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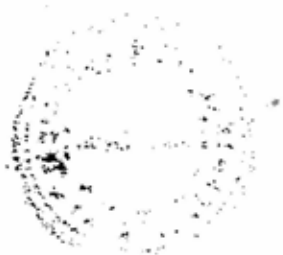
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BOOK VII.

THE

ASHTÁDHYÁYI OF PÁNINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

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TO
Hon'ble Sir John Edge, Bt. Q. C.,

LATE 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 EDUCATION

IN

THESE PROVINCES,

Dedicated

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT

THE TRANSLATOR.





ओ३म् ।

अथ सप्तमाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER FIRST.

युवोरनाकौ ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ यु-वोः, अन-अकौ ।

वृत्तिः ॥ यु उ इत्येतयोरुत्सृष्टविशेषणयोरनुनासिकयणोः प्रत्यययोर्महणं तयोः स्थाने यथासङ्ख्य मन अक इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ।

Kārikā युवोभेद् द्वित्वनिर्देशो द्वित्वे यण्त् प्रसज्यते । अयं चदेकवद्भावः कथं पुंवद्भेदयम् ॥

द्वित्वे नैगमिको लोप एकत्वे नुमनिव्यता । आशिष्यत्वाद्भि लिङ्गस्य पुंस्त्वं वेहि समाश्रितम् ।

1. For यु and वु (nasalised) in an affix, are substituted respectively अन and अक ॥

यु and वु are taken here as stripped of all other indicatory letters, and the semi-vowels are also to be understood to have been nasalised. The अन replaces यु, and अक replaces वु ॥ Thus ल्यु (III. 1. 134) = अन, as नन्द् + ल्यु = नन्दनः रमणः ॥ So also व्यु and व्युल् (IV. 3. 23), as सायंतनः, चिरंतनः ॥ वु we find in ण्वुल् (III. 1. 133), as कृ + ण्वुल् = कारकः, हारकः ॥ So also वुन् (IV. 3. 98) as वासुदेवकः, अश्विनकः ॥

Why do we say nasalised यु and वु? Observe ऊर्णाया युस् (V. 2. 123) Here the यु is not replaced by अन, and we have ऊर्णायुः ॥ So also in भुजिभृद्भ्यां युक्लुक्कौ ॥ Here the यु of युक् and लुक् (Uṇ III. 21) are not replaced by अन; as भुज्युः and भृद्युः ॥ In the affixes above mentioned, the semi-vowel is not considered to have the nasal. There are no visible marks of nasality on any affixes, but the maxim is प्रतिज्ञानुनासिक्याः पाणिनीयाः ॥

The word युवोः is the Genitive Singular of युवु considered as a single word, i. e. a Samāhāra Dvandva compound in the singular, and such compounds are always neuter (II. 4. 17), The Genitive Singular of युवु is therefore युवनः the augment being added by VII. 1. 73. The anomalous form युवोः shows the existence of the maxim that a rule ordaining an augment is not universally valid (अनित्यमागमशासनम्) ॥ Or the युवु may be considered as masculine Dvandva, and then it proves the maxim that the gender need not be taught, the usage of the people settles the gender of a word (लिङ्गमशिव्यं, लोकाश्रयत्वात्-लिङ्गस्य) ॥ If, however, युवु be considered an itaretara-yoga Dvandva compound, then its Genitive dual will be युव्वोः, one व् is elided as a Chhandas irregularity, or the ऊ is elided, and we have the युव् + ओः = युवोः an anomalous dual.

Kārikā :—If युव् is taken as a *dual*, then there ought to be a semi-vowel (i.e. युवोः); if it is considered as Aggregate Singular, then it ought to be neuter, how is then युवोः masculine? (To this we answer), if it be taken as dual युव्, then there is elision of the यणदिश (i.e. व्); if it be taken as singular युव्, then the augment नुम् which comes in the Genitive Singular of Neuters, does not come here, proving that the rule of नुम् augment is Anitya (not of universal application). Or the word युव् is taken as masculine, because the Gender depends upon usage.

आयनेयीनीयियः फढखच्छघां प्रत्ययादीनाम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ आयन्-एय्-ईन् ईय्-इय्, फ-ढ-ख-छ-घाम्, प्रत्यय-आदीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आयन् एय् ईन् ईय् इत्येते आदिशा भवन्ति यथासंख्यं क ढ ख छ घ इत्येतेषां प्रत्ययादीनाम् ।

2. आयन्, for फ्, एय् for ढ्, ईन् for ख् ईय् for छ्, and इय् for घ्, are substituted, when these consonants stand in the beginning of an affix.

Thus फक् (IV. 1. 99) = आयन्, as नङ् + फक् = नाडायन्, चारायणः ॥ ढक् (IV. 1. 120) = एय् as सौपर्णेयः, वैन्तेयः ॥ ख (IV. 1. 139) ईन्, as आक्यकुलीनः, श्रोत्रियकुलीनः ॥ छ (IV. 2. 114) = ईय्, as गार्गीयः, वात्सीयः ॥ घ (IV. 1. 138) = इय्, as क्षत्रियः ॥

Why do we say 'of an affix'? Observe फकति, ढौकते, खनति, छिनति and घूर्णते, where these consonants are in the beginning of a *root*. Why do we say 'in the beginning'? Observe उरुद्वन्म जातुद्वन्म, where घ is in the *middle* of the affix; and remains consequently unchanged.

These आयन् &c, substitutions should be understood to have taken place at the very time the affixes फक् &c, are taught, and these substitutions being made, the rule of accent, which makes an affix acute on the first syllable, applies. Thus ख is not acute, but ई of ईन् substituted for it. Similarly in IV. 4. 117, the affix taught is घच् with an indicatory च्, showing that the final of the affix ईय् will be acute (VI. 1. 163), and not of घ, for घ would have been acute by the general rule affix.

In शने ढः (Uṇ I. 99), शनेः खः (Uṇ I. 102), the affixes ढ and ख remain unchanged, and we have शण्डः, and शंखः ॥ This is explained on the maxim of उणादयो बहुलम् (III. 3. 1). In the sūtra कृतेरीयङ् (III. 1. 29), the affix ईयङ् has been taught and not छङ्, this shows that the rule of substitution herein taught does not apply to the affixes to be added to the verbal roots. Thus एजोः खश्च (III. 2. 28), पदरुजविशस्पृशो घम् (III. 3. 16). Here the ख and घ are not to be replaced by ईन् and इय् ॥ In fact, they cannot be regarded as affixes, but only as इत् or servile letters. By I. 3. 8, the gutturals are इत् except in Taddhita: therefore, the substitutions take place in Taddhita affixes, where the ख and घ are not इत् ॥

The final न् in आयन् and इन् should not, however, be considered as servile (इत्) though they be final consonants. This we infer from the sūtra

प्राचामवृज्जात् किन् बहुलम् ॥ Here the *न्* of किन् is indicatory, showing the position of the accent. But *फ* is replaced by आयन्, so if the *न्* of आयन् were also to be indicatory (इत्) there would have been no necessity of adding *न्* in किन् ॥ Hence the fact of this *न्* in किन् shows that the *न्* in आयन् and इन् are not इत् ॥

ज्ञो ऽन्तः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ झः, अन्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययावयवस्य झस्य अन्त इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

3. अन्त् is substituted for the झ of an affix.

The word प्रत्यय is understood here, but not so the word आदिः ॥ Thus सि becomes अन्ति and झ becomes अन्त् (III. 4. 78). As कुर्वन्ति, सुन्वन्ति and चिन्वन्ति, so also शयान्ते, the लेट् of शीङ् ॥ Thus शी + लेट् = शी + शप् + आद् + झ (III. 4. 54) = शी + शप् + आ + झे (III. 4. 79) = शी + शप् + आ + झे (III. 4. 96) = शी + शप् + आ + अन्ते (VII. 1. 3) = शी + आ + अन्ते = शयान्ते (after guna): as अद्य इवो विजगिष्यमाणाः पतिभिः सह शयान्ते ॥ So also in the Upadi affix झच् (Up III. 126): as हृ + झच् = जरन्ते, वेदान्तः ॥ This substitution does not take place when झ is not part of an affix: as उञ्झिता, उञ्झितुम्, उञ्झितव्यम् ॥ Here also the accent falls on the substitute, according as it is चित् or otherwise. Thus the substitute अन्त of झ is first-acute by the rule III. 1. 3; but the substitute अन्ते of झच् is final acute because of the indicatory च (VI. 1. 763) ॥

अदभ्यस्तात् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्, अभ्यस्तात्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्य झकारस्य अदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

4. अत् is substitute for झ after a reduplicated verbal stem.

As ईदति, ददतु, दधति, दधतु; जक्षति, जक्षतु; जाग्रति, जाग्रतु ॥ This अत् is replaced by झत्, as अददुः, अदधुः ॥ Here also the accent will be on the firstsyllable of the substitute. Thus अति, अत, अन्ते, अन्तु, अन्ताम् in the subsequent sūtras. The accent of the reduplicates, however, is governed by VI. 1. 189, (अभ्यस्तानामादिः) ॥

आत्मनेपदेष्वनतः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु, अ नतः, (अत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु यो झकारस्तस्यानकारान्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्यादित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

5. अत् is always substituted for the झ in the Atmanepada, when it is not preceded by a verbal stem ending in अ ॥

Thus चिन्वते, चिन्वताम्, अधिन्वत; लुनते, लुनताम्, अलुनत ॥ Why in the Atmanepada? Observe चिन्वन्ति, लुनन्ति ॥ Why "when not preceded by an अ"? Observe च्यवन्ते, प्लवन्ते, in which, though the roots are च्यु and प्लु, they assume the form च्यव and प्लव when the Vikarana शप् is added; the vikarana is added first, because it is nitya; and then the substitution of अन्त or अत for झ, as the case may be. The word अनतः qualifies झ, the झ should be immediately preceded by a stem ending in a non-अ; if some other letter intervenes, the rule will not apply. Thus from शी—शयान्ते, here between शी and झ, intervenes the augment आद्, therefore झ is not preceded by a stem ending in non-अ, but by आद् ॥

शीङो रुट् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शीङः, रुट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शीङोऽङ्गादुत्तरस्य ह्रादेशस्यातो रुडागमो भवति ॥

6. The अत् substitute of झ् gets the augment रुट्, after the root शी ॥

Thus शेरते, शेरताम्, अशेरत् ॥ The augment र् is added at the beginning of the affix, making अत्=रत् ॥ Had this र् been an augment of झ्, then like the आट् augment in शयान्ते, it would have intervened between the शी and झ्, and झ् not immediately following a non-अ stem, अत् would not have been substituted for झ् at all. Therefore रुट् is made the augment of the substitute अत्, and not of झ् ॥ The root शी is read in the sūtra with its anubandha ह् in order to indicate, that there is no रुट् augment when there is elision of the Intensive affix यङ्, nor any Guṇa. As व्यति शोदयते ॥

It is a general rule that an operation applying to a root which is exhibited with an anubandha, will not apply to the same root in its Intensive-yañ-luk form. The following verse shows when operations applying to simple roots will not apply to their Intensive forms :—

द्वितीया शपातुबन्धेन निर्विष्टं यङ्गणेन च ।

यत्रैकाङ् मङ्गं यैव पंचैतानि न यङ्गुकि ॥

“These five sorts of operations will not apply to Intensive-yañ-luk forms : 1. When the simple root is exhibited in the sūtra with द्विप् as भू in VII. 4. 73 is shown as भवति ॥ In Intensive, the perfect will be बोभवाञ्चकार and not बभवाञ्चकार ॥ 2. Where the root is exhibited with शप्, as the root भृ in VII. 2. 49 is shown as भर ॥ There is इट् after the Desiderative of simple root but not in Intensive. 3. When a simple root is exhibited with an anubandha, as शीङ् here. 4. Where a gaṇa is mentioned in a rule, as इयन् is taught after Divādi-roots (III. I. 69). It will apply to simple roots of Divādi gaṇa, and not to their Intensive. 5. Lastly, where the word एकाच् is used in a sūtra. As VII. 2. 10. That rule will apply to एकाच् simple roots and not to their Intensives.

वेत्तेर्विभाषा ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेत्तेः, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेत्तेरङ्गादुत्तरस्य ह्रादेशस्यातो विभाषा रुडागमो भवति ॥

7. The अत् substitute of झ् optionally gets the augment रुट् after the verbal stem चिट् (वेत्ति) ॥

As संविदते or संविदते; संविदताम् or संविदताम्; समविदत् or समविदत् ॥ The चिट् is the Adādi root here, and does not apply to विन्ते, विन्ताते, विन्ते, which belongs to the Rudhādi class (चिट् विचारणे) ॥

There is no augment in यङ्गुकि here also, as व्यतिवेदिदते ॥

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (रुट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुलं रुडागमो भवति ॥

8. The augment रुद् is diversely applied in the Veda.

Thus देवा अदुह् ; गन्धर्वा अप्सरसो अदुह् ॥ Here अदुह् is the Imperfect (लङ्) plural of दुह् ॥ Thus दुह् + झ = दुह् + रत् = अदुह्, the त् being elided by VII. 1. 41. Sometimes, the augment does not take place, as अदुहत् ॥ Owing to the word बहुल, 'diversely', the augment र् is added to other affixes also, than झ ॥ As अदध्म in अदध्मस्य केतवः ॥ This is the aorist in अङ् of the root दृश् by III. 1. 57, the guṇa ordained by VII. 4. 16, does not 'diversely' take place.

अतो भिस् ऐस् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, भिस्, ऐस् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तादुत्तरस्य भिस् ऐसित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

Kārikā ॥ एत्वं भिस् परस्वाद्येत ऐस्क्य भविष्यति । कृतेष्वेते भौतपूर्वादिस्तु नित्यस्तथा सति ॥

9. After a nominal stem ending in अ, ऐस् is substituted for the case-ending भिस् ॥

As वृक्षैः, वृक्षैः, अतिजरसैः ॥ Why do we say ending in अ? Observe अग्निभिः, वायुभिः ॥ Why 'short अ'? Observe खद्वाभिः, मालाभिः ॥ The adhikāra of "अतः" ('after a short अ'), extends up to VII. 1. 17.

The form अतिजरसैः illustrates some important principles of grammar. अति + जरा = (जराभित्क्रान्तः) आतिजर (अ being shortened by I. 2. 48). The word अतिजर ends in अ, and there fore forms its Ins. pl. by ऐस् ॥ Thus अतिजर + ऐस् ॥ Now we apply VII. 2. 101, which says for जरा is substituted जरस् before vowel-beginning case-endings. It should not be objected, that the substitution is ordained for जरा and not जर; for the maxim एकदेशार्थकृतमनन्यवद् भवति (a tail-less dog is still a dog) applies here. Having made this substitution, we get अतिजरसैः ॥ Nor should you object that it was the अ of जर which had given occasion to the existence of ऐस्, and that अ should not be destroyed, on the maxim संनिपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद् विधातस्य, for this maxim is not universal, as Pāṇini himself shows in employing the form कदाय (III. 1. 14), in which ए of the Dative is changed into य by VII. 1. 13, and then this very य causes the destruction of अ and makes it का (See VII. 1. 13 also).

Kārikā :—If there be substitution of ए for the final अ before the affix भिस् by the subsequent sūtra VII. 3. 103, where will then the present sūtra, causing the substitution of ऐस् for भिस् after stems ending in अ, find its scope, (because there will be no stem left ending in अ)? If even after changing अ into ए, you change the भिस् into ऐस्, because the ए was once अ (भौतपूर्व्यात्); then the rule of changing भिस् into ऐस् becomes a nitya rule, because it takes effect even after the application of rule VII. 3. 103, and being nitya it debars that rule. Thus वृक्ष + भिस् ॥ Here the subsequent rule VII. 3. 103, requires the अ to be changed into ए ॥ Thus वृक्षे + भिः Now the present rule cannot apply because there is no अदन्त stem. However, if considering that वृक्षे once

was अवन्त, we change भिः to ऐस् then the rule becomes a *nitya* rule. In fact, it is a *nitya* rule and debars the application of VII. 3. 103, within its jurisdiction, VII. 3. 103, finds its scope in वृक्ष + सु = वृक्षेषु ॥

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (ऐस्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुलमैसादेशो भवति ॥

10. In the Veda the substitution takes place diversely.

That is ऐस् is substituted for भिस् even after stems which do not end in short अ; as नद्यः; and some times the substitution does not take place even after stems ending in short अ, as, देवोभिः सर्वेभिः प्रोक्तम् ॥ देवो देवोभिरागमत् (Rig Veda I. 1. 4).

नेदमदसोरकोः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इदम्, अदसोः, अ, कोः, (भिस् ऐस्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इदम् अदस् इत्येतयोरककारयोर्भिस ऐस् भवति ॥

11. This substitution of ऐस् does not take place after इदम् and अदस्, except when they end in क ॥

As एभिः, अमीभिः, but इमकैः, अमुकैः ॥ By VII. 2. 102, अ is substituted for the final of इदम्, as इद + अ = इद (VI. 1. 97). By VII. 2. 113, the इद् is elided before भिस्, and the only portion left is अ, which becomes ए according to VII. 3. 103. For the final of अदस् is similarly by VII. 2. 102, अ substituted, and अद + अ = अद (VI. 1. 97), and according to our present sūtra, the form in Ins.pl. would be अदेभिः, but द् is changed to म् by VIII. 2. 80, and ए to ई by VIII. 2. 81.

The exception made with regard to these forms ending in क, shows the existence of the following maxim : तदमध्यपतितस्तदमहणेन गृह्यते "Any term that may be employed in Grammar denotes not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when something is inserted in that which is actually denoted by it."

The sūtra has not been made as इदमदसोः कात्, for had it been so constructed the rule would have applied to the क ending इदम् and अदस् and to no other क ending pronoun, and we could not get the forms सर्वकैः, विश्वकैः ॥ Moreover such a construction would have made ऐस् applicable to इदम् and अदस् also in their simple states : i. e. we could not have got the forms एभिः or अमीभिः ॥ Therefore the negative construction न अकोः is used in sutra in order to prevent the rule of contrariety.

टाडसिङ्सामिनात्स्याः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ टा, डसि, ड्साम्, इन, आत्, स्याः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तादङ्गादुत्तरेषां टाडसिङ्साम् इन आत् स्व इत्येते आदेशा भवन्ति यथासंख्यम् ॥

12. After a stem ending in अ, are substituted इन for the Instrumental ending; आ आत् for the Ablative ending अस्, and स्य for the Genitive ending अस् ॥

Thus वृक्षेण and वृक्षण; वृक्षात् and वृक्षात्; and वृक्षस्य and वृक्षस्य ॥ After stems not ending in अ we have the original ending, as पत्या, सख्या ॥ Some

would have the forms अतिजरसिन and अतिजरसात् from अतिजर ॥ This is on the analogy of अतिजरसैः [See Sūtra 9 ante]. Thus अति + जर = अतिजर (I. 2. 48). Then by VII. 2. 101, जरस् is substituted for जर before the vowel-affixes. These forms are not supported however by Patanjali. According to him the forms will be either अतिजरेण, अतिजरात्, or अतिजरसा and अतिजरसः but never अतिजरसिन and अतिजरसात् ॥

ङेर्यः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङेः, यः, (अतः अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङेरिति चतुर्थ्यैकवचनस्य ग्रहणम् अकारान्तावृद्धादुत्तरस्य ङे इत्येतस्य य इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

13. After a stem ending in अ, there is substituted य for the Dative ending ए ॥

Thus वृक्षाय, प्रक्षाय, the अ is lengthened by VII. 3. 102, in spite of the maxim संनिपातलक्षणो विधि रनिमित्तम् तद्विधातस्य ॥ "That which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination". Thus य is substituted here, because the preceding word ends in a short अ, thus this short अ occasioned the existence of य, therefore this य cannot occasion the destruction of अ ॥ But that however it does, for it is on account of this य, that the preceding अ is replaced by आ ॥

The ङेः is the anomalous genitive case of the Dative ending ङे; this affix is exhibited without any vibhakti in VII. 1. 28. The ङेः should not be taken as the Genitive singular of ङि the affix of the Locative singular.

सर्वनाम्नः स्मै ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वनाम्नः, स्मै, (अतः ङे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तात्सर्वनाम्न उत्तरस्य ङेः स्मै इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

14. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ, स्मै is substituted for the ए of the Dative.

As सर्वस्मै, विश्वस्मै, यस्मै, कस्मै, तस्मै ॥ But भवते where the Pronoun does not end in अ ॥ When अश् is substituted for इदम् (II. 4. 32) in anvādeśa sentences, then we have the form अस्मै ॥ But in अश् इदम् + ङे = अश् अ + ए = अश् + ए, here the preceding word ends in आ and we could not have ए replaced by स्मै ॥ Therefore we infer that स्मै being an antaranga operation should be substituted first, and the sandhi afterward and we get अश् + स्मै ॥ (See VII. 2. 102 for the change of यद्, तद् &c into य, त &c). The change of ए into स्मै is antaranga as it depends upon one word, while the एकादेश long आ is bahiranga because it is an operation depending upon two words.

ङसिङ्योः स्मात्स्मिनौ ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङसि, ङ्योः, स्मात्, स्मिनौ, (अतः सर्वनाम्नः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङसि ङि इत्येतयोराकारान्तात्सर्वनाम्न उत्तरयोः स्मात् स्मिन् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

15. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ, स्मात्

is substituted for the Ablative ending अस् and स्मिन् for the Locative ending इ ॥

Thus सर्वस्मात्, विश्वस्मात्, यस्मात्, तस्मात् and कस्मात् ॥ सर्वस्मिन्, विश्वस्मिन्, यस्मिन्, तस्मिन् and अन्यस्मिन् ॥ But भवतः and भवति from भवत् ending in a non-अ, and वृक्षात् and वृक्षे in non-pronouns. See VII. 2. 102 for यद् तद् &c.

पूर्वादिभ्यो नवभ्यो वा ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्व-आदिभ्यः, नवभ्यः, वा, (सर्व-नाम्नः ङसिङ्योः स्मात् स्मिनौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वादिभ्यो नवभ्यः सर्वनाम्न उत्तरयोर्ङसिङ्योः स्मात् स्मिन् इत्येतावादेशौ वा भवतः ॥

16. स्मात् and स्मिन् are optionally substituted for the Ablative and Locative endings, after पूर्व and the eight that follow it (I. 1. 34).

Thus पूर्वस्मात् or पूर्वात्, पूर्वस्मिन् or पूर्वे, परस्मात् or परात्, परस्मिन् or परे, अवरस्मात्, or अवरात्, अवरस्मिन् or अवरे, दक्षिणस्मात् or दक्षिणात्, दक्षिणस्मिन् or दक्षिणे, उत्तरस्मात्, or उत्तरात्, उत्तरस्मिन्, or उत्तरे, अपरस्मात्, or अपरात्, अपरस्मिन्, or अपरे, अधरस्मात्, or अधरात्, अधरस्मिन्, or अधरे, स्वस्मात्, or स्वात्, स्वस्मिन् or स्वे, अन्तरस्मात् or अन्तरात्, अन्तरस्मिन् or अन्तरे ॥ नवभ्य इति किम्, त्वस्मात्, त्वस्मिन् ॥

Why do we say 'nine only'? Observe त्वस्मात् and त्वस्मिन्, no option is allowed here.

जसः शी ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जसः, शी, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तात्सर्वनाम्न उत्तरस्य जसः शीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

17. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ, ई is substituted for the nominative plural अस् ॥

Thus सर्वे (सर्व+ई), विश्वे, ये, के, ते ॥ Though सर्व+इ would have also given सर्वे, the long ई is taken for the sake of subsequent sūtras, in forming वपुणी, जतुनी ॥

औङ आपः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ औङः, आपः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आबन्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्यौङः शीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

Kārikā—औकारोयं शीविधौ ङिदृगृहीतो ङिष्वास्माकं नास्ति कोयं प्रकारः ।

सामान्यार्थस्तस्य चासंज्ञनेस्मिङ्ङि कार्यं ते इयां प्रसक्तं स दोषः ॥

ङित्त्वे विद्याद्वर्णनिर्देशमात्रं वर्णे यत्स्यात्तच्च विद्यात्तद्वादे ।

वर्णभावे तेन ङित्त्वेप्यदोषो निर्देशाय पूर्वसूत्रेण वा स्यात् ॥

18. After a stem ending in the feminine affix आ, ई is substituted for the dual endings औ of the Nominative and Accusative.

Thus खद्वे तिष्ठतः, खद्वे पश्य, बहुवजि (IV. 1. 13), कारीषगन्धे ॥ The इ in औइ is for the purposes of included औइ also. There is, in fact, no such affix as औइ taught by Pāṇini any where. The following Karika raises this question and certain doubts in the first verse and then answers them in the second.

Kārikā.—In this rule about शी, the letter औ has been enunciated with an indicatory इ; but we have no औ with a इ, taught any where. What sort of sūtra construction is this? If you say, the use of इ is to form a common term for the two affixes औ and औइ, then by so doing, डित् operations must be performed with regard to this शी of yours, and this is an error. [शी replacing डित् औइ will be considered as डित्, and being डित्, it will take the augment याद् by VII. 3, 113: and the form will be खड्वाये and not खड्वा] ॥

Ans.—The इ should be considered here as merely indicating the letter औ, and as not an इत्, so that whatever will apply to the letter औ will apply to any form beginning with it, by the maxim यस्मिन् विधि तदादावल् ग्रहणे ॥ Or औइ may be considered as merely the letter औ and not any particular affix, and इ is added only for the sake of facility of pronounciation, like इ in कूशोरप् औ being merely a letter, will include all affixes having the letter औ as their significant part: and thus the औइ not being a डित् affix the rule VII. 3. 113, will not apply: and so there is no anomaly. Or the form औइ may be considered as the affix of the dual, for Nominative and Accusative in the terminology of Ancient Grammarians, and will not produce डित् effects, because the anubandhas of the Ancients do not produce their effects in this Grammar of Pāṇini: i.e. the rules regarding anubandhas made by Pāṇini refer to the anubandhas made by him and not by older authors.

नपुंसकाच्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपुंसकात्, च (औङः शी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकादङ्गादुत्तरस्य औङः शी इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इयां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

19. After a neutral stem, ई is substituted for the nom. and acc. dual औ ॥

Thus कुण्डे तिष्ठत्, कुण्ड पश्य ॥ कुण्ड+ई=कुण्डे, the अ of कुण्ड required to be elided by VI. 4. 148. This is, however, not done by the following

Vart.—Prohibition should be stated in the case of the affix शी ॥ Therefore the अ is not elided.

Similarly इधीनी, मधुनी, वपुणी, जतुनी ॥ The augment न् is added by VII. 1. 73.

जदशसोः शिः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ जस्, शसोः, शिः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकादङ्गादुत्तरस्योर्जदशसोः शि इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

20. After a neutral stem, इ is substituted for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative Plural (जस् and शस्) ॥

Thus कुण्डानि तिष्ठन्ति, कुण्डानि पश्य, इधीनि, मधूनि, वपूणि, जतूनि ॥ The augment न् is by VII. 1. 72, The word शस् in the sūtra being read along with जस्

denotes the Accusative Plural ending शस् and not the Taddhita affix शस् (V. 4. 43); as कुण्डशो वक्षति, वनशः प्रविशति ॥

अष्टाभ्य औश् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टाभ्यः, औश्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टाभ्य इति कृताकारोऽष्टशब्दो गृह्यते तस्मादुत्तरयोर्जदशसोरौचित्यमादेशो भवति ॥

21. After the stem अष्टा (the form assumed by अष्टन् VII. 2. 84), औश् is substituted for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative Plural.

As अष्टौ तिष्ठन्ति, अष्टौ पश्य ॥ Why have we taken the form अष्टा and not अष्ट? Observe अष्ट तिष्ठन्ति, अष्ट पश्य ॥ This peculiar construction of the present sūtra (अष्टाभ्यः instead of अष्टन्ः) indicates, that the आ substitution for the न् of अष्टन् is optional. This sūtra is, moreover, an exception by anticipation, to the following sūtra, by which the plural Nom. and Acc. endings are elided after the numerals called षष् ॥ The elision of case-endings taught by II. 4. 71, is not, however, barred by this rule; the elision taught therein will take place, whether this rule applies or not. Thus अष्टपुत्रः, अष्टभार्यः ॥

The present rule applies even when अष्ट is at the end of a compound, as परमाष्टौ, उत्तमाष्टौ ॥ But in प्रियाष्टानः, औ does not come, as अष्टन् has not assumed the form अष्टा here i. e. it has not lost its न् ॥

षड्भ्यो लुक् ॥ २२ ॥ षड्भ्यः, लुक्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षट्संज्ञकेभ्य उत्तरयोर्जदशसोरुल्गम्भवति ॥

22. The Nom. and Acc. Plural endings are elided after the Numerals called षष् (I. 1. 24).

As षट् तिष्ठन्ति, षट् पश्य, षट्च, सप्त, नव, दश ॥ The rule applies even to compounds ending with 'shash' words: as परमषट्, उत्तमषट्, but the 'shash' should be the principal; if it is only a secondary member of the compound, the rule will not apply: as प्रियषष्, प्रियषट्चानः ॥ For the elision of न् see VIII. 2. 7,

स्वमोर्नपुंसकात् ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, अमोः, नपुंसकात्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु अम् इत्येतयोर्नपुंसकादुत्तरयोर्लुगम्भवति ॥

23. The nom. and acc. singular case-endings सु and अम् are elided after a Neutral stem.

As वधि तिष्ठति, वधि पश्य, मधु तिष्ठति, मधु पश्य ॥ So also जपु and जतु ॥ In तद् ब्राह्मणकुलम् the word तद् has lost its nom. sing. ending by this rule, which has thus superseded the subsequent rule VII. 2. 102, by anticipation, by which अ replaces the final द् of तद् ॥ Or this लुक् rule of the present sūtra is a Nitya rule compared with VII. 2. 102. How can this be a nitya rule when it is set aside by the next rule अतोऽम् ॥ We still call this rule nitya, on the maxim

यस्य च लक्षणात्तरण निमित्तं विहिन्यते न तदनित्यम् "(an operation) the cause of which would, (after the taking effect of another operation that applies simultaneously), be removed by another (third rule), is not, (on that account regarded as) not nitya". For here the cause which is luk-elision, is removed by the following aphorism अतोऽम् which ordains an अम् instead of *luk*, and not by VII. 2. 102. For the application of rule VII. 2. 102, the necessary condition is that a case-affix should follow तद् &c. But when the case-affix itself is luk-elided, the substitution taught in that sūtra cannot take place.

अतोऽम् ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, अम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तात्रपुंसकादुत्तरयोः स्वमोरमित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

24. After a Neutral stem in अ, अम् is substituted for सु and अम् the endings of the nom. and acc. sing.

As कुण्डं तिष्ठति, कुण्डं पश्य ॥ So also वनम्, पीठम् ॥ Why do we not say "म् is substituted"? कुण्ड+म्=कुण्डाम्, thus there would be lengthening if only म् was taught (VII. 3. 101), while कुण्ड+अम्=कुण्डम् (the single substitution of the form of the antecedent by VI. 1. 107).

अद्भुत इतरादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्भुत, इतरा दिभ्यः, पञ्चभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इतरादिभ्यः परयोः स्वमोरद्भुत इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

Kārikā अपृक्तमिदमो शेषो निवृत्ते इतरादिषु । अद्भुत्त्वाद्भुतपदीनां न लोपो नापि दीर्घता ॥

25. अद्भुत is substituted for the Nom. and Acc. singular endings सु and अम् after the five Pronouns इतर &c. (i. e. the stems formed with the affixes 1. इतर, and 2. इतम्, and the stems 3. इतर, 4. अन्य and 5. अन्यतर).

These are the five pronouns, which in the list of Sarvanāmans are read together (See I. 1. 27):—इतर, इतम्, इतर, अन्य and अन्यतर ॥ Thus कतर+अद्भुत=कतरम् (the अ of katarā elided by इ): as कतरम् तिष्ठन्ति, कतरम् पश्य ॥ So also कतमम्, इतरम्, अन्यतरम् and अन्यम् ॥ Why after these five only? Observe नेमं तिष्ठन्ति, नेमं पश्य ॥ Why do we make the affix have an indicative इ? In order to prevent the lengthening of the vowel in the nominative singular: as कतर+अम्=कतराम् by VI. 1. 102. In the case of the accusative, अम् being the substitute of अम् will be sthānivat, and give us कतरम् by VI. 1. 107 even without इ ॥ Why not make the affix merely त् and not अद्भुत; it would give कतरम् &c without the application of any rule of Sandhi? The simple त् would not give us the Vocative हे कतरम्, The final would have been elided in the Vocative, as being an aprīkta. See however VI. 1. 69.

Kārikā :—If in the sūtra VI. 1. 69, there is the anuvṛtti of the word 'aprīkta', then there is fault with regard to अम् (i. e. the vocative of members in अम् will not be elided, हे कुण्डम् will be the form required and not हे कुण्ड); if

however, the anuvṛitti of aprkta ceases, there will be anomaly with regard to pronouns कतरन् &c (i. e. we shall not have the form हे कतरन् but हे कतर). Therefore, by reading the affix अन् with an indicatory इ i. e. reading it as अद्इ, we get out of this dilemma, and so there is not the elision of अन् in कतरन् &c in the vocative; nor is there lengthening of the vowel (कतरान्, which would have been the form had there been no इ).

नेतराच्छन्दसि ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इतरान्, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इतरशब्दादुत्तरयोः स्वमोच्छन्दसि विषये अद्डादेशो न भवति ॥

26. In the Veda, अन् (or अद्) is not the substitute of सु and अम् Nom. and Acc. Sg. endings, after इतर ॥

As इतरमितरमण्डमजायत; वार्त्तमितरम् ॥ Why in the Vedas? See इतरन् काष्ठम्, इतरन् कुड्यम् ॥ Had this sūtra been placed immediately after अतोऽम् (VII. 1. 24), we could have made it simpler by saying इतराच्छन्दसि; the present position of the sūtra indicates that we should divide it into two, to include other cases. In the case of एकतर, the अद्इ substitution does not take place, either in the Veda or in the Common Language. As एकतरं तिष्ठति, एकतरं पश्य ॥

युष्मदस्मद्भ्यां ङसो ऽश् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मदस्मद्भ्याम्, ङसः, अश् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मद्विद्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य ङसो ऽशित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

27. अश् (I. 1. 55), is substituted for the Genitive ending अस्, after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

Thus तव and मम ॥ The indicatory श् of अश् shows that by I. 1. 55, the whole of the affix अस् is to be replaced: otherwise it would have replaced only the first letter of the affix; and the affix not being a substitute-affix, rule VII. 2. 89, would not be applicable to it. The तव is substituted for युस्मद्, and मम for अस्मद् by VII. 2. 96; and तव+अ (अश्), and मम+अ=तव and मम् by VI. 1. 97.

ङे प्रथमयोरम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङे, प्रथमयोः, अम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङे इत्यविभक्तिको निर्देशः ङे इत्येतस्य प्रथमयोश्च विभक्तयोः प्रथमाद्वितीययोर्युष्मदस्मद्भ्यामुत्तरयो-रमित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

28. अम् is substituted for the Dative ending ए and for the endings of the nom. and acc. in all numbers, after the stems युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

The ङे the ending of the Dative is exhibited anomalously in the sūtra without any case ending (compare VII. 1. 13, ङेः) प्रथमयोः means 'of the first and second cases.' Thus युष्मद्+ङे=तुभ्यद्+ङे (VII. 2. 95)=तुभ्य+ङे (VII. 1. 102)=तुभ्य+अम् (VII. 1. 28)=तुभ्यम् (VI. 1. 107 or 97); similarly मह्यम् ॥ So also युष्मद्+सु=त्वद्+सु (VII. 2. 94)=त्व+सु (VII. 2. 94)=त्व+सु (VII. 2. 102)=त्व+अम्

(VII. 1. 28)=स्वम् (VI. 1. 97 or 107). Similarly अहम् ॥ So also युवाम् and भावाम् by VII. 2. 92 and VI. 2. 88; यूयम् and वयम् by VII. 2. 93 and VI. 1. 97 or 107, स्वाम् and माम् by VII. 2. 97 and VII. 2. 87; and युवाम् and भावाम् as before.

शसो न ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शसः, न, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मद्भाषुत्तरस्य शसो नकारदेशो भवति ॥

29. न् is substituted for the स् of अस् the affix of the Accusative Plural after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

As युष्मान् and अस्मान् (द् elided by VII. 2. 90, and lengthening by VII. 2. 87). युष्मान् ब्राह्मणान् । अस्मान् ब्राह्मणान् । युष्मान् ब्राह्मणीः । अस्मान् ब्राह्मणीः । युष्मान् कुलानि । अस्मान्कुलानि ॥

भ्यसो भ्यम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्यसः, भ्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मद्भाषुत्तरस्य भ्यसो भ्यमित्यनादेशो भवति ॥

30. अभ्यम् is substituted for the Dative भ्यस् after 'yushmad' and 'asmad.'

As युष्मभ्यम् and अस्मभ्यम् ॥ As the sūtra is constructed (भ्यसो भ्यम्) it is not easy to say whether the substitute is भ्यम् or अभ्यम् ॥ If it is भ्यम्, then we have two cases, (1) eliding the final द् of yushmad and asmad, by VII. 2. 90, and adding भ्यम् (2) eliding अद् of yushmad and asmad by VII. 2. 90, and adding भ्यम् ॥ It will be shown hereafter that VII. 2. 90, is capable of two explanations, one by which yushmad and asmad lose their द् only, and by another अद् ॥ Similarly with अभ्यम् we have also two cases: Thus we have four cases, as (1) yushma+bhyam, (2) yushm+bhyam, (3) yushma+abhyam, (4) yushm+abhyam. In the case of the first (yushma+bhyam) we can get the proper form, though it may be objected that yushma+bhyam should be equal to युष्मेभ्यम् by VII. 3. 103: this ए substitution will not take place, however, by force of the maxim अङ्गवृत्त पुनर्वृत्तावविधि निर्दिष्टस्य "when an operation which is taught in the angādhikāra has taken place, and another operation of the angādhikāra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place."

The second case is an impossibility, namely, yushm+bhyam can give us no form. The third case yushma+abhyam will give us the proper form युष्मभ्यम् (अ+अ=अ by VI. 1. 97). Moreover the accent also will be on the middle युष्मेभ्यम् by VI. 1. 161, the udātta अ of yushma being elided by the anudātta अ of अभ्यम्, the acute will be on the anudātta अ ॥ It should not be objected that in VI. 1. 161, the word अन्त of VI. 1. 159 is understood, and the accent will be on the final. We have shown in that sūtra, that the udātta will fall on the आदि (beginning) of the anudātta term which causes the elisi n The fourth alternative yushm+abhyam is free from all objections.

पञ्चम्या अत् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्या, अत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्या भ्यसो युष्मदस्मद्भाषुत्तरस्य अदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

31. अत् is substituted for the Ablative भ्यस्, after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

As युष्मत्, अस्मत् ॥ The द् is elided by VII. 2. 95, before the case ending भ्यस्, and युष्म + अत् = युष्मत् by VI. 1. 97.

एकवचनस्य च ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकवचनस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्या एकवचनस्य युष्मदस्मद्भाषुत्तरस्यादित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

32. This substitution of अत् is made in the singular number also of the ablative, after yushmad and asmad.

As स्वद् and मद् ॥ For the substitution of स्व and म see VII. 2. 97 ; and स्व and म + अत् = स्वत् and मत् by VI. 1. 97.

साम आकम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सामः आकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साम इति षष्ठीबहुवचनमागतसुद्धकं गृह्यते, तस्य युष्मदस्मद्भाषुत्तरस्याकमित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

33. आकम् is substituted for the Genitive plural affix साम् (VII. 1. 52), after yushmad, and asmad.

साम् is the affix आम् of the Genitive plural with the augment स ॥ Thus युष्माकम् and अस्माकम् ॥ Why is it read साम् and not आम्, when there is no स at the time when the substitution is ordained? It is read as साम् in order to indicate that आकम् will not get the augment स, for otherwise 'yushma' and 'asma' having lost their 'd' by VII. 2. 90, end in अ, and so by VII. 1. 52, would cause the genitive affix to get the augment स; the present sūtra removes that also. The substitute is exhibited with a long आ, in order to make अ + आ = आ in युष्म + आकम्, had it been short अ, then there would have been no lengthening but अ + अ = अ by VI. 1. 97. If you say 'the very fact that अकम् was taught and not कम्, would prevent para-rūpa and cause lengthening'; we reply, that the अ of अकम् would find its scope in preventing ए substitution. For without अ, we should have युष्म + कम् = युष्मेकम् (VII. 3. 103).

आत औ णलः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, औ, णलः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्ताद्भाषुत्तरस्य णल् औकारादेशो भवति ॥

34. औ is substituted for णल्, the affix of the first and third person singular of the perfect, after roots ending in long आ ॥

Thus पवौ, तस्यौ, जग्लौ, मग्लौ, from पा, स्था, ग्लै (ग्ला) and ग्लै (ग्ला) ॥ The form पवौ is thus evolved, पा + णल् = पा + अ ॥ Here three operations simultaneously present themselves for application, namely; 1. Reduplication, 2. Leng-

thening; by the single substitution of one long vowel आ, for आ + अ; and 3. The substitution of औ for आ by the present sūtra. In what order should these operations be then performed? First the affix अ should be replaced by औ. then the single substitution of औ for आ + औ; and then treating it as sthānivat, and then reduplication. For if the single substitution of आ for आ + अ had taken place first, then there would be no scope for औ substitution, therefore the औ substitution, should take place first. Thus we have पा + औ = पौ; this vṛddhi-ekādeśa, is treated as sthānivat by I. 1. 59, and it causes reduplication. The vṛddhi-ekādeśa should first take place (i.e. आ + औ = औ) and then the reduplication, because the former rule is subsequent to the latter.

तुहोस्तातङाशिष्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तु, ह्योः, तातङ्, आशिषि, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तु हि इत्येतयोराशिषि विषये तातङ्गादेशो भवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥

35. तातङ् is optionally substituted for the affixes तु and हि of the Imperative, when benediction is meant.

As जीवताद् भवान्, जीवतात् स्वम्, जीवतु भवान्, जीव स्वम् ॥ The ह् prevents Guṇa and Vṛddhi, (I. 1. 4), and the substitute replaces the whole affix (I. 1. 53 notwithstanding). The substitute is not sthānivat पित्, though it replaces a पित् affix, because it has its own indicatory letter ह्, and क्तिन् does not become पित्; and consequently in क्तात् ई is not added to the affix, by VII. 3. 93, ई being added only to पित् affixes after ह् ॥ When not denoting benediction, we have not this substitution: as ग्रामं गच्छतु भवान् or गच्छ ग्रामम् ॥

The affix तातङ् being a substitute of हि, is like हि, and, therefore, rules propounded with regard to हि, will apply to तातङ् also. Thus VI. 4. 105 says that after stems ending in short अ, the हि is elided: therefore, after such words तातङ् should also be elided. Therefore we cannot get the form जीवतात् स्वम् for जीवस्वम् ॥ This objection, however, is futile; for, in the sūtra अतो हे (VI. 4. 105), there is the anuvṛtti of हि from sūtra VI. 4. 101 (ह् इलभ्यो हे हिः) ॥ So that अतो हे should be construed as meaning "there is the elision of हि when it is of the form हि, and not when it assumes the form तातङ्" ॥

The object of ह् in तातङ् is, as we have said above, for the sake of preventing Guṇa and Vṛddhi. It should not be said that the object of ह् in तातङ् is for the sake of अन्यविधिः by the application of sūtra डिच् (I. 1. 53), just as the substitutes अनङ् &c (VII. 1. 93 and 94) apply to the finals. For by so doing, तातङ् would replace only the ङ of तु and the ह् of हि, which is not desired. And the case of तातङ् is to be distinguished from अनङ्, for in अनङ् the ह् has no other object but to prevent sarvadeśa; but in तातङ् we see that ह् has another object, namely, the prevention of Guṇa and Vṛddhi; and ह् having thus found scope, the तातङ् substitute will be governed by the general rule अनेकात् शित् सर्वस्य (I. 1. 55).

The Kārikā given below raises these points.

Kārikā:—तातङि ङित्वं संक्रमकृत्यादन्यविधिभेत्तच्च तथा न ।

हेरधिकारो हेरधिकारो लोपविधौ तु ज्ञापकमाह ॥

तातङो ङित्वसामर्थ्यान्नायमन्यविधिः स्मृतः ।

न तद्बद्धनडादीनां तेन ते अन्यविकारजाः ॥

Kārikā:—In तातङ् the ङ् is for the sake of preventing Guṇa and Vṛiddhi (संक्रम = गुणवृद्धिप्रतिषेधः) ॥ If it be said, it is for the sake of अन्याविधि by I. 53; we say it is not so. (If you say that after roots ending in short अ, तातङ् should be elided, by VI. 4. 105 read with I. 1. 56, we reply): when the anuvṛtti or adhikāra of हि was already existent in the sūtra VI. 4. 105 from sūtra VI. 4. 101, the express employment of हि in VI. 4. 105, indicates that the lopa rule does not apply to तातङ् ॥ (The lopa-rule not applying to तातङ्, it follows that it replaces the whole of हि and not only its final). The ङ् in तातङ् finds its scope in preventing Guṇa and Vṛiddhi, therefore, it is not for the sake of antya-vidhi (I. 1. 53). The ङित्व in अनङ् &c has no other scope, therefore, these substitutes replace the final only.

विदेः शतुर्वसुः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदेः, शतुः, वसुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद ज्ञानइत्येतस्माद्भातोहृत्तरस्य शतुर्वसुरादेशो भवति ॥

36. वसु is substituted for the Present Participle affix शतृ after the root विद् 'to know'.

Thus विद्वास् (n. s. विद्वान्), विद्वांसौ, विद्वांसः ॥ The words formed with affixes having an indicatory उ or ऋ (उगित्) add a न् in their strong cases (VII. 1. 70), and form their feminine with unaccented ई ॥ शतृ is an affix having an indicatory ऋ, therefore its substitute would also be considered as having an indicatory ऋ, the उ of वसु therefore is not absolutely necessary for the purposes of उगित् operations. वसु is so written, in order that in the sūtra वसो संप्रसारणं (VI. 4. 131.), both कसु and वसु should be included. Nor can we object that in the above mentioned sūtra, वसु with one indicatory letter being taken, cannot include an affix like कसु having two indicatory letters,—on the maxim एकादुबन्धकग्रहणे न द्व्यदुबन्धकस्य—for if that were so, there was no necessity of उ in वसु ॥ Some read the anuvṛtti of the word optionally into this: and we have विद्वन्, विद्वन्तौ, विद्वन्तः formed with शतृ (see V. 4. 38).

समासे ऽनञ्पूर्वे क्तो ल्यप् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ समासे, अनञ्, पूर्वे, क्तः ल्यप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समासे ऽनञ्पूर्वे क्त्वा इत्येतस्य ल्यबिल्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

37. In a compound, the first member of which is an Indeclinable but not नञ्; ल्यप् is substituted for क्त्वा ॥

Thus प्रकृत्य, प्रहृत्य ॥ The tvā is added by III. 4. 21, the compounding is by II. 2. 18, and तुक् by VI. 1. 71. पार्श्वतः कृत्य, The tvā is added by III. 4. 61. and compounding is by II. 2. 22. नानाकृत्य, द्विधाकृत्य The tvā is added by III. 4. 62. Why do we say 'in a compound'? Observe क्त्वा ह्त्वा. Here the counter exam-

ple is क्त्वा, which is preceded by an Indeclinable क्त्वा, but as it is not compounded, there is no substitution. Why do we say 'not preceded by नञ्'? Observe अकृत्वा, अहृत्वा, परमकृत्वा, उत्तमकृत्वा ॥ The word अनञ् means 'other than नञ्', and means words of the same class as नञ्, i. e. Indeclinables : and does not mean words which are not Indeclinables. The compounds like स्नात्वाकालक contained in the class of मयूरव्यंसक &c (II. 1. 72.), do not take ल्यप् anomalously. Or the word समासे is in the Locative with the force of specification : and means those compounds which are specifically formed with क्त्वा and not any compound in general.

Now by the rule I. 1. 72, क्त्वा would denote a form ending with क्त्वा; and would include the case of a compound ending in क्त्वा. But this general rule is modified by the maxim प्रत्यय ग्रहणे यस्मात् स विहित स्तदादेस्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम् "an affix denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added and ends with the affix itself." But the affix क्त्वा is never ordained after a compound. Therefore, the case of compounds ending in क्त्वा, would not be covered by the mere employment of क्त्वा. Then comes the maxim कृद् ग्रहणे गति कारक पूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणं 'a kṛit affix denotes whenever it is employed in grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that kṛit affix has been added and which ends with the kṛit affix, but moreover should a gati, or a noun such as denotes a case-relation have been prefixed to that word-form, then the kṛit affix must denote the same word-form together with the gati or the noun which may have been prefixed to it." By this a compound also may end in क्त्वा. This maxim will cover cases like प्रकृत्य, पार्श्वतः कृत्य but not उच्चैः कृत्य &c because उच्चैः is neither a gati nor a kāraka. Hence the employment of the word समासे in the sūtra, and also of the word अनञ्पूर्वे, for नञ् is neither a Gati nor a Kāraka.

In the case of प्रधाय and प्रस्थाय this maxim applies :—अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन् बहिरङ्गो ल्यप् बाधते "a Bahiranga substitution of ल्यप् supersedes even antaranga rule". What are these antaranga rules superseded by the substitute ल्यप्? (1) हित्वं—the substitution of हि for धा (VII. 4. 42). Thus हित्वा but प्रधाय and not प्रहित्वा ॥ (2) दृत्वं—the substitution of दृद् for द्रो (VII. 4. 46)—as दृत्वा, but प्रधाय and not प्रदृत्वा ॥ (3) आत्वं as required by VI. 4. 42 : as खात्वा, प्रखाय and प्रखन्य ॥ (4) इत्वं—as स्थित्वा but प्रस्थाय ॥ (5) ईत्वं by VI. 4. 66, as पीत्वा but प्रपाय ॥ (6) दीर्घत्वं by VI. 4. 15, as शान्त्वा but प्रशान्य ॥ (7) शुद् by VI. 4. 19, as पृष्ट्वा but आपृच्छय ॥ (8) ऊद्—as ब्रूत्वा ॥ (9) इद् (VII. 2. 56)—देवित्वा but प्रदीव्य ॥

क्वापि छन्दसि ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्त्वा, अपि, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समासे ऽनञ्पूर्वे क्त्वा इत्येतस्य क्त्वा इत्ययमादेशो भवति अपिशब्दात्त्यबपि भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

38. In the Veda the क्त्वा also, as well as ल्यप्, is substituted for क्त्वा, after an Indeclinable compound, other than one preceded by the Negative तञ् ॥

Thus कृष्णं वासो यजमानं परिधापयित्वा, प्रत्यञ्चर्मकं प्रत्यर्पयित्वा ॥ So also we have ल्यप्, as उद्धृत्य जुहोति ॥ The sūtra could have been made shorter by saying merely वा छन्दसि; not doing so indicates that conditions and limitations are set aside in the Vedas in applying this affix. Therefore ल्यप् is applied even when there is no compound, as, अर्च्यं तान् वेवान् गतः ॥ The word छन्दसि governs the following sūtras upto VII. 1. 50, inclusive.

सुपां सुलुङ्पूर्वसवर्णाच्छेयाडाड्यायाजालः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपाम्, सु, लुङ्, पूर्वसवर्ण, आ, आत्, शे, या, डा, इया, याच्, आलः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छान्दसि विषये सुपां स्थाने सु लुङ् पूर्वसवर्ण आ आत् श या डाड्या याच् आल इत्येते आदेशा भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुपां सुपो भवन्ति इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तिङां तिङो भवन्तीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इयाड्याजोकाराणामुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आड्याजयारामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

39. The following irregular endings are substituted for the various case endings in the Veda: (1) स् of the Nom. Sg. for अस् of the Plural, (2) the *luk*-elision of the case-endings, (3) the single substitution of the homogeneous long vowel for the end vowel of the stem, (4) आ, (5) आत्, (6) ए (शे) for the ending of the Nom. Plural, (7) या, (8) आ (डा), with the elision of the last vowel and the consonant, if any, that follows it in the stem, (9) या (ड्या) with the similar shortening of the stem (10) या (याच्) and आ (accent of ल) ॥

Thus (1) अनृक्षरा ऋजवः सन्तु पन्थाः (for पन्थानः) Rig Veda X. 85. 23.

Vart:—It should be stated that case-endings replace case-endings promiscuously, as, घुरि इक्षिणायाः (for इक्षिणायाम् Rig I. 164. 9).

Vart:—One personal ending replaces another personal ending in the Vedas चपालं ये अश्वयूपाय तक्षति (for तक्षन्ति) Rig I. 162. 6.

(2) *luk*-elision:—As आद्रे चर्मन्, लोहिते चर्मन् for चर्मणि; हविर्धाने यत् सुन्वन्ति, तत् सामिधेनोरन्वाह (यद् for यस्मिन् and तद् for तस्मिन्) ॥

(3) Lengthening:—धीती, मती, सुहुती for धीत्या, मत्या and सुहुत्या ॥

(4) आ—उभौ यन्तारौ (for उभौ) ॥

(5) आत्—न ताद् ब्राह्मणाद् निन्दामि for तान् ब्राह्मणान् ॥

(6) शे—न युष्मे (for यूयम्) वाजबन्धवः, Rig VIII. 68. 19. अस्मे (for वयं) इन्द्रावृ-हस्पती; Rig IV. 49. 4, the यूय and वय substitution has not taken place as a Vedic usage.

(7) या—उरूया, धृष्णुया for उरूणा and धृष्णुणा ॥

(8) डा—नाभा (for नाभौ) पृथिव्याः Rig I. 143. 4.

(9) ड्या—अनुष्ठया च्यावयतात् for अनुष्ठुभा Ait Br. II. 6. 15.

(10) याच्—साधुर्याँ for साधु, there was required the elision of सु ॥

(II) आह—वसन्ता यजेत for वसन्ते ॥

Vart:—The following substitutes should also be enumerated, (a) इया, (b) इयाच् with elision of the final vowel and the consonant, if any, that follows it, and (c) long ई ॥ As (a) उर्विया परिधानम्, for उरुणा, so also उर्विया for उरुणा ॥ (b) सुक्षेत्रिया for सुक्षेत्रिणा, and सुगात्रिया for सुगात्रिणा ॥ (c) इति न शुष्कं सरसी शयानम् for सरसि ॥

Vart:—So also (a) आह, (b) अयाच् and (c) अयार्: as प्रबाहवा for प्रबाहुना, (b) स्वमयौ सच सेवनम् for स्वमेन, (c) सिन्धुमिव नार्वया for नावा ॥

The word आच्छे in the sūtra is compounded of three words आ + आत् + शे, the word आत् = आ + आत् ॥

अमो मश् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अमः, मश् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अम् इति मिबादेशो गृह्यते । तस्य छन्दसि विषये मशादेशो भवति ॥

40. For the Personal ending अम् of the First Person Singular (in the Aorist) म (I. 1. 55) is substituted in the Veda.

The अम् here is the substitution of मिप्, and not the accusative singular affix. As वर्षी वृत्रम् (for अवधिषम्) Rig I. 165. 8: क्रीमी वृक्षस्य शाखाम् ॥ The अद् augment is diversely elided (VI. 4. 75). The indicatory श् of मश् shows that the whole of the affix अम् is to be replaced. The substitution of म् for म् is to prevent the change of म् into anusvāra as in VIII. 3. 25.

लोपस्त आत्मनेपदेषु ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, त, आत्मनेपदेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु यस्तकारस्तस्य छन्दसि विषये लोपो भवति ॥

41. In the Veda the त of the Atmanepada Personal ending is elided.

As देवा अदुह and गन्धर्वा अप्सरसो अदुह for अदुहन् (see VII. 1. 8) ; दुहाम् (for दुग्धाम्) अग्निभ्यां पयो अघ्न्येयम् ॥ Rig I. 164. 27. क्षिणतः शये for शेते ॥ Owing to the anupittī of अवि from VII. 1. 38, this substitution sometimes does not take place; as: आत्मानमनृतंकुरुते ॥ Why in the Atmanepada? Observe वत्सं दुरन्ति कलशं चतुर्विलम् ॥

ध्वमो ध्वात् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ध्वमः, ध्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये ध्वमो ध्वादित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

42. In the Veda, ध्वात् is substituted for the Personal ending ध्वम् ॥

As अन्तरवोष्माणं वारयध्वात् for वारयध्वम् ॥ Ait Br. II. 6. 14.

यजध्वैनमिति च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यजध्वैनम्, इति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजध्वमित्येतस्य एनमित्येतस्मिन्परतो मकारलोपो निपात्यते वकारस्य च यकारो छन्दसि विषये ॥

43. यजध्वैनम् is irregularly formed in the Veda for यजध्वमेनम् ॥

The word यजध्वम् followed by एनम् loses its final म् in the Veda. As यजध्वैनं प्रियमेधाः (Rig VIII. 2. 37). The Kāśka adds "that व is also irregularly

changed into यः": the form would then be यज्येनम् ॥ This is, however, a mistake as pointed out by Bhattoji Dikshit.

तस्य तात् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तशब्दस्य लोपमध्यमपुरुषबहुवचनस्य स्थाने तादित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

44. For the ending त of the 2nd Pers. Pl. Imperative is substituted तात् in the Veda.

As गात्रं गात्रमस्या दूनं कृणुतात् (for कृणुत), and ऊवध्ये गोहं पार्यिवं खनतात् (for खनत) Ait Br. II. 6. 15, 16. अस्माश्च संसृजतात् (= संसृजत), सूर्ये चक्षुर्गमयतात् (= गमयत).

तत्तनत्तनयनाश्च ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तप्, तनप्, तन, यनाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति वर्त्तते । छन्दसि विषये तस्य स्थाने तप् तनप् तन यन इत्येते आदेशा भवन्ति ॥

45. Also त and तन (before both, on account of the indicatory प् the preceding vowel of the verbal stem is strengthened, or if weak not shortened), तन and यन are substituted for the त of the 2nd Pers. Pl. Imperative in the Veda.

This शृणोत प्रावाणः (for शृणुत), सुनोत (= सुनुत), संवरत्वा दधातन (for धत्त), जुजु-
ह्वन (for जुषत) the ślu vikaraṇa being added as a Vedic irregularity ; यदिष्टन for यद्विच्छत ॥ The indicatory प् makes तप् and तनप् non-ङित् affixes (I. 2. 4).

इदन्तो मसि ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदन्तः, मसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये मसित्वयं शब्द इकारान्तो भवति । मसः सकारान्तस्य इकारागमो भवति स च तस्या-
न्तो भवति ॥

46. The Personal ending मस् becomes in the Veda मसि ending with an इ ॥

Thus पुनस्त्वां वीपयामसि (for वीपयामः) शलभं भञ्जयामसि (for भञ्जयामः), स्वयि रात्रि
वासयामसि for वासयामः ॥

क्तोयक् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तः, यक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्त्वा इत्येतस्य यगागमो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

47. In the Veda, the Absolutive affix क्ता gets at the end, the augment य ॥

Thus इत्वाय सविता धियः (for इत्वा). This sūtra is not read immediately after VII. 1. 38, as in that sūtra, the anuvṛitti of samāsa is understood, while there is no such anuvṛitti here.

इष्टीनमिति च ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इष्टीनम्, इति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इष्टीनमित्यय शब्दो निपात्यते छन्दसि विषये । यजेः क्त्वाप्रत्ययान्तस्य ईनमादेशोऽन्यस्य निपात्यते ॥
वाचिकम् ॥ पीत्वीनमित्यपीष्यते ॥

48. In the Veda, the Absolutive इष्टीनम् is irregularly formed for इष्टा ॥

To the root यज् is added क्ता, and the final आ is replaced by ईनम् ॥ As इष्टीनम् देवान् for इष्टा देवान् ॥ The च in the sūtra indicates that there are other forms like this, as पीत्वीनम् for पीत्वा ॥

स्नात्वाद्यश्च ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्नात्वी-आदयः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्नात्वी इत्येवमादयः शब्दा निपात्यन्ते छन्दसि विषये ॥

49. स्नात्वी &c. are irregularly formed in the Veda.

Thus स्नात्वी मलादिव, for स्नात्वा ; पीत्वी सोमस्य वावृधे for पीत्वा ॥ The word भाति 'et cetera' means "of the form of", namely words having form like स्नात्वी, as पीत्वी &c.

आजसेरसुक् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, जसेः, असुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्णान्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्य जसेरसुगागमो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

50. After a stem ending in अ or आ, the affix अस् of the Nom. Pl. gets, in the Veda, the augment अस् (असुक्) at the end.

Thus ब्राह्मणासः पितरः सोम्यासः for ब्राह्मणाः and सोम्याः ॥ Rig VI. 75. 10. ये पूर्वासो य उपरासः (Rig X. 15. 2) for पूर्वे and उपरे ॥ So also पुतासः (R. I. 3. 4) Why is not, after the adding of the augment असुक्, the जस् changed to क्षी in the last example, as required by VII. 1. 17, and on the maxim पुनः प्रसङ्गः विज्ञानात्? No, the maxim that applies here is सकृद् गतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्वाधितं, तद्वाधितमेव ॥

अश्वक्षीरवृषलवणानामात्मप्रीतौ क्यचि ॥ ५१ ॥ अश्व, क्षीर, वृष, लवणानाम्, आत्मा प्रीतौ, क्यचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसीत्यतः प्रथमं निवृत्तम् । अश्व क्षीर वृष लवण इत्येतेषामङ्गानामात्मप्रीतिविषये क्यचि परतोऽनुगागमो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अश्ववृषयोर्मैथुनेच्छायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ क्षीरलवणयोर्लासायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ सर्वप्रातिपदिकेभ्यो लालासायामनुग्वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ सुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

51. The same augment असुक् is added after the words अश्व, क्षीर, वृष and लवण before the Denominative affix क्यच्, when the delight of the subject in these things is to be expressed.

The anuvṛtti of छन्दसि does not extend to this sūtra or any further. Thus अश्वस्यति वडवा, क्षीरस्यति माणवकः, वृषस्यति गौः, लवणस्यत्युष्ट्रः ॥ अश्व+अस्+य+ति=अश्वस्यति (VI. 1. 97). Why 'when the delight of the subject is meant'? Observe अश्वीयति, क्षीरीयति, वृषीयति and लवणीयति ॥

Vārt :—After अश्व and वृष, the force of the augment is that of desiring sexual connection. Vārt :—After क्षीर and लवण it has the force of ardently wishing for, i. e. an intense thirsting after the thing. The augment is not added, though the sense may be that of delight, if it has not the above meanings. Others say Vārt :—असुक् should be added after every nominal stem when the sense is that of intense yearning after that thing : as दध्यस्यति, मध्वस्यति &c. Others say Vārt :—That the augment सुक् should be added, as दधि-स्यति, मधुस्यति &c.

आमि सर्वनाम्नः सुट् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमि, सर्वनाम्नः, सुट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिति वर्त्तते अवर्णात्सर्वनाम्न उत्तरस्यामः सुडागमो भवति ॥

52. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ or आ, the affix आम् of the Genitive Plural gets the augment स्र at the beginning.

The word आत् of the last sūtra is understood here. Thus सर्वेषाम्, विधे-
षाम्, येषाम्, तेषाम्, सर्वासाम्, यासाम्, तासाम् ॥ But भवताम् of भवन् ॥ The आम् of the
sūtra is the Genitive Plural ending आम्, and not the आम् of the Locative
Singular ordained by VII. 3. 116; for that आम् takes the augments याद्, आद्
or स्याद् (VII. 3. 112-114), while the present आम् takes सुद् or दुद् ॥ Nor the आम्
of the Perfect Tense (III. I. 35 &c), because that refers to verb and Sarva-
nāma nor the आम् of V. 4. 11, for the same reason. The word आमि is
exhibited in the sūtra in the locative case, for the sake of the subsequent
sūtra VII. 1. 53. For the purposes of the present sūtra, it should be construed,
as if it was in the Genitive case (आमः सर्वानाम्: सुद्), because सर्वानाम्: being in the
Ablative case, the augment सुद् will be added at the beginning of the affix
following it, on the maxim सस्मादित्युत्तरस्य ॥

त्रेऋयः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रे, त्रयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रिद्व्येतस्य आमि परे त्रय इत्ययमविशो भवति ॥

53. त्रय is substituted for त्रि before the Genitive
Pl. affix.

As त्रयाणाम् ॥ त्रीणाम् however appears in the Veda: as त्रीणामपि सगुह्याणाम् ॥

ह्रस्वनद्यापो दुद् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्व, न दी, आपः, दुद् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वान्ताद्वायन्ताद्वायन्ताच्चोत्तरस्यामो दुडागमो भवति ॥

54. The augment न् is added before the Genitive
Pl. ending आम्, after stems ending in a short vowel, after
stems called Nadi (I. 4. 3 &c), and after the stems ending in
the Feminine affix आ ॥

As वृक्षाणाम्, हृक्षाणाम्, अग्नीणाम्, वायूनाम्, कर्तॄणाम् ॥ नद्यन्तात्:—कुनारीणाम्, किशोरी-
णाम्, गौरीणाम्, शार्ङ्गरीणाम्, लक्ष्मीणाम्, ब्रह्मबन्धूनाम्, वीरबन्धूनाम् ॥ आबन्तात्:—खट्वानाम्, मालानाम्,
बहुराजानाम्, कारीषगन्ध्यानाम् ॥

The lengthening of the short final vowel takes place by VI. 4. 3.

पट्चतुर्भ्यश्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पट्, चतुर्भ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पट्संज्ञकेभ्यश्चतुर्भ्यश्चशब्दाच्चोत्तरस्यामो दुडागमो भवति ॥

55. The augment न् is added before the Genitive
pl. ending आम् after the Numerals called 'shash', and after
चतुर् ॥

As षण्णाम्, षण्णानाम्, (VI. 4. 7), सप्तानाम्, नवानाम्, दशानाम्, चतुर्णाम् ॥ A nu-
meral ending in र् is not 'shash', hence the specific mention of चतुर् ॥

This rule applies to compounds ending with these numerals, when these latter are the principal member, as परमपञ्चानाम्, परमपञ्चानाम्, परमचतुर्णाम्, but प्रियपञ्चाम्, प्रियपञ्चाम्, प्रियचतुर्णाम् where the Numerals are secondary (upasarjana).

