BOOK III.

THE

ASHTÁDHYÁYÍ OF PÁÑINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

SRÍŚA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,
Munsiff, Ghasipur.

Allahabad:
Published by Satyajnan Chaterji,
at the Panini Office,
1894.

(All rights reserved)
TO THE

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

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES,

THIS WORK

IS,

WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,

AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE AND OF HIGH EDUCATION

IN

THES PROVINCES,

DEDICATED

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT

THE TRANSLATOR.
PREFACE.

SINCE the advent of the British rule and the peace and prosperity that have followed in its train, and especially since the foundation 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 systems of philosophy and religion 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 that classic language. Many Europeans too are taking pains to have some knowledge of the immortal literature embodied in this ancient language. Very few of them, however, have the opportunity of studying the language with that deep insight and fulness of comprehension with which it was and is mastered by the Pandits of the old school. To understand properly Sanskrit language, and especially that portion of it in which are locked up the highest aspirations of the ancient Aryan hearts, via., the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, the Upanishads, &c., it is absolutely necessary to have a complete knowledge of the Grammar elaborated by Pāṇini.

Further, as a master-piece of close reasoning and artistic arrangement, it ought to be an object of study to 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 Ashtādhyāyī of Pāṇini has done for that of the Sanskrit scholars. No one who has studied this book can refrain from admiring 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-educated gentlemen, whose number is daily on the increase, and who depend for their knowledge of what is contained in Sanskrit books, on English translations 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 the 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 work when completed would, it is estimated, cover nearly two thousand pages. It would not therefore be possible to complete it and publish it as a completed work within a short time. We have on that account thought it expedient to publish the work in parts, that it might be of great advantage to our readers and a matter of great convenience to the publisher. The Ashtādhyāyī, as indicated by its name, is divided into ashta Adhyāyas, i.e., eight Books. Each of these Books again is divided into four pādas or chapters. It has thus been found expedient to publish the work in 32 parts which are available to our subscribers only, and, when four parts are out, to have them bound in one volume available to the non-subscribing public as well as to our subscribers.

The rates of its subscription for the complete work published in eight Books or 32 chapters are as follow:

*(Indian)* Rs. 20-0-0 in advance, including postage.
*(Foreign)* £ 2-0-0

Price per set of 4 parts bound in one volume, i.e., one Book or Adhyāya, including postage—Rs. 3 *(Indian)* ; 6s. *(Foreign)*.

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 any number of copies or in any way encouraged us in our undertaking.

Panini Office,

*Allahabad.*

THE PUBLISHER.
BOOK THIRD.
CHAPTER I.

>An affix.

This is an aphorism intended solely to regulate the sense of others. From this place forward up to the end of the Fifth Book, whatsoever we shall treat of, will get the name of 'Pratyaya' or an affix, except the 'prakriti' or base (such as गुप्त, तिनम्, तितक्षम् in III. 1. 5 are bases, the affix being स्त्रे), the 'upapada' or dependent word (such as स्त्रम्, शाक्ति in III. 2. 24 are upapadas), the 'उपाधि' or attribute, the special cause that occasions changes (such as पद्य in III. 2. 25 is an upādhi); in the sūtra, III. 2. 25, the word हरिति is a prakriti, हरिति and नाथ are upapadas, पद्य is an upādhi, the affix being हरिति, the substitute and the augment. Such as the affixes तत्वम्, तत्व, अभिसर तaught in III. 1. 96, as कर्त्तव्यम्, कर्षण: to be done.

>And subsequent.

This is also an 'adhihāra' or regulating sūtra, and is understood in all subsequent aphorisms; or it might also be called a 'paribhāṣā' or interpreting aphorism. That which is called an affix comes after, or is placed after, the 'dhatu' or root, or the 'pratipadika' or crude form; as कर्त्तव्यम् and धातिनिर्माणम्.

The force of the word च 'and' in this sūtra is to indicate that the affixes here treated of, are to be placed after a root &c.; not so, however, the affixes not taught in this Adhyāya. These latter, such as Unādi affixes, may sometimes, be placed in the beginning or the middle of a word.

>That which is called an affix, has an acute accent on its first syllable.

This sūtra may also be treated as a Paribhāṣā or an Adhikāra sūtra. The udātta accent falls on the affix, and if it consists of more than one vowel, then on the first of the vowels. Thus the affix तत्व has udātta on the first त as in कर्षणम्. This general rule of accent applies only where there is no special
rule laid down. Thus, rule VI. I. 163, declares that affixes having an indicatory च will have udātta on the final; those having an indicatory र have accent on the middle (VI. I. 217); those that have an indicatory ष are anudātta; those having an indicatory स, throw the acute accent on the syllable immediately preceding the affix (VI. I. 193); the affixes having an indicatory म and न throw the acute accent on the first syllable of the word to which they are added (VI. I. 197); the taddhita affix having an indicatory क takes acute accent on the final (VI. I. 165); and the affix having an indicatory ह is svarita (VI. I. 185).

अनुदात्तो भुपिलो || पद्यानि || अनुदात्तो, भुपिलो,

(प्रत्यय:)

4. The case-affixes (sup) and the affixes having an indicatory प (pit) are anudātta.

This is an exception (apavāda) to the last aphorism. As इसकी 'two stones'; the case-affix श्र is anudātta; so also द्रुप; so also पचि; The third person singular affix लिं has an indicatory प, and is anudātta. But not पचि.

(प्रत्यय:)

5. After the verbs गृह, लिं and किं, comes the affix ग्र.

This affix is to be added to the above verbs, when they mean to ‘despise’, ‘to endure’ and ‘to heal’ respectively, though they ordinarily mean ‘to hide’, ‘to whet’ and ‘to dwell’. As गृहुसे ‘he censures or despises’; लिंििििि ‘he endures patiently’; किंिििििि ‘he heals’. But गृहपाचि ‘he protects’; लिंििििििि ‘he sharpens’; ग्रीिििििििि ‘he makes sign’.

When ग्र is added, there is reduplication of the root, by VI. I. 9. Thus, गृह + ग्रन्त = गृहुसे + ग्र (VII. 4. 62) = गृहुसे to which is added the third person singular termination अते = गृहुसे.


cः, कः, अस्यसः (सन् प्रत्यय:)

(बध-द्राक्षायी, कीर्ति:)

बृहि: मान पुजायाम्, बध द्राक्षायी, असिस्यो, अते अभिस्वते, द्राक्षायी भावं सन् प्रत्ययो भविषि, अभिस्वत्व द्राक्षायी द्राक्षायी श्रवणे वाचिकम् अभिप्राचे श्रवणे सन् प्रत्ययो भविषि.

वाचिकम् अभिप्राचे श्रवणे सन् प्रत्ययो भविषि.
6. The affix सन् comes after the verbs मान ‘to honor’, कव ‘to bind’, छान ‘to cut’ and गान ‘to whet’, and long ई is the substitute of the ह (VII. 4.79) of the reduplicative (VI. 1.4) syllable.

The सन् is to be added only then, when the sense of the desiderative verb is as below: श्रीमानसः ‘he investigates’, श्रीमत्सः ‘he loathes’, श्रीप्रसः ‘he straightens’, श्रीदत्तसः ‘he sharpens’. The verbs given in this and the preceding sūtra, are Desiderative in form, but not in meaning. The word ‘optionally’ in the next sūtra, may be read into this also, whereby the addition of सन् becomes optional. Thus गानवति, बाधवति, गनवति and निगानवति are also valid forms.

भाती: कमेशः समानकान्तकार्तिस्वायाः वा || || पदानि
भाती: कमेशः समान कान्तकादु, इच्छायाम् वा, ( सन्, प्रत्ययः ) || वृत्ति: || इष्करमेको यो भातुरपिषेत्समानकान्तकस्तिष्ठति समात्श्चाः यथा शास्त्र प्रत्ययः महति ||

बारिकम् || भागुनुशायामुसंबस्यान्नम् ||
बारिकम् || इच्छारत्सन्तसाध्यात्मकेऽवनक्रमः ||

7. The affix सन् is optionally attached, in the sense of wishing, after a root expressing the object wished, and having the same agent of the action as the wisher thereof.

As, क् ‘to do’; चिकीर्णिः = कन्तुचिकीर्णिः ‘he wishes to do’. This is the Desiderative proper. It is optional to employ the desiderative affix, the same sense may be expressed by a phrase. The root must also be simple and not compounded with any upasarga, when the affix सन् is to be added. Thus प्रकर्षणेवचिथृः = माचीतिः.

Why do we say कमेश्: ‘after (a root expressing) an object’? The affix will not come after an Instrumental case. Thus गान्तेनचिथृः; here there is no affix. But सन्तुचिथृः will be निमित्तिः.

Why do we say समानकान्तकादु ‘when the subject of the verb to wish, is also the subject of the verb denoted by the object wished’? Observe इद्वस्तस्य नेतृनिश्चिथृः रत्स्यः. Here Yajñadatta is agent of the verb इच्छाः; but he is not agent of the action शेषमेति; hence there is no affixing.

Why do we say इच्छायाम् ‘when the sense is that of wishing’? Observe कन्तु नेतृत्वाति ‘he knows how to make’; here the sense being that of knowing, there is no affix.

The word वा ‘optionally’ shows that a sentence may also be employed to express the same idea. Thus कन्तुचिथृः or चिकीर्णिः.
The word भास्ते: being especially used in this sūtra, shows that this सत्दृष्टि is an ārdhadhātuka affix, while the सतृत taught in the two preceding sūtras, will not get this designation.

*Vart:* The affix सतृत is added, when the sense is that of ‘in imminent danger’; as गृहाक्षण परिवृत्ति कूस्त = विपत्तिषय कूस्त, ‘the bank is in imminent danger of falling down’. So also सुधा मूर्तिः.

*Vart:* There is no affixing of सतृत after a verb which has already taken सतृत in the sense of wishing. As विकासितिभिसिद्धिः. But the सतृ of III. I. 5, 6 not denoting wishing, we have सुधासिद्धि, मूर्तिसिद्धि.

सूप अत्मादः क्वच् ॥ ८ ॥ पद्मानिः ॥ सुप:, अत्मादः, क्वच् (भास्ते:, भास्ते:, द्रष्टारां, च) ॥

पृष्ठः ॥ देशिकर्म: एशेतेवालस्तयांभिः: सुभन्ताधिक्षादाय्मथे वा द्रष्टवच्छ प्रवृक्षो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कविन्द्र मानन्तव्यप्रदिपयेषो वस्त्रवच्छ: ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उद्विष वर्ण्यार्थिति वन्नामयम् ॥

8. The affix क्वच् is optionally employed, in the sense of wishing, after a word ending in a case-affix expressing the object wished as connected with the wisher’s self.

This forms the Denominative verbs, *i.e.*, verbs derived from nominal bases. As, पुत्र ‘son’, पुत्रायति ‘he wishes for a son of his own’ (पुत्र + कवच्छ = पुत्री + च्छ = पुत्राच्छ) (II. 4. 71, VII. 4. 33).

Why do we use the word सुप्? The affix should not come after a whole sentence, but only after the particular word ending in the case-affix. Thus in महास्ते पुत्राच्छति, the affix comes only after पुत्रस्ते and not महास्ते पुत्रे.

Why do we say आत्मानं? Observe राजः: पुत्राच्छति ‘he wishes a son for the king’. Here there is no affixing as the wishing is for another and not for one’s own self.

The क in क्वच् is for the sake of classing क्यस्त, क्यानं and क्यानम् in one common group by simply using the word क्वच, as in sūtra तः क्यस्य I. 4. 15; while च्छ distinguishes क्यच from क्यान &c., and is not for the sake of accent, the affix will be udātta by III. 1. 3.

*Vart:*—In affixing क्याच, prohibition must be stated of pronouns in द्वारा and of Indeclinables. Thus in देशिक्षिति, उद्विषर्चिति, there is no affixing.

*Vart:*—In the Vedas, the affix is added even when the wish is with regard to another. As मा वचवृत्ता भपाळ्यो विचुत्: Here भपाण्डु (pl. भपायवं) is
formed by *kyach*, ऋ being added by III. 2. 170, and ऋ is added by VII. 4. 37. See Rig Veda I. 120. 7; 27. 3 &c.

9. And the affix काम्यच is also employed, in the sense of wishing, after a word ending in a case-affix, expressing the object wished as connected with the wisher’s self.

Thus, पुज्यायं ‘he wishes for a son of his own’.

The making of this a separate sūtra instead of adding it with the last aphorism and making one sūtra of them both, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, where the anuvṛtti of *kyach* only runs, and not that of काम्यच. The क of काम्यच is not indicatory, but is a part of the real affix. Here, therefore, rule I. 3. 8 which would have made the letter क indicatory, does not apply; because no particular purpose would be served by making indicatory. Or the affix काम्यच may be considered to have an indicatory क before it *i.e.* the affix being चकाम्य.

10. The affix वच is optionally employed, in the sense of treatment, after a word ending in a case-affix denoting the object of comparison.

Thus, पुज्यायं सर्वे द्वारा च च ‘he treats the pupil as a son’

*Vart* : So also in a locative case. As प्राप्त्यायं ‘he dwells in hut as if it were a palace’. पर्यायार्घः ‘in a cot he lies down as if he were on a royal bedstead; he treats a cot as a royal bedstead’.

कापु: कापु सलोपरयं ॥ १४ ॥ पदाति ॥ कापु: कापु स-लोपं: च ( उपसानात्: आचारे: नुपं: घाती: बा ) ॥
11. The affix क्षयः is optionally employed in the sense of behaving, after a word ending in a case-affix, denoting the object of comparison of the agent; and there is elision (lopa) of the final श of the noun, if it ends with a श.

Thus, स्रेवेनांवरतिकाकः, स्रेवेनायते, 'the crow behaves like a hawk'; अभ्यासते 'she behaves like an Apsara'; पयथयते or पयथयिते 'it becomes milk'; (स्रवेन + श = स्रेवेन + श = स्रेवेनय, VII. 4. 25).

In the words बोजहस्—बोजयते, and अभ्यासत्—अभ्यासयते the final श is invariably elided when forming the denominative verb: but not so in the case of पयथ where the elision is optional, as पयथयते or पयथयिते.

The elision of श refers to the final श and not when it is followed by any vowel. Thus हंस—हंसमयते; सारस—सारसयते; here the श is not elided as it is not final. Sec. I. 1. 52.

Vart:—After the words अभ्यासः, ह्वत्र्, and ह्वद, the affix तिः is optionally added in the sense of behaving like some one or some thing. As अभ्यासते or अभ्यासयते, ह्वत्र्यते or ह्वत्र्यिते, ह्वदते or ह्वद्यते. The alternative forms are derived by the affixing of क्षयः.

Vart:—According to the opinion of some Grammarians, the affix तिः comes optionally in this sense after all crude nouns. As अभ्यासः or अभ्यासयः, ह्वत्र्यितः or ह्वद्यतः.


djuvardháto jivaycheligayphatcha hal: || १२ || padarati || bhru–auidhissya;
dhvi, abch:; loyp; ch, hal:; (khada) ||

vru:ti: || dju jivaycheligaishya: pratiyapaktojivaycheligayphatcha bhudi bhvyam kayah, pratyayi bhvati, halnatah c loyp: ||

12. The affix क्षयः in the sense of becoming what the thing previously was not, is employed after the crude forms गृहः and the rest, which do not end with the affix विच (V. 4. 50); and there is elision (lopa) of the final consonant of these words, if they end in a consonant.

Thus, अभ्यासः भूषिये भवति=भूषितयते 'he becomes much (from a little)'; ह्वदते 'he becomes swift (from being tardy)'. All these roots will be Atmanepadi (I.3.12).

The phrase अभ्यासः 'not ending in the adverbial affix इः', refers to every one of the words belonging to the class विचारः. It may be objected, what was the necessity of adding this condition, since the affix विच itself denotes that something has become what it was not before; and therefore a word which has
taken the affix फ़िख, will not again take कयष in that very sense. The repetition of फ़िख here shows that the words नृष &c. never take the affix फ़िख, in the sense of 'something becoming what it was not before'. Thus the present sūtra is an exception to sūtra V. 4. 50 which ordains फ़िख.

भृगावि:।।
भृगु, शीघ्र, मन्स, चपल, पक्षित, उलसुक, वमनस्, भविनस्, सुमनस्, हुर्मनस्, रहस्,
रेस्, ग्रेस्, बहस्, वेस्, न्यस्, आभि, भृग, भोजन, वर्ष, (किनस्, र्मन, राहत, हन, गु-
चित्, बर)।।

लोहितातिरिक्त: कयष ॥ १३ ॥ पदार्थ:।। लोहित-आदिके-
हास्य:।। कयष, (भृग)॥

यूति:।। लोहितातियो डावनै-था भवमयं कवष पत्वयो भवति॥

13. The affix कयष in the sense of becoming what the thing previously was not, is employed after the words लोहित, &c. and after those that end with the affix बावस (V. 4. 57), when these words do not take the affix फ़िख (V. 4. 50).

Thus लोहितायस्ते or लोहितायति 'he becomes red'; पत्वदायस्ते or पत्वदायति 'he makes a noise like patapata'; (लोहित + य = लोहिता + य=लोहितयष्ट, VII. 4. 25).

The word पत्वदायस्ते is formed by adding the affix दंध क to the word पत्व which is first reduplicated, and then takes the denominative affix कयष. The affix दंध is added to express inarticulate sounds.

There is no special class called लोहितद। The Vārtika, therefore, proposes that the sūtra should read without the word अदि, as लोहितातिरिक्त: कवष; 'the affix कयष comes after लोहित, and words ending in दाह।'

This rule applies to words other than भ्रावङ्ग which are always invariably Atmanepadi owing to the कि, affix कयष, while कयष is optionally both. (I. 3. 90). Thus वर्मायति or वर्मायते, निर्मायति or निर्मायते, कर्मायति or कर्मायते, कपायति or कपायते. The लोहितद is an अकृतिगण, the following being some of the words of this class; लोहित, नीच, हरित, पील, पन्न, फेंड and मन्स.

The indicatory क in कयष is not for the sake of prohibiting गुष्ण and वरित्ती (I. 1. 5). For गुष्ण or वरित्ती takes place in a दाहतु followed by a सत्त-वादहतुका or आरहादहतुका affix. The affix कयष is not added to a दाहतु but to a nominal stem: hence there is no scope for the operation of गुष्ण &c. The क is for the sake of grouping कयष, कयष, and कयष in one class as कय; as in sūtra: कये (I. 4. 15). There is, however, no word ending in न among those enumerated above.
The affix वद्धः (V. 4. 57) comes when the verb following is one of the three असि, मूः or कृऽ; as परस्पराश्रयिति, -नवति or -स्वाति. The present sūtra teaches by implication that when क्षयः follows वद्धः, the above restriction, that the verb should be कृऽ, मूः or असि, is not applicable. Here वद्धः comes without the addition of कृऽ, मूः or असि.

The anuvṛtti of अन्वे: comes from the last sūtra; and hence the affix क्षयः is added in the sense of अन्वृत्तावर्णः i.e. something becoming that which it was not before.

कष्टाय क्रमः || १५ || पदानि || कष्टाय, क्रमः, ( कष्ठः ) ||

वृत्ति: || कष्टगृहाचर्चनुर्गमिः सम्प्रधानं क्रमान्यं अजये कष्ठः महत्वो भवति. ||
-वासिकम् || सर्वकालकालकृष्ठयुग्मेऽयेः कथा चकृतापैप्रायनिनिष्प्रकृतयुग्मम्. ||

14. The affix कष्ठः, in the sense of exerting in dishonesty, is employed after the word कष्ट ‘mischief’, when the latter has the fourth case-affix in construction.

Thus, कष्टः कर्मणेप्राणाः अकर्मिनि-कष्टःसे ‘he is assiduous for trouble, i.e. he is assiduous in the commission of dishonesty, or he plots’.

Vart:—The affix कष्ठः comes in the sense of exerting in evil, after the words सँ, कष्ठः, कष्ठः, कृष्ठः and गहनः; as, सचावतः, कष्ठावतः, कष्ठावतः, कृष्ठावतः, कृष्ठावतः, and गहनावतः.

When the sense is not of ‘evil’, the affix is not added, as भर्त: कष्ठः अनुष्ठानः.

कर्मणेप्राणाः रोक्षणनाथपोष्यां वार्तिश्रेष्ठो: || १५ || पदानि || कर्मणः;
रोक्षणनाथ-पोष्यां, वार्तिश्रेष्ठोः, ( कष्ठः ) ||

वृत्ति: || रोक्षणनाथपोष्यारंजनेन कर्मणं वार्तिश्रेष्ठो वार्तिश्रेष्ठो भवित: ||
-वासिकम् || हनुमाननाथ वार्तिश्रेष्ठान्त: ||
-वासिकम् || तपस्वः प्रस्मेतवः च. ||

15. The affix कष्ठः is employed after the words, रोक्षण ‘ruminating’ and तपस ‘austerity’, when they are used as the objects of the action of repeating and performing respectively.

Thus, रोक्षणं वर्त्यविनां-रोक्षणावतः योः ‘the cow ruminates.’

Vart: This is restricted to the word signifying movements of the jaws. Therefore there is no affixing here; as, ब्राह्मण रोक्षणं वर्त्यविनसि.

Vart: The Prasāmaipadā affixes are used after the word तपस्; as सर्वरति-सर्वनिवतिः, ‘he performs austerity’.
16. The affix व्यः is employed in the sense of ejecting, after the words वायु ‘vapour’ and कष्ठ ‘heat’ as the object of the action.

Thus, वायुभो ‘it emits vapour’; लक्ष्यभो ‘it sends out heat’. So also कष्ठभो ‘it ejects froth’.

17. The affix व्यः, in the sense of making, comes after these words, as the object of the action, viz.:—वायु ‘sound’, वैर ‘hostility’, कष्ठ ‘strife’, अब ‘cloud’, कष्ठ ‘sin’ and मेघ ‘cloud’.

Thus, वायु करोति = वायुभो ‘he makes a noise’. So also वैराभावे, कलहाभावे, अवगतावे, कष्ठावे, मेघाभावे ।

Vart.—It should be stated that the affix comes after सुविन्यः, हुर्मिन्यः and नीहारः; as, सुविन्यावे, हुर्मिन्यावे, नीहारावे ।

Vart.—So also should be included the words भास्क, भास्क, शीर्षक, कोटा, नीहार सोटा एवं कष्ठ; as भास्कावे, भास्कावे, शीर्षकावे, कोटावे, नीहारावे एवं कष्ठावे ।

The word करण in the sūtra is not the Grammatical Karana or the Instrumental case, but has here its primary meaning of ‘doing’.

18. The affix व्यः in the sense of feeling, comes
after the words पुष्च ‘pleasure’ &c., when the pleasure &c. belong to the agent as feels thereof.

Thus मुख ‘he feels pleasure’; हुःखाय ‘he feels pain’.

Why do we say ‘when the feeling belongs to the agent’? Observe सुखः सेवनम्यं प्राप्त्यां ‘the valet knows the happiness of his master Devadatta.’ Here the agent viz. a valet, is not the percipient of the ‘happiness,’ which belongs to his master; hence there is no affixing.

सुख: ॥
सुखः, हुःखः, हुःय, गहन, कृष्णः, असः, अलीकः, ज्ञीनः, कहयः, कृष्णः, सोटः ॥

नमस्वरिविरिवरिवरिवकः क्रृष्ण || १९ || पद्वानि || नमस्व-रिविरिवरिवरिवकः, क्रृष्णः ( करणे ) ॥

चूः ॥ नमसः रिविरिवरिवरिवकः व्रजः इत्येकः-यो वा क्रृष्णः प्रस्थयो भवितः कराविविगः पूजासि ॥

19. The affix क्रृष्ण, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action viz:—
नमस्त् ‘adoration’, वरिवरिवरिवरिवकः ‘honor’ and चिरि ‘wonder’.

Thus नमस्त् मेवानि, ‘he worships the gods’; वरिवरिवरिवकः गुरूः, ‘he honors or serves the elders’; चिरि येने ‘he astonishes ( makes it wonderful).’ The क्रृष्ण in चिरि indicates that it takes the affixes of the Atmanepada. (चिरि + य = चिरि + य (VII. 4. 33) = चिरि).

पुष्चभाषकृष्णरथेशिक || २० || पद्वानि || पुष्च-भाषकृष्णरथेशिक, चिरि, ( करणे ) ॥

चूः ॥ पुष्चभाषकृष्णरथेशिकः प्रत्ययो भवितः कराविविगः ॥

बारीकः ॥ पुष्चभाषकृष्णरथेशिकः पर्यस्तः या ॥

बारीकः ॥ भाषकृष्णरथेशिकः ॥

बारीकः ॥ चीनरथेशिकः परिस्चारः या ॥

20. The affix चिरि, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action, viz:—पुष्च ‘tail’, भाषकृ ‘pot’ and चीन ‘rag’.

Thus चिरि ‘he lifts up the tail’, (the sense must be that of lifting or throwing about); सम्मारात्येन ‘he collects pots in a heap’; स्मारात्येन भिन्नः ‘the beggar collects or wears rags’. Of the affix चिरि, the effective portion is चिरि, the other letters are servile. The क्रृष्ण indicates Atmanepada (I. 3. 12) and चिरि serves the purposes of the application of the rule VI. 4. 51 which applies generally to all affixes containing क्र, such as चिरि, चिरि, चिरि &c.

Vart:—After the word पुष्च the sense of the affix is that of lifting or throwing about.
Varṣa:—After भाव the sense of the affix is that of accumulation in a heap.

Varṣa:—After चीव्र the sense of the affix is that of acquiring or wearing.

िुङ्गिर्यागशङ्गकङ्गश्वव्रकयस्यालेकुङ्गकत्वस्येव शिच्छ।

पदार्थाः षुङ्ग्ध-शङ्गकङ्गश्वव्रकयस्य-वशेष-कलकुङ्गकत्वस्येवः। शिच्छ, (कारणे)॥

वृचि:—िुङ्ग्ध मिश्र षुङ्ग्ध लावण वशेष कल कल कल कल कल-तृत्तेष्यः। कारणे शिच्छ प्रवर्तयो


Thus मुङ्गि ‘he shaves’; मिभि ‘he mixes’; षुङ्ग्ध ‘he softens or alleviates’; लावण ‘he salts’; प्योङ्गि ‘he fasts on milk’; संध्यायि ‘he covers with clothes i.e. dresses’; हल ‘he ploughs’; कल ‘he makes war’; कुङ्ग ‘he appreciates kindness’; कलकत ‘he combs the hair, or disentangles matted hair or delivers from sin’.

The affix after the word वशेष has the sense of ‘eating’ or ‘abstaining therefrom’; as प्योङ्गि वशेष ‘he drinks milk’; षुङ्ग्धायि वशेष ‘he abstains from the food prepared by a low caste’; after the word कल the affix denotes the sense of covering. After हल and कल the sense is that of taking; as हल ग्राहि = हल-बाहि. The words in the सूत्र are हल and कल and not हलि and कालि. This anomalous form shows that in forming the Aorist of these by adding the affix शह (3.1.48) the reduplication takes place, but not in the same way as if the affix were समि; i.e. the सन्द्वशाय does not take place here in the Aorist (VII. 4. 93). Thus the Aorists are अंधहि and अंधकलि and not अंधहि and अंधकलि, which would have been the forms by the application of rules VII. 4. 79. & 94, if there was सन्द्वशाय.

The word सन्द्वशाय means either hair, or matted hair, or sin.

घातेरीवाचो हलादि: क्रियासभिरवर्ष्या यत्॥ २२॥ पदार्थाः

घाते: एक-अतः, हल-आदि: क्रिया-सभिरवर्ष्या, यत्॥

वृचि:—एकादि ढो धातुहेतुस्वार्थः क्रियासभिरवर्ष्या वर्ष्ये तस्मायः प्रवर्तयो अवति, गौत्मपुञ्जः

भृगायणि वा क्रियासभिरवर्ष्या:।
22. The affix यह, in the sense of repetition of the act, comes after a root, having a single vowel and beginning with a consonant.

The phrase kriyā-samabhikāra means repetition of the act or its intensity. As पढ़ च ‘to cook’, पपढते ‘he cooks again and again’; माज्जवेते ‘he shines with great intensity’. The root must be a simple root, and not compounded with any upasarga. We cannot therefore make Intensives of verbs like प्रचु ‘to go’, (because the root प्रचु is preceded by the upasarga र); or जाग ‘to be awake,’ (because it contains two vowels); or हृद ‘to see’ (because it begins with a vowel).

Vart:—The intensive affix यह, comes after सुचि, पुचि, दुचि, भटि, भरि, भ्रमा and आचि, though some of these contain more than two vowels and others begin with a vowel.

As, सोचुचि, सोचुचि, नोचुचि, भटचि, भरचि, भ्रामचि, and श्रीचि.

The affix is not added in these cases भुरा श्रमते or भुरा रोचि, as it is against usage to make Intensive forms of these verbs on the sense of intensity, though in the sense of repetition we have रोचि and श्रमते.

In making the Intensives, the root is reduplicated and it takes the terminations of the Atmanepada as the root is यहा.

नित्य नैक्षिके गति || स भाषिनि || नित्यम्, कौटिल्ये, गति,

( यह )

वृति: || गतिक्षणार्थातोः कौटिल्ये गम्यांनो नित्यं यहुः प्रस्थयो भवति ||

23. The affix यह, invariably comes, in the sense of crookedness, after a simple verb expressing motion.

Thus कर ‘to move’, चक्रवति ‘he moves crookedly’. So also इन्द्रस्यते. After a verb of motion, the यह never expresses intensity or repetition; so if the latter sense is to be expressed, a phrase must be employed; as भुरा क्रामति ‘he wanders much’. This is inferred from the word नित्य used in the sūtra i. e., यह always has the sense of crookedness and no other sense after a verb of motion.

लुपदचुरुचचुपज्जुचुयुभुवादनहैरायाम् || स भाषिनि ||

लुप-सदा-चर-जग-जच-दुह-दुह-दुहः, भाय-गहुरायाम्, ( यह )

वृति: || लुप सदा चर जग जच दुह चद्र यु उसे स्वयंभो भायाहिणणं गद्रविरा वदुह प्रस्थयो

भवति ||

24. The affix यह when it is intended to convey the sense of contempt (गहरी) in respect of the sense
of the root (भाव) comes always after the following roots, viz.:—लूप ‘to cut off’, शह ‘to sit’, चर ‘to walk’, नर ‘to mutter silently any sacred formula’, जग ‘to gape or yawn’, वह ‘to burn’, वष ‘to bite’ and गृ ‘to swallow’.

Thus लोभ ‘he cuts off badly’; साल ‘he sits badly’; चर ‘he walks badly’; जग ‘he recites badly’; so also जग, इत्यादि, इत्यादि, निजेविभावते. The affix खः does not come in the sense of repetition &c. after the above verbs, but only in the sense of censurable performance of the action denoted by the verbs. Separate words must be used to express the intensive or the frequentative meaning. As भृष मझति ‘he cuts off much’.

Why do we say ‘when contempt in regard to the sense of the root is meant’? Observe साधक जपति ‘he recites well’. There is no affixing as no contempt is denoted. Why do we say ‘in regard to the action denoted by the root’? When the contempt is not with regard to the sense of the root, but with regard to the action as accomplished, the affix is not employed. Thus मन्त्र जपति चुप्पि: ‘the Sūdra recites the sacred mantras’. The word मिल्य of the last aphorism is understood here also.

सत्यायापाश्रयप्रवाहीतादलस्तृलोक्षीताबलोगवर्ष्णेष्चुरादिभ्यः \सिच्च॥ २५॥ पदाति॥ सत्याय-पाश्रयवर्ष्णेष्चुरादिभ्यः \सिच्च॥

वृत्ति: सत्याक्षरण्यायनोयकोहुरादिभ्यः \सिच्च॥ प्रवाह भवति॥
वालिकृत। भर्तः वेदसत्यानामागुणवचनः॥

25. The affix सिच्च is employed after these words, viz.:—सत्य ‘truth’ (which then takes the form of सत्याय as exhibited in the sutra), पद ‘a fetter’, खः ‘form’, वीण ‘a lute’, बूि ‘cotton’, शलोक ‘celebration’, सेना ‘an army’, आग ‘the hair of the body’, तव ‘the skin’, वर्ण ‘mail’, वर्ण ‘celebration’, चूह ‘powder’ and the verb of the Churādi class.

Thus सत्यायति ‘he speaks truly’; विपाकत्वति ‘he unfetters or liberates’; रुप विलयति ‘he looks’; उत्तादिविति ‘he sings with the lute’; असुन्दरायति ‘he makes a brush’; उपासनाक्षरति ‘he praises in verse’; भवतिर्यायति ‘he advances with the army’; अनुज्यति ‘he rubs over the hair’; तव ‘he feels of the skin’; संवर्यति ‘he puts on the mail armour’; बहुविन्ययति ‘he celebrates or colors’; अवसंपूर्णति ‘he pulverises. The roots of the Churādi class belong to the tenth conjugation, for a list of which see the Dhātupātha. After the verbs of the Churādi class, the affix फिच्च is employed without alteration of the sense; as चोरवति ‘he steals’. So also चिन्तयति.
**Vart:**—The words अर्थ, वेद and सब्य take the augment आच्छ before the affix धिंच्छ; as, सर्वायानाती, अर्थायानाती, वेदायानाती. The whole equation is thus shown अर्थ + आच्छ + धिंच्छ + ग्राम + सिय = अर्थ + आच्छ + ग्राम + सिय = अर्थायिनी + असिय = अर्थायिनी (VII. 3. 85). The final syllable called धिंच्छ is not elided in this case, i.e. of अर्थायिनी the syllable आच्छ is not elided before ग्राम, as it would have been by VI. 4. 155. The reason is that if आच्छ was to be elided, there would have been no necessity of adding it. The affix धिंच्छ has the sense of ‘unfettering’ after the word पाप्त, of ‘seeing’ after कष्ट, of ‘singing in accompaniment’ after शीर, of ‘brushing’ after जल, of ‘praising’ after ज्ञोंक, of ‘leading’ after सेना, of ‘rubbing’ after लोम; of ‘taking’ after सब्य, of ‘putting on’ after वस्त्र and of ‘taking’ after वस्त्र.

**हेतुमति** च II र० II पदाँति II हेतुमति, च, (पातोः, शिङ्च) II

**वृद्धि:** हेतु: स्वाजस्य कःः प्रयोजकः स्त्रीयोः व्यवारः; शेष्याविविधेऽपि हेतुमक्ति विनिशेचे शास्त्रीयस्य भवः।

**वार्तकम्** II तत्त्वार्थार्थेऽपि साधुः।

**वार्तकम्** II भाषायानात्तत्त्वाच इति धिंच्छ कुलकुल महति परवायाति: महतिवचन कारकम्।

**वार्तकम्** II भाषायानात्तत्त्वाच इति धिंच्छ कुलकुल महति परवायाति: महतिवचन कारकम्।

**वार्तकम्** II नाभायानात्तत्त्वाच इति।

26. The affix धिंच्छ is employed after a root, when the operation of a causer is to be expressed.

The hetu (I. 4. 55) means the mover of the independent agent; an operation relating to the hetu, such as directing &c. is called hetumati; as कष्ट कारभोति ‘he causes to prepare a mat’; शीर पावियटि ‘he makes the rice to be cooked’. In other words, the affix धिंच्छ forms the causative verbs.

**Vart:**—The affix comes also in the sense of ‘he does that’ after the words सूत्र&c. Thus सूत्र करोति = सूत्रवति ‘he makes sūtra.’ So also सूत्रवति.

**Vart:**—After words ending in कूल affixes and describing legends, comes the affix धिंच्छ, when the sense is ‘he does that’. The कूल affix is elided, the word reasserts its basic (पाकूलिक) form, and the base is as if the agent, thus कलसीमाचाच्छे = कलसी पावियटि; वल्लववस्माचाच्छे = वल्लव वनम्यति; राजगंगनमाचाच्छे = राजगंगन आम्यति.

**Vart:**—Under the conditions mentioned in the last वार्तक, the upasarga आ is elided, when duration of time is meant expressing limit. Thus आराये विद्वांसे आच्छे = राचे विद्वासयति; here the आ of आरायि is elided.

**Vart:**—Under the conditions mentioned in the second vartika the affix धिंच्छ has the sense of ‘making wonderful’, meaning ‘attaining that’. Thus
27. The affix यक्त्र is employed after the roots कण्डु ‘to itch’; &c.

Thus, कण्डुमत्र or कण्डुपत्र ‘he itches or scratches’. This word takes terminations indicatory. The words कण्डु &c. are both roots and nouns, and are placed therefore in a separate list by themselves and are not included in the general list of verbs. The affix applies to these words as roots and not as nouns.”

28. The affix आय comes after गृह ‘to protect’, ध्रुव ‘to heat’, विश्रु ‘to approach’, पण ‘to contract or praise’ and पन ‘to praise’.

Thus गोपायति ‘he protects’; ध्रुवायति ‘he heats’; so also, विश्रगायति, पणायति, and पनायति.

The verb पण being read along with पन ‘to praise’, has here the sense of praise only; so that the affix does not come after the verb पण when it means ‘to make a contract’; as शतस्य पणायेत्, सहस्रस्य पणाते.

The verbs in आय do not take Atmanepada affixes, as there is no indicatory letter to show that.
29. The affix ईवढ़ comes after the sūtra root करि ‘to reproach’.

The indicatory त्र shows that the verb will take the affixes of the Atmanepada; as करोत्यि (he pities or reproaches); so also, करोत्यि, करोत्यि.

कमेशेषिणि ॥ ३० ॥ पदार्थि ॥ कमेि; शिणि ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ कमेशेषिणि प्रत्ययि भवति ॥

30. The affix णिकः comes after the root कम ‘to desire’.

The ण indicates vriddhī (VII. 2. 115) and त्र shows Atmanepada; as, कामि ‘he desires’; so also कामि and कामि.

आयादयु आदिधातुके वा ॥ ३१ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ आय-आदयु; आदि-धातुके, वा; (प्रत्ययि:) ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ आदिधातुकविचारये आदिधातुकविचारायादयु: प्रत्ययि वा भवति ॥

31. The affixes आय and those that follow it, (i.e. आय, ईवढ़ and णिकः) are optionally added, when it is desired to express one’s self with an ārdhadhātuka affix.

Thus ता 3rd. sing. of the Future is an ārdhadhātuka affix. It is optional to retain the dya of gopāya before this affix. So we have गोपायिता or गोपाय ‘he will protect’. So also अर्यिता or करि; करिता or कामिता.

But for this sūtra, the affixes आय &c. would have come always even when ārdhadhātuka affixes were to be applied. This makes it optional. Therefore proper ārdhadhātuka affixes should be applied when we retain आय &c. and when we do not retain them. Thus the ārdhadhātuka लिङ्ग (III. 3. 95) will be employed in forming the feminine noun from the simple root, but the ārdhadhātuka अ (III. 3. 102) will be employed in forming the feminine when आय &c. are retained. Thus गुणि: or गोपया.

सनायतना धातवः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ सन्-आदि-अल्ता;:

धातवः ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ सनायतना: सन्-वच्च: धातुसंस्करण्य भवति ॥

32. All the words ending with the affixes सत् and others are called Dhātu.

This extends the sphere of Dhātu or roots already defined in sūtra I. 3. 1. These roots may be called derivative roots. They are separate independent roots, and have all the functions of a root, as taking tense-affixes &c. as shown in the above examples. Thus दिकोि ‘to wish to do’, कारि ‘to
cause to do'; चेतन 'to do repeatedly' are separate roots and not the same as कृ 'to do' and thus take ग्रुप &c.

ध्यातयी लूल्टो: ॥ ३३ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ स्थ-तासी, लू-लुटो: ॥

(धाति:॥)

वृत्ति: ॥ लूल्टोगुरुस्वयुक्तवर्तमाना सामान्यमेकाक्षर न्यायसू लूटि ॥ च परतो धातुर्यासंख्य स्थ्यातीर महायों भवति: ॥

33. When लू and लुटि follow, then स्थ and तासि are respectively the affixes of a verbal root.

लू is the common expression for लूटि and लुटि formed by rejecting their special anubandhas, and means therefore the 2nd Future and the Conditional tenses. लुटि is the 1st Future also called the Periphrastic Future. Thus कलिपः अकलिपः, कत्या. The ० of तासि is indicative and shows that the nasal of the root is not to be dropped before this; as मन् 'to think', मन्ता 'he will think'.

सिध्युलं लूटि ॥ ३४ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ सिध्, बुल्लम्, लूटि, (धाति:॥)

वृत्ति: ॥ धाति: सिध् महायों भवति बुल्लम् लूटि परतो: ॥

34. सिध् is diversely the affix of a verbal root when लूटि follows.

The tense called लूटि or subjunctive is found in the Vedas only. When the subjunctive tense is employed, the affix सिध् is diversely added.

Thus जगिपन्त, तारिपन्त, मन्तिपन्त; Sometimes this augment is not employed; thus पतानित्व हिष्ठेन भवति व्यास्यवास्य. Thus in Rig Veda I. 1. 2, वस्तिति is an example of लूटि with सिध्॥

कासुप्रत्यङ्गासमश्च लिदि ॥ ३५ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ कास्म-क्रियायाः, आम्, अस्म, लिदि, ( प्रत्यः, धाति: ) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ कास्कृच्चल्ल्कृ वल्लकोष, ततः प्रत्ययांक्षरोध धातुबः आम् प्रत्ययों भवति लिदि परतो-समास्यमभवति: ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ काल्यनेकाष्ठ इति वक्तव्यम्, चुलूमायथः भवः ॥

35. आम् is the affix of the verb कास् 'to cough', and of those roots that are formed by affixes (i.e. the derivative verbs), when लूटि follows, except in the Mantra.

This forms the Periphrastic Perfect. The Perfect of कास् will be कासाम्, after which the terminations of the Perfect are all elided (II. 4. 81) and instead, the perfect tense of the auxiliary verb भू or भु or भु is added. As कासांपकः 'he coughed'; चोरायास 'he stole'. So also लूल्टोवांचत्रेऽ॥
This rule however does not apply to the Vedas; as कृष्णा नीनाव Rig. Veda I. 79. 2.

*Vart:*—This rule also applies where the root is polysyllabic consisting of more than one vowel; as गुज्जम्याण्वकार, श्रिद्वाचार.

The final न of आम is not indicatory.

इणार्यां गुहस्तोफल्नाचः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ इच-आदेः, च,

गुहस्तः, अनृचः (लिटि, आस्) ॥

पृष्ठः ॥ इणार्यां धातुगुहस्तः कृष्णातिवर्जितस्तनांचः लिटि परतः आयपत्याः भवति ॥

वासिकम् ॥ अणृचित्व प्रतियोगी वनकायः ॥

36. The affix आम is used when निर्दोष follows, after a root beginning with a letter of इच pratyâhâra and having a heavy vowel, excepting the root कृष्ण ‘to go’.

Thus इें ‘to try’, इेंहांचे ‘he tried’; so also उज्जार्यां ‘he guessed’, एणार्यां ‘he grieved’.

But कृष्ण forms आमक ‘he failed or went’. This applies to monosyllabic roots which begin with any vowel prosodically long, except आ or आ. The verb कृष्ण ‘to cover’ is, however, an exception; its perfect is आणूळ नाव ‘he covered’.

Why do we say ‘beginning with इच or any vowel except आ or आ’? Observe आहे, Perfect आहे (VII. 4. 71). Why do we say ‘heavy vowel’? Observe इहे, Perf. इहोहे (VI. 4. 78) उखळः; उखळः: Why do we say ‘vowel’? Observe इहे, Perf. इहोहे; पहळ; पहळ.

दुयायास्चाय ॥ ३७ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ दृष्य-अय-आसः, च, (लिटि,

आसू) ॥

पृष्ठः ॥ इच शास्त्रांस्वपुष्प, अय गति, आस उपवेगाने, एसेयंश लिटि परतः आयपत्याः भवति ॥

37. After the verbs इच ‘to give’, ‘to go’ and ‘to protect’, अय ‘to go’, and आस ‘to sit’, there is the affix आम, when निर्दोष follows.

Thus इणार्यां ‘he gave’; उपायार्यां ‘he ran away’; आसार्यां ‘he sat’.

उथज्ञाग्यियो अन्यतरस्याम ॥ ३८ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ उथ-विद्व-

गादस्यः, अन्यतरस्याम, (आम, प्रत्ययः, लिटि) ॥

पृष्ठः ॥ इध शास्त्रां, विध शास्त्रां, आस निदियत्वे, एसेयंश लिटि परतो अन्यतरस्यामाम भवयो

भवति ॥

38. The affix आम is optionally employed after these, viz:—उथ ‘to burn’, विध ‘to know’, and आस ‘to wake’, when निर्दोष follows.
Thus ओषधशक्ति or उद्योग, विधाशक्ति or विकार, जागराशक्ति or जनागर. As there is an agreement in the present instance to regard the verb विद्र as ending in a short अ, गुना is not substituted, as it would otherwise have been by rule VII. 3. 36.

भीैैधिमहुयां श्लुवन्दा ॥३७॥ पदानि ॥ भीै-ह्रीै-ह्रूै-ह्रवां, श्लुवतः, 
च, ( आम्, लिति, अन्यतरसाम् ) ॥

वृत्ति: || भीैधिभमेव, ह्रीै लक्षमयाम, ह्रूैन्त्री धर्मयोगियोऽभायः; ह्रूै शतानानयोः; एतेऽस्यो लिति परतः आमृतसबो महतन्यतरसाम, श्लुवति चासिन्यकार्यं भवति ॥ ३८ ॥

39. आम् is optionally affixed, when लिति follows; after these verbs ह्री 'to fear', ह्रू 'to be ashamed', ह्रू 'to nourish', ह्रू 'to sacrifice'; and when आम् is affixed, the effect is as if there were श्लु elision and the roots belonged to Hvādi class.

The effect of श्लु is to cause reduplication by rule VI. I. 10. As विन्यासस्थानवर् or विन्यासवर्ष, विविधायानवर्ष or विन्यास, विन्यासस्थानवर्ष or विन्यास, तुह्वार्थकार or तुह्वार्थकार.

क्ष्यानुमुद्यते सिद्धिः ॥४० ॥ पदानि, ॥ कुण्, च, अनुप्रयुञ्जते, सिद्धिः ॥

वृत्ति: || आमृतसबो महतन्यतरसाम श्लुवति सिद्धिः परतः, कुण्तिति प्रविाहकरण कुण्तिति गृह्येत तत्वसमर्थवेदोऽभायो न भवति ॥

40. After a verb which ends with आम्, the verb कु 'to do' is annexed, when लिति follows.

After the above verbs formed by taking the augment आम् the perfect tense of कु is added to form their Perfect. This has already been illustrated in the above examples. The word कु includes also the verbs भू and भस्. All these three may be used as auxiliaries. The verb क्ष्यु when used as an auxiliary, is not replaced by भू (III. 4. 52) before the लिति affixes which are ārdhadhātuka affixes. Thus विन्यासस्थानवर्ष, विन्यासस्थानवर्ष, विन्यासस्थान.

विद्राङ्कुरविविभिर्वित्क्षन्तयत्वरसाम ॥४१॥ पदानि ॥ विद्राङ्कुरविवः,

इति, अन्यतरसाम् ॥

वृत्ति: || विद्राङ्कुरविविभिर्वित्क्षन्तयत्वरसाम निपार्यथे ॥

41. The form विद्राङ्कुरविव is optionally employed as an irregular form.

This irregular form is obtained by adding the affix आम् to the root विद्र 'to know,' when followed by जोद or the Imperative tense; the tense-affixes of जोद are then elided by लुक; moreover there is no substitution of गुना.
as required by VII. 3. 86; and when we have thus obtained the form विद्यां, we annex to it the लोक of the verb कृ; thus we have विद्यांहूँ बननु or विद्यां ‘let them know’. The third person plural is not only intended to be spoken of by the employment of the form विद्यांहूँ in the aphorism; on the contrary, the word इति shows that all the numbers and persons of the Imperative may be so employed; as विद्यांहूँ विद्यांकृतसाम् &c.

**अभ्युत्साद्यांप्रजनन्यांचिकित्यांस्यामकः पावयांक्रियांहृद्दामः कृतिति छृद्दिः** || 32 || पद्धनि || अभ्युत्साद्यांप्रजनन्यांचिकित्यांस्यामकः पावयांक्रियांहृद्दामः कृतिति, छृद्दिः, (अन्ततरस्यां)॥

**बृति** || अभ्युत्साद्यांत्वमेवमहायम्: कृतिति विद्यांहूँन्तरस्यां निपातत्स्त्यन्ते॥

42. The forms अभ्युत्साद्यांप्रजनन्यांचिकित्यांस्यामकः पावयांक्रियांहृद्दामः चिकित्यांस्यामकः पावयांक्रियांहृद्दामः विद्यांस्यामकः पावयांक्रियांहृद्दामः विद्यांस्यामकः are irregularly formed in the Chhandas.

The first two of these and the fourth are the Aorists (नूढ़) of the causatives of the roots स, ‘to sit’, जन, ‘to be born’, and रम, ‘to sport’: to which the affix आम is added. The third is the Aorist of the root न, ‘to collect’, to which आम has been added after the reduplication and the change of च to ख of the root. The auxiliary अखः is added to all these four. The fifth is derived from the root प, ‘to blow, to purify’, by adding the causative affix चिक, annexing the affix आम before the terminations of the Potential (लिखः) and then using after the form so obtained, the auxiliary क्षिता। The last is the Aorist of चिक, ‘to know’, to which आम is added and the auxiliary अखः is employed.

चिल छुढ़ि || 32 || पद्धनि || चिल, छुढ़ि, (तातोः, प्रत्ययः) ||

**बृति** || पातोः: चिल प्रस्मयो भवति छुढ़ि प्रस्तः॥

43. When छृ follows, the affix चिल is added to the verbal root.

The स of चिल is for the sake of articulation, the छ is for the sake of accent (VI. 1, 162.) showing that an affix which has an indicative छ has *udatta* on its final. Then remains only छ, which after all, is to be replaced by other affixes, as we shall show below. In fact छि is the common name for all Aorist affixes.

**चलेः: छि ि || 44 || पद्धनि || चलेः, छि ||

**बृति** || चलेः: चिलावः भवति॥

वातिकः || चिलावः चिलावः सिङ्खः वक्तः॥
44. Of चित्त, चिचु is the substitute.

The च of चिचु is for the sake of pronunciation, the च is for accent, and the real affix is स्; as अक्षरास्त्र 'he did'. When चिचु is added, the terminations of the Aorist assume the following forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parasmaipada.</th>
<th>Atmane pada.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sing.</td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pers. सं</td>
<td>सव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers. सी:</td>
<td>सत्त, त</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers. सि:त</td>
<td>सत्त, तों</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The substitution of चिचु is optional in the Aorist of the roots धृत 'to touch', धृत 'to rub', कूप 'to plough', धृत 'to become satisfied', and धृत 'to light'. Thus the Aorist of धृत has three forms; अक्षरास्त्र, अक्षरास्त्रित or अक्षरास्त्रित, Similarly धृत has अक्षरास्त्रित, अक्षरास्त्रित or अक्षरास्त्रित, कूप, अक्षरास्त्रित, अक्षरास्त्रित or अक्षरास्त्रित, धृत, अक्षरास्त्रित, अक्षरास्त्रित or अक्षरास्त्रित.

शल हृगपादानुपस्तिक: कस: || ॥२५॥ पदानुवि || शल:, हृग-उपचारः, अनित:, कस:, (क्लेव, लिङ्क) ॥

गृति: ॥ शलम्बरो यो धातुरिपुपथवस्त्राय परस्य आनितिः, कस आदेयो भविषय ॥

45. After a verb that ends in a शल consonant, and has an जक vowel for its penultimate letter, and does not take हृ (VII. 2. 10), कस is the substitute of चित्त.

The forms of the terminations of the Aorist with कस are as follow:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parasmaipada.</th>
<th>Atmane pada.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sing.</td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pers. सं</td>
<td>साव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers. स:</td>
<td>सत्त</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers. सि:त</td>
<td>सत्त: तों</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As, गुट्ट and कूप in the last sūtra have their Aorist with कस as अक्षकस्त्र and अक्षकस्त्र; so हृ 'to milk' forms अक्षकस्त्र 'he milked', लिङ्क 'to lick' अक्षकस्त्र.

Why do we say 'when ending in शल, चि, स and हृ'? Observe अक्षकस्त्र, अक्षकस्त्रित; here सिचु is employed. Why do we say 'having for its penultimate हृ, चि or सि'? Observe अक्षकस्त्र. Why do we say 'not having an intermediate हृ'? Observe अक्षकस्त्र and अक्षकस्त्र. See VII. 2. 4 and VIII. 2. 28.

शिल्य आलिंगने || ॥२६॥ पदानुवि || शिल्य:, आलिंगने, (क्लेव, बस:)॥

वृत्ति: ॥ शिल्याद्वाराधिनिद्रानन्दित्यावचनत, परस्य चले: कस आदेयो नवति ॥

46. कस is the substitute of चित्त after the verb शिल्य, when it is employed in the sense of embracing.
This is a restrictive aphorism. As अग्रितऽकः कण्याम् ‘he embraced the girl'. But समाधिभजऽपमुखः ‘the glue joined the wood'.

47. क्ष is not the substitute of ध्व्य after the verb दृढ़ ‘to see'.

This is an exception to the sūtra III. I. 45. enjoining क्ष. The root दृढ़ will form its Aorists by III. I. 57. and will take अहं and विच्; as अहंकारः or अमरासितः ‘he saw'.

पिन्त्रुद् रुपः कर्तरि चढ़्ये िर्भाढ़कः िर्भाढ़कः, कर्तरि, चढ़्ये (िद्रे, लुढ़ि) ॥

चृति: भ्याने-क्षय धातुः भिन्नद्वाद्येः परस्य चन्द्रहड़ेऽभवति कर्तवाचलिनि लुढ़ि परतः ॥

बालिकम् कषेढंसंयास्याम् ॥

48. After a root which ends in िर् (III. I. 20, 21, 44, &c.) and after the verb भाष्य ‘to serve', दृढ़, ‘to run', and चढ़ ‘to drop', चढ़्ये is the substitute of ध्व्य, when न्ध्य follows signifying an agent.

The दृढ़ prevents गुना and वृद्धि and च is to distinguish it from अहं. When चढ़्ये is added, there is reduplication (VI. I. 11). The usual terminations of the Imperfect are employed after the root, when चढ़्ये is used; as अत्रिकरतः ‘he caused to make'; अत्रिकितः ‘he served or went'; अहम्सुतः ‘he ran'; असंभूतः ‘it flowed'. This form is not used in Passive; as, अहंकारिृतम्.

The root क्ष ‘to love' should also be included in this rule. क्ष्य, when it takes the affix िर् (III. I. 30) will of course be included in this sūtra, by virtue of its ending in िर्; the Vārtika makes the additional statement that even when the root क्ष्य does not take the affix िर्, the present aphorism must apply to it. Thus we have अहंकार ‘he loved'; when it takes िर्, the Aorist will be अहंकारतः (VII. 4. 93, 79, 94)

पिन्त्रुद्योऽचेत्यः िर्भाढ़कः िर्भाढ़कः, कर्तरि, चढ़्ये (िद्रे, चढ़्ये, कर्तरि, लुढ़ि) ॥

चृति: चेत्य गार्हित गतिक्षुः गतिक्षुः चन्द्रहड़ेऽन्ध्व्यानि चन्द्रहड़ेऽभवति ॥

49. After the roots ध्व्य ‘to suck', and दृढ़ ‘to grow', चढ़्ये is optionally the substitute of ध्व्य, when न्ध्य follows signifying an agent.
As, अस्सत् 'he sucked'. When it takes the alternative सिष्ट, then rule II. 4. 78. comes into operation, and we have अभावन् and अभावतैल् 'he sucked'. So also of दृढः, we have बलिजित्वस्य 'he grew'. It also takes the अहः (III. 1. 58) and then its form is भविस्त् or अभविस्त्:


gुपेशुद्धिः || पदार्थ || गुपे:, छस्य, (चले:, चहः, विभाषा, कार्तरिक, लूड़रूपे) ||

vृत्तिः: || गुपे: परस्व मलेश्वरस्य विष्णु विभाषा चस्यायो भविष्यत् ||

50. After the verb गुपे 'to protect', चह य औपयोगिक the substitute of चिन्त in the Chhandas.

This rule applies where the root गुपे does not take the affix आँ (II. 1. 28). As हमने नो विभाषायित्वा वत्, यथः अभंगुपेतभु 'Mitra Varuṇa protected these our houses'. The other forms are भावौतिस्त, भावौपितिस्त or भावौपितिस्त. In the secular literature, the latter three forms are used, but not the first.

नौनयतिध्वनयत्यन्यवत्यद्विकतिस्य: || पदार्थ || न, कानयति-
ध्वनयतिभ-एवतिभ-अद्वितिस्यः, (चले:, चहः, छस्य ) ||

vृत्तिः: || कन परिभाषा, अन गाढ़े, हन मेरे, असं गती बाचने च, एतेम्यो प्राप्तुभी
व्यक्तिः: पुनर्य चलेश्वरिफळेप्राप्ते छस्यसिविष्णु वन्ति ||

51. After the causatives of the verbs कन 'to decrease', अन 'to sound', हन 'to send', and असं 'to go or to beg', चह य औपयोगिक is not the substitute of चिन्त in the Chhandas.

Thus we have कनया: in the Vedas; औविनित in the classical literature; so also अनयाय; एलीया: and अब्बाय; their classical forms being अभिनयत्, एलिनस्त्, and अब्बायस्त्. See Rig Veda I. 53, 3. I. 162. 15. and Pāṇini VII 2, 5.

अस्यतिविकस्य ख्यातित्विशेषवः || पदार्थ || अस्यति-वक्त्रि-
क्ष्यातिस्यो, अहः, (चले:, कार्तरिक, लूड़रूपे) ||

vृत्तिः: || असु क्षेष्यो, वचन परिभाषा, चलेश्वरिशे वा, यथा प्रकाशे, चलेश्वरिशे वा, एतस्य,
परस्व मलेश्वरियी भविजित कर्मयाचिनि लूड़े परि: ||

52. After the verbs असु 'to throw', वचन 'to speak', and यथा 'to speak', अह य औपयोगिक is the substitute of चिन्त, when नूह य औपयोगिक follows signifying the agent.

वचः may be either the root, or the substitute of गुपे (II. 4. 53) and so also यथा may be the root, or the substitute of चहः (II. 4. 54). The root असु belonging to the द्वितोष्ट् or the Fourth conjugation, falls under the subdivision पुषार्थि, and therefore it would have taken अहः in the Parasmaipada.
by rule III, 1. 55. The repetition is to indicate that it takes-अड़ in the Atamanepada also; as पर्यावरण (VII. 4. 17), अवश्यम् and अवश्यक. In the Passive, we have पर्यावरणातः।

लिपिलिपिश्चर्च एँ 53 दानि लिपि-सिचि-हुः, च (च्ले.; अड़, कसरी, लुक्कि)।

53. After the verbs लिपिः 'to paint', सिच् 'to sprinkle' and हुः 'to call', अड़ is the substitute of च्ल when नुः follows signifying the agent.

Thus अलिपि, 'he painted or wrote'; असिचच, 'he sprinkled'; and आहुति, 'he called or challenged'.

आत्मनेपदेयव्यतरस्तयम् 54 दानि आत्मनेपदेयु, अन्यतरस्तयम्, (च्ले.; अड़, लिपि, सिचि, हुः)।

54. After the verbs लिपि, सिच and हु, अड़ is optionally the substitute of च्ल when the affixes of the Atmanepada follow.

Thus अलिपि or अलिपि 'he painted'; असिचच or असिच 'he sprinkled'; आहुति or आहुति 'he challenged'.

पुषादिद्वुताद्वूस्तिलित: परस्तैपदेयु 55 दानि पुषादिद्वुताद्वूस्तिलित: परस्तैपदेयु, (च्ले.; अड़)।

55. अड़ is the substitute of च्लिः after the verbs पुष, 'to nourish', and the rest, युः, 'to shine', and the rest, and the verbs having an indicatory नुः when the affixes of the Parasmaipada follow.

The verbs classed as पुषादि, are a sub-division of the 4th conjugational verbs; and युहत्तिः verbs belong to the 1st conjugation. As पुष, अपुषत 'he nourished'; युति, अयुति, 'he shone'; गमति, अगमति, 'he went'. But not so in the Atmanepada; as व्यवहित्तिः, बहुविघ्रह.

संस्कृतशास्त्रस्तिन्यः 56 दानि संस्कृत-शास्त्र-अस्तित्वः, च (च्ले.; अड़)।

संस्कृतः: च गति, शासु अभिद्वयः, कः गति, इश्वर्यः परस्य च्लैरकाश्यो नवति।
56. After the verbs चू ‘to go’, शास्त्र ‘to order’,
and क ‘to go’, अश्चि is the substitute of च्य्यम in the Parasmai-
pada as well as in the Atmanepada.

Thus अश्चि ‘he went’; अश्चित ‘he ordered’; अश्चि ‘he went’. This sūtra
has been separately enunciated in order to make the rule applicable to Atma-
nepada; as सन्तर (I. 3. 29). The च in the text is for the sake of drawing the
anuvṛtti of the phrase ‘in the Parasmaipada’ of the last sūtra, into the pre-
sent and its anuvṛtti will extend to future sūtras also.

57. अश्चि is optionally the substitute of च्य्यम after
that root which has an indicatory च, when the Parasmai-
pada terminations are employed.

Thus from भिष्टर (भिष्टर) ‘to divide’, we derive भिष्टरि or भिष्टरि. But we
have भिष्टर in the Atmanepada. So from भिष्टर — भिष्टरित्र or भिष्टरि:

58. अश्चि is the substitute of च्य्यम after the verbs चू ‘to grow old’, च्यम ‘to stiffen’ च्यू and च्यू ‘to go’, च्यू and च्यू ‘to steal, च्यू ‘to go’ and च्यू ‘to grow’,
when the terminations of the Parasmaipada are em-
ployed.

Thus अश्चि, or अश्चि ‘he grew old’; अश्चि, or अश्चि ‘he stiffened’; अश्चि, or अश्चि ‘he went’; अश्चि, or अश्चि ‘he went’; अश्चि, or अश्चि ‘he stole’; अश्चि, or अश्चि ‘he stole’; अश्चि, or अश्चि ‘he went’;
अश्चि, or अश्चि, or अश्चि ‘he grew’. The roots च्यू and च्यू both give
rise to the same three forms, viz. च्यू, च्यू and च्यू. The use of
one root would, therefore, have served the purpose. The employment of both
indicates separateness of their meanings. Others say that the use of both
roots indicates that in the case of च्यू, the nasal is never elided. Thus
the Aorist of च्यू will be अश्चि and अश्चि.

कथ्यमससहित्यन्दति II ॥ ॥ पदानि II ॥ कुञ्जु-ह-हिस्पः, 
शनयि (शनयि, अश्चि) II
372

Substitution of Chli.

[Bk. III. Ch. I. § 59-62.

बूिति: ॥ कु मृ हु रहि इस्लेवेंभ्य परस्य च्लः छन्तिसि विषये इवकाव्येः भवति ॥

59. After the verbs कु ‘to do’, मृ ‘to die’, हु ‘to tear’, and रहि ‘to rise’, छन्ति is the substitute of िविन when used in the Chhandas.

Thus अकारत् ‘he did’; अभरत् ‘he died’; अभरहु ‘he tore’; भारहु ‘he rose’. See Rig Veda X. 85. 17, X. 44. 6. The classical Aorist of these verbs are अकारीति, अभरारीति, and भारारीति.

चिस्तु ते पद्: ॥ द० ॥ पदाति || चिस्तु: ले पद्: ( षें: ) ॥

बूिति: ॥ पद् गतो भवाराेति: परस्य च्लेविषयेः भवति वशावे परत्: ॥

60. छन्ति is the substitute of िविन after the verb पद् ‘to go’, when the affix त follows.

The affix त here means the third person singular tense-affix of the Atmanepada; as अपवित ‘he went’; but not so in the dual and plural; as अपवातां ‘they two went’; अपवत: ‘they went’; अष्ट: पद् + चिस्तु + त = अष्ट: पद् + ह् = अपवित (the affix त being elided by rule VI. 4. 104).

द्वैपजन्याश्यायिन्यासिः यान्तरसास् ॥ द० ॥ पदाति ||

द्वैप-जन-बुध-पूरि-ताधि-न्यायिन्य: अन्तरसास, (णः, चिस्तु: ते) ॥

बूिति: ॥ द्वैप जन बुध पूरि ताधि न्यायिन्य एतेष्य: परस्य च्लेविषयेः परतो न्यायिन्य: चिस्तु- वशावे भवति ॥

61. चिस्तु is optionally the substitute of िविन, when त, the third person singular of the Atmanepada follows, after the verbs द्वैप ‘to shine’, जन ‘to be produced’, बुध ‘to teach or know’, पुर ‘to be full’, ताधि ‘to extend or protect’ and न्याय ‘to smell’.

Thus अस्सीष्टि or अस्सीष्टि ‘he shone’; अन्ति or अन्तनिन्ति ‘he was produced’; अस्सीष्टि or अस्सुहु ‘he knew’; अस्सुसि or अस्सुपूरि ‘he was full’; अतात्ति or अतात्तिन्ति ‘he extended’; न्यायिन्य or न्यायिन्य ‘he grew’.

अष्ट: कर्मकांतिरिः ॥ द० ॥ पदाति || अष्ट: कर्म-कांतिरिः (णः, ते, चिस्तु:) ॥

बूिति: ॥ अन्तरसासिः परस्य च्लः कर्मकांतिरि वशावे परतिषयेः भवति ॥

62. चिस्तु is optionally the substitute of िविन when त, the third person singular of the Atmanepada follows, after a root which ends with a vowel, and when the object itself is spoken of as the agent.

A reflective verb is one in which the object is spoken of as the agent. In reflective verbs therefore, चिस्तु is employed after roots ending in
vowels; as भक्ति कर ध्वनिमत् 'the mat became made of itself'. This is an
optional rule (मामत्रिविभा). Therefore we have also अङ्कत कर ध्वनिमत्; similarly
भक्ति or अङ्कत कर ध्वनिमत् 'the embankment broke of itself'.

But in verbs other than those that end in vowels, i.e. in those which
end with a consonant, the गम्बू is obligatory in the reflective voice, and not
optional; as अनिषिं काक्त स्वरस्विमत् 'the wood split of itself'. So also in verbs
other than reflexives; as भक्ति कर यावन्दन न.

dशुभ्रम II 62 II पदार्थि II दुह्ष्, च, (घे, गम्बू, अन्यतरस्वाम, 
कमे-कर्तःरि) II

वृःति: II दुह्ष् प्रधावस्थे, अस्तावरस्व च्येधःस्थितावेऽन्यतरस्वाम् II

63. गम्बू is optionally the substitute of द्विक after
the verb दुह्ष् 'to milk', when it is used reflexively, and
when न follows.

Thus भक्ति or अङ्कत गौः स्वरस्विमत् 'the cow milked of itself'. In verbs
other than reflexive, the गम्बू is compulsory, e.g. भक्ति गौम्पीतालकक्ते 'the cow
was milked by the cowherd'.

न रूः: II 63 II पदार्थि II न, रूः, (घे, गम्बू, कमे-कर्तःरि) II

वृःति: II द्रिपूर्बामवरस्, अस्तावरस्व च्येधः कङ्कर्तःति च्येधःस्थितावेऽन्यतरस्वाम् न भवित II

64. गम्बू is not the substitute of द्विक after the
verb रूः 'to obstruct', when used in the reflexive sense
in the third person singular of the अत्मापदा.

Thus भक्ति गौः स्वरस्विमत् 'the cow was obstructed of itself'. In verbs
other than reflexive, गम्बू is employed, e.g. अन्यसाचार्योऽधिक गौम्पीतालकक्ते.

tपोःनुतापे च II 64 II पदार्थि II तपः, अनुतापे, च, (न, हः,
गम्बू, कमे-कर्तःरि) II

वृःति: II तप संसारे, अस्तावरस्व च्येधःस्थितावेऽन्यतरस्वाम् न भवित कङ्कर्तःति अनुतापे च II

65. गम्बू is not the substitute of द्विक after the
verb तपः 'to suffer', when used reflexively, and when the
sense is that of experiencing remorse.

This prohibition applies even to the passive and impersonal voices
of the verb तपः; as अन्यत्र तपस्वापि: 'the ascetic performed austerity'; अन्यत्र मण्डन
कर्तः 'he repented from evil deeds'.

गम्बू भावकर्तश्चः: II 63 II पदार्थि II गम्बू, भाव-कर्तःशः, (हः,
गम्बू, ते) II
66. विष्णु is the substitute of चिन्त when न of the third person singular Atmanepada follows, denoting the action (आच) or the object कर्म.

A verb is said to denote an action when it is used impersonally; and it is said to denote an object when used in the Passive sense. As भ्रमण भवता ‘it was lain by you i.e. you lay’; अवज्ञा करी वेः वेवेण ‘the mat was made by Devadatta’. The repetition of विष्णु here is for the sake of distinctness.

67. The affix यक्क comes after a root, when a सार्वभुत्तक (III. 4. 113) follows, denoting the action or the object.

In forming Impersonal and Passive verbs, this affix is employed in the conjugational tenses. Thus in Impersonal verbs आस्यते बनता ‘you sit’, गृह बनते ‘you lie’. So in passive verbs; as कृत्यते कर्त: and गृहते ग्रामः: The क of यक्क is servile, and prevents guna and vridhi. This affix is also used in reflective voice (कर्मकार्यत); as कृत्यते कर्त: स्वयमेव ‘the mat becomes made of itself’.

68. The affix गण comes after a root, when a सार्वभूत्तक follows, signifying the agent.

In active voice, गण is employed in the conjugational tenses. This affix, which is technically called a विकरण comes after roots of the भू class and after compound roots formed by सू एव. (III. 1. 32). The indicator श makes it a सार्वभूत्तक affix by III. 4. 113, the श indicates that the vowel has anudatta accent (III. 1. 4). As भू + गण + तिपु = भू + अ + तिपु = भू + अ + तिपु = भवति. (VII. 3. 84). So also पचति.

69. The affix यथा comes after a root of the Di- vadi class, when a sārvadhātuka affix denoting the agent follows.

This debars गण. The servile न of यथा is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 197), showing that the uddat accent falls on the radical verb and not on the affix; and the indicator श makes the affix sārvadhātuka; as हिर्य + यथा +
The Divdaddy verbs belong to the Fourth conjugation.

70. The affix *यायण* is optionally employed in the active voice after the following verbs; 'to shine', 'to walk', 'to be sad', 'to fear', 'to cut', and 'to desire'.

Thus आश्रया or आश्रये 'he shines'; आश्रये or आश्रये 'he shines'; आश्रया or आश्रया 'he whirls'; आश्रया or आश्रया 'he walks'; आश्रया or आश्रया 'he is sad'. So also आश्रया or आश्रया; आश्रया or आश्रया; आश्रया or आश्रया.

71. The affix *यायण* is optionally employed after the verb ब्रो 'to strive', when it is employed, without a preposition, and when a sārvadhatuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus आश्रया or आश्रया 'he strives'. But no option is allowed in आश्रया, आश्रया. The root ब्रो belongs to the *Divdaddy* class.

72. The affix *यायण* is optionally employed after the root ब्रो 'to strive', when it is preceded by the preposition ब्र, and when a sārvadhatuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus आश्रया or आश्रया 'he strives'.

73. The affix *यु* comes after the roots of Svādi class when a sārvadhatuka affix denoting an agent follows.
This debars \( śupt \). As \( सऽ + र्त्न्य + लिङ् = सऽ + त्न्य + लिङ् = गृहीति 'he presses out'. These are roots of the Fifth class.

\[शुः \quad च \quad \text{\&} \quad अं \quad \text{\&} \quad \text{पदर्मिनि} \quad \text{\&} \quad शुः \quad च \quad (शतुः) \quad \text{\&} \quad \]

\[\text{वृत्तिः} \quad \text{\&} \quad शुः \quad \text{र्त्न्याः भवति} \quad \text{तत्त्वनिग्नोग्न शुः} \quad \text{शुः इत्ययमाणेऽग्रहे} \quad \text{भवति} \quad \text{\&} \quad \]

74. And \( शि \) is the substitute of \( शि \), and there is the affix \( र्त्न \) after it, when a sārvadhātuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus \( सऽ + र्त्न्य + लिङ् = सऽ + त्न्य + लिङ् = गृहीति 'he hears'; \( र्त्न्युः \) 'they two hear'.

\[अन्तरस्यात् \quad \text{\&} \quad \text{अं} \quad \text{\&} \quad \text{पदर्मिनि} \quad \text{\&} \quad \text{अति} \quad \text{अन्तरस्यात्} \quad (शतुः) \quad \text{\&} \quad \]

\[\text{वृत्तिः} \quad \text{\&} \quad \text{अति व्यापी भौवाचिक: \text{अस्त्राद्वकिर्त्यां शुःर्त्न्याः} \quad \text{भवति} \quad \text{\&} \quad \]

75. The affix \( र्त्न \) is optionally employed after the root \( अति \) 'to pervade', when a sārvadhātuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus अतितिति or अति 'he pervades or obtains'.

\[\text{तून-कर्ये-तक्षः} \quad (अन्तरस्यात्, र्त्नः) \quad \text{\&} \quad \]

\[\text{वृत्तिः} \quad \text{\&} \quad \text{कर्म्य तून-कर्येऽ, अस्त्राद्वकिर्त्यां बर्च्चमाणात्तवर्तस्यां शुः} \quad \text{तक्षः} \quad \text{भवति} \quad \text{\&} \quad \]

76. The affix \( र्त्न \) is optionally employed after the root \( तक्षः \) 'to bore or hew' when a sārvadhātuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus तक्षति or तक्षोति कान्ते 'he hews the wood'. But संतक्षति वासिनि 'he cuts with speech'.

\[\text{तुदादिः:} \quad शः \quad \text{\&} \quad \text{अं} \quad \text{\&} \quad \text{पदर्मिनि} \quad \text{\&} \quad \text{तुद्य-आदिः:} \quad शः \quad \text{\&} \quad \]

\[\text{वृत्तिः} \quad \text{\&} \quad \text{तुद्य व्यापी, इत्ययमाणाः भावुकः} \quad \text{र्त्न्याः} \quad \text{भवति} \quad \text{\&} \quad \]

77. The affix \( शः \) is employed after the roots of the Tūdādi class, in denoting the agent when a sārvadhātuka affix follows.

This debars शः. The indicatory शः makes this affix a sārvadhātuka affix. As \( तुद्य + शः + लिङ् = तुद्य + अं + लिङ् = बृहत्ति (I. 2. 4) 'he pains or torments'.

\[\text{रुधादिः:} \quad र्तन्सः \quad \text{\&} \quad \text{पदर्मिनि} \quad \text{\&} \quad \text{रुध-आदिः:} \quad र्तन्सः \quad \text{\&} \quad \]

\[\text{वृत्तिः} \quad \text{\&} \quad \text{रुधर्भ, भावर्भ, इत्ययमाणाः मात्रुः} \quad \text{र्तन्सः} \quad \text{तत्वबोधि} \quad \text{भवति} \quad \text{\&} \quad \]

78. The affix \( र्तन्सः \) comes after the roots of the Rudhādi class, in denoting an agent when a sārvadhātuka affix follows.
This debars श्रयु. The indicator य of the affix श्रयु shows that the affix न is to be placed after the last vowel of the root; see सूत्र I. 1. 47. As रुषः+रत्नम्+ति = रुषः+न+ति = र+न+थ+ति = रथंदित ‘he obstructs’. So also निमलत ‘he splits’. The indicator श्र is for the sake of सूत्र VI. 4. 23.

