें देवता; मद्यावति गियें
देवता; but मद्यावति याहार्य वहति; मद्यावति याहार्य वहति.

By ‘intransitive’ roots mentioned above is meant such roots as are
not by their nature capable of governing an object other than that of
‘time,’ ‘place’ &c., and not those roots which, though transitive, may
sometimes be used intransitively according to the speaker’s volition, or when their
meaning is, quite evident; as, विकर्तः विरः वचति. Here वचति, though transi-
tive, is used without an object, because it can be easily understood; hence
विकर्तः वचति and not विकर्तः; but मद्यावति देवता.

In forming the passive construction of casual verbs, the principal
object in the causal, which is the subject (agent) of the verb in its primitive
sense, is put in the Nominative case, and the other object remains
unchanged; e. g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRIMITIVE</th>
<th>CAUSAL ACTIVE</th>
<th>CAUSAL PASSIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>रामो गार्घ गच्छति.</td>
<td>रामो गार्घ मनोक्ति.</td>
<td>रामो गार्घ गच्छति.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Rama goes to a village. | (He) causes Rama to
go to a village. | Rama is caused to go &c. |

भृस्य कर्ते करोऽवि. | भृस्य कर्ते करोऽवि. | भृस्य कर्ते करोऽवि. |
| The servant prepares a mat. | (He) causes the servant The servant is made to
to prepare a mat. | prepare &c. |

गोविन्दो गार्घाचारे. | गोविन्दो ममार्घाचारे. | गोविन्दो ममार्घाचारे. |
| Govind sits for one month. | (He makes Govind sit &c. Govind is made to sit &c. |

(१) But in the case of roots that imply ‘knowledge’ ‘eating,’ and
those that have a literary work for their object, the principal object is put
in the Nominative case, and the secondary in the Accusative, or vice versa
e. g. गार्घार्य यहं गच्छति ‘he makes Mananaka know his duty’; मा गार्घार्य यहं
गच्छति ‘M. is made known his duty’ or ‘duty is made
known to M.’; बुधोजयसि मस्यायि ‘he makes the boy eat food;’ बुधोजयसि मस्यायि or
बुधोजयसि मस्यायि (S. K.).

With regards to roots that govern two accusatives, the rules
mentioned above hold good in their case also; i.e., those roots that
imply motion &c., govern the Accusative of the subject of the primitive
Case, and others, the Instrumental case, sometimes; as, वामनो वलिल वस्तुपरि-
Agent defined.

53. The agent of the verb in its non-ni (primitive) form in the case of ह्रि to lose and क्रि to make, is optionally called karma or object when these verbs take the affix.

\[ (\text{Causal}) \]

**Causal.**

As हरमि भरः गायकः
The boy takes the load.

हरमि भरः माधवः or माधवेन.
He causes the servant to take the load.

करारकवर्तान् देष्वतः
Devadatta makes the mat.

कारारकवर्तान् देष्वतः or देष्वतेन.
He causes Devadatta to make the mat.

**Vart:**—The subject of the primitive verbs पार्वित्वं and दृष्टं, when used in the Atmanepada, is either put in the Accusative or Instrumental case in the causal: as,

**Causal.**

पार्वित्वं अनु देष्वतः
Devadatta bows down to the Guru.

पार्वित्वं दृष्टं देष्वतः or देष्वतेन.
He makes Devadatta bow down to the Guru.

**Kartri.**

स्वतन्त्रः कर्ताः ॥ ५४ ॥ पदार्थिन्य स्वतन्त्रः कर्ताः ॥ (काल) ॥

सूत्रिः सत्यमेव विश्वसंगीतास्तेष्वतरसत्वः कर्ते विश्वसति
Whatever the speaker chooses as the independent, principal and absolute source of action is called kartā or agent.

The agent is absolute and unconditioned, as, देष्वतः: प्रसति Devadatta

 cooked. स्वाती प्रसति the pot cooks.
55. That which is the mover thereof, i.e., of the independent source of action, is called Hetu or cause, as well as kartā or agent.

Thus kartā he causes to be made, harcita he cause to be taken. When hetu is employed as agent the verb is put in the causative form (III. 1. 26).

The force of the word च is to give both names to the mover of an agent, viz., Hetu and kartā; otherwise by sūtra 1 of this Chapter only one name would have been given.

Nipāta.

The Particles.

56. From this point forward up to the aphorism Adhirāt-śvare (I.4.97), all that we shall say is to be understood to have the name of Nipāta or Particles.

The word च of this sūtra serves the same purpose as the word cha of the last; namely, it makes the words Gati, upasarga and karmapravachnlya take two names, i.e., their one name as well as the name Nipāta. The letter च in यात्रित-स्वरे is to remove doubt, i.e., aphorism I.4.97 should be taken as limit, and not sūtra III. 4. 13 which has the word iswari also.

