BOOK VIII.

THE

ASHTÁDHYÁYI OF PANINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,

27189 BY

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TO

Hon'ble Sir John Edge, Rt. 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.
1. From here upto VIII. 1. 15 inclusive, is to be supplied always the phrase “the whole word is repeated”.

This is an adhikāra sūtra. Whatever will be taught hereafter upto पर्याय (VIII. r. 16) exclusive, there the phrase सर्वस्य त्रें should be supplied to complete the sense. Thus VIII. r. 4. teaches “when the sense is that of ‘always’, and ‘each’.” Here the phrase ‘the whole word is repeated’ should be supplied to complete the sense. i. e. “The whole word is repeated when the sense is that of always and each”. What is to be repeated? That which is most appropriate in sound and sense both. Thus one पञ्चात्ति becomes two, as पञ्चाति पञ्चाति ‘he always cooks’. Similarly गानी गाने गमणीय: ‘every village is beautiful’.

The sūtra ‘sarvasya dve’, should not be confounded as meaning ‘the word-form sarva is doubled’. For then rules likes VI. r. 99, and VI. r. 100 will find no scope. The word sarva has several meanings: (1) the totality of things (पुन्त्र: ) as सर्वस्य संस्थादि, (2) the totality of modes (तत्त्वः ) सर्वाः सातां निषिद्ध: = सर्वाष्ट्र: न भक्तः; (3) the totality of members ‘अपयमः’, as सर्व: पञ्चात्ति: In the present sūtra, the word sarva has this last sense: namely all the members of a word are doubled, no portion is omitted. The force of the genitive case in sarvasya, is that of sthāna, i. e. in the room of the whole of the words like परि &c there is doubling. So one meaning of the sūtra is, that in the room of the one word, two are substituted. In making such substitution, we must have regard to the rule of nearness.
Another meaning of the sūtra however is, that it does not teach substitution but repetition or employment, not adesā, but prayoga. That is to say, one word is employed twice. In this sense, of course, there is no room left for finding out the proper substitute. The very word-form, पचति &c, is employed twice, i.e. is repeated twice or pronounced twice.

The word sarvasya is employed in the sūtra for the sake of distinctness only. Otherwise, one may double only the last letter of a word by the rule of अतोन्तस्य, though that rule is not, strictly speaking, applicable to such cases.

Obj. The word पवस्थ्य should be employed in the sūtra, in order to prevent the application of the rule to Samása (compound), to taddhitas, and to vākyas (sentences). Thus समपणोद्वादस्य. II Here there is the sense of vipsā with regard to seven leaves, and does not mean a tree having seven leaves. There ought to have been doubling; but it would not take place, if we take the word padasya in the aphorism. Similarly दिपपक्षिका क्षति, here also the sense is that of vipsā, and there ought to have been doubling, before the affixing of the taddhita affix. So also in माणे माणे पाणियष्ठ, the sentence माणे पाणियष्ठ is not doubled, if we employ padasya. So the word padasya, should be employed in the sūtra. Moreover, it would prevent our employing the word padasya again in VIII. 1. 16.

Ans. We could not employ the word padasya in this sūtra, for then the rule would become very much restricted. Moreover in the above examples, there can be no doubling; for सप्पर्ण means ‘that whose every twig bears seven leaves परभि परभि सप्पर्णि अस्य’, so that the sense of vipsā is not here inherent in the word sapta or parna. In the case of the taddhita example, there would be no doubling, because the force of vipsā is there denoted by the taddhita affix itself, and so doubling is not necessary. Moreover, a sentence can never be doubled, because vipsā can take place with regard to a word, and not a sentence. Therefore the word पवस्थ्य should not be employed in the sūtra.

On the contrary, if we employ the word padasya in the sūtra, it would give rise to the following anomalies. We could not have पचति पचति; for upaśarga being considered as a separate pada, only पचति would be doubled, and द would not. So also, we have two forms द्राप्य and द्रेशा. II Here द्र is added to the root द्र, and द्र is optionally changed to द्र by VIII. 2. 77, and in the other alternative there is द्र. As द्र and द्र are both asidhā (VIII. 2. 1), the doubling would take place without making this द्र or द्र substitution. So that having first doubled the word (something as द्रेशा द्रेशत) then optional द्र or द्र change will take place, and we shall get wrong forms, like द्राप्य द्रेशा, द्रेशा द्राप्य in doubling. While the correct forms are द्रेशा द्रेशा, or द्राप्य द्राप्य, and not the hybrid doubling as given above. Hence the necessity of the vārtika पवस्थासिद्धयय-द्रेशाचु (See VIII. 2. 3 last vārtika).
Or the word संवे may be considered to be formed by अष्ठू affix of अश्व आधार, meaning संवे कायं वार्तस्तित तत्त्वं संवे तत्त्व हैं भवत्:॥ That is, all operations having been first performed, then the word is doubled; so that a word in its inchoate state is not doubled.

तत्त्व परमाणृधितम् ॥ २ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ तत्त्व, परम, आधारधितम् ॥

व्रृत्ति:॥ तत्त्व हिद्दलक्ष्य बलांस वास्तव:संसं वातस्तितसंसं भवति॥

2. Of that which is twice uttered, the latter word-form is called āmṛedita (repeated).

Thus in पौर्ण वृक्षे, वृक्ष वृक्ष: वृक्ष वृक्ष, धातुविव्याचि तथा, बन्धुविव्याचि तथा, the second word being āmṛedita is pluta. The word अधिग्रहित occurs in Sūtras VI. 1. 99, VIII. 1. 57, VIII. 2. 95, VIII. 10. 3 &c.

The तत्त्व here denotes avayava-shaṣṭhi: and the word पर: denotes the avayava. In fact, this sūtra indicates by implication, that a Genitive case is employed, when a member (avayava) is denoted. So that the sentences like पूर्वं कायस्य बन्धुस्य तथा become valid.

In the above examples, the word has become pluta by VIII. 2. 95.

अनुदाति । धितः ॥ पदाॅर्थ ॥ अनुदाति, । धितः ॥

व्रृत्ति:॥ अनुदाति । धितः च तत्त्वाति बन्धुविव्याचि संसं॥

3. That which is called āmṛedita is gravely accented.

Thus सुमृत्वेक सुमृत्वेक ; पशुपुष्पावसु॥

That is, all the vowels of the āmṛedita become anudatta or accentless. In the above examples, the root सुमृत्वेक becomes ātmane padi by I. 3. 66; the Personal endings are anudatta by VI. 1. 186; the vikāraṇa शान्तः gets the acute by III. 1. 3; the श of this श is elided by VI. 4. 111, and thus मृत्वेक becomes finally acute by udātta-nivṛtti-svara (VI. 1. 161). The āmṛedita bhuṣkite becomes wholly anudatta. The word पुष्प is formed by the affix श and is finally acute.

नित्यविवस्त्योः ॥ ४ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ नित्य, वीपस्योः ॥

व्रृत्ति:॥ नित्ये चार्थेव वीपस्यों च वहति चतुर्थ: तत्त्व हैं भवत्॥

4. The whole word is repeated when the sense is of ‘always’ and ‘each’.

What words express ‘always’? The finite verbs, and the Indeclinable words, formed by kṛt affixes. What ‘always’ is meant here? The word ‘nitya’ here means ‘again and again’, and this idea of ‘repetition’ is the quality of an action. That action which the agent does principally, without cessation, is called “nitya”. So that nitya refers to an action (See III. 4. 22). Thus पति पति ‘he cooks continually’. जन्त्यति जन्त्यति ‘he talks incessantly’. शुभस्य शुभस्य जराति or
Doubling of Words.

The affixes kṛtā and nāmul formed words and the Imperative mood express the idea of ‘again and again’, only when they are repeated. While the words formed with the affix kṛtā (Intensive) express this idea by the inherent force of the affix, without repetition. Thus bhū: bhū: nitya: = nityakṛtā: And when this intensive action is continually done, then this word also should be repeated; as pāpya: pāpya: In the above, examples have been given of nitya, as illustrated by finite verbs like pāpya: Indeclinable kṛit words like mukta: and like nāmul: Now for śīla: In what words the śīla: is found? It is found in nouns (pita: formed words). As finite verbs (तितिः) express nitya, so inflected nouns (पिता:) express vipsā or a distributive sense. What is meant by the word vipsā: It is the wish of the agent to pervade (vyāptum ichchhā:) an object through and through with a certain quality or action. That is, when many objects are wished to be pervaded by the speaker, with a particular attribute or action simultaneously, it is vipsā. Thus नामो नामी रागाणयः ‘every village is beautiful’. So also जनपदं जनपदी रागाणयः प्रह्वः प्रह्वः विचरनुसैनिकः.

When a finite verb is repeated owing to the idea of nityatā; and we also wish to add to such a verb the affix denoting comparative or superlative degree, such affix must be added after the word has been repeated, as pāpya: pāpya: But in the case of a noun, which is repeated owing to vipsā, the whole superlative or comparative word should be repeated, as अक्षरसाविकरसामानयः.

परेभीमान || पदानि || परेः: बजने ||

बृज: || परिवर्तनस्य बजनेन्यः है भवतः ||

वाचिकम्: || परमेष्टिनिग्नाते वैति वल्लभम्:.

5. The word परि is repeated when employed in the sense of ‘with the exception or exclusion of’.

As परि परि बिगर्गेश्वरो नृत्य देवः (I. 4. 88 and II. 3. 10) ‘It rained round about (but with the exclusion of) Trigarta’. Similarly परि परि तीर्थोऽस्यः परि परि सर्वसनेन्यः: || Why do we say when meaning exclusion? Observe आदं परिविष्कर्ति:.

Vārt.—Optionally परि, meaning ‘exclusion’, is repeated when it occurs not in a compound, as परि परि बिगर्गेश्वरो: or परि बिगर्गेश्वरो: || In a compound, there is no repetition as, परिविष्कर्ते उद्धवः: because the word परि has not the meaning of exclusion only here; in fact, the whole compound word denotes here the idea of exclusion, and not the word परि alone.

The word परि is here a Karmaprvachaniya (I. 4. 88), and governs the fifth case by II. 3. 11. In परिविष्कर्ति the word is an upasarga.
6. इ, समु, उद्रा and उद्र are repeated, when by so doubling, the foot of a verse is completed.

As इ धार्मिकतत्त्वम् भूमिः (Rig VII. 8.4), संभवितत्वम् भूमिः (Rig X. 191. 1), उद्रा में पारस्य (Rig I. 126. 7), कृ नीदृढ़ हर्षस्य दानवार (Rig IV. 21. 9). Why do we say when 'a foot of a verse is completed there by'? Observe प्रेमयं देवया धिशा।
This rule applies only to the Vedic verses, for there alone the Preposition may be used separate from its verb. In the secular literature, this rule has no applicability, as Prepositions are never so used.

उपरिचयम्: सामीयः ॥ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपरि, अधि, अवस्: सामीयः ॥
बृहि: ॥ उपरि अधि अवस इत्येदाय देव भव: सामीयेः विवक्षितः ॥

7. उपरि, अधि, and अवस are repeated, when it expresses uninterrupted nearness.

The word सामीय्या means 'proximity' whether in time or space. As उपरिष्टुः सुमर्म, or उपरिष्टुः मामम, अधिष्टुः मामम, अवस इत्येदाय। Why do we say 'meaning near'? Observe उपरि; चन्द्रमा: ॥ Why the word is not repeated here: उपरि सम्बुः परी भरवितः ॥ The relation expressed here is not that of nearness, but that of above and below.

उपरिष्टुः पदानि: सच्चे एवं शर्यवितः।
अधिष्टुः सर्वमेव क्षण महम्मा मोरुक्यायितः॥

Here the doubling is in the sense of vipsā.

वाक्यादिरामम्बितस्त्यायुः वाच्यार्मितस्त्यायुः।
वाच्यार्मितस्त्यायुः अवस्त्यायुः सम्मति कोप कुस्तन मस्तनेनु।

बृहि: ॥ एकार्य: पतसुः वाच्यम्। वाच्यादिरामम्बितस्त्यायुः भव: असुरुः सम्मति कोप कुस्तन मस्तनेन।

8. A Vocative, at the beginning of a sentence, is repeated, when envy, praise, anger, blame, or threat is meant by the speaker.

A collocation of words, expressing one idea, is called a sentence or वाक्यम्. Thus (1) envy:—मागवकः द मागवकः अभिमुकः अभिमुकः रिक्तं ते रिक्तं प्रभवं ॥
(2) praise:—मागवकः द मागवकः अभिमुकः अभिमुकः रिक्तं शामस्सूतिः ॥ (3) anger:—मागवकः द मागवकः अभिमुकः अभिमुकः रिक्तं शामस्सूतिः ॥ (4) blame:—। (5) Threat:—बचार चैराः दृपल वृपलः प्रायस्मित्रायि श्व, बन्धविषयायि श्व ॥
The first word becomes pluta as well as gets svarita accent, by VIII. 2. 103, in the case of the first four; in the case of 'threat', the second word or the अम्रेतिता becomes pluta by VIII. 2. 95. Why do we say "at the beginning of a sentence"? The Vocative in the middle or the end of a sentence is not to be repeated, as शामस्सूतिः भास्वं। Why do we say of a Vocative? Observe उदासः एवः॥ Why do we say 'when meaning envy &c'. Observe देवस् गामायनः अनन्तः।
In some books, the vākya is defined as 'a collocation of words having one finite verb', (एकातिः पदस्तृतिः वाक्यं)। In the first example, कदृष्ट is added.

एकं बहुमूल्यवचः \| \& \| पद्निति \| एकम, बहुमूल्यि, वचः \| वृत्ति: \| एक गत्वंतान्तरस्य: विश्लेषं बहुमूल्यवच्चति।

9. When एक is repeated, it is treated like a member a of Bahuwrihi compound.

The making it a Bahuwrihi is for the sake of eliding the case-affix, and treating the word as a masculine, even when it refers to a feminine. Thus हृदेककर्णवं पद्निति (not एककर्णम्), एककर्मचतुष्या वृत्ति (not एककर्मचतुष्या). The accent is regulated by VI. 2. 1. the case-affix is elided by II. 4. 71, and masculinising by VI. 3. 34. This double word एकक should not however be treated like a Bahuwrihi for the purposes of the application of the following three rules, (1) The sūtra I. 1. 29 by which pronouns are not declined as pronouns when members of a Bahuwrihi compound. The word एकक however is declined like a Pronoun, as एककर्णे। For sūtra I. 1. 29 applies to a compound which is really a Bahuwrihi, and not to a word-form which is treated like a Bahuwrihi. The repetition of the word Bahuwrihi in that sūtra, though its anuvṛtti was understood from the preceding one; indicates this. (2) The application of the rule of accent. Thus by the following sūtra, a word is repeated when a mental pain or affliction over something is expressed. Thus नन करोति, सर्वजयार्थि। This double-word is treated like a Bahuwrihi, but not for the purposes of accent. For by VI. 2. 172 a Bahuwrihi preceded by न or जु gets acute on the final, but not so नन or जु। Here four rules of accent present themselves 1st VI. 1. 223 ordaining acute on the final, 2nd VI. 2. 1 the first member retaining its accent, 3rd VI. 2. 172 already mentioned, 4th VIII. 1. 3 by which the second member becomes anudatta, The rule VI. 2. 1 however regulates the accent, in supersession of the other three. (3) The third rule which does not apply to this Bahuwrihi-vat एकक is the rule of samāsanta affixing. Thus कुक्त, झुँझुँ (doubled by VIII. 1. 10) do not get the samāsanta affix भ by V. 4. 74.

आयायेष इऽ। पद्निति। आ, धारे, च। वृत्ति। आयायायायायायायः। पीढायायायायः धर्मः। तत्व वर्त्तमानस: ह्ये भवतः: बहुमूल्यवच्चत्य कायः भवति।

10. A word is repeated, and is treated like a member of Bahuwrihi compound, when a mental distress over something is expressed.

Thus गमगत: ‘gone, gone to my affliction’, नहे गमगतिः, गति पतितिः, in the masculine, and गतिसत्या, न्ययमत, पतितिपरितिः in the Feminine (not गतिसत्या for the reasons given in the preceding aphorism). The accent is governed by VI. 2. 1,
11. In the following rules, the double-word is treated like a Karmadhāraya compound.

The reason for making it a Karmadhāraya is to elide the case-affix (II. 4. 71), to make the first member a masculine term even when the word refers to a feminine (VI. 3. 42), and to regulate the accent by VI. 1. 223. Thus पड़त्रेषु, चुड़ाश्रेषु where the first member has lost the case-affix. पड़त्रेषु, चुड़ाश्रेषु where the first member is treated as a masculine, even when there is a क in the penultimate as कालनकालिका (See VI. 3. 37 and 42); पड़त्रेषु, पड़त्रेषु, the accent falls on the final, for the rule VI. 1. 223 was debarded by VII. 1. 3, but the present rule re-instates VI. 1. 223. The word उत्तरेषु is for the sake of distinctness, the sūtra being an adhikāra one, would have applied to the subsequent aphorisms, without even the word uttareṣu.

12. An adjective is repeated, when it is meant to express that the said attribute belongs to a thing only to a limited degree, and the double word is treated like a Karmadhāraya.

The word प्रकार means both ‘difference’ and ‘resemblance’. It means ‘resemblance’ here: i.e. the person or thing resembles, but is not fully like, the thing expressing the attribute. Thus पड़त्रेषु, ‘tolerably sharp’, चुड़ाश्रेषु: “pretty soft”, पण्डत्रेषु  च&. The sense is that the attribute is not fully possessed by the person. The affix आसीद (V. 3. 69) also expressing प्रकार, is not debarmed by this sūtra. Thus पुजुआतित्तेषु, चुड़ाश्रेषु: ।

Why do we say prakāra ‘when denoting somewhat like it’? Observe पद्दथेषु: ‘the clever Devadatta’. Why do we say ‘an attributive or adjective word’? Observe आनिर्मोणयत्त: ‘a fiery boy’, गौ बाहःत्त: ‘a cow-like Bāhika’.
'agni' and 'gau' are not naturally adjective words, though employed here like adjectives.

Vârt.:—An adjective is repeated when denoting that persons or things possessing that attribute are to be taken in their due order. Thus मूले स्तूपिला, अच्छे अच्छे सुखमा, चेष्टे चेष्टे चर्चिता:।

Vârt.:—A word denoting more than one is repeated without change of sense, when it denotes the limit or extent of the thing. Thus अस्मात कार्यान्याविद्व भविष्यां मापं मापं देहि 'give a masha, a masha out of this kârshâpaṇa to you two': i.e. give only two masha one to each. A kârshâpaṇa contains many mâshas, out of them, the extent of gift is limited to two only. This therefore is distinguishable from the distributive double (vipâ). The words मापं मापं देहि = हृदेहि; the माप does not take the dual case here. Why do we say when it expresses the limit? Observe अस्मात कार्यान्याविद्व भविष्यां मापं मापं देहि, हृदेहि, हृदेहि; भविष्या मापं मापं देहि. Here the word माप itself does not express limit, but the qualifying words एकं, हृदि, नीर &c. Why do we say 'denoting more than one'? Observe अस्मात कार्यान्याविद्व भविष्यां मापं मापं देहि।

Vârt.:—In expressing perplexity or alarm, a word may be repeated twice. The word चापत in the vârtika means a confused state of mind. As माहिति: बुध्यस्व बुध्यत् "a snake, a snake, beware. beware." It is not a necessary condition that the word should be repeated twice only, but as many times as one likes, so long as his meaning is not manifest. As: अहि: भाहि: माहि: बुध्यस्व बुध्यत् बुध्यत्।

Vârt.:—When intensity or frequency of an action is denoted, the word is uttered twice: as, स भयानु हृद्वचि हृदिलि हृदियां बुधिति। See III. 4. 2.

Vârt.:—In re-iteration the word is doubled; as, सुक्का सुक्का अगति, भोजन भोजन ब्रजति। See III. 4. 22. This has also been illustrated under VIII. 1. 4.

Vârt.:—The word is repeated when the affix दात्र follows; as, परत्रारण करि, परत्रारण तपस्यवर्ते। This doubling takes place when the word denotes an imitation of an inarticulate sound (V. 4. 57). Therefore, not here, सिद्धायो करि, सूत्तया करि, दात्रारण करि, where the affix दात्र denotes 'to plough', (V. 4. 58). Because of this restriction, some read the vârtika as, बुधि बुधिः।

Vârt.:—The words पूर्वे and प्रयम्य are repeated when a comparative or superlative sense is to be denoted: as पूर्वे पूर्वे पुष्पिनि, प्रयम्य प्रयम्य पच्चि। The comparative and superlative affixes are not barred hereby, as, पूर्वेतरेपुष्पिनि, प्रयम्यतरेपच्चि।

Vârt.:—The words ending in the affixes िति and िर (comparative and superlative), are doubled when they refer to feminine nouns and are employed in determining or pondering upon the relative condition of the superiority of one out of two or many; as उमारितमायांको, कलप्तं कल्पितं कल्पोलकत्या। "Both these are rich: let us ponder how much is their richness." सर्न हमे भाव्या, कल्पितं कल्पितं एकामो-
Doubling of Words.

13. The words ‘priya’-and ‘sukha’ are repeated optionally, when they mean “easily, without any difficulty”.

The word कूट्छ्यु means ‘difficulty and sorrow’, अकूट्छ्यु means ‘without difficulty or sorrow, i.e. pleasantly’. Thus भिमविवेंद्र ददाति, शुक्लैल्लेन ददाति, or भिमविवेंद्र ददाति, शुक्लैल्लेन ददाति = अतिशयमिति वल्ल नायलेन ददाति. That is, he gives with pleasure, without feeling it as a trouble. Why do we say “when meaning easily”? Observe विश्व पुन: “beloved son”. यथा रघु: यथा यथा: यथो यथो: यथायथम्

14. The word यथायथम् is irregularly formed in the sense of “respectively, fitly, properly”.

What is one’s own nature, and whatever is natural to one, that is called यथायथम्. In this sense is formed यथायथम्, there being doubling and neuter gender. It is an Indeclinable. As जनाताः स्वेदे पदार्थं यथायथम् = यथास्वतं “all objects have been known according to their respective nature”. शब्दं तद् यथायथम् = यथायथम्.
Doubling of Words. [Bk. VIII. Ch. I. § 17]

15. The word "dvandvam" is irregularly formed, in the sense of 'secret', and when it expresses a 'limit', 'a separation', 'employing in a sacrificial vessel', and 'manifestation'.

The word दण्ड is formed from दण by doubling it, changing the first द into द्व, and the second द into द्व. The word द्वद्व itself means dhatu or secret; while it marks 'limit' मर्याद &c only secondarily, by context of the sentence. Thus द्वद्व सम्बन्धते 'they are consulting some secret'. Limit or द्वद्वत्व or as, बाध्यातं होने पश्चाय द्वद्व मिहूनात्यते — न नयनं नियुक्तं गच्छतति, प्रेमिते, तत्रतुष्णापि || (See Maitr. S. I. 7. 3 Sāñkh. Br. III. 97). Separation of पू:नमयम् — द्वद्वन्यन्ताशः — द्वद्वन्यन्ताशः पू:पविषयः || Vyuksamana means bheda or separation, placing at a different place. Employment with regard to a sacrificial vessel (वहतपमः) as — द्वद्व यात्वान्यकान्ति मथुरिकान्ति || अविभावक स यात्विभावक साहाय्य || The word द्वद्व is found employed in connection with other senses also; as, द्वद्व दुहुः वर्णितः, द्वद्व दिन्ति सहविभौः — चाध्यः द्वद्व &c.

पद्रस || १६ || पदल || पद्य ||

बुधिः || पद्वक्षविविखितः परापुरसानाधिकारः || अहिंस कृत्यमनुकसामयम् पद्यस्येव स्वप्नितत्वम् ||

16. Upto VIII. 3. 54, inclusive, should be always supplied in every subsequent sutra, the phrase "of a word", or "to the whole of a word".

This is an adhikāra sutra, and extends up to VIII. 3. 55. Whatever we shall treat of here-after, should be understood to apply to a full 'pada' or a completed word. Thus VIII. 2. 23, (संयोगान्तव लोपः) teaches "there is elision of the final of what ends in a conjunct consonant". The word पद्यम् must be supplied here to complete the sense: viz, of a word which ends in a conjunct consonant, the final is elided. Thus पच्छ, यज्ञ, from पच्छ and यज्ञ.

Why do we say 'of a Pada'? Observe पच्छ, सज्जनी where the द though sanyogānta is not elided, because the stem is no longer called pada. The force of the Genitive in पद्यम् must be construed according to the context, sometimes as शनाशशश्वषि i.e. "in the room of the whole pada"; and sometimes as अवयावशयाशश्वषि i.e. "of a pada - of the portion of a pada".

पदल || १७ || पदल || पदल ||

बुधिः || पद्यविविखितः प्राकृतिके च संयोगान्तानितमात्रदित उद्धतसामकितम् पदार्थार्थ स्वप्नितत्वम् ||

17. Upto VIII. 1. 68, inclusive should always be supplied the phrase "after a pada".
Whatever we shall teach hereafter should be understood to apply to that which comes after a pada. Thus the sūtra VIII. 1. 19, teaches “of an āmantrita”. The phrase वस्त्रम must be supplied to complete the sense. That is, “of a pada, which is in the Vocative case, and which comes after another pada, all vowels become anudatta”. Thus पश्चि देवदत्त “Coolest thou, O Devadatta”. Why do we say, “after a pada”? Observe देवदत्त पश्चि. Here Devadatta is not anudatta (VI. 1. 198).

अनुदात्तम सर्वभासानि || १८ || पदाः सम || अनुदात्तम सर्वभासानि || अपातदाव || सर्वभासानि || अपातदाव || वृन्दः || अनुदात्तम सर्वभासानि || अपातदाव || सर्वभासानि || अपातदाव || वृन्दः || अनुदात्तम सर्वभासानि || अपातदाव || सर्वभासानि || अपातदाव || वृन्दः ||

18. Upto VIII. 1. 74, inclusive is to be supplied the phrase “The whole is unaccented, if it does not stand at the beginning of the foot of a verse”.

The three words anudāttaṁ “unaccented”, sarvam “the whole”, and apātadāva “not in the beginning of a Pāda of a verse”, should be understood to exert a governing influence over all the subsequent sūtras of this chapter, up to its end. Whatever we shall treat of hereafter, must be understood to be wholly unaccented, provided that, it does not stand as the first word of a verse or stanza. Thus VIII. 1. 19, says “of a Vocative”. The whole of this sūtra should be read there to complete the sense, viz: “all the syllables of a Vocative are unaccented when a word precedes it, and it does not stand as the first word of a hemistic”; as पश्चि देवदत्त “.

Why do we say “when not at the beginning of a hemistic”? Observe कृते नियमं रजस्ते पुत्रो जननसाहित्यम्, here पुत्र here though in the Vocative case, is not anu-

18. Upto VIII. 1. 74, inclusive is to be supplied the phrase “The whole is unaccented, if it does not stand at the beginning of a verse”.

The word anudāttaṁ “unaccented”, sarvam “the whole”, and apātadāva “not in the beginning of a Pāda of a verse”, should be understood to exert a governing influence over all the subsequent sūtras of this chapter, up to its end. Whatever we shall treat of hereafter, must be understood to be wholly unaccented, provided that, it does not stand as the first word of a verse or stanza. Thus VIII. 1. 19, says “of a Vocative”. The whole of this sūtra should be read there to complete the sense, viz: “all the syllables of a Vocative are unaccented when a word precedes it, and it does not stand as the first word of a hemistic”; as पश्चि देवदत्त “.

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18. Upto VIII. 1. 74, inclusive is to be supplied the phrase “The whole is unaccented, if it does not stand at the beginning of a verse”.

The word anudāttaṁ “unaccented”, sarvam “the whole”, and apātadāva “not in the beginning of a Pāda of a verse”, should be understood to exert a governing influence over all the subsequent sūtras of this chapter, up to its end. Whatever we shall treat of hereafter, must be understood to be wholly unaccented, provided that, it does not stand as the first word of a verse or stanza. Thus VIII. 1. 19, says “of a Vocative”. The whole of this sūtra should be read there to complete the sense, viz: “all the syllables of a Vocative are unaccented when a word precedes it, and it does not stand as the first word of a hemistic”; as पश्चि देवदत्त “.

Similarly VIII. 1. 21, teaches “व and न: are the substitutes of युष्मन्त्र भास्त्र in the plural”. The present sūtra must be read there to complete the sense, viz, when not at the beginning of a verse. Thus मानवः लोके, जन्मेन न: नाम ||

But at the beginning of a hemistic, we must have the forms युष्मान्त्र and भास्त्र instead of व: and न: || As,

सुरे विमार्यो हेयो युष्मान्त्र कुलवस्ता ||
स एव नायो भास्त्रानायकं श्रुतवर्णः ||

The word पर्वत in the sūtra refers both to the hemistiches of the sacred Rik hymns, as well as to secular ślokas.

Q. Why do we employ the word पर्वत in the sūtra?

Ans. The word sarvam is used in the sūtra, in order to indicate that a word, which has not acute accent on the first syllable, should also become anudātta. For the word पर्वत (VIII. 1. 17) is in the ablative case, and shows that the operation taught in any sūtra governed by it, will be performed on
the *first* syllable, according to the maxim आदि परशविषा। Therefore, by rule VIII. 1. 28, the word वहाँति, which is acutely accented on the *first* syllable, (because शप and लत्ति are anudatta), will only lose its accent in वहाँति; but not so the verb करोति which is acutely accented in the middle (by the vikāraṇa accent) in वहाँति। But by force of the word सर्वे, करोति also loses its accent.

Q. This cannot be the reason, for the author indicates by his prohibition in सूत्र VIII. 1. 29, that a verb loses its accent, *where ever* that accent may be. For there is no verb when conjugated in हूँ which has acute on the *first* syllable.

*Ans.* The word ‘sarvam’ is used to prevent the operation of अनुदत्तवातिषा; for where the rule आदि परशविषा will not apply there the other will apply: so that, if “sarvam” was not used, the rule would apply to the finals, and not to cases where there were other than initials to be operated upon. Thus the rule VIII. 1. 28 would apply to हूँ: which is finally acute by VI. 1. 186, in वहाँतिन्तस्यादशः हूँ; but not to वहाँति।

Q. No; this cannot be the reason of employing the word ‘sarvam’ in the सूत्र, for the author indicates that the rule is not confined to the finals, by the prohibition he makes in favor of हूँ in VIII. 1. 51; for there is no verb, when conjugated in लिट, which has acute on the final. All लिट is acute in the middle by VI. 1. 186. So the अनुदत्तवातिषा rule does not apply.

*Ans.* The word ‘sarvam’ is used for this reason. Had ‘sarvam’, not been used, then in those cases where there was no other rule to apply, like VIII. 1. 19, there only the word would become anudatta. But in cases where another rule also operated, there this anudatta rule would not apply, for then there would be two different sentences. For a thing which is already in existence can be made the subject of a rule ordering certain operations to be performed on it; but not so a thing which will come in existence in future time. Thus the words वि and नि are ordained as substitutes of yushmad and asmad by one sentence VIII. 1. 20; while another sentence ordains their anudatta-hood. So here there is separation of sentences (vākya-bheda): which is not desireable; for a vākya bheda should be avoided, if possible. But by employing the word ‘sarvam’, this vākya-bheda is made tolerable.

Another reason for employing this word is that the substitutes वि and नि should come in the room of the *whole* declined forms of yushmad and asmad, with their case-affixes. Had not this word (sarvam) been used, then वि and नि would have replaced only ‘yushmad’ and ‘asmad’. Obj. Will not the anuvṛtti of the word ‘padasya’, cause the *whole* declined word to be replaced by वि and नि, not only the crude-forms yushmad and asmad? And there cannot be a full word unless it takes case-affixes; so the whole of yushmad and asmad with their case-affixes will be replaced. Where is the necessity of using the word ‘sar-
vam? Ans. This objection will apply to those cases where a Pada is a word ending in a case-affix. But the word पद् is a technical term also, and applies to crude forms before certain case-affixes. Thus a nominal stem (not a full word) is also called Pada by I. 4. 17, before non-sarvanamasthana case-affixes. Therefore yushmad and asmad will be pada before those affixes. Thus before the affix of Dative Dual, they will be called Pada; and had सम not been used, then only "yushmad" and "asmad" will be replaced and not their case-affixes. Thus भागो च सम समव: जनपदो चै भागेते। Here च and चै would require after them the case-affix भाग otherwise.

आमस्तिस्व पदविनि आमस्तिस्व, च ||
कृतिः || आमस्तिस्व पदविनि पवारस्यपाववादीपर्वमानस्य सर्वस्यादुतानो भवति ||
शालिकम् || समान भाक्ष विनायक सुमन स्मारिदा वक्षाय ||
19. All the syllables of a Vocative are unaccented when a word precedes it, and it does not stand at the beginning of a hemistich.

Thus पञ्चसि हेतुपञ्च, पञ्चसि शतुपञ्च || The Vocative is acutely accented on the first by VI. 1. 198, the present makes it all unaccented.

Vārtt.—The rules relating to nighāta (by which all syllables of a word become unaccented, such as the present, and VIII. 1. 28 &c) and to the substitutes of yushmad and asmad apply then only, when the preceding word which would cause the nighāta or the substitution, is part of the same sentence with the latter word. Therefore not here:—अवं यम, इसनिन || "This is the staff. Carry by means of it." Here हृ does not lose its accent by VIII. I. 28, though preceded by the Noun daṇḍa, because these are parts of two different sentences. कोम呛म पञ्च, सम भवायति || कोम呛म पञ्च: सम भवायति || "Cook the food, it will be for thee. Cook the food, it will be for me." That is the rice cooked by thee, will do both for thyself and myself. Here the खे and खे substitutions have not taken place (VIII. I. 22) for yushmad and asmad, for the same reason.

Another example is, भवतीति विनायिति, देवदात्मावरः "Vishnumitra is here. Come back Devadatta." Here Devadatta, though in the Vocative case, does not lose its accent. Nor can you say that समपः पञ्चकिति will make this vārtika redundant. In all the above examples, the different sentences are connected with each other in sense. Thus in the last example, Devadatta was searching for Vishnumitra, when some one says to him, 'Here is V. come back D.' Thus the two sentences are samartha, yet there is no nighāta. But the rule will apply here:—िह देवदात्मामाता ते कथायिति || कथायिति (VIII. I. 28) कृति च शालिके ते भोगं दास्यानि || In the last examples the Vocatives, the verbs and the substitutes of yushmad and asmad are not in syntactical construction with the words that immediately precede them, and yet the nighāta rule &c does apply: inspite of the general maxim सयम: पञ्चकिति: (II. I. 1), for rules relating to completed words apply to such words only which are in construction.
In the last example, the construction is रक्षेत्र स्थिता माता ते देवन्त, and not रक्षेत्र देवन्त। Thus रक्षेत्र is in syntactical construction with स्थिता and not देवन्त, yet it causes nighâta of Devadatta. Similarly in नचा तिदित्ते कूले, the word नचा is not in construction with तिदित्ते, but with कूले, i.e. नचा कूले तिदित्ते; yet it causes the nighâta of तिदित्ते। Similarly शायनम is not in construction with ते, but with भोगन, i.e. शायनम भोगनं ते शायनम। Yet it causes the substitution of yushmad. Though the preceding words are not samarthta with regard to the words that follow them, they cause the changes, because the words are in the same sentence.

युष्मदस्ते: पद्यस्ते रित्वायरियार्योढार्यो साधारण। २०। पद्यविंधा सुमधुरं, अः ब्रह्मदेयाः; पद्ये, चतुर्थी, शुतियार्याः, चाम, नावी। प्रुत्ते। युष्मदस्ते हलेबासे: पद्यस्ते रित्वायरियार्योढायार्यार्यो गाणैलेतपास्त्वो भवतस्तो शाय तुवासी।

20. For the Genitive, Dative and Accusative Dual of yushmad and asmad, are substituted वाम् and ते respectively, when a word precedes, and these substitutes are anudâtta.

All the three sūtras वद्य, वद्यं and अ ब्रह्मस्ते रित्वायर्याः गाणे applicble here.
Thus भाषा वा स्त्रयं। जनवरी ते नारं, भाषा ते दीवरं। जनवरी ते दीवरं। भाषा वा पद्यविंधा। जनवरी ते पद्यविंधा।

These two ते and ते come in the Dual only, because other substitutes have been taught for the Singular and Plural in the two subsequent sūtras.

Why do we say “for the Genitive, Dative and Accusative”? In other cases there will be no substitution. As, भाषा युष्मदस्ते त्रित्ते। The word त्रित्ते in the sūtra indicates that the case affixes must be express and not understood, for the purposes of this substitution. Therefore, not here: हलि युष्मदस्ते: though here yushmat is preceded by a word in a sentence, and is in the Genitive case yet त्रित्ते substitution (VIII. i. 21) does not take place, because the case-affix is elided.

ब्रह्मचन्दस्ते वशस्तै। २१। पद्यविंधा। त्रित्ते। त्रित्ते। त्रित्ते। त्रित्ते।

21. For (the Genitive, Dative, and Accusative) plural of yushmad and asmad are substituted वर्षा and नस्तै respectively, when a word precedes, and these substitutes are anudâtta.

Thus भाषा वा: स्त्रयं। जनवरी ते: स्त्रयं। भाषा ते: दीवरं। जनवरी ते: दीवरं। भाषा ते: पद्यविंधा।

त्रित्ते। त्रित्ते। त्रित्ते।

22. For the Genitive and Dative Singular (of yushmad and asmad are substituted) ते and ते respectively, when a word precedes and these are anudâtta.
Thus मास्ते वा, मात्रो ने लु, मास्ते दीयते, मात्रो ने दीयते। For the Accusative singular, other substitutes have been taught in the next सूत्र, hence ने and ने come only in Genitive and Dative.

ल्याम्ये ज्ञितियाया: ॥ २३ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ ल्या, मै, ज्ञितियाया: ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ एकवचनस्वति वसति। ज्ञितियाया केवलसंबंधद्वारा तस्य भावसंबंधाया न इत्यतावर्गीयो भवति।

23. For the Accusative Singular of yushmad and asmad are substituted ल्या and मा respectively, under the same circumstances.

The word एकवचनस्वति is understood here. Thus भामस्वा पदार्थि, भामो मा पदार्थि।

न च चावाहिनेव युक्ते ॥ २३ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ न, च, या, हा, अह, एव, युक्ते।

बृत्ति: ॥ च या हा अह एव एनियोधै युक्ते वसंबंधाया नं भवति।

24. The above substitutions do not take place when there is in connection with the pronouns any of these:— च, ‘and’ या, ‘or’ हा, ‘oh!’ अह ‘wonderful’, or एव ‘only’.

Thus भामस्वा च ल्या, भामो गम च ल्या।

युक्ति: ल्या। अवयोद्ध स्वतः। युक्ति: ल्या। अस्सर्वेष च ल्या। अस्सर्वेष च ल्या। भामस्तुयान च शीतस्य भामो महाय सीतायते। युक्ति: ल्या। अवयोद्ध स्वतः। अस्सर्वेष च ल्या। अस्सर्वेष च ल्या। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि। भामस्तुयान च पदार्थि।

The word युक्ति is employed in the सूत्र to indicate direct conjunction. There is, therefore, where the conjunction is not direct but intermediate the employment of the shorter forms. As मास्ते च ल्या, नगर च ने ल्या।

The particles च, या, एव denote conjunction, 'separation' 'wonder'
&c. Where the sense of ‘conjunction,’ ‘separation’ &c are inherent in the pronouns yushmad and asmad, and these particles are employed to manifest that sense, there the present sūtra will apply its prohibition.

25. The above substitutions do not take place also in connection with verbs having the sense of “seeing”, when physical seeing is not denoted.

The word पद्याय is equivalent to दर्शनाय; and दर्शन means ‘knowledge’, i.e. verbs denoting ‘to know’, अलोचन means perception obtained through sight i.e. physical ‘seeing’ opposed to metaphoric “seeing” = “knowing”. The substitutions of झाँ and झै &c. for युम्भ त and अस्त्र do not take place when these pronouns are employed in connection with verbs denoting ‘seeing’ (metaphorically) but not ‘looking’ (physically).

Thus भास्माय खं समीक्षायः; भानो गम खं समीक्षायः; भास्माय खं दीर्घायां समीक्षायः; भानो गम खं दीर्घायां समीक्षायः; भास्माय खं समीक्षायः; भानो गम समीक्षायः; भानो नां समीक्षायः;

Why do we say when not meaning ‘to look’? Observe भास्माय पद्याय; भानो नां पद्याय;

Ishṭi:—With regard to verbs of “seeing”, the rule should apply even where the connection is not direct: as, we have already illustrated above.

26. When the pronoun follows after a Nominative, which itself is preceded by another word, then the above substitutions may take place optionally.

Thus भानी कन्याय खं यो भानी कन्याय खं यो; भानी कन्याय खं यो भानी कन्याय खं यो; भानी कन्याय खं यो भानी कन्याय खं यो; भानी कन्याय खं यो भानी कन्याय खं यो; भानी कन्याय खं यो भानी कन्याय खं यो; भानी कन्याय खं यो भानी कन्याय खं यो; भानी कन्याय खं यो भानी कन्याय खं यो; भानी कन्याय खं यो भानी कन्याय खं यो

Why do we say “which itself is preceded by another word”? Observe कन्याय खं , कन्याय खं यो; कन्याय खं , कन्याय खं यो;

Why do we say “after a Nominative”? Observe कन्याय खं , कन्याय खं यो;

Vārtt.—The option herein taught is restricted to युम्भ त and अस्त्र when not employed in anyādeśa. But when there is anyādeśa, then the substitution is
compulsory and not optional. This vārtika restricts the scope of the sūtra, and makes it a vyavasthita vibhāṣā. Therefore, there is no option here, where there is anvādeśa:—अथो यानि क्रजखलति सन्य, अथो यानि क्रजखलो ने सन्य।

Vārt:—Others say, that the substitutes श्रां, नै &c are all optional, when not employed in anvādeśa, whether the nominative is preceded by another noun or not. Thus the rules 20, 21, 22, 23 are optional. As: क्रडळचति सन्य, or क्रडळक्ति सन्य, क्रजखलो ने सन्य or क्रजखलो मम सन्य। Why do we say “when not in anvādeśa”? Observe अथो क्रडळचति सन्य, अथो क्रजखलो ने सन्य। Q. If this is so, where is the necessity of the present sūtra at all? Ans. The present sūtra is for the sake of anvādeśa: i.e. the option taught in the present sūtra will take place only then, when there is anvādeśa and not otherwise; thus अथो यानि क्रडळचति सन्य, or अथो यानि क्रडळक्ति सन्य, अथो यानि क्रजखलो ने सन्य, or अथो यानि क्रजखलो मम सन्य। In other words, according to this vārtika, rules 20, 21, 22 and 23 are all optional in anvādeśa, but compulsory where is no anvādeśa; but when the pronoun is preceded by a nominative which itself is preceded by another word, then the above rules are not compulsory, even in anvādeśa: there also the option will apply.

27. The words गोत्र &c, become unaccented after a finite verb, when a contempt or a repetition is intended.

Thus प्रति गोत्रम्, जत्यति श्रूद्धम्, when contempt is meant.

Here प्रति गोत्रम् means ‘he proclaims his Gotra &c, so that he may get food &c’. प्रति is from the root पांच यतिकर्मे ‘to make evident’ (Bhu. 134). Similarly जत्यति गोत्रम्, “he repeatedly utters, his descent &c, in order to get married &c”. Where contempt is not meant, it has the force of repetition, i.e. he repeatedly utters his Gotra as one is bound to do, in marriage-rites &c. And प्रति प्रति गोत्रम्, जत्यति जत्यति श्रूद्धम् when repetition or intensity is denoted. Similarly प्रति जत्यति श्रूद्धम्, प्रति प्रति जत्यति श्रूद्धम्. The word हृद्धम् is a noun derived from the root हृ by the affix कृत, the वच substitution for हृ has not taken place, as an anomaly.

1 हृद्ध, 2 हृद्ध, 3 प्रति, 4 प्रति, 5 प्रति, 6 प्रति, 7 प्रति, 8 ग्राम, 9 ग्राम, 10 प्रति, 11 वृद्धम्, 12 वृद्धम्, 13 श्रूद्धम्, 14 भूद्धम्, 15 भान (नाम वा) 16 प्रति, 17 प्रति,

The word नाम optionally becomes anudātta: in the alternative, it is first-acute. Thus प्रति नाम or प्रति नाम।
Why do we say ‘after a finite verb’? Observe कृति सि गोत्रम्. II
Why do we say “Gotra and the rest”? Observe पचति पापम्. II. Here पापम् is an adverb

Why do we say ‘when contempt or repetition is meant’? Observe कनति गोत्रः समेत कुंपे. II. “He digs a well having assembled the Gotra”.

The words ‘contempt and repetition’ in the text qualify the whole sentence or sutra, and not the word गोत्रांद्र nor the word मदुदात्र न understood. For we find that wherever the word गोत्रांद्र is used in this Chapter, it always implies the sense of ‘contempt or repetition’. Thus the word गोत्रांद्र is used in VIII. 1. 57 and there also the sense is of contempt and repetition.

तिक्किर्दित्व: II २८ II परारम् II तिक्क: अतिक्क: II
बुँति: II तिक्कां वशम्भिवानालाप्तमुस्तरमस्तर्मस्तरम् भवति II

28. A finite verb is unaccented, when a word precedes it, which is not a finite verb.

Thus देवलः पुष्पित II. Why do we say “a finite verb”? Observe मीलहुय लम, शुकलं बधरं II

Why do we say ‘when the preceding word is not a finite verb? Observe भवति पचति ‘the act of cooking exists’=पान किया भवति II. Here the word भवति is a finite verb, therefore the verb pachati does not lose its accent. So also तर्किरिः अक्षुन्ति, आंति, युंग्यांति ‘successful he conquers, rules, thrives’. अर्जुनभयाः शिष्ये बौधिष्य | “for us conquer and fight”. The word अतिक्क: is in one sense redundant, because in one simple sentence, two finite verbs cannot be employed; one sentence consists of one finite verb only. But the very fact of this sutra indicates that the condition of समानवाय्य does not apply to this sutra; so that the two words need not be portions of the same sentence, for the application of this nighṭa as we have already explained in VIII. 1. 19. Other examples are: अन्मलइः पुष्पहिं (Rv. I. 1. 1), स इत्य्या स्वयं रुष्विस्त (Rv. I. 1. 4), श्रृणे सप्ताहः श्रृण (Rv. V. 1. 1), यज्ञोगदनस्य पञ्चौ गुणहि II

न छुद् II २९ II पदारिः न, छुद् II
बुँति: II पृथिविचत्रस्य पतितेः भार्ष्यसि III. तिक्कां नास्तिस्त्रां भवति II

29. But the Periphrastic Future is not unaccented, when it is preceded by a word which is not a finite verb.

This restricts the scope of the last sutra which was rather too wide. Thus इस: कर्ति, इत्यादि, कर्तारे, मालेण कर्तारे: II. The Sārvadhātuka affixes द्वा, रृ, इत्यादि, are anudatta after the affix तास्वी by VI. 1. 186, the whole affix तास्वी becomes udātta (III. 1. 3) and where the र्त portion of तास्व, i.e. the syllable तास्व, is elided before the affix द्वा, there also the न्त of द्वा becomes udātta, because the udātta has been elided. See VI. 1. 161.
30. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with the particles यत्, 'that', 'because', यदि, 'if', हर्षत्, 'also', 'O!', कुचित्, 'well', नेतृत्व, 'not', चेत्, 'if', च 'if', कार्यत् (interrogative particle, implying 'I hope' or 'I hope not'), and यत्र 'where'.

Thus यत्र कृपयति, यदि पचायति, यदि कृत्तिति or यदि पचायति, हर्षत् कृपयति, हर्षत् पचायति, कृपयति कृपयति, कृपयति पचायति, नेतृत्व चिन्तामणियो नत्रक पचायति (Nir. I. 11). So चेत् छूटे कृति. स चेत् अर्थात्. The particle यत् with the indicatory यत् has the force of चेत्. Thus अयं य वर्त-ध्वनि = अयं च गर्दन-ध्वनि. Other examples are सम् च रोमन ने बैशो वीरस्यूत्रे यूनस 'if thou, Soma wilt have us to live, we shall not die' and गच्छति निर्धरितम् प्रकाश 'if he will come here, we will make friends with him.'

If Indra makes us happy &c. This rule does not apply to the यत्र which is a conjunction meaning 'and'. So also: किष्किष्के युक्ते, किष्किष्के अर्थात्, यथा युक्ते, यथार्थात्. Why do we say "with particles"? Observe यत् कृत्तिति यक्तम् = गच्छति कृत्तिति शक्तम्. Here यत्र is not a particle, but the Present Participle of the root यत्र 'to go'. It means गच्छति 'the car creaks while going'. Rule VIII, 1. 28 applies here.

Q. Now by the rule of Pratipadokta &c. that यत्र should only be taken, which is a Particle; moreover it is read in connection with other Particles like यदि &c, so it must be a Particle. How then can the Present Participle यत् be taken at all? Ans.—This śūtra indicates that the प्रतिपदक्तो rule and the साधारण rule do not apply here. Thus the word यक्तम् formed with the affix यक्त (V. 2. 39) is also included in the word यक्तम् of this śūtra. As बालदयो राजे असस्य, राज बालदयेन स्वामिणो अवसते गुणानां = बालदयेन स्वामिणो मित्रशुचिलालयानम्.

Why do we use the word युक्ते "in connection with". Observe यत्र कृ च यत्र नानी यत्र द्वस्त उत्तरम्.

Other examples are: सं यत्र यत्र यत्र 'what offering thou protectest'. यत्र न: पूर्व विवरे: परशु: 'whither our fathers of old departed'. यथा हर्षीय यत्र यत्र यत्र यत्र 'let me die on the spot, if I am a sorcerer', हर्षतः यत्र यत्र यत्र 'come on, let us share up this earth'. यथा चेतेतद्द्वैतपायिते स्वमहते 'if a Brahman has grasped her hand', नेतृ च च युक्ति युक्ते गृहिणा 'that the sun may not burn thee with his beam' उक्ते गृहिणा: 'will he come hither for our praises' (Whitney's Grammar, Para 595).
31. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with नहू when employed in the sense of forbidding.

When something urged by one, is rejected insultingly by another, then the reply made by the first tauntingly, with a negation, is pratyârambha. Thus A says to B: “Eat this please”. B rejects the offer repeatedly, in anger or jest. Then A in anger or jest says ‘No, you will eat’—as नहू भोज़के॥ Here भोज़के retains its accent, which is acute on the middle, for so becomes accentless as it follows अनुप्रेष्य (VI. 1. 186), and स्व becomes udâta by the प्रव्ययस्त (III. 1. 3).

Another example is नहाध्यवस्त्र ‘No, you will study’. Why do we say, ‘when asseverative’? Observe नहू हे तस्मां भोज़के इविधायताय स्वः “Verily in that world they do not wish for fee”. Here it is pure negation. तस्मां is first acute by न् accent, भोज़के is final acute because it is formed by अच् of पति (III. 1. 134). इविधायस्त is first acute, because it is a Pronoun ending in स् (स्वाभिषात्मकस्तत्तानां, Phit II. 6) and इविधायस्त is anudatta by VIII. 1. 28.

स्य ये स्ये पदानि सत्ये, पदानि॥

32. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with सत्य when used in asking a question.

Thus सत्येन नार्यस्ते ‘Truly will you eat? सत्यमुपेश्यसि॥ Why do we say ‘in questioning’? Observe सत्येन भक्ष्यानि. नाशुन ‘I shall tell the truth, not falsehood’, भक्ष्यानि इव भक्ष्यानि सत्यानि॥

अभ्यासितोत्तमे॥ पदानि || अज्जू, अमातिलोपे॥

33. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with अज्जू when used in a friendly assertion.

Anything done to injure another is prati-loma, opposite of this is aprati-loma, or friendliness. In fact, it is equal to anuloma. Thus अज्जू ‘yes, you may cook’. Here anga has the force of friendly permission. So also अज्जू इव॥ But when it has the force of prati-loma, we have:—अज्जू कृष्णं इव पुष्प। इत्यादि。(तत्सालिता जातम || "Well, chuckle O sinner! soon wilt thou learn, O coward". Here अज्जू is used in the sense of censure, for chuckling is a thing not liked by the person: and is prati-loma action: for pluta-vowel see VIII, 2. 96.

हृ च || पदानि || हृ, च॥

34. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with हृ when used in a friendly assertion.
Thus स हि कुर्सः, सहि वेनः, सहि वैदः। Why do we say ‘in friendly assertion’? Observe श हि कृजः वृपः। इदानी साक्षायते जाभः।  

छन्दस्यनेत्रकमपि साक्षायते ॥ ३५ ॥ पदार्थोऽनेकम् अपि, साक्षायते ॥  

वृपः ॥ हि चेतित्वस्य छन्दस्य विषये हिवुद्धतिः तिहंति साक्षायते नादुदाचं मन्ति ॥  

35. In the Veda, the finite verb retains its accent (but not always), in connection with हि, when it stands in correlation to another verb, even more than one.  

That is sometimes one verb, sometimes more than one verb retain their accent. Thus of more than one verb, we have the following example:—अनुसः हि मृत्यूः सृष्टिः पापम् एवं हि वृपः हि ‘Because the drunkard tells falsehood, therefore sin will make him impure: i.e. he does incur sin’. Here both verbs वृपः and विवृपः retain their accent: and हि has the force of मन्त् ‘because’. According to Kaiyāyata the meaning of this sentence is वस्माद्ग्र मतोऽपि वृपः, तत्समस्यन्यायोऽपि न वृपः i.e. a drunkard does not incur the sin of telling a falsehood, because he is not in his senses. See Maitr. Sanhita I. 11. 6. As regards one verb in a correlated sentence retaining its accent and the other losing it, we have:—भगिनाः पूर्वविहारयिः सत्महिन्द्रं वृपः ॥ Here the first retains its accent and the second not. The force of हि is to denote here cause and its effect. So also:—भगिनाः हि मान्येऽवज्ञनिः गर्भस्ति (or गर्भस्ति), सा व शुश्रुष्य राजितार्थमि (Taittariya Sanhita IV. 2. 10, 4). The word वृपः is first acute, the augment अः having the accent; while अपःकृति is all anudatta.  

यावध्यायम् ॥ ३६ ॥ पदार्थोऽनेकम् यावतः, यथायाम् ॥  

हि: यावध्यायम् इत्यका विन्या वृपः तिहंति नादुदाचं मन्ति ॥  

36. A finite verb retains its accent in connection with यावत् and यथा ॥  

Thus यावत्, यथा, यथायामः, यथायामः वावध्यायम्, वेदवृपः, वेदवृपः हि: वृपः, वृपः, वृपः, वृपः, वृपः, वृपः । वृपः । The meaning is that the verb retains its accent, even when यावत् and यथा follow after it. Another example is यथा चित्तु कप्यमावनम्। The word यावध्यायम् is the Imperative (लेख्य) Second Person Dual of the root शृः। यावध्यायम् स्तोत्रोऽवस्थितं राज्या: ॥ The verb अरेशः is Imperfect (लेख्य) Second Person singular of the root रृः ‘to scratch’. The accent, is on अ (the augment).  

पूजायाम् नान्दतरम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदार्थोऽनेकम्, न, अन्तरम् ॥  

हि: यावध्यायम्, इत्यका विन्याम् वृपः तिहंति पूजायाम् विन्यायम् न भवति किं तां अनुदात्तमेषः ॥  

37. But not so when these particles यावत् and यथा immediately precede the verb and denote ‘praise’.
That is, the verb loses its accent, and becomes anudatta. Thus यावत् प्रकरणि शङ्करम्, यथा प्रचारि शङ्करम्, यावत् करोति चाहि।

Why do we say when denoting ‘praise’? Observe यावत् सुहास्यं, यथा सुहास्यं।

Why do we say ‘immediately’? Observe यावत् हेतुस्: प्रचारि शङ्करम्, यथा

हेतुस्: करोति चाहि। Here the verbs retain their accent by the last sūtra.

उपसर्गः वेपते च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ उपसर्गः, वेपते च ॥

बृंगः इद्याय प्रचारितः च, यथा वेपते च, यथा नानुसाराः न भवति किं तथोऽभुवन्तय भवति॥

38. A finite verb loses its accent when it denotes ‘praise’ and is joined immediately with यावत् and यथा through the intervention of an upasarga or verbal-preposition.

The last sūtra taught that the verb loses its accent when immediately preceded by यावत् and यथा। This qualifies the word ‘immediately’ and teaches that the intervention of a Preposition does not debar immediateness. Thus यथा प्रकरणि चाहि, यथा प्रचारि शङ्करम्, यावत् प्रकरणि चाहि, यावत् प्रचारि शङ्करम्।

The word ‘immediately’ is understood here also. Thus यावत् हेतुस्: प्रपूर्वार्थः शङ्करम्, यथा विभागिता नित्यः: प्रकरणि चाहि॥ The upasarga म has udātta accent.

Prof. Bohtlingk’s Edition reads the sūtra as ज्ञानेते ॥

तुपुजायामार्यः पूजायामार्यः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ तु, पद्य, पद्यत, अहि, पूजायामार्यः ॥

बृंगः ॥ तु पद्य पद्यत अहि इवेदेऽतुस्ति नानुसारः भवति पूजायामार्यः विपये ॥

39. A finite verb retains its accent in connection with तु, पद्य, पद्यत, and अहि, when meaning ‘praise’.

Thus मण्डकस्य शङ्करस्य शङ्करम्, पद्य मण्डकस्य शङ्करस्य शङ्करम्, पण्डत मण्डकस्य शङ्करस्य शङ्करम्, अहि मण्डकस्य शङ्करस्य शङ्करम्। Why do we say ‘when meaning praise’? Observe, प्रभुक्त द्रुतः धार्मिकः ॥

The repetition of the word पूजायामार्य here, though its anuvṛtti could have been supplied from VIII. i. 37, shows that the negation of that sūtra does not extend here: for the पूजायामार्य of that sūtra is connected with two negatives, the न of that sūtra, and the न of VIII. i. 29, but the पूजायामार्य of this sūtra is connected with the general न of VIII. i. 29 only.

Another example is भाषेः स्थानं उपसर्गाः इवेदेऽतुस्ति ॥

अहि, च ॥ ४० ॥ पदार्थि ॥ अहि, च ॥

बृंगः ॥ अहि, इवेदेऽतुस्ति नानुसारः भवति पूजायामार्यः विपये ॥

40. A finite verb retains its accent when in connection with अहि meaning ‘praise’.

Thus अहि, हेतुस्: प्रचारि शङ्करम्, अहि विभागिता: करोति चाहि ॥ The separation
of this अत्रे from तु &c., of the last sūtra, indicates that the next rule applies to अत्रे only. Had अत्रे been joined with तु &c., then Rule VIII. 1. 41, would have applied to तु &c., which is not desired. Hence the making of it a separate sūtra.

41. A finite verb retains its accent optionally when in connection with अत्रे in the remaining cases (i.e. where it does not mean praise).

What is the अत्रे alluded to here? The अत्रे means here senses other than प्राप्त or 'praise'. Thus कतमेक कारिष्किः or कतमेक कारिष्किः।। This is a speech uttered in anger or envy and not in praise (अत्रे वचने)।। So also मग गेहमेष्टि।।

The word अत्रे is employed in the stūtra simply for the sake of distinctness; for stūtra 40 applies to cases of pujā, while this stūtra will give option in cases other than pujā.

42. A finite verb retains its accent optionally in connection with पुरा when it means ‘haste’ (i.e. when पुरा means ‘before’).

The word परीस्थायाः means तर or ‘quick’. Thus अत्रीवर् भवतु पुरा हेतु विषेषते विषेष, or पुरा सततस्य सततविशुद्ध।। The word पुरा here expresses the future occurrence which is imminent or very near at hand. It is against the rule of Dharmaśāstras to study while it thunders of lightens.

Why do we say ‘when meaning haste’? Observe नरेन सर पुराविधेशः।। Here the word पुरा expresses a past time; that is, it means “long ago”. So also अर्यस्य यथा पुराविधेशः।। See III. 2. 118 and 122, for the employment of पुरा in the Past Tense, and III. 3. 4, for the Present.

43. A finite verb retains its accent in connection with नाम, when with this Particle, permission is asked.

The word अपण means ‘asking, praying’. The word अनुभवता means ‘permission’. The compound अनुभवया means ‘asking of permission’. Thus नाम कोष्ठि भेः: “may I do it, sir”; नतु रण्यानि भेः: ‘can I go sir’. The sense is ‘give me permission to do or to go’.
Why do we say when ‘asking for’ permission? Observe अकार्यं करं वेदस्: नून करसौर्यं में: ‘Devadatta hast thou made the mat? Well, I am making it’. Here नून has the force of an answering particle, and not used in asking permission and hence the verb loses its accent.

कं कियाग्न्युतपर्गममतिपि द्वं ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्, किया-प्रश्रै, अनुपर्गम्-आप्रतिपिद्धम ॥

वृत्त: ॥ कितिलसात्मकायायेष यद्व चेति तदनन्तु तितवत्मसुपर्गममतिपिद्ज्ञ नादुःस्मच्छ महत्ति ॥

44. A finite verb retains its accent in connection with किम्, when with this is asked a question relating to an action, and when the verb is not preceded by a Preposition or by a Negation.

Thus कं वेदस: पचति, भालो पिद्ध मुहृदः ॥ कं वेदस: प्रेतं, भालो सिद्धोलीतं ॥
Here some say, that the first verb (पचति or प्रेतं) being directly joined with कं retains its accent, whilst the second verb (मुहृदः or सिद्धोलीतं) not being joined with कं, loses its accent by the general rule VIII. 1. 28. Others say, though the word कं is heard in connection with one verb only, yet as both verbs are objects of doubt, therefore, कं is logically connected with both of them, and so both verbs retain their accents. Thus मुहृदः will retain its accent according to this view.

Why do we say when the question relates to a किया or action? The rule will not apply, when the question relates to an object or साधन ॥ Thus कं वेदस: भोदनं प्रचति आहोस्यव्यायां ॥

Why do we say “when a question is asked”? Observe किमवचनं वेदस: ॥
Here कं is used to express contempt, and not to ask a question.

Why do we say ‘not preceded by a Preposition’? Observe कं वेदस: प्रवचति आहोस्यव्यायां प्रकर्तृति ॥

Why do we say “not preceded by a negative particle”. Observe, कं वेदस सं पद्धति आहोस्यव्या न करोलित ॥

लोपे विभाज्या ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपे, विभाज्या ॥

वृत्त: ॥ किमाना लोपे कियाग्न्युतपर्गममतिपिद्ज्ञ विभाज्या नादुःस्मच्छ महत्ति ॥

45. When however किम् is not added in asking such a question, the finite verb may optionally retain its accent.

When किम् is elided in asking a question relating to an action, the finite verb which is not preceded by a Preposition or a Negative Particle, optionally does not become anudatta. When is there the elision of this किम because no rule of Pāṇini has taught it? When the sense is that of an interroga­tion, but the word किम is not used. In short, the word ‘Iopa’ here does not mean the Grammatical substitute, but merely non-use. As देवस्य: पचति (or
46. In connection with पद्धतिव्रय used derisively, the First Future that follows it, retains its accent.

