THE

ASHTÁDHVÁYÍ OF PÁNINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

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Vakîl, High Court, N.-W. P.

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TO THE

Hon'ble Sir John Edge, Kt., Q. C.,

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES,

THIS WORK

IS,

WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,

AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S

SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF ADMINISTRATION OF

JUSTICE AND OF HIGH EDUCATION

IN

THESE PROVINCES,

DEDICATED

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT

THE TRANSLATOR.
the doubt, whether the pratyâhâras चर्च and द्वर when they are employed in Pâñini’s Grammar are formed with the श of the former or with the श of the latter sûtra, and one might, on that account, consider it impossible to ascertain what Pâñini intended to denote by अष्ट्र and इष्ट्र when he employed these terms. To remove this doubt there is the following paribhâsha:—

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

Accordingly we learn from interpretation that the term चर्च except in Sutra I. 1. 69, is formed by means of the श of the first sûtra and that the term इष्ट्र is formed by means of the श of the subsequent sûtra.
THE

ASHTADHYAYI OF PANINI.

अस्ताद्विवस्त्र परसाम्पन्ने नमः
Salutation to the Supreme Spirit.

अष्टशत्त् बुद्धाध्यायम्

Now an explanation of words.

The term अष्ट "now" in the sūtra indicates a commencement, and points out that a dissertation is to be offered on the science of words, viz. Grammar and Philology. The term अनुग्रहासन means explanation of any system. This is an अधिकार sūtra, and introduces the subject.

An aphorism or sūtra is of six kinds, संतान or 'a definition,' परिभाषा or the 'key to interpretation,' विधि or 'the statement of a general rule,' निदम or 'a restrictive rule,' अधिकार or 'a head or governing rule, which exerts a directing or governing influence over other rules,' and अन्वित or 'extended application by analogy.'

The Pratyāhāra Sūtras.

अनुग्रहासन च नवक्रमः एकोक्रमः एकाधीचः हयवटः धनः जम्बलणंसः
कस्मवः घटथः जबगड़शः खज्जतधचचत्तचः कप्यः गवसरः हलः

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

एहः ब्रह्म छछः छछः भ्रमः हछः भ्रमः इछः इछः चछः चछः खछः खछः
चछः खछः जछः जछः झछः झछः झछः झछः झछः

The same letter छ is made use of as अनुग्रहासन or an indicative letter both in the sixth sūtra लघु and in the first अष्टशत्त्. There arises consequently
ecessary, and in short, making the work a help to the student, desirous of
udyng the Kāsikā in the original.

The *Ashtādhyāyī*, as indicated by its name, is divided into *aśṭā
dhyāyas*, *i.e.*, eight Books. Each of these Books again is divided into four
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Public Instruction, N.-W. P. and Oudh, for his kindly subscribing for 10
parts of our work; and to all those gentlemen who have hitherto subscribed
any number of copies in any way encouraged us in our undertaking.

Panini Office

*Allahabad.*

THE PUBLISHER.
PREFACE.

SINCE the advent of the British rule and the peace and prosperity that has followed in its train, and especially since the foundations of the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society, India has witnessed a glorious revival of her ancient literature, in which is embodied some of the highest philosophies and religions of the world. Our schools and colleges are annually turning out hundreds, nay thousands of scholars, who have entered upon the study of Sanskrit literature, and have thus learnt to appreciate the beauties of the language. Many Europeans too are taking pains to have some knowledge of the immortal literature of this ancient language. Very few of them, however, have the opportunity of studying the language with that depth and fulness with which it was and is mastered by the Pandits of the old school. To properly understand Sanskrit language, and especially that portion of it in which are locked up the highest aspirations of the ancient Aryan hearts, *viz.*, Vedas, the Brâhmanas, the Upanishads &c., it is absolutely necessary to have a complete knowledge of the Grammar elaborated by Pânini.

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

Unfortunately, however, for our college and school students, and for that vast majority of English-reading gentlemen, whose number is daily on the increase, and who depend for their knowledge of what is contained in Sanskrit books, on English translation of Sanskrit authors, no translation of important work exists in English. To supply this want, we have undertaken to translate Pânini's aphorisms, as explained in the well-known commentary called the Kâsikâ. Though it is not a close translation of the whole of Kâsikâ, it may be regarded as a free rendering of the most important portions of the book. We have closely followed this commentary, explaining it wh
BOOK I.
CHAPTER FIRST.

1. या, ए and ओ are called vriddhi.

This defines the word vriddhi. The letters या, ए and ओ are vriddhi ete. The sūtra consists of three words vriddhi, या and ओ. या means the, the final य being indicatory only, and is for the sake of the pratyāhāra ओ, and the pratyāhāra ए means the letters ए and ओ.

The indicatory य in या serves the purpose of showing that the very form या having two mātrās or prosodial measure, is to be taken. This य also fits in with the succeeding vowels ए and ओ by the rule of तप (I. 1. 70) or that which precedes or succeeds य, and indicates that these vowels must be taken having two mātrās only, though they may be the result of the combination of vowels whose aggregate mātrās may be more than two. A short vowel has one mātrā, a long vowel has two, and a consonant has half a mātrā. Thus by a e of सन्धि or euphonic conjunction of letters या + या = या, as मा + ओग्य = ओग्य: Here हा has two mātrās and not four. So also in खरङ्गक: the vowel the resultant of या + ए has only two, not four, mātrās.

Thus the initial vowels in the following secondary derivative nouns vriddhi forms of their primitive vowels. या: "bodily", from य; ओ: 'body'; ए: "optional", from ए; ओ: "option"; ओग्य: "the son of Upagū", from the ओ अपगु: meaning "a sage called Upagū." Similarly in गाजिय: "belonging to house" the या is radical, and is also called vriddhi. The word vriddhi urs in sūtras like चित्रवुद्दप्तेऽपृष्ठसंवर्धिते (VII. 2. 1.) "Let the final इ of the ए get vriddhi substitute before the affix ि of the Parasmaipada".

2. या, ए and ओ are called guna.

Each one of the letters या, ए and ओ whether radical or secondary called a guna letter; as the initial vowels in the following:—चानि, "he
moves”; धूि “he comes”, चौँखाति “he goes.” Here the initial vowels of the roots च, ध, and द्र have been respectively gunated into धू, धू, and धू before the third person, singular termination ति.

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

इको गुणसहृदी II. 3 II पदानि। इक: गुण-गुण, (वृङ्गः, गुण:) \| भ्रम: \| वृङ्गगृहौ स्वस्वत्वा (रक्षा गणेन वा) शिष्णवायायिक एव स्थाने वेष्टितव्यी II

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

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

Thus sūtra VII. 3. 84 declares:—“when a sārvadhātuka or an ārdhadhātuka affix follows there is guṇa of the base.” Here the sthāni or the original expression which is to be gunated, is not specified, and to complete the sense, the word “ikah” must be read into the sūtra. The rule then being, “when a S. or an A. affix follows there is guṇa of the ik vowels of the base.” The guṇa of इ or इ is इ; of उ or ऋ, is ऋ; of ऋ or ऋ is ऋ, of ऋू is ऋू; and their Vṛddhi is ऋ, ऋ, ऋ and ऋ respectively. Thus नी + श्राति = ने + श्राति = नयति “he leads.”

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

The word ‘ik’ is thus understood in the following rules, and is there qualified by the term दृक्त or ‘base’—विनिःगृहः: (VII. 3. 82) श्रुङ्ग्दशिदि: (VII. 2. 114) युग्मनलयुप्य &c., (VII. 3. 86); क्रमशवस्तवाम् (VII. 4. 11) क्रमशोक्रिकृपुष: (VII. 4. 16) युग्मनलयुप्य &c., (VI. 4. 156).

In the following sūtras, the term ‘ik’ is understood and qualifies the word anga or base, जुधि: (VII. 3. 83), सार्थास्यकार्यास्यास्य: (VII. 3. 84).

These sūtras will be explained in their proper places.

The word ‘ik’ has been used in the sūtra to show that the long चा, ऋ or the diphthongs and ऋ or the consonants, are not to take guṇa or vriddhi by this
rule, as in the following examples यान्त्र "a carriage", ग्यायनविन "he feels aversion," ज्ञानि "confined."

Here ग्यायनविन is formed by adding the affix तिर, third person singular termination, with the class a affix ग्रुप, to the root ग्रु, as ग्रु+ग्रु+तिर=ग्रु+ग्रु+तिर. At this stage, rule VII. 3. 84, would require the guna substitution of the vowel of the base before the sārvadhatu termination य; the guna substitute of य being य, there would be ग्रु+ग्रु+तिर=ग्रु+ग्रु+तिर. But this is wrong, the letter य, being not included in the pratyāhāra ik, is not affected by rule VII. 3. 84, and there is no guna substitution in this case. Similarly there is no change in the long या of यान्त्र. Thus या + द्वार (III. 3. 115)=यान्त्र (VII. 1. 1). Here had there been guna by Rule VII. 3. 84, the या of या, would have been changed into य, and the form would have been यान्त्र which is wrong. But it is not so, as या is not an यूक vowel. So also यम्य + या = ज्ञानि. Here, there is no guna substitution in the place of the consonant म.

The repetition of the words guna and vṛiddhi in this sūtra, (though by यान्त्र or the supplying of a word from the previous sūtra, these words followed from the two preceding sūtras) is for the purpose of indicating that, this is a restrictive rule applicable only there, where guna or vṛiddhi has been ordained by the employment of the words guna or vṛiddhi. Therefore, it is not so in the following cases:—तो: "sky", पत्या: "way" स: "he," यम्य: "this." यो: is the nominative singular of the base विर. It is formed by rule VII. 1. 84, which declares that "in the nominative singular the letter यो takes the place of विर." Here the letter यो is no doubt a vṛiddhi letter, but as this substitution is not enjoined by the enunciation of the term vṛiddhi, यो does not take the place of the vowel उ of विर, but it replaces the final उ. Thus रि+यो+उ=यो.

Similarly rule VII. 1. 85, declares that of the word पत्या, या is the substitute. The या is a vṛiddhi letter no doubt, but not being enunciated by the term vṛiddhi, it takes the place of न of पत्या and not of उ. Thus we have पत्या:, the न being added by VII. 1. 87.

Similarly या: from द्वार, which is formed by VII. 2. 102 "short या is the substitute of tyad, &c.," Here या takes the place of उ. Thus we have या, which is changed again into य by VII. 2. 106.

न धातुधाय अधातुधायके || ॥ पद्धनि || न, धातु-धाये; अधातुधायके, (गुणमहो) ||

श्लिष्टि: || धातुधायके धातुधायके नाथो वस्मिन्नाथादायके नाथादायके नाथ ये गुणमहे प्रभावते न भवतः: ||

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

This is an exception to sūtra 3. By that sūtra ikṣ were to be gunated or vṛiddhied and by sūtra VII. 3. 84, the root is to be gunated before all árdhadhátuka terminations. All primary affixes, that are applied directly to roots in Sanskrit, are divided into two broad classes, called sārvadhatuka and árdhadhátuka. The affixes marked with an indicatory ग (called गिल्), and the conjugational affixes, such as तिष्ठ, त: &c., (called तिष्ठ) are sārvadhatuka; all other affixes are called árdhadhátuka.

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

The word पात “root” has been used in the sūtra, in order to indicate that the exception does not apply where there is an elision of an anubandha or of an affix. As in जुष्ठ + एष्ठ = लू + एष्ठ = लविता. Here the indicatory letter एष्ठ has been elided, but that does not prevent gunation. Similarly in जुष्ठ the affix विष्ठ is added to the root रिष्ठ “to injure.” Thus रिष्ठ + विष्ठ (III. 2. 75.) = रिष्ठ + एष्ठ (I. 3. 2. and 3.) = रिष्ठ + o (VI. 1. 67.) Here the affix एष्ठ is elided, but nevertheless, the guna substitute must take place in रिष्ठ. Thus we have रिष्ठ + o = रिष्ठ (VII. 3. 86 and I. 1. 62) = रिष्ठ (VIII. 2. 39).

The word árdhadhátuka has been used to indicate that a sārvadhatuka affix which causes the elision of a portion of a root, does not prevent guna or vṛiddhi as in रत्रिवित्र, (Rig Veda IV. 58.3) “he roars much.” एस + एष्ठ = रत्रिवित्र (III. 1. 22). रत्रिव + तिष्ठ = रत्रिव + ति (II. 4. 74.). Here the sārvadhatuka
affix तिष्ठ causes the elision of थ, a portion of the root. The guṇa substitution however takes place, and we have दोरो + इ + वि (VII. 3. 94) = दोरवासि, the augment इष्ठ being added by sūtra VII. 3. 94.

The word “िकि” of the previous sūtra is understood in this sūtra also. The ik letters only are not gunated or vriddhied before such ārdhadātuka affixes; the other vowels may do so. Thus in चन्द्रादिप the equation is as follows:—च + मव्यू + तिष्ठ = च + मव्यू + ह (VI. 4. 33). Here the ārdhadātuka affix तिष्ठ has caused a portion of the root मव्यू to be suppressed, viz., the letter य has been elided. But nevertheless the य of मव्यू is vriddhied before तिष्ठ because य is not included in the pratyahāra ik; and the exception contained in the present sūtra only applies to the ik letters. So also रुष्य + भन्य (III. 3.18) = रुष्य + भ (VI. 4. 27.) = राम: (VII. 2. 116. and VII. 3. 52).

कृड़वितिः पदार्थि। गित-कित-डित-च। (गुणवत्तै, न) ||

इति: || कृड़वितिः से गुणवत्तै मान्यतस्य न भवति: ||

5. And that, which otherwise would have caused guṇa or vriddhī, does not do so, when it has an indicatory क्ष य or क्ष.

Thus the past participle terminations क्ष and क्षव्य are ārdhadātuka affixes, which would, by the general rule VII. 3. 84, have caused guṇa, but as their indicatory letter क्ष is हस्त, the real terminations being क्ष and क्षव्य, they do not cause guṇa. Therefore, when these terminations are added to a root, the ik of the present is not gunated. Thus with the root वि “to collect” we have वितः or विदवान्, भृ, “to hear,” वृत्त; युजवान्; भृ; “to fear” वृत्त; बिवान्.

Similarly the terminations क्षव्य कोनिस्त, क्षु कानन्तू कव्या किन्तू, &c., are all क्षित terminations “the indicatory letters of all being क्ष,” the real affixes being क्ष एनिस्त, क्षु &c. &c. Before these, the root is not gunated. Thus we have from क्षु “to bear” श्रव्य, from किन्तू “to pierce” निलेशित.

The terms कितू &c., of this sūtra are in the locative or seventh case. The force of this case termination here is that of निलित or cause, that is the guṇa or vriddhi which would otherwise have been caused, does not take place, if an affix is कितू, निस्तू, कितू. Thus all ārdhadātuka and sārvadātuka affixes cause gunation of the final ik of the inflective base (VII. 3. 84.) Thus the Sārvadātuka affix श्यु (व्यु) in the following:—

क्षु + श्यु + लिपिः = भी + क्षु + वि = नवतिः “he is.” Similarly sārvadātukā and ārdhadātuka affixes cause the guṇa substitution of the short penulti-mate ik of the inflective base (VII. 3. 85.) Thus क्षु + श्यु + लिपिः = नवतिः.

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

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

Similarly from the root जि we have a word जित्ति: ‘victorious,’ in which the affix गुत्ति has an indicatory ग. Thus जि + गुत्ति = जित्ति: “victorious” (III. 2. 139), so also स्थात्ति: “durable.”

Similarly the affix, चत्ति is a हित्ति affix, the real suffix being च, the ह being merely indicatory. Therefore when चत्ति is added to a root, there is no gunaation or vriddhing. Thus we have from नित्ति “to know”. नित्ति:

Similarly by I. 2. 4, all sārvadhātukā affixes that are not marked by an indicatory ह, are treated as हित्ति. Thus the second person singular termination ति is हित्ति, and we have दित्ति: “they two collect,” similarly चित्ति, “they collect,” गुत्ति + कत = गृहत्ति: “cleansed,” गृहत्ति “they cleanse.”

The phrase “when indicated by the term ik” is understood in this sūtra. The prohibition, therefore, applies to ik vowels only, and not to all vowels in general. Thus by III. 1. 30, the root कत् “to desire” takes the suffix खित्ति; of this affix the letters ख and ह are indicatory, the real affix - कत्.

The force of ह is to cause vriddhi (VII. 2. 116). The indicatory ह does not prevent such vriddhi, as the letter ख of कत् is not included in ik. Thus we have कावि + अते = कावि + अते = कायते “he desires.”

According to the wish of the author of the Mahābhāṣya, the verb गुत्ति optionally takes vriddhi, before kit or नित्ति affixes beginning with a vowel. As परिमाखत्ति or परिमाखत्ति “they rub.” Here in this sūtra there is prohibition of the guna of the short penultimate ik also.

The indicatory ह of the verbal tense affixes i.e., छि, लित्ति, तु, तुष्ठि, is an exception to this rule of हित्ति. This is an inference deduced from III. 4. 104 which declares “when the sense is that of benediction, then the augment बासर् of लित्ति is as if it were distinguished by an indicatory क.” There would have been no necessity of making बासर् a कित्, if लित्ति were a हित्ति, but the very fact of making बासर् a कित् indicates by implication or is ज्ञात that the final ह of लित्ति, लित्ति &c. does not make these tense affixes हित्ति. Thus in छि or Imperfect tense we have अचित्ति “he collected” (अचित्ति + छि = अचित्ति + छि = अचित्ति + छि = अचित्ति).
6. The guṇa and vṛiddhi substitutions, which would otherwise have presented themselves, do not however come, in the place of the vowels of didhi ‘to shine,’ and vevi ‘to go,’ and of the augment called हूँ.

The roots पी and वी never take the guṇa or vṛiddhi substitutions under ordinary circumstances. Thus the affix हुँ generally causes vṛiddhi substitution when added to any root; and so the affix हुँ causes guṇa. But these affixes when applied to the verbs didhi and vevi, never cause vṛiddhi or guṇa substitution. As पाली + हुँ = पाली + हुँ (VII. i. 1) = पालीहुँ: (VI. i. 77). So also पाली + हुँ = पाली + हुँ (VII. i. 1) = पालीहुँ. Similarly from वी we have पालववन्तम् and पालवव्यक्. In the Vedas, however, these verbs take guṇa. Thus भवित्वम् (Rig Ved. X. 98. 7), and पालवव्यक् (Rig Ved. V. 40. 5). These two verbs are confined generally to the Vedic literature, and the present rule therefore, seems to be an unnecessary prohibition; as they take guṇa in spite of such prohibition.

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

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

हूँतर: संयोगः ॥ ॥ पद्वर्णः हूँ, अन्तरः, संयोगः ॥
हूँति: ॥ भिन्नजातीयं वस्त्रवहितं: रचन्द्रशास्त्रितं हूँ: संयोग: संज्ञा नववीत समुपायः: संज्ञी ॥

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

This defines the word sanyoga. The sūtra consists of three words, ह्यन्तः, the plural of the pratyāhāra ह्य, denoting all the consonants, अन्तरः means “without any separation or space” and संयोगः: which is the word defined, and means “conjugate consonants.” So that the sūtra means, conjunct consonants are those consonants between which there is no heterogeneous separating vowel and which are pronounced jointly, such as क्क in the word क्कुँ, “cock.” The word “sanyoga” applies to the whole of the conjunct consonants jointly and not to them separately. The plural number shows that the conjunction may be of two or more consonants.
Why do we say "consonant"? If two vowels come together they will not be called "sanyoga". Thus तितंद्रेण "a sieve umbrella," the two vowels थ and ष have come together unseparated by any consonant; yet they are not called sanyoga, otherwise the final ष would have been rejected by VIII. 2. 23 "there is elision of the final of that pada which ends in a sanyoga letter."

Why do we say "unseparated by a vowel"? If consonants separated by a vowel were also called sanyoga, then in the sentence पञ्चति पञ्चसत्, the syllable सत् would be called sanyoga, and by VIII. 2. 29, the initial स would be elided.

मुखनासिकाकाल्यो ज्ञुनासिक: || 8 || पदानि || मुख-नासिका-चन्: || ज्ञुनासिक: ||

हृदि: || मुखसाहित्य नासिका मुखनासिका, तथा य उषाध्वेदे वर्णे; सोंज्ञुनासिकसंस्तो भवति ||

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

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

The vowels are generally so nasalised. 'If, instead of emitting the vowel sound freely through the mouth, we allow the velum pendulum to drop and the air to vibrate through the cavities which connect the nose with the pharynx, we hear the nasal vowels (anunāsika).' Thus थ, ं, ः. In the Vedas, the particle श्र is anunāsika. As चः चाः चपः (Rig Veda. V. 48. 1), so also पदि दुःने गंशीर चाः उष्कुः (Rig Ved. VIII. 67. 11).

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

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

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

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

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

The चायस् or places or portions of the mouth by contact with which various sounds are formed are chiefly the following:—1. कठत् “throat” 2. भालु “palate,” 3. मुखः “head,” 4. दन्ता “teeth,” 5. बोधि “lips,” 6. नाशिका “nose.”

The प्रयत्तिः or quality or effort is of two sorts primarily, चायस्य-नार्त्तर “internal” and भायः “external.” The first is again sub-divided into five parts:—

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

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

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

4. इप्स्यो विद्वृंतम् or slight opening. The letters श, च, छ, झ belong to this class. Some however place the vowels and श &c., into one group and call them all vivṛta.

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

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

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

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

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

The vowel च has eighteen forms. The acute च (udātta), grave च (anudātta) and circumflexed च (svarīta). Each one of these three may be nasalised (anuṃsāka), or not (niranumāśīka).

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

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

Thus then the homogeneous or svarāṇa letters must satisfy two conditions before they could be called savarṇa. First, their place of pronunciation or बात्त्व must be the same. Secondly their प्रयत्न or quality must be equal. If one condition be present and the other be absent, there can be no savarṇa-hood. Thus च and ग are both palatalas, their बात्त्व or place of pronunciation being तात्त्व ‘palate,’ but still they are not savarṇa, because their प्रयत्न is different, the प्रयत्न of च being sprishti and that of ग being vivrīta.

Similarly क and च though their प्रयत्न is the same i.e., sprishti, yet their बात्त्व being different, one being guttural and the other palatal, are not savarṇa.

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

The word savarṇa occurs in sūtras like चक: सवर्ण: शीत: (VI. 1. 101).

Why do we say “the place of pronunciation”? So that there may not be homogeneous relationship between कव्र and ष whose prayatna is the same but whose षasya is different. What is the harm if we make them savarṇa? Then in words like कव्र and कव्र, the ष would be elided, if it be held homogeneous with ष, by VIII. 4. 65, “there is optional elision of षर, preceded by a consonant, when a homogeneous षर follows.”
Why do we say “effort”? That there may be no homogeneity between ह and the palatalis, and य and य, whose organ of pronunciation is the same, but whose prayatna is different. What harm if it be so? Then in अरुःचुःचरों-नित्म, the य would be elided before च by the rule already referred to, VIII. 4. 65.

नाजु भृंगी ॥ १० ॥ पदानिन ॥ न , अचु हुत्रै, ( सर्वणां ) ॥

इति: ॥ तत्वाश्य भवतार्य राजुःकावे परसरं सवर्णेदी न नवत: ॥

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

This sūtra lays down an exception to the former sūtra. There can be no homogeneity or savaṇa relationship between vowels and consonants, though their यत्तय and मष्ठ may be the same. Thus ह and य have the same यत्तय namely तालु ‘palate,’ and the same मष्ठ: namely vivṛita, but still they are not to be called savaṇa. Thus in चेख्रस्त, श्वचेख्रिति &c., the letters च and ह in the first example, and ह and य in the second not being homogeneous letters; there is no combination or sandhi, which would otherwise have taken place.

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

श्रेष्ठेर्हं घचनम् प्रागहासम् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानिन ॥ देह-हर्-एदस्त्र घचनम् , प्रागहासम् ॥

इति: ॥ देहेः जतः एदस्त्र हैववेवमण्ड घचनम् श्रवहाः प्रागहाः संस्तं नवतः ॥

11. A dual case affix ending in ह or क or ह is called Pragrihya, or excepted vowels which do not admit of sandhi or conjunction.

As a general rule, Sanskrit allows of no hiatus in a sentence. If a word ends in a vowel, and the next word begins with a vowel, the two vowels coalesce, according to certain rules. This is called sandhi. But pragrihyas are exceptions to this sandhi, “they are certain terminations, the final vowels of which are not liable to any sandhi rules.” (VI. 1. 125). This sūtra gives three of these terminations, viz., the duals of nouns or verbs ending in ह (श्रेष्ठ), ऋ (राजु), or ह (एदस्त्र). Thus:—काव्यी हो “these two poets,” so also वायू हि “two winds;” गाजे हि “these two garlands.” पचिये हि “they two cook” पचिये हि “you two cook.” Here according to the general rule of sandhi, the final ह of काव्यी and the initial ह of हो ought to have coalesced into an ह, but it is not so, because काव्यी is the nominative dual of काव्यः.
Why do we say ending in ś, śt and e? Because when the dual ends in any other vowel this rule will not apply. As वृक्षो + चन्द्र = वृक्षाचन्द्र, "these two trees" (VI. 1. 78). Of course it follows from the definition, that हे, के, or ये of the dual number only are pragrihya; if these vowels terminate any other number they will not be pragrihya but will follow the general rule of sandhi, as कुमारी (i. s.) + श्रेष्ठ = कुमारश्रेष्ठ, "the girl is here" (VI. 1. 77).

Vart: The prohibition of मन्नीवा &c., should be stated in treating of the pragrihya nature of हे, के &c. Thus मन्नी (two gems) + मन्नी = मन्नीवा "like two gems." So also मन्नीवा "like a couple," जम्मीवा "like man and wife," रोवसवा "like heaven and earth." Some say that this vartika is unnecessary. Because the final member of the above words is not एक, but the particle ए only; which has the same meaning as इव.

अद्सैसामात् II १२ II पदानि II अद्सू, मात्, (इद्दूवेदः प्रग्रह्यम्) II

12. (The same letters) after the य of the pronoun अद्सू are Pragrihya.

In the pronoun अद्सू, the dual termination in हे, के or ये will be pragrihya by force of the last sutra, but the present sutra makes this addition, that in the case of अद्सू, all terminations ending in हे, के or ये and preceded by य, of whatever number they may be, will be pragrihya. As a matter of fact, there are only two such terminations satisfying the above conditions namely गमी and गम्पु. The rule may therefore be put in the following words of Dr. Max Muller:—"The terminations of गमी and गम्पु nom. plur. masc. and nom. dual of the pronoun अद्सू are pragrihya." As गमी गमः: "Those horses," and गम्पु गमःते. There is no example of the word adas ending in ये.

Why do we say “of the word adas”? The letters हे, के, ये following after the य of any other word will not be pragrihya. As गमी + चन्द्र = गम्पु "this sami tree."

Why do we say “after the letter म”? Because in the example द्रुष्के + चन्द्र = द्रुष्कचन्द्र म, "those here," the य, preceded not by य but by the क of द्रुष्क (V. 3. 71) is not pragrihya, which it would have been by the influence of sutra 11, which includes य as well as हे and के, and from which the word dual is not supplied here, else this rule would be useless.

शे II १३ II पदानि II शे, (प्रग्रह्यम्) II

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

In the Vedic Sanskrit, the declesion of nouns sometimes differs somewhat from the ordinary Sanskrit. One of the peculiar Vedic terminations, which
replace the ordinary declensional terminations is called \( \text{ष} \) (VII. r. 39.)

Thus \( \text{चत्स्रे}मन्त्राः हस्वात्. \)

Of this substitute \( \text{ष} \), the initial \( \text{ष} \) is indicatory, the real suffix being \( \text{ष} \).

This final \( \text{ष} \) is a pragrihya.

In the sacred literature there is only one example of this pragrihya, as given above; while in imitation of this, we have in secular writing phrases as, \( \text{स्येदी} \), \( \text{वुने दरिते} \), \( \text{मे दरिते} \) &c.

\[ \text{निपात एकाजनाः} \ \| \ \text{शुक्ल} \ \| \ \text{पदानि} \ \| \ \text{निपातः, एकाभु, अनाऽ्} \ (ः \text{प्रग्रह्य} \) \]

\( \text{दरिते} \) \( \text{एकात्या एकाभु निपाती य एकाभु चाहुषिन्तिः स प्रग्रह्यसंबाहिता भवितः} \)

14. A particle I. 4. 56 consisting of a single vowel, with the exception of the particle \( दरित् \) is a Pragrihya.

This sutra consists of three words:—निपातः “particle,” एकाभु “consisting of one vowel,” अनाऽ् “with the exception of दरित्.”

All such particles technically called nipāta (I. 4. 56) which consist of a simple vowel without any consonant, are pragrihya and therefore are not liable to the rules of sandhi. As 

\( \text{दरित्} \) “Oh, Indra” \( \text{वजन्} \) “O arise.”

It follows from the above definition that those nipātas which consist of two or more letters, vowel and consonant, are not pragrihya, e. g. \( \text{म} \) in यात्रिके यात्रिके.

\( एकाभु \) which is not a pragrihya, has four significations:— As a diminutive particle when joined to adjectives and nouns, as \( \text{भा} + \text{उष्ण} = \text{भाष्यन्न} \) “little hot, tepid” (2) as a prefix to verbs, it expresses the senses of “near” “nearto,” and with verbs of “motion,” “taking” &c., it shows the reverse of the action, as गिै “to go,” भाष्यम “to come;” \( \text{भा} + \text{उष्ण} = \text{उष्णदि}, \) (3) as showing the limit inclusive (भानिष्टि) “from,” “ever since,” as ज्ञानन्दन: “ever since his birth,” (4) as showing the limit exclusive (सत्साह), “till” “until” as \( \text{भा} + \text{उष्णदयाम्} = \text{उष्णदयाम्}, \) “until the reading begins.” When the particle \( भा \) has not any one of the above four senses and is used in expressing regret &c., it is a pragrihya, as \( \text{भा} \) \( \text{एव} \) किनासीत् “Ah! such there once was,” \( \text{भा} \) \( \text{एव} \) मन्ब्ये. “Oh! do you think so.”

The word एकाभु in this aphorism has a peculiar meaning. It means “consisting of one vowel and nothing else.” In other words, the vowels themselves when used as निपात, e. g. \( \text{भा, उ, ष, ष} \) &c. But the term एकाभु has a wider signification than that given to it in this sutra. It means “a word or a portion of a word consisting of one vowel which can be pronounced at once”—in other words एकाभु means a “syllable.” In that sense the words \( \text{ष, निर, ष, ष} \) &c., will also be एकाभु, but not so here. Therefore the rule of sandhi will apply
to them, thus दानदेव वचनिर्देश. See sūtra VI. 1. 1. where the word एकालं means a monosyllable.

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

अवत् ॥ १५ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ अवत्, (प्रग्रहम्) ॥

श्राविर: ॥ अवत् श्री नियमः व प्रग्रह संज्ञानविनिः ॥

15. The final श्री of a particle is a pragrihya.

This sūtra consists of one word अवत् the final श्री is a surplussage. The words “pragrihya” and “nipāta” are to be supplied from the preceding sūtras to complete the sense. The meaning is that those particles which end in श्री though consisting of several letters, are pragrihya. As श्रीहो बहोहि “Halloo, go away.”

सभ्रुढ़ी शाक्यन्येयतावनपः ॥ १६ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ सभ्रुढ़ी, शाक्यन्येय,

इति, अनायाः, (प्रग्रहम्) ॥

इति: ॥ सभ्रुढ़ी निमित्तं य चोकरः स शाक्यन्येयायायेयं मतेन प्रग्रह वंजो भवितः, इति श्रीहो उपायेः प्रवैर्मिकं परसः: ॥

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

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

In ārsha literature the sandhi is imperative, not optional, as एता गा प्रह्प्रत्यविंतः.

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

उद्ध: ॥ २५ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ उद्धः, (प्रग्रहम् शाक्यन्येयतावनपः) ॥

इति: ॥ उद्धः प्रग्रह संज्ञा भवित हति शाक्यन्येयायायेय मतेन ॥

17. The particle उद्ध before iii, according to Sākalya is a Pragrihya.

This sūtra consists of the single word उद्ध meaning उ. According to the same Rishi Sākalya, उद्ध is a pragrihya, before हति, in modern Sanskrit. This is also an optional rule. Thus उ हति or विति.
18. The particle ध in non-vedic literature, and it is a pragrihya in the opinion of Sākalya.

Before the word ध the word धम्म is replaced sometimes by ध the long nasal । Thus ध + ध = ध ध or धिति.

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

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

This sūtra finds its scope in the Vedic literature generally. There is a sūtra (VII. 1. 39) which declares that "in the Vedic Sanskrit, the case-affixes sup are often replaced either by स्त्र (1. s.), or are altogether elided, or they are changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior letter, or च, or चाल, or ध, or धा, or धः, or ध, or धाल, or धे, or धत ध in the body," as, ध्ययनां नामकां नामकां (for नामकां नामकां). This is the Vedic form, the secular form being नामकां. Similarly धीर + ध = धीरी "on the Gaurī," as सोमे गौरी अविनित: (Rig Veda IX. 12. 3). It is in such cases, therefore, that the long ध and ध are used in the sense of locative, and are pragrihya.

It is only long ध and ध which are pragrihya, and not any other vowel, though used in the sense of locative. Thus by the same aphorism (VII. 1. 39) ध (�) may be employed to denote the seventh case-affix. Thus धिति + धिति = धिति + धिति = धिति + धिति = धिति + धिति = धिति.

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

दापत्यद्वाप्त || २० || पदानि || दा, धा, धु, अद्राप ||
\(\text{हृि}: \) दापत्यद्वाप्ताय धात्वी धात्वी धात्वी धात्वी धात्वी धात्वी धात्वी धात्वी धात्वी धात्वी धात्वी धात्वी धात्वी धात्वी धात्वी धात्वी धात्वी धात्वी

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

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

The धु verbs are the following:—धृधृ “to give,” as प्रविधित्त; धृ “to give,” as, प्रविधित्त; धृ “to cut,” as, प्रविधित्त; धृ “to pity” as, प्रविधित्त; धृधृ “to place” as, प्रविधित्त; धृ “to feed” as, प्रविधित्त.

In the above examples, because of the verbs being धु; the न of प्रविधि is changed into धृ by VIII. 4. 17.

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

So also धृधृ “washed” as, धृधृधृ “a bright face.” But with धृ “to give,” &c. धृ + मृ = मृधृ + मृ (VII. 4. 46) = धृधृ: “given;” so also we have धृ + धृ + मृ = मृधृ (VII. 4. 47). The word धृ occurs in sūtra VI. 4. 66, &c. The word दाप includes also daip by the paribhāṣā given under III. 4. 19, हे changed into धृ by VI. 1. 45.

अध्यात्मवर्गसम्बन्धम् || २१ || पदानि || आदि-अंत-बत्, एकसिन् ||
\(\text{हृि}: \) आदि-अंत-बत् एकसिन् कार्ये भनति ||

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

This is an aditi of sūtra and consists of four words, आदि “beginning,” बत् “end,” एकसिन् “like,” एकसिन् “in one,” the literal translation being “beginning is end-like in one.” The affix बत् has the force of the locative, and the
meaning is "on the beginning," and "on the end," i.e., let an operation be performed on a single letter, as upon an initial or upon a final. Thus by III. 1. 3. an affix has udātta or acute accent on its initial vowel. Thus the affix tavya has accent on the first च, and we have चचे यायम. But when an affix consists of a single vowel, it is itself the beginning and the end, and, as such, will have the accent. As in घोपगवम् upagavam the last अ has the accent, which अ represents the affix घम.

Similarly, by VII. 3. 102, the final of a base ending in short च is lengthened before a case-affix beginning with a consonant of चम class. Thus राम + चचा = रामचा. This rule will apply when the word consists of one letter only, and that letter is a short च. Thus च + चचा = चचचा "by those two." Here it must not be objected that the solitary च is initial, and cannot be final.

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

तरस्मयौ च: || २२ || पदा च च | च: ||
* वृत्ति: || तरस्मयौ सनासनम च संस्कृतो नालितः ||

22. The affixes tarap and tamap are called च.

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

Thus the words कुमारितरा and कुमारिस्म are formed by adding the affixes सर and सम to the word कुमारी 'a girl,' whose long च is shortened before these affixes by sūtra 43 of the third chapter of the 6th Book.

बहुगाणवभिति संख्या || २३ || पदा च | बहु-गण-वभ-भिति, संख्या ||
* वृत्ति: || बहुगाणवभिति इत्यसैं संख्यावस्त्रां भविति ||
बार्तेक्रम: || बहुगाणवभिति पूर्णाभित्रां || संख्यावस्त्रां भवितिम बहुवर्गम, समासक्रम विभागेम ||

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

These are certain words, besides the ordinary numerals, having some peculiarity of declension. The words like बहु ‘many,’ and गण ‘class,’ and those that have the affixes वह and वति after them, belong to this class. The letters ज and झ of बहु and वति are इहु, or indicative, the actual affixes being बहु and वति.

The word saṅkhya means “numerals;” and this class contains, among others, the Sanskrit numerals. The words formed by adding बहु are generally compound pronouns, e.g. ताबत “so much,” तानव “as much,” एनवह “so much,” similarly words formed by the affix वति, e.g. कलि “how many,” तति “so many,” वति “as many.”

Thus बहु + कुक्तसु (V. 4. 17) = कुक्तसुहु: “many times” the affix कुक्तसु being added only to saṅkhya words in the sense of the repetition of the action. So also बहु + धा (V. 3. 42) = बहुधा “in many ways.” Here also the affix धा is added by virtue of बहु being a saṅkhya. Similarly बहुक: (V. 1. 22) “purchased for a big sum,” बहुधा (V. 4. 43) “manifest.” So also गायकुक्त, गायक, गायक; गायक; so also ताबतसुहु, ताबति, ताबति; कलिकुक्त, कलिधा, कलिक, कलिग.

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

Vart.—The word बहु “half” when standing as a first term in a compound number which takes an affix giving the sense of an ordinal, gets the designation of saṅkhya, for the purposes of the application of the rules of saṃśa and of the affix कारु. The ordinal affixes or पुर्णa prayayās are like बहु (V. 2. 48), प्रत (V. 2. 49), पार (V. 2. 51), &c. Thus एकत्राव: “eleventh,” पारम: “fifth,” पारमः “fourth,” &c. Similarly we have बहुप्रमत्रसुपुरे: “purchased for 4½ baskets” (a dvigu). Here बहु + पार (an ordinal) = बहुप्रमत्रसुपुरे, a bahuvrhi compound meaning 4½, vis., that in which half is the fifth term. बहुप्रमत्रसुपुरे: शीता = बहुप्रमत्रसुपुरे: the taddhita affixes श्यु and दश required by V. 1. 19 and 26 being elided by V. 1. 28.

Here, there is compounding (dvigu) by taking बहुप्रमत्रसुपुरे as a saṅkhya, and then applying sūtra II. 1. 51. The samāsa here is in the sense of taddhita, and this compounding is only possible by rules (II. 1. 50 and 51), when बहुप्रमत्रसुपुरे gets the appellation of saṅkhya. Having got this name, it forms dvigu compound in the sense of the taddhita affixes चर्म and दश (V. 1. 26). The word दश takes both these affixes in the sense of “being
bought with.” Thus शौर्विक्षम् and शौर्यम् both mean “bought with a measure called सुर्पा.” In the above compound of चार्विश्चन्द्रम्: the sense is that of the above-named taddhita; but the affixes have been elided by V. 1. 28 after dviguna compounds. So also we have चार्विश्चन्द्रम: by applying the affix कन: For these two purposes, namely samásā and the application of कन:, compounds of ardha, like ardha-pañchama are treated as saṅkhya.

शान्ति घट् ॥ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ चण्य-अन्तः, घटः, (संख्या) ॥

श्रवः ॥ पकारण्तः नकारण्तः । ऊय संख्या सा पत्रसंह भविष्य॥

24. The Sāṅkhyaśas having ष्ठ or ष्ठ as their final are called shat.

This sutra defines the term घट which is a subdivision of the larger group saṅkhya. Those saṅkhyaśas which end in ष्ठ or ष्ठ are called घट. The word saṅkhya is understood in this sutra, because the word शान्ति is in the feminine gender, showing that it qualifies saṅkhya which is also feminine.

The numerals that end in ष्ठ or ष्ठ are six, namely पचन्तः ‘five,’ पष्ठ ‘six,’ सत्तः, ‘seven,’ चत्तः ‘eight,’ नत्तः ‘nine,’ ष्ठातः ‘ten.’

It is one of the peculiarities of ष्ठ words that they lose their nominative and accusative plural terminations (VII. 1. 22). Thus ष्ठ तिहस्न, पंच गण्ठानिति ॥

The word घटन्तः in the sutra shows that the letters ष्ठ and ष्ठ must be aupaṭṭēśika i.e., must belong to the words as originally enunciated and not added afterwards as affix &c. Thus in शान्ति ‘hundreds,’ शहस्राणि ‘thousands,’ ष्ठानम् ‘of eights’ the ष्ठ is not radical, but an augment, and therefore they are not ष्ठ and the nominative and accusative plural terminations are not elided; as शान्ति + ष्ठ = शान्ति &c.

श्रवः ॥ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ कतिः, ष्ठ (संख्या, घटः) ॥

श्रवः ॥ बर्तमान्तः ऊय संख्या सा पत्रसंह भविष्य॥

25. And the saṅkhyaśas ending with the affix 

\[\text{dati}\] are called shat.

This sutra enlarges the scope of the definition of घट by including in it, words formed by including. By sutra 22, words in कतिः are already saṅkhya; by this they are also घट. Therefore we have कतिः पदार्थः, ‘how many are reading,’ कतिः पउय ‘see how many.’ Here कतिः has lost its plural termination by VII. 1. 22.

क्त्रयवूतः निष्ठा ॥ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ कतः-क्त्रयवूतः, निष्ठा ॥

श्रवः ॥ कतिः कतृथं कत्रयवूतः, पत्रसंह निष्ठानिति ॥

26. The affixes kta and ktavatu are called Nishṭhā.
This defines the nishtha affixes, that is to say, the affixes of the past participle. The actual affixes are ह, सन्त, the त and द being indicative. They being कृत are liable to all the rules applicable to कृत affixes, such as rule 1. r. 5. Thus we have, कृत; कृतनात्र, सकृत; सकृतसुर.

The force of the indicative द in ktavatu is, by IV. 1. 6, to indicate that in forming the feminine of nouns ending in an affix having an indicative vowel of उक pratyahāra (उ, व, ल), the affix कृत (ई) must be added. Thus कृतसु (masc.), कृतसौ (fem.). The word nishtha occurs in sutra VII. 2. 14.

सर्वदीर्घि सर्वनामावि || २७ || पदार्थि || सर्व-आदीरि, सर्वनामावि ||

हस्तिः || सर्वविश्व भाविकेऽथ वाचनावि सर्वधीर्घिश्व सर्वनामाविस्वाति अविनिति ||

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

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

सर्व ‘all,’ विश ‘all,’ उन ‘two,’ उन्न ‘both,’ words formed by the affix उन्नत such as उन्नत ‘which of two,’ words formed by the affix उन्नम as उन्नम ‘which of many,’ अन्न ‘other,’ अन्नत ‘either,’ उन्न ‘other,’ बन्न ‘other,’ बन ‘other,’ बन ‘half,’ सन ‘all,’ सिन ‘whole,’ बनस ‘he, she, it,’ बन ‘he, she, it,’ बन ‘who,’ बन ‘this,’ बन ‘it,’ बनस ‘that,’ बन ‘one,’ बन ‘two,’ बनम ‘you,’ बनसम ‘I,’ बनस ‘you,’ किन ‘what.’ So also पु व ‘east,’ प्र ‘prior,’ प्र ‘subsequent,’ बस ‘west or posterior,’ बस ‘south or right,’ उस ‘north or inferior, subsequent,’ बस ‘other or inferior,’ बस ‘west or inferior,’ are sarvanāmas when they imply a relation in time or place, as shown above, and not when they are names. So also ख when it does not mean a ‘kinsman or a treasure,’ but means ‘own.’ So also अन्तर when it means ‘outer,’ or ‘an under or lower garment’ is a sarvanāma.

There are certain peculiarities in the declension of sarvanāma words. Thus सर्व though ending in व, is not declined like न which also ends in व, the plural of सर्व being सर्व, that of नर being नरा: Similarly the dative singular नराः, सर्वेः; the abl. sing. नराः, सर्वः; the loc. sing. नर, सर्वः; the Gen. pl. नराः, सर्वः &c.

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

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

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

विनायक दिग्विसासैं, बहुव्रीहि इति ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि विनायक, दिक्र-समासे, बहुव्रीहि, ( सबरोद्देशी, सबरेरावागी ) ॥

इति: ॥ यत्र निर-समासे निर्मसमासे तियुम्यिक्ते समासे बहुव्रीहि विनायक सबरोद्देशी सबरेरावागी समासान्ति भवति ॥

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

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

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

The quasi-bahu-vṛtti, or analogical bahu-vṛtti compounds, or to use the Sanskrit phrase, bahu-vṛtti-vadbhāva, is taught in sūtra VIII. 1. 9. where words in repetition are treated like bahu-vṛtti. Thus एकं + एकं = एकेकन्मु ‘one and one, each one.’ Bahu-vṛtti compounds are possessive compounds, but in the above example, no idea of possession enters. However the compound here is treated like a bahu-vṛtti, for the purposes of the elision of the case-affix of the first member, and the whole compound gets the designation of prātipadika. In compounds like this, therefore, which are bahu-vṛtti-vat, but not exactly bahu-vṛtti, the present rule and the succeeding sūtra do not apply. Thus एकेकले वेशे ‘give to each one,’ शतिः प्रतिष्ठायिन् ‘she’.

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

न बहुव्रीहैं ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, बहुव्रीहैं, ( सबांदौर्नि, सबं-नामानि, समासे ) ॥

श्रुति: ॥ बहुव्रीहै समासे सबांदौर्नि सबंनामवंिजा न भवति ॥

29. The words sarva &c., are not sarva-nāma when occurring in a bahu-vṛtti compound.

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

This sūtra introduces thus an exception to sūtra 27. In bahu-vṛtti or possessive compounds, the nature of which compounds will be described
later on, the above mentioned words are not pronominals, and must follow the ordinary rule of declension. Thus the compound मिथिविद्रक meaning ‘beloved of all’ is a bahuvrihi compound of मिथ ‘beloved,’ and विद्रक ‘all,’ (which is a sarvanāma). The declension of this compound will follow the general rule. Thus, in the dative singular, we have मिथिविद्रकेय, though the dative singular of विद्रक by itself is विद्रकेय, like other pronominals. So also विद्रकेय “to him who is beloved of both.” So also वधन्याय, वधन्याय &c.

Similarly in bahuvrihi compounds, these words not being treated as pronominals, they do not take also the special affix छक्स, but the general affix कन. As, स्वत्कपिष्टकी, मक्षपिष्टकी (V. 3. 70).

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

उत्तीयासमा: || 30 || पदानि || उत्तीया-समा: ( सवांद्रीनि सवेनामानि, न, ) ||

• उत्ति: II उत्तीयासमा: सवांद्रीनि सवेनामानि न भवनित ||

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

This is another exception to the definition of sarvanāma. There is a class of compounds in Sanskrit called tātpurusha compounds, in which the last word governs the preceding one. The word governed may be in any one of the six cases: when it is in the third or instrumental case, the compound is called tritīyā tātpurusha. When, therefore, there is such a samāsa, the words mentioned in sūtra 26 are not to be declined like pronominals. Thus the word मासपूव्ह is a compound of मास and पूव्ह = मासपूव्ह meaning ‘prior by a month,’ where the word māsa is in the instrumental case. This compound will be declined like ordinary words, e.g. its dative will be मासपूव्हाच, though the dative of पूव्ह, when standing by itself, is पूव्हात; so also संवेनस्तपूव्हाच ।

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

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

हृते च II 31 II पदार्थ II हृते, च, (सब्राद्रीन, सब्रनामानि, बमासे, न) II

भूषि: II हृते च समासे सवार्शीन सवन्नामसंग्रामि व भवन्ति II

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

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

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

विभाषा जसि II 32 II पदार्थ II विभाषा, जसि, (सब्राद्रीन, सब्रनामानि, हृते समासे, न) II

भूषि: II हृते समासे जसि विभाषा सवार्शीन सवन्नामसंग्रामि व भवन्ति II

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

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

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

प्रथमसञ्चरसतािजसिकलिप्यनेतार एकल 33 पदार्थ: प्रयास-

चरम-तय-अल्प-अघ्रे-कतिपय-नेमा:; च (विनायव्यसिस,सवार्धीनि,सवार्नामामि)

बृहि: प्रयास मचरम तय अल्प अघ्रे कतिपय नेम इत्येवेवासि विनायव्यसि सवार्नामान्या

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

Thus we have प्रयास: or प्रयासा, चरमे or चरमा, अल्पे or अल्पा, अघ्रे or अघ्रा, कतिपये or कतिपया: नेमे or नेमा:; हितेय or हितया: 33.

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

The application of the affix kan or akach must depend upon the nature of these words, if pronominals, then akach, otherwise kan.

पूर्वपरारागरेशिष्टारापराधिराणि व्यवस्थायामसंस्काराम् 34 पदार्थि: पूर्व-परागरेशिष्टात्तर-अघर-अघराधिराणि, व्यवस्थायाम्, अघराधिराणि-यास्त, (विभाया, जसि, सवार्धीनि, सवार्नामानि) 34.

बृहि: पूर्वपरारागरेशिष्टारापराधिराणि व्यवस्थायामसंस्काराम् 34.
34. The words pūrva 'prior,' para 'after,' avara 'posterior,' dakshina 'south,' uttara 'north,' apara 'other,' and adhara 'inferior,' when they discriminate relative position, not when they are appellatives, are optionally sarvanāma before the affix jas.

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

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

That there is a 'specification' (niyama), or tacit implication, of a determinate point (avadhī), with reference to which something is to be described by the word itself, is what we mean when we say "that a relation in time or place (avasthā) is implied." For example, if we wish to describe Benares as being southern (dakshiṇa), to do this, we may specify some point, say one of the peaks of the Himalayā with reference to which Benares may be described as a "place to the southward." Again we in the north may thus speak of the people to the south of the Vindhya mountains, as being southern, not with reference to the inhabitants of Ceylon, but with reference (as every one here understands by tacit implication) to us ourselves, who live to the north the Vindhya range. Thus, (पूर्वेऽ or पूर्वी; चावरेऽ or चावरा; परे or परा:) शक्तिः or शक्तिः; उत्तरे or उत्तर:; चावरे or चावरा.; चावरे or चावरा.: ।

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

The word खं when it does not mean a जाति 'kinsman' or धन 'property' or 'wealth' is always a sarvanāma, in every number and case, as it has been
enumerated among the prononimals, except in the nominative plural where it is optionally so. Thus स्वे पुत्र: or स्वा: पुत्रा: 'one's own sons,' स्वे माता: or स्वा माता: 'one's own cows'.

