THE ASHTADHYAYI OF PANINI.

Containing Original Sutras, Sanskrit Vrittis with Notes and Explanations in English based on the Celebrated Commentary called the Ksasthika.

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PREFACE.

Since the advent of the British rule and the peace and prosperity that have 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 this 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., the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, the Upanishads &c., it is absolutely necessary to have a complete knowledge of the Grammar elaborated by Panini.

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 his intellectual powers. In fact, what the Geometry of Euclid has done
towards the logical development of the western intellect, the Ashṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini 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 Pāṇini’s work will readily admit, that there is no Grammar in any language, that could vie with the wonderful mechanism of his eight books of Grammatical rules."

Unfortunately, however, for our college and school students, and also for that vast majority of English-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 this important work exists in English. To supply this want, we have undertaken to translate Pāṇini’s aphorisms, as explained in the well-known commentary called the Kāśikā. Though it is not a close translation of the whole of Kāśikā, it may be regarded as a free rendering of the most important portions of that book. We have closely followed this commentary, explaining it where necessary, and in short, making the work a help to the student, desirous of studying the Kāśikā in the original.

The whole book will be completed in 32 parts and will cover about 2,000 pages Royal Octavo. The task of translating, printing and publishing such an enormous work will entail great labour and expense. We are, therefore, forced to appeal to the generous public for their patronage, so that this undertaking may be brought to a successful termination.

Any encourager of Sanskrit learning subscribing for ten or more copies of this work will be thankfully registered as our Patron and his name will be made immortal with that of the book by giving it a prominent place in the front of the book when it is completed.

Our hearty thanks are due to the Honourable E. White c. s., Director of Public Instruction, N.-W. P. and Oudh, for his kindly subscribing for 10 copies of our work, and to all those gentlemen who have hitherto subscribed for one or more copies.

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BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER FIRST.

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

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

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

Thus it will be taught in sūtra 24 'a word ending with the second case-affix is optionally compounded with the words भिल, सत्वीत &c. and forms tatpurusha compound,' as, कठ भिल = कठभिल: 'who has had recourse to pain.' But when these words are not समर्थ or connected in sense there can be no compounding; as, पद्ध देवदत्त कठ, भिली विभुरिणि गुप्तकुलम् 'see O Devadatta, the pain, Vishnumitra has taken recourse to his teacher's house.' Here the words कठ and भिल though read in juxtaposition are not compounded, as they are not समर्थ.
Similarly, it will be taught in sūtra 30 4 a word ending with the 3rd case-affix is optionally compounded with what denotes that the quality of which is instrumentally caused by the thing signified by what ends with the 3rd case-affix and with the word भागी 'wealth'; as, शंकुकव्र + कण्डः = शंकुकव्रणकण्डः 'a piece cut by nippers.' Here also when the words are not connected in sense there is no composition; as, कारिण्यवति गंधकुक्वण्डः, कण्डः बेशवस्त्र उपलेच 'thou shalt do it with the nippers, Devadatta is cut by the stones.'

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

Thus पूर्ण + गण = पूर्णगण 'wood for a stake.' But when these words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, गण्डः ल्व + वृक्षाय, गण बेशवस्त्र गधेच 'go thou for the stake, the wood is in Devadatta's house.'

Similarly, sūtra 37 declares 'a word ending with the 5th case-affix may be compounded with the word भागी; as, वृक्षिफल + भागी = वृक्षिफलभागी 'fear by reason of a wolf.' But when these words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, गण्डः ल्व + मां वृक्षिफल, भागी बेशवस्त्र वज्जसाल 'come thou to me from the wolves, there is fear to Devadatta from Yajñadatta.

Similarly, sūtra II. 2. 8 declares 'a word ending with the 6th case-affix is optionally compounded with what ends with a case-affix;' as, राजाः पुरुषो = राजपुरुष 'the king's man.' But when the words are not सम्भव, there is no composition: as भागवत राजाः, पुरुषो बेशवस्त्र 'the wife of the king, the man of Devadatta.'

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

Why have we used the word वत्स 'a complete word' in the sūtra? So that this सम्भव परिनाम य may not apply to वर्षेविधि i. e. rules relating to letters.

Thus rules of सम्भव 'conjunction of letters' are वर्षेविधि and not प्रभुविधि; and therefore the condition of being connected in sense, does not apply here. Two words however disconnected in sense, must be glued together by the rules of sandhi, if those rules are applicable. Thus sūtra VI. 1. 77 declares: 'instead of a letter denoted by the pratyāhāra हृ 'there is one denoted by the pratyāhāra य, in each instance, where one denoted by the pratyāhāra य तीय तत्र 'immediately follows;' as, वचि + यशान = यवचि. This substitution of व for ह will take place, whether the words are in construction or not, as
2. A word ending in sup or a case affix, when followed by a word in the vocative case, is regarded as if it was the aṅga or component part of such subsequent vocative word, when a rule relating to accent is to be applied.

In other words, the word ending in a case-affix enters, as if, into the body of the vocative (āmantrita) word; as it will be taught in sutra VI. 1. 198 which declares 'a word ending in a vocative case-affix, gets the udātta accent on the beginning i.e., first syllable.' Now, this rule will apply even when a word ending with a case-affix precedes such word in the vocative case. Thus the word पति 'O two lords!' has udātta on the first syllable. Now, when this word is preceded by another inflected noun as गृहस् 'of prosperity,' the accent will fall on शु, the two words being considered as a single word; as:-गृहस्त्रु वस्त्रे हिरिदेश मद्यपाव गृहस्त्रु॥ पुरुषुप्रजा चान्तारकान्॥ Rig. I. 3. 1. 'O Asvins, riding on quick horses, lords of prosperity, and bestowers of plenty of food, eat the sacrificial offerings to your satisfaction.' So also in the following:-कृष्णपान नास्ति 'O thou wandering with a bowl. परशुराम पुष्पभू 'O thou cutting with an axe.' मद्रासाण राजान् 'O thou king of Madras.' कर्मी राजाम् राजान् 'O thou king of Kashmir.'

Why do we say 'a word ending with a case-affix?' If the preceding word ends with any other affix than a case-affix, this rule will not apply. As पीढ़े पीढमान 'O thou who art pained, I am pained because of this thy pain.'

Here पीढ़े 'being a तिष्ठत (a verb)' is not considered as an aṅga of the vocative word.

Why do we say 'when followed by a word in the vocative case?' This rule will not apply when the subsequent word is not a vocative. As गेहे गाघः 'Gārga is at home.'
Why do we say 'of the subsequnt'? It will not be a part of the vocative word which precedes. As देवदत्त कुप्स्यनाथ 'O Devadatta wandering with a bowl.' Here कुप्स्यन has not become part of Devadatta, but of the subsequent word धवन्.

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

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

Thus rule VIII. 1. 55 declares 'a word ending in the vocative case is not anudatta when it follows the word गाम् there intervening a word between itself and गा्म; as, आम् कुप्स्यनाथान्। Here kundena is considered a separate word for the purposes of Rule VIII. 1. 55 and is said to intervene between गाम् and the vocative word धवन्.

Why do we say 'for the purposes of the application of rule of accent'? For the purposes of the application of any other rule, it will not be the aṅga of the subsequent word; as, कप्रे सिंचन् 'O thou sprinkling in the well.' धाम नमस्। Here had कप्रे and धाम been the aṅgas of the subsequent words for all purposes, their ्त and ्म would have been changed into ्ण and ्न respectively by Rules VII. 4. 2 &c.

Vart:—When a word ending in a case-affix becomes, as if, the component part of the subsequent word, it becomes so even when there are several words in apposition with it which intervene between it and the vocative word; because that, of itself, does not constitute want of immediate-ness. Thus तीक्ष्णोऽवुष्यो तीक्ष्णो 'O thou sewing with a sharp needle' तीक्ष्ण पर्गुणा वृष्ण .

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of indeclinable words. As उपदेशियान् 'O thou reading loudly.' उपदेशियान .

महाकहारात् समास: || 3 || पदांचि || महाक, कहारात्, समास: ||
बृत्ति: || कहारात्समासः महाक् सामितः उद्दर्श्यमूलमिष्यम् स्ते समाससंज्ञा वेतित्वा: ||

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

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

सह सुपा || ॥ पदानि || सह , सुपा ( शुप समास: ) ॥

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

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

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

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

2. सुपा सह सुपू समस्यते a sup-inflected word is compounded with another sup-inflected word. The compound which does not fall within any of the various sorts of compounds to be treated of hereafter, will fall under this general head of compounds; as, सुपूर्वस्या यासो देवं पुरविन्यासी शय: This also is for the sake of accents.
5. From this forward whatever we shall describe will get the name of Avyayībhāva samāsā or adverbial compound.

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

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

The words सुर and सुच are understood in this sūtra. The word वजन should be read as connected with every one of the above phrases.
1. विनिमयवचन्;—As अभिसिव कथा वर्तते 'a story relating to women.'
   अथिपिक्कृतार्थिनि 'relating to a girl.'

2. समीपवचन्;—As उपकुम्भम् 'near to the jar.' उपजनमक्ष 'near to the gem.'

3. समृद्धवचन्;—As सूक्ष्मेऽ 'well or prosperous with the Madras';
   सुमगाध् 'well with the Magadh.'

4. व्यूहितवचन्;—As उपस्थापीक्ष 'ill with the Gavadikas;' दुर्गम्य 'ill with the
   Yavanas.'

5. अन्नवचन्;—As निमेलियक 'free from flies;' निमेलियक 'free from
   mosquitoes.'

6. अस्ववचन्;—As निम्हितम् 'on the departure of the cold weather';
   निम्हितालि .

7. अस्ववचन्;—As वृत्तिवृत्तक 'past (not now) the time of wearing
   quilts.'

8. श्रीवामुनावचन्;—As इति हरि 'the exclamation Hari' (thus वैष्णवमुमि
   इति हरि वर्तते 'in the house of the Vaishnava there is the cry of Hari Hari').

9. पश्चायन्य;—As अनुरुपं यदानाम् 'the infantry after the chariots.'

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

11. अनुपूर्ववचन्;—As अनुपूर्वं प्रभुवानुभवन् 'let your honors enter
    in the order of seniority.'

12. युगपत्यवचन्;—As सम्बन्धं धेरि 'simultaneously with the wheel.'

13. साधुवचन्;—As साधु 'like a friend.'

14. संपत्तवचन्;—As संपत्ताद् 'as warriors ought.'

15. साधुवचन्;—As साधु 'even to the grass' i.e. the whole,
    not leaving even a scrap.

16. अन्नवचन्;—As खासि as far as the chapter of fire (i.e. the whole
    Veda).

यथा उसादृश्ये || ५ || पदार्थि || यथा , असादृश्ये , (समये: झुप्पु
सुप्प अवयवावशो) ||

वृत्ति: || यथेष्ठेतिवयवससादृश्ये वर्षानां सुप्प सह समये, अवयवावशथ समये भवति||

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

Thus यावदव्रयम् बालार्यानाममन्त्रययम् invite every old Brahma. So also यावदवयम्.

Why do we say 'when not signifying likeness?' For there is no composition when likeness is indicated. As यावदविविष्यस्चति यथ: The यथि is Devadatta so is Yajñadatta.

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

यावदकरारणे ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावद, अवधारणे, (सच्चुपः अहंकारसमास) ॥

बृत्त: ॥ यावदविविष्यस्करारणे वर्तमानं सुषुप सह समस्तां अवधीनावव न विभागो भवति ॥

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

The word अवधारणा means accurate ascertainment, restriction or limitation. As, यावद गर्भ बालार्यानाममन्त्रययम् 'invite so many Brāhmans only and not more as there are pots': i.e., if there are five pots then invite five Brāhmans; if six pots, then invite six Brāhmans.

Why do we say 'when meaning limitation'? Observe यावदसं तावद भुक्त' I ate so long as it was given to me,' i.e. I donot know for certainty how much I have eaten.

श्रुप्रतिनिधातार्थेः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुप्, प्रतिनिधि, मात्राभिषेः, (अहंकारस्तु समासः ॥)

बृत्त: ॥ मात्रायं कर्तरं प्रतिनि सह सुकृतम् समस्तां अवधीनावव समासो भवति ॥

9. A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with the indeclinable word prati, when meaning 'a little' and the compound is called Āvyayībhāva.
The word मात्रा means 'a drop,' 'a little,' 'a wee bit,' as, श्राक्षणि 'a little of vegetable,' सूपमति 'a little of soup.'

Why do we say 'when meaning a little'? Observe बृक्षण प्रति विद्योलते विलुप्त 'it lightens in the direction of the tree.' Here it is not compounded.

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

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

अलश्चाकासंख्या: परिणा || १० || पद्यानि || अल-शिलाका-संख्या:, परिणा , (अःसःसःह ) ||

बलश्च: गलाकाश्च: संख्याश्च: परिणा सह सम्बन्धे अव्वलिनिनावं समासो नवलि ||

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

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

विभाषा || ११ || पद्यानि || विभाषा ||

बृहत: || यथित् तत्र अव्वलिनिनिवामस्तहिनिथि नवलि ||

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

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

अर्यरैविद्वृंच्छः पञ्चःः || १२ || पदाृति || अप०-परिक-वहःः
अञ्चःः, पञ्चःः (सौङ्गः सहः चिर) ||

वृत्ति: || भर परि वहिः अञ्चः इर्वे सुबन्ना: पञ्चम्यान्तन सह विभाया समस्यान्ते वञ्चीया
भावक समासो नवति ||

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

As वर्णवत्तचः वुसीः वेवः or अर्थित्वांस्या वुसीः वेवः: 'it rained away from Trigarta. So also, तरि चवत्तचः or चवावप्लेवः: 'round about Trigarta,' वहित्रः or वहित्रमानः 'outside the village' मागः पानमः or मागः पानालः 'east of the village."

Words formed from the verb अञ्चः 'to go,' are वृत्यः 'north' चाचः 'east,' &c.

From this sūtra we learn by inference (jñāpak) that the word बहः: also governs the ablative case (see II. 3. 29).

आँ च वधीदानामिनियोः || १३ || पदाृति || आँ, सञ्ची-अनि-
विष्योऽः, (सौङ्गःचिरपञ्चःः सह) ||

वृत्ति: || अनिविशवन्यवाचावावाविष्योऽः च चर्मवन्य पञ्चम्यान्तन सह विभाया समस्याते,
वञ्चीया भावक समासो नवति ||

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

As, वाएवतिनुृचः or वाएवतिनुृचः वृत्यः वेवः: 'it rained up to Pātaliputra.'
आकुसः or आकुसःयोऽः यथा: पातिष्योः: 'the fame of Pāṇini extends even to the boys.'

ललोिनाभित्री सामिनुृचः || १४ || पदाति || ललोिन , अधि-
प्रति, सामिनुृचः, (सौङ्गःचिरः) ||

वृत्ति: || तलाछः चिर्भाबविद्वाना सुचन्तन सहानिविशवाणायाविरिति वर्यमानः विभाया
समस्याय वचीनात्मक समासो नवति ||

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

The word लक्षण means a sign goal. See also I. 4. 84 and 90 for a further explanation of this word. As अययिभावा for अभिमन्त्रिणि शालम: पतिति ‘the moths fall in the direction of fire.’ So also प्रस्थति or अभिम्नि प्रति, the sense being, that making the fire their aims (लक्ष्य) they fall towards it.

Why do we say ‘when meaning लक्षणा’? Observe बुधग्रे प्रति गयः ‘he turned back and went towards Srughna i.e., having turned back he went only towards the direction of Srughna but not to that place itself.

Why do we say the words abhi and prati? Observe चेनाभिमलितान गयः ‘he went in the direction of the fire.’

Why do we say ‘when meaning direction towards’? Observe अययिभावा मागः or अययिभावेर्याचः ‘the recently marked cows.’

अनुस्येशमयः || १५ || पदार्थः || अनु: , वन्समयः , (सहविवेर्याचः सार लक्षणे) ॥

बृहस्तः || अनुस्येशम वर्णप्राची लाल्यमभूतेन सह विभाषा समस्ते अङ्ग्यभावाय समाते नवति ॥

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

As, अनुस्यानान्तिनः ‘the thunder bolt fell near the forest.’

Why do we say अनु? Observe वन्स समया ‘near the forest.’

Why do we say ‘when compounded with the word, nearness to which is indicated’? Observe वृक्षमनु विद्योवते विशुद्ध ‘it lightens towards the tree.’

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

यद्यः चायामः || १६ || पदार्थः || वन्स , च , आयामः , (सहअययिभावेर्याचः लक्षणे अनु:) ॥

बृहस्तः || अनुस्यानान्तिनाची वेन लक्षणमभूतेन सह विभाषा समस्ते अङ्ग्यभावाय समाते नवति ॥
16. The word anu ‘alongside of’ is optionally compounded with the word indicative of that whose length the particle expresses, and the compound so formed is called Avyayībhāva.

As, अनूंगंगे। बारासां सन्नां, ‘the city of Benares extends alongside the river Ganges’ अनूंमांगते मथुरा ‘Mathura, alongside of the Yamuna,’ the length of Mathura being measured by that of the Yamuna.’

Why do we say 'length' ? Observe वृत्तमशु व्यिस्तते विषुष्टः.

लिच्छुगु प्रभृतीतिः च || ३५ || पदानि || लिच्छुगु प्रभृतीतिः च (अख्ययीमावस्य)॥

वृत्ति: || लिच्छुगुस्याद्वः समुद्रां एव निपास्तते, लिच्छुगुप्रभृतीति गृहस्यायि अच्छ्ययी-भावसंस्तानि भविष्यति॥

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

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

लिच्छुगु, वहस्तुगु, आथ्यीयमण्ड, खलेवयमण्ड, खलेवयमण्ड, लुनवयमण्ड, लुतमान-बण्ड, प्यतयमण्ड, प्यमानवयमण्ड, संहतयमण्ड, संहयमाणवयमण्ड, साहुत्सस्म, साहियमाण-बुलमण्ड, सन्तृप्तमण्ड, सन्तृप्तमण्ड, सन्तृप्तमण्ड, अयायमण्ड, अयायमण्ड, अयायमण्ड, अयायमण्ड, अयायमण्ड, अयायमण्ड, अयायमण्ड, अयायमण्ड, अयायमण्ड, पापसस्म, पुरुससस्म, इत्यादिनित्वहृ व. ४. २०७. e. g. काचाकन्त॥

पारे सध्ये पत्तहा वा || ३६ || पदानि || पारे, सध्ये, पत्तहा, वा (सद्यविवस्य)॥

वृत्ति: || पारमस्थाङ्गे पत्तहास्थ सह बिनाय समस्ये अव्यययीभावध समस्ते भति॥

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

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

In the text is that the Genitive Tatpurusha compounding also takes place in the alternative. As, पार्श्वमयु or गंगाभारस्मु 'across the Ganges.' मध्यगंगमयु or गंगाभारस्मु 'middle of the Ganges.'

Of course according to the option allowed by sūtra II. 1. 11., this compounding need not take place at all, the same sense being expressed by a phrase; as पारं गंगाभारा: or अर्थे गंगाभारा:.

संख्या ब्रजवेन || ५० || पद्वानि || संख्या, ब्रजवेन, (सविभावास्तव) ||

५१ || यूर्ति: || ब्रजवेन: वर्णविन्य तत्तविचित्र सह संख्या समस्तसे अच्छीभावस्य समासो नवति.||

19. A numeral may be compounded with a word denoting 'one belonging to a family,' and the resulting compound is Ayuyayibhāva.

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

As, विमुनि व्याकरणास्तव 'of the Vyākaraṇa which has two sages as its principal expounders viz., Pāṇini and Patanjali. So, विमुनि व्याकरणस्य 'having three representatives viz. Pāṇini, Patanjali and Sakatāyana or Kātyāyana.'

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

So also when the relationship is by birth: as, एकावड़ानि भारद्रास्तव Twenty-one Bhāradwajas. These a subsequent compounds are like Dvigu.

नःदीसिन्द || २० || पद्वानि || नःदीसिनि: || च || (सविभाविभंसंख्या) ||

२१ || यूर्ति: || नःदीसिन्नवाच: श्रेष्ठ: सह संख्या समस्तसे, अच्छीभावस्य समासो नवति.||

20. A numeral (संख्याः) may be compounded with names of 'rivers' and the resulting compound is Ayuyayibhāva denoting an aggregate.

According to Patanjali this refers to their Aggregate (समाहार); as चारघुज्ञान् 'at the meeting of the seven Ganges,' द्वित्यमृ 'at the meeting of the two Yamunās, थूङन्दे 'where the five rivers meet,' सप्तगोविंदामृ 'where seven Godavaris' meet. See II. 4. 1, 17.

अन्यपदः च संख्यास्तव || २३ || पद्वानि || अन्यपदः च, संख्या-यामृ, (सविभाविभंद्रिमि.) ||

२४ || यूर्ति: || अन्यपदः च सह सुव्रतसमस्तसे वर्णसादन संख्यासे विपरीते समस्तसे अच्छीभावस्य समासो नवति.||
21. A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with words denoting the names of rivers, when the compound word denotes a thing other than that expressed by the terms of the compound, and is an appellative; the compound so formed being an Avya-yībhāva.

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

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

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

तत्पुरुषः II २२ II पद्लानि II तत्पुरुषः II

वृत्तिः II तत्पुरुष इति संयोगार्थिनितीयाय मायवेदिकतः, योगित अंगवस्यामञ्चलत्वारंगेऽपि वैक्तिकतः II

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

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

ह्रिगुः II २२ II पद्पानि II ह्रिगुः, च, (तत्पुरुषः) II

वृत्तिः II ह्रिगुः समासस्तपुरुषस्त्री भवितः II

23. And the kind of compound called Dwigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) is also called Tat-purusha.
The object of making Dwigu a subdivision of Tat-purusha Compound is that the समासांत affixes and rules given in V. 4. 68-160 should apply to Dwigu also. Otherwise we could well have dispensed with this सूत्रa; as सूत्रa 52 of this chapter already defines Dwigu. Thus पंचरात्र V. 4. 91 fem. पंचरात्राम (IV. 1. 15, 21), 'an aggregate of 5 princes' सत्य: 'V. 4. 89, पंचरात्रम् 'an aggregate of 5 cows.' द्वादशमृ 'an aggregate of ten cows.' V. 4. 92.

24. A word ending with the second case-affix is compounded with the words स्रित 'who has had recourse to,' अतित 'gone by,' पुतित 'who has fallen upon,' गता 'who has gone to,' अत्यात 'who has passed,' प्रपोत 'who has obtained,' त्यात 'who has reached,' and अपान 'who has reached,' and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

As क्षर्ड + प्रतिः = क्षर्षप्रतिः 'who has had recourse to trouble.' नरक्षप्रतिः 'who has passed over the dreary forest.' श्रवणतिः 'fallen into hell.' दानयत 'gone to village.' तरंगाधिलत 'passed the waves.' शुद्धयत 'who has reached pleasure.' शुद्धोत 'who has obtained happiness.'

Vart:—The words गोवर्ण, गामी &c. should also be included. As गामामी, गामामी; ब्राह्मण दुधुस्वः.

25. The indeclinable word स्वयं 'oneself,' is compounded with a word ending in the affix क्ता, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

The anuvritti of the word हिन्तव्या from the last aphorism into this, cannot take place; though, however, it is understood in the next सूत्रa. The word स्वयं being an Indeclinable, cannot take any case-affix. As स्वयं धीमी रशी 'feet washed by himself' स्वयं विक्षीलामाभयम्.

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

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

खद्दा, चेपे || २६ || पदानिः || खद्दा, चेपे, (अविभक्तचन्द्रसन) (ढिलीयाः) ||

वृः: || खद्दाकायो ढिलीयान: कास्तनेन सह क्षेरेन गम्यमाने समस्तये, सल्युयश्च समासोभविः भविः ||

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

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

As खद्दाकः or खद्दामः (literally lying on a bed); silly, stupid, going wrong or astray.

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

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

सांस || २७ || पदानिः || सांस, (अविभक्तचन्द्र लोन) (ढिलीयाः) ||

वृः: || सांसीवेत्त्वयमहाशार्वयोयमस्तय समवयाचिचवाः ढिलीयाः सांसि संबन्धः: सन्तु सुचन्त नास्ति तस्मात तस्माते तस्मात च समासोभविः ||
27. The indeclinable word सामि meaning 'half' is compounded with a word ending in the affix क्ता, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

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

As सामिव्रान 'half-done,' सामिरितिव्र 'half-drunken' सामिरतिव्र 'half-eaten.'

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

काला: II २८ पदार्थ II काला: (सोबिहरोशक्ष्यायीयायी) II

मृति: II कालावयिन: शब्द हिलोव्रायान्त्र: कालावयिन सह समस्तने विभाषा तत्वरुपथ समायो नवति II

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

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

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

अत्यन्तस्वयंगे च II २९ पदार्थ II अत्यन्त-स्वयंसामे, च, (ख Robbie)

तथाकाला: (घुपा हिलो) II

मृति: II कालावयिन: शब्द हिलोव्रायान्त्र: अत्यन्तस्वयंसामे गम्यनाने पूरा सह समस्तने विभाषा तत्वरुपथ समायो नवति II

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

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

As मुहूर्तसङ्कुचम् 'a momentary pleasure.' सर्वराजकवाणी, सर्वराजराजोऽनि.

वूलियाति ततैत्तरायेन गुणवचनेन || ३० || पदानि || वूलियाति, ततु-कंत-अर्थेन, गुण-वचनेन, (श्रीवित्तकुष्ठुपाह सह) ||

वूलिति: || वूलियान्ति सुस्वते गुणवचनेन अर्थाविज्ञने च तह समस्यानंते तत्रुपस्थ समासी महति ||

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

The words सुध, सुरा are understood here: and the whole of this śūtra is an epithet of those words. A noun in the instrumental case is compounded with a word expressing quality, and with the word अर्थ: provided that the word expressing quality is itself the result produced by the sense of the word in the instrumental case.' As शंकुनालकयण: शंकुनालकण: 'cut by nippers' करिकां: 'made blind of one eye by a hog' चालबर्य: 'wealth acquired by grain.' For accent of these words see VI. 2. 2.

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

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

Guna-vachanas are those words which, not being words formed by primary or secondary affixes, or other words entitled to the name of sāṅkhya, or sarvanāma, or jātī, or compound words, are words denoting qualities and capable of being used as adjectives qualifying substantive.

पूष्पेनसन्नद्धनायत्कल्यादनिपुनानिश्रवश्यास्ति: || ३१ || पदानि ||

पूर्वेन-स्त्याश्वस-कल्यादनिपुनानिश्रवश्यास्तिः कल्यादनिपुनानिश्रवश्यास्तिः || (श्रीवित्तकुष्ठीयासयोऽ) ||

वूलिति: || पूर्वे स्त्राश्वस सन्नद्धनार्थ कल्यादनिपुन निश्रवश्यास्तिः विषम् इति: सह वूलियान्ति समस्यानं तत्रुपस्थ समासी महति ||

वांशिकम् || पूर्वाञ्चित्तसर्ववर्षसंयानम् ||
31. A word ending in the third case-affix is compounded with the words pūrva 'prior,' sadṛśa 'like,' sama 'similar,' āuārtha 'words having the sense of less,' kalaha 'quarrel,' nipūna 'proficient,' miśra 'mixed,' and slakṣṇa 'polished sleek' and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

From this sūtra, we learn incidentally that the words pūrva &c., govern the instrumental case.

As, मासेश मासेय: मासेष्य: 'prior by a month,' संबन्धितपूर्व: 'prior by a year,' मादसेय: 'like the mother,' निशवध: 'like the father,' मादसम: 'similar to the mother,' निवसम: 'similar to the father,' माध्यमस्म, माध्यविकल 'less by a māshā,' भासितकाल: 'a fight with the swords,' याग्न: 'bandying words,' याग्निपय: 'proficient in speech,' अधिर निपय: 'proficient in the observances of sacred duties,' निपयन: 'mixed with sesamum or juggery,' अधिकारपद्य: 'polished in behaviour.'

Vart:—The word प्रतार should be enumerated in the list, as मासेय: 'later than a month.'

कत्वुकरणे कत्या बुद्धम् ॥ २२ ॥ पदालिनी कत्वुकरणे; कता बुद्धम्, (ठाविविदरवृलीचोठ) ॥

कृति: काशिर करप्रे व या बिपीया सहस्रं बुद्धन्ते सह समस्ते बुद्धन्ते, सत्युपथ च समस्ते भवति ॥

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

The word बुद्धम् shows that there is a general relaxation of all the rules and conditions. As अभिन्नत: = अभिन्नत: 'killed by the snake' निद्यमित्व: 'divided by the nails.' परस्मातिञ्ज: 'cut by the axe.'

Why do we say 'when denoting the agent or the instrument'? Observe निद्यमित्व: 'dwell with alms.' Here the force of the 3rd case is that mentioned in sūtra II. 3. 21 and not that of II. 3. 18.'