The word महास means great laughter, i.e. derision, mockery, raillery, jeering, gibing, sneering. Thus एहि गये ओहिने भोक्तः सि, नाहि भोक्तः, शुद्ध शोकतिपिनोः || एहि गये रण्य वाय्यसि, नाहि वाय्यसि, वाय्यसि लेन फिता || The word एहि is the Imperative second Person of the root इष्ट preceded by the preposition भाष ||

Why do we say “used derisively”? Observe एहि गये ओहिने भोक्तः हुष्टि; शूद्ध मग्ये, साहु च मग्ये ||

By sūtra VIII. 1. 51, in fra, after the Imperative एहि which is a verb of ‘motion’ (गयर्य), the following First Future (लद्ध) would have retained its accent. The present sūtra makes a niyama or restriction, namely that in connection with the Imperative एहि गये, the लद्ध is accented only then when ‘derision’ is meant and not otherwise. Thus the लद्ध loses its accent here:— एहि गये ओहिने भोक्तः || The employment of the First Person in मघे in the sūtra is not intended to be taught: for by I. 4. 105, the verb मद्ध (मघे) takes the affix of the First Person instead of the second, when ‘derision’ is meant and not otherwise. When महास is not intended, the proper personal affix of the Second Person is employed. The employment of the First Person ceases there also by this restrictive rule. Thus एहि गये ओहिने भोक्तः ||

The above counter example is given according to Kāśika, according to which एहि गये हुष्टि उद्योगवाचानमनत्त्रम || But according to Mahābhāṣya, the counter-example is एहि गये रण्य यश्वाति || Here यश्वाति loses its accent. The meaning of the above is रण्य यश्वाति हुष्टि अछ्य मग्ये, एहि || According to Kātyāyana, this would be an example also under the rule, the First Person not being necessary:— एहि गये रण्य यश्वाति ||

47. A finite verb retains its accent after जात, when this जात is not preceded by any other word.
Thus जात्रि मैथिलि, जात्रि अभ्यर्थिः, जात्रि कार्यमयि। Here ई is an anudatta by VI, I, 186, as it is an sārvadhatuaka affix coming after an anudatta; the word जात्रि is first acute, as it is a Nipāta. Why do we say ‘when not preceded by any other word?’ Observe:—कट जात्रि कृर्पणि। The word कट is end-acute as it is a को or noun.

क्रियालयं च चित्तरम् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानी ॥ क्रियालयं, च, चित्तरम।

बृन्ति:—कन्निर्लख्यं क्रियालयं, क्रियालयानन्यं तत्तवात्सर्वरत्नम् च गलयो, तत्तत्त्त्त्तर्षं चित्तरम:।

48. Also after a form of क्रिया, when the particle चित्त follows it, and when no other word precedes such form of क्रिया, the finite verb retains its accent.

The word क्रियालयं is a Genitive Tatpurusha meaning क्रियालयं। ॥ The word क्रियालयं means any form of क्रिया with its case-affixes, as well as the forms of क्रियालयं when it takes the affixes उत्तर and उत्तरम्। Thus कालिद् शुद्धिन्, कालिद्व भोजिन्ति, कालिद् अपरियं, केनेनिति कृतैष्टि, करमेन चित्त् वैशाषि, कलराजिन् कृतैष्टि, कलराजिन् शुद्धिन्।

Why do we say ‘followed by चित्त?’ Observe को चित्त्।

The word चित्त् of the last sūtra qualifies this also; therefore, the verb loses its accent here:—देवदर्श: किष्ठित प्रहृति।

आधोउताहो चानन्तरम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानी ॥ आधो, उताहो, च, अन्तरम।

बृन्ति:—दिनासानितम्योऽहुज्ञाते। आधोिन्तिति च। आधो उताहो हेतुताहो भाष्यायुग्मायथायथ उत्तमनाम विन्दन्ति नादुरसं भवति।

49. Also after an immediately preceding आधो and उताहो, when these follow after no other word, the verb retains its accent.

The prohibition of nighāta or want of accentuation is understood here, so also there is the anuvṛtti of च्छन्याः from the last.

Thus आधो or उताहो च्छन्यः उताहो पैण्डति। Why do we say ‘immediately preceding?’ In the following sūtra will be taught option, when these particles do not immediately precede the verb.

Why do we say “when no word precedes them”? Observe देवदर्श आधो or उताहो च्छन्यः।

श्रेये विभाषा ॥ ५० ॥ पदानी ॥ श्रेये, विभाषा।

बृन्ति:—आधो उताहो हेतुताहो यस्मि तिन्तमा नादुरसं श्रेये विभाषा भवति। कब् श्रेय: वहन्यान्वत्तादृ।

50. When the above-mentioned Particles आधो and उताहो do not immediately precede the verb, the verb may optionally retain its accent.
Thus अस्से वेष्ट: येष्वाति or प्रश्नत्व || उसाः वेष्ट: पैष्वाति or प्रश्नते || गत्वथलोता लर्णुनेवेष्टकार्कं साधान्यात् ॥ ५१ ॥ पद्धारिः || गत्वथ-होता, लक्ष्य, न, चेत, कारकका, साध-अन्यायं ॥

51. The First Future retains its accent in connection with the Imperative of a verb denoting ‘motion’ (‘to go, ‘to come’ to start’ &c), but only in that case, when the subject and object of both the verbs are not wholly different one from another.

Those verbs which have similar meaning with the word मन 'motion' are called गत्वथ्याः. The Imperative of the गत्वथ्य verbal roots, is called गत्वथ-लोक. In connection with such an Imperative of verbs of 'motion', the First Future does not become anudatta, if the kāraka is not all different. The sense is, with whatever case-relation (kāraka), whether the Subject or Object, the Imperative is employed, with the same kāraka, the First Future must be employed. In connection with the finite verb here, the word कारक denotes the Subject and Object only, and not any other kāraka, such as Instrument, &c.

Thus काराण देवदत्तेऽपि, इद्भव्येष्िः ‘Come O Devadatta to the village, thou shalt see it’ Here the subjects of both verbs भागच्छ and इद्भव्येष्िः are the same, and the objects of both verbs are also the same, namely मामेत and एनमृ || यह is a Preposition and is accented, भागच्छ and इद्भव्येष्िः both lose their accent by VIII. 1. 19 and 28, मामेत is first-acute being formed by the मामेत affix मां || So also भागच्छ देवदत्त मामेत, ओदने मेवेष्िः “Come, O Devadatta! to the village, you will eat rice”. Here the subjects of both verbs are the same, only the objects are different, and so the rule still applies. आहार देवदत्त शालीनेत, वन्दत्त एत्तात्म मेवेष्िः || Here the subjects are different, but the objects are the same, namely शालीनेत || Similarly वहन्तां देवदत्तेऽशालियः, वन्दत्तेः मेवेष्िः “Let the rice be carried by Devadatta, and let them be eaten by Yajñadatta.”

Why do we say ‘verbs of motion’? Observe पच देवदत्त ओहिनां, माक्षिस्य एनमृ || Why do we say ‘After the Imperative’? Observe भागच्छदेवदत्त मामेत, इद्भव्येष्िः || Here the Potential mood is used.

Why do we say the ‘First Future’? Observe भागच्छ देवदत्त मामेत, पद्धारिः एनमृ || Here the Present Tense is used.

Why do we say ‘if the kāraka is not wholly different’? Observe
Why do we use the word सर्वे ‘wholly’? Observe आगच्छ देववत्र भाम, खं च अर्ध च हृदयाय एनम्. Here also there is prohibition of nighāta and the First Future retains its accent, for the subject of the Future is not wholly different from that of the Imperative. For here the subject of the Imperative is the subject also of the Future, though only partly, in conjunction with another. Moreover, the object here in both is the same. Had सर्वे not been used in the sūtra, where the sentence would have remained the same, there the rule would have applied, and not where the sentences became different.

52. Also an Imperative, following after an Imperative of verbs of ‘motion’, retains its accent, when the subject or object of both the verbs, is not wholly different.

Thus आगच्छ देववत्र भामं दैवयं भावजं विद्युतिनं भामं शाशि, आगम्यतं देववत्र भामे दैवतं वद्यते. But not here पच देववत्रसङ्गे, सुद्वेसनम् because the first Imperative is not one of गतियं verb. Nor here, आगच्छेदेववत्र भामं पद्येनम् because the first verb is not Imperative but Potential.

If the subject and object of both Imperatives are wholly different, the rule will not apply. Thus आगच्छ देववत्र भामे, पद्यतु रामे दैवतत्.

By the force of the anuvṛtti of सर्वे the rule will apply to the following: आगच्छ देववत्र भामे, खं खामे च पद्याय.

The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, by which the ‘option’ is with regard to सर्वे and not सर्वे.

53. An Imperative preceded by a Preposition, and not in the First Person, following after an Imperative of verbs of ‘motion’, may optionally retain its accent, when the Kāraka is not wholly different.

The whole of the preceding sūtra is understood here. This is a Prāpta-vibhāṣā. Thus आगच्छ देववत्र भामं प्रविद् or प्रविद्. When the verb is accented, the upasarga loses its accent by VIII. 1. 71.
Why do we say सापस्म ‘joined with a Preposition’? When there is no Preposition, there is no *option* allowed, and the last rule will apply. As आमः देवस्तः भारतम्वस्तः।

Why do we say अम्—उसम् ‘not a First Person’? Observe आमः शायामः देवस्तः, भारतम्वस्तः।

हन्त च || ५४ || पद्यानि || हन्त, च, ||

बृत्ति: || पूर्वं सर्वनासुः से मध्यमां वार्ताख्यं नृत्येन दुर्योगं लेखनं सापस्मभारतम्वस्तः विभाषितं नाधुरांम् भवति।

54. An Imperative, with a Preposition preceding it, may optionally retain its accent, in connection with हन्त, but not the First Person.

With the exception of गत्वं लोकः &c, the whole of the preceding sūtra is understood here.

Thus हन्तः जिवः or प्रविष्टः, हन्तः याधिः or समाधिः। But no option is allowed here हन्तः कुद्दः, as it is not preceded by a preposition. Here rule VIII. 1. 30, makes the accent compulsory after हन्तः। So also हन्तः प्रहयं जाविहः, हन्तः प्रहयं जाविहः, where the 1st Person is used, the verb retains its accent compulsorily by VIII. 1. 30.

The word प्रहयं जाविहः is Imperative First Person, Dual of the root शुच्य in Atmane pada (I. 3. 66). The Personal ending बैः is anudatta by VI. 1. 186, because the verb is anudatta-it. The vikarana न therefore retains its accent.

आमः एकान्तरमान्त्रितमान्तरितम् अन्तरितम् || ५५ || पद्यानि || आमः, एक-अन्तरम्, आम- शिरस्तम्, अन्तरितम्।

बृत्ति: || आमः उत्तराकर्मोऽकान्तरमान्त्रितमान्तरितमिके नाधुरांम् भवति।

55. After आमः, but separated from it by not more than one word, the Vocative retains its accent, when the person addressed is not near.

Thus आमः पचारी देववत्सः || आमः श्री देववत्सः। The *nighata* being hereby prohibited, the vocative gets accent on the first syllable by VI. 1. 198. In the second example, though श्री itself is a Vocative, it is not considered to be non-existent by VIII. 1. 72, but becomes effective by virtue of VIII. 1. 73, as it is in apposition with the Vocative that follows.

Why do we say आमः? Observe श्रीक पचारी देववत्सः। Here it is anudatta by VIII. 1. 19.

Why do we say एकान्तरम् ‘separated only by one word’? Observe आमः पचारी देववत्सः।

Why do we say ‘the Vocative’? See आमः पचारी देववत्सः।
Why do we say अनतिके ‘not near?’ See आम, पच्छि हेदस्त, II. Here some hold, that अनतिक is equivalent to दूर ‘far off.’ Therefore, according to them, the prohibition applies to एकःपुत्रि: as well as to नियाति: II. Had it been merely a prohibition of निष्ठाता, then the सूत्रा would become redundant, as the निष्ठाता is precluded by the rule of eka-śruti (I. 2. 33). Thus arguing, they hold that eka-śruti being असिद्धा, the pluta-उदात्ता of VIII. 2. 84, is not prohibited: and so the last vowel is prolated.

Others say that the word अनतिक means ‘that which is not far off (दूर) nor very near’. It does not mean दूर only. For had it meant दूर, the author could have used the word दूर in the sūtra. Therefore the rule of eka-śruti (I. 2. 33), has no scope here at all, for it applies to दूर vocatives. Not being दूर, the plutodatta also should not be exhibited in the illustration; for the rule VIII. 2. 84, applies also to दूर Vocatives.

In the example आम भौ हेदस्त, the word आम being a निष्ठाता is first acute; the word भौ is a shortened form of भवत् (VIII.3.1. Vārt.), and it is accentless by VIII. 1. 19, being a Vocative case preceded by another word. हेदस्त would also have become accentless by the same rule, this sūtra prohibits it. The नियाति being thus prohibited by this sūtra, two rules make themselves manifest now for application. The one is of एकःपुत्रि रिखद्विः (I. 2. 33) causing एकःपुत्रि or monotonity; the other causing गुह्तेश्वस्य नयस्य by दूरगुह्तेश्व च (VIII. 2. 84). The opinions referred to above, relate to this doubt.

यत्तुपरं चन्द्रिति ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यत, हि, तु, परम्, चन्द्रिति ॥
. हुषि: ॥ आमक्षत्रमिवैलस्तस्ततित्वस्यादतुसि ॥ तितिति चर्चस्त ॥ बलतः हिंसरं तुपरं च, तितमां चन्द्रिति नानुवेदवर्ति भाषिति ॥

56. A finite verb followed by तु or हि or त retains its accent in the Chhandas.

The anuvṛtti of आमक्षत्रि should not be taken in this sūtra, but that of तिति॥ Thus with तुपरं we have:—गावं गोविष्णुजान गदायितः। The verb उद्वृज्जः is the Imperfect (दूर) 2nd person singular of दूर of Tadbhūti class. With हि we have, हन्तिस्य वा नुस्सिन्ति हि (Rig Ved. I. 2. 4). The verb उद्वानति is the Present (लघु) Plural of दूर of Adādi class. The sampasarana takes place because it belongs to दूर शास्त्रि class. With तु we have, आमक्षत्रमिव तु ते॥ By the previous sūtra VIII. 1. 30 a verb in connection with तु would have retained its accent, so also in connection with हि by the sūtra VIII. 1. 34, and in connection with तु by VIII. 1. 39: the present sūtra is, therefore, a niyama rule. The verb retains its accent when these three Particles only follow and not any other. If any other Particle follows, the verb need not retain its accent. Thus आदे स्व रोहिविधि॥

Here रोहिन्ति is the 1st Person Dual of the Imperative of दूर (लघु+शृष्ट+तुसू=रोह+...
The verb एहि is the 2nd Person Singular of the Imperative of the root द्यु, preceded by the Particle धातु. Here in रोहत्त एहि (=रोहाव नाइहि), the verb रोहत्त is followed by the Particle धातु, and does not retain its accent. But for this rule, it would have retained its accent. Because एहि is a भागयते लेद्र (VIII. 1. 51), रोहत्त is another लेद्र in connection with it, and therefore, by VIII. 1. 52 it would have retained its accent. But now it loses its accent because it is a तिधिक following after a non तिधिक word द्यु: The visarga of द्यु is elided before र by VIII. 3. 14, then the preceding र is lengthened and we have द्यु (VI. 3. 111). Another reading is श्चो रोहावे एहि: It is a Vedic anomaly, the visarga is changed to द्यु.

57. A finite verb retains its accent, when it is not preceded by a Gati Particle (I. 4. 60 &c), and when it is followed by धातु, विच्छ, द्यु, गोवेस्त्रायात्रि, ताधित, आभृत्तिदेशु, आयते: द्युति: धातु गोवेस्त्रायात्रि ताधित आभृत्तिदेशु द्युति: परः भग्निहस्ते तिहुते नाद्वाशांते महति:।

With a Taddhita affix, द्युति: धातु कल्पन, द्युति: पति: उपस्यः, द्युति: पति: प्रवचनम् &c. The Gotrādi words, here also, denote censure and contempt.

Thus द्युति: धातु च; द्युति: धातु च; द्युति: पति: धातु। The list of Gotrādi words is given under sutra VIII. 1. 27. Thus द्युति: पति: गोवेस्त्रायात्रि, द्युति: धातु कल्पन, द्युति: पति: प्रवचनम् &c. The Gotrādi words, here also, denote censure and contempt.

The examples should be given with anudätta Taddhita affixes, like उपस्यः, कल्पन (V. 3. 66 and 67). Any other Taddhita affix added to the verb would cause the verb to lose its accent, the Taddhita accent overpowers the verb accent: as धातुस्यः द्यु (V. 3. 67).

With a doubled verb, as; द्युति: धातु पति:। Why do we say ‘when not preceded by a Participle called Gati’? Observe द्युति: पति: धातु च। The word गाति in this sūtra as well as in सगातिः तिधिः (VIII. 1. 68) should be taken in its restricted sense, namely upasargas treated as Gati, and not the extended definition of Gati as given in I. 4. 61. Therefore the verb retains its accent here: द्युति: पति: धातु, द्युति: पति: प्रवचनम्, द्युति: पति: धातु, द्युति: पति: प्रवचनम्।

According to others, throughout this Book Eighth, the word Gati means, the Upasarga Gati.

58. A finite verb, not preceded by a gati, retains its accent before the Particles च (च, द्यु, धातु and पति VIII.1. 24).
65. Also in connection with एक and अन्य, optionally in the Chhandas, the first verb retains its accent, when these words have the same meaning ('the one—the other').

Thus प्रभामका ज्ञानिति (or ज्ञानिति), उद्धृतमार्गिति || सयोरन्य: विषयं व्याक्तिः (or व्यास्ति), वाप्रश्नमो अभियासकर्ति (Rig Veda I. 164. 20, Mundaka Upanishad III. 1).

Why do we say समयराम् 'having the same meaning'? See एको देवायु-पालितम्. Here एक is a Numerical and has not the sense of अन्य 'the one another'. The word समय is used, in fact, to restrict the meaning of एक, for it has various meanings: while there is no ambiguity about the word अन्य एकोपायें प्रथमे च प्रयोगे केवलम् तथा। साधरणे समानैन्द्रिये संख्याया च प्रयुक्ते ||

यद्युप्तासिद्धम् || पदानि || यत्, इत्यादि, निम्यम् ||

वनितति: || प्रभाव ज्ञानिति विषयं, विनितविविभेष इत्यादि ||

वासिकम् || विकासामे वैति व्यक्तम् ||

66. In connection with यदृ in all its forms, the verb retains its accent always.

The anuvratti of प्रभायम् and ज्ञानिति ceases. The prohibition of निघात, which commenced with न लट्ट (VIII. 1. 29) is present here also. In what ever sentence the word यदृ occurs, that is called यदुःचित्ते. The word यदृ denotes here the form of यदृ in all its declensions with case affixes. According to Kāśikā, न्द्र and उत्तु are not included, according to Patanjali they should be included. See also the explanation of किर्दृश्य in VIII. I. 48.

Thus श्री सुध्रेन्द्र, श्री नीतिष्ठति, श्री सुध्रेन्द्र, श्री भस्मि, श्री कामास्त्र ब्रह्मः: (Rig Veda X. 121. 10) यवश्रय वायुशैलि (T. S. V. 5. 1. 1.) यद्र वात्: पाश्चिते. For the form यद्र्क्त, see VI. 3. 92. Though the sūtra is in the Ablative (यद्युप्रांतानि) and therefore requires that the verb should im-mediately follow it, yet in यद्र्क्त वायुः विति, the intervention of वायु: does not prevent the operation of this rule, according to the opinion of Patanjali.

वार्ता:—Optionally when the sense is that of ‘wheresoever’ or ‘whenever’. The word याप्यास्त्रि means वाप्य प्रवृत्त ‘as one wishes’, without regard of time or space. The nighāta is prohibited here also. As यदृ वत् चन यज्ञे तद् देवदजन एव च चके.||

पूज्याद्यूःविषमधूग्रवाचक्य: | पदानि || पूज्याद्यूः, पूज्याद्यूः, अज्ञ-|
67. After a word denoting praise belonging to कायावर्णि class, the word whose praise is denoted, becomes anudātta.

This refers to compounds, the first members of which are praise-denoting words. The word कायाविद्वन्न, is added to the sūtra from a Vārtika.


Vārt.—The final म should be elided in forming these words. The word दास्य्य is an advverb, and therefore in the accusative case, like मांग गत: ॥ In such a case, there can be no compounding; hence the elision of म is taught. This is the opinion of Vārtika—कार कायायणयां. According to Kāśikā, there is compounding under मुख व्यस्तकादि rule, and so म is elided by the general rule of samāsa. This becoming अतुच्छ takes place in the compound, and after composition. In fact, it is an exception to the general rule by which a compound is finally acute ( VI. 1. 223 ) But there is no elision in शास्त्रयापक: &c. and there is no loss of accent also of the second word. By the Vārtika ‘मोचप’, this further fact is also denoted, where the case-affix is not employed and so the म is not heard, there the second member becomes anudātta. When there is no compounding, there is no elision of म as शास्त्रयावनि, शास्त्रयापकः ॥

Though the word प्रज्ञा would have implied its correlative term ज्ञात, the specific mention of ज्ञात in the aphorism indicates, that the word denoting प्रज्ञा should follow immediately after the word denoting प्रज्ञा ॥ In fact, this peculiar construction of the sūtra, is a jñāpaka of the existence of the following rule:—हु ब्रह्मणे प्रज्ञानि निरूपोदि नामात्मायाक्रमेऽद्व “In this subdivision or context, though a word may be exhibited in the Ablative case, it does not follow that there should be consecutiveness between the Ablative and the word indicated by it”. This has been illustrated in the previous rule of यद्वचानं निरूप, in explaining forms like यद्वचानं निरूपिते &c.

Though the anuvṛtti of ‘anudātta’ was current, the express employment of this term in the sūtra indicates that the prohibition (of anudātta) which also was current, now ceases.

On this subject, the following extract from the Commentary on Siddhānta-Kaumudi, will give the view of later Grammarians:—The words कादि &c, are all synonyms of अतुच्छ, meaning wonderf ul, prodigious: and are words denoting praise. This is an aphorism appertaining to samāsa subject. In the examples the compounding takes place under the rule of Mayurasvansakādi.
Vārtt.—The elision of मू should be mentioned. दास्यम् + मष्ठयापके, in making the compound of these two words, the elision of the case affix, in this case मू, is natural. The vārtika, therefore, teaches nothing new, but only repeats this general rule in a particular form. This is the opinion of the authors of Kāśikā. But according to Kayyata, the commentator on the Great Bhāshya, this aphorism is not a samāsa rule: and the words दास्यम् &c, are adverbs not admitting of samāsa; and so the rule applies to these words when they are not compounded. There is no authority for holding these to be compounds under the Mayuravyansakādī class. Haradatta also says, had this been intended to be a samāsa rule, the word समाले would have been used in the sūtra and this is valid. There is no adhikāra of samāsa here, that could have caused samāsa and in this view, the vārtika मलोपच also becomes effective: had it been a samāsa rule, the vārtika would have been redundant.

1 काः, 2 वर्ण, 3 समालातुर, 4 वेंता, 5 समालातुर, 6 अभुतुता, 7 अभुत, 8 अभुत, 9 अभुत, 10 अभुत, 11 बुद्ध, 12 बें, 13 हुक्त, 14 पुर, 15 महा, 16 भव, 17 कष्णण

समालिपि तिन्द् || || पदान्ति || सार, गति, अपि, तिन्द् ||

वृन्: || समालिपिंतिन्द्वुात्यस्तः कार्यलघ्न: परं प्रौढिततिन्द्वुात्यस्तः भवति ||

68. (After such words denoting praise) the finite verb (which is praised) becomes anudattta, even along with the Gati, if any, that may precede it.

Whether a finite verb is compounded with a gati or stands single, both the compound and the simple verb lose their accent, when it is qualified by the adverbs कां &c. Thus वह कां प्रवत्तिः, यद्य कां प्रवत्तिः. By VIII. 1. 28, the finite verb would have lost its accent after the word कां, but this loss was prohibited by VIII. 1. 30 in connection with तत्; the present sūtra re-ordinates the loss, by setting aside the prohibition of VIII. 1. 30.

The word समालि ‘along with its Gati’, indicates that the Gati even loses its accent. The word Gati here is restricted to Upasargas. Therefore not here तत् कां कुम्भा करोति, यद्य कां कुम्भा करोति ||

The word तिन्द् used in the sūtra to indicate that the words qualified by कां &c in the preceding sūtra, were non तिन्द् words—i. e. were substantives. The rule of मलोपच of that sūtra, therefore, does not apply here.

कुसने च सुप्रायो बादी || 69 || पदान्ति || कुसने, च, सुपि, अगणथारि ||

वृन्: || पवालिन्तिन्द्वुात्यस्तः समालिपिंतिन्द्वुात्यस्तः परतः समालिपि तिन्द्वुात्यस्तः भवति ||

वार्त्तः || कियाकुसने इसि वन्नन्यम् || वार्त्तः || पूतिसि चादुबन्यो महतीति वन्नन्यम् ||

वार || विमालिन्ति पापि बद्धत्मदुात्यस्तः महतीति वन्नन्यम् ||

Kārikā सुपि कुसने कियाया मलोप हेतुत्तिन्द्रितिसौदकार्यः ||

पूतिसि चादुबन्यो विमालिन्ति पापि बद्धत्म ||

69. A finite verb, along with its preceding Gati, if any, becomes anudattta, when a Noun, denoting the fault of the action, follows, with the exception of गात्र &c.
The anuvṛtti of पञ्चति (VII. 1. 17) ceases. But the anuvṛtti of the last sūtra is current. Thus पञ्चति पूर्वि, पञ्चति पूर्वि, पञ्चति मिथ्या, पञ्चति मिथ्या II
Why do we say कुल्लती ‘denoting the fault of the action’? See पञ्चति शोभनम् II

Why do we say धनि ‘a noun’? Observe धनि बंदनाति II
Why do we say with the exception of गान्ध &c. See धनि गाण्धः, धनि हवम्, पञ्चति पञ्चनम् II

Vārt: It should be mentioned that the ‘fault’ mentioned in the sūtra, must be the fault relating to the mode of doing the action, denoted by the verb. The rule will not apply, if the कुल्लती refers to the agent and not to the action. Thus धनि पुतिर्देवदत्त: पञ्चति पूर्वि: II

Vārt: It should be stated that पूर्वि has an indicative य II. The effect of this is that the word पूर्वि is finally acute, because of the indicative य II. The word पूर्वि is not a कुल्लती formed word, because it is not feminine, as we find it in sentences like पुरुषर्वम्, nor is it a word formed by तिर्था affix, because this is not a संस्कृत word; therefore, it is a word without a derivation. Therefore by पञ्चति in स्वर्ग (Phit I. 1) it will be end-acute. The vārtika, therefore, indicates that when पूर्वि causes the loss of accent of the verb, then it is end-acute, but in other cases it is acute on the beginning. According to Padamanjari, पूर्वि is derived from पू by adding the Uṇādi affix लित् diversely (Un IV. 180), and is first acute.

Vārt: A finite verb in the plural number, loses its accent optionally: when it loses its accent, then पूर्वि is end-acute. Thus पञ्चति पूर्वि: II, or पञ्चति पूर्वि: पञ्चति पूर्वि: or पञ्चति पूर्वि: II

Kārikā. The following noun denoting fault must refer to the action. The elision of य is intended only in the case of non-verbs, because it is so said by those of old. The word पूर्वि has an indicative य, but it is optionally so when the verb is plural. The elision of य mentioned above refers to the elision of य in daśagnam-अध्यायकः = daśagnāyak: II. The words उक्तार्थम् mean भाषार्थपरस्परायति-प्रयोजनमेतवर्त्य: II

गतिगतों ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि II गति: गति: गति: ॥

गुंति: II गतिगतों परशो दुहोतो भवति ॥

70. A Gati becomes unaccented, when followed by another Gati.

Thus यंगुंतिदश, सुधर्मन्यति, अथिन्यथे हरति II. Why do we say गति: “a Gati becomes &c”? Observe देवदश: पञ्चति II. Here देवदश is a Prātipadika and does not lose its accent. Why do we say ‘when followed by a Gati’? Observe भाष यमेत्वदि हरति याः प्राप्त: मद्य मेतमि: II. Here याः is a Gati to the verb याहि, the complete verb is भायाहि II. But as भाष is not followed by a Gati, but by a Prātipadika मद्य, it retains its accent. Had the word गति not been used in the sūtra, this भाष would have lost its accent, because the rule would have been too wide, without any restriction of what followed it.
71. A Gati becomes anudatta, when followed by an accented finite verb.

The word गति: is understood here. Thus यदि प्र पञ्चम, यदि द्विरूपति।

Why have we used the word तितिक्षौ in the sūtra? In order to restrict the scope of the word उदात्तत्; so that a Gati would not become accentless before every udātta word, but only before udātta verbs. Thus आ does not become anudātta before मन्द्र: in आ मन्द्र रिझर्न हरिण्य बाह्य। If it be said that the word गति is a particular name which the Particles get before verb only, and therefore गति would always refer to its correlative term verb, and not to noun, like as the word father refers to its correlative term son and not nephew: and that, therefore, उदात्तत् must refer to the verb like यथिः and not to a noun like मन्द्र:; then also we say that the employment of the term तितिक्षू is necessary, in order to indicate that the verb must be a finite verb, and not a verbal root. So that though a verbal root be udātta, yet if in its conjugated form (तिद्वन्) it is not udātta, the गति will not lose its accent. Thus in यदि प्र करौति, the root कृ is anudātta, but the तिद्वन मौर्यति is udātta, hence the rule will apply here: which would not have been the case had उदात्तत् not been qualified by तिद्वन्। For the maxim is द्विरूपक्षायः प्रवद्यन्तं थपां तं प्रतिः प्रवद्यन्तां संभवत:। Therefore in a तिद्वन, the designation of गति is with regard to भास्तु or verbal root. Obj: If तितिक्षू is used for this purpose, then the rule will not apply to an आय ending forms, like प्र पञ्चमित्रयम and प्रज्ञातितामय: for these are not तिद्वन; but as a matter of fact, we find that प्र loses its accent, in these forms also. How is this explained? Ans. Here there are two views: some compound the Gati प्र with the completed भास्तु form पञ्चमित्रयम। According to them, this प्र would get the accent, on the rule that an Indeclinable first member retains its accent (VI. 2. 2); so that even if the word तितिक्षू was not used in the sūtra, the form पञ्चमित्रयम being the second member of a compound, became anudātta; and so प्र being followed by an anudātta never loses its accent. According to them, therefore, the Gati never loses its accent in पञ्चमित्रयम &c. Others compound the word ending in तय (पञ्चमित्रय) with the Gati, and having formed पञ्चमित्रय, then add the affix आय। According to this view, the आय accent debars all other accents, on the maxim, ‘the accent of the last prevails’ (तितिक्षू), and so प्र is anudātta, not by this rule, but by आय अवलोकनें परमेकस्य तय। According to them the word is पञ्चमित्रयम। According to both of these views, this sūtra is not necessary for the purposes of पञ्चमित्रयम &c. But there is a third view which makes this sūtra necessary even for this purpose. There is this maxim: गतिकाराणपञ्चमित्रयम कृष्ण: सह समालंवचन प्रकृ भूजयते: “It should be
stated that Gatis, Kārakas and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with Krit-affixes, before a case-termination has been added to the latter”. This maxim itself has been explained in two different ways, one saying that the compounding takes place with Krit-formed words only before the addition of case-affixes; but with words formed by Taddhita affixes, the compounding does not take place before a case affix has been added. The other view makes no such difference between Krit-formed and non-Krit formed words. This latter view is not necessary for our purposes. According to the first view, the Gati can never be compounded with पतिताः as it is not a सुहि. So both म and पतिताः, having different accents, the present sūtra became necessary to cause the loss of accent of म.

Why have we used the word उदास्वाति? See म पतिति, म करति. Here the verb loses its accent by VIII. 1. 28, hence the Gati retains its accent.

आमर्नित्रं वृंवमविधमानवत् || 72 || पराति || आमर्नित्रम, पवेम, अविधमानवत् ||

वर्तित: || आमर्नित्रं वृंवमविधमानवति, तत्समस्य स्तन्त्र तत्र भवति. ||

72. A preceding Vocative is considered as non-existent, (for the purposes of the accent of the following word, and the enclitic forms of तुष्यद्र and अस्मद्).

Such a Vocative is treated as if not at all existing, it is simply ignored. The operation which its presence otherwise would have caused does not take place, and that operation takes place which would have taken place had it not existed. What are the particular purposes served by considering it as non-existent? They are (1) the absence of the accent-less-ness of the subsequent vocative, which the first, taken as a प, would have caused under VIII. 1. 19. As दैवस्ति दैवत्स्ति! Here the first Vocative दैवत्स्ति does not cause the second Vocative to lose its accent, but it remains first acute by VI. 1. 198. (2) The accent less-ness of the verb required by VIII. 1. 28 is prevented: as, दैवत्स्ति पञ्चालिः || (3) The substitution of the shorter forms of तुष्यद्र and अस्मद्, required by VIII. 1. 20-23 is prevented, as दैवत्स्ति तत्र (not मे) मान: स्वम, दैवत्स्ति मन (not मे) मान: स्वम. || (4) The application of VIII. 1. 37 takes place, in spite of the intervention of the Vocative between the Particle and the verb; such intervention is not considered as taking away anything from the immediateness (अमन्नति) of the Particle from the verb: as, सांवाद वेदवस्ति पञ्चालिः || (5) For the purposes of VIII. 1. 47, though a Vocative may precede जात, the latter is still considered as अविधमानवत् and VIII. 1. 47 applies, as दैवत्स्ति जातु वन्धुः पञ्चालिः || (6) So also in the case of VIII. 1. 49, as आहं वेदवस्ति पञ्चालिः, उत्ताहं वेदवस्ति पञ्चालिः, no option is allowed here by VIII. 1. 50.
Why do we use the word ‘as if’ or चतुर्य in the sūtra, instead of saying ‘altogether’? In other words, why do we say “it is considered as if non-existent”, instead of saying “it is considered altogether non-existent”? The vocative does produce its own particular effect. Thus in भाष्य मेष वेष्स्स्स्स्स! the vocative मेष is considered as one word (एकाल्प्तम्) for the purposes of separating भाष्य from the vocative वेष्स्स्स्स्स्स under VIII. 1. 55. This is the opinion of Patanjali; but the opinion of the author of Kāśīkā is that मेष would have been considered as अविद्यामानवत्त but for VIII. 1. 73.

Why do we say ‘a Vocative’? Observe वेष्स्स्स्स्स्स्स: पञ्चित। Why do we say पञ्च with regard to the subsequent word? The vocative itself will not be considered as non-existent, for the application of rules that would apply to vocative as such. Thus in वेष्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्ः
and the vocative is considered as non-existent, for the purposes of the operations to be performed on such subsequent term, whether such operation be caused by the vocative itself, or by any other cause; but it is not to be considered non-existent for the purposes of operations to be performed upon itself. Therefore in वेष्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्ः
Devadatta does get the accent of the vocative. In इस े गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गोँ गो

73. A perceding vocative, when it conveys a general idea, is not to be considered as if non-existent, for the purposes of the subsequent Vocative, which stands in apposition with the former.

This sūtra prevents the operation of the last sūtra in the particular case when the two Vocatives are in apposition, and the second qualifies the first. Thus इने गोँ गोँ

Why do we say ‘the vocative subsequent’? Observe वेष्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्ः
Why do we say ‘standing in apposition or मृणालिकीकणे’? Observe वेष्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्ः and is not in apposition with वेष्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्स्ः, and hence it retains its accent.
Why do we say सामान्यवचनम् 'which is a generic word'? The rule will not apply when the Vocatives are synonyms. Thus भान्येदेवि सरस्वति हृदेव काव्ये बिशेषे एवानि ते भान्येद्व नामानि || All these Vocatives are synonyms of Saraswati, and hence all retain their accent of the Vocative (VI. 1. 193). According to Padamanjari the reading given in Tatttariya Br. is:— हृदेव ह्रेदेव विशेषे सरस्वति बिशेषे ब्रह्मसि माहि विशेषे, एवानि ते भान्येद्व नामानि || सामान्यवचनम् means 'a generic term'. When the first is a generic term, and the second is a specific term, (विशेष वचन) qualifying the first, and both are in the singular number, there the present rule will apply.

विभागितं विशेषवचने बहुवचनम् || ७४ || पदानि || विभागितं, विशेषवचने, बहुवचनम् ||

वृत्ति: पूर्वांगविधिमानस्य मतिमित्रे विशेषे वचने विशेषवचने सामान्यवचनम् भान्येद्वानि परसः पूर्वांगमित्रस्य बहुवचनानि विभागितानि विकारणम् बहुवचनम् ||

74. When the preceding Vocative is in the Plural number, it is optionally considered as non-existent, if the subsequent Vocative, in apposition with it, is a specific term.

This ordains option, where the last सूत्रa would have made the consideration of the first vocative as existent compulsory. Thus ह्रेदाया: ह्रेदाया: or द्वया ह्रेदाया: || ह्रेदाया: ह्रेदायार्या: or ह्रेदाया ह्रेदायार्या: ||

The anuvṛtti of सामान्यवचनम् is understood here; the second vocative, therefore, must be a विशेषवचन, as being the correlative of the former: where is then the necessity of employing the word विशेषवचने in the सूत्रa? This word is used in the aphorism for the sake of precision only.

Why do we say ‘in the plural number?’ Observe भान्येद्व जातिल्यं || No option is allowed here, and the preceding vocative is always considered as existent and so rule VIII. 1. 73 applies.

The सूत्रa 73 and 74 as enunciated by Pāṇini are:— 73. नामानि समानार्थिकः; 74. सामान्यवचने विभागितं विशेषवचने (i.e. 73. The preceding Vocative is not considered as non-existent, if the subsequent word is a Vocative in apposition with it. 74. Optionally so, if the preceding vocative is a general term and the subsequent vocative is a particular term). Patanjali made the amendment by adding सामान्यवचने to 73 also, and the author of Kāśikā has added बहुवचनम् to 74 from the commentary of Patanjali and has omitted सामान्यवचनम् from it: though he reads its anuvṛtī.
BOOK EIGHTH.

Chapter Second.

 пу́रव्यासिध्यम || १ || पदाति || पूव्यक्ष, अ-सिद्धम ||

1. Whatever will be taught hereafter, upto the end of the work, is to be considered as not taken effect, in relation to the application of a preceding rule.

This is an Adhikāra or governing rule, and extends upto the end of the Book. Whatever we shall teach hereafter is to be understood as non-existent, with regard to the preceding rule. With regard to whatever has been taught in the preceding Seven Books and a quarter, the rules contained in these three last chapters are considered as asiddha. And further, in these three chapters, a subsequent rule is, as if it had not taken effect, so far as any preceding rule is concerned. The word असिद्धम् = असिद्धवव्रति, सिद्धकाव्य न कारति. ||

The rule is "as if non-effective, does not produce the operation of a siddha or effective rule". This rule of non-effectiveness is for the sake of prohibiting the operation of an ādeśa rule, and establishing the operation of an utsarga or general rule. Thus द्रस्ता वद्रता; ह्र वद्रता; ह्र वानव; यस्य भवतः ||

In all these, the elision of ह्र and ह्र by VIII. 3. 19, being considered as not to have taken effect, there is no further sandhi, and ह्र + ह्र does not give rise to गुष्प, nor ह्र + ह्र = क्रा ||

In fact, for the purposes of the application of ब्राह्मण: rule of VI. 1. 87, or the द्रश्ये rule of VI. 1. 101, the rule VIII. 3. 19 is considered as not to have taken effect at all.

Similarly अहुरै, अहुपत्त, अहुज्ञात्र from अह्र || Thus अह्र + ह्र = अह्र + ह्र || (VII. 2. 102 अ भिन्नत्व which again merges in the
preceding भ VI. 1. 97) = भम + क्र (VIII. 2. 80, क्र being substituted for भ, and भ for त्र of भत्र). Now the substitution of क्र for भत्र takes place only after Pronouns ending in भ, but भम is a pronoun ending in भ, so this क्र (VII. 1. 14) should not take place. The present sūtra helps us out of this difficulty, and the change of भ into भ by VIII. 2. 80 is considered asidhā for the purposes of the application of VII. 1. 14.

शृङ्खला शृङ्खलहयस्य, क्षामितात्वज्ञकारणवेगाः।
मस्त्वेववे मस्त्वेव, शृङ्खलमालिनिदानसम्॥।

The forms शृङ्खला, शृङ्खलहयस्य, क्षामितात्वज्ञकारणवेगाः, क्षामितात्वज्ञकारणवेगाः, and शृङ्खलमालिनिदानसम् illustrate this rule excellently.

(1) शृङ्खला। To the root श्रृङ्खला we add the Nishṭhā त, as श्रृङ्खला + त = श्रृङ्खलात् (त changed to त by VIII. 2. 51) = श्रृङ्खला। Add the feminine affix द्वारा and we have शृङ्खला। Add to this the affix क्र (V. 3, 70, 73), as शृङ्खला + क्र = शृङ्खलक्र, the feminine of which with शष्य will be शृङ्खलक्र (the shortening taking place by VII. 4. 13). Now त is changed to त by VII. 3. 44 and we have शृङ्खलक्र। Now rule VII. 3. 46 makes this त substitution optional, when a क्र precedes the त, as is the case here; and that rule would require the alternative form शृङ्खलक्र। But there is no such alternative form, because the क्र of शृङ्खला was the substitute of त by VIII. 2. 51, which is considered as asidhā for the purposes of the application of VII. 3. 46.

(2) शृङ्खलहयस्य। Here rule VI. 3. 37 would have required the form to be शृङ्खलहयस्य like मर्दिकालप्ता; there being no puṇ-vaṭ-bhāva when there is a penultimate क। But the क in शृङ्खला being the result of VIII. 2. 51 is considered as asidhā for the purposes of VI. 3. 37.

(3) क्षामितात्वज्ञ। This word may be considered to have been formed by adding the affix मत्र to the Patronymic word क्षामितात्वज्ञ; or to the noun क्षामितात्वज्ञ [क्षामितात्वज्ञम्-क्षामितात्वज्ञम्, or क्षामितात्वज्ञस्त्रिस्त। The word क्षामितात्वज्ञ is formed by adding the Nishṭhā त to the root क्ष, as क्ष + त = क्षता। (VI. 1. 45) = क्षामितात्प्रथम (the त being changed to त by VIII. 2. 53). Now this त is considered as non-effectual for the purposes of application of VIII. 2. 9, which requires the change of त of मत्र to त, when मत्र is added to a word having a penultimate त, as in क्षामितात्प्रथम। Therefore we have क्षामितात्प्रथम and not क्षामितात्वज्ञ।

(4) क्षामितात्प्रथम। This is the Aorist third person singular of the Derivative root क्षामि from the Past-Participle of क्षामि। Thus क्षामि + त = क्षामितात्प्रथम (VI. 1. 15). Add to it तित्र in the sense of तमासाद्वत्ता (III. 1. 26) and then form its तित्र (तित्रतित्रतित्रतित्रतित्रतित्र)। The तित्र is formed by adding तित्र (III. 1. 48), before which the stem is reduplicated (VI. 1. 11). In reduplicating, all the rules that went before in forming तित्र are considered asidhā; viz. the rule by which त was changed to त (as तित्र + त = तित्र + त = तित्र + त VIII. 1. 31), the rule by which त was changed to त (तित्र + त = तित्र + त VIII. 1. 31).
40), the rule by which ध was changed to ह (VIII. 4. 41), and the rule by which the first ध was elided (VIII. 3. 13 as रध + ह = र + ह = रह VI. 3. 111). The elision of हिर before न विर being considered sthānīvat, we reduplicate हत; as रहहृद + पस + ह = रहहृद (VII. 4. 60) = जइहृद (VII. 4. 62) = जइहृद (VIII. 4. 54). There is no ध added by VII. 4. 79, because of the prohibition of अनस्हेपे of VII. 4. 93. With the augment, it becomes वृजहृद।। The form वृजहृद is from वृह ending in the affix निर्देश।।

(5) सुविलिपि।। This is formed by adding मतपु to the word वुलिपि, which is formed by विक (उध लिखि) Here also the म of मतपु is not changed into ध by VIII. 2. 10; because the change of ध to ह (VIII. 1. 3), and again of ह to ध are considered asidha.

The rules of interpretation, however, contained in the previous part will apply to this part also; because such rules cannot be considered 'prior' or पुरुष; for they become operative then only when occasion requires to apply them. The maxim which governs such rules is कृष्णकालं हि संज्ञा परिभाषाः।। The rules, therefore, which are exhibited here in the sixth case such as VIII. 2. 23, or the seventh case, as VIII. 2. 26, or the fifth case, as VIII. 2. 27, should be interpreted in accordance with the sūtras पदि स्थाने वेषा, तस्मातस्त्व निर्देशे दूसरेष्य, सत्मातिष्ठि द्वितरेष्य।।

But with regard to the paribhāṣā विन्दुविशेष परे कार्यम्, the above will not hold good. For, by the very fact, that a subsequent rule in these chapters, is held to be asidha, with regard to the prior, there cannot arise any conflict of two rules of equal force with regard to them. And it is only where there is such a conflict, that the above rule of interpretation applies. This being so, in विन्दुविशेष, अवशोषित, formed by विन्दु (III. 1. 124) the guṇa ordained by VII. 3. 86 is not debarrred by the दृष्टि rule VIII.2. 77, because there is no conflict between guṇa rule VII. 3. 86 and the dirgha-rule VIII. 2. 77, for the latter is simply non-existent with regard to the former.

But though the विन्दुविशेष rule does not apply in these chapters; yet an apavāda rule here even, does over-ride an utṣarga rule, for otherwise, the enunciation of an apavāda rule would be useless. The apavāda rule is therefore, not considered asidha. Thus the utṣarga rule दोष (VIII. 2. 31) is set aside by the apavāda rule दोषाःसोशक्ये (VIII. 2. 32), and thus we have दोषा, संघटा प (जूह + सूह = दोष + दूह)।।

नन्दोः सुप्रस्तरसंबंधानुविद्विष्ठु कृति।। पदानां।। न लोपः।। सुप्रस्तस्वरसंबंधानुविद्विष्ठु कृति।।

भुति।। नन्दोः सुप्रस्तरसंबंधानुविद्विष्ठु कृति।। सप्तः।। नन्दोः सुप्रस्तरसंबंधानुविद्विष्ठु कृति।।

भविष्यति।। नन्दोः सुप्रस्तरसंबंधानुविद्विष्ठु कृति।। सप्तः।। नन्दोः सुप्रस्तरसंबंधानुविद्विष्ठु कृति।।

सप्तः।। नन्दोः सुप्रस्तरसंबंधानुविद्विष्ठु कृति।।

भविष्यति।। नन्दोः सुप्रस्तरसंबंधानुविद्विष्ठु कृति।।

भविष्यति।। नन्दोः सुप्रस्तरसंबंधानुविद्विष्ठु कृति।।
2. The elision of a final न (VIII. 2. 7) is considered as if not to have taken effect, in applying the following rules; (1) rules regarding case-endings, (2) rules regarding accents, (3) rules regarding any technical term of Grammar, and (4) rules regarding the augment द्व before a Kṛt-affix.

The word विधि in the sūtra applies to all the four words preceding it: as द्वृत्तिभि, द्वृत्तिभि &c. The force of the Genitive compound in द्वृत्तिभि, संज्ञाभिधि द्वृत्तिभि is that of ordaining the existence of something: e.g. when an accent is to be given to a word, or a particular designation is to be given to it or when न is to be added to it, (भावाध्य)। The compound द्वृत्तिभि means however, the rule relating to the case-endings themselves, as well as, the rule which would apply to a word, when a case-ending follows (भावाध्य)।

(1) द्वृत्तिभि:—As राजामि, तत्सभि:। Here the elision of न of राज and तत्सि being asiddha, the नित्ति is not changed to एवे by VII. 1. 9. So also राज-भि, तत्सि, राज, तत्सि। Here the finals of राज and तत्सि are not lengthened before भावि by द्वृत्तिभि (VII. 3. 102) and nor changed to ए before द्वृत्ति by (VII. 3. 103): as in गर्भथि and गर्भथि of the stem ending in भृ।

(2) द्वृत्तिभि:—As राजाति and not राजाति। For the elision of न being asiddha, the rule VI. 1. 220, does not apply, for the word is considered not to end in अवति but नवति। Similarly in पर्ववय्यङ्गमि and ह्याय्यङ्गमि, the elision of न being asiddha, the first member does not become आद्य-उद्भोष by VI. 2. 90. Similarly पर्ववय्यङ्गमि: the elision of न being अस्तित्वा, the first member does not retain its original accent as required by VI. 2. 29.

The word राजाय is first acute, as it is formed by the affix कालिन् (Uṣ. I. 156). राजाति is formed by adding त् to the तत् ending word, by IV. 1. 6. पर्ववय्यङ्गमि is a compound under rule II. 1. 50 of पर्ववय्यङ्ग-अगमि, and when न is elided, the first member becomes a word ending in भृ and would require the accent of VI. 2. 90.

(3) संज्ञाभिधि:—As पर्व ख्राङ्गमि, ह्याय्य ख्राङ्गमि। The elision of न being asiddha, the words पर्व and ह्याय्य are still called shash though they no longer end in न (भावाध्य पर्व I. 1. 24). Being called पर्व, they do not take राम in the feminine (IV. 1. 10).

According to the Vārtiḍakārā, there is no necessity of using the word संज्ञा in the sūtra (संज्ञा महान्यां व नित्तिः संज्ञात्यिः), because the elision of न is caused by reason of its having such a designation (as पर्व)। Thus without its having the name of पर्व there would be no elision of नासि and शासि, without such elision, there is no pada sañjīta of these words, and unless these words get Pada designation, there can be no elision of न by VIII. 2. 7. The shash designation, however, would not be retained by these words after taking
plural affixes, when feminine affixes are to be added to them, but for this sūtra. The पत्र्यग and शष्य ending in न would require हीप in the feminine, which is however prohibited, for when जुस and न are elided, the words end in य and require जाप for their feminine, which is also prohibited, because, by the present sūtra the word still retains its designation of यपा।

Q. How can this be the purpose of this sūtra? There are two views as regard definitions (सत्ता), the one is that a particular name is given to a thing once for all, prior to any operations; and operations are performed afterwards upon it or with it, as occasions arise. This view is embodied in the maxim यमपि संतःस्थितायापि ‘Sanjña, and Paribhāshās remain where they are taught.’ The other view is that the sanjña sūtra is to be read with every particular operative sūtra, and the sanjña given to the word afresh, with every new operation. In other words, the sanjña sūtra becomes identified with a vidhi sūtra, every time that a vidhi is to be applied. This is embodied in the maxim कार्यकालं संतःस्थितायापि “Sanjñās and Paribhāsas are attracted by or unite with the rules that enjoin certain operations.” In the first view, the ह्य सन्नि will be good throughout, both for the purposes of eliding जस and शस and for prohibiting जप। Hence thus sūtra is not necessary in that view. But in the other view, the sūtra is necessary. For if the view be taken that a sanjña is to be applied with regard to each operation, then that ह्य सन्नि which had taken effect for the purposes of eliding जस and शस will no longer hold good for the purposes of preventing the application of the feminine affix. Hence, the word सत्ता is taken in this sūtra, to prevent the application of the second view.

(4) सत्ता:—Thus तृत्वतम, तृत्वभिः। On account of the elision of न being asiddha, the तृत augment is not added, though required by VI. 1. 71. (हस्यस्य चिन्तिते क्रिया तृतक।)

Some hold that तृत need not be read in the sūtra. They argue in this way:—There is this maxim यमपि संतःस्थितायापि विषयविविचारं तद्विवात्तथा “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.” Now the elision of न of तृत्वत took place because of the case affix भ्य, this elision cannot be the cause of adding तृत। Or the तृत being a विषय operation would be asiddha with regard to the antaranga elision of न। This opinion is, however, not sound. The employment of तृत in this sūtra indicates, that the two maxims above referred to, are not of universal application i.e. they are anitya.

Why do we say before a क्रत-affix? Observe तृत्वतम, तृत्वाद्य। Here तृत is added by VI. 1. 73.

The elision of न taught by VIII. 2. 7 &c would be asiddha by the
general rule VIII. 2. 1; the specification of the four cases in which it is asiddha shows that it is a restrictive or nyāyama rule. That is, the elision of नृ is considered asiddha only with regard to these four rules, and no other. It is not asiddha in राज्यस्ते (राज्यः + कर्मचः + ते = राज्यः + य + ते = राज्यस्ते) III. 1. 8, VII. 4. 33). There would not have been long हि had the नेत्र been asiddha. So also राज्यस्ते there is lengthening, (VII. 4. 25) and राज्याय there is ekādeśa (VI. 1. 101).

3. The sūtra VIII. 2. 80, teaching the substitution of नृ for the दृश् of the Pronoun अदृश्, is however not treated as asiddha in relation to the case-ending ना।

The existence of नृ is not considered uneffected when there is to be added ना। On the contrary, it is considered as siddha or existing. Thus नृ being considered as siddha, नृ gets the designation of यि by I. 4. 7, and as such, its Instrumental Singular is by VII. 3. 120, नृहु। Had the नृ been considered as non-effected, then the stem would not have been called ghi; and there would have been no ना added. But when ना had been added, then the नृ being asiddha, नृ is considered to be as यि ending in नृ, and this नृ would require lengthening by नृपि VII. 3. 102: but it is not done on the maxim सत्यमयात्मयणो विदितममिच्च वद्यमयणव "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". There being no long यि the न of नृ remains short. Or this sūtra may be considered to be the condensation of two sūtras (1) नृ is siddha when ना is to be added, (2) नृ is siddha when any operations, otherwise to be caused when ना is added, are to take place. Or the sense of the sūtra is ने परतो नृ भ्रान्तित्वसंयते कर्मेऽञु नृहु नासिद्धः "the नृ is not non-effected in relation to any operation that would otherwise be occasioned when ना followed". From this, it would follow by implication that नृ must be considered valid for the purposes of नानात् itself. So यि being always siddha, ना is added: and there is no lengthening.

Vārt.:—That ekādeśa accent which is antaranga, should be considered as siddha. What is the necessity of this vārtika? In order to regulate the accents of 1. अस्, 2. अस्, 3. अस् substitutions of नृ, हि and रू; 4. the accent of
ekādeśa substitutes, 5. the accent of the शुरु formed words, 6. for the purposes of rule VI. 1. 158, by which all syllables of a word are anudātta except one, and 7. for the purposes of VIII. 1. 28, by which all syllables become anudātta.

Thus (1) let us take श्रव्य first. शुरु is finally acute by Phit I. 1. The locative of this is शुरु +ई (anudātta III. 1. 3) = श्युरु (ष is udātta VIII. 2. 5). Now combine शुरु +ई +ष = श्युरु +ष +ष = श्युरु +ष +ष || So also श्रृष्टि हस्य || The udātta ekādeśa ष must be considered as siddha, so that the श्रृ substitute of ष should also become udātta. (2) भाष्य: As कुमारी हस्य || Here also श्रृ is udātta for similar reasons. कुमारी+ष=कुमारी+ष +ष (VII. 3. 112)=कुमारण +ष +ष =कुमारण +ष +ष (VI. 1. 174)=कुमारण +ष (VI. 2. 90)=कुमारण (VIII. 2. 5). The ष is udātta and its भाष्य substitute will also be udātta. How do you give this example? This example is then valid, when by VI. 1. 174, first the affix श्रृ is made udātta, then this श्रृ (भाष्य VII. 3. 112) augment is added to ष, and then (ष +ष) there is vriddhi ष; and then कुमारण +ष = कुमारण || But if the order be reversed and श्रृ +ष be first combined into ष, and then this ष is made udātta by VI. 1. 174, then there would be no necessity of this vārtika for the purposes of भाष्य || The word कुमारण is end-acute by Phit accent (Phit I. 1). Add to it श्रृ in the feminine (IV. 1. 20), as कुमारण +ष = कुमारण +ष (ष is elided by VI. 4. 148)=कुमारण +ष (VI. 1. 161)=कुमारण ||

(3) भाष्य. As शुरुहस्य or श्रृहस्य, for the same reasons as above [ शुरु+ष (anudātta )= श्युरु VIII. 2. 5, श्युरु +ष +ष ].

(4) एकादेश accent. As गाढ़े उढ़े || Here गाढ़े +ष = गाढ़े || The word गाढ़े is formed by गाढ़े affix (गाढ़े हस्य) and is end-acute. The ekādeśa ष is udātta by VIII. 2. 5. This udātta accent will remain valid: so that when for ष there is pūrva-rūpa-ekādeśa by VI. 1. 109, this ekādeśa ष will be udātta by VIII. 2. 5, or it will be svarita by VIII. 2. 6. The word गाढ़े is a प्राविरिक compound, आपोकतुम्बिन्त=गाढ़े || Here by VI. 2. 2, the Indeclinable first term would have retained its accent : but the word is end-acute by VI. 2. 189.

(5) श्रुत - accent. As श्रुवती, तुसे || Here in तुसे +ष +श्रुत, the affix ष is udātta, and श्रुत is anudātta. The ekādeśa ष will be udātta by VIII. 2. 5. This ekādeśa - udātta should be considered valid for the pur poses of the rule VI. 1. 173 by which the feminine affix and the weak case-ending are udātta. Thus तुसे +ष = तुसे, तुसे +ष = तुसे || The prohibition श्रुतमः in VI. 1. 173 is a ज्ञापaka or indicator of the fact, that the ekādeśa accent should be considered siddha, in the accent of the श्रुत, because without this ekādeśa accent, there is no सत्रित ending word with त्रु which is antodātta.

(6) एकानुकूलणः accent. As तुस्थिति, तिखा || Here in तुस्थिति +ष +आत्मि (VI. 1. 186) the ekādeśa ष is udātta by VIII. 2. 5, and this ekādeśa accent is considered valid for the purposes of rule VI. 1. 158, by which all the remaining syllables become anudātta, as तुस्थिति, तिखा ||
(7) सर्वाणुसाच: accent. As आप्प्राणस्तुप्रमिनिः, आप्प्राणा दिशप्रिनिः। Here the ekādesa'-accent of तुसिन्त and तिसिन्त being valid, rule VIII. 1. 28 applies, and all the syllables become anudatta.

The word antaranga is used in the vārtika to indicate that the Bahiranga ekādesa' accent will not be siddha. Thus पच्चित्तित and द्यपच्चित्तित, where the word हिति is first acute, as it is an Indecinable. And सोऽघुपच्चित्तित। The accent of पच्चित + हिति = पच्चित्तित is governed by VIII. 2. 5. This ekādesa accent of long हि has reference to external sandhi, and therefore naturally it is a bahiranga. This bahiranga ekādesa accent is not siddha for the purposes of the application of previous sutras. Thus sutra VIII. 1. 71 requires that the gati should be unaccented before an accented verb: but हि does not lose its accent, as पच्चित्तित is not considered as an accented verb. In the second example, the हि of सीत is not considered as accented, therefore, it does not become anudatta by VIII. 1. 28.

Vārtt.:—The rule VIII. 2. 23 causing the elision of the final consonant in a word ending with a conjunct consonant, should be valid for the purposes of changing ह into र। What is the necessity of this vārtika? Observe श्रवणी मेलिने त्या। The word हरिव: is formed by मुदुः affix हरस्त्रोध्य सनिह = हरि + मुदु। Now by VIII. 2. 15 the म is changed to र, as हरि + वृत्त or हरिवृत्त add खु (Voc.Sg.) as हरिकृत + खु, then add तुष्क augment, as हरिकृतुष्क + खु। Then there is elision of the final consonant = हरिकृतुष्क। Now by VIII. 3. 1. the न is changed to र, and we have हरिकृत, the र would be changed to त by VI. 1. 114, if the elision of the conjunct consonants be considered as siddha: for then this र is followed by न, a हृद्य letter. But if such elision be considered asiddha, then र is considered not to be followed by हृद्य letters, but by the consonants which were elided.

Vārtt.:—When ekādesa is to be done, the elision of श्रित्व is to be considered siddha or valid. As अलावीति and अपलावी। Here the श्रित् is elided by हर हिति (VIII. 2. 28.) This elision is considered valid or siddha, and thus we have dirgha single substitution of ह for ह + ह as अलाव + ह + श्रिवि = अलाव + ह + श्रिवि = अलावी।

Vārtt.:—The substitute of the Nishṭhā affixes should be considered as valid or siddha for the purposes of the rules relating to the (1) changing of ह to र, (2) accent, (3) affix, and (4) ि augment. As (1) यूक्षणः, यूक्षणात्। The root is यूक्षणः (VI. 1. 11) the indicatory श्रि shows that the nishṭhā न is changed to न (VIII. 2. 45). This nishṭhā substitute is considered as valid or siddha, and the final of the root is not changed to न, as it otherwise would have been by VIII. 2. 36: for न would have been still considered as न or a हृद्य letter. The equation is as follows:—यूक्षण + न = यूक्षण + न (VI. 1. 16) = हृद्य + न (VIII. 1. 2. 45) = हृद्य + न (VIII. 2. 29) = हृद्य (VIII. 3. 2)। The खु is changed to ख by VIII. 2. 30, by considering न as asiddha and therefore equal to न or a हृद्य letter. Thus it will be seen that this न is धे भावम्य for the purposes of
rule VIII. 2. 30, but it is लिङ्क only for the purposes of rule VIII. 2. 36.

As regards the other three cases, viz., accent, affix and डूढ augment, the one word लीथ, will illustrate them all. The irregular formation of this word is variously explained. It is formed by "nipātana" under VIII. 2. 55. It is the Past Participle of the root लीथ, thus evolved लीथ+डूढ+ि् = लीथ+ि्+ि् = लीथ+ि् (ि् being elided, this is the anomaly)।। लीथ ।। Here the elision of ि् is considered as valid and siddha, and therefore, लीथ is considered as a word of two syllables, for the purposes of accent, under rule निपथप्रणालि (VI. 1. 205). Had the lopādeśa of ि् been considered asiddha, the word would have been considered as if of three syllables, and that rule of accent would not have applied.

Similarly लीवेन तरसि = लीवेनिक formed by डूढ (IV. 4. 7) which affix is added, because it is considered a word of two syllables, the elision of ि् being considered as valid for the purposes of IV. 4. 7.

Similarly लीव may be considered to have been formed by eliding the ि्; as लीव+ि् = लीव+ि्।। In this view of its formation, the augment डूढ is not added, because the lopa of ि् is considered as valid and siddha for the purposes of डूढ augment. In the opinion of Patanjali, the words डूढ विष्णु may well be omitted from the vārtika, for डूढ being a portion of a प्रवचन, the word प्रवचनिक would include डूढ-विष्णु also.