श्रीग्रामण्योऽछन्दसि ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्री, ग्रामण्योः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्री ग्रामणी इत्येतयोऽछन्दसि विषये आमो जुडागमो भवति ॥

56. In the Veda after the words श्री and ग्रामणी, the Gen. Pl. आम gets the augment न् ॥

As श्रीजासुदारो धरुणो रयीणाम्, अन्यत्र सूतग्रामणीनाम् ॥ This sūtra could be well dispensed with: by I. 4. 5. श्री is optionally a Nadi in the Genitive plural. We make the option of that sūtra a vyavasthita-vibhāṣā, by saying श्री is *always* Nadi in the Veda, and *optionally* every where else. As regards सूतग्रामणीनाम्, we have सूतश्च ग्रामणीश्च = सूतग्रामणि, the Genitive Pl. of which by VII. I. 54 will be सूतग्रामणीनाम् ॥

The necessity of this sūtra will, however, arise if the compound be सूताश्च ते ग्रामण्यश्च सूतग्रामण्यः ॥

गोः पादान्ते ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोः, पादान्ते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गो इत्येतस्मादृक्पादान्ते वर्त्तमानादुत्तरस्यामो जुडागमो भवति ॥

57. After गो, when standing at the end of a Rik verse, the augment न comes before the Gen. Pl. आम ॥

As विद्महि त्वा सत्यति शूरगोनाम्; but गवां गोत्रमुद्भूजा यदङ्गिरः in the beginning of a Pāda. "All rules have exceptions in the Vedas" is an established maxim, so at the end of a Pāda, sometimes this rule does not apply, as हन्तारं शत्रूणां कृधि विराजं गोपति गवाम् ॥

इदितो तुम् धातोः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदितः, तुम्, धातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इदितो धातोर्नुमागमो भवति ॥

58. न् is added after the vowel of the root, in a root which has an indicative इ in the Dhātupāṭha.

Thus from कुडि—कुण्डितु, कुण्डितुम्, कुण्डितव्यम्; from हुडि—हुण्डितु, हुण्डितुम्, हुण्डितव्यम् &c. But पचति, पठति where इ is not इत् ॥ The न् is added to the root from its very inception, and they must be considered to have got a न्, for the purposes of the application of the grammatical rules. Thus III. 3. 103 says that आ is added in the feminine to a root which ends in a consonant and has a prosodially long vowel. The root कुडि must be considered to be such a root and कुण्डा, हुण्डा are thus formed. Similarly though the roots in the Dhātupāṭha are धिवि and कृवि, in applying affixes we must consider them as धिन् and कृन्, as the author himself has indicated in III. 1. 80. In short, in adding affixes, these roots should be considered as having a न् ॥ Moreover the root (dhātu) should have इ, and not the stem (aṅga). The affixes तासि (Future) and सिच् (Aorist) when added to roots, will not make those roots

इदिद्; for the इ in तासि and सिच् is merely for the sake of pronunciation, and is not to be considered as इत् in the strict sense of the word: in fact it should be considered as non-nasalised. If you say that "the इ in सिच् should be considered as इत्, for because of its being इत्, the न् of मन् is not elided by VI. 4. 24 in अमस्ता", we reply, "not so, the न् is not elided, because sūtra हनः सिच् I. 2. 14 makes सिच् a कित् after हन् only, the result of which is that हन् only loses its न् by VI. 4. 37, and no other root". In मन्ता = मन् + तासि + डा = मन् + न् + आ (the आस् is elided VI. 4. 143). For the purposes of the elision of न्, the elided आस् would be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22), for both VI. 4. 143, and VI. 4. 37, requiring the elision of न् are ābhiya sūtras. In भेत्ता, छेत्ता from भिदिर् and छिदिर् the whole combination इर् is इत्, and not इ and र separately, and hence नुम् is not added. But even if these roots be considered as इदिन्, the syllable इर् having an इ, yet they will not get the नुम् augment, because the word अन्त of पादान्ते (VII. 1. 57) is understood here in this sūtra also, so that the roots must have a final इ as इत् for the application of this rule.

शे मुचादीनाम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शे, मुचादीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शे प्रत्यये परतो मुचादीनां तुमागमो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शे तुमुचादीनामुपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥

59. In मुच् &c, before the characteristic श of the Tudādi class, the न् is placed after the vowel of the root.

Thus मुच्छत्—मुञ्चति, लुम्पति, विन्दति, लिम्पति, सिञ्चति, कृन्ताति, खिन्दति, पिशति ॥ Why "before श"? Observe मोक्ता, मोक्तुम्, मोक्तव्यम् ॥ Why "of मुच् &c"? Observe तुदाति, तुदाति ॥

Vart:—The तृष्क &c should be also enumerated. These are the following roots of Tudādi class: 24. तृप् (तृफ), 25. तृष्क तृप्, 26. तुप् तुम्प, 27. तुफ तृष्क, हिंसायाम्, 28. हृफ (हृप), 29. हृष्क उक्त्वलेषो, 30. कृफ (रिफ), कृष्क (रिष्क), हिंसायाम्, 31. शुफ, शुष्क मन्थे, 32. उभ उन्म पूरणे, 33. शुभ, शुम्भ शोभायै ॥ Of these, those which have a nasal, lose it by VI. 4. 24, and then get the नुम् augment by the present rule, which being specifically ordained, cannot be again dropped. Thus तृष्कति, तुष्कति, तुम्पति, हृष्कति &c. Those which have no nasal, are conjugated as हृफति, तुफति, हृफति शुफति, उभति and शुभति ॥

मस्जिनशोर्झलि ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ मस्जि, नशेः, झलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मस्जि नशि इत्येतयोर्झयोर्झलादौ प्रत्यये तुमागमो भवति ॥

60. The augment नुम् is added after the vowel of the root in मस्ज् and नश, before an affix, beginning with any consonant, other than a semi-vowel or a nasal.

As मङ्क्ता, मस्ज् + तृच् (no इद् by VII. 2. 10), add न् = मस् न् ज् + तृ, elide स् by VIII. 2. 29, change ज् to क्, and न् to anusvāra, which then becomes ङ् ॥ मङ्कुत्, मङ्क्तव्यम्, नंटा, नंढुम् and नंढव्यम् ॥ But मज्जनम् and नशिता, and मग्न (VI. 4. 32). In मग्नः and मग्नवान्, the नुम् is supposed to be placed the last consonant in मस्ज्, in order that it may get elided.

रधिजभोरचि ॥ ६१ ॥ रधि, जभोः, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रधि जभि इत्येतयोरजादौ प्रत्यये नुमागमो भवति ॥

61. The augment नुम् is added after the root-vowel in रध् and जम्, before affixes beginning with a consonant.

Thus रन्धयति, रन्धकः, साधुरन्धी, रन्धो वर्तते ॥ जम्भयति, जम्भकः, साधुजम्भी, जम्भं-जम्भम्, जम्भो वर्तते ॥ Though the वृद्धि rule is subsequent, it is superseded by the augment. Why do we say 'before an affix beginning with a vowel'? Observe रद्धा, जन्धम् ॥

नेत्यलिटि रधेः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इटि, अ लिटि, रधेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इडादावलिटि प्रत्यये परे रधेर्नुमागमो न भवति ॥

62. The augment नुम् is not added to रध्, before an affix beginning with the augment इट्, except in the Perfect.

As रधिता, रधितुम्, रधितव्यम्, but रन्धनम्, रन्धकः before Anit affixes, and रन्धिव, रन्धिम in the Perfect. When नुम् is added रन्ध् becomes a root ending in a conjunct consonant, and therefore the लिट् affixes after it are not कित् (असंयोगात् लिट् कित् I. 2. 5), and therefore the न् is not elided by VI. 4. 24. But when the affix क्वप् of the Perfect is added, we have रधिवस् Nom. Sg. रधिवान् ॥ Here the affix being expressly taught with an indicatory क् the न् is elided. The reduplicate is elided, the अ changed into ए, then इट् is added, then नुम्, and then the नुम् is elided by the expressly taught कित् ॥

Why was not the sūtra made as इटि लिटि रधेः when by so doing, the augment नुम् would have been added only in the Perfect when it had इट् and no where else? This form of sūtra would have also meant that नुम् would be added in that Perfect which took इट् and in no other Perfect, while cases other than Perfect might take it. That being so, there would be no नुम् in रन्ध, while रधिता would require नुम् ॥ See, however, the Mahabhāṣya for the *contra*.

रभेरशब्दिलोः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रभेः, अ शप्, लिटोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रभेरङ्गस्य शब्दलिङ्गवर्जिते ऽच्चादौ प्रत्यये परतो नुमागमो भवति ॥

63. The augment नुम् is added after the vowel of the root रभ् before an affix beginning with a vowel, but not before the vikaraṇa शप् or the affixes of the Perfect.

Thus आरम्भयति, आरम्भकः, साध्वारम्भी, आरम्भमारम्भम्, आरम्भो वर्तते ॥ But आरभते in शप्, and आरभे in लिट्, and आरब्धा before an affix beginning with a consonant.

लभेश्च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लभेः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लभेष्वाजादौ प्रत्यये शब्दलिङ्गवर्जिते नुमागमो भवति ॥

64. So also of लम्, before an affix beginning with a vowel, with the exception of शप् and लिट्, there is the augment नुम् ॥

As लम्भयति, लम्भकः, साधुलम्भी, लम्भलम्भम्, लम्भो वर्तते ॥ But लभते with शप्, and लेभे in the Perfect, and लम्भा before an affix beginning with a consonant. The separation of this from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms.

आङो यि ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङः, यि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ उत्तरस्य लभेर्यकारादिप्रत्ययविषये नुमागमो भवति ॥

65. The augment नुम् is added to लम् preceded by आ, before an affix beginning with य ॥

As आलम्भ्यो गौः ॥ The नुम् is added before the addition of the affix, and by so doing लम् becomes लम्भ् and thus loses its character of having a penultimate अ, and therefore by III. 1. 124, we shall have प्यत् affix, and not यत् affix by III. 1. 98. Had the नुम् been added *after* the addition of the affix, then यत् would be added by III. 1. 98. Though in both cases the form will be आलम्भ्या, the difference will be in the accent: यत् would throw the acute on the first syllable (यतोऽनावः) while the word has svarita on the final; thus instead of आलम्भ्या (by VI. 1. 213 and VI. 2. 139), which यत् gives, we have आलम्भ्या (तिन् svar).

Why do we say 'when preceded by आ'? Observe लभ्य ॥ How do you explain अग्निष्टोम आलभ्यः? All rules are optionally applied in the Vedas. Or आलभ्य may be explained by saying that the नुम् having been added, is again dropped.

उपात्प्रशंसायाम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात्, प्रशंसायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपादुत्तरस्य लभेः प्रशंसायां गम्यमानायां यकारादिप्रत्ययविषये नुमागमो भवति ॥

66. The augment नुम् is added to लम् preceded by उप, before य, when the reference is to something praise-worthy.

As उपलम्भ्या भवता विद्या, उपलम्भ्यानि धनानि ॥ These words are formed by प्यत् and have svarita on the final. Why do we say 'when referring to something praise worthy'? Observe उपलभ्यमस्माद् वृषलात् किञ्चित्, this is formed with the यत् affix (III. 1. 98).

उपसर्गात्खल्वञोः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप सर्गात्, खल्, धञोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गादुत्तरस्य लभेः खल्वञोः परतो नुमागमो भवति ॥

67. The augment नुम् is added to लम् preceded by a Preposition, before the affixes खल् (III. 3. 126) and घञ् ॥

Thus ईषत्प्रलम्भः, सुप्रलम्भः, दुष्प्रलम्भः, प्रलम्भः, विप्रलम्भः ॥ This is a Niyama rule, and restricts the scope of VII. I. 64. Before the vowel affixes खल् and घञ्, the root लम् gets the augment नुम् only then when it is preceded by a Preposition, and not otherwise, as ईषल्लम्, लाभो वर्तते ॥

न सुदुर्भ्यां केवलाभ्याम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, सु, दुर्भ्याम्, केवलाभ्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सु दुरित्येताभ्यां केवलाभ्यामन्योपसर्गरहिताभ्यामुपसृष्टस्य लभेःखलघञोः परतो नुमागमो न भवति ॥

68. The augment नुम् is not added to लम् before खल् and घञ् when सु or दुः alone (without another Preposition along with them) precede the root.

Thus सुलभम्, दुर्लभम्, सुलाभो, दुर्लाभः ॥ But सुप्रलम्भः, दुष्प्रलम्भः ॥ The word केवल is used in the sūtra because सुदुर्भ्यां is in the Instrumental case and not in the Ablative. Had it been in the Ablative, there would have been no necessity of using the word केवल, for the rule would not have applied, when a preposition intervened between these and the root. In अतिसुलभम्, the word अति is not an Upasarga but a Karmapravachaniya; when अति is used as an Upasarga, we have अतिसुलम्भः ॥ If the words सुदुर्भ्याम् be construed as Ablative, then also the use of केवल is for a purpose similar to that as above.

विभाषा चिण्ठमुलोः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वि भाषा, चिण्, णमुलोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिण् णमुल् इत्येतयोर्विभाषा लभेर्नम्भवति ॥

69. The नुम् is optionally added to लम् not preceded by a Preposition, before the चिण् Aorist and the Absolutive णमुल् ॥

Thus अलाभि or अलम्भि, लाभलामम् or लम्भलम्भम् ॥ This is a Vyavasthita-vibhāṣā, the option is allowed where there is no Preposition along with the root; and no option is allowed but नुम् must be added, when a Preposition precedes: as प्रालम्भि, प्रलम्भम् ॥

उगिद्वां सर्वनामस्थाने ऽधातोः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ उगित्, अ चाम्, सर्वनाम-स्थाने, अ धातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उगितामङ्गानां धातुवर्जितानामञ्चतेश्च सर्वनामस्थाने परतो नुमागमो भवति ॥

70. Whatever has an indicative उ, ऋ and लृ, (with the exception of a root), and the stem अच्, (अञ्चति) get the augment नुम् in the strong cases.

Thus भवतु has an indicative उ, formed by the Unādi affix उवतुप्, and it is declined as भवान्, भवन्तौ, भवन्तः ॥ Similarly ईयतुन्-श्रेयान्, श्रेयांसौ, श्रेयांसः; शन्-पचन्, पचन्तौ, पचन्तः ॥ अञ्च-प्राङ्, प्राञ्चौ, प्राञ्चः ॥

Why do we say 'having an indicative उक् vowel or the stem अच्'? Observe दृषत्, दृषदौ, दृषदः ॥

Why do we say in strong cases? Observe भवतः पथ्य, श्रेयसः पथ्य ॥ अञ्च् root is mentioned for the sake of niyama, i. e. of the roots, only अञ्च् gets नुम् and no other root. Therefore उखासन्, पर्णध्वन् formed from the roots खसु and ध्वसु having indicatory उ ॥ (See III. 2. 76, IV. 1. 6, VIII. 2. 72). For the lengthening in भवान् &c, see VI. 4. 10, 14: the च् is elided in प्राङ् by VIII. 2. 23, and न् becomes ङ् by VIII. 2. 62: and न् in सन् by VIII. 2. 72.

Why do we say 'with the exception of a root' when by the mere fact of including *one* root अच् all other roots would have been excluded from the scope of this sūtra? The specific mention of अधातोः shows that the prohibition applies to *original* roots, and not to those roots which are *derived* from nouns. Thus गोमन्तमिच्छति = गोमत्यति formed by क्यच् ॥ Here गोमत्य is a derivative root, in its primitive state it was a noun. The prohibition of अधातोः will not apply to this root and नुम् will be added. Thus गोमत्य + क्तिप् = गोमत्य् + ० (the अ is dropped by VI. 4. 48) = गोमन् + ० (the य् is elided by VI. 4. 50). Now is added नुम् and we have गोमान् ॥

युजेरसमासे ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ युजेः, अ समासे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युजेरसमासे सर्वनामस्थाने परतो नुमागमो भवति ॥

71. The nominal stem युज् gets before the strong cases the augment न्, when it does not stand in a compound.

Thus युङ् (VIII. 2. 23, 62) युज्जौ, युज्जः; but अश्वयुक्, अश्वयुजौ, अश्वयुजः in a compound. The root युज समाधौ (Divādi 68) is not to be taken here; therefore not here युजमापन्ना ऋषयः ॥ But युजिर् योगे (Rudhādi 7) is to be taken.

नपुंसकस्य झलचः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपुंसकस्य, झल्, अचः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकस्य झलन्तस्याजन्तस्य च सर्वनामस्थाने परतो नुमागमो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुव्रीहिं प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ अन्त्यात्पूर्वं नुमेकइच्छन्ति ॥

72. The augment नुम् is added in the strong cases to a Neuter stem ending in a consonant (other than a nasal or a semivowel), or ending in a vowel.

Thus उद्विन्ति, शक्नुन्ति (VI. 4. 10) यथांसि, पथांसि; कुण्डानि, वनानि (VI. 4. 8), वपूणि, जतूनि ॥ Why 'of a Neuter'? Observe अग्निचिद् ब्राह्मणः ॥ Why do we say 'not ending in a semivowel or a nasal'? Observe बहुपुरि, बहुधुरि, विमलदिवि, चत्वारि, अहानि (VII. 1. 98). A neuter having an indicatory उक् vowel gets नुम् by this sūtra and not by VII. 1. 70, as that is superseded by this, this being the subsequent. As श्रेयांसि, भूयांसि कुर्वन्ति कृषन्ति ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥

Vārt:—Prohibition should be stated with regard to बहुव्रीहिं; as बहुव्रीहिं ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥ Some would have न् added between र् and ज् of this word, as बहुव्रीहिं ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥ See I. 4. 13.

इको ऽचि विभक्तौ ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, अचि, विभक्तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्य नपुंसकस्याङ्गस्याजादौ विभक्तौ नुमागमो भवति ॥

Kārikā—इकोवि व्यञ्जने मा भूदस्तु लोपः स्वरः कथम् ।
 स्वरो वै श्रूयमाणो पि लुप्ति किं न भविष्यति ॥
 रायात्वं तिसृभावश्च व्यवधानादुमा अपि ।
 तुङ् वाच्य उत्तरायै तु इह किं चित्रपो इति ॥

73. The augment **नुम्** is added to a Neuter-stem ending in a simple vowel, except **अ**, before a case-affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus **चपुणी**, **जतुनी**, **तुम्बुरुणी**, **चपुणे**, **जतुने**, **तुम्बुरुणे** ॥ Why "with the exception of **अ**"? Observe **कुण्डे**, **पीठे** ॥ The phrase "before an affix beginning with a vowel" is employed here for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VII. 1. 75. Here we could have dispensed with it: for before affixes beginning with a consonant, **नुम्** would be elided by VIII. 2. 7. The only object that it serves here is that we can form **हे चपो!** or **हे चपु!** in the Vocative singular. For had we **चपुन् + स** in the vocative, the form would have been **हे चपुन्** like **हे राजन्**, for **न्** would not be elided here, see VIII. 2. 8.

If it be objected that by the sūtra **न लुप्तताङ्गस्य** (I. 1. 63) when the affix **स्** is elided in the Vocative, it will leave no trace behind, and there being no affix at all, **नुम्** will not be added in the Vocative. We reply: that this very employment of the word **अच्** in this sūtra indicates (jñāpaka) that the rule prohibiting the effect of an affix (I. 1. 63) does not apply here. Therefore, though the affix is elided, it produces its effect in spite of I. 1. 63, and we have the guṇa of the vowel in the Vocative, as **हे चपो** by VII. 3. 108.

Why have we used the word **विभक्तौ** 'when a case-affix follows'? Observe **तुम्बुरं चूर्णम्**, where the *taddhita* affix **अम्** is added to **तुम्बुर** by IV. 3. 139.

Kārikā :—The employment of the words **इकः आचि** in the sūtra shows that **नुम्** will not come when the affix begins with a consonant, as **चपुभ्यां**, **चपुभिः** ॥ An objector says, the employment of **आचि** in the sūtra is useless for **नुम्** may be added even before an affix beginning with a consonant, for having added it, it will be elided by **न लोपः प्रतिपदिकान्तस्य** (VIII. 2. 7). We reply, yes it can be so done, but how will you then manage the accent? For in **पञ्चचपुभ्यां**, **पञ्चचपुभिः**, the accent is regulated by the rule VI. 2. 29 which says that in a Dvigu compound, the first member preserves its original accent if the second member ends in an **इक्** vowel. But if there was a **नुम्**, then the second member would not end in **इक्** but in **न्**: and the elision of this **न्** by VII. 2. 7. is asiddha for the purposes of accent. To this the objector answers, that even where **न्** is not elided the accent is governed by VI. 2. 29, namely the accent of **पञ्चचपुणे** or **पञ्चचपुनः** is by VI. 2. 29, why should it not be so when **न्** is elided. So the objection about accent has no strength.

Well if नुम् be added even before consonant-affix, then there will arise this anomaly: अतिरि+भ्यां=अतिरिन्+भ्यां (by adding नुम्). Here rule VII. 2. 85 cannot apply: because न् intervenes between रि and भ्यां, therefore इ of रि is not changed to आ, and therefore we cannot get the proper form अतिराभ्यां ॥ Moreover in प्रियात्रि+भ्यां, the त्रि cannot be changed to तिसृ if there be नुम्, and so we cannot get the form प्रियतिसृभ्यां ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥

To this it is answered, the change of इ into आ in the case of रि, and the substitution of तिसृ for त्रि will take place even when the नुम् intervenes, on the maxim विभक्तिविधानदशायां यवानन्तर्यं तत् तत्राश्रीयते न स्वादेशविधानदशायाम् ॥ And this is done in this way: अतिरि+भ्यां, and प्रियात्रि+भ्यां, here नुम् is superseded by the subsequent rule requiring आ and तिसृ respectively.

If this be so, then the employment of अच् in the sūtra is for the sake of the supersession of नुम् by नुद् (VII. 1. 54). Thus नुद् has unrestricted scope in अग्नीनां, वायूनां, and नुम् has unrestricted scope in जपुणे and जतुने ॥ But in जपूनाम् and जतूनाम्, both नुद् and नुम् present themselves. Here however नुम् is superseded by नुद् by purva-vipratishedha and so there is lengthening of the vowel by VI. 4. 3. This supersession is indicated by the employment of अच्, for नुद् and नुम् being both *anitya* and of equal force, had there been no अच्, नुम् would have come and not नुद् ॥

But this is also not valid, for नुद् would have to be added, even if there had been no अच् in the sūtra.

The employment of अच् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra VII. 1. 75. The only object that अच् serves in this sūtra, is in forming the vocative हे जपो as shown above.

तृतीयादिषु भाषितपुंस्कं पुंवद्गालवस्य ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीयदिषु, भाषित पुंस्कम्, पुंस्वत्, गालवस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयादिषु विभक्तिष्वजाविषु भाषितपुंस्कं नपुंसकलिङ्गमिगन्तं गालवस्याचार्यस्य मतेन पुंवद्भवति । यथा पुंसि इस्वमुमौ न भवतस्तद्वद्वापि न भवत इत्यर्थः ।

74. A neuter stem ending in a vowel, except अ, of which there exists an equivalent, uniform masculine, is treated like the masculine, in the opinion of Gālava, before the vowel beginning affixes of the Instrumental and the cases that follow it.

As in the Masculine there is no shortening, nor the addition of नुम्, so here also. As ग्रामजी is the equivalent, uniform masculine of the neuter form ग्रामणि, we have either Ins. ग्रामणिना or ग्रामण्या ब्राह्मणकुलेन, the Ins. Sg. of ग्रामणि n. Similarly Dat. ग्रामणिने or ग्रामण्ये ब्राह्मणकुलाय; Abl. ग्रामणिनो or ग्रामण्यो ब्राह्मणकुलात्, Gen. Sg. ग्रामणिनो or ग्रामण्यो ब्राह्मणकुलस्य, Gen. Du. ग्रामणिनोब्राह्मणकुलयोः or ग्रामण्योः; Gen. Pl. ग्रामणीनां or ग्रामण्यां ब्राह्मणकुलानां ॥ Loc. ग्रामणिनि or ग्रामण्यां ब्राह्मणकुले ॥ Similarly: Ins. शुचिना (same form in mas. and neu.), Dat. शुचये or शुचिने; Abl. and Gen. शुचेः or शुचिनः Gen. Du. शुच्योः or शुचिनोः Loc. शुचौ or शुचिनि ॥

Why do we say after the 3rd case and the rest? Observe ग्रामणिनी ब्राह्मणकुले, and शुचिनी Nom. dual. Why do we say having an appropriate masculine of the same form and meaning? Observe ऋपुणे, जतुने ॥ Why have we only one form पीलुने फलाय, when पीलुर्वृक्षः and पीलुफलं show that पीलु has a masculine form also. The word पीलु is masculine when it applies to 'trees', and पालु is neuter when it refers to 'fruits'; so this word पीलु cannot be said to be भाषितपुंस्कः, the masculine पीलु not having the same meaning as the neuter पालु ॥ See VI. 3. 34.

Why do we say "ending in a vowel except अ"? Observe कीलालपा ब्राह्मणः and कीलालपं ब्राह्मणकुलं; the Ins. &c of कीलालपा will not be the Ins. &c of कीलालपं ॥ The latter will have only one form कीलालपेन ब्राह्मणकुलेन ॥ &c.

Before case affixes beginning with a consonant we have one form only, as ग्रामणिभ्यां ब्राह्मणकुलाभ्याम् ॥

अस्थिदधिसक्थ्यक्ष्णामनङ् उदात्तः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्थि, दधि, सक्थि, अक्ष्णाम्, अनङ्, उदात्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्थि दधि सक्थि अक्षि इत्येतेषां नपुंसकानां तृतीयादिष्वजाहिषु विभक्तिषु परतो ऽनङ् इत्ययमादेशो भवति, स चोदात्तो भवति ॥

75. The acutely accented अनङ् (अनङ्) is substituted for the finals of asthi, dadhi, sakthi and akshi, before the affixes of the Instrumental and the cases that follow it, which begin with a vowel.

Thus अस्थौ, अस्थे, दधौ, दधे, सक्थौ, सक्थे, अक्षौ, अक्षे ॥ The words अस्थि &c have acute on the first syllable, the substitute अनङ् would have been also anudatta, but for this sūtra. The stem getting the designation अ, we elide the अ (VI. 4. 134), the udatta अ being thus elided, the case-ending, which was anudatta before, now becomes udatta (VI. 1. 161). The stems ending with 'asthi &c' and though not neuter, are governed by this rule. As म्रियास्था ब्राह्मणेन, म्रियद्वा ॥ Why 'before the affixes of the Instrumental and the rest?' Observe अस्थिनी, दधिनी ॥ Before affixes beginning with a consonant, we have अस्थिभ्याम्, दधिभ्याम् ॥

छन्दस्यपि दृश्यते ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दासि, अपि, दृश्यते ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अस्थिदधिसक्थ्यक्ष्णामनङ् छन्दस्यपि दृश्यते । यत्र विहितस्ततोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते ॥

76. In the Veda also, the stems 'asthi', 'dadhi', 'sakthi' and 'akshi', are found to take the substitute अनङ्, before endings other than those mentioned above.

Thus the substitute is ordained before endings beginning with a vowel. In the Veda it comes before affixes beginning with a consonant. As इन्द्रो दधीचो अस्थैभिः, भद्रं पश्येमाक्षैभिः ॥ The substitute is ordained to come after the Instrumental &c. In the Vedic literature it is found in the Acc. &c. As अस्थीनि in अस्थान्युक्त्वञ्जुशोति ॥ The substitute comes before case-endings (vi-

bhakti), in the Vedic literature it comes before affixes which are not case-endings, as अक्षण्वैता लाङ्गलेन, अस्थन्वैतं यदनस्था विभक्तिः ॥ See VI. 1. 176.

ई च द्विवचने ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, च, द्विवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विवचने परतच्छन्दसि विषये ऽस्थ्यादीनामीकारादेशो भवति, सचोदात्तः ॥

77. The acutely accented ई is substituted for the final of asthi, dadhi, sakthi and akshi, in the Veda, when the case-affixes of the dual follow.

As अक्षी ते इन्द्रपिङ्गले कपेखि ॥ अक्षीभ्यान् ते नासिकाभ्याम् ॥ In अक्षी the augment हुम् is not added to the stem before the vowel-beginning ending, because VII. 1. 73, which ordained हुम्, is superseded by the present sūtra, and being once superseded, it is superseded for good. (सकृद् गतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्वाधितं तद्वाधितमेव) ॥

नाभ्यस्ताच्छतुः ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अभ्यस्तात्, शतुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्य शतुर्लुम्भ भवति ॥

78. The Participial-affix शत् (अत्-अन्त्), does not take the augment हुम् after a reduplicate stem.

Thus ददत्, ददतौ, ददतः, जक्षत्, जक्षतौ, जक्षतः, जाग्रत्, जाग्रतौ, जाग्रतः ॥ This is an exception to VII. 1. 70, and applies of course to sarvanāmasthāna or strong cases. The हुम् is to be read into this sūtra from VII. 1. 70; for the negation of this sūtra cannot apply to ई taught in the preceding sūtra, for ई is never ordained after śatṛi: therefore, though several other operations intervene, yet हुम् is to be read here.

वा नपुंसकस्य ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, नपुंसकस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तादङ्गादुत्तरौ यः शतृप्रत्ययस्तदन्तस्य नपुंसकस्य वा नुमागमो भवति ॥

79. The Participial-affix शत् optionally takes the augment हुम् after a reduplicate stem, in Neuter nouns.

Thus ददति or ददन्ति, कुलानि; दधति or दधन्ति कुलानि, जक्षति or जक्षन्ति कुलानि, जाग्रति or जाग्रन्ति कुलानि ॥ This of course applies to sarvanāmasthāna or strong cases.

आच्छीनद्योर्नुम् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, शी, नद्योः, नुम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्णान्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्य शतुर्वा नुमागमो भवति शीनद्योः परतः ॥

80. When the affix शत् comes after a verbal stem ending in अ or आ, it may optionally take the augment हुम्, before the neutral case-ending शी and before the feminine affix ई ॥

Thus तुवती कुले or तुवन्ती कुले, तुवन्ती ब्राह्मणी, तुवती ब्राह्मणी, याती कुले, यान्ती कुले याती ब्राह्मणी, यान्ती ब्राह्मणी, करिष्यती कुले, करिष्यन्ती कुले, करिष्यती ब्राह्मणी, करिष्यन्ती ब्राह्मणी ॥ अत्रान्तरङ्गत्वादेकादेशे कृते व्यपवर्गाभावादवर्णान्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्य शतुरिति न युज्यते वक्तुम्, उभयत आश्रये नान्तादिष्वित्यन्तादिष्वज्ञावोपि नास्ति भूतपूर्वगत्याश्रयणो वा ऽहो व्रतौलेवमादिष्वितिप्रसङ्ग इति, अत्र सभाधि

के चिदाहुः, शतुस्वयवे शतृशब्दो वर्त्तते, अवर्णान्तादङ्गादुत्तरो यः शब्दवयव इति ॥ अपरे पुनराहुः, आदित्येतेन शीनद्यावेव विशेष्यते, अवर्णान्तादङ्गादुत्तरे ये शीनद्या तयोः परतः शब्दन्तस्य तुम्भवतीति, तच्च येन नाव्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितपि वचनप्रमाण्यादिति तकारेणैव व्यवधानमाश्रयिष्यते ॥ आदिरिति किम्, कुर्वती, सुन्वती ॥ शीनद्योरिति किम्, तुस्ताम्, तुस्ताम् ॥

The form तुवती is thus evolved. तुव् + श + शतृ + ङीप् ॥ The vikaraṇa श is added by III. 1. 77, & ङीप् by IV. 1. 6. This is equal to तुव् + अ + अतृ + ई = तुवती the अ + अ becoming अ by the rule of पररूप ekādeśa (VI. 1. 97). This ekādeśa operation being antaranga, now there is no शतृ affix coming after a stem ending in अ, and therefore this sūtra will not apply. If you say the ekādeśa will be considered as the final of तुव् by VI. 1. 85, we reply, that the antāchvadbhāva of that sūtra will not apply when simultaneous operations are to be performed, for अ cannot be said at one and the same time as the final of तुव् and the beginning of अतृ (शतृ). If you say the maxim सांप्रतिकामावे भूतपूर्व गतिः (when a word cannot denote something which actually is what is expressed by the word, it must be understood to denote something which formerly was what is expressed by it), will apply here, and that तुव् will be considered to end in अ because it formerly did end in the affix अ of श; we reply that then the present rule should apply to forms like अवती व्रती &c. For here also we have अव् + शप् लोप + शतृ + ङीप्; and अव् should be considered to end in अ, because it had the affix शप् after it, though it was afterwards elided. The maxim quoted, therefore, proves too much.

To solve these objections, some say, that the word शतृ in this sūtra means 'a portion of the affix शतृ, such as तृ' and the sūtra means 'after a stem ending in अ, to the portion तृ of the affix शतृ there is added तुम्.' Others say, the word आत् in the sūtra qualifies शी and नही and not शतृ; and the sutra means "तुम् is added to a stem ending in शतृ, when शी or नही affixes follow after a stem ending in अ." Therefore in तुवती the affix ई is considered to come after the अ of तुव्, the intervening तृ not debarring it.

Why do we say "after अ"? Observe कुर्वती and सुन्वती, no optional तुम् is added here. Why do we say "शी and नही following"? Observe तुवताम् and तुवताम्.

शप्श्यनोर्नित्यम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शप्, श्यनोः, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शप् श्यन् इत्येतयोः शतृः शीनद्योः परतो नित्यं तुमागमो भवति ॥

81. When the affix शतृ comes after a verbal stem ending in the vikaraṇas शप् and श्यन्, it invariably takes the augment तुम् before the neutral case-ending शी (ई), and the feminine ending ई (Nadi).

Thus पचन्ती कुले, पचन्ती ब्राह्मणी, दीव्यन्ती कुले, दीव्यन्ती ब्राह्मणी, सीव्यन्ती कुले, सीव्यन्ती ब्राह्मणी ॥ The word नित्य stops the anuvṛitti of वा (VII. 1. 79).

सावनडुहः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सौ, अनडुहः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सौ परतो ऽनडुहोऽस्य नुमागमो भवति ॥

82. अनडुह् gets the augment नुम् before the ending सु of the Nom. Sg. (and Vocative).

By VII. 1. 98 अनडुह् gets the augment आ after ड in the strong cases, and अ in Vocative Singular (VII. 1. 99). It thus becomes अनड्वाह् and अनड्वह् ॥ By the present sūtra न् is added after this आ and अ ॥ The case-ending is elided by VI. 1. 68, and the final ह् by VIII. 2. 23. Thus we have अनड्वान् Nominative Singular; and अनड्वन् in the Vocative Singular. The augments आम् and अम् (VII. 1. 98, 99), do not supersede नुम्, nor are they superseded by नुम् ॥

In this sūtra, some read the annvṛitti of आत् from VII. 1. 80; and by so doing they add नुम् to that form of अनडुह् where there is an आ or अ, namely, after the word has taken the augment आम् in the nominative singular by VII. 1. 98, and अम् in the Vocative by VII. 1. 99. Therefore, the नुम् does not debar आम् or अम्, nor is it debarred by आम् or अम् ॥ Others hold that though one is a general rule and the other is a particular rule, yet in this instance, आम् (or अम्) and नुम् are applied simultaneously, one not debarring the other, there is no relationship of बाध्य and बाधक among them, just as in विधीयति the rule of lengthening (VI. 4. 16) and reduplication are applied simultaneously, one not debarring the other. In बह्वन्तुङाहि ब्राह्मणकुलानि, we add first आम् because it is subsequent, and then we add नुम् by VII. 1. 72 on the maxim of पुनः प्रसङ्गविज्ञान &c ॥

हक्स्ववस्स्वतवसां छन्दसि ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हक्, स्ववस्, स्वतवसाम्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हक् स्ववस् स्वतवस्तुह्येतेषां सौ परतो नुमागमो भवति छन्दसिविषये ॥

83. हश्, स्ववस् and स्वतवस् take the augment नुम् before the affix सु (Nominative and Vocative Singular) in the Veda.

Thus ईदह्, तादृङ्, यादृङ्, सदृङ्, स्ववान्, स्वतवान् ॥ The श् of ईदश् (formed by III. 2. 60), is elided by VIII. 2. 23; and ह् substituted for न् by VIII. 2. 62. The lengthening in स्ववान् and स्वतवान् is through VI. 4. 14.

दिव औत् ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, औत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवित्येतस्य सौ परतो औदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

84. औ is substituted for the final of दिव् before सु (Nom. Sg. and Voc. Sg.).

As औः ॥ There is a nominal-stem दिव् which is taken here. It has no indicative letters annexed to it. The root दिव् is not to be taken here, as it

has the indicatory letter उ and is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha as विवृ ॥ The nominal-stem derived from विवृ, does not take औ, but ऊ, the Nom. Sg. of which is वुः as अक्षवुः (See VI. 4. 19, and VI. 1. 131).

पथिमथ्यभुक्षामात् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि, मथि, ऋभुक्षाम्, आत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिन् मथिन् ऋभुक्षिन् इत्येतेषामङ्गानां सौ परत आकार आदेशो भवति ॥

85. आत् (आ) is substituted for the final of 'pathin', 'mathin' and 'rbhukshin', before the ending सु (of the Nom. Sg).

As पन्थाः, मन्थाः, ऋभुक्षाः ॥ Though the sthānin here is a nasal (i.e. न्), yet the substitute आ is not to be nasalised, but to be pronounced purely. For न्य see VII. 1. 87. The nasal आ is not to be taken on the maxim भाव्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणं न भवति ॥ "A letter which is taught in a rule does not denote the letters homogeneous with it."

इतोत्सर्वनामस्थाने ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, अत्, सर्वनामस्थाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथ्यादीनामिकारस्य स्थाने आकारादेशो भवति ॥

86. अ is substituted for the इ of 'pathin', 'mathin' and 'rbhukshin', in the strong cases.

Thus पन्थाः, पन्थानौ, पन्थानः, पन्थानम्, पन्थानौ, मन्थाः, मन्थानौ, मन्थानः, मन्थानम्, मन्थानौ, ऋभुक्षाः, ऋभुक्षाणौ, ऋभुक्षाणः, ऋभुक्षाणम्, ऋभुक्षाणौ ॥ आदिति वर्त्तमाने पुनरङ्गचनं षपूर्वायम्, ऋभुक्षणमित्यत्र वा षपूर्वस्य निगमइति दीर्घविकल्पः ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of आत् was here, the separate mention of अत् is for the sake of VI. 4. 9: by which in the case of ऋभुक्षिन् we have two forms, ऋभुक्षाणम् and ऋभुक्षणम् ॥

थोन्यः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ थः, अन्थः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिमथोस्थकारस्य स्थाने न्य इत्ययमादेशो भवति सर्वनामस्थाने परतः ॥

87. न्य् is substituted for the थ् of pathin and mathin in the strong cases.

As पन्थाः, पन्थानौ, पन्थानः, मन्थाः, मन्थानौ मन्थानः ॥

भस्य डेलोपः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भस्य, टेः, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथ्यादीनां भसंज्ञकानां डेलोपो भवति ॥

88. The last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, is dropped in pathin, mathin and rbhukshin, before a weak case-ending beginning with a vowel (before which the stem is called Bha I. 4. 18).

As पथः, पथा, पथे, मथः, मथा, मथे, ऋभुक्षः, ऋभुक्षा, ऋभुक्षे ॥ The anuvṛitti of sarvanāmasthāna, of course, is inappropriate here: though its anuvṛitti is current as will be seen in the next sūtra.

पुं सो ऽसुङ् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंसः, असुङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुंस इत्येतस्य सर्वनामस्थाने परतो ऽसुङ् इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

89. असुङ् (अस्) is substituted for the final of पुंस् in the strong cases.

The word पुंस् is derived from पा (to protect) + डम्भुन् (Uṇ IV. 178), the न् being changed to anusvāra. So when स् of पुंस् is replaced by अस् we get the form पुमस्, the ड of असुङ् indicates that न् should be added in the strong cases after अ (VII. 1. 70), so we have पुमान्, पुमांसौ, पुमांसः ॥

This substitution must take place in its incipient stage before the affixes are added, (उपदेशिवद्भावः): otherwise the accent will be wrong. The compounds have acute on the final, (VI. 1. 223), therefore, परमपुंस् has acute on पु. and in the Nominative Singular परमपुमान् the acute will remain on पु, but it is intended that it should be on मा, thus परमपुमान् ॥ The simple word पुमान् of course, has accent on पु ॥

गोतो णित् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ गोतो, णित् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोशब्दात्परं सर्वनामस्थानं णिङ्भवति ॥

90. The endings of the strong cases are णित् after गो ॥

That is, these affixes produce all the णित् operations: such as Vṛddhi &c. As गोः, गावौ, गावः ॥ Why have we added a त् after गो? The rule applies to the form गो, and not when it assumes the form गु, as in चित्रगुः, शबलगुः ॥

How do you explain the forms हे चित्रगो, हे शबलगवः? This is done on the maxim अङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्ताविविधि निमित्तस्य, (when an operation which is taught in the Aṅgādhikāra VI. 4.—VII. 4. has taken place, and another operation of the Aṅgādhikāra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place). For when Guṇa once takes place before the Vocative and the Nominative Plural affix by VII. 3. 108-109, the णित् operation of this rule will not again take place. Or गोतः in the sūtra may be construed as Sam-bandha-lakṣhaṇā Saṣṭhi (a Genitive denoting a general relation): and the meaning will be "that sarvanāmasthāna affix, denoting singular, dual, plural, which refers to the meaning of गो or 'cow.' While in चित्रगु, the sarvanāmasthāna affix does not refer to 'cow' but to another object, namely to a 'person' who possesses brindled cows. त् in गोत् in this view is for specification only.

Some read the sūtra as भोतः णित्, so that the rule will apply to भो also: as, भौः, भवौ, भवः ॥ If the reading be taken गोतः, then we extend this rule to भो also, by taking गो as merely illustrative of all words ending in भो; and this is done by the letter त् in गोतः, for the तपर rule applies to letters, and not to words, so that गोतः means and includes गो and words ending in भो ॥

णलुत्तमो वा ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ णल्, उत्तमः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तमो णत्वा णिङ् भवति णित्कार्यं तत्र वा भवतीत्यर्थः ॥

91. The ending of the First Pers. Sg. in the Perfect optionally acts as णित् ॥

The Vriddhi is optional, as अहं नकार or चकार, अहं पपाच or पपच ॥

सख्युरसम्बुद्धौ ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सख्युः, अ सम्बुद्धौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असंबुद्धौ यः सखिशब्दः तस्मात्परं सर्वनामस्थानं णिङ्गवति ॥

92. After सखि, the endings of the strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular, are णित् ॥

That is, they cause Vriddhi. As सखायौ, सखायः, but हे सखे ॥

अनङ् सौ ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनङ्, सौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सखिशब्दस्य सौ परतो ऽनङिष्ठ्यमादेशो भवति स चेत्युशब्दः संबुद्धिर्न भवति ॥

93. अनङ् (अन्) is substituted for the इ of सखि before सु of the Nominative Singular, (but not in the Vocative Singular).

As सखा, but हे सखे ॥

ऋदुशनस्पुरुदंशोनेहसां च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्, उशनस्, पुरुदंशः अनेहसाम् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तानामङ्गानामुशनसः पुरुदंशश्च इत्येतेषां चासंबुद्धौ सौ परतो ऽनङादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उशनसः सम्बुद्धावपिपक्षेऽनङ् इष्यते । न ङिसंबुद्धोरिति नलोपप्रतिषेधोपि पक्षइष्यते ॥

Kārikā :—संबोधने नृशनसस्त्रिरूपं सान्तं तथा नान्तमथाप्यदन्तम् ॥

माध्यं दिनिर्वाटि शुणं विगन्ते नपुंसके व्याघ्रपदां वरिष्ठः ॥

94. Anan (अन्) is substituted for the final of the stems ending in ऋ, as well as for the final of uśanas, purudanśas, and aneḥas, in the Nominative Singular (but not in the Vocative Singular).

As कर्ता, हर्ता, माता, पिता, भ्राता, उशाना, पुरुदंशा, अनेहा ॥ In the Voc. Sg. we have हे कर्तः, हे मातः, पितः पुरुदंशः, अनेहः and उशनः ॥

Vārt :—अनङ् is substituted for the final of उशनस् in the Voc. Sg. also, as हे उशनन्, the final न् not being elided (See VIII. 2. 8). Otherwise we have हे उशन ! Thus it has three forms in the Vocative Singular : as हे उशनस्, हे उशनन्, and हे उशन ! ॥

Kārikā :—In the vocative, the word उशनस् has three forms, (1) ending in स् when अनङ् is not added, (2) ending in न्, when न् is not elided, (3) ending in अ when न् is elided. This is the opinion of the Achārya Mādhyandini. So also according to the Achārya Vaiyāghrapadya, (the best of the Vyāghrapadas), there is Guṇa in the Neuter of the stems ending in इक् vowels ; as हे जपो ॥

The न् in ऋन् is for the sake of distinctness.

तृज्वत्क्रोष्टुः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृज्वत्, क्रोष्टुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रोष्टुशब्दस्तुन्मत्ययान्तः संज्ञाशब्दः सर्वनामस्थाने ऽसंबुद्धौ परत तृज्वङ्गवति ॥

95. The word क्रोष्टु 'a jackal' is treated in the strong cases (with the exception of Vocative Singular) as if it ended in तुच् (तृ) ॥

The word क्रोष्टु is declined like क्रोष्ट् in the strong cases. As क्रोष्टौ, क्रोष्टौरे, क्रोष्टौरम्, क्रोष्टौरि ॥ But क्रोष्टून् in weak cases, and हे क्रोष्टो in the Vocative Singular. The accent in the strong cases is also that of the तुच् affix, i.e. acute on the final. The word क्रोष्टु is formed by the affix तुच् (U० सितनिगमि &c, I. 69).

स्त्रियां च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियां, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असर्वनामस्थानार्थनारम्भः । स्त्रियां च क्रोष्टुशब्दस्य तुञ्जज्ञवति ॥

96. The word क्रोष्टु is treated as if it ended in तुच्, in the feminine, before all case-endings.

This sūtra is commenced for the sake of cases other than strong ones. In strong cases, whether of masculine or feminine, the former sūtra applies; but in the feminine, in other cases also there is triph-treatment. Thus क्रोष्ट्री, क्रोष्ट्रीभ्याम्, क्रोष्ट्रीभिः ॥ Some read the word क्रोष्टु in the Gaurādi class (IV. 1. 41); and they treat it as a तुच् ending word before the feminine affix ङीष्, as क्रोष्ट्री ॥ According to them, in forming the Taddhitārtha compounds like पञ्चभिः क्रोष्ट्रीभिः क्रीतैः = पञ्चक्रोष्ट्रीभिर्यैः, we could not get the form पञ्चक्रोष्ट्रीभिः, because when the affix ङक् is elided by V. 1. 28, the feminine is also elided by I. 2. 49, and the ङीष् being thus luk-elided, there would be no तुञ्जज्ञव, because the affix leaves no trace behind I. 1. 63. To get out of the difficulty, we can only say, that the form is so, in spite of the apparent inconsistency.

Those who do not read क्रोष्टु in the Gaurādi class, they explain this sūtra by saying that the word स्त्रियां indicates the sense, namely, क्रोष्टु is treated like a तुच् word, when it denotes a female, wherever it may occur.

And because क्रोष्टु is treated as if it was क्रोष्ट्, the feminine will be formed by the affix ङीष् by IV. 1. 5, and the form क्रोष्ट्री will be end-acute by VI. 1. 174. So that whether क्रोष्ट्री be formed by ङीष् under Gaurādi class, or by ङीष् under IV. 1. 5, the accent remains the same: while under this second view, we have not to face any such difficulty as in the first.

विभाषा तृतीयादिष्वचि ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, तृतीयादिषु, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयादिषु विभक्तिष्वजादिषु क्रोष्टुविभाषा तुञ्जज्ञवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तुञ्जज्ञवात् पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन तुष्टुतुष्टौ भवतः ॥

97. क्रोष्टु may optionally be treated as Kroshtṛ, before the endings beginning with a vowel, in the Instrumental and the cases that follow it.

As क्रोष्ट्रा or क्रोष्टुना, क्रोष्ट्रे or क्रोष्टवे, क्रोष्टुः or क्रोष्टोः, क्रोष्टरि or क्रोष्टौ, क्रोष्ट्राः or क्रोष्ट्रोः ॥ But क्रोष्टून् in the Accusative Plural, and क्रोष्टुभ्यां before consonant-beginning affixes.

Vart:—**नुम्** and **नुद्** augments come in supersession of the Trich-vad-bhâva ordained by the preceding sūtras. Thus the Dative of the Neuter noun **प्रियक्रोष्टु** will be **प्रियक्रोष्टुने** **ऽरण्याय**, **हितक्रोष्टुने** **वृषलकुलाय**, and not **क्रोष्ट्रे** ॥ Similarly with **नुद्**, as **क्रोष्टूनाम्** ॥

चतुरनडुहोरामुदात्तः ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्, अनडुहोः, आम्, उदात्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुर् अनडुह् इत्येतयोः सर्वनामस्थाने परत आमागमो भवति, स चोदात्तः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनडुहः स्त्रियां वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

98. **चतुर्** and **अनडुह** get the acutely accented augment **आ** (**आम्**) after the **उ** in the strong cases.

Thus **चत्वारः**, **अनड्वान्**, **अनड्वौहो**, **अनड्वौहः**, **अनड्वौहम्** ॥ The rule applies to compounds ending with **चत्वार** and **अनडुह**, as **प्रियचत्वार**, **प्रियचत्वारौ**, **प्रियचत्वारः**, **प्रियानड्वान्**, **प्रियानड्वौहो**, **प्रियानड्वौहः** ॥

Vart:—In the case of **अनडुह** there is option in the feminine, as **अनडुहो**, or **अनड्वौहो** ॥ This would be so, because it occurs in Gaurâdi class IV. I. 41.

अम्संबुद्धौ ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अम्, सम्बुद्धौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबुद्धौ परतश्चतुरनडुहोरमागमो भवति ॥

99. **चतुर्** and **अनडुह** get the augment **अ** after the **उ** in the Vocative Singular.

This debars the previous rule, as **हे प्रियचत्वरः** (a Bahuvrihi), **हे प्रियनड्वन्** ॥

ऋत इद्धातोः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, इत्, धातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तस्य धातोर्ऋस्य इकारदेशो भवति ॥

100. For the final long **ऋ** of a root, there is substituted **इर्** (I. 1. 51).

As **किरति**, **गिरति** from **कृ** and **गृ** of the Tudâdi class. **आस्तीर्णम्** **विस्तीर्णम्** from **स्ठ्**, the lengthening by VIII. 2. 77. Why do we say of a root? Observe **पितृणाम्**, **मातृणाम्** ॥

This substitution will apply to Derivative roots also, as **चिकीर्षति** from **कृ** 'to scatter'.

उपधायाश्च ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपधायाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपधायाश्च ऋकारस्य इकारदेशो भवति ॥

101. **इर्** is also substituted for the penultimate long **ऋ** of a root.

As **कीर्तयति**, **कीर्तयतः**, **कृर्तयन्तिः**; from **कृत्** ॥ Lengthening by VIII. 2. 77.

उदोष्ठ्यपूर्वस्य ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्, ओष्ठ्य, पूर्वस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओष्ठ्यः पूर्वो यस्माद् ऋकारादुदोष्ठ्यपूर्वस्तदन्तस्य धातोर्ऋस्य उकारदेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इत्स्वोत्वाभ्यां शुणबुद्धौ भवतो विप्रतिषेधेन ॥

102. उर् is substituted for the final long ऋ of a root, when it is preceded by a labial consonant belonging to the root.

As पूर्व and पुर्वति from पृ, so also सुर्वति ॥ The lengthening is by VIII. 2. 77. The rule applies when the dento-labial व precedes: as सुर्वति क्त्विजम् from वृ; so also प्रावुर्वति कम्बलम् ॥ The labial consonant must be the consonant of the root. Therefore when ग् 'to go' is preceded by स, the rule will not apply, for स is not part of the root: as समीर्णम् by VII. 1. 100.

Vart:—The Guṇa and Vṛiddhi do take place in supersession of इर् and उर् substitution. Thus आस्तरणम् and आस्तरकः (from स्तृ with ल्युट् and ण्वुल्), निपरणम्, निपरकः from पृ, निगरणम्, निगारकः from गृ ॥

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये ऋकारान्तस्य धातोरङ्स्य बहुलशुकारदेशो भवति ॥

103. In the Veda, the उर् substitution for ऋ of a root-stem is diverse.

That is, it takes place even when the preceding letter is not labial, and does not take place even when the letter is labial. Thus मित्रा वरुणौ तदुरिः, हरे ह्यध्वा जयुरिः, पप्रितमम् (no change), and पपुरिः, from तृ, गृ and पृ ॥ All these words तदुरि, जयुरि and पप्रि are formed by the affix क्त्वि (III. 1. 171).

ओ३म् ।

अथ सप्तमाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER SECOND.

सिचि वृद्धिः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिचि, वृद्धिः, परस्मैपदेषु ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ परस्मैपदे परे सिचि परत इगन्तस्याङ्गस्य वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

1. Before the Aorist-characteristic स् (सिच्), Vṛiddhi is substituted in the Parasmaipada, for the final of a stem ending in इ, उ, ऋ (long or short, I. 1. 3).

The word इक् is to be read into this sūtra by virtue of I. 1. 3. As अचैषीत्, अनैषीत्, अलाषीत्, अपाषीत्, अकार्षीत्, अहार्षीत् (VII. 3. 96 and VIII. 2. 28) The antaranga guṇa substitution is superseded by the express mention of Vṛiddhi. If the antaranga guṇa is superseded by this vṛiddhi, why is not the antaranga उवङ् also superseded in न्यजुषीत्, न्यधुषीत्? The Vṛiddhi does not take place, as these roots belong to कुदादि class, after which this affix is ङित् (I. 2. 1). The Vṛiddhi being thus superseded, we have उवङ् substitution. Why do we say in the Parasmaipada? Observe अच्योड, अघ्नोष्ट ॥

अतो लान्तस्य ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, लान्तस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रेफलकारौ यावतः समीपौ तदन्तस्याङ्गस्य अत एव स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

2. Vṛiddhi is substituted for the short अ, when it is immediately followed by the final र् or ल् of a root, before the Parasmaipada s-Aorist.

As क्षर्-अक्षारीत्, त्सर्-अत्सारीत्, ज्वल्-अज्वालीत्, ह्यल्-अह्यालीत् ॥ This debars the option of VII. 2. 7. Why 'short अ'? Observe न्यत्सारीत् न्यमीलीत् ॥ Why do we say "ending in र् or ल्"? Observe मा भवानशीत्, मा भवानटीत् ॥ The word अन्त means here 'proximity', as in the sentence उदक्रान्तं गतः = उदकसमीपं गतः ॥ The अ must be in the proximity of the र् and ल् ॥ Therefore the rule does not apply to अवधीत्, अश्वलीत्, for though र् and ल् are here final of the stem, yet are not in the proximity of अ ॥

वद्व्रजहलन्तस्याचः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वद, व्रज, हलन्तस्य, अचः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वद्व्रजोर्हलन्तानां चाङ्गानामचः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति सिचि परस्मैपदे परतः ॥

3. In the Parasmaipada s-Aorist there is Vṛiddhi of the अ of वद्, ब्रज्, and of any vowel, without distinction, of the stems ending in a consonant.

As अवासीत्, अब्राजीत् ॥ This debars the option in the case of these two roots, which would have otherwise obtained by VII. 2. 7. So also of stems ending in consonants: as अपाक्षीत्, अभैत्सीत्, अचैत्सीत्, अरौत्सीत् ॥ By the splitting up of the sūtra (yoga-vibhaga) these forms could be evolved without using the word हलन्त in the sūtra. Thus (1) वदिव्रज्योः "In the room of the अ of वद् and ब्रज् there is Vṛiddhi". (2) अचः "In the room of the vowel of the stem there is Vṛiddhi". The word "stem" is understood throughout these chapters. If the vowel be at the end of the stem, there would be Vṛiddhi by VII. 2. 1, and if in the middle of the stem, then the verb ends with a consonant, and still there will be Vṛiddhi by our rule. The use of the word हलन्त in the sūtra indicates that the rule applies when more than one consonant even is at the end: as अराङ्क्षीत्, अभाङ्क्षीत् ॥

Had the word हलन्तस्य not been used in the sūtra, then the following maxim would have applied "येन नाव्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितेऽपि वचनप्रामाण्यात्" ॥ The rule would have applied where only one consonant intervened between the vowel and the affix, but not when more than one consonant intervened. But it is intended that the rule should apply to such cases also.

The form उद्बोढाम् is thus evolved. To the root बह् we add सिच् in the second Person singular. Thus बह्+स्ताम् ॥ Now there appears the Vṛiddhi rule on the one side; and the rule requiring the change of ह् to ढ (VIII. 2. 31) the rule requiring the elision of स् (VIII. 2. 26), the rule requiring the change of त् into ध (VIII. 2. 40), then the rule requiring the change of घ into ढ, and then the elision of one ढ (VIII. 3. 13) on the other. What rule is to be applied first—the Vṛiddhi or the other rules? The Vṛiddhi rule is to be applied first, because the other rules are considered as asiddha (VIII. 2. 1): and after that we apply the other rules: and afterwards on account of the elision of ढ, we change the Vṛiddhi आ into ओ (VI. 3. 112). The equation will be something like this:—बह्+स्ताम्=बाह्+स्ताम् (VII. 2. 3)=बाह्+स्ताम् (VIII. 2. 31)=बाह्+ताम् (VIII. 2. 26)=बाह्+धाम् (VIII. 2. 80)=बाह्+ढाम् (VIII. 4. 41)=वा+ढाम् (VIII. 3. 13)=वोढाम् (VI. 3. 112). This with the upasarga उन् and the augment अ becomes उद्बोढाम् ॥ Similar is the evolution of उद्बोढम् with स्तम् ॥ Once the अ has been Vṛiddhied into आ, there is no Vṛiddhi of ओ ॥ Had we not first Vṛiddhied the बह् into बाह्, but applied the vṛiddhi rule last, then there would have been vṛiddhi of ओ, as बौढाम् which is wrong. In fact where there has not taken place vṛiddhi first, there ओ is vṛiddhied, as=लौढामिन्नस्यापत्यं=लौढामिनिः ॥

नेटि ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इडादेशे सिचि हलन्तस्याङ्गस्य वृद्धिर्न भवति ।

4. The vowel of a stem, ending in a consonant, does not get Vṛiddhi, when the सिच् takes the augment इट् ॥

As अदेवीत्, असेवीत्, अकोषीत्, अमोषीत्, but अलावीत् where the root ends in a vowel. Will not लू by taking Guṇa (which is an antarāṅga operation) and the substitution of अच्, become a root ending in a consonant? No, though Guṇa is antarāṅga, it is superseded by the express Vṛiddhi.

ह्यधन्तक्षणश्चसजागृणिश्च्योदिताम् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह, म्, य्, अन्त, क्षण, श्वस्, जागृ, णि, श्वि, पदिताम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हकारान्तानां मकारान्तानां यकारान्तानामङ्गानां क्षण श्वस् जागृ णि श्वि इत्येतेषामोदितां च इडाशौ सिचि परस्मैपदे परतो वृद्धिर्न भवति ।

5. The Vṛiddhi of the vowel of the following stems, does not take place before the इट् augment s-Aorist in the Parasmaipada; namely—the stems ending in ह, म् or य्, the roots क्षण, श्वस्, जागृ, a stem formed with णि, the root श्वि, and the roots having an indicatory ए in the Dhātupāṭha.

Thus ग्रह्, 'to catch' अग्रहीत्, स्यम्, 'to sound' अस्यमीत्, व्यय, 'to expend' अव्ययीत्, डुवम्, 'to vomit' अवमीत्, क्षण 'to hurt' अक्षणीत्, श्वस् 'to breathe' अश्वसीत्, जागृ 'to be awake' अजागरीत्, णि, ऊन (churādi) 'to lose' ऊनयीत्, ईल् 'to send' ईलयीत्, श्वि, अश्वयीत् ॥ एदिताम्, रगे 'to cover' अरणीत्. कखे, अकखीत् ॥

ह्यधन्तक्षणश्चसानेदितां च अतो हलर्दिर्लघोरिति विकल्पे प्राप्ते प्रतिषेधः ॥ जागृणिश्वीनां तु सिचि वृद्धिः प्राप्ता, सा च नेटीति न प्रतिषिध्यते, न वान्तरङ्गत्वाच्च पूर्वं गुणो भवति सिचि वृद्धेरनवकाशत्वात् ॥ यदि पूर्वं गुणः स्यादिहणिश्विमहणमनर्थकं स्यात् ॥ गुणयादेशयोः कृतयोर्यकारान्तत्वादिव प्रतिषेधस्य सिद्धत्वात् ॥ तस्मादिदमेव णिश्विमहणं शापकं न सिच्यन्तरङ्गमस्तीति ॥ अथ जागृमहणं किमर्थम् ॥ जाग्रो विचिण्णल्लिखुं इति जागर्तेर्गुणो वृद्धेरपवाको विधीयते ॥ स यथा अच्चा जिगतीति वृद्धिं बाधते, तथा सिचि वृद्धिमपि बाधिष्यते ॥ नैतदस्ति ॥ कृते गुणः ऽतो लान्तस्येति या वृद्धिः प्राप्नोति सा प्रतिषिध्यते, ॥ अथ गुणविधानसामर्थ्यादुत्तरकालभावित्यपि वृद्धिर्बाध्यते, ॥ यथा जागरयतीत्यत्रात् उपधाया इत्यपि वृद्धिर्न भवति, तथा चिण्णलोः प्रतिषेधोर्थवान्भवति इति शक्यमिह जागृमहणमकर्तुम् ॥ नस्तु क्रियते विस्पष्टार्थम् ॥

In the case of roots ऊन and ईल् in the above examples, the चङ् is prohibited by III. 1. 51. This is an exception to VII. 2. 7 : so far as stems in ह, य् and म् are concerned. There is no option allowed here. In the case of जागृ, णि-roots, and श्वि, the Vṛiddhi would have taken place by VII. 1. 1 ; and VII. 1. 4, could not have debarred Vṛiddhi, hence the special mention of these roots.

Nor can it be said, in the case of these roots, that "they will take first guṇa, on account of its being an Antarāṅga operation", because, then the rule of Vṛiddhi ordained by VII. 1. 1 will find no scope. Moreover, if the guṇa

took place first and then Vṛiddhi, the mention of णि-roots and द्वि in the sūtra would be redundant. For in ऊनयति and अश्वयति, having gunated the roots ऊन and अश्वि to ऊने and अश्वे, and then substituting अय् (which is also antaranga) for ए before ईत्, we have ऊनय्+ईत्, and अश्वय्+ईत् ॥ Now these are roots which end in य् and would be covered by the first portion of the present sūtra, viz, "h-m-y-anta", so the especial mention of णि-roots and द्वि would be superfluous, if guṇa was to take place first. The very mention of णि-roots and द्वि in this sūtra, is a jānāpaka (indicator) of the following maxim न सिचि अन्तरङ्गमस्ति ॥

Why have we used the root जागृ in the sūtra, when the special sūtra VII. 3. 85 will cause guṇa by superseding Vṛiddhi in the case of जागृ? This supersession will take place on the analogy of अचोऽञ्जिति (VII. 2. 115); for as this vṛiddhi rule VII. 2. 115 is superseded by VII. 3. 85, so will the present Vṛiddhi rule VII. 2. 1. *Ans.* No, this is not so. No doubt VII. 3. 85 does supersede the vṛiddhi rule VII. 2. 1 and we have guṇa, as जागृ+ईत् ॥ Then comes in VII. 2. 2, which would cause vṛiddhi, because now it is a root ending in र; this second vṛiddhi is prohibited by the present sūtra. You can say, that by the very fact that the guṇa rule VII. 3. 85 takes effect, will prevent every future Vṛiddhi, as in जागरयति there is no penultimate vṛiddhi by VII. 2. 116 [जागृ+णि=जागर+णि (VII. 3. 85)=जागरि the rule VII. 2. 116 does not apply after guṇa] You can, of course, say so, and there is no answer to this but by saying that the mention of जागृ is only for the sake of distinctness.

In case the reading of जागृ in the sūtra be held necessary, then the operations which it undergoes, are shown below :

जागृ+इस्+ईत् ॥ Now appears (1) the rule VI. 1. 77. requiring the change of ऋ into र ॥ (2) This यणादेश is however, debarred by the rule VII. 3. 84 which causes guṇa of the finals of verbal stems before all sārva dhātuka and ārdha dhātuka affixes, because this guṇa rule is an apavāda to यणादेश ॥ (3) But this guṇa in its turn is debarred by the rule VII. 2. 1 requiring the vṛiddhi. (4) But this vṛiddhi is, however, superseded by VII. 3. 85, which causes the guṇa of the final of जागृ ॥ Now having gunated it, we get this form :—

जागर+इस्+ईत् ॥ Now appears VII. 2. 3 which requires vṛiddhi, because it is a root ending in a consonant. (2) But that vṛiddhi is superseded by VII. 2. 4 because the affix सिच् has taken the इद् augment. (3) Then appears the rule VII. 2. 7 requiring optional vṛiddhi, (4) But that optional vṛiddhi is superseded by the compulsory vṛiddhi required by VII. 2. 2, because it is a root ending in र ॥ (5) And this last vṛiddhi is prohibited by the present sūtra VII. 2. 5. These nine stages through which the form अजागरीत् is evolved, is abbreviated in the following mnemonic verse :—युणो वृद्धि युणो वृद्धिः प्रतिषेधो विकल्प-
नम् ॥ पुन वृद्धिर्निषेधोऽतो यणपूर्वाः प्राप्तयो नव ॥

ऊर्णोतेर्विभाषा ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊर्णोतेः, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्णोतेरिदानीं सिचि परस्मैपदपरं परतो विभाषा वृद्धिर्नभवति ।

6. Before an इद्-beginning s-Aorist of the Parasmaipada, there is optional Vṛiddhi of the vowel of ऊर्णु ॥

As प्रौर्णावीत् or प्रौर्णवीत् ॥ This option applies when the सिच् is not treated as ङित् ॥ But after ऊर्णु, सिच् is optionally ङित्, (I. 2. 6): when it is ङित्, there being neither guṇa nor vṛiddhi; we have उवङ् substitution, as प्रौर्णुवीत् (VI. 4. 77).