79. The affix श्र comes after the roots of the Tanādi class and after the verb कृ ‘to make’ when a sārvadhātuka affix follows, signifying the agent.

This debars श्रयु. As नत्र+थ+ति = नत्रति ‘he expands’; कृ+थ+ति = कृरति ‘he makes’. Though the root कृ is included in the list of the Tanādi verbs, for which see धातुपाठा, yet its separate enunciation in the present sūtra is for the sake of making a restrictive rule with regard to this verb; that is to say, the root कृ is a Tanādi root only for the purposes of taking the affix श्र; all the other operations of Tanādi verbs are not to be performed upon it. Thus the rule II. 4. 79. does not apply to कृ. Thus भक्तत एवं भक्तृः; the तिय elision being compulsory and not optional.

80. The affix श्र comes after the roots चिन्व ‘to please’, and कृ ‘to hurt’, when a sārvadhātuka affix denoting the agent follows; and in these verbs न is the substitute of the final श्र.

The root चिन्व or चिन्व belongs to the Bhuādi class. Thus चिन्व+ श्र+ति = चिन्व+अ+ श्र+ति = चिन्व+ श्र + ति (VI. 4. 48) = चिन्वति ‘he pleases’. It might be asked, why there is no गुṇa of the श्र of चिन्व by rule VII. 3. 86 which requires the base to be gunated before a sārvadhātuka or an ārdhadhātuka affix. The answer is to be found in sūtra I. 1. 57; the substitute of श्र which is a blank, is like the former occupant (sthānīvat), and thus prevents गुṇa.

81. The affix ष्ट्र comes after the roots of the Kryādi class when a sārvadhātuka affix follows denoting the agent.
This debars श्रान. As न्र + श्रान + तिपु = क्रियाविल ‘he buys’. So also क्रियाविल ‘he pleases’.

स्त्राम्रुस्त्राम्रुस्क्रम्रुस्क्रम्रुस्क्रम्रु : श्रानु ॥ ६२ ॥ पद्यानि ॥
स्त्राम्रु-स्त्राम्रु-स्क्रम्रु-स्क्रम्रु-स्क्रम्रु ॥ श्रानु ॥, ्च, ( श्रान) ॥

वृत्तिः. ॥ स्त्राम्रु स्त्राम्रु स्क्रम्रु स्क्रम्रु एवंः श्रानाष्ट्रयो भवति श्रानु ॥

82 And there is the affix श्रान after स्त्राम्रु, स्क्रम्रु, स्क्रम्रु or स्क्रम्रु ‘to hinder’, ‘to be dull or insensible’, ‘to support’, and स्क्रु ‘to go by leaps’, as well as the affix श्रु, when a सार्वधातुका affix follows, in denoting the agent.

As श्रानाविल or श्राम्रुविल, श्राम्रुविल or श्राम्रुविल, श्राम्रुविल or श्राम्रुविल, श्राम्रुविल or श्राम्रुविल. The first four of these roots are not found in the Dhātupātha and are to be found in the sūtras, and hence called Saūtra roots.

हूळः; श्र्यः; श्रानाश्रीकौ ॥ ५३ ॥ पद्यानि ॥ हूळः; श्र्यः; श्रानचुः हैः ॥

वृत्तिः. ॥ हूळ उत्तरस्य श्रानाष्ट्रस्य श्रानानाविलेऽश्रानानाविले भवति हूळः परतः ॥

83. The affix श्रान is the substitute of श्रान after a root ending with a consonant, when हूळ follows.

The affix हूळ is the 2nd person singular of हूळ or the Imperative mood. Thus पुराण ‘do thou nourish’, गृहस्थ दो thou take’, from roots पुरुष and गृह which end with consonants. But we have क्रियाविल ‘do thou buy’; here there is no substitution of श्रान, because the root ends with a vowel. The repetition of श्रान in the sūtra shows that श्रान is a mere substitute and not an independent affix.

ढृंढृं श्रानाधिपि ॥ कृः ॥ पद्यानि ॥ढृंढृं ॥, श्रानचुः, अधि,

( हूळः; श्र्यः; श्रानचुः हैः ) ॥

वृत्तिः. ॥ ढृंढृं विशये इनः श्रानाविले भवति श्रानाविले ॥

84. In the Chhandas, श्रान is also the substitute of श्रान after roots ending in consonants, when हूळ follows.

Thus गुप्तव जिह्वया मभुः, (Rig Veda VIII. 17. 5.) The affix श्रान is also employed; as ब्राह्मण पशुमू ‘kill the beasts’.

श्रानाहृ बहुलम् ॥ ५५ ॥ पद्यानि ॥ श्रानाहृः, बहुलम्, (ढृंढृं,

श्रानद्यः ) ॥

वृत्तिः. ॥ श्रानाहृ विकरणः श्रानाहृ विकरणः ढृंढृं विकरणे बहुल्यो श्रानयो भवति ॥

85. In the Chhandas there is diversely an interchange of the various विकरणं श्रान and the rest
which have been previously ordained under special circumstances.

The word स्वतत्व means transgression of the fixed rule, or inter-change, taking of two vikaranas at a time, and so on. Thus नेतृत्व = निः + शूप + लिः instead of निःत्व from the root रुप ‘to split’, belonging to the Rudhādi class; e.g. नुस्माय आश्चर्य्यम् नेतृत्व (Rig. VIII. 40. 11) ‘He (Indra) break the eggs (children) of Shushma; so also, जरसा नरजन प्रतिनिः (Rig. X. 86. 11) ; here there is नरजः = नृ + शूप + लि instead of निःत्व; the root मृ belonging to the Tudādi class. So also there are two vikaranas at one and the same time, in the following. इन्द्रो वस्ते न नेपतं ‘May Indra lead by this abode’; here there is नेपत 3rd. per. sing. of the Imperative ज्ञद of the root ज्ञ to ‘lead’; there are two vikaranas लिः and शूप instead of नेपत = नृ + शूप + लि; इन्द्रेण दुनम दहयेत वृन्म (Rig. VII. 48. 1). The word तहयेत (द + उ + लिः + शूप + अन) is the 1st. per. sing. of the Optative (लिः) of the root द, the classical form being तहो अद्व ल लोकान्त ‘may we cross’.

In the Vedic literature we have many apparent irregularities with regard to the rules of declension of nouns, conjugation of verbs, application of Parasmaipada or Atmanepada affixes; rules of gender, person or tense, rules of interchange of consonants, or of vowels, rules of accent, rules relating to वृत, and तहृत affixes and rules relating to the affixes included in the pratyahāra यह (III. I. 22 to III. I. 86).


dvitiya

86. The affix अह is employed in the Chhandas when the affixes of the Benedictive (भाष विच हन) follow.

This debar शूप. The affixes of the Benedictive are ārdhadhātuka by III. 4. 116; but in the Vedas they are sārvadhātuka as well; see Rule III. 4. 117. The scope of the present rule is confined to the Benedictive of the verbs व्यवह, गा, गम्य, वच, वश, ग्रहः and स्य; as वपस्यं द्रम; सत्समवेश्यं; गमिन जानती गुहान, मद्द्र नृचेनस्य तव; विद्येनान्ति मनसि प्रेवेधा; अन्तर् वरिष्ठानि तानी श्वेतम्; त्रयं लोकामलेहम्.

The affix अह is employed in the Chhandas after the verb द्रम in the Benedictive. Had there been अह; it would have caused गुआ by rule VII. 4. 16; to prevent this, अह is ordained; as विति रं द्रमयेत नयरं ‘May I see the father and the mother’.

कयत्वकयं तुल्यक्रियः || 89 || पदानि || कयत्तं, कयं ||

tul्य-क्रियः ||
87. The ज denoting the agent, when the action affecting the agent is similar to the action which affects the object, is treated as if it were a त denoting the object.

This rule applies to reflexive verbs. "This direction implies the substitution for the operations incident to a tense-affix or ज, denoting an agent, of all the operations, which fall to be performed when the tense-affix or ज denotes the object. Hence there shall be the affixing of यक् (III. 1. 67) the employment of Atmanepada terminations (I. 3. 13), the substitution of विच for विच (III. 1. 66), and the treatment of the word as directed in sūtra VI. 4. 62." (Dr. Ballantyne).

Thus जन्तु तारां स्यमेष 'the wood splits of itself'; अत्नेषि काठं स्यमेष 'the wood splits of itself'.

When an action is participated by or affects the agent in the same way as is done by the object, the agent is treated like an object.

When in an object, though it stands as an agent, the action is perceived to take place as in an object, then that agent becomes like an object: and all grammatical rules applicable to the object apply to such an agent.

The word तु 'like' in the sūtra signifies that the rules which apply to an agent also come into operation; thus ज्यते कुसूरवेन.

The word कर्माणि 'with the object' in the sūtra indicates that the tulyakaṇya or similarity of action must be with the object, and not with the instrument or the location. Thus साप्ततित्तिन्नन्ति 'the sword cuts well'; here 'sword' is not agent but instrument. So also साप्तस स्यानि पचति 'the pot cooks well'; here ब्यानि is a location.

This 'karma-vad-bhāva, the passive-like-construction takes place only in cases of some verbs.

88. The agent of the verb तपस 'to heat,' becomes similar to the object, only when the object is the word तपस itself.

Thus सयं तपस्वयं 'the devotee performs austere devotion'; but not so in उत्तपति सुधृं सुधरोक्त: 'the goldsmith heats the gold'.

न दुहस्तुनन्त ्यक्तिवेचे II II पदानि II न, दुह-स्तु-नन्ताम, यक्तिवेचे, (कर्मकस्तरि, कर्मवत्) II
89. The affix यक्ख (III. 1. 67) and चिं (III, 1. 62) are not employed in the reflexive voice of the verbs दूध ‘to milk’, खू त ‘to fall in drops’ and नम् ‘to bow’.

The affixes यक्ख and चिं are used in forming the reflexive verbs, when the action affecting the agent is similar to the action which affects the object. With regard to the root दूध, the affix यक्ख is only prohibited by the present sūtra; the चिं being optionally employed by rule III. 1. 63, as दूधे, अदूधो or अदूध हो: स्त्रयमेव ‘the cow flows or flowed of itself’ मण्ड्वे or मण्डग्वे: स्त्रयमेव ‘the cow flows or flowed of itself’; नम्ते or नमंस्तु हुः: स्त्रयमेव ‘the stick bends or bent of itself’.

This prohibition of the employment of the affixes यक्ख and चिं is extended to the verbs that take the affix तु (such as causatives &c.), to the verbs भन्य ‘to loosen’, मन्य ‘to compose’ and भू ‘to speak’, and to the Atmanepadi Intransitive verbs. As कारयते ‘it is caused to be made of itself’; अवीकरत ‘it was caused to be made of itself’; अत्त्वनिः ‘it loosens of itself’; अत्त्वनिः ‘it composes or composed of itself’; बृहीते and त्वृहीत ‘it speaks and spoke of itself’; आहिते and आविष्कार भवन: स्त्रयमेव.

कुतिः: प्राचाण्यपरस्मैपदं च ॥ ६७ ॥ पद्राविच ॥ कुतिः-खनोः:
प्राचाः, शयन, परस्मैपदं, च, (कम्बकारिः) ॥

89. The affix शन्य comes after the roots कुष्ठ ‘to pull’; and रख ‘to colour’, in the reflexive voice, according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammararians, and these verbs take the affixes of the Parasmaipada.

This debars the affix यक्ख and the Atmanepada terminations. As कुष्ठत भाव: स्त्रयमेव ‘the foot draws up of itself’; रज्जवति वर्धं स्त्रयमेव ‘the cloth colours of itself’.

The phrase ‘in the opinion of the Eastern’ shows that it is an optional rule; so that we have also the forms कुष्ठते and रज्जवते.

89. As far as the end of the Third Book
reckoning from the present aphorism, the affixes treated of are to be understood as coming after some verbal root.

This is an Adhikāra Sūtra. All these verbal affixes are broadly divided into two parts कृष्ण and कृष्ण affixes, which will be described later on.

तत्त्वापद समस्तस्वाम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ तत्त्व-अन्वयः, समस्तस्वामः ( यथातः ) ॥

92. Here in this Third Book of Grammar referring to verbal roots, the word implied in a term exhibited in the locative case, is called 'upapada' or dependent word.

Thus in sūtra III. 2. कम्बले वन the word कम्बले is exhibited in the 7th case; therefore the word implied by the word कम्बले, namely, the word having the accusative case, will be called उपपाद. Thus कुम्बले + कर्तव्य = कुम्बले 'a potter'; here the word कुम्बले is an upapada.

कृष्ण् ॥ ९३ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ कृष्ण्, अन्वयः, ( यथातः ) ॥

93. In this portion of the Sūtras in which there is a reference to verbal roots, any affix except तिथि (tense-affixes), is called कृष्ण.

Thus the affixes कृष्ण &c. are कृष्ण. All affixes up to the end of this Book belong to this class. These are affixes by which substantives are formed from verbal roots; and they have, therefore, most aptly been termed primary affixes. Words formed by these affixes will be Prātipadikas or crude forms or nominal bases (I. 2. 46). Thus कृष्ण + तिथि = कर्तव्य. Why do we say 'except तिथि affixes'? Observe चीरा, 'may he collect', सुयास् 'may he praise' which form verbs and not nouns.

94. In this portion of the Sūtras, in which there is a reference to verbal roots, an affix which is calculated to debar a general one, not being of the same
form, optionally debars it; but not so in the case of feminine affixes (III. 3. 94 &c.)

Thus the affixes शुद्ध and ब्राह (III. 1. 133) are general affixes applicable to all roots in forming nouns of agency; and the sūtra III. 1. 133 which ordains these affixes, is an utsarga or a general rule; while the sūtra III. 1. 135 ordaining the affix क after verbs having a penultimate इक्ष्व vowel, and the roots सा, शी and क is an apāvāda or a special aphorism. In the latter case, therefore, optionally we may have the affixes शुद्ध and ब्राह also. Thus शिर्स is a root that has a penultimate इ belonging to the pratyāhāra इक्ष्व; and therefore, in forming the noun of agency from it, the affix क will have to be applied by rule 135 of this chapter already mentioned; thus विश्रेष्ठ + क = विश्रेष्ठ + अ = विश्रेष्ठ; but this special rule however does not debar the operation of the general rule, and we have optionally विश्रेष्ठ + शुद्ध = विश्रेष्ठपुज्ज; and विश्रेष्ठ + ब्राह = विश्रेष्ठन म. nom. sing. विश्रेष्ठन.

Why do we say 'not being of the same form'? Because if two affixes have the same form, the present rule will not apply; and in the case of such affixes, the special affix will debar the general affix. Thus the affixes अणु and क are, when stripped of their indicatory letters, affixes having the same form i.e. अ; and therefore the sūtra III. 2. 1. ordaining अणु as a general rule, will be always debarred by sūtra III. 2. 3 ordaining क, as the latter is a special sūtra applicable only to those roots which end in long आ, or which are simple roots not compounded with any preposition. Thus गी + ह + क = गीह: 'giver of cows'. So also कम्बलण: 'blanket-giver'. In these cases we cannot have the affix अणु.

It follows from this sūtra as a necessary corollary, that the addition of indicatory letters does not make two or more affixes dissimilar in form (अस्तित्व) when their essential effective element is the same. Thus the affixes क, अणु, अच्छु, ना &c. are similar.

Why do we say 'but not so in the case of feminine affixes'? Because in the case of feminine affixes, a special affix will debar a general affix, though they may be dissimilar in form. Thus sūtra III. 3. 94 ordaining किन्न in forming feminine nouns from roots is a general or utsarga rule, while sūtra III. 3. 102 ordaining अ after roots that have already taken some affix is a special or apāvāda rule, and though अ and नि are dissimilar in form, they being feminine affixes, the former will always debar the latter. Thus the compound desiderative roots निकायण and निकायण will form feminine nouns in आ and not by किन्न. Thus निकायण and निकायण and not निकायणिति &c.
95. From this aphorism, as far as the aphorism अयुग्म (III. 1.133), all the affixes treated, will get the name of Kritya.

This defines the class of affixes known as \textit{kritya}, a subdivision of \textit{krit} affixes. These are certain affixes like \textit{तप्य}, \textit{अनीय} &c, which may be treated as declinable verbal terminations. (III. 4.70). The following 38 sutras treat of these affixes. These verbal adjectives correspond in meaning to the Latin participles in \textit{udus} conveying the idea that the action expressed by the verbs ought to be done or will be done. The word formed by them may be called Passive Potential Participles or Future Passive Participles. The illustrations will be given hereafter under each affix as taught. The word \textit{kritya} occurs in sutras II. 1. 33, II. 3. 71 &c.

96. The affixes \textit{तप्य}, \textit{तव्य} and \textit{अनीय} come after verbal roots.

The phrase ‘after verbal roots’ is understood in this aphorism by anuvṛtti from sūtra 91. The final letters त of \textit{तप्य} and ः of \textit{अनीय} are for the sake of indicating accent, being merely diacritical letters. The letter ः indicating svarita accent (VI. 1.185) and the letter ः indicating penultimate udātta accent (VI. 1.217); these being exceptions to the general rule of accent given in sūtra 3 ante of this chapter.

Thus कु + \textit{तप्य} = कर्तित्वम्, and कु + \textit{तव्य} = कर्तित्वम् ‘must be done’; कु + \textit{अनीय} = कर्तित्वम् ‘must be done’. In these cases the sense being that of the action itself, there is neuter gender singular number.

\textit{Vart:}—The affix \textit{तव्य} when coming after the verb बस् ‘to dwell’ in marking the agent, is treated as if it had an indicatory ः. The force of ः is to cause vriddhi. Thus बस् + \textit{तव्य} = वास्तवः ‘a dweller’. Here the word is in the masculine gender, as the force of the affix is that of the agent, and not as it generally has that of an act or object (III. 4.70).

\textit{Vart:}—The affix केरित्वम् should be enumerated in addition to those already enumerated in this aphorism. Thus पौष्कलिन्द्र नामः ‘kidney beans fit to be
cooked'; निर्विन्यासिनि कादानि 'the woods are apt to be split i.e. fragile'. This affix is to be employed when it is intended to express an object alone (i.e. in the passive and reflexive sense) and cannot be employed like those enumerated above, to denote also the action.

अचौः यत् || ॥ पदाचिं || अचौः यत्, ( चालोः ) ||

97. The affix यत् comes after a root that ends in a vowel.

The letter थ of this affix is indicative showing that the udātta accent falls on the first vowel (VI. 1. 213); thus गा + यत् = गंथ, noun sing., गंथम् 'what is to be sung'; so also चेष्टम् 'what is to be drunk'; जेष्ठम् 'what is to be conquered'. The आ of गा and पा is changed into ए by VI. 4. 65. Why do we say 'that ends in a vowel'? By sūtra 124 of this chapter, a root ending in a consonant takes भव्य affix instead of यत्; reading these two aphorisms together, the conclusion to be drawn is that the affix यत् comes after roots which primarily end in a vowel, though in the course of development they may end in a consonant by the application of other rules. Thus from हो 'to cut', we have the desiderative root हिस्त, which ends in a vowel अ. This अ is elided before अर्धहादुक्ता affixes and thus the root becomes हिस्न, which ends in a consonant; nevertheless we shall have the affix यत् and not भव्य. Thus हिस्नम् 'what is wished to be cut'; हिस्तम् 'what is wished to be placed'. Similarly जु before अर्धहादुक्ता affixes becomes ली, the अ is changed into अब्रु before श्र (VI. 1. 79) and the form then is लवः. The root जवः however takes यत् and not भव्य; as जन्योः, पञ्चयः, &c.

Vart.—The verbs तक्त 'to fly', श्रष्ट्र 'to leap', चत् 'to ask', यत् 'to attempt' and नत् 'to be born', should be enumerated in addition; that is to say, these verbs, though ending in a consonant, take यत् and not भव्य; as नब्र्यम्, श्रष्ट्रम्, चत्रम्, यत्रम्, व जन्यम्.

Vart.—And of the verb हन्त 'to kill' वध is the substitute when it optionally takes the affix यत्. Thus we have वधम् or पाघ्रम्. The latter form is evolved by sūtras VII. 3. 32 and 54. The affix यत् comes only after the वध substitute; after हन्त the affix भव्य comes which changes the ह into य, and न into थ and causes vṛddhi.

प्रसुपथात् || ॥ पदाचिं || पोः, अञ्जु-उपथात् (चालोः यत्), ||

98. The affix यत् comes after a root, which ends in a labial letter preceded by a short अ.
This debars यथा; thus गुप + बल् = गुप्य ‘to be sworn’; लघु + बल् = लघुभाव ‘to be acquired’.

Why do we say ‘which ends in a labial’? Because if a root ends in any other consonant, though preceded by a short अ, the root will take यथा; thus पच्छ + क्यां = पच्छम् ‘what is to be cooked’; शास्यम् ‘speech’.

Why do we say ‘when preceded by a short अ’? When preceded by any other vowel, it will take यथा; thus कुप + क्यां = कुपक्यां ‘to be angry’; so also गोप्यां ‘to be concealed’.

The word अति is used in the sūtra in the original. The force of ति here is, by I. i. 70, that short अ having one मात्र or prosodical length is to be taken and not long अ. Therefore, after the root अति ‘to obtain’, we have यथा and not बल्; thus अत्या ‘to be reached’ i.e., ‘attainable’.

99. The affix वस् comes after the roots शकू ‘to be able’, and सह ‘to bear’.

Thus शार्यम् ‘possible’; सहस् ‘endurable’.

100. The affix वस् comes after the roots गद ‘to speak’, बम ‘to be mad’, चर ‘to go, to eat’, and बम ‘to restrain’, when these roots do not take any preposition.

Thus गदयम् ‘what is to be spoken, i.e., prose’; मन्यत् ‘wine’; चर्यम् ‘what is to be followed; सम्यत् ‘what is to be restrained’.

Why do we say ‘when not preceded by a preposition’? When compounded with an upasarga, these roots will take यथा; thus मायाम्; मन्यायम् &c.

The root बयू would have taken the affix वस् by sūtra 98 also, as it ends in य and is preceded by अ; its separate enumeration in this sūtra is in order to show, that the compound verb यू will not take the affix वस्. Therefore with regard to यू, this is a niyama or restrictive rule and not a vidhi or original rule.

Vart.—The root चर when preceded by the preposition भाष्य takes the यष्ठ affix when the sense is not that of a preceptor; thus भाष्ययां चंसा: ‘an approachable or communicable country’. But when the sense is that of a teacher the root takes यष्ठ; thus भाष्ययां: ‘a preceptor’.
101. The words अवय, पण्य and वर्ण are irregularly formed, having the sense of 'condemnable', 'saleable' and 'unobstructable' respectively.

Thus, अवय पार्व 'censurable sin'. Another and regular form is अनुयम. This is formed by adding the affix वर्ण to the root वर्ण by III. 1. 106. So also पण्य: कस्मल: 'saleable blanket'; पण्या: मख: 'saleable cow'. The other and regular form is पण्वम, formed by the addition of पण्व. So also श्राण वर्ण 'unobstructed by hundred'; सहस्त्र वर्ण 'unobstructed by thousand'. The other and regular form is वस्या from the root व 'to choose'. वर्णा means a girl choosing her own husband and is non-obstructable by any body. The word वस्या in the feminine gender, and it is in this gender only that the word is so formed. In the masculine gender, the word is regularly formed; thus वस्य अनुसव:

वर्ण वर्णम् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ वर्ण, पर्ण, (तत्) ॥

102. The word वस्य is irregularly formed, when the meaning of the word is an instrument of carrying.

The word वर्ण is derived from root व 'to carry' and means 'a vehicle', i.e., that by which a thing is carried; as वर्ण प्रकाशम्. When it does not mean a carriage, the root takes the affix पण्ण; thus वस्य: 'an ox'.

अव: स्वाज्ञविषयः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ अव: स्वाज्ञ-विषयः ॥

बृहि: वह गतो, अन्नम्बित मार्ग, स्वाज्ञविषयः तथा, स्वाज्ञविषयः तथा स्वाज्ञविषयः यथा वर्णविषयः ॥

103. The word अवर्ण is irregularly formed when meaning 'lord' and a 'Vaisya'.

The root व 'to go', would have taken पण्ण by sūtra 124 of this chapter; but it takes वर्ण when the sense of the word formed by it is that of a 'lord' or a man of 'Vaisya' caste. As अवर्ण: वस्य, 'honored lord', अवर्ण वस्य: 'honored Vaisya'.

Vart: Though by VI. 1. 213, the affix वस्य makes the udātta accent fall on the first syllable of the word, yet in the case of the word अवर्ण, when it means 'lord', the accent falls on the last syllable.

Why do we say 'when it means a lord or a Vaisya'? Otherwise the root takes the affix पण्ण; as श्राण श्राग्निः: 'the respectable Brāhmaṇa'.

II
IRREGULAR FORMATIONS. [BK. III. CH. I. § 104-106

उपसयां काल्या प्रजने॥ १०४॥ पदार्थि॥ उपसयां, काल्या,

प्रजने॥

दृष्ट:॥ उपसयांति निपाहलेक्ष काल्या छचाएक्षे नलति॥

104. The word उपसयां is irregularly formed when meaning what has reached the time favorable to conception, or ripe for fruition.

The word उपसयां is formed by adding य अग्र अर्थ to the root ह ‘to move’, compounded with the preposition य. The word काल्या means having reached the time. The word प्रजन means the first conception. Thus उपसयां गौ: ‘the cow fit for the bull’; उपसयां बड़ता ‘the mare fit for the horse’.

Why do we say ‘when meaning what has reached the time favorable to conception’? Otherwise the affix व्यति will be used; as उपसयां शरि मधुर ‘Madhura is approachable in Sarat season’.

अजर्यम् संगतम्॥ १०५॥ पदार्थि॥ अजर्यम्, संगतम्॥

दृष्ट:॥ अजर्यम्निति निपाहलेक्ष संगते छचाएक्षि॥

105. The word अजर्यम् ‘imperishable’ is irregularly formed when qualifying the word संगतम् ‘friendship’ expressed or understood.

The word अजर्यम् is formed from the root जू by the addition of य, and affixing the negative particle अ; as अ + जू + यस्त = अजब्रह्म.

Thus अजर्य मोहलू संगतम् ‘let our friendship be imperishable’. So also अज्ञातद्विमानसमष्टिन्.

Why do we say ‘when qualifying the word संगतम्’? Observe अज्ञाता कम्बला ‘undecaying blanket’.

वदः सुपि कपः च॥ १०६॥ पदार्थि॥ वदः, सुपि, कपः च,

(पत् अनुपसोऽ)॥

दृष्टि:॥ कार्योति: सुपत्तुपर्यं अनुहासं वदः पर्यावर्ति व्यवहारः॥

106. After the root वद ‘to speak’, governing a case-inflected word as its upapada, and not having a preposition annexed to it, there comes the affix कपः also.

The phrase ‘not having a preposition’ is to be read into this sūtra by anuvṛtti from sūtra 100 ante. The force of the word ‘also’ is to indicate that the affix वदः is also employed. The word सुपि means ‘in construction with an upapada that ends in case-affix’.

Thus प्रवद + वदः + कपः = प्रवद + वदः + च = प्रवदाचयः; प्रवद + वदः + चः = प्रवदाचयः ‘told by the Vedas or Brahman’. Similarly सत्यचयः or सत्यवचयः ‘truth-mouthed’.

Why do we say ‘when it has a case-inflected word as upapada’? Otherwise वदः + श्रद्ध = बाध्यः a ‘musical instrument’.
Why do we say ‘not having a preposition’? Observe वाद्य ‘a rumour’ formed by the affix वय व and not by वद or कवः.

भूवे भावे || १०७ || पदार्थ || सुन्त || भावे, [अनुपस्त्रे, सुपि, कवः]

वृत्ति: || भवातेर्थो: सुभवान्द्रकवः अनुपस्त्रे भावे कवः पश्चयो भववि ||

107. After the root नू ‘to be’, in construction with a case-inflected word as its upapada and when used without a preposition, the affix कवः is employed to denote condition (भाव). The words सुपि and अनुपस्त्रे of previous sutras are understood in this. The anuvṛtti of वदः does not cover this aphorism. As प्राहुस्व गतः = प्राहल गतः ‘gone to or arrived at Brahmahood; हेवुस्व = हेवल गतः ‘gone to divinity’.

The word भावा of this sūtra governs the succeeding ones. Why do we say ‘in construction with a case-inflected word’? Otherwise it will take वदः; as नू + वदः = भो + वदः = भवमु व (VI. 1. 79).

Why do we say ‘not taking a preposition’? Observe प्राहुस्व:

हनस्त च || १०८ || पदार्थ || हनः, त, च || (सुपि, अनुपस्त्रे, कवः भावे) ||

वृत्ति: || हन्तेष्योः सुभवान्द्रकवः अनुपस्त्रे भावे कवः पश्चयो भववि तत्त्वकार्यानवेशः ||

108. After the root हन ‘to kill’, when in construction with a case-inflected word as its upapada, and when used without a preposition, comes the affix कवः in denoting condition, and the letter न is the substitute of its final.

The phrases सुपि अनुपस्त्रे and भावे are understood in this sūtra.

As प्राह + हन + कवः = प्राह + हन + च = प्राहुस्व ह (VI. 1. 71) प्राहुस्व ‘Brahman-murder’. So also अनुपस्त्र ‘killing a horse’.

When not in construction with a noun, the form is घाट: ‘a blow’ (हनः + घात + श्व). This verb does not take the affix वदः in denoting condition, there being no example of such formation.

Why do we say ‘when not taking a preposition’? Observe प्राहुस्व ‘there is a combat’.

प्राहुस्व श्वास्तः कवः || १०८ || पदार्थ || एति-स्तु-शावः

बृत्ति: || एति स्तु शावः जू जू: हस्तेष्योः कवः पश्चयो भववि ||

वृत्ति: || एति स्तु-शास्तः जू जू: हस्तेष्योः कवः पश्चयो भववि ||

वार्तिक: || शान्तिः गृहीतः वेति वजळकः ||

वार्तिकः || भाष वार्तिकः संसारकालेश्वरानुमतः ||

The anuvritti of सुनि, अनुपसर्गः and भाव does not extend to this aphorism. The present sūtra ordains generally the affix क्यप after the above verbs. Thus र्+क्यप=र्+त+य (VI. 1. 71) = रष्य: ‘to be gone’. The letter त being added by Rule VI. 1. 71 which declares ‘त is the augment of a short vowel when a क्यप affix, with an indicatory य follows’. So also स्तू+क्यप = स्तुश्य: ‘to be praised’; शाल्सु+क्यप = शिस्तु+य (आ being changed into इ by VI. 4. 34) = श्यश्य: ‘to be instructed i.e. a pupil’. So also वृ+क्यप = वृश्च्य: ‘to be chosen’; भार्त+क्यप = भार्त्यश्य: ‘to be honoured’; ज्ञ+क्यप = ज्ञयश्य: ‘to be served’.

Though the anuvritti of क्यप was coming from the previous sūtra 100, its repetition in this aphorism is to indicate that other rules such as 125 of this chapter should not take effect in the above verbs. Thus Rule 125 requires व्यवल ‘after the verb स्तू’, but the present rule prohibits that. Thus we have अवत्र श्यश्य: ‘must be praised’.

By वृ in the sūtra the root वृष्टि is intended to be taken, and not the root श्यश्य: The equivalent derivative of the latter is वायः as वायो क्षिप्तिः.

Vart:—The roots शास ‘to praise’ वृष्टि ‘to milk’ and ग्व ‘to cover’ optionally take the affix क्यप. As शर्षयस्य or शल्सुम्यस्य (VI. 4. 37); शृश्चम् or शोश्चम्; गुहाम् or भोभाम्.

Vart:—The verb अन्त ‘to anoint’, preceded by the preposition आः takes the affix क्यप when used as an appellative. As आ+अन्त+क्यप = आश्यम् meaning clarified butter. The nasal is elided by VI. 4. 24.

Obj.—How do you explain the form उपयाम् which is evidently formed from the root इ by adding याः? According to the present sūtra, the affix क्यप ought to have been added. Ans. The इ in उपयाम् is a different root from that taken here. The root in this sūtra is इष्ट of the Adādi class.

क्षुद्रभाजाकृपिष्ठेतः॥ ११०॥ पदानि || क्षुद्र-उपवात्, च, अनुष्मिचृति: ||

वृष्टि: || क्षुद्रभाजाकृपिष्ठेतः क्षुद्र-प्रस्तवो म्यवधि कृष्णपृष्ठी यवज्जितिः॥
वाप्पिककम् || पाण्डु ह ज्ञाप्पितक्षवः ||
वाप्पिककम् || समपपपृष्ठकम् ||

110. After verbs having a penultimate short इ, the affix क्यप is employed, with the exception of the verbs क्रृप ‘to be able’, and चुर ‘to hurt’.

Thus शुध्य+क्यप=शुध्यम्; so also शुध्यम्. But क्रृप and क्रृप will form क्रमक्यप, and चुरक्यप.

Why have we used the letter र् in कर्म? It is to indicate that short र्
is meant and not long ख (I. I. 70). Therefore the root कृ त will take यज्ञ and form कृतयज्ञ.

Vart :—The root सुज takes the affix यज्ञ when compounded with the word पालिका. Thus पालिकायज्ञम् रज्ञः ‘a rope’.

Vart :—The root सूज when preceded by both सम् and अब takes यज्ञ as समवयज्ञम्.

हैं च खनः॥ १११॥ पदार्थः॥ हैं, च, खनः, ( कप् ) ॥

वृत्ति:॥ खनेऽथोऽसः कप्य पर्ययो भवतिकारभान्तावृत्ति॥

111. The affix कप्य is employed after the root खन ‘to dig’, and long है is substituted for the final of the root.

Thus खन् + कप्य = ख + है + य = खेयम् ‘to be dug’. The long है is used in the सूत्र for the sake of euphony. The same purpose would have been served by using short है, thus ‘है च खनः’. But the long है indicates that the rule VI. 4. 43 does not apply here. By that rule the अ of खन् would have been lengthened into आ before the affix कप्य.

भृगुसंजायाम् ॥ ११२॥ पदार्थः॥ भृजः, अ-संजायाम्, (कप्) ॥

वृत्ति:॥ भृजो भातीसंजायामि विषये कप्य पर्ययो भवति ॥

वायुक्तः॥ संजायादिगाया॥

112. The affix कप्य is employed after the verb भृज ‘to bear’ when not used as a name.

Thus भृ + कप्य = भृपय Pl. भृपयाः ‘those who ought to be supported’ i. e. ‘servants’. Why do we say ‘when not used as an appellative’? Observe भृ + यज्ञ = आव्र: ‘a Kshatriya’.

Vart :—The use of क्यप is optional when this verb takes the preposition सम्. Thus संवेद्या or सवेद्या:—

मृजेविभाषा ॥ ११३॥ पदार्थः॥ मृजः, विभाषा, ( कप् ) ॥

वृत्ति:॥ मृजेविभाषार्थिविभाषा कप्य पर्ययो भवति ॥

113. The affix कप्य optionally comes after the root खन ‘to cleanse’.

This is an example of Prāpta-vibhāṣa. By rule 110 ante, the root खन having a penultimate ख would have necessarily taken क्यप; this सूत्र declares an option. As परिच्छव: or परिच्छवः ‘to be cleansed’. The second form is thus evolved:—

परिच्छव + यज्ञ (III. I. 124) = परिच्छव + य (VII. 3. 52) = परिच्छव (VII. 2. 114)
114. The words राजसुय सूर्य युग्मात्मक सूर्य रूपम अनश्यम and अनन्य रूपम are irregularly formed by the addition of the affix व्रतम.

Thus राजसुय is the Sūrya or coronation sacrifice.

Similarly सूर्य and सूर्य + कक्ष = सूर्य: 'the sun', literally that which moves (सूर्य) in the sky; or that which impels (सूर्य) creation to action. गृह + वर + कक्ष = गृहवर्गम 'false speech'; this is an exception to rule 106, by which वर्ग would also have been applied. This rule prevents it. Thus रोशनी, रूप + कक्ष = रूपम: 'an agreeable lover'. So also सूर्य + कक्ष = कुलम 'a base metal (other than gold and silver)'; the other form is गोलमम. गृह + वर = गृहवर्गम: 'that which ripens of itself in cultivated ground'. न वर्गम = अनन्यम: 'a snake (what does not move by legs)'.

115. The words भिन्न and बद्वृत्त are irregularly formed by the affix व्रतम when meaning a 'river'.

Thus भिन्न + कक्ष = भिन्न: 'a river that breaks its banks by the rush of its water', the name of the Bhidya river.

बद्वृत्त+ कक्ष = बद्वृत्त: 'a river whose waters overflow the banks', name of the Uddhya river; the बृ is changed into वृ.

When not meaning or qualifying the river, the regular forms are used; thus वृत्तम and बद्वृत्तम.

पुष्यसिद्धचं नवं || ११५ || पदार्थम || पुष्य-सिद्धचं, नवं ||

116. The words पुष्य and सिद्ध are irregularly formed by the affix कक्षम, when used as names of asterisms.

Thus पुष्य + कक्षम = पुष्यम: 'the Pushya asterism'. It is so called because objects are nourished under the influences of this asterism. शिल्प + कक्षम = शिल्पम: 'the asterism Siddhya' another name of Pushya, so-called because things are accomplished under the influence of this star.

When not the names of asterisms, the forms are शोषण 'nourishing', संभन्त 'accomplishing'.
117. The words विपूर्ति, विनीय and जिस्य are irregularly formed when they mean, the ‘muñja grass’, the ‘sediment’ and the ‘plough’ respectively.

Thus वि + पूर्ति + क्यु = विपूर्ति: etymologically ‘that which has to be purified to make rope’; वि + नी + क्यु = विनीय ‘a sediment or sin’; जि + क्यु = जिस्य ‘a plough that which is to be conquered by strength’.

The regular derivatives are विपूर्ति, विनीय and जिस्य.

118. The verb पह ‘to seize’, preceded by the prepositions प्रति and अभि, takes the affix क्यु in the Vedic literature.

Thus प्रति (क्यु) प्रतिगृहस्; अभि (क्यु) अभिगृहस्.

In the classical Sanskrit the proper forms are प्रतिग्रहस् and अभिग्रहस्.

119. The root पह takes the affix क्यु, when it means a ‘word’, a ‘dependent’, ‘outside’, or a ‘partisan’.

Thus प्राण्यातः the Pragrihya words that do not admit of sandhi, already defined in sutra I. 1. 11. So also प्राण्यातः.

The word अभिकूप �lies dependent upon others, not free to provide for himself. Thus मूढ़का बुका: ‘the captive parrots’.

The word वाया means ‘situated outside’. Thus वाया सेवा ‘an army lying outside the village’. The word वाया being in the feminine gender indicates that the derivative word formed from पह must also be feminine in gender to have this sense.

The word पह्य is derived from पह ‘a side, a party’, and means a partisan, follower or friend. Thus वायुवेकः गृहाः: ‘siding with or being the partisans of Vasudeva’. So also अयुग्रहस्: ‘belonging to the party of Arjuna’.
After the verbs क्रू क्रू to do, and पृपृ to rain the affix क्रूपृ is optionally employed.

The root क्रू would have taken the affix ययन, by 124, and the verb पृपृ would necessarily have taken क्रूपृ by 110; the present sūtra therefore declares an optional rule. Thus: क्रूपृ+क्रूपृ = क्रूपृपृ 'to be done'; or क्रू+पृपृ = क्रूपृपृ. So also ययन or ययन 'stimulating'.

The word ययन is irregularly formed meaning a vehicle.

The word पन म means that by which a thing is carried. Thus ययन सो 'the carrier bull or the yoked bull'. ययन हस्ती 'the harnessed elephant ready to carry'. पन +क्रूपृ = ययन. The ज is changed into ग. When not meaning a carrier or a carriage, it has the form ययन.

Optionally the word ययन is irregularly formed.

The word अम means 'along' or 'together'. अम in composition with the root क्रू 'to dwell', takes the affix ययन in the sense of location of time. Optionally the Vriddhi is not substituted in such a case. The time or the day on which the sun and the moon dwell together in the same constellation is called अम or अम.

The final न in अम is indicator and is for the sake of showing where should the proper accent fall.

The two forms अम or अम are the same word, and a fortiori a rule made with regard to one will be made applicable to the other. And to this effect there is a paribhāṣā which declares एके एके विकस्यन्वयनन्तरप्रकरणम् 'that which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place'. Therefore sūtra IV. 3. 30, though it, in terms, says अम 'is made applicable to the form अम also.
123. In the Vedas the following words are found which are formed irregularly:—निटकवर्, देवहृष्ट, प्रणीत, उन्नीव, विष्णुप, मर्य, श्वर्य, श्रवण, शाश्वत, वामच्छाय, भायुष्ण, प्रति, न्न्नाय, भायुष्ण, ग्न्न्नाय, शाश्वत, यथा and उपश्रायायु.

The formation of the above words are extremely irregular and they are all met with in the Vedic literature only. Thus the word निटकवर् is derived from the root कृत् 'to cut', with the preposition नि- and the affix यष्ट-, instead of कृत्, which is the regular affix, by ११०; नि: + कृत् + यष्ट: = मि: + दूर् + य (the root कृत् transformed into दूर् by transposition) = निटकवर्. As निटकवर् निठीतुः पुष्कुकाम.

The above is apparently a guess-work etymology of grammarians.

So also देवहृष्ट is formed by adding to the root हृष्टे 'to call' or हृ 'to invoke, the affix क्षणि and the upapada देव; the vowel of the root is then lengthened and the augment त (VI. 1. 71), is not allowed, देव+हृ: or हृ+क्षणि = देवहृष्ट. So also धनो (to lead) + क्षणि = धनोयितः; धनो + क्षणि = धनोयः; धनो (to leave) + क्षणि = धनोयिनः; धनो (to die) + क्षणि = धनोयः; धनो (to cover) + क्षणि = धनोयः; it is always feminine. धनो (to bend) + क्षणि = धनोयः; धनो (to dig) + क्षणि = धनोयः; धनो (to sew) + क्षणि = प्रतिश्रेष्ठः; धनो (to speak) + क्षणि = धार्मिकः; धनो (to be) + क्षणि = धार्मिकः; दूर् (to praise) + क्षणि = स्त्रायः; धू + क्षणि (to collect) + क्षणि = उपश्रायायु. This last word is formed then only when the word दूर follows: and when the sense is that of 'gold'. When it does not mean 'gold', the form is उपश्रायायु.

124. The affix यष्ट् comes after a verb that ends in य (long or short), or in a consonant.

The phrase उपश्रायः is in the genitive case dual number, the force of genitive here being that of ablative. As हृ + यष्ट् = कार्यम् 'to be made'; हृ+ष्ट् =
125. The affix यज्ञ comes after a root that ends in the letter ः long or short when the sense is that of necessity.

This debars the affix यज्ञ. Thus लु + यज्ञ = लौ + य = लाब्ध (VII. 2. 115 and VI. 1. 79) ‘must be cut’; so also पु + यज्ञ = पाब्धम ‘must be purified’.

When ‘necessity’ is not indicated we have the form लक्ष ‘to be cut’.
The sūtra as given in the original is rather ambiguous; it may be construed to mean, 1st when the word आवश्यक or a word having the sense of this term is in construction as upapada, the affix यज्ञ is employed: or 2ndly when, the sense of the affix is that of ‘necessity’, the यज्ञ is employed. There are objections to both these interpretations taken separately. For in the first case, though we could form the words अवश्यकल्प &c., we could not form the word लक्ष by itself. In the second case, though we could form the single word लाब्ध, we could not form the compound. The best solution is to take the second interpretation and form the compound by the universal rule of Taitpurusha contained in II. 1. 72, which would also regulate the accent.

126. The affix यज्ञ comes after the verbs आनु ‘to distil’, बु ‘to join’, बप ‘to sow’, अप ‘to speak distinctly’ लष्ठ ‘to prate’, अव ‘to be ashamed’, and अम ‘to drink’.

The verb आनु is a compound verb formed by the preposition आ and the root बु. This sūtra debars यज्ञ that would otherwise have come by sūtra 97 and 98.

Thus आनु + यज्ञ = आवश्यक, (VII. 2. 115 and VI. 1. 79); so also याब्धम, वाब्धम, राब्धम, लाब्धम, बाब्धम and आब्धम.

The force of the word ब ‘and’ in the sūtra is to indicate that the roots not included in the above enumeration should also be taken. Thus बभ + यज्ञ = बाब्धम ॥

आनाशयोपनित्ये ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आनाशय: , अनित्ये ॥

बृत्ति || आनाशय हि सिद्धिनिपास्यते अनित्योनिपित्ये || नायतेराहू पूर्वण्यालाभवेऽश्री निपित्यते ||
127. The word अनाय्यः is irregularly formed when meaning ‘impermanent’.

This word is thus formed: — अ + न + य + व = अनाय्यः, (the य being changed into य by the analogy of VI. 1. 79).

As अनाय्यः इलिङ्गाति:। This is a species of Dakshinagni fire. As this fire is brought from the Gārhapatya fire and is not permanently kept alive, therefore it is called अनाय्यः। This however, is not co-extensive with Dakshinagni। It is that fire which is brought from the Gārhapatya, and has the same source with the Dakshinagni and Ahavaniyagni। A Dakshinagni fire may be taken from different sources, as from the family: of a well-to-do Vaishya, or from a frying place, or from Gārhapatya fire। When it is taken from the last i. e. from Gārhapatya fire, it is अनाय्यः Dakshinagni। Ahavaniya is also taken from Gārhapatya।

It is not every thing, that is not lasting, which is called अनाय्यः। for a fragile pot will not be called so। It applies only to the consecrated fire। When it has not this sense, the form is अनेयः meaning ‘what ought to be brought’।

128. The word प्रणाल: is irregularly formed when meaning ‘disapproved’।

The word प्रणाल: is a negative word meaning ‘non-agreement’। It means also ‘disrespect’।

Thus प्रणालविद्: ‘the thief is to be disliked’।

Why do we say when meaning ‘disapproved’। Because otherwise the regular form is म + नी ‘to lead’ + व = प्रणोदः ‘tractable’।

The word in the sūtra is असंगति which we have translated as ‘disapproved’। But the word संगति also means अभिलाष: or ‘desire’। and असंगति would therefore, mean ‘free from desire or worldly attachment’। Therefore the word असंगति means also ‘free from attachment’, as in the following sentence:—

व्यायपायपुप्याभिनि: प्रणाल: प्रणालः। प्रणालविद् असंगतिः कल्पैन्न लिङ्गोऽद्यय:। ‘let the father teach the Secret Doctrine to his eldest son, or to such pupil who is free from worldly attachment, and to no one else’. निवाससिद्धिः।

पार्यायायनिद्धार्यायं सान्त: विनिवासनासास्वासास्वें:।

वृन्दः। पार्यायाय: शाख: निप्पायनेन वयस्तिकत्व नामेन हिब्ध: निवासे वासिनि:।
129. The words पाप्त, सांपात्य, निजात्य and पाप्ता are irregularly formed meaning ‘a measure’, ‘an oblation to fire’, ‘a dwelling’, and ‘a sacrificial prayer’, respectively.

These words are supposed to be formed thus:—पा (to measure) + पाप्त = पाप्तम्, the न being changed into न and another न being added by VII. 3. 33. The regular form is मेघम् ‘to be measured’ (पा + पाप्त = मेघ + पा VI. 4. 65 = मेघ). सम + धी (to lead) + पाप्त = सांपात्यम् ‘the oblation’. It being a crude form applies to a particular kind of oblation. The regular form is संप्रेयम्। नित + वित (to collect) + पाप्त = नित + वित + पा = नित + वाय + पा = निकात्य: ‘a dwelling’. The regular form is निकेष्य. पा (to put) + पाप्त = पाप्त (fem.). The sāmādheni is the name of certain Rik hymns used as supplemental verses in a Litany. The other form is जेम्य।

क्रति कुष्ठपाप्तसंबाहये। ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रति, कुष्ठपाप्तसंबाहये।

वृत्ति:॥ कुष्ठपाप्त संबाहय इत्यतो श्रवे निपातेवे कताविभवे।

130. The words कुष्ठपाप्त: and संबाहय: are irregularly formed meaning a sacrifice.

These words are thus formed: कुष्ठ + पा (to drink) + वाय = कुष्ठ + पा + व + य (VII. 3. 33) = कुष्ठपाप्त: ‘the sacrifice in which Soma is drunk with a bowl’. The accent falls on the first syllable by VI. 1. 213. सम + वित (to collect) + पाप्त = संबाहय: ‘the sacrifice in which Soma is collected’.

If not applied to sacrifices, the forms will be कुष्ठपाप्तम् and संबाहेयः.

अग्नि परिचाव्योपचारयसूचया: ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नि,

परिचाया-उपचारय-सूचया।

वृत्ति:॥ परिचाया उपचारय समूहा हस्तेन शाश्व निपादनेन अग्नि मिथिले।

131. The words परिचायाः, उपचारय: and समूहः: are irregularly formed when they are names of fire.

These words are thus formed:—परि + वित + पाप्त = परि + वित + पा + य = परिचाय: ‘sacrificial fire arranged in a circle’ (the य being changed into या by the analogy of VI. 1. 79. This peculiar sandhi before the semivowel य has been illustrated in the previous examples also). So also उपचारय: ‘a kind of sacred fire’. सम + वाय + पाप्त = सम + वाय + पा = समूह: ‘a kind of fire’. समूहाः विनितात पुरुषाकाम: let him kindle the Samūhya fire desirous of a victim’.

Why do we say ‘when they are names of fire’? Observe otherwise, परिचायाः ‘to be heaped’, उपचारय: ‘to be increased’, संबाहय: ‘to be carried’.
132. The words विश्व and अनिविष्व are also irregularly formed.

The word विश्व: comes from the root वि ‘to collect’, and means fire i.e. that which is collected. As विश्वोज्ञ: ‘the funeral pile fire’. The word अनिबिष्व means, arranging the fire. The affix व has been added to denote condition, together with the augment तुु (त). These words have udatta accent on the last vowel. The regular form is चेत्यम् ‘to be gathered’.

133. The affixes पदुः (अक) and ह्र (अ) are placed after all verbal roots, expressing the agent.

The word ‘root’ is understood in the above aphorism. Thus कु ‘to do’ + पदुः = कार + बु (VII. 2. 115) = कार + अक (VII. 1. 1) = कारक nom. sing. कारक: ‘doer.’ कु + ह्र = कार + ह्र (VII. 3. 84) = कर्न nom. sing. कर्ता. So also हारक: and हास।

The भ of ह्र is not indicative, but distinguishes this affix from ह्र: the simple ह includes both ह्र and ह्र, as in V. 3. 59, and VI. 4. 154.

134. After the verbs classed as नन्द ‘to be happy’, यथ ‘to take’ and पच ‘to cook’ there are the affixes ह्रु (अन) धिनि (इन) and अच (अ) respectively.

The word ādi meaning et cetera, is to be joined with every one of the above three words. These three affixes come respectively after the verbs of the above three classes. Thus after the verbs of नन्द class, comes the affix ह्र; after the verbs of यथ class, comes the affix धिनि; after the verbs of पच class, comes the affix अच।

The नन्द verbs will not be found in one place in the Dhātupātha. The list of the words formed by these affixes have, however, been collected in the Gaṇapātha. Thus नन्द + ह्रु = नन्द + ह्र (I 3. 8) = नन्द + अन (VI. 1. 1) = नन्द nom. sing. नन्द: ‘son’ (lit. what gladdens). So also from the following causa-
tive roots, nouns are formed, meaning names:—वाचिः—वाचनः or वाचनः; नरि—नरः; 
शुः—शुष्कः (or शुष्कः); साधिः—साधनः; श्रवः—श्रवः; श्रीगिः—श्रीगमः and रीगिः—रीगमः.

The following derivatives are names:—साधि—साधनः; शरि—शरः; श्रमि—
श्रमः.

So also the following words:—वनम्, रमणः, कृपेत, संक्षेपः, संकरणः, संधवः, 
संधवः, जनादेवः, वर्गः, पदः, मथुरान्, विदम्पा, लक्षः (the य a in लक्षः is irregular), 
क्षिप्रविनायः, कुलधमः and ज्ञानधमः.

The वाचि verbs are also nowhere enumerated in a group. The follow-
ing are, however, those verbs:—वह—मतिः nom. वाचोः; उम्भोः—उम्भासिः nom. 
वाचोः; उस्सू—उस्सासिः; उद्भ्रुः—उद्भ्रासिः; स्या—स्यासिः; मन्त्र—मन्त्रिः; समाः—
समासिः. So also the verbs रक्त, श्रु, बस्त्र, बस्त्र and शा preceded by नि; as, निरक्षितः, निरीविनः, निर्विद-
मिः, निर्विदिः, निर्विदिः. The verbs वाचि, वधि, सवधि, भ्रक्ति, वस्त्र and वस्त्र take निन्तः when preceded by the negative particle; as, अवधारे, अवधारैश्च, अवस्थापिनिः, अभ्रासिः, अवासिः and अवासिः. So also after verbs ending in a vowel when agents are non-conscious beings: as, अवकाशिः, अवकाशिः. So also, अविनापिः अविनापिः, विनापिः, विनापिः (meaning a place) विनापिः and विनापिः, अविनापिः अपरापिः, 
वापिः, परिविः and परिनापिः.

The following are the पाचि words:—पच, चच, चप, चप, चन, चप, पच नरः, अच्छे, 
चस्त्व गर्दक, तरक, चीरद, माहुः, नर, चर, चर, साह्य, सूडः, भूः, मोर्द, नेप, चोष, चर, 
चंद्र, चंद्र, सम्भः, जायन्त, श्यच्च, मेघ, कौष, चप, मह, रज, शीष, चरः।

The ध in नव्र &c., shows that the feminine of these is formed by long ध (IV. I. 15). The पाचि class is an अञ्जग्रंथः.

अच्छिः: सवधातुस्वः: पक्षान्ते च पक्षायः।
अच्छे: बाणाचार्यंते स्वात्तु सिद्धान्ती पर्वाचार्यः।

In fact the affix अच्छ क comes after all verbs, and is not exclusively con-
fined to the verbs above enumerated. The affix अच्छ, therefore, debars अच्छ and may be taken to be the universal affix, and by its help the forms like श्यच्च &c. may be explained.

135. After a verb ending in a consonant but preceded by ह, व or क (long or short), and after the verbs शा ‘to know’, भी ‘to please’, and कृ ‘to scatter’, comes the affix क (अ).

Thus विधि + क = विधिः nom. sing. विधिः. So also विधिः: ‘inscription’; 
शुः: ‘who knows’; कृशुः: ‘lean’; शा + क = शा: ‘who knows’ (VI. 4. 64); शी + क =
The words वें 'God', सेव 'service' and रं 'ram', should be read in the पदार्थ class of the last sūtra, being formed by the affix अन् and not by क.

There is elision of long आ when an ārdhadhātuka affix follows beginning with a vowel and having an indicatory क or क.

**137.** The affix श (अ) is employed after the roots यो 'to drink', पूर्ण 'to smell', भा 'to blow', चेत 'suck', and द्वय 'to see' when there is a preposition along with these roots.

Thus उत् + पयु + श = उत् + विण्य + अ (VII. 3. 78) = उद्धिष्ठ nom. sing. उद्धिष्ठ; so also विधिष्ठ; उद्धिष्ठ: and विधिष्ठ:। उत् + भाय + श = उत् + धात् + अ = (VII. 3. 78); चेत्; विधिष्ठ; उत् + धे + श = उद्ध्वय:। विधिष्ठ:। so also उत् + ध्रय + श = उत्तथ्रय; (VII. 3. 78). so also विधिष्ठ:।

Some commentators do not read the word 'upasarga' into this sūtra. According to them the forms like प्रश्: &c., can be formed also.

The affix श, of which श is indicatory, the real affix being अ, causes the root to undergo all those changes, which it undergoes in special tenses; for it is a सर्वधातु affix there; see sūtra III. 4. 113 and VII. 3. 78.

**Vart:**—Prohibition must be stated of the root पूर्ण, when the word to be formed is a name. As विभ + भ + पूर्ण + क = विक्ष्रण: 'tiger' (an animal that goes about smelling). Here there is क and not the affix श.
The affix गः is employed after the following verbs when used without a preposition: लिम्यः, विन्यः and the causatives धारिः, पारिः, वेदिः, उदेजः, चालिः, साहिः.


Why do we say ‘when used without a preposition’? Observe शिल्पः.

Here the affix is कः.

Part:—The verb लिम्यः with the preposition नः takes the affix गः. As निलिम्यः ‘the name of certain deities’, ‘a cow’.

Part:—The affix गः is employed after विन्यः when compounded with the words गो &c. and when the word to be formed is a proper noun. As गोविन्यः: ‘Krishṇa’ (protector of cows); भरविन्यः: ‘a lotus’ (having petals like spokes).

138. The affix गः is optionally employed, after the root गः ‘to give’, and गः ‘to hold’, when used without a preposition.

This debarrs गः: Thus गः: ‘giving’; or गः: ‘inheritance’; गः: ‘holding’ or गः: ‘having’.

When a preposition is used, the affix गः is not employed; as गः: गः.

सवलितःकसत्तेन्द्यः गः || १७४ || पद्निः || सवल-इति-कसत्तेन्द्यः ||

139. The affix गः is optionally employed, after the root गः ‘to give’, and गः ‘to hold’, when used without a preposition.

This debarrs गः: Thus गः: ‘giving’; or गः: ‘inheritance’; गः: ‘holding’ or गः: ‘having’.

When a preposition is used, the affix गः is not employed; as गः: गः.

सवलितःकसत्तेन्द्यः गः || १७४ || पद्निः || सवल-इति-कसत्तेन्द्यः ||

140. After the verbs beginning with गः ‘to shine’ and ending with कः ‘to go’, when used without a preposition, the affix गः is optionally employed,
The word न in न्वलित indicates beginning. These are about 56 verbs, all belonging to the Bhūda class. See No. 804 to 860 in the Dhatupātha, Bombay Edition in the Appendix to Siddhānta Kaumudi.

This debars the affix अच्; as च्वाल|; or च्वल|; चाल|; or चाल|.

The affix य (य) having an indicatory य, causes the vriddhi of the penultimate य. When the affix य is not used, then अच् is used, and we have the other form. But compound verbs take अच्; as प्रवेजः 'luminous'.

Vart.—The verb सन 'to stretch' must be included in this list, and it takes the affix य; as अबजः. The conditions 'option' and 'without preposition' do not apply in this case. The verb सन necessarily takes this affix, though compounded with an upasarga.

141. The affix य is employed after the following verbs also:—यवेह ‘to go', verbs ending in long या, यात्रा 'to pierce', अयु ‘to pain', सय ‘to flow', अवसय ‘to complete', अवड ‘to take away', निस ‘to lick', दिस ‘to embrace', and श्रस ‘to breathe'.

The root यवेह, before affixes, becomes यव, (VI. 1. 45) and is thus included in the phrase 'verbs ending in long या. What is then the use of its separate enumeration? The separate enumeration is for the sake of excluding the application of every other rule which might have prohibited य. Thus III. 1. 136 enjoins क when a compound verb ends in या. But that rule does not apply to the verb यव.


142. The affix य is employed after the verbs दु 'to burn', and नी 'to lead', when used without a preposition.
Thus द + य = दी + भ (VII. 2. 115) = माह: (VI. 1. 78) ‘burning’. So also नी + य = नी + भ = ताव: ‘leading’.

Why do we say ‘when used without a preposition’? Observe मह: ‘burning’; माह: ‘friendship’.

विभाषा यह: || १४३ || पदार्थ || विभाषा, यह: ( यह: ) ||

वृत्तिः || विभाषा महाथलोपाद्ध्ययो भवति ||
वास्तकम् || भवतंशेषित यक्ष्यम् ||

143. The affix य is optionally employed after the verb मह: ‘to seize’.

This debars the affix अष्ट. Thus मह: + य = मह: + भ (VII. 2. 116) = माह: ‘seizing’, ‘a crocodile’; or य + अष्ट = माह: ‘a planet’.

The option allowed by this aphorism is a vyavasthita-vibhadā or definite option, that is to say, the affix य is always used when the word to be formed means a water-animal, such as a crocodile, shark &c., and in that sense the word is माह. But not so, when heavenly luminaries are meant; there the word is मह.

Vart:—This rule should be extended to the root मृ ‘to be’ also. Thus:—मृ: ‘condition’ and म: ‘existence’.

यहें कः || १४४ || पदार्थ || यहें, कः, ( यह: ) ||

वृत्तिः || यहेंथापो: कमदययो भवति यहें कर्तरिः ||

144. The affix क is employed after the verb मह when the agent so expressed denotes a house.

Thus यह + क (VI. 1. 16) = गृहम् ‘a house’. The र is changed into र by the rule of samprasārana. The plural form गृहम् means ‘wife’, as she is especially the person that constitutes the house; while the plural of गृह meaning ‘house’ will be गृहाणिः.

शिलिपिन्य ग्रुः || १४५ || पदार्थ || शिलिपिन्य, ग्रुः ||

वृत्तिः || भासो: ग्रुपुरस्ययो भवति शिलिपिन्य कर्तरिः ||
वास्तकम् || नृविनिरर्गियम्: पिरगियान्स कर्तरिः ||

145. The affix ग्रुः (अक) comes after a verb; when the agent so expressed denotes an artist.

Vart:—This affix should be confined to the verbs नृ ‘to dance’, खन ‘to dig’ and रक्ष ‘to dye’.

Thus ग्रुः + ग्रुः = ग्रुः + अक (VII. 1. 1) = ग्रुःक: ‘dancer’. The letter व is indicative (I. 3. 6) and by Rule IV. 1. 41, it denotes that words formed by prefixes having indicatory व form their feminine gender by the affix हिष्ठ: Thus
the feminine of नस्त्र is नस्त्री; so also खनक: ‘miner’, fem. खनकी; रजक: ‘washer-
man’, fem. रजकी.

In the case of the root रज the nasal is elided. According to the opinion of the author of Mahābhāṣyaka, only two verbs are governed by this sūtra namely नृत्त and खनर. According to him, the verb रज takes the affix कुऽ.

Thus रज्ज + कुऽ = रज्ज + कुऽ (VI. 4. 37) = रज्ज + भक (VII. I. 1) = रज्ज, feminine रजिका.

146. The affix यक्त (यक) comes after the verb मे to ‘sing’, when the agent so expressed, denotes an artist.

As, मै + यक्त = गायत्र्: (VI. I. 45) ‘a singer’, fem. गायिका.

147. The affix युद्ध is also employed after the verb मे ‘to sing’, when the agent so expressed denotes an artist.

By the word म ‘also’, the word मा of the last sūtra is drawn into this.

Thus मै + युद्ध = मा + अन (VII. I. 1) = गायत्र्: fem. गायिका; the य is added by VII. 3. 33.

The separation of these rules (yoga-vibhāga) relating to मै is for the purpose of the sūtras that follow. Had गायत्र् and युद्ध म been made one aphorism, the anuvṛtti of both these affixes would have run into the subsequent sūtras. But it is intended that the anuvṛtti of युद्ध म should only run, and hence this yoga-vibhāga or division of one sūtra into two.

148. After the verb म also the affix युद्ध is employed when the agent so expressed denotes ‘rice’ and ‘time’.

The verb म denotes two verbs माक ‘to abandon’ and माह ‘to go’ both belonging to the Third Conjugation, forming माहाति and माहीते as 3rd per. sing.

Thus मै + युद्ध = माहान: ‘a kind of rice’ (that which jahtī ‘leaves off’ all water)

माहान: ‘a year’ (that which jihête ‘goes through’ all conditions.)
The accents are however different in the two. In one case the udatta is on the middle; in the other, on the last.

अच्छ (खः)लः: समभिहारे बुन्॥ १४९॥ पदार्थिः ॥ भू-खः-(खः)-वः:
समभिहारे, बुन्॥

पृष्ठः: ॥ भू खः (खः) लः इश्वरेश्वरे भास्वधा: समभिहारे बुनू, प्रस्वयो भवितः॥

149. After the verbs भू ‘to go’, भू ‘to move’, भू ‘to flow’ and भू ‘to cut’, the affix बुन is employed, when repetition is meant.

As, भू + बुन्न=भू + अण्ड (VII. 1.1)= भूवकः; so also, सतकः, लबकः, and नवकः.

The word samabhikāra in the śūtra indicates that the action done by the agent must be well performed. The affix बुन being thus ordained for the action, when it is well performed, it follows, that it will not be employed where the action is repeatedly ill performed. The affix will be employed even when there is no repetition but the action is well performed even at the first attempt.

आशिषि च ॥ १५०॥ पदार्थिः ॥ आशिषि, च, (बुन्)॥

पृष्ठः: ॥ आशिषि गम्यमात्रायं धानुषात्रकः बुनू प्रस्वयो भवितः॥

150. The affix बुन is employed after all verbs, when benediction is intended.

As, भूतृं + बुन्न = भूतृकः ‘may he live’; सन्तृकः ‘may he be happy’.

The word आशिषि: means a sort of prayer; and it relates to action. The force of this affix is that of ‘an agent with the addition that the action is simply the object of a prayer of some one who wishes that that may be the action of that agent’.
1. The affix अस्म comes after a verbal root when the object, (of whatever sort it may be), is in composition with it, (as an upapada).

The object or karma is of three sorts, namely *nivartya, vibhārya* and *prāpya*.

The object which has a material cause, but such cause is however unexpressed in the sentence, is called *nivartya* object; as कुममত्र करोति ‘he makes a pot’; here मुद ‘mud’ the material cause of कुम्भ is unexpressed, therefore, कुम्भ is *nivartya* object. Where the material cause itself is changed, by a modification, into something else, such an object is called *vibhārya* object; as काण्डस्थ: ‘the branch-cutter’. While the object which cannot be approached by any action, and is not affected by it, but is always constant, is called the *prāpya* object; as वेदालोच: ‘the reading of Veda’; the Veda is always the same.

They will be illustrated by the following examples:—Of the first kind, we have कुमकात: ‘a potter’ and नागकात: ‘a city-builder’; of the second, we have काण्डस्थ: ‘a branch-cutter’ and शर्कात: ‘a reed-cutter’. Of the third, वेदालोच: ‘the learning of Veda’ and चार्चालोच: ‘the reading of Charcha’. But compound nouns cannot be formed of such sentences as मान मद्दारत ‘he goes to the village’, आखिर पद्यत ‘he sees the sun’, ‘हिमसत्य ग्रहयत ‘he hears the Himavat’. The reason is that it is against the usage of the language to form-nouns out of these.

*Vart*:—The affix अस्म comes after the verbs शीत, कान, भव्य and भाष and the noun in composition with it, retains its original accent. As मांकात्न: ‘addicted to flesh’, fem. मांकात्न; मस्ताकात: ‘loving flesh’, fem. मस्ताकात; मद्यमकात: ‘carnivorous’, fem. मद्यमकात; and कल्याणकात: ‘good-conducted’, fem. कल्याणकात. 
Vart:—The affix द्व comes after the roots द्व ‘to look’ and द्व, ‘to forbear’ under similar circumstances. As सुद्वस्तीति, fem. सुद्वस्तीता ‘expecting happiness’; द्वस्त: fem. द्वस्तम ‘much forbearing’.

हावाबन्धं || || पदार्थनि || हि, वा, स: च, (अश्र) ||

रूपिः || हि, सा, वेदे मान, एतेर्ध्वं कर्मेऽपिध्या एकायत्वं भवति ||

2. The affix अश्र comes after the root हृ ‘to call’, वेद ‘to weave’, मान ‘to measure’, when the object is in composition with it.

This debars the affix क (III. 2. 3); as स्वर्ग+हृ+अश्र = स्वर्ग+हृ+अ = स्वर्ग+हृ+अ (VII. 3. 33) = स्वर्गहृय: (the य is added by rule VII. 3. 33, ‘when a krit affix with an indicatory य or य follows, the augment य is added after the verbs that end in long य’). So also तनंशाय:, चान्यमाय:.

आतोऽपिध्याः कः || || पदार्थि || आत:, अनुपसवर्णः, कः,

(कर्मेऽश्र) ||

रूपिः || आकारान्तेश्यो पातुशत्वपिध्याः कर्मेऽपिध्या कमश्यो भवति ||

3. The affix क comes after a verbal root that ends in long आ when there is no upasarga preceding it and when the object is in composition with it.

This debars अश्र; as गाः+श+क = गाः+श+अ = ग्रोह: ‘Giver of cows’, (the long आ is elided by VI. 4. 64),= So also, कमश्य: ‘who gives a blanket’; पातुशत्वपिध्य: ‘what protects the rear’; अश्रज्जनित्वम ‘what protects the finger’ (a thimble).

Why do we say ‘when there is no upasarga’? Witness गोसंहाय: ‘who ceremoniously gives a cow’, वदवर्काय: ‘who ceremoniously gives a mare’. Here the compound verb संहाय takes the affix अश्र.

सुधि स्यः || || पदार्थि || सुधि, स्यः, (कः) ||

रूपिः || सुधि स्याः उपपदे तत्तते: कमश्यो भवति ||

4. The affix क comes after the root स्या when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, as an upapada.

In the three previous sūtras, the word in composition was always in the accusative case. This sūtra declares that with regard to the verb स्या, the upapada may have any case not necessarily the accusative. As समस्य: = समि लिधति ‘who dwells in accessible position’; and विशःस्य: ‘having an inaccessible position’. 
This sūtra should be divided into two sūtras (yoga-bibhāga). Thus:—

(1) सूचना The affix क comes after every root ending in long आ, when in composition with a case-inflected word; as हान्यां प्रतिव = हिं+पा+क = हिंप; (VI. 4. 64) "who drinks with two organs" i.e., the proboscis and the mouth, an elephant'. So also पाच: 'a plant' (what drinks through the foot). कच्छू: 'a tortoise' (that always protects its mouth by drawing it in, at the approach of danger).

(2) सूचना The affix क comes after the root भ्य when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix. Why do we make this two-fold division, when we see the second rule is included in the first as the verb भ्य also ends in a long आ? The reason is that the first rule applies where the agent is indicated, while the second rule applies where condition is to be denoted. As आयुर्वेद्यम् नम् = आयुर्वेद्य: 'a swarm of rats'; so also शास्त्रीयम्: 'a swarm of locusts'.

Both the words कर्मचारिणि and सूचना are understood in the sūtras that follow: vis: the word कर्मचारिणि in sūtras that relate to transitive verbs, and the word सूचना everywhere else.

तुन्द्रकीर्तिः परिसुङ्कालापुदूः॥ ॥ पदार्थं ॥ तुन्द्र-श्रोकरण्यः; परिसुङ्ग-अपनुदूः; ( कर्मचारिणि, कः ) ॥

बुधोः ॥ तुन्द्रश्रोकरणी: कर्मचारिणी: परिसुङ्कालापुर्वोऽधिकः: कर्मचारिणी भवति ॥
बालिकमुः ॥ आयुर्वेद्यसुवाहिनायोिदिति कष्ट्यम् ॥
बालिकमुः ॥ कष्ट्यकरणे मूलविशेषार्थेऽवसंधवानवात् ॥

5. The affix क comes after the verbs परिसुङ्ग ‘to wash out’ and अपनु ‘to drive away’, when in composition with the words तुन्द्र ‘navel’ and शीक ‘grief’, as objects, respectively.

As तुन्द्र परिसुङ्ग अपले ‘he lay lazy’. So also शीकाजापुशः: पुलो जात: ‘a son, destroyer of sorrow is born’.

Vart.—This affix is to be applied only then, when the meaning of the word to be formed is ‘lazy’ and ‘giver of happiness’.

Vart.—The epithet तुन्द्र परिसुङ्ग is applied to a lazy person; while तुन्द्र परिमाय়: means who clears his navel. So शीकाजापुशः: means giver of happiness, while शीकाजापुशः: means ‘removal of sorrow’.

Vart.—The words मूलविशेषः: ‘a chariot’ and the rest should be included in the subdivision of words formed by the affix क. The words belonging to this head can only be recognised by their form, there being no list of them to be found anywhere. Thus मूलविशेषः: ‘a chariot’, नक्षत्रः: ‘a bow’, काकुङ्ग ‘sesamums’, कुम्भः (कौ मौलेस) ‘a lotus’.
The affix $tak$ comes after the root $sha$ ‘to give’ and $ta$ ‘to know’, when taking the preposition $ma$ and in composition with a word in the accusative case.

We applied by sutra 3 the affix $tak$ after verbs that ended in long $aa$ and had no upasarga. Now begins the case of verbs with upasarga. This debars the affix $ata$; as $kramasa$ (VI. 4. 64) ‘giver of all; liberal’, $paryavat$ (VI. 4. 64) ‘acquainted with roads’. The long $aa$ of $sha$ and $ka$ is elided by VI. 4. 64.

Why do we say ‘when taking $ma$? With any other upasarga these verbs will take the general affix $ata$; as $vicharaya$.

The affix $tak$ comes after the root $sha$ ‘to tell’, when preceded by the preposition $am$, and when the object is in composition with it.

The verb $sha$ ends in long $aa$ and by III. 2. 3 when compounded with an upasarga, it would have taken the affix $ata$. This debars $ata$; as $vicharaya$ (VI. 4. 64) ‘a cowherd’ ($ga$ $sankha$).

The affix $tak$ comes after the verbs $ga$ ‘to sing’ and $ga$ ‘to drink’ when used without a preposition, and when the object is in composition with it.

The phrase $anupasarga$ is to be read again into this sutra by $anuvratti$ from sutra 3, though this $anuvratti$ had temporarily lain dormant in sutra 6 and 7 as being unnecessary. This debars $ka$; of this affix $sha$ and $ka$ are indicatory the $sha$ showing among others that the feminine is formed by the affix $ti$ (IV. 1. 14).

As, $sha$ गायति = $sha$ + $ga$ + $tak$ = गायति: (VI. 4. 64) ‘who sings Sakra hymns’. सामिन्द: ‘singer of Sāma’, fem. $gāyati$ and सामिन्दी।

*Vart.*—The affix $tak$ comes after the verb $ga$ when it means to drink and only when it is in composition with the words $cura$ and $shiṣu$ as its object,
This is an important modification of the general sūtra. Thus सुराप: fem. सुरापी ‘wine-bibber’; शीलुप: fem. शीलुपी ‘spirit-drinker’.

Why do we say ‘when in composition with surā and sidhu’? Observe शीरपा श्राह्मणी ‘the milk-drinking Brāhmaṇī’; formed by the affix क and the feminine, therefore, not formed by the affix ए but by आ.

Why do we say ‘when पर means to drink’? When पर means ‘to protect’ this affix is not used; as शुरापा ‘who protects wine’.

When these words are compounded with an upasarga they do not take ए but अए; as श्राक्स्तिंगाय; सामसंगाय.

Vart.—There is diversity in the Chhandas as to the employment of these affixes; as श्राह्मणी सुरापी or सुरापा भवित में वेण: पालकों नयनित ‘the gods do not carry that Brāhmaṇī to the regions of her husband who drinks wine’.

हर्तेरहृदयमनेेछ् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हर्ते: अनुयमने, अच्, (कर्मशि) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ हर्तेरहर्तेरहृदयमने वर्तमानात् कर्मणूप्यपेऽप्राप्तम्यों भवित ॥

वार्तःकम् ॥ अचूमकारियं राशिरलंकारुं भवितमरप्रत्येकत्थमुखः ग्रहैयस्यविदानम् ॥

वार्तःकम् ॥ शूक्रेष्ठ वर्तमान ॥

9. The affix अच comes after the verb हृद् when it does not mean ‘to raise up’, when the object is in composition with it.