57. The word cha ‘and,’ &c., are called Nipāta or Particles, when they do not signify substances.

The following are particles (nipāta) च ‘and’ या ‘or’ ह ‘an expletive’ यथ ’vocative particle’ एव ‘only’ एव ‘exactly’ एव ‘so, thus,’ नूतन ‘certainly,’ इत्यदु ‘continually,’ थुन ‘at once,’ भूत ‘repeatedly,’ राम ‘excellently,’ चुकित ‘abundantly,’ वेत ‘४० ‘if’ वेत ‘४० ‘if,’ [the न is indicatory], राह ‘where,’ तत ‘there,’ तत्पर ‘what if?’, तस ‘no,’ हन ‘ah,’ मार्क्षुर [ साक्षर ] महिन ‘do not’ दात ‘indeed’ यथ ‘do not,’ नम ‘not,’ शास्त ‘as much as,’ सास्त ‘so much,’ से ओह ‘perhaps,’ रेड (disrespectful interjection) भोज प्रो
Prepositions defined.

Bk. I. Ch. IV. § 58.

The vowels a, æ, i, i, u, ò, e, ai, o, au, when, as interjections, they indicate various emotions, differ from the ordinary vowels.

To the list of indeclinables belong also what have, without the reality, the appearance of an upasarga (No. 59), of a word with one of the terminations of case or persons and of the vowels. In the example अहंकर्तम् avandattam 'given away,' the अह is not really an upasarga, for if it were, the word (by VII. 4. 47) would be अहम avatam. In the example अहं युह लहोस्त्र 'egotistic,' the युह is not identical with the aham 'I,' terminating in a case affix—because a pronoun, really regarded as being in the nominative case, could not be the first member, in such a compound. In the example, अस्ति त्वारात्वम् astikshrit, a cow or the like 'in which there is milk,' the asti प्राति must be regarded as differing from the word asti, 'is,' which ends with the affix of the third person singular, otherwise it could not have appeared as the first member in a compound.

"प्रायस्: ॥ ५६ ॥ पद्तनि ॥ प्र-आदर्शः (नियाता अस्त्रिये) ॥ भूमि: ॥ ब्रह्मवं भस्मेन निष्पातत्तवं नाभिन्ति ॥

58. The words pra &c., are called Nipatā when not signifying substances.

The following is the list of प्राय: or 'prepositions:' य, पर, भर, चन, चनु, भर, निस, दृष्ट, दि, पार, नि, द्वित, धि, भवि, विष, दि, उदि, धारि, पारि, धरि, वरि, वर ॥

The making of this a distinct aphorism, when it could well have been included in the last, is for the sake of giving the Pra &c., words two names, namely, those of Nipatās, as well as upasargas under certain circumstances, i.e., when they are in composition with verbs. Not so however the chā &c., words. They never get the designation of upasargas.

When these words signifying substances they are not Nipatās. As य यथविं चेना the excellent army conquers. Here the word यथवि is not a Nipatā.
59. The words pra &c., get the designation of upasarga or prepositions, when in composition with a verb.

As न + ग्यो = ग्योच. Here the dental न is changed into cerebral न because of the न getting the designation of upasarga (See sutra VIII. 4. 14). Similarly परिचयति, परिचयक: परिचयकः.

Why do we say when in composition with a verb? When in composition with a noun they are not called upasargas. As मन्येय मन्येयकोपालते देशराख्यान्ति = मन्येयकोपालते, a country destitute of a leader. Here न is not changed into न.

Thus while मन्येयक means ‘a leader’ the term मन्येयक means destitute of a leader; though both have the same radical elements:—pra in one is an upasarga, in the other a Nipāta pure and Simple.

Vart:—The word मन्येय should be included in the list of upasargas. As मन्येय: मन्येय = मन्येय: given by Marut. मन्येय + श + ज = मन्येय + श + ज (VII. 4. 47). Here Marut being treated as an upasarga, though it does not end with a vowel, the ज is replaced by ज by rule VII. 4. 47 which declares ‘ज the substitute of ज which is called ghu, when it is preceded by an upasarga that ends in a vowel, and is followed by an affix beginning with ज which has an indicative k.’

It might be objected, that as मन्येय does not end with a vowel, sutra VII. 4. 47 does not apply. To this we say that otherwise the giving the designation of upasarga to मन्येय is superfluous; and in order that this should not be so, the fact of its not ending with a vowel is overlooked.

Vart:—The particle श्व should be included in the list of upasargas. Thus श्व + श + श्व = श्व (III. 3. 106). Here because श्व is treated as an upasarga, that sutra III. 3. 106 is made applicable.
As प्रकटम्, Now the gerund of the simple root क् would have been कृत्ता, but as it is compounded with a gati word (II. 2. 18) the क् is replaced by श्वृच्छ, see S. II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37. क् + क् = कृत्ता (VI. 1. 71). Here pra being called gati we have compounding by rule II. 2. 18; and then we apply S. VII. 1. 37. Similarly श्वृच्छ. Here pra being a gati word retains its own accent by rule VI. 2. 49. ‘a gati retains in a compound its own accent when it immediately precedes a second member that ends in kta, provided the latter denotes the object of the action which is expressed by the root of which kta is added.’

Similarly प्रकटोरि, here pra being treated as gati gets anuddāṭa accent by rule VIII. 2. 74. 1. 71 (a-d f. 1. 57)

The yoga-vibāṅga or the separation of one aphorism into two, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms. The anuvṛtti of gati only runs through the latter sūtras and not of upasarga. So that while pra &c., have two names upasarga and gati; uri &c., have only one name, namely, gati.