Why do we say 'diversely'? Observe शाशुस् नानवः 'cutting with the sickle.' परस्मातिनिजाम 'cutting with the axe.' Here there is no compounding. But there is compounding where otherwise there ought not to be, because of the word बुद्धमः—as प्रतारः and गले चोपकः.
33. A word ending with the third case-affix when it denotes the agent or the instrument, is compounded optionally with a word ending in a kritya affix, when an exaggerated statement (whether of praise or of censure) is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As काकर्ण्यानी 'a shallow river' (so shallow that a crow may dip his beak into it and touch the bottom and drink). श्वेच्छेन्द्र: क्रूर: 'a shallow well' (so that a dog can lick water from the brink of it). बण्णचढ़ैयाभवति बाणिः 'thin grass' (so fragile that it can be cut by vapour). कण्डकाजनेऽचेष्ठं भोजनः.

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

Vart:-The phrase 'words ending in a kritya affix' must not be taken universally, only the kritya affixes यत् and एवत् are meant in the above sūtras. The following are the kritya affixes:—सन्धि, अनीशं, यत्, व्यस्त, एवस्त्, (see sūtra III. I. 95-132). Therefore there is no compounding when the word ends in सन्धि as in काको: पालया.

अवेन व्यञ्जनस् || 34 || पदानिः || अवेन, व्यञ्जनस्, (सर्वविष्ट-पुष्चुः) ||

वृत्ति: || व्यञ्जनवाच्य वल्लवायननववाच्यं शुभन्त: सह समाचे विनाभ, तत्रुज्ज्वल चामालो भवति ||

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

That which is to be prepared is called स्भ्रान्न, and that which prepares is व्यञ्जन: as इत्योद्त: = रुग्गा उपविल्क श्रीस्तन: 'rice prepared or made relishable with curd.' So also श्रीरोक्त: . The words 'food' and 'condiment' as represented in the above compounds, are connected in sense by a verb understood.
Bk. II. Ch. I. § 35, 36. ]

**Dative Tat-purusha.**

35. A word, ending with the 3rd case-affix and denoting a relish giving or refining ingredient, is compounded with a word meaning, victuals, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Anything eatable, whether hard or soft, is called महं ; its refinement is called सिद्धीकरण . As गृहस्थानयः ‘barley prepared with juggery,’ गृहस्थयः ‘flattened parched rice prepared with juggery.’

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

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

The words घुर , सुधार are understood in this sūtra: and the whole sūtra qualifies these words.

By the expression तदाधि ‘for the purpose thereof,’ the special relation of a material and its modification alone is by Patanjali here held to be intended. As युद्धाय शह : = युद्धिश्च : ‘wood for stake’ (that is wood which by modification will be changed into a stake). कुण्डलकल्पणस्य ‘gold for ear-ring.’ But not so here. रामनामन्वयोज्यन्तम | ‘pot for cooking.’ भवननायोज्यथानम् ‘the wood mortar for threshing. From this sūtra we may also infer that the Dative case conveys also the sense of ‘for the purpose thereof.’ The word तदाधि is taken as one word by some, meaning ‘a thing serviceable thereto.’ See VI, 2. 44. For accent see VI. 2. 45.
Vart:—With the word दय the compound so formed is a Nitya compound (an invariable compound) and agrees in gender with the word which it qualifies; as, स्रवणवर्गम् पयः 'milk for the sake of Brahmins'; and भ्रात्रायायं ब्रह्मण: 'gruel for the Brahmanas.' So also कुवेरवितिः 'a sacrifice for Kuvera,' महारावितिः 'a sacrifice for the great Raja.' गौहृत 'what is good for cows.' अरन्तिः 'what is good for horses' गौरुख 'what is pleasant for cows' मौरवितिः 'what is kept for cows,' (as grass).

पञ्चमी भयेन || 37 || पदार्थ || पञ्चमी, भयेन, (सप्तविश्वस् सुधा सह) ||

कृतिः || पञ्चमस्य सुधानं भयावेन सुधानेन सह समवाये विभागं तत्सृष्टं समायो भवति ||

वासिक्षम् || भय भिन्न भिती भिन्निर्देशं वनस्यम् ||

37. A word ending with the 6th case-affix is optionally compounded with the word भया ‘fear,’ and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The phrase सुधा सुधा is understood here, and the सुधा qualifies it.

As वृक्षे-गौरवं = वृक्षेष 'fear from wolves' चौरवं 'fear from thieves' हस्तिऱ्वं 'fear from robbers.'

Vart:—So also with the words भीत, भीतिः and भी: as वृक्षीत, वृक्षीतिः, वृक्षी;.

This sutra is an expansion of sutra 32 and an exposition of the word भयेन there. So that we may have the following compounds also: भामनिगतः 'gone out of the village.' चाघर्य जुगस्तुः.

अपेतप्रमुख प्रतिताप्रत्स्थारथाः || 38 || पदार्थ || अपेत-अपोध-मुक्त-गतित-अपत्तस्ति, अपवशः, (सप्तविश्वস् पञ्चमीसि) ||

कृतिः || अपेत प्रमुख प्रतित अपत्तस्ति इत्येत: सह पञ्चमस्य समाये सत्तुपश्च समस्यो भवति || अवतप्रव इति समस्याद्विनिवयतापत्तः ||

38. A word ending with the 6th case-affix is compounded with the words apeta ‘gone away,’ apodha ‘carried away,’ mukta ‘freed,’ patita ‘fallen,’ apatarsta ‘afraid of,’ when the event takes place in a gradual manner, and the compound is called Tatpurusha.

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

- भाटाराजस्थान: ‘fallen from the mansion.
- नूमनमयवर्तन: ‘afraid of eating.’ For here the fall &c. is violent and sudden, and not gradual and slight.

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

As त्लिकामुक्त ‘loosed from a little distance.’

So also अन्तिकालागत: ‘come from near’ अ-भारागत: ‘come from near’ द्वारागत: ‘come from far,’ विभारागत: ‘come from a distance.’ कृष्णानुक्त: saved with difficulty.’ कृष्णानुप्र: ‘obtained with difficulty.’

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

*Part*:—The words श्रात ‘a hundred’ and सहह ‘a thousand’ are similarly compounded with the word प्रा. As, ग्रातपर्स ‘beyond a hundred.’ So also परसस्ताज: ‘beyond a thousand.’ In these examples the word श्रात and सहह being exhibited in the 1st case and thus being upasarjana ought to have stood as the first member of the compound (II. 2. 30); But these compounds are supposed to fall under the class of राजस्थान &c., (II. 2. 31) and hence the upasarjana stands as the second member of the compound. Irregularly is also the augment स (सूद्द) interposed between these two words.

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

As, अभेदं शौषधः = अभेदशौषधः: 'skilled in dice' चालनें: 'cunning in dice'

The following is the list of शौषधः words:—1 शौषधः, 2 धर्षः, 3 फूटः, 4 ख़वाँ, 5 प्रवेशः, 6 गंगान, 7 ज्वालस्व, when meaning place, 8 खाँचः, 9 पुलिलि (or भाषिलि), 10 फ़ैदिलि, 11 तुलिलि, 12 चिप़िलि, 13 निगुँपलि, 14 खेलावः, 15 अवां, and 16 समां.

स्थानकपक्षयेँ || ४१ || पदानि || सिद्ध-शौषध-पक्ष-बलसँ: ||

चः (संततवितरससः) ||

वृद्धि: || सिद्ध-शौषध- पक्ष बलसः: सह सतम्यतं समस्यते, तत्पुष्प च समासी नव्यति ||

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


These are also further illustrations of the word बहुत in sūtra 32.

ख़वाँ:प्रेण बल्पे || ४२ || पदानि || ख़वाँ:प्रेण बल्पे, (सचततवितर-सससससः) ||

वृद्धि: || ख़वाँ:प्रेण साह सतम्यतं सुवन्नं समस्यते, तत्पुष्प च समासी नव्यति, बलसः: गन्ध्यते ||

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

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

When it has not this meaning, there is no compounding: as, सीर्ख्याङ्कः: स्तिति: ‘There is a crow in the sacred bathing place.’

हःप्रेण || ४३ || पदानि || कालः, छः, (सचतत-सससससः) ||

वृद्धि: || कुत्य प्रस्तवाणते: सह सतम्यतं समस्यते, तत्पुष्प च समासी नव्यति ||
43. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with words ending with a kṛśya-affix (a fut. pass. Participle) and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha, when 'debt' is implied.

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

As, मात्रदवं 'a debt repayable within a month.' So संवत्तरेवं 'payable within a year.' न्यवहेवयं 'repayable within three days.'

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

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

संवत्तरेवं पद्यं संवत्तरेवं (सचतििनि द्वय द्वय) संवत्तरेवं

वृद्धि: संवत्तरेवं द्वयेव साम्यवस्तुं स्वच सह समस्याते, सत्तुपुष्प समस्याको भवति

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

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

As, अर्थेष्वित्तलकः 'wild sesameum' yielding no oil; anything which does not answer to one's expectation. So also अर्थेष्वित्तलकः, वने विभिस्तरा: 'anything found unexpectedly.' So also वनेविस्तरा: , वने पिपिशाचः

The case-affix is not elided, in this case, in accordance to śātra VI. 3. 9. (The 7th case-affix is not elided after words ending in consonants or in short अ when the compound denotes appellative.)

फनाहिसारायवथाव: पद्यस्थि तेन, अहो-राज-अवथाव:, (सचतििनि समस्याते, सत्तुपुष्प समस्याको भवति)
45. The names of divisions of day or night ending with a 7th case-affix are compounded with words ending with the affix kta; and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, पूर्वफुटूक 'done in the morning,' ऑपरफुटूक 'done in the afternoon,' पूर्वपारफुटूक 'done in the first part of the night,' ऑपरपारफुटूक 'done in the last part of the night.'

Why do we say 'members or divisions of day and night?' Observe दाहिन मुन 'eaten in the day,' सत्र वृज 'occurring in the night.'

This being a continuation of sūtra II. 1. 32, we have diversely राष्टिरुचि and संध्याग्रिति.

तत्र II ४६ II पदार्थ II तत्र , ( सङ्क्रित संस्करण ) II

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

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

क्षेर II ४७ II पदार्थ II क्षेर , ( सङ्क्रित संस्करण क्षेत्र ) II

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

As, यहाॅहर् कृतितिरूत्तति एतत 'they are as if an ichneumon standing on hot ground (metaphorically said of the inconstancy of man) चापलमु ए.'

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

So also दशाहे भृतिर 'making water in a stream,' (fig.) 'doing a useless action.' मस्मिन हुम म 'offered oblation in ashes,' (fig.) 'a fruitless action.'

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

All these are irregular compounds. Some of the words contained in this list are compounds formed with the past-participle (क्); they could have been formed by previous aphorism also. Their inclusion in this list is for the purpose that their first member should have udatta on the beginning; because all the words belonging to this class, are a subdivision of a larger class called ‘युक्तरोपणि Class’ treated of in sūtra VI. 2. 81.

The following is the list of the words:—1 पात्रेसमिता; 2 पात्रेवृक्ष ‘a parasite’ (constant at meals or dinner time). 3 उदयवर्मणक; 4 उदयवर्मणक; 5 उदयवर्मणक; 6 कृपकच्छ; 7 चरणकच्छ; 8 कृपकच्छ; 9 कृपकच्छ; 10 उदयवर्मणक; 11 नागरक; 12 नागरक; 13 मातिरिक्ष; 14 मिष्टिक्ष; 15 नितिरिक्ष; 16 देस्तु; 17 गोदेश्री; 18 गोदेश्री; 19 गोदेश्री; 20 गोदेश्री; 21 गोदेश्री; 22 गोदेश्री; 23 गोदेश्री; 24 गोदेश्री; 25 गोदेश्री; 26 भालिकाक; 27 गोदेश्री; 28 गोदेश्री; 29 गोदेश्री; 30 गोदेश्री; 31 गोदेश्री; 32 गोदेश्री; 33 कार्यविकिरिता; 34 गोदेश्री.
(I. 1. 68) but its significates; while of the rest एक &c., the very word-form is to be taken. A word denoting action which naturally precedes in time, is compounded with a word denoting action which naturally succeeds it. As, ज्ञातालिनि: 'bathed and perfumed,' कुर्सीलिहत्तु: 'ploughed and levelled,' सरदस्यनुगु: 'burnt and healed,' एकाशाली 'having one petticoat.' एकाण्तिः 'begging once in a day.' सरदस्यिः 'all gods.' सरदस्यिः 'all men.' ज्ञातालिः 'old elephant.' ज्ञातयुग्मि: 'an old cow.' ज्ञातयुग्मि: 'old occupation.' पुराणाश्रगम् 'old rice.' पुराणाश्रव्यस्य 'an old habitation.' So नातान्द्रः; नातास्यसरः; केवलान्त्रः 'only rice.'

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

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

दिक्स्यं व संभायाम् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदार्थं ॥ दिक्स्यं संभायाम् ॥
( संभायाम् संभायाम् संभायाम् ) ॥

शृवत् ॥ दिक्स्यानि: शावाः संभाया च समानाधिकरणो शुचिन सह समस्यने , ततुपथ समायो भवति ॥

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

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

As पूर्वकामासी 'the town of Ishukāmasami-in-the-east.' वर्तिकामासी 'the town of Ishukāmasami-in-the-west.' वर्तिकामासी 'the town of Ishukāmasami-in-the-west.' वर्तिकामासी 'the town of Ishukāmasami-in-the-west.' वर्तिकामासी 'the town of Ishukāmasami-in-the-west.' पदार्थवाणि: 'the five mangoes' सवयंव: 'the seven-sages' (the constellation of the Great Bear).

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of an appellative?' Observe उल्ला गुल्ला: 'northern trees.' पदार्थवाणि: 'five Brahmanas.' See IV. 2. 107.

तद्वितयोत्सरपद समाहारे ॥ ॥ पदार्थं ॥ तद्वितत-अथे-उत्सरपद समाहारे , च ( संभायाम् संभायाम् हस्ता ) ॥

शृवत् ॥ तद्वितयो विषये उत्सरपदे च परस: समाहारे, चानिष्ये विषये विषयेष्वे समानाधिकरणे सुगा सह समस्यने ; ततुपथ समायो भवति ॥

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

First let us take the case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix. Thus when a compound is formed out of the words पूर्वस्तियो ग्राजायता नवः 'that which is in the eastern hall' (in which analytical exposition of the compound in question, the word नवः (IV. 2. 107) serves to represent the force of a Taddhita-affix) the compound having reached the form of पूर्व + ग्राज: the feminine termination of the पूर्वः is rejected, because Patanjalji declares that the masculine state belongs to a pronominal when exercising any of the five functions belonging to a word; we have:—पूर्वः + ग्राजः + अ (IV. 2. 107) = पूर्वशालः (VII. 2. 117 and VI. 4. 148) 'who is in the eastern hall.'

So also when an additional member comes after the compound (uttarapade). As, पूर्वः शालानिवः or चिरस्तानानियः 'loving the eastern or western hall.' These Uttarpada Compounds are invariable (Nitya) compounds, so that they can not be resolved into their component elements.

When a समाहार 'aggregate' is to be expressed, it is of course impossible to use a word expressing points of the compass (विरकः words). The following compounds are formed with numbers (संख्या), when employed with the force of a Taddhita affix; as, पाँचनागिनि: 'relating to five barbers.' पंचक्रातः: 'relating to an oblation offered in five cups' (कपाल) (IV. 1. 88). So also पंचाकापन (V. 4. 92) 'whose wealth consists of five cows,' पंचाकावन:-

The following are examples of aggregates:—पञ्चक्षेरी 'the collection of five fruits' (IV. 1. 21) पञ्चाक्षेरी 'an aggregate of ten bundles,' पञ्चकुमारी 'an aggregate of the three worlds.' पञ्चकुमारी 'an aggregate of five virgins;' this word is neuter by II. 4 17. and the long र is shortened by I. 2. 47.

संख्यापूर्वः द्विगु: || ५२ || पदानिः || संख्या-पूर्वः, द्विगुः; (स०विरो-तद्वित्याभृतरसाहारे) \[\textbf{II}\]

युक्ति: II तद्वित्याभृतरसाहारे चेत्तवः ब्र: संख्यापूर्वः: समासः स द्विगुलंशो नवति ||

52. In a case where the sense is that of a taddhita affix, or when an additional member comes after the compound or when an aggregate is to be expressed, the compound, the first member of which is numeral, is called Dvigu or Numeral Determinative compound.
First to take an example of Taddhitārtha:—as, पंचवृत्र कामानेि व संकृत: = पंचक पाठ: ‘an offering prepared or offered in five cups.’ So also श्रावकरण: ‘prepared in ten cups.’ These are names of Purodāsa offerings; and are formed by adding the affix अष्ट in the sense of ‘refining an object of food’ by sūtra IV. 2. 16; then this affix is elided (लुक्) by IV. 1. 88.

To take an example when an additional member comes after the compound. As पंचाब्रह्म: ‘loving five ships.’ विनावर्णम् ‘money which has come by two ships’ (प्रो+नै+रू+प्र + 4. 99 = विनाव्र) Of an aggregate we have पंचकूटी. The feminine is formed by IV. 1. 21.

(कृत्विषतानि कृतस्य: || ५३ || पदार्थ || कृत्विषतानि कुस्यस्य: )

(कृत्विषतानि समुदायेन कुस्यनवयः सुव्यस्य: सह समस्त्य: सत्सचयेष्व समाशो स्वदिः )

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

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

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

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

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

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

पापाणके कृतित्वैः ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाप-अणके , कृतित्वैः ,
( सत्यविवस्तुसः ) ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ पाप श्राणक एवेस सुबन्ते कृतितवचन: सह समसवेत् , सत्यवथ समासो लघुत ॥

54. The case inflected words पापa ‘sin,’ and अणकa ‘insignificant,’ are compounded with words expressive of viliness, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Both the words पाप and अणक are words of contempt (कुसित); by the last सुत्रa, they would have stood as second members in the compound; the present सुत्र, however, is so framed with regard to सुत्रa I. 2. 43 and II. 2. 30, that they will stand as first. As परनापित: or अणकनापित: ‘a contemptible barber’ पाप or अणक-कुजलa: ‘a contemptible potter.’

उपसंनापि सामान्यवचने: ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसंनापि , सामान्य-वचने: ,
( सत्यविवस्तुससः ) ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ उपसंनापि संबन्तनि सामान्यवचने: सुबन्ते सह समसवेत् , सत्यवथ समासो लघुत ॥

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

That by or to which a thing is compared is ‘upamâna’ and the ‘upameya’ (the thing compared) is called समान्य or ‘common.’ Thus चन्द्रबाल कुसित: ‘cloud-black Krishna’ (Krishna black as a cloud). Here उपाम is a quality common to Krishna and cloud: therefore ‘cloud’ which is the उपाम is compounded with it. So also कुसितवचनी ‘lily-white.’ हस्यगीत्ता ‘Swan-sounding’ स्मोभ-पारंशंदल ‘globular as Nyagrodha tree.’ For accent see VI. 2. 2.

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

This is a modification of sūtra 54, by which the objective would have stood first; by the present, the attribute stands second. As पुरुषोपक्रमे यथा = पुरुषव्याघ्र: ‘a person-tiger’ (in strength) पुरुषविनः:

In the last sūtra, the compounding was between the उपाय and the common quality. In the present, the compounding is between the उपाय and certain उपाय but never with सामान्य वचन. Therefore we can not form this kind of compound from the following sentence:— पुरुषो व्याघ्र इत्य नार्वे ‘a man strong as a tiger.’ Similarly मुखरमु, मुखकन्तरे, करक्रिसत्तम्, पारिशेषप्रम्.

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

The following is the list of such words:

1. व्याघ्र = A tiger. 2. सिंह = A lion. 3. कत्त = A bear. 4. क्रध = A bull. 5. चन्दन = Sandal. 6. भूष = A wolf. 7. भूष = A bull. 8. गाह = A boar, hog. 9. हस्तिन = An elephant. 10. गह = A tree. 11. कुंजर = An elephant. 12. हस = A kind of deer. 13. पृष्ठ = The spotted antelope. 14. पुष्परोक = A lotus flower. 15. पलाश = A tree Butea Frondosa. 16. कितव = A rogue, cheat.

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

The 'discriminator' is called विशेषण and the 'discriminated' is called विशेष्य as नीलोतपलम् 'a blue lotus,' रक्षोतपलम् 'a red lotus.'

By using in the rule the expression बहुः 'diversely' it is meant that in some cases it is imperative to make a compound (निश्चितमसाम) as कृष्णावर्य: 'a black snake.' लोहितसाम: 'red rice':—and sometimes it is forbidden; as, रामेः जामदग्नि: 'Rama called also Jāmadagnya' (as being the son of Jamadagni): विषुव: कार्तिकेयः:—and in some cases it is optional, नीलपुरुषेऽः or नीलोतपलस्तः.

Why do we say 'qualifier?' Observe सत्कः सयः: 'the Takshaka snake.'

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

58. The case-inflected words पूर्वा 'prior,' अपरा 'other,' प्राप्त 'first,' चार्म 'last,' जग्हन्य 'hindmost,' समान 'equal,' मध्य 'middle,' मध्य 'middle,' and विरा 'hero,' are compounded with words ending with a case-affix and which are in agreement (same case) with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As पूर्वापूर्वः 'ancestor,' (any one of the three, father, grandfather and great-grandfather), अपरापरः 'successor,' चार्मचारः 'last person,' जामदग्निचारः 'hindmost person,' समानसमानः 'equal person,' मध्य or मध्यसमानः 'middle person,' विरावेश: 'heroic person.'
59. The case-inflected words śreṇī 'class' &c., are compounded with words kṛita 'made' &c., which are in agreement (same case), with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Varṣṭ.—The words śreṇī &c., for the purposes of this sūtra, are supposed to have the force of the affix विष (chvi). Thus श्रेण्यिः = श्रेणि = 'made into classes' (those who were not classified before).

The class of words called कृतार्थि are अकृतिगण and cannot be known a priori. This Samāsa is also an invariable Samāsa by reason of sūtra II. 2. 18, since all words that end in chvi (विष्) are called gati (I. 4. 61.)

1. श्रेणि = A line, a series. 2. एक = One or एक. 3. पृथु = A heap, collection, multitude. 4. मुक्ति = Name of Krishna or मुक्ति. 5. राष्ट्रि = A heap, mass, collection. 6. धिक्ष = A collection, heap. 7. विषय = An object or विषेष. 8. निपृथु = Poor, indigent or विप्र, विधान. 9. पर = Distant. 10. देव = The god of rain. 11. देव = Divine, celestial. 12. सुस्थ = Shaved, bald. 13. भूमि = Become, being. 14. अधिव = Sraman or अधिब. 15. विनिधान = Liberal minded. 16. अधिकारी = A teacher. 17. अधिमप्रह = Handsome. 18. अधिकार = Brāhmaṇ. 19. अधिक = Kshatriya. 20. अधिक = Distinguished, distinct. 21. पृथु = Clever, skillful, dexterous. 22. पद्म = Learned, wise. 23. कृत = Right; proper, good. 24. चक्र = Shaking, trembling, tremulous. 25. निपृथु = Skillful, dexterous. 26. कुपश = Wretched, helpless.

वाचकसिद्धान्त

1. कृत = Done, performed, made. 2. मित्र = Measured. 3. वच = Thought, believed, supposed. 4. कृत = Produced, formed. 5. उक्त = Said, spoken, uttered. 6. सुक्त = Joined, united. 7. समाज्ञात = Known or understood thoroughly. 8. समाप्त = Repeated, recited. 9. समाख्यात = Reckoned up, counted, summed up. 10. समाविष्ट = Considered, supposed, imagined 11. संस्थेविष = Served. 12. चक्रात्मक = Ascertained, known. 13. अचार्यित = Corresponded with, answered. 14. निराकृत = Expelled, banished. 15. उपकृत = Assisted, benefited, served &c. 16. वाकृत = Invited. 17. दृष्ट = Seen, looked, perceived. 18. कालित = Counted. 19. इतिहास =
Broken, torn, rent, burst. 20. उदाहरत = Said, uttered. 21. विशुद्द = Well-known, renowned. 22. वरित = Risen.

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

Thus कुसकृतम् 'done and not done,' भुक्तापुस्त 'eaten and not eaten,' पीवा-पीत 'drunk and not drunk,' विविधानुवेत 'spoken and not spoken.'

The intermediate augment न or the ः, as in the following two examples, do not make the forms dissimilar. आर्तिसनिरस्तसं धीविभिन्न विंकित वस्त्र समन्विते ||

Vart.—The compounds कुसकृतम् &c. should also be included.

आर्तिसनिरस्तसं

1. कुसकृतम्. 2. भुक्तापुस्तक. 3. पीवा-पीत. 4. गतपर्यायत. 5. भास्तामुखः. 6. भास्ताक्यमिका. 7. पुराणपदिका. 8. भास्तामुखिका. 9. मानोमानिका.

Vart.—The compounds like शास्त्रपाठिक should also be enumerated, and there is elision of the second member in these compounds. As शास्त्र-पाठिक: शास्त्रपाथिक: 'the king beloved by the people of his era.' i.e. an era making king.

1. शास्त्रपाथिक. 2. कुसकृतमुक्त. 3. भास्तामुखः.

शास्त्रपाठिक: शूक्लामानि: || ७४ || वदानि || सत्य-सहत्य-परस-उत्सम-उरक्षितः; शूक्लामानि: ||

वृत्ति: सत्य महत् परम उत्सम उरक्षित इत्यादि शूक्लामानि: सह समस्तसं तस्य समासो नविति ||
61. The words sat ‘good,’ mahat ‘great,’ parama ‘highest,’ uttama ‘best,’ and utkrishta ‘excellent,’ are compounded with the words denoting the person deserving of respect; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As सत् ‘a good person,’ महात् ‘a great man,’ परमात् ‘the highest person,’ उत्तमात् ‘the best person,’ उत्क्रिष्टात् ‘the excellent person.’

Why do we say ‘with words denoting the person deserving of respect?’ Observe उत्क्रिष्ट: गौ: कारामाण् ‘the ox was pulled out of the mud.’

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

As गोकुंजारक: ‘an excellent bull or cow.’ भ्रकुंजारक: ‘an excellent horse.’ So also गोनाग:, गोकुंजार: &c. Why do we say ‘when meaning the object deserving of respect?’ Observe सुविज्ञानाग: ‘the serpent Susima.’

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

As कतः and कत्रकालाण्: ‘which of the two is kaṭha, and which कालाण्?’ कतः and कत्रकालाण्: ‘which of these is kaṭha &c.’

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

किं श्रेये || ६४ || पदानि || किम्, श्रेये, ( सत्तसत्यसमानाचि-करणेनविध )

बुः: || किमिस्थेतम् श्रेये गम्यामासु सुपात सह समस्यते, तत्तुरुपाद समासो भवति ||

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

As किं राजा यो न रजति 'he is a bad king who does not protect his subjects.' किं सिध्दोऽनिविद्यति 'he is a bad friend who hates.' किं सौ: यो न वहलि 'it is a bad ox that does not carry.'

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

Why do we say 'when censure is implied?' Observe कस्य राजा = किं राज: 'whose king,' किमः:

पोटायुवतिस्तोककल्पितयणूषिकयोष्टवशबेहदक्षणीप्रवक्तृष्टोत्त्रियाधया पक्षपूर्तज्ञति: || ६५ || पदानि || पोटा-युवतिस्तोककल्पितयणूषिकयोष्टवशबेहदक्षणीप्रवक्तृष्टोत्त्रियाधया पक्षपूर्तज्ञति: || ६५ || पदानि || पोटा-युवतिस्तोककल्पितयणूषिकयोष्टवशबेहदक्षणीप्रवक्तृष्टोत्त्रियाधया

बुः: || पोटायुवतिः सह जातिवाचि सुचनेत समस्यते, तत्तुरुपाद समासो भवति ||

65. A case-inflected word denoting a genus (jāti) is compounded with the words potā 'a hermaphrodite,' yuvati, 'a young female,' stoka 'a little,' katipaya 'a few,' grishti 'a cow which has had only one calf,' dhenu 'milch-cow,' vaṣā 'a barren female,' vehad, 'a cow that miscarries,' bashkayāṇī 'a cow that has a full-grown calf,' pravaktri 'an expounder,' śrōtriya 'a learned Brāhmaṇa,' adhyāpaka 'a teacher,' and dhūrta 'a cunning fellow; and' the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.
As इन्द्रिया ‘a young female elephant’ इन्द्रियलि ‘a female elephant.’ So also चन्द्रिकास्तः ‘a little fire’ चन्द्रिकात्वम् ‘a little butter milk,’ गोगृहि: गोगृहः, गोकर्षकर्षी, कवः ‘an expounder of Kaṭha,’ कवः ‘a Brāhmaṇa who has mastered the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda’ कवः ‘a teacher of the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda.’