This debars अए. The word यथमन means ‘to raise a load’. Thus अए हर्ति=अएहि: ‘who takes a share, or sharer’; so रिक्षहि: ‘an heir’. (H+अच = हर+अ = हर:) (VII. 3. 84).

Why do we say ‘when it does not mean to raise up’? For then the affix अए will be employed; as भारहि: ‘a burden-bearer, a porter’.


Vart.—This affix comes after the verb मह when the word सूज is in composition with it and the sense is that of ‘holding’; as सूजम्ह: ‘a thread-holder’. When it has not this meaning we have सूजम्ह: ‘a thread-taker’.

वयसि च ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ वयसि, च, (हर्ते: कर्मशि, अच) ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ वयसि गद्यमाने हर्ते: कर्मणूपियं अद्यपेऽप्राप्तम्यों भवित।
10. The affix अच्र् comes after the verb हय् when the object is in composition with it and when the meaning of the word to be formed is descriptive of age.

In this sūtra the verb हय् has the sense of udayamana which was specifically excluded in the last. The word बवस् means the condition of human body as dependent upon time. This rule applies to those words which indicate the attainment of appropriate age for the accomplishment of objects described by the upapada, or the reaching of that age in which the thing described by the upapada naturally takes place; as असिम्यहः प्याम् ‘the dog that has reached the age when it can chew bones’ (lit. when it can raise it up); कथायः अनियमकुमारः ‘the Kshatriya boy old enough to wear (lit. ‘to raise up or bear) the shield’; so that the verb here has the sense of ‘raising up’.

आदि तार्थीते॥११॥ पदार्थि॥ आदि, तार्थीते,(कर्णेषु, हृ--
रते; अच्र्)॥

बृत्यः॥ आदि पुरावहिः; कर्णेषुपुरावहि भवति॥

11. The affix अच्र् comes after the verb हय् when the object is in composition with it), the root taking the preposition आम्, and the sense of the word to be formed is inclination or accustomed occupation.

The word सच्छिद्ध्वन्य means a natural inclination or habitual occupation; as पुल्लाहः (पुल्ला+आहरति = पुल्ला+आहर) ‘he who has a natural tendency towards fetching flowers or whose habitual occupation is to collect flowers’; so also फलाहः।

Why do we say ‘when denoting inclination’? Otherwise the affix will be अध्; as भार्मादरति=नारायणः ‘who brings load’.

अध्॥ १२॥ पदार्थि॥ अध्; (कर्णेषु, अच्र्)॥

बृत्यः॥ अध् पुल्लायो, असिम्यहः; कर्णेषुपुल्लायो भवति॥

12. The affix अच्र् comes after the verb अध् ‘to respect’, when the object is in composition with it.

This debars अध्. The words so formed are especially of feminine gender. As पुल्लायो ‘deserving of respect’; so also गन्धायो, नारायो।

सत्यकार्यवेत्रो रसिजपि:॥ १३॥ पदार्थि॥ सत्य--कार्यवेत्रो; रसिजपि; (सूचि, अध्)॥

बृत्यः॥ सत्यकार्यवेत्रो इत्येत्रो; सुवस्वरूपायत्रोविकर्षेत् रसिजपिभृतोस्यपूत्ययो भवति॥

वासिकनु॥ हस्तिभोज्याधिरिति तृत्रद्वयः॥
13. The affix अच्छ comes after the verb रम ‘to sport’ and जर ‘to whisper’ when the case-inflected words स्तन ‘a clump of grass’ and कर ‘ear’ are in composition with them respectively.

The verb रम is intransitive and the verb जर can take an object under very limited circumstances; only namely when the object denotes Sabda; therefore in the case of both these verbs, the object cannot be in composition as an accusative case; therefore, the upapada here must be a general case-inflected word. Hence we have read the anuvṛtti of the word सुषु from sūtra 4 into this, the anuvṛtti of the word कर्म being inapplicable here.

Vart.—The words to be formed must have the sense of ‘elephant’ and a ‘tale-bearer’. Thus स्तन्महररतेः = स्तन्महरर: ‘an elephant (lit. who sports in cluster of grass)’ कर्मच्छ वपवत = कर्मच्छ जन्वार: ‘a slanderer (lit. who whispers in the ear)’.

The affix अच्छ is not employed when the words to be formed do not mean an ‘elephant’ and a ‘traducer’. Thus स्तन्महररता ‘who plays in clusters of grass’. कर्मच्छ जन्वारता मशक्क: ‘the mosquito that hums near the ear’.

शृंगि चालो: संद्रायास् || १५ || पदायान || शृंगि, चालो:, संद्रायास्, (अच्छ) ि

शृंगि: || शृंगि चालो: पात्राचारकल्पात्सत्साहः विपरोऽघुस्वावक्योऽभवति ||

14. The affix अच्छ is employed after the verbal roots when गम ‘well’, is in composition, and the word to be formed denotes a name.

As गम + क + अच्छ = गंटकर: lit. ‘who does good’. So also संभव: संवस:। All these are proper nouns.

Why have we repeated the word dhātu in this aphorism, when it was understood by anuvṛtti from sūtra III. 1. 91? To this the reply is, that the repetition of the word dhātu shows that there is prohibition of the affix र, that comes after the verb क in certain senses (III. 2. 20), when the word गम is in composition. The affix अच्छ will be employed after the verb क and not the affix र, when गम is an upapada, even when the sense to be indicated is that of cause, habit &c. (III. 2. 20). The result is that the feminine of गंटकर will be गंटकर, and not गंटकरा, which, had the affix been र, would have been the proper feminine (See IV. 1. 14). गंटकर means ‘a female-ascetic,’ ‘a vulture’ and ‘one having the habit of doing good’.

अधिकारण्य शृंगि: || १५ || पदायान || अधिकारण्य, शृंगि: (मष्टि,अच्छ)॥
15. The affix अर् comes after the verb श्री ‘to lie down’ when in composition with a case-inflected word indicating location, i.e., in the locative case.

The word सूर्य (III. 2. 4) a noun ending in a case-affix is understood in this aphorism. As श्री शोि = खाय: ‘who lies in the sky’.

Vart.—The affix अर् comes after the verb श्री when in composition with the words पार्व ‘ribs’, &c., though not necessarily denoting location; as पार्वों शोि = पार्वोंशय: ‘who reclines on his sides’, उद्धराय: ‘who lies on his stomach’, उत्हराय: ‘who lies on his back’.

Vart.—And when the verb श्री is preceded by the word विघ्षः; as विघ्षेन सह शोि = विघ्षेनशयः.

Vart.—So also when the words उचान &c. are in composition with it denoting agent and in the nominative case. As उचान: शोि = उचानशयः; अभिनूतः शोि = अभिनूतशयः.

Vart.—In the Chhandas the affix अर् comes after the verb श्री when in composition with the word गिरि in the locative. As गिरी शोि = गिरीशय: ‘who lies on the mountain’.

The letter श्र of श्रृ is indicatory denoting that there is elision of the final vowel with what follows it (I. 1. 64).

16. The affix द्र comes after the verb चर ‘to go’ when a case-inflected word in composition with it, denotes location.

The word adhikarana of the last sutra is understood in this. As कुश्य चरि = कुश्यचरि: ‘who goes among the Kurus’. महार: ‘who goes among the Madras’.

Of the affix द्र the real affix is श्र, the letter द्र being indicatory, showing that the feminine of these words is formed by the affix श्रोि. (See. IV. 1. 14), as श्रुष्य, महारि।
17. The affix \( \text{त} \) is employed after the verb \( \text{ष} \) 'to go', when the words in composition with it are मित्र 'alms', सेना 'army' and भाषय 'having taken'.

The anuvṛtti of the words 'in the locative case' does not extend to this aphorism, and hence the necessity of making a distinct and separate sūtra.

Thus मित्राचर: 'a beggar' (who goes for alms); सेनाचर: 'one who goes with an army'; भाषयचर: 'one who goes after having taken'.

18. The affix \( \text{त} \) comes after the verb \( \text{ष} \) 'to move' when the words in composition with it, are पर: भय: and भ्र: all meaning 'in front of or before'.

As पर: सतते \( = \) पर:सत: 'who goes in front, a harbinger'. So also भय: सत: and भ्र: 'going in front, a leader'.

19. The affix \( \text{त} \) comes after the verb \( \text{ष} \) 'to go', when पू: is in composition with it, denoting the agent.

Thus पू: सतते \( = \) पूर्वसत: 'going in front'.

Why do we say 'denoting the agent'? Otherwise the affix अयु will be employed. As पूर्वेण्य सतते \( = \) पूर्वसत: 'going to the east'.

20. The affix \( \text{त} \) comes after the verb क्रम 'to make' when the object is in composition with it denoting cause, habit and going with the grain (concession).

The word हेतु of this sūtra means the final or conclusive cause, and is not the grammatical हेतु meaning agent. तास्त्रोऽय is habit, and literally, the
act of being accustomed to that. भ्रमण comes from अनुभूत meaning 'with the hair', that is to say, regular, in natural order, successive, and hence favourable, and agreeable complaisance, acquiescence &c. Of हंस, we have शोककरी कण्या 'the daughter that causes sorrow'; ऋगसकरी विवा 'honorable science'; कुलकर्ता धन 'the family' making wealth'. Of शाश्वत, we have शास्त्रकर 'who performs obsequies'; अर्थकर 'who amasses wealth'. Of अनुभूत, we have शैवकर 'who promptly does what he is directed'; वचनकर 'who regularly does what he is told'.

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Otherwise the affix will be भ्रमण. As कूमहकर 'potter', नगरकर 'city-maker'.

21. The affix ई comes after the verb ई to make when the following words are in composition with it:—विवा 'by day', विभा 'light', निशा 'night', प्रभा 'splendour', ना 'light', कार 'work', अति 'end', अन्ति 'endless', आदि 'beginning', वहु 'many', नान्दी 'benediction', किस्म 'what', तिष्क 'writing', लिखि 'writing', बलि 'oblation', भक्ति 'devotion', करि 'agent', चिन 'painting', शेष 'field', words denoting numerals, जहू 'thigh', बहु 'hand', अह 'day', वद 'what', सत 'that', धनु 'bow' and अर्थ 'wound'.

Both the words 'कर्म' and 'सुव' are understood in this aphorism; that is to say, sometimes these upapadas stand as accusative case and sometimes they have other cases, as the construction may require. This affix ई comes when the sense is not that of cause &c., as it was in the last शृङ्ग. Thus विधानकर 'the sun.' The word विधा is an indeclinable and means 'in the day time'. There the उपादान, therefore, is in the locative case. The sun is so called, because it makes creatures active in the day time.

So विधानकर 'the sun' (light-maker); विधानकर 'the moon' (the night-maker); भ्रमकर 'the sun'; भास्कर 'the sun' (the letter ख is not changed into visarga, as it has been so read in the śūtra); कारकर 'agent'; अति 'death' (end-maker); अन्ति 'magnifying to any extent'; अधिकर 'the creator'; वहुकर 'the busy'; नान्दिकर 'the speaker of benediction'; रक्षकर 'a servant'; रत्निक 'a
scribe'; लिपिकर: 'a scribe'; विलिकर: 'offering sacrifice'; मलिकर: 'a devotee'; कर्तुकर: 'an agent'; पिनिकर: 'a painter'; शेखरकर: 'a cultivator'; एककर: 'doing only one thing'; दिकर: 'doing two things'; विकर: 'doing three things'; जहानकर: 'a runner, an express'; बाहुकर: 'a hero', 'a manual labourer'; अहस्कर: 'the sun'; लास्कर: 'doing that'; यस्कर: 'doing that'; पञ्चकर: 'bow-maker'; भहस्कर: 'causing or inflicting wounds'.

*Vart.*—The affix अष्ट्र comes after the verb कृ when किन्न्र, सत्र, तद्र and वहूँ are in composition with it. The speciality of अष्ट्र affix is that the feminine of words derived from it is formed by long धृ; while the feminine of words derived by भव is formed by long श्र. Thus विकर, लास्कर, लास्कर and वहस्कर; these words might be said to belong to the भवादि class (See IV. 1. 31).

कर्मशि भूतैः || २२ || पदानि || कर्मशि, भूतैः, ( कर्मशि, करेले:,
ट:) ||

भूति: || कर्मचार्य उपवे भार्मास्त्रि न करोदेश्याव्यो भवति भूतै गग्गमानायाम् ||

22. The affix अष्ट्र comes after the verb कृ 'to make', when the word कर्म is in composition with it, and the sense of the word to be formed is that of wages.

The word भूति means service for hire, wages. The word कर्म does not mean the grammatical object but the word-form कर्म; as कर्मकर: 'a hired labourer' (not a slave); otherwise the affix is अष्ट्र; as कर्मकर: 'an artisan'.

न शब्दशलोककलहगाभाैयावैरषुतिैमंत्रपदेयु || २२ || पदानि॥
न, शब्द-शलोक-कलह-गापा-ैयावैर-चाणु-िैमंत्र-पदेयु, (करेले: ट:) ||

भूति: || गग्गमामाभुवेपु करोदेश्याव्यो न भवति ||

23. The affix अष्ट्र does not come after the verb कृ 'to make', when the following words are in composition with it:—शब्द 'sound', शलोक 'verse', कलह 'quarrel', गापा 'praise', वैर 'enmity', चाणु 'flattery', सूत्र 'thread', मन्त्र 'hymns' and पद 'word'.

This prohibition relates even when the sense is that of cause, habit &c. The affix अष्ट्र being prohibited, the general affix भव takes its place. As शब्दकर: 'sounding, sonorous'; शलोककर: 'a verse-maker'; कलहकर: 'one who foments quarrels'; गापाकर: 'a writer of गाथाः or prakritee verses'; वैरकर: 'an enemy'; चाणुकर: 'a flatterer'; सूत्रकर: 'an author of sūtras'; मन्त्रकर: 'a composer of मन्त्रas'; पदकर: 'an author of Padapātha',.
24. The affix इन्न comes after the verb क्र when the objects in composition with it, are the words स्तम्भ 'a sheaf', and शाकुत 'ordure'.

Thus स्तम्भ + क्र + इन्न = स्तम्भकरिक nom. sing. स्तम्भकरिक; so also शाकुत करिक.

Varst.—This rule is applicable when the sense of the words to be formed, is that of 'rice' and 'a calf' respectively. Therefore स्तम्भकरिक: means 'rice', and शाकुत करिक: 'a calf'.

When the words have not the senses of 'rice' and 'a calf', the affix भण्ड is employed. As स्तम्भकरिक: 'sheaf-maker', शाकुतकरिक: 'ordure-maker'.

हर्षकेदंतिनाययः पशौ || ॥ पदार्थि || हर्षम्; दृष्टि-नाययः; पशौ; ( कर्मनिष्ठि इन्न ) ||

25. When the agent indicated is an animal, the affix इन्न comes after the verb क्र 'to take', the object in composition with it being the words इन्ति 'a leather-bag' and नायय 'a master'.

Thus इन्तिहिदि: 'a dog' (a carrier of skin); नाययहिदि: 'a beast' (that carries its master).

When the words formed do not denote an animal, the affix भण्ड is employed; as इन्तिहारि: 'a water-carrier' (a carrier of a leather-bag for holding water). नाययहारि: 'a carrier of his master'.

फलेन्यहिरातसभमरिक || ॥ पदार्थि || फलेन्यहि:-आसम्बरिक; भ ||

26. And the words फलेन्यहि and आसम्बरिक are irregularly formed.

The word फलेन्यहि: is formed by adding the affix इन्न to the verb मह and making the upapada end in the vowel ए. Thus फलानि गृह्याति = फलेन्यहि: 'the fruit-bearing i.e. a tree'.
The word अस्मार्थः: is formed by adding the augment मुद्र (m) to the upapada अस्म, and the affix हुः to the verb भूत्. Thus अस्मार् विनयिः = अस्मार्थः: ‘selfish’ (one who feeds his own self).

The word ‘and’ indicates that there are other such irregularly-formed words. As कृत्तिभरः: ‘gluttonous, selfish’ (eating to feed his own belly). उपर्मार्थः: ‘gluttonous, selfish’.

खुद्दिः वनसपनानि समान् || २७ || पद्यानि || खुद्दिः, वन-सन-रजि-मधान् (कर्मेषि, हनु) ||

वृत्ति: || वन सन संनतो, रत्न पालने, मध विलोकने, एवंभय: कर्मणुपये खुद्दिति विसयेष्य इन् प्रस्तयो भवति ॥

27. In the Vedic literature, the affix हुः comes after the verbs वन् ‘to honor’ सन् ‘to worship’ रत्न ‘to protect’ and मध् ‘to agitate’, when the object is in composition.

Thus श्रवणिः श्रवणदिनु (Vaj. San. I. 17., V. 12., VI. 3); रत्न नो जोगसिनिः (Rig. Ved. VI. 53. 10) वै वे रत्नसी पद्यर्गसी (Rig. Ved. X. 14. 11) इहन् यातुनमभवस पाराराइ हृदिर्मिः (Rig. Ved. VII. 104. 21).

एजे: खण्डः || २८ || पद्यानि || एजे: खण्डः (कर्मेषि) ||

वृत्ति: || एज एजने इराबसमाधू ग्न्यानाःकर्मणुपये खण्डयो भवति ॥

वासिष्ठः कर्मणु || खण्डयो वातुनमभवसीलेभ्वगच्छति तुजनमसीनाकृमसंस्थवान् ॥

28. The affix खण्डः comes after the verb एजः ‘to tremble’ when ending in एजः (III. 26.) and when the object is in composition with it.

This affix comes after the causative of एजः. Of the affix खण्डः the letters ख and श are indicator, the real affix is श. The ख indicates that the augment मुद्र is added to the upapada ending in a vowel (VI. 3. 67). The श indicates that this is a Sārvadhardtuka affix (III. 4. 113), and therefore the vikaraṇas like घुप् &c. (III. 1. 68.) will be employed here. Thus अज्ञस्मानजसी = अज्ञमेजायः (अज्ञः + एजः + शणः + खण्डः = अज्ञाः + एजः + अ + अ) ‘who awes the limbs’; जमेजायः ‘who awes mankind’.

Vart.—The affix खण्डः comes after the verbs अज्ञः ‘to go’, देवः ‘to suck’, सरः ‘to strike’, हा ‘to leave’ when in composition with the words यात्र ‘wind’, चहाः ‘a bitch’, चिन ‘sesamum’ and शाब्द ‘flatulence’. As दातायः: शुल्का: ‘swift antelopes’ (going with the wind); शुल्किनयः: ‘a bitch-sucker’; तिलितुः: ‘an oilman’; शाब्दः खण्डः नाना: ‘a kind of bean’ (that causes or cures flatulence). The long ह of शुल्का is shortened by VI. 3. 66.
The suffix खः comes after the verbs भा ‘to blow’ and धे ‘to suck’ when नासिका ‘nose’, and स्तन ‘breast’ are in composition with them as object.

The rule of यथासंक्यद as given in I. 3. 10 does not however, apply here. For स्तन is compounded with धे रस; as (स्तन + धे + खः = स्तन + मुम + धे + धे + खः = स्तन + मु + धे + रस + खः) = स्तनखः = ‘an infant’ (sucking the breast).

But नासिका is compounded with both भा and धे; as नासिका + भा + खः = नासिका + मु + धे + रस (VI. 3. 66 and 67; VII. 3. 78) = नासिकाधे = ‘blowing and breathing through the nose’. So also नासिकाधे: ‘drinking through the nose’.

That the rule of यथासंक्यद does not apply here, is indicated by the irregular construction of the Dvandva compound नासिकास्तनयो: By rule II. 2. 84. the word स्तन containing fewer syllables ought to have stood first; one irregularity lets in another.

The feminine of स्तनखः = स्तनखः, as the verb धे has an indicatory रस।

30. And when the words नासिका ‘a tube’ and मुड ‘fist’ are objects in composition with the verbs भा and धे, the affix खः is employed.

Here also the irregularly-formed Dvandva compound नासिकामुड shows the non-applicability of the rule of यथासंक्यद; for मुड being a धे ought to have stood first (II. 2. 32).

Thus नासिकाधे = ‘blowing through the tube’; मुडधे = ‘blowing through the fist’; नासिकाधे = ‘sucking through the tube’, an infant; मुडधे = ‘an infant’.

The word ‘and’ in the aphorism indicates that there are other words also so formed. Thus धे = ‘a mountain’.

This sutra is not Pāṇini’s, but is really a Vārtika, raised to the rank of a sutra by the author of the Kāśikā. The Vārtikakāra divides the last sutra in this way: (1) स्तन धे (2) ततो मुडी धे (3) नासिकाधे धे (4) नासिकामुडः धे.
31. The affix खङ्ग comes after the verbs र्जूँ 'to break into pieces' and वह 'to carry', when preceded by the upasarga उँ and the word कूल 'bank' is in composition with them as the object.

Thus कूलमुद्गजि = कूलमुद्गजि: 'breaking down banks' (such as a chariot, river, elephant, &c.); कूलमुद्गि: 'tearing up or carrying away the bank'.

32. The affix खङ्ग comes after the verb लिह 'to lick' when the object in composition with it, is the word वह 'the shoulder of an ox' or अव 'a cloud'.

As वहलिहिणोऽ 'the shoulder-licking cow'; अवलिहिणोऽ वाङ्ग 'the cloud-licking wind'.

33. The affix खङ्ग comes after the verb पँ 'to cook' when the object in composition with it denotes a measure.

Thus पँनमुखिणोऽ = पँनमयङ्ग 'a pot having the capacity to cook a prastha of food'; so also व्रतमुप्यङ्ग, खङ्गसिरिणोऽ 'a kettle'.

34. The affix खङ्ग is employed after the verb पँ, when लिह 'a measured partition' or वह 'a nail' is the word in composition with it as an object.

The aphorism has its scope when the words formed do not denote measures, which was the case in the last सूत्रa. Thus नित्ययङ्ग ब्राह्मणी 'the Brāhmaṇi who cooks a little i. e. a. niggardly Brāhmaṇi'; नङ्गसादः वाङ्गः 'the nail-scorching barley gruel'.

विच्छङ्गसीतिदुः: ॥ ३५ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ चितु-अहङ्गः, तुः; (कर्मणि, खङ्ग) ॥

Thus पदार्थि यङ्गसितः = पदार्थङ्गसितः 'the affix खङ्ग is employed after the verb पँ, when लिह 'a measured partition' or वह 'a nail' is the word in composition with it as an object.'
35. The affix खः comes after the verb वृ ः ‘to strike’, when विच ‘the moon’ or अक्स ‘a wound’ is the word in composition with it as object.

As विचुन्तु: राहु ‘the Rāhu that eclipses the moon’; बहन्तु: ‘corrosive, wounding the vital parts’. For the addition of the augment ःमृ after the word अक्स, see VI. 3. 67.

असूयःललाटेयोट्रृसित्यो: ः 36 | पदार्थि: असूयःललाटेयो:,
| त्रृसित्यो: (करमवि, सब) ।

36. The affix खः comes after the verb घः ‘to see’ and शः ‘to heat’ when असूयः and ललाटेयः are the words in composition with them respectively as objects.

Thus असूयः+घः+शः = असूयःग्रहणः; as असूयःग्रहणः राज्यम: ‘the king’s wives not even seeing the sun’ (being shut up in the harem, and so having no opportunity of seeing the sun, that is, they are so well protected that even the sun cannot see them, much less any irreverent gaze).

So also ललाटेयः ‘heating the fore-head’ (such as the sun).

The word असूयः is an incomplete or impossible compound, as the negative ः applies to the verb घः and not to the word शः. This is in opposition to the rule of samartha pada vidhi (II. 1. 2).

उपस्थयःस्वेदपरिशिल्यस्वः | 37 | पदार्थि: उपस्थयः
| ब्रम्हद-पाशिल्यस्वः; च ||

37. The words उपस्थयः, ब्रम्हद and पाशिल्यः are irregularly formed.


प्रशिल्य: वदः: खः | 38 | पदार्थि: प्रशिल्य: वदः: खः ||
38. The affix खच comes after the verb वहे `to speak' when विष or वहे is the word in composition with it as an object.

Thus विष वहने=विषवने: `who speaks kindly'; वहनेश: `who professes submission'.

Of the affix खच, the letters ख and च are indicatory; ख indicates the insertion of the augment मू (VI. 3. 37), and च shows that there is shortening of the vowel in certain cases (VI. 4. 94).

In the case of विष and वष with वहे, the affix खच would have given the same result as the affix खच. Making a separate affix in this sūtra is for the sake of the aphorisms that follow, where this affix will produce different effects than खच.

Vart.—The affix खच comes after the verb गम 'to go' when a word ending in a case-affix is in composition with it. As निषग्ने हस्ती `the slow-moving i.e. an elephant'; निषग्ना हस्तिनी `the slow-moving i.e. a she-elephant'.

Vart.—This affix comes under similar circumstances when the word in composition with गम is विहारस्त; and the letter is then replaced by the word विष. As विहारस्त गच्छति=विषग्नम: `a bird (that which goes through the sky)'.

Vart.—In the Vartiṣkas above given, the affix खच may optionally be considered as if it had an indicatory द. The force of द is to cause elision of the final vowel with what follows it. As विषग्न: or विषग्नम: `a bird'. So also मुज्ञग्न: or मुज्ञग्न: `a serpent' (what goes crookedly).

Vart.—विहारस्त is replaced by विष when the affix द (III. 2. 48) comes after the verb गम; as विषग्न: `a bird'. Thus we have three forms: विषग्न, विषज्ञ, विषज्ञम.

ढिगे यज्ञ: ॥ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ ढिग०-परयौः, ताते, ॥

(खच) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ ढिगे यज्ञ: कर्मणोपपदक्षेत्राय: । खचवस्त्यो भवति ॥

39. The affix खच comes after the verb लाप `to heat', when ढिग० or दाप is the word in composition with it as an object.

The verb लाप belongs both to Bhū and Chur classes. Both are meant in the sūtra. In the case of Bhvādi, the verb लापिष is the causative ending in छि of लाप; while in Churādi, all verbs take छि.

Thus ढिगे वाप तापवति=ढिगे वापवति: (VI. 4. 94) `one who destroys his enemies', so also दापल: `one who subdues his enemies, a hero'.
This affix however, will not apply when the above upapadas are in the feminine gender. In this case the general affix क्रणु will be employed; as द्रिप्ती लावयति = द्रिप्तीलावः।

वाचि यनो प्रते || ॥ ॥ पदार्थिन् || वाचि, यजः; प्रते, (खच्) ||

वृत्ति: वाकृशां वर्णस्याः वर्णेऽर्थायोऽसः खच्चासर्वत्याः भवति प्रते सम्बन्धाने ||

40. The affix खच् comes after the verb यथू ‘to curb’ when the word बाकृ ‘speech’ is in composition with it as object, and the sense indicated is that of a vow.

The word प्रत प्रत means a vow taken according to the rules of धर्मसास्त्र. Thus वाचिन मान भाले ‘he has taken the vow of rigid silence’.

Why do we say ‘vow’? Otherwise the form is वाचन: ‘restraining speech’ (VI. 3. 69).

पू: सवसेवीसर्वोपेक्षोः || ॥ ॥ पदार्थिन् || पू:–सवसेविः, दारिः-सद्वेः, (खच्) ||

वृत्ति: पुरि सर्व इत्यतयोऽवर्णासर्वेः सर्वोपेक्षाः वाचिनोपेक्षाः: खच्च्यासर्वोऽभवति।

वाचिनकृ: भगो च वाचिनेऽर्थायोऽसः भवति।

41. The affix खच् comes after the verbs शरि ‘to split’ and सर्व ‘to bear’ when respectively in composition with the words पुर ‘a city’ and सर्व ‘all’, as objects.

As पुरेः शरि बलस्वति = पुरार्थः: ‘name of Indra (who splits asunder cities)’ (VI. 3. 69 and VI. 4. 94); सर्वस्वेऽर्थायोऽसः राजा ‘the king who is all-forbearing’.

Vart.—So also when the word भग is in composition with the verb शरि; as भगनः: ‘a fistula in the anus’.

सवकृलादशकरिय्येव कष्ट: || ॥ ॥ पदार्थिन् || सव-कृल-अष्ट-करिय्येव, कष्ट:; (खच्) ||

वृत्ति: सर्व कृल अष्ट करिय्येव इत्यतयोऽवर्णासर्वेः करिय्येऽर्थायोऽसः खच्च्यासर्वत्याः भवति।

42. The affix खच् comes after the verb कष्ट ‘to rub’ when the words सर्व ‘all’, कृल ‘bank’, अष्ट ‘cloud’ and करिय्य ‘a dry cow-dung’, are in composition with it as object.

As सर्वकष्ट: खच्च: ‘a villain, a rogue’; कृलकष्ट: नहः ‘a river’; अष्टकष्ट: मिरि: ‘a mountain’; करिय्यकष्ट: वाल्या ‘a strong wind’
43. The affix खङ्चं comes after the verb कृ ‘to make' when the words खङ्च ‘cloud', क्रिजि ‘misfortune' and खङ्च ‘fear' are in composition as objects.

As नेवक्कर: ‘producing clouds'; कर्विकर: 'giving pain'; मवक्कर: ‘frightful'.

Vart.—The tadanta vidhi applies in the case of upapadas like भय. &c. This is an exception to the vārtika under I. i. 72. by which, in the case of affixes, tadanta-vidhi was prohibited. Thus we have भन्यकर: 'who cause s security'.

44. And the affix भय as well as खङ्च comes after the verb कृ ‘to make' when the words केम ‘happiness', खङ्च ‘pleasant' and खङ्च ‘joy' are in composition as objects.

The word 'and' denotes that the affix खङ्च is also to be included.

Thus केमकार: or केमकार: ‘propitious'; खङ्चकार: or खङ्चकार: ‘showing kindness'; मबकार: or खङ्चकार: ‘causing delight'.

The repetition of the affix भय, when its anuvṛtti could have been read into this sūtra by using the word भय ‘optionally', indicates that these words never take the affix भ of sūtra 20 though cause, habit, &c., may be denoted; so that the feminine of those words is formed by भ and not by भ; as भस्यार्थम्या: केमकार: ‘small beginnings lead to or cause prosperity'.

45. The affix खङ्चं comes after the verb न ‘to be' when in composition with the case-inflected word आशिष ‘satisfied by eating' and the sense is that of instrument or condition.

The word खङ्चित of sūtra 4 is understood here.
The affix "khach" comes after the following verbs when the words to be formed denote a name:—viz. भू ‘to bear’, रु ‘to cross over’, रु ‘to choose’, जि ‘to conquer’, घारि ‘to hold’, सह ‘to bear’, तवि ‘to heat’ and घम ‘to subdue’.

Both the words भूमिष्ठि and घुषि of शुद्र are understood here and should be applied as the occasion requires. Thus विक्रंसर ‘earth’ (that which supports all); रघुत्तर ‘the Rathantara Sāma’; पतिवार ‘a girl’ lit. (who is about to choose a husband); श्रावण: ‘an elephant’ lit. (who conquers the enemy); श्रुण: ‘a mountain’ or ‘the pole of a carriage to which the yoke is fixed’; भूदु: ‘Satrunasaha’ (withstanding an enemy); श्रावण: ‘Satrunatapa’ (destroying an enemy); भारिणम: ‘Arindama’ (victorious).

Why do we say ‘when denoting a name’? Observe कुरुम्भार: ‘he who supports his family’.

And the affix "khach" comes after the verb गम ‘to go’ when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, and when the word to be formed denotes a name.

As सुर्खतम: ‘Sutangama’. Though the verb गम could well have been included in the last aphorism, the separation serves the purpose of carrying the anuvṛtta of गम into the subsequent sutras.

Thus भावितमतव: meaning ‘food’, literally that by which one is satiated. भाविता भवति भोजन. Here the word denotes instrument. And भावितमतव: also means ‘satiety’, which denotes condition.
48. The affix द comes after the verb कु ‘to go’ when in composition with the following words as its objects:—अन्त ‘end’, अन्त्य ‘excessive’, अन्त ‘road’, सू ‘far’, पार ‘across’, सब ‘all’ and अन्त ‘endless’.

The anuvratti of the word संज्ञावम् does not extend to this. As अन्त्य: ‘having gone to the end, thoroughly conversant’; अन्त्य: ‘going too fast’; अन्त्य: ‘a way-farer’; सूरा: ‘going to a distant place’; पार: ‘completely familiar’; सब: ‘going everywhere, the Supreme Being’; अन्त्य: ‘going to infinity, moving for ever’.

Of the affix द the letter द is indicator, the real affix being द. The द indicates that the हिर portion of the word to which this is added, must be elided (VI. 4. 143); as अन्त्य + कु + द = अन्त्य + य + द (the हिर portion य of कु is elided). Now though the rule VI. 4. 143 says ‘when that which has an indicatory द, follows, there is elision of the हिर of a द’; yet in the present case, such elision takes place, although the word कु here is not one of those called द (I. 4. 18); because the presence of द as an indicatory letter must not be unmeaning.

Vart.—The द is also employed when the words in composition are सब ‘everywhere’ and पल ‘creeping’; as सबब: ‘Supreme Spirit’; पल: ‘snake.’

Vart.—So also when the word in composition is दस ‘breast’, and there is elision of its final. As दस + कु + द = दस: ‘moving on breast, a snake’.

Vart.—So also with the words सु ‘well’ and सू ‘bad’, when the resulting words denote location. As सुग: ‘that in which one goes easily, easy of access’. सूग: ‘difficult of access, a ford’.

Vart.—So also with the preposition निर, the word to be formed meaning country; as निर: ‘a country’.

Vart.—Others say, that this द is added when other words besides the above stand as upapadas. Thus स्थागरा: (स्थ + गर + कु + द) ‘who goes to the women’s compartment’; माना: ‘going to the village’; गुहतव्य: ‘who pollutes the bed of his guru’.

आशिषि हन: || द | पदांचि || आशिषि, हन: (द:) ||

कूंति: || आशिषि गमयवाचायो हन्तेतावतेत: कूंतिन्यप्यदे द पश्चिमेऽभवति ||
बालिकम् || सर्वायाहोऽपि नतव्य च द: संज्ञावम् ||
बालिकम् || चारोऽै ||
बालिकम् || कूंतिन्यप्ति समि च ||
49. The affix र comes after the verb हस्त ‘to kill’, when the object is in composition with it, and when benediction is intended.

The affix र is understood in this sūtra. Thus सिंब्विं वस्त्रात् = सिनिह: ‘may he kill the whale’; शालु: ‘may he kill the enemy’.

Why do we say ‘when benediction is intended’? Otherwise we have शालु: ‘who kills his enemy’.

Vart.—The affix अघ comes after the verb आह्न when the word शाह ‘wood’ is in composition with it, and the final letter of the word so formed is changed into र, when the word so formed denotes a name. As शाह आह्नितः = सार्याधात: (शाह+आह्न+अघ) ‘the wood-pecker’.

Vart.—So also optionally when the word चारु ‘beautiful’ is in composition under the circumstances detailed in the last vārtika: as चार्याधात: or चार्याधात:.

Vart.—So also, when the verb हस्त is preceded by the preposition सम्, and is in composition with a word in the objective case, the affix अघ is employed; and the final is replaced by र; as वर्णानां सहिष्ठति = वर्णसंघट: or वर्णसंघट: ‘the alphabet’; पदार्थ सहिष्ठति = पदसंघट: or पदसंघट: ‘connecting the words that are separated, an annotator’.

अपि क्षेत्रतस्माः: || 50 || पदार्थि || अपि, क्षेत्र-तस्माः:, (कष्म, हन;: रः:) िि

बृत्ति: || अपप्राप्तिः: क्षेत्रतस्माः: कर्मचारिण्यक्रियात्मक्यो मयि ||

50. The affix र comes after the verb हस्त ‘to kill’ when it is compounded with the prēposition अघ, and when the object in composition with it, is the word क्षेत्र ‘pain’ or रसस् ‘darkness’.

As, क्षेत्रपहः सुष्ण: ‘the pain-allayer i. e. the son’; समोपहः सुष्णः: ‘the darkness-destroyer i. e. the sun’.

This aphorism has its scope when the sense is not that of benediction.

कुमारश्रीरं चिन्यिः: || 51 || पदार्थि || कुमार-श्रीरं चिन्यिः:, शिनि:, (हन:) िि

बृत्ति: || कुमार श्रीरं इस्क्षेत्रतश्रीरपदः: हनोर्य्यिः: पश्चायो मयि ||

51. The affix लिनि comes after the verb हस्त ‘to kill’ when the word in composition with it is कुमार ‘a child’, or श्रीर ‘head’.
Thus कुमार + हन्न + गृहन् = कुमार + वाय + हन्न (VII. 3. 54, and VII. 3. 32) = कुमारपतिः लिङ्स nom. sing. कुमारपतिः ‘child-killer’. So also शीर्षपाठिन् nom. sing. शीर्षपाठिः ‘head-killer’.

The word शीर्ष is an irregular form of the word शिरस्.

लक्षणे जायापत्योपकक्षः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ लक्षणे, जाया-पत्योः;

टक् (हन्नः) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ हन्ते जायापत्योः: कर्मणि हुप्पहर्योलफ्योक्तपकसिरि टक्करोबो भवति ॥

52. The affix टक is an irregular form of the verb हन्न ‘to kill’ when it is in composition with the word जाया ‘wife’ or पति ‘husband’ as object, and when the word so formed denotes the agent possessed of that attribute (or when the word so formed denotes a mark).

The word लक्षण of this सूत्र gives rise to the doubt whether it means लक्षणी कर्त्तिरि or लक्षणान्तिरि कर्त्तिरि. In the former case the meaning will be ‘when the agent is itself the mark’; as जायापति: ‘a mole’ (a mark on the body indicative of the death of one’s wife). In the latter case the meaning will be ‘when the agent is possessed of the attribute denoted by the word’; as जायापति: ‘the murderer of his wife’; पति: ‘the murderer of her husband’.

Of the affix टक the letters ह and क are indiatory. The ह shows that the feminine is formed by ह, and क causing elision of the penultimate त्र of हन्न. Thus जाया + हन्न + टक = जाया + हन्न + श्र (VI. 4. 98) = जायापति: (VII. 3. 54).

अमनुष्यकर्त्रके च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ अ-मनुष्य-कर्तरः, च, (टक; हन्नः) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ अमनुष्यकर्त्रके वर्त्तमानावस्त्रवाति: कर्मणि हुप्पहर्यो टक्करोबो भवति ॥

53. And the affix टक is an irregular form of the verb हन्न ‘to kill’ when the object is in composition with it, and when the word to be formed denotes an agent other than a human being.

As जायापतिः कर्त्तककक्षः ‘the mole’ (literally that which indicates the death of one’s wife); पति: ‘the line of the palm of the hand’ (that which indicates the death of one’s husband). These two forms were deducible also from the last aphorism. एलिम्बपन्न मधु ‘honey’ (literally that which has the property of destroying the phlegm). विस्तृतम् पृष्ट ‘clarified butter’ (lit. that which destroys the bile).

Why do we say ‘when the agent is not a human being’? Observe भाषायां: पृष्ट: ‘a Sūdra’ (literally one who kills the mice). Here the affix is भाषा.
Why is the affix तक not employed in the following? जौरपाटो हस्ति: ‘an elephant’ (i.e. who kills a thief.) Here the word is formed by the affix क्रिया on the analogy of sūtra III. 3. 113 which allows a diversity in case of क्रिया affixes, which diversity is extended in this case to a क्रिया affix.

शक्ति हस्तिकाया(वा)दयो: II शुद्ध II पदार्थ II शक्ति, हस्ति-कपरा-(बा)दयो: ( हन: तक् ) II

वृत्ति: II शक्ति गन्धमानावा हस्तिकाया(वा)दयो: कर्मणोपपद्धोिं-िंटकमस्वच्छो भवति II

54. The affix तक comes after the verb हन् ‘to kill’ when the word in composition with it as its object is हस्ति ‘elephant’ or कपरा ‘gate’ and when the sense indicated is that of power.

This sūtra applies where the agent is a human being. As हस्तिन: हनन: शन्त्: = हस्तिकपरा: मनुष्य: ‘a man who is strong enough to kill an elephant’; so also कपरादयन: ‘a burglar’ (who is capable of breaking open the doors).

Why do we say ‘where power is indicated’? Observe विशेष हस्तिन हस्ति = हस्तिकपरा: ‘who kills the elephant by poison’. Here the affix is क्रिया.

पाणिक्षतारथो शिलिपिनि II शुद्ध II पदार्थ II पाणिक्ष-तारथो, शिलिपिनि II

वृत्ति: II पाणिक्ष तारथ इश्वरो शभ्यो निपाष्येति शिलिपिनि कर्ते,रि II

वास्तिकम् II राजघ उपस्थवान्नु II

55. The words पाणिक्ष and तारथ are irregularly formed when denoting an artificer.

These forms are thus evolved. The affix क is employed after the verb हन् in composition with पाणि ‘hand’ and तारा ‘a blow’ as object; then the ड portion of हन् i.e. अन् is elided, and ह is changed into र irregularly. Thus पाणि + हन् + क = पाणि + ह, + क = पाणि: ‘a drummer’ (workman or handicraftsman); तारा: ‘a smith’.


Vart.—The word राजघ: should be enumerated in this connection; राजघ: ‘a regicide’.

आद्भवसिदगसर्लूपलितनर्ताप्रियेिधूषा च्यायर्ष्यवस्त्रो (कश: करले खुल: पदार्थ II शुद्ध II पदार्थ II आद्भुत-सिद्ध-सूल-पलित-नरन-अन्ध-प्रियेिधूष, चित्र-अ-शेषु, अध्वी, कश: करले, खुल: पदार्थ II
56. The affix ख्युन, when the sense of the word to be formed is that of an instrumental agent, comes after the verb क ‘to make’, when the following words are in composition with it as objects:—आद्य ‘rich’, सुभग ‘fortunate’, ख्युन ‘big’, पिलित ‘grey’, नम ‘naked’, अन्य ‘blind’ and मित ‘pleasant’, provided that these words have the sense of the words formed by the affix ख्यव, though not actually ending in the affix ख्यव.

The affix ख्यव (V. 4. 50.) is added to a noun when it is in composition with the verbs भू ‘to become’, कृ ‘to make’ and अन ‘to be’; its force being that a thing attains to a condition in which it previously was not. The ख्यव being an optional affix, its sense is two-fold; namely, words ending in ख्यव and words not ending in ख्यव. Both may have the force of ख्यव. [In the present sūtra, however, the words that actually end in ख्यव have been excluded, while words which do not take the affix ख्यव, but have the force of ख्यव are included in the present sūtra.

Thus आद्य + कृ + ख्युन = आद्य + कर + अन = आद्य करण ‘that by the instrumentality of which the poor becomes rich, viz., wealth, prosperity, means of enriching’; सुभग करण ‘making happy’; ख्युन करण ‘by which one becomes big’; पिलित करण ‘rendering grey’; नम करण ‘making naked’; अन करण ‘making blind’; मित करण ‘showing kindness’.

Why do we say ‘when the force is that of the affix ख्यव’? Otherwise आद्य वैलेन कुर्लित i.e. अर्थनयन्ति ‘they anoint with oil’. Here though something is joined with what it previously was not joined, namely with oil, yet as the radical word is not prominent here, the sense is not that of ख्यव and hence this counter-example.

Why do we say ‘when not ending in the affix ख्यव’? Observe आद्य कुर्लित अनेन ‘they make rich by this’. Here the affix ख्युन is not employed.

It might be objected: ‘well if ख्युन is not used, then the affix ख्युद्र must be used (III. 3. 117) as there is no difference between ख्युन and ख्युद्र; both having the efficient portion खु; what is then the use of prohibiting ख्यव? We reply, because there is this prohibition, when the affix ख्युन is not employed the affix ख्युद्र will also not be employed. Thus by implication the affix ख्युद्र is also prohibited. The prohibition of ख्यव in this sūtra is for the sake of the aphorisms that follow.'
Pāṇijnī observes this prohibition as superfluous; because there is no distinction between स्वतः and स्वल्प. For the word formed by any one of these affixes have the same form and the same accent. Nor there is any distinction in the feminines of their derivatives. For the word formed by नम्, स्नम्, देव, अक्षर, and खल्लि take है in the feminine as well as the words तुम् and तलन्. Nor there is any distinction in their samāsas. For in both the cases it will be nitya saṃśa. Nor is the prohibition made for the sake of the augment मुः. For it being an indeclinable, मुः cannot come after it. The prohibition therefore is of no use to this sūtra but it is inserted here for the sake of the following sūtras.

कर्तरि भुवः, खिंच्छुच्छुक्तरी ( आद्यादिपु )।

चूँकि:। आवधादिपु सुन्तन्तरपदेषु द्विधयः। प्रभर्याद्विरातः। कर्तरि कारके खिंच्छुच्छुक्तरी। स्युः इत्यती प्रत्ययो भवति।।

57. The affixes खिंच्छु and खुक्त्र, when the word to be formed denotes an agent, come after the verb मृ 'to become', when it is in composition with words आद्य एवं, provided that these have the sense of the words formed by the affix द्विस्व though not ending in द्विस्व.

Thus आद्यभाविष्य: 'becoming rich (who was not rich before)'; आद्य-मन्त्रम्: 'becoming rich'; सुमन्त्रविष्य: or -आद्य: 'becoming happy'; स्मृत्तमन्त्रविष्य: or -आद्युक: 'becoming big'; प्रखर्याविष्य: or -आद्युक: 'becoming grey'; निर्निर्मलविष्य: or -आद्युक: 'becoming naked'; अन्यायविष्य: or -आद्युक: 'becoming blind'; मिश्रयविष्य: or -आद्युक: 'becoming an object of affection, amiable'.

Why do we say 'when denoting the agent'? Not so when it denotes the instrument. The affixes will apply when the sense of the upapada is that of द्विस्व, otherwise not; as आद्य भविता 'he will be rich'.

These affixes will not apply when the upapada ends in द्विस्व; आद्यी भविता।

58. The affix किन्त्र comes after the verb स्मृत्र 'to touch', when it is in composition with a case-inflected word other than ज्वरक 'water'.

By sūtra 4 of this chapter, the anuvṛtti of the word सुमि is to be read into this sūtra. It might be objected 'why do we not read the anuvṛtti of the word किन्त्र instead of सुमि, because the verb स्वस्त्र is a transitive verb, and after
such verbs, the anuvritti of कर्म ought to come by sūtra 4’? To this we say there is no harm in reading the anuvritti of शुचि in this case; because the word कर्तरि of the last sūtra is also, in a way understood here, and indicates the collection of all sorts of agents whether objects, instruments &c., and this can only be when the first member of the compound is a word in general.

Thus पुत्रं स्त्राति = पुत्रस्निति, nom. sing. पुत्रस्तुक् ‘he who touches clarified butter’. स्तुसु + किन् + सु = स्तुग् + द्रि + ० (VI. 1. 68) = स्तुक् + ० (VI. 1. 67, and VIII. 2. 62). So also मन्नन्द्रिणि स्त्राति = मन्नन्द्रिणक् ‘who touches with hymns’; जलं स्त्राति = जलस्तुक् ‘who touches with water’. But उवकेन स्त्राति = उवकेप्रि; here we have the general affix अण्.

The न of किन् is to distinguish this affix from affixes like हिप्प &c. For, had it been merely कि, then in sūtra VIII. 2. 62, we should have used कि परस्यस्य क्रु; and it would have been ambiguous, for कि might be explained as meaning both कि and हिप्प, as क्रु means क्रुप, क्रुप &c. To remove this ambiguity, न is added to make a distinctive affix. The न cannot be for the sake of accent. (VI. 1. 117), the verb being monosyllabic would of itself have taken that accent.

The first five words are irregular forms. Thus कठु + जग + किन् = कठिकक् ‘he who performs sacrifice in the season (सत्री) or to the season (सत्रूम). This word, however is a कठि word in which it is fruitless to search for its etymological meaning. ध्रुप + किन् = ध्रुक्र. Here there is reduplication and the final has acute accent. लघु + किन् = लघृ. Here there is augment अन्. ध्रु + किन् = ध्रिक. So also उत्र + किन्, + किन् = उस्त्रक्र. All these are in fact crude nouns, their current meaning having little traces of their root meaning.

The affix किन् comes after the three roots ध्रु, अध्रु, and कुष्ठ. Being read along with the five above-mentioned irregularly-formed words, there is some irregularity in the application of किन् to these verbs. Thus the affix किन् comes after अध्रु only when a word ending with any case-affix precedes it in composition. As म + अध्रु + किन् = माध्रु nom. sing. माध्रु (VI. 4. 24; VII. I. 70, VIII. 2. 23 and 62) ‘east’; so also प्रस्त्रह ‘west’; उद्ध ‘north’.

59. The words कस्त्रिक ‘a domestic priest’, हस्त्रुक् ‘impudent’, प्रक् ‘a garland’, विक् ‘a direction’ and विभिक् ‘a quatrain’ are irregularly formed by adding the affix किन्; and so also after the verbs अध्रु ‘to worship’, युति ‘to join’ and कुष्ठ ‘to approach’, the affix किन् is employed.
The affix क्रि् comes after युज्य and क्रे् when these are uncombined. Thus युज्य+क्रि्=युज्. In nominative singular, युज्य+तु = युज्य+तु (VII. 1. 71) = युज्य+तु (VI. 1. 68) = युज्य (VIII. 2. 62) ‘who joins’. When the root युज्य in composition with an upapada, it takes the affix क्रि् (see sutra 61). As अभ्युक् ‘yoked with horses’.

So also क्रे्+क्रि् = क्रे्, nom. sing. क्रे्, ‘a curlew’. The non-elision of the म (VI. 4. 24) of क्रे् is an irregularity, as this word has been taught in connection with other irregular words.

60. And the affix क्र् comes after the verb ह्र्ष, ‘to see’ when it is in combination with स्था् &c. and does not signify perception.

The force of ‘and’ is that the क्रि् also comes under similar circumstances. स्था् &c. are pronouns, for a list of which see I. 1. 27. Thus स्था् (VI. 1. 58) nom. sing. स्था्, ‘such-like’ when it is formed by क्रि्; and स्था्: ‘such-like’ when the affix is क्र्. So also तत्+ह्र्ष+क्रि्=ह्र्ष (VI. 3. 91) nom. sing. ह्र्ष (VI. 1. 68, VIII. 2. 36 and 62, VIII. 4. 56); and ह्र्ष: when क्र् is the affix. So ह्र्ष or ह्र्ष: ‘what-like’.

What is the force of the letter म of क्र्? It is for the sake of accent; the udatta is on the first syllable of those words which are formed by an affix having an indicative म or न् (VI. 1. 117). But the indicatory म would have given the same accent, there being no difference between क्र् and क्र् in this respect. The indicatory म then serves only the purpose of distinguishing the affix क्र् from क्र् in sūtra IV. 1. 15 in which क्र् is taken and not क्र्. Had we not formed this separate affix, then for क्र् the sūtra, we should have read क्र् क्र् so that the feminine of words formed by क्र् would have also taken long ह्, so that the feminine of यावकः (याव+क्र् V. 4. 29) would have been यावक् instead of यावका्.

Why do we say ‘when not signifying perception’? See सं प्रयत् = तद्येय: ‘who sees that’. The words स्थावृक्, स्थावृच &c. are crude nouns, in which the etymological sense of the root not being visible, the act of seeing can never be denoted by these words.

Vart.—This rule applies also when the words समत and अनत्य are in composition with धृष्ट, ‘As सुहृष्ट or सहृष्ट: ‘like’(समा्+धृष्ट+क्र्=त+धृष्ट VI. 3. 89); so also अन्याद्वृष्ट: or अन्यावृष्ट् ‘of another kind’.
61. The affix क्ष्य comes after the following verbs when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, though it may be an upasarga, viz:—सत्कु ‘to sit’, दू ‘to bring forth’, दृष्ट ‘to hate’, दृष्ट ‘to bear malice’, दृष्ट ‘to milk’, दृष्ट ‘to join’, ‘to concentrate the mind’, दृष्ट ‘to know’, ‘to become’, ‘to consider’, दृष्ट ‘to divide’, दृष्ट ‘to cut’, दृष्ट ‘to conquer’, दृष्ट ‘to lead’ and दृष्ट ‘to shine’.

The phrase ‘the word ending with a case-affix’ is understood in this sūtra. The anuvṛtti of क्ष्य is not to be taken in this sūtra for the same reasons as in sūtra 58 ante. The upasargas are also words ending in a case-affix i.e. they are also subanta words. Their special mention in this section, indicates by implication (jñāpaka) that wherever in the previous sūtras, the word subanta (a case-inflected word) is used, it does not include an upasarga (III 1. 106).

The root दृष्ट being read in conjunction with दृष्ट shows that क्ष्य class verb is meant here, and not दृष्ट class. The verb दृष्ट includes, both दृष्ट ‘to join’ and दृष्ट ‘to concentrate one’s mind’. The verb दृष्ट includes the three verbs having the sense of ‘to know’, ‘to become’ and ‘to consider’, but does not include the verb दृष्ट ‘to gain’, because that root has an indicatory दृ (विवर्ण) while all these verbs have indicatory न.

Thus, सत्कु—शुष्टिष्ट ‘dwelling in purity’; अन्तर्वसवसव ‘dwelling in the skies’, ‘epithets of Brahma’ (Kath. 5. 2); उसखु ‘serving’. दृष्ट ‘oviparous’; दृष्ट ‘bringing forth hundred’; दृष्ट ‘parent’. दृष्ट ‘treacherous’; दृष्ट ‘hostile’. दृष्ट ‘treacherous’; दृष्ट ‘hostile’ (VIII 2. 37). दृष्ट ‘cow-milk’; दृष्ट ‘milk’ (VIII 2. 32 and 37). दृष्ट ‘carriage’; दृष्ट ‘impulse’. दृष्ट ‘knower of Veda’; दृष्ट ‘knower’; दृष्ट ‘knower of Brahma’. दृष्ट ‘wood-cutter’; दृष्ट ‘cutter’. दृष्ट ‘ropemaker’; दृष्ट ‘cutter’. दृष्ट ‘a cutter’. दृष्ट ‘enemy-conqueror’; दृष्ट ‘conqueror’. दृष्ट ‘leader of an army’; दृष्ट ‘a leader’. दृष्ट दृष्ट ‘head-borough’; दृष्ट ‘first’. (Why is there cerebral दृ in these words? Because the word दृष्ट has a cerebral दृ in
This sūtra is a continuation and expansion of sūtras 75 and 76 sup.

62. The affix ग्य्य comes after the verb ग्य्य 'to share' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix whether it be an upasarga or not.

The words 'upasarga' and 'supi' are understood in this sūtra. As अहं भजम् = अहंभजम् nom. sing. अहंभजम् 'sharing a half'. So also when in composition with a preposition; as भजम् 'division'.

व्यस्ति सहः || द्य || पदार्थ || बहः, औपवगः, असि, सुपि, खलः ||

63. In the Chhandas, the affix ग्य्य comes after the verb ग्य्य 'to bear' when it is in composition with a word ending in a case-affix.

The words 'upasarga' and 'supi' are understood here. As सुरः तस्य ग्य्य = तस्यनामः nom. sing. सुराशा नाम 'name of Indra'. The dental ग्य्य is changed into cerebral ग्य्य by VIII. 3, 56, and the ग्य्य into क्य्य by VIII. 2, 31. The final ग्य्य of सुर is lengthened by VI. 3, 137. See Rig. Veda. I. 175. 2, III. 48. 5.

बहः || द्य || पदार्थ || बहः, ग्य्य, (बहः, खलः, खलः) ||

64. The affix ग्य्य comes after the verb ग्य्य 'to carry', in the Chhandas, when a word ending with a case-affix is in composition with it.

As प्रायत्तवः 1st sing. प्रायत्तवः 'carrying a prashtha measure'; so, बिल्लवः.

The division of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvṛtti of बहः only is carried and not of सहः. See Yajur, Veda. XIV. 10, XVIII. 26.

कव्यपुरोषपूरिष्यवः ज्यहः || द्य || पदार्थ || कव्य-पुरोष-पूरीष्यवः,

ज्यहः, (बहः, खलः, खलः) ||

65. In the Chhandas the affix ज्यहः comes after
the verb वह when it is in composition with the words कथ्य ‘oblation of food to deceased ancestors’, पुरी ‘fæces’ and पुरीश्य ‘water’.

As कथ्यवाहन: पितायाम् (Yajur. Ved. II. 29) ‘fire that carries the oblation to the pîtris’; पुरीवाहन: ‘carrier of water’; पुरीश्यवाहन: (Yaj. Ved. XI. 44). The feminine of these words is formed by adding long हे।

हथ्येनलत:पादम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हथ्ये, अनल:-पादम्;
(छन्सि, वहः; छुट्ट)॥
बृति: \|
हथ्यावणे उपपायाः छन्सि विषये वहेचाँतोष्युद्धुर्वस्यो भवति, अनल:-पादम् छहेचिः
\|}

66. The affix छुट्ट comes in the Chhandas, after the verb वह ‘to carry’ when it is in composition with the word हथ्य ‘an oblation to gods’, provided that the word so formed does not occur in the middle of a pāda (fourth part of a stanza).

As अविशय हथ्यवाहन: ‘fire, the carrier of oblation to the gods’. (Rig. Ved. I. 44. 2).

When this word occurs in the middle of a pāda, or at the beginning, the form is हथ्यवाद, which is derived by adding the affix छिट्ट (sūtra 64). As हथ्यवादगरजः: बिता न ‘the never-decaying agni or fire that carries oblation to the gods, is our father’. (Rig. Veda. III. 2. 2.)

जनवसन्नन्दकस्लेष्टि बिटः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जन-सन-खन-
क्रम-गमः; बिटः (छन्सि, उपपायः)॥
बृति: \| नवासिर्य: धातुः; सुवासिर्य: उपपाये छन्सि विषये बिट्टस्यो भवति \|

67. The affix बिटः (the whole of which is elided) comes in the Chhandas after the verbs जन ‘to be born’, सन ‘to bestow’, खन ‘to dig’, क्रम ‘to pace’ and गम ‘to go’, when a word ending in a case-affix is in composition, and the final nasals are changed into लं.

The words छन्सि, उपपायः and सुपि are understood in this sūtra. The verb जन includes two verbs meaning ‘to be born’ and ‘to happen’; so also सन means both ‘to give’ and ‘to worship’.

Of the affix बिटः the letter ह is indicatory, and is qualifying, as in VI. 4. 41, by which rule the final nasal of जन, सन &c. is replaced by long ल when the affix बिटः follows, and the whole affix is elided by VI. 1. 67.
As अर्थे + जन्तु + विद्य = भक्तिः (Rig. Ved. VII. 34. 16) 'born in water' (VI. 4. 41); गीताः: 'born in the heaven i.e. God' (Rig. Veda IV. 40. 5). So also from मनः—गीताः: 'acquiring or bestowing cows' (VIII. 3. 108); गीताः इति नृत्य भक्तिः 'O Indra bestower of cows! thou art lover of mankind' (Rig. Veda IX. 2. 10). From खंसृ—विस्कल्प: 'digger of lotus stalk'; कुपल्प: 'digger of well'. From क्रमः—निविंदिः: 'who gets milk' (Rig. IV. 39. 1 and 40. 5). From नमः—अनुविंदिः उज्जवलाः 'the leader'.

अनुविंदिः || हेन्द्र || पदातिः || अद्व, अनुविंदिः, (सुपि, विद्य) || 

पूर्व: || अनुविंदिः नमः सुन्यपति विद्यपति भक्तिः ||

68. The affix विद्य comes after the verb अद्व, 'to eat,' when in composition with a case-inflected word other than अद्व 'food'.

The anuvṛtti of the word 'Chhandasi' does not extend to this sūtra. Thus अनुविंदिः = अद्व, अद्व 'eating raw food'; श्रावन्ति 'granivorous'.

But with अद्व as an upapada, we have अद्व 'eating food', which is formed by the general affix अद्व (III 2.1.)

क्रमः च || हेन्द्र || पदातिः || क्रमः, च, (अद्व, विद्य) || 

पूर्व: || क्रमः च विद्य: अद्व, अद्व, विद्य: भक्तिः ||

69. The affix विद्य comes after the verb अद्व, 'to eat,' when the word क्रमः is in composition with it.

As अनुविंदिः = अनुविंदिः 'carnivorous'.

Why has it been made a separate sūtra, when this form could have been obtained by the last sūtra also? To this the vārttika replies: 'This has been made a separate sūtra in order to indicate that the rule of प्रकाश (III. 1. 94) does not apply here. Therefore the affix अद्व will not apply in the alternative. If the affix अद्व does not apply, how then we get the form क्रमः which is evidently formed by the affix अद्व?' The affix अद्व comes after the root when the word formed means the eater of meat which has been cut, dressed and cooked; thus क्रमः: means a man who eats meat, cooked and prepared, i.e. a meat-eater as opposed to a vegetarian, while क्रमः means an animal which eats raw flesh; the word क्रमः: in fact may be regarded as an irregular form falling under प्रकाश class of sūtra VI. 3. 109.

देहः क्रमः || 50 || देहः, क्रमः, च, (सुपि) || 

पूर्व: || देहः च सुपि: सुन्यपति क्रमः विद्य: भक्तिः पकाशादानाः ||

70. The affix क्रमः comes after the verb देह 'to milk' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix and the letter च replaces its final.
As कामुक्य चेतन्: ‘a milch cow, giving abundance of milk’; so also भर्तेवह, प्रमुथपपा।

संग्रहे शेतवहलोक्यशुरोरोडागौ चिन्य्। ॥ ३९ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ संग्रहे,
शैतवह-लक्ष्यशुरोरोडागौ, चिन्य्।

पूर्वत: ॥ शेतवह लक्ष्यशुर पुरोडागौ हस्तेवहो चिन्यः प्रत्ययो भवति सम्भे चिन्येऽः ॥
वासिंकम् ॥ शेतवहस्तैः इस्वाक्षेत्यब्ध्यत ्।

71. In the Mantra literature, the affix चिन्य् comes after the words शेतवह, उक्ष्यशुर and पुरोडागौ।

The above words contain both the verb and the upapada; the fact of their being so given indicates that there is some irregularity in the application of the suffix.

Thus the suffix चिन्य् comes after the verb वह, preceded by the upapada चेत as denoting an agent, while the force of the whole word so formed denotes an object. As चेतवत् एवं वहनिः = चेतवाहः, nom. sing. चेतवण्: ‘a name of Indra’ (whom white horses carry).

The suffix चिन्य् is applied to the verb शान्त् ‘to praise’ when preceded by the word उक्ष्य as object or instrument; and then the nasal is irregularly dropped. As उक्ष्यान्ति उक्ष्यशैलेऽ संवतिः = उक्ष्यशाहा, nom. sing. उक्ष्यशा: (Rig. Ved. II. 39. 1.) ‘a reciter of hymns, the name of the sacrificer’.

The चिन्य् is applied after the verb शार्वृ ‘to give’, preceded by पुरो, and वह is changed into द, the force of the whole word denoting an object. As पुरो शार्वृत् एवं = पुरोशा, nom. sing. पुरोशः: (Rig. Ved. III. 28. 2) ‘an offering’.

Vart:—The augment दस्तु is added to the words शेतवाहः &c., when the pada affixes follow. Thus before pada terminations शेतवाहः becomes शेतवाहः।

Therefore its Instrumental dual is शेतवाहः, pl. शेतवाह्यः।

The augment दस्तु is not applied before सर्वनामस्त्यान and न terminations. As शेतवाह्यः, शेतवाहः।

अयो यजः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ अयो, यजः, (चिन्य्, मन्त्रे)।

पूर्वत: ॥ अयो जयप्रस्वयादिग्लावम्भयो भवति मन्त्रे चिन्येऽः ॥

72. In the Mantra literature, the affix चिन्य् comes after the verb यजः ‘to sacrifice’ when in composition with the word अयो।

As अयो, nom. sing. अयो: (Rig. Ved. I. 173. 12) ‘name of a Vedic priest’; as एवं यजः वहायावत्यांनया अति ‘Thou art the priest of Varuṇa in the sacrifice’.

The division of this aphorism from the last in which it could have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent śūtras in which the anuvṛtti of यजः
only runs. This word is thus declined:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st. अवदाः</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>अवदानी</td>
<td>अवदाजः</td>
<td>अवदाजः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. अवदां</td>
<td>अवदाणी</td>
<td>अवदाणी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. अवदाः</td>
<td>अवदायाः</td>
<td>अवदायाः</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

विष हृद्विषि ॥ २५ ॥ पद्यनि ॥ विच्, उपे, ह्रद्विषि ॥

२६. The affix विच comes after the verb जज when उप precedes, in the Chhandas.

As उपयज्ञिसति सहस्रि बहुसं 'they carry it up with the उपयज्ञ formulars'. उपयज्ञ is the name of eleven formulas at a sacrifice.

The word 'Chhandas' has been repeated here though the anuvṛtti of the word 'mantra' was present in it, in order to include the Brāhmaṇa literature also.

The ० is indicatory and is useful in including the affix विच in the larger group called वि (which includes हि, कि, वि, वि, वि), as in the sūtra वैरूपाक्ष्य (VI. 1. 67).

Why has this sūtra been made, since the affix विच would have been valid even by aphorism ७५? The sūtra has been separately made to show that it is a restrictive rule here. The form उपयज्ञ is found in the Chhandas only, and not in the ordinary literature.

आतो सचिनकनिष्ठवनिपुष्ट ॥ २६ ॥ पद्यनि ॥ आतो, सचिन-कनिप्य-वनिप; च, (ह्रद्विषि, सुपि, विचि) ॥

२७. आकारान्तोऽस्य भाद्रः सुंदपपुपे ह्रद्विषि विपण्य मनि अनिनपु वनिप इस्में प्रथम भवनि चकरार्धिनिप ॥

७४. The affixes मनिनु(मन), कनिपु(बन), वनिपु(बन) and विचि come in the Chhandas, after verbs which end in long भा, when a case-inflected word or an upasarga is in composition.

The force of 'and' is to include विचि. Thus सुधा + मनिनु = सुधामनु, 1st. sing. सुधामा (Rig. VI. 20. 7) 'one who gives liberally'; अर्थ + स्था + मनिनु = अर्थस्थामानु, 1st. sing. अर्थस्थामा 'the name of Asvatthāman'; सुधा + कनिरु = सुधी + बन (VI. 4. 66) = सुधीवन, 1st. sing. सुधीवा 'having good understanding'; सुधा + कनिपु = सुधीवन, 1st. sing. सुधीवा 'a good drinker'. भूरि + त + वनिप = भूरिवनि, 1st. sing. भूरिवनि (Rig. II. 27. 17) 'liberal'; युज्ञानि, 1st. sing. युज्ञाया (Yaj. VI. 19) 'ghee-drinker'.

The affix विचि is also included in this aphorism. As कोलाज्ज + पा + विचि = कोलाज्ज पाः (Rig. X. 91. 14) 'rectar-drinker'; सुमन्वा (Rig: IV. 3. 6. and Pāṇini VII.

अत्यःध्यायोपि दृश्यते || ७५ || पदार्थि || अत्यःध्यायो, अपि, दृश्यते, (समन्त्, क्रियापि, वनिप्, विच्) ||

वृत्ति: || अत्यःध्यायो धातुयो नाकारान्ते यो मनिन् वनिप् वनिप् इस्थे मृथ्या दृश्यते, विच् ||

75. These affixes viz. मनिन्, वनिप्, वनिप्, and विच् are seen after other verbs also besides those ending in long आ.

The word दृश्यति is not understood here. As सु + भृ ‘to injure’ + मनिन् = सुपर्मिन्, 1st. sing. सुशामि ‘who destroys well i.e. destroys sin or ignorance’. पात्र+इ ‘to go’ + क्रियापि = पात्र+इ + क्रियापि (VI. 1. 71) = पात्रिक्षित्, 1st. sing. पात्रिक्षित ‘who goes early’. बि+जन् + वनिप् = बि + जान्ति + वनिप् (VI. 4. 41) = भिजापर्न, 1st. sing. भिजापर्न ‘who brings forth’. अविया गाया ‘who goes before’. रिप् + विच् = रिप् (VII. 3. 86) 1st. sing. रिप् ‘who injures’; as in रिप-संहिता यथा (Yajur. Ved. VI. 18).

The word ‘also’ in this aphorism has the force of removing all conditions under which these affixes were employed in the previous aphorisms, that is to say, these affixes come even when there is no upapada. अविया, भिजापर्न.

The words ‘are seen’ in this sūtra show that all verbs do not admit of these affixes indiscriminately. It is only when we see a particular form that we can infer the existence of these affixes.

क्रिया च || ७६ || पदार्थि || क्रिया च ||

वृत्ति: || सर्वंधातुः सोपपपको नंपपपको श्रुतिः भाषायाम्य श्रुतिः श्रुतिः भविष्यति ||

76. And the affix क्रिया is also seen after all verbs, whether having an upapada or not in the Vedic as well as in the modern Sanskrit.

As उपासना: उपासना (VI. 4. 24) ‘falling from the pot’; पृथ्विः ‘falling from the leaves’; भाषा, भृति = भाषा (VII. 1. 37). भाषा, प्रभुति ‘falling from a car’. The है is long by VI. 3. 137. See Rig. Ved. I. 3. 8.

स्य: क च || ७७ || पदार्थि || स्य: क, च, (सुचि, उपस्य), क्रिया च ||

वृत्ति: || स्या इस्थेष्वत्सामान्ते कुपपपको कक्ष्यावधार्मितिः क्रिया च ||

77. The affixes क and क्रिया come after the verb स्या when it is in composition with a word ending in a case-affix or an upasarga.

Why has this aphorism been made, when by rule III. 1. 4, स्या would have taken क and by rule III. 1. 75, it would have taken क्रिया also? This repetition is for the purpose of prohibiting the prohibition, that is to say, the
sūtra III. 2. 14 prohibited the sūtra III. 2. 4, and the present sūtra removes that prohibition. Thus शत्रु: and शंक्य:। But for this sūtra, this form could not have been evolved; for, with the upapada श्रम, the verb स्थवि would have taken the affix अष्व by III. 2. 14.

78. When habit is to be expressed, the affix एष्टि comes after a verb, provided the word with a case-affix in composition with it, does not mean a genus.

Thus उपध + भूष + एष्टि = उपधमोजिन, 1st. sing. उपधमोजिनी `who eats his meal hot'. So also श्रीतमोजिन &c.

Why do we say `when it does not mean a genus'? Witness ब्राह्मणानामप्रसादिता the inviter of Brāhmaṇas. We cannot form ब्राह्मणानामप्रसादिता.

Why do we say `when habit is to be expressed'? Witness उपध भूषके कहासिद, `he sometimes eats hot'.

Though the anuvṛtti of the word `supi' was understood in this aphorism, its repetition here declares that upasargas are not included. This is contested by the author of the Siddhānta Kaumudi. According to him this affix comes even with upasargas. As भूषनविन, भूषनविन, भूषनविन, &c.

Vart.—The verb भवि in composition with the prepositions उत्त or विति should be enumerated as taking this affix. As उधासिद, fem. उधासिदी, 1st. plural उधासिदिरस्त्र:। So also प्रशसारिदी, pl. प्रशसारिदिरिश्च:।

Vart.—So also when the sense is `having skill in such and such action'. As साधुकारी `excellent worker'; साधुकारी `giving liberally'.

Vart.—So also after the verb वह preceded by प्राह. As प्राहविदि in प्राहविदिनो वहति the knowers of Brahma say.'

79. The affix एष्टि comes after a verb when it is in composition with a word denoting an object of comparison, expressing the agent, the sense of the affix being `doing something like that', that is to say, when the
upapada agent is the standard of comparison of the agent
denoted by the word to which the sense of the affix re-
fers.

Thus उद्ध्रव क्रियालि = उद्ध्रवक्रियाश्रव्य, 'who makes a noise like a camel'; अभिन्न-
राविण्य 'who makes a noise like a crow'.

This sūtra applies where ‘habit’ is not indicated: or where ‘genus’ is
denoted in opposition to the last aphorism.

Why do we say ‘when expressing the agent’? Witness as अपूर्णाविन अन्ययति नामान्, ‘he eats māska like apāpā’. Here अपूर्ण is object and not agent, and
hence no composition takes place.

Why do we say ‘denoting a standard of comparison’? Otherwise there
will be no composition. As उद्ध्रव: क्रियालि ‘the camel makes noise’. For the
accents of these words, see VI. 2. 80.

र्तेत || ६२ || पदाति || र्तेत, (चातात:) सुपिन, शिष्नि:) ||

बुद्धि: II र्तेत गम्यमाने सुन्तम उपप्रेत चातातीनि:प्रववयो भवति ||

80. The affix शिष्नि comes after a verb, in com-
position with a word ending in a case-affix.

The word र्तेत means a ‘vow’ as regulated and ordained by the Scrip-
tures. This condition ‘when vow is expressed’ applies to the completed
word, that is to say, when the complete word made up of the root, the upapada,
and the affix, denotes a vow. As स्थानिल्गाविन ‘the vow of sleeping on bare
ground (and nowhere else) or a person who has taken this vow’. अभिन्नासिति
‘who has vowed not to eat during the performance of a Saṇḍha ceremony.

Why do we say ‘when vow is to be expressed’? Otherwise there is
no composition. As स्थानिल्गा श्येते शेषत्तु: ‘Devadatta sleeps on bare ground’.

This sūtra is also an exception to III. 2 78 applicable when habit is
not meant, or when genus is to be expressed.

बहुलसाभीशये || ६३ || पदाति || बहुलम् आभीशये, (शिष्नि:) ||

बुद्धि: II आभीशये गम्यमाने धातोबेगुन्य शिष्निमस्तवयो भवति ||

81. The affix शिष्नि comes after a verb diversely
when continued repetition of an action is to be expressed.

The word आभीशय �means continued repetition, that is to say, zealous
practice or assiduous performance of anything, but does not mean habit. As
अभाववायिणि: गान्यान: ‘the people of Gāndhāra are kashāya drinkers’. कवम+ 
+पि+शिष्नि = कवम +पि+युक्त+शिष्नि (VII. 3. 33). So also स्तीर्थाविषय उद्दीनारा: 'the
people of Usināra are milk-drinkers'. सारवार्याविणि: बग्नकार: ‘the people of
Bāhlika are sauvira-drinkers’.

By using the word ‘diversely’ in the sūtra, this affix is not applied in
other places, as in the following: —कुल्मापालव: ‘a grain eater’.
The affix क्ष नि comes after the verb गन् 'to think' when there is a word with a case-affix in composition with it.

The word 'supi' is understood in this sūtra. As श्रावणीयमानी 'who thinks himself handsome'; श्रावणीयमानी 'who thinks himself beautiful'.

The verb गन् belonging to the 4th conjugation is taken here and not that belonging to the 8th conjugation; because the anuvṛtti of the word 'diversely' is understood here. In the present aphorism, whether we take the Divādi or Tanādi गन् the resulting form would be the same, namely मानिन्.

But not so in the next aphorism, where before the affix खम् there would be difference of form owing to the vikaraṇa, i.e., in the 4th conjugation खम् would be added, but not so if the verb belonged to the 8th class.

And the affix खम् comes after the verb गन् 'to think' when the word in composition with it is a word with a case-affix, and when it is employed to signify thought, whereof the object is self (the sense of the affix being 'thinking himself as such').

The word आगमान means thinking of one's own self. By the word 'and' it is meant that the affix क्ष नि may be employed in the same sense. This rule applies where the agent, indicated by the sense of the affix, thinks himself possessed of the qualities of 'handsomeness' &c., denoted by the upapada. As श्रावणीयमान्य: or श्रावणीयमानी 'who thinks himself handsome'; पपिन्तमान्य: or पपिन्तमानी 'who thinks himself learned'.

Why do we say 'when employed to signify thought whereof the object is self'? Witness श्रावणीयमानी ब्रह्मचर्य वेदवस्त: 'Yajñadatta is thought handsome-by Devadatta.