Thus in प्रकृतम् and श्वृच्छिन्नम्, by treating the words क् and श्वृ by rule VIII. 4. 14 and VIII. 3. 87: and again treating them as gati we regulate the accent.

Vart.—The words कारिकः should be included in the list of Gati. As (1) कारिकशः, (2) कारिकाः (3) चालकाः कारिकः. In the first by taking it as gati we have samasa (II. 2. 18) and श्वृ (VII. 1. 37.) The other two cases illustrate accent.

Vart.—The words पुन्न and श्वृस् are treated as Gati in the Vedas. As पुनं निद्राय रूपम्. Here the word पुनं being gati, causes श्वृस् to take anuddāṭa accent (VIII. 1. 70) नाथाकः. Here also the accent is regulated by VIII. 2. 71.

स्यांकोऽक्ष्याश्च ॥ ६३ ॥ पद्यांकः ॥ ज्ञान-अद्य श्वि-हावः ॥

(क्रियावरोगी गतिः) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ क्रियावर: ग्रहण: स्याभ्यासा श्रायात्वा हिद्रायोगी गतिविद्या भवति ॥

61. The words uri, assent, &c., and those that end with chvi (V. 4. 50), and those that end with द्धं (V. 4. 57), (when in composition with the verb bhrah kri or as) are called Gati.

The affixes chvi and द्धं are ordained when the verbs in composition is either क्, नू or श्वृ (V. 4. 50 and 57) उरि &c., being read along with chvi and द्धं; shows that the verb in composition with them must also be any one of the above three verbs, and none else; in order to entitle ज्ञान to the name of gati.
The words करी and उरी mean to assent and spread. As बाहरिश्लष्ट (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37) चरिश्लष्ट्य (VI. 2. 49), बदूरिश्लष्ट्य (VIII. 4. 71). So with the word उरी. The following is a list of these words:

शाली. भूषी. बांकला. पाली.
शाखा. रागला. बुलुम्मा. विली.
पालाशी. बांकला. बालू. पाली.
बालाशी. बांकला. बालू.

The words ending in chvi are also gati. As बुद्धीमुख्य having made white what was not white.

So also words ending in आच as पराराक्षव having made the sound pat.

अनुकरणं धातिति रसम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुकरणम्, च;
धातिति-रसम्, (क्रियायोगे गति:) ॥

बृहत्: ॥ धातुराजान्यितिपरं क्रियायोगे गतिवं भवति ॥

62. A word imitative of sounds is also called Gati, when it is not followed by the word iti.

The phrase धातितिरस्म is a Bahuvrihi compound; भूष-इति-रसम् = 'that which has not the word इति after it.'

As बाहरिश्लष्ट्य having made the sound खात्. खाद्धकल्य (VI. 2. 49), बसूराक्षरोगि (VIII. 2. 71).

Why do we say 'when it has not the word इति after it?' Observe धातितिरस्म निरितिरस्म मयोऽयि.

बाह्यानारास्रोऽि: ददृश्यति ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदृत-अनादृतः,
ददृश्यति, (क्रियायोगे गति:) ॥

बृहत्: ॥ भावत नावचोऽि बांधपंक्र सदाभव्यो गतिस्तत्र भवति: ॥

63. The words sat and asat when in composition with a verb are called gati, when used in the sense of 'respect or love,' and 'disrespect or indifference.'

As बाहरिश्लष्ट्य having honored (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37) भानुकुलम्, बानुकुलम्
or बाहरिश्लष्ट्य (VI. 2. 49) बानु संग करोगि or बानुसंग करोगि (VIII. 2. 71).
Why do we say when meaning 'respect or disrespect'? Observe भावस्या सार्वत्र गणित.

(विभ. गति)॥

वृत्ति:॥ भाव्ये यो अन्तः शर्मा श गतिविवाहो भवति॥

64. The word alam when in composition with a verb is called gati, when used in the sense of 'ornament.'

The word अन्तः is an indeclinable and has four meanings:—'prohibition, competent, enough and ornament.' The term अन्तः is gati when it means ornament. As अन्तः (II. 2. 18, VII. 1. 37); अन्तः (VI. 2. 49) दलककरिवि (VIII. 2. 71) when it does not mean ornament we have अन्तः मुक्ता श्रमति he goes having eaten enough.

65. The word antar is called gati, when used in the sense of 'non-accepting,' in composition with a verb.

The word परिष्कार means 'taking' or 'accepting,' अपरिष्कार means therefore the opposite of this namely 'rejecting,' abandoning. As चन्दनाध्य शुद्धक। he went away having abandoned home; अन्तःकरणस्व दुःख भावः falsehood being abandoned. यथां हैति.

Why do we say 'when meaning to abandon'? Observe चन्दनाध्य शुद्धक। रतिविवाह: the hawk went away taking hold of the mouse.

Variant:—The word अन्तः is treated as an upasarga for the purposes of the application of the following rules; III. 3. 106 by which तस्य is added; rule III. 3. 92 by which तिः is added; and rule VIII. 4. 14 by which त is changed into त. As अन्तः, अन्तः: and अन्तःविवाह.