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

अन्तर्बाहियोिनीपश्चात्यायः: ॥ ३६ ॥ पदांनि ॥ अन्तरसू-ब्रह्म- योग-उपस्थायायः: (विभाषा, जसि, सवादीनि, सर्वनामाद) ॥

क्रियाः: ॥ अन्तर्भिविवेद्याब्रह्मयोगी विभाषा जाति सर्वनामसंसू नवति ब्रह्मयोग उपस्थायाने गम्यनाने ॥

वासिकम् ॥ *वन्दित्यति च वपक्षम्* ॥

वासिकम् ॥ *विभाषा प्रकरणं तत्तीव वा हिस्त्र वर्णानामसंसू वस्त्रावनम्* ॥

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

The word अन्तर् when it means बाहिरयोग, viz., 'outer' is always sarvanāma, so also, when it means उपस्थायाः or 'a lower garment.' Thus, चान्द्रे गुहा: or अन्तरा गुहा: 'outer houses, the residence of Chandal, and other low castes.' So अन्तरे or अन्तरा: गांधा: 'the inner garments, such as petticoats worn under the upper garments.' The word अन्तर् when used in the above sense is always sarvanāma, but in the nominative plural, it is optionally so. But, when र is not used in the above senses, it is never a sarvanāma, e.g., चांद्रों रंते बसति 'he lives between the two villages,' where the regular locative is अन्तरे. With this śūtra the section on sarvanāmas, which began with śūtra 26.

Vart:—The word अन्तर् when qualifying the word पुरे 'a city,' is not to be treated as a sarvanāma, and is, therefore, declined like ordinary nouns. As, अन्तरा यो गुहा गुहा बसति 'he lives out of the city.'

Vart:—The words formed by the affix तीय such as, हृतीय and वृतीय, are optionally declined as sarvanāma before the case-affixes having an indicatory र (रति), which are the singular terminations of dative, ablative, genitive and locative, as, हृतीयस्य or हृतीयस्य, वृतीयाः or वृतीयस्य.

खरादिनिपातसम्बद्धम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदांनि ॥ स्वरूप-आदि, निपातस्य, अथ्यम् ॥

क्रियाः: ॥ खरादिनिपातसम्बद्धकृतिकारोपसाधनाः निपातसाधनाः नवति ॥

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

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

स्वरू 'heaven,' अन्तरात 'midst,' प्रातृत 'in the morning,' गुरू 'again,' सुतुरू 'in concealment,' उषस्य 'high, aloft,' नीचस्य 'low, down,' गर्भस्य 'slowly,' वर्षस्य,
'rightly, separately, aside, singly, particularly, truly,' यत्र 'except, without,' यथात्म 'at the same time, at once,' ब्याप्ती 'near, far from, directly.' प्रत्यक्ष 'separately, apart,' यथथ 'yesterday,' यथस्य 'to-morrow,' विश्व 'by day,' रात्रि 'by night or in the night,' तावद 'at eve,' निर्मेय 'long, long since, a long time,' मना 'a little,' कृत्यस्य 'slightly, a little,' शर्तस्य 'ever,' जोतप्रस 'gladly,' उपमानन् 'silently,' विस्तर 'outside,' साधृ 'below, without, outside. सम्बन्ध 'near,' मिलन 'near, hard, close by,' स्वयं 'of one's self,' स्था 'in vain,' मन्त्र 'at night, by night,' नाम 'negative particle, not,' हेतु 'for this reason, by reason of,' इत्य 'truly, really' हेतु 'exclamation,' अभ्य 'evidently, truly,' लाभी 'half,' वभ 'enclitic like, as Brāhmaṇavat, priestly,' सन्तु 'sanā 'perpetually,' अपभ 'division,' विस्तर 'crookedly, awry, over,' अन्तरा 'anterior, anterior except, without' व्योक्त 'long,' कर्त 'expletive particle,' गृह 'ease,' सन 'perpetually,' सहस 'suddenly, hastily,' विन 'without,' नाना 'variously,' स्वास्ति 'greeting, peace,' स्था 'exclamation, oblation to Manes,' गृहस्य 'enough,' बस 'exclamation,' श्रोत 'interjection' 'oblation of butter,' अन्तर 'again, moreover, otherwise.' अस्मी 'being present,' उपास 'in a low voice, secretly, privately,' धन 'patience, pardon,' निवास 'aloft in the air,' खो 'at night or in the evening,' नृथा 'falsely,' गृह 'in vain,' पुर 'formerly,' नियो 'or नियत 'mutually, together,' गृहस्य 'frequently, almost,' गृहस्य 'again, repeatedly' उपासक 'or उपासिक 'at the same time,' आये 'violently,' अभ्यस्व 'repeatedly,' शास्त्र 'or शास्त्र 'with' गृहस्य 'reverence,' गृहस्य 'without,' गृहस्य 'fei!' धन 'thus,' भव 'with fatigue,' मन्त्र 'alike,' गृहस्य 'widely,' मा, माह 'do not.'

So, also the words formed by the affixes क्तव tosun, kasun, by the kri affixes ending in म् or श्, छौ or छौ, and the avayalbhāva compounds, are indeclinables. So, also the words formed by the affixes beginning with तिन (V. 3. 7.) and ending with प्रक्ष (V. 4. 42.) and ending with स्मालंि (V. 4. 68.), by the affixes धुन्वन्, धृष्ट, धर्ष् and यांि by the affixes having the sense of the affix विध, or by the affixes धम् or धम्, तस्वि or तस्वि, न or नाम् are also indeclinables.

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

38. And the words ending in taddhita or secondary affixes (IV. 1. 76.) which are not declined in all the cases are also indeclinables.
This expands the definition of avyaya. There are three words in the sūtra taddhītaḥ, cha and asarva-vibhaktiḥ. Taddhītas or secondary affixes are certain affixes, by which nouns are derived from other nouns, such as, from मृत्र we have मात्र; सार्व-विभक्तिः are those words which take all case-terminations, asarvā-vibhaktis are those which do not take all vibhaktis but some only. Thus the adverb तत्त्र is declined in the singular ablatival only, and does not take the dual and plural terminations.

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

क्रियान्तः: ||३९ || पदानि || कृत्य, म-पूर्व-अतः: (अवययम्) ||

क्रिया: || कृत्यो मकाराः || एकधतुः तत्तमां रूपकमूलवसंहं मध्यसत्तमी ||

39. The words formed by those क्रित or primary affixes, (III. 1. 93) which end with म or in ए, ओ, ऐ and ओ are also indeclinables.

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

Words formed by क्रित affixes which end in म or ए, ओ, ऐ, or ओ (connotated by the pratyahara एष्) are avayyas. Thus the affix मृत्र (technically मृत्र्) and चूर्त (technically चूर्त, III. 3. 10) are affixes which end in मृत्र. The words formed by the addition of these affixes will be indeclinables. Thus प्राण ‘to give,’ and श्मारण ‘remembering’ are avayyas. So also words like जीवने ‘to live,’ विनध्य ‘to drink,’ are also avayyas as they end in ए, &c.

Thus, in the following examples, the words within quotation are avayyas ‘स्मारणकारः,’ ‘संपञ्चकारः,’ ‘सन्तष्कारः,’ शुद्धके, ‘he eats first having made it relishing’ (III. 4. 26). “वसे” राज: (चूर्त + से III. 4. 9=वसे); ता ‘वामें,’ रघुनामस्वमाम गायनित्यमान (इ + से =ये. Rig Veda V. 66. 3). चारणे गायने जीवने ‘जीवने’ था चारणे गायन्यवस्त इत्य शिशुपाल (Rig Veda III. 36. 10). चाण: पुष्पान्त में मंजर्ष प्रयोग पद तथा नम स्वयं च सुध्य ‘हुंटो,’ (Rig Veda I. 25. 21, दृष्ट + कृत् III. 4. 11 दृष्टो).

The word चाण: is used in this sūtra for the same purpose, as it was employed in sūtra 24, showing that these terminations must be ‘aupadesīka,’ and not derivative. Therefore the following words are not avayyas:—चाणे (d. s.), चापे: (g. s.) चिकोरपे:। चिकोरी:। कृत्यकारेऽय:। नगरकारेऽम्: ||

कृत्यकारेऽम्: ||४० || पदानि || कृत्, तोषनु-कृत्: (अवययम्) ||

कृत्य: ||--तत्र तोषनुः कृतः हृदयवचनं शब्दकृतमिथ्यसंज्ञानात् ||
40. The words ending with *ktva*, *tosun* (III. 4. 16) and *kasun* are indeclinables.

As कृत्वा ‘having done’ उदेते: ‘having risen,’ विसृपः ‘having spread.’ Thus in the following examples the words within quotation are indeclinables:\—पुरानूः ‘स्वेतेऽत्र’ राशयः। पुरानूः ‘गयाकसौः’। पुरानूः ‘विसृपः’ विसृपः। (Yajur Veda. I. 28) य वसृपः चिरमृत्युः। पुरा जगद्भ्य ‘ग्राहः’। (Rig Ved. VIIla. 1. 12).

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

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

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

What is the object gained by making the *avyayībhāva* compounds *avyayas*? Three objects are gained, by making these compounds, indeclinables, viz., we can apply to them (1) the rule relating to the elision (नुक्) of the case affixes and feminine affixes, i.e., sūtra II. 4. 82 thus, in the following example, the words upâgni and pratyagni though qualifying the word *śalavāḥ*, do not take the gender and number of the latter, उपाणि प्रत्याग्नि शलानाः: पतांति (2) the rule relating to accent when an *avyaya* is compounded with the word *mukha*, (मुख स्वर), i.e., sūtras VI. 2. 167 & 168. Thus, उपाणि मुखः, here, sūtra VI. 2. 167, required the final vowel to take the udatta accent, but the preceding word being an *avyaya*, sūtra VI. 2. 168, intervened, and the first word retains its natural accent: (3) the rule relating to the change of visarga: into स, this change being technically called उपवार: thus उपवारः, उपवारः, as compared with चन्द्रसःकार: Here, the compound उपचार: being treated as *avyaya* sūtra VIII. 3. 46, applies and prevents the change of: into स.

The four sūtras 38, 39, 40, and 41 have all been enunciated under the svaradigāṇa. see sūtra 37. These sūtras properly, therefore, belong to the gana-paṭha; their repetition here in the Astādhyāyī indicates that these rules are चन्तिक्य or not of universal application, viz., all rules relating to *avyayas* in general, do not apply to them. Thus II. 3. 69. declaring that the genitive case is not used along with an *avyaya* is not a rule of universal application, for we see
indéclinables like उदेशी: governed by the genitive case as, सूर्यस्वतंत्रे; or कुलरस्वि
विश्वः.

शिष्य सर्वनामस्यानम् || 42 || पदार्थः || शिष्य, सर्वनामस्यानम्

वृत्तः || शिष्य सर्वनामस्यानमस्ते ||

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

This defines the word sarvanāmasthāna. The affix शिष्य is the nominative and accusative plural termination of neuter nouns. It replaces the ordinary nominative and accusative plural affixes जस् and औस् used in every other gender. The श or शि of शिष्य is servile, and the actual termination is श; the peculiarity of the affix शिष्य is that it lengthens the penultimate vowel (VI. 4. 8) and adds a श (VII. 1. 72). Thus the plural of फल ‘fruit’ is फलानि ‘fruits.’ So also बुधवानि रिहानि, and कुण्डानि प्रथम्. Here, there is no difference of form in the nominative and the accusative cases. So also नमूनि, नूपूर्णि, नन्दि. The word sarvanāmasthāna occurs in sūtra VI. 4. 8.

सुहन्दुपकस्य || 42 || पदार्थः || सुधः, अनुप्रस्करः, (सर्वनामस्यानम्)

वृत्तः || सुधिते पद्धुनामि सर्वनामस्यानमस्ते, नवति नपुस्कायन्यन्त्र ||

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>प्रयम्</td>
<td>श (स)</td>
<td>श्रो &quot; (श्रस्)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>हितीत्या</td>
<td>अनु्</td>
<td>औौ्र &quot; (औश्)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>लीतीया</td>
<td>द (द्या)</td>
<td>भ्याम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>चतुर्थीं</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>पंचमी</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>पठि्ती</td>
<td>न्दु (न्दस्)</td>
<td>औौस् &quot; (औश्)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>सतौष्ठी</td>
<td>शिष् (्श)</td>
<td>&quot; (्शुष्)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above are the 21 vibhaktis, the ज of जस्, the श of शस्, the ध of धौस् &c. are indicatory. All these vibhaktis are included in the pratyāhāra शुष्क formed by taking the first vibhakti and the last letter of the last vibhakti. Similarly the first five terminations (स, श्रो, जस्, शस्, and धौस्) are represented by शुष्क and are called sarvanāmasthāna in the masculine and feminine genders. In the declension of nouns, it will be seen, that some nouns have two bases, one before these sarvanāmasthāna and the other before the rest.
Thus the word राजस् ‘king’ has the base राजन् before the स् vibhaktis, while in the remaining cases, the base is राज्य and राज as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Instrumental</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>राजा</td>
<td>राजा</td>
<td>राजान्</td>
<td>राजा-ना</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>राजनी</td>
<td>राजनी</td>
<td>राजन:</td>
<td>राजनि:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But in the neuter nouns there is no such difference.

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

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

Thus the root विह ‘to swell,’ by virtue of the rule विभाषा रक्त (V. 1. 30), forms its perfect tense, either by samprasâraṇa, or in the ordinary way. Thus the third person singular is either शुष्क or शिशुपाल.

45. The ik vowels which replace the semi-vowels यन are called samprasâraṇa.

This defines the word samprasâraṇa. It is the name given to the change of semi-vowels into vowels. The pratyâhâra ik includes the four simple vowels र, ल, छ and च, and their corresponding semi-vowels are र, ल, छ, and च included in the pratyâhâra यन. The word samprasâraṇa is properly the name of the vowel which has replaced the semi-vowel. Thus the past participle of श्रव्य ‘to sleep,’ is formed by adding the nishtha affix न्त (see sutra 26). So that we have श्रव्य + न. But there is a rule (VI. 1. 15) by which there is samprasâraṇa of the श of श्रव्य before the क्त affixes, and we have the form सुष्य: ‘slept.’ Similarly from वर्ष-विज्ञ, वश-विहा, वश-विहा, वह-पुर्बविहा - पह-पहुँचा. The term samprasâraṇa is also employed to designate the whole process of the change of the semi-vowels into vowels as in VI. 1. 13; VI. 4. 131.
46. Of whatsoever the augments enunciated are distinguished by an indicatory ः or क�, they precede or follow it accordingly.

This सूत्र explains the special use of two of the indicatory letters ः and क�. Where the indicatory letter of an augment is ः that augment is to be placed before the word in the genitive case with regard to which it is enjoined; while a कम augment is to be added after the word exhibited in the 6th case with regard to which it is enjoined. Thus, there is a सूत्र (VII. 2. 35) which says "अर्धधातुका अर्धधातुका affixes beginning with a consonant except व, have ः". The question may arise where is this ः to be added, in the beginning or the end or the middle of the अर्धधातुका affix? This सूत्र answers the question. The indicatory ः shows, that it is to be placed before the अर्धधातुका affix. Thus the future termination स्यति, is an अर्धधातुका affix: when this is added to the root, it takes the augment ः। Thus मृ + ः + स्यति = महायथयति, 'he will be.' Similarly ज्ञाति 'he will cut'.

Similarly by सूत्र VII. 3. 40. the root भी takes the augment बुक in forming the causative. This having an indicatory क� is to be added after the word भी, as, भी + बुक + निबुक + त = भीतबले 'he frightens'.

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

This सूत्र explains the use of the indicatory म. The augments having an indicatory म, technically called मित augments, are placed immediately after the final vowel of a word. Thus there is an augment called मुम, in which ः and म are मृ, and the actual augment is मृ. When, therefore, it is said "let मृ be added to the word," the letter मृ is added after the last vowel. Thus the plural of पंि 'milk' is formed in the following way: पाि + मृ + ः (VII. 1. 72) = पािनिस (VI. 4. 8). Here मृ is added between व and मृ, i. e., after the ः of व, which is the final vowel of the word: and before this मृ the preceding short vowel is lengthened. Similarly मृ + श + गि (III. 1. 77) = मृ + मृ + श + गि (VI. 1. 59) = मृ निः। Similarly विरहिति।

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

There is, however, an exception, in the case of the root मत्र, in
which the augment नुष्ठ is added not after the last vowel ष्ठ of ष्ठ, but between ष्ठ and ष्ठ. The result of adding the augment नुष्ठ between ष्ठ and ष्ठ is, that the सुरा VIII. 2. 29. applies, and the ष्ठ is elided. Thus मस्त्र + ष्ठ = मस्त्र + नुष्ठ + ष्ठ (VII. 1. 60) = मस्त्रनुष्ठ + ष्ठ = मस्त्र + ष्ठ (VII. 2. 29) = महर्ष्ठ "He will immerse". So also सम्भ: 'immersed,' मन्यवाण, महर्ष्ठ.

एष्ठ ह्रम्स्वादेशे ॥ ४८ ॥ पद्लानि ॥ एष्ठः, ऐक्स्, ह्वस्स-आदेशे ॥

शङ्कितः ॥ एष्ठो ह्रम्स्वादेशे कर्मस्वस्वज्ञ ह्वस्सो भवति नान्सः ॥

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

This sūtra points out the ह्वस्स substitutes of एष्ठ. We know there are short and long vowels in Sanskrit, but properly speaking the एष्ठ vowels have no corresponding short vowels. Therefore, when, in any rule, एष्ठ vowels are told to be shortened, this sūtra declares that the short vowels of ष्ठ and ष्ठ, ष्ठ, for the purposes of the rule, will be ष्ठ and ष्ठ respectively. Thus, I. 2. 47 declares:—"the short vowel is the substitute in the neuter of a crude form provided it end in a vowel." Therefore in compounding ब्राह्म + ष्ठ, the ष्ठ must be shortened. Properly speaking ष्ठ has no short vowel corresponding to it, but by virtue of this sūtra, ष्ठ supplies the place of such a short vowel, and we have ब्राह्मिरि 'extravagant' so नौ, ब्राह्मिरि 'dismembarked or landed,' ष्ठ, उष्ठ्च 'near a cow.' All avyayībhāva compounds are neuter (II. 4. 18).

Why do we say 'of एष्ठ'? Because the short of other vowels will not be ऐक्स्. Thus the short of ष्ठ is ष्ठ. As, ब्राह्म + वष्ठ्च्या = ब्राह्मिष्ठ्च्या, ब्राह्म + गाल्या = ब्राह्मिगाल्या: ॥

Why do we say 'when short is to be substituted?' Because when ष्ठ or prolated vowels are to be substituted for एष्ठ, the ऐक्स् will not be the substitute. As ऐक्स्यस्वा O Devadatta! ऐक्स्यस्वा!

ष्ठ्स्ती स्यानेयोगः ॥ ४९ ॥ पद्लानि ॥ ष्ठ्स्ती, स्यानेः-योगः ॥

शङ्कितः ॥ ऐह शाले या पश्टी त्यानेव्योगः श्रूतवे सा स्यानेयोगः भवति नान्सः स्यानेयोगानमित्तमुते बलि सा प्रार्थन्यस्थः ॥

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

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

Thus in the sūtra 3, the word इकु is in the genitive case; the literal translation being:—“of ik there is guṇa and vṛiddhi.” But “of” here means by virtue of the present rule of interpretation “in the place of.” So that the sūtra means ‘in the place of इकु.’ Similarly in the sūtra immediately preceding this, viz. 48, we have the word नृत्व in the genitive case and the sūtra means ‘of नृत्व.’ Here also “of” means “in the place of.”

Thus in sūtra हन्ते (VI. 4. 36) ‘of hanti, there is ज the word हन्ते, is the genitive of हन्ति; this genitive is used generally and its force is that of “in the place of.” Therefore, ज displaces the verb हन्त in लोट or imperative mood, and we have नाधि ‘kill thou.’

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

The word स्थान here is synonymous with वसृ or ‘occasion.’ Thus in the sentence इसाराय स्थाने शरी: प्रसारितविस्मृ, the word sthāne, means ‘prasange’ i.e. wherever there is occasion to spread darbha grass, spread there the sara instead. Similarly in sūtras चरस्तृः (II. 4. 52), or हुयो चचिः (II. 4. 53), the words ‘asti,’ and ‘bra’ are in the genitive case, and mean, ‘wherever there arises occasion to use the verbs चस्स or चू use there the verbs चू or चचू instead respectively.’ Thus विचित्र, विवृट्त, विविधत्वाद्भुतस्य, are the future, gerund, and passive participle respectively of चस्स; so also, चतुर्म, चतुश्रृ and चतक्तिय are the same forms of चू.

The word स्थानेयोगम् is a bahuvihi compound of two words, not in apposition, (vyadhikaarpah bahuvrihi, see II. 2. 248 35), and it qualifies the word shashthih. The compound means स्थाने एयोगस्थाय, ‘that which assumes the peculiar relation denoted by the word sthāna.’ Consequently the seventh case-affix is not elided in this compound; on the analogy of compounds like कण्ठकाण्डम्: &c.

स्थानेन्तरतम्: ॥ 50 ॥ पद्वति ॥ स्थाने-अन्तरतम्: ॥
बृत्ति: ॥ स्थाने प्रायवात्माणान्तरतम् बादेश्वो भष्ठित सहस्तीतम्: ॥

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

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

(1). Thus in applying rule VI. i. 101, “when a homogeneous vowel follows एक, the corresponding long vowel is the substitute for both,” we must have recourse to the present sūtra for finding the proper vowel. Thus—ऋ + एम = ऋमाम; here the substitution of the long ए, for the two short एम’s, is an example of substitution by nearness of place, for both एम and एम are gutturals.

(2). A good example of substitution by the sense of the word is afforded by VI. i. 63:—“The words भु, भु, भु &c., are the substitutes when the case-affixes शष्ट (acc.-pl.) &c., follow.” Here, we know the substitutes, but we do not know of what they are the substitutes. We apply the maxim of परस्त: “that only can become a substitute which has the power to express the meaning of the original, i.e., a substitute takes the place of that the meaning of which it is able to express.” Thus we find that भु is the substitute of नाते, नाते of नात, नाते of नाता, &c., which convey the same meaning and contain almost the same letters. Another example of this is afforded by VI.3.34, by which feminine words in a compound are changed into masculine. Thus वासृ (fem.) + युतिः = वासृपुयुतिः.

(3). An example of prosodical substitution (प्रमाणतः) is afforded by rule VIII. 2. 80, “ऋ is the substitute of what comes after the ऋ of चात्र not ending in ऋ and in the room of ऋ there is ऋ.” Thus चाम + वे = चाम + वे; चाम + वाम = चाम + वाम (VII. 3. 102) = चाम + वाम = चाम + वाम. Here, short ऋ replaces the short ए, and the long ऋ replaces the long ए.
(4). An illustration of qualitative substitution is afforded by VII. 3. 52, "a letter of the guttural class is substituted for च and ज when an affix having an indicatory ष follows." Applying the rule of गृहतः we find that ङ which is an alapaprāṇa and aghosha letter replaces च having the same quality; while ज which is ghosha, and alapaprāṇa is replaced by the letter प possessing similar quality. Thus ग्रं + पम् (III. 3. 18)=पाकः; द्वम् + पम्= स्वागः; रज्जुं + पम्=पागः।

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

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

Thus in finding the guṇa substitutes of ह and द out of the three guṇa letters ख, ध and ध, we find that ध is a proximate substitute having regard to prosodical measure, i.e., ख and ह and द have all one mātra; while having regard to the proximity of the organ of utterance, we get ह and ध; the latter however prevails to the exclusion of the first; as, चवा, चोवा.

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

उरण् रपरः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चः, अण्, र-परः ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ चः (क्षारकथा) स्वाःशु प्रस्तवयाम एव रपरो वेश्वरयः ॥

51. When a letter of च प्रत्याहारा comes as a substitute for ङ it is always followed by a र.

This sūtra consists of three words viz., च: which is the genitive singular of च and means literally ‘of च’ or ‘in the place of च’; the second word is च, a pratyāhāra denoting च, ह and द long and short; the third word is रपर: which qualifies च and means ‘having a र after.’

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

So also when ः is replaced by ः as by sūtra VII. 1. 100, this substitute ः must be followed by a ः. As ः + ः = ः + ः = ः ‘he scatters;’ similarly ः.

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

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

Thus by IV. 1. 97, “the ः of the word वृंगव is replaced by ऋष (technically ऋष) when the affix ः is added.” Thus, वृंगव + ः = वृंगव + ऋष + ः = तिरात्रि, ‘a descendant of Sudhātrī’ Here the substitute of ः, that is to say, the syllable ऋष is not followed by ः.

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

अष्टांत्यम्य || 52 || पदार्थ || अलं, अस्त्यम्य, (आदेशं) ||

वृत्ति: || पश्चिनाधिकरणं व व्यवस्थे पर्यायं: सोन्यम्यस्यायं: स्थाने वर्तिन्यवः: ||

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

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

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

इष्टिः || 53 || पदार्थ || इष्टतः, ः, (आदेशं, अलं, अस्त्यम्य) ||

वृत्ति: || इष्टिः य पर्यायं: सोन्यम्यस्यायं स्थाने वर्तिन्यवः: ||
53. And the substitute which has an indicator \( \hat{c} \) (even though it consists of more than one letter) takes the place of the final letter only of the original expression.

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

Thus in forming the dvandva compound of नाह and पित्त there is a rule (VI. 3. 25) by which it is declared:—'In the place of words ending in नान there is the substitution of ज्ञान in forming dvandvas.' Now the substitute ज्ञान is a हित substitute, and therefore it applies to the last letter of the word and not to the whole word, विश, the नान of नाह is only changed into ज्ञान and not the whole word; and we have the compound ज्ञानाविन, so also होतापेसराते.

There is an exception, however, in the case of the substitute नान (VII. 1. 35) which, though it has an indicator \( \hat{c} \), yet replaces the whole expressions नान and हित and not only their finals. As जीवताः 'may he live, or may you live'; instead of जीवतु 'may he live,' or जीव 'live thou.'

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

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

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

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

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

So also there is a sūtra (V. 3. 3.) by which it is declared:—“In the place of र्न् there is श्वेत.” Here the ādeśa श्र is an ādeśa having the श as its indicatory letter, and though it consists of only one letter, it replaces the whole word र्न, and not only its last letter श्र.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Substitutes replace either a धातृ ‘root,’ or an छत्र ‘base,’ or a krit affix ‘primary affix,’ or a taddhita affix ‘secondary affix,’ or an avyaya ‘indeclinable,’ or a यूर affix ‘case affix,’ or a तित्र affix ‘conjugational affix,’ or lastly the full word or pada.

The substitute of a dhātu becomes like a dhātu. Thus sūtras II. 4: 52 and 53 declare:—‘यूं is the substitute of the root छत्र, and च्छ of the root छ्छ when an ārdhadhātuka affix follows.’ Here the substitutes यूं and च्छ are treated as dhātu, and as such get the affixes त्वम &c. by III. 1. 96, &c. Thus अवित, अविम, अविविष्ठ; बक्त, बक्तर्, बक्तव्यः.

The substitute of an anga becomes like an anga. Thus VII. 2. 103 declares:—‘क is the substitute of the base किं when a case-affix follows.’
Here, क gets the designation ‘base’ and so rules applicable to क also. Thus in कन, कामायु, कृ: &c., we have न, the lengthening of the vowel, and एख substituted by VII. 1. 12, and VII. 3. 102, and VII. 1. 9.

The substitute of a krit affix becomes like a krit affix. Thus VII. 1. 37 declares:—‘ल्यु’ is the substitute of the krit affix स्या when the verb is a compound, the first member of which is an indeclinable, but not न्यु.’ Here, ल्यु is also called a krit affix, and as such, sūtra VI. 1. 71 applies, and तुक is added. As श्यु+ल्यु = श्यु + तु+ य = श्युतु; similarly शुर्तु &c.

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

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

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

The substitute of तिन becomes like तिन. Thus III. 4. 101 declares:—‘लायु, त्यायु, न तिन’ are substituted for तिन, त्यायु, न, and निन when tense-affixes having indicatory ह follow.’ Here the substitutes नायु &c., also make the words ending in them pada by rule I. 4. 14 as, तिन्युत्तम; तिन्युत्तम &c.

The substitute of a pada is like a pada. Thus VIII. 1. 21 declares:—‘हस्य is the substitute of युम्नायु, युम्नायु, युम्नायु, युम्नायु, and नायु of युम्नायु, युम्नायु, युम्नायु.’ Here, नायु and नायु are treated as pada, and the final स is changed into visarga, as न: नः.

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

The word ādeṣa is used in the sūtra to indicate, that the rule applies even to partial substitutions: as changing the ह of ति into त (III. 4. 86) in the Imperative e. g. पचतु.

The word al-vidhi is used in order to indicate that the substitutes of हिन्.
Bk. I. Ch. I. § 57.] SUBSTITUTE IS LIKE THE PRINCIPAL.

Such as the change of औ into औि (VII. r. 84), औ into औि (VII. r. 85), औ into औि (VII. 2. 102), are not to be treated like the original: as औि; पञ्चा; सः. Had these substitutes been treated like the original, rule VI. r. 68 would apply, and the case-affix औ would have been elided.

अच: परसिन्यूषिविचैि || ५७ || पदाचि || अचः परसिन्यूषिविचैि (स्यानिविष्ठ आदेशः) ||

वृििः || चाजायेघः परनिमिचकः पुष्कविचैि कर्त्यवर्ये स्यानिविष्ठतः ||

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

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

Thus there is an affix called विचैि the actual affix being औ; the other letters औ and औ being औि. The peculiarity of every affix having an indicatory औि is to cause the vṛiddhi of the penultimate औि; (sūtra VII. 2. 116) as वच् + औि = वाच्यि. Now in forming the denominative verb from the word वच्, we have to add the affix विचैि. Thus च् + औि; but before nīch, the औ of च् is substituted by a ‘lopā’ or blank, and this blank takes the place of the vowel औ of च् and becomes sthānivat by force of the present sūtra. The result of becoming sthānivat is that though the औि of च् is really a penultimate and ought to be vṛiddhid behind nīch it is not so, the lopa-substitute not allowing the औि to be regarded as penultimate, and thus we have the form च् the present tense third person singular of which is पदाचिि. The equation being च् + ० + औि, the zero preventing the औि of च् from becoming penultimate. So also in the word चन्च्यिि, the aorist (हृि) of च. Thus च् + च् + देशिि = च् + च् + ० + देशिि. Here, the औि of च is elided by VI. 4. 48. (when an ārdhadhātuka affix follows there is elision of the short औि of that which ends in short औि;) this elision is thus caused by something which follows (parasmin.) Now there is a rule (VII. 2. 7.) which declares ‘vṛiddhi is optionally the substitute of a laghu औि preceded by a consonant when विचैि (aorist) follows.’ However in the present case the zero is consi-
dered as sthānivat, and prevents the application of sūtra VII. 2. 7; otherwise we get the form चनाचीत्व which is inadmissible.

Similarly बुत्थुर्त्ते + कपुर = बुत्थुर्त्तेक: Here, the short च is the substitute of the long चा of च्चार्त by VII. 4. 15; because of the subsequent (parasmin) affix ‘kap’. However, the word बुत्थुर्त्तेक will not be considered as a word ending in a short vowel, for the purposes of the application of rule VI. 2. 174, (the udātta accent falls on the last vowel but one of a word that ends in a short vowel and is the last member of a bahāvṛtī compound followed by the affix kap). On the contrary the short च is regarded as sthānivat to long चा. Thus बुत्थुर्त्तेक:

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

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

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

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

Similarly च्चाताम्, the aorist of कृत. Thus य + कृत + सिद्ध + ताम् = य + कृत + ताम् (VIII. 2. 26). Here the च is elided on account of what follows, but still the lopa substitute here is not sthānivat for the purposes of VIII. 2. 41. Had it been sthānivat, च of कृत would be changed into च.

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

The word च्चाताम् is a bahāvṛtī compound of च्चाताम् and च्चाम्, meaning 'he who has a young wife.' In forming this compound, the च of च्चाम् is replaced by नित (tech. नित) by sūtra V. 4. 134. This नि will not be sthānivat to च्चा, as it is not caused by anything which follows. Had it been regarded as sthānivat, the च could not be elided by VI. 1. 66 ('there is elision of च
and  when any consonant except ह or र follows'). Thus, ड्वन्तन्या + नि = ड्वन्तन्या + नि (V. 4. 134) = ड्वन्तन्या: (VI. 1. 66).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

न पदांत्विवेचनेऽपरेय वृषस्यांनुसारं दीर्घविनिधिः परगति ||

पदांति || न पदांति- विवेचन- वरे- यष्टाय- स्यां- अनुस्वर- दीर्घ- जग- सर- विनिधिः, (स्यानिचतः)

बृत्ति: || पूर्णावधिकार: स्यानिचतः एवेतो विनिध्य प्रतिपिष्ठये ||

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

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

I. पालिकितः—'A rule relating to the last letter of a word.' Thus the य of यष्ट is elided before the terminations of dual and plural numbers (VI. 4. 111). Thus we have चाति 'he is,' चस् 'they two are,' सति 'they are.' Now in the technical phraseology of Sanskrit grammarians, the य of यष्ट and सति is
replaced by an ādeśa called शाल, the peculiarity of which is that the whole of it vanishes. So that before the word स्त: there is this ādeśa existing, though it is in an invisible form. This invisible ādeśa will be sthānīvat, as it replaces a vowel, by reason of something that follows, i.e. the affixes स: and चालिन्त being हकु (I. 2, 4); and it will have all the powers of च: by the last sūtra, in the absence of any rule to the contrary. Therefore, in the sentence कौ स्तत: ‘who two are’ the final चो of कौ and the invisible च: of स्त: ought to coalesce by rules of sandhi into चाल (VI. 1. 78). But this incongruity is prevented by the present sūtra, by which the change of चो into चाल is a पञ्चन्भिनि or a rule relating to the finals of a word, therefore, we have कौ स्तत:। So also in लालि चालिन्त, rule VI. 1. 77 is not applied.

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

3. वरचिनित: ‘a rule relating to the affix वरच।’ The affix वरच is a krit affix which is added to certain roots to form nouns of agency; thus from हस्त: ‘to rule’ we have हस्तर: ‘ruler.’ So from the intensive verb यायाय we have यायालर: ‘a vagrant.’ It is formed in this wise यायाय + धर (III. 2. 176) = यायाय + ो + धर (VI. 4. 48). Here the ध of ध has been dropped and replaced by lopa, on account of its being followed by the ṛādhadātuka affix वरच। The next step is to drop the ध by rule VI. 1. 66 which declares that the letters ध and ध: are dropped before affixes beginning with any consonant except ध: i.e., beginning with consonants of च्छ्च pratyāhāra. Thus यायाय + ो + धर। Now there is a rule (VI. 4. 64) which declares that the final long ध of a base is dropped before ṛādhadātuka affixes having an initial vowel. Here therefore, if the ādeśa ‘lopa,’ which replaced the vowel ध, be considered as sthānīvat, and धर be considered as an affix having a latent initial vowel, then the ध of यायाय requires to be dropped. But this sūtra prevents this and we have the form यायालर; as, चतु यायालर: प्रायं प्रायं)

4. लोपचिनित: ‘a rule relating to the dropping of ya.’ Thus there is a verb कण्ठूत: ‘to scratch.’ In forming an abstract noun from it, the affix ति (tech. स्तित्) is added. Thus कण्ठूत + ति = कण्ठूत + ो + ति, the ध of ध being dropped by VI. 4. 48. Now there is a rule (VI. 1. 66) already mentioned above which requires the elision of ध before consonantal affixes. Now if the lopa-substitute be considered as sthānīvat to ध, then the affix ति is not an affix having an initial consonant and the rule, which requires the dropping of ध, would not apply. The present sūtra, however, provides for this, and we have the form कण्ठूति: ‘scratching.’
5. स्वराक्षरित: ‘a rule relating to accent.’ There is a sūtra (VI. 1. 193) which says that when a word is formed by an affix that has an indicatory र, the vowel that immediately precedes such an affix has the udātta accent. Now वर्णम् is an affix that has an indicatory र, the real affix being चक (VII. 1. 1.). It is an affix used in forming nouns of agency. Adding this affix to the desiderative verb विकारित ‘desirous of doing’ we have:—विकारित + चक = विकारित + ० + चक, the च being dropped by VI. 4. 48. Now if the zero be considered as sthānīvat, then the accent must fall on this latent च but it is not so. The accent falls on the च of की; and we have विकारितक:, so also रिकारितक:।

6. स्वराक्षरित: ‘a rule relating to the substitution of homogeneous letters.’ To explain this, let us form the second person singular of the verb शिष्प in the imperative mood. The affix शिष्प is the sign of the second person imperative singular; and the verb शिष्प belongs to the seventh-class of verbs called Rudhādi. This class of verbs take the vikaraṇa श्रू (III. 1. 78) the द्र and श इ being indicatory the real affix is न. This न is inserted between the radical vowel and the final consonant (I. 1. 47). Therefore we have the following equation:—शिष्प + श्रू + शिष्प = शिष्प + न + द्र + शिष्प = शिष्प + न + ० + द्र + शिष्प. The द्र of न is dropped by VI. 4. 111, which declares that the द्र of श्रू is dropped before those sārvadhatuka terminations which are कित्र or किस. By I. 2. 4 all sārvadhatuka terminations which have not got an indicatory द्र are considered as किद्र. The affix शिष्प therefore is a किद्र sārvadhatuka affix, and by rule III. 4. 87, शिष्प is to be regarded as यस्तः, not having an indicatory द्र. The next stage is:—शिष्प + न + ० + द्र + शिष्प; the शिष्प being changed into शिष्प by rule (VI. 4. 101) which says that ‘शिष्प is changed into शिष्प, when it follows a root which ends in a consonant of श्रू pratyāhāra:’ here द्र and द्र are changed by general rules of sandhi into श्र and श्र and we have शिष्प + श्र + ० + श्र + शिष्प (VIII. 4. 41). Then there is a rule (VIII. 3. 24), which says that in the body of a word the श्र is changed into anuvāra when followed by a consonant of श्रू pratyāhāra.’ Therefore we have:—शिष्प + ० + ० + श्र + शिष्प. This is the form to which the present rule is applicable. Thus, there is a rule (VIII. 4. 58) which says that an anuvāra followed by a letter of श्रू pratyāhāra i.e., any consonant except र, श्र and श्र is changed into a letter homogeneous or savarṇa to the letter that follows. Therefore, if we regard zero as sthānīvat to the श्र which it replaces, the anuvāra cannot be changed into श्र as homogeneous to श्र. But it is not to be so regarded, and we have the form शिष्प + श्र + श्र + शिष्प = शिष्पर्षु or शिष्पु; so also विष्पु.

7. यथस्वारभिधि: ‘a rule relating to anuvāra.’ The above example will serve the purpose here:—शिष्प + श्र + ० + श्र + शिष्प. This by the rule already mentioned (VIII. 3. 24), requires the श्र to be changed into anuvāra.
Now if zero be considered as sthānīvat, then नू is not followed by a letter of हस्तः pratyāhāra, and cannot be changed into anusvāra. However, the zero is not regarded as sthānīvat, and we change the नू into anusvāra. Other examples are श्व + ऋ + औ + व्र + धान्ति = श्वाश्वान्ति; so also श्वाष्मान्ति।

8. कौशिकिः: ‘a rule directing the substitution of long vowels for short vowels.’ Let us form the Inst. sing. of the noun प्रतिवर्धस्तः. The termination of the Inst. sing. is या or याः. Therefore, we have प्रतिवर्धस्तः + या = प्रतिवर्धेय + ऋ + याः. Here the ऋ has been elided by rule VI. 4. 134, which teaches that words ending in ऋ or ऋ and are followed by a consonant. Here विद्र is a root that ends in ऋ; and if the zero be considered as sthānīvat, then this ऋ is not followed by a consonant, but by a latent vowel, and so the short ऋ of विद्र will not be lengthened. This rule, however, provides for such lengthening, and therefore we have:—प्रतिवर्धेय + ऋ + ऋ + याः = प्रतिवर्धेय।

9. जशविषि: ‘a rule requiring the substitution of soft unaspirate consonants, of pratyāhāra अम्, in the place of hard consonants.’ In this case also the ādēśa that takes the place of a vowel is not sthānīvat.

Let us add the affix कित्वु to the root अष्टु ‘to eat,’ compounded with the word स्व or समान. In Vedic literature अष्टु is replaced by चस्तु, (II. 4. 39); so we have, स + चस्तु + कित्वु = स + चस्तु + कित्वु = स + ऋ + ऋ + ऋ + ऋ (VIII. 2. 26) = स + ऋ + ऋ + ऋ + न्द्र (VIII. 2. 40).

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

Similarly the word वच्चास्तु, which is the Imperative (loṭ) 2nd per. dual of the root वस्तु, and is thus evolved. This root belongs to the Juhutyādi class, and therefore, there is reduplication. Thus भस्तु + तास्तु = भस्तु + भस्तु + तास्तु = भ + भस्तु + तास्तु = भ + ऋ + ऋ + ऋ + तास्तु (VII. 4. 100) = व + ऋ + ऋ + ऋ + तास्तु (VIII. 2. 26) = व + ऋ + ऋ + ऋ + धाम्यु (VIII. 2. 40) = व + ऋ + ऋ + धाम्यु। Here the change of मू into ऋ is by the application of VIII. 4. 53, which is a jaś rule, and therefore, the zero is not sthānīvat.
10. चारूविषय: ‘a rule requiring the substitution of the letters of चरू pratyahāra instead of other consonants.’ In the application of this rule, also the substitute that replaces a vowel is not sthānivat.

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

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

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

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

द्विघचचनेचिच ॥ ५५ ॥ पदाचिच ॥ द्विघचचने, अचि, (स्थानिवत्, आदेशः, अचः) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ द्विघचचनेचनोऽसिच व्याजचेच: स्थानिवचत्वि द्विघचचन एव कर्मचेच: ॥

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

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

(a). Elision of घा. Let us form the 2nd person perfect tense of the root न 'to drink.' The termination of 2nd person perfect is भनुस्स. This is, therefore, a termination beginning with a vowel, and it causes the reduplication of the root. The conditions of the present sūtra all exist in this. Thus we have न + भन्नुस्स = न + न + भन्नुस्स (VI. 4, 64). Here the घा is elided by VI. 4. 64. which teaches that 'the घा of the root is elided before ardha-dhātuka affixes beginning with a vowel and which are क्रित्त or क्रित्त and before हूः.' The affix भन्नुस्स is such an affix (I. 2. 5, III. 4. 115).

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

(b). The elision of the penultimate. Let us form the same tense of हूः 'to kill.' हूः + भन्नुस्स = हूः + हूः + भन्नुस्स (VI. 4. 98).

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

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

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

(e). The fifth case is the substitution of अज्ञ एव. Let us form 1st person singular of the perfect of नी 'to lead': नी + गान्त्र = नी + गान्त्र = नागान्त्र + गान्त्र. The ह is vridhhdied before the termination च of the perfect (VII. 2. 115), and then changed into चान्त्र by the general rule of sandhi (VI. 1. 78). Now the च of the perfect causes reduplication, and it is an affix which begins with a vowel. It satisfies the conditions of this शृंगार. Therefore the चान्त्र which was a substitute for ह, being a vowel substitute, becomes sthāniyat to ह in form. In reduplicating the word नागान्त्र, we reduplicate as if it were still ह. Thus we have the form नन्त्र and not नन्त्र. Similarly नन्त्र, नन्त्र, and नन्त्र.

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

Why do we say "which causes reduplication?" Without these words the सूत्रa would have stood thus:—"Before an affix having an initial vowel, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel is like the original vowel, for the purposes of reduplication." In that case we could not get the form देवुपति, 3rd per. sing, desiderative present tense of देवु 'to shine, to play.' This form is thus evolved:—हित + सनु (III. 1. 7) = हित + 5 + सनु (VI. 4. 19) = देवु + 5 + सनु (VI. 1. 77). Here, the change of ह into ब is caused by 5 (tech. कर्त्त), which begins with a vowel; is this ब to be regarded as sthānivat to ह? No, because 5 does not cause reduplication, it is 5 which causes reduplication. Therefore the equation is:—बु + सनु = बुपति (VI. 1. 9) = देवुपति. If ब could be regarded like ह, then the form would have been देवुपति.

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

**सत्सिंहः प्रधा: ॥ ६० ॥ पद्मतिः ॥ अद्वैतन्नू, च्याप: ॥

कृषि: ॥ अद्वैतन्मिकम्मुननुगाराम्मुलङ्कितानां नीलविवानीक्षयनर्तन्तेऽपि: शालैः

बृहत्याख्याऑऽन्तः कल्याणि च तत्त्वमां श्च तत्त्वमां भवति॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thus in चापः+प्रपदुक्+तिः-ति the phrase 'he eats.' Here the vikarana ग्रप् has been elided by using the word luk (II. 4. 72). Similarly in यूषम 'he invokes,' the vikarana ग्रप् is elided by the word slu (II. 4. 75), so in वरणा: 'a city in the vicinity of weeds called varanā,' Here the Taddhita affix indicating vicinity has been elided by the word lup, (IV. 2, 82),

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

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

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

The word लक्षण means that by which a thing is recognised. The word प्रस्तवलक्षण, therefore, means the effect by which an affix could be recognised. The orthographical changes, like the following, are not however pratyaya-lakṣaṇa. In forming the genitive singular of रेख ‘wealth,’ we have रेख + श्रु = रेख; here, the change of रेख into ब्राह्मण by the rules of sandhi, though caused by the affix श्रु; is not such an effect, which the affix causes, by virtue of being an affix, but it is an effect caused by the accidental fact, that the affix begins with a vowel, and thus gives scope to the euphonic rule VI. 1. 78. Therefore, when in forming the genitive compound of राख + कुल, we elide the case-affix श्रु, we get the form रैकुलि. Here the elided affix will not cause the peculiar orthographic change mentioned above, which is dependent upon its letters, and not upon the affix as such.

न लक्षणम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदार्थिः ॥ न, लक्षणाः, अक्षरः, (प्रास्तवलक्षणम्) ॥

वृत्ति: || लक्षण तथा श्रु प्रस्तवे श्रु तथस्य प्रस्तवलक्षणां कार्यं न भवति ॥
63. Of the base (anga), whose affix has been elided by the use of any of the three words containing झ, the operations dependent on it do not take place, regarding such base.

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

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

Thus the word गन्धः is the plural of the word गन्धेः. The word गन्धेः is formed by adding the affix झः to गन्धेः (IV. i. 105); the force of the indicator झ being to cause the vriddhi of the first vowel of the word (VII. 2. 117). But in forming the plural of गन्धेः, rule II. 4. 64 presents itself, which declares that there is झुक of the affix झः when the word takes the plural. Here the affix झः is elided by the word झुक, which means not only the elision of the झ of गन्धेः but also the shortening of झः into झ, that is, the affix being elided, it vanishes altogether, leaving no trace behind, in the shape of the vriddhing of the first vowel, which the affix was competent to cause.

Similarly झः is the 3rd per. dual present tense of झः ‘to clean.’ It belongs to Adādi class in which the vikaraṇa झः is elided by ‘झुक’ (II. 4. 72); and hence there is no vriddhi substitution, which would have taken place by VII. 2. 114, (the ik of the base झः is vriddhi before verbal affixes).

Similarly झः: is the 3rd per. dual present tense of झः ‘they two sacrifice’; here the vikaraṇa झः has been elided by using the word ‘झु’ (II. 4. 75, let झु be substituted in the room of झ after the verbs हूः &c). The effect of this elision is, that there is no guṇa substitution of the vowel of the base, which झः was competent to cause.

When an affix is elided in any other way than by the enunciation of the three terms containing झ, it is competent to cause its proper effect. Thus झः+एँचः+बकः+ते=कारि+बकः+ते=कारः+बकः+ते=कारःते. Here the elision of the affix निचः is by ‘लोपः’ (VI. 4. 51) and hence though the affix vanishes, its effect remains. Why do we say ‘in respect of an Anga or inflective base?’ Observe पञः ‘five,’ सञः ‘seven,’ पञः ‘milk,’ सञः ‘sāma veda.’ Here in the word pañcha, the plural case-affix is elided by VII. 1. 22
(after the words called sāṭ, the जस्त and गस्त are elided by ‘luk’). Here the affix is elided by enunciating the word ‘luk,’ the result is, that the affix cannot produce any change which it would otherwise have caused, in the ange or inflective base; such as lengthening, as in rājan, ‘a king,’ I. p. rājānaḥ ‘kings.” But though it is inoperative as regards the ange, the elided affix is not altogether inactive. It retains the virtue of raising the base to the dignity of a pada. Thus:—पच्छु + जस्त = पच्छु + 0, (luk VII. 1. 22). The word pañcāna is now a pada, and as such, it drops its final न.

अच्छाद्यादिनी दिनी ॥ ६४ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ अद्वितीयादि, दिनी ॥

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

This sūtra defines दि. It is that portion of a word which is included between the last letter and the nearest vowel. Thus in the word चाराचारित the portion हृ is दि; so also in सामसूच the portion उ०. The word दि occurs in sūtra III. 4. 79.

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

अद्वितीयादी उपख्या ॥ ६५ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ अद्वितीयादि, पूर्वेऽ, उपख्या ॥

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

This defines उपख्या or penultimate. Thus in the words पुष्क, मिन्त, ब्यन, इत्र the letters अ, इ, ओ, and क् are उपख्या.

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

तस्मिनिन्दिने पूर्वेऽस्य ॥ ६६ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ तस्मिने, हृति, निर्देशेनि, पूर्वेऽस्य ॥

66. When a term is exhibited in the seventh case in these sūtras, the operation directed, is to be understood as affecting the state of what immediately precedes that which the term denotes. This is a declaratory or interpreting sūtra. When in a sūtra, a word is used in the locative case, the operation ordained by that sūtra is to be per-
formed on the word preceding it. Thus in the sūtra इको वचनि (VI. 1. 77) the word चति is in the locative case, which sūtra, therefore, means that इ, उ, ऊ ल followed by a vowel (च्र) are changed into र, र, ल, (च्र). The literal translation of the sūtra being:—‘Of इकिं there is वचनि in चति.’ The force of ‘िू’ or the locative case being to induce changes in the letter preceding the vowel. Thus वचि + उत्क्रमू = शुड्युक्रमू; so महिस्स, पच्छश्यनस्.