Vārt.:—The prolation modification of a vowel (pluta) should be considered as valid and siddha, for the purposes of the rule relating to डूढ augment before the letter ि्।। Thus by VIII. 2. 107, the Vocative words मोह and पतने assume the forms भ्रमरि् and पत्रि्।। These डूढ and ि् are pluta-vi+kāras. As भ्रमरि् रुपि्।। पत्रि् उपि्।। Here the modification caused by VIII. 2. 107, is considered as valid and siddha; otherwise there would have been no compulsory डूढ augment as required by VI. 1. 73 but optional डूढ under VI. 1. 76.

Vārt.:—The ि् and palatal change should be considered siddha and valid before डूढ (VIII. 3. 29). The root डूढिति बरसि (I. 41) is read as beginning with ि्, which is changed to ि् because of the subsequent ि् by VIII. 4. 40. This is not considered asiddha. Had it been so, there would come डूढ augment by VIII. 3. 29, in ि् त्वविष्णुति, ि् त्वोति।। The words ि् and ि् are ि् and ि् formed from the roots ि्ति and ि्ति by ि्।।

Why is the root डूढिति considered to begin with ि् and not with ि् as we find it written? Because had it been a root beginning with ि् originally, we could not get the form मुहि् which would have been मुहि्।। The form मुहि् is thus evolved. Thus मुहि् त्वविष्णुति = मुहि् त्वविष्णु by adding ि्।। From मुहि् त्वविष्णु we form a Derivative root in ि्, in the sense of मुहि्त्वविष्णुभि् = मुहि्त्वविष्णु।। Add again ि् to this Derivative root मुहि्, the ि् will be elided, and we have मुहि्, then ि् (which represents ि्) is elided because it is at the beginning of a compound letter (VIII. 2. 29), and ि् is elided, because it is at the
end of a conjunct letter final in a pada (VIII. 2. 23), and thus there remains मुष्म, and च is changed to क (VIII. 2. 30) we have मुष्म। Had the root been शक, then this च could not be elided, and so we should elide only the final च and च and the form would be मुष्म which would be changed to च and then to ध and we should get मुष्म which is not desired.

Vārt.:—The ज्ञ and यस्त substitution of letters in the reduplicate should be considered siddha and valid for the purposes of च change (VI. 4. 120) and तुष्म augment. Thus द्वारा: and द्वारा। Here the ज्ञ change of न, to न in the reduplicate should be considered as valid, otherwise this would be अनोदिति root and the Perfect would be बनेत्व: and बनेत्व। Similarly from चिद्व: we have चिद्वित्व and from चिद्व: चिद्वित्व। In the latter, the second syllable चिद्व: of चिद्वर्त (Desiderative) is reduplicated by VI. 1. 2. Here had the reduplicate substitute च for च been considered asid:kha, there would not have been तुष्म augment by चा (VI. 1. 73)

Vārt.:—The change of letter homogeneous with the subsequent is valid and siddha for the purposes of doubling. As स्म्यमत: सम्यमत: सम्यमत: सम्यमत:। In स्म्यमत: &c the स is changed to anūvāra by VIII. 3. 23, and the anūvāra is then changed to a letter homogeneous with the subsequent by VIII. 4. 58. Had the पत्त्य change been asid:kha, there would have been no doubling by VIII. 4. 47.

Vārt.:—If there be the adhikāra of the word ‘pada’ in those sūtras which ordain the following changes, then those changes are considered siddha for doubling, namely, 1. तस्त the change into त (VIII. 2. 21), 2. हस्त the change into ह (VIII. 2. 31), 3. वस्त the change into व (VIII. 2. 33), 4. नव्त the change into न (VIII. 2. 56), 5. लस्त the change to ल (VIII. 2. 75), 6. पस्त the change to प (VIII. 3. 85), 7. जस्त the change to ज (VIII. 4. 11), 8. anūnasika change (VIII. 4. 45), 9. नस्त the change to न (VIII. 4. 63).

As 1. मलो मल:; मलो मल:। 2. न्यथा न्यथा। 3. न्यथानुन्यथा। 4. दूधो दूधो दूधो। 5. अभिन्नोपनिःः or अभिन्नस्य अभिन्नस्य। This is the तह second person singular of निल: the स of निल: is elided by VI. 1. 68, and the final न changed optionally to न by VIII. 2.74. The न is the vikaraṇa अन्त्। 6. नात: नात: नात: नात: नात: नात:। 7. मयाकायनि मयाकायानि मयाकायानि मयाकायानि। 8. याहा निधन्य याहा निधन्य। 9. याहा क्षयानि याहा क्षयानि याहा क्षयानि।

The तस्त &c, changes being all optional, had the changes been considered asid:kha, we would have got the following double forms also गरेमल: गलेमल: which are not desired.

All these can be explained by dividing the sūtra न ह न: into two. The first being न, and this negative will prohibit all asid:kha-ness mentioned in the
preceding vārtikas. The second sūtra would be न र, and we would here draw in the anuvṛtta of र from the preceding.

उद्दात्स्वरितयोऽभि: स्वरितेऽसुद्दात्स्वरितयोऽभि: पद्यानि || उद्दात्स्वरितयोऽभि: वणः: स्वरितं: अनुद्दात्स्वरितयोऽभि:  

4. A svarita vowel is the substitute of an anudātta vowel, when the latter follows after such a semi-vowel, which has replaced an udātta or a svarita vowel.

An unaccented vowel becomes svarita, when it comes after a य न (semi-vowel), which य न itself has come in the room of a vowel which was acute or svarita once.

Let us first take the vowel following an udātta yan. Thus कुमारः, कुमारः || The word कुमारः is acutely accented on the final, because the long य (ii) replaces य of कुमार (VI. i. 161). The semi-vowel य is substituted in the room of this acute य; the anudātta य ग ञ य become svarita after such a य.

Now to take an example of a svarita-yaṇ. The words स्रयुः and खलीमृः are finally acute by kpit-accent (VI. 2. 139). The Locative singular of these words are स्रयुः खलीमृः and स्रयुः खलीमृः by VI. 4. 83. This य is a semi-vowel which comes in the room of the acute य, therefore, it is udātta-yaṇ. After this udātta-yaṇ, the anudātta य of the Locative becomes svarita by the first part of this sūtra. Now when खलीमृः + आशा and स्रयुः + आशा are combined by sandhi, this svarita य is changed to य; it is, therefore, a svarita-yaṇ. The unaccented आ will become svarita, after this svarita-yaṇ. As खलीमृः and स्रयुः आशा || The word आशा is finally acute and consequently आ is not acute (Phit. I. 18).

Obj:—Here an objector may say: that the svarita accent on य in खलीमृः is by this very sūtra, this svarita is to be considered as asiddha for the purposes of य अदेशा of VI. 4. 83. How can then the य substituted for this य be considered as svarita-yaṇ?

Ans:—This is considered as siddha by āśraya. (भामवद्व तिथालम्बः) ||

Obj:—If this be so, then उद्दात्स्वरितयोऽभि: (VIII. 4. 66) should also be considered as siddha: and we should have svarita in खलीमृः &c also. For the word खलीमृः is first-acute by Phit II. 3. Therefore खलीमृः is svarita by VIII. 4. 66. The य is svarita yaṇ, the anudātta आ after this should become svarita according this view, but this is not so.

Ans:—To avoid this difficulty, we have the following.

Vārt:—य य य य य य य य The य accent should be considered as valid, for the purposes of य substitution".
Some say, that even in such cases as श्याया the above rule applies, and that the unaccented vowel becomes svarita, if it follows a svarita-yaṇ which is preceded by an acute vowel. They quote the following from Taittariya śākhā:—शालिविप्तशालिविप्तशालिविप्त, where the अ of अम्नि is pronounced as svarita. So also in the Brāhmaṇa portion as: श्यायाश्याय the आ is read as svarita. But according to Kātyayana and Patanjali, the unaccented vowel does not become svarita by this sūtra, when it follows a svarita-yaṇ which is preceded by an acute vowel.

To get rid of these anomalies, the Māhabhāshya proposes several alternatives, two of which will be mentioned here. The first proposal is to divide this composite sūtra into two parts: (1) उद्भवण: परस्य अधुरास्त्रस्य स्वरितो मवति “an unaccented vowel becomes svarita when it follows after an udātta-yaṇ”. (2) स्वत्तिव्यवतं परस्य अधुरास्त्रस्य स्वरितो मवति “an unaccented vowel becomes svarita, when following a svarita yaṇ” and in this second sūtra, we shall read the anuvṛtti of udātta-yaṇ from the preceding half. So that this half will mean: उद्भवण इत्येव द्वी निर्धत्त: स्वरित: तस्य यण: परस्य अधुरास्त्रस्य स्वरितो मवति। The svarita must have been obtained by the application of the first half of this sūtra and this svarita should be changed to यण, which would change the anudatta into svarita. So that the स्वरित यण: means this particular svarita obtained by the application of this very sūtra.

The second proposal is not to read svarita into the sūtra at all. The svarita in शकृश्यायाया would then be explained by udātta-yanah rule. शकृश्याया + र + आशा = शकृश्याया + र + आशा। Here र is udātta-yaṇ. This will cause म to become svarita. The intervening svarita र is considered as not existent for the purposes of accent. शकृश्यायाया जनमध्ययनायाया। Nor is this र to be considered as sthāni-vad to ह by I. 1. 57, for in applying the rule of accent, such a substitute is not considered as sthāni-vad by I. 1. 58.

Why do we say “of udātta and svarita”? Observe वेन+ हआ+ = वेभा, so also शालिविप्तो। Here the semi-vowel replaces an unaccented ह, and is अनुवृत्त यण। These words are first acute owing to लिंग accent (IV. 1. 73).

Why do we say “an unaccented vowel becomes svarita”? Observe कृकृत, किरीत। The word घृङ्खल is acutely accented on the first by लिंग accent. (VI. 1. 193).

5. The single substitute of an unaccented with an udātta vowel is udātta.

The word “of an anudatta” is understood here. An unaccented vowel,
which combined with the preceding udātta vowel remains as a single substitute, becomes udātta. Thus for the udātta द of धरिय and for the case-ending धरिय which is anudātta, there is always substituted long द single by VI. 1. 102. This single substitute will be udātta according to the present sūtra, as अगमी।Similarly वसी, शृवे: स्वरे:।

Why do we say “with udātta vowel”? Observe एवतमित्र, जयगतिः। Here पांच + शृवे + अन्तित = पांच + अन्तित। Here शृवे is anudātta by III. 1. 4, so also अन्तित by VI. 1. 186. The ekādeśa of these two non-accented अन्तित will be anudātta. In forming this para-rūpa ekādeśa by VI. 1. 97, the svarita of the अन्तित of शृवे caused by VIII. 4. 66 is considered as invalid or asiddha.

Other examples are कु योऽभावः (Rig. V. 61. 2) and काव्ये महऽ॥। The word अन्तित is anudātta by VIII. 1. 21. read with VIII. 1. 18. The word शृवे: is acutely accented on the first, as it is formed by adding कु to वश (Up. I. 151). The अ of वश is changed to र (VIII. 2. 66), which is again changed to त (VI. 1. 113). Thus शृवे: वत्तम्। Here अ becomes pūrva-rūpa by VI. 1. 109, which is udātta. कु is formed from कस्म by अत् affix (V. 3. 12 and VII. 2. 105) and is svarita (VI. 1. 185). The word अन्तित is acutely accented on the first by the Phiṭ II. 6. The single long substitute is udātta.

स्वरितो चा भुजवसे पदावी। ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि। स्वरित्: चा, अइदाचे, पदावी।

6. The single substitute of an unaccented vowel, standing at the beginning of a word, with an udātta vowel, may optionally be svarita or udātta.

Thus द्व + पर्वनयम् = द्वित्वनयम् or द्वित्वनयम्; द्वि + इमेंतो = द्वितो or द्वितो; वशकः + अतिः = वशकोऽतिः or वशकोऽतिः। Here the word द्वि is a Karmacravachaniya by I. 4. 94, when it is compounded by पश्निनास with the Past Participle, the Avarayibhāva compound retains the accent of its first member (VI. 2. 2), and so it is acutely accented on the first, and the rest are anudātta. Thus the udātta द्विः of द्वि is compounded with the anudātta र of द्वितिः which stands at the beginning of a Pada, and so the ekādeśa is optionally svarita. In द्वितो and द्विकोऽतिः also the verbs इमेंतो and अति lose all accent by VIII. 1. 28 and so द्वि and अति become anudātta, which when compounded with द्वि and वशकः become optionally svarita.

The word स्वरित्: is employed in the sūtra only for the sake of distinctness, for the sūtra may have well stood as वशकोऽतिः पदावी। In this form of the sūtra, the udātta of the preceding sūtra would become optional when the second member is a word beginning with anudātta. Udātta being optional, in the other alternative, where there will not be udātta, the svarita will be substituted by reason of the nearness in position.
Why do we say "anudātta beginning"? Observe वृक्षानस्य। Here भूष begins with udātta and not anudātta, and hence no option is allowed.

Why do we say "beginning of a word"? Observe भूष; भूश; भूश; and भूष, where anudātta case-endings are not beginnings of words.

According to Bhattoji Dikshita this is a vyavasthita-vibhāshā; in this wise. There will necessarily be svarita (1) where a long ह is the single substitute of (ह ह) or of two short ह (2) where there is pūrva-rupa by the application of एकपद्धात्वम् वहि (VI. i. 109). There will be udātta where a long vowel comes in. Thus in विन्दु+हस्तम्=वीदं, in शेषं ज्योतिर्जन्मेव, the long ह is substituted for two short हs. This substitution of a long ह for two short ह's is technically called मन्त्रेषु।

Where there is Pras'lesha, the long ह is necessarily svarita. Similarly when there is भूस्मिन्दोहस्तम्: i.e. the peculiar sandhi taught in VI. i. 109. Thus लंकाश्रयम्, लोकायतारात्। So also where there is भूम्: सभि: i.e. the substitution of a semi-vowel in the room of an udātta or svarita vowel, as भाष्यम्। The above rules about svarita are thus summarised in the Prātiṣākhyaś: इन्स्त्रोदश दलेखे प्रकाशमिन्दोहस्तम्। च। But where a long ह is substituted as a single substitute for ह + ह (one of the हs being long), there it must always be acute. As भूस्मि इन्स्त्रोदश दलेखे (Rig. i. 190. 4). The words विविध + हस्तम् are compounded into विविधाय। The word विविधाय Locative singular is finally acute by VI. i. 171. हस्तम् is from the Divādi root हस्त, and has lost its accent by: VIII. i. 28.

नपी: नपी: प्रतिपदिकान्तस्य। भूमि। पदाणि। भूमि: जोष:। प्रतिपदिक, आन्तस्य। वृंचि। प्रतिपदिकस्य पद्वम् भूमि: नकारस्तस्य जोषो भरस्ति। पाणिकस्य। अन्नं नलोपप्रतिपतिव्येक्षया।

7. The न at the end of a Nominal-stem, which is a Pada (I. 4. 17), is elided.

The word पद्य: 'of a Pada' is understood in this sūtra. Thus राजा, राज्यम्, राजम्। जस्त:। राजत:। राजटम्। राजम:। The Nominal stem राजित gets the designation of Pada, before these affixes, by I. 4. 17.

Why do we say 'of a Prātipadika or Nominal stem'? Observe वाहतार्थम्। Here भूष is a verb, the 3rd Per. Sg. Imperfect (नन्त्र) of the root हस्त।

Why do we say 'at the end'? If the word आन्तस्य had not been used in the sūtra, then the sūtra would have stood thus नलोप: प्रतिपदिकस्य; and as the word पद्वम् is understood here, the sūtra would have meant, there is elision of न, where ever it may be, of a Pada called stem. So that the न of नारायणम् would also have required elision. In fact, the genitive case here in पद्वम् is not sthāna shashtiḥ, but viseshaṇa shashtiḥ, नलोप: आन्तप्रम: प्रतिपदिकस्य विदेशप्यस्य।

Q. But even if you use the word नव्न in the sūtra, it is compounded with the word प्रतिपदिक, and the sense of the sūtra will be "नव्न which is at the
end of a pratipadika, which (pratipadika) is a portion of a pada" &c. and not "न which is at the end of a pada". So that the rule will not apply to अहस्मायाः but will apply to राजानी &c? Ans. The word भावपिक्ष is not compounded, with the word भाव in the sūtra. It is used without any case-affix, on the analogy of Chhandas usage. In fact, it is in the genitive case, the affix being elided by VII. 1. 39.

Vārt: The prohibition must be stated with regard to the elision of the न of बहस्माः. As बहस्माः the case-affix श is luk-elided by VII. 1. 23, the pratyaya-lakshana is prohibited by I. 1. 63, and hence the न of बहस्माः is changed to र by VIII. 2. 69. अहस्मायाः, अहस्माः: न. For the rules VIII. 2. 68 and 69 by which the final of बहस्मā is changed to र, are asiddha with regard to this present rule requiring elision of न, hence this vārtika.

Q. There is no necessity of this vārtika, for the subsequent rules VIII. 2. 69, 68 will debar नलिप्त: Ans. But ह and र are considered asiddha for the purposes of न elision. The ह and र would have debarred न elision, had they otherwise found no scope. But they have their scope. Q. Where have they their scope? Ans. In the penultimate अ त. i.e. in the अ preceding the न. Q. The very fact that the author has used the word अहस्माः in the sūtra VIII. 2. 68, shows that ह does not replace बहस्माः. Ans. If so, then र will find scope in the Vocative, हहस्माः where न is retained by VIII. 2. 8, and it will be this न which will be replaced by र, as ह बहस्माः and so also ह स्वाभिन्ना निम्नाः!

The word स्वाभिन्ना is a Bahuvihari (II. 2. 24), the Vocative affix is elided (VI. 1. 68), and the न changed to र by VIII. 2. 68, and it is changed to र (VI. 1. 114). In ह स्वाभिन्ना: the न is not elided by the option of the Vārtika under VIII. 2. 8.

To remove these objections, they say, the word अहस्माः which is used in VIII. 2. 68 is in nominative singular without the elision of न, and it is to be repeated as अहस्माः अहस्माः. The one indicates the exact form, showing that the न is not elided; and by the second word the ह is ordained for this final न: ।

न चिरस्वर्भः: ह । पदाति न, ह्य, समुद्रतः: ।

वृत्तिः: है परमः संहुद्राः च नकालेः न भवति: ।

वाचिकम्: काँड़स्पद्व प्रतिपिष्क्य प्रतिपिष्यो वक्तव्यः: । वार्: व नन्दस्मानानिति वक्तव्यः: ।

8. (But such न) is not elided in the Locative and Vocative Singular.

This debars the elision of न, which otherwise would have taken place by the preceding sūtra. The examples of non-elision of न in the Locative singular are to be found in the Vedas. As परमः प्रामणः (Rig. I. 164. 39), भार्ये प्रमणः, श्रीरः प्रमणः । Here the sign of the Locative, namely, ह (ह्य) is elided by VII. 1. 39. In the Vocative Singular, the न is not elided as ह स्वाभिन्ना: ह स्वाभिन्ना: ।
Q. When रे or the Vocative is elided, the preceding stem is no longer a Pratipadika, and the stem does not get the designation of यः before the affix but is रे, hence where is the necessity of making the present prohibitory rule, when the elision of रे would not have taken place in the Locative and Vocative singular, by any rule?

Ans. The very fact of the prohibition of the elision of रे, as contained in this aphorism, indicates by implication (jñāpaka), that a word retains the designation of pratipadika, though an affix has been elided after it and though such elided affix may produce its effect (I. 2. 45 read with I. 1. 62). Nor will such elided affix give the designation of Bha (अ) to such a stem. Thus राजः पुरुषः = राज्यूरुपः, here the रे is elided by considering the word राज्यूरुप as a pratipadika, even after the elision of the Genitive affix in the compound, and it is not a Bha, which would have required the elision of अ by VI. 4. 134.

Vārtt.—Prohibition of the prohibition must be stated, when the Locative word is followed by another word in a compound. That is, when a compound is a Locative Tatpurusha, the रे is elided: as, चर्मिन्य तिला अत्यं = चर्म तिल।

In हें राज्यूरुपक हें the first member राज्यूरुप does not retain its रे by the present sūtra, because the whole compound, as such, is in the Vocative case, and not the word राज्यूरुप। In fact, there can be no compound, which in its analysis, will give the first member as a Vocative word.

Vārtt.—Optionally so in the neuter nouns. As हें चर्मिन्य, हें चर्म।

9. For the म of the affix मधुः is substituted अ, if the stem ends in म or अ (and आ) or if these are in the penultimate position; but not after यव and the rest.

After a stem ending in म or having अ as its penultimate letter, and after a stem ending in अ or आ, or having these letters as its penultimate, there is substituted अ for the म of मधुः। First after stems ending in म, as किन्तु (किन्तु), शंवतु (शंवतु)। Secondly म, penultimate: as श्रीवाण, श्राद्धवाण। Thirdly a stem ending in अ or आ, as विक्रवण, विक्रवत्, विक्रवत्, मालवाण। Fourthly अर or आ in the penultimate: as—पश्चवाण, पश्चवत्, भास्वाण।

Why do we say “म or अ ending or म or अ penultimate”? Observe ब्रह्मिनाण, वायुमाण। Why do we say “with the exception of म &c”? Observe यज्ञाण, इल्लिनाण, वर्मिनाण।

The following is the list of यवाणि words.

8
1. कथ, 2. लक्ष, 3. दुःखि, 4. सृष्टि, 5. काँपि, 6. कुःचा, 7. वेश, 8. जास्त, 9. नास्त।

These words either end in म and भ or have these as their penultimate.

10. प्रभ, 11. ज्ञानि, 12. सहिति. These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 15. 13. हारु, 14. कड़िल, 15 गहन। These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 10. 16. इश्व, 17. मघ, 18. हृण, 19. मण्ड, 20. गुरु। These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 11.

This is an बकृतिगाना. Wherever in a word, the श of मत्तुन is not changed to श, though the rules require it, that word should be classified under बकरि class. In the secondary word नास्ति (= नृत्तित इश्व), the श change has not taken place, because the म is here a Bahiranga, the real vowel being श।

The word मात्र in the sūtra is the Ablative of म, i.e. of म + म; it is a सामाहरा Dyandva of these two letters.

इश्वः || 10 || पदानि || इश्वः ||

चेति: || इश्वः तावतीय गयोऽवर्तीय भवि ||

10. The श is substituted for the श of मत्तु after a stem ending in a mute consonant.

As भविष्यस्वाध भायः, दहस्वाध चोपः, विख्यस्वाध बलाहकः, इश्वः महस्वाध दप्दावः

वेशः ||

संज्ञायम् || 11 || पदानि || संज्ञायम् ||

चेति: || संज्ञायं नियमे मत्तुः इश्वः तावतीय भवि ||

11. The श is substituted for श of मत्त, when the word so formed is a Name.

As भविष्यवत, क्षायः, क्षायः, खुपीवतः। For long vowel, see VI. 3. 120.

आसन्नविवर्त्त विविशत्वाक्षरत्रुणमभृत्वत्र भवित्वत्र भवित्वत्र || 12 || पदानि || आसन्नविवर्त, आश्रीवत्र, आश्रीवत्र, चक्षुवत्र, चक्षुवत्र, सम्भवित्र, चम्भवित्र ||

चेति: || आसन्नविवर्त विविशत्व वर्त्त चक्षुवत्र चम्भवित्र इश्वतानि संज्ञायं निवास्यान्ते ||

12. The following Names are irregularly formed:

āsandīvat, āsthīvat, chakrīvat, kakśhīvat, rumanīvat, charmanvati.

The change of श to श in these was obtained from the last sūtra. The irregularity consists in the substitutions of stems. आसन्नविव, is from the stem आसन्न which is here changed to आसन्नी। As आसन्नविव भायः, आसन्नविव अन्तयिष्यम।

As in the following śloka:

आसन्नविवती भायायं शुभ्रमण हरितस्वरूपः।

वामवन्त सार्वम् रेवमेवो जनमेवः ||

When not a name, we have आसन्नवव। Others say, that there is a separate and distinct stem आसन्नी, as in the sentence आहुत्तरी राजसन्नी भवति। The change of श to श after this word would take place regularly by the last sūtra: its mention here, according to these authors, is merely explanatory. 2. आश्रीवत्र is from
The word उद्वन्द्व is irregularly formed, in the sense of “a sea”.

It is derived from द्रक ‘water’ with the affix महूँ. उद्वन्द्व is the name of a Rishi, because he controlled the rains, it rained at his command. It also means ocean or that in which water is held, like तंक &c. The affix कि is added by III. 3 93, and द्रक changed to दुः by VI. 3. 58, and thus we have दुः. Why do we say “when meaning a sea”? Observe उद्वन्द्व पदः ‘a pot having water’. Here the main idea is not that of “holding or containing”, but simply the general fact of possessing water: a human being may also possess water in the same way.

14. Also राज्यवाद, when the sense is of a good government.

The kingdom whose king is good is called राज्यवाद रेति; राज्यसही प्रभुः. The affix महूँ is used here in the sense of प्रभुः or praise. Otherwise राज्यवाद.

छन्दसीरः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, हृ, रः ॥

15. In the Chhandas हृ is substituted for the महूँ of महूँ, when the stem ends in हृ (or हः) or रः.

To take some examples of a stem ending in हृ, as विक्रीति वास्यानुवाद्य भवति; शरीरे मे इन्द्र त्वा; भाग्यं भस्मी हंसोति; चेतुरिगतानिव; भारायणेन मा विचाद्य (भारायण from हृ by vocalisation). सरसतीवाच, भारतीवाच, हृष्यवाचः ॥ As all rules have
optional force in the Chhandas, we have no change here याज्ञवल्लभे, अयमान्तः,
कलामाक्षणम् कृत्ये ते याज्ञवल्लभे। Of stems ending in र we have श्रीवर्णः, श्रीवर्णः, बृहत्तिसमस्य राजस्य, राजस्य, वायुस्यम्।
अनी त्रुटि देकर || पद्धति अनि, तुटि ||
बृहस्तिः || छन्नसुतिः वर्त्ते अन्नलाभार्यस्य मतार्थार्थग्राह्यस्य भवानि छन्नसिः स्वते, विद्ये।

16. The affix त्रुटि gets the augment तुटि, in the Chhandas, after a stem ending in त्रुटि ||

As अक्षष्यः कर्मवर्तः सहायः; अस्त्राद्यम् यदवस्य विभाषितः (Rig. I. 164. 4), अक्षष्यः लाष्ट्रेन; शीषष्यवर्तः, द्वैषष्यवर्तः।

The word अक्षष्यः is thus formed: आशि + मन्त्रु + अशि + त्रुटि + मन्त्रु (अनपल्लि is substituted for the final of akshi by VII, 1, 76) = अक्षमति (the न is elided by VIII, 2, 7). Now we add the augment तुटि If this augment is added to त्रुटि, as मन्त्रु, then it becomes a portion of मन्त्रु, and this न would be changed to ः by VIII, 3, 9, read with I, 1, 54, and not the letter अ, because अ intervenes. If we add this augment to the end of the stem, then in अक्षष्यः &c. we cannot change it to अ because of the prohibition in VIII, 4, 37, and the augment being तुटि, the न would be changed to ः by VIII, 3, 7, in त्वपमहतः &c (VIII, 2, 17). The first view, however, is the correct one and the difficulty in its acceptance is obviated by तुटि, श्रमिक्षितात्ते वाचः न वर्त्ते न भवति; तत: परस्त्र म भवति; as shown above.

The तुटि augment being considered as asidha, is not changed to अ, but the letter following it, is so changed. Thus अक्षरु (VII, 1, 76) + त्रुटि = अक्षरु + त्रुटि (the न of the stem is elided by VIII, 2, 7). Add the augment तुटि, now, and we have अशि + मन्त्रु || The augment according to VIII, 2, 1, is asidha, so that according to VIII, 2, 9, त्रुटि is substituted for न, and not for अ, as would have been required by I, 1, 54.

नात्रु घर्ष्यः || ११ || पद्धति || नात्रु, घर्ष् ||
बृहस्ति || न कर्मवर्तावर्तमाने परस्कर्मावर्तमाने रुद्राग्राह्यम् भवति छन्नसुतिः स्वते।
वासिकः || शूरिञ्ज्ञानाय तुद वस्त्रयः || तः || रूपिन्ते इसरावस्यर्को परतः ||

17. In the Chhandas, the affixos तर and तम receive the augment तुटि after a stem in त्रुटि ||

The affixes तारु, and तुटि are called त्रुटि || Thus त्वपमहतः + त्रुटि = त्वपमहतः + त्रुटि (VIII, 2, 7) = त्वपमहतः + त्रुटि (VIII, 2, 17) = त्वपमहतः + त्रुटि || So also श्रृंगे: ||

Vārt.:—The augment तुटि is added to these affixes after त्वपमहतः; as त्वपमहतः (III, 2, 74, the affix is त्वपमहतः).

Vārt.:—Long त्रुटि is the substitute of the final of रूपिन्ते before तर and तम ||
The word रूपिन्ते is formed by the affix त्रुटि in the sense of मन्त्रु || The final त्रुटि is first elided by VIII, 2, 7, and then for the short त्रुटि the long त्रुटि is substituted by the present vārtika, If the long त्रुटि were substituted for the final त्रुटि of रूपिन्ते as रूपिन्ते + त्रुटि, then this long त्रुटि being asidha, it could not be compounded by ekadesa with the preceding त्रुटि into त्रुटि, and the form would always remain रूपिन्ते || As रूपिन्ते, and रूपिन्ते रूपिन्ते || Or this त्रुटि may be considered to have come after त्रुटि in the sense of मन्त्रु ||.
18. For the r of the root क्रुः, there is substituted ह।

The र here merely indicates the sound, and includes both the single consonant र and the same consonant of the vowel ह। So also with ह। So that for the single र there is substituted ह; and for र when a portion of क्रुः the ह is substituted, i.e. ह becomes ह। Thus क्रुः = क्रुः, as in the sutra हूः र क्रुःप: (I. 3. 93), कल्सा, कल्सारी, कल्सार: य वल्मः, वल्मवासः।

The word क्रुः is derived from the root क्रुः by vocalisation, as it has been enumerated in Bhidâdi class (क्रुःसंसारणेच नी III. 3. 104). The vocalised root-form क्रुः is not to be taken here, as it is श्लक्षणिका form.

Vârt:—The words क्रुः, क्रुःप, क्रुःद, क्रुःर &c., are also from क्रुः। Or by the Unâdi diversity, the ह change does not take place.

Vârt:—Optionally so of बङ्ग &c. As, बाङ्ग: or बाङ्ग, मुलः or मुलः, सूरः or सूरः, अढः or अढः, अघः or अघः, अक्रुः or अक्रुः, अक्रुः or अक्रुः।

Vârt:—Optionally so in the Vedas, or when names, of कपिलका &c., as कपिलका, कपिलका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकपिका, कितिकप�
with regard to the above forms. But then would arise a fresh difficulty, for the र of मलि would also require to be changed into हँ. Some say, that मलि is never followed by यावलि; while others hold that the form हर्मलि (मलि + यावलि) is valid. According to the first view, the valid form is हर्मलि. The र of the Prepositions हँ and निश्चि is changed to र, but this र is not changed to हँ, because it is asiddha: thus we have the forms निर्मलि, हर्मलि. But there is a preposition निर also the र of which is changed to हँ, as निर्मलि. See VII. 2. 46. According to the Siddhānta Kaumudi, there is a Preposition हँ also, which gives हर्मलि.

20. हँ is substituted for the र of ग in the Intensive.

Thus निजेविश्वलि, निजेविश्वलि, निजेविश्वलि. The root ग takes यहँ, when the sense of contempt is conveyed, with regard to the action denoted by the root, (III. 1. 24). यहँतं गवति = जेविश्वलि.

Some say that र of the sūtra includes the two roots ग (गिति T ud. 117) and ग (गुणित Kry. 28). Others hold that the T udādi गित is only taken and not the Kryādi. The Kryādi गित never takes the Intensive form, no example of which is to be met in literature.

Why do we say in the Intensive? Observe निजेविश्वते with the Passive affix यहँ.

अचि बिमाऽि 21 पदवऽि अचि, बिमाऽि.

अचि: अजाते प्रवचने परस्परे वे एस्ल सर्वभावो लकाराद्वश्च भवति.

21. The र of गित is optionally changed to हँ, before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As निजेविश्वत or निजेविश्वत, निर्मलन, or निर्मलन, निगारक: or निगारक:.

This is a vyavasthita-vibhāṣā, the optional forms have particular meanings. Thus हँ: meaning ‘neck’ is always with हँ; while गँ: ‘poison’ is always with र.

In निजेविश्वते or निजेविश्वते, the elision of हँ is considered sthānivad, and hence this option, though the actual affix begins with हँ. Obj.—The sthānivad-bhāva rule is invalid here by VIII. 2. 1. Ans. The rule द्वीरशिच्च does not hold good with regard to the rules of संयोगालिङ्ग, तत्व and ग्रंथ on the maxim “तत्त्व वेष: संयोगालिङ्गस्यस्यां किं प्रथम”.

Or the र will be first changed to हँ, as being anantarānga, and then the लि will be elided.

The forms निचि, निति: are either from the Kryādi root गित, or ल-change has not taken place on the maxim धावो: तत्त्वपद्धेन समुदायेन वित्तमस्य, and as the
affixes भै and ि: are not affixes which are ordained after a verb, but are affixes added to nouns, hence the ि change has not taken place. In fact the words ‘an affix beginning with a vowel’ in the सूत्र, means “a verbal affix beginning with a vowel,” and not a noun affix. These are the Dual and Plural of the Nominative case of ऐ formed with the affix विनष्ठ

परिः घाड़्योः: || 22 || पदानि || परेः, च, च-अहूयोः: ||

वृङ्गिः: || परि इत्यतस्य च रेवतस्य पवर्षे अहूयशे च परतो विभाषा लकार आविष्कर्षो भविष्ठ ||

वर्तकम् || योगे पैणति वज़त्तवम् ||

22. The र of परि is changed to ख, before gha and anka.

As परिः: or पलिः, पर्वः: or पल्वः: || The word च here means the word-form च, and not the technical च of सर्वः and तमः || See III. 3. 84 by which हृः is replaced by य ||

Vārt:-So also, it must be stated, before the word योगः: || As, परिः: or पलिः: ||

संयोगान्तस्य लोपः: || 23 || पदानि || संयोगान्तस्य, लोपः: ||

वृङ्गिः: || संयोगान्तस्य पवर्षे लेयो भविष्ठ ||

23. When a word ends in a double consonant, the last consonant is dropped.

As गोमान्, यमान्, श्रत्वान् and हत्वान्: || In श्रयन्त, श्रुत्वन्, the ह though subsequent in order, does not prevent the operation of this rule, because it is asidhra (VIII. 2. 66). Thus श्रयन्ततः + ह = श्रयन्त + ह (VII. 1. 70), = श्रयन्त (VI. 1. 68) = श्रयन्त (VIII. 2. 66) = श्रयन्त (VIII. 2. 23) = श्रयन्त (VI. 4. 8). But though the ह does not debar lopa, it debars the ज च change. By VIII. 2. 39, the final ह required to be changed to a letter of ज्ञ class; ह prevents it. As वचः, पदः: ||

For हव is ordained even where the present संयोगान्तलोप applies and where it does not apply. Thus it is ordained in श्रयन्त, where the present सूत्र applies, as well as in यथा where this सूत्र does not apply. But the ज्ञाल रुल (VIII. 2. 39) covers the whole ground of हव, hence if ज्ञाल रुल were not debarred by हव, the latter would find no scope. Therefore हव debars ज्ञाल to justify its existence, but it does not debar संयोगान्तलोप: for it still has scope left to it else where.

In हव and मध्यव्र formed from हथ्य + शत्र and मध्य + शत्र, by changing ह and र to र and श, we have हध्य+ शत्र and मध्य+ शत्र, where श and श are final in a pada, and so they require to be elided. It is, however, not done, because शत्र substitution is a Bahiranga operation, as it depends upon two words and consequently, is considered asidhra for the purposes of this rule, which depends on one word only.

Why do we say ‘of a Pada’? Observe गोमलत्र, गोमलत्र: ||
24. Of a word ending in a conjunct consonant, only \( \text{स} \) is elided, if it comes after \( \text{र} \); (but any other consonant coming after \( \text{र} \) is not elided).

Thus \( \text{च्छा} \) and \( \text{च्छा} \) for \( \text{च्छा} \) and \( \text{च्छा} \), the Aorist of \( \text{श्र} \) and \( \text{श्र} \) in the following passages: गोयमकोऽयं, प्रत्ययमकोऽयं II. The \( \text{इ०} \) is not added as a Vedic diversity. See VII. 3. 97.

So also \( \text{मातृ} \), \( \text{विठ} \) for \( \text{मातृ} \) and \( \text{विठ} \). Here by VI. 1. III, the \( \text{क} + \text{म} \) of \( \text{मातृ} + \text{म} \) is changed to \( \text{र} \), which is followed by \( \text{र} \) by I. 1. 51.

Though the final \( \text{स} \) would have been elided even after \( \text{र} \) by VIII. 2. 23, the special mention of \( \text{र} \) after \( \text{र} \) shows, that this is a nyaya rule. So that any other letter than \( \text{स} \) following after \( \text{र} \) will not be dropped. Thus \( \text{कर्त्त} \) from \( \text{कर्त्त} + \text{र्थ} \) (III. 2. 177), here \( \text{स} \) is not elided, though final in a pada, but is changed to a guttural by VIII. 2. 30, and to \( \text{स} \) by VIII. 4. 56. Also \( \text{मातृ} \) from \( \text{र्थ} \) in \( \text{ल} \) the \( \text{स} \) is elided by VI. 1. 18; there is vriddhi by VII. 2. 114, the \( \text{स} \) is changed to \( \text{र} \) by VIII. 2. 36, which is changed to \( \text{स} \) VIII. 4. 53 and finally to \( \text{स} \) (सर) II.

25. The \( \text{स} \) is dropped before an affix beginning with \( \text{श} \).

As \( \text{अलविध्यु}, \text{अलविद्धु}, \text{अलविध्यु}, \text{अलविद्धु}, \text{अलविद्धु} \) for \( \text{अलविद्धु} \) and \( \text{अलविद्धु} \). Had this \( \text{स} \) (of \( \text{सिक्ष} \)) not been elided; then \( \text{स} \) would be first changed to \( \text{स} \), and then to a letter of \( \text{श्र} \) class (VIII. 4. 53), \( \text{स} \) would never be heard even optionally, though so required by VIII. 3. 79, but the forms would be always with \( \text{श} \), as \( \text{अलविद्धु} \) &c. II.

From an \( \text{िश्ल} \), the elision of \( \text{स} \) is confined to the \( \text{स} \) of the Aorist \( \text{िश्ल} \), and not to any other \( \text{स} \). Thus \( \text{स} \) is not elided in \( \text{चकाच्छ} \) in \( \text{चकाच्छ} \) \( \text{स्वतं} \) \( \text{शु} \) (हि \( \text{सिक्ष} \) \( \text{पति} \) सूच चकाच्छ \( \text{ङ्ग} \) \( \text{निर्देशय्य}\). It is the Imperative of \( \text{चकाच्छ} \) the \( \text{स} \) changed to \( \text{हि} \) and \( \text{हि} \) to \( \text{वि} \) (VI. 4. 101), and \( \text{स} \) to \( \text{र} \) by VIII. 4. 53. Similarly it does not apply to \( \text{यस्} \) \( \text{धा} \), where \( \text{स} \) is changed to \( \text{र} \) and then to \( \text{र} \) (VI. 1. 114).
The elision of स from पस्त with चिन्तं, and in बच्चायण from भस्त्र in the Imperative with तायेः, is a Vedic diversity. But according to Patanjali चक्तिः is the proper form; while in पथो वायुतं the antaranga स debars this bahir-ranga स elision.

Obj.—If so, how do you form ाशायणं, by the elision of स of शारं? for स would not be elided? Ans.—The स is not here elided but changed to जष्ठ letter, by VIII. 2. 39. Obj. If so, स may always be changed to जष्ठ letter, and there is no need of eliding it; in pronouncing, जष्ठ it will make no difference, whether you pronounce with one consonant or two, e.g. ाशायणं or ाशायणं. Moreover by so doing, you will shorten the sutra VIII. 3. 78, by omitting the word तुस्त्र from it. For the forms like ाधोऽखण्डः, ाधोऽखण्डः, will be evolved regularly by changing स of चिन्तं to च; and the च after it will be changed to स, and then स changed to च by जष्ठ (VIII. 4. 53). Ans.—So far it will be all right, but in शेष Aorist we shall never get the alternative forms ानविष्ठकं &c, though we may get the form ानविष्ठकं (VIII. 3. 79). Therefore, the word चिन्तं should be taken.

Obj.—If चिन्तं is to be taken here, then the स of पस्त and भस्त्र will not be dropped, and we shall not get the forms सारं: and बच्चायणे in the passages सारं: मे वर्णितं ने, and बच्चायणे ते हर्षायणे. Therefore, the present sutra should not be confined to चिन्तं only. Ans.—We shall explain सारं: by saying, that it is a word derived from सप्त, and so also बच्चायणे from the root चन्दनां.

[N. B.—The word सारं: is generally thus derived; ाधुनिकम् = पह, + चिन्तं (II. 4. 39) = पस्त + चिन्तं (VI. 4. 100) = च + चिन्तं (VIII. 2. 26). Had the present rule been confined to चिन्तं, the स could not have been elided by VIII. 2. 26. See VI. 4. 100, where these two forms are developed]. Or we may explain these forms as Vedic irregularity, by which letters are sometimes dropped, and so पस्त and भस्त्र have lost their स. That letters are sometimes dropped in the Chhandas, we see in passages like the following: इन्कारंतिक्षमे for इन्कारंतिक्षमे; तुष्टितिं न तुष्टितिं; ाशायणं परं: for ाशायणं परं:; ानविष्ठकं यायणं: or ानविष्ठकं यायणं: महायणं:.

The above discussion is summarised in the following.

Kārikā:—सारं: चिन्तं: इन्कारंतिक्षमे ाशायणं: ानविष्ठकं:।

“This rule is confined to the elision of the स of चिन्तं only, for the sake of preserving the स in चक्तिः”.

“How then do you form ाशायणं: by the elision of स: The स is not elided but changed to a जष्ठ letter.”

If this be so, then let जष्ठ come every where, for there is no difference in sound, moreover this will shorten VIII. 3. 78 by omitting the word तुस्त्र from it. The जष्ठ cannot come every where, as the difficulty will be in शेष Aorist”.
from यस्य and भस्य if the elision of स्
were confined to लिन्ध्. Hence लिन्ध् should
not be read into this sūtra."

"The elision of स् in लिन्ध्: and बधा
will be explained as a Vedic anomaly, for letters are
often dropped in Vedic forms, as in रत्सवारपरे
instead of रत्सवारपरे."

26. The स् is elided when it is preceded by a jhal
consonant (any consonant except semi-vowels and
nasals), and is followed by an affix beginning with a jhal consonant.

Thus भर्त्स for भर्त्सत, भर्त्स्या: for भर्त्सत्या:। So also भर्त्सिः, भर्त्सिः,
भि, भि भि. The last example may also be explained by VII. 4. 49; the
elision of the स of निन्ध् being considered as asiddha, the स of the root
is changed to स।

Why do we say 'of a jhal consonant'? Observe भर्त्सत and भर्त्स्या।
Why do we say followed by a jhal consonant? Observe भर्त्सङ्ग, भर्त्सत॥

The स of this sūtra refers also to the स of लिन्ध्; no other स is elided.
As सौम्यत सौम्यत; देसि देशी। Here the स of सौम्यत and देशी, though preceded by
a jhal letter स्, could never be elided as they do not form portion of one word.

27. The स् is elided, before an affix beginning
with a jhal consonant, when it is preceded by a stem ending in a
short vowel.

As अक्षरः; अवहः। Why do we say after a short vowel stem? Observe
अक्षरः, अवहः। Why do we say 'after a stem'? Observe अक्षरः, अलावरः, अला—
विषः; अपाविषः and अपाविषः। Why do we say "before an affix beginning with a
jhal". Observe अक्षरः, अक्षरः।

The lopā of this, therefore not here क्रियान्त, क्रियान्त। Here
to the word द्य is added the affix एक्ष (V. 4. 18), and then the comparative
affixes सर सर and वह with अम (V. 4. 11). This स is not dropped.

एक्ष एक्षि एक्षि एक्षि। एक्षि। एक्षि। एक्षि। एक्षि। एक्षि।

28. The स् is dropped after the augment एक्ष, if
after this स the augment एक्ष follows.

Thus the Aorist - stem of एक्ष is एक्षबिषः (III. 1. 44; VII. 2. 35), the
Personal ending एक्ष gets the augment एक्ष by VII. 3. 96; and by the present
sūtra, this s between श and ऋ is dropped, and we have:ञलावीरु; so also, शतावीरु, शतेवीरु, शतोपीरु, शतोपीरु द।

Why do we say ‘after the augment ह्र’? Observe शकार्पितु, शशापितु। Why when the augment ह्र follows? Observe अलाविताय, अलावितु।

सको: सेयोगापङ्गरते श | ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि || सकोः, सेयोग-आयोः, अन्ते, च ||

सृित: || पस्ताते च: सेयोगः ह्रालि पतीतो वा सेयोगसस्तावोः शकार्खकार्पायोलोिस्य भवति || वार्तिकं || ह्राळि सहीत्यं वस्तुन्यम् ||

29. The श्र or क्र, when initial in a conjunct consonant, is dropped, before a jhal affix, and at the end of a word.

A conjunct consonant, having श्र or क्र as its first member, when coming at the end of a Pada, or when followed by a jhal beginning affix, loses its श्र or क्र। Thus from the root सहः we have शतः: and सतान्तः before the jhal affix त and सहः; the substitution of श्र for क्र is considered asiddda for this purpose (VIII. 2. 1). So also साजुक्तः at the end of a Pada. Similarly शतः: शतान्तः, साजुक्तः from महः। So also with initial क्र, as तद्द्र from ततः; so also तद्धः; तह्याच्, कालः।

Vārt:—It should be rather stated that “before a jhal affix included in the pratyāhāra सहः”। The सहः is a pratyāhāra formed with the श्र of सहः (III.1.5) and the प्र of मंद्वः (III. 4. 78). It thus includes all the kṛt affixes, and dhātu affixes i. e. affixes which come after a verb and not the Taddhita or the Feminine affixes. This Vārtika applies to all the preceding sūtras of this sub-division and is of use in the following places.

मिरीति: बोधित्वेऽच द्वित्य: काल्प्रकाशिर्: कुच्चासंपूतिः नात्थिङ्गः सतवानिमि सचयित्विः।

So that in शतः there should not be the optional श्र by VIII. 2. 21. In शब्धापि; the श्र of शतः is not elided before श्र as required by VIII. 2. 25. In शहः the rule VIII. 2. 27 does not apply. In हतः: the rule VIII. 2. 26 does not apply. In काल्प्रकाशिर the rule VIII. 2. 29 is non-applicable. In कुच्चा the rule VIII. 2. 30 does not apply. In शहः (शहः वहः) there is not lengthening by VIII. 2. 77. Thus काल्प्रकाशिऱ्य । Here क्र would require to be elided as initial in a consonant, followed by a jhal consonant च। काल्प्रक is formed by adding क्र to शहः। But according to Patanjali, there can be formed no valid word from शहः with क्र, a fortiori, no such word can be formed as काल्प्रकाशिऱ्य । (काल्प्रक तिष्ठति).

In वायुपर्यं, वायुयं, the श्र and क्र are not elided, because श्र is a Bhairanga substitute and asiddha, and the word वायु काल्प्रक are not considered as Pada, ending in a conjunct consonant.

Why do we say “of श्र and क्र”? Observe नमस्विति, ब्रम्भिति।

Why do we say ‘initial in a conjunct consonant’? Observe पदः: चहः।

Why do we say ‘at the end of a word’? Observe सचित्व, सचाः।

चोः: क्रः: || ३० || पदानि || चोः: क्रः: ||

शुष्ण: || चर्यायांच्छ कर्मणि मभयति हर्लि प्रत्यः पदाते च। ||
30. A Guttural is substituted for a Palatal, before a jhal affix, or at the end of a word.

Thus पक्ता, पक्तूः, पक्तयाः, and बोधप्रक्त from पक्त। Similarly वक्ता, वक्तूः, वक्तयाः, and बाध।

In कुष्ठा the feminine in श्रेय of कुष्ठ (कुष्ठ) by IV. 1. 4 list, the उ a palatal is followed by ः a jhal letter, and therefore, it should be changed to a guttural. It is not so, because Pāṇini himself uses this word, in -this form, in sūtra III. 2. 59. Or because the rule is confined to सह affixes only. Or the root is कुष्ठ without ः and with a penultimate उ, and not उ as we find in Dhātupātha कुष्ठ कौटिल्यानिष्ठ कार्यः (Bhu. 200). With the elision of उ we have निकृप्तिन: before the निकृप्त affix (VI. 4. 24) कृपित: in Past Part. and अन्यायकृपित। In निकृप्तिन: we cannot have the optional कृपित: of the Nishṭā by I. 2. 21, because the elision of the penultimate उ by VI. 4. 24 preceded on the basis of the affix being कृपित: thus कुष्ठव+तृ=कुष्ठ+तृ। This elision of उ, will not make the root जश्च for the purposes of the application of rule I. 2. 21, on the maxim सतिकारत्वः निपरिविधिताय वर्धितार्थः। In fact, one of the reasons on which this maxim is based, is this very fact, that the elision of उ does not make the root जश्च for the purposes of making the affix non-कृपित। The affix कृपित takes the augment हूः under VII. 2. 9 (vārt). The word कुष्ठ is formed from this root by कृपित affix (III. 2. 59): the final ः is first elided by VIII. 2. 23, and then उ is changed to ः by VIII. 2. 62. The rule VI. 4. 24 thus finds no scope here.

In this view of the case we say कुष्ठ is an irregular form of this root kunch, because it is so exhibited in III. 2. 59. There the anusvāra and parasavarṇa change of this ः to ः by VIII. 3. 24 being considered asiddha, there is no palatal ः, and hence there is no guttural change.

हो डूः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हूः, डूः ॥

वृत्त: || इकारत्व इकारेशी भगवति हासिल पति: पक्तेत्वा च ॥

31. डू is substituted for हू before a jhal letter and at the end of a word.

Thus सोहा, सोडूः, सोढ्वसपूः ॥ The डू is not added by VII. 2. 48, जलायद्, दुरायद् by निव (III. 2. 63, VI. 3.137 and VIII. 3. 56) बोधा, बोडूः, बोड्वसपूः, पष्याद्, पिस्याद् (III. 2. 64) from सह and धूः, with the affixes डू, तृष्णात् and निव। For the च of these affixes there is substituted च by VIII. 2. 40, and this च is changed to ः by VIII. 4.41, before which is dropped the first ः by VIII. 3. 13. For the च in पष्याद् either च is substituted by VIII. 2. 39, or ह by VIII. 4. 56.

दृश्यान्तोः: ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दू-आदेः, धातोः, च: ॥

वृत्त: || इकारेवतिःसत्य पक्तारेवी भगवति हासिल पति: पक्तेत्वा ॥

32. Of a root beginning with डू, the च is substituted for हू before a jhal letter or when final in a Pada.
For the final श of a ष-beginning root, ष is substituted under similar circumstances. As क्रमय, क्रमयम, क्रमयव, क्रमयन, त्रिगय, त्रिगयम, त्रिगयव, मात्रक, from श्र and सुर. For the त of the affixes तू &c. ष is substituted by VIII. 2. 40, before which, the ष becomes ग by VIII. 4. 53. For the ष in कालिण is substituted ग by VIII. 2. 39, or क्ष by VIII. 4. 56, and ष becomes ष by VIII. 2. 37.

Why do we say "of a root beginning with ष"? Observe लेवा, लेवु, लेवय, लेवलिख. The force of the genitive case in भातो is not to make it in apposition with the word को, but it has the force of denoting a part as related to the whole; so that it means "the word which begins with ष and forms part of a root, for the ष of such a part is substituted ष." What does follow from it? The letter ष is substituted in कालिण also, which begins with ष. For without the above explanation (भातोहयो ये शारिरवस्त्रवस्त्रकालम् &c.), the ष would have come in examples like मास शोळक, without the augment ष, but not where there was the augment ष. Moreover, that it is an कालिणयोगा पद्धी will appear necessary in सूत्र VIII. 2. 37.

If it has the force of denoting a 'portion or member', how do you explain the forms लेवा, लेवु, लेवय, for here no portion is taken but the whole word? This will be explained on the maxim of व्यपतिष्टत भव: "An operation which affects something on account of some special designation, which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone, and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach". (व्यपतिष्टत एकालिक) Or we may explain the सूत्र, by saying 'that root which begins with ष in its original enunciation in धातुपाठा? Thus in original enunciation the root is ष not beginning with ष. If a Derivative root is to be formed from it like शामालिक (शामालिकम् = शामालिक, it is a root which begins with ष; the ष of this Denominative root, however, will not be changed to ष, for it is not a root of upadesa. Therefore, when we add ष to this root, we get षामालिक by VIII. 2. 31, and not षामालिक.

33. The ष of druh, muh, shnuh, and shnih is optionally changed to ष, before a jhal letter or at the end of a word.

Thus ष्य, ष्रोद्ध, षृगा, ष्याव, ष्रव, षत्र, षव, षय, षयक, षम, षन, षनक, षमक, षनक, षमक.
taught there in this very order (Div. 89-91). By belonging to Radhādi subdivision, the त्रत्र is optional (VII. 2.45). Instead of making the sūtra बाहुःसतीनामः, this longer formation of the aphorism indicates that the rule applies to यहतः also; as नात्र or चतुर्. See VII. 1.6, for if the roots were taught not specifically but by गण, then the rule would not apply to यान लुक.

नरेऽधः || 34 || पदानि || नरेऽधः || धः ||
द्वृत्ति: || नरेऽधः हकारस्य धकारः सम्बन्धति धति प्रव वायुः धः ||

34. The त्र of नरेऽधः is changed to ध before a jhal letter or at the end of a word.

As नात्र, नातृत्र, नातृत्र, वर्तान्त्र, परीणात्र. The त्र of the affixes त्र &c, is changed to ध by VIII. 2.40; and for the preceding ध is substituted त्र by VIII. 4.53. वर्तान्त्र is formed by VIII. 2.39, read with VIII. 4.56. परीणात्र is formed by विन्यास as it belongs to सम्बन्धेऽति class, the lengthening is by VI. 3.116, and त्र-change by VIII. 4.14. It would have shortened the processes of transformation, had only त्र been ordained in the sūtra, instead of ध; but the ordaining of त्र is for the purposes of VIII. 2.40, by which there should be त्र for the participial त्र &c, in नातृत्र, and that there should not be the change of this Nishṭhā त्र into त्र by VIII. 2.42. Thus त्र+त्र=त्र+ध (VIII. 2.40)=नातृत्र (VIII. 4.53). But had the substitute been त्र, we should have त्र+त्र=त्र by VIII. 2.42.

आहेत्यः || 35 || पदानि || आहेऽधः || धः ||
द्वृत्ति: || आहेऽधः हकारस्य धकारः सम्बन्धति हति परत: ||
द्वृत्ति: || हकाराः बहुधन्तरति हस्येऽति वस्त्रवाः ||

35. For the त्र of the root आहेऽधः, there is substituted य before a jhal letter.

As आहेऽधः, किमाथः. The word आहेत्य becomes आत्य by VIII. 4.55. Why has the last mentioned substitute त्र not been ordained here, for this त्र would also have given the form आहेत्य by चर change, as the त्र is also changed to त्र; and by so doing there would have been only one sūtra, instead of two i.e. आहेत्य has त्र would have been enough? Making this separate substitute, is for the sake of indicating that the rule VIII. 2.40, does not apply here. For had VIII. 2.40, still applied, the substitute त्र of the last sūtra would have been enough. The त्र substitute, however, would have been the best.

The word हति is understood here. Hence there is no change before vowel affixes, as आहेऽधः, आहेऽधः, आहेऽधः.

Vârt:—In the Chhandas, त्र is substituted for the त्र of ह and यह || Thus गईदेव संबन्धति; नातृत्र चाणाति; नातृत्र अधिति, सब्रमाधुन्य नियात्त्र चाणा हेया वर्षीत्वचः.||

द्वारकानाथजन्मजातकजन्मजन्माष्टमीयाः पशुः || 36 || पदानि || मध्य, श्रस्त्र, खुज, खृज, यज, राज, भ्राज, छ, शाम, पशुः ||
36. For the final consonants of vrasc, bhraṣj, spṛj, mṛj, yaj, rāj, and bhrāj, and for the final छ and श, there is substituted ध before a jhal letter, or at the end of a word.

Thus तदः—तदः, त्वरः, स्त्रव्यः स्तन्तुरः। तदः। त्वरः। स्त्रव्यः। धानासुरः। त्रृषः। तदः। त्वरः। स्त्रव्यः। स्तन्तुरः। त्रुषः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः। भारः।

The ध ending words would have been changed to ज्ञ-letters and the others to Gutturals; this sūtra debar that by ordaining ध. In स्तन्तुरः and धानासुरः there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 16, the छ is elided by VIII. 2. 19, and ध becomes ज्ञ-letter ध, which becomes र by VIII. 4. 56. The word ज्ञसमात्रः is formed by विकृत, there is lengthening and no vocalisation.

The roots राज and भाज are never followed by a jhal beginning affix, because such affixes will always take ह augment. These roots are, therefore, mentioned here, for the sake of the change of their श to छ, when at the end of a word. Some, however, form nouns like राजन्ति, भाजन् with निः affix from these roots by III. 3. 94, वर्त, and ह augment is prevented by VII. 2. 9.

Of roots ending in छ we have प्रणः—प्रणः, प्रणः, प्रणः, प्रणः। According to one view, the letter छ should not be mentioned in this sūtra: for by VI. 4. 19, छ is always changed to छ, and this छ will be changed to छ by the present sūtra. Others hold, that the change of छ to छ by VI. 4. 19 is confined before किंत्र or किंत्र affixes, and therefore the mention of छ is necessary in this sūtra; moreover the ह substitution here, and the ह substitution in VI. 4. 19. refer to the conjunct letter छ (with the augment तृषः). For if it were not so, then छ alone being changed to छ, the तृषः of तृषः would be changed to ह, and we should have हृषः instead of हृषः.

Of roots ending in ध we have निश्चन्ति—निश्चन्ति, निश्चन्ति, निश्चन्ति, निश्चन्ति। एकाचः बशी अत्यन्तस्य रूपः। एकाचः बशी अत्यन्तस्य रूपः। एकाचः बशी अत्यन्तस्य रूपः। एकाचः बशी अत्यन्तस्य रूपः। वृत्ति।।

37. For the letters श, ध, ढ or ठ in the beginning of a monosyllable, and belonging to a root, and which ends in ध, ध, ढ or ठ, there is substituted श, ध, ढ or ठ respectively, before श or ध, or at the end of a pada (word).

Thus from धृ—धृवेद्यति, धृध्वन्ति and धृध्वन्ति; from ढृ—न ढोलं त्यैव ठृध्वन्ति, पर्णवृत्ति। ढृ becomes ठृ by VIII. 2. 31, and thus it is a root ending in jhash.
From हृद—(which becomes हृद by VIII. 2. 32, and thus is a jhash ending root) वास्ते अनुरूप, गोपुरक्॥

So also from गुरु we have अजर्द्धः the 2nd Person. Sing. Imperfect (वहुः) Intensive (याृः लुक). There is guna of क्र्, the ख् (of लिप्य 2nd Pers. Sing.) is elided (VI. 1. 68), and we have अजर्द्ध, and for the letter ग् of the monosyllabic root, ख् is substituted by the present aphorism. अजर्द्ध॥ Then the final ख् is changed to र्, अस्मित्वः (VIII. 2. 39). Then र् is changed to र् by VIII. 2. 75, अस्मित्वः॥ Then the first र् is elided अस्मित्वः (VIII. 3. 14). Then there is lengthening by VI. 3. 111, and we have अस्मित्वः॥

The monosyllable should be such that it should begin with a ब्र् and end with a भ्र् letter, and should be a full root or the portion (अवतर) of a root. In fact, this word which we found necessary in VIII. 2. 32, is absolutely necessary here, in order to explain forms like गर्ढ्युः from the Denominative root गर्ढ्युः, by विनुः॥

Why do we say “a monosyllable beginning with व्र् and ending with ह्र्?” Observe दास्तिक्षा from the Denominative root शास्त्रिक्षा॥ For had एकाच: not been employed in the sūtra, the word धार्ता: (VIII. 2. 32) would have qualified व्र्; and the sūtra would have meant “in a root which ended in a jhash, and which contained a भ्र् letter as its member; there is jhash substitution for such ब्र्”, and the ख् of दास्तिक्षा would be changed then.

Why do we say “for a भ्र् letter”? Observe क्र्ह्—कौस्तद्यतिं here क्र्ह् is not changed to च॥ Why do we say ending in jhash? Observe शास्त्रिक्षा॥ Why before ख् and भ्र्? Observe बोध, बोध, प्रोक्ष, प्रोक्ष॥

Why have we taken भ्र् and not merely ख्? Observe शास्त्रिक्षा from ध्र् in the ध्र् दु:क्र्, Imperative 2nd Per. singular, the ख् being changed to ख् (VI. 4. 101). The substitutes are four न्, ध्, ध्र् and भ्र्, and their respective sthānins are also four, i.e. न्, ध्, ध्र् and भ्र्; so that ख् is the substitute of भ्र्; but, as a matter of fact, ख् never so stands at the beginning of a monosyllable, and so there is no ख्व substitution.

ध्यस्यस्योऽऽ्यः॥ ३८॥ पदानि द्वृष्टे, त्, योः, च॥

ृष्टे:॥ क्र्ह् इति र्ह्य्यति: कविलायधरे निरीत्तिदेवते: तत्र द्वृष्टस्य ब्र्हः: स्प्यते भ्र् आविश्यो भवति तकारयोऽऽ्यः: परत़कारायुऽऽ्यम् परतम:॥

38. For the ख् of ध्र् (the reduplicated form of ध्र्) is substituted ख्, before the affixes beginning with त्, ध्, स् and before ध्र्॥

The word ध्र् is taken in the sūtra as the reduplicated form of ध्र् इति and not the root ध्र् धरणे of Bhuḍi class, as ध्र् intervenes there.
By the word ध्र् we draw in the words स् and ध्र्॥ Thus ध्र्, ध्र्, प्रोक्ष, प्रोक्ष, प्रोक्ष॥ By the express injunction of this sūtra, the elided ख् is not
considered as sthānīvāt. The last sūtra could not have applied to ्ञ for two reasons. 1st. It does not begin with a ्ञ letter, for the real reduplicate is ्ञ, and ्ञ is merely a substitute, and is considered asidham. 2ndly. The form ्ञ does not end in a jhash consonant, but in a vowel ्ञ, and though this ्ञ is elided before these affixes, yet the lopa would be sthānīvāt. Hence the necessity of ्ञ in this sūtra. See contra, the vārtika in Mahābhāṣya.

