BOOK SECOND.
CHAPTER FIRST.

समर्थः पद्विषिः || पदार्थः समर्थः , पद-विषिः ||

पूजः पञ्चपञ्चमः , चार्थिकि शाश्व मार्गिति: भूवनेश्व व समर्थेश्वाः ||

1. A rule which relates to complete words (and not to the roots and affixes out of which the words are constructed) is to be understood to apply only to those words the senses of which are connected.

1. This is a paribhāṣā or interpreting aphorism. Wherever in this Grammar a पद्विषि is found, that must be understood to apply to समर्थ words. A rule relating to वा or complete words is called पदार्थ. The word पद्विषि is formed by adding वि to the root भूवनेश्व; that which is ordained (विर्योगे) is called वि. What are those rules which are ordained with regard to complete words? They are as follows.—(1) Rules relating to समर्थ or compounding of words; (2) Rules relating to विर्योग or the application of declensional and conjugational affixes; (3) and the rule by which one word is considered as if it had become a constituent member of another word (पराभवश: भूवनेश्व).

The word समर्थ means capable; that is to say, that which is capable of expressing the sense of a sentence on analysis, is called समर्थ; or the word समर्थ may mean that which depends upon words as connected in sense; that is to say, a rule relating to words whose senses are connected together.

Thus it will be taught in सृत्र 24 'a word ending with the second case-affix is optionally compounded with the words भिन्न, धातिक &c. and forms तत्पुरूष compound;' as, कः भिन्न = कः भिन्नक: ‘who has had recourse to pain.' But when these words are not समर्थ or connected in sense there can be no compounding; as, परम देशस्य कर्म, भिन्न (विर्योगिन्यन्ति) रूपस्वार्थम् 'see O Devadatta, the pain, Vishnumitra has taken recourse to his teacher's house.' Here the words कः and भिन्न though read in juxtaposition are not compounded, as they are not समर्थ.
Similarly, it will be taught in sūtra 30 'a word ending with the 3rd case-affix is optionally compounded' with what denotes that the quality of which is instrumentally caused by the thing signified by what ends with the 3rd case-affix and with the word अर्थ 'wealth'; as, चिंकूलव्य + लघुक: = चिंकूलव्यालघुक : 'a piece cut by nippers.' Here also when the words are not connected in sense there is no composition; as, वारिष्ठविकः चिंकूलव्य , सम्यो देवदत्तः अपकेल 'thou shalt do it with the nippers, Devadatta is cut by the stones.'

Similarly, sūtra 36 declares, 'a word ending with the 4th case-affix, is compounded optionally with what denotes that which is for the purpose of what ends with the 4th case-affix, and so too with the words अर्थ , बलित &c.'

Thus गुप्त + शर = गुप्तशर 'wood for a stake.' But when these words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, गुप्त + शर = गुप्तशर 'fear by reason of a wolf.' But when these words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, गुप्त + शर = गुप्तशर 'fear of wolves from the wolves, there is fear to Devadatta from Yajñadatta.

Similarly, sūtra 37 declares 'a word ending with the 5th case-affix may be compounded with the word नर; as, गुप्तेष्वो + नर = गुप्तनर 'fear by reason of a wolf.' But when these words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, गुप्त + शर = गुप्तशर 'come thou to me from the wolves, there is fear to Devadatta from Yajñadatta.

Similarly, sūtra 11. 2. 8 declares 'a word ending with the 6th case-affix is optionally compounded with what ends with a case-affix; as, राष्ट्र: पुर्णो = राष्ट्रपुर्ण: 'the king's man.' But when the words are not सम्बव, there is no composition: as राष्ट्र: राष्ट्र: पुर्णो देवदत्त: 'the wife of the king, the man of Devadatta.'

Similarly, sūtra 40 declares. 'A word ending with the 7th case-affix is optionally compounded with the word शत्रुः 'skilled.' as, शत्रुः शत्रुः = शत्रुः शत्रुः 'skilled in dice.' But when the words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, शत्रुः शत्रुः, शत्रुः शत्रुः 'thou art skilled in dice, the gambler drinks in the tavern.'

Why have we used the word एः 'a complete word' in the sūtra? So that this सम्बवः परिन्धः may not apply to वर्णविधि i.e. rules relating to letters.

Thus rules of सम्बवः 'conjunction of letters' are वर्णविधि and not परिन्धः; and therefore the condition of being connected in sense, does not apply here. Two words however disconnected in sense, must be glued together by the rules of sandhi, if those rules are applicable. Thus sūtra VI. 1. 77 declares: 'instead of a letter denoted by the pratyāhāra हः, there is one denoted by the pratyāhāra यः, in each instance, where one denoted by the pratyāhāra हः immediately follows;' as, शध : + दशाः = दशाः. This substitution of एः for हः will take place, whether the words are in construction or not, as
Parangavat words.

1. The word श्रावणिते 'let the curd remain, eat thou with the vegetable curry.' So also श्रावणिते श्रावणिते 'let the girl be, take the umbrella from Devadatta.' Here the augment हु क (it subsequently changed into श्र) comes between श्रावणिते and श्रावणिते, though the two words are not connected in sense (VI. 1. 76).

2. A word ending in sup or a case affix, when followed by a word in the vocative case, is regarded as if it was the anāga or component part of such subsequent vocative word, when a rule relating to accent is to be applied.

In other words, the word ending in a case-affix enters, as if, into the body of the vocative (āmantrita) word; as it will be taught in sūtra VI. 1. 198 which declares 'a word ending in a vocative case-affix, gets the udātta accent on the beginning i.e., first syllable.' Now, this rule will apply even when a word ending with a case-affix precedes such word in the vocative case. Thus the word श्रावणिते 'O two lords!' has udātta on the first syllable. Now, when this word is preceded by another inflected noun as श्रुति 'of prosperity,' the accent will fall on श्रुति, the two words being considered as a single word; as:—हुण्डिका राजा गाम्बर्धिका (क्रोधां) गाम्बर्धिका. Rig. I. 3. 1. 'O Asvins, riding on quick horses, lords of prosperity, and bestowers of plenty of food, eat the sacrificial offerings to your satisfaction.' So also in the following:—कुस्तिदल 'O thou wandering with a bowl. परार्जित 'O thou cutting with an axe.' नारायण जानक 'O thou king of Madras.' करण 'Gārga is at home.'

Why do we say 'a word ending with a case-affix?' If the preceding word ends with any other affix than a case-affix, this rule will not apply. As पीर 'being a तिथिति (a verb) is not considered as an anāga of the vocative word.

Why do we say 'when followed by a word in the vocative case?' This rule will not apply when the subsequent word is not a vocative. As गार्गा 'Gārga is at home.'
Why do we say 'of the subsequent'? It will not be a part of the vocative word which precedes. As वैधवयु सूक्ष्मास्त्र 'O Devadatta wandering with a bowl.' Here सूक्ष्मास्त्र has not become part of Devadatta, but of the subsequent word बलत्र.

Why do we say 'an āṅga or component part'? Both must be considered as one word for the application of the rule of accent, so that the first syllable of each word separately may not get the udāṭya.

Why do we say 'as if or चै।' It is not altogether the body of the subsequent word; rules depending upon its own separate independent existence also take effect.

Thus rule VIII. 1. 55 declares 'a word ending in the vocative case is not anudāṭya there when intervening a word between itself and चापः; as, अन्न कुष्ठेनार्थ. Here कुष्ठेन is considered a separate word for the purposes of Rule VIII. 1. 55 and is said to intervene between चापः and the vocative word बलत्र.

Why do we say 'for the purposes of the application of rule of accent?' For the purposes of the application of any other rule, it will not be the āṅga of the subsequent word; as, सूक्ष्मेविषयं 'O thou sprinkling in the well:' चरित्र नामः. Here had कुष्ठेन and चोक्ष्य been the āṅgas of the subsequent words for all purposes, the अ and इ would have been changed into ए and य respectively by Rules VII. 4. 2 &c.

\textit{Vart}:—When a word ending in a case-affix becomes, as if, the component part of the subsequent word, it becomes so even when there are several words in apposition with it which intervene between it and the vocative word; because that, of itself, does not constitute want of immediateness. Thus श्रीदेवां चैव श्रीदेवं 'O thou sewing with a sharp needle.' श्रीदेवां चैव श्रीदेवं.

\textit{Vart}.—Prohibition must be stated of indeclinable words. As अवस्थितिव्रीण 'O thou reading loudly.' अवस्थितिव्रीण.

मान्ति: \| पदार्थं \| मान, कहाराल, कहानाराल, कहाराल, कहाराल, कहाराल, कहाराल, कहाराल, कहाराल.

3. From this point up to the aphorism kaḍa-rakarmadharase (II. 2. 38), all the terms that we shall say describe will get the designation of samāsa or compound.
Thus it will be stated. 'The indeclinable word श्रुत when not meaning like unto.' Here the word श्रुत must be read into the sūtra to complete the sense. In fact this chapter and the second chapter treat of compounds and therefore the word compound must be read in all those aphorisms.

The word prāk is employed for the same purpose as it was used in I. 4. 56 that is to give the designation of साधन to various technical terms like अवधेनाधि &c. which otherwise would not have got the name of साधन.

सह सुप • ॥ ॥ पदाविल • सह , सुप ( सुप साधन:) • ॥

मुखिण:। सुनिधिः सुनिधिः सुनिधिः रूपंरः सुपंरः बर्तिक बर्तिक गुरुविष्मण्य स्वनेषु पुरुषस्त्र प्रादेशिक ॥

4. The words 'saha supa' meaning 'with a word ending in a case-affix,' are to be understood in each of the succeeding aphorisms.

In this aphorism the word सुप is understood from sūtra 2, so that it consists of three words vis., सुप, सह, सुप. All these three words jointly and severally, one at a time or two at a time, should be understood as governing the succeeding aphorisms, as the contingency of each sūtra may require. This aphorism will constantly be applied in translating the sūtras that follow.

Why have we used the word सह? Well, without it the sūtra would have stood thus: सुप सुप 'a noun may be compounded with another noun.' But this overlooks the case of a compounding with a verb. The word सह is therefore used so that we may be able to break this composite sūtra into two separate and simple sūtras, namely:

(1). सह , सुप, समवेत्ते समवेत्र 'a case-inflected word may be compounded with a word with which it is connected in sense.' Here the word सह with the help of the three words सुप taken from sūtra 2, समवेत्ते from sūtra 3, and समवेत्र from sūtra 1, forms one complete aphorism, and applies to compounds like अनुवचनाद्वित्यपुरुषस्त्र. The accent will depend upon these being considered as samāsa.

(2). सुप श्रुत, सुप, पसिद्वने a sup-inflected word is compounded with another sup-inflected word. The compound which does not fall within any of the various sorts of compounds to be treated of hereafter, will fall under this general head of compounds; as, पुरुषस्त्र साधन देव्य पुरुषस्त्रो स्त्र: This also is for the sake of accents.
5. From this forward whatever we shall describe will get the name of Avyayibhāva samāsa or adverbial compound.

This is also an adhikāra aphorism like the last. As far as sūtra 21, the compounds treated of, will get the designation of Avyayibhāva. The word Avyayibhāva like the word karaṇapṛiti is a self-descriptive term, and not an arbitrary term like दि, दि &c. When that which was not an indeclinable becomes an indeclinable, it is called Avyayibhāva or 'becoming an indeclinable.' In the Avyayibhāva compound the sense of the first of its elements is the main one or the independent one on which the other depends.

6. An indeclinable (avaya) employed with the sense of an inflective-affix (vibhakti) or of near to, or prosperity, or adversity, or absence of the thing, or departure, or not now, or the production of some sound, or after, or according to, or order of arrangement, or simultaneousness, or likeness, or possession, or totality, or termination, is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is connected with it in sense, and the compound so formed is called Avyayibhāva.

The words चुरु and चुरा are understood in this sūtra. The word चुरा should be read as connected with every one of the above phrases.
1. निविष्करणसि—As अभिविष्करित् 'a story relating to women.'

2. यथाविष्कर—As विष्कर्ति 'near to the jar.'

3. नाजुकविष्कर—As सुलानि well or prosperous with the Madras';

4. बुद्धविष्कर—As बुद्धसारिकै 'ill with the Gavadiyas';

5. अलाविष्कर—As अलाविष्कर 'free from flies';

6. अवबिष्कर—As अवबिष्क 'on the departure of the cold weather';

7. अन्वजज्ञाति—As अन्वजज्ञात 'past (not now) the time of wearing quilts.'

8. उपस्थापनविष्कर—As उपस्थापति 'the exclamation Hari' (thus उपस्थापति 'in the house of the Vaishnava there is the cry of Hari Hari').

9. अवधारण—As अवधारण 'the infantry after the chariots.'

10. अवधारण—The meaning of the word यथा is four-fold, viz. correspondence, severality or succession, the not passing beyond something, and likeness; thus (1) अवधारण 'in a corresponding manner.' (2) अवधारण 'according to each or several object or signification.' (3) अवधारण 'according to one's ability.'

11. अवधारण—As अवधारण अवधारण 'let your honors enter in the order of seniority.'

12. यथाविष्कर—As यथाविष्कर 'simultaneously with the wheel.'

13. यथाविष्कर—As यथाविष्क 'like a friend.'

14. यथाविष्कर—As यथाविष 'as warriors ought.'

15. यथाविष्कर—As यथाविष 'even to the grass' i.e. the whole, not leaving even a scrap.

16. यथाविष्कर—As यथाविष as far as the chapter of fire (i.e. the whole Veda).

यथा यथाविष्कर || 6 || पदार्थ || यथा , यथाविष्कर || (सनके हुषु शुष्क अवधारणसि) 

7. The indeclinable word yathā when it does not signify 'likeness' is invariably compounded with a
word ending in a case-affix which is in construction with it and the compound is called an Avyatibhāva Samāsa.

Thus चयाचयूक्तः साध्योऽनामगतसत्त्व यावत invite every old Brahmana. So also यावतसन्धि.

Why do we say ‘when not signifying likeness’? For there is no composition when likeness is indicated. As यावतसन्धित्वलया बनास: As is Devadatta so is Yajñadatta.

This samāsa could have been included in the last sūtra clause 10, but making a separate sūtra shows that the word यावतसन्धित्व there, must be limited by the present sūtra, to first three meanings of the word यावत given there and not to its fourth meaning. viz. there is no compounding when it means likeness.

यावतसन्धित्वलया || 8 || पदानि || यावत्, अनवारणे, (वषयपा अवयवसन्धित्वलया) ||

वृजः: यावत्सन्धित्वलया वर्तमाने न न स नस्ते भव्योध्ववश वर्तमाने नस्ते नवतः

8. The indeclinable word यावत when it signifies limitation, is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is in construction with it, and the compound so formed is called Avyatibhāva.

The word अवयवसन्धित्व means accurate ascertainment, restriction or limitation. As, यावत् मव यावतसन्धित्वलया ‘invite so many Brāhmaṇas only and not more as there are pots’: i.e., if there are five pots then invite five Brāhmaṇas; if six pots, then invite six Brāhmaṇas.

Why do we say ‘when meaning limitation’? Observe यावत् मव यावतसन्धित्वलया ‘I ate so long as it was given to me,’ i.e. I donot know for certainty how much I have eaten.

म्युप्रतिनिर्माणार्यन् || 9 || पदानि || इपु, प्रतिना, सात्ता-अर्थः

वृजः: यावत्सन्धित्वलया वर्तमानेन प्रतिना नव यावत्सन्धित्वलया भव्योध्ववश वर्तमाने नस्ते नवतः

9. A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with the indeclinable word prati, when meaning ‘a little’ and the compound is called Avyatibhāva.
The word नात्ता means 'a drop,' 'a little,' 'a wee bit,' as, शालकापि 'a little of vegetable,' सून्दरि 'a little of soup.'

Why do we say 'when meaning a little'? Observe वृक्ष पति विस्तृतं रियुद् 'it lightens in the direction of the tree.' Here it is not compounded.

Though the word sup was, by anuvritti from sūtra 2, understood in this sūtra, its repetition in the text is for the purpose of indicating that the anuvritti of the word संवेद which began with sūtra 6 does not extend further into the subsequent sūtras.

The word ब्रह्म being exhibited in the 3rd case-affix is not an upasar-jana (I. 2. 43) and therefore, it comes as the last member of the compound (II. 2. 30).

शंकाकालिणी: परिणा || नो || पदानि || अल-शाडाका-शंकानि,
परिणा, (अल्लोधिय) ||

शंकानि: शलाकापि: संवेदानुव हरिषा धः संवेदानुव धः संवेदानुव धः संवेदानुव धः

10. The words aksha, 'a die for playing with,' salākā 'an ivory piece used in gambling,' and saṅkṣhyā 'numerals' are compounded with the word pari, and the compound formed is called आयुष्टियभावा.

This ब्रह्म is restricted to terms applicable to gambling. Thus there is a game called panchikā which is played with five dice or five ivory pieces. When all these five pieces fall with faces turned upward, or all with faces turned down, then the thrower wins the game. But when the fall is otherwise, he loses. Thus शुभार 'an unlucky throw of dice.' शालकापि, 'an unlucky throw of ivory pieces;' so also शिर 'an unlucky throw by one over' शिर, निरिर and lastly शिर. This is the maximum. But when five are of one form, then of course, he wins.

विमापि || नो || पदानि || विमापि ||

11. The word vibhāsha or option governs all succeeding sūtras.

This is an adhikāra sūtra. All the rules of compounding given hereafter, are optional. The same sense can be expressed by the uncompounded words as by them when compounded. But not so are the compounds which have been treated of, before. Compounds like सून्दरि, सवापूर्वि, शालकापि &c. mentioned above are invariable compounds (विस्त नात्ता), the sense conveyed by the compound term, not being capable of analysis, by taking the senses of
the separate members of the compounds, or at least not capable of expressing any sense without inserting extraneous words on analysis.

अर्थसहिष्णुः पञ्चवर्गः ॥ १२ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ अप-परि-बहिः-बच्चयः; पञ्चवर्गम् (वर्गोऽविन्दो) ॥

पुस्तिः ॥ भर गारी बहिः भग्नु हस्तंदेन सुनन्नाः पञ्चवर्गस्हन वह विभाया समस्ते बच्च्ययी- भाव्य वच्च्ययी महति ॥

12. The words apa, pari, bāhiḥ and indeclinables ending in aṇchu may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix, and the compound so formed will be Āvyayābhāva.

As ब्रह्मचर्यं पुरोऽः हेतुः or अभिलेखेन स्योऽः पुरोऽः हेतुः 'it rained away from Trigarta.' So also, परिरत्नं or परिरत्नसंस्यः 'round about Trigarta,' ब्रह्मचर्यं or बहिःनामाः विभाया 'outside of the village' गारी गारी or गारी गारी 'east of the village.'

Words formed from the verb अन्न 'to go,' are वर्गं 'north' वर्गं 'east,' &c.

From this sthāra we learn by inference (jñāpaka) that the word वच्च्याय also governs the ablative case (see II. 3. 29).

आष्ट्र सङ्गविंदुबिधिच्छ: ॥ १३ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ आष्ट्र, सङ्गविंदु-अप्रस्थ- बिधिच्छः; (संघविंदुपञ्चवर्गम् च) ॥

पुस्तिः ॥ बालाश्वात्मकः दायाधारायचिद्विधिच्छः च वर्गवर्गः पञ्चवर्गस्हन वह विभाया समस्ते, वर्गवर्गम् समस्ते महति ॥

13. The word अन when signifying limit exclusive or limit inclusive, may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix and the compound so formed is called Āvyayābhāva.

As, स्थानालम्पुरं or स्थानालम्पुरस्तु 'it rained up to Pātaliputra,' भाकुराः or भाकुरायाः ब्रह्म 'बालिः 'the fame of Pāṇini extends even to the boys.'

लक्षणनामप्रती आभ्युतः ॥ १४ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ लक्षणः, अभि- प्रती, आभ्युताः; (संघविंदुस्मी) ॥

पुस्तिः ॥ लक्षणमिव कर्मरूपस्मान साधारणः सहायमयावसाहित्यावस्थेण वर्गवर्गः विभाया समस्ते वधिकर्भ्या वधिकर्भ्या महति ॥

14. The words abhi and prati when implying direction (towards), are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix denoting the limit, or the
goal which regulates or marks the direction; and the resulting compound is Avayayibhava.

The word lakṣaṇa means a sign goal. See also I. 4. 84 and 90 for a further explanation of this word. As श्लेष्मिः or पल्लिनमि शतमः पल्लिनि ‘the moths fall in the direction of fire.' So also प्रवेक्षि or वृद्धो गति, the sense being, that making the fire their aims (लक्ष्य) they fall towards it.

Why do we say 'when meaning lakṣaṇa'? Observe दुर्गो देवि गति: 'he turned back and went towards Srughna i.e., having turned back he went only towards the direction of Srughna but not to that place itself.

Why do we say the words abhi and prati? Observe वेशनेन स्वेन: 'he went in the direction of the fire.'

Why do we say 'when meaning direction towards'? Observe भ-गति गति: or प्रव-गति: 'the recently marked cows.'

अनुसुद्धारणम् II १५ II पदार्थम् II अनुः: प्रति-समया, (बौधविवर्ध-सन्त लक्षणेन) ३

पुष्टि: II श्रद्ध्वयं स्वीस्वाभिः सेव नक्षत्रभूते वष विषयेन सम्बन्धे वर्ण-सर्वार्थ-समासा अर्थिः II

15. The word anu 'near to' is optionally compounded with that word, nearness to which is indicated by the particle, and the resulting compound is Avayayibhava.

As, श्रद्ध्वयं श्रद्ध्वयिः 'the thunder bolt fell near the forest.'

Why do we say अनुः? Observe दर्श समया 'near the forest.'

Why do we say 'when compounded with the word, nearness to which is indicated'? Observe पुष्पस्थि स्वाघि मेि 'it lightens towards the tree.'

Though this compounding was valid even by sutra 6, because nearness is mentioned there also; it is repeated here in order to show that an Avayayibhava compound mentioned here is an optional compound after all, and not an invariable compound like others.

यस्य चायान: II १६ II पदार्थम् II यस्य, च आयामः, (बौध-विवर्ध-श्रद्ध्वयं अनुः) II

पुष्टि: II चंद्रेवन्द्यायायायं सेव लक्षणोपन वष विषयेन सम्बन्धे वर्ण-यक्ष-समासा अर्थिः II
16. The word anu ‘alongside of’ is optionally compounded with the word indicative of that whose length the particle expresses, and the compound so formed is called Avyayībhāva.

As, अनुसारे मात्र 'the city of Benares extends alongside the river Ganges' अनुसारे मात्र Mathura, alongside of the Yamuna, the length of Mathura being measured by that of the Yamuna.'

Why do we say ‘length’? Observe पृष्ठमुख विश्वास्वर विषयते 'at the time when the cows stand to be milked,' &c. are Avyayībhāva compounds.

The words तिष्ठित्वा &c. are all irregularly formed Avyayībhāva compounds. Most of these words are epithets of various times. The force of श्रेय in the sūtra is restrictive, that is to say these words always form the Avyayībhāva compound and nothing else. They are as follow:—

17. And the words tishṭhadgu, ‘at the time when the cows stand to be milked,’ &c. are Avyayībhāva compounds.

18. The words pāra ‘across,’ and madhya ‘middle’ may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the sixth case-affix, when they take the forms pāra and madhaye, and the compound so formed is Avyayībhāva.

Ordinarily these words would have formed Possessive Tatpurusha compounds. The present sūtra ordains Avyayībhāva instead. The force of
IRREGULAR FORMATIONS.

in the text is that the Genitive Tatpurusha compounding also takes place in the alternative. As, पत्रेबाजुर् or तुक्तायुः अक्षर को 'across the Ganges.' नवनानाम् or गन्धार्धर्ष प्रवेश्याम् 'middle of the Ganges.'

Of course according to the option allowed by एङ्ग्र I. 11, this compounding need not take place at all, the same sense being expressed by a phrase; as पत्रे गंगाया: or गन्धार्धर्ष प्रवेश्यामाः.

संस्या दशस्याः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ संस्या, दशस्याः, (संविशिष्टस्याः) ॥

१८। आङ्ग्र वह: वर्गः तद्वायोऽवदित्ता संस्या समस्याः भवनेस्तिमण्डल सघनिः श्रेयिः ॥

19. A numeral may be compounded with a word denoting ‘one belonging to a family’ and the resulting compound is Aवययिय्हवाय.

The word वर्ग means uninterrupted descent of persons from a common source whether through birth or knowledge. A succession of teachers and pupils, of ancestors and descendants &c., would constitute a वर्ग ‘family.’ One born in or belonging to such a वर्ग is called a वर्ग or descendant.

As, हिंदुनि महाकारणव ‘of the Vyākaraṇa which has two sages as its principal expounders viz., Pāṇini and Patanjali. So, हिंदुनि महाकारणव ‘having three representatives viz. Pāṇini, Patanjali and Sakataśyana or Kātyāyana.’

When we desire to express their equality as regards knowledge, then both the words are put in the same case: as हिंदुनि or हिंदुनि महाकारणव.

So also when the relationship is by birth: as, एकार्णिः आद्वाने व्रजस्वायनी Twenty-one Bhāradwajas. These a subsequent compounds are like Dvīgu.

नर्त्रस्फ नृत्रस्फ, ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ नर्त्रस्फः, ॥ (संविशिष्टस्याः) ॥

२०। आङ्ग्र may be compounded with names of ‘rivers’ and the resulting compound is Aवययिय्हवाय denoting an aggregate.

According to Patanjali this refers to their Aggregate (स्थङ्ग); as स्थङ्ग ‘at the meeting of the seven Ganges,’ हियुमां ‘at the meeting of the two Yamunas, शस्त्रत्व ‘where the five rivers meet,’ शस्त्रोऽवस्त्र ‘where seven Godavaris’ meet.’ See II. 4. 1, 17.

वर्गः शस्त्रतवाचा ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवययिय्हवायः, ॥ शस्त्रतवाचा याः, (संविशिष्टस्फः) ॥

२१। आङ्ग्र is that स्थङ्गतवाचः शस्त्रवाचः उपस्थता स्थङ्गवाचः वर्गः शस्त्रवाचः मनोरथोऽवगत।
21. A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with words denoting the names of rivers, when the compound word denotes a thing other than that expressed by the terms of the compound, and is an appellative; the compound so formed being an Āvya-yādhāva.

The anuvṛtti of the word saṁkhyā does not extend to this sūtra. Though this rule is given in the subdivision relating to optional compounds, it is, however, a Nitya-samāsa rule: for no Name (नाम) can ever be expressed by a sentence, and that being so, these compounds can never be analysed. As, तथ्यतिग्रह ‘the country called Unmatta Ganges.’ So also श्रीतत्त्वपञ्चम, कुञ्जायणसमा, गृहन्यिनम्। II. 4. 18.

Why do we say ‘when it denotes a thing other than that expressed by the component parts of the compound?’ Observe कूञ्जायणम् the ‘river Krishnavēpa.’

Why do we say ‘when it expresses an Appellative?’ Observe श्रीतत्त्वपञ्चमम् वेय: ‘the country where the Ganges moves rapidly.’

तत्तपुरुषः || २२ || पदानिर्व || तत्तपुरुषः ||

पुरुषः || तत्तपुरुष इति संता-पञ्चमस्यप्राय: प्राण:वर्णवेयः, बौँवित कृञ्जनमुक्तनिश्चातसत्तपुरुषसमायः कृञ्जनावेयः ||

22. From this apophorism as far as aphorism II. 2, 23, the word Tat-puruṣa is the governing word, and is understood in all the following sūtras.

From this sūtra as far as the sūtra II. 2, 23 relating to Bahuvrihi compounds, the word Tat-puruṣa should be read into each sūtra. This big term is of older coinage than that of Pāṇinī, being, in fact, made by older grammarians. In the Tat-puruṣa compound, the sense of the last of its elements is the main one, and governs the preceding one. The Karma-dhāraya (Appositional Determinative Compound) and Dwigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) are also subdivisions of this class of compounds. The rest of this chapter and 22 sūtras of the second, deal with this.

पदानिर्व || २३ || पदानिर्व || तत्तपुरुषः ||

पुरुषः || तत्तपुरुष इति संता-पञ्चमस्यप्राय: प्राण:वर्णवेयः ||

23. And the kind of compound called Dwigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) is also called Tat-puruṣa.
The object of making Dwigu a subdivision of Tat-puruśa Compound is that the समाश्रय affixes and rules given in V. 4. 68-160 should apply to Dwigu also. Otherwise we could well have dispensed with this sutra; as sutra 52 of this chapter already defines Dwigu. Thus भ्रमण V. 4. 91 fem. वेदांत (IV, 15, 21), 'an aggregate of 5 pieces' भ्रमण V. 4. 89, वेदांत 'an aggregate of 5 cows.' भ्रमण 'an aggregate of ten cows.' V. 4. 92.

24. A word ending with the second case-affix is compounded with the words śrīta 'who has had recourse to,' atīta 'gone by,' putīta 'who has fallen upon,' gata 'who has gone to,' atyasta 'who has passed,' prāpta 'who has obtained,' and āpanna 'who has reached,' and the resulting compound is called Tat-puruśa.

As कर्म + भित्र = कर्मभिक्रिया: 'who has had recourse to trouble.' वर्कृतिः.
So also:—कामवासी: 'who has passed over the dreary forest.' वर्कृतिः: 'fallen into hell.' भान्ति: 'gone to village.' संप्रास्तास: 'passed the waves.' तुषार: 'who has reached pleasure.' भुतान: 'who has obtained happiness.'

Vart:—The words गानि, गानि &c. should also be included. As गानि, गानि।
सात्त्विक; बृहस्तुणुः.

स्वयं सूत्र ॥ २५ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ भ्रमण, सूत्र, (संग्रहिताध्य) ॥

25. The indeclinable word swayam 'oneself' is compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, and the resulting compound is called Tat-puruśa.

The anuvṛtti of the word भ्रमण from the last aphorism into this, cannot take place; though, however, it is understood in the next sutra. The word स्वयं being an Indeclinable, cannot take any case-affix. As स्वयं पीयि पशी 'feet washed by himself' स्वयं प्रियोग्यमायवृः.

In this compounding, the two words do not appear to have undergone any change after their composition. They are the same as they were before the composition. But by calling their juxtaposition, 'a compound,'
two indirect advantages are gained. Namely these two words are regarded as one word, and their accent is also similarly regulated. See Rule VI. I. 223.

The words ending in kta which is a Nishṭā affix, are past participles.

अङ्क । २६ ॥ पदार्थ । खुद्र, खनि, (षपितानमहे)

(व्याख्या) ॥

युक्ति ॥ खुद्रामदी प्रविश्याता स्नातनेन यह क्षेत्रे मम्माने समस्तवे, वस्थुस्थि समावी भविष्य ॥

26. The word khatwa in the accusative case is compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, when censure is implied, and the compound so formed is Tat-purusha.

The word क्षेत्र means 'censure,' 'blame' and this sense can be connoted only by the compound word as a whole and not by any of its constituent elements. This compound is also, therefore, a Nitya Compound, though it occurs in the subdivision relating to Optional Compounds:—because it is impossible to analyse such a compound and express, by means of स वेदम्, the sense conveyed by the function of the compound word.

As खुद्रक: or खुद्रावस (literally lying on a bed); silly, stupid, going wrong or astray.

There is no compounding when 'censure is not meant. As खुद्रमाफळक: 'lying on a bed.'

Why this word should have this opprobrious meaning, will be understood from the consideration of the following facts:—a person under the Aryan social polity, could only then enter the married state or the life of a house-holder, as it was called, when he had completed his Brahmacharīya i.e. the prescribed period of bachelor studentship. All Brahmacharis were bound to sleep on ground and not on खुद्र or cots, so long as they were Brahmachāris. A person who without completing his studies, and without obtaining the permission of his teacher, entered into matrimony, was originally called, in reproach, खुद्रक: 'who had ascended the couch in an improper way.' Then the term was extended to all persons guilty of vile action.

साङ्क ॥ २७ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ साङ्क, (षथितानस्य स्त्रीलिङ्ग)

(व्याख्या) ॥

युक्ति ॥ साङ्कविशेषतःकामीवर्णविश्वस्य समस्तं विचारस्वरूप: हिंदी भाषा मात्रत्वं संस्कृतं ।

साङ्कुपल्लि स्नातने यह समस्तवे वस्थुस्थि प्रभावी ॥
27. The indeclinable word sāmi meaning 'half' is compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

The word sāmi being an avyaya, and not denoting any substance, cannot take the affixes of the second or any case. Therefore the anuvṛtti of the word śāmītā would be inapposite in this aphorism.

As शामीताः 'half-done,' śāmītāḥ 'half-drunk,' śāmītāः 'half-eaten.'

The object attained by this samāsa is the same as in II. 1. 25, namely making them one word and taking one accent.

काला: II 28 I पद्धति II काला; (वातिक्षस्थायिन्यायैकैन) II

बूति: II कालशापिन: चालय द्वितीया; कालन यह समस्यन्ते विभाया वर्जुष्णभ वाचायो भवति।

28. The words denoting time, being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

This rule applies when duration of time is not connoted by the compound, which is provided for, in the next aphorism. The word काला does not mean here, as it would otherwise mean by Sūtra I. 1. 68, the word-form काल but special words denoting काल.

