THE

ASHTÁDHYÁYÍ OF PÁÑINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

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THE TRANSLATOR.
the doubt, whether the pratyāhāras घर्ष and रष when they are employed in Pāṇini's Grammar are formed with the र of the former or with the र of the latter sūtra, and one might, on that account, consider it impossible to ascertain what Pāṇini intended to denote by घर्ष and रष when he employed these terms. To remove this doubt there is the following paribhāṣā:

"The precise meaning of an ambiguous term is ascertained from interpretation, for a rule, even though it contain an ambiguous term, must nevertheless teach something definite."

Accordingly we learn from interpretation that the term घर्ष except in Sutra I. 1. 69, is formed by means of the र of the first sūtra and that the term रष is formed by means of the र of the subsequent sūtra.
THE
ASHTADHYAYI OF PANINI.

अस्तादध्यायं नमः:
Salutation to the Supreme Spirit.

अन्व शास्त्रानुवादनम् ॥
Now an explanation of words.

The term अन्व “now” in the सूत्रa indicates a commencement, and points out that a dissertation is to be offered on the science of words, viz. Grammar and Philology. The term अनुप्राशन means explanation of any system. This is an अनुप्राशन सूत्रa, and introduces the subject.

An aphorism or सूत्रa is of six kinds, विधि or ‘a definition,’ परिभाषा or the ‘key to interpretation,’ विधि or ‘the statement of a general rule,’ नियम or ‘a restrictive rule,’ अपिकार or ‘a head or governing rule, which exerts a directing or governing influence over other rules,’ and अनुशिष्ठ or ‘extended application by analogy.’

The Pratyahāra Sūtras.

अहं, अहंकारम्, अन्नवत्, अन्नवयम्, अन्नवस्त्र, अन्नवस्त्रम्, अन्नवस्त्रम्, अन्नवस्त्रम्, अन्नवस्त्रम्, अन्नवस्त्रम्, अन्नवस्त्रम्, अन्नवस्त्रम्, अन्नवस्त्रम्, अन्नवस्त्रम्, अन्नवस्त्रम्, अन्नवस्त्रम्, अन्नवस्त्रम्.

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

एः, एम्, एम्, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः, हः.

The same letter य is made use of as अनुप्राश or an indicatory letter both in the sixth सूत्रa लात and in the first यः उः. There arises consequently
ecessary, and in short, making the work a help to the student, desirous of udy ing the Kāśikā in the original.

The Ashtādhyaṭ, as indicated by its name, is divided into ashta 
vdyas, i.e., eight Books. Each of these Books again is divided into four 
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any number of copies, or in any way encouraged us in our undertaking.

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THE PUBLISHER.
PREFACE.

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

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

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

विद्वाने विद्वाने प्रश्नकमाधिक वर्णांको सामान्येन वत्तातिनाममभाला

1. चा, ऐ and ओ are called व्रिद्धि.

This defines the word व्रिद्धि. The letters चा, ऐ and ओ are व्रिद्धि or prosodial measure. The sūtra consists of three words व्रिद्धि, ऐ and ओ. चा means चा, the final ऐ being indicatory only, and is for the sake of the pratyāhāra ओ, and the pratyāhāra ओ means the letters ऐ and ओ.

The indicatory ऐ in चा serves the purpose of showing that the very word चा having two mātrās or prosodial measure, is to be taken. This ऐ also, ins with the succeeding vowels ऐ and ओ by the rule of tapa (I. 1. 70) or that which precedes or succeeds ऐ," and indicates that these vowels must be taken as चा, चा = चा, as गत + बाय = " गय. Here ओ has two mātrās and not four. So also in चा: the vowel ओ is the resultant of चा + ओ has only two, not four, mātrās.

Thus the initial vowels in the following secondary derivative nouns व्रिद्धि forms of their primitive vowels. चा: "bodily", from चा; 'body' चा: "optional", from चा "option"; चा: the son of Upagu", from the चा: meaning "a sage called Upagu." Similarly in चा: "belonging to house" the चा is radical, and is also called व्रिद्धि. The word व्रिद्धि is a sūtra like नितिवांढ़प्रस्थर्ण (VII. 2. 1.) "Let the final ऐ of the guna substitute before the affix चा of the Parasmaipada".

2. चा, ऐ and ओ are called guna.

Each one of the letters चा, ऐ and ओ whether radical or secondary called a guna letter; as the initial vowels in the following.: चा, चा, ओ he
moves"; एति "he comes," यांवानिः "he goes." Here the initial vowels of the roots श्र, ि, and ध्र have been respectively gunated into श्र, ि, and ध्र before the third person, singular termination ति.

The term Guna occurs in sūtras like निरुपिष्ठं: (VII. 3. 82). "Let there be guṇa substitute for the ik of the root निरु "to melt."

इति गुणप्रवृत्तिः || 3 || पद्मनिः इति: || गुण-प्रवृत्ति, (द्रिति: , गुण: ) ||

श्रति: || श्रवित्यः स्वतंत्रम् (श्रवित्यः गुणोऽय) विषयानास्तिक एव ध्याने सर्वस्वव्यायायी ||

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

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

Thus sūtra VII. 3. 84 declares:"when a sārvadhatu or an ārdhadhatu affix follows there is guṇa of the base." Here the sthāni or the original expression which is to be gunated, is not specified, and to complete the sense, the word "ikāh" must be read into the sūtra. The rule then being, "when a S. or an A. affix follows there is guṇa of the ik vowels of the base." The guṇa of ि or वि is ि; of ि or ठ, is ि, of च or छ is चर, of हि is हल; and their Vṛiddhi is ि, वि, चर and हल respectively. Thus नी+बाति = ने+बाति = नि "he leads."

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

The word 'ik' is thus understood in the following rules, and is there qualified by the term चाकु or 'base':-निरोपिष्ठं: (VII. 3. 82) सुन्नेघिष्ठं: (VII. 2. 114) पुनश्च वर्णणम् &c., (VII. 3. 86); शङ्कुद्रव्याम् (VII. 4.11) कङ्कुरोङ्गिष्ठगुण: (VII. 4.16) स्युतरूपेऽकृतं &c., (Vl. 4. 156).

In the following sūtras, the term 'ik' is understood and qualifies the word अंगा or base, ज्ञः (VII. 3. 83), सर्वशास्त्रनाथायाकथायो: (VII. 3, 84).

These sūtras will be explained in their proper places.

The word 'ik' has been used in the sūtra to show that the long खर, ध्र or the diphthongs and ह्र or the consonants, are not to take guṇa or vriddhi by this
rule, as in the following examples यान् “a carriage”, ख्याति “he feels aversion,” उल्लित “confined.”

Here ख्याति is formed by adding the affix ति, third person singular termination, with the class a affix गृह, to the root गृह; as गृह + गृह + ति = गृह + गृह + ति. At this stage, rule VII. 3. 84, would require the guṇa substitution of the vowel of the base before the sārvadhātuka termination गृह; the guṇa substitute of गृह being य, there would be गृह + ति = ख्याति. But this is wrong; the letter य, being not included in the pratyāhāra ik, is not affected by rule VII. 3. 84, and there is no guṇa substitution in this case. Similarly there is no change in the long या of यान्. Thus या + र्य (III. 3. 115) = यान् (VII. 1. 1). Here had there been guṇa by Rule VII. 3. 84, the या of या, would have been changed into या, and the form would have been यान् which is wrong. But it is not so, as या is not an र्य vowel. So also उन्म + इ इता = उल्लिता. Here, there is no guṇa substitution in the place of the consonant य.

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

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

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

न धातुकेष् आधातुके || ५ || पद्यति || न, धातु-केष्, आधातुके, ( गुणबद्धि ) ||

कुम: || धातुकेष् धातुस्व लोपो धातु-धातुके तवाधातुके का: धातु-धातुके न भवन: ||

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

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

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

The word धातु “root” has been used in the sūtra, in order to indicate that the exception does not apply where there is an elision of an anubandha or of an affix. As in नर्भ + हता = नर + हता = नवभ. Here the indicatory letter ध has been elided, but that does not prevent garnation. Similarly in रेव the affix विच is added to the root रित “to injure.” Thus रित + विच (III. 2. 75.) = रित + ह (I. 3. 2. and 3.) = रित + द (VI. 1. 67.) Here the affix ह is elided, but nevertheless, the guna substitute must take place in रित. Thus we have रित + द = रित (VII. 3. 86 and I. 1. 62) = रेव (VIII. 2. 39).

The word ārdhadhātuka has been used to indicate that a sārvadhātuka affix which causes the elision of a portion of a root, does not prevent guna or vṛiddhi as in रोतिविच, (Rig Veda IV. 58. 3) “he roars much.” स + ध = रोव (III. 1. 22). रोव + विच = रोव + ति (II. 4. 74).
affix लितः causes the elision of र, a portion of the root. The guṇa substitution however takes place, and we have रोरोङ्ग +ए +लित (VII. 3. 94) = रोरवील, the augment ई पर being added by sūtra VII. 3. 94.

The word “िकः” of the previous sūtra is understood in this sūtra also. The लिक letters only are not guṇated or vriddhied before such ārdhadhātukā affixes; the other vowels may do so. Thus in अनानि the equation is as follows:—य + ब्रह्म + विष्णु = य + ब्रह्म + इ (VI. 4. 33). Here the ārdhadhātukā affix विष्णु has caused a portion of the root ब्रह्म, to be suppressed, vīsa, the letter य has been elided. But nevertheless the य of ब्रह्म is vriddhied before विष्णु because य is not included in the pratyāhāra ik; and the exception contained in the present sūtra only applies to the ik letters. So also रक्तु + ध (III. 3.18) = रक्तु + य (VI. 4. 27.) = राम: (VII. 2. 116, and VII. 3. 52).

कृक्कितिच्छ || पदानि || नित्तु-कित्तु-हित्तु-च || (गृहास्त्री, न) ||

इति: || कृक्कितिच्छ वे गुणवहीर माणुवस्ते न भवति: ||

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

Thus the past participle terminations क and क्रमु are ārdhadhātukā affixes, which would, by the general rule VII. 3. 84, have caused guṇa, but as their indicatory letter क is इत्य, the real terminations being, र and क्रमु, they do not cause guṇa. Therefore, when these terminations are added to a root, the ik of the root is not guṇated. Thus with the root त्रि “to collect” we have चित्त: or चित्तवान्, श्रु, “to hear,” भुव: , भुववान् , श्री; “to fear” भीत: , भीतवान्.

Similarly the terminations क् कैलिम, क्रमु कालेन, क्षवा, कित्तु, &c., are all कित्तु terminations ‘the indicatory letters of all being क्र, the real affixes being य, एनु, क्स एनु, &c. &c. Before these, the root is not guṇated. Thus we have from श्रु “to bear” श्रुत्य, from चित्र “to pierce” चित्रविन्ति.

The terms कित्तु &c., of this sūtra are in the locative or seventh case. The force of this case termination here is that of चित्रविन्ति or cause, that is the guṇa or vriddhi which would otherwise have been caused, does not take place, if an affix is कित्तु , चित्र, कित्रु . Thus all ārdhadhātukā and sārvadhātukā affixes cause guṇation of the final ik of the inflective base (VII. 3. 84.) Thus the Sārvadhātukā affix श्रु ( य ) in the following:—

श्रु + श्रु + चित्र = श्री + य + चित्र = चित्रति “he is.” Similarly sārvadhātukā and ārdhadhātukā affixes cause the guṇa substitution of the short penultimative ik of the inflective base (VII. 3. 85.) Thus इत्य + इत्य + चित्र = बौधमति.

The general force of the locative case in an aphorism is to cause the operation directed, on the expression immediately preceding it (I. 1. 66.) If the force of the locative case in the present sūtra were also that as
explained in I. 1. 66, then the interpretation would be this:—An affix having an
indicatory k, g or \( \hat{u} \), would not cause the guna substitution of the vowel ik,
immediately preceding it. The case of the penultimate short ik will not be
covered by it. Then though the rule may apply to चि + कत = चित : “collected”
it would not apply to मिन्द्र + कत ; there would be nothing to bar the guna sub-
titution of the penultimate र of मिन्द्र. This however is prevented by explaining
the locative as one of “occasion” and thus मिन्द्र + कत = मित्र : “broken.”

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

Similarly the affix, ड़, is a डिस्वु affix, the real suffix being ड, the ठ being merely indicatory.
Therefore when ड़ is added to a root, there is no gunation or vriddhiing. Thus we have from डिस्वु “to know” डिस्वु:

Similarly by I. 2. 4, all sārvadhātuka affixes that are not marked
by an indicatory ग्, are treated as डिस्वु. Thus the second person singular termin-
ation तस्ति is डिस्वु, and we have डिस्वुति : “they two collect,” similarly डिस्वुति,
“they collect,” ग्स्वु + कत = ग्स्वु : “cleansed,” ग्स्वुति “they cleanse.”

The phrase “when indicated by the term इक” is understood in this śūtra.
The prohibition, therefore, applies to ik vowels only, and not to all vowels
in general. Thus by III. 1. 30, the root कन् “to desire” takes the affix विद्; of this affix the letters \( \hat{u} \) and न are indicatory, the real affix न is न.
The force of न is to cause vriddhi (VII. 2. 116). The indicatory न does not
prevent such vriddhi, as the letter न of कन् is not included in ik. Thus we have
कामिन् + चालेन = कामिनिक + चलेन = कामालेन “he desires.”

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

The indicatory न of the verbal tense affixes \( \text{i.e., } \text{वि, लिः, लिः, तु, तृज्,} \)
is an exception to this rule of विद्. This is an inference deduced from
III. 4. 104 which declares “when the sense is that of benediction, then the
augment वाशुत्र of विद् is as if it were distinguished by an indicatory क.”
There would have been no necessity of making वाशुत्र a कित्, if विद् were a
विद्, but the very fact of making वाशुत्र a कित् indicates by implication or is
जापक ग that the final न of विद्, लिः &c. does not make these tense affixes कित्. Thus in लिः or Imperfect tense we have विद्वित्रि “he collected” ( विद्वित्र
+ लिः = विद्वित्रित + लिः = विद्वित्रिन + लिः = विद्वित्रियम्.)
6. The guna and vṛiddhi substitutions, which would otherwise have presented themselves, do not however come, in the place of the vowels of didhi ‘to shine,’ and vevī ‘to go,’ and of the augment called Ṛ.

The roots दी and वरी never take the guna or vṛiddhi substitutions under ordinary circumstances. Thus the affix तुल्य generally causes vṛiddhi substitution when added to any root; and so the affix युढ़ causes guna. But these affixes when applied to the verbs didhi and vevi, never cause vṛiddhi or guna substitution. As दी + तुल्य = दी + युढ़ (VII. 1. 1) = दीयुढ़ (VI. 1. 77). So also दी + तुल्य = दी + अन्न (VII. 1. 1) = दीअन्न. Similarly from वरी we have अन्नवेदन्त and अन्नवेद्य. In the Vedas, however, these verbs take guna. Thus अन्नवेद्य (Rig Ved. X. 98. 7), and अन्नवेद्य (Rig Ved. V. 40. 5). These two verbs are confined generally to the Vedic literature, and the present rule therefore, seems to be an unnecessary prohibition; as they take guna in spite of such prohibition.

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

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

हःहःअन्नरा: संयोग: || पदानी || हः:; अन्नरा:; संयोग: ||
हः || निजनारीयर्जुरिजुर्वयहिता: हिजोज्यङ्गिः हः: संयोग: संहः भवन्ति समुदायः
संहः ||

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

This defines the word sanyoga. The sūtra consists of three words, हः: the plural of the pratyāhāra हः, denoting all the consonants, अन्नरा: means “without any separation or space” and संयोग: which is the word defined, and means “conjunct consonants.” So that the sūtra means, conjunct consonants are those consonants between which there is no heterogeneous separating vowel and which are pronounced jointly, such as क in the word कुकुट, “cock.” The word “sanyoga” applies to the whole of the conjunct consonants jointly and not to them separately. The plural number shows that the conjunction may be of two or more consonants.
Why do we say "consonant"? If two vowels come together they will not be called "sanyoga". Thus तितुव्यां "a sieve umbrella," the two vowels य and ण have come together unseparated by any consonant; yet they are not called sanyoga, otherwise the final ण would have been rejected by VIII. 2. 23 "there is elision of the final of that pada which ends in a sanyoga letter." Why do we say "unseparated by a vowel"? If consonants separated by a vowel were also called sanyoga, then in the sentence पचित पनसम्, the syllable तम् would be called sanyoga, and by VIII. 2. 29, the initial स would be elided.

मुखानिषिकावचनं जन्यानायिक: || 8 || पदानि || मुखानिषिकावचनं, अनुनासिक: ||
हृति: || मुखानिषिकानावचनं मुखानिषिका, तथा य उच्चारिते वर्णः यो जन्यानायिकसंज्ञी भवति।

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The ब्रह्म or places or portions of the mouth by contact with which
various sounds are formed are chiefly the following:—1. क्रूः “throat” 2.

The प्रयोग or quality or effort is of two sorts primarily, श्रयोत्तर: “internal” and वाहः: “external.” The first is again sub-divided into five parts:—

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

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

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

4. श्रयोत्तर विशुद्ध or slight opening. The letters े, े, े, े belong to
this class. Some however place the vowels and े &c., into one group and call
them all vivēta.

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

The अभ्यांतर mean the mode of articulation preparatory to
the utterance of the sound, the भाया-प्रयात्मक mean the mode of articulation
at the close of the utterance of the sound.

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

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

The second division of letters according to bāhyā prayatna is into:

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

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

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

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

Similarly क and छ though their paryaya is the same i.e., sprishta, yet their chastra being different, one being guttural and the other palatal, are not savarṇa.

There is exception to this rule in the case of क्र and ल, which though having different chastra are still called savarṇa by virtue of the vārttika of Kāṭyāyana; “the homogeneousness of क्र and ल, one with another, should be stated.” Thus होट्रय + लकार: = होट्रयकार; here क्र and ल have coalesced into long ल by rules of sandhi, on the assumption that they are savarṇa letters.

The word savarṇa occurs in sūtras like क्रक: समकेतं हिर्यः: (VI. 1. 101).

Why do we say “the place of pronunciation”? So that there may not be homogeneous relationship between क्रवत्व and ल whose prayatna is the same but whose paryaya is different. What is the harm if we make them savarṇa? Then in words like न्त्रा and न्त्रुत्र, the ल would be elided, if it be held homogeneous with ल, by VII. 4. 65, “there is optional elision of ल preceded by a consonant, when a homogeneous ल follows.”
Why do we say "effort"? That there may be no homogeneity between ः and the palatals, and ः and ः, whose organ of pronunciation is the same, but whose prayatna is different. What harm if it be so? Then in क्रस्कक्षम- 
तिः, the ः would be elided before ः by the rule already referred to, VIII. 4. 65.

नाजु संबैः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ न । अत्र हृतैः (सर्वांस्) ॥ 
श्रति: इ वृत्तवाय समावायं अनुज्ञानं परस्परं सर्वांसंसः न मवतः ॥

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

This सूत्र lays down an exception to the former सूत्र. There can be no homogeneity or सवार्ण relationship between vowels and consonants, though their व्रस्तिः and प्रसार may be the same. Thus ः and ः have the same व्रस्तिः namely तात्रु ‘palate,’ and the same प्रसार: namely vivrita, but still they are not to be called सवार्ण. Thus in वणडहस्त, उषितायतं &c., the letters ः and ः in the first example, and ः and ः in the second not being homogeneous letters; there is no combination or sandhi, which would otherwise have taken place.

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

ईदूःद्रिववचनसू प्रश्नः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईदूः जार्ण-पुर्ण 

\textbf{व्रस्ति:} ॥ ईदूः ज्ञेत् इवेवमेव द्रिवचनः शवस्त्रं प्रगुणं सम्बं नवतिः ॥

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

As a general rule, Sanskrit allows of no hiatus in a sentence. If a word ends in a vowel, and the next word begins with a vowel, the two vowels coalesce, according to certain rules. This is called sandhi. But pragrihyas are exceptions to this sandhi, “they are certain terminations, the final vowels of which are not liable to any sandhi rules.” (VI. 1. 125). This सूत्र gives three of these terminations, \textit{viz.}, the duals of nouns or verbs ending in ः (ईदूः), ः (उणः), or ः (एनः). Thus:—कवी इनो “these two poets,” so also वायु ह्रति “two winds;” माले ह्रति “these two garlands.” पवेशे ह्रति “they two cook” पवेशे ह्रति “you two cook.” Here according to the general rule of sandhi, the final ः of कवी and the initial ः of इनो ought to have coalesced into an ः, but it is not so, because कवी is the nominative dual of कवि.
Why do we say ending in न, य and घ? Because when the dual ends in any other vowel this rule will not apply. As युक्ति + घञ्ज = युक्तिग्नञ्ज, “these two trees” (VI. 1. 78). Of course it follows from the definition, that दे, क, or र of the dual number only are pragrihya; if these vowels terminate any other number they will not be pragrihya but will follow the general rule of sandhi, as कुमारी (1. s.) + घञ्ज = कुमारग्नञ्ज, “the girl is here” (VI. 1. 77).

Vārt: The prohibition of मनीष &c., should be stated in treating of the pragrihya nature of दे, क &c. Thus मनी (two gems) + घञ्ज = मनीघञ्ज “like two gems.” So also मन्यतीष “like a couple,” मन्यतीष “like man and wife,” राजसार घञ्ज “like heaven and earth.” Some say that this वार्तika is unnecessary. Because the final member of the above words is not घञ्ज, but the particle घ only; which has the same meaning as इवa.

अद्वैतात्मिक घञ्ज || 12 || पदानिति || अद्वैत, मात्र (इद्देत् प्रश्चाथूम) ||

यवात् || आदरस्य: बनन्धयः दो मकारस्तात्मात्र प्रेष्देत्रम् प्रश्चाथा श्रवण्य: शिश्रग्नञ्ज ||

12. (The same letters) after the घ of the pronoun घञ्ज are Pragrihya.

In the pronoun घञ्ज, the dual termination in दे, क or र will be pragrihya by force of the last sūtra, but the present sūtra makes this addition, that in the case of घञ्ज, all terminations ending in दे, क or र preceded by घ, of whatever number they may be, will be pragrihya. As a matter of fact, there are only two such terminations satisfying the above conditions namely मनी and घञ्ज. The rule may therefore be put in the following words of Dr. Max Muller—“The terminations of मनी and घञ्ज nom., plur., masc. and nom. dual of the pronoun घञ्ज are pragrihya.” As मनी मन्यता: “Those horses,” and घञ्ज घञ्जाति: There is no example of the word adas ending in घ.

Why do we say “of the word adas”? The letters दे, क, घ following after the घ of any other word will not be pragrihya. As मनी + घञ्ज = मन्यतञज “this sami tree.”

Why do we say “after the letter घ”? Because in the example घञ्जाते + घञ्ज = घञ्जाते घञ्ज, “those here,” the घ, preceded not by घ but by the क of घञ्जाचर (V. 3. 71) is not pragrihya, which it would have been by the influence of सुध 11, which includes घ as well as दे and क, and from which the word dual is not supplied here, else this rule would be useless.

घ || 13 || पदानिति || घ, (प्रश्चाथूम) ||

यवात् || घ इद्देत् प्रश्चाथान् नवाति ||

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

In the Vedic Sanskrit, the declension of nouns sometimes differs somewhat from the ordinary Sanskrit. One of the peculiar Vedic terminations, which
replace the ordinary declensional terminations is called श्रेष्ठ (VII. I. 39.)
Thus श्रेष्ठाकाशहस्ती.
Of this substitute श्रेष्ठ, the initial श्र is indicative, the real suffix being ह.
This final ह is a pragrihya.

In the sacred literature there is only one example of this pragrihya, as given above; while in imitation of this, we have in secular writing phrases as, ग्रहहि, ग्रहहि, ग्रहहि, &c.

निपात एकायतानु ॥ अनाख् ॥ पदार्थी ॥ निपातः, एकाठः,
अनाख् । (प्रश्नस्मी) ॥

इति: || एकायातानु एकाठू निपातो ब एकाठू चाङ्गवालितः स भर्ग्यांसंतो भवति ||

14. A particle I. 4. 56 consisting of a single vowel, with the exception of the particle श्राह् is a Pragrihya.

This sūtra consists of three words:—निपातः “particle,” एकाठू “consisting of one vowel,” अनाखू “with the exception of श्राह्.”

All such particles technically called nipāta (I. 4. 56) which consist of a simple vowel without any consonant, are pragrihya and therefore are not liable to the rules of sandhi. असि रहि “Oh, Indra” उस्में “O arise.”

It follows from the above definition that those nipātas which consist of two or more letters, vowel and consonant, are not pragrihya, e. g. म श्र श्र श्र मन्यते श्राङ्गीरः.

श्राह् which is not a pragrihya, has four significations:— As a diminutive particle when joined to adjectives and nouns, as श्रा + उपाधिः = श्रोपाधिः “little hot, tepid” (2) as a prefix to verbs, it expresses the senses of “near” “near to,” and with verbs of “motion,” “taking” &c., it shows the reverse of the action, as ग्रह ‘to go,’ ग्रहत्तम ‘to come;’ श्रा + उषि = उषि, (3) as showing the limit inceptive (श्राभिविधिः) “from,” “ever since,” as श्राज्ञम: “ever since his birth,” (4) as showing the limit exclusive (मयासा), “till” “until” as श्रा + अध्यवनार्द = अध्यवनार्द, “until the reading begins.” When the particle श्रा has not any one of the above four senses and is used in expressing regret &c., it is a pragrihya, as श्रा एवं किलालीतू “Ah! such there once was,” श्रा एवं मन्यते. “Oh! do you think so.”

The word एकाठू in this aphorism has a peculiar meaning. It means “consisting of one vowel and nothing else.” In other words, the vowels themselves when used as निपात, e. g. श्रा, उ, इ &c. But the term एकाठू has a wider significiation than that given to it in this sūtra. It means “a word or a portion of a word consisting of one vowel which can be pronounced at once”—in other words एकाठू means a “syllable.” In that sense the words म, नि, वि &c., will also be एकाठू, but not so here. Therefore the rule of sandhi will apply
to them, thus यान्त्र शाक्लयम्. See शूरा VI. 1. 1. where the word एकाच means a monosyllable.

Why do we say "a nipāta?" Because if the single vowel is not a particle, but something else, an affix and, then it will not be a pragrīhya, as the final च in चकार "he did," is the affix of third person perfect tense, and is liable to sandhi; as चकारात.

ओत् ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओत्, (प्रशूलम्)॥

श्रवणि: ॥ चोरतो यो विषयः स प्रमणे संस्कृतम्॥

15. The final यो of a particle is a pragrīhya.

This sūtra consists of one word ओत् the final य is a surplusage. The words "pragrīhya" and "nipāta" are to be supplied from the preceding sūtras to complete the sense. The meaning is that those particles which end in यो though consisting of several letters, are pragrīhya. As योहो अपेक्षी "Halloo, go away."

सम्मुद्री शाक्लयेन्यतानां ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्मुद्री, शाक्लयम्,
हृति, अनार्यः, (प्रशूलम्)॥

हृति: ॥ सम्मुद्रि निीमति य चोरारः स शाक्लयवाचार्ज्ञसि संस्कृतम् प्रमणे संस्कृतम् भवति, हृति श्रवणे अनार्ये चविविके परसः॥

16. The final यो of the vocative singular (II. 3. 49) before the word हृति according to Śākalya, in secular or non-vedic literature, is pragrīhya.

This sūtra gives the opinion of the Rishi Śākalya, so that it is an optional rule. Thus both forms हृति (formed according to the general rule of sandhi) and योहृति (where यो is pragrīhya) are correct.

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

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

उष्ण: ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उष्ण, (प्रशूलम् शाक्लयेन्यतानां)॥

हृति: ॥ उष्ण: प्रमणे संस्कृतः हृति इसी शाक्लयवाचार्ज्ञसि संस्कृतम्॥

17. The particle उष्ण before ती, according to Śākalya is a Pragrīhya.

This sūtra consists of the single word उष्ण meaning उ. According to the same Rishi Śākalya, उष्ण is a pragrīhya, before हृति, in modern Sanskrit. This is also an optional rule. Thus उ हृति or विविति.
18. The particle ओ � replaces उ in non-vedic literature, and it is a pragrihyya in the opinion of Sakalya.

Before the word हाति the word उम्म is replaced sometimes by ओ the long nasal ओ. Thus ओ + हाति = ओ हाति or विति.

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

19. The final ओ and ज of words giving the sense of the locative case are pragrihyya.

This sūtra finds its scope in the Vedic literature generally. There is a sūtra (VII. 1. 39) which declares that “in the Vedic Sanskrit, the case-affixes sup are often replaced either by ओ (1. s.), or are altogether elided, or they are changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior letter, or या, or यात्र, or शो, or या, या, या, or या, or या, or या takes their place.” Let us take the example where a case-affix is changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior. Thus the case-affix of the seventh case is हि (हि). In forming the 7. s. of तन्नु “body,” we have तन्नु + हि. The हि will be changed into a homogeneous letter with ज and we have तन्नु + हि = तन्नु “in the body,” as, यात्रायो मामकितवृ (for मामकितवृ तन्नु).

This is the Vedic form, the secular form being तन्नु. Similarly शौरि + हि = गौरि “on the Gauri,” as गौरि गौरि चापितित: (Rig Veda IX. 12. 3). It is in such cases, therefore, that the long ओ and ओ are used in the sense of locative, and are pragrihyya.

It is only long ओ and ओ which are pragrihyya, and not any other vowel, though used in the sense of locative. Thus by the same aphorism (VII. 1. 39) ओ (ओ) may be employed to denote the seventh case-affix. Thus ओम + हि = ओम + हि = ओम ‘in the fire,’ as, ओम ओम ओम भावति य इमार लुमारो विकार (Rig Veda V. 37. 5). Here ओम though in the locative case, its final is not pragrihyya. Therefore ओम + हि = ओम हि.

The ओ and ओ must be of the 7th case. Therefore ओ + ओ (3rd s.) = ओ (letter homogeneous with the prior) = ओ ओ (with wisdom). Here ओ is in the sense of the instrumental case and is not pragrihyya. Thus ओ ओ = ओ ओ.
The word अर्थ is used in the aphorism, in order to exclude the application of this rule to cases like the following. Thus in forming the compound of वापी “in the well” and अर्थ “horse,” the case-affix is elided, and we get वापी + अर्थ. Here, no doubt, the word वापी is in the locative case, though the case-affix is elided; but we cannot say that the long अ of वापी has the sense of the locative. Here, therefore, we shall have sandhi; as, वापी अर्थ: “the horse near the well.” In other words, the present aphorism is not to apply to the final अ or क of words standing as the prior member of a compound term (पुर्व-पदा); for words like वापी &c., in the above example, can never, by themselves and alone, denote the locative case; while words like शैली, formed in the way described already, give the sense of the locative, even alone, though they be placed anywhere in a sentence.

राघवदार्पणं ॥ २० ॥ पदार्थम् ॥ द्रो, तार, चु, अद्रापृ ॥

ब्रह्म: ॥ राष्ट्रानुवर्तको धातवो धातृपूच्छ हृदै, हास्यपौर्णिम चुनासकानुच्छिन्ती ॥

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

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

The धार verbs are the following:—कुसूम् “to give,” as अधिकारि; सपू “to give,” as, मातिशाला; गो “to cut,” as, मातिशालि; गोय “to pity” as, गतिश्वने, कुसू “to place” as, अधिकारि, गोय “to feed” as, अधिकारि.

In the above examples, because of the verbs being धार, the अ of अधिकारि is changed into धार by VIII. 4. 17.

Similarly गह “to cut” and गह “to clean” not being called धार, rules VII. 4. 46 and 47 do not apply to them. Thus ग + अ = गान्ते ‘what is cut,’ as, गान्ते गहः. So also प्रकाशन “washed” as, प्रकाशन मुखः “a bright face.” But with दार “to give,” &c. दार + अ = दार्थ + अ (VII. 4. 46) = दार्थ: “given;” so also we have द + श + अ = प्रति (VII. 4. 47). The word धार occurs in sūtra VI. 4. 66, &c. The word दार includes also daip by the paribhāṣaḥ given under III. 4. 19, दे changed into धार by VI. 1. 45.

विद्वानवदेकस्मस्य ॥ २१ ॥ पदार्थम् ॥ आदि-अंत-वल, पुक्सिन्द ॥

इत्यि: ॥ विद्वानवदेकस्मस्य एकस्मिन्ति कार्ये नरति ॥

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

This is an atideśa sūtra and consists of four words, आदि “beginning,” अंत “end,” वल “like,” एकस्मिन्ति “in one;” the literal translation being “beginning is end-like in one.” The affix वल has the force of the locative, and the
meaning is "on the beginning," and "on the end," i.e., let an operation be performed on a single letter, as upon an initial or upon a final. Thus by III. 1. 3 an affix has udāṭta or acute accent on its initial vowel. Thus the affix tavya has accent on the first ā, and we have क्रंधनम्. But when an affix consists of a single vowel, it is itself the beginning and the end, and, as such, will have the accent. As in ब्रीवराम् auपगावम the last 广阔 has the accent, which 广阔 represents the affix अनु.

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

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

रमाम्: ॥ २२ ॥ पदार्थ: ॥ रमाम्-लसम, ओ: ॥

• ब्रधि: ॥ रमाम् लसम् हस्तवेऽपि प्रायम् ओ संज्ञी भवतः।

22. The affixes रमाम् and लसम are called ओ.

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

Thus the words कुमारिका and कुमारिकम are formed by adding the affixes ओ and ओम to the word कुमारी 'a girl,' whose long ह is shortened before these affixes by सूत्रa 43 of the third chapter of the 6th Book.

बहुगणवत्त्तिः संख्या ॥ २३ ॥ पदार्थ: ॥ बहु-गण-वत्ती-हिः

संख्या ॥

• ब्रधि: ॥ बहुगणवत्त्तिः हस्तवेऽसंख्यासंख्या भवितः।
• बालिकम्॥ ब्रह्मर्गोपपत्तिः पुराणपत्तिः संख्यासंख्या संख्यातिः संख्या, तमाग्नवृत्ति विध्येर्म्।

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

These are certain words, besides the ordinary numerals, having some peculiarity of declension. The words like बदु ‘many,’ and गया ‘class,’ and those that have the affixes वत् and वत् after them, belong to this class. The letters र and द of वृत्त and वत् are दन्त, or indicative, the actual affixes being वत् and वत्.

The word saṅkhyā means “numerals,” and this class contains, among others, the Sanskrit numerals. The words formed by adding वृत्त are generally compound pronouns, e.g., तावत् “so much,” बावत् “as much,” तावत् “so much,” similarly words formed by the affix दत्, e.g., कवत “how many,” तवत “so many,” वत् “as many.”

Thus दृष्ट + कल्पन (V. 4. 17) = दृष्टकल्प: “many times” the affix कल्पन being added only to saṅkhyā words in the sense of the repetition of the action. So also दृष्ट + धार (V. 3. 42) = दृष्टसार “in many ways.” Here also the affix धार is added by virtue of दृष्ट being a saṅkhyā. Similarly दृष्टक (V. 1. 22) “purchased for a big sum,” दृष्टम (V. 4. 43) “manifold.” So also गायकुप, गायम, गायक, गायम; so also तावत्कुल, तावत्म, तावत्चर; कतिकुल, कतिध, कतिक, कतिच.

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

Vart.—The word बादु “half” when standing as a first term in a compound number which takes an affix giving the sense of an ordinal, gets the designation of saṅkhyā, for the purposes of the application of the rules of samāsa and of the affix कत्. The ordinal affixes or pūraṇa pratayayas are like त्रि (V. 2. 48), द्वि (V. 2. 49), त्रि (V. 2. 51), &c. Thus त्रि “eleventh,” पंचम “fifth,” चतुर्थ “fourth,” &c. Similarly we have बादुपंचमश्री: “purchased for 4½ baskets” (a dvigu). Here बादु + पंचमा (an ordinal) = बादुपंचम, a bahuvrihi compound meaning 4½, viś., that in which half is the fifth term. आदुपंचम: आदु: कीस् = आदुपंचमश्री: the taddhita affixes श्री and श्रम required by V. 1. 19 and 26 being elided by V. 1. 28.

Here, there is compounding (dvigu) by taking आदुपंचम as a saṅkhyā, and then applying sūtra II. 1. 51. The samāsa here is in the sense of taddhita, and this compounding is only possible by rules (II. 1. 50 and 51), when आदुपंचम gets the appellation of saṅkhyā. Having got this name, it forms dvigu compound in the sense of the taddhita affixes श्रम and श्रम (V. 1. 26). The word बादु takes both these affixes in the sense of “being
bought with.” Thus श्रावस्यक्ष्य and श्रावयुक्त both mean “bought with a measure called शुर्प.” In the above compound of यथार्थसंयोगः: the sense is that of the above-named taddhita; but the affixes have been elided by V. 1. 28 after dvigu compounds. So also we have यथार्थसंयोग: by applying the affix कन्न्. For these two purposes, namely samâsa and the application of कन्न्, compounds of ardha, like ardha-pañchama are treated as sañkhyâ.

24. The Sankhyâs having ष or न as their final are called shat.

This sûtra defines the term ष which is a subdivision of the larger group sañkhyâ. Those sañkhyâs which end in ष or न are called ष. The word sañkhyâ is understood in this sûtra, because the word षान्तः is in the feminine gender, showing that it qualifies sañkhyâ which is also feminine.

The numerals that end in ष or न are six, namely पञ्च, ‘five,’ षष्ठ ‘six,’ सप्त, ‘seven,’ अष्ट, ‘eight,’ नव, ‘nine,’ दश, ‘ten.’

It is one of the peculiarities of ष words that they lose their nominative and accusative plural terminations (VII. 1. 22). Thus ष तिहस्ति, पञ्च गच्छत्वि.

The word ब्रजत् in the sûtra shows that the letters ष and न must be aupâdaśika i.e., must belong to the words as originally enunciated and not added afterwards as affix &c. Thus in ब्रजानि ‘hundreds,’ सहस्रानि ‘thousands,’ ब्रह्मानि ‘of eights’ the न is not radical, but an augment, and therefore they are not ष and the nominative and accusative plural terminations are not elided; as गङ्गानि + ष = गङ्गानि &c.

25. And the sankhyâs ending with the affix datī are called shat.

This sûtra enlarges the scope of the definition of ष by including in it, words formed by ब्रजत्. By sûtra 22, words in ब्रज are already sañkhyâ; by this they are also ष. Therefore we have कति पलिन्ति, ‘how many are reading,’ कति पर्यय ‘see how many.’ Here कति has lost its plural termination by VII. 1. 22.

26. The affixes kta and ktavatu are called Nîsthâ.
This defines the nishṭha affixes, that is to say, the affixes of the past participle. The actual affixes are न, ठतु, the क and ज being indicatory. They being विद्यमान are liable to all the rules applicable to विद्यमान affixes, such as rule I. 1. 5. Thus we have, कृत:, कृतस्, पुजः, पुजस्त्.

The force of the indicatory ज in कटवति is, by IV. 1. 6, to indicate that in forming the feminine of nouns ending in an affix having an indicatory vowel of ūk pratayahāra (उ, च, ख), the affix हिः (ह) must be added. Thus कृतस् (masc.), कृतस् (fem.). The word nishṭha occurs in sūtra VII. 2. 14.

सर्वनामार्थ सर्वनामानि ॥ २७ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ सर्वे-आदिनि,
सर्वनामार्थि ॥

हृदि ॥ सर्वनामार्थि सर्वनामानि सर्वनामार्थि सर्वनामार्थि अन्विति ॥

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

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

सर्वे 'all,' विश्व 'all,' उल 'two,' उल्य 'both,' words formed by the affix उत्तर such as कृत 'which of two,' words formed by the affix र्तम as कृत 'which of many,' बन्ध 'other,' बन्ध 'either,' हात 'other,' लघु 'other,' श्व 'other,' नेस Half, सम 'all,' सिन 'whole,' त्यस 'he, she, it,' हृदि 'He, she, it,' त्यस 'who,' एतस 'this,' हसन 'it,' ब्रह्म 'that,' एक 'one,' हिः 'two,' योग 'you,' अस्तम 'I,' अभु 'you,' तु 'what.' So also पूर्व 'east,' प्रीत 'prior,' पर 'subsequent,' यप्र 'west or posterior,' श्वसन 'south or right,' उत्तर 'north or inferior,' subsequent,' अप्र 'other or inferior,' अधि 'west or inferior;' are sarvanāmas when they imply a relation in time or place, as shown above, and not when they are names. So also श्व when it does not mean a 'kinsman or a treasure,' but means 'own.' So also अन्ततर when it means 'outer,' or 'an under or lower garment' is a sarvanāma.

There are certain peculiarities in the declension of sarvanāma words. Thus श्व though ending in य, is not declined like त्य which also ends in य, the plural of श्व being श्वेत, that of त्य being त्यतः. Similarly the dative singular नरायन, नरायणः; the abl. sing. नरादेव, नरादेवः; the loc. sing. नो, नास्ति; the Gen. pl. नरादेवः, नरादेवः &c.

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

There are two ख in the above list, namely क्रत्र and ख, having the 
same meaning, and both ending in ख. But the final क्र of one is udatta, 
and of the other anudatta. Some give one क्रत्र only and not the other, 
and say that both have anudatta accent. The word सम is a sarvanâma, 
when it is synonymous with the word सळ ‘all,’ and not when it means ‘equality.’ 
When it has the latter sense of ‘equality,’ it is declined like नर i.e. like 
ordinary words ending in ख, as Pâṇini himself indicates in I. 3. 10, where he 
uses the regular genitive plural समानापुण, meaning ‘among’ or of equals.’ As 
a pronominal the genitive plural would have been समनापुण.

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

विभाषा दिक्षसासे बहुव्रीहः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, 
रूपसमासे, बहुव्रीहः, ( स्वायसमानि, सवेनामानि ) ॥

इत्यतः ॥ दिक्षसासे दिक्षसासे हिरण्यविश्वसासे समासे बहुव्रीहो विभाषा स्वायसमानि सवेनाम 
संज्ञानि अन्वयः ॥

28. The above words are optionally sarvana-
nama when they occur in a bahuvrihi compound signi-
fying direction (II. 2. 26.)

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

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

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

Why do we say “in the bahuvrīhi”? So that there may be no option in the dvandva compound. Thus दक्षिणाःपूर्वाः “of the south, north and east.” The prohibition in the case of dvandva by rule 31 is absolute and invariable.

न बहुध्रीहि ॥ २९ ॥ पदाविनि ॥ न, बहुध्रीहि, ( सर्वोद्रोणि, सर्व-नामाविनि, समासे ) ॥

व्रतिः ॥ अवाही समासे सर्वोद्रोणि सर्वनामसंहारि न भयन्ति ॥

29. The words sarva &c., are not sarvanāma when occurring in a bahuvrīhi compound.

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

This sūtra introduces thus an exception to sūtra 27. In bahuvrīhi or possessive compounds, the nature of which compounds will be described
later on, the above mentioned words are not pronominals, and must follow
the ordinary rule of declension. Thus the compound विशविव्रत meaning
‘beloved of all’ is a bahuvrthi compound of विव्रत ‘beloved,’ and विशव ‘all,’
(which is a sarvanámá). The declension of this compound will follow the
general rule. Thus, in the dative singular, we have विशविव्रताय, though the
dative singular of विशव by itself is विशवस्य, like other pronominals. So also
पियान्नयाय “to him who is beloved of both.” So also द्वन्नयाय, द्वन्नयाय &c.

Similarly in bahuvrthi compounds, these words not being treated as
pronominals, they do not take also the special affix चक्रु, but the general
affix कनु. As, दशकंतकितो, मकंतकितो (V. 3. 70).

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

वृत्तियासमासे ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ वृत्तिया-समासे, ( स्वांशीनि
सवनासासि, न, ) “

• वृत्ति: ॥ वृत्तियासमासे सवनासीनि सवनासासि न भवसि ॥

30. In Instrumental Determinative Com-
pounds the words sarva &c. are not sarvanámá.

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

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

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

द्वन्द्वे च II 31 II पदानि II द्वन्द्वे, च, (सवादीनि, सवनामानि, समाचे, न) II

वृत्ति: II द्वन्द्वे च समाचे स्वादीनि सवनामानसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति II

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

This sutra mentions another exception. In collective compounds the above words are not sarvanâma. Dvandva is a compound in which two words are simply joined together, the compound taking the terminations of the dual or plural according to the number of compounded words, or the terminations of the singular, being treated as a collective term. Thus, the compound वर्णान्थेवति means, वर्ण ‘the castes,’ अन्पम ‘the orders’ and इत्यर ‘the others’. The word इत्यर in this compound is not to be treated as a sarvanâma, but an ordinary word. Therefore, in the genitive plural we have:—वर्णान्थेवतिरणामः and not इत्यरणाम्. So also पूर्वतपाणाम् ‘of the priors and the posteriors.’

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

विभाषा चरिः II 32 II पदानि II विभाषा, चरिः, (सबौदीनि, सवनामानि, द्वन्द्वे समाचे, न) II

वृत्ति: II द्वन्द्वे समाचे जचि विभाषा सवादीनि सवनामानसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति II

32. (Their dvandva compounds) are optionally sarvanâma when the nominative plural termination jas follows.

This is a proviso to sutra 31, and declares that before the termination जस (which is the termination of the nominative plural, as we shall find later on, and which in the pronominals is replaced by जृि), the dvandva
compounds may be treated either as sarvanāmas or as ordinary words. Thus
the plural of कतर: may be either कतर: or कतर: that is, the word may
take either ज्ञान: or ज्ञान:.

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

प्रथमाः चरमाः तयः अल्प: अर्ध: कालिपयः नेमाः (विभाषाजितः साधारणीन: सर्वनामाभिः) ।।

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

Thus we have प्रथम: or प्रथम:, चरम: or चरम:, अल्प: or अल्प:, अर्ध: or अर्ध:, कालिपयः or कालिपयः, नेम: or नेम:, हित: or हित: ।।

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

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

पूर्वेऽपरब्रहमाणितेऽपि मे यज्ञावसंवायाम् । ॥ ॥


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

Thus we have प्रथम: or प्रथम:, चरम: or चरम:, अल्प: or अल्प:, अर्ध: or अर्ध:, कालिपयः or कालिपयः, नेम: or नेम:, हित: or हित: ।।

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

The application of the affix kan or akach must depend upon the
nature of these words, if pronominals, then akach, otherwise kan.
34. The words pūrva ‘prior,’ para ‘after,’ avara ‘posterior,’ dakshina ‘south,’ uttara ‘north,’ apara ‘other,’ and adhara ‘inferior,’ when they discriminate relative position, not when they are appellatives, are optionally sarvanāma before the affix jas.