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

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

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

Thus sūtra VIII. 4. 61 declares that ‘after उस, of sthā and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior.’ Thus उस् + ध्यानम्. Here the word उस् is exhibited in the original sūtra in the ablative case, and by the present sūtra it means that a dental letter द्व must be substituted in the place of sthāna, and by I. 1. 54 ante, this dental takes the place of द्व; we have उस् + ध्यानम् = उस्-ध्यानम्. Similarly in sūtra तिश्वोत्तिनिः (VIII.2. 18, ‘a word ending in a conjunctural affix, when following after a word ending in a non-conjunctural affix, becomes anudatta.’) Here the word ‘atiñḥ’ is exhibited in the ablative case, therefore, the operation directed by this aphorism, namely, the substitution of anudatta accent, must take place in the word that follows. Thus श्रोति प्रवचित; but not so in पच्छश्यनस्.

वसं रूपं शब्दस्याश्चद्वस्तन्त्र || 68 || पदानि || सक्ष, रूपस्, शब्द, आशद्वस्तन्त्र ||

सूति: || शाश्वन रूपं शब्दस्य मात्रं भोधंश्चद्वाच्यं नवति न बाद्रीः । शब्दस्तं वर्ज्ये-भिस्ता ||

वाणिकम् || * चित्रत्रिशृङ्गाया उत्ताध्यपनम् * ||
Svam-rupa rule.

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

This is a rule of interpretation. The word ध्व which means ‘one’s own’ denotes ‘the meaning,’ and the word सूप denotes ‘the individual form of a word.’ The sense of the sūtra is that a word denotes both things expressed by those two words सूप and सूप, vis., its meaning, and its form. Thus a rule applicable to भास्य will be applicable to the word composed of ध्व, गु, गु, ध्व and not to the words synonymous with agni, such as, पाकक, त्वत्तन; &c.

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

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

Thus the sūtra अग्नेषू (IV. 2. 33) declares:—“that the affix ‘धहक’ comes after the word ‘agni’.” Thus ध्विनि + ध्वू = ध्वनेयेन “belonging to agni,” as in the following sentence ध्वनेयमात्रापाले निषेधते. Here the word ध्विनि indicates the individual word-form ध्विनि and not its synonyms. Similarly sūtra IV. 2. 19 declares:—‘let there be optionally ध्वू after उष्णिवर्.’ As उष्णिवर्तकम् (VII. 3. 50 and 51) or उष्णिविवर्तकम्. The rule applies to the word-form ‘udaśvita’ meaning ‘curd-milk’ and not to तूक, चरित, कालेष, हर्षाभ्यात and गधित, which are synonyms.

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

Thus चालकवर्थ (I. 1. 20) and तर्जनी ध्व: (I. 1. 22). Here the words ‘ध्व’ and ‘ध्व’ denote the words connoted by those terms and not to their word-form. There are, however, some sūtras in Pāṇini which are ap-
parently exceptions to this rule. These exceptions have been arranged under four heads, technically called सितु, नितु, जितु, and भिन्नम्. When there is a rule about a word, it may mean that very word-form, or words representing species falling under that word, or words which are synonymous with it. Thus rule II. 4. 12 declares:—"इत्य 'tree', गुण 'deer', ग्राम 'grass', &c., may optionally be compounded as dvandva." Here the word ग्राम stands as a generic name for the species falling under it, and does not represent the word-form, ग्राम. Thus we have dvandva-compound of ग्राम + न्यमोध, as ग्रामन्यमोध or ग्रामन्यमोधः. Such sūtras are called विलुतः.

Then in sūtra III. 4. 40, we have an example of विनिततः. That sūtra means "the word पूष 'to feed' takes the affix आपूलः (आपूल) when compounded with the word ग्राम." Here the word ग्राम means both the word-form ग्राम, as well as the synonyms of ग्राम and the species of ग्राम. Thus ग्राम and ग्राम 'wealth' are synonyms; while ग्राम 'wealth' and ग्राम 'cow' are genus and species. Thus ग्राम + पूष + आपूलः = ग्रामापूलः. Similarly रोपमः, तन्नोप्पमः, गोपः, अग्रोपपः.
Such sūtras are called विलुतः.

Then in sūtra II. 4. 23, we have an example of विनिततः. "A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word समा 'court' is neuter, provided that it is preceded by the word राजा, or by a word denoting a non-human being." Here the synonyms only of the word राजा are taken, and neither the word-form राजा, nor the special instances falling under it. Thus इन 'king'+ वारमा=हनस्मय 'king's assembly', इतरमा+समा=हनस्मय 'king's assembly.' But not राजस्मयः but राजस्मयः. Nor can we take particular kings, such as चन्द्रगुण or पृथ्विनितम. In their case we must have पृथ्विनितम, चन्द्रगुणस्मयः.

Then in sūtra IV. 4. 35, we have an example of विनिततः. The sūtra means "the words यमक 'bird', मस्त्य 'fish', गुण 'deer,' take the affix टक्क, when the meaning is the killer thereof." Here the words यमक &c. denote both the word-forms यमक &c. as well as the species denoted by those terms, but not their synonyms. Thus पक्षि+टक्का=पक्षिक: 'a bird-killer,' मालिकः 'a fish-caatcher.' शकुषि+टक्का=शकुषिकः 'a vulture-killer.' But we cannot take the synonyms of 'पक्षि,' &c. except in the case of 'मस्त्य,' when we may take the word 'मीन.' As मालिकः अधि मालिकः 'a fish-killer.'

अष्टमिस्वयमाचार्यः: || ६९ || पदार्थः || अण्य, उदितः, सवर्णस्य, च, अस्तव्यः (स्त्रस्तुपः) ||

हनितः: || चरण गुरुदाय उदित चर्यायां भास्कर भयानी स्वर्ण च कपस्व प्रस्थवं ध्रुविवक्तां ||

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

The pratyāhāra अर्ध in thus sūtra includes all the vowels and liquids. This is the only instance where अर्ध pratyāhāra refers to the second श्र of अर्ध. The letters included in अर्ध, and the letters having an indicatory ल, refer to, and include their homogeneous letters also. Thus कु refers to all the five gutturals क, ख, ग, घ, ङ, similarly खु, खू, खृ, and ख, as in sūtra I. 3. 8. Similarly च includes short, long and protracted च. The words ‘its own form’ are understood in this sūtra, being drawn from the previous sūtra. Thus sūtra चाणक्य: (VI. 1. 87), ‘when a vowel comes after च, Gupta is the single substitute for both.’ Here though the rule mentions only short च, we take the long च also. Thus not only नर + इण्डां: = नरेण्ड्र:; but नहर + इण्डां = नरेण्ड्र:। So also in sūtra अन्वय वचनी (VII. 4. 32), ‘there is long ह in the room of च when the affix ‘chvi’ (V. 4. 50) follows.’ Here long च च is also included; thus कुण्डा+करोति = कुण्डोकरोति, and खुर्दा+करोति = खुर्दोकरोति। So also in sūtra वस्त्रेश्वर (VI. 4. 148). ‘When long ह follows, there is elision of the ह or च of the base,’ the rule applies to the bases ending in long ह and च also.

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

तपरस्तल्कालस्य || ७० || पद्यिनि || तपरः; तत्कालस्य, ( स्वं रूपस्य ) ||

श्रिति: || तपरी वत्तस्तल्कालस्यानानावत्तस्यानावत्तस्य गुणान्तरस्यकालस्य सभयान्त्रस्य माहको यति स्वस्य च रूपस्य ||

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

By the previous sūtra it was declared that a vowel standing by itself included all the letters of its class. Thus च includes चा; and ह, ह; &c. This sūtra lays down the rule by which the very form of the letter is taken and not all the letters of its class. This is done by placing a र either after or before the letter. Thus रत्र means the very letter र and not all its homogeneous letters. Similarly उत्र means short उ only and not long or protracted उ। We had to refer to this sūtra, in our very first sūtra, in explaining the term व्रात्रः।
The sūtra consists of two words: 

करणः and कस्तकालस्य. Taparaṇa means that which has a त्र after it or that which is after त्र. Tat-kāla means having the same time. According to time the vowels are divided into short, long and protracted. Short vowels have one measure, long vowels two, and protracted vowels three. A consonant lasts half the time of a short vowel. Therefore a letter preceded or followed by त्र, refers to its own form as well as to those only of its homogeneous letters which have the same time. Thus the letter अत्र will include the udāṭta, anudāṭta, svarita (both nasalised and non-nasalised) अ and not the long and protracted forms.

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

Thus in the sūtra VII. 1. 9 अत्रवेषित्वेषु. ‘After words ending in अत्र (i.e. short अत्र), एस् takes the place of निष्र.’ Thus एवे. But in अत्र which ends in long अत्र and whose prosodical time is different from अत्र, this rule will not apply, and we have एवे:

आदिरत्येन सहिता। ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि: अस्त्रेयेन, वहः, इति, (अत्र रूपम्) ॥

इति: आदिरत्येवनेवस्तः । सह गुहायतुस्तम्यवस्तातानां यथानां माहको भवति। स्वस्य च रूपस्य ॥

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

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

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

येन विषिष्टद्वस्य। ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि। येन, विषिष्ट: यदृ-अन्तयः, (अत्र रूपम्) ॥

इति: येन विषिष्टपदो विषिष्टाधिकते सतस्वस्यालस्तस्य लघुश्वस्य माहको भवति। स्वस्य च रूपस्य ॥
72. An injunction which is made with regard to a particular attribute, applies to words having that attribute at their end as well as to that attribute itself.

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

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

Thus the sūtra एर्वृ (III. 3. 56) 'after इ there is अन्त्र' declares that the affix ach would come not only after इ, but after any expression that ends in इ. Thus इ + अन्त्र = अन्यः; चि + अन्त्र = चायः।

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

Similarly, in rules of affixes. Thus sūtra IV. r. 99 declares "that the words नन्द &c., take the affix वकः." Thus व + वकः = नवायनः। But we cannot apply the affix phak to the word चुनमन, the tadanta-vidhi not being applicable here. The descendant of चुनमन will be called चोचनान्ध and not as above.

The above vārtika is however qualified by the following:—

Vart:—The above vārtika does not apply to words formed by affixes
that have an indicatory व्र (व्र, व्र., व्र), short or long, or where a rule is propounded with regard to letters. Thus the affix kta(vat (I. 1. 26) has an indicatory व्र, and we have क्रतवात. A rule which will apply to krita(vat will apply also to the word which ends in krita(vat. Thus the feminine of krita(vat is क्रतवाती (IV. 1. 6), the feminine of sukrita(vat will be sukrita(vat.

Similarly rule IV. 1. 95 व्रत हस्य says "after व्र there is the affix हस्य." This is a rule relating to pratayayas, but as it is propounded by mere letters, the rule of tadanta-vidhi will apply here. Thus व्रत + हस्य = हस्यि, 'the son of Daksha.'

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

Thus sūtra VI. 4. 77, achi śnu dhātu bhṛuvām yvor iyaṁ uvaṇāu, means "iyaṁ and uvaṇā are the substitutes of what ends with the pratayaya śnu and what ends in a verbal root in व्र or व्र, whether long or short, and of the intransitive base bhṛu, when an affix beginning with a vowel follows." Here the word 'achi' is exhibited in the seventh case, which literally means "when a vowel follows;" but by virtue of the present vārtika it means, 'when an affix beginning with a vowel follows,' as. व्रतः, व्रतः: *

व्रतियसाचासादिस्तदृ ब्रुहस्य ॥ ५३ ॥ पदाचिनि ॥ व्रतिः, यस्य, अधासू, आदिः, तदृ, ब्रुहस्य ॥

इसिः: ॥ अचासायेव यस्य ब्रतिसंवर्तक आहिन्दासात्मस्तव्रकरण ब्रुहस्तवर्तेन भवति: ॥

वार्तकम् ॥ निर्मातार्थसात्सत्वयो भवतीति वक्ष्याम्* ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वा नामेयस्य ब्रुह बंजरा वक्ष्याम्: ॥ *

वार्तिकम् ॥ जिस्वास्यहरिवकास्य बर्तिः ॥ *

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

This defines the word ब्रुहस्य. The sūtra consists of five words:—ब्रिडि: 'the vriddhi vowel;' यस्य 'whose,' अचासू 'among the vowels,' आदिः: 'is first;' तदृ 'that;' ब्रुहस्य 'is called vriddham.'

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

Why do we say “the first?” Because a word like सनासंस्यन, which is not a vṛddha word, will not admit of the affix छ्र. Its corresponding derivative will be सनासंस्यनः।

Vart:—A proper noun, though not coming under the above definition, may yet be regarded optionally as a vṛddham. Thus रत्न + छ्र = रत्नवसीया, or we may have रत्नवसीया.

Vart:—A compound ending in a Gotra word, is regarded for the purposes of the addition of this affix, as if it was not compounded. Thus खूटिकिदित्वा is a Gotra word and also vṛddham. Its compound पृत्तिकिदित्वा will be regarded as a vṛddham too, for the addition of the affix. As पृत्तिकिदित्वा + छ्र = पृत्तिकिदित्वा: ‘the students of Gṛhitaraṇḍhi.’ So also औविनमयानविलिया; इद्राम्भाया: इद्राम्भ्यपिया: &c.

Vart:—Exception must be made in the case of जिन्द्वाकास्य and हरितकास्य। They do not take छ्र. Thus जिन्द्वाकास्या and हरितकास्या:।

स्यद्व्यलोकन्त्र च || ४५ || पद्यालि || स्यद्व्य-आद्वलन्त्र, च ||

• इन्स: || स्यवालीन्त्र गोविन्दपाणि र्व्यथंसानानि भवन्ति॥

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

The स्यद्व्य &c. have been given in the list of sarvanāmas. See sūtra 27. These words are also called vṛddham. Thus लूत + छ्र = तूव्रयु, एतस्टेयु, महेश्वरयु, वस्यस्ययु, वास्यायनि; माधयाणि: &c.

एट्ट प्राची देशे || ५५ || पद्यालि || एट्ट, प्राचास्स, देशे, (यथा-चामाद्वि:; भूद्र्मु: ) ||

इन्स: || एट्ट वस्याचामास्सयभाविश्वानियानि युद्ध संजे भवन्ति॥

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

As गोवर्द्ध is a country of the east, it is a vṛddham word and we have गोवर्द्ध + छ्र = गोवर्द्धन्त्र; similarly एण्वोवनार्यु, भोजकद्वीपः.
The word prāk in the sūtra has been differently interpreted. The Grammarian Kuṭipin takes the word prāk as an epithet qualifying the word āchārya, 'professor' understood. In that case the sūtra will be thus translated:—'In the opinion of the Eastern (or ancient) professors, a word that has the letters e and o as the first among its vowels, and is the name of a country, is called vṛiddham.' Under this interpretation, this will be an optional rule only, giving the opinion of eastern or ancient grammarians.

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

Why do we say 'having the letters ṣ and ṭo'? If a simple vowel is first among the vowels, of a word, that word will not be called vṛiddham: and as such will not take the affix ḷ; as क्राहिष्ठऽ, कान्यदक्षऽ.

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

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

1. All affixes after the verb gān ‘to study’ and the verb kut ‘to be crooked,’ and the rest, are as if they had an indicatory न (nit), except those affixes which have an indicatory न (nit) or न (nit).

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

The root gāṅ is substituted for the verb ह्य in certain tenses, in which the verb ह्य is defective (II, 4. 49). The कुटादि verbs are roots belonging to the Tūḍādi class of verbs, and they are forty roots beginning with खु ‘to be crooked’ and ending with कु ‘to groan.’

After these roots all affixes are treated as if they were marked with न, with the exception of those affixes which are नित or नित.

Thus from खु we have in the aorist the form कुठनेित; which is thus evolved. खु + ख + न + चिच्छ + त = खु + ना + च + न (II, 4. 50.) = खु + ना + च (VI, 4. 66) = कुठनेिेि ‘he studied,’ खुनेिेिाि ‘they two studied’; खुनेिेि ‘they studied.’ Here by VI, 4. 66, the ना is changed into ने before the affix चिच्छ, which is regarded as नित.

Similarly, after the verbs कु ‘&c., all affixes are treated as नित, with the exceptions already mentioned.

Thus कु + चिच्छ (III, 1, 133) = कु + च + चिच्छ (VII, 2, 35) = कुठनेि, nominative singular कुठनेिा ‘who acts crookedly.’ Here the affix चिच्छ being, regarded as नित does not cause the guṇa substitution of the न of कु, by I, 1, 15.

Similarly with the affixes तुम्ब and तण्य, we have कुटितुम्ब and कुटितण्य. So on with all the forty roots of कुटादि class: e.g. रक्षणििा, रक्षणितुम्ब, रक्षणितण्य.
But the affixes marked with तः or ठाः will not be so treated. Thus ग्रुष्य by which causatives are formed, is such an affix; e.g. उःकृद + ग्रुष्य + भ्रष्ट + किष्ट = उःकृदभ्रष्ट + ठाः + श्र + ति = उःकृदभ्रष्टश्रति. Here there is गुणा of the ठ of कृद. So also before the affix भुत of the perfect tense, we have भणूतोक्त, and before the affix भुर्स्त we have भणूतोटकः।

वर्णिता:—The root कत्रु, 'to deceive,' is also treated like कुत्त्वि verbs, except before the affix अस्तु. As विथुष्मि 'he shall deceive,' विथिष्मु 'for the purpose of deceiving' विथिष्मुत्वम् &c. Here there is सम्प्रसारणा before the नित terminations ता, ठुस् and लघम् and the श of कत्रु is changed into ः by rule VI. 1. 16.

But the affix अस्तु is not नित and consequently there is no सम्प्रसारणा before it. Thus वर्णिता: 'an imp.'

विज द्रु || 2 || पदानि विजः, द्रु, (दितु) ||

ृष्टि: || भोजवि व्रतनपनि: भस्त्तार्क इतविन्: प्रवयो विरजस्वति ||

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

The root विज does not strengthen its vowel before the affixes that take the intermediate ः, because those terminations are treated like हित्र affixes. The root विज belongs to the तुत्त्वि class. Thus विद्रित्वा 'he will be agitated,' विद्रित्तुस् 'for the purpose of being agitated,' विद्रित्तुग्वम् 'ought to be agitated.'

But those affixes, which are not preceded by the augment द्रु, are not like हित्र, and they consequently produce their own proper action, such as गुण:ation &c. As विज + विज + लघु = उःजनस्, उःजनीस्य 'that which ought to be agitated.'

विभवेश्वरिः || 3 || पदानि || विमापि, उःश्रोः || (दितु, द्रु) ||

ृष्टि: || क्तुः स्त्रायाः स्त्रायायर इतविन्: प्रवयो विभवे विद्रित्तवति ||

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

Thus before the इतविन् termination रता of the future, we may have either मेःश्वनिमित्वा or मेःश्वनिमित्वा ‘he will cover.’

The equation of the form is:— म + ठुः + ठ + ता = म + ठुः + ठा (VI. 4. 77) = मेःश्वनिमित्वा. When the affix is not regarded as हित्र, it produces गुणा, and we have the second form मेःश्वनिमित्वा।

Of course there is no option allowed before those affixes which do not take the augment द्रु, and before those terminations, consequently, we have only one form: as मेः + लघु = मेः + अनव = मेःश्वनस्, ‘covering,’ मेःश्वनन्यस्य 'which ought to be covered.'
4. A Sārvadhatu (III. 4. 113) affix not having an indicatory कृ is like नित.

The terminations which are added to roots are either Sārvadhatu or ardhadhatu. The Sārvadhatu terminations are all those that are marked with a र and also the tense terminations called लिङ्क, the latter are the following:

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<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
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<tr>
<td>3rd Pers.</td>
<td>लिङ्क</td>
<td>तस्स</td>
<td>ज्ञिङ्क</td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd Pers.</td>
<td>सिङ्क</td>
<td>वस्स</td>
<td>य</td>
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<tr>
<td>1st Pers.</td>
<td>सिङ्क</td>
<td>वस्स</td>
<td>मस्स</td>
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<tr>
<td>3rd Pers.</td>
<td>त</td>
<td>ब्रायास्स</td>
<td>म</td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd Pers.</td>
<td>यास्स</td>
<td>ब्रायास्स</td>
<td>ध्यम्स</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Pers.</td>
<td>इह</td>
<td>बह्दि</td>
<td>महिह्दि</td>
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Except the terminations marked with र such as ति, चि and नि, &c., all the other Sārvadhatu terminations are हिङ्क. The हिङ्क terminations like शर, शानच, &c., are also Sārvadhatu terminations. These affixes are also हिङ्क, unless they have र as an indicatory, as शर. Thus the affix तस्स, being an अणिव Sārvadhatu affix, is a हिङ्क, and before it the vowel is not gunated e.g. कुह्लि: ‘they two do.’ The equation is:—क्रृ + र + तस्स (the र is added by Rule III. r. 79) = क्रृ + र + तस्स (VI. 4. 110) = कृृह + तस्स = कुह्लि: Similarly कुष्ठिवि ‘they do.’

Here the र of क्रृ is changed into र and we have कृृह, by virtue of rule VI. 4. 110, which declares that the र of the verb क्रृ, is changed into र before those Sārvadhatu affixes which are हिङ्क or लिङ्क. Here तस्स is a Sārvadhatu हिङ्क affix by the present rule, and hence the change.

These four sūtras describe the हिङ्क terminations.

Why do we say ‘a Sārvadhatu affix’? Because an ardhadhatu affix, though not being marked with an indicatory कृ will not be a हिङ्क. As क्रृि ‘doer,’ क्रृिि ‘to do,’ क्रृििि ‘duty.’

Why do we say ‘not having an indicatory कृ’? If a Sārvadhatu affix has an indicatory कृ it will not be नित. As कृ + र + लिङ्क = क्रृििि ‘he does’ क्रृििि ‘thou dost,’ क्रृििि ‘I do.’
5. The affixes of Lit (Perfect Tense) not coming after a conjunct consonant, are as if they had an indicatory क्ष (kit).

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

Thus from लिट ‘to tear’ the Reduplicated non-पित second person perfect is लिटिटु ‘thou hast torn.’ लिटिटु: ‘They have torn.’

Similarly लिटिटु ‘thou hast divided’; लिटिटु: ‘you divided’; लिटिटु: and लिटिटु:.

This rule will not apply if the root ends in a conjunct consonant. Thus लित ‘to fall down’ forms its second person Perfect:—सिस्थू + वितर्स = सिस्तर्स। Here the affix is not treated as कित; for had it been so treated, it would have caused the elision of the penultimate nasal (anusvāra) of लित by Rule VI. 4. 24. Similarly from लि we have दार्स.

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

इन्द्रध्वनि: च || ५२ || पदार्थ || इन्द्रिय-अतिरिक्ताय, च, (लिट लिटु) ||

इन्द्रिति: || इन्द्रियहस्तीत्वात् परे लित प्रत्ययः कित्रिति ||

बालिकाः || अभिज्ञायितविधिमेछतिमिति वस्त्रिति ||

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

After these two roots the terminations of the Perfect are कित.
These roots have been especially mentioned, because the root इन्द्रिय ending in a compound consonant will not be governed by sūtra 5; and the root लित is mentioned because all the terminations of the Perfect are कित after लित, not excepting the लित terminations. Thus the verbs समाई and है are illustrations of Perfect Tense from the root इन्द्रिय as in the following examples:—सामाईव (Rig Veda VI. 16. 15), and पुनः हैैव बल्केष्याः, (Rig Veda VI. 16. 14). Here the nasal of the root is dropped by regarding the affix as कित. Similarly from the root लित we have दार्स, बालिकाः.

Var. :—This rule should be applied also to the verbs लित ‘to loosen,’ लित ‘to fasten,’ लित ‘to injure’ and लित ‘to embrace.’ As लित ‘thou hast
loosened,' भंग + मतुय = भंग + मतुस्. (The मू is elided by the rule already mentioned in the last सूत्र, viz. VI. 4. 24).

= भंग + भंग + मतुस् = भंगतः: (VI. 4. 120). Similarly भंगतः; इन्दुः, परिष्वज्ञेः, परिष्वज्ञाते.

कः / त / पदान्ति / कुञ्ज-सुद-सुध
कुञ्ज-क्षिता-चद-वसः / कुञ्ज (कित्)

विन्ति: / युध युध कुञ्ज क्षित वर वस् इत्येत्ये: परः तत्त्वार्थसिद्धक्रियातीति.

7. The affix ktvā is kit after mrid, 'to be gracious,' mrid 'to squeeze,' gudh 'to wrap up,' kush 'to tear,' klis 'to suffer,' vad 'to speak' and vas 'to dwell.'

After these seven verbs, the gerundial ktvā is kit. It might be said, what was the necessity of this सूत्र? The affix ktvā is clearly a kit affix, as it is marked with the diacritical letter क, and it was useless to call it a kit affix after these verbs. The reason of this apparent repetition is this. Though ktvā is a kit affix generally; yet there is a later सूत्र in this chapter (I. 2. 18) which declares that the prefix स्त्रा is not कि, if it is preceded by the intermediate ह. Or in other words, if स्त्रा is added to those verbs, which are called स्त्री verbs, viz., that take an intermediate ह, it is not then kit. Thus the verb श्री 'to sleep' is स्त्री. Therefore श्री + ह + स्त्रा = श्री + ह + स्त्रा = शालिला.

Now it happens that all the seven verbs mentioned in the सूत्र are स्त्री verbs, and take an intermediate ह. The स्त्रा before these verbs would have lost its kitness by virtue of सूत्र 18; therefore arose the necessity of this सूत्र, to provide in anticipation an exception to that सूत्र, in favour of these verbs, where the affix ktvā is necessarily kit. Thus we have शुक्लिा 'being gracious,' शतिा 'having squeezed,' शुद्धिा 'having wrapped' कुष्ठा 'having torn,' क्षितिा 'having suffered,' शतिा 'having spoken,' शतिा 'having dwelt.' The व उ of वद्र and वस्त्र are changed into व by the rule of Samprāśa (VI. i. 15).

Moreover in the case of the verbs गुष्ण, कुष्ण and क्षीष्ट, सूत्र 26 would have made स्त्रा optionally kit; the present सूत्र makes it necessarily so.

8. The affixes ktvā and san (III. 1. 7) are kit, after rud 'to weep,' vid 'to know,' mush 'to steal,' grah 'to seize,' svap 'to sleep,' and prachchh 'to ask.'
After the above mentioned verbs the *ktvā* though taking an intermediate ınd, and the affix *san* are *kīṭa*. The affix *san* is employed in forming desiderative verbs. The ınd of *san* is ıdd, the real affix being ık. The root is reduplicated before this *san* affix. Thus ıdhātā ‘having cried,’ ıdhātita ‘he wishes to cry’; ıdhātā ‘having known,’ ıdhātita ‘he wishes to know’; ıdhātā (VI. 1. 16) ‘having taken,’ ıdhātita ‘he wishes to take’; ıdhātā ‘having stolen,’ ıdhātītita ‘he wishes to steal’; ıdhātā (VI. 1. 15) ‘having slept,’ ıdhātītita ‘he wishes to sleep,’ ıdhātā (VI. 1. 16) ‘having asked’ ıdhātītītita ‘he wishes to ask.’ The verb ıkā is changed into ıdū, ıdū into ıdū, ıdū into ıdū before *kit* affixes by samprasāraṇa (VI. 1. 16).

The *ktvā* and *san* would have been *optionally* ık after the verbs ık, ık, and ık by virtue of Rule 26 of this chapter, but this śūtra makes them *necessarily* so, after these three verbs. In the case of the verb ık, these affixes are ık by virtue of this śūtra only. In the case of the verbs ık and ık the affix śūtra is of course ık, because these two verbs are anit, that is, they do not take the intermediate ıdd; and therefore the śūtra being directly affixed to them, and rule 18 not applying, the indicatory ık would make it ık. In reference to these verbs, therefore, the present śūtra teaches something new, only with regard to the affix *san*, by making that also ık. The verb ık takes the intermediate ıdd when the affix *san* follows, by virtue of śūtra VII. 2. 75.

9. The affix *san* beginning with a letter of the Pratyāhāra *jhal* is like ık, after verbs ending in ık vowels.

In this śūtra there is the *amūrtī* of *san* only and not of śūtra. The śūtra literally translated means:—“After ık the *jhal*. The Pratyāhāra ık contains the four letters ık, ık, ık, ık. The Pratyāhāra ık contains all the consonants, except the nasals and the liquids. After the verbs ending in ık the desiderative suffix śūtra is ık, when it is śūtra, that is to say when the affix śūtra does not take the intermediate ıdd. The affix śūtra is an affix (which begins with ık a letter of the śūtra class. But if the intermediate ık is added before it, it is no longer a śūtra affix, and in that case it is not ık. Thus from ık ‘to conquer,’ which is a verb ending in ık, we have śūtra ‘he wishes to conquer,’ ık ‘to mix’ śūtra; so also ık ‘to do,’ śūtra, ık ‘to cross’ śūtra, ık ‘to be’ śūtra.

If however, verbs ending in ık or ık or ık or ık, take an intermediate ık, they likewise take guṇa. As:—*śīva* ‘to smile’ takes guṇa, and makes its desiderative śīvāyītīt.
The झलति सन्त्र is not kit after verbs ending in any other letter than the ह्र. As विनासलि (from पा) 'he wishes to drink.' So from स्या we have विनासलि.

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

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

Thus from निर्द 'to pierce' we have विनिर्द्वति 'he wishes to break,' here the root निर्द contains the इक vowel ह्र; it ends in a consonant ह्र; the affix सन्त्र is directly added without taking an intermediate ह्र, and therefore it fulfils all the conditions of the sutra; and the vowel is not gunafed.
If the final consonant of the verb is not preceded by a vowel of the \( ik \) class, the affix सम् is not \( kit \) after such a verb. As बृहूः + सम् + हबे =विषयदः 'wishes to sacrifice.' Had the affix सम् been here a \( kit \) affix, there would have been samprasāraṇa by rule VI, 16 which declares that there is samprasāraṇa of the verbs वृहूः, सम्, and बृहूः &c., before \( kit \) affixes.

If the \( san \) takes the intermediate ह and is then no longer a फलादि हस्त it is not \( kit \); and causes गुणiation etcetera. As बृहूः + ह + सम्=विषयदः 'he desires to be.' Here there is गुणa of \( ri \).

Roots like दृष्ट्, हृष्ट् &c., are governed by this rule, though they end in conjunct consonants, for the word हृष्ट of the sūtra means जाति or class; thus दृष्ट्+सम्+मिस्त्रि =दृष्ट्+सम् (VI, 4-24, the \( m \) being elided by treating सम् as \( कित् \))=धीर्ष्टि or धीर्ष्टि (VII, 4. 56).

सिंधिक्षिपायात्मनेपदेष्ट \( \) ११ \( \) पदानि \( \) सिंधिक्षिपायात्मनेपदेष्ट \( \) (हलन्तात् हक्क भल्लः) \( \)

वृत्ति: \( \) इत्यतदिच्यापायात्मनेपदेष्ट: परि इत्यतदिच्यात्मनेपदेष्ट परत: कितो भवत: \( \)

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

The sūtra consists of two words सिंधिक्षिपाय and आत्मनेपदेष्ट, literally meaning 'the affixes \( lin \) and \( sic \) in the Atmanepada.' The other phrases, given in the above text must be supplied from the previous sūtras, to complete the sense. The \( anuvṛtti \) of the word सम्, that began with सुतra 8, does not extend further. As:—सिंधि 'may he break' and सिंधिक् 'may he know,' चक्षि 'he broke', धृष्टि 'he knew.'

Thus the root निर्द् ends with a simple consonant, is preceded by ह a letter of '\( ik \) pratyāhāra; after this root the jhalādi affix सीठ of Benedictive in the Atmanepada is treated like कित्; therefore there is no गुणa substitution of the vowel of the root before this affix. निर्द् + सीठ =निर्द्धीठ. Similarly in the Aorist we have \( श्रिंशि =\) बृहूः + सीठ + सीठ, the स of the Aorist being elided by VIII, 2, 26. So also बृहूः + सीठ = बृहूः + सीठ (VIII, 2, 37) = पुर्स्वीठ.

If the final consonant is not preceded by an \( ik \) vowel, this rule will not apply. Thus Ben. बृहूः + सीठ = बृहूः + सीठ (VIII, 2, 36) = बृहूः + सीठ (VIII, 2, 41) = पुर्स्वीठ (VIII, 3, 58). Similarly its Aorist is बृहूः. Had the affixes सीठ and न been \( kit \), they would have caused samprasāraṇa of ब by VI, 1, 16.
This rule will not apply, if the Benedicive and Aorist affixes are Parasmaipadi. Thus the Aorist of वृष्ण् 'to let off,' is व + वृष्ण् + सीत = व + ष + ष + ष + सीत (VI. 1. 58) = ब्रज = सीत (VI. 1. 77) = ब्रजसिद्ध (VII. 2. 1). Similarly from ह्रष्ण we have Aorist Parasmaipadi चक्रश्रीति. Had the Aorist been कित्, rule VI. 1. 58 (ब्रम् is the augment of the verbs वृष and ह्रष when an affix beginning with a jhal and not having an indicatory क follows), would not have applied.

This rule will also not apply, if the verb ends in a vowel. Thus of the verb तिं, we have Ben. चपलिड, Aor. चपलिट. Had the affixes been कित्, there would have been no गुण substitution of i into e.

The rule will not apply, if these affixes are not jhalādi, but take the augment हृ। Thus Ben. हृत+इष्ठत्=वर्षित, so also Aorist ब्रसिद्ध. Had they been कित्, there would have been no गुण substitution.

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

उद्द्वो ॥ १२ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ चो (किंविषाषो आत्मवर्तेद्यु भद्ध कित्)
कित् ॥ ब्रह्मवर्षाणानादानात् परी किंविषाषात्मवर्तेद्यु भलारी किती भवत् ॥

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

As from व ‘to do’ the benedictive is वसिद्ध ‘may he do.’ So also सिच्च, as वसित ‘he did.’ So also वसिद्ध and ब्रसिद्ध.

Of course this rule would not apply if these terminations take the intermediate हृ; as व + हृषिद्ध = वर्षिद्ध ‘may he choose,’ (Benedicive); व्र + हृषिद्ध = चवरिद्ध or चवरिद्ध ‘he chose or covered,’ the हृ being lengthened by VII. 2. 38.

चा गम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ चा, गम्, (किंविषाषो, आत्मवर्तेद्यु भद्ध कित्)
कित् ॥ गमंर्थानात् परी किंविषाषात्मवर्तेद्यु धलारी चा किती भवत् ॥

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

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

The result of its being kit is that the nasal is dropped in the Atmanepada, in forming the Aorist with सिच्च, and the Benedicive. Thus we have
the forms: संस्कृत्त or संस्कृत्त in the Benedictive; and समस्त or समस्त in the
sich Aorist. These forms are thus evolved:

सह + मम + सिद्ध = सह + म + सिद्ध (VI. 4. 37)=संस्कृत्त ‘may he combine.’
Here the nasal स of मम is elided by treating the affix सिद्ध as कित by Rule
VI. 4. 37. In the alternative we have संस्कृत्त.

So in the aorist सह + मम + सिद्ध + त = सम + यत + मम + त (VI. 4. 37) = समस्त.
The लिङ्ग being elided by VIII. 2. 27 (after a short inflective base, there is
elision of लिङ्ग, if a ज्ञाल follows). So when स of मम is elided by VI. 4. 37,
there remains only म which is a base ending in short श्र, hence, the elision of
लिङ्ग. But in the alternative we have समस्त.

इन: लिङ्ग || १४ || पदार्थ || इन: लिङ्ग || (कित ||
बुद्धि: || इन्द्रियान: पर: लिङ्ग किमःतरा ||

14. The sich Atmanepada affixes are कित after the root han ‘to kill.’

As ब्राह्म, ब्राह्मसामाः, ब्राह्मत are the aorist of हन. When a लिङ्ग or second
aorist is कित the verb loses its nasal, by Rule VI. 4. 37. After the verb हन the
लिङ्ग is only कित and not the Benedictive लिङ्ग terminations, as was the case in the
previous सृत्र; hence the repetition of the word sich in this सृत्र. The सृत्रs 12
and 13 were governed both by लिङ्ग and लिङ्ग; from and after this सृत्र, the govern-
ing power of लिङ्ग ceases. The governing power of the word “Atmane pada”
in सृत्र 11 does not however cease, and its anuvṛtti runs through the succeeding
सृत्रs; though as regards this सृत्र, its anuvṛtti is redundant, insasmuch
as before the Parasmaipada terminations, the root हन is always replaced by
हन in the aorist, there is no necessity of making the affix sich a कित. For the
object served in making sich, कित, after the verb हन, is to elide the nasal, while
in the case of हन, no such purpose can be served.

यमेऽऽ गाञ्चे || १५ || पदार्थ || यमः, गाञ्चे, (लिङ्गः ब्राह्मनेपदेशु कितः ||
बुद्धि: || वज्ञायतोगाञ्चे गार्भामालावर: लिङ्गः प्रव्यः: कितः भवितः ब्राह्मनेपदेशु परसः ||

15. The affix sich before Atmanepada affixes, is
कित after the verb यम, when meaning ‘to divulge.’

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

The result of कित is that the nasal is elided. The verb हन becomes
Atmanepada when preceded by the preposition ब्रह्म by rule I. 3. 28. Thus
उऽऽ + य + हन + त = उऽऽम + सिद्ध = ‘he divulged,’ उऽऽमानार्थ, उऽऽस्वस्त, the sich is elided by
VIII. 2. 27 and य by VI. 4. 37. When the verb हन has any other meaning
than ‘to divulge,’ then the लिङ्ग in the Atmanepada is not कित; as उऽऽस्वस्त पादस्प
‘he raised the foot.’ So also उऽऽस्वस्त भ्रातुदक्षण ‘he raised water from the
well.’ Though here the verb *yam* is in the transitive form and takes an object after it, yet it is Atmanepadi by Rule I. 3. 75 which declares ‘after the verb *yam* to strive, preceded by सः, उः and ब्रह्म when it does not refer to a book, the Atmanepada is employed.’

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

Thus उपायत कन्यास् or उपायत कन्यास् ‘he espoused the girl,’ उपायत or उपायत नार्नस ‘he espoused his wife.’

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

17. The affix *sich* before Atmanepada affixes, is *kit* after *sthā* ‘to stand’ and *ghu* (I. 1. 20) verbs, and these verbs change their श्र into श्र before these terminations.

The roots श्र ‘to stand,’ दा ‘to give,’ धा ‘to place,’ दे ‘to pity,’ दे ‘to feed,’ दे ‘to cut’ change their vowels into द्र before the terminations of the Aorist of the Atmanepada; and those terminations are also *kit*. As उपारित, ‘he worshipped,’ उपासिद्धातास्, उपासिद्धत; ब्रह्म ‘he gave’, ब्रह्म ‘he fed.’

18. The affix *ktvā* when it takes the augment हर (i.e. when it is *sēt*) is not *kit*.

We had had occasion to refer to this sūtra in explaining sūtra 7. The affix *ktvā* (the actual affix being *tvā*, the *k* being merely *i* or indicator letter) is on the face of it a *kit* affix. This sūtra however limits its kitness to cases where it is not *sēt*. If it is *sēt*, i.e. has before it the intermediate ह it will not be treated like a *kit* affix. Thus in क्रमः, हृष्यः, the affix श्र is added directly to the root ह ‘to do’ and ह ‘to sacrifice,’ without an intermediate ह and therefore the root has not been gunated, the affix here being *kit*. But in
Affixes like कित्.

[Bk. I. Ch. II. § 19, 20.

The set निष्ठाः affixes are not kit after the verbs s'ि 'to lie down,' śvid 'to sweat,' mid 'to melt,' kshvid 'to be unctuous,' and dhriś 'to offend.'

The Nishṭās are kīa and kāvatu (see sūtra 26, Chapter I). They are obviously kit affixes. But in the case of the above five roots they are not kit, and the vowels take guṇa. Thus नावित्, नावित्ताः, मन्दित्, मन्दिताः, मन्दितात्; मन्दितेत्वान्, मन्दितेत्वान्, मन्दितेत्वात्, मन्दितित्, मन्दितिताः &c. In all the above roots the Nishṭha affixes are also set.

The roots क्षत्र (स्थित्वित्र), स्त्र (स्थित्र), चत्र (स्थित्र) and ग्युत् (स्थित्व) have all long आ as indicatory, as well as the syllable त्र. These roots therefore by Rule VII. 2. 16 are generally anit, and consequently beyond the scope of the operation of the present sūtra. As रिन्त्वा, रित्वात्य. But when the Nishṭha affixes denote 'a state or condition, bhāva,' or 'beginning of action,' then the above four roots optionally become set. (VII. 2. 17). It is in that case that the present sūtra is applicable to them.

20. The set Nishṭha is not kit after the verb म्रिष्ट when meaning 'to forbear.'

Thus मर्यिष्: 'forborne,' मर्यिष्टाः 'forbore.'

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

According to some the set Nishthâ suffixes are not kit after the verbs having a penultimate द if those verbs are used impersonally (bhâva) or denote the beginning of action (âdi-karman). Thus खुल 'to shine', खुलितमनन or खोलितमनन 'it has been lighted.' Similarly प्रकसित or प्रकृतित: 'he first illumined.' The word penultimate or upadhâh has been defined in sûtra 65 ante.

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

This rule has no application where the Nishthâ does not express either भव 'condition' or 'Impersonal action'; or भवित 'beginning of action', but is used as a verbal adjective. As चिन्तित कार्यपण रूपति 'he gives a shining coin (called kârshâpaña). Here the word शिंदित 'shining' is used as adjective.

* The rule applies to the Nishthâ which takes the intermediate द and not to others as प्रेशक चोह: 'the rice that has been eaten.' Here no option is allowed.

This optional form of past participle is restricted in its scope. Those verbs which take the vikaraṇa शुद्र i.e., the verbs of the Bhu class &c., admit of this option. Thus शुद्र 'to wrap up' belongs to Divâdi class, and therefore, its participle has one form only as गुपतित.

22. The set Nishthâ and the set ktvâ are not kit after the verb pûn 'to purify.'

The word 'optionally' of the previous sûtra 21 does not govern this sûtra, because the word 'optionally' has been again used in the next sûtra 23; of which there would have been no necessity had the word 'optionally' governing force in this sûtra, for then this would have also governed the next sûtra. The anuvrûti of न सेव however is to be read in this sûtra.
By rule VII. 2, 51, after the verb गृह, the affixes Nishtha and क्तृत्र take the intermediate ग्र. So that क्तृत्र ktrā being set (by virtue of Rule VII. 2, 51) would have been non-kit by Rule 18; and it might be asked what is the necessity of repeating it in this sūtra, when sūtra 18 comprised the case. The reason of this repetition is that by mentioning क्तृत्र ktrā in this sūtra, it has governing force over the succeeding sūtras. As पलित्, पलिताद्वयः.

नायपाठुप थसलान्तः || २३ || गदानि || न-उपाधान-भ-फ-अन्तात्।
वा (कृष्टि सेष्ट्र न कित्र) ||
बृः || नकारपाठा खालीकारण-कारणात्यकारणाथे परः क्तृत्र ग्रहः सेष्ट्र वा न कित्रवति ||

23. The set ktrā is optionally kit, after the verbs having a penultimate र and ending in य and य.

The set ktrā may or may not be kit after the verbs ending in य or य preceded by a nasal. The result of being kit will be that nasal will be dropped. In other words the dropping of the nasal is optional in such verbs. Thus from व्यये we have वरिष्ठा or वर्धिष्ठा 'having twisted,' युज्ञिष्ठा or युज्ञिष्ठा 'having tied round,' लढ़िष्ठा or लढ़िष्ठा.

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

This rule does not apply to verbs that have not a penultimate य though they may end in य or य. As रक्षिष्ठा 'having reviled,' मोक्षिष्ठा 'having tied.' Here by rule 18, the स्त्रा ktrā being non-kit, the vowels of the root रिर्न and ग्रह have been gupated.

A verb may have a penultimate र, but if it has not final य or य, the rule does not apply. As संद्र + इस्त्र = वस्त्रिष्ठा 'having dropped,' वर्तिष्ठा 'having killed.' Had it been kit, the nasal would have been dropped.

वर्तिष्ठा || २४ || गदानि || वर्तिष्ठा-छुज्ञ चित्रात्; च, (कृष्टि सेष्ट्र न कित्र) ||
बृः || वर्तिष्ठा छुज्ञ ब्रह्म इत्येतेष्म् परः क्तृत्र ग्रहः सेष्ट्र न कित्रवति ||

24. The set ktrā is optionally kit, after the verbs वन्ध्यं 'to cheat' लुध्यं 'to pluck' and रित 'to dare or abhor.'

After the above three verbs, the ktrā affix being set, may or may not be kit. As वच्छिष्ठा or वंचिष्ठा 'having cheated.' So also चैहिष्ठा or चैहिष्ठा 'having plucked,' कतिष्ठा or कतिष्ठा 'having dared.'

When the verb रित kit takes the affix हयप्त्र it is not governed by this sūtra. See sūtra III, i. 29.
When the *ktvā* is not *sāḥ*, but *anīḥ*, then there is no option allowed. 

As वर्ष + तत्था = तत्था.

> कान्ह्यप्रसं: कान्ह्यप्रसं || २५ || पदानि || कृष्ण-कृष्ण-कृष्णं, 
> कान्ह्यप्रसं, (कृष्ण चैत्य न कित्;) ||

> कृष्ण: || कृष्ण गृहि कृष्ण इश्वरस्य: परः तत्था प्रश्नस्य: सेद्ध कान्ह्यप्रसाधारस्य सते वा न 
> कित्त्रक्तिः ||

25. The set *ktvā* is optionally *kit*, according to the opinion of Rishi Kāṣyapa, after the verbs *trish* 'to be thirsty,' *mrish* 'to sprinkle,' and *kris* 'to become lean.'

As हृदिश्वा or साविश्वा 'having thirsted,' हृदिश्वा or मविश्वा 'having sprinkled,' कृष्णश्वा or कृष्णश्वा 'having become lean.' By sūtra 18, the *sāḥ* *ktvā* is never *kit*. This sūtra adds another exception to that general rule.

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

> राल: युपप्राधार्यः: संडडः || २६ || पदानि || रालः, उ-उ-उपराधः, 
> हृ-हृदः, सन्त, च (वास्तवः कित्;) ||

> कृष्ण: || उकारिप्रधाविकारिप्रधावाभावाभावाभावा राल्याढार्यःः परः संडः सवा च तत्था च 
> कित्त्रक्तिः ||

26. After a verb which begins with a consonant, and ends in a letter of *Rāl* pratyāhāra, and has as its penultimate इ or ई, उ or ऊ, the *ktvā* and *san* affixes are optionally *kit*.

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

1. राल: ralah, ablative of रह (after the consonants included in the *Pratāyahāra* rāl i.e., all the consonants except य and य) :- Verbs having their final letter any single consonant except य and य.

2. युपप्राधः means "after penultimate शि." It is a compound of शि + उपरा. The शि itself is a compound of श + श = शि, in the dual शि. Therefore the phrase means "after (verbs) having for their penultimate either इ or ई or उ long or short."

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

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

4. संडः means "and san."

The sūtra means, those verbs which have a रह letter in the end, a रह in the beginning, and an इ, ई or उ, ऊ in their penultimate, may optionally treat the affixes *ktvā* and *san* as नित्त्र.
Thus स्वन्त्र ‘to shine,’ makes हस्तिल्ल्व or बालिल्ल्व ‘having shone,’ लिख्न ‘to write’ makes लिखिल्ल्व or लिखिल्ल्व.

Similarly in san affix we have तित्तित्तित्ति or तित्तित्ति ‘he wishes to write,’ वर्णित्तित्ति or वर्णित्ति ‘he wishes to shine.’

The rule does not apply if the verb ends in a letter other than र्थ. As र्थ + त्या = त्या; its desiderative will be त्या। Des. त्या। There is no option allowed here.

Similarly there is no option when the penultimate vowel is not न or ज. As ज + त्या = त्या। Des. त्या। The rule also does not apply if the verb does not begin with a consonant. As एम्भल्ला and एम्भिल्ला। There is no option allowed here.

The rule does not apply if the त्या and न्या are anित। As न्या, न्या। In these 26 sūtras the description of affixes which are treated like हिन्दू and किन्त्र is comprised.

उकलाएस् हस्तिदीर्घं ल्ल्वः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उ-कालः अन्तु, हस्त-दीर्घं-ल्ल्वः ॥

ृत्तिः ॥ उ अ ऊः हिन्दूं यालयं कालंवं त्यांगां त्यांगां त्यांगां त्यांगां संस्कारं भवति ॥

27. A vowel whose time is that of short उ, long उ and the prolated उ, is called respectively hrasva short, dirgha long, and pluta prolated.

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

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

As हि ‘curd,’ नि ‘honey’. Here उ and उ are short. कुमारी, मी, here इ is long. न्यायं आनायं Devadatta। Here अ is pluta or prolated.

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

अच्छिं ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्छ: च, (हस्त दीर्घं ल्ल्वः) ॥

ृत्तिः ॥ हस्त दीर्घं ल्ल्वः: स्वयंञाच्छिं भवामाणा अच्छिं च च वर्त्तन्ताः वेदित्तवः ॥

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

This is a paribhāṣā sūtra, and declares the object to which the terms ‘short,’ ‘long’ and ‘prolated’ are to be applied. When in this book ‘short’
long' or 'prolated' are taught by using the words hrasva, dirgha or pluta, they must be understood to apply to vowels. As will be found in the sūtra 1. 2. 47.1 "there is the substitution of hrasva or short in the neuter gender of the crude-form." The word 'vowel' must be inserted in this sūtra to complete the sense. That is:—the hrasva is substituted for the final vowel of the crude-form. As रे श्रतदिन, नै श्रतिं, गा उपयु.

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

Similarly sūtra VII. 4. 25२ teaches "There is the substitution of dirgha or 'long vowel' before all affixes beginning with the letter श, except krit and Sārvadhatuśka affixes." Here also the word 'vowel' must be read into the sūtra which will then be "of an inflective base ending in a vowel, the long vowel shall be the substitute &c." As श्र्य + श + त = श्र्यते 'it is collected'; श + य + त = शृयते 'it is heard.' Why do we say "in the place of vowels only"? The substitution must take place in the room of a vowel and not of a consonant. As नै + य + त = नियते 'it is divided,' हृयते it is pierced.'

So also in the case of pluta substitution. Thus rules VIII. 2. 82 and 84३ declare that in calling from a distance, pluta is substituted for the त portion of the word in the vocative. (The word ति is defined in I. 1. 64). Here also the phrase 'of the vowel' must be read into the sūtra to complete the sense. The sūtra will then read:—"Pluta is substituted in the place of the vowel of the ति &c." Thus देवदत्त O Devadatta! वन्यनाथ O Yajñadatta!

Why do we say "in the place of vowels only"? The substitution must be in the place of the vowel of the ति and not of the consonant. As श्रीविष्णु, श्रीगुप्त. Here the syllables इ and त are ति, and the vowels इ and अ have been prolated and not the consonant त.