66. The words kāṇe and manas are gati when in composition with a verb and used in the sense of 'reaction by satiation.'
The word भ्रमण-मतीपञ्च means 'satisfaction of desire.' As कर्मशाख्य
पद: वियति he drinks milk to his heart's content or till he is satisfied. So
also मनोहर 'चन: विचरिति. That is to say, he drinks so much till his desire (भ्रमण)
is satisfied by revulsion of feeling. When not having this sense we have कर्म
or मनोहरचावा: he went away he satisfied.

पुरं अवयवम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ पुरं, अवयवम्, ( गति: ) ॥

पुरिति: भविष्यवाचनं पुरं गतिमेवं गतिचं भविति ॥

67. The word purah in front of, when indeclinable,
and in composition with a verb, is called gati.

The pronoun पुरं 'front' with the affix शचि forms पुरं, and by S. I.
१. ३८ it becomes an Avyaya. (See S. V. ३. ३९ pur being substituted for
पुरवा). The object by making it gati is threefold (१) compounding by II. २.
१८ (२) accent by VI. २. ४९ (३) to change the त into त by VIII. ३. ४०. As पुरस्करण,
पुरस्करणि and चर् पुरस्करणि, when not an indeclinable we have पूरं, पुरे, पूरं हस्ता
कार्यमेवः:

अस्तं च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ अस्तम्, च, ( गति: अवयवम् ) ॥

पुरितिः चर्तं चवसो मकराद्वत्सवक्त्व गतिप्रत्यस्वो वर्तेत् च गतिचं भवः

68. And the indeclinable word astam 'at
home,' is called gati, when in composition with a verb.

The word प्रत्यस्व is an indeclinable as it ends in ४ (I. १. ३९); and
means 'not visible.' As प्रत्यस्वमात्र गतिः पुरस्करणि the sun having set, rises again
प्रत्यस्वमात्र गतिः पुरस्करणि riches that have vanished. प्रत्यस्वमात्रि, when not an indeclinable
it is not gati as भरसं कार्यमेवः the arrow has been thrown.

अस्तं गतिप्रत्यस्वदे ॥ ६९ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ अस्तं, गति-अर्थे-बदेदुः,

( गति: अवयवम् ) ॥

पुरिति: चच्च्चच्चच्छातीस्वगतिमेवः प्रत्यस्वमात्र वर्तेत्, च गतिप्रत्यस्व भानुः च गतिचं भविति

69. The indeclinable word achchha, meaning
'before in the presence of,' is called gati, when used in
composition with verbs denoting 'motion' or with the
verb, 'vad' to speak.

The word प्रत्यस्व is an indeclinable and has the force of the word भवि:
As भविक्षणम्, भविक्षणस्म, and भविक्षणमात्र. So, also भविक्षणम्, भविक्षणस्म, and भविक्षण-
भविति when not an Avyaya, we have भविक्षणम् भविति.

अस्तं गतिप्रत्यस्वदे ॥ ६० ॥ पदार्थि ॥ अस्तं, गतिप्रत्यस्वदे, ( गति: ) ॥

पुरिति: भवः भवतो गतिप्रत्यस्वो गतिचं भवः
70. The word adas 'that' is called gati when in composition with a verb and not implying a direction to another.

The word upadeśa means a direction to another. When a person cogitates within himself and does not address another, that is anupadeśa. That is when it is not a demonstrative pronoun. As खः: कुशः, लः: शाल्यः and समः: करोति when used as a demonstrative pronoun we have खः: हुल्ला कार्यः गतः:

71. The word tiras when used in the sense of 'disappearance,' is called gati when in composition with a verb.

As तिरीण्यूः. तिरीण्यूः and यदि तिरीण्यूः why do we say when meaning disappearance? Observe तिरा मुलासिधः: i.e., standing apart.

72. The word tiras meaning 'disappearance' is optionally called gati, when the verb kṛi follows.

This is an example of वाव-निवाया. As तिरा: कुशः or तिरस्त्वृः (VIII. 3. 42): तिरा: हुल्ला or तिरस्त्वृः (VIII. 3. 42). The change of visarga into खः is optional VIII. 3. 42. When not meaning disappearance we have तिरा: हुल्ला कार्यः निवाया he stands having laid aside the stick.

73. The words upājē and anvājē both meaning 'supporting or assisting the weak,' are optionally called gati when used along with the verb kṛi.

As उपाजेः कुशः or उपाजेः हुल्ला having given support. उपाजेः कुशः or उपाजेः हुल्ला.

बालाम्बुअः निभिः (गतिः) विनाया खः निभिः बालाम्बुअः निभिः (गतिः) खः.
74. The words sākṣhāt, ‘in the presence of’ &c., are optionally called gati, when used along with the verb kri.

Vart.:—In the words sākṣhāt &c. the force of the affix इष्ठ is understood, namely making a thing what it was not before. As sākṣhāt kṛṣya or kṛṣya viṣayākṛṣya viṣayākṛṣya making evident what was concealed before.

75. The word urasi, ‘in the breast,’ and manasi ‘in the mind’ are optionally gati when the verb kṛi follows, provided that they are not used in the sense of ‘placing.’