अतो हलादेर्लघोः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, हल् आदेः, लघोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलादेरङ्गस्य लघोरकारस्य इडादौ सिचि परस्मैपदपरे परतो विभाषा वृद्धिर्न भवति ।

7. Before an इद्-beginning s-Aorist of the Parasmaipada, the short अ of the root gets optionally Vṛiddhi, when the stem begins with a consonant, and the अ is prosodially short by being followed by a simple consonant.

Thus अकणीत् or अकाणीत्, अरणीत् or अराणीत् ॥ Why do we say 'of अ'? Observe अदेवीत्, असेवीत् ॥ Besides this patent objection, there is another, not so manifest. If we had not taken अतः, the sūtra would have ordained Vṛiddhi of every vowel (अचः VII. 2. 3), the Vṛiddhi so ordained would be an अच् pertaining Vṛiddhi, and not an इक्-pertaining Vṛiddhi. Therefore ङित् affixes will not debar such Vṛiddhi, for the क्ङिति च (I. 1. 5), debars only इङ्लक्षणा Vṛiddhi. Therefore कुटादि roots after which सिच् is ङित् (I. 2. 1), will get Vṛiddhi, which is not desired. Therefore we have only one form of न्यकुटीत्, न्यपुटीत् ॥

Why do we say 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe मा भवानदीत्, मा भवानदीत् from अश् and अद् ॥ Why do we say 'prosodially short'? Observe अतक्षीत्, अरक्षीत् ॥

But why does not vṛiddhi take place in अचकासीत् from the root चकास् (Ad. 65)? The vṛiddhi does not take place on the maxim येन ना व्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितेऽपि वचनं प्रामाण्यात्; for the rule applies to short अ only when a consonant intervenes between it and the affix, and not when both consonants and vowels intervene. In चकास् not only the consonants क् and स् intervene but also the vowel आ ॥ Hence there is no vṛiddhi. Moreover, the व्यवधानं can be by one letter and not by more than one letter. Therefore, applying this maxim, the word लघोः might have been omitted from the sūtra without any detriment. In that case, the form अतक्षीत् from the root तक्ष (Bhu 685) will be explained by saying that rule VII. 2. 7 does not apply to it, because two consonants intervene between अ and the affix. In this view of the case, the employment of the word लघोः in the sūtra is for the sake of distinctness only.

The word इद् is understood in this sūtra, so that the rule applies to सेद् aorist. The rule therefore, does not apply to Anīṭ aorist, as अपाक्षीत् ॥

The form अविपङ्क्षीत् the aorist of the Desiderative root, is explained by saying that the long आ of vṛiddhi is elided by VI. 4. 64.

नेङ्गशि कृति ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इट्, वशि, कृति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वशाच्चै कृति प्रत्यये परत इडागमो न भवति ।

8. The augment इद् is not added to a kṛit-affix beginning with a sonant consonant (वश् pratyāhāra).

The वश् pratyāhāra is rather vague. The rule really applies to Kṛit-affixes beginning with व, र (ल) म and न, and no कृन् affix begins with any other letter of वश् class. Thus ईशिता, ईशितुम् non-vaś letters get the augment, but not ईश्वरः, (III. 2. 175) so also दीपिता, दीपितुम् but not दीपम् (III. 2. 167 र) भसिता, भसितुम् but not भस्म, (III. 2. 75. मान्) यतिता, यतितुम् but not यन्नः (III. 3. 90 नङ्)

The Vārtika नेङ् वरमनादौ कृति gives the rule in a more definite form. Of course, in the Uṇādi Kṛit-affixes, there is diversity. There we get the affix इ, for example, which of course does not take the augment, as इम् + इ = इण्डः (Uṇ I. 113). Why do we say कृन् affixes? Observe रुदिव, रुदिम् ॥

Here by VII. 2. 76 the Sārvadhātuka affixes beginning with a वल् consonant take इद् augment after the roots रुद् &c; but this इद् will also be prohibited by the present sūtra, if the word कृति be not read in the sūtra. So that rule VII. 2. 76 would find scope before those वलादि affixes only which do not begin with a वश् letter; as रुदितः ॥ In some texts of Kāsika the counter-example is रुदिव in the Perfect. This is wrong, according to Padamnjari (क्रादिनियमादेव इटः सिद्धत्वात्) because इद् always comes in the Perfect except after the root कृ &c. (VII. 2. 13): so the counter-example from the Perfect Tense is not valid. This sūtra is an exception to VII. 2. 35. The Kṛit-affixes beginning with वश् letters as given by Pāṇini are the following: वन् (वनिष्, कुनिष्, डवनिष्), वर (वरच् and कुरप्), वस् (कृष्), रु (कृ), लुक (क्लुकन्), मन् (मनिन्), मर (कमारच्) न (नङ्, नन्), नश् (नजिङ्), नु (कृनु) ॥ This list will show the truth of the above vārtika.

तितुव्रतयसिसुसरकसेषु च ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, तु, व्र, त, थ, सि, सु, सर, क, सेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ति तु व्र त थ सि सु सर क स इत्येतेषु कृष्य इडागमो न भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ तितुवेषु अग्रहादीनाम् इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

9. The इद् augment is not taken by the following Kṛit-affixes :—ति, तु, व्र, त, थ, सि, सु, सर, क and स ॥

Thus (1) क्तिच्—तन्तिः but तनिता, तनितुम्, क्तिन्—दीप्तिः but दीपिता, दीपितुम् ॥ (2) तुन् (Uṇ I. 70)—सक्तुः but साचिता, साचितुम् ॥ (3) घृन् (III. 2. 182)—पञ्च but पतिता, पतितुम्, so also Uṇādi घृन् (Uṇ IV. 158), as तन्त्रम् from तन् ॥ (4) तन् (Uṇ III. 86)—हस्तः but हसिता, हसितुम्; so also लीतः, पीतः, धूर्तः from लृ, पू, धूर्वि forming सेट् लविता, पविता, धूर्विता ॥ The त affix mentioned in the sūtra refers to this Uṇādi त् (Uṇ III. 86), and not to the त् (क्त) of Nishṭhā, for the Nishṭhā त् takes the augment, as हसितम् ॥ (5) कथन् (Uṇ II. 2)—कुष्ठम् but कोषिता, कोषितुम्, काष्ठम् but काशिता, काशितुम् ॥ (6) क्सि (Uṇ III. 155), as कुक्षिः but कोषिता, कोषितुम् ॥ (7) कृषु (Uṇ III. 157)—इधुः but एषिता, एषितुम्; (8) सरन् (Uṇ III. 70)—अक्षरम्,

but अशिता, अशितुम् ॥ (9) कर् (Uṇ III. 43)—शल्कः but शलिता, शलितुम् ॥ (10) स्र (Uṇ III. 62)—वल्सः but वदिता, वदितुम् ॥

Vart:—The affix ति, तु and चि take इद् augment after म् and words of similar formations:—as विगृहीतिः, उपस्तिहितिः, निकुञ्चिति निपाडितिः ॥

Before non-kṛit ति &c, we have इद्, as रोदिति, स्वपिति ॥

एकाच् उपदेशेऽनुदात्तात् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ एकाचः, उपदेशे, अनुदात्तात्, ॥ धृतिः ॥ उपदेशे य एकाच् धातुरनुदात्तश्च तस्मादिडागमो न भवति ।

10. The augment इद् is not added to that affix which is joined to a root, which in the Grammatical system of Instruction (i. e. in the Dhâtupâṭha) is of one syllable, and is without accent (anudâṭta).

A list of such roots has been collected by the *Anit—Kârikâ*. They are given below.

Kârikâ:—अनिद्स्वरान्तो भवतीति दृश्यतामिमांस्तु सेदः प्रवदन्ति तद्विद् ।

भवन्तभूवन्तघृतां च वृङ्बुञ्जौ श्विङीङ्वर्णेष्वथ शीङ्भ्रिञ्भावपि ॥

गणस्थमूदन्तघृतां च रुस्तुवौ क्षुवन्तयोर्णोतिमथो युष्मक्षणवः ।

इति स्वरान्तो निपुणैः समुच्चितास्ततो हलन्तानपि सन्निबोधतः ॥

As a general rule all monosyllabic roots ending in a *vowel* except अ, long ऊ and long ऋ are anudâṭta, and do not take इद् augment: as दान्, नेन्, चेन्, स्तान्, कर्त्तु, हर्त्तु ॥ The following are the exceptions:—

(1) All roots ending in short अ are Udâṭta and take इद्; as अवधिष्ट ॥

(2) All roots ending in long ऋ are सेद्, as नृ—तरिता or तरीता ॥

(3) All roots ending in short ऋ are अनिद् except वृङ् (IX. 38 the references are to the class and number in the Dhâtupâṭha) and वृञ् (V. 8, X. 271): as निर्वरिता or निर्वरीता, प्रवरिता or प्रवरीता ॥

(4) All roots in short इ are अनिद्, except श्वि (I. 1059), 'to grow' and भ्रिञ् 'to attend' (I. 945), as श्रयिता, श्रयिता ॥

(5) All roots in long ई are अनिद्, except शीङ् 'to rest' (II. 22), and डीङ् 'to fly' (I. 1017. IV. 27), as शयिता, उड्डयिता ॥

(6) All roots in long ऊ are सेद्, as लविता, पविता from लृ and पू ॥

(7) All monosyllabic roots in short उ are अनिद्, except, रुङ् 'to sound' (II. 24, I. 1008), स्तु 'to flow' (II. 29), क्षु 'to sound' (II. 27), यु 'to mix' (II. 23) नु 'to praise' (II. 26), क्षणु 'to sharpen', (II. 28); and ऊर्णञ् 'to cover' (II. 30, though consisting of more than one syllable, is treated like नु for the purposes of यङ्) ॥ Thus रविता, प्ररविता, क्षविता, यविता, नविता, क्षणविता and प्रोर्णविता ॥

Of the roots ending in consonants, all are सेद् except the following:—

Kârikâ:—इति स्वरान्तो निपुणैः समुच्चितास्ततो हलन्तानपि सन्निबोधतः ।

शक्तिस्तु कान्तेष्वादिङ्क इव्यते पसिश्च सान्तेषु वसिः प्रसारणी ॥

रभिस्तु भान्तेष्वथ मैथुने यभिस्ततस्तृतीयायां भिरवनेत्ते ॥

यमिर्मन्तेष्वनिडेक इव्यते रमिश्च यश्च इयनि पञ्चते ननिः ।
 ननिश्चतुर्थो हनिरेव पञ्चमो गमिश्च षष्ठः प्रतिषेधवाचिनाम् ॥
 दिहिर्दुहिर्भेहतिरोहती वहिर्नहिस्तु षष्ठो दहतिस्तथा लिहिः ।
 इमे ऽनिदोऽष्टाविह घुक्तसंशयः गणेषु शान्ताः प्रविभज्य कीर्त्तिताः ॥
 विशिं वृशिं वंशिमतो घृशिं स्पृशिं रंशिं रुशिं क्रीशतिमष्टमं विशिम् ।
 लिशिं च शान्ताननिडः पुराणगाः पठन्ति पाठेषु इत्येव नेतरान् ॥
 रुधिः सराधिर्युधिर्बन्धिसाधयः क्रुधिक्षुधी शुध्यतिबुध्यतो व्यधिः ।
 इमे तु धान्ता दश येऽनिदो मतास्ततः परं सिद्धतिरेव नेतरे ॥
 शिधिं पिधिं शुध्यतिपुध्यती त्विधिं विधिं श्लिधिं तुध्यतिदुध्यती द्विधिम् ।
 इमान्दशैवोपदिशन्त्यनिङ्घ्रिषौ गणेषु धान्तान्कृषिकर्षती तथा ॥
 तपिं तिपिं चापिमयो वपिं स्वपिं लिपिं क्षुपिं तृप्यति कृप्यती सृपिम् ।
 स्वरेण नीचेन शपिं क्षुपिं क्षिपिं प्रतीहि पान्तान्पठितांश्चयोदश ॥
 अहिं हहिं स्कन्धिभिदिच्छिदिक्षुदीन् शहिं सहिं स्विद्यातिपद्यती लिदिम् ।
 तुहिं नुहिं विद्यातिविन्त इत्यपि प्रतीहि शान्तान्दश पञ्च चानिडः ॥
 पाचिं वचिं विचिरिचिरञ्जिजृच्छतीन् निचिं सिचिं मुचिभञ्जिभञ्जिभृज्जतीन् ।
 र्याजिं र्याजिं युजिहृजिसञ्जिमज्जतीन् भुजिं स्वजिहृजिभृजी विद्धपनिदस्वरान् ॥

(1.) क—शक् 'to be able' (IV. 78, V. 15). शक्ता, शक्यति

(2.) स्—घस् 'to eat' (I. 747, and also substitute of अद्), as, घस्ता; वस् 'to dwell' (I. 1054), as वस्ता ॥ The वस् which takes Samprasāraṇa by VI. 1. 15, is meant here, and not वस् 'to cover' (II. 13), which does not vocalise, as वसिता वस्त्राणाम्, but उपितः from वस 'to dwell' (VII. 2. 52).

(3.) भ्—Three roots: रभ् 'to desire' (I. 1023), as, आरब्धा, यभ् coire (I. 1029), यब्धा, लभ् 'to take' (I. 1024), लब्धा ॥

(4.) म्—Four roots, यम् 'to cease' (I. 1033), यन्ता; रम् 'to play' (I. 906) रन्ता, नम् 'to bow' (I. 867, 1030) नन्ता, गम्ल् 'to go' (I. 1031) गन्ता ॥

5. न्—Two roots मन् 'to think' (IV. 67), मन्ता, हन् 'to kill' (II. 2), हन्ता ॥ The Divādi मन् should be taken, otherwise मनिता from मन्—मनुते (VIII. 9).

(6.) ह्—Eight roots:—दिह् 'to smear' (II. 5), देग्धा; दुह् 'to milk' (II. 4), दोग्धा; मिह् 'to sprinkle' (I. 1041) मीढा, रुह् 'to grow' (I. 912) रोढा; वह् 'to carry' (I. 1053) वोढा, नह् 'to bind' (IV. 57) नद्धा; बह् 'to burn' (I. 1041) दग्धा, लिह् 'to lick' (II. 6) लेढा ॥ In other collections संह (I. 905, IV. 20), मुह् (IV. 89), रिह् (VI. 23), लुह् (?), are also enumerated; of these सह takes इद् optionally before affixes beginning with स, so also मुह् because it belongs to the class of रधादि (VII. 2. 45) the other two are not found (?) in root-collections, hence the Kārika uses the words मुक्तसंशयः ॥

(7.) श्—Ten roots:—दिश् 'to show' (VI. 3), दृश् 'to see' (I. 1037), वृश् 'to bite' (I. 1038), मृश् 'to rub' (VI. 131), स्पृश् 'to touch' (VI. 128), रिश् (VI. 126), रुश् (VI. 126) both meaning 'to hurt', विश् 'to enter' (VI. 130), लिश् 'to be small' (IV. 70, VI. 127). As वेष्टा, द्रष्टा, वृष्टा, आन्नष्टा or आनर्ष्टा, स्पर्ष्टा or स्पष्टा, The roots with a pénultimate क् short, which are anudātta in the dhātupāṭha, with the exception of मृज् and दृश्, take optionally the augment रम् (VI. 1. 59), ॥ रष्टो, रोष्टा, क्रोष्टा, मवेष्टा, लेष्टा ॥

(8.) धृ—Ten roots:—रुध् with अनु, 'to love'. रुध् 'to obstruct' (IV. 65) रोद्धा, राध् 'to accomplish' (IV. 71, V. 16) राद्धा; युध् 'to fight' (IV. 64) योद्धा; बन्ध् 'to bind' (I. 1022), बन्धा; साध् 'to accomplish' (V. 17) साद्धा; क्रुध् 'to be angry' (IV. 80) क्रोद्धा, क्षुध् 'to be hungry' (IV. 81) क्षोद्धा; शुध् 'to be pure' (IV. 82) शोद्धा, बुध् 'to be aware' (IV. 63) बोद्धा; व्यध् 'to pierce' (IV. 72) व्यद्धा; सिध् 'to be accomplished' (IV. 83) सेद्धा ॥ The roots बुध् and सिध् are exhibited in the above Kārikā with भ्यश्च विकारानां (बुध्यति, सिध्यति); therefore बुध् and सिध् take इट् in other ganas than the Fourth; as बोधिता and सेधिता ॥ There being want of prohibition with regard to निष्ठा, we have बुधितं and सिधितं ॥

(9.) घृ-roots. Ten. क्षिप् 'to distinguish' (VII, 14) क्षोष्टा; पिप् 'to pound' (VII. 15) पेष्टा, शुष् 'to become dry' (IV. 74) शोष्टा; पुष् 'to be nourished' (IV. 73), पोष्टा, त्विष् 'to shine' (I. 1050) स्वेष्टा, विष् 'to pervade, to sprinkle' (I. 729, III. 13, IX. 54) वेष्टा, दिल्ष् 'to embrace' (I. 734, IV. 77) दलेष्टा; तुष् 'to be satisfied' (IV. 75) तोष्टा, दुष् 'to be sinful' (IV. 76) दोष्टा. शोक्ष्यति, द्विष् 'to hate' (II. 3) हृष्टा, हृक्ष्यति, कृष् 'to draw' (I. 1059, VI. 6 both Bhuādi and Tudādi are taken, as the kārīkā uses the two forms), आकृष्टा and आकर्षा ॥

(10.) घृ-Thirteen roots: तप् 'to burn' (I. 1034, IV. 51) तप्ता, तप्स्यति, तिप् 'to distil' (I. 385) तेप्ता, आप् 'to obtain' (V 14, X. 295) आप्ता; वप् 'to sow' (I. 1052) वप्ता; स्वप् 'to sleep' (II. 59) स्वप्ता; लिप् 'to anoint' (VI. 139) लेप्ता; लुप् (VI. 137) 'to break', लोप्ता ॥ The roots तृप् and वृप् optionally take इट्, as they belong to रुधादि class (VII. 2. 45, Divādi 84-91). The special mention of these two roots in the kārīkā, is for the sake of indicating that these roots take भ्यश्च augment; as वप्ता or तप्ता, or तर्पिता; व्रप्ता, or वर्प्ता or रर्पिता ॥ The तृप् and वृप् belonging to Tudādi class, are Udāta and सेट् ॥ सृप् (I. 1032) 'to creep' स्रप्ता, सर्प्ता; शप् 'to curse' (I. 1049) शप्ता; छृप् 'to touch' (VI. 125) छोप्ता; क्षिप् 'to throw' (IV. 14) क्षोप्ता ॥

(11.) हृ-Fifteen roots. अद् 'to eat' [II. 1] अक्ता; हृद् 'to void excrement' (I. 1026) हक्ता; स्कन्द् 'to leap' (I. 1028) स्कन्ता; भिद् 'to break' (VII. 2) भेक्ता, छिद् 'to cut' (VII. 3) छेक्ता; छुद् 'to pound' (VII. 6) क्षोक्ता, क्षोक्ष्यति, शद् 'to perish' (I. 908, VI. 134) शक्ता, सद् 'to sink' (I. 907, VI. 133) सक्ता, सिवद् 'to sweat' (IV. 79) स्वेक्ता ॥ The root is exhibited as सिव्यति in the above kārīkā, showing that the Fourth class root is to be taken, and not the Bhuādi (I. 780), which is udāta and takes इट् ॥ पद् 'to go' (IV. 60), पक्ता; खिद् 'to be troubled' (IV. 61, VI. 142, VII. 12) खेक्ता, तुद् 'to strike' (VI. 1) तोक्ता; बुद् 'to impel' (VI. 2) नोक्ता; विद् (IV. 62) वेक्ता ॥ The root विद् is exhibited in the kārīkā, as विद्यति and विन्त, therefore, the rule applies to दिवादि and क्रयादि विद् ॥ The Adādi (वेत्ति) and Tudādī (विन्वति) विद् is सेट्, as वेदिता विद्यानाम्, वेदिताधनस्य ॥

(12.) च्-six roots:—पच् 'to cook' (I. 187) पक्ता, पक्ष्यति; वच् 'to speak' (II. 54) वक्ता, विच् 'to separate' (VII. 5) विवेक्ता; रिच् 'to make empty' (VII. 4) रेक्ता; सिच् 'to sprinkle' (VI. 140) सेक्ता; मुच् (VI. 136) 'to loose' मोक्ता ॥

(13.) छृ-One root प्रछ् 'to ask' (VI. 120) प्रष्टा, पक्ष्यति ॥

(14.) ज्—Fifteen roots :—रञ्ज् 'to colour' (I. 865. 1048) रङ्क्ता; निज् 'to cleanse' (III. 11) निर्जेक्ता, नेक्ष्यति; भज् 'to honor' (I. 1047) भक्ता; भञ्ज् 'to break' (VII. 16) भङ्क्ता; भूज् 'to fry' (I. 181) भृष्टा or भर्ष्टा; त्यज् 'to quit' (I. 1035) त्यक्ता; यज् 'to sacrifice' (I. 1051) यष्टा, युज् 'to join' (IV. 68, VII. 7) योक्ता; रुज् 'to break' (VI. 123) रोक्ता; सञ्ज् 'to adhere' (I. 1036) सङ्क्ता, मञ्ज् 'to be immersed' (VI. 122) मङ्क्ता; भुज् 'to bend' (VI. 124) 'to enjoy' (VII. 17). भोक्ता, स्वज् 'to embrace' (I. 1025) परि-ष्वक्ता; सृज् 'to emit' 'to create' (IV. 69, VI. 121) सृष्टा; मृज् 'to cleanse' (I. 269, II. 57), मार्ष्टा, मर्षिता ॥ The root मृज् is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with a long indicatory ऊ, e-s, मृज् शुद्धौ (II. 57). It, therefore, optionally would take इद् ॥ Nor does this root take अम् augment. The inclusion of this root in the above list is, therefore, questionable. Others read विज् instead of मृज् ॥ The निजादि root विज् is Anit (III. 12) i. e. विज् 'to separate' the विज् of Rudhādi takes इद् ॥

Why do we say "a monosyllabic root"? Observe अवधीत् ॥ The root is taught as वध with a final अ (II. 4. 42) in order to prevent वृद्धि. Why do we say "in upadeśa or Dhātupāṭha"?

The rule will not apply to roots which have become anudātta during evolution i. e. when taking affixes. Therefore, we have पचिष्यति and लविष्यति with इद्, but not here, कर्ता कदान्, कर्तुम् ॥

श्रुचकः किति ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्री, उक्, किति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्र इत्येतस्योगन्तानां च किति प्रत्यये परत इडागमो न भवति ।

Kārikā :—वाच्य ऊर्णोर्नुवङ्गावो यङ्प्रसिद्धिः प्रयोजनम् । आनश्च प्रतिषेधार्थमेकाचश्चेदुपमहात् ॥

11. The augment इद् is not added to an affix having an indicatory क्, when it comes after the root अत्रि, or after a monosyllabic root ending in उ, ऊ, ऋ or ॠ in the Dhātupāṭha.

As अत्रिवा, अत्रितः, अत्रितवान् ॥ So also with roots ending in उक् vowels: as युष्वा, युतः, युतवान्; लृत्वा, लूनः, लूनवान्; वृत्वा, वृतः, वृतवान्; तीर्त्वा, तीर्णः, तीर्णवान् ॥

Why 'अत्रि and उक् ending roots only'? Observe विहितः ॥ Why having an indicatory क्? Observe अयितु, अयितुम्, अयितव्यम् ॥ Some read two क्'s in the sūtra and would apply it to the indicatory र् also, as भूणु (III. 2. 139).

This rule applies to those roots, which have not been enumerated above. In the case of यु the Nishṭhā will not take इद् even by VII. 2. 49 read with VII. 2. 15.

When two क् are read in the sūtra, one standing for र्; there arises a little difficulty of combination. Thus र् coming after the visarga of उक्: would require that the visarga be changed to उ by VI. 1. 114. If र् be changed to क् (VIII. 4. 55) then also, the visarga required to be changed into upadhmaniya by VIII. 3. 37. If the change of र् into क् (VIII. 4. 55) be considered asiddha

(VIII. 2. 1.), then also the visarga must be changed to व (VI. 1. 114), and the sūtra should be अगुकोक्ति ॥ This, however, is not done as an anomaly allowable in sūtra construction. According to Kāsikā, this difficulty would not at all arise, if in the sūtra ग्लानिस्थश्चक्षुः (III. 2. 139), the स्था+आ be taken as compounded into स्था; so that that rule would apply to that स्था which ends in आ, and not to that स्था whose final is changed to ई; so that the form स्थास्तुः is evolved without anomaly : and the affix will be कित् (क्षु) and not गित् (गु). The affix being कित्, the above sandhi difficulty will not arise at all.

The word उपदेश is understood here also, so that the rule will apply to roots which end in उक् vowel, in their original states and not to the transformed base before the affix. Thus तृ is a उक्-ending root, which is transformed to तीर् before the Nishṭhā त ॥ The rule will apply to it, as तीर्णः ॥ If you object saying, that तृ ends in long क् and its Desiderative optionally takes इद् by VII. 2. 41, and therefore, its Nishṭhā will always take no इद् by VII. 2. 15. we reply, that the option taught in VII. 2. 41 applies to roots ending in long क्; but when the root vowel is changed to ई, it is no longer a क्-ending root. If you say, the rule of sthānivad bhāva will apply : we say, that that rule is not applicable to अलृ विधि, and this is an अलृविधि ॥ Therefore, the word उपदेश should be read into this sūtra. If this be so, the rule ought to apply to आगृ, and we could not get the forms जागरितः and जागरितवान् ॥ To explain this we should also read the anuvṛitti of एकाच् into this sūtra. The root ऊर्णु, however is an exception and is governed by this rule, in spite of its consisting of more than one vowel. Thus षोर्णुतः and षोर्णुतवान् ॥

Kārikā :—ऊर्णु is treated as if it was रु, when the affix यङ् is to be applied, भाम् is to be prohibited, or इद् is to be debarred.

सनि ग्रहगुहोश्च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, ग्रह, गुहोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङ् गुह इत्येतयोर्गन्तानां च सनि प्रत्यये परत इडागमो न भवति ।

12. The Desiderative affix सन् does not get the augment इद्, not only after roots ending in उ, ऊ, ऋ and ॠ, but also after ग्रह and गुह ॥

As जिघृक्षति, जुघृक्षति, रुरुषति, लुलूषति ॥ The anuvṛitti of श्रि is not drawn into this sūtra, as option is allowed regarding it by VII. 2. 49. यङ् would always get इद्, यङ् (I. 944) being ऊदिन् (in the Dhātupāṭha), would have optionally taken इद् (VII. 2. 44)

The forms जिघृक्षति and जुघृक्षति are thus evolved :—यङ्+सन् (the affix is कित् by I. 2. 8) = गृह्+सन् (VI. 1. 16) = गृह्+सन् (VIII. 2. 31) = गृह्+सन् (VIII. 2. 41) = जिघृक्षति (VIII. 2. 37). So also with यङ् संवरणे, the सन् is कित् here by I. 2. 10.

ऊर्णुभृष्टुदुष्टुधुवो लिटि ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊ, ष्ट, भृ, वृ, स्तु, दु, लु, धुवः, लिटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृ स् भृ वृ स्तु द्रु सु श्रु इत्येतेषां लिटि प्रत्यये इडागमो न भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कृमोसुद इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

13. The Personal endings of the Perfect do not get the augment इद्, after कृ, स्, भृ, वृ, स्तु, द्रु, सु, श्रु ॥

Thus कृ—चकृव, चक्रम; सु, ससृव, ससृम; भृ, बभूव, बभूम; वृश्, ववृव, ववृम; वृह्, ववृवहे, ववृमहे; स्तु, तुष्टुव, तुष्टुम; द्रु, द्रुष्टुव, द्रुष्टुम; सु; सुसृव, सुसृम; श्रु; श्रुष्टुव, श्रुष्टुम ॥ सिद्धे सत्याम्भो नियमार्थः, क्राव्य एव लिख्यनिदस्ततोन्त्ये सेद इति ॥

These roots with the exception of वृ are Anit by rule VII. 2. 10; their special mention here is for the sake of niyama, namely, these roots alone are Anit in the Perfect, other roots are all Set in the Perfect. Thus विभिवि, विभिवि, लुलुवि, लुलुवि ॥ All anudatta roots of the Dhâtupâṭha are to be understood, by this rule, to get इद् ॥ The affix थ् of the Perfect gets इद् after वृश्, as the irregular form ववर्थ in VII. 2. 64, indicates that in the Veda, थ् does not get इद् after वृश्, but in the secular literature it does. By VII. 2. 63, the थ् would have got इद् after स्तु, द्रु, सु and श्रु; that इद् is also prohibited by the present sūtra. As तुष्टोथ, द्रुष्टोथ, सुष्टोथ, श्रुष्टोथ ॥

Vart :—इद् is added when कृ takes the सुद् augment: as संचस्करि, संचस्करि ॥ The rule VII. 2. 63, applies here also, as संचस्करि ॥

इदीदितो निष्ठायाम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिव, ईदितः, निष्ठायाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वयतेरीदितश्च निष्ठायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

14. The Participial affixes त् and तवत् (kta and ktavatu), do not get the इद् augment after शिव, and after the root which has an indicative ई ॥

As शूनः, शूनवान्; ओलंजी (VI. 10),—लम्, लगवान्; ओविजी (VI. 9), उद्विग्, उद्विगवान् ॥ The त् is changed to न because of the indicative ओ (VIII. 2. 45). So also वीषी (IV. 42), वीषन्, वीषवान् ॥ In the Dhâtupâṭha, डीह् (IV. 27), is classed among ओविन् roots, and it indicates that the Nishthâ is anit after it: and ओ is for न-change (VIII. 2. 45) as, उड्डीनः उड्डीनवान् ॥ The word निष्ठायाम् governs the following sūtras upto VII. 2. 35.

यस्य विभाषा ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्य धातोर्विभाषा क्वचिदिदुक्तस्तस्य निष्ठायां परत इडागमो न भवति ॥

15. The Participial-affixes do not take इद्, after those roots, to which another suffix can optionally be added, with or without this augment इ ॥

That is, a root which is optionally Set before other affixes, is invariably anit before Nishthâ. Thus by VII. 2. 44, वल् consonant beginning affixes are optionally सेद् after the roots धू &c. The Nishthâ after धू &c, will be invariably anit. Thus विधूतः, विधूतवान्; गूढः, गूढवान् ॥ By VII. 2. 56, the roots having an indicative उ, optionally are followed by Set क्ता ॥ The Nishthâ after उविन् roots will invariably be anit: as वृद्धः, वृद्धवान् ॥

By the vārtika तानि पदि वारिद्राणामुपसख्यानम् the roots तन्, पत् and वारिद्रा take optional इद् in the Desiderative (VII. 2. 49). Though पत् is a root which thus *optionally* takes इद् in the Desiderative, yet its Nishthā is always सेद्, for Pāṇini himself has employed the word पतित् in Sūtra II. 1. 24, 38. According to Padamanjari this rule of यस्य विभाषा is anitya and not of universal application. Because had this rule been of universal application then the root कृत् which is *optionally* aniṭ by VII. 2. 57, would be *universally* aniṭ by the present sūtra : and there would be no necessity of reading it with a long ई in the Dhātupāṭha, as कृती छेदने (VI. 141) to make its nishthā aniṭ under VII. 2. 14.

आदितश्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदितः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदितश्च धातोर्मिष्टायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

16. The Participial-affixes do not get इद् augment after a root which has an indicatory आ ॥

As अमिष्टा — मित्रः, मित्रवान् ; अमिष्टा — श्विष्णः, श्विष्णवान् ; अमिष्टा — स्विन्नः, स्विन्नवान् ॥ The च implies that other roots not enumerated are to be also included, as आश्वस्तः, वान्तः ॥

This and the sūtra following it could have been made into one, as आदितश्च विभाषा भावादिकर्मणोः ॥ The separate making of two sūtras indicates that the rule of यस्य विभाषा (VII. 2. 15), applies with the restrictions and limitations of the rule ordaining 'option', i. e., the prohibition of इद् augment, with regard to the participial-affixes is limited by the same conditions, which apply to the optional employment of इद् before other affixes in the विभाषा rules (यदुपाधेर्विभाषा, तदुपाधेः प्रतिषेधः) ॥ Thus VII. 2. 68 ordains इद् optionally to the affix वसु after the roots गम्, हन्, विद् and विष् ॥ The root विद् there is the Tudādi root meaning 'to acquire'. The rule यस्य विभाषा will apply to this विद् with this meaning : and not to विद् meaning 'to know', the Past Participles of which are विदितः, विदितवान् ॥

विभाषा भावादिकर्मणोः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, भाव, आदिकर्मणोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे आदिकर्मणि च आदितो धातोर्विभाषा निष्ठायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

17. The participial affixes after roots having an indicatory आ, may optionally take the augment इद्, when the affixes have an Impersonal sense, or denote the beginning of an action.

Thus मित्रमनेन or मेदितमनेन, प्रमित्रः, प्रमेदितः ॥ The Saunāgas optionally make the Nishthā सेद् after the root शक्, when the affix has a Passive significance even, as शक्तितो घटः कर्तुम् or शक्तो घटः कर्तुम् ॥ Not so, when the affix has Impersonal force, as शक्तमनेन ॥ The root अस् 'to throw' (अस्यति), is followed by सेद् Nishthā, when the sense is Impersonal : as अस्तितमनेन ; but not when the beginning of action is meant, as अस्तः काण्डः ॥

धुब्धस्वान्तध्वान्तलप्रम्लिष्टविरिब्धफण्टवाढानि मन्थमनस्तमः सक्ताविस्पष्टस्वरा-

नायासभृशेषु ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुब्ध, स्वान्त, ध्वान्त लग्न, स्मिष्ट, विरिब्ध, फाण्ट, वाढानि, मन्थ, मनः, तमः, सक्त, अविस्पष्ट, स्वर, अनायास, भृशेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुब्ध स्वान्त ध्वान्त लग्न स्मिष्ट विरिब्ध फाण्ट बाढ इत्येते निपात्यन्ते यथासंख्यं मन्थ मनस्तमः सक्ताविस्पष्ट स्वरानायासभृश इत्येतेष्वर्थेषु ॥

18. The following words are made without इद् augment in the senses given against them :—

1. क्षुब्धः 'a churning stick', 2. स्वान्तः 'the mind', 3. ध्वान्तः 'darkness', 4. लग्नः 'attached', 5. स्मिष्टः 'indistinct or unintelligible', 6. विरिब्धः 'a note or tone', 7. फाण्टः 'made without an effort or by an easy process', and 8. बाढः 'excessive'.

When the words have not the above sense, we have 1. क्षुभितं 'disturbed or agitated'. The phrase क्षुब्धो गिरिः or नदी is a metaphorical use of the word. 2. स्वनितः as स्वनितो घृङ्गः, स्वनितं मनसा ॥ 3. ध्वनितो घृङ्गः or ध्वनितं मनसा ॥ 4. लगितं, 5. स्नेच्छितं, (= अपभाषितं) 6. विरेभितं from रेभृ 'to sound', or विरिभितं from रिभि ॥ 7. फाणितं ॥ फाण्ट is a decoction, prepared without much trouble, by simply slightly heating the substance with some water, without powdering or pasting it. (यद्वृत्तमपि च कषायदुदकसंपर्कमात्राद् विभक्तस्त्रीषडुष्णां) a medicine for any disease may be administered in five forms :—रसः or essence, कल्कः paste or powder, शृतः decoction or extract, शीतः cold extract prepared by throwing pounded drugs into cold water, and keeping that all night to soak. This watery extract, to be drunk in the morning, is so called. फाण्ट is a similar hot preparation, but for immediate use, when the drugs are put in boiling water and the decoction after purification is ready for use as a drink. 8. बाहितं from बाहृ 'to strive'.

धृषिशसी वैयात्ये ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ धृषि, शसी, वैयात्ये, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वियातस्य भावो वैयात्यम् प्रागल्भ्यमविनीतता ॥ तत्र धृष् शस् इत्येतयोर्मिष्टायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

19. The Participial affix does not get इद् augment, after the roots धृष् and शस्, when meaning 'bold, impudent and arrogant'.

As धृष्टः, विशस्तः ॥ The root धृष् is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha as मिधृषा 'to be impudent' (V. 2 2), and as it has an indicatory आ, its past participle would be अनिद् by VII. 2. 16. शस् is शसु in the Dhātupāṭha (I. 763), and as it has an indicatory उ by VII. 2. 56. read with VII. 2. 15, its Nishṭhā is also Anit. The special mention of these roots here, is for the sake of making a niyama rule: namely, अनिद् only then when meaning 'impudent', and सेद् in other senses: as धर्षितः, विशासितः "धृष् never forms past participle with the force of भाव (Impersonal action) or आदिकर्म (beginning of action), and therefore VII. 2. 17 cannot apply to it"—This is Kāśikā. According to Bhattoji Dikshit who

quotes Haradatta and Mādhava, धृष्ट forms participles in those senses, when option is allowed, as, धृष्टं or धर्षितं, प्रधृष्टः or प्रधर्षितः not meaning 'impudent'.

दृढः स्थूलबलयोः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ दृढः, स्थूल, बलयोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृढ इति निपात्यते स्थूले बलवति चार्थे ॥

20. The irregularly formed Past Participle दृढ means 'stout' and 'strong'.

It is derived from दृह् with क्त affix. In other senses, the forms are दृहितम् or दृहितम् ॥ There are two roots one दृह् (I. 769) without nasal, and the other दृह् (I. 770) with the nasal. दृढ can be derived from any one of these by eliding ह्, and the nasal, and changing त् to ढ, and not adding the augment इद् ॥

The difference between स्थूल and बल is that a man may be stout or स्थूल without being strong (बलवान्) and *vice versa*. The word बल in the sūtra is equal to बलवत्; in fact, the word बल is formed by अच् affix. The irregularity in the formation of दृढ consists in the absence of इद् and the elision of ह् (and of न्, if the root दृह् be taken) : and the change of त् into ढ ॥ This irregular elision of ह् is for the sake of preventing the application of the rule पूर्वचासिद्धम् (VIII. 2. 1). The form could have been obtained in the regular way by the elision of ढ, thus: दृह् + त् = दृह् + त् (VIII. 2. 31) = दृह् + ध = दृह् + ढ = दृ + ढ (VIII. 3. 13) = दृढ ॥ But then when ढ is elided, the rule पूर्वचासिद्धम् will apply, and the forms द्रढिमा, द्रढीयान्, द्रढयति could not be obtained. For ऋ is changed to र by VI. 4. 161 only when it is *laghu* or light, but ढ-lopa being considered asiddha, the ऋ would be heavy as standing before a conjunct consonant. So also the form परिदृढ्यागतः could not be obtained: for the णि would not be changed to अच् before ल्यप् when the ऋ is not light or *laghu* (VI. 4. 56). So also, परिदृढस्यापत्ये = परिदृढी (the daughter of Paridṛḍha) could not be formed. For ऋ being considered *guru* or heavy, the affix अच् would have come in the feminine (IV. 1. 78).

प्रभौ परिवृढः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रभौ, परिवृढः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिवृढ इति निपात्यते प्रभुभेदवति ॥

21. The irregularly formed परिवृढ means 'Lord'.

This is formed, like दृढ, from वृह् or वृह् ॥ When not having the sense of 'Lord', we have परिवृहितम् and परिवृहितम् ॥

The ह् is elided first as an anomaly. By so doing we can get the forms like परिवृढयति, परिवृढय्यगतः; परिवृढीकन्या ॥ The form परिवृढय्य is formed by ल्यप् instead of क्त्वा ॥ Though the full noun is परिवृढ and णिच् is added to such a noun, yet for the purposes of क्त्वा it is considered as a compound verb, having परि as upasarga. In fact, णिच् is added to वृढ, and the root becomes व्रढि, and then क्त्वा is added to this root, and then there is compounding of परि with this word ending in क्त्वा, and then by the regular process the क्त्वा is replaced by ल्यप् ॥ The general rule is that Derivative roots formed from nouns, like परिवृढ, उत्तमन्स्, सुमन्स् &c which have an upasarga as one of their formative elements,

are treated as if they were compound verbs having those upasargas. The result of this is, that though the full noun is **सुमनस्**, yet in the derivative verb, **सु** will be treated as an upasarga, as in ordinary compound verbs. Thus the augment **अ** in the Imperfect is added after **सु** and not before it, as **स्वमनायत, उद-मनायत ॥** The rule is **उपसर्गसमानाकारं पूर्वपदं धातुसंज्ञाप्रयोजके प्रत्यये चिकीर्षिते पृथक् क्रियते ॥** The Participial form of these words is therefore with **ल्यप्** and not **क्ता**, as **सुमनाय्य** and **उदमनाय्य ॥** The only exception to this rule is the noun **संधाम**, in which the upasarga **सम्** is not considered as a separate member in the Derivative verb. This being the general rule, in **परित्रयति** the portion **परि** is treated as an upasarga, and **त्रयति** as the verb and its accent is governed by **तिङ्ङ तिङ्** (VIII. 1. 28) i. e. it becomes altogether unaccented and **परि** retains its accent. So also **परित्रय्य**, where is **परि** is compounded with the Participial form **त्रयित्वा**, and then **त्वा** is changed to **ल्यप्** by VII. 1. 37.

कृच्छ्रगहनयोः कषः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृच्छ्र, गहनयोः, कषः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृच्छ्र गहन इत्येतयोरर्थयोः कषेर्ज्ञातोर्निष्ठायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

22. The Participial affix does not take the augment **इद्** after the root **कष**, when the participle means 'difficult' and 'impenetrable'.

As **कठोऽग्निः, कष्टं व्याकरणं, ततोऽपि कष्टतराणिसामानि ॥** "Difficult is Fire-sacrifice i. e. it is difficult to completely master the ritual connected with the worship of fire; and difficult enough is Grammar, but the Sāmāns are worst of all". **कष्टानि वनानि** 'impervious forests.' **कष्टाः पर्वताः ॥** When not having these senses, we have कषितं सुवर्णम् ॥

धुषिरविशब्दने ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ धुषिः, अविशब्दने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धुषेर्ज्ञातोर्विशब्दनेर्निष्ठायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

23. The Participial affix does not take the augment **इद्**, after the root **धुष** in any sense other than that of 'proclaimed'.

As **धुष्टा रज्जुः, धुष्टो पादौ** but **भवधुषितं वाक्यमाह ॥** **विशब्दने** = प्रतिज्ञानम् 'assertion, affirmation, agreement'. **धुषिर् अविशब्दने** is **Bhvādi** (I. 683), and **धुषिर् विशब्दने** is **Churādi** (X. 187), both of these are referred to in the sūtra. The prohibition of **विशब्दने** in the sūtra, indicates by **jñāpaka** that the **णिच्** added to the root in the **Churādi** class in the sense of **विशब्दने** is anitya. So the following construction becomes valid:—as **महीपालवचः श्रुत्वा जुहुवुः पुष्पमाणवाः** "expressed their opinions in words".

In short the **णिच्** is optionally added to the **धुषिर्** of the **Churādi** class.

Some say the **Churādi णिच्** is anitya generally and not only after **धुषिर्** (**अनित्यं प्यन्ताश्चुरादयः**) ॥ This is inferred from the mention of the root **चित्ति** **स्मृत्याम्** (X. 2) in this class. The indicator **इ** in **चित्ति** shows that the augment

वृत् will be added to the root, which will thus become चिन्त and this न will be retained throughout and never dropped. (VII. 1. 48). Now had the णिच् been nitya, then the root ought to have been taught as चिन्त स्मृत्यान्, because no rule would have caused the elision of the न् of चिन्त when णिच् was added. The enunciation of the root as चिन्ति, therefore, indicates that the churādi णिच् is anitya, and thus we get the forms like चिन्तितः, चिन्त्यान्, चिन्त्यते, चिन्तति, चिन्तेन् &c.

अर्द्धः सन्निविध्यः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्द्धः, सन्, नि, विध्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सं नि वि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्यार्द्धेर्निष्ठायाभिङागमो न भवति ॥

24. The Participial affix does not take the इद्, after the root अर्द्ध when it is preceded by सं, नि or वि ॥

As समर्णः, 'plagued' न्यर्णः, व्यर्णः ॥ Why 'of अर्द्ध'? Observe सनेधितः ॥ Why 'सम्, नि or वि'? Observe अर्द्धितः ॥

अभेष्टाविदूर्ये ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभेः, च, आविदूर्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिशब्दादुत्तरस्यार्द्धेर्णविदूर्ये निष्ठायाभिङागमो न भवति ॥

25. The Participial affix does not take the इद्, after अर्द्ध preceded by अभि, when the meaning is that of 'near'.

As अभ्यर्णा सेना, अभ्यर्णा शरन् ॥ Why 'when meaning near'? See अर्द्धार्द्धितो वृषलः क्षतिनेन meaning पीडितः ॥ विदूरं means 'remote,' that which is not remote is आविदूर्ये 'non-remote,' the state of being non-remote is आविदूर्यम् 'non-remote-ness.' The affix यक् is added irregularly, in spite of the prohibition contained in V. 1. 121.

गेरध्ययने वृत्तम् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गेः, अध्ययने, वृत्तम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्यन्तस्य वृत्तेर्निष्ठायामध्ययनार्थे वृत्तमितीडभावात् णिलुक् च निपात्यते ॥

26. The word वृत्त is formed from the causative of वृत्, in the sense of 'studied through or read.'

There is absence of इद् and luk-elision of the causative sign. As वृत्तो गुणो देवदत्तेन 'Devadatta has read or gone through Guṇa.' (गुणः पाठः पदभ्रमस्तद्विज्ञातः रूपोऽध्ययनविशेषः) ॥ वृत्तं पारायणं देवदत्तेन ॥ When the sense is not that of 'read', we have वृत्तितम् ॥ The root वृत् is intransitive, and becomes Transitive when employed in the Causative. The participle is formed from this Transitive causative verb, otherwise it could not have governed an object as shown above. "The affix क्त is added with a Passive force to वृत्, as we find the author himself using this form in निर्वृत्तम् in sūtras IV. 2. 68, and V. 1. 79; on the analogy of निर्वृत्त the word वृत्तः could also have been formed without this sūtra."

वा दान्तशान्तपूर्णदस्तस्पष्टच्छन्नज्ञप्ताः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, दान्त, शान्त, पूर्ण, दस्त, स्पष्ट, छन्न, ज्ञप्ताः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गेरित्यनुवर्तते। इम् शम् पूरी इस् स्पष्ट छद् जप् इत्येतेषां प्यन्तानां धातूनां वा अनिदित्वं निपात्यते ॥

27. The following irregularly formed Participles, from the causative roots, may optionally take इद्, namely, दान्त, शान्त, पूर्ण, दस्त, स्पष्ट, छन्न, क्षत्त ॥

These words are formed either from the causative base or from the primary roots दम् &c. The other forms are दमितः, दमितः, पूरितः, दासितः, स्थापितः, छादितः and क्षपितः ॥ The words दान्त &c. are formed by the luk-elision of णि (Causative), and not taking the इद् Augment. By VII. 2. 49 कृप् optionally is सेद् and, therefore, by VII. 2. 15, its Participle would have been *always* अनिद्, hence, this sūtra makes an option.

रुध्यमत्वरसंघुषास्वनाम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुषि, अम, त्वर, संघुष, आस्वनाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वेति वर्त्तते । रुषि अम त्वर संघुष आस्वन इत्येतेषां निष्ठायां वा इडागमो न भवति ॥

28. The Participial affix may optionally get इद् augment, after रुष्, अम, त्वर, संघुष, and आस्वन् ॥

As रुह् or रुषितः ॥ By VII. 2. 48, the affixes after रुष् are *optionally* सेद्, and therefore by VII. 2. 15, the Nishṭhā after this verb would have been *always* अनि; hence this optional rule. अभ्यान्तः or अभ्यामितः; कृणः or क्वरितः ॥ The क्वरि is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha as क्वरि (I. 812) i. e. with an indicatory long आ, and hence by VII. 2. 16, would have been अनि always, this rule makes it *optionally* अनि. So also, संघुष्टौ पादौ, or संघुषितौ पादौ, संघुष्टे or संघुषिते वाक्यमाह, संघुष्टौ or संघुषितौ वृत्त्यौ ॥ घुष preceded by सम् will be *optionally* अनि, even when having any sense other than that of 'proclaimed', as this *subsequent* sūtra supersedes VII. 2. 23 so far. So also आस्वान्तः or आस्वानितौ देवदत्तः, आस्वान्तम् or आस्वानितं मनः ॥ स्तन् when preceded by आ, though denoting 'mind,' is *optionally* अनि, in spite of VII. 2. 18, that rule being superseded so far by this *subsequent* rule.

हृषेलोमसु ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हृषेः, लोमसु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोमसु वर्त्तमानस्य हृषेर्निष्ठायां वा इडागमो न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विस्मितमतिघातयोश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

29. The Participial affix optionally takes इद्, after हृष् when the word लोमन् or its synonym is in construction with it.

As हृष्टानि लोमानि or हृषितानि लोमानि; हृष्टाः केशाः or हृषिताः केशाः; हृष्टं or हृषितं लोमभिः or केशैः ॥ हृष्टु 'to lie' (I. 741) is exhibited with an indicatory उ in the Dhātupāṭha, and would have been consequently *always* अनि, in the Nishṭhā (VII. 2. 15) because it was *optionally* अनि before क्त्वा (VII. 2. 56) hence this rule. हृष्टु 'to be delighted' (IV. 119) is also included here, this verb is सेद् ॥ The option appertains to both these verbs. The word लोम means the hair of the body as well as of the head: as in the sentence लोमनखं स्पृष्ट्वा शौचं कर्तव्यम् ॥ The sense of हृष् in connection with लोम will be that of bristling up, horipillation. Why do

we say "in connection with लोम?" Observe हृद्यो (bhuadi) देवदत्तः 'the deceived Deva Datta' and हृषितो (Divādi) देवदत्तः 'the delighted Devadatta.

Vart.—The option is allowed also in the senses of 'astonished' and 'beaten back', as हृद्यो or हृषितो देवदत्तः 'the astonished D'. हृद्यः or हृषिता दन्ताः 'the bent or destroyed teeth'.

अपचितश्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपचितः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपचित इति वा निपात्यते । अपपूर्वस्य चायतेर्निष्ठायां निदत्त्वं चिभावश्च निपात्यते ।
सात्तिकम् ॥ क्तिनि नित्यमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

30. And अपचित has also a second form with the augment इ ॥

The word अपचित is formed with the preposition अप added to the root चाय् (I. 929) 'to honor, to fear, to see' and चाय् changed irregularly to चि before क्त ॥ The other form is अपचायितः, as अपचितो or अपचायितो ज्ञेनयुः 'the teacher is feared by him'. This example is given when the sense is that of 'fear'; when the word means 'honor', then the participle must govern the genitive case, as required by III. 2. 188.

Vart.—Before क्तिन् affix, चाय् is always changed to चि, as अपचितिः 'Loss, destruction, showing reverence'. The affix क्तिन् is added to चाय्, by considering it as belonging to the class of आप् &c. See III. 3. 94 *Vart.* Otherwise it would take the affix अ by III. 3. 103.

हु ह्वरेच्छन्दसि ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हु ह्वरेः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्वरेच्छन्दसि इति निपात्यते छन्दसि हु इत्ययमादेशो भवति ।

31. हु is substituted for ह्वर (I. 978) in the Veda, before the Participial-affix.

As हुतस्य चाहुतस्य च, अहुतमसि हविर्धानम् (Vaj San. I. 9). But हुतम् in secular literature.

अपरिहृताश्च ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरिहृताः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरिहृता इति निपात्यते छन्दसि विषये । हु इत्येतस्यादेशस्याभावो निपात्यते ।

32. The word 'aparihvrītâ' is irregularly formed in the Veda.

The हु substitution required by the last sūtra, does not take place here. As अपरिहृताः सनुयाम वाजम् (Rig I. 100. 19).

सोमे ह्वरितः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमे, ह्वरितः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्वरित इति ह्वरेर्निष्ठायां निडागमो गुणश्च निपात्यते छन्दसि विषये, सोमश्च ह्वरति ।

33. ह्वरित is irregularly formed from हु in the Veda, by गुण substitution and इद् augment, when it refers to Soma.

As मा नः सोमो ह्वरितो, विह्वरितस्त्वम् ॥

35. An ârdhadhâtuka affix (III. 4. 114 &c) beginning with a consonant (except य), gets the augment इद् (in these rules).

Thus लविता, लवितुम्, लवितव्यम्, पविता, पवितुम्, पवितव्यम् ॥ Why 'ârdhadhâtuka'? Observe आस्ते, वस्ते ॥ The niyama rule of VII. 2. 76 ordaining इद् augment to sârvadhâtuka affixes of Rudâdi verbs, would prevent इद् augment before sârvadhâtuka affixes when coming after other roots. The employment of ârdhadhâtuka here can be dispensed with. Why before affixes beginning with a वल्-consonant? Observe लव्यम्, पव्यम्, लवनीयम्, पवनीयम् ॥ Though the anuvritti of इद् was understood here, its repetition is for the sake of preventing the prohibition of the foregoing sûtras like VII. 2. 8.

स्तुक्रमोरनात्मनेपदनिमित्ते ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तु, क्रमोः, अनात्मनेपदनिमित्ते ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ नियमार्थमिदम् । स्तुक्रमोराद्धातुकस्य वलदेरिडागमो भवति, न चेत्स्तुक्रमौ आत्मनेपदस्य निमित्तं भवतः ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्रमस्तु कर्त्तर्यात्मनेपदविषयादसत्यात्मनेपदे कृति प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

36. The augment इद् is added to ârdhadhâtuka valâdi affixes after स्तु and क्रम्, only then when they do not occasion the taking of the Personal endings of the Atmanepada.

The roots स्तु and क्रम् are udâtta, and will get इद् augment naturally, the sûtra makes a restriction or niyama. The restriction is that when the roots themselves occasion atmanepada affixes, then they do not take इद्, otherwise they will.

When do roots give occasion to Atmanepada affixes? The roots occasion atmanepada affixes when employed in the Impersonal, Passive, and Intensive senses. Sûtras I. 3. 38-43, teach us when क्रम् takes Âtmanepada affixes. Thus प्रस्नाविता, प्रस्नावितुम्, प्रस्नावितव्यम्, प्रक्रमिता, प्रक्रमितुम्, प्रक्रमितव्यम् ॥ Why do we say 'when not the occasion of getting the Atmanepada affixes'? Observe, प्रस्नोषीष्ट, प्रक्रंसीष्ट, प्रस्नोष्यते, प्रक्रंस्यते, प्रस्तुषिष्यते, प्रचिक्रंसिष्यते ॥ In all these examples स्तु and क्रम् have become the causes of taking the Atmanepada affixes. The Desiderative is also Atmanepadi because of I. 3. 62.

Why have we used the word निमित्त in the sûtra? Would it not have been simpler to say स्तुक्रमोरनात्मनेपदे? This form of sûtra would have indicated that whenever an âtmanepada affix followed, then there would be no इद् augment. Now the rule is that all words exhibited in the Locative case in this Grammar, have the force of परत्तमी, i. e. when that word follows. Therefore आत्मनेपद would mean when an âtmanependa affix followed. If then this "âtmanepada" be taken as qualifying स्तु and क्रम्, then it must follow immediately after those roots, as in प्रस्नोषीष्ट and प्रक्रंसीष्ट; but we would not get the forms प्रस्नोष्यते and प्रक्रंस्यते, because स्य intervenes between the atmanepada and the

affix. On the other hand if "atmanepada" be taken to qualify the word "ârdha-dhâtuka affix" understood, viz, if the sūtra ment स्तुक्रमिभ्यां परस्यार्धधातुकस्यात्मनेपदे-
ऽनन्तरं then the forms प्रस्तोष्यते and प्रकृत्यते would be valid, but we should not get the forms प्रस्तोषीष्ट and प्रकृसीष्ट, because the augment सीयुद् is a portion of the âtmanepada affix, and there is no ârdhdhâtuka affix here. If the sūtra be taken to have both the above senses, then we could not get the form प्रचिक्रंसिष्यते in the Desiderative, because here the âtmanepada does not follow immediately after the sârvadhâtuka affix that follows कम् ॥ Therefore, the word निमित्त should be taken. For by so doing, there takes place prohibition with regard to सीयुद् &c, and also with regard to that after which comes the âtmanepada, as the स्य in प्राचक्रंसिष्यते, and also with regard to that which precedes the latter, as the सन् affix in the above. In प्रस्नविचीयते (प्रस्नवितेवाचरात), the root स्तु has not occasioned the âtmanepada affix, but the affix क्यङ्, hence the prohibition of this sūtra does not apply.

Vart:—Prohibition of इद् augment should be stated with regard to कम् when an Kṛit-affix, with active force, follows not in the âtmanepada, though in the Active voice such कम् was subject of Atmanepada. When कम् takes no upasargas, we have according to one view two forms कन्ता and क्रमिता (I. 3. 43) because the âtmanepada here is optional. According to the other view there will be only one form, as क्रामता ॥ But with प्र and उप् we have प्रकन्ता and उपकन्ता ॥ Why do we say 'the Kṛit-affix should have an active force'? Observe प्रक्रमितव्यम्, उपक्रमितव्यम् ॥ Why do we say "when it was subject of Atmanepada"? Observe निष्क्रमिता ॥ Here there is इद् augment; for by I. 3. 42, कम् is subject of atmanepada, when the upasargas प्र and उप precede, but not otherwise.

With regard to स्तु, it will take no इद् in the Desiderative, and before a कित् affix, by virtue of VII. 2. 11 and 12. Therefore, we have the forms प्रस्तुतुषति, प्रस्तुतः, प्रस्तुतवान् ॥

ग्रहो ऽलिदि दीर्घः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रहः, अ लिदि, दीर्घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रह उत्तरस्य इटः अलिदि दीर्घो भवति ।

37. The augment इट added to valâdi ârdhadhâtuka affixes, becomes lengthened, except in the Personal endings of the Perfect, after the root ग्रह ॥

As ग्रहीता, ग्रहीतुष, ग्रहीतव्यम् ॥ Why not in the Perfect? Observe जगृहिम् जगृहिम् ॥ The lengthening takes place of the इट taught in VII. 2. 35, and does not refer to the चिण्वद् इट of VI. 4. 62 : as ग्रहिता, ग्रहितव्यम् ॥

वृत्तो वा ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृत्तः वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृ इति वृङ् वृञोः सामान्येन ग्रहणं तस्मादुत्तरस्य ऋकारान्तेभ्योऽप्येव वा दीर्घा भवति ।

38. The इट् is optionally lengthened after वृङ्, वृञ् and after roots ending in long ऋ, except in the Perfect.

As वरिता । वरीता । प्रावरिता । प्रावरीता ॥ कृकारान्तेभ्यः । तरिता । तरीता । आस्तरिता । आस्तरिता ॥ वृत् इति किम् । करिष्यति हरिष्यति । अलिटीत्यत्र । ववरिष्य । तरिष्य ॥ Why do we say 'after वृ and long कृ ending roots'? Observe करिष्यति and हरिष्यति ॥ Why do we say except in the Perfect? Observe ववरिष्य and तरिष्य ॥

न लिङि ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लिङि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृत् उत्तरस्य इदो लिङि दीर्घो न भवति ।

39. The इद् is not lengthened after the same roots वृ, and कृ ending roots, in the endings of the Benedictive.

As विवरिषीष्ट, प्रावरिषीष्ट, आस्तरिषीष्ट, विस्तरिषीष्ट ॥

सिचि च परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ सिचि, च, परस्मैपदेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्मैपदपरे सिचि वृत् उत्तरस्य इदो दीर्घो न भवति ।

40. The इद् is not lengthened after वृ and कृ ending roots, in the s-Aorist of the Parasmaipada.

As प्रावारिष्टाम्, प्रावारिषुः, अतारिष्टाम्, from नृश्वनतरणयोः ॥ आस्तारिष्टाम्, आस्तारिषुः, from स्तृञ् आच्छादने; but प्रावरिष्ट, प्रावरीष्ट in the Atmanepada.

इद् सनि वा ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इद्, सनि, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृत्तः सनो वा इडागमो भवति ।

41. The Desiderative स्र may optionally take इद् (which is optionally lengthened also) after the said वृ and कृ ending roots.

As वृवृषति । विवरिषते । विवरीषते । प्रावृवृषति । प्राविवरिषति । प्राविवरीषति । कृकारान्तेभ्यः । तितरीषति । तितरिषति । तितरीषति । आतिस्तीरति । This Parasmaipada form is not valid, according to Padamanjari. आतिस्तरिषति । आतिस्तीरति । सनि मह्युद्वेति इद्प्रतिषेधे प्राप्ते पक्षे इडागमो विधीयते । इदञ्च वृत्तो वेति पक्षेदीर्घः । चिकीरति जिहीरति इत्यनोपदेशाधिकारात्ताक्षगिकत्वाच्च इडागमो न भवति ॥

The इद् was prohibited by VII. 2. 12, in case of the Desideratives, hence this sūtra: when इद् is added, it may be lengthened by VII. 2. 38. The augment इद् however is not added in चिकीरति and जिहीरति, as they are formed from कृ 'to do' and वृ 'to lose', which do not take इद् at all. Because here, though the short कृ is lengthened before सम्, by VI. 4. 16, yet such lengthening will not make the roots long कृ ending roots. Because the anuvṛtī of the word upadeśa is understood here from VII. 2. 10, so that the rule applies to those roots only which in 'upadeśa' or Dhātupāṭha end in long कृ and not those whose कृ is lengthened by some Grammatical rule. Moreover, the long कृ in कृ and वृ is temporary only, as it is replaced by long ई ॥ (See VI. 4. 16, for lengthening). The Desiderative of कृ—चिकीरति, however, does not lengthen its vowel (VII. 2. 75).

लिङ्सिचोरात्मनेपदेषु ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, सिचोः, आत्मनेपदेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङि सिचि च आत्मनेपदे परे वा इडागमो भवति ।

42. The इद् is optionally added to the endings of the Atmanepada Benedictive and s-Aorist, after the वृ and ऋ ending roots.

As वृषीट् or वरिषीट्, प्रावृषीट् (I. 2. 12 no guṇa) प्रावरिषीट्, आस्तरिषीट्, आस्तीरिषीट् ॥ सिचिखल्वपि, अवृत, अवरिट्, अवरीट्, प्रावृत, प्रावरिट्, प्रावरीट्, आस्तीर्, आस्तरिट्, आस्तीरिट् ॥ आत्मनेपदेऽस्ति किम्, ? प्रावारिडाम्, प्रावारिषुः ॥ लिङः प्रत्युदाहरणं न दर्शितमसंभवादिषुऽवलादिस्त्वादि ॥

Why in the Atmanepada? Observe प्रावारिडाम्, प्रावारिषुः ॥ No counter-examples of Benedictive Parasmaipadi are given, as the affixes not being वलादि, the इद् can never be added to them.

ऋतश्च संयोगादेः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, च, संयोगादेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋदन्ताद्भातोः संयोगादेरुत्तरयोर्लिङ्सिचोरात्मनेपदेषु वा इडागमो भवति ।

43. The इद् is optionally added to the endings of the Atmanepada Benedictive and S-Aorist, after a root, which ends in short ऋ, which is preceded by a conjunct consonant.

As ध्वृषीट् or ध्वरिषीट् ; स्तृषीट्, or स्सरिषीट् ; अध्वृषाताम्, or अध्वरिषाताम् ; अस्तृषाताम्, or अस्सरिषाताम् ॥ ऋत इति किम् । ञ्योषीट्, श्लोषीट् ; अच्योष्ट, अश्लोष्ट ॥ संयोगादेरिति किम् । कृषीट्, हृषीट् ; अकृत, अहत ॥ आत्मनेपदेऽप्येव । अध्वार्षीत्, अस्सार्षीत् ॥ संस्कृषीट् समस्कृतेत्यत्रोपदेशाधिकारादभक्त-त्वाच्च सुट् इडागमो न भवति ॥

Why ending in short ऋ ? Observe ञ्योषीट्, अच्योष्ट, श्लोषीट् and अश्लोष्ट ॥ Why 'beginning with a conjunct consonant' ? Observe कृषीट्, हृषीट्, अकृत and अहत ॥ Why 'in the Atmanepada' ? Observe अध्वार्षीत्, अस्सार्षीत् ॥ In संस्कृषीट् and समस्कृत there is not इद्, first because स्कृ (the form assumed by कृ with सुट् augment) is not so enunciated in the Dhātupāṭha ; the word upadeśa VII. 2. 10, is understood here ; so that the rule applies to those roots only which in the Dhātupāṭha are ऋ ending and preceded by conjunct consonant ; and secondly' सुट् augment is considered as not attached to the root (VI. 1. 135), and therefore स्कृ is not considered a root beginning with a conjunct consonant.