Of the affix खम् the letter ख causes मुष्ठ augment by VI. 3. 66; and मुष्ठ makes it a sarvadhātuka affix, which brings in the proper vikaraṇas. The affixes so far treated of are applicable in all tenses. The others that follow denote some particular time.
84. All the affixes to be treated of hereafter should be understood to come in the sense of past time.

The phrase 'with the sense of past time' is an adhikāra or governing aphorism and exerts its influence up to aphorism 123 of this chapter; that is to say, these affixes give a signification of the past tense to the verb whose anuvṛtti is also understood throughout the subsequent sūtras; see III. 1. 91.

Thus it will be taught in the next aphorism: 'after the verb वज्न, when the word in composition is in the instrumental case, the affix चिनि is employed'. Here to complete the sense we must read into the sūtra, the words 'with the sense of past time'. As अभिशिष्टोष्मर्त्यथापिन्यः = अभिशिष्टोष्मर्त्याचिनः 'who has sacrificed with an Agnihotra or a five-day series of offerings'.

Why do we say 'with the sense of past time'? Otherwise these affixes will not be employed. As अभिशिष्टोष्मर्त्याचिनः बज्नति 'he sacrifices with Agnihotra'.

कर्त्तचे यज्ञ: ॥ १३ ॥ पद्यानि ॥ कर्त्तचे, यज्ञः, (चिनिः, भूते)॥

वृद्धिः ॥ बजनं धर्माः: करणं चायभी चिनिनिम्नयेच भवति भूते ॥

85. The affix चिनि comes after the verb वज्न 'to sacrifice' with the sense of past time, when the word in composition is in the instrumental case.

The anuvṛtti of चिनि and not of ख्यय is to be read into this sūtra. As अभिशिष्टोष्मर्त्याचिनः 'who has sacrificed with Agnihotra.' Here Agnihotra is the instrument for the attainment of the desired fruit.

कर्मणेच वन: ॥ १६ ॥ पद्यानि ॥ कर्मणेच, वनः, (चिनिः)॥

वृद्धिः ॥ कर्मणेच उपयोगेऽहालेचायभी चिनिनिम्नयेच भवति भूते काले ॥

86. The affix चिनि comes after the verb हन्त 'to kill', with the sense of past time, when the word in composition is in the accusative case.

As पिद्यपापातिन् 'who has killed his paternal uncle'; मातुलपापातिन् 'who has killed his maternal uncle'; हन्त+चिनि = हन्त+चिनि (VII. 3. 54) = हन्त+चिनि (VII. 3. 32)=पापातिन् (VII. 2. 116).

This affix is employed only when censure is implied. Therefore it is not employed in चारे हन्तवान 'he has killed the thief'.

The anuvṛtti of the word कर्मणेच of this aphorism extends up to sūtra III. 2. 96.

विद्युत्तवर्ज्जिन ॥ १७ ॥ पद्यानि ॥ विद्यु-वृज्जिन ॥ (चिनिः, हनः)॥

वृद्धिः ॥ बहादुरिः कर्मण्यवर्ज्जिन ॥ हस्ते धर्माः: चिनिनिम्नये भवति भूते ॥

87. The affix चिनि comes after the verb हन्त 'to
kill' with the sense of past time, when the following words in the accusative case are in composition: ब्रह्माण 'a Brähmana', चूड़ 'a foetus' and वृत्र 'Vritra'.

As ब्रह्माण्ना, 1st. sing. ब्रह्माण 'who has killed a Brähmana'; दूषणा 'who has killed a foetus'; वृत्र 'who has killed Vritra, a name of Indra'.

Since by sūtra 76 ante, the affix निष्पक्ष was ordained to come after all verbs, and therefore would have come after the verb हुन also, where is the necessity of the present aphorism? This aphorism makes a niyama. i.e. the verb हुन takes the affix निष्पक्ष only when it is in composition with the words ब्रह्म &c. Four-fold restriction is here intended.

(1) When हुन has, as upapada, the words ब्रह्म &c., and not any other word; as पुरुष हुनाण 'he has killed the man'.

(2) When the words ब्रह्म &c. are upapadas of any other verb than हुन, then this affix is not employed; so that the verb must be हुन; thus ब्रह्माण्ना निष्पक्ष 'he has read the Veda'.

(3) The निष्पक्ष is the only affix to denote past time in the case of हुन preceded by ब्रह्म &c., and no other affix can be employed in this sense.

(4) This is employed only in the past tense and not in any other tense; as ब्रह्माण्ना हुनिन्त or हुनिन्त 'he kills or will kill the Brähmana'. This sūtra anticipates the diversity taught in the next sūtra, and is an example of ब्रह्म use of the affix.

88. In the Chhandas, the affix निष्पक्ष diversely comes after the verb हुन 'to kill' with the sense of past time, even when the word in composition with it is other than those mentioned in the last aphorism.

This aphorism ordains निष्पक्ष in cases which are not governed by the restrictive rule contained in the last aphorism. As ब्रह्माण्ना नएं नरकं प्रविषेषण 'may the matricide enter the seventh hell'; so also वृत्र 'patricide'.

Diversely we find also ब्रह्माण्ना: and निष्पक्ष:

89. The affix निष्पक्ष comes after the verb हृ 'to make' with the sense of past time, when the following words in the accusative case are in composition:— हृ 'well', कर 'action', पाप 'sin', नम 'hymn' and पृथ्व 'virtue'.

बहुलं ज्ञेनसि॥ ८८॥ पदार्थि || वहुलम् ज्ञेनसि, (हनि) ॥

पृथ्वि: इति ॥ ज्ञेनसि ज्ञेनको उपपादारंति हंसेंहुंलं विपपपवस्यो भवति ॥

88. In the Chhandas, the affix निष्पक्ष diversely comes after the verb हुन 'to kill' with the sense of past time, even when the word in composition with it is other than those mentioned in the last aphorism.

This aphorism ordains निष्पक्ष in cases which are not governed by the restrictive rule contained in the last aphorism. As ब्रह्माण्ना नएं नरकं प्रविषेषण 'may the matricide enter the seventh hell'; so also वृत्र 'patricide'.

Diversely we find also ब्रह्माण्ना: and निष्पक्ष:

89. The affix निष्पक्ष comes after the verb हृ 'to make' with the sense of past time, when the following words in the accusative case are in composition:— हृ 'well', कर 'action', पाप 'sin', नम 'hymn' and पृथ्व 'virtue'.

बहुलं ज्ञेनसि॥ ८८॥ पदार्थि || वहुलम् ज्ञेनसि, (हनि), (क्रिप) ॥

पृथ्वि: इति ॥ ज्ञेनसि ज्ञेनको उपपादारंति हंसेंहुंलं विपपपवस्यो भवति ॥

88. In the Chhandas, the affix निष्पक्ष diversely comes after the verb हुन 'to kill' with the sense of past time, even when the word in composition with it is other than those mentioned in the last aphorism.

This aphorism ordains निष्पक्ष in cases which are not governed by the restrictive rule contained in the last aphorism. As ब्रह्माण्ना नएं नरकं प्रविषेषण 'may the matricide enter the seventh hell'; so also वृत्र 'patricide'.

Diversely we find also ब्रह्माण्ना: and निष्पक्ष:

89. The affix निष्पक्ष comes after the verb हृ 'to make' with the sense of past time, when the following words in the accusative case are in composition:— हृ 'well', कर 'action', पाप 'sin', नम 'hymn' and पृथ्व 'virtue'.

बहुलं ज्ञेनसि॥ ८८॥ पदार्थि || वहुलम् ज्ञेनसि, (हनि), (क्रिप) ॥

पृथ्वि: इति ॥ ज्ञेनसि ज्ञेनको उपपादारंति हंसेंहुंलं विपपपवस्यो भवति ॥
The phrase 'in the accusative case' is understood in this aphorism, and applies to all the above-mentioned words, except सु, which being an attributive word, of course, cannot take any case-terminations. As सुकृत् (VI. i. 71) 'who has done well'; कर्मकृत् 'who has done all works'; पापकृत् 'who has committed sins'; मन्त्रकृत् 'who has made a mantra'; पुष्पकृत् 'who has done virtuous actions'.

This sūtra also ordains a restrictive rule or niyama. Three-fold restriction is intended here: namely, restrictions with regard to time, upapada, and affix; but not with regard to verbs. See III. 2. 87. There being no restriction with regard to the root, this affix is employed when words other than these are upapadas. As, श्रावकृत् 'who has made Scriptures'; भावकृत् 'who has made a commentary'. The ल is added to the root by VI. i. 71.

90. The affix किव् comes after the verb यु 'to press out juice', with the sense of past time, when the word योग, in the accusative case, is in composition.

As, सोमयु 'who has pressed the soma juice, or soma-distiller'; 1st. dual सोमयूति; 1st. plural सोमयूतः.

This sūtra is also for the sake of making a niyama or restrictive rule. The four-fold restriction is here intended. i.e. as regards the verb, the tense, the upapada and the affix.

91. The affix किव् comes after the verb विष 'to collect' with the sense of past time, when the word अर्थ, in the accusative case, is in composition.

As, अर्थित्वम् 'one who has kept the sacred fire'; 1st. dual अर्थित्वम्; 1st. plural अर्थित्वम्.

Here also, as in the last aphorism, four-fold restriction is intended.

92. In expressing an object the affix किव् comes after the verb विष 'to collect' with the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case, provided the word so formed is the name of fire.

The words यं and कर्मिः are understood in this sūtra. The Name is
expressed by taking the complete word consisting of the verbal root, the upapada and the affix. As श्वेनचित् 'a fire which has been arranged in the shape of a hawk'; कृष्णचित् 'fire arranged like a heron'.

The word अवंत्रा indicates that these words are ruḍhi words, their sense depending upon usage rather than etymology. The arrangement of bricks for sacrificial purpose with regard to fire, gets these various names; that is, when the bricks are arranged like a falcon, it is called श्वेनचित्, and so on.

कर्मेशीरि विक्रिय: || ४४ || पदानि || कर्मेशि, इति, विक्रिये: ||

93. The affix इति comes after the compound verb विक्रिये 'to sell', in the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case.

The repetition of the word कर्मेशि in the sūtra, though its anuvṛtti might have been drawn from the last aphorism, indicates that when the object carries with it a sense of censure on the agent, then only this affix is employed and not with every and any object. As सामविक्रिये 'the seller of soma plant'; रसविक्रिये 'the seller of liquors'; employing disapproval of the action of those persons who carry on these mean professions. But not so in धान्यविक्रिये: 'the seller of paddy'.

94. The affix कर्मनिप् comes after the verb दृष्क 'to see' in the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case.

As मेहेष्ठ्रवतः, 1st. sing. मेहेष्ठ्रवति 'who has seen the Meru'. परश्रोक्त्रवतः 'who has seen the hereafter.'

Though the affix कर्मनिप् was valid by sūtra III. 2. 75 its repetition here shows that no other affix comes in this sense after this verb.

राजनि युधिक्रजः || ४५ || पदानि || राजनि, युधि-क्रजः;

95. The affix कर्मनिप् comes after the verbs दृष्क 'to fight' and गृह 'to make' with a past signification when the word राजनि 'king' is in composition, in the accusative case.

How can the verb दृष्क, which is an intransitive verb, govern an object? It is a transitive verb, inasmuch as it is taken to be a causative verb, with the गृह affix latent. As राजयुधवन्, 1st. sing. राजयुधवन (VIII. 2. 7) 'who has caused the king to fight'; राजकुमलवन्, 1st. sing. राजकुमलवन (VI. 1. 71) 'who has made a king'.
96. The affix वर्निन् comes after the verbs युधि and खृ, with a past signification, when the word सह ‘with’ is in composition.

The word सह, being a particle, and not denoting a substance, is incapable of taking any case. As सहसूवन् ‘who has made to fight with’; सहकृतन् ‘who has done any thing along with another’.

97. The affix व comes after the verb जन् ‘to be produced’, with a past signification, when the word, in composition with it, is in the locative case.

As उपसर्गे जजावः उपसर्गः. जन्तु + ध = जू + अ (VI. 4. 143) = ज ‘born of the first conception’; मन्द्रज: ‘born in the stable’.

98. The affix व comes after the verb जन्, with a past signification, when the word in composition with it, is in the ablative case, which does not denote a genus.

As बुद्धज: ‘born through understanding’; संबकारज: ‘born of habit’; ख्यजन: ‘born through pain’.

Why do we say ‘when not denoting a genus’? Observe हस्तिनो जजाव ‘born of elephant’; अवशाजजाव ‘born of horse’.

99. The affix व comes after the verb जन with a past signification, when an upasarga is in composition and when the sense is simply appellative.

The term here being simply appellative, and not descriptive, cannot be explained by giving the signification of its component elements. As जजाव ‘people’, or ‘a son’; as in the sentence अधेर्म गाजी प्रजाजः.

100. The affix व comes after the verb जन with
a past signification, when the root takes the preposition अनु and is compounded with a word in the accusative case.

As पुत्रनारा ‘a girl born after the male child i.e. a girl having an elder brother’; सुयन्त्रया ‘a boy born after the female child i.e. a boy having an elder sister’.

अन्येष्वपि द्रव्यते ॥ १०१ ॥ पद्यनि ॥ अन्येषु, अपि, द्रव्यते,
(जनेः, छः) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ अन्येष्वपि सुयन्त्रया कारणेषु जनेः: निर्यो द्रव्यते ॥

101. The affix छ is seen to come after the verb जन with a past signification, though it be in composition with other nouns, having cases other than those mentioned in the previous sūtras.

Thus the locative case has been dealt with in sūtra III. 2. 97; but the affix comes when the upapada has any other case than the seventh. As न जायने = अनुज: ‘unborn’; दिव्रस्यामि = दिव्र = ‘twice-born’.

Thus, it is said in sūtra III. 2. 98 that the upapada may be in the ablative case, when genus is not denoted. We see, however, the affix employed when genus is denoted. As प्रहतनां धर्मः; तत्सत्तवान बृहत्।

It is declared in sūtra III. 2. 98 that when appellative is meant, the affix छ comes after the compound verb जन. We find, however, the affix employed when the sense is not simply appellative; as अन्यना: or परिष्ठा: ‘born or produced all round i.e. hair’.

It is declared in sūtra III. 2. 100, ‘When an object is in composition with the verb अनुजन, this affix is employed’. But it may also be employed when no object is in composition. As अनुज: ‘born after i.e. younger brother’.

The force of the word अनु ‘though’ is to free this rule from all restrictions and conditions. So this affix comes after other verbs and other cases in composition with such verbs. As परिष्ठा: खाता = परिष्ठा ‘a moat’ (literally that which has been dug all round); खाता ‘a pond’.

निष्ठा ॥ १०२ ॥ पद्यनि ॥ निष्ठा (भुवें) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ भूतस्य निष्ठे युक्तं स निष्ठासूत्रकारः भूतं भुति ॥

वाचिकेता ॥ अधिकृपाली निष्ठा अन्यना ॥

102. The affixes called निष्ठा come after a verbal root, employed with the sense of past time.

The affixes छ and कृष्टि are निष्ठा (I. 1. 26). As कृ + छ = कृष्टम ‘made’; कृ + कृष्टि = कृष्टव, 1st. sing. कृष्टवण ‘done’; so also कृष्टि और कृष्टव ‘eaten’.

Vari.—The Nishtā affixes come when adi-karma is meant. For a fuller description of what constitutes adi-karma see sūtra III. 4. 71, and the illustrations under it. Thus प्रकृति: कठ रूंद्रष्ठं; प्रकृतवान, कठ वेवहत्:।
103. The affix \textit{व्यनिप} comes after the verbs चु ‘to press out or extract juice’ and चद ‘to sacrifice’, with a past signification.

As चु + \textit{व्यनिप} = चुन + \textit{चद} (VI. 1 71) = सुवन, 1st. sing. सुवन ‘who has pressed out or extracted juice’; चदन, 1st. sing. चदन ‘who has sacrificed’. The त is added by VI. 1. 71. See Rig. Ved. I. 3. 1.

104. The affix \textit{अटन} comes after the verb चु ‘to grow old’ with the sense of past time.

As चु + \textit{अटन} = चु + \textit{अटन} (VII. 3. 84) = जर, 1st. sing. जर, 1st. dl. जरस्त, 1st. pl. जरस्त ‘grown old’ (VII. 1 70).

By the rule of बासक (III. 7 94), the Nishtha affixes also come after this verb. As जीर्ण: and जीर्णांति: चु + कक = जीर्ण + त (VII. 1. 100 and I. 1 51) = निर + न (VIII. 2. 42) = जीर्ण (VIII. 2. 77 and VIII. 4. 4) ‘grown old’.

105. In the Chhandas, the affix \textit{लिट} comes after a verb with a past signification.

As चु + \textit{व्यनिप} \textit{लिट} = चु + \textit{व्यनिप} \textit{लिट} रात्रि ‘I saw the sun from both sides’; चु + \textit{रात्रि} \textit{लिट} भवति रात्रि ‘I stretched the heaven and the earth’. Here the words \textit{व्यनिप} and \textit{रात्रि} have the force of nishtha. See Yaj. Ved. VIII. 9.

Why this separate sutra, when by aphorism III. 4. 61, in the Chhandas the \textit{lun}, \textit{lañ} and \textit{lit} come in all tenses? That rule is made with regards to two or more verbs when in syntactical relation (अथवत्वं) with each other (III. 4. 4). The present rule is general, and without any such limitations.

\textit{Lit} is the affix of the Present Perfect and will be fully treated of in the conjugation of verbs.

106. In the Chhandas the affix \textit{लिट} is optionally replaced by the affix \textit{व्यनिप}.

As चु + \textit{व्यनिप} ‘he consecrated the fire’; सूम + \textit{सूमवच्च} ‘he pressed the soma juice’. This being an optional affix, is sometimes not employed; as in the examples in the last aphorism.
Why has the word līt been repeated in this sūtra, when its anuvṛtī could have been drawn from the last sūtra? The substitute कन्यु धि replaces not only the special लिं्द्र of sūtra III. 2. 105, but the general लिं्द्र which comes after the roots in forming the perfect tense; so that the affix कन्यु धि forms verbal adjectives as well as the perfect tense.

This affix comes after those verbs only which take Atmanepada terminations. See I. 4. 100. सूत जान (Rig. Ved. I. 3. 6).

कसुधा ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कव्य, c, (छद्सि, लिंटः) ॥

४०७. In the Ohhandas the affix कव्य is optionally the substitute of लिं्द्र.

As कन्यत्रधि 1st. sing. कन्यत्रवान् ‘eaten’ (Yaj. VIII. 19); पविवशि 1st. sing. पविवशि ‘drunk’.

Sometimes it does not come, as in the example under sūtra III. 2. 105; अभ सूब्ूकभवतते द्वृति.

The division of this sūtra from the last, in which it could well have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvṛtī of कसुधा only runs.

भाषायां सद्दस्त्रभूव: ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भाषायार्थ, सद्द-वस्स-श्रवः, (लिंटः, कव्यः) ॥

४०८. In the modern Sanskrit, the affix कव्य optionally replaces लिं्द्र after the verbs सु, वस्स and शु with a past signification.

This being a substitute only, the original affix लिं्द्र also comes after these verbs. As, वापश्रभिन्न कौसः: पापिनिन् ‘Kautsa served Pāṇini’. In the alternative, the proper affixes of the past tense will be employed. As उपासकः ‘he served’; उपासकः उपासकः.

So also अन्यपिवान्कौसः: पापिनिन्. In the alternative we have अन्यपिवान्कौसः, अन्यपिवान्कौसः and अन्यपिवान्कौसः.

So also अन्यपिवान्कौसः: पापिनिन्. In the alternative we have उपायोपिवान्क, उपायोपिवान्क and उपायोपिवान्क.

The affix कव्य is employed with the force of शुक्ल and शक्ल also.

उपेयिवान्नाथायान्नाथायान्नाथायान्: ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपेयिवान्नाथायान्नाथायान्नाथायान्: (श) ॥

४०९. The forms उपेयिवान्नाथायान्नाथायान्नाथायान् are irregularly formed.
These forms are thus evolved:—To the verb द्व ‘to go’ with the preposition उप, the affix क्षु is added: as उप + द्व + क्षु. The root is reduplicated: as उप + द्व + द्व + क्षु. The reduplicate is here long द्व by VII. 4. 69. This long द्व does not coalesce with the short द्व by the rules of sandhi; for then the rule by which this द्व was introduced would have no scope. Now we add the augment द्वे contrary and in opposition to the rule VII. 2. 67. and this is the irregularity. As उप + द्व + द्व + द्व + क्षु. Then the root द्व is replaced by य by sūtra VII. 4. 81. As उप + द्व + य + द्व + क्षु = उपेविद्वृत् 1st. sing. उपेविद्वृत्त्. The augment द्वे, is however dropped in those cases (अ) where फल is changed into उप; because the insertion of द्वे was itself an exceptional case of limited scope:—for while the general rules VII. 2. 75 &c. ordained it, the special rule of VII. 2. 67 prohibited it; and it was by prohibition of this prohibition that द्वे was employed before फल. Therefore in accusative plural we have उपेवृत्त; instrumental sing उपेवृत्त &c.

This irregular participle is not limited to the upasarga उप; we find such irregular forms with other upasargas and without them also; thus समविद्वृत्त, and द्वेविद्वृत्त as well.

By the anuvritti of the word ब्र read in this aphorism, we have लुज्ज &c. in the alternative. As in Aorist उपरागान्, Imperfect उपंत, Perfect उपरागतः.

The word अनापान् is thus formed:—To the verb अग्निः ‘to enjoy’ we add the negative particle अ; apply the affix क्षु and donot insert the augment द्वे; so, we have अन्त + अग्नि + क्षु = अनापान्, 1st. sing. अनापान्. In the alternative we have Aorist नापान्, Imperfect नापान् and Perfect नापान्.

The word अनापान्: is thus derived:—The affix कान्त्र is added in expressing the agent to the verb बन्धु preceded by अन्. In the alternative we have Aorist अन्नरोचतः, Imperfect अन्नासीत, Perfect अन्नाात.

लुज्ज ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ लुज्ज ॥ (भूते) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ भूतेऽयं वर्तमानात्तत्तवोऽभ्यो भवति. ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ वर्तते-लुज्ज राजनिष्ठे जागरणसन्न्वति वस्त्व्यः. ॥

110. The affix लुज्ज comes after a verb in the sense of past time.

The लुज्ज forms what is known as aorist. It is in fact the name of the aorist, as the whole of this affix is replaced by other personal terminations. See III. 1. 43 and subsequent sūtras.

The aorist has reference to a past time indefinitely or generally, without reference to any particular time. An action done before today is expressed by the perfect or imperfect; whatever remains for the aorist is, therefore, to express a past action, done very recently, say, in the course of the current day or having reference to a present act. Aorist, therefore, merely implies the completion of an action at a past time generally, and also an action done at a
very recent time, as during the course of this day. The imperfect and perfect are used in narrating events of past occurrence, generally in remote past time; the aorist is used in dialogues and conversations which refer to recent past actions, but it is not used to denote past specified time or to narrate events'.—Apte’s Composition. As अकारायत् ‘he did’; अहरपौवो ‘he took’.

Vart.—The affix लङ्क comes after the verb वस ‘to dwell’, when ‘end of the present night’ is indicated. Supposing a person rising from his bed at the proper time of rising (not in the middle of the night, but in the early morning) and finding another near him were to ask that one, ‘where did you dwell i.e. pass the night’? That person so asked should answer in the लङ्क and not in लङ्क. As अमुनावसनम ‘I dwell there’; and not अनुभावसनम.

Vart.—The above rule applies only in connection with waking after regular sleep. He who has not slept the whole night, but only for half an hour or so, should reply अमुनावसनम.

अनंद्यानि लङ्क || १११ || पद्रानि || अनंद्यते, लङ्क, (भूते) ||
पृ०: || अविधमानावस्यं भूते वर्षा नानादातोऽब्रम्यं प्रत्येकं भवति ||
वांशिकम् || परावर्षे च अविध्वस्ताते प्रयोवर्षैःवनियो लङ्क वक्तः ||

111. The affix लङ्क comes after a verbal root employed in the sense of past before the commencement of the current day.

The word अनंद्यताः is a Bahuvrihi compound, meaning that which has not occurred during the course of the current day (adyatana). The whole of this affix is replaced by conjunctional terminations, and the affix लङ्क by itself denotes the Imperfect tense. As अकारोत् ‘he did’; अहर्नत् ‘he took’.

Why have we explained anadyatana as a Bahuvrihi compound? Because when there is a doubt as to the time, whether it was to-day or yesterday, there the Imperfect should not be used. As अब्ध हो वा अमुनावसन ‘we ate to-day or yesterday’. In such a case the affix is लङ्क.

Vart.—The affix लङ्क is also employed in signifying what is not witnessed by the narrator, when it relates to a well-known public event which can form the object of perception by the narrator. Thus in speaking of a recent public occurrence we may say:—अहर्षयाः यवन: साक्ष्यम् ‘the Yavanas have besieged Sâketa’; अहर्षयाः यवन: माध्यमिकाः ‘the Yavanas have besieged Mâdhymika’.

Why do we say ‘not witnessed by the speaker’? Observe ज्यात्सु भावितो ‘the sun arose’. Why do we say ‘a popular public event’? Observe चक्कार कद. वेष्यस्त ‘Devadatta has made the mat’. Why do we say ‘which is the object of perception by the speaker’? Observe ज्यान कहां कित्र् वासुदेव: ‘Vâsudeva killed Kansa’.

अभिज्ञातवचने लङ्क || ११२ || पद्रानि || अभिज्ञा-वचने, लङ्क, (भूते, अनंद्यते) ||
112. When a word implying ‘recollection’ is in connection with it, a verb takes the affix लूट (2nd future) in the sense of the past before the commencement of the present day.

The word अभिज्ञाना mean ‘recollection’. This rule sets aside the affix लूट. As अभिज्ञानात्स वेदवत्क ग्रन्तीर्षु वस्तुतम्: ‘remembrerest thou, Devadatta, we were dwelling (lit. we will dwell) in Kashmir’.

The word वचन meaning ‘signification’ in the sūtra, denotes that the construction is the same when the synonyms of अभिज्ञाना are used; as स्मरस: ‘dost thou remember’; बुद्धसे ‘dost thou know’; चेतयसे ‘dost thou reflect’; and the like.

न यदि ॥ ११२ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ न, यदि, (अभिज्ञावचने, लूट) ॥

113. The affix लूट (the 2nd future) is not applied in the sense of the past, when the upapada donoting recollection has in connection with it the particle बत्त.

This prohibits लूट which the verb बत्त obtained from the last sūtra. As अभिज्ञानाति वेदवत्क बत्त कर्मीरेष्वकाम ‘thou rememberest Devadatta how we did dwell in Kashmir’. Here the mere fact of dwelling is recollected, there being no other idea implied; therefore the subsequent aphorism has no scope here. That aphorism has its scope, when with recollection, is added another dependent idea or action, without which the sentence is not complete.

विभाषा साकांसे ॥ ११३ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ विभाषा, साकांसे, (लूट; अभिज्ञावचने) ॥

114. The affix लूट is optionally applied in the sense of the past, when a word implying ‘recollection’ is in connection with it, and whether such word has the particle वत्त or is employed simply; provided that the two verbs, occurring in the same complex sentence, are so connected together, that each is necessary to the other, to complete the sense of the speaker.

The word साकार्या means the relation between the sign and the thing signified, wished for or wanted by the speaker, or in other words, when the first verb is related to another verb used in the same sentence, as a sign is to that which is indicated by the sign. As अभिज्ञानाति वेदवत्क कर्मीरानि गस्त्या; तत्र सत्कृतः
The affix लित् comes after a verb in the sense of the past before the commencement of the current day and unperceived by the narrator.

The word परोक्ष ‘unperceived’ qualifies the words मूल ‘past’ and अनवयतन ‘non-current day’ understood in this aphorism.

‘Well, are not the senses of verbs all unperceived, since they are mere words, and words cannot be perceived? Exactly so; but in popular phraseology, the perception is imagined to attach to the agent with regard to certain verbs; this rule relates to cases where such perception does not take place. As, च कार ‘he did’; जहार ‘he took’.

'It is evident that the लित् (perfect) should not be used in the first person, i.e. when the agent of the action is the speaker or writer himself; for it is impossible that the action should not have been witnessed by him. But if by reason of some distracted, unconscious or absent state of mind, it is possible for the agent to speak of the action as one, of which he was not a conscious witness, the perfect may be used even in the first person. As सुत्रोः किल वित्तलाप ‘indeed I prated while asleep’.

Note:—The perfect should be employed (in denoting past time simply, whether of the current day or otherwise, and whether the action has been witnessed personally or not) if the sense is total denial of the action. As कलिङ्कुः विष्टोः ‘think you? I will not’; कलिङ्कुः जगाः ‘did you live in the Kalinga country? I did not even go to the Kalinga country’; इश्विपां नायिकोः ‘they were not.a consciousness’; इश्विपां नायिकोः प्रविद्वेषः.

हुश्श्वतोऽस्त्रेण च ११५॥ पदार्थ ॥ हृश्वतः; लड्डः; (भूते, अनवयतने, परोक्षे, लित्)॥

वृत्ती॥ भूतानवयतनपरोक्षेऽस्त्रेण वर्तित वर्णातिविद्विश्वयो भवति॥

वाशिकम्॥ भवस्यनरपरायो व लितिकृतदस्यः॥
116. And the affix जन्त्र comes after a verb when the particles ह and श्वस्त्र are in connection with it, and when the verb denotes past action unperceived by the speaker, and before the commencement of the current day.

The force of च ‘and’ is that the affix लिन्त्र (perfect) may also be employed in similar construction. As इति हाकरोत् (imperfect), or इति ह चकार (perfect) ‘Alas! he did it’. शास्त्रकरोत् or शास्त्रचकार ‘again and again he did it’.

प्रश्ने चासलकाले || ११७ || पद्याचि || प्रश्ने, च, आसलकाले,
(मुहे, अन्यत्तमे, परोक्ते, लद्द, लिन्त्र) ||
दृष्टि: || आसलकाले पुढ़िट्थमानी भूतानात्ततपरोक्ते यथा बच्चामाना शास्त्रलेखन्तिस्तै परत्ययो भवति: ||
117. The affixes लं (imperfect) and लिन्त्र (perfect) come after a verb (in expressing a past time not belonging to the current day and unperceived by the speaker) when the past time referred to is recent, and the sentence is interrogative.

This sūtra also qualifies the words मूत, अनद्यतन and परोक्त understood in this sūtra. The word प्रश्न means ‘what should be asked’; and शास्त्रकाल ‘time close at hand’; As, some one may ask another, अवत्थः वेदविघ्न: or जगत्य वेदविघ्न: ‘did Devadatta go or has Devadatta gone (just now)?’ अवजाहः वेदविघ्न: or इवान वेदविघ्न: ‘Did Devadatta sacrifice or has Devadatta sacrificed’?

Why do we say ‘in asking question’? Otherwise there would be Perfect tense only. As, जगत्य वेदविघ्न: ‘Devadatta has gone’.

Why do we say ‘when the past time referred to is imminently recent’? Observe नवन्तथा पुढ़िट्थम, जगान काह विन काशापुङ्क्त: ‘I ask you, did Krishna indeed kill Kansa in days of yore’.

लद्द स्मे || ११८ || पद्याचि || लद्द, स्मे, (मुहे, अन्यत्तमे, परोक्ते)||
दृष्टि: || समुदशः उपवेद नूतानत्ततपरोक्ते लद्द प्रवयो भवति ||
118. The affix लद्द (present) comes after a verb, when the particle श्वस्त्र is in connection with it, and denotes a past time not belonging to the current day and unperceived by the speaker).

All the words within brackets are understood in this aphorism. This debars लिन्त्र or the perfect tense. Thus बस्तित्य श्वस्त्र दुःशिरिर: ‘Yudhishthira sacrificed’; so also नलि श्व पुराणायंते || उदाहरण श्व दुर्गायते ||

अवरोचे च || ११९ || पद्याचि || अवरोचे, च, (मुहे, अन्यत्तमे,
स्मे, लद्द)||
119. The affix न (present) comes after a verb when the particle र्या is in connection with it, and denotes a past action not belonging to the current day, and when the action is perceived by the agent.

As र्या र्या पिता प्रवास ‘thus said the father’; र्या स्मोपाध्याय: कथवति ‘thus said the preceptor’.

नापौष्प-प्रतिवचने ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ नापौष्प-प्रतिवचने,
(भृते, लट्ठ) ॥

120. The affix न is employed after a verb in denoting past action, when the word न is in connection with it, and an answer is given to a question.

The anuvritti of the words ‘anadyatana’ and ‘paroksha’ does not extend to this sūtra. This declares a rule with regard to past time in general. This debaras लुङ्क (the Aorist tense). As भकार्ण्यं: कर्तवेवच् — नन्दु करोऽभो: ‘Devadatta, did you make the mat? O, yes, I did make it’. अवधितार्थम कथितं देवच्छच, — नन्दु प्रवास ‘Devadatta, did you speak there anything? O, yes, I did speak’.

Why do we say ‘in reply to an interrogation’? Observe नन्दवार्षवान् मायवक: ‘certainly, Mānavaka did it’.

नन्दवार्षवान्य (भृते, पुष्प-प्रतिवचने, लट्ठ) ॥

121. The affix नः comes optionally after a verb, in denoting past time, in reply to an interrogation, when the words न ‘not’ and व ‘what of that’ are in connection with it.

As, भकार्ण्यं: कर्तवेवच्—न करोऽभो: भवान्यम्;—अहं न करोऽभो अहं नवान्यम् ‘Devadatta, did you make the mat? — No I did not; — what of that, I did’.

पुरी लुङ्क चास्मे ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरी, लुङ्क: च, अस्मे, (भृते, अनद्यात्ने, विभाषा, लट्ठ) ॥

122. Optionally the affixes लुङ्क and नः come after a verb, in denoting past time not belonging to the current day, when the word न is used in the sentence, provided that the word र्या is not used,
The anuvṛtti of the word anadyatana which had come to a stop with III. 2. 120 manifests itself again in this sūtra by a process of jumping over the two intermediate aphorisms. This sort of anuvṛtti is technically called manduka-plui 'the leap of a frog' i.e. skipping of several sūtras and supplying a word from a previous sūtra.

This is an optional rule, so that when lat and lun are not used, the proper tenses, as the case may be, must be employed. As व्रजस्वैः पुरा छान्ता: 'the pupils lived here formerly'. So also, Aorist, भवालुः: पुरा छान्ता: ; Imperfect, भवसतिः पुरा छान्ता: ; Perfect, कृपरिः पुरा छान्ता: 

Why do we say 'when the word सा is not used'? Observe वन्ति स्म पुरा दुःखितः: 'Yudhishtihara did perform a sacrifice formerly'. Here rule 118 ante exerts its influence.

वर्तनाने लट् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्तनाने, लट् ॥

बुधि: ॥ भारवःपरिसमासवः वर्तनानांजाँकन। वर्तनाने ॥ वर्तनानाधारातीन्द्रप्रथयधी भविः ॥

123. The affix लट comes after a verb when denoting a present action.

The word वर्तनान means that which is begun and which has not yet come to an end. The action denoted by a verb in the present tense is yet continuing and has not stopped. As पञ्चति 'he is cooking'; पञ्चति 'he is reading'. So also whatever is constant, regular, uniform, is represented by the Present Indefinite. As तिथिन्त वर्तत: 'the mountains stand'; नववित नयः 'the rivers flow'.

लट: सत्यान्वयचावप्रथमावसानाधिकरसि ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लट:,

शय-शानचौ, अथ्यमा-सामानाधिकरसि ॥

बुधि: ॥ लट: सत्यान्वयचावप्रथमावसानाधिकरसि भवत: अथ्यमावसा चेतास्व सामानाधिकारण्य भवति ॥

124. The affixes लट and शानच are substitutes of लट when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix.

As पथमाने हूँवर्तम पर्यः 'behold Devadatta who is cooking'; पचता कुतम् 'or पष्यमाने कुतम् 'done by one who is cooking'. पच्च + शानच् = पच्च + शाप + शानच् (III. 4. 113, III. 1. 68) = पच्च + अ + मुक्त + भान (VII. 2. 82) = पष्यमान. So also पच्च + शाप + शाद् = पच्च + अ + अंत = पचत् ।

Why do we say 'when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix'? Observe हूँवर्तम: पचति 'Devadatta cooks'.

Since the term लट might have been supplied from the last aphorism, its double citation is for the sake of larger application of this rule; that is to say, this rule applies sometimes even when the word is in concord with a nominative case. As सन् श्राक्षः: 'who is a Brāhmaṇa' = असिस्त क्राक्ष्यः; so also
विचारेण आक्षणः and विचारणो आक्षणः; तथृत्वं and तथृत्वं; and अभीयानः and अर्था।

Vart.—These affixes are employed after a verb, when the particle मष्ठ्यः is in composition, and censure or curse is implied. As मा पचन् and मा पचास्या: 'may he not cook'; मा जीवन् यः: परर्वतङ्गः खर्दग्धेष्वसिः जीवति 'cursed be he (lit. may he not live) who though smitten by the pain of the contempt of others, still lives'. Some commentators read the anuvṛtti of the word 'option' from sūtra 121 into this. That option, however, is a limited option (व्यावस्थित-विभेदं-श्ला) and not of universal application. Whenever a particular form is found as differing from the general form, there it should be understood that the option has been allowed, and not everywhere.

सम्भोधनेच् च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदर्मि ॥ सम्भोधनेच्, च, (लघु:, शान्त्वा-नची) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ सम्भोधनेच् च विपरे नघु: शादशास्यचॊध्येः मल्लयो नवत: ॥

125. The affixes शान्त् and शान्त्वच् are the substitutes of लघु even when agreeing with what ends with a first case-affix, provided that it is in the vocative case.

This aphorism declares when these participles may be employed even in the first case; as हे पचन् or हे पचास्या 'O thou who art cooking'.

लघुस्मेवच्: क्रियायाय: ॥ १२६ ॥ पदर्मि ॥ लघु-हेतुः, क्रियायाः,

(लघु:, शान्त-शान्तची) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ लघुस्मेवच् हेतुः चायः चर्येस्नास्याद्विः: परस्य नघु: शादशास्यचॊध्येः मल्लयो नवत: ॥

वार्षिकम् ॥ लघुस्मेवच्: क्रियायाः: गुण वर्णस्यावनम् ॥

वार्षिकम् ॥ तथाश्वास्यानेच् ॥

126. The affixes शान्त् and शान्त्वच् are the substitutes of लघु and come after a verb, in expressing an attendant circumstance or characteristic, and the cause of an action.

The word लघुस्मां means that by which a thing is recognised or known i.e. an attribute; शान्त् means producer or cause. Both these words are attributes of the word क्रिया. Of लक्षणाः:—as, ग्रहणाः: पुज्रते वर्णाः: 'the Yavanas take their meals lying down', विहन्तो: गुरुतवति गणकः। Of इत्य:—as हे पचन् पुज्रते 'by (reason of) seeing Hari, he gets absolution'; अभीयानो वसति 'for the sake of study he dwells here'.

Why do we say 'when denoting a characteristic or a cause'? Observe प्रक्रियाः 'he cooks'; प्रक्रियाः 'he reads'.

Why do we say 'of the action'? Not so when the participle is the characteristic or cause of a substance or a quality. As य: क्षणः: स्त्रियाः: य: 'that which is shaking is the Aswattha'; यथेष्वरसेवी शक्त्व: 'whatever floats is light'; शालिपायेऽशस्त्रुच्छ 'that which sinks down is heavy'.
Vart.—This participle also defines the agent of an action as, बोधवर्गाण भास्ते स देवता: ‘he is Devadatta who sits studying’.

Vart.—This participle is also used to state a general truth: as श्रावणा वर्षे तु: ‘the Dûrvâ grass grows in a recumbent position’; आसीनं वर्षे विशं ‘a lotus stalk grows in an upright position’. The compound लक्षणेऽक्षेत्री: of the sûtra contradicts the rule by which a word of fewer syllables stands first (II. 2. 14). This shows that the rule II. 2. 14. is not universal.

तीव्रत् || २२४ || पद्धनि || तैः, सत्, (शंक्य-शानवै) ||
वृत्ति: || तै: शब्दशानस्य सर्वसंख्या मन्त्रता: ||

127. These two श्रवण and शानवै are called सत्.

These participial affixes get collectively this name; and as such they are not limited by the conditions enumerated above; so that they replace not only the affixes of the Present tense but sometimes of Future also (III. 3. 14), as well as other tenses. Thus श्रावणेऽक्षेत्र कुर्ष्ण, करिपण, कुर्ष्णः, करिपणायः: ||
The word सत् occurs in sûtra II. 2. 11. &c.

पुष्कर्णी: शानान् || २२४ || पद्धनि || पृष्ठ-यन्त्रोऽः, शानान् ||
वृत्ति: || पृष्ठे यथेऽक्षेत्र भास्ते: शानान् पृष्ठे विशं भवति ||
वासिक्रमः || फृष्ठ: शतर्षोऽथ शचनन् वृत्ति: ||

128. The affix शाना comes after the verbs श्रु ‘to purify’ and यण ‘to sacrifice’.

As श्रवणम्: ‘purifier (fire or air)’; शनानम्: ‘sacrificer.

It might be asked ‘is the शनान with others that follow, an affix suo generis, or is it merely a substitute of श्र, as श्रवण and शानवै? Why we ask this question is this. If they are affixes and not substitutes of श्र, then they should govern genitive case by rule II. 3. 65. instead of nominative or the accusative. If, on the other hand, they are substitutes of श्र, then by rule II. 3. 69. they should not govern the genitive case. But evidently they are not the substitutes of श्र, as they are not so taught. How is it then that we have such forms as श्रष्टां प्रव्यवहार: ‘drinking Soma’; and श्रष्टामपनः? These forms can be explained on other grounds than supposing that शाना &c. must be the substitutes of श्र. The term श्र in sûtra II. 3. 69. is not the affix श्र taught in this Chapter sûtra 135; but it is a pratyâhāra including several affixes. It is a pratyâhāra formed by taking the श्र of शान in sûtra 124; and श्र of श्र in 135; and thus it means all the affixes from शान in 134 down to श्र, in 135. Thus though शान, चानम्ब &c. are not substitutes of श्र, still the rule II. 3. 69. applies to them, as they are included in the term श्र.

Vart.—The rule II. 3. 69. applies only optionally when the verb हृष takes the affix श्रव. As चौरस्य: or चारे दीप्यण: ‘hating the thief’. 
129. The affix गान्त comes after a verb in expressing 'habit', 'standard of age' and 'ability'.

The word ताप्तिक्ष्य means 'habit' or 'disposition'; गान्त means the condition of body such as 'infancy', 'youth' &c; शार्मक्ष्य means 'capacity to do a thing'. As भीम गुरु: 'habituated to enjoy'; कवच विविषाय: 'wearing an armour (of the age at which armour may be worn)'; शादु निशान: 'able to destroy his foe'. So also, कर्तियु ना चंद्रयानार्त: मन्त्रयानार्त: कवच पर्यायमानार्त: विचार्यु वहमानार्त: and प्रमानार्त:.

इट्तायेँ: श्राद्धक्ष्यस्थिरी || १२० || पदार्थ || इट्तायेँ: गान्त, अर्द्धक्षिणी ||

वृत्ति: || इट्तायेँ वारेष भालो: श्राद्धक्ष्यस्थिरी भवित अर्द्धक्षिणी कर्तियु ||

130. The affix गान्त comes after the verbs गा 'to go' and गार 'to hold' in denoting that the agent does the action without trouble.

The word गान्त means that which is accomplished by the agent with ease and facility. As भ्रेष्टु गारवाराप्तु: 'the facile reading of the Purāṇa'; धार्यु गान्त निलयान 'easily mastering the Upanishad'. The root गार is causative of गा and means here 'to master'.

Why do we say 'when facility is indicated'? Otherwise, गारवाराप्तु: 'he reads with difficulty'; गारवाराप्तु: 'he remembers with difficulty'.

दिस्त्तभिषिपं || १२१ || पदार्थ || दिस्त्त: अनिग्न, (शादु) ||

वृत्ति: || अनिग्ने कर्तियु दिस्त्तभिषिपार्ती: श्राद्धक्षिणी भवित ||

131. The affix गान्त comes after the verb हिस्त when the agent indicated means an enemy.

The word हिस्त means 'enemy'. As हिस्तान: 'enemy', हिस्तान 'two enemies', हिस्तन: 'enemies'.

Why do we say 'when denoting an enemy'? Observe हिस्त मायें पलिन: 'the wife hates her husband'.

सुजो तथा वारोगी || १३२ || पदार्थ || गान्त: गान्त-सवांगी, (शादु) ||

वृत्ति: || गान्त सवांगी वारोगी: श्राद्धक्षिणी भवित ||

132. The affix गान्त comes after the verb हि 'to press out juice' when the sense is that of association with sacrifice.
The word संवेदः is an instrumental compound, meaning association or connection (संवेदः) with sacrifice. As दु + न + शङ्ख (III. 1. 76, III. 4. 113) = सुन् + अत् (I. 2. 4.) = सुन्नत् (VI. 1. 77), 1st. sing. सुन्नन्, 1st. pl. सुन्नन्: 'the sacrificers'; as in संवेदः सुन्नन्: 'all are interested in, or partake of, or share in the sacrifice'.

The word संवेदः indicates that the principal sacrificer. i.e. the यज्ञमान is meant and not every person who is associated in the performance of a sacrifice in a subordinate capacity; such as यज्ञकाः: 'the sacrificing priests'.

When connection with sacrifice is not meant we have सुन्नति चुराम्: 'he distills liquor'.

अहः: प्रशस्यायाम्॥ १३३॥ पदानि || अहः: प्रशस्यायाम् (शद)॥

वृत्ति: || अहःेतदाति: प्रशस्यायाम् श्रद्धयोक्ती भविति।

133. The affix शद comes after the verb अहः in expressing praise.

As अहःेति भवानिवियम्, 'thou art worthy of this knowledge here'; अहःेति भवानात्याम् ‘thou art worthy of honor in this place'.

Why do we say 'when meaning to praise'? Witness अहःेति चौरींच वधम् ‘the thief deserves death'.

आ क्रःस्तच्छीलतदुः तत्त्सापुकारिषु || १३४ || पदानि || आ, क्रै:।

तच्छील-तदुः-तत्सापुकारिषु॥

वृत्ति: || आ एवस्यतैहस्मिन स्मारकवाचार्यिनिः कर्ममनुकारिष्यस्मच्छीलाधिशि कर्मपि ने वेशायत्वः।

134. From this शृः as far as किश् in शृः 177 inclusive, the affixes that we shall treat of, are to be understood in the sense of agents having such a habit, or nature, or having skill in such and such action.

The force of आ in this शृः is limit inclusive, and includes विशेष also. The term च्छील means 'the natural inclination towards an action not prompted by a contemplation of its fruit or result'. The term तदुः means ‘who enters upon an action not from habit but thinking that it is his duty’. The term तत्सापुकारिष means ‘who does the action expressed by the verb in an excellent way’. Illustrations of these will be given under the subsequent aphorisms.

चन् || १३५ || पदानि || चन्, (तच्छील-तदुः-तत्सापुकारिषु))॥

वृत्ति: || संवेदः तदुः तत्सापुकारिषु नवति चच्छीलाधिशि कर्मपि ||

वार्तिकम् || देवस्य च चुरामस्यस्मात् चापुकारिष्यस्मात् ||

वार्तिकम् || नत्रते: चुराम ॥

वार्तिकम् || लघुपेक्षायामकार्यं अभावत्यक्तम् ||

वार्तिकम् || वचनं निबुद्धपुरुषोऽपि ||

वार्तिकम् || चुरामन्ति चुरच् ॥
135. The affix बृहत् comes after all verbs in the sense of 'agents having such a habit &c'.

The न of भृत्त is indicative, and regulates the accent (VI. 1. 197). As कृ + भृत्त = कृभृत्त, 1st sing. कृभृत्त. This affix denotes habit in the following; as, कृभृत्त वहिति 'who is accustomed to make mats. Nature: — as, अग्रहितार भृत्ति शारिरि वधुमूलम् 'the family of Srāvishṭāyana shave the heads of their widows'; अवभारस्या हृतं भृत्ति गाढ़ा तारां निष्ठ 'the Ahvarakas steal away food as soon as Srāddha is accomplished'; उत्तरात्सौरस्त्रःथायाना भृत्ति भृत्ति जाति जाति 'the Taulvalayanas become elated on the birth of a son'. Skill: — as, कृभृत्त कर्म 'skilful maker of mats'. मन्तरात्श्रेष्ठां 'skilful hunter'.

Vart: — The simple verbs, without upasargas, take the affix भृत्त, when the words so formed are names of sacrificial priests. As हृ + भृत्त = हृभृत्त, 1st sing. हृभृत्त 'the Hotri priest'; so also पोहित 'the Potri priest'.

Why do we say 'when not taking the upasargas'? Observe बुद्धिग्राह 'the Udgaṭī priest'; प्रतिहार 'the Pratihartri priest'. Here the affix is बृहत्. Though the form is the same, there is difference however in the accent; i.e. भृत्त places udatta accent on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197), while भृहि places it on the last (VI. 1. 163).

Vart: — The augment पुरः is added when नी takes the affix भृत्त, as नी + पुरः + भृत्त = नीपुरभृत्त, 1st sing. नीपुरभृत्त 'the Neshṭri priest'.

Vart: — When signifying diet, the verb स्थिय क्षर takes भृत्त; the letter भ is the substitute for the ह of the root; and the affix does not take the intermediate ह्य augment; as, स्थिय + भृत्त = स्थियभृत्त, 1st sing. स्थियभृत्त 'Tvashtri'.

Vart: — The root चत्त takes भृत्त, when the word to be formed means an officer; as चत्त 'an attendant, a door-keeper'.

Vart: — In the Veda, the root चत्त takes भृहि as चत्त. The form is the same as the last, but there is difference of accent.

अलंकायारकम् निराकामप्रजनातिपतिभाष्य-सर्वचन्द्रप्रत्यर्थमुद्युम्बुच्छसहचरः —

बृहु च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ अलंकायारकम्-निराकाम-प्रजन-उत्पत-उत्तप-उवाच-आपत्र-व्रतु-व्रु-सह-चरः — बृहु, (तत्त्वालाकिर्षु, कर्त्त्रिः) ॥

चत्तः ॥ अलंकायारकम् निराकामप्रजनातिपतिभाष्यसहचरं पूर्वार्थार्थार्थिपर्यंतं निर्देशानुसन्धष्यः ॥

136. The affix बृहु comes after the following verbs in the sense of the 'agents having such a habit &c'; viz. अलंकरः 'to adorn', निरक्तः 'to expel', प्रजनः 'to be born', उत्तपः 'to be ripe', उवाच 'to fly', उवच 'to be mad', बृहि 'to shine', अपत्रः 'to be ashamed', बृहि 'to be'; बृहि 'to grow', सह 'to bear' and चत्त 'to walk'.

Part:—The affix इष्ठुच् debares by anticipation the affix चुच्छ्र ० 39 of III. 2. 151, after the root अलंकुः, though it has the sense of decorating'.

वृत्तिः: ० 137 पद्यनि ः; ददुसिः, (तलेकालालिदिः, इष्ठुच्)।

137. The affix इष्ठुच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', comes in the Chhandas after a verb that ends in the causative चित.

The Causatives take this affix in the Vedic literature. As द्रव्यं भाराष्ठिद्यः: 'who hold the stones'; ्नोष्ठ: पाराष्ठिद्यः:।

भुवः ० १३८ पद्यनि ः सुच: (ददुसिः, तलेकालालिदिः, इष्ठुच्)।

138. The affix इष्ठुच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', comes in the Chhandas, after the verb भू 'to be' also.

Thus भविष्ठः: 'becoming'.

The yoga-vibhāga or the division of this sūtra from the last, with which it could well have been read, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras.

The word 'also' indicates the existence of other verbs not included in the above two sūtras; as, नालिष्ठिनन्दा नोष्ठितान्दनेन।

ग्लाजिस्म्यः केल्सः: ० १३९ पद्यनि ः ग्लाः-जिः-स्तः: च, कुसः: (तलेकालालिदिः)।

139. The affix कुसः comes after the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' viz.—ग्लाः 'to be weary', जिः 'to conquer' and स्तः 'to stand', as well as after भू 'to be'.

As, ग्लालुः: 'languid'; जिव्यः: 'victorious'; स्तालुः: 'disposed to stand firm, immovable'; भूसः: 'being'.

The anuvritti of the word Chhandasi does not extend to this sūtra. The indicatory letter of this affix is really ग and not क, and therefore, there is
no substitution of long ः for the आ of स्या, which would otherwise have taken place, had the affix been कित्तु (VI. 4. 66).

In the sūtra I. 1. 5. (कित्तत या) the letter य is also included; for य coming before क, is changed by the rules of sandhi into क and is not therefore visible. This affix therefore does not cause gūna.

So also in sūtra VII. 2. 11 (अभयकः कित्ति), the augment इत्र does not come after the verb स्फूर, or a monosyllabic verb ending in the pratyāhāra तक, when an affix having an indicatory क follows. Here also क includes य; and therefore in भूतते we have no intermediate augment इत्र:

Var.-In the Chhandas this affix comes after the verb वंशे ‘to bite; as ḍग्रावः प्रावः ‘the beasts that bite’.

140. The affix क comes after the verbs चर ‘to tremble’, गुप ‘to be greedy’, ध्वस ‘to be bold’ and श्रव ‘to throw’ in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’.

As, चल्लु ‘trembling’; गुप्नु ‘greedy’; ध्वसु ‘bold’; and श्रव ‘throwing’.

141. The affix विनुष्ट comes after the eight verbs beginning with शम ‘to be calm’, in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’.

The word इत्त in the aphorism indicates beginning. These eight verbs begin with शम and end with शम in the list of verbs. Of the affix विनुष्ट the real affix is इत्त, the other letters are servile; the य is for the sake of substituting guttural for the final palatals; र is for the sake of euphony, or for the sake of rule VI. 3. 45; and the letter य causes vṛddhi (VII. 2. 116): which in the case of roots ending in य is prohibited by the rule VII. 3. 34, the only verb taking vṛddhi’ being शम.

As शमि 1st. sing. शम ‘calm’; likewise तनि ‘desiring’; शमि ‘taming’; शमि ‘laborious’; शमि ‘whirling’, ‘moving round’; शमि ‘fatiguing’; शमि ‘forbearing’; शमि ‘mad’ and उष्मि ‘mad’. Though by rule 136, the verb शमि takes the affix इत्तसु, it also takes the affix विनुष्ट by the rule of व्यास्तक्र (III 194).

All these verbs belong to the Divādi class. After other verbs than these eight, we have other affixes; as असिता.
142. The affix विनुष्ठ comes after the following verbs, in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’.

viz: — संपृच्‌, अनुरूप, भायस्‌, भायस्‌, परिष्‌, संपृच्‌, परिष्‌, परिष्‌, परिष्‌, परिष्‌, परिष्‌, परिष्‌, परिष्‌, परिष्‌, परिष्‌, परिष्‌, परिष्‌, परिष्‌, परिष्‌, परिष्‌, परिष्‌, परिष्‌, परिष्‌, परिष्‌, परिष्‌, परिष्‌, परिष्‌, परिष्‌, परिष्‌, परिष्‌, परिष्‌, परिष्‌, परिष्‌.

The root संपृच्‌ is to be taken as belonging to the Rudhādi class, and not as belonging to Adādi, because the vikara is elided in the latter. The root परिष्‌ belongs to Bhvādi class, the simple verb being बृध्‌ ‘to sport’. The verb किवृ ‘to throw’ is common both to Tudādi and Divādi, and both are taken here. बृध्‌ ‘to concentrate’ is Divādi, and बृध्‌ ‘to join’ is Rudhādi; both are meant here. The verb रंध्‌ ‘to color’ has lost its nasal in this sūtra, irregularly.

Thus संपृच्‌ + विनुष्ठ = संपृच्‌ + विनुष्ठ (VII. 2. 52) = सम्परिष्ठ; 1st. sing. सम्परिष्ठ ‘mixture’; similarly, अनुरूप ‘compliant’; भायस्‌ ‘one who restrains’; भायस्‌ ‘one who exerts’; परिष्‌ ‘that which flows round’; संपृच्‌ ‘united’; परिष्‌ ‘lamenting’; संपृच्‌ ‘greatly heating’; परिष्‌ ‘moving about’; परिष्‌ ‘crying aloud’; परिष्‌ ‘reviling’; परिष्‌ ‘burning’; परिष्‌ ‘beguiling’; श्रेष्ठ ‘guilty’; श्रेष्ठ ‘hating’; श्रेष्ठ ‘quarrelling’; श्रेष्ठ ‘milking’; गो ‘uniting or concentrating’; भाको ‘playing’; बृध्‌ ‘discriminating’; बृध्‌ ‘renouncing’; बृध्‌ ‘yearning after’; बृध्‌ ‘sharing’; अतिवारी ‘transgressing’; अवधारी ‘offending’; अमोि ‘a thief’; भवापाती ‘attacking’.

The indicatory व of the affix shows that the final palatal is changed into a corresponding guttural before this affix.

चै चवलसकत्यकरम्म: || १४२ || पदानि || चै, कथ-लघ-कथ-स्रभ्‌ || (विनुष्ठ, तच्छीलादिकृ) ||

बृध्‌: || कथ लघ कथ कथ एतेऽथौ भादु-थौ विग्रहबपरे विनुष्ठपत्यानी भवति ||

143. The affix विनुष्ठ comes after the verbs कथ ‘to injure’, लघ ‘to embrace and sport’, कथ ‘to praise’ and स्रभ्‌ ‘to believe’, when these are in composition with the preposition वि.
As विकारी ‘injuring; विनाशी ‘sportive, a sensualist’; विकसस्य ‘vaunting’; and विस्मय ‘confiding’.

अथे च लघ: || नृण || पद्धति || अथे, च, लघ: (विनुष) ||

वस्त: || लघ कान्ती, अलसादृश्ययथाश्च च विनृणयथाभवति ||

144. The affix विनुष comes after the verb लघ ‘to wish’ when compounded with the preposition अर नि.

As अवलापी ‘thirsty’; विलासी. The term विनुष is to be read into this सूत्र by the force of the word ‘and’.

प्रेत लध्वदध्ववद्वस्त: || नृण || पद्धति || प्रेत-दध्व-दध्व-दध्व-वस्त: (विनुष) ||

वस्त: || पु उपपदेन नवाक्षणी विनृणयथाभवति ||

145. The affix विनुष comes after the verbs नध्व, दध्व, मध्व, वक्त एवं वक्त च when compounded with the preposition च.

As भवलापी ‘prattling’; नवासी ‘extending around’; याधवी ‘running away, fugitive’; नवारी ‘tormenting’; नवासी ‘reporting’; नवासी ‘a traveller’.

The root वक्त here is the Bhāvādi वक्त meaning ‘to dwell’ and is not Adādi meaning ‘to cover’, because in the latter the viśakṣaṇa is elided.

निन्दुहिष्कलितावनाशपरिविश्वपरिवर्तपरिवर्तविभाषायास्योऽढः || नृण || पद्धति || निन्दु-हिष्क-क्षिप-खाद-विनाश-परिचिप-परिरत-परिवर्त-परिवर्त-वादं-वाचाय-अस्य: वक्त: (लक्ष्मीलकिषु) ||

वस्त: || निन्दानिष्क्यो माध्यमवत्तिकालाविद् वक्तुषु वधृष्यथाभवति ||

146. The affix वक्त is added to the following verbs in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’—

विन्दु, हिष्कु, क्षिप, खाद, विनाश, परिचिप, परिरत, परिवर्त, वाचाय एवं अस्य:।

In this सूत्र the whole phrase ending with अस्य: has taken the termination of the first case; which, however, has the force of the ablative here.

As निन्द + नुर् = निन्द: (VII, 1, 5) ‘blaming’; so also हिष्क: ‘injuring’,


The same forms as the above would have been obtained by adding the affix अद्दुि taught in III, 1, 133, as by adding युख्; its separate enunciation indicates the existence of this parabhāsha:

“The rule of III, 1, 94 by which an āpavāda-affix which is not uniform with an utsarga-affix should supersede the latter only optionally, has no concern with āpavāda-affixes added in the sense of ‘having such a habit’ i.e. with the affixes taught in III, 2, 134—177’. Therefore the affixes अद्दुि &c, are not added in the sense of ‘having such a habit &c’.
147. The suffix युक्त comes after the verbs वृक्ष 'to lament' and कुष्ठ 'to cry', when an upasarga is in composition with them.

As आह्वेयक: ‘one who sports or laments’; आह्वेयक: ‘vociferous, a reviler’; परिवेयक: ‘one who laments’; परिकोऽक: ‘a reviler’.

Why do we say ‘when in composition with an upasarga’? Observe शेषितम and क्रिया formed by शेष (III. 2. 135).

148. The suffix युक्त comes, in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’. after intransitive verbs denoting ‘motion’ or ‘sound’.

As, चन्द+युक्त = चन्दन: ‘moving’ (VII. 1. 1); चोपान: ‘creeping’; श्रावन: ‘sounding’; शण्ड: ‘roaring’.

Why do we say ‘intransitive’? Observe पवित्रिपिथाम्.

149. The suffix युक्त comes in the same sense after such intransitive verbs as are Atmanepadi and begin with a consonant and are Anudâttet i. e. have a gravely accented vowel as indicatory.

As वर्णन: ‘being’; वर्धन: ‘growing’.

Why do we say ‘Anudâttet’? Observe नविनता.

Why do we say ‘beginning with a consonant’? Observe अपिन्ता, which though Atmanepadi, takes दुः.

Why have we used the term आह्वि ‘beginning’ in the śūtra? Observe जुगुस्सन: ‘censuring’; निर्मृतिं: ‘an investigator. For without the word आह्वि, the rule would have stood thus:—अनुदात्तेत् वाल: which by I. 1. 72. would mean ‘the suffix युक्त comes after the verbs which end with a consonant’; so that even after युक्त we shall have युक्त; and there would be no युक्त after जुगुस्स which ends with a vowel.

This rule will not apply if the root is transitive; as विलितम् वस्मा।
The affix युँ comes after the following verbs in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’, viz: युँ, चक्रमय, हस्तमय, युँ, गृह, ज्वल, शृङ्खल, लघु, पति and वर.

The verb युँ is not to be found in the Dhatupatha, and is taught in the aphorisms and is hence called a sautra dhātuv. It means ‘to go’, ‘to be quick’. As युँ + युँ = जो + अन (VII. I. 1. and VII. 3. 84) = ववन: (VII. I. 78, II. 3. 46) ‘a courser, a swift horse’. चक्रमय + युँ = चक्रमय + अन (II. 4. 74) = चक्रमय: ‘moving about’; so also हंसमय: ‘wandering’; शरण: ‘flowing’; गृहः: ‘greedy’; श्वसन: ‘burning’; श्रोभ: ‘grieving’; लघुः: ‘desiring’; पति: ‘falling’; पहन: ‘moving’.

The enumeration of the word युँ in the above, indicates that this sūtra applies to the transitive verbs; otherwise the sūtra III. 2. 148 would have been sufficient, as युँ is a चलन्तिय verb. Others say that the inclusion of युँ in this aphorism indicates the existence of the paribhāṣā already given under sūtra III. 2. 146 i.e. the rule of III. 1. 94 has no concern with affixes added in the sense of ‘having such a habit &c’. The affix हस्तमय which by III. 2. 136 is added to अलिक, supersedes therefore not merely the addition of युँ to अलिक (III. 2. 135), but also the addition of युँ to the same. If a tāchchhilika apavāda were to supersede only an atāchchhilika utsarga, it would have been superfluous for Pāṇini to teach in this sūtra the addition of युँ to युँ, because in that case the addition of चक्रम to चक्रम by III. 2. 154 would not have deburred the addition of युँ to युँ by III. 2. 149. The repetition is for the sake of jñāpana, therefore, and it indicates the existence of the above-mentioned maxim. The jñāpaka is not, however, of universal application; for sometimes both affixes are applied concurrently; as, गान्ता खेटे विकाशन:.

151. And after the verbs having the sense of युँ ‘to be angry’ and मण्ड ‘to adorn’, the affix युँ is employed. As मण्ड: ‘wrathful’; रूपमुः: ‘irascible’; मण्ड: ‘adorning’; सुभूमिः: ‘ornament’. But not so after the verb अलिक to which sūtra III. 2. 136 applies.

152. The affix युँ is not employed after those verbs which end in the letter य.

This debars III. 2. 149. As कन्नूरित ‘making creaking sound’; कसाबिस ‘trembling’. In these cases the affix युँ is employed (III. 2. 135).
153. The affix युन्त does not come after the verbs युन्त ‘to strike’, चंप ‘to shine’ and चंभल ‘to initiate’.

These three verbs are anuddaśit, and by sutra III. 2. 149, would have taken युन्त. The present sūtra prohibits that. Therefore they take युन्त. As, सुसिद्ध 1st. sing महुर्त ‘one who strikes’; सिद्ध ‘one who shines’; सिद्धतः ‘one who initiates’.

Now, it might be objected—‘We find that sūtra III. 2. 167 specifically enjoins the affix र after देह; this apavāda rule will therefore, supersede the general rule; where is then the necessity of the present rule? If you say that the affix युन्त is also obtained by the rule of non-uniformity (III. 1. 94), we reply that the Paribhāṣā given under sūtra 146 and 150 will prevent that.’

This objection is answered by saying that the above-mentioned Paribhāṣā is not of universal application; there are exceptions to it, as कसा चंप: and कसात चंप: ‘a young girl’ which are both valid forms derived by adding र and चंत to the verb कस। So also कसा and कसना ग्रामा ‘a shaking branch’.

If we prohibit युन्त after the root युन्त, how do we get the forms स्युद्वहन and रिपुसुत्र? This objection may be answered in three ways: (1) the present is an anitya rule, not of universal application, which can be inferred from finding this sūtra separated from the last (yogavibhāga), when it was easier to make them one, (2) the words स्युद्वहन &c belong to the नासाति class (III. 1. 134) taking the affix चंत or (3) they are formed by III. 3. 113 by the affix चंत:

154. The affix दक्ष (क्) comes after the following verbs, in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’—जनम, पस, पु, प्र, न, युन्त, श्याम, चंरु, हु, कस, गम, सा।

As ापलुकुल वृष्णसंगतं, वपातकं गमा भवनित, उपायुक्तंगबं, उपायुक्ता एन पाराभवनि, भवनित, भवनित, प्रवेशंका: पर्यंता:; आयातं कार्यानिकत्वं गुणम्, कार्यं एन जितो भवनि, आयातं कार्यालमायं रत आहार:; किंगं कर नितं नानात:। The य is added after स्याम in उपायुक्त by VII. 3. 33. The हु is changed into हात् by VII. 3. 32 and 54.

155. The affix याक्ष comes, in the sense of the ‘agent having such a habit &c’, after the following verbs—जन्य, भस्त, कुट, लुष्ठ and हु।
The \( \text{ष} \) is indicative showing that the feminine of the words so formed take the affix \( \text{षी} \) \( i.e. \) long \( \text{ष} \) (IV. 1. 41). As जल्पाक: ‘talkative’; निशाक: ‘a beggar’; कुट्टाक: ‘who or what cuts’; लुप्ताक: ‘a thief or robber’; वराक: ‘low, miserable’. In the feminine जल्पाकी &c..

156. The affix इन comes in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit etc’. after the verb \( \text{मनु} \) ‘to hasten forward’.

As \( \text{मजिव} \), 1st. sing. \( \text{मजी} \) ‘an express, courier’, 1st. dual \( \text{मजिव} \) &c.

157. The affix इन comes, in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’, after the verbs जि ‘to conquer’, दि ‘to respect’, खि ‘to waste, to dwell, to go’, \( \text{विनि} \) ‘to shelter’, \( \text{चि} \) ‘to go’, \( \text{वयि} \) ‘to vomit’, \( \text{अवि} \) ‘not to give pain’, \( \text{अभि} \) ‘to injure’, परिन ‘to humiliate’ and \( \text{पुि} \) ‘to beget’.

As पिँ, 1st. sing. पिथी ‘conquering’, similarly, \( \text{रि} \) ‘respecting’, \( \text{जि} \) ‘wasting’, \( \text{विभि} \) ‘wasting’, \( \text{अभि} \) ‘exceeding’, \( \text{वमि} \) ‘vomiting’, \( \text{अभि} \) ‘free from pain’, \( \text{अभि} \) ‘not injuring’, \( \text{परिनि} \) ‘humiliating’ and \( \text{पसि} \) ‘procreating’.

158. The affix आलुि comes in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’, after the following words:—कि ‘to desire’, गृह ‘to seize’, वत ‘to go’, \( \text{दि} \) ‘to give, to go, to protect’, \( \text{विनि} \) ‘to sleep’, तन्द्र ‘to be tired’ and भद्र ‘to venerate’.

The word निधर is formed by adding the preposition जि to the verb द्रां ‘to go crookedly’; so also सहि is formed by adding त्व to द्रा, and then irregularly changing the \( \text{ष} \) into \( \text{ष} \). The term भद्र is formed by adding भि to the verb बुधम् ‘to hold’. The first three verbs belong to Chaurūdi class and take केपु.

As, \( \text{हद्धि} \) ‘disposed to be desirous of’; \( \text{पुह} \) ‘disposed to catch hold of or seize’; \( \text{पत्र} \) ‘tending or prone to fall’; \( \text{हद्धि} \) ‘compassionate’; \( \text{निधर} \) ‘disposed to sleep’; तन्द्र ‘slothful’; भद्र ‘full of faith’. See VI. 4. 55 for adding भि.
Vart: — The affix आलुच् comes also after the root शृंक ‘to lie down’; as श्रीकान्त: ‘disposed to lie down’.

वृत्ति: || द्वारेत्र-सिद्ध-मृदुः: रूपः ॥ 159 || पद्यांग || द्वारेत्र-सिद्ध-मृदुः: रूपः ||
159. The affix रूपः comes after the verbs श ‘to give’, श्रृंक ‘to suck’, वि ‘to bind’, श्रव ‘to fall’ and श्रव ‘to sit’.

As, श्रवः ‘a munificent man’; श्रवस्त्रो मात्रम् ‘a sucking child of the mother’. The genitive case is here prohibited by II. 3. 69, the रूपः being taken as equivalent to रूपः. As श्रृंकः ‘binding’; श्रवः ‘falling’; and श्रवः ‘resting’.

खुरच्: करच् || 160 || पद्यांग || खुरच्-धिवि-दसंस्या, करच्(तच्छ्लो) ||
वृत्ति: || खुरच् अधि हस्तेल्यो भाषुः तच्छ्लो नामाधिक्यो करच्यो करच्यो भाषुः भविता दसंस्या ||
160. The affix करच् in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’, comes after the verbs खुरच् ‘to flow’, पवित्र ‘to eat’ and भवित ‘to eat’.

As खुरच्: ‘going, a kind of deer’; पवित्र: ‘gluttonous’; भवित: ‘voracious’.

(तच्छ्लोणावर्तमानोऽप्रवर्तकादिकोऽप्रवर्तकाधिकारिते) ||
वृत्ति: || भवित हस्तेल्यो हस्तेल्यो पुरुषवच्यो भविता तच्छ्लोणावर्तमानोऽप्रवर्तकादिकोऽप्रवर्तकाधिकारिते करच्यो ||
161. The affix पुरच् comes in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’, after the verbs भवित ‘to break’, भवित ‘to shine’, and भवित ‘to be fat’.

As भविताः पुरच् = भविताः पुरार्थे (VII. 3. 52) = भविताः ‘brittle’; the palatal being changed into guttural, because of the indicatory ग. So also भविताः पुरार्थे: ‘a fat beast’; भविताः ‘उन्नति: ‘splendid light’.

After the verb भवित this affix gives a reflexive signification—that which naturally breaks of itself.

(विविधिभिन्नस्याधिकोऽप्रवर्तकाधिकारिते) ||
वृत्ति: || विविधिभिन्नस्याधिकोऽप्रवर्तकाधिकारिते करच्यो करच्यो भविता भाषुः भविता दसंस्या ||
वासिकनुः || व्याख्या: सम्बन्धसाधनोऽप्रवर्तकाधिकारिते करच्यो भाषुः भविता दसंस्या ||
162. The affix करच् comes, in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’, after the verbs विविधि ‘to divide’ and श्रवः ‘to pierce’.

As विविधि: प्रकृतम् ‘a knowing Pandit’; श्रवः कायम् ‘a splitting or fragile wood’; श्रवः श्रवः ‘a cutting or breaking rope’. The affix is employed in a reflexive sense after the verbs श्रवः and श्रवः.
Varṇa:—The affix कृः, comes after the verb स्वच्छ ‘to kill’; and there is vocalisation of the semivowel; as मित्रः।

इशन्नव्यास्तिज़्ञिन: करः । १६३ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ इन्नव्यास्तिज़्ञिन: करः, (तध्वीलादिधिः) ॥

वृत्ति: || इन नग्रः नि सनि इस्तवेद्विन्यायाः धातुव्यस्तवात्त्रस्तम्याधिशु करंपुढ़ कस्तम्याधिशु भवति ॥

163. The affix करः comes, in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’, after the verbs इ ‘to go’, नम् ‘to destroy’, जि ‘to conquer’, and श ‘to flow’.

The इ is indicatory in order to introduce the augment तुः between the verb and the affix (VI. 1. 71). Thus इ + करः = इ + त + वर = इवरः; fem. इवरी ‘a traveller’; नवरः, fem. नवरी ‘transitory’; जिस्वरः, fem. जिस्वरी ‘victorious’; शवरः fem. शवरी ‘going, a river’.

Though the affix begins with a letter of व्रत्याहार, and ought to have taken the intermediate इ (VII. 2. 35) yet it is prohibited by VII. 2. 8.

गत्वस्य । १६४ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ गतवः, च ॥

वृत्ति: || गतवर इति निबास्तवरे, गमेयनुनासित्स्तवरे: कर्मप्रत्ययथ ॥

164. And the word गतवर is irregularly formed.

The word गतवर is formed by eliding the म of गत्व इत्यादि and adding the affix करः. As गतवः; fem. गतवरी ‘locomotive, transient’.

जागुकः । १६५ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ जागः, अकः, (तध्वीलादिधिः) ॥

वृत्ति: || जागुकः मवस्य भवति तत्त्रस्तम्याधिशु करं पुढ़ ॥

165. The affix अकः comes after the verb जागः ‘to be awake’ in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit’.

As जागुकः: ‘wakeful’.

यजजपदवशः यकः । १६६ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ यजः-जप-दशामः, यकः, (तध्वीलादिधिः, अकः) ॥

वृत्ति: || यजजपदवशः वझमतानामूकः: पवस्य भवति तध्वीलादिधिः करं पुढ़ ॥

166. The affix अकः comes in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’, after the verbs जागः, अपः and श when they end in the affix यकः.

The intensives of these verbs take अकः. As यायस्कः: ‘a performer of frequent sacrifices’; अब्यस्कः: ‘a mutterer of prayers repeatedly’; भन्सुकः: ‘a snake (what bites frequently),

तनिकासप्स्यत्जसकस्मष्यस्तिद्विपि: रः । १६७ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ तनिकासप्स्य-रिस-अजसः-कस्म-हिण्ड-द्रीपः, रः, (तध्वीलादिधिः) ॥
Bk. III. Ch. II. § 167-170.] THE AFFIX U.

167. The affix \( r \) comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' after the verbs \( n m \) 'to bow', कमप 'to shake', हिः 'to smile', अवज 'not to cease', कम 'to desire', हिन्स 'to injure', and हिः 'to shine'.