As viṣayākṛṣya or viṣayākṛṣya; manasi kṛṣya or manasi kṛṣya. When it has the sense of placing we have viṣayākṛṣya aṣṭiḥ sāyate he lies down having clasped the hand on the breast, manasikṛṣya padeḥ word he ponders having placed the word in his mind.

76. And the words madhye ‘in the middle,’ pade ‘in the foot’ and nivachane ‘speechless’ are optionally gati, when kṛi follows, the sense not being of ‘placing.’

As madhye kṛṣya or kṛṣya; pade kṛṣya or kṛṣya; nivachane kṛṣya or kṛṣya.

But when it has the meaning of placing we have हसिन: sāyate aṣṭiḥ sāyate he lies down having put his head under the foot of the elephant.

77. The word haste ‘in the hand,’ pāṇau ‘in the hand’ are always and necessarily called gati when used with the verb kṛi in the sense of ‘marriage.’

As pāṇau kṛṣya or haste kṛṣya having married. But haste kṛṣya kāpūrṇa mānava he went out having taken in his hand a kāpūrṇa (a coin).
The indeclinable word prādhyam followed by the verb kri, is always called gati when used in the sense of binding.

The word prādhyam ends in यम and means 'favourably suitably.' When however it means 'bound' it is a gati: as, prādhyam having bound. But when not meaning to bind, we have:—prādhyam kriṣṇa shitā gata having made the carriage agreeable, he is gone.

The words Jīvika and upanishad followed by the verb kri are called gati when used in the sense of 'likeness or resemblance.'

As Jīvika kṛṣṇa having made it as if it was a means of living; upanishad—having made it like an upanishad. But Jīvika kṛṣṇa gata having made his livelihood he is gone.

The particles called gati and upasarga are to be employed before the verbal root: (that is to say, they are prefixes).

The word gata has been employed to include the term upasarga also. The preceding examples all illustrate the application of this rule.

In the chhandas (veda) these gati and upasarga are employed indifferently after the verbal root, as well as before it.

As—sādārājaḥ suṇataḥ prāya yamunaśnānātmanuḥ gatiḥstatha pitaḥ mṛtaḥ (Rig. 1. 2. 6).
In this we have ब्रह्मातः व इलाहां व यद्यानक आवृत्तिः। वै यद्यानक आवृत्तिः यथा भगवन् यद्यानक आवृत्तिः। वै यद्यानक आवृत्तिः।

32. In the chhandas (veda) these gati and upasarga are also seen separated from the verb by intervening words.

As:— इत्थ स्म श्रुति श्री सुधा द्रव यत्रोपनिसत्वभिः। इत्थ श्रुति श्री सुधा द्रव यत्रोपनिसत्वभिः (Rig. I. 2. 4). “Indra and vayu, here are soma—libations for you. Approach, ye with pleasures for us. For the libations are desiring you.” Here हृ is separated from the word भाष्य by the intervening word प्रवेषकः.

KARMA PRAYACHANIYA.

33. From this point as far as aphorism I. 4. 97 the particles treated of, are to be understood as having the name of karma-prayachaniya.

These particles govern a substantive and qualify a verb and differ from other particles termed upasarga and gati. As अनुसार भवना well praised by you. अनुसार भवना you have sprinkled. Here अनु is a karma prayachaniya and qualifies the sense of the verb, i.e., it is an adverb. It is not an upasarga, for had it been so it, would have changed the अनु into अनु (VIII. 3. 65). The term karma prayachaniya is a big term compared with other technical terms such as, प्र, निर, पु &c., which generally do not exceed more than two syllables. The word karma prayachaniya is not however merely a technical term; it contains within itself a definition of itself. It means that which qualifies or speaks about (शैलबर्तन) an action (कर्म) is so called.

34. The word अनु when it denotes a sign, is called karma-prayachaniya.

The word लक्षणम् means a sign; an attendant circumstance an invariable concomitant or accident in its logical sense and not merely an occasional concurrence. The force of लक्षणम् in this case is that of ‘after,’ ‘in consequence of,’ because of, or being indicated by.’ As अग्रवृत्त-प्रवेशम् it rained
after or in consequence of the muttering of prayers. To put it in other words, anu is a karmapra\-vachaniya when it governs the word which indicates the cause or the attendant circumstance of an action.

So also शाक्यनु, जात्रोपनु, परमानु, कर्मप्रवाचनिया, शाक्यनु. The God (clouds) rained having listened to the well performed reading, by Śākalya. The force of a karmapra\-vachaniya, therefore, when fully analysed will be found to be that of an upasarga whose verb is not expressed in the sentence but is understood; and because of its being so understood, the particle itself seems to govern the noun which in fact was governed by the unexpressed verb. Thus in the above example जात्रो is in the accusative case, apparently governed by the preposition बनु, but really governed by the verb भुनिर्भु understood.

So also शाक्यनु, जात्रोपनु, शाक्यनु. The Taurus sprinkled water after the sacrifice, भागवन् ढांचनिया प्रस: the people began sprinkling water after the rising of the canopus.