The substitution must be enunciated as such by using the terms, hrasva, dirgha, and pluta. Therefore it is not so here; धी, वन्य, स, श्रुतागाम, श्रुति: See I. 1. 4,

उच्चवाच्चाः || २५ || पदार्थि || उच्छेत्, उदास:; (अनौ) ||

भृति || उच्छेष्टलोकयानो बाह्रच्छ त उदाच्छात्माः महति इ

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

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

(१) हुस्मी नपुंसके भ्रमिष्ठिकल्य || (२) षष्ठांशानुसारकृशकिर्ष्ठ: || (३) श्रवणस्मृते:

प्लह उदास: || दृष्टृतेच्छ ||
in writing. The word 'vowel' of the previous sūtra is understood in this also. These accents are the qualities of letters, and are well known in the sacred and secular literature. The vowel which is perceived as having a high tone is called udātta. This tone depends upon the organ from which the vowel is pronounced. In the various organs, such as the throat, palate, &c., if a vowel is pronounced from a higher part of that organ, it is called udātta. The vowel in the pronouncing of which there is the restraining and checking of the bodily parts, and in which there is dryness and roughness of tone as well as a contraction of the larynx, is said to have the acute accent. The word is used in sūtra III. 1. 3. 1 "The first vowel of an affix has the udātta accent." As क + स्वभम = कर्तव्यम kartavāyam.

नीवेशनुद्वाचः || 30 || पदाविन्त || नीवेशः, अनुद्वाचः, ( अच् ) ||
शृङ्गः || नीवेशस्वभ-ममानि योजच स्वतुद्वाचसंधि मवति ||

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

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

This word is used in sūtra III. 1. 4. 2 "the case terminations called ध्रा and those affixes that have an indicatory धṛ are anudatta" &c. As ध्र, ध्रोधिमि,

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

समाहरः स्वरितः || 31 || पदाविन्त || समाहरः, स्वरितः ( अच्, \( \hat{u} \) द्राच्, अनुद्वाच्: ) ||
शृङ्गः || उदानुद्वाचस्यसमाहरे योजच स्वालितसंधि मवति ||

31. The vowel that has the combination of Udatta and Anudatta, tones is said to be svarita or circumflexly accented.

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

The word is used in sūtra VI. 1. 185. 3 "The affixes having an indicatory दृ have svarita accent." As कम्पा kanyā, विक्षयम् s'īkyām, क् kvā.

(1) प्राचुडस्वभ || (2) अनुद्वाची स्वभिता || (3) स्वतुद्वाचा स्वभिता || (4) नित्वस्वरितम् ||
This sūtra is not to be understood to mean that a svarita is the resultant of the combination of two vowels, an udātta vowel with an anudātta vowel. It means the accent midway between the two well-known qualities of letters known as acute and grave accents.

_tasyāditya udātmaudhastvam_ II 32 II padanī II tasya, aditya, udātma, adhastvam II

vṛtti: II tasya svaritasya āhāramvrtasthurāstvam bhavati II

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

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

The phrase _ardhahrasva_ is used to indicate half the measure of a short vowel. Thus if a short vowel is svarita, its mātrā being one, half will be udātta and the other half anudātta. If a long vowel, whose mātrās are two, be svarita then ¼ will be udātta, ½ will be anudātta. If a _pluta_ (protracted) vowel be svarita, then first half measure will be udātta, and the remaining 2½ measures will be anudātta. In short, the udātta portion of a svarita must not occupy more time than is taken in pronouncing a half short vowel. Thus in _sākṣī_ sīkṣyam, the _a_ is svarita, half being acute, the other half grave or monotony; in _kanyā_ kanyā, the long _ā_ is svarita, its first half measure is acute, the remaining ½ is grave; in _mānavakā_ mānavakā, here _a_ prolated is svarita, its first ½ is acute, the balance 2½ measure is grave.

_ekṣaṃhitārātmasāṇḍhī_ II 33 II padanī II _ekṣaṃhitī, dūrāntī, samudrī_ II

vṛtti: II _ekṣaṃhitī, vakyān bhavati dūranamsāṇḍhī sāti_ II

33. In addressing a person from a distance, the tone is called Ekas’ruti or monotony.

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

The word ‘Sambuddhi’ means here addressing a person from a distance; and has not its technical meaning of the singular number of the vocative case. As भागच्छ नो माणवक हेवलचारे ‘O boy Devadatta! come.’ There is vanishing of all the accents in the above case; and the final short vowel of Devadatta is changed into _pluta_ by the rule already referred to in s. 28 ante VIII, 2. दूरांतगुल्लच ) II
If the person is not addressed from a distance, then the word will get its proper accent. As आग्रह भे माणवक देवहस् ‘come, O boy Devadatta.’

यहक्षण्यकसम्य द्वासामसु || ३४ || पदानि || यहक्षमणि, अज-पन्युक्ताय सामसु, (एककृतिः) ||

बृन्ति: || अपनयुक्तसामानि यथाभिक्ष्या यहक्षमणि मनत्राणांस्मैक्षुब्यं भवति ||

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

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

“Japa” is the repetition of mantras, and their recitation in a low voice or whisper. Nyूङ्कha is the name of certain hymns of the veda, and the names of 16 sorts of “Om.” Some of these are pronounced with udatta and others with anudatta accent. Sàmas are songs, or the musical cadence in which some vedic hymns are to be uttered. As:- श्रंगम्ब्राह्व: काक्ष्यति: यूङ्क्ष्यय अम्म। अपारे कल्लिति विन्यस्ती॥ म (Rig Veda VIII. 14. 16).

When a mantra is recited as a japa, then it must be pronounced with accents :-As मन्त्राय: वर्दीं द्विवेवनेत्रु (Rig Veda X. 128. 1).

When not employed on occasions of sacrifice, but are ordinarily read, the mantras must have their proper accent, and there will be no Eka’sruti.

In the sàma chanting, the mantras should have their accent, there can be no Eka’sruti there. As एशिद्व: समविवं वहाः। Here there is no Eka’sruti.

उच्चात्सराः वा वषट्टकाः || ३५ || पदानि || उच्चात्सरायं, वा, वषट्टकाः, ( यहक्षमणि, एककृतिः ) ||

बृन्ति: || यहक्षमणि वषट्टकाः उच्चात्सराः वा भवति एक घृतिः ||

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

The phrase “yajña-karma” is understood here. Even in yajña-karmas or sacrifices the word शैष्ट्र may optionally be pronounced in a raised tone. The word वषट्ट in the sūtra signifies शैष्ट्र. But why was not the word शैष्ट्र used in the text? It could have been used with as much ease as वषट्ट. To this natural query, the only answer is, विचित्रं: हि सूत्रस्य कृतिः: प्राणिने: ग्री: चात्रय वर्द्रू पद्र, वर्त्तस्याय्ये ग्री: त्रो पदः।
36. The Monotony is optional in the recitation of the Vedas, or they may be recited with accents.

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

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

Thus:—भाप्निमीले पुषोहितं or simply भाप्निमीले पुषोहितं. “I praise Agni the purohita.”

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

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

The subrahmanya hymns are portions of the Rig Veda mentioned in the s'atapatha Brāhmaṇa.

This sūtra prohibits Ekas’ruti in the case of certain prayers called s'ubrahmanya. By rule 34 read with 36 ante, prayers might be optionally uttered with Ekas’ruti accent. This ordains an exception to that rule. In subrahmanya prayers there is no ekas’ruti; and in these hymns, a vowel which otherwise by any rule of grammar would have taken a svarita accent, takes an udāṭta accent instead.

As सुम्ब्रह्मण्य, मिन्नागच्छ इति आच्छ. Here the word सुम्ब्रह्मण्य is formed by the addition of the affix यस् to the word सुम्ब्रह्मण्, and this य will get svarīta
accent by VI. r. 185, (तिन्नस्वरतिस्) as it has an indicatory द्र; by the present सूत्रa, this nascent svarīta is changed into udātta. In the phrase हन्न्न आगच्छ, the word Indra being in the vocative case, द्र is udātta, the द्र of Indra is anudātta VI. r. 198. The anudātta preceded by an udātta is changed into svarīta (VIII. 4. 66).  

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

देवाग्रामणातः || १८ || पदानि || देव-ब्रह्मणोऽऽ ||

बृहत्तिः || देवाग्रामोऽऽ स्वरितवस्यादुदाता अवशेषोभवतः ||

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

By सूत्रa 37, it was declared, that in subrahmanyā hymns, svarīta accent is replaced by udātta accent. This सूत्रa makes an exception in favour of the words द्रेष्टa and ब्राह्मण occurring in those hymns. These words have anudātta accent. As द्रेष्टa ब्राह्मण आगच्छत 'come ye Devas and Brahmāṇas.' Here the word द्रेष्टa gets udātta accent on the first syllable by rule VI. r. 198. (in the vocative the accent is on the beginning): द्र vā has originally an anudātta accent which by rule VIII. 4. 66 (an anudātta following an udātta is changed into svarīta) would have been changed into svarīta. This svarīta, by the previous सूत्रa required to be changed into udātta; but by this rule, it is replaced by anudātta. In other words, the original anudātta remains unchanged.

स्वरितासंहितायामनुदाताचानाम् || ३९ || पदानि || स्वरितात्,

संहितायाम्, अनुदाताचानाम्, (एकाभूतिः) ||

बृहत्तिः || संहितायाम् विषयं स्वरितासंहितायिन्द्राचानामकृतिभूतिः ||

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

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

(1) भामल्लकस्य क || (४) उपचारहुशतस्य स्वरितः ||
the anudatta accents become Ekas’ruti if they are preceded by svarita vowels; and are pronounced monotonously. As इन ने मृगः युधि सरस्वती (Rig Veda X. 75. 5) O Ganga, Yamuna, Sarasvati! this mine.

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

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

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

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

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

This is one explanation of the sūtra. There is another explanation which does not take the anuvṛtti of Ekas’ruti in this sūtra. The anudatta is replaced by sannatara when such anudatta immediately precedes an udatta or a svarita. The sannatara is also called anudatta. As देवा महत्व: पूर्वभाषायेत: ||

Here the word महत्व: has udatta on the last syllable by VI. 1. 171.* In the phrase महत्वः तत्र (महत्वः: तत्र: + सः) the syllable सः is anudatta, because anudatta + anudatta = anudatta. This anudatta सः, preceding the syllable तः, is changed into sannatara.

अनुक्रृत एकालङ्कःः: || ४१ || पदानि || अनुक्रृतः, एक-अलङ्कः, प्रत्ययः: ||

अनुक्रृतः: || अनुक्रृतः इत्यलयं संहिता भवति एकालङ्कः: प्रत्ययः: ||

(1) उदात्तवादृत्तसंग्रहः || (2) ज्ञानविनिर्विद्या च || (3) परं सामन्यम्: संहिता ||

(4) उदा०द्वादृत्तसंग्रहः ||
41. An affix consisting of a single letter is called an *Apriktā*.

This defines *Apriktā* affixes. They are those affixes which consist of only one letter of the alphabet. Thus the affix त in बनतर्षि is a one lettered suffix and is an *Apriktā*. Similarly the affix किन्तु *kvin* is an *Apriktā*, because the letters क, त, and त are merely indicatory, the real affix is त त. This त त being a single letter, and therefore an *Apriktā*, when added to a base, is elided by rule VI. 1. 67 (the *Apriktā* त त is elided). Thus दीर्घतम् + किन्तु = दीर्घतम् + त = (III. 2. 58)² = दीर्घतम्। दीर्घतम् + तित = दीर्घतम् ‘co-sharer.’ (III. 2. 62).³ An affix which consists of more than one letter is not an *Apriktā*. As देवि: ‘a ladle’ formed by the Uṇādi affix वित्त (वित्त्वा वित्त).

तत्तुःस्मः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारणः: ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्तुः, समानाधिकरणः: कर्मधारणः: ॥

बृजः: ॥ तत्तुः: समानाधिकरणः: कर्मधारणः: वर्धिनि ॥

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

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

The compounds like दीर्घतम् ‘the blue lotus’, परमाना ‘the supreme spirit’ &c., are examples of *karmadhārāya* compounds. “The component words, if dissolved, would stand in the same case, (samānādhikaraṇa), whereas in other Tat-purushas, the preceding word is governed by the last.”

As, परमाना, is a karmadhārāya compound meaning “the best Government.” Had it not been a karmadhārāya compound, the *udātta* accent would have fallen on the syllable र by rule VI. 2. 130,⁴ (the word राजस्म् has *udātta* on the first syllable in Tat-purusha compounds, except in karmadhārāya).

Similarly पारिविधि + कुर्तारिका = पारिविधिकुर्तारिका (VI. 3. 42,⁵ the feminine adjective is changed into masculine in the karmadhārāya).

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

(²) तरुःस्तम् ॥ (³) स्योऽस्तम् के कित्र ॥ (²) स्योऽकित्र: ॥ (³) वक्रधारावः राजस्तः ॥
(⁴) उदात्तकर्मधाराजातिवैष्णविष्णु: ॥
(⁵) दीर्घतम् वित्त्वा वित्त्.
A compound may be a Tat-purusha, but if its component parts do not refer to the same thing and are not in the same case, it won't be karamadhārāya:—आकर्षण राज्यम् Brāhmaṇa rājyaṃ, 'a Brahmana kingdom.' Here राज्यम् gets udatta on the first syllable by the rule already mentioned (VI. 2. 130).

प्रयमानितिर्द्वं समालउपसर्जनम् || ४३ || पदानि || प्रयमानितिर्द्वम्
समाले, उपसर्जनम्, ||

इति|| पदानि विनिताः प्रतिस्व समालउपसर्जनम् तदुपसर्जनस्तं भ्रमिति ||

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

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

Thus sūtra II. 1. 24 (कर्षण विनिता गतिविधर्ण सम्वधनानि:) is a samāsa sūtra enjoining composition. In this sūtra the word हिरीक्षा is exhibited in the nominative case, and the remaining words are in the Instrumental case. The sūtra means: “An accusative (हिरीक्षा) is compounded with the words निहित, निनित, निलित, गति, खयत, धर्म, and अवतर and forms गत-purusha”. Therefore, in forming accusative compounds, the word having the accusative case will be called Upasarjana. Thus कर्षण + विनिता = कर्षणिति. Here the word कर्षण being Upasarjana, stands first in the compound, by Rule II. 2. 30. ईत्यादि पूर्वम् (in a compound the Upasarjana should be placed first). Similarly in rules relating to the formation of instrumental, dative, ablative, gentleman and locative Tat-purusha, the words standing in those cases will be Upasarjana. Thus शुक्रारम्भिक, द्वृत्तम्, उपसर्जनम्, चः विषयादि.

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

एकविनितां चापूर्वनियाते || ४५ || पदानि || एकविनितक, च, चर्चा-नियाते, (उपसर्जनम्) ||

इति|| एकाविनितक्षेत्रस्य तदितियुक्तिः विनितक, समाले विनितामानि विनितविनितके हितीये
सम्बन्धानि बहुविनितांविनित्यमानानि कृतिविनिततः योुषले तदुपसर्जनस्तं भ्रमिति, प्रयानितपि, पूर्वपुर्वम् पूर्वपुर्वपायायामलासर्जनकारेऽवर्जितवया ||

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

That which has one fixed case-termination is called eka-vibhakti, i.e., a word whose case termination has been determined by a rule of samāsa i.e., while the second word in composition with it may take many case-affixes, it takes only one case affix; apūrva-nipāte, such a word will be an upasarajana for all purposes, except for the purpose of the rule (II. 2. 30)\(^1\) which requires an upasarjana to stand first in a compound.

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

Similarly the word निवर्यायिन: ||

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

Had it been an upasarjana, the long ख of र would have been shortened into ० as in the previous example.

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

अर्थ्यविधातृतिप्रत्ययः प्रतिपिदिकम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्थ्यविधातृतिपिदिकक्षम ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्थ्यविधातृतिपिदिकक्षम ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्थ्यविधातृतिपिदिकक्षम ॥

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

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

The word अर्थ means having signification. With the exception of verbal roots and affixes, a word-form having a significance or meaning is called
a prātipadika, as खिद्यः: 'a wooden elephant,' कपिल्यः 'the wood-apple tree,' कुण्डः 'a bowl,' पांडः 'a seat:

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

The word must not be a verb, as the word अहं (the third person sing. number, imperfect tense of हत) he killed. Had it been a prātipadika, the न् would have been dropped.

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

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

इत्यततसमासाः || ४६ || पदानि || कुन्तलि-समासा: || "च", (प्रतिपदिकूम्) ||

वद्वि: || कुन्तलितः समासाः प्रतिपदिकवस्था भोग्निः ||

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

This further explains the use of the word prātipadika. "Suffixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds. Those by which nouns are derived direct from roots, primary suffixes. Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns, secondary suffixes. The former are called Kṛit, (III. 1. 93) 4, the latter Taddhita (IV. 1. 76). 5 Thus जन jana, man, is derived from the root जन jau by the kṛit suffix अ; but जनीन janina, appropriate for man, is derived from जन jana by the Taddhita affix इन ina. The name prātipadika would apply both to जन jana and जनीन janina, as nominal bases ready to receive the terminations of declension " (Max Müller).

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

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

(1) नलीप्र: प्रतिपदिकान्तर्तर: || (2) कुन्तलितः || (3) तद्वि: ||
The words formed by krit affixes are prātipadika, as क्र (to do) + प्रदुः = क्र + प्र = कार + प्र = कारक. The affix प्रदुः is a krit affix, and it is added to the root to form agent by Rule III, r. 133.¹ The letters प्र and प्र are indicator, the force of प्र being to cause the vṛiddhi of the vowel of the root. The real affix प्र is changed into प्र by VII. r. 1; the affixes प्र and प्र are replaced by सत and स्थ respectively. Thus the form कारक is a prātipadika, and is capable of declension by receiving case terminations, as कारक: ||
Similarly क्र + प्र (III. r. 133)² = कार : nom. case कार.

The word formed by Taddhita affixes are also prātipadika; उप + प्रण = उपप्रण + प्रण = उपप्रणव 'the son of the Rishi Upagru'; nom. case उपप्रणव.
Similarly कारकः.

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

The words ending in compound are prātipadika: as राजः + प्रुषः = राजप्रुषः, nom. case राजप्रुषः.

हस्तो नरसङ्के प्रतिपिदिकसः || ५५ || पदार्थ || हस्तः, नरसङ्के, प्रतिपिदिकसः

बृहि. ॥ नरसङ्के किवः व्यवासित वत्ते तत्त्व हस्तो भवति भविष्योनन्दस्वाचः ॥

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

In the neuter gender, the prātipadika that would have ended in a long vowel, changes it into short. Thus अतिरि + रि = अतिरि 'extravagant', as अतिरि + रि = अतिरि 'an extravagant family'; अति लि = अतिलि 'very hairy', अतिलि कुलं 'a very hairy family'.

There is no substitution of short vowel, if, the noun is not in the neuter gender, as भाग + नि = भागणि, nom case भागणि: 'the leader of a village or head-borough.' Similarly सिक्सोः: 'the leader of an army.'

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

¹) प्रदुः प्र चि ||
²) उपप्रणवाले ||
to be so, because the word prātipādika has been especially mentioned in the text, and therefore this ekādēsa is not treated as the final of the form which precedes it.

गो-खियायव्रजस्य || ४८ || पदानि || गो-ख्रियायस्, उपसज्ञनस्य, (प्रातिपदिकस्य) ||

हस्तिः || उपसज्ञनात्यस्य उपसर्जनात्यस्य च प्रातिपदिकस्य द्वैती भवति ||

वैदिकस्य || ईश्वरायवक्षः प्रतिपदावक्षः ||

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

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

Thus चित्र + गो=चित्रकु ‘possessed of a brindled cow.' This is an example of a Bahuvrihi or possessive compound. So also चावल ‘a spotted cow.' Similarly in those prātipadika upasarjanas which end in feminine suffixes having a final long vowel, there is a shortening. Thus निः+कौशलयी =निःशक्यायम्. Here the final long ई is shortened. So also निःशायस्यः.

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

Other examples are:—प्रतिव + क्रस्स्य=प्रतिक्रस्स्य: ‘without a bed-stead’ प्रतिमाल: ‘surpassing a necklace in beauty.’

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

Vart.—In Bahuvrihi compounds, exception must be made of feminine nouns ending in the affix ईश्वरी, गो विधातयस्य, तविन्त-लक्षिक ||

लुक्तद्वितलुक्क || ४९ || पदानि || लुक्क, तवित-लक्क, (श्री, उपसज्ञनस्य) ||

हस्तिः || तवितलुक्क सति श्रतिवशयस्य उपसर्जनस्य तुष्यस्यति ||
49. When a Taddhita affix is elided by the word luk, there takes place the elision by luk of the feminine affix of the upasarjana.

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

Thus there is a feminine suffix called श्रण (actually श्रण) and certain words like न्त्र &c., (IV. 1. 49) * take an additional suffix called ऋतुक् (actually ऋतु. Thus the feminine of न्त्र will be न्त्र+ऋतुक्+ऋण् = न्त्र+ऋण्+ऋण् = ऋतुकी. Now in forming Dvigū compound (Numerical Determinative compound), the Taddhita suffixes are dropped. Thus पंचकसल: an offering (purodash) made in a dish with five compartments. In this compound the Taddhita suffix ऋण is dropped. Otherwise the form would have been कापाल: Similarly when the word ऋतुकिर्णी forms a Dvigū compound, the Taddhita suffixes are dropped. But not only that, even the original radical affixes are also dropped by force of the present sūtra. Thus पंचेष्ठ: which means the cake sacred to the five goddesses ऋतुकिर्णी. Here the full form was पंच+ऋतुकिर्णी+ऋण्. (The suffix ऋण has the force of “sacred to God.” Thus ऋण+ऋण् = ऋण् sacred to God Indra). In the above expression, first the Taddhita suffix ऋण is luked by rule contained in sūtra IV. 1. 88 * relating to Dvigū compounds: we then remain ऋण+ऋतुकिर्णी. In this stage, the present sūtra comes into force and declares that where a Taddhita suffix has been luked, the final feminine suffixes of the upasarjana prātipadika are also luked. Therefore, the feminine suffixes ऋतुक् and ऋण are also dropped, and we have पंचेष्ठ: which means “cake sacred to the five Indrānis (goddesses).”

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1. भविष्यफलुण्डीत्रानाध्यस्मात्तत्त्वपुनरुदित्रसिमणात्त्त्वहुलुकुत् ॥ (२) इन्द्रवर्षण-भविष्यपुनरुदित्रसिमणात्त्वहुलुकुत् ॥ (३) दिशोत्कन्यपुनरुदित्रसिमणात्त्वहुलुकुत् ॥
The word श्री and upasajana of the last sūtra are understood in this. By the last sūtra, a word ending in a feminine affix was told to be shortened when it was an upasajana; this sūtra teaches the total suppression of such an affix in special cases. To take another example: Thus Rule IV. 3. 163 declares पल्लुकः ‘luk takes the place of an affix signifying modification or product when fruit is meant.’ Thus यत् is an affix which means modification. Thus गो + यत् = गायस् ‘cow’s milk or the product of cow.’ This affix is suppressed when applied to a tree, in the sense of the fruit of the tree. Thus the fruit of the tree श्रामलक्षी will be called श्रामलक्, i.e. first the Taddhita affix is luked, and then the feminine affix is also dropped. Similarly fruits of बद्री or बुकुली trees are बद्रेः or बुकुन्.

This rule only applies when a Taddhita affix is elided; and not so when any other affix is luked. Thus गार्ग्यः: + कःस्तः = गार्ग्यकःक्स्तः ‘the family of Gārgi.’ Here in forming the samāsa, the case affix of the word gārgi is luked by II. 4. 71. But this suppression of the genitive termination does not necessitate the elision of the feminine affix श्रो of gārgi.

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

Nor will the rule apply when the word is not an upasajana. As श्रामलक्, कःस्तः, कःक्स्तः.

हेदुः गोर्यः: ॥ ५० ॥ पद्यनि ॥ इतः, गोर्यः: (तद्वित्तलुकः) ॥
हुति ॥ गोर्यलक्लिन्तलुकः तति हकारदेशो मन्ति ॥

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

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

This sūtra is divided into two separate rules by the process called yoga-vibhāga. Thus इतः is made one sūtra by itself, and then it means, when there is a suppression of Taddhita affix by श्रो, then the long श्रो is replaced by short श्रो. Thus purchased with five needles पंचमिः: श्रीचिः: श्रीले: = पंचश्रीचिः, दशश्रीचिः.

This is restricted to such examples of purchase only.

(1) खुदो यादवतिपितकोः ॥ (2) अक्षर्ददिहितजिओगसंहास्य ॥
51. When a Taddhita affix is elided by using the word लुप, then the gender and number (of the derivative word) agree with those of the original word.

This sūtra consists of four words: 1. लुपि, 'where there is a rejection by using लुप'; 2. लुकत् 'appropriate to the same'; 3. व्यक्ति 'gender'; 4. चेन 'number.' The form vyakti vachane is dual.

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

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

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

Thus धन्यालि: are a class of Kshatryias. As such it is masculine gender and plural number. The country in which Pañchalas live is also called Pañchalas; similarly चुट, ग्रामा: &c. There is a rule अनपदेशेक (IV. 2, 81, the lop takes the place of an affix when signifying the proper name of a country or kingdom). Thus धन्यालि: + धनय (this is one of the affixes forming country) = धन्यालि:.

This rule does not apply when the affix is suppressed by the word लुप &c. and not लुप. Thus लवण: धनय: 'salted soup,' ग्रामालिवार: 'salted gruel,' लवण धारक 'salted vegetable.' Here the affix लुप has been elided by the word लुप, by IV. 4. 14, लवणालिव (after the word lavana the affix is laked).

These derivatives retain only the gender and number of the original, but no other quality. Thus as we have already seen that सिरिशाव: = 'the name of a village and is formed by the lop of the affix. Now compounding it with बन: we have विरिशावस्यम, 'the forest of the village Sirisha.' Here
the word वनीश्व: means village, and not trees. Had it meant trees called s'irisha, then the न of वन would have become य optionally by Rule VIII. 4. 6. (विभावीवल कणालित्व: II The न of the word वन is optionally changed into य when preceded by words signifying annual herbs and trees).

Vart:—In the case of the words Haritaki &c., the gender only is retained and not the number. As हरितक क फलामि 'the fruits of Haritaki.' Here पतल is neuter in form, while हरितकी is feminine.

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

विशेष्यानाः चालाते: || ५२ || पदानि || विषेष्यानामः, च, अजातेः; (लुप) ||

वृत्ति: || लुपपरि स्थितानि विषेष्यानि तेषामि व्यक्तिः भवती जाति वर्गानि ||

वातिकसः || नवपलष्टिः प्रतिपेक्षो वस्तुः ||

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

When a Taddhita is luped, the adjectives which qualify such secondary derivatives agree with them in number and gender. This is a rule of syntax. Thus पृथ्वी: सम्पूर्णता: बहुव्रता: बहुचरिषिता: बहुमत्वस्याला: 'the pleasant Pañchālās having plenty of food, plenty of milk and butter.' Here the adjective सम्पूर्णता: pleasant &c., agrees in number and gender with the Pañchālā: being also in masculine plural. But when such a derivative is used as a जाति word then the adjective does not agree in number and gender, as पृथ्वी: जनपदः; ग्रेदी घामाः.

Here जनपद: though qualifying Pañchālā does not agree with it in number and gender, as it is a noun of class. All attributes of such words formed by the lup of Taddhita agree with their substantives in number and gender: provided that such an attribute is not a common noun used as an adjective. Similarly adjectives which do not directly qualify such Taddhita-formed nouns; but do so through the medium of a noun of class, do not agree in gender and number with the Tadthita-word. Thus पृथ्वी: जनपदः राज्यायो बहुव्रतः; 'the country of Pañchālās is pleasant and fertile.' Here the words राज्यायो: and बहुव्रतः qualify directly the word 'जनपदः,' and indirectly the word Pañchālās, and therefore do not agree with the latter.
The explanation of this sūtra as given by Patanjali in the Mahābhāṣya is somewhat different from that of the Kāśiṇa. The phrase जाति: is analysed by him as च and जाति:, the sense being “and as far as the jāti goes.” The word jāti is thus explained:—

A word expressing whatever is distinguishable by its form or figure, or which begins the name of an individual is easily found applicable to others without any further teaching, (a common name) provided it is not a word used in all genders, (common noun सूक्ष्मवाक्यता genus); and (only for the purpose of grammar as coming under the rules relating to the abovementioned words), a word expressing descendants by their parentage as well as a word expressing a person by the branch of the Vedas (साहित्य) which the family to which the person belongs is competent to read शास्त्राध्येत्र (s'ākhādhyetri) (गोरोवासिति:) = जातिवाचक: (jātvāchakāh) जाति गृहयात्मालिनिष्ठानां च नस्ते भाक:। सक्रोद्वायत निमाय गोरो च चरोः: तदर।

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

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of nouns formed by the लघु elision of an affix relating to man. Thus the Taddhita affix कवु (क) is employed in denoting representation by imitation. Thus परशु: means a figure like a horse (in wood or clay or paper). But when the imitation is that of a man, this affix is elided. Thus बंजा means a “doll of straw.” But when we want to say a doll in the figure of a man, we will have बंजा + कवु (लघु V. 3. 98) = चन्द्रा। Here this word is formed by the elision of an affix relating to man. Adjectives qualifying this word will not agree in gender and number. Thus चन्द्रा प्रनिहृ: ‘the delightful straw figure of man.’ बर्णिका: देवीनिव: ‘a beautiful representation of an eunuch.’

तद्विन्द्यं संहास्मामाख्यतानं ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अधिध्ययः, संहा प्रमाख्यतानं ॥

इति: ॥ तद्विन्द्ये न वस्तुवं कस्मालंसहास्माख्यतानं ॥.
53. This (concord of gender and number, of primitive and derivative nouns, and of attributes and substantives) need not be taught (or approved), because it has the authority of samījñā (or conventional term or idiom).

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

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


dvāra योगाठ्यानात् || ५४ || पदानि || लघु, योग- अप्रभावनात्,
(विशिष्यम्) \| |

वृत्ति:॥ वीर्ये जनान्यु लघु वर्णाकर्षकाति लघुयते अर्थे न वस्त्रक्यः, किं कारेण योगान- योगानात् नगरी पुथ्याता वर्णा इति योग: सम्बन्धः प्रकाशायते नेत्रहुलमादी युल्लोगात्यागे वर्णा इति ||

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

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

योग-प्रमाणो च तदभावेऽवर्मर्षिन्य स्वातः ॥ ५५ ॥ योग-प्रमाणो, च, तदृ-अभावे, प्रादर्शनम्, स्वातः,

२३४: ॥ पद्धतायांस: संस्कृत शब्द न योगनिमित्ताः रहुः। तत्तत्त्वविभागः अवगतवत्व: योग-प्रमाणिः तदबावेऽवर्मर्षिन्य स्वातः, यथौ पद्धताः। शब्दो योगसत्व प्रमाणो योगसत्व वाचकः: स्वातः। तत्तत्त्व-अवगतवत्वाधिन्यं: स्वातः ॥

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

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

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

प्रदाबस्यार्थायेऽवनन्त्येर्य्यमात्रात् ॥ ५६ ॥

प्रदाब: प्रत्यय: अवश्यकः अर्थभेदः, प्रदाबस्यार्थात् अवश्यकः ॥

२३४: ॥ प्रमाणसंसाराः किलकत्वात् प्रवस्तत्तत्वात्: सत्त्वार्थविभागेऽवनन्त्येर्य्यमात्रात् अवश्यकः। यथा भवति प्रवस्तत्तत्वात्: सत्त्वार्थविभागेऽवनन्त्येर्य्यमात्रात्। यथौ पद्धताः। प्रवस्तत्तत्वात्: अर्थविभेदः|प्रवस्तत्तत्त्वात्:|अर्थविभागात्: अर्थविभेदात्। अर्थ इत्या शाश्वापि सम्बन्धम् लोकोऽऽ्यमिन्य अर्थविभेदात्। ज्ञात्त्व अध्याध्यायः।
56. (Nor need be taught) the rule relating to the dependence of the meaning of a word on the principal (pārdhāna, in a compound) or on the affix (pratyaya), because the authority of the meaning (of a word, compound or derivitive) consists in something else.

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

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

कालप्रस्तर्प च तूत्यम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-उपस्तर्प च, तूत्यम् ( अशिष्यम् ) ॥

मृणि: || कालप्रस्तर्प चायमेव श्रावण्यवन्यमाद्यमात्वात् ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

Why have we used the word जती in this sūtra? For this aphorism
does not apply to Proper Nouns. Thus देवदत्त: Devadatta, स्वाधीन: Yajñadhatta.
Why have we used the word ब्राह्मायाः? A word may be a class noun or जती,
but it may not be the appellation of a class. Thus the statue of Kāsyapa may
also be called कास्यपः; this is a class noun; but as it is not the appellation
ब्राह्मायाः or name of a class, such words cannot take the plural form and still
denote a singular sense.

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

Vart.—An exception must be made when a class noun is qualified
by a numeral adjective. As एको श्रीलिपि: संपत्रः द्राक्षें जतीः.

॥ ॥ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्मद: क्रोऽः च ( एकरिमनः,
ब्रह्मचर्यः अन्वतरस्याम् )

श्रीलिपि: इति: अस्मदः श्रीलिपीकर्तव्ये हिते च ब्रह्मचर्यान्वतरस्याम् भवति
वारिकः इति संविशेषणाय प्रतिविप्रेयो वालकः
वारिकः इति युप्तदि वारिकपेशाः

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

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

Vart.—There is prohibition when the pronoun of the 1st person is
qualified by an attribute:—as श्रीलिपीकर्तव्ये ‘I Devadatta am speaking,’
श्रीलिपी ‘I Gārgya am saying.’ Here we cannot use the plural.

Vart.—The word श्रीलिपि ‘master’ may have plural form though referring
to one person, when following the word युप्तद ; as श्रीलिपि युप्तद: or श्रीलिपि ने युप्तद: ‘Thou
art my master,’ or ‘you are my master.’

60. And the dual of Phālgunī and Proshthapa-
padā, when signifying asterisms, (also connotes option-
ally plural).
The word च in this aphorism draws in the anuvrīttī of the word हृयः from the last. Of the stars phalgunī and prosthāpāda, the forms may be either dual or plural. As उदिते पूर्वः फलगुनी (dual); or उदिता: पूर्वः फलगुन: (plural.) So also पूर्वः मोहिन्दे or पूर्वः मोहिन्द:। There are two pairs of stars of the name of phalgunī and prosthāpāda, both being of feminine gender, and their logical number being ‘dual.’ The present sūtra ordains plural optionally. If phalgunī and prosthāpāda are not names of asterisms, they must have their proper number: as फलगुनी मायोःक्रेः।

\[ घन्दिस: \text{पुनवास्वोरैकवचनम्} \| ६१ \| \text{पदानि} \| \text{घन्दिस:} \text{पुनवास्वोः,} \text{एक-वचनम्}, (अन्यतरस्यायः) \| \]

\[ चः: इथोहिंदेन प्राणे उदिते पुनवासायन्वादिव विषये एकवचनन्यतरस्या भवति। \]

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

In the Vedas, the star _punarvasu_ which is always _dual_ in form, may be in the singular form and connote a dual meaning. As _पुर्वसुःङ्कः_ or _पुर्वः नवजमाविदेवता_। The option is only allowed in the Vedas and not in secular literature. In the latter it must be in the dual, that is, _पुर्वः_। Similarly when it is not the appellation of an asterism but of a man, there is no option. As _पुर्वः_ मायोःक्रेः।

\[ विदास्योऽः | ६२ | पदानि | विदास्योः, \text{च} (घन्दिस:अन्य- तरस्यायः)। \]

\[ चः: इथोहिंदेन प्राणे घन्दिस: विषये विदास्योरैकवचनन्यतरस्या भवति। \]

62. In the Vedas, the two stars _Vis'âkhâ_ may optionally be in the singular number.

The word _विदास्य_ is in the dual number as a rule. In the Vedas, it is found sometime to have the singular form, denoting duality. Thus _विदास्य: नवजः_ or _विदास्ये नवजमिन्द्री: देवता।_

\[ तिथ्य-पुनवासः नवजः, \text{बहुचनस्य} तिथ्यवचन: \text{नित्यम्} \| ६३ \| \text{पदानि} \| \text{तिथ्य-पुनवासः,} \text{नवजः, बहुचनस्य, तिथ्य-वचनम्,} \text{नित्यम्} \| \]

\[ चः: इथोहिंदेन तिथ्य-पुनवासः नवजः तिथ्यवचन: मित्रेऽः चिन्त्रवचन: भवति। \]

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

When there is a collective compounding of the words Tishya and Punarvasu (meaning two groups of stars), the final compound is always in the dual. Thus उदिते तिथ्य-पुनवासः देवेः \text{'the Tishya and Punarvasu having risen are seen (dual).'}
There is one star called Tishya; and there are two stars called Punarvasú. As the Dvandva compound of these stars refers to more than two stars, it ought to have been in the plural number. This rule teaches that there should be a dual number, where otherwise there would have been a plural number. Why do we say 'Tishya' and 'Punarvasú'? Observe विषुवका वाराणसी: 'the stars Visākhā and Anurādhā.' The compound is in plural number.

This rule would not apply if these words do not connote stars but are used in any other sense. As तिथ्युन्नवस्व: माणका: 'Boys called Tishya and Punarvasus.'

Why is the word 'star' repeated in the sutra, when the previous sutras and the context show that stars were being treated of. The repetition is for the sake of including the synonyms of Tishya and Punarvasú. As तिथ्युन्नवस्व; उपुष्मुन्नवस्व, सिद्धुन्नवस्व.

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

The rule only applies to the plural Dvandva. If the Dvandva takes the singular termination, this rule has no application. As तिथ्युन्नवस्व: इत्यष्टि.

This sutra indicates by implication (jñāpaka) that "every Dvandva compound may optionally take the terminations of the singular" for otherwise the employment of the term बहुवचनस्य in the sutra would be superfluous.

The word 'always' has been used in the text to show that the governing power of "option" stops here with this sutra and does not extend to it or any further.

सर्पाशामेकशृष्ण एकविभक्ति ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्पाशाम, एक-शृष्ण, एक-विभक्ति,

वृत्ति: ॥ सर्पाशाम शब्दानं एकविभक्ति परत एकविभक्ति भवति ॥

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

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

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

This applies only to words having the same form and not if they have different forms; as द्रुक (drūk) the plaksha and nyagrodha trees.

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

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

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

The rule will not apply if the two words are in different case-terminations, though they may have the same form. As याय: (i. s.) पाय: (2. s.) अरुतित यायान्यां (3 d.) च क्रृत यायान्यां (4 d.) च देही.

बृजो युना तद्हक्ष्यक्षेत्रेव विशेष: || 65 || पदार्थी || बृजः, युना, तद्हक्षा:; चेत्र पचः, विशेष: ||

वृत्ति: || बृजोयुनासहस्त्रवेशमेवते युवानिविर्यते तद्हक्ष्यक्षेत्रेव विशेष: ||

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

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

Thus गार्ग्य: + गार्ग्यवायु: = गार्ग्य. Here the first word denotes a clan called Gārgya (the offspring or grandsons of Garga formed by the affix वेध (IV. I. 105) 1 the second word denotes a younger branch of the same, and is formed by the Taddhita affix वेध denoting a secondary derivative. In this then, the first or “Vṛddha” remains; the second or the yuvan is dropped; and the form “Gārgyau” means both the old and the new clan. Similarly वास्य: + वास्यवायन: वास्यवाय.

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

The words must differ only by their affixes, but their radical element must be the same. The rule therefore does not apply to:—गार्ग्य: (a Vṛddha word + वास्यवायन: (a yuvan word)=गार्ग्यवास्यवायनी. 1

This rule of ekas’esha does not apply if one of the words be not a Vṛddha word. Thus गार्ग्य: + गार्ग्यवायु: = गार्ग्यगार्ग्यवायु. 1

Similarly vice versa गार्ग्य: + गार्ग्य: = गार्ग्यगार्ग्य: 1 Here the one word is Vṛddha, but the other is not yuvan.

The word “only” is used in the sūtra in an exclusive sense, the force being, that two words may stand in the relation of Vṛddha and yuvan, their radical element, i.e. form may be the same; but if the secondary word has another sense over and above the sense of a yuvan affix, this rule is not applicable. Thus rule IV. I. 143 says a “Vṛddha word may optionally take the affix वेध to form a yuvan word and to indicate contempt and born in the country of Sauvira.” Thus गार्ग्यवायु: + गार्ग्यविचिन: = गार्ग्यविचिनगार्ग्यविचिन:.

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

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

(1) गार्ग्यवायु: वेध: 1 (1) गार्ग्यविचिन: 1 (1) गार्ग्यवायु: 1
66. And so also a feminine word, ending with a \textit{vriddha} affix, when similarly spoken along with the same word but which ends with a \textit{yuvan} affix, is only retained; and it is treated like a masculine.

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

Similarly \textit{दायिनी} + \textit{दायर्यिक} = \textit{दायिनी} (masculine dual of \textit{दायिन}.

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

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

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

The governing force of the words \textit{‘vriddha’} and \textit{‘yuwan’} of sūtra 65, does not extend to this sūtra, but the remaining portion of sūtra 65 is to be read into this sūtra. When a masculine word is read along with a feminine word, the feminine word is dropped and the masculine is retained, when the difference between the two words is caused only by the feminine and masculine affixes: as \textit{ब्राह्मणा} + \textit{ब्राह्मणिः} = \textit{ब्राह्मणो ‘the Brāhmaṇa and the Brāhmani’; कुकुड़े + कुकुड़ी = कुकुड़ी. ‘the cock and hen’.
But not so in the following:—कुकुटः += म्रुती=कुकुटमथेयो ‘the cock and the peahen.’ Similarly मण्डः += मण्डो = मण्डमण्डको। Here the feminine affix शी, by which the word gaṇakt is formed from gaṇaka, in addition to its feminine signification, has the further signification given to it by Rule IV.1.48, पुंजोगादासवयम्, meaning the ‘wife of’ a gaṇaka and not a feminine gaṇaka; so also रुप्रहस्वकण् गेलेव्रणो। Similarly भार्वः += भार्वः = भार्वः but भार्वः += भार्वः = भार्वः। Because the feminine affix in _aryani conveys more than its feminine signification. See Rule IV.1.49.

This rule does not, of course, apply when it is not a masculine noun which is compounded, but it is a noun without any gender or neutral noun which is compounded with a feminine noun. Therefore म्रः += श्रीः=म्रातःशी। The word म्रः is an indeclinable and is without any gender.

भार्वः श्रव्यः द्वितिल्बमाय ददा श्रव्यः, श्रव्यः 

द्वितिल्बमाय, (शीः।)

द्रेष्टः। विभाजित्य आत्मप्रस्थाशीगति सहस्वने स्त्रुषुड़वमाय।

68. The words bhrātri, ‘brother,’ and putra, ‘son,’ when spoken of along with svasṛi, ‘sister’ and duhitri, ‘daughter’ respectively are only retained, and the latter are dropped.

* With this sūtra ceases the governing force of the remaining conditions contained in sūtra 65. Even where the radical elements of two words are different there may be an ekas’tesha under special circumstances. Thus आतु += स्वसृ = आतोर (brother and sister or brothers). Similarly पुष + दुहित् = पुषी, (son and daughter or sons).

N. B.—The practical application of this sūtra is very neatly illustrated by the following example. There is a verse in Yajyaṇa Valka smritti प्रेम दुहितस्त्रैवैति विनित्र आत्मस्त्रवका which declares that on the death of a sonless person his property passes to his wife, daughters, parents and bhrātarah.

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

नपुस्वत्रकानुपस्तेत्वयस्वयमायतस्य, ददा श्रव्यः न्यात्सकम्, न्यात्सकेन, यप्तिनः, च श्रव्यः, अन्तर्स्यमाय, (शीः, तत्त्वस्वत्तत्तत्विश्रोपैः।)।

श्रेष्टः। नपुस्वत्रकानुपस्तेत्वयस्वयमायतस्य ददा श्रव्यः न्यात्सकानुपस्तेत्वयस्वयमाय तत्त्वस्वत्तत्तत्तविश्रोपैः।

बृःश्वरः। नपुस्वत्रकानुपस्तेत्वयस्वयमायतस्य ददा श्रव्यः न्यात्सकानुपस्तेत्वयस्वयमाय, न्यात्सकानुपस्तेत्वयस्वयमाय।

बृःश्वरः। नपुस्वत्रकानुपस्तेत्वयस्वयमायतस्य ददा श्रव्यः न्यात्सकानुपस्तेत्वयस्वयमाय।
69. A neuter noun, which has the same form, only differing in affix, is optionally retained, and the other is dropped, and it is like a singular number.

A neuter prevails over a masculine or feminine noun when spoken of along with them, provided that the words differ in gender signs only; but radically they be the same. Thus आलस्य भैरुणं तिर्यं तिर्यामनं विशिष्टं ‘Idleness, lust, and sleep, indulged in, increase.' Here the adjective ‘sevyyamānam’ is in the neutral gender, though it qualifies the words ‘ālasyā’ which is in the masculine, ‘maithunam’ which is in the neuter, and ‘nidrā’ which is in the feminine gender. The rule, therefore, may be stated in these words, that where one adjective qualifies several nouns, in different genders, but one of which must be neuter, the adjective agrees with the neuter.

The above illustration also shows that the neuter ekas'eshā may be in the singular number.

If the neuter is compounded with another neuter, this rule does not apply. Thus षुक्रं + षुक्रं + षुक्रं = षुक्रानि; the word is in the plural; there is no ekavabhāva.

The words तथ्क्षणकिवेभविशिष्टं of śūtra 65 governs this śūtra also: thus षुक्रकृष्ण कपङ्क, षुक्रं च ब्रह्म्नकृष्ण, षुक्रं च ब्रह्म. “The white (masc.) blanket, the white (fem) wrapper, and the white (neut.) garment,” may all be spoken of collectively as षुक्रं (neut.).

पिता मात्रा || ७० || पदार्थ || पिता, मात्रा (शेष, अन्यतरस्त्रयम्) ||

वृः || मात्रासह वचने पितार्वं: विशिष्टं अन्यतरस्त्रयम् ||

70. The word pitri, ‘father’, is optionally only retained when spoken of along with mātri, ‘mother.’

Thus विता + मात्रा = पितव्र ‘father and mother, or parents’ or मातापितारी. The verse quoted under śūtra 68 illustrates this śūtra also. There the word ‘pitarau’ has been explained by all commentators as “father and mother.” The word “ekavad” of the last śūtra does not govern this śūtra; though the anuvṛtti of ‘optionally’ is to be read into this.

अव्हरु: अव्हरु || ७१ || पदार्थ || अव्हरुः, अव्हरु, (शेष, अन्य-तरस्त्रयम्) ||

वृः || अव्हरुसह वचने अव्हरुषः: विशिष्टं अन्यतरस्त्रयम् ||

71. The word s’vas’ura ‘father-in-law,’ is optionally only retained, when spoken of along with s’vas’ru, ‘mother-in-law.’
Thus शव्यु: + शव्यू: may be either शव्यूऽे ‘father-in-law and mother-in-law,’ or शव्युऽशव्यूऽे.

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

The list of ‘tyadādi’ pronouns has been given under sūtra I. 1. 27. They are 12 words beginning with ‘tyad’ and ending with ‘kim;’ when these tyadādi pronouns are compounded with any other noun, (or a pronoun, which does not belong to their class), they prevail, the rest are dropped. The word ‘सर्यया’ is used in the aphorism to indicate ‘universality’; i. e. what ever may be the word in composition with them, the ‘tyad &c.’ are retained to the exclusion of others. The word ‘नियय’ is used to indicate that this is an obligatory rule, and not optional, as were the last rules.

Thus सः: (he)+ देवदत्तः: (Devadatta) = तौ (they two).

Vart.—When शव्युऽ words are compounded among themselves, the word which is read last in the order given in the Gaṇapatha remains, the rest are dropped. Thus वः + सः = ब्री; वः + कः = क्री. Thus ब्रूऽ is read after वकः (see I. 1, 27). So ब्रूऽ will be retained and not ब्रूऽ. Similarly क्षः is read after ब्रूऽ, and therefore क्षः is retained to the exclusion of ब्रूऽ.

73. The feminine noun is only retained, when denoting a collection of domestic animals, not being young.

As a general rule, when there is a compounding of masculine and feminine nouns, the masculine noun is retained (see 67). The present sūtra is an exception to that rule. It ordains that when there is a compounding of words denoting group of domestic animals, of different genders,
the feminine noun is preferred; provided that the words should not relate to the young of such animals. The word 'ataruṇa' in the aphorism qualifies the word 'pas'u' with which it is in construction, and not the word 'saṅgha.' As गाव इमा: 'these cows (and bulls);' बज्र इमा: 'these goats' (both males and females).

The rule only applies to domestic (grāmya) animals and not to wild animals; and only to beasts (pas'u) and not men. As श्रव इमे: 'these wild deers' (male and female); पुरस्ता इमे, 'these antelopes' (male and female); ब्राह्मणा, 'the Brāhmaṇas (male and female); क्षत्रिया, 'the Kshatriyas.' In all these the masculine noun is retained by Rule 67.

Vart.—This rule must be confined to domestic animals having divided hoof. Therefore चरवा इमे, 'these horses' (male and female). Here the masculine noun is retained, because horse has no divided hoof.

Why have we used the word (sangha) "collection"? Observe एवं गावी परस्त; 'these two cows are grazing.' Here the word 'gāvau' does not connote 'bull' also.

Why do we say "not being young"? बक्ठा इमे 'these calves'; बक्तरा इमे 'these kids.' Here the masculine noun is retained by the application of Rule 67.
BOOK I.

CHAPTER III.

भृःभ्
|| चरण पथ्माद्ध्यायस्तु तृतीयः पादः ॥

1. The words beginning with bhū 'to become,' and denoting action, are called dhātu or verbal roots.

This defines the word dhātu or root. The list of Sanskrit verbs begins with the root bhū 'to be.' Sanskrit grammarians have divided all verbs into ten classes, according to certain modifications which their roots undergo before certain terminations. The ten classes are as follows:


* There are about two thousand verbs, and they are conjugated in two forms, some taking the Parasmaipada terminations only, the others the Atmanepada terminations and some both. The present chapter deals mostly with rules determining the nature of the verbal root, whether it is Parasmaipadi or Atmanepadi or both. A verb expresses action. The word dhātu is a word coined by older grammarians than Pāṇini and they employed the term in denoting a word expressing action. Here also, therefore, the word dhātu means a word which expresses action.