As ग्रेहविन्यासाः 'the new moon,' (literally, the moon that has begun to measure the month). Similarly चन्द्रविन्यासाः, ग्रेहविन्यासाः: applied to six Muhurtas (of 48 minutes each) which are called चन्द्र and भवद्र which sometimes occur in day time (in the summer month) and sometimes in the night (in the winter).

अत्यन्तंतंत्रं च II 29 I पद्धति II अत्यन्तं-संयोगे, च, (शविको तस्वीरकाला: हुया ह्रिष्टो) II

बूति: II कालशापिन: शामा विन्यासाः भास्त्रनंतरं चं चं यह समस्यन्ते विभाया समुच्छत वाचायो भवति।

29. Words denoting time being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when used in the sense of complete connection throughout with the time (i.e., duration of time) and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.
The word  कत is understood in this aphorism; but not so the phrase 'ending with the affix  स्.'

The word  संस्कर्यसेवय means 'uninterrupted connection.' For accent of these words see VI. 2. 2.

As  गौतेमसुक्र 'a momentary pleasure.'  घरसरक्रमसायी, घरसरक्रमरोयनम.

वृत्तीया  तस्यांपेति  गुणवचनेन  ||  30 || पद्यम  ||  वृत्तीय , तत्त-खत-अर्थन , गुण-वचनेन , (सञ्ज्ञाविश्वस्य  हुया  इह)  ||

वृत्ति  ||  वत्ताभाय कुलस्य गुणवचनेन  च  सह  धर्मस्य  तत्तुद्दच  चर्मायन्तरं  महति  ||

30. A word ending with the 3rd case-affix is optionally compounded with what denotes quality, the quality being that which is instrumentally caused by the thing signified by what ends with the third case-affix and with the word artha 'wealth,' and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

The words  गृह सुष्म are understood here: and the whole of this सूत्र is an epithet of those words. A noun in the instrumental case is compounded with a word expressing quality, and with the word  चर्म provided that the word expressing quality is itself the result produced by the sense of the word in the instrumental case. As  शंक्यवशादनम्:  ब्रम्हावशादनम: 'cut by nipper' विविकिर्मण: 'made blind of one eye by a hog' धान्याय: 'wealth acquired by grain.' For accent of these words see VI. 2. 2.

Why do we say 'when caused by the word in the instrumental case'? Observe अकुला काम: 'blind of one eye.' Here अकुल in the 3rd case is not the instrumental cause that produced blindness and hence no compounding.

Why do we say 'a word expressing quality? Observe:—गोविन्दायाय 'sowing with the cows.' Here though 'sowing' is instrumentally caused by the cows, yet it does not qualify cows but the sower, and hence no compounding.

Gopa-vachanas are those words which, not being words formed by primary or secondary affixes, or other words entitled to the name of sanākhyā, or sarvanāma, or jāti, or compound words, are words denoting qualities and capable of being used as adjectives qualifying substantives.
31. A word ending in the third case-affix is compounded with the words purva ‘prior,’ sadriśa ‘like,’ sama ‘similar,’ amārtha ‘words having the sense of less,’ kalaha ‘quarrel,’ nipūṇa ‘proficient,’ miśra ‘mixed,’ and slakṣaṇa ‘polished sleek’ and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

From this śūtra, we learn incidentally that the words पूर्व &c., govern the instrumental case.

As, मात्रवंशपूर्व ‘prior by a month,’ संबन्धपूर्व ‘prior by a year,’ मात्रवंश ‘like the mother,’ श्रेष्ठदर्श ‘like the father,’ मात्रवंश ‘similar to the mother,’ श्रेष्ठदर्श ‘similar to the father,’ मात्रवंशपूर्व ‘less by a māsha,’ अधिकार ‘a fight with the swords,’ पांडव ‘bandying words,’ पांडिलिपिक ‘proficient in speech,’ अधिकार ‘proficient in the observances of sacred duties,’ पांडिलिपिक ‘mixed with sesame or jaggery,’ अधिकार ‘polished in behaviour.’

Vart:—The word बद्ध should be enumerated in the list, as अधिकार: ‘later than a month.’

कर्मविच बद्धदारम् || ॥ पद्मिन ॥ कर्म-कर्मच; कुत्र शुद्ध, (विशेषकारी०६०) ॥

शुद्धिः ॥ कर्मविच व वा वसीया तदर्श शुद्धिने यह समस्तके बद्धह, तद्धद्ध तथा संयोगी भस्वः ॥

32. A word ending with the third case-affix, when it denotes the agent or the instrument (II. 3. 18) is compounded diversely with what ends with a krit affix; and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

The word बद्ध दार शर्म श्रवण्ण व दार शालिन्यम् shows that there is a general relaxation of all the rules and conditions. As अधिकारः: दार ‘killed by the snake,’ यद्वर्धिनिभ: ‘cut by the axe.’

Why do we say ‘when denoting the agent or the instrument?’ Observe विशेषकारी ‘dwelt with alms.’ Here the force of the 3rd case is that mentioned in śūtra II. 3. 21 and not that of II. 3. 18.

Why do we say ‘diversely’? Observe दार ‘cut the sickle,’ दार ‘cutting with the axe.’ Where there is no compounding, But there is compounding where otherwise there ought not to be, because of the word श्रवण्ण:—कर्महारः and पद्मिनः.
33. A word ending with the third case-affix when it denotes the agent or the instrument, is compounded optionally with a word ending in a kṛitya affix, when an exaggerated statement (whether of praise or of censure) is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As काष्ठाली ‘a shallow river’ (so shallow that a crow may dip his beak into it and touch the bottom and drink). ठीकूँ: ‘a shallow well’ (so that a dog can lick water from the brink of it). वाश्मङ्गोऽभािि ‘thin grass’ (so fragile that it can be cut by vapour) काष्ठालीपिन्न भौनः.

This śūtra is in a way a prolongation of the last.

Vart.:—The phrase ‘words ending in a kṛitya affix’ must not be taken universally, only the kṛitya affixes यतं and यतं are meant in the above śūtras. The following are the kṛitya affixes:—नव्य, भनव्य, यतं, यतं, यतं, यतं, (see śūtra III. I.95-132). Therefore there is no compounding when the word ends in सथं as in काष्ठा.

अनेन व्यङ्जनं ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनेन व्यङ्जनं, (वन्योः लूकसदृश्)

वृहि: व्यङ्जनाभि हतवानावष्टाचिन्ता कुतनेन यह समस्येन विभाजित, सतसप्त समस्येन भविति

34. A word ending with the third case-affix and denoting a condiment, is optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, signifying food, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

That which is to be prepared is called चण्ड, and that which prepares is व्यङ्जन; as द्वादश: = द्वादश: उपविक्ष्य भौनः: ‘rice prepared or made relishable with curd.’ So also शारीर: . The words ‘food’ and ‘condiment’ as represented in the above compounds, are connected in sense by a verb understood.
35. A word, ending with the 3rd case-affix and denoting a relish giving or refining ingredient, is compounded with a word meaning, victuals, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Anything eatable, whether hard or soft, is called भक्ष्य; its refinement is called भक्ष्यकरणम्. As गुम्भ्यकः; 'barley prepared with juggery'; गुभ्यपूकः; 'flattened parched rice prepared with juggery.'

The connection here also between the two words is established by a verb understood.

36. A word ending with the 4th case-affix is compounded with what denotes that which is for the purpose of what ends with the 4th case-affix and so too with the words artha 'on account of,' bali 'a sacrifice,' hita 'salutary,' sukha 'pleasure' and rakshita 'kept,' and the compound is called Tat-purusha.

The words सुख, सुषा are understood in this सूत्रa: and the whole सूत्रa qualifies these words.

By the expression सज्ज्ञात 'for the purpose thereof,' the special relation of a material and its modification alone is by Patanjali here held to be intended. As जूयान श्राहेऽत्र: = बुधस्य: 'wood for stake' (that is wood which by modification will be changed into a stake). ज्वनक्षािर्णम्; 'gold for ear-rings.' But not so here. रुप्याय प्यार: 'pot for cooking.' रुप्याय वायुपुस्तः 'the wood mortar for threshing.' From this सूत्रa we may also infer that the Dative case conveys also the sense of 'for the purpose thereof.' The word सज्ज्ञात is taken as one word by some, meaning 'a thing serviceable thereto.' See VI, 2. 44. For accent see VI. 2. 45.
Vart:—With the word चर्चा the compound so formed is a Nitya compound (an invariable compound) and agrees in gender with the word which it qualifies; as, भ्रापथर्यः तु: 'milk for the sake of Brahmans;' and भ्रापथर्यः वयस्यु 'gruel for the Brahmans.' So also बुखरवह्: 'a sacrifice for Kuvera' महाराजस्य को 'a sacrifice for the great Raja.' शीत्तृत्व 'what is good for cows.' भ्रापथर्यः 'what is good for horses' शीत्तृत्व 'what is pleasant for cows' शीत्तृत्व 'what is kept for cows.' (as grass).

37. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is optionally compounded with the word भ्रापथर्य 'fear,' and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The phrase सुरु सुरा is understood here, and the sūtra qualifies it.

As बुखरवह् = बुखरवह् 'fear from wolves' चौरवह् 'fear from thieves' शीत्तृत्व 'fear from robbers.'

Vart:—So also with the words भीत, भीति and भीत: as बुखरवह्, बुखरवहि, बुखरवणि.

This sūtra is an expansion of sūtra 32 and an exposition of the word बुखरवह् there. So that we may have the following compounds also: भ्रापथर्यः 'gone out of the village.'

अपेक्षित्वायुस्मुः परमितायुस्मुः इत्यादि: ॥ १६ ॥ पदाति ॥ अपेक्षित-अपेक्षित-युस्मु-युस्मुः ॥

38. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is compounded with the words अपेक्षित 'gone away,' अपेक्षित 'carried away,' मुक्त 'freed,' पतित 'fallen,' भ्रापथर्यः 'afraid of,' when the event takes place in a gradual manner, and the compound is called Tat-purusha.

As, सुरुसुरा 'gone away from pleasure' कान्त्यस्य: 'carried away by imagination' भ्रापथर्यः 'freed from the wheel' भ्रापथर्यः 'fallen from heaven' सत्तवस्थेऽः 'afraid of the waves.' This is an expansion of II. 1. 32.
By using the word बल्लिः ‘in a gradual degree,’ is shown the limited range of this kind of compounds. Not every ablative word can be so compounded. Hence there is no compounding at all in the following cases:—

पत्तासिब पूजान; ‘fallen from the mansion.’ भैरवायाह्: ‘afraid of eating.’ For here the fall &c. is violent and sudden, and not gradual and slight.

39. Words with the sense of stoka ‘a little,’ antika ‘near,’ dūra ‘far,’ and also the word kriechhara ‘penance,’ ending in the 5th case-affix are compounded with what ends in kta, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As स्वेकां मुक्त: ‘loosened from a little distance.’
So also अभिनवासयम्: ‘come from near’ बुधासयम्: ‘come from near’ शूरासयम्: ‘come from far,’ जग्यासयम्: ‘come from a distance.’ कृष्णासयम्: ‘saved with difficulty.’ नृथासयम्: ‘obtained with difficulty.’

By rule VI. 3. 2 the case-affix is not elided in compounds of this kind.

Part:—The words शत ‘a hundred’ and सहस्र ‘a thousand’ are similarly compounded with the word पर. As, गुलासयम्: ‘beyond a hundred.’

So also एकसहस्रासयम्: ‘beyond a thousand.’ In these examples the word शत and सहस्र being exhibited in the 1st case and thus being upasargana ought to have stood as the first member of the compound (II. 2. 30); But these compounds are supposed to fall under the class of राजसिन्ध &c., (II. 2. 31) and hence the upasargana stands as the second member of the compound. Irregularly is also the augment श (सुदृ) interposed between these two words.

40. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the words सांधि ‘skilled’ &c. and the compound is Tat-purusha.
The word तत्पुरुष in the सूत्रa being in the plural number indicates a class of words beginning with सूत्रa.

As, शरणेवाटक्षि: 'skilled in dice' षापंक्षि: 'cunning in dice' गामेसन्ति: 'a gamester in dice.'

The following is the list of सूत्राधि words:—1 रीधा, 2 पृथ्वि, 3 विद्याघ्राह, 4 द्वार, 5 महीन, 6 संवत्स, 7 प्रमाण when meaning place, 8 विज्ञान, 9 पुष्प, (or भाविस्व) 10 परिवर्त, 11 व्रत, 12 शरण, 13 विकृत, 14 ज्योतिर, '15 भवन, and 16 भोजन.

41. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the words siddha 'perfected,' śushka 'dried,' pakva 'cooked' and bandha 'bound,' and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, सांख्यिकित्व: 'perfect in Sāṅkṣyā.' कालीपुरुषः 'perfect in Kālima.' आविन्दपुरुषः 'dried in the sun.' श्यामपुरुषः 'dried in the shade.' चक्सिमकः 'cooked in pot.' नलिनै एक 'cooked in an earthen jar.' फळवस: 'bound on the wheel. For their accent see VI. 2. 32.

These are also further illustrations of the word बुधu in सूत्रa 32.

42. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the word dhanvaṅkha, 'a crow,' (and with synonyms of crow) when contempt is implied; and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, सीरेरङ्गः 'a crow at the sacred bathing place' i.e., a very greedy person; as a crow in a bathing place does not remain long, any where, so a person who goes to his teacher's house and does not tarry there long, is called a सीरेरङ्गः or a सीरेरङ्गः.

When it has not this meaning, there is no compounding: as, सीरेरङ्गः 'There is a crow in the sacred bathing place.'
43. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with words ending with a kritya-affix (a fut. pass. Participle) and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha, when 'debt' is implied.

This compound is confined to the words formed by the kritya affix घुण and not to every kritya-formed word.

As, नायोंचे 'a debt repayable within a month.' So संतवर्तचे 'payable within a year.' धृश्यमुः 'repayable within three days.'

By using the word घुण we indicate by implication any appointed time in general, and not merely a time for the payment of a debt. Therefore we get compounds in the following cases also:—पुराणेन गेष्म साम 'the Sâma that should be sung in the morning.' भारतराजोऽथीकारकः 'the chapter that should be studied in the morning.'

Why do we say 'debt'? Observe मात्रहे देया निषिद्ध 'the alms that should be given each month.'

44. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when the compound thus formed is used as an appellative, and is called Tat-purusha samâsa.

A sanjâda is expressed by the complete word, hence it is an invariable (nitya) compound; for we cannot express an appellative by a sentence.

As, भारतविशाल 'wild sesamum' yielding no oil; anything which does not answer to one's expectation. So also बालस्वरता 'we found unexpectedly.' So also त्रिवेदविभुत्कः.

The case-affix is not elided, in this case, in accordance to sūtra VI. 3. 9. (The 7th case-affix is not elided after words ending in consonants or in short ꞁ when the compound denotes appellative.)
45. The names of divisions of day or night ending with a 7th case-affix are compounded with words ending with the affix kta; and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, पूर्वाकालवासि 'done in the morning,' अपराकालवासि 'done in the afternoon,' पूर्वारामकालवासि 'done in the first part of the night,' अपरारामकालवासि 'done in the last part of the night.'

Why do we say 'members or divisions of day and night?' Observe पाहिनी प्राणि 'eaten in the day' रात्रिक्रिया 'occurring in the night.'

This being a continuation of sūtra II. 1. 32, we have diversely चालकोन्या and संलग्नारूढः.

तत्र II 46 पदार्थ II तत्, ( सवित्वसमवहस् )

पुनः II सम्प्रस्थति सरस्वति कालेन सह समस्या, सत्रुष्टिसंगमो भवति II

46. The word tatra 'there,' which is a word ending with the 7th case-affix, (V. 3. 10) is compounded with a word ending in kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus ब्रह्मास्यन् 'eaten there,' श्रोत्सवम् 'done there,' सर्वकाल 'drunk there.' By making this a compound, the same purpose is served as in sūtra II. 1. 25 namely, these two words form one word and get one accent.

श्रयं II 47 पदार्थ II श्रयं, ( सवित्वसमवहस् तोह )

पुनः II श्रयं सर्वमण्डल सर्वकालेन सह समस्या, सत्रुष्टिसंगमो भवति II

47. A word ending with a 7th case-affix is compounded with a word ending with the affix kta, when 'ensure' is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, पात्रेषुवूलदिवसं एव स्व 'they are as if an ichneumon standing on hot ground (metaphorically said of the inconstancy of man) शापकः II

So also विद्वान्यं श्रणवसि 'dried in water,' (figuratively used for any thing unheard of or impossible.)

So also प्राप्तेऽवति तृषुविश्वसं ( lit. ) 'making water in a stream,' (fig.) 'doing a useless action.' अस्वरूपतिः पूर्णि 'offered oblation in ashes,' (fig.) 'a fruitless action.'

The 7th case-affix is not elided in the case of this sūtra also. See sūtra VI. 3. 14.
48. The words like pātre-sammita ‘a dish-companion’ (a parasite), &c., are Tat-puruṣa compounds, when contempt is implied.

All these are irregular compounds. Some of the words contained in this list are compounds formed with the past-participle (कृ); they could have been formed by previous aphorism also. Their inclusion in this list is for the purpose that their first member should have utattā on the beginning; because all the words belonging to this class, are a subdivision of a larger class called ‘मुक्तार्थाती Class’ treated of in sūtra VI. 2.81.

The following is the list of the words:—
1. विसारक (a parasite) (constant at meals or dinner time).
2. तिली; पारात (a parasite).
3. दुःखरक्षक.
4. दुःखरक्षक. कपिल.
5. दुःखरक्षक.
6. दुःखरक्षक.
7. दुःखरक्षक.
8. कुमार.
9. कुमार.
10. नागरक्षक.
11. नागरक्षक.
12. नागरक्षक.
13. मातारक्षक.
14. निशारक.
15. सुनिशारक.
16. सूक्ष्मरक्षक.
17. सूक्ष्मरक्षक.
18. सूक्ष्मरक्षक.
19. सूक्ष्मरक्षक.
20. सूक्ष्मरक्षक.
21. सूक्ष्मरक्षक.
22. सूक्ष्मरक्षक.
23. सूक्ष्मरक्षक.
24. सूक्ष्मरक्षक.
25. गोंदरक्षक.
26. गोंदरक्षक.
27. गोंदरक्षक.
28. गोंदरक्षक.
29. गोंदरक्षक.
30. गोंदरक्षक.
31. गोंदरक्षक.
32. गोंदरक्षक.
33. गोंदरक्षक.
34. गोंदरक्षक.

49. A case-inflected word denoting an action which naturally precedes in time (पुरवकाल), and the words eka ‘one,’ sarva ‘all,’ jarat ‘old,’ purāna ‘ancient,’ nava ‘new,’ and kevala ‘only,’ are compounded with their co-relative case-inflected words which are in the same case with them; and the compound so formed is Tat-puruṣa.

A case-inflected word denoting an action which naturally precedes in time (पुरवकाल), and the words eka ‘one,’ sarva ‘all,’ jarat ‘old,’ purāna ‘ancient,’ nava ‘new,’ and kevala ‘only,’ are compounded with their co-relative case-inflected words which are in the same case with them; and the compound so formed is Tat-puruṣa.

The phrase युध सुर is understood here, the whole sūtra qualifying it.

Words which separately can be applied to many distinct and different objects, when they apply to one common object, are said to be in apposition (समानाधिकारण) or abiding in a common substratum.

In the present sūtra the word-form pūrva-kāla is not to be taken
IRREGULAR TAT-PURUSHA  [Bk. II. Ch. I. § 49-51.

(1. 1. 68) but its significates; while of the rest एक &c., the very word-form is to be taken. A word denoting action which naturally precedes in time, is compounded with a word denoting action which naturally succeeds it. As, शानता्-तम्: 'bathed and perfumed.' कुत्सितकुत्र्: ploughed and levelled.' हिमपकस्य: 'burnt and healed.' एकाह्वान् 'having one petticoat.' एकमिता 'begging once in a day.' संपूर्णे: 'All gods.' संकसुध्या: 'all men.' सरस्वती: 'old elephant.' गर्गु: 'an old cow.' गंगा: 'old occupation.' पुराणाश्च 'old rice.' पुराणाश्च 'an old habitation.' So समीक्षयः: समासः:; अक्षाकुः 'only rice.'

Why do we say 'when they are in the same case'? Observe एकाह्वान्: अन्तः 'one's petticoat.'

These and the subsequent compounds are Karmadhāraya Compounds (I. 2. 42).

दिक्षायाम् संदर्शायाम् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ दिखायाम्, संदर्शायाम्;
( सांख्यीकायांकायांपरिशुचिकरणेन ) ॥

पूर्वत्: विशमादिन: शाया संक्षया च समानाभिलार्चान युवानीन ए यस्मादने, तत्साद्व समानो नागते ॥

50. The words expressing a point of the compass, or a number (sāṃkhya) enter into composition with the word correlated to them by being in the same case, when the sense of the compound is that of an appellative; and it is a Tat-purusha.

The phrase 'being in apposition,' is understood in every one of these sutras up to the end of the chapter.

As पूर्वायाम् 'the town of Ishukamaśāmni-in-the-east.' पश्चात्यायाम् 'the town of Ishukamaśāmni-in-the-west.' वेष्ट्या: 'the five mangoes' सकर्द्व: 'the seven-sages' (the constellation of the Great Bear).

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of an apppellative'? Observe उत्तरम् गुला: 'northern trees.' चंद्राय: 'five Brahmanas.' See IV. 2. 107.

तद्विद्योऽस्तपर्वं समाहारे ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्विद्य-अङ्क-उत्तरपर्वं
समाहारे, ॥ ( सांख्यिकादिक्सायांश्रव्यास्वयम् ) ॥

पूर्वत्: तद्विद्योऽस्तपर्वेऽस्तपर्वे च परातः समाहारे चाचाचाचे च संक्षये च समानाभिलार्चान कर्तहेन यथा ए यस्माद्वते, तत्सादवः समानो नागते ॥

51. In a case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix, or when an additional member comes after the compound, or when an aggregate is to be ex-
pressed, then a word signifying a point of the compass or a number, enters into composition with a case-inflected word which is in agreement with it by being in the same case, and the compound so formed is called Tat-puruṣa.

First let us take the case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix. Thus when a compound is formed out of the words पुर्वेऽऽ गऽध्वो नरऽ ‘that which is in the eastern hall’ (in which analytical exposition of the compound in question, the word नर (IV. 2. 107) serves to represent the ‘force of a Taddhita-affix’) the compound having reached the form of पुर्वेऽ + गऽध्वो, the feminine termination of the पुर्वेऽ is rejected, because Patañjali declares that the masculine state belongs to a pronominal ‘when exercising any of the five functions belonging to a word; we have:—पुर्वेऽ + गऽध्वो + अ (IV. 2. 107) = रङ्गालन (VII. 2. 117 and VI. 4. 148) ‘who is in the eastern hall.’

So also when an additional member comes after the compound (uttarapade). As, पुर्वेऽ + गऽध्वो: or पुर्वेऽ + पप्पऽ + गऽध्वो: ‘loving the eastern or western hall.’ These Uttarpada Compounds are invariable (Nitya) compounds, so that they can not be resolved into their component elements.

When a समास ‘aggregate’ is to be expressed, it is of course impossible to use a word expressing points of the compass (रङ्ग words). The following compounds are formed with numbers (शंखा), when employed with the force of a Taddhita affix; as, संपन्नारिति: ‘relating to five barbers,’ संप्रकर्ता: ‘relating to an oblation offered in five cups’ (समास) (IV. 1. 88). So also श्यामचन्द्र: (V. 4. 92) ‘whose wealth consists of five cows,’ रिवःयचन्द्र: (9)

The following are examples of aggregates:—वर्षापल्ली: ‘the collection of five fruits’ (IV. 1. 21) सापुष्पी: ‘an aggregate of ten bundles,’ बिलोको: ‘the aggregate of the three worlds,’ चन्द्रकुमारि: ‘an aggregate of five virgins;’ this word is neuter by II. 4 17. and the long हृ is shortened by I. 2. 47.

संव्याप्ती दशु: || ५२ || पद्ताल || संव्याप्ती-दशु: (बहुतारो-संव्याप्ती-दशु) ||

पुष्टि: || संव्याप्ती-दशु || एक्क्वान: || संव्याप्ती || दशु: || दशु: ||

52. In a case where the sense is that of a Taddhita affix, or when an additional member comes after the compound or when an aggregate is to be expressed, the compound, the first member of which is numeral, is called Dvigu or Numeral Determinative compound.
First to take an example of Taddhitārtha:—as, श्रेष्ठत्वम्: ‘an offering prepared or offered in five cups.’ So also शाक्यमदेशम्: ‘prepared in ten cups.’ These are names of Purodāsa offerings; and are formed by adding the affix भ्रू in the sense of ‘refining an object of food’ by sūtra IV. 2.16; then this affix is elided (श्रू) by IV. 1.88.

To take an example when an additional member comes after the compound. As शंचारायण: ‘loving five ships,’ दण्डालयम् ‘money which has come by two ships’ (हि + गरी + श्रू V. 4.99 = दण्डालयम्)

Of an aggregate we have श्रुच्च. The feminine is formed by IV. 1.31.

कुलिपतालि श्रुच्च:   ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुलिपतालि श्रुच्च:   ॥

२०विशेषत्वादृहिः ॥

पुनः ॥ कुलिपतालि खुलिपतालि कुमुदः । खुलिपतालि मध्यादृहिः

५५३. Case-inflected words expressing vileness are compounded with case-inflected words, expressing contempt, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As श्रृटाराजसुती: ‘a bad or dull grammarian.’ Here it might be asked is the word श्रृटाराज ‘grammar’ a word of contempt, or the word श्रृटाराज ‘grammarian?’ Neither ‘Grammar’ (it being a part of Vedanga,) nor the person who studies it i.e., the grammarian, can be an object of contempt ordinarily.

The word ‘grammarian’ is, however, the expression of contempt in an indirect way, thus:—The person studying grammar but not studying it well, becomes an object of contempt and such a despicable person becomes also contaminated. The word लक्षणविषय is a term of contempt per se. It literally means, a person who on being asked a question, and not possessing ready wit and intelligence to answer it, scratches his head and contemplates vacancy (लक्षणविषय) and tries to divert the questioner's attention by exclaiming ‘how beautifully clear is the sky,’ such a person is called लक्षणविषय:

Such compounds are confined to cases where the reason for the use of any particular term is to express contempt with regard to the signification of that term. So we can not form a compound of the sentence श्रवणाराजपारि: ‘the thief grammarian;’ for, contempt is not expressed with regard to the signification of the word ‘grammarian.’ But when the term ‘grammarian’ itself is used in a contemptuous signification, then a compound will be formed.

This aphorism is commenced in order to introduce an exception to sūtra 57, by which an adjective stands as the first member in a compound. By the present sūtra, however, the attributive word will stand as the second member.
Other examples of such compounds are: वातिकातिक: ‘one who hankers after performing sacrifices for persons for whom one ought not to perform sacrifices’ मीघास्कर-मुद्रक: ‘an unbelieving logician,’ an atheist.

No compound can be formed under this aphorism, if both the words are not used in an opprobrious signification as such. Therefore it is not in the following case. कुखितोश्रयय: ‘the bad Brāhmaṇa’ &c.

54. The case inflected words पाप ‘sin,’ and अनंक ‘insignificant,’ are compounded with words expressive of vileness, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Both the words पाप and अनंक are words of contempt (कुख्या); by the last sūtra, they would have stood as second members in the compound; the present sūtra, however, is so framed with regard to sūtras I. 2. 43 and II. 2. 30, that they will stand as first. As पापानंक: or अष्टकवरिण: ‘a contemptible barber’ पाप or अष्टक-वुधान: ‘a contemptible potter.’

55. Case-inflected words denoting objects of comparison, are compounded with words denoting what is likened to them, by reason of the latter possessing qualities in common with the former, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

That by or to which a thing is compared is ‘upamāna’ and the ‘upameya’ (the thing compared) is called सामाय or ‘common.’ Thus वर्णमय कृष्ण: ‘cloud-black Krishna’ (Krishna black as a cloud). Here रघु is a quality common to Krishna and cloud: therefore ‘cloud’ which is the उपमान is compounded with it. So also कुसुमचे ‘pink-white’ गंगागुण: ‘Swan-sounding’ ग्रीष्मा-पारिवेंद्र्य ‘globular as Nyagrodha tree.’ For accent see VI. 2. 2.

But not so in रेवता दुधा ‘black Devadatta’ or व्यास ‘the rice are like fruits’ वर्षा ‘It is snowfall: ‘clouds like mountains.’
56. A case-inflected word denoting subject of comparison is compounded with the words vyāghra-‘tiger,’ &c., the latter being the standard of comparison, and in construction with the former; and the compound is Tat-purusha; provided that any word expressing the common characteristic (सामान्य) as explained above, is not employed.

This is a modification of sūtra 57, by which the objective would have stood first; by the present, the attribute stands second. As पुरुषोत्तर व्याघ्र = पुरुषोत्तर ‘a person-tiger’ (in strength) पुरुषोत्तर.

In the last sūtra, the compounding was between the उपपन्न and the common quality. In the present, the compounding is between the उपपन्न and certain उपपन्न but never with सामान्य व्याघ्र. Therefore we can not form this kind of compound from the following sentence:— पुरुषोत्तर व्याघ्र हृद युध ‘a man strong as a tiger.’ Similarly मुखरस्य, मुखकर्म, करकिरस्वयम्य, पाराज्ञ च च.

The words व्याघ्र &c. are भाषुतिवः i.e., this is a class of compound words, the fact of a word belonging to which, is known by its form, a posteriori and is not discoverable by any consideration of its constituent parts a priori.

The following is the list of such words:

1. व्याघ्र = A tiger. 2. लग्न = A lion. 3. चूर्ण = A bear. 4. चूर्ण = A bull. 5. संधि = Sandal. 6. चूर्ण = A wolf. 7. चूर्ण = A bull. 8. चूर्ण = A bear, hog. 9. चूर्ण = An elephant. 10. चूर्ण = A tree. 11. कुड़िया = An elephant. 12. चूर्ण = A kind of deer. 13. चूर्ण = The spotted antelope. 14. चूर्ण = A lotus flower. 15. चूर्ण = A tree Butea Frondosa. 16. चूर्ण = A rogue, cheat.

व्याघ्रस्यादिविशतः

1. मुखारस्य = A lotus-like face.
2. मुखकर्म =
3. करकिरस्वयम्य = Sprout-like hand, a tender hand. 4. पाराज्ञाः.
57. A case-inflected word denoting the qualifier (the Adjective), is compounded diversely with a case-inflected word denoting the thing thereby qualified, (the Substantive) the latter being in agreement (same case) with the former; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The 'discriminator' is called विशेषण and the 'discriminated' is called विशेषण as नीलीरत्र 'a blue lotus,' रात्रीरत्र 'a red lotus.'

By using in the rule the expression शुद्ध 'diversely' it is meant that in some cases it is imperative to make a compound (विशेषणम्) as कुपलखः: 'a black snake.' नीलीरत्र: 'red rice':—and sometimes it is forbidden; as, रात्री जामाग्रः: 'Rama called also Jāmadagnya' (as being the son of Jāmadagni): च ज्ञेयः: कार्याच्यः—and in some cases it is optional, नीलिकर्तर्थो नीलीरत्रः.

Why do we say 'qualifier'? Observe नीला: खः: 'the Takshaka snake.'

Why do we say 'qualified.' Observe नीलिकर्तर्थो: 'the red Takshaka.'

58. The case-inflected words पूर्व ‘prior,’ अपर ‘other,’ चार्मण ‘first,’ चारामण ‘last,’ जागहया ‘hindmost,’ सामान ‘equal,’ मध्या ‘middle,’ मध्यम ‘middle,’ and विर ‘hero,’ are compounded with words ending with a case-affix and which are in agreement (same case) with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As पूर्वपुरुष: 'ancestor;' (any one of the three, father, grandfather and great-grandfather), अपरपुरुष: 'successor;' चार्मणपुरुष: 'last person,' जागहाःपुरुष: 'hindmost person,' सामानपुरुष: 'equal person,' मध्यपुरुष: 'middle person,' विरपुरुष: 'heroic person.'
50. The case-inflected words श्रेणि 'class' &c., are compounded with words क्रित 'made' &c., which are in agreement (same case), with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Vart.—The words श्रेणि &c., for the purposes of this sutra, are supposed to have the force of the affix तव (chvi). Thus चन्द्रेणि: श्रेणि: हुना: = श्रेणि-क्रित: 'made into classes' (those who were not classified before).

The class of words called हुना: are अक्रित-gapa and cannot be known a priori. This Samāsa is also an invariable Samāsa by reason of sutra II. 2. 18, since all words that end in chvi (ष्) are called gati (I. 4. 61.)

1. श्रेणि = A line, a series. 2. एक = One or एकः. 3. युक्त = A heap, collection, multitude. 4. युक्त = Name of Krishna or युक्त. 5. राष्ट्रि = A heap, mass, collection. 6. निस्प्रत्रि = A collection, heap. 7. निस्प्रत्रि = An object or विषय. 8. विषय = Poor, indigent or विषय, विषयं. 9. चर = Distant. 10. हुना = The god of rain. 11. बृहि = Divine, celestial. 12. गुप्त = Shaved, bald. 13. भूत = Become, being. 14. भ्राम = Sraman or भ्राम. 15. बहु = Liberal minded. 16. अभ्राम = A teacher. 17. अभ्राम = Handsome. 18. भ्राम = Brahmān. 19. प्रभारि = Kshatriya. 20. विष्णु = Distinguished, distinct. 21. प्रभारि = Clever, skillful, dexterous. 22. पुत्रि = Learned, wise. 23. कुश = Right, proper, good. 24. वसन = Shaking, trembling, tremulous. 25. विन्ध = Skillful, dexterous. 26. हुना = Wretched, helpless.