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

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

That there is a ‘specification’ (niyama), or tacit implication, of a determinate point (ayadhi), with reference to which something is to be described by the word itself, is what we mean when we say “that a relation in time or place (avasthā) is implied.” For example, if we wish to describe Benares as being southern (dakshina), to do this, we may specify some point, say one of the peaks of the Himālayā with reference to which Benares may be described as a “place to the southward.” Again we in the north may thus speak of the people to the south of the Vindhya mountains, as being southern, not with reference to the inhabitants of Ceylon, but with reference (as every one here understands by tacit implication) to us ourselves, who live to the north the Vindhya range. Thus, (पूर्व or पूर्वा, उत्तर or उत्तरा, पश्चि or पश्चिा:) विद्वान् or विद्वानण।; उत्तरे or उत्तरा; उत्तरे or उत्तरा; उत्तरे or उत्तरा.

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

The word sva when it does not mean a नाति ‘kinsman’ or धन ‘property’ or ‘wealth’ is always a sarvanāma, in every number and case, as it has been.
enumerated among the pronominals, except in the nominative plural where it is optionally so. Thus स्वः पुत्रः: or स्वः पुत्रः: ‘one’s own sons,’ स्वः पुत्रां: or स्वः पुत्रां: ‘one’s own cows’.

But when it means ‘kinsmen’ or ‘articles of property’ स्वः: alone is the nom. pl. As, स्वः तत्त्वयोऽऽ: ‘these kinsmen’ प्रसुतः: स्वः: ‘much riches’.

अन्तरं बहिः (चिन्तांग-उपसंघान्यायं) II 36 II पदानि II अन्तरसः-बहिः-चिन्तांग-उपसंघान्यायं: (विभाषा, जलि, सवाहूङ्ग्रोऽि, सवर्णावानि) II ।।

३६. The word antara being always a sarvanâma, when meaning “outer” or “a lower garment,” is optionally so before the affix jas.

The word अन्तर when it means बहिः, viz., ‘outer’ is always sarvanâma, so also, when it means उपसंघान or ‘a lower garment.’ Thus, अन्तरे गृहः: or अन्तरा गृहः: ‘outer houses, the residence of Chandal, and other low castes.’ So अन्तरे or अन्तराः गृहः: ‘the inner garments, such as petticoats worn under the upper garments.’ The word अन्तर when used in the above sense is always sarvanâma, but in the nominative plural, it is optionally so. But, when अः is not used in the above senses, it is never a sarvanâma, e. g., मानवारङ्गाः स्वसति ‘he lives between the two villages,’ where the regular locative is अत्तरे. With this sūtra ends the section on sarvanâmas, which began with sūtra 26.

Vart.:—The word अन्तर when qualifying the word पुरि ‘a city,’ is not to be treated as a sarvanâma, and is, therefore, declined like ordinary nouns. As, अन्तरावायाः पुरि चतुः ‘he lives out of the city.’

Vart.:—The words formed by the affix श्रीम् such as, झिल्लीयो तल्लीयो, are optionally declined as sarvanâma before the case-affixes having an indicator यो (डिस्त), which are the singular terminations of dative, ablative, genitive and locative, as, झिल्लीयोः or झिल्लीयो, तल्लीयो or तल्लीयोः.

स्वरादि निपातसंघायम् II 37 II पदानि II स्वर-अदि, निपातम्, 
अभ्यासम् II ।।

३७. The words svar ‘heaven,’ &c., and the particles (I. 4. 56) are called indeclinables.

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

स्वर ‘heaven,’ अन्तर ‘midst,’ आतर ‘in the morning,’ पुर ‘again,’ स्वसति अः ‘in concealment,’ उच्छः ‘high, aloft ’ नीचः ‘low, down,’ नीचः ‘slowly,’ कथः
'rightly, separately, aside, singly, particularly, truly,' अत्रे 'except, without,' यथार्थे 'at the same time, at once,' अाराम 'near, far from, directly.' उपस्थि 'separately, apart,' yesterday,' यथास 'to-morrow,' हित 'by day,' रात्रि 'by night or in the night,' साधारण 'at eve,' तिरस्क 'long, long since, a long time,' नातक 'a little,' श्रवण 'slightly, a little,' औषधि 'ever,' ओषधि 'gladly,' तुषाराम 'silently,' बहुत 'outside,' अविरि 'below, without, outside. समय 'near,' निक्षेप 'near, hard, close by,' स्वयं 'of one's self,' बुध 'in vain,' नक्षत्र 'at night, by night,' नये 'negative particle, not,' हेतु 'for this reason, by reason of,' इत्य 'truly, really' हेतु 'exclamation,' चक्र 'evidently, truly,' सामि 'half,' बन 'callic like, as Brāhmaṇavat, priestly,' समतुल समान 'perpetually,' उपाधि 'division,' सिंद्र 'crookedly, awry, over,' अन्तर, अन्तरुप 'except, without,' योग 'long,' कस 'expulsive particle,' शास्त्र 'ease,' सम 'perpetually,' सहस्र 'suddenly, hastily,' बिन 'without,' नाम 'variously,' नाम 'greeting, peace,' सम 'exclamation, oath to Manes,' लोक 'enough,' वार्त 'exclamation,' गौरि, गाँधि '(interjection) 'oblation of butter,' गौरि 'again, moreover, otherwise.' व्यस्त 'being present,' अार 'in a low voice, secretly, privately,' व्यस्त 'patience, pardon,' बिनायक 'aloft in the air,' शंघ 'at night or in the evening,' उद्य 'falsely,' उद्य 'in vain,' पूरा 'formerly,' निपो or निपट 'mutually, together,' अव्यस्त 'frequently, almost,' नूतन 'again, repeatedly,' अव्याक्त 'unselfish' 'at the same time,' भावोत्तर 'violently,' भ्रमर 'repeatedly,' भार 'or सार, 'with' 'न, 'reverence,' हिरण 'without,' मिन 'fie!' यथ 'thus,' प्रताप 'with fatigue,' प्रभाव 'alike,' प्रवाह 'widely,' ना 'अ 'do not.'

So, also the words formed by the affixes क्तस्तोसु, कसु, by the क्रिया affixes ending in म् or म्, दे, बो or वो, and the अव्यायीम्यक्षम compounds, are indeclinables. So, also the words formed by the affixes beginning with तक्त (V. 3. 7) and ending with प्राप्ति (V 3. 47), by the affixes beginning with शस्त्र (V. 4. 42) and ending with समाप्ति: (V. 4. 68), by the affixes श्रवण, श्रुति, बाध्य and शार्य by the affixes having the sense of the affix विक्र, or by the affixes अत्र् or अत्र, तितस or विति, न or पात् are also indeclinables.

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

तत्क्रियायायथाविभक्तिः: ||३८ || पाद्यानि || तद्विन्द्र: च, अस्वें-विभक्तिः: (अव्ययः)

वृत्ति: || तत्क्रियाया वांकृति आस्त्रेभविभक्तिः भविष्यति: ||

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

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


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39. The words formed by those krit or primary affixes, (III. 1. 98) which end with र or in र्, श्रो, श्व and श्री are also indeclinables.

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

Words formed by krit affixes which end in र्य or र्य, श्र, श्व or श्री (connoted by the pratyahara र्य) are avayayas. Thus the affix युग्म (technically युग्म) and याम्य (technically याम्य, III. 3. 10) are affixes which end in र्य. The words formed by the addition of these affixes will be indeclinables. Thus युग्म ‘to give,’ and याम्य ‘remembering’ are avayayas. So also words like जीवने ‘to live,’ जीवने ‘to drink,’ are also avayayas as they end in र्य, &c.

Thus, in the following examples, the words within quotation are avayayas ‘स्वाङ्कारे,’ ‘सप्त्तकारे,’ ‘लक्षणारे,’ युग्म, ‘he eats first having made it relishing’ (III. 4. 26). “वये” राया (युग्म + ये III. 4. 9 =वये); ता ‘सामे,’ राजनागुजस्य गस्तुविन्यासम् (र + स =द्वे. Rig Veda V. 66. 3). याये गवने शरसे ‘जीवने’ या गवने प्रवर्तितो देव शिंगिन् (Rig Veda III. 36. 10). बाग: युगुवत सपचे बुद्ध तन्वे सम। योकुष च सुद्वे ‘दृष्टे’ (Rig Veda I. 25. 21, दृष्टे + केन् III. 4. 11 दृष्टे).

The word यवत् is used in this sūtra for the same purpose, as it was employed in sūtra 24, showing that these terminations must be ‘aupadeśika,’ and not derivative. Therefore the following words are not avayayas:—भागे (d. s.), भागे: (g. s.) चियायि: चिग्यायि:। चिकियि:। कुर्यकारे:। गार्दकारे:।


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\[ \text{Bk. I. Ch. I. § 39, 40.} \]  Avyaya

\[ \text{31} \]
40. The words ending with *ktva*, *tosun* (III. 4. 16) and *kasun* are indeclinables.

As कृत्य ‘having done’ उपरि: ‘having risen,’ विसुप: ‘having spread.’
Thus in the following examples the words within quotation are indeclinables:—पुरासुरेय: ‘स्त्रोतेरोन:’ राष्ट्रे:। पुरास्त्र:साना ‘मपकालोऽः’। पुरास्त्र:सम्य ‘विन्योऽ’ विरङ्किन्य: सङ्काल्यम् उपायोऽऽिष्य:। पुरास्त्र: ‘स्त्रोते स्त्रोते’। (Yajur Veda. I. 28) य ततः विन्योऽऽिष्य:। पुरा सान: ‘स्त्रोते’। (Rig Ved. VIII. a. 1. 12).

अवयोभावश 31 पदाभिनि अवयोभाव:-च (अवयवः)॥

ृचि: || चर्चःभावसमालोऽवयसंस्कृतो भविष्यः॥

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

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

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

What is the object gained by making the avayayibhāva compounds? avayyas? Three objects are gained, by making these compounds, indeclinables, viz., we can apply to them (1) the rule relating to the elision (नुक्त: ) of the case-affixes and feminine affixes, i.e., sūtra II. 4. 82 thus, in the following example, the words upāgni and pratyāgni though qualifying the word śalavāḥ, do not take the gender and number of the latter, उपागिनि प्रतिगिनि शलवाहः पतन्ति (2) the rule relating to accent when an avayya is compounded with the word mukha, (मुक्त स्करः), i.e., sūtras VI. 2. 167 & 168. Thus, उपागिनि मुखः, here, sūtra VI. 2. 167, required the final vowel to take the udatta accent, but the preceding word being an avayya, sūtra VI. 2. 168, intervened, and the first word retains its natural accent: (3) the rule relating to the change of visarga: into स, this change being technically called उपचारः thus उपचारः, उपचारः: as compared with वास्तवः Here, the compound उपचारः being treated as avayya sūtra VIII. 3. 46, applies and prevents the change of: into स.

The four sūtras 38, 39, 40, and 41 have all been enunciated under the svaradigaṇa. see sūtra 37. These sūtras properly, therefore, belong to the gana-paṭha; their repetition here in the Ashtādhya yī indicates that these rules are वास्तवः or not of universal application, viz., all rules relating to avayyas in general, do not apply to them. Thus II. 3. 69. declaring that the genitive case is not used along with an avayya is not a rule of universal application, for we see
indeclinables like उवेनि: governed by the genitive case as, सूर्यस्यवेनि:; or ज्योस्य
विश्रामः.

शिष्य ज्योतिःस्यवेनि ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिष्य, सर्वनामस्यानि ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ शिष्य इत्यत्तसर्वनामस्यानि संज्ञानविश्रामः ॥

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

This defines the word sarvanāmasthāna. The affix शिष्य is the
nominative and accusative plural termination of neuter nouns. It replaces
the ordinary nominative and accusative plural affixes ज्यो and शाश्व used
in every other gender. The च्र of शिष्य is servile, and the actual termination
is श्र; the peculiarity of the affix शिष्य is that it lengthens the penultimate
vowel (VI. 4, 8) and adds a न (VII. I. 72). Thus the plural of कल ‘fruit’ is
कलरानि ‘fruits.’ So also कुड्ठनि निश्चिति, and कुड्ठनि परय. Here, there is no
difference of form in the nominative and the accusative cases. So also
नाश्व, नष्टि, नष्टि. The word sarvanāmasthāna occurs in śūtra VI. 4. 8.

शुद्धपुण्सकः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुद्ध, अनुपुण्सकः, (सर्वनामस्यानि)

वृत्ति: ॥ शुद्धिति पदानि बचनानि सर्वनामस्यानि संज्ञानि न्यूनसकानन्तः ॥

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>मार्रमार</td>
<td>चु (चु)</td>
<td>चो (चो)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>हिहिता</td>
<td>बर्म</td>
<td>ब्रोद्र</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>वत्तिया</td>
<td>श्व (श्व)</td>
<td>भ्याम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>ज्योतरिः</td>
<td>के (के)</td>
<td>”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>पुष्टिरी</td>
<td>डटित (डटित)</td>
<td>”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>स्तिरी</td>
<td>क्रिस्त (क्रिस्त)</td>
<td>”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>सतरी</td>
<td>क्रिस्त (क्रिस्त)</td>
<td>”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above are the 21 vibhaktis, the च्र of ज्यो, the चु of शाश्व, the श्र of ब्रोद्र
&c. are indicatory. All these vibhaktis are included in the pratyāhāra शुद्ध formed
by taking the first vibhakti and the last letter of the last vibhakti. Similarly
the first five terminations (च्र, चो, ज्यो, ब्री and ब्रोद्र) are represented by चु
and are called sarvanāmasthāna in the masculine and feminine genders. In
the declension of nouns, it will be seen, that some nouns have two bases, one
before these sarvanāmasthāna and the other before the rest.
Thus the word राजः ‘king’ has the base राजा before the सुः vibhaktis, while in the remaining cases, the base is राजः and राजः as:—

Sing. Dual. Plural.
Nominative राजः राजानी राज़ानः
Accusative राजानाम् राजानी राजः
Instrumental राजः राजन्-वा राजनिः

But in the neuter nouns there is no such difference.

न वेति विषाणा॥ केनः पद्यति न, ख, इति, विषाणा॥

३३. न वेति प्रत्येकापि वेति विकल्पस्याः: प्रत्येकप्रथमप्रयोगमानां संहारितं अवलोकितं॥

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

This sūtra defines the word विषाणा. We had already had occasion to use this word in sūtras 28 and 32. Where there is a prohibition as well as an alternative course left open, it is called option or vibhāshā. The commentators mention three kinds of vibhāsha:— प्राप्ता-vibhāshā, aprāpta-vibhāshā and aprāpta-prāpta-vibhāshā. The first occurs where there is a general rule already given, and then follows the optional rule; the second belongs to that class where there is no such general rule, but there is an optional rule, the third is intermediate between the two.

Thus the root रिः ‘to swell,’ by virtue of the rule विषाणा रिः (V. 1. 30), forms its perfect tense, either by samprasāraṇa, or in the ordinary way. Thus the third person singular is either श्राव or श्रावव.

३४. संप्रसारणसाधारणसाधारणसहः॥ केनः पद्यति इक्, यणः, संप्रसारणसाधारणसहः॥

४५. The ik vowels which replace the semi-vowels यण are called samprasāraṇa.

This defines the word samprasāraṇa. It is the name given to the change of semi-vowels into vowels. The pratyāhāra ik includes the four simple vowels र, ज, च and झ, and their corresponding semi-vowels are रू, जू, चू, and झू included in the pratyāhāra yan. The word samprasāraṇa is properly the name of the vowel which has replaced the semi-vowel. Thus the past participle of स्त्र ‘to sleep,’ is formed by adding the nishṭā affix फ (see sūtra 26). So that we have स्त्रू + फ. But there is a rule (VI. 1. 15) by which there is samprasāraṇa of the फ of स्त्र before the कू affixes, and we have the form स्त्रुः ‘slept.’ Similarly from ब्रू-विछित, ब्रव-सट्टु, ब्रव-विच्छित, ब्रु-गुहायम्-ब्रु-ङ्गुङ्गे. The term samprasāraṇa is also employed to designate the whole process of the change of the semi-vowels into vowels as in VI. 1. 13; VI. 4. 131.
46. Of whatsoever the augments enunciated are distinguished by an indicatory द् or क्, they precede or follow it accordingly.

This sūtra explains the special use of two of the indicatory letters द् and क्. Where the indicatory letter of an augment is द् that augment is to be placed before the word in the genitive case with regard to which it is enjoined; while a क् augment is to be added after the word exhibited in the 6th case with regard to which it is enjoined. Thus, there is a sūtra (VII. 2. 35) which says “ārdhadhâtuka affixes beginning with a consonant except न, have द्”. The question may arise where is this द् to be added, in the beginning or the end or the middle of the ārdhadhâtuka affix? This sūtra answers the question. The indicatory द् shows, that it is to be placed before the ārdhadhâtuka affix. Thus the future termination सखि, is an ārdhadhâtuka affix: when this is added to the root, it takes the augment द्. Thus द् + द् + सखि = भविष्यति, ‘he will be.’ Similarly जैविता ‘he will cut’.

Similarly by sūtra VII. 3. 40. the root शी takes the augment युक्त in forming the causative. This having an indicatory क् is to be added after the word शी, as, शी + युक्त + चिह्न + त = भीषणते ‘he frightens.’

सिद्धेऽपि ज्ञातापेयः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदायि ॥ सिद्धेऽपि अच्छे ॥ अन्त्याये ॥ परे ॥

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

This sūtra explains the use of the indicatory श्. The augments having an indicatory श्, technically called निर्दुः augment, are placed immediately after the final vowel of a word. Thus there is an augment called मुष्, in which द् and श् are द्, and the actual augment is श्. When, therefore, it is said “let मुष् be added to the word,” the letter श् is added after the last vowel. Thus the plural of पवस् ‘milk’ is formed in the following way:—पवस् + मुष् + द् (VII. 1. 72) = पवस्यासि (VI. 4. 8). Here श् is added between द् and स् i. e. after the य of द्, which is the final vowel of the word: and before this श् the preceding short vowel is lengthened. Similarly मुष् + य + लि (III. 1. 77) = मुष् + मुष् + य + लि (VI. 1. 59) = मुष्यासि । Similarly विरुद्धांश। .

The word ब्रः is in the genitive case, having the force of nirdhâraṇa or specification; it has the force of the plural, though exhibited in the singular, being taken as representing the class. The meaning is ‘among the vowels.’ This sūtra is an exception to sūtras I. 1. 49 and III. 1. 2, by which an affix is added at the end of the word exhibited in the 6th case.

There is, however, an exception, in the case of the root मस्, in
which the augment नृ is added not after the last vowel य of न, but between च and ज. The result of adding the augment नृ between च and ज is, that sūtra VIII. 2. 29. applies, and the च is elided. Thus मञ्जर + ता = मञ्जर + नृ + ता (VII. 1. 60) = मञ्जरु + ता = मञ्जर + ता (VII. 2. 29) = मञ्जर “He will immerse”. So also मन: ‘immersed,’ मनवानु, मञ्जरु.

एक इश्वासियः || 48 || पदार्थं || एकः, इकः, इक्ष्-आदेशः ||

कः || एकः इश्वासियः करतेवादेशः हस्ती नवति नान्यः: ||

48. Of एक �vowels, इक is the substitute, when short is to be substituted.

This sūtra points out the हस्त substitutes of एक. We know there are short and long vowels in Sanskrit, but properly speaking एक vowels have no corresponding short vowels. Therefore, when, in any rule, एक vowels are told to be shortened, this sūtra declares that the short vowels of ए and ए, ओ and ओ, for the purposes of the rule, will be ए and ओ respectively. Thus, II. 2. 47 declares:—“the short vowel is the substitute in the neuter of a crude form provided it end in a vowel.” Therefore in compounding एत + ए, the ए must be shortened. Properly speaking एत has no short vowel corresponding to it, but by virtue of this sūtra, ए supplies the place of such a short vowel, and we have एतति ‘extravagant’ so नोः कालिन्ध ‘disembarked or landed,’ नोः, उपरु ‘near a cow.’ All avayībhave compounds are neuter (II. 4.18).

Why do we say ‘of एक’? Because the short of other vowels will not be एक. Thus the short of एक is एक. As, एत + ख्रुः = हरिश्चन्द्रः, पञ्च + साल = पञ्चमानः: ||

Why do we say ‘when short is to be substituted?’ Because when दुः or prolated vowels are to be substituted for एक, the एक will not be the substitute. As हेशचन्द्र O Devadatta! हेशचन्द्र!

ष्ट्री स्यानेयोगः || 49 || पदार्थं || ष्ट्री , स्याने-थोगः ||

कः || इह शाले वा पदी भाषनक्योगः भूते वा स्यानेयोगः सार्थिन्योगः स्यानेयोगस्वपतिस्वते सचि सा प्रतिपत्तिः ||

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

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

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

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

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

The word स्थान here is synonymous with पत्रकु: or ‘occasion.’ Thus
in the sentence हन्तेना स्थाने गरी: पत्रकुदवस्म, the word sthāne, means ‘prasange’
i.e. wherever there is occasion to spread darbha grass, spread there the śara
instead. Similarly in sūtras असनेने: (II. 4. 52), or ब्राह्मविधि: (II. 4. 53), the
words ‘asti,’ and ‘brā’ are in the genitive case, and mean, ‘wherever there
arises occasion to use the verbs प्रत्स or प्रत्व use there the verbs प्रत्स or प्रत्व instead
respectively.’ Thus ब्रह्मिं, ब्रह्मिः, ब्रह्मिक्त्वयम्, are the future, gerund, and pas-
sive participle respectively of प्रत्स; so also, ब्रक्त, ब्रक्तृ and ब्रक्तव्यू are the
same forms of प्रत्स.

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

स्थाने-योग: || ५० || पदानि || स्थाने-अन्तर्गत: ||
हृदि: || स्थाने प्रायभावान्तर्गत: स्थाने अन्तर्गत: ||
50. When a common term is obtained as a
substitute, the likest of its signicates to that in the place
of which it comes, is the actual substitute.
This sūtra also lays down another rule of paribhāsha. To explain this we must take an example. The guṇa of ठ, ठ, ॠ, and ठ, is ठ, ठ, ॠ. There is nothing to specify what letter is the guṇa of what. It might be said that ठ is the guṇa of ठ because the definitions as laid down up to so far, do not say anywhere that ठ is not the guṇa of ठ. So that when in a word like चिं we are told 'let there be the guṇa of ठ' we do not know what specific guṇa letter is to be substituted, whether it is ठ or ठ. To clear up this doubt, this sūtra declares that the liketest of its significates is to be substituted. Now the nearest in place to ठ is ठ, both having their place of pronunciation, the palate. Similarly ठ is the guṇa of ठ, because both are labials.

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

(1). Thus in applying rule VI. 1. 101, "when a homogeneous vowel follows ऑ, the corresponding long vowel is the substitute for both," we must have recourse to the present sūtra for finding the proper vowel. Thus—कण्ठ + ऑम् = कण्ठाम्; here the substitution of the long ऑ, for the two short ऑ’s, is an example of substitution by nearness of place, for both ऑ and ऑ are gutturals.

(2). A good example of substitution by the sense of the word is afforded by VI. 1. 63:—"The words पड़, पड़, पड़ &c., are the substitutes when the case-affixes शास्त्र (acc.-pl.) &c., follow." Here, we know the substitutes, but we do not know of what they are the substitutes. We apply the maxim of पार्थ: "that only can become a substitute which has the power to express the meaning of the original, i.e., a substitute takes the place of that the meaning of which it is able to express." Thus we find that याल is the substitute of पाया, याया of नायक, &c., which convey the same meaning and contain almost the same letters. Another example of this is afforded by VI. 3. 34, by which feminine words in a compound are changed into masculine. Thus वासवी (fem) + युक्ति = वासवायुक्ति...

(3). An example of prosodical substitution (प्रमाणत:) is afforded by rule VIII. 2. 80, "स is the substitute of what comes after the ष of षअस, not ending in ष and in the room of ष there is ष." Thus झाम + नै = झाम + झालै = झालै; झाम + झाम = झाम + झाम (VII. 3. 102) = झाम + झाम = झाम-झाम. Here, short झ replaces the short झ, and the long झ replaces the long झ।
(4). An illustration of qualitative substitution is afforded by VII. 3. 52, "a letter of the guttural class is substituted for छ and ज when an affix having an indicatory छ follows." Applying the rule of गुणसूत्र: we find that क्त् which is an alapapraṇa and aghosha letter replaces छ having the same quality; while ज्ज which is gosha, and alapapraṇa is replaced by the letter व्य possessing similar quality. Thus फळ्ठ + फळ्ठ (III. 3. 18)=पाक; फळ्ठ + फळ्ठ = र्याग; र्याग + फळ्ठ = र्याग II.

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

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

Thus in finding the guna substitutes of ह and ज out of the three guna letters छ, ज and धो, we find that छ is a proximate substitute having regard to prosodical measure, i.e., छ and ह and ज have all one mātrā; while having regard to the proximity of the organ of utterance, we get ज and धो; the latter however prevails to the exclusion of the first; as, वेदिता, बोधिता.

* Why do we use the word "likest" in the superlative degree? Where there are many sort of proximities, the likiest must be taken. Thus वाक्य + हस्ति = वाक्षस्ति. Here, by VIII. 4. 62, "after a letter of ज्ज class, हू is changed into a letter homogeneous with the preceding," हू must be changed into a letter of the class क्त्. Out of the five letters of this class, ख and हू are both aspirates, but ख is hard, and हू is soft; so ख and हू are both soft, but ख is unaspirate, and हू is aspirate, therefore these must be rejected; the only letter which has the nearest approach to खू, is जू, which is both soft and aspirate. Similarly in चिन्द्रमस्ति, the हू has been changed into जू.

चरण रपर: II ५१ II पद्यानि II घः, अण्, र-पर: II

वृत्ति: II घः (सर्वस्य) स्वाधिकृत महत्वमान एव रपरो वेदितम् II

51. When a letter of चरण pratyāhāra comes as a substitute for चरण it is always followed by a र.

This sūtra consists of three words viz., घ: which is the genitive singular of घ and means literally 'of घ' or 'in the place of घ'; the second word is चरण, a pratyāhāra denoting घच, र and ज long and short; the third word is रपर: which qualifies चरण and means 'having a र after.'

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

So also when ख is replaced by र as by sūtra VII. 1. 100, this substitute र must be followed by a र. As क + रति = कर + रति = किरति ‘he scatters,’ similarly गिरति ‘he swallows.’

So also when ख is replaced by झ, as by sūtra IV. 1. 115 this झ must be followed by a र. As ढ + नाद + झन्न = द्रमानुर: ‘son of two mothers.’

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

Thus by IV. 1. 97, “the ख of the word सुभाष is replaced by खक (technically खकम) when the affix खम is added.” Thus, सुभाष + खम = सुभाष + खक + ख = सौभाषक; ‘a descendant of Sudhâtri’ Here the substitute of ख, that is to say, the syllable ख is not followed by र.

The र in the text has been taken by some to be a pratyāhāra formed by the letter र and ख of जस्य; and thus it includes the letters र and ख. In that case the sūtra would mean that ख substitutes of ख and झ are always followed by र and झ respectively. Thus guṇa of रि=अर, of झि=अल.

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

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

So also in sūtra I. 2. 50 हस्यायफ्या: the short ख replaces only the final letter of गोपि and not the whole word, as पंचगोपिय: ‘purchased for five goṇis.’

खगोपियः
53. And the substitute which has an indicatory \( \text{सू } \) (even though it consists of more than one letter) takes the place of the final letter only of the original expression.

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

Thus in forming the dvandva compound of भा and भिं there is a rule (VI. 3. 25) by which it is declared:—‘In the place of words ending in भी there is the substitution of भान्त्र in forming dvandvas.’ Now the substitute भान्त्र is a \( \text{सू } \) substitute, and therefore it applies to the last letter of the word and not to the whole word, \( \text{विस्त } \), the भी of भा is only changed into भा and not the whole word; and we have the compound भान्त्रिविद्या, so also हृदान्तिविद्या.

There is an exception, however, in the case of the substitute तान्त्र (VII. 1. 35) which, though it has an indicatory \( \text{सू } \), yet replaces the whole expressions भी and हि and not only their finals. As जीवतत्र ‘may he live, or may you live’; instead of जीवत्र ‘may be live,’ or जीव ‘live thou.’

\[ \text{आदे: परस्य भ, पदृच्छि भ आदे:, परस्य, (अश:)} \]

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

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

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

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

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

So also there is a sūtra (V. 3. 3.) by which it is declared:—'In the place of इतथा there is इतथा.' Here the ādeśa इ is an ādeśa having the इ for its indicatory letter, and though it consists of only one letter, it replaces the whole word इतथा, and not only its last letter इ.

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

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

This is an explanatory sūtra, or this may be considered also as an atideśa sūtra, in as much as it declares that the operations to be performed
on or by the original, may be similarly performed on or by the substitute, but with certain restrictions. The words of this sūtra require some detailed exposition. Sthāni is the word or the portion of a word which is replaced. Ādeśa is the expression which replaces something. Al-vidhi is a compound of ‘al’ meaning alphabet, or letters in general, and ‘vidhi’ rule i.e. any rule applicable to letters.

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

Thus the gerund of verbs is generally formed by adding the affix स्वच्छ e.g. युज्य + स्वा. Now VII. 2. 35. prescribes the insertion of an intermediate इ of árdhadhātuka affixes beginning with any consonant except र. This rule is clearly an al-vidhi, because the occasion for its application is conditional on the letters of the affix. The affix स्वा begins with र and is an árdhadhātuka affix and fulfills all the conditions of the rule. Therefore, we have गृह्य + इ + स्वा = गृहोच्छ (VI. 1. 16; VII. 2. 37).

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

Substitutes replace either a भाव ‘root,’ or an चक्र ‘base,’ or a kṛit affix ‘primary affix,’ or a taddhita affix ‘secondary affix,’ or an avyaya ‘indeclinable,’ or a सूच ‘case affix,’ or a तिथक affix ‘conjugational affix,’ or lastly the full word or pada.

The substitute of a dhātú becomes like a dhātú. Thus sūtras II. 4: 52 and 53 declare:—‘मू is the substitute of the root श्रु, and चच of the root श्रू when an árdhadhātuka affix follows.’ Here the substitutes श्रू and चच are treated as dhātú, and as such get the affixes स्वच्छ &c. by III. 1. 96, &c. Thus अभिच्छ, अर्थित्य, अविस्मित्य; वन्न, वन्नु, वन्न्ययः.

The substitute of an anga becomes like an anga. Thus VII. 2. 103 declares:—‘क is the substitute of the base किर्ष when a case-affix follows.’
Here, क gets the designation ‘base’ and so rules applicable to base, are applied to क also. Thus in कैन, काव्याम्, कैः &c., we have इन, the lengthening of the vowel, and प्रसार substituted by VII. 1. 12, and VII. 3. 102, and VII. 1. 9.

The substitute of a krit affix becomes like a krit affix. Thus VII. 1. 37 declares:—‘त्यु’ is the substitute of the krit affix त्यां when the verb is a compound, the first member of which is an indeclinable, but not नस्म्.’ Here, त्यु is also called a krit affix, and as such, sūtra VI. 1. 71 applies, and तुक् is added. As मुक् + त्यु = मुक् + दू + य = मुक्त्य; similarly महस्य &c.

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

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

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

The substitute of तिन becomes like तिन. Thus III. 4. 101 declares:—
‘सम्, सम्, त and भम् are substituted for तस्, यस्, ठ, and निन् when tense-affixes having indicatory च follow.’ Here the substitutes नस् &c., also make the words ending in them pada by rule I. 4. 14 as, चकुतस्य, चतुस्य &c.

The substitute of a pada is like a pada. Thus VIII. 1. 21 declares:—
‘सस् is the substitute of दुप्प्यान, दुप्प्यस्, दुप्प्यक्ष, and नस् of दृष्टान्, दृष्टव्यः, and दृष्टाक्षन्.’ Here, सस् and नस् are treated as pada, and the final च is changed into visarga, as चः, नः.

Why have we used the word तत्त् in the sūtra? Without it the aphorism would have been स्यान्यवाक्षः भूत्वाच्य, and this being a chapter treating of definitions, the meaning would have been, ‘an ādeśa is called sthāni.’ This certainly is not intended, for had it been so, then all operations would be performed by or on the substitute, but none by the original. But this is not so. Thus rule I. 3. 28, says ‘the root हस्त precedes by या is atmanepadi.’ यथ the substitute of हस्त will be atmanepadi, as भाविष्ट; but हस्त also will be so in its proper sphere, as, भाहत.

The word ādeśa is used in the sūtra to indicate, that the rule applies even to partial substitutions: as changing the ह of स्त्र into घ (III. 4. 86) in the Imperative e.g. पंचतु.

The word al-vidhi is used in order to indicate that the substitutes of हिक्,
Substitute is like the principal.

परिप्र, र्दत्र &c., such as the change of र into भ (VII. 1. 84), न into भ (VII. 1. 85), र न into स्व (VII. 2. 102), are not to be treated like the original : as श्रृः, यत्रः, स: Had these substitutes been treated like the original, rule VI. 1. 68 would apply, and the case-affix श would have been elided.

अच: परस्मिन्यूर्वविचारे || ५७ || पद्धानि || अच: परस्मिन्, पूर्व-विचारे, (स्थानिवत् आदेशः) 

वृत्ति: || बलाजीरे: परनिमि: कर्ममेये स्थानिवन्नि ||

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

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

Thus there is an affix called लिच्छ the actual affix being ह्र; the other letters प्र and च being ह्रक. The peculiarity of every affix having an indicatory प्र is to cause the vṛddhi of the penultimate च; (sūtra VII. 2. 116) as प्र + ह्र = प्राभि. Now in forming the denominative verb from the word प्रह्र, we have to add the affix लिच्छ. Thus प्रह्र + ह्र; but before निच, the च of प्रह्र is substituted by a ‘lopa’ or blank, and this blank takes the place of the vowel च of प्रह्र and becomes sthānivat by force of the present sūtra. The result of becoming sthānivat is that though the च of प्रह्र is really a penultimate and ought to be vṛddhied before ‘nich’ it is not so, the lopa-substitute not allowing the च to be regarded as penultimate, and thus we have the form प्रह्र the present tense third person singular of which is प्रमति. The equation being प्रह्र + च + ह्र, the zero preventing the च of प्रह्र from becoming penultimate. So also in the word अर्चमीति, the aorist (ह्रक) of वध. Thus चि + च + ह्रक = चि + चि + ह्रक. Here, the च of वध is elided by VI. 4. 48. (when an ārdhadhātuka affix follows there is elision of the short च of that which ends in short च;) this elision is thus caused by something which follows (parasmin.) Now there is a rule (VII. 2. 7.) which declares ‘vṛddhi is optionally the substitute of a laghu च preceded by a consonant when लिच्छ (aorist) follows.’ However in the present case the zero is consi-
dered as sthānivat, and prevents the application of sūtra VII. 2. 7; otherwise we get the form चावपीत whereas which is inadmissible.

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

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

Now there is a rule which says (VI. 1. 71), that before kṛt affixes having an indicator य, the letter य is added after verbs ending in light vowels. Now in आगम्य, when य is omitted, the य of य becomes final; and therefore a य is required before य (which is a यत्व affix). Thus we have आगम्य.

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

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

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

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

The word यवनि is a bahuvrihi compound of यवनि and जाना, meaning 'he who has a young wife.' In forming this compound, the य of य is replaced by ति (tech. तिः) by sūtra V. 4. 134. This ति will not be sthānivat to य, as it is not caused by anything which follows. Had it been regarded as sthānivat, the ति could not be elided by VI. 1. 66 ('there is elision of ति...
and \( \text{ए} \) when any consonant except \( \text{ए} \) or \( \text{अ} \) follows'). Thus, \( \text{दुष्टार्जन} + \text{नि} = \text{दुष्टार्जननित} \) (VI. 1. 66).

Similarly the word \( \text{वैयाप्सय} \) 'a descendant of \( \text{व्याप्सय} \)' also illustrates this rule. \( \text{व्याप्सय} \) is a bahuvrhi compound of \( \text{व्याग्र} \) and \( \text{पाद} \), meaning 'whose foot is like that of a tiger.' Now the final \( \text{ए} \) of 'पाद' is elided in such compounds by V. 4. 138. This lopa substitution is not caused by anything that follows, therefore, this lopādeśa will not be sthānīvat for the purposes of the application of sūtra VI. 4. 130 (\( \text{पद्र्} \) is the substitute of the word \( \text{पत्र} \) when part of an inlicative base ending in the word \( \text{पाद} \) and entitled to the name of Bha. I. 4. 18'). Therefore, \( \text{व्याग्रप्रादु + हस्त} \) (IV. 1. 105) = \( \text{वैयाप्सय} \). Had the lopa been like the original, there could not have been the substitution of 'पाद' for 'पाद.'

Similarly the word \( \text{वर्षक्षेप} \), 1st per. sing. atm. present tense of the root \( \text{स्व} \) 'to shine.' Thus \( \text{वर्षक्षेप} + \text{इ} = \text{वर्षक्षेप} + \text{इ} \) (III. 4. 79). This change of \( \text{इ} \) into \( \text{ए} \) is not caused by anything that follows, hence \( \text{ए} \) is not sthānīvat to \( \text{इ} \), for the purposes of the application of rule VII. 4. 53 ('the finals of \text{दिद} \) and \text{वेव} \) are elided when an affix beginning with \( \text{ए} \) or \( \text{इ} \) follows'). Had \( \text{ए} \) been sthānīvat, the final \( \text{इ} \) would have been elided.

Similarly an ādeśa though of a vowel, and even though occasioned by a subsequent something, would not be sthānīvat, if there is not the application of a rule to something that precedes the ādeśa (पूर्वाविद्ध). If the rule is to be applied to something subsequent to the ādeśa; it will be applied to the exact ādeśa without considering what was the letter which the ādeśa had replaced. It is only when a rule is to be applied to a prior object, that it becomes important to consider whether the ādeśa is sthānīvat or not. Thus the vocative case of \( \text{गो} \) is \( \text{हे} \) \( \text{गो} \). The vocative is formed from the nominative case (II. 3. 49). The nominative of \( \text{गो} \) is formed by changing \( \text{घो} \) into \( \text{घो} \) and adding the case termination \( \text{ए} \). Here the ādeśa \( \text{घो} \), replaces \( \text{घो} \), on account of the subsequent termination \( \text{ए} \). Now there is a rule applicable to vocative cases which declares that the final \( \text{ए} \) is dropped after short vowels and \( \text{ए} \) and \( \text{ओ} \) (VI. 1. 69).

Now is the \( \text{ओ} \) of \( \text{गो} \) to be regarded as sthānīvat to \( \text{ओ} \), which it replaces; for the purposes of this rule of elision of finals? If so, the consequence would be that the final \( \text{ए} \) would have to be dropped in the vocative. But it is not so. Because the rule VI. 1. 69, which ordains the dropping of \( \text{ए} \) after short vowels and \( \text{ए} \) and \( \text{ओ} \) applies to a letter, which is not \text{anterior} to the ādeśa \( \text{ओ} \), but to one which follows it, and consequently there being no pūrva-viddi here, the final \( \text{ए} \) is retained and we have the vocative \( \text{गो} \).

Similarly the word \( \text{वाप्सय} \); 'the pupils of Bāhravya.' The word \( \text{वाप्सय} \) is derived from, \( \text{बुध} \) in this wise. \( \text{बुध} + \text{स्यु} \) (IV. 1. 105) = \( \text{बाप्सय} \).
From this is formed वासरी in this wise:—वासर्य + ५ (IV. 2. 114) =
वासर + ५ (VII. 1. 2) = वासर्य + ५ (VI. 4. 148) = वासर + ५ (VI. 4. 150).

Here, had the substitute र्य which replaced the य of र्य, been sthānivat to ि, rule VI. 4. 150 ('there is elision of the ॅ of a taddhita affix coming after a consonant, when long ॅ follows'), could not have applied. But this substitute र्य is not sthānivat for the purposes of rule VI. 4. 150, inasmuch as that rule does not apply to any letter that precedes the substitute र्य, but to the very letters of the substitute itself.

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

न पद्यधितेन दुःधितेन दुःधितेन जात्वादुःधितेन जात्वादुःधितेन।
पदादि न धातृपदात् धातृपदात् धातृपदात्।

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

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

1. चतुर्भुजे—'A rule relating to the last letter of a word.' Thus the य of ये is elided before the terminations of dual and plural numbers (VI. 4. 111). Thus we have चति 'he is,' सति 'they two are,' सति 'they are.' Now in the technical phraseology of Sanskrit grammarians, the य of सति and सति is
replaced by an ādēsa called लोप्य, the peculiarity of which is that the whole of it vanishes. So that before the word स्त: there is this ādēsa existing, though it is in an invisible form. This invisible ādēsa will be sthānivat, as it replaces a vowel, by reason of something that follows, i.e. the affixes त: and आनि being किर्त्त (I. 2, 4); and it will have all the powers of य: by the last sūtra, in the absence of any rule to the contrary. Therefore, in the sentence कौ स्त: ‘who two are’ the final कौ of कौ and the invisible य: of स्त: ought to coalesce by rules of sandhi into वाच (VI. 1. 78). But this incongruity is prevented by the present sūtra, by which the change of कौ into वाच is a पत्सत्व विधि or a rule relating to the finals of a word, therefore, we have कौ स्त:। So also in लास पत्तति, rule VI. 1. 77 is not applied.

2. दिन्द्वपनविधि: ‘a rule relating to the doubling of letters.’ In the sandhi of भद्रिः+कौ we have हङ्गन. Here ह is changed into य. If this य were sthānivat to ह, then the rule by which य could be doubled before ह would be inapplicable. But य is not equivalent to ह, though its substitute; and we have the doubling of य and get the form हङ्गन. Therefore, in rules relating to the doubling of letters the ādēsa is not equivalent to the sthānि.

3. वरेविधि: ‘a rule relating to the affix वर्चुः.’ The affix वर्चुः is a kṛt affix which is added to certain roots to form nouns of agency; thus from हृः ‘to rule’ we have हृःवर्चरः ‘ruler.’ So from the intensive verb यावार् we have यावारः: ‘a vagrant.’ It is formed in this wise यावारः+वर (III. 2. 176) = यावारः+ो +वर (VI. 4. 48). Here the य of ह has been dropped and replaced by lopa, on account of its being followed by the ārdhaḍhâtuka affix वर्चुः. The next step is to drop the य by rule VI. 1. 66 which declares that the letters य and ह are dropped before affixes beginning with any consonant except ह i.e., beginning with consonants of लघः pratyahāra. Thus यावः + o + वरः. Now there is a rule (VI. 4. 64) which declares that the final long या of a base is dropped before ārdhaḍhâtuka affixes having an initial vowel. Here therefore, if the ādēsa lopa,’ which replaced the vowel या, be considered as sthānivat, and या be considered as an affix having a latent initial vowel, then the या of यावः requires to be dropped. But this sūtra prevents this and we have the form यावारः as, अन्तः यावारः प्रत्यः चिंडः इ।

4. चालाविधि: ‘a rule relating to the dropping of ya.’ Thus there is a verb कण्डुः ‘to scratch.’ In forming an abstract noun from it, the affix ति (tech. लिफः) is added. Thus कण्डुः + ति = कण्डुः + o + ति, the या of या being dropped by VI. 4. 48. Now there is a rule (VI. 1. 66) already mentioned above which requires the elision of या before consonantal affixes. Now if the lopa-substitute be considered as sthānivat to या, then the affix ति is not an affix having an initial consonant and the rule, which requires the dropping of या, would not apply. The present sūtra, however, provides for this, and we have the form कण्डुःति: ‘scratching.’
5. सत्रविषयः ‘a rule relating to accent.’ There is a sūtra (VI. 1. 193) which says that when a word is formed by an affix that has an indicatory ā, the vowel that immediately precedes such an affix has the udātta accent. Now युक्ताः is an affix that has an indicatory द्, the real affix being चक (VII. 1. 1.). It is an affix used in forming nouns of agency. Adding this affix to the desiderative verb विकृतिः ‘desirous of doing’ we have:—

विकृतिः + चक = विकृतिः + 0 + चक, the च being dropped by VI. 4. 48.