Why do we say ‘when denoting a genus or a common noun?’ Observe देवदत्त: देवदत्त: ‘Devadatta expounder.’

The word दूहः has not a bad signification here. Hence कर्षः means ‘a Brāhmaṇa well versed in the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda.’

प्रशंसाययमैः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि प्रशंसा-ययमैः, ्च, ( सत्यैव- ज्ञातिसह समानाये ) ॥

यूः | ज्ञातिसहुः चुलस्थानात्यस्याः सह समस्यते, तत्स्यूपथ समानास्ति ॥

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

The words denoting praise should be rūḍhi (स्रुधि) words like मन्त्रिका &c., which retain their specific gender though used along with words of other genders, in apposition with them, as, गोवशस्याम् ‘an excellent cow,’ शारव मन्त्रिका ‘an excellent horse’ मूर्ति चर्चौः ‘an excellent cow.’ These words are generally used at the end of a compound to denote ‘excellence’ or ‘the best of its kind.’

Why do we say ‘when denoting genus?’ Observe कुमारी मन्त्रिका ‘an excellent virgin.’

युवा खल्लितमितविलितजरातिभि: ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि पुजेऽ युवा, खल्लित-पदित-विलित-जरातिभि:, ( सत्यैवत्थावस्सामकारिकरे ) ॥

यूः | खल्लितास्तिनः समानाकारः सह दुवाच: समस्यते, तत्स्यूपथ समानास्ति ॥

67. The word yuvā ‘young,’ is compounded with the words khalati, ‘bald headed,’ palita ‘grey-haired,’ valina ‘wrinkled,’ jatari ‘decayed,’ when they are in agreement (same case); and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word जरातिभि is exhibited in the feminine gender, in the aphorism, with the object of indicating the existence of the following maxims of interpretation प्राप्तिरिनिर्देशस्य निर्देशद्विद्धस्यापि महत् ॥
'A Pratipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.'

As, युग्म + खल्छित्ति = युग्मखल्छित्ति. So also युग्मिति: खल्छित्ति = युग्मखल्छित्ति in the feminine: 'bald in youth.' So युग्मिति: fem. युग्मिति, 'grey-haired in youth' युग्मिति: fem. युग्मिति 'wrinkled in youth' युग्मिति fem. युग्मिति 'appearing old in youth,' (prematurely old.)

क्रयतुल्याः अजात्या ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रय-तुल्य-आङ्क्या ।
अजात्या । ( सवदिविोत्सखृः ) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ कृष्ण-पालकाण्तात्वल्यवर्याक्षाम युग्माः अजातिविवशणेन समस्थते । तस्तुरुमयं समासो भवति ॥

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

As, होश्योष्णम् 'hot food,' होश्योष्णम् 'salt food' पानीयशिल्यम् 'cool drink, मुंगेरेवेश्व: 'equally white,' सद्र्द्रावेक्ष: 'equally white.' सद्र्द्रावेक्ष: 'equally great.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting a genus'? Observe भोजवो भोजन: 'eatable rice.' Here the word भोजन is used as an Adjective and not as a common noun. Hence there is no compounding even under II. 1. 57.

वणेः वणेः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वणेः । वणेः । ( सवदिविशिष्काः समानाचिं ॥)

वृत्ति: ॥ वणविशिष्काः सुभन्त वणविशिष्काः सुभन्त समानानिकरणेन सह समस्थवे । तस्तुरुमयं समासो भवति ॥

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

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

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

As, *कुमारिकाम्बा* and *कुमारकाम्बा* 'a virgin ascetic or a bachelor ascetic.'

**अम्बा:**

1. *अम्बा* = Labouring, toiling.  
2. *पद्मानित* = Gone abroad or into exile.  
3. *कुलता* = An unchaste woman.  
5. *वार्षिक* = A hermit, devotee.  
7. *बत्ताकी* = An unchaste woman.  
8. *स्मार्थायः* = A teacher.  
12. *कुञ्जर* = Right, proper, good.  
14. *निपुण* = Clever, sharp, skillful.

**चतुष्पदे स्मार्थिण्या** ॥ ॥  **पद्मानि** ॥ **चतुष्पदः स्मार्थिण्या** ।

**वहिनिक्कम्भु** ॥ **चतुष्पादानितिरिंति वस्त्रवदम्** ॥

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

*गोगर्भिणी* 'a pregnant cow.'  
*अजगर्भिणी* 'a pregnant she-goat.'

*Vart:* It should be stated that the rule is confined to the words denoting genus of quadrupeds. So not here:—*कालाकृती गर्भिणी* or *स्तविनमली गर्भिणी* 'the pregnant cow called Kālakrī or Svastimatī.'

Why do we say 'quadrupeds?' Observe *स्तविनमली गर्भिणी.*
72. And the words mayûra-vyamsaka ‘cunning like a peacock,’ &c., are Tat-purusha compounds.

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

The following is the list of such compounds:—

मगुर्वंसकाद्व: ॥

1. मगुर्वंसक. 2. छात्र व्यंसक. 3. कन्चीनमूल. 4. वनमूल. 5. हल्ले-गुढ or हल्ले-गुढ य in the Vedas. 6. धार्श य or धार्श. 7. लाजुले-गुढ or जाजुले-गुढ. 8. पुनःभ्र. 9. एहीड भान्यां as, 9. एहीड वर्तेते. 10. एहिहियेतं वर्तेते ॥ 11. एहिवाचित. 12. अपेहिवाचित. 13. मेक्षिवाचित. 14. एहिवाचित. 15. अपेहिवाचित. 16. अपेहिवाचित. 17. अपेहिवाचित. 18. मेक्षिवाचित. 19. एहिवाचित. 20. अपेहिवाचित. 21. मेक्षिवाचित. 22. अहक्षित. 23. मेक्षिवाचित. 24. अहक्षित. 25. विधमबू. 26. उदमचुंड. 27. उदार. 28. अहक्षित. 29. अहक्षित. 30. ( अहक्षित ). 31. अहक्षित. 32. अहक्षित. 33. कृष्टि-विविधताः. 34. उदरीसुत्र. 35. उदराल्यु. 36. उदारनिद. 37. उदारणिद. 38. उदारणिद. 39. उदारणिद. 40. उदारणिद. 41. उदारणिद. 42. उदारणिद. 43. उदारणिद. 44. उदारणिद. 45. अकिंचन. 46. स्वाभाविक. 47. शृंगारिक. 48. शुकुपुद्ध. 49. शुकुपुद्ध. 50. शुकुपुद्ध. 51. शुकुपुद्ध. 52. शुकुपुद्ध. 53. अपेहिपुष्ट. 54. एहिपुष्ट. 55. एहिपुष्ट. 56. एहिपुष्ट. 57. एहिपुष्ट. 58. एहिपुष्ट. 59. एहिपुष्ट. 60. एहिपुष्ट. 61. एहिपुष्ट. 62. एहिपुष्ट. 63. एहिपुष्ट. 64. एहिपुष्ट. 65. एहिपुष्ट. 66. एहिपुष्ट. 67. एहिपुष्ट. 68. एहिपुष्ट. 69. एहिपुष्ट. 70. एहिपुष्ट. 71. एहिपुष्ट. 72. एहिपुष्ट. 73. एहिपुष्ट. 74. एहिपुष्ट.
बाृकुतिगणोऽध्यम्। ।
1. ब्रकुतोभवः । 2. कालिणिष्ठकः । 3. कन्दिशीकः । 4. आहोपरविकः । 5. अम्राहमिकः । 6. बहुचः। 7. एहिरेयाहिरः। 8. चन्द्रुजाएमुजः। 9. त्रिन्दासतः। 10. अर्द्धयाकार्यः।
BOOK SECOND.

Chapter II.

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

The word 'ekādhiṭhakaraṇa' (the unity of substance) is the attribute of or qualifies the word 'ekadeśītin.' This debars the Genitive Tat-purusha compound ordained by sūtra 9; which would have placed the words 'pūrva' &c., last in the compound, whereas being here exhibited in the nominative case (I. 2. 43 and II. 2. 30), they take the precedence.

\[ \text{पूर्व} + \text{कायक} \equiv \text{पूर्वकाय} : ' \text{the front of the body};' \text{भागकाय} : ' \text{the back of the body};' \text{अधरकाय} : ' \text{the lower part of the body};' \text{and उत्तरकाय} : ' \text{the upper part of the body.} \]

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

अद्वितीय: || 2 || पदार्थ || अद्वितीय, नामसकसम्बन्ध सर्वविद्यमानानां एकाकारक ||

पूर्व: || अद्वितीयगतीप्रत्ययानिकेयमाकारक: सर्वज्ञसंपुत्रवंश समस्मानां नवानां
2. The word अर्धः ardh when it signifies exactly equal parts i.e., halves, is always neuter, and is compounded with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing halved is numerically one; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

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

The word एकाः and एकाकारण are understood here. This sūtra also debar sūtra 9; as अर्धाभिपाल्यः = अर्धाभिपाल्यः ‘a half of the pepper’; अर्धः कौशालकर्म ‘a half of the Kosātaka.’

Why do we say ‘when it is neuter’? Otherwise we have गामाः: ‘half the village’; नवाराहि: ‘half the city.’

The word ekadesini must also be taken here. Thus in the sentence अर्धः प्रारोहितसुत्य ‘a half of the animal is of Devadatta; we cannot compound the word ‘ardha’ with ‘Devadatta.’

The word ‘ekādhihikaraṇa’ must also be taken here. So we cannot compound अधिः प्रिपलीनाम् ‘the half of the peppers.’

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

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

As द्वितीयोः निष्ठायः = द्वितीयविनिष्ठ ‘second begging.’ When we apply sūtra 9, we have निष्ठाधितीयं. So also with the words तृतीयविनिष्ठ, चतुर्थविनिष्ठ, तृतीयविनिष्ठ.

Vart.:—The word चतुर्थ ‘fourth’ should also be included. As निष्ठानुर्विनिष्ठ or निष्ठाविनिष्ठ.
But we cannot form compounds, for reasons given in the last sūtra, of the phrases द्वितीयेपि भिन्नाया भिन्नकृत्य or द्वितीयेपि भिन्नायां:

प्राप्तेऽच द्वितीयया ॥ ४ ॥ पद्यलि ॥ भार-आप्लि, च, द्वितीयया, ( सुङ्गविनैौषधु ) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ प्रार आप्रज इथेतौ द्वितीयाद्वेति सह समसंघेते तत्तत्तुषष्ठ समातो भवति ॥

4. The words प्राप्त 'obtained,' and अपत्त्वा 'obtained' are optionally compounded with words ending in a second case-affix and form Tat-purusha compound.

The anuvṛtti of the words एकददेश्यै and एकवधिकारणां does not exist here. This aphorism states an alternative course to rule II. 1. 24. Thus we have प्राप्तविविक: (प्रापति जीवनां) or जीविकाव्यास: ‘obtained his livelihood.’ So also अपपजविविक: or जीविकापत्:

कालः: परिमाणिनः ॥ ५ ॥ पद्यलि ॥ कालः, परिमाणिनः, (सुङ्ग-विनैौषधु ) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ परिमाणामस्वास्तीलि परिमाणी वहारिनः सुव्यवस्थित परिमाणावधनः: कालग्रहः: समस्यते तत्तत्तुषष्ठ समातो भवति ॥

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

5 This is also a kind of genitive compound. As मात्रे ज्ञातसः = मात्रामहः: 'a month old' (born a month ago.) So also संपर्सरमहः: 'a year old.' द्वहः: 'two-days' old.' &c.

नश् ॥ ६ ॥ पद्यलि ॥ नश्, ( सुङ्गविनैौषधु ) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ नशः समसंघेते सुव्यवस्थित सह समस्यते तत्तत्तुषष्ठ समातो भवति ॥

पार्टिकलिकः नशः नलोपस्तातिक आँपे ॥

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

As न प्राध्यापः = अन्धाध्यापः: 'who is not a Brāhmaṇa,' (though a man). The न of न is elided by VI. 3. 73:

Vārka.—The न of न is also elided even when the second member is a verb, provided that censure is implied as अपचति वं जान्य 'thou cookest not O knave.'
The word नस्सी has six senses:—(1) सादृश्य ‘likeness or resemblance’; as भजान: ‘one like a Brāhmaṇa and wearing the sacred thread &c., but not a Brāhmaṇa, but a Kshatriya or a Vaisya.’ (2) अभाव ‘absence,’ ‘negation,’ ‘want,’ or ‘privation,’ as अहान ‘absence of knowledge.’ (3) वेय: ‘difference’ or ‘distinction,’ as अपस्त: ‘not a cloth, but something different from or other than a cloth.’ (4) अश्वत्व ‘smallness,’ ‘diminution’ used as diminutive particle, as अमुक्त ‘having a slender waist.’ (5) अमृताश्च ‘badness,’ ‘unfitness,’ having a deprecatory sense, as अकाल ‘wrong or improper time.’ (6) विरोध ‘opposition,’ ‘contrariety,’ as अनीति ‘opposite of morality,’ ‘immorality.’

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

Vart:—It should be stated that the word यष्ट is only compounded with words expressing qualities (adjectives), as यष्टक्ष्य: ‘a somewhat proud,’ यष्टक्षिण: ‘a little brownish,’ यष्टक्षिकत: ‘a little hideous,’ यष्टुङ्क: ‘a little raised,’ यष्टः ‘a little yellow,’ यष्टक्षम: ‘a little red.’

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

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

As राज : पुरेषी = राजपुरेषी: ‘the king’s man’ आंशिक्षिक्षित: ‘the Brāhmaṇa’s blanket.’

Vart:—When a word takes the genitive case because of its connection with a word ending in a क्रिय-अर्थ; that word may be compounded with such a क्रिय word. Rule II. 3. 65., states the conditions when a क्रिय-अर्थ-formed
word governs the genitive case. Thus इक्षुनसन: 'a hatchet' (a fuel cutter), पलासादेश्यन: 'Palasadestroyer.

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

Yaṣajkādyāsīṣ्य: II. 8. 9. Padānti: II. Yaṣajk-Ādāmhiḥ, (सो-राषियोष्कोष्कोष्की)

२३५

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

The compound which was ordained by the last aphorism, would have been prohibited by Rule 16 in the case of Yaṣajk &c.; hence the necessity of the present aphorism to guard against such a prohibition. As śāhmanavājaka: 'a Brāhmaṇa's sacrificer.' कृषिवाजक: 'one who sacrifices for Kshatriyas.'

(Yaṣajkādi)


Vart:—A word in the genitive case is compounded with a word expressing a quality which abides in the former word. As śāhmanavājaka: 'Brāhmaṇa-caste.' प्रस्तराम: 'sandal-scent.' कृषिवरस: 'the wood-apple juice.'

Vart:—So also with an adjective in the comparative degree; and the sign of comparison से is elided. Thus सँभं श्वेतरात: = सँभं श्वेत: 'the whitest of all.' सँभं महतात: = सँभं महाम्म: 'the greatest among all.' This 'vārtika' is an exception in anticipation to the next sūtra which prohibits composition, when the genitive has the force of specification. Thus सँभंगता गौ: 'a cow whitest among all.'
10. A word in the genitive case is not compounded with another, when the force of the sixth case-affix is that of specification (nirdhāraṇa).

With this sūtra, begins a series of exceptions to the composition of words in the genitive case. The separation of one from the many, on account of its genus, attribute and action, is called ‘nirdhāraṇa.” As चावियो मनुष्याणी मूलतम्: ‘the Kshatriya is the most powerful amongst men.’ कृत्यान्त गवां संपर्दितताम्: ‘the black cow is the most milk-giving amongst cows.’ धार्मिकानां श्रीतम्: ‘the runner is the swiftest amongst walkers.’ This form of genitive meaning ‘amongst,’ is ordained by sūtra II. 3. 41.

Vart:-A word taking a genitive-case by force of any rule other than sūtra II. 3. 50, is never compounded. See sūtra 8. Thus the following words are never compounded सत्योत्तानम्, महुत्तानम्.

पूरण-गुण-सहितः भव्यत्वसमानानाथिकरणेन \(2 \times 3 \times 1\) पदानि।

पूरण-गुण-सहितः अर्थ-दृढः-अव्यय-तथ्य-समानानाथिकरणेन ( पद्धोति )।

वृत्तिः।। पूरण गुण सहितायथ तद्व भव्यत्व तथ्य समानानाथिकरण उच्चितः: सह पद्धोति न समस्ते।।

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

The word ‘artha’ joins with all the first three words, as (1) छावियो वंशम्. ‘fifth amongst the pupils;’ (2) काकस्य काव्यां प्रारम्भ; ‘the blackness of the crow;’ (3) काकस्य काव्यां सुतान: ‘satisfied of fruits;’ (4) श्रीतम् धर्मस्य ‘the doing of a Brāhmaṇa;’ (5) कृत्यान्त जर्जरस्य ‘the doing of a Brāhmaṇa;’ (6) प्राणन्धित्व कर्त्तव्यस्य ‘being done of Brāhmaṇa;’ When however the affix is तथ्यम् having the indicatory त (III. 1. 96.) there is compounding as प्राणन्धित्वस्य ‘the Brāhmaṇa’s duty.’ (7) रारस्य 'of the king Pataliputrika' पालिके: सूत्रकप्यस्य ‘of the sūtra-composer.
Pañini.' We can however form a compound like the following: सुन्दारिपितधर्म: । By the general rule relating to words in apposition contained in sūtra II. i, 57, the difference between that sūtra and the present, is as to position of the words. In the genitive compound the genitive word would have stood first; if compounded; not so in the other, there the quality stands first.

कृष्ण च यूजायाम् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृष्ण , च , यूजायाम् , ( सं धे न ) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ कृष्ण । यूजायाम् विहितस्तेन पद्धी न समस्यते ॥

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

The affix कत् is added in the sense of inclination, understanding or respect by sūtra III. 2. 188. The present sūtra alludes to that aphorism when it uses the word पूजा: and पूजा itself is used only as an illustration and includes the other two significations of ‘kta’ also, namely mati ‘inclination,’ and buddhi ‘understanding.’

As राजाः नति:—युक्तः—पूजितः: ‘the king wishes, understands or respects.’

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

अधिकरणवाचिनि । ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरण-वाचिनि , च;
( संधी न कृष्ण ) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ अधिकरणवाचिनि कृष्ण पद्धी न समस्यते ॥

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

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

कृष्णि । ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृष्णि , च , ( संधी न ) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ कृष्णि च या पद्धी घा न समस्यते ॥

14. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with another, when the force of the genitive case is that of the accusative.
The anuvṛtti of कर्म does not extend to this aphorism. The word karma qualifies shashthi. Sūtra II. 3. 66 declares the conditions when, instead of the accusative, the genitive may be employed i.e., when the agent and the object of the action denoted by the nouns forms by kṛt affixes, are both used in a sentence, the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent; as आश्विनिक कर्म कार्य स्वामी ‘the milking of cows without a cowherd is a wonder.’ राजस् भूत्वा नवम्य शिवरास्तन ‘eating of rice agrees with Devadatta.’ सात्तु खलु पद्यम् ‘तां शिवरास्तन ‘the drinking of milk by Devadatta is indeed excellent.’ विनियम सूतरस्य कृति: पानि:त्वार ‘wonderful is the structure of sūtras by Pāṇini.’

वृजकाष्ठ्यं कर्तरं || ७५ || पदार्थं || वृज-अकाष्ठ्याम्, कर्तरं,

(शवनीय न ) ||

वृत्तिः || कर्तरं या पद्धी सा श्चार्जन्य च सह न समस्ते ||

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

The word ‘karti’ qualifies the genitive-case. The affix लिङ्ग is taught in sūtra III. 1. 133, and the affix अक is not a single affix; all affixes that have an element यु are अक; such as युवुद् or यु or यु (sūtra VII. 1. 1.) Thus भवत: शानिक ‘your honor’s repose’ भवत आशिका ‘your eating’ भवतोपपा ‘your eating’ ‘your going in front.’

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

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

Why do we say ‘when it denotes अंगद्रेण? Observe इश्वरक्षित्वा नेभास्विति.

कर्तरं च || ७६ || पदार्थं || कर्तरं, च (शश्वीनवृजकाष्ठ्याम्) ||

वृत्ति: || कर्तरं च यो देवकी सायंस सह शान्त न समस्ते ||

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

The word ‘karti’ qualifies the word ‘aka’ only and not ‘trich,’ for the latter always denotes the agent and nothing else.
As अभिंकर ‘the creator of waters’ पुराण नेता ‘the destroyer of cities’ बजर्ष नार ‘the holder of thunderbolt.’

It might be suggested that the word आज्ञा being read in the class of याज्ञिक (सूत्र 9) ought to be compounded. The word आज्ञा there means ‘husband,’ while in the example we have given, it means ‘holder.’

The above are examples of words formed by हथू. Now we shall give examples of words formed by भक्त; thus भोजनस्य भोजक ‘the eater of rice,’ सत्तूनां पायक ‘the drinker of saktu.’

नित्यं क्रीडा-जीविकयोः || १८ || पदनित्यप्रभु || क्रीडा-जीविकयोः (हथूष्ठरी) ||

पूर्व: || क्रीडायां जीविकायां व निर्यं पदी समस्ते तत्तूपथ समासों अभिंत ||

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

This is a Nitya-samāsa incapable of analysis. This anuvṛtti of the word ‘aa’ which began with sūtra 10, does not extend further. The affix हथू never has the sense of sporting or livelihood; the only examples possible are of ‘aka.’ Thus उदात्तकुलप्रभुजा ‘a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which uddālaka flowers are broken or crushed.’ So also वारात्तपुन्नवाबिका ‘a play of gathering flowers.’

So also देवनेिषक ‘one who earns his bread by painting or marking the teeth.’ नकळ ‘a nail-painter by profession.’

Why do we say ‘when meaning sporting or livelihood.’ Observe भोजस्य भोजकः.

कुगतिप्राद्यः || १६ || पदनित्य || कु-गति-म-आद्यः , ( सत्तू-नित्यसमथे:सह ) ||

पूर्वः || कु गति प्राद्यः समयेन श्रुतांश्च वह निर्यं समस्ते तत्तूपथ समासों अभिंत: ||

लालिकनम् || प्राद्यों गतायं: प्रयम्या ||

लालिकनम् || अवायवः: क्रान्तायायं द्वितीयः ||

लालिकनम् || अवायवः: क्रान्तायायं द्वितीयः ||

लालिकनम् || पर्यायों ग्रान्तायायं चतुष्पथः ||

लालिकनम् || निराधः: क्रान्तायायं प्रयम्यः ||

लालिकनम् || इवेन सह नित्यसमथे: विभवलययो: पूर्व-पार्स्त्रित्वारथ र बक्षोः ||

लालिकनम् || माहिपस्कुः कर्मवर्णान्नाणां प्रतिपेधे वक्ष्यः ||

2
18. The indeclinable word ku ‘bad,’ the particles called gati, and the prepositions pra, &c., are invariably compounded with other words with which they are in construction; and the resulting compound is Tatpurusha.

The word ku means ‘badness or sin’; as, कुपुरुष: ‘a sinful man’; (2) Gati (I. 4. 60) as, वर्तकू: ‘having asserted’; (I. 4. 61.) अति-हिंदुकिल: ‘brownish.

So also with the words प्र &c., when they are mere particles and not used as ‘upasargas,’ or ‘gati’; as, दु: meaning ‘bad,’ in दुपुरुष: ‘a bad man’; so also शु and अति meaning ‘respect’ in शुपुरुष: ‘honorable man’; अति-पुरुष: ‘excellent man’; आ means ‘a little’ as आतिकूल: ‘tread.

Generally these are attributive words but they are found elsewhere also, as कौण्ड or कुकुण्ड or कुकुण्ड: ‘trepid.’ So also शुकुण्ड, अति-शुकुण्ड and अति-दुकुण्ड: ‘tread.

Vart.—The words प्र &c., when the sense is that of ‘gone’ or the like, combine with what ends with the first case-affix. Thus मात्राब: ‘a hereditary teacher’; so also मात्रेश्वरी.

Vart.—The words अति &c., when the thing denoted has the sense of ‘gone beyond’ or the like, combine with what ends with the second case affix. As अति-तिलक: तिलकु: = अति-तिलकु: (I. 2. 44 and 48) ‘without a bed-steed,’ अतिमलक: ‘exceeding the necklace in beauty.’

Vart.—The words अब &c., when the thing denoted is ‘cried out’ &c., are compounded with what ends with third case-affix as अब-कौकिल: कौकिलकु = अब कौकिलकु: ‘what is announced by the cuckoo’ i.e., the Spring.

Vart.—The words पूर्ण &c., when the thing denoted is ‘weary’ &c., are compounded with what ends with fourth case-affix as परिज्ञानमित्रयोधन: ‘weary of study.’ अति-कूलमित्र: ‘wealth’ (sufficient to support a maiden).

Vart.—The words लिर &c., when the thing denoted is ‘gone beyond’ &c., are compounded with what ends with the fifth case-affix, as निर्माणतमित्र: ‘who has gone beyond Kausambi;’ so also निर्माणाशि:.

Vart.—A word enters into composition with इत ‘like;’ and there is no elision of the case-affix, and the first member of the compound retains its natural accent, as शारिराशि ‘like a word and its meaning,’ वास्तविर: ‘like two garments.’

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated of प्र &c., when they are ‘Karma pravachaniya;’ as प्रपुष्टि प्रति विद्याति विद्युत् ‘the lightening flashes in the direction of the tree.’ साधू देवदत्ति मात्रे प्रति ‘Devadatta is good towards his mother.’
19. An upapada or attendant word (III. 1. 92), which does not end with a tense-affix (III. 4. 78) is invariably compounded with that with which it is in construction. The compound thus formed is Tat-purusha.

Thus कुम्भकार: ‘one who makes pots,’ नगरकार: ‘one who makes cities.’

Why do we say ‘which does not end with a tense-affix’? Observe एण्यानाथकोि ब्रजिं ते he goes to bring fuel.

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

गतिकारको पपनां कुजर् तस्मात्समन्नतं श्रक्क सुषुप् सुषुप्:॥

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

The result is that Upapadas and Gatis are not compounded by sūtras 18 and 19 with case-inflected nouns, but they are compounded with primary nouns before a case-termination or feminine affix is added to the latter. The same considerations apply to kārakas also. Thus अर्न्कोि ‘a female brought in exchange for a horse,’ is formed correctly. अर्त्वेन क्रियिभएः सा = अर्न्क्रियः; add क्रियः (IV. 1. 50) and we have अर्न्क्रियः. If on the other hand, the feminine affix टम had been added to क्रिय previous to its composition with अर्न्त the form would have been अर्न्क्रिया, and we should have had no base ending with short अ and in that case क्रियः could not have been added by IV. 1. 50.

अभिवाद्येन ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अभमः, एयः, अध्येन ( स्वतः-
निर्सेषःउपपदः) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ अभिवद्येनःषयव ् वः समातः सौभाविभ भवति नान्येन ॥

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

Why do we say ‘with avyayās ending in अम्’? Observe काले भोजन्यु ‘the time of eating.’ Here the avyaya ends in उम् of the affix तुम्म added by rule III. 3. 167 (the affix tumun may be applied, when the word in construction is not a verb, but काल, समय or पैला ‘time.’)

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

तत्तियाप्रभृतीन्तिन्तरस्त्राम् ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्तीय-प्रभृतीनिन्तिन्तिन्तरस्त्राम् (सत्तत्त्त्तुभावात्मवेयन) ॥

पृष्ठिः: उपयंधस्ततीशायामिश्रय: भृतिः शान्तुपपदानि तन्यमेवावायवेन सहध्यतरस्त्राम समस्यन्ते तत्त्त्त्त्त्तुभाव समासी भवत्ति ॥

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

The term अम् is understood here. The upapadas ending with a third case-affix &c., are given in śūtra III. 4. 47 and the sūtras that follow. As मूलकोपवाष मुख्यसे or मूलकोपवाष मुख्यसे ‘he eats after having relished the food with radish.’ So also पार्वत्यपिवी or पार्वत्यपिवीव्यायम् शेषे (III. 4. 49) ‘he lies pressing on his ribs.’ For upapadas ending with other cases, see śūtra III. 4. 52 &c. This being an optional rule, it is not necessary that the upapada should be tulya-vidhāna with the अम्; so that this optional compounding may take place even under rule III. 4. 59 where अम् is not the only affix enjoined, but there is कृ as well. This vībhaṣā may therefore be called both पत्त and अपात vībhaṣā. It is पत्त with regard to those rules where अम् is the only affix employed; and it is अपात with regard to those where अम् is not the only affix.
22. An upapada ending with a third case-affix or any other of the remaining four cases, is optionally compounded with a word ending with the affix ktvā; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This rule provides for avyayas ending in क्रा which the last two rules did not provide. Thus we have उच्चः: कुस्थ or उच्छः: कुस्म. Here the affix क्रा is added by sūtra III. 4. 59. In the case when there is composition, the क्रा is replaced by the substitute स्वप्न; otherwise not. See VII. 1. 37.