वाक्यावलीप्रमाण

1. कृत = Done, performed, made. 2. मिति = Measured. 3. श्रवण = Thought, believed, supposed. 4. ईत = Produced, formed. 5. ईत = Said, spoken, uttered. 6. एक = Joined, united. 7. श्रावण = Known or understood thoroughly. 8. श्रावण = Repeated, recited. 9. अभ्राम = Reckoned up, counted, summed up. 10. अभ्राम = Considered, supposed, imagined 11. अभ्राम = Considered, supposed, imagined 12. अभ्राम = Ascertained, known. 13. अभ्राम = Corresponded with, answered. 14. अभ्राम = Expelled, banished. 15. अभ्राम = Assisted, benefited, served &c. 16. अभ्राम = Invited. 17. ईत = Seen, looked, perceived. 18. अधिकारिण = Counted. 19. विन्ध =
Broken, torn, rent, burst. 20. सुहाईत = Said, uttered. 21. विख्यात = Well-known, renowned. 22. जिह = Risen.

फैंन नन्विशिष्टेन नन्विश्रविशिष्टेन, अ नक्त, (शनीक्षेत्रसंशयनिधि) ॥

बृले || नम्रवर्यिते वर्य सहभन्नः प्रशस्तवार्तिः नन्विशिष्टः सन्नन्विशर्णः वेन नन्विश्लेषः महानेव समस्थे वह स्वमच्च कालं समस्थे, सत्तुपथम धनां भर्ति ॥

आर्थिनम् ॥ कुरासकन्तरीनानुपायबाहुलयम् ॥ ३ ॥

आर्थितम् ॥ समानविधानाधिकारी शाक्यनार्थिनानुपायबाहुलयम्, वल्लरस्कराधमम् ॥ ४ ॥

60. A word ending with the affix kta, and not having the negative augment naṁ is compounded with the same word ending with the affix kta but which is distinguished from the former, by having the augment naṁ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus कृतकम्प्र 'done and not done,' कृतकाल्प 'eaten and not eaten,' दीर्घचक 'drunk and not drunk,' दीर्घाम्ब 'spoken and not spoken.'

The intermediate augment न or the ु, as in the following two examples, do not make the forms dissimilar. शास्त्राधिकारीन भवति, श्रीरक्षेत्रकिम् वर्षे ॥

Vart:—The compounds करुपकक्त &c. should also be included.

आर्थितम्

1. कुताक्ततम्. 2. कुताक्तिनः. 3. वीण हेवीम. 4. वीणवर्षाय. 5. वीणानुवाह. 6. कर्माधिकारी. 7. पन्नुपरिक्षता. 8. फलानुभवाद. 9. यानोपायम.

Vart:—The compounds like शाक्यनार्थिन should also be enumerated, and there is elision of the second member in these compounds. As शाक्यनार्थिन: शाक्यनार्थिन: ‘the king beloved by the people of his era,’ i.e. an era making king.

1. शाक्यनार्थिन. 2. कुताक्तिनः. 3. वीणस्त्रेष्ट.

वन्मत्तरेज्ञोत्सत्रेष्टहोतासुः पृथ्वयमानः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वस्तु-सहस्र-परं-उच्चम-उपरुषः, पृथ्वयमानः ॥

पृथ्वः ॥ वस्तु सहस्र परं उच्चम उपरुषः उपरुषः: सव समस्तम्, सत्तुपथम समावो भवति ॥
61. The words sat ‘good,’ mahat ‘great,’ parama ‘highest,’ uttama ‘best,’ and utkriṣṭa ‘excellent,’ are compounded with the words denoting the person deserving of respect; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As गुरुपुरुष: ‘a good person,’ राजपुरुष: ‘a great man,’ गुरुपुरुष: ‘the highest person,’ राजपुरुष: ‘the best person,’ राजपुरुष: ‘the excellent person.’

Why do we say ‘with words denoting the person deserving of respect?’ Observe बक्र: यी: कर्णाक: ‘the ox was pulled out of the mud.’

62. A case-inflected word denoting object deserving of respect is compounded with the words विनाशिक ‘eminence,’ नाग ‘serpent or elephant,’ कुंजर ‘elephant,’ and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As गौयुनास्त्र: ‘an excellent bull or cow.’ चारपुरुषरक: ‘an excellent horse.’ So also गौनास्त्र: ‘गौनास्त्र:’ गौरुक्षर: &c. Why do we say ‘when meaning the object deserving of respect?’ Observe सुधामेनाग: ‘the serpent Sushma.’

63. The words katara ‘which or who of two’ and katama ‘which or who of many,’ when used in asking questions about the genus or class, are compounded with other case-inflected words with which they are in construction, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As कतारक: and कतारकनाग: ‘which of the two is katha, and which कारपा?’ कतारनक: and कतारकानाग: ‘which of these is katha &c.’

It might be objected, ‘what is the use of employing the word जातिपरिषेव in the aphorism; since the word कतार is especially employed in asking such questions; (see V. 3. 93) and the word कतार will get the same signification by being read along with it?’ The very use of this phrase
in the aphorism shows that the word कस्य has other meanings besides that of an interrogative pronoun, of determining जाति; as कस्यो नामवषय: ‘which of you two, Sirs, is Devadatta,’ and कस्यो नामवषय: ‘which of you, Sirs, is Devadatta.’ Here there is no questioning about जाति, all belonging to the same genus, hence there is no compounding. (Accent VI. 2. 57.)

64. The word kim ‘what,’ when implying ‘contempt,’ is compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As किं राजा चौ न रचति ‘he is a bad king who does not protect his subjects.’ किं राजा चौ रचति ‘he is a bad friend who hates.’ किं चौ न रचति ‘it is a bad ox that does not carry.’

The affix चौ (V. 4. 91) does not come after this compound as in महाराज, महराज &c., by force of Rule V. 4. 70. Otherwise the form would have been चिंमहराज and not चिंमहराज.

Why do we say ‘when censure is implied?’ Observe कस्य राजा = किं राजा: ‘whose king?’ चिंमहराज.

65. A case-inflected word denoting a genus (जाति) is compounded with the words पोठ ‘a hermaphrodite,’ युवति ‘a young female,’ स्तोक ‘a little,’ कतिपय ‘a few,’ ग्रिश्ति ‘a cow which has had only one calf,’ धनेन ‘milch-cow,’ वास ‘a barren female,’ वेहद ‘a cow that miscarries,’ बस्कायुँ ‘a cow that has a full-grown calf,’ प्रवाक्त्रि ‘an expounder,’ अशोकि ‘a learned Brâhmana,’ अध्यापक ‘a teacher,’ and धूर्त ‘a cunning fellow; and’ the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.
As 'स्त्रेलि 'a young female elephant' हुतुशाति 'a female elephant.' So also 'भालिस्थासि 'a little fire' वसरिशत् 'a little butter milk,' गोपृक्षि: 'gooproc,' गोवेगुः, गौराः, गोवेशुः, गोवेशुः, कवास्करा 'an expounder of Kaṭha,' कवास्कर, 'a Brāhmaṇa who has mastered the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda' कवास्करा: 'a teacher of the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda.'

Why do we say 'when denoting a genus or a common noun ?' Observe देवदाति: 'Devadatta expounder.'

The word बुधुः has not a bad signification here. Hence कवास्कर means 'a Brāhmaṇa well versed in the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda.'

प्रत्ययचण्डनी II ६६ II पदार्थि प्रत्यय-चण्डनी : ( साधविहे-जालाप्रथम समानरे )

बुधुः: II मातितिति सुरवन् मातितितिति: यह समस्ति: , सत्कुलध समस्ति: भवति II

66. A case-inflected word denoting a genus (jāti) is compounded with a word denoting praise and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The words denoting praise should be रूक्षि (हर्षि) words like मत्तज्ज्विल &c., which retain their specific gender though used along with words of other genders, in apposition with them, as, गोप्पज्ज्विल' an excellent cow,' खस्त्र गत्तितितक्र 'an excellent horse' गोविति श्रेयस 'an excellent cow.' These words are generally used at the end of a compound to denote 'excellence' or 'the best of its kind.'

Why do we say 'when denoting genus?' Observe कुलारी मत्तज्ज्विल 'an excellent virgin.'

युवा खस्तितिपिति लिन्जऽत्रतीमि: II ६७ II पदार्थि युवा , खस्तित्विपिति-लिन्जऽत्रतीमि: ( खस्तितिपिति लिन्जऽत्रतीमि )

बुधुः: II खस्तितितिति: समाननिर्विकरणः यह दुर्बल: समस्ति: , सत्कुलध समस्ति: भवति II

67. The word युवा 'young,' is compounded with the words क्षलति, खाद्यमूलति, खाद्यमूलति, 'bald headed,' गुलिति 'grey-haired,' वलिति 'wrinkled,' जैति 'decayed,' when they are in agreement (same case); and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word जनमति is exhibited in the feminine gender, in the aphorism, with the object of indicating the existence of the following maxim of interpretation मातितिस्थिति निदीर्दित्तस्य महत्वः.
A Prātipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.

As, युथ + तिन्त : युथतिन्ति. So also युधिति: युधिति युधिति मिने: 'bald in youth.' So ग्रेहलिता: ग्रेहलिता ग्रेहलिता ग्रेहलिता 'grey-haired in youth' ग्रेहलिता: ग्रेहलिता ग्रेहलिता ग्रेहलिता 'wrinkled in youth' ग्रेहलिता: ग्रेहलिता ग्रेहलिता 'appearing old in youth,' (prematurely old.)

हरयुत्त्त्वस्वार्थाय अनात्मा \( 66 \) \( 66 \) \( पदार्थिन्ति \) \( नि \) कर्त्य-पुत्त्वात्म-साध्याय, अनात्मा, ( वात्तिमंहसङ्क )

४८५: \( \text{कर्त्य-पुत्त्वात्म-साध्याय,} \) \( \text{युत्त्वस्वार्थाय,} \) \( \text{अनात्मा,} \) ( वात्तिमंहसङ्क )

68. Words ending with a kṛtya affix, and the word tulya 'equal,' and its synonyms, are compounded with words which do not denote genus (jāti) being in the same case with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, भोज्योपनन् 'hot food,' भोज्यमत्वस्य 'salt food,' द्वादशींतले 'cool drink,' भन्यस्यत्व: 'equally white,' शाहीस्यत्व: 'equally white.' तत्तत्रायं 'equally great.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting a genus?' Observe भोज्य: 'eatable rice.' Here the word भोज्य is used as an Adjective and not as a common noun. Hence there is no compounding even under II. I. 57.

चरण: चरण: \( 69 \) \( पदार्थिन्ति \) \( चरण: \) \( , \) \( चरण: \) \( , \) ( वात्तिमंहसङ्क )

४८५: \( \text{चरण: चरण:} \) \( \text{चरण:} \) \( \text{चरण:} \) \( \text{चरण:} \) ( वात्तिमंहसङ्क )

69. A case-inflected word denoting 'colour' is compounded with another case-inflected word which is in agreement with the former, and also denotes colour, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As कृष्णावर्तकः 'spotted antelope,' कृष्णावर्तकः 'antelope-dappled-with red.' कृष्णावर्तकः 'dappled with black spots' &c. For accent VI. 2. 3.
70. The word kumāra 'a boy' is compounded with co-ordinate words śramanā 'an ascetic,' &c., and the compound is Tat-purusha.

In this list of अनुष्ठ and the rest, with the words which are feminine such as अनुष्ठ, पति, kumāra, the word kumāra must also be in the feminine gender; with the words which appear as masculine, e.g. पति, पति, पति, the word kumāra must also be masculine, because 'a Prātipadika denotes, whenever it is employed also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.

As, kumāra and kumāra, 'a virgin ascetic or a bachelor ascetic.'

71. A case-inflected word denoting a quadruped is compounded with the co-ordinate word garbhīṇ, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

'pregnant cow,' 'pregnant she-goat.'

*Vart:*—It should be stated that the rule is confined to the words denoting genus of quadrupeds. So not here:—कालक्षणी or स्त्रिक्षणी गार्भिणी 'the pregnant cow called Kālākṣṇī or Svastimati.'

Why do we say 'quadrupeds?' Observe गार्भिणी गार्भिणी.
72. And the words mayūra-vyamsaka 'cunning like a peacock,' &c., are Tat-purusha compounds.

These are irregularly formed Tat-purusha compounds. The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of restriction. For though the compound like मयुरयंसक is allowable, we cannot form a compound like भर मयुरयंसक.

The following is the list of such compounds:—

समयंसककारवः ॥ 72 ॥ पदार्थ ॥ मयुरयंसक-आदेशः ॥

1. मयुरयंसककारवः ॥ 2. छाँट वर्णसककारवः ॥ 3. कयोरज मुरणकारवः ॥ 4. यवनमुरणकारवः ॥ 5. हस्तेच्युदस्तो अथ अस्य गुणस्तो अस्तु मयुरयंसककारवः ॥ 6. चालकपुर्णादेशः ॥ 7. चालकपुर्णादेशः ॥ 8. पुष्करः ॥ एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 9. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 10. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 11. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 12. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 13. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 14. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 15. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 16. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 17. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 18. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 19. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 20. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 21. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 22. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 23. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 24. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 25. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 26. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 27. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 28. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 29. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 30. ( एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 31. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 32. ( एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 33. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 34. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 35. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 36. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 37. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 38. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 39. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 40. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 41. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 42. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 43. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 44. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 45. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 46. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 47. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 48. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 49. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 50. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 51. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 52. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 53. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 54. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 55. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 56. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 57. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 58. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 59. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 60. ( एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 61. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 62. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 63. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 64. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 65. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 66. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 67. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 68. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 69. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 70. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 71. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 72. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 73. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥ 74. एहोदस्तो अध्ययस्तो अस्तु ॥
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BOOK SECOND.
CHAPTER II.

1. The words pūrva 'front,' apara 'near,' adhara 'lower,' and uttara 'upper,' are compounded when in construction with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word 'ekādhikaraṇa' (the unity of substance) is the attribute of or qualifies the word 'ekādesin.' This debars the Genitive Tat-purusha compound ordained by sūtra 3, which would have placed the words 'pūrva &c., last in the compound, whereas being here exhibited in the nominative case (I. 2. 45 and II. 2. 30), they take the precedence.

pūrva+kāstha = pūrva+kāstha: 'the front of the body'; kāstha+kāstha: 'the back of the body'; kāstha+kāstha: 'the lower part of the body'; and kāstha+kāstha: 'the upper part of the body.'

Why do we say 'what signifies a thing that has parts'? Observe pūrva nāme: kāstha. But not so in pūrva ṣaṅgāyanaṃṣa: invite the fore-most of the pupils: because here the substratum (adhi karaṇa) is not unity (eka). But how do we get the compounds like ghaṭā: 'noon'; kāśāḥ: 'evening'? The word 'ahna' is compounded with every word signifying its parts, because we learn this by inference from sūtra VI. 3. 110.

BOYAGUHĀYA YAKHAYA BHLIYAYA PĀDHAYA II

BOYAGUHĀYA YAKHAYA BHLIYAYA PĀDHAYA II

BOYAGUHĀYA YAKHAYA BHLIYAYA PĀDHAYA II

BOYAGUHĀYA YAKHAYA BHLIYAYA PĀDHAYA II
2. The word अर्धा when it signifies exactly equal parts i.e. halves, is always neuter, and is compounded with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing halved is numerically one; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word अर्धा is neuter when it means exactly equal parts or bisection.

The word एकादेशिन् and एकाचिकरण are understood here. This sūtra also debars sūtra 9; as एकादेशिन् 'a half of the pepper'; अर्धा कोशिक्यि 'a half of the Kośikta.'

Why do we say 'when it is neuter'? Otherwise we have द्वारा: 'half the village? नामांकि: 'half the city.'

The word 'ekadesiṃ' must also be taken here. Thus in the sentence अर्धा प्रतिवेशयम् 'a half of the animal is of Devadatta'; we cannot compound the word 'ardha' with 'Devadatta.'

The word 'ekādhikarana' must also be taken here. So we cannot compound अर्धा सिन्धिनि 'the half of the peppers.'

३. The words dvitya, 'second,' tritiya 'third,' chaturtha 'fourth,' and turya 'fourth,' are optionally compounded with that word which signifies a thing that has parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity. The compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

This also debars sūtra 3. By the force of the word 'optionally' used here, II. 2. 9. also applies. The prohibition contained in II. 2. 11. as to the compounding of a genitive with an ordinal, does not apply here; for that rule can find its scope in other ordinals than those mentioned here.

As द्वितीयं निसारा: = द्वितीयविषय 'second begging.' When we apply sūtra 9, we have निसाराधितं. So also with the words त्रितीयविषय, चतुर्थिणि, तुर्यविषय.

Part:—The word मूर्ति 'fourth' should also be included. As निसारभीष्टं or निसारविषय. 
But we cannot form compounds, for reasons given in the last sūtra, of the phrases द्वितीय विास्या विन्युक्तच or द्वितीय विन्ताणायः.

प्राप्ते च द्वितीयया || पद्यनि || प्राप्त: भाष्ये, च द्वितीयया, ( सत्दविभोवन्तो )

पूर्वसः: प्राप्त वाक्य द्वितीयया विन्ताणाय सह सवस्ये ततुप्पच वसादी नभवि।

4. The words prāpta ‘obtained,’ and āpānna ‘obtained’ are optionally compounded with words ending in a second case-affix and form Tat-purusha compound.

The anuvṛtti of the words ‘ekadesī’ and ‘ekādikarapa’ does not exist here. This aphorism states an alternative course to rule II. 1. 24. Thus we have भावविभिन्न: ( प्राप्ती विभिन्ना ) or भवविभिन्न: ‘obtained his livelihood.’ So also भावविभिन्न: or भवविभिन्न:.

काला: परिषापिणा || पद्यनि || काला: परिषापिणा, ( सत्दविभोवन्तो )

पूर्वसः: परिषापिणास्वयमस्त्रीणि परिषापिणे वसादीन वस तातुप्पच वसादी नभवि।

5. Words denoting time are compounded when in construction, with words denoting the object whose duration is measured by the time, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

5 This is also a kind of genitive compound. As भावो भावस्य = भावभाव: ‘a month old’ (born a month ago.) So also वर्षधिनत: = ‘a year old.’

मास || पद्यनि || मास, ( सम्यः सत्दविभोवन्तो )

पूर्वसः: मासी समयवेदन्त सह सत्त्वते ततुप्पच वसादी नभवि।

6. The negative word nāḥ is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As न प्राप्त: = भवाप्त: ‘who is not a Brāhmaṇa,’ (though a man). The न of न is elided by VI. 3. 73:

Vart:-The न of न is also elided even when the second member is a verb, provided that censure is implied as भवाप्त: सं भाव: ‘thou cookest not O knave.’
The word बन्धु has six senses:—(1) बालस्वर ‘likeness or resemblance’; as भागस्वर ‘one like a Brāhmaṇa and wearing the sacred thread &c., but not a Brāhmaṇa, but a Kshatriya or a Vaisya.’ (2) अवस्थ ‘absence,’ ‘negation,’ ‘want,’ or ‘privation,’ as अवस्थ ‘absence of knowledge.’ (3) अंत ‘difference’ or ‘distinction,’ as अंत ‘not a cloth, but something different from or other than a cloth.’ (4) अभाजता ‘smallness,’ ‘diminution’ used as diminutive particle, as अभाजता ‘having a slender waist.’ (5) असाधारण ‘badness,’ ‘unfitness,’ having a depreciative sense, as असाधारण ‘wrong or improper time.’ (6) विरोध ‘opposition,’ ‘contrariety,’ as विरोध ‘opposite of morality,’ ‘immorality.’

7. The word दशत ‘a little,’ is compounded with a case-inflected word which does not end with a krit-affix; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Varṣ:—It should be stated that the word दशत is only compounded with words expressing qualities (adjectives), as दशस्वर ‘a somewhat proud.’ दशस्वर ‘a little brownish.’ दशस्वर ‘a little hideous.’ दशस्वर ‘a little raised.’ दशस्वर ‘a little yellow.’ दशस्वर ‘a little red.’

Why do we say ‘with words expressing qualities’? Observe दशस्वर: there is no compounding here.

8. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As राजा पुरुषो—राजपुरुष: ‘the king’s man’ राजपुरुष: ‘the Brāhmaṇa’s blanket.’

Varṣ:—When a word takes the genitive case because of its connection with a word ending in a krit affix; that word may be compounded with such a krit word. Rule II. 3. 65., states the conditions when a krit-formed
word governs the genitive case. Thus स्त्राहिकन्: ‘a hatchet’ (a fuel cutter), पलासाद्रियन्: ‘Palasadestroyer.’

Why do we say so? The very fact that a special rule has been made for the compounding of genitive cases governed by क्रिय-नouns, shows that other words which take genitive case by some special rule, are not so compounded. Such as the genitive cases ordained by II. 3. 38, 51, 52. In fact the genitive case ordained by any rule of पाणिनि, other than II. 3. 51, is a ‘प्रतिपदाविद्वेण’ genitive; and a word taking genitive case according to those rules, is incapable of composition; see वार्तिक under II. 2. 10.

9. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with the word yājaka ‘sacrificer’ &c., and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The compound which was ordained by the last aphorism, would have been prohibited by Rule 16 in the case of यानक &c.; hence the necessity of the present aphorism to guard against such a prohibition. As महायाजाक: ‘a Brähmana’s sacrificer.’ भाष्यभाषक: ‘one who sacrifices for Kathatriyas.

(वार्तिक).

1. यानक. 2. पुजक. 3. परिशारक. 4. परिशेष. 5. परिशेष. 6. लोक or लोकस. 7. भाषापक. 8. उस्ताह or उस्ताह. 9. उस्ताह. 10. हुज. 11. मह. 12. द्वापायक. 13. परिशारक. 14. निक. 15. कुट. 16. वसेख.

Vart:-A word in the genitive case is compounded with a word expressing a quality which abides in the former word. As महायाजाक: ‘Brähmana-caste.’ चंदनमय: ‘sandal-scent.’ कार्यालयस्त: ‘the wood-apple juice.’

Vart:-So also with an adjective in the comparative degree; and the sign of comparison हर is elided. Thus ब्रह्मचर्य हरेवत: = गर्वेवेव: ‘the whitest of all.’ श्रेष्ठमहांस: = सम्बलांस: ‘the greatest among all.’ This ‘वार्तिक’ is an exception in anticipation to the next śūtra which prohibits composition, when the genitive has the force of specification. Thus गर्भमुखाणिः: ‘a cow whitest among all.’
10. A word in the genitive case is not compounded with another, when the force of the sixth case-affix is that of specification (nirdhârana).

With this sūtra, begins a series of exceptions to the composition of words in the genitive case. The separation of one from the many, on account of its genus, attribute and action, is called 'nirdhârana.' As साधिक्षेत्र नमुद्वारी निसक्षेत्र: 'the Kshatriya is the most powerful amongst men.' कृष्ण याच विवेकातिक्षेत्र: 'the black cow is the most milk-giving amongst cows.' वासर्यपायां शिक्षान: 'the runner is the swiftest amongst walkers.' This form of genitive meaning 'amongst,' is ordained by sūtra II. 3. 41.

Part:—A word taking a genitive-case by force of any rule other than sūtra II. 3. 50, is never compounded. See sūtra 8. Thus the following words are never compounded साधिक्षेत्र स्थान: मेघोदान्य.

पृष्टारुणादशिलां शुद्धयुत्तासामान्यिकरणेण II 11 II पदार्थ | पृष्ट पुनः तुष्टि-रूप-अव्यय-रूप-सामान्यिकरणेन (बशिष्टि ) II

पृष्टि: पृष्ट पुनः पुष्टि-रूप अव्यय सामान्यिकरणेन इथे: वह पदार्थ न समस्ति II

11. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word having the sense of an ordinal, an attribute, or satisfaction, or with a participle ending in the affix called 'sat' (III. 2. 127) or an indeclinable, or ending with the affix tavya, or with a word denoting the same object (i.e., when they are in apposition).

The word 'artha' joins with all the first three words, as (1) चार्खा चार्खा: 'fifth amongst the pupils;' चातुर्थापति इत्यादि.
(2) कालक्षण कालक्षण: 'the blackness of the crow;' बलकाय: चातुर्थापति.
(4) वामार्गवश कृष्ण: 'the doing of a Brâhma.' वामार्गवश चूक्ष्ण: 'the doing of a Brâhma.'
(5) वामार्गवश कृष्ण: 'being done of Brâhma.' वामार्गवश हुः.
(6) चातुर्थापति चातुर्थापति.

When however the affix is सत्य, having the indicatory सत्य (III. 1. 96) there is compounding as प्रायावतेबस 'the Brâhma's duty.' (7) राज: परदिमुक्तकस्थ 'of the king Pataliputra' पाठिने: सूतानाधि 'of the sūtra composer.
Compound Prohibited.

Paṇini. We can however form a compound like the following सुप्रकारपाठित्व:।
By the general rule relating to words in apposition contained in सूत्र II. 1,
57, the difference between that सूत्र and the present, is as to position of the
words. In the genitive compound the genitive word would have stood first
if compounded; not so in the other, there the quality stands first.

चेन ् चुलाणा ् च ॥ १२ ॥ पदार्थ ् च चेन ्, च, चुलाणा ्, ( सो
वस्त्री ् )

वृहत्: ॥ कौ ् च: ् चुलाणा ् बिहिन्तेन ् चेन ् न समस्येन ॥

12. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is
not compounded with a word ending with the
affix 'kta,' when the force of 'kta' is to denote 'respect' &c.

The affix क् is added in the sense of inclination, understanding 'or
respect by सूत्र III. 2. 188. The present सूत्र alludes to that aphorism when
it uses the word पुनः: and पुज्ञा itself is used only as an illustration and includes
the other two significations of 'kta' also, namely मति 'inclination,' and
बुद्धि 'understanding.'

As रात्रि नाता:—पुज्ञा:—पुज्ञा: 'the king wishes, understands or respects.'

Why do we say 'when meaning respect?' When 'kta' has not this
signification there is compounding. As झालित्व 'pupil's laughing.'

अविशेषाविशिष्टा ् च ॥ १३ ॥ पदार्थ ् च अविशेषा-विशिष्टा ्, च,
( सोवस्त्री ् न चेन ् )

वृहत्: ॥ अविशेषाविशिष्टा ् चेन ् न समस्येन ॥

13. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is
not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,'
when the force of the latter is to denote 'locality' in
which something has happened.

When the affix क् is attached to roots denoting 'fixedness, motion
or eating,' it gives the sense of agent and of location in connection with the
action denoted by the roots i.e., that the action is located by the agent in
this or that site (III. 4. 76); as देवेन्याय यात्रा ् 'here they have gone.' देवेन्याय तुवनः
'here they have eaten.'

करणि ् ् ॥ १४ ॥ पदार्थ ् करणि ्, च, ( सोवस्त्री ् न )

वृहत्: ॥ करणि ् च या ् चेन ् न समस्येन ॥

14. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is
not compounded with another, when the force of the
genitive case is that of the accusative.
The anuvṛtī of ॥ does not extend to this aphorism. The word karma qualifies shashṭhi. Sūtra II. 3. 66 declares the conditions when, instead of the accusative, the genitive may be employed i.e., when the agent and the object of the action denoted by the nouns formed by kṛta affixes, are both used in a sentence, the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent; as भाग्यतः नां श्रेयो: श्रेर्यो: धीमान: ‘the milking of cows without a cowherd is a wonder.’ ौष्ठेऽश्री: धीमान: ‘eating of rice agrees with Devadatta.’ श्रीमृत्युः श्रीमृत्युः ‘the drinking of milk by Devadatta is indeed excellent.’ तिमित्रा तिमित्रा ‘wonderful is the structure of sūtras by Pāṇini.’

शुचीकार्योऽसः कतर्थे ॥ ९ ॥ पद्धतिः ॥ शुची-अक्षायाम्, कतर्थे ॥
(वृःकेरे ॥)

पृष्ठ: ॥ कर्तारे या वृष्टि या वृष्ठेन या एस न समस्ते ॥

15. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with ‘trich’ or ‘aka,’ when the force of the genitive case is that of an agent.

The word ‘kartari’ qualifies the genitive-case. The affix श्रुः is taught in sūtra III. 1. 133, and the affix श्रुः is not a single affix; all affixes that have an element श्रुः are श्रुः, such as युवुः or युः or युः (sūtra VII. 1. 1.) Thus श्रुः श्रुः ‘your honor’s repose’ श्रुः श्रुः श्रुः ‘your eating’ श्रुः श्रुः श्रुः ‘your going in front.’

The affix श्रुः is employed always in forming nouns of agency; hence there can be no example of a word in a genitive case having the force of an agent, governing another word also having the force of an agent. The श्रुः therefore serves no purpose in this aphorism, but applies to the sūtras that follow.

The genitive has the force of an agent under conditions mentioned in II. 3. 65.

Why do we say ‘when it denotes agent?’ Observe श्रुःतिकोऽगुः यापरां श्रुःति

कर्तारे ॥ १६ ॥ पद्धतिः ॥ कतर्थे ॥ (श्रुःऽन्नकाहाः)

पृष्ठ: ॥ कर्तारे ॥ या या वृहर्द या वृहर्द या वृहर्द ॥

16. A word ending with the sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with ‘trich’ or ‘aka’ affix when the force of these latter affixes is that of an agent.

The word ‘kartari’ qualifies the word ‘aka’ only and not ‘trich,’ for the latter always denotes the agent and nothing else.
As भृगु 'the creator of waters' पुरुष नेश 'the destroyer of cities' वर्णवर्ण 'the holder of thunderbolt.'

It might be suggested that the word भृगु being read in the class of यानक (sūtra 9) ought to be compounded. The word भृगु there means 'husband,' while in the example we have given, it means 'holder.'

The above are examples of words formed by द्रु. Now we shall give examples of words formed by भृगु; thus भृगुत्व पीतक 'the eater of rice,' सर्वभृगु पाप: 'the drinker of saktu.'

सन्तु: कृतिकोलिकायोः || 16 || पद्यानि || संयतं, कृतिकोलिकायोः, (द्रुतपूष्ठी) ||

प्रतिष्ठा: कृतिरां द्रुविधाओऽन्तरणे निर्यां पदार्थं समाये सातुरणेष्व समाये भवति ||

17. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending with आ, when these affixes denote a sport or a livelihood; and the compound is तत्पुरुषाः.

This is a नित्य-सामासिक incapable of analysis. This anuvṛtti of the word 'ना' which began with sūtra 10, does not extend further. The affix द्रु never has the sense of sporting or livelihood; the only examples possible are of 'akra.' Thus भृगुत्व पुष्पादिपिका 'a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which uddālaka flowers are broken or crushed.' So also गुरुपुष्पादिपिका 'a play of gathering flowers.'

So also द्रुस्त्राकाः: 'one who earns his bread by painting or marking the teeth.' द्रुमोद: 'a nail-painter by profession.'

Why do we say 'when meaning sporting or livelihood.' Observe भृगुत्व पीतकः:

कुतिनिदायः || 16 || पद्यानि || कु-नगतिम-आदयः || (सन्तति-

नित्यसमायः:सह्) ||

प्रतिष्ठा: कु-नगतिम-आदयः: समर्यं भग्नानादिपिका तस्मि पिनयं समाये सातुरणेष्व समाये भवति ||

शालिकाः || पापश्री पापश्री भवाभा ||

शालिकाः || भवाभा: कृति-द्रुवि पापश्री ||

शालिकाः || पवित्रविद्या भवाभा: पुष्पादिपिका ||

शालिकाः || निर्यात: कृति-द्रुवि पुष्पाः ||

शालिकाः || द्रुपद सह निर्यादिपिका निर्यादिपिका: पुष्पादिपिका द्रुपद सह निर्यादिपिका ||

शालिकाः || पापश्री कृति-द्रुवि प्रक्षणियनां मालिकाः ||
18. The indeclinable word ku 'bad,' the particles called gati, and the prepositions pra, &c., are invariably compounded with other words with which they are in construction; and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

The word ku means 'badness or sin'; as, षुरुषम्: 'a sinful man'; (2) Gati (I. 4. 60) as, वररूपत्: 'having asserted'; (I. 4. 61.) वष्टीकरति ||

So also with the words व &c., when they are mere particles and not used as 'upasargas,' or 'gati'; as षुर् meaning 'bad,' in षुरुषम्: 'a bad man'; so also शु and अवि meaning 'respect' in शुरुषम्: 'honorable man'; अशुरुषम्: 'excellent man'; भा means 'a little' as भाषिषुम्: 'brownish.

Generally these are attributive words but they are found elsewhere also, as कौष्ठ्य or कौष्ठ्यम् or कौष्ठ्यानि 'tepid.' So also षुरुषम्: अशुरुषम् and भाषिषुम्.||

Vart:-The words व &c., when the sense is that of 'gone' or the like, combine with what ends with the first case-affix. Thus श्रावः: 'a hereditary teacher'; so also श्रावः.