The word धति is understood here, and so also धपलस्य; and there can be no affix, but begins with त or थ, that can come after ्ञ. Why do we employ then the words ‘before त and थ’? Had we not used these, the sūtra would have referred to त and थ only, as being in immediate proximity, and the थ draws them in. According to Padamanjari the words तयोः could have been dispensed with: for before ख and ध, the ध change would have taken place by the last sūtra, whilst by this sūtra, the same change would have taken place before all other धतः-beginning affixes, and such affixes that can come after ्ञ are त or थ-beginning affixes.

The word jhash is understood here also, therefore the rule applies to ध, then only, when it assumes the form of ्ञ, by the elision of धा; and hence not here धालि ||

धालाः जलोऽन्ते || धानिः पठानिः धालाः, जसः, अन्ते ||
बुधः || धालाः जसः भारेश्वर मन्त्रिन परस्यानां नारायणानां ||

39. A corresponding ज, ध, ग, ठ or ्ञ is substituted for all consonants (with the exception of semivowels and nasals) at the end of a word.

As वागः बन्धः, भलिः भन्धः, स्त्रितिः शन्धः, सिहुः भन्धः || The word भलिः is formed by changing the ्ञ of भिद्ध to थ first, and then changing this थ to ्ञ, a jaś-letter.

The word अन्त ‘at the end’ is used in the sūtra to indicate that the anuvṛtti of धति ceases. Thus वत्ता, वल्लुः, वस्त्वयम् ||

The exceptions to this have been given in VIII. 2. 30 &c, and VIII. 2. 66. At an avasāna or Pause, a धर् consonant may be substituted for a ्ञ by VIII. 4. 56.

धपलस्या धर् || धतः || पठानिः धर्, त-थोः, धर्, अधः ||
बुधः || धर् उत्तरायोत्कारायाये धति पठानिः कर्मिनि ममवति ||

40. ध ऋ is substituted for त or थ coming after ध, ध, घ, ठ or ्ञ (jhash), but not after the root धा (्ञ) ||

Thus from ्ञ ध we have लक्ष्म, लक्ष्मभ, लक्ष्मभम, लक्ष्मभ, लक्ष्मभम ||
The ध of लक्ष्म is changed to व by VIII. 4. 53. From लक्ष्म—धोप्यम्, लक्ष्मभ, लक्ष्मभम्, लक्ष्मभ, लक्ष्मभम् ||
The ध is changed to ध by VIII. 2. 32, and then it is changed to ध by VIII. 4. 53.
From लिङ्गः—लेखः, लेखणः, लेखान्यः, पालिकः, भालिकः: इ। In लेखः &c, the श is changed to द by VIII. 2. 31, and च changed to च by VIII. 4. 41, before which the preceding द is elided by VIII. 3. 13.

From बृहः—बृहः, बृहत्त्यः, बृहात्यः, बृहः, बृहः: इ। For the च of बृहः there is substituted च by VIII. 4. 53.

Why do we say "but not after the root च"? Observe धनः, धनः: इ।

41. क is substituted for ः or द before श: इ।

Thus for ः of लिङ्गः we have विश्ववेशः, विश्व्यः, विश्वसः। For ः of लिङ्गः (लिङ्ग
VIII, 2. 31) we have देशः, देशः, दिशिसः।

For the श of the suffix श्य &c, is substituted च by VIII. 3. 59.

Why do we say "before श"? Observe पिनः, लेखः: इ।

रच्छ्याः निदातो नः: पूर्वस्य च द: इ। ५२। द्वारा रच्छ्याः, निदात: नः,
पूर्वस्य, च: द: इ।

The श for द: इ। एतत्संकायामुक्तज्ञ निदाताकारः नकार अविक्ष: भविषिः। पूर्वस्य चतुरार्थः।

42. After र and द, for the त of the Participial suffix त and तव, there is substituted ः, and the same substitution takes place also for the preceding द: इ।

After र:—आस्तीर्गृहः, विस्तृतीर्गृहः, विस्तीर्गृहः, निगृहः, अवगृहः: इ।

After द:—चंसः, चंत्रः, चंत्रः, चित्रः, चित्रः: इ।

The word र here does not denote the common sound र, which would include श also, but the consonant र: इ। But even if र be taken a common sound-name including र and च, yet the र change does not take place in रश्य &c, because between र and the र-sound, there intervenes vowel-sound ध, for र is sounded not like pure र, but र+ a vowel sound.

Why do we say "of the Participial suffix"? Observe का, का: इ।

Why do we say "for the त"? Observe चरितम, हरितम: इ। Here the त of the Nishṭhā does not follow immediately after र, the augment तद: intervenes.

Why do we say "of the preceding"? The succeeding र will not be changed. As चतुर्यायः, चतुर्यायः: इ।

In the word चतुर्यायः: the descendant of का: the त of Nishṭhā is immediately preceded by र, but no change has taken place, because the Vṛiddhi, by which श is changed to द, is Bahiranga and consequently asiddha, and for the purposes of र change, the र so obtained is invalid.
मृत्यु: इंग्लिशमियो भावाकारान्तो सम्बाच सत्तासरस्वाद्य निद्रासरास्वात्य नकारेरेशो भवति।

43. For the न of the Nīṣṭhā there is substituted न, after a root ending in आ and commencing with a conjunct consonant, if the latter contain a semi-vowel.

Thus from ग्र we have प्रमाण, प्रमाणयान्। ग्लानं, ग्लानायान् from ग्ला।

These roots ग्र and ग्ला end in आ, have a conjunct consonant in the beginning, one of which is a semi-vowel र and ल।

Why do we say “beginning with a double-consonant”? Observe बाल, बालायान्।

Why do we say “ending in आ”? Observe ब्रुत्, ब्रुतायान्; ब्रुव, ब्रुवायान्।

Why do we say “after a root”? Observe नियोजन, नियोजळ। For the roots here वा and वा do not begin with a conjunct consonant, and that which is a conjunct i.e. वा and वा is not a root, hence the rule does not apply.

Why do we say “having a क्षृ or semi-vowel”? Observe स्नात्, स्नातायान्।

ल्यानित्रयः: ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि: ॥ कृ-आदिवर्णः: ॥
भूतः: ॥ हुष्ट् छेत्रे हेण्यस्ताति दुः वर्ण दुःवर्ण भवेत्। ब्रह्मसाहित्यमेय समासिता स्थार्यो युष्मान्ते। तेषां उत्तराय निद्रासरास्वात्य नकारेरेशो भवति।

वासिकस्युः ॥ कृकारास्यघर्मः: फिरिज्जवर्गवतीति वक्त्र्याम् ॥ बा ॥ हुष्ट्ववर्गवतीति वक्त्र्याम् ॥

वान् ॥ पूर्णमा विनाशातिति वक्त्र्याम् ॥ बा ॥ सिंजयसतासि कर्मकटुक्ष्यति वक्त्र्याम् ॥

44. The न of Nīṣṭhā is changed to न, after the roots क्षृ and those that follow it.

These roots belong to Kṛyādi class, and commence from हुष्ट्वछेत्रे (IX. 13) and end with हुष्ट्वह्ल (IX. 32).

Thus भूत्, भूतायान्, पूर्ण, पूर्णायान्, जीन्, जीनायान् from ब्रा the vocalisation is by VI. 1. 16.

Vārt:—After a root ending in क्षृ or क्षृ and after a root of Luādi class, the न of the affix स्नात् is changed to न, like as in Nīṣṭhā। Thus कीनोः, गीवर्णोः, गीवर्णोः, हुष्ट्वोः, पूर्णोः: ॥ These are from क्षृ (IX. 26), क्षृ (IX. 28), क्षृ (IX. 18), हुष्ट्व and पूर्ण।

Vārt:—The vowel of the roots हुष्ट्व मातो (Bhu. 991) and हुष्ट्व (Bhu. 997), are lengthened before the Nīṣṭhā which is changed to न। As भूत्वर्णोः, विनाशः।

Vārt:—The न change takes place after पूर्ण ‘to destroy’ (Bhu. 1015). As भूत्या व्यायः: विनाशः। But पूर्ण व्यायः from पूर्ण ‘to purify’ (IX. 12).

Vārt:—The same change takes place after the root स्न वस्त्रि of Svādi class (2) when used in a Reflexive sense of becoming a morsel fit for swallowing. As स्निनो पुष्ट: स्नयान् i.e. where a morsel by being mixed with curd, condiments & c, becomes rounded of itself, there this form is used। बधायानः: पिण्डीक्षितान्ती प्रास्ति, यद्यद्यादिर्भवन स्वस्त्व तत्रावृत्यं प्रतिपद्धति तत् योगः। But
when not used in this sense, we have सिला पापेन स्फूर्ति। Moreover, the भाष must be the object and not the subject of the verb. Therefore not here:

सितो भाली देखनेन।

अविनासं ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अविना, च।

बुधिः। अभावते श्रवण्य निश्चितकारक-नकारात्मके मनोभावं ॥

45. The त of Nishṭāḥ is changed to न, after a root, which has an indicatory ओ in the Dhātupātha.

Thus भालकर्ता—तन्म्, तन्त्रार्थ, भालीकर्ता—विनिर्दित, विनिर्दितान। भार्यायी द्वैतः—आयनः, का पीनवाला।

The roots सूतम् माणिसैवे (Div. 24) &c. are considered as अविना। Thus, सूतम्, सूतसैवे; दूहे—दूहे, दूहसैवे; शिष्य—शिष्य, शिष्यसैवे; शिष्य—शिष्य, शिष्यसैवे; पौर्ण्य—पौर्ण्य, पौर्ण्यसैवे; भिमसैवे; भिमसैवे; भिमसैवे; भिमसैवे; भिमसैवे; भिमसैवे; भिमसैवे; भिमसैवे; भिमसैवे; भिमसैवे; भिमसैवे।

शितोष्कोष्कः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सितयः, द्वीयोऽविना।

बुधिः। सितोष्कोष्कः माणिसैवे निश्चितकारक-नकारात्मके मनोभावं ॥

46. The त of Nishṭāḥ is changed to न, after शिस्त, when the root-vowel is lengthened.

Thus श्रीणा: क्षिणा; श्रीणी आलः; श्रीणस्तपस्तः। The vowel of शिस्त is lengthened by VI. 4. 60 and 61.

Why do we say ‘when the vowel is lengthened’? Observe अविनास्तमि मनोविशेषः। The word अविनास्तमि is formed with त in the sense of भाष and means ‘imperishable’. The Nishṭāḥ being added in the sense of यथा, there is no lengthening of the vowel by VI. 4. 60.

The root शिस्त includes the two roots शि श्रये and शि नित्यायास्ति। As शिस्त: कामो सदा। See also the commentary of Sāyana on अविनास्तमि शि: सनेर्मितम् वाराज्जनः: शउदिन्येन। (Rig I. 5. 9).

Obj.—The form शिस्त: in the sūtra is the Genitive singular of the root-noun श्री-ending in long े, and will denote the root श्री-ending in long े according to the maxim मृद्वितिविशेषाणं भवति “an imitative name (as श्री here) is like its original (the root श्री)”. What is then the necessity of employing the word श्रीयोष्कः in the sūtra? For had the root शि with short े been meant, the form would have been शि।

Ans.—The dhātu imitative noun though taking यास्त्र (VI. 4. 77) as in शिस्त: includes the dhātu ending in short े also, as in sūtra VI. 4. 59, 60 where शि ending in short े is taken.

Q. If a root ending in short vowel may also be indicated by an imitative name, declined with यास्त्र augment, then why is the root शि exhibited in sūtra I. 3. 19 as शि: instead of शि: i.e. the sūtra ought to have been शि पृथ्वयाः जिवः and not शि पृथ्वयाः शि?
Ans. Here the word निष्ठ is not used as a dhātu-imitative word, there is no intention here to denote the verbal idea of the particular act connoted by the root निष्ठ; on the contrary, it simply expresses the mere form निष्ठ.

47. The Nīsthā त is changed to न after द्व, but not when the Participle denotes ‘cold’.

Thus श्रीनं द्वतः, श्रीनो मेवः, श्रीना वसा; but श्रीतं वर्षः, श्रीतो यादः, श्रीतिुढ़कः। The त्र of द्वतः is vocalised to न by VI. 1. 24.

The prohibition applies when the noun is an adjective and means ‘cold’; and not when it means a disease. Therefore we have मलिशालित: with न change.

The word स्पर्श is a guna word formed by श्यु, and denotes the particular guna or sensation to be sensed through the organ of touch. In this sense it is derived from the root स्पर्श संस्पर्शन। It also denotes a disease, deriving from स्पर्श उत्पत्ति। There is nothing to show, what स्पर्श is meant in the śūtrā. Explanation is the only refuge here.

48. The Nīsthā त is changed to न, after अच्छ, but not when it is in connection with an Ablative case.

Thus समक्रिय शुद्ध: पानी = पानी; तमातुः पशाः परक्रम:।

Why do we say ‘when not in construction with an Ablative case’?

Observe तद्फलं कृपावत: = तद्फल ‘drawn out’.

The word स्वतंत्र is from the root स्वतंत्र स्वतंत्रस्वयं कालिगतिं, and not from the root अच्छ, and hence the Nīsthā is not changed.

49. The Nīsthā त is changed to न, after दिव, when the sense is not that of ‘play’.

The word जितिनीया means “desire of conquest or gain”, but here it means “gambling”.

Thus आच्छ: = श्रीक्रियः, परिश्रम: = श्रीण:। Why do we say “when it does not mean to play”? Observe द्रुतम् वर्ष:। Here the throwing of dice is with the desire of winning or gaining victory (विजिष्ठा) over the opponent.

निर्मणो द्वारे। ५५॥ पदाति || निर्मण: अ-चाते।

ृंचिः || निर्मण इति निर्माणादायसत्सना निर्माणकारस्य नकारो निपातबले। न चेदातापिकरो शाबदिः।
50. The word निवाण is irregularly formed by changing the Nis्थात to न, when the sense is not that of ‘wind’.

The word निवाण is formed from the root या, with the preposition नित्र and the Participial affix त। Thus निवायणं, उपरतनं, निवायणं, प्रसृणं, निवायणोऽनिष्ठुः = उपरतः।

Why do we say when not meaning “the wind”? Observe निवाते यात्रा, निवाते यात्रा।

In the sentences निवाणं, प्रतीपे यात्रा, निवायणोऽनिवात्रे, the न change has taken place, because the location of the verb या is in the प्रतीप and भला, and not in the यात्रा, which is merely an Instrument. Hence the above वृद्धि uses the words “if the sense of the verb या does not govern यात्रा in the locative case”.

शूचः कः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ शूचः, कः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शूचः शूचयतः प्रत्यावर्तस्य निवायात्कारस्य ककारावशोऽभवति ॥

51. क is substituted for the Nis्थात after the root शूचः ॥

As शूचः, शूचनात् ॥

पचो या ॥ ५२ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ पचः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पचो शूचयतः प्रत्यावर्तस्य निवायात्कारस्य ककारावशोऽभवति ॥

52. या is substituted for the Nis्थात after the root पचः ॥

As पचः, पचवायः ॥

क्षयो मः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ क्षयः, मः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षयं शूचयतः प्रत्यावर्तस्य निवायात्कारस्य ककारावशोऽभवति ॥

53. म is substituted for the Nis्थात after the root शूचः ॥

Thus क्षयः, क्षयवायः ॥

प्रसृणायंतरस्यायं ॥ ५४ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ प्रसृणं, अन्यतः रस्यायं ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रसृणायं रस्त्यैव प्रत्यावर्तस्य निवायात्कारस्य ककारावशोऽभवति ॥

54. म is optionally substituted for the Nis्थात, after the root स्या preceded by मः ॥

Thus प्रसृणं, प्रसृणवः, प्रसृणवायः, प्रसृणवायः ॥ In the second alternative when म does not come, we first vocalise the root स्या into स्ती, and then add मः ॥ Had Samprasāraṇa not taken place first, then the Nis्थात म would have been changed to न after स्या by VIII. 2. 43. But when samprasāraṇa is
once made, the root no longer has a semi-vowel and so there remains no occasion for the application of VIII. 2. 43. See VI. 1. 23 for vocalisation.

अनुपसगोळःकुञ्जसङ्गस्मोलापः || 55 || पदानि || अनुपसगोळः, कुञ्ज-श्रीव-कश- उलापः ||

वृचिः || कुञ्ज श्रीव कश उला प निपात्यते म बशुङ्गसङ्गस्मोलापः मवानि ||

वापिक || सुञ्जससुञ्जस्योतिर्नंतर्ययम् ||

55. The irregular Participles कुञ्ज, श्रीव, कश and उला are formed then only, when no Preposition precedes them.

The word कुञ्ज is derived from the root बिपला विशाले the श is changed to स || The change of श to स (VII. 4. 88) and the want of शुऽ augment (VII. 2. 16) are regular. The same change takes place before सन्भऽ also, as सब्रवऽ ||

The affix श is elided after the roots श्रीव, कश and उला—ला, and the augment शुऽ is prohibited; this is the irregularity in श्रीव, कश and उला: ||

Why do we say when not preceded by a Preposition? Observe प्रज्ज्ञऽ: श्रीवसऽ, प्रशीचितः, प्रश्चितिः, प्रोक्तापितः: || In the case of सला, prepositions other than श्वै are prohibited.

Or the augment शुऽ is added, and then शुऽ is elided from प्रसीवितः: &c. See VIII. 2. 3 वार्त.

वार्तः—The forms कुञ्जः and सुञ्जः should be enumerated. Here श is changed to स, though the root has taken a Preposition.

In the word परिक्षः, the word परिः is not a Preposition with regard to the verb कुञ्जः; परिगतः: कुञ्जः—परिक्षः: || So that परिः is upasarga of the verb गतः understood, hence we have the form कुञ्जः: ||

न्यगदानिस्कामध्यास्मिन्न अन्यतरस्याम || 56 || पदानि || नुऽ, विवः, उन्दः, श्र, ग्र, हितः, अन्यतरस्याम ||

वृचिः || नुऽ विवः उन्दः श्र ग्र श्र श्र श्रवेदेण्या उच्चरन निपात्यते नकार आदिवशितः भवितः अन्यतरस्याम: ||

करिकः—वेशेयो विधितो निष्ठा विधेयोर्वें इष्ठते ||

विपरीत्या विचार्यो विचरणो विन्तते: ||

56. The Nishtha न may optionally be changed to न, after नुऽ, विवः, उन्दः, श्र, ग्र, हितः ||

Thus नुऽ: नुऽ श्र, विवः: विवः, सुञ्जः: सुञ्जः, ग्रः: ग्रः, हितः: हितः: ||

With regard to हितः, the न change was not ordained by any rule, and so it is an aprāpta-vibhāṣā. With regards to others, the न change would have always taken place by VIII. 2. 42 and 43, this makes it optional.

The root विव विचार्यो of Rudhādi is to be taken here, and not the other विव roots. Thus the following: करिकः
The Nishṭhā of विन्दुः—बैल of Adādi class is विनित्; (2) of विन्दुः—विनते of Divādi class is विन्तः only; (3) of विन्दु of Tudādi is विन्दु; (4) of विन्दु of Rudhādi are both विन्दु: and विन्दु:। The Tudādi विन्दु has also the form विन्दु: in the sense of अभेड़ by VIII. 2. 58.

न ध्वाल्यांगनानां निदानमदाम् || 57 || पदानि || न, ध्य, ख्य, प, मूर्त्त, मद्राम ||

बृजः: || ध्य ख्य प मूर्त्त न निदानमदानां निदानकारस्य नकारार्था न भवति ||

57. The Nishṭhā न is not changed to न after ध्या, ख्या, प, मूर्त्त and मद्र ||

Thus ध्यातः, ध्यात्वान, ख्यातः, ख्यात्वान, पूर्तः, पूर्तवान, मूर्त्तः, मूर्त्तवान, मद्रः, मद्रवान ||

This debars the न change prescribed by VIII. 2. 42, 43.

The root मूर्त्त is exhibited in the sūtra in its lengthened form; the root मद्र is lengthened by VIII. 2. 78, and the म is elided before न by VI. 4. 21.

विन्दुः भोगाध्यययोः || 58 || पदानि || विन्दुः, भोग, प्रत्यययोः ||

बृजः: || विन्दु इति विनिदामवानां तत्त्व निदानवानो निदानयां भोगोऽपि प्रत्यययाः चाविन्दुः ||

58. The irregularly formed Participle विन्दु denotes ‘possessions’ and ‘renowned’.

This is derived from विन्दुः लघु of Tudādi class, the न is not changed to न though so required by VIII. 2. 42.

Thus विनिदामवान, प्रत्यययां ‘he has much riches’. Because riches are enjoyed (सुखोऽस), so they are called भोग or ‘enjoyments’ par excellence.

In the sense of ‘renowned’, we have विनिदामवान मद्रः: ‘this man is renowned or famous’. Here विन्दुः=प्रत्यययः || प्रत्यययः=प्रत्यययः ||

Why do we say when having the sense of ‘possessions’ and ‘famous’? Observe विन्दुः: ||

विन्दुः शाक्तवः || 59 || पदानि || विनिदाम, शाक्तवः ||

बृजः: || विनिदामवान निदामवानो शाक्तवो च विनिदामवानो ||

59. The word विनिदाम is irregularly formed in the sense of ‘a fragment, a portion’.

Thus विनिदाम विनिदाम, विनिदाम प्रत्यययः || This is synonymous with शाक्तव. The root-meaning of विनिदाम is not very manifest in this word, it may be taken as a rudhi word. The regular form is विनिदाम under VIII. 2. 42.

श्रद्धामयप्रयः || 60 || पदानि || श्रद्धाम, भाध्मयः ||

बृजः: || श्रद्धामयति विशेषतः शाक्तवां निदामवानो शाक्तवो च विनिदामवानो श्रद्धामयः ||

60. The word श्रद्धाम is irregularly formed in the sense of ‘debt’.

It is derived from क्र, the न is changed to न || The word भाध्मय is compounded from भाध्म क्रोऽस “he who in a debt transaction holds a lower position”—
i.e. a debtor. This nipātana shows that such irregular Locative compounds may be formed; for here the first member is not in the Locative case, but the second member. The condition of being a debtor is भागमत्य य or "indebtedness;"

If this is so, then the word िसमार्थ: 'creditor' cannot be formed. This is no valid objection. For भागमत्य is illustrative only of something to be paid hereafter, in consideration of something formally received; and thus includes भागमत्य also; which also has been so employed by the author himself in धारिरसमां: ( I. 4. 35).

The word ऋध we use in sentences like ऋधे व्याहिति, ऋधे धारिति. Why do we say when meaning 'debt'? Observe कसं व्रशवारि, नायुतः।। नासातिनिपसातुसतुसुसुकृतानि छद्दिसि ६१।। पदार्थि नसति, निपथि, अनुति, प्रतुति, सृति, गृति, छन्दिसि।। गुर्ज: ६१।। नसिनिपि अनुप्रां श्रुति गृहुि गुर्जा इत्यादि छन्दि विषये नियति।।

61. In the Chhandas we have the following irregular Participles:—nasatta, nishatta, anutta, pratūtta, sūrtta, gūrtta.

The words नसति and निपथि are derived from the root सत् preceded by न and ति, and there is not the न change of VIII. 2. 42. Thus नसिनिपसात्. In secular literature we have नसति. So also निपथि: in the Vedas, but निपसाति: in secular literature. The word अनुति: is from अनु with the negative ति. The option of VIII. 2. 56 does not apply here. As अनुति: ते मयाषि (= अनुति:) प्रतुति: is from सत् or सृत्, as प्रतुति: धारिति (= प्रतुति:) When it is derived from सत् then त् is added by VI. 4. 20; and when from सृत् then VI. 4. 21 is applied. गुर्जि: is from गृ, the गृ is changed to गृ irregularly, as सृतार्थिः:सृतार्थिः: गृति: is from गृहुि, as गृहुि गृहात्मः (= गृहृि)।।

क्रिमिन्यस्य क्रृ: ६२।। पदार्थि क्रित, प्रत्येक, क्रूः।। गृहुि: पदस्यस्य वर्तते। क्रिमिन्यस्य सर्वेऽ पदार्थि क्षुविध्यते। क्रिमिन्यो ब्रम्हाज्ञातोऽस क्रिमिन्योऽस, स्त्रयः पद्यालोनस्य कर्तमांशिः भवति।।

62. A stem formed with the affix क्रित under III. 2. 58 &c, substitutes, at the end of a word, a guttural for the final consonant.

The word पदस्य is understood here. The word क्रितस्य is a Bahuvrihi meaning 'that stem which has kвин as its affix.' For the final consonant of such a stem, a guttural is substituted. As गृहुिसर्व (III. 2. 58), हलसर्वः, मनसर्वः।।

The गृहुि could have been क्रित: क्रृ; the word पदस्य is used in the सृत्रा to show the Bahuvrihi compound; so that the द्व of क्रित may not be changed to a guttural. Moreover this Bahuvrihi also indicates that the roots which take the क्रित affix, change their final to a guttural before other affixes than क्रितः।।
Thus the roots सुर्य and सृष्टि take द्वितीय to form सृष्टि and सुर्य nouns by III. 2. 59, 60. The guttural change will take place even when these roots are declined as verbs: as, नारी वस्त्राक माती वक्त्राक; where वस्त्राक and वक्त्राक are the Aorist of सृष्टि and सुर्य. The augment त्रं is not elided, though the म is added (VI. 4. 75) as a Vedic diversity. The द्वितीय augment also does not take place as a Vedic irregularity. The augment अस्ति is added by VI. 1. 58, and the vowel is lengthened by विद्याद्धि by VII. 2. 3. Thus अस्ति+सृष्टि+सृष्टि=अस्ति (VI. 1. 58)=अस्ति (VII. 2. 3 and VIII. 2. 62). Other wise it would have been म by VIII. 2. 36. So also in द्वितीय, द्वितीय, the श is changed to a guttural, though the noun ज्ञान is a द्वितीय formed noun and not formed by द्वितीय; and this is so, because the verb ज्ञान does take द्वितीय also.

Obj. If this be so, there ought to be a guttural change in रहस्यसृष्टि-थां from the root सृष्टि with द्वितीय? Ans. The guttural change however in not desired here.

In gutturalisation, ज is changed to श, and श to ख, which both become क by यासानी (VIII. 4. 56)

नदेव्ये || दस || पदार्थ || नदेव्ये; या ||

वृत्ति: || पास्यित्व यथादि || नदेव्ये; पास्य या कल्याणबिंथोभवति भवति

63. The final of नुश at the end of a word is optionally changed to a guttural.

The word पास्य is understood here also. As शा वे जीवनस्वस्तिः (Maitr. S. I. 4. 13): or शा वे जीवनस्वस्तिः. According to Pro. Bohtlingk this latter form is not found in the Samhātā.

Here the root नुश has taken द्वितीय in denoting ‘condition or state’; by considering it as belonging to संसारित class.

जीवनस्य नामः=जीवनको or जीवनतः. The gutturalisation optionally debars the श change of VIII. 2. 36. When the श change takes place, this श is changed to र by VIII. 2. 39 and VIII. 4. 56.

मनो धारा: || दश || पदार्थ || मः; नः; धारा: ||

वृत्ति: || सकारात्मक धारा: पास्य नकारात्मक भवति

64. म is substituted, at the end of a word, for the final म of a root.

As मन्तव्य, मन्त्र, मन्य. These are formed by adding द्वितीय to the roots शय, तम् and शृष्टि. The lengthening takes place by VI. 4. 15. The श being considered as asiddha is not elided.

Why do we say “of म-ending roots”? Observe निम्, चित् ||

Why do we say “of a root”? Observe द्वितीय, द्वितीय ||
The word पत्रम् is understood here also. So we have प्रताय, प्रतायम्: where म is not at the end of a word.

म्वोधवं || ६५ || पद्यानि || म. थों; व ||
बृःति: || मकाँयकारुय्यक परत: मकारुय्यन्यय धातपर्यायेभय महति ||

65. न is substituted for the म of a root before the affixes beginning with म and व ||

As अगमव, अगमम the Imperfect of गमम, as in the sentence अगमम तमस्म: पारयम। The श ‘ is elided as a Vedic diversity. So also अगमम, with वर्त्त, the augment दृष्ट is not added by the option allowed, owing to VII. 1. 68. This सूत्र applies to those cases where the म is not at the end of a word, as it was in the last sūtra.

सज्जित्यो र् ॥ ६६ || पद्यानि || स. सज्जित्यो; र् ॥
बृःति: || सकारुरुय्यन्य पत्रम् सज्जित् इलंत्ति च हरम्यति ||

66. For the final र् and for the र् of सज्जित् is substituted र्, at the end of a word.

Thus अनित्व, सादुरु. So also सज्जित्तिविनित्त; सज्जित्तिविनित्त: र् सज्जित्त is derived from ज्जित्त with the affix ज्जित्त and the preposition संह which is changed to र् in Bahuvrihi. The lengthening takes place by VIII. 2. 76. and the word means सम्प्राति: || The र् is र्, but it should be distinguished from it. This secondary र् (or र्) undergoes a distinct and separate Sandhi change from that of the primary र् ||

अन्वया: अन्तवा: पुरोदायाः ॥ ६७ || पद्यानि || अन्वया:; अन्तवा:; पुरोदाय:; व ||
बृःति: || अन्वया: अन्तवा: पुरोदाया: इलेव सिष्ट परम्यते ||

67. The same substitution takes place for the final of the Nominatives of अन्वया:; अन्तवा:; and पुरोदाय:; ||

The word अन्वया: is from अन्तव + र्; अन्तवा: from अन्तव + र्, and पुरोदाय: from पुरोदाय + र्. The affix र् is added to the two latter by III. 2. 71. The word अन्वयाः is also formed by र् (III. 2. 72). Thus the three words अन्तवा; पुरोदाय; and अन्वया: are formed. These words take the affix र् before the Pada- terminations (See Vârtika to III. 2. 71). After having taken र्, the above forms अन्वया: अन्तवा:; पुरोदाया:; are made in Nominative singular irregularly.

Why is this nipaṭana, when र् would have come by the last sutra and the lengthening would have taken place by VI. 4. 14, of the words अन्वया; अन्तवा:; पुरोदाय? They are so exhibited here, for making them long in the Vocative singular also. For they could not have been lengthened in the Vocative singular, because VI. 4. 14 does not apply to it. Thus हें अन्वया; हें अन्तवा; हें पुरोदाय:}
The word र shows that other forms, not enumerated, may also be included here under. As हे उक्त्यादः: \[२३\]

अहृतम् \(\text{६२}\) पदानि \(\text{अहृतम्} \)

वृत्तिः: भावनिवेशनिब पवस्य दर्शविति

वार्तिकम्: अहृत हे शृंगारितिः उपरात्तिः उपसंख्यान्त कर्मिक्यम्।

68. र is also substituted for the न of अहृतम् at the end of a Pada.

Thus अहृतम्, अहृतमि: \[२३\] The sūtra exhibits the form अहृतम् without the elision of न, in order to indicate that there is not elision of न. \[२३\] As शीघ्रः, नित्यः; हे शीघ्रः भृत्तिः।

See Vārtika to VIII. 2. 7. The न of अहृतम् is not changed to र in the sūtra by VIII. 2. 69, because it is intended to show the word-form अहृतम्. The Nominal stem is Pada in the above examples by I. 4. 17.

Vārt:—Before the words रप, यानि and रपतार, the न of अहृतम् is changed to र. \[२३\] As अहृतमपूर्व, अहृतार, अहृतारस्तरं साम।

This is an exception to VIII. 2. 69. Others say, that this र change takes place universally before all words beginning with र; as अहृतम्, अहृतमि।

रोपसुपि \(\text{६२}\) पदानि \(\text{र्, अ-सुपि} \)

बृत्तिः: भावनिवेशनिब रसाविशो भव्याचूततिः परतः।

69. When no case-ending follows (i.e. at the end of a Pada in the narrower sense), र is substituted for the न of अहृतम्.

Thus अहृतदाति, अहृतुक्ती। Why do we say ‘when no case-ending follows’?

Observe अहृतयायम्, अहृतमि:। Here र-called र replaced the final न of अहृतम्। The difference between this र-called र and the ordinary र is illustrated in the above set of examples. The र-called र is changed to र by VI. 1. 113, the ordinary र is not so changed.

Obj. In अहृतदाति and अहृतुक्ती the case-ending is elided after अहृतम्, and so by Pratyaya - lakshana, we may say that there is a case-ending here also? Ans. This is not so, because of the following maxim अहृत रविचार लक्षणता लुप्तेऽपि अहृतम्।

The rule of pratyaya lakshana does not apply to the substitution of र for the final of अहृतम् when the affix has been elided by लुक्त or लुप्त। Therefore, this अहृतम् is not considered to be followed by लुप्त or case-affix. But where an affix is elided by using the word लोपा, there the rule of Pratyaya - lakshana does apply to अहृतम्। As हे दीर्घाविशेजः, हे दीर्घाविशेजः।

(VIII. 2. 7). Here the affix is elided by using the word ‘lopa’ by VI. 1. 68.

अस्मार्थप्रवर्तियुभयेऽद्यद्यति \(\text{७०}\) पदानि \(\text{अस्माः, अस्वसः, अवसः, शति} \)

उभययथा, चन्द्रिति।

बृत्तिः: भव्याः अस्मि अस्वस इत्येव चन्द्रिति विद्येऽवभया भवाति।
70. In the Chhandas, both \( \text{स} \) and \( \text{र} \) are substituted for the final of amnas, ādhas, and avas.

Thus \( \text{स} \) or \( \text{र} \) both replace the final of \( \text{प्रचेतस} \) before \( \text{ररमन्न} \), in the Vedic as well as in the secular language. As \( \text{प्रचेता ररमन्न} (\text{VIII. 3. 14, VI. 3. 111}) \) प्रचे-
तो ररमन्न.

\( \text{वार्ता} \) :- The words \( \text{भर्त्र} \) &c before \( \text{पति} \) &c should be enumerated. That is, the finals of \( \text{भर्त्र} \) &c are replaced by \( \text{र} \) or \( \text{स} \) before \( \text{पति} \) &c. As. \( \text{भर्तरति} \) or \( \text{भर्त्र} \) पति: or \( \text{भर्त्र} \) पति:; \( \text{भर्त्रु} \); \( \text{भर्त्र} \times \text{पति} \); \( \text{भर्त्र} \); \( \text{ग्री} \); \( \text{ग्री} \times \text{पति} \); \( \text{द्वृत्ति} \), \( \text{श्र} \) पति; \( \text{श्र} \) पति; \( \text{श्र} \times \text{पति} \). Here \( \text{र} \) is substituted for the final \( \text{र} \) of \( \text{भर्त्र} \) &c, which at first sight may appear superfluous. But it is so ordained, in order to prevent the visarga change of this \( \text{र} \).

\( \text{सुवर्ष} \) महाव्याहते: \( \text{र} \) \( \text{पदानि} \) \( \text{सुवर्ष} \), \( \text{महाव्याहते} \).

71. In the Chhandas, \( \text{स} \) and \( \text{र} \) may replace the final of the word \( \text{सुवर्ष} \) when used as a mahā-vyāhriti.

Thus \( \text{सुवर्षीयन्नर्विक्षम} \) or \( \text{सुवर्ष इत्यन्नर्विक्षम} \). The mahā-vyāhritis are three, used generally before the famous Gāyatri mantra. They denote respectively the earth, the firmament and the heaven. \( \text{सुवर्ष} \) is an Indeclinable and a Vyāhriti denoting the firmament. The other two are \( \text{र} \) and \( \text{स} \).

Why do we say when it is a mahā-vyāhriti? Observe \( \text{सुवर्ष} \) विविधाय \( \text{सुवर्षे} \) वासित्वः. Here \( \text{सुवर्ष} \) is a verb, 2nd Pers. Singular, Imperfect ( \( \text{सुवर्ष} \) ) of the root \( \text{सु} \), without guṇa of the root, and the \( \text{सु} \) augment is not added as a Vedic diversity.

\( \text{वसुसुसु सहस्वन्नहां} \) \( \text{द} \) \( \text{पदानि} \) \( \text{वसु, संसु, प्रंसु, अनुदहाम्} \). \( \text{द} \) \( \text{पुर्णि} \) सरस्त्वन्नर्विक्षम: स इति वर्तते. सरस्त्वन्नर्विक्षम: सारस्त्वन्नर्विक्षम: संहारं \( \text{संहार} \) अनुदहाम् इत्यदेवः ज दक्षरोञ्छेऽभवति.

72. \( \text{स} \) is substituted for the final \( \text{स} \) of a word ending in the affix \( \text{वस} \), and for the final of \( \text{संसु, प्रंसु} \) and \( \text{अनुदहाम्} \) at the end of a Pada (in the wider sense I. 4. 14, 17).

The anuvṛtti of \( \text{स} \) is understood here from VIII. 2. 66. It qualifies \( \text{वस} \) only, and not the rest. That is, when the word formed by the affix \( \text{वस} \) ends with \( \text{स} \), such \( \text{स} \) is replaced by \( \text{स} \). For a word formed by \( \text{वस} \) does not
sometimes end in स्, and in those cases the rule will not apply. As भस् and अस् always end in स्, there is no necessity of qualifying these by the स् of VIII. 2. 66. अनुदि ends in ह् and so स् cannot qualify it.

Thus विधुहा-, विधुद्धि-, परिवर्त्त्याम्, परिब्रह्मिः with वस्- affix. संस्कृत—उल्ला, भ्रम, उल्ला क्रमम् || (VII. 1.70 and III. 2. 36). विधुहा—परिवर्त्त्याम्, परिब्रह्मिः || अनुदि—
अनुदि, अनुदि ||

But when a वस् formed word does not end in स्, the rule does not apply. As विध्र, परिपाण || Here ग्न is not changed to ह्न ||

In the case of वस्, the ह् is ordained, before any other rule manifests itself; thus in विध्र p this ह् debars ह्; so why should it not debar the rule relating to the elision of the final in विध्र also? This rule sets aside ह्, but it does not, however, over-rule the elision-rule, because it is not directly connected with this change.

Why in अनुदि the भ्न is not changed to ह्न? By the very fact, that न्न is ordained (विध्र-सामवर्त्त्याम्), this भ्न will not be changed to ह्न: otherwise न्न rule would become superfluous; for it would be easier to say let भ्न be changed to ह्न, and we should get the form अनुदि by this rule without न्न.||

Obj:—If this be so, that the न्न is not changed to ह्न because of giving it a scope, then in अनुदि अन, this न्न should not be changed into ह्न by VIII. 3. 9?

Ans:—No; the maxim is that that rule is set aside, with regard to which a particular rule would become useless, if not so over-ruled: but that rule is not set aside which is only an occasion for the application of another rule (भ्न तिप मतिर वर्तेऽपि, स्वति स्वर्त्त पति तिर मितिः स्वतिः ह्न।) || With regard to ह्न change, the न्न vidhi is useless (anarthaka), with regard to ह्न change, it is merely an occasion.

The word पद्धस्त is understood here also, so the change does not take place in विध्रस्त्र and विध्रान्सत्तृ: ||

तिपमस्तः: || ७३ || पद्धानि || तिप, अन्त-अस्तः: ||
शृः: || तिप परस: सकारात्मक पद्धस्त्य अन्तस्वत्ताकार आदिशो भवाति। ||

73. ह्न is substituted for the final स् of a root, with the exception of अस्, before the Personal ending ति (ह्न), when it stands at the end of a word.

The स् of a root can stand at the end of a word when the Personal-ending is dropped. Thus अचकास्त भवान्, अन्तकास्त भवान्, from the roots चकास् and शास्.|| The Personal affix is elided by VI. 1. 68, and thereby स् comes to stand at the end of a Pada.

Why do we say ‘before तिप’? Observe चकास् formed by विध्र affix added to the root.
Why do we say 'with the exception of अस्'? See भाप एवें लिते सवधे भां:। Here भां: is the Imperfect 3rd Person singular of असू। The इङ् is not added as a Vedic irregularity. See VII. 3. 93, 97.

सिपि धातो रूि् । ओ ॥ पद्यानि॥ सिपि, धातो:। इङ्, धां:।

वृत्ति:। सिपि प्रस्त: वकारान्तः पदस्य धातो:। इङ्त्यमार्थं भावति वकारो वा।।

74. इङ् or इङ् may optionally be substituted for the इङ् of a root, before the Personal ending सि (सू), when such इङ् stands at the end of a Pada.

Thus अचकास् लम् or अचकात् लम्, अचकास् लम् or अचकास् लम्।। For the इङ् is first substituted वसिरजाणि, which is then changed to इङ्।।

The word धातो is employed in the सूत्रa for the sake of the subsequent सूत्रas: so also the word इङ्।।

इङ् । ओ॥ पद्यानि॥ इङ्, इङ्।

वृत्ति:। इङ्त्यमार्थं धातो:। पदस्य सिपि प्रस्तो सुभवति दकारे वा।।

75. इङ् or इङ् may optionally be substituted for the final इङ् of a root, before the Personal-affix सि, when such इङ् stands at the end of a Pada.

Thus अभिन्तः लम् or अभिन् लम्, अभिन्तः लम् or अभिन् लम्।। बौधखास् धीरेश्वरः।। ओु॥ पद्यानि॥ ओुः, उपपथायाः।। धीरेश्, इङ्॥

वृत्ति:। रेपकारान्तः धातो:। पदस्य उपपथा हको धीरं भवति।।

76. A penultimate इङ् or इङ् is lengthened, when the final इङ् of a root can stand at the end of a Pada.

Thus धी:ं, धोः, धूः, आशी:।। These are all examples of roots ending in र।। Of roots ending in इङ्, examples will be given in the next सूत्रा.

Why have we used the word ‘penultimate’? Observe अविनंद्व, भवानु, here the इङ् of the reduplicative syllable is not to be lengthened.

Why do we say ‘of इङ् vowels’? So that the इ: of इङ् in the above example अविनंद्व may not be lengthened.

The word धातो: ‘of a root’ is understood here also. Therefore इङ् and इङ् are not lengthened in भवानु, भाः।।

The word पदस्य is understood here also, therefore, not here, निरू, निरू॥

इङ् च॥ ओु॥ पद्यानि॥ इङ्, इङ्॥

वृत्ति:। इङ् च प्रस्त: रेपकारान्तः धातोरथमाया हको धीरं भवति।।

77. Of a root ending in र or इङ्, the penultimate इङ् or इङ् is lengthened, before a consonantal beginning affix.

Thus भास्तीणं, वनरेणं, वनीणं, अवण्णं, all ending in र।। So also, इङ्, सीनि, इङ्, इङ्, ending in इङ्।।
The phrase "of the root", is understood here also. Therefore not here, दिश्यति य चूर्यति, which are derived from the nouns दिश्य and चूर्य i.e. दिश्य-निष्ठाति = दिश्यति; and चूर्य द्रष्टि = चूर्यति.

The phrase इक: "of the vowels र or ल" is understood here also. Therefore not here, सर्वति, भावम्.

This rule applies to cases which are not final in a pada: but to cases where र or ल are in the middle of a pada or word.

उपायां च || ९ || पदाति || उपायायम्, च ||

बृजति: || भाषार्थशाश्वतो ये रूपकारिः हन्नरी तत्वोपधाराया इको हीरं भवति.

78. The short र or ल of a root is lengthened, when the verb has र or ल as its penultimate letter, and is followed by a consonant.

The anuvṛtti of हि is current. The root must end in a consonant, and must have a र or ल as preceding such consonant, for the application of this rule. Thus हृदि, हृदि, मूलि, मूलि, तुलि, तुलि, तृति, तृति, तृति, तृति.

The र or ल must be followed by a consonant. Therefore not here: as, विरि, विरि are roots having a penultimate र, which however is followed by a vowel. Therefore we have विरिन्धाति, विरिन्धाति.

Q.—Why there is not lengthening in रिक्ति, रिक्ति: or रिक्ति, रिक्ति: Perfect, forms derived from the roots रि गति and वी गति &c? Here the र of the abhyāsa required lengthening, and it would not be shortened, as it is asiddha.

A.—The रौ substitute of हि here by VI. 4. 82, is treated as श्लानिवत, to हि, and therefore, the रि or लि is considered as not to be followed by a consonant, and hence there is no lengthening. Another reason is, that the जूर substitute is taught in angādhihikāra (VI. 4. 82), and depends upon the affix, and is consequently Bahiranga, with regard to this rule of lengthening which is antaranga. Hence रौदिन्दि: is considered as asiddha. Therefore रि and लि are not followed by a consonant (for लि is not considered as such for the above reasons).

Similarly in चुच्चिल्लिन्ति: formed with ल्लि affix from the Denominative (क्यूँ) root चुच्चिल्लिन्ति: Here हि is added before ल्लि as चुच्चिल्लि + हि + ल्लि and then ल्लि is elided, चुच्चिल्लि + हि + ल्लि: Here the elision of ल्लि is a Bahiranga process, and therefore, रि is not here really penultimate, and so there is no lengthening of the vowel.

In प्रतिविन्द्य (Instrumental singular) there is lengthening by VIII. 2. 77. To the root प्रतिविन्द्य is added कालिन्य by Un I. 156, and we have प्रतिविन्द्य. To this is added य (Instrumental affix), as प्रतिविन्द्य + य, and य is elided by VI. 4. 134, and we get प्रतिन्द्य: The lengthening takes place here, the elision of य is not considered here as श्लानिवत, and so रि becomes penultimate. In fact,
here we apply the maxim that a lopa substitute of a vowel is not to be considered as sthānivat when a rule of lengthening is to be applied (See I. 1, 58).

Q.—Well, let it not be sthānivat, but the elision by VI. 4. 134, depends upon a case-affix, and is Bahiranga, and therefore asiddha for the purposes of this rule which is antaranga: and so therefore, there would be no lengthening?

Ans.—The maxim of असिद्ध बहिरक्षणसुपर्यायम् should not be applied here: because it is an anitya rule.

The word निजित्र is formed by the Uṇādi affix कित्र added to the root यू (जित्र), the य being changed to व (Uṇ V. 49). So also कित्रि and कित्रित are formed by the Uṇādi affix कित्र added to कू and कृ (Up IV 143). The Genitive Dual of which is कित्रिक and कित्रिक. There is no lengthening in निजित्र, कित्रिक and कित्रिक, on the maxim that the Uṇādi formed words are primitive words and not Derivative; and so the rules of etymological changes do not apply to them (उण्डोवेद्यवचनस्मी प्रारंभचारणि)

न भक्तुःसः || ७९ || पद्वनि || न, भ्, कुः, कुःराम ||

बुति: || रेष्यकारकावनाशन भन्य कुः कुः स्वेतयोग दीयिं न भवति ||

79. The lengthening of vowel does not take place under VIII. 2. 77, when the Nominal stem ending in र or व is called Bha (i.e. when a य follows), and also not in कुः and कुः.

Thus पुरं (पुरं बहन्य IV. 4. 77 or पुरं साहु) || Similarly कुयां, कुयां || The latter is Benedictive of कुः छेडः ||

Why have we qualified the word भ by saying that it must end in य or य? Observe प्रतिवदा, प्रतिवदा. For here the stem which ends in य is not Bha, and the stem which is Bha does not end in य but in भ ||

अद्वितीयाः स्वरूपाः भो म: || भाः || पद्वनि || अद्वित: अथे: दातूः, उ, दूः, म: ||

बुति: || अद्वितीयाः स्वरूपाः भास्य भास्य वर्णविद्वार्त्य गति दकारूः च मकारूः ||

वाल्लक: || अद्वितीयाः स्वरूपाः इति वर्ण्यम् ||

Kārikā—अद्वितीयाः पृथवीः भुवने के प्रितहितानि नववत: ||

के विस्मरोपस्थिस्म मेघके स्वतिः रक्षये ||

80. When the pronoun अद्वित does not end in स, then there is substituted व or व for the vowel after र, and म for दू ||

Thus अभ्रम, अभ्रु, अभ्रु, अभ्रन, अभ्रप्राय, अद्वित is substituted for अद्वित before a case-ending by VII. 2. 102, which in Feminine becomes भर || By the
present sūtra read with I. 1. 50, अद्व is substituted for अद्व and अद्व for अद्व. The अ which replaces one-mātrā vowel will be one-mātrā अ i.e. short अ, and the अ which replaces a two-mātrā vowel will be a two-mātrā अ i.e. long अ. See I. 1. 50.

Why do we say, “not ending in स”? Observe अद्व इक्ष्ठि = अद्व याति।।

Obj. How can this be a valid example, as the word इक्ष्ठि is understood here, and अद्व before the affix याति is not a pada (I. 4. 15)? Ans. This indicates that the अ change takes place, even when अद्व is not a pada. As अद्व याति।।

Vārt:-It should rather be stated that the rule applies to that अद्व which has no ओ, or स or र।। So that the prohibition may apply to अद्व याति।। अद्व याति।। The visarjaniya being considered as asiddha, this word is considered as ending in र।।

In order to apply the prohibition to ओ and र also, some explain the sūtra thus:—च: येवेव्य सोपांसि:। अद्व सकारस्य अकाराः कियति।। “The word अकारय: in the sūtra is a Bahuvrihi, and means that in which अ is substituted for स।। The sūtra is thus confined to the form अकारय: derived by changing the स into अ by VII 2. 102: and not to any other अकार।।

When अद्व takes the final-substitute अकारि by VI. 3. 92, how is this rule to be applied? Thus by III. 2. 59, the root अ खके akes क्रिया।। We compound it with अद्व, as अद्वक्रिया।। अद्व + अकारि + क्रिया = अद्व + अकारि + अकारि + क्रिया।। (VI. 3. 92) = अद्वक्रिया।। (VI. 4. 24). Now there are three views, (1) the अ of अद्व, and अ of अकारि are both changed to स by the present sūtra; (2), the first अ is not changed, but only अ; (3) none is changed. Thus we have (1) अद्वक्रिया।। (VII. 1. 70, VI. 1. 68, VIII. 2. 23 and 62), अद्वक्रिया।। अद्वक्रिया।। (2) Secondly, अद्वक्रिया।। अद्वक्रिया।। अद्वक्रिया।। (3) Lastly अद्वक्रिया।। अद्वक्रिया।। अद्वक्रिया।। The above verse summarises this:

“Some ordain that अ should come separately for both adas and adri, as there is double अ (in चतुर्दशमेव) ; others would have अ only for the last portion which stands in proximity to the final, (i.e., for अ); while a third class would have nowhere, because they explain अकारि: of the sūtra, by confining it to: VII. 2. 102.” The first class interpret अकारि: by “that form of अद्व which has no स”; and they do not apply the maxim अद्वक्रिया।। कार्ये भवति “when a modification is ordained with regard to some thing which is not final, the operation takes place on that only which is in proximity to the final.” The second class apply this maxim and make अ change only for अ which stands in proximity to the final; while the last class interpret the word अकारि: in a different way altogether (च: अद्व सकारस्य सोपांसि अकारि: )।।

Why do we say अद्व “for the vowel after अ”? Observe अद्वक्रिया, अद्वक्रिया; the final अ as not changed to अ।।
81. For the ध coming after the द of अध्य, there is substituted इ, and ध is changed to ध, when plurality is to be expressed.

Thus अमी for अः (or अले) अमीब्रि: for अःब्रि:, अमीव्य: for अःव्य:, अमीधाप्रि for अःधाप्रि, अमीदु for अःदु:। ध is changed to ध in अले &c.

The word बहुतचने in the sūtra does not mean the technical बहुतचन; for that would have made the sūtra have this sense “when the affixes of the Plural number follow”. In that case, we could not get the form अमी where no plural affix follows. Hence we have translated it, by saying when plurality is to be denoted.

वाक्यशः देः: पृतुत उदाशः: ॥ पृ२॥ पद्दति वाक्यशः, देः, पृतुतः, उदाशः: ॥ वृत्ति: ॥ वाक्यशः देविति: पृतुत इति च उदाश इति च एतवयमन्यप्रकृतं विनिमयमाप्परिवर्षयः, बंधित अन्यर्मदुक्कानिष्ठामानी वाक्यशः देः: पृतुत उदाश इत्यं तद्विनिमयमः.

82. Upto the close of this chapter (Pāda), is always to be supplied: “the last vowel of a sentence isPluta and has the acute”.

This is an adhikāra sūtra. All the three words i.e. “the last vowel (धि) of a sentence”, “Pluta” and “acute”—are to be supplied in the subsequent aphorisms to complete the sense, upto the end of this Pāda. Whatever we shall treat hereafter will refer to the final vowel (धि) in a sentence, and it will get the Pluta lengthening and acute accent. Thus VIII. 2. 83, says “In answer to a salutation, but not when it is addressed to a Sūdra”. We must supply the present aphorism to complete the meaning:—“In answer to a salutation, the last vowel of a sentence becomes Pluta and gets the acute accent, but not when it is addressed to a Sūdra”. As अभिज्ञकेष्वे देवकिंद्रौंः। भौ वाक्यवनानिष्ठे वेदसः:॥

One adhikāra sets aside another adhikāra, this is the general maxim. Will therefore the adhikāra of the present aphorism set aside the adhikāra of the word पत्रस्य (VIII. 1. 16)? No, the adhikāra of पत्रस्य has not ceased, though latent. Otherwise in अभिज्ञकेष्वे &c. the ध would be required to be changed to ध by VIII. 3. 7. But it does not become so, because पत्रस्य manifests itself there.

The employment of the word “vākya” would not debar the anuvṛtti of पन्ना, for the final vowel of a sentence, will a fortiori be the final vowel of a word (pada), then what is the use of employing the word वाक्यशः in this sūtra?
The word बाक्य is employed in the sūtra, so that a word which is not the last word of a sentence, will not get the pluta and acute. Had the sūtra been पवक्ये &c., then all the words of a sentence would become pluta and acute in the final.

The word हे is employed to indicate that the final vowel becomes pluta and acute, though the word may end in a consonant. As अन्तिम्चेन्द्रे। Had हे not been used, the rule would have applied to words ending in vowels only, and not to words ending in consonants.

प्रत्ययवचे प्रत्ययः || १३ || पद्वानि || प्रत्ययवचे, अ-खङ्गे ||
बुनि: || प्रत्ययवचे नाम वद्यविभावयमाना हस्ताशिष्य मयुक्ते। तत्राशुद्रविभयेऽवद्यवचे चते तस्यः: प्यतः वस्तो भवाति ||

वाचिकः || किर्क्षाप्रयः प्रत्ययेऽवस्तम्यः || या० || भाष्यकारः केतित्र प्रतिवेद्याविष्टस्तम्यः ||

पद्वानि: || प्रत्ययवचे वत अन्तिमचेन्द्रे नाम गीतो य ततौ यदा प्रत्ययवचे वाक्यान्ते मयुक्ते वच्यवतः इरूयते ||

या० || भाराज्ञे विशाः वेष्टे वस्तम्यः ||

83. In answer to a salutation, but not when it refers to a Sudra, the last vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and gets the acute accent.

The word अन्तिमचेन्द्र means "respectful salutation of a superior or elder by an inferior or junior for the sake of obtaining his blessing. It consists of three acts: 1. rising from the seat, 2. touching of the feet, 3. the uttering of the formula of salutation". The word प्रत्ययवचे means, the blessing given by the superior or elder in answer to such salutation. In giving utterance to such blessing, the last word of the final word gets udatta and acute, provided that, such blessing is not pronounced on a Sudra.

Thus अभिवाद्येऽवेशमोऽहै is said by Devadatta to his Guru. The latter says भो भायुभाव एवि वेशमोऽहै।। "O Devadatta! be thou long-lived".

Why do we say when not referring to a Sudra? Observe अभिवाद्येऽतुषज्ज्ञात is said by a Sudra. In reply to this the Guru replies भो भायुभाव एवि तुषज्ज्ञात।।

Vārt.:—Prohibition must be stated with regard to women also. As अभिवाद्येऽगार्गैः is said by Gārgī. To this the Guru replies:—भो भायुभावती गार्गार्गै॥

Vārt.:—Some would have this prohibition where a detractor or an arrogant person is addressed. So long as one's arrogance or ridicule does not become manifest, there is prolation. But when one comes to know that he is my detractor, and is really ridiculing me by a show of respect; then the reply is not a blessing, but is, in fact, a curse. Thus अभिवाद्येऽस्तम्येऽन्तिम्चेन्द्र, is uttered by the detractor; and the Guru understanding the word Stālin to be the Proper Name of the person, replies. भायुभाव एवि स्तालित्र ||. Then the
detractor says, Sthālin is not my Proper Name, but an adjective, like daṇḍin, viz. he who has a σχάλη or cooking pot. The Guru, believing this to be true, again replies, ᾠδοὺμάνα ἐγώ σχάληλτον but without prolation, because the word is not a Proper Noun. The other then says "O Sir, it is not my epithet, it is my Proper Name". The Guru now comes to learn that he is being laughed at, and so gets angry and says: ἀνθρωπόθεν Ἰσθι! ηγεῖτε Πιθανότατα ἀντίστροφα; ἅμα δὲ κρύπτω σχάληλτον! Here it is a curse, as well as a pun: i. e. "burst thou, O sinner! like unto a cooking pot (sthālin = sthali-vat).

Ishti:—This prolation takes place there only, where the Proper Noun Gotra &c. with which the salutation was made, is employed by the Guru at the end of the sentence; and not where the position of the Proper Name &c is different. Therefore not here, ἔβελτον ἀνθρωπόθεν; ἔβελτον ᾠδοὺμάνα ἐγώ, for here the word Devadatta is not used at the end of a sentence.

Vārt:—The prolation is optional, when ὅ is follows such Proper Name, or when the Person addressed is a Kshatriya or a Vaishya. As ὅ ᾠδούμανα ἐβελτούσαν ὅ.Reply (1) ᾠδοὺμάνα ἐβελτούσαν ὅ ἢ or (2) ᾠδοὺμάνα ἐβελτούσαν ὅ. So also when a Kshatriya is addressed, as ᾠδούμανα ἔβελτον ἔβελτον ὅ ἢ or (2) ᾠδοὺμάνα ἔβελτον ἔβελτον ὅ. Vaishya: ᾠδούμανα ἐβελτούσαν ὅ ὅ. Guru: ᾠδούμανα ἐβελτούσαν ὅ ἢ or ᾠδούμανα ἐβελτούσαν ὅ. ἢ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ }
85. When the words है and है are employed, in addressing a person from a distance, there the है and है alone get the pluta and the accent.

As है◌ः देवदत्त; देवदत्त है◌ः II है◌ः देवदत्त; देवदत्त है◌ः II

The repetition of the words है and है in the sūtra, is for the sake of indicating, that the prolongation takes place even when है and है do not stand at the end of a sentence.

86. In the room of a prosodically long vowel, (with the exception of त्रह) though it may not stand at the end, there is substituted a pluta for one at a time, under the above circumstances (VIII. 2.83-84), in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians.

This sūtra indicates a special sthānīṇī for the pluta vowel taught by VIII. 2. 83 to 84. With the exception of त्रह, for every heavy vowel, though it may not be the final vowel of the vocative word, and for the final vowel also, but only one at a time, there is pluta substitution, in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians. Thus देशदत्त or देशदत्त or देवदत्त. Similarly with देवदत्त, यादेवेश or यात्रेश◌ः II

Why do we say युक्तोः “of a prosodically long vowel”? So that the य of य and है in Devadatta and Yajñadatta may not be prolated, for this य is short.

Why do we say अण्तुः“with the exception of त्रह”? Observe कृष्णमिच्छ, कृष्णधिकं, but never कृष्णधिकमिच्छ◌ः II

The word एकत्रितत्व shows that the prolongation should not be simultaneous, but of one at a time; not देवदृशत्व◌ः II

The word प्राकाम् “in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians” is used for the sake of creating option. So in one alternative, there is no prolongation at all.

As आयुष्याम् एष्ठे देवदत्त◌ः Thus the present sūtra, makes VIII. 2. 83 and 84, optional sūtras. This also is an authority for the following dictum of Patanjali “सर्वेद्वा एष्ठे तु: साधस्यनिष्ठतता सिन्धाय कारावधा: ” (Mahabhāsha VIII. 2. 92. Commentary). Thus all rules relating to Prolation become optional. In short, the word प्राकाम् should be read in all rules regarding prolongation, and thus without doing violence (sāhasa) to grammatical authority, one may have optional pluta everywhere.
87. The vowel in ओम is pluta in the beginning of a sacred text.

The word ओम means the commencement of a sacred mantra or Vedic text. Thus ओम आषां जावलोम पुरुषहिं बुद्धस्य उद्देश्यादिश्च (Rig I. 1. 1).

Why do we say “in the beginning”? Observe आमिथ्येतासाधुपरमसात (Chhândogya Upanishad. I. 1. 1). Here ओम is not used to indicate the commencement of a Text or Mantra, but is itself the subject of comment.

ये यज्ञकर्मणि || पदा || पदार्थ || ये, यह, कर्मणि ||

युक्ति: || ये हिर्मयस्य यज्ञकर्मणि पदार्थो नविनति ||

इष्टे: || ये यज्ञामहिः हिर्मयस्यस्य इष्टे: ||

88. The vowel of ये becomes pluta in a sacred text, when it is employed in a sacrificial work.

Thus यज्ञामहि || Why do we say when employed in sacrificial work? Observe ये यज्ञामहिः हिर्मयस्यस्य, “Ye yajamah consists of five syllables”. Here it is simple recitation.

Ishti:—The word ये is pluta before यज्ञामहि only. Therefore not so here: ये देवसातः विद्याकर्मणि (Rig. I. 139. 11).

प्रणवदेह || ते || पदार्थ || प्रणव:; देह: ||

युक्ति: || यज्ञकर्मणि ते: प्रणव आदिः सनविनति: ||

89. In a sacrificial work, ओम is substituted for the final vowel, with the consonant, if any, that may follow it, of a sentence.

The word यज्ञकर्मणि is understood here also. The word प्रणव means ओम. It is the name given to this syllable. This ओम is substituted for the final letter (दि) of that word which stands either at the end of a Pâda of a sacred hymns or at the end of a hemistich of such Rik. Thus for प्रणव रेतांसि जिन्यति (Rig. VIII. 44. 16), we may have भर्ग रेतांसि जिन्यति ॥ So also for देवान्त विकालि युगृहः (Rig. III. 27. 1), we may have देवान्त युगृहलि युगृहः ॥

The word दि is repeated in this aphorism in spite of its anuvṛtti from VIII. 2. 82, to indicate that ओम replaces the whole last syllable, with its vowel and consonant. Had दि not been repeated, then by the rule of अवृत्तश्च the final letter only of the दि portion of a sentence would have been replaced. Thus in युगृहः, the visarjaniya alone would have been replaced.

When not employed in connection with sacrificial works, there is no such substitution. Thus in simple reading of the Vedas, we should always recite भर्ग रेतांसि जिन्यति ॥
90. The last vowel at the end of Mantras called Yājya, when employed in sacrificial works, is pluta and has the Acute.

Thus स्त्रीभूमिप्रयोगं (Rig. VIII. 43. 11), जीवनात्मे चढ़ते हृद्यवासः (Rig. X. 8. 6).