Now if the zero be considered as sthānīvat, then the accent must fall on this latent च but it is not so. The accent falls on the द् of की; and we have विकृतिः, so also विकृतिः।

6. स्त्रोतविषयः ‘a rule relating to the substitution of homogeneous letters.’ To explain this, let us form the second person singular of the verb विधाय in the imperative mood. The affix हि is the sign of the second person imperative singular; and the verb विधाय belongs to the seventh-class of verbs called Rudhādi. This class of verbs take the vikaraṇa अम्म (III. 1. 78) the र and स being indicatory the real affix is न. This न is inserted between the radical vowel and the final consonant (I. 1. 47). Therefore we have the following equation:—विधाय + रम्मेऽहि=विधाय + न + द् + हि=विधाय + न + 0 + द् + हि। The य of न is dropped by VI. 4. 411, which declares that the य of रम्म is dropped before those sārvadhatuka terminations which are कित्स or कित्स। By I. 2. 4 all sārvadhatuka terminations which have not got an indicatory य are considered as हि। The affix हि therefore is a हि sārvadhatuka affix, and by rule III. 4. 87, हि is to be regarded as चम्म, not having an indicatory य। The next stage is:—हि + न + 0 + द् + हि; the हि being changed into हि by rule (VI. 4. 101) which says that हि is changed into हि, when it follows a root which ends in a consonant of सम्म pratyāhāra: here द् and य are changed by general rules of sandhi into द् and य and we have हि + न + 0 + द् + हि (VIII. 4. 41). Then there is a rule (VIII. 3. 24), which says that in the body of a word the न is changed into anusvāra when followed by a consonant of सम्म pratyāhāra। Therefore we have:—हि + 0 + 0 + द् + हि। This is the form to which the present rule is applicable. Thus, there is a rule (VIII. 4. 58) which says that an anusvāra followed by a letter of सम्म pratyāhāra i.e., any consonant except अ, य, य and य is changed into a letter homogeneous or savarga to the letter that follows. Therefore, if we regard zero as sthānīvat to the य which it replaces, the anusvāra cannot be changed into य as homogeneous to य। But it is not to be so regarded, and we have the form हि + न + द् + हि = हिण्णम्म or हिण्णम्म; so also हिण्णम्म।

7. अनुस्वारविषयः ‘a rule relating to anusvāra.’ The above example will serve the purpose here:—हि + न + 0 + द् + हि। This by the rule already mentioned (VIII. 3. 24), requires the न to be changed into anusvāra.
Now if zero be considered as sthānivat, then नृ is not followed by a letter of ह्र, pratyāhāra, and cannot be changed into anuvāra. However, the zero is not regarded as sthānivat, and we change the नृ into anuvāra. Other examples are सि + नृ + ् + यू + यान्ति = सियान्ति; so also मियान्ति इ।

8. शैपैविधि: 'a rule directing the substitution of long vowels for short vowels.' Let us form the Inst. sing. of the noun मतििविन्यू। The termination of the Inst. sing. is या or य्या। Therefore, we have मतििविन्यू + या = मतििविन्यू + ् + नृ + या। Here the या has been elided by rule VI. 4. 134, which teaches that words ending in यृ lose their या before terminations technically called Bha। The termination of Inst. sing. is a Bha termination by force of rule I. 4. 18। The next rule that now comes into operation, is VIII. 2. 77, which requires the lengthening of the short penultimate vowels, of the ह्र, pratyāhāra, of words that end in र or व and are followed by a consonant। Here विब is a root that ends in व; and if the zero be considered as sthānivat, then this नृ is not followed by a consonant, but by a latent vowel, and so the short नृ of विब will not be lengthened। This rule, however, provides for such lengthening, and therefore we have:—मतििविन्यू + ् + नृ + या = मतििविन्यू इ।

9. जशैविधि: 'a rule requiring the substitution of soft unaspirate consonants, of pratyāhāra रस्य, in the place of hard consonants.' In this case also the adesa that takes the place of a vowel is not sthānivat।

Let us add the affix लिता to the root ब्राह्म 'to eat,' compounded with the word स or समान। In Vedic literature ब्राह्म is replaced by वस्य, (II. 4. 39); so we have, स + वस्य + लिता = स + वस्य + लिता = स + व + ् + र + लिता (VI. 4. 100) = स + यू + ् + लिता (VIII. 2. 26) = स + यू + ् + लिता (VIII. 2. 40)।

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

Similarly the word बहण्डार, which is the Imperative (lot) 2nd pers. dual of the root भस्य, and is thus evolved। This root belongs to the जुह्यंदि class, and therefore, there is reduplication। Thus नस्य + तामु = नस्य + नस्य + तामु = च + नस्य + तामु = च + नस्य + तामु = च + नस्य + तामु (VI. 4. 100) = च + नस्य + तामु (VIII. 2. 26) = च + नस्य + तामु (VIII. 2. 40) = च + नस्य + तामु। Here the change of नृ into च is by the application of VIII. 4. 53, which is a जशै rule, and therefore, the zero is not sthānivat।
10. **Chāṇḍogya:** 'a rule requiring the substitution of the letters of \(न्र\) pratyāhāra instead of other consonants.' In the application of this rule, also the substitute that replaces a vowel is not sthānīvat.

Let us form the 2nd pers. sing. perfect of the verb \(न्र\) ‘to eat.’ \(न्र\) is replaced by \(वस\) (II. 4. 40) and \(वस\) is the termination of the second person singular of lit or perfect tense. \(वस\) + \(अनुस\) = \(वस\) + \(वस\) + \(अनुस\) (VI. 1. 8) = \(ज\) + \(वस\) + \(अनुस\) (VII. 4. 60) = \(ज\) + \(वस\) + \(अनुस\) (VIII. 4. 54) = \(ज\) + \(स\) + \(अनुस\) (VI. 4. 98) = \(ज\) + \(ो\) + \(वस\).

At this stage comes the \(वस\) rule in operation, which says that the letters of \(न्र\) pratyāhāra are replaced by those of \(न्र\) pratyāhāra, when followed by letters of \(न्र\) pratyāhāra. Here \(स\) is a letter of \(न्र\) class, and if zero is not sthānīvat, it is followed by \(स\) which is a letter of \(न्र\) class, and therefore \(स\) is required to be changed into \(स\) of \(न्र\) class. By the present rule, zero is not sthānīvat and thus we have: – \(ज\) + \(वस\) = \(अनुस\) (VIII. 3. 60).

Similarly \(वस\) the 3rd per. plural aorist of \(वस\) is thus formed: – \(न\) + \(पस\) + \(वस\) + \(अनुस\) = \(न\) + \(पस\) + \(पस\) (II. 4. 80) = \(न\) + \(प\) + \(ो\) + \(स\) + \(अनुस\) (VI. 4. 98). Here had the lopa been sthānīvat, rule VIII. 4. 55 could not have applied. But it being a char rule, the lopa is not sthānīvat. Therefore we have, \(वस\).

When lopa is the substitute of a vowel, it is not sthānīvat, for the purposes of the application of the rules of accent, rules relating to the doubling of letters, and the rules relating to the elision of ya. In other places, with the exception of the above three; the lopa substitute of a vowel is, and must be treated as sthānīvat. Thus \(वहुपुरु\) \(न\), \(कियो\), \(निको\), \(वापो\). In these cases the lopa-ādeśa being sthānīvat, the rules relating to accent, lengthening and the elision of ya, do not apply.

**II.** द्विबोधोः \(न\) यदानि \(न\) द्विबोधः, अचि (स्थानिवत्, आदेशः, अच: ) ||

**II.** वृत्त्वः \(द्विबोधोः) तिर्थसिद्धि अचि आदेशः स्थानिवत् द्विबोधः च स्वस्वस्ये \(न\) ||

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

This sūtra has been explained in different ways by the authors of the Kasika and of the Siddhānta Kaumudi. According to the latter, the sūtra means: – 'when an affix beginning with a vowel follows, that is a cause of reduplication, a substitute shall not take the place of a preceding vowel, | whilst the reduplication is yet to be made : but the reduplication having been made,
the substitution may then take place.' The explanation given by Kasika is more in harmony with the Great Commentary. For all practical purposes, the two explanations lead to the same conclusion. According to Kasika, the vowel-substitute is sthānīvat, in the sense, that it is exactly of the same form as the original, and retains this form only for a fixed time *viz*., so long as the reduplication is being made; but as soon as the reduplication has been made, the substitute takes its proper form. This rule has its scope in the rules relating (a) to the elision of long अ, (b) to the elision of the penultimate, (c) to the elision of the affix विन्य, (d) to the substitution of semi-vowels for vowels, and lastly (e) to the substitution of यस्य, भव, बाह्य and यात्र for य, क्ष, ये and कौ respectively by the rules of sandhi.

(a). Elision of था. Let us form the 2nd person perfect tense of the root पा ‘to drink.’ The termination of 2nd person perfect is चाबुस. This is, therefore, a termination beginning with a vowel, and it causes the reduplication of the root. The conditions of the present sūtra all exist in this. Thus we have पा + चाबुस = ध + ख + चाबुस (VI. 4, 64). Here the था is elided by VI. 4. 64. which teaches that ‘the था of the root is elided before ardha-dhātuka affixes beginning with a vowel and which are कित्वृ or हित्तु and before ह्र.’ The affix चाबुस is such an affix (I. 2, 5, III. 4. 115).

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

(b). The elision of the penultimate. Let us form the same tense of ह्रू ‘to kill.’ ह्रू + चाबुस = ह + ख + थ + चाबुस (VI. 4. 98).

Here also the preliminary conditions are all fulfilled, the affix begins with a vowel and it causes the reduplication of the root. The penultimate थ of ह्रू is replaced by the substitute lopa by VI. 4. 98, which teaches that the roots ग्नू ‘to go’ ह्रू ‘to kill’ and a few others lose their penultimate before affixes beginning with a vowel and which are also कित्वृ or हित्तु. We know चाबुस to be such an affix. For the reasons already given, we can not reduplicate the consonants ह्रू as they have no vowel. However, this reduplication is effected by virtue of the present rule, and we have:—ह + ह + चाबुस = जाबुस (VII. 4. 62, VII. 3. 55). The first ह is changed into ज by VII. 4. 62 and the second ह into ह by VII. 3. 55.
(c). The elision of the affix रिष्या. Let us form the Aorist (लुह) of the causative form of अद्यत. The causative is formed by adding the affix रिष्या to the root; and the aorist takes the augment अ. Thus we have:—अ + अद्य + रिष्या + त् = अद्यत + ह + र = अद्यत + ह + अद्य + त्. The affix अद्यत (III. 1. 48) is added in forming the aorist of causatives. The letters च and प are indicatory, the real affix being अ. Now by VI. 4. 51, the affix रिष्या is elided before an Ārdhadhātuka affix that does not take the intermediate ह. Now अद्यत is such an affix. Therefore we have अद्य + त् + अद्यत.

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

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

(e). The fifth case is the substitution of अद्यत &c. Let us form 1st person singular of the perfect of नी to lead: नी + अद्यत = ने + अ = नाद्य + अ. The ह is vṛddhah before the termination अ of the perfect (VII. 2. 115), and then changed into ब्राय by the general rule of sandhi (VI. 1. 78). Now the अ of the perfect causes reduplication, and it is an affix which begins with a vowel. It satisfies the conditions of this sutra. Therefore the ब्राय which was a substitute for ह, being a vowel substitute, becomes sthānīvāt to ह in form. In reduplicating the word नाद्य, we reduplicate as if it were still ने. Thus we have the form निनाद्य and not ननाद्य. Similarly निनय, बुजय, and लुजय.

Why have we used the word "dvirvachane" in the sutra? Without it, the aphorism would have stood thus:—“Before an affix having an initial vowel which causes reduplication, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel—
is like the original vowel." Let us form जले the 3rd per. sing, perfect tense (अन्नू) of the root जले "to be exhausted," in the atmanepada. The affix of 3rd per. sing. atm. of lit, is ए कृ (III. 4. 81). Thus जले + ए कृ = जलाः + ए कृ (VI. 1. 45). Now here ए is changed into बा, on account of the affix ए कृ; this affix causes reduplication, but still बा is not to be considered as sthānivat to ए. For if बा be considered so, then in the next stage बा + ए कृ = बा + ० + ए कृ (VI. 4. 64) the lopa will be regarded as sthānivat to ए and the reduplicative syllable will be ये and not ए; the form being जले and not जले. But बा is not sthānivat to ए, because for the purposes of reduplication, the change of ए into बा is immaterial; it is the second and further change of बा into zero which is directly connected with reduplication, (for if zero be not considered sthānivat, there can be no reduplication); and therefore, this substitute zero should be regarded as sthānivat to बा.

Why do we say "which causes reduplication?" Without these words the sūtra would have stood thus:—"Before an affix having an initial vowel, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel is like the original vowel, for the purposes of reduplication." In that case we could not get the form दुयुष्टपति, 3rd per. sing, desiderative present tense of विन्दु ‘to shine, to play.’ This form is thus evolved:—विन्दु + सत् (III. 1. 7)=विन्दु + सत् (VI. 4. 19) =इष्ट + ज + त् (VI. 1. 77). Here, the change of इ into ज is caused by ज (tech. जद्), which begins with a vowel; is this ज to be regarded as sthānivat to इ? No, because ज does not cause reduplication, it is त् which causes reduplication. Therefore the equation is:—इष्ट + सत् = दुयुष्ट (VI. 1. 9)=दुयुष्टपति. If ज could be regarded like इ, then the form would have been विन्दुपति.

Why do we say "beginning with a vowel"? Otherwise the sūtra would have run thus:—"Before an affix which causes reduplication, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel, is like the original vowel, for the purposes of reduplication." The affix बा of the Intensive verbs causes reduplication (VI. 1. 9); but as it does not begin with a vowel, the substitute will not be sthānivat. Let us form जेन्द्रियेते the 3rd per. sing. Intensive of the root बा ‘to smell.’ Thus बा + बा = जी + बा (VII. 4. 31)=जेन्द्रियेते (VII. 4. 83). Here, बा is changed into जी on account of बा; but जी is not sthānivat to बा; had it been so, the form would have been जेन्द्रियेते. Similarly जेन्द्रियेते.

अद्वेदन् चेष्य: ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदशेषन्, चेष्य: ॥

वृन्दः: ॥ अद्वेदनस्मिंतरात्मावतनुपुजयाधिकमानो बधिविनाश इत्यत्तवतमेति: शके=

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

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

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

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

प्रत्ययविकारणस्य शुकं शुककल्पः।
(अद्वेशः)

शृंगः प्रत्ययविकारणस्य शुकं शुककल्पः संज्ञा नवस्तः।

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

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

Thus in चौ + गुलुक + नि = वाति 'he eats.' Here the vikarana पाप has been elided by using the word luk (II. 4. 72). Similarly in तृषोति 'he invites,' the vikarana पाप is elided by the word slu (II. 4. 75), so in वरण 'a city in the vicinity of weeds called varaṇā.' Here the Taddhata affix indicating vicinity has been elided by the word lup,(IV. 2, 82),

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

प्रत्ययविकारणस्य प्रत्ययविकारणस्य शुकं शुककल्पः।

62. When elision of an affix has taken place (lopa), the affix still exerts its influence, and the operations dependant upon it, take place as if it were present.
This sūtra declares that when an affix disappears by lopa-elision its potency does not disappear. Thus the term ‘pada’ is defined to be that which ends in a case-affix or a conjugational-affix. But after certain bases, these affixes vanish; still those bases become ‘pada’ in spite of the vanishing of the whole affix. How can an operation directed by an affix take place, when the affix itself vanishes, is a doubt which may naturally arise. This sūtra answers the question. Though an affix may be elided by lopa, yet an operation of which such an affix was the cause, must take place. Thus अस्मिनेनि is a pada though the case-termination has been elided. Similarly the word अर्थोऽह तु ‘he milked,’ which is the Imperfect (लक्षण) of हृद, and is thus formed. अर्थोऽह + तु = अर्थोऽह + तु (III. 4. 100) = अर्थोऽह + 0 (VI. 1. 68) = अर्थोऽह + 0 (VIII. 2. 32) (here हृ is changed into हृ by taking the word ‘aduh’ as a ‘pada’) अर्थोऽह + 0 (VIII. 2. 37) = अर्थोऽह (VIII. 2. 39) = अर्थोऽह.

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

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

न हुमताकुलम् 11 63 11 पदenि 11 न, हुमता, अंकुलम्, (प्रत्यय-लक्षणम्) 11

भृति: || हुमता शब्दन जुमे प्रत्यये बकुल्मे तत्स्य प्रत्ययलक्षण्य कागे न भवति ||

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63. Of the base (anga), whose affix has been elided by the use of any of the three words containing न, the operations dependent on it do not take place, regarding such base.

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

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

Thus the word गायें: is the plural of the word गायें: . The word गायें: is formed by adding the affix वृक्ष to गायें (IV. 1. 105); the force of the indicator नृ being to cause the vṛiddhi of the first vowel of the word (VII. 2. 117). But in forming the plural of गायें: rule II. 4. 64 presents itself, which declares that there is lũk of the affix चर्बू when the word takes the plural. Here the affix चर्बू is elided by the word lũk, which means not only the elision of the च of गायें but also the shortening of य into ०, that is, the affix being elided, it vanishes altogether, leaving no trace behind, in the shape of the vṛiddhing of the first vowel, which the affix was competent to cause.

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

Similarly चुक्त: 'they two sacrifice'; here the vikaraṇa चुक्त has been elided by using the word 'सुक' (II. 4. 75, let सुक be substituted in the room of सप after the verbs हु अ&c). The effect of this elision is, that there is no guṇa substitution of the vowel of the base, which चुक्त was competent to cause.

When an affix is elided in any other way than by the enunciation of the three terms containing छ, it is competent to cause its proper effect. Thus छ + दिक्ष + तक्ष + जे = कार्ब + ब्रक्ष + जे = कार् + ब्रक्ष + जे = कार्बेवे. Here the elision of the affix छिच is by 'lopa,' (VI. 4. 51) and hence though the affix vanishes, its effect remains. Why do we say 'in respect of an Anga or inductive base?' Observe पञ्च 'five,' सप 'seven,' पञ्च: 'milk,' साम 'śâma veda.' Here in the word पञ्च, the plural case-affix is elided by VII. 1. 22
(after the words called šat, the जसु and शसु are elided by ‘luk’).
Here the affix is elided by enunciating the word ‘luk,’ the result is, that the affix cannot produce any change which it would otherwise have caused, in the anga or inductive base; such as lengthening, as in rājān, ‘a king,’ i. p. rājānāḥ ‘kings.’ But though it is inoperative as regards the anga, the elided affix is not altogether inactive. It retains the virtue of raising the base to the dignity of a pada. Thus:—पच्च + जसु = पच्च + 0, (luk VII. i. 22). The word pañcana is now a pada, and as such, it drops its final त्र.

अच्छन्त्यायति दि ॥ ६४ ॥ पद्यानि ॥ अचः, अन्त्यादि, दि ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ खर्चा सोनिनविरामो भाष्यायत् तत्त्वाय शास्त्रूप दिसंते नवति ॥

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

This sūtra defines दि. It is that portion of a word which is included between the last letter and the nearest vowel. Thus in the word ब्राह्मणिच् the portion ह्रु is दि; so also in सामसु े the portion उः. The word दि occurs in sūtra III. 4. 79.

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

अच्छन्त्यायत्वूथिर उपधा ॥ ६५ ॥ पद्यानि ॥ अचः, अन्त्यादि,

पूर्बः, उपधा ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ सामसुब्राह्मणिच् समुसापूर्वायत्: पूर्बः: ब्राह्मणिच् संसो नवति ॥

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

This defines उपधा or penultimate. Thus in the words पच्छ, निश्च, बुधः, द्रस्त, the letters च, च, ज, and स are उपधा.

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

तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वेऽस ॥ ६६ ॥ पद्यानि ॥ तस्मिन्, ह्रति,

निर्दिष्टं, पूर्वेऽस ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ तस्मिन्निति सृष्टे निर्दिष्टे पूर्वेऽस कार्ये नवति नीतिरस्य ॥

66. When a term is exhibited in the seventh case in these sūtras, the operation directed, is to be understood as affecting the state of what immediately precedes that which the term denotes.

This is a declaratory or interpreting sūtra. When in a sūtra, a word is used in the locative case, the operation ordained by that sūtra is to be per-
formed on the word preceding it. Thus in the sūtra इंको वणिचि (VI. 1. 77) the word वणिचि is in the locative case, which sūtra, therefore, means that इंको, इंक्ष, इंक्ष, followed by a vowel (वणिचि) are changed into क्र, क्र, क्र, (वणि). The literal translation of the sūtra being:—‘Of इंको there is वणि in इंक्ष.’ The force of ‘इंको’ or the locative case being to induce changes in the letter preceding the vowel. Thus क्र + उक्षम् = श्वर्यक्षम्; so श्विन्दित्, पच्छियोधस्तम्।

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

तस्यादिद्वित्रस्य || 67 || पदानि || तस्यादिद्वित्रस्य, इति, उत्तरस्य, (निन्द्रित्ते)।

श्रीति: \| तस्मादविचित्र वणिर्थ्ययेंतो उत्तरस्येत्थ कायेः भावति न पूर्वेऽर्थी।

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

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

Thus sūtra VIII. 4. 61 declares that ‘after इंको, of sthā and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior.’ Thus इंको+स्थानम्. Here the word इंको is exhibited in the original sūtra in the ablative case, and by the present sūtra it means that a dental letter इं must be substituted in the place of sthāna, and by I. 1. 54 ante, this dental takes the place of सं; we have इं + स्थानम् = उत्तर-स्थानम्। Similarly in sūtra तितृधि परिधि: (VIII.2. 18, ‘a word ending in a conjunctival affix, when following after a word ending in a non-conjunctival affix, becomes anudātta.’) Here the word ‘atīnāḥ’ is exhibited in the ablative case, therefore, the operation directed by this aphorism, namely, the substitution of anudātta accent, must take place in the word that follows. Thus श्रृङ्खल परिधि; but not so in पच्छियोधस्तमिति।

श्रृङ्खल रूपं शब्दस्याश्वस्यसंज्ञा || 68 || पदानि || श्रृङ्खल, रूपस्य, 
शब्दस्य, अश्वस्यसंज्ञा।

श्रीति: \| शाखेि वमेव रूपं शाखस्य वाहं बालवयस्यभवेऽभवति न वाहोऽपि: बालसंज्ञा वर्जः- 

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

This is a rule of interpretation. The word स्वेत which means 'one's own' denotes 'the meaning,' and the word रूप denotes 'the individual form of a word.' The sense of the sūtra is that a word denotes both things expressed by those two words स्वेत and रूप, viz., its meaning, and its form. Thus a rule applicable to बालि will be applicable to the word composed of अ, रूप, न, द and not to the words synonymous with agni, such as, पावक, ब्रजल: &c.

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

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

Thus the sūtra अइनेवेक्ष्टु (IV. 2. 33) declares: “that the affix 'dhhak' comes after the word 'agni'.” Thus अइनि + द्वस्क = अइनेवेक्ष्टु “belonging to agni,” as in the following sentence अइनेवेक्ष्टु निर्देशित. Here the word अइनि indicates the individual word-form अइनि and not its synonyms. Similarly sūtra IV. 2. 19 declares: “let there be optionally द्वस्क after उद्वित्त.” As उद्वित्तेव (VII. 3. 50 and 51) or उद्वित्तेव. The rule applies to the word-form ‘udaśvita’ meaning ‘curd-milk’ and not to द्वस्क, उद्वितिः, कालेष्ट, इण्डाहस्य and चमितिः, which are synonyms.

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

Thus शास्त्रविद्या (I. 1. 20) and तरसायी (I. 1. 22). Here the words 'धु' and 'ध' denote the words connoted by those terms and not to their word-form. There are, however, some sūtras in Pāṇini which are ap-
parently exceptions to this rule. These exceptions have been arranged under four heads, technically called सिन, विन, जिन, and विन. When there is a rule about a word, it may mean that very word-form, or words representing species falling under that word, or words which are synonymous with it. Thus rule II. 4. 12 declares: —“उधर ‘tree,’ श्रृ ग ‘deer,’ द्रध ‘grass,’ &c., may optionally be compounded as dvandva.” Here the word उधर stands as a generic name for the species falling under it, and does not represent the word-form, उधर. Thus we have dvandva-compound of उधर + न्याम, as उधरन्याम or उधरन्यामम. Such süttras are called लिङ्ग.

Then in sūtra III. 4. 40, we have an example of लिङ्ग. That sūtra means “the word पृष्ठ ‘to feed’ takes the affix त्वम (त्वम) when compounded with the word स्व.” Here the word त्वम means both the word-form स्व, as well as the synonyms of स्व and the species of स्व. Thus स्व and धन ‘wealth’ are synonyms; while स्व ‘wealth’ and गो ‘cow’ are genus and species. Thus स्व + गो + गोमु ल = स्वगोमुल. Similarly रॉपमु, धनपूमु, गोपोमु, अधपूमु. Such süttras are called विन.

Then in sūtra II. 4. 23, we have an example of विन. “A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word सभ ‘court’ is neuter, provided that it is preceded by the word राज, or by a word denoting a non-human being.” Here the synonyms only of the word ‘राज’ are taken, and neither the word-form ‘राज,’ nor the special ‘instances falling under it. Thus इन + सभ = इनसभ ‘king’s assembly,’ इरेव + सभ = इरेवसभ ‘king’s assembly.’ But not राजसभ, but राजसभ. Nor can we take particular kings, such as चन्द्रमु or रुणिनिच. In their case we must have रुणिनिचसभ, चन्द्रमुसभ.

Then in sūtra IV. 4. 35, we have an example of विन. The sūtra means “the words दक्त ‘bird,’ शस्त्र ‘fish,’ श्रृ ‘deer,’ take the affix फृक्कु when the meaning is the killer thereof.” Here the words दक्त &c. denote both the word-forms पक्षिक &c. as well as the species denoted by those terms, but not their synonyms. Thus पक्षिक + फृक्कु = पक्षिक: ‘a bird-killer,’ महानिखक: ‘a fish-catcher.’ शाळकु + फृक्कु = शाळकुनिखक: ‘a vulture-killer.’ But we cannot take the synonyms of ‘पक्षिक,’ &c. except in the case of ‘महान्त, when we may take the word ‘महान.’ As महानिखक: अंद मालिनिखक: ‘a fish killer.’

अनुदित्सर्वसंयोगाय चाप्रकाश: || 69 || पदार्थे || अण्य, उचित || सब्रिस्य, च, अप्रकाश: ( श्रद्धुपं ) ||

पद्धति: || अण्य गूढमात्र निर्दिष्ट संयोज्यात काली मेधा स्वस्थ्य च वसस्य मध्यय वर्णविश्लेषः ||

69. The letters of the Pratyāhāra व्र ी त e. the vowels and semi-vowels, and a term having व for its indicatory letter, refer to their own form as well as to their
homogeneous letters, except when they are used as pra-
tyâyâs or affixes.

The pratyâhâra चर in thus sûtra includes all the vowels and liquids. This is the only instance where अर pratyâhâra refers to the second र of लर. The letters included in चर, and the letters having an indicatory र, refer to, and include their homogeneous letters also. Thus कर refers to all the five gutturals क, ख, ग, च, छ; similarly टर, ठर, and पर; as in sûtra I. 3. 8. Similarly चर includes short, long and protracted चर. The words ‘its own form’ are understood in this sûtra, being drawn from the previous sûtra. Thus sûtra चरः (VI. 1. 87), ‘when a vowel comes after चर, guña is the single substitute for both.’ Here though the rule mentions only short चर, we take the long चर also. Thus not only नर + इरस्त = नरस्त; but मह + इस = महस्त।

So also in sûtra अस्त्र चरी (VII. 4. 32), ‘there is long ः in the room of चर when the affix ‘chvi’ (V. 4. 50) follows.’ Here long चर is also included; thus क्रष्ण + करोति = क्रष्णीकरोति, and खरष्ण + करोति = खरष्णीकरोति। So also in sûtra चरेरी चर (VI. 4. 148). ‘When long ः follows, there is elision of the ह or चर of the base,’ the rule applies to the bases ending in long ः and चर also.

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

तपस्तत्तकालस्य || ५५ || पदानि || त-पर:, तत्-कालस्य, ( र्वस्य रूपस् ) ||

श्रस्ति: || तपरी वर्तोत्तकालस्यात्मनात्मवकालस्य गुणान्तरस्य कालस्य सवर्धेष्य प्राहको भवति सन्य च रूपस् ||

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

By the previous sûtra it was declared that a vowel standing by itself included all the letters of its class. Thus चर includes चर and हर, हर; &c. This sûtra lays down the rule by which the very form of the letter is taken and not all the letters of its class. This is done by placing a र either after or before the letter. Thus चर चर means the very letter चर and not all its homogeneous letters. Similarly दत्र means short द only and not long or protracted द। We had to refer to this sûtra, in our very first sûtra, in explaining the term आत्र।
The sūtra consists of two words तपरे and तस्कालसर्व. Taparaḥ means that which has a त after it or that which is after त. Tat-kāla means having the same time. According to time the vowels are divided into short, long and protracted. Short vowels have one measure, long vowels two, and protracted vowels three. A consonant lasts half the time of a short vowel. Therefore a letter preceded or followed by त, refers to its own form as well as to those only of its homogeneous letters which have the same time. Thus the letter ब्र all will include the udātta, anudātta, svarita (both nasalised and non-nasalised) अ and not the long and protracted forms.

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

Thus in the sūtra VII. 1. 9 अतीतमस्य नीत्. 'After words ending in अ त (i.e. short अ), तैसै त takes the place of नित्.' Thus तैसै: But in खेत्र which ends in long अ and whose prosodial time is different from अ, this rule will not apply, and we have खेत्रि:

आदिरन्वेषण ज्ञेन्तर ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः; अन्तयेन, यह, इत्या, (खं रूपस्) ॥

इत्या: आदिरन्वेषणेत्वं ज्ञेन्तर गृह्यमाणायतस्य सम्बन्धायतान्तानं वयानां माहको भवति स्वर्य च रूपस्य ॥

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

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

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

वेन विचिस्तद्वस्य ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेन, विचि:, तै: अन्तस्य, (खं रूपस्) ॥

इत्या: वेन विचिस्तपेन विचिस्तपेते सतसत्समानस्य समुसारस्य माहको भवति स्वर्य च रूपस्य ॥
72. An injunction which is made with regard to a particular attribute, applies to words having that attribute at their end as well as to that attribute itself.

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

This is a rule of interpretation. When a rule is made with regard to a particular attribute or letter, it means also words having those attributes or letters at their end. Thus there is a rule (III. 1. 97) declaring "let there be the affix यत्र after the vowels." Here the phrase "after the vowels" means and includes "after the roots ending in vowels, as well as roots consisting of a single vowel." Thus त्व + यत्र = चेयम्. Therefore, this sūtra means that when a rule is laid down in this grammar with regard to a particular attribute, that rule, besides being applicable to that particular attribute, is also applicable to words ending in that particular attribute. Thus a rule laid down generally with regard to vowels, will apply to words ending in vowels; a rule laid down with regard to certain forms, will apply to words ending in those forms.

Thus the sūtra यर्च् (III. 3. 56) 'after इ there is यच्' declares that the affix ach would come not only after इ, but after any expression that ends in इ. Thus इ + यच् = यच्छ, चि + यच् = चच्छ.

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

Similarly, in rules of affixes. Thus sūtra IV. 1. 99 declares "that the words नह &c., take the affix पक्." Thus नह + पक् = नाडायन:। But we cannot apply the affix phak to the word सूतनह, the tadanta-vidhi not being applicable here. The descendant of सूतनह will be called सोतनाडि and not as above.

The above vārtika is however qualified by the following:—

**Vart:**—The above vārtika does not apply to words formed by affixes
Vriddham defined. [Bk. I. Ch. I. § 73.

that have an indicatory उक्र (उ, वा, वा), short or long, or where a rule is propounded with regard to letters. Thus the affix ktatavat (I. 1. 26) has an indicatory ज, and we have कुत्तर्य. A rule which will apply to kritavat will apply also to the word which ends in kritavat. Thus the feminine of kritavat is कुत्तर्यी (IV. 1. 6), the feminine of sukritavat will be sukritavati. Similarly rule IV. 1. 95 चतु र्य says "after च there is the affix र्य." This is a rule relating to prayayas, but as it is propounded by mere letters, the rule of tadanta-vidhi will apply here. Thus स्त्र + र्य = दत्रि 'the son of Daksha.'

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

Thus sūtra VI. 4. 77, achi śnu dhātu bhruvām yvor iyañ uvañau, means "iyañ and uvañ are the substitutes of what ends with the prayaya śnu and what ends in a verbal root in त or त, whether long or short, and of the inflective base bhrū, when an affix beginning with a vowel follows." Here the word 'achi' is exhibited in the seventh case, which literally means 'when a vowel follows;' but by virtue of the present vārtika it means, 'when an affix beginning with a vowel follows,' as. भ्रू, भ्रा. II

व्रह्थिःसमाचारमिलतः व्रह्मस् II 53 II पदानि II व्रह्थि:, यस:, अचासु, आदि:, तत्तः, व्रह्मस् II

व्रह्थि: II आचारंसन्नवस्त् व्रह्थिंसङ्क व्रह्मसकस्तव्यः सस्तव्यः भविः II
वाचासः II *सोज्यमन्त्रकस्तव्यः सस्तव्यः भविः वक्तव्यः* II
वाचासः II * वा नामविषयवेत्वं भविः सस्तव्यः भविः IV *
वाचासः II * जितज्ञासकस्तव्यः वक्तव्यः* II *

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

This defines the word व्रह्मस्. The sūtra consists of five words:—व्रह्थि: ‘the vriddhi vowel,’ यस्य ‘whose,’ अचासु ‘among the vowels,’ आदि: ‘is first,’ तत्तः ‘that ;' व्रह्मस् ‘is called vriddham.’

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

Why do we say "the first?" Because a word like सनासन्यः, which is not a vriddha word, will not admit of the affix छ. Its corresponding derivative will be सनासन्यः।।

Vart:—A proper noun, though not coming under the above definition, may yet be regarded optionally as a vriddham. Thus देवकिन + छ = देवकिनीया, or we may have देवकिनः।।

Vart:—A compound ending in a Gotra word, is regarded for the purposes of the addition of this affix, as if it was not compounded. Thus रौद्रि is a Gotra word and also vriddham. Its compound दूरतरौद्रि will be regarded as a vriddham too, for the addition of the affix. As दूरतरौद्रि + छ = दूरतरौद्रीया: ‘the students of Ghṛṭitaraṇḍhi.’ So also श्रीवाणपारिपीया; इत्यादीया: इत्यादीर्धया: &c.

Vart:—Exception must be made in the case of निहृत्ताकायः and हृत्ताकायः। They do not take छ. Thus नैहृत्ताकायः and हृत्ताकायः:।।

र्यादादीनि च || ७४ || पदानि || र्य्रू-आदीनि, च ||

• वृत्ति: II र्यवादीनि श्रघरौपायित इत्यंत्रा नवर्तिनि॥

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

The र्य्रू &c. have been given in the list of sarvanāmas. See sūtra 27. These words are also called vriddham. Thus त्रू + छ = त्रूवीयम्, त्रूवीयम्, नसीयम्, इस्तीयम्, असीयम्, त्यावानि; माहावानि; &c.

उद्द भाषां देशे || ७५ || पदानि || उद्द, माहाम्, देशे, (यस्या-चासादिः: व्रतम्) ||

• वृत्ति: II उद्द भाषाविद्वानस्यायामिनाथने इत्यं संसृं भवति॥

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

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

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

Why do we say 'having the letters ē and o'? If a simple vowel is first among the vowels, of a word, that word will not be called vṛiddham: and as such will not take the affix ē; as वाहिष्ठ्यम्, कान्यकुञ्जः.

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

Why do we say 'country'? The rule will not apply to rivers &c. Thus from गोति we have गौत्तता: 'fish born in the river Gomati.'
BOOK I.

CHAPTER II.

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

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

The root गाः is substituted for the verb इह् in certain tenses, in which the verb इह् is defective (II. 4. 49). The कुठि verbs are roots belonging to the Tuddā class of verbs, and they are forty roots beginning with कु, to be crooked, and ending with कु, to groan.

After these roots all affixes are treated as if they were marked with द् with the exception of those affixes which are यिन् or यिव.

Thus from गाः we have in the aorist the form अथमीत्; which is thus evolved. अथि + अट् + इह् + सित् + त = अथ + गा + द् + त (II. 4. 50.) = अथम + भी + तन (VI. 4. 66) = अथमी + ‘he studied,’ अथमीत् ‘they two studied;’ अथमीत् ‘they studied.’ Here by VI. 4. 66, the भा is changed into द् before the suffix सित्, which is regarded as हिन्.

Similarly, after the verbs कुद् &c., all affixes are treated as हिन्, with the exceptions already mentioned.

Thus कु + तृष् (III. 1. 133) = कु + द् + तृष् (VII. 2. 35) = कुति, nominative singular कुति ‘who acts crookedly.’ Here the suffix तृष् being, regarded as हित, does not cause the guna substitution of the द of कु, by I. 1. 15.

Similarly with the affixes तृष् and नद्धम्, we have कुति and कुतित्वम्. So on with all the forty roots of kuṭadī class: e.g. द्वुषिति, उष्णिद्धम्, उष्णित्वम्.
But the affixes marked with य or ज will not be so treated. Thus विष्णु by which causatives are formed, is such an affix; e.g. वस्कृत् + विष्णु + श्रवण + विष्णु = उस्कृत् + ह + ज + आ + ति = उस्कृत्यान्ति. Here there is gupa of the य of कृत. So also before the affix जन्म of the perfect tense, we have उस्कृत्यान्ति, and before the affix तेषु we have उस्कृत्यान्ति:।

विष्णु:—The root वच्छर ‘to deceive,’ is also treated like कृत्तमी verbs, except before the affix अस्य. As विष्णु ‘he shall deceive,’ विष्णु ‘for the purpose of deceiving’ विष्णुत्वम् &c. Here there is samprāsāraṇa before the नित terminations ना, तुम and तथं and the य of वच्छर is changed into य by rule VI. 1. 16.

But the affix अस्य is not नित and consequently there is no samprāsāraṇa before it. Thus उस्कृत्यान्ति: ‘an imp.’

विष्णु इत्यदि ॥ ॥ पदार्थिनिर्धारणिः: इत्यदि (इत्यदि) ॥

बुधि: ॥ भोजिनि मयाचलयः: भग्नाचर: इत्यदि प्रवचनोऽविश्विः ॥

2. An affix that begins with the augment इत्यदि (VII. 2. 35) is नित after the root विष्णु, ‘to fear, to move.’

The root विष्णु does not strengthen its vowel before the affixes that take the intermediate य, because those terminations are treated like हिंदू affixes. The root विष्णु belongs to the Tuddhi class. Thus उद्दिर्भित्तिः ‘he will be agitated,’ उद्दिर्भित्तिः ‘for the purpose of being agitated,’ उद्दिर्भित्तित्वम् ‘ought to be agitated.’

But those affixes, which are not preceded by the augment इत्यदि, are not like हिंदू, and they consequently produce their own proper action, such as gunation &c. As उद्दिर्भित्तिः उद्दिर्भित्तिः उद्दिर्भित्तिः ‘that which ought to be agitated.’

विभाषणः: ॥ ॥ पदार्थिनिर्धारणिः: विभाषणोऽविश्विः: ॥

बुधि: ॥ उद्दिर्भित्ति अत् च अत् च अत् च इत्यदि प्रवचनोऽविश्विः ॥

3. After the verb उर्ना ‘to cover,’ the affix beginning with the augment इत्यदि is regarded optionally like नित.

Thus before the इत्यदि termination इत्यदि of the future, we may have either उर्ण्वित्तिः or उर्ण्वित्तिः ‘he will cover.’

The equation of the form is:— म + अण्ड + य + ता = म + अण्ड + इत्यदि (VI. 4. 77) = उर्ण्वित्तिः. When the affix is not regarded as हिंदू, it produces gupa, and we have the second form उर्ण्वित्तिः.

Of course there is no option allowed before those affixes which do not take the augment इत्यदि, and before those terminations, consequently, we have only one form: as उर्ण्वित्तिः इत्यदि = उर्ण्वित्तिः इत्यदि, ‘covering,’ उर्ण्वित्तिः

‘which ought to be covered.’
4. A Sārvadhātuka (III. 4. 113) affix not having an indicatory \( \text{"प्र"} \) is like \( \text{"निन्"} \).

The terminations which are added to roots are either Sārvadhātuka or ārdhadhātuka. The Sārvadhātuka terminations are all those that are marked with a \( \text{"प्र"} \) and also the tense terminations called लिङ्ग, the latter are the following:—

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<th>sing.</th>
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<tr>
<td>3rd Pers.</td>
<td>तिस्र</td>
<td>तसर</td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd Pers.</td>
<td>तिस्र</td>
<td>वसर</td>
<td>य</td>
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<tr>
<td>1st Pers.</td>
<td>तिस्र</td>
<td>वसर</td>
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<td>3rd Pers.</td>
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<td>श्रानिः</td>
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<td>1st Pers.</td>
<td>हस्</td>
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Except the terminations marked with a \( \text{"प्र"} \) such as तिः, तिः and तिः, &c., all the other Sārvadhātuka terminations are ठिङ्ग. The ठिङ्ग terminations like शान्त, शान्तव, &c., are also Sārvadhātuka terminations. These affixes are also ठिङ्ग, unless they have a \( \text{"प्र"} \) as indicatory, as शार. Thus the affix तसर, being an ठिङ्ग Sārvadhātuka affix, is a ठिङ्ग, and before it the vowel is not gunated e. g. कुहत: 'they two do.' The equation is:—कृ + उ + तसर (the उ is added by Rule III. 1. 79) = कर + उ + तसर (VI. 4. 110) = कुह + उ + तसर = कुहत: । Similarly कुहत्तत 'they do.'

Here the उ of कर is changed into उ and we have कृ, by virtue of rule VI. 4. 110, which declares that the उ of the verb कर is changed into उ before those Sārvadhātuka affixes which are ठिङ्ग or तिङ्ग. Here तसर is a Sārvadhātuka ठिङ्ग affix by the present rule, and hence the change.

These four sūtras describe the ठिङ्ग terminations.

Why do we say 'a Sārvadhātuka affix'? Because an ārdhadhātuka affix, though not being marked with an indicatory \( \text{"प्र"} \) will not be a ठिङ्ग. As कर्तव्य 'doer,' कर्तव्यम् 'to do,' कर्तव्यम् 'duty.'

Why do we say 'not having an indicatory \( \text{"प्र"} \)'? If a Sārvadhātuka affix has an indicatory \( \text{"प्र"} \) it will not be निन्. As कृ + उ + तिङ्ग = कर्तव्य 'he does' कर्तव्य 'thou dost,' कर्तव्य 'I do,'
5. The affixes of Lit (Perfect Tense) not coming after a conjunct consonant, are as if they had an indicative क (kit).

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

Thus from सिंद्र ‘to tear’ the Reduplicated non-पत इल second person perfect is बिनिद्द्र: ‘thou hast torn.’ बिनिद्र: ‘They have torn.’

Similarly बिनिद्द्र: ‘thou hast divided’; बिनिद्द्र: ‘you divided’; दिनिद्र: and दिन्न:.

This rule will not apply if the root ends in a conjunct consonant. Thus तन्स ‘to fall down’ forms its second person Perfect:—समस्त + प्रतुष्ण = समस्तु:.

Here the affix is not treated as कित; for had it been so treated, it would have caused the elision of the penultimate nasal (anusvāra) of तंत्र by Rule VI. 4. 24.

Similarly from तन्स we have तन्नसे.

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

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

After these two roots the terminations of the Perfect are कित.. These roots have been especially mentioned, because the root इन्धि ending in a compound consonant will not be governed by sūtra 5; and the root बु is mentioned because all the terminations of the Perfect are कित after बु, not excepting the लित terminations. Thus the verbs संगि and संहि are illustrations of Perfect Tense from the root इन्धि as in the following examples:—संगि ब्रह्मवसस्ति, (Rig Veda VI. 16. 15), and बू बुहे ब्रह्मवर्धे, (Rig Veda VI. 16. 14). Here the nasal of the root is dropped by regarding the affix as कित II. Similarly from the root बु, we have बुहु, बुहुवर्धे II.

Var. :—This rule should be applied also to the verbs श्रु ‘to loosen,’ दंश ‘to fasten,’ देश ‘to injure’ and स्नेश ‘to embrace.’ As श्रुह: ‘thou hast
loosened, संघ + मर्दव = संघ + मर्दव. (The र is elided by the rule already mentioned in the last sutra, viz. VI. 4. 24).

= संघ + मर्द + मर्दव = मर्दव: (VI. 4. 120). Similarly, नाय: र; नाय: परिस्ंह; परिस्त्रज्ञ.


eक्ष्मन्दक्षुदक्षिणक्षिणाद्विवर्ष: क्षु + 17 || पदार्थ || छुड़-छुड़-छुड़
कुष-क्षिण-छद-छद: , क्षु (कित्) ||

हि: || छुड़ छुड़ छुड़ क्षिण क्षिण छछद छछद कतस्वतं: पर: स्यामयक्ष: कित्तकि ||

7. The suffix ktvā is kit after mrid, 'to be gracious,' mrid 'to squeeze,' gudh 'to wrap up,' kush 'to tear,' klīś 'to suffer,' vād 'to speak' and vās 'to dwell.'

After these seven verbs, the gerundial ktvā is kit. It might be said, what was the necessity of this sutra? The suffix ktvā is clearly a kit suffix, as it is marked with the diacritical letter क, and it was useless to call it a kit suffix after these verbs. The reason of this apparent repitition is this. Though ktvā is a kit suffix generally; yet there is a later sutra in this chapter (I. 2. 18) which declares that the prefix स्या is not kit, if it is preceded by the intermediate इ. Or in other words, if स्या is added to those verbs, which are called सूं द्व म थि, viz., that take an intermediate इ, it is not then kit. Thus the verb श्ी 'to sleep' is सूं. Therefore श्ी+इ+व्या = श्ी + इ + व्या = श्ाविा.

Now it happens that all the seven verbs mentioned in the sutra are सूं द्व म थि words, and take an intermediate इ. The स्या before these verbs would have lost its kitness by virtue of sutra 18; therefore arose the necessity of this sutra, to provide in anticipation an exception to that sutra, in favour of these verbs, where the suffix ktvā is necessarily kit. Thus we have श्ाविा 'being gracious,' श्ावितिक 'having squeezed,' श्ावितिक 'having wrapped,' क्षिण 'having torn,' क्षिण 'having suffered,' व्या 'having spoken,' लिङ्ग 'having dwelt.' The व of श्ाद and श्ाद are changed into श् by the rule of Samprāśāraṇa (VI. 1. 15).

Moreover in the case of the verbs गुष्ट, कृष्ट and क्रिष्ट, sutra 26 would have made स्या optionally kit; the present sutra makes it necessarily so.


eक्ष्मन्दक्षुदक्षिणक्षिणाद्विवर्ष: संदच || 2 || पदार्थ || सद-विद-सुप-ित्त-ित्त-ित्त-ित्त-ित्त-ित्त, (कु न कित्) ||

हि: || छुड़ छुड़ छुड़ क्षिण क्षिण छछद छछद कतस्वतं: पर: स्यामयक्ष: कित्तकि ||

8. The affixes ktvā and san (III. 1. 7) are kit, after rud 'to weep,' vid 'to know,' mush 'to steal,' grah 'to seize,' svap 'to sleep,' and prachchh 'to ask.'
After the above mentioned verbs the kvād though taking an intermediate ṣ, and the suffix vā are kīti. The suffix vā is employed in forming desiderative verbs. The of vā is ī, the real suffix being ṣ. The root is reduplicated before this suffix. Thus kūṣṭha 'having cried,' kūṣṭhāti 'he wishes to cry'; bhiṣṭha 'having known,' bhiṣṭhāti 'he wishes to know'; ripaśā (VI. 1. 16.) 'having taken,' ripaśāti 'he wishes to take'; sāsā 'having stolen,' sāsāyāti 'he wishes to steal'; sāsāa (VI. 1. 15) 'having slept,' sāsāyāti 'he wishes to sleep,' pṣa (VI. 1. 16) 'having asked' pṣayāti 'he wishes to ask.' The verb sā is changed into gū, sā into sū, praś into praś before kit suffixes by samprāśāraṇa (VI. 1. 16.)

The kvād and san would have been optionally kit after the verbs kā, viś and ṣn by virtue of Rule 26 of this chapter, but this sūtra makes them necessarily so, after these three verbs. In the case of the verb kā, these suffixes are kit by virtue of this sūtra only. In the case of the verbs śn and praś the suffix kvā is of course kit, because these two verbs are anī, that is, they do not take the intermediate ṣ; and therefore the kvā being directly affixed to them, and rule 18 not applying, the indicatory k would make it kit. In reference to these verbs, therefore, the present sūtra teaches something new, only with regard to the suffix vā, by making that also kit. The verb praś takes the intermediate ī when the suffix vā follows, by virtue of sūtra VII. 2. 75.