Vart:-The words अवि &c., when the thing denoted has the sense of 'gone beyond' or the like, combine with what ends with the second case-affix. As अवि गयान: गयानम्: अवि गयान: (I. 2. 44 and 48) 'without a bed-stead,' अविगयान: 'exceeding the necklace in beauty.'

Vart:-The words वषु &c., when the thing denoted is 'cried out' &c., are compounded with what ends with third case-affix as वषुसुर: कौशिकतेषु = वषु कौशिकिः: 'what is announced by the cuckoo' i. e., the Spring.

Vart:-The words वषु &c., when the thing denoted is 'weary' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fourth case-affix as पवित्रस्मिन: पवित्रस्मिन: = पवित्रस्मिन: 'weary of study.' वषुस्मिनिः: 'wealth' (sufficient to support a maiden).

Vart:-The words वषु &c., when the thing denoted is 'gone beyond' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fifth case-affix, as वषु पाणिपाणिः: 'who has gone beyond Kausāmbi'; so also वषु पाणिपाणिः.

Vart:-A word enters into composition with वषु 'like'; and there is no elision of the case-affix, and the first member of the compound retains its natural accent, as श्रावःविविष्र 'like a word and its meaning,' श्रावःविविष्र 'like two garments.'

Vart:-Prohibition must be stated of व &c., when they are 'Karma pravachaniya'; as षुर् मात: षुर्वलीक्षितम् षुर्वलीक्षितम् 'the lightening flashes in the direction of the tree.' षुर्वलीक्षितम् मात: मात: 'Devadatta is good towards his mother.'
19. An upapada or attendant word (III. 1. 92), which does not end with a tense-affix (III. 4. 78) is invariably compounded with that with which it is in construction. The compound thus formed is Tat-purusha.

Thus कुमार: 'one who makes pots,' कुमारक: 'one who makes cities.'

Why do we say 'which does not end with a tense-affix'? Observe द्वारादेवीको व्रतम 'he goes to bring fuel.'

It might be objected, that the question of compounding with a word ending in a tense-affix is irrelevant; since the anuvrtti of the words शूरु शूर is understood here, so that अस्त will find no scope. To this we reply that we should infer that the words शूरु शूर should not be read into this and the last aphorism. The following Paribhāsha also arises from this sūtra.

"It should be stated that Gatis, Kārakas, and Upapadas, are compounded with bases that end with kṛit-affixes, before a case-termination or feminine-affix has been added to the latter."

The result is that Upapadas and Gatis are not compounded by sūtras 18 and 19 with case-inflected nouns, but they are compounded with primary nouns before a case-termination or feminine affix is added to the latter. The same considerations apply to kārakas also. Thus भूषण तीनी 'a female brought in exchange for a horse,' is formed correctly. भूषण कीयस्य या भूषण कीय; add कीय (IV. 1. 50) and we have भूषण कीयी. If on the other hand, the feminine affix गौ गौ had been added to कीय previous to its composition with भूषण the form would have been भूषण कीयव, and we should have had no base ending with short गौ and in that case कीयव could not have been added by IV. 1. 50.

20. When an upapada is compounded with an indeclinable, then it is compounded only with those avyayayas which end in the affix नव.
This makes a restriction to the general compounding of upapadas with avayayas as ordained by the last rule. As स्वादःकाररुक्ति ‘he eats having made his food sweet.' So also स्वादःकार ‘having seasoned.' The avayayas ending in अम् are formed by the affix गुल्ल (III. 4. 26) &c.

Why do we say 'with avayayas ending in अम्?' Observe कालो गुल्ल ‘the time of eating.' Here the avayaya ends in दृष्टि of the affix गुल्ल added by rule III. 3. 167 (the affix tumun may be applied, when the word in construction is not a verb, but काल, समय or वैध ‘time.'

The force of the word 'only' is to indicate that this composition takes place in those cases where a rule ordains अम् only, after any root with regard to any upapada; so that no composition will take place where the affix अम् as well as another affix is ordained after a root with certain upapadas. Thus सूत्र III. 4. 24, declares: "the affixes गुल्ल and गुल्ल come after a verb when the words अम्, समय and वैध are upapadas." Here the अम् (affix गुल्ल) is not the sole affix ordained; but there is a co-ordinate affix with it namely गुल्ल. Therefore in अभेवोर्गुल्ल ‘having first eaten' there is no composition because अभेवोर्गुल्ल is not the only form we can have; for, अभेवोर्गुल्ल is also used in the same sense.

रूपायाम्बृतीसन्यतन्तरस्तापम् || 23 || पदार्थि || वृत्ति-प्रकृतीविन अन्यतरस्तापम् (सत्तगदात्राध्यायेन) ||

रूपि: || उपर्रायाम्बृतीसन्यतन्तरस्तापम् || प्रकृति वान्यप्रमाणविन सान्यायायथायेन सहायततरस्तापम् ||

21. An upapada ending with a third case-affix (III. 4. 47) &c., is compounded optionally with an inclined form by the affix अम् and the compound is तत्तपुरुषा.

The term अम् is understood here. The upapadas ending with a third case-affix &c., are given in sūtra III. 4. 47 and the sūtras that follow. As मुल्लकौशिकुरुक्ति ‘he eats after having relished the food with radish.' So also पार्वतिको or पार्वतिकोविन्दु ‘he lies pressing on his ribs.' For upapadas ending with other cases, see sūtra III. 4 53 &c. This being an optional rule, it is not necessary that the upapada should be tulya-vidhi with the अम्; so that this optional compounding may take place even under rule III. 4. 59 where अम् is not the only affix enjoined, but there is दृष्टि as well. This vibhaśā may therefore be called both दृष्टि and अभेवोद्विब्हाषा. It is पदार्थ with regard to those rules where अम् is the only affix employed; and it is भाव with regard to those where अम् is not the only affix.
22. An upapada ending with a third case-affix or any other of the remaining four cases, is optionally compounded with a word ending with the affix ktvā; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This rule provides for avayayas ending in कु which the last two rules did not provide. Thus we have उच्चे: कुतु or उच्चे: कुतुर. Here the affix कु is added by sūtra III. 4. 59. In the case when there is composition, the कु is replaced by the substitute कू; otherwise not. See VII. 1. 37.

The condition of the upapadas being in the 3rd case &c., applies here also. Therefore there is no composition in भार कुतु or भारु कुतु.

23. The remaining compound is called Bahuvrīhi.

A compound which does not fall within any one of the rules given above, will be Bahuvrīhi. This is a governing aphorism and extends up to sūtra 28. Thus विषयुः ‘possessed of a brindled cow.’

24. Two or more words, ending in any case-affix, form a compound, denoting another new thing, not connoted by those words individually; and the compound is called Bahuvrīhi.
The Bahuvrihi compound comes with the force of all the affixes but the first; as वालिका वम्बे = पालिका वम्बे: ‘a water-reached village.’ अ कर्मण् = अ कर्मण्: ‘a bull by whom a cart is drawn.’ सर्ववनस्थिता: ‘Rādra to whom cattle is offered.’ भोजनात्मक स्माली: ‘a vessel in which rice is placed.’ वियमुखविश्राव्य: ‘Devadatta possessed of a brindled cow.’ श्रीपालक: श्रीपालक: ‘a village possessed of heroic men.’

Bahuvrihi compound is not formed with the sense of the first case. As गृहेन गृहे: ‘gone when it had rained.’

Why do we say ‘more than one’? So that there may be complication of many words, as in the following verse:

सुभृतनदनमेव सुजातलिपावासा। गृही परिवर्तनमय कुली हेलोरविशिष्टम्।

‘Why was the daughter of the king of the mountains married by Siva possessed of beautifully-delicite-locked-hair, and cheap-deer-skin-dress.’

Vart.—Bahuvrihi compounds are formed of words having the same case, so that words not being in apposition are not so compounded; as चारणशिरस्वतः.

Vart.—The compounds of indeclinables are Bahuvrihi; as रुपेन्द्रक: ‘possessed of raised mouth.’ So also नारेशुष्कः &c.

Vart.—The second member is elided in a Bahuvrihi compound of which the first member is a word in the locative case, or a word with which comparison is made (उपात्त). As, कप्पे रिख्या: कालोद्यस्त = कप्पे काल: ‘in whose throat there is blackness (Siva).’ तत्सितोऽऽ: ‘who has hair on his chest.’ उपभु नुखिलिग पुष्पेऽवस्था = उपभु नुखिलिग: ‘he whose face is like that of a camel.’ जाराजुक: ‘ass-faced.’

Vart.—Bahuvrihi compound may be formed after eliding the second member with a word in the sixth case denoting ‘collection or modification.’ As कैलापों संपाद्या: = कैलापों रिख्या: कैलापंपाकेघुलमुः = कैलापुष्कः: ‘he who has a collection of hair as crest.’ युष्मेऽव विश्वारुपेणान्तविकाशस्य = युष्मेऽवाकाराः: ‘he who has ornaments made of gold.’

Vart.—The optional compounding of what arises from a verbal root coming after श &c. should be stated, and the elision of the subsequent term. As ग्राहितं सर्ववस्था: = ग्राहितं: ‘a tree of which the leaves are all fallen.’ So also ब्रजनागः.

Vart.—The compounding of words signifying what exists, coming after the negative नम्ब should be stated, and the optional elision of the second of the terms. As, अभियानिः पुष्पो वारस: = अभियानिः: ‘childless.’ So also अमन्त्र: ‘wifeless.’

Vart.—Compounds like अविश्वसी should be stated as Bahuvrihi. As अविश्वसी ग्राहितं ‘a Brāhmaṇ having milk.’ These words are indeclinables. The word ‘asti’ here is an indeclinable though appearing as a verb.
25. Indeclinable words and the words āśāsana, 'near,' adūra 'near,' adhikā 'more,' and the words called saṁkhyā (Numerals) are compounded with another saṁkhyā word, when the sense is that of a numeral or saṁkhyā. The compound is Bahuṣvrihi.

Thus (V. 4. 73) 'those who are near ten i.e. nine or eleven.' Similarly  āṣāsana: 'nineteen or twenty-one' (VI. 4. 142). So also adūra: 'nine or eleven.'

So also two 'numerals' may be compounded; as, ṛṣiga: 'two or three.'

26. Words which are the names of the points of the compass are compounded, when the compound signifies the intermediate point, and the compound so formed is Bahuṣvrihi.

Thus (क्षिप्रपूर्वकं)  dakshina-pūrva, 'south-east,' (the direction midway between south and east)  पूर्वकर्त्त्व: 'north-east.'
Vart—Whenever a Bahuvrihi gets the designation of Sarvanāman (I. 1. 28, 29), the first term becomes masculine, by VI. 3. 34; as द्वितीय + पूर्ण = द्वितीयपूर्ण.

तत्र तेनेदिउतिः सङ्के भवुषां पदार्थं तत्र, तेन, नृद्र, द्वित, सङ्के (सङ्कुक्कृतिः)॥

पूर्णं तत्र तेनेदिउतिः सङ्के भवुषां घर वेल देव तत्रादिविभिः साधनानाम वाक्यविभिः सहसा नृद्र नृद्रिः॥

27. Two homonymous words (both being in the locative case or both being in the instrumental case) are compounded, the sense being ‘this happens therein or with that.’ The compound so formed is Bahuvrihi.

The word तत्र means ‘a word in the locative case,’ and तेन ‘a word in the instrumental case.’ The word सङ्के or ‘similar form’ applies to both. The word द्वित indicates that the meaning of the compound so formed should be learned from popular usage, therefore it means, ‘seizing, striking, fighting.’ All these senses are implied by द्वित. The word is exhibited in the locative case, if the sense is that of seizing; and the word is exhibited in the instrumental case, when the sense is that of striking; the word indicated by the word द्वित is पूर्ण; as रावितिर्भुद्रु जुड्य श्रीतत्त्वः पूर्ण पूर्ण = कोशाकृति (VI. 3. 137 and V. 4. 127.) ‘hair to hair, fighting by pulling each other’s hair’; द्वित = ‘hair against hair’; तदेव तदेव मदर्याह हर्ष पूर्ण = श्वायनेतिः ‘stick against stick, fight with stick and stave,’ so also शुद्धानुप्रांतः. In the above examples the samāsānta affix द्वित is added at the end by rule V. 4. 127; and all such words are Aryaya or indeclinable. The final vowel of the first term is lengthened by Rule VI. 3. 137.

Why do we say ‘having the same form’? We cannot form such a compound from the following: द्वितिः शुद्धानुप्रांतः शुद्धानुप्रांतः हर्ष पूर्णपूर्णपूर्ण.

तेन सहेति तुध्ययोगें भवुषां पदार्थं तेन, नृद्र, द्वित, तुध्ययोगे (सङ्कुक्कृतिः)॥

पूर्णं तेनेदिउतिः सङ्के भवुषां घर वेल देव तत्रादिविभिः साधनानाम वाक्यविभिः सहसा नृद्र नृद्रिः॥

28. The word saha ‘together’ is compounded with a word ending with the third case-affix and the compound is Bahuvrihi; provided that, the companion and the person accompanied are equally affected by any action or thing, in the same manner.
Thus धनुधार रहस्यमात्र:—धनु: (VI. 3. 82, धनु changed to धनु) 'he has come accompanied by his son'. धनुधार: 'accompanied by the pupil.' धनुधार: 'accompanied by the servant.'

Why do we say 'tulya-yoga'? Witness धनुधार ऋषिनि: पुन: अधिक वस्तु वर्णी 'the she-ass carries the whole burden, though there exist her ten sons.'

How do we get the forms like धनुधार, ऋषिनि, धनुधार: &c., in which there is no 'tulya-yoga'? It shows that this condition is of limited operation (पुरुष गीता भारतैयाम). धनुधार: II २९ II पदानि II च-अर्थः, धनुधारः, (ऋषिनिकम्) II पुनः: II धनुधार: चन्द्र: धनुधारः यज्ञार्थं धनुधारः भवति II

29. When a set of several words ending with case-affixes stands in a relation expressible by 'and,' the set is made into a compound; and the compound so formed is called Dvandva.

The meanings that may be indicated by धनु: 'and' are four, (1) धनुधार: 'community of reference,' (2) धनुधार: 'collateralness of reference, (3) धनुधार: 'mutual conjunction' and (4) धनुधार: 'aggregate.' In the first two cases धनु: community of reference, and collateralness of reference, composition does not take place, because the words are not directly related to one another (II, 1. 1). Composition is enjoined therefore, when the sense of धनु: is that of mutual conjunction and lumping. Thus we cannot compound धनुधार: धनु: धनुधार: धनुधारः धनुधारः 'reverence God and thy Guru' or धनुधारः धनुधारः धनुधारः 'go for alms and bring the cow.' But we can compound the following साधन न्यायोपाध्यायु: साधनयोपाध्यायु: 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees.' So धनु: धनुधारः-पदानि: धनुधारः धनुधारः

30. The upasarjana (I. 2. 43) is to be placed first in a compound.

The word साधने is understood here. The upasarjana being the word exhibited in the nominative case in the rules relating to साधन, must stand first. The constant application of this rule has been illustrated in the previous aphorisms. Without this rule, there would have been no fixity as to the position of words.
31. the upasarjana is to be put last in the words Rajadantia &c.

Thus राजदान्तिया (स्तवानी रावण) 'a chief of teeth' (i.e., an eyetooth). It is not merely the upasarjana that is placed last in these examples; but words which by some other rules would have stood first, stand in this list as second.

1. राजदान्ति 2. अभेदसम्य 3. लिन्कायिकंत 4. नस्रनिलिता 5. दिन्तिकम 6. मुन्दुकाविन्द 7. अविकरणप्रमी 8. अविकरणद (अविकरणद) 10. अनांतकम 11. भावतिकंत 12. नाकानकरकम 13. ज्ञानकरकम 14. भावकरकम 15. (भावकरकम) 16. भिन्नवान्तकम 17. भिन्नवान्तकम 18. भिन्नवान्तकम 19. भिन्नवान्तकम 20. भिन्नवान्तकम 21. भिन्नवान्तकम 22. भिन्नवान्तकम 23. भिन्नवान्तकम 24. भिन्नवान्तकम 25. भिन्नवान्तकम 26. भिन्नवान्तकम 27. भिन्नवान्तकम 28. भिन्नवान्तकम 29. भिन्नवान्तकम 30. भिन्नवान्तकम 31. (भिन्नवान्तकम) 32. भिन्नवान्तकम 33. (भिन्नवान्तकम) 34. पुलाकारकम 35. (पुलावककम 36. पुलावककम 37. (पुलावककम 38. पुलावककम 39. (पुलावककम 40. पुलावककम 41. (पुलावककम 42. पुलावककम 43. (पुलावककम 44. पुलावककम 45. पुलावककम 46. पुलावककम 47. पुलावककम 48. पुलावककम 49. पुलावककम 50. पुलावककम 51. पुलावककम 52. पुलावककम 53. पुलावककम 54. पुलावककम 55. पुलावककम 56. पुलावककम 57. पुलावककम 58. पुलावककम 59. पुलावककम 60. पुलावककम 61. पुलावककम

32. In a Dvandva compound, let a word called धि (I. 4. 7) stand first.

As हरिहरे 'Hari and Hara.' So also प्रेयसी and प्रेयंसी. Where there are more than one such धि words in a compound, any one may be fixed upon as first member, and the rest to follow no fixed rule. As प्रेयसी or प्रेयंसी.

Why do we say 'Dvandva?' Observe विरसस्तु which is Tat-purusha.

33. In a Dvandva compound, let what begins with a vowel and ends with a short च be placed first.
Thus, ṛṣṇaḥ, ‘the camel and the ass.’ ṛṣṇaḥ, ‘the camel and the hare.’

Varṇ.—When there are many such words, there is no fixed rule. As भर्तयोधनः or ह्रिषयस्य.

Varṇ.—In the Dvandva compounds the वि would stand first only then, when the rule of भ्रमण्यात्रा does not prohibit it. Thus न्यायत्यस्य or न्यायत्यस्य. Here भविष्य छात्र घोष though वि, do not stand first, because ह्रिष्य beginning with a vowel and ending in short अ, by the rule of vipratishedha takes precedence (I. 4. 2).

Why do we say ‘प्रद्वि with श्व’ (I. 1. 70)? This rule does not apply when it is long अ as भर्तय + प्रम् = भर्तयोधन or प्रमाणोऽः.

भर्तयोधनः II 34 II प्रद्वि II भर्तयोधनः, (महासेनेवार्थः) II

34. In a Dvandva compound, that word-form which has fewer vowels, is to be placed first.

Thus श्रव + स्वयम् = स्वयम्ययोऽः; and भवसायस्या:.

When there are many words, there is no fixed rule. As श्रव्याभमनिद्रा: or श्रव्याभमनिद्रा:.

Varṇ.—Names of seasons and stars consisting of equal number of syllables should be arranged in the compound according to their natural order of succession. As श्रव्याभमनिद्रा:; श्रव्याभमनिद्रा:; श्रव्याभमनिद्रा:.

When they do not consist of equal syllables, the shorter should be placed first; as सर्वामनोऽः.

2 Varṇ.—A word consisting of light (laghu) vowels is placed first. As, ध्रुवर्त्याः; ध्रुवर्त्याः.

Varṇ.—The more honorable of the two is placed first; as, भारती ‘mother and father,’ एकत्र ‘faith and intelligence’ बौद्धवर्त्य ‘initiation and austerity.’
Vart.:—The castes are placed according to their order: as, भृद्रुप्ता, 'Brahmapa Kshatriya Vaisya and Sudra.' There is no limitation of equal number of syllables here.

Vart.:—The name of the elder brother is placed first; as, सूक्ष्मिश्रेष्ठसुभृद्रुप्त, ‘Yudhishthira and Arjuna.’

Vart.:—Among numerals, the less in value is placed first; as द्रव, ‘two; and three'; चिन्तु, ‘three and four.’

35. A word with the seventh case-affix and an epithet are to be placed first in the Bahuvarhi compound.

In a Bahuvarhi, all words are upasarjana, and hence there is no rule for their arrangement. The present aphorism declares that rule; as, एकवत: ‘who is black in the throat.’ So also विषय, संप्रास, शुभम, यथार्थ.

Vart.:—The sarvanāmas and the numerals stand first; as, सर्वस्थित, अनेक, हिस्तु, श्रुतु. In a compound formed by the composition of sarvanāma words with a sāṅkhyā word, the latter should stand first; as, अनेककोष, श्रुतकद्वय: &c.

Vart.:—The word विष may optionally stand first; as, पुन्विष: or विषपुषः.

Vart.:—After the words मुख्य: &c., the word in the 7th case-affix comes as subsequent; as, मुख्यकु: ‘a-hump-necked'; मुख्यिनः &c.

How is then the word बहुमुखः ‘hump in the shoulder’ to be explained? This is governed by the general rule, and not the exceptional vārtika.
36. What ends with a Nishtā (I. 1. 26) shall stand first in a Bahuvrthi compound.

Thus बुधसङ्गी: ‘one who is devoted to devotion’; सुवक्ष: ‘one who has made the mat’; निपिताधिक: ‘one who has begged alms’.

Vart.—A word expressing jāti (genus), time, or pleasure, is placed subsequent; as, शास्त्रेन्तरपति, नावाहाक, and निपुषस: &c.

Vart.—The words ending in Nishtā or in the locative case stand subsequent, when coming after words denoting ‘striking’; as अस्तुपद ‘ready with sword’; रक्षाका: ‘holding sceptre in hand’.

चाषितमयादिक्षः II 37 II पदाति II या, बाधित-अन्तिय-साधिक्षः
( निष्टा पूवेन्द्र )

पूर्वः II भाषान्वयाविकु नियतान्त धूरः शा भोजक्षः II

37. In the compounds Ahitāgni and the like, the Nishtā-formed word may optionally be placed first.

Thus सम्बाहिक्षः or भाषाविनी: ‘one who has consecrated fire.’

1. भाषाविनीः. 2. जागुपुरः. 3. जागरणः. 4. जागरुषः. 5. वैतरीः.
6. पूवेष्टः. 7. नयारः. 8. क्रामारः. 9. गायत्रः.

वाषुविनायाकः:

1. गुसुवः. 2. अस्तुपदः. 3. (अस्तुपद). 4. रक्षाका: भोजाक्षः.

This भाषाविनी class is Akritigāna; so that words like धूर &c., must be looked for in this class.

कहारं: कामसारे II 38 II पदाति II कहारं, कामसारे,
(सनाते पूवेन्द्र )

पूर्वः II कहारास: राष्ट्र: कामसारे सनाते शा धूर्षसङ्गी: II

38. The words kadāraḥ and the like, are optionally placed first in the karma-dhāraya.

Thus बाधिताष्ट्रिनिः or जीतिनिक्षरः Kadārajāminīḥ or jaiminikadāraḥ.
‘The tawny Jaimini.’
This śūtra enjoins an option where by general rule gupa words being attributes would have invariably stood first.

Why do we say 'in the karmadārāya compound'? Observe कर्मधार-पुरुषो मान 'a village of tawny men,' which is Bahuvṛthi. Here ends the force of I. 4. 3 and II. 1. 3.
BOOK SECOND.

Chapter III.

1. The word 'auabhiihitā' meaning 'not being specified' is to be understood as the governing word.

Whatever will be taught from this point forward, should be understood to apply to those cases which have not been specified otherwise. The case-affixes like those denoting 'object' 'instrument' &c., are applied to a noun, only then, when the force of the case-affix is not otherwise denoted or mentioned or exhibited. The force of a case-affix may be so denoted either by first, the conjugal affixes निः; secondly, by the Primary affixes or हूँ, thirdly, by the secondary affixes विः; or lastly by compounds. Thus सूत्र 2 declares that the second case-affix is applied in denoting the object, as करः करीविः 'he makes the mat'; हास्य मध्यविः 'he goes to the village.' But the object can otherwise be denoted. Thus by the passive conjugal affix, as हूँवः करः 'the mat is made.' Here the termination of the verb denotes the object. See सूत्र I. 3. 13. and III. 4. 69. So also by the krit affix, as हूँवः करः 'the mat is made,' see सूत्र III. 4. 76. So also by a Tadābhitā affix as युज्य or युजिक्न: meaning 'purchased with a hundred' = श्राब्देन ब्रह्म. Similarly by संमिश्र, as मासमुद्य ग्रामः = प्रायोद्वतः प्रायः.

2. When the object is not denoted by the termination of the verb, i.e. when the verb does not agree with it, the second case-affix is attached to the word.
The terms dvitiyā &c., are technical phraseology of older grammarians, and hence not defined by Pāṇini; they apply to the triads of suffix affixes. कर्तर करोति 'he makes the mat,' यायमस्यसि 'he goes to the village.'

The words जरायम्, जरे, जर, जरे, and the double forms जरायम्यि, जरेफ, अध्यय, when they have the sense of nearness, govern the accusative. Sometimes other cases also, as जरायते पायम् 'on both sides of the village'; जरायते पायम् 'on all sides of the village'; जरायते 'to Devadatta'; जरायम्यि पायम् 'just over the village'; जरायम् or जरायसि पायम् 'just below the village.'

Vart:-The words अतिसि; परिति; both meaning 'round', समि, निकरि both meaning 'near' and हि 'woe be to,' and पनि 'to,' govern the accusative case; as, अतिसि पायम् 'round the village,' यायम् समि 'near the village'; हि पनि 'woe be to Devadatta'; अतिसि यायम् 'to a hungry person something occurs to his mind.' See I. 4. 49 &c.

वृद्धिः दशुः छव्यः दशुः द्रव्यः द्रव्यः, द्रव्यः, छव्यः (हर्षिन्यि)

4. In the chhandas (veda), the object of the verb धु 'to sacrifice' takes the affix of the third case, and of the second as well.

This ordains the third case-affix; and by force of the word धु 'and' the second case-affix is also employed as धुस्यसिसि 'he satisfies or pleases Agni with barley-powder,' or धुस्यसिसि 'he throws barley-powder into the fire as oblation.'

Why do we say 'in the vedas?' In the classical Sanskrit, the accusative only must be used and not the instrumental.

अन्तराध्रयेत् अन्तराध्रयेत् (हर्षिन्यि)

4. A word joined with (or governed by) the word अन्तराध्रयेत्, or अन्तराध्रयेत् takes the second case-affix.

The anuvṛtti of dvitiyā is understood here and not that of tritiyā. Both these words अन्तराध्रयेत् and अन्तराध्रयेत् are Nipātas. They govern the accusative. This debars the genitive case. The word अन्तराध्रयेत् means 'between' while अन्तराध्रयेत् means 'besides that,' 'without,' ('exception,' 'with reference to,' 'regarding,' ) As, अन्तराध्रयेत् 'nothing can be
Accusative Case.

Why do we say 'when joined with?' Observe अम्ला तत्स्थितीयोऽपवर्गेः पदुपर्युष शृः भाषाः. ।

कालाभ्योगरथ्यवंछेरे॥ ॥ पदुः ॥ कालाभ्योगेः अम्ला-संयोगे; (द्वितीया ) ॥

शृः: काल चायेव-योगाकेन-वर्त द्वितीया नियमित्व वैशिष्ट्यत्व संयोगोऽपवर्गे वन्यवान् ॥

5. After a word denoting time, or length, the affix of the 2nd case is employed, when denoting full duration.

मात्रापारे 'he reads for a month,' 'he studies full one month,' शम्भस्य कम्पारी 'prosperous during the month' (uninterruptedly), संक्षरत्र द्वन्द्रा: 'flowers during the year continually,' कोणि कहृता नये 'the river winding for one kos without any break,' कोणि पर्यये: 'the hill through one full kos.' सम देशभूति राज्यग्र शालायोगन्ययाया 'O king the hall of Viśravana is 100 yojanas in length.'

The word अवस्थितियोग or 'full continuity' means the complete relation of time or space with its action, attribute or substance.

Why do we say 'atayanta-sanyoga or complete continuity?' Observe मात्रायदि द्वितीये अर्थादेति कोणिसापदे पर्यये: ॥

अपवर्गे द्वितीये ॥ ॥ पदुः ॥ अपवर्गे, द्वितीये, (कालाभ्योगे रथ्यवंछेरे ) ॥

शृः: अपवर्गे मात्रायदि कालाभ्योगरथ्यवंछेरे द्वितीया नियमित्वात् ।।

6. The third case-affix is employed after the words denoting the duration of time or place, when the accomplishment of the desired object is meant to be expressed.

मात्रामुद्रा कौशीवी: 'he learnt the Anuvāka in a month,' कौशामुद्रा कौशीवी: 'he learnt the Anuvāka by going over a kos.'

The word अपवर्गे means 'the finishing of an action, on the attainment of the object intended by the action, but not before.' Thus संस्करणामुद्रा कौशीवी: means 'Anuvāka was perseveringly and effectually read by him in the whole year.'

When the idea of apavarga is not intended, the accusative case is employed, as मात्रामुद्राई। 'learnt for a month, but not yet completed, the Anuvāka.'
Accusative Case.

7. A noun denoting time or place gets the affix of the seventh or the fifth case, when the sense implied is that the time or space is the interval between one action and another action (or implies an interval of time and space between two kārakas).

Ex. भय युक्ता रेवतीयो गुने पृष्ठानार्तना ‘having dined today, Devadatta will dine in or after two days.’ Here the ‘time’ is the interval between the agent and his power of eating. So also इहस्थोऽऽलम्बम्बवः कोसाणु कोणे या नहं कोणे विश्वेत्र ‘standing here, he will hit a mark at the distance of one kos.’ Here kos is the interval between the agent and the object, or the object and the ablation, or the object and the location. The rule I. 3. 10 does not apply here.

8. The second case-affix is employed after a word which is joined with a karmapravachaniyā (I. 4. 83),

Ex. शास्त्रन्यासश्चात्मनुपातवर्णोऽवगत ‘It rained on (hearing) the reading of the Veda by Śākalya.’ So also अंगस्वयनानंविनयं वर्णम:.

9. Where a word is governed by a karmapravachaniyā in the sense of ‘more than’ (I. 4. 87) or ‘lord of’ (I. 4. 97) there the 7th case-affix (locative) is employed.

Ex. अन्त्याग्रामसः ‘A Drona is more than a Khātri,’ अधिप्रवर्तनोऽपायत ‘Brahmadatta is the lord of Panchālas.’ The phrase शास्त्रेषु वर्णम: indicates that both the thing owned and the owner may be in the locative. See I. 4 97.

This aphorism debars the accusative.
10. The fifth case-affix (Ablative) is employed when a word is governed by the following karmapraavana-chaniyas i.e. apa, añ and pari.

Ex. अर or आ or ऐर पाठ,निपुष्याभूषे वेश: 'It rained off or upto or with the exclusion of, Pataliputra.'

The पर here has the meaning of ‘exclusion’ (I. 4. 88) being read along with आ; therefore, not here पूर्ण परि विषयसे विचुयु (I. 4. 90).

11. The 5th case-affix (ablative) is employed after what soever is governed by a karmapraavana in the sense of ‘substitute’ or ‘exchange’ (I. 4. 92).

Ex. अभिमन्युर्द्वारः श्रवी ‘Abhimanyu is the representative of Arjuna,' आधात्मिकायेः प्रविचयस्य ‘he exchanges māshaś for this sesamum.’ See I. 4. 92 for an explanation of प्रविचयेष्य and प्रविचयायेः.

12. In the case of roots implying motion, the place to which motion is directed takes the affix of the 2nd (Accusative) or the 4th (Dative) case in denoting the ‘object,’ when physical motion is meant, and the object is not a word expressing ‘road’.

Ex. ग्राम or ग्रामविश्वास ‘he goes to the village.’ But not so in स्वयं हरि (the verb not denoting physical motion) ‘he goes mentally to Hari’ अवयां गविश्वास ‘he goes over the way’ (the object being the ‘way’). But not so in अवयां गविश्वास ‘he cooks rice’; (the verb not denoting ‘motion’) nor in अवयां गविश्वास (the verb not denoting ‘the object’).
DATIVE CASE.

Note:—The word adhvān includes the synonyms of road (I. 1. 68) as पथ, स्वर, ग्रामवर्त, ग्रामग्राम.

Note:—The prohibition applies with regard to the going over or occupying the road; so that where a person from a wrong road goes to the right road, there the fourth case-affix will be employed as र्योऽपः ग्रामवरति.

चतुर्थि संप्रदाने II 13 III पदार्थि II चतुर्थि, संप्रदाने II

१३.

13. In denoting the sampradāna-kāraka (I. 4. 32) the fourth affix or the Dative is employed after the noun.

Ex. उपायवार्त्ता गाय इसाति 'He gives a cow to the teacher' हेनुसमस्रेष्ठे 'it pleases Devadatta' (I. 4. 33) पुष्करि: स्मायवि (I. 4. 36) 'he desires flowers.'

Vart.—The fourth case-affix should be employed when the sense is that of 'for the purpose thereof' (as भूषाय शह 'wood is for making posts.' भूषाय हिर्ज़ादः 'gold used for the purpose of making ear-ring.' रुपयाय स्मायी 'pot for the sake of cooking.' अभ्रवताय स्वायदः 'mortar for the sake of threshing.'

Vart.—The verb भूषाय and other verbs meaning 'to be fit or adequate for, result in, bring about, accomplish, produce, tend to,' govern the dative case: as, मृया कल्यात् वनस्पति 'the barley gruel tends to produce urine.' So also मृयाय संप्रदाने स्वायसः क्षायाः.