The व्र in the sutra is for the sake of auspiciousness; for the regular sandhi of bhū + आवहि is आवहि and not भृवावहि; while Dr. Ballantyne considers that व्र is a separate root: he translates the sutra thus:—“Let the verbal roots bhū 'be,' va 'blow' and the like be called dhātu.”

उपदेशोऽजुनायिस्तु इत्य ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपदेशोऽ, भ्रुऽ, अजु-नायिस्तुऽ, इत्य ॥

ृत्तिः: उपित्त्वक्तवेनेनेति उपेशः; शाविबावश्यनि सूत्रपाटः खिलपादिष्ठत्व तस्वैर्जुनायिस्तुऽ: स इत्यस्यो भविः ॥

2. The nasalized vowels are ः in Upades’ā, or original enunciation.
Anunāsika or nasalized vowels are हनु that is indicatory, when occurring in technical words. Thus in कित्र, चिच, शिच the anunāsika ह is हनु. The original sūtra contains the word ‘upades’a’ which we have translated as technical term. ‘Upades’a’ literally means ‘instruction’ or the first mentioning of a thing either in a sūtrapātha, or gaṇapātha, or dhatu paṭha, &c.

From this sūtra up to sūtra 9, there is a description of servile or indicatory letters called हनु. “In Pāṇini’s Grammar there is no visible sign of the nasality of a vowel—hence we can know a vowel to be nasalized only from Pāṇini’s explicitly asserting that it is so, or from our finding that he treats it in such a way that we must conclude he regarded it as nasal.” An upades’a is defined as signifying an original enunciation, that is to say, an affix (prataya), or an augment (āgama), or a verbal root (dhatu), or in short, any form of expression which occurs only in technical treatises of grammar, and which is not a word ready for use, but one of the supposed original elements of a word. Thus in the root एञ्ञ ‘to increase,’ the final ए is indicatory, the real root is एञ्ञ. So also the final ए of एण्न is हनु.

If the word is not an upades’a, then the nasal vowel is not हनु. As अर्थ ओँ अर्थ: हनु अन्त्यम्, (उपदेशे हनु) ||

A word may be an upades’a, and nasal, but if it is not a vowel, it need not be हनु as the affix मनिन्द्र in sūtra III. 2. 74. (चतुर्विंशतिकृति वनित्वद) It is only the nasal vowel of an upades’a that becomes हनु and not all the vowels. The word हनु occurs in sūtras V. 2. 16. (चतुर्विंशतिकृति &c.).

हनुत्तमम् || २ || पदानि || हनु-अन्त्यम्, (उपदेशे हनु) ||

वृत्ति: प्रासंसदि: समुपासदि यथोत्तमे हनु तविस्तवन्त्म भवति ||

3. In upades’a, the final consonant of roots, &c. is हनु.

All the final consonants of roots, affixes. &c., are indicatory. As in the pratāhāra sūtras ए अ व ए; here ए is हनु || ए ए ए; here ए is हनु || ए ओँ; here ओँ is हनु || ए ओँ; here ओँ is हनु || ए ओँ; here ओँ is हनु || It is only in upades’a, that a final consonant is हनु. Not therefore, in अत्माचित्त or सोमहल, which are complete words.

न वच्चको तुम्मा: || ४ || पदानि || न वच्छको, तु-ध्वन्धा: ||

वृत्ति: प्रासंस प्रासंसविनिश्चति द्विंसको तुम्मा नाना तवर्ष सकार नकाराणाः प्रतिवेध

4. The final dental consonants, and the final श and श are not हनु in affixes called vibhakti or inflective affixes.
This is an exception to the previous sūtra which declared all final consonants to be ḍh. In case terminations, the final न, र, र, घ, घ, म, म, are not ḍh. Thus the case termination of nominative plural is नम्. Here the final न, though a consonant is not an ḍh; and is not rejected, as in भाषणम्. The word न in the sūtra means the letters of the class न by virtue of sūtra 69 Chapter I. (see ante). The word vibhakli will be defined later on in sūtra I. 4. 104. These are terminations applied to nouns in declining them through various cases; and to verbs in conjugating them. Thus in sūtra VII. 1. 12, (गविस्विस्वविनामाय:;) the vibhaktis इत्, आत् and यथा replace य, शति and यथा. Here the final न of the affix आत् is not indicatory and hence not rejected, as बुधाते. Similarly verbal terminations भू and यस्य as पचत:, पचय:; So also the final म as ना and लम् in अपचतम् and अपचतम्.

This exception applies only to vibhaktis and not to affixes in general. Thus the finals of तस् (III. 1. 97 धचोऽवत:) दस् (V. 2. 123, कोणाऽत् पुरस्) and शम् (III. 1. 78 नवाहिन शम्;) are इत् and are rejected. This exception, however, does not apply to the vibhakti यत् (in V. 3. 12 कमेवत् or III. 4. 106, इत्यवस्त्र). In those two sūtras the final न of the vibhakti is इत्. The reason of this is, that the present sūtra is an anitya sūtra, i.e. a rule not of general application. In sūtra V. 3. 24, (इत्स्मपः;) we find, ‘the word इत् takes the vibhakti यत् in the sense of mode or manner.’ As इत्+यत्=इत्स्म, ‘in this manner.’ Now यत् is a vibhakti by V. 3. 1. (यत्-विनिमा: विनिम:;) the न is इत्, the real vibhakti is यत्. Now had the present sūtra been of universal application, then there would have been no necessity of adding this न as indicatory letter, which has been evidently added to save the न of यत् from becoming an इत्. This sūtra is consequently an anitya sūtra.

5. The initial नि, तु, and दु are इत्.

The syllables यि, य गँ and य, standing at the beginning of a root are indicatory; as यमिन्य ‘to have affectionate pleasure.’ The real root is यम, the य is servile. So इनि ‘to rejoice; be glad’ the real root being यन्. So इनि ‘to give’ the real root being यः.

The यम shows that the past participle यम् has the power of the present III. 2. 187 (शीतः नमः). As यमिन्यः-फलः ‘blow;’ यमिन्यः-भिन्नः ‘fat;’ यमिन्यः-युगः ‘bold;’ यमिन्यः-हिन्नः ‘soft;’ यमिन्यः-इत्स्म ‘kindled.’

The यम subjoined to a root serves to show that it admits the affix यथा to form a noun indicative of the act (III. 3. 89 इत्स्मवस्त्र;) as इत्स्मवस्त्र: वस्त्र: ‘shaking;’ यम्याईविनिमाय: ‘swelling.’

The यम indicates that the root to which it is subjoined admits of the affix यमः (III. 3. 88, इत्स्म-यमः;) to form a noun or adjective attributive of the act
by which the substantive thing has been produced, as द्रव्यम्—कविःस्य 'artificial'
द्रव्यम्—सङ्केतस्य 'ripe'; हृदयम्—सङ्केतस्य 'sown.'

If these three syllables do not stand in the beginning of a verb, they are not indicatory; as पद्याक्ति, कण्याक्ति, &c.

ष: प्रायवस्य, || तृ० || पदानि || प:, प्रायवस्य ( आदि इत्यूः )

बृः: || चारः प्रायवस्यांविरितस्को भवति

6. The initial ष of an affix is indicatory.

The initial ष of an affix gets the name of इत्यूः and is rejected. Thus
by Rule III. 1. 145 (शिल्पिनः भूतः) the affix भूतः is added to a verb to indicate
proficient in the art expressed by the verb. The ष and ण are इत्यूः and अक्र
takes the place of ः (VII. 1. 1, वृक्षारामकौ). Thus भूतः+भूत=नारः+अक्र=नारःक्र:
'a dancer' (by profession); fem. नारःक्री (IV. 1. 41, विद्यतात्त्विकः 'words formed
by affixes having an indicatory ष take the affix श्विरः in the feminine '): so also
रजःक्री, फेम. रजःक्री.

The initial ष of an affix only is इत्यूः and not every initial ष. Thus not
in चोः: ‘six,’ or छविकः। The ष must be initial, therefore it is not इत्यूः in the
affix विष्णुः in अभिमन्युपैकः, (Up I. 45) as अभिमः: ‘an ocean’, महिपः: ‘a buffalo.’

षूः || ७ || पदानि || छूः (प्रायवस्य आदिः, इत्यूः)

बृः: || चारः चारः प्रायवस्याः इत्यूः भवति

7. The initial palatals and linguals of an affix
are indicatory.

The consonants ष, ण, ज, ङ, च, च, य, द, द, ठ, ठ, ड, ड, and ष, are always
इत्यूः and are rejected when initial in affixes. The word ‘affix’ of the previous
sūtra governs this also.

As the affix यक्षस्य चापा:न in sūtra (IV. 1. 98 गोङे कुङ्कलिभ्यक्षस्य). Here
षूः is indicatory, as, कौशःनामः। The initial ष of an affix is always replaced
by इत्यूः (VII. 1. 2 आदि: नामः: भूतः कम्ख्याः प्रायवस्याः). The initial ष of an affix
is इत्यूः। As, बस (Nom. Pl. term) श्राङ्गा:। The initial ष of an affix is always
replaced by भस्तः, as षूः+शस+ष्नि=भस्तः। (VII. 1. 3 छोरः।). The initial ष of
an affix is इत्यूः as in ध्विः which comes after the words शाधिकः एकः। As शाधिकः.
(V. 3. 92 शाधिक:श्वायमः). The indicatory ष causes vṛiddhi by rules VII. 2. 115,
116 and 117: (अमृतमित्वां, अनवप्रभाः; तद्भवेतत्वादाः).

The initial ष of an affix is इत्यूः as in III. 2. 16 (चरः: the root चरः takes
the affix ष when compounded with a noun in the locative). As कुङ्कलिः: ‘who
goes among the Kurus.' The feminines of words formed by this affix take
कुङ्कलिः (IV. 1. 15 दिक्षिप्रमुस्तः एकः) As कुङ्कलिः, प्रजः. The initial ष of an affix
is always replaced by दक्र (VII. 3. 50 दक्रेकः). The initial ष of an office is इत्यूः,
as in III. 2. 97 (सम्य: जनेव: the root जनेव: takes the affix ष when in composition
with a word in the locative, as उपसर्गः, मन्त्रः. The ः indicates that the final of the word called हि should be elided when an affix having indicatory ः is added. The initial ः of an affix is replaced by ए (VII. 1. 2.)

The letter ख is always an खृ when initial. As in the aphorism IV. 4 8 (क्रान्तः:) the affix खृ comes after the word क्रान्तः ‘food.’ As क्रान्तः + खृ = क्रान्तः. The खृ causes Vṛddhi.

This sūtra could very well have been included in the last aphorism. Why has it then been made a separate aphorism? The reply is that the present sūtra declares an anitya rule—that is to say, a rule which is not universally true. The initial palatal or lingual of every affix is not indicatory. Thus in the affixes चृद्धा और चप्पु the initial ः is not indicatory but forms part of the real affix. As विद्वानुषः विद्वानः ‘famous for one’s learning,’ See S. V. 2. 26. तेन विद्वानुषः चप्पुः. Similarly the initial ः of the affix दीठः (V. 2. 31 दीठःकृद्वर्त्तः, तेन नासिकायः दीठः, नासिकायः दीठः नासिकायः), is not इ. As त्वद्विन्द्रः ‘flat nosed.’

Of course it is the initial palatal and lingual which are servile; if these letters occur in the middle of an affix, they will not be indicatory. As इ of the affix फातः is not indicatory in sūtra V. 2. 35 (कम्बोकः परोडः) कर्मः: ‘dexterous.’

8. The initial ल and श, and the gutturals of all affixes, except taddhita, are indicatory.

The initial ल, श, छ, ख, घ, प, फ, घ, of affixes are indicatory, except in Taddhita affixes. Thus the initial ल in लुद्धः is लृ (III. 3 115 लुद्धः). चि+लुदः = लुद्धः (VII. 1. 1) ‘collecting.’ The initial ल in लृ is लृ (III. 1. 68. कृति श्लः) लृ + श्लः + तिः = श्लः + श्लः + तिः = लृः ‘he is.’ The initial शः is शः as in शः and कवः (I. 1. 26), as शःः: ‘eating’ शःःः. The initial खः is खः as in खःः (III. 2. 38 प्रेमवंशः खः, खःः: the word वः takes the affix khak when compounded with वः and शः ) विलिवः: ‘speaking kindly’, वःःः: ‘submissive.’ The initial घः is घः as in the affix घःः (III 2. 139 ग्याजितियः घःः), घःःः: ‘languid’, घःःःः: ‘victorious’, घ्यास्तः: ‘unmoveable.’ The initial फः is फः as in फःः (III. 2. 161 ममःमातितियः फःः, ममःः: ‘brittle.’ The initial फः is फः, as in फः (termination of the ablative sing.) फःः ditto of genitive sing. (IV. 1. 2), as फःःः + फःः = फःःःः + फःः = फःःःः’of a well minded.’ In Taddhita affixes however, these initials ल, श, and gutturals are not लृ; and are therefore not elided. Thus ठृःः + ठृःः = ठृःःः: (V. 2. 96. प्रासिष्यादति लज्ज्यततस्सामः) ‘crested’; ळःः + ळःः
9. Of this, (namely of that which has been called हे), there is elision.

This sūtra declares the function of हे; namely it is a mere indicatory letter, and must be rejected. It is useful only as a mnemonic and is not a part of the term.

The word tasya in the sūtra indicates that the substitution of lopa must be in the place of the whole term called हे, and not only in the place of the final letter, which last is the general rule (see I. 1. 52). Therefore, the whole of नि, ह and हे is rejected and not only their finals.

10. When a rule involves the case of equal numbers of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted, their mutual correspondence or assignment of each to each, is according to the order of enumeration.

Thus sūtra III. 1 134 (नोध्वगृहिणीयादि गृहिणियादि) declares—'the affixes हे, यिनि and प्रच्छ are applied to नस्लि, मद्दि and प्रच्छ class of words.' It means the affix हे is applied to the words of नस्लि class, the affix यिनि to words of मद्दि class, and प्रच्छ to words of प्रच्छ class. The application must be respectively according to order, and not hap-hazard. Similarly in VI. 1 77 हकी बलिफि (if a vowel follows) in the place of हे, हे, हे, हे there is यह i.e., हे, हे, हे, हे So also see S. IV. 3. 94 (द्वीयद्वारभूपति कुचक्ष्मा हक छु छु हक यक:) where the four affixes धक, चन्ति धक, and यक are applied respectively to the words तुदि, s'alutura, varmati and kuchavara; i.e., the first affix in the order of enumeration to the first word, the second affix to the second word, &c. As तोदि; शालातुरि, बलिफि; and कौच्चवारि.

Why do we say 'of equal members'? This rule will not apply if the number of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted are unequal. As in sūtra I. 4. 90, तच्छोधमृतामायामामाच्छवान् प्रति परमेण: for here the words lakshaṇa, &c., in the first part of
the sūtra are four in number, while the words prati &c. are only three. That
sūtra therefore must be read as thus. “The words प्रति, पारि and मद्दु are karma
pravachanīya, whenever they indicate either lakṣaṇa (a mark), iithambhutā
khyāna (a statement of mere circumstance); bhāga (division); or vipsā
(desire).”

स्वरितानाधिकारः || ११ || पदानि || स्वरितेन, अधिकारः ||

वृद्धिः || स्वरितेन नाम स्वरविशेष्यो वर्ग्यथम्: तेन विद्विनाधिकारो वेदितत्वः ||

11. In these aphorisms, when a word is marked
with a svarīta accent, by that an adhikāra or a governing
rule is to be understood.

When in this collection of grammatical sūtras, there is any sūtra
that has a circumflex accent, it denotes that it is either the beginning of a
subject and the subsequent sūtras are governed by it, or that it ends a sub-
ject and separates the previous sūtras from the following.

As a rule, the sūtras are not marked with accents; it is therefore
from commentaries that one has to learn whether a sūtra has a svarīta or not.
Thus the following sūtras must evidently have svarīta as they are go-
verning sūtras; प्रत्ययः (III. 1. 1.) धातौः (III. 1. 91), अज्ञातः (VI. 4. 1), नस्य
(VI. 4. 129).

अनुदातः अत्मानेपदम् || १२ || पदानि || अनुदातः-व्रद्धिः: अत्मानेपदम् ||

वृद्धिः: || अनुदातंतौ व धत्वः हि इत्य एव भास्यम् पदे: भवत्व नावेश्यः: ||

12. After a root which has an indicatory anu-
dātta vowel (anudāttat) or an indicatory न (nīt), the affixes
are those of the Atmanepada.

The word ‘atmanepada’ here governs all the subsequent sūtras up to
sū. 77 inclusive, and is understood in them all; and will not therefore be re-
peated. Thus of the verb भास the final भ is anudātta and is हृत. It is there-
fore an atmanepadi verb. As प्रति. So पूर्त—पूर्त, शीर्ष—शीर्षे.

भाषकर्मणा: || १३ || पदानि || भाष-कर्मणा: ( अत्मानेपदम्) ||

वृद्धिः: || भाषे कर्मणि चालिनेपदाद्वितिः ||

13. An atmanepada affix is the substitute of
the affix मृ (III. 4. 69) when it denotes the action of the
verb or the object of the verb.

Sūtra III. 4. 69 declares the “letter मृ (मद्दु, लित्र &c.) is placed after
transitive verbs in denoting the object also as well as the agent; and after
intransitives in marking the condition (i.e., the action itself which the verb
imports) also as well as the agent.” The Paras. and Atman. affixes would
have come, therefore, generally after all these verbs. The present sūtra restricts Atman. affixes to bhāva and karma verbs.

This is clear. Impersonal verbs and passive verbs as a rule are conjugated in the ātmanepada and take the terminations of that pada. These originally were verbs expressive of states rather than of actions. As of भाव we have गायत्री भवता 'you dislike' (lit. 'it is disliked by you'), नरपति भवता 'you sleep.' Similarly passive verbs as कियते कर्म: 'the mat is made'; गृहते भार: 'the load is carried.'

All verbs in Sanskrit may have three voices, ṛṣ, active, passive, and middle or impersonal; active voice is generally parasmaipada. The reflexive verbs known as कर्मकर्मती are also ātmanepadi. Thus तुस्ते केदारः स्वयमं 'the wood cuts of itself.' See sūtra 78.

कार्यिर कर्मे भवतिहारे॥ १४॥ पदानि॥ कार्यिर, कर्मे-भवति-
हारे॥ (अतलनेपदम्)॥

14. In denoting the agent, when reciprocity of action is to be expressed, the affixes of the Atmanepada are employed.

The active or कर्मकर्मित्व verbs when denoting reciprocal action are ātmanepadi. As, भवित्विधि, 'they cook for each other,' भवित्विन्ते 'he performs cutting of wood which was the appropriate office of another.'

The words "reciprocity or interchange of action" of this sūtra govern and are understood in the two following sūtras also.

The word karma in the sūtra means action and not the technical 'karma' meaning 'object' and the word vyatihāra means reciprocity or interchange. When an action which was appropriate to one person is performed by another, whose duty it was not, that is called 'interchange of action.' When such interchange is not meant Paras. is used. As युग्नति 'they cut.' The word kartari here is used for the sake of the subsequent aphorism 78, which see.

न गति हिंत्सार्थम्:॥ १५॥ पदानि॥ न, गति-हिंत्सा-अर्थम्:॥
(अतालनेपदम् कर्माण्वित्वारे)॥

15. After verbs having the sense of 'motion,' or 'injury,' when expressing interchange of action, the Atmanepada affixes are not used.
This aphorism prohibits Atmanepada affixes in certain cases where by force of the last sūtra Atmanepada affixes would have been obtained. As व्यतिगच्छन्ति ‘they go against each other,’ व्यतिहिंसन्ति ‘they injure each other,’ व्यतिघातन्ति ‘they fight together.’

The word ‘not’ of this sūtra is understood in the subsequent sūtra. 

\textit{Vart.}—This prohibition extends to the verbs हस् ‘to laugh,’ and the rest. As व्यतिहिंसन्ति, व्यतिज्ञापन्ति, व्यतिघातन्ति.

\textit{Vart.}—Prohibition must be made of the verbs हसति ‘to injure,’ as संबहस्ते पञ्चानां.

\vspace{0.5cm}

\begin{equation}
\text{इतरेरत्नराग्योपपदाभ्यं} \quad ॥ १६ ॥ \text{पदानि} \quad \text{इतर-इतर, अत्यः-अत्यः, उपपदात्, च, ( कर्ममृत्र अधिमेत्र न)} \quad ॥
\end{equation}

हसिः। इतरेरत्नराग्यो पदानि सदाध्वाति: कर्मविविधे आयमनेन्द्रे न भवति॥

\begin{equation}
\text{वाच्यिकम्} \quad \text{परस्परपदाध्वाति सकलसम्} \quad ॥
\end{equation}

16. And after the verbs which take the words \textit{itaretara} ‘each other,’ and \textit{anyonya} ‘one another,’ as \textit{upapada} (or dependant qualifying words), the affixes of Atmanepada are not used, though reciprocity of action be denoted.

Thus \textit{ितरेरत्नराग्यो} व्यति लघुन्ति ‘they cut each other’ अत्यः-अत्यः व्यतिविलासिति ‘they cut one another.’

\textit{Vart.}—This rule must also be applied when the word \textit{परस्पर} is in composition with the verb, as an upapada. As \textit{परस्परसम्} व्यतिविलासित.

\begin{equation}
\text{नेविशिः} \quad ॥ १७ ॥ \text{पदानि} \quad \text{नेविशिः, विशिः, ( आयमनेपदम्)} \quad ॥
\end{equation}

हसिः। \text{नेविशिः} \quad \text{परस्पर} विशिः आयमनेन्द्रे भवति॥

17. After the verb \textit{vis} ‘to enter,’ when preceded by the preposition \textit{ni}, the Atmanepada affixes are employed.

As विशिः ‘he enters,’ but नेविशिः ‘he enters in.’

Even when the augment ब्रह्म of the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional tenses intervenes between the root and the preposition, terminations are of the Atmanepada. As ब्रह्मिः ‘he entered in.’

The \textit{लि} of the sūtra must be an upāsarga, because that has a sense, and not any \textit{लि}. On this there is this \textit{paribhāṣā}—वर्मयूःप्रह्योनामानायकस्य “a combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote the same combination of letters void of a meaning.” Thus in \textit{भ्रमि विशिः भवति:} ‘the beetles enter the honey flowers.’

\begin{equation}
\text{स्त्रूसि} \quad \text{भ्रमि विशिः भवति:} \quad \text{‘the beetles enter the honey flowers.’}
\end{equation}
Here the वि is a part of the word युग्मि and has no sense by itself, and therefore the verb is in the Parasmaipada and not in the Atmanepada.

परियवेव्यभः कियः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परि-वि-व्रस्यः, कियः,
( आ० ) ॥

वृक्ति: ॥ परियवेव्यभ उसरात्र ऋषिविराजनेवपदं भवति ॥

18. After the verb क्रि 'to purchase,' when preceded by pari, vi or ava, the Atmanepada affix is employed, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb जजीर्ण 'to buy or barter,' has an indicatory यु and therefore, by sūtra 72 it will be Atmanepadi when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present sūtra, therefore, refers to cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The root क्रि 'to buy' as a general rule takes the terminations of both paddas, but when it is preceded by pari, vi, or ava, it is restricted to Atmanepada terminations, As प्रवीक्षीति 'he buys'; विक्रीषीति 'he sells'; जजीक्रीषीति 'he buys.'

The word pari, vi, and ava must be upasargas, therefore, in the following example, there is no Atmanepada termination, because the vi there is not a preposition but a noun, as, वधविक्रीषीति वनस्.

विपरायम् जे: ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विपरायायम्, जे: ( आ० ) ॥

वृक्ति: ॥ वि परा एवावर्ज्ञायंत्यारायणमेषपदं भवति ॥

19. After the verb ji 'to conquer,' preceded by vi or parâ, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

This sūtra debars S. 78 by which the root वि is generally Parasmaipadi.

As विजयते 'he conquers', पराजयते 'he conquers.' The words vi and parâ must be upasargas (prepositions), for the application of this rule. In the following examples, they are used as substaintives जजिजयति वनस्, पराजयति सेना ॥

आधा देबभाष्य विहरयेः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि: ॥ आधा, दः, जजनास्य-विहरयेः, ( आ० ) ॥

वृक्ति: ॥ आधा पूर्वावात्ताशास्यविहरयेः वर्जावात्ताशास्यविहरयेः 
बहवति ॥

वाणिजक्षः ॥ जजस्यविहरयाः जजस्यविहरयाः जजस्यविहरयाः जजस्यविहरयाः ॥

वाणिजक्षः ॥ स्तान्त कर्मकारण्येति वनस्यः ॥
20. After the verb dâ 'to give,' preceded by ān, and when not meaning 'to open the mouth,' the Atmanepada affix is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The root श्र is generally both Parasmaipadi and Atmanepadi (see S. 72). But when preceded by the preposition भा, it is restricted to the Atmanepadia. 
As विवादाशे 'he acquires knowledge.' But when it means "to widen the mouth" whether actually or metaphorically, it is parasmaipadi. As भा/श्र व्याख्याति. 'He expands his own mouth.'

Vart :—The prohibition also applies when the action is similar to the act of opening the mouth. As विवादाशे व्याख्याति 'he opens the tumour.' कूं श्र व्याख्याति 'the river breaks the bank.'

Vart :—When the action does not affect the agents' own body the verb is Atmanepadi, as श्राविलधनिनिका: पतंगस्थः इमय्, 'the ants open the mouth of a locust.'

21. After the verb krîd 'to play' preceded by anu, sam or pari, as well as ān, the Atmanepada affix is used.

The word "भा" is to be read into the sūtra by virtue of the conjunction च in the text. As भा/श्र व्याख्याति कोैबने 'he plays.'

Vart.—When the verb क्रिया compounded with सम means to make a rattling or creaking noise,' it does not take Atmanepada terminations. As संक्रिया श्रक्ति 'the carts rattle or creak.' The word anu, pari &c., being taught along with sam, indicates that the upasargas anu, pari, &c., are to be taken and not the karmapravachaniya anu pari, &c. Therefore, when these prefixes are used as karmapravachaniya, they do not cause the verb क्रि to
take the atmanepada terminations as माण्यकर्मसापकीकऽति 'he plays in imitation of the boy.' For the definition and action of karmapravachaniya, see I. 4, 83 and II. 3, 8.

Vart.—The verb सापम् takes the atmanepada terminations when meaning 'to wait for,' 'to overlook,' 'to have patience,' as, भागनयम्य तावयं माण्यकर्मस। 'Have patience with the boy.'

Vart.—The verb विच्छ्य takes atmanepada terminations, when meaning 'to enquire':—as, विचारां विचारते 'he investigates sciences.

Vart.—The verb नाच् when meaning 'to bless,' takes atmanepada terminations, as, सर्पचो नाच्ये 'he blesses with clarified butter,' मुखो नाच्ये। Why do we say 'when meaning to bless'? Observe, माण्यकर्मसदनयति, 'he begs of Manavaka.'

Vart.—The verb हृति takes atmanepada terminations when meaning 'to take after the nature of the parents.' As पौत्रकन्म्या अनुजर्ते 'the horses resemble their father.' नातुनसं माण्यकर्मसः 'the cows always imitate their mother.' But when not having this meaning, we have माण्यकर्मस 'he resembles his mother.'

Vart.—The verb किरति takes atmanepada terminations when meaning 'to scratch out or scatter with joy, for abode or food.' As अपस्थितं कुपनो हृति: 'the happy bull scratches with joy,' अपस्थितं कुकुटे महायाः 'the cock scratches in search of food,' अपस्थितं भास्वभासी 'the dog scratches to make his abode.' When not having these senses we have अपकिरति कुहुन्नुम 'he scatters about the flowers.' The dental स in apaskirate is added by sūtra VI. 1. 142. अपभ्रंशक्ति कुकिरतिसमेते

Vart.—The verbs हृं 'to cry,' and पञ्च 'to ask' take the atmanepada terminations when preceded by the preposition आहू, as आहूते श्रृगाल: 'the jackal howls,' आपञ्चते गुरुप्रसु 'he questions the Guru.'

Vart.—The verb श्रुं when meaning 'to touch the body by the word' takes atmanepada affixes. As रूपस्ताव श्रुंति 'he promises by oath to Devadatta.' Otherwise we have श्रृंति 'he curses.'

समवसित्य: शः॥ २२॥ पदानि॥ समूप्रव-प्र-विभः, शः॥

ब्रजसु:॥ सम् भाव म वि इंलये पूर्वानु विचारे राज्यनये प्रयत्ति॥

वासिकसु॥ आहू: श्यः मरीत्वा श्रुति् वक्षयस्॥

22. After the verb sthâ 'to stand,' preceded by sam, ava, pra, vi, the Atmanepada affix is used.

As संतित्वे 'he stays with,' अवतित्वे 'he waits patiently,' प्रतित्वे 'he sets forth,' वित्तिे 'he stands apart.'
Var. — The verb स्था when preceded by श्राहृ and meaning 'solemn declaration' takes अत्मनेपदा terminations; as भूति संस्काराभमानामतिदेहि। Or to take another example, जले वियं तत्र काराधावास्याये 'for thee I shall surely have recourse to water or poison.'

प्रकाशनस्येवायायोर्ध्व || 23 || पदानि || प्रकाशनस्येवायायोर्ध्व || (स्था, आत्मनेति) ||

बृत्ति: प्रकाशनस्येवायायायं च विद्यकाराधेयं पदानि भूति।

23. After the verb स्थात when meaning 'to indicate one's intentions to another,' or 'to make an award as an arbitrator,' the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The word prakās'āna means disclosing one's intentions. The word stheyākhya is a compound of stheya 'arbitrator'; and akhya 'name.'

As तिघि जायापले 'the wife expresses her wish to the husband,' विभि तिघि 'he refers to thee for settlement'; संबाध्य करणंदिधि तिघि तथा 'who, when he is in doubt, has recourse to Karna as his judge or umpire.'

उद्वर्गभूत्तकमर्मिणि || 24 || पदानि || उद्वर्गभूत्तकमर्मिणि, (स्था, आत्मनेपदम्) ||

बृत्ति: उद्वर्गभूत्तकमर्मिणि वर्तमानाद्यायायं पदानि भूति।

वास्तिकसि || उदं इवायामीति वर्तमानं।

24. After the verb स्थात, preceded by ut, when not meaning 'to get up or rise,' as from a seat, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The word 'karma' in this aphorism means 'action,' and does not mean the grammatical karma or 'object.'

As गंि विभिदे 'he strives for the house' so also कृत्ति विभिदे। But भासनायुपिति 'he rises up from the seat.'

Var. — The force of the preposition ut must be to express इहा, 'effort, exertion, wish or desire, to surprise or excell.' If this be not the force of ut, the terminations are those of the Parasmaiapada. As ब्रम्हादेव मामाव यतस्विनिविदि 'a hundred is yielded by this village.' The word इहा qualifies the word 'anurdhakarmani,' and does not debar the latter.

उपायान्तिकरणे || 25 || पदानि || उपायान्तिकरणे, (स्था, आत्मनेति) ||

बृत्ति: उपायान्तिकरणे पदानि भूति।

वास्तिकसि || उपायान्तिकरणेन संबाध्य करणं तिघि तथा वर्तमानं।

वास्तिकसि || वाति इवायामीति वर्तमानं।
25. After the verb sthâ, preceded by upa, when meaning ‘to adore,’ the Atmanepada affix is used.

As एवऽगाहङ्गस्वपनिष्ठते ‘he approaches with prayers or worships the Gârhapatya fire with aindra hymns.’

If it does not mean ‘praising with hymns’ the terminations which the verb takes, are those of the Parasmaipada, as भवाष्टेवस्वपिनिष्ठति योकनेन ‘she approaches the husband through youth.’

*Vart.*—The verb स्था after the preposition उप takes the terminations of the Atmanepada when meaning ‘worshipping a deity,’ ‘to approach for intercourse or uniting or joining,’ ‘to form friendship with,’ and ‘to lead to as a way.’ Thus:—1st Deva puja ब्राह्मणस्वपिनिष्ठते ‘he worships the Aditya.’ 2. Sangati karaṇa परिवेशिष्ठते नारी ‘the wife approaches the husband,’ रघुकुश्वपिनिष्ठते ‘forms union with charioteers.’ 3. Mitri karaṇa सन्नवस्वपिनिष्ठते साहु ‘the good man approaches the saints to make friends with.’ What is the difference between Sangati-karaṇa and Mitri-karaṇa? Sangati-karaṇa means drawing near and approaching together in space, as संगायवकुश्वपिनिष्ठते ‘the Ganges joins the Jumna.’ While the friendly relations may be established without coming in physical contact. 4. Patha:—सबं पन्ना: सुन्नवस्वपिनिष्ठते ‘this road leads to Sruguna.’

*Vart.*—It must be stated that the Atmanepada is optional when the sense is ‘desire of getting.’ As भल्लोकां श्राणकुश्वपिनिष्ठते or उपस्मिष्ठते ‘a beggar waits at the place of a Brahmana with the desire of getting something.’

26. After the verb sthâ, preceded by upa, when used intransitively, the Atmanepada affix is used.

As भोजनकाले उपस्मिष्ठते ‘he stands ready at the time of dinner,’ यावदशूदुपिनिष्ठते ‘he is present whenever it is dinner time,’ यावदवदनुपिनिष्ठते ‘he is present whenever there is food, that is he comes at the time of dinner.’ The word bhukta is formed by adding the affix kta to the root, and has the force of condition here.

The phrase ‘when used in the Intransitive’ governs the three succeeding sūtras also.

If it is transitive; the-verb upasthâ takes the parasmaipada terminations. As भाजनस्वपिनिष्ठते ‘he approaches the king.’

उद्धिमन् तपः || २७ || पदानि || उद्धिमन्, तपः, ( अक्षे-कातूङ्ग्रा ५१-५२ )

ब्रह्मसिद्धिः || उद्धिमन् दिइविश्व परिवेशिष्ठते सप्तेवर्काणिष्ठिकार्यानि सशास्त्रविज्ञानाधिपतिः भवसिः

बाधिकर्मा || स्लोत्र अक्षे-कातूङ्गाकपेठेत || क्षेत्र ||
27. After the verb tapa 'to shine,’ when used intransitively, and preceded by ut or vi, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

As उन्हें or vितपते, विनायक विदार्शि ‘The scholar shines with knowledge.' But in transitive verbs, it is Parasmaipadi. As उच्चरणि व्युधयुन्धर्मकार: 'the gold-smith heats the gold,ʼ वितपते पुष्ण सविता 'the sun heats the back.'

Vart.—It must be stated that the terminations are of the Atmanepada, though the verb ut-tapa or vi-tapa be transitive, when the object is some limb of one's own body. As उच्छरणि पारिः or वितपते पारिः or पुष्ण ‘he heats his own hand or back.' The word स्वार्थ means one's own body and not the परिभाषिक or the technical स्वार्थ meaning "a thing which not being liquid or gaseous and being capable of being perceived by the senses, and not being one produced by a change from the natural state, exists in a living being and though found elsewhere actually or at any particular time, had previously been known as a thing in only a living being, or is found to have actually (not figuratively) the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being." (See IV. 1. 54. स्वाध्यायकृष्णजनाशयोपायत।). Therefore not so in the following देवदत्ते वहतावसस्दियुन्धर्मपालि ‘Devadatta heats the back of Yajñadatta.' When the preposition is other than ut or vi, parasmaipada affix is employed; as, विदार्शि.

अन्यमयमहनि: || 28 || पदार्थि || अड़िः, यम-हनः, (अन्यमयकेतु अना प०) ||

हस्ति: || यम उपर्ये, हन हिशामेऽद्वे: || ताव्या कर्मकर्तिकिया वचना-विमानः पूर्व-विमान-परं भवितसि ||

28. After the verb yam ‘to stop,’ and han ‘to injure’ when used intransitively and preceded by anि, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The word intransitive of s. 26 is understood here also. Both these verbs are generally parasmaipadi. When they take the affix आ they become अन्यमयमहनि. Yam belongs to Bhvādi class; and han to Adādi class. Thus आ+स्वार्थ+स्वार्थ+ते = आ + स्वार्थ+स्वार्थ (VII. 3. 77 इत्यादिचारम: च्छ: ‘chh is the substitute of the finals of ish, gam and yam, when an affix having an indicatory व इ follows) = आध्यक्षते ‘it spreads.’ आध्यक्षते and आध्यक्षते; so also आ+हस्त+ते = आ + हस्त+ते (I. 2. 4 and VI. 4. 37) अतिव्युद्धचापस्वतत्वादित्वामुनानातिकलेपे हान्यकर्तिकिति = आहिते, ‘he strikes.’ आ = हस्त+आते = आ + हस्त+आते (I. 2. 4 and VI. 4. 98 साधारणतुमपवित्त गम्यान-विश्वास: लोप: कुक्ति व्यवन्धि) = आहितो – (VII. 3. 54), (ले हस्त्यान्तिकेतु) Pl. आन्ते.

Not so when these verbs are used in the transitive, as आध्यक्षति ऐन्यमयकेतु: कुक्ति युधि ‘he draws up the rope from the well,’ आध्यक्षति उत्तरे पाणि ‘they kill the sinner with the foot.’
Vart.—When the object is some member of the agent’s own body these verbs take the Atmanepada terminations though transitive. As अभायधिने पाणिः ‘he puts forth his own hand.’ ब्रह्मविष त्रिभुज्य ‘he hurts his own head.’ When the object is some limb of another’s body, the terminations are of the Para-
smaitapada, as ब्रह्मविष चिरि पराभूषिः ‘they hurt others’ head.’

समागमविषयंसत्वत्वातिशिल्पिनयम्रः साधुः।
गमिः-अविषयंसत्वत्वातिशिल्पिनयम्रः (अविषयं साधुः)
हृतशः। संपुष्टीः गमिः अविषयंसत्वत्वातिशिल्पिनयम्रः अजीयमिः
हृतशः।

बालिके। २९। दोषेशिष्यति वज्ञायम्।

29. After the verbs gam ‘to go,’ richchh ‘to become hard,’ prachchh ‘to ask,’ svar ‘to find fault,’ ri ‘to go,’ s’rū ‘to hear,’ and vid ‘to know,’ when used intransitively and preceded by sam, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The above seven verbs when preceded by the preposition सम् and used in the intransitive, take the terminations of the Atmanepada. As संगोचते (VII. 3. 77) ‘he joins,’ संधीकते ‘he becomes hard or goes.’ संधीकते ‘he asks,’ संघारते ‘he blames,’ समर्थ ‘they are attained.’ In the case of this last verb which belongs both to Bhâd and Juhutya classes it is Atmanepadi only in the Aorist. As सम् + क्त + अ + त (III. 1. 56 क्तिशास्त्रसातिश्रवणः) = सम्क्त, as यम् + सिद्ध (VI. 4. 75 वाक्यां वाक्यांसमस्यास्तिपि) सम् + क्त + अ + तन्त = समर्थ (VII. 4. 16 क्तिशास्त्रसातिश्रवणः). This occurs generally in the Vedas. The verb विद्युः must have the meaning of ‘to know,’ and not that of ‘to acquire,’ संमुख्यते ‘he hears,’ संविदे ‘he knows.

Vart.—The root हि (to see) after the preposition सम् when used intransitively takes the terminations of the Atmanepada as संप्रवणे ‘he sees.’ But when transitive, it takes Parasmaipada terminations as भानम् संप्रवणति ‘he sees the town.

निति सुपविषयो हि। २०। पदनिः। निसम्-उप-विषयः हि।
(आशः पाणिः)

हृतशः। निसम् उप नि सम्भूविषयो हि संप्रवणेयोऽभिषिः

बालिके। उपसर्गाविषयंसत्वत्वातिशिल्पिनयम्रः

30. After the verbs hve ‘to call,’ preceded by ni, sam, upa, and vi, the Atmanepada is used, even, when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.
The verb हृ: 'to call' whether transitive or intransitive is Atmanepadi after the above prepositions. The condition of being Intransitive does not apply to this sūtra, and from this sūtra forward general rules of Atmanepada are treated of. As निहृयते, संहृयते, उघृयते।

The verb हृ is marked in the Dhatupātha with a च and therefore by sūtra 72 of this Chapter, it will take the terminations of the Atmanepada when the direct fruit of the action accrues to the agent. But even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the verb हृ takes the terminations of the Atmanepada when preceded by the above prefixes.

Varṣ.—The verbs नस 'to throw' and ऋ 'to note' take optionally Atmanepada affixes when compounded with upasargas. As निरस्थृति—ोते 'he casts out,' समुस्थृति—ोते 'he collects.'

स्पर्शयामादः।। ३२।। पदानि।। स्पर्शयामादः, भृङ्गः, ( हृः भृङ्ग पोष)।।

वृति:।। स्पर्शयामा विवधे भृङ्ग पूर्वः हृयवर्गायाः स्थः।।

31. After the verb हृ, when meaning 'to challenge' and preceded by अनि, the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

As मल्लो मल्लाहृयते 'an athlete challenges another athlete (in order to conquer him); वाचकःकाव्याहृयते 'one student emulates with another student.'

This sūtra is also for the purpose of showing that the root हृ takes the Atmanepada terminations even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The word spardha means to emulate, to vie, to desire, to conquer another. When the verb हृ has not the above signification, it takes the terminations of the parasmaiḍa, As सामाहृति संपालः 'the cowherd calls the cows.'

गन्धान्वेंकेशसेवनसाहित्यस्त्रिप्रतियन्त्रस्त्रिप्रतीपगोषु हृः।। ३२।।

पदानि।। गन्धान्व्रेंकेश-सेवन-साहित्य-प्रतियन्त्र-प्रक्थन-उपयोगोषु, हृः।।

(अरवोष)।।

वृति:।। गन्धान्वेंकेश्यायं वर्षस्माहृति करोपितायाः प्रति प्रति।।

32. After the verb क्रि when meaning 'to divulge,' 'to revile,' 'to serve,' 'to use violence,' 'to cause change,' 'to recite,' and 'to do an act tending to effect a desired purpose,' the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.
The verb कृष्ण by sūtra 72 would take the affixes of the Atmanepada when the direct fruit of the action accrues to the agent. This sūtra has been begun to show that this verb takes the Atmanepada terminations under certain circumstances even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The word gandhana comes from the root gandh ‘to injure,’ of churādi class and means to inform against another maliciously with the object of injuring such person. Avakṣhepana means ‘to revile,’ ‘to over-come,’ sevana means ‘to obey and serve,’ sāhasikya means ‘an act of violence,’ pratiyatna means, ‘imparting a new quality or virtue,’ pragathanā means ‘to narrate fully,’ upayoga means ‘the disposal of a thing for the object of attaining merit &c.’

Thus उत्कृष्टेः उत्कृष्टेः means he informs against; (2) यवनः वर्तिकाकुपकृष्टेः ‘the hawk overcomes or reviles a snail,’ (3) गाधिकाकुपकृष्टेः ‘he serves the prostitutes,’ महामामायाकुपकृष्टेः ‘he serves the mahamatra,’ (4) परासातः प्रकृष्टेः ‘he outrages another’s wife,’ (5) एधिदक्त्सोपकृष्टेः ‘the fuel gives a new quality (boils) to the water (or he prepares the wood and water for a sacrifice).’ The object of the verb kṛi takes the affix of the sixth case i.e. genitive, only when the verb means pratiyatna, see S. II. 3. 53 (कृष्ण: प्रतियतकृष्टेः) Therefore udakasya, though an object, has genitive form. The verb takes the augment छृद only when it is preceded by upa and signifies pratiyatna, see VI. 1. 139. (उपातः प्रतियतकृष्टेः चृदुः वायुव्यवस्थितः) Therefore, there is the insertion of sibilant in upaskurute.

(5) गायत्री: प्रकृष्टेः ‘he recites stories,’ जनापदायः प्रकृष्टेः ‘he recites slander,’ (6) बहुः प्रकृष्टेः ‘he devotes a hundred’ pieces of money, for the sake of merit. बहुः प्रकृष्टेः ‘he devotes a thousand.’

Why do we say in these senses? Witness करेत करोति ‘he makes a mat.’ In this case the atmanepada affix is not employed.

The verb kṛi is understood in the three succeeding sūtras.

प्रार्थः प्रसाहने || ३२ || पदानि || प्रार्थः || प्रसाहने, (कृष्ण: ब्राह्म पो ||

वृहत्त || वृहत्त पूर्वातः करेतः: प्रसाहने संमानावाजनेवां मन्त्रित ||

33. After the verb kṛi preceded by adhi, when the sense is that of ‘overcoming or defeat,’ the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

This sūtra is commenced to show that kṛi may take the Atmanepada affix even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word prasāhana means ‘to overcome, to be not defeated.’ As तमसिचके ‘he overcame him or he was not defeated by him.’

Why do we say, ‘in the sense of to overcome?’ Witness प्रयासिचकितस्तः ‘he is able to on’ ग’ in which example the atmanepada affix is not employed.
The necessity of making a separate sūtra of this rule, instead of including it in the last aphorism, arose with the object of giving a distinctive meaning to the prefix adhi.

बे: शान्तकर्मण्य: || ३४ || पद्दनि || बे:, शान्त कर्मण्य: (कृष्ण: आनां प०) ||

इति: || वि पूर्वानु करोतिकर्मभिवर्ये कियाक्षे शान्तकर्मण भाव्येऽपि भवति ||

34. After the verb kri preceded by vi, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, and when अःसृजः अः is that of ‘making sound,’ (literally, having ‘sound’ for its object) the Atmanepada is employed.

The word karma in the sūtra indicates objective case or kāraka; and does not express ‘action,’ as in some previous sūtras such as 24 ante.

As क्रीष्टा विकुत्ते स्वराण ‘the birds are making noise,’ प्रांशी विकुत्ते स्वराण.

The word बे governs the succeeding sūtra.

Why do we say “when governing a word expressive of sound in the objective case”? Witness चिरमू प्रियं काम: ‘love affects the mind.’

प्रकर्मभाव || ३५ || पद्दनि || प्रकर्मभाव, भ, (कृष्ण: आनां प० बे: ) ||

इति: || वि पूर्वानु करोतिकर्मभिवर्ये कियाक्षे भवति ||

35. After the verb kri preceded by vi, when used intransitively, the Atmanepada is used.

As विकुक्त्वं ते स्वयम् ‘the horses move gracefully,’ आरत्नस्व एण्वाद्वाया विकुक्त्वं ते the students being full of food are acting as they will or are aimlessly wandering about.

समानस्ततस्वच्छन्ताचार्यकर्मण्यान्तितिविगमावयेषु नियः || ३६ ||

पद्दनि || समानस्तत-उत्साड्य-आचार्यकर्मण्यान्तितिविगमावयेषु नियः, (आलमनेद्यम्) ||

इति: || अःसृजः अः प्राप्ये ह्वस्तान्तातिकर्मभिवर्याक्षे प्रत्येकनेवं भवति, समानस्ततस्व विकृष्ट्वेपदेव स्वतः ||

36. After the verb नि ‘to lead,’ when used in the sense of ‘to guide so as to render the person guided worthy,’ ‘to lift up,’ ‘to make one a spiritual guide,’ ‘to determine the true sense,’ ‘to employ on wages,’
to pay as debt,' and 'to give as in charity,' even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the Atmanepada is used.

This sūtra is begun in order to show that the verb नी may take the terminations of the Atmanepada, even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, in the following cases, विस, when it means to 'respect' &c.

Sammananāna means to respect; as यद्य चार्षी लोकायते 'the Chārvī gives instruction in the Lokāyata s'āstra.' The word chārvī primarily means intelligence, and by secondly use it has been extended to the preceptor also; such a preceptor gives instruction, in Lokāyata Sastra, that is to say, having established the truth of the doctrines of that philosophy by argumentation, imparts them to the pupils. Those doctrines being thus established by reason, become respected (Sammanitā) and honored.

Utsaśaṇa, 'to throw up, or lift up,' as माणवकु ष्ठन्यते 'he lifts up Manavaka.'

Achārya-karaṇa 'acting as a teacher,' that is to say, to bring a boy near oneself in such a way, that being so brought near (upa-neta), he may himself become an achārya. As माणवकु ष्ठन्यते 'he initiates Manavaka (f. e., making himself the preceptor he brings the boy near himself.)

Jñāna means 'knowledge, a demonstrated verity.' As यद्य चार्षीलोकायते 'the Chārvī investigates the truth of the Lokāyata doctrine,'

Bhrīti means 'wages.' As कर्मकारतुष्ठन्यते 'he employs the servants on hire or wages.'

Vigāṇana means the paying off as a tribute, debts &c. As मण्डः निर्विनायते 'the Madras pay the tax due to the king, that is, they discharge the debt.'

Vyaya means 'allotment of money on works of merit &c.' As यद्य विस्तार्थते 'he expends a hundred pieces on religious acts.' सहस्र विनयते 'he devotes a thousand.'

Why do we say, in these senses? Witness अज्जात नयति गानम 'he carries the goat to the village.' Here there is no Atmanepada affix, as the verb has not any one of the above significations.

37. After the verb नी, when it governs an incorporeal object existing in the agent, as its object, the Atmanepada is used.
The verb निः is Atmanepadi when governing an object which has no material body, but is an abstract noun, that is an object which has abstract but no concrete existence; and when such an object has its seat in a portion of the agent of the verb. As कौशङ्क विनयति ‘he subdues his own anger,’ गार्भ विनयते ‘he suppresses anger.’

The word s’ārīra means the body of living beings, any portion of such body is also called s’ārīra.

The object must reside in the agent, (kartristha), otherwise the verb will be parasmaipadi. As देवदत्ते यज्ञनिःस्वय कौशङ्क विनयति ‘Devadatta removes Yajnadatta’s anger.’

The object moreover must be immaterial, otherwise the affix will be of parasmaipada. As गार्भ विनयति ‘he removes his own wort’ पाषाण विनयति ‘he bows his neck.’

Why do we say ‘in the case of an object?’ Witness बुद्ध विनयति ‘he is submissive through knowledge,’ प्रत्या विनयति. Here the verb विनयति has not taken an accusative case, but is in construction with an instrumental case, and therefore the present rule does not apply.

बृहस्पतीस्यायनेषु क्रमः ॥ २८ ॥ पद्धानि ॥ बृहस्पतीस्यायनेषु, क्रमः, ( ॥ ॥

38. After the verb kram ‘to move’ when used, in the senses of ‘continuity,’ ‘energy’ and ‘development,’ the Atmanepada is employed.

The word ‘kram’ governs the succeeding sūtras up to 43 and is understood in them all.

The verb kram by sūtra I. 3. 78 (after the rest, let the parasmaipada affixes be employed in marking the agent), would have taken the affixes of the parasmaipada; the present aphorism enjoins Atmanepada affixes in certain cases when the verb means to have a taste for &c.

Vṛtti ‘continuity’ means unobstructed, or want of interruption (i.e., a taste for, or facility in, anything), sarga ‘energy’ means application, resolution and determination. Tāyana ‘development’ means increase and growth.