Why make unnecessarily this sū\-tra, when बनु would have been called karma par\-vachaniya even by force of sū\-tra 90 following, where also the word lakṣa\-na occurs? This is for the sake of indicating that the karmapra\-vachaniyas should always govern the accusative case (II. 3. 8) even in expressing बनु (II. 3. 23). Otherwise Rule 23rd of the third chapter of Book II would have set aside Rule 8 of the same by the maxim of परस्पर I. 3. 2; and would have caused a krama prava\-chaniya to govern an Instrumental case where the sense was that of hetu.

85. The word anu is karma-pravachaniya when it has the force of the third case.

The meaning of बनु in this case will be that of ‘with’ or along with. As नीतन् ढांचनिया शेना the army lying along side the river. रवाननु धारिता शेना lying along the slopes of the mountain.

86. The word anu is karma pra\-vachaniya when it is used in the sense of inferior or subordinate to.

The word बनु means ‘inferior,’ and being a comparative term requires the other term with which comparison is made, and which is superior; to complete the sense. In other words बनु governs the person to which others are inferior, in the accusative case. As बनुतायकachteवेशेषाया: ‘all grammarians are inferior to Śākalyana.’
87. The word upa when it means 'superior' or 'inferior to' is karma-pravachaniya.

That is when the sense is that of 'over, above,' or 'inferior as upa खारी Drona is above a khari. उप निम्ने karshapa a karshapa is more than a Nishka. In this sense उप governs the Locative of the thing which is inferior (II. 3.9). So also उप शास्त्राय वैष्णवाय: ‘all grammarians are inferior to Śākatāyana.’ In this sense उप governs the accusative case.

88. The words apa and pari are karma-pravachaniya when meaning 'exclusion.'

The force of अप and परि is in this case that of ‘with the exception of.’ As भवानिगिरियो दुर्गे it rained outside of or with the exception of Trigarta. So also परि निम्ने यो दुर्गे: In this sense they govern the noun excluded in the ablative case (II. 3.10). When not having these senses, they are not karma-pravachaniya. As शेष्न परिविक्षार: He waters the rice. Here it is an upasarga, and hence changes the ख into ख.

89. The word an as far as, is karma-pravachaniya when it expresses limit (e.g. when it means 'as far as inclusive of,' or 'as far as exclusive of.')

The word अन in the text shows that both sorts of limits are here meant. As भाषाजियिनियुद्धे it rained as far as (but excluding) Pātaliputra भाषाजियिनियुद्धे it rained as far as (including) Pātaliputra भाषाजियिनियुद्धे when it means ‘little’ or is a verbal prefix it does not get this name.

वर्णं संयुतात्यथा वाणीविन्यासस्तर्प्यन्त्र: || 87 || पदानि ||

वर्ण-मूलयोगतान-भाष-वीचाराण: परिबारिशत: || (कलेपम) ||
90. The words prati, pari and anu are karma pravachaniya when used in the sense of 'sign', 'division', 'share' and 'pervasion' severally.

As (1) पूर्ण प्राय-परि or भानु गीतोत्साहिते गीति 'the lightening is flashing in the direction of the tree.' (2) समुदायुक्ती मातारं परि—परि = भानु 'Devadatta is a good man as regards his mother.' (3) हरि परि ह्राहितं 'the poison fell to the share of Hara.' (4) वद्यवनं प्राय स्वातः that it may fall to my share. So with परि and भानु. (4) पूर्ण पूर्ण प्राय स्वातः he sprinkles one tree after another. So with परि and भानु.

अभि (प्राय-पारि) कर्मेनाद्रोहः

91. The word abhi is karma-pravachaniya, in the above senses of 'in the direction of', 'as regards', and 'each severally', but not when it means division, 'share' and 'of'.

The illustrations given under the last sūtra mutus mutandis apply here also, with the exception of those given under head (विवेर्ण) As पृथक् विवेर्णि विवृति; मातरं विवृति &c. But it is not karma-pravachaniya when भानु is meant. भानु means the share which is allotted to one as his own. As नित्यवृत्ति तथा हीरातारः give that which falls here to my share. Here abhi is an upasarga, and therefore अभि of अभि is changed into अभि.

प्राय-पारि पुरुषदांनाथः

92. The word prati is karma-pravachaniya when used in the sense of representative ('representative of') or exchange ('in exchange for.')

That which is like to the principal is called प्रार्थिनिष. Giving in return for what is obtained, is प्रार्थना. As भानुसन्यासायुक्तं प्रार्थना Abhi-manyu is the representative of Arjuna. भानुसन्यासायुक्तं प्रार्थिनिषि he exchanges Mādhavās for these sesamum. In these senses prati governs the Ablative (II. 3. 11).

अभी लिपि परि भानुसन्यासायुक्तं भानुसन्यासायुक्तं कर्मेनाद्रोहः

अभि परि भानुसन्यासायुक्तं भानुसन्यासायुक्तं कर्मेनाद्रोहः

भानुसन्यासायुक्तं प्रार्थिनिषि कर्मेनाद्रोहः

भानुसन्यासायुक्तं प्रार्थिनिषि कर्मेनाद्रोहः
93. The words adhi and pari are karma-pravachaniya when used as mere expletives.

As कृतं द्वारा प्रवचिति whence has he come? or एवं पद्य कथयिति. These words though mere surpluses, have been called karma-pravachaniya so that they may not get the designation of upasarga or gati and thus produce results peculiar to those words.