Thus, नचे काध 'soft wood'; काध शाखा 'shaking branch'; श्रेण मुख 'smiling face'; अजल रुपोति 'he sacrifices perpetually'; कत्रा बुझती 'a beautiful maiden'; हिन्स रकन 'the injuring Rakshas'; हिः काध 'brilliant wood'.

The word अजल is an adverb, and is derived from the root जस 'to set free', with the negative particle अ, and the affix \( r \); as अ + जस + र = अजल.

सनाशंसिभ (तत्त्वीतियु) \( w \) ॥ १६५॥ पदार्थि ॥ सन-आश्चर्य-भिषः, उ:, (तत्त्वीतियु)

168. The affix ु comes after roots that have taken the affix नु, and after the verbs आगच 'to wish' and निस्प 'to beg' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The term नु in the aphorism means Desideratives in the affix ु, and not the verb, नु, because the verb नु is never seen with this affix.

As, चिकोऽः: 'desirous of doing'; जीतरुः: desirous of taking'; आगतः: 'desirable'; निस्पः: 'a beggar'.

The verb आगच with the upasarga न्त is the verb शासि 'to desire' and not the verb शासि 'to praise'.

विन्दुरच्छः ॥ १६६॥ पदार्थि ॥ बिन्दः, हस्यः, (तत्त्वीति)

169. The words बिन्दः and हस्यः are irregularly formed by the addition of the affix ु, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

To the verb हिः we add the augment नु and then the affix ु; as, विब्र + नु + उ = विन्दः: (I. i. 47) = वेदशासिन 'intelligent'; so of हस्य 'to wish', the द is replaced by श, and we have हस्यः = एषपशासिन 'desirable'.

व्याचूचन्द्रिसि ॥ १७०॥ पदार्थि ॥ क्यातः, हल्द्विः, (तत्त्वीति)

170. The affix ु comes in the Chhandas, after the roots that have taken the Denominative affix क्य in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The term क्य includes the three affixes क्यवः, क्यतः and क्यः (see sūtras III. i. 8, 11, 13, &c). As निशयः, संश्वीरः, सुशिः: (Rig. Ved. I. 3. 4).

33
In the modern Sanskrit तून् will be employed. As नित्रीवित्त. By sūtra VII. 4. 33, the long दृ is replaces the final अ, when ध्वचः follows; as मून् + ध्वचः = मूनि + दृ = मूनी. Why then in the case of किम्: there is not the substitution of long दृ for the अ of मित्र? Because the rule VII. 4. 33 is set aside by VII. 4. 35 which declares that in the Chhandas the long दृ is not substituted for the अ।

आद्वगहजजन: किकिनी लिद्वच् ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आद्वन-गस-हन-जनः, किकिनी, लिद्वच्, (तष्कलादियु) ॥

171. In the Chhandas, the affixes किकिनी and किकिन् in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c.’ come after the verbs that end in long अ, or short or long अर्ध, and after the verbs गम् ‘to go’, हन् ‘to kill’, and जन् ‘to be produced’, and these affixes operate like लिद्वच् causing reduplication of the root.

The दृ after अ is either for the sake of euphony, or for the sake of precision. Had it been तून्, then by the rule of सर्व (I. 1. 70) short तून् would only be included and not long तून्. But the present rule is applicable to long तून् as well.

Thus पा + किकिन् = परिक्तिक: ‘drinking’; as पा: सोम तून्तिक: ‘drinking the soma-juice’;
शिहा: ‘giving cows’ (Rig. Ved. VI. 23. 4); भिन्नवर्ति ततुः (Rig. Ved. IV. 39. 2, VI. 68. 7). हूँ हरावलिनि: (Rig. Ved. X. 108. 1); गम् + किकिन् = जिनिक: ‘being in constant motion, wind’; जिनिक: (Rig. Ved. II. 23. 11); हन् + किकिन् = तनिक: ‘killing, a weapon offensive’; जनिनवत्तम (Rig. Ved. IX. 61. 2); जन् + किकिन् = किरी: as किर्मेश्वर (T. S. VII. 5. 20. 1).

The letter तून् in these affixes is indicatory. It might be said ‘it is superfluous to make these affixes किकिन्, because these being treated like लिद्वच् will be किकिन् by rule I. 2. 5’. True, they would be किकिन् by the rule I. 2. 5, but then the rule VII. 4. 11. (when लिद्वच् follows, गुना is the substitute of the verb किकिन् and of those that end in the long दृ) would also have applied to these affixes, and would have caused गुना. It is to prevent this गुना of the letter तून् that we have annexed an indicatory कृ to these affixes.

Vart.—The affixes किकिन् and किकिन् are of universal application in the Chhandas, and not confined to the verbs enumerated in the sūtra, as we see them in तून् &c.; as तूने: (Yaj. Ved. XII. 105); तूनि: (Rig. Ved. II. 5. 3).

Vart.—The affixes किकिन् and किकिन् come after the roots धास्, कृम्, दृ, जनिन्,
Vart:—The affixes फ़िक and फ़िन come after the Intensive (बहून्न) roots of सह, वह, वचन, and वल. As, सालसहि, तावहि, भाचलि, भावति: (VII. 4. 83).

व्यपितुष्वोनेजिन्द्र || १५२ || पदानि || व्यपि-त्वयः, नजिन्द्र
(तच्छलालिदिव) ||

वृत्ति: || व्यपितजुनेजिन्द्र तच्छलालिदिव कर्त्तवं व्यपितत्त्वयो भवति ||
वाचिकम् || व्यपितजुनेजिन्द्र व्यपितितम् ||

172. The affix नजिन्द्र comes, in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c', after the verbs त्वप 'to sleep' and त्वृ 'to be thirsty'.

As त्वप+नजिन्द्र=त्वमम् 1st. sing. त्वमक् 'sleeping, drowsy'; त्वपान् 1st. sing. त्वपाएक 'covetous, thirsty'.

Vart:—So also after the verb धृष्टि 'to insult, be bold'; as, धृष्टान् 1st. sing. धृष्टाएक 'bold, impudent'.

शचवन्द्राराह || १५३ || पदानि || श-वन्द्रार:; आरह, (तच्छो) ||

वृत्ति: || श वन्द्रारात्म वन्द्र अभिव्यागतस्यो: वन्द्रार: तच्छलालिदिव कर्त्तवियः: वन्द्रयो भवति ||

173. The affix आरह comes in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c' after the verbs शृ 'to injure' and वन्द्र 'to praise', 'to salute'.

As श्राह: 'noxious, a mischievous animal'; वन्द्रह 'praising, a bard'.

भियः: कुकुकनी || १५४ || पदानि || भियः; कु-कुकनी, (तच्छो) ||

वृत्ति: || भियः भिये अभिमानस्तत्त्वधिकारियो कर्त्तवे कुकुकनी प्रत्ययो भवति: ||
वाचिकम् || कु ककलिपि वक्तव्यः: ||

174. The affixes मू and कुकने come in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit' after the verb शृ 'to fear'.

As, श्रीक: 'fearful, timid'; श्रीकुक: 'timorous, a bear, a tiger, a jackal'.

Vart:—The affix कुकने should also be stated; as श्रीकुक:.

स्थ्रेण्णापिकसेव वरच || १५५ || पदानि || स्थ्र-इश्व-भास-पिक-कसः, वरचः (तच्छलालिदिव) ||

वृत्ति: || स्थ्र इश्व्रा भास पिक कस इश्व्रलघुन्नलिदिव कर्त्तवे स्थ्रपिकस्य: भवति: ||

175. The affix वरच comes, in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c' after the verbs स्थ्र 'to stand' इश्व्र 'to rule', भास 'to shine', पिक 'to go' and कस 'to go'.

As स्थ्रवाश: 'immovable', इश्वर: 'ruler, God'; पिकस: 'going, destructive'; विकस्वर: 'opening, expanding'.

यथ: यथ: || १५६ || पदानि || यः; च, यथः; (तच्छलालिदिव, वरच)||
176. The affix वर्ष in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’ comes after the verb या when it ends with the affix यह.

With the affix यह, the intensives of verbs are formed; as जावयः ‘a vagrant, an ascetic’. See sūtra I. 1. 58.

177. The affix किर comes, in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c.’ after the verbs आज ‘to shine’, धृत ‘to injure’, धृत ‘to shine’, कर्ण ‘to be strong’, दूर ‘to fill’, जू ‘to move rapidly’ and स्तु ‘to praise’, when it is preceded by the word आजस ‘a stone’.

Thus, विचार 1st. sing. विचार ‘splendid’; भाग 1st. sing. भा ‘light’; धृत + किर = धृत (VI. 4. 21), 1st sing. धृत ‘who injures’; धृत ‘lightening’; कर्ण 1st. sing. कर्ण ‘strength’; दूर 1st. sing. दूर ‘what fills’; जू ‘swift’. In the case of जू, a long vowel is the substitute of जू; राजस्तु (VI 1. 71) ‘a stone-worshipper’. Though by the universal rule III. 2. 76, the affix किर would have come after these verbs also, the repetition of the affix shows that विचारविचार does not apply in tāchchhilika affixes.

178. The affix किर is seen after other verbs also, besides those mentioned above, in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’.

As धृत, 1st. sing. धृत ‘joining’; मित ‘piercing’; मित ‘dividing’.

By using the words ‘is seen’ in the aphorism, it is implied that other rules also apply concurrently with किर. Thus in some cases we find lengthening of the vowel; in some, there is reduplication of the root; in some instances there is samprāsāraṇa of the semivowel; and in other cases there is not.
Vart.—When किः follows, the long vowel is the substitute of बच्च ‘to speak’, प्रचछ ‘to ask’, आयतस्तु ‘to praise long’, कट्सु ‘to move through a mat’, शृ ‘to move rapidly’, and श्री ‘to serve’, and there is no substitution of a vowel for the semivowel (VI I. 16).

As, वाच ‘the voice’; प्रचछ + किः = प्रचछ + किः (VI I. 10) = प्रचछ + किः (VIII. 2. 36) = पार्क (VIII. 4. 56) ‘who asks’; आयतस्तु ‘who praises long’; कट्सु ‘a worm’; शृ ‘swift’; श्री ‘the goddess Lakshmi’.

The word शृ which was mentioned in the last सूत्र is redundant here.

Vart.—There is reduplication of the verbs बुद्ध ‘to shine’, मन ‘to go’ and दु ‘to invoke’, when किः follows. As, विशृ ‘shining’; गज ‘going, the world’.

Vart.—There is lengthening also of the vowel of बुद्ध: as बुद्ध ‘a crescent-shaped wooden ladle used for pouring the sacrificial ghee into the fire.

Vart.—The root दु ‘to tear’ is shortened also, as दु ‘tearing’.

Vart.—The verb व्या ‘to think’ has samprastāraṇa; as व्या ‘thinking’.

शृ: संज्ञानत्यो: || || पदानि || शृं: || शृं-अत्तरयो: || (किः) ||

179. The affix किः comes after the verb शृ ‘to be’ when the word so formed denotes a name or a surity.

As, विशु ‘a person called Vibhū’; प्रितिसु ‘a surity i.e. he who stands intermediate between the debtor and the creditor’.

विम्रस्मते द्वसंज्ञायन्त || १८० || पदानि || विं-प्र-संयोग, दु, असंज्ञायनः, (शृ: ) ||

180. The affix दु comes after the verb दु when it is preceded by the upasargas वि, म and सम, provided that the word to be formed does not mean an appellative.

As विभु ‘all pervading’; मु ‘lord’; श्रु ‘Creator’.

Why do we say ‘when it is not a proper name? Observe विभु ‘a person called Vibhū’.

Vart.—The words निर्मतु &c, also are formed by this affix. As निर्मतु, ‘the sea’; श्रु: ‘causing happiness’.

Why have we applied दु and not किः to this root, as the forms would have been the same in either case? We have done so for two purposes: (1) To prevent the rules relating to dhātus from applying to this. (2) To prevent the insertion of दु augment. Thus the 1st. dual of निर्मत् is निर्मत्, 1st. pl. is निर्मित्व:|| Here there is no substitution of दु which the rule VI I. 4. 77 required, if दु had retained its dhātu characteristic; so also the rule of accent in VI I. 175
does not apply to Instrumental sing. नित्या &c, (2.) We have no त्र which rule VI. i. 71 required. मित्रि अन्ति-मित्रि ।

घि: कर्मिषि गटि, II १४३ II पद्रानि II घि: कर्मिषि, गटि II

यूसि: ॥ प्रयत्नियामात्र कर्मिषि कारके गटयास्यो गमति ॥

181. The affix गटि comes, in denoting the object, after the verb घि to feed.

The indicatory घि denotes that the feminine is formed by की (१२) affix. As वाली 'a nurse whom the children suck (धयानि)'; and 'Amalaki fruit which holds (धाद्वति) all medicinal properties'.

द्राकौशृशयुज्जुद्वविसिसिमिलियतंशन्हः कर्मि II १४२ II पद्भषा-

नि:। द्राकनी-यश्य-कुज्ञ-सतन-सिच-सिच-सिच-पत-दश-नहः, कर्मि (गटि)।।

यूसि:। घि नी शाश्व द्वृज्ञ सतन सिच सिच मित्र पत दश नह एतेन्यो भासुः करे ।

कारके गटयास्यो गमति ॥

182. The affix गटि, with the sense of instrument, comes after the verbs शाश्व 'to cut', नी 'to lead', शाश्व 'to hurt', यू 'to join', युज्ञ 'to join', सतन 'to praise', सतन 'to inflict pain', सिच 'to bind', सिच 'to sprinkle', मित्र 'to urine', पत 'to fall', यू 'to bite' and दश 'to bind'.

As शाश्व, 1st. sing. neuter श्राष्ट्रि 'a sickle' (lit. that with which one cuts); नी 1st. sing. नी 'eye'; सतन (VII. 2. 9) 'a weapon'; यू 'the tie that fastens the yoke'; युज्ञ 'the tie of yoke'; सतन 'a penegryic'; सतन 'a goad', सतन 'a ligament'; सिच 'a sprinkling vessel'; मित्रि 'the penis'; पत 'a vehicle'; दश 'a large tooth'.

The word श्राष्ट्रि belongs to the Ajādi class and hence forms its feminine in श्रा(आ) and not in दश (IV. 1. 4).

The root श्राष्ट्रि is read in the aphorism without its nasal i. e. as श्राष्ट्रि. This indicates by implication that श्राष्ट्रि loses its nasal before some affixes such as गटि; thus we have श्राष्ट्रि 'tooth'.

And lastly नी + गटि = नी गटिः फेर्म. नीस्त्रि (VIII. 2. 34 and 40), 'a thong'.

हल्लेकुर्योऽसु: पुज्ञ II १४५ II पद्रानि II हल-सुकुर्योऽसु: पुज्ञ: (गटि) II

यूसि:। पुज्ञ पुज्ञ नवन्ये, अत्त्राति: कर्याय कारके गटयास्यो गमति तपस्ये कराराय हल्लेकुर्यो भासि ॥

183. The affix गटि is employed after the verb यू with the sense of instrument when denoting a member of the body of a plough or of a hog.

The verb यू includes both पुज्ञ and पुज्ञ; as योग्नि 'a plough-share'; योग्नि 'the snout of a hog'.

The affix गटि is employed after the verb यू with the sense of instrument when denoting a member of the body of a plough or of a hog.

The verb यू includes both पुज्ञ and पुज्ञ; as योग्नि 'a plough-share'; योग्नि 'the snout of a hog'.
अतिलोभुक्तसहस्त्र इत्र: ॥ १८४ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ अति-लू-घू-सू-खन-सह-चरः, इत्रः ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ अति लू घू खन सह चर एवं भो भालुकः: करो जार्को इत्रसहस्त्रोऽन्नवितः ॥

184. The affix इत्र comes after the verbs कर ‘to go’, लू ‘to cut’, घू ‘to shake’, सू ‘to bring forth’, खन ‘to dig’, सह ‘to bear’, and चर ‘to go’ with the sense of instrument.

Thus, अति ‘a rudder’; लू ‘a sickle’; घू ‘a fan’; सू ‘cause of production’; सह ‘a spade’; सह ‘patience’; चर ‘an instituted observance or a narrative’.

पुष: संवधानः ॥ १८५ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ पुषः, संवधानः, (इत्रः) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ पुषवधानः ै: करो जार्को इत्रसहस्त्रोऽन्नवितः सदावधानः च गन्धः ॥

185. The affix इत्र comes after the verb पुष ‘to purify’ with the sense of the agent so expressed being the instrument; when the sense of the complete word is simply appellative, and not descriptive.

The verb पुष includes two verbs पुषु and पुष्य both meaning ‘to purify’, but belonging to two different conjugations; as गन्ध an instrument for cleansing or purifying, such as a sieve or a strainer; and in this sense it means ‘two blades of Kusa grass used at sacrifices in purifying and sprinkling ghee’. It also means ‘the sacred thread, the clarified butter, &c.

क्षेत्रि कार्तिदेवत्योः: ॥ १८६ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ क्षेत्रि, च, अधि-देवत्योः,

(इत्रः, पुषः) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ पुषः ै: करो जार्कि च इत्रसहस्त्रोऽन्नवितः, अधिदेवत्योऽयासंख्यः संबङ्कः ॥

186. The affix इत्र comes after the verb पुष ‘to purify’ in the sense of ‘the agent or the instrument’ when it is respectively employed in connection with a sage or a diety.

That is to say, when applied to a Rishi the force is that of an instrument, and when applied to a Devatā the force is that of an agent. As, पवित्रवृत्ति: ‘this sage is sacred’ (through whose instrumentality one is sanctified) भाषिः पवित्र स. मा पुनातु ‘the God Agni is sacred’ (one that purifies), ‘let him purify me’. So also, बायुः संगम: सूर्य इत्रः: पवित्र से मा पुनातु ।

शौचः: ॥ ॥ १८७ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ शौ-इतः, च: ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ भीति प्रातोऽवृतेऽमातेऽयोऽक्रमवितः भवितः ॥

187. The verbal roots, marked with an indicatory म, take the affix च, in denoting the present time.
The Nishtha affix क, as a general rule, is a past participial affix and denotes past time; and is so ordained by rule III 2 102. The present sūtra thus makes an exception in case of those verbs which are marked with an indicatory य in the Dhātupātha; as चिहिन्न to be affectionately inclined; मिस्त्र (मित्र + कृत्य) नित्र -तत् = मित्र + ता (VIII. 2. 42) 'being affectionately inclined'. So मिविक -किरित्वा 'sounding inarticulately'; भियुष्म -द्रः: 'bold'. The anuvṛtti of वर्तमान 'in the sense of the present', is read into this sūtra from III. 2. 123.

188. And after roots denoting inclination, understanding, or respect, the affix क is employed with the force of the present.

The word मित्र means 'wish' or 'desire'; चिहिन्न means 'knowledge'; and पूजा means 'worship', 'honor' or 'respect'. As राजा मनः -हास; -भास; -शास; -पूजित; &c. 'the king wishes, desires, thinks, knows, honors, respects &c'.

The force of the word च is to include other kinds of verbs not included in the above sūtra. Thus the following participles have their senses confined not to the past time only: शाशित: 'practised'; राजित: 'protected'; गच्छति: 'forbearing'; भाजुः 'censured'; जुः: 'pleased'; रास: 'angry'; श्रिष्टि: 'angry'; अभिव्याहत: 'uttered'; व्रत: 'happy'; तुः: 'satisfied'; काल्य: 'favourite'; संवत: 'restrained'; उध: 'ready'; क्रोध 'evil, misery' (with a future signification); and अमृत 'immortal'. So also: -स्वर: 'sleeping'; शालित: 'lying down'; आदित्यत: 'eaten'; लित: 'smeared'; तुः: 'satisfied'; all these have a present signification.
BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER III.

1. The affixes 'Un' and the rest, with the force of the present, and with a sense simply appellative, are attached diversely.

The phrase 'with the force of the present' (implying neither past nor future time) and 'with a sense simply appellative' (and not descriptive) must be read into this sūtra by anuvṛtti from sūtras III. 2. 123 & 185. By using the word 'diversely' it is indicated that these affixes are, of course, applied after roots about which they are ordained, but they come also after roots about which they are not ordained. Sometimes we must infer their application by seeing actual words. Some affixes, though there be no express injunction regarding them, are to be inferred to belong to this class. The maxim in regard to the Unādi affixes is that when, in apppellatives, we find the forms of verbal roots and affixes coming after them, then we may know, from the result as presented in the word, what are the indicator letters which the affix must be possessed of in order to produce the result.

These affixes are not given in Pāṇini's work, but they have been separately collected. The affix व्र्द्ध is the first of these. The first sūtra of Unādi affixes is the following—

क्रमासायिनिस्वाधिकृता व्र्द्ध वदद् ॥

The affix व्र्द्ध comes after the verbs क्रु 'to make', वद 'to blow', वद 'to drink', वत 'to overcome', वत 'to scatter', वप 'to be pleasant to the taste', वप 'to accomplish', and वप 'to pervade'.

Thus क्रु+व्र्द्ध=व्र्द्ध: 'an artisan'. So also, व्र्द्ध: 'the wind'; व्र्द्ध: 'the organ of excretion'; व्र्द्ध: 'a drug (which overcomes disease)'; व्र्द्ध: 'the bile'; व्र्द्ध: 'sweet'; व्र्द्ध: 'who accomplishes the object of another, hence virtuous'; and व्र्द्ध: 'quickly'.

These Unādi affixes come after a limited number of roots, and not after every root, as the affixes taught in this grammar whose application is general; hence the word वदद्ध has been employed. Moreover there has been no exhaustive enumeration of the several roots after which these affixes come:
only some of them have been collected in works treating of Unādi affixes. Thus though the affixes उच्च is ordained after हु, it comes also after श्र as ग्रान्तु. In fact there is a long discussion and it was a moot point at the time of Pāṇini whether these words said to be formed by Unādi affixes were really derivative, or primitive ones. Moreover all the operations of these affixes have not been shown, that is, their effects are not without remainder (क्रय). They are valid and good if found in sacred Scriptures or secular literature. The authors of Nirakāsas and grammarians of the school of Sākaṭāyaṇa, consider all nouns and substantives (नाम) as derivative words from simple roots (चर). Therefore where the derivation of a word is not apparent, one should infer the existence of proper base (क्रत्व) or affix (प्रत्च) to form such a word.