As (1) कृत्यवस्तु कृत्यते कुञ्जः—‘ his reason proceeds unobstructed through the Rig. scriptures i.e., he can easily comprehend the Rig.’ (2). व्याकरणाध्य- बनाय कृत्यते ‘ the pupil shows energy or exerts to study the grammar.’ (3). अस्तित्व शास्त्रायि कृत्यते ‘the shastras are developed in him.’

Why in these senses only? Witness अयक्षामति ‘he runs away.’
39. After the verb kram, preceded by upa and para, when used in the senses of continuity, energy and development, the Atmanepada is employed.

The words vṛtti &c., of the last sūtra are understood here also. Why has this been made a separate sūtra and not included in the last? The reason is to make a restrictive rule in the cases of upasargas; that is to say, only in the cases of the upasargas upa and para, there is Atmanepada affix; but not so when any other upasarga precedes the verb kram, though the sense may be of continuity &c. Thus उत्प्रकर्मते 'he commences to advance,' पराकर्मते 'he marches to attack.'

Why do we say after the upasargas 'upa and para'? Because, after any other preposition the affix will be of the parasmaipada; as संक्रमित 'he makes progress.' If the sense is not that of "continuity" &c., parasmaipada will be employed, as उपक्रमित, पराक्रमित.

40. After the verb kram, preceded by अं, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of the rising of a luminary.

As प्राक्रमित यथा 'the sun rises.' प्राक्रमित चन्द्रमा 'the moon rises,' प्राक्रमित क्षोभीता 'the stars rise.'

Vart.—This ascending must refer to heavenly bodies. Therefore in प्राक्रमित चूडौऽह्यतलां 'the smoke rises from the surface of the terrace,' the verb क्रम is parasmaipadi. Why do we say in the sense of "to ascend"? Witness प्राक्रमित मायावक: कुतपुष्य 'the boy assails the ox.'

41. After the verb kram, preceded by vi, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of 'placing of foot-steps.'

As वाजी विक्रमते 'the horse is pacing.' The term vikramaṇa is applied to the special movements of horse &c.
Though in the Dhātupāṭha (catalogue of verbal roots), the verb क्रमि and क्रूर्य have the meanings of पादा-विहारणा and पादा-विक्षेप, that is "throwing or placing of foot," and so it might be objected that the present sūtra is a useless repetition, yet as verbs have various other meanings than what is assigned to them in the dhātupāṭha, the present sūtra is not unnecessary.

Why do we say "in the sense of throwing of foot"? In any other sense, the terminations will be those of the parasmaipada. As विक्रमति व्रजिनसणिः: 'the fold of the antelope skin is ruptured.'

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42. After the verb kram, the Atmanepada is employed when it is preceded by pra and upa, both conveying the same sense; viz. that of "beginning an action."

As प्रक्रमते भोजयते, उपक्रमते भोजयते 'he commences to eat' &c.

The prefixes pra and upa are synonyms, when they denote the commencement of an action.

Why do we say, "when they are synonyms." Witness the following प्रवेशः प्रक्रमति व्रजिनसणिः 'he goes during the first part of the day and he comes back during the latter part of the day.' Here in one case the sense is "to go," in another it means "to return."

Why in the latter case of 'aparedyur upakramati' there is not Atmanepada by virtue of sūtra 39 ante, as there is the upasarga upa here? The answer is that Rule 39 is not applicable, as that rule is limited by the condition of the sense of 'continuity' &c. while in the present sūtra, that limitation is not applicable.

43. After the verb kram, the Atmanepada is optionally employed, when it is not preceded by any preposition.

The root 'kram' may always be conjugated as Atmanepadi when not having any upasarga. The upasarga will be defined in I. 4. 59. The option allowed by this sūtra is an example of what is technically known as apraptā vibhāsa viz., an option which is not an alternative limitation to a general rule already found or known.
Examples: करते or करति 'he goes over,' Why do we say 'when it is without any preposition?' For no option is allowed when it takes preposition. As संकारति.

अपहवे श: || ४४ || पद्धति अपहवे, श: || ( श्रा० प० ) ||

बुज्जि: || ज्ञातिरपवें वर्त्तमानाकालेनयं भवति ||

44. After the verb jña, when used in the sense of ‘denying,’ the Atmanepada is employed.

The root jña which ordinarily means 'to know' and is parasmaipadi by rule 78, becomes Atmanepadi when through the virtue of any prefix it means 'to deceive': as अवजनीति 'he deceives,' शतमजनीति 'he denies the debt of a hundred rupees,' सहजनाथि 'denies a thousand.'

Why do we say when meaning "to deny?" Observe:— न तै किचिदनि ज्ञानसि 'thou knowest not anything.'

अपकृतकाल || ४५ || पद्धति || अपकृतकाल || ( श्रा०, श्रा० प० ) ||

बुज्जि: || ज्ञातिरकृतकालं सर्पक्रियणसंवर्त्तमानाकालेनयं भवति ||

45. And when used intrinsically, after the verb jña, the Atmanepada is employed, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

As सर्पियो जानीति महसू जानीति 'he engages in sacrifice by means of clarified butter or honey.' (See II. 3. 51).

This Atmanepadi form of jña is employed when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. From sūtra 76 it will be seen that when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the verb is Atmanepadi.

How in the above example the verb jña is intransitive? Because the word sarpiḥ is not the object of knowledge, but it is an instrument of sacrifice, into which one engages from complete knowledge (jñāna); and it (sarpishal) is in the genitive case by virtue of II. 3. 51 (श्रोविद्यायिय करो) by which the instrumental kāraka of the jña is put in the genitive case.

Why do we say of "Intransitive"? Because in the transitive it is parasmaipadi, as स्वरुप्य ‘his son’ जाना-ति 'he knows (recognizes) the son by his voice.'

संभाजित्यामाथायने || ४६ || पद्धति || सम्प्रतिध्ययामू हन्त-ध्यायने, ( श्रा० प० )

बुज्जि: || संभाजित्येभं पूर्वाकालात्मात्मायने वर्त्तमानाकालेनयं भवति ||

46. After the verb jña, preceded by sam, and prati, the Atmanepada is employed, when not used in the sense of "remembering with regret."
The word jīna is understood in this sūtra: and the aphorism applies to that jīna which is used in the transitive. As शतं संजानीते 'he looks for a hundred,' So सहं वित्तिजानीते 'he promises a thousand.'

Why do we say when 'not meaning remembering with regret?' Because it is not Atmanepadi, when it conveys that meaning. Thus मातुः संजानावि 'he remembers with regret his mother,' भितुः संजानावि।

भासनेपदंसंवाप्पायानयतविम्मवप्पायानवेदुः वधः। ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥
भासन-उपसंवाप्पायानयत-विम्मवप्पायानवेदुः वधः ॥ (आ० प००६) ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ भासनादिदु विशेषवेदुः लक्ष्य वधेरामनेववं भवति। ॥

47. After the verb vad, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the senses of "showing brilliance, or proficiency in," "pacifying," "knowledge," "effort," "difference of opinion," and "flattering."

By sūtra ७८, vad generally takes the terminations of the Parasmai-pada. By the present sūtra, it takes also the affixes of the Atmanepada when having certain meanings.

Bhāsana, (shining) means to illumine as वधेत चार्वी लोकायते. The chārvī illumines the Lokayat shastras, by his discourses and clear exposition.

Upanābhātā (persuasions) means to appease, to conciliate, as कर्म-कारानुपवत्ते 'he conciliates or cajoles the servants.'

* Jāna (knowledge) means to know completely, as वधेत चार्वी लोकायते 'the chārvī knows completely to discourse upon Lokayat shastra.'

Yatna (endeavour) means energy, as चैवेव वधेत 'He toils in the field,' गोऽहे वधेत 'he toils in the house.'

Vimāti (disagreement) means dissension, want of unanimous opinion As चैवेव विकर्षले 'they disagree over the field,' i.e., holding different opinions they talk diversely.

Upamantra (enticing) means to coax in secret, as, खलामाण्डिप्पवत्ते 'he entices the wife of a respectable family (i.e., seduces her in secret),' परातारातुपवत्ते 'he flatters another's wife.'

Why in the above senses only? See वधेत तिन्नुष्टिति 'he says something'.

व्यक्तवाचो समुचारेण ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यक्तवाचामुः सम-उच्चारेन ॥ (वध: आ० प००६) ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ व्यक्तवाचो समुचारेण सहोचाराणि सत्तर्य समानावलेषुपि लक्षणमेवं भवति। ॥

48. After the verb vad, the Atmanepada is employed when used in the sense of "speaking articulately in a similar manner."
As संवदने ब्राह्मण: 'the Brāhmaṇas are speaking.' But in संवदनत् कुष्ठु: 'the cocks are crowing' it is properly Parasmaipadi.

The sense of the śūtra is that when men, who are only capable of articulate speech, speak all in one and the same time, then the verb vad takes the affix of the Atmanepada. When lower animals make a chorus of noise, the verb does not take the Atmanepada.

There must be samuchchāraṇa for the application of this rule; when there is no samuchchāraṇa or speaking in a chorus, this rule does not apply, as ब्राह्मणो वदति 'the Brāhmāṇa speaks.'

अनेकर्मकाल् II ४९ II पदानि II अनेत्: , अर्कर्मकाल्, ( वदः: , 
प्राप ५० ) यत्कवाचाः II

वशिष्ट: II संवदनौ । उद्यदर्मकालाचार्याः वशिष्टात्मकालनेपदं भवति II

49. After the verb vad, preceded by anu when it is intransitively used, the Atmanepada is employed, when the sense is that of “speaking articulately in a similar manner.”

As संवदने कथ: कनापस्य कथा is echoing or imitates kalāpa. He reutters exactly what the kalāpa-reader or the teacher says. The word anu here means similarly.

Why do we say ‘in the Intransitive’? Because when it is used in the transitive it takes the affixes of the Parasmaipada. As पूर्विनय वस्तुर्दितमत्तवदति, ‘he repeats the yajurveda which he had learned before.’

The words ‘uttering of articulate speech’ are understood here also. Otherwise संवददेश वीण ‘the lute resounds,’ here it is Parasmaipada.

विमासा विमलाये II ५० II पदानि II विमासा , विमलाये ,
( वदः: प्राप ५० यत्कवाचाः ) II

वशिष्ट: II विमासापत्तम्ये यत्कवाचाः संहवाचाः वस्तुमानो उद्यदर्मकालनेपदं भवति विमासा II

50. After the verb vad, the Atmanepada is employed optionally, when the sense is that of “contradicting each other.”

As विमलाये or वेदाय: (the doctors are at variance). The words vyaktavāchām (articulate utterance) and samuchchāraṇa (speaking together) are understood in this sūtra also.

No option is allowed when the sense is not that of contradiction or wrangling as, संवदने ब्राह्मण: , 'the Brāhmaṇas are speaking together.'

The phrase ‘articulate utterance’ is necessary in this also. Because as विमासामतत् शृदुङ्ख: ‘the kites are quarrelling,’ the verb is in the Parasmaipada.
The wrangling must be by talking at once and the same time, otherwise this rule will not apply. As कन्यण वेद्या वेद्यम सदो विवायवशसि, 'the doctors contradict by turn another doctor.'

अधानान्यः || ५२ || पदानि || अधानं, श्रः, ( श्रः रो० )

व्रति: || अत्युदंदुत् गिरतेनानिपदं भवति ||

51. After the verb grī 'to swallow,' when preceded by ava, the Atmanepada is used.

As भवगिरति (he swallows). The root grī to swallow preceded by the preposition ava is Atmanepadi. The verb grī taken in this sūtra means to swallow and belongs to the Tūdādi class. It is not the grī 'to make sound' which belongs to the kryādi class, because there is no word formed with the latter verb by affixing the preposition ava to it. By sūtra 78 this verb grī 'to swallow' would have been Parasmaipadi; the present sūtra debars that.

When it is not preceded by ava, it is Parasmaipadi, as गिरति 'he swallows.'

सम्प्रतिज्ञाने || ५२ || पदानि || सम्म, प्रतिज्ञाने, ( श्रः रा० पो० ) ||

व्रति: || संद्वाँदुत् गिरते: प्रतिज्ञाने वर्त्तुमानादानिपदं भवति ||

52. After the verb grī preceded by sam, the Atmanepadā is used, when employed in the sense of 'promising.'

As शान संधिरति, 'he promises to pay a hundred rupees.' If it does not mean to promise or acknowledge, it takes parasmaipada terminations. As संधिरति मासम्, 'he swallows the mouthful.'

उदाहरः सद्रम्यवादु || ५३ || पदानि || उदः, चरः, सकर्मकायः ||

( रा० पो० ) ||

व्रति: || उद्वृत्तादि सकर्मकार्यावचनानिपदं भवति ||

53. After the verb char 'to walk' preceded by ut, when used transitively, the Atmanepada is employed.

As गेहुदयति 'he strays away from home'; गेहुदयुनुसरति 'he transgresses the commands of his preceptor.'

Why do we say "when used in the transitive"? Observe वायुयुद्याति 'the vapour is rising.' Here it is parasmaipadi.

समस्तत्त्वयायुद्यातू || ५४ || पदानि || सम्म, त्त्वाय- युकतू, ( चरः रा० पो० ) ||

व्रति: || संद्वाँदुत्तरतिस्तुत्तत्तत्त्वंयात्युद्यात्सर्पं भवति ||
54. After the verb char, preceded by sam, and connected with a noun in the Instrumental case, the Atmanepada is employed.

As अद्वैत संपर्काे 'he rides on the horse-back.'

The rule does not apply when it is not in composition with a word in the instrumental case. As जनो लोकों संपर्कीत इन्हें चार्द्र च छेवला! 'O Devala! thou wanderest through both regions, this and that.' Here though the sense of the Instrumental case is implied, yet as it is not expressly stated, we use the parasmaipada terminations.

दाराश्च सा चेचतुद्यय्येयः || पदानि || दाराः || च || सा || चेतः || चतुद्यय्येव (समस्त० गुरो चरः आ० प०)

वृः || सांगस्ये परस्मेश्च मित् चतुःेव नृतियां युक्तामात्रेष्व भवति सांचेत्व नृतिया चतुःेव भवति।

वासितां || अदिकोल्पनयो नृतिया चतुःेव भवितीति वस्तुनिः ||

55. And after the verb dā to give, preceded by sam, and connected with a noun in the Instrumental case, the Atmanepada is employed, provided this Instrumental case have the sense of the Dative case.

When is the 3rd case used with the force of the 4th case? That is answered by the following.

Vart:- The Instrumental has the force of the Dative when immoral conduct is implied. As शास्त्र or शुष्क्या दंडवंचते 'he gives with the object of enticing to the female slave or prostitute.'

The verb dā to give is generally parasmaipadi, it becomes atmanepadi under the above conditions.

Why do we say "when it has the force of the dative case"? Because when it has not the sense of the dative, parasmaipada terminations will be used, as पाणिना संपत्वचतिः, 'he gives with his hand.'

It might be asked how the Atmanepada terminations are employed when the preposition sam is not directly applied to the verb, but another preposition pra, intervenes between sam and the verb. The reply is that the word samah in sūtra 54 is not in the ablative case (which would have required its being placed immediately before the verb), but it is in the genitive case, and is used as an attribute.

उपाध्यम: स्वकरोऽ || पदानि || उपात्तः, यमः, स्वकरोऽ, (आ० प०)

वृः || उपाध्यम: स्वकरोऽ वस्मात्राश्चन्मेष्व भवति ||
56. After the verb yam, to give, preceded by upa, when used in the sense of "espousing," the Atmanepada is employed.

This is clear. As भाषांपरेत 'he espouses or knows his wife.' But not so when another's wife is meant; there it is parasmaipadi.

By rule 78, the verb yam would have been parasmaipadi, but the present sūtra makes an exception, when the root takes the preposition upa and means "to marry, to espouse, or to accept." The meaning of sva-karana is confined to accepting in general. This is according to Kasika; according to Mahābhāshya, sva-karana means to make one's own what was not previously his own.

Why do we say in the sense of "marrying"? When it has any other sense, parasmaipada affixes will be employed, as देवदत्ती यज्ञदत्तम मायाद्विपचतृति, 'Devadatta has illicit intercourse with the wife of Yajñadatta.'

शास्त्रस्त्रदशां सन: || ५७ || पदानि || शा-स्त्र-शशाम् , सन: ,
( वा० प० ) ||

चूर्णि: || शा श्रु स्त्र दश इलेंयं सत्तानात्मानाश्चर्यं भूति ||

57. After the Desideratives formed by the affix san, of the verbs jñā to know, s'ru to hear, smṛi to remember, and dris' to see, the Atmanepada is employed.

The above four roots are atmanepadi when in the Desiderative form, the suffix "san" being the prayaya by which desideratives are formed.

The verb jñā takes the terminations of the atmanepada when used in the senses indicated by the three sūtras 44, 45 and 46 already explained. The desiderative form of jñā would ex necessitate take atmanepada affixes when used in the above senses: see Rule 62. The present sūtra however enlarges the scope of atmanepada, by declaring all desideratives of jñā to be atmanepada, in whatever sense they may be used.

Similarly by sūtra 29 ante and the vártika under it, the roots s'ru, and dris' take the terminations of the atmanepada; when preceded by sam, the desideratives of those would of course have taken atmanepada affixes by 62, but the present sūtra makes it general.

The present sūtra however enunciates a new rule in the case of the root smṛi.

As भम्मे जिज्ञासति 'he wishes to know (i.e. enquires after) religion,' यथा श्रापयति 'he serves the teacher,' नमस्याधिति 'he wishes to remember the lost.' यथा विद्वति 'he wishes to see the king.'

Why do we say, when taking the affix san? Because the primitive verbs will take the parasmaipada terminations as जानति 'he knows,' श्रवति 'he hears,' समरति 'he remembers' प्रयति 'he sees.'
58. After the desiderative of jñā when preceded by anu the Atmanepada is not employed.

This is an exception to the last sūtra. The desiderative of jñā with the prefix anu is not atmanepadi.

This sūtra read with sūtra 45 limits the scope of parasmaipada to the transitive, desiderative verb anu-jñā. As पुजनान्धितातिः ‘he enquires after the son.’

Why do we say when preceded by anu? Because otherwise it will take the atmanepada terminations. As धर्ममस्य जिजातिः ‘he inquires after religion’

59. After the desideratives of s’ru when preceded by prati and ān the Atmanepada is not used.

The verb s’ru when taking the prefixes prati and ān, is not atmanepadi, though taking the desiderative “san.” This is also an exception to the rule of sūtra 57. Thus प्रतितत्रप्तति and श्राद्यकृति.

The word prati and ān must be upasargas; if they are used as karma-pravachaniyas (see 1. 4.—83) then the rule will not apply, as देवदत्त मतित्युप्तति.

60. After the verb s’ad to decay, when it has one of the affixes with an indicatory s’ (s’it) the Atmanepada is used.

The root ‘sad’ when taking any affix which is marked with an indicatory श्र, is conjugated in the atmanepadi. In connection with this must be read sūtra VII. 3. 78. प्रारम्भात्मकायान्त्रणंसमतितत्तातिःश्रावद्यर्विज्ञानिःप्रथमतिलत्तमानवयेद्वाकृतिः: by which the root-श्र is replaced by श्री before the affixes having an indicatory श्र. Thus श्र + श्र + ते = श्रीव + ते = श्रीति ‘he decays or withers,’ श्रीवते ‘they two decay,’ श्रीवते ‘they decay,’

Why do we say before affixes having an indicatory श्र? Before other affixes it is not atmanepadi. As दयात्मक ‘if he decayed,’ श्रावति ‘he will decay,’ श्रावतस्ति.

The well-known vikaranas like श्रपु , श &c., the affixes like शच्च &c., are श्री श्री affixes. In other words the root s’ad is atmanepadi in all conjuga-tional tenses.
61. After the verb mṛti to die, when it has one of the affixes having an indicatory ś, as well as when it takes the affixes luṇ (aorist III 2. 110) add liṅ (Bene dictive III. 3. 159) the Atmanepada is used.

This is a restrictive sūtra, the root śṛṣ (to die), is marked with a ś as an indicatory letter; so by sūtra 12 it would be always Atmanepadi. But the present aphorism restricts it to luṇ (Aorist) and liṅ (Bene dictive) tenses as well as to those tenses which are śita. It will be found hereafter that out of the ten tenses, those that take śita affixes are the special tenses, i.e., the Present, the Imperfect, the Potential and the Imperative.

It is only before these three affixes, namely, liṅ, luṇ, and s'it affixes, that the root mṛti takes the terminations of the atmanepada. Thus the aorist अष्टम अन्रिता he died; Bened ictive चवीत् म्रिशिष्टा 'may he die.' Similarly before sit affixes: thus विभवते 'he dies;' = च + च + ते (VII. 4. 28 रिङ् प्रवालि लू) विख + च + ते = विखते (VI. 4. 77. अक्ष कुदातुधुण्या व्योरिभुधुण्या) विखते, विखते.

The root च belongs to the sixth class of verbs called Tuddā which take the vikaraṇa श in the conjugational tenses (III. 1. 77).

In other tenses, viz., the two Futures, the Perfect and the conditional, this verb is parasmaipadi. As मस्तन्ति he will die. अमस्तन्तितः

62. The verb which is Atmanepada in its primitive form before the taking of the affix san, will also be Atmanepadi when it ends in the affix san. In other words; after a desiderative verb, Atmanepada is employed, if it would have been used after the primitive verb.

If the primary verb is parasmaipadi, its desiderative will be also parasmaipadi; if the primary verb is Atmanepadi, its desiderative will be Atmanepadi. This is the general rule. Some exceptions to it have already been mentioned in sūtras 57, 58, and 59. A root which was atmanepadi, before taking the Desiderative suffix दत्र san, will be atmanepadi even when it takes the suffix त्र san. In other words, that by reason of which the atmanepada affixes were ordained in the primary verb, will cause the same terminations
to be applied when the verb ends in सन् san. Thus it was said in सूत्रa 12, that roots having an anudātta accented vowel as indicatory or a कू न् as their indicatory letter take the terminations of the अत्मापदa. Thus जसल्ले 'he sits down' and शेणे 'he sleeps.' The verb प्राश्छ (to sit down) and श्रीक (to lie down) will remain अत्मापदa, even when they are used as Desideratives. Thus प्रातिपदिते 'he wishes to lie down.' Similarly सूत्रa 17 declared that the verb मितिर्ग is अत्मापदa, as मित्रिकते. This will be अत्मापदa also in the Desiderative form, as मित्रिकते 'he wishes to enter.' So also by सूत्रa 40, श्राक्षमते is अत्मापदa, the Desiderative श्राक्षिकते will also be अत्मापदa.

But though by 60 and 61, श्रीश्च and श्रयम्वते are अत्मापदa, yet श्रयम्बलित 'he wishes to lie down,' हृयथिति 'he wishes to die,' are parasmaipadi. Because the अत्मापदa affixes were ordained after the roots श्र and हृ only under exceptional conditions and not generically, and as those conditions do not exist in the desiderative, the latter does not take अत्मापदa terminations.

Of course that which in its primary state would not have taken the terminations of the अत्मापदa, there being a prohibition to that effect, will not allow them in its Desiderative form. As भ्रुतिकेलिति 'he wishes to imitate.' प्राक्षिकिति. Here the root हृष by rule 79 has been especially declared to be parasmaipadi, to the exclusion of अत्मापदa affixes which would otherwise have come by Rules 32 and 72, and therefore its Desiderative is also parasmaipadi. The force of श्र causing अत्मापदa is counteracted by 79.

Now it might be asked:—True, this rule provides for those cases where a root is conjugated in two forms, one a Primitive and another a Desiderative conjugation. But what provision do you make for those partial verbs which take the affix सन् even in their primitive form; and in whose case we have no prior form to look upon as a guide in the application of अत्मापदa affixes. And there are at least 7 such quasi-roots which take सन् in this way, called also the self-descriptive सन्. Those quasi-roots are श्रु, तित, उक, मात्र, चध, दात्र, and धात्र. What are we to do with these quasi-roots, which are always conjugated with the affix सन् and have no simpler conjugation?" To this we reply; "In the case of these partial verbs which take the self-descriptive सन् the pada will be regulated by the indicatory letters which these quasi-roots have. For though the full roots are श्रुस्त्र, तितित्र, रिक्षित्र, मील्लस्त्र, व्यास्त्र, रीत्वष्ठा and श्रीदिन्त्र, yet by the maxim प्रवयवे कृत्ते लिङ्गं सहस्राद्यक्ष विशेषकं भवत्, "a sign made in a portion of a thing, qualifies the whole thing;" the sign made in the expression श्रु औरc., will qualify the whole verb श्रुस्त्र औरc." Thus we have श्रुस्त्रते he despises, रिक्षिस्ते he cures; मील्लते he investigates, &c.
63. Like the verb that takes the affix āṃ, if the verb be conjugated with the Atmanepada terminations, so of the verb kṛi when subjoined thereto as an auxiliary, the terminations are of the Atmanepada, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

This sūtra applies where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. There are in Sanskrit two forms of the perfect tense (सन्धी): one formed in the ordinary way by the reduplication of the root and adding the terminations; the other called the periphrastic perfect, is formed by adding आग्न to the root, and then affixing to it the perfect tense of the roots क्रो (to do), भू (to be) or वस्त्र (to be). These latter verbs are called anuprayoga or auxiliary verbs, as it is with their help that the perfect tense is formed. The question then arises, what conjugation, parasmai or atmanepada, do these auxiliaries take in forming the periphrastic perfect? This sūtra supplies the answer:—the auxiliary क्रो follows the conjugation of principals, the other auxiliaries do not. Thus the root एव (to increase, prosper) is atmanepadi, therefore in forming the periphrastic perfect, the verb क्रो will be also in the atmanepada. Thus एवाचक क्रो (he prospered). Similarly द्व (to appear with great splendour) is parasmai and the auxiliary क्रो after it will be parasmai while, as द्वात्रान्त (he appeared with great splendour).

But the other auxiliaries भू and वस्त्र retain their own peculiar conjugation and are not influenced by the conjugation of their principal. Thus एवात्रात्र क्रो, एवानात्र.

The word आम-प्रत्यया of the sūtra means 'that after which the affix आम (III. 1. 35 and 36. कालव्यययासंलोकः सिद्धि) comes.' Of the verb क्री, when subjoined to another as an auxiliary, the termination is that of the atmanepada like the verb that takes the affix आम. If this sūtra enjoined a rule of injunction (vidhi), then there would be the termination of the atmanepada even in examples like उद्द्वाचकार and उद्द्वेशकार where the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. This is no valid objection to the present sūtra. It is to be interpreted in both ways, that is, both as a vidhi (a general injunction) and a niyama (a restrictive injunction). How is that to be done? Because the word तुर्ववव of the last sūtra is to be read in the present aphorism also. The second explanation in that case will be for the sake of establishing a niyama or restrictive rule.
It has already been said above that the auxiliary verbs अर्थ क्रिया and अस्त्र are used in forming the periphrastic perfect. This is done by force of the aphorism III. 1. 40, क्रिया हृदयति लिधि, meaning, the verb क्रिया is annexed in the perfect tense, to verbs, that take अं. In this सूत्रा (III. 1. 40) the word क्रिया is a प्रत्याहारा, implying the verbs कृत, भूत and अवस्था. It might be asked how is this प्रत्याहारा formed? The word क्रिया is taken from the fourth word of सूत्रा V. 4. 50, अमृताद्वारे क्रमान्तियोगे &c., and the letter न is taken from सूत्रा V. 4. 58 क्रमान्तित्रय &c. This is the way in which the commentators explain how not only the verb क्रिया is used as an auxiliary in forming the periphrastic perfect, but also the verbs भूत and अवस्था. These three verbs denoting absolute action unmodified by any special condition have in all languages been fixed upon as the best auxiliaries.

It must, however, be noted that the word क्रिया in this सूत्रा is not used as a प्रत्याहारा and consequently does not include the verbs भूत and अवस्था.

योगप्रगटा युजस्य परमेश्वर पुरुष || 64 || पदाति || प्र- उपायम्, युज्यं, अय्य-पाते पुरुषं, (आ १० प५०) ||

हृति: || प उप इत्येक्षार्थं युजस्य परायमायामप्रयासालनं प्रवेशं भवति ||

वाक्यिकम् || त्वरायायन्तीयाहारितिः कक्षात् म ||

64. After the verb युजो to join, the Atmanepada is used, when it is preceded by प्र and उप except with reference to sacrificial vessels even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb युजो 'to join' is svarīt, and consequently by सूत्रा 72 it is always अत्मानेपादी, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present सूत्रा declares when this verb may take the terminations of अत्मानेपादी, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. After the verb युजो preceded by the prepositions प्र and उप the terminations are of the अत्मानेपादी, when not employed in reference to sacrificial vessels. As युजो ‘he joins or employs’; उपयुजः ‘he fits or uses’.

Why do we say ‘when not employed in reference to sacrificial vessels?’ Because there the terminations will be of the parasmaipada. As युजो न्यायिक पारमायाम प्रविद्यात्.

वार्तिका:—It shall be rather stated that the root takes the terminations of the अत्मानेपादी when preceded by any preposition beginning or ending with a vowel. This is an important modification of the above rule. Thus युजः and उपयुजः. In fact, all upasargas, with the exception of सम, तिर, and दुर, either begin or end with a vowel, and therefore the Vārtika amounts to the inclusion of all prepositions with the above exception.
With सम्, निर् and द्वै, however, the root will take parasmaipada terminations; as संयुगितः.

सम्: क्षण: || ६५ || पदानि || सम्: , क्षणः, ( चाष पां ) ||

तुषिः: || क्षणेऽवज्रमानन्यवेदनायमेव नवमी ||

65. After the verb क्षणु, to sharpen, preceded by sam, the Atmanepada is employed.

The verb क्षण 'to sharpen, whet, or grind,' is generally parasmaipadi, but it is atmanepadi, when it is preceded by the prefix सम्; as संयुगितः. शस्त्रम् 'he whets the weapon,' संयुगितः 'they two whet,' संयुक्तः 'they all whet.'

It might be objected, why has a separate aphorism been made of the verb क्षणु, when it could well have been included in the सूत्रा 29 ante, which also speaks of the force of the prefix sam, when used with the verbs gam, richchha, &c. To this the answer is that, that सूत्र treats of intransitive verbs, the word akarmaka being understood therein, while the present सूत्र, as is evident from the example we have given above, treats of transitive verbs.

ञुञ्जनवने || ६६ || पदानि || शुजः , नानवने , ( चाष पां ) ||

तुषिः: || चुञ्जनवनाश्वदामायिति रघुवादि पत्रवने || तस्मादवनावलने वर्षमानादालने पदं नवमी ||

66. After the verb bhuj, the Atmanepada is used, except in the sense of protecting.

The root bhuj when it does not mean to protect, is atmanepadi. This root belongs to the rudhadi class and has several meanings, as, to feed, to cherish, to preserve, to eat, and to enjoy. As चुञ्ज ग्रहेत् 'he eats or enjoys'; also चुञ्जजाते, चुञ्जजाते &c. But चुञ्ज नुञ्जति विज्ञा 'the father cherishes the sons', चुञ्जस्येनमन्वितः:

The root bhuj belongs also to the tudādi class, but there it has the sense of being curved or crooked. The bhuj belonging to the tudādi class is not to be taken in this sūtra, because that bhuj has never the sense of protecting. Therefore चुञ्जति पाणिः 'he bends the hand,' is in the para-smaipada.

एशरोण यदू कर्मै श्री चेत्त त्स कर्तनवा-वाहः || ६७ || पदानि || श्री: ,

वरोणः, यदूः, कर्मे, श्री, चेत्त, सः, कर्ता, कर्त्तानां ( चाष पां ) ||

तुषिः: || वर्षमानावलनेव नवमी, कथम् क्षणि वक्तम् यो चेत्तस्य तदन्तर्कम्, स एव कर्मभवति ||

67. After a verb ending in the affix नि (causal) the Atmanepada is employed, provided that when the object in the non-नि or non-causal sense becomes the
agent in the causal; and when it does not mean 'to remember with regret;' even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The causatives (सिव्र) are conjugated in the atmanepadi, when they are used in the passive voice, that is to say when a word which was an objective case in the ordinary verb becomes nominative case in the causative; and the nominative case of the ordinary verbs becomes objective case in the causative. In short when casuatives are used in the passive voice, they are atmanepadi. This round-about phraseology has been employed, because the base of the active and the passive causatives do not differ in form; as अत्राहेवते हस्लिन्वकद हस्ली.

The phrase ‘गैः (after the causatives)’ of this sutra governs the four succeeding sutras and is understood in them. The sutra consists of the following words:—गैः ‘after the causative,’ चाही ‘in the non-causative,’ वत्र ‘what,’ काम ‘object,’ ली ‘in the causative,’ चेन ‘if,’ स ‘that,’ कान ‘nominative,’ अनामान ‘except to remember.’

In general, by sutra 74, the causative verbs take the terminations of the atmanepada, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present sutra applies to the case where fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

After the verbs that take the affix विन्द्र, the terminations are those of the atmanepada. How? When that which was the object when the primitive verb was used non-causatively, becomes also the object when the derivative verb is used causatively; and even that object becomes also the agent as well. There is exception, however, in the case when the verb means to ‘remember with regret.’ As अत्राहेवते हस्लिन्वकद हस्लिवक: ‘the elephant-keepers mount the elephant.’ Let us paraphrase this sentence by transforming the primitive non-causative verb अत्राहेवता into a causative form. The sentence then will be, अत्राहेवते हस्ली स्वयंमेव ‘the elephant makes itself to be mounted.’ Similarly वत्रलिबमि हस्लिन्वकद हस्लिवक: ‘the elephant-keepers sprinkle the elephant’; and उपरोदवहि हस्ली स्वयंमेव ‘the elephant makes itself to be sprinkled.’ पश्चिमि सूक्ष्म नाधन ‘the attendants see the king’; and दादकरस्त राजा स्वयंमेव ‘the king makes himself to be seen.’

Why do we say ‘after the causatives?’ Because the rule of this sutra will not apply, if the verb though conveying the sense of a causal verb, is, however, not formed by the affix विन्द्र; as अत्राहेवते हस्लिन्वकद हस्लिवक: ‘the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;’ and अत्राहेवते हस्ली साधारणस्वयं ‘the elephant that is being mounted, mounts gracefully’. Here the terminations are of the paraśamaipada in the second case also.
Why do we say 'in the non-causative non-न? For this rule will not apply when the primitive verb itself is formed by the affix निः; such are the roots of the tenth class or churādī in which the नि is added in the self-descriptive sense, and not for a causative purpose. Thus the root ग ग belongs to churādī class; whose causative and primitive forms are the same. As ग माति ग म मालकः, 'the cowherd counts the herd;' and the causative form is ग ग ग: स्वमेव 'the herd makes itself to be counted.' The terminations in both cases are those of the parasmaipada.

Why do we say 'when the object (karma) becomes the agent?' Because the rule will not apply, when any other कारका or case, than the karma or object, of the primitive verb becomes the agent in the causative. Thus लुग: लेग ḍhe cuts with the scythe,' सपथि श्रव श्रवमेव 'the scythe is made to cut of itself.' Here the word dātra was the instrument of the primitive verb which became agent in the causative, and therefore in the causative the terminations are of the parasmaipada only.

Why do we say 'if in the causative' in the sūtra? It is for the purpose of indicating that the verb must be one and the same, both in the primary sentence and the causative sentence. Therefore the rule does not apply here where the causative verb स्वमति in the second sentence was not used in the first sentence; आरोड़ति हृदयाने हस्त्रियाने: 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and आरोहयवाणी हस्ती स्वनारोहयाणि मनुष्याव्यू 'the elephant that is being caused to mount is made to sprinkle with urine the frightened men'.

The word स: 'that' is employed in the aphorism to show that the objects in both sentences must be the same and not different. Therefore in the following example where the objects are different, the terminations of parasmaipada are only used. आरोहयवाणी हस्तियाणि हस्तियाणि: 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and आरोहयवाणी हस्ती स्वनारोहयाणि मनुष्याव्यू 'the elephant, that is being caused to mount, makes men mount on the land.'

Why do we use the word kartā (agent) in the sūtra? If the former object is not the agent in the second case, the terminations of the parasmaipada only would be used. As आरोहयवाणी हस्तियाणि हस्तियाणि: 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and तानारोहयाणि नहानाव्यू: 'the elephant-driver makes it to mount.'

Why do we say 'except when meaning to remember with tenderness?' Observe, स्पर्शः वनमुस्य काश्ति: 'the dove remembers, with regret, the forest tree;' and सरस्यवेव वनमुमः स्रवेन 'the forest tree is made to be remembered of itself.'
68. After the causatives of the verbs bhi to fear, and smi to wonder, even the fruit of the action accrues not to the agent the Atmanepada is employed, when the fear is produced directly by the causative agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in वि ' is understood in this sūtra and is to be supplied from the previous aphorism. This sūtra is also restricted to cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word हेतु in the aphorism has been defined later on in sūtra I. 4. 55 (सत्तव ऋषि); it is the agent which is the mover of another's agent. When a fear is caused by a हेतु it is called हेतुमय. The word भय 'fear' in the aphorism is illustrative, and includes by implication विचय 'astonishment' also. As जितिर्गि श्रंदित 'the jitala, the cock-headed frightens,' जितिर्गि भोभयते 'the munda, the mutton-headed frightens'; जितिर्गि विस्मयते 'the jitala astonishes,' जितिर्गि विस्मयते 'the munda astonishes' i.e., the very fact of matted-hair or shaven-head frightens,' &c.

Why do we say हेतुमय? For if the fear or astonishment is not the direct result caused by the agent, but arises from something else, then the atmanepada will not be used. As कुचिखिं अभायति 'he frightens him with the kunchika,' कुचिखिं विस्मयति 'he astonishes with his form'. Here kunchika and rupa are the instruments, which cause fear or astonishment, and are not the hetu thereof.

69. After the causatives of the verbs gridh to covet, and vāñch to go, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of deceiving, even though the fruit of action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase 'of the causatives ending in वि ' is to be supplied here from sūtra 67. This sūtra is also restricted to the cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word प्रवस्मन of the sūtra means deceiving. As मानवकं गर्भयते 'he deceives the boy,' मानवकं वशयते 'he cheats the boy.'
Why do we say 'when it means deceiving,' For these verbs have not this meaning, their causatives take parasmaipada. As स्वामिन्ध गर्भयति 'he causes the dog to bark,' चाहि वायुयति 'he avoids the serpent.'

70. After the causative of the verb li to melt or stick, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of showing respect, subduing and deceiving, even though the fruit of action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in लिः' is to be supplied here from sūtra 67. This sūtra has its scope only when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. In the Dhātupāṭha, there are two roots लिः, one is technically called लीक्ष and means to stick, and belongs to divādi class. The other लिः meaning to 'melt' belongs to kryādi class. As there is no specification in the sūtra what लिः is to be taken, both are therefore taken.

The force of the word च in the sūtra is to include the word प्रमुखम 'to delude' of the last sūtra into the present. The word समाण mean to show respect. The word शालीनिकारण means to subdue. As जाहिनिरास्थि 'he gets respect or causes respect to be shown to him through or on account of his matted hair.' चेवनो वाक्यव् च 'the hawk subdues the partridge', कल्याणकपयखि 'who deceives thee.'

The sūtra विभाषा लीखते: VI. 1. 51 declares that the है of श्री is optionally changed into अहै before certain terminations. But there is no option allowed when the root श्री has any of the above three senses: in these cases the substitution of अहै is necessary and not optional. For the option allowed by sūtra VI. 1. 51 is a व्यवस्थितव्याख्या and not a general विभाषा applicable everywhere.

Why do we say 'when it has the meaning of 'to show respect, &c.'? Because otherwise there is parasmaipada, As बालकपुल्लापयति.

71. After the causative of the verb kri, the Atmanepada is used, when it has the word mithya, incorrect, as an upapada or dependent word, and is
employed in the sense of ‘repeated wrong utterance’ even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase ‘of the causative ending in शि’ is to be supplied from sūtra 67. The aphorism is restricted to the cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word abhyāsa means doing again, or repetition; as पदनिद्रा कार्यति means ‘he repeatedly pronounces the word incorrectly, that is with wrong accent, &c., not once but constantly’.

Why do we say ‘when the word mithyā is used as an upapada?’ The causative of kṛi will take parasmaiapada when it has any other upapada. Thus पदनिद्राः कार्यति ‘he pronounces the word correctly.’

Why do we say ‘of the verb कृष्ण?’ Because the causative of any other verb used along with the word mithyā will not have ātmaneśa; as पदनिद्रा कार्यति ‘he repeatedly utters the word wrongly.’ Here ब्रज takes para-

Why do we say ‘repeatedly’? For if the incorrect utterance is not habitual, then parasmaiapada will be used; as पदनिद्राकार्यति ‘he pronounces wrongly, not always but once.’

72. After the verb marked with a svarita, (svaritē) or which has an indicatory न (nīt), the terminations of the Ātmaneśa are employed, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The anuvṛttī of the phrase शि: does not go further. The word क्रियावस्तु is a compound, meaning ‘fruit of the action.’ When the principal object for the sake of which the action is begun, is meant for the agent indicated by the verb, there the Ātmaneśa is used after verbs having an indicatory ः or a svarita accent. As वृत्ते ‘he sacrifices for himself’; पर्चे ‘he cooks for himself.’ Here the verb ब्रज and पर्च have svarita accent in the Dhātupātha, and therefore they take the Ātmaneśa terminations.

Similarly तुल्यe ‘he presses the soma-juice,’ कृष्णe ‘he does.’ Here the verbs तुल्य and कृष्ण have an indicatory ः.

In all the above cases, the principal object of the action such as getting heaven by performance of sacrifices, eating of food, &c., is meant for the agent. That is to say, he sacrifices in order that he himself may attain heaven, he cooks in order that he himself may eat, &c.
Why do we say 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent'? Otherwise it will have parasmaipada. As ब्राह्मण याज्ञवल्क्यः 'the priests sacrifice, (not for themselves, but for their clients)'; पारशुरामवंश रूपवानः 'the cooks cook (for their masters)'; कुर्बल्क्य कर्मवर्तमानः 'the menials work (for their masters). Here though the fees and the wages are the fruits which the agent gets, yet as that fruit is not the principal object for which the action was begun—the principal object of the sacrifice was not that the priest should get his fee, but that the sacrificer may go to heaven—the verb takes the terminations of the Parasmaipada. Here the principal fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, but to a third party.

अपाद्रतः: वर्णम् पदानि: अपाद्रतः, वद्यः, (कर्मभिमायेष ग्यापतेः ग्राति पत्रो ) इति

पूजितः: इति अन्धकारदिवसः कर्मभिमायेष ग्यापतेः आयश्चर्याः भवति इति

73. After the verb vad to tell, preceded by apa, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the terminations are of the Atmanepada.

The phrase "when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent," is understood here. The sūtra is clear. As धनवनी विषयमर्तमः 'the wealth-seeker forsakes justice, that is to say, he wishes to acquire wealth at the sacrifice of justice. But when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the parasmaipada is employed. As अपाद्रतः.

विचः इति इति विचः: च, (कर्मभिमायेष ग्यापतेः ग्राति पत्रो ) इति

पूजितः: इति ग्राहयते आयश्चर्याः भवति कर्मभिमायेष ग्यापतेः इति

74. After a verb ending in affix ni (causal) when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the Atmanepada is employed.

The phrase "when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent" is to be supplied from sūtra 72. The verbs that take the affix विच निच are generally causatives. As कस्तं कारयति 'he causes the mat to be made for himself'; बोहनं पापित 'he causes the food to be cooked for himself'. When the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the parasmaipada is used. As कस्तं कारयति प्रस्तु 'he causes another's mat to be made.'

समुद्रार्क्षयम् यमस्य अप्रथये इति: पदानि: समुद्रार्क्षयम्, यमस्य: अप्रथये (कर्मभिमायेष ग्रा ) इति

पूजितः: इति समुद्रार्क्षयं इत्यतः पूर्वांगोः कर्मभिमायेष ग्यापतेः आयस्मार्यां भवति भवतं

विचः विचारः इति: न भवति इति
75. After the verb yam to strive, preceded by sam, ut and ân, when it does not refer to a book, the Atmanepada is employed, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase 'when the fruit of the action accrues the to agent' is read into this aphorism by anuvritti from sūtra 72. As श्रेष्ठी हसंस्थितः 'he gathers rice'; भारमुच्छितः 'he lifts up the load'; सहस्रमुच्छितः 'he draws out the cloth.' The root yam preceded by the preposition आँद्र takes the terminations of the Atmanepada by virtue of aphorism 28 ante; but in that aphorism the verb was intransitive, here it is transitive, and this explains the necessity of making two different sūtras for one compound verb आेंन्ध.

Why do we say 'when it does not refer to a book.' For otherwise the verb will take the terminations of the parasmaipada. As युज्ञितः विज्ञितः वेदः 'the physician diligently studies medicine.'

When however the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the above compound verbs are parasmaipadi. As संस्थितः, उज्ञितः, आंन्धितः.

ब्रजस्वास्तगजः || यिद्य || पदानि || ब्रजस्वास्तगां || ब्रजस्वास्तगां || (कर्मभिमयेः ब्राह्मण पौर)

हृदितः || ब्रजस्वास्तगांजानाते: कर्मभिमयेः क्रियाकले आदनेरवेः भवति ||

76. After the verb jñā when not preceded by any upasarga, the terminations are of the Atmanepada, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent' is understood in this sūtra also. Thus गां जानाते 'he recognises the cow as his own'; गां जानाति 'he recognises the horse as his own.'

Why do we say when not preceded by any upasarga? For when compounded with prepositions, it may take the Atmanepada terminations; as शहस्त्रां लोके न प्रजानाति मूकः 'the fool does not know the heavenly regions.'

When, however, the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the simple root ज्ञाता takes parasmaipada terminations. देववस्तु गां जानाति 'he recognises Devadatta's cow.'

विभाषयते प्रतीयानाते || यत्त || पदानि || विभाषय, उपप्रेते, प्रतीयानाते (कर्मभिमयो ब्राह्मण पौर) ||

हृदितः || संनीपद्धतीययान संनीपद्धतीययाने तन प्रतीयानाते क्रियाकले विभाषयः रामपेने भवति ||
77. The Atmanepada is optionally used, when the fact of the fruit of the action accruing to the agent is indicated by an upapada, i.e. by a word used along with the verb.

By the preceding five śūstras 72 to 76, Atmanepada terminations were ordained to come after verbs which implied the accrual of the fruit of the action to the agent, that is to say, where the verb by itself denoted this. But when the same idea, instead of being inherent in the verb, is expressed by an upapada, that is by a word governed by the verb, the necessity of using the Atmanepada affixes, to denote the same idea, is obviously removed, and in such a case it is optional whether we use the Atmanepada or the Parasmaipada terminations. As स्वं बजेण बजति or बजेण ‘he sacrifices for his own yajña’; स्वं कर्ते करोति or करसे ‘he makes his own cot’; स्वं पुष्टवदति or पुष्टवदि; स्वं मोदन सुपक्षः or सुपक्षः. So on with all the above five śūtras.

78. After the rest, i.e. after all those verbs not falling under any one of the previous provisions, the terminations of the Parasmaipada are employed in marking the agent (i.e. in the active voice).

The rules of Atmanepada have been declared in the preceding 66 śūstras, 12 to 77. The terminations of the Parasmaipada, which are the general verbal terminations, will come everywhere else, that is to say, where its operation is not debarrered by any one of the preceding aphorisms. The present śūtra declares this universal rule. The word s'èsha or the rest, means that which is the residue after the application of all the previous restrictive rules. Thus it was declared by śūtra 12 ante that a root having an Anudatta vowel or a उ as it, will take Atmanepada terminations. As प्रासे देवे. The converse of this will take parasmaipada terminations, namely all verbs which do not have an anudatta accent or a उ as it. Thus वात ‘he goes,’ वात ‘it blows.’ It has been declared by śūtra 17 that the root विव when preceded by न takes Atmanepada terminations, as निवियवेत. When not preceded by न but any other preposition, it will take the parasmaipada termination. As चाविचाति, प्रविचाति.

Why do we say “when marking the agent”? For when used in the passive voice the root will take the Atmanepada termination. As वच्चे ‘it is cooked’, गम्यते ‘it is gone,’
Why is not parasmaipada used when the verb is employed reflexively? As in the following example:—पङक्ति यादत: स्वर्यमेव ‘the food cooks of itself.’ Because in the present sūtra the word कर्त्ति of sūtra 14 ante is to be read in by anuvṛtti, so that, in fact there are two कर्त्ति in this aphorism which thus means “when the agent of the verb is an agent pure and simple then parasmaipada is employed.” While when a verb is used reflexively (कर्मकर्तारि) the agent of the verb is also, in one aspect, the object of the verb; and it is therefore, that in reflexive verbs the Atmanepada terminations are employed.

79. After the verb kri to make, preceded by anu and para, parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent, and when the sense is that of “divulging,” &c.

By aphorism 32 ante, the root कृ took the terminations of the Atmanepada when the sense denoted was that of “divulging; reviling,” &c., and it also took Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent by virtue of sūtra 72, because the root कृ has an indicatory अ. The present sūtra makes an exception to those rules, and ordains parasmaipada. Thus अनुकृति ‘he imitates,’ पराकृति ‘he does well.’

80. After the verb kship, to throw, coming after abhi, prati and ati, parasmaipada is used, even though the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

The root फ्रु to throw, is svarīteta therefore by sūtra 72 ante, it would have taken Atmanepada termination, when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent; this aphorism ordains prasmaipada instead. As अनितिष्ठति ‘he throws on,’ परिचितिः ‘he turns away or rejects,’ अनिविष्ठति ‘he throws beyond.’

Why do we say ‘when coming after abhi, prati, and ati?’ Because when compounded with any other preposition, it will not take parasmaipada, but will be governed by sūtra 72. As प्रापयति ‘he throws down.’

The second कृ of sūtra 14 is also understood here, so that when the verb is used reflexively, the agent not being purely an agent, the present sūtra will not apply. As अनितिष्ठति स्वयम ‘it is thrown on of itself.’
81. After the verb vah to bear, coming after pra, parasmaipada is used, even though the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The root वह to carry is svaritet, and by सूत्र ७२ it would have taken the Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. But the present sūtra ordains parasmaipada instead. As परिबहित 'it flows.'

Why do we say 'when coming after pra'? Because after any other preposition it will not take prasmaipada, as अवहिते 'he brings.'