Why do we say ‘at the end’? There are some Yājya hymns, consisting of several sentences. The final vowel (वि) of every sentence would have become pluta, in such a hymn. To prevent it, the word “anta” is used, so that the final vowel of the hymn at the end of all, becomes pluta.

श्रृङ्खल्योपपादव्याख्यानामाथेः || ॥४१ ॥ पदानि || श्रृङ्खला, प्रेषण, औषधं, औषधि, आवहानाभ, आवदेः ||

वृत्ति: || श्रृङ्खला वेष्य औषधि वैपर, आवह इस्तेते जानार्थेः: पदानि भवति वश्यमार्थेः ||

91. In a sacrificial work, the first syllable of श्री, प्रेषण, औषधि, वैपर and आसवह is pluta.

Thus मध्येन्तुस्वाभासं (Maitri S. I. 4. II), अन्तः गोमयालि (or गृही) प्रेषण, अस्तु औषधि वैपर; संगमायाद्विशीशं वैष्णव, भविष्यमार्थं ||

So also in निज्यायामुखस्वाभासं on the analogy of श्री, so also अस्तुस्वाभासं The word औषधि is illustrative of the six forms वैपर, गृही, वैष्णव, वैष्णव, वैष्णव, वस्त्रां ||

But there is no prolation in आवह देवानु वजनायान; आवह जात वे वेदं ||

अन्तःप्रेषणेण परस्य च || ॥६२ ॥ पदानि || अन्तःप्रेषणेण, परस्य, च ||

वृत्ति: || अन्तःप्रेषणम्नीप्रेषणयम् तथ:ः पदानि भवति परस्य च ||

92. In an order given to Āgnidhra priest, the first syllable as well as the succeeding syllable is pluta.

In a Yajña, the principal priests (ṛtvij) are four Adhvaryu, Udgātā, Hotā, Brahmana. Every one of these has three subordinate priests (ṛtvij) under them; as shown below.

**Names of Principal.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1.</th>
<th>(\frac{3}{4})</th>
<th>(\frac{3}{4})</th>
<th>(\frac{3}{4})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adhvaryu: (Yajur)</td>
<td>Pratiprasthātā</td>
<td>Neṣṭhā (VI.4.II)</td>
<td>Unnetā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udgātā (Sāman)</td>
<td>Prastotā</td>
<td>Pratihartā</td>
<td>Subrahmanya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotā (Rig) VI. 4. II.</td>
<td>Maitrā varuṇa</td>
<td>Achchhāvāk</td>
<td>Potā (VI.4.II).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmana (Atharvan)</td>
<td>Brāhmanācchhāvāsī Āgnidhra</td>
<td></td>
<td>Grāvastuta.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Subordinate.**

III. 2. 177.
The duty of Āgnidhra is to kindle the sacrificial fire. In a summons or call (व्रष्ण) made by the Adhvaryu, who is the Director of ceremonies, to the Āgnidhra to perform the functions of Āgnidh, both syllable become pluta.

The word अग्निनाथ प्रेषण is a compound = अग्निनाथ प्रेषणम् "a call or summon relating to Āgnidh duty."

Thus आ ॥ आ ॥ वच्, भो ॥ आ ॥ वच् ॥ The pluta takes place only in these examples; therefore, not here, as अग्निनाथम् विवरः; बाहे लुणोहि ॥ Some, therefore, read the aun्वरित्ति of the word विमायप् from the next sūtra, into this, and would have it an optional rule, of fixed jurisdiction ( viyavasthita vibhāshā ). Others say "all pluta rules are optional " (सर्व एव वर्णः साधसाधारणता विमायप् विशेषः ) ॥ In उद्धरः उद्धरः, बाहे लुणोहि ॥ अभिषिक्तः, there is Vedic diversity.

The words ‘relating to sacrificial work’ ( वहसानिष्ठि ) are understood here also. Therefore not in आ भावय ॥

विमायाः पृष्ठप्रतिवचने हे ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विमायाः, पृष्ठ-प्रतिवचने, हे ॥

श्लू: ॥ पृष्ठप्रतिवचने विमाया हे: पञ्चौत्र भवति ॥

93. हि at the end of an answer to a question may optionally be pluta.

Thus Q. अकारेऽः केवल रेवल्ल? Ans. भकारेऽ हि श्रो or अकारेऽ हि ॥ Q. भकारेऽ:

केवलेऽ रेवल्ल? Ans. भकारेऽ हि श्रो or हि ॥

Why do we say “in answer to a question”? Observe केवल रेवल्ल हि ॥

Why do we say हि “of हि”? Observe केवल हि ॥

निम्सिन्धुस्तोष्ये च ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि गृहा, अनु रंगेऽ, च ॥

श्लू: ॥ स्त्रियाहुपत्रवाचवाचभिमक्षितम् ॥ अनुस्तानग्रस्तं ज्ञस्याविविंति, ॥ तथ निम्सिन्धुस्तोष्येत् हस्तवं वर्णयते

श्लूः हे: पञ्चोत्र भवति विमाया ॥

94. The end syllable of that sentence is optionally pluta, when it asserts something which has been refuted, and is employed by the victor by way of censure.

The word निम्सिन्: means the refutation of another's opinion. निम्सिन्धु is a gerund, and means 'having refuted'. अनुस्तानम्: is the expression of the same proposition which has been refuted. When a person has demonstrated the untenableness of another's assertion, and then employs the said assertion by way of taunt, reproach or reprimand, then the final syllable of such a sentence becomes pluta. The sūtra literally means “Having refuted(it) when asserting (the same by way of censure ).”

Thus an opponent asserts that “The word is not eternal.” (भैरवम् स्त्रयः). Proving by arguments the untenableness of this position, and after refuting it, the victor says by way of reprimand:—भैरवम् स्त्रयः उवाच or भैरवम् स्त्रयः उवाच ॥

‘This is then your assertion—that the word is not eternal’. Similarly अय आ- ज्ञानवतायाः ॥ अय आनाधारावतायाः ॥ अधामाधारावतायाः ॥ अधामाधारावतायाः ॥
In some texts of Kāśīkā, according to Padamanjari, only the last example is given.

A Vocative is reiterated when threat is meant (VIII. i. 8). Its final syllable becomes pluta. Thus श्रीर श्रीरा यात्रानि त्या. So also वृषभ वृषभां वन्यविधानां यथा, रस्य रस्यां &c.

Though the anuvṛtti of the sūtra VIII. 2. 82, is current here, yet the final of the sentence is not pluta, but of the amṛedīta.

Vārtt.—It should be rather stated that any one of the repeated words may be pluta by alternation. Thus श्रीर श्रीरा यात्रानि त्या. The word amṛedīta is employed in the sūtra as illustrative of the doubling, for threat is expressed by both words, so pluta may be of both words in turn: and not of the second word only, though that is called technically amṛedīta.

96. The final syllable of a finite verb, used as a threat becomes pluta, when the word अङ्ग is joined with it, and it demands another sentence to complete the conclusion.

Thus अङ्ग कुर्ना इसानी यात्रानि जालम. अङ्ग व्याहरी इसानी यात्रानि जालम. Why do we say ‘a verb’? Observe अङ्ग वेशभूत मिथ्या वदति.

Why do we say “when this calls for a conclusion”? Observe अङ्ग पञ्च. Here it is a complete sentence and does not demand another to complete the sense.

The word अङ्ग of the last sūtra is understood here also. Therefore not here, अङ्ग व्याहरी, अङ्गां ते यात्रानि. Here अङ्ग has the force of solicitation. (VIII. i. 33).

97. The end-syllable of those sentences is pluta, which denote acts of reflection (or balancing between two alternatives).

To determine a thing by weighing all arguments pro and con is called vichāra or judgment. Thus होत्स्तव शीतिक्षाय गुरु । न होत्त्वाधार, “should one perform sacrifice in the house of an initiated person”. Similarly शीतिक्षाय, अङ्गां ते
Here also it is being reflected upon whether शून्य तिष्ठति or शून्य अभिज्ञातः. i.e. should the stake remain upright or should it be put flat by the yajamana. कि शून्यसिद्धतं, कि वा शून्य वजनानं शायावदुः।

पूर्वे तु भाषायाम् || २५ || पदानि || पूर्वम्, तु, भाषायाम् ||

ृत्ति: || भाषाओऽविषयं विचार्यायणां पूर्वनेत्र इत्यते.||

98. In the common speech, the end-vowel of the first alternative is only pluta.

This makes a niyama or restriction. The previous sūtra, is thus confined to Vedic literature, and not to the vernacular. तु here has the force of 'only'. Thus भाषा दृश्ये क्षडदुः ‘Is it a snake or a rope?’ लेद्ये दृश्ये कपोलसिदुः ‘Is it a clod of earth or a pigeon?’

The priority, of course, depends upon employment. The order of words depends upon one's choice.

प्रतित्रस्वने च || ६५ || पदानि || प्रतित्रस्वने, च ||

ृत्ति: || प्रतित्रस्वने गृहस्थम्: प्रतित्रस्वने || प्रतित्रस्वने गृहस्थम् || तत्त्वाविषयायणां पूर्वम् || प्रतित्रस्वने बद्विन्य वर्त्ते सति हे: जूलते भवति ||

99. The end-syllable of the sentence which expresses assent or promise or listening to, is pluta.

The word प्रतित्रस्वन means "agreement, assent or promise". It also means "listening to". All these senses are to be taken here, as there is nothing in the sūtra to restrict its scope. Thus it has three senses, 1. to promise something to a petitioner, 2. to acknowledge the truth of some proposition, 3. to listen to another's words. Thus गानं मेवेश्च मैयं, इति हि लहरायें ह्व। 2. निह: शशीं भविष्यानन्त। 3. देवस्त भैरवो, किमात्तर्व।

अनुदात्तिं प्रभाषात्विषयार्थितयोः || १०० || पदानि || अनुदात्तिं, प्रभाष्यतयं, अभि पूजितयोः: ||

ृत्ति: || अनुदात्तिं: पुष्टो भवति प्रभाष्यते भविष्यात्ते च ||

100. The end-vowel at the end of a question or of a praise is pluta, but unaccented.

That which is employed at the end of an interrogative sentence is called प्रभाष्यत। According to some, this rule does not ordain pluta, but only ordains the anudatta-ness of those syllables which become pluta by the previous rules VIII. 2. 84 &c. The meaning of the sūtra then is:—That pluta which comes at the end of an Interrogative sentence or a sentence denoting admiration, is anudatta.

Thus अनुवर्तः: पुष्टिः प्रभाष्यत: भविष्यात्ते अनुवर्त्त: or अगमः: पूज्यः प्रभाष्यत: पदानि ( i.e. अनुभ: पूज्यः प्रभाष: भविष्यात्ते or पदे: ) || The words भविष्यात्, and पदे being finals in a
question, become anudatta as well as/pluta. The other words समक: &c become svarita and/pluta by VIII. 2. 105. See VIII. 2. 107.

As regards अभिनि: we have श्रीभ: शतसि माणकाः I II. Here the final of माणक becomes anudatta and/pluta.

चिन्तितं चोपमायं प्रयुयमाने II 101 II पदानि II चित, हितं, च, उपमा-अर्थं, प्रयुयमाने II

वृत्ति: अवुदात्तमिति चर्चेत् चिन्तितोत्सिनिक्षिप्ते उपमायं प्रयुयमाने वाक्यस्य देशुनामः प्रजातो भवति II

101. The end-vowel at the end of a sentence becomes anudatta and/pluta, when the particle फित is employed, denoting comparison.

The word अवुदात्त is understood here. This sūtra ordains/pluta as well and not merely accent.

Thus अवुदात्त माणकं 'may he shine as fire'. So also राजस्वित्र माणकं 'may he shine as a King'.

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of comparison'? Observe कथं फित आहि: II. Here फित has the force of 'littleness or difficulty'.

Why do we say प्रयुयमानं 'when expressly employed'? Observe अविनि माणकोः भवति 'Let the boy shine like fire'. Here चित्र is understood, hence the rule does not apply.

उपरिविद्वदोरसीति च II 102 II पदानि II उपरि-विद्वद-आसीत, हितं, च II

वृत्ति: अवुदात्तमिति चर्चेत् II उपरिविद्वदोरसीतस्य देशुनामः प्रजातो भवति II

102. In उपरि विद्वद्व आसीतः the end vowel is anudatta and/pluta.

The word anudatta is understood here also. The end-vowel would have been/pluta here by VIII. 2. 97: the present sūtra really ordains accentlessness of this/pluta.

Thus पवः विद्वदवस्वासीत, उपरि विद्वदवस्वासीत (Rig X. 129. 5). In the first portion आसीत is/pluta and udatta by VIII. 2. 97, in the second it is anudatta by the present sūtra.

स्वरितमा्लस्वंद्वेतुसुरासंगमिनिकापुस्तनेनु II 103 II पदानि II स्वरितम्, आप्रे-ऽिते, अस्तुया, सम्मिति, कोप, कऽस्तनेनु II

वृत्ति: आप्रे: स्वरिति अस्तुया भविति परत: भस्तुयां सम्मिति कोपे कऽस्तन: च गण्येनां II

वा 10 III अवुदात्तविद्वद् या थथे तत्त्वानाम् कऽस्तनेनु II

103. Of the two Vocatives of the same form standing at the beginning of a sentence, the end-vowel of the first becomes/pluta and svarita, when envy, praise, anger, or blame is expressed.

The vocative is doubled by VIII. 1. 8. This sūtra ordains/pluta there. Thus Envy:—माणकोः माणक, अभिनि:पकः अभिनि:क, रिसं व बनिकया II. Praise:—
104. When an error against polite usage is censured, or when a benediction or a bidding is intended, the end syllable of a finite verb becomes pluta and svarita, if this requires another sentence to complete the sense.

The word ‘svarita’ is understood here. The word श्रिया means ‘the error in usage’ or ‘want of good breeding’.(VIII.1.60) श्री: means ‘benediction’. प्रेष: means ‘order’ or ‘commanding by words’.

Thus (1) स्वरे रूपे श्रीति रूपे, प्रथायति प्रशर्ति गमति || स्वरे भोवे रूपे: उपायनयं संस्कृतम् पायति || In both these, the first sentence requires the second as its complement, and hence there is साकारत्वम्.

Benediction:—शुच्यं मनोग्रस्तं प्रथम् च सत्त; शुचि:प्रथम: प्रथम: यथार्थम् च, भवः ||
Order:—कदन् तुहः प्रथम् च मात्र; यथार्थः तुहः च: सकारे रिवः ||

Why do we say “when it requires another sentence as its complement”? Observe स्वरे ते भावस्तुः; अत्यन्तः विदिः || There cannot be any counter-example of श्रिया, for there two sentences are absolutely necessary to express the sense of censure.

अनुन्यायस्यापि अनुमायनयोऽऽ || १०५ || पदानि || अनुन्यायस्य, अर्थी, प्रमिः, आभ्यानयोऽऽ: ||

भूति: अनुन्यायस्यापि अनुस्यापि पदस्य: ए: प्रथते मनस्ति प्रथम् आयाने: च च: ||

105. In a question or narration, the end-vowel of a word, though not final in a sentence, becomes svarita and pluta, as well as of the word which is final in a sentence.

The word ‘padasya’ is understood here: and so also the word ‘svarita’. The end-vowel of a word which is not the last word in a sentence, as well as of the last word, becomes svarita and pluta, when a question is asked, or a fact is narrated. In fact, all the words of a sentence become svarita and pluta hereby.

Thus in questioning we have:—अनुन्यादः: पूर्वाद् अन्नादः अर्थ: लोकः और पदानि || Thus all words have become svarita and pluta. The final word
would, in one alternative, become anudatta also, by VIII. 2. 100, as shown under that sūtra. The force of the word अधि in the sūtra, is to make the final word also svarita, and thus this sūtra makes VIII. 2. 100 an optional sūtra with regard to question.

In ākhyāna or narration, there is no other rule, which is debarred by this. Therefore there, all words become svarita and pluta necessarily, by the force of this sūtra. Thus भगमान्ने, प्रायांने, प्रायांने नेत्रे:।

Another view of this sūtra is that the word अधि applies only to ākhyāna, so that in ākhyāna all words become svarita. But in prāśa, the final word will not become svarita, but anudatta necessarily by VIII. 2. 100. According to this view, this sūtra does not ordain option. This view is not adopted by Kāśikā, or Padamanjari or Siddhanta Kaumudi.

पञ्चतत्वेष्व श्रुती ्त १०६। पदानि ्त पञ्चतत्वी, अधि, श्रुती ्ति।

मृङ्ग:। इत्त्वादादिद्व द्विती विशिष्टः: वच ऐशः: द्वित्यमानः तबवयमुत्तानि इस्ती: पञ्चति।।

106. In forming the pluta of the diphthongs ए and ओ, their last element ह and उ get the pluta.

The pluta ordained by VIII. 2. 84 &c. when applied to ए or ओ, cause the prolongation of the last element of these diphthongs namely of ह or उ। The word श्रुती in the sūtra is Nominative dual of श्रुत, and the aphorism literally means “ह and उ are pluta of the diphthongs ए and ओ”।

Thus वृत्तिकायन, भीष्मगम।।

The letters ए and ओ are compound letters or diphthongs consisting of अ and ह and ए or ओ। In making the pluta of these, the question arises, should both अ and ह (or ओ) be prolonged, or only the last element, or the first only. The present sūtra answers that doubt. If in the analysis of these letters, अ ए be taken as having one mātra (or monas), and ह उ one mātra, then the pluta ह and उ will have two mātras, so that the whole pluta ए and ओ will have three mātras. In fact, the word पञ्चति is used here as a Past Participle of हृत, having the force of a verb; and श्रुती पञ्चति means श्रुती श्रव्यते i.e. वृद्धि गच्छति, i.e. ह and उ are lengthened. And ह and उ are lengthened to that extent, so as to make ए and ओ three mātras. Thus when अ+ ह and अ+ उ each has one mātra, then the pluta of ह and उ will have two mātras as we have said before. But when अ+ ह (ए) and अ+ उ (ओ) are considered to have ए half mātra, and ह and उ one mātra and a half, then ह and उ are made pluta, so as to have two and a half (2½) mātras each, thus the whole of ए and ओ, has still three mātras. In fact, the definition of pluta is, that it is a vowel which has three mātras: so that we should so prolate the vowel as to make it have three mātras.

But according to Patanjali, this pluta of ए and ओ has four mātras. Thus अ+ ह and अ+ उ each has one mātra. The pluta of ह and उ will have
107. In the diphthongs, which are not Pragṛhya (I. 1. 11 &c) and which become plata under the circumstances mentioned in VIII. 2. 83 &c., but not when that circumstance is a call from a distance (VIII. 2. 84); for the first half, there is substituted the prolated आ, and for the second portion ह or ऊ।

The diphthongs or एष्टु are ए, ऐ, ओ, and ओ। When these diphthongs are to be prolated, at the end of a word, the diphthong is resolved into its elements, the first portion ह is prolated, and ह or ऊ added, as the case may be. This ह and ऊ, in fact, are the substitutes of the second portion, which may be ह or ऊ, or ओ or ओ।

This rule is not of universal application, but applies to Rules VIII. 2. 100, VIII. 2. 97, VIII. 2. 83, and VIII. 2. 90 only, according to the
Vaṇṭa—The scope of this sūtra should be determined by enumerating the rules to which it applies.
Vaṇṭa—It should be stated that it applies to sūtras VIII. 2. 100, 97, 83 and 90.

Thus VIII. 2. 100: As अग्रामाहेण: पूर्वाः भावाः अभिमुखाः॥ or पदार्थाः॥ माभे करोति मानवकाः अभिमुखाः॥ or पदार्थाः॥ So also VIII. 2. 97: होतव्येण शीतित्वः पूर्वाः॥ So also VIII. 2. 83, as:—आयुष्मादः एष्टु अभिमुखाः॥ or पदार्थाः॥ So also VIII. 2. 90:—as.

This pluta ता is udātta, anudātta or svarita, according to the particular rule which has been applied, i.e. at the end of a question it is anudātta or svarita, and every where else, udātta. The ह and ऊ are of course, always udātta: because the anuvṛtti of udātta is current here.

Why do we restrict this sūtra to the above-mentioned four rules? Observe विन्युद्धृते विन्युद्धृते शास्त्रविन्यासे यथा माणस्य भो माणस्य विन्युद्धृते॥

In fact, the present sūtra being confined to the above-mentioned four rules, the words अग्रामाहेण: in the sūtra, are redundant: and should not have
been used. Moreover the word पत्तान् should have been used in the sūtra, for it applies to diphthongs at the end of a pada. Therefore, not here, भ्रे करोपि नोरिति। Here गौ before the sarvanāmasthāna affix गौ is not a Pada (I. 4. 17).

Why do we say ‘when it is not a Pragṛhya’? Observe गो ने गाल्य स्थः।

Vyāt:—This peculiar modification of pluta vowel takes place in the Vocative case in the Vedas. As ग्राह्य प्रवीण लोच्च लोपे प्रिष्। Here by no other rule, the Vocative would have become prolated

tयोग्रावचन संहितायाम् ॥ १०८ ॥ पद्धानि तयोः य, धी, अचि, संहितायाम् ॥ इति। तयोऽहिरुतवर्तकारार्दशी मयौ अचि संहितायां विचये ॥

Kārikā:—हं व य भवति न विवेद्या यन्त्रसंहितायां विद्यति।

तै च म य स्वस्तस्थितिः सिद्धो शाक्तसरित्वसंहितां तु निवृत्ती।

हं हं व य भवति स्त्रुतश्चर्चन वर्गो विद्यतापुरावितः।

तेन तयोऽहिरुतस्त्रुतो नेवस्वस्तस्यर्थानाम तु हेतु।

108. For these vowels हं and ध are substituted य and ध when a vowel follows them in a saṃhita (in an unbroken flow of speech).

The word संहितायाम् is an adhikāra and exerts its influence up to the end of the Book. Whatever we shall teach hereafter, up to the end of the Book, will apply to words which are in Saṃhitā.

Thus अग्राह्याः, पारशाः, अग्राह्यवन्यम्, पारशुदकष्ठम्।

Why do we say “when a vowel follows”? Observe ग्राह्य, पारश।

Why do we say संहितायाम् ‘in an uninterrupted flow of speech’? Observe ग्राह्य हं हं हं पारश्, पारशुदकष्ठम् in Pada Pātha.

This sūtra is made, because हं and ध being Pluta-modifications are considered as asiddha (VIII. 2. 1) for the purposes of हं य वणचिर् (VI. 1. 77). But supposing that some how or other, these हं and ध be considered siddha, still the present rule is necessary to prevent their lengthening before a homogeneous vowel (VI. 1. 101), or their retaining their form unchanged by VI. 1. 127. If it be said, that these rules VI. 1. 101, and VI. 1. 127, would not apply, because of the Vyātika हं पुरुस्तां वर्गवर्तिकारार्दशी यानां दीर्घो वक्तम्: (Vyātika to VI. 1. 77); still the present sūtra ought to be made, in order to prevent य वण accent (VIII. 2. 4).

Kārikā:—Q. Could not this have been accomplished by the य वणविंधी of VI. 1. 77, that the Achārya has taught this separate य and हं substitution?

Ans.—If you say that pluta is siddha in the vowel sandhi rules, because of the jhāpaka in sūtra VI. 1. 125, then still this rule is necessary in order to prevent the lengthening of VI. 1. 101, and the Sākala rule VI. 1. 127-
Q.—But those two rules VI. i. 101, and VI. i. 127, have already been debarred by the Vārtika which ordains that सणान्त्र takes place of such a vowel following a pluta (See vārtika to VI. i. 77), what is then the necessity of the present sūtra?

Ans.—The necessity of the present sūtra is to prevent the सण-accents of VIII. 2. 4.

According to one view, the vārtika under VI. i. 77, refers to those vowels which are not pluta-elements, like the present न and न, but which are independent vowels following after a pluta vowel. As नोधः हन्नः = नोधः विन्नः॥

Here न is a Nipāta.
BOOK EIGHTH.

CHAPTER THIRD.

1. For the final of the affixes मन् and वस्, there is substituted र, in the Vocative singular, in the Chhandas.

The word साहित्याय is understood here. A word ending in the affix मन् or वस् changes its final न or ः into र, in the Chhandas, in the Vocative singular. Thus मन्—हनुमति यह पारिः सोमम् (Rig. III. 51. 7) हरिवा मेधिवः खा। Here मन् is Vocative Sg. of मन, and हरिवा of हरिवा, meaning "he who is possessed of Maruts or Hari horses". The न of मन् is changed to र by VIII. 2. 10; 15. The base मन् before this termination is Bha by I. 4. 19. The affix र (nom. sg.) is elided by VI. 1. 68; the न is elided by VIII. 2. 23, and the ः (of चन् VII. 1. 70) is changed to र by this sūtra. So also इन्द्रायणि द्वृत्तान्: उपस्रवानि हरिवा (Rig. I. 3. 6).

With वस्—मीनुलोकाय सरसाय शुक्ल (Rig. II. 33. 14), इन्द्रसाहं। See VI. 1. 12, for the formation of मीनु, साहाय, with शुक्ल।

Why do we say 'of मन् and वस्'? Observe भ्रान्य स्तोत्राय:। Why do we say in the Vocative Singular? Observe य एवं विद्वानप्रियाय:। Why do we say in the Chhandas? Observe हे गामन, हे प्रियवान्।

Vart.—The affix र should also be enumerated. The affixes कृतिर्च and विष्णु are both meant here. Its final is also changed to र in the Vocative Sg. As यस्तावनं वयुगा प्रातिलिपि:। The word प्रातिलिपि is formed by adding कृत्वा to the root ह (एष) preceded by प्रातः। See III. 2. 75. The तुक् is added by VI. 1. 71.
Vārti:—The finals of भवत्, भवत्वं and अपमत् are changed to ह, optionally in the secular as well as the sacred literature, and the syllable क्रोध of these words is changed to भ्रो. This is a general rule, applying both in the Vedas and the Bhāṣā. Thus भवत्—हे भ्रो; or हे भवत्; भवत्वं—हे मोहो; or हे भवत् अपमत्—हे अपो; or हे अपमत्. Or these words हे: मोहो; and अपो: are so irregularly formed by the āchārya himself in VIII. 3. 17. These are found in other numbers than the Vocative Singular, as हे भ्रोविद्वदुवततथः. हे भ्रोविद्वदुवततथः विद्वीर्यता:—It is found in connection with Feminine nouns also, as हे भ्रो वायुः।

The adhikāra of the word संहितायां does not exert any apparent influence in this sūtra. It however has influence in those subsequent sūtras, where the change in one word is occasioned by another word on account of sanhita or juxta-position, as in VIII. 3. 7.

See VIII. 2. 3 (Vārttika 2) by which the lopa is considered siddha in हरिः, otherwise there would have been no ह change in हरिः में शते.

अनुसारिक: पूर्वस्य सु वा || ॥ पदानि || अम्ब, अनुसारिकः पूर्वस्य सु वा || बुधि: || अविकृतस्य में हे उत्तरे स्वर्य स्वर्यीयं ततः पूर्वस्य सु वर्णस्य वार्त्ताक्षिक भविष्यते तत्रिकृतेण वर्तमानः ||

2. In the following sūtras upto VIII. 3. 12, this is always to be supplied:—“But here a nasal vowel may optionally be substituted for the preceding vowel after which ह has been ordained”.

This is an adhikāra sūtra. For the letter which stands before that letter for which ह has been substituted, there is substituted a nasal vowel, in this division of Grammar, where ह is the subject of discussion.

Thus sūtra VIII. 3. 5 says “In the place of the final of सम्, there is ह when छुः augment follows”. The vowel ह of सम् becomes nasal; as संस्कृतः, संस्कृतम्, संस्कृतंस् ||

Why have we used the word अम्ब in the sūtra? It means “here i.e. in this division where ह is the subject of discussion”. Obj. This object would have been gained, without using the word अम्ब; since it is an adhikāra sūtra and would apply to ह || Ans. No. Here ह is taught in connection with nasal, therefore, the rule would not apply to any other context. For had अम्ब not been used, we could not have known the extent of the jurisdiction (adhikāra) of this nasal; and we might have applied the rule of nasality to those beyond the jurisdiction of ह, such as VIII. 3. 13. The employment of अम्ब prevents this doubt and shows that ह and nasality are co-extensive.
3. A nasal vowel is always substituted for आ before स, when it is followed by a letter of अद्य प्रत्याहारा (i.e. when it is followed by a vowel or ह, य, घ, or र).

Thus VIII. 3. 9 teaches स substitution of आ, the long आ preceding it, would have been optionally nasal by the last sūtra. The present sūtra makes it necessarily so. Thus महाभारत (Rig. III. 45. 2) महाभारत य भोजसा (Rig. VIII. 6. 1) नेवा महाभारत न

Some (i.e. the Taittariyas) read it as anusvāra. This is a Vedic diversity.

Why do we say "for a long आ"? Observe वे या वनस्तीरत्। Why do we say "when a vowel or ह, य, घ, or र follows"? Observe मापंगत, मापंग-त्रयेति।

The word निष्क्रिय always is employed for the sake of distinctness only. The very fact of making a separate sūtra, would give it a compulsory force, even without the word nitya.

अनुनासिकांकशरे ज्वृत्वादार: || व || पदार्थि || अनुनासिकाराद, परं; अनुस्वाराद: || वृत्ति: || अनुनासिकालाङ्को वे वर्ण: रो: पूर्वे: वाक्यानासिको न विहितद्वरे: परं ज्वृत्वादार भागमो भवति।

4. After what precedes स, if we omit to substitute the nasal, then anusvāra shall be the augment.

The substitution of nasal is optional by VIII. 3. 2. When nasal is not substituted, we add an anusvāra to such vowel. The word अन्य should be read into the sūtra to complete the sense, i.e. अनुनासिकान्त अन्यो यो वर्ण: “a letter other than a nasal”, i.e. a letter for which nasal has not been ordained, and which stands before स।

Thus VIII. 3. 5, teaches स substitution of the म of सम् an anusvāra would be added. As संस्क्रिति, संस्क्रितिं || Similarly VIII. 3. 6, teaches स substitution of the म of पुष्प || An anusvāra will be added here also, as, पुष्पकमाना।

Similarly VIII. 3. 7, teaches स substitution of final म || Here also an anusvāra will be added, as मापंगत।

Some say “the word पर: in the sūtra means अन्य:; and so we need not supply the word अन्य: from outside”. They say अनुनासिकान्त पर: = अनुनासिकान्त: ; i.e. the anusvāra takes place in that alternative when there is no nasal. That anusvāra is an augment and not a substitute. It is an augment to the vowel which precedes स।

सम्: सुटि || पदार्थि || सम्: सुटि।

वृन्दि: सम इवस्यत्तं वर्णितिः सुटि परस्त: संहितायां विचि्ये।

वासिकः संवेणकान्तः स्वयं वक्तव्य: || या० || समौ या लेपनंके।
5. र is substituted for the म of सम (and thereby अ or अ is substituted for आ) when the augment स is follows, in a samhita.

The augment छुट is added by VI. 1. 137 &c. Thus सङ्कर्तानि or संस्कर्तानि,
सङ्कर्तानौ or संस्कर्तानौ, सङ्कर्तानि or संस्कर्तानि. The word is thus evolved: सम +
र + कार्ता = सङ्क+र + कार्ता (VIII. 3. 5). Here rule VIII. 3. 15 appears and requires
to be changed to visarjannya. This visarga may optionally be retained
unchanged by VIII. 3. 36. This, however, is not done in the present
instance: but the visarga is always and necessarily changed to र by VIII. 3. 34.
In fact, the option of VIII. 3. 36 is a determinate option (vyavasthita
vibhāṣa) and does not apply to the present case.

Or even this सूत्र may be so read as to teach the र substitution as
well. Thus, the सूत्र is सम: स्थुपति with two र, and the सूत्र will mean, “र is
substituted for the म of सम before छुट, and this र is always changed to स.”

Why do we say “for the म of सम”? Observe द्वस्कर्तानि. Why do we
say “before छुट”? Observe संकर्ति.

Vārt:—For the finals of सम, पुम, and कार there is always substituted र.
There would arise anomalies, if र be substituted. Thus सङ्कर्तानि, पुस्तकानि, कार्स्कार्तुि. In fact, according to this vārtika, र is never substituted for सम. (VIII.
3. 5), पुम (VIII. 3. 6) and कार (VIII. 3. 12).

Vārt:—समो त्र वै लोपनेऽके. Some would have the elision of the र after सम.
This Vārtika is not given in the Kāsikā, but the Padamanjari gives it, and
so also the Mahābhāṣya.

According to Bhattoji Dikshita there will be 108 forms of this word
सङ्कर्तानि. Thus सङ्कर्तानि and संस्कर्तानि with the elision of र. Then with two र,
as सङ्कर्तानि, संस्कर्तानि. Then we apply VIII. 4. 47 to this latter, and have three
र, as सङ्कर्तानि or संस्कर्तानि. The anusvāra is considered to be a vowel (अः)
for this purpose. From the three nasal forms सङ्कर्तानि, संस्कर्तानि and सङ्कर्तानि, we
get three more by doubling the त्र by the vārtika त्र : त्र :. The three forms
having anusvāra, will also double their anusvāra in addition to त्र doubling.
Thus we have 12 forms in anusvāra: and six in nasal, altogether 18 forms.
Then the त्र will be doubled and trebled: and thus with one त्र, two त्र and
three त्र, we have $3 \times 18 = 54$ forms. This will be doubled ($2 \times 54 = 108$) when
अष्णू is nasalised.

पुम: खर्च्यम्पे त्र ॥ पदानि: पुमः, खर्चय, अम्पे-परे ॥
वृत्ति: पुदित्वेतय्यथा इत्यत्त अम्पे खर्चय परस्त ॥

6. र is substituted for the म of पुम. (whereby the
is changed to  before a surd mute (ख्य) which is followed by a vowel, semivowel or a nasal (अम्म प्रत्याहारा).

Thus  or  or  or  or  or  The visarga in  required to be changed optionally to  jihvāmūliya by VIII. 3. 37, but it is not so done. It is changed always to  here by VIII. 3. 34, also. The  of  is dropped by VIII. 2. 23, and the preceding sound is , which comes to light in forms like  &c. For the sake of distinctness, Pāṇini has elected to exhibit the shorter form  when in the beginning of a composition: because this shorter form  is the real stem in composition.  प्रत्याहारा includes the ten hard consonants, and  प्रत्याहारा includes all vowels, semivowels and nasals.  is formed by the affix  युमायल्य कामसे।

In that alternative when we read the preceding sūtra as  सन्द्रुतिदि, then the anuvṛtti of this  will be current in the present sūtra also, and so there will be no scope for the operation of VIII. 3. 37. And though the anuvṛtti of  is also current, yet it will not apply here, because of its non-appropriate-ness in that alternative.

Why do we say 'before a surd mute'? Observe  कृतार्थ;  कृतार्थ; (V. 4. 92). Why do we say 'followed by a vowel or semivowel or nasal'? Observe  प्रमाणित,  प्रमाणित. Why do we use the word  in the sūtra? Had we not used it, the sūtra might have been open to this construction also. The of  is so changed before a  letter which has an  letter, (whether preceding it or following it). So that the rule would have applied to  पुष्पाचार; पुष्पाचार।

नक्सत्र्यप्रशासन। ॥ ॥ पदर्शित। ॥ न, छ, च, अम्माद्वि।

रूपितः। नक्षत्र्यप्रशासन पदश्रि प्रशासनावितः रूपस्यविद्यमाने छवि परस्। ॥

7.  is substituted for the final  of a word, with the exception of the  of  प्रवा, before a  letter (छ, ट, थ, च, ट, त), which is followed by an  letter (vowel, semivowel and nasal).

The word  is to be read into this sūtra. The word  in the sūtra is in the Nominative case, but it has the force of Genitive.

Thus  छाचायसि or  छाचाचायसि;  याचिचति or  याचिचति;  याचिकादि or  याचिकादि; (from the root दीक्ष to go).  याचिस्त्रति or  याचिस्त्रति।

Why do we say 'before a  letter'? Observe  प्रमाण करोति। Why do we say 'with the exception of the  of  प्रवा'? Observe  प्रशासन छाचायसि,  प्रशासन चिनोति। Why do we say 'when  follows  '? See  प्रमाण सर्वस्त:। छाह is sword, he who is dexterous in it, is called  सर्वस्त: (छाह V. 2. 64).
8. In both ways, in the Rig verses.

This ordains an option to the last śūtra, by which the ṣ substitution was compulsory. A word ending in u long vowel, followed by a letter of the ṣ class, which itself is followed by a long vowel, changes its final u long vowel optionally in the Rig Veda. Sometimes there is ṣ, and sometimes u long vowel. Thus तमिनेः तत्त्वं श्यामात् or तमिनेः तत्त्वं श्यामात्; पर्र्त्वः तत्त्वः.

Why do we say “in the Rig verses”. No option is allowed here तत्त्वं श्यामात्...

9. ṣ is optionally substituted for that final u long vowel of a word which is preceded by a long vowel, and is followed by an अऽ letter (vowels and semi-vowels with the exception of तऽ), when these (u long vowel and अऽ) come in contact with each other in the same stanza of the Rig Veda.

The u long vowel of VIII. 3. 7 is understood here: and so also क्र्त्वः. The word सङ्क्रामक means एकपद, i.e. when both words are in one and the same Pāda of the verse. Thus परिश्रमिते (Rig. IX. 107. 19) सङ्क्रामक (Rig. I. 1. 2) हृदं वृत्तकाण्डवं वष्णुः।

Why do we say ‘preceded by a long vowel’? Observe अहंसांहिष्ठः. Why do we say “when followed by a vowel or य, व or र”? Observe श्यामः क्षणिकाः. Why do we say ‘when both words are in the same Pāda of a verse’? Observe वाल्लाकान्ताम, उपस्तुसा.

The word दलाय of the preceding śūtra is understood here also: so that it is an optional rule: and अऽ remains unchanged also, as अहिः अहिः वष्णुः श्यामात् शास्त्रायमः. See VIII. 3. 3.

10. ṣ is optionally substituted for the द of नृः before पः.

The अ in प is for the sake of pronunciation only. Thus मः पाठिः or नृः पाठिः; नृः ग्रीष्मिः or नृः ग्रीष्मिः.

Why do we say ‘before पः’? Observe नृः भोजयितः. Some read the anuvṛtti of नृः into this śūtra, so that it is an optional one. Thus we have नृः पाठिः also. The nominative case in नृः has the force of Genitive.
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Elision of ह when ह follows.

Though this sūtra is read in the division of Grammar which is governed by प्रविकार, yet this elision takes place only then when the ह is not at the end of a pada. Thus है from लिखि+है था. The ह is changed to ह by VIII. 2. 31, and the ह is first changed to ध by VIII. 2. 40, and then to ह by VIII. 4. 41. Thus लिखि+ह ह. The first ह is elided by this sūtra. Similarly नान्द, उप-गुणा. The change of ध into ह by VIII. 4. 41, should be considered as valid and siddha for the purposes of this rule, otherwise this rule will find no scope.

Obj.—It will find scope before that ह which is primary, as in चलति+बैकतः, where ह of बैकतः is primary.

Ans.—No. Here the first ह will be changed to ह by जच rule (VIII. 2. 39) and so there will be no occasion to elide it. The form will be चलति+बैकतः। Nor is this ह लेप rule an apavāda to जच rule, because it has its scope in है and c. For the जच rule depends upon one pada, and is antaranga, or being
prior to this the lopa is asiddha with regard to it. Therefore जाह्न्व will take
place first. Moreover in लिंग+ऋ there is similarity of sounds (सुसार्थम् अनान्तयम्);
though there may not be theoretical similarity (शास्त्रस्वतं अनान्तयम्) when the
change of य into य by VIII. 4. 41, is considered asiddha. But this theoretical
technical dissimilarity will be removed by the express text of the present सूत्रa.
But in भारण धेरक्ते there is neither similarity of sounds (श्रुति क्रमानांतयायम्)
between र and र, nor similarity created by any technical rule; therefore लोप
has no scope here. It is Bahiranga as well as subsequent to जाह्न्व rule (VIII.
2. 39), and therefore doubly asiddha; and consequently it does not debar the
जाह्न्व rule. So when र is changed to य by जाह्न्व rule (VIII. 2. 39) in भारण, then
there remains no sort of अनातर्यa—neither of श्रुति nor of सूत्रa.

रे रि || रृ || पदानि || रे, रि ||

वृत्तिः: रे रृ से परस्ते लेपो भवति।

14. र is elided before a रि

The सूत्रa is रे रि, and not रे रि || That is रे रि is the form which रे रि
and रे रि will both assume. रे is the Genitive of रि, and रि would be the
Genitive of रि। The सूत्रa is not confined to रि only, but to every रि in general
including रि। Thus मीरतः, हृतः, where it is simple रि of निर् and दुः; and
अभ्यर्थे, अभ्यर्थे, अभ्यर्थे, where it is रि (भास्यः: रंद्र: इत्यः: रंद्रः:).
The lengthening is by VI. 3. 111. The word प्रदेश is understood here, and the Genitive here has
the force of विशेषण i.e. a quality, or avayava-shashṭhi; i.e. when रे is a portion
of the pada. Thus a रे which is not at the end of a pada is also elided.
Had the Genitive been construed as sthāna-shaśṭhi, then रे would qualify
पदः, and the rule would mean “रे should be elided before a रि when at the end
of a word.” || See VIII. 1. 16. But we have the elision of the penultimate रि in
अध्ययनः the second person singular of the Imperfect of the Intensive, and we get
the form अध्ययनः || See VIII. 2. 37. So also आपाला: from सार्थ in Intensive, Imper-
fect. The reduplicate is lengthened by VII. 4. 83, the श्रृं is elided, and लिंग is
elided by VI. 1. 68, the final रि is changed to य by VIII. 2. 39, and this रि changed
to य by VIII. 2. 75.

खरस्वायोऽविश्लेष्याय: || रृ || पदानि || रि, अवस्तयोऽविश्लेष्याय: विश्लेष्याय: ||

वृत्तिः: रे रृ से पदस्य शारि परस्ते श्वाले रे विश्लेष्यायकेऽभवति।

15. The Visarjanīya is substituted for रि, before a रि consonant or when there is a Pause.

Tha word रि is understood. The visarga is the substitute of रि final
in a Pada, before surd consonants and sibilants, or at a Pause,

Thus िश्वाश्यायिः (VIII. 3. 34, VIII. 4. 40), स्वस्तहायिः, स्वस्तहायिः, स्वस्तहायिः
िश्वाश्यायिः: इत्यादि:। श्वाश्यायिः: श्वाश्यायिः:। श्वाश्यायिः:। इत्यादि:। पause:—िश्वाश्यायिः। िश्वाश्यायिः।

Who do we say “before a रि consonant or at a Pause”? Observe
अभिन्नायिः, बालायिः, नाल्कूः (रि कृष्णोऽन्तः), नापस्या: (िश्वाश्यपतिः)। In these two latter,
the Vṛiddhi being considered as Bahiranga, and the र being the result of such Bahiranga Vṛiddhi, is asiddda, and is consequently not changed to visarga.

The word पद्ध is understood here, and the genitive should be construed here as sthāna-sashṭhī, so that for the final र of a Pada there is visarga, and not for that र which is not final.

र: छूट पद्धनि रे, छूट
शृङ्गि: र इथेतस्य रेस्तस्य छूट परस्त्री बिसश्चन्तीवायन्यथा मया

16. Visarjaniya is substituted for the र called र (and not any other र), before the Locative Plural case-affix खु

Thus प्रम्प्य, लण्णः, ब्रम्मः. The word छूट is here the Locative Plural affix. Though the र would have been changed to visarga by the last sūtra also; the making of this a special sūtra is for the sake of nyaya. That is, only र becomes visarga, and not any other र. Thus मर्म, मूर्त, when the र is not र. In प्रम्प्य &c, the र becomes र by VIII. 2. 66.

भोभोजोयोपवृत्तयोगिता 17 पद्धनि भो, मगो, अधो, अष्टुवस्ब, धः, अशि
शृङ्गि: माय भो धोऽपवृत्तयोगितान्यस्वत्वापयोगिताय च रेस्तस्य यथार्थतयोगिताय भस्त्म अशि परस्त्र:.

17. य is substituted for the र called र, when it is preceded by भो, भो, अधो, अ or आ, before an अ ल तter (vowels and soft consonants).

Thus भो अ, मगो भन, धनो धन, भो व्याहति, मगो व्याहति, धहो व्याहति. य आशि, कर आशि, चास्ति, चास्तिः व्याहति, दुग्धः व्याहति. The य is elided by VIII. 3. 19, 20, 22 &c.

With य, the forms will be भोय, मगोय, धयोय.

Why do we say 'when preceded by भो &c'? Observe आशृङ्गोत्य, ब्रम्मः. Why do we say 'when followed by a letter of भषष pratyāhāra'? Observe बृस्सः. इसः. No, this is no valid counter-example, because no other word follows the visarga; while some word must follow it because the word sanhita (VIII. 2. 108) is understood here.

**Ans.**—If this be so, then भषष is employed in this sūtra for the sake of subsequent sūtras. Its employment here is superfluous. For letters other than भषष are खु Before a खु letter, the र will be changed to visarga by VIII. 3. 15; and the यषष of this rule will be considered as asiddda for the purposes of VIII. 3. 15, so there will necessarily be visarga. Thus भषष serves no purpose in this sūtra, but is for the sake of subsequent ones. Thus in VIII. 3. 22, the word शषष must be qualified by the word भषष, namely those consonants only which are in the class भषष. Before any other consonant there will be no elision of य. Thus वज्ञ वृत्ति—वज्ञन्दुर्द. The denominative verb from this will be वृत्त्यन्ति. A secondary derivative from this root, with the affix
विच will be वृत्त्व as in वृत्त्व करोति. Here व would require elision by VII. 3. 22, before व, but it is not so because अचि qualifies हल्ली.

*Obj.—If so, why is the word हल्ली used in that sutra VIII. 3. 22, it would have been better to say हल्ली सर्वपाल instead of हल्ली सर्वपाल.

*Ans.—The word हल्ली is used in that sutra for the sake of the subsequent sutra VIII. 3. 23, which applies to all consonants. Had हल्ली been used in VIII. 3. 22, then in VIII. 3. 23, हल्ली ought to have been used.

Moreover अचि is used in this sutra, so that rules VIII. 3. 18, 19 may not apply to वृत्त्व करोति.

This sutra applies to ह called र, therefore not here प्रतार, दुनर.

घोजळयप्लन्तरः शाक्कदयनस्य || ॥ पदानि || व्योः, लघुप्लन्तरः, शाक्कदयनस्य ||

गृन्तः || वक्षरवक्षरकोर्मोगोनपोवाचस्वान्दे: पदान्त्यादिपमयान्त्र बाविशो भवति, अचि पस्तः: शाक्कदयनस्याचारस्य मन्तन ||

18. व and य (in भगोय &c and after व or आ, at the end of a Pada) are pronounced with a lighter articulation before an अश्व letter, according to the opinion of Sākaṭāyana.

That the effort in pronouncing which is very light is called laghu-prayatna - tara. Effort or articulation is a quality of the person who utters and which is the cause of the utterance of a letter. व and य of lighter articulation are substituted for the final व and य in भो, भगोय, भगोय, or after an आ or आ. The lighter व will replace the heavy व, and so the lighter य the heavy य.

Thus भो, भगोय, भगोय, कोर्से or क आश्बे, वस्माढुर or वस्मा उढ़र, वसायवसिः: or शता भविः, दावः or ना भव, दावनय or श भानय.

The lighter articulation results from the relaxation of the muscles and the organs employed in speech. The places of pronunciation are palate &c, the organs are the root, the middle and the tip of the tongue. When the contact of the tongue with the various places is very light, the articulation is laghu prayatna - tara. In fact, व and य are to be slurred over.

लोपः: शाक्कदयनस्य || ॥ पदानि || लोपः, शाक्कदयनस्य ||

गृन्तः || वक्षरवक्षरकोर्मोगोनपोवाचस्वान्दे: पदान्त्यादिपमयान्त्र बाविशो शाक्कदयनस्याचारस्य मन्तनादि पस्तः: ||

19. व and य preceded by आ or आ and at the end of a pada, are elided before an अश्व letter, according to the opinion of Sākaṭāyana.

As क आस्थे or क्यास्थे, काक आस्थे or काक्यास्थे, अस्मा उढ़र or अस्माढुर, दावः or श भव, दावनयाविः: or शता भविः:.

The name of Sākaṭāyana is used to make it an optional rule. Therefore, where there is not the lighter articulation of व and य by the last sūtra, there
also in the other alternative the fuller sounds of व and य are heard. Thus there are three forms, heavy व and य, light व and य and elision of व and य.

When व and य are preceded by झ, then there is elision by the next sutra compulsorily.

\[ ओतो गार्गयस्य \] 20 \[ पदानिः ओतसः, गार्गयस्य \]

\[ वृत्तिः भोकाधुत्वस्य वकार्त्तस्य शेषे भवति गार्ग्यस्याचार्यस्य मतान भाषी पस्तः \]

20. य preceded by झ is elided, according to the opinion of Gārgya, before an अ or ए letter.

There can be no व preceded by झ, so only य is taken in explaining the sutra. Thus भो अम्र, भगी अम्र, भो इम्र, भगी इम्र.

The making of it a separate sutra, is for the sake of indicating that this is a necessary (nitiya) rule and not a vibhāṣā rule. The name of Gārgya is used simply honoris causa (pujārtha). The elision of laghu-prayatna व, which VIII. 3. 19 would have otherwise caused, is hereby prohibited. So that laghu pratyatnata व does come also. As भो अम्र or भेष्म, भगी अम्र or भम्म, अयो अम्र and अष्टवक्त.

According to others every kind of व (whether heavy or light) is to be elided: and भवित is not valid in their opinion.

\[ उविच च पदे || 21 || पदानि || उविच, च पदे ||

\[ वृत्तिः भवितपूर्द्वे: व्योः पादान्तवालोपे भवित वृम च पदे पस्तः \]

21. व and य (preceded by झ or आ, at the end of a pada), and followed by उ, when it is a word, are elided necessarily.

The particle उ is a full pada or word. That Particle is meant here by the word उ, and not the व, which is a root obtained by the samprāsāraṇa of व. Thus उ उ एकविशिष्ट; स उ एकायतः.

Why do we use the word उ when it is a pada? So that the rule may not apply to व the form assumed by व by samprāsāraṇa as तत्तु उमं तैः

Obj. उम could never have meant the form assumed by वम for the samprāsāraṇa of वम is उ, the उ is merely indicatory. Moreover the maxim of lakṣaṇa-pratipadokta &c, will prevent the inclusion of this उम resulting from vocalisation, when there is a separate Particle उ.

Ans:—The word उ is used here for the sake of the subsequent sutras like VIII. 3. 32. So that उ उ may come before a word beginning with a vowel, and not before a vowel which is an affix. Thus there is no double उ in पत्रदेष्टिनाः

This is also a nitiya rule, and not optional. Had it been optional, there would have been no necessity of this aphorism, because VIII. 3. 19, would have been enough.
22. (The य preceded by भो, भगो, अयो, or by अ or आ, being final in a pada, is elided) before a consonant, according to the opinion of all Āchāryas.

Thus भो हसति, भगो हसति, अयो हसति; भो याति, भगो याति अयो, याति, युक्ता हसति। Though the anuvṛtti of य and य both is present here, yet we have taken य only to the exclusion of य। Because after भो, भगो and अयो there is य only, and never य; and य can come only when preceded by अ or आ: the only example of which given by Grammarians is युक्ता करोति (VIII. 3. 17). Here य is not elided, because the word भगो qualifies the word हसति of this sūtra.

Q.—But य should be elided in युक्ता हसति, because य is an अव् ज्ञ letter.

Ans.—There is no such example to be found in any standard author. Moreover Patanjali in his commentary on the Pratyāhāra sūtra यण says that no words can end in य, य, र, य or ल। So that the existence of the very word युक्ता is doubtful.

The word sarveshām indicates that VIII. 3. 18, even does not apply, and there is no light articulation, but lopa there too.

Thus कुर्ण हसति, वर्ण हसति, कुर्ण याति, वर्ण याति। The word हसति is understood in this sūtra. Therefore not here, स्मनं, किमच। The य must be at the end of pada; therefore not here; गम्यते, रम्यते।

नकालास्तवस्य यशिः यूक्तं पदार्थं न, च, अपदास्तवस्य, यशिः।

24. The Anusvāra is substituted for the य and य, not final in a pada, before all consonants, with the exception of Nasals and semi-vowels.

Thus पदार्थं, यशिः, सर्पक्षं, यथान् with य (VII. 1. 72); and आपद्यः, आत्यः, आत्यः, आत्यः with य।

Why do we say ‘not final in a Pada’? Observe राज्य यशिः। Why do we say ‘before a हसति consonant’? See स्मनं, गम्यते।

मो राज्य समं को कृं पदार्थं मं, यशिः, समं, को।

25. म is substituted for the य of सम, before the word राज्य ending with the affix किव्यं।
Thus स्त्राद, सामार्ख्य is the substitution of म for य is for the sake of preventing the anusvāra change (cf VII. i. 40). Why do we say ‘before स्त्रा’? See संव्र (VI. 4. 40 Vārt). Why do we say ‘of सम’? Observe कि श्र (V. 4. 70). Why do we say ‘ending with कियौ’? Observe संपावी, संपाविंत्र, संपावित्त्।

The यिर is added by III. 2. 61, the श is changed to य by VIII. 2. 36, which is changed to य at the end of a word, in संपादे। सामार्ख्य is formed by यक्य affix, as it belongs to Brāhmaṇadī class.

हे मपरे वा ये २५ पदार्थि हे, मपरे, वा ये।

सुचि: इकारी मकारपरे पर्सी मकारस्वय या मकार वाकिस्वे भवति।

परस्यक:। यवनपरे यवस्य वा ये।

26. म is optionally substituted for म, before ह, which itself is followed by a म।

The म may be changed to anusvāra or remain uncharged before a word beginning with ह। Thus कि or कियौ हलायति, ‘what does be cause to shake?’ कर्षण हलायति or कर्षण हलायति।

Vārt:—Before ह, ह, य and ह, the preceding म may be changed to य, य और म respectively. Thus कि य or कियौ, ‘what does it matter about yesterday’? कि हलायति or यिर्य हलायति ‘what does he cause to shake’? कि हलायति or कियौ हलायति ‘what gladdens’.

नयरे ने २७ पदार्थि नयरे, नृथे ये।

सुचि: मकारपरे हे पर्सी मकारस्वय या मकारविस्ते भवति।

27. यू is optionally substituted for म, when it is followed by ह which has a य after it.

यू becomes ह before a word beginning with ह; as कियौ हूति or कियौ हूति ‘what withholds’. कर्षण हूति or कर्षण हूति।

खण्ड: कुटुट्ट शारि २५ पदार्थि यू यो, कुट, कुट, शारि।

सुचि: किर्कारणकारो: पवतन्ते: कुटुट्ट इकूतवागमो या भवत:।

28. The augment क is added to a final क, and the augment हू to a final यु, before a sibilant, optionally.

Thus प्राण्य देते, or प्राण्य देते; प्राण्य पढ़े or प्राण्य पढ़े; प्राण्य सावे or प्राण्य सावे। कुटुट्ट देते or कुटुट्ट देते।

The augment क and यु with an indicatory क, showing that they are to be added to the end of the prior word (I. 1. 46), and not to the beginning of the second word. In sanhita reading, it would have made no difference practically, whether these augmentes were added to the end of the first, or the beginning of the second. But they are added to the end of the first, in order to indicate that VIII. 4. 63, will take effect. Thus we have प्राण्य देते also. This हू change of यु would not have taken place, had the augment क been added to
Because in चाष्ठी (VIII. 4. 63) the ह्रष्ट letter must be at the end of a pada. So that if क were added to श of शष्टे, as कुष्टे, here too श follows a ह्रष्ट letter, but this ह्रष्ट letter (क) is not at the end of a pada, so श will not be changed to च (VIII. 4. 63). Thus श is not changed to च in the body of a word, like विश्वामित्र, though प्र is a ह्रष्ट letter. शुरु कृत्य किस्सी विश्वामित्र ॥ विश्वामित्र महात्, formed with the Preposition विः added to the root शुरु, with the उज्जाय अर्द्ध शिष्य ॥

Moreover in गाहु छाये, the श is not changed to च by VIII. 3. 59. Had the augment क been added to छाये, as कुष्टे, the श would have been changed to च, as गाहु छाये, for then VIII. 3. 111, would not have applied, as श was no longer at the beginning of a pada.

Moreover in बज्जन साये, the श is not changed to च because of the prohibition of VIII. 4. 42. Had र been the augment of साये, as रसाये, then there would have been the change of श to च by VIII. 4. 41.

शुरु ्सि चुरु ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दः, सि ्चुरु ॥

बुतिः ॥ उकरान्तान्तरादसृस्य सकारात्मकः पदाय या छुरुयाग्नी भवति ॥

29. After a word ending in शुरु, there may optionally be added the augment चू to a word beginning with शुरु ॥

Thus भवासू लस्य or भवासू लस्य, महाशू लस्य or महाशू लस्य ॥

The word दः is to be construed as Ablative singular, and not Genitive singular of शुरु, because of the maxim उभवधिनिष्ठे परुषभी निष्ठी बलियाय ॥

Q.—Why it is चुरु and not चू, in other words, why is this augment added to the beginning of the second word and not to the end of the first?

Ans.—This is done in order to prevent the चुरु change by VIII. 4. 41. But being at the beginning of the second word, VIII. 4. 42 would prevent this change. वल्लुरु ्साये या वल्लुरुदसृस्य, (VIII. 4. 41) but the correct form is भवासू लस्य ॥ For the श of भवासू is च substituted by VIII. 2. 33, which becomes चू by VIII. 2. 39, for the च of the augment, श is substituted by VIII. 4. 55, and for चू there is च by the same rule.

नादृश ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, च ॥

बुतिः ॥ उकरान्तान्तरादसृस्य सकारात्मकः पदाय या छुरुयाग्नी भवति ॥

30. After a word ending in चू, चुरु is optionally the augment to a word beginning with चू ॥

Thus महासू लस्य, महाशू लस्य or महासू लस्य, महाशू लस्य ॥ The चू of the augment becomes चू by VIII. 4. 55. This चू is asiddha (VIII. 2. 1), and therefore चू is not changed to च by VIII. 3. 7. This is the reason why the augment is exhibited as चू and not चुरु ॥ In सूत्र VIII. 3. 29 चू would have done as well but not so here. This view of the काशिका, however, is not approved by Padamanjari. The चू can never be changed to च here, because चू is followed
by र which is not an अत्र letter. The word अम्बलर is understood in VIII. 3. 7. In fact, तु र would have been a better augment.

शि तु र || ३२ || पदार्थ || शि, तु र ||

रूपः || नकाराय पसालम सका़ स्तो ता तु गालो भवति इ

31. The augment त may optionally be added to a word ending in र, when a word beginning with श follows.

Thus भवायं चेते इ || The augment is added to the end of the preceding word, and not to the beginning of the second word, in order to change श into छ इ. In fact, the augment चु र added to the second would have been as good as तु र, namely both are र; but then छ change would not have taken place.

Obj.—If this be so, then why र is not changed to च, since it is no longer final in a pada, when तु र is added to it, in क्रेस्च चेते इ.

Ans.—This is to be thus explained. The sūtra शि: रतुना रतुः: (VIII. 4. 40) should be divided into two parts, in order to prevent र change. Thus the first part will be दो: रतुः, which will mean that श and र followed by र and र will not cause the change of न to र. || The next sūtra will be रतुः, which will mean that the preceding श and र are changed to र and र respectively.

डमो हस्वाचर्च चमुण्डत्यम || ३२ || पदार्थ || डमः, हस्वाच, अचि, चमुण्डः, नित्यम इ

रूपः || हस्वाचर्च शि: डमः तच्चवाचर्च त्चाचर्च रहुः गालो भवति नित्यम इ || रणणेशो चच्च सयं च रणण भवति इ

32. After a word ending in र, र or र which is preceded by a light vowel, the same consonant र, र or र is added invariably at the beginning of the next word, which commences with a vowel.

The word रम: is in the Ablative singular here; and हस्वाच is qualifies रम: ; and हस्वाच itself qualifies the word पद्यम understood, and thus there is tadanta-viddhi. Though the word पसाल (VIII. 1. 16) is in the Genitive singular, yet it should be converted here into Ablative singular, because of its connection with रम: || अचि is in the Locative singular, but should be construed as Genitive singular here: it is exhibited in the 7th case for the sake of brevity, and of the subsequent sūtras. रम is a pratyāhāra meaning र, र and र; and so also रम is a pratyāhāra containing the three augments र, र and र.

In other words र is augment after र, र after र and र after र; or that these letters are doubled practically. Thus रम is the augment after a word ending in र, as पसाल || रम is the augment after a word ending in र, as
33. ध is optionally the substitute of the Particle उ, when it is preceded by a म consonant (all consonants with the exception of semivowels, sibilants, ह and व), and is followed by a vowel.

Thus धाँ भक्तु वेदिः or शम्सु वेदिः; तद् उ अस्स्य रेतः or तद्भव्य रेतः; किंम् उ भावपनम् or किंम्बावपनम्. The ध is a Pragrihya by I. 1. 14, and therefore would have remained unchanged, this ordains ध optionally. This ध being considered as Siddha, the ध is not changed to anusvāra in किंम्बावपनम्, शम्सु &c, by VII. 3. 23.
When this व is followed by इति, and preceded by a म स consonant, then by I. i. 17, it is optionally प्रगृहा, and it may be replaced by ध. When it is not a pragrhiya, then it is changed to व by ग्रहित्र (VI. i. 77), or to व by the present sūtra. In the case of बणावत व, there is anusvāra by VIII. 3. 23, as किनिति. When it is a Pragrihya, then it is changed to व by the present sūtra as किनिति or किन इति. So also with ध substitute, where the ह will be nasal: as किनमिति, or ध will remain unchanged, as किन इति. Thus we have five forms with इति.

विन्दनीयस्य स: || 34 || पदार्थ || विन्दनीयस्य, स: ||
वृति: || विन्दनीयस्य स कार आविश्वा भवति यारि पस्तः ||

34. व is the substitute of a visarga, when a hard consonant (कर्त) follows.

The word यारि is understood here. Thus बुधसहाययति, द्वादसहारायति, बुधसहारः, कारः, द्वादसहायः, द्वादसहायः, द्वादसहायः, द्वादसहारः, द्वादसहारः, द्वादसहारः. द्वादसहारः, द्वादसहारः, द्वादसहारः, द्वादसहारः.

By VIII. 3. 15, the व was changed to visarga before a hard consonant, or at the end of a Pause. In the present sūtra, no special cause being mentioned, the व change would take place, not only before a hard consonant, but at the Pause also, i.e. in बुधः, द्वादसहायः also. This however, is not the case, because the word संहिताया governs this sūtra; so the व change will be in Sanhitā only, and not in Pause, moreover we read the anuvṛtti of यारि here and so prevent the व change in Pause.