The following slokas will be of some use to the student for ascertaining the Unādi affixes:

```plaintext
बाहुकारणः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमर्श्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः ततोऽहमश्चतुः श्रुतेः

२. The 'Unādi' affixes are seen also attached with the force of the past time.

By the last सूत्र, it was taught that the Unādi affixes come with the force of the present time. The present aphorism teaches that they come with the force of the past also, not as a general rule, but in special cases. The force of the words 'are seen' being that no general rule can be laid down about it, but on finding that certain words have a past significance, we conclude that the affix in that particular case has the force of the past time.

Thus वृत्त + मलवृत्त = वृत्त 'a way, road' (that which has been established as a rule); श्रृ + मलश्रृ = श्रृ 'skin' (that which is lived in); so also मलन 'ashes' (that which has been reduced to ashes).

3. The words 'gami', &c. are valid forms, having the sense of future time.

The force of the future time is in the affix, and is so ordained, and not in the original word which takes the affix. Thus we see that the Unādi
affixes, in a way, do come with the force of not only present, but past and future also, though in the latter two cases its scope is very limited. As गभी प्रामस ‘intending to go to the village’; आगमी ‘that which has to come’ So also मर्यादी ‘departing’; निरोधी ‘an opponent, (who is going to obstruct). प्रतिवी गoing to be awakened’. So also प्रतिवी ‘an adversary’; प्रतिवी ‘an enemy’; प्रतिवादी; आव्रभ; भावी; &c.

Vart.—The Future, for the purposes of this rule, must be anadyatana future i.e. the affix should come in the sense of what will happen but not in the course of the current day. In other words, the force must be of the first future जूह, and not of the second future जूह. As चो गभी प्राम ‘he intends to go to the village tomorrow’.

यावत्पुरारियांत्योंलेख || पद्यान || यावत-पुरा-नियात्योंले || लट्ट (भविष्यति) ||

पुस्ति: यावतपुरारियांत्योंलेखपवयोंविभवति काुऽ बाहोनेमुलयो भवति ||

4. The affix ‘Lat’ comes after a root, with the force of futurity, when it has in construction with it the particles ‘yāvat’ and ‘purā’.

The present tense has the force of the future when the adverbs यावत् and भाव स are used. The phrase ‘futurity &c’ is to be read into this śutra from the last. Thus भावाय लेथे नियाति वुरा ‘he will surely fall in the range of your sight’. यावत्यय पुरासमन भावाय लेथे में विभागी. ‘I shall send Satrughna to exterminate this wretch’.

These words वुरा and भाव must be used as adverbs (nipātas), and not as relative pronouns. Therefore not here, यावठ्ठ भावति वाहि भोष्ये ‘as long as he will give, so long he will eat’; वुरा भोष्यति ‘he goes along the city’. Here भावस is a relative pronoun; and वुरा is the Instrumental singular of वुर ‘city’.

विभाषा क्राकर्णी || पद्यान || विभाषा, लट्ट-क्राकर्णी || (भविष्यति, लट्ट) ||

पुस्ति: क्राकर्णी इत्यतयो्रपवयोंविभवति काुऽ बाहोनेमुलयो भवति ||

5. The affix ‘Lat’ is optionally employed after a root with the force of the futurity, when it has in construction with it, the adverbs ‘kadā’ and ‘karhi’.

As कह खुल ‘when will he eat’, or कह भोष्ये or भोष्ये: so also कहिणुल्के or भोष्ये: or भोष्ये ‘when will he eat’.

क्रियस लिप्यायस || पद्यान || क्रिय-वस, लिप्यायस || (भविष्यतिकारे, विभाषा, लट्ट) ||

पुस्ति: क्रियसुचारपवये निपात्योंविभवति काुऽ बाहोनेमुलयो भवति ||
6. When the word ‘kim’ or its derivatives are in construction with the verb, the affix ‘Lat’ is employed optionally after a root, in denoting future time, provided that the sentence expresses a desire of gaining on the part of the speaker.

The word ‘optionally’ is understood in this sutra. By using the word तुत्र along with जिक it is meant that the rule applies even when जिक takes the affixes नत्र and जनम. The word जिक्त means the desire of gaining or acquiring, a wish to have something or an intention of begging.

As कं महाती भोजयत्ति or भोजयतात् ‘whom will you feed’? It implies a request on the part of the questioner to feed him also. So also कतरो जिसतं श्रावविता, हाति, हाता, or कतरो जिसतं श्रावविता &c, ‘Which of the two or which of these all, will he give alms? Will he give something to me’?

When no desire of gain is implied, the future tense must be employed as कं पाटलिपुत्रं गार्तिवति ‘who will go to Pāṭaliputra’.

7. And when the success, that would accrue to another by fulfilling the desire of the speaker, is indicated in a sentence, the present tense may optionally be employed with the force of the futurity.

The word ‘optionally’ is also understood here. The word जिक्तमात्राशिविक्त, is equal to जिक्तमात्राशिविक्त, मिक्ति, an Ablative-Tatpurusha Compound, signifying siddhi or success, that would be acquired by another by complying with the request of the speaker. The difference between this and the last sutra is, that whereas the last related to interrogative sentences having जिक्त in construction, the present relates to sentences in general. As ती मनोष्ठाति, स स्वर्ग गण्यवति ‘he who gives food, goes to heaven’; ती मनोष्ठाति or हाता, स स्वर्ग गार्तिवति or गार्ता.

Here the speaker encourages the giver to the act of charity by holding out the hope, that from rice which is the object desired (जिक्तमात्राश) the success (मिक्ति), in the shape of svarga, will accrue to the giver.

In other words, ‘the present is sometimes used for the future in conditional sentences, i. e. it is employed in connection with a sentence declaring the compensation or reward which follows from the granting of the wish’.

लोहार्यंकर्मि च || ॥ पदार्थि लोहो-अर्थ-लक्ष्य, च, (भविष्य- 
तिकाले, बिभाया, लट) ||
8. The affix ‘Lat’ is optionally employed with the force of the futurity, after that root, which in a conditional sentence, is the condition precedent for the action indicated by another verb having the sense of the imperative mood.

The word लोङ्ग means ‘having the sense of the affix लोङ्ग or imperative mood’. The force of lot is ‘to command, direct, invite &c’ as given in III. 3. 162 and 163. The sūtra, translated literally, will mean ‘the present tense may optionally be employed when the action denoted by the verb is related to another action denoted by another verb in the imperative, as a sign (लस्य) is to the thing signified (हस्य)’.

Thus उपायायथेवेशमन्त्री (आमिन्यवत्ति or आयुगना) भवति लभ्यते ‘if the professor comes (i.e. will come) then read you prosody’. Here the coming of the professor is the lakshana of the direction as to reading.

9. The ‘Lat’ (present) or the ‘Lin’ (potential) is used under similar conditions in denoting futurity, when the future time is future by a ‘muhūrta’ (48 minutes).

All the conditions of the last sūtra apply here also, namely ‘when the action denoted by the verb is related to another action denoted by another verb in the imperative, as a sign is to the thing indicated’. By force of the word च we read the anuvṛtti of lat also into this aphorism. The word क्रमाचर्निनक is a secondary derivative from क्रमधत्त, meaning ‘that which exists in time above a muhūrta’. This is an irregular compound; and the vṛddhi takes place irregularly of the त of म and not of क as the general rule required. The whole word thus formed qualifies the word ‘future’. Thus क्रमाचर्निनक उपायायथेवेशमन्त्री (आमिन्यवत्ति, आमिन्यवत्ति or आयुगना), भवति लभ्यते ‘If the teacher comes after an hour (of 48 minutes), you had better read the Prosody’.

The affixes ‘tumun’ and ‘nvul’ are placed after a verbal root, with the force of the future, when the
word in construction therewith is another verb, denoting an action performed for the sake of the (future) action.

As भोजनम् ब्रजति ‘he goes to eat’; भोजनम् ब्रजति ‘he goes to eat’. Here the upapada or the verb in construction is ब्रजति; it denotes an action performed for the sake of the future action (क्रियापारि), namely, eating.

Why do we say ‘denoting an action’? The upapada must be an action and not a substantive; as निजिष्ठस्य स्तिति भर्तय नारा ‘matted hair is for the purpose that he should beg.’ Here the affixes are not employed.

Why do we say ‘performed for the sake of another action’? Observe वाचवस्ते विपिष्ठति श्रुद्: ‘running, thy stick will fall’.

Now, it might be asked why श्रुद् is taught a second time, when it was already taught generally by rule III. 1. 133; and that being a common rule, would have applied to this subject also? If you reply that the future affix श्रुद् would have prevented its application, in conditional sentences like the above, we say that the rule of ‘non-uniform affixes applying simultaneously’ given in III. 1. 94 will step in and will conduct the application of श्रुद् in spite of लहू.

Vart.—The repetition of the affix श्रुद् (ordained to come after a verbal root, when the word in construction therewith is another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action,) is for the sake of prohibiting the application of the affixes like श्रुद् &c. in denoting the above sense; that is to say, the rule of वाचवस्तु (III. 1. 94) does not apply here and we cannot optionally employ any other affix, with this gerundial sense. Thus we cannot say कर्त्स ब्रजति ‘he goes to do’; but we must say कर्त्स श्रुद् instead.

These affixes form the gerund of the infinitive of purpose.

भाववचनाय || पदलि || भाव-वचना:, च, (भविष्यति, काले, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम) ||

वृत्तिः: || भविष्यति महाकाले ये पराध्यो विचित्रतासे च भाववचना भविष्यतिकाले क्रियायामपरे क्रियार्थायां नविनः ||

11. And the affixes that are ordained to come after a root with the force of denoting the mere action of the verb, such as भम् &c. (III. 1. 13.) have also the force of the future, when the word in construction therewith, is another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action.

As गाछाथ ब्रजति ‘he goes to cook’; भूतद् ब्रजति ‘he goes for the sake of success’; गृहस्य ब्रजति।

Now it might be asked, why make this rule at all, when those affixes have already been ordained? It has already been said that the वाचवस्तु rule
does not apply in regard to infinitive; and hence भुवन् would have prevented the application of other affixes. So the making of the present śūtra.

Why the word वचन has been employed in the śūtra? The meaning is that the words should be expressive or वाचक. How do the affixes become वाचक? When affixes which are ordained after certain bases, are employed after those bases only, then they are said to be वाचक, not when they are employed after other bases, or are even after those bases, but not in the mode as directed. So that, in short, those nouns only which have been especially formed by the भाववाचक affixes, भव् &c, can be employed with the force of gerund, and not every noun. The भाववाचक nouns correspond to the nouns of action or verbal nouns.

अण कःकिणि च ॥ १२ ॥ पद्दमि ॥ अशा, कःकिणि, (भवज्ञति, कारे, क्रियायां, क्रियारूपाः) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ पालीपारंपरयो नगर्ति भविष्यतिकाले कःकिणियो द्रियायो च क्रियारूपाः ॥

12. The affix आन comes after a root with the force of the future, when the word in construction with it is in the accusative case, and when the action is performed for the sake of another action.

The word 'future' is understood here. The force of आ is merely that of a connective particle. By rule III. 2. 1. the affix अण comes after a root when the word in composition is in the accusative case. That is a general injunction; and the rule of वाकर्मिण्य not applying, the affix वेद्ध would have debarred it as already said; hence this repetition. This rule being an apāvāda rule (an exception or a special rule with regard to those verbs which have the accusative case in composition) will thus, within its own jurisdiction, prevent the application of भुवन् of III. 3. 10; and by the rule of वर्ल्ला given in I. 4. 2, it will debar the affixes like आ &c. Therefore this अण comes after even those verbs also which were especially exempted from its operation by rules like III. 2. 3. Thus by rule III. 2. 3 the अण of III. 2. 1 could not have come after simple verbs ending in long आ, such as आ ‘to give' &c. But the present अण with a gerundial force will come even after such verbs. As गोष्टायी ज्ञति 'he goes to give cows', and not गोष्टः:। So also कामकायी ज्ञति 'he goes to give blanket'; भावायी ज्ञति। बाद + अण = बाद: (VII. 3. 33).

So also कामकायी ज्ञति 'he goes to cut wood'. In this case अण would have been applied even by III. 2. 1.

लूट शेषे च ॥ १३ ॥ पद्दमि ॥ लूट, शेषे, च, (भवज्ञति, क्रियायां, क्रियारूपाः, पालि:लूट) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ शेषे गुण्डे भविष्यतिकाले प्राकारात् क्रियायां चौपवे क्रियारूपाः प्रातोऽऽरुण पञ्चमो भवति ॥
13. The affix 'Lṛiṭ' is employed after a verb, in the remaining cases, where futurity pure and simple is indicated; and also where there is in construction with it another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action.

This is what is well-known as the Second Future. As करि।व्याजः रति राजीति 'he goes that I will do'; हरिययार्याः रति राजीति 'he goes that I will take'. So also, करिययार्याः 'he will do'; हरिययाः 'he will take'. Thus the Second Future is used both in dependent sentences as well as to denote simple Future.

लूठः सद्रा II १४ || पदार्थः II लूटः सखः वा II

बृहतः II लूटः स्थाने सत्वस्तः वाघान्याचः वा भवतः II

14. The affixes called 'Sat' i.e. 'satri' and 'sānach' are optionally the substitutes of 'Lṛiṭ'.

The लूटः has been defined in III. 2. 127. This option is a regulated option; that is to say, the affixes श्रद्ध and शानचः replace लूटः under the conditions in which they replace श्रद्ध; thus by III. 2. 124, these affixes will replace लूटः when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix. In these cases श्रद्ध will invariably replace श्रद्ध. In other cases it will optionally replace श्रद्ध. In these cases they will form what is known as future participle. As करिययास्तः पदार्थ 'behold Devadatta about to do; करिययास्तः पदार्थ 'behold Devadatta being about to be done'. हे करिययाः or हे करिययाः. Besides simple futurity, it denotes intention or purpose, as अर्जितेयार्याः बसनति 'he dwells intending to earn his livelihood'; करिययाः स्त्रांगुलं करासनं 'intending to furnish his bows with arrows'.

When, however, it agrees with the nominative case, it is optionally employed. As करिययाः, करिययाः; करिययाः or करिययाः पदार्थ: 'Devadatta will do'.

The form करिययाः is thus evolved. As क + लूटः = क + श्रद्ध + लूटः (III. 1. 33) = कर + श्रद्ध + श्रद्ध = करिययाः nom. sing. करिययाः. In other words the participial affixes अस्त (अस्त) and मान, technically known as श्रद्ध and शानचः, also come after a verb that has taken the personal ending श्र of the Future.

अन्त्यतने लूटः १५ || पदार्थः II अन्त्यतने, लूटः (भवितयतः) II

बृहतः II भवितेयास्तातने्याः वर्तनामाचारीयाः पदार्थयाः भवतः II

वासिकाम् II परिद्रेष्ये वस्त्रः भवितेयाः वर्तनामाः वर्तनामाः II

15. The affix 'Lut' comes after a verbal root in the sense of what will happen, but not in the course of the current day.

This debars 'Lṛiṭ'. As ध: तनम 'he will do tomorrow'. यथो भोक्ता 'he will eat tomorrow'.

Agni तने लूटः
The word ‘anadyatana’ is a Bāhuvihi compound. Therefore, in cases where there is not pure futurity beyond today, but a mixture of the two, सूत्र will be employed and not सूत्रू. As भयो च या भविष्यति ‘it will be today or tomorrow’. And where there is doubt, the second Future should be employed.

Vart.—The First Future (सूत्रू) is employed with the force of the Second Future (सूत्रू) when sorrow is expressed. As इवं सु कता गम्या, बैरं पाते नित्यावति! ‘Oh when will she go, who places her feet in such a way (who is such a slow walker) अभं सु कतावर्षेवा, य मानन्यकृत्सणा: ‘when will he learn, who is so inattentive’!

पद्युजज्ञविश्वस्य चणिं || १६ || पदार्थविं पदु-रजज-विश-स्पशः,

चणिं ||

वृत्तिः: पदार्थानि धातु-रूपो प्रपञ्चस्य भविष्यो भविष्यो भविष्यो भविष्यो भविष्यो भविष्यो भविष्यो भविष्यो भविष्यो भविष्यो भविष्यो भविष्यो भविष्यो भविष्यो भविष्यो

16. The affix ‘ghañ’ comes after the roots ‘pad’ (to pace), ‘ruj’ (to pain), ‘vis’ (to enter), and ‘spriś’ (to touch).

The anuvṛtti of ‘future’ does not extend to this sūtra. The affixes hereinafter taught come in all the tenses.

As एद + रम्बूससावः ‘foot’; रज्जु + चम्बु = रोमा: ‘disease’; so, बैरा: ‘entrance’.

Vart.—The verb स्पशष्य ता क्ष्यं when the sense is that of ‘distress’; as लात: ‘disease’ or ‘warmth’. The word ग्वर्जिया meaning ‘touch’ is formed by adding the affix भवु, under rule III. i. 134; as ग्वर्जिया वेद्व: || There is difference in accent between these two words.

मृत्युरे || १७ || पदार्थविं मृ, मृत्युरे, (चणिः) ||

वृत्तिः: मृत्युसारंत: मृत्युरे कर्त्तव्र चम्बु प्रपञ्चस्य भविष्यो भविष्यो भविष्यो भविष्यो भविष्यो भविष्यो भविष्यो भविष्यो भविष्यो भविष्यो भविष्यो भविष्यो भविष्यो भविष्यो भविष्यो भविष्यो भविष्यो

17. The affix ‘ghañ’ comes after the verb ‘spri’ (to move) when the agent is permanently fixed.

The word मृत्यु means an object remaining steady throughout any period of time. That which thus remaining permanent moves through any interval of time, will apply to the agent of the verb. Thus, मृ+चम्बु=सार: ‘an essence’; as कामनासार: ‘the essence of sandal’, सहिरासार: ‘the essence of catechu’.

Why do we say ‘permanently fixed’? Observe स्वर्जिया ‘moves’, सारंक: ‘that which flows’.

Vart.—The word so formed also applies to disease, fish and strength.

As भविरासार: ‘dysentery’; वियासार: ‘a fish’; सार: ‘strength’.

भविः || १८ || पदार्थविं भविः, (चणिः) ||

वृत्तिः: भविः बाय्ये ध्योत्योभु प्रपञ्चस्य भविष्यो भविष्यो

18. The affix ‘ghañ’ comes after a root when mere action is denoted.

37
Thus पञ्च + पञ्च = पञ्च ‘cooking’ (VII. 2. 116 and VII. 3. 52); स्वर्ग ‘abandoning’; रंग ‘colouring’ (VI. 4. 27). An action expresses a general state; so that all roots denote ‘action’ when their meaning is to be expressed. And as the meaning of the root can be expressed by the root itself, therefore, the affixes चूत &c. come after all verbal roots, when the sense of the root is denoted as having attained to the completed state. It is not necessary that the words so formed should be always of the masculine gender, singular number. They may take any other gender or number. As पञ्चिः, पञ्चमम्, पञ्चकौ, पञ्चका:। These affixes form, in short, verbal nouns, or abstract nouns being names of action.

अक्षरियः च कारके संज्ञायाम्। ॥ १९ ॥ पञ्चानि ॥ अ-क्षरियः, च, कारके, सञ्ञायाम् (चूत)॥

19. And the affix ‘ghan’ comes after a root, when the sense is that of an apppellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as agent.

Thus पास: (ि. ौ. मस्तःन्त तम्) ‘a dart, lit. that which men throw’; पल्लवः (ि. ौ. मस्तःन्त तम्) ‘a ball, lit. that which men stitch together’; आहारः (ि. ौ. आहारिन्त अम्बर्सम्) ‘food, lit. that from which men take out the juice to nourish themselves’. आस मधुराहारः, श्लोष्टिलाहारः।।

Why do we say ‘not related as an agent’? Observe नेश: ‘a sheep, lit. that which looks helplessly’. Here the word नेश is related to the verb निपति as agent, and the affix is consequently not चूत.

Why do we say ‘when denoting an apppellative’? Observe किंतुवः: कटः: ‘the mat must be made’.

The force of च in the सूत्रa is to indicate that चूत may be applied irregularly in cases where apppellative is not meant: as को भवता श्रायो हस्त: ‘what gift was given by you’; को भवता लाना जन्यः: ‘what gain was gained by you’.

The word कारक is used in the सूत्रa for this purpose. The word अक्षरियः is a compound word formed by the negative नम्प. The word means a non-agent. Now the word ‘non-agent’ has two-fold significance; either it means any other कारकa which is not an agent-कारक; or it may mean any thing in general which is not an agent. That is to say, the former negative, called पञज्ञान्त, points out, by implication, the objects which are different from the thing prohibited; and in fact, makes the rule applicable to those objects; while the second sort of negative called मस्तःन्त पल्लविष्य is a simple prohibition of the particular matter specified, without mentioning what is different from it. Giving the former interpretation to the word अक्षरियः, the word कारक becomes redundant, because ‘non-agent’ would mean any कारक other than an agent.
But the very fact, that कारक is used, indicates the existence of the following rule which is nowhere expressly taught by पाणिनि:—That नम् is compounded even with the force of प्रसवय प्रतिपेध' (VI. I. 45). अभिन्न, non-sit.

Both the phrases, 'when denoting mere condition (प्रत) and 'a kāraka 'which is not an agent' are understood in the succeeding aphorisms. See II 2. 6 about नम् Compound.

20. The affix 'ghañ' comes after all roots when the word so formed is the name of a measure.

Thus, नि+वि+वम् = निविवम् (VII. 2. 115)= न्याय (VI. 1. 78) 'a heap'; as एकसप्तेषुपरितिविवय; हृ शूपविनिवय। कृ 'to scatter'+वम् = कार:। हृ शूपविनिवय; वम्: कार:।

By using the word 'all' in the sūtra, it is indicated that the affix अप्र (III. 3. 57) is also superseded when this sense is to be indicated. Otherwise the affix अप्र would only be prohibited by the Paribhāsha:—'Apavādas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavāda-operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules'. Thus अप्र being taught in III. 3. 56 would be superseded, but not so अप्र taught in the subsequent aphorism III. 3. 57.

Why do we say 'when they are the names of measures'? Observe निवय: 'ascertaining'.

The word अवय: has been used in the aphorism in order to indicate that the words so formed are not Primitive words (स्रवतिः). The numerals are also there included, and not only measures like Prastha, Pala &c.

We have said above, that the force of the word सवेष्य: in this sūtra is to indicate that the affix वम् must be used after all verbs (not excluding even such verbs as require अप्र or अप्र by sūtras 56 and 57), when we want to express measure. This must be taken however, with certain limitations. The word सवेष्य: is not after all so wide as at first sight it may appear. If we wish to form a word indicating measure, in the feminine gender, we cannot use वम्; we must use the affix लिन्न्त्र (III. 3. 94). In other words, the feminine affixes are not superseded by वम् when it supersedes अप्र and अप्र. Thus in forming a feminine noun denoting measure, we have एकालमेष्यविनिवयि.; हृ प्रसवयि &c.

Vart:—The affix वम् comes after the causative verbs शरि and झारि, and there is luh elision of the causative affix लिन्न्त्र; when the word so formed is related to the verb as agent. Thus शारविन्न अप्रि = झारि: 'a wife' (lit 'who divides brothers' a wife breaking up the brotherly love); झारविन्न = झारि: 'a paramour',
21. The affix ‘ghan’ comes after the root ‘in’ (to study).

This debars अश्रू (III. 3. 56). As अभिः + इ + घम् = अभिः + हेः + भ = अभिधाय ‘a lesson or lecture’; उपाध्याय: (उपेत्यायार्थार्थी) ‘a teacher’.

Vart.—When the word to be formed is related to the verb इन्हू as an ablative, the word is feminine also and optionally takes the affix हीपू। As उपेत्याह्वीयोऽस्मय = उपाध्याय or उपाध्यायी ‘a female teacher’.

Vart.—The affix चयू comes after the root ग्रह, when the word so formed means ‘wind’, ‘colour’, or ‘cessation’. As धार: ‘wind’, ‘green colour’ &c. गौरिन्दकृत-नीमार: माशिका िशिरे कुः।

उपरस्य हन्तेऽऽः || 22 || पदार्थी || उपसंघेः, हवः, (चतुः) ||

वृत्ति: || उपसंघेः उपरस्ये रैत्यार्थायथं पस्ययी भवति ||

22. The affix ‘ghan’ comes after the verb ‘rū’ (to roar), when it has an upasarga in composition with it. This debars अश्रू (III. 3. 57). As संग्रह: ‘clamour’, उपाखर: &c.

Why do we say ‘compounded with an upasarga’? Observe ग्रह: ‘sound’.

वृत्ति: || समी उपरस्ये हव द्रु द्वृ हस्तेयोणे धारुः नाम प्रत्ययी भवति ||

23. The affix ‘ghan’ comes after the roots ‘yu’ (to join), ‘dru’ (to run) and ‘du’ (to burn), when in composition with the preposition ‘sam’.

As संयुक्त, संरूपः, संस्करः। But प्रस्त: where the preposition is not सम.

वृत्ति: || समी उपरस्ये द्रू हस्तेयोणे धारुः नाम प्रत्ययी भवति ||

24. The affix ‘ghan’ comes after the roots ‘sri’ (to go to) ‘ni’ (to lead) and ‘bhū’ (to be), when not in composition with an upasarga.


But with upasargas, we have प्रत्येक: ‘respect’, प्रस्त: ‘love’; प्रचर: ‘source’.

How do we explain the form प्रभाव in प्रभावि राशिः ‘the splendour of the king’? Here the word प्रभाव is not made from the compound root प्रभू-घम्, but by compounding प्र with भाव by the rules of samāsa, meaning ‘excellent condition’.
How do you explain the form नव in नवी रात्रि? Here the root नि has taken the affix ध्रुव diversely by III. 3. 113.

वृत्ति: नवी रात्रि नवी रात्रि; (घञ) नवी रात्रि

25. The affix ‘ghañ’ comes after the roots ‘kṣu’ (to sneeze), and ‘śru’ (to move and hear) when the preposition ‘vi’ is in composition.

This debar the affix ध्रुव (III. 3. 57); as, विषाल: ‘cough’; विषाल: ‘flowing forth’, ‘celebrated’. But when without preposition, we have श्रव: and ध्रुव:.

अवदोक्षस्वयं: सृज्ञत। पदार्थ: अव-यदी: सिद्धः (घञ) अव-यदी: सिद्धः अव-यदी: सिद्धः

26. The affix ‘ghañ’ comes after the verb ‘ni’ (to lead) when the prepositions ‘ava’ and ‘ut’ are in composition.

As अवनाथ: ‘throwing down’; उत्तज्ज: ‘elevation’.

How do you explain उत्तज्ज: in उत्तज्ज: दार्शनिक? Here the affix is ‘ach’ by III. 3. 113.

प्रे वृस्तुवः: सृज्ञत। पदार्थ: प्रे, वृस्तुवः (घञ) वृस्तुवः (घञ)

27. The affix ‘ghañ’ comes after the roots ‘dru’, ‘stu’ and ‘śru’, when the word in composition is ‘pra’.

As प्रवर्त: मल्लव: मल्लव: But not so in त्रज्ज: श्रव: and श्रव:.

लिङ्गस्यो: पूज्यो: सृज्ञत। लिङ्ग-अस्यो: पूज्यो: (घञ) लिङ्गस्यो: पूज्यो: लिङ्गस्यो: पूज्यो: (घञ)

28. The affix ‘ghañ’ comes after the roots ‘pū’ (to purify) and ‘lu’ (to cut) when ‘nir’ and ‘abhi’ are respectively in composition.

The word नि refers to both पुष्य and पूज्य. The rule I. 3. 10. must be applied here, and thus नि comes before पू. and अनि before पू. As निपुलम: ‘winnowing’; अनिवास: ‘moving’. But प्र: and नि: without these prepositions.

उद्ध्वन्योऽऽ: सृज्ञत। उद्ध्व: (घञ) उद्ध्व: (घञ)

29. The affix ‘ghañ’ comes after the root ‘gri’ when the upasargas ‘ut’ and ‘ni’ are in composition.

The verb गृ here refers to both the verbs गृ ‘to make sound’, and गृ ‘to swallow’. As दिन्ताय: समुद्रश ‘the roaring of the sea’; निगारनि हेवक्ति: ‘the swallow-
ing of Devadatta. But when without these prepositions, we have गरः।

कृ धान्ये ॥ ३० ॥ पदार्थि ॥ कृ, धान्ये, (चन्द्र, उपन्यो:॥

वृत्ति: ॥ कृ इवन्ताभास्तिसुतिःपयोपधोपरिवृत्ति,पर्ययो मन्त्रित पर्ययिन्यविच्छेदः;पर्ययो मन्त्रित ॥

30. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'kṛ', when the prepositions 'ut' and 'ni' are in composition and when the sense of the verb relates to grain.

The verb कृ here means 'to scatter', and not 'to injure', because no words formed by this affix are found in Sanskrit in that sense.

As उद्वारी हान्यतः 'the winnowing of corn'; निकारी हान्यतः 'the winnowing of corn'. But when not referring to grain, we have भैश्वोक्कर: 'a heap of alms', पुष्यिनिकर: 'the essence or heap of flowers'.

यष्टे समि स्तुवः: ॥ ३१ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ यष्टे, समि, स्तुवः, (चन्द्र)॥

वृत्ति: ॥ यष्टिविद्ययां प्रयोगः सर्वोऽस्तलोतिचिं प्रययो मन्त्रित ॥

31. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'stu' when it is preceded by the upasarga 'sam' and the word refers to sacrificial subjects.

As संस्ताब्रह्मोगानां, 'the Sanstava of the Chhandogas'; संस्तावः (=समेत्व स्तुवः परि वर्णः) means 'the place which the Brāhmaṇas repeating hymns and prayers, occupy at a sacrifice'.

But when not referring to sacrifice we have संस्तवहाजयः: 'the praising together of the two pupils'.

प्रे स्त्राप्येः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ प्रे, स्त्र:; अप्येः, (चन्द्र)॥

वृत्ति: ॥ स्त्र:; आच्छादने अवश्यात: प्राक्कल्पिते प्रम्र,प्रययो मन्त्रित, नवलयातिविचः प्रयोगः मन्त्रित ॥

32. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'strī' (to cover), when preceded by the preposition 'pra'; provided that the word so formed does not refer to sacrifice.

As, रांग्नास्तार: 'a bed of conch'; मण्डिस्तार: 'strewing of gems'.

प्रथने वाचाप्पदे ॥ ३३ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ प्रथने, वै, अवश्याद्, (स्त्र: चचन्द्र)॥

वृत्ति: ॥ वै आच्छादने अवश्यातिविच्छिद्वारः प्रम्र,प्रययो मन्त्रित प्रथने गम्भानने तत्त्वेऽस्यां गम्भिययय: न मन्त्रित ॥

33. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'strī' (to cover), when the preposition 'vi' is in composition with it, when the sense is that of extension, and when such spreading does not refer to words.
The word प्रयन्न means ‘extant, circuit, range’. As पद्यव विस्तार: ‘the extension of the garment’.

Why do we say ‘when meaning extent’? Observe, ब्रह्मविस्तार: ‘a collection of grass’. Why do we say ‘not referring to words’? Observe विस्तारो वचसाम् ‘prolificity of words’.

ढंदी नानिराथ्म || 34 || ढंद; नानिराथ्म, (वैर, स्त्र), वषो

वृत्ति: II बिपूरवन्द्यार्थनेंद्रन्योनाधिक यथा,सत्यं भवति ||

34. The affix ‘ग्हान’ comes after ‘stri’ with the upasarga ‘vi’, when the word so formed is the name of a metre.

The word ग्रन्थ here means prosodical metre such as Gāyatri &c; and not the Vedas; otherwise the word नाम would not have been used. Thus वि+ग्रन्थ+ष्ण=वि+स्त्र+ष्ण(VIII. 3. 94)=विदार: ‘the name of a metre called Vishtāra-Pankti’.

The whole word विदारप्रस्तः is the name of a metre, and is not a word ending with the affix ग्हान; only a member of this word, i.e. the first part ends with ग्हान. The seventh case-affix in the word ग्नोनापि has the force of location i.e. when the word so formed occurs in a portion of a name of a metre; it is not the full name, but it is in the name i.e. forms a portion of the name.

उदि यथ: || 35 || पद्रनि || उदि, यथ:, (षो) ||

वृत्ति: II विदारप्रस्तेन्द्रविद्यासत्यं नाम: भवति ||

बास्तिकम् || ग्नोनापि निपूर्वर्ज्ञते शुरुक्षमननिपतनयोः ||

35. The affix ‘ग्हान’ comes after the verb ‘ग्रह’ (to seize), when the preposition ‘उ’ is in composition.

This debars the affix अपु. As बंधां: ‘lifting up’.

Vart:—In the Vedas this affix is applied even when the word यथ is preceded by न; and the य is changed into ष; the sense of the two words being ‘to lift up’ and ‘throw down’ respectively of the sacrificial ladle; as, बंधां र निमाने ष बन्धावेता अब्धीपुष्पः

सनि यथ्जत || 36 || पद्रनि || सनि, यथ्जत, (षो, षो) ||

वृत्ति: II संयुक्तये महंदरतोर्यंप्रस्ते नाम: भविति भूमिन्यवन्यमेवभाष्योऽभवति ||

36. The affix ‘ग्हान’ comes after the root ‘ग्रह’ when in composition with the preposition ‘सम’ when the sense of the root refers to fist.

The word मुहति means ‘boxing’, ‘fist’; as, अधो महत्त्व संचार: ‘O! the clenching of the fist of the athlete’; अधो महत्त्व संचार: ‘O! the seizing of the boxer’, meaning grasping firmly.

Why do we say ‘referring to fist’? Observe संचाररो धातुस्य ‘a collection of grain’.
37. The affix 'ghan' comes after the roots 'ni' (to lead), and 'i' (to go), when the prepositions 'pari' and 'ni' are respectively in composition with them, 'and when the words so formed respectively mean 'a game' and 'propriety or arrangement or law'.

Here again we take help of I. 3. 10 in interpreting this sutra. The verbs परि+नी and विः+इ, take ग्हन when respectively meaning 'gambling' and 'fitness'. As परिशाण शारान हन्ति 'he kills (or takes) many pieces by moving a chessman.' Here परिशाणाः समनस्ताल्यम् means 'the moving of chess-pieces from every side, and so winning the game'. So also विः+इ+प्रम् = विः+हेतु+अ=विः+आय=न्याय: 'justice', 'propriety', 'logic'.

But when not having these senses, we have परिशाण: 'marriage', and न्याय 'decay'; as न्यायज्ञस्य पापः: 'the sin has been destroyed'. The word अवेश means प्रदापानमनन्तपराः वधापानकरणः

38. The affix 'ghan' comes after the root 'i' (to go) in composition with the word 'pari' when the sense is that of following in regular succession.

As परायस: 'turn, succession'; तव परायस: 'thy turn'; सम परायस: 'my turn'. Why do we say 'when meaning turn'? Observe कालश परायस: 'the lapse of time'. The word अवेशत्वम्=कालशप्रावतकात्यम्: 'not breaking the series or order'.

39. The affix 'ghan' comes after the root 'स्त्र' (to lie down) when the prepositions 'vi' and 'upa' are in composition with it, and when the sense of the word so formed is that of 'regular succession'.

As, तव विग्रहाः: 'thy turn of sleeping' (i.e. the rest enjoyed in rotation by the sentinels on watch); सम विग्रहाः: 'my turn of rest'; तव राजोप्रकाशः=तव राजानमु पावित्रमन्यायः: 'thy turn of sleeping the king'.

Why do we say 'regular succession'? Observe उपायः: 'lying by the side of or ambush'; विशवः: 'doubt',
40. The affix 'ghaṅ' comes after the root 'chi' (to collect), when the sense expressed is that of taking by hand, provided it does not refer to stealing.

By saying 'taking by hand' the close proximity of the person taking to the thing accepted or taken is indicated. As पुष्पप्रचाय: 'gathering flowers by hand'; फलप्रचाय: 'gathering fruits by hand'.

Why do we say 'taking by hand'? Observe पुष्पप्रचाय: फलान्त बद्धा प्रचार करते 'he gathers with the stick the fruits hanging on the top of the tree'.

Why do we say 'when not meaning to steal'? Observe पुष्पप्रचाय: 'the gathering of flowers by theft'.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the word उपचय: 'gathering'; as पुष्पप्रचाय: 'gathering of flowers by hand'.

41. The affix 'ghaṅ', comes after the root 'chi' (to gather), and 'k' is the substitute of the initial 'ch' in these senses viz.—'a dwelling', 'a fire on the funeral pile', 'the body' and 'collection'.

That in which people dwell (निवासित) is called निवास: or 'dwelling'. That which is gathered together (वीयः) is called वीयि or 'funeral pile'. शारीर means the body of all living beings; and वास्मान means making a heap. Thus निकाय: 'a dwelling'; as in कालिनिकाय: 'Kāsi-dwelling'; भार्गा समितित वैमीत 'let him arrange the ākāya fire i.e. the funeral fire'; कायः: 'body', as अनिष्ठ: कायः: 'a perishable body'; महान् भगवयनिकाय: 'a heap of cow-dung'.

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Observe चव: 'gathering'. Why is not this rule applied in महान् कालिनिकाय: 'a large heap of wood'? Here multiplicity is expressed and not collection or aggregation.

42. The affix 'ghaṅ' comes after the root 'chi' (to gather) and 'k' is the substitute of the initial 'ch' in
the sense of ‘a multitude or assembly’ (of living beings possessing some common characteristics), but not merely a confused crowd of men.

The word संच means a collection or assembly of living beings. It is of two sorts:—either by collection of persons possessing common qualifications, or a mere confused crowd of men. The collection denoting a confused crowd is here excepted and by पर्युद्दसा negation the other is taken. Thus निचुक्तिनिधाय: ‘the assembly of beggars’; ब्राह्मणिनिधाय: ‘the assembly of Brāhmaṇas’; वैयक्तपरमाणिधाय: ‘the assembly of Grammarians’.

But सूक्तरिनिधाय: ‘a herd of hogs’; because it is a mere collection. So also दुहूजाकसममाचय: ‘the collection of what is done and not done’; मनमायमुच्छ्याय: ‘the collection of proofs’. Here there is no संच in either of the two senses, it not being a collection of living animals, the affix गह is not employed.

कमेव्यतिहारे याच स्त्रियास || ॥ ॥ पदानि || कमेय्यतिहारे, याच, स्त्रियास् ||

वृत्ति: || कमेव्यतिहारे गम्यनमे पातालेषु कुष्ठस्यो भवति लोकलिङ्गे वाच्ये ||

43. The affix ‘नाच’ comes after a root in denoting reciprocity of action, and the word so formed is in the feminine gender.

The word कमे means ‘action’ and is not the technical ‘Karma’ meaning the accusative case. व्यतिहार means reciprocity or interchange of action. The word so evolved is feminine in form and denotes mere ‘action’ (अव) also. The anubandha च in याच is qualitative and is added to distinguish this affix from other affixes: thus in सूत्र V. 4. 14 this particular affix is meant.

Thus (व+अव+क्रृत+स्व+भ) = व्यतिस्वार्थी (V. 4. 14, and VII. 3. 6) ‘mutual abuse’. So also व्यवहारस्व, व्यवलेखी. The affix याच forms only an imaginary stem; for this stem must take the affix अव, by V. 4. 14, which even does not form the complete word until the affix हिरण of the feminine is added.

Why do we say ‘in the feminine’? Observe अतिपादको शब्दशी ||

The making of this a separate सूत्र by itself and not reading it in the subdivision of feminine affixes beginning with कितन (III. 3. 94) is for the sake of removing the obstructing aphorisms that would otherwise have prevented the application of this rule.

For, had it been taught in connection with कितन &c, then the affixes that would have debarred कितन &c, would a fortiori have debarred this also. But by keeping it separate from that class, it is indicated that those obstructive affixes which debar कितन &c, do not debar this. Thus व्यवहारिः, व्यवचरिः. Here युर्द being a श्वस्त class root would have taken युर्द (III. 3. 107) in the femi-
nine, as चोरणम्; and चषोऽ would have taken भद्र by III. 3. 104, as चषोऽ. The roots द्रेस and द्रेष, by III. 3. 102 & 103, take भ by debarring फळन्। This debarring affix भ, however, is not debarrred by this rule; as व्यद्वा, व्यद्वा are the proper feminine forms, and not व्यद्वा &c. The form व्यद्वा is, however, an apparent exception. All these exceptions, counter-exceptions &c. are examples of बहुत taught in III. 3. 113.

अभिविचित्र भाव इनुस् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदर्लि ॥ अभिविचित्र, भावे, इनुस् ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ अभिविचित्र गत्यनाने भावतामावे इनुस्यस्यभो नवति ॥

44. The affix 'inun' comes after a root in denoting condition, when co-extensiveness is meant.

The word अभिविचित्र means co-extensiveness, that is to say, the complete comprehension or relation between the action and the quality. Thus सारस्विपित् 'a general or tumultuous uproar'; सं + कृ + हु + अ (V. 4. 15 and VI. 4. 164) = सारस्विपित् 'a general confusion'; so सारस्विपित् 'a general flow or stream'.

Why do we say 'when meaning co-extensiveness'? Observe संकोल, सरास्; संद्रामः।

Why do we use the word भाव again in this सूत्र, when its anuvṛtti was already flowing from सूत्र III. 3. 18? The object is that the यस्यम् rule (III. 1. 94) should not apply here and hence चषोऽ never comes in this sense. Pātanjali says that the repetition is for the sake of indicating that in neuter gender, when co-extensiveness is expressed, the affixes क &c. are prohibited; so that the affixes क &c. should not come in the neuter with the force of भाव।

The separateness of this सूत्र is for the same purpose as the last aphorism. The affix व्युष् is not, however, prohibited; as व्युष्टवम्. See rule कृत्वव्युष्टवेने ब्रह्म (III. 3. 113). The affix इनुस् (the operative part being हु) forms but an imaginary stem, which does not become real and complete till it takes the affix भद्र by V. 4. 15, as shown above.

आक्रोशवद्यंग्राहः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदर्लि ॥ आक्रोशः, अवन्नोऽ, ग्रहः; (घञः)

वृत्ति: ॥ भव नि इवत्सोऽहपिन्यः इर्वत्सोऽहपिन्यः नवति आक्रोश गत्यनाने।

45. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'grab' (to seize), in composition with 'ava', and 'ni'; when malediction is meant.

Though इनुस् is immediately, near, we take the anuvṛtti of चषोऽ (III. 3. 16), because we see that its anuvṛtti is possible.

The word आक्रोश means 'cursing'. As अवन्नोऽ हन्त ते वृपलन्यात् 'cursed be thou, O! sinner'. So also निम्नहस्ते न्यायात्।

Why 'when meaning cursing'? Observe अवपः, पहः; निम्नहस्तरस्य।

प्रे लिप्स्यायस् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदर्लि ॥ प्रे, लिप्स्यायस् (ग्रहः, घञः)॥
46. The affix ‘ghan’ comes after the root ‘grah’, when the word ‘pra’ is in composition, and the sense denoted is the desire of acquisition.

As पात्रमयाहेऽगति बिनाम् बिनाः ‘the beggar walks for the sake of alms, carrying a vessel in hand’; सुत्रमयाहेऽगति किरो हस्तिजायि ‘carrying a sacrificial ladle, the Brāhmaṇa walks about for his fee’. The word बिनाः means the wish to have something’.

Why do we say ‘when meaning desire of gain’? Observe प्रमणी हेवकस्य ।

परीा यक्षे ॥ ४९ ॥ पद्यानि ॥ परीा, यक्षे, (प्रहः, चाजः) ॥

बृजः: परिवहन्तुपर्यः ग्रह्येऽग्रह्यो भवति ॥

47. The affix ‘ghan’ comes after the root ‘grah’, in composition with ‘pari’ when it relates to sacrificial subjects.

As उत्तरसंहिता: ‘the northern fencing of the sacrificial altar’; अधर-परिवहा: ‘the southern fencing of the sacrificial altar’.

Why do we say ‘when relating to sacrifices’? Observe परिवहः: हेवकस्य ‘the fencing of Devadatta’.

नै हृ धान्ये ॥ ५० ॥ पद्यानि ॥ नै, हृ, धान्ये, (चाजः) ॥

बृजः: बिनादशापमेव हृ इस्त्रशाहातोत्तरान्यविद्यांभिषेके-किरोहे ग्रह्ये पर्यः भवति ॥

48. The affix ‘ghan’ comes after the verb ‘व्री’ preceded by ‘नि’; when the sense is that of grain.

The हृ here means both हृह्र and हृ. This debars the affix अष्ट्र. As नैवारा: ‘rice growing wild or without cultivation’.

Why do we say ‘meaning grain’? Observe निवरा क्रन्या ‘a virgin girl’.

उद् अष्ट्रित्वाचालित्वु: ॥ ५१ ॥ पद्यानि ॥ उद्दि, अष्ट्रित-वाचाति-प्रु-द्रवः; (चाजः) ॥

बृजः: हेवकस्यापेक्ष अष्ट्रीयाकाः प्रु पर्यः भवति ॥

49. The affix ‘ghan’ comes after the verbs ‘स्री’, ‘यु’, ‘पु’ and ‘द्रु’, when the preposition ‘ut’ is in composition.


How do you explain the form समुद्रवः in श्रोतान्तः: समुद्रवः? The word बिनाः ‘optionally’ in the next sūtra, excerts a retrospective effect on this sūtra, and the form is an optional one. This is a most unusual thing and is
called विभावलोकनन्दन: ‘the maxim of the lion’s backward glance’. It is used when one casts a retrospective glance at what he has left behind, while at the same time he is proceeding, just as the lion, while going onward in search of prey, now and then bends his neck backwards to see if any thing be within its reach.

विभाषा एड़ि सुङ्गुलो: ॥ ५२ ॥ पदरानि ॥ विभाषा, आड़ि, सुङ्गुलोः, (चल्न) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ आड़ि उपर्ये रौवे: हरवसंघ विभाषा ममस्तवयो भवति ॥

50. The affix ‘ghaṇi’ is optionally employed after the verbs ‘ru’ (to roar) and ‘plu’ (to float), when the preposition ‘āṇ’ is in composition.

As आभाव: or आभाव: ‘noise’; आभाव: or आभाव: ‘bathing’.

अते यहीवर्णप्रतिवन्धे ॥ ५३ ॥ पदरानि ॥ अते, यह:; वर्ण-प्रति-वन्धे, (विभाषा, चल) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ अते उपर्ये सहरातोपंस्तवयो भवति विभाषा वर्णप्रतिवन्धे निन्दे ॥

51. The affix ‘ghaṇi’ is optionally employed after the root ‘grah’, when the word ‘ava’ is in composition, the sense being withholding of rain.

The word ‘optionally’ is understood here. The word वर्णप्रतिवन्ध means the absence of rain, from some cause or another, when the season has arrived; as अववाह: or अववाहे वेदस्य ‘the draught of rain’.

Why do we say ‘when meaning ‘obstruction of rain’? Observe अववाहः

पह्वि ।

प्रे विभाषा ॥ ५४ ॥ प्रे, विभाषा, (विभाषा, यह:; चल) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ पश्चाद्वपर्ये गहर्यतोविभाषा ममस्तवयो भवति प्राप्यात्मवन्भवयो विभाषा सम्भव- न्धे भवति ॥

52. The affix ‘ghaṇi’ is optionally employed after the verb ‘grah’ in composition with ‘pra’, when the word so formed relates to commerce.

Both the words ‘grah’ and vibhāṣā are understood here. By ‘relation to commerce’ is meant here the string of the balance; and not commerce in general. That string by which a balance is held is called तुल्याय: or तुल्याय: as तुल्यायः चरति or तुल्यायः चरति; and this may be said of any person whether he be a trader or not.

Why do we say ‘when belonging to commerce’? Observe मयहो देवदत्तो वीरदत्तस्य ‘the whip of Devadatta’.
53. The affix ‘ghañ’ comes optionally after the verb ‘grah’ in composition with ‘pra’, when the word so formed means ‘a rein’.

The word रिम means here the bridle by means of which horses &c. joined to the carriage, are held under control; as मध: or मध: ‘a rein’.

वृत्तङ्कराद्राद्वे || ॥ पदानि || वृत्तः; आश्वाद्रू, (वि-भाया, प्र, चन्त) ||

वृत्तः || प्रद्वमहद्रपरे वृत्तोत्तरात्ति:विभाया प्रम्पवथवो भवति प्रश्याम्नयः च रेष्ट्राद्राद्विधिय उच्चते ||

54. The affix ‘ghañ’ comes optionally after the verb ‘vri’ (to choose), when ‘pra’ is in composition, and the word so formed means ‘a sort of covering’.

As मजङ्कः or मजङ्कः ‘a cloak, a veil’.

Why do we say ‘when it means a covering’? Observe पत्राणि।

परी मुखः सजङ्कः || ॥ परी, मुखः, अवजङ्कः, (विभाया, प्र, चन्त) ||

वृत्तः || परीजङ्कराद्रपरे विभाया प्रम्पवथवो भवति आश्वाद च बनराद्राद्विधिय उच्चते ||

55. The affix ‘ghañ’ is optionally employed after the verb ‘bhû’, the word ‘pari’ being in construction, and the sense of the word so formed being ‘disregard’.

The word अवजङ्कः means ‘contempt’, ‘neglect’, ‘disregard’ &c. As परिमहः or परिमहः ‘insult, humiliation’.

Why do we say ‘when meaning disregard’? The word परिमहः may be then construed to mean सर्वोपरि:परिंत्रः ‘surrounding’.

परिंत्रः || ॥ पदानि || परि:; अथ, (अकस्ते, संज्ञायाम्, भावे) ||

वृत्तः || परिंत्रात्ति:विभाया अकस्तेरि त जार्यो भेष्याम्नयःम्परि:भवति ||

वार्तिकम् || भविष्यो मवाहिनमुपसंस्याम्नयः ||

वार्तिकम् || जातसर्वे छत्रस्य वस्तुभि: ||

56. The affix ‘ach’ comes after a root ending in ‘i’ or ‘i’ (when mere action is denoted, or when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as an agent).

The words within brackets are to be supplied from sūtras 18 and 19: and these words are to be supplied in every subsequent sūtra as far as sūtra 113 of this chapter. This debars चन्तः. The च in चन्तः is qualitative, in sūtras like VI. 2. 144.

Thus, चन्तः ‘collecting’; चन्तः ‘going’; चन्तः ‘victory’; चन्तः ‘wasting’.
Vart.—In this connection the words भय &c. should also be enumerated. As श्रे + अग्र = भयम ‘fear’, तप्तिण ‘rain’. These being neuter words, otherwise would have taken the affix क &c. but for this Vartika.

Vart.—The words जाव and चव are formed by this affix, and occur in the Vedas. As अज्ञेयस्य नः जावः, पंचायतस्यः। These roots जु and चु would have otherwise taken the affix अवः. The form would have been the same, but there would be difference of accent. See Rig. I. 112. 21, and Yaj. XI. 2.

57. After a root ending in long 'ि', short 'ु', or long उ, there is the affix 'अप'.

This debars अञ्छ. The अ is indicative for the sake of accent (III. 1. 3); as, चु + अपः = करः ‘scattering’; शू-गारः ‘beverage, poison’; घु-शारः ‘arrow’; बु-वालः ‘barley’; घूः अवः ‘reaping’; पृष्ठिण ‘winnowing corn’.

The अ in धु is merely for the sake of euphony: it is not अ changed into अ; for then by the rule “that which follows अ is also called सार” short अ only would have been taken and not long अ (I. 1. 70).

58. The affix 'अप' comes after the verbs 'ग्रह’, ‘वरि’, ‘द्रि’, ‘निश्चि’ and ‘गम’.

This debars ध्व; and in the case of निश्चि the affix असू is debared. As ध्व: 'a planet'; निश्चि: 'tearing, a cave'; असू: 'certainty'; गम: ‘march’.

The verb निश्चि would have taken असू, but takes असू which causes difference of accent.

Vart.—The roots च य श्रे and रष ए ष should also be included in this; as वश: ‘obedient’; रष: ‘battle’.

Vart.—When the sense is that of असू, the affix क is directed to be employed, after the following verbs: —स्या, स्या, पा, व्यष, हनु and तुष.

As वश: ‘a table-land’ (on which they move); गम: ‘a vessel for bathing’ (in which they bathe); निश्चि: ‘a place where water is distributed to travellers’ (that out of which they drink); असू: ‘an awl, a drill’ (that by which they pierce); असू: ‘an obstacle’ (in which they are obstructed); असू: ‘battle’ (where they fight).
59. The affix ‘ap’ comes after the verb ‘ad’ (to eat) when an upasarga is in composition.

As विभरः: (II. 4. 38) ‘half-chewed morsel’; प्रवर्ण: ‘voracious’.

Why do we say ‘when compounded with an upasarga’? Observe गास: ‘grass’; अद्व + पर्भ्न=प्रवर्ण+अ (II. 4. 38).

60. And the affix ‘na’ as well as ‘ap’, comes after the verb ‘ad’ (to eat), when the upasarga ‘mi’ is in composition.

As नि+अद्व+अद्व=नि+आद्व+अ = यवांः: (VII. 2. 116) ‘feeding’; नि+अद्व+अद्व = नि+प्रवर्ण+अ (II. 4. 38)= विभर: ‘eating, food’.

61. The affix ‘ap’ comes after the verbs ‘vyadh’ and ‘jap’, when no upasarga is in composition with them.

This debars ग्रस्त: As व्यवः: ‘wound’; ग्रस्त: ‘muttering’.

Why do we say ‘when upasarga-less’? Observe आह्मात्र, उपात्रारा।

62. The affix ‘ap’ comes optionally after the verbs ‘svan’ and ‘has’ when no upasarga is in composition with them.

Thus स्वात: or स्वात: ‘sound’; हास: or हास: ‘laughter’. But with upasargas, we have only one form; स्वात: ‘a loud noise’; महात: ‘a loud laughter’.

63. And the affix ‘ap’ comes optionally after the verb ‘yam’, when the upasargas ‘sam’, ‘upa’, ‘ni’ and ‘vi’ are in composition; or even when it is upasarga-less.

This debars चतु: As संबंध: or संबंध: ‘restraint’; उपवीरः or उपवीर: ‘marriage’; निलिन: or निलिन: ‘restrictive rule’; विद्धम: or विद्धम: ‘check, distress’; याम: or याम:

(अप् वा)
64. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verbs 'gad' (to speak), 'nad' (to sound), 'path' (to read), 'svan' (to sound), when the upasarga 'ni' is in composition with them.

This debars वचः. Thus निग्राहः or निग्राः: 'recitation'; निरः or निराः: 'noise'; निरः or निराः: 'reading'; निस्त्रमः or निस्त्राणः: 'a noise'.

क्रोः वीणायां च II ६५ II पद्यम् II क्राः; वीणायां, च, (नै, वा, अनुपस्थि, अपू) II

65. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verb 'kvan' (to jingle), when 'ni' is in composition with it, as well as when it is without any upasarga, or when 'flute' is meant.

This debars the affix भचः. Thus निक्तः or निक्ताः: 'a musical tone'. क्राः or क्राः: 'sound'. When it refers to 'flute', it must have some upasarga not necessarily नि; as कन्यापक्षः कीणा.

But not so here, अतिक्रायो वर्तते, where the upasarga being भवति and the word not referring to 'a flute', no option is allowed. When flute is not meant the upasarga must be नि or no upasarga at all, for the optional application of the affix अपू. To sum up, क्राः takes अपू optionally under three conditions:—1st when preceded by नि, or 2ndly when having no upasarga, or 3rdly when it refers to 'flute', and then it must have some upasarga.

नित्यं पशा: परिसाधे II ६६ II पद्यम् II नित्यं, पशा: परिसाधे,

(अपू) II

66. The affix 'ap' comes invariably after the verb 'pan' (to barter), when the sense is that of measure.

The word निस्त्रम् 'invariably' is used in the aphorism in order to stop the anuvṛtti of the word optionally. Thus मूलक्षणः: 'a handful of radishes'; शाकस्यः: 'a handful of vegetable'. These words secondarily have come to mean 'a measure equal to a handful', irrespective of any thing.

When not meaning measure, we have पशा: 'trade'.

67. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'mad', when not in composition with an upasarga.
This debars चर्मः. As विभागः: 'pride of knowledge'; धनमः: 'pride of wealth'; कुलमः: 'pride of family'. When compounded with upasargas, we have उन्मादः: 'mad'; प्रमादः: 'error or carelessness'.

प्रद्नद-सम्मदैशं हृदं || बुद्धिः || प्रद्नदः सम्मदैशं हृदं ||

68. The words 'pramada' and 'sammada' are irregularly formed, meaning 'joy'.

As कल्याणः प्रमादः: 'the joy of girls'; कौकिलानां संमादः: 'the rejoicing of cuckoos'. Why do we say 'when meaning delight'? Observe प्रमादः: 'carelessness'; संमादः: 'frenzy'.

Instead of saying 'the verb mad preceded by pra and sam takes the affix ap' which also would have given the above forms, the full forms have been used in the sutra to indicate that these words are चुड़ि in this sense; for the sense of the root is not visible in these words.

सम्मदैशं: पशुः || इश्वरदैशं: प्रद्नदः || सम-उदैशं: अजः, पशुः (अप) ||

69. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'aj' (to go), when the prepositions 'sam' and 'ut' are in composition, and the word so formed refers to beasts.

This debars चर्मः. The root अजः 'means to go, to throw'. When preceded by सम, it means 'a collection'; and preceded by उत्त it means 'driving'. As समम: पशुः 'a herd of cattle'; उत्त: पशुः 'driving forth of cattle'.

Why do we say 'when applying to cattle'? Observe सममादः साधारणानां, भावः कौकिलानाः ||

अच्छो गृहः || इश्वरदैशं: प्रद्नदः || अमोह, गृहः ||

70. The word 'glaha' is irregularly formed, when the sense of the root refers to gambling.

This word is derived from the root गृहः. The verb गृहः takes the affix अमः and thus forms प्रहः; and then irregularly र is changed into जः as अजः गृहः: 'cast of the dice'.

Why do we say 'when referring to gambling'? Observe गृहः पारसः ||

Others say, this word is derived regularly from the root गृहः 'to gamble', by adding the affix अमः, and thus debarring प्रहः. They suppose, therefore, the existence of the root गृहः to explain the form गृहः: || The counter-example which they would give, is ग्राहः: 'receiving', formed by adding the affix आमः ||
71. The affix ‘ap’ comes after the verb ‘sri’ (to flow), in the sense of impregnating (the covering of cows &c).

This debars च. The word मन्त्र means ‘the first covering of a cow by a bull’. As गायच्छार: ‘impregnation of cows’; पुष्कर: ‘impregnation of cattle’.

72. The affix ‘ap’ comes after the verb ‘hay’ (to call), when the preposition ‘ni’ ‘abhi’ ‘upa’ and ‘vi’ are in composition with it, and its semi-vowel is changed into the corresponding vowel.

This debars च. As नि + हू + अप् = नि + हू + अ (VI. i. 108) = नि + हू + अ (VII. 3. 84) = निन्द (VI. i. 78) ‘invocation’; अनिहू: ‘invitation; उपहू: ‘invitation; बिहू: ‘calling’. But हूहू: ‘a summons’.

73. The affix ‘ap’ comes after the verb ‘hay’ when the word in composition is the upasarga ‘āñ’, and the semi-vowel of the root is changed into its corresponding vowel, when the word so formed means battle.

As आहू: ‘battle’ (where they challenge each other). But otherwise भाव: ‘calling’.

74. The word ‘āhāva’ is irregularly formed when meaning a trough.

The word भाव: is irregularly formed from हू by the prefix भ, then samprasāraṇa, and the vṛiddhi of the vowel. Thus आ + हू + अप् = आहू + हू = आहो + अ = भाव: ‘a trough near a well for watering cattle’. Otherwise भाव: ‘calling’. Even in the word आहव: the sense of calling is understood. It is that place near a well, containing water, where cattle are called or invited to drink water.
75. The affix ‘ap’ comes after the verb ‘hve’ and there is the change of the semi-vowel to its corresponding vowel, when the root is upasarga-less, and mere action is denoted.

As हव ‘calling’; हवे हवे हवे शुचिमिन्द्रम।

Why do we say ‘when no upasarga is in composition with it’? Observe भावः। Though the anuvṛtti of the word भाव was understood in this aphorism from śūtra 18, its repetition here shows that the anuvṛtti of śūtra 19, which was running, must not be taken; so that this word applies to agent-करक also.

76. The affix ‘ap’ comes after the root ‘han’ when upasarga-less, in the sense of mere action, and ‘vadha’ is the substitute of ‘han’ before this affix.

Thus वध has udāṭṭa accent on its final. The affix अप् which is anudāṭṭa generally (III, i. 4) thus becomes udāṭṭa.

As वधोरायणम् ‘the killing of thieves’; वधोष्णयम् ‘the killing of robbers’. When action is not denoted, the affix वधम् applies; as चात ‘a blow.

So also when an upasarga is in composition with it; as चात्। चात्।
The word च in the aphorism does not connect हृ with the substitute वध, there being no co-ordination, it refers to the affixes under discussion. Thus we have the affix वधम् also; as चात ‘killing’.

77. The affix ‘ap’ comes after the verb ‘han’, when the word so formed means solidity, and ‘ghan’ is the substitute.

The word मूर्ति means ‘hardness’, ‘solidity’. Thus अवापम् ‘a mass of cloud’; अविचम् ‘solid curd’. How do we say अवापम् वधम्? Here the quality is taken for the thing qualified.

अभिनुपर्णी देष्। 96। पदानि। अष्टः। चात्। नाश्। (हवः। अप्।)

चित्तम्। अभिनुपर्णी देष्। अष्टः। चात्। नाश्। (हवः। अप्।)।
78. The verb ‘han’ preceded by the word ‘autan’ takes the affix ‘ap’, and ‘ghan’ is the substitute of the word ‘han’, when the word so formed means ‘a country’.

As अन्तर्ग + हन + भुज = अन्तर्ग = अन्तर्ग + भुज = अन्तर्ग = ‘name of a country of Bakhika’; (a porch or court, an open space before the house between the entrance door and the house). Some write the word with प्र as अन्तर्गप्र, that is also valid.

Why do we say ‘when meaning a country’? Observe अन्तर्गप्र ‘striking in the middle’.

अगारैकदेशे प्रववा: प्रववाणवा: ॥ ॥ पदानि ॥ अगार-एकदेशे,

प्रववाणवा: प्रववाणवा: च, (हन:) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ प्रववाणवा हन: प्रववाणवा इस्योत्तै: शब्दी निपास्येते अगारैस्येवादे वाच्ये ॥

79. The words ‘praghana’ and ‘praghāna’ are irregularly formed meaning ‘a portion of a dwelling house’.

Thus प्रववा: or प्रववाणवा: ‘a porch before the door of a house, a portico’. This is formed from हन with च, irregularly.

Why do we say ‘when meaning a portion of a house’? Observe प्रववाणवा: ॥

उद्घनीत्त्वाचानम् ॥ ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्घन: अत्याधानस्,

(हन:, अप’) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ उद्घनीत्त्वाचानम इति निपास्येते अत्याधानस चैव भवित ॥

80. The word ‘udghan’a is irregularly formed in the sense of ‘bench’.

This is formed from उद्घन+ हन: irregularly. Thus उद्घन: ‘a carpenter’s bench’ (the wood on which placing other planks &c. the carpenter carves &c). When not having this sense, we have उद्घन: ‘uneven’.

अपघनीत्त्वाचानम् ॥ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपघन:, अपघन: (हन:, अप’) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ अपघनीत्त्वाचानम इति निपास्येते अपघन: भवित ॥

81. The word ‘apaghan’a is irregularly formed meaning ‘a member of the body’.

This is formed irregularly from अप + हन: Thus अपघन: ‘a limb or member of the body’. The word अपघन: means a portion of the body, such as hand or foot, and not the whole body. Otherwise we have अपघन: ॥

करोप्योचरित्रयु ॥ ॥ पदानि ॥ करो, अप: -विदु, (हन:, अप:, चन:) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ अवयस्व वि हु इस्योत्तैपश्चातु हस्तेशायो: करो, कारोप्योचरित्रयु भवित, पनिपर्यायः ॥

82. The affix ‘ap’ comes after the verb ‘han’
when the words ‘ayas’, ‘vi’ or ‘dru’ are in composition with it, when the word so formed is related to the verb as an instrument, and ‘ghan’ is the substitute of ‘han’.

As भोवन: ‘a forge-hammer’ (whereby the iron is destroyed); विनन: ‘a mallet’; द्रुन: ‘an axe’. Some write द्रुपण, the न being changed into य either by rule VIII. 4. 3. or by including this word in the class of आरोहणवि (IV. 2. 80).

83. The affix ‘ka’ also comes after the verb ‘han’, when ‘stamba’ (a clump) is the word in composition, and the relation of the word so formed to the verb is that of an instrument.

The word घ in the sūtra draws in अर्थ from the last aphorism and in that case घन replaces हन. Thus श्वाभ: or श्वाखन: ‘a small hoe for weeding clumps of grass’. In the feminine gender, the forms are श्वात्व: as well as श्वापन:। When क is added, we have श्वाख:। Thus हनु-क=हनू+अ (VI. 4. 98) =चन (VII. 3. 54). When अर्थ is added, हनू is totally replaced by घन। When instrument is not meant, we have श्वायात:।

84. The affix ‘ap’ comes after the verb ‘han’, when the upasarga ‘pari’ is in composition, and the relation between the word so formed, and the verb, is that of an instrument, and ‘gha’ replaces ‘han’.

Thus परिष: or पनिष: (VIII. 2. 22) ‘an iron beam used for locking or shutting the gate, an iron club’.

85. The word ‘upaghna’ is irregularly formed meaning ‘an inclined place for leaning or support’.

It is formed by adding अर्थ (III. 3. 76) to the verb हन, preceded by the upasarga घ, then eliding the penultimate अ of ह; this is the irregularity. Then by sandhi rules हन is changed into घन। This form would have been given by the affix क also, without any irregularity.

The word भश य refers to proximity, contiguity. Thus पर्तोपचम: ‘the declivity of the mountain’; so also भग्नोपचम: ‘bordering the village’.

Why do we say ‘when meaning ‘support’? Observe पर्तोपचात:।
86. The words ‘saṅgha’ and ‘udgha’ are irregularly formed in the sense of ‘a collection’, and ‘a praise’ respectively.

These words are thus formed: सम् + हष्ट् + अष्ट्य = स + ह + अ = स + घ + अ = संघः.

Thus संघः: ‘a herd of cattle’; so also उद्घः मनुष्यः: ‘an excellent man’. The word ‘respectively’ is inserted from I. 3. 10. When not used in these senses, we have संघकः: ‘union’.

87. The word ‘nigha’ is irregularly formed in the sense of ‘as high as broad’.

The word निग्नतिः means ‘measured all round’ i.e. ‘as high as broad’ As निग्नतिः: ‘trees as high as broad’. निग्नतिः शालय: ‘square or cubic or circular halls’. Otherwise, when not meaning ‘as high as broad’, we have निग्नाति: ‘a blow’.

The word निग्नित: = समन्तान्तित: समारोहपरिणामम्. It may be derived from मा or from नि. In the first case it will mean ‘measured’ and in the other, ‘erected, built’. Professor Bothlingk refers to Āpastamba Dharma. I. 20. 30 for the meaning of this word.

88. The affix ‘kṛti’ comes after the verb which has an indicatory ‘dū’, when denoting mere action &c.

The phrases ‘when the sense is that of mere action’, and ‘when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as agent’, are of course understood in this, as in all the previous aphorisms. Then by IV. 4. 20, (of the affix क्र, मृष्टि is always the augment) we must add र्, for we cannot use the affix क्र alone; but we must always use र्म. Thus उपचयः ‘to cook’—पक्षिमम् ‘what is ripe’; उपघः—उपविमम् ‘sown’ (VI. 1. 15); उपक्षः—उपक्रिमम् ‘artificial’.

Bk. III. Ch. III. § 86-88.] THE AFFIX KṛTI.
89. After that verb which has an indicatory ‘tu’, the affix ‘athuch’ comes with the force of denoting mere action &c.


यज्ञयाचयततिविच्चर्णसतर्णः नहः॥५॥ पदानिः यज्ञ-याच-यत-विच्चर्ण-प्रच्छ-रक्षः: नहः। (भावे, अक्तरि, कारके)॥

वृत्ति:॥ यज्ञार्थमें धातुः नहः, प्रत्ययो भवति॥

90. After the verbs ‘yaj’ (to worship), ‘yāch’ (to ask for), ‘yat’ (to strive), ‘vichchh’ (to shine), ‘prachchh’ (to ask) and ‘raksh’ (to preserve), comes the affix ‘nān’ with the force of denoting mere action &c.

The conditions of sūtras 18 and 19 are understood here also. The of नहः is for the sake of prohibiting guṇa or vṛiddhi(I. 1. 5); as यत: ‘sacrifice’; जात्वा ‘solicitation’; यत्रः ‘effort’; विमः: (VI. 4. 19) ‘lustre’; प्रमः ‘a question’; रक्षः: protection.

The root प्रच्छ, by VI. 1. 16, ought to have changed its र into र before the hindu affix नहः. Its not doing so must be taken to be an irregularity countenanced by Pāṇini, as we know from the fact that Pāṇini himself uses the form प्रम: in III. 2. 117.

स्वयो नहः॥ ५४॥ पदानि॥ स्वयः, नहः। (भावे, अक्तरि, कारके)॥

वृत्ति:॥ स्वयोपरिच्छति, प्रत्ययो भवति॥

91. The affix ‘nān’ comes, under similar circumstances after the verb ‘svap’ (to sleep).

The final न is indicatory and regulates the accent (VI. 1. 197); as स्वमः: ‘a dream’.

उपसागः चोः किः॥ ५२॥ पदानि॥उपसागः, चोः, किः। (भावे, अक्तरि, कारके)॥

वृत्ति:॥ उपसागः उपपदे पुल्लङकांच्छो पातुम्यः। किः:प्रत्ययो भवति॥

92. The affix ‘kri’ comes under similar conditions, after a ‘ghu’ verb (I. 1. 20), when an upasarga is in composition with it.

The क्र is indicatory, by force of which the final क्र is elided (VI. 4. 64). Thus मृत्युत्त-क्रि = मृत्युः: ‘a present’; प्रचिः: ‘the periphery of a wheel’; उपाशिः: ‘fraud’; अन्ताशिः: ‘vanishing’.

कर्मम्यधिकर्षे च॥ ५३॥ पदानि॥ कर्ममिः, अधिकर्षे, च, (चोः, भावे, अक्तरि, कारके)॥
93. The affix ‘ki’ comes after a ‘ghu’ verb, when a word in the accusative case is in composition with it, and when the relation of the word so formed to its verb, is that of ‘location’.

As जलविः: ‘the ocean (in which water is held)’; शर्मिः: ‘a quiver (that in which arrows are put)’.

The word ‘location’ in the aphorism indicates that the words so formed should have no other significance. The word छ in the aphorism draws in the affix कि from the last सूत्र.

94. To express an action &c. by a word in the feminine gender, the affix ‘ktin’ is added to the root.

The conditions of rules III. 3, 18, and 19 are understood here also. This supersedes चम्, अच् and अप् affixes. Thus कृति: ‘action’; बृति: ‘a gathering’; मति: ‘understanding’.

_Vart._—The affix _ktin_ should be declared to come after the verbs आप् ‘to get’ &c. There is no list of these words given anywhere, but by seeing the form, we can infer the affix. Thus बृति: ‘getting’; राज्ञि: ‘accomplishment’; दीनि: ‘shining’; ब्रस्ति: ‘a slip’; अबस्ति: ‘destruction’; शुद्धि: ‘gain’.

_Vart._—So also after the verbs भु ‘to hear’, यज् ‘to worship’ and स्तु ‘to praise’, when instrument is meant; as भूति: ‘ear’ (that by which we hear); so इदि: ‘a sacrifice’; शुद्धि: ‘a praise’.


_Vart._—The affix _किन्_ coming after verbs ending in long ः and the verbs ः &c. is like a Nishṭhā. Thus कृष्णि: ‘scattering’; This form is thus evolved: नूह + किन्त्कित्ति + ति (VII. i. 100)=कृत्ति + ति (I. i. 51)= कृत्ति + ति(VIII. 2. 77). At this stage, ति is changed into छ by the affix being treated as a Nishṭhā (VIII. 2. 42), and this छ is changed into छ by the ordinary rules of sandhi; so
also गीति: 'praise'; जीति: 'old age'; शीति: 'drying'; लुिन: (VIII. 2. 44) 'cutting'; लूिन: 'joining'; शूिन: 'agitation'; दूिन: 'destruction'.

Vart.—The affix कित्र comes after the verbs संत्रि &c; as संत्रि 'prosperity'; वित्रि 'a calamity'; मल्लि 'access'. The affix कित्र is also employed after these verbs:—as संत्रि, वित्रि: The verbs लूि &c. are 21 verbs of kryādi class.

स्यागापापची भावे॥ (५५) पदानित || स्या-गा-पा-पच: भावे, (स्त्रिया, कित्र) \2

भूषित: || स्त्रियो ग्रामाभ्यस्त्त्रियो सत्त्रित्रिही साये कित्र महयो भूषित: || 95. After the roots 'sthā' (to stand), 'gā' (to sing) 'pā' (to drink) and 'pach' (to cook), the affix 'ktin' is employed, when a word in the feminine gender denoting a 'mere action' is to be expressed.

This debars the affix अड़ (III. 3. 106) which generally supersedes कित्र in cases of compound verbs ending in long ा. Thus ाति: 'a journey' (VII 4. 40); द्वाति: 'a singing aloud'; श्री + कित्र = गा + ति (VI. 1. 45) = श्री + ति (VI. 4. 66); द्वाति: 'a concert'; द्वाति: 'a cistern'; द्वाति: 'drinking together'; पाति: 'cooking'.

The repetition of the word भव in this aphorism, in spite of its anuvṛtti being understood from sūtra 18 is to exclude every other significance.

How do we get forms like अवस्था and संस्था? पाणिनि himself, in his sūtras, has used forms like व्यवस्था &c. See I. 1. 34. This is enough justification for us to derive forms like अवस्था, संस्था &c. by applying the affix अड़ under rule 106, in spite of the present sūtra, which requires us to apply कित्र only.

मन्त्रे वृषेष्ठवसनविद्मभो उदारत: || ५५ || पदानित || मन्त्रे, वृष-इष्ठ-पच-सन-विद्म-ू-वी-रा, उदारत: (भावे, स्त्रियास्, कित्र) \2

भूषित: || मन्त्रे विघ्यं वृषेष्ठवस्य प्रकुस्त्वः कित्रस्त्रियो भूषित उदारत: \2

96. In Mantra literature, 'ktin' acutely accentuated comes after the following roots, forming words in the feminine gender, denoting a mere action: —'vrish' (to rain), 'ish' (to wish), 'pach' (to cook), 'man' (to think), 'vid' (to know), 'bhū' (to be), 'vi' (to go, to consume) and 'rā' (to give).

The construction of this sūtra is anomalous. Instead of the bases being put in the ablative case, they are put in the nominative case. Thus वृषि: 'raining'; औषि: 'wishing'; पाति: 'cooking'; मल्लि: 'thinking'; वित्रि: 'knowing'; शीति: 'being'; दूिन: 'consuming'; दूिन: 'giving'.

The affix कित्र has been generally ordained by sūtra 94 after all verbs. The present sūtra is made for the sake of regulating the accent in the case of these nouns. From ह्रश, we have also an irregular noun ह्रश्वा (III 3. 101), and
another by the general rule 94 having acute accent on the first syllable, altogether 3 forms. See Rig Veda I. 116. 12; II. 5. 6; I. 62. 3, 57. 2; IV. 24. 7; III. 39. 1; I. 6. 5, 60. 1; X. 95. 17 for these words.

97. And these words viz. 'úti' (preserving sport), 'yúti' (joining), 'júti' (velocity), 'sáti', (destruction), 'hetí' (a weapon) and 'kíti' (fame) are anomalous forms, acutely accented.

The anuvṛtti of the word मंच does not exist in this; but the word उद्वा of the last syllable is understood here. The word ज्र्ति is thus formed: —भम् 'to protect' + किण्य = क + ति: (VI. 4. 20) = ज्र्ति: this form is regular and could be evolved from sūtra 94 also; but not so the accent. The irregularity in पृः: and ज्र्ति: consists in the lengthening of श into ज्ञ; in साति: the भम of the root व्य which becomes सा by VI. 1 45, is not changed into श, as rule VII. 4. 40 required, and this is the irregularity. This form may also be derived from the root सन् with perfect propriety, except as to the accent which would be regulated by the present sūtra: thus सन् + किण्य = सा + किण्य (VI. 4. 42)=साति. The form हेति may be derived either from हम् or हिण्य.

इन्द्र शामेपु मोहें सहवस्थवन्दे शु। इदंदुमांस्थरस्तिनि॥ (Rig. I. 7. 4) 'O Indra, mayst thou mighty, defend us in battles and in fights of a thousand duels, with thy mighty protections'.

98. The affix 'kyap' comes after the roots 'vraja' (to go) and 'yaj' (to worship) acutely accented in forming a word in the feminine denoting action.

This supersedes किण्य. Thus ब्रह्म 'wandering about'; इद्या (VI. 1. 15) 'worshipping'. The य of ब्रह्म is indicatory, and though it serves no purpose in this sūtra, it is, however, necessary in the next, for it is by force of ब्रह्म having य, that we add a त by VI. 1. 71, in the words formed in the next aphorism.

Thus समज (‘an assembly’); निवया ‘a small bed or couch’; निवया ‘slippery ground’; मवया ‘thinking’; निवया ‘knowledge’; सुनया (VI. I. 71) ‘extraction of soma juice, parturition’; श्रवया ‘bed’; भृवया ‘wages, service’; इत्या ‘a litter, palanquin’.

Here a question arises as regards भृवया. By rule III. I. 112, भृवया would have taken कयु, and we could have got the form भृवया by that rule also. But the भृवया formed under that rule would not have denoted an ‘appellative which the present rule does. It would be said that rule III. I. 112 when it used the words अवज्ञाना, was rather too wide, for कयु does come in denoting वर्तमा in feminine nouns by the present rule; so that the word अवज्ञाना there, must be qualified by the phrase, ‘except in the feminine’. The test whether rule 112, is too widely worded or not, has been made to hinge on the forming of the term भृवया meaning ‘wife’. This word is formed by the affix एव्यु to the exclusion of कयु।

संज्ञाणपुलिनितहस्यान्ते भृवयाऽप्रसिख्यति।
खिमाभविधिकारोरिति।नेन भृवयाय प्रसिख्यति।

The word भवविधिकार is explained by the author of Kāsi kā as भवविधिकारo, वाणवशेष विश्लेषितः, नवु शरखीयो भवविधिकारः।

100. And after the root ‘kri’ comes the affix ‘sa’ in forming a feminine, as well as the affix ‘kyap’.

By the force of the word च we draw the affix कयु into this सुत्रा, and by the process called योगविभाग we can split up this aphorism into two:—

(1) क्रिः: ‘after the root क्र there is the affix किन’
(2) श च ‘and the affix श as well as कयु। Thus शया, कृतया (VI. I. 71) and कृतिः। When the affix श is added, the root assumes the form फ्रिय by III. I. 67.

101. The form ‘ichchha’ (desire) is irregular. The word is thus formed: इच्छ + श = इच्छा + अ = इच्छा। The अ is ordained by III 1.67 is not added, this is the irregularity.
**Vart.**—The following words are also irregularly formed: —परिसवा, ‘perambulation’; शिक्षयि, ‘attendance, service’; युवयि, ‘hunting’; भ्रायि, ‘the habit of roaming about as a religious mendicant’.

**Vart.**—From the root जागृ we have either जागृ or जागृ ‘waking’. The first is formed by the affix घ, the latter by श which brings in य (III. I. 67).

अ प्रत्ययि || १०२ || पदावि || अ, प्रत्ययि, (सिस्रयि ) ||
बूः || प्रत्ययि || सिस्रयि || विशयि भवति ||

102. After the verbs that end in an affix, there is the affix ‘a’, the word being feminine.

The verbs that end in an affix are derivative roots, such as Desideratives, Causatives, Intensives and Denominatives. Though taking affixes, they are called धातु (III. I. 32), after these verbs the affix अ is used in forming the feminine noun.

Thus कृ+ञन्=चिकिष्यि, ‘to wish to do’; this is a Derivative root; after this root चिकिष्यि, we add अ. Thus चिकिष्यि,+अ (VI. 4. 48)=चिकिष्यि. Then we add ग्रु by IV. I. 4, and get चिकिष्यि ‘the desire to do’; so also निजहि ‘the desire to take’; पुष्टि ‘the desire to be like a son’; पुष्करन ‘desire of a son’; लोको ‘much cutting’; कठो ‘itch’. The sūtra is also found as अ: प्रत्ययि.

गुरीत्रह हल: || १०३ || पदावि || गुरो, च, हल, (सिस्रयि, अ) ||
बूः || हलनो थो भातुगुणकार तत: विशयि भवति ||

103. The affix ‘a’ comes after that verb which has a prosodically heavy vowel and ends in a consonant, when the word to be formed is feminine.

This debars क्नि. Thus क्नि ‘an adulteress’; क्नि ‘a tigress’; क्नि ‘effort’; क्नि ‘supplying an ellipsis’.

Why do we say ‘which has a prosodically heavy vowel’? Observe भक्षि ‘devotion’. Why do we say ‘which ends in a consonant’? Observe नेति ‘polity’.

**विद्रादिभूषयिन्यः** || १०४ || पदावि || वित्त, विंत-आदिष्यः, अष्ट (सिस्रयि ) ||
बूः || वित्ति विंति विद्रादिभूषयिन्ययि भवति ||

104. The affix ‘aः’ comes after those verbs that have an indicatory ‘श’, and after ‘भिद’ &c, when the word to be formed is feminine.

Thus जुपु has an indicatory घ, the real root being जु:। From it we have जु ‘old age’ (VII. 4. 16); जुपुपु—च्या ‘bashfulness’.

So also from verbs of Bhiddi class we have शिता ‘breaking’; in the alternative we have शिति:। So also दिः ‘cutting’; द्यिति: ‘cutting’; आरा ‘a knife, an
The affix yuch. [Bk. III. Ch. III. § 105-107.]

Iron instrument; अालि: ‘distress’; धारा ‘a stream’; वृत्ति: The list of Bhidddi verbs will not be found given in one place in the Dhatupātha. They have been collected from different Ganas, and are the following:—

निर्रा, छिमा, बिदा, बिला, युझा (विद्यापित्य), भद्या, मथा, समथा, भारा, हारा, कारा, जिरा, भारा, धारा, लेखा, ररेना, बूढ्या, बीडा, बया, बसा, बुझा, हुझा, (कार: संसारार्थ च)।

चित्तिपुच्छिकीयुक्तिचरित्च | 105 | पदार्थिः चित्तियुपत्ति-कधियुक्तिचरित्च, च च च (सिरिवाण्या, अढ़ा)।

वृत्ति:। चित्तियुपत्ति कधियुक्तिचरित्च च इन कार्यो धातुवेय युज्ञ युज्ञ प्रचार ज्ञाणमात्र पश्येयो भवति।

105. The affix ‘aṅ’ as well as the affix ‘yuch’ comes after the following verbs, forming feminine words:—‘chint’ (to think), ‘pūj’ (to worship) ‘kath’ (to narrate), ‘kumb’ (to cover) and ‘charch’ (to learn).

The force of च is to include the affix युच्छ into this sūtra (see III. 3. 107). All these verbs belong to the Churādi or 10th class, and would have exclusively taken युझ by III. 3. 107.

Thus चित्ता ‘thought’; पूजा ‘worship’; कथा ‘narration’; कुज्या ‘a covering’, ‘a thick petticoat’; कुज्या ‘recitation’.

When the affix is युज्ञ, the forms are चित्ता &c. (VII. 1. 1).

आत्योपसगेत्रे 106 | पदार्थिः आत्योगेत्रे, च इन (सिरिवाण्या, अढ़ा)

वृत्ति:। आत्योगेत्रे संस्कृत उपसगेत्रे उपसगेत्रे चित्तियुक्तिचरित्च भवति।

वाचिकम्। अन्तरोपसगेत्रे च वृत्ति:।

106. The affix ‘aṅ’ comes after those verbs which end in long ‘a’ when an upasarga is in composition, and when the word to be formed is feminine.

This supersedes चित्ता. Thus चित्ता, मथा, उपजा, उपथा, &c.

Vart.—For the purposes of this rule the particles अन्तर and अन्तर should be treated like upasargas. Thus चित्ता ‘faith’ अन्तरः (I. 4. 59).

युज्ञस्वयं च युज्ञ | 107 | पदार्थिः चित्तियुज्ञस्वयं, च (सिरिवाण्या),

वृत्ति:। युज्नत्यो धातुवेय युज्नत्यो इत्यादियां च च इन युज्नत्यो भवति।

वाचिकम्। पद्धतिचित्तियुज्ञस्वयं उपसवधानां।

वाचिकम्। इत्यादियुज्यत्यो युज्नत्यवधानां।

वाचिकम्। स्तरस्या।

107. After verbs ending in ‘ni’, and after ‘ās’ (to sit) and ‘āран’ (to loose), there is the affix ‘yuch’ when the word to be formed is feminine.

This excludes the affix अ (III. 1, 102). Thus कृच्छ कार्यवधानां (the ह is elided by VI. 4. 51) ‘the causing to do’; हरणा ‘the causing to
take'; आसना 'the sitting'; अन्यन्त 'the loosening'. How do we get the form आसना? It is the feminine of आस्या formed by adding वस्त्र to the root अस् by III. 1. 124. Is not that rule made non-applicable by rule III. 1. 94, which declares that वस्त्र rule does not apply to Feminine affixes? Yes, that is, however, not total exclusion. The phrase अर्थत्यान् in III. 1. 94 is to be interpreted thus:—“Non-uniform affixes prohibit each other, when they belong to the class of affixes especially ordained for the feminine nouns; such as the affix चित्र (III. 3. 9), वेण (III. 3. 98), अ (III. 3. 102). That is to say, an utsarga-feminine affix will be always superseded by an apavāda-feminine affix; but a feminine affix in general will not supersede another affix which is not enjoined in the feminine gender especially. In other words, feminine affixes unter se supersede each other totally, but not so with regard to general कुत्ते affixes”. Now by the present sūtra the root अस् takes गुच्छ; this totally excludes other feminine affixes like अ (III. 1. 102); but it does not exclude the non-feminine affix यथस्.

The root अन्यन्त taken here belongs to the Kṛyādi class, meaning ‘to loosen’ and is not the भ्रम of Churādi class, for the latter would be included, as a matter of course, by belonging to the Churādi class which class of verbs take the affix गुच्छ.

Vart.—The verbs घड़ ‘to move’, वन्न ‘to praise’, and विद ‘to feel’, should also be enumerated, as taking गुच्छ. Thus घड़ ‘shaking’, वन्न ‘praising’, विद ‘knowledge, feeling, pain’. The verb घड़ here belongs to the Tūdādi class, and means ‘to move’ and not घड़ of the Churādi class, for that is already included by being गुच्छ.

Vart.—The affix गुच्छ comes after घड़ when it does not mean ‘to desire’. Thus अन्यन्त ‘solicitation’; अन्यन्त ‘the searching after’.

Vart.—So also optionally when घड़ takes the upasarga परि; as, परेण्द्रा or परिद्रा; ‘investigation by reasoning’.

रोगायायां गुच्छवहुलस् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ रोग-अस्थायायां, गुच्छ, बहुलस (चित्रयास) ॥

बृहत्: रोगायायां गम्यादोत्तः भालोहुलस्त्रुतस्त्रोत्तः गुम्यादोत्तः बृहत् ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ भालयत्वनियमो गुम्यादोत्तः ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ इतः वहुलायाया इतः वहुलायाया ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ यहोस्थानार: ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ राजस: ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ मन्त्यायः ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ हस्ताभिषेकः ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ इत्ताभिषेकः ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ हस्ताभिषेकः ॥

108. The affix ‘वुल’ comes diversely after verbs when the word to be formed is a feminine noun, begin the name of ‘diseases’.
This debars फतुम and all the rest. By using the word भाष्य, in the sūtra it is meant that the word so formed by this affix should be the appellation of the disease. The word ‘diversely’ shows the usual licence in the application of all the rules of grammar. Thus प्रगटिः का (VII. 1. 1) ‘vomiting’; प्रभाविका ‘diarrhoea’; विचित्रिका ‘itch, scab’. Sometimes this affix does not apply; as शिरोचित्त माद ‘head-ache’.

Vart.—The affix नूवुल is employed also in simply pointing out the meaning of the roots; thus, भाषिका ‘to enjoy’, शापिका to ‘lie down’ &c.

Vart.—The affixes द्रय, द्वित (that is र्थ्रि and द्वित्र) are also employed in merely pointing out the roots; as निषिद्धि, द्वितिषि, पचति, पठिः &c. The constant use of these affixes is to be found in these very sūtras. In the aphorisms the roots are exhibited in various ways; thus in sūtra 49 of this chapter we have the root द्रि and द्रु exhibited as द्वित्रि and द्वित्रु. These latter forms indicating nothing more than the simple roots. So also, see VIII. 4. 17; VI. 4. 49.

Vart.—The affix कार is employed in merely pointing out letters; as ककार: means ‘the letter क’; so also अकार: ‘the letter अ’; इकार: ‘the letter इ’.

Vart.—The affix इकु is employed in pointing out the letter इ; as रेकु.

Vart.—The affix इकु comes after the word मन्त्र in merely pointing it out, and there is elision of the final इ; as मन्त्रिकु.

Vart.—The affix इकु comes after the verbs अज &c; as अकिः, अकिः, अक्षः:.

Vart.—The affix इकु comes after the verbs हृद &c; as, हृदिः, किः, &c.

संज्ञायानं ॥ १०९ ॥ पदार्थं ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (शुल्, स्त्रिया) ॥

चूति्: ॥ संज्ञाया विषये धातोपुण्यायाय भवति ॥

109. The affix ‘नूवुल’ comes after the verbal roots, when the word to be formed is an appellative.

As उद्यानकपुषपमणिका ‘a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which uddālaka flowers are broken or crushed’. वरागपुण्यः-प्रभाविका ‘a sort of game’; आ-यूपकारिका; आ-चोष्पकारिका; शालमणिका; सालमणिका।

विभाषायानपरिप्रश्नयोगिरिष्य ॥ ११० ॥ पदार्थं ॥ विभाषा, आ-धर्म-परिप्रश्नयोः; इस्कु, अ, (शुल्, स्त्रिया) ॥

चूति्: ॥ परिप्रेष्ये भाषयाये च गन्यमाने धातोपुण्यायाय भवति ॥

110. And the affix ‘इन’ comes optionally after a root, when a question and answer is expressed, (as well as ‘नूवुल’ and other affixes ordained by other rules).

The word परिप्रेष्य means ‘question’ and भाषयाय means ‘answer’; in the sūtra, in making the compound of these words, the logical sequence is not observed. The compound भाषयायपरिप्रेष्य may, however, be justified on the ground that in a Compound a word consisting of smaller number of syllables should stand first (II. 2. 34) and hence अध्याय is put first.
The force of \( \text{च} \) is to draw the anuvṛtti of the word \( \text{णुच्छ} \) from the last into this. By the word 'optionally', it is meant that those affixes which would otherwise present themselves from the subsequent rules, should also be applied; thus: Q.—को \( \text{कारिणकार्यिः} \) 'What work did you do'? A.—सर्दी \( \text{कारिणकार्यम्} \) 'I did all work'. Optionally we may have instead of \( \text{कार्य} \) the following also. Q.—को \( \text{कारिकार्य, कुरत्व, कुरि, किल्ला, भक्ति, अभक्ति, अभक्तिः} \) A.—सर्दी \( \text{कारिकार्ये} \) or \( \text{कुरत्वे} \) or \( \text{कुरिः} \) or \( \text{किल्ले} \) \( \text{अभक्तिः} \) &c. Similarly, Q.—को \( \text{गायन} \) (भक्तिः, भक्तिः &c.) अभज्जग्नः A.—सर्दी \( \text{गायन} \) &c. अभज्जग्नः. So also \( \text{को} \) \( \text{वाचिशिर} \) or \( \text{वाचिशिकाम्} \); \( \text{को} \) \( \text{वाचिशिक} \) or \( \text{वाचिशिका} \) &c.

Why do we say 'in question and answer'? Observe \( \text{कृत्ति:} \) and \( \text{हृति:} \).

पवयाङ्गोपत्तिष्टथुच्छ शुचिः \( \text{पदानि} \) पवयोऽहेऽ\( \text{ क्षण्} \) उत्त्पर्यु, \( \text{शुचिः} \) \( \text{सत्त्ववम्} \) \( \text{वृत्ति:} \) एव श्रवणं शतीशुच्छ्वपिस्तविषयो भवति त्वृत्ति:.

111. The affix '\( \text{णुच्छ} \)' comes optionally after a root in the sense of succession, merit, debt or production.

The word \( \text{पवयोऽहेऽ} \) means turn or order of succession; \( \text{अहेऽ} \) means worthy of respect; \( \text{उत्त्पर्} \) means debt owed to another; and \( \text{उत्त्पति:} \) means birth or production. This rule supersedes \( \text{किष्तिः} \) and other affixes. Thus: (1) \( \text{भवति:} \) \( \text{शाब्धिः} \) 'your turn of sleeping'; \( \text{भवतिः} \) \( \text{शाब्धिः} \) 'your turn of eating first'. (2) \( \text{अहेऽ} \) \( \text{भवनिर्मितकाम्} \) 'you deserve to have a meal of sugar and molasses'. (3) \( \text{इस्तुमितकां} \) \( \text{भायवलिः} \) 'thou owest me a meal of sugar and molasses'; \( \text{भायात्मितकां} \) 'a meal of rice'; \( \text{पथयाधिकाः} \) 'a drink of milk'. (4) \( \text{इस्तुमितिः} \) \( \text{वऽपारि} \).

The word 'optionally' is understood in this sūtra also; as \( \text{विच्छिन्नत्व} \) \( \text{तयादा} \).

The forms given by \( \text{णुच्छ} \) and \( \text{णुच्छ} \), are the same, the difference is only in the accent. (VI. i. 193, and VI. i. 163).

अक्रोऽये \( \text{नत्त्विनि} \) || ११२ || \( \text{पदानि} \) \( \text{अक्रोऽये} \), \( \text{नति}, \) \( \text{अनिं} || \text{वृत्ति:} || \text{अक्रोऽये} \) \( \text{ग्रृहमाने} \) \( \text{नमूस्यपिपाध} \) \( \text{धातृर्निः} \) \( \text{पर्यावर्तिः} \) भवति.

112. The affix '\( \text{णि} \)' comes after a verb when the particle 'नानि' is in composition with it, and the sense implied is that of cursing.

The anuvṛtti of the word 'optionally' does not extend to this aphorism. The word \( \text{अक्रोऽये} \) means to curse. This supersedes the affixes \( \text{किन्तु} \) &c. Thus अक्रोऽये वृद्धो भयति 'may failure be to thee, O sinner!' तस्यकरणस्ववास्तु 'may he be disappointed'.

Why do we say 'when meaning to curse'? Observe \( \text{अहक्तिस्ततत्व} \) करस्य 'the non-making of his mat'.

Why do we say 'when \( \text{नत्त्} \) is in composition'? Observe \( \text{इक्षुत्स्त्ते} \) \( \text{वृद्धो} \) \( \text{भयति} \) 'may death be to thee, Ol sinner'!
113. The affixes called 'kṛtya' (III. 1. 95) and the affix 'lyuṭ', are diversely applicable and have other senses than those taught before.

The anuvṛtti of the phrases 'when denoting action' and 'when the relation of the word formed to its parent verb is not that of an agent', which began with sūtras III. 3. 18 and 19, does not extend to this sūtra or further. By saying 'diversely' we mean that they occur in other places than those where ordained by the rules. Thus the kṛtya affixes are ordained to come when 'act' or 'object' is to be expressed, but they come also when the kāraṇa is other than the objective. Thus स्नानीलय चून च 'powder for bathing'; सन्नीव राङलय: 'a Brāhmaṇa' to whom a donation is to be made'. In the first of these examples the 'powder' is the 'instrument' expressible by the 3rd case, and in the second the 'Brāhmaṇa' is the recipient expressible by the fourth case; so that in both cases the affix is applied without any express rule.