स्वरतिसूतिसूयतिधूञ् इति वा ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरति, सूति, सूयति, धूञ्, ऊदितः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरति सूति सूयति धूञ् इत्येतेभ्य ऊदिद्भ्यश्चोत्तरस्य वलादेरार्द्धधातुकस्य वा इडागमो भवति ।

44. A Valādi-ārdhadhātuka affix optionally takes इद्, after svṛi, after the two roots सू (sūti and sūyati), after धूञ्, and after a root which has an indicative long ऊ ॥

As स्वरति or स्वर्त्ता ॥ प्रसोता, प्रसदिता ॥ सूयति, सोता, सविता ॥ धूञ्, धोता, धविता ॥ ऊदिङ्गः खल्वपि । गाहू, विगाडा, विगाहिता ; युपू, गोप्ता, गोपिता ॥ वेति वर्त्तमाने पुनर्वर्धनं लिङ्सिचोर्निवृत्त्यर्थम् । सूतिसूययोर्विकरणनिर्देशः धू प्रेरणइत्यस्य निवृत्त्यर्थः । धूञिति सानुबन्धकस्य निर्देशो धू

विधूनेन इत्यस्य निवृत्त्यर्थः । सविता धवितेत्येव नित्यमेतयोर्भवति । स्वरतेरेतस्मादिकल्पाद्भ्रानोः स्य इत्येतद्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन । स्वरिष्यति । किति तु प्रत्यये श्रुषकः किति इति नित्यः प्रतिषेधो भवति पूर्वप्रतिषेधेन ॥ स्तृत्वा, सूत्वा, धूत्वा ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of वा was current, the second employment of वा is to stop the anuvṛitti of the Benedictive and the S-Aorist. The roots सू of Adâdi (21) and Divâdi (24) are to be taken, as the special forms सूति and सूयति indicate, and not the सू of the Tudâdi (115) class. The धू is exhibited with the anubandha ऋ, in order to exclude धू विधूने of Tudâdi (105). In the case of these latter the इद् augment is invariable, as सविता and धविता ॥ The root स्तृ takes invariably इद् in the Future, by virtue of the subsequent superseding rule VII. 2. 70, as स्वरिष्यति ॥ And before कित् affixes, the prior rule VII. 2. 11, invariably debars इद्, as स्तृत्वा, सूत्वा, धूत्वा ॥

रधादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ रध-आदिभ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रध हितासंसिद्धारित्येवमादिभ्यो ऽद्याभ्य उत्तरस्य बलादेरार्द्धधातुकस्य वा इडागमो भवति ॥

45. A valâdi-ârdhadhâtuka affix optionally takes इद् after रध् and the seven roots that follow it (Divâdi. 84 to 91).

As रधिता or रद्धा ; नंदा, (VII. 1. 60 नुम्) नक्षिता ; चप्ता, (VI. 1. 59 अम्) तर्प्ता, तर्पिता ; द्रप्ता, दर्प्ता, दर्पिता ; द्रोग्धा, द्रोढा, (VIII. 2. 33) द्रोहिता ; माग्धा, मोढा, मोहिता ; झोढा, झोहिता, झोग्धा, झेढा, झेहिता ॥

Some hold that the रधादि roots *optionally* take इद् in the Perfect Tense also, because the present sūtra being subsequent to VII. 2. 13, debars that sūtra so far. Others hold that the रधादि roots will *always* take इद् in the Perfect, because the former rule VII. 2. 13 is stronger than the present, in as much as that is a prohibitory rule. So they form रन्धिव and रन्धिम् ॥

निरः कुषः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निरः, कुषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर इत्येवंपूर्वात् कुष उत्तरस्य बलादेरार्द्धधातुकस्य वा इडागमो भवति ।

46. A valâdi-ârdhadhâtuka affix gets optionally the augment इद्, after कुष् when it is preceded by निर ॥

As निष्कोष्टा or निष्कोषिता, निष्कोष्टुम् or निष्कोषितुम्, निष्कोष्टव्यम् or निष्कोषितव्यम् ॥ But only कोषिता, कोषितुं, कोषितव्यम् without निर ॥ The exhibition of निर instead of निस् indicates the existence of a separate and distinct preposition निर, besides निस् ॥ It is the र् of this निर which is changed to ह् by VIII. 2. 19, in निलयनम् ; for the र् of निस् being asidha could not be changed to ह् ॥

इणिष्टायाम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इद्, निष्टायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निरः कुषो निष्टायामिडागमो भवति ।

47. The augment इद् is added to the Participial affixes त and तवत्, after कुष् preceded by निर ॥

As निष्कुषितवान्, निष्कुषितः ॥ The special mention of इद् in the sūtra is for the sake of making its addition invariable, otherwise it would have been

optional, or debarred by VII. 2. 15. In the subsequent sūtra, the addition becomes again optional.

तौषसहलुभरुपरिषः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, इष्, सह, लुभ, रुष, रिषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तकारादावाङ्मधातुके इषु सह लुभ रुष रिष् इत्येतेभ्यो वा इडागमो भवति ।

48. An ârdhadhâtuka affix beginning with a त may optionally take the इद्, after the roots इष्, सह, लुभ, रुष् and रिष् ॥

As एष्टा or एषिता ॥ The इष् 'to wish' (VI. 59) is taken here, and not the इष् (IV. 19. IX. 53) of the Divâdi and Kryâdi class. Of the Divâdi इष् 'to send, to go' we have invariably प्रेषिता, प्रेषितुं, प्रेषितव्यं; and the इष् 'to repeat' of the Kryâdi is governed also by this rule and has the same forms. Therefore some read the anuvṛitti of उदित् into this sūtra. सह। सोढा। सहिता। लुभ। लोभित। लोब्धा। रुष। रोष्टा। रोषिता। रिष्। रोष्टा। रोषिता ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with a त'? Observe एषिष्यति ॥

सनीवन्तर्द्धभ्रस्जदम्भुश्रिस्व्यूणुं भरज्ञापिसनाम् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, इवन्त, ऋध, भ्रस्ज, दम्भ, श्रि, स्व, यु, ऊर्णु, भर, ज्ञापि, सनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इवान्तानाम् धातूनाम् । ऋधु भ्रस्ज दम्भु श्रि स्व यु ऊर्णु भर ज्ञापि सन् इत्येतेषां च सनि वा इडागमो भवति ।

49. The desiderative स् may optionally take इद्, after a root ending in इष्, and after ऋधु, भ्रस्ज, दम्भु, श्रि, स्व, यु, ऊर्णु, भृ, ज्ञप्, and सन् ॥

Thus दिशेविषति or दुष्यति, सिसेविषति, सुस्यति ॥ ऋध्, आर्हिधिषति, ईर्त्सति ॥ भ्रस्ज, विभ्रज्जिषति, (VI. 4. 47) विभ्रक्षति, (VIII. 2. 36 and 41) विभ्रज्जिषति, विभ्रक्षति ॥ दम्भु, दिदम्भिषति, धिप्सति, (VII. 4. 56) धीप्सति, श्रि, उच्छिध्रयिषति, उच्छिध्रयति ॥ स्व, सिस्वारिषति, सुस्वृषति ॥ यु, यियविषति, (VII. 4. 80) युयूषति, ऊर्णु, प्रोर्णुनविषति, प्रोर्णुनयति, प्रोर्णुनूषति, ॥ The root भृष् of the Bhuâdi class is to be taken, as the form भर with णप् in the sūtra indicates. विभरिषति, वुभूर्धति, ॥ ज्ञपि, जिज्ञपयिषति, जीप्सति ॥ सन्, सिसनिषति, सिषासति ॥ केचिद्वभरज्ञापिसनितनिषतिहरिद्राणामिति पठन्ति, ॥ तितनिषति, तितंसति, तितांसति, पिपतिषति, पिप्सति, विहारिषति, दिदरिद्रासति ॥ सनीति किम्, देविता, भ्रष्टा ॥

Some add सन्, पन् and हरिद्रा also, as तितनिषति or तितंसति or तितांसति, (VI. 4. 17) पिपतिषति or पिप्सति (VII. 4. 54, VIII. 2. 29. VII. 4. 58) विहरिद्रिषति or विहरिद्रासति ॥ Why do we say 'Desiderative'? Observe देविता, भ्रष्टा ॥ The form आर्हिधिषति is thus evolved. The Desiderative root is अर्धिस, the ऋ being gunated by VII. 3. 86 before सन् ॥ Now we reduplicate it, and the second syllable धिस् will be reduplicated by VI. 1. 2. and the रेक् is not duplicated by VI. 1. 3: so we get धिस् to reduplicate, and ध is changed to द् ॥ The form ईर्त्सति is thus evolved. By VII. 4. 55, the ऋ is changed to long ई, which is followed by र् by I. 1. 57. Thus we have ईर्त्स as root, and स्त is reduplicated, and the reduplicate is elided (VII. 4. 58). The forms धिप्सति and धीप्सति are similarly formed.

क्लिशः क्लानिष्ठयोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्लिशः, क्ला, निष्ठयोः ॥ ५० ॥

वृत्तिः । क्लिशः क्लानिष्ठयोर्वा इडागमो भवति ।

50. The affixes ktvâ, क and कवतु, may optionally take इद् after क्लिश ॥

As क्लिष्ट्वा or क्लिशित्वा, क्लिष्टः or क्लिशितः, क्लिष्टवान् or क्लिशितवान् ॥ क्लिष्ट् (IX. 50) having an indicatory ऊ would have optionally taken इद् before ktvâ by VII. 2. 44, but then the Nishṭhâ affixes by VII. 2. 15 would never have taken the augment. क्लिष्ट् (Divâdi 52) उपतापे, being anudâtta would *always* have taken इद् before ktvâ and Nishṭhâ. Hence this rule ordains option with regard to ktvâ.

पूङश्च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूङः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूङश्च क्लानिष्ठयोर्वा इडागमो भवति ।

51. The affixes ktvâ, क and कवतु optionally get इद् after पू ॥

As पूत्वा or पवित्वा, सोमोतिपूतः, सोमोतिपवितः पूतवान् or पवितवान् ॥ This allows option where by VII. 2. 11 there would have been prohibition. See I. 2. 22.

वसतिधुधोरिद् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसति, धुधोः, इद् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसतेः धुधेश्च क्लानिष्ठयोरिडागमो भवति ।

52. The affix ktvâ, क्ता and ktavatu always receive the augment इद् after वस् (वसति) and धुध् ॥

As उषित्वा, उषितः and उषितवान्, धुधित्वा, धुधितः, धुधितवान् ॥ The वस् of the Adâdi class will get इद् as it is enumerated in the list of सेद् roots. The repetition of इद् shows that the rule is invariable, the 'optionally' of the preceding sūtra does not affect it.

अञ्चेः पूजायाम् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अञ्चेः, पूजायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्चेः पूजायामर्थे क्लानिष्ठयोरिडागमो भवति ।

53. The affixes ktvâ, क्ता and ktavatu take the augment इद् after the root अञ्च्, when meaning 'to honor or do something to show honor'.

As अञ्चित्वा जानु जुहोति, अञ्चिता अस्य गुरुः (III. 2. 188, VI. 4. 30, II. 3. 67) By VII. 2. 56 मञ्जु would optionally have caused इद् to come before ktvâ, and hence by VII. 2. 15 never before the Nishṭhâ. This sūtra ordains invariable addition of this augment. Why do we say when meaning 'to honor'? Observe उदक्त्पुष्कं कृपात्, 'the water is raised from the well'.

लुभो विमोहने ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुभः, विमोहने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुभो विमोहनेर्थे वर्तमानात् क्लानिष्ठयोरिडागमो भवति ।

54. The affixes ktvâ, क्ता and ktavatu take इद् after the root लुभ् (Tud. 22) when meaning 'entangled or confused'.

As लुभित्वा and लोभित्वा, विलुभिताः केशाः, विलुभितः सीमन्तः, विलुभितानि पदानि ॥ विमोहनं = आकुलीकरणं ॥ By VII. 2. 48 लुभ would have optionally caused इद् to come before ktvâ, and then by VII. 2. 15 the Nishṭhâ would never have been सेद् ॥ Hence this sūtra. Why do we say when meaning 'to entangle'? See लुब्धः वृषलः = शीतेन पीडितः, ॥ लुभ् 'to be greedy' (Div. 128) is not governed by this rule, but by VII. 2. 48. As लुब्ध्वा or लोभित्वा and लुभित्वा (I. 2. 26) ॥

जृब्रश्चोः क्ति ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जृ, ब्रश्चोः, क्ति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जृ ब्रश्चि इत्येतयोः क्ताप्रत्यये इडागमो भवति ।

55. The affix ktvâ takes the augment इद्, after जृ and ब्रश्च् ॥

As जरित्वा or जरीत्वा, (VII. 2. 38) and ब्रश्चित्वा ॥ जृ was prohibited by VII. 2. 11. and ब्रश्च would have been optionally सेद्, as it has an indicatory long ऊ, by VII. 2. 44. Hence this rule. The special mention of ktvâ, stops the anuvṛitti of kta and ktavatu.

उदितो वा ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदितः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदितो धातोः क्ताप्रत्यये परतो वा इडागमो भवति ।

56. The इद् is optionally the augment of ktvâ, after a root which has an indicatory short उ ॥

As उद्यु—शमित्वा or शान्त्वा; तद्यु—तमित्वा or तान्त्वा; दद्यु—दमित्वा or दान्त्वा ॥

से असिचि कृतचृतच्छृदत्तदन्तः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ से, असिचि, कृत, चृत, छृद, तद, न्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारादावसिच्यार्द्धधातुके कृत चृत छृद तद न्त इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो वा इडागमो भवति ।

57. An ârdhadhâtuka affix beginning with a स् (except सिच् the characteristic of the s-Aorist) may optionally take the augment इद्, after the verbs कृत, (Tud 141, Rudh. 11) चृत, (Tud. 35) छृद् (Rudh. 8) तद् (Tud. 9) and न्त (Div. 9).

As कर्त्स्यति, अकर्त्स्यन्, चिकृत्सति कर्त्सिष्यति, अकर्त्सिष्यन् चिकर्त्सिषति । चृत, चर्त्स्यति अचर्त्स्यन्, चिचृत्सति, चाचर्त्स्यन्, अचर्त्सिष्यति, अचर्त्सिषति । छृद्, छर्त्स्यति । अछृत्स्यन्, अचिच्छृत्सति । छर्त्सिष्यति, अछिच्छृत्सति । चिच्छर्त्सिषति । तद्, तर्त्स्यति, अतर्त्स्यन्, तितृत्सति, तर्त्सिष्यति । अतर्त्सिष्यन् । तितर्त्सिषति । न्त, नर्त्स्यति, अनर्त्स्यन्, नितृत्सति, नर्त्सिष्यति । अनर्त्सिष्यन् । नितर्त्सिषति ।

Why do we say 'beginning with a स्'? Observe कर्त्सिता ॥ Why असिचि? Observe अकर्त्सिन् ॥

गमेरिद् परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गमेः, इद्, परस्मैपदेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गमेर्द्धातोः सकारादावर्द्धधातुकस्य परस्मैपदेष्विडागमो भवति ।

इति ॥ आत्मनेपदेन समानपदस्थस्य गमेर्यमिडागमोनेष्यते ॥

58. An ârdhadhatuka affix beginning with a स् gets the इद् augment, after गम् in the Parasmaipada.

As गमिष्यति, अगमिष्यन्, जिगमिषति ॥ Why of गम्? Observe चेष्ट्यति ॥ The repetition of इद् shows that the rule is invariable. Why 'in the Parasmaipada'? Observe संगसीट, संगसीट, संगस्यते, संजिगंसते, संजिगंसिष्यते, अधिजिगांसते, अधिजिगांसिष्यते ॥

The lengthening takes place by VI. 4 16 when गम् is the substitute of the root इङ् (II. 4 48) Why before स्? Observe गन्तास्मि, गन्तास्वः, गन्तास्वः ॥

Ishti: This इङ् augment is not desired of the root गम् standing in the same pada with an atmanepada affix. But it occurs every where else. As जिगमिषिता इव आचरति = जिगमिषिचरियते, here there is इङ् augment, because atmanepada affix is not in the same pada with गम्, but is bahiranga. Compare VII. 2. 36 *varṣ*. It occurs before kṛit affixes, and even where is luk-elision of Parasmaipada affix, and where therefore the affix generally would have left no trace behind by I. 1. 63. As संजिगमिषिता and अधिजिगमिषिता व्याकरणस्य ॥ So also जिगमिषत्वम्, here there is luk-elision of the Imperative affix हि ॥ The opinion of the author of Padaśeṣhakāra is that the employment of the term Parasmaipada in the sūtra is illustrative. He explains it by saying:—परस्मैपदेषु यो गमिरूपलक्षित स्तस्मात् सकारादेरार्धधातुकस्य इङ् भवति ॥ According to him we have the forms संजिगमिषिता and अधिजिगमिषिता व्याकरणस्य ॥

न वृद्धयश्चतुर्भ्यः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, वृद्धयः, चतुर्भ्यः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृतादिभ्यश्चतुर्भ्य उच्चरस्य सकारादेरार्धधातुकस्य परस्मैपदेषु इडागमो न भवति ।

59. The Parasmaipada ârdhadhâtuka affixes beginning with स् do not get the augment इङ् after वृत् and the three roots that follow it.

Thus वृत्—वत्स्यति, अवत्स्यन्, विवृत्सति । वृध् वत्स्यति । अवत्स्यन् । विवृत्सति । शृध् । शत्स्यति । अशत्स्यन् शिशृत्सति । स्यन्वु । स्यन्त्सति । अस्यन्त्स्यन् ।

The वृतादि roots are four वृत्, वृध्, शृध् and स्यन्वु (Bhu. 795-798). In the examples, the Parasmaipada forms are shown, because these roots are optionally Parasmaipadi by I. 3. 92 before स्य and सन् ॥

Obj:—The word चतुर्भ्यः may conveniently have been omitted from the sūtra. A reference to the Dhâtupâṭha will show that the वृतादि roots form a subdivision of श्रुतादि roots, and stand at the end of Dyutâdi class. So that the sūtra न वृद्धयः would have been enough, and there would have been no uncertainty or vagueness about it, for the word वृतादि would mean 'the roots वृत् &c. with which the Dyutâdi class ends'. Thus we shall get the five roots 795 वृत् वर्तने 796 वृध् वृद्धौ, 797 शृध् शब्दकुत्सायाम्; 798 स्यन्वु प्रसवणे and कृप् सामर्थ्ये ॥ As regards the last root कृप्, we shall find from the next sūtra, that the present sūtra applies to this root also. Or we can change the order of the roots, putting कृप् first, and वृत् &c after it, so that वृतादि will mean four roots only. Whether वृतादि be taken to mean the five or the four roots, the word चतुर्भ्यः is redundant.

Ans:—The word चतुर्भ्यः is used in order that the prohibition contained in this sūtra may debar the 'option' which the root स्यन्वु would have taken, because of its indicative long ऊ (VII. 2. 44). For this 'option' is an antaranga operation, because it applies to all ârdhadhâtuka affixes; while the 'prohibition' of the present sūtra is a bahiranga, because it applies to those affixes only which

begin with च ॥ So that the 'prohibition' of this sūtra would not have debarred the 'option' of VII. 2. 44 : and in the Parasmaipada स्यन्तु would have had two forms; which, however, is not the case because of the word चतुर्थः by which the 'prohibition' is extended to स्यन्तु also. Thus in the Parasmaipada, we have only one form, as, स्यन्त्यति; but in the Atmanepada we have *two* forms स्यन्दिष्यते or स्यन्त्यते ॥

The word 'Parasmaipada' is understood in this sūtra, so that the prohibition does not apply to ātmanepada affixes: as वर्त्तिषीष्ट, वर्त्तिष्यते, अवर्त्तिष्यन्, विवर्त्तिष्यते, स्यन्दिषीष्ट or स्यन्त्यष्टि ॥ Moreover, with regard to Atmanepada also, the इद् is added to these roots when they stand in the same 'pada' with the affixes. But when the Atmanepada affixes are added not to the *roots* 'vrit &c', but to the *roots* which are derived from the *nominal* bases formed from 'vrit &c', then the '*root*' is not in the same pada with the affix, and the prohibition of this sūtra will apply. As विवृत्तिष्यते ॥ Moreover, the rule applies, as we have said, to the affixes standing in the same 'pada' with the 'roots'; therefore it will apply to Desiderative roots, as विवृत्सति, though शप् here intervenes between the ārdhadhatuka affix सन् and the Parasmaipada तिप्; so also, an ekādeśa though sthānivāt and therefore an intervention, will not be considered so for the purposes of this rule, as विवृत्सिष्यति; so also in विवृत्सयति ॥ The prohibition, moreover, applies to कृन् affixes, and where there is luk-elision of Parasmaipada affixes. As विवृत्सिता; and विवृत्स् त्वम् where the Imperative हि is luk-elided, and being so elided, the force of Parasmaipada does not here remain by न लुप्तकृतस्य (I. 1. 63); hence the above *Ishti*.

तासि च कल्पः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ तासि, च, कल्पः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृप उत्तरस्य तासिः सकारदेश्चार्धधातुकस्य परस्मैपदेषु इडागमो न भवति ।

60. The Parasmaipada ārdhadhātuka affixes beginning with स, and the affix तासि (the sign of the Periphrastic Future) do not get the augment इद्, after the root कल्प ॥

Thus कल्प्ता, कल्पस्यति, अकल्पस्यन्, चिकल्पस्यति ॥ But कल्पितासि, कल्पिषीष्ट, कल्पिष्यते, अकल्पिष्यत, चिकल्पिष्यते in the Ātmanepada.

In the case of कल्प् also, the इद् is added to the ārdhadhātuka affixes in the Atmanepada, when the root stands in the same pada with the affixes and there is prohibition everywhere else. So also there is prohibition before कृत् affixes, and the luk-elision of Parasmaipada. As चिकल्पिता, चिकल्पस् त्वं ॥

According to Padamanjari, these two sūtras could have been shortened thus:—(1) न वृद्धः पञ्चम्यः, (2) तासि च; and "कल्पः" could well have been omitted. The तासि comes only after कल्प and not after other roots of Vṛitādi class, in Parasmaipada [I. 3. 92 and 93]. Therefore, there is no fear that the prohibition तासि च will apply to the other roots of vṛitādi, but only to 'krip', because

the word परस्मैपदेषु is understood here; and as no roots of वृतिदि class take Parasmaipada in the Periphrastic Future except 'klip', there is no fear of any ambiguity.

अचस्तास्वत्थल्यनिटो नित्यम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, तास्वत्, थल्, अनिटः, नित्यम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तासां ये नित्यानिटो धातवोऽजन्तास्तेभ्यस्तासाविव थलीडागमो न भवति ।

61. After a root, which ends in a vowel, and after which the Per. Fut. affix *tâsi* is always devoid of the augment इद्; (after such a root) थल् the personal ending of the Perfect, like तास्, does not also get the augment इद् ॥

Those vowel-ending roots in Dhâtupâṭha which are *invariably* anit before the affix तास् (Peri. Future), are also anit before the Perfect ending थल् ॥ As याता (Peri-Fut.), ययाय (Per), चेता, चिचैय, नेता, निनेय; होता जुहोय ॥ Why 'ending in a vowel'? Observe भत्ता, बिभेदिय ॥ Why 'like तास्'? Observe लृत्वा but लृलाविय, Why 'थल्'? Observe याता but यायिव, ययिम ॥ The word नित्यं qualifies अनिट्, if therefore तास् be *optionally* anit, then the थल् will be *सेद् always*. As तास्—विधाता or विधविता; the थल् is विदुधविय ॥

Here इद् is optional before तास् by VII. 2. 44. Similarly चक्रनिय, for क्रम् is anit in âtmanepada, and सेद् in Parasmaipada. In fact, wherever there is want of इद्, whether by complete prohibition or optional prohibition, all that is regulated by VII. 2. 13: this is the view adopted by the Kâsikâ. But another view is that the prohibition of this sūtra applies to the इद् of VII. 2. 13 only, but does not debar the option of VII. 2. 44; so they have two forms विदुधीय and विदुधविय ॥ This view is applied by them to VII. 2. 46, as सस्वर्य or सस्वरिय (VII. 2. 44).

Why have we used the word वत् in तास्वत्? The force of वत् is that the root should have a form in तास् and then be anit; and if a root has no Periphrastic Future form, and thus its तास् is anit, such a root is not governed by this sūtra. As जघसिय and उवयिय ॥ Here the roots घस् and वश् the substitutes of अद् and वेष् respectively have no Periphrastic Future form, and hence this rule does not apply to them.

उपदेशोऽत्वतः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपदेशे, अत्वतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपदेशे यो धातुरकारवान् तासां नित्यानिट् तस्मात्तासाविव थलीडागमो न भवति ।

62. After a root which possesses a short अ as its root-vowel in the original enunciation (the Dhâtupâṭha), and after which the Peri-Fut. तास् is always devoid of the augment इद्, थल् the Personal ending of the Perfect, like तास्, does not get the augment इद् ॥

As Fut. पक्ता, Per. पपक्य, यष्टा, इयष्ट, शक्ता, शशक्य ॥ Why do we say 'in the Original Enunciation'? Observe Fut. कर्ता Per. चकार्षि in which the अ of 'karsh' is the result of guṇa substitution. Why do we say 'having an अ'? Observe Fut. भेत्ता Per. बिभेक्षि, here the root-vowel is इ ॥ Why do we say "short अ"? Observe Fut. रात्रा Per. रराधि from राध् the root-vowel being long आ ॥ The word तास्वन् is understood here also. Therefore we have जिघृक्षति, जिघ्राधि ॥ Here the root ग्रह is aniṭ before सन् (VII. 2. 12) and not before तास् so it will not be aniṭ before थ ॥ The words नित्यं अनिटः are also understood here. Therefore the rule does not apply to आनञ्जिज्य (VII. 4. 71, 72). For the root अङ्जू (VII. 21) takes *optionally* इद् before तास् (VII. 2. 44) as अञ्जिता and अङ्क्ता ॥

ऋतो भारद्वाजस्य ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, भारद्वाजस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्ताद्भ्रातोर्भ्राजित्याचार्यस्य मतेन तासाविव नित्यानिटस्थलि इडागमो न भवति ।

63. In the opinion of Bhâradvâja, it is only after a root which ends in short ऋ, and after which the Peri-Fut. तास् is always devoid of the augment इद्, that थल् also, like तास्, does not take the augment इद् ॥

As स्रर्त्ता, सस्सर्थ, ध्वर्त्ता, वृध्वर्थे ॥ The ऋ roots are covered by VII. 2. 61; the specification of these roots makes a restriction, so that *all* other roots, are not aniṭ, though the Peri-Fut in तास् be aniṭ. So that according to Bhâradvâja, we have forms like ययिथ, वयिथ, पेचिथ, शेकिथ ॥ Thus this sūtra makes the preceding two sūtras optional, except so far as short ऋ-ending roots are concerned.

As a general rule, all roots ending in long ऋ are सेद्; therefore, the sūtra mentions *short* ऋ, in order to debar its application to long ऋ ending words. Had it not been so, this rule would have been a *vidhi* rule and not a *niyama*: because rule VII. 2. 61 does not apply to long ऋ ending roots, and so if the present sūtra were to include long ऋ also, it could not be called a *niyama* (restriction) of VII. 2. 61.

बभूयाततन्थजगृम्भववर्थेति निगमे ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बभूथ, आततन्थ, जगृम्भ ववर्थे, इति, निगमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बभूथ आततन्थ जगृम्भ ववर्थे इत्येतानि निपात्यन्ते निगमविषये ।

64. In the Veda are found the irregular. forms बभूथ, आततन्थ, जगृम्भ and ववर्थे ॥

As खं हि होता प्रथमो बभूथ (= बभूविथ); येनान्तरिक्षमुर्वीततन्थ (= अतिनिथ), जगृम्भा ते क्षिणमिन्द्र हस्तम् (= जगृहिम्), ववर्थे खं हि ज्योतिषा (= ववरिथ). See VII. 2. 13. This is also a *niyama* rule with regard to वृ for by VII. 2. 13 the root वृ was already aniṭ, and its Perfect would have been ववर्थे by that rule. The special mention of this form shows that in secular literature this root is always सेद् before थ of the Perfect.

विभाषा सृजिदृशोः ॥ ६५ ॥ विभाषा, सृजि-दृशोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सृजि दृशि इत्येतयोस्त्याल विभाषा इडागमो न भवति ।

65. थल् the Personal ending of the Perfect, optionally gets the augment इद् after सृज् and दृश् ॥

As ससृष्ट or ससृजिय, ददृष्ट or ददृशिय ॥ See VI. 1. 58 for अम् augment.

इडस्यस्तिव्ययतीनाम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इद्, अस्ति-अर्ति-व्ययतीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्ति अर्ति व्ययति इत्येतेषां यलीडागमो भवति ।

66. The affix थल् gets always the augment इद् after अद्, ऋद् and व्यय् ॥

As आदिय, आरिय, and संविव्ययिय ॥ The root व्येम् is not changed to व्या (VI. 1. 46) in the Perfect. By VII. 2. 63, the roots अद् and व्ये would have optionally been सद्, and ऋ never; therefore, the present sūtra makes the इद् augment compulsory. The इद् is repeated in the aphorism for the sake of clearness, the rule could have stood without it, for the anuvṛtti of 'optionally' could not have run into it from the last sūtra: for if it was an optional sūtra, the enumeration of अद् and व्ये was useless, as they were already provided for by VII. 2. 63. Therefore, this sūtra makes an invariable rule.

वस्येकाजादूधसाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसु, एकाच्-आत्-घसाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतद्विवचनानामेकाचां धातूनाम् आकारान्तानां घसेश्च वसाविडागमो भवति ।

67. The Participial affix वस्त् (वस्) gets the augment इद् only then when the reduplicated root before it consists of one syllable, or when it comes after a root ending in long आ, and after घस्त् ॥

Thus आदिवान्, आशिवान्, पेचिवान्, शेक्विवान् ॥ In the first two of these, the reduplicate stems आद् and आश् become of one syllable by the coalescence of अ अद् and अअश् ॥ In पेच् and शेक् the reduplicate is elided and the vowel अ changed to ए, and thus the reduplicate has become of one syllable. Of roots ending in आ we have, ययिवान्, तस्थिवान्, of घस्—जक्षिवान् ॥ This वस् would have taken the augment by the general rule of इद् increment, the present sūtra makes a niyama, so that the roots which are not monosyllabic in their reduplicate form are anit: as क्षिभिवान्, चिच्छिवान्, बभूवान्, शिभिवान् ॥ The niyama is made with regard to the roots which would have taken इद् generally, as not being governed by the prohibition in VII.2.13. The roots ending in long आ may consist of more than one syllable in their reduplicate form, as याया + वस्, hence their separate enumeration: as a matter of fact, however, these reduplicates also become monosyllabic ultimately by losing their आ ॥ The root वसिद्वा is not governed by this rule, for its Perfect will be formed periphrastically by III. 1. 35 Vārt, because

it consists of more than one syllable: as इद्विर्वाचकार ॥ And when आन् is not added, there also इद्विर्वा loses its final आ before ārdhadhātuka affixes by the vārtika under VI. 4. 114. So the आ being elided before the adding of any affix, this becomes a root which no longer ends in आ, and so the cause of adding इद् under this sūtra no longer exists, and so no इद् is added. Thus we have इद्विद्वान्, for before ārdhadhātuka affixes इद्विर्वा loses its आ (VI. 4. 114 Vārt), and this elision being considered as *siddha*, (VI. 4. 114 Vārt), no occasion remains for the augment इद् ॥ The वस् becomes जश् in its reduplicate form (a stem of one syllable), but had it not been separately mentioned, then by VI. 4. 100, the penultimate अ of वस् would have been elided first, before reduplication, because VI. 4. 100, is subsequent in order to the rule ordaining reduplication (VI. 1. 14 &c). The अ being elided, we should have वस् only, which not having any vowel, could not be reduplicated. By its separate enumeration here, the augment इद् being ordained by a subsequent rule (VII. 2. 67), prevents even the rule of elision (VI. 4. 100). Having, therefore, *first* added इद्, we *then* elide the penultimate अ by VI. 4. 98, this elided अ, however, becomes sthānivat for the purposes of reduplication only by I. 1. 59. Thus वस् + इवस् = वस् + इवस् (VI. 4. 98) = जश् + इवस् = जश्वान् ॥

विभाषा गमहनविद्विशाम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, गम-हन-विद्व-विशाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गम हन विद्व विश इत्येतेषां धातूनां वसौ विभाषा इडागमो भवति ।
वार्तिकम् ॥ दृशश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

68. The affix वस् (वंस्) optionally takes इद् after गम, हन, विद्व and विश् ॥

As गम्—जग्मिवान् or जगन्वान् (म् changed to न् by VIII. 2. 64); हन्—जग्मिवान् or जगन्वान्, (VII. 2. 54 and 55) विद्व—विद्विविवान् or विद्विविवान्, विश्—विद्विशिवान् or विद्विशिवान् ॥ The root विद्व 'to acquire' belongs to the Tudādi class, as it is read here with the Tudādi विश् ॥ The root विद्व 'to know' (II. 55. IV. 62), forms *invariably* विद्विविवान् because it is ātmanepadi and cannot take इद् augment before वस् affix.

Vārt:—The root दृश् should also be enumerated. As दृद्विशिवान् and दृद्विवान् ॥

सनि ससनिवांसम् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनिम्-ससनिवांसम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सनोतिः सनन्तेर्वा धातोः सनिससनिवांसमिति निपात्यते ।

69. The form ससनिवांसम् with सनि is irregularly formed.

This is derived from सनोति or सनति root. As अञ्जित्वाग्ने सनि ससनिवांसम् ॥ The augment इद् is added, there is no change of अ of सन् to ए, nor the elision of the reduplicate before वस् ॥ The other form is सनिवांसम् when not preceded by सनिम् ॥ This form ससनिवांसम् is Vedic, in secular literature we have सनिवांसम् ॥

ऋद्धनोः स्ये ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत-हनोः, स्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तानां धातूनां हन्तेश्च स्ये इडागमो भवति ।

70. The sign of the Future and Conditional gets the augment इद्, after a root ending in short ऋ and after हन् ॥

As करिष्यति, हनिष्यति, हरिष्यति ॥ The root स्तृ takes always इद् before स्य, though it does so optionally before other affixes (see VII. 2. 44): as स्वरिष्यति ॥ Similarly अकरिष्यत्, अहरिष्यत्, अहनिष्यत् &c ॥

अञ्जेः सिचि ॥ ७१ ॥ अञ्जेः, सिचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्जेः सिचि इडागमो भवति ।

71. The स् of the s-Aorist always takes the इद् after अञ्ज् (Rudh. 21).

As आञ्जीत्, आञ्जिष्टाम्, आञ्जिषुः ॥ But अह्क्ता or अञ्जिता in tenses other than Aorist. The root having an indicatory long ऊ optionally takes इद् (VII. 2. 44).

स्तुसुधूञ्भ्यः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तु, सु, धूञ्भ्यः, परस्मैपदेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तु सु धूञ् इत्येतेभ्यः सिचि परस्मैपदे परत इडागमो भवति ॥

72. The सिच् of the s-Aorist gets the इद् in the Parasmaipada after the roots स्तु, सु and धूञ् ॥

As अस्तावीत्, असावीत्, अधावीत् ॥ But अस्तोष्ट, असोष्ट, अधोष्ट or अधाविष्ट in Atmanepada. Exception to VII. 2. 10 and 44.

यमरमनमातां सकृच्च ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यम्, रम्, नम्, आताम्, सकृ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यम् रम् नम् इत्येतेषामङ्गानामाकारान्तानां च सगागमो भवति परस्मैपदे सिचि इडागमश्च ॥

73. The सिच् of the Aorist in the Parasmaipada takes the augment इद् after यम्, रम्, नम् and roots ending in long आ, and स् (सकृ) is added at the end of these stems.

Thus अयंसीत्, अयंसिष्टाम्, अयंसिषुः ॥ व्यरंसीत्, व्यरंसिष्टाम्, व्यरंसिषुः ॥ The root रञ् is Parasmaipadi when preceded by वि or आ (I. 3. 83). अनंसीत्, अनंसिष्टाम्, अनंसिषुः ॥ आकारान्तानाम् । अयासीत् । अयासिष्टाम् ; अयासिषुः । यमादीनां हलन्तलक्षणा वृद्धिः प्राप्ता सा नेदीति प्रतिषिध्यते । परस्मैपदेऽप्यित्येव । आयंस्त । अरंस्त । अनंस्त ॥

The Vriddhi in the case of यम् &c. ordained by VII. 2. 3, does not take place by VII. 2. 4. In the Atmanepada we have आयंस्त ॥ The root यम् is Atmanepadi, as it is preceded by आ (I. 3. 75) अरंस्त, अनंस्त (III. 1. 85). Exception to VII. 2. 10, 44.

स्मिपूडरञ्ज्वां सनि ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्मि, पूड्, ऋ अञ्ज्, अशू सनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्मिह् पूड् ऋ अञ्ज् अशू इत्येतेषां धातूनां सनीडागमो भवति ॥

74. The Desiderative सन् gets the augment इद् after the roots स्मिड्, पूड्, ऋ, अञ्ज् and अशू ॥

Thus सिस्मयिषते, पिपयिषते (VII. 4. 80) अरिषति, अञ्जिषति (VI. 1. 2 and 3) and अशिषते ॥ The root पूञ् is not governed by this rule, as पुपूषति ॥ The अश् (V. 18) of Snâdi class is taken here, and not अश् (IX. 51) of Kryâdi class, for the latter *always* has इद्, while the former having an indicatory long ऊ has *optionally* इद् ॥

किरश्च पञ्चभ्यः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ किरः, च, पञ्चभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किरादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः सनि इडागमो भवति ॥

75. The desiderative सन् takes इद् after कृ and the four roots that follow it (Tud. 116-120)

Thus चिकरिषति, जिगरिषति, दिदरिषते, दिधरिषते, पिप्रच्छिषति (I. 2. 8; VI. 1. 16). But सिस्मयति not included in the five. The roots कृ and गृ would have optionally got इद् in the desiderative by VII. 2. 41, which would have been optionally lengthened by VII. 2. 38. But the इद् here being specifically ordained, does not get lengthened by VII. 2. 38.

रुदादिभ्यः सार्वधातुके ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुददिभ्यः, सार्वधातुके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुदादिभ्य उत्तरस्य वल्गवेः सार्वधातुकस्य इडागमो भवति ॥

76. A sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant other than a य, gets the augment इद् after the root रुद् and the four that follow it (Ad. 58-62)

Thus रादिषति, स्वपिषति, श्वसिषति, प्राणिषति, जक्षिषति ॥ But जागर्ति which is beyond the five, and स्वप्ता before ârdhadhâtuka affixes, and रुदन्ति before a vowel beginning affix.

ईशः से ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईशः, से ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईश उत्तरस्य से इत्येतस्य सार्वधातुकस्य इडागमो भवति ॥

77. The sârvadhâtuka affix से (the ending of the second Person Present and Imperative Atmanepada) gets the augment इद् after ईश् (Ad. 10)

As ईक्षिषे and इक्षिष्व ॥ से becomes स्व by III. 4. 91 and 80. The से is exhibited in the sûtra without any case-ending.

ईडजनोर्द्ध्वे च ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईड्, जनोः, ध्वे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईड जन इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य ध्वे इत्येतस्य स इत्येतस्य च सार्वधातुकस्य इडागमो भवति ॥

78. The sârvadhâtuka affix से and ध्वे, (the endings of the Present and Imperative Atmanepadi) get the augment इद् after the roots ईड् (Ad. 9) and जन ॥

Thus ईडिध्वे, ईडिध्वम्, ईडिध्वे, ईडिध्वम्, जनिध्वे, जनिध्वम्, जनिध्वे, जनिध्वम् ॥ The root जनी (IV, 41) is taken here. The Vikaraṇa इयन् has been elided in this case, as a Vedic irregularity, and so also there is not elision of the penultimate.

In the secular literature the form is जायते ॥ Here the य would prohibit इद् always. The जन् of the third class (III. 24) is also to be included, thus we have व्यतिजज्ञिषे, व्यतिजज्ञिष्व, व्यतिजज्ञिष्वे, व्यतिजज्ञिष्वम् in karma vyatihāra. Otherwise this root is Parasmaipadi. ध्व takes इद् after ईश् also, as ईशिवम् ॥

For this purpose, some read the sūtra as ईडजनोः सध्वे च; and स् stands here for से having its Locative dropped, and therefore the force of च in the sūtra, according to this reading, is to draw in the anuvṛtti of ईश् from the previous sūtra. Those who do not follow this reading, draw the whole of the last sūtra by force of च ॥ From these it may be asked, what is then the necessity of two sūtras? Could not one sūtra, like this, ईशीडजनां सध्वयोः, have sufficed, as being shorter and more general? To this there is no better valid answer than this विचित्रा हि सूत्रस्य कृतिः पाणिनेः ॥

The form ध्वे being taken in the sūtra, the rule will not apply to the ध्वम् of लङ् (Imperfect): which will not take इद् ॥ But इद् will apply to the ध्वन् of the Imperative on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् ॥

लिङः सलोपोऽनन्यस्य ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङः, स, लोपः, अनन्यस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सार्वधातुक इति वर्तते, सार्वधातुक यो लिङ् तस्य अनन्यस्य सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

79. In the sārvaadhātuka Liṅ (i. e. Potential), the स् which is not final (i. e. the स् of the augments यास् and सीय्), is elided.

What is the स् which is not final? The स् of the augments यासुद्, सुद् and सीयुद् ॥ Thus कुर्यान्, कुर्याताम्, कुरुं, कुर्वीत, कुर्वीयाताम्, कुरीरन् ॥ Why 'not the final'? Observe कुर्युः, कुर्याः ॥ Why in the Sārvaadhātuka? Observe क्रियास्ताम्, क्रियासुः, कुर्याट्, कुरीयास्ताम्, कुरीरन् in the Benedictive.

अतो येयः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, या, इयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्ताद्ग्रादुत्तरस्य या इत्येतस्य सार्वधातुकस्य इय् इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

80. After a Present stem ending in short अ, इय् is substituted for the sārvaadhātuka या (i. e. for the या of the augment यास् of the Potential).

Thus पचेत्, पचेताम् and पचेयुः ॥ The य् of इय् is elided before affixes beginning with a consonant by VI. 1. 66. In the case of पचेयुः, the pararūpa of VI. 1. 96 is prevented. Why 'ending in a short अ'? Observe चिनुयान्, सुनुयान् ॥ Why 'short'? Observe यायात् ॥ Why sārvaadhātuka? Observe चिकीर्ष्यात् ॥

The objector may say, the form चिकीर्ष्यात् will be so by the elision of अ under VI. 4. 48, and so there is no necessity of reading the anuvṛtti of sārvaadhātuka in this sūtra; for when अ is elided by अतोऽलोपः VI. 4. 48, in the case of ārdhādhātuka या the present rule cannot apply, as there is no base left

which ends in अ ॥ To this we reply, this is not a good reason: for then in the case of पञ्चत् and यजेत् also, the rule अतो दीर्घो यञि (VII. 3. 101) would apply, and the अ of पञ्च would require to be lengthened. But that is not so. The fact is that the present sūtra debar rule VII. 3. 101. Therefore, as this इय substitute debar the lengthening of VII. 3. 101, so it would debar the lopa of VI. 4. 48. Therefore, if the anuvṛitti of sārvaadhātuka be not read into this sūtra, the इय substitute would apply to ārdhādhātuka also, and the lopa-elision VI. 4. 48 would not help, as that would be superseded by this special rule. Therefore the anuvṛitti of "sārvaadhātuka" should be read into this sūtra.

The above is stated on general grounds. But if the maxim मध्येऽपवादाः पूर्वां विधीन् थाधन्ते नोत्तरान् (Apavādas that are surrounded by the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavāda operations, supersede only those rules that precede, not those that follow them) be applied here, then the present sūtra would supersede only the preceding sūtra VI. 4. 48 and not the following sūtra VII. 3. 101 which would not be superseded by the present sūtra. In this view also, the lopa being superseded at all events, the anuvṛitti of 'Sārvaadhātuka' must be read into this sūtra.

In the दीर्घ rule VII. 3. 101, the word 'sārvaadhātuka' is understood from VII. 3. 95. But according to some, the word तिङि of VII. 3. 88 is also understood there, so that they would lengthen the अ, before a sārvaadhātuka personal termination (तिङ्) only, and not before every sārvaadhātuka affix in general. According to this view, the present sūtra will debar only the dirgha rule (VII. 3. 101) and not the lopa rule (VI. 4. 48), on the maxim येन ना प्राप्तं &c.

The word देयः in the sūtra is formed by या + इयः; and या is exhibited without any case-termination. Others say, the word is यः the sixth case of या formed on the analogy of विश्वयः by the elision of आ (VI. 4. 140). Then यः + इयः = य + इयः (VIII. 3. 19) after this elision, there ordinarily would take place no sandhi; as this elision is considered asiddha (VIII. 2. 1) for the purposes of VI. 1. 87. Contrary to this general rule, however, the sandhi takes place here and we have देयः by VI. 1. 87. The अ in इयः is for the sake of pronunciation only. The real substitute is इय ॥

Some read the sūtra as अतो यासियः ॥ So that the sthānī is यास् and not या, and यासियः is a genitive compound.

आतो ङितः ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, ङितः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारस्य ङिद्वयवस्य अकारान्ताद्ङादुत्तरस्य सार्वधातुकस्य इय इत्ययमदिशो भवति ॥

81. For the आ being a portion of a sārvaadhātuka Personal ending which is ङित् (i.e. आते, आथे, आताम् and आथाम्), coming after a Verbal stem ending in short अ, there is substituted इय ॥

Thus पचते, पचये, पचेताम्, पचयाम्, यजेते, यजये, यजेताम्, दास्यथे, दास्येते ॥ The य् of इय् drops by VI. 1. 66. Why do we say "the long आ"? Observe पचन्ति, यजन्ति, पचन्ते, यजन्ते ॥ Why do we say 'a डित् affix'? Observe पचावहे, पचामहे (I. 2. 4). Why do we say 'ending in short अ'? Observe चिम्बति, सुम्बति ॥ Why 'short'? Observe मिमाते, मिमाये ॥

All sârvadhâtuka affixes which have not an indicatory ए are डित् by I. 2. 4. Now सार्वधातुकमपित् (I. 2. 4) is a sūtra in which the word डित् is understood from I. 2. 1. But the grammatical construction of the word डित् in the two sūtras I. 2. 1 and I. 2. 4 is not the same. In the first sūtra, it means डिति इव = डित्वन्, i. e. the roots गा कृद् &c are treated in the same way as they would have been treated, had a डित् affix followed. But in the second sūtra I. 2. 4, the word डित् is equal to डित इव "like of डित्" ॥ The sūtra I. 2. 1. is so explained in order to evolve the form उच्चुक्रुदेषति ॥ For when the सन् is added to कृद्, the root कृद् is treated as if the सन् was a डित् affix, and so there is no गुणा. But if सन् itself had become डित् then the Desiderative root चुक्रुदिष्, being a डित् root would require âtmanepada affixes by अनुदात्तङित् आत्मनेपदम् (I. 3. 12). In the case, however, of sârvadhâtuka-apit-affixes, the affixes themselves become like डित्, and are treated as डित् affixes, not only with regard to the stem preceding them, but with regard to their own selves also, as we see in the present sūtra.

आने मुक् ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आने, मुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आनि परतोङ्गस्यातो मुगागमो भवति ॥

82. Before the Participial ending आन, a verbal stem ending in short अ, gets the augment मुक् ॥

Thus पचमानः, यजमानः ॥

This मुक् is part and parcel of अ only, and not of the anga. For if मुक् be considered as part of the anga, then it will be an intervention, and make the anga end in a consonant and so there will be anomaly in accent. For by VI. 1. 186, the ल sârvadhâtuka affix is anudâtta after a stem ending in अ; so if मुक् be considered part of the anga, the stem no longer ends in अ but न्; but if it be considered as a portion of अ only, then the anga still remains अनुपदेश (VI. 1. 186). So the accent of पचमानः and यजमानः is governed by VI. 1. 186.

An objector may say, "if this be so, then the stem पचम् is still considered as ending in अ, and therefore in पचम् + आन, we should apply the previous sūtra VII. 2. 81, and change अ into इय्" ॥ To this we reply, 'no, it cannot be so; for the न् in अन् (VII. 2. 80) shows that the अ consisting of one mâtṛā is to be taken, but when मुक् is added, this अ becomes one mâtṛā and half, so the rule VII. 2. 81 will not apply; because it applies only to अ of one mâtṛā" The objector:—"If this is so, then the anudâtta of VI. 1. 186 will not also hold good, for there also the अन् means the अ of one mâtṛā." This is no valid objection. For there the word उपदेश is taken, so that a stem which at the time

of upadeśa or first enunciation, ends in a short अ of one mâtṛā, is governed by that rule; though after the enunciation, the short अ may be lengthened in its mâtṛā. It is for this reason that the rule VI. 1. 186 applies to पचावः and पचानः; though the short अ is subsequently lengthened before व and न by VII. 3. 101.

Or the sūtra may have been made as आनस्य सुद्, and the augment म् would then be added to आन and not to the verbal stem. All the above difficulties would be removed by this view. But then the final अ of पच &c would require to be lengthened before नान by VII. 3. 101. This objection, however, is not insuperable, for one view of VII. 3. 101 is that the word तिङि is understood there, so that the lengthening would take place only before a तिङ् affix beginning with a यञ् vowel: and not before any other affix.

ईदासः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईत्, आसः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आस उत्तरस्थानस्य ईकारादेशो भवति ॥

83. ई is substituted for the आ of आन, after आस ॥

Thus आसीनो यजेत ॥ (See I. 1. 54 by which the *first* letter of the *second* term after आसः which is exhibited in the Ablative is taken here). The आने which is in the 7th case in the last aphorism, should be taken in the 6th case in this.

अष्टन आ विभक्तौ ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टनः, आ, विभक्तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टनो विभक्तौ परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

84. आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before a case-ending.

Thus अष्टानि, अष्टाभ्यः, अष्टानाम्, अष्टांस्तु ॥ Why 'before a case-ending'? Observe अष्टत्वम्, अष्टता ॥ The rule of this sūtra is an optional one, and we have in the alternative अष्टभिः, अष्टभ्यः ॥ The आ in the sūtra indicates the *individual* letter आ, and not आ belonging to the general class आ ॥ For the generic आ would include the nasalised आँ also, and as the letter replaced (अन्) is a nasal, the substitute would have been also nasal आँ, but it is not so. See VI. 1. 172 and VII. 1. 22. This rule applies also when the word stands at the end of a compound, as प्रियाष्टानः or प्रियाष्टैः (VII. 1. 22). The word विभक्ति governs the subsequent sūtras upto VII. 2. 114.

रायो हलि ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ रायः, हलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रै इत्येतस्य हलादौ विभक्तौ परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

85. Before a case-ending beginning with a consonant, आ is substituted for the final of रै ॥

As राभ्याम्, राभिः, ॥ But रायौ, रायः before affixes beginning with a vowel. Why 'a case ending'? Observe रैत्वम्, रैता ॥

युष्मदस्मदोरनादेशो ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद्, अस्मदोः, अनादेशो ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदित्येतयोरनादेश विभक्तौ परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

86. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before a case-ending, beginning with a consonant, when it is not a substitute.

The substitute case-endings are given in VII. 1. 27 &c. Thus युष्मानिः अस्मानिः, युष्मासु, अस्मासु ॥ Why do we say 'when it is not a substitute'? Observe युष्मत् and अस्मत् (VII. 1. 31). The anuvṛitti of हलि need not be read into this sūtra from the preceding, for if that were so, the mention of अनदिशे would become redundant, because as a matter of fact no *substitute* case-ending begins with a consonant. However, reading this sūtra with VII. 2. 89, we find that the scope of the present sūtra is before consonant beginning affixes.

द्वितीयायां च ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीयायाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयायां च परतो युष्मदस्मदोराकारादेशो भवति ॥

87. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before the endings of the Accusative.

As त्वाम्, माम्, युवाम्, आवाम्, युष्मान् and अस्मान् ॥ This rule applies to endings which are even substitutes, otherwise the last rule would have been sufficient. See VII. 2. 28, 29, and VII. 2. 92 and 97.

प्रथमायाश्च द्विवचने भाषायाम् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमायाः, च, द्विवचने, भाषायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमायाश्च द्विवचने परतो भाषायां विषये युष्मदस्मदोराकारादेशो भवति ॥

88. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before the ending of the Nom. Du. in the Secular literature.

As युवाम्, आवाम् ॥ Why of the nominative? Observe युवयोः, आवयोः ॥ Why in the Dual? Observe त्वं, अहं, यूयं, वयं ॥ Why in the secular literature? Observe युवं वस्त्राणि पीवसा वसाथे in the Veda, so also आववम् ॥

योचि ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ यः, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजादौ विभक्तावनदिशे युष्मदस्मदोर्यकारादेशो भवति ॥

89. य is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before a case-ending, which is not a substitute, and which begins with a vowel.

Thus त्वया, मया, स्वयि, मयि, युवयोः, आवयोः ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with a vowel'? Observe युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम् ॥ If in the sūtra VII. 2. 86, we read the anuvṛitti of हलि, we need not use अचि in the present sūtra. For then this sūtra will be a general (utsarga) aphorism, ordaining य before *all* non-substitute case-endings; and the sūtra VII. 2. 86, will be considered an exception (apavāda) to this, with regard to those case-endings which begin with a consonant, where आ will be ordained. In this view of the case, the use of अचि here is explanatory. Why 'when the ending is not a substitute'? Observe स्वद् गच्छति, मद् गच्छति ॥

शेषे लोपः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषे विभक्तौ युष्मदस्मदोर्लोपो भवति ॥

90. In the remaining cases where (आ or य is not substituted) there is elision of the final of yushmad and asmad.

This elision finds scope in the Singular and Plural of the Ablative, Dative, Genitive, and the Nominative. Thus त्वम्, अहम्, यूयम्, वयम्, तुभ्यम्, मह्यम्, युष्मभ्यम्, अस्मभ्यम्, त्वत्, मत्, युष्मत्, अस्मत्, तव, मम, युष्माकम्, अस्माकम् ॥ The following śloka gives the cases which are included in the word शेषः—

पञ्चम्याश्च चतुर्थ्याश्च षष्ठीप्रथमयोरपि ।

यान्यद्विवचनान्यत्र तेषु लोपो विधीयते ॥

The word शेष is employed in the sūtra for the sake of clearness. For there will be elision *universally* before *all* case-affixes. This is the *general* rule. To this there is the exception that before non-substitute case-affixes there will be य (VII. 2. 89). To this latter, there is an exception that before non-substitute case-endings beginning with a consonant, आ comes. Thus without any confusion, the आ, the य, and the lopa find their respective scopes.

When there is elision, why is not दाप् added in the Feminine; in स्वं ब्राह्मणी; अहं ब्राह्मणी? The दाप् is not added on the maxim सन्निपात लक्षणो विधिरानिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य 'a rule which is occasioned by a certain combination, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination.' Because the ending in अ of युष्मद् and अस्मद् was occasioned by vibhakti combination, if this latter occasion दाप्, then it will destroy its own fruit.

Or the words युष्मद् and अस्मद् may be taken to have no gender, and equally applicable to both masculine and feminine.

In order to avoid all this difficulty about दाप् some would elide the अद् (or दि portion) of युष्मद् and अस्मद् under this sūtra. They argue that by the next sūtra VII. 2. 91, the portions 'yushm' and 'asm', namely the portions upto म् of युष्मद् and अस्मद् are replaced by substitutes. The portion that *remains* (शेष) is अद्, and it is this अद् which is to be elided.

Why is this 'lopa' taught again, when by VII. 2. 102, all त्वदादि pronouns have अ substituted for their finals before case-endings; and so would yushmad and asmad, lose their finals and become yushma and asma by that rule? That rule does not apply to yushmad and asmad, because by an ishti that rule is restricted to tyadādi pronouns upto द्वि, thus excluding युष्मद्, अस्मद्, भवतु and किम् ॥

मपर्यन्तस्य ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ म पर्यन्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मपर्यन्तस्येत्ययमधिकारो, यद्विद ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामो मपर्यन्तस्येत्येवं तद्वदितव्यम् ॥

91. The substitutions taught hereafter upto VII.2. 98 take effect with regard to the portions of युष्मद् and अस्मद् upto म्, i. e. the substitutes replace युष्म and अस्म ॥

Thus VII. 2. 92 teaches that युव and आव are substituted for yushmad and asmad in the dual. The substitutes replace युष्म and अस्म. Thus युवाम्, आवाम् ॥ Why 'upto म'? Observe युवकाम्, आवकाम् ॥ The क (V. 3. 71), is not replaced. Similarly VII. 2. 97 teaches that त्व and म replace 'yushmad' and 'asmad' in the singular; by this sūtra 'yushm' and 'asm' are only replaced. Thus त्वया, मया, the अद् portion remains for which य is substituted by VII. 2. 89. Had the whole been replaced, then the अ of त्व and म would have been replaced by य (VII. 2. 89), and given us undesired forms like त्व्या and म्या ॥ Why is the word पर्यन्त employed in the sūtra and not the word अन्त, as मान्तस्य? In the first place the word अन्त is ambiguous, it may mean ending with म् but excluding म्, or ending with म् and including म् ॥ In the second place, the word पर्यन्त is used to indicate the limit, or portion taken out of the whole. The word मान्त would have meant, that form of yushmad and asmad which ends with म् ॥ Now these words have a form which ends in म्, as युष्मानाचष्टे or अस्मानाचष्टे = युष्मते or अस्मते formed by णिच् (the णि portion अद् is elided by VII. 4. 155, *vartika*). Now a noun formed from this derivative root युष्मि and अस्मि by क्तिप् affix will be युष्म and अस्म ॥ These are the two forms of yushmad and asmad which are complete words ending in म् ॥ The present sūtra does not apply to these words.

In declining these nouns युष्म and अस्म, we shall apply the rules VII. 2. 89 and 86, thus:—

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.		Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	त्वं	युवां	युयं	Acc.	युवां	युवां	युवान्
Ins.	युष्या	युष्याभ्यां	युषाभिः	Dat.	तुभ्यं	युषाभ्यां	युषभ्यं
Abl.	युषत्	युषाभ्यां	युषत्	Gen.	तव	युष्याः	युषाकं
Loc.	युष्यि	युष्योः	युषासु ॥ (Padamanjari).				

युवावौ द्विवचने ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ युव, आवौ, द्विवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विवचनइत्यर्थमहणम् । द्विवचने ये युष्मदस्मदी द्व्यर्थाभिधानविषये तयोर्मपर्यन्तस्य स्थाने युव आव इत्यन्तावादेशो भवतः ॥

92. In the Dual, युव is substituted for युष्म and आव for अस्म ॥

Thus युवाम्, आवाम्, युवाभ्याम्, आवाम्भ्याम्, युवयोः, आवयोः ॥ This substitution takes place even in compounds, where the sense of duality is prominent, if some other substitute like VII. 2. 94 &c. does not intervene. As अतिक्रान्तं युवाम् = अतियुवाम्, so also अत्यावाम्; अतियुवान्, अन्यावान् (= अतिक्रान्तान् युवाम् &c.) अतियुवया and अत्यावया (= अतिक्रान्तेन युवाम्) Similarly अतियुवाभिः ॥ (अतिक्रान्तेर्युवां) अत्यावाभिः, अतियुवभ्यम्, (अतिक्रान्तेभ्योयुवां) अत्यावभ्यम्, अतियुवत्, (अतिक्रान्ताद् युवां) अत्यावत्, अतियुवाकम्, (अतिक्रान्तानां युवां) अत्यावाकम्, अतियुवायि, (अतिक्रान्ते युवां) अत्यावायि, आतयुवासु, अतिक्रान्तेषु युवां अत्यावासु ॥ But where त्व &c are to be substituted, there those will be substituted, as अतित्वम् (= अतिक्रान्तो युवाम्), अत्यहम्, अतियुयम्, अतिवयम्, अतितुभ्यम्, अतिमहम्, अतितव, अतिमम् ॥ This substitution does not take place when 'yushmad' and 'asmad' denote one or many (more than two), though the compound may denote a duality: as अतिक्रान्तौ त्वाम् = अतित्वाम्, अतिमाम्. अतियुष्मान्, अत्यस्मान् ॥

If in a compound, the words yushmad and asmad are employed in a dual signification, though the compound as a whole may have a singular or plural number, for the number of a compound does not depend upon the number of the words composing it, yet even in such a compound the युव and आव substitution should be made for the dual-significant yushmad and asmad: unless such substitution is debarred by some other substitutes like त्व and अह (VII. 2. 94 &c). Thus अतिक्रान्तं युवां=अतियुवाम्, similarly अति-आवाम् ॥ The whole declension is given below :—

	Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.
Nom.	अतिस्वम्	अतियुयम्	अत्यहम्	अतिवयम्
Acc.	अतियुवाम्	अतियुवाम्	अत्यावाम्	अत्यावान्
Ins.	अतियुवया	अतियुवभिः,	अत्यावया	अत्यावाभिः
Date.	अतितुभ्यं	अतियुवभ्यं	अतिमह्यम्	अत्यावभ्यं
Abl.	अतियुवत्	अतियुवत्	अत्यावत्	अत्यावत्
Gen.	अतित्व	अतियुवाकम्	अतिमम	अत्यावाकम्
Loc.	अतियुवधि	अतियुवास्तु	अत्यावधि	अत्यावास्तु

But when the words yushmad and asmad denote singular or plural, not the compound denotes a dual, then the yuva and āva substitutions do not take place. As अतिक्रान्तौ त्वाम्=अतिस्वाम्, so also अतिक्रान्तौ युष्मान्=अतियुष्मान् so also अत्यस्मान् ॥ So on in other cases.

यूयवयौ जसि ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यूय, वयौ, जसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य जसि परतो यूव वय इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

93. In the Nom. Pl. यूय is substituted for युष्म, and वय for अस्म ॥

As यूयम्, वयम्, परमयूयम्, परमवयम्, अतियूयम्, अतिवयम् ॥ The Tadanta-vidhi applies here. That rule applies in this angādhikāra on the maxim अङ्गाधिकारे तस्य च तदुत्तरपदस्य च ॥ See also VII. 3. 10. In यूयम् and वयम्, the final इ is elided by VII. 2. 90, and we have यूय and वय + अ + अम् (VII. 1. 28)=यूयम् and वयम् (VI. 1. 97 and 107).

त्वाहौ सौ ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्व, अहौ, सौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य सौ परे त्व अह इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

94. In the Nominative Singular त्व is substituted for युष्म and अह for अस्म ॥

Thus त्वम् and अहम्, परमत्त्वम्, परमाहम्, अतिस्वम् and अत्यहम् ॥ See VII. 1. 28, VI. 1. 97 and 107.

तुभ्यमहौ ऊयि ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुभ्य, महौ, ऊयि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य तुभ्य मह्य इत्येतावादेशौ भवतो ऊयि परतः ॥

95. In the Dative Singular तुभ्य is substituted for युष्म and मह्य for अस्म ॥

As तुभ्यम्, मह्यम्, परमतुभ्यम्, परममह्यम्, अतितुभ्यम्, अतिमह्यम् ॥

तवममौ ङसि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तव, ममौ, ङसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य तव मम इत्येतावादेशौ भवतो ङसि परतः ॥

96. In the Genitive Singular तव is substituted for युष्म and मम for अस्म ॥

As तव, मम, परमतव, परममम, अतितव, अतिमम ॥ The इ is elided by VII. 2. 90, and तव and मम + अ + अ (VII. 1. 27) = तव and मम by VI. 1. 97.

त्वमावेकवचने ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्वमौ, एक वचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकवचनइत्यर्थनिर्देशः । एकवचने ये युष्मदस्मदी एकार्थाभिधानविषये तयोर्मपर्यन्तस्य स्थाने एव म इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

97. In the remaining cases of the Singular, त्व is substituted for युष्म and म for अस्म ॥

As त्वाम्, माम्, त्वया, मया, त्वत्, मत्. त्वयि, मयि ॥ The compounds also take this substitution according to the sense: as अतिक्रान्तस्त्वाम् = अतित्वम्, अत्यहम्, अतिक्रान्तौ मम = अतिमाम्, अतित्वाम्, अतिक्रान्तान् त्वाम् = अतित्वान्, अतिमान्, अतिक्रान्ताभ्यां त्वां = अतित्वाभ्याम्, अतिमाभ्याम्, अतिक्रान्तैस्त्वाम् = अतित्वाभिः, अतिमाभिः ॥

When in a compound, the words yushmad and asmad denote one, though the compound may denote two or many, thereeven the त्व and म substitutions must take place. And as regards different substitutes, like त्व and आह before सु &c, those prior taught substitutes debar this latter by the rule of पूर्वविप्रतिषेधः ॥ Some examples have already been given above, others are अतियुयम्, अतितुभ्यम्, अतितव ॥ So also with asmad. Similarly अतित्वां पश्य, अतित्वान्, अतित्वाभ्याम्, अतित्वाभिः, अतित्वभ्यम्, अतित्वत्, अतित्वयोः, अतित्वाकम्, अतित्वायि, अतित्वयोः, अतित्वासु ॥

प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्यय, उत्तरपदयोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकवचनइत्यनुवर्त्तते । प्रत्यये उत्तरपदे च परत एकत्वे वर्त्तमानयोर्युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य त्व म इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

98. त्व is substituted for युष्म and म for अस्म, when they signify a single individual, even when an affix follows, or a word is in composition.