9. The suffix san beginning with a letter of the Pratyāhāra jhal is like kit, after verbs ending in ik vowels.

In this sūtra there is the anuvṛtti of vā only and not of kvā. The sūtra literally translated means:—"After ik the jhal." The Pratyāhāra ṣṅ contains the four letters ṣ, u, k, ṣ. The Pratyāhāra ṣṅ contains all the consonants, except the nasals and the liquids. After the verbs ending in ṣṅ, the desiderative suffix vā is kit, when it is ṣṅaṣṭha, that is to say when the suffix ṣṅ does not take the intermediate ī. The suffix ṣṅ is an affix which begins with a letter of the ṣṅ class. But if the intermediate ī is added before it, it is no longer a ṣṅaṣṭha affix, and in that case it is not kīti. Thus from ṣṅ 'to conquer,' which is a verb ending in ṣṅ, we have ṣṅaṣṭha 'he wishes to conquer,' ṣṅ 'to mix' ṣṅaṣṭha; so also ṣṅ 'to do,' ṣṅaṣṭha, ṣṅ 'to cross' ṣṅaṣṭha, ṣṅ 'to be,' ṣṅaṣṭha.

If however, verbs ending in ś or u or k or ī, take an intermediate ī, they likewise take guṇa. As:—śṅ 'to smile' takes guṇa, and makes its desiderative śṅaṣṭha.
The झलन्दः स्त्र is not kit after verbs ending in any other letter than the झक. As विपालि (from पा) 'he wishes to drink.' So from स्या we have तिहालि.

The object of making the affix झच्छ कित affix after verbs ending in झच्छ vowels, is to prevent the guna of the vowel of the root, as in विचिपालि 'wishes to collect,' गुंधालि 'wishes to praise.' To this it might be objected 'this cannot be: for rule VI. 4. 16 (when झच्छ beginning with a jhal, i.e., not preceded by the augment झह्र) follows, a long vowel is the substitute of verbs ending in a vowel, and of the verbs झह्र and झच्छ would prevent guna by substituting long vowel.' To this it may be replied: 'if rule VI. 4. 16, enjoining long vowel, debars rule VII. 3. 84 requiring guna, it should a fortiori debar rule VI. 4. 51 which requires the elision of the affix झि before Ardha-dhātuka affixes not taking the augment झह्र. But evidently that is not so; for the elision of झि is not debarred by VI. 4. 16. Therefore, the present sūtra is made, so that even by giving scope to the rule of lengthening, the affix झच्छ be treated as कित.' Thus in विचिपालि scope is given to rule VI. 4. 16, and the vowel is lengthened. But this rule in its turn will be debarred in those cases where rule VI. 4. 51 will apply: in such cases the maxim contained in I. 4. 2 is our guide, and a subsequent rule will debar a prior rule of Paññini when both find their scope in a single case. Thus in forming the desiderative of the verb झच्छ 'to inform,' both the rules VI. 4. 16 and VI. 4. 51 present themselves, but the latter prevails. The verb झच्छ belongs to the churādi class of verbs, and takes the affix झिच्छ. Thus झच्छ + विच्छ + झच्छ + विच्छ; here the present sūtra comes into force, and झच्छ being treated as कित, the guna of the झ of झच्छ is prevented. Thus sūtra VII. 3. 84 requiring guna being set aside, sūtra VI. 4. 51 comes into play, and causes the elision of झिच्छ and we have झच्छ+स+विच्छ=झिस्पालि (VII. 4. 55 झच्छ changed to झच्छ) 'he wishes to inform.'

हटन्ताचा || १२ || पदानि || हल्ल्य-अन्तात् || (झक, सन्त, महत्, कित्) ||

झिच्छ: || इश्लादिक्कमृण्डामाध्रः परं स्त्रधवलमि किच्छचति ||

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

Thus from निढो 'to pierce' we have विनिढोति 'he wishes to break,' the root निढो contains the झच्छ vowel झ; it ends in a consonant झ; the affix महत् is directly added without taking an intermediate झ, and therefore it fulfils all the conditions of the sūtra; and the vowel is not gunaed.
If the final consonant of the verb is not preceded by a vowel of the \( \text{ik} \) class, the affix \( \text{सन्} \) is not \( \text{kit} \) after such a verb. As ब्रजः+क्रेत्+ते =विषयचे 'wishes to sacrifice.' Had the affix \( \text{सन्} \) been here a \( \text{kit} \) affix, there would have been samprasāraṇa by rule VI. 1. 16 which declares that there is samprasāraṇa of the verbs बच्यः, वर्णः, and ब्रजः &c., before \( \text{kit} \) affixes.

If the \( \text{san} \) takes the intermediate इ and is then no longer a \( \text{कलावि} \) निः it is not \( \text{kit} \); and causes gunation etcetera. As द्रव्य + इ + सन् =विचित्रिते 'he desires to be.' Here there is गुण of \( \text{रि} \).

Roots like द्रमस्, सुहः &c., are governed by this rule, though they end in conjunct consonants, for the word हृत् of the \( \text{sूत्र} \) means \( \text{jāti} \) or class; thus द्रमस्+सन्+लिः =द्रम+लिः (VI. 4. 24, the \( \text{m} \) being elided by treating \( \text{sूत्र} \) as \( \text{कित्} \ ) =सौम्यकालिक विचित्रिति (VII. 4. 56).

\( \text{विद्यैवालङ्कारेऽन्येऽरूपः} \) ॥ ११ ॥ पदार्थां ॥ वित्तु-तिचे, आत्मागतस्य (हर्षनादन् इह भः) ॥

\( \text{इत्यः} \) ॥ इग्नालाविकलिकीपादः परे इग्नालाविकलिकी आत्मागतस्य परतः कितो भवतः ॥

11. After roots ending in a consonant, that adjoins a vowel of \( \text{ik} \) pratyāhāra, the substitutes of \( \text{नृ} \) (III. 3. 161) and \( \text{sृ} \) (III. 1. 44) when they begin with a consonant of jhal pratyāhāra, are \( \text{kit} \), when the \( \text{अत्मान} \) \( \text{pada} \) affixes follow.

The \( \text{sूत्र} \) consists of two words वित्तु-तिचे and आत्मागतस्य, literally meaning ‘the affixes \( \text{लिङ} \) and \( \text{sृ} \) in the Atmanepada.’ The other phrases, given in the above text must be supplied from the previous \( \text{sूत्र} \)s, to complete the sense. The \( \text{आनविल} \) of the word सूत्र, that began with \( \text{sूत्र} \) 8, does not extend further. As:—तिचे ‘may he break’ and सूत्र ‘may he know,’ बनित ‘he broke,’ जङ्गु ‘he knew.’

Thus the root फूट ends with a simple consonant, is preceded by \( \text{इ} \) a letter of \( \text{ik} \) pratyāhāra; after this root the jhalādi affix नीत of Benedictive in the Atmanepada is treated like फूट; therefore there is no गुण substitution of the vowel of the root before this affix. निकर्त्तू+नीत =निकर्त्तू। Similarly in the Aorist we have भनित = ब्रजः+निकर्त्तू+त्, the त् of the Aorist being elided by VIII. 2. 26. So also दृव्य+सूत्र = दृव्य+सूत्र (VIII. 2. 37) =सूत्र।

If the final consonant is not preceded by an \( \text{ik} \) vowel, this rule will not apply. Thus Ben. द्रजः+सूत्र = द्रजः+सूत्र (VIII. 2. 36) = द्रजः+सूत्र (VIII. 2. 41) = शब्द (VIII. 3. 58). Similarly its Aorist is शब्द। Had the affixes सूत्र and त् been \( \text{kit} \), they would have caused samprasāraṇa of ब by VI. 1. 16.
This rule will not apply, if the Benedicive and Aorist affixes are Parasmaipadi. Thus the Aorist of चत्र ‘to let off,’ is च + चत्र + सीठ = च + श + च + ज + सीठ (VI. i. 58) = ब्रजभ + सीठ (VI. i. 77) = श्बलादी (VII. 2. i). Similarly from इत्व we have Aorist Parasmaipadi ब्रतारवती. Had the Aorist been कित, rule VI. i. 58 (अ्रु is the augment of the verbs चत्र and इत्व when an affix beginning with a jhal and not having an indicatory क follows), would not have applied.

This rule will also not apply, if the verb ends in a vowel. Thus of the verb चित्र, we have Ben. चेष्टि, Aor. चेष्ट. Had the affixes been कित, there would have been no guna substitution of i into e.

The rule will not apply, if these affixes are not ज्हलादि, but take the augment इत्व. Thus Ben. इत्व + इत्व = वरिष्ट, so also Aorist चारिष्ट. Had they been कित, there would have been no guna substitution.

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

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

As from क ‘to do’ the benedicive is करित ‘may he do.’ So also लिन, as लिन ‘he did.’ So also लिनित and लिनु.

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

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

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

The result of its being कित is that the nasal is dropped in the Atmanepada, in forming the Aorist with लिन, and the Benedicive. Thus we have
the forms:—संग्रसीत्व or संग्रसीत्व in the Benedictive; and समगत or समग्नस्त in the sich Aorist. These forms are thus evolved:

सस + गम + सीट = सस + ग + सीट (VI. 4. 37) = समग्नस्त 'may he combine.' Here the nasal श of गम is elided by treating the affix सीट as कित by Rule VI. 4. 37. In the alternative we have समग्रसीत्व.

So in the aorist सस+गम+सीट+त = सस+गृह+गम+त (VI. 4. 37) = समग्नस्त. The सीट being elided by VIII. 2. 27 (after a short inflective base, there is elision of सीट, if a jhal follows). So when श of गम is elided by VI. 4. 37, there remains only ग which is a base ending in short श, hence, the elision of सीट. But in the alternative we have समग्रस्त.

इन: सिच् || १४ || पदानि || हन; सिच् || (कित्) || जूतिः || इन्द्रिणात: पर: सिच्च कित्रिति ||

14. The sich Atmanepada affixes are kit after the root han 'to kill.'

As ब्राह्म, ब्राह्मचारिका, ब्राह्म are the aorist of हन. When a सिच्च or second aorist is kit the verb loses its nasal, by Rule VI. 4. 37. After the verb हन the सिच्च is only kit and not the Benedictive लिङ्ग terminations, as was the case in the previous सत्रा; hence the repetition of the word sich in this सत्रा. The सत्राः 12 and 13 were governed both by लिङ्ग and सिच्च; from and after this सत्रा, the governing power of लिङ्ग ceases. The governing power of the word "Atmanepada" in सत्रा 11 does not however cease, and its anuvṛtti runs through the succeeding सत्राः; though as regards this सत्रा, its anuvṛtti is redundant, inasmuch as before the Parasamaipada terminations, the root हन is always replaced by श in the aorist, there is no necessity of making the affix sich a kit. For the object served in making sich, kit, after the verb हन, is to elide the nasal, while in the case of लिङ्ग, no such purpose can be served.

यमः गन्धः || १५ || पदानि || यमः, गन्धः, (सिच्च आत्मनेपदेषु कित्) || जूतिः || इन्द्रिणात्मकमेव वस्मानगात्ताः: सिच्च प्रधान: कित् भवति आत्मनेपदेषु परतः ||

15. The affix sich before Atmanepada affixes, is kit after the verb yam, when meaning 'to divulge.'

The word gandhana means 'to divulge,' 'to make known that which had been concealed.' The verb श्रृः has various meanings.

The result of kit is that the nasal is elided. The verb श्रृः becomes Atmanepada when preceded by the preposition श्रृः by rule I. 3. 28. Thus श्रृः + या + श्रृः + त = उदयासहस्र = 'he divulged,' उदयासहस्र, उदयासहस्र, the sich is elided by VIII. 2. 27 and या by VI. 4. 37. When the verb श्रृः has any other meaning than 'to divulge,' then the सिच्च in the Atmanepada is not kit; as उदयासहस्र पाद्य 'he raised the foot.' So also उदयासहस्र कृपाइतकम् 'he raised water from the
well.' Though here the verb *yam* is in the transitive form and takes an object after it, yet it is Atmanepadi by Rule I. 3. 75 which declares "after the verb *yam* to strive, preceded by स, उर and चाक when it does not refer to a book, the Atmanepada is employed."

16. The suffix before अतमेपदा affixes is *kit* optionally, when *yam* means 'to espouse.'

Thus उपायत कन्यास् or उपायत कन्यस् 'he espoused the girl,' उपायत or उपायत महाम् 'he espoused his wife.'

The word 'Upayama' in the sutra means 'to accept in marriage,' 'to espouse.' The verb *yam* preceded by the preposition उप is Atmanepadi when it means 'to espouse' by Rule I. 3. 56.

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

The roots ख्र 'to stand,' ग्र 'to give,' ध्र 'to place,' द्र 'to pity,' ध्र 'to feed,' ध्र 'to cut' change their vowels into ह before the terminations of the Aorist of the Atmanepada; and those terminations are also *kit*. As उपायत, 'he worshipped,' उपायतिता, उपायिता; प्रदित 'he gave', प्रदित 'he fed.'

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

We had had occasion to refer to this sutra in explaining sutra 7. The affix *htvā* (the actual affix being *tvā*, the *k* being merely *t* or indicatory letter) is on the face of it a *kit* affix. This sutra however limits its kinship to cases where it is not *sēt*. If it is *sēt*, i.e. has before it the intermediate ह it will not be treated like a *kit* affix. Thus in क्र्या, ह्र्या, the affix ख्र is added directly to the root ह्र 'to do' and ह्र 'to sacrifice,' without an intermediate ह; and therefore the root has not been gumaned, the affix here being *kit*. But in
Affixes like कित्.

ेविद्या, देविला, वानिला, from सिद्ध, दिश्य and वृत्त 'to sweat,' 'to shine,' 'to be,' the affix is not कित्, because there is an intermediate ह before क्तृ and the root has been consequently gynated.

Of course this सूत्र relates to क्तृ क्तृ्त only. Other affixes though having an intermediate ह will be treated as कित्, if they have an indicatory क्. Thus the affix कित् (III. 3. 94) by which feminine nouns are formed from roots is a कित् affix. This affix when सेट्, will remain कित्, as मि + महः + हद् + कित् = मि + गृहः + ह + ति (VI. 1. 16) = निज़ृहिति: (VII 2. 37). Here there is samparśārana by treating कित् as कित्. So also in उपसनिहिति: and निज़ृहिति: there is no गुः. After महः &c., the affix कित् takes the augment हद् by a Vārtika under सूत्र VII. 2, 9 which see.

निज़ा शीतिस्विचिदिस्विचिदिघुप: || २९ || पदानि || निज़ा, शीतिस्विचिदिस्विचिदिघुप: (न, सेत्, कित्)

वृत्ति: || शीतिस्विचिदिस्विचिदिघुप: परो निज़ा प्रशयः सेत् न कित्रिति:||

19. The सेत् Nishthā affixes are not कित् after the verbs स्ति 'to lie down,' स्विद् 'to sweat,' मिद् 'to melt,' क्षविद् 'to be unctuous,' and दहरिष्ठ 'to offend.'

The Nishthās are क्ता and क्तकाव्य (see सूत्र 26, Chapter I). They are obviously कित् affixes. But in the case of the above five roots they are not कित्, and the vowels take गुः. Thus शाक्रित: slept, शातिवान्, मन्तविति: प्रमृदिति: प्रस्वेदिति: प्रस्वेदिवान्, प्रस्वेदिवान्, प्रस्वादिवान्, प्रस्वादिवान्, प्रभाविति: प्रभावितवान् &c. In all the above roots the Nishtha affixes are also सेत्.

The roots शिव्य (शिव्यित), शिव्य (शिव्यित), शिव्य (शिव्यित) and शुष्क (शुष्कित) have all long श as indicatory, as well as the syllable श्य. These roots therefore by Rule VII. 2, 16 are generally अनित, and consequently beyond the scope of the operation of the present सूत्र. As शिव्य, शिव्यवान्. But when the Nishthā affixes denote 'a state or condition, भावा,' or 'beginning of action,' then the above four roots optionally become सेत्. (VII. 2. 17). It is in that case that the present सूत्र is applicable to them.

मृच्युतिद्वाच्यायाः || २० || पदानि || मृण्यु, तितिद्वाच्यायाः (निज़ा सेत् न कित्)

वृत्ति: || मृण्युतिद्वाच्यायाः निज़ा सेत् न कित्रिति:||

20. The सेत् Nishthā is not कित् after the verb मृष्यित when meaning 'to forbear.'

Thus मृष्यित: 'forborne,' मृष्यितत्व व 'forbore.'

Why do we say 'when meaning to forbear?' When it has not this sense, the सेत् nishthā will be कित्. As ग्राम्यवित्त शास्त्रमाहि 'he spoke unintelligible language.'
21. The सेट Nishṭhā is optionally not kit, after the verbs with a penultimate ञ if used impersonally or denoting the beginning of action.

According to some the सेट Nishṭhā suffixes are not kit after the verbs having a penultimate ञ if those verbs are used impersonally (bhāva) or denote the beginning of action (ādī-karman). Thus खुल ‘to shine’, खुलतमनेन or खुलतमनेन ‘it has been lighted.’ Similarly प्रियतित or प्रियतित: ‘he first illumined.’ The word penultimate or upadhā has been defined in sūtra 65 ante.

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

This rule has no application where the Nishṭhā does not express either भाव ‘condition’ or ‘Impersonal action’; or आविर्भर्म ‘beginning of action’, but is used as a verbal adjective. As खचित ‘he gives a shining coin (called kārśhāpana).’ Here the word खचित ‘shining’ is used as adjective.

* The rule applies to the Nishṭhā which takes the intermediate ञ and not to others as प्रूढ़कोभर्म ‘the rice that has been eaten.’ Here no option is allowed.

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

पूड़: कुर्च ञ || 22 || पदानि || पूड़:, कुर्च, च (सेट, कितू, न निच्छा) ||

वृत्ति: खुल: परष निच्छा प्रत्यय: तवा च एणूप खुलते ||

22. The सेट Nishṭhā and the सेट ktvā are not kit after the verb pūṅ ‘to purify.’

The word ‘optionally’ of the previous sūtra 21 does not govern this sūtra, because the word ‘optionally’ has been again used in the next sūtra 23; of which there would have been no necessity had the word ‘optionally’ governing force in this sūtra, for then this would have also governed the next sūtra. The anuvṛti of न तेष has however to be read in this sūtra.
By rule VII. 2. 51, after the verb दूषित, the affixes निश्चित and कथि क्तवाद take the intermediate इ. So that कथि क्तवाद being निश्चित (by virtue of Rule VII. 2. 51) would have been non-kit by Rule 18; and it might be asked what is the necessity of repeating it in this सूत्र, when सूत्र 18 comprised the case. The reason of this repetition is that by mentioning कथि क्तवाद in this सूत्र, it has governing force over the succeeding sūtras. As पद्धति: 'पद्धतिवादयः.'

नापद्धताः यथासाद्वा  || २३  || पद्धति  || न-उपमानाः-ध-अन्तान-चाचाः (नू तैं न कित)  ||

वृत्ति: नापद्धताः यथासाद्वा सत्तास्वत्वकारान्त्यकारान्त्यपाताः परः कथि प्रविषयः 'सेव वा न कित्रस्वति'  ||

23. The सेव क्तवाद is optionally कित, after the verbs having a penultimate न and ending in य and म.

The सेव क्तवाद may or may not be कित after the verbs ending in य, or म preceded by a nasal. The result of being कित will be that nasal will be dropped. In other words the dropping of the nasal is optional in such verbs. Thus from संघी we have पत्तल्ला or चतुर्भस्वा 'having twisted,' गुल्लस्वा or गुल्लस्वा 'having tied round,' शाब्दिक्षा or शाब्दिक्षा.

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

This rule does not apply to verbs that have not a penultimate न though they may end in य or म. As शेषज्ञा 'having reviled,' चतुर्भस्वा 'having tied.' Here by rule 18, the ज्ञा त्वाद being non-kit, the vowels of the root त्वाद and ज्ञा have beengunated.

A verb may have a penultimate न, but if it has not final य or म, the rule does not apply. As संघी + त्वान = शाब्दिक्षा 'having dropped,' शाब्दिक्षा 'having killed.' Had it been कित, the nasal would have been dropped.

वत्तिकालिक्षमुद्धिः  || २४  || पद्धति  || वत्तिकालिक्षमुद्धिः, च (नू तैं न कित)  ||

वृत्ति: वत्तिकालिक्षमुद्धिः ह्येत्तेः परः कथि प्रविषयः 'सेव वा न कित्रस्वति'  ||

24. The सेव क्तवाद is optionally कित, after the verbs वाची 'to cheat' लुची 'to pluck' and रित 'to dare or abhor.'

After the above three verbs, the क्तवाद affix being सेव, may or may not be कित. As बाचता or बाचित्वा 'having cheated.' So also लुचित्वा or लुचित्वा 'having plucked,' चतुर्भस्वा or चतुर्भस्वा 'having dared.'

When the verb कथि रित takes the affix इक्षणित它 it is not governed by this सूत्र. See सूत्र 111, 1. 29.
When the *ktvā* is not *sīt*, but *anīt*, then there is no option allowed.

As वस्त्र + तन्त्र = वल्लवा.

तुषिमुलिन्धि: काद्यपस्य || २५ || पदानि || तुषि-मुलिन्धिनि: काद्यपस्य, (कुरू भेदः न फलितः ) ||

००: || तुषि शशि कुप्रि इत्यादिः परः तन्त्र प्रतिः सेठः काद्यपस्याचारन्ति सते वा न
किरङ्गति ||

25. The सेत *ktvā* is optionally *kīt*, according to the opinion of Rishi Kāṣyapa, after the verbs त्रिष्ण ‘to be thirsty,’ म्रिष्ण ‘to sprinkle,’ and क्रिष्ण ‘to become lean.’

As हृदिस्त्र or हृदिस्त्र ‘having thirsted,’ हृदिस्त्र or महिस्त्र ‘having sprinkled,’ कुबिस्त्र or कुबिस्त्र ‘having become lean.’ By sūtra 18, the सेत *ktvā* is never *kīt*. This sūtra adds another exception to that general rule.

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

रक्षा व्युप्तवाचः: संद्वः || २६ || पदानि || रक्षा: उ-उपवाचः, हल्ल्याहः, सत्र: च (वाते फलितः) ||

००: || उकारोपणकारोपणाचार्यामार्थे रक्षामार्थे: परः संश्च तन्त्र लेटो वा किले
भवतः ||

26. After a verb which begins with a consonant, and ends in a letter of *Rāl praṭyāhāra*, and has as its penultimate ḍ or ṇ, ṇ or ḍ, the *ktvā* and *sān* affixes are optionally *kīt*.

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

1. रक्षा: ralaḥ, ablative of ring (after the consonants included in the *Pratāyāhāra ral* i.e., all the consonants except ः, य and ः) — Verbs having their final letter any single consonant except ः, य and ः.

2. हल्ल्याहः means “after penultimate सी.” It is a compound of सी + उपवाच. The सी itself is a compound of ः सी = सी. Therefore the phrase means “after (verbs) having for their penultimate either ः i or ः u long or short.”

3. सत्रः means “beginning with a consonant.”

All these three words qualify the word “verb” understood.

4. संश्च means “and sān.”

The sūtra means, those verbs which have a रक्षा letter in the end, a हल्ल्याह in the beginning, and an ः, ः or ः, ः in their penultimate, may optionally treat the affixes *ktvā* and *sān* as फलितः.
Thus रङ्ग 'to shine,' makes रङ्गुलित्वा or रङ्गुलित्वा 'having shone,' लिखः 'to write' makes लिखलित्वा or लेखलित्वा.

Similarly in सन affix we have लिखलिपिति or लिखलिपिति 'he wishes to write', विषयलिपि or विशयलिपि 'he wishes to shine.'

The rule does not apply if the verb ends in a letter other than रङ्ग. As विज्ञ + त्वा = विज्ञत्वा; its desiderative will be विज्ञत्वति. No option is allowed here.

Similarly there is no option when the penultimate vowel is not ए or अ. As वुज्ञ + त्वा = वुज्ञत्वा. Des. विज्ञत्वते.

The rule also does not apply if the verb does not begin with a consonant. As एन्त्वा and एन्त्विता. There is no option allowed here.

The rule does not apply if the त्वा and एन् are anit. As मुक्ता, बुधस्ते.

In these 26 sūtras the description of affixes which are treated like दिभ्व and बन्ति is comprised.

उकालोंस् हस्तदीर्घस्तुत: || २७ || पदानि || उकालः ब्राह्म, हस्तः

दीर्घूद्धत: ||

वृत्ति: || उ क्रि ते हस्तवेच कार्याणि हस्तदीर्घस्तुत इत्यादि संस्कृती महति ||

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

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

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

As धैर 'curd', मधु 'honey'. Here इ and उ are short. कुमारी, गीती, here इ is long. खेमित्वा अति ज्ञात Devadatta I Here ए a is pluta or prolated.

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

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

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

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

Similarly sūtra VII. 4. 25a teaches "There is the substitution of *dirgha* or 'long vowel' before all affixes beginning with the letter ः, except krit and Śārvadhātuka affixes." Here also the word 'vowel' must be read into the sūtra which will then be "of an inflected base ending in a vowel, the long vowel shall be the substitute &c." As चित्त+भु+त=चित्ते 'it is collected'; यू+त+त=यूिः 'it is heard.' Why do we say "in the place of vowels only"? The substitution must take place in the room of a vowel and not of a consonant. As निष्ट+व+त = निष्टे 'it is divided,' दिनान्ते it is pierced.'

So also in the case of *pluta* substitution. Thus rules VIII. 2. 82 and 84, declare that in calling from a distance, *pluta* is substituted for the दिं portion of the word in the vocative. (The word दिं is defined in I. 1. 64). Here also the phrase 'of the vowel' must be read into the sūtra to complete the sense. The sūtra will then read:—"*Pluta* is substituted in the place of the vowel of the दिं &c." Thus देवदात्तो, O Devadatta! बलद्वानु O Yajñadatta!

Wv do we say "in the place of vowels only"? The substitution must be in the place of the vowel of the दिं and not of the consonant. As अभिन्निष्ठतः, लोमान्तः. Here the syllables इत व त are दिं, and the vowels इ and त have been prolated and not the consonant ः.

The substitution must be enunciated as such by using the terms, hrasva, dirgha, and pluta. Therefore it is not so here; दृश्यः, प्रथयः, शः, सूमायस्य, चुमि: See I. 1. 4,

उद्वैद्वादि: II २९. || पदासि II उद्वैः, उदासि:; ( ऋचुः) ||
ब्रह्मि: II उद्वैद्वादिर्मानो ब्रह्मध्रुव: स उद्वाससंस्यो भवति ||

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

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

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(1) हृदेयोऽनुसारे प्रतिसादिक्षत: || (2) ब्रह्मसारेण सुभाषिक्षेत: || (3) ब्रह्मध्रुव: ||

उदात्त: II दृश्यः ||
in writing. The word 'vowel' of the previous sūtra is understood in this also. These accents are the qualities of letters, and are well known in the sacred and secular literature. The vowel which is perceived as having a high tone is called udātta. This tone depends upon the organ from which the vowel is pronounced. In the various organs, such as the throat, palate, &c., if a vowel is pronounced from a higher part of that organ, it is called udātta. The vowel in the pronouncing of which there is the restraining and checking of the bodily parts, and in which there is dryness and roughness of tone as well as a contraction of the larynx, is said to have the acute accent. The word is used in sūtra III. r. 3.1 "The first vowel of an affix has the udātta accent." As क + तयम् = कतयम् kartavyam.

नीचेरुद्दत्त: || २० || पदानि || नीचेः, अनुदात्तः, ( अच् ) ||
बृवि: || नीचेरुद्दत्तं भयमुः तोऽच्च सौन्दर्यसंबंधति भविति ||

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

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

This word is used in sūtra III. r. 4.2 "the case terminations called त्रप and those affixes that have an indicatory च are anudātta" &c. As लयः, बृविसम्.

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

समाहारः स्वरित: || ३१ || पदानि || समाहारः, स्वरितः ( अच्,
उदात्तः, अनुदात्तः ) ||
बृवि: || उदात्ताद्वाच्चस्माहारं योः च स्वरिसंबंधति भविति ||

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

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

The word is used in sūtra VI. r. 185.3 "The affixes having an indicatory त have svarita accent." As कन्या, कन्या, विस्क्यम् s'kyām, के kvā.

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

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

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

The phrase ardha hrasva is used to indicate half the measure of a short vowel. Thus if a short vowel is svarita, its mātrā being one, half will be udātta and the other half anudātta. If a long vowel, whose mātrās are two, be svarita then ½ will be udātta, ½ will be anudātta. If a pluta (protracted) vowel be svarita, then first half measure will be udātta, and the remaining ½ measures will be anudātta. In short, the udātta portion of a svarita must not occupy more time than is taken in pronouncing a half short vowel. Thus in श्रिवंश s'ikyam, the a is svarita, half being acute, the other half grave or monotony; in कर्म kanyā, the long a is svarita, its first half measure is acute, the remaining ½ is grave; in मानवकान mānavakā, here a prolatted is svarita, its first ½ is acute, the balance ½ measure is grave.

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

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

The word ‘Sambuddhi’ means here addressing a person from a distance; and has not its technical meaning of the singular number of the vocative case. As आग्नेय मो माणवक देवदत्त ‘O boy Devadatta! come.’ There is vanishing of all the accents in the above case; and the final short vowel of Devadatta is changed into pluta by the rule already referred to in s. 28 ante VIII. 2. 84 (1181)
If the person is not addressed from a distance, then the word will get its proper accent. As आगच्छ भो माणबक वैवच्छ ‘come, O boy Devadatta.’

यवक्षणयाजपयं द्विसामस्तु || ३४ || पदानि || यवक्षणयाजपयं, चाजपयं-न्युंकतः-सामस्तु, (एकश्चाँति:) ||

वृत्ति: || अपयुक्तसामान्यं वांचित्सा यवक्षणयाजपयं मन्त्राणामेकं श्रवणे भवति ||

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

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

“Japa” is the repetition of mantras, and their recitation in a low voice or whisper. Nyūṅkha is the name of certain hymns of the veda, and the names of 16 sorts of “Om.” Some of these are pronounced with udatta and others with anudatta accent. Sāmas are songs, or the musical cadence in which some vedic hymns are to be uttered. As:— अरे नमुन्दक्षरित्वा: तत्वम्यः पृथ्विष्ठा श्रवणे। अपाय रेतातिष्ठ जिनस्वेषे म् (Rig Veda VIII. 14. 16).

When a mantra is recited as a japa, then it must be pronounced with accents:—As समाने वचौं बिद्वेलख्स्तु (Rig Veda X. 128. 1).

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

In the sāma chanting, the mantras should have their accent, there can be no Ekaśruti there. As एष्बधविष्ठं समविष्ठं द्वारा। एके समविष्ठं भवति एक अविष्ठिः। Here there is no Ekaśruti.

उच्चेलस्टावो वा वष्टकार: || ३५ || पदानि || उच्चेलस्टावो, वा, वष्टकार: , (यवक्षणयाजपयं, एकश्चाँति:) ||

वृत्ति: || यवक्षणयाजपयं वष्टकार: उच्चेलस्टावो वा भवति एक अविष्ठिः ||

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

The phrase “yajña-karma” is understood here. Even in yajña-karmas or sacrifices the word वष्ट may optionally be pronounced in a raised tone. The word वष्ट in the śūtra signifies वष्ट. But why was not the word वष्ट used in the text? It could have been used with as much ease as वष्ट. To this natural query, the only answer is, विनिविष्ठ: हि सुरस्य कृति: पाँगि: strange and wonderful is the structure of Panini’s aphorisms, Thus समासं मै बहीः वैशा पद्य or सामस्तार्थं बहीं होषे पद्य.
Ekasruti defined.

36. The Monotony is optional in the recitation of the Vedas, or they may be recited with accents.

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

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

Thus:—अभिमभें पुरोहितं or simply अभिमभें पुरोहितं. “I praise Agni the purohita.”

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

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

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

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

As सुब्रह्मण्योपि विभाषयति हरिः भागवत: Here the word सुब्रह्मण्य is formed by the addition of the affix वव to the word सुब्रह्मण, and this व will get svarita
accent by VI. 1. 185, (सिंधुरितम्) as it has an indicatory ः; by the present सूत्र, this nascent svarīta is changed into udātta. In the phrase इन्द्र आगच्छ, the word Indra being in the vocative case, ः is udātta, the ः of Indra is anudātta VI. 1. 1981. The anudātta preceded by an udātta is changed into svarīta (VIII. 4. 66)°.

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

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

By sūtra 37, it was declared, that in सूक्रमण्यa hymns, svarīta accent is replaced by udātta accent. This sūtra makes an exception in favour of the words देव and ब्राह्मण occurring in those hymns. These words have anudātta accent. As देव ब्राह्मण आगच्छ ‘come ye Devás and Brahmāṇas.’ Here the word देव gets udātta accent on the first syllable by rule VI. 1. 1981. (in the vocative the accent is on the beginning): ः ः has originally an anudātta accent which by rule VIII. 4. 66° (an anudātta following an udātta is changed into svarīta) would have been changed into svarīta. This svarīta, by the previous sūtra required to be changed into udātta; but by this rule, it is replaced by anudātta. In other words, the original anudātta remains unchanged.

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

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

(1) आमन्निवर्य च || (2) चंद्राधुदचातस्य स्वरित: ||
the anudātta accents become Ekas'rutī if they are preceded by svarīta vowels; and are pronounced monotonously. As हम में गड़े यहुंे सस्तवता (Rig Veda X. 75. 5) O Ganga, Yamuna, Sarasvati! this mine.

Here the word हम has udatta on the last syllable: the word हम is originally anudātta, but by rule VIII. 4. 66 following an udātta, it is changed into svarīta; after this svarīta all anudātta like गड़े, &c., are replaced by ekas'rutī. All the vowels of the words गड़े, यहुंे &c., had anudātta accent by rule VIII. 1. 19* (all vocatives get anudātta if standing in the middle of a sentence and not beginning a stanza.)

The word "sahīta" has been used in the sūtra to show that when there is a hiatus between the words then there is no change of anudātta into ekas'rutī. The word sahītā will be defined in sūtra I. 4. 109*.

उदात्तस्वरितपरस्य स्वरातः || ५० || पदानि || उदात्तस्वरितपरस्य \\
सम्बतिः (अनुदात्तसानाम) ||

उदात्तस्वरितपरस्य चातुरतस्य सम्बरायतेषो भवति ||

40. The accent called Sannatara is substituted in the room of an anudātta vowel, which has an udātta or svarīta vowel following it.

In the previous sūtra it was said that an anudātta precedes by a svarīta becomes Ekas'rutī. If, however, such an anudātta is followed by an udātta or a svarīta, it does not become Ekas'rutī but becomes sannatara, i.e. lower than anudātta.

The sannatara is therefore that accent which was originally anudātta, and which is preceded by a svarīta and is followed by an udātta or a svarīta.

This is one explanation of the sūtra. There is another explanation which does not take the anuvṛtti of Ekas'rutī in this sūtra. The anudātta is replaced by sannatara when such anudātta immediately precedes an udātta or a svarīta. The sannatara is also called anudātta. As देवा मदव: पुर्विनाति: ||

Here the word मदव is anudātta. The word अप: has udātta on the last syllable by VI. 1. 171.* In the phrase मदव: (मदवः + अप:) the syllable य र is anudātta, because anudātta + anudātta = anudātta. This anudātta यः, preceding the udātta यः, is changed into sannatara.

अष्टुक एकाद्वस्य || ५१ || पदानि || अष्टुकः, एक-अर्थः, प्रत्ययः ||

उदात्तस्वरितपरस्य स्वरातः (अष्टुक एकाद्वस्य संज्ञा भवति एकाद्व: प्रत्ययः) ||

(1) उदात्तस्वरितपरस्य स्वरातः (2) स्रावनितपरस्य च (3) पर: संज्ञायः संहित | (4) उदात्तस्वरितपरस्य स्वरातः ||

* In the phrase मदव: (मदवः + अप:) the syllable य र is anudātta, because anudātta + anudātta = anudātta. This anudātta यः, preceding the udātta यः, is changed into sannatara.
41. An affix consisting of a single letter is called an Aprikta.

This defines Aprikta affixes. They are those affixes which consist of only one letter of the alphabet. Thus the affix व in वस्तम is a one lettered suffix and is an Aprikta. Similarly the affix क्वन क्विन is an Aprikta, because the letters क, ह, औ औ are merely indicatory, the real affix is व व. This व व being a single letter, and therefore an Aprikta, when added to a base, is elided by rule VI. 1. 67 (the Aprikta व व is elided). Thus वस्तम+ क्विन= वस्तम+ ह = (III. 2. 58)। वस्तम+ ह = वस्तम ह ‘co-sharer.’ (III. 2. 62)। An affix which consists of more than one letter is not an Aprikta. As वः विश्व: ‘a ladle’ formed by the Uṇādi affix विश्व (वृष्को विश्व)।

तत्स्तु योः समानाचिकरणव: कर्मदारव: || ओऽ || पदविन || तत्स्तु:|| समानाचिकरणव: कर्मदारवस्त्रीयोऽवनिति ||

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

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

The compounds like शैवाल्पक ‘the blue lotus’, परमात्म ‘the supreme spirit’ &c., are examples of karmadhāraya compounds. "The component words, if dissolved, would stand in the same case, (samānādhiṣṭāraṇa), whereas in other Tat-purushas, the preceding word is governed by the last."

As, परमराज्यम्, is a karmadhāraya compound meaning "the best Government." Had it not been a karmadhāraya compound, the udātta accent would have fallen on the syllabic र by rule VI. 2. 139, (the word राज्यम् has udātta on the first syllable in Tat-purusha compounds, except in karmadhāraya).

Similarly पाँचिकाः + क्वालिकाः = पाँचक्वालिकाः (VI. 3. 42, the feminine adjective is changed into masculine in the karmadhāraya).

Each member of a compound may have the same case, but if it is not a Tat-purusha compound, it won't be karmadhāraya. As पाँचिकाः + मायाः = पाँचक्वालिकाः: ‘He who has a wife for a cook.' This is an example of a Bahuvalī compound, and therefore the word पाँचिका retains its gender sign.

(1) वेचुलस्य || (2) वशोर्च्छुद्र के किन्तु || (3) ताराविष्णु || (4) बकर्मियाऱ्ये राज्यम् || (5) बहुवलस्यार्थ जातीयदेशयेषु ||
A word which in the analytical statement of the sense of a compound has one fixed case, whilst the word with which it is compounded may vary its case, is also called upasarjana, but does not necessarily stand first.

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

Thus the prepositions नि: &c., when meaning across &c., are compounded with another word in the ablative case. Though the first word may have any one of the several case terminations, the second member must always be in the fifth (ablative) case, when analytically stated. Ex: निग्रहायत: + कोशम्य = निग्रहायकिता, निद्राध्याय + कोशाय = निद्राध्यायन्यम, निधानसन्त + कोशाय = निधानसन्तान्यन, निधानसनाय + कोशाय = निधानसनायन्यम, निधानान्त्य + कोशाय = निधानान्यम.

Similarly the word निविर्यागित: II

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

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

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

अर्थविधानप्रतिरूपिन्य: प्रतिपदिकम् II ४५ II पदानि II अर्थवनि, अर्थात्: , अर्थात्: , प्रतिपदिकम् II

इति: II अर्थविधानप्रतिरूपं प्रतिपदिकसंगत मथि धातुप्रतिष्ठा चर्चविष्ठा II

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

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

The word अर्थ means having signification. With the exception of verbal roots and affixes, a word-form having a significance or meaning is called

(१) उपस्थिता पुर्णम् II
a prātipadika, as द्वार्य: 'a wooden elephant,' कविश्च 'the wood-apple tree,' कुण्डस्य 'a bowl,' पाठस् 'a seat:

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

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

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

A nipaṭa or particle though not a significant form of a word, yet gets the designation of prātipadika in the opinion of the author of the Mahābhāṣya. As अध्यात्मकत्वं, प्रत्रृत्वते.

46. The forms ending in Kṛit affixes, or Tad-dhita affixes, or compound are also called Prātipadika.

This further explains the use of the word prātipadika. "Suffixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds. Those by which nouns are derived direct from roots, primary suffixes. Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns, secondary suffixes. The former are called Kṛit, (III. 1. 93) ⁹, the latter Tad-dhita (IV. 1. 76).³ Thus जन जान, man, is derived from the root जन् जान by the kṛt suffix इ; but जीव जानिना, appropriate for man, is derived from जन जान by the Taddhita affix इन इना. The name prātipadika would apply both to जन जान and जीव जानिना, as nominal bases ready to receive the terminations of declension " (Max Müller).

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

In the last sūtra, the words "not ending in an affix" were too extensive; this sūtra makes an important provision in favour of words ending in Kṛit or Taddhita affixes. So also compounds are also called prātipadika. Being restricted to compounds only, it, of course, does not apply to sentences.
The words formed by krit affixes are pratipadika, as ढ (to do)+इहुः = कार् + ख्रि = कारक. The affix इहुः is a krit affix, and it is added to the root to form agent by Rule III. r. 133.1 The letters ख्रि and are indicative, the force of ख्रि being to cause the vridhi of the vowel of the root. The real affix इहुः is changed into अख्रि by VII. r. 16, the affixes ख्रि and इह्रि are replaced by अस्त्रि and अख्रि respectively. Thus the form कारक is a pratipadika, and is capable of declension by receiving case terminations, as कारक: II । Similarily ख्रि+ह्रि (III. r. 133)1 = कारिः; nom. case कारी।

The word formed by Taddhita affixes are also pratipadika; उपस्थि+अणि = श्रीणिः + अणि = श्रीणिः ‘the son of the Rishi Upagu’: nom. case श्रीणिः। Similarly काप्रि।

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

The words ending in compound are pratipadika: as राशिः+पुरुषम् = राजपुरुषम्, nom. case राजपुरुषम्।

हस्त्रि नपस्रि क्रियाविद्यम्: || अस्त्रि || पदानि || हस्त्रि , नपस्रि, क्रियाविद्यम्: ||

इत्यादि। नपुःनात्मकस्ये वचनात्मकं वचने तन्त्र हस्त्रि भस्त्रि अष्टश्चरणशःशास्त्रां: ||

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

In the neuter gender, the pratipadika that would have ended in a long vowel, changes it into short. Thus अति+रि = अतित्वि ‘extravagant’, as अतित्वि = तुष्टि ‘an extravagant family’; तो तो = तत्त्वि ‘very hairy’, तत्त्वि कुर्ल ‘a very hairy family’.

There is no substitution of short vowel, if the noun is not in the neuter gender, as भानिः नि = भामणिः, nom case भामणिः: ‘the leader of a village or head-borough.’ Similarly सनानि: ‘the leader of an army.’

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

(1) इहुः न भ्री।

(2) भ्रीत्रानचे।
to be so, because the word प्रतिपादिकाः has been especially mentioned in the text, and therefore this ekādēs’ā is not treated as the final of the form which precedes it.

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

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

Thus मी + मी = मीस्यु: ‘possessed of a brindled cow.’ This is an example of a Bahuvrihi or possessive compound. So also शतां ‘a spotted cow.’ Similarly in those प्रतिपादिका upasarjanaś which end in feminine suffixes having a final long vowel, there is a shortening. Thus मी + कौशल्यी = निपप्रतिशाश्वः. Here the final long इ is shortened. So also निश्चिन्तासि. 

The word प्रतिपादिका of the previous sūtra is understood in this. The word मी in the sūtra means the form मी and not other words synonym with it. The word शती means “a word ending in a feminine affix,” because it has the svarīla accent. The word upasarjana qualifies both these words, i.e. when मी is an upasarjana and when a word having a feminine termination is an upasarjana.

Other examples are:—बश + हर्द्वा = बशिष्ठस्य: ‘without a bed-stead’ बशिष्ठस्य: ‘surpassing a necklace in beauty.’

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

Var.:—In Bahuvrihi compounds, exception must be made of feminine nouns ending in the affix देवसि, as वहेन्द्रेशसि, विधानेशसि.

उपसार्जनस्य’}
49. When a Taddhita affix is elided by the word luk, there takes place the elision by luk of the feminine affix of the upasarjana.

The word लुक defined in sūtra 61, Chapter I, is twice used in this sūtra. Where a Taddhita affix is elided by the word लुक, there the feminine suffix of the prātipadika is also dropped, or becomes luk. Thus there are certain Taddhita suffixes by which patronymics are formed (one of them being अरुण) from other nouns. Before this अरुण the initial vowel of the word is vṛiddhīd and the final is gunated. Thus स्निग्ध, 'ocean', forms स्निग्ध + अरुण = स्निग्धरुण 'born in ocean or oceanic.' But there are certain words, e.g. अरुणिका, फलुण्डी &c., which are all feminine gender (see sūtra IV. 3. 34)¹ after which the patronym suffix is totally elided, without leaving any trace of its action, by using the word luk. Thus अरुणिका + (अरुण) = अरुणिका: II Here then the present sūtra finds its scope. The taddhita suffix being loked; the original feminine termination अरुण also becomes luk. Therefore the patronymic derivative of अरुण (is not a longer word, as might have been expected) but actually a shorter word, namely अरुणिका; similarly from फलुण्डी we have फलुण्डी: &c.

Thus there is a feminine suffix called दीप (actually दीप) and certain words like इत्य &c. (IV. 1. 49)² take an additional suffix called आतुक (actually प्राप्त). Thus the feminine of इत्य will be इत्य + आतुक + दीप = इत्य + दीप + दीप = इत्यादी. Now in forming Dvīgu compound (Numeral Determinative compound), the Taddhita suffixes are dropped. Thus दुधक्षाल: an offering (purodash) made in a dish with five compartments. In this compound the Taddhita suffix अरुण is dropped. Otherwise the form would have been कपालः: II Similarly when the word इत्यादी forms a Dvīgu compound, the Taddhita suffixes are dropped. But not only that, even the original radical affixes are also dropped by force of the present sūtra. Thus पंचेन्द्र: which means the cake sacred to the five goddesses इत्यादी. Here the full form was पंच + इत्यादी + अरुण. (The suffix अरुण has the force of "sacred to God." Thus इत्य + अरुण = इत्यादी अरुण: sacred to God Indra). In the above expression, first the Taddhita suffix अरुण is loked by rule contained in sūtra IV. 1. 88 ³ relating to Dvīgu compounds: we have then remaining पंच + इत्यादी. In this stage, the present sūtra comes into force and declares that where a Taddhita suffix has been loked, the final feminine suffixes of the upasarjana prātipadika are also loked. Therefore, the feminine suffixes आतुक and दीप are also dropped, and we have पंचेन्द्र: which means "cake sacred to the five Indrāṇis (goddesses)."