Similarly, लयu is ordained to come in denoting instrument, location, and a verbal noun (III. 3. 115 and 117). But it is applied in other senses also. Thus राजोनीलय: शालय: 'halls for the eating of kings'; राजच्छायागिनि वासिति 'dresses to be worn by the king'.

By using the word 'diversely', even the kṛit affixes are applied in places other than those expressly ordained. Thus पापा-माँ, हिस्मसे = पाप्सारक:। गले चोप्सते = गले-चोप्सक:। For accent see VI. 2. 150.

114. The affix 'ktā' is added to the root, when action is expressed, the word being in the neuter gender.

These are neuter abstract nouns: thus, हस्तस्व 'laugh'; जलितस 'speech'; शापित 'sleeping'. So also गत्व, सहितं &c.

115. The affix 'lyuṭ' is added to the root, when the name of an action is expressed, in the neuter gender.

Thus हस्तन 'laughter of the student'; शोभन 'beauty'; शापन 'speech'; शापन 'sleep'; भासन 'seat'.

The separation of this sūtra from the last, in which it might well have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms, in which the anuvṛtti of lyuṭ only runs, and not that of क।
116. The affix ‘lyut’ is added to a root, when the name of an action is expressed in the neuter gender; provided that the verb has in construction with it, such a word in the accusative case, as indicates the thing; from the contact with which, there arises a pleasant sensation corporally to the agent.

This sūtra is thus translated by Bohtlingk:—"The affix ल्युत comes in connection with an object, when through the contact with that, the agent of the action feels a lively pleasure". Though the affix lyut would have presented itself by the last aphorism, under the circumstances mentioned in this sūtra, the framing of this sūtra, is really for the purpose of teaching, that the compound so formed is a नियम or invariable compound i. e. a compound which cannot be analysed into its component members:—for every जैविक compound is a नियम compound. (II. 2. 19) Thus पशु the pleasure of drinking milk; भोजनमोहः खुश the pleasure of eating rice.

Why do we say ‘when the word in construction is in the accusative case’? Observe तृतिकाल्या उत्थान सुख ‘rising from a bed of down is pleasant’. Here there is no compounding as the upapada तृतिकā is in the ablative case.

Why do we say ‘from the contact’? Observe अनिवृत्त्वादिपासन सुख ‘it is pleasure to sit near by a fire-hearth’. Here there being no contact between ‘fire’ and ‘body’, there is no compounding.

Why do we say ‘to the agent’? Observe गृहः लछानं सुख ‘to the teacher it is pleasure, when he is made to bathe’. Here the word गृहः is not the agent, but the object of the verb लाल्यमानिति.

Why do we say ‘corporally’? Observe पुजनस्य परिबन्धवें खुशम ‘embracing of the son is a pleasure’. Here the pleasure is a mere mental satisfaction and not a physical one.

Why do we say ‘a pleasant sensation’? Observe कटकानां नाहें खुशम ‘it is painful to rub thorns’. In all the above counter-examples there is no compounding; see II. 2. 19 and the connected sūtras.

117. The affix ‘lyut’ comes after a root, when
the relation of the word to be formed to the verb is that of an instrument or location.

Thus इम्मत्रंभन: 'an axe' (lit. an instrument for cutting wood); पनायर्यानन: 'palāsa-cutter'; गोदेहनी 'a milk-pail' (a vessel into which milk is milked); so also सब्बायानी. In other words, this affix expresses also the idea of the instrumental case (a tool), and of the locative case (a repository).

पुंसिः संज्यायां च: प्रायेयाः। ११८। पदार्थे। पुंसिः, संस्कायायाः, च: प्रायेयाः, (करणाभिधिकरणयो:)।

पुंसिः। पुंसिः: करणाभिधिकरणश्रोतियोऽवित्त्वापि: प्रस्तवो भविः समुदायमु चतुः संता गम्यते॥

118. The affix ‘gha’ generally comes in the sense of an instrument or location after a root, when the word to be formed is a name and is in the masculine gender.

The force of the word प्रायेयाः ‘generally’ is to show that this rule is not a universal rule. Thus इर्मच्चुः: ‘the lip’. छाविः ‘to cover’ + च (VI. 4. 96) = छृः: lit. ‘that by which the teeth are covered’; so also दश्चुः ‘a breast plate’; प्रत:। These denote instruments.

So also in denoting ‘location’. Thus आ + क्र + च = आकर: ‘a mine’, so named because men work (akurvanti) in it, आलय: ‘a house’ that in which men settle down.

Why do we say ‘in the masculine gender?’ Observe प्रसत्वचम् ‘a comb’; (lit. that by which men decorate). Here the affix is bhun.

Why do we say ‘when the complete word so formed is merely an appellative?’ Observe प्रहर्यो दृंढः: ‘the beating stick’.

The indicator च is merely qualifying; for the application of sūtra VI. 4. 96. by which after the causative छाविः, when च is added, the long आ is shortened, गोचरसंचरवहङ्ग्राणायंगाणिनगालां । ११८। पदार्थे। गोचर- संचर-वहङ्ग्राण-व्यज-आपण-निगाः, च (चः):।

पुंसिः। गोचरायच: ग्वाय: प्रमाध्यायान्यति निमित्त्वं पूर्वविन्द्रेयायः।


These words are irregularly formed by the affix च with the same force as in the last aphorism. This is an apaśuddha or exception to rule III. 3. 121, by which after roots ending in consonants, the affix च is added. Thus गोचर: ‘pasturage’, (lit. that in which the cows graze); संचर: ‘a passage’, (lit. through which they move); वह: ‘a vehicle’ (lit. by which men are carried); व्यज: ‘a cowpen’ (by which they go); व्यज: ‘a fan’ (by which they move the air); the anomaly
in this consists in not replacing the अन्न of भेद्ध (वि+अन्न) by the substitute वी as required by सूत्र II. 4. 56; भेद्ध ‘a market’ (lit. that in which men come and traffic); निगम: ‘the Veda’, ‘a market’ (that into which they enter).

The force of the word च in the aphorism is to include other words also, which have not been already mentioned. Thus कप:, निकप: ‘a touch-stone’ (lit. that on which they rub).

अच्छे तस्तीर्थेः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्छेन, तस्त्रोऽ: पदः (कर्णाचिच- करणायो: संज्ञायास्) ॥

दृष्टिः ॥ अच्छे द्वारेष तस्तीर्थेष्वरूप धातो: कर्णाचिचकरणायो: संज्ञायाः प्रक्ष्यश्च भवति ॥

120. The affix ‘ghaṇ’ comes after the roots ‘त्र’ (to cross) and ‘स्र’ (to spread), when the upasarga ‘ava’ is in composition with them, and when the word so formed is an appellative related to the verb either as an instrument or as a location.

This supersedes च. The च is indicatory and causes the व्रिड्धि of च च (VII. 2. 115) and is also for the sake of regulating the accent (VI. 1. 195, 197). The indicatory च is useful in the subsequent aphorism where it changes the palatals into gutturals. Thus भवतार: ‘the descent (or incarnation of a diety); भवस्तार: ‘a screen round a tent’.

How do we apply भवतार also in phrases like भवस्तार यथा: ‘the descent of rivers’, for here the word avatāra is not an appellative? This use is also allowed, because the anuvṛtti of the word प्रय is understood here also; so that these words avatāra &c. may be employed in senses other than appellative.

हलः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, च, (पृष्ठ, संज्ञायाः, कर्णाचिच- करणायो:; चजः) ॥

दृष्टिः ॥ हलन्त्वा धातो: कर्णाचिचकरणायोऽपर्वमप्यति च भवति ॥

121. And after a verb ending in a consonant, comes the affix ‘ghaṇ’,(when the word to be formed is masculine, and related to the verb as an instrument or a location, and thereby the palatal is changed into a guttural).

The whole of the phrase within brackets is to be read into this sūtra from sūtra III. 3. 118. This excludes च. Thus लेखः: ‘a writing’ (that in which something is inscribed); बेवः: ‘the Veda’ (that by which all is known); बेवः: ‘dress’ (that which is entered into); बन्धः: ‘obstruction’; मयः: ‘a way’ (that on which they seek); अपास्य: ‘a plant’ (that by which disease or the like is cleared away); रण: ‘Rāma’ (i. e. in which the devout delight).

अथायायायोऽद्यत्सान्तः अध्यायः अथाया-न्याय-उद्याब-संहत-आधार-आवायः; च ॥
122. And the words 'adhyāya', 'nyāya', 'udyāva', 'samhāra', 'ādharā' and āvāya are anomalous.

These words are formed by adding the affix घम् to the exclusion of च which would have come by rule III. 3. 118. All these words are derived from roots which end in vowels. Thus अधि + र + घम् = अध्याय: 'a chapter or book' (lit. that in which they read); नी–न्याय: 'logic, justice', (lit. that by which men are lead); सत्य–याय: 'mixture' (lit. that in which they blend); चन्द–शहर: 'destruction' (lit. by which they are destroyed); भव–चाचार: 'support' (lit. in which anything is held); भा–वच–न्याय: = भावचन्ति भावन।

The force of च is to include others not enumerated above; as, अवहारः

उद्धरकोपुस्तकः ॥ १२२ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ उद्धरः ॥

123. The word 'udaṅka' is anomalous, when the sense of the root refers to subjects other than 'water'.

The word is thus formed: उन्न + अन्न + घम् = उद्धरः: a vessel.

Would not the affix घम् have come by sūtra III. 3. 121, why then this aphorism? This is made a separate aphorism in order to prohibit the application of the affix, where the word to be formed means 'water',

Thus वैज्ञानिकः: 'a leathern vessel for oil'.

Why do we say 'when not referring to 'water'? Observe उद्धरकोपुस्तकः: a bucket for drawing water (उद्धर + अन्न + घम्).

Why do not we give the counter-example by adding the affix च to the root उद्धरः? Because the form evolved by applying च, would be the same in every respect as that evolved by घम्; even the accent would be the same. For by sūtra VI. 2. 144, the udātta accent, in the case of चम्, will fall on the final.

जालमानायः: ॥ १२४ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ जालम्, आनायः।

124. The word 'ānāya' is irregularly formed when meaning 'a net'.

The word is thus formed in the sense of instrument. आ + नी + घम् = आनाय: 'a net' (by which they are caught); as आनाय: महायाना 'a net for fish'; आनायः सहायः 'a net for wild deer &c'.

क्षो प च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ क्षणः, प, (कर्षणाचिकरः, पश्)॥

वृत्ति: ॥ क्षणेवेद्विततः: कर्षणाचिकरः पश्वः पवति, कर्षाराण्य पम् च॥

वार्तिकम्: ॥ ब्रह्म वनस्पतिः: ॥

वार्तिकम्: ॥ उद्धर: वनस्पतिः: ॥

वार्तिकम्: ॥ इत्यवस्त्रयः: ॥
125. The affix 'gha' as well as 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'khan' (to dig), (when the word to be formed is an appellative related to the verb as instrument or location).

The affix खम् has been read into the sūtra by force of the word ख. Thus खम्: or खम्: ‘a spade, a hoe’.

Vart.—The affix ख also comes in this sense after the verb खन्. Thus खन्+ि = खम्: ‘a spade’. The indicatory ख showing that the final portion called ि should be elided.

Vart.—The affix खर also comes in the same sense; as खम्: ‘a spade’.

Vart.—So also the affix खप; as खम्निक: ‘a spade’.

Vart.—So too the affix खकव as खम्निकवक: ‘a spade’.

ईस्वतः-सुपु रुक्ष्याक्कारकार्यं खल् || १२६ || पदािन || ईस्वतः-दुस्-सुपु, रुक्षः-अरुक्षः-अरुपेयः, खल् ||

वृत्ति: || ईस्वतः-सुपु ईस्वत्येवायवर्ये रुक्षाक्कारकार्यं पातो: खल् प्रस्ववो भवति ॥

126. In the sense of ‘hard and difficult’ or ‘light and easy’, the affix ‘khal’ is added to a verb, when ‘ishad’, and ‘dur’ and ‘su’ are combined with it as upapadas.

The anuvṛtti of the phrase ‘when related as instrument or location’ ceases with this aphorism. The word हुस्तः means heavy, and हुस्त has the force of conveying that sense. The word हुस्तः means ‘light, easy’; and the words हुस्त: and हुस्त: convey that sense. Thus हुस्तकरो भवता कतः: ‘a mat is made easily by you’; so also हुस्तकर: ‘made with difficulty’; हुस्तकर: ‘made with ease’. Similarly हुस्ताभेजः: ‘eating pleasantly’; हुस्ताभेज: and हुस्ताभेजः:

Why do we say ‘after हुस्तः &c.? See हुस्त: कार्यं करः: कथा: ‘the mat which is made with difficulty’.

Why do we say ‘when meaning ‘hard or light’? Observe हुस्तकार्य: ‘a small work’.

Of the affix खन्, the letter ख and ख are indicatory; ख causing the insertion of a nasal (technically called मुम augment, VI. 3. 67); and ख regulates the accent (VI. 1. 196). The augment मुम will be added in the subsequent sūtra, the ख thus having no work in this sūtra.
127. The affix 'khal' comes after the verbs 'bhū' and 'kṛi', when the upapadas in composition with them are 'agent' and 'object' respectively, preceded by the words 'iśadh' &c. in combination with them, meaning 'hard or light'.

Thus ईश्वर न मव्य 'being enriched easily'; हुरापव मव्य 'to be enriched with difficulty'; स्वायकरो घेवरी मव्य 'Devadatta can be made rich by you easily'.

Vart.—It should be stated that the agent and object in composition should be, as if they ended in the affix चिव (V. 4. 50). Compare III. 2. 56 and III. 2. 57. &c. Therefore we do not have it here: स्वाशयन भूतवस or भावेन सुभूतसि.

आतो युष् || १२५ || पदार्नि || आतः, युष्, (ईश्वरुः, सुष्, ऋच्छा-
ऋच्छायेत्) ||

पृतिः: || ऋच्छायेत् ईश्वरुः, सुष्, ऋच्छायेत् ईश्वरुः, सुष् प्रत्ययः भवति.||

128. The affix 'yuch' comes after roots ending in long 'a', (when 'iśadh', 'dur' and 'su' are combined as upapadas, in the sense of easily or with difficulty).

The word ईश्वर &c. are to be read into this sūtra, not so the words काल-कममि &c. This supersedes the affix खन. Thus ईश्वरमि: सोनी मव्य 'the soma juice can be lightly drunk by you'; हुरान: 'difficult to be drunk'; सुकस: 'easy to be drunk'. ईश्वर मीमवता 'the cow can be given with ease by you'; हुरान: सुकस: &c.

खल्लि गत्यम्यः: || १२६ || पदार्नि || खल्लि, गति-अर्थम्: (ईश्वरुः, सुष्, ऋच्छायेत्, युष्) ||

पृतिः: || ऋच्छायेत् ऋच्छायेत् ईश्वरुः, सुष् प्रत्ययः भवति.||

129. The affix 'yuch' comes in the Chhandas, after roots having the sense of 'to go', when the word 'iśadh' &c. meaning 'lightly' or 'with difficulty' are in composition with such verbs.

This debars the affix खन. Thus सूरसदोन्नमि: || सूरसदोन्नमि: || See T.S. 7. 5. 20. 1.

अन्येऽयोगि दृश्यते: || १२७ || पदार्नि || अन्येऽयः, अपि, दृश्यते, (गत्यम्यः, युष्) ||

पृतिः: || अन्येऽयोगि अतुम्यो गत्यम्यार्थः महान्यथिति विषयेऽ मनुः प्रत्ययः दृश्यते.||

बाणिज्यः: || सापाया गत्याय असति प्रित्याय गत्याय युष्, वस्थम्:||

130. The affix 'yuch' is seen to come in the Vedas, after other verbs also, than those meaning 'to go',
Thus सुःसू नाम कृषिā, श्राफ्यो गाँ; so also सुःसू नाम कृषिā, श्राफ्यो गां। (Rig. Veda. X. 112. 8).

Vart.—In the modern Sanskrit, the affix ‘yuck’ comes after the verbs शास, युत, द्रा, ष्टप, and नुष; as दु० गःणन; ‘Duhsásana’; दु० बोधन; ‘Duryodhana’; दु० ब्रह्म; दु० एवल; and दु० एवल; ।

वर्तमानान्तरीयो वर्तमानवद्वा। १३१। पदार्थो वर्तमानान्तरीयो वर्तमान-वद्वा, वर्तमान-वद्वा वा, (पूर्ते, भविष्यति)।

वृत्ति:। वर्तमानवद्वा भूते भविष्यति च वर्तमानान्तरीयो वर्तमानवद्वा वा भविष्यति।

131. The affixes which are employed when the sense is that of present time, may, optionally in like manner, be employed when the sense is that of past or future time not remote from the present.

The words स्मीर्ति and स्मीर्त्य are the words with the same signification, the latter being derived from the first by adding the affix युक्त. This affix is added with a self-descriptive force, without making any modification in the meaning. We learn thus incidentally from Pāṇini’s using the word स्मीर्ति, that the affix युक्त also comes with a self-descriptive (svārtha) force, and the words स्मार्तिं: &c. are thus formed.

The affixes which begin with sūtra III. 2. 123 (वर्तमानवद्वा) and end with III. 3. 1 (उपपत्ति भूहल) are affixes which come in denoting the present time. These affixes come also with the force of the past or future time, when the sense is that the action has just taken place, or will immediately take place. Thus, to the question कसा वेदवस्तावा तीति ‘when didst thou come Devadatta’, it may be replied, either अवलामाणित ‘I come now’, or अवलामाणित मां विस्त्र ‘know me even to have come’; or अवलामाणित ‘I have now come’; or अवलामाणित ‘I have come now’. So also to the question कसा वेदवस्तावा गतिष्ठति ‘when will you go Devadatta’, it may be replied, either यथ गतिष्ठति ‘I go now’ or गतिष्ठति मां विस्त्र or यथ गतिष्ठति or गतिष्ठति &c.

The phrase ‘in like manner’ (वद्वा) has been employed to indicate complete resemblance; that is to say, with whatever qualifications, the affixes have been enjoined to denote present time, namely, with whatever bases (स्मिति), and words in compositions (उपपत्ति), and restrictive significations (उपपत्ति), certain affixes have been enjoined;—the same affixes under those conditions and those circumstances, only will denote also immediate future and recent past. Thus शासन् by rule III. 2. 128 comes after the prakritis पूः and ब्रज in forming present participles; this affix, to denote past and future, must come only after पूः and ब्रज, and so on. Thus प्रवक्ति; वचनां; भविष्यति: (III. 2. 136) &c.

Why do we say ‘not remote from the present, (स्मीर्ति)’? This rule will not apply when distant future or distant past is intended to be expressed.
As यहद्व न्यायतम पातलिपुत्रम् 'he went day before yesterday to Pātaliputra'; वेदान्त ग्रामिष्णति 'he will go in a year'.

One may say that "the word ग्रामिष्णि can denote by itself nothing but the present tense, and it is because it occurs in a sentence in connection with other qualifying words, that it is made to denote any other time; and it is a well-known fact that a tense which a sentence as a whole may indicate, has no bearing on the question as to what tense a verb must take, when we are preparing it for taking a grammatical tense; and hence the present sūtra is superfluous". To such we reply that the present sūtra and those that follow are not meant for those who know the proper idioms of Sanskrit language; but for those only who do not know this.

Dr. Bohtlingk translates this sūtra thus:—"Whatever is near to the present time, may be expressed as a present tense.

अरांकायां भूतवचः इति १३२ पदानि ॥ आरांकायान, भूतवचः, (भविष्णि, वर्तेनावलि)।

युक्तः ॥ भविष्णि काले आरांकायां गम्यसंतानायां धातीर्था भूतवच प्रथमा अभिन्न चकारार्थम् वर्तेनावलि नाचः।

132. The affixes which are employed, when the sense is that of the past time or of the present time, may, optionally, in like manner, be employed, after a root in denoting future time, when hope is expressed.

The word 'optionally' is understood here also. The phrase 'not remote from the present' is not valid in this aphorism. The word आरांकाया means the wish or expectation of getting an object not yet obtained, and consequently this can refer only to future time. The force of च is to draw the word वर्तेनावलि from the last sūtra in this aphorism. This sūtra has been thus put by Mr. Apte:—"When hope is expressed in a conditional form, the Aorist (उक्तः), the Present, or Simple Future is used in both the clauses to denote a future time. Thus दस्यायां भूतवच अथवा or आयत, or आयत्वित or आयत्वित वा एवं व्याकरणादिवैगीत्याः, or भिन्नतन्त्र: or भिन्नतन्त्र: or भिन्नतन्त्र: or भिन्नतन्त्र: "if the teacher were to come, we should read grammar'.

This construction is possible only when the past tense is expressed by उक्तः (Aorist); and not by दस्य or जिितः. For उक्तः denotes past time in general, while दस्य and जिितः denote particular forms of past time; (see III. 2. 110, 111 and 115). The phrase भूतवच making an analogy with time in general, will not therefore, refer to जिितः or उक्तः which refer to past time in special.

Why say 'when hope is expressed'? Observe आयत्वित 'he will come'.
133. When the word 'kshipra' (quickly) or its synonym is in construction with the verb, the future affix, 'Lrit' is employed after the root, when 'hope' is expressed in a conditional form.

This supersedes the last rule by which Aorist could also have been employed. By the present rule the Second Future can only be employed. Thus उपाध्यायशेष्टुलिप्तमानिश्चयिति (or उपाध्यायशेष्टुलिप्तमानिश्चयितच, —Apte.) लिंि व्याकरणकानोबाणाः "if the teacher were to come soon, we shall soon learn grammar'.

By force of the word वचन in the aphorism, we take the synonyms of विन्त also, such as शीघ्रम्, भद्धम्, वत्सरम्, &c.

An objector might say, "the use of the word जुः in the sūtra is redundant; for Future tense is the natural tense to be used, whenever hope is indicated. Sūtra III. 3. 132 was merely an exception to this rule; so that the present sūtra re-enacting the general rule, ought to have been worded thus;—न विमंतमाने 'not so when a word expressing quickness is employed'; for such a rule debarring the past tenses given by III. 3. 132, would have, of necessity, given scope to the Future tense which is the natural tense to express hope'. To them we say, that there are two future tenses, जुः and जुः। By specifying जुः we mean that जुः should not be employed even where it would otherwise have come, such as in the following;—भ: विमंतमानिश्चयितम् 'to-morrow we shall learn soon'.

134. The affix of the Potential is employed in denoting Futurity, after a root, when the upapada in composition with it, is a word expressing 'hope'.

This is also an apavāda of rule III. 3. 132, and teaches the employment of the Potential with a future force. Thus उपाध्यायशेष्टुलिप्तमानिश्चयितच, भारभासे दुल्ले धीरीय 'if the teacher will come, I hope, you will study with diligence'. This being a subsequent rule, will apply even when the words expressive of 'quickness' are in composition. Thus आराम्बे व्रििमधीय 'I hope, you will learn soon'. So also, भारभासे दुल्ले धीरीय, &c.

135. When constant continuance of action or a near Past or Future is meant, the Past and Future are not denoted as taught in III. 2. 111 and III. 3. 15, through
the Imperfect and the Second Future, but through the Aorist and the First Future.

The affixes लकः (Imperfect Past) and लूः (First Future), have been ordained to come, when past time not belonging to the current day, and future time not belonging to the current day, are respectively indicated. The present sūtra prohibits these two affixes. The word काह्यवन्दनः means ‘performing an action with continuity’; and गाम्बत्राः means ‘not remoteness of time, instantaneousness, without the intervention of anything of the same genus’. Thus प्राक्तीयिनं भूरः शात्रविन्धः (not शात्रविन्ध) ‘he gave food throughout his life’; or भूरः शात्रविन्ध ‘he will give much food’. प्राक्तीयिनं पुनःविन्धपद्धति ‘throughout his life he taught’, or प्राक्तीयिनं ध्वापविन्धाः ‘throughout his life he will teach’. In both these cases the Aorist and the Second Future are used instead of the Imperfect and the First Future.

So also when recent past or immediate future is meant, the Aorist and the Second Future are employed, instead of the Imperfect and the First Future. Thus लेभं पौराणमाभ्यासितात्, एतत्सामुपाध्यायोंनागोभिद्धा मोमयष्ठकार गाम्बत्राः ‘during the full-moon that has just past, the teacher consecrated the fire, or performed the soma-sacrifice or gave a cow’. Here the Aorist is for the Imperfect. लेभमाब्यासितात्, एतत्सामुपाध्यायोंनागोभिद्धे मोमयष्ठकार गाम्बत्राः ‘on the next new-moon day, the teacher will perform the fire-sacrifice or the soma-sacrifice, or he will give a cow’. Here the Second Future is employed instead of the First Future.

The double negative न अभिलहन ‘not non-today’ implies the proper corresponding tenses which indicate adyatana.

भविष्यति सर्वदायकः वर्तिनि ॥ १३६ ॥ पदाति ॥ भविष्यति, सर्वदायकः अवर्तिनि, (नान्यवतवत्र) ॥

दृष्टि: ॥ भविष्यति कालेऽपववतनेवर्तिनि विभिन्नोऽस्यस्य नान्यतवत्र प्रमादायिन्य भविनः ॥

136. The Futurity is not expressed, as taught in III. 3. 15, through the Second Future, but through the First Future, when a statement is made of a limit on this (avara) side of another place.

The phrase नान्यवतवत्र is valid in this sūtra also. The two conditions of the last aphorism, namely, ‘continuity of action’ and ‘immediateness’, however, do not apply here. Thus योगवांशवत्वसंयत भापातिन्युसारसंयत वाक्यं कौशांवालसंयतोऽवर्ताना, तत सबानावानाम: ‘on this side of the road from the city of Kosambi to the city of Pataliputra, there we will eat rice, and there we will drink saktu’.

Why do we say ‘in denoting future time’? Observe योगवांशवत्व भापातिन्युसारसंयत तत्वं वाक्यं कौशांवालसंयत युक्तं अत्यधिकाः ‘on this side of the road that leads from the city of Kosambi to the city of Pataliputra, we read together &c.

Why do we say ‘when signifying limit’? Observe योगवांशविन्यसिनिकः
BK. III. CH. III. § 137] PROHIBITION OF THE FIRST FUTURE. 535

Why do we say 'when the word अवर is in construction'? Observe च्योऽकान्तर्यान्त्याभापांलिपुत्तृत्त तत्त्व दसूर्त कौरांग्यास्त्रैतिहास भोक्तास्माहे &c.

The examples of limit given in this aphorism, refer to local limit; in the subsequent sūtras examples will be given as to the limit of time and some difference will be observed therein.

काळबिन्धाने चान्होरात्राशाच || १३७ || 'द्रान्ति || काळ-विभागे, च, न-अहः-रात्राशाच्, (भविष्यति, सवान्द्रायचने, अवरसिन्, च, अन्नदतवत्त) ||

यूक्त: || काळ-विभासाधिकार्याने लगवराधिकार्याने भविष्यति काळेन्द्रचरतात्तथा प्रात्याविषये नवति, न वेस्होरात्रासंबंधी विभागलेखां च विभागे प्रतिपेध: ||

137. The Second Future is employed instead of the First Future, in denoting Future time not belonging to the current day, when the word 'avara' is used together with a word expressing division of time, but not when it is a word giving the sense of 'day' or 'night'.

The whole of the last sūtra should be read into this. The difference between this and the last sūtra is, that sūtra III. 3. 136 referred both to the limit of space and time, while sūtra III. 3. 137 refers to the limit of time only; moreover with regard to time, there is exception with regard to the portions of day and night. The yoga-vibhāga, the separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of subsequent aphorisms. Thus योऽयं संस्तुत्त आगामी तत्र बह्वाद्यायात्तस्तु युक्ता अवेदयमहे 'in the month of Chaitra, the year after next, we shall read together'; सवान्द्र भोक्तास्माहे 'we shall eat rice then &c'.

This construction is, of course, only valid in denoting future time, otherwise not. Therefore not here: योऽयं वक्तृत्तील्लोकवृत्त्व बह्वाद्यायात्तस्तु युक्ता अपेकिपि 'in the month of Chaitra, the year before last, we read together'; सवान्द्र भोक्तास्माहे 'we ate together &c'.

Why do we say 'limit'? Observe योऽयं निरविधः काळ भागामी तत्र बह्वारोऽवेदयमहे — तवोइस्मेन भोक्तास्माहे ।

The limit must be 'on this side i.e. भवर side'. With the पर side limit, this rule will not apply. With the word पर, this construction is optional. See the next sūtra.

Why do we say 'when not divisions of day and night'? There are three sorts of counter-examples in this case; as, योऽयं मास भागामी तत्र भोक्तयं बह्वारस्त्रािन्तर: वर्षाराचार: or योऽयं चिन्त्रािन्तर भागामी तस्य योऽयं विद्योद्योऽनात्तस्तृत्तस्तु युक्ता अवेदयमहे तत्र दसूर्त पातास्माहे. । Here ल्रु or First Future has been employed and not the Second Future.
138. Optionally so, when a declaration is made with regard to that side of a limit of time.

The whole of the last aphorism must be read into this: The sūtra will then stand thus: "The Second and the First Futures are optionally both employed in denoting future time, not belonging to the current day, instead of the First Future alone, when the word पर is used signifying a limit of time on that side of a fixed period, provided that this word does not give the sense of day or night".

This rule allows an option when the time refers to the पर side of a starting limit. Thus दीर्घं संवत्सरां भगवानं तथा वस परमामहायावत्सवं युक्तं भवेष्यतामहें or भवेष्यतामहें "we will read together in the month of Chaitra, the year after next". All the counter-examples given under the last aphorism, are also valid here by substituting the word पर instead of अभय.

139. Where there is a reason for affixing 'Liṅ' the affix 'Liṅ' is employed in the Future tense when the non-completion of the action is to be understood.

The words 'in denoting future time' are here. The reasons for affix लिङ are such as cause and effect &c. mentioned in sūtra III. 3. 156 and 157 &c. The लिङ is called the conditional tense. "It comes in the conditional sentences in which the non-performance of the action is implied; or where the falsity of the antecedent is implied as a matter of fact. It usually corresponds to the English Pluperfect Conditional, and must, in Sanskrit, be used in both the antecedent and the consequent clauses".—Apte's Guide.

Thus सुधासययावत्सवस्तुति सुधासययावत्सवस्तुति 'if there had been good rain, then there would have been plenty of food; or if there were to be good rain then there would be plenty of food'. It is implied that there was not good rain, nor consequent plenty: or that the occurrence of good rain is dubious, and the desirable consequence equally so.

So also here, दक्षिणं वेगावत्सवं शकं पर्वानविवस्म 'if he were to go by the right side, the carriage would not be upset'; यदि कमलकम अहा स्वरूप न शकं
All these sentences refer to future time. The non-upsetting is a future contingency and is an effect the cause of which is the ‘calling of Kamalaka. The speaker—having apprehended the cause and effect, and having also learned from other sources that such an effect will not take place, that is to say, that Kamalaka will not be called, and the carriage will be upset—has employed this conditional tense to express his idea. The whole sentence कहि कमलकरण् &c. really gives this sense:—That both actions, ‘the calling’ and ‘the non-upsetting’, which are subjects of a future time, and which are related as cause and effect, will not be completed; that neither Kamalaka will be called, nor the impending fate averted from the carriage. The sūtra may also be thus rendered according to Professor Bohtlingk:—In a conditional sentence, which would require a Potential according to III. 3. 156, is used, if the sense is that of Future time, the Conditional Tense, when the action is not complete.

भूते " ॥ १४० ॥ पदाचित् ॥ भूते, " (लिङ्गसिद्धिः, लूकूः, क्रियाति पत्ती) ॥

बूढ़िः ॥ भूते " काले लिङ्गसिद्धीक्रियातिपत्ती सहवान् लूकूःपत्ती भवति ॥

140. And (where there is a reason for affixing ‘Liṅ’, the affix ‘Lṛṅ’ is to be employed, when the non-completion of the action is to be understood) if the sense is that of past time.

The whole of the last aphorism is understood in this. The last sūtra enjoined लूकू in the Future tense; this sūtra ordains it in the Past, the Conditional tense having both these significations. The reasons for affixing लिङ्ग are given in sūtras III. 3. 152 and those that follow it. In sūtra III. 3. 141 and those that follow, as far as III. 3. 152, optional rules for the employment of the Conditional tense will be given. Thus:—हूः तथा नहस्तुपोजः वायूः चहकःस्मात्: भरतम् हिंजो सह्यायार्यः, यदि स तेन हूःविप्यवप्पस्, तद्धास्मोख्यत, न सु भुज्वान, अन्वेषन पथा स गता। I saw your son, wandering about in search of food, I saw also a twice-born in search of a Brāhmaṇa (whom he would feast); if he (your son) had been seen by him (the twice-born), then he would have been fed; but as a matter of fact, he has not been fed, he went by a different road’.

The conditional sentence यदि स तेन हूःविप्यवप्पस्त तद्धास्मोख्यत is employed under circumstances set out above. It refers to a past time, there is the relation of cause and effect existing, one being in search of food, and another in search of a guest to feed; and the action is not completed; both taking different roads, did not come across each other.
141. From this point as far as sūtra III. 3. 152 (the whole of the following sentence is to be taken as exerting a governing influence on the sūtras that follow: where there is a reason for affixing ‘Liṅ’, the ‘Lṛṅ may be) optionally (employed in denoting past time, when the non-completion of the action is to be understood).

All the words within brackets must be supplied from the previous sūtras to complete the sense. This sūtra consists of three words वा ‘optionally’, आः ‘as far as’ and उदाहरण: (the sūtra III. 3 152). The words वा+आः+उ form यो by the rules of conjunction. The particle आः in this aphorism has the force of limit exclusive and not that of limit inclusive. The optional use of the conditional tense will be illustrated in the following aphorisms, where, in addition to the special tenses to be employed by those rules, we may employ the conditional also under those very circumstances, in the alternative, provided that the non-completion of the action is understood. Prof. Bohtlingk translates this aphorism thus: “optionally so, in connection with उत्त and अभि, the conditional tense may be employed”.

142. The affix ‘Lat’ is employed after a root, when it has in composition with it the words ‘api’ or जातु’, the sense implied by the sentence being that of ‘censure’.

The word गहरा means ‘censure, ‘blame’. The affix जात्र has been enjoined to come with a present signification, and would not have come to denote time in general, which, however, it does here, for here the Present tense is employed in preference to the tense required by the time of the action, which is totally excluded. Hence the present sūtra.

Thus अभि तत्त्र अभयान् वृवत्त्य वाज्यति ‘even your honor sacrifices (or sacrificed or will sacrifice) to a Sūdra’; जातु तत्त्र भवान् वृवत्त्य वाज्यति गहराहिः, अभि अभयावत्त्येत् ‘possibly your honor sacrifices for a Sūdra’; the sense implied being that such conduct on the part of those men are blameworthy.

In the present case, there being no occasion for the application of लिङ्, of course, we cannot employ लृब्द to denote the non-completion of the action
So also भव or जातु जायां घनति ‘Fie! you abandon (or abandoned or will abandon) your wife’!

विभाषा कथनि लिङ्क् च || १४३ || पदानि || विभाषा, कथनि, लिङ्क्, च, (गहरायां, लट, बोतायो:) ||

वृत्ति: || कथगाथ्य उपरेण गहरायां गम्यनायायं वातोलिङ्कपवयो भवति, चकाराज्यच् ||

143. The affix ‘Lin’ as well as ‘Laṭ’ is optionally employed after a root, when the word ‘katham’ is in construction with it, and censure is implied.

The word ‘censure’ is understood, and by च we draw लट्र from the previous sutra into this. By using the word ‘optionally’ in the aphorism, it is indicated that this rule does not exclude the application of the alternative tenses which would otherwise have been required by the time of the action. It is not total exclusion like the last. Thus कयं नाम तत्र भवान् वृष्ण वायानेिव याजयति or वाजयति or बाजवस्यति ‘Indeed, how your honor can (or will) sacrifice for a Sūdra’.

So also कयं नाम तत्र भवान् वृष्ण वायानेिव अवाजयति or याजयाः ‘Indeed, why did your honor (attempt to) sacrifice for that Sūdra (in vain)?’.

Here there is an occasion for the application of the Potential mood (लिङ्क); therefore when we intend to express non-completion of action in the past time, we can optionally employ the Conditional also (लउक्क). As कयं नाम तत्र भवान् वृष्ण अवाजवस्य or याजयेत् ‘Indeed, why did your honor (attempt to) sacrifice for that Sūdra (in vain)?’.

Under similar circumstances, in denoting future time, the Conditional (लूक्क) must invariably be employed (III. 3. 139); as, कयं भवान् अस्यमिष्यः ‘why will you (attempt to) give up your duty’.

वृत्ति: || किंतुतृपपमेव गहरायां गम्यनायायं वातोलिङ्कपवयो भवतः ||

144. The affixes ‘Lin’ and ‘Lrit’ come after a verb, when the interrogative words like ‘kim’ &c, are in composition with it, and censure is implied.

Here also the Potential and the First Future are employed in preference to the time required by the action.

The word ‘censure’ is understood here; not so, however, the word ‘optionally’. This excludes all other tense-affixes. The repetition of the word लिङ्क in this sutra, is for the sake of excluding लउक्क, whose anuvritti would also have run into this sutra, had we taken the anuvritti of लिङ्क from the last sutra, instead of repeating it. Thus क: कतरो वा हरि निवेद्यं, निवेद्यं वा ‘who will censure Hari?’
In the Past tense, when the non-completion of action is implied, we may optionally employ the Conditional (लक्ष); and in the Future tense, under similar circumstances, we must employ the Conditional necessarily; as को नन दुःखो तथा भवानन्दः ज्ञानान्तः ‘who is the Sūdra for whom your honor did sacrifice (in vain)’. This sūtra may be rendered thus also:—‘In connection with an Interrogative Pronoun, when censure is implied, may be employed the Potential or the First Future’.

अनवच्छर्त्यस्यरुरिकिनवद्यमिष्टि || १४५ || पदार्थि || अनवक्रमर-असंखर्षोऽविविद्वलि, घरीदित्ती, अपितु, (किन्तु, लिङ्गदृष्टी, भोंसावृषो) ||

वृः || कितृस्ति (कितृस्तैं) कृष्णपरि: नवच्छर्त्यस्यरुरिकिनवद्यमिष्टि मर्यादा महत: ||

145. When it is to be expressed that some body holds that something is not likely to take place, or is not to be tolerated, the Potential and the First Future are employed, even without the Interrogative Pronoun.

The anuvṛtti of the word ‘censure’ ceases. The word अनवक्रमर: means ‘impossibility, not to be believed’. The word असंखर्षोऽविविद्वलि means ‘not endurable or not to be tolerated’. This excludes all other tenses, the Potential and the 2nd. Future coming in preference to all other tenses required by the time of the action. In the Dvandva Compound अनवच्छर्त्यस्यरुरिकिनवद्यमिष्टि:, the word अनवच्छर्ति ought to have stood as second member of the compound as it contains larger number of syllables than the word असंखर्षोऽविविद्वलि (II. 2. 14). The non-compliance with rule II. 2. 14. indicates that the rule of सदाचर्क्षोऽविविद्वलि, (I. 3. 10) does not apply here, which would otherwise have applied—the sense of the sūtra then being ‘that the Potential should be employed when the act is not likely to occur, and the 2nd. Future to be used when the act is not to be tolerated’. This is not, however, the interpretation which we should put upon the sūtra.

Thus नावक्षर्याभविनि, न संगव्याभविनि, न अवस्थे, तत्र भवान्ति नाम वृश्चिक याजयेतु or वाजविष्टि 'I do not believe, or think it possible or trust that your honor sacrifices (or sacrificed or will sacrifice) for a Sūdra'. न मर्यादाभविनि तत्र भवान्ति वृश्चिक याजयेत् or वाजविष्टि 'I can not tolerate that your honor does (did or will) sacrifice for a Sūdra'.

When past time together with the non-completion of the action is to be expressed, we may optionally employ the Conditional (लक्ष), but necessarily so, when Future time is to be expressed. Thus नावक्षर्याभविनि तत्र भवान्ति नाम वृश्चिक अवाजविष्टि 'I do not believe that your honor did or will sacrifice for a Sūdra'.

किकिलस्यर्याभविनि, लृढः || १४५ || पदार्थि || किकिल-अस्त्यर्याभविनि, लृढः:

(अनवक्रमस्यरुरिकिनवद्यमिष्टि:, भोंसावृषो:) ||

वृः || किकिलस्यर्याभविनि लृढः अनवक्रमस्यरुरिकिनवद्यमिष्टि मर्यादा महति ||
146. The affix ‘Lṛit’ (the First Future) is used after a root, when the words ‘kimkila’ or those having the sense of ‘asti’ (he is) are in construction with it, (when the action is not likely to occur, or is not to be tolerated).

The words within brackets must be supplied from the last aphorism. The whole word किनिल is to be taken as an upapada and not the word किनि and किल separately. This word expresses anger. The words having the sense of asti are अस्ति; भवति and विद्यते। This rule supersedes the Potential (विद्यते) Thus किनिल or अस्ति वा वायुति वा विद्यते नाम तत्त्वा तस्याः याज्ञवल्लभित्ति, न मर्यादिति, न अङ्गे ‘Is it possible that your honor will (or did or does) sacrifice for a Sūdra? I cannot believe or tolerate it’.

As there is no occasion for लिङ्क here, we cannot have the Conditional (लूक) required by rule III. 3. 141.

Another example is न अङ्गे न मर्यादे वा किनिल तथं श्रुताः सन्न भोजयते ‘I do not believe or can tolerate that thou shouldst eat the food of Sūdra’; अस्ति भवति विद्यते वा शूरः गमिन्यति ‘Is it possible that thou shouldst go to a female Sūdra’.

147. The affix ‘Līn’ comes after a root, the words ‘jātu’ and ‘yat’ being in construction with it, when the sense is that the action is not believed to be likely, or is not to be tolerated.

This excludes the First Future or ‘Lṛit’. जाते तत्त्वात् वृस्सनुः चायज्जेतु, or श्राम तत्त्वात् बृस्सनुः चायज्जेतु, न अङ्गे, न मर्यादिति।

Vart.—The words यवि and यवि should be enumerated along with the words जातु and यवि in this rule. As यवि वा यवि च चायज्जो हर्षित निन्द्वतावकल्पयति न मर्यादि ‘neither do I think, nor do I tolerate that one like you should blaspheme Hari’.

Here also when the non-completion of the action is implied, the Conditional (लूक) is necessarily employed in denoting future time, and optionally so in denoting past time. As जाते, यवि, यवि वा यवि च चायज्जो हर्षित निन्द्वति अतिविष्काशी नावकल्पयति, न मर्यादि वा च ‘neither do I believe, nor do I tolerate that one like you did attempt to blaspheme Hari’. यवि सुधिविष्काशस्ती चायज्जो चायज्जत्व तव रति रामविष्काशी पुष्पे च िनकाश ‘if you had felt (which you clearly have not) the fragrant smell of her breath, would you have had any liking for this lotus’?
148. The affix ‘Lin’ comes after a root, the words ‘yachcha’ and ‘yatra’ being in construction, when the sense is that the action is not believed to be likely, or not to be tolerated.

This supersedes the First Future. The separation of this aphorism from the previous one, is for the sake of the rules that follow. The rule I. 3. 10 does not also apply here. Thus यच्चः यन्त्र व यानवं गुर्जः: न भरः, न मयायमि ‘I do not think, nor can I tolerate that thou wilt do so’.

The Conditional (कृति) will also be employed under its own proper conditions as shown in the last aphorism.

ग्यायः च ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गहृयामः, च (पद्यत्रयोः; लिङ्ग, बोदस्योः.) ॥

WORDLIST: #1 यच्चः यन्त्र व यानवं गुर्जः: ।

149. The affix ‘Lin’ comes after a root in all tenses when the words ‘yachcha’ and ‘yatra’ are in composition with it, provided that censure is implied.

The governing force of the words anavaklipti and amarsha ceases. This debar all other tense-affixes. Thus यच्चः व यन्त्र तन्न भवान्तु पुपान्त बाजवेः कर्ता: युम्य: सतु: ब्राह्मणः, गान्धः अनमाध्यसत्तस ‘we blame you who being an opulent, old Brāhmaṇa (who ought to know better) officiate as a sacrificial priest for a Sūdra, O! It is improper’!

When the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional tense must be employed under the rules given in III. 3. 139-140-141. As यच्चः or वन लज्जा हरि निन्देः: or अनिलवत्‘, गान्धः ‘we censure that you should (have attempted to) blaspheme Hari’, &c.

चित्रीकर्षे च ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्रीकर्षे, च, (पद्यत्रययोः; लिङ्ग, बोदस्योः.) ॥

WORDLIST: #2 यच्चः यन्त्र व यानवं गुर्जः: न भरः, न मयायमि

150. The affix ‘Lin’ comes in all tenses after a root, when used with the words ‘yachcha’ and ‘yatra’ and the sense implied is that of ‘wonder’.

The word चित्रीकर्षं means ‘wonder, astonishment, strangeness &c’. This debar all the other tense-affixes. Thus यच्चः व यन्त्र तन्न भवान्तु युम्य बाजवेः भन्तर्यमेत्तस ‘this is a wonder that you should sacrifice for a Sūdra’.
When the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional is employed under the rules III. 3. 139, 140 and 141. Thus आच्छायित्वः वच्चयः or वच्च यस्माद् यवजसः or अवायित्वः: 'it is a wonder that you should (have attempted to) perform a sacrifice for a Sūdra'; आच्छायित्वः वच्चयः or वच्च यस्माद् अवायित्वः: 'it is a wonder that you should (hereafter attempt to) make a Sūdra perform a sacrifice.

शोषे लूधायां || १५१ || पदान्नव || शोषे, लूध, अवधि, (चिन्ताकरणे) ||

बृत्ति: || शोषेुपसे चिन्ताकरणे गयमाने धातौयांतः प्रथमायां भवति वदितेष्ठब्धे भून्युवचे ||

151. In all other cases, when wonder is implied by other words than ‘yachcha’ and ‘yatra’, the affix ‘Lri’ is employed after a root, except when the word ‘yadi’ is used.

In all other cases, that is to say, in cases where the words वचयः or वच्च are not employed, as well as where the word वाहि is not used, the First Future is used in preference to the Potential.

Thus आच्छायित्वः, चिन्तः, अवायित्वः नाम परर्तवमारोहितः, शिष्यो नाम यथार्थमारः अवायित्वः: ‘it is wonderful, strange and astonishing that the blind man should ascend a mountain, or a deaf person should read grammar’.

Not so, when the word वाहि is employed. Thus आच्छायः वाहि संप्रभूर्यते ‘a wonder, if he study’. आच्छायः वाहि संमुखः ‘a wonder, if he eat’.

As there is, in this case, no occasion to employ the Potential, we cannot employ the Conditional as directed in sūtras III. 3. 139, 140 and 141.

उतायो: समर्थौलिकैः || १५२ || पदान्नव || उत-अवधि: ||

बृत्ति: || उत्त भविः हस्यंतभ: समर्थौलिकैः प्रथमायां भवति ||

152. The affix ‘Lin’ comes after a verb in all tenses, when the words ‘uta’ and ‘api’, both having the same meaning, are in composition.

This excludes all the other tense-affixes. The meaning which is common both to उत and अवधि is that of बाह्यम् ‘assuredly, certainly, surely, really’. Thus उत कृयावत् ‘certainly he does’; अवधि कृयावत् ‘assuredly he does’; उताद्वीपित ‘certainly he studies (will study &c)’; अवधि-द्वीपित ‘surely he studies &c’.

Why do we say ‘when they mean certainly’? Observe उत इति: पतित्वाति ‘will the stick fall’? अवधि हार्याय पतित्वाति ‘he shuts the door’. Here उत is employed in asking questions, and अवधि with यत means ‘to shut’. The option allowed by rule III. 3. 141. ceases. Hereafter the Conditional (लिन) must invariably be used even in indicating Past action, when action is not completed, and there is reason for the employment of लिन (Potential). In indicating Future time, of course, लिन.
must necessarily be employed as before. Henceforward, therefore, no option is allowed, but लृह, must be employed where sūtras III, 3. 139 and 140 require it.


(लिड) न

वृत्ति: काम इच्छामिलाय इत्यादिसर्गं, सरस प्रवेशं प्रकाशानम्, तत्त्वम् साम्यवादिन्क्षिप्ते

एवप्ते पावलितहमन्त्रयो महतिः।

153. The affix ‘Lin’ comes after a root, in expressing or making known of a wish, except when the word ‘kachchit’ is in composition with it.

The phrase कामप्रवेशन means the expression of one’s wish. This debars all other tense-affixes. As कामे मे भूम्भीत भजनं=अभिलाषाये मे भूम्भीत भजन्, ‘it is my wish that you will eat’.

Why do we say ‘except the word कच्छित्य’? Observe कच्छित्याविवरणे नातान कच्छित्याविवरणे ने चिन्ता। भारतीयो शां इच्छायमि कच्छित्याविवरणे पावलित। ‘I hope thy mother is living, I hope thy father is living, I ask thee, O márāvid! (Parrot), I hope that Pārvati is living’.

संभावनेःणिचित्रै चेत विद्यामयोगे। १५४। पदार्थ। संभावनेः

अलम्, इति, चेत्, विद्यामयोगे, (लिड) न

वृत्ति: संभावनाय यथावत् इत्यादिसर्गं, सत्त्वानांनक्षिप्तमिलायम्, तथानांमलायणं विद्यामयम्, तत्त्वेषु

संभावनं पद्यात्मनवितरं भवति, विद्यामयिन इयानी विग्रहिताः, विद्यामयोऽविद्यामयोऽपयोः; कवाचाय सिंहः,

वष गणने चार्गनावही ज्ञातवं प्रयुक्तवं, तद्धितः सम्भावनापापिचोऽयं कर्मानादरातीसिद्धं प्रयोगं भवति।

154. The affix ‘Lin’ is employed after a root, when the expectation (of a person or thing being able or competent to do or suffer the action denoted by the verb) is implied (or expressed by any other word used along with them) than ‘alam’.

The word लिड is understood here. The word संभावन means supposition and expectation in the power or ability of another to perform any action. This word is here qualified by the sense of the word अलम. The word अलम means ‘adequate’; so that the above-mentioned संभावन must be completed, full and true i.e. realised. The phrase विद्यामयिन विसे सम्भावनीय मोटिवम्यम्, शास्त्रीयो गतिकोणे, तद्धितः सम्भावनापापिचोऽयं कर्मानादरातीसिद्धं प्रयोगं भवति।

Why do we use the word अलम ‘competent to do’? Observe, विद्यामयिन
I expect Devadatta who is living in a foreign country, will some day go back to his country. Here though expectation is expressed the idea conveyed by अति, namely, the power to do something or adequacy to do is not present; and hence the Future is employed instead of the Potential.

Why do we use the phrase सिद्धान्तोऽव ‘when the actual result does not take place’? Observe, अति वेदवतो इतिन्तं हनिष्यति ‘Devadatta is in a position to kill the elephant, and he will carry it out also’.

Under similar circumstances, in past and future times, when non-completion of action is indicated, the Conditional tense (लिङ्ग) must be invariably used in preference to every other tense. Professor Bohlingk translates the sutra thus: “The Potential is employed when it is expressed that some one is believed to be capable of doing something, pre-supposing that the actual performance of the action does not take place’.

विभाषा धातृ सर्वभावनबन्धनेत्यदि II १५५ II पदार्थ II विभाषा, धातृ, सर्वभावन-बन्धने, अयति, (सर्वभावने, अटलति, चेत् किड्ट्मये, लिङ्ग) II वृत्ति: II सर्वभावन-बन्धने धाताबुधपधे चर्चित्वये धातोविभाषा लिङ्ग प्रत्ययो भवति II.

155. The affix ‘Lin’ is optionally employed after a verb when it has another verb which expresses ‘expectation’, in construction with it, but not so when the word ‘yat’ is used.

The whole of the last sutra qualifies this sutra; the ‘expectation’ indicated here being of the kind mentioned in the last sutra and governed by the conditions laid down in that aphorism. The word by which an ‘expectation’ is expressed such as संभावन अवि, or अभिवास, is called संभावन-बन्धन. This sutra enjoins an option where by the last aphorism, there would have been necessarily the Potential Tense. Thus संभावन यामी नुज्ञीत or नोहितेवे बनान् ‘I expect you will eat’; अवकल्पयामी नुज्ञीत or नोहितेवे बनान् ‘I hope you will eat’; अतुल्ये नुज्ञीत or नोहितेवे बनान् ‘I believe you will eat’. But no option is allowed, and the Potential must necessarily be used, when the word यह is employed. As संभावन यामिम यह नुज्ञीत नयान् ‘I expect you will eat’.

The sutra may also be rendered thus. “The Potential is not necessarily employed where there is in connection with it a verb in the sense of ‘to hold as possible’, but not when यह is employed.”

हेतुहेतुमस्तोलिङ्ग II १५६ II पदार्थ II हेतु-हेतुमतोः, लिङ्ग II वृत्ति: II हेतुहेतुमस्तो चात्रे वच्चनांगुः धातोलिङ्ग प्रत्ययो भवति II.

156. The affix ‘Lin’ is optionally employed after both those verbs which express the condition and its consequence.
The word हृद means ‘cause or ‘condition’ and हृदुल्लण means consequence or effect’. This supersedes all other tense-affixes; in other words, ‘in conditional sentences in which one statement is made to depend upon another as its reason or ground, the Potential is used in both the antecedent and the consequent, otherwise called the protasis (हृद) and apodosis (हृदुल्लण), the former containing the condition or ground of argument, and the latter the conclusion based upon it’. Thus:—हृदुल्लण चंद्रयावति ग्रहकर्तर्व वस्तुविश्वयम् ‘if he go by the right side, the cart will not be upset’; यथि कमलकर्तर्व आहेयेन ग्रहकर्तर्व पविमिवधि ‘if he calls Kamalaka, the cart will not be upset’. Here ‘going by the right side’ is the protasis (हृद), and ‘not-upsetting’ the apodosis (हृदुल्लण).

This is an optional use of the Potential; we may use the Second Future in the alternative; thus हृदुल्लण चंद्र यात्रितम ग्रहकर्तर्व पविमिवधि ‘if he goes by the south, the cart will not be upset’.

The word विभाग ‘optionally’ used in the sūtra immediately preceding is also understood here.

Though the anuvṛtti of लिङ्ग could have been taken from the last aphorisms, its repetition here is for the sake of pointing out the particular time, namely, the Future, in which the Potential should be employed. Therefore it is not employed in the following sentences: हृदोति पलायते ‘he kills, therefore he flies’; वर्षतः हृत्य भािति ‘it rains, therefore he runs’.

It, of course, follows that when the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional (लिङ्ग) should be employed, under these very circumstances. See examples under sūtra III. 3, 139.

लिङ्गलोटि ॥ १५७ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ लिङ्ग-लोटि ॥

िर्दश्युऽलि लिङ्गलोटिः ॥ १५७ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ इच्छा-लिङ्ग-लोटि ॥

नृति: ॥ इच्छार्थेऽलि धातुपयपयेऽधातोलिङ्गलोटिः परथवी भ्रमति ॥

वार्षिकम् ॥ कामप्रवेदस्तति वस्तुविश्वयम् ॥

157. The affixes ‘Lin’ and ‘Lot’ are employed after a root, when another verb having the sense of ‘wishing, is in construction with it.

This supersedes all other tense-affixes. When words expressing ‘wish’, such as इच्छा, कल्प, ग्रहये &c, are used, the Potential or Imperative is used; thus इच्छार्थर्व कल्पये or प्रदर्श्येऽमुःत्वित भवान् or मुःत्वित भवान् ‘I wish, desire or pray that your honor may eat’.

Varī.—It is only when a desire is expressed that Potential or Imperative should be employed and not merely when the verb ‘to wish’ or its synonyms are in composition. Therefore the Potential or Imperative are not used here: इच्छार्थर्व करोति ‘wishing, he does’.

The sūtra may be rendered thus: ‘In connection with a verb in the sense of ‘wishing’ the Potential or the Imperative may be employed’.
158. The affix ‘tumun’ comes after a verb, when another verb meaning ‘to wish’ is in construction, provided that the agent of both the verbs is the same.

Thus इच्छार्थिः, वषि or वांछित्रि भोज्य स ‘he desires to eat’; कामसं भोज्य ‘he wishes to eat’; विनाकण्याणि पालित्र भायुम् इच्छार्थिः ‘desires to obtain for her husband the Pāṇḍava-handed God Siva’.

But why do we say ‘when the agent of the Infinitive and the verb are the same’? We can not say इवसं भोज्य मात्र इच्छार्थि यत्सत्: ‘Vajñādatta wishes Devadatta to eat’; for here the agents of भूमि and इच्छार्थि are not the same. We must say, भूमि इवसं इच्छार्थि मात्र भोज्य.

Why do we not use it here—इच्छार्थि करोदसविं ‘wishing, he does’? Because the Infinitive is never found in such constructions. In other words, the Infinitive in भूमि is employed when both the verbs have the same agent.

159. The affix ‘Lिह’ is used after a verb when verbs meaning ‘to wish’ are in construction with it, and the agent of both the verbs is the same.

Under similar conditions, with words implying ‘wish’, the Potential is used in the sense of the Infinitive; Thus भूत्वीय हिति इच्छार्थि ‘he wishes that he may eat’; अभिमुद्येत्ते वषि ‘he wishes that he will read’.

When the non-completion of the action is implied, the Conditional must be employed under rule III. 3. 139.

160. After roots meaning ‘to wish’, the Potential (Lिह) is optionally used in denoting the present time.

This ordains लिह, where there would have been otherwise वषि: Thus इच्छार्थिः or इच्छार्थि ‘he wishes’; वषि or उप्रयात्: कामसं or कामायेत.

51
161. The affix 'Liṇ' comes after a verb, when the agent either commands, invites, permits, politely expresses a wish, asks questions, or prays.

The word विधि: means 'commanding or directing a subordinate'; निमन्त्रण means 'giving' invitation'; आमतृत्व means 'expressing permission to do as one likes'; अधीश: means 'to politely express a wish'; समर्थ: means 'a question'; and पार्थना means 'a prayer'.

This excludes all other tense-affixes. Thus:—

1. कः कुबलिपि 'let him make the mat'; मामत् भवानु आमतृत्व 'you come to the village';
2. and 3. र्रह भवानु सुधीत 'you will or may dine here'; र्रह भवानु आतीत 'here you will or may sit';
4. अथीशाहो महान्त मायथक्ष्म भवानुपन्येत 'we wish that you should descend to initiate this boy';
5. र्रिक भय व्याकरणार्थसीय उत तक्रेम 'Sir, what shall I learn, the Grammar or the Logic?'
6. भवति मे पार्थना व्याकरणार्थसी 'this is my prayer that I should learn Grammar'.

लोट च || १६२ || पद्य || लोट, च, (विधि-निमन्त्रण-आमतृत्व-
अधीश-संप्रण-प्रार्थनेय) ||

बृति: || लोटनुब्धियो भवति पार्थसिद्धेया व्याकरणमयू ||

162. The affix 'Lot' also is employed after a root in the sense of commanding, &c.

The Imperative Mood is employed also under the circumstances mentioned in the last aphorism. The division of this aphorism from the last, is for the sake of subsequent sutras in which the anuvṛtti of लोट only runs and not those of others. Thus:—

1. कर्त वालव भवानु कारोऽु 'make the mat'; मामत् भवानु आमतृत्व !
2. and 3. अमुक भवानु आस्तवम् 'there you are invited to, or you may, sit'.
4. पुनर्भवानु आस्तवम् 'you will teach, I hope, the son'.
5. फिक भए बेदमध्ये उत तक्रेम 'Sir what shall I learn, the Veda or the Logic?'
6. भवति मे पार्थना व्याकरणार्थसी छल्लोकध्येय 'this is my prayer that I may learn the Grammar, or that I may learn the Prosody'.

प्रेयातिसिंगमासकालेयु कुत्याः || १६२ || पद्य || प्रेय-अंतिसिगम-
प्रासकालेय, कुत्याः:; च, (लोट) ||

बृति: || प्रेया च; कान्ताराम-बुधन्तामितिसर; निमित्समुत्तम काजस्यावसर; भास-
काल; एतेऽथप्ये धातो: कुत्याः-कालः: प्रस्याः भवति ||
163. The affixes called ‘Kritya’, and the affix ‘Lot’ come also after verbs, in the sense of direction, granting permission, and proper (particular) time.

The word धैप means ‘direction’; अतिसर्ग: means ‘permission to do as one likes’; प्रसारकाल: means ‘arrival of appropriate occasion or time for the doing of an action’. The force of ध is to introduce the word लोड into this aphorism. Thus नवता कर: करणीय:, करस्वय: कृत्याः or कार्य: you must, (may, or it is proper time for you to) make the mat’.

So instead of the Passive Potential Participles, for such the Kritya affix (III. 1. 95 &c) may properly be called; we may have the Imperative also. Thus करोधु कर ‘you must (may or it is the appropriate time to) make the mat’.

It might be asked ‘Why the kriya affixes are enjoined to come with the force of direction, permission &c’. They have been ordained most generally to come in denoting action in the Abstract (साच) and object (करे) and a fortiori they will come in denoting the senses of direction, permission &c; for the latter are but a species of action. If you say that लोड being ordained in these special senses, will (on the principle, that an apavāda or special rule excludes an utsarga or general rule within the jurisdiction of such special rule) exclude kriya affixes; we would reply, that kriya affixes will not be excluded, for the rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94) will apply’.

To this objection we answer ‘the special mention of the word kriya in this sutra, indicates the existence of the following maxim:—

‘The rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94) does not necessarily apply in all cases after sutra III. 3. 94 treating of primary affixes by which feminine nouns are formed’.

Q.—What is the difference between the words विच or धैप? Some say विच means a precept enjoining something for the first time; while धैप means mere ‘direction’.

लिङ्क चोर्फ्ये मोहतीके || १६४ || पदानि || लिङ्क: च, ऋष्य-मोह-तीके, (प्रियतिसर्ग-प्रसारकालेः, कृत्याः, लोड) ||

वृृत्त: || मैयापरिवृत्त: गम्भर्ये ऋवरस्कृतक्रोधेऽवर्षोममाशः चत्तनाधिरस्तिः पश्चयो न्यवति चवघरावृत्तया प्रांतन: ||

164. The affix ‘Lin’ (as well as the ‘Kritya’ and ‘Lot’) is used (under similar circumstances in the sense of direction, permission &c.) when the time is future by a Muhûrta (48 minutes or an Indian hour); (or the Potential may be used as well, when it signifies ‘at this very moment’),
The words धैर &c. of the last sūtra must be read into this. The force of च is to introduce the words त्र्य लो र from the last sūtra, into this. Thus के य मूहाद्विधुरिन मुहाद्विधुरिन भवता खल्ल कह: करमयः कर्मादिः कार्यः; or भवता खल्ल कह: कुर्वातिं (Potential) or करोत्तु (Imperative). 'You may make the mat after an Indian hour'; or 'you must &c.', or 'it is proper time for you to make a mat just now'. Compare III. 3. 9.

संस्कृत: सन्तवे लो। १६५॥ पदार्थः सन्तवे लो। (प्रवाहित्वर्गमासकालेपु, कृत्वानोहृत्वं)॥

वृत्तिः: एष ग्राह्यपरं प्रवाहितु समयमानं पूर्वनोहृत्तमेकं वर्षमानाङ्गालीलोपायथयो भवति॥

165. The affix 'Lot' comes after a verb, when the word 'sma' is in composition; (when the sense is that of 'direction' permission) &c. and referring to time future by a Muhūrta).

This supersedes the Potential (लिङ्ग) and Potential Passive Participles (कृत्य). Thus के य मूहाद्विधुरिन मवारू कह: करोतु स्या, भाग्यम महाद्विधु स्या, भाग्यम महाद्विधु स्या 'you (may, must, or it is proper time to) make the mat, or go to the village, or teach Māṇavaka just now'.

अथवः च १६६॥ पदार्थः अथवः, च (सन्तवे, लो)॥

वृत्तिः: एष ग्राह्यपरं अथवः ग्राह्यपरं भावति॥

166. And when 'wish' is meant (the Imperative may be used when the word 'sma' is in composition with the verb).

The word च is understood here. The word अथवः has already been explained in sūtra III. 3. 161. This rule supersedes the Potential. Thus अनु एक राजन्य मात्र्यमार्थययं अर्थु एक राजन्य अर्थसयोगों मुहुर्दै 'O ! King! I wish that you teach the boy or make Agnihotra sacrifice'.

कालसंयवलायु सूमु १६७॥ पदार्थः काल-संय-वलायु॥

वृत्तिः: कालसंयवलायु भावति॥

167. The affix 'tumun' comes after a root, when the words 'kāla', 'samaya', and 'velā' (all meaning time) are in composition.

Thus कालो मूहाद्विधु 'time to eat'; समय: खल्ल भवता मवारू सेविन्तिमु 'it is time to bathe and take food'; वेला मूहाद्विधु 'time to eat'. In short, Infinitive in सूमु may be used with words meaning 'time'; as भवसारीभावत्कामासान्तः प्रकाशित्वादु 'this is, indeed, the time to show myself'.

Why do not we use the Infinitive here? काल: पचिति भूतानि 'time de-
vours all creatures'. The sense of 'direction &c.' is understood in the sūtra; so when 'direction &c.' is not meant, the Infinitive will not be used.

Why do not we use the Infinitive here, कालौ भैणजनश्च 'proper time to eat'? Because, by the rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94), we can use also the affix धुः (by which the word धृतजन is formed). As we have already said in sūtra III. 3. 163 that after sūtras III. 1. 113 and forward, namely, in other sūtras than those treating of feminine affixes, the rule of III. 1. 94 may be employed as an Anitya or a non-universal rule.

मिन्ह यदि || १६८ || पदार्थ || मिन्ह || यदि, (कालक्षमयबेलसु) ||

वृत्ति: || बच्चने उपये कालाबिडु धातोलिङ्गप्रवयो भविष ||

168. The affix 'लिङ' comes after a root, when the word 'यद' is in composition, and the words 'काला', &c. occur in construction.

This ordains the Potential and supersedes the Infinitive in 'tumun'. Thus कालः, सम्यो, देवता वा यदौ भवानां भैणजे 'it is time that your honor should take your meals'.

अहं कालाबिडु || १६९ || पदार्थ || अहं, कत्य-नयः, च, (लिङ) ||

वृत्ति: || अहं कालिरिवाचे गुल्माणे वा भाली: कालशार्च: प्रलया भविष ||

169. The affixes 'क्रिया', and the affix 'त्रिच' are added to a root, when fitness as regards the agent is implied, (as well as the affix 'लिङ').

The force of च is to introduce the Potential (लिङ्ग) into this; from the last. Thus भवान खलू क्रिया गीत्या बाहा or बहाया, (क्रिया); or भवान खलू क्रिया बोधा (त्रिच); or भवान खलू क्रिया बहेत (लिङ) 'your honor is fit to marry the girl'.

Why specifically enjoin 'क्रिया' and 'त्रिच' in the sense of fitness? They being enjoined universally, would a fortiori, be applied when fitness is to be denoted? Because the लिङ्ग being specially enjoined to denote fitness, and being an Apavāda, would have debared क्रिया and त्रिच, which being universal affixes, would give way. Nor can we, to prevent this contingency, take shelter under rule III. 1. 94 of 'non-uniform affixes', for we have seen that that rule is not universally valid.

आवश्यकाराःपयोर्षिनिः || १७० || पदार्थ || आवश्यक-आधाराःपयोर्षिनिः; खिनिः ||

वृत्ति: || अवश्यकायविशिष्टे आवश्यकाराःपयोर्षिनिः च कर्तविराचे धातोलिङ्गिनियन्त्रयो भविष ||

170. The affix 'निनी' is added to the root in denoting agent, showing that there is some 'necessity'
or indebtedness or obligation on the part of the agent in connection with the action denoted by the verb.

Thus अध्ययन कारी ‘must be done’. The compounding here takes place by II. 1. 72. So also श्रद्धा दायो ‘ought to be given a hundred’; सहबन्ध शरीक; निधिक शरीक &c.

कृत्याः || १९२ || पदानि || कृत्या:, च, (आवश्यकतासम्बन्ध.)

171. The affixes called ‘कृत्या’ also come after a root when the sense to be indicated is that of ‘necessity or obligation’.

Thus भवता खलु भववृत्त कर्म: कर्मचारः, कर्मचारीः, कार्यः or कृत्य: ‘you ought to make the mat’; भवता श्रद्धा हास्यम्, वेग, &c, ‘you ought to pay a hundred’.

Q.—Where is the necessity of this aphorism? The kṛtya affixes, being enjoined universally without any limitation would, of course, come under these special circumstances also.

A.—They would be excluded by the special affix लिङ्ग of the last sūtra, which comes especially with the force of ‘necessity’ and ‘obligation’.

Q.—Not so, for लिङ्ग comes in denoting the ‘agent’ (कर्मचार), while kṛtya denotes the ‘action’ (भवता) and the ‘object’ (कार्यः); so their scope being different, how can one supersede the other?

A.—Well, to remove this objection, some say, that kṛtya words like भवता, गेम्य &c. (III. 4.68) which especially refer to the agent, are the proper examples to be given under this aphorism; and not examples of kṛtya-formed words in general.

शक्य लिङ्ग: च || १७२ || पदानि || शक्य, लिङ्गः च, (कृत्याः)

172. And the affix ‘लिङ्ग’ as well as the ‘कृत्या’ affixes come after a verb, when the sense is that of ‘capability’.

The word ‘capability’ qualifies the root so that the sense of capability must be inherent in the root; Thus भवता खलु भारो बोधम्, बहनीय:, वाक्य: (kṛtya), or भवता खलु भार बहत् ‘you can carry the load’.

Though kṛtya-affixes would have come in this sense, even without any special rule, for they are general affixes, their special mention in this sūtra is to guard against their being superseded by लिङ्ग; for rule III. i. 94 is not universally valid.

आशिष्टि लिङ्गोदेता || १७३ || पदानि || आशिष्टि, लिङ्ग-लोटे}
173. The affixes ‘Liṅ’ and ‘Lot’ come after a verb by which ‘benediction’ is intended.

The word अशिष्टः means the wish to obtain an object which one desires, a blessing, an expression of one’s good wishes. The लिङ्, here referred to is what is known as the अशिष्टिङ्ग or the Benedicitive tense. Its conjugation is different from the conjugation of the ordinary लिङ्, which we have called the Potential or Optative; as चिरं जीवनाः भवाः or चिरं जीवद् भवाः ‘may you live long’!

Why do we say ‘when denoting benediction’. Observe चिरं: जीवनं हेवद्यति: ‘Devadatta lives long’.

किच् किं च संज्जायत् इ । १९५ ॥ पदराजि ॥ किच् किं ॥ किच्-किं ॥ किच्-की, च, संज्जा-याम्, (अशिष्टिः) ॥

कृतिः: अशिष्टिः विधिः भूतः: किच्चाँ प्रस्त्याः मंत्राः: समुदायेन चेतसंज्जां गम्यते ॥

174. The affixes ‘ktich’ and ‘kta’ are employed after a root, when benediction is intended, provided that the whole word so formed, is an appellative.

The affixes therefore, ‘give the sense of the agent, with the addition that the action is simply the object of a prayer of some one who wishes that that may be the action of that agent, the sense being simply appellative.’ Thus तत्वं: = तमुखात् ‘a weaver’ (lit. may he weave); साहित: or सति: = सतुशास्त्र (VI. 4.45) ‘wealth or gift’; मूलतः: = मायावत् ‘success’; मेम्यत: = मनुसात् ‘respect’. These are examples of words formed by the affix किच्। Of words formed by क in this sense, we have हेवद्यति: = हेवा एवं हेवामुः: ‘Devadatta (lit. may the Gods give him). Though the affix क has already once been generally ordained, its repetition here is to prevent its being superseded by किच्। The च of किच् is qualifying only, distinguishing it from किं किं &c. and is useful in sutra VI. 4. 39.

माकि लुक् ॥ १९५ ॥ पदराजि ॥ माकि, लुक् ॥

कृतिः: माकि माकियाः धातोलेक्ष्याः प्रस्त्याः मंत्राः ॥

175. The affix ‘Luṅ’ comes after a verb when the word ‘mān’ is used in connection with it.

This sets aside all other tense-affixes. As मा काश्यतः ‘let him not do’ मा हमनम्यतः ‘let him not take’.

How have we then the Imperative and the Future tenses in the following sentence instead of the Aorist? मा मयुरु तस्य पार्व मा महविभवति। This sentence is against good usage. Or, we may explain it by saying that there is another मा which has not the indicatory ह; and with that मा, other tenses may be used. The augment ह is elided after the prohibitive particle मा, by VI. 4. 74.
176. When the word 'mân' is followed by 'sma', the affix 'Lañ' as well as 'Luñ' may be employed after a verbal root.

By च we introduce चुक into the aphorism. Thus मास्म करीत, or कार्पित, 'let him not make'; मास्म हरि, or हार्पित, 'let him not take'.
BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER IV.

1. When there is a syntactical relation between the senses of the verbs, the affixes are valid, even in denoting time other than that for which they have been specifically enjoined.

The above sūtra is thus translated by Professor Bohtlingk:—"Words formed with affixes stand, (in reference to the time) in closer relation to the verb (with which they are allied)." Thus III. 2. 85 has taught that words like अनिन्द्रोपाविजयानां have a past significance, i.e. they denote a person who has already performed the ceremony of Agnิषोम. According to the present sūtra, in spite of this past significance, inherent in the word, one may use this word with a future tense, whereby it is reduced to a future-denoting word. Thus अनिन्द्रोपाविजयानां पुत्री जनिता means 'to him a son will be born who will perform the said Agnिषोम sacrifice'.

The above is not a literal translation but rather an adaptation. The literal translation will be something like this. "Affixes are employed in denoting relation (संबन्ध) between the senses of verbs". The word धातुसंबन्ध is a Genitive Compound meaning 'relation of root'. The word धातु 'root' is figuratively used for धातुवर्त्त 'sense of root'; so that the above compound means 'relation of the senses of roots'. In other words, the relation between the roots should be that of qualifier and the qualified. When there exists such a relation between the senses of two verbs, namely, that of qualifier and the thing qualified, then the affixes may be employed in denoting other times than that specifically ordained for them. In other words, to quote from the Guide to Pāṇini: "It is to be observed, that when primitive words are joined with verbs so as to qualify them, the time of the verbs being mainly the time that controls the sentence, any time denoted by the primitive affixes, by which the former words have been formed will be subordinate to and regulated by, but need not correspond to, the time of the verbs, so far as the form of those words is concerned."
Thus तथा वसन्नः श्रारे ‘living there, he saw’; भविष्टोऽमावधिर्वचनं जनिता ‘to him a son will be born, a performer of the Agnishtoma sacrifice’; वुकः कत्वा ‘be he will be to-morrow maker of the mat’; भविष्टोऽमावधिर्वचनं।

Here, though the time of the action of living denoted by वसन्नः is present, (III. 2. 124), this action is present only in relation to the action of seeing, and though because the latter action is past, the former action also is past with reference to the speaker or writer, this circumstance does not affect the form of वसन्नः, which therefore may remain as it is. In other words, affixes are related directly to the root, and not to the whole sentence.

Similarly the word भविष्टोऽमावधिर्वचनं is formed by an affix (III. 2. 85) denoting past time, while the word जनिता is in the Future tense. Now, this linking together of a word in the Past tense with a word in the future is a valid usage. Here the time of the qualified verb जनिता does not affect the special time of the qualifier Agnishtomayājī.

Q.—Why has the word गोमः been repeated in this sūtra, when it was understood in this from III. 1.1? Ans.—The repetition is for the sake of indicating that affixes which are not ordained to come after roots (अनुसूचित), but which are enjoined to come after nouns &c. such as Taddhita affixes, are even valid in other tenses than those in which they have been specifically enjoined when related to a verb. Thus गोमालसिद्ध ‘he was possessed’ of a cow’; गोमानुष्यमेव ‘he will be possessed of a cow’. Here the Taddhita affix मलूः is added to the noun गो ‘cow’, with a present signification (V. 2. 94), the word गोमः meaning ‘who has cows’ or ‘in which there are cows.’ This word गोमः, however, is related and validly so, to the words अत्यधिक and जनिता—one in the Past tense and the other in the Future.

क्रियाकरबल्हरे लोट्लोटभी हिव्वता वा च तपथ्विनो: ||२|| पदानिः
क्रियाकरबल्हरे, लोट्लोटो, हिः स्वता, वा, च, तपथ्विनो: (घुल्लुःचर्च्ये)॥

वृत्ति: || समनिर्विष्टक्रियाक्रियाक्रियाकरबल्हरे लोट्लोटभी हिव्वता च चावियु कालपु, सवर्णकारायाम्यत्वे: तस्य च लोटो हि र्वात्त्वेतावस्तो भवति; तत्रक्रियाकरबल्हरे वा भवति: ||

2. When the (frequency or) repetition of an action is indicated, the affix लोट is added to the root, and the verb is repeated. And the affixes ‘hi’ and ‘sva’, or the affixes ‘tā’ and ‘dhvam’ are the substitutes of ‘लोट’.

Professor Bohlingk translates this as follows: “When the repetition of an action is expressed, the Imperative is used, and though the second person singular is used, it may also stand for the second person plural.”

The phrase धानुवस्त्रवचनं of the last sūtra is understood here also. The frequency or repetition of an action is called समनिर्विष्ट:। This word qualifies the sense of the original. In other words, “when the sense of frequency &c. is under-
stood in connection with the action, this sense not being included in that of
the verb, as it may be in the case of a verb from frequentative roots."

This Imperative mood is employed in all Tenses and Persons in
connection with all moods. But this peculiar use of the Imperative is confined to
the 2nd. person singular and plural Parasmaipada (हि and त); and 2nd. person
singular and plural Atmanepada (स्व and धनू). In other words, "the Imperative
second person (Parasmaipada and Atmanepada) is repeated, though the subject
of the main verb be different and the verb be in any tense." Thus लूणीहि लूणीहि-
स्वेश्यां लूणाति 'he cuts repeatedly', as if some one was always calling out to him
'cut thou, cut thou'. लूणीहि लूणीहि स्वेश्यां लूणाति: or इसे लूणति 'they cut often and
often'. So also लूणीहि लूणीहि स्वेश्यां लूणाति, लूणाति लूणीयः or इसे लूणीयः 'thou or you
two or you all cut repeatedly' as if some one was calling out to you 'cut you, cut
you'.

So also लूणीयत लूणीयत स्वेश्यां लूणीयत, अहं लूणाति, अहमलावित्त &c. 'you cut, I
cut, he has cut repeatedly', as if some one was calling out to us 'cut ye, cut ye'.
Similarly with Atmanepada roots; as अर्थोऽपरंतःस्वेश्यांत्यमवति, इसे अर्थोऽपरंतः, इसे
अर्थोऽपरंते &c. 'he or they study hard' as if some one was calling out to them
'study thou, study thou'.

So also अर्थोऽपरंतःस्वेश्यांत्यमवति अर्थोऽपरंतं &c. Similarly in every tense,
mood and person; as, अर्थोऽपरंतःस्वेश्यांत्यमवति, अर्थात्मात्त्वे, त्वन अर्थात्मात्त्वे.

The Intensive verbs in स्व also have this meaning of frequency, but
there the verb is not repeated, as the sense of frequency there is inherent in the
verb; in this case we must repeat the verb to express frequency. See VIII. i. 4.

This use of the Imperative is not found in Literature (Bohtlingk), but
in Marathi.

समुच्छेर्वम्यतरस्यायः ॥ ३ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ समुच्छे, अन्यत्तरस्यायः
(लोट्, लोटो, हिष्की, वा, तथ्येश्वोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुच्छेर्वम्यतरस्यायः लोट् पर्यः भवति, तत्वः लोटो हिष्कीः
वाचेश्वो भवति: ॥

3. The affix 'Lot' is similarly added to the root
optionally, when several themes follow one after another.

In this case also the terminations of the second person singular and
plural Atmanepada and Parasmaipada are employed, namely, हि, स्व, or त and
धनू. Thus भाश्याम्यत मधन मध्यौपि पर्याच्छाद्याच्छवायाधिति or इमावतस्तः, or इमावतस्तः.

Similar examples can be formed as in the last aphorism; only the Im-
perative is not doubled as in the last case.

Similarly छन्दोऽपवित्त्र, व्याकरणमभीदा, विश्लेषक्षाणितयादायवायवायवायः, or इमावतोऽपत्ति or
इमावतस्वते 'he or they two or they all learn, learning Prosody, learning Grammar,
learning Nirukta'.

This being an optional rule, we have these forms also; व्याकरणमभीदा,
4. In the first case (comprised under śūtra III. 4.2), the same verb must be used in the subsequent clause, as the verb which was put in the Imperative mood.

The examples have already been given under śūtra III. 4.2. We cannot say नूतिः नूतिः नूतिः नूतिः; we must use a verb from the root लू ‘to cut’. Such as नूतिः, नूतिः. So also अद्वितावचयत्व takes अद्वितावचयत्व only after it and not a synonymous verb like नूतिः.

5. In the second case (III. 4.3) where many actions are spoken of together, the verb that is made to follow, should be such as has the sense common to all those verbs.

Thus भूतिः भूतिः, सत्कृतिः, धाना: खादित्वेवामभवहति ‘he takes his meals, eating rice, drinking sakhu, and tasting fried corn’. Here the verb भवहति has a sense common to all the verbs in the Imperative mood. The object of taking the second verb, having the senses common to all the antecedent verbs, is to prevent the repetition of all the previous ones. In the secular vernacular, the brevity, however, is often not approved.

6. In the Vedas, the Aorist, Imperfect and Perfect are optionally employed in all tenses, in relation to verbs.

The words भावन्तिः and अन्यतत्स्वयम् are understood here also. By saying ‘optionally’, other tense-affixes may be similarly employed.

Thus भूतानि भूतानि (Rig. I. 1. 5) ‘O God Agni! come hither with the gods’. Here the Aorist भावन्ति has the force of the Imperative.
The affix 'Let' is optionally employed in the Vedas, wherever the Potential can be used.

This is called the Vedic Subjunctive and is peculiar to the Vedas only. Thus जोजिपत्व (Rig. II. 35. 1) 'may he make us beautiful'. धारितव (Rig. I. 25. 12) 'may he increase'. पताती विश्रू (Rig. VII. 25. 1) 'may the thunder-bolt fall'. भवतिः (Rig. V. 37. 5) 'may he become'. So also मन्वितु, नेता, नेत्स, तत्लिपत, तत्सिख्यातिः.

Where a contingent promise (a reciprocal agreement), or apprehension is implied, the affix 'Let' is employed after a root, in the Chhandas Literature.

The word उपसवाद means 'reciprocal agreement, contracting to do'. Thus वक्षि मे महान्त्वकु मयां अहारिज नवत इह स्तवान्ति 'If you do this for me, I will give this to you'. Agreements like these are called उपसवाद; while guessing or inferring the result from a cause is called आमान 'apprehension or fear'.

Thus अहमेव प्रशान्तामे॥ महाभा एव नो गाह गृहान्वदसे उपकेस्वधान्यवो व: पाण्डवः-नेतिज्ञायनन्दे (or बैतज्ञायनन्दे) नुकं पताम इस (Nir. I. 11. Bohlingk) किसानाकोन नरकपाल ात्रहस्तवे॥ All the above examples have the sense of Potential, but the Subjunctive (Let) must be employed necessarily in these senses and not optionally, which anuvrittis was understood in the last sutra.

In the Vedas the following affixes come
after roots with the force of the affix 'tumun', viz.:—
'se', 'sen', 'ase', 'asen', 'kse', 'kasen', 'adhyai', 'adhyain',
'kadhyai', 'kadhyain', 'sadhyai', 'sadhyain', 'tavai', 'taven'
and 'taven'.

In the Vedic literature the Infinitive is formed by the above 15 affixes.
These, when stripped of their indicatory letters, will be found to consist of
the following five affixes:— (1) से = से, बैल and कैल II (2) असे = असे, असेन and कैसेन II
(3) असे = असे, असेन, कैले, कैसेन, शाले and शालेन II (4) तवे II (5) तवे = तवें
and तवेण.

The difference in the affixes is made by four indicatory letters, viz.
ः, कः, शः and हः. The forces of कः, शः and हः have already been explained; the
indicatory न makes the word take the uddatta accent on the first syllable (VI. 1.
197). Thus शे is acute (III. 1. 3); शेन has acute on the first syllable of the
word (VI. 1. 197); असेन has accent of the affix (III. 1. 3); असेन throws the accent
on the first syllable of the word; the indicatory श makes the numbers 11 and
12 Sārvadhatu, and the root takes the proper Vikaraṇa of its class before
these affixes; while before तबे, the acute falls both on the first syllable and the
last syllable simultaneously (VI. 1. 200, VI. 2. 51).

Before going to give examples of these affixes, let us explain what is
meant by तुम्य 'the sense of the affix तुम्य'. The word तुम्य is here equivalent to
भाव or 'action'; for the pratyayas or affixes, to which no meaning has been as-
signed in grammar, convey the meaning of the bases to which they are added.
Thus no special meaning having been attached to तुम्य, it will convey the mean-
ing of the root to which it is added, i. e. it will denote the 'action' of the verb,
or Infinitive mood. (1) से—कैलेन बाश। (2) शेन—तवेणे, र्यानान (Rig. V. 66. 3).
(3 and 4) असे and असेन—असेने शुद्धि गुर्जों नोवों था (Rig. III. 36. 10). So also कैले कैसेन नाने'
(Rig. X. 57. 4). With असेन the word will be जोजेन। (5) कैले—ङ्गेन भागाय।
(6) कैलेन—महानिक भिन्नेन (Rig. V. 59. 3). It has not the निष्फ accent (VI. 1.
197) which would have given us भिन्नेन। (7 and 8) असे, असेन—कसेन्युयपाराय।
(9) कैले—हाद्रा मा अद्धाय (Rig. VI. 60. 13). (10) कैलेन—मियाय (11 and
12) शाले, शालेन—पिराय (Rig. IV. 27. 5); the accent however is on प। सह माद्री (Rig.
VI. 60. 13). (13) तवे—सोमीमिय सत्वाय पात्रे (14) तैसेन—ते गरे र्यामे इगमे माति
सुते (Rig. X. 184. 3). (15) तवेने—गन्ते (Rig. I. 46. 7); र्याले (Rig. I. 85. 9); हर्याले

प्रत्येक रोहिष्याचे अध्यायीये \( १० \) पदार्थे \( ॥ \) प्रत्येक रोहिष्याचे
अध्यायीये, (तुम्येन, बंदूर्ये) \( ॥ \)

१०. The words 'prayai', 'rohishyai' and 'avyathishyai' are irregular Vedic Infinitives.
Thus (1) पौभेश्वर गर्ने (Rig. I. 142. 6); म+शा+कै = पौभ = पौभामु। (2) अयामेपरनाना रोहिण्ये। हुह+हुहे = रोहिण्ये = रोहिण्याय। (3) भ+च्यु+हुहे = अयामेहिण्ये = अयामेहिण्याय।

11. The words 'driśe' and 'vikhye' are anomalous Vedic Infinitives.

Thus हुहे विषेष च ॥ ॥ पदार्थि || हुहे, विषेष, च, (तुम्है, छन्दसिः)॥

वृत्ति: || हुहे विषेष इथायते छन्दसिः शिष्येन निपास्येते ॥

12. The affixes 'नामुल' and 'कमुल' are added to roots in the Chhandas to form Infinitives, when they are governed by the verb 'सक' (to be able).

Of the affix नामुल the real affix is अम; the letter ं causes व्रिद्धि (VII. 2, 115); and ं regulates the accent (VI. 1. 193). So also of कमुल, the letter ं prevents गुना and व्रिद्धि substitution (I. 1. 5).

Thus अभिन्न् ईश्वरे विषाण्या नायकुलन्त् 'the Gods were not able to divide Agni'.
विषाण्+नायकुलन्त्=विषाण्या=विषाण्यानुम्। So also अयामेन् नायकुलन्त्, instead of अयामेनुम्।

ईश्वरे तोसुनकसुनी || ॥ ॥ पदार्थि || ईश्वरे, तोसुन-कसुनी,
(तुम्है, छन्दसिः)॥

वृत्ति: || ईश्वरेइ विषाण्या छन्दसिः शिष्येन तुम्है भावातृस्तीसु=कसुनमुद्ययो भवत: ॥

13. The affixes 'tosun' and 'kasun' are added to roots in the Chhandas, to form Infinitives, when the word 'िस्वरा' is in composition.

Thus ईश्वरोबिलिखितो=अनन्तिनुम्। ईश्वरो विलिखितो=विलिखितुम्। ईश्वरो विद्वृत्तिः =

कृत्याः तबै-केन्नेश्वरेऽन्नेश्वराः || ॥ ॥ पदार्थि || कृत्य-अर्थे, तबै-केन्नेश्वरेऽ
केन्नेश्वरेऽन्नेश्वराः, (छन्दसिः)॥

वृत्ति: || कृत्याः तबै-केन्नेश्वराः भावातृस्तीसु, तत्समथूल्कृत्याः छन्दसिः शिष्येन तवै केन्नेश्वरेऽन्नेश्वराः
(छन्दसिः) प्रवत्याः भजनिति ॥

14. The affixes 'tavai', 'ken', 'kenya' and 'tvan' are added to roots in the Chhandas, in the sense of the 'Kṛtya-affixes'.

The force of kṛtya affixes is to denote 'action' (आय) and 'object' (कृपया)।
Thus अथ्वते=अथ्वत्वम्; परिधाते=परिधात्वम्; नायगहै=नायगाहिस्ववम्; विद्वृत्तिः (Rig. I.
146. 5) = śāstṛ-vādṛtaye; sūryāṃ: = gṛhakṛtataye; kṣatryaḥ; (Rig. I. 10. 2) = kṣatryaḥ.

The affix वेष was mentioned in sūtra III. 4. 9 also; there it has the force of the Infinitive, and here that of the Passive Participle. For its accent, see VI. 1. 200; 2. 51.

अवचाले च ॥ १५ ॥ पदरांचि ॥ अवचाले, च, (क्त्यार्थे, शङ्किसि) ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ अवचाले शङ्किसि एग्रापतयो नियषयो ॥

15. The word ‘avachakshe’ is an anomalous passive participle in the Vedas.

Thus रिपुया नाभचाले (Rig. IV. 58. 5) = नाभवक्त्यात्तयाम्। अनु + वचू + एग्र = अवचाले।

The sūtra II. 4. 54 is not applied here.

भावलक्षे शेषनक्त्याचित्यहितसिंहनिघ्नग्रस्तोसुनः ॥ १६ ॥ पदरांचि ॥

भाव-लक्षे, स्तव-द्वाः-कृष्ण-वर्ध-दृषि-हु-तत्त-जनित्य-, तोसुन्, (क्त्यार्थे, शङ्किसि) ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ भावो लक्षे बृत्ति सद्गतवङ्ग परवासांविष्ये यथादोषे चातुर्वयवाच्चित्य विषयेण समस्ये लोसुन् पत्त्यो भवति ॥

16. The affix ‘tosun’ comes in the Vedas after the following verbs, when mere name of the action is indicated, viz.:—‘sthā’ (to stand), ‘in’ (to go), ‘kriṅ’ (to make), ‘vad’ (to speak), ‘char’ (to walk), ‘hu’ (to sacrifice), ‘tam’ (to grow tired) and ‘jan’ (to produce).

These are also Infinitives. The phrase कृत्यार्थे is not to be read into this sūtra. The word भावलक्षे qualifies the sense of the root (भावो लक्षे बृत्ति).

Thus, भाव—भावार्थे शेषनक्त्याचित्यहितसिंहनिघ्नग्रस्तोसुनः। इत्यादि—पुरा सूर्यवन्योविहारे। कृष्ण—पुरा कस्मानानमाक्षे। द्वाः—पुरा प्राचार्योदग्रोणित्रियो होत्वया। (Gopatha Brahmana II. 2. 10)। हु—होत्वयंचार्योदग्रोणित्रियो होत्वया। तस्मां—तस्मां प्राचार्योदग्रोणित्रियो होत्वया। (Taitt. Br. I. 4. 4. 2)। जन—भा विनिसिद्धि: समवाम (Taitt. S. II. 5. 1. 5).

खष्पित्तदोऽवकुन्तः ॥ १७ ॥ पदरांचि ॥ खपित्त-दृशे; कसुनः, (तुमचे, शङ्किसि) ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ खष्पित्तदोऽवकुन्तः चार्थांप्राचूवः अर्थांचित्यहितसिंहनिघ्नग्रस्तो सुनः तुमचे शङ्किसि भवति ॥

17. In the Vedas, the affix ‘kasun’ comes after the verbs ‘srip’ (to creep) and ‘trid’ (to injure), in the sense of Infinitives indicating name of action.

Thus विभू: (Yaj. I. 28); आदिर: (Rig. VIII. 1. 12); पुरा लक्ष्य आदिर: (Rig. VIII. 1. 12). These words are Indeclinable by I. 1. 40.

अलंखरितोऽसाधयोऽऽचांकृत्वा ॥ १८ ॥ पदरांचि ॥ अलं-खवोऽसाधयोऽसाधयोऽऽचांकृत्वा ॥
18. According to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix ‘ktvā’ comes after a verb, when there are in combination with it, the words ‘alam’ and ‘khalu’, expressing the sense of prohibition.