The condition of the upapadas being in the 3rd case &c., applies here also. Therefore there is no composition in अर्थ कुस्त or खलु कुस्त.

23. The remaining compound is called Bahu-

vrihi.

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

24. Two or more words, ending in any case-

affix, form a compound, denoting another new thing, not connoted by those words individually; and the compound is called Bahuvihi.
The Bahuvrhi compound comes with the force of all the affixes but the first; as गान्तुरुक्त पान = गोतुरुक्त पान: ‘a water-reached village.’ छत्रदीपितस्थान ‘a bull by whom a cart is drawn.’ वप्र्तुग्रुहदृश्य: ‘Rūdra to whom cattle is offered.’ छन्दोत्तदा स्थाली ‘a vessel in which rice is placed.’ विष्णुगुणवेदन: ‘Devadatta possessed of a brindled cow.’ वीरनुयूषको पान: ‘a village possessed of heroic men.’

Bahuvrhi compound is not formed with the sense of the first case. As पूजे हेते गत: ‘gone when it had rained.’

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

सुदुःस्करकते गेष सुलभाजितवादसा | पुनी परिेला सत्त्व कुतो हेतोविवाहिता ||
‘Why was the daughter of the king of the mountains married by Siva possessed of beautifully-delicate-locked-hair, and cheap-deer-skin-dress.’

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

Vart:—The compounds of indeclinables are Bahuvrhi; as उपर्युक्त: ‘possessed of raised mouth.’ So also नीच्युक्त: &c.

Vart:—The second member is elided in a Bahuvrhi compound of which the first member is a word in the locative case, or a word with which comparison is made (उपमान). As, कप्पे स्थित: काज़ीलस्य = कप्पे काल: ‘in whose throat there is blackness (Siva).’ उरसिद्धे ‘who has hair on his chest.’ उस्मस्य दुष्पदिव मुखे वर्षेन संविता = उपर्युक्त: ‘he whose face is like that of a camel.’ खराइयुः ‘ass-faced.’

Vart:—Bahuvrhi compound may be formed after eliding the second member with a word in the sixth case denoting ‘collection or modification.’ As कैश्यानां संपात: = कैश्यास्पंद: , कैश्यास्पंदङ्गुस्याद्: = कैश्याचुः: ‘he who has a collection of hair as crest.’ सुवर्णस्य विकारोहि ज्ञानकारोपियस्य = सुवर्णमेनकार: ‘he who has ornaments made of gold.’

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

Vart:—The compounding of words signifying what exists, coming after the negative नम should be stated, and the optional elision of the second of the terms. As, अधिभासः पुदो वर्षेऽ = अनुपस्य: ‘childless.’ So also अग्राय: ‘wifeless.’

Vart:—Compounds like असिद्दिरता should be stated as Bahuvrhi. As असिद्दिरता प्रदेशे ‘a Brāhmaṇ having milk.’ These words are indeclinables. The word ‘asti’ here is an indeclinable though appearing as a verb.
25. Indecinable words and the words āsanna: ‘near,’ adūra ‘near,’ adhika ‘more’ and the words called saṅkhya (Numerals) are compounded with another saṅkhya word, when the sense is that of a numeral or saṅkhya. The compound is Bahūvrihi.

Thus उपस्थ: (V. 4. 73) ‘those who are near ten ì.e. nine or eleven.’ Similarly उपविष्ठ: ‘nineteen or twenty-one’ (VI. 4. 142). So also अस्त्रकस्मा: ‘nine or eleven.’ अश्वकस्मा: ‘nine or eleven.’ अधिकस्मा: ‘eleven.’

So also two ‘numerals’ may be compounded; as, द्रित्या: ‘two or three.’

Why do we say ‘with a numeral’? Observe पंच श्रावणा: ‘five Brāhmaṇas.’

Why do we say ‘with an Indecinable &c’? Witness श्रावणा: पंच .

Why do we say ‘when denoting a numeral’? Observe अधिक विकावि गवामु ‘of cows more than twenty.’

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

Thus दक्षिणपूर्वकोष्ठ: dakshina-pūrvā, ‘south-east,’ (the direction midway between south and east.) पूर्वात्तर ‘north-east.’

The word नाम is introduced in the sūtra to indicate that no compounding takes place when the words denoting direction are derivative words whose primary signification is not indicative of direction; as ईश्वरेशापििर्य दिशोयेत्तरालन्त्व: ‘the point between east and north.’ Here the words ईश्वर ‘east’ and कृष्ण ‘north’ though denoting directions, are derivatively so, and hence no compounding.
27. Two homonymous words (both being in the locative case or both being in the instrumental case) are compounded, the sense being 'this happens therein or with that.' The compound so formed is Bahuvrihi.

The word तत्र means 'a word in the locative case,' and तेन 'a word in the instrumental case.' The word सच्चप or 'similar form' applies to both. The word इति indicates that the meaning of the compound so formed should be learned from popular usage, therefore it means, 'seizing, striking, fighting.' All these senses are implied by इति. The word is exhibited in the locative case, if the sense is that of seizing; and the word is exhibited in the instrumental case, when the sense is that of striking; the word indicated by the word इति is युद्ध; as केतेन्द्रेष्टायुधं गृहीतत्वा हृतं युद्धं वृत्तं = केतेन्द्रेष्टायुधं (VI. 3. 137 and V. 4. 127.) 'hair to hair, fighting by pulling each other's hair'; कष्ठावेयं गृहीतत्वा हृतं युद्धं वृत्तं = कष्ठावेयं 'stick against stick, fight with stick and stave;' so also मुलालामुलायति. In the above examples the samśānta affix इति is added at the end by rule V. 4. 127; and all such words are Avyaya or indeclinable. The final vowel of the first term is lengthened by Rule VI. 3. 137.

Why do we say 'having the same form'? We cannot form such a compound from the following: हलैथ मुपलैथ महृद्यं युद्धं युद्धं.

तेन सच्चपतु त्यथ्योगे || २८ || पदानि || तेन, सच्चपति, त्यथ्योगे || (सच्चपतु) ||

वृत्ति: || साहैत्यसच्चपतु त्यथ्योगे वर्तमानं सच्चपति इति ब्रह्मवाणिः स व नमर्ते बहुतीर्थेन समासीभवति ||

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

Why do we say ‘tulya-yoga’? Witness सत्ति: इत्यादि: पुन्नेतां ज्ञिति गद्यविस ‘the she-ass carries the whole burden, though there exist her ten sons.’

How do we get the forms like सत्ति: , सत्तिज्ञानः , सत्तिज्ञानः &c., in which there is no ‘tulya-yoga’? It shows that this condition is of limited operation (बुत्ति गोष्टचरण आदि) .


d अभ्यां || पद्यनि || ज्ञिति : , ( सत्तिज्ञानाः ) ||

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

The meanings that may be indicated by ए ‘and’ are four, (1) सत्ति: ‘community of reference,’ (2) अस्त्रांचयं ‘collaterality of reference, (3) इत्यादिव्रोगः ‘mutual conjunction’ and (4) सामार्थः ‘aggregate.’ In the first two cases vis., community of reference, and collaterality of reference, composition does not take place, because the words are not directly related to one another (II. i. 1). Composition is enjoined therefore, when the sense of ए is that of mutual conjunction and lumping. Thus we cannot compound इत्यादिव्रोगः ए अस्त्रांचयं ‘reverence God and thy Guru’ or इत्यादिव्रोगः ए अस्त्रांचयं ‘go for alms and bring the cow.’ But we can compound the following सामार्थः ब्रम्हाच्यो विनिशांतयोक्ष्यमः सामार्थः ब्रम्हाच्यो विनिशांतयोक्ष्यमः

उपसज्ञेन पूवेः || ३० || पद्यनि || उपसज्ञेन , पूवेः ( समासः ) ||

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

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

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


ढब्बे चिः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदान्ति ॥ धर्मे ् चिः (धर्मद्वार्पम्) ॥

चरित: इह द्वे समासे क्षतानं पुष्पं प्रयोक्तपथम् ॥

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

As हरि हरि 'Hari and Hara.' So also पुष्पस्य and मृदुगमः: Where there are more than one such चि words in a compound, any one may be fixed upon as first member, and the rest to follow no fixed rule. As पुष्पस्य: or पुष्पस्यकाराब्धमः:

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

अजावाद्यतमः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदान्ति ॥ अज्जावाद्य-अवाद्यम्, (सोपूर्णेश्वरम् हन्दे) ॥

चरित: इह अजावाद्यं ग्राजगावम् हन्दे समासे पुष्पं प्रयोक्तपथम् ॥

वाचिकम् इह धर्मयन्त्रमः ॥

वाचिकम् इह हन्दे वालाद्यसाधनं विश्वितयितेन ॥

33. In a Dvandva compound, let what begins with a vowel and ends with a short अ be placed first.
Thus, उन्द्रकरम् 'the camel and the ass,' उन्द्रशाकम् 'the camel and the hare.'

Vart:—When there are may such words there is no fixed rule. As अहस्तर्कर्मि or हन्तर्कर्मि:.

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

Why do we say 'अंतरु with a त्र' (I. 1. 70)? This rule does not apply when it is long अ as अन्तरु + त्र: = अन्तरुत्री or त्र्याद्रे.

अल्लाहतूर्सी II 34 II पदानि II अल्लाहतूर्सी, (सहान्त्रेपूवृवृंह) II

Thus अल्लाहतूर्सी गद्दरवः इन्द्रेः समाते पूवृवृवृंहत्वम् II

लालिकम् II कतुगन्तान्तराणावणेवणेः समानान्तराणां पूवृवृवृंहत्वतो वक्तव्यः: II

लालिकम् II लक्ष्यते पूवृवृंहत्तीति वक्तव्यः: II

लालिकम् II अभ्यर्हितं च पूवृवृंहत्तीति वक्तव्यः: II

लालिकम् II वर्णनामात्वेतें एक पूवृविनिपात: II

लालिकम् II अनुभु व्यासः पूवृविनिपातो वक्तव्यः: II

लालिकम् II संख्या अल्लाहतूर्सी: पूवृविनिपातो वक्तव्यः: II

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

Thus श्रशन्त + न्यश्रीच = श्रवन्नयैश्ची; and भवष्टिर्रिपतारायण: II

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

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

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

Vart:—A word consisting of light (laghu) vowels is placed first. As, कुशकाः; श्रायादेः.

Vart:—The more honorable of the two is placed first; as, मातापितारे 'mother and father,' अङ्गुरेब 'faith and intelligence'; हीरकाच्ची 'initiation and austerity.'
Vart:—The castes are placed according to their order; as, श्राधात्वमि, विद्युष्ट: ‘Brähmaṇa Kṣatriya Vaiśya and Sudra.’ There is no limitation of equality of syllables here.

Vart:—The name of the elder brother is placed first; as युधिष्ठिरार्जुन ‘Yudhishṭhīra and Arjuna.’

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

सममिविशेषणः बहुव्रीहीः || ३५ || पदार्थः || सममिविशेषणः, बहुव्रीहीः, (सच्चूत्रस्य) ||

पूविः: ॥ सच्चूत्रस्य विशेषणः च बहुव्रीहिसमासे पूवि प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वाचिस्कम् ॥ सच्चूत्रसंस्कृतसंस्कृतव्याम् ॥

वाचिस्कम् ॥ वा प्रयोगः पूविनिपातः ॥

वाचिस्कम् ॥ सच्चूत्रसे पूविनिपाते प्राते गच्चारकृ: सच्चूत्रस्य प्रयोगः ॥

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

In a Bahūvrihi, all words are upasarjana, and hence there is no rule for their arrangement. The present aphorism declares that rule; as कण्डक्षाल: ‘who is black in the throat.’ So also उर्जलोम: विनयः, गच्चारः.

Vart:—The sarvanāmas and the numerals stand first; as सर्वं स्वतः, सर्वक्षण:; द्वि, त्रि:। In a compound formed by the composition of sarvanāma words with a saṅkhyā word, the latter should stand first; as, द्वापरः, शन्यः &c.

Vart:—The word मिथ्य may optionally stand first; as गुहचिंच: or प्रतिगु:.

Vart:—After the words गड़ &c., the word in the 7th case-affix comes as subsequent; as गड़ुकः: ‘a hump-necked’; गड़ुशिरा: &c.

How is then the word बहुग्रं: ‘hump in the shoulder’ to be explained? This is governed by the general rule, and not the exceptional vārtika.

निक्षः, || ३६ || पदार्थः || निक्षः, (सच्चूत्रस्य पूविः) ||

पूविः: ॥ निक्षः च बहुव्रीहिसमासे पूवि प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वाचिस्कम् ॥ निक्षः: पूविनिपाते जातिकालसंख्यकृः प्रयोगम् ॥

वाचिस्कम् ॥ प्रयोगार्थः पदे निक्षःसंख्यः मवत् इति बच्चव्यम् ॥

Thus युक्तयोग: ‘one who is devoted to devotion’; युक्तकः: ‘one who has made the mat’; मिहितनिधिः: ‘one who has begged alms’.

Vart:—A word expressing jâti (genus), time, or pleasure, is placed subsequent; as, शार्जूनघृ: मासजान: , and सुखजान: &c.

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

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

Thus अष्ट्वयिः or अष्टतापिः: ‘one who has consecrated fire.’


38. The words kaḍâraḥ and the like, are optionally placed first in the kârma-dhârâya.

Thus कडारजीमिनिः or जीमिनिकडार: Kaḍârajaiminiḥ or jaiminikaḍâraḥ. ‘The tawny Jaimini.’
This sūtra enjoins an option where by general rule guṇa words being attributes would have invariably stood first.

Why do we say 'in the karmadhāraya compound?' Observe कड़ार-पुहरी पान: 'a village of tawny men,' which is Bahuvrīhi. Here ends the force of I. 4. 1 and II. 1. 3.
BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER III.

1. The word ‘anabhihite’ meaning ‘not being specified’ is to be understood as the governing word.

Whatever will be taught from this point forward, should be understood to apply to those cases which have not been specified otherwise. The case-affixes like those denoting ‘object’ ‘instrument’ &c., are applied to a noun, only then, when the force of the case-affix is not otherwise denoted or mentioned or exhibited. The force of a case-affix may be so denoted either by first, the conjugal affixes गृह्; secondly, by the Primary affixes or क्रिया; thirdly, by the secondary affixes अवस्था; or lastly by compounds. Thus sūtra 2 declares that the second case-affix is applied in denoting the object, as क्रिया वर्णित ‘he makes the mat’; व्रात वर्णित ‘he goes to the village.’ But the object can otherwise be denoted. Thus by the passive conjugal affix, as क्रिया क्रिय्यते क्रियान् ‘the mat is made.’ Here the termination of the verb denotes the object. See sūtra I. 3. 13. and III. 4. 69. So also by the क्रिया affix, as क्रिया क्रियान् ‘the mat is made,’ see Sūtra III. 4. 70. So also by a Taddhita affix as श्रष्य or श्रवः meaning ‘purchased with a hundred’ श्रष्यम् श्रवः. Similarly by samāsa, as माहसुद्रनं माहसुद्रकः माहसुद्रको माहसुद्रकः माहसुद्रकः.

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

The words उभयः, सरवः, चतुर्द्वारः and the double forms उपयुःचरित्र, अभिसरित, अभिर्च, when they have the sense of nearness, govern the accusative. Sometimes other cases also, as उभयः प्राण 'on both sides of the village'; सरवः प्राण 'on all sides of the village'; चतुर्द्वारः 'to Devadatta'; उपयुःचरित्र प्राण 'just over the village'; अभिर्च 'the Devadatta'; चतुर्द्वारः प्राण 'in the village'; अभिसरित अभिर्च प्राण 'just below the village.'

Vart:- The words अभित्र, परित्र: both meaning 'round', सम्बा, लिक्ष्या both meaning 'near', and दा च 'woe be to,' and मन्त्र 'to,' govern the accusative case; as, अभिर्च प्राण 'round the village,' प्राण सम्बा 'near the village'; दा देवदार 'woe be to Devadatta'; चतुर्द्वारः न मन्त्रिभाषा विचित्र 'to a hungry person nothing occurs to his mind.' See I. 4. 49 &c.

तूतीया च हृदयन्द्रिल ॥ ॥ पदानि ॥ तूतीया, पूः, हः, हः, हः, परमः (कर्मः) ॥

तूतीया: हृदयन्द्रिल विद्ये हृदयन्द्रिल: कर्मः कार्ये हृदयन्द्रिल विभक्तः कर्मः हृदयन्द्रिल ॥

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

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

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

अन्तरःन्तरेऽयुक्तः ॥ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तरः, अन्तरेऽयुक्तः, युक्तः,

(द्वितीया)

द्वितीया: अन्तरःन्तरेऽयुक्तः निपति नाध्याचारः द्वितीया चाभव्या पौरे द्वितीया विभक्ति भंवति ॥

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

The anuvṛtti of dvitiyā is understand here and not that of tritiyā. Both these words antarā and antareṇa are Nipātas. They govern the accusative. This debars the genitive case. The word antarā means 'between' while antareṇa means 'besides that,' 'without,' 'exception,' 'with reference to,' 'regarding.' As, अस्तरेऽयुक्तः स्वामिन्ते च विचित्रत्वम्यते nothing can be
gained without exertion. अंतरा or अंतरिण स्त्राच सांत्र कांढुः 'the bowl is between thee and me.' कौटुभ्यस्त्रां पां तरेच श्लोः प्रतिकृतृच् 'who else but thee is able to retaliate.'

Why do we say 'when joined with?' Observe अंतरा तथापि लांच पाठिनाथूः चुऽन्यं यथार्थः.

कालाध्वनीरत्यत्नसंयोगे ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-अत्यत्वनारः, आत्यत्न-संयोगे, (दृवितीया) ॥

चूऽति ॥ काल श्रवणेऽपृवद्वयसवदेवदुः प्रविष्टितितिति अत्यत्न संयोगे गण्यानादि ॥

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

भावनार्थे 'he reads for a month,' 'he studies full one month,' पालि जाष्ठवारी 'prosperous during the month' (uninterruptedly), संवरषवरुप्ये 'flowers during the year continually,' क्रीष्ण कुद्रास नन्द 'the river winding for one kos without any break,' क्रीष्ण पर्वता 'the hill through one full kos.' वर्ग वैद्यकी राजस्त श्लोऽजनमात्ता 'O king the hall of Viśrāvana is 100 yojanas in length.

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

Why do we say 'atyanta-sanyoga or complete continuity'? Observe शास्त्रिय द्वितीये or कौटुभ्यकेदेये पर्वते ॥

अपव्रे लूतीया ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपवर्ण , लूतीया, (कालाध्वनी रत्यत्नसंयोगे) ॥

चूऽति ॥ अपवर्ण सम्बन्धाने कालाध्वनीरत्यत्नसंयोगे दृविष्टितितिति ॥

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

पालिनारूढः श्रुणनाटि 'he learnt the Anuvāka in a month,' कौषित्सत्यास्त्रां पर्वते 'he learnt the Anuvāka by going over a kos.

The word अपवर्ण means 'the finishing of an action, on the attainment of the object intended by the action, but not before.' Thus संवर्षवरुप्या कौषित्सत्यास्त्रां पर्वते means 'Anuvāka was perserveringly and effectually read by him in the whole year.'

When the idea of apavarga is not intended, the accusative case is employed, as भावनार्थे तुऽधुऽवाक 'learnt for a month, but not yet completed, the Anuvāka.'
7. A noun denoting time or place gets the affix of the seventh or the fifth case, when the sense implied is that the time or space is the interval between one action and another action (or implies an interval of time and space between two kāraṇas).

Ex. यदि पुजा व्रतसहस्रो दूर वि-युक्ताप्राप्ताः ‘having dined today, Devadatta will dine in or after two days.’ Here the ‘time’ is the interval between the agent and his power of eating. So also द्राक्षे-सुविषालस्य तथा सुविषालस्य ‘standing here, he will hit a mark at the distance of one kos., here kos. is the interval between the agent and the object or the object and the ablation, or the object and the location. The rule 1. 3. 10 does not apply here.

कर्मभवनीय-युक्ते द्रव्य तिथिया || ८ || वाच्य || कर्मभवनीय-युक्ते, द्रव्य तिथिया ||

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

Ex. भारतवर्ष बंधितानामुपपर्यंत ‘I it rained on (hearing) the reading of the Veda by Śākalya.’ So also आमस्त्यनमन्विन्नेव न मया: ||

यस्मादद्विकत्वं यस्य चेतवर्षनं तत्र सपुष्टमी || १० || पदार्थि || यस्मातः

Prachik, yasya, cha, śvetā r-vacam, tatra, spustmi, (कर्मभवनीय-युक्ते, ||

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

Ex. उपार्यं ग्रीव: ‘A Drona is more than a Khāri,’ अय्यन्यात्स संजयः ‘Brahmadatta is the lord of Panchāla.’ The phrase यस्मैवैवर्वतं indicate that both the thing owned and the owner may be in the locative. So I. 4. 97.

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

Ex. अप or आ or परि पासिनुभुवापूर्वी देव: ‘It rained off or upto or with the exclusion of, Pataliputra.

The परि here has the meaning of ‘exclusion’ (I. 4. 88) being read along with अप, therefore, not here इन परि विनिषेध विस्तृत (I. 4. 90).

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

Ex. अभिमन्यु तत्त्वतः प्रति ‘Abhimanyu is the representative of Arjuna.’

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

Ex. दाङ्त or दाङ्तामय साहित्यते ‘he goes to the village.’ But not so in दाहन द्वारा पुरुषतः (the verb not denoting physical motion) ‘he goes mentally to Hari’

‘बध्यान्यां’ साहित्यते ‘he goes over the way’ (the object being the ‘way’). But not so in दाङ्तान्यां ‘सेहित्यते’ ‘he cooks rice’ (the verb not denoting ‘motion’) nor in दाङ्तेदाङ्त (the verb not denoting ‘the object.’)
Note.—The word adhavan includes the synonyms of road (I. 1. 68) as पथ्याः, गच्छति, गाय गच्छति.

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

चतुर्थीं संप्रदाने ॥ १३ ॥ पदार्थी ॥ चतुर्थीं, संप्रदाने ॥

बृत्तः ॥ संप्रदाने कार्के चतुर्थी विभविनिर्वचनः ॥
बालिकाः ॥ चतुर्थीं विभवने तात्वस्त्यं उपसंहवानम् ॥
बालिकाः ॥ हृदिरूपपरस्तराने चतुर्थीं वर्णव्या ॥
बालिकाः ॥ उपस्थतासे नानायामाने चतुर्थीं वर्णव्या ॥
बालिकाः ॥ हितेयामे चतुर्थीं वर्णव्या ॥

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

Ex.: उपाधेयाय मां ददति 'He gives a cow to the teacher' देवदत्ताय रूपरेः 'it pleases Devadatta' (I. 4. 33) उपेश्य: स्त्रिययति (I. 4. 36) 'he desires flowers.

Vart.—The fourth case-affix should be employed when the sense is that of 'for the purpose thereof' as दुष्यम् ददाः 'wood is for making posts.' दुष्यम् विरघः 'gold used for the purpose of making ear-ring.' दुष्यम् स्वाटः 'pot for the sake of cooking.' अग्निनावसिद्धम् 'mortar for the sake of threshing.'

Vart.—The verb धूष्ट and other verbs meaning 'to be fit or adequate for, result in, bring about, accomplish, produce, tend to,' govern the dative case: as, धूष्टम् जलपत्रे वस्त्राः 'the barley gruel tends to produce urine.' So also धूष्टम् संपदासे वाटाते वा व्यायः.

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

वाताय चायसा विभिन्न दाटावाताति सिद्धिनी ॥
चीत्रव विष्याय वदनिकाय विभिन्न मनोः ॥

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

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

क्रियाधीपदस्व च कर्मशि स्पाचिन्न: ॥ १४ ॥ पदार्थी ॥ क्रियाधीपदस्व, च, कर्मशि, स्पाचिन्नः, (चतुर्थीं) ॥

वृत्तः ॥ क्रियाधीपदस्व च स्पाचिन्नोमेयमतम्यानस्य पाति: कर्मशि कार्के चतुर्थीं विभविनिर्वचनः ॥
14. The fourth case-affix is employed in denoting the object (karma) of that verb, which is suppressed (sthâni) in a sentence, and which has in construction (upapada) there-with another verb, denoting an action, performed for the sake of the future action (kriyārthe III. 3. 10.).

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

फलारोऽसुत्तिः तुज्जितः तुसुत्तिः 'he goes for fruits i.e., to bring fruits.'

This debar's the accusative case. So also we have दवेच्छम् दुत्तिः 'he goes for fuel.' The words दियान्योद्धनम् and द्वारितम् are in apposition. The first is a Bahuvrihi compound of दियान्योद्धनम् द्वारितम् and means 'a verb whose upapada denotes the purpose of the action (kriyārtha).’ Thus in यथार्थम् द् 'to bring fuel'; the infinitive verb आसुत्तिः is द्वारितम् पदार्थ, the object of this verb is द्वारितम्; when this verb is suppressed, it becomes द्वारितम्; the object of this verb takes the fourth case-affix.

Why do we say 'of the verb whose upapada denotes the purpose of the action?' Observe दवेच्छम् दियान्योद्धनम्.

Why do we say 'in denoting the object.' Witness दवेच्छम् दरम्जितम् पदार्थम् 'for fuel he goes with a cart.'

Why do we 'when suppressed'? Observe दवेच्छम् द्वारितम्.

तुसुत्तिः यथार्थम् पदार्थम् द्वारितम्, च भाव-

यथार्थम्, ( चलुति च )

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

Ex. यथार्थम् प्रबलतिः 'he goes to offer a sacrifice' =ःपुक्त 'प्रबलतिः. So also यथार्थम् प्रबलतिः, धृतहे प्रबलतिः.

The word धृतहे means 'means 'having the same significance as the affix धृत.'

नमःश्वसिताःस्वप्नाभास्वप्नमुक्तोऽपाकर्षणः ॥ १५ ॥ पदार्थम् ॥ नमः-

श्वसिताःस्वप्नाभास्वप्नमुक्तोऽपाकर्षणः, च, ( चलुति च )

चः ॥ नमः श्वसिताःस्वप्नाभास्वप्नमुक्तोऽपाकर्षणः नमः धृतहे पदार्थम् ॥
16. The fourth case-affix is employed in conjunction with the words namah ‘salutation,’ savasti ‘peace,’ svāhā, svadāh (terms used in offering oblations to Gods and Pitris respectively), alam ‘a match for’ ‘sufficient for’ and vashaṭ a term of oblation.

Ex. नम्मे देवभागे, स्वल्लि प्रजायः, स्वाधामः, स्वाधा पितुर्धपः; तत्र नलो आस्याय ‘Salutation to Gods’; ‘peace to the people’; ‘svāhā to fire’; ‘svadāh to the Pitris’; ‘an athlete is a match for an athlete’ &c. The word अलाम includes its synonyms also, as मदुः, मद्यः &c.; so रसद्रिथ्याः, रसद्रिथ्ये.

The अ indicates that the Dative will debar Genitive, in spite of II. 3. 73, in the case of these words, though used benedictively; as स्वल्लि नेष्ठे, ब्रह्माः.

समय-क्षणे, विषाडः, विषाणु, अभांशिणु, ( चतुर्थी )

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

Ex. न स्तवा दुर्घ दुर्घाय का सये ‘I do not consider thee worth a stra जी. न स्तवा दुर्घ दुर्घाय का सये ‘I do not consider thee worth a chaff.’ Why do we use the word सये? Observe न स्तवा दुर्घ बिन्नवत्वार्थी. The optional dative will not be employed with the synonyms of the verb सन्धित So also the sūtra uses the form न कथाय with the vikāraṇa बालिकृत, indicating that it is Divādi that governs a dative, and not the Tanādi नवत्र; for the latter governs the accusative only, as न स्तवा दुर्घ नवत्र.

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

अभ्यास दुर्घ नवत्रे, सये काठ्यालूकस्य अभ्यासास्त दुर्घ नवत्रे सया माता न परस्यार्थी।

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

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

Vart:—Instead of using अभ्यासिणु in the sūtra, the word अभ्यासिणय should be used. The following words belong to Nāvādi class, they are always in the accusative after the word सये, never in the Dative:—नो ‘ship,’ आक ‘crow,’ आम ‘food,’ युग ‘parrot,’ and युगाभ ‘jackal.’
In denoting the agent (I. 4. 54) or the instrument (I. 4. 42), the third case-affix is employed.

Ex. देवदत्तों हुल 'done by Devadatta,' दामेश उत्तमति 'he cuts with the sickle.' So also यज्ञदत्तों युक्तः, पर्यम विलितः.

Vart.:—The following words take the 3rd case. मृदूति 'original,' माय 'almost,' गौत्र 'gotra,' नव 'equal,' विषम 'unequal,' विद्वेष यं तद्भव यस्मिन विभिन्नो विज्ञानितः दशस्त्र विभागिनीतिः.