शर्यते विन्दनीयः || 35 || पदार्थ || शर्यते, विन्दनीयः ||
वृति: || शर्यते यारि पस्तः विन्दनीयस्य विन्दनीयारः भवति ||

35. The visarga is the substitute of visarga, when it is followed by a hard consonant (कर्त) which itself is followed by a sibilant (शर्त).

The word शर्यते is a Bahuvrihi, meaning that which is followed by शर्त. In other words, when a sibilant follows a hard consonant, the preceding visarga remains unchange. Thus बुधः: शर्यः, शरः: शरः, शरः: प्लातः, शरः: श्रामः, शरः: सरः, यागः: क्षमण्यर्चनायामः.

Though the sūtra could have been shortened by saying शरि: न; yet the longer form is used, in order to indicate that the jihvāmuliyya and upadhānāiya changes also do not take place, in cases like शरि: प्लातः, शरः: श्रामः.

वा शरि: || 36 || पदार्थ || वा, शरि: ||
वृति: || विन्दनीयस्य विन्दनीयारः वा भवति शरि परः ||
शासिकः || शरः परः शरः: ल्लोपे वल्लयः.

36. The visarga is optionally the substitute of visarga, when a sibilant follows.
As ब्रस्तः के ति or ब्रस्तः धृश्तः, भ्रस्तः के ति or भ्रस्तः धृश्तः, ब्रस्तः पण्डः or ब्रस्तः पण्डः, ब्रस्तः सार्व्य or ब्रस्तः सार्व्यः.
Cf. VIII. 4, 40, 41, for त्य and प्य.

Vārtt.—When the sibilant is followed by a hard consonant, there is optionally the elision of the preceding visarga. As ब्रस्तः स्यातः or ब्रस्तः स्यातः or ब्रस्तः स्यातः.

कुमः क्षैसः च || 37 || पद्यानि || कुमः क्षैसः च ||
ब्रस्तः कृत्वा वर्णावलीः || प्रायः सङ्गीतमयः क्षैसः प्रायः सङ्गीतमयः

37. क्ष and प्य are optionally substituted for the visarga, when followed by a hard guttural or a hard labial.

Thus ब्रस्तः क्ष & ब्रस्तः क्ष. कृत्वा ब्रस्तः क्ष, ब्रस्तः क्ष. कृत्वा ब्रस्तः क्ष. प्रायः ब्रस्तः क्ष, प्रायः ब्रस्तः क्ष.

Thus ब्रस्तः क्ष. कृत्वा ब्रस्तः क्ष , ब्रस्तः क्ष. कृत्वा ब्रस्तः क्ष, प्रायः ब्रस्तः क्ष, प्रायः ब्रस्तः क्ष.
The क्ष and प्य in क्ष and प्य are for the sake of pronunciation only. The substitutes are the Jīhvamūliya and the Upadhāmāniya: two lost sibilants belonging to the class of क्ष and प्य respectively.

When the rule VIII. 3. 34. does not apply, then this sūtra will apply; and will debar that. But VIII. 3. 35. will not be debarred. As शास्त्रः श्रीमुक्तः, श्रीम् श्रीम् || There is no vipratishedha between VIII. 3. 35. and 37, because of the asidhahood of one with regard to the other. (VIII. 2. 1). In fact, every rule in these three chapters stands by itself, and ignores the existence of the subsequent rule. Hence VIII. 3. 35. would not have been debarred by VIII. 3. 37.

To get this, some divide this sūtra into two:—(1) कुमः: “The visarga is the substitute of visarga before a guttural or labial which is followed by a sibilant.” (2) क्ष प्रायः: “The jīhvamūliya and upadhāmāniya are substitutes of a visarga before a guttural and a labial in every other case.”

सोपादात् || 38 || पद्यानि || सः, अ-पदात् ||
ब्रस्तः सः || तकरार आविष्कासेऽवधिः निविष्काराणां च: || प्रायः प्रकाशेऽवधिः || वाचिकः || सोपादातिविष्काराणां निविष्कारायम् वक्त्यम् || रेवेत् कामयं नायवचिक किनियम् वक्त्यम् ||
वाचिकः || प्रकाशेऽवधिः कामयं प्रति: || सकरार आविष्कारायम् अवधिः ||

38 सः is the substitute of a visarga before an affix beginning with a hard guttural or labial.

The word अपा means “when the guttural and labial are not at the beginning of a word,” in other words, when they stand at the beginning of an affix. This is possible only before the affixes पाण्य, कप्त, क्ष and काम्य|| Thus पाण्यम् (V. 3. 47); पाण्यम्, कप्तम्; (V. 3. 67), पाण्यम्, कप्तम्, (V. 3. 70); पाण्यम्, कप्तम् (III. 1. 9).

Why do we say ‘when not at the beginning of a word’? Observe पाण्य कप्तम्, पाण्यपिबत्ति.

Vārtt.—Prohibition must be stated, when the visarga belongs to an Indeclinable: as, पाण्य: कप्तम्, पाण्य: कप्तम् ||
Vārt.—The visarga which comes from स is only changed to र before काम्य, and not any other visarga. As पञ्क्ष्याभ्य, and, दशस्याभ्य; but not here, गीर्जाभ्यं द्रुष्याभ्यं

Vārt.—र is the substitute of the Upadhāmiya when followed by a guttural. The root द्रसु (तुिः Tud 20) has Upadhāmiya as its penultimate: though it is written in the Dhātupāṭha as द्रसु the र only represents the र of सर, and is not to be pronounced. This र is changed to र, when the final र is changed to a guttural, as र स, and then this र is changed to र, as in शाश्वतं: समुद्रं.

These words, however, may be derived from the root गम with the Prepositions अनि, उर, and सम उर, by adding the affix द्र ॥

इणः रः ॥ ३९ ॥ पद्मानि ॥ इणः रः ॥

वृत्ति ॥ इण उरसर्य सिंहधरीश्वर वकारादेशो भवति कुष्ठिरप्रश्योः परतः पश्चातः लघुकाम्येऽः ॥

39. र is the substitute of that visarga, which is preceded by र or उ and is followed by an affix beginning with a hard guttural or a labial.

The word अप्रशैैै is understood here also. The affixes meant are the same पा, कान्य, र, and काम्य ॥ Thus सिंहधर्म, वष्णुवर्त, सिंहधर्म, रक्षस्य, सिंहधर्म, रक्षस्य, सिंहधर्म, रक्षस्य, सिंहधर्म

Why do we say "by an affix"? Observe अभिः करोति, वादुः करोति, अभिः प्रचन्ड, वादुः प्रचन्ड ॥

The affix should begin with a guttural or a labial. Therefore not here, सिंहधर्म, रक्षस्य ॥

In the succeeding sūtras, the anuvṛtti of र from VIII. 3. 39 and of इणः रः from this, are both current. The visarga will be changed to र if preceded by र or उ, otherwise it will be र ॥

According to some, this sūtra ordains र in the room of the र taught in the preceding sūtra, and not of visarga: and so also in the following sūtras.

नमस्युपर्याग्ननिः ॥ ५० ॥ पद्मानि ॥ नमस्युपर्याग्ननिः गत्योऽः ॥

वृत्ति ॥ नमस्युपर्याग्ननिः क्षेरगोपीसांसंस्कृतानि सिंहधरीश्वर वकारादेशी भवति कुष्ठिः परतः ॥

40. For the visarga of नमस्य and पुर्स्य there is substituted स् before a hard guttural or a labial, when these words are Gati (I. 4. 67 and 74).

Thus नमस्यानि, नमस्यार्थ, नमस्यायनि; पुर्स्यानि पुर्स्यार्थ, पुर्स्यायनि ॥

Why do we say "when they are Gati"? Observe रक्षस्य, वष्णु रक्षस्य, पुरम् करोति ॥ Here पुरम् is a noun, Accusative Plural of पुर्स्य ॥

नमस्य is Gati by I. 4. 74, and पुर्स्य is Gati by I. 4. 67. The anuvṛtti of अप्रशैै ceases.
41.  is substituted, before a hard guttural or a labial, for the visarga which is preceded by or , and is not part of an affix.

This applies to the visarga of न, ह, बहिः, आविः, चतुर् and माधुः.

Thus निस्कृतम्, निष्प्रसादम्, हुष्टकृतम्, हुष्टपौर्णमि, बासिः, बाह्यविराग्यम्, बाह्यप्रतियोग्यम्, आविर्यम्, आविर्यपौर्णमि, आविर्यपौर्णमि, चतुष्कृतम्, चतुष्कृतम्, चतुष्कृतम्, माधुपौर्णमि.

Whv do we say 'when not belonging to an affix'? Observe भाषाम: क्षेत्रित, वायु: क्षेत्रित II. How do you explain मातृ: क्षेत्रित, पितृ: क्षेत्रित? For here in नित्र ह, the of the affix is elided by VIII. 2. 24, and the of नित्र ह is changed to visarga; this is not the visarga of an affix, and ought to be changed to ए.

Ans.—The inclusion of the word आत्मस्य: in Kāśādī class (VIII. 3. 48) indicates by implication, that ए change does not take place of this visarga in नित्र ह: मातृ ए: the only exception being भाषार: II. The reason of this may be that the visarga here does not follow a simple उ, but an ekādesa ए (VI. 1. 111).

Vārt:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of पृथु and द्वृथु; as पृथकाम, पृथस्ताम.

Vārt:—पृथकाश्वनारामण्यव स्थानम्. The visarga is changed to ए even when ए or उ are vṛddhied; as नेत्रकुलम्, शैक्षकुलम्.

Vārt:—पृथिकाम पुराणि ए ए. The visarga is changed to ए even when ए or उ are pluta, and then before dentals as well as gutturals and labials. Thus शीतकृतम्, हुष्टकृतम् (VIII. 2. 86 for pluta).

These last two vārtikas may be dispensed with, because Vṛddhi and Pluta are Bāhiranga change, and so the visarga will be changed to ए in these cases also by the sūtra itself; except so far as ए is concerned.

तिरस्यत्तरस्याम् ||४२ || पदानि || तिर्स: || अन्तरस्याम् ||

ब्रूति: || तिरस्य विशेषज्ञयश्च विशेषज्ञयाय सञ्जापदोषी भवति कुद्रू: परतः ||

42. The visarga of the Gati तिर्स: is optionally changed to स before a hard guttural or a labial.

Thus तिरस्यान्त, तिरस्तिवृत्व, तिरस्तिवृत्व, or तिरस्तिवृत्व: कर्ष्या, तिरस्तिवृत्व: कर्ष्य, तिरस्तिवृत्व: कर्ष्य:.

The word मात्र: is understood here also. Therefore no option is allowed here, तिर: कल्याणेन मात्रः, where तिरस्ति does not mean 'disappearance'. (I. 4. 72).

तिरस्तिवृत्वान्तरिते क्षेत्रोऽयं ||५३ || पदानि || तिर:—चतुरः, इति, इत्तेतरः ||

ब्रूति: || चतुरा इत्तेतरार्ग: इत्तेतरार्ग: इत्तेतरार्ग: इत्तेतरार्ग: इत्तेतरार्ग: इत्तेतरार्ग: इत्तेतरार्ग: परतः ||
43. प is optionally the substitute of the visargas of दिस, बिस, चतुर when they are used as Numeral adverbs, (before a hard guttural and labial).

The affix छुष (ष) is added to the three words dvi, tri and chatur in the sense of kṛtvansuch by V. 4. 18.

As हि: करोति or विश्वसरोति, वि: करोति or विश्वसरोति, चतु: करोति or चतुष्वसरोति, हि: पचाति or विश्वसरोति, चि: पचाति or विश्वसरोति, चतु: पचाति or चतुष्वसरोति)

Why do we say ‘when used in the sense of kṛtvansuch or Numeral adverbs’? Observe चतुष्वसरोति, चतुष्वसरोति, (IV. 2. 16 and IV. 1. 88). This sūtra is an example of ubhayatras-vibhāṣā. With regard to चतुर the visarga is a non-affix visarga, and hence VIII. 3. 41, would have made प compulsory, this makes it optional. With regard to दिस and विस the visarga is that of an affix (छुष or ष V. 4. 18), and hence VIII. 3. 41, would not have applied. Thus with regard to पत्र it is a Prāpta-vibhāṣā, and with regard to दिस and विस it is an Aprāpta-vibhāṣā.

Why have we used the words ‘dvis, tris and chatur’? Objector’s answer: so that the rule may not apply to प्रचङ्खळ: करोति, the visarga of kṛtvansuch (V. 4. 17) is not changed to प.

The anuvṛtti of दि and हि is understood here from VIII. 3. 41: so that the visarga must be preceded by हि and दि for the application of this rule. In प्रचङ्खळ: the visarga is preceded by दि, and so there is no applicability of this rule.

In fact, by reading the anuvṛtti of दिसुपमा into this sūtra, and qualifying the visarga by the further epithet of ‘belonging to a word’ that has the sense of kṛtvansuch’; we may dispense with the words दिसुपमा from the sūtra. The simple sūtra त्र्योमेय would have been enough. For there are no other Numerals that have a penultimate हि or दि, except these three. The chief objection to this view is, that in चतुर the visarga is not the affix छुष, but a portion of the word (See V. 4. 18): so the rule would not apply to chatur, if this word were not expressly mentioned.

The various objections and their solutions are given in the following verses.

कुस्त्वुज्ञः पर्वम ब्रह्मिति कलाचतुष्वसरोति ना
वर्ष विभाषाय मुर्गुरु मिस्रेण तत पुरुषेण ॥
सिद्ध्र ह्यं विन्यस्ते चतुर: पर्वम ब्रह्मिति कुलोमेय ॥
हुँस कुलोमेयं रूपस्य विस्त्रजनितः हि ॥
एवं सति विलासी द्वितीयातुरिथ्यनन् फः काव्यम् ॥
अयो हि नेद्वुपमः कुलोमेयं काव्यः प्रवद्वस्यति ॥
आक्रियमणे प्रमणे विस्त्रजनितवशा विषयायम् ॥
Visarga Sandhi

Bk. VIII. Ch. III. § 43 ]

... Why does the author teach पत्ल when these words have the sense of Numeral-adverbs? In other words, why the word कुलीय is used at all in the sūtra? There is no necessity of using it at all, because द्रिः, विरस are clearly adverbs as they are formed by the affix यूः (V. 4. 18) and चतुरुः being read in their company will also denote the adverb chatur, in which यूः has been elided (V. 4. 18). So that all these three words are यूः-formed, and all यूः-formed words have the sense of क्रितवसुि. One answer to this is that this is the rule of साधारण does not always hold good, as in शीतीवैणाम (I. 1.6), the words दीक्षित and वेधी are verbs, while द्रिः is an augment. Though therefore द्रिः and विरस are क्रितवर्था words, yet चतुरुः need not be so: and may be a simple Numeral. Ans. चतुर्कपाले न पत्ल विनायख्या भूतत। The word कुलीय is employed to indicate that there should be no optional पत्ल in चतुर्कपाले। The पत्ल here is compulsory by VIII. 3. 41. Q. नदू लिङ्ग तत्त दम्मरं। Well this would be valid by the previous sūtra (VIII. 3. 41). That is, let in चतुर्कपाल also there be optional पत्ल, as चतुर्कपाल and चतुर्कपाल। Now rule VIII. 3. 41 will apply to चतुर्कपाल and will change this visarga to यूः, so that with regard to चतुर्कपाल, we shall have always यूः। Ans. तिरोच्च गयाइं विप्रिे चतुरुः पत्ल बदापि कुलीय, लोगे कुलीय रूपास्त्विम्म निर्देशिन्ति। If VIII. 3. 41 be considered as applying here (siddha), then when the affix यूः is elided after चतुरुः and the यूः is changed to visarga, then the adverb चतुरुः also ends with a non-affix visarga, and will come under the compulsory पत्ल rule of VIII. 3. 41; for though we may have optionally two forms as चतुरुः-कर्णित and चतुर्कपालित, by the present sūtra, yet in the former the visarga would be changed to यूः by VIII. 3. 41. Hence the necessity of employing the word कुलीय। Q. But we say that the यूः in the adverb चतुरः is that of यूः; thus चतुरुः+ यूः = चतुरुः+ यूः (VIII. 2. 66).= चतुरः+ यूः (the first यूः is elided by VIII. 3. 14)= चतुरः; and that this यूः when changed to visarga, will be an affix-visarga and so VIII. 3. 41 will not apply to the adverb चतुरः। Ans. No. For यूः would require to be lengthened by VI. 3. 111. and the form would be चतुरः।

एद्य सति विद्वानी विद्वेल्कत्विमि वि कारणम। इभिषि यस्य विभूतिः अर्थात्तिः कारणम। If this be so, then what is the purpose served by using the words द्रिः, विरस in the aphorism? The simple sūtra कुलीयेभी would have been enough. Because (अन्तर्गत नेतृद्वपः कुलीयः कहिलवसुित), there are no other numeral adverbs than these three which have a penultimate इ or यूः।

अविनायणे ग्रामे विसर्गास्यत्वस्त कहिलेयेत। If we do not use the words द्रिः, चतुरिती in the sūtra, then the word क्रित्वर्थे would qualify the word visarga, and the sūtra would mean “the visarga of an affix which has the sense of क्रितवसुि is changed optionally to यूः.” The result of this will be
that (चतुर्व न सिद्धम् तपारकद्व बिसर्जनसहिति) it will not apply to खलः where the visarga is that of र and not of the affix छुष।

Therefore by using dvis &c, the word क्लोयें would qualify खलाह (सतिन्तु द्रि किंमन्गे चलने चतुरो बिसर्जणण्यं मन्त्रि)।

Ans.—पक्तं पवं तवस्य तवस्यः बिसर्जण्यं नावयम्। Though we may not use dvis &c, the word क्रंवर्धभं will not qualify visarga, but will qualify the word पवेन whose context runs here; and the rule of तवस्य will apply; so that the sūtra क्लोयें will mean, पवेन क्लोयें सर्नमानस्य यों विसर्जनीयः, तस्य स्त्रादेयम् पकारो व। “The visarga of that word which is employed in the sense of a Numeral adverb, is optionally changed to खल or खल before a guttural or a labial, provided that such visarga is preceded by खल or ख।”

The above is the opinion of Patanjali, who considers the words dvis &c, as redundant. The Kāśikā however counters this opinion. According to him, if these words were not used in the sūtra, then the mere sūtra क्लोयें would be insufficient for the visarga of खल: though used as an adverb, the खल will be compulsory by VIII.3.41; for the present sūtra will be considered as asiddha or non-existent for the purposes of VIII. 3. 41, (See VIII. 2. 1). But this however may be answered by saying that the rule of पर्य्युच्छिन्द्रम applies in these chapters, with this modification, one subject-matter is considered as asiddha with regard to another subject-matter gone before; but one aphorism is not considered asiddha with regard to a previous aphorism, when belonging to the same subject matter. (पकरणे प्रकरणसिद्धेण न योगे योगः)। Therefore the present sūtra VIII. 3. 43, would not be considered asiddha with regard to VIII. 3. 41. Or the present sūtra may be considered as an apavāda to VIII. 3. 41: and an apavāda is never asiddha with regard to an utsarga.

हसुसोः सामथ्यें ॥ ४४ ॥ पवारि ॥ इसकः उसकः; सामथ्यें ॥

वृंजः ॥ इसकः उसकः इलेवार्तिकांम्बनस्यान्तर्गत्वा पकारावेदः मन्त्रि सामथ्यं कुलि: परसः ॥

44. For the visarga of words ending in इसक and उसक, before a hard guttural or labial, there is optionally substituted खल, when the two words stand in correlation with one another.

The खल is understood here. Thus सर्यन्यकरोति or सर्यन्य: करोति, खल: करोति or खलुक्रोति।

Why do we say ‘when the two words are correlated’? Observe तिः तिः सर्यः, व्रिः व्रिः व्यमकर्षम्, where व्रिः is not in construction with व्रिः, but with तिः।

The word सामथ्यें here means व्यपेशत्त or mutual relation of two words; and not “having the same meaning”, or it may mean both. In fact सामथ्यें is equivalent to अकार्षत्समा i.e. the syntactical want of another word to complete the sense. It does not here mean ‘compound’. For it being a परिवर्धिः the word सामथ्ये is
understood here (समाध्यः पवित्रितः II. 1. 1). The employment of the word सामाध्यः here indicates that it is a different sāmārthya from that of II. 1. 1. It does not denote एकार्थीतः or एकार्थ्य which is the sāmārthya of compounds where two or more words denote one object. The sāmārthya here means vyāpekṣha, which is thus defined मायास्योऽर्थे शक्लेष बताते, तत्स्योऽर्थे बोगः "the syntactical union of two words expressing two different ideas".

45. The visarga of an इत्र or उत्र-ending word, which is not preceded by any other word, is invariably changed to य in a compound, when followed by a hard guttural or labial.

The words हृत्र and उत्र are understood here. Thus सांप्लुकृक्षिनिका, धनुकपलम्, सविक्रमित, पद्धकलम्, इत्यादि.

Why do we say when it is not preceded by another word? Observe परस्परि: कुकिलिका, परस्परू: कपालम्. इत्यादि. The option even of the last sutra does not apply to these examples.

Q.—The word शरीष्ट्र is derived from the root सुष्य by adding the उळादि affix ित्र (Uṇ II. 109), and बहुत्र by the उळादि affix िस (Uṇ II. 117), therefore on the maxim प्रत्ययमहणं &c, the word हृत्रस्य would denote the mere forms शत्रुचु and बहुत्र and not forms like परस्परियिन &c. then what is the necessity of employing the word उत्रत्यस्य in the sutra?

The very employment of the word anuttara-pada-sthāsavāsa in this sutra, is an indicator (jñāpaka), that the restriction of the following maxim does not apply with regard to the affixes हृत्र and उत्र: प्रत्ययमहणं स विपिन्तः सदेहादन-सदेहादन यथाबन्धः "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". This maxim not applying, we have परस्परियिन्ति or परस्परि: करोः by the previous sutra VIII. 3. 44.

Q.—Why is not there option in the case of compounds also by the previous sutra?

Ans:—Because the word सामाध्यः there means व्यपेक्ष, and therefore does not apply to compounds.

अतः कुक्कलिककृक्षिनिकाः पात्रकुक्कलिककृक्षिनिवस्य इत्यादि. पदानि अतः कुक्कलिककृत्त्रोऽभास्यस्य इत्यादि.

- उत्त्रस्य: अर्थादिन्तयस्य अनन्त्यविभिन्नीवस्य समासस्तुत्यस्य निद्ध्य सक्रियादियोऽभास्य भविष्यति कुक्कलिककृत्त्रोऽभास्यस्य क्रिया तुष्यांतरितपति इत्यादि.

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46. For the visarga of a word ending in अस्, with the exception of an Indeclinable, च is substituted in a compound, when a form of क् and कम्, or the words कस् कुम्, पाच, कुष्णा and कर्णा follow, and the first word is not preceded by another word.

Thus क्स—अशकाः, पवस्काः (III. 2. 1) कम्स—अभस्काम्, पवस्काम्, कंस—
अयस्कास्, पवस्केस्, कुम्म्; अयस्कुम्म् पवस्कुम्म्. So also अयस्कुम्मी पवस्कुम्मी, on the maxim प्रतिपाठिकिमुम्येन लिङ्गनिःशीत्याऽणि पहः म्याचि II पाच—अयस्काचम्, पवस्काचम्, अयस्काची, पवस्काची II कुष्णा—अयस्कुष्णा, पवस्कुष्णा II कर्णा—अयस्कर्णा, पवस्कर्णा II The form सुनस्कार्ण: belongs to Kaskādi class (VIII. 3. 48).

Why do we say अस् “a visarga preceded by short अ, or the visarga of the word ending in अ?” See मीकार: दृष्टाराम् II Why do we say ‘preceded by short अ’? Observe मीकारम् II The form मीकार: belongs to Kaskādi class (VIII. 3. 48). See also III. 2. 2.

Why do we say “with the exception of an Indeclinable”? Observe दृष्टाराम: पुःकारम् II

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here; वन्स: करुच्यति पयः करोति, यस्य: करोंसे II

The word अतुस्मिस्यत्स्य is also to be read in this. Therefore not here, परमय्य: कारः, परमय्य: कान: II

Q. The word कस् need not have been taken, because it is a form of the root कस्, since it is derived from कस् by adding the Uṇādi affix च (III. 62 Uर)?

Ans.—The employment of कस् indicates the existence of the following maxim:—अभस्काशमुपनाथम भावितिपाठिकिम् “Words which end with अस् &c. are crude-forms that do not undergo or cause such operations as would depend on their etymological formation.”

अध्यागित स्तर्भरे च विधित्र स्तर्भरे च वृत्तिः इश्च नबल्यनां वर्तमान्यम् समासंगतं अतुस्मिस्यत्स्य सकार भाविते स्तर्भरे पदार्थोऽपि परमय्यः परमय्यः च विधित्र स्तर्भरे च वृत्तिः इश्च नबल्यनां वर्तमान्यम् समासंगतं

47. For the visarga of अपस् or श्यर्स when not preceded by another word, and followed by the word पद् in composition with it, there is substituted स्.

Thus अपस्य, श्यर्स्य: अपस्यी, श्यर्स्यी II

The word समासे is understood in this, therefore not here अध्य: पद्यः II

The word अतुस्मिस्यत्स्य is also understood here. Therefore not in the following परमश्वर: पद्यः II

The word अपस्य is a compound formed under Mayūravyansa-
kādi class.
48. ś or ṣ is substituted for the visarga, before a hard guttural and labial in the words kasatk and the rest.

This is an Apavāda to Sūtra VIII. 3. 37. ṣ is substituted after ṣ or ṣ, and ś everywhere else. Thus kasatk; 2. kītākūta: (with kṛṣṇa of kṛṣṇa bhāgavata:). 3. bāturac (VI. 3. 23) 4. sūnasakṛ (VI. 3. 21) 5. saddakāra; 6. saddakāri (from kṛṣṇa ‘to buy’ with the affix kṛṣṇa, because it belongs to Sampadādi class.) 7. saṣṭhas: (from saddakāri in the sense of tāvat: kṛṣṇa:). 8. kāmaikā (the ś is by VIII. 3. 12). 9. saṣṭhasadākāra; 10. pāturacākāra; 11. pūturacākāra; 12. wāsītākāra; 13. wāsītākāra: “The words 9 to 13 are exceptions to VIII. 3. 45, so that there might be ṣ, even when śakti &c are preceded by another word. Thus pāturacākāra: ṣadhkāra: The counter-example then to VIII. 3. 45 will be pāturacākāra: ṣadhkāra:” This is the opinion of the Pārayānikās. But in the Mahābāhāshya, the counter-example under VIII. 3. 45 is pāturacākāra: ṣadhkāra: Another reason why these words are listed here, is that ṣ change will take place, even where there is no correlation or vyapeksha. As tī君 tārṣṭaḥ śvarṣṭhakāmaḥ ahaṁ: So also when there is correlation, as ṣṭvā tātārṣṭhakāmaḥ: Here śvarṣṭu is an incomplete word. The ṣ change, will take place even where there is no compounding. Where there is no compounding, and there is complete want of correlation, even then the ś will invariably come. And where there is correlation, but no compounding there the ś would have been optional by VIII. 3. 44, but it becomes invariable here, on account of these words being so listed. Thus we have these cases:

(1) Without correlation, as tī君 tārṣṭaḥ śvarṣṭhakāmaḥ: (2) Where there is correlation, as ṣṭvā tātārṣṭhakāmaḥ: (3) Where there is composition, as śvarṣṭhakāmaḥ: (4) Where there is no composition and no correlation even, as, in example (1). (5) Where there is correlation but no compounding as in example (2). In all these cases there is ś invariably in case of these words.

Every change of visarga to ś or ṣ, must be referred to Kaskādi class, if not governed by any other rule. Thus this is an Akṛṭigaṇa. Upachāra is the name of ś and ṣ which replace the visarga.

The Pārayāṇa is of two sorts, Dhātu-Par, and Nāma-Par. Those who devote themselves in committing to memory and reciting these are Pārayānikas.

49. ś may optionally be substituted for the
visarga before a hard guttural and labial, in the Chhandas; but neither before यः, nor before a doubled word.

Thus ध्वनिः पाल्यम् or अवस्थान्यम्. This is an example of non-compounds. In compounds, the ख् change is compulsory by VIII. 3. 46: because the option of the present sūtra is anśiṣṭa there, and it finds its scope in cases other than compounds. If the maxim मकरने प्रकटवंसितं न वोगे वोगे: be applied, then the two sūtras VIII. 3. 46 and VIII. 3. 49 belong to the same प्रकटणं and one is not anśiṣṭa with regard to the other. Then we could give examples of compounds also under this sūtra: but then such compounds will also be governed by VIII. 3. 46, and so the ख् would be compulsory.

विष्टतान्यम् or विश्वस: पाल्यम्, here the word विष्टतस: is an Indeclinable and hence the rule VIII. 3. 46, does not apply to it. इति प: कारिः or इति न कारिः. Here नस्ति is substituted for अस्ति, and then the न is changed to य by VIII. 4. 27. The word कारिः is a पश्च formed word.

Why do we say “not before यः and a doubled word”? Observe अवश्य: म विष्टतस: (Av. V. 26. 1). चुरु: पुरुषः परि॥

In सूक्तिका: पुरुस्तान्त (Rig. X. 139. 1), श न: पाल्कः: (Rig. I. 12. 10), the ख् change has not taken place, as all rules are optional in the Vedas.

कः कर्त्थकरत्तियविष्टतत्सत्सदिति: ॥ ५० ॥ पद्यिनः ॥ कः कर्त्थ-करति-क्रिष्टि-क्षेतुः, अन्य-आदिते: ॥

वृत्सि: ॥ कः करति क्रिष्टि क्रम: हस्तेपि परतः: अतिरिक्तिविश्वनीत्य सकारात्मियो भवति धन्यसि विष्टपे॥

50. The visarga is changed to ख् in the Chhandas, before कः, कर्तव्र, करति, क्रिष्टि and क्रमः: but not so the visarga of आदिते:॥

Thus विष्टतस्क: ॥ कः is the Aorist of ख्, the ध्वनि has been elided by II. 4. 80: the ख् of ख् is gunaṭed before the affix रति, thus we have क्षेतुः, the ख् is elided by VI. 1. 68; and the augment ष्ट्र is not added by VI. 4. 75. Similarly विष्टतस्कतः ॥ Here also करत् is the Aorist of ख्, with अष्ट्र by III. 1. 59. पवति, here करति is the ख् of ख्; प्रस्तुति is added instead of ख्, as a Vedic anomaly. अरस्तिनः: here क्रिष्टि is the Imperative of ख्, the विष्टि is changed to ध्व, the vikaraṇa is elided, and ध्व changed to ध्व by VI. 4. 102. See VIII. 4. 27, for the change of ख् to यः ॥ सवस्ततः ॥ ख्रूति: is Past Participle of ख् ॥

Why do we say ‘but not of आदिति’? Observe यथा ना अवश्य: कटुः (Rig. I. 43. 2).

पञ्जयः परावर्यभ्यः ॥ ५१ ॥ पद्यिनः पञ्जयभ्यः; चरी, अथ्यः॥

वृत्सि: ॥ इन्तसिवेव ॥ पम्मिखिर्वप्रज्ञीनस्त्र सकारात्मियो भवति परोऽतरतः: अथ्यः॥
51. The visarga of the Ablative case is changed to स् before परि meaning ‘over’.

The word Chhandas is understood here also. Thus विस्परि प्रयंग जते (Rig X. 45. 1) अस्बिन्धवस्मस्तरि ⼾ विस्परि, महस्परि ⼾

Why do we say ‘of the Ablative’? Observe आहिरिक भोवि: पवेलि बहुमु ⼾ Why do we say “before परि”? See ए-यथो एतकृक्षधिक्रम: प्रज्ञावति: समृयः परि ⼾ Why do we say ‘when परि means ‘over’? See विस्त: वृष्टिस्य: प्रवेदः उपस्वप्ति: (Rig. VI. 47. 27). Here परि has the sense of “on all sides”.

पातौ च बहुमु ⼾ ५३ ⼾ पदानि ⼾ पातौ, च बहुमु ⼾

वृत्ति: ⼾ पातौ च पातौ परतः पवेलिविस्तनन्नवत्स्य बहुः सकार भविष्यो भविष्यो चविष्यो विविषय ⼾

52. स् may diversely be substituted for the visarga of the Ablative before the verb पातू in the Chhandas.

Thus विस्परि, राजस्परि ⼾ Sometimes, the change does not take place, as परिष्ठ: पात ⼾

पवेलया:पतिनुस्थङ्गपपाणपवेलस्यपेत्रु ⼾ ५३ ⼾ पदानि ⼾ पवेलया:पति-पुष्ठ-पुष्ठ-पार-पुष्ठ पवेलस्यपेत्रु ⼾

वृत्ति: ⼾ पवेलिविस्तनन्नवत्स्कारात्तेवो भविष्यो परतः पुष्ठ पुष्ठ पार परतः पवेलस्यपेत्रु परतः: चविष्यो विविषय ⼾

53. For the visarga of the Genitive, there is substituted स् in the Vedas, before पति, पुष्ठ, पुष्ठ, पार, पद, पवेल, and पोष ⼾

Thus वाचस्यार्थः विद्विष्णवान्महायो (Rig. x. 81. 7), विविष्याय वर्याय, विविष्याय धार्मिकां धार्मिकां, अगम्य, तस्मात्ताम्य, इवर्ग्याय सत्तायेऽव, स्वर्ग्याच्य द्रविषयाय: राम्यायेऽव, गम्यायेऽव: घर्ग्याय ⼾

Why do we say ‘after a genitive case”? See मुद: वृष्टिस्य: सदयो व्यज्ञान ⼾

इवाया वा ⼾ ५४ ⼾ पदानि ⼾ इवाया; वा ⼾

वृत्ति: ⼾ इवाया: पवेलिविस्तनन्नवत्स्य वा सकार भविष्यो भविष्यो पवेलस्य परस्तद्वंस्तिविविषय ⼾

54. स् is optionally substituted for the visarga of इवाया; before पति &c, (VIII. 3. 53.) in the Chhandas.

Thus इवाया: पति: or इवायायति: इवायायस्य ⼾ इवाया: पुष्ठ: ⼾ इवायायस्य: इवाया: पुष्ठ ⼾ इवायास्य: इवाया: पारस्य ⼾ इवायास्य: इवाया: परस्य ⼾ इवायास्य: इवाया: परस्य ⼾ इवायास्य: ⼾ इवाया: परस्य ⼾ इवायास्य: ⼾

अपदान्तस्य: मूर्त्तिन् ⼾ ५५ ⼾ पदानि ⼾ अ-पदान्तस्य: मूर्त्तिन् ⼾

वृत्ति: ⼾ अपदान्तस्यति मूर्त्तिन् हि वैविष्यायेऽव वेदवाक्याय मायावधिसिद्धाय ⼾

55. Upto the end of the Pāda, is throughout to be supplied the following: “A cerebral letter is substituted always in the room of ———, when this letter does not stand at the end of a word”.

Here ceases the Padādhikāra which commenced with VIII. 1. 16. The two words अपवाचत्तस् ‘not final in a pada’, and मूड़न्द्य: ‘cerebral’ exert a governing influence on all sūtras up to the end of this chapter. Thus VIII. 3. 59, teaches “of an affix and a substitute”. The whole of the present sūtra should be read there to complete the sense: i.e. “a cerebral sound is substituted always in the room of the श of an affix and of the ख which is a substitute, when it does not stand at the end of a word”. Thus श्लेष, छ्न्वप, भ्यप्रषु, बायु।

Why do we say ‘not final’? See भ्यप्रस्तर, बायुत्तर। Though the anusvṛtti of ख was understood here, yet the employment of the word ‘cerebral’ is for the sake of ख; as भ्रम, चक्रवर्त (VIII. 3. 78).

सहेः: सह: सः || ५६ || पदार्थम् || सहेः, सहः; सः ||

बृहत्त: सहेऽः वा सहेऽः पदार्थम् वा सहेऽः पदार्थम् भावसी भवति।

56. ख is substituted for the ख in सह, when this occurs in the form of सह (साह)।

Thus जलायास्, मुलायास्, गुलायास् या सह is derived from सह by the affix ए (III. 2. 63), there is वृद्धि of the penultimate, the ख is changed to ख (VIII. 2. 31), and the upapada is lengthened (VI. 3. 137).

सह: ख: would have been enough, for there is no other form सह except this derived from सह; why then the word सह: is used in the sūtra? There is another form सह: not derived from सह। Thus सह खेऽः पदार्थम् = सहः; सहेऽः अप्यः = सहः। He in whose name there is the letter ख is called सह; as खृ॥

Why do we say ‘in the form of सह’? The rule will not apply when the form is सह, as जलासहम्, मुलासहम्। Why do we say सः “for the ख”? So that the ख of सह may not be changed to cerebral: the ख is already cerebral.

इक्ष्कोः || ५७ || पदार्थम् || इक्ष् कोः ||

बृहत्त: इक्ष्कोः प्रधनस्वस्तिर्हृष्टित्वम्। इत उत्तरः वह्स्त्यामः इक्ष्: कत्वर्ष्टियवेऽन्ति हेदयवेऽन्ति।

57. From this, upto the end of the chapter, should be supplied in every sūtra, the following:—“when a vowel (with the exception of अ or आ), or a र or a guttural precedes”.

The word इक्ष् is a pratyāhāra formed with the second ख of लख। It includes all vowels and semivowels except उ and ऊ। Of the semi-vowels र is only efficient: so that only is taken in the translation. ख means the letters of the क class. Thus इक्ष्कोः is supplied in VIII. 3. 59, to complete the sense. Thus लिङ्ग, छ्न्वप, भ्यप्रषु, बायु, कृषु, हृदु, मीरु, घृषु, वायु, लख॥

Why do we say “when preceded by इक्ष् or क”? Observe व्यवस्थितः, व्यसौ॥

Here the affix ख of स्वस्तितः, and the substitute ख in असौ (VII. 2. 106) are not changed to ख॥
58. The substitution of ख for ख takes place then also, when the augment न (नम्), the visarjaniya or a sibilant occurs between the said घ and ङ letters or the ख.

The word व्याय 'separation, intervention' applies to every one of the words दु, &c. Thus (1) when तु intervenes, as सर्पिल, यज्ञिल, सार्पिल (VII. 1. 72, VI. 4. 10). (2) When a visarjaniya intervenes, as सर्विल, वर्ज्ञु, हविल (VIII. 3. 36) (3) When a Sibilant intervenes, as सर्विल, वर्ज्ञु, हविल.

The ख takes place, when दु &c intervene singly and not when they intervene collectively. Therefore not here, निस्ते, निस्ते from the root निस्ते 'to kiss.' Here there is the intervention of two, namely, दु and ख (III. 4. 91).

The word व्यायम is in the Ablative case, and it required that the ख should follow immediately after it. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra for the intervention of certain letters.

आदेशमययोः || ५९ || पदानि || आदेश, प्रत्ययोः || वृत्ति: || आदेशोऽयंकरः: प्रत्ययस्य एक्ष्य' एक्ष्यंकरं व्यायमस्तस्य मूर्द्धन्यों भवति ||

59. ख is substituted for that ख which is a substitute (of the ख of a root in Dhātupātha by VI. 1. 64), or which is (the portion of) an affix, under the above mentioned conditions (VIII. 3. 57, 58), of being preceded by an एण vowel or a guttural.

The word cerebral is understood here from VIII. 3. 55, as well as ख।। The sūtra आदेश-प्रत्ययो is in the Genitive case. The force of the Genitive however is different in the word आदेश, from what it is in pratyaya. In the first it is samāndhikaraṇa-shaśṭhi, in the latter avayava-yogāshashti. That is that ख which is an आदेश, and that ख which belongs to an affix. If we took it as avayavyogāshashti in both places, then the sūtra would mean "of that ख which is a portion of a substitute, or of an affix," and there would arise the following anomaly. In doubling a word by VIII. 1. 1, one view is that two are substituted in the room of one (See VIII. 1. 1). Thus विपिनि, फुस्तन्तस्तन || Here the ख in these words, is a portion of a substitute, and would be changed to ख, if we translate the sūtra as above.

If we take the other view, and translate the sūtra as "of that ख which is a substitute or an affix," we land on the following anomaly. We must have forms like कार्याल्यम् and हरिस्वति, and not the correct forms कार्याल्यम्, हरिस्वति;
for here स्त्र is not an affix, but a portion of an affix. In fact, with regard to affixes, the sūtra would be confined to those affixes only which consist of a single स्त्र, such as तित्रै in the Vedic subjunctive तए। That this is the proper interpretation of the sūtra is indicated by the sūtra VIII. 3. 60, (the next aphorism). The substitute यस्त्रै is taken in this sūtra. If therefore, the force of Genitive in अद्वित्तृत्तव was=अद्वित्तृत्तव यस्त्रै सकार, and not=अद्वित्तृत्तव यस्त्रै सकार, then there would have been no necessity of including the substitute यस्त्रै in the sūtra, for then the present sūtra would have covered the case of यस्त्रै also. Similarly, if the force of the Genitive in प्रवत्तव was=प्रवत्तव यस्त्रै सकार, and not=प्रवत्तव यस्त्रै सकार, then there would have been no necessity of excluding the affix सत्रै (V. 4. 52) from the operation of the present rule by VIII. 3. 111, because it is not an affix consisting of a single letter स्त्र।

Having surmised this, we shall now give illustrations. First of that स्त्र which is a substitute. It can only be the स्त्र which replaces the स्त्र of a root in धातुपात्त. Thus तित्रैव, सत्रैव। Of an affix, we have भवित्र, वात्र, कात्र, हस्त्र; वस्त्र in श्यायो ना वस्त्र; and वस्त्र in य देवा, यस्त्र।

Q.—In the case of वस्त्र and वस्त्र, the स्त्र is not the portion of an affix, but the whole affix itself: the present sūtra should therefore not apply to this स्त्र।

Ans.—Here we apply the maxim व्यपदेशवद्यम एकाधित्र।

These words (वस्त्र and वस्त्र) are from the roots वच्छ and वज्ज, in नेत्र with तित्रै, the स्त्र is elided by III. 4. 97, the augment वह (III. 4. 94), the affix तित्रै by III. 1. 34; the स्त्र of वच्छ is changed to a guttural, and the स्त्र of वज्ज to प्र and then to a guttural.

The उपदी word अधिर (अधि + सर Uप III. 70) complies with this rule, but not so the word कृतश्रे and धूर्ते (Uप III. 73) formed with the same affix सर।

शास्त्रिङ्गविचारसिद्धान्त ॥६०॥ पदाते ॥ शास्त्र-वासित- शर्िनाम, च ॥

60. च्छ is substituted for the स्त्र of श्याय, वस्त्र and धूर्ते when it is preceded by an ट्रै vowel or a guttural.

Thus अन्ति, अवित्र, अत्तित्र, अवित्र, the Aorist of श्याय; the तित्रै is replaced by अट्र (III. 1. 56), and the ति changed to त by VI. 4. 34. So also तित्रै, तित्रैव। From वस्त्र we have वस्त्र, ववित्र, ववित्र। The Samprāsāraṇa takes place by VI. 1. 15 as it belongs to yajādi class. From प्रस्त्र we have जप्त्र, जप्त्र in the Perfect. यस्त्र is the substitute of यस्त्र (II. 4. 40), the penultimate य is elided by VI. 4. 98. So also यस्त्र in यस्त्रविषयित्त प्रित्र (Rig. I. 82. 2). This is the Aorist form of अट्र, the यस्त्र is substituted for अट्र (II. 4. 37): the Aorist sign is elided by II. 4. 80.
This sūtra is made to cover cases not governed by the last sūtra, namely, where the ः is not an ādeśa. Though the ः in ः is the ः of a substitute, yet it is not governed by the preceding aphorism, because the word अभ्यासत् there means ‘the ः which is a substitute’. Here ः is not a substitute, but a portion of a substitute. The non-substitute ः is not to be taken here: as it seldom occurs.

The word हृदि is understood here also. Therefore the rule would not apply to प्रास्त, यस्ति and अभ्यासात्.

स्तौतिष्वयोयेव षण्यभ्यासात् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ स्तौतिष्योयः, पव, पवि, अभ्यासात् ॥

61. ः is substituted for ः after ः or ङ in the reduplication of a Desiderative, if the ः of ङ is changed to ः; but only in ः and in Causative of roots which in Dhātupāṭha begin with a ः.

This rule is confined to the Desideratives of ः and of ः beginning roots in the Causative, provided that the Desiderative sign ः is changed to ः. The rule applies to the ः of the substitute, and not to the affix ः as there can be no such ः after a reduplicate syllable. Therefore ः means that ः which replaces the ः of the roots.

Thus from ः we have ः Here the ः of ङ is changed to ः by the last sutra, and therefore so also after the reduplicate ः, the ः of ः is changed to ः.

Of the Causatives of roots beginning with ः in Dhātupāṭha, we have एष्टेयान्त, एष्टेयाविदं, एष्टेयापरिताः. In this last, the ः is changed to ः by VII. 4. 67.

Though this ः change would have taken place by the previous sutra (VIII. 3. 59), yet the separate enunciation of this rule indicates that this is a niyama aphorism—the ः change takes place only in these cases of ः and Causatives of Desideratives under the conditions mentioned in this sutra, and no where else. Thus तितिष्वत् from the root तितिष्वत् (Tud. 140). This is a root, which is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with a ः, therefore the form ought to have been तितिष्वत् by VIII. 3. 59, but it is not so, because of the niyama of the present sutra. So also दुरुञ्जय from दुरुञ्जय (Div. 24): and दुरुञ्जय from दुरुञ्जय (Tud 115).

If this is a niyama rule by the very fact of its separate enunciation, what is then the necessity of using the word ः in the aphorism? Ans. दुरुञ्जयाचार्येः दुरुञ्जयाचार्येः; so that, the sutra may mean “if ः and Causatives only, when ः follows”? and not “if ः and Causatives when ः only follows”. In the
latter view, we could not get the form तुद्यान; and the rule would have applied to विस्तार also.

Why do we say “in the Desiderative य”? So that the niyama may not be any where else. Had य not been used in the sūtra, the restriction would have been with regard to every affix, and the sūtra would have meant “if there is occasion of य change after a reduplicate, it should take place only in the case of ल and the Causatives”. Therefore य change would not have taken place in विस्तार, as it is not a Causative.

Q.—को विनियमस्त्रोध? Why have we used the word य with य, and not the word सन्त? That is, what compulsion was there to exhibit the Desiderative affix सन्त, in this changed form? The word विनियम is the name given in the Prātiṣākhyaś to य and य change.

Ans.—So that the restrictive rule may not apply to the अविनियम form of सन्त. As युक्तसन्त. The सन्त is here किंत्र by I. 2. 8, and there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 15. For had सन्त been used in the sūtra, then the restriction would have been with regard to all Desideratives in general, whether the सन्त was changed to य or not. Therefore as there is restriction of VIII. 3. 59, in the case of विनियमत्तत् where स is not changed to य; so there would have been restriction in युक्तसन्त, the स could not have been changed to य by VIII. 3. 59. Similarly in विस्तारतत्.

Q.—What is the necessity of exhibiting य with the anubandha य? So that the rule should not apply to य in general, but to the Desiderative affix य only. As युक्तविनिच य. This युक्तिच is the Perfect of य, the affix यास is added as Chhandas irregularity instead of य; for यास there is ये, the affix is किंत्र by I. 2. 15, and so there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 15, and reduplication, and the augment य is added by VII. 2. 13, the य is changed to सन्त, as युक्तिच यन्त्र, the य is elided by VIII. 3. 19. Here after the reduplicate य, the स is changed to य, in य by the general rule VIII. 3. 59, as the restriction of this सूत्र does not apply in this case. But had य in general been taken, then युक्तिच has an affix य, and therefore sūtra VIII. 3. 59, would have been restricted, and there would have been no change of य to य after the reduplicate, as it is not a causative. Hence य has been employed with an anubandha.

Why do we say ‘after a reduplicate’?

Ans.—So that this restriction may apply to that य which would have been caused by the य or य of an abhyāsa, and not to that which would have been caused by an upasarga. As अविनिचिच, though without the Preposition, the form is विनियमत्तत्.

Q.—No, this cannot be the reason, because the य caused by the upasarga is considered as asiddha, and hence there would be no restriction.
Ans.—Then we say, the abhyāsa is taken to be qualified by स, namely that abhyāsa which is caused by स, would give occasion to this rule and not any other abhyāsa. Therefore if a reduplication has been caused by यह, and then प्रय is added to it, then the restriction of the present sūtra will not apply, and यह change will take place though the root may not be a Causative &c. Thus the यह of सङ्कु य (VI. 1. 19), the Desiderative of this root is सोविप्रले, with हृ augment, the elision of भ (VI. 4. 48) of भ, the elision of य by VI. 4. 49.

Q.—No this also cannot be the reason: because the यह change is antararanga, while the restriction niyama is Bahiranga. Therefore, the word abhyāsa is employed superfluously in the sūtra.

Ans.—The word abhyāsa is taken in the sūtra, so that the restriction may be with regard to that य which might have been caused by the ह or ह of the abhyāsa; and not to that ह which might be occasioned by the ह or ह of a दहतु or verbal root. Thus दितिपिति, दर्शिपिति। Here the root ह in the sense of देश, is turned to Desiderative with स; and by VI. 1. 2, the ह is reduplicated, then by VII. 4. 79, the भ is changed to ह। Thus दिति; here by the force of the ह of the abhyāsa दिति, the ह is changed to ह as हिति; (VIII. 3. 59) then as the restriction of this sūtra does not apply, the root ह causes the यह of the abhyāsa, as हिति। Had the word कानसालि not been used in the sūtra, the ह of abhyāsa could not have been changed to ह, for then the sūtra would have meant “य is substituted for ह, only in the case of ह and Causatives in the Desiderative यह”; and as हिति is not a Causative-Desiderative, the restriction would have applied.

सः स्तितिदेशितस्फितविद्विदाशिानां च इ दृष्टि पदार्थिनि। सः, स्तितिदेशितस्फितविद्विदाशिानामः वः गृहसः सिन्द्दीशि सहि इन्द्रियार्थ गृहार्थानां सति पशुः पति स्यास्याक्रान्ति सकारात्मक सकारात्मकर्षो भवति।

62. ह is substituted for the ह after the reduplicate of the यह Desiderative of the Causatives of स्तितिदेशि, स्तितिदेशि, and सही।

The ह substitute of ह debar the cerebral change. In other words, the ह of these roots remains unaltered. As सिति, सिति and सिति विद्विदाशिानां गृहसः सिन्द्दीशि सहि इन्द्रियार्थ गृहार्थानां सति पशुः पति स्यास्याक्रान्ति सकारात्मक सकारात्मकर्षो भवति।

63. (The substitution of ह for ह, to be taught hereafter, will take place) for all roots upto सिति exclusive in
VIII. 3. 70, even when the augment अर्थ intervenes (between the च य and the efficient letter).

The root लिन् occurs in sūtra VIII. 3. 70. Thus VIII. 3. 65 teaches य change : as अभिधत्तिति, परिपुष्टिति, विपुष्टिति, निपुष्टिति II. So also when अर्थ intervenes; as अभिधत्तिति, परिपुष्टिति, विपुष्टिति, निपुष्टिति II. The force of अर्थ is that the change takes place even when the augment अर्थ does not come, i.e. in cases other than the augment.

स्थादिष्ट्यासेन चायास्यस्य II ७४ III पदानि II स्थादिष्ट्य, अभ्यासेन, च, अन्यास्यस्य II.

वृत्तिः II मात्र, निसतावति वर्णमे II उपसर्गात्मानोत्तर्या स्थालनमे पिताशियति स्थायितिः मात्र सतापति चायासेन चायास्यस्य पूर्वाचार्यः भवन्यास्यस्यातिस्याचार्यः भवन्यास्याचार्यः चतुर्विवेत्तथायः II.

64. In या &c. upto निन्त्र exclusive (VIII. 3. 65 to VIII. 3. 70), this य substitution takes place then also, when the reduplicate intervenes, and the च of the reduplicate is also changed to य.

The words मात्र सतावतृ are understood here also. The स्थायि roots are, या, या &c. in VIII. 3. 65 and ending with या in VIII. 3. 70. The sūtra consists of two sentences: (1) The या takes place in या &c. even when a reduplicate intervenes; (2) The च of the reduplicates of या &c. is changed to य. The first is a vidhi rule, and the second is a niyama rule.

Thus तत्तैः where the abhyāsa च intervenes. This applies even to roots other than those which have been taught with a य in the Dhātupātha. As अविशेषणिति, परिपुष्टिति (सतावति अभितपत्तिः प्रियसिद्धृति). This applies moreover to reduplicates which end in च, as अविशेषि; here the च would not have been changed to य (by VIII. 3. 59) as it is not preceded by य or च. Another raison d'être of this sūtra is that it prohibits चण (VIII. 3. 61). As अविशेषप्रियसिद्धि, परिपुष्टिति.

The word अन्यास्य is for the sake of niyama, as we have said above. च of या &c. and of no other roots is changed to य. As अविशेषप्रियसिद्धि from या, the augment is debarred by VII. 2. 12: the root च is unchanged by the niyama prohibition of VIII. 3. 61; the reduplicate च remains unchanged by the restriction of the present sūtra.

उपसर्गात्मानोत्तर्या स्थायितिः परिपुष्टिति मातित्यासेन अन्यास्यस्याचार्यः स्वायास्य चायास्यस्य II ७५ III पदानि II उपसर्गात्मानोत्तर्या स्थायिति, चायास्यस्य, चायास्य स्वायास्यस्य, चायास्यस्य स्वायास्यस्य, चायास्यस्य II.

वृत्तिः II उपसर्गात्मानोत्तर्या स्थायिति, चायास्य स्वायास्यस्य, चायास्यस्य स्वायास्यस्य, चायास्यस्य स्वायास्यस्य, चायास्यस्य II. 65. य is substituted for च, after an य and च of an upasarga in the following verbs: च (चायास्य), च (चायास्य), च
Thus अभिव्यूङ्गति, परिव्यूङ्गति, अश्रव्यूङ्गति, परीप्रयूङ्गति सुवाचि. अभिव्यूङ्गति, परिव्यूङ्गति, अश्रव्यूङ्गति, परीप्रयूङ्गति। तौति, अभिनदितिः, परिनदितिः, अश्रव्यूङ्गति। सोमांभम्, अभिन्दितिः, परिन्दितिः, अश्रव्यूङ्गति, परीप्रयूङ्गति, सुथा, अभिव्यूङ्गति, परिव्यूङ्गति, अश्रव्यूङ्गति, परीप्रयूङ्गति। सुभधा, परीद्राम्, अभिनदितिः, परिनदितिः, परीप्रयूङ्गति॥ अभिप्रेतः सुभधा, अभिव्यूङ्गति, परिव्यूङ्गति, परीप्रयूङ्गति॥ सुभधा, अभिव्यूङ्गति, परिव्यूङ्गति, परीप्रयूङ्गति॥ सुभधा, अभिव्यूङ्गति, परिव्यूङ्गति, परीप्रयूङ्गति॥ सुभधा, अभिव्यूङ्गति, परिव्यूङ्गति, परीप्रयूङ्गति॥ सुभधा, अभिव्यूङ्गति, परिव्यूङ्गति, परीप्रयूङ्गति॥ सुभधा, अभिव्यूङ्गति, परिव्यूङ्गति, परीप्रयूङ्गति॥ सुभधा, अभिव्यूङ्गति, परिव्यूङ्गति, परीप्रयूङ्गति॥ सुभधा

The root श्रृं is exhibited in the सूत्रa as श्रृ with श्रृं, vikaran, thus debarring श्रृः-श्रीति॥

Why do we say “after an upasarga”? Observe श्रृः-श्रीति, मदु-श्रीति (VII. 3. 111). So निन्दिति को श्रृः=निन्दिति श्रृः को अस्त्राहु श्रृः वेशापनः। Here नि is not an Upasarga to श्रृः, but to the noun तेषापि॥ Similarly in अभिव्यूङ्गति, the upasarga अभि is not added to the root श्रृः (श्रृःति), but to the third derivative of श्रृः (श्रृःति). Namely, from श्रृः we derive सावक with श्रृः, and from सावक we form the Denominative root सावकीय with श्रृः; and to this Denominative root अभि is added. The upasarga, however may be added to the root first, and then श्रृः and कवः added. In that case, the rule will apply. As अभिप्रेताच्छालि॥ So also with the Causative, as अभिप्रेताच्छालि, for here the upasarga is added to the root श्रृः and not to the causative form सावक॥

The roots श्रृः अभिप्रेतまと belongs to Svādi class, श्रृः प्रेति to Tudadi class, श्रृः नवसिन्निथि to Divādi class, नवसिन्निथि to Adādi class and श्रृः स्वेति, to Bhūḍī Class. These have been shown in the सूत्रa in their declined form in order to indicate that the rule does not apply to their वष श्रृः, as अभिप्रेताच्छालि॥ See VII. 1. 6 for this rule of श्रृः-श्रीति exhibited roots. On the other hand, the roots श्रृः and श्रृः &c. being not so exhibited, change their श्रृः in वष श्रृः also, as अभिप्रेताच्छालि॥

The upasarga need not end with श्रृः and श्रृः for the purposes of this rule. Thus श्रृः-श्रीति, श्रृः-श्रीति, where the upasarga is निन्दि and श्रृः॥

वृःति: || 66 || पदान्ति || सावक- || अपेति: ||

66. The श्रृः of सावक is changed to श्रृः after an Upasarga having an श्रृः or श्रृः, but not after पदान्ति॥

The word श्रृः is in the first case, but has the force of genitive. Thus निन्दिति निन्दिति, नवसिन्निथि, नवसिन्निथि; निवसिन्निथि, निवसिन्निथि॥ The second श्रृः remains unchanged in the Perfect by VII. 3. 118.
Why do we say ‘but not after यति’? Observe यतिसादिति। Prof. Bohlingk points out that the sūtra is स्थाने: as given by Sayānāchārya in his commentary on Rig Veda VI. 13. 1. Pāṇini, however, often uses the first case with the force of the Genitive, as in VIII. 3. 80.

स्थाने: || ६ ॥ पदानि || स्थाने: ||
वृत्ति: || स्थाने: सकाराविकर्षत्याग्निददानस्तस्य मूर्त्तिः भाविति।

67. The स्र of स्थानम् is changed into ष after an up-asarga, having an इ or उ ॥

Thus अनिध्वान्ति। परिसनान्ति। अन्येदनात्। प्रयत्नात्। अभिस्मय। परिसनान्ति।
The word अष्णेष्टे of the last sūtra is not to be read here. Hence we have forms like:—परिसनान्ति। प्रयत्नान्ति, प्रवर्तितधातृः।

अवाभावासात्वानिवृत्यायोः || ६ ॥ पदानि || अष्णत्, च, आश्वस्वानन्ति-वृत्तिः ॥
वृत्ति: || अवाभावासात्वानिवृत्यायोः सकाराविरुद्धत्वानि भाविति। अभावासात्वानि भवितवृत्तिः ॥

68. The स of स्थानम् is changed into ष after the preposition अव in the sense of ‘support’ and ‘contiguity’.

The word भावाब्रम्ण means “support, refuge, that upon which any thing depends or leans”. आविर्भूप means “the state of not being दूर or far off, i.e. to be contiguous’.

Thus अवाभावाति “He remains leaning upon a staff” &c, अवाभावाति शिति।
So also in the sense of to be near, as अवविभेदः सेना ‘the army near at hand’. अववृत्ताः शान्ति ॥ See V. 2. 13.

Why do we say “when having the sense of support or contiguity”? Thus अवस्त्रयोत्तप्तम्: शीतैन ‘the Śūdra is afflicted with cold’.

The present sūtra is commenced in order to make the ष change even while the preceding letter is not इ or उ ॥

वेष्क स्थानो भोजने || ६ ॥ पदानि || वेष्, च, स्वन्, भोजने ||
वृत्ति: || वेष्कस्त्रास्बायानस्तस्य भोजनाय स्वनेष्टे सकाराविरुद्धत्वानि भाविति।

69. The ष is substituted for the स्र of स्वनु, after विष and अव, when the sense is “to smack while eating”.

Thus विषर्जन्ति, वाचस्य, विषयाह, भावणाति, अवविभेद, अवविभेदः। तत्त्वाति। That is, he makes sound while eating, he eats with a smack.

Why do we say ‘when making a smacking sound in eating’? Observe नित्यनि सुष्कः “the drum sounds”.

परिनिधिभयः सेवितस्वस्थितिसिद्धिः स्वस्तस्वालुभासं || ५ ॥ पदानि || परिनिधिभयः
वृत्ति: || परि निधि विद् इत्यत्त्बम् उपस्माय उत्सर्गाय स्व तित सदा सिद्ध सह छट स्त्र तस्य इत्यत्त्बम् सकारास्त्
मूर्त्तिः भवितवृत्तिः ॥
70. द is substituted for the स्र of सेव, सित, लय, लिय, सह, the augment खुद, खु, and स्वर, after the prepositions परि, नि, and दि।

The root सेव belongs to Bhuādi class. The word सित is the Past Participle of जिप्र कर्मणे, and लय is the noun derived from the same root with the affix अस्; निय is a Divādi root.

Thus परिचयते, निवेशते, भियते, पण्यते, व्येषते। परिप्रेयते, निग्रेषयते। भियते, पण्यते। निग्रेषयते, निप्रेयते। निग्रेषयते। भियते। निग्रेषयते। निप्रेयते। निग्रेषयते। भियते। निग्रेषयते। निप्रेयते। निग्रेषयते। भियते। निग्रेषयते। निप्रेयते। निग्रेषयते। भियते। निग्रेषयते। निप्रेयते। निग्रेषयते। भियते। निग्रेषयते। निप्रेयते। निग्रेषयते। भियते। निग्रेषयते। निप्रेयते। निग्रेषयते। भियते। निग्रेषयते। निप्रेयते। निग्रेषयते। भियते। निग्रेषयते। निप्रेयते। निग्रेषयते। भियते। निग्रेषयते। निप्रेयते। निग्रेषयते। भियते। निग्रेषयते। निप्रेयते। निग्रेषयते। भियते। निग्रेषयते। निप्रेयते। निग्रेषयते। भियते। निग्रेषयते। निप्रेयते। निग्रेषयते। भियते। निग्रेषयते। निप्रेयते। निग्रेषयते।

The nasal is elided in स्वर by VI. 4. 25. The स of खुद and स्वर would have been changed to द by VIII. 3. 65 also. Their inclusion here is for the sake of subsequent sūtra, by which the द change is optional when the augment खु́ intervenes.

विनायकां च वाद्यवायिपि || ७१ || पदानि || सिवारीनाम, चा-अध्यवाये, अध्यवाये अधिष्ठात् ||

वृत्ति: || अनन्तरात् सिवारीनामायिपि निवाय:। सिवारीनामायिपि परिपरियविभास भक्ति समायोि भवती ||

71. The प्-change may take place optionally in the सित and the rest (of the last sūtra), even when the augment अ intervenes between the prepositions परि, नि or दि and the verb.