As त्वदीयः, मदीयः, with the affix छ (IV. 2. 114, I. 1. 74) त्वत्तरः (= अतिशयेन त्वं), मत्तरः, त्वद्यति (= त्वामिच्छति), मद्यति; त्वद्यते (= त्वमिवाचरते), मद्यते ॥ Similarly when a second member of the compound follows. As तव पुत्रः = त्वत्पुत्रः, मत्पुत्रः ॥ त्वं नायोऽस्य = त्वन्नाथः, मन्नाथः ॥ When more than one individual is signified, the substitution does not take place, as युष्मदीयं (= युष्माकमिदं), अस्मदीयः युष्मत्पुत्रः (= युष्माकं पुत्रः), अस्मत्पुत्रः ॥

The sūtra VII. 2. 97 referred to the vibhaktis or case-endings, as that word from VII. 2. 84 governs these sūtras, the present sūtra refers to other affixes, and to compounds. It might be objected, that even before other affixes and compounds these words had in them vibhaktis, though those vibhaktis were elided when these affixes were added or when the words became part of a compound;

and that having in them suppressed vibhaktis, the substitutions would take place in spite of this sūtra. This objection is not valid, for there the vibhaktis have been elided. But is not elision a Bahiranga and the substitute an antaranga process; and should not, therefore, the substitute come first and then the vibhakti elided? The substitution specially taught in this sūtra is, therefore, a jñāpaka and proves the existence of the following maxim:—अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन् बहिरङ्गोलुब्धाधते 'a bahiranga substitution of लुक् supersedes even antaranga rules'. Thus गोमान् प्रियोऽस्य = गोमत्प्रियः, here the antaranga नुस् augment is superseded by the bahiranga लुक् ॥ This sūtra further indicates, that all other substitutes of 'yushmad' and 'asmad' which take place in the singular, such as तव, मम, तुभ्य, मह्य, स्व, अह, do not take effect, before general affixes or in compounds, but that स्व and म are the only substitutes there even. As तुभ्यं हितं = स्वाद्वितं, मद्वितं ॥ तव पुत्रः = स्वतुपुत्रः, मत्पुत्रः ॥

त्रिचतुरोस्त्रियां तिसृचतसृ ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रि, चतुरोः, स्त्रियाम्, तिसृ चतसृ ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ त्रि चतुर् इत्येतयोः स्त्रियां वर्तमानयोस्तिसृ चतसृ इत्येतावादेशौ भवतो विभक्तौ परतः ।
वार्तिकम् ॥ तिसृभावे सज्ञायां कन्दुपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ चतसर्थाद्युदात्त निपातनं कर्तव्यम् ॥

99. तिसृ is substituted for त्रि. and चतसृ for चतुर् in the feminine, when a case-ending follows.

Thus तिस्रः, चतस्रः, तिसृभिः, चतसृभिः ॥ Why 'in the Feminine'? Observe चयः, चत्वारः, त्रीणि, चत्वारि ॥ The word स्त्रियाम् qualifies त्रि and चतुर् and not the word अङ्ग 'stem' which is of course understood here. Therefore, the substitution will take place even where the anga refers to a Masculine, or a Neuter; when त्रि and चतुर् refer to a Feminine; as प्रियास्तिस्रो ब्राह्मण्योऽस्य ब्राह्मणस्य = प्रियतिसा ब्राह्मणः (VII. 1. 94) प्रियतिस्रौ, प्रियतिस्रः ॥ The guṇa of VII. 3. 110 is debarred in anticipation by VII. 2. 100 ordaining र ॥ प्रियतिसृ ब्राह्मणकुलं, प्रियतिसृणी, प्रियातिसृणि ॥ Similarly प्रियचतसा. °चतस्रौ, °चतस्रः, प्रियचतसृ, °चतसृणी, °चतसृणि ॥ The samāsānta affix कप् (V. 4. 153) is however not added in the above, because तिसृ &c are bahirangasubstitutions. Conversely, the aṅga may be feminine, but if त्रि and चतुर् refer to Masculine or Neuter nouns, the substitution will not take place: as प्रियास्त्रयोऽस्याः or प्रियाणि त्रीणि वा अस्या ब्राह्मण्याः = प्रियत्रिः 'a Brahmanī to whom three are beloved.' dual. प्रियत्रीः, प्रियत्रयः ॥ Similarly प्रियचत्वारः, प्रियचत्वारौ, प्रियचत्वारः ॥

Vārt.—The substitution of तिसृ for त्रि takes place before the affix कन्; as तिसृका नाम ग्रामः ॥

Vārt.—चतसृ has acute on the first, as चतस्रः पदम् ॥ Rule VI. 1. 167 does not apply. But चतसृर्णाम् according to VI. 1. 179: the हलादि debarbs the निपातन accent.

अचि र ऋतः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, र, ऋतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिसृ चतसृ इत्येतयोर्ऋतः स्थाने रेकादेशो भवति अजादौ विभक्तौ परतः ।

100. र is substituted for the ऋ of तिसृ and चतसृ before case-affixes beginning with a vowel.

Thus तिस्रः, (in तिस्रस्तिष्ठन्ति, तिस्रः पञ्च) चतस्रस्तिष्ठन्ति, चतस्रः पदय ॥ प्रियतिस्र आनय, प्रियचतस्र आनय; प्रियतिस्रः स्वम्, प्रियचतस्रः स्वम् ॥ प्रियतिस्रि निधेहि, प्रियचतस्रि निधेहि ॥ This supersedes VI. 1. 102 (ordaining the single long substitution of the form of the first), VI. 1. 111 (substitution of इर् for क्), and VII. 3. 110 (the substitution of guṇa). The last rule VII. 3. 110, though subsequent in order, is however superseded by this rule. Why 'before the affixes beginning with a vowel?' Observe तिसृभिः, चतसृभिः ॥ The क्तः of the sūtra refers to the क् of तिसृ and चतसृ and not to a क् ending stem in general: and had it not been used in the sūtra, the latter would have stood thus अचिरः "इ is substituted for the final of the words above-mentioned before an affix beginning with a vowel." So इ would have been substituted for the final of चि and चतुर् also.

जराया जरसन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ जरायाः, जरस्, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ जरा इत्येतस्य जरसित्ययमादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यामज्ज्ञौ विभक्तौ परतः ।

101. जरस् may be substituted for जरा, optionally before a case-affix beginning with a vowel.

As जराया or जरसा, in जरसा or जरयादन्ताः शीर्यन्ते ॥ जरायै or जरसे (जरसे or जरायै स्वा परिद्वयः) ॥ But only जराभ्याम्, जराभिः before an affix beginning with a consonant. The जरस् substitution takes place in the Neuter plural, when the augment लुम् is added: as अतिजरांसि ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥ In अतिजरसं ब्राह्मणकुलं पदय the affix is not elided. The form is thus evolved: अतिजर+अम् ॥ Here three rules present themselves simultaneously; first, luk-elision of the affix अम् by VII. 1. 23, (2) then the अम् substitution by VII. 1. 24, (3) and thirdly, जरस् for जर by this rule. Of these लुक्-elision is superseded by अम् of VII. 1. 24 which is an exception to VII. 1. 23; and in its turn अम् is replaced by the जरस् of this sūtra. जरस् being substituted for जर, we have अतिजरस्, now luk cannot again appear and cause elision, as it has already lost the opportunity: and we are left with अम् alone, and have अतिजरसं ॥ In the Nom. Sg. and Ins. Pl we have अतिजरं and अतिजरैः according to the opinion of Gonardiya. The reason being सान्निपातलक्षणा विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विधातस्य 'that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination'. Because अम् was added to अतिजर because it ended in अ (VII. 1. 24), and similarly भिः was replaced by ऐस् (VII. 1. 9). Now अ has caused the production of अम् and ऐस्, therefore, these latter affixes, though beginning with a vowel will not cause जरस् to be substituted for जर by this rule, for then the produced will cause the destruction of the producer. Others hold that the above maxim is anitya, and we have Nom. Sg. अतिजरसं, and Ins. Pl. अतिजरसैः ॥

The form अतिजरांसि is thus evolved अतिजर+इ ॥ Here if the लुम् augment be added first, it will be a portion of the aṅga, and will not be an intervention to anything which is to be added or operated upon the aṅga. But this

augment will be an intervention with regard to जर which is but a portion of the word अतिजर ॥ So that an operation applicable to जर will not take effect, because of this नुम् intervention. And though tadantavidhi applies in these chapters (पदाङ्गोधिकारे तस्य च तदन्तस्य च), yet the maxim is that the substitutes only replace those which are specifically exhibited in a rule (निर्दिश्यमानस्य आदेशा भवन्ति), therefore जरस् would not replace जर which forms only a portion of a full word अतिजर ॥ Even if the substitution does take place, the नुम् would be found after the स् of जरस् ॥ Therefore, the जरस् substitution should be made first, because this is a subsequent rule; and having done so, the नुम् should be added afterwards under VII. 1. 72.

The form अतिजरस् is thus evolved. We have अतिजर+अम् ॥ Here on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्य अनन्यत्वात्, we substitute जरस् for जर also, (for जर and जरस् are considered as one). Then appears VII. 1. 23 ordaining the luk of अम् and VII. 1. 24, teaching अम् ॥ The latter rule is preferred for the reasons given above.

त्यदादीनामः ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यदादीनाम्, अः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदित्येवमादीनामकारादेशो भवति विभक्तौ परतः ।

102. For the final of त्यद् and the rest, there is substituted अ, when an affix, called vibhakti, follows.

Thus त्यद्—स्यः, तौ, ते ॥ तद्—सः, तौ, ते; यद्—यः, यौ, ये; एतद्—एषः, एतौ, एते; इद्—अयम्, इनौ, इमे; अद्—असौ, अम्, अमी, द्वि, द्वौ, द्वाभ्याम् ॥ The tyadādi words extend upto द्वि, in the list of the pronouns, for the purposes of this अ substitution. Therefore, the substitution does not take place here in भवत् which forms भवान् ॥ When the word त्यद् &c are employed as names, or as a secondary member in a compound, the substitution does not take place, as त्यद्, त्यदौ, त्यदः, अतित्यद्, अतित्यदौ, अतित्यदः. See also I. 1. 27 commentary. But when they form the principal member of a compound, the substitution takes place, as परमत्सः, परमतौ, परमते ॥ For case affix (vibhakti) see V. 3. 1. also. Those affixes are also called vibhakti and cause these substitutions.

किम् कः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्, कः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किम् इत्येतस्य क इत्ययमादेशो भवति विभक्तौ परतः ।

103. क is substituted for किम् before a vibhakti affix.

As कः, कौ, के ॥ The substitution takes place even when the augment अक्च् is added. Therefore, the substitute is here क and not अ which latter would have been sufficient for किम् ॥ For स् of किम् being replaced by अ (VII. 2. 102), the इ would be left, which would be replaced by अ, had the sūtra been किमोऽन् and the forms would have been the same (क्+अ+अ=क VI. 1. 97). See V. 3. 1, 13 &c.

कु तिहोः ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कु, तिहोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तकारादौ हकारादौ च विभक्तौ परतः किमित्येतस्य कु इत्ययमादेशो भवति ।

104. कु is substituted for किम् before a vibhakti affix beginning with a त or a ह ॥

Thus कुतः, कुत्र, कुह (V. 3. 13, 7). The इ in ति means beginning with a त ॥

काति ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ क, अति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतीत्येतस्यां विभक्तौ परतः किमित्येतस्य क इत्ययमादेशो भवति ।

105. क is substituted for किम् before the vibhakti अत् (V. 3. 13).

As क गमिष्यसि, क भोक्ष्यते ॥ The substitute कु of the last rule, before the affix अ would have become क्, but that it would have caused guṇa, hence this separate substitute. Had the sūtra been किमोऽङ्गत् it would not have included the अकच् augmented किम् ॥

तदोः सः सावनन्ययोः ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तदोः, सः, सौ, अतन्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्वदादीनां तकारदकारयोरनन्ययोः सकारादेशो भवति सौ परतः ।

106. For the non-final त् and द् of त्वद् &c. there is substituted स् in the Nominative Singular.

As त्वद् + सु = त्व + अ + सु (VII. 2. 102) = त्व + अ + सु (VII. 2. 106) = त्वः (VI. 1. 97). Similarly सः from तद्, एषः from एतद् as एतद् + सु = एत + अ + सु (VII. 2. 102) = एत + अ + सु (VII. 2. 106) = एषः (VI. 1. 97). So असौ from अदस् by the following sūtra. Why do we say 'non-final'? Observe हे से, सा ॥ Had not this word been used, the case-affix would not be elided in the vocative, as then there would have been no short vowel, as required by VI. 1. 69.

अदस औ सुलोपश्च ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदसः, औ, सुलोपश्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदसः सौ परतः सकारस्य औकारादेशो भवति सोऽभ लोपो भवति ।

यार्त्तिकम् ॥ औत्वमतिषेधः साकच्चाद्वा वक्तव्यः सादुत्वं च ॥

वा० ॥ उत्तरपदभूतानां त्वदादीनामकृतसन्धीनामादेशा वक्तव्याः ॥

Kārikā अदसः सोऽभवेवौत्वं किं सुलोपो विधीयते ।

ह्रस्वानुलुप्येत संबुद्धिर्न हलः प्रकृतं हि तत् ॥

आप एत्वं भवेत्तस्मिन् झलीत्यनुवर्तनात् ।

प्रत्ययस्थाच्च कादित्वं शीभावश्च प्रसज्यते ॥

107. For the स् of अदस् there is substituted औ, whereby the Nom. affix सु is elided.

As अदस् + सु = अद + औ + सु (VII. 2. 107) = अस + औ (VII. 2. 106) = असौ ॥

Vārt:—When the augment अकच् is added, the औ substitution is optional, and in that alternative ड is added after सु, as अमुकः or असकौ ॥

Vārt:—When त्वद् &c. form second members of a compound, the above mentioned substitutions take place before the application of sandhi: as परमाहम्, परमायम्, परमानेन ॥

The form अमुकः is thus evolved :—अदकस् + सु, now औ substitution of the present sūtra is prohibited; therefore, the अ substitution of VII. 2. 102 takes

place, and the इ is changed to सू by VII. 2. 106, and the अ of अकच् after सू is changed to उ ॥

The following observations may be made with regard to the forms परमाहम् &c. A substitute would be a bahiraṅga with regard to a case-affix that should be added to a compound. Therefore, being an antaraṅga rule, the ekadeśa should be made first, and this ekadeśa being considered as the beginning of the subsequent word, we should get erroneous forms like परमहम्. परमय instead of परमाहम् and परमायम् &c. Hence the necessity of the above vārtika.

Kārikā:—Let the sūtra be अदस् औ without the words सुलोपश्च ॥ The word सौ is understood here from the preceding aphorism. The word अदस् is in the ablative case, the word सौ which is in the 7th case, should be changed here into the 6th case सोः ॥ The sūtra would then mean अदस् उत्तरस्य सौरैकारो भवति—औ is substituted for the सु after अदस् ॥ Then the final अस् of अदस् is changed to अ by VII. 2. 102, and इ is changed to सू by VII. 2. 106, and we have असौ ॥ So where is the necessity of using the words सुलोपश्च in the sūtra.

Obj: If औ be substituted for सु, then in the vocative this औ should be elided by VI. 1. 69, as it comes after a short vowel अ of VII. 2. 102. Ans. औ will not be elided by VI. 1. 69, for that rule refers to the elision of a consonantal affix only, the word हलः being understood in that sūtra, from the preceding sūtra VI. 1. 68.

Obj: If this be so, then in the Feminine Vocative we have असा + औ, and by the rule VII. 3. 106, the आ should be changed to ए before this औ ॥ Ans. No, this will not be so, for the ए substitution takes place only before a ह्रस्व beginning affix, for the word हलि is understood in the sūtra VII. 3. 106 from the sūtra VII. 3. 103.

Obj: If this be so, then in the feminine with अकच्, we have, असका + औ, and here rule VII. 3. 44 shows itself and requires the अ of स to be changed to इ (असिका) before the क of an affix. Ans. That rule VII. 3. 44 applies where the feminine affix आ is audible and remains unchanged, but here it is changed to औ (Vyddhī अ + औ = औ) in असकौ ॥

Obj: But then in असा + औ, the औ would require to be changed to ही by VII. 1. 18. Ans. This objection is partial only, for औह in VII. 1. 18 is explained by some, to be the common name given by ancient grammarians to the औ of Dual; and not to this औ; moreover, in the masculine no objection can apply. Hence the words सुलोपश्च may well be omitted.

इदमो मः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदमः, मः ॥
वृत्तिः । इदमः सौ परसौ मकारान्तविशो भवति ।

108. म is substituted for the final म् of इदम् in the Nominative Singular.

As इयम्, अयम् ॥ The substitution of म् for स् is to prevent the अ substitution of VII. 2. 102. The case-ending is elided by VI. 1. 68, and य substituted by VII. 2. 110.

दश्च ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः । इदमो ङकारस्य स्थाने मकारादेशो भवति विभक्तौ परतः ।

109. And म् is substituted for the द् of इदम् before a case-affix.

As इमो, इमे, इमम्, इमो, इमान् ॥ Thus इदम् + अम् = इदअ + अम् (VII. 2. 102) = इमअ + अम् (VII. 2. 109) = इमम् (VI. 1. 97, 107).

यः सौ ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ यः, सौ, ॥

वृत्तिः । इदमो मकारस्य यकारादेशो भवति सौ परतः ।

110. य् is substituted for the द् of इदम् in the Nom. Sg. in the feminine.

As इयम् ॥ This is confined to the Feminine, as the following sūtra relates to the masculine; and in the Neuter, the सु is लुक् elided by स्वमोर्नपुंसकान् and so leaves no trace behind.

इदोऽय् पुंसि ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदः, अय्, पुंसि ॥

वृत्तिः । इदम् इदूपस्य पुंसि सौ परतो ऽय् इत्ययमादेशो भवति ।

111. अय् is substituted for the इद् of इदम् in the Nom. Sg. masculine.

As अयम् ॥ In the Feminine इयम् ॥ As अयं ब्राह्मणः, and इयं ब्राह्मणी ॥

अनाप्यकः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन, आपि, अकः, ॥

वृत्तिः । इदमो ङकारस्य इदूपस्य स्थाने अन इत्ययमादेशो भवति आपि विभक्तौ परतः ।

112. अन is substituted for the इद् of इदम् in the Instrumental singular and the cases that follow, provided that the augment akach is not added.

As अनेन, अनयोः ॥ Why do we say "not when क is added by V. 3. 71"?

Observe इमकेन, इमकयोः ॥ The word आप् (आपि) in the sūtra is a pratyāhāra, formed with the आ of दा (Ins. Sg.), and प् of सुप् (Loc. Pl.).

हलि लोपः ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलि, लोपः, ॥

वृत्तिः । हलादौ विभक्तौ परत इदमो ङकारस्य इदूपस्य लोपो भवति ।

113. The इद् of इदम् is elided before a case-affix beginning with a consonant.

As आभ्याम्, एभिः, (VII. 1. 11) एभ्यः एषाम्, एषु ॥ For म् is substituted अ by VII. 2. 102, and for अ + अ = अ by VI. 1. 97. The rule I. 1. 52 by which a substitute replaces only the final letter, does not apply here, on the maxim मानर्थको अलोऽन्त्यविधिः ॥ For no purpose is served by eliding merely the final म्

of इद्म् ॥ Hence इद् is elided. Or it may be said that the sūtra does not teach the elision of इद्, but of अन् which was substituted for इद् by the preceding sūtra.

मृजेवृद्धिः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मृजेः, वृद्धिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभक्ताविति निवृत्तम् मृजेःस्य इको वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

114. The Vriddhi (आर्) is substituted for the root vowel (ऋ) of the stem मृज् before an affix.

As मार्षा, मार्षम्, मार्षव्यम् ॥ The मृज् here is a root, and the affixes before which this Vriddhi takes place are those which come after roots, and not which come after Prātipadikas. Therefore, not before the affixes भ्यां &c, as कंसपरिपृङ्भ्याम्, मृङ्मिः ॥ The anuvṛitti of the word vibhakti has ceased. This sūtra debars guṇa of VII. 3. 84.

अचो अणिति ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, अ, णिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्ताङ्गस्य णिति णिति च वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

115. Before the affixes having an indicatory अ् or ण्, Vriddhi is substituted for the end-vowel of a stem.

Thus एकस्तण्डुलनिचायः, (III. 3. 20) द्वौ शूर्पनिष्ठावौ, कारः and हारः (with धञ्); गौः, गावौ, गावः, सखायौ, सखायः where the case-endings are णित् by VII. 1. 90, 92. जैचम्, यौचम् with the Uṇādi ण् from जि and यु. ॥ च्यौन्नः with ण् and means 'strength'. It is an obsolete Vedic word.

अत उपधायाः ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, उपधायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गोपधाया अकारस्य स्थाने णिति णिति च प्रत्यये वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

116. In a stem ending in a consonant with an अ immediately preceding it, the Vriddhi is substituted for such अ, when an affix having an indicatory अ् or ण् follows.

As पाकः, त्यागः, यागः with घञ्, पाचि with the causative जि, पाचकः with ण्वल् ॥ Why do we say 'अ'? Observe भवयति, भवकः with guṇa only from भिद् where इ is penultimate and not अ ॥ Why do we say 'penultimate'? Observe चकासयति, तक्षकः ॥

तद्धितेष्वचामादेः ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धितेषु, अचाम्, आदेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धिते णिति णिति च प्रत्यये परतोङ्गस्याचामादेरचःस्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

117. The Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the stem, when a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory अ् or ण् follows.

As गार्ग्यः from गर्ग + यञ्, so also वास्यः ॥ शक्तिः (दक्ष + इञ्), शक्तिः, औपगवः (with अण् from उपगु), कापठवः &c. This debars the Vriddhi of VII. 2. 115 and 116, as स्वाष्ट्रः from स्वष्ट्, and जागतः from जगत् ॥

किति च ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ किति, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किति च तद्धिते परतोङ्गस्याचामादेरचः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

118. The Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the stem, when a Taddhita affix with an indicative क् follows.

As नाडायन् with फक्, so also वारायणः (IV. 1. 99), and आशिकः and शाला-
किकः with ठक् (IV. 4. 1).



अथ सप्तमाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER THIRD.

देविकाशिशपादित्यवाद्दीर्घसत्रश्रेयसामात् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ देविका, शिशपा,
दित्यवाद्, दीर्घसत्र, श्रेयसाम्, आत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देविका शिशपा दित्यवाद् दीर्घसत्र श्रेयस् इत्येतेषामङ्गानामध्यामादेशः स्याने वृद्धिप्रसङ्गे आकारो
भवति मिति णिति किति तद्धिते परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वहीनरस्येदृचनम् ॥

1. When a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory झ, ण् or क् follows, आ is substituted instead of Vṛiddhi for the first vowels of the following: devikâ, simsapâ, dityavât, dîrghasatra, and sreyas.

Thus शविकम् (=देविकायां भवम्) in शविकमुदकम्; शविकाकूलाः शालयः (=देविकाकूले भवाः), पूर्वशविकः from पूर्वशविका 'the name of a village of the Eastern people'. Here the vṛiddhi of the second member ordained by VII. 3. 14, becomes आ ॥ Similarly शांशपञ्चमसः (=शिशपायाविकारः) ॥ The word belongs to the Palâsâdi class (IV. 3. 141), and takes अण् or अञ्, the difference being in accent. So also शांशपास्थलाः (=शिशपास्थले भवाः), and पूर्वशांशप from पूर्वशांशपः 'the name of a village' See VII. 3. 14. Similarly शत्वौहम् from दित्यवाद्, (दित्यौह इह) and शर्धसत्रम् (शर्धसत्रे भव) and श्रेयसम् (श्रेयसि भव) ॥

Vart:—The Vṛiddhi of वहीनर under similar circumstances is with an ऐ as if व was वि, as वहीनरस्यापत्यं=वैहीनरिः ॥ Some say the original word itself is विहीनर (विहीनोरः), and so its taddhita derivative is regular.

केकयमित्त्रयुप्रलयानां यादेरियः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ केकय, मित्त्रयु, प्रलयानाम्, य-आदेः, इयः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ केकय मित्त्रयु प्रलय इत्येतेषां यकारादेरिय इत्ययमादेशो भवति तद्धिते मिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

2. When a Taddhita affix with an indicatory अ्, ण् or क् follows, इय् is substituted for the य and यु of केकय, मित्रयु and प्रलय ॥

As केकयः (= केकयस्यापत्यं), with the affix अम् (IV. 1. 168): similarly मैत्राय-का formed with युम् (V. 1. 134) in the sentence मैत्रायकया इत्याद्यन्ते ॥ The word Gotra in that sūtra V. 1. 134 means a Rishi name, for in ordinary parlance the name of a Rishi is called Gotra. Similarly प्रलयम् (= प्रलयादागतः). As प्रलययुद्धकं ॥

न ध्वाभ्यां पदान्ताभ्यां पूर्वौ तु ताभ्यामैच् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ध्वाभ्याम्, प-दान्ताभ्याम्, पूर्वौ, तु, ताभ्याम्, ऐच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारवकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य अचामादेशः स्थाने वृद्धिर्न भवति; ताभ्यां तु यकारवकाराभ्यां पूर्वमैचा-गमौ भवता मिति णिति किति च तद्धिते परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अव्ययानां भमाद्ये दितोपः ॥

3. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ण् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel in a compound, when it follows a word ending in य् or व्, but ऐ and औ are respectively placed before the semi-vowels.

That is ऐ is placed before य्, and औ before व् ॥ As वैयसनम् from व्यसन; (व्यसने भवे) वैयाकरणः from व्याकरण (व्याकरणमधीते) सौवर्चः from स्वर्चः (स्वर्चस्यापत्यं) ॥ Why after य् or व् only? Observe वार्थिः son of वर्यः ॥ Why do we say 'य् or व् final of a pada or word'? Observe याटीकः from यटिः, (यटिः प्रहरणमस्य) IV. 4. 59 याता from यति (यतेच्छान्ताः or यत इमं छान्ताः) ॥ The rule does not apply to दाध्यान्धि and माध्यान्धि, for no rule ordains the Vṛiddhi of ध्य or ध्व, and so no occasion for the prohibition of this rule arises. These are Patronyms formed by इम् (IV. 1. 95) from दध्यन्धि and मध्यन्धि (दाधि प्रियोऽध्यायस्य &c). The present rule applies to that Vṛiddhi also which takes place in the second member of the compound by VII. 3. 10 &c. As पूर्ववैयालिन्दः from पूर्वव्यालिन्द (पूर्वव्यालिन्दे भवः) ॥ But this prohibition does not apply where the य् or व् are not the parts of the second member, as व्याशीतिकः (= वे अशीती भूतो, भूतो भावी वा) ॥

द्वारादीनां च ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वार, आदीनाम्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वार इत्येवमादीनां ध्वाभ्याम् उत्तरपदस्याचामादेशः स्थाने वृद्धिर्न भवति पूर्वौ तु ताभ्यामैजागमौ भवतः ॥

4. Before a Taddhita-affix with an indicatory अ्, ण् or क् the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel after य् or व्, but ऐ and औ are respectively placed before these semi-vowels in द्वार &c.

As द्वार नियुक्तः = दौवारिकः, दौवारपालम् from द्वारपाल ॥ The Tadādi rule applies here. सौवर्चः from स्वर्च (स्वर्चमधिकृत्य कृतो भव्यः) ॥ So also सौवरोऽध्यायः, सौवर्चः सप्तम्यः ॥ वैयल्कशः from व्यल्कश, (व्यल्कशे भवः) सौवस्तिकः from स्वास्ति, (स्वस्तीति आह) सौवः from स्वर्च (स्वर्चभवे) ॥

Vārt:—The last vowel, with the consonant, if any, which follows it, is elided in the Indeclinables : as सौवर्गानिकः (= स्वर्गमनमाह) ॥

Some read the word स्वाध्याय also in this list, but it is unnecessary, as it would be governed by the last rule, because it is a compound of सु + अध्याय (शौ-भनोऽध्याय), or it may be a compound of स्व + अध्याय, then also it is unnecessary, as स्व is separately mentioned, in this list, and therefore when स्व begins a word it would get this peculiar substitution then also. Similarly स्क्यकृतः from स्क्यकृत; सौवादुष्टदुम् from स्वादुष्टदु, शौवनम् from श्वन् the prakṛiti-bhāva is by (VI. 4. 167) while शौवम् from श्वन् where there is no prakṛitibhāva (by अच् IV. 3. 154): शौवा-वद्: (श्वावद्भ्यां भवः). Similarly सौवम् from स्व (= स्वस्येदं); सौवमानिकः from स्वमान with the affix डच् (अध्यात्मवित्वाद् डच्). This sūtra is made because the व् and व् here are not finals of a पद or word, as they were in the preceding sūtra. The following is a list of Dvārādi words.

1 द्वार, 2 स्वर, 3 स्वाध्याय, 4 व्यल्कषा, 5 स्वस्ति, 6 स्वर (स्वर), 7 स्स्यकृत, 8 स्वादुष्टदु, 9 श्वस्*, 10 श्वन्, 11 स्व ॥

न्यग्रोधस्य च केवलस्य ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न्यग्रोधस्य, च, केवलस्य, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ न्यग्रोधशब्दस्य केवलस्य यकारादुत्तरस्याचामादेरचः रयाने वृद्धिर्न भवति तस्माच्च पूर्वमकार आगमो भवति ॥

5. ऐ is placed before the य् of न्यग्रोध, instead of Vriddhi, when the word stands alone, and is not a member of a compound, and is followed by a Taddhita affix with the indicatory झ्, ण् or क् ॥

As न्यग्रोधश्चमसः (= न्यग्रोधस्य विकारः). Why do we say 'when it is alone'? Observe न्यग्रोधमूल भवाः शालयः = न्यग्रोधमूलाः ॥ If न्यग्रोध is a derivative word (from न्यग्रोहयति = नीचैर्गतीं परोहैर्वधते), then it would have been governed by VII. 3. 3, this separate, sūtra is then for the sake of making a restrictive rule (niyama) with regard to this word. If it is a primary word, then this sūtra makes a Vidhi rule. The word केवल is a jñāpaka that the rule of Tadādi applies in this section. See VII. 3. 8, also.

न कर्मव्यतिहारे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, कर्मव्यतिहारे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मव्यतिहारि यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ॥

6. The prohibition and the augment, ordained by VII. 3. 3, do not apply to a word which expresses the reciprocity of an action.

As व्यावक्रोशी, व्यावेली, व्यावर्त्ती, व्यावहासी ॥ See III. 3. 43 and V. 4. 14.

स्वागतादीनां च ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वागत, आदीनाम्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वागत इत्येवमादीनां यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ॥

7. The prohibition and augment taught in VII. 3. 3 does not apply also to स्वागत &c.

As स्वागतिकः, (=स्वागतमिति आह) स्वाध्वरिकः, (=स्वधरेण चरति) स्वाङ्गिः, व्याङ्गिः, व्याडिः (sons of Svanga, Vyanga and Vyāḍa). व्यावहारिकः and स्वापेतयः (=स्वपत्तौ साधुः) ॥ The word व्यवहार does not mean reciprocity of action, for then it would have been governed by the last sūtra. स्वपत्त being a compound with स्व, would have been governed by VII. 3. 4 as it is included in the Dvārādi list, hence its specific mention here. The following is the list of svāgatādi words.

1 स्वागत, 2 स्वध्वर, 3 स्वङ्ग, 4 व्याङ्ग, 5 व्याड, 6 व्यवहार, 7 स्वपत्ति ॥

श्वादेरिञि ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्व, आदेः, इञि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वदेरिञस्य इञि परतो यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इकरादिग्रहणं कर्तव्यं पूर्वगणिकार्थम् ॥

8. A compound beginning with श्वन्, and followed by the Taddhita affix इञ्, is not governed by the prohibition, nor takes the augment, taught in VII. 3. 4.

Thus the descendant of श्वभञ्ज is श्वामञ्जिः, so also श्वाङ्गिः ॥ The word श्वन् is included in the list of Dvārādi words VII. 3, 4, the present sūtra implies that the rule VII. 3. 4 applies not only to those words, but to compounds beginning with those words.

Vārt.—This rule applies when any Taddhita affix beginning with इ follows; as श्वगणेन चरति=श्वागणिकः, श्वायूधिकः (IV. 4. 11).

The prohibition applies, when other Taddhita affixes follow such a word ending with इञ् (an affix beginning with इ): as from श्वामञ्जि we have श्वामञ्जम् (श्वामञ्जिरे) ॥

पदान्तस्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदान्तस्य, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वदेरिञस्य पदान्तस्यान्यतरस्यां यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ॥

9. The rule VII. 3. 4. is optionally applied to श्वन् followed by पद ॥

As श्वापदस्येदं=श्वापदम् or शौवापदम् ॥

उत्तरपदस्य ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्तर पदस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदस्येत्ययमधिकारः, हनस्ताच्छिण्णलोरिति प्रागेतस्मात् । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुकामिव्याम् उत्तरपदस्येत्येवं तद्वदितव्यम् ॥

10. Upto VII. 3. 31 inclusive, the substitution of Vriddhi will take place, for the first vowel of the second member in a compound.

This is an adhikāra sūtra, and exerts governing influence upto VII. 3. 32 exclusive. The phrase "of the second member of the compound" should

be supplied in all those sūtras, to complete the sense. Thus in VII. 3. 11, the word उत्तरपदस्य should be supplied. As पूर्ववार्षिकम्, अपरवार्षिकम्, पूर्वहेमनम्, अपरहेमनम् ॥

In those sūtras, where the word denoting the first member is not exhibited in the Ablative case, as in VII. 3. 18, 19, 20, 21, the present sūtra is absolutely necessary for causing the vṛiddhi of the second member. But in those sūtras, where the first member is exhibited in the ablative case, as in VII. 3. 11 (अवयवात्), there this sūtra is only explanatory (and not absolutely necessary), and serves also the purpose of placing such vṛiddhis under the category of 'uttarapada-vṛiddhi'. This peculiar vṛiddhi is liable to certain rules of accent, as in VI. 2. 105. Hence the importance of the present aphorism in those sūtras also, where the word is exhibited in the fifth case.

अवयवाद्गतोः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवयवात्, ऋतोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवयववाचिन उत्तरस्य ऋतुवाचिन उत्तरपदस्याचामादेशचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते भिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

11. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण् or क्, Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of a word denoting season, when it is preceded by a word denoting a part.

As पूर्ववार्षिकम्, पूर्वहेमनम्, अपरवार्षिकम्, अपरहेमनम् ॥ The composition with पूर्व and अपर &c takes place by II. 2. 1. and then by IV. 3. 18 there is ठक् after वर्ष, and अण् after हेमन्त with the elision of त् by IV. 3. 22. The Tadanta-viddhi, as a general rule, does not apply to compounds, so that a rule made applicable to a particular word, will not apply to a compound which ends with that word: but tadanta-viddhi applies to a word denoting season when it takes an affix causing Vṛiddhi, and is preceded by a word denoting a portion. We draw this rule from the present sūtra, for हेमन्त being formed from हेमन्त by a vṛiddhi-causing affix (IV. 3. 22), the affix अण् will be applied to हेमन्त even when it is the second member of a compound, the first member of which denotes a part. (ऋतोवृद्धिर्मादिभाववयवात् I. 1. 72 Vārt. Mahābhāṣya).

Why do we say 'denoting a portion'? Observe पूर्वाशु वर्षाशु भवं पौर्ववार्षिकम् with ठक् (IV. 3. 11). The tadanta-vidhi applies only when the first member denotes a portion.

सुसर्वाद्धाज्जनपदस्य ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, सर्व, अद्धाति, जनपदस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु सर्व अर्द्ध इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य जनपदवाचिन उत्तरपदस्याचामादेशचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते भिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

12. After सु, सर्व and अर्ध, the first vowel of the name of a country gets the Vṛiddhi, when a Taddhita affix with an indicatory अ, ण् or क् follows.

As सुपाञ्चालकः, सर्वपाञ्चालकः and अर्धपाञ्चालकः, formed with वुञ् (IV.2.125). This sūtra also gives rise to the following rule सुतर्वाध्विक् शब्दभ्यो जनपदस्य "The tadantavidhi applies to words denoting country, when the first member is सु, सर्व, अर्ध or a direction-denoting word". As shown in the above examples, and for direction denoting words see the following sūtra. (I. 1. 72 Vārt. Mahābhāṣya).

दिशो ऽमद्राणाम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिशः, अ मद्राणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिग्वाचिन उत्तरस्य जनपदवाचिनो मद्रर्वाजितस्याचामादेरचोवृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते ऽमिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

13. After a word denoting direction, the first vowel of the name of a country, with the exception of मद्र, gets Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory अ, ए, or क् ॥

As पूर्वपाञ्चालकः, अपरपाञ्चालकः, दक्षिणपाञ्चालकः, उत्तरपाञ्चालकः (IV. 2. 125, 107, 108. VI. 2. 105 accent). The Tadanta-vidhi applies here, as shown in the preceding sūtra. Why do we say 'denoting direction'? Observe पूर्वः पञ्चालानां = पूर्वपञ्चालः, तत्र भवः, = पौर्वपञ्चालकः, आपरपञ्चालकः ॥ With मद्र we have पौर्वमद्रः, आपरमद्रः with अञ् (IV. 2. 108). The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

प्राचां ग्रामनगराणाम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्, ग्राम, नगराणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचां देशे ग्रामनगराणां दिश उत्तरस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते ऽमिति णितिकिति च परतः ॥

14. After a word denoting direction, the first vowel of the name of a village or city in the land of the eastern people, gets the Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ए or क् ॥

Thus पूर्वपुत्रकामशमः, अपरपुत्रकामशमः, पूर्वकार्णधृत्तिकः, अपरकार्णधृत्तिकः (IV. 2. 107). These are village names. पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रकः, अपरपाटलिपुत्रकः पूर्वकान्यकुब्जः, अपरकान्यकुब्जः ॥

The word प्राचां in this sūtra, as well as in VII. 3. 24, does not here mean 'the eastern grammarians', but 'the eastern countries', because of the context. पूर्वपुत्रकामशमः is thus formed. पूर्वा च असौ इपुत्रकामशमी = पूर्वपुत्रकामशमी ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 50. Then the affix अ is added to it, in the sense of ततो भवः by IV. 2. 107. In पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रकः the affix वुञ् is added by IV. 2. 123. Though Pāṭaliputra is the name of one city, Purva-pāṭaliputra means the Eastern portion of the city Pāṭaliputra.

That place is called 'grāma', where people reside, and a 'nagara' is also a 'grāma' in this sense. Therefore, the rules which good men observe with regard to 'grāma', are observed by them in 'nagara' also. Thus the rule is अभक्ष्ये ग्रामकुक्षुदः, therefore, the नागर cock is also not eaten. So also ग्रामे नाध्ययम् is applied to nagara also. In this grammar also, we see that 'grāma' includes

'nagara' also, as in IV. 2. 109, 117, VI. 2. 103. Therefore, where is the necessity of employing the word नगर separately in this aphorism? The two words are separately used, in order to indicate the separate nature and relation of the two kinds of words. The *full* word पूर्वेषुकामशमी is the name of a 'grāma', and not the portion इषुकामशमी ॥ But in पूर्वपाटलिपुत्र, the word पाटलिपुत्र itself is the name of the 'nagara'. In the present sūtra, there is the adhikāra of अङ्गस्य and of उत्तरपदस्य ॥ We apply these separately to these two classes of words: namely ग्रामवाचिनाम् अङ्गानाम् and नगरवाचिनाम् उत्तरपदानाम् ॥ This we could not have done without employing these words in the sūtra. Therefore, in the case of 'grāma' word, the vṛiddhi takes place in that *portion* of it which follows a direction denoting word (ग्रामवाचिनामङ्गानामवयवस्य दिक्शब्दादुत्तरस्य वृद्धिर्भवति). While a *nagara* word itself gets vṛiddhi when it is preceded by a direction denoting word (दिशः उत्तरेषां नगराणाम्) ॥ In पूर्वेषुकामशमः, the vṛiddhi of इषुकामशमी takes place first, and then the combination by sandhi. See on this point VII. 3. 22.

संख्यायाः संवत्सरसंख्यस्य च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्यायाः, संवत्सर, संख्य-
स्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्याया उत्तरपदस्य संवत्सरशब्दस्य संख्यायाश्चाचामादेरचः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते णिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

15. After a Numeral, the first vowel of संवत्सर and of a Numeral, gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita having an indicatory अ, ए, or क् ॥

Thus द्विसांवत्सरिकः = द्वौ संवत्सरावधीष्टो भूतो भूतो or भावी (V. 1. 80), त्रिसांवत्सरिकः, विषाष्टिकः = द्वे षष्ठी अधीष्टो भूतो भूतो भावी वा ॥ द्विसाप्तिकः ॥ The words द्वि, षष्ठी &c when applied to वर्ष (VII. 3. 16) and Numerals give rise to the affixes taught under kālādhikāra (V. 1. 78-97). The special mention of संवत्सर here, (though this is a परिमाण word and would have been included in the sūtra VII. 3. 17) implies that the word परिमाण in that sūtra does not mean the measure of *time*, but a measure of any other thing than time. Therefore, with other time-words than samvatsara, the Vṛiddhi takes place in the regular way: as द्वैसमिकः, त्रैसमिकः ॥ Similarly in sūtra IV. 1. 22, the word परिमाण does not mean the measure of time or numerals, as त्रिवर्षा, द्विवर्षा माणविका ॥ In short, the word परिमाण in these sūtras (and elsewhere III, 2. 23, II. 3. 46 &c,) means "mass or bulk", and not a measure in general.

वर्षस्याभाविष्यति ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्षस्य, अ-भाविष्यति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्याया उत्तरस्य वर्षशब्दस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते णिति णिति किति च परतः, स चेत्तद्धितो भविष्यत्यर्थे न भवति ।

16. After a numeral, the first vowel of वर्ष gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ए, or क्, when the affix does not refer to a Future time.

As द्विवर्षे अधीष्टो भूतो भूतो वा = द्विवार्षिकः, त्रिवार्षिकः ॥ But when denoting future time, we have द्वैवार्षिकः, त्रैवार्षिकः "calculated to last two or three years" as in the sentence यस्य त्रैवार्षिकं धान्यं निहितं भृत्यवृत्तये अधिकं वापि विद्येत स सोमं पातुमर्हात ॥ (= चीणि वर्षाणि भावी). The word अभविष्यन् does not qualify the words अधाष्ट and भृत (V. 1. 80), the sense of futurity is there denoted by the sentence and not by the taddhita-affix: as द्वे वर्षे अधीष्टो भूतो वा कर्म करिष्यति = द्विवार्षिको मनुष्यः ॥

परिमाणान्तस्यासंज्ञाशाणयोः ॥१७॥ पदानि ॥ परिमाणान्तस्य, असंज्ञा, शाणयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणान्तस्याङ्गस्य संख्यायाः परं यदुत्तरपदे तस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते मिति णिति किति च परतः, संज्ञायां विषये शाणे चोत्तरपदे न भवति ॥

17. After a numeral, the first vowel of a word denoting mass in its widest sense (with the exception of शाण) gets the Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ए or क, when the word so formed does not mean a Name.

As द्वौ कुड्यौ प्रयोजनमस्य = द्विकौडिकः (V. 1. 109) द्वाभ्यां सुवर्णाभ्यां कीलं = द्विसौवाणकम् (V. 1. 37), त्रिसौवर्णिकम् ॥ The taddhita affix is optionally elided, see vārtika to V. 1. 29. When the affix is elided there can be no Vṛiddhi, as द्विसुवर्णम् ॥ Similarly द्विनैष्किकम्, त्रिनैष्किकम् (V. 1. 30). Why 'when it is not a name'? Observe पाञ्चलोहितिकम्, पाञ्चकपालिकम् (= पञ्चलोहित्यः or कपालानि परिमाणमस्य V. 1. 30) The whole word is a Name here. Why with the exception of शाण? Observe द्वैशाणम्, त्रैशाणम् formed with अण् (V. 1. 35 and 36). Some read the sūtra as असंज्ञाशाणकुलिजानाम् so that कुलिज is also excepted, as द्वैकुलिजिकः (V. 1. 55 द्वैकुलिजं प्रयोजनमस्य) ॥

जे प्रोष्ठपदानाम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ जे, प्रोष्ठपदानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जइति जातार्थो निर्दिश्यते । तत्र यस्तद्धितो विहितस्तस्मिन् मिति णिति किति च परतः प्रोष्ठपदानादुत्तरस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

18. In प्रोष्ठपद and its synonyms, the first vowel of the second member gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita affix meaning 'born in that time', and having an indicatory अ, ए or क ॥

The word अ means 'born', the affixes denoting 'born under that asterism' are meant here. प्रोष्ठपद is the name of an asterism, the time appertaining there to is also called प्रोष्ठपद (the affix अण् of IV. 3. 3, is elided by IV. 2. 4). प्रोष्ठपदासु जातः = प्रोष्ठपादो माणवकः (with अण् IV. 3. 16). Why do we say 'born in that time'? Observe यत्र प्रोष्ठपदेनेचः (= प्रोष्ठपदासु भवः) धरणीमभिवर्षति ॥ The plural number प्रोष्ठपदानां indicates that the synonyms of प्रोष्ठपद such as भद्रपाद are also to be included.

हृद्भगसिन्धुवन्त पूर्वपदस्य च ॥१९॥ पदानि ॥ हृद्, भग, सिन्धु, अन्त, पूर्वपदस्य च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हृद् भग सिन्धु इत्येवमन्तेङ्गे पूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते मिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

19. The Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowels of both (the first and second) members in a compound ending with हृद्, भग, and सिन्धु, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ण् or क् ॥

As सुहृदयस्यं = सौहार्दम्, सौभाग्यम्, सौभाग्यम् सौभाग्येयः (= सुभगाया अपत्यं), सौभाग्येयः (IV. 1. 126). The words सुभगा and दुर्भगा occur in the Kalyānādi class (IV. 1. 126), and the affix डक् and इन् augment are added. सुभग also occurs in Udgātri class (V. 1. 129). That word, however, does not get the Vriddhi in the second member, As महते सौभगाय ॥ This is a Vedic anomaly. Similarly from सक्तुसिन्धवः (= सक्तुप्रधानाः सिन्धवः) we have सक्तुसैन्धवः (= सक्तुसिन्धु भवः) so also पानसिन्धवः ॥ The word सिन्धु occurs in Kachchhādi class, and सैन्धवः is formed by अण् ॥ The Tadanta-rule applies to words formed there-under.

The words सुहृद् and दुर्हृद् are anomalously formed by V. 4. 150. But the reading adopted by Kāśikā is सुहृदयस्येदम्; so the word hṛidaya is changed to hṛid by VI. 3. 50 or VI. 3. 51. The word sindhu means 'a country', 'a river' or 'an ocean'.

अनुशतिकादीनां च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुशतिकादिनाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुशतिक इत्येवमादीनां चाङ्गानां पूर्वपदस्य चोत्तरपदस्याचामादेशः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते ञिति णिति किति वा परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कल्याण्यादीनानि नङितिनङ् ॥

20. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ण् or क्, the Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowel of both members of the compounds अनुशतिक &c.

Thus (1) अनुशतिकम् (= अनुशतिकस्येदम्) V. 1. 21 and IV. 3. 120; (2) आनुहौडिकः (= अनुहोडेन चरति IV. 4. 8). (3) आनुसांवरणम् (= अनुसंवरणे दीयते V. 1. 96). (4) आनुसांवत्सरिकः (IV. 3. 60 formed by डङ् from अनुसम्बत्सरेण दीयते) (5) आंगारवैणवः (son of अङ्गारवेणु). (6) आसिहात्यम् (= असिहत्ये भवं). Some read this word as अस्यहत्य; this will also take अण् as belonging to विमुक्तादि class. As आस्यहात्यः (= अस्यहत्यशब्दोऽस्मिन्नध्यायेऽस्ति) Others read this as अस्येहति; as आस्यैहतिकः (= अस्येहतिः प्रयोजनमस्य). The word अस्य in these is treated like a Prātipadika, its case-affix is not elided. (7) बाध्यौगः (= बाध्योगस्य अपत्यं). It belongs to Bidādi class. (8) पुस्करसदोऽपत्यं = पौस्करसादिः ॥ This belongs to Bāhvādi class. (9) आनुहारत from अनुहारत् ॥ The same as above. (10) कुरुक्तः belongs to Gargādi class. Its partonymic is कौरुकात्यः (11) कौरुकाञ्चालः (कुरुपञ्चालेषु भवः) ॥ The affix बुङ् is not added here, because जनपदसमुदायो जनपदमहणेन गृह्यते ॥

(12) औदुकशौद्रिः (son of उदकशुद्रिः) ॥ (13, 14) ऐहलौकिकः, पारलौकिकः, from इहलोकः and परलोकः by adding डङ् in the sense of तत्र भवः (लोकोत्तरपदस्य च) ॥ (15) सार्वलौकिकः from सर्वलोकः by डङ् under V. 1. 44. (16) सार्वपोरुषम् from सर्वपुरुषः in the

sense of तस्येदम् ॥ (17) सार्वभौमः (= सर्वभूमिनिमित्तं संयोगो or उत्पातो वा V I. 41) ॥ (18) प्रयोगः—प्रायोगिकः (तत्र भवः, प्रयोगाधिदेवाधिभूतव्यध्यात्मादयः) (19) परस्त्री—पारस्त्रियेयः formed by इनेय (IV. I. 126).

(20) So also of राजपुरुष before the affix व्यङ्, as राजपौरुष्यम् ॥ Why do we say before व्यङ् only? Observe राजपुरुषस्यापत्यं=राजपुरुषायणिः; formed by क्तिष् (IV. I. 157).

(21) शतकुम्भे भवः=शतकौम्भः, (21 a) सौखशायनिकः from सुखशयन (21 b) पारशरिकः from परदर ॥ (22) सूत्रनाडि=सूत्रनडस्यापत्यं ॥

This is an Akṛitigaṇa class; therefore, we have forms like these, आभिगामिकः (अभिगममर्हति), आधिदैविकम् (अधिदेवभवः), आधिभौतिकं; चातुर्विधम् (चतस्र एव विधा) ॥ The affix व्यङ् is added in svārtha.

1 अनुशक्तिक, 2 अनुहोड, 3 अनुसंवरण (अनुसंचरण), 4 अनुसंवत्सर, 5 अङ्गारवेणु, 6 असिहृत्य (अस्यहृत्य), 7 अस्यहोति, 8 वध्योग, 9 पुष्करसद, 10 अनुहरत्, 11 कुरुकत्, 12 कुरुपञ्चाल, 13 उदकशुद्ध, 14 इहलोक, 15 परलोक, 16 सर्वलोक, 17 सर्वपुरुष, 18 सर्वभूमि, 19 प्रयोग, 20 परस्त्री, 21 राजपुरुषान् व्यङ्गि; 22 सूत्रनड ॥ आकृतिगण, 23 अभिगम, 24 अधिभूत, 25 अधिदेव 26 चतुर्विधा, 27 सुखशयन 28 शतकुम्भ 29 परदर ॥

देवताद्वन्द्वे च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवता-द्वन्द्वे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवताद्वन्द्वे च पूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदस्य चाचामादिरचः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति तद्विधे जिहिति गिति किति वा परतः ॥

21. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicative झ, ण or क्, the Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowels of both members a Dvanda compound of the names of Devas.

As अग्निमारुती in अग्निमारुतीमनङ्गाहीमालभेत् ॥ आग्निमारुतं कर्म ॥ The rule applies to Dvandas relating to hymns (सूक्त) and sacrificial offerings (हवि). Therefore, not here, स्कान्दविशाखौ देवतेऽस्य=स्कान्दविशाखः (IV. 2. 24). So also ब्राह्मप्रजापत्यम् by प्य from ब्रह्मप्रजापती ॥ See VI. 3. 26.

The short इ in the आग्नि in आग्निमारुत, आग्निवारुणम् is by VI. 3. 28. A compound relates to a sūktā, which worships a deva through hymns; and that by which a 'havis' is determined, is a compound relating to sacrificial offering.

नेन्द्रस्य परस्य ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इन्द्रस्य, परस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रशब्दस्य परस्य यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ॥

22. But the Vriddhi of the first vowel of Indra, when it stands as the second member of a Dvanda compound, does not take place before a Taddhita affix having an indicative झ, ण or क् ॥

As सौमेन्द्रः, आग्नेन्द्रः ॥ Why "when it stands as the subsequent member"? Observe ऐन्द्राग्न मेकादशकपालं चरुं निर्वपेत् ॥ There are two vowels in the word इन्द्र, and when a Taddhita affix is added, then one of these i. e. the अ or the last vowel is elided by VI. 4. 148, and the other (i. e. the इ, coalesces with the last

vowel of the first term, as सोम + इन्द्र + अण = सोम + इन्द्र + अ = सोमे + इ + अ ॥ Now, no vowel is left of इन्द्र when it gets the form न्द्र, so what is the necessity of the present prohibitory rule? This prohibition indicates the existence of the following maxim : बहिरङ्गमपि पूर्वोत्तरपदयोः पूर्वं कार्यं भवति, पश्चादेकादेशः or in other words पूर्वोत्तरनिमित्तकार्यात् पूर्वमन्तरङ्गोऽप्येकादेशो न ॥ "The substitution of one vowel for the final of the first and the initial of the second member of a compound does, even when it is antarangā, not take place previously to an operation which concerns the first or the second member of the compound". It is on this maxim that the forms पूर्वपुकांशम् (VII. 3. 14) &c are constructed, otherwise इ being the first vowel of the second member (इ of इषु having merged in पूर्व), would have been vṛddhi.

दीर्घाश्च वरुणस्य ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, च वरुणस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घादुत्तरस्य वरुणस्य यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ॥

23. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ए or क, in a Dvandva compound of god-names, the vṛddhi is not substituted for the first vowel of वरुण, when a long vowel precedes it.

As ऐन्द्रावरुणम्, मैत्रावरुणम् from इन्द्रवरुणो &c. (VI. 3. 26). But आग्निवारुणीम् in आग्निवारुणीमनङ्गाही मालभेत् when a short vowel precedes it. This word is derived from the compound word अग्नीवरुणौ the इ of अग्नि being lengthened by VI. 3. 27. But in forming a Taddhita-derivative from this word, the long ई is shortened by VI. 3. 28, and therefore, it cannot be said that a long vowel precedes वरुण ॥

प्राचां नगरान्ते ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्, नगरान्ते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचां देशे नगरान्ते पूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदस्याचामादेशो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते मिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

24. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ए or क, the Vṛddhi is substituted for the first vowels of both members of the compound, which is the name of a city of the Eastern People, and which ends in the word नगर ॥

As साङ्गनागरः (= सुङ्गनागरे भवः), पौण्ड्रनागरः ॥ Why do we say 'of the Eastern people'? Observe माद्रनगरः, from मद्रनगरः the city of the Northern people.

जङ्गलधेनुबलजान्तस्य विभाषितमुत्तरम् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जङ्गल, धेनु, बलज, अन्तस्य, विभाषितम्, उत्तरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जङ्गल धेनु बलज इत्येवमन्तस्याङ्गस्य पूर्वपदस्याचामादेशो वृद्धिर्भवति विभाषितमुत्तरं मुत्तरपदस्य विभाषितं तद्धिते मिति णिति किति वा परतः ॥

25. Before a Tahhita affix having an indicatory अ, ए, or क, the Vṛddhi is substituted for the first vowel of-

the compound ending in जङ्गल, धेनु and बलज, and optionally for the first vowel of these second members also.

As कौरुजङ्गलम् or कौरुजाङ्गलम्, वैश्वधेनवम् or वैश्वधेनवम्, सौवर्णबलजः or सौवर्णबालजः॥

अर्द्धात्परिमाणस्य पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्द्धात्, परिमाणस्य, पूर्वस्य, तु, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्द्धशब्दात्परस्य परिमाणवाचिन उत्तरस्याच्चाभावेऽप्यस्य स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति पूर्वस्य तु वा भवति तद्धिते भिति णिति किति वा परतः ।

26. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण, or क्, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the second member, denoting a mass in its widest sense, when the word अर्ध precedes it, but optionally for the first vowel of अर्ध ॥

As अर्धशैलीकम् or आर्धशैलीकम्, अर्धकौडविकम् or आर्धकौडविकम् with ठस् (V. I. 18). Why do we say when denoting a mass? Observe आर्धकौडविकम् only (=अर्ध-कौडः प्रयोजनमस्य) ॥

नातः परस्य ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अतः, परस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्द्धात्परस्य परिमाणाकारस्य वृद्धिर्न भवति, पूर्वस्य तु वा भवति, तद्धिते भिति णिति किति वा परतः ॥

27. When the first vowel of the second member, preceded by अर्ध and denoting mass is short अ, the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for this अ, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण or क्; and optionally so for the first vowel of the first member (i. e. अर्ध) ॥

Thus अर्धप्रस्थिकः or आर्धप्रस्थिकः (V. I. 18) ॥ अर्धकंसिकः or आर्धकंसिकः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a short अ'? Observe आर्धकौडविकः ॥ Why 'short अ'? Observe अर्ध खार्याम् भवः = अर्धखारी ॥ Here Vṛiddhi is substituted for the आ of खारी, and though the form remains the same, the power of this word is changed. For अर्धखारी being formed by a Taddhita affix causing Vṛiddhi, in forming a Bahuvrīhi compound, this word will retain its feminine form and will not be changed into masculine under VI. 3. 39. as अर्धखारीभार्यः (= अर्धखारीभार्यायस्य) (वृद्धि-निमित्तस्य च तद्धितस्य &c.) Wherever Vṛiddhi is prohibited with regard to a Taddhita affix, that affix cannot be called वृद्धिनिमित्त, and a word formed with such an affix will become masculine in a Bahuvrīhi compound referring to a male person, वैयाकरणो भार्या अस्य = वैयाकरणभार्यः ॥ The word वैयाकरण is formed by prohibition of Vṛiddhi. See VII. 3. 3.

प्रवाहणस्य ढे ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रवाहणस्य, ढे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रवाहणस्य ढे परत उत्तरपदस्याच्चाभावेऽप्यस्य वृद्धिर्भवति पूर्वपदस्य वा भवति ॥

28. Before the affix ढ (पय), the Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the second member of प्रवाहण, but optionally so for the first vowel of the first member (i. e. प्र) ॥

Thus प्रवाहणस्यापत्यं = प्रावाहणेयः or प्रवाहणेयः ॥ The affix ढक् IV. 1. 123, is added, similarly प्रवाहणेयी भार्याऽस्य = प्रवाहणेयीभार्यः (VI. 3. 39, masculation prohibited). Or we may translate the sūtra as "Before the affix ढ, the vowel of प्र in प्रवाहण optionally gets Vriddhi", and omit the rest. The masculation will still be prohibited by VI. 3. 41, (जाते) ॥

तत्प्रत्ययस्य च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्प्रत्ययस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रवाहणस्येति वर्तते, तदिति ढप्रत्ययस्य प्रत्ययमर्थः, ढक् प्रत्ययान्तस्य प्रवाहणशब्दस्य तद्धितेषु परत उत्तरपदस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥

29. Even so in a new derivative from this stem ending in ढ, formed with a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण् or क्, there is vriddhi substitution for the first vowel of the second member, and optionally for the first vowel of the first member, in प्रवाहणेय and प्रावाहणेय ॥

As प्रवाहणेयस्यापत्यं = प्रावाहणेयिः or प्रवाहणेयिः, प्रा or प्र-वाहणेयकम् ॥

नञः शुचीश्वरक्षेत्रज्ञकुशलनिपुणानाम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नञः, शुचि, ईश्वर, क्षेत्रज्ञ, कुशल, निपुणानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ उत्तरेषां शुचि ईश्वर क्षेत्रज्ञ कुशल निपुण इत्येतेषामचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति, पूर्वपदस्य वा भवति तद्धिते ङिति णिति किति वा परतः ॥

30. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण् or क्, the Vriddhi is always substituted for the first vowel of शुचि, ईश्वर, क्षेत्रज्ञ, कुशल and निपुण when preceded by the Negative particle, but this substitution is optional for the vowel of the Negative particle.

As अशौचम् or आशौचम्, अनैश्वर्यम् or अनैश्वर्यम्, अक्षेत्रज्ञम् or आक्षेत्रज्ञम्, अकौशलम् or आकौशलम्, अनैपुणम् or अनैपुणम् ॥ Some say the optional vriddhi of the negative particle is an aprāpta-vibhāsha, no other rule would have caused its vriddhi had this rule not existed. They argue that by V. 1. 121, all affixes denoting भाव are prohibited after a Tatpurusha compound with the negative particle; therefore, the words शुचि &c, should be first developed by the addition of भाव-affixes, and then they should be compounded with the negative particle, which may be optionally vriddhied by this rule, which would apply to it, though it is not an aṅga, because the rule teaches vriddhi. Others controvert this opinion, and hold that other affixes causing vriddhi than भाव-affixes, also come after negative-Tatpurusha compounds, such as affixes denoting des-

cendant &c.: and भाव-affixes are added to Bahuvrīhi negative compounds also, therefore, the force of the anuvṛitti of अङ्ग, which is understood up to the end of the Seventh Adhyāya (VI. 1. 1), and *a fortiori* in this sūtra also, should not be set aside as the above interpretation would do. Moreover the full Taddhita compounds अक्षेत्रज्ञ and अनीश्वर are read in the list of Brāhmaṇādi words (V. 1. 124), and as such they take the भाव affix व्यम् which would have *always* caused the vṛiddhi of अ, but for this sūtra which makes it optional. Therefore it is a prāpta-vibhāṣā.

यथातथयथापुरयोः पर्यायेण ॥३१॥ पदानि ॥ यथातथ, यथापुरयोः, पर्यायेण ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यथातथ यथापुर इत्येतयोर्नञ् उत्तरयोः पर्यायेणाचामादेशश्चो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते ङिति ङिति किति वा परतः ॥

31. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण् or क्, the words अयथातथ and अयथापुर may have vṛiddhi of the first vowel of their first member, or that of the second member, in alternation.

That is, when the Negative particle gets the vṛiddhi, the words remain unchanged; and when these words are vṛiddhied, the negative particle remains unaltered. As आयायातथ्यम् or अयायातथ्यम्, आयायापुर्यम् or अयायापुर्यम् ॥ The words अयथातथ and अयथापुर should be considered to belong, as negative compounds, to Brāhmaṇādi class (V. 1. 124): and take व्यम् ॥ In the sūtra the compounds यथातथ and यथापुर are exhibited and are Avyayibhāvas (II. 1. 7), and being neuters, the आ of तथा and पुरा are shortened. According to Patanjali this sūtra is superfluous. When the negative particle takes Vṛiddhi, the compound should be analysed as, न यथातथा = अ यथातथा, अयथातथा भावः = आयायातथ्यम् ॥ When the second member gets the vṛiddhi, the compound should be analysed as, यथातथा भावः = यायातथ्यम्, न यायातथ्यम् = अयायातथ्यम् ॥

हनस्तो ऽचिण्णलोः ॥३२॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, तः, अ, चिण् णलोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितेति नित्यम् । तत्संबद्धं कितीत्यपि । ङितीति वर्त्तते । हनस्तकारादेशो भदिति ङिति प्रत्यये परतः चिण्णलो वर्जयित्वा ॥

32. त् is substituted for the न् of the root हन् before an affix with an indicatory अ् or ण्, which causes also the vṛiddhi of the penultimate अ, but the augment is not added before the Aorist-sign चिण्, nor before the Personal ending णल् of the Perfect.

The anuvṛitti of 'Taddhita' ceases, and with it that of कित् also which causes Vṛiddhi in Taddhita only. The णित् and भित् do govern still. Thus घातः (with घम्), घातयति (with णिष्), घातकः (with ण्वल्), साधुघातिन् with हम्; घातंघातम् with ण्वल् ॥ But जघानि and जघान with चिण् and णल् ॥ This sūtra has

reference to roots, and refers to those affixes only which come after roots (धातु-प्रत्यय), therefore not here वार्चनः from वृत्तहन् ॥

आतो युक्चिण्कृतोः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, युक्, चिण्, कृतोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य चिणि कृति ङिति युगागमो भवति ।

33. A root-stem ending in आ receives the augment युक् (य), before the Aorist sign चिण्, and before a kṛit-affix with an indicatory ङ् or ण्, which causes also the Vṛiddhi of the root-vowel.

As अशायि, अशायि with चिण्, शायः and शायकः, धायः, धायकः with ण् and ण्वुल् ॥ Why चिण् and kṛit only? Observe ददौ, दधौ in the Perfect, and चौडिः, बालाकिः with इङ् a Taddhita affix (IV. 1. '96). So also ज्ञा देवता अस्य=ज्ञः ॥

नोदात्तोपदेशस्य मान्तस्यानाचमेः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उदात्तोपदेशस्य, मान्तस्य, अनाचमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तोपदेशस्य मान्तस्याङ्गस्याचमिबर्जितस्य चिणि कृति च ङिति यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ॥

वा० ॥ अनाचमिकमिवमीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

34. The Vṛiddhi is not substituted before the Aorist चिण् or a kṛit-affix with indicatory ङ् or ण् for the vowel of that root which ends in म् and is acutely accented in its original enunciation (Dhâtupâṭha), but not so in चम् after आ ॥

The vṛiddhi of the penultimate अ takes place before णिन् and मिन् affixes (VII. 2. 116), that vṛiddhi does not take place in the case of udâṭta roots ending in म् ॥ Thus अशानि, अतानि, and अद्वि in चिण् ॥ Compare VI. 4. 92, 93. Similarly with कृन् affixes, as शमकः, तमकः, दमकः, शमः, तमः दमः ॥ Why do we say 'acutely accented'? Observe, यामकः, रामकः ॥ How do you explain रुधाम् and उपरम्? These are irregular forms exhibited by Pāṇini himself in the Dhâtupâṭha अडड्यमे (Bhu. 380), यम् उपरमे (Bhu. 1033) Why do we use "in the original enunciation or upadeśa"? So that the rule may apply to शमी इमी, तमी, but not to याममः, रामकः ॥ Here to the root शम्, तम् and दम् is added the affix चिनुण् (III. 2. 141). The words शमिन् &c. get the affix-accent, namely acute ई; and thus the root-vowel becomes anudâṭta. Though the root *now* becomes anudâṭta, yet because in its upadeśa it was udâṭta, the present sūtra will apply and prevent vṛiddhi. The roots यम्, रम् are anudâṭta in upadeśa, but in यामकः, रामकः they become udâṭta by लिन् accent. This accent is a secondary accent and not the 'original' accent; and hence the present rule does not apply and there is vṛiddhi. Why do we say ending in म्? Observe चारकः पाठकः ॥ Why with the exception of आचम्? Observe आचामकः ॥

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the roots आ-चम्, कम् and वम्, as यामः, कामः and आचामः ॥ In the case of कम्, the affix चम् is added

in that alternative, when the root does not take the affix जिह् (III. I. 31). It thus gets वृद्धि.

The word आमः is formed from the Churādi अम्, which with the affix जिच् gets वृद्धि, because जिच् is not a kṛit-affix, and is not therefore governed by this rule. If you say "let there be वृद्धि of जिच्, but this वृद्धि will be shortened by VI. 4. 92 because it is a मित् root", we reply "this root is not मित्" ॥ The मित् roots are those enumerated in Bhuādi class, subdivision घटादिः (800). No doubt, there it is said that the roots ending in अम् are मित् (in अमन्ताश्च). But a root is regarded मित् only with regard to the Causative जिच् affix, and not with regard to that जिच् of the Churādi class where the sense of the causative is not involved in it. Therefore this root is not मित् (VI. 4. 93).