ह गुजायाम् ॥ दृष्ट ॥ पदानि ॥ धु, गुजायाम्, (कन्मेत्र) ॥

प्रसिद्ध: शु साध्य: गुजायामेण कर्मभवनीवर्षंटे नविति ॥

94. The word su is karma-pravachaniya in the sense of respect, (when it means 'excellently').

As पुर्विन् अन्तरा, रु शुरुद्ध अवस्था excellently sprinkled by your honor. Well praised by your honor. By not being an upasarga, it does not change the रु into र (VIII. 3. 65).

Why do we say 'when respect is meant'? Observe शुष्किन्द्र विल नागर has this your place been well sprinkled to-day.

अतिरिक्तमयेष ॥ रूः ॥ पदानि ॥ अति: अति: असंगे, वरः, (कन्मेत्र) गुजायाम् ॥

प्रसिद्ध: अति: शु: प्रकरणेण अन्तरानु गुजायांच अवस्था नविति ॥

95. The word ati in the sense of super-abundance ('excessively') and 'excellently' is karma-pravachaniya.

The word प्रकरणेण means to do more than what is necessary for the accomplishment of an object. The force of रु in the aphorism is to draw in the word गुजायाम् from the last. As अविनिर्वशेष गत्वा. It has abundantly been sprinkled by your honor, अतिरिक्तमयेष अवस्था also अविनिर्वशेष गत्वा excellently praised by your honor.

अति: पदार्थेण संसारान्वयंगहाँ सुमुखेषु ॥ दृष्ट ॥ पदानि ॥

अवि: पदार्थेण संसारान्वयंगहाँ सुमुखेषु (कन्मेत्र) ॥

प्रसिद्ध: पदार्थेण संसारान्वयंगहाँ समुखेषु च वर्णमाण: अवि: कर्मभवनीवर्षंटे नविति ॥

96. The word api is karma-pravachaniya, when it implies, the sense of word understood ('somewhat') or possibility (e.g., 'even' in the sense of such a great person), or permission to do as one likes, ('if you like'), or censure ('even' in the sense of what is disgraceful); or collection ('and').
The word एकार्थ means the sense of another word which is not expressed but has to be supplied. As वार्षिकवर्षिक स्वातः there may be perhaps a drop of ghee भूक्षणेष्वर्षिक स्वातः. Here some word like विन्दु 'a drop,' stoka 'a little' मात्राः 'a measure &c., has to be understood. The word संबन्ध means possibility, a supposition. As चारी लिचीये मुल्लछादः स्वचौऽइ एकार्थ possibly may sprinkle a thousand trees in one moment; चारी श्रावः स्वातः he may praise possibly, a king. In the above cases it is used with the potential mood. अचर्याः means indifference on the part of the speaker where he permits another to do as he likes. It is used with the Imperative mood. चारी लिचीये you may sprinkle if you like. चारी स्न्हिष you may praise if you like. The word एकार्थ means censure, contempt or reproof. आप्तायतो श्रेयस्याः विचित्रवृह एकार्थः. The word संयुक्त means cumulative. चारी स्न्हिष—अचर्येऽित्र स्न्हिष praise as well as sprinkle.

In all the above instances, the word not being an upasarga, does not change the स into श.

विषेषते एकार्थः एकार्थः पदार्थः विषेषः एकार्थः (कर्मप्रावचान)॥

विषेषः एकार्थः स्त्रायं द्वितीय व्याकरणं। सौर्य राजस्तोत्र संस्कृतम् कर्मप्रावचानित्वो भविष्ये॥

97. The word adhi is karma-pravachaniya when used in the sense of “lord” (“being as a lord” or “having as a lord”).

The word एकार्थ means ‘master,’ and it therefore requires another correlative word denoting ‘property’ of which one is master. The word adhi governs a Locative case. Sometime locative of the person possessing, sometime locative of the property possessed: as अपि श्रावः एकार्थः चंपाला: or अपि चंपाला एकार्थः. Brahmadatta rules over Pancharālas.

विभाषा कृति । ९८ ॥ पदार्थः विभाषा । कृति कर्मप्राव (अघिः)॥

कृति । अपि करोति विभाषा कर्मप्रावचानित्वो भविष्ये॥

98. The word adhi is optionally karma pravachaniya when the verb kṛi follows.

As ब्रह्म गाम्भिर कार्यप्राप्ति. Here the word गाम्भिर may be treated either as a गाम्भिर or a कार्यप्राप्ति. When it is a गाम्भिर the accent will be regulated by S. VIII. 1. 71; otherwise not.
99. The substitutes of झ are called parasmaipada.

The word झ is in the genitive case, and means 'of झ.' The word जाभेण 'substitutes' must be supplied to complete the sense. The term झ is a generic word for verb in general, viz., दि, दि चु, दि, दि दि, दि ति, दि ति ति दि. The substitutes of झ are the well known personal terminations by which the verbs are conjugated in those tenses. Namely the following.