The सिवारी are the four roots सित, सह, खुद and स्वर, as well as the augment खुद। This is an example of ubhayatra-vibhāshā. In the case of सह and स्वर it is prāpta-vibhāshā, in the case of others it is aprāpta. The examples have already been given under the preceding sūtra, and so need not be repeated here.

अनुचिपरिष्टिनिमित्यः स्वर्त्तेत्तर्माणिणु || ७२ || पदानि || अनु-चि-परि-भांभि निमित्यः, स्वर्त्तेतः, अप्राणिणु ||

वृत्ति: || अनु चि परि भांभि नि इवैतिश्च उत्तरस्य यथेत्तर्माणिणु सकारास्य तत् भुःभ्रमणाऽभिभवती ||

72. द् is optionally the substitute of the स् of स्वर्स्, after the prepositions अनु, द्, विदः, परि, अभि and नि, when the subject is not a living being.

The root स्वर्स् प्रर्वनि is anudattā. Thus अनुवचनते। विचनते। परिचनते। अभिवचनते। विदः, परि, अभि नि, when the subject is not a living being.
Why do we say 'when the subject is not a living being'? Observe अछत्तमस्तेत मत्वां उद्वेदे। The option of this sūtra will apply, when the subject is a compound of living and non-living beings. Thus अछत्तमस्तेत or अछत्तमस्तेत मत्वां उद्वेदे। The subject here is a Dvandva compound, and it is not in the singular number because of I. 4. 6. The word अवेदनिधिः is a Paryudāsa and not a Prasajya-pratishedha. If it be the latter sort of prohibition, then the force will be on the word living, and in a compound like मत्वां उद्वेदे, consisting of living and non-living beings, the prohibition will apply because it has a living being in it, and so there will be no परि। In the other view, the force is on the word non-living, and because the compound contains a non-living being, therefore the option will be applied, and the presence of the living being along with it will be ignored.

The anuvṛtti of परि, नि and वि is understood here from VIII. 3. 70. So these words could well have been omitted from the sūtra, which might have then been अवेदनिधिः स्तन्ते स्तन्ते, and by the force of वि we would draw in the anuvṛtti of परि &c.

वि: स्तन्तेरनिधिः स्तन्ते || 73 || पदानि || वे: स्तन्ते: अवेदनिधिः ||
वृवि: वे स्तन्तेरनिधिः स्तन्ते: सकारस्य हुद्राभ्य: या चकारस्त्रकारस्त्रकारस्त्रपरि: ||

73. वि is optionally substituted for the स्र of स्तन्ते, after the preposition वि, but not in the participles in त and तवः ||

The root is स्तन्ते: गति घोषणयोः || Thus विधानत: or विधानत, विधानतुष्म, or विधानतुष्म, विधानतुष्म, or विधानतुष्म ||

Why do we say 'but not in the Nishṭhā’? Observe विधानः:

परेशय || 74 || पदानि || परे: च ||
वृवि: परेश्यायोगस्तत्र कन्नेन: सकारस्त्रया हुद्राभ्यो भवानि: ||

74. च is optionally substituted for the स्र of स्तन्ते after the preposition परि every where.

Thus परिप्रकार, परिप्रकार, परिप्रकार, परिप्रकार, विधानतुष्म, or परिप्रकारतुष्म ||

The word परि could well have been included in the last sūtra as विधानतः स्तन्ते: &c. The very fact that it has not been so included, indicates that the prohibition of अवेदनिधिः does not apply to it. Thus परिप्रकार: or परिप्रकार: ||

परिप्रकार: प्राच्यसतत्तु || 75 || पदानि || परिप्रकार: प्राच्यसतत्तु ||
वृवि: परिप्रकार: हुद्राभ्योभ्यो निपातसत्र प्राच्यसतत्तु प्रव्योगस्ततत्तु ||

75. The word परिप्रकार is used without the cerebral change in the country of Eastern Bharata.
This is an anomaly. The य required by the last śūtra is prohibited. The other form is परिष्कारः. The word परिष्कारः is formed by the affix अर्थ or it is a Nisṭhā, the य being elided. The word भरत qualifies the word ग्राम्य. 

Prof. Bohlingk translates it “परिष्कारः is seen in the usage of the Eastern People and the Bharata”. He bases his construction on the śūtras II. 4. 66, and IV. 2. 113, where ग्राम्यजलेखः means “the Eastern People and Bharata”.

स्कुरातिस्कुस्त्योत्त्योनिष्ठित्वम् || ७६ || पदानि || स्कुराति, स्कुस्त्योऽनिष्ठ, निष्ठ, नि, विद्य: ||

वृत्ति: || स्कुरातिस्कुस्त्योऽनिष्ठतः सकारात्म निष्ठ नि वि इहेवेक उस्तरस वा मूल्यादेशो भवति ||

76. य is optionally substituted for the स्र of स्कुर and स्कुस्त्र after the prepositions निष्ठ, नि, and वि.

Thus निष्ठकुरति or निष्ठकुस्त, निष्ठकुरति or निष्ठकुस्त, निष्ठकुरति निष्ठकुस्त, निष्ठकुस्त, निष्ठकुस्त, निष्ठकुस्त, निष्ठकुस्त.

वेषः स्कुस्त्रपरिनिष्ठम् || ७७ || पदानि || वेषः, सक्नारते, निष्ठि ||

वृत्ति: || वेवः सक्नारते सकारात्म निष्ठा मूल्यादेशो भवति ||

77. य is always substituted for the स्र of स्कम्भ, after the preposition वि.

Thus विद्यकुरति, विद्यकुस्त, विद्यकुम्भ, विद्यकुम्भस्वभम्.||

षणः पीथविक्षिठितं धोषान || ७८ || पदानि || षणः, पीथवं, क्षिठिदाम्, धः, अश्मात् ||

वृत्ति: || मूल्यादेशो धर्म व्यर्थ विद्यकुरति प्राप्तात् ग्राम्यादेशं वा प्रागशस्त्र मूल्यादेशो भवति ||

78. The cerebral sound is substituted in the room of the य of पीथवम्, and of the Personal-endings of the Aorist and the Perfect, after a stem ending in हूः (a vowel other than य).

The word ‘cerebral’ is understood here from VIII. 3. 55. Thus ग्राम्यजलेखः स्कुस्तिः स्कुस्तिः ||

Aorist :- ग्राम्यजलेखः ग्राम्यजलेखः (VIII. 2. 25). Perfect: ग्राम्यजलेखतः

Though the anuvṛtti of ग्राम्यजलेखः was current here from VIII. 3. 57, yet the repetition of the word हूः here indicates that the anuvṛtti of हूः or the guttural ceases. As पश्चिन्ध्र, वाश्चिन्ध्र.

Why do we say “the य of पीथवं, लहर् and निष्ठि”? Observe स्कुस्तिः, वाश्चिन्ध्र, where the य is of स्रृ and स्रृ.||

Why do we say अग्राहयो ‘after a stem’? Observe परित्वर्यावधि, from विद्यकुरति of the Juhotyādī class. There is Guṇa of the reduplicate by VII. 4. 75, the य of सर्वदृष्ट is elided by VII. 2. 79, and श्चिन्ध्र here is made up of the य of the root श्चिन्ध्र, and श्चिन्ध्र the affix; therefore श्चिन्ध्र here is not after the ananga पदि वि, for the anagha here is पदि वि, and श्चिन्ध्र is the affix. This result could have been
obtained, without using the word अक्षमत् in the sūtra, by the maxim अर्थितं महं नानार्थकं “a combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning, denotes that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote a combination void of meaning”.

विमाणेत्: [८६] || पदानि || विमाणा, दृष्ट: ||
वृत्ति: || इन्द्र: परमाश्रित उपेती थी प्रत्येकात्मानं वा प्रकारस्त्रृंगुञ्जस्विद्वो भवति जिनाए ||

79. The cerebral sound is optionally substituted for the य of यथवेद and of the Aorist and the Perfect after the augment इस्त, when the stem ends in इस्त ||

Thus इस्त + इस्त + श्रीवग् = तिवनाश्चर्यम् or तिवनाश्चर्य. so also पतिवनाश्चर्य or पतिवनाश्चर्य from पू || Aorist:—अनविनाश्चर्य or अनविनाश्चर्य || Perfect:—लक्षिविच्छेद or लक्षिविच्छेदे ||

The word इस्त is understood here and it qualifies the word इस्त, so that the stem should end in an इस्त vowel which should be followed by the इस्त augment and this letter should be followed by श्रीवग् and the य beginning affixes of the Aorist and the Perfect. If the stem does not end in an इस्त vowel, the rule will not apply; as तिवनाश्चर्य from the root भास्त उपवेदने ||

Then in the word उपवेदने, will the cerebral change not take place by the option of this sūtra or otherwise? This is from the root भास्त श्रीवग् in the Perfect with the augment इस्त (VII. 2. 13.), and इस्त (by VI. 4. 63). Some say that as the augment इस्त intervenes between the stem ending in इस्त (इस्त vowel), and the augment इस्त, therefore this rule will not apply and there will not be the optional य. Others hold that the anuvṛtti of अक्षमत् has ceased, and the anuvṛtti of इस्त is only current, in this sūtra, and there is no intervention and so there will be the optional change into य.

समासेऽजुऽः स्त्रीः || ८० || पदानि || समासे, अक्षुङ्गः; स्त्रीः ||
वृत्ति: || समासाकारस्त्रियते इस्त उपेताल भवति समासे ||

80. पू is substituted for the स of स्त्री after the word अक्षुङ्गित in a compound.

Thus अक्षुङ्गितम् || अक्षुङ्गितः थाणाः: || अक्षुङ्गितः गा: सादसि || Why do we say in a compound? Observe अक्षुङ्गः स्त्री पद्य ||

The word इस्त: is exhibited in the sūtra in the nominative case. The force is here that of Genitive i.e. स्त्री ||

भीरोऽः स्थानम् || ८१ || पदानि || भीरोऽः, स्थानम् ||
वृत्ति: || स्थानस्त्रियते भीरोऽस्त्रियते इस्त उपेताल भवति ||

81. पू is substituted for the स of स्थान when preceded by भीर in a compound.

Thus भीरानुभुः || The word compound is understood here also; otherwise भीरेः स्थान पद्य ||
82. यू is substituted for the स of स्तू, स्तोम and सोम when preceded by अग्नि in a compound.

Thus अग्निद्वृत्त, अग्निद्रोम, अग्निेोम: ॥

Ishti:—The य of अग्नि is lengthened before सोम and it is after such lengthened य, that the स of सोम is changed to े, otherwise not. As अग्निसहोगी मात्रकी ॥ So also अग्निसहोगी लिहतः (where ‘agni’ means fire, and ‘soma’ a kind of herb) “the fire and the soma plant are here.”

When there is no compounding we have अग्नि सोम: ॥

The word अग्निद्वृत्त is formed by विनष्ठ, the sacrifice in which Agni is praised (स्तूत) is so called. अग्निद्रोम: is also the name of a sacrifice: the first division (सेस्य) of the Soma-yaga. अग्निेोम: is a देवता-स्तूत: so where there is no Devatā-Dvandva, the े change will not take place. Thus where Agni and Soma are names of two boys, or where they refer to physical fire and herb. According to Áśvaláyana there is lengthening and य change in the last case also, as अग्निसहोगी मात्रकी ॥

योतिरायुष्य: सोम: ॥ ५३ ॥ पदार्थः योतिः, आयुः, सोमः: ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ योतिसहोगी आयुः हेवता-सुधरस सोमसारस्य सुज्ञायांहो भवति सरवसि ॥

83. The स of सोम: is changed to े after योतिः and आयुस in a compound.

As योतिद्रोम:; आयुद्रोम:; but योतिः स्तोमद्रोमकिरः where there is no compounding.

आतःपिठुभा स्वसा ॥ ५४ ॥ पदार्थः मात्र, पिठुभायान, स्वसा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मात्र पिठु हेवता-सुधरस स्वस्यसारस्य सुज्ञायांहो भवति ॥

84. The स of स्वस्य is changed to े after मात्र य and पिठु in a compound.

As मात्रस्य, पिठुभा: ॥ See VI. 3. 24.

मात्र:पिठुभायान्यस्यस्यस्य ॥ ५५ ॥ पदार्थः मात्र:, पिठुभायान, अन्य- तरस्यायाम ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मात्र पिठु हेवता-सुधरस स्वस्यसारस्य सुज्ञायांहो भवति सरवसि ॥

85. The स of स्वस्य is optionally changed to े, after मात्र य and पिठु in a compound.

Thus मात्रस्य, or मात्रस्य; पिठुस्वस्य or पिठुपिठुस्य ॥ The word मात्र and पिठु end in े, which is changed to visarga (See VIII. 2. 24). In fact, the word पिठु is so exhibited in the sūtra itself, with a य, the word मात्र: therefore, by the rule of साहचर्य is also to be understood as a े ending word.

Q.—Well, if this be so, when this य is changed to a visarga, and the visarga changed to े by VIII. 3. 36, then there would be no य change?
Ans.—The य change would take place both after the visarga-ending or य-ending words, on the maxim एकेदेवविविधसन्वाहनवल्लकः "That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means, in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place". Therefore, these words are taken to end in र। For if they were taken to end in स, then the rule would not apply when they ended in a visarga. If they be supposed to end in a visarga, then the form पितृप्रेयम् with र before भास्म in the sūtra is hard to explain.

The word सबसा is understood here also. Therefore not here मात: ससा when the words are used separately in a sentence.

अभिनिस्तन: शाब्दंस्यायम् \( \| \) पद् \( \| \) पद्हिरि \( \| \) अभि-निस्: \( \| \) स्तनः, शाब्दः-संज्ञायाम् \( \| \)

वृत्ति: \( \| \) अभि निस् इवेसस्मादुपरार्द्ध श्रन्तिभिवर्य्यक्षम् नुमे विनिस्त्रिक्षे भवति अग्नितस्य: श्रावहषायां गम्य-गम्यानाविद्।

86. The य of ससा is optionally changed to य after the double preposition अभि निस्, when the word so formed is the name of a particular letter (i.e. visarga).

As अभिनिस्तानो: वर्णः: अभिनिस्तानो विवर्णाः: or अभिनिस्ता वर्णः or विवर्णाः:। The compound preposition अभि-निस् causes this change, and not any one of them separately. Thus Āpastamba:—त् य चतुस्सः वा नामप् चतुस्सः च श्रवणानाविद्। श्रवणानाविद्: च नामप्: पु्रवा, and its second portion a verb (अक्षयाता), that it should end in a long vowel (dirgha) or a visarga (abhiniṣṭāna), that the first letter of such a noun should be a ghosha or sonant letter (ghosha-वदादी), and a semi-vowel (antastha) should be in the body of it." Thus the names राणिष्ठा, राशिः fulfil these conditions and are good names.

Why do we say "when it is the name of a particular letter."? Observe अभिनिस्तान श्रवणः। The anuvṛtti of श्रा सा ceases from this place.

उपस्सन: पद्हिरि मांसिनि त्रिपुष्पयः \( \| \) पदानि \( \| \) उपस्सन, प्राक्तस्याम्, अस्ति: यथितः।

वृत्ति: \( \| \) उपस्सन: राणिष्ठानाविद्: प्राक्तस्याम्: च श्रवणाना: च प्राक्तस्याम्: च राणिष्ठानाविद्।

87. The य of the verb अस्त is changed to य, when it is followed by a vowel or य and is preceded by प्राक्: or an upasarga having य or य in it.

The word य च पर: means 'followed by य or अच्। The word प्राक्: is an Indeclinable, meaning 'evidently'.

Thus अभिप्र, निप्रप, विप्रप, प्राक्तप्रति; अभिप्राय, निप्रय, विप्रय, प्राक्त-प्रति।
Why do we say “when preceded by an Upasarga having an श or ष?”
Observe शच्चल्ल, गृहस्यायू। Why do we say ‘of the verb अस्’? Observe अनु-पूतम्, विपूतम्।

Q.—How is there any occasion for the application of the rule here?
The context here relates to श, and the word “upasarga” qualifies that श, but here the upasarga is not applied to श but to the whole verb श, therefore this is no counter-example. In fact, what is the necessity of using the word अस् at all in the sutra: for even without it, the word ‘upasarga’ would qualify that verb which consists of श only, and such a verb is अस्, with its श elided and no other verb? Nor is the employment of अस् necessary for श, for it comes only in connection with the verbs श, शु and अस्।

Ans.—All that you urge, is true, yet the following counter-example should be given, as अनुसू, the son of Anusū will be अनुसूतम् with श as it belongs to Subhrāḍi class. Thus अनुसू + श = अनुसू + ष = अनुसू + ष। Here the ष is elided by VI. 4. 147. Now when ष is elided, the श is the only verb-element that remains, अस् is upasarga, and ष is affix; so that had अस् not been taken in the sutra, the rule would apply to this श also.

Why do we say “when it is followed by a vowel or ष”? Observe निस्, विस्, अहुस्।

शविनिवर्त्य: शपितितिसमा: || पन्त || पदानि || श, वि, निर, दुर्ष्ये, शुपि, शूति, समा: || बुति: || शु वि निर दुर हतेष्यत्व चत्वरस्य शपितितित शा नम हतेष्या सकारात्म शुरंवायेयो भवति।

Kārikā—शुपि: पवन शपिन्यां महत्वपवातिति केन न।
हलायश्च पवन सुपिश्च शूपि महत्वपवातिति केन न।
श्यार्धिन्यां निषेष्यां न्यात्मकात्मातुतते: दुर्ष्ये।
अन्यथाये विरुद्धप: शुपितुलिति हिरुच्छोति।

88. The श of शव्, शूति, and सम is changed to ष after श, वि, निर and दुर।

The word शविति is exhibited in the sutra as the form of शव् with vocalisation. Thus शपुम, वि: शपु: शष: पुष: \| The word शविति is the कित्र ending form of शव; the rule applies to this form only, as शविति, विश्विति, निश्विति and दुर्विति। The word सम also means the noun सम and not the verb सम सम वैकल्प्ये। Thus शपम, शिपम, निपम, दुपम।

Kārikā—Why is शष �taught with regard to the शष form of शव? Ans. शष: पवन शपिन्यां शष, so that the शष change should not take place in शष form, as शिपम: and निपम (III. 2. 172)। Q. विश्ववथिति केन न? For what reason the शष change has not taken place in the reduplicate विश्वपन, for here also in the reduplicate, is the form शष, as शषवस्य, and then by applying हलायश्च rule, the ष is elided, and षवस्यकतःस्यन्यात्मान्यात् applies? Ans. हलायश शषायथ न शष।
reduplicate the form सप्त, as विश्वस्यन्तर and then elide प, as विश्वस्य, and then vocalise, as विश्वस्य so that there being no form सप्त, there is no प, as इहे पूवम प्रतार्कम, in fact, the vocalisation takes place first, and then elision according to an ishtī. See VI 1. 17. Otherwise, in सप्त सप्त, as प is elided, यू also would have been elided. Why is the स of विपुर्णयम not changed to य by VIII. 3. 64? स्यार्बानां निम्नो नाथ प्राय सिद्धांतम: यप, the rule VIII. 3. 64 does not apply, because that rule is confined only to verbs up to सिद्ध in VIII. 3. 70, while यप is after that verb. Moreover the प of यप being elided, the mere स is अनयतं, and the maxim is वर्यवृद्ध पहोणे नात्यर्थलयम्. ॥ Q. If this maxim is applied, how do you form विपुर्णयम? Ans. अनयतं: विपुर्णयम उपमुसाकं दृष्टेत: here the form यप is doubled, and not सप्त ॥ The root is first joined with the affix वि + सप्त, then there is vocalisation विश्वस्य, then there is प change, as विश्वस्य, then reduplication, as विपुर्णयम. Now प is being considered asiddda, the doubling should take place first? No, for we have already shown that for the purposes of doubling, the वि change is not asiddda (VIII. 2. 3 Vārt.)

निन्दर्भम खातेश: कौशलेश: ॥ पै ॥ पदमिनी नित, नदर्भयम, खातेश: कौशलेश: ॥

39. The प is substituted for स of स्त्रा after नित and नद्रि when the word so formed denotes "dexterous."

Thus नित्याद: कोठकरणे नित्यादो: रेखुवचने न खात: स्त्रानाते नद्रि: ॥ This last word is formed by the affix क added to स्त्रा preceded by the upapada नेशी under sūtra III. 2. 4.

Why do we say when meaning dexterous? Observe निद्यान्त: नदर्भाय: ( खात: स्त्रान् )

स्त्रान् प्रतिष्णातमम: ॥ ६० ॥ पदमिनी स्त्रानम, प्रतिष्णातमम: ॥

39. The word प्रतिष्णात: is irregularly formed when meaning a sūtra.

Thus प्रतिष्णात: स्त्रान् ॥ ६० ॥ पदमिनी प्रतिष्णात: ॥

90. The word प्रतिष्णात: is irregularly formed when meaning a sūtra.

Thus प्रतिष्णात: स्त्रान् ॥ ६० ॥ पदमिनी प्रतिष्णात: ॥

91. The word प्रतिष्णात: is irregularly formed denoting the founder of a gotra of that name.

Thus the son of Kapishṭhal will be कपिष्ठल: The word gotra" here does not mean the grammatical "gotra," but the popular term 'gotra' denoting 'clans,' as described in the list of pravaras. Why do we say "when denoting the founder of a gotra"? Observe कपिष्ठलम् The land of the monkeys.
92. The word प्रथ न is irregularly formed when denoting 'a chief' or 'one who goes in front'.

This प्रथ न meaning a 'best horse'. Why do we say when meaning 'going in front'? Observe प्रथ न हिमवत्: पुरूषे "On the sacred peak of the Himalaya": प्रथ नों श्रीगणेश 'a measure of barley'.

93. The word विद्यार is irregularly formed in the sense of "tree" and "seat."

This word is formed by adding the affix घु to the root स्त्रु preceded by the preposition वि. Thus विद्यार युक्तः: विद्यारस्त्रु.

Why do we say when meaning a 'tree' or a 'seat'? Observe बौलिष्ठायत्वम विद्यार: II See sūtra III. 3. 33. by which घु is added here instead of घु.

94. Also when it is the name of a metre, the irregular form विद्यार is used.

By Sūtra III. 3. 34 the word विद्यार is formed denoting a sort of metre called विद्यारस्त्रु: II

Why do we say when denoting 'the name of a chhandas'? Observe पद्यो विद्यार: II

In fact this sūtra makes unnecessary the sūtra III. 3. 34. To avoid this difficulty, some say that the sūtra III. 3. 34 is not confined to the preposition वि, so that we can form पद्यो विद्यारस्त्रु: संसारपुत्रम वि.

95. The स् of सिर is changed to प after the words गावि and घु धि.

Thus गावि, घु धि. The compounding takes place by II. 1. 44. and the 7th case affix is not elided by VI. 3. 9. though the word घु does not end in a consonant, yet it retains its Locative ending by virtue of this sūtra.

विकुलसपथिपत्रः स्थलम् ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वि, कु, श्रामि, परिव्रः: स्थलम् ॥

वृत्तिः: वि कु श्रामि परि इत्येव उतस्त्य प्रस्तावकारस्य सूद्र्यन्वयिते भवति ॥
96. श is substituted for स in स्थँध after वि, क, शामि, and परि।

Thus विद्यम्, कुढ़नम्, शामिकर्म and परिद्यम्। The word वि, क and परि are compounded under II. 2. 18.; the word शामि forms a genitive by VI. 3. 63. In the aphorism the word शामि is shown with a short श, indicating thereby that when the श is not shortened, the cerebral change does not take place; as शामि-स्थँधः

अभावमिगृहीतसम्बन्धिजिनकशुंकासाधुकण्यगुमार्कपरमर्कपरियोऽहृद्यिव्ययिर्भिः: शः।

|| ९. ७ || पदानि || अभाव, आभास, गो, शूमि, सत्य, अप, श्रि, श्रि, क, श्रेरु, शादृजः, अंगुः, मन्त्र, पुक्षः, परमेः, बहिष्कर्ण, विद्यम्, अर्थिन्यः, शः।

वृत्तः || अभाव आभास गो शूमि अप श्रि क श्रेरु शादृज अंगु मन्त्र परमेः बहिष्कर्ण विद्यम् शामि हो-तेघः उस० शः स्थानस्वरूपास्तु स्वरूपास्तु भविष्यः

यानिकम्। स्त्रास्मिनः स्त्रास्मिनः स्त्रास्मिनः स्त्रास्मिनः

97. The स of स्थ is changed to श after अभाव, आभास, गो, शूमि, सत्य, अप, श्रि, श्रि, क, श्रेरु, शादृजः, अंगुः, मन्त्र, पुक्षः, परमेः, बहिष्कर्ण, विद्यम् and अशिनिः

Thus अभावः, आभासः, गोः, शूमिः, सत्यः, अपः, श्रिः, श्रिः, कः, श्रेरुः, शादृजः, अंगुः, मन्त्रः, पुक्षः, परमेः, बहिष्कर्णः, विद्यम्, अशिनः।

The word श is shown in the sūtra in the first case, and means the word-form स्थ, and it is not the genitive case of स्थ, for then the rule would apply to शोरथाकम्, शूमिश्यामणि च &c.

Vṛtt.—The same change takes place in स्थ, स्थित, and स्थ || As सञ्जेशः || सञ्जेशः सारःः।

सुपामार्थ च || ६५ || पदानि || सुपामार्थि शः, च ||

वृत्तः || सुपामार्थिः शः सञ्जेशः सारःः सुपामार्थिः शः सञ्जेशः सारःः

98. The श is changed to श in the words सुपामाद्र and the rest.

Thus सुपामा श्राद्रणः || शोभणः, सारः समः असः।

1 सुपामा, 2 निधमामा, 3 हुपामा, 4 शुपामा, 5 निधेष्टः (निधेष्टः), 6 हुपेष्टः, 7 सुपेष्टः, 8 निधेष्टः (निधेष्टः), 9 हुपेष्टः, 10 शुद्ध (शुद्ध), 11 हुद्ध (हुद्ध), 12 गौरिन्दिकः संतासः, 13 गौरिन्दिकः, 14 जालायाम, 15 गौरिचनम्, नौचनम्, 16 हुद्धमिष्यम् (हुद्धमिष्यम्), 17 अशिनः सञ्जेशः, 18 शान्तिः, 19 नक्षत्राः, राहिणिः: शान्तितिल।

Some of the above words would have been governed by the prohibition in VIII. 3. 111, others would never have taken श, hence their inclusion in this list. The word श is here a karmaprapachānyā (I. 4. 94) and निधेष्टः and हुपामा also are not upasargas, because they are so only in connection with the verbs गम and की; so VIII. 3. 65 ‘does not apply to शेष preceded by निधेष्टः and हुपेष्टः। The words निधेष्टः and हुपेष्टः=निधेष्टः शेषः or हुपेष्टः शेषः। The word शेष here is a शेष formed word, from यद्य शेषसारः संतासः; if it be derived from
The words देवस्मि, देहस्मि &c are derived from देव with the prepositions देव and सम्म, and the affix क (III. 3. 92); and the स of सम्म is changed to स्. The words देवस्मि, देहस्मि are Unādi formed words (Un. I. 25). The word देहस्मि is a Bahuvrhi, the स of सम्म is changed to स् and the Samāsanta प्रक्ष्ण is added (V. 4. 113). The long स of the first member is shortened by VI. 3. 63. The word देहस्मि is formed by adding the Preposition प्रक्ष्ण to the root स्, and the affix क (III. 3. 106), and we have प्रक्ष्ण with देव; then क is added by V. 3. 73, and स् shortened (VII. 4. 13), and स् added by VII. 3. 44. The word देहस्मि is formed by adding स् to स्. देहस्मि is also a स् formed word from स् of स् or स्.

प्रति संज्ञायामगमः ६९॥ पदानि प्रति संज्ञायामः अभावः वृः॥ एकार्पस्य सकारायुव्वेदो भवति इत्यादिकार्पस्य संज्ञायो विन्यये॥

99 The स् followed by स् and preceded by स् or स् is changed to स्, when the word is a name, and when the स् is not preceded by स्.

Thus येदयः सेना अस्य=नीतिपि, परितः सेना अस्य=परिवेणि, so also नीतिपिः, नीतिपि नायेदयः। Why do we say 'followed by स्'? Observe हस्तिक्रिययः। Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe पुरूषी सेना अस्य स=पुरूषी नायेदयः (VI. 3. 34). Why do we say 'when the स् is not preceded by स्'? Observe विश्चिं सेनः। The phrase हस्तिक्रिययः is understood here also, so the rule does not apply to सेनः।

नक्षानामः १००॥ पदानि नक्षानामः द्वै॥ वृः॥ नक्षमाचिनिः शक्तिसत्संकार्य वा प्रति संज्ञायामाकाराद् युव्वेदो भवति।

100 When the preceding word is the name of a Lunar mansion, the स् substitution for स् under the above mentioned circumstances is optional.

Thus राशिप्रिययः or राशिप्रिययः, भविषयः or भविषयः। But not here शतान्निपक्तः सेनः were the preceding letter is स्। These two स्त्रस 99 and 100 are realy Gaṇa-sūtras, being read in the द्वपामाथि Gaṇa. The author of Kāśikā has raised them to the rank of full sūtras.

All cerebral स changes, when not referable to any specific rule, should be classified under this Sushāmādi gaṇa.

इस्वातः दै तत्सिरि १०२॥ पदानि इस्वातः, तदुः, तत्सिरि॥ वृः॥ इस्वातस्य सकारायुव्वेदो भवति तदुः तत्सिरि प्रति॥ वाचिकः॥ लक्षन्यस्य प्रतिवेणो वक्तः॥

101. स् is substituted for a final स् preceded by a short स् or स् before a Taddhita affix beginning with स्।
The following are the affixes before which this change takes place, namely, सः, तः, तथः, तथा, तं, तथ, तथे, तः, तथः. As तस—सापिष्ठम् बालुतम्, तस्म, सापिष्ठम् बालुतम्. तस्म च तथाविभिः धातुण्डम् तस्म. तस्म च तथाविभिः धातुण्डम् तस्म. तस्म च तथाविभिः धातुण्डम् तस्म. तस्म च तथाविभिः धातुण्डम् तस्म.

Why do we say before affixes beginning with तः. Observe सापिष्ठम् बालुतम्.

Q.—But this तः would never have been changed to तः because of the prohibition in VIII. 3. 111, how can you then give this counter-example?

A.—Though the तः of the affix तातः is prohibited by VIII. 3. 111, yet the counter-example is valid, because the तः of the base सापिष्ठम् is also not changed. Why do we say ‘of a Taddhita’? Observe सापिष्ठम् बालुतम्.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated of finite verbs before Taddhita affixes. As भिन्नातः रापीया चिन्नातः रापीया. These are the Potential third person plural of सितः and चिदः with the augment बालुतः; the Taddhita affix तातः is added by V. 3. 56, and भांतः is added by V. 4. 11.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated with regard to तः as भुतम् भुता.

निस्तपतावलासेवने || १०२ || पदनि || निसः, तपतो, अनासेवने ||

102. तः is substituted for the तः of निसः before the verb तः when the meaning is not that of ‘repeatedly making red hot’.

The word भास्न means doing a thing repeatedly and here it means making it red-hot repeatedly. Thus निस्तपत भुवणं सम्भवम् भास्नं i.e. he puts the gold into fire only once.

Why do we say when not meaning repeatedly. Observe निस्तपत भुवणं भास्नं भास्नकारः।

In the sentences निद्रां सः, निद्र्या अरस्य: the change has taken place either as a Vedic irregularity or because the sense of repeatedness is not implied here.

युम्भक्षणम्-वक्त्पम् पादम् || १०३ || पदानि || युम्भक्षणम्, ततः, तत्स्कः छ, अन्तः पादम् ||

103. The तः standing in the inner half of a stanza is changed to तः before the तः of त्वम् &c. and तः and तत्त्वारः।
The word तुम्मु here means the substitutes लघु, लघु, तथा, तद्. As अभ्रिम्: नामासीत्वः तथा, अभ्रिम् विच्छिन्दः तत्, अभ्रिम् विच्छिन्दः (Rig VIII. 43. 9)। तद्, अभ्रिम् विच्छिन्दः (Rig X. 2. 4)। तद्वस्तू, थावाप्रविष्टिः नित्यसः। तस्य विशेष विच्छिन्दः। तद् विन्यासमेत विशेष विच्छिन्दः।

Why do we say in the inner half of a stanza? Observe बन्मारम्भोऽविष्टिः मित्राहृदयानि स्वस्तिकारया ज्ञातवेक विच्छिन्दः। Here the word तस्य is at the end of the first stanza while तस्य is at the beginning of the second stanza, therefore the स of बन्मारम्भ is not in the middle of a stanza.

यजुर्बेकर्षणम् १०४ || पदानि || यजुर्विशेषम् ||

ृचि: || यजुर्विशेषम् विच्छिन्दः। यजुर्विशेषम् विच्छिन्दः।

107. In the opinion of some, the above change takes place in Yajurveda also.

Thus अविच्छिन्दः अविच्छिन्दस्य || अविच्छिन्दः अविच्छिन्दस्य || अविच्छिन्दः अविच्छिन्दस्य ||

स्तुतमारम्भिकस्तूमारम्भिकम् १०५ || पदानि || स्तुतमारम्भिकस्तूमारम्भिकम् ||

ृचि: || अविच्छिन्दः अविच्छिन्दः। स्तुतमारम्भिकस्तूमारम्भिकस्तूमारम्भिकम्। अविच्छिन्दः अविच्छिन्दः।

106. The स of स्तुत and स्तोम, in the Chhandas, is changed to य in the opinion of some.

Thus विच्छिन्दः विच्छिन्दः || विच्छिन्दः विच्छिन्दः || गोस्त्ये गोस्त्ये || गोस्त्ये गोस्त्ये। This change would have taken place by the general rule contained in the next śūtra VIII. 3. 106, the special mention of स्तुत and स्तोम here is a mere amplification. The word चन्द्रित of this śūtra governs the subsequent sūtra also.

पूर्वपदानि || पूर्वपदानि ||

ृचि: || पूर्वपदानि पूर्वपदानि। पूर्वपदानि पूर्वपदानि।

106. In the Chhandas, according to some, स is changed to य, when it stands in the beginning of a second word, preceded by a word ending in य &c.

The words चन्द्रित and एक्ष्यां are both understood here. Thus चिन्तनः || चिन्तनः || चिन्तनः || चिन्तनः ||

The word पूर्वपद here means the first member of a compound word as well as the prior word other than that in a compound. Thus ब्रजस्याः ब्रजस्याः ||

सुम: || सुम: ||

ृचि: || सुम: सुम:। सुम:।

The words चन्द्रित and एक्ष्यां are both understood here. Thus चिन्तनः || चिन्तनः || चिन्तनः || चिन्तनः ||

The word पूर्वपद here means the first member of a compound word as well as the prior word other than that in a compound. Thus ब्रजस्याः ब्रजस्याः ||

सुम: || सुम: ||

ृचि: || सुम:। सुम:।
107. The स of the Particle चु is changed to य in the Chhandas, when preceded by another word having in it the change-effecting letter र &c.

Thus अधि चु य: सतीनाम् (Rig. IV. 31. 3) कर्णे चु य: (Rig. I. 36.13). The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 134, and य changed to य by VIII. 4. 27.

समोत्तरणः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ समोत्तरः, अन: ।
वृत्तः ॥ समोत्तरकरान्तस्य सकारस्य मूद्रेयादेशो भवति ।

108. The स of the verb सन्, when it loses its न्, is changed to य, under the same circumstances.

Thus मोहन: (Rig. IX. 2. 10), formed by the affix विद: (III. 2. 67), the य is elided by VI. 4. 41. So also त्रयः ॥

Why do we say 'when it loses its न्'? Observe मोहनि वापहितरवन् (Atharv. III. 20. 10). Here the affix यस (III. 2. 27). See however त्रयाणि in Rig. VI. 53. 10.

Though this य change would have taken place by VIII. 3. 106 also, the separate enumeration is for the sake of niyama or restriction. Some however read the word मोहनि in the list of सनमानि words (VIII. 3. 110), and they hold that the proper counter-example is तिताहिषिपति ॥ So also सिसनि: formed by adding क्रिया to the Derivative root सिसनिः, thus सिसनिः+क्रिया=सिसनिः (the य is elided by VI. 4. 48)+0. add यु, सिसनिः+सु=सिसनिः+0 [सु is elided by VI. 1. 68. Now the final यु (of the Desiderative affix सन्) is liable to be changed either to यु or to र (सु). The य being asiddha, the य change takes place.] तिताहिषिपति=तिताहिषिः: (the lengthening is by VIII. 2. 76). Here the Desiderative affix सन् is not changed to यु, hence this word is not governed by VIII. 3. 61. This being the object of this सुत्रa, there will be य change in सिसनिः in the Causative.

सदे: पृत्तस्म्याः यु ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सदे: पृत्तना-सहुल्लास्यां, यु ।
वृत्तः ॥ पृत्तना ब्रह्म हितेऽहायंगुणस्य सहिसकारस्य मूद्रेयादेशो भवति ।

109. The स of सह is changed to य, after पृत्तना and सहुल्लास्य

Thus पृत्तनासाहुल्लास्य। Some divide this सुत्रa into two; as (1) सदे:; (2) पृत्तना-सहुल्लास्य। So that the rule may apply to कःतीपहः: also. The word ब्रह्म is lengthened by VI. 3. 116, in साविकता: and the य change takes place in साविकता only. Otherwise the form is कःतसहुल्लास्य। The word य 'and' in the सुत्रa includes words other than those not mentioned in it. The word कःतीपहः would be valid by this also.
110. Theṃ substitution does not take place if r follows the s, as well as in śṛṇa, śṛṇa, śṛṇaadvanced and in śavvam and the rest.

Thus viśvāsa: karaṇaṃ śṛṇati. The word viśavāsa is formed by the affix ṣhrutī (III. 3. 109), viśavāsa: karaṇaṃ. This word is from the root sṛṣaṭā viśvaṃ. the śṛṇa is not added by VII. 2. 15 and the nasal is elided by VI. 4. 24. before the niṣṭhāḥ s. śṛṇa —ṛṣa śṛṇa viśvaṃ. The word viśvāsa is formed by the affix kṣrutī (III. 4. 17), śṛṇa —ṛṣaḥ viśvaṃ. śṛṇa —ṛṣaḥ viśvaṃ. śṛṇa —ṛṣaḥ karaṇaṃ.

The following is a list of śavvam words:


111. Theṃ substitution does not take place in the affix śavna and for that s which stands at the beginning of a word.

Thus śavna here is the affix ordained by V. 4. 52, and it would have been changed to ṣ by VIII. 3. 59. The present sūtra prevents that. The Padādiṃ refers to those verbs which in the Dhātupāṭha are taught with a ṣ, and for which a s is substituted. This also is an exception to VIII. 3. 59. Thus abhivasatāḥ. Abhivasatāḥ. Abhivasatāḥ. So also with Padādiṃ as śaḥ śirṣaḥ śiṣṭaḥ, śiṣṭaḥ śiṣṭaḥ.

Śiṣṭaḥ ṣaḥ 112. Pādaṇi śiṣṭaḥ; ṣaḥ: śiṣṭaḥ. Śiṣṭaḥ: śiṣṭaḥ. Sāvna śavnaḥ pālaloḥ śavnaśavnaḥ n niṣṭhāḥ.

112. Theṃ substitution does not take place in the śaḥ of śiṣṭaḥ of the Intensive.

Thus śaisṭhaḥ and abhivasāthāṃ.

Q. —The ṣaḥ of the reduplicate should be changed into ṣ by VIII. 3. 65, in abhivasāthāṃ, and the ṣaḥ of the root should be changed into ṣ by VIII. 3. 64. Because śaḥ is one of the roots taught in VIII. 3. 65, and therefore, as this
latter rule prevents the operation of VIII. 3. 111 i.e. पवादि स so far as it goes, so it would prevent also the operation of this rule and the form ought to be अजिमे पिच्छते?

Ans.—The द ordained by VIII. 3. 65 prevents only the operation of पवादि स of VIII. 3. 111, and not the स of this rule. Therefore the present prohibition is of universal application.

Why do we say in the Intensive. Observe अभिविन्यासति ॥

संपत्तेगति ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संपते, गती।
वृत्ति: गती वर्तमानस्थ संपत: सकारात्मक हृद्रम्यावदो न भवति।

113. The स of the verb सेध is not changed to प when the meaning is that of moving.

Thus अभिसंपत्ति गा; परिविन्यासि गा: ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 3. 65.

Why do we say 'when meaning to drive'? Observe लिखमकाराचिति-निपत्ति ॥ Here the sense is that of preventing or prohibiting.

प्रतिस्तथःसनस्त्रदष्टि च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिस्तथः-नस्त्रदष्टि, च।
वृत्ति: प्रतिस्तथः निस्तथः हरेती हृद्रम्यावदोषी निपावते।

114. The words प्रतिस्तथः and निस्तथः are anomalous.

In these words the स is not changed to प, though so required by VIII. 3. 67.

सोड़्: ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोड़्:।
वृत्ति: सहिष्णु सोड़्:हा गुहा तस्य सकारात्मक हृद्रम्यावदो न भवति।

115. The स of सोड form of the root सह is not changed to प ॥

As परिसोड, परिसोडः, परिसोड़्वय ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 3. 70.

Why do we say 'when सह assumes the form of सोड' ॥ Observe परि-

उस्तस्तः, विपुष्टः ॥

स्तम्भुस्तस्तहां चरित्क ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्भु-सिद्ध-सहाम, चरित।
वृत्ति: सम्यु विद्ध सह हरेतीष्ट चरित: सकारात्मक हृद्रम्यावदो न भवति।
वासिकाः सम्यु सिद्धस्तां चरित हरसावस्तिह वनकामय।

116. The द change does not take place in the reduplicated Aorist of the roots स्तम्भु, सिद्ध and सह ॥

The root सम्भ required द change by VIII. 3. 67, and the roots सिद्ध and सह by VIII. 3. 70. Thus पर्यास्तम्भ, अभ्यास्तम्भ ॥ सिद्ध:—पर्यास्तम्भ, अभ्यास्तम्भ ॥
सह:—पर्यास्तम्भ, अभ्यास्तम्भ ॥
Vārt:—This prohibition refers to the ष change that is caused by an Upasarga and not to the reduplicate change, as we have illustrated in the above example.

खुनोते: स्यस्नो:। ११७। पदानि। खुनोते:, स्य-सनो:।
बृत्ति:। खुनोते: सकारस्य मूर्त्यन्याविद्धय: न भवति। स्यस्नो च परस्त:।

117. ष of ष (खुनोति) is not changed to ष in the Future, Conditional and Desiderative.

Thus:—अभिनिष्यति, परितोपवति, भव्यतोपवति, पर्वतोपवति।

What example will you give under Desiderative? खुमुष्यति। This is not a valid example, for by VIII. 3. 61, the reduplicate will not be changed here. Then we shall give the example अबिनिष्यते। This is not also a proper example, for it is governed by the restrictive rule of VIII. 3. 64. Then this is the example अबिनिष्यतु:, निष्यू, derived from the desiderative root अबिनिष्यत्वत्व by the affix विय:। Here the desiderative affix सन्न is not changed to ष (VIII. 3. 61) and therefore the second ष would have been changed to ष as it comes after a reduplicate.

Why do we say before स्य and सन्न। Observe दुष्पति।

सदिश्वज्जो: परस्य चित्रि। ११५। पदानि। सदि-च्वज्जो:, परस्य, चित्रि।
बृत्ति:। सदि च्वज्जः इत्येकेवाः मूर्त्यन्याविद्धि पौरस्य: सकारस्य परस्य मूर्त्यन्य: न भवति।

118. The ष of सन्न and व्यज after the reduplicate in the Perfect is not changed to ष।

In the Perfect, when these words are reduplicated, there are two ष 's, as सताः and सस्ताः। After a preposition, the first ष will be changed to ष, but not so the second. Thus भव्यताः, परिपासाः, नियताः, विपासाः, परिपत्साः, परिपत्ताः, परि-पस्ताः, भव्यताः। The nasal of सस्त्र is elided though here, the ष अफ्फः is not कीत, because it ends in a compound vowel (VI. 4. 24), (1. 2. 5 and 6).

The word सस्त्र does not occur in the sūtra, but has been inserted in it by the author of Kāśikā from the following Vārtika:—सस्त्रो लिदि प्रतिवेष्ठे सस्त्रे रूपसंपादाने कर्तेयः।

नित्यमिथ्योपवद्यवाये वा चन्दसि। ११९। पदचिन्त: निदि-अचिन्तः, अच-व्यवाये, वा, चन्दसि।

बृत्ति:। नि वि भव्यं इत्येकेवा उपसंगेभ: उत्तरस्य सकारास्य: चन्दसि विष्ये मूर्त्यन्याविद्धय: न भवति:।

119. The ष is optionally substituted in the Chhandas after the prepositions नि, वि and अभि, when the augment अष्ट्र intervenes.
Thus न्यूरीत or न्यूरीतिपिता न; न्यूरिक्ष; or न्यूरीतिपिता न; अभ्यर्हीत or अभ्यर्हीति।

The anuvṛtti of स्यं and स्यं is not to be read into this sūtra. It is, in fact, a general rule and applies to verbs other than these two. As व्यतीत, व्यर्हीत, अभ्यर्हीत or अभ्यर्हीति।
BOOK EIGHTH.

Chapter Fourth.

1. After र and द्र, the द्र is the substitute of र, when they occur as component letters of the same word.

These letters must be parts of the same pada or word, one being the 'occasion' for the application of the rule as regards the other. As भास्तीयाम्, भपस्तीयाम्, अबर्द्धार्मस्. So also after च, च्छ, च्छास्, च्छास्, च्छास्, च्छास्.

The letter द्र is included in this aphorism for the sake of subsequent sūtras; for द्र will be changed into द्र when preceded by द्र by rule 41 of this Chapter, as well.

Why do we say "when occurring in the same word?" Observe नानास्करणम्, नानास्करणम्.

Vārti:—So also after the letter द्र As द्रिव्याणम्, द्रिव्याणम्, द्रिव्याणम्, द्रिव्याणम्.

This vārtika may well be dispensed with: because the र in the sūtra is the common sound र which we perceive both in र and द्र; and so the र will denote both the vowel द्र and the consonant र. See contra. VIII. 2. 42. Obj. But if even this be so, the letter द्र has three parts, its first part is a vowel, in the middle is the र sound of a quarter mātrā, and a vowel sound at the end. This vowel-sound will intervene between the र-sound and the subsequent न, and will prevent the application of the sūtra, hence the vārtika is valid?

Ans. This vowel-sound will be no intervention, because it will be included in the exception द्र of the next sūtra. Obj. The vowel-sound at the end of द्र is not a full vowel of one mātrā, but is of half-mātrā, being only a fragment of द्र, and hence is not included in the pratyāhāra अद्र, it has no separate
स्थान or प्रबंध or homogeneity with any vowel. Hence this vowel-sound will prevent the application of this rule. Ans. The य change, however, does take place in spite of such intervention of a fragment of a letter, as we know from the ज्ञापaka of VIII. 4. 39. In the kshubhnādi list there we find तुतमम as an exception, implying that य is generally changed to य after such a fragmentary interposition. Or we may take तुतमम as a ज्ञापaka, that after the letter य also the य change takes place.

अहिःसुतास्तुस्वयम्यावेिः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहिः-कु-पु-आहिः-तुम-व्यावेिः, आपि ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ चार कणु आहि तुम इसांतहृयाभयिम रक्षितकारायांमुच्छता नकाराः यकार भविष्यो भविष्ये ।

2. The substitute य takes the place of न, even when a vowel, or य, य or a guttural, or a labial, or the preposition आ, or the augment तुम intervenes, causing separation.

The प्रत्याहार य य stands for vowels and the letters ह य य. Thus करणम्, हरणम्, किरिणा, गिरिणा, कुर्णा, यहणा &c.

The क means all the gutturals, e. g. वर्णण, सुकणा, गर्भण, युक्त्यन ॥

The य means all the labials, e. g. तर्यन, बट्यन, गर्मण, यमेन, कृद्यन ॥

The आि means the particle आि: e. g. पदायणम् from आि (VIII. 2. 34) तिर-ञङ्खल (cf VIII. 4. 14). The particle आि is a vowel and so included in आि प्रत्याहारा. Its specification in the sūtra shows that the restriction of the rule to the letters occurring in the same word, does not apply in the case of आि, in which case the rule applies to letters separated by another word.

So also when the anusvāra separates the letters e. g. वृहणम्, वृहणीयम् ॥

It is from the root वृहण, the दुम is added, because the root is द्वेषति (VII. 1. 58) and य changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24. Q. Well the intervention is here by Anusvāra and not दुम, why is then दुम taken in the sūtra?

The word दुम in the sūtra refers to anusvāra, and must be taken co-extensive with it. Otherwise the rule would not apply to words like घुल्यम from घुल्लह स्वरस्ये ॥

Here the anusvāra is not the substitute of the augment दुम but an original anusvāra. Even where there is an augment दुम, but where it is not changed into anusvāra, the rule does not apply. As प्रेमः, प्रेमीयम् from द्विः: श्रीनायঃ: ॥

The rule will apply even when these letters are combined in any possible way, or occur singly. As वर्णण, here a guttural and a vowel i. e. 2 letters come between र and न ॥ See VIII. 3. 58 in the case of य ॥

पूवपर्यायस्यारत्मम्: ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूवपर्यायः संशायम्, अगः: ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ पूवपर्यायानित्यातात्स्य गकाराविश्वास्त नकाराः यकार भविष्यो: भविष्यति संतायां विवेचे ।

3. So also, य is replaced by प्र, when the letter occasioning the substitution, occurs in the first member of a compound, and the whole compound is a Name, provided that the first member does not end with the letter य ॥
As वृक्षः; वाभुर्वदः (a kind of antelope), खरणः; भुर्प्पणः || See V. 4. 118 and IV. 1. 58.

Why do we say "when a Name"? Observe, धर्मनितिकः ||

Why do we say when 'not ending in the letter न"? Observe; र्गद्वनम् ||

Some say, that this sūtra is a निम्त्र or a restrictive rule, and not a विचि or original enunciation, so that the substitution takes place, only when the word is a Name, and not otherwise. A compound is one word or समनवपः, though composed of two or more words or पद ॥ Therefore by VIII. 4. 11 the न will always be changed into ज when preceded by र or ष. But the present sūtra restricts its scope, to those cases only, when the compound denotes a Name, as not in धर्मनितिकः ॥ The word पूर्वप्रः is a relative term and connotes an उत्तरपः ॥ The present sūtra therefore applies to those cases where the र or ष is in the पूर्वपः, and न occurs in the उत्तरपः ॥ It therefore, does not apply to ताःैः words, nor when both the letters occur in the पूर्वपः ॥ In the case of a Taddhita, there is a पूर्वपः, but there is no properly speaking उत्तरपः ॥ Thus खरणवक्त्रकः = खरणवक्त्रकः: (IV.1.99). Here the affix वक्त्र is equivalent to अपवक्त्र, and खरण is the Pūrvapada. But the affix अपवक्त्र not being a Pada, we cannot call it an uttara pada. Hence न will be changed into ज though खरणवक्त्र is not an Appellative but a generic term. So also ताःैः नात्रोभागः धन्यः ॥ ताःैः नात्रोभागः: with ख affix. Similarly in करणादेवः, the words र and ष both occur in the Pūrvapada and are not affected by this rule, but by the general rule VIII. 4. 1. So also the proviso relating to न, only prohibits the change of न into ज, but does not prohibit the restrictive character of this sūtra.

According to others, this sūtra is an original enunciation or a Vidhi rule, and not a Niyama rule. They say that the word समनवपः in VIII. 4. 1 is equivalent to निम्त्र पदः i.e. a word integral and indivisible into component words. In other words, समनवपः means, a 'simple-word'. The present sūtra therefore enunciates a new rule for a "compound-word". For in a compound or समास, there being a division of पूर्वपः and an उत्तरपः, we cannot say that a compound is a समनवपः or indivisible word. Hence this sūtra is a विचि ॥

The sūtra should be thus divided:—पूर्वप्रः संज्ञायामः one sūtra, and वचन: another. So that every rule relating to न change would be debarred with regard to न intervention.

वनं पुरागमिश्रकासिद्धिर्यकाव्यि निद्रा शारिकाकोटराधिपः: ॥ ४ ॥ पदार्थः वनम, पुराग, मिश्रकः-सिद्धिर्यकाशारिकाकोटराधिपः: ||

वृत्तः: पूर्वप्रसंज्ञायामिति वस्सते ॥ पुराग निद्रकः सिद्धिर्यकाशारिकाकोटराधिपः: पूर्वप्रसंज्ञाय उत्तरस्य वनस्याधिकारायणादेवः भवानि संज्ञायामिति वस्सते ॥

4. The न of वनं, is changed into ज, when preceded by the words पुरागम, मिश्रकाछ, शारिकाक, कोटाय, and
agree, as first members of the compound, and the whole compound is a name.

The words पूर्वपद and संज्ञायम् of the last śūtra, are to be read into this aphorism. Thus पुर्वणि, निध्रणि, सिध्रणि, कोप्रणि, अभ्रणि (II. 2. 31) शाकाकारणि।

The lengthening of the finals in the above is by VI. 3. 117. Though the word अभरणि is not a Name, yet the rule VI. 3. 9, applies to it and the case-affix is not elided, because it is so read in Rājadantādi list (II. 2. 31).

The substitution of न for न would have taken place by the preceding rule. The separate enunciation of the rule with regard to the word नन, shows that this is a restrictive or निकृष्ठ rule. The न of नन is changed into न, when preceded by these words only and no other. Thus कुबेरनि, शताधननि, अधिप्रणनि॥

श्रेयंहिष्याकार्यंलार्थमर्षियीयुक्तासमार्थियामपि ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥

प्र-निर-अन्तर-शार-हस्त-मुख-आवर्ण-कार्यं-लार्थमर्षियीयुक्तासमार्थियामपि संज्ञायां, अपि ॥

बृहि ॥ म निर अन्तर शार हस्त आवर्ण कार्यं लार्थमर्षियीयुक्तासमार्थियाम संज्ञायामपि ज्ञाताएवोहु भवति ॥

5. The न of नन is replaced by न, even when the compound is not a Name, when it is preceded by the words pra, nir, antar, sıra, ikshu, plaksha, âmra, kārshya, khadira, and pīṭkṣaḥ.

Thus प्रवेयं यथः; निध्रयं प्रातिीयते, अन्तर्यं, शारणि, हस्तवन्यं, हस्तश्च, आवर्णा, कार्यवन्यं, लार्थवन्यं, गदिश्वायणि॥

The words प्रवेयं and निध्रयं are प्राक्ति compounds. अन्तर्यं is an Avyayi-bhāva in the sense of a case-affix. The rest are Genitive compounds.

विभागोपधिवचनस्तिप्रतिपल्य: ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाया ओषधिवन्यस्तिप्रतिपल्य: ॥

बृहि ॥ ओषधिवचनि बलव्यवहि बलस्तिप्रतिपलि तत्त्यातिसिद्धान्तस्तिपलि बलस्तिपलि विभाया ॥

बाहिरिकः ॥ ह्याश्चर्यकर्णेऽहि वस्तुस्मि ॥

वाही ॥ इरिकादिभि प्राक्ति: वस्तुस्मि: ॥

Kārīka ॥ तत्त्यातिसिद्धेऽऽद्धुः सुष्मालोप्यमः ॥

बोधि: कन्याकार्यम्य सत्त्यातिसिद्धेऽऽद्धुः ॥

6. The न of नन is optionally replaced by न, when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound and which denotes a perennial herb or a forest tree.

When the pūrvapada is a word denoting ओषधि or a perennial herb, or denoting वस्तुस्मि or a tree, and it has a change-producing letter, then the न of नन is replaced by न॥ This is an optional rule. Thus:—ह्याश्चर्यकर्णि, ह्याश्चर्यम्: ॥
7. The न is the substitute of न of अहन्, when it is preceded by a word ending in अ, having in it a letter capable of producing the change.

Thus पुर्वाहन्: “forenoon”; अपराह्ण: “afternoon”.

Why do we say “ending in अ”? Observe, निरहुः; दुहुः.

The word अहुः is substituted for अहन् by V. 4. 88. The word अहुः being used in the sutra as ending in अ, the rule does not apply to other words. Thus श्रीपर्वती: धनुः.

The word अहुः in the sutra is in the nominative case, and should not be construed as the genitive of अहन्, because all sthānīs are exhibited in Nominatives as, वनं (VIII. 4.4), पार्वन् (VIII. 4.8), यान्ति &c. The compounding takes place by II. 2. 1, then is added the samāsanta affix तच्छ (V. 4. 91), and अहु substitution by V. 4. 88. The word श्रीपर्वती is a Bahuvari compound and not a Tatpurusha, and hence the affix तच्छ does not apply to it. The feminine श्रीपुः is added by IV. 1. 28, there is elision of अ of अहुः by VI. 4. 134.

8. The न of वाहन is changed into ण, when the letter, producing the change, occurs in the first member of a compound, denoting the thing carried.

Thus वाहनम् ‘a sugar-cart’. शालाहनम्, “a reed-cart”. श्रमेदाहनम् ‘a hay-cart’.

The thing which being placed on a cart is carried, is called आहित. Why do we say “denoting the thing carried”. Observe अशिनाहाणम्, “a vehicle belonging to Dākshi”. 
The word घर्न is formed by adding स्नर् to घर्, and lengthening of the penultimate is valid by the nipātana of this sūtra.

पाने देः || 9 || पद्य || पानम् || देः ||
वृंचि: || पानकारस्य दूष्यद्वस्ताशिमिचाहुतरस्य देशाभिधाने यतकर आवेदो भवति ||

9. The न of पान is changed into ण, when it occurs as the second member of a compound, the first member of which contains a letter causing change; and the whole compound denotes a country or a people.

The word घर् is formed by the affix स्नर् III. 3. 113. Thus शैरपाण्य ववीनार: —शैरपाण्य, बवप्य ‘the milk-drinking Usānaras’. शुणपाण्य: पाएषा: ‘the wine-drinking Prāchyas’. सौविरपाण्य बाहुविका: “the sauvira-drinking Bāhlikas”. कपालपाण्या गाम्भेरा: &c.

Why do we say “when denoting a country”? Observe शैरपाण्य the drink of the Dākshis.

The words दवीनार and the rest are applied to persons also through the medium of being country-names.

वा भावकरणयोः || 10 || पद्य || वा, भाव-करणयोः ||
वृंचि: || मान करणे च सिनालयस्य नकारस्य गका आवेदो भवति वा पूर्वद्वस्ताशिमिचाहुतरस्य वार्तिकतु || वार्तिकतु वार्तिकतु गिरिराणिनारः दारिकाराणयम् ||

10. Optionally when the compound denotes a condition or an instrument, the न of पान is changed into ण, when it is a second member, the cause of change occurring in the first member in a compound.

Thus शैरपाण्य or शैरपाण्य “drinking of milk” कपालपाण्य or कपालपाण्य, ‘drinking of kāshāṣa’. श्रुणपाण्य or श्रुणपाण्य &c are examples of भाव or condition.

Similarly शैरपाण्य: of शैरपाण्य: केत: ‘a vessel for drinking milk’ This is an example of करण or instrument.

वार्त: —Optionally so in the case of गिरिराणिनी &c. Thus गिरिराणिनी or गिरिराणिनी; चार्गाणि or चार्गाणि, चार्गानितु or चार्गानितु ||

प्रातिपदिकान्तनुमिखायमकित्वृंचि च || 11 || पद्य || प्रातिपदिकान्त-नुम! विमकित्वृंचि, च ||
वृंचि: || विसति वर्षवी || प्रातिपदिकान्ते गुमिखायमकित्वृंचि च तो नकारस्य दूष्यद्वस्ताशिमिचाहुतरस्य वा जनकर आवेदो भवति ||
वार्तिकतु || दुवराविनार प्रातिपदिकान्त वेष्वाय: ||

11. Optionally is substituted for न when it stands at the end of a Nominal-stem (Prātipadika) or is the augment न्यम or is न of a case-affix, (when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound).
Thus, to take the case a प्रतिपिकान्त first. मानवापिणि or मानवापिनि from मानवापिणि ‘māsha-sowing’ formed by गिण्य under III. 2. 81.

To take the example of a नुम augment मानवापाणि or मानवापानि नि, श्रीवापाणि or श्रीवापाणि nom. pl. neut. The augment नुम is here added by VII. 1. 72 from मानवाप वपा = मानवाप with करण्य अर्थ, the plural सि is added by VII. 1. 20, and then नुम. II.

To take the विभक्ति or case-termination, मानवापेण or मानवापेन, श्रीवापेण or श्रीवापेण.

The word प्रतिपिकान्त means ‘final in a Pratipadika’. But here it means ‘final in a pratipadika which is a second member, of compound, the first member containing the cause of change’. Therefore the change does not take place in गर्भाणि मार्गिणी = गर्भाणि मार्गिणी “the sister of Garga”. But if the word is derived from गर्भम: ‘the share of Garga’, with the adjectival affix हिं, feminine हिं, meaning, “enjoying the share of Garga.” In this case, like the word मानव-भोगिण: ‘fit to be possessed by a mother’: the change will invariably take place.

The word मानवापिणि or मानवापिनि is to be understood to have a final न, the affix being added afterwards in accordance with the following maxim:—(II. 2. 19). “It should be stated that Gatis, Kārakas, and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with krit-affixes, before a case termination or a feminine affix has been added to the latter” गातिकारकापपाणि क्रिणि: सह समासवयम साधु सुहःस्तिः: II.

Therefore the composition takes place first with the word ending in the krit affix, as मानवापिव (मान + विपिव), and thus the second term विपिव is a Pratipadika which ends in न, and so the rule is applied to it, when the feminine affix is added.

Similarly नुम is not considered as the end portion of the second member of the compound, but as the end-portion of the full compound word.

Vārt:—Prohibition must be stated of the words नुम &c. As भार्युः (VI. 4. 133 vocalisation), श्रीविष्णु भव श्रीपवापिनि is a gati-samas, शैवाः श्रीतुः II.

एकाक्कुटरपदे यण: II २२ II पदानि II एकाचु, उत्तरपदे, यण: II.

बृजि: II एकाजुटरपदे यण स एकाजुटरपदे। सत्तिमेकाजुटरपपासमसि भार्यपिकान्तस्तुपिकान्तस्तुत्विधि कुहुपथ्यात्रातिनिदृश्य नकाराय यकार आदेशो भयानि।

12. In a compound, the second member of which is a monosyllable, there is य in the room of न of the second member, provided that the न is at the end of a pratipadika, or is the augment नुम, or occurs in a vibhakti; and when the first member contains a cause of change.

Thus श्रुत्वाणि and श्रुत्वण: ‘the Vṛitra-killer’. श्रीपाणि “Drinkers of milk”: श्रुत्वाणि ‘drinkers of wine’: being examples of नुम VII. 3. 88, श्रीपेण and श्रुत्पेण are examples of case-terminations.
Why the letter ण is repeated in this सूत्र, while its anuvṛtti was understood from the context? It is repeated in order to show that this is not an optional rule, but an obligatory rule. In fact, it shows that the anuvṛtti of वा 'optional' ceases, and does not extend further.