¹) अरुणिकामार्गितिति इत्यादीसूत्रविशेषार्थाय दः ।
²) इत्यादिसूत्रविशेषार्थाय दः ।
³) इत्यादिसूत्रविशेषार्थाय दः ।
The word खर्च and upasarjana of the last śūtra are understood in this.
By the last śūtra, a word ending in a feminine affix was told to be shortened
when it was an upasarjana; this śūtra teaches the total suppression of such
an affix in special cases. To take another example: Thus Rule IV. 3. 163,
declares पलेलुकः "luk takes the place of an affix signifying modification or
product when fruit is meant." Thus बग्जिस is an affix which means modification.
Thus गीति + विस्तृति = गान्धकं 'cow's milk or the product of cow.' This affix is sup-
pressed when applied to a tree, in the sense of the fruit of the tree. Thru
the fruit of the tree धामलक्ष्य धामलक्ष्य is called धामलक्ष्य, i.e. first the Taddhita affix
is loked, and then the feminine affix is also dropped. Similarly fruits of
वदली or बुझली trees are बदले or बबलुः.

This rule only applies when a Taddhita affix is elided; and not so
when any other affix is loked. Thus गाधारिः + कुर्व = गाधारिकुर्व 'the family
of Gārgī.' Here in forming the samāsa, the case affix of the word gārgī is
loked by II. 4. 71. But this suppression of the genitive termination does
not necessitate the elision of the feminine affix खर्च of gārgī.

This rule would not also apply if there is no elision by luk of a Tadd-
hīta affix, as in गामलक्ष्य.

Nor will the rule apply when the word is not an upasarjana. As
अन्तस्की, भुजस्व, कुर्वस्व.

इत्य गोष्णः || ५० || पदातिः || इत्य, गोष्णः, (तत्त्वातावर्न) ||
वृत्ति || गोष्णात्तत्त्वातावर्न शति इकारदेशेऽभवते ||

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

By the former śūtra when a Taddhīta is elided, the long खर्च of the femi-
nine also required elision. But this rule makes an exception in favor of the
word गोष्णा in which, under similar circumstances the short खर्च replaces the long
खर्च, as in the compound पञ्चमोगिः: 'purchased for five goniś.' Here the Taddhīta
suffix which conveys the meaning of "purchased for," has been rejected
after गोष्णाः by V. 1. 28. Therefore by previous śūtra, the feminine suffix खर्च also required rejection. But this śūtra intervenes and changes the long खर्च into short खर्च.

This śūtra is divided into two separate rules by the process called
yoga-viśhāga. Thus इत्य is made one śūtra by itself, and then it means, when
there is a suppression of Taddhīta affix by खर्च, then the long खर्च is replaced by
short खर्च. Thus purchased with five needles पञ्चमिः सुषीमिः सौऽते = पञ्चमिः, सलादिः.
This is restricted to such examples of purchase only.

(१) अक्षोट्य भावमातिपदिकोः || (२) अध्ययने विभिन्नोः सालाच्याः ||
A rule of lup elision.

51. When a Taddhita affix is elided by using the word लुङ्क, then the gender and number (of the derivative word) agree with those of the original word.

This sūtra consists of four words: 1. लुङ्क, `where there is a rejection by using लुङ्क'; 2. लुङ्कते `appropriate to the same'; 3. वचन `gender'; 4. वचन `number.' The form vyakty vachane is dual.

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

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

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

Thus पञ्चाला: are a class of Kshatriyas. As such it is masculine gender and plural number. The country in which Pańchālas live is also called Pańchālas; similarly कुर्स: नागाशा: &c. There is a rule जनवेलक्क (IV. 2, 8r, the lup takes the place of an affix when signifying the proper name of a country or kingdom). Thus पञ्चाला: + प्रेय (this is one of the affixes forming country) = पञ्चाला:.

This rule does not apply when the affix is suppressed by the word लुङ्क &c. and not लुङ्क Thus लाक्षण: सम्प: `salted soup', सत्ताववत्: `salted gruel', लस्य याकं `salted vegetable.' Here the affix लुङ्क has been elided by the word luk, by IV. 4. 24, लवयास्तुक (after the word lavana the affix is loked).

These derivatives retain only the gender and number of the original, but no other quality. Thus as we have already seen that विरीप:, सिरिशाह, is the name of a village and is formed by the lup of the affix. Now compounding it with वन: we have विरीप्यवनम्, `the forest of the village Sirishā.' Here
the word विशेष्या means village, and not trees. Had it meant trees called s'irisha, then the न of वन would have become या optionally by Rule VIII. 4. 6. (विभागोपि स्वस्त्यात्मः इतत्यादि। The न of the word वन is optionally changed into या when preceded by words signifying annual herbs and trees).

Vart:—In the case of the words Haritaki &c., the gender only is retained and not the number. As हृदितक्ष्य फलानि ‘the fruits of Haritaki’. Here फले is neuter in form, while हृदितक्ष्य is feminine.

Vart:—The words खलातिक &c. retain their number only but not gender, as खलातिकंवननि ‘mountain forests, i.e. forests in the vicinity of mountains.’ Here खलातिकं is singular and वननि plural, but the gender of both is the same विश. neuter.

विशेष्यार्थां चाजाते: || ५२ || पदार्थी || विशेष्यानाम्, च, चाजाते: ( ढूँपि ) ||

ढूँप: || खलातिकंवननि विशेष्यानि तेषांनि व्यवस्थनाते मनोऽजाति वर्णांत्विता ||

वासिकम् || मनुष्याःपि विशेषाः वर्णम्: ||

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

When a Taddhita is l upd, the adjectives which qualify such secondary derivatives agree with them in number and gender. This is a rule of syntax. Thus पंचाला: रागिनी: बहुता:; बहुमूलपता: बहुमूल्यानि: ‘the pleasant Pañchålås having plenty of food, plenty of milk and butter.’ Here the adjective रागिनी: pleasant &c., agrees in number and gender with the Pañchålå; being also in masculine plural. But when such a derivative is used as a jåti word then the adjective does not agree in number and gender, as पंचाला: जनपद:; गोदारा धाम:.

Here जनपद: though qualifying Pañchålå does not agree with it in number and gender, as it is a noun of class. All attributes of such words formed by the l upd of Taddhita agree with their substantives in number and gender: provided that such an attribute is not a common noun used as an adjective. Similarly adjectives which do not directly qualify such Taddhita-formed nouns, but do so through the medium of a noun of class, do not agree in gender and number with the Taddhita-word. Thus पंचाला: जनपदोर्थी बहुताः; ‘the country of Pañchålås is pleasant and fertile.’ Here the words रागिनी: and बहुताः qualify directly the word ‘जनपद:’ and indirectly the word Pañchålås, and therefore do not agree with the latter.
The explanation of this sūtra as given by Patanjali in the Mahābhāṣya is somewhat different from that of the Kās'ikā. The phrase चाजाति is analysed by him as च and चाजाति; the sense being “and as far as the jāti goes.” The word jāti is thus explained:—

A word expressing whatever is distinguishable by its form or figure, or which begins the name of an individual is easily found applicable to others without any further teaching; (a common name) provided it is not a word used in all genders, (common noun मुख्यजाति genus); and (only for the purpose of grammar as coming under the rules relating to the abovementioned words), a word expressing descendants by their parentage as well as a word expressing a person by the branch of the Vedas (वेद) which the family to which the person belongs is competent to read शाखायेत्रि (s'ākhādhyetṛi) (मौषिमजाति) = जातिवाचका (जातिवाचका) मुख्यजातितलितमाना च नसवमाक। संख्यात्वत् निमाय गौंं च चापूः: सह।

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

Var:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of nouns formed by the लघ elision of an affix relating to man. Thus the Taddhita affix कृष्ण (कृष्ण) is employed in denoting representation by imitation. Thus चरवाक: means a figure like a horse (in wood or clay or paper). But when the imitation is that of a man, this affix is elided. Thus चंचला means a “doll of straw.” But when we want to say a doll in the figure of a man, we will have चंचलाः+कृष्णलुघ (लघस्वयम् V. 3. 98) = चंचला. Here this word is formed by the elision of an affix relating to man. Adjectives qualifying this word will not agree in gender and number. Thus चंचला श्रामिकः ‘the delightful straw figure of man.’ वशिष्ट्या: सहस्रीयः ‘a beautiful representation of an eunuch.'
53. This (concord of gender and number, of primitive and derivative nouns, and of attributes and substantives) need not be taught (or approved), because it has the authority of samājña (or conventional term or idiom).

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

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

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

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

योगप्रमाणे च तदबानिविद्वासं स्वात् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ योग-
प्रमाणे, च, तद्-भावेव, आदर्शम्, स्वात्,
बुधः ॥ पुष्पालालः संज्ञा सन्ना न योगनितिचाइस्वातके। तथावद्यन्ते। धुरगन्ते। योग-
प्रमाणीहि तदविनिविद्वासं स्वात्, बुध पुष्पालालः सन्ना योगस्य प्रमाण धोगस्य चालकः। स्वात् तत्सतवें।
भाविनिविद्वासं स्वात् ॥

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

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

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

प्राधानप्रत्ययाध्येयप्रचारहन्नान्यप्रभावाद्वात् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥
प्राधान-प्रत्ययं, अन्तर्वक्रम-अर्थम्, अन्तप्रभावाद्वात् (अद्वृत्तयं)
बुधः ॥ प्राधान सन्ततिः किंचिं आद्वृत्तस्यत्वादिहि। तत्सतवें।
निर्माण्यम् प्राधानप्रत्ययं प्रथमार्थमार्थम् प्राधानार्थमार्थम् प्राधानार्थमार्थम्।
तत्त्व निरुक्तावलिकानेव। प्रक्रियापि प्रत्ययसं सन्ततिः।
निरुक्तावलिकानेव, शहिदध्वनिनिविद्वासं स्वातमार्थमार्थमार्थमार्थम्।
लोकोपयोगानेव।
56. (Nor need be taught) the rule relating to the dependence of the meaning of a word on the principal (pardhana, in a compound) or on the affix (pratyaya), because the authority of the meaning (of a word, compound or drivative) consists in something else.

This sutra may be divided into two parts. The first part stating the proposition and ending with the word vachananam. The second part giving the reason. The first part consists of four words; Pradhâna: 'Principal in a compound.' As in the compound राजापुरुष: 'king's man,' the word râja is Upasarjana; and पुरुष: is pradhâna. 2. Pratyaya: 'affix.' 3. meaning. 4. वचनसं: 'word or sentence.'

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

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

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

Similarly common people also know the use of the word upasargana, for they say:—“व्ययव गृह गाम्य गासंग्राह ‘we are secondary or unimportant persons in this house or village,’ meaning that they are not the principal persons. Therefore that which is valid according to the usage of the people is needless to be taught.

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

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

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

Why have we used the word जाति in this सूत्र? For this aphorism does not apply to Proper Nouns. Thus देवदत्त: Devadatta, यज्ञदत्त: Yajñadatta. Why have we used the word आधारयायित:? A word may be a class noun or जाति, but it may not be the appellation of a class. Thus the statue of Kāśyapa may also be called kāśyapa; this is a class noun; but as it is not the appellation आधारयायित: or name of a class, such words cannot take the plural form and still denote a singular sense.

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

_Vart:_—An exception must be made when a class noun is qualified by a numeral adjective. As एको श्रीहित: संप्रति: युक्तिः करते:.

ॐस्मदे यवोद्धच ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्मदः, दूषया, च, (एकसिंतः, बहुवचनः अन्यतरस्याः)

59. The plural of the pronoun asmad, ‘I,’ is used optionally, though the sense requires a singular or dual number.

Thus “I speak” or “we speak” (चत्र ब्राह्मणि or चत्र ब्राह्मणः), may be spoken by one person; similarly two persons may either use the dual case or the plural case; thus चत्रवः ब्राह्मणः we two speak’ or चत्रवः ब्राह्मणः: ‘we speak.’

_Vart:_—There is a prohibition when the pronoun of the 1st person is qualified by an attribute:—as चत्र देवदत्तोऽि ब्राह्मणि, ‘I Devadatta am speaking.’ चत्रवः गार्गयाः ब्राह्मणि, ‘I Gārgya am saying.’ Here we cannot use the plural.

_Vart:_—The word गुह ‘master’ may have plural form though referring to one person, when following the word कुप्त; as गुह: or युद्ध: सुर: ‘Thou art my master,’ or ‘you are my master.’

फल्गुनीप्रोष्ठपदानां च नक्षत्रे: ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ फल्गुनी-प्रोष्ठ-

падानां च नक्षत्रे: ॥

60. And the dual of Phālgunī and Proshtha-

पदानां च नक्षत्रे: ॥

Padānāṁ ca nakṣatṛēḥ ॥

60. And the dual of Phālgunī and Proshtha-

padānāṁ ca nakṣatṛēḥ, when signifying asterisms, (also connotes optionally plural).
Some rules of number.

The word च in this aphorism draws in the anuvritti of the word चुङ्यः from the last. Of the stars phaliguni and proshṭhapadā, the forms may be either dual or plural. As दोषोऽस्ते पुनर्वसः (dual); or दोषोऽस्ते पुनर्वसः (plural.) So also पूर्वः चाष्ट्रः or पूर्वः मांडाः. There are two pairs of stars of the name of phaliguni and proshṭhapadā, both being of feminine gender, and their logical number being ‘dual.’ The present sūtra ordains plural optionally. If phaliguni and proshṭhapada are not names of asterisms, they must have their proper number: as पुनर्वसः मायाविके॥

छन्दसिः पुनर्वस्यःैवेकचन्मध् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ छन्दसिः, पुनर्वस्यः, एक-वचनम्, (अन्यतरस्यम्)॥

वृः: || इत्याहितमेव प्राप्ते पुनर्वस्यःावलयस्य विशेषे एकचन्मण्हतस्यां भवति॥

61. In the Vedas, the two stars, Punarvasu, may optionally be singular (and connote a dual).

In the Vedas, the star punarvasu which is always dual in form, may be in the singular form and connote a dual meaning. As पुनर्वस्यःचन्मध् or पुनर्वस् नानामविभिन्नवस्यतः ॥ The option is only allowed in the Vedas and not in secular literature. In the latter it must be in the dual, that is, पुनर्वस् ॥ Similarly when it is not the appellation of an asterism but of a man, there is no option. As पुनर्वस् मायाविके॥

विशाख्यायः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ विशाख्यायः, च (छन्दसिःनान्तरस्यम्)॥

वृः: || विशाख्यायः प्राप्ते छन्दसिः विशेषे विशाख्यायःैवेकचन्मण्हतस्यां भवति॥

62. In the Vedas, the two stars Vis’ākhā may optionally be in the singular number.

The word विशाख्याय is in the dual number as a rule. In the Vedas, it is found sometime to have the singular form, denoting duality. Thus विशाख्याय नानामविभिन्नवस्यतः देवस्य ॥

विश्य-पुनर्वस्यः, नानामविभिन्नस्य द्विचन्म नित्यम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदार्थः ॥

विश्य-पुनर्वस्यः, नानामविभिन्नस्य द्विचन्म नित्यम् ॥

वृः: || विश्य-पुनर्वस्यः नानामविभिन्नस्य द्विचन्म नित्यं द्विचन्म भवति॥

63. In the Dvandva compounds of the stars Tishya and Punarvasu, the dual constantly comes in the place of the plural.

When there is a collective compounding of the words Tishya and Punarvasu (meaning two groups of stars), the final compound is always in the dual. Thus दोषोऽस्ते विश्य-पुनर्वस्यायः ‘the Tishya and Punarvasu having risen are seen (dual).’
There is one star called Tishya; and there are two stars called
Punarvasū. As the Dvandva compound of these stars refers to more than
two stars, it ought to have been in the plural number. This rule teaches
that there should be a dual number, where otherwise there would have been
a plural number. Why do we say ‘Tishya’ and ‘Punarvasū’? Observe
विशालावरः ‘the stars Visākhā and Anurādhā.’ The compound is in plural
number.

This rule would not apply if these words do not connote stars but
are used in any other sense. As तिथ्युन्तरेतेऽतिष्क, ‘Boys called Tishya
and Punarvasū.’

Why is the word ‘star’ repeated in the sūtra, when the previous
sūtras and the context show that stars were being treated of. The repetition
is for the sake of including the synonyms of Tishya and Punarvasū. As तिथ्युन्तरेतेऽ
विशालावरः, सिद्धुन्तरेतेऽ

The rule only applies when these words form a Dvandva compound,
and not when they are compounded in any other way. Thus तिथ्युन्तरेतेऽ
is an example of Bahuvrīhi compound meaning “persons who confound
the Tishya with the Punarvasū.”

The rule only applies to the plural Dvandva. If the Dvandva takes
the singular termination, this rule has no application. As तिथ्युन्तरेतेऽ
इदमिनि.

This sūtra indicates by implication (jñāpaka) that “every Dvandva
compound may optionally take the terminations of the singular” for otherwise
the employment of the term बहुव्रीहि in the sūtra would be superfluous.

The word ‘always’ has been used in the text to show that the
governing power of “option” stops here with this sūtra and does not extend
to it or any further.

सर्पपाणांमेकांशय एकविभक्तानि || ६४ || पदानि || सर्पपाणां, एकः
शेष्य, एकविभक्तानि,

हृदि || सर्पपाणां बन्धनान्य एकविभक्तानि परं एकशयो भवति ||

64. Of the words having the same form, and
all in the same one case-termination, the last one is only
retained.

This is a very important sūtra, and deals with what is technically
called Ekas’esha (or retention of one). When there are two or more words
of the same form, and the same case termination, standing together, one is
retained and the rest are dropped. Thus वृक्ष: + वृक्ष: = वृक्षे (trees, in dual)
वृक्ष: + वृक्ष: + वृक्ष: = वृक्षः.

Every individual thing requires an individual word to express it; one
word therefore could not express many things; to prevent the repetition of
the same word to express many objects of similar form, is the purpose of this sūtra, by which one word is only retained.

This applies only to words having the same form and not if they have different forms; as धर्म न्योग्य: the plaksas and nyagrodha trees.

The word "form" is used in the text to show that even if two words have different meanings, but the same form, the rule of Ekas'ēsha will apply, as अंत: (die) + अंत: (eye) + अंत: (axle) = अंत:.. Similarly पञ्ज: and नव..

The present rule only applies to the retention of one, and prevents the retention of two or more.

The word विश्व (retention) is used to show that there is not a substitution (ādes'a) of one for many, but the retention of one out of many.

The rule will not apply if the two words are in different case-terminations, though they may have the same form. As पञ्ज: (1. s.) पञ्ज: (2. s.) जर्जरि न्यासा (3 d.) च हुति न्यासा (4 d.) च तेझः.

वुद्दो युना तत्क्ष यस्य स: विश्व: || ६५ || पदां || वुद्द: युना, तत्क्ष:||, चेष्टा एव, विश्व: ||

विश्व: || वुद्दोपादनस्यपरिच्छेता युनानिग्रहिते तत्क्षंस: सः विश्व: ||

65. The vriddha (or patronymic Gotra word becomes ekas'ēsha, and is retained, when compounded) with a patronymic word called yuvan, provided that the specific difference in form between them be in their signs (affix) only.

The word s'esha of the previous sātra is understood here. The word "युना" in the text is in the instrumental case. The yuvan word is dropped when read along with a Vṛiddha word. The word Vṛiddha means gotra: the old ācharyas (grammarians) used the word Vṛiddha for gotra. The vṛiddha (or in other words, the gotra) word designates a person between whom and original head of the family, a son (or a word formed by an apatyā affix) intervenes. In using together two words, one formed by a gotra affix and the other by a yuvan affix, the Vṛiddha is retained, where the difference between those words is in their affixes only. These two words, gotra and yuvan, are defined in sūtras IV. 1. 162 and 163. (अथवाद यच्यानद्गति गोत्रम् || जीवितविषुः बृहस्य आना|| Roughly speaking a gotra word is formed from the original noun which is the name of the head of the family when a son of such person is living; and a vṛiddha word represents thus a grandson, or lower than that, but not a son; while a yuvan word is derived from such last mentioned gotra word by another affix and thus represents persons lower than grandsons.
The word 'tad' in the sūtra refers to the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word lakshaṇa 'sign' in the sūtra is synonymous with 'cause' or 'occasion'; meaning the specific difference is caused or occasioned by the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word चेत्त in the sūtra means 'if'. The word एव 'only' is used to exclude others. The word विशेष: in the sūtra means the 'dissimilarity of form.'

Thus गार्ग्य: + गार्ग्यायण = गार्ग्याय. Here the first word denotes a clan called Gārgya (the offspring or grandsons of Garga formed by the affix ग्र्य: (IV. I. 105) the second word denotes a younger branch of the same, and is formed by the Taddhita affix ग्र्य: denoting a secondary derivative. In this then, the first or "Vṛddha" remains; the second or the yuvan is dropped; and the form "Gārgyau" means both the old and the new clan. Similarly वास्य: + वास्यायण: वास्याय.

This Ekas'esha is to be done only in those cases, where the two words have the same radical form, the only difference between them being in their derivative formation.

The words must differ only by their affixes, but their radical element must be the same. The rule therefore does not apply to:—गार्ग्य: (a Vṛddha word + गार्ग्यायण: (a yuvan word)=गार्ग्यावास्याय

This rule of ekas'esha does not apply if one of the words be not a Vṛddha word. Thus गार्ग्य: + गार्ग्यायण = गार्ग्यागार्ग्याय.

Similarly vice versa गार्ग्य: + गार्ग्यायण: गार्ग्याय: Here the one word is Vṛddha, but the other is not yuvan.

The word "only" is used in the sūtra in an exclusive sense, the force being, that two words may stand in the relation of Vṛddha and yuvan, their radical element, i.e. form may be the same; but if the secondary word has another sense over and above the sense of a yuvan affix, this rule is not applicable. Thus rule IV. I. 143 says a "Vṛddha word may optionally take the affix ग्र्य: to form a yuvan word and to indicate contempt and born in the country of Sauvira." Thus घाग्यतिस्त: + घाग्यतिस्तिक: = घाग्यतिमाग्यतिमिक. Here the second word, though a yuvan word, connotes the additional sense of contempt and degradation. The affix ग्र्य: is not merely a yuvan affix but conveys the other sense also, the pure yuvan word being घाग्यतिमिक.

N.B.—The system of domestic economy among the ancient Aryas was considerably different from the prevalent one. The surnames or the gotras represented the patriarchal system. Three forms of surnames are constantly met with in ancient literature. The first was most important: it was the patronymic by which the lord of the united family, the patriarch, was known. For example, Garga or Gargākhārya was the recognised head of all the Gargas who may be a hundred. His eldest son and heir was called Gārgi. This is the first form of the patronymic (apatyā). The grandsons or sons of Gārgi were named Gārgyas (Vṛddham or Gotra). On the decease of the old patriarch, Gārgi began to be called Garga; and the eldest of the grandsons was called Gārgi; and those great-grandsons who belonged to the family, and were designated Gārgyānas (yuvan) were now called Gārgyas.

(1) गार्ग्यवर्ग: व्र्यः। (2) वार्गवर्ग: (3) ग्र्य: (4) ग्र्य: (5) ग्र्य: (6) ग्र्य: (7) ग्र्य: (8) ग्र्य: (9) ग्र्य: (10) ग्र्य: (11) ग्र्य: (12) ग्र्य: (13) ग्र्य: (14) ग्र्य: (15) ग्र्य: (16) ग्र्य: (17) ग्र्य: (18) ग्र्य: (19) ग्र्य: (20) ग्र्य: -
66. And so also a feminine word, ending with a \textit{vṛiddha} affix, when similarly spoken along with the same word but which ends with a \textit{yuvan} affix, is only retained; and it is treated like a masculine.

When a word denoting gotra and in the feminine gender is compounded with another word denoting a yuvan, the first is retained and the last is dropped; and the feminine noun so remaining is then treated like the masculine. This aphorism makes an addition to the previous sūtra and is governed by all the conditions mentioned in that sūtra. Thus गार्गि + गार्ग्यावलः = गार्गिहः. Here note that the resultant form is the same as in the former sūtra, namely the masculine.

Similarly दाती + दाताश्चायः = दाती (masculine dual of दाती).

\textit{Vart.}—The word \textit{stri} in the sūtra means \textit{Vṛiddha stri}, that is the eldest daughter of a grandson, or a further descendant considered as the female head of the family. The words 'tal lakshanas' chedeva vis'eshāh' of the previous sūtra govern this sūtra also, \textit{i.e.}, the distinction between the two words must be in their formative element and not in any thing else.

67. A word in the masculine gender, similarly spoken along with the same word, but ending with the feminine affix, becomes ekas' ESA, and the latter is dropped.

When two words of different genders differ only in their derivative elements but not in their radical elements, that is to say, one is masculine and the other feminine because of certain affixes, the masculine only is retained and the feminine is dropped.

The governing force of the words \textit{vṛiddha} and \textit{yuvan}, of sūtra 65, does not extend to this sūtra, but the remaining portion of sūtra 65 is to be read into this sūtra. When a masculine word is read along with a feminine word, the feminine word is dropped and the masculine is retained, when the difference between the two words is caused only by the feminine and masculine affixes: as आध्राव + आध्रावः = आध्रावः \textit{`the Brāhmaṇa and the Brāhmaṇi'; कुक्कुट + कुक्कुटः = कुक्कुटः. \textit{`the cock and hen.'}
But not so in the following:—कुकुट + महती = कुकुटमहती 'the cock and the peahen.' Similarly गणक + गणकी = गणकगणकी. Here the feminine affix शी, by which the word गणक is formed from गण, in addition to its feminine signification, has the further signification given to it by Rule IV. 1. 48, पूण्यगांगाखश्यम्, meaning the "wife of" a गणक and not a feminine गणक. So also रामदेश रामाणी रामराणी. Similarly भागे + भागी = भागी but भागे + भागी = भागाणी. Because the feminine affix in aryani conveys more than its feminine signification. See Rule IV. 1. 49.

This rule does not, of course, apply when it is a masculine noun which is compounded, but it is a noun without any gender or neuter noun which is compounded with a feminine noun. Therefore प्राच + प्राची = प्राचाची. The word प्राच is an indeclinable and is without any gender.

धातुपूची स्वस्तुहिनस्याम् || 68 || पदानि || धातु-पूची, स्वस्तु-हिनस्याम्, (शेषः) ||

वृत्ति: || धातुपूची स्वस्तुहिनस्याम् सहवचने स्वस्तुहिनस्याम्.||

68. The words bhrātrī, 'brother,' and putra, 'son,' when spoken of along with svasrī, 'sister' and duhitrī 'daughter' respectively are only retained, and the latter are dropped.

* With this sūtra ceases the governing force of the remaining conditions contained in sūtra 65. Even where the radical elements of two words are different there may be an ekas'esha under special circumstances. Thus भात्र + सम = भात्री (brother and sister or brothers). Similarly युजु + दुहितु = युज, (son and daughter or sons).

N. B.—The practical application of this sūtra is very neatly illustrated by the following example. There is a verse in Yajyaṅvalya smrīti in which declares that on the death of a nonless person his property passes to his wife, daughters, parents and bhrātaraḥ.

Here the word bhrātaraḥ, if it be taken as simply the plural of bhrātrī, it means "brothers" and excludes sisters. But if it be interpreted according to this sūtra, it means "brothers and sisters"; and thus gives sisters a right to inherit property of their brothers.

नरुस्कन्नमनुस्कन्नवशारास्यात्स्यास्यात्स्याम् || 69 || पदानि ||

नरुस्कन्न, अनपुस्कन्न, एकवत, च चर्च्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, (शेष, तासान्तास्येविविशेषः: )

वृत्ति: || नरुस्कन्नमनुस्कन्नाह्रहीनविशेषन्तरस्यास्यास्यास्याम् सहवचने नरुस्कन्नास्याम्; एकवतास्य- वै भवति अन्यतरस्याम्.||
69. A neuter noun, which has the same form, only differing in affix, is optionally retained, and the other is dropped, and it is like a singular number.

A neuter prevails over a masculine or feminine noun when spoken of along with them, provided that the words differ in gender signs only; but radically they be the same. Thus द्वारकेश = द्वारकेश सेधवान्य = सेधवान्य विद्यां 'Idleness, lust, and sleep, indulged in, increase.' Here the adjective 'sevyamānam' is in the neuter gender, though it qualifies the words 'ālasyā' which is in the masculine, 'maithunam' which is in the neuter, and 'nidrā' which is in the feminine gender. The rule, therefore, may be stated in these words, that where one adjective qualifies several nouns, in different genders, but one of which must be neuter, the adjective agrees with the neuter.

The above illustration also shows that the neuter ekas'eshā may be in the singular number.

If the neuter is compounded with another neuter, this rule does not apply. Thus शुभं + शुभं + शुभं = शुभानि; the word is in the plural; there is no ekavādāhāvā.

The words तथार्थशिरेष्ठ विद्यां: of sūtra 65 governs this sūtra also: thus शुभं वहसनं, वषुं व पुत्रित्सा, शुभं व वक्ष. "The white (masc.) blanket, the white (fem) wrapper, and the white (neut.) garment," may all he spoken of collectively as शुभं (neut.).

70. The word pitri, 'father', is optionally only retained when spoken of along with mātri, 'mother.'

Thus विद्या = विद्या 'father and mother, or parents' or मातापितारी. The verse quoted under sūtra 68 illustrates this sūtra also. There the word 'pitarau' has been explained by all commentators as "father and mother." The word "ekavād" of the last sūtra does not govern this sūtra; though the anuvṛtti of 'optionally' is to be read into this.

71. The word s'vas'ura 'father-in-law,' is optionally only retained, when spoken of along with s'vas'ru, 'mother-in-law.'
Thus श्वेत + श्वेत may be either श्वेतेः ‘father-in-law and mother-
in-law,’ or श्वेतश्वेते॥

72. The pronouns ‘tyad &c.’ when spoken of along with any other noun, (pronoun other than ‘tyad &c.’) are always retained as ekas’esha, (to the exclusion of others).

The list of ‘tyadādi’ pronouns has been given under sūtra I. 1. 27. They are 12 words beginning with ‘tyad’ and ending with ‘kim;’ when these tyadādi pronouns are compounded with any other noun, (or a pronoun, which does not belong to their class), they prevail, the rest are dropped. The word ‘sārya’ is used in the aphorism to indicate ‘universalvity;’ i.e. what ever may be the word in composition with them, the ‘tyad &c.’ are retained to the exclusion of others. The word ‘nitya’ is used to indicate that this is an obligatory rule, and not optional, as were the last rules.

Thus स: (he)+ देवदत्त: (Devadatta) = दत्त: (they two).

Vart.—When बदार्थ words are compounded among themselves, the word which is read last in the order given in the Gaṇapāṭha remains, the rest are dropped. Thus ब: + स: = श्री; ब: + क: = कृष्ण॥ Thus श्री is read after तद्दू (see I. 1, 27). So श्री will be retained and not तद्दू. Similarly किः is read after ब्रह्म, and therefore किः is retained to the exclusion of ब्रह्म.

73. The feminine noun is only retained, when denoting a collection of domestic animals, not being young.

As a general rule, when there is a compounding of masculine and feminine nouns, the masculine noun is retained (see 67). The present sūtra is an exception to that rule. It ordains that when there is a compounding of words denoting group of domestic animals, of different genders,
the feminine noun is preferred; provided that the words should not relate to
the young of such animals. The word 'ataruṇa' in the aphorism qualifies
the word 'pas'u' with which it is in construction, and not the word 'saṅgha.'
As गाव 'these cows (and bulls)'; घन 'these goats' (both males and
females).

The rule only applies to domestic (grāmya) animals and not to
wild animals; and only to beasts (pas'u) and not men. As खर 'these
wild deers' (male and female); ् चुत 'these antelopes' (male and female);
माड 'the Brāhmaṇas (male and female); चत 'the Kshatriyas.' In all
these the masculine noun is retained by Rule 67.

Vart.—This rule must be confined to domestic animals having
divided hoof. Therefore घर 'these horses' (male and female).
Here the masculine noun is retained, because horse has no divided hoof.

Why have we used the word (sangha) "collection"? Observe एते
गाव 'these two cows are grazing.' Here the word 'gāvā' does not
connote 'bull' also.

Why do we say "not being young"? बल 'these calves';
वर्त 'these kids.' Here the masculine noun is retained by the applica-
tion of Rule 67.
BOOK I.

CHAPTER III.

1. The words beginning with bhû ‘to become,’ and denoting action, are called dhâtu or verbal roots.

This defines the word dhâtu or root. The list of Sanskrit verbs begins with the root bhû ‘to be.’ Sanskrit grammarians have divided all verbs into ten classes, according to certain modifications which their roots undergo before certain terminations. The ten classes are as follows:—


* There are about two thousand verbs, and they are conjugated in two forms, some taking the Parasmaipada terminations only, the others the Atmanepada terminations and some both. The present chapter deals mostly with rules determining the nature of the verbal root, whether it is Parasmaipadi or Atmanepadi or both. A verb expresses action. The word dhâtu is a word coined by older grammarians than Pâñini and they employed the term in denoting a word expressing action. Here also, therefore, the word dhâtu means a word which expresses action.

The ब्र in the sūtra is for the sake of auspiciousness; for the regular sandhi of रू + त्राणि is त्राणि and not तञ्चूरणि; while Dr. Ballantyne considers that ब्र is a separate root: he translates the sūtra thus:—"Let the verbal roots bhû ‘be,’ và ‘blow’ and the like be called dhâtu."

2. The nasalized vowels are ल in Upades’a, or original enunciation.
Anunāsika or nasalized vowels are हउँ that is indicatory, when occurring in technical words. Thus in फ्रुत्र, विद्रू, विचूँ the anunāsikā ह is हउँ. The original sūtra contains the word ‘upades’a’ which we have translated as technical term. ‘Upades’a’ literally means ‘instruction’ or the first mentioning of a thing either in a sūtrapātha, or gaṇapātha, or dhatu paṭha, &c.

From this sūtra up to sūtra 9, there is a description of servile or indicatory letters called हउँ. “In Pāṇini’s Grammar there is no visible sign of the nasality of a vowel—hence we can know a vowel to be nasalized only from Pāṇini’s explicitly asserting that it is so, or from our finding that he treats it in such a way that we must conclude he regarded it as nasal.” An upades’a is defined as signifying an original enunciation, that is to say, an affix (pratypaya), or an augment (agama), or a verbal root (dhātu), or in short, any form of expression which occurs only in technical treatises of grammar, and which is not a word ready for use, but one of the supposed original elements of a word. Thus in the root एव ‘to increase,’ the final अ is indicatory, the real root is एव. So also the final अ of स्प्रः is हउँ.

If the word is not an upades’a, then the nasal vowel is not हउँ. As अन् अन् अन् अन्: A word may be an upades’a, and nasal, but if it is not a vowel, it need not be हउँ as the affix मनिल in sūtra III. 2. 74. (अलो मनिल कनिश वनिप्रभ ) It is only the nasal vowel of an upades’a that becomes हउँ and not all the vowels. The word हउँ occurs in sūtras V. 2. 16. (अवित्वच &c.).

हउँन्यम || 3 || पदानि || हउँ-अन्यम , ( उपदेशः हउँ )

हउँच: || धार्मिकः सहारसम्बन्धयः हउँ सहिष्ठं सं भवति ||

3. In upades’a, the final consonant of roots, &c. is हउँ.

All the final consonants of roots, affixes, &c., are indicatory. As in the pratyāhāra sūtras अ ह द प; here ग is हउँ || क त क; here क is हउँ || ए ओः; here क is हउँ || ए ओः; here क is हउँ. It is only in upades’a, that a final consonant is हउँ. Not therefore, in ब्रम्हिष्ठ or सीमछ, which are complete words.

न विस्मयः हूँ || 4 || पदानि || न विस्मयः, हूँ-मम: ||

हूँच: || पीर्येण प्रासायनिष्टतायाः विस्मय वर्षमा नानां तयर्व सकार मकारणां प्रतिष्ठा वर्ष्यते ||

4. The final dental consonants, and the final ष and ़ are not हउँ in affixes called vibhakti or reflexive affixes.
This is an exception to the previous sūtra which declared all final consonants to be इत्र. In case terminations, the final त, थ, ध, भ, ष, and ध, are not इत्र. Thus the case termination of nominative plural is जस्त्र. Here the final त, though a consonant is not an इत्र; and is not rejected, as in चरम्बाय. The word त in the sūtra means the letters of the class त by virtue of sūtra 69 Chapter I. (see ante). The word vibhakti will be defined later on in sūtra I. 4. 104. These are terminations applied to nouns in declining them through various cases; and to verbs in conjugating them. Thus in sūtra VII. 1. 15, (दायादित्ते संप्रभुमित्त्वा:) the vibhaktis इत्र, आत्र and ध्य replace रा, लक्ष्य and ध्यस. Here the final त of the affix आत्र is not indicatory and hence not rejected, as ब्रह्मात्र: Similarly verbal terminations त्स्य and ध्यस as पंचत्र; पञ्चत्र: So also the final त्स्य as तत्स्य and ध्यस in अपचार्यम and अपचार्यस:.

This exception only to vibhaktis and not to affixes in general. Thus the finals of यत्र (I. 1. 97 यत्रशत:) तथा (V. 2. 123, यत्रशत: तथा) and श्रम: (I. 78 राजश्रमः श्रमः:) are इत्र and are rejected. This exception, however, does not apply to the vibhakti ध्य (in V. 3. 12 ध्यवीत्स: or III. 4. 106, ध्यवीत्स:). In those two sūtras the final त of the vibhakti is इत्र. The reason of this is that, the present sūtra is an anitya sūtra, i.e., a rule not of general application. In sūtra V. 3. 24, (इससन्दः:) we find, 'the word इत्र takes the vibhakti ध्य in the sense of mode or manner.' As इत्र+ध्य=इत्रध्य, ‘in this manner.’ Now ध्य is a vibhakti by V. 3. 1. (प्राधिकाई विभाजित:) the त is इत्र, the real vibhakti is ध्य. Now had the present sūtra been of universal application, then there would have been no necessity of adding this त as indicatory letter, which has been evidently added to save the त of ध्य from becoming an इत्र. This sūtra is consequently an antiya sūtra.

आदिनिः दुःकः इत् ॥ 5 ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, जि-उ-उः, (इत्र) ॥

श्रेणी ॥ भि तु तु इते तेषाः संक्षेपायानामानित्ववृत्तिः संक्षिप्तानामामित्ववृत्तिः नभवनि ॥

5. The initial नि, तु, and ध्य are इत्र॥

The syllables नि, तु and ध्य, standing at the beginning of a root are indicatory; as जीतिः 'to have affectionate pleasure.' The real root is तुक, the नि is servile. So इति 'to rejoice; be glad' the real root being नूक. So इत्तुक 'to give' the real root being नूक.

The नि shows that the past participle न्तिः has the power of the present III. 2. 187 (बीत्ति न्तिः). As निकला—न्तिः: 'blown'; निमित्ता—नित: 'fat'; नियुष्ठा—नूष्ठा: 'bold,' निपित्ता—नित्रत्स: 'soft,' नियंत्री—इत्र: 'kindled.'

The ध्य subjoined to a root serves to show that it admits the affix ध्य to form a noun indicative of the act (III. 3. 89 ध्यविद्धुष्ठं); as इवध्यविद्धुष्ठ:—नूष्ठु: 'shaking'; दहौदिः—नूष्ठु: 'swelling.'

The तु indicates that the root to which it is subjoined admits of the affix तु (III. 3. 88, तुत्त: चिक्क:) to form a noun or adjective attributive of the act.
by which the substantive thing has been produced, as कुक्कुर—काविमम् 'artificial'
कुक्कुर—पञ्चमम् 'ripe'; कुक्कुर—अच्छम् 'sown'.

If these three syllables do not stand in the beginning of a verb, they are not indicatory; as प्रदेशि, कण्ड्हुलि, &c.

श: प्रत्ययस्म, || ॐ || पद्धति || ण: प्रत्ययस्म ( आदि इत्यूः ) ||

वृत्ति: || वकारं: प्रवहसमालिंगस्तिं नवन्ति ||

6. The initial श of an affix is indicatory.

The initial ण of an affix gets the name of इत्यूः and is rejected. Thus by Rule III. 1. 145 (शिष्यमिति बुधुः) the affix झुः is added to a verb to indicate proficient in the art expressed by the verb. The ण and ण are इत्यूः and अक्तः takes the place of श (VII. 1. 1, दशोपारोकृतः). Thus झुः + धुः = नार्म + अक्तः = नावकः: 'a dancer' (by profession); fem. नावकी (IV. 1. 41, विद्वृत्ताहिभय वाक्य ‘words formed by affixes having an indicatory ण take the affix हिः in the feminine'): so also जनकः, fem. जनकी.

The initial ण of an affix only is इत्यूः and not every initial ण. Thus not in गोट्स: 'six,' or विनितः:।। The ण must be initial, therefore it is not इत्यूः in the affix रथप्रि in अभिसिद्धिः (प्रो. I. 45) as अविष्यः: 'an ocean', नबिष्यः: 'a buffalo.'

झुः || ॐ || पद्धति || झुः ( प्रत्ययस्म आदि, इत्यूः ) ||

वृत्ति: || चरमेऽपरागम प्रत्ययस्तस्ते हिंसंचे भवति: ||

7. The initial palatals and linguals of an affix are indicatory.

The consonants च, छ, ज, झ, झ, च, र, र, र, र, र, र, and ण, are always इत्यूः and are rejected when initial in affixes. The word ‘affix’ of the previous sūtra governs this also.

As the affix क्षपृः चापनि in sūtra (IV. 1. 98 गोवेचः कुद्व्रिविन्दकः). Here श्र is indicatory, as, श्रोतार्यस्त:।। The initial छ chh of an affix is always replaced by इत्यूः (VII. 1. 2 आदेशयीनीवित्य: फड तत्त्राचार्य प्रत्ययस्मात्माः). The initial ण of an affix is इत्यूः।। अस, जस् (Nom. Pl. term) ब्राह्मणः।। The initial ण of an affix is always replaced by अक्तः, as छ + ध + ष् + अक्तः = वालितः (VII. 1. 3 होर्ष्टः:।। The initial ण of an affix is इत्यूः as in श्र which comes after the words शंतिः &c. As शंतिः (IV. 3. 92 विद्वृत्ताहिभय वाक्यम्): The indicatory ण causes विधेय by rules VII. 2. 115, 116 and 117: (अविष्यमिति, अतविधेय:), विष्णुविन्दकामसे:।।

The initial र of an affix is इत्यूः as in II. 2. 16 (चर्चः: the root चर् takes the affix ः when compounded with a noun in the locative). As कुक्चरः: 'who goes among the Kurus.' The feminines of words formed by this affix take होपृः (IV. 1. 15 दिनदर्मज्ञसमस्तः &c.) As कुक्चरी, मक्कचरी।। The initial र of an affix is always replaced by इत्यूः (VII. 3. 50 रश्चे:।। The initial र of an office is इत्यूः, as in II. 2. 97 (सम्प्रां जनितः: the root जनः takes the affix ः when in composition
with a word in the locative, as उपसर्गः, मन्त्रः. The र indicates that the final of the word called श्र should be elided when an affix having indicatory ज is added. The initial र of an affix is replaced by श्र (VII. 1. 2.)

The letter खः is always an श्र when initial. As in the aphorism IV. 4 85 (अस्मातः) the affix खः comes after the word अस्म 'food.' As अस्म + खः = अस्मः. The न causes Vṛddhī.

This sūtra could very well have been included in the last aphorism. Why has it then been made a separate aphorism? The reply is that the present sūtra declares an anitya rule—that is to say, a rule which is not universally true. The initial palatal or lingual of every affix is not indicatory. Thus in the affixes घ्रञ्जः and चरणः the initial षः is not indicatory but forms part of the real affix. As वियाद्धः: वियाद्धः 'famous for one's learning.' See S. V. 2. 26. तेनं वितर्जुनवृत्तः स्वामीः. Similarly the initial र of the affix दीर्घः (V. 2. 31 दीर्घःकृःपञ्चः, नम नातिकाया: दीर्घःस्वा दीर्घः नातिकायः:), is not र. As अच्छःपितः 'flat nosed.'

Of course it is the initial palatal and lingual which are servile; if these letters occur in the middle of an affix, they will not be indicatory. As र of the affix प्रठः is not indicatory in sūtra V. 2. 35 (कर्मचिखः यतोदद्रः) कर्मः: 'dexterous.'

खःकर्तनलः || 8 || पदार्थः || र-श-कः, अतिदितः, (प्रत्ययः, आदिः: श्रः) ||

वृत्तः || तत्तत्त्वत्त्यत्त्वः प्रत्ययः श्चारात्त्वः रक्षारात्त्वः कवर्गः इत्यस्तः यत्रनिल ||

8. The initial ल and ष', and the gutturals of all affixes, except taddhita, are indicatory.

The initial ल, श्र, कः, घः, श्र, घः, कः, of affixes are indicatory, except in Taddhita affixes. Thus the initial ल in स्तूरः is श्रः (III. 3 115 स्तूरः) लिः + स्तूरः = ल्लयनः (VII. 1. 1) 'collecting.' The initial ल in श्रः is श्रः (III. 1. 68. ल्लिःश्रः ) लृः + श्रः + तिः = ल्लो+श्र+तिः=अवत्र 'he is.' The initial कः is र्य as in र्य and र्यवं (I. 1. 26), as र्युः: 'eating' युत्तः: 'eating'. The initial लः is श्रः as in श्रः (III. 2. 38 मियमः वहः श्रः the word वह takes the affix khaka when compounded with विष and वष ) मियमः: 'speaking kindly', वषंसः: 'submissive.' The initial श्रः is श्रः as in the affix श्रः (III. 2. 139 श्राबिज्ञेश्वरः श्रः), श्राबिज्ञेश्वरः: 'languid', श्राबिज्ञेश्वरः: 'victorious,' श्राबिज्ञेश्वरः: 'unmoveable.' The initial घः is श्रः as in घच्छः (III. 2. 161 मृगमालाविधाः घच्छः) मृगः + घच्छः = मृगमयः: 'brittle.' The initial श्रः is श्रः, as in श्रतिः (termination of the ablative sing.) श्रः ditto of genitive sing. (IV. 1. 2), as श्रमसः + श्रसः = श्रमसः + श्रसः = श्रमसः: 'of a well minded.' In Taddhita affixes however, these initials लः, श्रः and gutturals are not श्रः; and are therefore not elided. Thus चूः + लः = चूः (V. 2. 96. प्राक्कियाचारी तत्तत्त्वायः 'crested'; श्रः+श्रः
9. Of this, (namely of that which has been called इस), there is elision.