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

Ex. युज्य भद्या चिता 'the father has come with the son.'

The same will be the result with the synonyms of यह as, युज्य चाये 'with the son.' So also when the word यह is understood, as Pāṇini himself uses in I. 2. 65 तृतीय युक्तः.

Why do we say 'when not the principal.' Observe, यिन्वेज यदायच्च यस्य...-

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

A», यथा यथा 'blind of one eye' पदेन लंका 'lame of foot.' यथाय प्रवदि. &c. The word अङ्गा in this sūtra applies to the whole body, whatsoever by reason of being a member of the body is defective is indicated here.
21. Any mark or attribute, by which is indicated the existence of a particular state or condition, is put in the third case to express this relation.

_स्थानप्रतिवासः_ 'he is an ascetic by (the fact of his having) matted hair.'
_अन्य मवागुः करणदुहुः ज्ञानप्रति_ 'your honor might see the student by the fact of his having a kamaṇḍalu.' So also _स्वामिप्रसीमायायस_ 'a teacher by the fact of having students.'
_प्रविश्ठ्या परिराजकम्_ 'a Parivrajaka by a tuft of hair.'
But not so here, _करणदुहुप्रतिवासः_ 'a student has kamaṇḍalu in his hand.'
Because here in the compound, _करणदुहुप्रतिवासः_ is hidden in the mark.

Why do we say ittha-bhuta? Observe बृह धनि विद्वेदम्.

_संज्ञार्थतरस्यं करणष्टं_ ॥ २२ ॥ _पदाति_ ॥ _सम्बृह_ अण्यतरस्यं,
करणष्टं, (तृतीया) ॥

_बृहः_ ॥ _संज्ञार्थतरस्यं_ जानाति: करणष्टं व्यतीतावर्तमानं_ मात्रावभावतरस्यं दूरीया विभवति
_वृहः_ ॥

22. After the verb _सम-जिन_ the third case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the object.

_पिता_ or _पितारं_ चानाति: 'he knows his father.' _पिता_ or _पितारं_ चानाति: ॥

_हेतुः_ ॥ २३ ॥ _पदाति_ ॥ _हेतुः_ (तृतीया) ॥

_हेतु: _मात्रावभावतरस्यं पदार्थसं_ चानोऽपि; तद्विभवति
_हेतुः_ ॥

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

_विधिया चित्तम्_ 'by learning there is produced fame.' _बनेन कुलस_ 'by wealth, family;' _करणम्_ देशा 'by daughter there is grief.'

The word _हेतु_ here is used in its popular sense and not the grammatical _ट्रू_ (I. 4. 55). Any thing capable of accomplishing a desired object is called _हेतु_.

_स्थानप्रति _पदाति_ ॥ २४ ॥ _पदाति_ ॥ _स्थानप्रति_ , _अण्य_ , _पदाति_ ,
(हेतुः) ॥

_हेतुः_ ॥ _करणप्रति_ पदार्थसं _देशासं _पदाति_ विभवति

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

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

विभाषा गुणेऽविभाषास् || || पदाति || विभाषा, गुणे, अविभाषान्, (हेतौ पश्चात्) ||

वृत्ति: || गुणे इत्यादीहेतौ विभाषा पश्चात् विभाषनवेचि ||

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

Ex. जात्रानि जात्रावत् या बद्ध: 'he has been bound by reason of his dullness.'

पार्फेंट्सन or पार्फेंट्सन जुलके, 'saved through learning.'

Guṇa-vachana nouns are generally abstract nouns. Therefore not here व्येन कुलम्. If an abstract noun is of feminine gender, this rule will not apply, as जुलके or मथ्या जुलके 'he was set at liberty on account of his skill or wisdom.'

ढळी हेतुप्रमोगे || || पदाति || ढळी, हेतु-प्रमोगे ||

वृत्ति: || हेतुप्रमोगे प्राये इतीदेते प्राये ढळी विभाषन प्रकाश ||

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

Ex. अन्नस्य इती वृत्ति 'he dwells for the sake of food.'

सर्वनामस्ततृतिया च || || पदाति || सर्वनामः तृतिया, च, (हेतुप्रमोगे) (ढळी) ||

वृत्ति: || सर्वनामः हेतुप्रमोगे इतीदेते दोषे तृतिया विभाषन चेविति पदोष ||

वार्तिकः || निमित्तकारण-हेतु-वर्ण भाष्यम् मावद्यामनम् ||

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

Ex. फस्तकः or चेत खेतुनाम वृत्ति 'for the sake of what does he live?'

वार्त:-When the words निमित्त or कारण are so used, almost all the case affixes may be employed; as िमित्त or कारण निमित्त कल्पना or कारणादित्तिकाष्ट्य or फस्तक निमित्तकल्पना or कारण निमित्तकल्पना निमित्ते वृत्ति. Similarly with
the words kāraṇa and hetu. Here also the word देव does not mean the word-form hetu (I. 1. 68) but its synonyms also; as देव धार्मिक or देव मधुरमेन or कथी मधुरमानय एवस्य, यथिरः.

अपादाने पदच्छी || २२ || पदार्थ || अपादाने, प्रथमि ||

णुति ॥ अपादाने खारे पद्धरी विचार स्वप्ति ॥

शार्मिकाय || पद्धरीधारे मधुरमान्य शर्मिकाय शर्मिकाय ॥

शार्मिकाय || अचिन्ताय शार्मिकाय शार्मिकाय ॥

शार्मिकाय || पद्धरोधिकाय निर्याय तथ पद्धरी पद्धरी ॥

शार्मिकाय || तदु शार्मिकाय पद्धरी पद्धरी ॥

शार्मिकाय || शार्मिकाय || प्रथमः मधुर शार्मिकाय शार्मिकाय ॥

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

Ex. द्रामानाध्यक्षति (I. 4. 24); पुस्करे निनेति (I. 4. 25), अचिन्ताय पराणय (I. 4. 26) &c.

Vart:—The fifth case-affix is employed in denoting the object, when the verbal participle ending in श्यथू is elided; as मधुरमान्य शेषे = मधुरमा शेषे (i.e., 'he sees from a palace.'

Vart:—And under similar circumstances in denoting the location the place where an action is performed is put in the ablative case, as, प्राप्ये धार्मिक शेषे = अवारे धार्मिक शेषे (i.e., 'he sees from a seat.'

Vart:—In questions and answers, the fifth case-affix is employed:—कौते नवारा? पदार्थितुरस्य 'whence is your Honor coming? From Patalliputra.'

Vart:—That point of time or space from which distance in time or space is measured is put in the ablative case:—as, साक्षियाः शार्मिकाय प्रथमाय शार्मिकाय 'Sankāsyā is from Gavidhuma four yojanas.' कालिन्याः आयाताकाया च च 'Agraḥāyāna is one month from Kārtikā. The word denoting the distance in time is put in the locative case, as चाचे

Vart:—In the above the word denoting the distance in space may be put either in the nominative or locative; as गदोप्याः शार्मिकाय प्रथमाय शार्मिकाय or शार्मिकाय प्रथमाय ।

अग्रवारोतरस्वारस्वरूप्यात्मायाहित्युक्ते || २२ || पदार्थ ||

अग्रव-अग्रार-हर्ष-श्री-विक्रम-श्रवण-उत्तराद्व-अच्छ-अर्थाहित्युक्ते, (पदार्थियाः) ||

यथिः || अग्रव अग्रार हर्ष स्वरूप अच्छु अर्थाहित्युक्ते पदार्थियाः निवधिं वभिः मन्ति ॥
29. When a noun is joined with words meaning 'other than' or with अरात 'near or remote' or इतर 'different from' or रिते 'without,' or words indicative of the 'directions' (used also with reference to the time corresponding to them) or with words having अन्वेष 'to bend' as the last member of the compound (and expressive of direction), or with words ending with the affix अह or अहि (V. 3. 36 and 37) the fifth case-affix is employed.

Ex. चन्द्र, विनेव, हरिदुरा, भवन्त्र, बिलाबोर वा देवदास 'different from Devadatta' आराध देव दस देवर देव 'remote from or near to Devadatta.' The word अरात meaning 'near or remote' would have taken the sixth case-affix by सूत्र ३०, but this enjoins 5th case-affix. अराध देवदास 'excepting Devadatta,' उवाहें ग्राम 'east of the village,' उवाहें ग्राम 'north of the village,' उवाहें प्रीतादु 'on the spring is prior to summer' मारु मर्यादा ग्राम 'to the east or west of the village' दिशा दिशायादि 'to ग्राम 'to the south or in the eastern direction of the village.'

The words like मारु &c., formed from the verb अन्वेष are also दिशार्गदर्श; their separate enumeration shows that the sixth case-affix ordained by the next सूत्र does not come after them.

ष्ट्रयतःश्चादश्मत्येन || 30 || पदार्थ || वष्ट्री, अतस्तच्छमत्येन ||

प्रत्येक || प्रत्येक मर्यादेन शुद्धे प्रदीर्घशङ्करश्रावति ||

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

The affix अतस्त छु र्व is ordained by V. 3. 28.

Ex. ग्रामस्थ दिशाय द्विविध गुर्ग्ना वर्ति वा 'to the south or north, foremost, in or above the village.'

एनपा द्विविद्या || 31 || पदार्थ || एनपा, द्विविद्या ||

प्रत्येक || एनवन्तरस्त्रांश्च धर्मं द्विविद्या शङ्करशङ्करवर्ति || द्विविद्या द्विविद्या द्विविद्या शङ्करशङ्करशङ्करवर्ति ||

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

Ex. द्विविद्या ग्रामस्थ ग्रामस्थ वा 'south of the village.'
32. When joined with the words prithak ‘without’, vinā ‘without’ and nānā ‘without’ the third case-affix is employed, optionally (as well as the fifth and the second).

Ex. रामायणेष यां विना पर्ययः नाना वा ‘without or different from Rāma.’
This sūtra may be divided into two parts:— (1) पर्ययः विना नाना वा; (2) द्वितीयप्रयत्नस्याधिकम्. By this arrangement we can read dvitiya into the aphorism.

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

Ex. सोकादस कोटिनि तवे फुस्केरकु जम्मूतुत्तयूक्तः अर्थमेवः करणे कारकक्रिययः कालीय क्रियाकारम् यति।

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

Ex. द्रामाद्वा प्रस्थात्वा ये द्वूरे विण्कोहते, अतिकां, भव्यांव, निकां ज्ञितां वा ‘the forest is distant from or near or to the village.’
The force of the word अन्तरस्वां is to indicate that the 5th case-affix employed in the alternative, would have run into this sūtra, had we not used ‘anyatarasyam.’

35. After the words having the sense of dūra ‘distant,’ and antika ‘near,’ the second case-affix is used as well as the fifth and the third.

Ex. दूरं दूरां दूरेत्वा वा ग्रामस्थ and अन्तिरस्वां, or अन्तिसेव अन्तिरस्वां ग्रामस्थ.

This rule applies only when these words have their original signification and do not denote a substance. Otherwise the proper case-affix should be employed, as दूरं: पथम्, दूरारे पचे चेति.

36. The seventh case-affix is employed when the sense is that of location (I. 1. 45) as well as after the words meaning ‘distant’ or ‘near.’

Ex. कटे आस्ते ‘he sits on the mat’ अन्तिके दूरे वा ग्रामस्थ ‘near or distant from the village.’ स्वार्तम् पवति ‘he cooks in the pot.’ Thus the words दूर and अन्तिक take four case-affixes, namely the second, third, fifth and seventh.

Vart.—Words like अवरित्वं ‘who has learnt,’ पुर्वोऽत्तु ‘who has comprehended,’ i.e., words formed by adding द्व to the past participle in त्, govern the locative of that which forms their object:—as अपेति व्याकरणे ‘versed in grammar,’ परिपातिति पदिके ‘well versed in sacrificial rites,’ आपेति शब्दिप् ‘well read in the Veda.’ See V. 2. 88.
Vart:—The words वात्य and अवस्था govern the locative of that towards whom goodness or otherwise is shown; as मातारि वायूवधुषा ये, well behaved or ill-behaved towards his mother.

Vart:—The Locative absolute is used in cases other than those specified in the next सूत्र, namely, in cases where the action done or suffered does not indicate the time of another action; as ध्वस्त सुधा निम्न दिक्षा आकर्षित ‘the poor are sitting, while the rich are eating,’ ध्वस्त आकर्षित बुढळुज्जवल ‘the rich are eating, while the poor being seated.’ So also vice versa.

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

चतुर्विव द्विमिति दृष्टि, हम्पौर्षीर्मिकु वर्णम।
केषयूर धनरथ द्विति शायबऽगुप्तलये इतव।

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

यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणम्॥३९॥ पदार्थम्॥ यस्य, च, भावेनः

भावलक्षणम् (सहसी)॥

बुचस॥ भाव: जिया यथा च भावेन द्विते च जित्याविभाग्यारूप: लघुरूप: ततो भावम्।

सहसी विन्यास्येदर्शि॥

३७. भाव: जिया यथा च भावेन द्विते च जित्याविभाग्यारूप: लघुरूप: ततो भावम्।

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

This is Locative Absolute. गृहुप ह्वस्तग्रामबन्ध यमक: ‘the cows being milked, he went away’ ह्वस्तग्रामवायु: ‘and returned when they were milked’ अयियु इयाग्यायु: गमयः, ह्वस्तग्रामबन्धः.

Why do we say ‘by the action of whatsoever’? Observe ये: व्यक्ति: च व्यक्ति:। Why have we used the word ‘action’ twice? Witness ये: ‘भुजा’ च देवदत्।

षटक च्यादादे ॥ ३८ ॥ पदार्थम्॥ षटक, च, अयूऽदादे,

(सहसी, भावेन भावलक्षणम्)॥

बुचस:॥ अदादादादेच्यादादे भाववतः षटकस्यायो गववस्य भाववत:॥

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

This is Genitive Absolute. दृद्धेत: चतुर्विविष्ट भावाराजस्य ‘in spite of her weeping, he went away.’ The force of this genitive is that of the English word ‘notwithstanding’ ‘in spite of’ ‘for all,’ &c., नज्दा। प्रवाह इव इत। प्रवाहस्य राज चन्त ‘the
Nandas were killed like so many beasts Rakshasa looking on,' (not-withstanding that Rakshasa was looking on).

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

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

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

Ex. āyuvtā: kusale va k大众ve k大众वर्धय या ‘deeply absorbed in mat-making.’

When not meaning ‘deeply absorbed,’ the construction is different; as āyuvtā gṛha ‘the cow is slightly yoked to the cart.’ Here the seventh case-affix only is employed.

41. The sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after those words from which specification is made, (as of an individual from the whole class).
Ex. गृहं गीयो तो कृष्ण क्षुद्रीरा: 'among cows the black one gives much milk; चन्द्रसमारों or चन्द्रमेवू चिन्यं सुदर्म:.

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

पञ्चसी विभक्तिः || ५२ || पदार्थी || पञ्चसी, विभक्ति, ( यतय विद्वैराणस् ) ||

वृत्तिः || विश्वनिद्वैराणसवे विभक्तिस्यत: पञ्चसी विभक्तिचेतिते || विभागे विभवसं ||

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

This debars the sixth and the seventh case-affixes, as, चायु: पाटलिपुत्र: शुभमातरतरा. ‘Mathura is more beautiful than Pātaliputra.’

साधुनियुशास्त्रायां सप्ततृत्तामते: || ५३ || पदार्थ || साधु-नियुशास्त्रायां, अर्थायस्, सप्ततृत्तायाय्यः ||

वृत्तिः || चायु नियुश इत्येतायां दोगमेखारां गद्वातानां चहसी विभक्तिचेतिते न चेतु, प्रति: प्रकरणते ||

43. In conjunction with the words साधु ‘good,’ and निपुन ‘skillful,’ when they denote respect, the seventh case-affix is employed; provided that the word prati is not used.

मातृर्च चायु: or निपुन: ‘good behaved towards his mother’? But चायुदेवदे नीत ‘Devadatta is good behaved towards his mother.’

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

The exception applies not only to प्रति but to other prepositions, like परि, प्रदु एवः, as, चायुदेवदे: शत्रुक.

प्रतितोत्सुकायां तूतीया च, || ५४ || पदार्थ || प्रशितः

उत्सुकायां, तूतीया, च, ( सप्ततृत्ती )

वृत्तिः || प्रशित उत्सुक इत्येतायां दोगमेखारां विभक्तिचेतिते चकारातस्याय्यः च ||

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

Ex. निर्माणां निर्माण वा वृक्षां: ‘longing for sleep.’ अतिर्तिक: orकृत्तिक: प्रशित:.
45. When an affix declaring the time of an Asterism is elided by lup (IV. 2. 4); the seventh and the third case-affixes are used after the word, whose affix is so elided.

Ex. मुख्येष मुख्ये वा पावसनस्तीयाअऽ 'when the moon is in the Asterism of Pushya, let him drink milk.' See Rules IV. 2. 4 and IV. 2. 5. So also नयायिन: पलबोहे नयायु पवलबोहुस्व. But not so here चंचलेयू वचति 'he lives in Panchâla'. Here the country is meant, and not a star, though here also there is elision of the Taddhita affix.

Why do we say 'lup elision'? Observe मनायु यह: 'the planet in the Maghâ.' Here there is no elision. But why not in अद्धुपय: अद्धुपलिका. Because they do not denote location, which is understood. It is when location is expressed by such words that we may use the third case-affix in the alternative.

46. Where the sense is that of the Nominal stem (I. 2. 45) or of gender only, or measure only or number only, the first case-affix is employed.

Ex. उलये: 'aloft,' नीले: 'below,' कुनायरी 'virgin,' बृक्ष: 'tree,' सूरे 'owl,' डोक्ष: 'a measure.' By 'number' grammatical number is meant; as एक: 'one,' दौर 'two,' बहु: 'many'.

The sense of a Prâtipadika is to denote mere existence. Genders are three, masculine, feminine and neuter. Measures are such as droṇa, khâri, āḍhaka &c. Numbers are singular, dual and plural. The Nipatas which do not denote anything are also Prâtipadika.

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

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

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

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

Ex. राज: श्रेष्ठ: 'the king's man' प्रेष: पाद: 'beast's foot' पुत्र: पुत्र: father's son.'

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

Ex. चुनुने ज्ञानीते 'he engages in sacrifice with honey'. So also धर्मचे ज्ञानीते. The verb चा when not meaning 'to know', has the significance of
‘to act, or to engage in’; or it may denote ‘false knowledge’; as चरित्रिवि रखि मतिविद्वा. Compare I. 3. 45.

But not so here स्तवरेष गुर्व जाननि ‘he recognises the son by the voice.’

अधीरस्वद्येषांकर्मिन् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ अधि-श्रुक-अर्थ-दय-देवा, कर्मिन्, ( यष्टी ) ॥

बृहत्: अधीरस्वद्येषांकर्मिन् ॥ दय दारागित किष्टे ॥ ईय देवा ॥ शर्यां कर्मिन् कार्ये श्शेषवेन विस्तिता यष्टी विभक्ति विषयति ॥

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

Ex. नाति: प्रतियति ‘he remembers the mother,’ चरित्रिवि देवि ‘he gives clarified butter,’ नाय गाराधारामी ‘he can not rule his limbs.’ But not so here नाति: प्रतियति because गुरु here is not the object. The word शेष is also understood here. So that the cases not otherwise provided for, take this case. So that नाति प्रतियति is also allowed.

कृजः प्रतियति ॥ ५३ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ कृजः, प्रतियति, ( कर्मिन शेषे यष्टी ) ॥

बृहत्: करेति: कर्मिन कार्ये श्शेषवेन विस्तिता प्रतियति गतवते यष्टी विभक्ति विषयति ॥

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

Ex. श्चेष्वस्येपः पक्षुस्ते ‘the wood gives a new quality to the water’ (or he prepares the wood and water for sacrifice). (By VI. 1. 139, श्च is inserted).

When प्रतियति is not meant, the second case-affix is employed: as करे करेति.

The word शेष is also understood here. So that we have also शेषेदक्षु पक्षुते ॥

सजारोणया भाववचनासौशवरे ॥ ५४ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ सज-अर्थनां, भाववचनासौ, अजवरे, ( कर्मिन शेषे यष्टी ) ॥

बृहत्: सजारोणया भाववचनां भाववक्तृ कार्ये श्शेषवेन विस्तिता यष्टी विभक्ति विषयति ॥

शर्याने कारिण वंतोषीयिति वत्तयथा ॥
54. The object of verbs having the sense of raju‘to afflict’, with the exception of the Causative verb jvarayā ‘to be feverish,’ takes the sixth case-affix, when the verb expresses a condition (i.e., when the subject is an Abstract noun).

Ex. चिरस्वच्छति रेग : ‘the disease afflicts the chief’ चिरस्वायति आनवः।

Why do we say ‘when the subject is an Abstract noun’? Observe नदी
मृगान्ति चररति ‘the river breaks the banks.’ So also not here चीर्यक्षटिति चररः:
‘the fever burns the thief.’ So also when the verb संताय is used, चीर्य
संतायति सांपः।

The word चेति is also understood here. Thus चीर्य चररति रेगः।

आशिर्वच्छति नाथः || ॥ पद्यति || आशिर्वच्छि, नाथः (कर्मचिक
शेष चतुः) ||

चतुः || नाथः नाथः नाथमेवतायथः कर्मचिक ||

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

Ex. मुदेरे नाथे ‘he blesses the honey.’ But सारस्वतदुपन्ति, अङ्ग गुर्जर-ः‘he solicits mānavaka saying (child) son, study.’ Here नाथ does not mean to bless, and so it takes the accusative case.

आसिनिमहेन्द्रनाट्काधिकरणं हिंसायाम् || ॥ पद्यति || आसिन-
निमहेन्द्र-नाट-काय-निपाः, हिंसायाम्, (कर्मचिक चतुः) ||

चतुः || आशिर्वच्छति नाथाय निपाः हस्तेनेतरं चातुः, हिंसाय निपाः कर्मचिक नायके चतुः
विधिस्तरति ||

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

चीरस्वच्छति, निमहेन्द्र, निमहेन्द्र, प्रहर, प्रहर, प्रहर, प्रहर, प्रहर, प्रहर, प्रहर, प्रहर, प्रहर,
प्रहर, प्रहर, ‘he injures the thief.’

The root जास्त belonging to the Churadi class should be taken, and not Divādi. एव with the prepositions pra and ni may be taken in any order. The root नात takes in the causative vṛiddhi irregularly. The verb is Bhāvādi and falls into the subdivision ghatādi, and is called there a निपा verb; all निपा verbs shorten their penultimate before the causative affix निपाः (VI. 4. 92). Thus नात is an irregularity.
Why do we say ‘when meaning to injure’? Observe धाना: पिनद्वि ‘he pounds the barley.’

The word चेव is also understood here as चीरचुजारस्यति. Only these govern the genitive, not so here चौरं विनासित. चौरं विद्रषित

व्यवहरणोः समयंयोः || पदार्थं || व्यवहरणोः समयंयोः: (कर्मेणिः भद्री) ||

वृत्तिः: व्यवहरणोः इत्यादिः समयंयोः व्यवहरणोः: कर्मेणिः भद्री विमिश्रितत्.

57. The object of the verbs व्यवहरण and पञ when they are synonymous, is when they mean ‘dealing in sale and purchase transactions’ or ‘staking in gambling,’ takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. शस्य व्यवहरणिः or पञ्चि ‘he deals in, or stakes! hundred.’

Why does not the verb चेव take the affix धार? It takes धार, when meaning ‘to praise or honor,’ and not in the sense of ‘gambling, or bartering’ &c. Not so here धानाः व्यवहरणिः ‘he throws the dice,’ धानाः धानाः पञ्चिः ‘he praises the Brāhmaṇas.’ The word चेव is also here understood, so that we have धानाः पञ्चिः ‘he stakes a hundred.’

दिवस्त दर्षस्य || पदार्थं || दिवव, लत्दर्षस्य || (व्यवहरणोः समयंयोः कर्मेणिः) ||

वृत्तिः: व्यवहरणोः इत्यादिः समयंयोः कर्मेणिः विमिश्रितत्.

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

Ex. शस्य दीवविति ‘he stakes or deals in a hundred.’ But not in द्रव्यं दीवविति ‘he jokes with the Brahmana.’

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

विभाषोपस्योः || पदार्थं || विभाषा, उपस्योः, (दिवस्त-दर्षस्य कर्मेणिः भद्री) ||

वृत्तिः: उपस्योः चतुर्दिवस्तदर्षस्य कर्मेणिः भद्री विमिश्रितत्

59. The object of the verb दीव when having the above-mentioned sense of dealing or staking, optionally takes the sixth case-affix, when it is preceded by an upasarga (or preposition).
location is not meant: as द्विरुपकोपुिणे. The शेष being understood we have द्विस्वाधीनता.

कर्तृकर्मविशेष: कृति || दृष्ट || पद्यनिष्ठ || कर्तृकर्मविशेष: कृति ||

(पढ़ी) ||

बुद्धि: कृत्येये कर्तार विशेषचर पढ़ी विभावितविचरति ||

65. The sixth case affix is employed after a word, in denoting the agent and the object, when used along with a word ending with a kṛit affix (III.1.93).

Ex. किंव वालिदीकरण ‘the composition of Kālidāsa’ जाहता कृतमि ‘the performer of sacrifice’ So also भविता वादिता ‘your turn of lying down’ अपरो वास्तव, पुरो भेदा वादृष्टि भारत. But not in भाववेदंतस ‘cutting with weapon.’

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

उभयप्राप्तकृति कर्मविशेष: || दृष्टि || उभयप्राप्तकृति, कर्मविशेष: (कृति पढ़ी) ||

बुद्धि: || उभये: प्रकृतित्विशेषकृति वादिद्व्यापारमस्तकस्तक्षरे पढ़ी विभावितविचरति, न कर्तारे ||

वाचिकवाचि प्रकाशविधेये: की प्रकाशकवेदः प्रकाशेन लेख वाचिकवाचि ||

वाचिकवाचि शेषे विभावितेष ||

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

आयुष्यचर्या नवाच वालीकोपवालीकावधिन ‘the milking of a cow without a cowherd is a wonder.’ दशिे ने नीद्रििगर भोजन देवदासेन.. ‘The eating of rice by Devadatta pleases me;’ पशु नाम वायुदेश ‘the drinking of milk by Yajñadatta.’

Vart:—‘When the agent and object are both used, the agent is put in the instrumental, or genitive case, when, as some say, the kṛit terminations are of the feminine gender, or as others say, when the terminations are of any gender; as, विभावा जगत: कृतिर्धेर्धिर्धितः वा ‘the creation of the world by Hari is wonderful.’ शाख्यान्तरावस्था अध्यायेन्य आवार्थयया ‘the dissertation on words by the अध्याय ‘वेयूचिति सूक्ष्मस्तकृति: पाॅणिमि: वा वानिण्णास ‘beautiful is the structure of sitra by पाॅनिमी.’ Apte.

कलसश्च, वास्तवारं || दृष्टि || कलसश्च, श्च, वास्तवारं

(पढ़ी) ||

बुद्धि: || कलस्म वास्तवाराज्यितत्वारं पढ़ी विभावितविचरति ||
67. The past participle ending in क when used in the sense of the present tense, (III. 2. 187 and 188) is used with the genitive.

Ex. राजा मूर्ति: ‘honored by kings,’ अहिम्मवते मडीपते: ‘I alone am regarded by the king.’

Why do we say ‘क’? Observe अधिन्ड पञ्चम: ‘rice is cooked.’ Why do we say ‘when denoting the present tense’? Observe ग्राम गत: ‘gone to the village.

Vart:—When used as abstract neuter nouns, past participles are used with the genitive, as नूरस्मृत ‘the dancing of a peacock’ छालस्मृति ‘the laughing of the student’, कोकिलस्मृति ‘the screaming of the cuckoo.’ When, however, agent is desired to be particularised, the instrumental case is employed: as छालिक्षम इति.

This sūtra debars sūtra 69 by which genitive is prohibited after Nishṭhā affixes. This is an exception to that sūtra.

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

This also is an exception to the prohibition about Nishṭhā contained in II. 3. 69. As इत्यान्तरतः ‘this is their seat.’ इत्यान्तरतः ‘this is their sleeping.’

In connection with verbs taking two objects, both take the genitive case, when a word ending in krit-affix denotes the agent, as they would have taken the accusative: as, नेताष्ट्रस्मृति ग्रामस्मृति ‘Chaitra is the leader of the horse of the village.’ When, however, one is the principal, then the object takes the genitive: as, नेताष्ट्रस्मृति ग्रामस्मृति ‘Chaitra leads the horse to the village.’
69. The sixth case-affix is not used to express the agent or the object, when the word is governed by an Active Participle ending in the affix र, or र, or द, or by an Indeclinable, or by a Past Participle in र and र, or by a word ending in an affix having the sense of च or by a Noun of agency formed by द्र.