कुमति च || १२ || पदानि || कुमति, च ||

13. In a compound, the second member of which contains a guttural, there is ण in the room of न, that follows anything which standing in the prior member is qualified to cause the change, provided the न be at the end of a प्रतिपदिक, or be the augment तुम, or occur in a vibhakti.

If the second part of a compound contains a letter of the class श, the change is obligatory, even though the second part be not monosyllabic. As वर्षयमणि, अर्ययमणि, लघुकालिणि, धुर्गकालिणि || तुम:—वर्षयमणि, अर्ययमणि || विकालि:—

वर्षयमणि, अर्ययमणि ||

The word वर्षयमणि is a compound of वर्ष with यमण (the affix यम is added first to यम and then the word so formed is compounded with वर्ष). Thus the ण becomes प्रतिपदिकान् i.e. it becomes the final of a Nominal-stem, which stands as a second member in a compound.

उपस्तर्यसमाससंप्रयोगं, प्रांपवेर्यविश्वय || १४ || पदानि || उपस्तर्यसं, अ-समास, अपि, गोपवेदःशय ||

ृषि: || प्रांपवेर्यसमाससंप्रयोगं || प्रांपवेर्यविश्वय भासनपि नकार: तत्स्त उपस्तर्यसमाससमाससंप्रयोगं जनकार्यो भवति असमासेऽस समासोऽपि ||

14. Of a root which has ण in its original enunciation, when it comes after a cause of such change standing in an upasarga, even though the word be not a samāsa, the ण is changed into न ||

The word गोपवेद meaning a root which is enunciated in the Dhātupāṭha with an initial ण || Thus प्रणमिति 'he bows'. पारिमिति, प्रणावक: 'a leader' परिवाटक: & c.

Why do we say "after an Upasarga"? Observe प्रणावकः—प्रणता नावकावासगुद्रेवसादूप ‘a country without a leader'. Here the word ण is not an upasarga, but a mere nipāta. See I. 4. 57, 58 and 59. In fact, ण is upasarga here with regard to न उस्त understood, and not with regard to नी ||

Why do we say "even when it is not a compound?" Because by context, the anuvṛtti of the word दृष्टेश्व, which is current throughout this sub-
division, would have been understood in this sūtra also, and the rule would
have applied to samāsas only, for there only we have pūrvapada. By using
the word भिन्नाति it is shown that the adhikāra of pūrvapada ceases, and the
rule applies to non-compounds also where there is no पूर्णपदः

Why do we say "having ज in Upadeśa"? Observe प्रतिवेदि, प्रतिवदि, प्रतिदेशि:।
For the root न्ति is recited in Dhatupātha with न।। There are eight
such roots वदि, नादि, नाधि, नाधि, नन्दि, नन्दि, न, नृदि। See VI. 1. 65.

हिदुमीना ॥१५॥ पद्यानि ॥ हिदु-मीना, ॥
बृत्तिः ॥ हिदु मीना इवेदायेकस्यतदात्रियिततुष्टस्य नकारस्य ज्ञातोधायो महति ।

15. The न of हिदु and मीना is changed into ण, when coming after an upasarga containing in it a cause of change.

Thus प्रतिवेदि, प्रतिवदि, प्रतिदेशि:। The root न्ति belongs to Svādi
class of verbs and takes the vikaraṇa ण technically दृढ़; and the root नी belongs
to Kryādi class which takes the vikaraṇa श।। In the sūtra the verbs are
shown with the vikaraṇas affixed. Under certain circumstances the forms of
the vikaraṇa is changed from दृढ़ to नी and श to नी, but the rule still applies,
because the substitute of an अञ्च or vowel is like the principal. See I. 1. 57.

आनि लोटः ॥ १६॥ पद्यानि ॥ आनि, लोटः ॥
बृत्तिः ॥ उपसार्यात्ििति यस्ते। आनीलकर्माः लोटायेकस्यतदात्रियिततुष्टस्य नकारस्य ज्ञातोधायो महति ।

16. The न of आनि, the affix of the Imperative, 1st
Person, is changed into ण when it follows a letter competent
to cause such a change standing in an Upasarga.

The word आनि is the termination of the Imperative. Thus प्रवापणि, प-
विवापणि, प्रवाणि, पर्विवाणि ॥

Why do we say 'the Imperative'? Observe प्रवापणि सासा्ति ॥। Here आनि
is the neuter plural termination, and the word means प्रकटा शना बृहु, तानि इ॥

According to Padamanjari, the employment of the word लोट in the
sūtra is redundant. For without it also आनि would have meant the Imperative
affix, and not the Neuter termination, on the maxim of अन्यकथां ततवं &c. Moreover
in the noun प्रवापणि, न is not an upasarga at all, on the maxim यदृ कियाखुतः प्रकटां-
स्य शतिः गतिः-अस्तर्व-संस्ते महति ॥

नेवेद-नपतपद-पुमात्याधिट्ततायायायात्िित्वधातिप्रत्िपतिवधातिशास्यतिचिन्तिता कृत्यति घः च ॥ १७॥ पद्यानि च।। नेव, गद-नन्दपद-पद-पुमा-स्यात्ि-धातिशास्यतिचिन्तिता-प्रत्िपतिवधातिशास्यतिचिन्तिता-पद्यानि
वधतिवधातिशास्यतिचिन्तिता-पद्यानि वधतिशास्यतिचिन्तिता-पद्यानि च।।
बृत्तिः ॥ नितिश्चित्कोषप्रत्िपतिवधातिशास्यतिचिन्तिता-धातिशास्यतिचिन्तिता-पद्यानि च।।
बृत्तिः ॥ नितिश्चित्कोषप्रत्िपतिवधातिशास्यतिचिन्तिता-धातिशास्यतिचिन्तिता-पद्यानि च।।

17. The श is the substitute of न of the prefix नि, following a cause for such change standing in an upasarga, when these verbs follow, gad 'to speak', nad 'to be happy', pat 'to fall', pad 'to go', the ghu verbs, मा 'to measure', sho 'to destroy', han 'to kill', yā 'to go', vā 'to blow', dra 'to flee', psā 'to eat', vap 'to weave', vah 'to bear', sam 'to be tranquil', chi 'to collect', and dih 'to anoint'.

Thus

शः, प्रविष्ठति, परविष्ठति नादः, प्रणितति, परिणितति
पन्तः, प्रविष्ठति, परविष्ठति पदः, प्रणितति, परिणितति
हुः, प्रणितदः, परिणितदः, प्रणितधाति, परिणितधाति
मानः, प्रणितमि, परिणितमि मेहः, प्रणितदेः, परिणितदेः

\textit{Ishti:—} By the word मा in the \textit{sutra}, both verbs माहः and मेहः are to be taken and not the roots शी or नि or मा माने, for they also take the form मा by VI. 1. 50.

श्वति प्रविष्ठति, परविष्ठति हर्नि प्रणितस्य, परिणितस्य
वाति प्रविष्ठति, परविष्ठति शाति प्रणितति, परिणितति
ह्राति प्रणितदः, परिणितदः श्वाति प्रणितस्य, परिणितस्य

The last five roots belong to Adādi class.

वर्ति प्रविष्ठति, परविष्ठति वहाति प्रणितविर्नि, परिणितविर्नि
शान्ति प्रणितामि, परिणितामि (VII. 3. 74)
चिन्तति प्रणितनिनि, परिणितनिनि देशि मणिदेश्य, परिणितेश्य

\textit{Ishti:—} The above change takes place even when the augment अं वर्ते intervenes. \textit{As प्रवर्तते}, परिणितेश्य.

The roots श्वति &c, are exhibited in their declined form in the \textit{sutra}, in order to indicate that the rule does not apply to यह लुक form of these roots (VII. 1. 6).

शेषे विभापश्वाकायाधारायणातृपदेशः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, विभा, अक्कादाय, अयाते, उपदेशी ॥

\textit{Bṛṣi:—} नैतित वर्ते उपसर्गाधिति च अक्काराकारार्थियकारान्तः उपदेशी यो यात्रः शेषत्वस्वल्प उपसर्गाधितिनिचाहुर्गतयु नर्मकार्य विभा युक्ता अत्यासी भवते ॥

18. In the remaining verbs, optionally the न of नि is replaced by श, when it is preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change; provided that, in the original enunciation, the verb has not an initial क or ग, nor ends with च ॥

The words ने and उपसर्गाणि are understood in the \textit{sutra}. The word शेषे means verbs other than those mentioned last. Thus प्रणितचति or परिप्रचति, प्रणितस्यस्य, प्रणितविस्तर् or प्रणितविस्तर् ॥
Why do we say अन्नारः “not beginning with क or ख”? Observe मनि
करिति, मनिलाभति ॥ Here there is no change.

Why do we say वैष्णवः “not ending in ष”? Observe मनिपिनिति ॥

Why do we say उपस्थिति “in original enunciation”? So that the prohibi-
tion may apply to forms like ग्रन्थिकार, मनिलाभति, मनिपिनिति (VIII. 2. 41). Here
चक्राक &c., do not begin with क or ख nor does विष्णु end with ष but with क (VIII.
2. 41) but in the द्वातुपधक the verb या and खा begin with क and ख and
विष्णु ends with ष, and hence the rule will not apply. So also in ग्रन्थिकार and
मनिलाभति from the root विष्णु ॥ Here though the verb now ends with ष by
VIII. 2. 36, yet in the original enunciation or द्वातुपधक, it ends with च ॥

वानिति: ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बनिति: ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ वान्नितकस्यपरस्याल्लिंकाकृतिश्च मकार्देशो भवति ॥

19. The न of the verb अन्नु ‘to breathe’, is changed into न, when preceded by an upasarga competent to
produce the change.

Thus म + बनिति = मनिति ‘he breathes’. परानिति ॥ For द्रू augment, see VII. 2. 76.

अन्नत: ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्नत: ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ उपस्थितिलिंकाकृतियाल्लिंकाकृतिकाकृति मकार्देशो वर्णाल्लित याणाय भवति ॥

20. The न of अन्नु is changed into न, when it is
preceded by an upasarga competent to produce the
change, provided it occurs at the end of a pada.

As हे ग्राणृ ! हे ग्राणृ ! ॥ This rule is an exception to VIII. 4. 37 sub, by
which final न in a pada is not changed into न ॥ The word अन्नत: in the सूत्रa
is to be understood to be equivalent to ग्राणत:; and the rule applies when the
word is in the vocative case.

According to some अन्नत: is taken to be a part of the last सूत्रa, and
has the meaning of ‘proximity’. That is the न is changed to न, if the र is
not separated from the न by more than one letter. Therefore there is no
change in परिर + बनिति = परिनिति ॥ In this view, another अन्नत should be taken for
the sake of final न, in हे ग्राणृ ॥

According to others the form परिनिति is valid, and they do not connect
अन्नत: with the last सूत्रa.

The word ग्राणृ is a विष्णु formed word, and the न final is not elided in
the Vocative Singular because of the prohibition of VIII. 2. 8; in every other
place, when the न is padānta, it would be dropped; and therefore the illustration
is given with Vocative singular, which alone satisfies the requirements of
this सूत्रa.
21. Both the न s are changed into ण in the duplicated forms of the verb अनु, when preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change.

Thus in the Desiderative मानिणिष्ठात and Aorist of the Causative मानिणित्व, and so also पराणिष्ठात and पराणित्व.

If the maxim पूर्वचालित्रवस्थानिश्चि बे रूट applied here; then we have the following dilemma in, मानि + स + ति। Here the affix सू ण requires reduplication, and the present सुत्रa requires ण change of न। The जत्व being asiddha, the reduplication being made first, we have मानिणित + स + ति, and then the reduplicate ण intervenes between the cause फ्र and the root-ण of तिं, and so this न would not be changed to ण। If however the above maxim be applied, we first apply the जत्व rule, as मानि + स + तिं, and then reduplicate तिं; and we get the form मानिणिष्ठात even without this सुत्रa.

If we could get this form by the application of the above maxim, where is the necessity of the present सुत्रa? The सुत्रa is necessary in order to indicate that the above maxim is anitya or not of universal application. And because it is anitya, that the form ब्रूहित्व is evolved by reduplicating हृ (See VIII. 2. 1).

22. The न, when preceded by त्र, in the root हृ, is changed to ह्र, when the verb is preceded by a preposition competent to cause the change.

Thus प्रहन्त, परिभ्रष्ट, प्रहणयय, प्रहिनयनय।

Why do we say अनुप्रुप्त ‘when preceded by त्र’? When त्र is elided, the change does not take place. As मृत्तिक, परिनिर्द्र (VI. 4. 98, and VIII. 3. 54).

Why do we say अनु “perced by short त्र”? Observe परिनिर्द्र and प्रधानिन, the Aorist of हृ by the affix थिण (III. 1. 60) महन्त + थिण = प्रधानिन + थिण (VIII. 3. 54) = प्रधानिन + थिण (VIII. 2. 116) = परिनिर्द्र ‘he killed’. Here न being preceded by the long त्र is not changed.

वमोवा || २३ || पदानि || वमोः, वा

लृति: || वकारयकृतिः परवेव हस्तिनाक्रास्तेष्यवस्थातिभावित्तादंतरस्य वा वकारयकृति नवति।

23. Optionally when ढ or म follow, the न of han is changed to ह्र, when preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change.

Thus प्रहन्त, परिभ्रष्ट, or प्रहन्त: and परिनिर्द्र, प्रहणय, or प्रहन्त: परिनिर्द्र: or परिनिर्द्र:।

This sūtra enjoins an option in certain cases, where it would have been obligatory by the last rule.
24. The न preceded by short ं of the root हूँ is changed into ण, when the root follows the upasarga अन्तर्, and the word does not mean a country.

Thus अन्तर्भवति and अन्तर्भति.

Why do we say “when not meaning a country अन्तर्?” Observe अन्तर्भति.

The phrase अन्तर्भवति “preceded by short ं” of sūtra 22 ante, is to be read into this sūtra also. Observe, अन्तर्भति.

Why do we say “short ं?” See, अन्तर्भति. The word अन्तर is an upasarga for the purposes of ण change, by the vārtika under I. 4. 65; therefore, it would have caused the ण change by VIII. 4. 22. The present sūtra is made, to show that the change takes place only then, when it does not mean a country.

25. The न of अन्तर is changed to ण, when preceded by the word अन्तर, and the word does not denote a country.

Thus अन्तरवचनं शोभस्य. Why do we say “not denoting a country”? Observe अन्तरवचनं शोभस्य.

This ण change would have taken place by VIII. 4. 29, this special sūtra is for अविश्वus purposes. The word अन्तर is formed by द्वृढ़ added to अन्तर or द्वृढ़.

26. In the Chhandas, न of a second term is changed into ण, when the prior term ends with a short ं even when there is an avagraha or hiatus between the two terms.

In the Veda, न becomes ण, after a ड़, after which in Padapātha, the word appertaining to it is divided. Thus in Pada-pātha the words न्यूना: &c., are separated, and are read as न्यून, न्यूना: &c. The word अवग्रहः = विनियमप्रमाणः, as in Pada-pātha. आवर्गः means ‘after a short ं which is an avagraha’. The ं here, of course, means ‘a word ending in ं’, because ड़ alone cannot be a pūrvapada. The ण took place during saññhitā, and in Pada reading this ण would not have remained, hence this sūtra.

Why have we used the word avagraha in the sūtra? Because we have already said that the word saññhitā governs all sūtras of this chapter. So the न is changed to ण in the Saññhitā state in these; and the ण is retained, when
in the state of avagraha. The word avagraha in the sūtra indicates the scope of the rule. The न is changed to ण after that क्र only, which is capable of avagraha, namely that क्र which stands at the end of a word (pada), and not that which is in the body of a word. Thus in नुस्तानः, विदुःवाः, the क्र is capable of avagraha, as it is at the end of a word नु or विदु; but when it is not at the end of a word, it can never become avagraha, and will not produce the ण change.

The word पर्याप्तता is understood here. The word द्वातिश्रयाः means a hiatus or separation. Thus नथो यानमिष, न नयाः।। Here क्र is द्वातिश्रयाः।। The change of न into ण is effected ordinarily then, when the terms, one containing the cause, and the other न, are in संहिता or conjunction. For the rules of Sandhi and the rules like these can apply only to words in saṁhitā. The present rule is an exception to it, and here, even when the words are not in संहिता, but there is an actual hiatus between the two, the change still takes place. The word संहिता of VIII. 2. 108, exerts regulating influence upto the end of the Book.

नस्थ धातुयोऽपूर्ण्यः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न:, च, धातुः, उर, युः: ॥

बृत्तः ॥ नस्व इतेरतः नकारस्तः ज्ञानविशेष । भवति धातुस्यात्रित्यात्त्वसूर्यसंस्कृतस्तुपायम्। विषये ॥

27. In the Chhandas, the न of (the Pronoun) नस्त्र is changed into ण, when it comes after a root having a र or य or after the words उर and यु (सु) ॥

Thus श्रमणः (Rig VII. 15. 13) 'O Agni! protect us'. नस्त्र योऽधिकृ (Rig. VII. 32. 26) 'Teach us this'. उरः—उदस्कर्द्रः (Rig. VIII. 75. 11) यु—धातुः (व्यायाम) Rig IV. 31. 3). ज्ञानः उपश्र मुः (Rig. I. 36. 13).

The word नस्त्र is here the pronoun नस्त्र, which is the substitute, in certain cases, of धातुः (VIII. 1. 21) and does not mean here the नस्त्र substitute of धातुः।।

In the next त्रृत्र, however, both नस्त्र are taken. धातुः means ‘that which exists in a dhatu’, namely र and य when occurring in a root. The word यु means the word-form यु; and य means यु, and is exhibited with य-change. It does not mean the affix य of the Locative Plural. Therefore, not here इतरः चता द्वृत्तः न: ॥

The word नस्त्र is the 2nd Person singular, Imperative, the lengthening is by VI. 3. 135. The root नस्त्र has the sense of नस्त्र in the Veda. क्रिया is 2nd Person sg. Imperative of क्र (VI. 4. 103), the visarga of न: is changed to च by VIII. 3. 50. In नस्त्र there is lengthening by VI. 3. 134; so also in द्वृत्तः: &c.

उपसर्गविद्यैः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गविद्यैः, युद्वृत्तः ॥

बृत्तः ॥ उपसर्गविद्यात्वात्वसूर्यसंस्कृतस्तुपायम्। नस्त्र। नकारस्तः ज्ञानविशेष । भवति ॥

28. The न of नस्त्र is changed diversely into ण, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.
Thus प्रण: ॥ ग्रंथ: ॥ प्रणाल: प्रणी राजा ॥ The change does not sometime take, place, as, म नौरुपायम ॥

By force of the word बहुमुख, the rule applies to secular literature also as distinguished from the Chhandas or sacred Vedic text. Thus प्रणाल: हुष्टेऽ ॥ The word हुष्टेऽ does not govern this sūtra.

In प्रणाल: हुष्टेऽ, the word नस्त्र is the substitute for नातिका and means ‘nose’. See V. 4. 119.

This is not the sūtra as given by Pāṇini. His sūtra is उपसर्गसंशोधनः: “after an Upasarga, the न of नस्त्र when not preceded by or followed by an ओऽ, is changed into ण” (अ). There being several objections to this rule, the above rule is substituted as an amendment, in the Mahābhāshya. For अनुपपत्ति: may have two meanings:—(1) ओऽकारात परः; that which comes after ओऽ; (2) ओऽकारः परस्परायुऽ that which is followed by ओऽ ॥ In both cases, the rule is objectionable. In the first case, the ओऽ change would be required in प्रणी हुष्टेऽ; in the second case, there should be no ओऽ change in प्रणाल: हुष्टेऽ ॥ In fact, we find in the Vedas प्रण: as well as प्रण:, so also प्रणी as well as प्रणी ॥ Hence the necessity of this amendment.

क्षयम्: ॥ २९ ॥ पदार्थं: क्षति, अच्छ ॥

क्षति: क्षयम् शे नकारे उच्च उनस्योपसर्गस्याश्रयाः साहित्यस्य जानकाराहीं नवतिः ॥

वासिक: क्षयम् शे निर्भावगोपसर्गस्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

29. The ण of a Krit affix, preceded by a vowel, is changed into ण, when it follows an upasarga having the cause of change.

The following are the specific Krit affixes in which this change takes place:—अन (ण), मान (शान्ति &c VII. 2. 82), अमनी (III. 1. 96) अनि (III. 3. 111) अन्ति (णमि III. 2. 78 &c) and the substitutes of निम्त (VIII. 2. 42) ॥

Thus

क्षयम्: प्रणाम्, परियाम्, प्रमाम्, परियाम् ॥ मान: प्रयामामम्, परियामामम् ॥

अमनी: प्रणामीवम्, परियामीवम् ॥ अनि: अन्तवणि, अपरियामीवम् ॥

समि प्रयायमिव, प्रमायमिव, परियायमिव, परियायमिव

निम्तवादः: प्रणी-परियायम, प्रणीतावम परियायमवादः ॥ Long ई by VI. 4. 66.

Why do we say अच्छ: ‘preceded by a vowel’? Observe प्रयायमिव, निम्तवादः: the Nishtha of ग्रंथ: ॥ It is thus formed: ग्रंथ + नत = ग्रंथ + न = ग्रंथ + न (VII. 2. 45, the root ग्रंथ is read as ग्रंथी कौदिय म in the dhatupātha, having an indicatory ओऽ, thus giving scope to the rule ). ग्रंथ + न = ग्रंथ + न (VIII. 2. 30) = ग्रंथ: ॥

Vārt:—The word निर्भाव: should be enumerated in this place. As निर्भाव:-

पदार्थम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदार्थं: प्रणी-विमा ॥

क्षति: प्रणाल: प्रणीयम: तत्सप्तः हकारायम्यायमिवाय ग्रंथिनस्यायस्य निभावः ग्रंथिद्विषो भवति
30. The Ṛ of a Krit-affix ordained after a causative verb (प्रस्ततः), is optionally changed to Ṛ, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

Thus प्रश्नणम् or प्रश्नम्, परिश्नणम् or परिश्नम्, प्रश्नामणम् or प्रश्नामानम्, प्रश्न्यणीन्य or प्रश्न्यानीन्, प्रश्नावणि: or प्रश्नावणिन्: प्रश्नाविण्य or प्रश्नाविणीन् दशमी.

Why have we used the word विषित्त ‘ordained’ in explaining the sūtra? Because the change takes place, even where the क्रृत affix does not follow directly after the affix रि; where a third affix such as यक्ष intervenes. As प्रश्नामाणम्. The अ: being in the ablative, under the ordinary rule of interpretation (1.1.72), the क्रित-affix should come immediately after रि.

हल्लोन्यपाणि: II ३१ II पदार्थ: च, इच्छ-उपायात् II

बृत्ति: II हल्लोन्यो मां वाक्यपदपशस्त्रनास्ति व: क्रृतस्वयं सत्येदं यक्षस्य सरस्योपसर्गस्यांग्लिनिन्नानुसरेत्वा विनायकः यक्षरहिष्को महति।

31. A krit-affix, coming after a verb, which begins with a consonant and has a penultimate इच्छ vowel, changes optionally its र, which is preceded by a vowel, into र, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

The phrase क्रृतसः is understood here. Thus प्रक्रियपणम् or प्रक्रियपम्, परिक्रियपणम् or परिक्रियपम्.

Why do we say हल्लो ‘beginning with a consonant’? Observe प्रत्यहम् and प्रत्यहम्, where the change is obligatory, under VIII.4.29. These are from हः वेदायाम् and हः वितवः.

Why do we say हल्लोपायात् ‘having a penultimate इच्छ vowel’? Observe प्रत्यहम् and परिपायम्; no option.

By the rule क्रृतसः the change was obligatory, this rule makes it optional.

The र of the krit-affix must come after a vowel, otherwise there will be no change. See परिक्रियम्.

The word हल्लो in the sūtra should be interpreted as हल्लो, and not as ordinarily “after what ends in हः” II For an हःपाया verb implies that it ends with a consonant, and so the employment of the word हल्लो in the text would have been useless had it meant हल्लायात् II.

हल्लो: सदनम्: II ३२ II पदार्थ: हल्लाद्वादितिभिः स: क्रृतस्वयं सकारास्योपसर्गस्यांग्लिनिन्नानुसरेत्वा विनायकः महति।

32. A krit-affix ordained after a verb beginning with an इच्छ vowel, having the augment सुम् in it, and ending
with a consonant, changes its स into ण, when preceded by an upasarga having in it the cause of change.

The word हृत: of the last sūtra is understood here. But contrary to the construction put upon it in the last sūtra, here it means हृतात्मः, by the natural rule of construction as given in I. 1. 72. We must interpret it so here, because it is impossible for an जाधव root to commence with a हृत: while to have done so in the last aphorism would have been redundant.

Thus प्रेश्चाः, परेश्चाः from हृतिः गत्यः; the तुम्हः is added because it is हृतिः। प्रेश्चाः, परेश्चाः, ग्नाथमाणः परोषभाणः। In उम्म यूर्वेण the nasal is part of the root. The rule will not apply to प्रेश्चाः, because तुम्हः here means the anusvāra generally (VIII. 4. 2) though the change would have been valid by the general rule, (VIII. 4. 29) this sūtra makes a निष्क्रम or restriction. That is, only in the case of जाधव सतृप् verbs the change takes place, not in other सतृप् verbs. Thus प्रक्षेपनम्, परिग्नात् from the root मग्निः ज्ञेयः।

This rule does not affect rule VIII. 4. 30, relating to धब्धत् verbs, for those verbs cannot be said to end with a consonant. Moreover, we have used the word धिन्छिन्छ in explaining the sūtra, in order to indicate this fact, that the krit-affix must be ordained after a consonant-ending verb. In the case of causative verbs, the krit-affix is ordained after a vowel-ending (विः) verb, and the vowel is elided after the adding of the affix. So that before the adding of the affix, the verb did not end in a consonant.

या निष्क्रियानित्वाम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ या, निष्क्रियानित्वाम् ॥

33. The न of निष्क्रिय and नित्व is changed to ण optionally, when preceded by an upasarga having in it a cause of change.

Thus निष्क्रियान् or निष्क्रियस्, निष्क्रियाः or निष्क्रियाः, निष्क्रियाः or निष्क्रियाः।

These verbs are written with ण in the Dātapātha, and therefore by rule VIII. 4. 14 ante, the change of न into ण would have been obligatory. The present sūtra makes it optional. The root निष्क्रिय means 'to kiss', निष्क्रिय सापणः, and निष्क्रिय कृतसायाः।

न भामूपूकमिगमिज्ञविभेदाम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भा-भू-भू-कमः-गमः-प्रायिक-भेदाम्।

34. The न of a krit-affix is not changed to ण, though preceded by an upasarga having in it a cause of change,
when the affix is added to the following verbs: भा ‘to shine’, धृ ‘to be’, धृ ‘to purify’, काम ‘to be brilliant’, गाम ‘to go’, व्यायि ‘to increase’, ब्रेप ‘to shake’.

This rule is an exception to VIII. 4. 29. Thus:—
भा प्रभामनस्, परिकालनस् । प्रभामनस्, परिकालनस् । प्रभामनस्, परिकालनस् ।
Itshi:—The verb प्रभामनस् is to be taken and not the verb प्रभामनस्. In the case of the latter the change is obligatory, as, प्रभामनस् सासम्भव ।
क्षि प्रभामनस्, परिकालनस् । गाम प्रभामनस्, परिकालनस् ।
व्यायि प्रभामनस्, परिकालनस् । ब्रेप प्रभामनस्, परिकालनस् ।

Vārt:—The above roots, even when in the Causative, do not change the न of their krit-affix. As प्रभामनस्, परिकालनस् ।
प्रभामनस् । प्रभामनस् नासाकरण । नासाकरण नकारात्मको न भवित ।

35. After a य final in a Pada, the य is not changed to य ।

Thus निध्यानस्, हुप्यानस्; the visarga is changed to य here by VIII. 3. 41. The rule VIII. 4. 29 is debarred. सर्वर्पितका (is a genitive compound contra II. 2. 14). So also न्युग्यानस् (II. 1. 32). The य is in these two by VIII. 3. 45, and VIII. 4. 10 is debarred.

Why do we say “प्रभामनस् after a य”? Observe निध्यानस्।

Why do we say प्रभामनस् ‘final in a Pada’? Observe हुप्यानस्।

The word प्रभामनस् is equivalent to प्रभामनस् or Locative Tatpurusha; and does not mean final of a Pada. Therefore the rule does not apply here. हुप्यानस् (ins. sg.) हुप्यानस्। Here the य is added by V. 4. 154. स्त्राणं सर्वर्पितका = हुप्यानस् (a Bahuvrihi). The य is by VIII. 3. 39. Before the affix य, the word हुप्यानस् is a Pada (I. 4. 17), and thus य (य) is final of a Pada: but it is not final of a preceding member followed by another Pada. The rule, in fact, applies to compounds, the य being final in the first term.

नश्रोऽप्रभामनस् । पदाति । नश्रोऽप्रभामनस् ।

36. य is not the substitute of the verb नश्रोऽ ‘to destroy’, when ending in य ।

When the य is changed to य in नश्रोऽ, the न of नश्रोऽ is not changed. Thus नश्रोऽ, परिन्दा । The यu is ordained by VII. 1. 60, is elided by VI. 4. 24, and य changed to य by VIII. 2. 36.

Why do we say नश्रोऽ? Observe प्रभामनस्।

The word नश्रोऽ is taken in order that the prohibition may apply to words like प्रभामनस्, which did end with य though the य has been changed by other rules, and is no longer visible. For here the य of नश्रोऽ is changed to य by VIII. 2. 36, and then this य is changed to य by VIII. 2. 41; and the यu is added by VII. 1. 60.
37. Of a न final in a Pada, न is not the substitute.

Thus न्यास, न्यास, भारी, ग्रीन.

पञ्चवायेनि || ३५ || पदानि || पञ्चवाये, अर्थ ||

38. The नू is not changed to नू when a Pada intervenes between the cause of the change and the word containing the न.

The word पञ्चवाय is a compound meaning पञ्च व्याय ‘separated by a Pada’. Thus माप्याः व्यायेन, शुद्धास्यामेव, मायाः व्यायेन, शुद्धास्यामेव, मायाः व्यायेन, परिग्राहायम्।

Here the Padas कुम्भ, अक्ष, ग्रीन &c, intervening, the change does not take place.

Vārt.:—It should be stated when there is separation by a Pada, except in a Taddhita. Prohibition does not apply to words like भायामोगवेन, शुद्धास्यामकेन।

Here ग्रीन takes the affix मद by IV. 3. 145, and the word ग्रीि is a Pada by I. 4. 17, and it intervenes between नू and the first word. The author of Mahābhaṭhaśya however does not approve of this Vārtika. According to him the word पञ्चवाय means पञ्च व्याय.

39. The नू is not the substitute of नू in the words kshubhna &c.

The ‘not’ of śūtra 34 is to be read into this. Thus शुभानि, so also in शुभीत, शुभनि, the substitutes of अक्षु being like the principal I. 1. 57.

So नूमन: where the change was called for by VIII. 4. 3, and VIII. 4. 26.

नविन, नन्दन and नन्द when second members in a compound, denoting a name, as, हरिन्द्री, हरिन्दन:, गिरिन्दर:।

The word नूम when taking the Intensive affix बहु, as, नरिन्दुः:।

बहु, हरिन्दा: also belongs to this class. नरेन, गहन, नन्दन, नविद्या, निविद्या, निविद्या, निविद्या, निविद्या, निविद्या, निविद्या,

and अनुरूप which required change by VIII. 4. 3. So परिषिद्ध, contrary to VIII. 4. 14.

मर्विन्द्रा, मर्विन्द्र, मर्विन्द्रा:। All these are Names.

After the word भायाय there is no change, as, भायायोस्यायः, भायायायः।

हरिका, तिमिर, तिरी, तिस्रे and हृत and कर्म �follower by म threaten not cause change in the न of न when the compound is a Name. This is an भायायः।

1 शुभा (शुभानि), 2 नूमन:; 3 नविन, 4 नन्दन, 5 नन्द, नामस्यमां पांचाः प्रोज्य-बन्द, 6 हरिन्द्री, 7 हरिन्दन:, 8 गिरिन्दर:, 9 नूरायथः प्रोज्य-वाद, नरिन्दुः: 10 नरेन, 11 गहन,
Palatal Change. [Bk. VIII. Ch. IV. § 41

12 नमन, 13 निवेषा, 14 निमाया, 15 अभिनि, 16 भूमु.
17 एतामुग्धिसारसा प्राथमाजिमनि, 18 परिमानसम, 18
19 परिनिद्वसा, 20 शानिनिद्वसा, 21 शानिनिद्वसा, 22 शानिनिद्वसा, 23 शानिनिद्वसा, 24 शानिनिद्वसा, 25 शानिनिद्वसा, 26 नरमणि, 27 शानिनिद्वसा.
28 नरमणि, निवेषा, निमाया, अभिनि, भूमु, शानिनिद्वसा, 29 नरमणि, 30 नरमणि, 31 नरमणि.

स्तोऽऽुर्युता हुऽुर्युता || || पदार्थाः || स्तोऽऽुर्युता हुऽुर्युता ||

40. The letters श and the palatals when in contact with श and the palatals, are changed to श and palatals respectively.

The rule of श्यास्यक्ष्य does not apply here with regard to first part श्यु श्यु. The श in contact with श is changed to श but it is also so changed when in contact with letters of श class. Similarly letters of श class coming in contact with श or a letter of श class, are changed to श class. The rule of श्यास्यक्ष्य, however, applies to the substitutes, namely श is changed to श, and श to श.

1st. श in contact with श: as, शृःशृः + शेते = शृःशृः, so also श्यृः+शेते.

2nd. श in contact with श: as, शृःशृः + शेते शृःशृः, शृः+शृः, शृः+शृः.

3rd. श in contact with श: as, शृः+शेते शृः+शेते, so also शृः+शेते.

4th. श in contact with श: as, शृः+शेते शृः+शेते, so also शृः+शेते.

5. Similarly शस्त्र gives शस्त्र, the श is changed to श by शस्त्रशा शस्त्र VIII. 4. 53, and then this श is changed to a palatal i. e. to श here; and श obtained by श श rule is not considered asidduha here. See VIII. 2. 3. So also from शस्त्र we have शस्त्र.

5th. पक्षार followed by तक्षार: as, त्य+न (III. 3. 90) = त्य+न = त्य+न = शास्त्रा.

In fact the instrumental case शुर्या shows that the mere contact of श and श with श and श is enough to induce the change, whether श is followed by श or श be followed by श. Other examples of mere contact are:—

5th(a) श followed by श is changed into श: as, श+श = श+श = (III.

1. 77, VI. 1. 16) = श+श = श+श = (VIII. 4. 53) = श+श.

Similarly शस्त्र forms शस्त्र, शस्त्र forms शस्त्र.

The aphorism शाश्व (VIII. 4. 44) which prohibits the change of श into श when following the letter श, indicates by implication that the rule of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration (I. 3. 10) does not hold good here.

Had the sūtra been स्तोऽऽुर्युता श्यु: i. e. instead of instrumental, had there been the locative case, then the rule would not have applied to cases covered by the fifth clause.

शुर्या शु: || || पदार्थाः || शुर्या, शु: ||

कृत्वा: || प्रकारस्मृतोऽऽुर्युता श्य्यास्त्रविवक्ष्यभवोऽऽुर्युता भवोऽऽुर्युता ||
41. The letters च्छ and dentals in contact with ष and cerebrals, are changed into ष and cerebrals respectively.

The word सस्र is to be read into the sūtra. Here also there is absence of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration.

(1) ष with ष as, वृश्च्छ + स्य = वृश्च्छय्यः; नस्यय्यः.
(2) स with च as, वृश्च्छ + दीक्षण = वृश्च्छीक्षणः, नस्यय्यः; नस्यय्यः; नस्तन्वकः.
(3) स with ष as भृष्ठ + ता = भृष्ठ, भृष्ठः, भृष्ठः; भृष्ठः (Atmane, Aorist 2nd per dual).
(4) त with त as, भास्मितिः + दीक्षण = भास्मिरदीक्षणः, सांगशुद्धीकरणः, भास्मिति; भास्मिति; भास्मिति; भास्मिति; भास्मिति.

The root अनुत्र भास्मिति, and अनुत्र भास्मि, are read in the Dhatupatha with त and ष penultimate, in order that when the affix विश्व is added to them, the final त and ष being elided by संयोगात्मक rule, the derivatives will be भृष्ठ and भृष्ठ ending in त and ष. Another reason is that the sūtra VI. 1. 3, should apply to their reduplicate. In these roots the त and ष are changed, as भृष्ठति and भृष्ठति.

न पद्यात्वाद नामात्मकः || ५२ || पद्यात्मकः || न, पद्यात्मकः, दोः, अनायमः.

वृष्ठिः || पद्यात्मकं श्रवणं ष्टोः. ह्यं न मन्त्र नामिते स्मार्तीठीवियम्.

वासिकम् || नामात्मकं नामात्मकं जगतिः वस्तवम्.

42. After त final in a Pada, the change of a dental (स्त्र) to a cerebral (ष्ट्र), does not take place, except in the case of the affix नामः ||

Thus भृष्ठत्र + सायः = भृष्ठत्रसायः, महूलुत्रसायः, भास्मिति, महूलुत्रसायः.

Why do we say पद्यात्माः ‘final in a Pada’? Observe त्त्र+ते = त्त्र+ते = त्त्र+ते.

Why do we say हृष्ठ ‘after त’? Observe सर्पन्त्र+स्य = सर्पन्त्रम्.

Why do we say अनायमः ‘except in the case of the affix नामः’? Observe पद्यात्माः + दृष्ट्रम्.

This exception is very inadequate. Hence the following

Vārt:- It should be stated rather that द्रतिः and नामात्मक are not prevented from undergoing the cerebral change. As, पण्यम् ‘of six’, पण्यत्रिः; ninety-six, and पण्यत्रिः ‘six cities’.

तोः: त्र || ५३ || पद्यात्मकः || तोः, त्र ||

वृष्ठिः || तच्छित्त्वयम् बटुर्कं तच्छित्त्वयम्.

43. In the room of तु there is not a cerebral substitute, when ष follows.

The word न is to be read into the aphorism. As, अन्तितिः + पण्यम् = अन्तितिः पण्यम्.
44. In the room of तु there is not a palatal substitute, when श precedes.

The words न and शः are understood here. This is an exception to VIII. 4. 40. Thus, मष्ठ + न (III. 3. 90) = मष्ठन्, बिष्ठ: &c.

यरेनुरदिनिकेनुरदिनिको वा || ४५ || पदानि || शः, अनुनासिकेन्, अनुनासिकः, वा ||

वृत्ति: शः यरेनुरदिनिके रसिके परस्ये रुदिनिकार्योहिः भवति ||

शास्त्रिकः यरेनुरदिनिके रसिके भाषायो दित्यथते कल्लर्वः ||

45. In the room of a यर letter (every consonant except ह final) in a Pada, when a Nasal follows, there is optionally a Nasal substitute.

The word पदानि is understood here. Thus शः + नयति = शापयति or शः-नयति, भास्त्रिकिनुयति or भास्त्रित्वनुयति, विनुयति or विनुद्वयति, बुद्धनुयति or बुद्धज्वयति ||

Why do we say ‘final in a Pada’? Observe, बेदू + मि = वेदिः || Here there is no option. So also भ्रमाति ||

Vādā:-When it is a pratyaya or a suffix that follows, the nasalisation is obligatory in the secular language. Thus शः + मातम् = शःमातम्, कित्यन्तम् ||

It is, however, only before the affixes मष्ठ and मष्ठ that the change is obligatory, and not before every affix beginning with a nasal.

अच्छा रहाययाः हे || ४६ || पदानि || अच्छे, रहाययाः, हे ||

वृत्ति: अच्छे उक्तो शै परस्यकारो तायाहृतसनु यो हे भवतः ||

46. There is reduplication of यर, i.e. all the consonants except ह, after the letters र and ह following a vowel.

The word यश of last sūtra is understood here. According to others, the श is also understood, and this is an optional rule. Thus शशः, मशः, शशः, यशः, यशः ||

Why do we say अच्छे: ‘following a vowel’? Observe हुअते, हुअयति ||

अनुच्छे च || ४७ || पदानि || अच्छे, अच्छे, च ||

वृत्ति: अच्छे दक्षिणस्य मधे हे मध्ये अनुच्छ चतुः परतः ||

शास्त्रिकः यश। यश। मधे भवत हस्ति वद्यम् ||

अट || यश। यश। मधे भवत हस्ति वद्यम् ||

47. When a vowel does not follow, there is reduplication of यर (all the consonants except ह), after a vowel.

The words अच्छे and अच्छे are understood here.
Thus बच्छ + अच्छ = पुच्छ + अच्छ (VI. 1. 77) = पुच्छ + अच्छ ददुर्ध + अच्छ (VIII. 4.
53) = ददुर्ध, so also मद्ध + ॥

Why do we say अच्छ: “after a vowel?” Observe सिस्मुष्ट, स्मातमुष्ट ॥

Vārt.:—वन नवो दे भवत: ॥ This Vārtika may be interpreted in two ways. First taking यन: as ablative and नव: as genitive. “The letters of the pratyāhāra मद्ध are reduplicated after यन: letters.” उद्धाक, बाल्मीकिः ॥ Secondly
taking यन: as genitive, and नव: as ablative. “The letters यन: are reduplicated after मद्ध letters”. As हद्दव्यात, मद्दव्यात ॥

Vārt.:—धार: खयो दे भवत: ॥ This is also similarly explained in two ways. 1st “There is reduplication of नव letters, after a sibilant for यन letters”, as र्यायाल, य्यायात. Secondly. ‘There is reduplication of a sibilant (यन letters), after खयो letters, सस, वस्सर, अभस्सर: ॥

Vārt.:—अभसाने च यो दे भवत: ॥ There is reduplication of ददुर्ध when a Pause ensues. As बादुर्ध, वर्दुर्ध, पद्दुर्ध, वस्सर, अभस्सर: &c.

These reduplications are curiosities, rather than practicalities.

नादिन्याकोषेऽ पुच्छसृ ॥ धन ॥ पद्धाति ॥ न, आदिनी, आकाृतो, पुच्छसृ ॥

वृत्ति: आदिनी वचन आकोषे गम्यमाति पुच्छसृद्वय न दे भवत: ॥

वातायनः ॥ तथरेव वे इति वक्तयमः ॥ या ॥ वा इतजग्नयपरहि वक्तयमः ॥

या ॥ चयो बिन्तीया: धार: पीण्यासतसि: ॥

48. There is not reduplication of the letters of ‘putra’, when the word ādīnī follows, the sense being that of reviling or cursing.

This debars the reduplication required by the last sūtra. Thus पुच्छन्यारी स्मातिः पापे “O sinful one! thou art eater of thy own son”. Here the word पुच्छन्यारी is used simply as an abusive epithet. But when a fact is described, and the word is not used as an abuse or आकोष, the reduplication takes place. Thus पुच्छन्यारी व्यामी ‘a kind of tigress, that eats up her young ones’.

= विद्वधारी व्यामी ॥

Vārt.:—So also when पुच्छ is followed by पुच्छन्यारी ॥ As पुच्छ पुच्छन्यारी स्मातिः पापे ॥ So also पुच्छपुच्छन्यारी ॥

Vārt.:—Optionally so when the words हस्त and जन्म follow. As पुच्छन्यारी or पुच्छन्यारी, पुच्छज्ञापी or पुच्छज्ञापी ॥

Vārt.:—According to the option of Āchārya Paushkarasādi, the letters of चयो pratyāhāra are replaced by the second letters of their class, when followed by a sibilant (a letter of यन: pratyāhāra).

As बस्त: becomes वस्सः अक्सरम् becomes अखुसरम् and अपुस्सर बक्सरः ॥
49. There are not two in the room of a sibilant (शर्), when a vowel follows.

The word न is to be read into the sūtra. This debars the application of rule 46 ante. Thus कप़ति, वर्षति, शाकार्थ; अक्षरः.

Why do we say अचि 'when a vowel follows'? Observe तदनि ते.

शृंगृष्टितुष्ण शाकटायनस्य ॥ ५० ॥ पद्यानि ॥ ग्रहनस्य, शाकटायनस्य ॥

वृस्ति: ॥ शृंगृष्टितुष्ण संघों अनुसूची शाकटायनस्यायेष्यं मनने न भवति ॥

50. According to the opinion of Śākatayana, the doubling does not take place when the conjunct consonants are three or more in number.

As इन्द्र-, वर्ण-, उन्न-, राज्य-, भागम् ॥

सन्ते शाकल्यस्य ॥ ५१ ॥ पद्यानि ॥ सन्ते, शाकल्यस्य ॥

वृस्ति: ॥ शाकल्यायेष्यं मनन सन्ते दिन्द्रवणमे न भवति ॥

51. According to the opinion of Śākalya, there is reduplication no where.

As अर्करं, मर्करं, भ्राम, अपेतते ॥

शृंगृष्टितायायामां ॥ ५२ ॥ पद्यानि ॥ नीर्घात, आचार्यायामां ॥

वृस्ति: ॥ शृंगृष्टितायायामां मनने न भवति ॥

52. According to the opinion of all Teachers, there is no doubling after a long vowel.

As राज्यम्, गत्रम्, गृहम्, सुचना ॥

हलां जत्त्रार्द्धा ॥ ५३ ॥ पद्यानि ॥ हलामम्, जत्त्र, शरि ॥

वृस्ति: ॥ हलां स्वतम्भ ज्यादेशी भवति हलार्द्ध परत: ॥

53. In the room of श्रु letters, there is substitution of श्रव्य letters, when श्रु letters follow.

A mute letter is changed to a sonant non-aspirate mute, when a sonant mute follows it.

This is the well-known rule of softening the hard letters. Thus ता, तो = त्य, so also तर्ण, तर्णयस्य; होग्म, होग्मयस्य, होग्मयि; बोज्या, बोज्यस्य, बोज्यायस्य ॥

Why do we say अचि 'when a jhas follows'? Observe इहस, इहस: ॥

अष्टित: ॥ अष्टित: वर्तमानानां हलां चादेशी भवति यकारत्जाधि ॥

54. The चर is also the substitute of श्रु letters occurring in a reduplicate syllable, as well as जश ॥

In a reduplicate syllable, a sonant non-aspirate (श्रु) as well as a surd non aspirate (चर) is the substitute of a Mute letter. By applying the rule of
'nearest in place (I. 1. 50), we find that sonant non-aspirate (जश्) is the substitute of all sonants; and is the substitute of all surds. In other words all aspirate letters become non-aspirate. The word जश् has been drawn into the sūtra by the word च ‘also’.

Thus चिन्निनिपित्. Here च (Desiderative), is added to the root चश्, the ख is changed to छ by VII. 4. 62, and this aspirate छ is now changed to non-aspirate by the present sūtra. चिन्नितचिन्निति, चिन्निनिपिति, थिन्निति, चिन्निनिपिति, चिन्निनिपिति, चिन्निनिपिति, चिन्निनिपिति.

If there is चश् (non-aspirate surd) in the original, it will remain of course unchanged. As, चिन्निनिपिति, चिन्निनिपिति, चिन्निनिपिति.

The original चश् also remains unchanged. Thus चिन्निनिपिति, चुचु, चश्, चिन्निपिति. Or to be more accurate a चश् is replaced by a चश् and a जश् by a जज् letter.

वारे च || ५५ || पदानि || वारे, च || वृत्ति: च च परतो द्रवणा प्रवाहीं भवति।

55. In the room of धश्, there is the substitute चश् when चश् follows.

A sonant non-aspirate mute is the substitute of a mute, when a surd mute or a sibilant follows. The words धश्व and चश्व are supplied from the last sūtra. Thus देहु + ता = नेत्ता, नेत्तु, नेत्त्वस्य; धुश् + ता = धुश्व; भाविस्व, भाविस्वते from धस्व and चस्व, the धश् is added by VII. 4. 54, in the room of च of रस्व and लस्व, and we have धिन्त्स्व and धिन्त्स्व then the first त is elided by VIII. 2. 29.

वावस्वते || ५७ || पदानि || ता, अवस्वते || वृत्ति: धव्यां वचित्ति वचेति। ववस्ते ववमानानां धव्या या च चर्चवेशे भवति।

56. The चश् is optionally the substitute of a धश् that occurs in a Pause.

The words मलं चश् is understood in the sūtra. A sonant or a surd non-aspirate may stand as final in a Pause: but not an aspirate consonant. By VIII. 2. 39, a non-aspirate sonant can only stand in a final position. This ordains that a non-aspirate surd may also stand as the final, when there is Pause. Thus चइ or चअ, चइ or चअ, चविज, चविज, चिजइ or चिजइ.

अणोप्रायुक्ततुपनासिक: || ५७ || पदानि || अण:, अप्रायुक्त, तुपनासिक: || वृत्ति: अण: अप्रायुक्तसंस्त्रयस्ते वज्ञानाने वठुनासिकविशे भवति।

57. The anunāsika is optionally the substitute of an अण vowel which occurs in a Pause, and is not a Pragrihyā.

अ, इ and उ, short and long, may, when final in a Pause, be pronounced as nasals, provided that they are not Pragrihyā (I. 1. 11 &c.) The अण here
is a Pratyāhāra with the first श। Thus शव्य or शव्य, मछु or मछु, कमारी or कमारी।

Why do we say ‘of an अन्य vowel’? Observe, कड़ि, हड़ि।
Why do we say ‘which is not a pragrīhīya’? Observe भानी, यान which are pragrīhīya by I. i. ii.

अनुस्वारस्य यथि परस्वण्यः। वृत्ति:। अनुस्वारस्य, यथि, परस्वण्यः।

58. In the room of anusvāra, when यथू follows, a letter homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus शाह्रीता, शाह्रुष्ट, शाह्रितावय, शाह्रिताल, किंचित्ता, नान्दिता, कम्पिता &c. These are from roots शाक्त शाच्रायाम, शाह्रत रुष्टे, शाह्रिताले, नान्दिताले, किंचित्ताले, नान्दिताले। Here उष्टू is added because they are उष्ट, and this उू becomes anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24, and this anusvāra is changed to उू when followed by a guttural उू &c, to उू when followed by a palatal उू &c, and so on to उू, नू and ं।

Why do we say when यथू follows’? Observe भानीस्वते, भाविकस्वते।
In भाविते, भाविते, the न is not changed into न, though required by VIII. 4. 2. Because the न is asidhra, and therefore by the prior rule VIII. 3. 24, the न is first changed into anusvāra (VIII. 2. 1). That anusvāra is again changed into न by the present rule, न being homogeneous with न। This change again being भच्छ as if it had never taken place (VIII. 2. 1), the न is never substituted for न।

वा पद्यान्तिरू। वा, पद्यान्तिरू।

वृत्ति:। पद्यान्तिरूवस्य यथू परस्वण्यः। यथू परस्वण्यः।

59. In the room of anusvāra final in a Pada, the substitution of a letter homogeneous with the latter is optional.

Thus सं कयं विचयवं उऽत्वान्ते नमःस्य दुस्योधवीत तः तुहूस्थवस्यः स्याम्।

लोिति। वृत्ति:। तवस्तस्य सकपे परस्वण्यः।

60. In the room of न (a dental) when the letter न follows, one homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus भ्रमिष्ठितव + नुिताति = भ्रमिष्ठितव + नुिताति = भ्रमिष्ठितव + नुिताति = भ्रमिष्ठितव + नुिताति। Here न has been changed to pure न, while the dento-nasal न is changed to a nasal न।

उद्दः अस्तमः: पूवस्य:। वृत्ति:। उद्दः अस्तमः: पूवस्य:।

रोिगी पूवस्य: स्याम्यः।
61. After उद्र, in the room of the ः of sthā and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior (i.e. a dental is substituted for this ः) II

As उद्र + स्थाता = उद्र + याताता = उद्र + याता (VIII. 455) = उद्र + याता (VIII. 4. 55) = उन्याता, उन्नातुम, उन्नातवम्. II So also with सम्मु, अस, उद्धमिता, उद्धमितयम् &c. (See I. 1. 67 and 54).

Why do we say of स्था and सम्मु? Compare उन्याता II

ヴァル्त:—In the Vedas, the above substitution takes place in the case of सम्मु preceded by उद्र II अस, अध्ये हुरुहङ्कन्: II

ヴァル्त:—So also when it means a disease. As उद्धमः को नाम चेम: II Or this form may have been derived from the root कन, and not सम्मु II

श्रयो होन्त्यरसायम् II 62 II पदाचि II श्रयः हु, अन्यतरस्यायम् II

वृत्ता: II श्रय उद्धस्तम शकास्य वर्णावर्गीयो भवति अन्यतरस्यायः.

62. In the room of the letter ह, after (a sonant Mute) there is optionally a letter homogeneous with the prior.

The pratyâhâra हृष्ण includes all Mutes. But practically sonant Mutes are only taken here.

As श्रय + हस्ति = श्रयस्ति or श्रय्य हस्ति, अल्लं धवलिणि or हस्ति, अन्नग्रिम्य भस्ति or हस्ति, द्वितुष्ठ भस्ति or हस्ति, सोमस्तु भस्ति or हस्ति II
Why do we say श्रय: ‘after a sonant Mute?’ Observe अष्ट्र हस्ति, भन्न, हस्ति II

शास्त्रोदि II 63 II पदाचि II श्रयः हृष्ण, अहित II

वृत्ता: II श्रय हितय वर्चित्य अन्यतरस्यामिति प्रथम। श्रय उद्धस्तात शकास्यादि परतदृश्यादि भवति अन्यतरस्यायः.

वाचिकम् II छ्वम्यमीति दक्षयम्।

63. In the room of श preceded by a surd Mute, there is optionally the letter छ when a vowel or य, घ or र follows such श II

Though श्रय means all Mutes, the rule, however, applies to surd mutes. The words श्रय्य and अन्यतरस्यायः are to be read into the sūtra. Thus श्रय्य + शेति = श्रय्ये झेटे or झें श् शेते II अन्यत्रिम्ये शेते or अन्यत्रिम्ये शेते, भतिते, झेण्टे or झेण्टे, सुदुङ्क्षेते or झेण्टे II

ヴァル्त:—It should rather be stated when a letter of अष्ट्र pratyâhâra follows. The sūtra only gives श्रय letters, the vārtika adds the letters ह, and the nasals. Thus तहृष्ण = तहृष्ण, तहृष्ण, तत्त्वमशुण्ण II

हलो यम्म यमि लोप: II 63 II पदाचि II हुष्टः, यमायः, यमि, लोप: II

वृत्ता: II हल उद्धस्ता यम्म यमि वर्जने नाशी भवति अन्यतरस्यायः
64. After a consonant, the following semi-vowel or a nasal is elided optionally, when the same letters follow it.

The word भयतरस्वार्थ should be read into the sūtra. Thus श्वच्छ्वा or श्वच्छ्व्वा, the middle य्र being elided. In श्वच्छ्व्वा there are two य्र, one of the affix ब्या (III. 3. 99); and the second of श्वच्छ्व्वा (VII. 4. 22), and the third arises by doubling (VIII. 4. 47). भाविन्द्व्व्व वर्त्तिल्व्व (formed by doubling य्र by the Vārtika under 47 ante), or भाविन्द्व्व वर्तिल्व्व 'son of Aditi'. In भाविन्द्व्व there are two य्र, one of य्र (IV. 1. 85), and the second arises by doubling.

Similarly भाविन्द्व्व वर्तिल्व्व यः भाविन्द्व्व पाक्ष्यं = भाविन्द्व्व. Then by VIII. 4. 47, there is a third य्र, as भाविन्द्व्व. Here also we may elide the one middle य्र or both the middle य्र's. Thus भाविन्द्व्व or भाविन्द्व्व.

Why do we say हृत् 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe चाल्लम् when य्र is preceded by a vowel.

Why do we say बनायः "of य्र letters"? Observe गर्गस्त्र, गर्गस्त्र (V. 4. 25) where य्र is not a य्र.

Why do we say श्रमिं "when य्र follows"? Observe शाक्रम् here य्र is not followed by य्र.

हरो हर मल्लहें || दाति || हर:, हरि, सवणो || वृपि: || हर उन्नर्व हरो हरि सवणो परतो लोपिः भवति अन्यतरस्वार्थम्.

65. A Mute or Sibilant (हर) preceded by a consonant and followed by a homogeneous mute or sibilant, is optionally elided.

The word हृत् is understood. Thus महत्तमः, महत्तमः have three त, namely, one त substituted for त्र by VII. 4. 47, the second त resulting from the change of त्र to त by वर्त्तिल्व्व change, the third त is that of the affix. A fourth arises by doubling (VIII. 4. 47) of these four, one or two middle ones may be dropped. अनुरुच्च here are four त्र. A fifth may be added by doubling, and by this rule, one, two or three of them may be elided. महत्तमः+त्र+त्र+त्र=महत्तमः+प्रत्तिः+त्र (VII. 4. 47) the word महत्तमः being treated as an Upasarga (I. 4. 59, वार्ता)=महत्तमः.

Why do we say हर 'of a jhar'? Compare शाक्रम्, here य्र which is not a हर, is not elided, though it is followed by a हर letter. Why do we say हर 'followed by a jhar'? See विभवस्ट्रम्. This is a Bahuvrihi compound=विभवस्ट्रम्. पञ्चास्या || The word विभवस्ट्रम् stands first in the compound under II. 2. 35. (वार्ता). The full word is विभवस्ट्रम्, the य्र is elided by VI. 4. 134, and we have विभवस्ट्रम्; and then this य्र becomes a palatal य्र. || Here य्र is preceded by a य्र letter, and itself is a य्र, and is followed by a homogeneous
letter छ, but as च is not छ, the छ is not elided. The elided छ is not considered sthānīvat, and so छ is considered to be immediately followed by छ.

Why do we say स्वरिति ‘when a homogeneous jhar follows’? Observe सांसिध्या,िम्रमुिा, &c, where ि and ि are not homogeneous.

By using the word स्वरिति, the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) is avoided. Had the rule been छरोिे क्षरिं the rule of mutual correspondence according to order of enumeration would have applied, and the forms सियिक्षिं िििी could not have been evolved by the elision of ि before ि. For the evolution of these forms see the commentary under I. 1. 58. These are the Imperative 2nd Person Singular of िििि and ििरि. The य of ििि is elided by VI. 4. 111: the यि is changed to िि by VI. 4. 101, the यि is changed to िि by VIII. 4. 53, the यि of ििि is changed to िि by anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24; this anusvāra is again changed to िि by VIII. 4. 58; the यि is changed to ि, and by the present rule, the preceding ि is elided before this ि.

उदात्तस्वरिति यमः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि उदात्तस्वरिति यमः ॥

66. The Svarita is the substitute of an Anudātta vowel which follows an Udātta vowel.

Thus यांतिः + हि = यांतिः।। Here िि which was ििवात्त by rule VIII. 1. 28, becomes svarita by the present rule, as it comes after the udātta ि of agni.

So also गाः,ििििः।। Here िि is added by IV. 1. 105, and being िि the words are first acute. The final is anudātta, which becomes svarita. So also िििििि and िििि, the िि and िि are anudātta, the root is accented, the यि of ििििि becomes svarita.

The rule VI. 1. 158, does not change this svarita into an Anudātta, because for the purposes of that rule, the present rule is यसिस्वरिति, or as if it had not taken place (VIII. 2. 1). Therefore both the udātta and the svarita accent are heard.

नादात्तस्वरितोऽयमनागायकाव्यमालनामः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ।। न, उदात्तस्वरित-उद्ययमः, ।।

67 All prohibit the above substitution of svarita, except the ास्याश्च कर्म, कश्यप and गर्भ; when an udātta or a svarita follows the anudātta.

This debars the preceding rule. That anudātta which is followed by an Udātta is उदात्तस्वरिति: or उदात्तस्वरिति।। The word वि means पि in the terminology of ancient Grammarians. That anudātta which is followed by a svarita is called स्वरिति।। These are Bahuvehi compounds. Thus उदात्तस्वरिति: मांिीः—

The word ०ङ्ग is first acute by लिंग accent, before this udātta, the य of these words does not become svarita. So with स्वारतिकोऽ—गार्धयः कः बृत्तिः कः। The word कः is svarita being formed by the लिंग suffix भु (V. 3. 12); before this svarita the preceding य does not become svarita.

Why do we say “except in the opinion of Gārgya, Kāśyapa and Gālava”? Observe गार्धयः कः, गार्धयसङ्क इ। According to their opinion, the svarita change does take place.

The employment of the longer word घुङ्ग instead of the shorter word पर is for the sake of auspiciousness, for the Book has approached the end. The very utterance of the word घुङ्ग is auspicious. All sacred works commence with an auspicious word, have an auspicious word in the middle, and end with an auspicious word. Thus Pāṇini commences his sūtra with the auspicious word वृत्तिः ‘increase’ (in Sūtra I. 1. 1): has the word विवृत ‘the well-wisher’ in the middle (IV. 4. 143), and वृत्त at the end.

The mention of the names of those several Āchāryas is for the sake of showing respect (pujārtham).

अ अ हःतिः ॥ ७० ॥ पदार्थिः आ अ, हःतिः ॥

घुङ्गः ॥ एकोष विवृतो सङ्कः संबृतस्तः विवृतस्तः संबृतः किष्के । भाकारो विवृतः संबृतः भविति ।

68. The अ which was considered to be open (विवृत) in all the preceding operations of this Grammar, is now made contracted (संबृत) ॥

The first अ is here विवृत or open; the second is संबृत or contracted. The open अ is now changed to contracted अ। “In actual use the organ in the enunciation of the short अ is contracted; but it is considered to be open only, as in the case of the other vowels, when the vowel अ is in the state of taking part in some operation of Grammar. The reason for this is, that if the short अ were held to differ from the long अ in this respect, the homogeneous-ness mentioned in I. 1. 9, would not be found to exist between them, and the operation of the rules depending upon that homogeneity would be debarred. In order to restore the short अ to its natural rights, thus infringed throughout the अष्ठाद्धयायि, Pāṇini with oracular brevity in his closing aphorism gives the injunction अ अ; which is interpreted to signify—Let short अ be held to have its organ of utterance contracted, now that we have reached the end of the work in which it was necessary to regard it as being otherwise”. (Dr. Ballantyne).

Thus वृत्तिः, वृत्तिः ॥ In this Grammar, the अ is regarded open or vivṛtta, when operations are performed with it; but in actual pronunciation it is contracted. The long अ and the pluta अ are not meant to be included here in the open short अ; therefore those two are not contracted by this rule. Only
the short ऋ consisting of one मात्रa, with its various modifications is to be taken here. In other words the six shorts ऋ are only taken here, namely ऋ, ऋं, ऋः, ऋे, ऋै, ऋू || For these six short open ऋs, there are substituted six contracted corresponding ऋs See I. 1. 9.

|| गुमे भच्छु ||

10. 10. 98.