This sūtra declares the function of इस; namely it is a mere indicatory letter, and must be rejected. It is useful only as a mnemonic and is not a part of the term.

The word tasya in the sūtra indicates that the substitution of lopa must be in the place of the whole term called इस, and not only in the place of the final letter, which last is the general rule (see I. 1, 52). Therefore, the whole of इस and इ is rejected and not only their finals.

यथा रक्तयमुदेशा: समानम् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा—रक्तयम्,
अणुदेशा: समानम् ॥

वृद्धि: ॥ समानां समेतसंबन्धानि सामपूर्विकतानाय शिरायामुदेशायां ॥ ब्रह्म: क्रमशेषिष्ठिततुदेशिया: समवेद्यान्ति: ॥

10. When a rule involves the case of equal numbers of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted, their mutual correspondence or assignment of each to each, is according to the order of enumeration.

Thus sūtra III. 1 134 (नविन्देशिष्ठतयी: स्निविष्ठय: ) declares—‘the affixes हृ, लिन और प्रधान are applied to नालद्रिं, महिद्र and प्रस्थ class of words.’ It means the affix हृ is applied to the words of नाल्द्रि class, the affix लिन to words of महिद्र class, and प्रधान to words of प्रस्थ class. The application must be respectively according to order, and not haphazard. Similarly in VI. 1 77 इको यस्ते (if a vowel follows) in the place of इ, ु, ख, ख there is याय i.e., यू, ू, ख, ख ॥ So also see S. IV. 3. 94 (तृतीयदारुणतिक्रियात्वाद इको च्या च्या यक: ) where the four affixes धह, च्यान, ध्यान, यक, and यक are applied respectively to the words तृतीयार्थ, वर्तना, वर्त्तना and कुचवारा; i.e., the first affix in the order of enumeration to the first word, the second affix to the second word, &c. As तीर्थार्थ, शाल्यार्थ, वानिय: and वैंकतार्थ: ॥

Why do we say ‘of equal members’? This rule will not apply if the number of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted are unequal. As in sūtra I. 4. 90, तच्चमध्यमसाध्यसाध्यमवेषान्त्य प्रति पर्यन्त: for here, the words lakshaḥpa, &c., in the first part of
the sūtra are four in number, while the words prati &c. are only three. That sūtra therefore must be read as thus. “The words प्रति, परि and अनु are karma pravachanīya, whenever they indicate either lakshana (a mark), itthambhūtkya khyāna (a statement of mere circumstance); bhāga (division); or vipsa (desire).”

स्वरितनाथिकारः || ११ || पदार्थ || स्वरितन, अधिकारः ||

वृत्ति: || स्वरित्ता नाम स्वरविशेषो वर्णधर्मः; तेन चिन्दनाधिकारो बेतितवः ||

11. In these aphorisms, when a word is marked with a svarita accent, by that an adhikāra or a governing rule is to be understood.

When in this collection of grammatical sūtras, there is any sūtra that has a circumflex accent, it denotes that it is either the beginning of a subject and the subsequent sūtras are governed by it, or that it ends a subject and separates the previous sūtras from the following.

As a rule, the sūtras are not marked with accents; it is therefore from commentaries that one has to learn whether a sūtra has a svarita or not. Thus the following sūtras must evidently have svarita as they are governing sūtras; प्रवचनः (III. 1. 1) धाति: (III. 1. 91), अनुप्रयोगः (VI. 4. 1), अनुप्रयोगः (VI. 4. 129).

अनुदातित्वित्र अतमनेपदम् || १२ || पदार्थ || अनुदातित्व-इ-हत: अतमनेपदम् ||

वृत्ति: || अनुदातित्वित्रो वेण्टतो हितात्व तेभ्या एव भास्मने पर्छ भवति नान्विभ्यः ||

12. After a root which has an indicative anudatta vowel (anudattet) or an indicative न (नित), the affixes are those of the Atmanepada.

The word ‘atmanepada’ here governs all the subsequent sūtras up to sū. 77 inclusive, and is understood in them all; and will not therefore be repeated. Thus of the verb तस्य the final श is anudatta and is हत. It is therefore an atmanepadi verb. As प्रति. So हृद—हृत, श्रीह—श्रदेत.

भावकर्माणि: || १३ || पदार्थ || भाव-कर्माणि: (अतमनेपदम्) ||

वृत्ति: || भावे कर्माणि चालनपदम्-अभवति ||

13. An atmanepada affix is the substitute of the affix न (III. 4. 69) when it denotes the action of the verb or the object of the verb.

Sūtra III. 4. 69 declares the “letter न (नृत्, नित् &c.) is placed after transitive verbs in denoting the object also as well as the agent; and after intransitives in marking the condition (i.e., the action itself which the verb imports) also as well as the agent.” The Paras. and Atman. affixes would
have come, therefore, generally after all these verbs. The present sūtra restricts Atman affixes to bhāva and karma verbs.

This is clear. Impersonal verbs and passive verbs as a rule are conjugated in the atmanepada and take the terminations of that pada. These originally were verbs expressive of states rather than of actions. As of भाव we have भावते भवताः ‘you dislike’ (lit. ‘it is disliked by you’), श्रव्यते भवताः ‘you sleep.’ Similarly passive verbs as किल्केत करः ‘the mat is made’; द्रियते भारः ‘the load is carried.’

All verbs in Sanskrit may have three voices, vis., active, passive, and middle or impersonal; active voice is generally paraśmaipada. The reflexive verbs known as कर्मातिहारी are also atmanepadi. Thus त्यौः केदारः स्वस्वेत ‘the wood cuts of itself.’ See sūtra 78.

कर्मेऽकर्मे भत्तिहारे || १५ || पदानिः || कर्मे, कर्मेऽकर्मेऽभत्तिहारे || (आत्मनेपदम्) ||

इति: || कर्मे भत्तिहारे समिस्वत्रिस्व भिन्यो बचनात्रास्वाभाविकसंवर्णम् भवित ||

14. In denoting the agent, when reciprocity of action is to be expressed, the affixes of the Atmanepada are employed.

The active or कर्माच्य verbs when denoting reciprocal action are atmanepadi. As, भत्तिहारे, ‘they cook for each other,’ भत्तिहारे ‘he performs cutting of wood which was the appropriate office of another.’

The words “reciprocity or interchange of action” of this sūtra govern and are understood in the two following sūtras also.

The word karma in the sūtra means action and not the technical ‘karma’ meaning ‘object’ and the word vyatihāra means reciprocity or interchange. When an action which was appropriate to one person is performed by another, whose duty it was not, that is called ‘interchange of action.’ When such interchange is not meant Paras. is used. As तुत्तिं ‘they cut.’ The word kartari here is used for the sake of the subsequent aphorism 78, which see.

न गति हिंसायथः || १५ || पदानिः || न, गति-हिंसा-अन्ध्रेयः ||

(आत्मनेपदम् कर्मातिहारे ) ||

इति: || मायत्रेयं निसर्यं भाव्यं कर्मं भत्तिहारे आत्मनेपां न भवति ||

वाचिकम् || भत्तिहारे हसाशरायूपविबन्धानम् ||

वाचिकम् || इत्यत्प्रतिवेचः ||

15. After verbs having the sense of ‘motion,’ or ‘injury,’ when expressing interchange of action, the Atmanepada affixes are not used.
This aphorism prohibits Atmanepada affixes in certain cases where by force of the last \textit{sūtra} Atmanepada affixes would have been obtained. As \textit{व्यवस्थानिः} 'they go against each other,' \textit{व्यतिहासित्विनिः} 'they injure each other,' \textit{व्यतिनिः} 'they fight together.'

The word 'not' of this \textit{sūtra} is understood in the subsequent \textit{sūtra}.

\textit{Vart.}—This prohibition extends to the verbs \textit{हस्त} 'to laugh,' and the rest. As \textit{व्यतिहासित्विनिः} व्यतिजनित्विनिः व्यतिपठनिः

\textit{Vart.}—Prohibition must be made of the verbs \textit{हरति} 'to injure,' as \textit{संप्रहरते} राजनः

\textit{इतरत्वरा} योज्योपपदावः \| १६ \| पदानि || इतर-इतर, \textit{अन्यः-अन्यः}, \textit{उपपदात्}, \textit{च}, \ (\textit{कर्मचेरो} आत्मनेऽन) \|

\textit{वृत्ति:} \| \textit{इतरस्त्वरा} \textit{योज्योपपदावात्तीतिः} \textit{कर्मविषाय} \textit{आत्मनेऽन} \| \textit{भवति} \|

\textit{वाणिज्यम्} \| \textit{पर्यत्वरा} \textit{पदवा} \| \textit{वनवधम्} \|

16. And after the verbs which take the words \textit{itaretara} 'each other,' and \textit{anyonya} 'one another,' as \textit{upapada} (or dependant qualifying words), the affixes of Atmanepada are not used, though reciprocity of action be denoted.

Thus \textit{इतरस्त्वरा} \textit{व्यति} \textit{सूनलिः} 'they cut each other' \textit{अन्योन्यस्तव} \textit{व्यतिलिनिः} 'they cut one another.'

\textit{Vart.}—This rule must also be applied when the word \textit{परस्पर} is in composition with the verb, as an upapada. As \textit{परस्परशः} \textit{व्यतिलिनिः}.

\textit{वृत्ति:} \| १७ \| पदानि || ने, \textit{विषाः}, \ (\textit{आत्मनेपदम्} ) \|

\textit{वृत्ति:} \| \textit{ने:} \textit{परस्पर} \textit{विष} \textit{आत्मनेपदं} \| \textit{भवति} \|

17. After the verb \textit{vis} 'to enter,' when preceded by the preposition \textit{ni}, the Atmanepada affixes are employed.

As \textit{विषाः} 'he enters,' but \textit{निविषाः} 'he enters in.'

Even when the augment \textit{ह्रेत} of the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional tenses intervenes between the root and the preposition, terminations are of the atmanepada. As \textit{व्यतिश्राति} 'he entered in.'

The \textit{व्र} of the \textit{sūtra} must be an upaśarga, because that has a sense, and not any \textit{व्र}. On this there is this \textit{paribhāṣā}:-अयऽवएवमेव योज्यनाथकस्तव "a combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote the same combination of letters void of a meaning." Thus in \textit{मधुरि} \textit{विश्वति} \textit{चन्द्रतः} 'the beetles enter the honey flowers.'
Here the नि is a part of the word मनि and has no sense by itself, and therefore the verb is in the Parasmāipada and not in the Atmanepada.

परिष्वेयः क्रियः || १८ || पदानि || परि-वि-आवेयः, क्रियः, (आ०) ||

अवलि: || परिष्वेयः उज्जसारा, कीवात्सरायेव अवलि ||

18. After the verb क्रि ‘to purchase,’ when preceded by pari, vi or ava, the Atmanepada affix is employed, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb दुःखी ‘to buy or barter,’ has an indicatory न्र and therefore, by sūtra 72 it will be Atmanepadi when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present sūtra, therefore, refers to cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The root क्रि ‘to buy’ as a general rule takes the terminations of both padas, but when it is preceded by pari, vi, or ava, it is restricted to Atmanepada terminations. As प्रतीकणिते ‘he buys’; विक्रीणिते ‘he sells’; विक्रीणिते ‘he buys.’

The word pari, vi, and ava must be upasargas, therefore, in the following example, there is no Atmanepada termination, because the vi there is not a preposition but a noun, as, विक्रीणिते वनए.

चित्ताम्य जे: || १९ || पदानि || चित्ताम्याम्य, जे: (आ०) ||

अवलि: || च परा पराज्ज्ञात्चित्ताम्याम्य निस्मे अवलि ||

19. After the verb जी ‘to conquer,’ preceded by vi or parā, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

This sūtra debars S. 73 by which the root जी is generally Parasmāipadi.

As जीतते ‘he conquers,’ पराजयते ‘he conquers.’ The words vi and parā must be upasargas (prepositions), for the application of this rule. In the following examples, they are used as substantives बहुविद्याति वनए, पराजयति लेता ||

आइङ्ग देशभाष्य विहर्षण || २० || पदानि: || आइङ्गः, दृः अनास्य-विहर्षण, (आ०) ||

अवलि: || आइङ्ग पराज्ज्ञात्चित्ताम्याम्य वन्ताम्याम्य निस्मे अवलि ||

वानिकम् || चित्ताम्याम्य प्रतिक्रियातीति वर्णमय: ||

वानिकम् || चित्ताम्याम्य कर्मकार्यायति वन्तस्य: ||
20. After the verb दान् ‘to give,’ preceded by अन, and when not meaning ‘to open the mouth,’ the Atmanepada affix is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The root ध्र is generally both Parasmaipadi and Atmanepadi (see S. 72). But when preceded by the preposition भ, it is restricted to the Atmanepada. As विद्यामय्ये ‘he acquires knowledge.’ But when it means ‘to widen the mouth’ whether actually or metaphorically, it is parasmaipadi. As आल्ले ध्रान्नति. ‘He expands his own mouth.’

Vart:—The prohibition also applies when the action is similar to the act of opening the mouth. As विद्यापत्रा ध्रान्नति ‘he opens the tumour.’ कूबः ध्रान्नति नरी ‘the river breaks the bank.’

Vart:—When the action does not affect the agents’ own body the verb is तन्मनपदी, as ध्राह्यात्मपिपिलाकः पतंगस्थः धृवयः, ‘the ants open the mouth of a locust.’

कोद्वमनुस्परिम्यद ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कोदः, ब्रजस्मू-परिभः, च ( आकः, आलमः पो )

21. After the verb क्रित ‘to play’ preceded by anu, sam or pari, as well as अन, the Atmanepada affix is used.

The word ‘भाकः’ is to be read into the सात्र by virtue of the conjunction च in the text. As आकिते संकीते अनुकऽवते, च, पवित्रिते ‘he plays.’

Vart.—When the verb क्रित compounded with सम means to make a rattling or creaking noise,’ it does not take अतनपदा terminations. As संकीति शर्तनि ‘the carts rattle or creak.’ The word anu, pari &c., being taught along with sam, indicates that the upasargas anu, pari, &c., are to be taken and not the karmapravachaniya anu pari, &c. Therefore, when these prefixes are used as karmapravachaniya, they do not cause the verb क्रित to
take the ātmanepada terminations as मानवकमनुक्रियाःति 'he plays in imitation of the boy.' For the definition and action of karma-pravachaniya, see I. 4. 83 and II. 3. 8.

*Vart.*—The verb सामस्त takes the ātmanepada terminations when meaning 'to wait for,' 'to overlook,' 'to have patience,' as, आगमनयस्तः तावं मानवकमः। 'Have patience with the boy.'

*Vart.*—The verb शिख्दः takes ātmanepada terminations, when meaning 'to enquire':—as, विधिष्ठा शिख्दा 'he investigates sciences.

*Vart.*—The verb नाछः when meaning 'to bless,' takes ātmanepada terminations, as, सप्तद्धी नास्ति 'he blesses with clarified butter,' माहृत्यु नास्ति। Why do we say 'when meaning to bless'? Observe, मानवकमनुक्रियाःति, 'he begs of Manavaka.'

*Vart.*—The verb ध्यानः takes ātmanepada terminations when meaning 'to take after the nature of the parents.' As वैवृकमस्वा अनुब्रह्मित 'the horses resemble their father.' भागद्वेषवहश्वे 'the cows always imitate their mother.' But when not having this meaning, we have मात्रंवाचस्ति 'he resembles his mother.'

*Vart.*—The verb क्रितः takes ātmanepada terminations when meaning 'to scratch out or scatter with joy, for abode or food.' As वधप्रस्थितः वृषभं इति 'the happy bull scratches with joy.' अपस्किरः क्रियांतः भस्माधी प्रमं 'the cock scratches in search of food,' अपस्किरः भस्मस्याऽथम 'the dog scratches to make his abode.' When not having these senses we have अपस्किरः क्रियाः 'he scatters about the flowers.' The dental श in apaskirā is added by śāstra VI. 1. 142. अपाश्वधन्यावत् क्रियायाऽश्च. इति

*Vart.*—The verbs त्वो 'to cry' and भव्य 'to ask' take the ātmanepada terminations when preceded by the preposition आः, as आःस्तः माहृत्युः 'the jackal howls,' अप्स्वतः गुरुः 'he questions the Guru.'

*Vart.*—The verb यात्रा when meaning 'to touch the body by the word' takes ātmanepada affixes. As रेवतसद्याय यात्रे 'he promises by oath to Devadatta.' Otherwise we have ध्यानः 'he curses.'

22. After the verb शस्त्र 'to stand,' preceded by sam, ava, pra, vi, the Atmanepada affix is used.

As संतिे 'he stays with,' भवलिे 'he waits patiently,' पतिे 'he sets forth,' नतिये 'he stands apart.'
The Atmanepada verbs.

`Var. The verb `sva when preceded by `sath and meaning 'solemn declaration' takes atmanepada terminations; as `arthit `sambharpama `a`atah. Or to take another example, `akhi `sath. `aat `sath. `sath. `sath. for thee I shall surely have recourse to water or poison.'

प्रकाशनस्थेयायामेवायु || २३ || पदानि || प्रकाशन-स्थेय-आलयेयः, च, ( `sath, अत्मनेते ) ||

\( वृत्ति: || प्रकाशन स्थेयायामाया च तियतेतारकनेवदं भवति || \)

23. After the verb sthâ when meaning 'to indicate one's intentions to another,' or 'to make an award as an arbitrator,' the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The word prakâs'ana means disclosing one's intentions. The word stheyaäkhyâna is a compound of stheya 'arbitrator,' and äkhyâ 'name.'

As तियते जायापते 'the wife expresses her wish to the husband,' विम-तियते 'he refers to thee for settlement,' संज्ञाय कर्मादिव तियते यो, 'who, when he is in doubt, has recourse to Karna as his judge or umpire.'

उदेनानुवृत्कमेव || २४ || पदानि || उदः, अनूवर्ण-कमेव,
( `sath, अत्मनेपदम् ) ||

\( वृत्ति: || उद धूर्तवर्ष लिङ्के रश्येवृत्तकमेव वर्चानादामालनेवदं भवति || वार्तिकस्तु || उद ईदायामिति वक्तव्यसः \)

24. After the verb sthâ, preceded by ut, when not meaning 'to get up or rise,' as from a seat, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The word 'karma' in this aphorism means 'action,' and does not mean the grammatical karma or 'object.'

As गेछे तियते 'he strives for the house' so also कुटुम्बे तियते. But आसानादुनिष्ठिति 'he rises up from the seat.'

`Var.'—The force of the preposition ut must be to express इद्धा, 'effort, exertion, wish or desire, to surprise or excell.' If this be not the force of ut, the terminations are those of the Parasmaipada. As यथाद्र भामात् शवासिद्धिहि 'a hundred is yielded by this village.' The word इद्धा qualifies the word 'anurdhakarmani,' and does not debar the latter.

उपायन्तःकरणे || २५ || पदानि || उपायः, मन्त्र-करणे, ( `sath, आत पो ) ||

\( वृत्ति: || उपायेनातिकरणेत्वमंकरणेवचमानादालनेवदं भवति || वार्तिकस्तु || उपायेन पुजासंभिति करणेत्वमं करणाधिकारिभविष्ठि वक्तव्यसः || \)
25. After the verb sthā, preceded by upa, when meaning 'to adore,' the Atmanepada affix is used.

As भैरवागार्तिनेवाः पुजित्वहे 'he approaches with prayers or worships the Gārhapatya fire with aindra hymns.'

If it does not mean 'praising with hymns' the terminations which the verb takes, are those of the Parasmaipada, as भैरवागार्तिनेवाः पुजित्वहे 'she approaches the husband through youth.'

Varī.—The verb स्या after the preposition उप takes the terminations of the atmanepada when meaning 'worshipping a deity,' 'to approach for intercourse or uniting or joining,' 'to form friendship with,' and 'to lead to as a way.' Thus:—1st Deva puja श्राविष्टिति वते 'he worships the Aditya.' 2. Sangati karaṇa धार्मिकप्रवति नरि 'the wife approaches the husband,' सम्बन्धिति 'forms union with charioteers.' 3. Mitir karaṇa सम्बन्धिति साधु 'the good man approaches the saints to make friends with.' What is the difference between Sangati-karaṇa and Mitir-karaṇa? Sangati-karaṇa means drawing near and approaching together in space, as गंगास्नानायाः पुजित्वहे 'the Ganges joins the Jumna.' While the friendly relations may be established without coming in physical contact.

4. Patha:—पथं पावत: सुप्रसिद्धि 'this road leads to Srugha.'

Varī.—It must be stated that the Atmanepada is optional when the sense is 'desire of getting.' As भैरवागार्तिनेवाः पुजित्वहे or उपासित्वहे 'a beggar waits at the place of a Brahmaṇa with the desire of getting something:'

अक्षरकृत्व ॥ २६ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ अक्षरकृतां, च, ( उपएशा आसा पृषोट) ॥

कृति: —उपपुरुषाः विद्वेदशथक्कारकियता च च्यायान्यन्दने वषयति ॥

26. After the verb sthā, preceded by upa, when used intransitively, the Atmanepada affix is used.

As तेजसकले उपति वहे 'he stands ready at the time of dinner,' शास्त्रस्मुक्तेन पुजित्वहे 'he is present whenever it is dinner time,' शास्त्रदुस्मुक्तेन पुजित्वहे 'he is present whenever there is food, that is he comes at the time of dinner.' The word bhukta is formed by adding the affix kta to the root, and has the force of condition 'here.'

The phrase 'when used in the Intransitive' governs the three succeeding śūtras also.

If it is transitive; the verb upasthā takes the parasmaipada terminations. As राजानुपति 'he approaches the king.'

अभिला तथा: ॥ २७ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ उर्दू-विष्मित्व, तपः, ( अक्षरकृतां आसा पृषोट) ॥

कृति: —उर्दू विद्वेदशथक्कारकियता च च्यायान्यन्दने वषयति ॥

त्वादिकृति: —स्रावणुक्ति कर्मकार्याणि वषयति ॥
27. After the verb tapa ‘to shine,’ when used intransitively, and preceded by ut or vi, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

As उष्णति or वितपति विवाशा विवार्थिः ‘The scholar shines with knowledge.’ But in transitive verbs, it is Parasmaipadi. As उष्णपति स्कन्धगुप्तमकारः ‘the goldsmith heats the gold,’ विवतपति पृष्ठ सविता ‘the sun heats the back.’

*Var.*—It must be stated that the terminations are of the atmanepada, though the verb ut-tapa or vi-tapa be transitive, when the object is some limb of one’s own body. As उष्णपति पाणिम or वितपति पाणिम or पृष्ठ ‘he heats his own hand or back.’ The word स्वाभ्राः means one’s own body and not the पारिभाषिक or the technical स्वाभ्राः meaning “a thing which not being liquid or gaseous and being capable of being perceived by the senses, and not being one produced by a change from the natural state, exists in a living being and though found elsewhere actually or at any particular time, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually (not figuratively) the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being.” (See IV. 1. 54. स्वाभ्राःपदसंज्ञायांथोगाप्रायः). Therefore not so in the following देवर्भेति बस्तस्तक्कुट्टुपति ‘Devadatta heats the back of Yajñadatta.’ When the preposition is other than ut or vi, parasmaipada affix is employed; as, विवपति。

आद्योमदनः || २८ || पदपनि || अश्रवः || यम-हनः || (अकर्मकारः
आेण प०) ||

विष्टः || यम उपस्तः, हन विषाश्वः || शाखःकंक्षिकया बचनाशयामः पूर्वायामालने- वषे भवितः ||

28. After the verb yam ‘to stop,’ and han ‘to injure’ when used intransitively and preceded by अन, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The word intransitive of s. 26 is understood here also. Both these verbs are generally parasmaipadi. When they take the affix भा they become atmanepadi. Yam belongs to Bhvadi class; and han to Adadi class. Thus भा+भा+भा+ते = भा+भा+भा+ते (VII. 3. 77) इक्कमियम् कः ‘chh is the substitute of the finals of ish, gam and yam, when an affix having an indicatory भा follows) = भावह्वते ‘it spreads.’ भावह्वते and भावह्वते ‘:so also भा+महः+ते = भा+महः+ते (I. 2. 4 and VI. 4. 37) अतुतःपद्ध्वशचन्तितन्तःयात्तीःमात्रनितिअवलोपोः ह्वालिक्षितिः=भावते, ‘he strikes.’ भा = महः+भा+ते=भा+महः+भा+ते (I. 2. 4 and VI. 4. 37) सार्थाधृतसङ्क्षिप्तमात्र गमावेरजनानामण्यातः कोः कटिक्ष्यन्तिः = भावति ‘(VII. 3. 54), (कटि ह्वाविषेणैंच्छ) Pl. भावतेः.

Not so when these verbs are used in the transitive, as भावह्वते कुपर- 
कुसः ‘he draws up the rope from the well,’ भावह्वते द्विः पाविन ‘they kill the sinner with the foot.’
Vart.—When the object is some member of the agent’s own body these verbs take the Atmanepada terminations though transitive. As आँखले पाविन्द्र ‘he puts forth his own hand,’ आस्ति सिंहं ‘he hurts his own head.’ When the object is some limb of another’s body, the terminations are of the Parasmanyada, as आँखलि चिर: परक्रीवं ‘they hurt others’ head.’

समोगमुद्रिकथ्रक्षस्वरणयतिबिध्विद्रम्यः || 29 || पदार्थः || समः |

गमिः रूचि-प्राचिनः प्राचिनः स्वरणयति-अस्ति-सु-विद्रम्यः (अभि=२० पा०) ||

इति: || संपुर्णः गमिः रूचि प्राचिनः स्वरणयति अस्ति-सु-विद्रम्यः वही-जनकः सति: ||

वातिं श्रृणू || दस्ते प्रति वदन्यस्य ॥

29. After the verbs gam ‘to go,’ rīchchh ‘to become hard,’ prachchh ‘to ask,’ svar ‘to find fault,’ ri ‘to go,’ s’rû ‘to hear,’ and vid ‘to know,’ when used intransitively and preceded by sam, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The above seven verbs when preceded by the preposition सम् and used in the intransitive, take the terminations of the Atmanepada. As संगीत्यवे (VII. 3. 77) ‘he joins,’ संगीत्यवे ‘he becomes hard or goes,’ संगीत्यवे ‘he asks,’ संगीत्यवे ‘he blames,’ समपत ‘they are attained.’ In the case of this last verb which belongs both to Bhāvādi and Juhūtyādi classes it is Atmanepadi only in the Aorist. As सम्+क्ष्य वही (III. 1. 56 विति-वात्ययतिभवः) = समतः, as वातिस्त (VI. 4. 75 वही-स्वरणयतिर्वातिस्त) सम् + क्ष्य + अन्त्य + अन्त्य = समपत (VII. 4. 16 वही-वातिः). This occurs generally in the Vedas. The verb विति must have the meaning of ‘to know,’ and not that of ‘to acquire.’ संगीत्यवे ‘he hears,’ संगीत्यवे ‘he knows.’

Vart.—The root दश्य (to see) after the preposition सम् when used intransitively takes the terminations of the Atmanepada as संगीत्यवे ‘he sees,’ But when transitive, it takes Parasmanyada terminations as समपत ‘he sees the town.’

निष्ठु मुखिब्यो हृ: || 30 || पदार्थः || निष्ठु-सम्-उप-बिध्विद्रम्यः हृः ||

इति: || निष्ठु उप वि दश्येवे पुरूरः हस्तेष्यात्सरस्वतेव भवति ||

वातित्वः || उपस्थान-स्वरणयतिभवः वचनस्य ॥

30. After the verbs hve ‘to call,’ preceded by ni, sam, upa, and vi, the Atmanepada is used, even, when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.
The verb है ‘to call’ whether transitive or intransitive is Atmanepadi after the above prepositions. The condition of being Intransitive does not apply to this sūtra, and from this sūtra forward general rules of Atmanepada are treated of. As निधियते, लहरते, उपहरते॥

The verb है is marked in the Dhatupātha with अ and therefore by sūtra 72 of this Chapter, it will take the terminations of the Atmanepada when the direct fruit of the action accrues to the agent. But even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the verb lve takes the terminations of the Atmanepada when preceded by the above prefixes.

Vart.—The verbs चत ‘to throw’ and कह ‘to note’ take optionally Atmanepada affixes when compounded with upasargas. As निरस्वति—ष्ठे ‘he casts out,’ सम्प्रदति—ष्ठे ‘he collects.’

र्द्रव्यामानः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वह्रियमू, आङ्गः, ( है अऽ पो ॥

बृजतः ॥ स्वह्रियां विचये आङ्ग, पूर्वां इत्यर्थाद्विनिर्भवति॥

31. After the verb lve, when meaning ‘to challenge’ and preceded by अऽ, the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

As मल्लो मन्यतमाहनः, ‘an athlete challenges another athlete (in order to ‘conquer him’); भावश्चत्वामाहनः, ‘one student emulates with another student.’

This sūtra is also for the purpose of showing that the root lve takes the Atmanepada terminations even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The word spardhā means to emulate, to vie, to desire, to conquer another. When the verb lve has not the above signification, it takes the terminations of the parasmaipada. As सामाहिषति सेवनः: ‘the cowherd calls the cows.’

गध्यनावस्थाप्यायंतनसाहिष्यप्रतियत्यजप्राक्षेपायेवेयेषु क्रृष्णः ॥ ३२ ॥

पदानि ॥ गध्यन-व्राक्षेप-पंच-साहिष्य-प्रतियत्य-प्राक्षेप-उपयेवेयेषु, क्रृष्णः,

( अऽ पो ॥)

बृजतः ॥ गध्यनाविश्चर्घंबु संगमानार्थ कलोहस्वायते भवति॥

32. After the verb kri when meaning ‘to divulge,’ ‘to revile,’ ‘to serve,’ ‘to use violence,’ ‘to cause change,’ ‘to recite,’ and ‘to do an act tending to effect a desired purpose,’ the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.
The verb क्रम by sūtra 72 would take the affixes of the Atmanepada when the direct fruit of the action accrues to the agent. This sūtra has been begun to show that this verb takes the Atmanepada terminations under certain circumstances even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The word gandhana comes from the root gandha 'to injure,' of churādi class and means to inform against another maliciously with the object of injuring such person. Avakṣepeha means 'to revile,' to over-come,' sevana means 'to obey and serve,' sāhasikya means 'an act of violence,' pratiyatna means, 'im-parting a new quality or virtue,' prakathana means 'to narrate fully,' upayoga means 'the disposal of a thing for the object of attaining merit &c.'

Thus उत्क्रमदेते उत्ताक्रमदेते means he informs against; (2) यथेऽन्ति विनिकान्तप्रकृति 'the hawk overcomes or reviles a snail,' (3) गाहिकान्तप्रकृति 'he serves the prostitutes,' महामार्गान्तप्रकृति 'he serves the mahamatra,' (4) परारथ प्रकृति 'he outrages another's wife,' (5) एकधर्मान्तप्रकृति 'the fuel gives a new quality (boils) to the water (or he prepares the wood and water for a sacrifice). The object of the verb क्रम takes the affix of the sixth case i.e. genitive, only when the verb means pratiyatna, see S. II. 3. 53 (क्रमः प्रतियति). Therefore udakasya, though an object, has genitive form. The verb takes the augment स्वात्र only when it is preceded by upa and signifies pratiyatna, see VI. 1. 139. (वाश्वः प्रतियति वैक्रम वास्तवायास्वरूपः). Therefore, there is the insertion of sibilant in upaskurute.

(5) गायिति उत्तक्रमदेते 'he recites stories,' जनापदावार्त प्रकृति 'he recites slander,' (6) यत्र प्रकृति 'he devotes a hundred pieces of money, for the sake of merit. गात्रे मष्ट प्रकृति 'he devotes a thousand.'

Why do we say in these senses? Witness कट्टकः करोति 'he makes a mat.' In this case the atmanepada affix is not employed.

The verb क्रम is understood in the three succeeding sūtras.

ग्राहः प्रसाहिते || 32 || पदा दिति || ग्राहः. प्रसाहिते, (क्रमः आनं पृथक्) ||

33. After the verb क्रम preceded by adhi, when the sense is that of 'overcoming or defeat,' the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

This sūtra is commenced to show that क्रम may take the atmanepada affix even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word prasahana means 'to overcome, to be not defeated.' As माधवचकः 'he overcame him or he was not defeated by him.'

Why do we say, in the sense of to overcome? Witness घर्मिनिकरोति 'he cannot' in which example the atmanepada affix is not employed.
The necessity of making a separate sūtra of this rule, instead of including it in the last aphorism, arose with the object of giving a distinctive meaning to the prefix adhi.

वे: शब्दकर्मणे || ३४ || पदानि || वे: शब्द कर्मण: (क्रम: आरा पौ) ||

बृत्ति: || वि पूर्णः कर्तिरक्षणभिभाय नियोजिते शब्दकर्मण भास्मिप्रमध्य भवति ||

34. After the verb kri preceded by vi, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, and when एत्सेव तथा is that of ‘making sound,’ (literally, having ‘sound’ for its object) the Atmanepada is employed.

The word karma in the sūtra indicates objective case or kāraka; and does not express ‘action,’ as in some previous sūtras such as 34 ante.

As क्रिया बिकुलसे स्वराचे ‘the birds are making noise,’ श्रवणे बिकुलसे स्वराचे.

The word वि governs the succeeding sūtra.

Why do we say “when governing a word expressive of sound in the objective case”? Witness ब्रि िकर्मकामकाम क्रि जाति जाति जाति काम: ‘love affects the mind.’

क्रियाकारणं || ३५ || पदानि || क्रियाकारणं, च (क्रम: आरा पौ वे:) ||

बृत्ति: || वि पूर्णः कर्तिरक्षणकर्मकारकम्यकाम जातिकाम जाति||

35. After the verb kri preceded by vi, when used intransitively, the Atmanepada is used.

As मुक्तसे संभावना ‘the horses move gracefully,’ ब्रूतित राशि पूर्णात्तत्त्व भविष्यते the students being full of food are acting as they will or are aimlessly wandering about.

संसारनाट्यस्थानानाथ्यकारणानानथृतिभिदगणनस्यं निय: || ३६ ||

पदानि || संसार-उत्सव-आचार्यकारण-शान-भृति-दिगणन-व्ययं , निय: ,

(आत्मनेपदम्) ||

बृत्ति: || धातुः प्रापये इद्रेत्स्यमानार्कर्मभिभायकाम्यक्षेत्रदृष्टि सम्मानार्किते विशेषणेऽधि स्थस्य||

36. After the verb नि ‘to lead,’ when used in the sense of ‘to guide so as to render the person guided worthy,’ च‘ to lift up,’ ‘to make one a spiritual guide,’ ‘to determine the true sense,’ ‘to employ on wages,’
‘to pay as debt,’ and ‘to give as in charity,’ even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the Atmanepada is used.

This sutra is begun in order to show that the verb नि may take the terminations of the Atmanepada, even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, in the following cases, विष, when it means to ‘respect’ &c.

Sammānana means to respect; as नवते चार्वी लोकायते ‘the Chārvī gives instruction in the Lokāyata s’astra.’ The word chārvī primarily means intelligence, and by secondary use it has been extended to the preceptor also; such a preceptor gives instruction, in Lokāyata Sastra, that is to say, having established the truth of the doctrines of that philosophy by argumentation, imparts them to the pupils. Those doctrines being thus established by reason, become respected (Sammānītā) and honored.

Utsaṅjana, ‘to throw up, or lift up,’ as माणवकुशसनवते ‘he lifts up Manavaka.’

Achārya-karaṇa ‘acting as a teacher,’ that is to say, to bring a boy near oneself in such a way, that being so brought near (upa-neta), he may himself become an ṛṣi. As माणवकुशसनवते ‘he initiates Manavaka (i.e., making himself the preceptor he brings the boy near himself.)’

Jñāna means ‘knowledge, a demonstrated verity.’ As नवते चार्वी लोकायते ‘the Chārvī investigates the truth of the Lokāyata doctrine,’

Bhriti means ‘wages.’ As कर्मकारावलपत्तयते ‘he employs the servants on hire or wages.’

Vigāhana means the paying off as a tribute, debts &c. As महा अर्थविनयवते ‘the Madras pay the tax due to the king, that is, they discharge the debt.’

Vyāya means ‘allotment of money on works of merit &c.’ As व्याय विनयवते ‘he expends a hundred pieces on religious acts.’

Why do we say, in these senses? Witness यज्ञान नवति मामय ‘he carries the goat to the village.’ Here there is no Atmanepada affix, as the verb has not any one of the above significations.

कर्त्तृत्वेऽथ चार्वीरऽकर्मणिः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तृत्वेऽथ, च, अश्वादीरे, कर्मणिः (नियः भ्रत्र ५०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नवते: कसारिष्टवासाविकारायथाय: कर्त्तृत्वे कर्मण्यासर्वसा वति नन्देतार्थेवपि अवति ॥

37. After the verb नि, when it governs an incorporeal object existing in the agent, as its object, the Atmanepada is used.
The verb नी is Atmanepadi when governing an object which has no material body, but is an abstract noun, that is an object which has abstract but no concrete existence; and when such an object has its seat in a portion of the agent of the verb. As कोथं बिनवति 'he subdues his own anger,' मन्दुः बिनवते 'he suppresses anger.'

The word स'र्त्रा means the body of living beings, any portion of such body is also called स'र्त्रा.

The object must reside in the agent, (कर्त्रिष्ठा), otherwise the verb will be parasmaipadi. As देवदत्ते क्षत्रिष्ठा कोथं बिनवति 'Devadatta removes Yajnaddatta's anger.'

The object moreover must be immaterial, otherwise the affix will be of parasmaipada. As गड़ू बिनवति 'he removes his own wort.' घाटा बिनवति 'he bows his neck.'

Why do we say 'in the case of an object?' Witness बुधरा बिनवति 'he is submissive through knowledge,' प्रत्या बिनवति. Here the verb बिनवति has not taken an accusative case, but is in construction with an instrumental case, and therefore the present rule does not apply.

ब्रजिस्मतात्त्येषु क्रमः || ३८ || पदार्थे || ब्रजिस्मतात्त्येषु || (आ. प०) ||

ब्रजित: || बुधराबिनवत्ते कथमभातिरागमनेषु भवति ||

38. After the verb kram 'to move' when used, in the senses of 'continuity,' 'energy' and 'development,' the Atmanepada is employed.

The word 'kram' governs the succeeding sūtras up to 43 and is understood in them all.

The verb kram by sūtra I. 3. 78 (after the rest, let the parasmaipada affixes be employed in marking the agent), would have taken the affixes of the parasmaipada; the present aphorism enjoins Atmanepada affixes in certain cases when the verb means to have a taste for &c.

Vṛtti 'continuity' means unobstructed, or want of interruption (i.e., a taste for, or facility in, anything), sarga 'energy' means application, resolution and determination. Tāyana 'development' means increase and growth.

As (१) स्त्रिष्ठ्य क्रमव: बुध्रः—'his reason proceeds unobstructed through the Rig. scriptures i.e., he can easily comprehend the Rig.' (२). व्याकरणाध्य- वनाय क्रमः 'the pupil shows energy or exerts to study the grammar.' (३). अर्थस्था शास्त्रिष्ठ्य क्रमः 'the shastras are developed in him.'

Why in these senses only? Witness अपकामति 'he runs away.'
The Atmanepada verbs. [Bk. I, Ch. III. § 39-41.]

उपपराभ्याम् \( \text{पा} \) || पदानि || उप-पराभ्याम्; (\( \text{पा} \) \( \text{क्रा} \) \\
क्रि: वि० उपपराभ्याम् क्लमस्मः सत्तानागाधारमवे भवति \)

39. After the verb kram, preceded by upa and para, when used in the senses of continuity, energy and development, the Atmanepada is employed.

The words vṛitti &c., of the last sūtra are understood here also. Why has this been made a separate sūtra and not included in the last? The reason is to make a restrictive rule in the cases of upasargas; that is to say, only in the cases of the upasargas upa and para, there is atmanepada affix; but not so when any other upasarga precedes the verb kram, though the sense may be of continuity &c. Thus उपक्रमते ‘he commences to advance,’ पराक्रमते ‘he marches to attack.’

Why do we say after the upasargas ‘upa and para’? Because, after any other preposition the affix will be of the parsmaipada; as संक्रमति ‘he makes progress.’ If the sense is not that of ‘continuity’ &c., parasmaipada will be employed, as उप्रक्रमिति, परारक्रमिति.

इति । आक्रमणे भवति। आक्रमणे (क्रम: आऽ पा०) \( \text{क्रा} \) ||

उद्गमनेि । आक्रमणे आक्रमणे वर्तमानायत्वमवे भवति \)

40. After the verb kram, preceded by ān, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of the rising of a luminary.

As आक्रमते सुर्यः ‘the sun rises,’ आक्रमते चन्द्रः ‘the moon rises,’ आक्रमति स्वायतः ‘the stars rise.’

Part.—This ascending must refer to heavenly bodies. Therefore in \( \text{आक्रमि} \), ‘the smoke rises from the surface of the terrace,’ the verb क्रम is parasmaipadi. Why do we say in the sense of ‘to ascend’? Witness \( \text{आक्रमिति} \) मात्रेऽक्रमः कुप्पः ‘the boy assails the ox.’

के: प्रस्थः \( \text{क्रा} \) \( \text{पा} \) || पदानि || के: , पाद-विवरणे, (क्रम: आऽ पा०) \)

41. After the verb kram, preceded by vi, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of ‘placing of foot-steps.’

As शामै विक्रमते ‘the horse is pacing.’ The term vikramana is applied to the special movements of horse &c.
Though in the Dhātupātha (catalogue of verbal roots), the verb क्रमि and क्रमेत्र have the meanings of pāda-viharaṇa and pāda-vikṣhepa, that is "throwing or placing of foot," and so it might be objected that the present sūtra is a useless repetition, yet as verbs have various other meanings than what is assigned to them in the dhātupātha, the present sūtra is not unnecessary.

Why do we say "in the sense of throwing of foot"? In any other sense, the terminations will be those of the parasmaipada. As विक्रममिति विनिर्विभविषयः 'the fold of the antelope skin is ruptured.'

मोपधयां समधेयायां || ४२ || पदानि || प्र-उपाध्याय, समधेयायां (क्रमः चारं पदं) ||

वृत्ति: || प्र उप इवेचारां रसवात् कमलेवालनेपं भवति ||

42. After the verb kram, the Atmanepada is employed when it is preceded by pra and upa, both conveying the same sense; viz. that of "beginning an action."

As प्रक्रमोऽनस्तु, उपक्रमोऽनस्तु 'he commences to eat' &c.

The prefixes pra and upa are synonyms, when they denote the commencement of an action.

Why do we say, "when they are synonyms." Witness the following प्रेतेषु: प्रक्रमवति अर्थेषुक्रमकारति 'he goes during the first part of the day and he comes back during the latter part of the day.' Here in one case the sense is "to go," in another it means "to return."

Why in the latter case of 'aparyayur upakrāmati' there is not Atmanepada by virtue of sūtra 39 ante, as there is the upasarga upa here? The answer is that Rule 39 is not applicable, as that rule is limited by the condition of the sense of 'continuity' &c. while in the present sūtra, that limitation is not applicable.

अनुपस्थग्नान || ४३ || पदानि || अनु-उपस्थग्नान, वा (क्रमः चारं पदं) ||

वृत्ति: || उपस्थग्नाविव्रुक्तिकमलेवालनेपं भवति ||

43. After the verb kram, the Atmanepada is optionally employed, when it is not preceded by any preposition.

The root 'kram' may always be conjugated as Atmanepadi when not having any upasarga. The upasarga will be defined in I. 4. 59. The option allowed by this sūtra is an example of what is technically known as aprāpta vibhāsa viz., an option which is not an alternative limitation to a general rule already found or known.
The word jña is understood in this śūtra: and the aphorism applies to
that jña which is used in the transitive. As शान्तं संज्ञानीते ' he looks for a hundred,'
So सहम सन्ताणीति ' he promises a thousand.'

Why do we say when 'not meaning remembering with regret?'
Because it is not Atmanepadi, when it conveys that meaning. Thus भास
संज्ञानाति ' he remembers with regret his mother,' विच: संज्ञानाति.

भासनायपंसंभाषायन्यविमर्शे० ० ० ।
भासन-उपसंभाषा-शान-यत्न-चित्त-उपम-चरणे०, वदः, ( आ० प० ) ।

वृन्द: भासनायप्रिये० वर्षे० वदे० वदेमने० भवति।

47. After the verb vad, the Atmanepada is
employed, when used in the senses of "showing brilliance,
or proficiency in," "pacifying," "knowledge," "effort,"
"difference of opinion," and "flattering."

By śūtra 78, vad generally takes the terminations of the Parasmai-
pada. By the present śūtra, it takes also the affixes of the Atmanepada when
having certain meanings.

Bhāsana, (shining) means to illumine as वदने चार्वी तोक्रायेशे. The chārvi
illuminates the Lokayat shastras, by his discourses and clear exposition.

Upasambhāshā (persuasions) means to appease, to conciliate, as कारे-कारे०
परुषदेने ' he conciliates or cajoles the servants.'

* Jñāna (knowledge) means to know completely, as वदने चार्वी तोक्रायेशे 'the
charvi knows completely to discourse upon Lokayat shastra.'

Yatna (endeavour) means energy, as चेते वदने ' He toils in the field,'
जेते वदने ' he toils in the house.'

Vimāti (disagreement) means dissension, want of unanimous opinion
As चेते विवदने, ' they disagree over the field,' i.e., holding different opinions
they talk diversely.

Upamana (enticing) means to coax in secret, as, खलमायद्विपतते ' he
entices the wife of a respectable family (i.e., seduces her in secret),' परस्तरुप-
वदने 'he flatters another's wife.

Why in the above senses only? See वद० कतिपयदेने ' he says something'.

व्यक्तवाचा गुणाशारणे ० ० ० ।
व्यक्तवाचाम गुण-उक्खारणे, ( वद: चारा प० ) ।

वृन्द: व्यक्तवाचा गुणाशारणं सहारणं तथा वाचानाय वधेमनपदें भवति।

48. After the verb vad, the Atmanepada is
employed when used in the sense of "speaking articulately
in a similar manner."
As संपrpद्वप्ते ब्राह्मण: ‘the Brāhmaṇas are speaking.’ But in संपrpद्वप्ति कुस्कृत: ‘the cocks are crowing’ it is properly Parasmaiḍa.

The sense of the sūtra is that when men, who are only capable of articulate speech, speak all in one and the same time, then the verb vad takes the affix of the Atmanepada. When lower animals make a chorus of noise, the verb does not take the Atmanepada.