After these words, the Instrumental case must be employed to denote the Agent, and the Accusative case to denote the object. This sūtra debars Genitive which would have come by II. 3. 65. The word स्मृत is formed by ल + झ + ब्र = ल + झ = न्यौ.

1. The word र means the substitutes of र i.e., the Present Participles in र, र (II. 2. 124), र (II. 2. 106) र (III. 2. 107) र and र (III. 2. 172). Thus नारदः च, नरभाषाः: च, रष्यान्: or विष्यार्यः, परि: चचाः, चचाः: लिङ्गः.

2. The affix र is enjoined by III. 2. 168, as, चर्ण विचित्रः, नारदः उत्सुकः. The prohibition applies when a word ending in र (III. 2. 126) is the governing term; as, रयः लक्षणः.

3. The affix द्र is ordained by III. 2. 154: as आनां वाचार्यः रस वाहुः.

Vart:— But the word चक्षु in the classical Sanskrit, governs the Genitive, as द्रास्त : चक्षुः: लेखत: ‘lusting for the slave.’

4. Indeclinables formed by द्र affixes, as, चर्ण: चर्णः, नारदः चर्णः.

Vart:—This prohibition, however, does not apply to the indeclinables formed by द्र (III. 4. 16) and द्र (III. 4. 17), as, द्र युध्यो विद्वेषार्यः, द्र युध्यो विद्वेषार्यः (I. 1. 40).

5. निष्ठाः i.e., र and र; as नारदः प्रवाहः देवसेवकः द्र मुनः.

6. The words formed by द्र affixes (III. 3. 126), as, चक्षुकः भवता चक्षुः, द्रास्तः शेषोः भवता.

7. The द्र in the aphorism is a pratyāhāra, formed by taking the द्र of द्र (III. 2. 129) and the final द्र of द्र (III. 2. 135), meaning the affixes द्र (III. 2. 128), द्र (III. 2. 129), द्र (III. 2. 130) and द्र (III. 2. 135). As चोरः परमाणः, नारायणः: च, चचाः: चचाः: चचाः: चचाः.

Vart:—Optionally so, when the root द्र takes the affix द्र, as, चर्ण: or चर्ण: द्र मुनः.

आकेशांत्विष्यदोषस्मायः: || २० || पदार्थः || अक-इन्दोः, अविष्यः-

आचारग्योः: ( चंद्रिः ) इति: ||

वृत्ति: || अकेश अविष्यति काले विष्यदोषस्मातैं विष्यार्यः च विष्यार्यः प्रेतोऽि

चंद्रिः विष्यार्यः च.
70. The sixth case-affix is not used when the word is governed by a verbal noun in अक denoting futurity, or in तथ denoting 'futurity and indebtedness.'

The affix अक, such as धातु, ध्येय &c., denote futurity, and never denote indebtedness. The affix तथ such as द्यिति (III. 3. 3 and 170) denotes both. Thus कर्तर कारको युज्ञति 'he goes to make a mat.' जोड़ति नीलको युज्ञति 'he goes to eat rice.' So also with तथ, as शान्तगङ्गी or नारी he has to go to the village. वत दादी 'he owes hundred.'

Why do we say 'when denoting futurity or indebtedness'? Observe धातूतः पाठकः, ध्याय योगी करक्षा॥

Why is the Genitive employed in the following यथःस्वतः परुःकः. पुनःस्वतः वर्णः? The words पुरुः and वर्णः, though formed by अक (III. 1. 133), are not formed by that अक which denotes futurity, viz., III 3. 10. The present सूत्र relates to this latter अक, and not every अक in general.

कृत्यानं कर्तिर वा ॥ ३९ ॥ पदाति || कृत्यानं, कर्तिर, वा (ष्ट्री) ॥

युज्ञति || कृत्यानं प्रयोगः कर्तिर वा पद्धि विवक्षकर्तिति, न कर्तिष्टि ||

वक्षेत्रकथा || उदाहरणार्थी कृत्ये परियो प्रतिगीते प्रकाशयः इति ||

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

By II. 3. 65, verbal nouns, (क्रित-form), always govern the Genitive in denoting agent or object. The present सूत्र declares an option as to agent only, in the case of those verbal nouns which are Future Passive Participles. Thus भवतः or भवता करः कर्तेत् (III. 1. 95).

Why do we say 'in denoting the agent'? In denoting the object, no option is allowed; the Genitive is compulsory. As देवम् वास्कः वास्कः॥

Vart:-The prohibition of the Genitive should be stated in the case of the Future Passive Participles of those verbs which govern two objects. Thus कर्तयत् पारं ग्रामः देवदशनः नेतृकः ग्रामः देवदशनः ॥

तुत्ययथेऽसिद्धाधिकान्तं तुत्तियाःन्तरत्याः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदाति ||

tuṭṭha-अः, अनुतु-उपस्थाम्, तुत्तिया, अन्तरत्याः॥

युज्ञति || कर्तयति ||

72. The third or the sixth case-affix may optionally be employed, when the word is joined with another word meaning 'like to or resemblance'; excepting द्वृति and द्वृतमा
Thus पुज्यो देवदत्त, पुज्यो देवदत्त, or देवदत्तस्य, पुज्यो देवदत्तस्य, or देवदत्तस्य। But with हुला and उपासा the Genitive must necessarily be employed. As हुला देवदत्तस्य नारिज़, उपासा हुलास्य न विदनागै।

Though the anuvrсти of वा was understood in this sūtra from the previous sūtra, yet the repition of अन्यतत्त्वावच is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra. The word च in II. 3. 73 attracts the word अन्यतत्त्वावच into that sūtra; but had the word अन्यतत्त्वावच not been used in this sūtra, then the word च would have attracted the word तुलीविना instead, which is not desired.

On this sūtra, Professor Apte says:—'Pāṇini says that the words हुला and उपासा can not be used with the Instrumental. But this is against good usage: as, हुला, उपासा. विददारित दववास्वरा (Kum. Sam. V. 24), उपासा हुला स्वातांत्र्य (Raghuvarma VIII. 15). दुश्वर्यांमुख्तिविसेत चुहुमा (Māg. I. 4)'

चतुर्था: वातिस्वरुपेन्द्रास्वस्तदृश्चकलिः: II 73 I पदादितः पदादितः, च, आशिषित, आयुष्य-दृढ़-दृढ़-कुशल-कुश-अर्थ-हिंहि: (अन्यतत्त्वावच)।

73. The fourth as well as the sixth case-affix may be employed, when blessing is intended in connection with the words आयुष्य ‘long life,’ मद्रा ‘joy,’ भद्रा ‘good fortune,’ कुसल ‘welfare,’ सुख ‘happiness,’ अर्था ‘prosperity,’ and हिता ‘good.’

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

Vart:—In this sūtra आयुष्य &c., include their synonyms also.

Thus आयुष्य देवदत्स कुशल or आयुष्य देवदत्स कुशल। Similarly विनायक, नारायण, ब्रह्म, बुध, शुभ, सप्त, विद्वेद, विद्वेद, च, ज्योति, मण्डल, विनायक देवदत्स कुशल or देवदत्स कुशल।

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

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

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

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

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

As, पञ्चराम 'the hand and foot' चरित्रीव 'the head and neck' माहोदयानविविद्वार 'players on the mridanga and panava (kinds of drums)' राविव्वरीद्वार 'the soldiers on chariot and horse' बीणादरविबादद्वार, राविव्व चादासः

This rule applies to cases of Samāhāra Dvandva or aggregates Dvandva Compounds only; and not to Itarātara Dvandva (II. 2. 20.)
In the Dvandva Compounds of animals such as elephants, horses, &c., the singular is optional; (II. 4. 12.) The present rule also gives us an index as to where we must make Samāhāra Dvandva and where an Itaretara Dvandva. The Dvandva compounds of words signifying members of animal body, players or army, are always and solely Samāhāra Dvandva. The compounds of words like दूधवतिरि 'curd and milk' (II. 4. 14.) are purely Itaretara Dvandva and can never be Samāhāra Dvandva; while compounds of words denoting tree, animals &c., (II. 4. 12.) are optionally either Samāhāra or Itaretara Dvandva.

अनुवादः चरणानाम् || 3 || पदानि || अनुवादः, चरणानाम् ||
(हन्नम्, एकवचनम्)
युक्त: || चरणानां हन्नम् एकवचनम् अनुवादे गर्भासि ||
वाल्लिकरुम् || स्वेदार्थस्थाने चैति वचनवधम् ||

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

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

This aggregate is used with the aorist of the roots स्था and एक only; as उदयम् कठकालापम् 'kātha and kālāpa arose (again, further demonstrating their doctrines); मस्त्वादुः कठकाक्षुमयम् 'kātha and kauṁthama established again.

Why do we say 'when meaning repetition'? Observe उदयः कठकालापः or मस्त्वादुः कठकाक्षुमयम्, when demonstration for the first time is meant. It is the aorist of स्था and एक which takes such a Dvandva and not any other verb or any other tense of these verbs; as:—अनुविन्दम् कठकालापः and उद्यनिन्त कठकालापः.

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

As, वाञ्चित्तिनिर्देशम् ‘the Arks and Aśvamedha sacrifices,’ सायाह्नानितिराश्रस्य ‘the Sāyāhna and Atirātra sacrifices.

Why do we say ‘Yajur-veda sacrifices?’ Observe धुपावर ‘the Īṣṭu and Vajra ceremonies,’ उच्छ्वति:कालिनियेतीर ‘

Why do we say ‘when not in the neuter gender?’ Observe राजस्व-वाज्यमेय ‘the Rājasuṣya and Vājapeya sacrifices.’

Why have we द्वियोथिकायेश? Because the word ब्रम्ह is a technical term applying only to Soma-sacrifices and not any sacrifices in general. Therefore, though Dārśa and Pauṇḍarikas are Yajur-veda ceremonies, they not being Soma ceremonies, the present rule, does not apply.

A Dvandva compound of words denoting (persons who have studied) subjects, which in their order of study are not remote from each other, is singular.

As, पद्धकन्मक्षु ‘a person who has studied the pada arrangement and a person who has studied the krama arrangement; so also अपभित्तिज्ञान.

Why do we say ‘order of study?’ Observe पितामुही ‘father and son.’ Why do we say ‘not remote?’ See पितार्कमेताकस्य ‘sacrifice-knower and the grammarian.’

A Dvandva compound of words signifying jāti (genus) which are not names of living beings, is singular.
Thus द्विगोमल्लेव ‘the probe and the knife’; पानामयसङ्कुलित ‘fried rice and barley cake.’

Why do we say ‘words denoting genus’? Observe नन्दकपालपञ्चायती ‘Nandaka and Panchajanya.’

Why do we say ‘not of living’? See प्रक्रियाविभाजन ‘Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas.’

This rule applies to the jāti or genus names of substances (प्रजन्मार्थिक;) and not the jati names of qualities and actions. (प्रक्रियाविभाजन,) Thus शरण- मन्त्रबयार: ‘colour, savour, odour, and tangibility’; यंत्रावशक्तिवाचार्य ‘going, contraction and expansion.’

Even with jati names of substances, the Dvandva compound takes singular, only when the objects are spoken of collectively as a class; when, however, the individuals belonging to a class are indicated, the proper number should be employed; as, इस कुपोषे वदरामलकार्य विद्वान्तित ‘in this bowl are the badari and amalaki fruits.’

The words जाति ‘genus,’ प्रजन्म ‘substance,’ गुण ‘quality’ and किरण ‘action’ are technical terms of Indian Logicians. Jāti has already been explained. Substances are nine: earth, water, light, air, ether, time, space, soul, and mind. Qualities are twenty-four: colour, savour, odour, tangibility, number, dimension, severality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, weight, fluidity, viscidity, sound, understanding, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, effort, merit, demerit and faculty. There are five actions: throwing upwards, throwing downwards, contraction, expansion, and going.

7. A Dvandva compound of words of different genders, denoting names of rivers and countries, but not of towns, is singular.

Thus गंगायोगस्तर ‘the Ganges and the Sona.’ कुरुस् + कुरुस्तर् = कुरुस्तर ‘the country of the Kurus and the Kurukshetra.’ वर्षाबधार्शी वर्षान्तूर ‘the Ganges and the Yamuna.’ Both being feminine gender, so also यजुर्वेदम्.
Why do we say ‘rivers and countries’? Observe जलाशये ‘the hen and the pea-hen.’

Why do we say ‘not of a town?’ See तालिका ‘Jamabana and Sāluuki, which are the names of two villages or gramas.

We have taken the word ‘river,’ as the word ‘country’ does not include ‘river.’ So also ‘mountains’ are not included; as स्रोताशयमण्डले the Kailasa and the Gandhamadana.

Vart:—The prohibition extends to villages and towns (ग्राम) but not to cities, (नागरकोश) as नगरवालिका ‘the cities of Mathura and Pataliputra.’

Vart:—When a compound consists of two words, one a town and the other a city, the prohibition applies; as चोरीकेदव ‘the city of Saurya and the village of Ketavana.’

चार्जलिका: इलेकर चर्चा जनचल: (चार्जलिका एकवचनस्व) इलेकर चर्चा "बांधियो " ऊँचाईसे अधिकहासिक इलेकर चर्चा

8. A Dvandva compound of words signifying small animals, is singular.

Thus चार्जलिका ‘the louse and the nil’; दंगलधारा ‘the bug and the mosquito.’ The word चार्जलिका means an animal of a very small size. Some say that animals not having heads are called चार्जलिका (invertebrates); others say, those which are small in size; others say, all below the mongoose are kshudrajantu.

वेषां च बः विरोधः: शाक्ष्यातिकः (चार्जलिका एकवचनस्व) इलेकर चर्चा, च, बः विरोधः, शाक्ष्यातिकः: (चार्जलिका एकवचनस्व) इलेकर चर्चा

9. A Dvandva compound of words signifying those animals only among whom there is permanent enmity i. e., natural and eternal antipathy or quarrel, is singular.

The word बः विरोध means enmity: and शाक्ष्यातिक means permanent.

Thus, बांधियो ‘the cat and the rat; यक्ष्मगालास ‘the dog and the jackal; जनचलिका ‘the snake and the mongoose.’

Why do we say ‘natural and eternal’? Observe चर्चा बः जनचलिका कलहापसे ‘Gaupali and Salankayana are quarrelling.’

The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of एव ‘only,’ Dvandva compounds of such animals only are invariably singular; no other rule, even if otherwise applicable, would apply to such compounds,
Thus rule 12 says that Dvandva compounds of beasts and birds, is optionally singular. That rule (by 1. 4, 2.) would have set aside the present rule. But र व प्रर्व न्त 12 व युक्त 12 व युक्त 12 व युक्त prevents that, and no optional plural number is allowed in case of beasts or birds that are naturally at war; as अजयविनायकः ‘the horse and the buffalo’; काकोलक्ष ‘the crow and the owl’.

Thus 10. A Dvandva compound of words denoting those classes of सुध र s who have not been expelled from the communion of higher classes, is singular.

Thus, तच्चारकर्म ‘the carpenter and the blacksmith’; रजस्तप्पमय ‘the washerman and the weaver.’

The word अनिचित means one not expelled (from the dish).

A सुध र who can take food from the dish of a higher class, without permanently defiling that vessel, is called an अनिचि व स Suha.

Why do we say ‘not expelled’? Observe च दल चालुप्नयम ‘the Chandala and the Mritapa.’

The word gavās is, and others are also Dvandva compounds which take the singular number.

Thus ‘the cow and the horse.’ So also गवा विकार.


Vart:—In this list, the forms as given, are singular; but when the same words assume different forms they may take either number. As ती or ती in this form of गी and जर्व the next ‘rule applies and option is allowed.
12. A Dvandva compound of words being the names of trees, wild animals, grass, corn, condiment, domestic beasts and birds, and the compounds asva-vaḍava, purvā-para and adharottara, are optionally singular.

12. Thus, श्रवण्युज्यो or श्रवण्युज्यो ‘the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees’; रुपयुज्यो or रुपयुज्यो ‘the Ruru-deer and the spotted antelope’; हुषुयुज्यो or हुषुयुज्यो ‘the Kuṣa grass and the Kāsa grass’; त्रिदिभवयुज्यो or त्रिदिभवयुज्यो ‘the rice and the barley’ दिवुष्यो or दिवुष्यो ‘the curd and the butter’ दोषभिष्यो or दोषभिष्यो ‘the cow and the buffalo’; तिरिक्षिप्रज्ञयुज्यो or तिरिक्षिप्रज्ञयुज्यो ‘the Tittiri (a kind of partridge) and the Kapinjala birds’; जाशवयुज्यो or जाशवयुज्यो ‘the horse and the mare’; योमयुज्यो or योमयुज्यो ‘the first and the last’; अवरोचरयुज्यो or अवरोचरयुज्यो ‘the upper and lower.

Vart.—The Dvandva compound of words denoting names of fruits, army, large trees, wild animals, birds, small animals grain and grass, is singular, when a large number or quantity of these is spoken of; that is when a large number of them is taken collectively, the compound is singular, otherwise not; as, वहरायण्युज्यो ‘a badari and an ámalāki fruit are here’; चरिकारोयण्युज्यो ‘a charioteer and a horseman’; श्रवण्युज्यो ‘a Plaksha and a Nyagrodha tree’; रुपयुज्यो ‘a Ruru and a Prishhata deer’; हुषुयुज्यो ‘a Hansa and a Chakravaka bird’; हुषुयुज्यो ‘a louse and nit’; दुष्युज्यो ‘a br̥hi and yava grain’; हुषुयुज्यो ‘the kuṣa and kāsa grass.

विप्रतितिक्रमं चार्तिकक्षि कार्तिकामिकेन। १३। पद्मनि विप्रतितिक्रमं। च अनाचिक्षि-वार्ति। च। (विभाव दूर एक)।

Voiced: विप्रतितिक्रमं चार्तिकक्षि कार्तिकामिकेन। च अनाचिक्षि-वार्ति। च। (विभाव दूर एक)।

13. A Dvandva compound of words of contrary significations, but not being the names of concrete substances, is optionally singular.

Thus श्रीवस्तिक्रमं or श्रीवस्तिक्रमं ‘cold and heat’; हुषुयुज्यो or हुषुयुज्यो ‘pleasure and pain’; तिरिक्षिप्रज्ञयुज्यो or तिरिक्षिप्रज्ञयुज्यो ‘life and death’.

The word विप्रतितिक्रमं means words of contrary significations, च indicates the anuvṛtti of the word ‘optionally’ from the last sūtra.
Why do we say 'of contrary significations'? Observe, 'lust and anger,' which are not of contrary significations.

Why do we say 'not being the names of substances'? Observe 'cold and warm waters,' which denote substances.

न द्विपयां द्विनिर्विपयः द्विनिर्विपिनि (द्वौपूर) द्वैतः

14. The Dvandva compounds like 'dadhipaya' etc., are not singular.

Thus द्विपयवसी 'the curd and the milk'; वर्धिपिनसिन्गी or मुद्रापिनी 'the clarified butter and the honey.'

With this sūtra begins prohibition of singular number which previous sūtras would have caused.

The following is a list of such compounds:—

1. द्विपयवसी. 2. वर्धिपिनसिन्गी or मुद्रापिनी. 3. तुष्यद्विवयवसी. 4. विव-केशव. 5. स्वन्दविवयवसी. 6. परिमुन्त्रीविरिनी. 7. प्रभर्योपसदी. 8. शुक्रदुध्वारा. 9. डुंगा-वारीपी. 10. विन्दावारीपी. 11. कादरापदी. 12. नेपालवसी. 13. श्रवणतपसी. 14. उद्वर्तुवसी. 15. भारदावारी. 16-विधानम्. 17. व्रुत्तार्. 18. वाद्यमन्दी. 19. अधिकरणीतावली. 20. पदार्थ. 21. अधिकरणा-एता वलचे, च,

(न द्वौपूर) द्वैतः

15. A Dvandva compound denoting a fixed number (etavatva) of concrete things (adhikarna) is not singular.

As, द्व दलोहा, 'ten sets of teeth and lips'; दमनाधिकवकविका, 'ten sets of drum and panavika players.' Compare II. 4. 2.

विभावा समीचि. १६ द्वारि. विभावा समीचि, (अधिकरणीतावलचे, कुन्द: एकबृह) द्वैतः

वृत्ति: अधिकरणीतावलचय सन्तचे विभावा द्वौपूर ऊन्नवद्विवयवसी

16. A Dvandva compound, denoting an approximate number of concrete substances, is optionally singular.
As, उपदश्य दशलीष्ट् or उपदश्य दशलीष्ट्: 'nearly ten i.e., nine or eleven sets of teeth and lips; उपदश्य मार्कशिमपान्तिकाष्ठ or उपदश्य मार्कशिमपान्तिकाष्ठ: nearly ten (nine or eleven) मद्राण्गा and panava players.'

An indeclinable, when compounded with a numeral, may either be a Bahuvrihi or an Avvyayabhava compound. When the compound is singular in form, it is Avvyayabhava, and when it takes proper number-terminations, it is Bhuvrihi compound. As, उपदश्य; उपदश्य (II. 2. 25).

स नपुष्‌स ाम् || 17 || पदानि || स, नपुष्‌स ाम् (एकावल्ल्वत्, दसः).

17. It, namely the Dvigu or the Dvandva compound, with regard to which singular number has been ordained by the above rules, is always a neuter gender.

As, दमगशस् 'an aggregate of ten cows,' पारिपादस 'hands and feet,' गिरोदियाः 'head and neck.'

This sūtra debars the operation of the rule by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent member. See II. 4. 26.

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which ends in short अ, is employed in the feminine gender only; as पदुशुली, दयाली.

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a feminine word ending in आदु affix, is optionally feminine; as, पदुस्त्रावर्त or पदुस्त्रावर्ती.

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a word ending in अक, is optionally feminine and the अ is clipped; as पदुकाव or पदुकावी.

Vart:—A Prohibition must be stated in the case of Dvigu compounds ending in पात्र &c., पस्पार्श; पस्पार्श; पिलुकाव.

प्रात्त्वयीसार्वशः || 18 || पदानि || सत्त्वयी सावः, च, (नपुष्‌-साम्) ||
18. An Avyayabhava (II. 1. 6.) compound is also neuter gender.

Thus, अविनित ‘pertaining to a woman; so also, दुपक्षालित, वस्त्रसन्मीथि &c.

But for this rule, an Avyayabhava compound would have been either without any gender, if gender were to be regulated by its first member, which is generally an indeclinable, and which is the principal member in the compound; or it would have taken the gender of its subsequent member, like other compounds in which the last member is principal.

The force of च is to include cases not mentioned already.

Vart.—Neuter gender is employed after the word त्रु्न preceded by उस् or दुरें, as जुष्मात्र ‘sacred day’; दुर्कालित ‘lucky day’.

Vart.—The word द्व is neuter when compounded with a numeral or an Avyaya, as निष्प्रस्थ, वधुप्रस्थ, विष्प्रस्थ, वधुप्रस्थ.

Vart.—Adverbs, qualifying verbs, are put in the neuter gender and accusative case; as यूँ पलित ‘he cooks mildly,’ योजन पलित ‘he cooks well.’


tत्तुष्मयोजनकसपूर्ण: || १९ || पदार्थ || ट्युषुम: , अनन्तकसपूर्ण: ( नामस्कृत: ) ||

प्रमाण: नस्मयमत्र बाधाधार: जरंक्षालित्वाध्यायाधयुतेऽनुपुण्यमान्त्रिस्वतदिष्ठितं यवित्रतम प्रयत्त। ||

19. A Tat-purusha compound, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle nañ, and of the Karmadharaya compound, becomes neuter gender, in the cases explained in the following sūtras.

This is a governing sūtra, and regulates the sense of the succeeding aphorisms which show when a Tat-purusha may be neuter. Thus, वाच्यस्येनात्म or. भा (II. 4. 25); but हुष्टाने पदार्थ (the compound not being Tat-purusha); परंत्य (it being a compound with न्यून: = च); and परंत्य (it being Karmadharaya.

संचायां कल्होशीर्यसु || २० || पदार्थ || संचायांसु, कन्न, दशीनेऽसु , ( तत्प्रुष: न्यून सकं ) ||

प्रमाण: संचायाः बिषये कन्नायात्स्यस्युद्धोल्मत: नः स्वस्तिता, धा वेद: कन्न: उष्मेऽसु

20. When denoting an appellative, a Tatpurusha compound ending with the word kanthā ‘town,’ is neuter in gender, provided that it is the name of a town situated in the country of the Uśinars.
As, शौचक्षेत्र 'the town of Sauṣamī'; नारक्षेत्र 'the town of Ahwara.'

When not an appellative, the form is different; as, वीरक्षेत्र. So also if the town is not in the country of the Usînaras; as दाविक्षेत्र.

This debar the rule (II. 4. 25.) by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent term. (For accent see IV. 2. 124.)

उपप्रोपक्षम् तदा आशििवस्यायाम् ॥ २१ ॥ पद्माच ॥ उपप्रा-उपक्षम्, तदु-वादि-आशििवस्यायाम् (तत्त्वसः, नारुःखसः) ॥

२१. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words 'upajna' (invention) and 'upakrama' (commencement) is neuter in gender, when it is intended to express the starting point of a work which is first invented or commenced.

As, पालिकरक्षेत्र 'the grammars Kalāpa &c., had their commencement with Panini's invention'; वययििवयः दुष्करः 'Vyadi, invented Dushkaraṇa'; आधियोजकम् मागाः 'the palace is an invention of rich folks'; श्रीरक्षेत्राधिष्ठानानि 'the measures are the invention of king Nanda.'

Of course, when it has not this sense, the neuter gender is not employed; as देवदात्तौषो यथ: 'the chariot made by Devadatta,' श्रीमोक्षम् राजः 'the chariot commenced by Yajñadatta.' So also the sense may be that of invention &c., but when these words are not employed, the neuter gender is not used; as शासितिनिरक्षोः 'the slokas invented by Valmiki.' N. P. Prof. Bothislingk gives पालिकरक्षेत्रावलं वययिवयः 'The Grammar omitting the time of day is the work invented by Panini, (VI. 2. 14).

वर्णम् बाहुल्ये ॥ २२ ॥ पद्माच ॥ वर्णम्, बाहुल्ये, (तत्त्वसः, नारुःखसः) ॥

२२. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word chhāya 'shadow' is neuter in gender when the sense is that of profuseness of the thing indicated by the first term.

Thus, शासितशास्त्र 'A crowd of locusts darkening the sky.' शासितसः 'the sugarcane shade i.e., groves of sugarcane.' Otherwise, शासितशास्त्र 'the shadow of a wall.' (VI. 2. 14, accent.)
The sūtra 25 gives optional neuter; this rule enjoins invariable neuter when chhaya has the sense of profuseness.

23. A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word sabhâ ‘court’ is neuter, provided that it is preceded by (a word synonymous with) the word Rājā, or by a word denoting a non-human being.

As संवस्मथ ‘the King’s Court,’ ितवस्मथ ‘Lord’s Court.’

But in राजस्मथ ‘the King’s Court,’ the word is not neuter; for synonyms of राजस्मथ are only to be taken and not the word-form राजस्म; an apparent exception to Rule I. 1. 68.

So also रथस्मथ ‘the Court of the Rakshasas’, िवस्मथ ‘the Court of the Piśachas.’

But in बाहवामथ, िदवस्मथ &c., the word is not neuter; for the word non-human has a technical significance meaning Rakshasa or a monster.

24. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word sabhâ, when it does not mean a house, but means concourse, is neuter.

As, हीणभय, दारीथभय ‘the concourse of ladies and slaves;’ otherwise जनाथमथ ‘the poor-house.’

25. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words senâ ‘army’ surâ ‘wine,’ chhâya ‘shadow’, sâlâ ‘house, and niśâ ‘night,’ is optionally neuter, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle naḥ (II. 2. 6) and the karmadhārāya compound.
As ब्राह्मणव, ज्ञापकेनस् ‘the Brāhmaṇa army,’ वस्मुरच्, वस्मुरच ‘the barley wine,’ कुङ्कुमददाय, जुङ्कुमपदाय ‘the shadow of the wall,’ नोगालक्, नोगालक ‘the cow house,’ चन्द्रिशिं, चन्द्रिशिं ‘to-morrow night.’ But ज्ञेया ‘non-army,’ ज्ञेयतह गुड ज्ञेय ‘good army,’ the former being negative and the latter karmadharaya compound. For accent see VI. 2. 14. 123.

परविनिंकृ धन्दत्तपुरुषयो: || २६ || पदानि || परवत-लिंकुम्, धन्दू-तपुरुषयो: ||

पृष्ठा || प्रवचन गविलखं तद्भवति द्वारकद्वय तद्भवति पविनिं ||
वारा || लिङ्गाद्वय वर्गाकल्पयिनस्य संस्करणयो वति ||

26. The gender of Dvandva or Tat-purusha compound is like that of the last word in it.

This applies to Itaretara Dvandva or coupling by mutual conjunction कुङ्कुमददायविने ‘those two (fem.) the cock and the pāhān’ नोगालकुङ्कुमकारिने ‘those two (mas.) the pāhān and the cock.’ The Śāmkhara Dvandva is always neuter. So also in Tat-purusha compound not especially mentioned in the previous aphorism: As अहोचिपपस्साः, अहोपपस्साः ‘half a pippali! अहोकोवलकृ.’