Vart.—The fourth case-affix is employed with the force of 'indicating a portent or calamity,' as.

वायुयाय कालिन् स्वभाववर्त्ते मिति.

वैष्णव अवाय पूर्वत् स्वभाववर्ति मेवैि.

The reddish lightening portends wind, extremely red indicates heat, yellow portends rain and white lightening prognosticates famine.

Vart.—The fourth case-affix should be employed in connection with the word हिः: as ग्लाैतोऽहस्ति 'good for cows.'

क्रियायोपपदस्य च कर्मणि स्मायिनः II 13 III पदार्थि II क्रिया-अर्थाय- नवपदस्य, च, कर्मणि, स्मायिनः (चतुर्थि) II

४३.

Vृत्ति: II क्रियायोपरस्थि च स्मायिनोऽस्मयाधिकानि यासि: कर्मणि कार्ये चतुर्थि हिः.के
DATIVE CASE.

14. The fourth case-affix is employed in denoting the object (karma) of that verb, which is suppressed (sthāṇī) in a sentence, and which has in construction (upapada) therewith another verb, denoting an action, performed for the sake of the future action (kriyārthe III. 3. 10).

In other words, when the sense of an infinitive of purpose formed by ‘tumun’ and ‘nvul’ (III. 3. 10) is suppressed in a sentence, the object of this infinitive is put in the Dative case.

\text{तत्त्वेऽपि क्रियात्-पद्मायाः क्रियात् 'he goes for fruits i.e., to bring fruits.'}

This debar's accusative case. So also we have श्रीर्ष-क्रियात् ‘he goes for fuel.’

The words क्रियायमुद्दर्तव and क्रियात् are in apposition. The first is a Bahurūpi compound of क्रियाय + दर्तव and means ‘a verb whose upapada denotes the purpose of the action (kriyārtha).’ Thus in क्रियांशम् ‘to bring fuel’; the infinitive verb भावेश्वर is क्रियायासार, the object of this verb is क्रियात्; when this verb is suppressed, it becomes क्रियात्; the object of this verb takes the fourth case-affix.

Why do we say ‘of the verb whose upapada denotes the purpose of the action?’ Observe श्रीर्षमयित्वा.

Why do we say ‘in denoting the object.’ Witness श्रीर्ष-क्रियात् एकदेव ‘for fuel he goes with a cart.’

Why do we say ‘when suppressed?’ Observe एकत्रांशम् क्रियात्.

तमपत्ती साभवसचतात् II ११ II पद्यम् II तूम-अपरांत, च साभ-सचतात् ( चतुर्थी ) II

पुस्ति: इति दुमपदार्थचतात्पद्यसचतात् यथाविद्वशापशुमी विनिधिः स्वतपि II

15. The fourth case-affix is employed after a crude-form which ends in an affix denoting ‘condition’ (abstract noun, III. 3. 11) and having the force of the affix tum (or Infinitive of purpose).

Ex. श्रीर्ष ब्राह्म ‘he goes to offer a sacrifice’ = यदूः ब्राह्म. So also श्रीर्ष ब्राह्म, नूतने ब्राह्म.

The word नूतन means ‘having the same significance as the affix ब्राह्म.

नमःसतिःस्त्राह्सार्धामपदार्थवर्गोगाच II १६ II पद्यम् II नमःसतिःस्त्राह्सःस्त्राह्स-भवेश्वर-द्वयोगाच; च, ( चतुर्थी ) II

पुस्ति: इति नमःसतिः स्त्राह्सःस्त्राह्स भवेश्वरद्वयोगः सतुष्टी विनिधिः स्वतपि II
16. The fourth case-affix is employed in conjunction with the words namah ‘salutation,’ svasti ‘peace,’ svāhā, svādhā (terms used in offering oblations to Gods and Pitris respectively), alam ‘a match for’ ‘sufficient for’ and vashad a term of oblation.

Ex. नवी रेवेनाव, स्वातिक रिवेनाव, स्वातिक रिवेनाव, भान नवी माणाव, Salutation to Gods; ‘peace to the people; ‘svāhā to fire’; ‘svādhā to the Pitris’; ‘an athlete is a match for an athlete’ &c. The word भान also includes its synonyms also, as भान, भान, भान; so स्वातिक, स्वातिक.

The इ indicates that the Dative will debar Genitive, in spite of 11. 3. 73, in the case of these words, though used beneficivelv; as, स्वातिक गीतव्भूषणार्थी.

न्यत्रस्तवदेव प्रारवण्यु क्योऽपि न्यत्रस्तवदेव प्रारवण्यु क्योऽपि न्यत्रस्तवदेव प्रारवण्यु क्योऽपि

17. In denoting the indirect object, which is not an animal, of the verb manya ‘to think,’ the dative case is optionally employed, when contempt is to be shown.

Ex. न च स्त्री गुणात् गुणात् मनवे ‘I do not consider thee worth a straw,’ न च स्त्री गुणात् गुणात् मनवे ‘I do not consider thee worth a chaff.’ Why do we use the word मनवे? Observe न च स्त्री गुणात् विनिमयाभि. The optional dative will not be employed with the synonyms of the verb मनवे. So also the स्त्री uses the form मनवे with the vikarana विनिमयाभि, indicating that it is Divādi that governs a dative, and not the Tandī मनवे; for the latter governs the accusative only, as न च स्त्री गुणात् मनवे.

When contempt is not meant, the verb does not govern the Dative, as:

अभान्यां हृदयं मनवे, मनवे कात्युट्युस्वलम्। अभान्यां हृदयं मनवे सरस्माता न परति।

‘I consider a rock to be a stone, I consider mortar but as wood, I consider him to be the son of a blind woman whose mother cannot see.’

So also when the object of comparison is an animate being, it will not take the dative:—as न च गुणात् मनवे ‘I do not consider thee even as a jackal.’ The case of न च गुणात् मनवे is an exception.

Vart.—Instead of using अभान्यावाहित in the स्त्री, the word अभान्यावाहित should be used. The following words belong to नावादी class, they are always in the accusative after the word मनवे, never in the Dative:—नौ ‘ship,’ काक ‘crow,’ वृष ‘food,’ शुक ‘parrot,’ and वृषास ‘jackal.’
In denoting the agent (I. 4. 54) or the instrument (I. 4. 43), the third case-affix is employed.

Ex. वेदायते कुर्त ‘done by Devadatta,’ हाय्ये युवाय ‘he cuts with the sickle.’

Vart.—The following words take the 3rd case. मृति ‘original,’ शब्द ‘almost,’ गौत ‘gotra,’ सम ‘equal,’ दिष्ट ‘unequal,’ दिष्टेष्ट, त्वचक and वाह स as यावेः 
यावेः, गायमांविगीयम्, शवेत् or विशेषार्थम्, थेजस्वि विशेषार्थम् &c.

19. When the word सह ‘with,’ is joined to a word, the latter takes the third case, when the sense is that the word in the third case is not the principal but the accompaniment of the principal thing.

Ex. वृस्सेन समायागः यत ‘the father has come with the son.’

The same will be the result with the synonyms of सह as, पुने साथ ‘with the son.’ So also when the word सह is understood, as पाणिनि himself uses in I. 2. 65 पुने सुष्मा &c.,

Why do we say ‘when not the principal.’ Observe, विशेष श्रीपापायानयानस्वयः.

20. By whatsoever limb, being defective, is pointed out the defect of the person, after that the third case-affix is employed.

As, अहका वाकः ‘blind of one eye’ वाहजः लामः ‘lame of foot.’ पाणिनि कुष्ठि: &c. The word अति in this सुरा applies to the whole body, whatsoever by reason of being a member of the body is defective is indicated here.
21. Any mark or attribute, by which is indicated the existence of a particular state or condition, is put in the third case to express this relation.

Why do we say itha-bhuta? Observe पुष्कर्णि भिक्षु किमानी भिन्नतरस्यः, अन्वरस्यः, कर्मतिष्ठ (दृष्टीया)

22. After the verb sam-jñā the third case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the object.

23. When a word denotes 'cause,' it takes the third case affix.

The word हेतु here is used in its popular sense and not the grammatical hetu (1.4.55). Any thing capable of accomplishing a desired object is called hetu.

24. A word, implying debt, considered as a 'cause' but not as a kārtṛ or agent, takes the fifth case-affix.

Ex. जनातः 'he has been bound on account of a debt of a hundred pieces.'
Why do we say ‘when not denoting the agent’? Observe सूत्तन बनिव; ‘a debt of hundred has thrown him in prison’; here सूत्तन being considered as a prayojaka hetu, is an agent and takes the third case-affix.

विभाषा गुणेदिनियाम् II 25 II पदानि II विभाषा, शुचे, अस्तित्राम्, ( हेतू पञ्चमी ) II

पुरस्क: II गुणे हेतुपञ्चमीदिनियाम् विभाषा पञ्चमी विभाषके दिनियाम् II

25. The fifth case-affix is employed optionally when the noun expresses an attribute, being the cause of an action, and not being of the feminine gender.

Ex. जाकरे जाकरायणू या बुध: ‘he has been bound by reason of his dullness.’ पनिस्वेन or पनिस्वेदु मुक्त: ‘saved through learning.’

गुणा-धार्मिका nouns are generally abstract nouns. Therefore not here उण्डः कुमार. If an abstract noun is of feminine gender, this rule will not apply, as गुणा or पञ्चमी मुक्त: ‘he was set at liberty on account of his skill or wisdom.’

चद्दी हेतुपञ्चमे II 25 II पदानि II चद्दी, हेतु-पञ्चमे II

पुरस्क: II हेतुपञ्चास्थि पञ्चमे हेतू पञ्चमे विभाषके दिनियाम् II

26. The sixth case-affix is employed after a noun implying the cause of an action, when the word hetu is used along with such a word.

Ex. अद्यतन हेतू श्रेयस् ‘he dwells for the sake of food.’

सवेनामस्वस्वताय च II 25 II पदानि II सवेनाम: तृतीया, व, ( हेतुपञ्चमे ) ( चद्दी ) II

पुरस्क: II सवेनामस्वहेतुपञ्चायणे हेतू पञ्चमे तृतीया विभाषके दिनियाम् II

सवेनामस्व नितिनिनकावताँगु हर्षाः प्राप्तिधीनेनु II

27. After a sarvanāman (I. 1. 27) when it signifies the cause of an action, and the word hetu is used with it, the third case-affix is employed, as well as the sixth.

Ex. कर्त्त उर खेतूना हेतूना सवेन ‘for the sake of what does he live?’ कर्त्त उर खेतूना सवेन.

Vart.—When the words नितिन or कारण are so used, almost all the case affixes may be employed; as वि नितिन or खेतू नितिनेश्न or कर्त्त नितिनेश्न or कारण सवेन नितिनेश्न or कारण नितिनेश्न नितिनेश्न नितिनेश्न विभाषि. Similarly with the words
kāraṇa and hetu. Here also the word ढुः does not mean the word-form hetu (I. 1. 68) but its synonyms also; as धिँस हर्मोन or कैन यहोमान or कैने मद्योगान &c., श्रवण.

अपादाने प्रभुती || 28 || पदानि || अपादाने || प्रभुती ||

मुनि: || अपादाने कार्येप प्रभुती विनामाध्यक्षविन्यासतः ||
शालिकाः व्यासावलि हृदयस्योऽपि कार्येन्द्रसंचालयान् ||
शालिकाः भविष्यते च वाप्रत्यवानान् ||
शालिकाः प्रभुतायाविद्ययः प्रभुती वन्धनः ||
शालिकाः वन्धनारङ्गावलिः सत्त्व प्रभुती बुद्धिः ||
शालिकाः तुप्रकर्षणात् सत्त्वी बुद्धिः ||
शालिकाः भविष्यते श्रवणं तत्त्वी च वन्धनः ||

28. When the अपादान-kāraṇa (I. 4. 24) is denoted, the fifth case-affix is employed.

Ex. यामस्त्रांतन्वति ‘he comes from the village’ (I. 4. 24); यूळ्टयो विनेति
(I. 4. 25), अभव्यानां परास्यनि (I. 4. 26) &c.

Vart.—The fifth case-affix is employed in denoting the object, when the verbal participle ending in स्थः is elided; as प्रातवान्कर्ण मैत्रे = प्रातवान
मेष्मे ‘he sees from a palace.’

Vart.—And under similar circumstances in denoting the location the place where an action is performed is put in the ablative case, as, आखोहमे
प्राच्यिक्यं वेनदे = आखनाने वेष्मे ‘he sees from a seat.’

Vart.—In questions and answers, the fifth case-affix is employed:—कुनी
मनाने? पाश्चिन्तुकाः ‘whence is your Honor coming?’ From Patali putra.’

Vart.—That point of time or space from which distance in time or space is measured is put in the ablative case:—स, यस्मातृभुः स्वामाय सर्रारि
सोजनालि ‘Sankkāsa is from Gavhidhuma four yojanās.’ कान्तिका आयोबागायि नाचि
‘Agrahāyana is one month from Kārtika. The word denoting the distance in time is put in the locative case, as मासे.

Vart.—In the above the word denoting the distance in space may be put either in the nominative or locative; as चापृभुः स्वामाय सर्रारि योजनानि ऊँ चरतुः चोजनेपु.

अन्यायादित्वसदित्तस्वामाय अन्यायात्मकां प्रसादारवाहिनः || 28 || पदानि ||
अन्यायादित्व-हत्व-स्वल-विक्षिप्त-अन्य-उत्तरपद-अन्य-अन्यायात्मकः, (प्रभुती) ||

पुष्य: || अन्य भाराय हत्त क्षत्रविक्षिप्त अन्यायात्मक अन्य भारि रस्तेवभायो प्रभुती
विनामाध्यक्षविन्यासतः ||
29. When a noun is joined with words meaning 'other than' or with ārāṭ 'near or remote' or itaṭa 'different from', or rito 'without', or words indicative of the 'directions' (used also with reference to the time corresponding to them) or with words having añchu 'to bend' as the last member of the compound and expressive of direction), or with words ending with the affix āch or āhi (V. 3. 36 and 37) the fifth case-affix is employed.

Ex. भण्डो, निमो, हसो, भवन्त, विज्ञणो या गत्रस्ततु 'different from Devadatta' भारास्त्र गत्रस्ततु 'remote from or near to Devadatta.' The word ārāṭ meaning 'near or remote' would have taken the sixth case-affix by sūtra 34, but this enjoins 5th case-affix. चतुर्दशस्त्रतु 'excepting Devadatta.' पूर्वी ग्रामम 'east of the village,' दक्षिण पारस 'north of the village,' पूर्वी स्रीमानम 'sc&n: 'the spring is prior to summer' पूर्वी पश्चात्य ग्रामम 'to the east or west of the village' तथिन्य शस्त्रशाहि या ग्रामम 'to the south or in the eastern direction of the village.'

The words like पूर्वी &c., formed from the verb añchu are also विज्ञण. their separate enumeration shows that the sixth case-affix ordained by the next sūtra does not come after them.

वष्टिरस्तेष्यन्द्रतेष्यन्द्रियम ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्भी, अत्वस्यः।

वृत्ति: अत्वस्यः प्रश्नेन दुन्दे पठो विस्तृत्यपश्चिमि ॥

30. The sixth case-affix is employed when used in connection with words ending with affixes having the sense of the affix atasuch (V. 3. 28).

The affix अत्वस्यः is ordained by V. 3. 28.

Ex. ग्रामम्य्य गंधर्वन्य: उत्तरथु पूर्वस्त्र उपरि सा 'to the south or north, foremost, in or above the village.'

एनपास्त्र द्वितीया ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ एनपास्त्र द्वितीया ॥

वृत्ति: एनपास्त्र द्वितीया पूर्वन्यः इति चन्दस्यि । तेन दुन्दे द्वितीया विस्तृत्यपश्चिमि ॥

31. With a word ending with the affix 'enap' (V. 3. 35), the second case-affix is employed as well as the sixth.

Ex. द्वितीये पामय्यः पामय्यः सा 'south of the village.'
32. When joined with the words prthikak 'without,' vina 'without' and uññá 'without' the third case-affix is employed, optionally (as well as the fifth and the second).

Ex. रामाजः याने व विना प्रथम नानास या 'without or different from Rāma.'

This sūtra may be divided into two parts—(1) प्रथम विना नानास: (2) लोकवाचार्य कालिका सानू वाचार्या। By this arrangement we can read dvitiya into the aphorism.

विना वाचार्य कालिका सानू वाचार्या।

विना आशिया हुनाल्याचार्य कालिका पाचनी श्रोती शुाया।

कारणे च स्तोत्राचार्य लोकवाचार्य कालिका सानू वाचार्या। २३। पदानः।

कारणे, च, स्तोत्र-अन्तः-कालिका कालिका सानू वाचार्या, अन्तःवाचार्या, (तृतीया-प्रथमी-अन्तःवाचार्या)।

वृत्तः। स्तोत्र भूष्ण कालिका कालिका सानू वाचार्या-स्वभस्त्रकृ र कारणे कालिका सानू वाचार्या दृष्टीवाद भवति वसे प्रथमाचैः।

33. When expressing an instrument-kāraka, optionally after the words stoka 'little,' alpa 'little,' kriph-chhara 'difficulty,' and katipaya 'some,' the fifth case-affix is used, when they do not denote material objects.

Ex. स्तोत्राचार्य स्तोत्राचार्या व शुचिः and अन्तःवाचार्य: or अन्तःवाचार्य: &c, 'he got off easily &c. But स्तोत्राचार्य कालिका सानू वाचार्या, अन्तःवाचार्या वसे: &c. 'killed by a little poison.' No option allowed, as it qualifies a substance. So also स्तोत्राचार्य कालिका सानू वाचार्या 'he loosens a little.' Here स्तोत्र is used as an adverb and not as an instrument (कारणे).

दूरान्तिकृताः: यक्ष्याब्राह्मार्थाः। ३४। पदानः। दूर-अन्तिकृताः: यक्ष्याब्राह्मार्थाः, (प्रथमी)।

वृत्तः। दूरान्तिकृताः: यक्ष्याब्राह्मार्थाः व दूर-अन्तिकृताः: विनिर्मितात्त्विकाव्यतिरंग्नीर्गनाति रश्यायति च।

34. When in conjunction with words having the sense of dūra 'distant,' and antika 'near,' the sixth case-affix is optionally employed.

Ex. वास्तव वानस्पति व व व दूरी-विवृतुर्द्र, अन्तःवाचार्या, अन्तःवाचार्या व दूरी 'the forest is distant from or near to the village.'
The force of the word अन्यातरस्यं is to indicate that the 5th case-affix employed in the alternative, would have run into this सूत्र, had we not used 'anyatarasya.'

दूरस्तिकारणेऽद्वितीय: स || 31 || पदानि || दूर-अवितक-वर्णण: , द्वितीय: , ( पशुन: ) ||

पुनः: || दूरस्तिकारणेऽ: शास्त्रीयो द्वितीयो वित्सिस्तिक्रिय: द्वारास्त्राभाषी शरीराभि वास्तवोऽये: ||

35. After the words having the sense of दूर 'distant,' and अन्तिक 'near,' the second case-affix is used as well as the fifth and the third.

Ex. दूर दूरस्त दूरस्त वा दूरस्त या अन्तिकः अन्तिकः, अन्तिकः or अन्तिकः पास्तः.

This rule applies only when these words have their original signification and do not denote a substance. Otherwise the proper case-affix should be employed, as दूर: पव्ययः, दूरस्तः पव्ययः शीः.

शास्त्रीयिकरणे , स , || 36 || पदानि || शास्त्री , अवितकरणे , स , ( दूरस्तिकारणेऽ: ) ||

पुनः: || शास्त्री वित्सिस्तिक्रियिकरणे वृद्धिकारणे शास्त्रार्थनिकरणे दूरस्तिकारणेऽये: ||

वायिकः || शास्त्रीविपञ्जने शास्त्रार्थिनिपञ्जनं शास्त्रार्थिनिपञ्जनं ||

वायिकः || शास्त्रार्थिनिपञ्जने स सामी वस्त्रवधा ||

वायिकः || शास्त्रार्थिनिपञ्जने शास्त्रार्थिनिपञ्जने ||

वायिकः || शास्त्रार्थिनिपञ्जने स सामी वस्त्रवधा ||

वायिकः || शास्त्रार्थिनिपञ्जने स सामी वस्त्रवधा ||

36. The seventh case-affix is employed when the sense is that of location (I. 4. 45) as well as after the words meaning 'distant' or 'near'.

Ex. वह आस्ति 'he sits on the mat' अन्तिकः दूरस्तः वा अन्तिकः 'near or distant from the village.' वायिकः वायिकः 'he cooks in the pot.' Thus the words दूर and अन्तिक take four case-affixes, namely the second, third, fifth and seventh.

Vart:—Words like अपितितितु 'who has learnt,' युस्वितितितु 'who has comprehended'; i.e., words formed by adding अपि to the past participle in अन्तिक, govern the locative of that which forms their object—as अपितितितितु 'versed in Grammar.' विरामितितु 'very well versed in sacrificial rites.' अपितितितु विन्यसिति 'well read in the Veda.' See V. 2, 88.
Case-affixes.

Varṇa—the words शापु and भाषु govern the locative of that towards whom goodness or otherwise is shown; as भाषु शापुरान्तपु शा ‘well behaved or ill-behaved towards his mother.’

Varṇa—the Locative absolute is used in cases other than those specified in the next sūtra, namely, in cases where the action done or suffered does not indicate the time of another action; as वगुंदु भृजानेन शरीर भाषते ‘the poor are sitting, while the rich are eating,’ तरिकेपु भाषानेचु बल्न नुभुरे ‘the rich are eating, while the poor being seated.’ So also vice versa.

Varṇa—the Locative is sometimes used to denote the object or purpose for which anything is done; as.

शरणि धीरनि इति , शंवोहररिनित्रोभुपमुः।
कृत्यः भाषरि हंसि शीर्षि पुष्कलको हसि ॥

‘Man kills the tiger for his skin, the elephant for his tusks, the chamar cow for her hair, and the musk-deer for its musk.’

यशो भाघिन भाषालकिणु ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यशो , च ,

भाघिन , भाषालकिणु , ( समी ) ॥

बुद्धि: ॥ बभ: किया । यशो च भाघीन भाषालकिणाः कियाफिकणान्तर्भ कियावहि सतो अवश्यः श्रवणी विबिधकिन्नरसि ॥

37. By the action (bhava) of whatsoever, the time of another action is indicated, that takes the seventh case-affix.

This is Locative Absolute. गुणु शुभामानसु गत: ‘the cows being milked, he went away’ शुभामानसु गत: ‘and returned when they were milked’ अन्तमु शुभामानसु गत: .

Why do we say ‘by the action of whatsoever’? Observe यो जतामि: व तुम्मे. Why have we used the word ‘action’ twice? Witness यो तुम्मे व तुम्मे.

याही बाङादेरे ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथो , च , अन्तमु बाङादेरे ,

( समी , भाघीन भाषालकिणु ) ॥

बुद्धि: ॥ अन्तभिनित्वे भाषालकिणये भाषातः यादेसवज्लो विभिन्नी भवतः ॥

38. The sixth case-affix is employed (as well as the seventh), when disregard is to be shown, after that by whose action the time of another action is indicated.

This is Genitive Absolute. इति: धीरति वा भाषानीन्तु ‘in spite of her weeping, he went away.’ The force of this genitive is that of the English words ‘notwithstanding’ ‘in spite of’ ‘for all,’ &c. नाना: प्रत इति: प्रत्यज्ञो राजः ‘the
Nandas were killed like so many beasts, Rakshasa looking on,’ (not-withstanding that Rakshasa was looking on).}

39. The sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after words when they are joined with svamin ‘master,’ iśvara ‘lord,’ adhipati ‘ruler,’ dāyāda ‘an heir,’ sākṣhin ‘witness,’ pratibhū ‘a surety,’ and prasūta ‘begotten.

These words naturally would have governed the Genitive; the present sūtra ordains Locative as well.

40. In conjunction with the words āyukta ‘engaged,’ and kuśala ‘skilful,’ when meaning entire absorption in an engagement, the sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after a word.

Ex. Āyukta: kūraśa ‘the cow is slightly yoked to the cart.’ Here the seventh case-affix only is employed.

41. The sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after those words from which specification is made, (as of an individual from the whole class).
Ex. गया गया या कुर्सी दुबारा: 'among cows the black one gives much milk.' नन्दनाथायो or नन्दनाथायो नवंशियो: प्रेतकर.

A nidhārana or specification is made by separating one from the many by reason of its genus, quality and action (II. 2. 10).

पञ्चभी विभिन्न ॥ ५२ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ पञ्चभी विभिन्न ॥ (यथा निर्देश्यतम ॥

पूर्व: ॥ मात्रान्तराराम के विभिन्न सदाय ॥ पञ्चूनो विभिन्नात्तम ॥ विभाषो विभिन्न ॥

42. The fifth case-affix is employed when the thing specified is different or divided from (and not included in) that from which specification is intended.

This debars the sixth and the seventh case-affixes, as, मातुरा: पालिक-पुरुषो: सुद्रास्तः 'Mathura is more beautiful than Pātaliputra.'

सापुत्रिनाश्वरोऽथस्वर ताम्यमात्र: ॥ ५२ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ सापु-निदष्ट्राणपणः, अग्रेशारणः, वामनी-अमरोऽत्र: ॥

पूर्व: ॥ सापु निदष्ट्राण्यम् रन्त्रपलो: योगेशारणो: भवेशारणाय सापु विनिश्चितता न चेतुः, प्रति: प्रवर्त्ते ॥

43. In conjunction with the words 'sādhu 'good,' and nipuṇa 'skilful,' when they denote respect, the seventh case-affix is employed; provided that the word prati is not used.

मातुरा सापुः or निदष्ट्राण: 'good behaved towards his mother?' But सापुवेशावस्य माते 'Devadatta is good behaved towards his mother.'

Why do we say 'when respect is denoted?' Observe, सापुः निदष्ट्राणः: 'the servant is good towards the king.' Here it is a bare statement of a fact.

The exception applies not only to प्रति but to other prepositions, like परि, अनु &c., as, मातर परि सापुः परिवर्त्त: ॥

प्रविश्ववक्यायं तृतीया च, ॥ ५३ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ प्रविश्व-वक्यायाम्, तृतीया, च, (समी) ॥

पूर्व: ॥ प्रविश्व उद्युक्त इत्यायायं योगेश तृतीया विनिश्चितत्र चाकरास्तमात्रः ॥

44. In conjunction with the words prasita 'longing for,' and utsuka 'greatly desirous of,' the third case-affix is used after a word, as well as the seventh.

Ex. नित्रस्तृया निधर्शाः उद्युक्तः 'longing for sleep.' कैशी: or कैशी प्रविश्व.
45. When an affix declaring the time of an Asterism is elided by lup (IV. 2. 4); the seventh and the third case-affixes are used after the word, whose affix is so elided.

Ex. पुष्येः पुष्ये शास्त्रविभागः वंशवशस्त्रर विभागकालम्.

46. Where the sense is that of the Nominal-stem (I. 2. 43) or of gender only, or measure only or number only, the first case-affix is employed.

Ex. उपस्य: 'aloft,' नेरो: 'below,' सुनारी 'virgin,' प्रश्न: 'tree,' कुंटि 'owl,' हेर: 'a measure.' By 'number' grammatical number is meant; as एक: 'one,' दो 'two,' बहु: 'many.'

The sense of a Pratipadika is to denote mere existence. Genders are three, masculine, feminine and neuter. Measures are such asира, खारि, अधाका &c. Numbers are singular, dual and plural. The Nipatas which do not denote anything are also Pratipadika.

47. And when the sense is that of addressing, the first case-affix is employed.

Ex. हे राम 'O Ram' हे रामे, हे रामा.
48. The word ending with the first case-affix, in the sense of addressing, is called Amantrita or vocative (VIII. 2. 78).

49. In the sense of vocative, the singular number of the first case-affix is called Sambuddhi.

The vocative singular is called sambuddhi, when it is employed in the vocation. Thus VI. 1. 69 declares 'after an inflection base ending in or in a short vowel, a consonant is elided if it be that of Sambuddhi' as हे राम.

50. The sixth case-affix is employed in the remaining cases, that is to say, where there is a sense, such as the relation between property and its owner, &c. different from that of a word related to a verb and from that of a Nominal-stem.

Ex. राज्य: पुज्य: 'the king's man' पश्चिम: गाय: 'beast's foot' बिन्दु: पुज्य: father's son.'

51. Of the verb जान, when not used in the sense of 'to know,' the instrument takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. चर्चा जानिसे 'he engages in sacrifice with honey.' So also चर्चा. The verb जान when not meaning 'to know,' has the significance of
to act, or to engage in;' or it may denote 'false knowledge'; as, सत्विनि रक्षा मृत्यु च. Compare I. 3. 45.

But not so here रश्मी पृथ्वी जानाति 'he recognises the son by the voice.'

अधिग्रह्य माध्य मानवणि || ५२ || पदानि || अधि-इक्त्र-अर्य-रुप-देशांगे, कर्मणि, ( वस्त्र ) ||

पुनः || भास्माृत्वः स्वाधीनः || इत्यह नातिसिद्धाणेनुः || इत्त्वं विचित्रः || एकेऽऽ कर्मणि कार्ये शोभेन विशेषति पदी विशेषते वश्विनि ||

52. Of the verbs having the sense of 'remembering,' (adhitk) and of daya 'to give,' 'to pity,' 'to protect,' 'to move,' and of विद्या 'to rule or be master of,' the object takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. मात्रुः अत्यन्ति 'he remembers the mother,' सार्वज्ञो तरस्ते 'he gives clarified butter,' गायं गायाः मात्रुः 'he can not rule his limbs.' But not so here मात्रुः मात्रुः शवाः शवाः because शव here is not the object. The word शव is also understood here. So that the cases not otherwise provided for, take this case. So that शवम् शवाः is also allowed.

क्षण: प्रति-वर्ने || ५३ || पदानि || क्षण: , प्रतियत्ते, ( कर्मणि शेषे वस्त्री ) ||

पुनः || करीते: करणि कारणे शोभेन विशेषते प्रतियते गायाः पदी विशेषते वश्विनि ||

53. The object of the verb व्रि takes the sixth case-affix, when it means 'to impart a new quality or virtue' (I. 3. 32).

Ex. व्रि व्रि व्रि 'the wood gives a new quality to the water' (or he prepares the wood and water for sacrifice). (By VI. 1. 139, श is inserted).

When व्रि is not meant, the second case-affix is employed: as व्रि करीते .

The word शव is also understood here. So that we have also व्रि व्रि व्रि

क्षणांनं भावभावनानामजनि || ५४ || पदानि || क्षण-अध्यानं, भावभावनानाम, अजनि, ( कर्मणि शेषे वस्त्री ) ||

पुनः || क्षणांनं शवाः भावभावनानं भावभावनानं कारणे उपरि-विशेषि पदी विशेषने वश्विनि ||

वास्तकम् || भास्माः स्वाधीनाः वश्विनि ||
54. The object of verbs having the sense of ruj ‘to afflict,’ with the exception of the Causative verb jvaraya ‘to be feverish,’ takes the sixth case-affix, when the verb expresses a condition (i.e., when the subject is an Abstract noun).

Ex. शौचय नामति रोग: ‘the disease afflicts the thief’ नौर्मत्वाच्यिं भानवं:।

Why do we say ‘when the subject is an Abstract noun?’ Observe भानवं की नामति हच्छें ‘the river breaks the banks.’ So also not here भानवं भानवं क्षयं: ‘the fever burns the thief.’ So also when the verb संतप्त is used, भानवं संतप्ताच्यिं भानवं:।

The word चेर is also understood here. Thus भानवं नामति रोग:।

ञाथिकि नाथ:। पद्धारी। ञाथिकि, नाथ:। कहिले निश्चे नशी।

ञुसन:। नामति नापति साध्यरस्सार्थार्थिः मुद्ये, सत्त्वार्थिः-विवर्धक कारणं कारकं श्रेष्ठ विनविने पाठी विनविन भेदितव。।

55. Of the verb nāth when meaning ‘to bless,’ the object takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. चर्चें नापति साध्यरस्सार्थार्थिः पृष्ठे तथा विवर्धक कारणं कारकं श्रेष्ठ विनविने पाठी विनविन भेदितव।

56. The object of the verbs jāsi ‘to strike,’
‘to hurt,’ han ‘to strike’ preceded by नि and प्र, nāṭ to ‘injure,’ krāth, and ‘pish,’ when they mean, ‘to injure,’
takes the sixth case-affix.

घोरय योजितयाचिं, विनिश्रम्युनिश्रम्यु, प्रश्रम्यु, प्रपश्रम्यु, उपयाचिं, काय वाक्य, विनिश्रम्यु, ‘he injures the thief.’

The root जृष्टu belonging to the Churadi class should be taken, and not Divādī. हर with the prepositions prā and ni may be taken in any order. The root कड्रu takes in the causative vṛddhi irregularly. This verb is Bhvādī and falls into the subdivision ghatādī, and is called there a सिन्धu verb; all सिन्धu verbs shorten their penultimate before the causative affix सिन्धu (VI. 4. 92).

Thus काय is an irregularity.
Why do we say 'when meaning to injure'? Observe पान: विनति 'he pounds the barley.'

The word चेष्व is also understood here as चौरुपाबति. Only these govern the genitive, not so here चौरेन्द्रियिन, चौरेन्द्रियिन.