The phrases सूर्यविभ्रामा भूमिः and others like it are incorrect. Why do we say 'चिण् and kṛit only'? Observe शशाम, वशाम, चचाम ॥

जनिवध्योश्च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनि, वध्योः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनि वधि इत्येतयोश्चिणि कृति च झिति यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ।

35. The वृद्धि is not substituted for the vowels of जन् and वच् before the Aorist-sign चिण् and the kṛit-affixes with an indicatory झ् and ण् ॥

As अजनि and अवाधि with चिण्, and जनकः and बधकः (with ण्डल्), मजनः, वधः ॥ This rule refers to the separate and the distinct root वध and not to the substitute of हन् ॥ This we see in the line भक्षकश्चेन्न विद्येत वधकोऽपि न विद्यते ॥ The form from हन् will be घातकः ॥ Moreover the substitute वध ends with अ i. e. it is of two syllables 'badha', and as such it also does not admit वृद्धि. (See II. 4 42). The prohibition refers to चिण् and kṛit-affixes, therefore not here, as अजान गर्भं महिमानमिन्द्रम् ॥

अस्तिह्रीव्लीरीकनूयीक्ष्माय्यातां पुङ्णौ ॥ ३६ ॥ अस्ति, ह्री, व्ली, री, कनूयी, क्ष्मायी, आताम्, पुक्, णौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वे निवृत्तमङ्गस्येति वर्तते । अस्ति ह्री व्ली री कनूयी क्ष्मायी इत्येतेषामङ्गानामाकारान्तानां च पुगागमो भवति णौ परतः ।

36. The augment पुक् (प्) is added to the roots ऋ, ह्री, व्ली, री, कनूय्, क्ष्माय्, and to a root ending in long आ, when the affix णि (the Causative) follows.

As अर्पयति, ह्रेपयति, ह्लेपयति, रेपयति, क्लोपयति, क्षापयति ॥ The anuvṛitti of every word other than अङ्ग (VI. 4. 1.) ceases. The य् of कनूय् and क्ष्माय् drops by VI. 1. 66. The गुण takes place by VII. 3. 86. Of the roots ending in long आ, we have दापयति, धापयति ॥ The root ऋ (Bhu. 983) गतिप्रापणयोः, and ऋ (Juhotyādi 16) गतौ are both meant here. Similarly री includes रीह् स्रवणे (Di-ādi 30), and री गतिरिषणयोः (Kryādi 30). The augment is added at the end of

the preceding stem of root, and not to the affix. Being added to the root it becomes part of the root-stem, and in forming the reduplicate Aorist of such stems, the vowel before प् is shortened by VII. 4. 1. If प् were not the part of the stem, that vowel would not be shortened. Thus from शपयति; we have Aorist अदीपत् ॥

शाच्छासाह्वाव्यावेपां युक् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शा, छा, सा, ह्वा, व्या, वे पाम्, युक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शा छा सा ह्वा व्या वे पा इत्येतेषामङ्गानां युगागमो भवति णौ परतः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ लुगागमस्तु तस्य वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ धुस् प्रीप्नोर्बुक्त्वर्थः ॥

37. The augment युक् (य्) is added to the verbal stems शा, छा, सा, ह्वा, वे and पा before the affix णि (Causative).

As निशाययति, अवच्छाययति, अवसाययति, ह्वाययति, संव्याययति, वाययति, and पाययति ॥ The word पा includes the root पा 'to drink'. (Bhu 972) प 'to dry' (Bhu 968). but not पा 'to protect' (Ad. 47): because the latter looses the शप् विकाराणा.

Vārt:—The root पा 'to protect' takes the augment लुक् before णि, as पालयति ॥

Vārt:—The roots धुस् and प्रीप् take the augment लुक् before णि, as धूययति, प्रीणयति ॥

All these augments are added to the roots, in order that VII. 4. 1. should cause the shortening of the vowel preceding these. Thus the Aorist of the above are: अशीशयत्, अपीपत्, अवूधुनत्, अप्रीणिनत् ॥

The roots शा, छा, सा, ह्वा, व्या and पा are exhibited as ending in long आ their Dhātupāṭha forms are श, शा, छो, सै, सो, ह्वे, व्ये and पै ॥ This indicates that these roots would have taken युक् by the last sūtra, the word आत् 'ending in long आ' means the roots which actually end in long आ, as well as those which get long आ by VI. 1. 45. This also indicates, that in this subdivision or section, the maxim of lakṣhaṇa protipadokta &c does not apply. Therefore when the roots ह् with आप, and जि assume the form अधि-आ and जा before the affix णि by VI. 1. 48, the augment युक् is added to them, thus अभ्यापयति, जापयति ॥

वो विधूनने लुक् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वः, विधूनने, लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वा इत्येतस्य विधूननर्थे वर्तमानस्य जुगागमो भवति णौ परतः ॥

38. वा gets the augment लुक् (ञ्) before the affix णि when the Causative has the sense of 'shaking'.

As पक्षेणोपवाजयति ॥ But आ वापयति केशान् when the sense is not that of shaking. This form could have been obtained from the root वज् 'to move', (Bhu 271) with the affix णि in the ordinary way without any augment. The special augment लुक् to वा indicates that this root will not take लुक्, which it would have otherwise done by the last sūtra. The root वा belongs to Bhu. 969 [अत्रै शोषणे] ॥

लीलानुगुल्कावन्यतरस्यां स्नेहविपातने ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ली, लोः, लुक्, लुक्, अन्यतरस्याम्, स्नेह विपातने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ली लो इत्येतयोरङ्गयोरन्यतरस्यां लुक् लुक् इत्येतावागमौ भवतो गौ परतः स्नेहविपातनेये ॥

39. The roots ली and ला get optionally लुक् and लक् augment respectively, before the affix णि, when the causative means 'the melting of a fatty substance'.

As वि लीनयति, वि लालयति, वि लाययति, or वि लापयति धृतम् ॥ The augment लुक् is added to ली when the root ends in long ई, and that also optionally. When the augment is not added, the regular causative लाययति is formed. But when ली gets the form ला by VI. 1. 51, it does not take the augment लुक् ॥ The root ली includes both ली and लीङ् of Krywâdi and Divâdi The root ला includes ला 'to give' (adâdi 49), and ला the form assumed by ली under VI. 1. 51. When लुक् is not added to ला, पुक् is added by VII. 3. 36. Why do we say when meaning 'to melt fat'? Observe only लोहं विलापयति, जटाभिरालापयते (I. 3. 70).

भियो हेतुभये घुक् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ भियः, हेतुभये, घुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भी इत्येतस्य हेतुभयेऽर्थे घुगागमो भवति गौ परतः ॥

40. The augment घुक् is added to the root भी before the affix णि, when fear is caused immediately owing to the agent of the Causative.

As घुण्डो भीषयते, जटिलो भीषयते ॥ See I. 3. 68. Here also भी with long ई being employed in the sūtra, indicates that घुक् is added then only, when the root has the form भी, but when it assumes the form भा by VI. 1. 56, the proper augment पुक् will come: as घुण्डो भाषयते ॥ Why do we say 'when the agent of the causative is himself the direct cause of fear'? Observe कुञ्चिकयैर्न भाषयति, for here कुञ्चिका causes fear and not the agent of the verb. The ई is vṛddhi and आय् substituted.

स्फायो वाः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फायः, वः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्फाय इत्येतस्याङ्गस्य वकारदेशो भवति गौ परतः ॥

41. For the final of the stem स्फाय् is substituted य् in the causative.

As स्फाययति ॥

शदेरगतौ तः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शदैः, अ गतौ तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शदे रङ्गस्यागतावर्थे वर्तमानस्य तकारादेशो भवति गौ परतः ॥

42. For the final of the शद् is substituted त्, in the Causative, when it does not mean 'to drive'.

As पुष्पाणि शातयति, फलानि शातयति, but गाः शादयति गोपालकः ॥

रुहः पोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुहः, पः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुहरङ्गस्यान्यतरस्यां पकारादेशो भवति णी परतः ॥

43. *पू* may optionally be substituted for the final of *रुह* in the Causative.

As *त्रीहीन् रोपयति* or *रोहयति* ॥ According to Padamanjari this sūtra could be dispensed with. The form *रोपयति* could be obtained from the root *रूप* of Divādi class : which though meaning *मोहन* may be taken to mean 'grow' also; *भनेकार्यत्वाद् धातूनाम्* ॥

प्रत्ययस्थात्कात्पूर्वस्यात् इदाप्यसुपः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्ययस्यात्, कात्, पूर्वस्य, अतः, इत्, आपि, असुपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्यये तिष्ठतीति प्रत्ययस्थः तस्मात् प्रत्ययस्थात्कारात् पूर्वस्याकारस्य इकारादेशो भवति आपि परतः, स चेश्वरसुपः परो न भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ मामकनरकयोरुपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यमप्रत्ययस्थात्वात् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रत्ययनिषेधे त्यक्त्यपोषोपसंख्यानम् ॥

44. *इ* is substituted for the *अ* which stands before the *क्* belonging to an affix, when the Feminine-ending *आ* follows, provided that, it does not come after a case-affix (i.e. when such a word in *अङ्क* does not stand at the end of a *Bahuvrīhi*).

That which stands in an affix is called *प्रत्ययस्थ*, i. e. *क्* must be the part of the affix. The *अक्* is changed into *इक्* in the feminine in *आ* ॥ As *जडिका*, *धुण्डिका*, *मुणिका*, *शक्तिका*, *कारिका*, *हारिका* ॥ So also *एत्कि* from *एतद् + अक् + आप्* *एतकद् + आप्* ॥ The *इ* is then replaced by *अ* (VII. 2. 102). The *क्* must belong to the affix, therefore, not in *शक्* from *शक् शक्नोति* ॥ The *स्थ* in *प्रत्ययस्थ* is for the sake of distinctness, there is no affix which is only *क्* ॥ The rule applies to *क्*, therefore, not to *नन्दा*, *रमणा* ॥ The *इ* is substituted for the *अ* which precedes (*पूर्वस्य*) *क्*, and not the *अ* which follows *क्*, as *पटुका*, *शुटुका* ॥ The *क्* must be preceded by short *अ*, therefore, not here *भोक्ता*, *नौक्ता*, nor in *राका*, *धाका* ॥ The substitution takes place when *आ* follows, therefore, not in *कारकी* ॥ The word *आपि* qualifies *क्* ॥ The *क्* should be followed by *आ* ॥ Obj. But in *कारिका* from *कारक + आ*, *क्* is not directly followed by *आ*, but by *अ*? Ans. When *अ + आ = आ* there is *ekādeśa*, the *क्* is followed by *आ*, there being no third letter intervening then. Obj. But an *ekādeśa* is *sthānivat* to what it replaces when a *pūrva-vidhī* is to be applied, therefore there still exists the intervention. Ans. The express text of this sūtra will remove the intervention. Obj. Then *इ* should be substituted in *रयकव्या* and *गर्गकाम्या* ॥ These words are formed by the affixes *कव्यञ्* and *काम्यञ्*, as *रयानां सगृहः*, (IV. 2. 51) and *गर्गमिच्छति आत्मनः* (III. 1. 9) = *रयकव्य* and *गर्गकाम्य* ॥ Here also before the *क्* of the affix, the *अ* should be replaced

by इ, when the feminine affix आ is added: for there is no intervention between क् and आ (the intermediate letters being non-existent, as you say). Ans. We say that intervention is no intervention, when it consists of only *one* letter, which even does not *actually* exist, but only through the fiction of sthānivat. Therefore, the feminine of the above words will not take इ, as क् is not *followed immediately* (in the sense above expressed) by आप्, as रथकन्या and शककन्या, because in these *actually* many letters are *heard* as intervening between the क् and आप् ॥

Why do we say असुप्: 'provided that the feminine affix आप् does not come after a case-affix'? Observe बहवः परिव्राजका अस्यां मथुरायां = बहुपरिव्राजका मथुरा। Here आप् comes after the noun बहुपरिव्राजक which ends in a case-affix, and hence the अ of ज is not changed to इ ॥ The case-affix is elided by II. 4. 71, and it still exerts its influence by I. 1. 62. The word असुप्: is a प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधः (a simple prohibition of the particular matter specified without mentioning what is different from it): and not a पर्युदासः or exception. Had it been a Paryudāsa, (सुपोऽन्यः = असुप्:) then आप् coming after a full word not having a case-affix, would have caused the इ substitution in the last example. Nor should असुप्: be explained as that in which there exists no case-affix. Had it been so, then in बहुनि चर्मण्यस्यां = बहुचर्मिका no इ ought to be added.

Vart:—नामक and नरक should be enumerated, for the क् of these is not part of the affix: as नामिका, नरिका ॥ Here ममक is substituted for मम before the affix अण् (IV. 3. 3), to which is then added दाप् ॥ The word ममक takes long ई in the feminine only when it is a Name or in the Vedas (IV. 1. 30): therefore though नामक ends in अण्, it does not take डीप् (IV. 1. 15) but दाप् (IV. 1. 4), नरान् कायति = नरक formed with the affix क् (अ III. 2. 3).

Vart:—The rule applies to the words ending in त्यक् (IV. 2. 98) and त्यप्, (IV. 2. 104) in spite of the prohibition in VII. 3. 46. As वार्षिणात्यिका, इहत्यिका ॥

The word in the sūtra is कान् the fifth case of क् ending in अ ॥ If then this be the condition, that the affix must end in ka क and not in k क्, then the rule will not apply to एतिका ॥ Because here the augment is अकच् (अक्) with क्; the final अ in अकच् is for euphony only, and not a portion of the affix, as we find in भिन्धक, छिन्धक, रुन्धक ॥ The word कान् therefore, is construed to mean ending in the *consonant* क् ॥

न यासयोः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, या, सयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ या सा इत्येतयोरिकारादेशो न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यत्तदोः प्रतिषेधे त्यकन उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ पावकादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ आशिषि चोपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ उत्तरपदलोपे चोपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ क्षिपकादीनां चोपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ तरका ज्योतिष्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ वर्णका तान्तव उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ वर्तका शकुनी प्राचाभुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ भट्टका पितृदैव्ये ॥ वा० ॥ वा सूतकापुत्रकावृन्तरकाणभुपसंख्यानम् ॥

45. The इ is not substituted for the अ of य and स, with the augment क, when the feminine आ follows.

As यका, सका ॥ The या and सा simply stand for यद् and तद्, and the prohibition is not confined to the nominative case only, as the forms या and सा may lead one to think. न यत् तदोः would have been a better sūtra. The prohibition applies in every case, as यकामधीते, तकां पचामहे ॥ Or यकांयकामधीमहे (i. e. यकां गायाम् च), and तकां तकाम्पचामहे (i. e. ओषधीं शाकिनीं वा)

Vart:—The affix ल्यकन् (V. 3. 34) should be enumerated also along with यत् and तद् ॥ As उपल्यका, अधिल्यका ॥

Vart:—The feminine of पावक &c in the Veda does not take इ for अ ॥ As हिरण्यवर्णः शुचयः पावकाः, यासु अ लोमकाः, ऋक्षकाः &c. But पाविकाः, अलोमिकाः in secular literature.

Vart:—So also in the affix वुन् used in benediction: as जीवताद् जीवका, नन्दताद् नन्दका, भवताद् भवका ॥ See III. I. 150.

Vart:—So also when the second member is elided in a compound: as देवका, यज्ञका, the second member दत्त is elided, the fuller forms being देवदत्तिका, यज्ञदत्तिका (अनञादौ च द्विभाषा लोपो वक्तव्यः) See V. 3. 83 *Vart*.

Vart:—क्षिपक &c should be enumerated in this prohibition: as क्षिपका, ध्रुवका, ध्रुवका, चटका ॥

Vart:—तारका is formed when it means 'stars', but तारिका 'a maid-servant' from तारयति ॥

Vart:—वर्णका is formed when it means 'a mantle or mask', but वर्णिका 'an expounder': as वर्णिका भागुरी लोकायते 'Bhāguri is a commentary of Lokāyata'

Vart:—वर्तिका 'a bird' according to the Eastern grammarians, but वर्तिका according to the Northern authorities. Why do we say 'when meaning a bird'? Observe वर्तिका भागुरी लोकायतस्य ॥

Vart:—अष्टका when meaning a पितृदेवस्य ceremony, but अष्टिका खारी ॥ The ceremony related to Pitṛidevata is called Pitṛidaivatya, the affix is यन् ॥ The former is derived from the root अष्ट with the affix तकन् (अद्वान्ति ब्राह्मणा ओदनमस्यां), the other is derived from the numeral अष्ट by the affix कन् (V. I. 22).

Vart:—Optionally सूतका, पुत्रका and वृन्दारका, the other forms are सूतिका, पुत्रिका, and वृन्दारिका ॥

उदीचाम.तः स्थाने यकपूर्वायाः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदीचाम्, आतः, स्थाने, यक, पूर्वायाः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदीचामाचार्याणां मतेन यकारपूर्वायाः ककारपूर्वायाश्चातः स्थाने योऽकारस्तस्यातः स्थाने इकाप-
देशो भवति ॥

पार्त्तिकम् ॥ यकपूर्वत्वे धात्वन्तप्रतिषेधः ॥

46. According to the opinion of Northern gram-
marians, इ is not substituted for that अ which is obtained by

shortening the long आ of the feminine (under rule VII. 4. 13 before the affix क), which is preceded by a य् or a क् ॥

The mention of 'northern grammarians' makes this an optional rule. As इभ्यका or इभ्यिका, क्षत्रियका or क्षत्रियिका, चदकका or चदकिका, मूषकका, मूषकिका ॥ Why do we say preceded by य् or क्? Observe अश्वक-अश्विका only (from अश्वा) ॥ The word यकपूर्वायाः is exhibited in the feminine, in order to indicate that the rule applies when the *feminine* affix आ is shortened to अ ॥ Therefore not here शुभयिका from शुभया (शुभं याति). So also भद्रयिका from भद्रया, where आ is part of the root या (see III. 2. 74).

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of the य् and क् being finals of a root. When the य् or क् preceding this अ, is the final of the root, the prohibition contained in the sūtra, does not apply: as सुनीयका, सुशयिका, सुपाकिका, and अशोकिका ॥

Why do we say 'of long आ'? Observe सांकाभ्ये भवा = सांकादियका ॥ The word संकाभ्य is formed from संकाश by the affix ण्य (संकाशे निवृत्ते) ॥ Then is added the affix वुञ् (IV. 2. 121). Here there is no shortening of a long आ, and hence no option is allowed. But in इभ्यका or इभ्यिका the long आ has been shortened. Because this word is thus derived: इभमर्हति = इभ्या (इण्डादिभ्याः V. 1. 66). To this क् is added, and the long आ is shortened.

Why is the word स्थान used in the sūtra, when by the general rule षष्ठी स्थाने योगः this word would be understood here? The special mention is for the sake of pointing out that the अ which takes the place of आ is intended here: i. e. the इ replaces this short अ; but had the word स्थाने not been used in the sūtra the इ would have replaced the long आ ॥

भस्त्रैवाजाज्ञाद्वास्वा नञ्पूर्वाणामपि ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भस्त्रा, एषा, अजा, ज्ञा, द्वा, स्वा, नञ्, पूर्वाणाम्, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदीचामातः स्थान इति वर्तते ॥ आतः स्थाने योकारस्तस्य इत्वं न भवति उदीचामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥

47. According to the opinion of Northern grammarians, इ is not substituted for that अ which is obtained by shortening the आ (before क by VII. 4. 13), of भस्त्रा, एषा, अजा, ज्ञा, द्वा (VII. 2. 102), and स्वा; even not then when the negative particle precedes them.

As भस्त्रका or भस्त्रिका, अभस्त्रका or अभस्त्रिका, एषका or एषिका, अजका or अजिका, ज्ञका or ज्ञिका, अज्ञका or अज्ञिका, द्वके or द्विके, स्वका or स्विका, अस्वका or अस्विका ॥ Of एषा and द्वि there are no examples with the negative particle. For if the compounding with नञ् takes place after the addition of the अकच्, or on the contrary, if first अकच् be added and then the नञ् compounding takes place, in both alternatives, the case-affixes must be added in order to substitute अ for the final by VII. 2. 102: and it is only when this अ is substituted that the fe-

minine दाप् can come. So that the case-affix is the principal ingredient, and दाप् comes after सुप्, and therefore by the prohibition of असुप्: in VII. 3. 44, there can arise no occasion for the substitution of इ ॥ Therefore अनेपका and अइक are the invariable forms of these words with the negative particle. स्व meaning agnates and property, takes the negative particle. भस्त्रा is a word which has no corresponding masculine form, and as such, by the following rule VII. 3. 48 it would not have taken इ; its special mention here indicates that it should be the secondary member of the compound here: as अविद्यमाना भस्त्रा दस्या = अभस्त्रा, the Diminutive of which is अभस्त्रका or अभस्त्रिका ॥ Here first the भस्त्रा is shortened as it is a secondary member (upasarjana), then when the Bahuvrihi is made, the feminine affix दाप् is added to this भाषितपुंस्क word, then this आ is shortened before क by VII. 4. 13. This short अ (VII. 4. 13) does not come in the room of the आ which is ordained to come after a word having no corresponding masculine.

The force of अवि shows that the rule applies, when words other than नस्स also precede, and even when no words precede. As निर्भस्त्रिका or निर्भस्त्रका, बहुभस्त्रिका or बहुभस्त्रका ॥

Note:—The form इके is from the word इकि, dual number, the final इ is changed to अ (खदाद्यत्वं), then the feminine आ (दाप्) is added (इका), and then शी is substituted for औ ॥

अभाषितपुंस्काच्च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, भाषितपुंस्कात्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभाषितपुंस्कादिहितस्यातः स्थाने योकारस्तस्योदीचामाचार्याणामनेन इकारादेशो न भवति ॥

48. According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, इ is not substituted for an अ obtained from the shortening of the Feminine आ (VII. 4. 13), when to the feminine in long आ there is no equivalent masculine, even when the Negative particle precedes.

As खट्वा or खट्वाका, अखट्वाका or अखट्वाका, परमखट्वाका or परमखट्वाका ॥ When before the affix कप्, the stem is shortened in a Bahuvrihi, this rule will apply (VII. 4. 15). There also, the अ must be substituted for the आ of a feminine word which has no corresponding masculine. But this rule does not apply when the negative compound is the synthesis of अविद्यमाना खट्वा अस्याः = अखट्वा, अल्पा अखट्वा = अखट्वाका ॥ Similarly अतिक्रान्ता खट्वा = अतिखट्वा, अल्पा अतिखट्वा = अतिखट्वाका ॥

Note:—The word खट्वा is always feminine and has no corresponding masculine.

आदाचार्याणाम् ॥ ४९ ॥ आत्, आचार्याणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभाषितपुंस्कादातः स्थाने योकारस्तस्याचार्याणामाकारादेशो भवति ॥

49. According to the opinion of other Teachers, आ is substituted for the अ which arose from the shortening of the feminine आ of a word which has no corresponding masculine form.

As खदाका, अखदाका or परमखदाका॥

Note:—The "Teachers" referred to here are either those other than the Northern Grammarians, or it may refer to the Teacher of Pāṇini, the plural being for the sake of respect. Thus there are three forms अखदाका, अखदाका, and अखदाका ॥

ठस्येकः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ ठस्य, इकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गस्य निमित्तं यष्टः, कश्चाङ्गस्य निमित्तं, प्रत्यय, स्तस्य प्रत्ययस्य इक इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

50. For ठ in the beginning of a Taddhita affix there is substituted इक ॥

As आक्षिकः, शालाक्षिकः (ठक् IV. 4. 1), लावणिकः (ठस् IV. 4. 52). In the affixes ठक्, ठस् &c, if the affix is the consonant इ, and अ is only for euphony, then here also the अ is for pronunciation only: but if on the contrary, the aggregate ठ (इ+अ) is the affix, then the same is the case here. This rule does not apply in Unādi affixes always, as कण्ठे ठः=कण्ठः (Uṇ I. 103), for there is diversity (बहुल) in the Unādi.

मायितिकः (=मयितं पण्यमस्य IV. 4. 51) is thus formed मयित+ठक्=मयित्+इक् (VI. 4. 148 the अ is dropped). Now arises the doubt, should इक् be replaced by क as taught in the next aphorism VII. 3. 51, as it comes after a त् ॥ This substitution, however, does not take place, because it was इक् which caused the elision of अ, and now त् which became final by such elision cannot cause the destruction of इक् its producer (सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनमित्तं तद्विधातस्य). Or the elided अ (VI. 4. 148) may be considered as sthānivāt, and would thus prevent क substitution.

There are two views about this ठ ॥ Some say that the consonant इ only is the sthānī, and the अ is only for the sake of pronunciation. The others hold that ठ, the consonant and the vowel are sthānī in the aggregate. In the first view, the rule would apply to the consonant इ at the end of roots like पठ् in पठिता, पठितुः; in the other view the rule would apply to the affix अठच् in कर्मठः ॥ Hence, the commentary uses the word, that ठ must be the cause of अङ्ग ॥

इसुसुक्तान्तात्कः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इस्, उस्, उक्, त, अन्तान्त्, कः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इस् उस् इत्येवमन्तानाहुगन्तानां तान्तानां आङ्गानाहुत्तरस्य ठस्य क इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ धार्त्तिकम् ॥ षोष उपसंख्यानम् ॥

51. क is substituted for ठ after a stem ending in इस्, उस्, उ or ऊ, ऋ and त् ॥

As सार्विकः, धादुक्, यादुक्, नैषाद्वर्क्युक्, शाम्बरजम्बुकः, मातृकम्, पेतृकम्, भौतश्चि-

त्कः, शाकृत्कः, याकृत्कः ॥ The इस् and उत् are the affixes of that name, therefore not here, आशिषिकः (= आशिषा चरति), औषिका (= उषा चरति) ॥

Vart:—So also after शस्, as शैष्कः (शैर्भ्यां चरति) ॥

The word सार्विकः is formed by डक् of तदस्य पण्यं, (IV. 4. 51) and स is changed to ष by इणः षः (VIII. 3. 39). भातृकः is by डक् of ग्रहणं ॥ बाहृकः is by डक् of शीघ्र्यति ॥ नैषादकर्तृकः &c by डस् of भवादावर्थे ओर्वैर्षे डस् ॥ मातृकः by डस् of तत् आगतः, ऋतडम् ॥ औदाश्विकः by डक् (IV. 2. 19) शाकृत्कः by डस् of संसृष्ट (IV. 4. 12).

चजोः कु घिण्यतोः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चजोः, कु, घित्, ण्यतोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चकारअकारयोः कर्गर्गदेशो भवति चिति ण्यति च प्रत्यये परतः ॥

52. For the final च् or ज् of a root, there is substituted a corresponding guttural, before an affix having an indicative घ्, and before ण्यत् ॥

As पाकः, त्यागः, रागः with घस्, and चाक्यम्, वाक्यम् and रेक्यम् with ण्यत् ॥ Compare VII. 3. 59.

न्यङ्कादीनां च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न्यङ्कु, आदीनाम्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ न्यङ्कु इत्येवमादीनां कर्गर्गदेशो भवति ॥

53. The guttural is substituted in न्यङ्कु and the rest.

Thus न्यङ्कुः from नि + अङ्च् + उ; So also मद्गुः ॥

(1) By the sūtra नावङ्चेः (Up I. 17), the affix उ is added to the root अङ्च् preceded by नि ॥ (2) मद्गुः is formed by adding उ to the root मङ्ज (Up I. 7) (3) भृगुः, is formed by the affix उ added to the root भ्रस्ज, the स् is elided, and र is vocalised (Up I. 28). (4 and 5) बुरेपाकः, फलेपाकः formed by the अच् affix of पञ्चादि class, (= बुरे पच्यते स्वयमेव, फले पच्यते स्वयमेव) ॥ The vṛddhi is by nipātana. The seventh case-affix is not elided in these compound words by VI. 3. 14. (6) क्षणेपाकः ॥ This word is read by some. Others read these as बुरेपाका, फलेपाका with दाप् ॥ A third reading is बुरेपाकुः फलेपाकुः, by the affix उ added irregularly. (7 and 8) तक्र and वक्र ॥ These are formed from the roots तञ्च् and वञ्च् with the affix रक् Up II. 13). (9) व्यतिषङ्गः formed from व्यतिषजति with पञ्चादि अच् ॥ (10) अनुषङ्गः ॥ (11) अवसर्गः ॥ (12) उपसर्गः ॥ (13) मेघः ॥ (14) श्वपाकः ॥ (15) मांसपाकः ॥ (16) कपोतपाकः ॥ (17) उलूकपाकः ॥ (18) पिण्डपाकः formed by the affix अण् with an accusative word in construction as upapada. (19) अर्धः when it denotes a name meaning 'price'. This is formed from the root अर्ह with the affix घस् ॥ When it is not a name, the form is अर्हः ॥ (20 and 21) अवदाघः and निदाघः, when they are names meaning "Summer or Hot season". These are formed from the root दह preceded by अव and नि ॥ But when they are not names, the forms are अवदाहः, निदाहः ॥ (22) न्यमोधः formed from the root रुह preceded by न्यक् and by adding the पञ्चादि अच् ॥ The ह् is changed to ध ॥ (23) वीरुत् ॥ Formed from रुह् with वि and the affix क्विप्, and ह् changed to ध ॥ न्यमोहयति and विरोहयति ॥

1 न्यङ्कु, 2 महु, 3 भृगु, 4 बुरेपाक, 5 फलेपाक, 6 क्षणेपाक, 7 बुरेपाका, 8 फलेपाका, 9 बुरेपाकु, 10 फलेपाकु, 11 तक्र, 12 वक्र, 13 व्यतिषङ्ग, 14 अनुषङ्ग, 15 अवसर्ग, 16 उपसर्ग, 17 श्वपाक, 18 मांसपाक, 19 मूलपाक, 20 कपोतपाक, 21 उलूकपाक, 22 संज्ञायां मेघनिदाघावदाघायां मेघः 23 न्यमोध, 24 वीरुध् ॥

हो हन्तेर्णञिञेषु ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, हन्तेः, ङिणत्, नञु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्हकारस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति ङिति ङिति प्रत्यये परतो नकारे च ॥

54. A guttural is substituted for the ह in हन् before an affix having an indicatory अ, or ण् and before न् ॥

As घातयति with ङिञ्, घतिकः with ण्वल्, साधुयति with इप्, घातंघातम् with ण्वल्, घातः with घप्, घ्नन्ति, घ्नन्तुम्, and अघ्नन् before न् ॥ Why do we specify ह? Otherwise the substitute would replace the final letter. Why of हन्? Observe प्रहारः, प्रहारकः ॥ ण् and झ qualify the affixes, and न् means the न् of हन् which becomes joined with ह् when the intermediate अ is dropped. This न् comes in immediate contact with ह्, because it is *heard* in pronouncing, and in writing. If the elided अ be considered as sthānivat, then ह् can never be followed by न्, for there will exist the intervention of this latent अ, but by virtue of the special text of this sūtra, such an elided अ should not be considered as an intervention. And if झ, ण् and न् be all considered as qualifying the ह् of हन्, still on the maxim येन नाव्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितेऽपि वचनप्रामाण्यात् therefore ण् or झ are considered to come after ह् though a portion of the root intervenes. But not so here, हननामिच्छति हननीयति, add ण्वल् to this Denominative root, and we have हननायकः ॥

अभ्यासाच्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यासात्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासादुत्तरस्य हन्तिहकारस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

55. A Guttural is substituted for the ह in हन् after a reduplication also.

As जिघांसति, जह्घन्यते, अहं जघान ॥ The rule applies when such an affix follows which causes the reduplication of the stem (āṅga) हन्, therefore not here हननीयितुमिच्छति = जिहननीयिषति ॥

हेरचङि ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेः, अ, चङि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिनन्तेर्हकारस्याभ्यासादुत्तरस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति अचङि ॥

56. A guttural is substituted for the ह् of हि (हिनोति) after a reduplication, but not in the Reduplicated Aorist.

As जिघीषति, प्रजेयीयते, प्रजिघाय; but प्राजीह्यद् हून् in the simple Aorist. Obj. The word अचङि could be dispensed with from the sūtra, in as much as चङि can never come after the simple root हि, but after the causative of हि, and the causative stem of हि is a different verb than, हि. Ans. The fact of this word अचङि being employed in the sūtra indicates the existence of the following maxim: प्रकृतिं ग्रहणे ऽप्यधिकस्यापि ग्रहणम् "A radical denotes whenever it is employed in Grammar, not only that radical itself, but it denotes also whatever stem may result from the addition to it of the causative affix ङि" ॥ Therefore we have प्रजिघाया यिषति ॥

The word प्राजिह्यत् is the Aorist of the causative of हि, with चह्, the elision of णि, the shortening of the penultimate the reduplication, guttural change by कुहोद्बु, and lengthening by दीर्घोत्थोः ॥

सन्निदोर्जेः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्, लिटोः, जेः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनि लिटि च प्रत्यये जेरङ्गस्य योभ्यासस्तस्मादुत्तरस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

57. A guttural is substituted for the ज् in जि after a reduplication before the Desiderative affix सन्, and in the Perfect.

As जिगीषति, जिगाय ॥ Why in the Desiderative and Perfect only? Observe जेजीयते ॥ Though the root ज्या also assumes the form जि by vocalisation (VI. I. 16, 17) yet that जि is not to be taken here. That will form जिज्यतुः, जिज्युः ॥

विभाषा चेः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, चेः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिनोत्तरङ्गस्य सन्निदोर्भ्यासादुत्तरस्य विभाषा कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

58. A guttural is optionally substituted for the च् of चि after a reduplication in the Desiderative and Perfect.

As चिचापति or चिकीपति, चिचाय or चिकाय ॥ But चेचयते in other cases,

न कादेः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, कु, आदेः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवर्गादेशो न भवति ॥

59. A guttural is not substituted for the final च् ज् of a root which begins with a guttural, before an affix having an indicative घ and before ण्यत् ॥

As कूजः, खर्जः and गर्जः with घञ् ; कुज्यः, खर्ज्यः and गर्ज्यः with ण्यत् ॥ This is an exception to VII. 3. 52.

अजिब्रज्योश्च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अजि, ब्रज्योः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजि ब्रजि इत्येतयोश्च कवर्गादेशो न भवति ॥

60. A guttural is not substituted for the final or ज् of अज् and ब्रज् before an affix having an indicative घ and before ण्यत् ॥

This is an exception to VII. 3. 52. Thus समाजः, उदाजः, परिव्राजः and परिव्राज्यम् ॥ There is no example of अज् with the affix ण्यत्, because by II. 4. 56, वी replaces अज् before all ārdhadhātuka affixes except घञ् and अण् ॥ The च् of the sūtra implies that the rule applies to other roots also not mentioned, as वाजः, वाज्यम् from वज् ॥

भुजन्युच्चौ पाण्युपतापयोः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुज, न्युच्चौ, पाणि, उपतापयोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भुज न्युच्च इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते यथासंख्यम् पाणादुपतापे च ॥

61. भुज 'an arm', and न्युब्ज 'a kind of bodily disease', are irregularly formed, without any change of their ज before घञ् ॥

The word भुजः = भुज्यतेऽनेन, with घञ् (III. 3. 121). The irregularity consists in the absence of Guṇa, as well as of gutturalisation. न्युब्जिताः घर्तेऽस्मिन् = न्युब्जः from the root उञ्ज भर्जव (Tudādi 20). The irregularity consists in the non-changing of ज ॥ When not meaning 'an arm' and 'a disease', we have भोगः, समुद्रगः ॥

प्रयाजानुयाजौ यज्ञाङ्गे ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयाज, अनुयाजौ, यज्ञ, अङ्गे, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कुत्वप्रतिषेधोऽनुवर्तते ॥ प्रयाज अनुयाज इत्येतौ निपात्यते यज्ञाङ्गेऽभिधेये ॥ प्रपूर्वस्य यज्येभि कुत्वाभावो निपात्यते ॥

62. प्रयाज and अनुयाज are irregularly formed with घञ्, when meaning a portion of a sacrificial offering.

These words are derived from यञ् with घञ् without the guttural substitution; as पञ्च प्रयाजाः, चतुर्नुयाजाः, स्वग्ने प्रयाजाना पश्चात् त्वं पुरुस्तात् ॥ But प्रयागः and अनुयागः when not referring to portions of a sacrifice. The प्रयाज and अनुयाज are illustrative only. The guttural change does not take place with other prepositions &c. also, as उपयाजः, उपांशुयाजः, संयाजः, ऋतुयाजः, as in the sentences एकादशोपयाजाः, उपांशु याजमन्तर यजति, अटो पत्रो संयाजा भवन्ति, ऋतुयाजे श्रन्ति ॥

वज्रेर्गतौ ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वज्रेः, गतौ, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वज्रेरङ्गस्य गतौ वर्तमानस्य कवर्गादेशो न भवति ॥

63. A guttural is not substituted for the palatal of वञ्च् in the sense of 'going'.

As वञ्च्यं वञ्चन्ति वणिजः, but वाङ्मयं काष्ठं = कुटिलं ॥ Why is गतौ used, when we know from the Dhatupāṭha (Bhuadi 204) that वञ्च् means 'to go'? The specification shows that the roots possess many meanings other than those assigned to them in the Dhātupāṭha.

ओक उचः के ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओकः, उचः, के, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उच्चेर्द्धातोः के प्रत्यय ओक इति निपात्यते ॥

64. ओक is irregularly formed from the root उच् with the affix क (अ) ॥

The change of च् into क्, and the Guṇa are the irregularities. As न्योक्तेः 'a bird, a tree'. The affix क is added under III. 1. 135. The क is added with the force of घञ् the Kāraka relation being that of Location &c. The घञ् affix would have given the form regularly, but then the word would have been acutely accented on the first syllable, but it is desired that the acute should be on the last. The words विशौकसः, जनौकसः &c. are also irregular,

formed with the Uṇādi affix अमुन् the कृ being substituted for च् as an Uṇādi diversity (bahulam).

अवश्यकके ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ण्यः, आवश्यके, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आवश्यकेऽर्थे यो ण्यप्रत्ययस्तस्मिन् परभूते खजाः कुलं न भवति ॥

65. A guttural is not substituted for the palatal, before the affix ण्य, when it means 'to do as absolute necessity'.

As अवश्य पाठ्यम्, अवश्य वाच्यम्, अवश्यरेख्यम्, but पाक्यं, वाक्यं and रेख्यं when the sense is not that of necessity.

यजयाचरुचप्रवचर्चश्च ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज, याच, रुच, प्रवच, ऋचः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज याच रुच प्रवच ऋच इत्येतेषां ण्ये परतः कवर्गादेशो न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ण्यति प्रतिषेधे त्यजेरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

66. A guttural is not substituted for the final palatals of यज्, याच, रुच, प्र-वच्, and ऋच् before the affix ण्यत् ॥

As याज्यम्, याच्यम्, रोच्यम्, प्रवाच्यम्, and अर्च्यम् ॥ Though ऋच् has a penultimate ऋ and therefore by III. 1. 110 would have taken क्यप्, it takes ण्यत् by force of this sūtra. प्रवच् shows that the present sūtra applies to it, though it means 'a word or speech', and the prohibition of VII. 3. 67 does not apply. प्रवाच्य is the name of a particular book. Others say that the prohibition applies to वच् only when it is preceded by प्र, and does not mean word or speech (VII. 3. 67) and not when it is preceded by any other preposition. As अविवाक्यमहरति पठति ॥ This even in a very restricted sense, namely on the tenth day of the Daśarātra ceremony. In other places we have अविवाच्यं ॥

Vart:—त्यज् should be enumerated in this connection i.e. before ण्यत्, the ज् remains unaltered, as त्याज्यम् ॥

वचोऽशब्दसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वचः, अ, शब्द, संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यति वर्तते वचोऽशब्दसंज्ञायां ण्यति परतः कवर्गो न भवति ॥

67. The guttural is not substituted for the final वच् before ण्यत्, when it does not mean 'a word or speech'.

As वाच्यमाह, अवाच्यमाह, but अवबुधितं वाक्यमाह ॥

प्रयोज्यनियोज्यौ शक्यार्थे ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयोज्य, नियोज्यौ, शक्य, अर्थे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वस्य निपूर्वस्य च युजः प्रयोज्य नियोज्य इत्येतौ शब्दौ शक्यार्थे निपात्येते ॥

68. प्रयोज्य and नियोज्य preserve their palatal in the sense of 'capable to do this'.

As प्रयोज्यः = प्रयोज्कुशक्यः ; नियोज्यः = नियोज्कुशक्यः, but प्रयोग्य and नियोग्य in other senses.

भोज्यं भक्ष्ये ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भोज्यम्, भक्ष्ये, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भोज्यं निपात्यते भक्ष्येभिधेये ॥ भुज्जर्ण्यति कुत्वाभावो निपात्यते शक्यार्थे ॥

69. भोज्य preserves its palatal in the sense of 'eatable'.

The word is derived from भुज् with ण्यन् in the sense of 'able'. As भोज्य भोदनः 'eatable rice', भोज्या यवागूः 'eatable barley-gruel'. भक्ष्य here means anything which is fit for being eaten. When not having this sense, we have भोग्यः कम्बलः ॥

घोर्लोपो लेटि वा ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ घोः, लोपः, लेटि, वा, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घुसंज्ञकानां लेटि परतो वा लोपो भवति ॥

70. The final of दा and धा (घु roots) may optionally be elided in the Subjunctive (लेट्) ॥

As दधदृक्षा शाशुषे Rig I. 35. 8. सामा वदद् गन्धर्वाय Rig X. 85. 41. But also दग्निरग्नये दधान् ॥ The form दधान्, however, may also be deduced even when the final of दा is elided, for then by the आट् augment (III. 4. 94) we get this form. The word दा is therefore employed in the sūtra only for the sake of distinctness, for the sūtra without दा would have also given the above forms, as we have shown. Or the दा is used to remove the doubt which one may entertain to this effect "दधान् is the form which may be deduced by the general rule, since लोप is taught, this form will be excluded altogether and will never appear".

The form दधन् is thus evolved. We add तिप् to the root धा; then the द् of ति is elided (III. 4. 97). शाशुषे = यजमानाय रत्नानिदधान् ॥ Others say, the दधन् is the form of the root with the दान् affix. दधन् is from the root दास्य ॥

Some say that दा is jñāpaka and indicates the existence of the following maxim:—अनित्यमागमशासनम् "the rule about augments is *anitya*". So that the augment आट् being *anitya*, we could not have got the form दधान् ॥ Hence the employment of the word दा ॥

ओतः द्यनि ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओतः, द्यनि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य द्यनि परतो लोपो भवति ॥

71. A stem ending in ओ loses its final before the Present characteristic द्यन् of the Divādi class.

As निश्च्यति from शो, भवच्छ्यति from छो, भवत्यति from हो, and भवस्यति from सो ॥ The न् in ओन् is for the sake of euphony or ease of pronunciation.

According to Padamanjari, the sūtra should have been ओतः श्यति, and thereby there would be the saving of half a mātṛā, and also there would be no necessity of repeating the word वृत्ति in VII. 3. 75.

कसस्याचि ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्सस्य, अचि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्सस्याजादौ प्रत्यये लोपो भवति ॥

72. The अ of the Aorist characteristic क्स is elided before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As अघुक्षाताम्, अघुक्षायाम्, अघुक्षि from the root दुह् ॥ Had the अ not been elided before आताम् and आयाम्, then इय् must have been substituted for it according to VII. 2. 81. Why do we say before an affix beginning with a vowel? Observe अघुक्षत्, अघुक्षताम् ॥ Why do we say क्स and not only स? So that the elision should not take place here, as वत्सौ, उत्साः, वत्सौ, वत्साः, वृणसौ, वृणसः ॥

लुग्वा दुह्दिहलिहगुहामात्मनेपदे दन्त्ये ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुक्, वा, दुह्, दिह्, लिह्, गुहाम्, आत्मनेपदे, दन्त्ये, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुह् दिह् लिह् गुह् इत्येतेषामात्मनेपदे दन्त्यादौ परतः क्सस्य वा लुग्भवति ॥

73. The whole of the affix क्स is elided optionally before the personal endings of the Atmanepada beginning with a dental, after दुह्, दिह् लिह् and गुह् ॥

As अदुग्ध or अघुक्षत, अदुग्धाः or अघुक्षताः, अदुग्धम् or अघुक्षध्वम्, अदुह्वाहि or अघुक्षावहि, अविग्ध or अधिक्षत, अलीढ or अलिक्षत, न्यगुढ or न्यघुक्षत ॥

Why दुह् &c. only? Observe व्यत्यस्क्षत ॥ Why in the Atmanepada? Observe अघुक्षत only. Why before an affix beginning with a dental? Observe अघुक्षावहि only. Though the anuvṛitti of लोप was understood in this sūtra; the employment of the term लुक् indicates that the whole of the affix is to be elided. For लोप would have elided only the final अ of स ॥ But even with the elision of अ alone we would have got all the above forms, except those in वहि ॥ For अ being elided, we have स् between ह् (a consonant of ह्रस्व class) and a dental (which is also a letter of ह्रस्व class). This स् situate between two ह्रस्व will be elided by VIII. 2. 26. Nor can it be objected that the elided अ is sthānivat, for by पूर्ववातिद्वं VIII. 2. 1, such an elision cannot be sthānivat. Though ह् is a dento-labial, yet it is included in the word dental. Had it not been meant to be so included, तौ (letters of त्त class) would have been taken in the sūtra. See III. 1. 45, for this Aorist-affix.

शमामष्टानां दीर्घः इयनि ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शमाम्, अष्टानाम्, दीर्घः, इयनि, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ शमादीनामष्टानां दीर्घो भवति इयनि परतः ॥

74. Before the Present character इयन्, a long is substituted for the root-vowel in शम् and the seven roots that follow it.

As शाम्यति, ताम्यति, शाम्यति, शाम्यति, शाम्यति, शाम्यति, शाम्यति, शाम्यति ॥ Why of these eight only? Observe अत्यति ॥ Why before इयन्? Observe भ्रमति; the भ्रमन् being optional after this root by III. 1. 70.

ष्टिबुक्कृम्याचमां शिति ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ष्टिबु, कृमु, आचमाम्, शिति, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घ इति वर्तते ॥ ष्टिबु कृम् आचम् इत्येतेषां दीर्घो भवति शिति परतः ॥

75. Before any other Present character (शित्), the root vowel of ष्टिबु, कृलम्, and आ-चम् is lengthened.

As छीवति, क्लामति, and आ चामति ॥ क्लम् lengthens its vowel before च्च् by the last rule, the present rule produces this change before the affix चाप् also, which it gets by III. 1. 70. चम् lengthens its vowel only when it is preceded by आ; therefore not here: चमात्, विचमति or उचमति ॥ The sūtra is exhibited as छिबुक्कचु चमां शिति in the original text of Pāṇini; the present form, owes its existence to the insertion of आ from the vārtika दीर्घत्वमाङि चमः ॥

क्रमः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रमः, परस्मैपदेषु, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घ इति वर्तते ॥ क्रमः परस्मैपदेषु शिति परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

76. The long is substituted in क्रम, before a शित् affix, in the Parasmaipada.

As क्रामति, क्रामतः, क्रामन्ति ॥ Why in the Parasmaipada? Observe आक्रमते आदित्यः ॥ How do you explain the lengthening in उत्क्राम and संक्राम (Imperative 2nd Per. Sg.)? For when हि is elided by लुक्, (VI. 4. 105) then by I. 1. 63, the affix being dropped by a लु- elision, it would produce no effect and so there ought to have been no lengthening? This is no valid objection. The prohibition of I. 1. 63, applies to the अङ्ग stem after which the affix is elided. Here क्रम् is not a stem or aṅga with regard to हि, but it is a stem with regard to चाप्, as क्रम + चाप् + हि ॥ Therefore, though हि is elided, the lengthening will take place by I. 1. 62, (प्रत्यय लक्षणम्) ॥

इषुगामियमां छः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इषु, गमि, यमाम्, छः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शितीति वर्तते ॥ इषु गमि यम इत्येतेषां शिति प्रत्यये परतश्छकारविशो भवति ॥

77. छ is substituted for the final of इष्, गम् and यम् before a Present-character (शित्) ॥

As इच्छति, गच्छति, यच्छति ॥ The इष् with the indicatory च् is taken here, (Tud. 59), and not इष् of Divādi (19) class or of Kryādi class (53). There we have इष्यति and इष्णाति respectively. Those who do not read the sūtra as इषु &c, but as इषगमि &c, read the anuvṛitti of the word अचि from VII. 3. 72 into this sūtra; so that the शित् is qualified by the word अचि, i. e. a शित् affix which is merely a vowel, and has no consonant in it; (and not a शित् affix which begins with a vowel). Therefore though शानच् is a शित् affix beginning with a vowel, yet as it contains a consonant, the छ substitution does not take place, as इषाणः (III. 1. 83) The reading of the text according to Patanjali and Kātyāyana is इषगमियमां छ, and hence the necessity of the above explanation. The reading इषु, though convenient, is not ārsha.

पाप्राध्मास्थास्नादाण्डश्रुतिर्तिशदसदां पिबजिघ्रधमतिष्ठमनयच्छपश्यर्द्धधौशी-
यसीदाः ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पा, घ्रा, ध्मा, स्था, स्ना, दाण्, दशि, अर्त्ति, सर्त्ति, शद,
सदाम, पिब, जिघ्र, धम, तिष्ठ, मन, यच्छ, पश्य, ऋच्छ, धौ, शीय, सीदाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पा घ्रा ध्मा स्था स्ना दाण् दृशि अर्ति सति शब्द सद् इत्येतेषां पिब जिघ्र धम तिष्ठ मन यच्छ पश्य ऋच्छ धौ-शीय सीद् इत्येते आदेशा भवन्ति शिति परतः ॥

78. Before a Present-character (शित्), the following substitutions take place :—पिब् for पा, जिघ्र for घ्रा, धम for ध्मा, तिष्ठ for स्था, मन् for स्ना, यच्छ for दा (दाण्), पश्य for दृश्, ऋच्छ for ऋ, धौ for सू, शीय् for शब् and सीद् for सद् ॥

As पिबति, जिघ्रति, धमति, तिष्ठति, मनति, यच्छति, पश्यति, ऋच्छति, धावति, शीयते and सीदति ॥ पिब् + शप् + तिप् required Guṇa of the इ of पि by VII. 3. 86, it however does not take place on the maxim अङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्तावधिः "when an operation which is taught in the angādhikāra, has taken place, and another operation of the angādhikāra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place". Or the substitute पिब is one which ends with अ, and is acutely accented on the first. It must be acutely accented on the first; otherwise by VI. 1. 162, the acute will be on the last पिबे ॥ Then when there is ekādeśa with शप्, the acute will be on the middle in पिबेति, which is not desired. धौ is substituted for सू when the sense is 'to run, move quickly'; in any other sense, we have प्रसरति, अनुसरति ॥

शाजनोर्जा ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञा, जनोः, जा, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञा जन इत्येतयोर्जादेशो भवति शिति परतः ॥

79. Before a शित् affix, जा is substituted for ज्ञा and जन् ॥

As जानाति and जायते ॥ The जन् here belongs to Divādi class, meaning 'to be produced', and not जन् of the Juhotyādi class. Why जा (long) and not ज, for this ज would assume the form जा by VII. 3. 101? This long जा of जा indicates the existence of the maxim given above in VII. 3. 78; and had ज been the substitute, VII. 3. 101, could not have lengthened it.

प्वादीनां ह्रस्वः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ पू, आदीनाम्, ह्रस्वः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पू इत्येवमादीनां ह्रस्वो भवति शिति परतः ॥

80. A short is substituted for पू &c, before a शित् affix.

The Pvādi roots form a subdivision of the Kryādi class, beginning with पूम् पवने (2) and ending with स्त्री गतौ (32). The स्वादि roots (VIII. 2. 44) are a portion of प्वादि (nos 13 to 32). Others hold that upto the end of the Kryādi class are Pvādi. Thus पुनाति, लुनाति, स्तृणाति ॥ Those who hold that Pvādi roots are upto the end of the Class, explain the non-shortening of जानाति (for ज्ञा would also then become Pvādi), by saying that the express

text of VII. 3. 79, substituting long **आ** prevents the shortening. They say had **ज्ञा** been also shortened, then merely **अ** substitute would have been enough and not **आ**; and this **अ** would have been lengthened in the case of **अन्** by VII. 3. 101, to form **आयते** ॥

मीनातेर्निगमे ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मीनातेः, निगमे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मीनातेरङ्गस्य शिति प्रत्यये परता इहो भवति निगमविषय ॥

81. In the Veda **मी** is shortened before a **शित्** affix.

As **प्रमिणन्ति** व्रतानि Rig. X. 10. 5. The **न** becomes **ण** (**प्रमिणन्ति** according to Kāśika) by VIII. 4. 15. Why in the Veda? Observe **प्र मीणाति** ॥

मिदेर्गुणः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिदेः, गुणः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मिदेरङ्गस्यो गुणो भवति शिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

82. For **इ** in **मिद्**, there is substituted a **गुण** before a **शित्** affix.

As **मेघति, मेघतः, मेघन्ति** ॥ Why **मिद्** only? Observe **स्विद्यन्ति, क्लिद्यन्ति** ॥ The root **मिदि** belongs both to the Bhvādi and the Divādi classes. The Bhvādi **मिद्** will get **गुण** before **शप्** by virtue of VII. 3. 86, but the Divādi **मिद्** would not have got **गुण** before **इयन्**, as this affix is **ङिन्** (I. 2. 4): hence the necessity of this sūtra. Before non **शित्** affixes there is no **गुण**, as **मिद्यते, मीमद्यते** ॥

जुसि च ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जुसि, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जुसि च प्रत्यये परत इगन्तस्याङ्गस्य गुणो भवति ॥

83. Before the personal-ending **जुस्** (उस्) of the Imperfect, **गुण** is substituted for the final **इ, ई, उ, ऊ, ऋ, ॠ, ए, ॡ** of the stem.

As **अजुह्वुः, अविभयुः, अविभरुः, अजागरुः** ॥ This Personal ending is **ङिन्** according to I. 2. 4, and would not have caused **गुण** (I. 1. 5), but for this sūtra. The ending **जुस्** (III. 4. 108) comes in the **लङ्** also. There, however, it does not cause **गुण**. As **चिन्त्युः, सुतुयुः** ॥ Here there are two **ङिन्** affixes, the augment **यासुद्**, and the **sārvadhātuka जुस्**; and the **यासुद्** prevents **गुण**. The **इक्** is read into the sūtra from I. 1. 3.

सार्वधातुकाद्धधातुकयोः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सार्वधातुक, आद्धधातुकयोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सार्वधातुके आद्धधातुके च प्रत्यये परत इगन्तस्याङ्गस्य गुणो भवति ॥

84. The **गुण** is substituted for the final **इक्** vowel of a stem before the affixes called **sārvadhātuka** and **ārdhadhātuka** (III. 4. 113 &c).

As तरति, नयति, भवति ; कर्तुं, वेत्तुं, स्तोतुं, ॥ Why sārvaadhātuka and ārdhaadhātuka affixes only ? Observe अग्निस्वम् अग्निकाम्याति ॥ For had the sūtra been सङ्गि then the rule would have applied to affixes like सन् काम्यच्च &c which go to form Denominative verbs. सङ्गि includes all affixes beginning with सन् and ending with महिङ् ॥ If the sūtra had been प्रत्यये, then the rule would have applied to the affixes like स्वम् &c. To exclude these cases, the two words sārvaadhātuka and ārdhaadhātuka are used. For exceptions See I. 1. 4, 5, 6.

जाग्रोऽविचिण्णलङित्सु ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जाग्रः, अ, विच्, चिण्, णल्, लित्सु ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ जागृ इत्येतस्याङ्गस्य गुणो भवति आविचिण्णलङित्सु परतः ॥

85. The Guṇa is substituted for the ऋ of the stem जागृ, except before the affix वि, before the Aorist-character चिण्, before the Personal ending, णल् of the Perfect, and before an affix with an indicatory ङ् ॥

As जागरत्याति, with णिङ्, जागरकः (with ण्वुल्) साधुजागरी, जागरं जागरम् (with ण्वुल्) जागरो वर्तते (with घञ्), जागरितः (with क्त), जागरितवान् (with क्तवत्) ॥ This is an exception to the Vṛddhi rule of VII. 2. 115, and to the prohibition in I. 1. 5. When this guṇa is substituted, there does not take effect that rule, which causes Vṛddhi of the penultimate short अ of जागर; (अत उपधायाः VII. 2. 116). Had that been the case, then the guṇa substitution would become simply useless, and the prohibition with regard to चिण् and णल् superfluous. Why do we say not before वि, चिण् and णल् and लित् ? Observe जागृविः (with the affix विन् Uṇādi) अजागारि with चिण् which causes Vṛddhi, and अजागर with णल्, and जागृतः and जागृथः with a लित् (I. 2. 4) affix. Some hold that the इ in वि is for the sake of pronunciation only, and the prohibition applies to all affixes beginning with a व, such as क्त्स्नु, as अजागृवान्, here there is no guṇa. In अजागरः with लुप् the guṇa takes place by virtue of VII. 3. 83 : for though it is a लित् affix also, the prohibition लित्सु of this sūtra does not affect it. Similarly अहं अजागर with णल् the optional guṇa VII. 1. 91 is also not prohibited by the णल् of this sūtra. In fact the phrase आविचिण् णल् लित्सु is a Paryudāsa prohibition : for had it been a prasayya-pratishedha, then the guṇa before लुप् and the 1st Pers. णल् would also have been prohibited. In short this sūtra positively ordains guṇa of जागृ before every affix, other than वि, चिण्, णल् and लित्, and if by any other rule these latter would cause guṇa, that guṇa is not prohibited. That is the result of Paryudāsa negation.

But if the sūtra be construed as a Prasayyapratishedha, then we shall apply the maxim अनन्तरस्य विधिर्वा भवति प्रतिषेधो वा ॥ The prohibition is therefore stated with regard to जाग्र in connection with the affixes वि, चिण्, णल् and लित् ॥ But the Guṇa ordained by VII. 3. 84, 83 is not prohibited.

पुगन्तलघूपधस्य च ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुक् अन्त, लघु उपधस्य, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुगन्तस्याङ्गस्य लघूपधस्य च सार्वधातुकार्द्रधातुकयोर्युगो भवति ॥

Kārikā:—संयोगे गुरुसंज्ञायां युगो भेत्तुर्न सिध्यति ।
विध्यपेक्षं लघोश्चासौ कथं कुण्डिर्न दुष्यति ॥
धातोर्हिनुम् कथं रज्जे, स्यविश्रथोर्निपातनात् ।
अनलोपशिरीषत्वे विध्यपेक्षे न सिध्यतः ॥
अभ्यस्तस्य यदाहाचि लङ्गर्थे तत्कृतं भवेत् ।
कतुसनो यत्कृतं कित्त्वं ज्ञापकं स्याल्लघोर्युगे ॥

86. Guṇa is substituted before a sārvaadhātuka and an ārdhadhātuka affix, for the इक् vowels of the Causative stems which take the augment प् (VII. 3. 36), and for the short penultimate vowel of a root which ends in a single consonant.

As छेपयति, हेपयति, क्लोपयति, भेदन्म्, छेदन्म्, भेत्ता, छेत्ता ॥ Of course the vowel should be laghu or light, before the addition of the affix; the heaviness caused by the addition of the affix, will not prevent guṇa. Thus भिद् + तु, though इ + तु = तु causes the इ to become heavy, that will not prevent guṇa: for विध्यपेक्षं लघु महणम् ॥ Obj: If this be so, why the forms कुण्डित्, हुण्डित् are not incorrect, for in them also the vowel is laghu (the roots are कुङ् and हुङ्), and the augment न् is added afterwards by a Vidhi rule? Ans. The augment न् is added to the root, and becomes upadeśivat. (See VII. 1. 58). Obj. If so, how do you cause Vṛddhi in रज्ज्, as in रागः with घञ्; as रज्ज् + घञ् = रज् + घञ् (the ज् being dropped by VI. 4. 27), for it is after the elision of ज्, that the अ of रज् becomes penultimate and can admit of Vṛddhi by VII. 2. 116? Ans. The exceptional forms स्यद्: from स्यन्द् + घञ्, and अर्थः from अर्थन् + घञ्, taught in VI. 4. 28, 29 teach by implication that roots of this form take Vṛddhi as a general rule. Obj. If the विध्यपेक्ष maxim is not of universal application: though by VI. 4. 134, the अ of अन् &c. is elided in bha stems, like राजन् thus राज्ञा; yet the अ should not be elided if you be consistent, in अनङ् augment added by VII. 1. 75 to दधि, अस्थि &c. In fact, you could not get the forms दध्ना सक्ध्ना &c. Moreover though there can be the lengthening of the penultimate in सामन्—सामानि (before शि affix Nom. Pl). yet not in the case of कुण्डानि from कुण्ड for here न् is added by another rule VII. 1. 72. If you say, the maxim is not of universal application, then there can be no guṇa of इ in भिद् to form भेत्तु ॥ Ans. The guṇa takes place in forms like भेत्तु &c, because the prohibition of the following rule VII. 3. 87, with regard to the affixes beginning with a vowel, proves by implication that before affixes beginning with a consonant, as तु, the guṇa also takes place. Obj. The prohibitor in the case of vowel beginning affixes is for the sake of लङ्, to form अनेनेक् ॥ This is derived from निजिर् (Juhotyadi 11), in the Imperfect, as अ + निज् + सप् + लु, + तिप् then reduplication (VI. 1. 10), then guṇa of the redupli-

cate, (VII. 4. 75), then तिप् which had become त् in the Imperfect, is elided by VI. 1. 68. Thus अनिङ् + लु + त् = अ + निनिङ् + त् (VI. 1. 10) = अनेनिङ् + त् (VII. 4. 75) = अनेनङ् (VI. 1. 98) = अननङ्. The elided त् produces its effect, the guṇa by VII. 3. 86. This is why अङ् is taken in sūtra VII. 3. 87, namely अङ्गात् affixes do not cause guṇa, the हलात् affixes like त् cause guṇa. You cannot therefore say that अङ् in VII. 3. 87 is a jñāpaka. Ans. The sūtra चसिष्धिधृषिक्षिपेः क्तुः (III. 2. 140) teaches the addition of लु to ङ् &c, as लुङ्; if this लु had not tended to cause the guṇa of the penultimate vowels of these roots, what was the necessity of making this affix a क्तु? Similarly I. 2. 10 teaches that सन् (Desiderative) is क्तु after roots ending in consonants. These rules show that words like भन् &c get guṇa, and the final consonant of the root plus the initial consonant of the affix, does not make the root vowel heavy. Obj: The क्तु of सन् is for the sake of the elision of the nasal, in धिःसति, धांसति (VI. 4. 24). Ans. Let it be so. still the क्तु of क्तु is enough for us.

The "upadhā short" must be the vowels of the इक् pratyāhāra. Therefore in भिनत्ति, the penultimate is short अ (of भनम्) and it does not take guṇa. In fact, the word penultimate qualifies the word इक् understood. Others explain it by saying that पुगन्त is to be analysed by पुकिअन्त "in the vicinity of ए" ॥ The word अन्त means समीप, and means the इक् vowel in the proximity of पुक् ॥ The word लघूपधा should be analysed as लघ्वी उपधा and is a Karmadhāraya compound, and means "a short or light penultimate". The word पुगन्तलघूपध is a Samāhara Dvandva.

नाभ्यस्तस्याचि पिति सार्वधातुके ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अभ्यस्तस्य, अचि, पिति, सार्वधातु के ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तसंज्ञकस्याङ्गस्य लघूपधस्याजादौ पिति सार्वधातुके गुणो न भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं छन्दसीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

87. The guṇa is not substituted for the penultimate light इक् vowel in the reduplicated form of a root, before a Sārvadhātuka affix beginning with a vowel and having an indicative ए ॥

As नेनेजानि, अनेनिजम्; परि वेविषाणि, पर्यवेविषम् ॥ Why of a reduplicated root? Observe वेदानि ॥ Why beginning with a vowel? Observe नेनेक्ति ॥ The word पित् is read here for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VII. 3. 92. For here in cases other than पित्, guṇa will be prevented by क्तु because of सार्वधातुकमपित् ॥ Why a sārvadhātuka affix? Observe नेनेज in the Perfect, the affixes of which are ārdhadhātuka (III. 4. 115). Why do we say a penultimate light vowel? Observe लुङ्बानि, अलुङ्बम् ॥

Vārt:—There is diversity in the Vedas. As लुङोपन् the लेट् of लुङ् ॥

The forms पप्पशात्, चाकशीति, वावसीतीः are irregular. स्पश् + लेट् = स्पश् + आर् + त् = स्पश् + राप् + लु + आर् = पप्पशात् ॥

The above forms are thus evolved. 1. ने निञ्जानि is लोट् (Imperative 1st Per Sing), the णि is changed to नि, the augment ञाट् is added which is णप् (आहु-त्तमस्य णप् III. 4. 92), ञ्लु is substituted for णप्, then there is reduplication, then guṇa by VII. 4. 75. 2. अनानजम् is लङ्, the णप् is changed to अम् ॥ 3. वदन्ति is 1st Pers. Sing. Imperative of वद् ॥ 4. ननाक्त is 3rd Person singular of the Present. 5. णनज is the Perfect with णल् which is ārdhādhtuka III. 4. 115. 6. जुजोषत् is the लट् of जुषी प्रातसवनयोः (Tudādi 8), in the Parasmaipada, the इ of तिप् is elided (III. 4. 97), then is added the augment अद् (III. 4. 94) then णप् is irregularly replaced by ञ्लु, then reduplication.

In the words पस्पशाते &c. the reduplicate has been shortened, as a Vedic form, in the Intensive यङ् लुक् ॥ वाक्शीति is from काश्वासी there is (यङ् लुक्, लट्, तिप्, and इद् augment by यङ् वा (VII. 3. 94). वाक्शीतीः is from वाश्वासी, in the Intensive (यङ् लुक्), लट्, शप्, ङीप् and शस i. e. it is the Accusative plural of the Feminine Present Participle from the Intensive root of वाश् ॥ The reading in the Kāśikā is वाक्शीति ॥ In these two काश् and वाश् the roots have been shortened. Or the above forms may be derived regularly, without shortening, from the roots कश् and वश् ॥

भूवोस्तिङ् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भू, सुवोः, तिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भू सू इत्येतयोस्तिङ् सार्वधातुके गुणो न भवति ॥

88. भू and सू get no guṇa before an immediately following Personal ending which is Sārvadhātuka.