There must be samuchchāraṇa for the application of this rule; when there is no samuchchāraṇa or speaking in a chorus, this rule does not apply, as ब्राह्मण वचि ‘the Brāhmaṇa speaks.’

अनेकभक्षकात् || ४९ || पदानि || अत्रोः, अक्रमकात्, ( वदः, आठ ५० ) व्यक्तवचार ||

वृत्ति: || अनुवद्वद्वतेर्क्रमकातृत्वादछायावाहारादानेक्षेत्रेष्क वचि ||

49. After the verb vad, preceded by anu when it is intransitively used, the Atmanepada is employed, when the sense is that of “speaking articulately in a similar manner.”

As अनुवद्वद्वे कदः कन्यापथ कथा is echoing or imitates kalāpa. He reutters exactly what the kalāpa-reader or the teacher says. The word anu here means similarly.

Why do we say ‘in the Intransitive’? Because when it is used in the transitive it takes the affixes of the Parasmaiḍa. As पूव्ये षयुज्यस्यदित्वम्यवद्वि, ‘he repeats the yajurveda which he had learned before.’

The words ‘uttering of articulate speech’ are understood here also. Otherwise अनुवद्वद्वति श्रीता ‘the lute resounds,’ here it is Parasmaiḍa.

विभाषा विन्यासये || ५० || पदानि || विभाषा, विन्यासये, ( वदः आठ ५० व्यक्तवचार ) ||

वृत्ति: || विन्यासप्रमध्येक्ष्यतवचारं सहस्रवचारं पर्यावानिदसर्वालमपर्वेशी भवति विभाषा ||

50. After the verb vad, the Atmanepada is employed optionally, when the sense is that of “contradicting each other.”

As विन्यासम् or नित वैद्यः (the doctors are at variance). The words vyakta-वचाम (articulate utterance) and samuchchāraṇa (speaking together) are understood in this sūtra also.

No option is allowed when the sense is not that of contradiction or wrangling as, संपrpद्वप्ते ब्राह्मण: ‘the Brāhmaṇas are speaking together.’

The phrase ‘articulate utterance’ is necessary in this also. Because as विन्यासम् श्रुतः ‘the kites are quarrelling,’ the verb is in the Parasmaiḍa.
The wrangling must be by talking at one and the same time, otherwise this rule will not apply. As करण वेदा वेदेन तह विप्रवचनि, 'the doctors contradict by turn another doctor.'

अवादुः || ५१ || पदानि || अवादुः, श्रः, ( अञः प० )

वृत्ति: || अपूर्ववर्तः सिरङ्गेश्वरवने भवति ||

51. After the verb grī 'to swallow,' when preceded by ava, the Atmanepada is used.

As अवगिरते (he swallows). The root grī to swallow preceded by the preposition ava is Atmanepadi. The verb grī taken in this sūtra means to swallow and belongs to the Tūdādi class. It is not the grī 'to make sound' which belongs to the kṛyādi class, because there is no word formed with the latter verb by affixing the preposition ava to it. By sūtra 78 this verb grī 'to swallow' would have been Parasmaipadi; the present sūtra debars that.

When it is not preceded by ava, it is Parasmaipadi, as गिरति 'he swallows.'

समः प्रतिश्चते || ५२ || पदानि || समः, प्रतिश्चते, ( श्रः अञः प० )

वृत्ति: || संगृहनि सिरङ्गेश्वरवने वर्थमानाशासनवने भवति ||

52. After the verb grī preceded by sam, the Atmanepada is used, when employed in the sense of 'promising.'

As शानं सिरङ्गेश्वरि, 'he promises to pay a hundred rupees.' If it does not mean to promise or acknowledge, it takes parasmaipada terminations. As सिरङ्गेश्वरि भासम, 'he swallows the mouthful.'

उदाहरणः सत्तमकालः || ५३ || पदानि || उदः, चरः, सत्तमकालः

( अञः प० )

वृत्ति: || उपपदप्रवचते: सत्तमकालकार्याच्छन्नस्याच्छन्नवप० भवति ||

53. After the verb char 'to walk' preceded by ut, when used transitively, the Atmanepada is employed.

As नेत्युच्यते 'he strays away from home,' गुरुच्छन्नयुच्यते 'he transgresses the commands of his preceptor.'

Why do we say "when used in the transitive"? Observe शापयुच्यति 'the vapour is rising.' Here it is parasmaipadi.

समस्तग्र्यायुक्तः || ५४ || पदानि || समः, तृतीया- युक्तः,

( लघः अञः प० )

वृत्ति: || संपुर्वःशर्तेत्तन्त्रीयुक्ताशासनवने भवति ||
54. After the verb char, preceded by sam, and connected with a noun in the Instrumental case, the Atmanepada is employed.

As भद्रेधन संपरते 'he rides on the horse-back.'

The rule does not apply when it is not in composition with a word in the instrumental case. As तद्वनी संपरतिस्तु चांचिं च देवल 'O Devala! thou wanderest through both regions, this and that.' Here though the sense of the Instrumental case is implied, yet as it is not expressly stated, we use the parasmaiapada terminations.

55. And after the verb dā to give, preceded by sam, and connected with a noun in the Instrumental case, the Atmanepada is employed, provided this Instrumental case have the sense of the Dative case.

When is the 3rd case used with the force of the 4th case? That is answered by the following.

*Vart:*—The Instrumental has the force of the Dative when immoral conduct is implied. As सामथ्रे or भृजस्वसंज्ञवच्छते 'he gives with the object of enticing to the female slave or prostitute.'

The verb dā to give is generally parasmaiapadi, it becomes ātmane-
padi under the above conditions.

Why do we say "when it has the force of the dative case"? Because when it has not the sense of the dative, parasmaiapada terminations will be used, as पारिणा संपरतिच्छति, 'he gives with his hand.'

It might be asked how the ātmanepada terminations are employed when the preposition sam is not directly applied to the verb, but another pre-
position pra, intervenes between sam and the verb. The reply is that the word samah in sutra 54 is not in the ablative case (which would have required its being placed immediately before the verb), but it is in the genitive case, and is used as an attribute.

उपाध्यमः स्वकरणेः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदाति ॥ उपात्, यमः, स्वकरणेः,

( अः ॥ वर्णम)
56. After the verb yam, to give, preceded by upa, when used in the sense of "espousing," the Atmanepada is employed.

This is clear. As भवास्तुपवाच्चते 'he espouses or knows his wife.' But not so when another's wife is meant; there it is parasmaipadi.

By rule 78, the verb yam would have been parasmaipadi, but the present sūtra makes an exception, when the root takes the preposition upa and means "to marry, to espouse, or to accept." The meaning of sva-karana is confined to accepting in general. This is according to Kāśika; according to Mahābhāshya, sva-karana means to make one's own what was not previously his own.

Why do we say in the sense of "marrying"? When it has any other sense, prasmaipada affixes will be employed, as देवदत्तो यज्ञदात्स्य भवास्तुपवाच्चति, 'Devadatta has illicit intercourse with the wife of Yajñadatta.'

श्रास्त्रस्मूहिन्यां सनं || ५७ || पद्यानि || श्रास्त्रस्मूहिन्याः सनं, ( भा० १० ) ||
शृङ्गः || श्रास्त्रस्मूहिन्यां सनं तामायामानवनव्येष्यां तत्रति ||

57. After the Desideratives formed by the affix san, of the verbs jñā to know, s'ru to hear, smṛī to remember, and drīs' to see, the Atmanepada is employed.

The above four roots are atmanepadi when in the Desiderative form, the suffix "san" being the prayayya by which desideratives are formed.

The verb jñā takes the terminations of the ātmanepada when used in the senses indicated by the three sūtras 44, 45 and 46 already explained. The desiderative form of jñā would ex necessitate take ātmanepada affixes when used in the above senses: see Rule 62. The present sūtra however enlarges the scope of ātmanepada, by declaring all desideratives of jñā to be ātmanepada, in whatever sense they may be used.

Similarly by sūtra 29 ante and the vārtika under it, the roots s'ru, and drīs' take the terminations of the ātmanepada; when preceded by sam, the desideratives of those would of course have taken ātmanepada affixes by 62, but the present sūtra makes it general.

The present sūtra however enunciates a new rule in the case of the root smṛī.

As धम्मे जित्वाति 'he wishes to know (i.e. enquires after) religion,' श्रृङ्गः श्रास्त्रस्मूहिन्याः 'he serves the teacher,' नवं इत्यर्थिः 'he wishes to remember the lost.' श्रृङ्गः विद्वंचते 'he wishes to see the king.'

Why do we say, when taking the affix san? Because the primitive verbs will take the parasmaipada terminations as जानाति 'he knows'; धम्मोति 'he hears,' धम्मोति 'he remembers' नर्मति 'he sees.'
58. After the desiderative of jñā when preceded by anu the Atmanepada is not employed.

This is an exception to the last sūtra. The desiderative of jñā with the prefix anu is not atmanepadi.

This sūtra read with sūtra 45 limits the scope of parasmaipada to the transitive, desiderative verb anu-jñā. As पुत्रमुज्जयाति ‘he enquires after the son.’

Why do we say when preceded by anu? Because otherwise it will take the atmanepada terminations. As वर्मेऽति जित्याति ‘he enquires after religion.’

59. After the desideratives of s’ru when preceded by prati and ān the Atmanepada is not used.

The verb s’ru when taking the prefixes prati and ān, is not atmanepadi, though taking the desiderative “san.” This is also an exception to the rule of sūtra 57. Thus प्रतिह्युष्टति and आयुष्टति.

The word prati and ān must be upasargas; if they are used as karmapravachaniyas (see 1. 4.—83) then the rule will not apply, as देवदतः प्रतिह्युष्टति.

60. After the verb s’ad to decay, when it has one of the affixes with an indicatory s’ (s’it) the Atmanepada is used.

The root ‘sad’ when taking any affix which is marked with an indicatory श, is conjugated in the atmanepadi. In connection with this must be read sūtra VII. 3. 78. पाश्रयस्त्रायासाधारयूपा निर्देशतावलीमिश्रतितवादिकसमनस्वदेशाय=

श्चिन्दसः: by which the root श्चू रू is replaced by शीर्ष before the affixes having an indicatory श. Thus श्चू + श + रू = शीर्ष + श्चू = शीर्षते ‘he decays or withers,’

शीर्षते ‘they two decay,’ शीर्षते ‘they decay,’

Why do we say before affixes having an indicatory श? Before other affixes it is not atmanepadi. As श्रावस्त्रय ‘if he decayed,’ श्रावस्त्रय ‘he will decay,’ श्रावस्त्रय.

The well-known vikaranas like श्चू, श &c., the affixes like शू &c., are शिः affixes. In other words the root s’ad is atmanepadi in all conjugational tenses.
61. After the verb mṛ to die, when it has one of the affixes having an indicatory श, as well as when it takes the affixes lũ (aorist III 2. 110) add liṅ (Benedictive III. 3. 159) the Atmanepada is used.

This is a restrictive śātra, the root शृत्र (to die), is marked with a श as an indicatory letter; so by śātra 12 it would be always Atmanepadi. But the present aphorism restricts it to शृत्र lũ (Aorist) and मित्र liṅ (Benedictive) tenses as well as to those tenses which are शित्र. It will be found hereafter that out of the ten tenses, those that take शित्र affixes are the special tenses, i.e., the Present, the Imperfect, the Potential and the Imperative.

It is only before these three affixes, namely, liṅ, lũ, and s’it affixes, that the root mṛ takes the terminations of the atmanepada. Thus the aorist अष्ट्र amṛta he died; Benedictive श्रीर्त mṛśīṣṭha ‘may he die.’ Similarly before sit affixes: thus स्रित ‘he dies, = श्र + श + त (VII. 4. 28) श्रित शय्यशिष्ट श्रीर्त खित + श + त = स्रित (VI. 4. 77. अत्रि श्रित शय्यशिष्ट श्रीर्त खित, स्रित) The root शृत belongs to the sixth class of verbs called Tudādi which take the vikaraṇa श in the conjugalional tenses (III. 1. 77).

In other tenses, viz., the two Futures, the Perfect and the conditional, this verb is parasmaipadi. As मस्मित्वति he will die. श्रमित्वति.

62. The verb which is Atmanepadi in its primitive form before the taking of the affix san, will also be Atmanepadi when it ends in the affix san. In other words; after a desiderative verb, Atmanepada is employed, if it would have been used after the primitive verb.

If the primary verb is parasmaipadi, its desiderative will be also parasmaipadi; if the primary verb is Atmanepadi, its desiderative will be Atmanepadi. This is the general rule. Some exceptions to it have already been mentioned in śāstras 57, 58, and 59. A root which was atmanepadi, before taking the Desiderative affix सन्न san, will be atmanepadi even when it takes the affix सन्न san. In other words, that by reason of which the atmanepada affixes were ordained in the primary verb, will cause the same terminations
to be applied when the verb ends in सन. Thus it was said in śūtra 12, that roots having an anudatta accented vowel as indicatory or ऐ ू as their indicatory letter take the terminations of the ātmanepada. Thus जाते 'he sits down' and शेते 'he sleeps.' The verb आता (to sit down) and शीता (to lie down) will remain ātmanepadi, even when they are used as Desideratives. Thus चातिकते 'he wishes to lie down.' Similarly śūtra 17 declared that the verb निविद्य is ātmanepadi, as निविद्यते. This will be ātmanepadi also in the Desiderative form, as निविद्यते 'he wishes to enter.' So also by śūtra 40, वाक्यते is ātmanepadi, the Desiderative वाच्यिकते will also be ātmanepadi.

But though by 60 and 61, सेवते and वृत्तन्ते are ātmanepadi, yet निविद्यते 'he wishes to lie down,' हुतन्ते 'he wishes to die,' are parasamapadi. Because the ātmanepada affixes were ordained after the roots शद and शसू only under exceptional conditions and not generically, and as those conditions do not exist in the desiderative, the latter does not take ātmanepada terminations.

Of course that which in its primary state would not have taken the terminations of the ātmanepada, there being a prohibition to that effect, will not allow them in its Desiderative form. As वहनिकते 'he wishes to imitate.' पतालिकते. Here the root कर्म by rule 79 has been especially declared to be parasamapadi, to the exclusion of ātmanepada affixes which would otherwise have come by Rules 32 and 72, and therefore its Desiderative is also parasamapadi. The force of शक causing ātmanepada is counteracted by 79.

Now it might be asked:—True, this rule provides for those cases where a root is conjugated in two forms, one a Primitive and another a Desiderative conjugation. But what provision do you make for those partial verbs which take the affix सन even in their primitive form; and in whose case we have no prior form to look upon as a guide in the application of ātmanepada affixes. And there are at least 7 such quasi-roots which take सन in this way, called also the self-descriptive सन. Those quasi-roots are गुरु, तिश्र, कित, मार, वध, वध, and वध. What are we to do with these quasi-roots, which are always conjugated with the affix सन and have no simpler conjugation ?” To this we reply; “In the case of these partial verbs which take the self-descriptive सन the pada will be regulated by the indicatory letters which these quasi-roots have. For though the full roots are हुपस, तित्त, दित्तत्स, निन्नत, धीन्त, धीन्त्त and धीन्त्त, yet by the maxim अश्रवं करते तित्त हुपसम् दित्ततस्य विषयं अवति, “a sign made in a portion of a thing, qualifies the whole thing;” the sign made in the expression गुरु &c., will qualify the whole verb हुपस &c.” Thus we have हुपसते he despises, दित्तसते he cures; नीतसते he investigates, &c.
63. Like the verb that takes the affix ám, if the verb be conjugated with the Atmanepada terminations, so of the verb kri when subjoined thereto as an auxiliary, the terminations are of the Atmanepada, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

This sūtra applies where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. There are in Sanskrit two forms of the perfect tense (तिरं): one formed in the ordinary way by the reduplication of the root and adding the terminations; the other called the periphrastic perfect, is formed by adding आत्र to the root, and then affixing to it the perfect tense of the roots क (to do), भू (to be) or अस्त्र (to be). These latter verbs are called auuprayoga or auxiliary verbs, as it is with their help that the perfect tense is formed. The question then arises, what conjugation, parasmai or atmanepada, do these auxiliaries take in forming the periphrastic perfect? This sūtra supplies the answer:—the auxiliary क follows the conjugation of principals, the other auxiliaries do not. Thus the root एह (to increase, prosper) is atmanepadi, therefore in forming the periphrastic perfect, the verb क will be also in the atmanepada. Thus एप्ऩज्ञान (he prospered). Similarly हृ (to appear with great splendour) is parasmai and the auxiliary क after it will be parasmai and the auxiliary क after it will be parasmai and the auxiliary क after it will be parasmai and the auxiliary क after it will be parasmai and the auxiliary क after it will be parasmai, as इक्ष्वाकुर (he appeared with great splendour).

But the other auxiliaries भू and अस्त्र retain their own peculiar conjugation and are not influenced by the conjugation of their principal. Thus एष्टम्रूषि, एष्टमाला.

The word ám-pratyaya of the sūtra means ‘that after which the affix ám (III. l. 35 and 36. कास्तृक्तवाचास्मृत्रि विद्वि ) comes.’ Of the verb kriñ, when subjoined to another as an auxiliary, the termination is that of the atmanepada like the verb that takes the affix ám. If this sūtra enjoined a rule of injunction (vidhi), then there would be the termination of the atmanepada even in examples like उद्वक्ष्णकार and उद्वात्तकार where the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. This is no valid objection to the present sūtra. It is to be interpreted in both ways, that is, both as a vidhi (a general injunction) and a niyama (a restrictive injunction). How is that to be done? Because the word pūrvavat of the last sūtra is to be read in the present aphorism also. The second explanation in that case will be for the sake of establishing a niyama or restrictive rule.
It has already been said above that the auxiliary verbs कृत, यूत, and अच्छत, are used in forming the periphrastic perfect. This is done by force of the aphorism III. I. 49, कृत्त्रात्युपयुक्तवं लिथि, meaning, the verb कृत्त्र is annexed in the perfect tense, to verbs, that take एम. In this sūtra (III. I. 49) the word कृत्त्र is a pratyāhāra, implying the verbs कृत, यूत, and अच्छत. It might be asked how is this pratyāhāra formed? The word कृत्त्र is taken from the fourth word of sūtra V. 4. 59, अच्छत्त्रक्तज्ञ सुवीकर्तिषोभे &c., and the letter ि is taken from sūtra V. 4. 58 कत्त्रक्तज्ञयीयाय &c. This is the way in which the commentators explain how not only the verb कृत्त्र is used as an auxiliary in forming the periphrastic perfect, but also the verbs यूत and अच्छत. These three verbs denoting absolute action unmodified by any especial condition have in all languages been fixed upon as the best auxiliaries.

It must, however, be noted that the word कृत्त्र in this sūtra is not used as a pratyāhāra and consequently does not include the verbs यूत and अच्छत.

64. After the verb yuj to join, the Atmanepada is used, when it is preceded by pra and upa except with reference to sacrificial vessels even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb अच्छत, 'to join' is svarīt, and consequently by sūtra 72 it is always अत्मनेपदी, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present sūtra declares when this verb may take the terminations of अत्मने, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. After the verb अच्छत preceded by the prepositions त्र and अच्छ, the terminations are of the अत्मने, when not employed in reference to sacrificial vessels. As अच्छत 'he joins or employs'; अच्छत 'he fits or uses.'

Why do we say "when not employed in reference to sacrificial vessels?" Because there the terminations will be of the parasmaipada. As अच्छत न्यात्तिक्ष्या अत्मने प्रभातिकिते.

Vārtika:—It shall be rather stated that the root takes the terminations of the अत्मनेपदा when preceded by any preposition beginning or ending with a vowel. This is an important modification of the above rule. Thus अच्छतके and अच्छतके. In fact, all upasargas, with the exception of त्र, नित, and अच्छ, either begin or end with a vowel, and therefore the Vārtika amounts to the inclusion of all prepositions with the above exception.
With सम्, तिर and दुरू, however, the root will take parasmaipada terminations; as संदुःनिति.

सम्: क्षण: || ६५ || पदानि || सम्: || क्षण: || ( आा प० ) ||

वृत्ति: || क्षण तेज़े परस्मैपादी तत्त: संदुःनिति पदानि भवति ||

65. After the verb kṣṇu, to sharpen, preceded by sam, the Atmanepada is employed.

The verb क्षु ‘to sharpen, whet, or grind,’ is generally parasmaipadi, but it is अत्मानेपादि, when it is preceded by the prefix सम्; as संधुःति. शास्त्रः ‘he whets the weapon’, संधुःति ‘they two whet’, संधुःति ‘they all whet.’

It might be objected, why has a separate aphorism been made of the verb kṣṇu, when it could well have been included in the sūtra २९ ante, which also speaks of the force of the prefix sam, when used with the verbs gam, richchha, &c. To this the answer is that, that sūtra treats of intransitive verbs, the word akarkama being understood therein, while the present sūtra, as is evident from the example we have given above, treats of transitive verbs.

भृजन्यांचने || ६६ || पदानि || भृजः || अनवने || ( आा प० ) ||

वृत्ति: || भृजानामःप्रहारयोपिति सृष्टिः परमेव || तस्मादवनेत्वसः अनवनास्त्यावनेव पदेष्ठे मवति ||

66. After the verb bhuj, the Atmanepada is used, except in the sense of protecting.

The root bhuj when it does not mean to protect, is अत्मानेपादि. This root belongs to the rudhadi class and has several meanings, as, to feed, to cherish, to preserve, to eat, and to enjoy. As भृजः ‘he eats or enjoys’; also bhujjate, bhunjiye &c. But युद्धः सुनिति विता ‘the father cherishes the sons’, युद्धःमहेश्वरः उपाधिः .

The root bhuj belongs also to the tudādi class, but there it has the sense of being curved or crooked. The bhuj belonging to the tudādi class is not to be taken in this sūtra, because that bhuj has never the sense of protecting. Therefore बिनुष्ठति पापिण्य ‘he bends the hand,’ is in the para-samaipada.

च्छत्रुष्य यत्तू प्रभुः भीवः चेतुः सः कर्तानाम् || ६७ || पदानि || भृजः ||

अन्म्या, यत्तू, कर्मे, भीवः, चेतुः, सः, कर्मः, अन्म्यामि, ( आा प० ) ||

वृत्ति: || व्यवाहारिकःपदेष्ठो मवति, कयूः अन्म्या अन्म्यामि भीवः चेतुः तदेष्ठकरः, ध मेव कर्मः

67. After a verb ending in the affix नि (causal) the Atmanepada is employed, provided that when the object in the non-नि or non-causal sense becomes the
agent in the causal; and when it does not mean ‘to remember with regret,’ even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The causatives (द्विगु) are conjugated in the अत्मनेपद, when they are used in the passive voice, that is to say when a word which was an objective case in the ordinary verb becomes nominative case in the causative; and the nominative case of the ordinary verbs becomes objective case in the causative. In short when causatives are used in the passive voice, they are अत्मनेपद. This round-about phraseology has been employed, because the base of the active and the passive causatives do not differ in form; as आरोहन्तं हस्तिनासं हस्

The phrase ‘के: (after the causatives)’ of this सूत्रa governs the four succeeding sūstras and is understood in them. The sūtra consists of the following words:—के: ‘after the causative,’ मध्ये ‘in the non-causative,’ यथा ‘what,’ केवल ‘object,’ जो ‘in the causative,’ तेत ‘if,’ स: ‘that,’ कर्ती nominative; अनाध्याय ‘except to remember.’

In general, by sūtra 74, the causative verbs take the terminations of the अत्मनेपद, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present sūtra applies to the case where fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

After the verbs that take the affix द्विगु, the terminations are those of the अत्मनेपद. How? When that which was the object when the primitive verb was used non-causatively, becomes also the object when the derivative verb is used causatively; and even that object becomes also the agent as well. There is exception, however, in the case when the verb means to ‘remember with regret.’ As आरोहन्तं हस्तिनासं हस्तिनकार: ‘the elephant-keepers mount the elephant.’ Let us paraphrase this sentence by transforming the primitive non-causative verb आरोहितं into a causative form. The sentence then will be, सतीश्वरे हस्ती स्ववेगः ‘the elephant makes itself to be mounted.’ Similarly उपजीविन्त्य हस्तिनिः हस्तिनकार: ‘the elephant-keepers sprinkle the elephant’; and जवेश्वरे हस्ती स्ववेगः ‘the elephant makes itself to be sprinkled;’ पश्चात्तिष्ठति भृगु राजानां ‘the attendants see the king’; and द्वरानं राजा स्ववेगः ‘the king makes himself to be seen.’

Why do we say ‘after the causatives?’ Because the rule of this sūtra will not apply, if the verb though conveying the sense of a causal verb, is, however, not formed by the affix द्विगु; as आरोहितं हस्तिनिः हस्तिनकार: ‘the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;’ and आरोहितं हस्ती सार्वायोंदि ‘the elephant that is being mounted, mounts gracefully’. Here the terminations are of the parasmaipada in the second case also.
Why do we say 'in the non-causative non-ṛi'? For this rule will not apply when the primitive verb itself is formed by the affix विष्णु; such are the roots of the tenth class or churādi in which the निष is added in the self-descriptive sense, and not for a causative purpose. Thus the root गर्ग belongs to churādi class; whose causative and primitive forms are the same. As गर्गरवति गर्ग गोपालकः 'the cowherd counts the herd;' and the causative form is गर्गरवति गर्गः स्वयंत्रः 'the herd makes itself to be counted.' The terminations in both cases are those of the parasmaipada.

Why do we say 'when the object (karma) becomes the agent?' Because the rule will not apply, when any other kāraka or case, than the karma or object, of the primitive verb becomes the agent in the causative. Thus लूटाति शालेग 'he cuts with the scythe;' लूटाति शालेस्वयंवरः 'the scythe is made to cut of itself.' Here the word δात्र was the instrument of the primitive verb which became agent in the causative, and therefore in the causative the terminations are of the parasmaipada only.

Why do we say 'if in the causative' in the sutra? It is for the purpose of indicating that the verb must be one and the same, both in the primary sentence and the causative sentence. Therefore the rule does not apply here where the causative verb स्वयंति in the second sentence was not used in the first sentence; अ्योहति हस्तिनः हस्तिनः का: 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and अ्योहति हस्ती हस्तीभीतादि स्वयंति युक्तेऽः 'the elephant that is being caused to mount is made to sprinkle with urine the frightened men'.

The word सः 'that' is employed in the aphorism to show that the objects in both sentences must be the same and not different. Therefore in the following example where the objects are different, the terminations of parasmaipada are only used. अ्योहति हस्तिनः हस्तिनः का: 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant'; and अ्योहति हस्ती हस्ती स्वयंति युक्तेऽः 'the elephant, that is being caused to mount, makes men mount on the land.'

Why do we use the word kartā (agent) in the sutra? If the former object is not the agent in the second case, the terminations of the parasmaipada only would be used. As अ्योहति हस्तिनः हस्तिनः का: 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and सात्तात्त्विनः महामानः 'the elephant-driver makes it to mount.'

Why do we say 'except when meaning to remember with tenderness?' Observe, स्मरति वनगुल्मितः कोकिलः 'the dove remembers, with regret, the forest tree;' and स्मरस्यम्बन वनगुल्मः स्मरोऽः 'the forest tree is made to be remembered of itself.'
68. After the causatives of the verbs bhi to fear, and smi to wonder, even the fruit of the action accrues not to the agent the Atmanepada is employed, when the fear is produced directly by the causative agent.

The phrase ‘of the causative ending in घि’ is understood in this sutra and is to be supplied from the previous aphorism. This sutra is also restricted to cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word हेंतु in the aphorism has been defined later on in sutra I. 4. 55 (वसवंक्र कति); it is the agent which is the mover of another’s agent. When a fear is caused by a हेंतु it is called हेंतुजय. The word मध्य ‘fear’ in the aphorism is illustrative, and includes by implication भिन्नयय ‘astonishment’ also. As जाटियो मध्यः ‘the jatila, the cock-headed frightens.’ हुष्ठो भिन्नयय ‘the munda, the shave-headed frightens’; जाटियो भिन्नययः ‘the jatila astonishes,’ हुष्ठो भिन्नययः ‘the munda astonishes’ i.e., the very fact of matted-hair or shaven-head frightens,’ &c.

Why do we say हेंतुजय? For if the fear or astonishment is not the direct result caused by the agent, but arises from something else, then the Atmanepada will not be used. As कुष्ठिक्षैः भाष्यति ‘he frightens him with the kunchika,’ कृद्य भिन्नययः ‘he astonishes with his form’. Here kunchika and rupa are the instruments, which cause fear or astonishment, and are not the hetu thereof.

69. After the causatives of the verbs gridh to covet, and vañch to go, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of deceiving, even though the fruit of action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase ‘of the causatives ending in घि’ is to be supplied here from sutra 67. This sutra is also restricted to the cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word प्रलम्बन of the sutra means deceiving. As नानवकः गर्भ्यते ‘he deceives the boy,’ नानवकः नानवकः गर्भ्यते ‘he cheats the boy.’
Why do we say 'when it means deceiving'? For these verbs have not this meaning, their causatives take parasmaipada. As स्वातं गर्भस्यति 'he causes the dog to bark,' अहि वश्यति 'he avoids the serpent.'

70. After the causative of the verb लिः to melt or stick, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of showing respect, subduing and deceiving, even though the fruit of action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in लिः' is to be supplied here from sūtra 67. This sūtra has its scope only when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. In the Dhātupātha, there are two roots लिः, one is technically called लिः and means to stick, and belongs to divādi class. The other लिः meaning to 'melt' belongs to kryādi class. As there is no specifica-tion in the sūtra what लिः is to be taken, both are therefore taken.

The force of the word च in the sūtra is to include the word प्रलम्भन 'to delude' of the last sūtra into the present. The word संमान means to show respect. The word शालिनीकरण means to subdue. As जानतिराजपति 'he gets respect or causes respect to be shown to him through or on account of his matted hair,' वेणो वर्तिकाहारणपति 'the hawk subdues the partridge', कश्त्राकाहारणपति 'who deceives thee.'

The sūtra विनाय तीव्रे: VI. 1. 51 declares that the लिः of लिः is optionally changed into च before certain terminations. But there is no option allowed when the root लिः has any of the above three senses: in these cases the substitution of च is necessary and not optional. For the option allowed by sūtra VI. 1. 51 is a व्यवहितविनाया and not a general विनाया applicable every-where.

Why do we say 'when it has the meaning of 'to show respect, &c.'? Because otherwise there is parasmaipada. As वास्तवकुलापयति.

71. After the causative of the verb क्रि, the Atmanepada is used, when it has the word mithya, incorrect, as an upapada or dependent word, and is
employed in the sense of 'repeated wrong utterance'
even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to
the agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in यि' is to be supplied from
सूत्रा ६७. The aphorism is restricted to the cases where the fruit of the action
does not accrue to the agent. The word अभ्यास ा means doing again, or
repetition; as परं मिथ्या कार्य कि means 'he repeatedly pronounces the word
incorrectly, that is with wrong accent, &c., not once but constantly'.

Why do we say 'when the word mithyā is used as an upapada?'
The causative of kṛi will take parasmaipada when it has any other upapada.
Thus पदं यूथ्याकार्य कि 'he pronounces the word correctly.'

Why do we say 'of the verb कृष्ण?' Because the causative of any other
verb used along with the word mithyā will not have अत्मनपदा; as पदं
निम्ना वाचा किरि 'he repeatedly utters the word wrongly.' Here चत्र takes para-
smāipada.

Why do we say 'repeatedly'? For if the incorrect utterance is not
habitual, then parasmaipada will be used; as पदं निम्नाकार्य कि 'he pronounces
wrongly, not always but once.'

स्वरित्वतः: कर्मनिम्पाय वियाभजः || ७२ || पवारिः || स्वरित-विजः,
कर्तृ-अथिम्पाय वियाभजः ( खेण: आत्यो पण ) ||

बृन्त: || स्वरित्वते मेव दातायथा मिता केन्द्र अधानालम्बं भवति कार्यं चेतु वियाभज वाचा अभियतिः ||

72. After the verb marked with a svarīta,
(svarīteta) or which has an indicatory नि (नित), the ter-
minations of the Atmanepada are employed, when the
fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The anuvṛtti of the phrase खेण: does not go further. The word
वियाभजः is a compound, meaning 'fruit of the action.' When the principal
object for the sake of which the action is begun, is meant for the agent indi-
cated by the verb, there the अत्मनपदा is used after verbs having an
indicatory अ or a svarīta accent. As यज्ञे 'he sacrifices for himself'; चत्रे 'he
cooks for himself.' Here the verb चत्र and चत्र are,marked with svarīta accent in
the Dhātupātha, and therefore they take the अत्मनपदा terminations.

Similarly यज्ञे 'he presses the soma-juice,' कृष्णे 'he does.' Here the
verbs चत्र and चत्र have an indicatory अ.

In all the above cases, the principal object of the action such as getting
heaven by performance of sacrifices, eating of food, &c., is meant for the agent.
That is to say, he sacrifices in order that he himself may attain heaven, he
cooks in order that he himself may eat, &c.
Why do we say 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent'? Otherwise it will have parasmaipada. As ब्रजिन्ति वाज्ज्ञ: 'the priests sacrifice, (not for themselves, but for their clients)' पञ्चनिं पञ्चाः: 'the cooks cook (for their masters)'; कृत्वानि कर्मकार: 'the menials work (for their masters).' Here though the fees and the wages are the fruits which the agent gets, yet as that fruit is not the principal object for which the action was begun—the principal object of the sacrifice was not that the priest should get his fee, but that the sacrificer may go to heaven—the verb takes the terminations of the Parasmaipada. Here the principal fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, but to a third party.

अपायः || ७२ || पदानि || अपायः, वदः, (कर्मिनिधि नियायेष्वज आदा पो ||

इति: || अपघूँवांस्मिदः कर्मिनिधिर्नियायाः आधमिनिधि भविष्य ||

73. After the verb vad to tell, preceded by apa, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the terminations are of the Atmanepada.

The phrase "when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent," is understood here. The sutra is clear. As धनकामी न्यायदयते 'the wealth-seeker forsakes justice, that is to say, he wishes to acquire wealth at the sacrifice of justice. But when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the parasmaipada is employed. As अपघूँति.

विषाणस्य || ७४ || पदानि || विषाणः, च, (कर्मिनिधिर्नियायाः नियायेष्वज आदा पो ||

इति: || विषाणुस्तांत्रिकमेव भवति कर्मिनिधिः नियायेष्वज ||

74. After a verb ending in affix नि (causal) when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the Atmanepada is employed.

The phrase "when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent" is to be supplied from sutra 72. The verbs that take the affix नियाय निच are generally causatives. As कर्त्ते कारयते 'he causes the mat to be made for himself'; भोजने पावयते 'he causes the food to be cooked for himself, When the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the parasmaipada is used. As कर्त्ते कारयति परस्य 'he causes another's mat to be made.'

समुदायः यमः अभिलेष: || ७५ || पदानि || समुद-उद्या आद्यः, यमः, अभिलेषः (कर्मिनिधिः नियाये ||

इति: || सम् उद्या आद्यः इत्यवर्ष्य: कर्मिनिधिर्नियायाः आधमिनिधि भविष्यंधनविषयाः न भविष्य ||
75. After the verb yam to strive, preceded by sam, ut and ân, when it does not refer to a book, the Atmanepada is employed, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase 'when the fruit of the action accrues the to agent' is read into this aphorism by anuvriti from sutra 72. As महोधे समयुक्ते 'he gathers rice'; भागायुक्ते 'he lifts up the load'; वातिनयुक्ते 'he draws out the cloth.' The root yam preceded by the preposition भागायन takes the terminations of the Atmanepada by virtue of aphorism 28 ante; but in that aphorism the verb was intransitive, here it is transitive, and this explains the necessity of making two different sutras for one compound verb भागायन.

Why do we say 'when it does not refer to a book.' For otherwise the verb will take the terminations of the parasmaipada. As उदयायति चिकित्सा 'the physician diligently studies medicine.'

When however the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the above compound verbs are parasmaipadi. As संयोज्यति, उदयायति, भागायति.

अनुपस्तांत्रिकः || ७६ || पदानि || अनुपस्मोत || नुस्तांत्रिकः || कर्मभिधाः (कर्मभिधाः व्रति पौर ४०) ||

dhies || अनुपस्तांत्रिकानाति: कर्मभिधायो क्रियाकले भास्मयेवहे भवति ||

76. After the verb jñā when not preceded by any upasarga, the terminations are of the Atmanepada, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent' is understood in this sutra also. Thus गां जानीति 'he recognises the cow as his own'; गां जानीति 'he recognises the horse as his own.'

Why do we say when not preceded by any upasarga? For when compounded with prepositions, it may take the Atmanepada terminations; as थर्मो प्रेमा न प्रजानाति मृदु: 'the fool does not know the heavenly regions.'

When, however, the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the simple root ज्ञा takes parasmaipada terminations. वेष्कस्तथा गां जानाति 'he recognises Devadatta's cow.'

विमाधिपदेन प्रतीयमाने || ७६ || पदानि || विमाधिया, उपपदेन, प्रतीयमाने (कर्मभिधाः व्रति पौर ४०) ||

dhies || समीपश्रुश्यमाण शब्दायेत्तरथिपि तेन प्रतीयमाने कर्मभिधायो क्रियाकले विमाधियाः
-स्थापनेवं भवति ||
77. The Atmanepada is optionally used, when the fact of the fruit of the action accruing to the agent is indicated by an upapada, i.e. by a word used along with the verb.

By the preceding five sūtras 72 to 76, Atmanepada terminations were ordained to come after verbs which implied the accrual of the fruit of the action to the agent, that is to say, where the verb by itself denoted this. But when the same idea, instead of being inherent in the verb, is expressed by an upapada, that is by a word governed by the verb, the necessity of using the Atmanepada affixes, to denote the same idea, is obviously removed, and in such a case it is optional whether we use the Atmanepada or the Parasmaipada terminations. As वं बलं बलि or बलि ‘he sacrifices for his own yajña’; सं करतं करोति or करतं ‘he makes his own cot’; सं पुच्छवद्वति or स्वं पुच्छवद्वति; स्वं मोदं मोद्यते or मोद्यति, &c. So on with all the above five sūtras.

शोपात् करं ति परस्मैपदम् || ७८ || पदानि || शोपात्, करं ति, परस्मैपदम् ||

कृति: || शेषात्तिरितिः परस्मैपदं भवति शेषाद्विवनाममात्र अनुदात्सब्दः प्राचीनसुवल्लक् ||

78. After the rest, i.e. after all those verbs not falling under any one of the previous provisions, the terminations of the Parasmaipada are employed in marking the agent (i.e. in the active voice).

The rules of Atmanepada have been declared in the preceding 66 sūtras, 12 to 77. The terminations of the Parasmaipada, which are the general verbal terminations, will come everywhere else, that is to say, where its operation is not debarred by any one of the preceding aphorisms. The present sūtra declares this universal rule. The word sēsha or the rest, means that which is the residue after the application of all the previous restrictive rules. Thus it was declared by sūtra 12 ante that a root having an Anudātta vowel or a ः as ः, will take Atmanepada terminations. As झाति झाति. The converse of this will take parasmaipada terminations, namely all verbs which do not have an anudātta accent or a ः as ः. Thus बागि ‘he goes,’ बागि ‘it blows.’ It has been declared by sūtra 17 that the root द्रोण when preceded by नि takes Atmanepada terminations, as निनिवादि. When not preceded by नि but any other preposition, it will take the parasmaipada termination. As आतिशवाति, प्रातिघिति.

Why do we say “when marking the agent”? For when used in the passive voice the root will take the Atmanepada termination. As पक्षेदे ‘it is cooked’, गम्येति ‘it is gone.’
Why is not parasmaipada used when the verb is employed reflexively? As in the following example:—पञ्चत्रोतान: स्वमेव ‘the food cooks of itself.’ Because in the present सृत्र the word कार्तिक of सृत्र 14 ante is to be read in by anuvriti, so that, in fact there are two कार्तिक in this aphorism which thus means “when the agent of the verb is an agent pure and simple then parasmaipada is employed.” While when a verb is used reflexively (कर्मसंक्रान्तिः) the agent of the verb is also, in one aspect, the object of the verb; and it is therefore, that in reflexive verbs the Atmanepada terminations are employed.

अनुपरास्मिकः || ७९ || पद्धति || अनु-परामार्गः || क्रमः || (परस्मैपदम्) ||

व्रतिः || अनुपरा इविवृत्ति पुर्वांव करोति: परस्मैपदेन भवति ||

79. After the verb क्रि to make, preceded by anu and para, parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent, and when the sense is that of “divulging,” &c.

By aphorism 32 ante, the root क्र took the terminations of the Atmanepada when the sense denoted was that of “divulging; reviling,” &c., and it also took Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent by virtue of सृत्र 72, because the root क्रिः has an indicatory म. The present सृत्र makes an exception to those rules, and ordains parasmaipada. Thus अनुप्राप्तेति ‘he imitates,’ पराक्रेति ‘he does well.’

अभिप्रयोगिः: क्षिप: || ८० || पद्धति || अभिप्रयोगिः-अभिप्रयोगः: खिप: || (प० प०) ||

व्रतिः || अभिप्रयोगिः अतिइक्षिपं पुर्वांव क्षिप: परस्मैपदेन भवति ||

80. After the verb kship, to throw, coming after abhi, prati and ati, parasmaipada is used, even though the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

The root क्षिप to throw, is svariteta therefore by सृत्र 72 ante, it would have taken Atmanepada termination, when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent; this aphorism ordains prasmaipada instead. As अभिप्रयोगिः ‘he throws on’, अतिइक्षिपिः ‘he turns away or rejects,’ अतिइक्षिपिः ‘he throws beyond.’

Why do we say ‘when coming after abhi, prati, and ati’? Because when compounded with any other preposition, it will not take parasmaipada, but will be governed by सृत्र 72. As अतिइक्षिपिः ‘he throws down.’

The second अति of सृत्र 14 is also understood here, so that when the verb is used reflexively, the agent not being purely an agent, the present सृत्र will not apply. As अभिप्रयोगिः स्वमेव ‘it is thrown on of itself.’
81. After the verb vah to bear, coming after pra, parasmaipada is used, even though the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The root वस to carry is svarit, and by sūtra 72 it would have taken the Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. But the present sūtra ordains parasmaipada instead. As वसहि it flows.'

Why do we say "when coming after pra"? Because after any other preposition it will not take praśmaipada, as आवहि he brings.'

82. After the verb mrish to bear, preceded by pari, parasmaipada is used, even when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The root शुष्क to suffer" is svarit, and by sūtra 72 it would have taken Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This ordains parasmaipada instead. As शुष्कहि he endures or he becomes angry.' When not preceded by this preposition, it takes Atmanepada termination. As आशुष्कहि.

According to some authors, the root वह of the last aphorism is said to be understood in this, so that वह preceded by परि will also take praśmaipada terminations; as परिवसहि.

83. After the verb ram to sport, preceded by vi and ân, parasmaipada is used.

The verb रम means 'to sport.' It is anudatt and therefore by sūtra 12 it would have taken Atmanepada terminations; the present sūtra ordains parasmaipada instead, as रमसि 'he takes rest'; अरमसि 'he delights in,' परिरमसि 'he sports.'

With other prepositions than these, it will take atmanepada termination. 's अभिरमसि
84. And also after upa, the verb ram takes the affixes of the parasmaipada.

As ब्रह्मांदुर्ग्मस्तिः 'he causes Devadatta to refrain.' The sense of the verb uparamati is causative here, as if it was उपरमस्तिः. This is an example of a verb involving in it the force of the causative affix निचः.

It might be asked why was not the preposition उप read along with the other preposition in the last aphorism, instead of making this a separate sūtra. The answer is that the necessity of making a separate sūtra with the preposition upa arose from the exigencies of sūtra making. It is desired, that the next sūtra 85 should apply only to the root upa-ram, and not to other compounds of ram; and this could only be done by making these two distinct sūtras.

85. After the verb ram preceded by upa, parasmaipada is optionally used, when employed intransitively.

The last aphorism ordained parasmaipada absolutely. This declares an option under certain circumstances. As ब्रह्मांनुकुप्तस्तिः or उपरमस्तिः, he desisted from or was quiet while it was eaten.

86. After the verbs budh to know, yudh to fight, nas' to destroy, jana to be born, in to go, pru to move, dru to run, and sru to flow, ending in the affix नि (i.e., when used in the causative), parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

By sūtra 74 ante, causatives took the ātmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This makes an exception to that and ordains parasmaipada. As ब्रोधयति he expands; ब्रोधयति he causes to fight; नाप्रयति he causes destruction, जनयति he begets; अध्यपयति he teaches; प्राप्यति he causes to obtain; प्राप्यति he causes to melt; अध्याप्यति he causes to trickle.
The Parasmaipada verbs.

Of the above eight roots, those which are intransitive would have taken the parasmaipada terminations under the conditions mentioned in sūtra 88 sub, that is to say, when the agent is a being endowed with reason. The present aphorism in the case of such intransitive verbs makes this additional statement, that those intransitive verbs will take parasmaipada, even when the agent is not a being endowed with reason. As दृष्टिः पद्मः he makes the lotus to expand, दृष्टिः काळानि he makes the woods to strike each other, नागः दृष्टिः रुक्षः he destroys sorrow, जनयिः सुलभः he produces pleasure.

Again of the above eight roots, those that have ordinarily the sense of "moving" will get parasmaipada by sūtra 87. The present sūtra, in their case makes this additional statement, that they will take parasmaipada terminations even when the sense is not that of moving. Thus च means both 'to move' and 'to obtain,' च means 'to run' as well as 'to melt,' and च means 'to flow' as well as to 'to trickle.' As पद्मः he obtains; आरोग्यतिः the iron melts; कुचिकः सर्वः the water-vessel drips. The examples in the first paragraph have therefore been thus translated.

The root चः is always compounded with अभिः.

निगरःचलनार्थविधच || ८७ || पद्वति || निगरःचलन-प्रेणयः

च || ( शेष: रसर्समण्डस् ) ||
बृत्तः || निगरःचलनार्थविधच चलनार्थविधम् धातुर्चणायचर्यत्वः: परसमण्ड सर्वः ||
वातिकः || चः: प्रतिवेदयोवक्तः: ||

87. And after the causatives of verbs which have the sense of the 'eating or swallowing' and 'shaking or moving' parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

The phrase 'when used in the causative (शेष:) of the last sūtra is to be read into this also. The parasmaipada is ordained as an exception to sūtra 74 by which ātmanepada was ordained when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. The word निगरः means 'eating,' and चलनः means 'moving,' 'shaking.' As निगरःतिः he causes to swallow; आशयिः he causes to eat; निगरःतिः he feasts; चलनःतिः he moves; चचवयिः, कस्मयिः he shakes. This aphorism applies to transitive verbs, and to verbs whose agents in non-causative state are inanimate objects, i.e. not possessed, with reason.