व्यञ्जनियो: समयेन्यो: पद्धनि व्यञ्जन-पौष्यो: समयेन्यो: कालेश्वरस्वरीय (कालेश्वरस्वरीय)

पुनि: व्यञ्जन-पौष्यो: समयेन्यो: समयेन्यो: कालेश्वरस्वरीय विनिश्चितत्वतः

57. The object of the verbs व्यञ्जन-पौष्या and पञ्जा when they are synonymous, that is when they mean 'dealing in sale and purchase transactions' or 'staking in gambling,' takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. शालक व्यञ्जन-पौष्या: 'he deals in, or stakes hundred.'

Why does not the verb पञ्जा take the suffix तात्रू? It takes तात्रू when meaning 'to praise or honor,' and not in the sense of 'gambling, or bartering' &c. Not so here शालक व्यञ्जन-पौष्या: 'he throws the dice;' पञ्जा पञ्जायाः पञ्जायाः: 'he praises the Brahmanas.' The word चेष्व is also here understood, so that we have चार पञ्जाः 'he stakes a hundred'

विस्तर्णेश्व || पद्धनि || विस्तर्णे || (व्यञ्जन-पौष्या || कालेश्वरस्वरीय)

पुनि: व्यञ्जन-पौष्या: शालकनाथर्षिस्वरीय विनिश्चितत्वतः

58. The object of the verb विस्तर्ण when having the above-mentioned sense of 'dealing' or 'staking,' takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. शालक विस्तर्णा: 'he stakes or deals in hundred.' But not in शालक विस्तर्णा: 'he jokes with the Brahmana.'

The yoga viṃśāga, when this root might well have been included in the last aphorism, is for the sake of the succeeding sūtras, in which the anuvṛtti of विनी runs, and not of others.

विस्तर्णसमे || पद्धनि || विस्तर्णा, उपसर्गे, (विस्तर्ण-पौष्या करोपश्याय विनिश्चितत्वतः)

पुनि: उपसर्गे साति विनिश्चितवर्ष वाचिनि कारके पद्धि विनिश्चितत्वतः

59. The object of the verb विस्तर्ण when having the above-mentioned sense of dealing or staking, optionally takes the sixth case-affix, when it is preceded by an upasarga (or proposition).
Ex. श्रवणः प्राप्त वा प्रति श्रवणति 'he deals in or stakes a hundred.'
But no option is allowed when the verb is simple as in the last aphorism; nor does this rule apply when the sense is not that of dealing or gambling. As, श्रवणः प्रति श्रवणति 'he throws the missile.'

60. The object of the verb div when having the above-mentioned sense of 'dealing' or 'staking' takes the second case-affix in the Brahmana literature.

Ex. गा गा तहसः सभा श्रेयसः (Maitr. S. i. 6. 11) In the Vedic literature the simple verb div takes the accusative instead of the genitive. And with upasarga it is optional. The anuvratti of the word श्रेय does not extend to this sūtra, or the following:

61. The object of the verb preshaya and brūhi (imperative singular of Divâdi verb, meaning 'send' and 'utter;') denoting sacrificial food, takes the sixth case-affix, when making offerings to deity is meant or when deity is the recipient.

Ex. श्रवणः प्राप्त हविवेशप्राप्त नेतोत्तरमुहृद वेष्य श्रावणः 'send to fire as oblation, the goat, the fat, and the marrow.' But not here:—श्रवणः प्राप्त हविवेशप्राप्त नेतोत्तरमुहृदिःBecause the verb is not preshaya or bruhi. So also not here श्रवणः प्राप्त हविवेशप्राप्त नेतोत्तरमुहृदिः.

Vart:-This rule does not apply when the word प्रशित 'set out' qualifies the word हस्य as; इन्द्रा किञ्चन्, एवं हविवेशप्राप्त प्रशिते प्रति 'send to Indra and Agni the oblation set out for them' &c.
62. In the chhandas the sixth case-affix is employed diversely with the force of the fourth case-affix.

Ex. पृथ्वीवधननसः or पृथ्वियत 'to the moon, a male deer.' नीपा कलका शरावे वलश्नातानुः or वलश्नक्यः 'to you lords of the forest, are lizard, kālaka bird, &c. So also वाचुर्वा उप गमयम् (R. Ved. X. 136. 7).

Why do we say 'diversely'? Observe कृत्यःराये, हिमसङ्गी हस्ती.

Part:—In the Veda, the 4th case-affix is employed in the sense of the sixth: as या वनं पितारि सर्वे मनोनाये 'who soever woman drinks with a woman in her courses, gets herself in menstrua. So also या हस्ती भांति सर्वे इद्यापनुः 'who cleans her teeth, her teeth become black.' या नलानि कृत्यानि सर्वे नुःसः 'who pairs her nails, her nails become ugly.' So on, in या-कृत्सःसत्ये काण: या-शन्त्सःसत्ये दुधणो, या केताश्च दस्तासिन्ध सधैः सन्ननि || भवन्यः शारि: (T. S. 2. 5. 1. 7).

63. The sixth case-affix is diversely employed in the chhandas in denoting the instrument of the verb yaj 'to sacrifice.'

Ex. पुत्रस्य or पुत्रीन बलमि 'he sacrifices with butter.' शोभस्य or शोभन वजन || कर्तवेञ्च्यायोऽर्थेऽदेशाक्षेत्रे || यवानि || कर्तव्यः-अर्थेयोऽर्थेऽदेशाक्षेत्रे, काणे, अर्थाणिकाणे (पशौ) ||

Part:—In kūttro-प्रथमानां प्रथमानां प्रथमे कालेपिकाः प्रथी विनिर्बन्धनां ||

64. The sixth case-affix is employed in denoting location (adhiṣṭaṇa) after a word denoting time (kāla), when used along with a word ending with an affix having the sense of kritvasuch (V. 4. 17) 'so many times.'

Ex. चंचलायोऽह्वः 'he eats five times a day.' In short, 'words meaning so many times, or the numeral adverbs of frequency, govern the genitive of time in the sense of locative.' As हिर्देयादे 'he studies twice in a day.'

Why do we say 'having the force of चंचलायोऽह्व?' Observe आदि चेशे 'he sleeps in the day.'

This rule will not apply when the adverb of frequency is understood, not expressed (prayoga) as in अदि चंचलायोऽह्वः. Nor when the time is not meant, as हि कालेपिकाः उँचे 'he eats in two brass vessels.' So also when location is
not meant: as विशेष विशेष. The शेष being understood we have विशेष.

कारणेन: कुलिणि ॥ ६५ ॥ पदाःनि ॥ कारणे-कारणिणि: ॥ कुलिणि ॥ ( पद्धि ) ॥

पृष्ठ: ॥ कृतयथे वर्णिणि कारणेण व पद्धि विस्तारिती ॥

65. The sixth case affix is employed after a word, in denoting the agent and the object, when used along with a word ending with a krit affix (III. 1. 93).

Ex. किरदार भाल्लासवर्धक ‘the composition of Kalidasa.’ बाहुल्य कानिषा ‘the performer of sacrifice.’ So also नद्य शिल्पकुर ‘your turn of lying down.’ भ्रम लगः, पुरा शेष वचस्त्री बर्ता। But not in श्रावणे नवात ‘cutting with weapon.’

Why do we say ‘krit?’ Not so when a Taddhita-affix is employed as दुत्तपूर्णकर्म. In other words, the genitive in Sanskrit is both subjective and objective.

उपयोगस्वदः कारणिणि ॥ ६६ ॥ उपयोगस्वदः, कारणिणि: ( कुलिणि पद्धि ) ॥

पृष्ठ: ॥ उपयोग: पाश्चिमिष्कर्तकः श्रायुष्माण्डकलार्कः व पद्धि विस्तारिता, न कारणि ॥

वाचिकमुः भक्ताकाव्ये: कृत परम्पराय: प्रयोगे नैति विक्रमसु ॥

वाचिकमुः प्रोचे काव्या ॥

66. When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the words formed by krit-affixes, are both used in a sentence, in the object only, the sixth case-affix is employed, and not in the agent (the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent).

आस्था गभु श्रीसत्यायाङ्गपतिकेश्वर ‘the milking of a cow without a cowherd is a wonder.’ रामे में आस्था भगवान्य देवसेन ‘The eating of rice by Devadatta pleases me;’ पद्म वान विष्णुपन ‘the drinking of milk by Yajñadatta.’

Varṣ— When the agent and object are both used, the agent is put in the instrumental, or genitive case, when, as some say, the krit terminations are of the feminine gender, or as others say, when the terminations are of any gender; as, विष्णुवर्ष्णा जगत: कृतिंहेष्ठितक्षिया ‘the creation of the world by Hari is wonderful.’ भस्माशुद्धस्य श्रवणवर्ष्णा वद्वोग भक्तर्वस्य व ‘the dissertation on words by the Achārya’ विष्णुवर्ष्णा शुचिबुद्धि कृतिः पाणिनि: or पाणिनिनि ‘beautiful is the structure of sūtra by Panini.’ Apte.
67. The past participle ending in क when used in the sense of the present tense, (III. 2. 187 and 188) is used with the genitive.

Ex. यहाँ परिवारः 'honored by kings,' अधिकारिक सदीतः 'I alone am regarded by the king.'

Why do we say 'कः'? Observe अलवर चक्रान: 'rice is cooked.' Why do we say 'when denoting the present tense'? Observe चार्स बगः 'gone to the village.'

Var:—When used as abstract neuter nouns, past participles are used with the genitive, as मद्यवस्तोः 'the dancing of a peacock.' कालसहिष्णुः 'the laughing of the students.' कालिनासहिष्णुः 'the screaming of the cuckoo.'

When, however, agent is desired to be particularised, the instrumental case is employed: as छायेऽनु दिलितः.

This सूत्र debars सूत्र 69 by which genitive is prohibited after नीच्चहास affixes. This is an exception to that सूत्र.

68. The past participle in क is used with the genitive when the former expresses location (III. 4. 76).

This also is an exception to the prohibition about नीच्चहास contained in II. 3. 69. As इत्यें परिवारः 'this is their seat.' इत्यें शारिरः 'this is their sleeping.'

In connection with verbs taking two objects, both take the genitive case, when a word ending in krit-affix denotes the agent, as they would have taken the accusative: as, नेताहि चरितः चार्स चैकः 'Chaitra is the leader of the horse of the village.' When, however, one is the principal, then the object takes the genitive: as, नेताहि चरितः चार्स चैकः 'Chaitra leads the horse to the village.'
69. The sixth case-affix is not used to express the agent or the object, when the word is governed by an Active Participle ending in the affix ति, or त्रि, or उक, or by an Indeclinable, or by a Past Participle in क and सक्ति, or by a word ending in an affix having the sense of षड्य or by a Noun of agency formed by षड्य.

After these words, the Instrumental case must be employed to denote the Agent, and the Accusative case to denote the object. This सुतः debars Genitive which would have come by II. 3. 65. The word कानुक is formed by व + र + उक = व + रक = कानुक.

1. The word व means 'the substitutes of व i.e., the Present Participles in श्र, शान्ति (III. 2. 124), चान्ति (III. 2. 106) रसु (III. 2. 107) क्षिक्षा and शिक्षक (III. 2. 172). Thus भोज्याय देवक, प्रज्ञान, प्रज्ञ्यान or प्रज्ञावान, प्रज्ञान, देवियां, देहियाँ. II

2. The affix व is enjoined by III. 2. 168, as, कर विकिर्तिः, भोज्याय लुकुम्. II

The prohibition applies when a word ending in लुकुम् (III. 2. 136) is the governing term; as, कल्याणेकरित्सन्. II

3. The affix दक्ष is ordained by III. 2. 154: as आमकुनक वाराण्याय रस भादु. II

Vart:- But the word कानुक in secular Sanskrit, governs the Genitive, as शाश्व: कानुक, 'lusting for the slave.'

4. Indeclinables formed by षड्य affixes, as, कर्ताः कुस्ता, भोज्य गुलुक्. II

Vart:- This prohibition, however, does not apply to the indeclinables formed by नुकुम् (III. 4. 16) and अनुकुम् (III. 4. 17), as, पुरु शूर्तिविदेशेऽराज्येऽऽ, पुरु शूर्तिश्वेव विदेशिनि (I. 1. 40).

5. निःश्व श्र, क and क्रिय: as भोज्याय गुलुक देहक्षेत्रुकुम्.

6. The words formed by सक्ति affixes (III. 3. 126), as, ईंपुकने मन्त्रः कर: , ईंपुकने: सौभोग भक्तः.

7. The द्रो in the aphorism is a pratyahāra, formed by taking the द of रान्ति (III. 2. 129) and the final न of ब्राह्म (III. 2. 135), meaning the affixes शान्ति (III. 2. 128), शान्ता (III. 2. 129), रस (III. 2. 130) and रसु (III. 2. 135). As भोज्याय प्रज्ञानः, प्रज्ञानः, भोज्याय प्रज्ञान: भोज्याय प्रज्ञान: कार्यं कार्यम्, विदेशम्यास्याम्.

Vart:- Optionally so, when the root द्रो takes the affix ति, as, पौरां or चौरस द्रोति.

अकक्र-ह्रोति: || 70 || पदानि: || अक-ह्रोति: ||

भविष्यद्भाष्यस्य: (सही): ||

बृहत्त: अक्षरश्रुतां कांशे द्रिष्टिबद्धस्य भविष्यवाच भाषायें || द्रिष्टिबद्ध

गद्योगे पर्यायो विभाष्णां भक्ति: ||
70. The sixth case-affix is not used when the word is governed by a verbal noun in अक्क denoting futurity, or in रूप denoting ‘futurity and indebtedness.’

The affix अक्क, such as एवुन, दुष्पर्व, &c., denote futurity, and never denote indebtedness. The affix रूप, such as निजि (III. 3. 3 and 170) denotes both. Thus कर्तन्त कारकन्त ब्रम्हणि ‘he goes to make a mat.’ औदत्त योगन्त्री क्रृष्टि ‘he goes to eat rice.’ So also with दुर्र, as, दामो गमी or गमी ‘he has to go to the village.’ रत्न हारी ‘he owes hundred.’

Why do we say ‘when denoting futurity or indebtedness’? Observe बनवान लावक: the cutter of barley. सत्ताना पारा: भस्वरत वरकर्मा।

Why is the Genitive employed in the following सचाक तुर्प्क: ? पुण्यकर्म: पुराटिनः पुरादनिनः शरीरः? The words पुर्ण and पुरुषः, though formed by अक्क (III. 1. 133), are not formed by that अक्क which denotes futurity, vis., III. 3. 10. The present sūtra relates to this latter अक्क, and not every अक्क in general.

कुप्यान्त मर्यादा वा || 71 || पदार्थ || कः तिन || कुप्यान्त || कर्तिन || वा ||

( बृहि ) ||

पुरुषः || कुप्यान्त प्रदोषों कर्तिन तां पर्यं विभागिनेन चित्रविभागमेति ||

धारीकलिपः || वनवायम्यो कृत्ये पदार्थ प्रतिप्रियो वर्त्तान्तः: ||

71. The sixth case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the agent, (but not the object), when the word is governed by a Future Passive Participle (क्रियात्मक).

By II. 3. 65, verbal nouns, (क्रित-formed), always govern the Genitive in denoting agent or object. The present sūtra declares an option as to agents only, in the case of those verbal nouns which are Future Passive Participles. Thus नात्र, or नामत्र कर्तः: कर्तन्त: (III. 1. 95).

Why do we say ‘in denoting the agent’? In denoting the object, no option is allowed; the Genitive is compulsory. As घंडी वानरः: धारायनः ||

Part.—The prohibition of the Genitive should be stated in the case of the Future Passive Participles of those verbs which govern two objects. Thus क्रियाया वानरत्र धारायनः, नेत्रवत्र वानम्यो हैव सः ||

तुल्यार्थार्थवर्त्तान्तः तुल्यावर्त्तान्तस्ययो || 72 || पदार्थ ||

तुल्य-अर्थः || अनुदेह-समासः || वृद्धीय, अन्तःत्वार्थः ||

प्रवतः: तुल्यार्थार्थवर्त्तान्तः दार्शनिकावृद्धिस्वत्तिः, परे धर्मिणः च, तुल्यप्रेयणः

72. The third or the sixth case-affix may optionally be employed, when the word is joined with another word meaning ‘like to, or resemblance’, excepting तुल्या and उपसा:.
Thus बुद्धि भेदाशेन or भेदस्य, प्रमाणी भेदाशेन or भेदस्य। But with ऊष्ण and उस्म the Genitive must necessarily be employed. As मुद्य भेदस्य नामित, उपमा हुन्नेन्द्य न विचारे।

Though the anuvṛtti of च was understood in this śūtra from the previous śūtra, yet the repetition of अन्तर्मयनम् is for the sake of the subsequent śūtra. The word च in I. 3. 73 attracts the word अन्तर्मयनम् into that śūtra; but had the word अन्तर्मयनम् not been used in this śūtra, then the word च would have attracted the word दहीरा instead, which is not desired.

On this śūtra, Professor Apte says:—‘Pāṇini says that the words मुद्य ऊष्ण and उस्म उस्म can not be used with the Instrumental. But this is against good usage: as, मुद्य ऊष्ण वत्तारोहिः (Kum. Sam. V. 24), मुद्य ऊष्ण सत्यद्रोहि (Raghu-\v{a}r̥ṣa VIII. 15). ऊष्णन्द्रा बुधिनिषेध सामना (Māgh I. 4).’


catuḥ पारिशुष्य्ययायमस्तरे कुञ्जुललकार्येहि:। ७३ ॥ पदार्थ:।
catuḥ, च, आविष-, आयुष्य-नद्-सद्य-सुख-अथ-अथ-हि: (अन्तर-स्पास्)। ॥

वृत्ति:। आविष-मात्रानाबाजुन्य-आयुष्यं मद दद कुञ्जुल सुखं अथं हि: हर्षेतत्समंगे द्विधिते विद्यते। सयाहो विकामानुधेनान्तः। ॥

परिवर्तन्:। असाध्यपदीति पर्यथेर्ज्ञाय कार्यनुष:। ॥

73. The fourth as well as the sixth case-affix may be employed, when blessing is intended in connection with the words आयुष्य ‘long life,’ madra ‘joy,’ bhadrā ‘good fortune,’ kuśala ‘welfare,’ sukhā ‘happiness,’ artha ‘prosperity,’ and hita ‘good.’

The च in the śūtra makes the employment of Dative optional: in the alternative we have Genitive.

वार्त:—In this śūtra आयुष्य &c., include their synonyms also.

Thus आयुष्य भेदवताय सुधात, or आयुष्य भेदस्य सुधात। Similarly विचार शीतिकसि, महा, मही, क्षु, निरामिषं, सुरं, शा, अयोि, प्रयोक्त, हिंसं पद्म भेदस्य or भेदस्य सुधात।

Why do we say when ‘benediction is intended?’ Observe आयुष्य भेदवताय त्य: ‘the austerity is the cause of the long life of Devadatta.’ Here there is no option allowed: and the Genitive case is only employed.
BOOK II.
CHAPTER IV.

The compound Dvigu (II. 1. 52) is singular in number.

The word एकपुरुष is a genitive Tat-purusha compound meaning 'the expression for one,' that is to say, it expresses the sense of unity. The rule therefore, enjoins that the sense inherent in a Dvigu compound is that of unity.

This is confined to Samāhāra Dvigu i.e., an aggregate compound taken in a collective sense. As, स्वयं 'an aggregate of five cows,' स्वयं (IV. 1. 21.). The sense of Dvigu being that of one, it follows that it retains the singular number even when further modified by other affixes, and used as an attributive and though no longer a Dvigu; as, स्तुत्रति श्रीवना.

1. A Dvandva compound too is singular in number, when it is compound of words signifying members of the animal body, players (or singers or dancers) and component parts of an army.

As, सबिस्तार 'the hand and foot' दृश्योऽदिन 'the head and neck,' मार्त्यक-पारिहर्षु 'players on the mridanga and panava (kinds of drums),' रथिकासरीवर्षु 'the soldiers on chariot and horse.' शर्काश्रान्तुकिक्षु, रथिकासरीवर्षु.

This rule applies to cases of Samāhāra Dvandva or aggregate Dvandva Compounds only; and not to Itaretara Dvandva (II. 2. 29.)
In the Dvandva Compounds of animals such as elephants, horses &c.,
the singular is optional; (II. 4. 12.) The present rule also gives us an index
as to where we must make Samāhāra Dvandva and where an Itaretara
Dvandva. The Dvandva compounds of words signifying members of animal
body, players or army, are always and solely Samāhāra Dvandva. The
compounds of words like शिशुसहिंह ‘curd and milk’ (II. 4. 14.) are purely
Itaretara Dvandva and can never be Samāhāra Dvandva; while compounds
of words denoting tree, animals &c., (II. 4. 12.) are optionally either Samāhāra
or Itaretara Dvandva.

अनुवादः परणामां || ३ || पदानि || अनुवादः, परणामां
( दुर्गः, एकवचनः
)

वृत्तः || परणामाः दुर्गः एकवचनः, अनुवादः गम्याणः ||
वर्तकः || स्यौतद्रात्माः अनि एकवचनः.

3. A Dvandva compound of words signifying
persons belonging to the different Vedic-Schools when
the sense is that of repetition, is singular.

The word परणाम means a school or branch of any of the Vedas de-
signated by the name of the person who founded such a branch and hence
means such a person. The word अनुवाद means repetition by way of explana-
tion, illustration or corroboration; that is to say, when a speaker demonstrates
for some special purposes, a proposition which had already been demonstrated
before, that is called anuvāda.

This aggregate is used with the aorist of the roots स्था and दृढः only; as
संसाराः कालघात शास्त्राः ‘katha and kalapa arose (again, further demonstrating their
doctrines)’; संसाराः कालघात शास्त्राः ‘katha and kauthuma established again.’

Why do we say ‘when meaning repetition’? Observe दृढः कालघातः:
or शास्त्राः कालघातः; when demonstration for the first time is meant. It is the
aorist of स्था and दृढः which takes such a Dvandva and not any other verb or
any other tense of those verbs; as:—अनुवादः कालघातः and वर्तकः कालघातः.

Note:—This sutra is translated thus by Mr. Iyanger, ‘Aggregation
alone is admissible between words denoting persons belonging to the differ-
ent charapas of the Vedas, when they are used along with the aorist derived
from the roots sthā and dhā, in the sense of recitation of the charapas as al-
ready learnt, as distinguished from learning them the first time.’ Prof.
Bothlingk’s translation is, ‘The Dvandva Compound of the names of Vedic-
Schools is singular, when such a school is repeatedly mentioned equally along
with another.'
4. A Dvandva compound of words denoting sacrifices (kratu) ordained by the Yajur (Adhvaryu) Veda, is singular, provided they are never used in the neuter gender.

As, अक्षेत्रमेध्युष्टि 'the Arka and Aśvamedha sacrifices,' शायतिराशृष्टि 'the Śaśāhna and Atirātra sacrifices.'

Why do we say 'Yajur-veda sacrifices'? Observe पुष्णो 'the Išu and Vajra ceremonies,' नृत्यागतिनाम्.

Why do we say 'when not in the neuter gender'? Observe रामचन्द्रशामनवि 'the Rājaśāya and Vājapeya sacrifices.'

Why have we खंड्योगोदगिनां? Because the word खंडः is a technical term applying only to Soma-sacrifices and not any sacrifices in general. Therefore, though Dārśa and Paurṇamāsa are Yajur-veda ceremonies, they not being Soma ceremonies, the present rule does not apply.

5. A Dvandva compound of words denoting (persons who have studied) subjects, which in their order of study are not remote from each other, is singular.

As, श्रवक्करणतः 'a person who has studied the pada arrangement and a person who has studied the krama arrangement; so also दक्षिणसीमेक्ष्या.

Why do we say 'order of study'? Observe पितापुत्रो 'father and son.' Why do we say 'not remote'? See शास्त्रकौशल्यापी 'sacrifice-knowers and the grammarian.'

6. A Dvandva compound of words signifying jāti (genus) which are not names of living beings, is singular.
Thus साराधविनि 'the probe and the knife'; पानलापुकलि 'fried rice and barley cake.'

Why do we say 'words denoting genus'? Observe नरकाकाः and पन्चाण्यसि 'Nandaka and Panchajanya.'

Why do we say 'not of living being'? See माधवज्ञि 'Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas.'

This rule applies to the जाति or genus names of substances (प्रथमानि) and not the जाति names of qualities and actions. (नूँकिराजसि. Thus कीर्तिन गतानव्या: 'colour, savour, odour, and tangibility'; मन्त्राकृतीपायकामिनि 'going, contraction and expansion.'

Even with जाति names of substances, the Dvandva compound takes singular, only when the objects are spoken of collectively as a class; when, however, the individuals belonging to a class are indicated, the proper number should be employed; as, इह कुटेरे ब्रह्मभगवानि विभिन्नि 'in this bowl are the badari and Amalaki fruits.'

The words जाति 'genus,' श्रेणि 'substance,' गुण 'quality' and किंवि 'action' are technical terms of Indian Logicians. जाति has already been explained. Substances are nine: earth, water, light, air, ether, time, space, soul, and mind. Qualities are twenty-four: colour, savour, odour, tangibility, number, dimension, severality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, weight, fluidity, viscosity, sound, understanding, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, effort, merit, demerit and faculty. There are five actions: throwing upwards, throwing downwards, contraction, expansion and going.

7. A Dvandva compound of words of different genders, denoting names of rivers and countries, but not of towns, is singular.

Thus गंगार्घण्यि 'the Ganges and the Sona.' कुर्वि: कुर्विङ्गि = कुर्विंशिङ्गिनि 'the country of the Kurus and the Kurukshetra.' वर्ध्मान्यहरि कुर्विंशिङ्गिनि 'the country of the Kuru and the Yamuna.' Both being feminine gender, so also गंगार्घण्यि.
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Why do we say 'rivers and countries'? Observe नालाद्वारस्त्राः 'the hen and the pea-hen'.

Why do we say 'not of a town'? See जाम्बि, जाम्बि, भास्मिको, जाम्बि and सालिको which are the names of two villages or ग्रामाः.

We have taken the word 'river,' as the word 'country' does not include 'river.' So also 'mountains' are not included; as कैलासयम्भावे 'the Kailasa and the Gandhamadana.'

Vart.—The prohibition extends to villages and towns (ग्रामाः) but not to cities, (Nagara), as सुहुद्धकेतालेव 'the cities of Mathura and Pataliputra.'

Vart.—When a compound consists of two words, one a town and the other a city, the prohibition applies; as बर्बिद्वेश्वरेव 'the city of Saurya and the village of Ketavata.'

8. A Dvandva compound of words signifying small animals, is singular.

Thus सुंदरलु 'the louse and the nil'; भाविन्य 'the bug and the mosquito.' The word सुंदरकर्त्ता means an animal of a very small size. Some say that animals not having bones are called सुंदरकर्त्तः (invertebrâtes); others say, those which are small in size; others say, all below the mongoose are kshudrajânta.

वेदः विरोचः शास्तिकः द्रष्टिकः द्रष्टिकः द्रष्टिकः द्रष्टिकः

9. A Dvandva compound of words signifying those animals only among whom there is permanent enmity i.e., natural and eternal antipathy or quarrel, is singular.

The word विरोध means enmity; and शास्तिक means permanent. |

Thus, सामायकुम्भकः 'the cat and the rat'; श्रवणकुलम 'the dog and the jackal'; श्रवणकुलम 'the snake and the mongoose.'

Why do we say 'natural and eternal'? Observe श्रवणमिलकळमवः कृत्यात्वस 'Gaupâli and Sâlankâyana are quarrelling.'

The force of the word विरोध in the aphorism is that of विरोध 'only.' Dvandva compounds of such animals only are invariably singular; no other rule, even
if otherwise applicable, would apply to such compounds. Thus rule 12 says that Dvandva compounds of beasts and birds, is optionally singular. That rule (by l. 4, 2.) would have set aside the present rule. But त र prevents that, and no optional plural number is allowed in case of beasts or birds that are naturally at war; as भज्जालकुल, ‘the horse and the buffalo’; काकोपुख्कु, ‘the crow and the owl’.

10. A Dvandva compound of words denoting those classes of Sudras who have not been expelled from the communion of higher classes, is singular.

Thus, सलावसकार, ‘the carpenter and the blacksmith’; जज्जनवालुकु, ‘the washerman and the weaver.’

The word अनिश्चितum means one not expelled (from the dish).

A Sudra who can take food from the dish of a higher class, without permanently defiling that vessel, is called an Anirvāsita Sudra.

Why do we say ‘not expelled’? Observe शज्ज्वालूडः: ‘the Chandâla and the Mritapa.’

11. The word guvâśva, and others are also Dvandva compounds which take the singular number.

Thus गवास्वाः ‘the cow and the horse.’ So also गवास्वाः.

Vārtt.-In this list, the forms as given, are singular; but when the same words assume different forms they may take either number. As गोगट्ट or गोगट्ट. In this form of गी and गी the next rule applies and option is allowed.
12. A Dvandva compound of words being the names of trees, wild animals, grass, corn, condiment, domestic beasts and birds, and the compounds aśva-vādava, purvā-para and adharottara, are optionally singular.

Thus, प्लक्षापुष्पोऽर न्याग्रोधा: ‘the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees’; प्रस्पत्तोऽर प्रस्पत्ताः: ‘the Ruru-deer and the spotted antelopes’; कुस्कःकःकः or कुस्कःकः: ‘the Kuśa grass and the Kāśa grass’; शाशिवः or शाशिवः: ‘the rice and the barley’; सामसः or सामसः: ‘the curd and the butter’; गोगाहः or गोगाहः: ‘the cow and the buffalo’; तित्तिरितिकशः or तित्तिरितिकशः: ‘the Tittiri (a kind of partridge) and the Kapinjala birds’; भविष्यः or भविष्यः: ‘the horse and the mare’; पूर्णगः or पूर्णगः: ‘the first and the last’; उपर्यांतः or उपर्यांतः: ‘the upper and the lower’.

Part:—The Dvandva compound of words denoting names of fruits, army, large trees, wild animals, birds, small animals, grain and grass, is singular, when a large number or quantity of these is spoken of; that is when a large number of them is taken collectively, the compound is singular, otherwise not; as, व्यायनकालोऽर ‘a badari and an Ámalaki fruit are here’; चारिजीरोऽर ‘a charioteer and a horseman’; प्लक्षापुष्पोऽर ‘a Plaksha and a Nyagrodha tree’; प्रस्पत्तोऽर ‘a Ruru and a Prishata deer’; भविष्यः ‘a Hansa and a Chakravaka bird’; गोगाहः ‘a louse and a nit’; शाशिवः ‘a brihi and yava grain’; कुस्कः ‘the kuśa and kāśa grass’.

13. A Dvandva compound of words of contrary significations, but not being the names of concrete substances, is optionally singular.

Thus शीतोष्णः or शीतोष्णः: ‘cold and heat’; शुक्रःकः or शुक्रःकः: ‘pleasure and pain’; शैविष्नः or शैविष्नः: ‘life and death’.

The word विमुद्धिः means words of contrary significations. ष indicates the anuvṛtti of the word ‘optionally’ from the last sūtra.
Why do we say 'of contrary significations'?

Observe कावलवोधिल 'lust and anger,' which are not of contrary significations.

Why do we say 'not being the names of substances'?

Observe तामः द्रव्याणां 'cold and warm waters,' which denote substances.

न दृष्टिपत्र आदीन्ति ॥ ३८ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ न, दृष्टिपत्रः, आदीन्ति

(३८५) ॥

बुद्धि: दृष्टिपत्र आदीन्ति राजसिक्षां मैत्ररहस्यिणा ॥

14. The Dvandva compounds like 'dadhipaya' &c., are not singular.

Thus शिपर्वर्ती 'the curd and the milk'; साविन्यमुनि or मुष्टिविनि 'the clarified butter and the honey.'

With this sutra begins prohibition of singular number which previous sutras would have caused.

The following is a list of such compounds:

1. दच्छवर्ती. 2. साविन्यमुनि or मुष्टिविनि. 3. श्रद्धालुकारी. 4. बिष्य-वेदस्ननि. 5. श्वमर्दाशाय. 6. भलकासमविनि. 7. वर्तोपवनि. 8. भुसुष्चयो. 9. हम्भावर्ती. 10. कृसलसर्वत्री. 11. भुक्कावर्ती. 12. भोजयकरि. 13. अभ्यस्तवर्ती. 14. श्रुतुस्तिनुबाली. 15. भाध्यङ्कारि. 16. भाषयङ्करि. 17. श्वस्त्रवर्ती. 18. श्वस्त्रवर्ती.

अधिकरणायत्वेऽः च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ अधिकरण-पूर्ता

(न दृष्टिपत्र) ॥

बुद्धि: अधिकरण-पूर्तायत्वेऽः, च हि समासवर्त्त्वाय: सरीत्वात् वदयार्थविनि इन्द्रो नैकरकश्चिति ॥

15. A Dvandva compound denoting a fixed number (etatvatya) of concrete things (adhirakaraṇa) is not singular.

Comment furnished by Dr. J. As, इन्द्रभृधि, 'ten sets of teeth and lips'; हदादेवित्रद्वाराणिका 'ten sets of drum and panavika players.' Compare II. 4. 2.