As अभूत्, अभूः, अभुवम्, सुवे, सुवावहे, सुवामहे ॥ The सू refers to the Adādi root (21) in which the Present character is dropped, and does not refer to Div-ādi (24) or Tudādi (115) roots, because there the Present character अयन् and श intervene between the Personal endings (तिङ्) and the root: and moreover the affixes अयन् and श are डित् (I. 2. 4) and would not cause guṇa. Why do we say before तिङ्? Observe भवति where the guṇa takes place before णप् ॥ Why before a sārvadhātuka affix? Observe भवति भविषीष्ट, where the Benedictive is not a Sārvadhātuka (III. 4. 116), and the augment is of course considered as a portion of the personal ending. Why the guṇa is not prohibited in बोभवीति when the Intensive यङ् is dropped, and the Personal ending is added directly to the root. Because the form बोभूत् in VII. 4. 65 indicates by implication that guṇa takes place in यङ् लुक् except in बोभूत् ॥

But of सू we have सोषुवीति where guṇa has been prohibited in the Intensive, because there is no jñāpaka with regard to it.

The forms सुवे &c are the 1st Per. Imperative of सू ॥

उतो वृद्धिर्लुकि हलि ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उतः, वृद्धिः, लुकि, हलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सार्वधातुके पितृवि वर्तते ॥ उकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य वृद्धिर्भवति लुकि सति ह्लादौ पिति सार्वधातुके ॥

89. A root ending in short उ, which has no Present

characteristic (i. e. the vikarāṇa is dropped by luk elision), gets vṛiddhi, before a पित् Sārvaadhātuka affix beginning with a consonant, but not if the stem is reduplicated.

Thus योति, योषि, यौमि; नोति, नौषि, नौमि, स्तौति, स्तौषि, स्तौमि ॥ Why ending in इ? Observe एति, एषि, एमि ॥ Why do we say whose vikarāṇa is elided by लुक्? Observe सुनोति, सुनोषि, सुनोमि ॥ Why beginning with a हल्? Observe श्वाणि, रवाणि, the First Person of the Imperative is पित् by III. 4. 92, Why before a पित् affix? Observe युतः, रुतः ॥ The augment यासुद् being कित् (III. 4. 103), prevents पित् action in अपि स्तुयात् राजानम् ॥ The phrase नाभ्यस्तस्य should be read into the sūtra from VII. 3. 87: therefore Vṛiddhi does not take place here योयोति नोनोति ॥ Here there is luk-elision of यङ् ॥

ऊर्णोतिर्विभाषा ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊर्णोतिः, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्णोतिर्विभाषा वृद्धिर्भवति हलस्य पिति सार्वधातुके ॥

90. Before a पित् Sārvaadhātuka affix beginning with a consonant, the final उ of ऊर्णु gets optionally vṛiddhi.

As ओर्णोति or ओर्णोति, ओर्णोषि or ओर्णोषि, ओर्णोमि or ओर्णोमि; but ओर्णवानि before an affix beginning with a vowel.

गुणोऽपृक्ते ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुणः, अपृक्ते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्णोतिर्द्रातिरपृक्ते हलि पिति सार्वधातुके गुणो भवति ॥

91. Before a णित् Sārvaadhātuka affix which is a single consonant, Guṇa is substituted for the final of ऊर्णु ॥

As ओर्णोत्, ओर्णोः ॥ Though the anuvṛitti of हल was understood in this sūtra from the last aphorism, the employment of the term अपृक्त् implies the existence of the following maxim:—यस्मिन् विधि स्तदाशब्द ग्रहणे “when a term which denotes a letter is exhibited in a rule, in the form of a Locative case, and qualifies something else which likewise stands in the Locative case, that which is qualified by it must be regarded as beginning with the letter which is denoted by the term in question, and not as ending with it”.

तृणह इम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृणहः, इम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृणह इत्येतस्याङ्गस्य इमाङ्गो भवति हलि पिति सार्वधातुके ॥

92. Before a पित् Sārvaadhātuka affix beginning with a consonant, इ is added after अ of the verbal stem तृणह् ॥

As तृणहि, तृणषि, तृणमि, अतृणद् ॥ In the last example though the affix vanishes altogether, yet it produces its effect. Why beginning with a consonant? Observe तृणहानि ॥ Why a पित् affix? Observe तृणहः with तस्य ॥ The stem तृणह is formed from the root तृह (Rudhādi) with the vikarāṇa णम्, and is so exhibited in the sūtra in order to indicate that the augment इम् is added after the vikarāṇa णम् has been added, and that the root तृह of Tūdhādi class is not to be taken.

The above forms are thus derived :—

तृह् + इन् + तिप् = तृणह् + इम् + ति = तृणइह् + ति = तृणेह् + ति (VI. 1. 87) = तृणेह्-1-ति (VIII. 2. 31) = तृणेह् + ति (VIII. 2. 40) = तृणेह् + डि (VIII. 4. 41) = तृणेडि with the elision of one ह् (VIII. 3. 13). The form तृणेक्षि is similarly formed by VIII. 2. 41, the ह् being changed to क before सि of तिप् ॥ अतृणेह् is the लङ् 2nd and 3rd Per. Sing.

ब्रुव ईट् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रुवः, ईट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रु इत्येतस्मादुत्तरस्य हलादेः पितः सार्वधातुकस्य ईडागमो भवति ॥

93. Before a पित् Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant, the augment ईट् is placed after ब्रु ॥

As ब्रवीति, ब्रवीषि, ब्रवीमि, अब्रवीत् ॥ But ब्रवाणि before such an affix beginning with a vowel, and ब्रूतः before an affix which is not पित् ॥

यङो वा ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यङः, वा, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङ उत्तरस्य हलादेः पितः सार्वधातुकस्य ईडागमो भवति वा ॥

94. The पित् Sârvadhâtuka affixes, beginning with a consonant, optionally get the augment इट् in the Intensive.

As लालपीति in शाकुनिको लालपीति, so also दुन्दुभिर्वावसीति, त्रिधावद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति महादेवोमर्त्यो आविवेश ॥ (Rig. IV. 58. 3). Also not, as वर्धसि चक्रम् and वर्धमि ॥ These are all examples of the Intensive with the elision of यङ् ॥ When the stem retains यङ्, there can be no पित् Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant after it, because then षप् will intervene between the affix and the stem. Hence no examples of the same can be given.

तुरुस्तुशम्यमः सार्वधातुके ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तु, रु, स्तु, शमि, अमः, सार्वधातुके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तु इति सौत्रोयं धातुः, रु शब्दे इड् स्तुतौ शम उपशमे अम गत्यादिषु इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य सार्वधातुकस्य हलादेर्वा ईडागमो भवति ।

95. A sârvadhâtuka affix, beginning with a consonant, optionally gets ईट् augment, after the roots तु, रु, स्तु, शम् and अम् ॥

The root तु (Adâdi 25) means 'to increase', रु (Adâdi 24) 'to make a sound', स्तु (Adâdi 34) 'to praise', शप् 'to be satisfied', and अम् 'to go'. According to Kâśikâ तु is a Sautra dhātu. Thus उत्तौति or उत्तवीति, उपपौति or उपपरवीति, उपस्तौति or उपस्तवीति, शास्यध्वम् or शमीध्वम्, अभ्यमति or अभ्यमीति ॥ शप् and अम् can then be followed by a consonant beginning sârvadhâtuka affix, when they lose their Present character (vikaraṇa) as a Vedic anomaly (bahulam chhandasi).

The Apīśalās read the sūtra as तुरुस्तुशम्यमः सार्वधातुकासुच्छन्दसि ॥ This will then become a विधि rule for the Vedic forms. The word सार्वधातुका is here exhibited in the feminine.

The repetition of 'sârvadhâtuka', though its anuvṛitti was present is for the sake of stopping the anuvṛitti of सिन्, and this rule applies to आप् affixes also, as सुवीत्, शमाध्वम् ॥

अस्तिसिचोऽपृक्ते ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्ति, सिचः, अ, पृक्ते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तेरङ्गात् सिञ्जन्ताश्च परस्यापृक्तस्य सार्वधातुकस्य ईडागमो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आहिभुवोरीदि प्रतिषेधः ॥

96. A single consonantal sârvadhâtuka affix gets the augment ईद्, after अस् (अस्ति) and after the Aorist character णिच् ॥

As आसात्, आसीः; अकार्षात्, असावीत् ॥ Why do we say a single-consonant affix? Observe आस्त, अकार्ष ॥

Vart.:—Prohibition of the sthânivad-bhâva must be stated when आह् is substituted for ह् (III. 4. 84), and भू for भृ (II. 4. 52), before the augment ईद् ॥ Therefore not here आस्थ and अभूत् ॥ The word आस्थ is thus formed. आह्+सिप्=आह्+थल् (III. 4. 84)=आय्+थ (VIII. 2. 35)=आत्+थ (VIII. 4. 55)=आत्थ ॥

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तिसिचोरपृक्तस्य सार्वधातुकस्य ईडागमो भवति बहुलं छन्दसि विषये ॥

97. In the Veda, a single consonantal Sârvadhâtuka affix gets diversely the augment ईद्, after अस् and सिच् ॥

As आप् एवेदं साल्लं सर्वमाः ॥ Here आः is used instead of आसीत्; but also अहंरत्नासन्न रात्रिः (See Maitr. S. I. 5. 12). So also with s-Aorist, as गाभिरक्षाः (Rig IX. 107. 9), प्रत्यञ्चमस्ताः (Rig X. 28. 4). And अदः, धीर्मा पुत्रक, the अद् is not elided though मा is added (VI. 4. 75). अक्षाः and अस्ताः are examples of सिच् without ईद्. Compare VIII. 2. 73.

The word आः is the लङ् of अस्, there is added सिप्, then णिप् is elided, then स् is changed to रु, and it is turned to visarjaniya. The words अक्षाः and अस्ताः are derived from the roots क्षर् (संबलेन) and स्तर (छद्मगतौ), in the Aorist, the सिप् is elided (VI. 1. 68), the सिच् is elided by VIII. 2. 24, and the इ of the roots is changed to visarga. The augment ईद् is not added as a Vedic irregularity.

रुद्श्च पञ्चभ्यः ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुद्ः, च, पञ्चभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुदादिभ्यः परस्य सार्वधातुकस्य हलादेरपृक्तस्य ईडागमो भवति ॥

98. After रुद् and the four roots that follow it, comes the augment ईद् to a sârvadhâtuka affix consisting of a single consonant.

As अरोदात्, अरोदीः, अस्वपीत् and अस्वपीः, अभ्वसीत्, अभ्वसीः, प्राणीत्, प्राणीः, अजसीत्, अजसीः ॥ Why of these five only? Observe अजागर, भवान् ॥ Why an aprikta affix? Observe रुदिति ॥ The word रुद्ः is singular, though it ought to have been plural.

अङ्गार्यगालवयोः ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्, गार्ग्य, गालवयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुदादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः परस्य अपृक्तस्य सार्वधातुकस्याडागमो भवति गार्ग्यगालवयोर्मतेन ॥

99. According to the opinion of Gārgya, and Gālava, the augment अद् comes before a Sārvadhātuka affix consisting of a single consonant, after the above five roots रुद् &c.

As अरादन्, अरोद्, अस्वपन्, अस्वपः, अश्वसन् अश्वसः, प्राणन् प्राणः, अजक्षन्, अजक्षः ॥ The names of Gārgya and Gālava are mentioned for honoris causa.

The mention of these names is not for the sake of "option" (विकल्पार्थम्). Because the very injunction about अद्, would make the ईद् of the preceding sūtra optional. The mention of more than one Achārya in the sūtra is also for this very reason.

अदः सर्वेषाम् ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदः, सर्वेषाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अद् भक्षणे अस्मादुत्तरस्यापृक्तस्य सार्वधातुकस्याडागमो भवति सर्वेषामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥

100. After अद् 'to eat', comes the augment अद् before a Sārvadhātuka affix consisting of a single consonant, according to the opinion of all grammarians.

As आदन् and आदः ॥ Before a non-aprikta we have अन्ति, अस्ति ॥ The word सर्वेषाम् makes it a necessary rule and not optional, like the last.

अतो दीर्घो यञि ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, दीर्घः, यञि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति यत्रादौ सार्वधातुके परतः ॥

101. The long आ is substituted for the final अ of a Tense-stem, before a Sārvadhātuka affix beginning with इ or ए (lit. a consonant of यञ् pratyāhāra).

As पचामि, पचावः, पचामः, पक्ष्यामि, पक्ष्यावः, पक्ष्यामः ॥ Why 'for the अ only'? Observe चिनुवः, चिनुमः ॥ Why before a यञ् consonant (semivowels, nasals and ह्रस्व and म) only? Observe पचतः, पचयः ॥ Why a 'Sārvadhātuka'? Observe अङ्गना, केशवः ॥ Some read the anuvṛitti of तिङ् into this sūtra, from VII. 3. 88 so that the lengthening takes place only before Personal-endings. According to them before कृषु there is no lengthening, as भववान् ॥

The word भववान् is thus formed. To भू is added कृषु, then comes षप्, treating kvasu as a sārvadhātuka under III. 4. 117; the reduplication of the root ending in षप् is prevented, because the word dhātu is used in VI. 1. 8 which ordains reduplication of a root only, and not of a root plus a vikaraṇa like the form भव (भू-1-षप्) ॥ Those who do not read the anuvṛitti of तिङ् in this sūtra, but only of the word सार्वधातुके, they explain the form भववान् as a Vedic anomaly.

सुपि च ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतो दीर्घो यञीत्यनुवर्तते । सुपि च यत्रादौ परतो ऽकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

102. Before a case-ending beginning with य or भ (lit. a consonant of यञ् Pratyâhâra), the final अ of a Nominal-stem is also lengthened.

The whole of the phrase अतो दीर्घो यञि is understood here. Thus वृक्षाय, प्लक्षाय, वृक्षाभ्याम्, प्लक्षाभ्याम् ॥ But अग्निभ्याम् where the stem ends in ह, and वृक्षस्य where the affix does not begin with a यञ् consonant.

बहुवचने झल्येत् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुवचने, झलि, एत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुवचने झलादेशो सुपि परतो ऽकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य एकारादेशो भवति ॥

103. Before a case-ending beginning with भ् or स् (lit. a झल् consonant), in the Plural, ए is substituted for the final अ of a Nominal-stem.

As वृक्षेभ्यः, प्लक्षेभ्यः, वृक्षेषु, प्लक्षेषु ॥ Why in the Plural? Observe वृक्षाभ्याम् प्लक्षाभ्याम् ॥ Why before a case-affix beginning with a झल् consonant? Observe वृक्षाणाम् (the lengthening here is by VI. 4. 3). Why a case-affix? Observe यजध्वम्, पचध्वम् ॥

ओसि च ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओसि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओसि परतोकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य एकारादेशो भवति ॥

104. Before the case-ending ओस्, ए is substituted for the final अ of a Nominal-stem.

As वृक्षयोः (Gen. dual) स्वं, प्लक्षयोः स्वं, वृक्षयोः (Loc. dual) as वृक्षयोर्निधेहि, प्लक्षयोर्निधेहि ॥

आङ् चापः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङि, चें, आपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङिति पूर्वाचार्यनिर्देशेन तृतीयैकवचनं गृह्यत । तस्मिन्नाङि परतश्चकारादेशो च आवन्तस्याङ्ग-स्येकारादेशो भवति ।

105. Before the case-endings ओस् and before आ of the Instrumental, ए is substituted for the final आ of the Feminine-affix.

आङ् is the name given to the affix ण, the Ins. Sg. by the ancient grammarians. As खट्वा, मालया, खट्वायोः, मालयोः, बहुराजया, कारीषगन्धया, बहुराजयोः, कारीषगन्धयोः ॥ Why the आ of the Feminine affix only? Observe कीलालपा ब्राह्मणेन कीलालपोः ब्राह्मणकुल्योः ॥ Where ever ङी or आप् is employed in Grammar, they mean the long forms ई and आ, and not when they are shortened, therefore, not here, अतिखट्वेन ब्राह्मणकुलेन ॥

The word कीलालपा is derived from कीलालं पिबति with the affix विच् (III. 2. 74). In the Ins. Sing. the final आ is elided by VI. 4. 140. Had therefore, आ only been used in the sūtra, instead of आप्, there would have been ए substitution in the case of कीलालपा also; for the लौप् rule VI. 4. 140 would find its scope in कीलालपः पश्य &c, and would be debarred here by the present sūtra.

The maxim *उपाध् महणेऽशीर्षमहणम्* is necessary, because otherwise on the maxim of *sthānivadbhāva*, the short substitutes of *ह्रीं* and *आप्* would also be included. In fact, in the *sūtra* prohibiting *sthānivad bhāva*, we find this *vārtika* *उपाध् महणेऽशीर्षः* "A short (not long) substitute of *ह्रीं* and *आप्* is not *sthānivat*".

संबुद्धौ च ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्बुद्धौ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आप इति वृत्ते । संबुद्धौ च परत आबन्तस्याङ्गस्य एत्वं भवति ॥

106. ए is substituted for the final आ of a Feminine stem, in the Vocative Singular.

As हे खट्वे, हे बहुराजे, हे कारीषगन्धे ॥

अम्बार्थनद्योर्ह्रस्वः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अम्बार्थं, नद्योः, ह्रस्वः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबुद्धाविति वृत्ते । अम्बार्थानामङ्गानां नद्यन्तानां ह्रस्वो भवति, संबुद्धौ परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ डलकवतीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ छन्दसि वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तलो ह्रस्वो वा ङिसंबुद्धोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दस्येव ह्रस्व त्वनिव्यते ॥ मातृणां मातृच् पुत्वार्यमर्हते ॥

107. A short vowel is substituted in the Voc. Sg. for the आ of the feminine, in the sense of 'mother, mother-dear', as well as for the long vowel of the Feminines called *Nādī* (I. 4. 3 &c).

As हे अम्ब ! हे अक्क ! हे अल्ल ! हे कुमारि ! हे वाङ्गपवि ! हे अङ्गवन्धु ! हे वीरवन्धु !

Vārt:—Prohibition must be stated when the endearing terms denoting mother have an uncombined ड, ल or क, as हे अम्बाड ! हे अम्बाल ! हे अम्बिक ! But हे अक्क and हे अल्ल where the ल and क are conjunct.

Vārt:—Optionally so in the Veda: as हे अम्बाड ! or हे अम्बाडि ! हे अम्बाल ! or हे अम्बाले, हे अम्बिक ! हे अम्बिके ॥

Vārt:—A feminine stem formed with the affix तल् optionally becomes short before the Loc. Sg. and Voc. Sg. As देवते भक्तिः or देवतायां भक्तिः, हे देवत ! or हे देवते ॥ This shortening takes place in the Veda only.

Vārt:—In a Bahuvrīhi compound ending with मातृ, there is substituted मात for मातृ in the Voc. Sg. when the word means a son worthy of such a mother. As हे मातृमाते ! = मातृां व्यवेशमर्हति ईलायनीयत्वाद् यः पुत्रः ॥ This debars the कप् affix of V. 4. 153. The च् of मातृच् makes the final acute.

ह्रस्वस्य गुणः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वस्य, गुणः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबुद्धाविति वृत्ते । ह्रस्वान्तस्याङ्गस्य गुणो भवति संबुद्धौ परतः ।

108. For short इ and उ final in a nominal-stem, a guṇa is substituted in the Vocative Singular.

As हे अग्ने, हे वायो, हे पटो ॥ But there is no guṇa in हे कुमारि, हे अङ्गवन्धु, because इ and ऊ were shortened specifically, and to substitute guṇa for them

would make their shortening a useless operation. Moreover, had *guṇa* been intended in the case of these *nadī* words, the *sūtra* would have been *अम्बापानां ह्रस्वः*, २ नदीह्रस्वयोर्युगः ॥

जसि च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ जसि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जसि परतो ह्रस्वान्तस्याङ्गस्य युगो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ जसादिषु छन्दसि वाचचनं प्राक् णौ चङ्गुपधाया ह्रस्व इत्येतस्मात् ॥

109. Before the affix *अस्* of the Nom. Pl., *Guṇa* is substituted for the final short vowel of a nominal stem.

As अग्नयः, वायवः, पटवः, धेनवः, बुधयः ॥

Vart:—All these rules upto the end of this chapter are of optional application in the Veda. As अम्बे or अम्ब, पूर्णा दर्वि or पूर्णा दर्वी, अधा द्यतक्रत्वः or द्यतक्रत्वः, पथे भृत्यः or पथवे भृत्यः, किकिरीव्या or किकिरीविना ॥

The forms *दर्वि* and *दर्वी* could have been regularly obtained by the optional use of *डीष्* (कृदिकारावन्तिनः) ॥ *द्यतक्रत्वः* is formed by adding *अस्* to *द्यतक्रतु* without *guṇa* of *उ*, and *उ* being changed to *वृ* ॥ The rule of lengthening the prior vowel (VI. 1. 102) which would have otherwise come, in the absence of *guṇa* does not take place, as a Vedic option (VI. 1. 106). *किकिरीव्या* is the Instrumental singular, the *ना* of VII. 3. 120 does not come. The word *किकिरीवि* is formed by *Uṇādi nipātan* (कृविष्ट्वि &c Uṇ IV. 56).

ऋतो ङिसर्वनामस्थानयोः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, ङि, सर्वनामस्थानयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युग इति वर्तते ऋकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य ङौ परतः सर्वनामस्थाने च युगो भवति ॥

110. *Guṇa* is substituted for the final *ऋ* of a stem, in the Locative singular and in the Strong cases.

As मातरि, पितरि, भ्रातरि, कर्तारि; मातरौ, पितरौ, भ्रातरौ, कर्तारौ, कर्तारः ॥ For the long in कर्तारौ and कर्तारः see VI. 4. 11. The *त्* in *कृत्* is for the sake of facility of utterance.

Because before *ङि* and strong cases, it is impossible for a stem to end in a long vowel *ऋ* nor a *dhātu* noun can so come, since in that case, long *ऋ* would be changed to *इ* by VII. 1. 100, and in forms like कर्तृणि there is *नुम्* ॥

वेङ्किति ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, ङिति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ध्यन्तस्याङ्गस्य ङिति प्रत्यये परतो युगो भवति ॥

111. For the *इ* and *उ* of the stems called *घि* (I.4.3.) *Guṇa* is substituted in Dative, Ablative and Genitive Singular.

As अग्नये, वायवे, अग्नेः, वायोः, (VI. 1. 110). Why of *घि* stems? Observe सख्ये, पत्ये ॥ Why in the Singulars of the Dat. Abl. and Loc. only? Observe अग्निः-भ्याम् ॥ The word case ending (सुपि) is understood here also, as the counter-examples are पट्टी, कुरुतः ॥

The word *पट्टी* is formed by adding *डीष्* to *पटु* (IV. 1. 44). *डीष्* is not a case-affix, though it is *ङित्* and is added to *पटु* which is *घि* ॥ *कुरुतः* is no proper example: for though *तस्* which is added to *कुरु*, is *ङित्*, it is only so by *atideśa* (सार्वधातुक्रमविन्), and moreover *कुरु* is not *घि* ॥

आण् नद्याः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आद्, नद्याः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मध्यन्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्य क्तितः प्रत्ययस्याङागमो भवति ॥

112. The augment आद् is added to the case-endings of the Dat. Abl. and Gen. Sg. after the stem called Nadi (I. 4. 3. &c.).

As कुमार्थैः, किशोर्यैः, ब्रह्मबन्धैः, धीरबन्धैः, कुमार्याः, किशोर्याः, ब्रह्मबन्ध्याः, धीरबन्ध्याः ॥

याडापः ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ याद्, आपः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावन्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्य क्तितः प्रत्ययस्य याडागमो भवति ॥

113. The augment याद् is added to the Dat. Abl. and Gen. Sg. after a Feminine stem ending in आ ॥

As खट्वायै, बहुराजायै, कारीषगन्धायै, खट्वायाः, बहुराजायाः, कारीषगन्धयाः ॥ But in the compound अतिखट्वा, (from खट्वामतिक्रान्तः), this rule does not apply, on the maxim ङ्वाद् ग्रहणेऽर्धः as the आ has been shortened here. Even when the word अतिखट्वा assumes the form अतिखट्वा in the Dative by VII. 3. 102, the affix does not take the augment याद्, because this long आ is a lākṣhaṇika आ only, while the आ of the sūtra is a pratipadokta (लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः पतिपदस्यैव) ॥

सर्वनाम्नः स्याद्स्वश्च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वनाम्नः, स्याद्, ह्रस्वः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनाम्न भावन्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्य क्तितः प्रत्ययस्य स्याडागमो ह्रस्वश्च भवति ॥

114. After a Pronominal stem ending in long आ of the Feminine, the Dat. Abl. and Gen. Sg. receive the augment स्याद् and the आ of the stem is shortened.

As सर्वस्यै, विश्वस्यै, यस्यै, तस्यै, कस्यै, भवत्यै, भवत्याः, सर्वस्याः, विश्वस्याः, यस्याः, तस्याः, कस्याः, अन्यस्यै अन्यस्याः ॥

But अमुन्यै where the stem does not end in long आ of the Feminine.

विभाषा द्वितीयातृतीयाभ्याम् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, द्वितीया, तृतीयाभ्याम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीया तृतीया इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य क्तितः प्रत्ययस्य विभाषा स्याडागमो भवति ॥

115. After द्वितीया and तृतीया the Dat. Abl. and Gen. Sg. may optionally get the augment स्याद् before which the आ is shortened.

As द्वितीयस्यै or द्वितीयायै; तृतीयस्यै or तृतीयायै, द्वितीयस्याः or द्वितीयायाः, तृतीयस्याः or तृतीयायाः ॥

ङेराम्नास्त्रीभ्यः ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङेः, आम्, नदी, आप्, नीभ्यः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मध्यन्तादावन्ताम्रीत्येतस्मादुत्तरस्य ङेरमित्ययमविशो भवति ॥

116. For the ending ङ् of the Loc. Sg. there is substituted आम्, after a stem called Nadi (I. 4. 3. &c), after the Feminines in आ, and after नी ॥

As कुमार्याम्, किशोर्याम्, गौर्याम्, ब्रह्मबन्ध्याम्, धीरबन्ध्याम्, खट्वाय्याम्, बहुपञ्जाय्याम्, कारी-
सगन्ध्याय्याम्, नी-मामण्याम्, सेनाय्याम् ॥

The word ग्रामणी is formed by क्तिप् affix added under III. 2. 61, the न is changed to ण by अय ग्रामाभ्याम्; and the यण substitute in the Locative is by VI. 4. 82.

इदुद्ग्याम् ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, उद्ग्याम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इकारोकाराभ्यां नदीसंज्ञकायादुत्तरस्य डेरूपनिदेशो भवति ॥

117. After the Feminine nadi words ending in इ and उ short, आम् is substituted for the इ of the Loc. Sg.

As कृत्याम्, धेन्याम् ॥ See I. 4. 6.

The word नदी is understood here also. Obj. If this be so, it is not a really separate sūtra, because it is included in the last, and these forms could be obtained by the last sūtra : so that we ought to make only one sūtra of 117 and 118, as इदुद्ग्यामौत् ॥ Ans. We could not have done so, for then in the case of कृति and धेनु, the औ would have come and not आ, in this way. The आम् would have found scope in nadi words like कुमार्याम्, the औ would have undisputed scope in पश्यौ and सख्यौ; but in the case of कृति when getting the designation नदी the औ would have come, being subsequently taught, and the form would have been कृत्यौ instead of कृत्याम् ॥

औत् ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ औत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इदुद्ग्यादुत्तरस्य डेरूपनिदेशो भवति ॥

118. After a stem ending in इ or उ short, and which is not a Nadi or a Ghi, औ is substituted for the इ of the Loc. Sg.

As सख्यौ, पश्यौ ॥

In the case of नदी words आम् is taught by the previous sūtras; in the case of चि words औ preceded by अ substitution of चि letters will be taught in the next sūtra, so by the rule of exclusion, the present sūtra applies to words other than nadi and ghi.

अवधेः ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्, च, धेः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ औसिति वर्तते पिसंज्ञकादुत्तरस्य डेरूपनिदेशो भवति तस्य च धेरूपनिदेशो भवति ॥

119. After a Ghi (I. 4. 7) stem ending in short इ or उ, औ is substituted for the इ of the Loc. Sg. and अ is substituted for the final of such Ghi stem.

As भग्नौ, वायौ, कृतौ, धेनौ, पदौ ॥ The short अ is substituted, in order to prevent the टप् affix in the Feminine. Those who read 118 and 119 combined as औवधेः translate it thus: "After every other stem ending in इ and उ (i.e. which is not a Nadi), औ is substituted for the Locative Singular इ, whereby for the final of Ghi stems, अ is substituted". They do so on the analogy of the sūtra कर्तुः क्यङ् सलोपश्च (III. 1. 11).

आङो नाऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ आङः, ना, अ स्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घेरुत्तरस्याङो नाभावो भवति अस्त्रियाम् ॥

120. ना is substituted for the ending आ of the Instrumental singular, after the Ghi stems, when they are not Feminine.

As अग्निना, वायुना, पटुना ॥ Why do we not say आङो ना पुंसि 'ना is substituted for आ in the Masculine'? Ans. In order to form the neuter Instrumentals also, as वपुणा, जतुना ॥ Obj. These can be formed by the augment दुन् under rule VII. 1. 73, and not by the ना of this sūtra. Ans. But बहुना will not be so formed as बहुना ब्राह्मणकुले ॥ Because हु substituted for इस् of अहस् VIII. 2. 80 is considered as asiddha or non-existent (VIII.2.1) for the purposes of the application of VII. 1. 73, and as अहु cannot take दुम्, it will take ना by this rule. Why do we say "not in the Feminine?" Observe कृत्या, धेन्वा ॥

अथ सप्तमाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

जौ चङ्युपधाया ह्रस्वः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ जौ, चङि, उपधायाः, ह्रस्वः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गस्थेति वर्तते चङ्परे जौ यङ्गं तस्योपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ उपधाह्रस्वत्वे जौणिच्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

1. A short is substituted for the vowel, standing in a penultimate position, in the Causative stem, when the affix चङ् (sign of the Reduplicate Aorist of the Causatives) follows.

As अचीकरत्, अजीहरत्, अलीलवत्, अपीपठत् ॥ Here the rules of reduplication and shortening of the penultimate both present themselves simultaneously. The rule about shortening, being subsequent in order, is applied first, and then the reduplication takes place. Thus कारि + अत् = कार् + अत् (णि being elided VI. 4. 51) = कर् + अत् (shortening VII. 4. 1) = चकर् + अत् (VI. 1. 11) = चिकर् + अत् (VII. 4. 93, 79) = चीकरत् (VII. 4. 94). The necessity of maintaining this order will appear from the following considerations. The Causative stem of अङ् is आदि; the Aorist of which is आदि + चङ् + त् = आद् + अत् (VI. 4. 51). Now if reduplication took place first we shall have आदिद् + अत् (I. 1. 59 the elided इ will be present for the purposes of reduplication) and as the penultimate is short already, the form will be आदिदत्, which with the augment अ will be अ + आदिदत् = आदिदत् ॥ This is a correct form, so far as it goes; but when the augment is elided in connection with the negative मा, the form will be मा भवान् आदिदत्, the correct form however is मा भवान् अदिदत् with a short अ, which can be formed if we shorten first and then reduplicate, as आद् + अत् = अद् + अत् = अदिद् + अत् = अदिदत्, which with the augment अ, will be आदिदत् ॥ In fact, though the reduplication of the second syllable (VI. 1. 2) is a *nitya* rule, because it applies even where a penultimate is shortened and where not, yet the rule about shortening takes effect first, because the author has himself indicated this, by making the root

भोज have an indicatory क in the Dhātupāṭha (See VII. 4. 2 about कृतिन् verbs). For had the reduplication taken place first in the case of भोज् (Bhu. 482), as भोजिन्, there would be no long vowel to be shortened, and there would be no necessity of the prohibition (VII. 4. 2).

Obj: Why do we say 'in the Causative'? The चङ् Aorist is formed of Causatives only (See III. I. 48), the only exceptions being the simple roots भि, वृ, सु, धेद् and भि, none of which have any vowel in the penultimate and कश्च and लुप् have already short upadhā. The sūtra चङ्युपधाया ह्रस्वः would have been enough. Ans. Had the sūtra been, as proposed, then it would have meant, 'that which is penultimate when चङ् follows, should be shortened'. Therefore in the Aorist of the Causative of लृ, we have लृ+णि+चङ्-ल-त्=लृ+इ+अत् here the penultimate *with regard* to चङ् is ऊ, which would be shortened, debarring Vṛiddhi and आश् substitute, and there would have come the ववङ् substitute instead. But that is not the case. We have अलीलवत्, and not अलुलवत् ॥ Similarly, in the Aorist of the Causative of दा, we shall have दा+इ+अत्, and दा being shortened we have द+इ+अत्, so that we cannot add the augment पुक् (VII. 3. 36), and form अदीवपत् ॥ And the forms like अपीपचत् (पच्+इ-ल-अत्) would not at all admit of shortening.

Why do we say when चङ् follows? Observe कारयति, हारयति where there is no shortening in the Present Tense. Why do we say of the penultimate? Observe अचकाङ्क्षत् from काङ्क्ष्, and अववाञ्छत् from वाञ्छ, where the penultimate being a consonant, there can be no shortening. Had the word penultimate been not used, the vowels of these would be shortened. And the word 'upadhā' is also absolutely necessary for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VII. 4. 4, and it prevents shortening in the above case, which would have otherwise taken place, on the maxim येन नाव्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितेऽपि वचनं प्रामाण्यात् which qualifies I. I. 67.

Vārt:—The rule of shortening of the penultimate applies to the चङ् Aorist of the Causative of the Causative i. e. to the double Causative even. Thus अदीववत् (=वादिष्वन्तं प्रयोजितवान्) वीणां परिवादकेन ॥ Otherwise वादि+इ+अत्=वाद्+इ+अत्=वाद्+०+अत् ॥ Here the elided इ being sthanivat, will prevent shortening, or because the stem has lost a simple-vowel (अग्लोपिन्), it will not be shortened. The present vārtika makes it so however.

नाग्लोपिशास्त्रवृदिताम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अक्, लोपि, शास्त्र, ऋदिताम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्लोपिनामङ्गानां शास्त्रवृत्तिं च नौ चङ्युपधाया ह्रस्वो न भवति ॥

2. The shortening of the penultimate of the stem, before the causative affix, in the reduplicated-Aorist, does not take place, when it is a (Denominative) stem, which has lost

a simple (end vowel of the Nominal-stem), before the Causative sign and also not, when it is the verb शास्, or a root which has an indicatory ऋ ॥

The word अग्लोपिन् means literally a stem, in which a simple vowel (अक् pratyāhāra) or a portion containing an अक् vowel has been dropped. As the final vowels of Denominative stems are so elided before the Causative sign णि, the sūtra has been translated accordingly. Thus अममोलत् = मालामाख्यत्; अम-मातरत् = मातरमाख्यत्, अत्यरराजत् = राजानमतिक्रान्तवान्, अन्वलुलामत् = लोमान्यनुमृष्टवान् ॥ Where a simple अक् vowel alone is elided, as in the case of माला, there the elided आ being sthānivat, would prevent the shortening, the आ of मां not being then considered penultimate. So that अग्लोपिन् could be spared from the sūtra, since the sthānivad-bhāva would prevent shortening. But where an अक् vowel plus a consonant is dropped, as in राजन् and लोमन्, there the sthānivad-bhāva does not apply (I. 1. 57), hence the necessity of employing the term अग्लोपिन् in the sūtra. Similarly अशशासत् with शास्; and अबबाधत् from बाध्, अययाचत् from याच्, and अडुडौकत् from डौक् ॥ See III. 1. 21 and 25.

भ्राजभासभाषदीपजीवमीलपीडामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्राज, भास, भाष, दीप, जीव, मील, पीडाम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्राज भास भाष दीप जीव मील पीड इत्येतेषामङ्गानां णौ चङ्युपधाया द्वेभ्यो भवत्यन्यतरस्योश्च ॥
पार्श्विकश्च ॥ काण्यासीतां वेति पक्षव्यश्च ॥

3. The shortening of the penultimate of the Causative stem, in the reduplicated Aorist, is optional in the following:—bhrāj, bhās, bhāsh, dīp, jīv, mīl and pīḍ.

As अभिभ्रजत् or अबभ्राजत्, अभीभसत् or अबभासत्, अभीभषत् or अबभाषत्, अदीपित् or अदीपयत्, अजीजिवत् or अजिजीवत्, अमीमिलत् or अमिमिलत्, अपीपिडत् or अपिपीडत् ॥ The Dhātupāṭha reads भ्राज् (Bhu. 194) and भास् (Bh. 655). The indicatory ऋ is unnecessary and not countenanced by Pāṇini, as shown in this sūtra. Had they been ऋदित्, they would have been governed by the last aphorism.

Vāst:—The words काणि, वाणि, राणि, हेडि, लोपि should be enumerated: as अचकाणत् or अचीकणत्, अरराणत् or अरीरणत्, अशश्राणत् or अशिश्राणत्, अबभाणत् or अबीभणत्, अजीहिठत्, अजिहेठत्, अलुलोपत् or अलूलुपत् ॥

लोपः पिबतेरीशाभ्यासस्य ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, पिबतेः, ईत्, च, अभ्यासस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पिबतेरङ्गस्य णौ चङ्युपधाया लोपो भवति अभ्यासस्येकारादेशो भवति ॥

4. The penultimate vowel, in the Causative stem of पा 'to drink' is elided in the Aorist, and for the vowel of the Reduplicate there is substituted long ई ॥

As पा + णि + अत् = पाप् + इ + अत् (VII. 3. 37) = पाप् + अत् (VI. 4. 51) = पप् + अत् (VII. 4. 8) = पप् + अत् (I. 1. 59) = पीव्यत् (VII. 4. 4). Thus अपीव्यत्, अपीव्यताम्, अपीव्यन् ॥ When the penultimate आ is elided, there remains प् which cannot be reduplicated as having no vowel, but the elided आ is considered as sthānivat and thus पा is reduplicated. Sūtra VII. 4. 80 establishes by implication the principle that the substitutes caused by णि are sthānivat. Thus भू + णि = भावि; in reduplicating, this भा will not be reduplicated, but भू, as बुभावि, भा = भू by sthānivad-bhāva.

तिष्ठतेरित् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिष्ठतेः, इत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिष्ठतेरङ्गस्य णौ चङ्युपधाया इकारदेशो भवति ॥

5. Short इ is substituted for the penultimate vowel of the Causative stem of स्था in the Aorist.

Thus अतिष्ठिपत्, अतिष्ठिपताम्, and अतिष्ठिपन् ॥ The form is thus evolved. स्था + णिप् + अत् = स्थाप् + इ + अत् (VII. 3. 36) = स्थाप् + अत् (VI. 4. 51) = स्थिप् + अत् (VII. 4. 5) = तिष्ठिपत् ॥

जिघ्रतेर्वा ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जिघ्रतेः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिघ्रतेरङ्गस्य णौ चङ्युपधाया इकारदेशो वा भवति ॥

6. Short इ is optionally substituted for the penultimate vowel of the Causative stem of घ्रा in the Aorist.

As अजिघ्रिपत् or अजिघ्रपत्, अजिघ्रिपताम् or अजिघ्रपताम्, अजिघ्रिपन् or अजिघ्रपन् ॥ Thus घ्रा + णि + अत् = घ्राप् + इ + अत् (VII. 3. 36) = घ्रिप् + इ + अत् (VII. 4. 6) = घ्रिप् + अत् (VI. 4. 51) = जिघ्रिपत् ॥ When इ is not substituted, घ्रा is shortened by VII. 4. 1.

उच्छ्रुत् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उः, ऋत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णौ चङ्युपधाया ऋवर्णस्य स्थाने वा ऋकारदेशो भवति ॥

7. Short ऋ is optionally substituted for the penultimate ऋ and ॠ of a Causative stem, in the reduplicated Aorist.

This debars the इत् (VII. 3. 101), अर् (VII. 3. 86), and आर् (VII. 2. 114) substitutes. Thus अधिकृत्तत् (VII. 1. 101) or अधिकृत्तत् from कृत् (Chur 111): अवर्तत् (VII. 3. 86), or अवर्तितत्; अममार्जत् (VII. 2. 114) or अमीचृजत् ॥ Though the इर्, अर् and आर् substitutes are antarāṅga operations, they are prohibited by the express text of this sūtra. The short ऋ is substituted even for a long ऋ: the त् of ऋत् shows that, as in अपीकृतत् (VIII. 2. 77). In fact, this ऋ substitute does not take place after the operations of इर्, आर् and अर् substitutions have taken effect, but it is a form which suspends the operation of all those rules.

नित्यं छन्दसि ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये णौ चङ्युपधाया ऋवर्णस्य स्थाने ऋकारदेशो भवति नित्यम् ॥

8. Short ऋ is invariably substituted in the Veda, for the penultimate ऋ or ॠ of a Causative stem, in the Reduplicated Aorist.

As अवीवृधत्, अवीवृधताम् and अवीवृधन् ॥

दयतेर्दिगि लिटि ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दयतेः, दिगि, लिटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दयतेरङ्गस्य लिटि परतो दिगीत्यमादेशो भवति ॥

9. दिगि is substituted for दे (दयते), in the Perfect.

As अव दिग्ये, अव दिग्याते, अव दिग्यि ॥ The root देङ् 'to protect' (Bhu. 1011) is to be taken, and not दय 'to give' (Bhu. 510), for that root forms its Perfect by आम् (Periphrastic Perfect) as taught in III. 1. 37. The substitute दिगि debarb reduplication.

ऋतश्च संयोगादेर्गुणः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, च, संयोग-आदेः, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य संयोगादेर्गुणो भवति लिटि परतः ॥

वाक्तिकम् ॥ संयोगादेर्गुणविधाने संयोगोपधमहणं कृम्यं कर्तव्यम् ॥

10. A root ending in short ऋ, and preceded by a conjunct consonant, gets Guṇa in the Perfect.

As सस्वरतुः, सस्वरः from स्तु, दध्वरतुः, दध्वरः from ध्व, सस्मरतुः, सस्मरः from स्मृ ॥ Why do we say ending in ऋ? Observe चिक्षियतुः, चिक्षियुः ॥ Why do we say beginning with a conjunct consonant? Observe चक्रतुः, चक्रुः ॥ This sūtra ordains Guṇa where there was prohibition by I. 2. 5 read with I. 1. 5. But this does not debar the Viddhi caused by णङ् (VII. 1. 115). In fact, that prior rule supersedes this posterior rule, as सस्वार, दध्वार, सस्मार ॥ The word लिटि is to be supplied in the sūtra, the rule does not apply to Nishṭhā &c., as स्मृतः, स्मृतवान् ॥

Vārtā:—For the sake of कृम्, the guṇa should be stated even where the double-consonant is in the penultimate position and not in the beginning. As संचस्करतुः, संचस्करः ॥ See VI. 1. 135. On the maxim पूर्वं धातुः साधनेन युज्यते पश्चादुपसर्गेण 'a root is first developed fully and then the preposition is added to it'; we first develop कृ in the Perfect by reduplication, which gives us चक्र+अतुस्, then we add the preposition as संचक्र+अतुः, then we add सुद् though the reduplicate intervenes, by VI. 1. 136 and 137, as संचस्कृ-अतुः, now the root assumes a form in which the penultimate begins with a double consonant, and applying the vārtika we make guṇa, and get संचस्करतुः ॥

It is by this consideration that in संस्कृषीष्ट, उपस्कृषीष्ट, the सुद् augment being Bahiranga and consequently considered as non-existent (asiddha), there is no इद् augment added by VII. 2. 43.

ऋच्छत्युताम् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋच्छति, ऋ, ऋताम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋच्छतेरङ्गस्य ऋश्येतस्य ऋकारान्तानां च लिटि परतो गुणो भवति ॥

11. There is guṇa in the Perfect of कृच्छ्, कृ and roots ending in long कृ.

As आनच्छ्, आनच्छतुः, आनच्छुः from कृच्छ्, आर, आरतुः, आरुः from कृ, and नि चकरतुः, नि चकरुः, नि जगरतुः, नि जगरुः from कृ and गृ ॥ कृच्छ् not having a light vowel in the penultimate, would not have received guṇa by VII. 3. 86, this sūtra ordains it; roots in long कृ never received guṇa, but इर् substitution; this ordains guṇa. The Vṛiddhi of VII. 2. 115 supersedes this rule, within its own jurisdiction, a prior superseding the posterior: as निचकार, नि जगार ॥

शृदृप्रां ह्रस्वो वा ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शृ, दृ, प्राप्, ह्रस्वः, वा, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शृ दृ पृ इत्येतेषामङ्गानां लिटि परतो वा इहो भवति ॥

12. In शृ, 'to injure' (IX. 18) दृ 'to tear' (IX. 23) and पृ to protect' (IX. 19) the vowel may optionally be shortened in the Perfect.

As वि शश्रुतुः by shortening or वि शशरतुः, by guṇa, which prevents ए and abhyāsalopa (VI. 4. 126) वि शशुः or विशशरुः, विश्रुतुः or विश्ररतुः, विश्रुः or विश्ररुः; निपश्रुतुः or नि पशरतुः, नि पशुः or नि पशरुः ॥ Why is the word 'short' made optional in the sūtra, and not the word 'guṇa'; for in the absence of guṇa, the long कृ would have become र before अतुः by यणदेशः, and we would have got the forms विशश्रुतुः, विशशुः by the regular rules of 'sandhi'? The word 'short' is used in the sūtra, in order to debar the इर् and उर् alternatives. Had the sūtra been "शृ दृ प्रां वा" the alternative examples would have been with इर् (VII. 1. 101) as शिश्रितुः विश्रितुः and उर् (VIII. 2. 77) as शिश्रुतुः ॥ Some say this sūtra is unnecessary. The above forms like वि शश्रुतुः, विशशुः, &c. can be regularly obtained from the roots आ 'to cook', आ 'to abuse', and प्रा 'to fill' and as the roots have many other senses, besides those assigned to them in the Dhātupāṭha, the roots आ, आ and प्रा will give the meanings of शृ, दृ, and पृ ॥ If that were so, the form विशश्रुवान् with the affix कृञ् could not be formed, for we should have either विशश्रुवान् from शृ root or विशश्रुवान् from आ root but never विशश्रुवान् ॥ So the rule about shortening is necessary.

केऽणः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ के, अणः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ के प्रत्यये परतो ऽणो इहो भवति ॥

13. Before the affix क, the preceding आ, ई and ऊ are shortened.

As शका, (VII. 3. 47) कुमारिका, किशोरिका, ब्रह्मबन्धुका ॥ Why आ, ई and ऊ only? Observe गौका, नौका ॥ The words राका, धाका are irregular being formed by Uṇādi diversity. with the affix क added to रा and धा (Uṇ III. 40) By the following sūtra, the rule does not apply to the affix कप्; it therefore implies that कन् is governed by this rule, though it has the anubandha न् ॥ Kātyāyana would confine this rule to the Taddhita क, and not the kṛit क of the

Uṇādi, as राका, धाका; but Uṇādi words are not derivatives (उणादयोऽन्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि), and hence no necessity of reading Taddhita into the sūtra.

न कपि ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, कपि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कपि प्रत्यये परतो ऽणो ह्रस्वो न भवति ॥

14. But before the samāsanta affix कप् coming after Bahuvrīhi compounds, the अण् vowels are not shortened.

As बहुकुमारीकः, बहुवृषलीकः, बहुवधूकः, बहुलक्ष्मीकः ॥ The shortening ordained by I. 2. 48 even does not operate when कप् follows.

For had there been upasarjana shortening (I. 2. 48), the present sūtra would be useless. Therefore, the very existence of this sūtra debars every sort of shortening. Obj. The present sūtra would not be useless, for it will find scope where there is no shortening of the upasarjana by I. 2. 48: namely before non-feminine affixes, as बहुयवागूकः; but there should be shortening in feminine affixes. Ans. The shortening of I. 2. 48 will not take place before कप् affix. Because the affix कप् will first be added to the second member in the sense of the compound, and then the word so ending in कप् will be compounded with the first member. So there is no *prātipadika* left which ends in a feminine affix, and therefore I. 2. 48, does not apply, because the *prātipadika* now left is one ending in the affix कप् and not in a feminine affix.

आपोन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आपः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आबन्तस्याङ्गस्य कपि ह्रस्वो न भवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥

15. Optionally the feminine stem in आ is not shortened before कप् ॥

As बहुलङ्काः or बहुलङ्कः, बहुमालकः or बहुमालाकः ॥

ऋदशो ऽङि गुणः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋ, दशः, अङिः, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋवर्णान्तानां दशेभ्य अङि परतो गुणो भवति ॥

16. Guṇa is substituted for the vowel of the root, before the affix अङ्, in the roots ending in ऋ or ॠ, as well as in इश् ॥

As शकलाङ्गुष्ठकोऽकरत्, अहं तेभ्योऽकरं नमः, असरत्, आरत्, अवर्शत्, अवर्शताम्, अवर्शन् ॥ The affix अङ् means the Aorist-character अङ् of which the above examples are given. It also is the kṛit-affix (III. 3. 104) of which we have ऋ—जरा ॥

The word अकरत् is अङ् Aorist formed from कृ by III. 1. 59. The word असरत् is from सृ (III. 1. 56). अवर्शत् by VI. 1. 57.

अस्यतेऽस्थुक् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यतेः, थुक्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्यतेऽङ्गस्य थुगागमो भवत्याङि परतः ॥

17. The stem अस् (अस्यते) gets the augment थुक् before this Aorist अङ् ॥

As आस्थत्, आस्थताम्, आस्थन् ॥ See III. 1. 52.

श्वयतेरः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वयतेः, अः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वयतेरङ्गस्याकारविशो भवत्यङि परतः ॥

18. The अ is substituted for the final of श्वि in the अङ् Aorist.

As अश्वत्, अश्वताम्, अश्वन् ॥ For the अ of the stem and the अ of the affix, there is the single substitute of the last by VI. 2. 97. See III. 1. 58.

पतः पुम् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पतः, पुम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतेरङ्गस्य पुमागमो भवत्यङि परतः ॥

19. The augment प् is added after the vowel of the root पत् in the अङ्-Aorist.

As अपतत्, अपतताम्, अपतन् ॥ The पत् takes the अङ् Aorist as it has an indicatory ऋ in the Dhātupāṭha (III. 1. 55).

वचउम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ वचः, उम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वचेरङ्गस्य अङि परत उमागमो भवति ॥

20. The augment उ is added after the अ of वच् in the अङ्-Aorist.

As अवोचत्, अवोचताम्, अवोचन् ॥ See III. 1. 52.

शीङः सार्वधातुके गुणः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शीङः, सार्वधातुके, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शीङोऽङ्गस्य सार्वधातुके परतो गुणो भवति ॥

21. For the vowel of शी, there is substituted गुणः, when a Sârvadhâtuka affix follows.

As शेते, शयाते, शरते, but शिद्ये before the ârdhadhâtuka affix (III. 4. 115). Though these sârvadhâtuka affixes were ङित् (I. 2. 4) and would not have caused गुणः (I. 4. 5), they do so by virtue of the present sūtra. The word शीङ् is read in the sūtra with the anubardha इ, in order to indicate that the rule does not apply to यङ् लुक् as शेतीतः, शेदयाति ॥

अयङ् यि कङिति ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अयङ्, यि, कङिति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादौ कङिति प्रत्यये परतः शीङोऽङ्गस्यायङित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

22. Before an affix beginning with य् and having an indicatory क् or ङ्, there is substituted अय् for the ई of शी ॥

As शय्यते with यक्, शाशय्यते with यङ्, प्रशय्य and उपशय्य with ल्यप् which being the substitute of क्त्वा is कित् ॥ But शिद्ये where the affix is ए, and शेयम् where the affix is यत् (neither कित् or ङित्) ॥

उपसर्गाङ्स्व ऊहतेः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप सर्गात्, ह्रस्वः, ऊहतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गादुत्तरस्य ऊहतेरङ्गस्य ह्रस्वो भवति यकारादौ कङिति ॥

23. The short is substituted for the ऊ of ऊह् when a Preposition precedes it, and an affix beginning with य् with an indicatory क् or ङ् follows.

As समुह्यते, प्रत्युह्यते, समुह्य, अभ्युह्यते, अभ्युह्य ॥ But ऊह्यते without Preposition. Why do we say of ऊह्? Observe समीह्यते ॥ Why do we say 'before य्'? Observe समूहितम् ॥ Why do we say having indicatory क् or ङ्? Observe अभ्युह्यः with यत् ॥ Of course the shortening takes place of ऊ (or अण् vowel, the word अण् being understood here from VII. 4. 13), and not when it assumes the form ओ, as आ ऊह्यते = ओह्यते, समीह्यते ॥

एतेर्लिङि ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतेः, लिङि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतेरङ्गस्योपसर्गादुत्तरस्य लिङि यकारादौ कङिति परतो ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

24. The short is substituted for the vowel of the stem इ (एति) before the augment यास् in the Benedictive, when a Preposition precedes it.

As उदियात्, समियात्, अन्वियात् ॥ This is an exception to the following sūtra by which a long would have been substituted. But ईयात् without a Preposition. The अण् (VII. 4. 13) is understood here also. Therefore ए form of इ will not be shortened, as आ-न-इयात् = एयात्, समेयात् ॥

अकृतसार्वधातुकयोर्दीर्घः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकृत, सार्वधातुकयोः, दीर्घः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकृत्यकारे असार्वधातुकयकारे च कङिति परतोऽन्तस्याङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

25. A long is substituted for the final vowel of the stem, before an affix beginning with a य् having an indicatory क् or ङ्, when it is not either a Kṛit or a Sārvaadhātuka affix.

Thus वृक्षायते, सुखायते, and दुःखायते with the Denominative affix क्यङ् according to III. 1. 12 and 18. चीयते and स्तुयते with the Passive यक्, चेचीयते and तोद्वयते with the Intensive यङ्, and चीयात् and स्तूयात् in the Benedictive (See III. 4. 116). But प्रकृत्य and प्रहृत्य where the affix ल्यप् is kṛit, and had the vowel been lengthened by this subsequent rule, the antecedent तुक् augment would have been debarred (VI. 1. 71). And चिनुयात् and सुनुयात् where the Personal endings of the Potential are sārvaadhātuka. The phrase कङिति is understood in this sūtra, so there is no lengthening before non-kit and non-hit affixes, as, उरुया, धृणुया, formed by या under VII. 1. 39.

चौ च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चौ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिप्रत्यये परतोऽन्तस्याङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

26. A long is substituted for the final vowel of the stem, before the Adverbial affix चि (V. 4. 50).

As शुची करोति, शुची स्यात्, शुची भवति, पटू करोति, पटू स्यात्, पटू भवति ॥ The च draws in the anuvṛitti of the phrase 'non-krit, and non-sārvadhātuka' from the last sūtra, which though not of any direct use in this aphorism, is necessary for the sake of subsequent ones. See VII. 4. 32 for words ending in अ ॥

रीङ्कृतः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ रीङ्, कृतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ च्वाविति वर्त्तते ॥ अकृतसार्वधातुकयोरिति च ॥ ऋकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य अकृत्यकारेऽसार्वधातुके यकारे च्वा च परतो रीङित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

27. री is substituted for the final short ऋ of a stem, before an affix beginning with च, when it is not a Kṛit nor a Sārvadhātuka affix, and before the adverbial affix च्चि ॥

The anuvṛitti of किङिति is, however, not understood in this sūtra; that of च्चौ and अकृतसार्वधातुकयोः is present. Thus मात्रीयति and पित्रीयति with क्यच् (III. 1. 8), मात्रीयते, पित्रीयते with क्यङ् (III. 1. 11). च्चक्रीयते with यङ्, मात्रीभूतः with च्चि ॥ The कित् and डित् not being understood here, we have पितुरागतं = पित्र्यम् (IV. 3. 79), which is thus formed पितृ-+यत् = पित्री + य = पित्र-+य (ई being elided by VI. 4. 148). Why do we say short ऋ? Observe चेकीर्यते, from कृ विक्षेपे, with यङ्, ऋतइद् धातोः and हलिच lengthening. निजेगित्यते from कृ and गृ ॥

रिङ् शयग्लिङ्क्षु ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रिङ्, श, यक्, लिङ् क्षु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य श यक् इत्येतयोर्लिङि च यकारादौ असार्वधातुके परतो रिङित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

28. For the final short ऋ of a root, there is substituted रि, before the Present-character अ (श), before the Passive-character य, and before the augment यास् in the Benedictive.

The word लिङि in the aphorism is qualified by the phrase यकारादौ असार्वधातुके ॥ A Liñ affix which begins with a य and is not a Sārvadhātuka, is necessarily the augment यास् of the Benedictive. Thus च-आ द्वियते and आ द्वियते (the च comes by VI. 4. 77). यक्-क्रियते, द्वियते ॥ लिङ्-क्रियात् and द्वियात् ॥ This short रि debars the long री of the last. The word non-Sārvadhātuka being understood, the rule does not apply to the Potential, as बिभृयात् ॥ The लि (VII. 4. 22) is understood here also, therefore when the Benedictive affix does not begin with य, the rule does not apply, as कृषीष्ट, हृषीष्ट ॥

गुणोत्तिसंयोगाद्योः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुणः, अर्त्ति, संयोगाद्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋतो यकि लिङि इति वर्त्तते ॥ शङ्खत्वांसभवान्नानुवर्त्तते ॥ गुणा भवत्यस्यैः संयोगादीनामृकारान्तानां यकि परतो, लिङि च यकाराद्यवसार्वधातुके ॥

29. Guṇa is substituted for the final ऋ in the root ऋ (अर्त्ति), and in those roots ending in ऋ, in which

the vowel is preceded by a conjunct consonant, when the Passive character यक् or the Benedictive augment यास् follows.

The words कृतः, यक्ति and लिङि are understood here. Not so the word क्ष as its anuvṛtti is impossible. Thus अर्यते, अर्यान्, स्मर्यते and स्मर्यान् ॥ This is an exception to I. 1. 5. In सं स्क्रियते and संस्क्रियान् (VI. 1. 135), there is no Guṇa, either because in स्क्र the augment स् is considered as Bahiranga and therefore asiddha, or because it is considered as no part of (or non-attached to) कृ, and therefore स् कृ is not a root beginning with a conjunct consonant. See however VII. 4. 10, where in forming संचस्करान्, स्क्र is considered as a root beginning with a conjunct consonant. See also Mahābhāṣya on VI. 1. 135. The यि (VII. 4. 22) is understood here also; the Benedictive affix must begin with य, therefore not here स्वृषीट्, ध्वृषीट् ॥ The word non-sarvadhātuka is also understood here, the rule does not apply to the Potential, as इय्यात्, there is ślu substitution of śap, reduplication, then there is इ substitution in the reduplicate by VII. 4. 77, then इयङ् by VI. 4. 78.

यङि च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ यङि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङि च परतो अर्त्तः संयोगादेव कृतो गुणो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ न न्द्राः संयोगादय इति द्विवचनप्रतिषेधो यकारपरस्य नेष्यते ॥

था० ॥ हन्तेहिंसायां यङि प्रीभावो वक्तव्यः ॥

30. Guṇa is substituted for the final ऋ of the root ऋ (अर्ति) and in those roots, ending in short ऋ, in which the vowel is preceded by a conjunct consonant, when the Intensive character यङ् follows.

As अरार्यते, सास्वर्यते, दाध्वर्यते, सास्वर्यते ॥ The root ऋ takes यङ् according to a Vārtika under Sūtra III. 1. 22, with Guṇa we have ऋ-1-य=अर्य ॥ By VI. 1. 2, the second member is reduplicated, in spite of the prohibition in VI. 1. 3, for according to Patanjali र् followed by य is not governed by that prohibition. So we have अर्यर्य, and according to VII. 4. 60, the य् is dropped, and we have अर्यर्य, and by VII. 4. 83, we get अरार्य ॥ This is an exception to I. 1. 5.

Vārt :—In the Intensive of हन् 'to kill', ह्नी is substituted for हन् as जेघ्नीयते ॥ The substitute is with a long ई, had it been with a short इ, that might also have been lengthened by VII. 4. 25. Not doing so, however, indicates the existence of the maxim संज्ञापूर्वकविधेरनित्यत्वम् "A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it is denoted by a technical term". It is through this that स्वायंभुवः is formed from स्वयंभू; because the Guṇa taught by VI. 4. 146, does not take place here before the Taddhita affix अण्, in as much as that rule VI. 4. 146, is taught by employing the technical term गुणः in ओर्युणः instead of ओरोत्, hence that rule is anitya, and we have उवङ् ॥

Why do we say when meaning 'to kill'? Observe अहृष्यते where it means to do.

ई ब्राध्मोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, ब्रा, ध्मोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रा ध्मा इत्येतयोर्द्वि परत ईकारदेशो भवति ॥

31. Long ई is substituted for the vowel of the roots ब्रा and ध्मा in the Intensive.

As जेघ्रीयते, द्वेघ्रीयते ॥ The long ई is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, short इ would have, by VII. 4. 25, given the same forms also.

अस्य च्चौ ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्य, च्चौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ई इति वर्तते अवर्णान्तस्याङ्गस्य च्चौ परत ईकारदेशो भवति ॥

32. Long ई is substituted for the final अ or आ of a Nominal stem, before the Adverbial affix च्चि (V. 4. 50).

As शुक्ली करोति, शुक्ली भवति, शुक्ली स्यात् ॥ खट्वी करोति, खट्वी भवति and खट्वी स्यात् ॥

क्यचि च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यचि, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्येति वर्तते क्यचि परतोवर्णान्तस्याङ्गस्य ईकारदेशो भवति ॥

33. Long ई is substituted for the final अ or आ of a Nominal stem, before the Denominative affix क्यच् ॥

As पुत्रीयति, घटीयति, खट्वीयति, मालीयति ॥ This is an exception to VII. 4. 25. The separating of this aphorism from the preceding, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorism.

अशनायोदन्यधनाया बुभुक्षापिपासागर्द्धेषु ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अशनाय, उदन्य धनायाः, बुभुक्षा, पिपासा, गर्द्धेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अशनाय उदन्य धनाय इत्येतानि निपात्यन्ते बुभुक्षा पिपासा गर्द्धे इत्येतेष्वर्थेषु ॥

34. The Denominative roots अशनाय, उदन्य and धनाय are irregularly formed, when they respectively mean 'to be hungry', 'to be thirsty', 'to be greedy'.

Thus अशनायति from अशन-1-क्यच्, आ instead of ई; the other form being अशनयति who is not hungry at the time, but wishes to get food for some future occasion, and therefore when not meaning 'to be hungry'; उदन्यति 'he is thirsty', उदन् being substituted for उदक्; in any other sense we have उदकयति, who wants water for purposes of bathing &c. धनायति 'he is greedy'; in any other sense, धनीयति who is poor, and therefore wishes to get riches.

नच्छन्दस्यपुत्रस्य ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, छन्दसि, अ, पुत्रस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये पुत्रवर्जितस्यावर्णान्तस्याङ्गस्य क्यचि यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अपुत्रादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

35. In the Veda, the above rules causing lengthening, or the substitution of long ई for the final vowel of the stem, do not apply, except in the case of पुत्र ॥

Thus निव्रयुः, संस्विद्युः, देवाञ् जिगाति सुन्दुयुः ॥ But पुत्रीयन्तः, सुदानवः (Rig VII. 96. 4).

Vart.—It should be rather stated पुत्र and the rest: as जनीयन्तोऽन्वयः ॥ See III. 2. 170, for the affix वृ

दुरस्युर्द्रविणस्युर्वृषण्यति रिषण्यति ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दुरस्युः, द्रविणस्युः, वृषण्यति, रिषण्यति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुरस्युः द्रविणस्युः वृषण्यति रिषण्यति एतानि छन्वसि निपात्यन्ते ॥

36. In the Veda दुरस्यु, द्रविणस्यु, वृषण्यति and रिषण्यति are irregularly formed.

As अवियोना दुरस्युः, (= दुर्दीयति with the affix क्यच् added to दुष्ट), द्रविणस्युर्विषण्यति (द्रविणीयति, here द्रविणस् is substituted for द्रविण similarly). वृषण्यति=वृषीयति (वृषण् substituted for वृष) ॥ रिषण्यति=रिष्टीयति (रिषण् substituted for रिष्ट) ॥

अश्वाघस्यात् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अश्व, अघस्य, आत्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश्व अघ इत्येतयोः क्यचि परतः छन्वसि विषये आकारादेशो भवति ॥

37. In the Veda, long आ is substituted for the final of अश्व and अघ, before the Denominative क्यच् ॥

As अश्वायन्तो मघवन् (Rig VII. 32. 23), मा त्वा वृका अघायवो विदन् ॥ This also indicates that other words do not lengthen their vowel in the Veda before क्यच्, as taught in VII. 4. 35. See Vārtika to III. 1. 8. The word अघायु occurs in Rig I. 120. 7, 27; 3.