Part 2—Prohibition must be made in regard to (1) Dvign compound, (2) compounds with मास्, जापन्न and, वस्मुरच, वस्मुरच and (3) compounds with जानति words; as, प्राथमयान: ‘Purodasa prepared in five cups’; मास्साण्ड्विषस् (मास्+जीवक्षक) ‘has obtained living,’ जङ्गानाण्ड्विषस्, जङ्गाजीवक्षस्; निच्छायिषस्: ‘gone beyond Kauśāmbi.

पूर्वतदत्तबहृढ़ि || २६ || पदानि || पूर्वतदत्तबहृढ़ि, अश्व-बहृढ़ि, (लिङ्कुम्) ||

पृष्ठा || अपत्तदत्तबहृढ़ि: पूर्वतदत्तबहृढ़ि भविष ||

27. The gender of the compound of the word अश्व ‘horse’ and वाडव ‘a mare,’ is like that of the first word in it.

This applies where the compound is not an aggregate by rule II. 4. 12; in that case it will be neuter, अश्ववाडविनी; अश्ववाडविन; अश्ववाडविन; &c., (in every number and case) ‘those two (mas.) the horse and the mare.’ This is an exception to the last and general rule, by which the gender of the subsequent term, guides the gender of the whole compound.

हृदयुगितहरियरात्रेच चक्तदस्ति || २७ || पदानि || हृदयुगितहरियरात्रेच च, चक्तदस्ति, (पूर्वतदत्तबहृढ़ि, लिङ्कुम्) ||

पृष्ठा || हृदयुगितहरियरात्रेच दत्तदस्ति दत्तदस्ति विधे पूर्वतदत्तबहृढ़ि भविष ||
28. Of the compounds ‘hemantaśisirau’ and ‘ahoratre’ the gender is like that of the first word; in the Chhandas, (vedas).

**This aphorism debars the general rule given in II. 4. 26.**

This applies to these words in all cases and numbers, not being confined to them in the dual number, though exhibited in the sūtra in the dual number, as:—पुर्वपधातित्रय, अपरद्रव्य, पूर्बेष्ट, अपरत्रांत्रावविश्वक्र: ‘The white fortnight is fuel-wood, the black fortnight is the dung-cake, and days and nights are bricks (of the altar of sacrifice).’

Why do we say ‘in the Vedas’? Observe ठेरे निस्थापिते, अपरत्रांत्रावविश्वक्र: ‘In the Vedas the ordinary rules of gender are often set aside; this an individual example of the universally exceptional nature of the Vedic language.

रात्राहि नाहि: पुसिः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्रि-अहि-अहि:, पुसिः ॥

भूतसंयुक्ताः ॥ रात्रि अहि अहिरेते पुसि भाष्यस्ति ॥

व्याख्यासौ ॥ अपरत्रांत्रावविश्वक्र: पुसि भूति वल्क्यस्ति ॥

29. The Dvandva and Tatpurusha compound ending with rātra and ahna and aha are spoken of in the masculine,

These words refer to krit and Samāsanta affixes. Thus the word रात्रि is formed by रात्रि + अप (V. 4. 87) अहि is formed by V. 4. 88 and अहि by V. 4. 91. The general rule II. 4. 26 also does not apply here.

दिकासः, दिकासः ‘A space of two or three nights’ प्रस्तरः, अपराहः, नवान्तः ‘the forenoon, the afternoon and noon’, नहः ‘two days’ निस्त्र, ‘three days.’

**Vart:**—The words अपवासः &c., are masculine, as अवासः, नवासः, पुंजासः &c.

अपच नपुरकमु ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपस्रुः, नपुरकमु ॥

भूतसंयुक्ताः ॥ अपच नपुरकमु नपुरकि नमिति ॥

30. The Tatpurusha word ‘apatham ‘a bad road’ is neuter.

अपचलद् ‘this (neuter) is a bad road’ अपवासः गाते पुसि ‘the fool roams on wrong roads.’ But अपचलद् a (masc.) ‘a roadless country.’ Here the compound being Bahuvrihi the word is masculine so; also अपवा नपां

**Bk. II. Ch. IV. § 28-30.**
31. The words 'ardharcha' &c., are spoken of in masculine and neuter.

As अर्धचर्चा and अर्धचर्च 'half a verse,' गौदम् and गौदव 'cow-dung,' these twofold genders sometime, convey different meanings, the masculine form having one meaning and the neuter, another. Thus पद् 'treasure,' पद्म 'lotus,' मार 'treasure,' and मणियु and मणि 'conch-shell,' मृग 'or मृत 'ghost.' But when it is a verbal noun, it takes the gender of the word it qualifies. पीवाय 'or पीवाय 'salt'; but when it is considered as a derivative word meaning 'born in or belonging to the sea' it takes the gender of the word it qualifies. धाराव 'best' धाराव 'compendium.' So भगवें and भगवें.

32. In the room of idam ‘this,’ in case of its re-employment in a subsequent member of the same sentence and referring to the same thing (anvādeśa) there is the substitution of as which is anudātta i.e., gravely accented, when the third case-affix and the rest follow.

The word ānādeśa means literally saying (ādesa) ‘after’ (anu) or after-say or re-employment.

चन्द् (actually अ) replaces हदुष्ठ in all cases except the nominative and the accusative, when anvadeśa or repetition is implied. अष्ठ replaces the whole of हदुष्ठ by 55 and not only the final प. Anvadeśa means repeating in a second sentence with reference to the preceding in which it has already been used. Both pronouns, the antecedent and the subsequent, must refer to the same object. As, आद्याय दानात्यायाः राजिर्पाताः, अद्य आद्यायावहस्यपूर्वादाय तस्यहेतुः.

‘These students studied in the night and they have read in the day also.’ The substitute अष्ठ will replace हदुष्ठ, even when the latter takes the affix अष्ठ (V. 3. 7).
33. In the room of तत् in case of its re-employment there is the substitution of the gravely accented तद् when the affixes च (V. 3. 10) and तद् (V. 3. 7) follow, and the affixes च and तद् are anudatta also (gravely accented).

Thus जत त 'here,' and जत्त 'hence' in the following:—

बैलिक ग्राम शुद्ध यथाग; चारो शुद्ध दुका अभियोगः।

‘We live in this (stasmin) village, happily, therefore let us read with full devotion in this (atra).’

शतस्त्राणाप्राण्यारः

अन्वेषे, चारो शुद्ध दुका अभियोगः।

‘Learn from this student Prosody and also learn from him Grammar.’ By rule V. 3. 5. तद् is declared to be the substitute of तद्; its repetition here is to indicate that this तद् of anvādeśa is anudatta.

प्रहरियाचैस्वेन: || ॥ ॥ पदार्थ || प्रहरिया-टा-श्रोद्भ, एन; ||

(शद्ध, एतद्, अनवाद्ये, अनुदाते)

प्रति || प्रहरिया दा चोदू इयेतित्व परस्त इदमेतदोर्मादिविकक्ष्योऽरेनमेव भवई अनुदाते।

बार्त्तिकाः || प्रभातिस्ते नपुर तत्कालन्ये ज्ञातवर्ष ||

34. When an affix of the 2nd case or च (Ins. Sing.) or चोर (Loc. dual) follows, च which is anudatta is the substitute of चद् and चद्ध in the case of its re-employment.
The word रस्सू is also understood in this सूत्रa though it was not so in the last. This skipping is technically called 'frog-leap.' Thus:—
रस्सू or रस्सू संग्रोहोपनाधयोक्तर, अयो मुनि क्या कर्तनमुख्यप्राप्तय। 'teach this pupil
Prosody, and teach him Grammar also,' घोषन or घोषत सार्वायणर रात्रिस्पर्श, 'this pupil studied in the night and he studied in the day also.' घोषणयेत or घोषणयेत सार्वायणर रोगिनः शीतवः, अयो न नुयेत। माध्यं घोष 'the
family of these two students is respectable and their wealth is great.'

*Note:*—The word एनुृ neuter and singular, is also used in अवादेशा: as, रदनं कुष्ठकामसं कमालवेदु 'bring this bowl and wash it.' The above three सूत्रa regulate the accent only of certain pronouns.

अश्रुपालतुके ॥ ३५ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ अश्रुपालतुके ॥

पूर्णि ॥ वर्णित अश्रुपालविशम्यत्वसंदायिनिविवेकताः ॥

35. The clause 'when the affix is Ardhadhātuka' is understood in the following aphorisms up to aphorism 58 of this chapter.

Thus it will be taught in सूत्रa 42, 'that वश is the substitute of रस्सू when विभक्त follows.' The words 'when the affix is Ardhadhātuka' must be read into the सूत्रa to complete the sense. The result will be that in the अर्धहदातुका विभक्त mainly the शार्यालिङ्ग or the Benedicitive mood, वश is re-
placed by वश, but not so in the सर्वादहदातुका विभक्त ॥ e., the Potential mood
(विभिन्तो). Thus, Benedicitive वधार 'may he kill'; but Potential समादृत let him kill.'

The word अवर्यावाग्नि is in the 7th case; the force of this case-affix here is not that given in I. 1. 66. i. e., the सूत्रa does not mean 'when an Ardhadhātuka affix follows.' But the 7th case has the force of indicating the subject,'the meaning of the सूत्रa being 'when the subject is an ardhad-
hātuka affix.' The result of this explanation is, that the various substitu-
tions enjoined hereafter should be made first, and then the respective affixes should be applied. Thus whenever we want to affix any ardhad-
hātuka-affix to अव, 'to be,' we must first substitute अ for it, and then take the proper ardhadhatuka-affix which would come with regard to अ. Thus we can apply अम to अ by rule III. 1. 97 which says: 'after verbs ending in vowels अम is applied.' But this affix could never have been applied to अम which ends in a consonant. Thus we have वशवस्य. So the substitution does not depend upon any particular affix, but ardhadhatuka-affixes as a class,
36. The word आभिष्चित in the substitute of भु दू to eat, when the affix यो (VII. 1. 37) or an अर्डधातुका जिन affix beginning with त follows.

मधु 'Having eaten.' (म + भु + यो = म + भु + त). So also गर्ह 'eaten' (भु + क = भु + त).

The त in आभिष्चित is merely for the sake of articulation and is not an anubandha, otherwise there would have been the insertion of the nasal त (दु). So also the त in गर्ह नै., is merely for the sake of articulation. But भु + क = भु 'food' is an irregularity.

The employment of यो in this sūtra indicates the existence of this Paribhāṣā. 'A bahiraṅga substitution of यो supersedes even antaraṅga rules.' Because in case this maxim did not exist, the substitution of यो for भु before यो which is taught in this sūtra, would follow already from the word द्यिति (before that which is distinguished by an indicatory त) in this rule, i.e., त would be (by maxim 'that which is bahiraṅga is regarded as not having taken effect, or as not existing, when that which is antaraṅga has taken effect') first be substituted for भु before त and यो afterwards for त.

Why do we say 'before affixes beginning with त'? Observe जहरते 'is eaten.'

Why do we say 'before affixes having indicatory त'? Observe भासत्य.

लुहसानीङ्गस्सतु ॥ ३३ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ लुहसानीङ्गस्सतु (भु; अहुः पाः) ॥

पुत्रि: ॥ दुरुक्षिजः परितोयर्वो पदमाः आदेवीः भृति ॥

लालिता ॥ पदमाः चाक्षकुत्रुपसङ्ग्यायामुष ॥

37. When lūṇ (aorist) or san (desiderative) follows पदमाः is the substitute of भु to eat.

अस्मृण, असम्बु, असमाव 'he ate.' The त in पदमाः is servile and indicates the substitution of भु for द्यिति of the Aorist (III. 1. 55.) So also in desiderative, as, विधासनति, विधासति: विधासिति 'wishes to eat.'

Vart:—The verb भु is replaced by चद when the affix चद follows.

Thus म + भु + चद = चद + भु = मचद: 'voracious.'
38. And when the affix ज्ञ and ते follow अन्य is the substitute of अर्ज.

39. In the ohandas (Vedas), अन्य is diversely substituted for अर्ज.

Sometimes it does not take place; as अर्जद्वाद वच्यति नेव वहत्युतस्य.

The word अन्य is used in this सूत्र and the word अन्वतरस्यानु in the next. There is evidently difference between the senses of these words; otherwise Pāṇini would not have employed them in such juxtaposition, had they been synonymous. For then the anuvṛtti of अन्य in the next sūtra would have been sufficient. The following verse indicates that difference.

40. When लिङ्क (Perfect) follows अन्य is optionally the substitute of अर्ज.

The word पद्य is thus formed:—पद्य + भवर्त = पद्य + भव + र्ता.
41. When श्रृं follows, बच्य is optionally the substitute of 'कश्य to weave.'

In the Perfect tense thus we have two roots: Let us first take बच्य. Then we have regular व + श्रृं = व + छ्यू = बच्य. The roots in व, द and जी are treated like roots ending in जा thus:

Sing. Dual. Plural.
1. बच्य बच्य बच्य
2. बच्य or बच्य, बच्य: बच्य
3. बच्य बच्य: बच्य

In this case samprassāraṇa ordained by VI. 1. 17 does not take place by VI. 1. 40

When however we take the base बच्य, the ज इ न' for the sake of articulation only, we have the following forms:— बच्य + छ्यू = बच्य + छ्यू + ज (VI. 1. 8) = बच्य + छ्यू + ज (VI. 1. 17) = बच्य; the ज is not changed into ज by VI. 1. 38. In this dual we have बच्य + छ्यू = बच्य + छ्यू (VI. 1. 15) = बच्य + छ्यू + ज (VII. 4. 60) = बच्य: The affix छ्यू being कि행 affix by rule I. 2. 5 there is samprassāraṇa before reduplication. Thus we have बच्य, बच्य, छ्यू: Further by rule VI. 1. 39 before कि행 affixes ज may be optionally substituted for ज, i.e., छ्यू or छ्यू and जू or जू.

इत्येक बच्य 'सिकि' इर ॥ पदार्थ ॥ हृत:, बच्य, सिकि ( आध्य भाषावे ) ॥

हृति: इसीरासीसंग्रहवस्त्राद्यायों भवति सिकि परत् आध्यभाषावे ॥

42. बच्य is the substitute of 'हृत 'to kill' when the ārdhadhātuka लिङ (Benedictive) follows.

बप्राध' my he kill,' बप्राधास्व' may|they two 'kill,' बप्राध: 'may they all kill.'

The substitute बच्य, ends with short ज, this ज is elided. This elision being like the original (stahānivat I. 1-56), in forming the Aorist, छू, we have अब्च्यू + ० + देषू = अवच्छू. Here zero being stahānivat prevents the vṛiddhi of ज of ज which otherwise would have take place by VII.2. 7.
43. And when त्र० (Aorist) follows, भू is the substitute of भू.

Some killed, 'they killed.' The division of this aphorism from the last सुत्र (yoga-vibhāga) indicates that the next rule applies to Aorist only and not to Benedictive as well. There is no option in Benedictive Atmanepada.

44. When Atmanepada affixes follow, भू is optionally the substitute of भू in the त्र० (Aorist).

Thus अस्वाप्त or अदृश्य; अस्वत्तवाद or अदृत्तवाद; अस्वरूप or अदृष्ट.

The verb भू becomes Atmanepadi when preceded by भू (I. 3. 28).

By सुत्र I. 1.14, the Aorist-affixes in the Atmanepada are किन्तु after भू and by VI. 4. 37 the भू is elided before किन्तु affixes then by VIII. 2. 27 the भू is elided. Thus भू + किन्तु + भू = भूत.

इयो गा लुढ़ि ४५ पदार्थि । इयो, गा, लुढ़ि, (आत) ।

45. गा is the substitute of the root भू when त्र० follows.

अगात् 'he went' (II. 4. 77) अगात्तात् 'they two went' अभू 'they all went.' The repetition of the word भू in this सुत्र though is anuvṛtti was coming from the last aphorisms, indicates that there is no option allowed even in the Atmanepada, गा being the invariable substitute in all the Padas. Thus अगात् भवता you, went.' The form अगात् is thus evolved भू+गा+किन्तु+भू, अगात् (II. 4. 77.)

Part: — गा is the substitute of भू 'to remember' in the Aorist as it is of भू. Thus अगात् 'he remembered.' अभ्यागतात्, अभ्यस्त. The root भू belongs to Adādi class.
46. When the affix अ (Causal) follows, गति is the substitute of द्वार when the sense is not that of ‘informing’ but that of ‘going.’

पुरुष: यदि पीर इसी अर्थात् नामार्थस्य गतिरिदेशी भवति

मयांति 'makes him go' गतिरिदेश, मयांति &c. But अकालविः 'causes to believe.' अर्थात् अर्थात्. The र of गति is for articulation. So also द्वार to 'remember'; as, अर्थात् अर्थात्

सनि च ॥ ॥ द्वारानि || सनि, च, ( द्वार, अवोधने, गतिः.) ॥

पुरुष: यदि पीर इसी अर्थात् नामार्थस्य गतिरिदेशी भवति

47. And when द्वार (Desiderative) follows, गति is the substitute of द्वार when the sense is not that of ‘informing.’

विस्मिति 'wishes to go' विस्मिति, विस्मिति. But अकालविः प्रतिविधि
‘he wishes to inform the meaning.’ So also with द्वार, as अर्थात् अर्थात्.
The yogavibhåga indicates that the anuvṛtti of द्वार only runs in the next sūtra and not of द्वार. The form is thus evolved in the Parasmaipada; द्वार द्वार = द्वार + द्वार + द्वार (VII. 1. 9) = द्वार + द्वार + द्वार (VII. 4. 60) = द्वार + द्वार + द्वार (VII. 4. 62) = द्वार + द्वार + द्वार (VII. 2. 50) = विस्मिति, and then we add the personal terminations.

इक्कुं च ॥ ॥ द्वारानि || इक्कु, च, ( सनि, गतिः.) ॥

पुरुष: इक्कु वर्ते पीरेषु नामार्थविदेशी भवति

48. And of द्वार ‘to study,’ गति is the substitute when द्वार follows.

अर्थात् अर्थात्, च ते, च च वे 'he wishes to study.' The root द्वार is always preceded by the preposition अर्थ. This will be Atmanepadi by 1. 3. 12 and I. 1. 56. The form is similarly evolved by the application of rules VII. 2. 58, and VI. 4. 16.

गाक्क, लिदि ॥ ॥ द्वारानि || गाक्क, लिदि, ( इक्कु:) च

पुरुष: ग्रामार्थविद्या भवते नारा लिदि परतः

49. गात्र is the substitute of घट when लित्र (Perfect) follows.

The substitute being like its original (I. 1. 68.) गात्र would have been Atmanepadi, even without the indicator, घट. Why has then this घट been added to it? The object is that in the सूत्रा I. 2. 1. गात्र there should mean this substitute गात्र and not the verb गात्र 'to go.'

Thus we get अवस्थिति 'he studied'. अवस्थितै, अवस्थितिरे. See VI. 4. 64 and III. 4. 8.

विलासा लुक्कःकोऽ: || ॥ पदार्थिन || विलासा, लुक्कःकोऽ: ( घटः , लित्र, गात्र ) ॥

50. गात्र is optionally the substitute of घट when घट (Aorist) and घट (Conditional Future) follow.

Let us take the case when गात्र replaces घट. The affixes of घट and घट are treated as लित्र by I. 2. 1. and then by the Rule VI. 4. 66 (When an ardhadhatuka affix, beginning with a consonant and distinguished by an indicative घट or घट follows; then let घट be the substitute of long घट of the verbs termed घट and of मर, मरर, मरर, मरर, मरर, मरर), we get अभ्यर्थिन (अभिज + घट + ध + स्र), अभ्यर्थिनरास, अभ्यर्थिनरास. In the alternative we have प्रभेद्वित, प्रभेद्वितास, and प्रभेद्वित.

So also in घट: as अभ्यर्थिन, अभ्यर्थिनरास, अभ्यर्थिनरास, or in the alternative, अभ्यर्थित, अभ्यर्थितास, and अभ्यर्थित.

गात्र, संश्वित्वोऽ: || ॥ पदार्थिन || गात्र, घट, संश्वित्वोऽ: ( घटः, गात्रः, विलासाः ) ॥

51. गात्र is optionally the substitute of घट in the causative वित्र, when that causative takes the affix san (desiderative) and chan (Aorist).

अवस्थितिपिसिन वित्रिः 'he desires to teach.' - The form is thus evolved: गा + वित्र = गात्र (VII. 3. 36); then by the rules already stated, we get the above form with the affix घट, अभ्यर्थिनरास or अभ्यर्थिनरास 'he taught.' The घट is changed into घट by VI. 1. 48. Thus घट + वित्रिः = घट + वित्रिः = घट + प + घट = अवस्थितिः. This rule applies to the desideratives of causatives and aorist of causatives.
52. श is the substitute of the verb अस्त्र, 'to be,' when an ārdhadhātukā affix is to be applied.

विविध 'he will be,' विचित्र 'in order to be,' विचित्रवच्च 'must be.' Now the Perfect tense affixes are also ārdhadhātukā affixes (III. 4. 115). The Perfect of अद्य is therefore the same as that of श, namely, अआद्य &c. There is, however, an important exception to this rule, namely, when अद्य is employed as an auxiliary verb in forming Periphrastic Perfect of other verbs. In that case अद्य forms its Perfect tense regularly, अव अद्य: अद्य: &c. This apparent breach of the present sūtra is explained by taking the term अद्य in III. 1. 40 as a Pratyāhāra including अ, अ and अद्य, and if अद्य could not form its Perfect in the regular way, its inclusion in this Pratyāhāra would be useless; hence we conclude, that as an auxiliary verb, अद्य forms its Perfect regularly.

53. वचि is the substitute of श 'to speak' when any ārdhadhātukā affix is to be applied.

वचि 'he will speak,' वचि 'in order to speak.' त he of वचि is for the sake of articulation only. The substitute being like the principal, वचि is Atmanepadi when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, as श 'he spoke,' शष्टि 'he will speak.'

54. द्य is the substitute of वचि 'to perceive, to tell,' when any ārdhadhātukā affix is to be applied.

वचि 'he will perceive or tell,' वचि 'in order to tell; द्य always द्य must be told.' The substitute being like the principal, वचि being always Atmanepadi (I. 3. 12), द्य would have also been always Atmanepadi. But in that case the letter अ अ अ अ would have no scope; it therefore follows that द्य is not always Atmanepadi, but under conditions mentioned in I. 3. 72.
Vart:—This substitute is also said to begin with क्य instead of छ. Thus आक्यायत, आक्यातात् and आक्यात्त्वत्.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when meaning ‘exclusion’; as हुलमा: संस्त्वर: bad men should be excluded.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when the affixes आन and अन follow: as नृष्णरा राष्ट्र: the Rākshasas are cruel.’ This is Vedic Sanskrit; modern नृष्ण. The meaning of the root छ, here, is ‘to injure.’ So also विषयि: परिदृश्यि: here the affix is अन.

Vart:—Substitutes are made diversely in denoting appellatives and not qualities and in the Vedic Sanskrit; as अनस्य ‘food’ (here the substitute दिय does not replace खल); वषयस्य ‘killer’ (खल being substituted for खल before खलु); गात्र ‘body’ (गा is substituted for खल before the unādi affix तु); विषयि: (here खल is not replaced by खल before अन); अनस्य ‘a court yard’ (here अन is not replaced by खल as the next sutra 54 requires.)

वा लिटि ॥ पद्यं ॥ पद्यार्थं ॥ वा, लिटि, (रक्षिकृः, वर्तक् ॥

मूर्ति: लिटि परत्तुष्णिः ॥ शेषादिदृश्यो वा भवति ॥

55. शेषाः is optionally the substitute of चिन्ततः when लिटि (Perfect) follows.

The लिटि also is an आर्धधातुका affix and by the last sātra शेषा would always have been the substitute of चिन्ततः; the present sātra makes this substitution optional, as आध्यपदी, आध्यपदी and आध्यमव. In the alterative we have आध्यादी, आध्यवादी and आध्यादीि ‘he told &c.

अतिष्यपदोः: ॥ पद्योः ॥ पद्यार्थोः वा, अध्य-अयोः: (आयो) ॥

मूर्ति: अतिष्यपादोऽवभावकाद्या सध्यात्मादिकते पश्चात् पश्चात्ति वज्जितस्य ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पद्योः: प्रतिवेदि चाक्य उपस्नानाम ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शेषादिदृश्यो वाक्यमयेव द्वयेि ॥

56. वा is the substitute of the verb ज्ञ: ‘to drive,’ to lead, when an आर्धधातुका affix follows, with the exception of the affixes ज्ञ (III. 3. 18.) and ज्ञ (III. 3. 69).

वार्तिकम् ‘driver,’ वार्तिकीयः.

Why do we say ‘with the exception of ज्ञ and ज्ञ? Observe ज्ञ + ज्ञ + ज्ञ = ज्ञानस्रो्स् society'; वदाम: ‘driving out’. So also with ज्ञ, as ज्ञ: a multitude or herd of animals &c., वदाम: ‘driving out of cattle.’ See III. 3. 69.

Why have we used वा with a long ह? For the sake of forms like प्रवीणपि: &c.
Vart:—Prohibition must also be stated (along with प्रण and आँ) of the affix यवर्ग, as प्रणर्ग्मय ‘a meeting, fame.’

Vart:—The substitution is optional before अर्धधातुकास beginning with a letter of व्रुत्ति Pratyāhāra (all consonant except य) as मवेशय or प्रवेशितया मवेशितया or मवेशितया. See VI. 2. 144 for accent.

वा यी || पद्कर || वा, यी, (अजे: वी, आजे) ||

वृत्ति: यी यथा जाति की हस्त्वचातेयनी सम्बंध ||

57. वी is optionally the substitute of भृग, when the affix य (III. 3. 15 &c.) follows.

This declares an option in case of the affix रुद्र, the word य in the Sūtra referring to this affix; as, प्रवेशय or प्रवेशितया प्रवेशितया: ‘driving stick or whip.’

स्वयत्तियारंभितो युति लुगितिजो || पद्कर || पद्गित || यस्मिनस्य-अर्थिजिति: युति, लुगि, अश्व-इजो: ||

वृत्ति: स्वयंति वतिष्ठगृहाराथ आर्थिस्वतिस्य परमेष्ठिश्वरधरी युद्ध भस्ति ||

वार्तिकम् अद्वादस्यार्थमात्रा दु: सरस्वतीदेव्विकासम् ||

58. After a word ending with the Gotra affix यव (IV. 1. 151) and after a Gotra word denoting the descendant of a Kshatriya or a Rishi (seer), and after a word a word ending with a Gotra affix having an indicatory य, the affix यव, and यव, employed in forming दुः (IV. 1. 163) descendants, are elided by the substitution of यव्य।

1. Thus by सुत्रa IV. 1. 151 (the affix यव comes after यर्ष &c., in denoting descendant) we get यव्य = कोरव्य (VII. 2. 117) ‘a grandson of Kuru.’ This is a Gotra word (IV. 1. 162). Now in forming a word denoting a lower descendent than grandson, we add a Yuvanan affix. Thus कोरव्य + दुः (IV. 1. 95). Now this दुः is elided by the present सुत्रa, and we get the form कोरव्य which thus means both a Gotra and a Yuvan (IV. 1. 163) descendant of Kuru. So that कोरव्य: is the name both of the father and the son.

Now it may be objected: ‘the word कोरव्य: belongs to the विजय class and by IV. 1. 154, it will take the affix र्तिः. Do we, what we may, the form will be कोरव्यायणिः (VII. 1. 2.)’ To this we reply, the word कोरव्य: which we see in that list of र्तिः &c., is not the word कोरव्य: which we formed by adding र्तिः under rule IV. 1. 151; that Tika word is formed by adding र्तिः under rule IV. 1. 172, and is confined to Kshatriya. The कोरव्य: which we have taken, denotes a Brahmin Gotra formed by IV. 1. 151.
2. Now to give an example of a word denoting the descendent of a Kshatriya. We take IV. 1, 114. which tells us that 'the affix अस्तु may be added to the words which are the names of Rishis, or of persons belonging to the family of Andhaka, or Vrishinis or Kuru.' The Andhaka family, is a Kshatriya family, and घस्तुक्ति is a person of that family. Then घस्तुक्ति + अस्तु = घस्तुक्ति: 'a descendent of Svaphalka.' This is a Gotra descendent. In forming Yuvan descendent we have घस्तुक्ति + रस्तु. Now this रस्तु must be elided by the present sūtra. So that घस्तुक्ति: means both father and the son.