विश्वास चन्द्रीवे ॥ ४० ॥ पदार्थि ॥ विश्वास चन्द्रीवे, (अधिकरणायत

(न दृष्टिपत्र) ॥

बुद्धि: अधिकरणायत्वविनि विश्वास इन्द्रु एकरुकश्चिति ॥

16. A Dvandva compound, denoting an approximate number of concrete substances, is optionally singular.
As, सप्त च सन्तों जैसे जयर्गा लगभग: ‘nearly ten i.e., nine or eleven sets of teeth and lips;’ सप्तश्र साधृक्षचारणाविद्यानुसार or उपर्योग नाशृक्षचारणाविद्यानुसार ‘nearly ten (nine or eleven) mridanga and panava players.’

An indeclinable, when compounded with a numeral, may either be a Bahuvrihi or an Avyayibhāva compound. When the compound is singular in form, it is Avyayibhāva, and when it takes proper number-terminations, it is Bahuvrihi compound. As, उपर्योग; उपर्योगः (II. 2. 25).

17. It, namely the Dvigu or the Dvandva compound, with regard to which singular number has been ordained by the above rules, is always a neuter gender.

As, सप्तश्र ‘an aggregate of ten cows,’ पार्श्वाद ‘hands and feet.’

This śātra debars the operation of the rule by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent member. See II. 4. 26.

Vart.—A Dvigu, the last member of which ends in short श्, is employed in the feminine gender only; as उपर्योगिनी, उपर्योगी.

Vart.—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a feminine word ending in आं or आंस, is optionally feminine; as, उपर्योगिनाः or उपर्योगिनी.

Vart.—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a word ending in श्, is optionally feminine and the श् is elided; as, उपर्योगिनः or उपर्योगी.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of Dvigu compounds ending in या &c., यास्त्राद्वयः; यास्त्राद्वयः; यास्त्राद्वयः.

अभयसाधनः II 38 II पदार्थः II अभयस्त्राद्वयः, श्, (नापुसाभास्).

This śātra restricts such compounds to neuter gender; as, उपर्योगिनन्द्र, उपर्योगिनन्द्री.

शार्मक्षुः पुरुषमात्रिनायानुसारः शार्मक्षुः.

शार्मक्षुः पुरुषमात्रिनायानुसारः शार्मक्षुः.

शार्मक्षुः पुरुषमात्रिनायानुसारः शार्मक्षुः.

शार्मक्षुः पुरुषमात्रिनायानुसारः शार्मक्षुः.
18. An ávyayibhāva (II. 1. 6.) compound is also neuter gender.

Thus, अधिति ‘pertaining to a woman’; so also, उपसिद्धि, वनसपत्यां &c.

But for this rule, an ávyayibhāva compound would have been either without any gender, if gender were to be regulated by its first member, which is generally an indeclinable, and which is the principal member in the compound; or it would have taken the gender of its subsequent member, like other compounds in which the last member is principal.

The force of श is to include cases not mentioned already.

Vart.—Neuter gender is employed after the word श preceded by पुरूष or सुविधा; as पुष्पिश्च ‘sacred day’; सुविधाः ‘lucky day’.

Vart.—The word य is neuter when compounded with a numeral or an ávyaya; as चिरयम्, चतुर्यम्, निर्मलय, सुप्रभाय.

Vart.—Adverbs, qualifying verbs, are put in the neuter gender and accusative case; as मु० प्रस० ‘he cooks mildly,’ स० प्रस० ‘he cooks well.’

तत्तुरुषोऽनुबंधार्यः ॥ ९६ ॥ पद्यानि ॥ तत्तुरुषः ॥ अनुमा कर्मचारः ॥ (नपुष्कलिः) ॥

पूर्व: ॥ कर्मचारिण ‘कर्मचारिण च कर्मचारिण चत्तुरुषः कर्मचारिण चत्तुरुषः कर्मचारिण चत्तुरुषः’ ॥

19. A Tat-purusha compound, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle naḥ, and of the Karmadhāraya compound, becomes neuter gender, in the cases explained in the following sūtras.

This is a governing sūtra and regulates the sense of the succeeding aphorisms which show when a Tat-purusha may be neuter. Thus, महाशयसन्तकः or नर (II. 4. 25); but उर्ध्वन्नरः (the compound not being Tat-purusha); भासन (it being a compound with शम्य=म); and भासन (it being Karmadhāraya).

संज्ञायां काल्योधीनरेख ॥ २० ॥ पद्यानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, कण्या, 

याथीनेदुः (तत्तुरुषः नपुष्कलिः) ॥

पूर्व: ॥ संज्ञायां काल्योधीनरेख नपुष्कलिः भसिन्, तथा ब्यौः कण्या स्थीलरेख भसिन् ॥

20. When denoting an appellative, a Tat-purusha compound ending with the word कण्या ‘town,’ is neuter in gender, provided that it is the name of a town situated in the country of the Uṣīnaras.
As, शीरसीक्षणम् 'the town of Sauśami'; भाषानकन्या 'the town of Ahwara.'

When not an appellative, the form is different; as, शीरसीक्षण. So also if the town is not in the country of the Uśnāras; as शशितस्या.

This debars the rule (II. 4. 25.) by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent term. (For accent see IV. 2. 124.)

वप्पणिकां तद्द्वापरविलयायाम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इप्पणिकां तद्द्वापरविलयायाम् ( तत्तूहैः न्युःवक् ) ॥

पुरीः इप्पणिकां श्वेतायानाप्रो न्युःवकः भवति शर्यायिद्वायावाः श्वेतायानाप्रो शस्त्रायिद्वायावाः सवयानायायावाः।

21. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words 'upajñā' (invention) and 'upakramā' (commencement) is neuter in gender, when it is intended to express the starting point of a work which is first invented or commenced.

As, वाणिज्यसम्बन्धानां स्थानधरणम् 'the grammars Kalāpa &c., had their commencement with Pāṇini's invention'; वाणिज्यसम्बन्धानां 'Vyādi-invented Dushkaraṇa'; वाणिज्यसम्बन्धानां 'the palace is an invention of rich folks.'

नमोरलकेति मन्त्रम् 'the measures are the invention of king Nanda.'

Of course, when it has not this sense, the neuter gender is not employed; as रेस्त्रीोती रथ: 'the chariot made by Devadatta,' चारसीप्रकार्र रथ: 'the chariot commenced by Yajñadatta.' So also the sense may be that of invention &c., but when these words are not employed, the neuter gender is not used; as जयस्तिर्लकाजः 'the slokas invented by Vālmiki.' N. P. Prof. Bobbthingk gives पाणिनितत्त्वानां स्थानधरणम् 'The Grammar omitting the time of the day is the work invented by Pāṇini, (VI. 2. 14.)

छया शाहुष्ये ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ छया, शाहुष्ये, ( तद्द्वृःत्, न्युःक् ) ॥

पुरीः छयायानाप्रो न्युःवकः भवति शाहुष्ये सङ्गमाः ॥

22. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word ḍhāyād 'shadow' is neuter in gender when the sense is that of profundity of the thing indicated by the first term.

Thus, शालनाद्वारम् 'A crowd of locusts darkening the sky.' हस्तद्वारम् 'the sugarcane shade i.e., groves of sugarcane.' Otherwise, क्युञ्जथाया 'the shadow of a wall.' (VI. 2. 14, accent.)
The śūtra 25 gives optional neuter; this rule enjoints invariable neuter when chhāyā has the sense of profuseness.

भो राजामनवयी || २३ || पदार्थ || बलाय, राजा-मनुवयः पूर्वो (तत्पुरुषमपूर्वक) ||

शृः || भो राजामनवयी नर्णवंचलितं गच्छि, स चेतु सभा राजपूर्व मनुधवपूर्व च अभवि ||

23. A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word sabhā 'court' is neuter, provided that it is preceded by (a word synonymous with) the word Rāja, or by a word denoting a non-human being.

As इरवरेणु 'the King's Court,' श्रेष्ठत्तमम् 'Lord's Court.'

But in राजसन्ध 'the King's Court,' the word is not neuter; for synonomy of Rāna are only to be taken and not the word-form Rāna; an apparent exception to Rule I. 1. 68.

So also राजसन्ध 'the Court of the Rakshasas.' श्रवणसन्धम् 'the Court of the Piśāchas.'

But in कालसया, श्रेष्ठत्तमम &c., the word is not neuter; for the word non-human has a technical significance meaning Rākshasa or a monster.

अभास्या च || २४ || पदार्थ || अभास्या, च, (तत्पुरुषमपूर्वक) ||

शृः || भास्या च या बलाय नर्णवंचलितं गच्छि ||

24. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word sabhā, when it does not mean a house, but means concourse, is neuter.

As, श्रीवरेणु, साहीवनम् 'the concourse of ladies and slaves;' otherwise अभास्या 'the poor-house.'

विभाषा चेतु श्रुताशयवाट्याशिनिनाशाम् || २५ || पदार्थ ||

विभाषा, चेतु-सुरा-यः-यः-शित्या-निवासाश्र्यम्, (तत्पुरुषक, तत्पुरुषः) ||

शृः || चेतु सुरा श्याया राजाय निरा इवसूक्तस्यतपुरुषो नर्णवंचलितं गच्छि विभाषा ||

25. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words śena 'army' surā 'wine,' chhāyā 'shadow,' sāla 'house' and niṣā 'night,' is optionally neuter, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle nā́ (II. 2. 6) and the karmadhārāya compound.
As श्रावणेन, श्रावणेन 'the Brāhmaṇa army,' वसुरु, वसुरु 'the barley wine,' कुष्णवर्धन, कुष्णवर्धन 'the shadow of the wall,' गीरात्म, गीरात्म 'the cow house,' शलिवंत, शलिवंत 'tomorrow night.' But अभवेन 'non-army,' परमेना good army,' the former being negative and the latter karmadhārāya compound. For accent see VI. 2. 14, 123.

रःश्च तस्य पुडःस्कथ: || ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ परः-सिल्पृष्ठः, श्रुण्ट-सिल्पृष्ठः: ॥

रःश्च ॥ परः वशिः ॥ सहस्तिः देयः तस्य सिल्पृष्ठः ॥

शारसिकः ॥ हिन्दुमासातपसिमातपसेवायु प्रतिप्रेक्ष्यो ब्रह्मस्य: ॥

26. The gender of Dvandva or Tat-purusha compound is like that of the last word in it.

This applies to लतारात्रा Dvandva or coupling by mutual conjunction कुष्णवर्धन, कुष्णवर्धन, those two (fem.) the cock and the peahen, शलिवंत, शलिवंत those two (mas.) the peahen and the cock. The शामाइरा Dvandva is always neuter. So also in Tat-purusha compound not especially mentioned in the previous aphorism: अश्रुहिम्यान्नान्, अश्रुहिम्यानि 'half a pippali; अश्रुहिम्यानि.

Vart:-Prohibition must be made in regard to (1) Dvigu compound, (2) compounds with द्रव्य, भास्प and, भास्प, and (3) compounds with Gati words; as, संप्रकाश्य: 'Purodāsa prepared in five cups'; स्वावभीकः: (वां + मृगिका) 'has obtained living,' भास्पभीकः, भास्पभीकः; विभौगाधिकः: 'gone beyond Kaushambi.

पुवेशचुदियः ॥ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूवेशचुदियः, अश्र: वषिः, (सिल्पृष्ठः) ॥

पुवेशचुदियः: ॥ भास्पभीकः: पूवेशचुदियः भवति ॥

27. The gender of the compound of the word नाव 'horse' and वाडय 'a mare,' is like that of the first word in it.

This applies where the compound is not an aggregate by rule II. 4. 12; in that case it will be neuter. भास्पभीकः; भास्पभीकः, भास्पभीकः: &c., (in every number and case) 'those two (mas.) the horse and the mare.' This is an exception to the last and general rule, by which the gender of the subsequent term, guides the gender of the whole compound.

देवनदिगिरियाहुत्रोत्रो ॥ वसदचिः ॥ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवनदिगिरियः, आद्य-रागचे, न, उद्धिः: (पूवेशचुदियः) ॥

देवनदिगिरियः: आद्य-रागचे: प्रवेशचुदियः दिलिते पूवेशचुदियः भवति ॥
28. Of the compounds ‘hemantasiśirau’ and ‘ahoratre’ the gender is like that of the first word; in the Chhandas. (vedas).

This aphorism debar a general rule given in II. 4. 26.

This applies to these words in all cases and numbers, not being confined to them in the dual number, though exhibited in the sūtra in the dual number, as—‘puṣṭaśāpitavat’, ‘ahoraśāśaśiśirvat’. ‘The white fortnight is fuel-wood; the black fortnight is the dung-cake, and days and nights are bricks (of the altar of sacrifice).’

Why do we say ‘in the Vedas’? Observe śreṣṭhitattvam, abhāraśāśiśirvat. In the Vedas the ordinary rules of gender are often set aside; this is an individual example of the universally exceptional nature of the Vedic language.

29. The Dvandva and Tatpurusha compound ending with rātra and ahna and aha are spoken of in the masculine.

These words refer to krit and Samāsānta affixes. Thus the word rāṣṭra is formed by rāṣṭra + abhaḥ (V. 4. 87) bhṛgū is formed by V. 4. 88 and abha by V. 4. 91. The general rule II. 4. 26 also does not apply here.

Vart:—The words abhaḥ &c., are masculine, as abhaḥ, abhaḥ, ahaḥ &c.,

30. The Tatpurusha word apatham ‘a bad road’ is neutral.

Vartāsavāt (this (neuter) is a bad road) abhaḥānita mukhāḥ ‘the fool roams on wrong roads.’ But abhaḥānita: a (masc.) ‘a roadless country.’ Here the compound being Bahuvrahi the word is masculine so; also abhaḥānita.
31. The words 'ardharcha' &c., are spoken of in masculine and neuter.

As अर्धच: and अर्धचः 'half a verse'; गोमति: and गोमतम् 'cow-dung.'

These twofold genders sometimes convey different meanings, the masculine form having one meaning and the neuter, another. Thus पर्: 'treasure,' पर्: or पर्व: 'lotus,' संप: 'treasure,' and शालम् or शालम् 'conch-shell,' भुन: or भुतम् 'ghost.' But when it is a verbal noun, it takes the gender of the word it qualifies. सेन्य: or सेन्यम् 'salt'; but when it is considered as a derivative word meaning 'born in or belonging to the sea' it takes the gender of the word it qualifies. सार्: 'best' सार्: 'compendium.' So फः: and फःम्.

32. In the room of idam 'this,' in case of its re-employment in a subsequent member of the same sentence and referring to the same thing (anvâdesa) there is the substitution of aś which is anudatta i.e., gravely accented, when the third case-affix and the rest follow.

The word अनुदात्त means literally saying (ādesa) 'after' (anu) or after-say or re-employment.

आशु (actually अ) replaces इत्यादि in all cases except the nominative and the accusative, when anvâdesa or repetition is implied. अशु replaces the whole of इत्यादि by 55 and not only the final अ. Anvâdesa means repeating in a second sentence with reference to the preceding in which it has already been used. Both pronouns, the antecedent and the subsequent, must refer to the same object. As, भाषायां शास्त्राद्वादः राष्ट्रियाः, भोजः भाषाक्षरस्थिरातिः

'These students studied in the night and they have read in the day also.' The substitute अशु will replace इत्यादि, even when the latter takes the affix अनुदात्त (V. 3. 71.)
33. In the room of एत्र in case of its re-employment there is the substitution of the gravely accented भूय when the affixes घ (V. 3. 10) and तत (V. 3. 7) follow, and the affixes घ and तत are anudātta also (gravely accented.)

Thus अत 'here,' and अत 'hence' in the following:—एतसम्व द्वान चर न्यास;
अव्य रहस्य दुक्ता भूयामे। 'We live in this (etasmin) village, happily, therefore let us read with full devotion in this (atra).’ एतसम्व चालायतोऽधृतोऽधीरः, अव्य तत्त्व चालायतोऽधृतोऽधीरः। 'Learn from this student. Prosody and also learn from him. Grammar.' By rule V. 3. 5. भूय is declared to be the substitute of एत्र; its repetition here is to indicate that this भूय of anvādeśa is anudātta.

34. When an affix of the 2nd case or घ (Ins. Sing.) or घ (Loc. dual) follows, घ which is anudātta is the substitute of एत्र and एत्र in the case of its re-employment.
The word द्रुम् is also understood in this sūtra though it was not so in the last. This skipping is technically called ‘frog-leap.’ Thus:—द्रुम अधिकार धर्म; अधिकार धर्म धर्मिकार धर्मिकार "teach this pupil Prosdody, and teach him Grammar also." अधिकार or द्रीकार धर्मिकार धर्मिकार "this pupil studied in the night and he studied in the day also." अधिकार: or द्रीकार: धर्मिकार: धर्मिकार: प्रवृत्त धर्मिकार "the family of these two students is respectable and their wealth is great."

Vart:—The word द्रुम, neuter and singular, is also used in anvādesa: as, द्रुम कौमालवत ग्रामसमान "bring this bowl and wash it." The above three Sūtras regulate the accent only of certain pronouns.

35. The clause ‘when the affix is Ardhadhatuka’ is understood in the following aphorisms up to aphorism 58 of this chapter.

Thus it will be taught in sūtra 42, ‘that द्रुम is the substitute of द्रुम when द्रूम follows.’ The words ‘when the affix is Ārdhadhatuka’ must be read into the sūtra to complete the sense. The result will be that in the Ārdhadhatuka द्रूम namely the आदित्यित्व or the Benedictive mood, द्रूम is replaced by द्रुम, but not so in the Sārvadhatuka द्रूम i. e., the Potential mood (विक्रियित्व). Thus, Benedictive द्रूम ‘may he kill’; but Potential द्रुम ‘let him kill.’

The word आदित्यित्व is in the 7th case; the force of this case-affix here is not that given in I. 1. 66. i.e., the sūtra does not mean ‘when an Ārdhadhatuka affix follows.’ But the 7th case has the force of indicating the subject, the meaning of the sūtra being ‘when the subject is an Ārdhadhatuka affix.’ The result of this explanation is, that the various substitutions enjoined hereafter should be made first, and then the respective affixes should be applied. Thus whenever we want to affix any Ārdhadhatuka-affix to त्रूम ‘to be,’ we must first substitute त्रूम for it, and then take the proper Ārdhadhatuka-affix which would come with regard to त्रूम. Thus we can apply त्रूम to त्रूम by rule III 1. 97 which says: ‘after verbs ending in vowels द्रूम is applied.’ But this affix could never have been applied to त्रूम which ends in a consonant. Thus we have त्रूम. So the substitution does not depend upon any particular affix, but Ārdhadhatuka-affixes as a class.
36. The word जरित is the substitute of असू ‘to eat,’ when the affix असू (VII.1.37) or an ārdhadhatuka kīrtu affix beginning with अ follows.

मन्त्र ‘Having eaten.’ (म + असू + असू = म + असू + अ). So also मन्त्र ‘eaten’ (असू + असू = असू + अ).

The अ in जरित is merely for the sake of articulation and is not an anubandha, otherwise there would have been the insertion of the nasal अ (अ). So also the अ in जरित &c., is merely for the sake of articulation. But असू + असू = असू ‘food’ is an irregularity.

The employment of असू in this sūtra indicates the existence of this Paribhāṣā. ‘A bahirāṅga substitution of असू supersedes even antaraṅga rules.’ Because in case this maxim did not exist, the substitution of असू for असू before असू, which is taught in this sūtra, would follow already from the word किर्तु (before that which is distinguished by an indicatory अ) in this rule, i.e., असू would (by maxim ‘that which is bahirāṅga is regarded as not having taken effect, or as not existing, when that which is antaraṅga has taken effect’) first be substituted for असू before असू and असू afterwards for असू.

Why do we say ‘before affixes beginning with अ'? Observe भव्य ‘is eaten.’

Why do we say ‘before affixes having indicatory अ’? Observe भव्यवत्.

ह्रद्यविशेषतः ॥ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रद्य-स्तूः । प्रसू (असू, असू) ॥

बृहस्पति ॥ मुक्ति धानि च परस्तोऽहि प्रसू भासवी भवति ॥

गुरुपाति । परस्तोऽहि प्रसूस्तद्वचनावतः ॥

37. When long (aorist) or san (desiderative) follows प्रसू is the substitute of प्रसू ‘to eat.’

अष्टवित्तु, अष्टवत्तु, अष्टवत्तु ‘he ate.’ The अ in प्रसू is servile and indicates the substitution of प्रसू for ब्रह्म of the Aorist (III. 1. 55.) So also in desiderative, as, निधिस्तवित्तु, निधिस्तव: निधिस्तवि ‘wishes to eat.’

Vart:-The verb असू is replaced by असू when the affix असू follows. Thus अ + असू + असू = असू + असू = प्रसू ‘voracious.’
38. And when the affix वमु and अत्त follow पत्त is the substitute of अत्त.

पासः ‘food, grass,’ अत्त + वमु = पासः + अत्त (III. 3. 19). परसः ‘voracity.’

पासः + अत्त + वमु = पासः + अत्त.

बहुतं छन्दसिः II गेयं पदानि II बहुतं ; छन्दसिः , ( अदः ; 
पहलूः आतः ) II

पुश्चः II द्वितीयेऽक्षमां प्रत्येकेऽस्मिन् पत्तृ भावयेत् भवेत् II

39. In the chhandas (Vedas), पत्त is diversely substituted for अत्त.

परसाहस्यं सत्यविथे (Vajur Veda Vaj. S. XVIII. 9). Sometimes it does not take place; as ब्राह्मणं ब्राह्मणी नेत्र वन्यं .

The word बहुतं is used in this सूत्र and the word अन्यतरस्याः in the next. There is evidently difference between the senses of these words; otherwise पपिनि would not have employed them in such juxtaposition, had they been synonymous. For then the anuvritti of बहुतं in the next सूत्र would have been sufficient. The following verse indicates that difference.

काव्यं पृषिः : कन्याकुलिः : , कन्याकुलिः कन्याकुलिः 

विपरीतं अवशोषणं कन्याकुलिः , भावयेत् बहुतं भवेत् II

‘Sometimes they are, where there is no express rule for their application; sometimes they are not applied, in spite of an express rule for their application; sometimes they are optionally employed or not, and sometimes there is some other result, licence permitted by the rule.’ Thus in परसाहस्य there is not elision of the penultimate.

40. When नित्तं (Perfect) follows पत्त is optionally the substitute of अत्त.

अंतफः अत् ‘he ate,’ जतस्य अत् ‘they ate’ सत्तं अत् अत् ‘they all ate.’ The word जतस्य is thus formed:—पत्तं + अन्ततस्य = पत्तं + पत्तं + अन्ततस्य (VI.
Ardhadhatuka-substitutes.

1. 8) = घ + घ + अनु (VII. 4. 60) = घ + घ + अनु: (VII. 4. 62) = घ + घ + अनु: (VIII. 4. 53) = घ + घ + अनु: (VIII. 4. 58) = घ + घ + अनु: (VIII. 3. 60).

बच्छे वचि: ॥ ४१ ॥ पदार्थ: ॥ वचि: (द्विव्यवस्थापनी अवादे:) ॥

पृष्ठि: ॥ बच्छे द्विव्यवस्थापनी अवादे अर्धवादारणी विशिष्ट परम्भ: ॥

41. When निः follows, वचि is optionally the substitute of वचि 'to weave.'

In the Perfect tense thus we have two roots: Let us first take वचि. Then we have regularly वचि + लिङ्ग = वचि + अनु = वचि. The roots in घ , घ and घ are treated like roots ending in घ thus:—

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In this case sampradāraṇa or-dained by VI. 1. 17 does not take place by VI. 1. 40.

When however we take the base वचि, the घ being for the sake of articulation only, we have the following forms:—वचि + अनु = वचि + अनु + अनु (VI. 1. 8) = वचि + अनु + अनु (VI. 1. 17) = वचि; the घ is not changed into घ by VI. 1. 38. In this dual we have वचि + अनु = वचि + अनु; (VI. 1. 15) = वचि + अनु + अनु: (VII. 4. 60) = कब्जळ: The affix अनु being कब्जळ affix by rule I, 2. 5 there is sampradāraṇa before reduplication. Thus we have वचि, कब्जळ, कब्जळ: Further by rule VI. 1. 39 before कब्जळ affixes घ may be optionally substituted for घ , i.e., कब्जळ: or कब्जळ: and कब्जळ: or कब्जळ:.

हसे वचि विचि ॥ ४२ ॥ पदार्थ: ॥ हसे: ॥ वचि, विचि (आदे वादुके:) ॥

पृष्ठि: ॥ हसे श्वासपि द्विव्यवस्थापनी अवादे विचि परस्य भावाभिषेके ॥

42. वचि is the substitute of वचि 'to kill,' when the ārdhadhatuka निः (Benedictive) follows.

कदाचि 'may he kill,' कदाचि 'may they kill,' कदाचि: 'may they all kill.'

The substitute वचि ends with short घ, this घ is elided. This elision being like the original (sthānīvativ I. 1. 56), in forming the Aorist घुम्ब, we have अनु + घ + घुम्ब = अनुघुम्ब. Here zero being sthānīvativ prevents the vṛddhi of घ of घ which otherwise would have taken place by VII. 2. 7.
43. And when लुध (Aorist) follows, श्व is the substitute of हुः.

अधिष्ठ ‘he killed,’ अधिष्ठायु ‘they all killed.’ The division of this aphorism from the last सूत्र (yoga-vibhāga) indicates that the next rule applies to Aorist only and not to Benedictive as well. There is no option in Benedictive Atmanepada.

44. When Atmanepada affixes follow, श्व is optionally the substitute of हुः in the लुध (Aorist).

Thus भवविध or भात; भवविधायु in भावविधायु; भवविधायो or भावविधायो.

The verb लुध becomes Atmanepadi when preceded by भा (I. 3. 28).

By सूत्र I. 2. 14, the Aorist-affixes in the Atmanepada are कित् after लुध and by VI. 4. 37 the श्व is elided before कित् affixes, then by VIII. 2. 27 the श्व is elided. Thus भावविध + कित् + श्व = भावविध.

45. श्व is the substitute of the root हुः when लुध follows.

अधिष्ठ ‘he went.’ (II. 4. 77) भागायु ‘they two went’ अधिष्ठ ‘they all went.’ The repetition of the word लुध in this सूत्र though its anuvṛtti was coming from the last aphorisms, indicates that there is no option allowed even in the Atmanepada, श्व being the invariable substitute in all the Padās. Thus भावविध भार्त ‘you went.’ The form भागायु is thus evolved अ + ग्य + कित् + श्व = भागायु (II. 4. 77).

Vart:—श्व is the substitute of हुः ‘to remember’ in the Aorist, as it is of हुः. Thus भागायु ‘he remembered.’ भागायु. भागायु. The root हुः belongs to Adādi class.
46. When the affix वि (Causal) follows, गमि is the substitute of हृद when the sense is not that of 'informing' but that of 'going.'

गमि 'makes him go' गमवत्, गमवति &c. But सबविवि 'causes to believe.' अभिवादन. The इ of गमि is for articulation. So also हृद to 'remember'; as, अभिवादनि.

गमि इ इ इ पद्रालि गमि, इ, (इण: अस्वैथः, गमि:)

पुस्तिः गमि परस्र होशोधापनार्थस्त्र गनितादेशी भवति

47. And when सत्र (Desiderative) follows, गमि is the substitute of ष when the sense is not that of 'informing.'

यगवादगि 'wishes to go' सिगवाचस्त्र, सिगवाचनि. But थायुः हस्विहिषः भि 'he wishes to inform the meaning.' So also with हृद, as अभिवादनि: गमि विभागा indicates that the anuvrātt of हृद only runs in the next स्त्रा and not of गमि. The form is thus evolved in the Parasmaipada; गम्बू + हृद = हृद + हृद + ष (VI. 1. 9) = ष + हृद + ष (VII. 4. 60) = ष + हृद + ष (VII. 4. 62) = ष + हृद + ष (VII. 2. 50) गमि विभागा, and then we add the personal terminations.

हृदधशि इ इ पद्रालि इ हृद: इ, (इणि गमि:)

पुस्तिः हृद गमि परस्रे गनितादेशी भवति

48. And of हृद 'to study,' गमि is the substitute when सत्र follows.

अभिवादनाचरे, * स्वेते, * सत्रे 'he wishes to study.' The root हृद is always preceded by the preposition अभि. This will be Atmanepadi by I. 3. 13 and I. 1. 56. The form is similarly evolved by the application of rules VII. 2. 58, and VI. 4. 16.

गाज्य विभि इ इ पद्रालि गाज्य, विभि, (इणि)

पुस्तिः गाज्यादेशी अन्वेषी लिंग वर्गः
49. गाथु is the substitute of रख when निद्रु (Perfect) follows.

The substitute being like its original (I. 1. 68) गाथु would have been Atmanepadi, even without the indicatory, रख. Why has then this रख been added to it? The object is that in the sūtra I. 2. 1. गाथु there should mean this substitute गाथु and not the verb गाथु 'to go.'

Thus we get भिन्नाम 'he studied'. भिन्नातर, भिन्नातरे. See VI. 4. 64 and III. 4. 8.

विभाषा छुट्टुको: ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि विभाषा, छुट्टुको: ( रखः, बि, गाथुः) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ दक्षिण युग्म य परत इहो विभाषा गाथुवेती मविति ॥

50. गाथु is optionally the substitute of रख when लखु (Aorist) and लख (Conditional Future) follow.

Let us take the case when गाथ replaces रख. The affixes of लखु and लख are treated as बिन्छु by I. 2. 1. and then by the Rule VI. 4. 66 (When an Ardhadhātuka affix, beginning with a consonant and distinguished by an indicatory क or रख follows; then let जिन be the substitute of long आ of the verbs termed गाथु and of रख, स्वर, गाथु, रख, रख, रख, रख, रख). we get भिन्नानिद्रु (भिन्न + रख + गाथु + रख ), भिन्नानिद्रु, भिन्नानिद्रु. In the alternative we have भिन्नानिद्रु, भिन्नानिद्रु and भिन्नानिद्रु.

So also in लखु; as भिन्नानिद्रु, भिन्नानिद्रु, भिन्नानिद्रु, or in the alternative, भिन्नानिद्रु, भिन्नानिद्रु and भिन्नानिद्रु.

णी च संबंधोऽति, ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि गाथु, च, संबंधोऽति, ( रखः, गाथुः, विभाषा ) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ नै समारे गाथ दर्चे य परत इहो विभाषा गाथुवेती मविति ॥

51. गाथु is optionally the substitute of रख in the causative रख, when that causative takes the affix sanu (desiderative) and chañu (Aorist).

भिन्नानिद्रुविनिद्रु or भिन्नानिद्रुविनिद्रु 'he desires to teach.' The form is thus evolved: रख + निद्रु = निद्रु (VII. 3. 36); then by the rules already stated, we get the above form with the affix निद्रु. भिन्नानिद्रु or भिन्नानिद्रु 'he taught.' The रख is changed into निद्रु by VI. 1. 48. Thus रख + निद्रु = रख + निद्रु = रख + ख + ख = भिन्नानिद्रु. This rule applies to the desideratives of causatives and aorist of causatives.
52. Sh is the substitute of the verb अर्थु 'to be,' when any अर्धहठुका affix is to be applied.

Now the Perfect tense affixes are also अर्धहठुका affixes (III. 4. 115). The Perfect of अर्थु is therefore the same as that of श, namely, शतु &c. This apparent breach of the present sūtra is explained by taking the term शतु in III. 1. 40. as a Pratyāhāra including श, श and अर्थु, and if अर्थु could not form its Perfect in the regular way, its inclusion in this Pratyāhāra would be useless; hence we conclude, that as an auxiliary verb, अर्थु forms its Perfect regularly.

53. बच is the substitute of श 'to speak,' when any अर्धहठुका affix is to be applied.

Bh will speak,' बच 'in order to speak.' The श of बच is for the sake of articulation only. The substitute being like the principal, श is Atmanepadi when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, as ओष 'he spoke,' ओष 'he will speak.'

54. वास्तु is the substitute of वास्तु 'to perceive, to tell,' when any अर्धहठुका affix is to be applied.

वास्तु 'he will perceive or tell'; वास्तु 'in order to tell'; वास्तु 'must be told.' The substitute being like the principal, वास्तु being always Atmanepadi (I. 3. 12), वास्तु would have also been always Atmanepadi. But in that case the letter श would have no scope; it therefore follows that वास्तु is not always Atmanepadi, but under conditions mentioned in I. 3. 72.
Ardhadhatuka Substitutions [Bk. II. Ch. IV. § 55, 56.

Vart.—This substitute is also said to begin with झा instead of श्व.

Thus भास्करा, बाह्यादात्य, भाक्षकामण.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated when meaning 'exclusion'; as दुर्जनः संस्धयः. 'bad men should be excluded.'

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated when the affixes भञ्ज and भञ्जन follow: as वृष्णा राजवा: 'the Rakshasas are cruel.' This is Vedic Sanskrit; modern वृष्णा: The meaning of the root भञ्ज here, is 'to injure.' So also विन्यासन: पिर्यखः; here the affix is भञ्ज.

Vart.—Substitutes are made diversely in denoting appellatives and not qualities and in the Vedic Sanskrit; as भञ्ज 'food' (here the substitute भञ्ज does not replace भञ्ज); चरक्षम् 'killer' (चर्य being substituted for हर्य before चर्यम्); गार्थ्य 'body' (गार्थ्य is substituted for दूर्य before the unadi affix दूर्य); विन्यास: (here भञ्ज is not replaced by भञ्ज before भञ्ज); भञ्जरम् 'a court yard' (here भञ्ज is not replaced by झे as the next sūtra 56 requires).