82. After the verb mṛjish to bear, preceded by pari, parasmaipada is used, even when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The root मुष "to suffer" is svaritet, and by सूत्र ७२ it would have taken Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This ordains parasmaipada instead. As परिबहिते 'he endures or he becomes angry.' When not preceded by this preposition, it takes Atmanepada termination. As आर्थिके:

According to some authors, the root वह of the last aphorism is said to be understood in this, so that वह preceded by परि will also take prasmaipada terminations; as परिबहित

83. After the verb ram to sport, preceded by vi and ân, parasmaipada is used.

The verb रम means 'to sport.' It is anudāttet and therefore by सूत्र १२ it would have taken Atmanepada terminations; the present sūtra ordains parasmaipada instead, as परिबहित 'he takes rest'; आर्मित 'he delights in,' परिबहित 'he sports.'

With other prepositions than these, it will take Atmanepada termination.

चाह चित्रिते
84. And also after upa, the verb ram takes the affixes of the parasmaipada.

As देवदत्तमुर्गमति 'he causes Devadatta to refrain.' The sense of the verb uparamati is causative here, as if it was उपारमति. This is an example of a verb involving in it the force of the causative affix जितः.

It might be asked why was not the preposition उप read along with the other preposition in the last aphorism, instead of making this a separate सूत्र. The answer is that the necessity of making a separate सूत्र with the preposition upa arose from the exigencies of सूत्र making. It is desired, that the next सूत्र 85 should apply only to the root upa-ram, and not to other compounds of ram; and this could only be done by making these two distinct सूत्रas.

85. After the verb ram preceded by upa, parasmaipada is optionally used, when employed intrinsitively.

The last aphorism ordained parasmaipada absolutely. This declares an option under certain circumstances. As ब्रह्मदुधुपरमति or उपरमति, he desisted from or was quiet while it was eaten.

86. After the verbs buddh to know, yudh to fight, nas' to destroy, jana to be born, in to go, pru to move, dru to run, and sru to flow, ending in the affix नि (i.e., when used in the causative), parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

By सूत्र 74 ante, causatives took the अतमनेपद termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This makes an exception to that and ordains parasmaipada. As ब्राह्मवति he expands; ब्राह्मवति he causes to fight; नागवति he causes destruction, अनवति he begets; अध्वायवति he teaches; श्रावति he causes to obtain; द्रापवति he causes to melt; भाववति he causes to trickle.
Of the above eight roots, those which are intransitive would have taken the parasmaipada terminations under the conditions mentioned in sūtra 88 sub, that is to say, when the agent is a being endowed with reason. The present aphorism in the case of such intransitive verbs makes this additional statement, that those intransitive verbs will take parasmaipada, even when the agent is not a being endowed with reason. As बोधिष्ठति प्रमुख he makes the lotus to expand, बोधिष्ठति कारावर्तhe he makes the woods to strike each other, नाशकावर्त हृदयम् he destroys sorrow, जनविषय तुलनम् he produces pleasure.

Again of the above eight roots, those that have ordinarily the sense of "moving" will get parasmaipada by sūtra 87. The present sūtra, in their case makes this additional statement, that they will take parasmaipada terminations even when the sense is not that of moving. Thus च means both 'to move' and 'to obtain,' च means 'to run' as well as 'to melt,' and च means 'to flow' as well as to 'to trickle.' As प्रवेधते he obtains; प्रशोकश्वति the iron melts; शत्रुहिक्षावर्ति the water-vessel drips. The examples in the first paragraph have therefore been thus translated.

The root हृद् is always compounded with ब्राह्म.

निगराशचलनोष्ठिर्भवत् || 87 || पदानि || निगराश-चलन-प्रश्व:च। (केष्ठ: परस्मैपदम्) ||

शृवः || निगराशचलनोष्ठिर्भवत् चलनोष्ठिर्भवत् धातुप्रयोगस्वलेखः परस्मैपद भवति ||

वासित्कम् || ब्रह्म: प्रतिप्रश्वस्तवः ||

87. And after the causatives of verbs which have the sense of the 'eating or swallowing' and 'shaking or moving' parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

The phrase 'when used in the causative (केष्ठ:) of the last sūtra is to be read into this also. The parasmaipada is ordained as an exception to sūtra 74 by which atmanepada was ordained when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. The word निगराश means 'eating,' and चलन means 'moving,' 'shaking.' As निगराशति he causes to swallow; श्रववार्ति he causes to eat; बोधिष्ठति he feasts; चलवार्ति he moves; ब्राह्मवार्ति, कम्प वार्ति he shaken. This aphorism applies to transitive verbs, and to verbs whose agents in non-causative state are inanimate objects, i.e. not possessed with reason.

\textit{Vārti:}—The prohibition of the root चाद to eat, must be mentioned. The causative of चाद to eat, takes atmanepada. Thus द्रव्य देवदत्त: Devadatta eats; द्रव्यते देवदत्ते he is made to eat by Devadatta.

अर्जावकर्मकाश्चित्रदत्तू कर्त्तकात् || 88 || पदानि || प्रभो || अर्ज-||

कर्मकात् || चितवनस्तू || कर्त्तकात् (केष्ठ: परस्प पो) ||

वृत्ति: || अर्ज्यस्तो यो धातुस्तानकाशिचलनकाश्चतत्स्वस्तवत ते परस्मैपद भवति ||
88. The affixes of the parasmaipada are employed after the causal of that verb, which in its non-causal state was intransitive and had a being endowed with reason for its agent; even when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase श्रेष्ठ: is understood here also. The Atmanepada was ordained by sūtra 74 when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This aphorism is an exception to that, and ordains parasmaipada. As प्रार्थ्य देवदत्स: Devadatta sits; प्रार्थ्य देवदत्स: he makes Devadatta to sit; श्रेष्ठ देवदत्स: Devadatta sleeps; श्रावन्ति देवदत्स: he causes Devadatta to lie down.

Why do we say 'in its non-causal state'? For if the causative root is from another causative root, and not from a simple non-causative root, then the parasmaipada will not be employed. Thus 'if one person such as Devadatta, causes another person Yajñadatta, to cause a third person Ramadatta, to do an act denoted by an intransitive root, as 'mounting' for instance, though Ramadatta mounts for his own benefit, the verb to be used in such a case is प्रार्थ्येते, in the Atmanepada, from the root श्राव्यं to mount; and not श्रावन्ति.' (Iengar's Guide to Panini).

Why do we say 'which was intransitive'? This rule will not apply if the verb in its non-causal state was transitive. Thus from श्राव्य the causative from श्रव्य 'to dry' if that which dries is a thing not possessed of a will as श्रव्य: 'paddy,' for instance, though the fruit of the action, i.e., the drying, affects only the paddy itself, comes श्राव्यते in the श्राव्यते, though 'to dry' is an intransitive root; e.g., श्राव्यते श्राव्यमातपः: the sun-shine causes the paddy to dry.' (Ibid).

Why do we say 'having a being endowed with reason for its agent'? For if the agent is a non-sentient object, the verb will be Atmanepadi. Thus from श्राव्य the causative from श्रव्य 'to dry' if that which dries is a thing not possessed of a will as श्रव्य: 'paddy,' for instance, though the fruit of the action, i.e., the drying, affects only the paddy itself, comes श्राव्यते in the श्राव्यते, though 'to dry' is an intransitive root; e.g., श्राव्यते श्राव्यमातपः: the sun-shine causes the paddy to dry.' (Ibid).

न पादमयाक्ष्यमाक्ष्यस्तपरिशुभन्नवृत्तिचितिवदवसः || ८५ || पदानि || न || पादमयाक्ष्यमाक्ष्यस्तपरिशुभन्नवृत्तिचितिवदवसः || ( शर: || परस्माक्- पदमृ ) ||

वृत्तिः || पादमयाक्ष्यमाक्ष्यस्तपरिशुभन्नवृत्तिपिण्यवृत्तिवदवसः इत्येकःयोगस्तेऽव: परस्माक् पदमृ न भूत्तिः ||

वारिककः || ८५ || चेति उवसंख्यानम् ||
89. But the affixes of the parasmaipada are not used after the causals of the verbs pā to drink, dam to tame, āyam to extend, āyas to exert oneself, parimuh to be bewildered, ruch to shine, nrīt to dance, vad to speak, and vas to dwell.

The last two aphorisms had ordained parasmaipada instead of Atmanepada, even when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent, thus debarring the latter's action which would otherwise have taken place by virtue of sūtra 74. This sūtra prohibits the last two sūtras, and re-instates Atmanepada of sūtra 74. Thus root pā to drink, has the sense of niharana or swallowing, the roots bhū &c., have sentient beings as their agent; the root nūṣṭa to dance has the sense of bhū &c. or moving, but still these verbs have atmanepada affixes, and do not take parasmaipada in the causative. As pāravasthe he causes to drink, ēsasvate he causes to be tame, āṣṭavasitthe he lengthens, āṣṭavasitthe he troubles, parimundhasthe he entices, śvetasthe he makes agreeable, nṛṣṭasthe he causes to dance, vāksam he makes to speak, vāsam he causes to dwell.

Vari:—The root pā should be enumerated along with pā &c. Thus pārapasthe viśataṃk samīči. The doe suckles a young infant.

vāyaṃc: || 90 || pāduṇi || vā || kṣaṃ: || ( pārsm-padm )

* śruti: || kṣyaṃvata-dhārasthe pārsm-padm bhavati ||

90. The affixes of the parasmaipada are used optionally after the denominative verbs ending in the affix kyash.

The affix kṣaṃ is ordained by sūtra III. 1. 12 bhūṣṭaṁvyaḥ bhūṣṭyaḥ vē-wheel ṣat: after the words lohihi &c. These roots take optionally parasmaipada. As lohihi said, or he reddens. pṛjñāvahāti or he makes pāt pāṭ.

buddhyościk: || 91 || pāduṇi || buddhy: || lūkhi: || ( vā pārsm-padm )

* śruti: || buddhyościk vā pārsm-padm bhavati ||

91. After the verbs dyuṭ to shine, &c. the terminations of the parasmaipada are optionally employed, when the affixes of luṅ (aorist) follow.

The Dyutādi verbs are 22 in number, to be found in Dhatupātha in the Bhuādadi class. By the use of the word buddhaḥ: in the plural in the sūtra, the force is that of &c. These verbs are anudatta and so by sūtra 12 they would have been invariably atmanepadi, this aphorism makes them optionally
so in the aorist. Thus अहसानन्त or अयोऽिन्ति he shone. In other tenses than the aorist (वृड्छ) these verbs are invariably Atmanepadi. As घासति he shines.

For a list of Dyuṭādi verbs see Dhatupātha.

वृड्धिः स्यस्नेः || ९२ || पदानि || वृड्धिः || स्य-सने� || ( वा ||

परस्मैपदः )

वृचि: || वृत, वृत्त, श्वृत, श्वृत्त, स्वरूपः || अन्यथा धातुवर्त: स्वरूपः च परस्तो च परस्मैपदः मवाति ||

92. After the verbs वृत to exist, &c., Parasmaipada is optionally employed when the affixes sya (Future and conditional) and san (Desiderative) follow.

The बृत्तावर्ति verbs are five in number and are included in the बृत्तावर्ति sub-class. They are बृत्त to be, बृत्त to grow, बृत्त to fart or break wind; स्वरूपः to ooze, and क्रुप to be able. As 1st Future बृत्तवति or बृत्तवत्ते, it will be; conditional अवृत्तवति or अवृत्तवत्ते; Desiderative बृत्तवति or बृत्तवत्ते &c.

In other tenses than the above, they are always Atmanepadi. As बृत्तवति it is.

लुटिच्छ्रपः || ९३ || पदानि || लुटिः || च क्रूपः || ( स्यस्नेः वा

परस्मैपदः )

वृचि: || लुटिः च त्वसस्नेः क्रूप परस्मैपदः च भवति ||

93. After the verb क्रूप to be fit, Parasmaipada is optionally employed, when lut. (1st Future) is affixed, as well as when sya and san are affixed.

The verb क्रूप is one of the five verbs of the sub-class बृत्तावर्ति of the last aphorism. Therefore it will take both parasmaipada and Atmanepada, when the affixes स्य or सन follow. The present sūtra makes the additional declaration in the case of 1st Future or लुट. Thus in Lut we have—कल्याति or कल्याते thou wilt be; in 1st Future we have:—कल्याति or कल्यात्ति he will be; in the Desiderative we have:—विकल्याति or विकल्यात्ते; in the conditional we have:—विकल्यात्ति or विकल्यात्तत्.

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BOOK I.

CHAPTER IV.

1. From this sūtra up to the aphorism Kādārah Karmadhāraye (II. 2. 38) only one name of each thing named is to be understood.

What is that name then? That which comes last, where the claims are otherwise equal (I. 4. 2.) and that which were its claim disallowed, would have no other opportunity of conducing to any result, would be the recognised name. As a short vowel is called ‘light’ by I. 4. 10. and it is also called ‘heavy’ when it precedes a conjunct consonant (I. 4. 11.) Thus a short vowel has two names ‘light’ and ‘heavy.’ But it will not be called ‘light’ when it precedes a conjunct consonant, but will have only one name, i.e., ‘heavy.’ Thus in निर to divi लि निर to split, the न is ‘light’ while the same letter is ‘heavy’ in निरा teaching निरा begging.

Thus in the root अ the अ is ‘heavy’ and therefore in forming its aorist we have the form अतव. Similarly अरत्व. The rule VII. 4. 93 not applying here as that rule is applicable to laghu vowels only.

2. When rules of equal force prohibit each other, then the last in the order herein given is to take effect.

The word विमर्शिष्य means ‘opposition of rules of equal force.’ When two topics having different objects in view find scope of action simultaneously in one particular case, that opposition of equal forces is called vipratisedha. A general rule (utsarga) and its exception (upavāda), or an invariable (nitya) and an optional (anītya) rule, or an autaranga and
a bahiranga rule, are not rules of equal force. There the stronger prevails against the weaker. As an example of rules of equal force, see VII. 3. 102 and VII. 3. 103. The first rule declares, 'when a case-affix beginning with a letter of yañi pratyāhāra follows, the long vowel is substituted for the final of an inflective base ending in a short ा.' As Vṛikshā + bhyām = Vṛikshābhyām. The next rule declares:—When a plural case-affix beginning with a letter or jhal pratyāhāra follows, ः is the substitute for the final short ा of an inflective base.' As Vṛikshā + su = Vṛiksheshu. But when the plural case-affix bhyāh follows, what rule are we to apply? For the letter bha belongs both to the pratyāhāras yañi and jhal. Are we to lengthen the short ा, or substitute ः? The present sūtra gives the reply, ः is to be substituted because VII. 3. 103 ordaining ः follows next to VII. 3. 102. Thus Vṛikshā + bhyāh = Vṛikshebhyaḥ.

युस्तवाळ्यौ मद्द्री ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हृ-आ, स्त्री-आक्षौ, मद्द्री ॥
हृतिः ॥ इक्षुनामौप्रजापति ॥ च स्वाधक्षण यद्धर्षि मद्द्री संयं भवति ॥

3. Word-forms ending in long औ and उ being names of females are called Nādī.

The word औ is compound of हृ + आ. The word stryākhyā means that which by itself denotes the name of a female. These words must be always feminine, having no masculine of the same form, as the word grāmaṇī has. As the words कुमारी Kumārī a virgin, यवागः, यवागः rice gruel. The declension of nouns of nāda class is somewhat peculiar which will be treated of later. As see Rule VII. 3. 112 अत्र is the augment of the case-affixes having an indicatory औ when they come after a word ending with a Nādī.

Why do we say ending in हृ and आ? Because feminine nouns not ending in these vowels will not be declined like Nādi words. Thus while the dative of कुमारी will be कुमारेऽ, the dative of द्विः will be द्विः.

Why do we say 'which are feminine'? Because if they are names of males, they will not be called Nādī. As ग्रामवी: leader of a village; बेनारसी: leader of an army; खल्वः a sweeper; their dative being ग्रामवेऽ, बेनारसेऽ, खल्वेऽ.

Why have we used the word द्विया 'name' in the text? Because feminine gender must be denoted by the word itself and not by any other epithet used along with the word. Thus if the head-borough or the sweeper should be of the female sex, the Dative Singular would still be ग्रामवेऽ खल्वेऽ and खल्वेऽ खल्वेऽ.

ने युस्तवाळ्यौ च स्त्री ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, हृगु-चुक्कु-स्थानी, अस्त्री, (युनाद्री) ॥
हृतिः ॥ हृगु उवकः स्थान वन्यासारिनीयुस्तवाळ्यौ ती ः मद्द्रीसंहरी च मवत ॥
4. Feminine words ending in ī and ū which admit the substitutive (रवृष्ट) iyaṁ and (वरृष्ट) uvaṁ (VI. 4. 77) are not called Nāḍi; except the word strī, (which is called nāḍi) notwithstanding its substituting iyaṁ.

The definition of Nāḍi given in the last sūtra was rather too wide, this limits the scope. Thus श्री, happiness, चू, brow, admit the substitutes iyaṁ and uvaṁ respectively, and are not Nāḍi. Their vocative singular is श्री, चू &c., while the vocative singular of strī is श्री.

5. Feminine words ending in ā and ū, though admitting iyaṁ and uvaṁ substitutes, are optionally termed Nāḍi, when the affix ām (Gen Pl.) follows, but not so the word strī, which is always Nāḍi.

श्री + ज्ञान = श्री + ग्यान = श्रीज्ञान ; चू + ज्ञान = चूज्ञान ; or श्री + ज्ञान = श्रीज्ञान + ज्ञान (VII. 1. 54) = श्रीज्ञान ; चू + ज्ञान = चूज्ञान. But strī is always Nāḍi and we have श्रीज्ञान strīnām.

To the absolute prohibition enjoined by the last sūtra, this allows an option in the case of Genitive Plural.

6. When a case-affix having an indicatory ū (nī) follows, then feminine words ending in short ī and ū are optionally termed Nāḍi, as well as feminine nouns in long ī and ū which admit of iyaṁ and uvaṁ; but not so the word strī, which is always Nāḍi.

Feminine words in long ī and ū have been defined as nāḍi, words in short vowels can never be termed nāḍi, while even some words in long vowels have also been excluded from the scope of the definition if they take iyaṁ and uvaṁ. The present sūtra declares an option in the case of all the above words, when a case-affix having an indicatory ū follows.

The case-affixes having an indicatory ū are the Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative singulars. Thus we have:
13. After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether verbal root or crude-form, that which begins therewith in the form in which it appears when the affix follows it, is called an Inflective base (āṅga).

The words of this sūtra require some explanation. Yasmāt after whatsoever; pratyaya-viddhiḥ compound of pratyaya meaning an affix and viddhi, a precept i.e. a rule enjoying an affix; tadādi, I. S. that which begins therewith pratyaya 7. S.=in a pratyaya i.e. when a pratyaya follows (I. 1.) is called a base.

After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether it be a verbal root (Dhātu) or a nominal base (prātipadika), the word-form having that as its beginning, is called an āṅga, with regard to the affix that follows. The word yasmāt is used in the aphorism to point out the thing named, as an āṅga; because the word tadādi follows it. This defines the word āṅga. The word ‘base’ is thus a relative term with regard to its affix. Thus जहि = जहि he will do इसरू he will lose. जारिज्जविति, जारिज्जविति. Here because the root जहि and इसरू get the name जहि they are gunāted by (VII. 3. 84). Similarly because जहि &c. get the name Anga, their vowel is vriddhied in जारिज्जविति &c.

The words kṛṣṇa kṛṣṇa are āṅga with regard to the affix tā &c. वस्य + रस = जोपितव; कारिः. Here upagu and kapaṭu are āṅga with regard to an. Similarly kṛṣṇa + vah + ब्राह्मण = कारिः + ब्राह्मण = कारिः. Here the whole word form Karishya is regarded as āṅga, and as such the short a is lengthened by VII. 3. 101; because though the affix vah is enjoined after the word kṛṣṇa, the form which begins with kṛṣṇa i.e. karishya will also be called āṅga when the affix is to be added. The word tadādi, therefore, has been used in the sūtra, to make the definition of Anga applicable to the forms which a word may assume after taking the intermediate affixes like saya &c., or दुष्ट before the final affixes. Thus कुष्ठ + दुष्ट + र = कुष्ठ + दुष्ट + र = कुष्ठानि (VII. 1. 72 and VI. 4. 8) कुष्ठ + दुष्ट + र = कुष्ठ + दुष्ट + र = कुष्ठानि, bowls. Here the whole form kusṭan is called āṅga, and as such it lengthens its vowel before the case-affix by VI. 4. 8.

Why have we used the word pratyaya? Without it the rule would have run thus:—‘After whatever there is anything enjoined &c., is called Anga.’ Then in दुष्ट + धिति = धिति. Here sandhi of vowels is enjoined between धिति + धिति. If धिति was here an Anga, then its last last vowel would have been replaced by दुष्ट (VI. 4. 77), the form being दुष्टविति.

Why have we used the word विस्तिरिति? Had we omitted it the rule would have run thus:—‘After whatsoever there is an affix, whether root or prātipadika is Anga,” Thus in दप्ति अयुप्त, though the affix adhunā is placed after
the word dadhi, it is not enjoined by any rule; and the word रचि is not called anga. Had it been so called, then the र of dadhi should have been elided by rule VI. 4. 148.

The word pratyaya has been repeated twice in this sūtra in order to show that when an affix is elided, the term anga will not apply to what stood before it. Thus in the compound word फिरेन + जन = जनय for the sake of the woman. Here in forming the Ṭat purusha compound the dative case-affix after the word स्र has been elided, for as a general rule case-affixes are elided in forming compounds. If the word स्र after its affix had been elided, still retained its old designation of Anga, the स्र + जन would have been फिरय, the augment iyaṅ being added by the rule already referred to above.

इन्हें पद्म || १४ || पदणि || इनः तिथा-उत्तमः, पद्मी ||

१४. That which ends in sup (case-affix) IV. 1. 2; or in tin III. 4. 78 (tense-affix), is called a pada or inflected word.

The sup or case-affixes are those by which nouns are declined; and tin are tense-affixes by which verbs are conjugated. They have already been given before. Thus फणा + त्र = फणा: the Brāhmaṇas pāchāna they cook.

It might be asked by a caviller why the word जन has been used in the aphorism, for by the rule of tadanta given in Sūtra I. 1. 72 a rule relating to sup will mean and include also that which ended with a sup-affix. To this we reply, that the very fact that the word anta is used in this sūtra, indicates by implication (jñāpaka) that the Tadanta rule of Sūtra 72 Chapter I does not apply to rules of sanjñā (definition) made with regard to affixes. Thus tarap and tamap affixes are called gha by Sūtra I. 1. 22.

The tadanta-vidhi will not apply here; words ending with these affixes will not be called gha. Thus फणितमतिर will not be called gha, for had it been so called, the long र will be shortened in गौरी फणितमतिर. In short, 'an affix when employed in a rule which teaches the meaning of a technical term (sanjñā) does not denote a word-form ending with the affix.'

न: कष्ये || ९ || पदणि || न: , कष्ये , (पद्म)•||

१५. The word-form ending in n, is called pada, when kya follows (*i.e.*), the affixes kyach, kyaṅ and kyash).

These are affixes by which denominative verbs are formed from nouns. See III. 1. 8, 11, and 13. A word ending in ṭ is called pada, when these affixes follow. Thus राज्य + वषु = राज्येव 3rd Per. s. राज्येवित he behaves like
a king. So also राजस्+क्ययुत्=राजावति (VII. 4. 5.) चालक्ष+क्ययुत्=चालक्वति or चालखति. The result of its being called pada is that the च of राजस्, चालक्ष &c., is elided by Sūtra VIII. 2. 7. (there is elision of च final in a pada which is entitled to the designation of prātipadika). Thus राजस्+क्ययुत्=राज+च्=राजीव (VII. 4. 33).

These three affixes एवधु &c., come after case-inflected words (i.e., words ending in sup), and though, before these affixes, the case terminations are elided, still by Sūtra I. 1. 62 such words would have retained the name of pada which they got by Rule 14 of this Chapter. The present sūtra however makes a restriction (niyama). It declares that only words ending in च retain the name of pada; while all other case-inflected words before these affixes do not retain that designation. Thus the words दशु speech, खरु a ladle are not treated as pada and we have दशुवति and खरुवति. Had they been pada, the च would have been changed into च् by VIII. 2. 30.

सिति च || १६ || पदार्थ || स-इति, च, (पदस्)

वृंति: || सिति मद्वये परत: प्रयः पदस्ये बनाति ||

16. When an affix having an indicative च follows then that which precedes it is called pada.

The sūtra 18 of this chapter teaches that before certain affixes, the preceding word is called bha. This sūtra declares an exception to that by anticipation. Thus Rule IV. 2. 115 declares: "Affixes ठक् and ठप् come after the vridhi (I. 1. 74) word चवषु." Here the affix ठक् has an indicatory च, therefore the word चवषु, standing before it, will be called pada. Thus चवषु+ठक्=चवषेश्वर VII. 1. 2, belonging to you. The result of being pada is that च is changed into च् (VII 1. 39). Similarly च is च in च् (After the word उष्ण there is च् V. 2 123). Thus चतुः; so also च्यू V. 1. 106, has च as indicatory. Thus चतुः: There is no guna because of its being pada.

स्वादिष्ठ सवेशस्याने || १७ || पदार्थ || स-आदिष्ठु, असवेशस्य

स्वादिष्ठ सवेशस्याने || १७ || पदार्थ || स-आदिष्ठु, असवेशस्य

वृंति: || स्वादिष्ठु प्रमये परतः सवेशस्यानविदिष्ठु च्यू पदस्ये बनाति ||

17. When the affixes beginning with च (IV. 1. 2) and ending in च् (V. 4. 151) follow, not being Sarvanāmahasthāna (I. 1. 43) then that which precedes is called pada.

The affixes beginning with su and ending with kap are meant by the above sūtra. Thus the case-affix चयम् (Ins Dual) is an affix included in the above. Thus राजस्+चयम्=राजस्याच्, राजमिः, राजस्व, राजता, राजस्तरः, राजस्तमः: The च is elided by being pada,
Why do we say ‘when not a Sarvanamsthana’? Observe राजन् + द्रो = राजसमृ two kings. राजान्: kings. The न is not elided.

यचि भमू ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ यु-अचि, भमू, (स्वारिवणस) ॥

यचि: || यकारादवादकारे य स्वादीय यवेनासमस्वादास्वेते मस्ये परत: युे भर्तर्त यविति ॥

यचिकमु ॥ नमांकितोपमस्य परस्यपंक्ष्यानास्युष कमु ॥

यचिकमु ॥ युस्यपञ्चकस्त्वम्: ॥

18. And when an affix, with an initial य or an initial vowel, being one of the affixes, beginning with su and ending in k, follows, not being Sarvanamsthana, then what precedes, is called Bha.

This debars the application of pada. Thus यम् + स्थु (IV. 1. 105) = यारस्त्: a grandson of Garga. So also यास्युः. The affix यान begins with a य and the word garga being treated as Bha its final न is elided before the affix by VI. 4. 148.

So also दश + रस्त=दाषि: (IV. 1. 95) grandson of Daksha सारिच्छति: . Here the affix रस्त बegins with a vowel the word standing before it being Bha, it causes elision of the final न of Daksha.

The word वर्ण is in the 7th case meaning when य or यु follow; and by the last Vart of Sūtra I 1. 72, it means ‘when an affix beginning with या or आग follow.’

Vart.—The words समा, अक्षीरस्य and समुद्र should be treated as Bha when the affix या follows. Thus समस्य: like the sky. अक्षीरस्य like the Angiras. समुद्र: like the man. By being Bha, the न is not changed into य, which it would have been, had it been a pada (VIII. 2. 66).

Vart.—The words वृष्णर्द्ध is treated as Bha in the vedas when the words ध्रु and ध्रस्य follow. Thus वृष्णर्द्ध; वृष्णर्द्धस्य चेमे Here had the word व्रिशमन been treated as pada, the न would not have been changed into य (See Rule VIII. 4. 37); and this न would have been dropped before the affix vasu by VIII. 2. 7.

तक्षी मात्यवें ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ त-स्ती, मतु-आचि, (भमू) ॥

मृष्ण: || तकारास्यं तकारास्यं मात्यवें मस्येव परत्वा चर्चा मात्यवें ॥

19. The word-form ending in t or in s is called Bha when an affix with the force of matup (‘whose is it,’ ‘or in whom it is,’ V. 2. 94) follows.

The word Bha is understood in this sutra. Thus is the word चद्यक्षरं having butter milk Nom. Sing. चद्यक्षरस्य पौर: the herdsman having butter milk, विशु चद्यिनः बला: the cloud full of thunder. So also चद्यक्षर famous;
Bha Cases [Bk. I. Ch. IV. § 20, 21.

चयन्वी full of milk. Thus उद्यमिति + बहुपति = उद्यमिति बहुपति, वनस्पति + विनिति (V. 2. 121) = वनस्पति विनिति. By making these Bha, the operation of pada rule is debarred in their case. That is to say the final ॐ of uद्यमिति &c., and the ॐ of यासिनि &c., are not changed into र and र respectively, which had they been pada words would have been the case by the action of Sūtra VIII. 2. 39, and VIII. 2. 66. viz., उद्यमिति बहुपति and वनस्पति विनिति which are incorrect.

अयस्मायादीनि चन्द्रि || 20 || पदार्थि || अयस्माय-आदीनि,
चन्द्रि, (भम) ।

बृद्धि || अयस्मायादीनि चन्द्रि बन्धुपपाठि चन्द्रि बन्धुपपाठि विभी गामति सत्ति ||

20. Words like अयस्मायादीनि, are valid forms in the chhandas (veda).

These words being taught here in the topic relating to pada and Bha, show that they have been properly forced in the chhandas by the application of the rules of Bha and pada. Thus बहुपति + बहु = अयस्माय made of iron. Here the word बहुपति is treated as Bha and hence the ॐ is not changed into र. Thus अयस्माय बहुः iron-made coat of mail. अयस्मायादि पाठार्थि iron vessels. The present form of this word is अयस्मायु. In some places both these pada and Bha apply simultaneously. Thus in the word अयस्मायु formed by अयस्माय + यु, the ॐ is first changed into यु by treating the word rich as a pada. Then the word अयस्मायु is treated as bha, and therefore the यु is not changed into यु before यु. For had it been pada, the form would have been अयस्मायु रिगवत. These irregularly formed words occur only in the chhandas or Vedic literature. Thus अयस्मायु अयस्मायु रिगवत नाते.

बहुपति बहुवचनसम् || 21 || पदार्थि || बहुपति, बहु-वचनसम् ||

बृद्धि || बहुपति बहुवचनसम सत्ति ||

21. In expressing multitude, a Plural case affix is employed. When it is intended to denote multitude those affixes should be employed after nouns and verbs, which denote plural number. Thus द्वारा पदार्थि. The Brahmins read.

This rule applies to words which are capable of expressing numbers. Indeclinables (Aryaya) do not admit of numbers, and consequently they are always in singular number which is the general form.

द्वारा || पदार्थि || द्वारा-एक्योऽः, द्वारावचन-एक्याचनि ||

बृद्धि || बहुवचनसम सत्ति सत्वति ||
22. The dual and singular case-affixes are employed severally in the sense of duality and unity.

This is also clear. When duality is to be expressed, a dual case-affix should be employed, and in the case of unit, the singular case-affix. Thus प्रातिविज्ञान, प्रातिनि, प्रातिकारक the two Brahmins cook. प्रातिनि, प्रातिकारक the Brahmin cooks.

23. The phrase ‘kāryak’ (meaning ‘in the special relation to a word expressing an action’) is to be understood in the following aphorisms.

Any thing that helps towards the accomplishment of an action is a kāryak. Thus in ‘cooking,’ the fire, the furnace, the vessel, the cook are all helpers in the accomplishment of the action. Thus ‘Rama cooks food in a vessel, by the fire from the furnance for his master.’ Here Rama is agent kāryak; ‘food’ is object kāryak; ‘vessel’ is a locative kāryak, fire is an instrumental kāryak, ‘furnace’ is the ablative kāryak and ‘master’ is the dative kāryak.

The word ‘ karak ‘ thus is synonymous with the word cause (hetu) and occasion (nimitta). All the various causes and the occasions that are required to complete an action will be kāryakas. Out of the seven cases in which a sanskrit noun is declined, six represent such relation with an action. The Genitive or the sixth case can never be directly related with an action, and thus can never stand in the relation of a kāryak to a verb.

24. A noun whose relation to an action is that of a fixed point from which departure takes place is called apādāna or Tablation.

This defines the Ablation or Apādāna kāryak. Thus ग्रामवार्त्थिनि he comes from the village. पर्वतार्थिनि he descends from the mountain. स्वार्थिनि lost his object. स्वार्थिनि fallen from the chariot. The Apādāna takes the 5th case-affix (II. 3 28) and the above examples show this. When therefore this relation is to be expressed, ‘ the fixed point (like grāma, purvata &c., in the above) which is the limit denoted by a word dependent on a verb, is called ablation.’
Vart. — The objects of verbs denoting ‘aversion,’ ‘cessation’ and ‘negligence’ are also called ablation. Thus:— अपचार्यतसि he dislikes injustice; अच्छीतसि he ceases from injustice. परस्ततःसि he neglects justice.

भीनार्यानं भयेहुः \( \text{॥ २५ ॥} \) पदरति \( \text{॥ भी-श्रा-अच्छीनामु, भयेहुः} \) \( \text{॥} \) (यत्री अपाधानासु) \( \text{॥} \)

भूनि; \( \text{॥} \) परस्ततःसि अध्यायार्यानं इत्याः वेश्याः वेशयाः सत्यार्यानपदानमस्ये भवति।

25. In the case of words implying ‘fear’ and ‘protection from danger’ that from which the danger or fear procedes is called Apādana kāraka.

The verbs signifying ‘fear’ or ‘protection’ govern the object feared of, or the danger to be protected from, in the ablative case. Thus चर्चापर्थे विचेति he is afraid of thieves, चर्चापर्थे उक्ताः he is agitated because of the thieves. चर्चापर्थे यथार्थे or रसि. He protects or saves from the thieves.

Why do we say ‘the cause of fear (bhaya-hetu) is put in the ablative case’? Observe अश्वन्ते विचेति or यथार्थे he fears or protects in the forest.

परायेः रसैः \( \text{॥ २६ ॥} \) पदरति \( \text{॥ परायेः, अश्वन्ते, (कत्या अपाधानासु)} \) \( \text{॥} \)

प्रूनि; \( \text{॥ परायेः अपाधानासु यथार्थः यथार्थः चेष्टाः चेष्टाः सत्यार्यानपदानमस्ये भवति।} \)

26. In the case of the verb parāji, ‘to be tired or weary of,’ that which becomes unbearable, is called Apādana kāraka.

When the verb फिज to conquer, with the preposition parā has the sense of ‘becoming tired or unbearable’ it governs the ablative case of the thing become unbearable. As ध्यायानह रराजवते he finds study unbearable.

Why do we say ‘that which becomes unbearable.’ Observe यशोः परायेः he defeats the enemies.

वारायार्यानं शीत्यितः \( \text{॥ २७ ॥} \) पदरति \( \text{॥ वाराय-अच्छीनामु,} \) एतिष्ठतः (कस्य अपाधानाः)

प्रूनि; \( \text{॥ वारायार्यानं भयाठवते चेष्टाः एतिष्ठताः सत्यार्यानपदानस्ये भवति।} \)

27. In the case of verbs having the sense of ‘preventing’, the desired object from which one is prevented or warded off is called Ablation or Apādana kāraka.

The obstruction to one’s natural inclination is called vāraṇa or prevention. As वच्चेश्वे गां वारायानि or निरस्त्रवति he wards off or withholds the cow from the barley.
Why do we say ‘the object desired’ is put in the ablative case? Observe तत्वे स्वरपर बृत्ते he wards off the cow in the field.

अन्तर्गुणि येनादशनम विद्विदि || २८ || पद्वानि || अन्तर्गुनि, येन,
अद्वैतमू, इच्छिति, (कार्य अपादान) ||

बृत्ति: || अन्तर्गुनि नित्यिः येनादशनमालमनिष्ठितवर्तकस्वाधासनं भवति ||

28. When concealment is indicated, the person whose sight one wishes to avoid, is called अपादानं कारका.

Thus उपाद्यवापथिते or विलीनते he conceals or hides from the teacher; so that the teacher may not find him out or see him.

Why do we say ‘when concealment is indicated’? Observe चीराच न ददत्ते he does not wish to see the thieves. Here the term chauran is in the accusative case.

Why has the word ichchhati been used in the text? The अपादानं कारका is to be used there only, where one desires that he should not be seen, yet he shows himself.

अण्तर्गुणोपयोगी || २८ || पदानि || अण्त-क्याता, उप-योगी,
(कार्य अपादान) ||

बृत्ति: || उपादाने वाच्ये य अण्त-क्याता तत्कारकस्वाधासनं भवति ||

29. The noun denoting the teacher is called अपादानं or ablation, in relation to the action signifying formal teaching.

The word अण्त-क्याता means teacher, and उपादान means acquiring knowledge in the regular way. Thus उपाद्यवापथिते or अण्त-क्याति he learns from the preceptor.

Why do we say ‘when meaning to learn’? Observe नलस्य भूषोति he hears the player.

जनिकुः: प्रकृति: || ३० || पदानि || जनि-कुः: प्रकृति:,
(कार्य अपादान) ||

बृत्ति: || जनिवर्तकस्वाधासनं कत्वा जापानं तत्वया मद्या: वाच्यं देवो: तत्त्वकारकस्वाधासन-संबंध भवति ||

30. The prime cause of the agent of the verb jan to be born, is called अपादानं.

That which is the Agent (कार्य) of the verb jan, is called जनिकुः.
That which is the prime-cause (भूष: ) of the agent (or product) of the
root jān is put in the ablative case. As यूक्ताश्रस्त्री जायते, the arrow is produced from horn. गौतमाय उष्णाको जायते the scorpion is produced from cowdung.

सूबः प्रकाश: || ११ || पदार्थः || सूबः, प्रकाशः, (काथा अपारः) ||

चूल्सः भूकः: प्रकाशः य वस्त्रकारकमपदार्थवें संबाधितं

31. The source of the agent of the verb bhu, to become is called Apādāna.

The phrase ‘of the agent (karuth)’ is understood here. The word प्रकाश means the source or that from which anything arises. As विषमवतः संया प्रकाशित गंगा प्रकाशित द्राक्षे निशेच्या चित्रास्त्र गंगा प्रकाशित. The Hydaspes has its source in Cashmere.

कर्मणा यमक्षिप्रिति स संत्रासम् || ३२ || पदार्थः || कर्मणा, यमक्षः, यमक्षिप्रिति, सः, संत्रासम्, (काथा) ||

चूल्सः कर्मणा, करण्डोत्तर कर्मणा यमक्षिप्रिति वस्त्रकारक संयासमयं संबाधितं

वाचिकसः विषमवतः संया कर्मणाः

वाचिकसः कर्मणा, करण्डोत्तर कर्मणा संत्रासम् च कर्मणा

32. The person whom one wishes to connect with the object of giving, is called Sampradāna or recipient.

Though the word कर्मणा in the sūtra is indefinitely used, meaning ‘with the object’ yet it is not every object of any verb. The object must be of the verb ‘to give.’

As अध्यायावादम् यश दिदाहति he gives the cow to the teacher. ाध्यायावादम् नवानु दिदाहति he gives alms to the boy. Here the words ‘cow’ and ‘alms’ are the object of the verb ‘give’, the persons connected with this object are the teacher and the boy respectively. These latter are in the Dative case and take the 4th case-affix.

Vart.:—The person whom one wishes to connect with the action should also be called recipient. As ाध्याय निग्रहेति he censures for the sake of Sraddha. यादय चन्द्रवति he prepares for battle. यत्रे चेति she sleeps for her husband.

Vart.:—2. After some verbs (especially to sacrifice), the object (karma) gets the name of Instrument (karaṇa) and the recipient (Sampradāna) is called object (karma).

Thus पुष्पाद्वा चद्वाद्वा or पुष्पाद्वा दादाति he sacrifices with an animal to Rudra, which is equivalent to, ‘he gives an animal to Rudra.’

सूच्यार्थानां प्रीयमास्य: || ३३ || पदार्थः || सूच-आध्यायानां

प्रीयमास्यः, (काथा संत्रासम्)

चूल्सः सूच्यार्थानां प्रीयमास्यानां प्रीयमास्याः सत्त्वकारकं संयासमयं संबाधितं ||
33. In case of verbs having the signification of the root 'to like,' the person or thing that is pleased or satisfied, is called Sampradâna or recipient.

The verbs having similar meaning (artha) as the word ruchi or 'liking' are स्वद। A desire or longing caused by something else, is called ruchi. As देवदत्त यां अपुपा ते नेस्वद्वव: the sweet meat pleases Devadatta. यां नेस्वद्वव: Jajnadatta likes Apupa. Here modaka is the agent that draws out the longing which is latent in Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the person pleased'? Observe देवदत्त यां अपुपा ते नेस्वद्वव: पश्चिम. Devadatta likes modak in the way. The word pathi being in the 7th case.

भाषा-धारण/ स्वद-शारण: || 34 || पदार्थ || भाषा-धारण/ शारण, स्वद-शारण: || (काथा संम्बन्ध) ||

बृहत्ति: || देवदत्त यां अपुपा ते नेस्वद्वव: स्वद-शारण/ यां अपुपा ते नेस्वद्वव: स्वद-शारण संम्बन्ध भावना।

34. In the case of verbs slâgh to praise, hnu to take away sthâ to stand, and sap to 'ourse, the person whom it is intended to inform of or persuade by, these actions, is called Sampradâna.

The word स्वद-शारण means whom it is desired to make known or inform. As देवदत्त यां अपुपा ते he praises Devadatta, i.e., while praising Devadatta, he wishes that he should know this praise. So also with other verbs. As देवदत्त कु छे देवदत्त कु छे he hides from (wishing that Devadatta should know of it) Devadatta, देवदत्त कु छे he offers herself to Devadatta (for sexual embrace, wishing that he should know of it). देवदत्त यां अपुपा ते he reviles Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the person whom it is intended to inform'? Observe देवदत्त यां अपुपा ते पश्चिम. Here pathi is in the Locative case.

धारण स्वदर्द्वव: || 35 || पदार्थ: || धारण, स्वदर्द्वव: || (काथा संम्बन्ध) ||

बृहत्ति: || धारण: यां अपुपा ते उच्चर्द्वव: स्वदर्द्वव: संम्बन्ध भावना।

35. In the case of the verb dhâri 'to owe,' the creditor is called Sampradâna.

The word उच्चर्द्वव is compounded of two words उच्च best and र्द्वव debt meaning (whose debt is best) creditor, as opposed to र्द्वव debt debtor. As देवदत्त यां अपुपा ते he owes hundred to Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the creditor is called Recipient'? Observe देवदत्त यां अपुपा ते he owes hundred to Devadatta in the village. Here village is in the Locative case.
36. In the case of the verb śṛṇha to desire, the thing desired is called Sampradāna karaka.

The verb śṛṇha to desire, belongs to the churādi class. The word governed by this verb takes the Dative case. As puṣṭeṣvaḥ śṛṇhaṁ he desires flowers, puṣṭeṣvaḥ śṛṇhaṁ he desires fruits.

Why do we say ‘the thing desired.’ Observe puṣṭeṣvaḥ vā Śṛṇhaṁ he desires flowers in the forest. Here vā is in the Locative case.

37. In the case of the verbs having the sense of krūdh to be angry, druḥ to injure, īrṣhya to envy, āsāya to detract, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called Sampradāna.

Krūdh means non-tolerance, druḥ means doing wrong or hurt, īrṣhya jealousy; and āsāya means to find out the faults of another. The word kopa includes all the above four sorts of actions. As devadatta yuṣṭaḥ rājñīkṣṛṣṭiṁ or ācāryaṁ or yuṣṭaṁ or ācāryaṁ he is angry upon, (i.e. with) or bears malice to, or is jealous of, or finds out the faults of Devadatta. Here Devadatta is in the Dative case.

Why do we say ‘against whom the feeling of anger is directed.’ Because if there be no feeling of anger, then these verbs will not govern the dative case, but the accusative. Thus yuṣṭaṁ he is jealous of his wife, i.e., does not wish her to be seen by others. Here the word bhāryaṁ is in the accusative case.

38. But in the case of the verbs krūdh and druḥ, when preceded by prepositions, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called karma karaka or object.
This aphorism is a proviso to the last, and enjoins accusative case, where by the last, there would have been dative. The word upasriṣṭa means having upasarga or preposition. As देवदत्तानिर्विपराति अविद्विपराति, When used simply, those verbs of course govern the Dative case by the last aphorism. As देवदत्ताय विपराति.

राष्ट्रीयोपन्यास विप्रकर: ॥ ३८ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ राष्ट्र-देवधरः, यस्य, 
विप्रकरः, (कार संप्रदायो) ॥

इति: ॥ राष्ट्र-देवधरार्क संवदानसंगत भवति बीतृक्ष यस्य विप्रकरः, विप्रकरः: मरम्, विप्रकरः; 
य कस्य भवति यस्य एवान्तु दृश्यते ॥

39. In the case of the verbs rādh, to propitiate, and īksh to look to, the person about whose good or bad fortune questions are asked is called Sampradāna.

The word vipraśna means literally asking various questions; and denotes questioning about the good or bad luck of another. Thus देवदत्ताय राष्ट्र-देवधरे गर्भः Garga is favorable to or looks to Devadatta, the sense is that being casually asked by Devadatta, he reflects upon the good or bad fortune of Devadatta.

Another explanation of this sūtra is, the agent that puts various questions is put in the dative case. As विप्रकरः राष्ट्र-देवधरे या युः meaning, the pupil asks the teacher various questions to resolve his doubts, and the teacher answers those questions to the pupil.

प्रत्याद्वृत्यां अनु: पूवस्य कर्तव्य ॥ ३६ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ प्रति-वाक्यायां, 
अनु: पूवस्य, कर्तव्य (कार संप्रदायः) ॥

इति: ॥ प्रतित्सवः पूवस्य युक्तिः कर्तव्य राष्ट्र-देवधरवंसंगत भवति बीतृक्ष युप्रकरां कर्तव्य ॥

40. In the case of the verb Śrū preceded by the prepositions prati and ān; and meaning ‘to promise’ the person to whom promise is made (lit: the person who was the agent of the,former verb) is called Sampradāna.

The compound verb मतिद्वृत्य द्वारा means to promise. A promise is made on the motion or at the instance of another. The person so proposing who was the agent of the former action becomes the recipient of the promise in the latter case. As देवदत्ताय या मतिद्वृत्य आद्वृत्य एवान्तु he promises a cow to Devadatta.

अनु-प्रतित्सवः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ अनु-प्रति-द्वृत्यः, च, (कार 
संप्रदायो पूवस्य, कर्तव्य) ॥

इति: ॥ अनु-प्रतित्सवः प्रतित्सवः च दृष्टातः कर्तव्यम् युक्तिः: युक्तिः: दृष्टातः संवदानसांगम- 
भवति ॥
41. In the case of the verb gri, preceded by anu and prati, and meaning 'to encourage by repeating', the person who was the agent of the prior action, which is repeated, is called Sampradāna.

The phrase pūrvasya kartā of the last is to be read into this aphorism. As देवी उदयभाति. They encourage the Hotri, i.e. the Hotri priest invokes first, the others then follow him in invocation and by so doing encourage him. The word जुगवर and प्रविशिि mean encouraging the invoker.

साधकतकलकरायम् || ४२ || पदानिः || साधकतकलम्, करायम् (कारकः) ||

कृतिः || व्यव्यासितो यदि यथूण्डि पारंपरिकम् विविधतं तत्त्वार्थकतं कारकम् करणसंबंध भवति ||

42. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action is called the Instrument or karāṇa kāraṇa.

As दलं खुना the he cuts with the sickle. परमाणर विनाशित he divides by the axe. The instrument कारक takes the third-case affix.

Why do we say 'especially'? Because in the case of the other kārákās, the non-mention of the word 'especially' makes it possible for us to use those cases, in not their strict sense. Thus though the locative case should be used where strictly a thing is located in another, yet we may say गंगाः चाप्त: the herdsman in the Ganges, not strictly in, but on the banks of, the Ganges. कृषि गर्भाङ्गाप the family of frogs in the well, i.e. on the sides of the well.

दिवः कर्मः च || ४३ || पदानिः || दिवः, कर्मः, च, (का साधकतकलकरायम्) ||

कृतिः || दिवः चार्यकलम् वर्तार्थं सत्त्वसंबंधं नवति वहारात् करणसंबंधं च ||

43. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action, of the verb div to play, is called karma object, as well as-κारा, Instrument.

The present sūtra ordains accusative case, where by the operation of the last aphorism there ought to have been Instrumental case. The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that karāṇa is also to be read into this. As ब्रह्म देवभिः or धर्म देवभिः he plays the dice or with the dice.

परिक्रमयें संप्रदातृनस्मत्स्थायम् || ४४ || पदानिः || परिक्रमयें, संप्रदातृनम्, अन्यत्स्थायम् (का साधकतकलम्) ||

कृतिः || परिक्रमयें चार्यकलम् कारणसंबंधवाद्यं संप्रदातृनसंबंध भवति ||
44. In the case of hiring on wages, that which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action of the verb parikṛt, ‘employing on stipulated wages,’ is optionally called Sampradāna or recipient.

This ordains dative case, where there would otherwise have been Instrumental case. The word parikṛte means to engage for a limited period on payment of wages, and not absolute purchase for all time. As भवाय परिकृते सम्प्रदाने परिकृते सम्प्रदाने.

**Adhikarana.**

आधारार्थिकिरश्रय || ॥ ॥ पदानि || आधारः, आधिकरश्रयः, (कार) ||

पृष्ठः || कर्मां चार्यार्थिकिरश्रयाः शिष्यास्यप्रायोपरिश्रयाः जियां मन्त्र श्रयाः आधारार्थिकिरश्रयाः संबंध भवति.

45. That which is related to the action as the site where the action is performed by reason of the agent or the object being in that place is called Adhikarana or the Location.

That in which the action is supported or located is called Adhāra. As कटे गर्हेन्द्र वे he is seated on the mat. कटे विशेन्द्र he is sleeping on the mat. व्याश्वं विशेति है cooks in the pot. The Adhikarana takes the 7th case-affix.

अभि-श्रव्यस्वां कस्म || ॥ ॥ पदानि || अभि-श्रव्यस्वा-आसासु || कस्मः, (कार आधारः)

पृष्ठः || अभि-श्रव्यस्वां श्रमः श्रव्य आश्रयं इत्येक श्रव्यार्थिकिरश्रयां कर्मां च भवति.

46. That which is the site of the verbs sī to lie down, sthā, to stand,  āś to sit, when preceded by the preposition adhī, is however called karma kāraka or object.

This ordians accusative case, where otherwise by the last sūtra there would have been the Locative case. As ग्राममहिम्यं अभिविविद्यति अथ वच्यावत् he lies down, occupies or lies in the village.

अभिनिविविश्वश || ॥ ॥ पदानि || अभिनिविविशः, च, (कार आधारः कस्मः) ||

पृष्ठः || अभिनिविविशः विविश्वार्थिकिरश्रयां कर्मां च भवति.