**Parasmaipada.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Dual.</th>
<th>Plural.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Pers. निषेञ्जु</td>
<td>निषेञ्जु</td>
<td>निषेञ्जु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Pers. निषेञ्जु</td>
<td>निषेञ्जु</td>
<td>निषेञ्जु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Pers. निषेञ्जु</td>
<td>निषेञ्जु</td>
<td>निषेञ्जु</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And the affixes शान्त and ख्य (III. 2. 107, and 124, and III. 4. 78).

100. The nine affixes comprised under the Pratyâhâra tan and the two ending in ा (Sânach and Kânach), which are substitutes of झ are called Atmanepada.

The following are the Atmanepada affixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Dual.</th>
<th>Plural.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st झर्</td>
<td>झर्</td>
<td>झर्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd सा</td>
<td>सा</td>
<td>सा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd स</td>
<td>स</td>
<td>स</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And the affixes शान्त and ख्य (III. 2. 106).
101. The three triads in both the sets Parasmaipada and Atmanepada, of conjugal affixes (comprised under the general name tin, a pratyâhāra formed of the first and last of them, viz., tip and mahin) are called, in order, Lowest (3rd person of European Grammar, the middle (2nd person), and the highest (1st person).

Of the 19 conjugal affixes, above given; 9 are Parasmaipadi and 9 are Atmanepadi. Each of these two classes is subdivided into three classes, according to person, as shown in the above list.

102. These three triads of conjugal affixes, which have received the name of Lowest &c., are called (as regard the three expressions in each triad) severally "the expression for one" (singular), "the expression for two" (dual), and "the expression for many" (plural).

Of the six triads thus formed, each is divided according to number into three classes, viz., singular, dual, and plural.

103. Of sup (which is a Pratyâhāra formed of su the first of the case affixes and the final p of the last of them) the three expressions in each successive set of the three, are also severally called singular, dual and plural.
The sup or the case-affixes by which nouns are declined are 21 in number corresponding to the seven cases, see sūtra IV. 1. 2. They also have three numbers singular, dual and plural.

The word विनिर्देश means a complete triad. Thus निर्देश means the three affixes of the seventh case, i.e., the locative singular, dual, and plural. So प्रथम विनिर्देश means the third person, singular, dual, and plural.

105. When the pronoun yushmad, “thou” understood, and also when the same expressed, is the attendant word in agreement with the verb, then there is the verbal termination called the middle (2nd person).

This defines the 2nd person of conjugational affixes. As श्रेष्ठ प्रतिष्ठ thou cookest or परिष्ठ; दुष्क परिष्ठ or परिष्ठ: you two are cooking; दुष्क परिष्ठ or परिष्ठ you cook.

106. When joke is implied with reference to an action, the verb denoting it is used in the 2nd person; provided that the word manya ‘to think’ is the attendant word (upapada) of such verb, and of the verb manya itself, the affix must be of the 1st person and singular number.
The word सहस्र घण्यासम्भव्य घण्यास शर्मः. As एवं मन्ये सोहने मोक्षे दृष्टि; नान्द सोहने, मुक्तः: श्रवणिनिधिः. Thus thou thinkest 'I shall eat rice,' thou shalt not eat, that has been eaten by a guest. दृष्टि मन्ये द्रव्याशयति नान्द द्वाराचयति, आक्षेपः से विष्ठा. I think thou wilt go by the chariot, no, thou wilt not, thy father has gone before thee on it. When joke is not intended, the proper persons should be used: as, दृष्टि मन्ये द्रव्याशयति नान्द से. Thus thou thinkest 'I shall eat rice.'

सहस्रसम्भव्यः: ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि: अस्माद् प्रत्ययः, प्रत्ययः: (उपपद् चमा-
नापिनिर्देशः स्वानिमेव भ) ॥

सूति: ॥ अस्माद् प्रत्ययः समानार्थिकेऽथ विद्युष्यन्तेऽथ व स्ता प्रत्ययेऽथ विद्युष्यन्तेऽथ भवति ॥

107. When the pronoun asmad "I," understood and also when expressed, is the attendant word in agreement with the verb, then there is the verbal termination called the Highest or the 1st person.

This is clear. As अहं व्याजर्वम् I cook, or merely प्रत्ययेऽपायोऽपायः: or merely प्रत्ययः.

शेषे प्रत्ययः: ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि: शेषे प्रत्ययः: ॥

सूति: ॥ शेषे प्रत्ययेऽथ समानार्थिकेऽथ रसः: समान् प्रत्ययेऽथ विद्युष्यन्तेऽथ भवति ॥

108. In the other cases, namely where, "thou" or "I" are not the attendant words in agreement with the verb, there is the verbal termination called the Lowest (or 3rd person).

As अहं he cooks, अस्माद् they two cook. प्रत्ययेऽपायोऽपायः.

पर: विनिदेखः विद्विलोऽऽि ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि: पर: विनिदेखः ,

संहिता ॥

सूति: ॥ परे व: विनिदेखः वर्णान्तः चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्वश्चाप्राक्षात्

109. The closest proximity of letters, there being the intervention of half a मात्रा or prosodical length between them, is called contact or sanhita.

When words are in sanhita, they are glued together by the rules of sandhi. As श्रावत् = श्र and प्राया. 
110. The cessation or the absence of succeeding letters is called pause or avasāna.

The word avasāna occurs in sūtras VIII. 3. 15 &c.