55. वर्माः is optionally the substitute of चटिः when चटिः (Perfect) follows.

The चटिः also is an Ardhadhatuka affix and by the last sūtra वर्माः would always have been the substitute of चटिः; the present sūtra makes this substitution optional, as भञ्जसत्य, भञ्जसत्य: and भञ्जसत्य: . In the alternative we have भञ्जसत्य, भञ्जसत्य: and भञ्जसत्य: ;' he told &c.'

56. शी is the substitute of the verb भञ्ज 'to drive,' 'to lead,' when an अर्धाधातुक affix follows, with the exception of the affixes प्रम् (III. 3. 18.) and अर्ध (III. 3. 69).

भञ्जसत्य: 'driver,' प्रभञ्जन: .

Why do we say 'with the exception of प्रम् and अर्ध'? Observe भञ्ज + भञ्ज + प्रम् = भञ्जसत्य: 'society'; उत्त्र: 'driving out'. So also with भञ्ज, as भञ्जम्: 'a multitude or herd of animals &c.' उत्त्र: 'driving out of cattle.' See III. 3. 69.

Why have we used शी with a long श? For the sake of forms like यहीता: &c.
Elision of Yuvan affix.

Vart:- Prohibition must also be stated (along with युव and यन्) of the affix कस्य, as युवनम् ‘a meeting, fame.’

Vart:- The substitution is optional before अर्धदहतकस beginning with a letter of वर्त् Pratyâhâra (all consonant except ञ) as वायु or माविला मुक्ति or माविलि. See VI. 2. 144 for accent.

57. भी is optionally the substitute of भुव when the affix य (III. 3. 15 &c.) follows.

This declares an option in case of the affix कस्य, the word ु in the Sûtra referring to this affix; as, व्यवह गृह: ‘driving stick or whip.’

58. After a word ending with the Gotra affix यव (IV. 1. 151), and after a Gotra word denoting the descendant of a Kshatriya or a Rishi (sêr), and after a word ending with a Gotra affix having an indicatory य, the affix युव and युव employed in forming युव (IV. 1. 163) descendants, are elided by the substitution of युव.

1. Thus by sūtra IV. 1. 151 (the affix यव comes after युव &c., in denoting descendent) we get युव + यव = कोरस्य: (VII. 2. 117) ‘a grandson of Kuru.’

This is a Gotra word (IV. 1. 162). Now in forming a word denoting a lower descendant than grandson, we add a Yuvan affix. Thus कोरस्य + युव (IV. 1. 95). Now this युव is elided by the present sūtra, and we get the form कोरस्य: which thus means both a Gotra and a Yuvan (IV. 1. 163) descendent of Kuru. So that कोरस्य: is the name both of the father and the son.

Now it may be objected: ‘the word कोरस्य: belongs to the सिन्दु class and by IV. 1. 154, it will take the affix किः. Do we, what we may, the form will be कोरस्याविनि: (VII. 1. 2.)’ To this we reply, the word कोरस्य: which we see in that list of विनि &c., is not the word कोरस्य: which we formed by adding यव under rule IV. 1. 151; that Tikâdi word is formed by यव under rule IV. 1. 172, and is confined to Kshatriya. The कोरस्य: which we have taken, denotes a Brahmin Gotra formed by IV. 1. 151.
2. Now to give an example of a word denoting the descendent of a Kshatriya. We take IV. 1. 114. which tells us that ‘the affix अभ्यु may be added to the words which are the names of Rishis, or of persons belonging to the family of Andhaka, or Vrishinis or Kuru.’ The Andhaka family is a Kshatriya family, and रुषास्फलक: is a person of that family. Then रुषास्फलक + अभ्यु = रुषास्फलक: ‘descendent of Svaphalka.’ This is a Gotra descendent. In forming Yuvan descendent we have रुषास्फलक + हृष्मु. Now this हृष्मु must be elided by the present sūtra. So that रुषास्फलक: means both father and the son.

3. Now to give an example of Rishis family. The sūtra last mentioned IV. 1. 114, will also hold here. We take the word वस्त्रेण:; and वस्त्रिण + अभ्यु = शान्तिन:; the Yuvan affix हृष्मु will similarly be elided after this; and thus the word वस्त्रिण: means both the father and the son.

4. Then to take the example of Gotra word formed by affixes having indicatory य. Thus sūtra IV. 1. 104. declares ‘the affix अभ्यु comes after the words रुष्म &c., in denoting Gotra descendents.’ Thus रुष्म + अभ्यु = रुष्म; Then add हृष्मु to denote Yuvan descent, and we have रुष्म + हृष्मु. By the present rule this हृष्मु is elided and thus we have रुष्म: both for the father and the son.

The above examples show the elision of the affix हृष्मु. Now we shall give example of the elision of the affix अभ्यु. Now rule IV. 1. 154 says ‘the affix शिक्षम comes after the words शिक्षम &c., in denoting descendents.’ Thus शिक्ष + शिक्ष = शैक्षिक: (VII. 1. 2.) Then to form the Yuvan descendent we add अभ्यु by IV. 1. 83. Thus शैक्षिक + अभ्यु. By the present sūtra, this अभ्यु is elided, and we have शैक्षिक: both applicable to the father and the son. Other examples can be multiplied.

Why do we say ‘there is elision only after these words’? The Yuvan affix will not be elided after other words. Thus rule IV. 1. 112 says:—‘The affix अभ्यु comes after रुष्म &c., in forming Gotra.’ कौशिक + अभ्यु = कौशिक. Now this is neither a word formed by हृष्मु nor is it the name of a Kshatriya or a Rishi; nor any affix having हृष्मु goes to form it. Therefore the Yuvan affix हृष्मु will not be elided after this. Thus कौशिक + हृष्मु (IV. 1. 95) कौशिक: ‘son of Kauhada.’

Why do we say ‘affix denoting Yuvan descendent is elided’? An affix not denoting अभ्यु Yuvan descendent will not be elided. Thus the pupils of शामरथ्य are called शामरथ्य: which word is thus formed: शामरथ्य + हृष्मु = शाम—रथ्य: ‘a descendent of Vâmaratha’ (IV. 1. 115). Then to denote pupils we add अभ्यु by IV. 2. 111. Thus शामरथ्य + अभ्यु = शामरथ्य: ‘a pupil of Vâmarathya.’

Why do we say ‘Yuvan affix अभ्यु and हृष्मु are elided’? The other Yuvan affixes under similar circumstances are not elided. Thus the Yuvan
descendent of  
(grandson of  ) will be  
Here the affix  (IV. 1. 101) is not elided.

Vara:—All Yuvan affixes are elided after Gotra words not denoting Brahmin Gotras;  
as  applies equally to father and son;  
father, son;  
father, son;  
father, son. 
Here, first  is added by IV. 1. 173, then  to denote Yuvan descendent. 
Then this  is elided by the present Vartika.

59. And after the words  &c. there is the  elision of the  affix.

  (V. 1. 118). ‘The Gotra descendent of Paila.’
  (V. 1. 156). The present rule intervenes, and the Yuvan affix  
is elided; so  is both a Gotra and a Yuvan word. Some say that the  
words are formed by the affix  ; (IV. 1. 95) and then the  elision of the Yuvan affix would be valid by the next rule 60. They would limit the scope of the present sūtra to cases where the Gotra of the people is not known, the Prachyas not being indicated.

1.  2.  3.  4.  5.  6.  7.  8.  9.  10.  11.  12.  13.  14.  15.  16.  17.  18.  19.  20.  21.  22.  23.  

60. After a word ending with the Gotra affix  (IV. 1. 95) there is  elision of the Yuvan affix, when the Gotra of the people called Prachya (Eastern) is denoted.

  ‘the Gotra descendent of Pannāgara’; after this the Yuvan affix  (IV. 1. 101) is elided by the present rule, and so  is both the father and the son. So  father and son. The word  here qualifies the word Gotra understood and does not show that it is an optional rule in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians. When the Gotra of Prachyas is not denoted, there is no elision. Thus  and  ‘son of Dākshi.’
61. After the words तौलतिः and the rest there is not luk-elision of the Yuvan affix.

तौलतिः is the name of the father and तौलतावन is the son of the former, formed by the Yuvan affix फ़्रू (IV. 1. 101).

62. There is luk-elision of the अजाम (IV. 1. 174) affix, when the word is used in the plural number, provided that the plural number is taken by the base itself, and not by its standing as a compound epithet dependent upon another word, and provided that the base is not used in the feminine.

अजाम = अज + अ (IV. 1. 170) 'a prince of Aṅga'; plural अजाम: 'the princes of Aṅga.' The affix अज is elided by the present rule, and the Vṛddhih vanishes with it too (I. 1.63); but अजाम: 'the princesses of Aṅga,' plural of अजाम 'a princess of Aṅga.' But अजाम: 'he to whom the prince of Vanga is beloved' forms its plural अजाम: 'they whose beloved is the prince of Vanga,' there being no elision.

63. After the word यस्क &c., there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word of itself and
not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another word, takes the plural; but not in the feminine.

वस्त्र + अन्ता = वस्त्रक: ‘a descendant of Yaska not nearer than grandson.’
In the plural, the affix is elided and the form is वस्त्रक: ‘the descendents of Yaska.’

वस्त्रक: II


यज्ञाविश्व: II दानी: II यज्ञ-सोदः: च, (व्युज्ञ, तेत्रवातः) II

प्रभुः: II यज्ञाविश्व यज्ञाविश्व कहोऽयज्ञाविश्व तृप्तमन्यायातः तुम मयात II

वाराज्ञ: II वाराज्ञाविश्व कहोऽयज्ञाविश्व तृप्तमन्यायातः तुम मयात II

64. And there is luik-ellipsis of the Gotra affixes वस्त्र (IV. I. 105) and अन्ता (IV. I. 104.) when the word of itself and not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another, takes the plural but not in the feminine.

गये + अन्ता = गये: plural गये: ‘the male descendents of Garga’. So also वस्त्र: ‘the male descendents of Vatsa’; the singular being, वस्त्रक: Similarly, विष + अन्ता = विषः (IV. I. 104); plural विषः: and not विषः: similarly भैरवे singular; भैरवे: plural.

But these affixes are not elided when the word forms part of a compound. Thus, विषायो: ‘those to whom Gârgya is beloved;’ विषाय: ‘those to whom Baida is beloved.’

These affixes will not be elided in the feminine. Thus, गाये: , गये, feminine plurals.

Of course these affixes must be Gotra or patronymic affixes, otherwise there will be no elision. Thus देव + अन्त = देव: ‘living on the island,’ plural देव:; here the affix अन्त is not elided as it does not denote a Gotra. So वस्त्र + अन्त = वस्त्र: ‘the pupil of Utsa,’ plural वस्त्र:.

Vart.—In forming Tat-purusha compound of the singular and dual genitive, the affix अन्त and अन्त are optionally elided. Thus गाये-कुल = गाये-हुल or गाये-कुल, गाये: कुल = गाये-कुल or गाये-कुल.
Similarly वेदस्य or वेदव: कुलं = वेदस्युकलं or वेदव: कुलं.

Why do we say 'the affixes वेद् or वेदः'? Because other affixes will not be elided in forming तत्तुष्ण compound; such as वेदस्युकलं।

Why do we say 'singular or dual'? Because in the plural तत्तुष्ण compound these affixes must necessarily be elided and not optionally; thus गार्ग्यानं कुलं - गार्ग्युकुलसं।

Why do we say 'in forming तत्तुष्ण compound'? Because in forming other compounds, these affixes will not be elided. Thus, उपाधियोजन which is an अवधियोजन compound, meaning गार्ग्यसंगीतोजन। Of course, it is only in the Genitive तत्तुष्ण that this rule is applicable; it will not therefore apply in कंतवराश्रय तत्तुष्ण &c., as परवराश्रय।

अत्रिमूल्यस्वविष्णुगोरतमान्त्रिरेवव्यः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदार्थं ॥ अत्रिमूल्यस्वविष्णुगोरतमान्त्रिरेवव्यः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदार्थं ॥

65. And after the words अवि, वेद्, वेदः, वेदवः, वेदवः, यत्, तत्, तत्, तत्, तत्, तत्, तत्, तत्, तत्, तत्, there is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix, when the word takes the plural, but not in feminine.

Thus the plural of आशेव (अवि + तत् IV, 1, 122.) the descendent of आशेव, is आशेव; the regular plural of आशेव. So also, singular आशेव, plural आशेवः; singular कौरस, plural दुर्योधः; so, विविधः, विकलः, अक्षः

In all these the affix has been elided. Thus ग्रुणु + अवि = ग्रुणवः: 'the descendent of ब्रिगुः. Of course, it is only in the plural number that the Gotra affixes वेद् and अवि are elided, not in any other number; so we have in singular आशेव: आशेवः; dual आशेवः आशेवः; plural आशेवः, ग्रुणः: &c.

But when these words are part of a compound, the Gotra affixes are not elided in forming their plural. Thus विविधतेवः or विविधवाचः।

In the Feminine plural the affixes are not elided. Thus:—आशेवः

वेदस्य इत्याशेवस्तुतेन् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदार्थं ॥ वहमचः इत्याशेवस्तुतेन् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदार्थं ॥

66. There is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix इत् (IV. I. 95) after a word containing many vowels (a polysyllabic word) which denotes the Gotra of the people called शान्ति and शान्ति when the word takes the plural.
The plural of प्रत्ययम्: is प्रत्ययम्; there being elision of हुः; so also वस्त्र-रूपम्: plural of वस्त्ररूपम्; so the plural of बौध्यक्रमणम्: is बौध्यक्रमणम्. The descendents of Yudhishtira. But बौध्यक्रमण: not being polysyllabic, their plural will be बौध्यक्रमण: and बौध्यक्रमण:.

Why do we say 'when denoting the Gotra of Prachyas and Bharat-As'? Because when denoting the Gotra of any other people, these affixes will not be elided. Thus बालाक्रमण: plural of बालाक्रमणम्: इत्तवाक्रमणम्: plural of इत्तवाक्रमणम्:.

Though the Bharatas are Prachyas, its specification here is to indicate that, wherever 'Prachyas' will be used, it will not include Bharatas as in V. 4. 60. Here the Yuvan affix of Bharatas will not be elided. Thus शामिन्द्र: father, शामिन्द्र: son.

न गोवप्यवनाधिस्थम्: ॥ ६७ ॥ पदार्थम्: न, शोष-यन-आदिश्च: (हुः), ॥

पुर्णम्: ॥ गोवप्यवनाधिस्थम्: परश्य गत्वभरनयुम् न भविषय ॥

67. After the words गोवप्यम्, &c., there is not luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word takes the plural.

This prevents the application of II. 4. 64. Thus गोवप्यम् + भास्य-गोवप्यम्, plural गोवप्यम्:; singular श्रीमद्, plural श्रीमद्: . The गोवप्यम् &c., belong to Viddhi class, vide IV. 1. 104, and are the following:—गोवप्यम्, श्रीमद्, श्रीमद्, भास्य, भास्य, गत्वभरनयुम् and गत्वभरनयुम्. The remaining words such as हृदित्व, &c., should not be taken in this sub-class. In the case of हृदित्व, &c., the Gotra affix must be elided in the plural by Rule 64. Thus हृदित्वम्: विद्यते: &c.

सिद्धविजा-विक्षिप्तम्: तुभृद्: ॥ ६८ ॥ पदार्थम्: सिद्ध-विक्षिप्त-आदिश्च: ,

तुभृद्: (बहुधुः), ॥

पुर्णम्: ॥ सिद्धविजा-विक्षिप्तम्: हरे: गोपालवर्णम् बहुधुः नश्वरितम् ॥

68. After the words सिद्ध-विक्षिप्त &c., when used as Dvandva compound, there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affixes, when the compound word takes the plural.

Thus सिद्ध + विक्षिप्त = सिद्धविजा: (IV. 1. 154). Its plural is सिद्धविजा:; सिद्धविजा: + सिद्धविजा: = सिद्धविजा:; विक्षिप्तविजा: विक्षिप्तविजा:; &c. There is elision of विक्षिप्त. So also वैदिकताः: plural वैदिकताः: (IV. 1. 95) + वैदिकताः: वैदिकताः: ; there is elision of वैदिक. (IV. 1. 95). The following is a list of such compounds.

of \textit{ह्र} ). \textit{वक्तृत्वगतिक्षणा}. 6. \textit{अक्षरकुमा} ( \textit{भौतिक} IV, I. 95 + \textit{कालकु} IV, I. 112, then the elision of \textit{ह्र} and \textit{अष्ट}) 7. \textit{लक्षणगोपुरवण।} (the elision of \textit{ह्र} IV, I. 95 as in 4). 8 \textit{सूक्ष्मस्वरः} (सौभाग्य: IV. 1. 154 + कालरूप: IV. 1. 95, elision of विस्तुर एव एव विस्तुर: (elision of \textit{ह्र} as in 4) 10. \textit{कवित्वमूलकुपालिका} (elision of \textit{ह्र} IV, I. 105, कवित्वमूलकुपालिका: IV, I. 95, elision of both \textit{ह्र} and \textit{अष्ट})

\textit{वपकाविन्यमन्तरसाधारणहरू} II 68 II पद्मना II द्वार-अध्विष्टा, \textit{अन्तर्वाचृत्त, अन्तर्वाचृत्त} (खन्नु हुनु हन्न) II

\textit{पुः: II द्वार- इत्ययत्वाचिन्तः: परस्य गोविन्दसारस्य बहुधु सुगुण्ण:} भक्ति \textit{अन्तरस्त्रय} हरूः तः \textit{हरूः} तः ||

69. After the words \textit{वपक} &c. there is optionally लक्ष-elision of the Gotra affix when the words take the plural whether they enter into a \textit{वपक} एव एव एव \textit{वपक} compound, or are used separately.

Of the words belonging to this list, three have already been enumerated in the group of Tika-kitavādi of the last sūtra. The elision is invariable in the \textit{वपक} एव एव एव \textit{वपक} compound of these three, but when used separately the elision is optional. As, \textit{वक्तृत्वगतिक्षणा}, \textit{वक्तृत्वगतिक्षणा}, \textit{कवित्वमूलकुपालिका}. But the plurals of \textit{ब्रह्मश्रवण:}, the Gotra-derivative of \textit{उपक} (IV. I. 99) is उपक: or \textit{ब्रह्मश्रवण:}; of \textit{ब्रह्मश्रवण:} is ब्रह्मश्रवण: or ब्रह्मश्रवण:; of \textit{कवित्वमूलकुपालिका} is कवित्वमूलकुपालिका: or कवित्वमूलकुपालिका: The plural of \textit{कवित्वमूलकुपालिका} is \textit{कवित्वमूलकुपालिका} or \textit{कवित्वमूलकुपालिका}.

The plural of \textit{कवित्वमूलकुपालिका} is \textit{कवित्वमूलकुपालिका} or \textit{कवित्वमूलकुपालिका}.

Of the rest of the words belonging to this group, there is option allowed, both when they occur in \textit{वपक} एव एव एव \textit{वपक} compound or when used alone. They are as follow:—


\textit{आगस्त्यकाविर्मितं शक्तिमहास्मिः} II 67 II पद्मना II आगस्त्य-काविर्मितं शक्तिमहास्मिः, \textit{वृहत्तः-पुष्पिन्यः} (खन्नु हुनु, अणो यष्ट) II

\textit{पुः: II आगस्त्यकाविर्मितं शक्तिमहास्मिः} वरस्य बहुधु सुगुण्ण: \textit{शक्तिमहास्मिः} \textit{वृहत्तः-पुष्पिन्यः} तस्मान्यात्तिर्भवायमहिः \textit{शक्तिमहास्मिः} ||
70. There is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes अन्न and वष्म of the words भागस्य and कौरिषयम्, when they take the plural; and the words भागिति and कौरिषयम् are the substitutes of the bases so remaining after the elision.

The plural of भागस्य is भागस्य: (as if it was the plural of भागस्य:) and of कौरिषयम्: is कौरिषयम्. The affix अन्न (IV. 1. 114.) after भागस्य and the affix वष्म (IV. 1. 105) after कौरिषयम् are elided.

The ष in कौरिषयम् is indicatory and regulates the accent (VI. 1. 163); the word कौरिषयम् has udāta on the middle vowel; and its substitute will also have the same accent. There is no elision however in भागसिद्धार्थम् (IV. 1. 89) कौरिषयम्: (IV. 2. III).

शुचे चातुर्माणितिविदिकोऽऽ || ७१ || पदानि शुचे, चातु-प्रातिषिदेकोऽऽ ||

शुचि || शुचे विरजनारुढ़स्याया: पािधिमाणितिविदिकोऽऽ शुचे वशिष्च ||

71. There is luk-elision of the case-affix of a word when it gets the name of a root, or of a crude form.

A noun is changed into a root (भागू) when it is made a denominative verb. As विन्यत (III. 1. 8) he wishes for a son of his own. A noun which forms part of a compound becomes a crude-form (I. 2, 46); as कहतिक्ष: 'having recourse to pain': राजसुचिक्ष: 'king's man.' In all these examples, the case affixes have been elided.

Thus पुष्यन् रष्यन् = पुष्य:पिति, here the 2nd case-affix is elided. कहतिक्ष: = कहतिक्ष: &c.

Why do we say 'when it gets the name of भागू or प्रातिषिदे कहतिक्ष: ?

Because when it gets any other name, such as भागू &c., the case-affix is not elided. Thus षुष्य, षष्यः.

अदिक्षिदेकोऽऽ शष्य || ७१ || पदानि || अदि-प्रातिषिदेकोऽऽ, शष्यः ||

(षुष्य) ||

शष्यं: || अदिक्षिदेकोऽऽ उष्यस्य शष्यो शष्यं नवस्य ||

72. After the verb अन्न 'to eat' and the rest, there is luk-elision of the Vikaraṇa शष्य (III. 1. 68).

Thus अन्न + शष्य + वि = अन्निः 'he eats'; हि:िः 'he kills; हि: 'he envies. The Adāḍi verbs belong to the second conjugation. In this class of verbs, therefore, the terminations are added direct to the root.
73. In the Chhandas (Vedas) there is diversely the luk-elision of the Vikaraṇa रूप (III. 1. 68).

There is elision in other conjugations than Adādi; and there is sometimes even no elision in Adādi verbs. As पुर्वं श्रावति ‘he kills Vritra,’ हनु + श्राव + ति=हनति instead of हनति. So also, प्रायः प्रायः instead of प्रायः. (Rig. V. I. 32. 5). In these cases the Vikaraṇa रूप has not been elided.

In some cases the रूप is elided as चाकारण न वैश्व in place of चाकारण.

74. And there is diversely the luk-elision of वट (III. 1. 22) when the affix भृ (III. 1. 134) follows.

By using ‘diversely’ there is elision of वट when other affixes than भृ follow, both in the sacred and profane literature; as तोत्रस् ‘much cutter’ (तोट + रस्); पार्वत ‘much purifier.’ सनीतं: from संत ‘to drop,’ सनीतं: from संत ‘to fall,’ the न being added by (VII. 4. 84).

So also वट is elided before other affixes than भृ thus श्राकिन्न श्राकिन्न, दुपुरीति दुपुरीति. See also I. 1. 4.

75. After the verbs ‘to sacrifice’ and others, there is slu-elision of the Vikaraṇa रूप (III. 1. 68).

These verbs belong to the Juhotyādi class. जुहति ‘he sacrifices’ (VII. 1. 10). जुहति causes the reduplication of the root. So also विहतिः ‘he fears’ विहतिः from विह त ‘to purify,’ he purifies.

76. In the Chhandas there is slu-elision of रूप diversely.

Elision does not take place where ordained, and takes place where not ordained. सहित (instead of दुर्शित) ‘he gives pleasant objects,’ दुर्शित instead of दुर्शित.
So also there is śū-elision of the vikaraṇas after roots other than those belonging to the Juhotyādi class. Thus; पूर्णिमा, जनिनिमिनिमि.

गा ता द्वा का पत्रछिड़ु || ६३ || पद्यन्ति ||

गा ता द्वा जु-पा-सूत् || विषयः || परस्परवपदु (हुन) ||

तुम्हि; || गा ता द्वा जु नू इवस्येक्ष || परस्पर विकीर्ण द्वृत्ता भर्ति पर्याप्ती पक्षए पर्याप्त: ||

परस्पर कुं || गाय वेदने इवापितस्यो पैरनय।

77. There is 1uk-elision of the affix ऋषी (III. 1. 44) in the Parasmaipada, after the verbs ता ‘to go’, ता ‘to stand,’ the verbs called घु (I. 1. 20), ता ‘to drink’ and ता ‘to be.’

ता is the substitute of हुन (II. 4. 45). रिषी the affix of the Aorist is elided after these verbs in the Parasmaipada as भास्य ‘he went,’ भस्य ‘he stood,’ भस्य ‘he gave,’ भद्र ‘he held,’ भस्य ‘he drank,’ भस्य ‘he was.’

Part:—The verbs ता and ता in the aphorism mean the ता ‘to go’ (which is the substitute of हुन, and not मे ‘to sing,’) which also assumes the form ता, and ता ‘to drink’ and not ता ‘to protect.’ The verbs मे ‘to sing’ and मे ‘to protect’ will form their Aorist with रिषी without its elision; thus भास्य ‘he sang,’ भद्र ‘he protected.’

In the Atmanepada the रिषी is not elided; thus भास्य ‘he went’ बनी रिषी.

विभाषा प्राप्तद्वार्ताः || ६४ || पद्यन्ति || विभाषा, प्राप्तद्वार्ताः, (रिषी: परस्पर विभाषा हुन) ||

तुम्हि: || ता चैषा ता ता द्वीयस्य उच्चरस्य विषयः || परस्परवपदु विभाषा हुन वर्त्ता ||

78. After the verbs ता ‘to smell,’ ते ‘to drink,’ ता ‘to pare,’ ता (को) ‘to cut,’ and ता (को) ‘to destroy,’ there is optionally the elision of रिषी, when the parasmaipada term inations are employed.

Thus भास्य or भस्य ‘he smelled,’ भस्य or भस्य ‘he drank,’ भस्य or भस्य ‘he pared,’ भस्य or भस्य ‘he cut’ and भस्य or भस्य ‘he destroyed.’

There is no option allowed in Atmanepada; thus, भस्य ‘he smelled’ भस्य ‘he drank’ भस्य ‘he pared,’ भस्य or भस्य ‘he cut’ and भस्य or भस्य ‘he destroyed.’

The root चेतृ is a Ghu verb, and in its case, the रिषी would have been elided by the last rule also. The present declares an option.
79. After the verbs तृते, 'to expand, and others there is optionally the luk-elision of त्रिते when the Atmanepada affixes श and श्र, of the second person follow.

Thus भवति (VI. 4, 37) or अश्वादि 'he expanded,' अच्यता: or अश्वादि: 'thou didst expand.' Similarly भवति or अश्वादि 'he gave.' अच्यता: or अश्वादि: 'thou didst give.'

The roots तृते and श्वाते must both belong to the Atmanepada, and not to Parasmaipada. Hence in the Parasmaipada there is no elision of तृते. Thus, अश्वादि श्वादि 'you did expand.'

80. In the Mantra portion of the Vedas there is luk-elision of the sign of the Aorist (& Perfect), after the verbs च्यू 'to eat' हृ 'to be crooked,' धृ 'to destroy' ं 'to choose,' 'to cover,' श्च 'to burn,' verbs ending in long श श्व 'to avoid,' हृ 'to make,' श्रि 'to go' and श्रि 'to be produced.'

The word तृते is the name given by ancient grammarians to the affixes of Perfect tense as well as the Aorist, or it might be common term for all tense-affixes. Thus from तृते we have भवति in the sentence, भवति वित्ते नी भवति वित्ते भवति वित्ते भवति वित्ते भवति वित्ते (Yajurveda XIX. 35 so also Rig. I. 82. 2).

From the verb हृ we have महान्वादि श्वादि. From हृ we have महान्वादि in the following verse मानि श्री भवति श्री महान्वादि श्री. राजा श्रीमानादि श्री (Rig. I. 16. 3).

The word तृते in the sutra includes both तृते and तृते, as the word श्रेण in the following श्रे' वित्ते नी धृतु भवति श्री (Yajurveda 13. 3).

From हृ we have भवति as in भवति वित्ते नी भवति श्री भवति श्री भवति श्री भवति (Rig. VI. 61. 14). The word भवति means verbs ending in long श श्रि 'to fill.' Thus, श्रि मानि भवति आदि मानि आदि मानि आदि मानि आदि मानि आदि (Rig. I. 115. 1.)

The root तृते gives us तृते as in the following verse—अच्छे भवति मानि श्री भवति मानि श्री भवति मानि श्री (Rig. VIII 75. 12).
From सृ we have भतत् as in the following verse भक्त्व कर्ते कार्ये स्वर सर्या मनो गुरुः। देवेभुक्ते कर्ते सृवात्ते गैतिर्य सर्यानः। (Yajurveda III. 47).

From शम we have भवत; as in the following verse: पूर्भे येव यहनियन्तो स्वरे यम जाप्‌मणो भवस्य। द्राक्ष्यार्त्यनिन्दन्तया पूर्णे यथार्थ्य सच्चा श्रीविनान्तिया। (Rig VI. I.1).

From सत we have भतत् as भतत् या भरस्य इत्या। This is an example from the Brāhmaṇ literature, as the word नत in the sūtra refers also to the Brāhmaṇ literature.

81. There is luk-elision in the room of that tense-affix (श्वि) which comes after भाव of the Perfect.

भव is used in forming Periphrastic Perfect रूपः भवि. 'he endeavoured. Here, after the verb भवः all tense-affixes are elided, and the Perfect of भव is added to form its Perfect. Similarly रूपः भवि.

अव्ययार्थतुपुष्पः ॥ ८२ ॥ पद्धतिः अव्ययार्थस्तु, भव-सुपः, (श्रु) ॥

82. There is luk-elision of भव (the feminine termination) and श्रु (the case-affixes) after an Avyaya or Indeclinable.

Thus, तस्मात् ज्ञाताय अत्र 'in that hall'. Here the Indeclinable तस् 'there,' does not take the feminine termination, although it is equivalent to ज्ञाताय 'in that.' So also भवः 'having done ' हरि &c. Here the case-affix is elided.

ावाध्यायार्थपूष्पगतशः ॥ ८३ ॥ पद्धतिः न, अव्ययी-भावात्, अतः, अतू, तु, अपवायाः, (श्रुपः श्रुतः) ॥

83. There is not luk-elision of the case-affix after an Avyayi-bhāva compound that ends in भव; भव is the substitute of its case-affixes, but not when it is the fifth case-affix.

This debars luk-elision which was to have taken place by the last sūtra; instead of luk-elision, we have भव added to the words ending in भव; for examples of this, see sūtra II. 1.6; as श्रुतः श्रुताः 'upakumbha is standing'; श्रुतः परव 'see the upakumbha.'
Why do we say ‘after words ending in short a’? Because after Avayajībhāva compound ending in any other vowels there is not substitution, but there is total-redivision of the case-affixes; as अभिन्न, अविन्नता. 

But the ablative case-affix is not elided after Avayajībhāva compound ending in short ā, nor is there the āṃ substitution; as अपज्ञातमान.

तस्या सम्योऽयुक्तम् || 84 || पद्यम् || सतीया-सर्मोऽः, बघु छाण, (अम् अव्यपराङ्गे)।।

पुनः || सतीया सम्योऽयुक्तसः इत्यं नवर्तिता अव्यपराङ्गे।।

कर्मित्रम्। || सम्योऽयुक्तसः नवते समस चायनाभवे-तथा निर्मचन्तिते वचयायम् ।।

84. The change to अम् of the third and seventh case-affixes coming after an Avayajībhāva compound that ends in ā, occurs diversely.

उपकुम्प्ताः या उपकुम्प्ताः हृते ‘done by upakumbha’; उपकुम्प्ताः निवेद्वे or उपकुम्प्तच्या निवेद्वे ‘put it in the upakumbha.’

Varti. The अम् substitution is invariable and not optional in the locative case when the Avayajībhāva compound denotes prosperity, (II, 1. 6.) or a compound of rivers (II, 1. 20 and 21) or a compound having a numeral for its member (II, 1. 19); as, सुभाषत ‘well or prosperous with the Madras’, सुभाषत ‘well or prosperous with the Magadhas’; similarly वर्षाकृतम्। वर्षास्पदम्। एकाविधेनामहानम्। The word ‘diversely’ establishes all these even without the Varti. 

छुट: प्रथमम् डारोक्रः || 85 || पद्यम् || छुट:। प्रथमम् हा-री रसः।।

पुनः || नुक्सेप्तम् प्रथमम् डारोक्रः परस्परायन्तरस्त्रय स कारोऽरस हर्षयः भवेत भावन वायायवक्तम्।।

85. तांत and रस् are substituted respectively in the room of the three-affixes of the third person of छुट (First-future), both in the Parasmaipada and the Atmanepada.

Thus in the Parasmaipada कर्ता ‘he will do,’ कर्तरी ‘they two will do,’ कर्तरी ‘they will do.’ So also in the Atmanepada we have अथे, अथेरी, अथेरार्ता।।

Why do we say ‘in the 3rd person’? Observe रसः कर्तरी। इवार्थावेतस्य।।