47. That which is the site of the verb abhinivisi to enter, is also called karma-kāraka.
KARMA KARAKA.  [Bk. I. Ch. IV. § 48-49.

As ग्रासमितिविवेस्ते he resorts to the village. This is an optional rule, as the word "option" of sūtra 44 should be read into it. Thus we have the following forms also परिविविवेस्ते: resorting to sin. कल्याणितिविवेस्ते: resorting to good. The rule here is that of vyavasthita vibhāsa.

उपास्तव्यात्र वस्: II 45 II पद्राति II उप-अनु-अथि-आद्व-वसः:

(कार्य आर्यार: कम्) II

वृत्ता: II उप अनु अथि आद्व इत्येव द्वार्तेव वससंवतारिपार वससंवतारकं कन्तसंबं भवति II
मार्कोऽवः II वससंवतार्मकं वससंवतो वस्त्रव: II

48. That which is the site of the verb vas to dwell, when preceded by upa, anu, adhi, and an, is called karma-kâraka.

As द्रानस्युपाश्चर्ति शेना the army dwells in the village परदुपाश्चर्ति-जातुपाश्चर्ति-प्रक्षेपिति or एक्षेपस्य.

Vart:-Prohibition must be stated when the verb वस means "fasting," or does not denote lying in a locality. As ग्रामेण upasvati he fasts in the village. Here the verb upasvati governs the locative case and not the accusative.

KARMA.

कलुर्षेरिसिलतमस कम् II 45 II पद्राति II कलुः, इनिलस्ततमस, कम्,

(कार्य) II

वृत्ता: II कलुः सव्य यास्युपासिलतमस वससंवतारकं कन्तसंबं भवति II

49. That which it is intended should be most affected by the act of the agent is called the object or karma.

That which is especially desired by the agent to be accomplished by the action is called karma. As कर्तव करोति He makes the mat. ग्रामों ग्रामिति he goes to the village. Why do we say "desired by the agent"? Observe ग्रामवर्ष रवि वण्वनिति he ties the horse in the gram field. Here gram is no doubt most desired by the horse, but as the horse is not the agent of the verb, the word ग्राम takes the locative case. Why do we use the word "most"? Observe पत्थोऽयं दुःखिते he eats the food along with the milk. Here milk is no doubt desired by the agent, but not being the principal object desired, takes the Instrumental case.

Though the word कर्तम was understood in this sūtra by anuvritti from the last sūtra, the repetition of this word here is to indicate that the anuvritti of the word अधावः does not extend to this sūtra, because as we do not take the anuvritti of the word karma into this sūtra, we do not take
the anuvritti of any word of the previous sūtra into this. Had we taken the anuvritti of the word karma from the last sūtra, then we could use the accusative case in those limited instances, where the word is capable of taking the Locative case also, but not in other cases. Thus while we could very well say चें प्रवाहित he enters the house, we could not say चें प्रवाहित he cooks the food, वार्त हृद्यति he drinks saktu. By repeating the word karma in this sūtra, such examples become valid everywhere. The karma-kāraka, takes the second case-affix.

लथा युक्तं चानीनिधित्वं ॥ ५ ॥ पदार्थं ॥ तथा, युक्तम्, च,
अनीनिधित्वम्, (कार कर्म) ॥

पूर्वम्: चें मकारेष चुषं रीतिनिधित्वं कियवा युक्तम्: देशेष चें मकारेष चानीनिधित्वं इसं अवति सदा कर्मान्वासं विधिते ॥

50. If that which is not intended to be most affected by the act becomes however similarly connected with the action it also is called karma.

That which is not desired by the agent is anāpīt or object of aversion. Thus चिं अवति he eats poison, चोरापृ अवति. He sees the thieves. प्राणपूर्व गर्भास पूर्वपूर्वास्तित नुस्तिपवित going to the village, he plucks the roots of the trees.

अक्षरितं च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदार्थसं ॥ अक्षरितसम्, (कार कर्म) ॥

पूर्वम्: आक्षरितसं च तुमकारसत्तारसं अभिवाचक ॥

51. And that kāraka which is not spoken of as coming under any of the special relations of ablation &c., is also called karma.

There are some verbs in Sanskrit which take what is called an akathita object, in addition to their usual direct one. As its name indicates, it is that object which is not otherwise kathita or mentioned by way of any of the other case relations, such as अपदान अविकरण &c. and is, therefore optional. If the noun capable of taking this akathita object be not intended for any other case, it is put in the Accusative case with such verbs; चें, चें दोषित पद: he milks the cow (her milk) प्रवाहित गाँ ‘he confines the cow to the fold.’ Here चें and चें are akathita or optional objects. If the speaker does not intend to have this object, the words will be put in their natural cases; चें (ablative) प्रवाहित, चें (locative) प्रवाहित गां.

The roots that are capable of governing two accusatives are mentioned in the following kārikā:—हृद्यति यह कर्म कार्यार्थमा च तथा यथा चतर्थी ह तुः भवार् ॥
In the case of the roots दृ त् ‘to milk’ यां त् ‘to beg,’ पर्ु ‘to cook,’ पगु ‘to punish,’ पहु ‘to obstruct or confine’ महु ‘to ask,’ वि ‘to collect’ म ‘to tell’ गाव ‘instruct’ वि ‘to win’ (as a prize of wager) समु ‘to churn’ दु ‘to steal,’ and also in the case of न, ध, क्र, and ब व all meaning ‘to take or carry’ and others having the same signification, that noun which, besides the direct object, is affected by the verb, is put in the Accusative case; as, गरी दोईच यश: (S. K.) ‘he milks the cow’; ललि यापं युजुप्यति. He begs the earth of Bali; similarly वंकुलासान भवति, गरी टूल मात्र दश्यति, वदाजवराणि गां, लाहवलं पंचारं द्वृत्ति, द्वामनविनोति फलानि, बाहवलं यं दृते-गार्तिल्वा, यं दृति दुखरतः, दूरं दीर्घिनिं न्युनतातिं, देवसं यं दुष्याति; श्रावणं न्यर्तिदृति-स्वर्णिं या are examples of the other roots in order. भाववलं यं भाप ते बल्क य, बलीदुरावं गिरते, तयं दूरं दववद्वरावं वर्याति रिकारवतेः are instances of this kind of object, because भाप अर्थाप रिकार्ति and दृष्टि अर्थाप दृष्टि have the same meaning as दृष्टि and दृष्टि, the roots given in the कासिका.

Obs.—The roots वि, दु, पर्, चर, रुप, णि, लप एवं and ever दृश्य are of every rare occurrence as governing two accusatives, in the classical literature, though given in the above list.

The roots mentioned above and others having the same sense, take two objects. One of them is principal, and the other, secondary. In the case of the first twelve roots from दृत् to दुर्, the nouns पं, वदर्ग, द्वापि, दुर्य, &c. are principal objects, and गरी, ललि, दृष्टि, दीर्घिनि &c. are secondary objects, for they can, according to the speaker's volition, be put in other cases. And in the case of the last four roots जर्, is the principal object and जर्थ the secondary. Thus that which is necessarily put in the accusative case in order to complete the idea of the verb, is the principal object, and that which may be put in the Accusative case, depending upon the speaker's will, is called the secondary object.

गति बृह्त् प्रत्यःसानाथःश्रव्यु कर्मचर्म सादा मणिकटो स शी ||

पदार्थि गति-बृह्त् -प्रत्यःसान-अर्थः-श्रव्यु-कर्मचर्माभिः,
अणिकालो, शि; (कार्के कस्मे) ||

नृति: गत्यवर्तत द्वंद्वराणां प्रत्यःवानार्थावर्ततां च वार्तत्वं संयावहस्त वर्याणां कर्मकारानुभवति।

माणिक्यः गत्यवर्तानुभवति; निवर्क्यः वर्यानुभवति।

माणिक्यः वद्वर्त्य निवर्क्यः वर्यानुभवानुभवति।

माणिक्यः वद्वर्त्य निवर्क्यः वर्यानुभवानुभवति।

माणिक्यः वद्वर्त्य निवर्क्यः वर्यानुभवानुभवति।

माणिक्यः वद्वर्त्य निवर्क्यः वर्यानुभवानुभवति।

माणिक्यः वद्वर्त्य निवर्क्यः वर्यानुभवानुभवति।

माणिक्यः वद्वर्त्य निवर्क्यः वर्यानुभवानुभवति।

माणिक्यः वद्वर्त्य निवर्क्यः वर्यानुभवानुभवति।

52. Of the verbs having the sense of ‘motion’ ‘knowledge or information’ and ‘eating,’ and of verbs that have
some literary work for their object, and of intransitive verbs that which was the agent of the verb in its primitive (non-ṇi or non-causal state), is called the object (karma) in its causative state (when the verb takes the affix ni).

In the case of the roots that imply ‘motion,’ ‘knowledge’ or ‘information’ or some kind of ‘eating,’ and other roots having a similar sense; also of roots that have some literary work for their object, and of intransitive roots, that which is the subject of the verb in its primitive sense is put in the Accusative case in the causal, the object remaining unchanged; e. g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRIMITIVE</th>
<th>CAUSAL</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>श्रवणति</td>
<td>समूहु स्वर्गवासवति</td>
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<tr>
<td>देवदार्शनिः</td>
<td>श्राविति श्रव्यम्</td>
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<td>देवदार्शनिः</td>
<td>देवम् देवदार्शनिः</td>
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<td>विद्या देवदार्शनिः</td>
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<td>पुष्पस्विति आक्षस</td>
<td>पुष्पस्विति आवदान</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Vart.—But चार, when it has for its subject in the causal a word signifying a ‘driver,’ obeys the general rule; as, गाड़ा रन चारित. Horses draw the chariot. चारित चाराः चारिताः.

Vart.—(b). The causals of the roots जङ्ग and जाह, ‘to eat,’ govern the Instrumental case; e. g. जङ्गचिरचिति जाहिति जाः. The boy eats his food. जङ्गचिरचिति जाहिति जाः. (He) causes the boy to eat his food.

Vart.—(c). जङ्ग, when it has not the sense of जङ्गा ‘injury to a sentient thing,’ governs the Instrumental; as, जङ्गानति जङ्गरी देवदुः; जङ्गानति जङ्गरी देवदुः; but जङ्गानति जङ्गानति जङ्गानति जङ्गानति जङ्गानति. Here जङ्गात, though transitive, is used without an object, because it can be easily understood; hence जङ्गरी जङ्गानति and not जङ्गरी; but जङ्गानति जङ्गानति जङ्गानति.

By ‘intransitive’ roots mentioned above is meant such roots as are not by their nature capable of governing an object other than that of ‘time,’ ‘place’ &c., and not those roots which, though transitive, may sometimes be used intransitively according to the speaker’s volition, or when their meaning is, quite evident; as, जङ्गानति जङ्गारः जङ्गाति. Here जङ्गाति, though transitive, is used without an object, because it can be easily understood; hence जङ्गरी जङ्गानति and not जङ्गरी; but जङ्गानति जङ्गानति जङ्गानति.

In forming the passive construction of causal verbs, the principal object in the causal, which is the subject (agent) of the verb in its primitive sense, is put in the Nominative case, and the other object remains unchanged; e. g. 

**PRIMITIVE.**

रामः गांव प्राचारांति.

Rama goes to a village.

**CAUSAL ACTIVE.**

रामः गांव गांवाति.

(He) causes Rama to go to a village.

**CAUSAL PASSIVE.**

रामः गांव गांवाति.

Rama is caused to go &c.

The servant prepares a mat. (He) causes the servant to prepare a mat.

The servant is made to prepare a mat.

**Govind sits for one month.** (He makes Govind sit &c.) Govind is made to sit &c.

(a). But in the case of roots that imply ‘knowledge’ ‘eating,’ and those that have a literary work for their object, the principal object is put in the Nominative case, and the secondary in the Accusative, or vice versa. e. g. जानिवकः चन्ति भान्ति भान्ति ‘he make Mananaka know his duty’; जानिवकः जन्ति दीर्घ्यति भान्ति ‘M. is made known his duty’ or duty is made known to M.’; चन्ति ‘he makes the boy eat food: ‘चन्ति चन्ति चन्ति मनोदर्थे or चन्ति चन्ति चन्ति मनोदर्थे’ (S. K.)

With regards to roots that govern two accusatives, the rules mentioned above hold good in their case also; i. e., those roots that imply motion &c., govern the Accusative of the subject of the primitive Case, and others, the Instrumental case, sometimes; as, चालनेन चलिन्ति चुदायाति चुदायाति; (देरसे) चलनेन चलिन्ति
Agent Defined.

The agent, in the case of hri to lose and kri to make, is optionally called karma or object when these verbs take the suffix ni (Causal).

### Primitive.
- The boy takes the load.
- Devadatta makes the mat.

### Causal.
- He causes the servant to take the load.
- He causes Devadatta to make the mat.

**Vart.**—The subject of the primitive verbs वनन्द्र्य and द्वर्य, when used in the Atmanepada, is either put in the Accusative or instrumental case in the causal; as,

#### Primitive,
- Devadatta bows down to the Guru.
- The servants see the king.

#### Causal,
- He makes Devadatta bow down to the Guru.
- He makes the servants see the king.

### Kartti.

### 54.
Whatever the speaker chooses as the independent, principal and absolute source of action is called kartā or agent.

The agent is absolute and unconditioned, as देवदत्त: पचि Devadatta cooks. पचि the pot cooks.
Nipata Defined. [Bk. I. Ch. IV. § 55-57.]

55. That which is the mover thereof, i.e., of the independent source of action, is called Hetu or cause, as well as kartā or agent.

Thus kartā he causes to be made, hetu he causes to be taken. When hetu is employed as agent the verb is put in the causative form (III. 1. 26).

The force of the word न is to give both names to the mover of an agent, viz., Hetu and kartā; otherwise by sutra 1 of this Chapter only one name would have been given.

Nipata.

The Particles.

56. From this point forward up to the aphorism Adhiriṣvare (I. 4. 97), all that we shall say is to be understood to have the name of Nipata or Particles.

The word न in this sutra serves the same purpose as the word cha of the last; namely, it makes the words Gati, upasarga and karmapravachnyayata take two names, i.e., their one name as well as the name Nipata. The letter न in नामेकर्षण is to remove doubt, i.e., aphorism I. 4. 97 should be taken as limit and not sutra III. 4. 13 which has the word iswari also.

57. The word cha 'and,' &c., are called Nipata or Particles, when they do not signify substances.

The following are particles (nipata) न 'and' का 'or' ह� 'an expletive' यथा 'vocative particle' कथा 'only' exactly. यथा 'so thus,' यथा 'certainly,' यथा 'continually,' यथा 'at once,' यथा 'repeatedly,' यथा 'excessively,' यथा 'abundantly,' यथा 'if' यथा 'if,' [the न is indicatory], यथा 'where,' यथा 'there,' यथा 'what if ?' नहं 'no,' नहं 'ab,' ! नहं 'not,' नहं 'not,' यथा 'as much as,' यथा 'so much,' यथा 'perhaps,' यथा 'disrespectful interjection) यथा.
The words pra &c, are called Nipāta when not signifying substances.

The following is the list of nisay: or 'prepositions': म, पर, अध, अध, अव, अव, निर्देश, द्वार, विद्या, श्री, अधिन, अधिन, अधिन, अधिन, अधिन, अधिन, अधिन,

The making of this a distinct aphorism, when it could well have been included in the last, is for the sake of giving the Pra &c., words two names, namely, those of Nipātas, as well as upasargas under certain circumstances, i.e., when they are in composition with verbs. Not so however the cha &c., words. They never get the designation of upasargas.

When these words signifying substances they are not Nipātas. As when ज्वरि सेव्य the excellent army conquers. Here the word वर is not a Nipāta.
59. The words pra &c., get the designation of upasarga or prepositions, when in composition with a verb.

As म्‌न-नविद्‌=प्रणविद्‌. Here the dental न is changed into cerebral च, because of the म getting the designation of upasarga (See sūtra VIII. 4. 14). Similarly परिष्वयित्‌, प्रवायः‌, परिष्वायः‌.

Why do we say when in composition with a verb? When in composition with a noun they are not called upasargas. As मन्त्रत्‌ नाथवेकलानास्‌ वेदात्‌ =प्रमनायंदेशं; a country destitute of a leader. Here न is not changed into च. Thus while प्रमनायः‌ means ‘a leader’ the term प्रमनायः‌ means destitute of a leader; though both have the same radical elements;—pra in one is an upasarga, in the other a Nipāta pure and simple.

VAR.:—The word सच्चु should be included in the list of upasargas. As सच्चुद्धैर्यां=सच्चु; given by Marut. बच्चु+ चा+ च=चक्कु+ च+ च (VII. 4. 47.) Here Marut being treated as an upasarga, though it does not end with a vowel, the चा is replaced by च by rule VII. 4. 47 which declares च the substitute of चा which is called ghu when it is preceded by an upasarga that ends in a vowel, and is followed by an affix beginning with च which has an indicatory k.

It might be objected, that as बच्चु does not end with a vowel, sūtra VII. 4. 47 does not apply. To this we say that otherwise the giving the designation of upasarga to बच्चु is superfluous; and in order that this should not be so, the fact of its not ending with a vowel, is overlooked.

VAR.:—The particle चाँ should be included in the list of upasargas. Thus चाँ चा + चाँ=चाँ (III. 3. 106). Here because चाँ is treated as an upasarga, that sūtra III. 3. 106 is made applicable.

60. The words pra &c., are called also Gati, when in composition with a verb.
As महत्व, Now the gerund of the simple root यु ज would have been युस्त, but as it is compounded with a gati word (II. 2. 18) the यु is replaced by युस्त see II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37. म + यु + युस्त = महत्व (VI. 1. 71). Here pra being called gati we have compounding by rule II. 2. 18; and then we apply VII. 1. 37. Similarly महत्व. Here pra being a gati word retains its own accent by rule VI. 2. 49. 'a gati retains in a compound its own accent when it immediately precedes a second member that ends in kta, provided the latter denotes the object of the action which is expressed by the root to which kta is added.'

Similarly महरेलित, here pra being treated as gati gets annudatta accent by rule VIII. 2. 71,

The yoga-vibhåga or the separation of one aphorism into two, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms. The annuvritti of gati only runs through the latter sūtras and not of upasarga. So that while pra &c., have two names upasarga and gati; uri &c., have only one name, namely, gati.

Thus in महत्व and अभिविलक्षण, by treating the words यु and युस्त as upasarga we change the यु and युs into यु and यु by rule VIII. 4. 14 and VIII. 3. 87; and again treating them as gati we regulate the accent.

Vart.—The words कारिका should be included in the list of Gati. As (1) कारिकाकुस्त (2) कारिकाकुस्त (3) न कारिका कारेलित. In the first by taking it as gati we have samasa (II. 2. 18) and यस्तु (VII. 1. 37) The other two cases illustrate accent.

Vart:—The words युस्त and युस्त are treated as Gati in the Vedas. As युस्त युस्त वाकयानिर्देश. Here the word युस्त being gati, causes युस्त to take annudatta accent (VIII. 1. 70) चन्द्रयाचार. Here also the accent is regulated by VIII. 2. 71.

अद्वैदिः जिवहाचत्वः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ जरी-आदि जिव-हाचः, च, (क्षियायेणे गतिः) ॥

शृङ्खः ॥ जः दिशाः: स्त्रयः: चाणाग्निं ब्रम्हायेणे पविवेच्य भव्यम् ॥

61. The words uri, assent, &c., and those that end with च्व (V. 4. 50), and those that end with त्व (V. 4. 57), (when in composition with the verb bhû, kri or as) are called Gati.

The affixes च्व and त्व are ordained when the verb in composition is either यु, यु or यु (V. 4. 50 and 57) यु त्व, being read along with च्व and त्व, shows that the verb in composition with them must also be any one of the above three verbs, and none else; in order to entitle च्व to the name of gati.
The words चर्ची and घर्जी mean to assent and spread. As चर्चीकृतयुक्त (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37) चर्चीकृति (VI. 2. 49), घर्जीकृतेऽवति (VIII. 2. 71). So with the word घर्जी. The following is a list of these words:

- पापी.
- पूणी.
- भयागकाल.
- चली.
- हाकी.
- ग्रुजः.
- युद्धुपर.
- चिह्नी.
- आतासी.
- चंगकाल.
- चत्र.
- आह्सी.
- बेसासी.
- च्वर्च-चकाल.
- च्वर्च.

The words ending in चवि are also gati. As चविकृतयुक्त having made white what was not white.

So also words ending in वाच as पटपटाकृत्य having made the sound पत.

अनुकरणों चान्तिति परस्य ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुकरणस्य च, च; अन्तिति-परस्य, (क्रियायेणे गति:) ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ अनुकरणभान्ति परस्य क्रियायेणे गतिसंबंध: भवति ॥

62. A word imitative of sounds is also called Gati, when it is not followed by the word iti.

The phrase अन्तिति-युक्त is a Bahuvrihi compound; अनु-हित-युक्त = ‘that which has not the word हित after it’

As चविकृतयुक्त having made the sound खात। चवि-कृतयुक्त (VI. 2. 49), यथारूप-करोति (VIII. 2. 71).

Why do we say ‘when it has not the word हित after it?’ Observe साधितकृत्या निर्भर्दीयोः.

आदरानादयोः सदस्ती ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदर-अनादयोः, सदास्ती, (क्रियायेणे गति:) ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ आदर आदरस्य भृत्यां चतुष्कष्टक्षथः गतिसंबंधी भवति: ॥

63. The words सत and asat when in composition with a verb are called gati, when used in the sense of ‘respect or love,’ and ‘disrespect or indifference.’

As चविकृतयुक्त having honored (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37) चविकृतयुक्त, चविकृतयुक्त or चविकृतयुक्त (VI. 2. 49) चविकृतयुक्त or चविकृतयुक्त (VIII. 2. 71).
Why do we say when meaning ‘respect or disrespect’? Observe वर्णमाल्या जाप्ता गति।

वृष्णिकस्मिन् कु ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूयस्य, अलम्, (किन्तु गति:) ॥

भृतिः ॥ भूयस्यं ये उल्लच गहः च गतिवधीर न्यासः ॥

64. The word अलम when in composition with a verb is called gati, when used in the sense of ‘ornament’.

The word अलम is an indeclinable and has four meanings:—‘prohibition, competent, enough and ornament.’ The term अलम is gati when it means ornament. As अलमकुल्य (II. 2. 18, VII. 1. 37); अलमलं (VI. 2. 49) पदलकरणिः (VIII. 2. 71) when it does not mean ornament we have अलम अज्ञयवा न्यासः he goes having eaten enough.

अल्मरपारियः ॥ क् ॥ पदानि ॥ अल्मर-अपरि-धृतः, (किन्तु) गति। ॥

भृतिः ॥ अल्मर-ब्रह्मदापृरियः ज्ञवतिवधीर न्यासः ॥

वारिसक्षणः ॥ अल्मर-ब्रह्मद्वै ज्ञवतिचर ज्ञवेर्मण्यस्मान्यववासः ॥

65. The word antar is called gati, when used in the sense of ‘non-accepting,’ in composition with a verb.

The word परिर्राह means ‘taking’ or ‘accepting,’ अपरिर्राह means therefore the opposite of this namely ‘rejecting,’ abandoning. As अपरिर्राह शृंगारः he went away having abandoned home; अपरिर्राहन्तमर्तम लोकः falsehood being abandoned. वहन्त स्वितः.

Why do we say ‘when meaning to abandon’? Observe अपरिर्राहा पृथिविं र्वेर्मणातः the hawk went away taking hold of the mouse.

Var. —The word अपरिर्राह is treated as an upsarga for the purpose of the application of the following rules; III. 3. 106 by which अष्ट is added; rule III. 3. 92 by which विष is added; the rule VIII. 4. 14 by which विष is changed into व. As अपरिर्राह, अपरिर्राहः एव अपरिर्राहः.

कृषिसनसी अद्यामतीयाते ॥ क् ॥ पदानि ॥ कृषिसनसी, यथारः

मली-चाति, (गति:) ॥

भृतिः ॥ कृषिसनसी ननुस्यमेव ज्ञाता प्रतीयाते गतिवधीर न्यासः ॥

66. The words कृषि and मनस are gati when in composition with a verb and used in the sense of reaction by satiation.'
The word अत्यंत means ‘satisfaction of desire.’ As तत्वेषु पञ्च विवरति he drinks milk to his heart’s content or till he is satisfied? So also चन्दनस्य एव: विवरति. That is to say, he drinks so much till his desire ( बुद्धि) is satisfied by revulsion of feeling. When not having this sense we have बुद्धि or चन्दनस्य एव: he went away satisfied

66. पुरां अव्ययस्य, पदार्थम्, ( गति: )

पुरां अव्ययस्य च स्वत: सत्त्वे गतिभाषा भवति

67. The word purah in front of, when indeclinable, and in composition with a verb, is called gati.

The pronoun पुरां ‘front’ with the affix अव्य forms पुरां, and by I. 1.38 it becomes an Avyaya. (See V. 3. 39 pur being substituted for पुरवा). The object by making it gati is threefold (1) compounding by II. 2. 18 (2) accent by VI. 2. 49 (3) to change the त: ह into त: by VIII. 3. 40. As पुरस्तेन, पुरस्तुति and यद्य पुरस्त्रोऽरति, when not an indeclinable we have पुरा, पुरीति, पुरा: कार्यमेवति.

68. अस्ति च ( गति: अव्ययस्य )

69. And the indeclinable word astam ‘at home,’ is called gati, when in composition with a verb.

The word अस्ति is an indeclinable as it ends in च (I, 1.39); and means ‘not visible.’ As अस्ति विवरति मुद्यद्विति the sun having set, rises again अस्तिभाषा भनिन्य riches that have vanished. अस्तिभाषा, when not an indeclinable it is not gati as अस्ति अश्वाहासु तhe arrow has been thrown.

70. अच्छेषं गतविधेषु ( गति: अव्ययस्य )

71. The indeclinable word achchhā, meaning ‘before in the presence of,’ is called gati, when used in composition with verbs denoting ‘motion’ or with the verb ‘vad’ to speak.

The word अच्छेष्य is an indeclinable and has the force of the word अभिष्य. As अभिष्यस्य, अभिष्यस्य, and अभिष्यस्य वतिष्य. So also अव्यक्तरूप अव्यक्तरूप and अव्यक्तरूप वतिष्य when not an Avyaya, we have अव्यक्तरूप गतिभाषा.
70. The word adas ‘that’ is called gati when in composition with a verb and not implying a direction to another.

The word upadeśa means a direction to another. When a person cogitates within himself and does not address another, that is anupadeśa. That is when it is not a demonstrative pronoun. As जद् कृत्य, जद् कृत्रथः तद्: कारोति when used as a demonstrative pronoun we have जद् कृत्य कारयं गतः

71. The word tiras when used in the sense of ‘disappearance,’ is called gati when in composition with a verb.

As तिरोधूष्ण, तिरोधूष्णः तत् तिरोधूष्णः gati when meaning disappearance? Observe तिरोधूष्ण: i.e., standing apart.

72. The word tiras meaning ‘disappearance’ is optionally called gati, when the verb kṛi follows.

This is an example of मास-विभाषय. As तिर: कृत्य or तिरक्स्तुः (VIII. 3. 42): तिर: कृत्य or तिरक्स्तुः (VIII. 3. 42). The change of visarga into च is optional VIII. 3. 42. When not meaning disappearance we have तिर: कृत्य कारुण तिर: he stands having laid aside the stick.

उपजे-अन्ज्ञाजे इ द्वारि उपजे-अन्ज्ञाजे, (विभाषा कृत्य गतिः)

73. The words upāje and anvāje both meaning ‘supporting or assisting the weak,’ are optionally called gati when used along with the verb kṛi.

As उपाजे कृत्य or उपाजे कृत्य having given support. अन्ज्ञाजे कृत्य or अन्ज्ञाजे कृत्य.

साहसमभृतीनिष्ठ || द्वारि साहस, मभृतीनिष्ठ, च, (गतिः विभाषा कृत्य) ||

शुरु : सभासमभृतीनिष्ठ श्रद्धासयायिष्ठ कृत्य विभाषा गतिसंवादिनिभवितिः

वाचिकस्व || व्यासास्मभृतिस्वयमभवित ||

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74. The words sākshāt, 'in the presence of' &c., are optionally called gati, when used along with the verb kṛi.

Part :—In the words साक्षत् &c. the force of the affix विश्व is understood, namely making a thing what it was not before, अस् पाठाद् कृत् or कृत् विश्वत् विश्वत् making evident what was concealed before.

अन्त्यवाक्येण उदाहितम् विषयं समाप्तम् (विभाषा कृति गति) \n
ह्रदित् \nअन्त्यवाक्यम् उदाहितम् तद्विश्वरे अन्त्यवाक्यान्तितिहि शब्दी विभाषा कृति-\nगतिरिद्विप्रकाशः \n
75. The word urasi, 'in the breast,' and manasi 'in the mind' are optionally gati when the verb kṛi follows, provided that they are not used in the sense of 'placing.'

As उदाहितम् or उदाहितम्; समस्तित्वम् or समस्तित्वम्. When it has the sense of placing we have उदाहितम् पाठिः विश्वरेण शेषे he lies down having clasped the hand on the breast, समस्तित्वम् विश्वरेण विश्वत् he ponders having placed the word in his mind.

मनवेषे पदेन नविचाराने च \nअश् \nपदानि \nसनवेषे पदेन नविचाराने, \nच, (विभाषा कृति गति: अन्त्यवाक्यान्तः) \n
हृदित् \nमनवेषे पदेन नविचाराने रस्येः वाम्ब्र, अन्त्यवाक्यान्तितिहि शब्दी विभाषा कृति गतिसंपत्ति भविष्यति \n
76. And the words madhye 'in the middle,' pade 'in the foot' and nivachane 'speechless' are optionally gati, when kṛi follows, the sense not being of 'placing.'

As मनवेषे कृत्वा or कृत्वा. पदेन कृत्वा or कृत्वा; नविचारे कृत्वा or कृत्वा.

But when it has the meaning of placing we have द्वितिसे पदेन कृत्वा विश्वरे शेषे he lies down having put his head under the foot of the elephant.

नित्यं हस्ते पाषाठुपक्षले \nअश् \nपदानि \nनित्यं, हस्ते-पाषाठी \nउपयमनि (गति: कृति) \n
हृदित् \nनित्यं हस्ते पाषाठी रस्येः वाम्ब्री कृति नित्यं गतिसंपत्ति भविष्यति उपयमनि \n
77. The word haste 'in the hand,' pāṇau 'in the hand' are always and necessarily called gati when used with the verb kṛi in the sense of 'marriage.'

As पाणी कृत्वा or हस्ते कृत्वा having married. But हस्ते कृत्वा कार्यार्थो न तथापि he went out having taken in his hand a kārshāpana (a coin).
78. The indeclinable word prādhvam followed by the verb kṛi, is always called gati when used in the sense of ‘binding.’

The word māraṇa ends in च and means ‘favourably suitably.’ When however it means ‘bound’ it is a gati: as, mātrāvukṣya having bound. But when not meaning to bind, we have:—māraṇa kṛutva yadda having made the carriage agreeable, he is gone.

79. The words jīvikā and upanishad followed by the verb kṛi are called gati when used in the sense of likeness or resemblance.

As jīvikāvukṣya having made it as if it was a means of living; upanishat-kṛūtya—having made it like an upanishad. But jīvikā kṛutva gati: having made his livelihood he is gone.

80. The particles called gati and upasarga are to be employed before the verbal root: (that is to say, they are prefixes).

The word न has been employed to include the term upasarga also. The preceding examples all illustrate the application of this rule.
In this we have आयतस्य instead of उपास्यत् ‘vayu and thou Indra, ye heroes, come ye both quickly to the soma of the worshipper by this sincere prayer.’

व्यवहिताः || ८२ || पदार्थि || व्यवहिता: च, (स० उ० खन्त्रिसिए) ||

वृत्ति: || व्यवहिताः गतुपवर्षिसंवदक्त: खन्त्रिसिए दूरविष्टि ||

82. In the chhandas (veda) these gati and upasarga are also seen separated from the verb by intervening words.

As:— इद्द्वार यथा द्विः सुता उप मयेनिमित्वम् इद्द्वारे वा पुष्पिनिव (Rig. I. 2. 4). “Indra and vayu, here are soma—libations for you. Approach, ye with pleasures for us. For the libations are desiring you.” Here उप is separated from the word आयत by the intervening word यथा.

KARMA PRAVACHANIYA.

कर्मप्रवचनीय: || ८३ || पदार्थि || कर्मप्रवचनीय: ||

वृत्ति: || पावित्र इद्द्वारे गठात्मिकप्रवचनी: कर्मप्रवचनीय संवदास्ते वैदिकस्य: ||

83. From this point as far as aphorism I. 4. 97 the particles treated of, are to be understood as having the name of karma-pravachaniya.

These particles govern a substantive and, qualify a verb and differ from other particles termed upasarga and gati. As चुल्लुत्वेत्तता well praised by you. ख रिच्य चतुता you have sprinkled. Here ख is a karma-pravachaniya and qualifies the sense of the verb, i. e. it is an adverb. It is not an upasarga, for had it been so, it would have changed the ख into ख (VIII. 3. 65). The term karma-pravachaniya is a big term compared with other technical terms such as, रिच्य, पिच्चिय, ख &c., which generally do not exceed more than two syllables. The word karunapraavachaniya is not however merely a technical term; it contains within itself a definition of itself. It means that which qualifies or speaks about (भावस्य) an action (कर्मः) is so called.

अनुलोच्ये || ८४ || पदार्थि || अनु: लक्षणे, (कर्मप्रवचनीय: ||

वृत्ति: || अनुलोच्ये लक्षणे द्वारा चर्चिते कर्मप्रवचनीयस्य भवति ||

84. The word anu when it denotes a sign, is called karma-pravachaniya.

The word lakshana means a sign; an attendant circumstance an invariable concomitant or accident in its logical sense and not merely an occasional concurrence. The force of ख in this case is that of ‘after,’ ‘in consequence of,’ ‘because of, or being indicated by.’ As जयमानु मार्गः य it rained
after or in consequence of the muttering of prayers. To put it in other words, anu is a karmaprabhachaniya when it governs the word which indicates the cause or the attendant circumstance of an action.

So also शाकलेव संहितायां शार्वं वीय शाकलेव संहितायां च शार्वं शार्वं शार्वं. The God (clouds) rained having listened to the well performed reading, by Sākalya. The force of a karmaprabhachaniya, therefore, when fully analysed will be found to be that of an upasarga whose verb is not expressed in the sentence but is understood; and because of its being so understood, the particle itself seems to govern the noun which in fact was governed by the unexpressed verb. Thus in the above example मलिका is in the accusative case, apparently governed by the preposition अनु, but really governed by the verb जुगलिन्या understood.

So also अन्तसो चहोत्स्तिविपं. The Taurus sprinkled water after the sacrifice, अन्तसो चहोत्स्तिविपं ममा: the people began sprinkling water after the rising of the canopus.

Why make unnecessarily this sūtra, when अनु would have been called karma prāvachaniya even by force of sūtra 90 following, where also the word lakṣaṇa occurs? This is for the sake of indicating that the karma-pravachaniyas should always govern the accusative case (II. 3. 8) even in expressing रेद्य (II. 3. 23). Otherwise Rule 23rd of the third chapter of Book II would have set aside Rule 8 of the same by the maxim of पर्बत I. 3. 2; and would have caused a karana pravachaniya to govern an Instrumental case where the sense was that of hetu.

२५ || पद्याः || तूतीया-अच्छे, (अनु: कर्मप्रो) ||

85. The word anu is karma-pravachaniya when it has the force of the third case.

The meaning of अनु in this case will be that of ' with ' or along with. As नदीमण्डिका वर्चिता वन्य the army lying along side the river. पर्वतमण्डिका वन्य lying along the slopes of the mountain.

२६ || पद्याः || होने, (अनु: कर्मप्रो) ||

86. The word anu is karma-pravachaniya when it is used in the sense of inferior or subordinate to.

The word होन means 'inferior,' and being a comparative term requires the other term with which comparison is made and which is superior; to complete the sense. In other words अनु governs the person to which others are inferior, in the accusative case. As अनुघास्तार्करणविशालम्: 'all grammarians are inferior to Sākatāyaṇa.'
87. The word upa when it means 'superior' or 'inferior to' is karma-pravachaniya.

That is when the sense is that of 'over, above,' or 'inferior' as उप खारी द्रोण: a Drona is above a khāri. उप निकरे कार्यपन: a karshapana is more than a Nishka. In this sense उप governs the Locative of the thing which is inferior (II. 3. 9). So also उप शाकतायसं वैवाचरवतः 'all grammarians are inferior to Śākatāyana.' In this sense उप governs the accusative case.

अप परी वर्जने || ८८ || अप-परी , वर्जने , (कर्मप्रती) ||

वृन्द: || अप परी चाँदी वर्जनेदरोत्पते कर्मवचनीयसंस्कृतभवं: ||

88. The words apa and pari are karma-pravachaniya when meaning 'exclusion.'

The force of अप and परी is in this case that of 'with the exception of.' As अपःश्रेयस्यादोः यूहो देवः it rained outside of or with the exception of Trigarta. So also परी विन्दस्यादोः यूहो देवः. In this sense they govern the noun excluded in the ablative case (II. 3. 10). When not having these senses, they are not karma-pravachaniya. As अनवं परिम्बुर्तः. He waters the rice. Here it is an upasarga, and hence changes the ं into ।.

आङ्ग सयोऽदा वचने || ८९ || पदानि || आङ्ग, सयोऽदा-वचः,

(कर्मप्रती) ||

वृन्दः: || आङ्ग इत्येवश्रेष्ठः सयोऽदवचने कर्मवचनीयसंस्कृतभवति: ||

89. The word अन as far as, is karma-pravachaniya when it expresses limit (e.g. when it means 'as far as inclusive of' or, 'as far as exclusive of.')

The word वचन in the text shows that both sorts of limits are here meant. As आपाटितोऽदोः यूहो देवः it rained as far as (but excluding) Pātaliputra आपाटितोऽदोः यूहो देवः it rained as far as (including) Pātaliputra आपाटितोऽदाः पापः: when it means 'little' or is a verbal prefix it does not get this name.

सत्स्येत्यस्मभुताक्षराभावागविवेकसामस्युत्तिष्ठति पर्यन्तवः: || ९० || पदानि ||

सत्स्येत्यस्मभुताक्षराभावागविवेकसामस्युत्तिष्ठति पर्यन्तवः: || (कर्मप्रती) ||

वृन्दः: || पत्रोऽदोः इत्येवश्रेष्ठागवीवेकसामस्युत्तिष्ठति पर्यन्तवः: || (कर्मप्रती) ||
90. The words prati, pari and anu are karma pravachaniya when used in the sense of 'sign' (in the direction of) 'mere statement of circumstance' ('as regards') 'division' 'share of' and 'pervasion' severally.

As (1) चूँच मर्म-परि or चूँच चिदरूति चिद्यु द ‘the lightening is flashing in the direction of the tree.’ (2) चापुर्वूचवसवर चालोर मर्म-परि = चूँच ‘Devadatta is a good man as regards his mother.’ (3) एवं मर्म इलाख च ‘the poison fell to the share of Hara.’ चाथरण्य मर्म स्याः that it may fall to my share. So with परि and चणु. (4) चूँच एव मर्म विश्रवति he sprinkles one tree after another. So with परि and चणु.

91. The word abhi is karma-pravachaniya, in the above senses of 'in the direction of,' 'as regards,' and 'each severally' but not when it means division, 'share of,'

The illustrations given under the last sītra mutus mutandis apply here also, with the exception of those given under head (4). As चूँच चिदरूति चिद्यु द; चालोर मर्म &c. But it is not karma-pravachaniya when चणु means the share which is allotted to one as his own. As चाथरण्य मर्म स्याः च धीरवसवर च give that which falls here to my share. Here abhi is an upasarga, and therefore च of चणु is changed into च.

92. The word prati is karma-pravachaniya when used in the sense of representative ('representative of') or exchange ('in exchange for.')

That which is like to the principal is called मर्मिन्यित. Giving in return for what is obtained, is मर्मिन्यित. As अभिमन्युद्ध्ननत मर्मत Abhi-manyu is the representative of Arjuna. चाथरण्य विषये मर्मिन्यित he exchanges Māṇḍās for these sesame. In these senses prati governs the Ablative (II. 3. 11.)

93. The word अभि परि छह्यो अन्य्यचारी आयाताद्वाराचिनी चर्मबन्धित चंडी भवति.

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93. The words adhi and pari are karma-pravachaniya when used as mere expletives.

As जुतेत्वा एयद्यति whence has he come? or जत: चत्वा ग्यति. These words though mere surpluses, have been called karma-pravachaniya so that they may not get the designation of upasarga or gati and thus produce results peculiar to those words.

94. The word su is karma-pravachaniya in the sense of respect, (when it means ‘excellently’).

As जुस्लिः भवतः, जुस्लुः भवता excellently sprinkled by your honor. Well praised by your honor. By not being an upasarga, it does not change the च into च (VIII. 3. 65).

Why do we say ‘when respect is meant’? Observe जुस्लिः किं तवात्र has this your place been well sprinkled to-day.

अतिरितिनिर्मिते च। जै। पदानि। आति:, आति रत्नयो, च,
(कर्मम् जुस्लिः)।

95. The word ati in the sense of super-abundance (‘excessively’) and ‘excellently’ is karma-pravachaniya.

The word अतिरिति means to do more than what is necessary for the accomplishment of an object. The force of च in the aphorism is to draw in the word जुस्लांगवाए from the last. As अतिरितिनिर्मिति भवता. It has abundantly been sprinkled by your honor, अतिरितिनिर्मिति भवता so also अतिरिति भवता excellently praised by your honor. अति विचार भवता.

अपि: पदार्थ संवाहनार्थवसारगर्हांसुरुचयेषु। जै। पदानि।
अपि: पदार्थ-संवाहन-आर्थवसार-हरां-सुरुचयेषु। (कर्म)।
बृहि। पदार्थं संवाहने उभ्यपदि ग्यायां च पदावनेन अपि: कर्ममवनिपर्यस्ते
भवति।

96. The word -api is karma-pravachaniya, when it implies, the sense of word understood (‘somewhat’) or possibility (e. g., ‘even’ in the sense of such a great person), or permission to do as one likes, (‘if you like’), or censure (‘even’ in the sense of what is disgraceful); or collection (‘and’).
The word चदाय च means the sense of another word which is not expressed but has to be supplied. As चर्चित्यपि स्वायत्त there may be perhaps a drop of ghee भुजुर्गपि स्वायत्त. Here some word like vindu 'a drop,' stoka 'a little' मात्रा 'a measure &c., has to be understood. The word चन्द्रतन्त्र means possibility, a supposition. As, जरिपिरिचेत चुलकपड़ेंस चथंकेनिन possibly may sprinkle a thousand trees in one moment; जरिपिरिस्वात राजानें he may praise possibly, a king. In the above cases it is used with the potential mood. अन्यथामें means indifference on the part of the speaker where he permits another to do as he likes. It is used with the Imperative mood. As जरिपिरिचेत you may sprinkle if you like. जरिपिरिचेत you may praise if you like. The word जरिपिरि means censure, contempt or reproof. As विनिर्देशस्व चेत्त चथंकेत पालकदुः. The word चन्द्रतन्त्र means cumulative. As जरिपिरिचेत—जरिपिरिचेत praise as well as sprinkle.

In all the above instances, the word not being an upasarga, does not change the च into च.

श्रविति पदार्थक जरिपिरि, देवरि च (कर्मप्रमृ)।

श्रविति पदार्थक जरिपिरि श्रविति श्रविति।

97. The word adhi is karmaprayachaniya when used in the sense of "lord" ("being as a lord" or "having as a lord").

The word देवरि means 'master,' and it therefore requires another correlative word denoting 'property' of which one is master. The word adhi governs a Locative case. Sometimes locative of the person possessing, sometime locative of the property possessed: as जरिपिरिचेत देवासरि, or जरिपिरिचेत देवासरि च व्रज देवासै. Brahmadatta rules over Panchalas.

विभाषा चूलि ॥ ५२ ॥ पदार्थक ॥ विभाषा, कृलि कर्मप्रमृ जरिपिरि)॥

वृत्ति पदार्थक जरिपिरि कर्मप्रमृ जरिपिरि।

98. The word adhi is optionally karma pravachaniya when the verb kri follows.

As यद्य नामचचि करिचचति. Here the word जरिपिरि may be treated either as a गति or a कर्मप्रमृचन्नीय. When it is a गति the accent will be regulated by S. VIII. 1. 71; otherwise not.
The substitutes of ख are called parasmaipada.

The word ख: is in the genitive case, and means 'of ख.' The word खरेष 'substitutes' must be supplied to complete the sense. The term ख is a generic word for verb in general, viz., जट, जळ्ट, जट्ट, जळ्ट, जेट, जोट, जळ, जिठ, जळ्क, जळ्क. The substitutes of ख are the well known personal terminations by which the verbs are conjugated in those tenses. Namely the following.

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And the affixes जट्ट and जट्ट (III. 2. 107, and 124, and III. 4. 78).

The nine affixes comprised under the Pratyâha teñ and the two ending in अन (Sânch and Kânch), which are substitutes of ख are called Atmanepada.

The following are the Atmanepada affixes:

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<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>जट्ट</td>
<td>जट्ट</td>
<td>जट्ट</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>ख</td>
<td>जट्ट</td>
<td>ख</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And the affixes जात्व and जात्व (III. 2. 106).
101. The three triads in both the sets Parasmaipada and Atmanepada, of conjugational affixes (comprised under the general name tiṇ, a pratyāhāra formed of the first and last of them, viz., tip and mahiṇ) are called, in order, Lowest (3rd person of European Grammar,) the middle (2nd person), and the highest (1st person).

Of the 19 conjugational affixes, above given; 9 are Parasmaipadi and 9 are Atmanepadi. Each of these two classes is subdivided into three classes, according to person, as shown in the above list.

102. These three triads of conjugational affixes, which have received the names of Lowest &c., are called (as regard the three expressions in each triad) severally "the expression for one" (singular) "the expression for two" (dual), and "the expression for many" (plural).

Of the six triads thus formed, each is divided according to number into three classes, viz., singular, dual, and plural.

103. Of sup (which is a Pratyāhāra formed of su the first of the case affixes and the final p of the last of them) the three expressions in each successive set of the three, are also severally called singular, dual and plural.
The sup or the case-affixes by which nouns are declined are 21 in number corresponding to the seven cases, see sutra IV. 1. 2. They also have three numbers singular, dual and plural.

विभक्तिः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ विभक्ति:, च, (चीति २ सुः तिति:) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ चीति चीति विभक्ति वंशाने भवित्ति सुपरितितः ॥

104. The traid of conjunctival affixes and case affixes are also called vibhakti or Inlitative affixes.

The word विभक्ति means a complete triad. Thus सत्त्वगी विभक्ति means the three affixes of the seventh case, i.e., the locative singular, dual, and plural. So मध्या विभक्ति means the third person, singular, dual, and plural.

युष्मद्वृपदेः समानाधिकरणेः स्थानिष्ठयि सच्यसः: ॥१०५॥ पदार्थः ॥

युष्मदृि, उपपदृि, समान-अधिकरणेि, स्थानिनिि, आपिि, सच्यसः: ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ युष्मददुपदेः वति अवहिते चायवहिते वति समानाधिकरणे समानाधिकरणे दृष्या

कारणे स्थानिनिि मनुष्यमानेयांमयंमयानेिपि सच्यस युष्मदुपदेः भविति ॥

105. When the pronoun yushmad, "thou" understood, and also when the same expressed, is the attendant word in agreement with the verb, then there is the verbal termination called the middle (2nd person).

This defines the 2nd person of conjunctival affixes. As युष्मदुपदेः thou cookest or पदार्थः युष्मदुपदेः पणयः or पणयः you two are cooking; युष्मदुपदेः पणयः or पणयः you cook.

प्रहासे च समयोपपदेि सम्येदकासम एकवर्तच ॥ र०५ ॥ पदार्थः ॥

प्रहासेि, च, समय-उपपदेःि, सम्येद:, उत्तम:, एकवर्त:, च, (सच्यसः:) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ प्रहासे च सम्येदकासम एकवर्ताच संयोगपदेः भवितिि, सम्येदकासमिि च चैिक

106. When joke is implied with reference to an action, the verb denoting it is used in the 2nd person; provided that the word manya ‘to think’ is the attendant word (upapada) of such verb, and of the verb manya itself, the affix must be of the 1st person and singular number.
The word महास means joke, sport. As एव नन्ये जोदन्त भीषये दृति; नहि भूषणे, अहुः सार्वतिविवाद. Thus thou thinkest 'I shall eat rice,' thou shalt not eat, that has been eaten by a guest. शिः नन्ये रचेन यास्वति नहि यास्वति, वातकेर वे विता. I think thou wilt go by the chariot, no, thou wilt not, thy father has gone before thee on it. When joke is not intended, the proper persons should be used: as, शिः सन्नद्वे जोदन्त भूषणे. Thus thou thinkest 'I shall eat rice.'

अस्मयुन्तम् ॥ १२५ ॥ पद्यानि ॥ अस्मदि, उत्तमः, (उपपदे सन्नानाधिकर्षे स्वासिद्धयिप) ॥

इति ॥ अस्मयुन्तेपदेषे सन्नानाधिकर्षे मयुःयुयाने ययुःयुयाने उपयुःयुयाने भवति ॥

107. When the pronoun asmad "I," understood and also when expressed, is the attendant word in agreement with the verb, then there is the verbal termination called the Highest or the 1st person.

This is clear. As अद्र परानि I cook, or merely परानि जातार परावः or merely परावः.

श्रेये प्रथमः ॥ १२५ ॥ पद्यानि ॥ श्रेये प्रथमः ॥

इति ॥ वयुः युःयु श्रेये वनानाधिकर्षे उपपदेषे स्त। ततः श्रेये प्रथमदुःस्ते भवति ॥}

108. In the other cases, namely where, "thou" or "I" are not the attendant words in agreement with the verb, there is the verbal termination called the Lowest (or 3rd person).

As परावः he cooks, परावः they two cook. परावः they cook.

परः सन्निकर्षे संहिता, ॥ १२५ ॥ पद्यानि ॥ परः सन्निकर्षे, संहिता ॥

इति ॥ परीति या सन्निकर्षे वर्णानि महमामानानाधिकर्षे व संहितासबृते भवति ॥

109. The closest proximity of letters, there being the intervention of half a मात्रा or prosodical length between them, is called contact or sanhita.

When words are in sanhita, they are glued together by the rules of sandhi. As द्रव्यम्=द्रव्य + अन्तः,
The word avasāna occurs in sūtra VIII, 3. 15 &c.