3. Now to give an example of Rishis family. The sūtra last mentioned IV. 1, 114. will also hold here. We take the word बनियु; and वसायु + अस्तु = वसायु; the Yuvan affix रस्तु will similarly be elided after his; and thus the word वसायु: means both the father and the son.

4. Then to take the example of Gotra word formed by affixes having indicatory यु. Thus sūtra IV. 1, 104. declares 'the affix अस्तु comes after the words विन्दु &c., in denoting Gotra descendents.' Thus विन्दु + अस्तु = विन्दु: Then add रस्तु to denote Yuvan descent, and we have विन्दु: + रस्तु. By the present rule this रस्तु is elided and thus we have विन्दु: both for the father and the son.

The above examples show the elision of the affix रस्तु. Now we shall give example of the elision of the affix अस्तु. Now rule IV. 1, 154 says: 'the affix रस्तु comes after the words विन्दु &c., in denoting descendant.' Thus विन्दु + रस्तु = विन्दु (VII. 1. 2.) Then to form the Yuvan descendent we add अस्तु by IV. 1. 83. Thus विन्दु + अस्तु. By the present sūtra, this अस्तु is elided, and we have विन्दु: both applicable to the father and the son. Other examples can be multiplied.

Why do we say 'there is elision only after these words'? The Yuvan affix will not be elided after other words. Thus rule IV. 1. 112 says:—'The affix अस्तु comes after विन्दु &c., in forming Gotra.' अस्तु = अस्तु. Now this is neither a word formed by विन्दु nor is it the name of a Kshatriya or a Rishi.; nor any affix having अस्तु goes to form it. Therefore the Yuvan affix रस्तु will not be elided after this. Thus अस्तु + रस्तु (IV. 1. 95) कोहड़ि: 'son of Kauhada.'

Why do we say 'affix denoting Yuvan descendent is elided'? An affix not denoting a Yuvan descendent will not be elided. Thus the pupils of वामरस्तु are called वामरस्तु: which word is thus formed: वामरस्तु + अस्तु = वामरस्तु: 'a descendent of Vāmaratha' (IV. 1. 115). Then to denote pupils we add अस्तु by IV. 2. 111. Thus वामरस्तु + अस्तु = वामरस्तु: 'a pupil of Vāmarathya.'

Why do we say 'Yuvan affix अस्तु and रस्तु are elided'? The other Yuvan affixes under similar circumstances are not elided. Thus the Yuvan
descendent of दारिक (grandson of दर) will be दाराद्वायु: Here the affix दक्क (IV. 1, 101) is not elided.

**Vart:**—All Yuvan affixes are elided after Gotra words not denoting Brahmin Gotras; as ची: applies equally to father and son; जायाधिक: father, जायाधिक: son; चौदहविर: father, चौदहविर: son; चाक्षुषविर: father, चाक्षुषविर: son. Here, first दक्क is added by IV. 1. 173, then दक्क to denote Yuvan descendent. Then this दक्क is elided by the present Vartika.

चेलाच्छम्भिक: युज (चस्त्र, लुग-सिनो:)।

वृत्ति: पैल हस्तेवादिक्षम युवाच्छम्भिक लुग मवितं।

59 And after the words पैल &c. there is the दक्क elision of the Yuvan affix.

पैल + फू = पैल (IV. 1. 118). 'The Gotra descendent of Paila.'

पैल: + दक्क (IV. 1. 156). The present rule intervenes, and the Yuvan affix दक्क is elided; so पैल is both a Gotra and a Yuvan word. Some say that the 'Paila &c. words are formed by the affix दक्क;' (IV. 1. 95) and then the luk-elimision of the Yuvan affix would be valid by the next rule 60. They would limit the scope of the present sutra to cases where the Gotra of the people is not known, the Prachyas not being indicated.

1. पैल. 2. मालख. 3. सालख. 4. सालख्यालख. 5. सालख. 6. रायक. 7. चौदहविर. 8. चौदहविर. 9. चौदहविर. 10. चौदहविर. 11. चौदहविर. 12. चौदहविर. 13. चौदहविर. 14. चौदहविर. 15. चौद-हित. 16. चौदहिरत्र. 17. चौदहिर. 18. चौदहिर. 19. चौदहिर. 20. चौदहिर. 21. चौदहिर. 22. चौदहिर. 23. चौदहिर.

इच: प्राणाद्वायु || इच || पदार्थम् || इच: प्राणाद्वायु, (मन्त्र, लुग)।

वृत्ति: पैल ए दक्क दक्कवादिक्षम लुग मवितं।

60. After a word ending with the Gotra affix दक्क (IV. 1. 95) there is luk-elimision of the Yuvan affix, when the Gotra of the people called Prachya (Eastern) is denoted.

पालागार + दक्क = पालागारित्व: 'the Gotra descendent of Pannagara'; after this the Yuvan affix दक्क (IV. 1. 101) is elided by the present rule, and so पालागारित्व: is both the father and the son. So चाक्षुषविर: father and son. The word पालागार here qualifies the word Gotra understood and does not show that it is an optional rule in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians. When the Gotra of Prachyas is not denoted, there is no elision. Thus दारिक: and दाराद्वायु: 'son of Dakshi.'
61. After the words तीव्रविलयम् and the rest there is not luk-elision of the Yuvan affix.

तीव्रविलयम् is the name of the father and तीव्रविलयम् is the son of the former, formed by the Yuvan affix त्रुणम् (IV. 1. 101).

62. There is luk-elision of the नद्राज् (IV. 1. 174) affix, when the word is used in the plural number, provided that the plural number is taken by the base itself, and not by its standing as a compound epithet dependent upon another word, and provided that the base is not used in the feminine.

63. After the word वस्त्र &c., there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word of itself and
not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another word, takes the plural; but not in the feminine.

यसक + अभू = यसका ‘a descendent of Yaska not nearer than grandson.’ In the plural, the affix is elided and the form is यसकान् ‘the descendants of Yaska.’

64. And there is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes यज्ञ (IV. I. 105) and अभू (IV. I. 104) when the word is itself and not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another, takes the plural but not in the feminine.

गर्ग + अभू = गर्गवर्ग; plural गर्गवर्ग: ‘the male descendents of Garga’. So also गर्गन्य: ‘the male descendents of Vatsa’; the singular being, गर्गन्य. Similarly, विस + अभू = विस (IV. I. 104); plural विसवर्ग; and not विसवर्ग; similarly जीवनवर्ग; जीवनवर्ग: plural.

But these affixes are not elided when the word forms part of a compound. Thus, विजयवर्ग: ‘those to whom Gārgya is beloved;’ विजयवर्ग: ‘those to whom Baida is beloved.’

These affixes will not be elided in the feminine. Thus, गर्गवर्ग, विसवर्ग, feminine plurals.

Of course these affixes must be Gotra or patronymic affixes, otherwise there will be no elision. Thus दौर + अभू = दौरवर्ग: ‘living on the island,’ plural दौरवर्ग; here the affix अभू is not elided as it does not denote a Gotra. So दौर + अभू = दौरवर्ग: ‘the pupil of Utsa,’ plural दौरवर्ग.

Vart.—In forming Tat-purusha compound of the singular and dual genitive, the affix वह + अभू are optionally elided. Thus गार्गवर्ग कुल = गार्गवर्गकुल or गार्गवर्गकुल, गार्गवर्गाय: कुल = गार्गवर्गकुल or गार्गवर्गकुल.
Similarly वैद्य or वैदयी: कुल = वैदकुल or विद्वकुल.

Why do we say 'the affixes यु or यव'? Because other affixes will not be elided in forming तर्पुत्र compound; such as आहकुल.

Why do we say 'singular or dual,'? Because in the plural तर्पुत्र compounds, these affixes must necessarily be elided and not optionally; thus गारिष्ठा कुल = गारिष्ठ.

Why do we say 'in forming तर्पुत्र compound'? Because in forming other compounds, these affixes will not be elided. Thus, वपिनाव which is an वम्बनीभव compound, meaning गार्मिक विनीभव. Of course, it is only in the Genitive तर्पुत्र that this rule is applicable; it will not therefore apply in आत्मारथ तर्पुत्र &c., as वर्णाभयः.

अत्रिजिगुकुत्रसविप्रगोतमानिङ्ग्रामयश् इद्दम पदार्थिन आत्रिजिगुकुत्रसविप्रगोतमानिङ्ग्रामयश्, च, (लग्) इ.

बृक्ति: आत्रियांस्या: परस्पर गोत्मवर्तमान अस्त्रुतु अवस्था।

65. And after the words अधिनि, चुरु, कुला, बलिसा गोतम अधिकृत there is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix, when the word takes the plural, but not in feminine.

Thus the plural of आत्रिय (आत्रि + द्रव IV. 1. 122.) the descendent of आत्रि, is आत्रय, the regular plural of आत्रि. So also, singular गार्मिक, plural गार्माय; singular जीरस, plural जीरसाय; so, वपिनाव, विनीभव, अत्रिजिगुकुत्रस. In all these the affix has been elided. Thus चुरु + ग्रा = गार्मिक: the descendent of Bhrigu. Of course, it is only in the plural number that the Gotra affixes चुरु and ग्रा are elided, not in any other number; so we have in singular आत्रिय गार्मिक; dual आत्रियनि गार्मिक; plural आत्रिय गार्माय &c.

But when these words are part of a compound, the Gotra affixes are not elided in forming their plural Thus द्वितीयायो: or द्वितीयाग्नि:.

In the Feminine plural the affixes are not elided. Thus:—अत्रियायः

बहु वच इजः प्राव्यंभरतेनु। इद्दम पदार्थि बहुवचः, इजः प्राव्यंभरतेनु, (बहुतुं लुग्) इ.

बुक्ति: बहुतु प्रतिश्चिविद्वास्मि इस्स्व विविधतः प्राव्यंभायोऽभरतोऽव तत्स्य लुगु अवस्था।

66. There is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix चुरु (IV. I. 95) after a word containing many vowels (a polysyllabic word) which denotes the Gotra of the people called प्राव्य and अर्थ when the word takes the plural.
The plural of पञ्चमारि: is पञ्चागरि; there being elision of पञ्च: so also संपरेरपि: plural of वाणीपीरिति: ; so the plural of वीरपिरिति: is वीरपिरिति: ' the descendents of Yudhishthira. But शेखः and शेखः: not being polysyllabic, their plural will be शेखः and शेखःः.

Why do we say ' when denoting the Gotra of Prāchya and Bhāratas?' Because when denoting the Gotra of any other people, these affixes will not be elided. Thus बलावरि: plural of बलावरि:, शिबारि: plural of शिबारि:

Though the Bhāratas are Prāchyaas, its specification here is to indicate that, wherever ' Prāchya' will be used, it will not include Bhāratas as in V. 4 60. Here the Yuvan affix of Bhāratas will not be elided. Thus श्रावः father, श्रावः son.

न गोपवरदारित्य: ॥ 69 ॥ पदालित: न, गोपवर-बन-आदिरिथ: (लुग), ॥

वृसिदः: गोपवरदारित्यः वरवर महाययः शुगुः न भवति ॥

67. After the words गोपवर, &c., there is not luk- elision of the Gotra affix, when the word takes the plural.

This prevents the application of II. 4. 64. Thus गोपवर + अन् = गोपवरिः; plural गोपवरिः; singular गोपवरः, plural गोपवरःः. The गोपवर अ&c., belong to Vidādi class, vide IV. 1. 104, and are the following:—गोपवर, गोपुः, गोपुः, गरुः, ब्रगुः, ब्रगुः, रसः, रसः, रसः and रसः. The remaining words such as दरति &c., should not be taken in this sub-class. In the case of दरति &c., the Gotra affix must be elided in the plural by Rule 64. Thus दरति: दरतिः &c.

तिकोतकितवरदारित्य: दुधुः ॥ 68 ॥ पदालित: तिक-कितब- आदिरिथः, दुधुः, (बुधुलुग) ॥

वृसिदः: तिकदारिथः तिकादिरिथः दुधुः गोपवरवरवर वधुः लुगुः भवति ॥

68. After the words तिक कितव &c., when used as Dvandva compound, there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affixes, when the compound word takes the plural.

Thus तिक + कितव = तिकादितव: (IV. 1. 154). Its plural is तिकादितवः: तिकादितवः; + किततितवः = तिकादिततवः. There is elision of कितव. So also तिकादितवः plural तिकादितवः (IV. 1. 95) + भाषदीरिथः = भाषदीरिथः; there is elision of दुः (IV. 1. 95). The following is a list of such compounds.

1. तिकादितवः 2. वाणीपीरितवः 3. द्विकादितवः (वीरपिरितवः + वीरपिरितवः) 4. तिकादितवः (तिकादितवः + तिकादितवः)
Elision of Gotra affixes. [Br. II. Ch. IV. § 69.

IV. 1. 95, elision of ल.); यतकल्यकिदतिबुद्धिर्वसनाता; 6. उपकल्यकिदतिबुद्धिर्वसनाता; (वीकलेण: IV.
1. 95, + काकुत्त्य: IV. 1. 112, then the elision of लत्त्य and अत्त्य). 7. सञ्ज्ञायनतः
क्षुद्रतः (the elision of लत्त्य IV. 9. 95 as in 4). 8. उपस्वरुपातः (वीकलेण: IV.
1. 154 + साक्ष्य: IV. 1. 95, elision of शक्तु व लम्बू; 9. अप्रज्ञा कौन्तेयः;
(elision of लत्त्य as in 4). 10. कृष्णानिन्यकृष्णंद्रितः (elision of लत्त्य). 11.
अथाभिव्य-दासेचाकः (अधिष्ठितं: IV. 1. 105 + दासेचाकः: IV. 1. 95, elision of both
परस्पर शक्तु व लम्बू।)

उपकारित्वोपन्यतरस्मासदन्तः॥ ६९ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ उपक-अतिरिक्तः: अन्यतरस्मास: अन्यतरस्मास: (वहूः लुः श्वर्दः)॥

मृत्यः ॥ उपक इत्यादिविद्वाम: परस्पर गोमलस्वरस्य बहूः लुः भजतः ग्यतरस्मासः द्वाः श्वर्दः श्वर्दः द्वाः ॥

69. After the words उपक &c., there is optionally
luk-elision of the Gotra affix when the words take the plural
whether they enter into a Dvandva compound, or are used
separately.

Of the words belonging to this list, three have already been enu-
erated in the group of Tika-kitavadi of the last sūtra. The elision is
invariable in the Dvandva compound of these three, but when used
separately the elision is optional. As, उपकल्यकिदतिबुद्धिरः, चक्ककिदतिबुद्धिरः, कृष्णानिन्यकृष्णं
कृष्णंद्रितः. But the plurals of वीकलेण: उपक (IV. 1. 99) is उपकः; or वीकलेण: ; of लम्बूः: । or लम्बूः: ; of
कृष्णानिन्यकृष्णं: । or कृष्णानिन्यकृष्णं: । The plural of वाहकिदतिबुद्धिः: । or वाहकिदतिबुद्धिः: । The plural of कृष्णानिन्यकृष्णं:
कृष्णानिन्यकृष्णं: । or कृष्णानिन्यकृष्णं: ।

Of the rest of the words belonging to this group, there is option
allowed, both when they occur in Dvandva compound or when used alone.
They are as follow:—


आयास्त्यकौन्तेिन्यौरणागति कुंनङ्कि नुन् ॥ ५० ॥ पदार्थः ॥ आयास्त्य-कौन्तेिन्यौ; कृष्णानिन्यकृष्णं; (वहूः लुः, अथो यथः)॥

मृत्यः ॥ आयास्त्यकौन्तेिन्यौ; कृष्णानिन्यकृष्णं; (वहूः लुः, अथो यथः)॥
70. There is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes ऋष्म and वस्त्र of the words जान्नक्य and कौरविन्द्य, when they take the plural; and the words जनतिस्त्र and कूर्विन्द्य are the substitutes of the bases so remaining after the elision.

The plural of जान्नक्य is जान्नक्य (as if it was the plural of जान्नक्य) and of कौरविन्द्य is कुर्विन्द्य. The affix ऋष्म (IV. I. 114) after जान्नक्य and the affix वस्त्र (IV. 1. 105) after कौरविन्द्य are elided.

The क in कूर्विन्द्य is indicator and regulates the accent (IV. 1. 163); the word कूर्विन्द्य has udātta on the middle vowel; and its substitute will also have the same accent. There is no elision however in जान्नक्याराजेश्वर (IV. 1. 89) कौरविन्द्याराजेश्वर (IV. 2. III.)

71. There is luk-elision of the case-affix of a word when it gets the name of a root, or as a crude form.

A noun is changed into a root (षङ्खु) when it is made a denominative verb. As यून्नीयति (III. 1. 8) he wishes for a son of his own. A noun which forms part of a compound becomes a crude-form (1. 2. 46); as कपालित: 'having recourse to pain.' राजपुरय: 'king's man.' In all these examples, the case affixes have been elided.

Thus एकत्र एकत्र = एकत्रित, here the 2nd case-affix is elided. कपालित = कपालित &c.

Why do we say 'when it gets the name of: षङ्खु or मातिविवि?'

Because when it gets any other name, such as षङ्खु &c., the case-affix is not elided. Thus यून्नी, यून्नी; अंतिमतिथ्य: षङ्खु, षङ्खु (षङ्खु) ।

72. After the verb षङ्खु 'to eat' and the rest, there is luk-elision of the Vikaraṇa षङ्खु (III. 1. 68).

Thus षङ्खु + षङ्खु + रित = रित 'he eats'; रित 'he kills'; रित he envies. The Adādi verbs belong to the second conjugation. In this class of verbs, therefore, the terminations are added direct to the root.
In the Chhandas (Vedas) there is diversely the luk-elision of the Vikaraṇa शष्य (III. 1. 68).

There is elision in other conjugations than Adadi; and there is sometimes even no elision in Adadi verbs. As चुंद्रसनु, ‘he kills Vṛitra,’ चुंद्रसनु + धर = चुंद्रसनु instead of चुंद्रसनु. So also, धरी = धरी instead of धरी. (Rig. V. I. 32. 5). In these cases the Vikaraṇa शष्य has not been elided.

In some cases the शष्य is elided as चार्ध्वम ने देव इति instead of चार्ध्वम इति.

74. And there is diversely the luk-elision of यष्ट (III. 1. 22) when the affix शष्य (III. 1. 134) follows.

By using ‘divers-ly’ there is elision of यष्ट when other affixes than शष्य follow, both in the sacred and profane literature; as चार्ध्वम ‘much cutter’. (चार्ध्वम + धर); चार्ध्वम ‘much purifier’ वांवश्च: from चड्ढ ‘to drop.’ वांवश्च: from चड्ढ ‘to fall,’ the नी being added by (VII. 4. 84).

So also यष्ट is elided b-fore other affixes than शष्य: thus चार्ध्वम इति कार्यपीति दुहितिपीतिवीति. See also I. 1. 4.

75. After the verbs ‘to sacrifice’ and others, there is slu-elision of the Vikaraṇa शष्य (III. 1. 68).

These verbs belong to the Juhotyadi class. चुंद्रसनु ‘he sacrifices’ (VII. 1. 10). शष्य causes the reduplication of the root. So also चुंद्रसनु ‘he fears. चुंद्रसनु ‘to purify,’ he purifies.

76. In the Chhandas there is slu-elision of शष्य diversely.

Elision does not take place where ordained, and takes place where not ordained. धरी विपधरी (instead of विपधरी) ‘he gives pleasant objects,’ धरी instead of विपधरी.
So also there is slu-elision of the vikaraṇas after roots other than those belonging to the Juhotyādi class. Thus; प्रयासिं विषं, वजनिं विकर्ति।

गातिस्वायुपरस्य मयः सिचः परस्मैपदेः ॥ ५९ ॥ पद्यालि ॥

गाति-स्वयं-पा-सूग्रु, सिचः; परस्मैपदेः, (लुग) ॥

युसि: गाति स्वयं पा भा हसेरेन्याम् परस्य विषयो हुग्य महति परस्मै पदेः परस्र गातिस्वायुपरस्य मयः सिचः परस्मैपदेः ॥

77. There is luk-elision of the affix सिच (III. I. 44) in the Parasmaiapada, after the verbs गा ‘to go,’ झा ‘to stand,’ the verbs called जु (I. 1. 20), जा ‘to drink’ and जा ‘to be,’

गा is the substitute of झू (II. 4. 45). झू, the affix of the Aorist is elided after these verbs in the Parasmaiapada as ज्ञान ‘he went,’ ज्ञात ‘he stood,’ ज्ञान ‘he gave,’ ज्ञान ‘he held,’ ज्ञान ‘he drank,’ ज्ञान ‘he was.’

Vart:—The verbs गा and जा in the aphorism mean the गा ‘to go’ (which is the substitute of झू, and not जा ‘to sing’), which also assumes the form गा, and जा ‘to drink’ and not जा ‘to protect.’ The verbs गा ‘to sing’ and जा ‘to protect’ will form their Aorist with सिच without its elision; thus ज्ञान ‘he sang,’ ज्ञान ‘he protected.’

In the Atmanepada the सिच is not elided; thus ज्ञान ‘he went’ देवदेव.

बिशाव ग्राचेत्वादात्स; ॥ ५५ ॥ पद्यालि ॥ बिशावा ग्रा-चेत-शा-

dात्सः; (सिच: परस्मै बिशावा लुग) ॥

युसि: ग्रा-चेत्त जा भा हसेरेन्याम् उसरय सिचः परस्मैपदेः बिशावा लुग महति ॥

78. After the verbs गा ‘to smell,’ झू ‘to drink,’ जा (ो) ‘to pare,’ झा (ो) ‘to cut,’ and जा (ो) ‘to destroy,’ there is optionally the elision of सिच, when the parasmaiapada term inations are employed.

Thus ज्ञान or ज्ञानीद ‘he smelled,’ ज्ञान or ज्ञानीद ‘he drank,’ ज्ञान or ज्ञानीद ‘he pared,’ ज्ञान or ज्ञानीद ‘he cut’ and ज्ञान or ज्ञानीद ‘he destroyed.’

There is no option allowed in Atmanepada; thus, ज्ञान ‘he went’ देवदेव.

The root झू is a Ghu verb, and in its case, the सिच would have been elided by the last rule also. The present declares an option.
79. After the verbs तः to expand, and others there is optionally the luk-elision of मुष्न when the Atmanepada affixes त and य म of the second person follow.

Thus ज़ (VI. 4. 37) or अखनिन्दु ‘he expanded,’ अत्रवत: or अत्रिनिद्र: ‘thou didst expand.’ Similarly अस्वत: or अस्वनिद्ध: ‘he gave.’ अस्वत: or अस्वनिद्र: ‘thou didst give.’

The roots तः and य म must both belong to the Atmanepada, and not to Parasmaipada. Hence in the Parasmaipada there is no elision of तः. Thus, अत्रिनिद्ध: य म ‘you did expand.’

80. In the Mantra portion of the Vedas there is luk-elision of the sign of the Aorist (अ & Perfect), after the verbs य म ‘to eat’ इ ‘to be crooked,’ ज म ‘to destroy’ औ ‘to choose,’ य ओ ‘to cover,’ व त ‘to burn,’ verbs ending in ज म, य म ‘to avoid,’ ज म ‘to make,’ ग म ‘to go’ and ज म ‘to be produced.’

The word तः is the name given by ancient grammarians to the affixes of Perfect tense as well as the Aorist, or it might be common term for all tense-affixes. Thus from य म we have अत्र in the sentence, अर्थू दिन्तो अनि भिन्तो अनि तिरितो तिरितो तिरितो तिरितो (Yajurveda XIX 36 so also Rig. I. 82. 2).

From the verb य म we have य तः. तः. From य म we have य म in the following verse भः य म अर्धसूचिय म प्रकाशयस्यः। रक्षा वोऽयस्यस्यः। (Rig. I. 18. 3.)

The word य म in the śūtra includes both य म and य म, as the word वेन in the following व दमिन अभ्यगुप्त य व कथिते य म य चोऽयेव व दमिन। य य म परमस्य वेन आश्चर्य इति। (Yajurveda 13. 3).

From य म we have य म as in तः वर्तमयिन्यायोऽन्य व दिनयः सागरस्यः। पदर्शः चाहुः आयस्यः। (Rig. VI. 61. 14). The word य म means verbs ending in long ज म as म ‘to fill.’ Thus, चितः दिवा दिवादासास्त्री चित्तिऴिस्वरव च्यययाः। अशु वर्तमा निष्णो वासर्वस्य चूष्ये आश्चर्य वेन जयमानस्य यम्। (Rig. I. 115. 1.)

The root य म gives us य म as in the following verse—य म अर्थः य म व्यायामे पदः य म चाल्लुःः। य य म चितः वेनः। (Rig. VIII. 75. 12).
From त्रृ we have त्रृस्त as in the following verse त्रृस्त त्रृस्त कस्तः
त्रृत्। त्रृतु त्रृत्व त्रृत्व। (Yajurveda III. 47).

From त्रृ we have त्रृस्त as in the following verse: त्रृस्त वंस त्रृस्त वंस
त्रृस्त त्रृस्त त्रृस्त त्रृस्त। त्रृस्त त्रृस्त त्रृस्त त्रृस्त।
(Rig. VI. 1. 1)

From त्रृ we have त्रृस्त as त्रृस्त त्रृस्त त्रृस्त त्रृस्त: This is an example from the Brāhmaṇ literature, as the word त्रृ in the sūtra refers also to the Brāhmaṇ literature.

आम: ||५९|| पदार्थिः || आमः; (लिः, लुक:) ||
पृष्ठिः || आमः: परस्य लिः लुक: समवि ||

81. There is luk-elision in the room of that tense-affix (वित्तिः) which comes after आम of the Perfect.

आम्य is used in forming Periphrastic Perfect तस्य एकच्छे 'he endeavoured.' Here, after the verb तस्य all tense-affixes are elided, and the Perfect of त्रृ is added to form its Perfect. Similarly तस्य एकच्छे ||

आयियादागुप्तसुप: ||५२|| पदार्थिः || आयियातः, आय्यु-सुपः; (लुक:) ||
पृष्ठिः || आयियादागुप्तसुपः: तुष्ट तुष्ट तुष्ट तुष्ट ||

82. There is luk-elision of आय्य (the feminine termination) and तुष्ट (the case-affixes) after an Avyayya or Indecinable.

Thus, तत्र तत्र तत्र 'in that hall.' Here the Indecinable तत्र there, does not take the feminine termination, although it is equivalent to तस्य 'in that.' So also तृत्व 'having done' तृत्व &c. Here the case-affix is elided.

नायियादागुप्तसुपः: ||५३|| पदार्थिः || न, आयियादागुप्तसुपः: तुष्ट तुष्ट तुष्ट तुष्ट, तुष्ट तुष्ट, तुष्ट तुष्ट, (सुपः: लुक:) ||
पृष्ठिः || आदागुप्तसुपः: तुष्ट तुष्ट तुष्ट तुष्ट तुष्ट तुष्ट तुष्ट तुष्ट पृष्ठिः ||

83. There is not luk-elision of the case-affix after an Avyayi-bhāva compound that ends in ज, आम, is the substitute of its case-affixes, but not went it is the fifth case-affix.

This debar Luk-elision which was to have taken place by the last sūtra; instead of luk-elision, we have आम added to the words ending in short अ; for examples of this, see sūtra II. 1. 6; as तण्डुल्योऽविद्येऽत्त्व 'upakumbha is standing'; तण्डुल्योऽत्त्व 'see the upakumbha.'
Why do we say 'after words ending in short अ'?. Because after Aर्यियभाव compound ending in any other vowels there is not substitution, but there is total-elision of the case-affixes; as अकियि, अकियिकारी.

But the ablative case-affix is not elided after Aर्यियभाव compound ending in short अ, nor is there the अ substitution; as उष्णकुन्दाद्य.

84. The change to अ in the third and seventh case-affixes coming after an Aर्यियभाव compound that ends in अ, occurs diversely.

उपकुम्भिन or उपकुम्भम पूर्ण 'done by upakumbha'; उपकुम्भे निभिद्धि or उपकुम्भे निभिद्धि 'put it in the upakumbha.'

Vart.—The अ substitution is invariable and not optional in the locative case when the Aर्यियभाव compound denotes prosperity (II, 1. 6.) or a compound of rivers (II, 1. 20 and 21) or a compound having a numeral for its member (II, 1. 19); as, भुज्य्र 'well or prosperous with the Madras'; भुज्य्र 'well or prosperous with the Magadhas'; similarly भुज्य्र 'सीलिङ्गदुष्ट' रक्षितयित्वादाद्य. The word 'diversely' establishes all these even without the Vartika.

85. अ, रे and रू are substituted respectively in the room of the three-affixes of the third person of बुद्ध (First-future), both in the Parasmaipada and the Atmanepada.

Thus in the Parasmaipada करति 'he will do,' करतंरे 'they two will do; 'करतरि 'they will do.' So also in the Atmanepada we have बहवेता, बहवेतारि, बहवेतारि: !

Why do we say 'in the 3rd person'? Observe अ, करति!
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