The anuvṛtti of the words ‘in the Vedas &c’ does not extend further. Thus अल त्रय ‘do not make’; खलु पीत्रा ‘do not drink’; अल र्या रसिस्व ‘do not weep, O girl! 

Why do we say ‘when there are अल्ल and खलु’? Witness मायार्य ‘do not make’. Why do we say ‘when expressing prohibition’? Observe अल्लाग्नार ‘decoration’.

The phrase ‘in the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians’ shows that it is an optional rule. Therefore we have अल्लोक्षेप ‘do not weep’. Or if rule III. 1. 94 be applied, then the use of the word आचार is for the sake of merely showing respect (pujārtha); the rule could have stood without it.

19. According to the opinion of the Northern Grammarians, the affix ‘ktvā’ is added to the root ‘men’ (to exchange), when the sense is that of interchange, (though the action denoted by the former word is not prior to the action denoted by the latter word).

Thus अग्निर्घ याचेत ‘having offered an exchange, he asks’ अऽ + मै + कृत्वा = अऽ + मा + व्यथा = अऽ + मी + तुस्क + य (VI. 1. 45 and 71) = अऽ + मन्य (VII. 4. 40). This is an optional rule, as the phrase ‘according to the northern’ indicates. So we have in the alternative, वाचिस्वप्यस्य ‘having asked he exchanges’; and this is the more general use of ktvā; namely, it comes after that verb which is concerned about a time anteced to that of the other; see rule 21.” The present sūtra is an exception to III. 4. 21.

The root मः has been exhibited in the sūtra as मः, with the vowel आ instead of य. This indicates the existence of the following Paribhāṣā:-

“A root, which, when destitute of anubandhas, ends in either आ, आ or य, must not be considered to have ceased to end in either आ, आ or य, when an anubandha has been attached to it.” By this Paribhāṣa मः must be regarded as ending in हः, and as therefore आ may be substituted for the vowel हः (VI. 1. 45), even while य remains, मः does assume the form याः and is consequently, by the prohibition असाम्य in sūtra I. 1. 20, forbidden to be termed यः.
20. The affix ‘ktvā’ is added to a root, to denote what is situate on that (para) side or on this (avara) side of something.

The situation on the पर ‘the other’ side and अवर ‘this’ side, is called परावर्तयता। Thus क्षेत्रम् नदीं परवत: स्थित: ‘the mountain is situate without having reached the river i.e. on this side of the river, the river being on the other side. Here the word परवत is qualified by the word नदी which is the point from which the situation is taken; and which in this case, is on the other side of the mountain. Similarly अतिक्रमयु तु परवतं नदीं स्थिता ‘the river is situate on the other side of the mountain’. Here the relation between the ‘mountain’ and the ‘river’ is of अवर and पर।

In other words:—“The gerund of a root may be used to imply the situation of a thing with reference to the situation of another spoken of as the agent of the action denoted by that root and of the action denoted by another verb or primitive word used along with the gerund; though the action referred to in the gerund is not prior to the other action”—G. P.

21. When two actions have the same agent, the affix ‘ktvā’ comes after that verb which takes place in a time anterior to that of the other (i.e. the Absolutive in ‘tva’ refers to that action which precedes in time).

Thus नुक्सा अग्निः ‘having eaten he goes’; पीवा अवहं ‘having drunk, he goes’.

The rule is not confined to the case of two verbs: thus, स्नेवा, पीवा, कुक्सा, पावा अग्निः ‘having bathed, drunk, eaten and given, he goes’.

Why do we say ‘having the same agent’? When the agents are different, the gerund cannot be used, but the Locative Absolute construction will have to be used to express the same sense. Thus नुक्साव्य ग्रहनम् ग्रहीति वेष्वत: the ‘Brāhmaṇa having been fed, Devadatta goes’.

Why do we say ‘which denotes prior action’? For, if the actions are co-eval, the gerundial construction will not be employed. Thus अग्निः जल्पनिः वा ‘he goes and chatters’.
Varṇ.—The phrase अत्यं व्यास्य तवतिति, सिन्वीष्य हस्ति ‘he sleeps, with his mouth open, and laughs with his mouth closed’, is valid, though the affix कृत्ता is not added to the verb denoting prior action.

अन्वीन्येष्यं शसुल् च || २२ || पदर्थि || अन्वीन्येष्यं, शसुल् च, (समानकर्त्तकोर्वः, पूव्यकर्त्ते) ||

४४४४ || अन्वीन्येष्यं किरोभिसविधे\। बर्णमानादतोपथुर्मण्डलो भवति ||

२२. The affixes ‘नमुल’ and ‘क्त्वाए’ come after a root, when re-iteration is to be expressed.

The phrases ‘when the agent of both the verbs is the same’ and ‘after the verb whose action occurs first in time’ are to be read into this sūtra to complete the sense. The force of च is to introduce the affix कृत्ता into this sūtra. The affixes क्त्वाए and नमुल express ‘re-iteration’ then only when the verb is doubled, and not singly. See rule VIII. १. ४. Thus भोज भोज एकाए ‘having eaten repeatedly, he goes’; similarly भूक्ता भूक्ता एकाए, पांच पांच एकाए ‘having drunk repeatedly he goes’.

न पद्रातृकार्ष्ये || २३ || पदर्थि || न, यदि, अनाकार्, कण्व, (कृत्ता, शसुल्) ||

४४४४ || यद्यकाद्वयपणे धातोः कृत्तादसुल्पात्नयो! न भवति || अनाकार्ष्ये वाचे ||

२३. The affixes ‘क्त्वाए’ and ‘नमुल’ are not added to a root, when the word ‘यद’ is used, in a simple sentence, which does not depend upon another to complete the sense.

The word आकार्ष्य means ‘inter-dependence’ or the inability of a word, phrase or sentence, to indicate the intended sense in the absence of another word, phrase, or sentence. In other words, when there are two actions one prior and another subsequent, and they complete the sense of the sentence, without standing in need of any other verb; in such a case, क्त्वाए and नमुल are not used, when the word यद is in composition. This sūtra prohibits the affix क्त्वाए also, though the affix नमुल is in immediate context. Thus यद्य भूक्तान्यः तन्त्रः चालित, यद्य भूक्तान्यः तन्त्रः चालित, having eaten, he cooks; having read, he sleeps’.

But when there is inter-dependence or आकार्ष्य, we have यद्य भूक्तान्यः तन्त्रः, भध्ये एवः तन्त्रः पारम्। Professor Bohtlingk translates it thus: “In connection with यद्, the above-mentioned Absolutes will not be applied, unless the two verbs required one more as complement.”

विभावकः प्रथमः, गुहं || २४ || पदर्थि || विभावकः, अर्घे-प्रथम- पूर्भेष्यन, (समानकर्त्तकोर्वः, पूव्यकर्त्ते, शसुल्) ||

४४४४ || यमः प्रथमः पूव्यं इत्वेत्तापा-पूर्भेष्य समानकर्त्तकोर्वः पूव्यकर्त्ते धातोः कृत्तादसुल्पात्नयो! विभावकः भवतः ||
24. The affixes ‘ktvā’ and ‘namul’ come optionally after that verb which denotes the prior action, when both verbs have the same agent, provided that the following words are in composition:—‘agre’, ‘prathama’ and ‘pūrva’.

This is an Aprāpta-vibhāṣā. The word ‘re-iteration’ is not understood here. Thus अग्रे, प्रथम, पूर्व या नौज भुक्ताḥ प्रजति ‘having first eaten he goes’.

By using the word ‘optionally’ it is indicated, that the regular Tenses, such as the Present &c, may be employed also. Thus अपि भुक्ते वतः प्रजति ‘he eats first and then goes’.

Q.—The affixes of Lat (Present tense) &c. would have been applied by the rule of वास्तवः (III. 1. 94); why then use the word ‘optionally’?

Ans.—The very use of the word ‘optionally’ in this sūtra indicates the existence of this Paribhāṣā:—“The rule III. 1. 94 has no concern with the affixes ktvā and namul, when both these affixes are enjoined at one and the same time by a single rule.”

Therefore, we cannot apply III. 1. 94 and use the affixes Lat &c, when ‘re-iteration’ is meant. That is the exclusive province of क्रमः and यागुलः.

Why is not here the Upapada compounding by rule II. 2. 20? For an answer to this, see the commentary on II. 2. 20. Had only यागुल् been enjoined by this sūtra, and not क्रमः also, then we could have formed the उपपत समाः, for such is the force of the word एव in that sūtra.

कर्मवाक्रोक्रेण रूपः खुमुः।। पदान्ती।। कर्मणि, आक्रोक्रे, रूपः।।

खुमुः।।

वृत्ति:।। कर्मणुवायुः कर्मः भाति: खुमुः प्रवचयो भवति आक्रोक्रे गम्याने।।

25. The affix ‘khamuṇ’ is added to the verb ‘kri’ (to make), when a word in the accusative case is in construction with it, if the sense intended implies ‘abuse’.

Of the affix खुमुः, the efficient portion is अमु; the indicatory ख introduces the augment नमु (VI. 3. 67). Thus चौर्य कार्याकृतंति ‘he reviles him as thief, i.e. he calls out in abuse ‘thou art a thief, thou art a robber, &c.’ The person is not really made a thief, but making him a thief is to express one’s indignation.

स्वाखुमुः पापुलयः।। पदान्ती।। स्वाखुमुः, पापुलः (क्रमः):।।

वृत्ति:।। स्वाखुमुः पापुलयः क्रमः यागुल्लभे भवति।।

26. (When the actions, signified by the verbs ‘kri’ and another, have the same agent), the affix ‘namul’ is added to the verb ‘kri’ (which is concerned
about a time anterior to that of the other), provided that a word signifying 'sweet' is in composition.

The words within brackets are to be read into the sūtra by anuvṛtti from III. 4. 21. Thus स्वादेकरे or लब्ध्यकारे मुख्ते ‘he eats, having made his food sweet or seasoned’.

In the sūtra, the word स्वाशुम् is used ending with a शुम्. It is an anomalous form, and indicates that a शुम् must be added to the upapadas in these cases the object served by this form being that rule IV. 1. 44, by which feminine of words like स्वादु ending in दु is formed by long दु, does not apply here. Thus स्वादीथुपुक्ता यवागम् मुख्ते = स्वादुकुलारे यवागमु मुख्ते। Here though यवागम is feminine, the attribute is still स्वादु and not स्वादी।

It might be said 'why not use the previous suffix शुम्? That will solve all difficulties; and will give us the augment मुक्तु। To this, however, there is a fatal objection. The augment मुक्तु will, no doubt, come in the last example, but it will not come when the word to be formed is an Indeclinable (VI. 3. 67), such as, when the sense is of the affix वत्र and all chvi-ending words are Indeclinables (I. 4. 61). Therefore, the affix शुम् will not remove the difficulty in the following case; अभ्यारें स्थापिता तुल्य मुख्ते = स्वादुकुलारे मुख्ते ‘he eats, having first sweetened what was not sweet before’.

By applying rule III. 1. 94, we have the affix तत्त्व in the alternative. Thus स्वादु कुल्य मुख्ते। All these affixes form abstract nouns (भाष) as they have the sense of the affix तत्त्व (III. 4. 16). In connection with शुम्, the Instrumental case can not, however, be used, i.e. we cannot use the Passive construction; e.g. स्वादुकुलारे यवागमु द्वये एवव्येवण will be wrong.

अन्यथैंकण्ठासिद्धान्तकोणिकामयोजयागच्छति॥२७॥ पदलिङ् || अन्यथा-एवं-कष्टं-इत्यादूः सिद्ध-अप्रयोगः, चेत॥ (करं, शामुल)॥

वृद्धि: || अन्यथाकण्ठसिद्धान्तकोणिकामयोजयागच्छति॥

27. When the words 'anyathā' (otherwise), 'evam' (so), 'katham' (how) and 'ittham' (thus) are compounded with the verb, then 'namul' comes after 'kṛś' (to make), if it be such that its omission would be unobjectionable.

When is the non-employment of कुम् valid? When the same sentence will remain correct by omitting कुम्, i.e. when without employing it, the same idea will be expressed. Thus अन्यथाकारे, एवंकारे, कष्टकारे or इत्यादिकारे मुख्ते ‘he eats otherwise, he eats so, how does he eat, or he eats thus’. In fact, the sentence अन्यथाकारे मुख्ते is equivalent to अन्यथा मुख्ते।

Why do we say 'if the non-employment would be valid'? Witness
The affix namul.

28. The affix 'namul' is added to the root 'kṛi' (to make), the words 'yathā' and 'tathā' being compounded with it, when an angry reply is made: (if the omission of 'kṛi' is unobjectionable).

When one questions or replies in indignation, displeasure or anger, then is this construction valid. Thus तत्पकारां भोज्ये, किं तवानेन 'I will eat in that way; what is that to you'? Similarly तत्पकारां भोज्ये, किं तवानेन.

Why do we say 'when an angry reply is made'? Observe यथाकृतष्ट्रे भोज्ये तथा र्वं प्रवृणि 'in what way I will eat, that thou wilt see'.

Why do we say 'when the omission of कृण द्‍विविदः would be valid'? Witness यथाकृतष्ट्रे शिष्यों भोज्ये किं तवानेन 'what is that to you, in what way turning my head I will eat'?

29. When the object is compounded with it, the verb 'ārīś' (to see), or 'vid' (to know), takes the affix 'namul', to denote the total number of such objects.

Thus कन्यायां वर्तित 'he woos every girl that he sees i.e. all the girls seen'. शास्त्रपाचरं भोजयती 'he feeds as many Brāhmaṇas as he knows, i.e. all'.

Why do we say 'when denoting the total number of such objects'? Observe शास्त्रं द्विविद्वे भोजयती 'having seen the Brāhmaṇa he feeds him'.

30. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'vid' (to get) and 'jīv', (to live), when the word 'yāvat' is combined with them.

As यावज्ञातं मुख्रे 'he eats all that he gets'. यावज्ञातं मुख्रे 'he studies as long as he lives, i.e. throughout his life'.

कर्मेणी द्विविदः साकले॥ २८ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ कर्मेणी, द्विविदः, साकले, (शमुल)॥

वृत्तः ॥ कर्मेणुपपदे साकलविस्तारः द्विविदः शमुलः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वृत्तः ॥ यावती च च पदार्थः ॥ यावती, चिन्द्र-जीवः, शमुल ॥
31. The affix ‘namul’ comes after the verb ‘pūr’ (to fill), when the words ‘charman’ and ‘udar’ are compounded with it as object.

Thus उदरस्यू बुङ्के ‘he eats so as to fill his belly’? चर्मपूर्ण स्त्रावति ‘he spreads so as to cover the skin’.

32. The affix ‘namul’ comes after the verb ‘pūr’ (to fill), when the word so formed expresses a measure of rain-fall; and optionally the long 'ु' of this ‘pūr’ is elided.

Thus गीतपश्यस्य or गोपप्रम वट्टो हेंव: ‘it rained filling up small puddles (lit. the impression made by the foot of the cow on the soil).’ सीतापूर्ण or सीतारं वट्टो हेंव: ‘it rained filling up all furrows’.

Why have we used the word भर्त्र ‘of this pūr’ in the sūtra? The long ऋ of पूर is to be elided, and not the long ऋ, if there be any, of the upapada. Thus मूष्ठिकाविल्पः पुर्यान्राख्ये वट्टो हेंव: ‘Here the long ऋ of मूष्ठिकाविल्पः is not shortened.

चेले क्लायते: || 33 || पदार्थिण || चेले, क्लायते: (कर्मशिष्य, शामुल, वर्ष-प्रमाणे) ||

33. The affix ‘namul’ comes after the causative of the root ‘kn̄uṣ’ (to wet), when there is compounded with it a noun denoting ‘clothing’, in the accusative case, as an upapada, if the whole word so formed expresses a measure of the rain-fall.

The verb श्रोपि is the causative root formed from the simple root क्लुष ‘to wet’. Thus चेलकोपण वट्टो हेंव: or वल्कोपण or वस्तनकोपण &c. ‘it rained so as to wet the clothes’.

निमलसमलयोऽ: कण: || 34 || पदार्थिण || निमल-समलयोऽ: कणः, (कर्मशिष्य, शामुल) ||
34. The affix ‘namul’ comes after the verb ‘kash’ (to rub), when the words ‘nimula’ and ‘samula’ are compounded with it in the accusative case.

Thus निमुल्कार्य कर्मि ‘he scrapes down to the roots’; समुल्कार्य कर्मि ‘he scrapes up to the roots’. In fact, the gerund of the root and the root itself denote the same thing; the whole sentence निमुल्कार्य कर्मि being equal to निमुल्क निमुल्क निमुल्क निमुल्क. From this sutra up to sutra III. 4. 46, the subsequent verb governing the previous word, must be derived from the same root from which the gerund is derived; see sutra III. 4. 46.

35. The affix ‘namul’ comes after the verb ‘pish’ (to grind), when the words ‘sushka’ (dry), ‘churna’ (powder), and ‘ruksha’ (dry), in the accusative case are compounded with it.

Thus शुक्ल्क पिन्निक्कि = शुक्ल्क पिन्निक्कि ‘he grinds it dry’; चूर्णाहन्त निन्निक्कि ‘he grinds to powder’; रुक्षाहन्त निन्निक्कि ‘he grinds it dry’. Here also an appropriate verb from the same root पिन्नि must be used to govern the gerund.

36. The affix ‘namul’ comes after the verbs ‘han’ (to kill), ‘kri’ (to make) and ‘grah’ (to seize), when the words ‘samula’, ‘akrta’ and ‘jiva’ in the accusative case are respectively compounded with them.

Thus समुल्कार्य हन्ति (VIII. 3. 32 and 54) ‘he destroys so as to tear up by the roots i.e. he totally extirpates’; एक्षत्रालं कर्मि ‘he does a thing which was not done before’; अंूद्राणां गृहांति ‘captures him so as to preserve his life, i.e. captures him alive’. Here also appropriate verbs from the same roots are used to govern the gerund.

37. The affix ‘namul’ comes after the verb
'han', when a word in the Instrumental case is in composition with it.

Thus पाठ्यायाः तेष्य हनि (VII. 3. 32 and 54) = पाठ्यायाः तेष्य हनि 'he strikes the Vedi with the hand'; पाठ्यायाः तेष्य हनि 'he strikes the ground with the foot'. Reading this sutra along with III. 4. 48, we find that हनि here does not mean 'to kill', and the further difference between this aphorism and that is, that in the case of this sutra a cognate verb from the same root must be used, as the gerund; not so in sutra III. 4. 48; or this sutra may be for the sake of forming Invariable compounds with the upapadas, such as पाठ्यायाः.

According to पाठ्यायाः, this affix comes after हनि under this aphorism, even when हनि means 'to injure'; thus counteracting rule III. 4. 48, by anticipation, and in opposition to the general principle of interpretation enunciated in rule I. 4. 2. Thus भविष्यायाः हनि 'he kills with the sword'; शरणायाः हनि 'he kills with arrows'.

Rule III. 4. 46 applies here also, and an appropriate verb from the same root is employed to govern the gerund.

38. The affix 'नामुल' comes after the verb 'pish' (to grind), when a word in the Instrumental case denoting 'liquid' is in composition.

Thus उद्वेष्यं पिनिष्टं = उद्वेष्यं पिनिष्टं (VI. 3. 58.) 'he grinds with water'; उद्वेष्यं पिनिष्टं 'he grinds with oil'. Here also III. 4. 46 applies, and an appropriate verb from the same root is employed to govern the gerund.

39. The affix 'नामुल' comes after the verbs 'varti' (causative of vṛt) and 'grah', when a word denoting 'hand', in the Instrumental case, is in composition.

Thus हस्तवर्ती, करवर्ती or पाठ्यवर्ती वृत्ति = हस्तस्ते वृत्ति 'he revolves by the hand'. So also, तम् हस्तमास्तम् गृह्याति 'he takes him by the hand'; so पाठ्यास्तम्, कर्मास्तम् &c.

Here also rule III. 4. 46 applies and appropriate verbs from the same roots must be employed to govern the gerund.
40. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'push' (to feed), when a word in the Instrumental case, having the sense of 'sва' is in composition.

The word sва means 'self', 'kinsmen' and 'property'. Thus sवपोषः पुष्पातिः 'he feeds himself'; स्वपोषः, गौः, विहः, मात्रोपः, भन्ते, रङ्गोपः &c. See I. i. 68, Rule 46 applies here also.

अधिकारणें वंचः: || ⁴¹ || पदार्थी || अधिकारणें, वंचः: (शासुल) ||

वृत्ति: || अधिकारणवाणित्वपमें भवान्तेिरितिः पुष्पातिः भवति ||

41. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'bandh' (to bind), when a word expressing location is in construction with it.

Of course, rule III. 4. 46 applies here also, and the gerund must be governed by a verb from the same root bandh. Thus चक्रवंबं भवति 'he binds to the wheel'; कृत्तांवं भवति 'he binds in a snare'; मुडिकरवं भवति 'he binds in the fist'. चोरकरवं भवति = चोरके भवति.

संभावाम् || ⁴² || पदार्थी || संभावाम्, (वंचः: शासुल) ||

वृत्ति: || संभावाम् विपरेिरितिः भवान्तेिरितिः पुष्पातिः भवति ||

42. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'bandh' (to bind) when the word so formed denotes an apppellative.

Thus क्रौऽचकरवं भवति 'he binds in the manner called krauncha-bandhan or 'heron-knot'. मण्डकाकरवं भवति or बढः: 'he binds or is bound in a 'peacock-knot'. अन्त्रिकाकरवं बढः: 'bound in a knot called attālikā-bandhan'.

All the above, krauncha-bandhan &c. are names of various sorts of 'bonds or knots'. The rule III. 4. 46. also applies here.

क्रौऽचकरवं || ⁴³ || पदार्थी || क्रौऽचकरवं: जीव-पुरुषोऽति: (शासुल) ||

वृत्ति: || क्रौऽचकरवं: क्रौऽचकरवं: जीव-पुरुषोऽति: पुरुषोऽति: भवति ||

43. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'nas' (to perish) and 'vah' (to carry), when the words 'jīva' (life) and 'purusha' (person) expressing the agent of these verbs, are respectively in construction with them.

Thus जीवनार्थ नर्याति=जीवो नर्याति 'perishes, so that his life perishes i.e. dies away'; पुरुषवार्थ वहति 'the man carries, i.e. the man becoming a servant, carries another on him= पुरुष: मेंथो भवति वहति ||

Why do we say 'when denoting an agent'? Observe, जीवन नरति: 'destroyed by life'; पुरुषोत्तर: 'carried by a man.'
44. The affix ‘namul’ comes after the roots ‘sush’ (to dry), and ‘pûr’ (to fill), when the word ‘urdhva’, denoting an agent, is in composition with them.

Thus ॐ शुष्कि पुष्कि वृक्षि ’the tree is dried up while it is still standing’. Compare वे हंग्रोऽपरायाम्बित्व: ‘or wither like the up-heaved grass drying up’ (Bhatti. III. 14); ॐपुरुङ्ग पुरुङ्गे ‘is filled full to the brim’. Rule III. 4. 46 applies here also.

45. The affix ‘namul’ comes after a root, when an object or an agent, denoting similitude, is in composition with it.

The word ‘agent’ is read into the sutra, by virtue of the word  in ‘also’. That with which any thing is compared is called उपाध्याय or ‘object of comparison or similitude’. As पुरुषनिधियम् निधित्वम् जनम् ‘water was kept as ghee would be kept’. सुनिधियम् नीतिः ‘was kept as gold’. The force is that of iva; thus पुरुषनिधियम् निधित्व: = पुरुषनिधियम् निधित: iva. So also when the object of comparison is as agent: thus, तनानि नान्: ‘he perished like a goat’. So also चूकनाराम्, इत्यादि, &c.

46. The same verb should be employed after the gerunds formed from the verbs ‘kash’ &c; as the verb from which the gerund is derived.

From sutra III. 4. 34 up to sutra III. 4. 45, a verb from the same root must be employed in the subsequent part, as anuprayoga, from which the gerund in namul was formed. This rule has been illustrated in the examples under the previous aporphisms.

The present is a restrictive or niyama rule. This chapter deals with affixes employed in denoting syntactical relation between two verbs (धातूस्तव्यः प्रक्रिया) See III. 4. 1: so a gerund in namul, would, of course, be followed by some verb as anuprayoga; the present sutra declares that the other verb must be from the same root as the gerund,
47. The affix ‘namul’ comes after the root ‘dans’ (to bite) preceded by the preposition ‘upa’; when a word ending with the third case-affix is in composition with it.

The Upapada samāsa is optional in this case (II. 2. 21). Thus मूलके-पव शामु भुज्जा or मूलकेनीपवशामु भुज्जा ‘he eats after having relished the food with radish’.

Similarly आर्द्रकोपथ्यां or आर्द्रकेनोपपवशामु ‘relished with ginger’.

The words मूलक &c in the above examples are the ‘objects’ of the verb उपर्यु, and ‘instruments’ of the verb भुज्जा.

By the rule of वाःवयवय (III. 1. 94) the affix तथा (or its substitute वयवय) may be optionally used, wherever we may use the affix एमुत्तु. Thus मूलकेनी-पवर भुज्ुत्तु।

48. The affix ‘namul’ comes after roots having the sense of ‘hins’ (to strike), when the object of this gerund is the same as the object of the main verb, and when the noun with which it is compounded ends with the third case-affix.

Thus हष्टदेशायत्मः गा: कालस्यति ‘he collects together cows, beating them with a club’. The compounding is optional (II. 2. 21.) Thus we have also हष्टदेशी-पयास्यः. Similarly with other verbs having the sense of हिन्स; thus, हष्टदेशायत्मः or हष्टदेशी ताह्यात्मः.

Why do we say ‘when the object of the gerund is the same as the object of the main verb’? When the objects are different, एमुत्तु will not be employed. Thus चोरस्य हष्टदेशीपयास्यः, गौवयात्तु गा: कालस्य ‘having beaten the thief with the club, the cowherd collects together the cows’.

49. The affix ‘namul’ comes after the roots ‘pīḍ’ (to press), ‘rudh’ (to obstruct), and ‘krish’ (to draw),
when they are preceded by the preposition ‘upa’, and when they are compounded with nouns ending with the 7th case-affix or the 3rd case-affix.

The phrase ‘3rd case-affix’ must be read into the sutra by virtue of the word च। Thus पर्वासपीड़िते ‘he sleeps pressing on his sides’. The compounding is optional (II. 2. 21); so we have in the alternative, पाषाणपीड़ितम् or पाषाणायात्म्यपीड़ितम्।

So also ब्रजोपरोषम् (or ब्रजे उपरोषम् or ब्रजेनीपरोषम्) गा: स्थायिति ‘he stations the cows so that they are all in the fold’. पाण्डुपकषम् (or पाण्डुतुपकषम् or पाण्डुनीपकषम्) दाना: संग्रहाणिति। It is Bhāvādi कुष्ठ here, and not Tuḍādi.

समासतो || ५० || पदानि || समासतों, (समस्यां, तृतीयायां, खुमलं) ||

वृत्तिः || समासतो गम्यमनायां दत्तीयात्म्यपीड़ितम्। स्मरितयो भवति।

50. (The affix ‘namul’ comes after a root, when a word in the Locative or Instrumental case is in composition with it), and when immediate contiguity is intended i.e. ‘to fall together by the ears’.

The word समासतति means ‘immediate contiguity’. Thus कंग्रामाहम् (or कंग्रेण पाह्म् or कंग्रेणायाम) चुहलते ‘having closely caught each other by the hair, they fight.’ Similarly हस्तमाहम् or हस्तेपु माहम् or हस्तेमाहम्; so also वश्चमाहम् ‘taking a stick’; जोट्रानास &c. See II. 2. 21.

प्रामाणे च || ५१ || पदानि || प्रामाणे, च, (तृतीयायां, समस्यां; खुमलं) ||

वृत्तिः || प्रामाणे गम्यमने दत्तीयात्म्यपीड़ितम्। स्मरितयो भवति।

51. The affix ‘namul’ comes after a root, when a noun in the Instrumental or Locative case is in composition with it, and when measure of length is intended.

The word प्रामाणम् means ‘length or extension’. Thus हस्तबुधळोपकषय (हस्तगुड़े उपकषयम् or हस्तगुड़ोपकषयम्) ख्यादिकाः ख्यानिति ‘he cuts pieces of the length of two fingers’. See II. 2. 21.

अपादाने परिप्पालयाः || ५२ || पदानि || अपादाने, परिप्पालयाः,

(खुमलं) ||

वृत्तिः || परिप्पालयां गम्यमनायां अपादाने उपपदे भातीयायायुग्मः प्रश्च्चन्ति।

52. The affix ‘namul’ is added to the root, when a noun in the Ablative case is in composition, and when ‘haste’ is intended.
The word परीसा means 'haste, hurry'. Thus शाप्योऽयां (or शाप्योऽया जस्याय) धारित इम, 'having risen from bed, he runs away'. That is to say, he runs with such a haste that he does not perform even the necessary ablutions &c, but as soon as he rises from the bed, he runs off. Similarly रक्तप्रमरणात् प्रत्येकः विचित्र 'he drinks milk from a hole in the vessel', he being in such a haste, that he does not care to drink from the proper aperture. अष्ट्रासाधारण्यं स्वत्वादि 'he eats cakes hot from the frying pan', not waiting till they are placed on a dish.

Why do we say 'when meaning hurry'? Observe, भावानुवध्याय गच्छति 'having risen from the seat, he goes'. Here 'haste' not being intended, the affix तत्त (स्वयं) is employed. See II. 2. 21.

53. The affix 'नमुल' comes after a verb, when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, and when 'haste' is intended.

Thus बहुस्याहम् (or बहुत गहम्) दश्यम् 'they fight, having hastily taken up sticks'. That is, they are in such a haste to fight, that they do not tarry to take up the proper weapons, offensive and defensive, but engage in fight with anything that is at hand, such as sticks, stones &c. Similarly लोकोऽधिभुष्ठु (or लोकोऽधाम)।

54. The affix 'नमुल' comes after a root, when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, signifying the limbs of one's own body, when the limb is such that its loss will not destroy life.

Thus भूमिकोऽपर्यं तत्त 'he narrates, throwing his eye-brows (glances) about in all directions'. अभिमन्युकाधिपवत् ज्ञातिन 'he prattles, having closed the eyes'.

The स्वासक word is "a word denoting a thing which not being liquid or gaseous, and being capable of being perceived by the senses, and not being one produced by a change from the natural state, exists in a living being, or though found elsewhere actually or at any particular time, had previously been known as existing only in a living being, or is found to have actually, (not figuratively) the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being."

The word अश्वा means 'non-vital organ', or a limb which even being cut off, does not necessarily destroy life. Therefore, we cannot use the affix
The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a word in the Accusative case denoting a limb of one's own body, which is completely afflicted by the action, is in composition.

The word परिक्षिज्ञमान means 'completely hurt or affected'. Thus दरः प्रतिपे व उँच-पे व दुःख-पे = कः प्रकाशत्: 'they fight so as to afflict their whole bosom'. So also दरः प्रतिपे व दरः प्रतिपे।

The difference between this and the last sūtra consists in this, that this sūtra applies even to vital organs, such as 'breast', 'head' &c; while the last aphorism applies 'non-vital organs' only.

विशिष्ठितिपदिस्कृया व्याप्तानास्वयमानार्थाय: ॥ दरः ॥ विशिष्ठ-पति-पदिस्कृया, व्याप्तानास्वयमानार्थाय: (द्वितीयायाः, श्रमुलः) ॥

56. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs विस् (to enter), 'पति (to fall), 'पद्द (to go) and 'स्कंद' (to leap), when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, and when the sense denoted is that of complete pervasion and total absorption.

The word व्याप्ति (or व्याप्तान) means, the full and complete pervasion of the substances with the actions (denoted by the verbs विशिष्ठ, &c). The word आवेष्ठा means 'assiduous performance' of any action, or absorption into it'. In other words, 'frequency' of an action is आवेष्ठा। The word व्याप्ति therefore refers to the noun (in the accusative case) and आवेष्ठा to the verb (such as विस् &c). These two words have the same significance here as the words निर्देश and वीश्व in sūtra VIII. 1. 4. and by the application of that rule, both the noun and the verb require to be repeated. That rule, however, will not apply here, when there is compounding by II. 2. 21. But when there is no compounding, (for rule II. 2. 21. makes composition only optional) then there is repetition of the noun if व्याप्ति 'all' is meant; and of the verb, if आवेष्ठा 'frequency or assiduous performance' is meant. Thus गोचनुमयेवासात्, (or गोचनुमयेवासात् गोचनुमयेवासात् गोचनुमयेवासात्) 'having entered the house, he sits down', meaning either, 'having en-
tered every house in succession, he sits down', or 'having repeatedly entered the house, he sits down'.

Similarly with the root पत्र, we may have three examples as in the last, and so also with the roots चक्र and ग्रहण. Thus गोविन्दनुमुनि (or गोविन्दनुमुनि-पत्रमल्ले) or गोविन्दनुमुनि-पत्रमल्ले (or गोविन्दनुमुनि-पत्रमल्ले or गोविन्दनुमुनि-पत्रमल्ले); गोविन्दनुमुनि (or गोविन्दनुमुनि-पत्रमल्ले or गोविन्दनुमुनि-पत्रमल्ले); गोविन्दनुमुनि (or गोविन्दनुमुनि-पत्रमल्ले or गोविन्दनुमुनि-पत्रमल्ले).

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of all or frequency'? Observe, गोविन्दनुमुनि-पत्रमल्ले 'having entered the house, he eats'.

Q.—By sūtra III. 4. 22, namul would have been valid, when abhikshna was meant; and abhikshna and āsevā mean the same thing i. e., 'frequency'. Why then ordain namul again, by the present sūtra, in the sense of āsevā? If you say, "we repeat it, in order to prevent the coming of the affix तत्र", that is not so. For तत्र would come by शुद्धमल्ले rule; (see III. 1. 94 and III. 4. 47).

A.—The repetition is for the sake of Upapada-samāsa with a word in the accusative case. Under rule 22, there was no upapada, while in the present case there is an upapada.

Professor Bohlingk translates this sūtra thus:—"विषु, पत्र, चक्र, and ग्रहण in composition with an accusative, form the absolutive gerund in अमू (namul), when one wishes to express that every object of that name is completely affected by the action, or that the action is constantly repeated in that object."

अस्यतिरिक्तः क्रियान्तरे कालेपु भिन्न विश्वासः क्रियान्तरे, कालेपु, (द्वितीयायाः, शुद्धः) भिन्नः क्रियापालनेर यथा कालाविचारप्रेषेय अपनै विश्वासः शुद्धः

57. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'as' (to throw) and 'trish' (to thirst), when it is intended to express an intermission of the action denoted by the root, provided that a word in the accusative case denoting time, is in composition.

The word क्रियान्तर means 'the interval between two actions'. Thus द्वारावासः or द्वारावासः गा: पावयति 'he gives drink to the cows, after an interval of two days, i. e. every third day'. So also द्वारावासः or द्वारावासः गा: पावयति 'having kept the cows thirsty for two days, he makes them drink'. That is to say, 'having given them a drink today, he gives them another drink after an interval of two days'; &c.

Why do we say 'after the verbs छाया and तृष्णा'? Because the affix तृष्णा will not be applied after other roots, though the sense be that of interval of time. Thus द्वारावासः मृदुः 'having fasted for two days, he eats'.

The affix namul.

[Bk. III. Ch. IV. § 57-]
Why do we say 'when denoting an intermission of action'? Observe अभरस्वसेपूरुः गत; here there is no intermission in the action of 'going'.

Why do we say 'denoting time'? Observe योजनमस्मध्व गत: नामयति 'allowing an interval of four miles to pass, he gives drink to the cows i.e. he waters the cows at every four miles'. Here the interval is that of 'space' and not of 'time', and hence the affix is स्वपः and not शमुलः.

नामयादिशिर्ष्यनें: || ५५ || पदानि || नामि, आदिशि-प्रहो; (द्वितीयाः, शमुलः) ||

वृत्ति: || नामयाधिशि द्वितीयान्त उपपदे आवधायन्ति घातोपानामुलः मवयो मवति ||

58. The affix 'नमुल' comes after the roots 'ादिः' and 'ग्रह', when the word 'नामन' (name) in the Accusative, is in composition.

Thus नामयादिशिर्ष्यनें 'he mentions it, telling his name'. नामयादि मामाहिति 'he calls me by taking my name (i.e. by my name).

अव्यये, अभिभावतेत्स्तवावायामे, कृशः क्षास्यामुलः || ५५ || पदानि ||

अव्यये, अभिभावतेत्स्तवावायामे, कृशः क्षास्यामुलः

वृत्ति: || अव्यये उपपदे, अभिभावतेत्स्तवावायामे गन्यमाने करोति: तवापाणमुलोऽभव: ||

59. The affixes 'क्त्वा' and 'नमुल' come after the root 'क्रि' (to make), when an Indeclinable word is in composition with it, and the meaning is the communication of anything in a disagreeable or undesired way.

The word अभिभावतेत्स्तवावायामे means literally 'to denote the expression of that which is not really intended' i.e. a manner not suited to the proper communication of that news, such as communicating a bad news in a loud voice and good news in a low voice. The compounding being optional, the affix स्तवा may be replaced by स्वपः. Thus we have three forms नीचोऽकृशः, नीचोऽकृशः, or नीचोऽकृशः. Thus if one had communicated an agreeable news like the birth of a son in a low voice, the other may retort "किं वर्ष वृहस्पति नीचोऽकृशः, नीचोऽकृशः; कृशः नीचोऽकृशः"; and so, if one had communicated an unpleasant news as आश्रय ग्राणे गर्भिणी in a loud voice, the other may reply "किं वर्ष वृहस्पति नीचोऽकृशः, नीचोऽकृशः, कृशः, or उपपदे-कारामाने". (See II. 2. 22 for compounding).

Why do we say 'communicating in an undesired manner'? Observe उपपदे-कृशांश्च उपपदे ज्ञात: || Here only स्तवा is added. Why have we repeated स्तवा in this सूत्र, when in this chapter, by the rule of भास्त्रक्रम (III. 1. 94), क्त्वा would have presented itself in the alternative? The repetition is for the sake of समास or composition, by the application of II. 2. 22. The repetition
of \textit{ktvä} is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which \textit{anuvṛtti} of \textit{ktvä} and \textit{namul} runs concurrently.

\begin{quote}
\textit{तिर्यक्षयङ्गम्} II 60 II \textit{पदानि} II \textit{तिर्यक्षि}, \textit{अपवर्जः}, (कष्ठः, क्ष्या-शमुली)
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textit{वृत्ति} II \textit{तिर्यक्षकार\textunderscore उपवर्जः कृष्णः} सतायामुली परवर्जः भवतोपवर्जः गम्यमाने II
\end{quote}

60. The affixes \textit{ktvä} and \textit{namul} come after the root \textit{क्रि}, when the word \textit{तिर्यक्ष} is in composition in the sense of 'carrying to the end'.

The word भवतः means 'completing or finishing'. Thus \textit{तिर्यक्ष} कृष्ण, \textit{तिर्यक्ष कृष्णा} or \textit{तिर्यक्ष क्रांग गदः} = सामा\textunderscore गः: 'having completed, he went away'.

Why do we say 'when meaning completion'? Observe \textit{तिर्यक्ष कृष्णा कांग गदः} 'having placed the wood obliquely, he went away'. Here \textit{क्रस्म} is not employed. See II. 2. 22 for compounding. The word \textit{तिर्यक्ष} is the locative of the word-form \textit{तिर्यक्ष}, and not of the word \textit{तिर्यक्ष}. Other examples are: \textit{तीर्यक्ष} (V. 3. 5); अदसो मातु (I. 1. 12).

\begin{quote}
\textit{स्‌वात्‌} तस्मात्‌ ये कृष्णोः: II 61 II \textit{पदानि} II \textit{स्वात्‌}, तस्मात्‌ ये, कृष्णोः; (कष्ठा-शमुली)
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textit{वृत्ति} II तस्मात्‌ ये स्वात्‌तावः वाचिनि उपवर्जः करोदेमके वेदम्य धातः: सतायामुली परवर्जः भवतः II
\end{quote}

61. The affixes \textit{ktvä} and \textit{namul} are added to the roots \textit{क्रि} (to make) and \textit{bhù} (to become), in composition with a word denoting a member of one's own body; when the affix \textit{tas} is joined thereto.

The word \textit{स्वात्‌} has already been defined in sūtra III. 4. 54. The \textit{svänta} word in the present case must be such as should end in the affix \textit{स्तः}—a \textit{taddhita} affix technically called तन्त्रि and तन्त्रिक्स (V. 3. 78 &c). Though here there are two roots कृ and भू, and there are two affixes to be applied i. e. तन्त्र and भूमु; yet the rule of 'respective allocation' (I. 3. 10) does not apply here. Both the affixes are applied to each of the roots. Thus मुखतः कृष्ण गदः; or मुखतः कृष्ण गदः: कारंगतः: I. Similarly नुसठः: मूर्धन्त हस्तिति or नुसठः: मूर्धन्त हस्तिति or नुसठः: भार्य सिद्धिति.

Why do we say 'a word denoting a limb of one's own body'? Observe सस्मतः कृष्ण गदः: I

Why do we say 'ending in the affix \textit{स्तः}'? Observe मुखीपुक्ष्य गदः: मुखी-भूमु गदः: I

Why do we use the word \textit{the affix}? If \textit{स्तः} is not an affix, but a verb, the rule will not apply. Thus मुखे तस्माति = मुखतः 'throws in the mouth'. With this मुखतः: so formed, we cannot apply the rule. Thus मुखतः कृष्ण गदः: I
62. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' are added to the roots 'kṛi' and 'bhū', when a word ending in the affix 'nā' (V. 2. 27) or in an affix having the force of 'dhā' (V. 3. 42), or having the sense of the affix 'chvi' (to make or to become something what it had not been before, V. 4. 50), is in composition.

Two words, nāna 'various' and vinā 'without' are formed by the affix nā (V. 2. 27); affixes having the force of dhā are ṣa, ṣaya, ṣam and ṣya (V. 3. 42 to 46) which are added to numerals in the sense of 'part' or 'fold' &c. The force of chvi has already been explained.

Thus nāna nāna kṛśa gata: = nāna kṛṣya or nānakāra gata: So also vinā kṛṣya, vinā kṛṣya or vinā kāra gata: So also nāna or vinā sva—sva or sva gata: With words formed by ṣa and cognate affixes, we have:—hṛṣya or hṛṣya kṛṣya—kṛṣya—kara—sva—sva or sva gata: But not so in hṛṣkṛṣya, ṣyaḥ kṛṣya.

Why do we use the word 'affix (ṛṣya)' in the sūtra? Without it, the sūtra would have run thus: nāṇāḥ ṣyaḥ, and then any word, having the sense of nā, which has the force of 'except', 'various' or the sense of ṣa which means 'part or fold', when in composition with kṛ or sva, would have taken the affix ṣaḥ and ṣaḥ. But that is not so. Thus the words hṛṣkṛṣya 'except' and ṣyaḥ kṛṣya 'separately' have the sense of nā and ṣa respectively; as hṛṣkṛṣya, or ṣyaḥ kṛṣya.

Why do we say 'when the upapada has the force of the affix chvi'? Observe nāna kṛṣya kaṭaṇa gata: The word ṣa in nāṇāḥ qualifies only the term ṣa, and not nā, for there are no other affix having the sense of nā, which is a single affix taught in V. 2. 27; while, as shown above, there are other affixes having the force of ṣa. The composition optionally takes place by II. 2. 22.

63. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' are added to the root 'bhū', when the word 'tusṁnim' (silently) is in composition.

Thus tusṁnim, bhūnaḥ, bhūnaḥ, or bhūnaṁbhū 'having become silent'. The repetition of bhū in this sūtra, shows that the anuvṛtti of bhū does not run into it and altogether ceases.
64. The affixes 'ktvä' and 'namul' come after the root 'bhû', when the word 'anvak', in the sense of being favourably disposed, is in composition.

The word आनुलोमय means 'agreeable, friendly or favourably disposed, or doing according to the wish of another'. Thus अनन्यमुन्य—अन्यमुन्य or अन्यमुर्ग आवास्ते 'he is favourably disposed'.

Why do we say 'when meaning friendly'? Observe अनन्यमुन्य निषिद्ध 'he remains behind'.

65. The affix 'tumun' is added to every verb, when another verb having the sense of 'sak' (to be able), 'dhrsh' (to make bold), 'jña' (to know), 'glai' (to be wearied), 'ghat' (to strive), 'rabh' (to begin), 'labh' (to get), 'kram' (to set about), 'sah' (to bear), 'arh' (to be pleased or to condescend), and 'as' (to be), is in construction.

The use of the Infinitive in सुमुन formed by this rule, differs from that given in sutra III. 3. 10. In that sutra the Infinitive had the force of 'purpose' and here there is no such force. Moreover in this case there is an upapada in construction, though that upapada is a verb; in rule III. 3. 10, there was no such upapada.


This sutra presents a knotty point. Bhattoji Dikshita says अष्टमण्डलित्रिनैव सम्बन्धेऽसत्तंत्रवाक्यo. i. e. the sutra gives roots from श्राक to अऽऽ and roots having the same sense as अऽऽ 'to be'. But this is hardly consistent with the almost overwhelming evidence of usage. According to Dikshita's interpretation, परम 'to be able' cannot be used with the Infinitive, but न पार्षदि विनि—विनि (S. 4), पारिवारिकतान्त्रिकस्वस्यस्वस्य (M. 3.) are instances from a standard author; similarly विनि 'to know' cannot be used with the Infinitive; but न च वेश स्म्य प्राृत् न ता (R. VI. 30) is as good an instance. We must, therefore, suppose
that the sūtra indicates the existence of an interpretation connecting अंथ with all the preceding roots; otherwise we shall have to condemn as wrong, all such constructions as those given above. Taking this view I have interpreted the sūtra, connecting अंथ with all the above roots.—Apte's Composition.

पर्याप्तिवचनेश्वलसचेषु || दै || पद्यां || पर्याप्तिव-चनेशु, अलस-अर्थेषु, (तुमुः) ||

वृत्ति: || पर्याप्ति-वचनेश्वलसचेषूऽ पार्षद्युस्मु रास्वदश्यो भवति ||

66. The affix 'tumun' comes after a verb having in composition with it, 'alam' and its synonyms, when these words express 'to be capable of something'.

The word पर्याप्ति means 'capability, ability, fulness'. Thus लिङ्किताकृ जनवेद मोनिष्ठातुमकः समर्थः (Hitopadesa) 'who is able to avoid that which is stamped on his forehead'. ज्योकां भांते हर्मुृ हि सत्यः (Kumāra II. 56) 'his penance is able to burn the worlds'. अर्यत मे निवेशः सर्वेव परिवत्तु (Vikramorvasi 2) 'I have power to know every thing'. भोजन्मु प्रदीपः कुरानुः पद्यरः 'skilful in eating'.

Another interpretation of the sūtra is "the affix tumun is added to a verb, when it has in composition with it, the word पर्याप्ति or अलस or a synonym of अलस having the sense of paryāpti. Thus पर्याप्तिः भोजन्मु, अलस भोजन्मु, भोजन्मु पार्वत्याति."

Why do we say 'having the sense of capability'? Observe अलसश्च्युः

Why do we say 'having the meaning of अलस'? Observe पर्याप्तिः पुस्तकेः

The word रास्ता in the preceding sūtra has not the sense of अलस in that aphorism. With the sense of अलस, the present sūtra will apply: as लक्षण्येन कर्तुमुः.

कर्तरी कर्तृ || दै || पद्यां || कर्तरी, कर्तृ ||

वृत्ति: || कर्तरी कर्त्रः प्रक्षिपः कर्तरी कारकः भवति ||

67. The affixes called 'kṛit' are used in the sense of an agent.

The words formed by kṛit affixes have the sense of agency; when no other special sense has been assigned to them by any rule, then this rule will apply, and fix the force of the affix. This rule will not, therefore, apply to kṛit affixes like ख्युम् (III. 2, 5 and 6) to which a special sense has been assigned, but affixes like ख्युम् and ख्युं and ख्यं, &c, (III. 1, 133). Thus कारकः means a 'doer'; कारण 'an agent'; नामस्वः 'one who causes happiness'; प्रम्प 'who seizes'; पव 'who cooks'.

भव्यगोप्रवचनीयपायध्यायवापायवाय वा || दै || पा ||

भव्य-गो-प्रवचनीय-उपस्यानीय-जन्य-आपल्याय-आपायवाय: वा (कर्तरी) ||

वृत्ति: || भव्यायः: कर्तरी वा निर्प्रचारः ||

68. The words 'bhavya', 'geya', 'pravachaniya',
The ten affixes known as ला, लित्र, &c; लू is the common element of them all; and these affixes, when stripped of all indicative letters, leave behind only the letter लू which is thus common name for them all. The लू: in the सूत्र, is the nominative plural of लू। By the word लू in the सूत्र, we draw in the word कर्तृ or 'agent' from the last सूत्र into this. The force of these tense-affixes, when placed after transitive verbs is to denote the object and the agent; and when placed after intransitive verbs, is to denote either 'action' (षां) or it may denote the 'agent'.

The verb itself denotes the action; to be or to do, generally; or to be or to do, in a particular manner. In the active voice the affix marks the agent; in the passive voice of a transitive verb, it marks the object; but in the passive form of an intransitive verb, the action itself. Thus गर्भन: गर्भोऽहस्त्वेन ‘the village is gone to by Devadatta'; here गर्भन: of गर्भन: denotes the object
and is in passive construction. गच्छति ग्राम वेष्टस: ‘Devadatta goes to the village’; here the affix वि of गच्छति denotes the agent, and the sentence is in active construction. The verb गम् being a transitive verb, can take both the active and passive constructions or, to use the Sanskrit technical phraseology, the tense-affixes, after transitive verbs, denote the agent and the object. They can never denote भाव or action after transitive verbs, that is, transitive verbs cannot be used impersonally. Let us now give examples of Intransitive verbs; आस्त्यते वेष्ट्वेत ‘it is seated by Devadatta’; the verb आस्त्यते here denotes merely भाव or ‘action’. In other words, we may call this an impersonal construction. आस्त्यते वेष्ट्वच: ‘Devadatta sits’; here the verb आस्त्यते denotes the agent or is in the active voice.

Professor Bohtlingk translates the sūtra thus:—“A finite verb expresses the agent as well as the object; but the Intransitive verbs denote, in addition to that, the Impersonal idea of the action”. The word भाव means action considered in the abstract.

70. The affixes called ‘kritya’ and the affix ‘kta’ and those that have the sense of ‘khal’, have only these last two senses, namely, an action and an object. (bhāva and karma).

The word तथाः: ‘of those two’ refers to भाव ‘an Impersonal act’, and कर्म, ‘object’. The word एव ‘only’ is used in the sūtra to exclude the word ‘agent’ from it. Thus कर्तौत्त्वधर्म: कर्मोऽभवत ‘the mat must be made by you’; भावचत्वधर्म: भवति भवत ‘the rice must be eaten by you’. Here the affix तत्त्व has the force of denoting the object; we may, therefore, call it the Potential Passive Participle affix. So also भावितत्वधर्म भवत ‘thou must eat’; शावितत्वधर्म भवत ‘thou must lie down’. Here the sense of the affix तत्त्व being that of the action itself, which being Impersonal, is in the singular number, as it is one only, and neither male nor female, there is, from the nature of the case, a singular affix, and the neuter gender is employed.

Similarly the affix कक्ष denotes both the object and the action; कक्ष: कर्मोऽभवत ‘the mat is made by you’; भुक्तं भवति भवत ‘the rice is eaten by you’. Here त is used with the force of denoting the object and may be called the past passive participle.

Similarly त may be used in denoting the mere act; आस्त्यतेन भवत ‘you sat’; शावितं भवत ‘you lay down’.

Similarly the affixes having the sense of खल्ल (III. 3. 126) denote both
the object and the Impersonal act. In the following examples the affixes denote the object; त्रैष्णकः कतेय भवता 'this mat is made, by little at a time, by you'; सुकरः 'what is made with ease'; तुषारः 'what is made with difficulty'. In the following examples the affixes denote the act; त्रैष्णकवर्ष मतवता and त्रैष्णकाख्य भवता.

After transitive verbs, the kriya, the kta and the khalārtha affixes only denote the object, but never denote the भवता or 'an Impersonal action'.

अद्धिकृतमेषिः कः कतेय च || ९१ || पदार्थि || अद्ध-कर्मेषिः, कः, कतेरि, च, (भावे, कर्मेषिः) ||

वृत्तिः || आदिकृतमेषिः चः कतेरि सिद्धि स कतेय भवति, चकरात्र व्यापारं भावकर्मेष्योः ||

71. The affix 'kta' also denotes the agent, when it expresses a beginning of an action.

The word आदिकृतमेषिः means 'the beginning of an action' or when the action signified by the roots, is intended to be expressed merely as having been simply begun. The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that even when the beginning of an action is intended to be expressed, the क may be used to denote the act and the object as well. Thus प्रक्तः कः वेवस्थः here the agent is denoted. प्रक्तः कः वेवस्थः here the object is denoted. प्रक्तः वेवस्थः here mere action is denoted. Similarly प्रक्तः ऑकः वेवस्थः (agent); प्रक्तः ऑकः वेवस्थः (object); प्रक्तः वेवस्थः (act).

गत्यांके कर्मकार्यश्रीक्षुत्रायस्वस्थितिसहजीयतिनिः || ९२ || पदार्थि || गत्यांके-कर्मकार्यश्रीक्षुत्राय, आस-वस-जन-सह, जीयतिरिः; च, (कः, कतेरि, भावे, कर्मेषिः) ||

वृत्तिः || गत्यांके-कर्मकार्यश्रीक्षुत्रायः श्रमवादिष्मुष्योऽक्रमेष्योः; श्रमवादिष्मुष्योः चः कः कतेय भवति, चकरात्र व्यापारसं च भावकर्मेष्योः ||

72. The affix 'kta' is employed in denoting the agent as well as the act and the object, after verbs implying motion, after intransitive roots, and after the verbs 'āṣīt' (to embrace), 'āśi' (to lie down), 'sthai' (to stand), 'ās' (to sit), 'vas' (to dwell), 'jan' (to produce), 'ruh' (to mount) and 'jṛi' (to grow old).

The phrase 'the act and the object' has been added into the sūtra by virtue of the word च. Thus गते वेवस्थः भावम् 'Devadatta is gone to the village' (agent); वेवस्थः गते भावम् 'the village was gone to by Devadatta' (object); गते वेवस्थः देवस्थः 'Devadatta went' (act). The past participle forms from Intransitive verbs, denote the agent and the act only; or in other words, they are used impersonally and in the Active voice, but never in the Passive voice or denoting the object. Thus व्यासेन भवतः 'you were wearied' (agent), व्यासेन भवतः (object); आसितो
The affixes kta &c.

The verbs दशा and 'goghna' are irregularly formed, and the affix in these denotes the idea of the Dative or Recipient.

The word दशा comes from the root दहा 'to give' by adding the affix अत् under rule III. i. 134. This being a कृत्रिम word would have otherwise denoted the agent by rule III. 4. 67 of this chapter. The present sūtra makes it denote the recipient or have the force of the dative case. Thus दशा means 'to whom something is given i.e. a servant'. Similarly goghna does not mean 'the killer of cow' but 'he on whose coming the cow is killed in order to give him, that is to say, a guest'. It is this irregularly-formed word goghna which is made applicable to the priests, guests, sons-in-law &c, and not the regularly-formed word goghna which means 'a killer of cow' or a 'Chandāl'. Thus दशा: दसानित कर; मात्र: = मात्र करतो गाँ प्रतिच्छ।

भीषणाद्वाराःपादते || 93 || पदाचि || भीष-आदयः, अपादते ||

These words are formed by Unādi affixes. Thus श्री+ मक्कः=श्रीम (U.n. I. 145, 148); श्री+ मुक्क+ मक्कः=श्रीम (U.n. I. 148) &c. By the next sūtra, Unādi words do not denote ordinarily the recipient and the ablation.

The present sūtra makes them do so in the case of भीमाणि words. The following is a list of Bhimāṇi words:—भीमः, श्रीमः, श्रीमकः (U.n. III. 82), वहः, शहः.
75. The words formed by 'Unādi' affixes denote other ideas than these two, i.e., receipient and ablation.

The Unādi affixes being a subdivision of krit affixes, would have, by rule III. 4. 67, denoted the agent. By the present sūtra they are made to denote the object, the instrument and the location also. The word तथाः has been used in the sūtra in order to include the word, sampradāna also. For, had the sūtra been भवनोस्मिः, only the आपदाना kāraka would have been excluded, as being the nearest; but not so the Sampradāna kāraka. Thus कृपितोऽति कृपिः (Uṇ. IV. 120) 'agriculture i.e. what is ploughed' (object); तस्य वित्त = तन्त्र (Uṇ. I. 69) 'a thread i.e. what is drawn out'; कृपितिविवक्त (Uṇ. IV. 145) 'a way i.e. what is established'; करितः = करिः (Uṇ. IV. 145) 'skin' (in which they live).

76. The affix 'kta' which is ordained after roots denoting fixedness (to cling to a place), motion and taking, gives the sense of location as well.

The verbs denoting वेदत्व or 'persisting in a place' are Intransitive verbs. The word pratypavasāna means 'eating' also; the force of च in the sūtra is that the affix kta expresses other relations also. Thus after verbs denoting 'fixedness' or dhrauvyārtha it denotes the agent, the act and the location; after verbs denoting 'motion' it gives the sense of object, agent, act and location; after verbs denoting 'taking or eating', it has the sense of object, act and location. Thus आदित्य हेवक्त: 'Devadatta sat'; आदित्य विद्वेदः 'sitting by him (act); इहमेवामादित्य 'this was their seat' (location); वातात्त्वेवद्विहाः घातम् 'Devadatta went to the village' (active); घातात्त्वेवद्विहाः पातम् 'this is their place of going' (location); मुः घातात्त्वेवद्विहाः घातम् (abstract); मुः घातात्त्वेवद्विहाः घातम् 'this is their place of going' (location); मुः घातात्त्वेवद्विहाः घातम् (active); घातात्त्वेवद्विहाः भागम् (abstract); भागमेत्य स्थलम (location); कथा भागम भागमानस्य: वीरावाहः. 'The bhā in मुः घात and वीरा has the force of नृथु (IV. 2. 85). भागमोद्याभिमिति or पीतवेयत्वमिति.
77. In the place of ‘la’ will be substituted the affix which we shall announce hereafter.

This sūtra consists of one word नस्व meaning ‘of न’. It is an adhikāra sūtra. The word नस्व is the genitive singular of न, the अ in न being for the sake of pronunciation. The अ means the ten affixes: नद्र present, निद्र perfect, लृ first future, नू second future, लोड imperative लोड Vedic subjunctive, लฤ imperfect, लिह potential and benedictive, लुह aorist, लौह conditional. Six of these tenses have indicatory ल, and four have indicatory लो.

Professor Bohtlingk translates this sūtra thus:—In the following sūtras, the word नस्व should be supplied to complete the sense, i.e. the phrase ‘in the place of all those endings which are known as the Personal endings of various tenses and moods, and are known in their totality as न’.


These are the well-known Conjugal-affixes, called also Personal endings, and are ordained generally after all the ten tenses. But as a matter of fact, they undergo various additions and alterations in the different tenses. Some of these changes have already been mentioned before; see sūtra II. 4. 85, III. 1. 33, &c. Others will be mentioned hereafter. It is only in the present tense or न that the affixes as above given, may be applied to the root, in some cases, without any alteration.

The ष in लिष, सिष and विष is for the sake of accent (III. 1. 4); the ष in लष for distinguishing it in the sūtra हूस्ष्व (III. 4. 106); and the ष in महिष for forming the Pratyāhāra लिव which is the general name of the above 18 conjugal or personal affixes. Stripped off their indicatory letters, the following table shows the conjugal affixes as added under various tenses:—

**Present Tense.**—जद

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Parasmaipada.</th>
<th>Atmanepada.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st. pers.</td>
<td>मि</td>
<td>वस्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd.</td>
<td>सि</td>
<td>धस्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd.</td>
<td>सि</td>
<td>तस्</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Imperfect or First Preterite—तख्कः

**Parasmaipada.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st. pers.</td>
<td>अभू</td>
<td>व</td>
<td>म</td>
<td>महिः</td>
<td>भू</td>
<td>इ</td>
<td>अभिः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. &quot;</td>
<td>छ</td>
<td>तस्</td>
<td>त</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्तम्</td>
<td>इ</td>
<td>भास्तम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. &quot;</td>
<td>ल</td>
<td>ताम्</td>
<td>अभू</td>
<td>भातल्यू</td>
<td>भातल्यू</td>
<td>इ</td>
<td>भातल्यू</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Atmanepada.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st. pers.</td>
<td>भान्ति</td>
<td>भाव</td>
<td>भाग्</td>
<td>अभावहै</td>
<td>भान्ति</td>
<td>भाव</td>
<td>भावहै</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. &quot;</td>
<td>हि</td>
<td>तस्</td>
<td>त</td>
<td>भावे</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भाव</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. &quot;</td>
<td>ल</td>
<td>भाव</td>
<td>अभू</td>
<td>भालक्ष्यू</td>
<td>भालक्ष्यू</td>
<td>इ</td>
<td>भालक्ष्यू</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Potential or Optative—विविधिनिकः

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st. pers.</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भाव</td>
<td>भाग्</td>
<td>भावहै</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भाव</td>
<td>भावहै</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. &quot;</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्तम्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्तम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. &quot;</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्तम्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्तम्</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Imperative—लोहः

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st. pers.</td>
<td>भ</td>
<td>व</td>
<td>म</td>
<td>भ</td>
<td>वहे</td>
<td>महेः</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. &quot;</td>
<td>ध</td>
<td>भधस्</td>
<td>भ</td>
<td>से</td>
<td>भध</td>
<td>धे</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. &quot;</td>
<td>ध</td>
<td>भधस्</td>
<td>ध</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>भध</td>
<td>धे</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Perfect or Second Preterite—जितः

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st. pers.</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भाव</td>
<td>भाग्</td>
<td>भावहै</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भाव</td>
<td>भावहै</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. &quot;</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्तम्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्तम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. &quot;</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्तम्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्तम्</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### First Future or Definite Future—नूदः

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st. pers.</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भावस्</td>
<td>भागस्</td>
<td>भावहै</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भावस्</td>
<td>भागस्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. &quot;</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्तम्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्तम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. &quot;</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्तम्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्तम्</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Second Future or Indefinite Future—जूदः

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st. pers.</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भावस्</td>
<td>भागस्</td>
<td>भावहै</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भावस्</td>
<td>भागस्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. &quot;</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्तम्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्तम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. &quot;</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्तम्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्तम्</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Aorist or Third Preterite—लूहः

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st. pers.</td>
<td>सर्द्</td>
<td>व</td>
<td>कर्जू</td>
<td>कर्जू</td>
<td>सर्द्</td>
<td>व</td>
<td>कर्जू</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. &quot;</td>
<td>कीर्ति</td>
<td>कत्म्</td>
<td>स्त</td>
<td>स्त</td>
<td>कीर्ति</td>
<td>कत्म्</td>
<td>स्त</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. &quot;</td>
<td>कीर्ति</td>
<td>कत्म्</td>
<td>स्त</td>
<td>स्त</td>
<td>कीर्ति</td>
<td>कत्म्</td>
<td>स्त</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Preceptive or Benedictive—आशीर्विनिकः

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st. pers.</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भीर्य</td>
<td>भीर्य</td>
<td>भीर्य</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. &quot;</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भीर्य</td>
<td>भीर्य</td>
<td>भीर्य</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. &quot;</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भास्त्</td>
<td>भीर्य</td>
<td>भीर्य</td>
<td>भीर्य</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Conditional—लूदः

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st. pers.</td>
<td>भवम्</td>
<td>भव</td>
<td>भवन्</td>
<td>भव</td>
<td>भवम्</td>
<td>भव</td>
<td>भवन्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. &quot;</td>
<td>भवस्</td>
<td>भवस्</td>
<td>भवन्</td>
<td>भवस्</td>
<td>भवस्</td>
<td>भवन्</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. &quot;</td>
<td>भवत्</td>
<td>भवत्</td>
<td>भवन्</td>
<td>भवत्</td>
<td>भवत्</td>
<td>भवन्</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Substitution in the Perfect.

79. The substitute 'e' replaces the last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, of the 'Atmanepada' substitutes of that 'la' which has an indicatory 't'.

The न or the tense-affixes that have an indicatory त are six:—स्त्र, लिट्, लुद्द, लुद्द, लोद्द, लैद्द। In these tenses the final portion called ति of the Atmanepada affixes is changed into त। Thus न becomes न, अतान् becomes अते, हा becomes हा &c, as shown in the foregoing table.

The affixes शानच्, and क्षानच् are also Atmanepada affixes. Why are not their finals changed into त as in पचनम्, बन्धान्? Because the word अतान्तेश्वरपादान् in the sūtra refers by context to the Atmanepada affixes included in the Pratyāhāra तिष्ठ।

यास्ति व ८० व पदर्शि यास्त: से, (लप, निस्त:) इत्यः। बृत्ति: य भोजण्यं वर्धालात्यस्ति सेवक्ष्ण्य आखिर्यो निस्ति।

80. The word 'se' is the substitute of 'thās' in those tenses that have an indicatory 'त'.

In the six tenses already mentioned in the last sūtra, the Atmanepada यास्ति is replaced by ते, as we have already shown in the preceding table. Thus पथे, पेंचि, पन्चासे, पदवि।

लिटस्त्तभेनालिङ्गिच् ८१ य १० लिट्त: ताक्षये: यस्य इरीच्। बृत्ति: य भिन्यवीयोष्ट्याययुक्तस्याक्षयस्येवहरेङ्कू इरीच्चत्वात्येवी: निस्ति।

81. The words 'es' and 'irēch' are the substitutes of 'व' and 'jha' respectively in the Perfect tense.

The त of यस्य indicates that it replaces the whole of the affix त (I. 1. 55). The त of इरीच्च is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 165). Thus पथे, पेंचि, पन्चासे, पदवि। See the foregoing table of tenses for the Atmanepada.

परस्ततेश्वरपादानं शलुतसुशर्यशलुतस्वाण्वः: ८२ व पदर्शि परस्तेश्वरपादानं, शलु-अनुस-उस-शलु-अनुस-अ-शलु-व-नास: (लिट्त:)।

बृत्ति: य भिन्यवीयो परस्तेश्वरस्वाण्वानं वयायत्वाय विविधानां शलुवीयो नववेदन्यो निस्ति।

82. In the room of the Parasmaipada affixes, the following are substituted in the Perfect tense:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>नाल (अं)</th>
<th>थाल (थं)</th>
<th>नाल (अं)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dual.</td>
<td>अतुस (अभु)</td>
<td>अclusão (अभु)</td>
<td>वा (थ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural.</td>
<td>उस् (उ)</td>
<td>ए (अ)</td>
<td>मा (म)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The indicatory नू in सान and घनू is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 193). The indicatory णू is for the sake of causing वृद्धि (VII. 2. 25). Thus पपाच, पचतु, पचू, पचिय or पपक्षु, पचसु, पचेच, पचाच or पचच, पचिय घेणिय।

बिदू नेली वा ॥ ५३ ॥ पदार्थ || बिदूः, लितः, वा, (परस्परपद्धानां, खलतुसुल्खलुसुल्खल्विस्वा:) ॥

वृद्धि: || बिदू जागे, अस्मादान्तोः: परेयं लवाहेजानां परस्परपद्धानां ठवायतो नव विकल्पे-नावेशगा भविष्यत ॥

83. The above nine affixes of the Perfect tense are optionally added in the Present tense also after the verb ‘vid’.

Thus:—

Singular. वेद्य or बेण्डि वेष्य or बेस्या वेद्य or बेद्या
Dual. विद्युत्तु or बिद्युत्तु विद्यु: or बिद्यु: बिद्यु or बिद्यु:
Plural. विद्यु: or बिद्यु: विद्यु: or बिद्यु: विद्यु: or बिद्यु:

इङ्गः: प्रक्षायमार्दितात्त्वोः इङ्गः: || पदार्थ इङ्गः: इङ्गः: (परस्परपद्धानां, खलतुसुल्खलुसुल्खल्विस्वा, लितः, वा) ॥

वृद्धि: || इङ्गः: परस्पर जागे: परस्परपद्धानां परस्परपद्धानां घायतो नव विकल्पे-पावेशगा भविष्यत।

84. Instead of the first five tense-affixes, in the Present tense coming after the verb ‘brū’ (to speak), there may optionally be the affixes of the Perfect; ‘āha’ being, at the same time, the substitute in the room of ‘brū’.

Thus आह ‘he says’; आहतु: ‘they two say’; आहु: ‘they say’; आह्य ‘thou sayst’; आहष्टु: ‘you two say’; the rest like इङ्ग as shown below:—

Singular. आह or आघिति आघात or आघित्वा आघिति
Dual. आघहु: or आघुतु: आघु: or आघू: आघु: आघु मः
Plural. आहु: or आघुल्ति आघु मः आघु मः

The word आघिति ‘first’ is used in the sūtra to indicate that the substitution should not take place in the case of the last four affixes. The repetition of the word इङ्ग: in the sūtra indicates the original expression which is to be replaced; and shows that this change occurs in the Parasmaipada affixes only.

लोटो लढ़वत ॥ ५४ ॥ पदार्थ || लोटो: लढ़वतः ॥

वृद्धि: || लोटो लढ़वतःकार्ये भविष्यत ॥

85. The personal endings of the Imperative are as those of the Imperfect.

This is an अविकर्षित sūtra; as in the नार्य there are the affixes तम्, तम, त, व and म, so also in the लोटो. Thus पचाम्, पचतम्, पचेच, पचाच, पचाम।
Q.—If लहर is like लह, why have we not the augment अर, अट, or the substitution of जूस, for ष्ठ (see III. 4. 111) in the case of लहर, also?

A.—The वा of sūtra III. 4. 83 is understood in this sūtra also, so that the analogy between लहर and लह is a limited analogy and does not make all the rules which are applicable to लह, equally applicable to लहर also.

86. In the Imperative, ‘u’ is substituted for ‘i’. Thus ति� becomes तू, अन्तिम becomes अन्तू, as have already been given in the above table.

Vārt.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of affixes हि and हि of लहर. In the case of these two affixes, the ह is not changed into ः, either because they have been so taught in the sūtras, or because the वा of sūtra III. 4. 83 is understood here also and makes this rule an optional rule of limited scope as in the last sūtra (क्रियायुग्म विनायक). Thus गच्छु, गच्छू।

In fact, this sūtra is confined to हि and हि only, and does not apply to हि to which the next sūtra applies.

87. In the Imperative, ‘hi’ is substituted for ‘si’, and this has not the indicative ‘p’ of ‘sīp’, i.e., it is acutely accented.

The substitute being like the original expression (I. 1. 56), हि substituted for हि, would have been a विन्द affix, but for this sūtra, which clearly states in its latter portion that this हि is not to be regarded as having an indicator प।

Thus भुवनेश्वरि, भुवनेश्वरि, राधुःकिन्यी, क्षणकेश्वरि; and as this affix is अधवित, rule I. 2. 4 makes it हि also, and thereby no गुणa takes place.

88. In the Vedas, the substitute ‘hi’ is optionally treated as not having an indicative ‘p’.

The result is that in the Chhandas the second person singular of लहर has two forms as भीष्मेश्वरि or भीष्मेश्वरि; युधिष्ठिर or युधिष्ठिर, वि being substituted for हि in the Vedas, by rule (VI. 4. 103) as in the following verse:

अ wondered सुधारःसंयुक्ताःसमस्ताःप्राचार्यविविधाणीधृष्टां।
युधिष्ठिरस्यह्रणेनर्मभृत्यां नमस्कृतांविविधाणी।

—Rig I. 189. 1: Yajur Veda, 40, 16.
Substitution in the Imperative. [Bk. III. Ch. IV. § 89-93.

§ 89. In the Imperative, ‘ni’ is substituted for the affix ‘mi’.

This supersedes the rule relating to the change of य into म, and the rule of lopa; see the table; thus पचानि, पठानि.

§ 90. In the Imperative ‘am’ is substituted for what would have substituted otherwise ‘e’ by III. 4. 79.

This relates to the Atmanepada affix ए. In the Atmanepada, एम् is substituted for ए in the Imperative; see the table; पचात्, पचेत्, पचनात्.

§ 91. For such an ‘e’ coming after ‘s’, is substituted ‘v’, and for that coming after ‘v’, is substituted ‘am’, in the Imperative.

This supersedes the एम् substitution of the last sutra. Thus, for े we have ए, and for ओ we have ओम्; see the table; thus पचष्, पचषम्.

§ 92. In the Imperative ‘at’ is the augment of the affixes of the first person and the termination is as if it had an indicative ‘p’.

This is clear. Thus in the Parasmaiipada, we have एम्, भाद्, भाम।

§ 93. The ‘ai’ is substituted for ‘e’ forming part of the affixes of the first person of the Imperative.

This relates to the Atmanepada affix. Thus कराई, कराव, कराम; करे, करावहै, करामहै।

But the ए resulting from sandhi,’is not to be changed into ए। Thus पचषण + एंमू = पचामवेद्, पचाम + एमू = पचामाम्म। Here, no doubt, the ए belongs to the Imperative by VI. 1. 85, being the substitute of ओ of ओ and ए। But this is not to be changed into ए on the maxim that this ए is the result of a बहिरजु rule, for
the rule of sandhi (VI. 1. 87), is a बहिर्ज्ञ rule, while the present सूत्रa is an अन्तर्ज्ञ rule; because of the following भार्यालय, अति बहिर्ज्ञमन्तरज्ञ 'that which is Bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect, when an Antaranga rule is to be applied.

94. The augment "at" and 'ate' are added to the personal endings of the Vedic Subjunctive.

The augment at and ab are not to be added at once, but by turns. Thus जुप+सिप+अत+तू = जोपियत; तारियत, मानियत; similarly खब+अत+ति = पाति; व्रजवाति. See III. 1. 34 for the addition of निप in the above.

95. In the Subjunctive, 'ai' is the substitute of 'a' in the first and second person dual of the Atmanepada.

Thus मन्य्यै, मन्य्यै, कर्यै, कर्यै। Why is not the augment आत changed into ए? Because otherwise the rule enjoining आत would be superfluous.

96. In the Subjunctive, 'ai' is optionally the substitute of 'e', in other places than those mentioned in the last sūtra.

Thus यहै, इहै, &c, in the following examples:—सताकाशानि रहमे, अहीं अहीं पूज्यमंगीयी, नामा एव वो प्रहा शुद्धमां, महेंद्रस्वाभावम् व: प्राताः शुद्धमां। And in the alternative we have simply ए, as बन कि च ते मनो इति प्रतिवर्तमान।

Why do we say 'in other places than those governed by the last sūtra'? Observe मन्य्यै, मन्य्यै।

हटत स्थाप: परमेत्यपदेषु॥५५॥ पदार्थि ॥ गतः, च, लोप:, परस्मै-पदेषु, (लेट:) ॥

97. In the Parasmaipada affixes the 'i' is optionally elided in the Subjunctive.

The वा of the last sūtra is understood here also. Thus जोपियत (Rig. II. 35. 1). तारियत (Rig. I. 25. 12). मानियत। In the alternative, it is not elided as पाति विपुत (Rig. VII. 25. 1). व्रजिः व्रजवाति। The इ of इति वहि and महि of the Atmanepada are not elided.
98. The ‘s’ of the first person is optionally elided in the Subjunctive.

As करताना or करतान, करतान or करतान:। The first person is used in the सुत्र to indicate that the ः is not elided in any other person.

99. There is always elision of the ‘s’ of the first person of the affixes that come in the room of that ‘la’ which has an indicatory ‘न’.

The tense-affixes having indicatory ः are four, namely, लष्य, लिद्ध, लघु, and लघु। In their case, the elision of ः is not optional as was the case in the last सुत्र, but compulsory. See the table already given. In other words, in the Imperfect, Potential, Aorist and Conditional, the ः is elided in the 1st person. Thus अपनाय, अपनाय। The word नित्य ‘always’ is used in order to stop the anuvṛtti of the word ‘optionally’.

100. And there is elision of the ‘ि’ of that Parasmaipada affix which is the substitute of a ‘la’ having an indicatory ‘न’.

Thus, for ि we have ः, for ि we have ः, &c, as in the above table. The ः of Atmanepada is, however, not elided, because the anuvṛtti of Parasmaipada is understood here from सुत्र III. 4. 97. Thus अपचत्, अपचत्त, but अपचार्थि and अपचार्थि।

101. The affixes ‘तम्’, ‘तम्’, ‘ता’ and ‘आम’ are the substitutes of the four affixes ‘tas’, ‘thas’, ‘tha’ and ‘mip’ respectively, of any ‘la’ which has an indicatory ‘न’.

This we have shown in the above table. Thus अपचत्, अपचत्, अपचत्, अपचत्, अपचत्, अपचार्थि, अपचार्थि, अपचार्थि, अपचार्थि।
102. The personal endings of the Potential and the Benedicitive take the augment ‘siyut’.

The स of सीयुट, is indicatory and shows that this augment is to be placed before the affixes (I. 1. 46). The ः is for the sake of pronunciation; this rule applies to the Atmaneypadā affixes. In the Potential, the स of this augment is elided by VII. 2. 79, and the ः also, before a personal-ending beginning with a consonant, is dropped according to VI. 1. 66. In this way, we have पचेत, पचेयातम, and by III. 4. 105, पचेस्त। In the Benedicitive, the augment retains its full form, only so far as it is not governed by VI. 1. 66. Thus पचीट, पचीयास्तम पचीस्त।

यासुट परस्मैपदृवासातो डिच ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यासुट, परस्मै-पदौभु, उदात्त: डित, च, (लिङ्कः)॥

वृत्ति: ॥ परस्मैपदृवपद्यिय डिचो यासुटात्मो भवति सीयुटोः।पवाः: सचोदितो भवति, किंतु।

103. When the Parasmaipadā affixes of the Potential follow, then ‘yāsuṭ’ acutely accented, is their augment, and the termination is regarded as having an indicatory ‘ट’.

This debars सीयुट; the ः of यासुट, is indicatory; the real augment is बास। All augments being anudātta, the present sūtra therefore especially uses the word udātta to show that this augment is an exception to the general rule. Though लिङ्क has an indicatory ः, and therefore by the rule I. 1. 56, its substitutes would also be regarded as having an indicatory ः, the repetition of the word डिच in this sūtra shows the existence of the paribhāṣā “that the ः belonging to ः does not influence its substitutes;” in other words, the substitutes of लिङ्क, लिङ्क, लुक and लूक are not to be regarded as having an indicatory ः। (लक्ष-रामदित्यमालाक्षणो न भवति।) In the Potential, the स of यासुट, is elided by VII. 2. 79. So we get the forms कुर्सिः, कुर्स्ताम, and by applying III. 4. 108 and VI. 1. 96, कुर्सु। For the Benedicitive डिच, the following sūtra applies.

किंद्राशिचि ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किंत, आशिचि, (लिङ्कः यासुट, उदात्त)॥

वृत्ति: ॥ आशिचि बो लिङ्कः तस्य यासुटात्मो भवति सचोदिता: किंद्राशिचि।

104. The augment ‘yāsuṭ’ comes after that ‘liṅ’ also which denotes benediction, and it is acutely accented, and the substitutes of this ‘liṅ’ are as if they had an indicatory ‘ट’.

The डिच of this sūtra refers to the personal affixes of the Benedicitive mood and not to the augment यासुट, for that would have been unnecessary,
being already हृत् by the last rule. हृत् and वित् are equal in prohibiting guṇa and vṛddhi, but हृत् is distinguished from वित् insomuch as हृत् causes the guṇa of जाग (VII. 3. 85), and also there is distinction between them with regard to the change of semi-vowel to vowel (VI. 1. 15 and 16). Thus द्वात्, द्वात्स्तात्, द्वात्, and जाग्यात्, जाग्यात्स्तात् and जाग्यात्. In the Potential, द्वात् (no samprasāraṇa); in the Benedictive, द्वात् (vocalisation). So also जाग्यात् in the Potential.

भस्य कर् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ भस्य, कर्, (लिङ्कः) ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ द्वात् लिङ्कगङ्गितत् तस्तस्तवत्स्ततो भवति ॥

105. The affix 'रण' is the substitute of 'jha' in the 'Lin' (Potential and Benedictive).

The द्व in other places, is replaced generally by अन्त (VII. 1. 3), but in लिङ्क, it is replaced by सन्त. Thus चन्दन, बजरन, कुपरन, ॥

इटोत् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ इटः, अन्तः (लिङ्कः) ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ लिङ्कविगङ्गितः इटःविगङ्गितवत्स्ततो भवति ॥

106. Short 'a' is the substitute of 'i' of the Atmanepada first person singular in the Potential and Benedictive.

Thus चन्दन, बजरन, कुपरन, ॥

Q.—In the sūtra, the word अन्त is used, and the final द्व belongs to the द्वितिक्षि, therefore by rule I. 3. 4, this द्व is not indicative; why is it made so?

A.—This द्व is not any portion or member of the substitute अन्त; it is added to अन्त merely for the sake of euphony.

The इट, refers to the अन्तनामक affix of the first person singular; and not to the augment इट on the strength of the maxim अत्यद्वस्तं नान्तथकस्तं. A combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote the same combination of letters void of a meaning.

सूत् तियोः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ सूत् ति-योः, (लिङ्कः) ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ लिङ्क संख्यगङ्गितकारकारकार्योः सूतायो भवति ॥

107. The augment 'sūt' is added to the affixes 'ता' and 'त्हा' when part of the affixes of the Potential and Benedictive.

The letters त and य are the objects to which the augment तू is to be added; provided that the त and य are the initial of the affixes employed in लिङ्क.

The augment सूत is applied to लिङ्क as such; in other words, लिङ्क is
there the अग्नि; but in the case of सुर्ख्, लिङ्ग is not the अग्नि, but त and य are the अग्नि. The scope of सीयु and सुर्ख being thus different, one does not debar the other.

In the सूत्र, the word लिङ्ग is used; the ड़ of लिङ्ग is merely for the sake of pronunciation. Thus कुपीज़, कुपीयालाम् कुपीरण्, कुपीयाल्, कुपीयालाम्. In the Potential, the ड़ is elided by VII. 2. 79.

108. In the Potential and Benedictive, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', the ending of the first person plural Parasmaiapada.

This debarrs भल्ल (VII. 1, 3); thus पंपुः, बल्लः.

109. (In those tenses which are marked with an indicatory न) 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', when it comes after an Aorist in 'sich', or the Imperfect of a reduplicated verb, or the root 'vid' (to know).

This applies to tenses having ड़ other than that of लिङ्ग, namely, the ज़ह and ज़ुः.

सिंच is employed in forming the first Aorist. The reduplicated verbs, as well as the verb विच, form their third person plural in जुः, in the tenses other than लिङ्ग, and those that take विच. The word लिङ्ग: of सूत्र III. 4. 99, is understood here also; and therefore this rule is restricted to the Imperfect (ज़ह) of the reduplicated verb. Thus of सिंच, we have अकाँयुः अहायः. Similarly, after the Imperfect of the reduplicated verbs, we have अंभकुः; अज़िष्ठुः; अज़ुःमः. In the case of विच, we have अविचः.

110. (When 'sich' is elided), 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', after an Aorist stem which ends in long 'अ'.

The विच is elided by rule (II. 4. 77). Thus अहुः; अहुः, अस्यः. In other words, in those cases, where विच is elided by rules II. 4. 77, 78 and 79, only जुः is the substitute of ज़ह where the verbs end in long आ. In other words, this सूत्र restricts the scope of the last सूत्र, by which after every विच, ज़ुः was to replace ज़ह.

The Present सूत्र says that after verbs in which विच has been elided,
does not replace ष in the case of any other verb than that which ends in long आ; it is thus a niyama rule.

Thus, by rule II. 4. 77, ष is elided after the verb भु, but as भ does not end in long आ, its 3rd person plural Aorist will not be in जुस। Thus, भज्ञ,। Here, by the last rule, and on the maxim that 'though ष is elided, yet its force remains (I. 1. 62)', जुस would have replaced ष; but the present sūtra prohibits that. But where the ष is not elided, there, of course, जुस does come. Thus भज्ञ। भज्ञ।।

लड़: शाकटायनस्य || १११ || पद्धति || लड़, शाकटायनस्य, (भेज़, जुस, अति:।)

वृत्ति:। भक्तारामज्ञानस्य ज्ञातेवात्साय भेज़सायेहो भवति शाकटायनस्याचार्येश्व मावेन।।

111. In the opinion of Sāktaṭāyana only, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', in the Imperfect of the roots which end in a long 'ा'.

Thus भज्ञ। भज्ञ।। In the alternative, we have भयनः and भयनः।

Why is लड़ repeated here, when the context would have supplied this word; for the sūtra applies to हिन्दू tenses, of which भु being dealt with in the last, would leave लड़: only to be dealt with by this aphorism, for no other हिन्दू tense (like लन्ध or लूं) can end in आ। The repetition shows that the rule applies to those affixes which come after लड़: as लड़:, and not to those which come after another tense which is treated like लड़:। Thus लोकः is treated like लड़:, but for the purposes of this rule, लोकः would not be so treated. Thus the ष of लोकः will not be changed into जुस by III. 4. 109. Thus लम्धु, जाम्लु, विहल्तु। The word घ्व has been used in the sūtra, for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

द्रिष्यः || ११२ || पद्धति || द्रिष्यः। च, (लड़, शाकटायनस्य, भेज़सूः।)

वृत्ति:। द्रिष्यः: परस्य ज्ञातेवात्साय भेज़सायेहो भवति शाकटायनवाचार्येश्व मावेन।।

112. In the opinion of Sāktaṭāyana only, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', in the Imperfect after the verb 'dvish'(to hate).

Thus भज्ञ।। But according to others, भज्ञ।।

तिष्ठितसावथातुकः || ११३ || पद्धति || तिष्ठि, सावथातुकः।

वृत्ति:। तिष्ठः: चिन्तनः प्रश्वः: सावथातुकस्या भविष्यः।।

113. All personal endings (III. 4. 78) and all affixes with an indicator 'स', are called 'sārvadhātukā'.

Of course, this applies to the affixes which have been already treated before, namely, the affixes which relate to verbal roots and not to सत्व affixes &c. Thus, सव, विष्ठ, रोत्विष्ठ, वच्चानः, वच्चानः। लिरः and भार्गविलिरः are exceptions.
114. The remainder, i.e. the affixes other than ‘tin’, and those with an indicator ‘ś’ subjoined to a verbal root, are called ‘ārdhadhātuka’.

Thus the affixes द्, नः, नम् &c. are आर्धविद्याक affixes as in the following words—ञन्ति, नञ्युतम्, नञ्जन्यम्. Here the augment हः is added, because of these affixes being called आर्धद्वहातुकa by VII. 2. 35.

The word चानो: whose anusvṛtti began with sūtra III. 1. 91, is understood here also. So that the affixes in relation to the verbal roots get the name of सार्ववधातुka and आर्धधातुka; the affixes applied to nouns do not get these names. Thus the case-affix याम् when added to the noun जु, is not called an आर्धधातुka affix, and therefore we have नुयाम्, नुप: &c. Had these affixes been आर्धधातुka, they would have caused the guna of the base (VII. 3. 84).

Similarly the affixes श्व and त्त in the words वृत्तव्व and वृत्तव्व are not आर्धधातुka affixes. Had they been so, there would have been the insertion of the augment हः (VII. 2. 35).

Similarly in sūtra III. 1. 5, the affix श्व is used without changing the sense, after the roots गुप: तित् and वित्. But as this affix is added without the enunciation of the word चानो: as it is in sūtra III. 1. 7, this श्व is not called आर्धधातुka, and does not take the augment हः, as नुयाम्.

115. The personal endings of the Perfect are also called आर्धधातुka.

This debarrs them from being called सार्ववधातुka and, being आर्धधातुka, some of them take the augment हः; as पेषिय, शेकिय. Moreover by their being आर्धधातुka they do not admit of the Vikaraṇas श् &c.

So from ग्ै (ग्ना, VI. 1. 45) we have ग्ने; here the श् is elided by VI. 4 64, the affix being treated as आर्धधातुka; similarly म्ण्ये from म्ने.

116. When the sense is that of Benediction, the substitutes of ‘lin’ are called आर्धधातुka’, i.e. the personal endings of the Benedictive are आर्धधातुka’.

This debarrs these affixes from being called सार्ववधातुka. Being आर्धधातुka they take the augment हः, and before these affixes the root does
not take the Vikaraṇas गर्पे &c. Thus from the root गृ ‘to cut’, we have in the भाषीरिक, तविसीट; and from the root पू ‘to purify’, पवित्रिक. But in the विग्रहिक (Potential), we have the proper Vikaraṇas &c. as गुणीगत, पुनीगत.

सुन्तुमयित्वा ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वद्वि, उपयथा ॥

उत्ति:। द्विस्वर्य वर्णस्य द्वयति सार्वाधातुकसार्वाधातुकं । ॥

117. In the Vedas this distinction of ‘sārvadhātuka’ and ‘ārdhadhātuka is not always maintained, and the affixes are promiscuously employed.

In the Vedas, there is no hard and fast rule about sārvadhātuka and ārdhadhātuka affixes. Sometimes the विश्र and द्रित are treated as if they were ārdhadhātuka. Thus कर्ष्णत् त्वा सुततः। Here the affixes of the नोद are treated as ārdhadhātuka and consequently there is the elision of the विश्र by rule VI. 4. 51; the proper form of this word would be वर्ष्णस्य। Sometimes ārdhadhātuka affixes are treated like sārvadhātuka affixes; as विग्रहिके; here the affixes of the जित are treated as sārvadhātuka and so there is the Vikaraṇa मू and the त is changed into त। Thus, वि+मू + मू + त्र=वि+गृ+मू+त्र (III. 1. 74) =वि+गृ+मू+त्र (VI. 4. 87) =विग्रहिके। Similarly, गुणिके। The जित is sometimes treated in the Vedas both as sārvadhātuka and ārdhadhātuka at one and the same time; as उपस्थेताम् शरणं वृहततः। Here, by treating the affix as sārvadhātuka, there is elision of त in the जित (VII. 2. 79) and by treating it again as ārdhadhātuka, the आ of स्था is changed into स। So also in स्तित the affix is treated as sārvadhātuka and there is no substitution of मू for मू as required by II. 4. 52.