देवसुस्रयोर्यजुषि काठके ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ देव सुस्रयोः, यजुषि, काठके, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देव सुस्र इत्येतयोः क्यचि परत आकारादेशो भवति यजुषि काठके ॥

38. Long आ is substituted for the final of देव and सुस्र before the Denominative क्यच् in Yajush Kāṭhaka.

As देवायन्तो यजमानाः सुस्रायन्तो हवामहे ॥ Why in the Yajus? Observe देवाञ्जिगाय सुस्रयुः ॥ Why do we say in the Kāṭhaka? Observe सुस्रयुरिदमासात् ॥

कव्यध्वरपृतनस्यचि लोपः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कवि, अध्वर, पृतनस्यः, ऋचि, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवि अध्वर पृतना इत्येतेषामङ्गानां क्यचि परतो लोपो भवति ऋचि विषये ॥

39. In the Rig Veda, the final of कवि, अध्वर and पृतना is dropped before the Denominative क्यच् ॥

As कव्यन्तः सुमनसः (not in the Rig Veda), अध्वर्यन्तः (not in this case in the Rig Veda). पृतन्यन्तस्तिष्ठन्ति (not in this connection in the Rig. Veda). The examples given above are of Kāśikā: according to Pro. Bohtlingk none of them are from the Rig Veda. The following are given by Bhattoji Dikshita in his Siddhanta Kaumudi: स पूर्वया निविश कव्यतावोः (Rig I. 96. 2). अध्वर्युं वा मधुपाणिम् (Rig X. 41. 3), वनयन्तं पृतन्युम् ॥

द्यतिस्यतिमास्थामिति किति ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्यति, स्यति, मा, स्था, इत्, ति, किति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्यति स्यति मा स्था इत्येतेषामङ्गानामिकारादेशो भवति तकारादौ किति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

40. Short इ is substituted for the final of द्यो, सो, मा and स्था, before an affix beginning with त् and having an indicatory क् ॥

As निर्दितः and निर्दितवान्; अवसितः and अवसितवान्, मितः and मितवान्; स्थितः and स्थितवान्, all with क्त and क्तवत् ॥ Why before त्? Observe अवदाय ॥ Why before a कित् affix? Observe अवदात with कृच् ॥

शाछोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शा, छोः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शा छा इत्येतयोरन्यतरस्यामिकारादेशो भवति तकारादौ किति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्यतेरिष्वं व्रते नित्यमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

Kārikā:—देवत्रातो गलो माह इतियोगे च सङ्घिः ।

मिथस्ते न विभाष्यन्ते गवाक्षः संशितव्रतः ॥

41. Short इ is optionally substituted for the final of शा (शो) and छा (छो), before an affix beginning with त् and having an indicatory क् ॥

As निशितं or निशातम्, निशितवान् or निशातवान्; अवच्छितं, अवच्छितवान् or अवच्छातं, अवच्छातवान् ॥ The शा *always* takes the इ when it means a vow : as संशितो ब्राह्मणः = संशितव्रतः ॥ The rule of this sūtra thus becomes a vyavasthita vibhāshā. Other examples of such vyavasthita vibhāshā are to be found in VIII. 2. 56, where चात and चाण past participles are formed with त् or ण, but चात is *only* employed in names as देवत्रातः &c, and never चाण, while in denoting action both forms are valid : similarly by VIII. 2. 21, गल and गर are both formed, but गल *alone* is used when 'neck' is meant, and गर *alone* when 'poison' is indicated ; optionally both when an action is meant. Similarly by III. 1. 143, माह and मह are formed, but माहः is *only* used when 'a crocodile' is meant, and महः *alone* is employed when a 'planet' is indicated. Similarly the addition of the Present Participle affix शतृ and शानच् under III. 2. 126, is debarred when इति is added, as हन्ति इति पलायते, वर्षतीति धावति ॥ In all the above examples, the option though taught generically, should be limited to specific cases ; as also in the examples गवाक्षः 'a window', and गोऽक्षम् 'cow's eye' (VI. 1. 123) and संशितव्रतः ॥ In short, we should limit a general vibhāshā to a vyavasthita-vibhāshā, on the maxim व्यवस्थितविभाषा विज्ञानात् सिद्धम् ॥

दधातेर्हिः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दधातेः, हिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दधातेरङ्गस्य ह्रीत्ययमादेशो भवति तकारादौ किति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

42. हि is substituted for धा (दधाति) before an affix beginning with त् and having an indicatory क् ॥

As हितः, हितवत्, हित्वा ॥

जहातेश्च क्ति ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जहातेः, च, क्ति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेरङ्गस्य ह्रीत्ययमादेशो भवति क्त्वाप्रत्यये परतः ॥

43. हि is substituted for हा (जहाति) before क्त्वा ॥

As हित्वा राज्यं वनम् गतः, हित्वा गच्छति ॥ The rule does not apply to हा जिहीते ॥ There we have हात्वा गतः ॥

विभाषा छन्दसि ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेरङ्गस्य विभाषा ह्रीत्ययमादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये क्त्वाप्रत्यये परतः ॥

44. हि is optionally substituted for हा before क्त्वा in the Chhandas.

As हित्वा शरीरं यातव्यं, or हात्वा also. The long ई of VI. 4. 62 does not take place also as a Vedic irregularity.

सुधितवसुधितनेमधितधिष्वधिषीय च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुधित, वसुधित, नेमधित, धिष्व, धिषीय, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुधित वसुधित नेमधित धिष्व धिषीय इत्येतानि छन्दसि विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

45. These five Vedic forms are irregularly formed, सुधित, वसुधित, नेमधित, धिष्व and धिषीय ॥

Of these five, सुधित, वसुधित and नेमधित are formed from the root धा with the affix क्त, preceded by सु, वसु and नेम ॥ As गर्भे माता सुधितम् (=सुहितम्), वसुधितम् नौ शुशेति (=वसुहितं), नेमधिता बाधन्ते (=नेमहिता) ॥ धिष्व is Imperative 2nd Per. Sg. of धा, there is no reduplication, as धिष्व सोमम् = धस्व ॥ धिषीय is Benedictive Atmanepada 1st Per. Sg. of धा, the regular form being धासीय ॥

दो दद् घोः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दः, दत्, घोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हा इत्येतस्य घुसंज्ञकस्य इदित्ययमादेशो भवति तकारादौ किति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

46. For दा, when it is a Ghu (I. 1. 20), there is substituted दद् before a कित् affix beginning with त् ॥

As दत्तः, दत्तवान्, दत्तिः ॥ Why of दा? Observe धीतः, धीतवान् from धेद; and the long ई is by VI. 4. 66. Why when it is a Ghu? Observe दातं बहिः from हाप् 'to cut', and अवदातं मुखं from दैप् 'to cleanse'. The substitute is दद् ending in य, according to an *Ishti*.

Kārikā:—तान्ते दोषो दीर्घत्वं स्याद्, दान्ते दोषो निष्ठा नत्वम् ॥

धान्ते दोषो धस्व प्राप्तिस्र्, यान्तेऽ दोष स्तस्मात् यान्तम् ॥

If the substitute be दद् ending in त्, then it would require the lengthening taught in VI. 3. 124. (N. B. The sūtra इस्ति should be interpreted as 'the vowel of the Preposition is lengthened before a substitute of हा which ends in त्', in order to make this objection applicable. That sūtra however is capable of another interpretation). If the substitute be दद् ending in द् then the Nishthā त् would be changed to न by VIII. 2. 42: as in निद् + त् = निन्नः ॥ If the substitute be दद् ending in ध्, then by VIII. 2. 40; the Nishthā त् would be changed to ध ॥ Hence the substitute is दद् ॥ If

however, the sūtra VI. 3. 124, is interpreted as "the vowel of a preposition is lengthened before a substitute of **दा** which *begins* with **तृ**", then the substitute may be **दृ** also without any harm. Even if the substitute be **वृ** or **धृ**, the apprehended **तृ** and **धृ** substitutions will not take place, on the maxim **सन्निपातलक्षणो विधि रनिमित्तं तद्विधायकः ॥**

The following are exceptions to VII. 4. 47, अवदत्तं, विदत्तं, प्रदत्तं, सुदत्तं, अदुदत्तं and निदत्तं ॥ Or the words अव &c, here are not Upasargas. See I. 4. 57.

Kārikā:—अवदत्तं विदत्तं च प्रदत्तं चादिकर्मणि ।

सुदत्तमदुदत्तं च निदत्तमिति चैव्यते ॥

The word आदिकर्मणि qualifies pradatta only. The word च shows that regular forms अवत्तं, वित्तं, प्रत्तं, &c also are valid.

अच उपसर्गात्तः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, उपसर्गात्, तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्तादुपसर्गादुत्तरस्य दा इत्येतस्य घुसंज्ञकस्य त इत्ययमादेशो भवति तकारादौ किति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अतरेत्स्वादचस्त इत्येतद्वति विप्रतिषेधेन ॥

47. **तृ** is substituted for the ghu **दा** before a कित् affix beginning with **त**, when a Preposition ending in a vowel precedes it.

The examples under the present sūtra are प्रत्तं, अवत्तं, नीत्तं, परीत्तं ॥ For the lengthening see VI. 3. 124. Why do we say 'ending in a vowel'? Observe निर्वत्तम् दुर्वत्तम् ॥ Why 'after an Upasarga only'? Observe शधि वत्तम्, मधु वत्तम् ॥ Why 'the दा called Ghu'? Observe अवदात्तं मुखं from द्वेप् ॥

Obj. The word उपसर्गात् in the sūtra is in the Ablative case, and by I. 1. 67, the substitute **तृ** should replace only the *first* letter of **दा**, how does it replace the *whole*?

Ans—The word अचः is to be repeated in the sūtra, one अचः being in the Ablative case and qualifying उपसर्गात्, and the other अचः being in the Genitive case, showing the sthānin to be आ, as "after an Upasarga ending in a vowel, **तृ** is substituted *for the vowel* of **दा**". Or the word अस्य may be read into this sūtra from VII. 4. 32. Or उपसर्गात्तः consists of three तृ's, the substitute being त्त, and being a substitute of more than one letter, it replaces the *whole* of **दा** (I. 1. 55). In the following sūtra अपोमि, the अचः in the Ablative case is understood, and therefore **तृ** replaces only **पृ** ॥

Vart:—After a Preposition ending in a vowel, **तृ** is substituted for **दा** (दौ), when **इ** would have been substituted otherwise for its final by VII. 4. 40. As अवत्तम्, प्रत्तम् जुहोति and नीत्तं, वीत्तं ॥

अपो मि ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपः, मिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपृ इत्येतस्याङ्गस्य भकारादौ प्रत्यये परतस्त इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

48. **तृ** is substituted for the final of the stem अप before a case-ending beginning with **म्** ॥

As अद्भ्याम्, आङ्गिः, अङ्गपः ॥ Why beginning with a भ? Observe अप्सु ॥

In the Veda, त् is substituted before भ, for the final of स्ववस्, from सु + अद् + अमुन्; meaning सोभनमद्येयषां; स्वतवस् from the root तु meaning स्वं त्वो येषां; मास and उपस्, as स्ववङ्गिः, स्वतवङ्गिः, माङ्गिरिटा इन्द्रो वृचहा, सद्युषङ्गिरजायथाः ॥ The word मास becomes मास् by VI. 1. 63.

सः स्याद्धातुके ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, सि, आर्द्धधातुके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य सकाराद्वा आर्द्धधातुके परतस्तकारादेशो भवति ॥

49. त् is substituted for the final स् of a root before an Ârdhadhâtuka affix beginning with स् ॥

As वस्यति, अवस्यत, विवसति, जिघ्रसति ॥ Why do we say 'when ending in स'? Observe वक्ष्यति ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with स'? Observe घासः, वासः ॥ Why an ârdhadhâtuka? Observe आस्ते, वस्ते, from आस् 'to sit' and वस् 'to cover'; both Adâdi roots.

तासस्त्योलोपः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ तास्अस्त्योः, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तासेरस्तेश्च सकारस्य सकारादौ प्रत्यये लोपो भवति ॥

50. The final स् of तास् (the character of the second Future) and that of अस् 'to be', is elided before an affix beginning with स् ॥

As कर्त्तासि, कर्त्तासे, खनसि, व्यति से ॥ See VI. 4. III. In से the अ and स् both of अस् have been elided, the अ by VI. 4. III, and स् by the present sūtra, so that the mere suffix से remains, which however here is a finite verb: hence the स, is not changed to व ॥ See VIII. 3. III.

रि च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफादौ च प्रत्यये परतः तासस्त्योः सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

51. The स् of तास् and अस् is dropped before an affix beginning with a र् ॥

As कर्त्तारौ, कर्त्तारः, अध्येतारौ, अध्येतारः ॥ The स् of अस् 'to be' is elided in the Perfect, because it is there that a र् beginning affix can follow it. Thus व्यतिरे (See VI. 4. III). According to the reading of Padamanjari, there can be no example of अस् ॥ अस्तेरुदाहरणं न प्रदर्शितं, रेफादिरसम्भवात् ॥

ह एति ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, एति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तासस्त्योः सकारस्य हकारादेशो भवति एति परतः ॥

52. For the स् of तास् and अस् there is substituted ह before the personal-ending ए ॥

As कर्त्तारि, and व्यति हे from अस् ॥ See VI. 4. III. The ह substitution does not take place before the Personal ending एष् (III. 4. 8), as एधानासे ॥ The reason of this is that the ए referred to in this sūtra, is that ए which can come after तास्; and that very ए should also come after अस् ॥ The ए that can

come after तास् is the 1st Person singular ए; and not this ए of the Perfect 3rd Person singular. Others say, this even sârvadhâtuka, and therefore not here सुतोऽहं त्वां प्रेक्षामासे ॥

यीवर्णयोर्दीधीवेव्योः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यि, इवर्णयोः, दीधी, वेव्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादाविवर्णादौ च परतो दीधीवेव्योर्लोपो भवति ॥

53. The final of दीधी and वेवी falls before an affix beginning with य्, इ or ई ॥

Thus आदीध्य and आवेव्य गतः, आदीध्यते, and आवेव्यते before य् ॥ आदीधित्, आवेवित्; आदीधीत and आवेवीत ॥ Why before य्, इ or ई? Observe आदीध्यनम् and आवेव्यनम् ॥ The long ई in वी is a sūtra वैचित्र, for यिवर्णयोः would have been enough.

सनि मीमाधुरभलभशकपतपदामच इस् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, मी, मा, धु, रभ, लभ, शक, पत, पदा म्, अचः, इस् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनि प्रत्यये सकारादौ परतो मी मा धु रभ लभ शक पत पद इत्येतेषामङ्गानामचः स्थाने इत्थित्यमादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सनि राधो द्विसायामच इस्त्वन्वयः ॥

54, इस् is substituted for the root-vowel of मी, मा, दा and धा (धु), रभ्, लभ्, शक्, पत् and पद् when the Desiderative सन् beginning with स् (i. e. not taking the augment इ) follows.

The मी includes मीनाति (Kryādi 4), and मिनोति (मि of Svādi 4) for मि assumes the form मी by VI. 4. 16 Thus मिस्सति, प्रमिस्सति ॥ The मा denotes all the roots which assume the form मा, on the maxim गामादा ग्रहणेष्वाविशेषः "The terms गा, मा or दा when they are employed in Grammar denote both the original roots गा, मा and दा and also the roots which are changed to गा, मा and दा" ॥ They are मा and माङ् माने, and मेङ् प्रणिशने ॥ Thus मिस्सते, अप मिस्सते ॥ धु—दिस्सति, धिस्सति; रभ्—आरिप्सते, लभ्—आलिप्सते, शक्—शिक्षति, पत्—पिस्सति, पद्—प्रपिस्सते ॥ In the roots that end in a vowel, the स् of इस् is changed to त् by VII. 4. 49, and in the roots that end in a consonant, this स् is dropped, according to VIII. 2. 29. The reduplication falls by VII. 4. 58.

Why do we say 'when the Desiderative follows'? Observe दास्यति ॥ The word स्ति is understood here from VII. 4. 49, so the rule will not apply when the Desiderative takes the augment इद्, as प्र पातयति ॥ Here पत् optionally takes इद् under the vārtika तनिपतिद्विराणाधुपसंख्यानम् ॥

Vārt :—The इस् comes after the root-vowel of राध् in the Desiderative, when the sense is that of to injure. As प्रति रिस्सति ॥ Why do we say when the sense is that of 'to injure'? Observe आरि रास्सति ॥

आप्श्लष्यधामीत् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आप्, श्लप्, ऋधाम्, ईत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आप् श्लपि ऋध इत्येतेषामङ्गानामच ईकारादेशो भवति सनि सकारादौ परतः ॥

55. For the vowel of the roots आप्, क्षपि and ऋध् there is substituted long ई before the सन् of the Desiderative, when it begins with स् ॥

Thus आप्—ईप्सति, क्षपि—क्षीप्सति, ऋध्—ईर्त्सति (I. 1. 51.). The reduplication is dropped by VII. 4. 58. In the Causative stem क्षपि there are two vowels, the इ (णि) is dropped by pûrva-vipratishedha (the prior debarring the subsequent) according to VI. 4. 51, and ई substituted for अ according to the present sûtra. The word सन् is to be read into the sûtra, otherwise प्राप्स्यति ॥ The सन् must begin with स् i.e. should not take the इद् augment, as in जिज्ञप्सिषति, अर्हिषिषति ॥ The roots क्षपि and ऋध् are optionally सेद् in the Desiderative by VII. 2. 49.

दम्भ इच्च ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दम्भः, इत्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दम्भेरच इकारदेशो भवति चकारादीच्च सनि सकारादौ परतः ॥

56. For the vowel of the root दम्भ् there is substituted इ as well as ई before the सन् of the Desiderative, when it begins with स् ॥

As धीप्सति or धिप्सति ॥ But इक्षिम्भपीत before the सेद्सन् ॥ The reduplication falls off by VII. 4. 58.

मुचोऽकर्मकस्य गुणो वा ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुचः, अकर्मकस्य, गुणः वाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुचोऽकर्मकस्य गुणो वा भवति सनि सकारादौ परतः ॥

57. When मुच् has an Intransitive signification, Guṇa is optionally substituted for its vowel before the अनि सन् of the Desiderative.

By I. 2. 10, after a root ending in a consonant, the सन् is like कित् and does not cause Guṇa. The present sûtra ordains it optionally. As मोक्षते or मुमुक्षत वत्सः स्वप्नमेव ॥ In the Transitive there is one form only, as मुमुक्षति वत्सं देवदत्तः ॥ मुच् becomes Intransitive when it has a Reflexive significance, or when it expresses a mere action. The reduplication is elided by VII. 4. 58.

अत्र लोपोऽभ्यासस्य ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्र, लोपः, अभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यदेतन्प्रक्रान्तं सनि मीमेत्यादि मुचोऽकर्मकस्य गुणेवेति यावत् अत्राभ्यासलोपो भवति ॥

58. The reduplicate is dropped under the circumstances mentioned in the foregoing sûtras VII. 4. 54 to VII. 4. 57.

The examples are given under the above-mentioned sûtras. The word 'of the reduplicate' अभ्यासस्य is to be supplied in all the subsequent sûtras upto the end of the chapter. Thus Sûtra VII. 4. 59, says 'a short is to be substituted', we must supply the words 'for the reduplicate' to com-

plete the sense : as दुहौकिषते, तुचौकिषते ॥ The word अत्र in the sūtra indicates that the reduplication is not to be elided, when an affix is treated *like* सन् but is not actually सन् ॥ Thus चङ्- Aorist is treated like सन् by VII. 4. 93 ; but the reduplication will not be dropped there : as अमीमपन्, अदीदपन् ॥ Some say the word अत्र here indicates that the *whole* of the reduplicate is dropped, and not only its final letter. Others elide the whole of the reduplicate on the maxim नानर्थकोऽस्तेऽन्यविधिः ॥ “The rule I. 1. 52, by which a substitute should take the place of only the final letter of that which is exhibited in the Genitive case, is not valid, where what is exhibited in the Genitive is meaningless”.

ह्रस्वः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वो भवत्यभ्यासस्य ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अभ्यासस्यानचि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अचि चलि पति वदीनां वा द्वित्वमध्याक् चाभ्यासस्य इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

59. A short is substituted for the long vowel of the reduplicate.

As दुहौकिषते, तुचौकिषते, दुहौके, तुचौके, अदुहौकन्, अतुचौकन् ॥

Vārt.—The shortening takes place before affixes other than अच् (III. 1. 134). Before अच्, the roots चर्, चल्, पन् and वद् are reduplicated, and the augment अक् added to the reduplicate. See VI. 1. 12 Vārt. This augment when added to the reduplicate, is not to be shortened by this rule : and because this is not to be shortened, also indicates that the consonants of the reduplicate other than the first are also not dropped : as चराचरः, चलाचलः, पतापतः, वशवदः ॥

हलादिः शेषः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ हल् आदिः, शेषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्य हलादिः शिष्यते अनादिलुप्यते ॥

60. Of the consonants of the reduplicate, only the first is retained, the remainders are dropped.

As जग्लौ, मम्लौ, पपाच, पपाठ, आद, आदतुः, आदुः ॥ This rule ordains the retention of the initial consonant, if any, and elision of the non-initials in the reduplicate. If the root begins with a vowel as अद्, there being no initial consonant, in अद् अद्, the द् will be elided of course. The word हलादिः should not be construed as a Genitive Tatpurusha ‘first among the consonants’, for then in अक्ष्+लिङ्=अक्ष् अक्ष्, the श् only would be elided, and क retained.

The word शेषः or शिष्यते here means अवस्थाप्यते ‘is retained’. The word हलादिः is not a compound. For had it been a compound, then if it is a Karma-dhāraya, the word आदि should stand first ; if it be a Genitive compound then the first among compound consonants would be retained and we could not get the form आनक्ष from अक्ष. The word abhyāsa is to be taken in the sense of jāti or kind, i.e. in the jāti which is collectively called abhyāsa, the consonant that stands first in respect to abhyāsa, is retained, and not the consonant standing

in any other portion of it. So that all consonants, where ever they may be situate in the body of an abhyāsa, whether in the beginning or middle or end, are dropped, except one with which the abhyāsa begins. Thus if the abhyāsa begins with a simple consonant, it is retained; if it begins with a conjunct consonant, the first is only retained; and if the consonant or consonants are not in the beginning they are all dropped.

Others say, the word शेषः here means "retention along with the cessation of others". Therefore, though literally the word शेषः or retention appears to be the principal word in this sūtra, yet as a matter of fact, it is secondary, because the injunction is not with regard to retention, but with regard to cessation. The rule is not "Retain the first consonant"; but "Drop every consonant but the first, if there be a first consonant". Or the sūtras 59 and 60, may be combined and read thus: ह्रस्वोऽहल् "The abhyāsa becomes short and also without consonant". आदिशेषः "The first consonant is retained". Or the sūtras may be divided thus:—

- (1) 'A short vowel is substituted in the abhyāsa'.
- (2) 'The consonants of abhyāsa are all elided'.
- (3) The first is retained.

The sūtras 59 and 60 must be joined by sandhi "ह्रस्वोऽह्लादिशेषः", and then we shall be able to read an elided अ between ह्रस्व and हल्, as if it was a compound of ह्रस्व and अहल् ॥

शर्पूर्वाः खयः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शर्पूर्वाः, खयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्य शर्पूर्वाः खयः शिष्यन्ते ॥

वाक्तिकम् ॥ खर्पूर्वाः खय इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

61. Of a reduplicate, the hard consonants (aspirate and unaspirate) when preceded by a sibilant, are only retained, the other consonants are elided.

As चुद्व्योतिषति, from śchyutir ksharaṇe, तिष्ठोसति, विस्पन्दिषते ॥ Why do we say 'when preceded by a sibilant'? Observe पषाच ॥ Why do we say hard consonants? Observe सन्नौ ॥

Vart:—It should be said rather, a hard consonant preceded by a hard consonant or a sibilant is only retained: and the खर् consonants are elided: as in उच्चिच्छिपति, here उच् becomes उच्छ by the augment त् (तुक्); in the reduplicate the च् should be elided, and छ retained out of च्छ; and not च् retained and छ elided; for the च् represents त्, and if this were retained, it would be त् and not च् that would be heard: for by VIII. 2. 1, the change of त् to च् is asiddha for the purposes of this rule.

कुहोश्चुः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुहोः, चुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्य कवर्गहकारयोश्चवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

62. For the Guttural and *h* of a reduplicate there is substituted a Palatal.

As चकार, चखान, जगाम, जघान, जहार, जिहीर्षति, जहौ ॥

न कवतेर्यङि ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, कवतेः, यङि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवतेरभ्यासस्य यङि परतदचुर्न भवति ॥

63. The Palatal is not substituted for the Guttural of the reduplicate of कु (कवते) in the Intensive.

As कोकृत्यते वट्टः, कोकृत्यते खरः ॥ The कु here is कुङ् (Bhu. 999), and not कु 'to make sound' (Ad. 33, कौत्ति), nor कुङ् (Tud. 108, कुवति) ॥ Of those two, we have कोकृत्यते ॥ Why do we say in the Intensive? Observe चुकुवे ॥

कृषेच्छन्दसि ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृषेः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृषेच्छन्दसि विषये यङि परतोभ्यासस्य चुर्न भवति ॥

64. The Palatal is not substituted for the Guttural of the reduplicate of कृष् in the Veda, when in the Intensive.

As करीकृत्यते यज्ञकुणपः ; otherwise चरीकृत्यते कृषीवलः ॥

दार्धात्तिदर्द्धत्तिदर्द्धर्षिबोभूतुतेतिके लर्ष्यापनीफणत्संसनिष्यदत्करिकत्कनिकदद्भरिभ्रद्विध्वतो दविद्युतत्तरित्रतः सरीसृपतंवरीवृजन्मर्मृज्यागनीगन्तीति च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दार्धात्ति, दर्द्धत्ति, दर्द्धर्षि, बोभूतु, तेतिके, अलर्षि, आपनीफणत्, संसनिष्यदत्, करिकत् कनिकदत्, भरिभ्रत्, दविध्वतः, दविद्युतत्, तरित्रतः, सरीसृपतम्, वरीवृजत्, मर्मृज्य, आगनी गन्ति, इति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दार्धात्ति दर्द्धत्ति दर्द्धर्षि बोभूतु तेतिके अलर्षि आपनीफणत् संसनिष्यदत् करिकत् कनिकदत् भरिभ्रत् दविध्वतः दविद्युतत् तरित्रतः सरीसृपतं वरीवृजत् मर्मृज्य आगनीगन्ति इत्येतानि भट्टादृश छन्दसि विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

65. In the Veda are found the following eighteen irregularly reduplicated forms :—1 dādharti, 2 dardharti, 3 dardharshi, 4 bobhātu, 5 tetikte, 6 alarshi, 7 â panîphaṇat, 8 sam sanishyadat. 9 karikrat, 10 kanikradat, 11 bhari-bhrat, 12 davidhvataḥ, 13 davidyutat, 14 taritrataḥ, 15 sarisrpatam, 16 varivṛjat, 17 marmrjya and 18 â ganîganti.

The word छन्दसि is drawn in to this sūtra, by force of च ॥ The form दार्धात्ति, is either from the Causative of the root धृङ् अवस्थाने or from धृष्, in the श्लु or यङ् लुक्, there is lengthening of the abhyāsa and elision of णि ॥ (2) So also दर्द्धत्ति is the form in श्लु, with रुक् augment of the abhyāsa. (3) दर्द्धर्षि if it be a form of यङ् लुक्, there is no irregularity. (4) बोभूतु is from भू in the Intensive (यङ् लुक्), Imperative, irregularly without guṇa. Q. There is no necessity of including this, because there would be no guṇa regularly even under VII. 3.

88? Ans. The inclusion of बोभूतु is a jñāpaka, indicating that in every other case, the guṇa is not prohibited in the Intensive (यङ् लुक्), as गोभेति, बोभवीति (लङ् with ईद् VII. 3. 94) (5) तेतिक्ते is from तिञ् in the Intensive yaṇ luk, ātmanepada is irregular. Q. The यङ् is डित् and therefore by pratyaya lakṣhaṇa rule (I. 1. 62) read with I. 3. 12, the यङ् लुक् will be ātmanepadi, where is the necessity of reading this nipātan? Ans. The ātmanepada nipātan is a jñāpaka, that in the Intensive yaṇ luk the ātmanepada affixes are not employed. (6) अलृषि is from the root लृ (इयति), in Present, 2nd Person, the र् of abhyāsa is not elided, though required by VII. 4. 60, and this र् is changed to ल irregularly. This form is found in the 3rd Person also, as अलृप्ति इक्षः ॥ (7) आ पनीकणत् is from कण् with आ augment, and णत् affix is added to यङ् लुक्, and in the reduplicate नी is added. (8) संसनिध्यन् is from स्यन्द् with the Preposition सम्, in the Intensive yaṇ luk, with णत् affix, नि being added in the abhyāsa, the root स is changed to ष ॥ The Preposition स् is not absolutely necessary, with other Prepositions also we have this form, as आ सनिध्यन् ॥ (9) करिकत् is from कृ (करोति), in the Intensive yaṇ luk, with णत्, in the abhyāsa there is no palatal change (VII. 4. 62), and रि is added to the reduplicate. (10) कनिकवत् from कन्व in the Aorist with अङ्, reduplication, there is no chutva (VII. 4. 62) of the reduplicate, and the augment नि is added. In the secular literature, the form is अकनीत् ॥ (11) भृषि-भन् from भृ (बिभर्ति) in yaṇ luk with णत्, without इ of VII. 4. 76, without jaṣṭva, and रि is added to the reduplicate. (12) वृषिध्वत् from ध्वृ (ध्वस्ते) in the yaṇ luk, ṣaṭr, plural number Nominative. The वि is added to the reduplicate, the ऋ is elided, वृषिध्वत् रश्मयः सूर्यस्य ॥ (13) वृषिद्युतम् is from द्युत्, yaṇ luk with ṣaṭr, there is no vocalisation of the reduplicate, with अ change and वि augment. (14) वृषिषत् from वृ (वृत्ति) with ṣlu, ṣaṭr, genitive singular: and रि added to abhyāsa. (15) वरीसुपत् from सुप् with ṣlu, ṣaṭr, Accusative with री added to abhyāsa. (16) वरीवृजत् from वृज् with ṣlu, ṣaṭr and री augment. (17) मर्षज् from मृज् with लिङ् (Perfect) णत्, रु added to abhyāsa, and य added to the root, and there is no vṛiddhi, because there is no short penultimate now. In fact VII. 2. 114 is to be qualified by the words लघुपथ from VII. 3. 86. (18) आ गनी-गन्ति is from गम् with the Preposition आ, in the Perfect, with ṣlu, there is no chutva (VII. 4. 62), and augment नी is added. वक्ष्यन्ती वेदा गनीगन्ति कर्णम् ॥

The word इति in the aphorism indicates that other forms, similar to these, are also to be included.

उरत् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उः, अत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋषणान्तस्याभ्यासस्याकारादेशो भवति ॥

66. अर् (I. 1. 51) is substituted for the ऋ or अ of the reduplicate.

As ववृते, ववृधे, ववृधे, ववृर्त्ति, ववृर्त्ति नदीर्त्ति ॥ The र् is elided by VII. 4. 60. In the Inten sives VII. 4. 90 &c, are applied, by which after the substitution of अर्

by the present sūtra, we apply those sūtras and add रीक रुक्, रिक् &c: for the maxim is अभ्यासविकारेषु अपवादो नोत्सर्गान् विधीन् बाधते "so far as the changes of a reduplicative syllable are concerned special (apavāda) rules do not supersede the general (utsarga) rules".

द्युतिस्वाप्योः, संप्रसारणम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्युतिः स्वाप्योः, संप्रसारणम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्युति स्वापि इत्येत्यारभ्यासस्य संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

67. There is vocalisation of the half-vowel of the reduplicate of द्युत् and स्वापि (Causative of स्वप्) ॥

As वि दित्युत्तन्, वि दित्योत्तिषते, वि दित्युत्तिषते, (I. 2. 26) वि दित्युत्ते ॥ स्वापि—द्युत्वा-
पयिषति ॥ The Causative of स्वप् is taken here, and the vocalisation takes place then only, when it is immediately followed by an affix which causes reduplication. Therefore not here, स्वापि + ण्वल् = स्वापकः ; स्वापक + क्यच् = स्वापकीय, स्वापकीय + सन् = सिस्वापकीयिषति ॥

The simple root स्वप् will get vocalised in its reduplicate by VI. 1. 15, 17 in the Perfect. The Desiderative of स्वप् is क्तिन् by I. 2. 8, and therefore the reduplicate of स्वप् will be vocalised before सन् by VI. 1. 15. The reduplicate of स्वप् will be vocalised in the Intensive also by VI. 1. 19.

Quere:—Does the reduplicate of the Desiderative of the Denominative verb द्योतकीयति get vocalised or not.

व्यथो लिटि ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यथः, लिटि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ व्यथेलिटि परतोभ्यासस्य संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

68. There is vocalisation of the half-vowel of the reduplicate of व्यथ् in the Perfect.

As विव्यथे, विव्यथाते, विव्यथिरे ॥ This ordains the vocalisation of थ्, which otherwise would have been elided as being a non-initial consonant (VII. 4. 60). The vocalisation of थ् is prevented by VI. 1. 37. Why do we say in the Perfect? Observe वाह्यथ्यते ॥

दीर्घे इणः किति ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घः, इणः, किति ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इणोङ्स्य योभ्यासस्तस्य दीर्घो भवति किति लिटि परतः ॥

69. A long vowel is substituted in the reduplicate of the root इ (पति), before a Personal ending of the Perfect, which has an indicative क् ॥

As ईयतुः, ईयुः ॥ These are thus formed इ + अतुस् = य् + अतुः (य् substituted for इ by VI. 4. 81). Then there is reduplication, the य् becomes sthānivat to इ by I. 1. 59, and we have इ य् + अतुः and then by the present rule ईयतुः ॥ Why do we say before a क् affix? Observe इयाय, इययिथ ॥

अत आदेः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, आदेः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्यादेस्कारस्य दीर्घो भवति लिटि परतः ॥

70. A long vowel is substituted in the Perfect for the initial अ of a reduplicate.

This debars the single substitute of the form of the subsequent ordained by VI. 1. 97. Thus आट, आटतुः, आटुः ॥ Why do we say 'the initial'? Observe पपाच and पपाठ ॥ Thus अद् + अतुः = अद् अद् + अतुः = अ अद् + अतुः = आ अद् + अतुः ॥

तस्मान्नुद् द्विहलः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मात्, नुद्, द्वि-हलः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मादतोभ्यासादीर्घभूतादुत्तरस्य द्विहलोङ्गस्य नुडागमो भवति ॥

71. After such a lengthened आ of the reduplicate, there is added the augment नुद् (न्) to the short अ of the root which ends in a double consonant.

As from अञ्च्—आ अञ्च् = आन् अञ्च्, which with the affixes of the Perfect gives us, आनङ्ग, आनङ्गत्, आनङ्ग्युः ॥ From अञ्च्—आनञ्ज, आनञ्जतुः, आनञ्जुः ॥ Why do we say 'containing two consonants'? Observe आट, आटतुः, आटुः ॥

With regard to नुद् augment, ऋ is considered like र्, as आनुधत्, आनुधुः ॥ This proceeds on a vārtika to be found under the Pratyāhāra sūtra ऐ औच् ॥ The vārtika is नुव्विधि—लदेश—विनामाधु ऋकारे प्रतिविधातव्यं ॥ The examples of लदेश are क्लृप्तः, क्लृप्तवान्; (See VIII. 2. 18) and of विनाम are कर्तृणाम् and भर्तृणाम् ॥

अश्रोतेश्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अश्रोतेः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अद्विहलर्ष आरम्भः ॥ अश्रोतेश्च दीर्घभूतादुत्तरस्य नुडागमो भवति ॥

72. After the lengthened आ of the reduplicate of अश् (अश्रोति), comes the augment नुद् (न्) before the short अ of the root in the Perfect.

This applies to a case where the root does not contain a double consonant. Thus ध्यानश्चे, ध्यानश्चति, ध्यानश्चिरे ॥ The rule applies to अश् (Svādi 18) and not to अश् (Kryādi 51); there we have आश, आशतुः, आशुः ॥

भवतेरः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भवतेः, अः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेरभ्यासस्याकारदेशो भवति लिटि परतः ॥

73. अ is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate of भू in the Perfect.

As बभूव, बभूवतुः, बभूवुः, बभूवे ॥ Why do we say 'in the Perfect'? Observe बभूवति and बोभूयते ॥

The word भवतेः is shown in the sūtra in the Active Voice, therefore the rule will not apply to Passive and Reflexive forms; as अनुबुभूवे कम्बलो देव-हत्तेन ॥ This opinion of Kāśikā, however, is not endorsed by later Grammarians

ससूवेति निगमे ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ससूव, इति, निगमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ससूव इति निपात्यते सूतेर्लिटि परस्मैपदं नुडागमो ऽभ्यासस्य चात्वं निपात्यते ॥

74, In the Veda ससूव is irregularly formed in the Perfect.

It is derived from सू ॥ Thus ससूव स्थविर विपश्चिताम् otherwise सुषुवे ॥ Rīg. IV. 18 10.

This word ससूव might well have been included in sūtra VII. 4. 65.

निजां त्रयाणां गुणः श्लौ ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ निजाम्, त्रयाणाम्, गुणः, श्लौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निजादीनां त्रयाणामभ्यासस्य गुणो भवति श्लौ सति ॥

75. Guṇa is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate, in the Reduplicated Present form (इलु) of निज्, विज् and विष् ॥

Thus नेनेक्ति, वेवेक्ति, वेवेष्टि ॥ The word त्रयाणां could have been spared in this sūtra, as these three roots stand at the end of a subdivision, and निजां would have denoted these three without the word trayāṇām. The word is however used here for the sake of the subsequent sūtra. Why do we say in the reduplicated Present form? Observe निनेज् in the Perfect.

भृजामित् ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृजाम्, इत् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भृमादीनां त्रयाणामभ्यासस्येकारादेशो भवति श्लौ सति ॥

76. In the Reduplicated Present-form of the three roots भृ, मा (माङ्) and हा (ओहाङ्), इ is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate.

As बिभर्त्ति, मिमीत्ते, (VI. 4. 113) जिहीति ॥ The word 'three' is understood here, therefore not in ओहाक्—अहाति ॥ The rule applies in the Reduplicated Present system (इलु) only: therefore not in बभार ॥

अर्त्तिपिपत्स्योश्च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्त्ति-पिपत्स्योः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अर्त्ति पिपत्ति इत्येतयोभ्यासस्येकारादेशो भवति श्लौ ॥

77. इ is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate of ऋ and ए in the Reduplicated Present-form.

As इयति (VI. 4. 78) धूमम्, पिपति सोमम् ॥

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये ऽभ्यासस्य श्लौ बहुलमिकारादेशो भवति ॥

78. इ is diversely substituted in the Veda, for the vowel of the reduplicate, in the Reduplicated Present-form.

As पूर्णो विवष्टि (from वष्), अनिमा विवक्ति (from वष्), धत्सं न माना सिपक्ति (from सष्), and जिघर्त्ति सोमम् ॥ But also वृषति, अजनम्, रधनत् as in वृषतीत्येवं ब्रूयात्; अजनमिन्द्रं माता यक्षीरं रधनद् धनिष्ठा ॥ All these three roots belong to Juhotyādi class.

सन्यतः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, अतः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सनि परतोकारान्ताभ्यासस्येकारादेशो भवति ॥

79. इ is substituted for the final short अ of the reduplicate in the Desiderative.

As पिपक्षति, यियक्षति, (VIII. 2. 36; 41) तिष्ठासति, पिपासति ॥ Why do we say in the Desiderative? Observe पपाच ॥ Why do we say "for the अं"? Observe छुक्षति ॥ Why do we say 'short अं'? Observe पापचिषते the Desiderative of the Intensive पापच्यते ॥

ओः पुयण्ज्यपरे ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, पु-यण्-जि-अंपरे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनीति वर्त्तते इति च ॥ उवर्णान्ताभ्यासस्य पवर्गे यणि जकार आवर्णपरे परंत इकारादेशो भवति सानि प्रत्यये परतः ॥

80. इ is substituted for the final उ or ऊं of a reduplicate, before a labial, a semi-vowel and before ज्, when अ or आ follows these consonants, in the Desiderative.

The word पु-यण्-जि is the Locative singular of the samāhāra dvandva compound of those three words—पू, यण् and ज् ॥ The samāsānta affix इच् (V. 4. 106) does not come, as these affixes are anitya. The word अ-परं means that after which is the letter अ ॥

Thus: 1. Labial:—पिपचिषते, पिपाचयिषति, बिभाचयिषति; 2. Semi-vowel:—यियचिषति, यियाचयिषति, रिराचयिषति, लिलाचयिषति; 3. ज—जिजाचयिषति from the root जु ॥

The word पिपचिषते is from पू which gets इद् augment in सन् (VII. 2. 74), then there is गुणा, and अन् substitutions; but these latter being sthānivat for reduplication (I. 1. 59), पू is doubled: and for ऊ there is substituted इ by the present sūtra. पिपाचयिषति is the Desiderative of the Causative of पू ॥ बिभाचयिषति is the Desiderative of the Causative of भू ॥ यियचिषति is the Desiderative of यु 'to mix', which is सद् by VII. 2. 49. यियाचयिषति is the Desiderative of the Causative of this root. The words रिराचयिषति and लिलाचयिषति are the Desiderative of the Causatives of रैति and लुनाति ॥

This sūtra indicates the existence of the following maxim:—अद्विचन निमित्ते-इपि णो स्थानिवद् भवति, "though not the cause of reduplication, the substitute which takes place when णि follows, becomes like the original". Thus in बिभाचयिषति we have भाचि + सन् from भू + णि + सन्, here the भाच् substitute caused by णि is sthānivat to ऊ, otherwise there would be no उ in the reduplicate to be operated upon by the present sūtra. See VI. 1. 31 also. Why do we say "for the उ or ऊं"? Observe पापच्यते, the Desiderative of which will be पापचिषति ॥ Why do we say "followed by a labial, semi-vowel or ज्"? Observe अव हुनाचयिषति, according to Padamanjari it is अव हुता चयिषति from the sautra root तु ॥ छुक्षचयिषति ॥ Why do we say 'when these consonants are followed by an अ'? Observe जुभूषति ॥

अवतिशृणोति द्रवति प्रवति भ्रुवति च्यवतीनां वा ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवति-शृणो-ति-द्रवति-प्रवति-भ्रुवति-च्यवतीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवति शृणोति द्रवति प्रवति भ्रुवति च्यवति इत्येतेषामभ्यासस्य ओरवर्णपरे यणि वा इकारादेशो भवति सानि परतः ॥

81. इ is optionally substituted for the final उ of the reduplicate of स्नु, श्रु, द्रु, प्रु, प्लु and च्यु when the semi-vowel is followed by अ or आ in the Desiderative.

Thus सिन्नावयिषति or सुन्नावयिषति ; शिन्नावयिषति or शुन्नावयिषति ; विद्नावयिषति or वुद्नावयिषति ; पिप्नावयिषति or पुप्नावयिषति ; पिप्नावयिषति or पुप्नावयिषति ; चिच्युनावयिषति or चुच्युनावयिषति ॥ All these are Desideratives of the Causatives of the above roots. Here though a letter like स्, श्र, द्र &c, intervenes between the semi-vowel and the preceding उ of the reduplicate, yet the substitution takes place owing to the express text of this sūtra. In the preceding aphorism, the semi-vowel followed *immediately* after the उ of the reduplicate. The option of the present sūtra is, therefore, an aprāpta-vibhāshā. The word अपरे is understood here also : therefore not in सुक्षुपति, शुभ्रुपति ॥

गुणो यङ्लुकोः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुणः, यङ्-लुकोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङि यङ्लुकि च इगन्तस्थाभ्यासस्य गुणो भवति ॥

82. Guṇa is substituted for the इ and उ (with their long) of a reduplicate, when the Intensive character यङ् follows and also when it is elided.

Thus चेचीयते, लोलूयते with यङ्, and जोहवीति with यङ् लुक् ॥ The ईद् is added in the latter by VII. 3. 94. So also चोह्वीति from कुश् (VII. 3. 94 and 87).

दीर्घोक्तितः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घः, अकितः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकितोभ्यासस्य दीर्घो भवति यङि यङ्लुकि च परतः ॥

83. A long vowel is substituted for the अ of the reduplicate in the Intensive (with expressed or elided यङ्), when the reduplicate receives no augment having an indicative क् ॥

The reduplicate receives augments like नीक्, नुक् by the following sūtras. Thus पापच्यते, and पापचीति, यायज्यते and यायजीति ॥ Why do we say "when it gets no augment"? Observe ययम्यते, ययमीति, ररम्यते, ररमीति ॥

Obj:—When the न् augment is added, the reduplicate will end in a consonant, and as it does not end in a vowel, there will be no occasion for lengthening ; hence the employment of the term अकितः is useless.

Ans.—The employment of this term by the Achārya indicates the existence of the following maxim: अभ्यासविकारेष्वपादा नोत्सर्गान् विधान् बाधन्ते "so far as changes of a reduplicative syllable are concerned, rules which teach those changes do not supersede one another". What is the necessity of this

indication (jñāpaka)? Observe डोढीक्यते, here the rule of lengthening of this sūtra, does not supersede, though it is subsequent, the rule of shortening in VII. 4. 59; so the diphthong औ is shortened to उ, and it is then guṇated by VII. 4. 82. Secondly observe अचीकरत्, here इ is substituted in the reduplicate by VII. 4. 79 plus 93, and then this is lengthened by VII. 4. 94, the latter not superseding the former. Thirdly observe मीमांसते &c, where in मान् + सत् (III. 1. 6), the reduplicate is lengthened, but that does not prevent the इ of VII. 4. 79. Fourthly observe अजीगणत्, where the ई substitute (VII. 4. 97) does not supersede the sūtra VII. 4. 60, by which the ण् of गण् is elided.

नीग्वञ्चुस्सुध्वंसुभ्रंसुकसपतपदस्कन्दाम् ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नीक्, वञ्चु-स्सुध्वंसु-भ्रंसु-कस-पत-पद-स्कन्दाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वञ्चु स्सु ध्वंसु भ्रंसु कस पत पद स्कन्द इत्येतेषामभ्यासस्य नीगागमो भवति यङि यङ्लुकि च ॥

84. The augment नीक् is added to the reduplicate of the Intensive (with the expressed or elided यङ्) in the following :—वञ्च, स्सु, ध्वंस, भ्रंश्, कस्, पत्, पद् and स्कन्द् ॥

Thus वनीवच्यते and वनीवञ्चीति; सनीस्रस्यते and सनीस्रसीति; दनीध्वस्यते and दनीध्वसीति; बनीभ्रस्यते and बनीभ्रसीति, (बनीभ्रस्यते and बनीभ्रसीति), चनीकस्यते and चनीकसीति; पनीपस्यते and पनीपसीति, पनीपस्यते and पनीपसीति; चनीस्कस्यते and चनीस्कसीति ॥ The nasal is elided in one alternative by VI. 4. 24.

नुगतोनुनासिकान्तस्य ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नुक्, अतः, अनुनासिक-अन्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकान्तस्याङ्गस्य योभ्यास्तस्याकारान्तस्य नुगागमो भवति यङ्यङ्लुकाः परतः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ पदान्तवधेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

85. The augment नुक् (न्) is added after the short अ of a reduplicate in the Intensive (with or without यङ्), when the root ends in a Nasal.

As तन्तन्यते and तन्तनीति; जङ्गम्यते and जङ्गमीति, यंयम्यते and यंयमीति; रंरम्यते and रंरमीति ॥ The augment न् here should be considered as anusvāra, because an âdeśa is indicated by the nature of the sthānin which is replaced; and therefore in यंयम्यते, it remains anusvāra. Had it been न्, it could not have been changed to anusvāra in यंयम्यते, रंरम्यते (See VIII. 3. 24). In तन्तन्यते &c, the anusvāra is changed to न्, ङ् &c, by VIII. 4. 58; the other forms तन्तन्यते तन्तनीति, जंगम्यते, जंगमीति are derived by the following :—

Vart:—This anusvāra should be treated as if it was at the end of a Pada or word. That being so, VIII. 4. 59 applies, and we have the anusvāra unchanged, as in तन्तन्यते &c.

Why do we say "after a short अ"? Observe तन्तन्यते ॥ The त् in अत् indicates that the augment will not be added to a reduplicate which, once was long आ but became short by VII. 4. 59 as from भाम 'to be angry', is बाभाम्यते.

(the second lengthening takes place by VII. 4. 83). Why do we say ending in a nasal? Observe पापच्यते ॥

जपजभदहदशभञ्जपशां च ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जप-जभ-दह-दश-भञ्ज-पशाम्, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जप जभ दह दश भञ्ज पश इत्येतेषामभ्यासस्य नुगागमो भवति यङ्यङ्लुकोः परतः ॥

86. The augment जुक् comes after the reduplicates of जप, जभ, दह, दश, भञ्ज, and पश in the Intensive (with or without यङ्) ॥

Thus जञ्जप्यते and जञ्जपीति; जञ्जभ्यते and जञ्जभीति, दंढप्यते and दंढहीति; दंढप्यते and दंढशीति ॥ The root is दंश्, but it is exhibited in the sūtra as दश, showing that even in यङ् लुक्, the root loses its nasal. Similarly बंभज्यते and बंभजीति, and पंपभ्यते and पंपशीति ॥ This last is a sautra root.

चरफलोश्च ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चर-फलोः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चर फल इत्येतयोर्भ्यासस्य नुगागमो भवति यङ्यङ्लुकोः परतः ॥

87. The augment जुक् comes after the reduplicate of चर् and फल् in the Intensive (with or without यङ्) ॥

Thus चञ्चूर्यते and चञ्चूरीति (the lengthening of ऊ is by VIII. 2. 77) पंकुल्यते and पंकुलीति ॥ See the following sūtra.

उत्परस्यातः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्, परस्य, अतः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चरफलोर्भ्यासात्परस्यात उकारादेशो भवति यङ्यङ्लुकोः परतः ॥

88. For the subsequent अ (i.e. for the अ of the root and not of the reduplicate), there is substituted उ in the Intensive (with or without यङ्) of चर् and फल् ॥

The examples have been given above, as चञ्चूर्यते, चञ्चूरीति and पंकुल्यते पंकुलीति ॥ Why do we say 'the अ which stands subsequent to the reduplicate'? The substitute does not replace the अ of the reduplicate. Why do we say 'of अ'? The substitute should not replace the final letter, which it otherwise would have done by I. 1. 52. The त् in उत् debar's guṇa (VII. 3. 86) in चञ्चूर्ति and पंकुलीति, for though उ is lengthened by VIII. 2. 77, in चञ्चूर्ति, yet that lengthening is considered as non-existent or asiddha (VIII. 2. 1) for the purposes of Guṇa (VII. 3. 86). *Quere.* If the त् in उत् debar's guṇa, why should it not debar lengthening also of VIII. 2. 77?

ति च ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तकारादौ प्रत्यये परतश्चऋलोरकारस्य उकारादेशो भवति ॥

89. उ is substituted for the vowel of चर् and फल् before an affix beginning with त ॥

Thus चूर्तिः (= चरणं or ब्रह्मणः), प्रकुलिः and प्रकुलाः ॥ The anuvṛitti of यङ् लुकोर्भ्यासस्य does not apply here, though present. See VIII. 2. 55.

रीगृधुपधस्य च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ रीक्, ऋत-उपधस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋदुपधस्याङ्गस्य योऽभ्यासस्तस्य रीगागमौ भवति यङ्लुकोः परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ रीगृत्वत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

90. The reduplicate of a root, which has a ऋ in the penultimate position, gets the augment री in the Intensive (with or without यङ्) ॥

As वरीवृत्त्यते and वरीवृत्तीति, वरीवृज्यते and वरीवृज्यतीति, नरीनृत्यते and नरीनृतीति ॥

Vart:—It should be rather stated 'a root which contains a ऋ': when यङ् follows, whether this ऋ be of upadeśa, or obtained by samprasāraṇa, so that the augment may come in वरीवृज्यते and वरीवृज्यतीति where the ऋ is of vocalisation, and not penultimate also.

रुप्रिकौ च लुकि ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुक्-रिकौ, च, लुकि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङ्लुकि ऋदुपधस्याङ्गस्य योऽभ्यासस्तस्य रुप्रिकावागमौ भवतश्चकाराद्रीक्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मर्ज्यते मर्ज्यमानास इत्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

91. The augments रीक्, रुक् and रिक् come after the reduplicate of a root which has a ऋ in the penultimate, only when the यङ् of the Intensive is elided.

Thus नर्नर्ति, नरिनर्ति, and नरीनर्ति; वर्वर्ति, वरिवर्ति, वरीवर्ति ॥ The उ in रुक् is for the sake of pronunciation, the augment is र् ॥

Vart:—मर्ज्यते and मर्ज्यमानासः should also be enumerated. These have taken रुक् augment, though the यङ् is not elided here.

ऋतश्च ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य योऽभ्यासस्तस्य रुप्रिकावागमौ भवतो रीक्चयङ्लुकि ॥

Kārikā:—किरति चर्करीतान्तं पचतीत्यथ यो नयेत् ॥

प्राप्तिश्च तमहं मन्ये मारब्धस्तेन संग्रहः ॥

92. The reduplicate of a root, which ends in short ऋ, gets, in the Intensive without यङ्, the above augments री, र्, and रि ॥

Thus चर्कति, चरिकति, and चरीकति, जर्हति, जरिहति and जरीहति ॥ Why do we say 'which ends in a short ऋ'? The rule does not apply to roots ending in long ऋ as, चाकति, चाकीति, चाकिति from कृ ॥ The word ऋतः qualifies the word अङ्ग and not the word अभ्यास, for an abhyāsa is always short, so the त् in ऋत् would become meaningless if the word qualified reduplicate. Therefore कृ ending in long ऋ does not get री, र् and रि augments in the reduplicate.

Kārikā:—He who can conjugate, in the Present tense, the yaṇ-luk Intensive of कृ and of other roots ending in long ऋ, is considered by me to be a person who has attained to the right knowledge of the employment of the

augments इ, री, रि &c: and he has obtained the right use of words.

The word किरति in the Kārikā is illustrative of all roots like कृ (किरति) ending in long कृ ॥ चर्करीत is the name given to the यङ् लुक् form of the Intensive, by ancient grammarians. चर्करीतान्त means, therefore, a form ending in yaṅ-luk. पचति is illustrative of लट् or Present tense.

सन्वल्लघुनि चङ्परिऽनग्लोपे ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्वत्, लघुनि, चङ् - परे, अन् अग्लोपे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लघुनि धात्वक्षरे परतो योऽभ्यासस्तस्य चङ्परि णौ परतः सनीव कार्यं भवति अनग्लोपे ॥

93. In the reduplicated Aorist of the Causative, the reduplicate adapts itself to that of the Desiderative, when the vowel of the root is light, and the root has not lost its end-vowel before the Causative affix.

The words of this sūtra require a little detailed explanation. The word सन्वत् means "like unto सन् or Desiderative"; i. e. as the Desiderative is treated, so should the चङ् Aorist of the Causative. The words लघुनि and चङ्परि are both in the Locative case, but not in apposition with each other, but refer to different objects. लघुनि means 'when a light vowel follows', namely that reduplicate which is followed by the light root-vowel. The operations to be performed on such a reduplicate, in the चङ् Aorist, after the णि are the same, as on the reduplicate of the Desiderative. अन्-अक्-लोपे "provided that a simple vowel of the Pratyāhāra अक् has not been elided". We read the word 'causative' into this sūtra, because there can be no other root which will form चङ् Aorist. Causatives form such Aorist (III. 1. 48), as well as the simple roots अस्, द्रु and सु ॥ The words चङ्परि qualifies the word अङ्ग understood: that *stem* which is followed by चङ्; therefore, it refers to the Causative *stem*, and not to the simple roots अस्, द्रु and सु. The *light* vowel, therefore refers, to the light vowel of the *Causative stem* before चङ् ॥

The word अनग्लोपे is in apposition with चङ्परि ॥ Thus कम् + णिङ् (III. 1. 30). = अकाम् + इ + अत् (III. 1. 48) = अकाम् + अत् (VI. 4. 51) = अकम् + अत् (VII. 4. 1) = अचकम् + अत् (VI. 1. 11) = आचकम् + अत् (VII. 4. 79 read with VII. 4. 93) = अचीकम् (VII. 4. 94).

Thus VII. 4. 79 teaches the substitution of इ for अ in the reduplicate of the Desiderative. The same substitution will take place in the reduplicate of the Aorist: as अचीकरत्, अपीपचत् ॥ Thus by VII. 4. 80, इ is substituted for उ of the reduplicate in the Desiderative, the same will be the case in the reduplicate of the Aorist, as अपीपवत् and अलीलवत्, and अजीजवत् ॥ Thus by VII. 4. 81, इ is optionally substituted for उ in the Desiderative reduplicate of सु &c, the same will hold good in the Aorist-reduplicate, as असिषवत् or असुषवत्, अशिषवत्

or अशुभ्रवत्, अदिभ्रवत् or अदुभ्रवत्, अपिमवत् or अपुमवत्, अपिडवत् or अपुडवत्, अचिच्यवत् or अचुच्यवत् ॥ Why do we say 'having a light vowel'? Observe अततक्षत्, अरक्षत्, अजजागरत् ॥

Some say, that in अजजागरत्, the syllable ग is *light*, and therefore, the san-vat rule would apply: for a light vowel no where *immediately* follows a reduplicate; therefore, though a long syllable जा intervenes, yet the rule will apply, because of the express text. This reasoning is wrong. The maxim येन नाध्यवधानं तेनव्यवहितेऽपि वचनप्रामाण्यात् cannot be extended to cases like this. It applies only when the intervention consists of one letter and not of more than one. Obj. If so, how do you form अचिक्षणत् for here two letters क् and ण (क्ष) intervene between the reduplicate and the light vowel. Ans. The author indicates by implication in VII. 4. 95 that these roots like क्षण् do take इ in the reduplicate; for had it not been so, what was the necessity of making an exception in favor of roots like स्मृ, स्वर, स्तृ, स्पृश् in VII. 4. 95. So that a conjunct consonant is not considered an intervention for the purposes of this rule. Therefore, स्मृ &c would have taken इ in the reduplicate by VII. 4. 79, read with the present sūtra, and so the Achārya enjoins अ instead in VII.4.95 with regard to these.

Why do we say 'when चङ् follows'? Observe अहं पपच ॥ Why do we use the word पर "followed by"? The rule would not apply when चङ् alone follows without णि, as अचकनत् where कप् has taken चङ् under the vārtika कनेरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

Why do we say 'when an अक vowel has not been dropped'? Observe अचकथत् from the Churādi root कथ which ends in अ, and this अ is elided by VI. 4. 48. Obj. This lopa being considered sthānivat, will prevent the application of the present rule, as there will be an intervention. Ans. We shall give another example, अदृष्टत् from दृष्टमाख्यातवान् ॥ Here णिच् is added to दृष्ट under the Vārtika तत्करोतितवाचदे, and the टि portion is elided by इट्यञ्जावः, here a vowel and a consonant have been elided, and so the lopa is not sthānivat.

In the double causative Aorist अवीवद्त् the present rule applies, though one णि has been elided. अवीवद्त् = वादितवन्तं प्रयोजितवान् ॥ In fact, the elision of one णि when followed by another णि is not considered as an ak-lopa; the latter refers to the elision of any other vowel than णि ॥ Therefore we have अवीवद्त् वीणां परिवादकेन् ॥ In fact, this exception rests on the following vārtika सन्वद्भावाक्षीर्षन्वे णे णिच्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

The lopa of the reduplicate which takes place before सन् of the roots मी, मा &c (VII. 4. 54) does not, however, take place in चङ् Aorist. The analogy does not extend so far. In fact, the present sūtra teaches a रूपातिदेशः,

namely the *form* which a reduplicate has in Desiderative, will be the *form* in the Aorist. But as मी, मा &c have *no* reduplicate form in the Desiderative, the analogy stops. Therefore, we shall have अमीमपत् ॥ Moreover the word सन्वद् here means the operations that depend *solely* on सन् ॥ Now the total elision of the reduplicate by VII. 4. 54 does not depend upon सन् *alone*, but upon the augment इस् also of VII. 4. 54. But as there can be no इस् in the Aorist, so there will be no elision also. In fact, an atidesā should be confined to general cases and not to particulars.

दीर्घो लघोः ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घः, लघोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घो भवति लघोरभ्यासस्य लघुनि णौ चङ्परे ऽनग्लोपे ॥

94. In the reduplicative syllable, a prosodially short vowel is lengthened in the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative, when the vowel of the root is light, and the root has not lost its end-vowel before the Causative णि ॥

Thus अच्छीकृत्, the इ (VII. 4. 79) is lengthened. Similarly अजीहरत्, अलीलवत्, अपीपचत् ॥ Why do we say which is prosodially light? Observe अबिभ्रजत् ॥ Why do we say when the vowel of the root is light? Observe अततक्षत्, अररक्षत् ॥ Why do we say in the reduplicated Aorist? Observe अहं पपच ॥ The word पर is understood here also, so the rule will not apply to simple roots as अचकमत् ॥ The words 'anaglope' are to be read here, therefore not so in अचकयत् ॥

अत्स्मृदृत्वरप्रथम्रदस्तृस्पशाम् ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्, स्मृ-दृ-त्वर-प्रथ-म्रद, स्तृ-स्पशाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्मृ दृ त्वर प्रथ म्रद स्तृ स्पश इत्येतेषामभ्यासस्यादित्ययमादेशो भवति चङ्परे णौ परतः ॥

95. Short अ is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate in the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative, of the roots smṛi, dṛi, tvar, prath, mrad, strī and spaś,

Thus असस्मरत्, अददरत्, अतत्वरत्, अपप्रयत्, अमम्रदत्, अतस्तरत्, अपस्पशत् ॥ This debars the इ which would have come under VII. 4. 93. The 'short अ' indicates that it is not to be lengthened by VII. 4. 94, as अददरत् ॥

विभाषा वेष्टिचेष्टयोः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वेष्टि, चेष्टयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेष्टि चेष्टि इत्येतयोर्भ्यासस्य विभाषा अदित्ययमादेशो भवति चङ्परे णौ परतः ॥

96. Short अ is optionally substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate in वेष्ट् and चेष्ट् in the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative.

Thus अववेष्टत् or अविवेष्टत्, अचचेष्टत् and अचिवेष्टत् ॥ In one alternative there is shortening of the reduplicate (VII. 4. 59), and after such shortening, there is अ substituted in the other alternative.

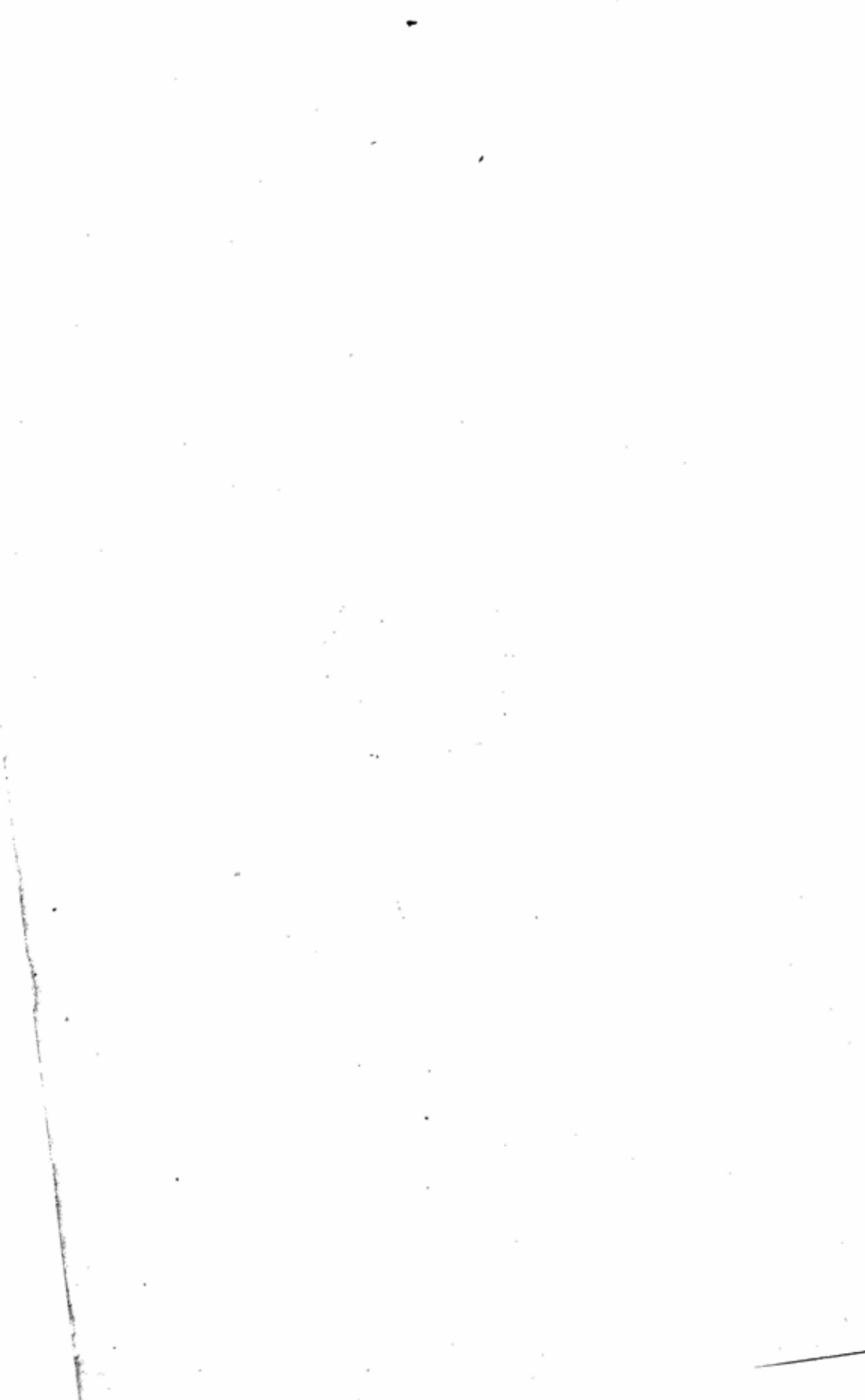
ईच गणः ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, च, गणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गणेरभ्यासस्य ईकारदेशो भवति चङ्खरे णौ परतः ॥

97. In the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative, ई is substituted optionally for the vowel of the reduplicate in गण ॥

As अजीगणत् or अजगणत् ॥ गण is a root which ends in अ, and this अ being elided by VI. 4. 48 before the Causative णि, the rule VII. 4. 93, does not apply to it, because there is an ak-lopa here, so in the other alternative, it has its natural अ ॥





See pt. I

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