Vart:—The prohibition of the root चः to eat, must be mentioned. The causative of चः to eat, takes ātmanepada. Thus चः देवदत्तः: Devadatta eats; आदयते देवदत्ते he is made to eat by Devadatta.
88. The affixes of the parasmaipada are employed after the causal of that verb, which in its non-causal state was intransitive and had a being endowed with reason for its agent; even when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase ध्येयः is understood here also. The Atmanepada was ordained by सूत्रा 74 when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This aphorism is an exception to that, and ordains parasmaipada. As ग्रास्ते देवदात्स: Devadatta sits; ग्रास्थे देवदात् he makes Devadatta to sit; शेषे देवदात: Devadatta sleeps; शाधवते देवदात् he causes Devadatta to lie down.

Why do we say 'in its non-causal state'? For if the causative root is from another causative root, and not from a simple non-causative root, then the parasmaipada will not be employed. Thus 'if one person such as Devadatta, causes another person Yajñadatta, to cause a third person Ramadatta, to do an act denoted by an intransitive root, as 'mounting' for instance, though Ramadatta mounts for his own benefit, the verb to be used in such a case in आत्माद्योऽन्ति, in the Atmanepada, from the root ग्रास्त to mount; and not ग्रास्तवति.' (Iengar's Guide to Panini).

Why do we say 'which was intransitive'? This rule will not apply if the verb in its non-causative state was transitive. Thus from धीरे the causative from ध्य, if the person caused to do the act denoted by the verb does it for his own use, comes only कार्यक्ते though the person has a will; for the original root ध्य though a non-causative root, is not an intransitive root.' (Ibid).

Why do we say 'having a being endowed with reason for its agent'? For if the agent is a non-sentient object, the verb will be Atmanepadi. Thus from धीरे the causative from ध्य 'to dry' if that which dries is a thing not possessed of a will as धीर्ष्य: 'paddy,' for instance, though the fruit of the action, i.e., the drying, affects only the paddy itself, comes धीर्यक्ते in the atmanepadi, though 'to dry' is an intransitive root; e.g., धीर्यक्ते धीर्यनात्य: the sun-shine causes the paddy to dry.' (Ibid).

न पाद्यामक्ष्यमपरिशुद्धिः चिंतितिवदवसः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥

न पाद्यामक्ष्यमपरिशुद्धिः चिंतितिवदवसः ॥ ( धे: ॥ परस्मै-पद्मुः ) ॥

वृःः ॥ पाद्यमक्ष्यमपरिशुद्धिः चिंतितिवदवसः इत्येते भोगस्यस्यः परस्मैयते

न भवति ॥

वातिकसः ॥ ॥ ॥

विदते च देश उपसंबङ्ग्यानम् ॥
89. But the affixes of the parasmaipada are not used after the causals of the verbs pâ to drink, dam to tame, âyam to extend, âyas to exert oneself, parimuh to be bewildered, ruch to shine, nrit to dance, vad to speak, and vas to dwell.

The last two aphorisms had ordained parasmaipada instead of Atmanepada, even when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent, thus debarring the latter's action which would otherwise have taken place by virtue of sūtra 74. This sūtra prohibits the last two sūtras, and re-instates Atmanepada of sūtra 74. Thus root pā to drink, has the sense of nigaraṇa or swallowing, the roots dh &c., have sentient beings as their agent; the root ruch to dance has the sense of chatur or moving, but still these verbs have Atmanepada affixes, and do not take parasmaipada in the causative. As paravatâ he causes to drink, dharmatâ he causes to be tame, bhavatâ he lengthens, bhavatâ he troubles, parināmaṇaṇâ he entices, ruchatâ he makes agreeable, vinyâsâ he causes to dance, vâsâ he makes to speak, vâsâ he causes to dwell.

Vart.:—The root ūch should be enumerated along with pā &c. Thus vâsâ should be thus enumerated. The doe suckles a young infant.

**Vākyas:** || 90 || पदानि || शा || क्रयः || (परस्मेपदम्) ||

*वृचिः:* || क्यपम्पन्ताधातरं परस्मेपदे भवति *

90. The affixes of the parasmaipada are used optionally after the denominative verbs ending in the affix kyash.

The affix kṛyā is ordained by sūtra III. 1. 12. बुधार्षिः वृश्चिः निःवर्णः हें: after the words śa &c. These roots take optionally parasmaipada. As kṛyā or śa he reddens. Puspadatâ or śa he makes paṭ paṭ.

**Vākyas:** || 91 || पदानि || चुदुभः || लुकः || (शा परस्मेपदम्) ||

*वृचिः:* || चुदार्षिः लुकः शा परस्मेपदे भवति *

91. After the verbs dyut to shine, &c. the terminations of the parasmaipada are optionally employed, when the affixes of luni (aorist) follow.

The Dvutādi verbs are 22 in number, to be found in Dhatopātha in the Bhuatadi class. By the use of the word चुदुभः in the plural in the sūtra, the force is that of &c. These verbs are anudatta and so by sūtra 12 they would have been invariably Atmanepadi, this aphorism makes them optionally
so in the aorist. Thus ज्ञातत् or अभूतित्व he shone. In other tenses than the aorist (हुँ) these verbs are invariably Atmanepadi. As ज्ञातत् he shines.

For a list of Dyutâdhi verbs see Dhatupâtha.

वृत्ति: स्यास्ते: || ९२ || पदार्थ: || वृत्ति: || स्यास्ते: || (वा || परस्मैपदो) ||

वृत्ति: || हुँ, हुँ, पाण्डुः स्यास्ते: || प्रति: भाषा: स्यास्ते च परस्मैपदो भवति: ||

92. After the verbs vṛt to exist, &c., Parasmaipada is optionally employed when the affixes sya (Future. and conditional) and san (Desiderative) follow.

The वृत्ति verbs are five in number and are included in the वृत्ति sub-class. They are हुँ to be, प्रति to grow, प्रति to fart or break wind; स्यास्ते to ooze, and हुँ to be able. As 1st Future वृत्ति योगस्यतिः वृत्तित्वं देशति, it will be; conditional भवस्यात् or भवार्थयत्; Desiderative वृत्ति योगस्यति or वृत्ति योगस्यति &c.

In other tenses than the above, they are always Atmanepadi. As वृत्ति it is.

ङ्गातिचुङ्गप: || ९३ || पदार्थ: || चुङ्ग: || च हुँप: || (स्यास्ते वा परस्मैपदो)

93. After the verb को प्रयो to be fit, Parasmaipada is optionally employed, when लुः (1st Future) is affixed, as well as when sya and san are affixed.

The verb हुँ is one of the five verbs of the sub-class वृत्ति of the last aphorism. Therefore it will take both parasmaipada and Atmanepada, when the affixes स्या or सया follow. The present sutra makes the additional declaration in the case of 1st Future or लुः. Thus in लुः we have—कल्पसिः or कल्पसिः thou wilt be; in 1st Future we have:—कल्पसिः or कल्पसिः he will be; in the Desiderative we have:—विकल्पसिः or विकल्पसिः; in the conditional we have: —अकल्पसिः or अकल्पसिः.
1. From this sūtra up to the aphorism Kadārāḥ Karma-
dhāraye (II. 2. 38) only one name of each thing named is to
be understood.

What is that name then? That which comes last, where the claims
are otherwise equal (I. 4. 2.) and that which were its claim disallowed,
would have no other opportunity of conducing to any result, would be the
recognised name. As a short vowel is called ‘light’ by I. 4. 10. and it is
also called ‘heavy’ when it precedes a conjunct consonant (I. 4. 11.)
Thus a short vowel has two names: ‘light’ and ‘heavy.’ But it will not
be called ‘light’ when it precedes a conjunct consonant, but will have
only one name, i.e., ‘heavy.’ Thus in निवेद to निबिद to split, the ठ is
‘light’ while the same letter is ‘heavy’ in विस विस teaching विस teaching bagging.

Thus in the root निव the ठ is ‘heavy’ and therefore in forming its
aorist we have the form निवत निवत. Similarly अवर्रत. The rule VII. 4. 93
not applying here as that rule is applicable to laghu vowels only.

2. When rules of equal force prohibit each other, then
the last in the order herein given is to take effect.

The word विस विस means ‘opposition of rules of equal force.’ When
two topics having different objects in view find scope of action simultaneously in one particular case, that opposition of equal forces is called
vipratishekhul. A general rule (utsarga) and its exception (upavāda), or
an invariable (nitya) and an optional (anitya) rule, or an antaranga and
a bahiranga rule, are not rules of equal force. There the stronger prevails against the weaker. As an example of rules of equal force, see VII. 3. 102. and VII. 3. 103. The first rule declares, 'when a case-affix beginning with a letter of yañi pratyāhāra follows, the long vowel is substituted for the final of an inductive base ending in a short ā.' As Vṛiksha+ bhyaṁ = Vṛikshābhyam. The next rule declares:—When a plural case-affix beginning with a letter or jhal pratyāhāra follows, ā is the substitute for the final short ā of an inductive base.' As Vṛiksha+ su = Vṛikshesu. But when the plural case-affix bhyaḥ follows, what rule are we to apply? For the letter bha belongs both to the pratyāhāras yañi and jhal. Are we to lengthen the short ā, or substitute ā? The present sūtra gives the reply, ā is to be substituted because VII. 3. 103 ordaining ā follows next to VII. 3. 102. Thus Vṛiksha+bhyaḥ = Vṛikshebyaḥ.

3. Word-forms ending in long ā and ū being names of females are called Nādi.

The word न is compound of द्व + न. The word sthryākhyā means that which by itself denotes the name of a female. These words must be always feminine, having no masculine of the same form, as the word grāmañi has. As the words जुनारिक Kumāri a virgin, वागु, yavāgāḥ rice gruel. The declension of nouns of nādi class is somewhat peculiar which will be treated of later. As see Rule VII. 3. 112 अर्द्र is the augment of the case-affixes having an indicatory ā when they come after a word ending with a Nādi.

Why do we say ending in न and न? Because feminine nouns not ending in these vowels will not be declined like Nādi words. Thus while the dative of जुनारिक will be जुनारिक, the dative of अर्द्र will be अर्द्र.

Why do we say 'which are feminine'? Because if they are names of males, they will not be called Nādi. As ग्रामकी: leader of a village; वा: वागु: leader of an army; वागु: a sweeper; their dative being ग्रामकेवे, वागु, वागु.

Why have we used the word अक्ल्या 'name' in the text? Because feminine gender must be denoted by the word itself and not by any other epithet used along with the word. Thus if the head-borough or the sweeper should be of the female sex, the Dative Singular would still be ग्रामकेवे विल्ये and वागु विल्ये.

ने यहुद्वद्यानव स्त्री || ॥ पदानि || द्व, इष्ट-उष्ट-त्यानी, आस्त्री, (यूनद्री) ||

द्रम्क || इष्ट-उष्ट: स्त्राव नन्यािसतिष्ठक्ष्यानी तो द्रु नदीवर्ग: || सवस ||
4. Feminine words ending in त and द which admit the substituting (अन्तका) यानि and (स्रीवुट) उवान (VI. 4. 77) are not called Nadi; except the word strि, (which is called nadi) notwithstanding its substituting यानि.

The definition of Nadi given in the last sutra was rather too wide, this limits the scope. Thus की, happiness, भू. brow, admit the substitutes यानि and उवान respectively, and are not nadi. Their vocative singular is दे की, दे भू &c., while the vocative singular of strि is दे दे.

वानसि ॥ व ॥ पदांनि ॥ वा, आसि, (नैयुक्तकर-उ-नदं) ॥

5. Feminine words ending in त and द, though admitting यानि and उवान substitutes, are optionally termed Nadi, when the affix अम (Gen Pl.) follows, but not so the word strि, which is always Nadi.

की + आम = की यानि + आम = कीगाम; भू + आम = भूगाम; or की + आम = कीगाम + आम (VII. 1. 54) = कीगाम; भू + आम = भूगाम. But strि is always nadi. and we have कीगाम strinám.

To the absolute prohibition enjoined by the last sutra, this allows an option in the case of Genitive Plural.

विनि हङ्कण ॥ ६ ॥ पदांनि ॥ विनि (अिनि) हङ्कणः, च, (अ त्युः-नदं-इयुक्तकर-वा-शत्रि) ॥

6. When a case-affix having an indicatory न (नित) follows, then feminine words ending in short त and द are optionally termed Nadi, as well as feminine nouns in long त and द which admit of यानि and उवान; but not so the word strि, which is always Nadi.

Feminine words in long त and द have been defined as nadi, words in short vowels can never be termed nadi, while even some words in long vowels have also been excluded from the scope of the definition if they take यानि and उवान. The present sutra declares an option in the case of all the above words, when a case-affix having an indicatory न follows.

The case-affixes having an indicatory न are the Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative singulars. Thus we have:
13. After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether verbal root or crude-form, that which begins therewith in the form in which it appears when the affix follows it, is called an Inflective base (āṅga).

The words of this sutra require some explanation. Yasmāt after whatsoever; pratyaya-vidhiḥ compound of pratyaya meaning an affix and vidhiḥ, a precept i.e. a rule enjoying an affix; tadādhi, I. S. that which begins therewith pratyaye 7. S. = in a pratyaya i.e. when a pratyaya follows (I. 1.) is called a base.

After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether it be a verbal root (Dhātu) or a nominal base (prātipadika), the word-form having that as its beginning, is called an āṅga, with regard to the affix that follows. The word yasmāt is used in the aphorism to point out the thing named, as an āṅga; because the word tadādhi follows it. This defines the word āṅga.

The word ‘base’ is thus a relative term with regard to its affix. Thus ह + ताः = कताः he will do ताः he will lose. करिष्यति, करिष्यति. Here because the root ह and त gets the name चंग they are gunāted(VII. 3. 84). Similarly because उपगु &c. get the name Anga, their vowel is vriiddhied in ओषधव, &c.

The words kṛi hari are āṅga with regard to the affix tā &c. उपगु + चंग = ओषधव; क्षापतिः. Here upagu and kapatu are āṅga with regard to an. Similarly ह + य + ताः = करिष्यति + ताः = करिष्यति. Here the whole word form Karishya is regarded as āṅga, and as such the short a is lengthened by VII. 3. 101; because though the affix vah is enjoined after the word kṛi, the form which begins with kṛi i.e. karishya will also be called āṅga when the affix is to be added. The word tadādhi, therefore, has been used in the sutra, to make the definition of Anga applicable to the forms which a word may assume after taking the intermediate affixes like sya &c., or दुः before the final affixes. Thus हुः + हुः + ताः = हुः हुः + ताः = हुः हुः हुः (VII. 1. 72 and VI. 4. 8) कुण्ड + नुम + ताः = कुण्ड + नुम + ताः = कुण्ड + नुम + ताः, bowls. Here the whole form kundan is called āṅga, and as such it lengthens its vowel before the case-affix tā by VI. 4. 8.

Why have we used the word pratyaya? Without it the rule would have run thus:—‘After whatsoever there is anything enjoined &c., is called Anga.’ Then in ह्र + रावती = ह्रावती. Here sandhi of vowels is enjoined between ह्र + र = ह्र. If ह्र was here an Anga, then its last last vowel would have been replaced by ह्र (VI. 4. 77), the form being र्मिति.

Why have we used the word विच। Had we omitted it the rule would have run thus:—‘After whatsoever there is an affix, whether root or prati-dadika is Āṅga.” Thus in द्विति अनु, though the affix adhunā is placed after
the word dadhi, it is not enjoined by any rule; and the word रचि is not called anga. Had it been so called, then the र of dadhi should have been elided by rule VI. 4. 148.

The word pratyaya has been repeated twice in this sūtra in order to show that when an affix is elided, the term anga will not apply to what stood before it. Thus in the compound word विदं+अच्छे = विद्यांचे for the sake of the woman. Here in forming the Tat purusha compound the dative case-affix after the word खी has been elided, for as a general rule case-affixes are elided in forming compounds. If the word खी after its affix had been elided, still retained its old designation of Anga, the खी + अच्छे would have been विद्यांचे, the augment iyañ being added by the rule already referred to above.

सुतिलक्ष्यते पदम् ॥ १४ ॥ पद्राचि ॥ सुप-तिड़-अश्वम्, पदम् ॥

बुचि: सुप्पन्ति तिड़त्वं च मादर्थं पदवर्णं भवित

14. That which ends in sup (case-affix) IV. 1. 2; or in tin III. 4. 78*(tense-affix), is called a pada or inflected word.

The sup or case-affixes are those by which nouns are declined; and tīn are tense-affixes by which verbs are conjugated. They have already been given before. Thus ब्राह्मण + जुध्य = ब्राह्मण्य: the Brāhmaṇas ṁe: they cook.

It might be asked by a caviller why the word जन्त is has been used in the aphorism, for by the rule of tadanta given in Sūtra I. 1. 72 a rule relating to sup will mean and include also that which ended with a sup-affix. To this we reply, that the very fact that the word anta is used in this sūtra, indicates by implication (jñāpaka) that the Tadanta rule of Sūtra 72 Chapter I does not apply to rules of sanjñā (definition) made with regard to affixes. Thus tarap and tamap affixes are called gha by Sūtra I. 1. 22. The tadanta-vidhi will not apply here; words ending with these affixes will not be called gha. Thus ब्राह्मणित्वा will not be called gha, for had it been so called, the long र will be shortened in गौरी ब्राह्मणित्वा. In short, 'an affix when employed in a rule which teaches the meaning of a technical term (sanjñā) does not denote a word-form ending with the affix.'

न: कये ॥ १ ॥ पद्राचि ॥ नः, कये, (पदम्)॥

बुचि: नामस् मादर्थं कये परतः पदवर्णं भवित

15. The word-form ending in न, is called pada, when kya follows (i.e.), the affixes kyaḥ, kyañ and kyash.

These are affixes by which denominative verbs are formed from nouns. See III. 1. 8, 11, and 13. A word ending in न is called pada, when these affixes follow. Thus राज्य+कपुर = राजीय 3rd Père. 8, राजीयति he behaves like
a king. So also राजकु + व्यस्त = राजायते (VII. 4. 5.) वर्धन + वस्त्र = वर्धित or वर्धिति. The result of its being called pada is that the र of राजकु, वर्धन &c., is elided by Sūtra VIII. 2. 7. (there is elision of र final in a pada which is entitled to the designation of prātipadika). Thus राजकु + वस्त्र = राज + व = राजीय (VII. 4. 33).

These three affixes वस्त्र &c., come after case-inflected words (i.e., words ending in sup), and though, before these affixes, the case terminations are elided, still by Sūtra I. 1. 62 such words would have retained the name of pada which they got by Rule 14 of this Chapter. The present sūtra however makes a restriction (niyama). It declares that only words ending in र retain the name of pada; while all other case-inflected words before these affixes do not retain that designation. Thus the words वर्धन speech, वस्त्र a ladle are not treated as pada and we have वर्धिते and वस्त्रिते. Had they been pada, the र would have been changed into ज by VIII. 2. 30.

16. When an affix having an indicatory र follows then that which precedes it is called pada.

The sūtra 18 of this chapter teaches that before certain affixes, the preceding word is called bha. This sūtra declares an exception to that by anticipation. Thus Rule IV. 2. 115 declares:—“Affixes रहु and रूह come after the vṛddha (I. 1. 74) word अवह.” Here the affix रहु has an indicatory र, therefore the word अवह, standing before it, will be called pada. Thus भवह + रहु = भवदीय: VII. 1. 2, belonging to you. The result of being pada is that र is changed into ज (VII. 2. 39). Similarly र is ज in जु (After the word जु there is yus V. 2 123). Thus जस्तु; so also पस V. 1. 106, has र as indicatory. Thus चर्चीय: There is no guna because of its being pada.

17. When the affixes beginning with र (IV. 1. 2) and ending in च (V. 4. 151) follow, not being Sarvanāmaṣṭhāna (I. 1. 43) then that which precedes is called pada.

The affixes beginning with su and ending with kap are meant by the above sūtra. Thus the case-affix भवह (Ins Dual) is an affix included in the above. Thus राजकु + भवह = राजवाच्चु, राजविषि, राजविषि, राजवति, राजवति, राजवति, राजवति: The र is elided by being pada.
Why do we say ‘when not a Sarvanamasthana’? Observe राज्य + अर्थ = राजस्वी two kings. राज्य: kings. The अ is not elided.

यचि सम् || १५ || पदार्थि || यु-अर्थि, सम्, (विद्वृद्धिसु) ||

युचि: वकारादाबादायी च स्वादी स्वचालनस्वयमविभिः परस्ये परत: प्रत क भाष्यं प्रति ||
वार्षिकं || नमोदधिकोरोपयुनाच वसन्तस्वद्वस्याच ||
वार्षिकम् || वृषभवस्वस्ववेषः: ||

18. And when an affix, with an initial य or an initial vowel, being one of the affixes, beginning with su and ending in k, follows, not being Sarvanamasthana, then what precedes, is called Bha.

This debars the application of pada. Thus नाथ + यस् (IV. 1. 105)=पारवः a grandson of Garga. So also वार्षिक. The affix यान begins with a ya and the word garga being treated as Bha its final अ is elided before the affix by VI. 4. 148.

So also देव + देवस्व=दासि: (IV. 1. 95) grandson of Daksha दासि: . Here the affix देवस् begins with a vowel the word standing before it being Bha, it causes elision of the final अ of Daksha.

The word यचि is in the 7th case meaning when च or अच follow; and by the last Vārt of Sūtra I 1. 72, it means 'when an affix beginning with ya or aqch follow.'

Vārt.—The words सम्, अर्थिर्यु and सम् should be treated as Bha when the affix बद्ध follows. Thus सन्धियू like the sky. अर्थिर्यु like the Angiras. सन्धियू like the man. By being Bha, the अ is not changed into अ, which it would have been, had it been a pada (VIII. 2. 66).

Vārt.—The words बृहस्पति is treated as Bha in the vedas when the words बृहस्पति and अर्थि follow. Thus बृहस्पতि; बुद्धिवान्यच चेने Here had the word व्रिशि been treated as pada, the अ would not have been changed into अ (See Rule VIII. 4. 37); and this अ would have been dropped before the affix vasu by VIII. 2. 7.

लसी सत्विर्य || १५ || पदार्थि || त-सौ, सतु-चराष्, (सम्) ||

लसी: वकारादाति वकारादाति: सत्विर्य, सतु-चराष् परस्ये परता भवेन्द्रं प्रति ||

19. The word-form ending in त or in स is called Bha when an affix with the force of matup (‘whose is it,’ ‘or in whom it is’) V. 2. 94) follows.

The word Bha is understood in this Sūtra. Thus is the word उदयर्षिक्षु having butter milk Nom. Sing. उदयर्षिक्षु योप: the herdsman having butter milk, विद्युतमाट्य वालादेव: the cloud full of thunder. So also पार्वती famous;
Bha Cases [Br. I. Ch. IV. § 20, 21.

वस्त्री full of milk. Thus उदविकत + वस्त्र = उदवितवस्त्र, वस्त्र + विनि (V. 2.121) = वणवस्त्र. By making these Bha, the operation of pada rule is debarred in their case. That is to say the final र of ०दा०विनि &c., and the र of यसो &c., are not changed into र and ० respectively, which had they been pada words would have been the case by the action of Sūtra VIII. 2. 39, and VIII. 2. 66. विनि, उदवितवस्त्र and वणवस्त्र which are incorrect.

अयस्मयादर्शिः चन्द्रि || २० || पदानि || अयस्मय-अद्रीनि,
चन्द्रि, (भम)。

वृति: अयस्मयादर्शिः श्वद्यायादर्शिः चन्द्रि विप्रये सापृणि सधनि ||

20. Words like ayasmaya &c., are valid forms in the chhandas (veda).

These words being taught here in the topic relating to pada and Bha, show that they have been properly forced in the chhandas by the application of the rules of Bha and pada. Thus अयस्मय-मय = अयस्मय made of iron. Here the word अयस्मय is treated as Bha and hence the र० is not changed into र. Thus अयस्मय वर्ण iron-made coat of mail. अयस्मयानि पार्श्विणि iron vessels. The present form of this word is अयस्मय. In some places both these pada and Bha apply simultaneously. Thus in the word अयस्मय formed by अयस्मय-वर्ण, the र० is first changed into र० by treating the word rich as a pada. Then the word अयस्मय is treated as bha, and therefore the र० is not changed into र० before वर्ण. For had it been pada, the form would have been अयस्मय वर्णवति. These irregularly formed words occur only in the chhandas or Vedic literature. Thus र० ब्रह्मवति ब्रह्मवत्ता गनेन.

बहुः बहुचन्म् || २१ || पदानि || बहुः, बहु-चन्म् ||

वृति: बहुः बहुचन्म् भवति.

21. In expressing mulitity, a Plural case affix is employed.

When it is intended to denote mulitity those affixes should be employed after nouns and verbs, which denote plural number. Thus ब्राह्मण: पदानि. The Brahmins read.

This rule applies to words which are capable of expressing numbers. Indeclinables (Avyaya) do not admit of numbers, and consequently they are always in singular number which is the general form.

तीक्ष्णो त्रिविच्छेदनेत्रकवचने || २२ || पदानि || तीक्ष्ण-एकोऽः, त्रिविच्छेदने-
एकवचने ||

वृति: त्रिविच्छेदनेत्रकवचने पञ्चदिष्टां ||
22. The dual and singular case-affixes are employed severally in the sense of duality and unity.

This is also clear. When duality is to be expressed, a dual case-affix should be employed, and in the case of unit, the singular case-affix. Thus प्राणिः पवित्र: the two Brahmins cook. श्रवण: पवित्र the Brahmin cooks.

कारकेऽ ॥ २३ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ कारके ॥

यद्वि: ॥ कारके तस्यचित्वम् चतुष्टयं। यद्वि तत: पशुपानिन्दाय: कारके तस्यचित्वम् चतुष्टयं ॥

23. The phrase ‘kāraka’ (meaning ‘in the special relation to a word expressing an action’) is to be understood in the following aphorisms.

Any thing that helps towards the accomplishment of an action is a kāraka. Thus in ‘cooking,’ the fire, the furnace, the vessel, the cook are all helpers in the accomplishment of the action. Thus ‘Rama cooks food in a vessel, by the fire from the furnace for his master.’ Here Rama is agent kāraka; ‘food’ is object kāraka; ‘vessel’ is a locative kāraka, fire is an instrumental kāraka, ‘furnace’ is the ablative kāraka and ‘master’ is the dative kāraka.

The word ‘kāraka’ thus is synonymous with the word cause (hetu) and occasion (nimitta). All the various causes and the occasions that are required to complete an action will be kārakas. Out of the seven cases in which a sanskrit noun is declined, six represent such relation with an action. The Genitive or the sixth case can never be directly related with an action, and thus can never stand in the relation of a kāraka to a verb.

पु: वस्त्रावर्जितानां स ॥ २४ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ घु: वस्त्रू, अपाये, अपादान्याः (कारके) ॥

एस्ति: ॥ बु: बु: बु: वर्जितावस्त्रादृढ: वर्जितावस्त्रादृढाच्छेदनाकारिता भवति ॥

वांशिकश: ॥ तु: उपवर्जितादृढ: वर्जितावस्त्रादृढाच्छेदनाकारिता ॥

24. A noun whose relation to an action is that of a fixed point from which departure takes place is called apādāna or Tablation.

This defines the Ablation or Apādāna kāraka. Thus प्रवर्तयागकारिता he comes from the village. प्रवर्तयागकारिता he descends from the mountain. स्वारामः lost his object. स्वाराम: fallen from the chariot. The Apādāna takes the 5th case-affix (II. 3 28) and the above examples show this. When therefore this relation is to be expressed, ‘the fixed point (like grāma, purvata &c., in the above) which is the limit denoted by a word dependent on a verb, is called ablation.’
Vārt.—The objects of verbs denoting ‘aversion,’ ‘cessation’ and ‘negligence’ are also called ablation. Thus:—च वर्कर्स्त्वम् च यद्य वस्त्रिति he dislikes injustice; अवर्कर्स्त्वम् he ceases from injustice. अवर्कर्स्त्वात् he neglects justice.

भीजार्याऋणं समयेद्वः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी-न्य-अर्थानामस्, समयेद्वः ॥ (कन्दे अपाधानस्) ॥

मुप्वः ॥ विपर्ययर्मणं व्रतंप्रकर्मि च पाणानं मयेयं मयेद्वः सत्कारकपदानवस्यं भवति ॥

25. In the case of words implying ‘fear’ and ‘protection from danger’ that from which the danger or fear proceeds is called Apādana kāraka.

The verbs signifying ‘fear’ or ‘protection’ govern the object feared of, or the danger to be protected from, in the ablative case. Thus च जीर्मयुष्म विचलिति he is afraid of thieves, च जीर्मयुष्म विचलिति he is agitated because of the thieves. च जीर्मयुष्म विचलिति or विचलिति. He protects or saves from the thieves.

Why do we say ‘the cause of fear (bhaya-hetu) is put in the ablative case’? Observe अर्तवे विचलिति or अर्तवे he fears or protects in the forest.

पराजे रसाडः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पराजे: ॥ अजसाडः ॥ (कात्र अपाधानस्) ॥

मुप्वः ॥ पराजवृक्ष स्वायत्वं मयेयं मयेयं सेवेत: सङ्गुणः समयेद्वः सत्कारकपदानवस्यं भवति ॥

26. In the case of the verb parāji, ‘to be tired or weary of,’ that which becomes unbearable, is called Apādana kāraka.

When the verb द्व to conquer, with the preposition parā has the sense of ‘becoming tired or unbearable’ it governs the ablative case of the thing become unbearable. As अध्यवासत् पराजयति he finds study unbearable.

Why do we say ‘that which becomes unbearable.’ Observe वशृष्ण पराजयति he defeats the enemies.

वाराणां नीक्षित: ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वारण-अर्थानामस्, नीक्षित: (कात्र अपाधानस्)

मुप्वः ॥ वाराणां नीक्षितः समयेयं मयेयं व ईम्नवितेः सङ्गुणः सत्कारकपदानवस्यं भवति ॥

27. In the case of verbs having the sense of ‘preventing’, the desired object from which one is prevented or warded off is called Ablation or Apādana kāraka.

The obstruction to one’s natural inclination is called vāraṇa or prevention. As वशृष्ण यां विकर्मकारति or निवर्तन्यानिः he wards off or withholds the cow from the barley.
Why do we say 'the object desired' is put in the ablative case? Observe नां वर्जित वे he wards off the cow in the field.

अन्तःहृति येनाद्वेशन सिद्धिः। ॥ २८ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ अन्तःहृति, चेन,
अदश्यस्मृ, इच्छिति, (कार्य अपादाः) ॥

बृक्षि: ॥ अन्तःहृति चिनिति येनाद्वेशसामायमहतिद्वारकार्यधारावसंसं भवति॥

28. When concealment is indicated, the person whose sight one wishes to avoid, is called आपदान्य कारको।

Thus वपाधिवादवं न विकृति he conceals or hides from the teacher; so that the teacher may not find him out or see him.

Why do we say 'when concealment is indicated'? Observe नां वर्जित वे विद्वं he does not wish to see the thieves. Here the term chauran is in the accusative case.

Why has the word ichchhati been used in the text? The आपदान्य कारक is to be used there only, where one desires that he should not be seen, yet he shows himself.

आप्यायातिपयोगः ॥ २८ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ आप्यायात, उपयोगः,
(कार्य अपातो) ॥

बृक्षि: ॥ उपयोगः वाप्ये य आप्यायात्य तस्कारकार्यवादानसंसं भवति॥

29. The noun denoting the teacher is called आपदान्य or ablation, in relation to the action signifying formal teaching.

The word आप्यायात means teacher, and उपयोग means acquiring knowledge in the regular way. Thus वपाधिवादवति or आपावति he learns from the preceptor.

Why do we say 'when meaning to learn'? Observe नां वर्जित वे विद्वं he hears the player.

जनिकतु: प्रकृतिः। ॥ २० ॥ पदार्थः ॥ जनि-कतुः, प्रकृतिः,
(कार्य अपातो) ॥

बृक्षि: ॥ जनीयम्यश्चलन: कस्या जानना: तस्यमा प्रकृति: क्ष्यणं इच्छु: तस्कारकार्यवादानसंसं भवति॥

30. The prime cause of the agent of the verb jan to be born, is called आपदान्या।

That which is the Agent (केता) of the verb jan, is called जनिकतुः. That which is the prime-cause (प्रकृति) of the agent (or product) of the
root Jan is put in the ablative case. As शुक्कर्षयो जाते, the arrow is produced from horn. गोवर्यावटः वृक्षवटः जाते the scorpion is produced from cowdung.

सुचः प्रभवः || 31 || पदार्थिः || सुचः, प्रभवः (कार अपरार) ||

पूर्विः || सुचः प्रभवः य संप्रदानसंस्कृत वर्तमानः ||

31. The source of the agent of the verb bhu, to become is called Apādāna.

The phrase ‘of the agent (karuṇa)’ is understood here. The word प्रभव means the source or that from which anything arises. As दिनकेलते गंगा प्रभवति the Ganges has its source in the Himalayas. आदिनिर्मानेऽयो वितत्रा प्रभवति. The Hydaspes has its source in Cashmere.

कर्मशा यमनिघ्रेति स संप्रदानसू || 32 || पदार्थिः || कर्मशा, यमः

आभिविद्येऽति, सः, संप्रदानसू, (कार) ||

पूर्विः || कर्मशा, करण्तु सम्प्रदानसंवस्तिस्य वर्तमानसंवस्ति ||

वार्तिकेः || सिद्धाग्रहण सत्यं कर्त्तेऽति संवस्तिः ||

वार्तिकेः || कर्मशा करणसंवस्य वल्लवं संप्रदानस्य च कर्मसंवस्य ||

32. The person whom one wishes to connect with the object of giving, is called Sampradāna or recipient.

Though the word अवर्त्तिः in the śūtra is indefinitely used, meaning ‘with the object’ yet it is not every object of any verb. The object must be of the verb ‘to give.’

As उपायवत् गां ददाति he gives the cow to the teacher. भाष्यकार्य विबाहु ददाति he gives alms to the boy. Here the words ‘cow’ and ‘alms’ are the object of the verb ‘give’; the persons connected with this object are the teacher and the boy respectively. These latter are in the Dative case and take the 4th case-affix.

Vart.—The person whom one wishes to connect with the action should also be called recipient. As आदियाद निग्रहते he censures for the sake of Sraddha. युद्धाय समस्ते he prepares for battle. पद्येन देते she sleeps for her husband.

Vart.—2. After some verbs (especially to sacrifice), the object (karma) gets the name of Instrument (karaṇa) and the recipient (Sampradāna) is called object (karma).

Thus पशुना चैव वचने or पशुे चैव ददाति he sacrifices with an animal to Rudra, which is equivalent to, ‘he gives an animal to Rudra.’

सुचायां श्रीमानाः || 33 || पदार्थि || सुचिः-अप्राणः

श्रीमानाः, (कार संप्रदानसू)

पूर्विः || श्रीचायां गाढ़ते श्रीमाने श्रीमाहो योऽध्वे संबुक्ताः संप्रदानसू वर्तमानः ||
33. In case of verbs having the signification of the root ruch 'to like,' the person or thing that is pleased or satisfied, is called Sampradâna or recipient.

The verbs having similar meaning (artha) as the word ruchi or 'liking' are सच्चव य. A desire or longing caused by something else, is called ruchi. As देयस्याचार रत्ने नचाल: the sweet meat pleases Devadatta. आश्विनरथ स्वदेस्य: Yajnadatta likes Apupa. Here modaka is the agent that draws out the longing which is latent in Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the person pleased'? Observe देयस्याचार रत्ने नचाल: पथि. Devadatta likes modak in the way. The word pathi being in the 7th case.

34. In the case of verbs शुष्क्वा श्चेपाय, श्रीज्ञानाः, (कात्र संप्रदात)।

राति: श्चेपाय शुष्क्वा श्चेपाय यथेष्ठेपाय आश्विनरथ स्वदेस्याचार संप्रदात turning.

35. In the case of the verb शुष्क्वा 'to owe,' the creditor is called Sampradâna.

The word शुष्क्वा is compounded of two words उच्च best and अच्छ debt meaning (whose अच्छ is best) creditor, as opposed to अच्छ debtor. As देयस्याचार रत्ने नचाल शुष्क्वा he owes hundred to Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the creditor is called Recipient'? Observe देयस्याचार शुष्क्वा रत्ने he owes hundred to Devadatta in the village. Here village is in the Locative case.
36. In the case of the verb sprih to desire, the thing desired is called Sampradâna kâraka.

The verb sprih to desire, belongs to the churâdi class. The word governed by this verb takes the Dative case. As उपवेश्य: श्रुत्रवनि he desires flowers, विशेष्य: श्रुत्रवति he desires fruits.

Why do we say ‘the thing desired?’ Observe उपवेश्ये करे श्रुतरवति he desires flowers in the forest. Here वेशे is in the Locative case.

37. In the case of the verbs having the sense of krudh to be angry, druha to injure, irshyâ to envy, asûya to detract, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called Sampradâna.

Krudh means non-tolerance, druha means doing wrong or hurt, irshyâ jealousy; and asûya means to find out the faults of another. The word kopa includes all the above four sorts of actions. As देवदत्तः अश्वतिष्ठत्वसंभृत: दिव्यतिः he is angry upon, (i.e., with) or bears malice to, or is jealous of, or finds out the faults of Devadatta. Here Devadatta is in the Dative case.

Why do we say ‘against whom the feeling of anger is directed.’ Because if there be no feeling of anger, then these verbs will not govern the dative case, but the accusative. Thus भाविषैवेव तिः he is jealous of his wife, i.e., does not wish her to be seen by others. Here the word bhâryâ is in the accusative case.

38. But in the case of the verbs krudh and druha, when preceded by prepositions, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called karma karaka or object.
This aphorism is a proviso to the last, and enjoins accusative case, where by the last, there would have been dative. The word upasrishta means having upasarga or preposition. As देवदत्ताय भवति अनिदुःधति. When used simply, those verbs of course govern the Dative case by the last aphorism. As देवदत्ताय कुप्यति.

राधीश्वरोद्वेष्य विन्म्रसः। इति। पद्याति। राधि-ईदयोऽ, यथा,
विन्म्रसः, (कार सम्बद्रोः)॥

इति॥ राधीश्वरोद्वेष्यां कर्त्तव्यं भवति की० यथा विन्म्रसः, विन्म्रसः, म्रत्ये, विन्म्रसः; च कस्य भवति वस्य धुनागुणं पुष्यन्ते॥

39. In the case of the verbs rādh, to propitiate, and iksh to look to, the person about whose good or bad fortune questions are asked is called Sampradāna.

The word vipraśna means literally asking various questions; and denotes questioning about the good or bad luck of another. Thus देवदत्ताय राधिष्यन्ति-ईदये गारे: Garga is favorable to or looks to Devadatta, the sense is that being casually asked by Devadatta, he reflects upon the good or bad fortune of Devadatta.

Another explanation of this sūtra is, the agent that puts various questions is put in the dative case. As विन्म्रसः राधि-ईदये or ईदये यथा चुना meaning, the pupil asks the teacher various questions to resolve his doubts, and the teacher answers those questions to the pupil.

प्रतिप्राणेऽन: च:। पूर्वस्य कर्त्ता:। इति। पद्याति। प्रति-आर्यप्रायसः,
अनु:। पूर्वस्य, कर्त्ता (कार सम्बद्रोः)॥

इति॥ प्रतिप्राणेऽन: देवदत्ताय राधि-ईदये यथा विन्म्रसः: कर्त्तव्यं संवर्दानसंवं भवति की० यथा लर्युर्वेश्य कर्त्ता॥

40. In the case of the verb śrū preceded by the prepositions prati and ān; and meaning ‘to promise’ the person to whom promise is made (lit: the person who was the agent of the former verb) is called Sampradāna.

The compound verb pratiśrū means to promise. A promise is made on the motion or at the instance of another. The person so proposing who was the agent of the former action becomes the recipient of the promise in the latter case. As देवदत्ताय गारे प्रतिप्राणेऽन: राधि-ईदये he promises a cow to Devadatta.

अनु-प्रतिप्राणेऽन:। इति। पद्याति। अनु-प्रति-पुष्यः। च, (कार च)
सम्बद्रोः पूर्वस्य, कर्त्ता:॥

इति॥ आनुप्रक्षेप्य प्रतिप्राणेऽन: च यथा:। कर्त्तव्यं पूर्वस्य:। विन्म्रसः:। धुनागुणं संवर्दानसंव-नवति॥
41. In the case of the verb gri, preceded by anu and prati, and meaning 'to encourage by repeating', the person who was the agent of the prior action, which is repeated, is called Sampradâna.

The phrase pûrvasya kartâ of the last is to be read into this aphorism. As देवेष्वुद्धारिः. They encourage the Hotri, i.e. the Hotri priest invokes first, the others then follow him in invocation and by so doing encourage him. The word अजुनग्राह and वृत्तिः mean encouraging the invoker.

42. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action is called the Instrument or karaṇa kâraka.

As दश्चे जुनाति he cuts with the sickle. परणाम वीभति he divides by the axe. The instrument kâraka takes the third-case affix.

Why do we say 'especially'? Because in the case of the other kârâks, the non-mention of the word 'especially' makes it possible for us to use those cases, in not their strict sense. Thus though the locative case should be used where strictly a thing is located in another, yet we may say प्रहारां च व: the herdsman in the Ganges, not strictly in, but on the banks of, the Ganges. जूरे गरुबंब: the family of frogs in the well, i.e. on the sides of the well.

43. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action, of the verb div to play, is called karma object, as well as-karaṇa, Instrument.

The present sûtra ordains accusative case, where by the operation of the last aphorism there ought to have been Instrumental case. The force of च in the sûtra is to indicate that karaṇa is also to be read into this. As वज्राङ्ग वृद्धिः or वज्रे वृद्धिः he plays the dice or with the dice.

संप्रभृत्तसंपदानसंपर्यत्तरस्याश्च || पदानि || परिक्रमयेऽऽ
संपदानस्य, अन्यत्तरस्याश्च || का || सापकतमः ||

वृत्तिः || परिक्रमये चापकतमः कारकांस्यस्यां संपदानस्य महति ||
44. In the case of hiring on wages, that which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action of the verb parikri, ‘employing on stipulated wages,’ is optionally called Sampradâna or recipient.

This ordains dative case, where there would otherwise have been Instrumental case. The word परिक्रिय is means to engage for a limited period on payment of wages, and not absolute purchase for all time. अवाय वर परिक्रिया श्रद्धा वर परिक्रिया श्रद्धा.

**Adhikarana.**

आधाराविशिष्टायम् || पद्धति || आधाराविशिष्टायम् || आधाराविशिष्टायम् || (काल) ||)

पूर्ति: || कालिक्रिया: || स्थिति-निर्देशायम् || निर्देश अवाय आधाराविशिष्टायम् || आधाराविशिष्टायम् ||

45. That which is related to the action as the site where the action is performed by reason of the agent or the object being in that place is called Adhikarana or the Location.

That in which the action is supported or located is called Adhâra. अवाय आधाराविशिष्टायम् अवाय आधाराविशिष्टायम् || पद्धति: || आधाराविशिष्टायम् || (काल आधाराविशिष्टायम् ||

पूर्ति: || कालिक्रिया: || स्थिति-निर्देशायम् || स्थिति-निर्देशायम् ||

46. That which is the site of the verbs sî to lie down, stha, to stand, as to sit, when preceded by the preposition adhi, is however called karma kâraka or object.

This ordains accusative case, where otherwise by the last sutra there would have been the Locative case. अवाय आधाराविशिष्टायम् || अवाय आधाराविशिष्टायम् || (काल आधाराविशिष्टायम् ||

पूर्ति: || कालिक्रिया: || स्थिति-निर्देशायम् || स्थिति-निर्देशायम् ||

47. That which is the site of the verb abhinivis to enter, is also called karma-kâraka.
A—व्रतमर्मितिविबद्धे वे वर्तते to the village. This is an optional rule, as the word “option” of सूत्र 44 should be read into it. Thus we have the following forms also पतिविनियुक्तिः: resorting to sin. कल्याणेनिविनियुक्तिः: resorting to good. The rule here is that of vyavasthita vibhāsa.

उपास्वर्गच्यः वस: ॥ ॥ पद्यति ॥ उप-अनु-आदि-आइ-वंसः:
(कात्र आधार: कर्मे) ॥

वृत्ति: उप अनु आदि वाच्य द्वारें ब्रह्मज्ञाति वस्त्ररूपाति वस्त्रस्थारार्थः कर्मसंबंध भवति ॥

48. That which is the site of the verb was to dwell, when preceded by upa, anu, adhi, and an, is called karma-kāraka.

As वर्तमर्मितिविबद्धे वे ना the army dwells in the village पर्वतद्वंसतिः-अनुवदिः-में भविष्यति or भविष्यति.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated when the verb वस means “fasting,” or does not denote lying in a locality. As वाच्य उपवर्तिः he fasts in the village. Here the verb upavasati governs the locative case and not the accusative.

KARMA.

कतः रीतिलिततस्मान कर्मे ॥ ॥ पद्यति ॥ कात्रः इत्यितलस्माः कर्मे:
(कात्र) ॥

वृत्ति: कात्रः इत्यितत तथि पर्वतद्वंसतिः कर्मसंबंध भवति ॥

49. That which it is intended should be most affected by the act of the agent is called the object or karma.

That which is especially desired by the agent to be accomplished by the action is called karma. As कर्मे कर्त्तृत तत्तथा makes the mat. व्रतमा गच्चति he goes to the village. Why do we say “desired by the agent”? Observe में वचनस्थिति he ties the horse in the gram field. Here gram is no doubt most desired by the horse, but as the horse is not the agent of the verb, the word वचन takes the locative case. Why do we use the word “most”? Observe पद्योत्तमद्वस्त्यं उपहारे he eats the food along with the milk. Here milk is no doubt desired by the agent, but not being the principal object desired, takes the Instrumental case.

Though the word कर्म was understood in this sūtra by anuvṛtti from the last sūtra, the repetition of this word here is to indicate that the anuvṛtti of the word अधारा does not extend to this sūtra, because as we do not take the anuvṛtti of the word karma into this sūtra, we do not take
the annvritti of any word of the previous sūtra into this. Had we taken
the annvritti of the word karma from the last sūtra, then we could use
the accusative case in those limited instances, where the word is capable
of taking the Locative case also, but not in other cases. Thus while we
could very well say नेवि मनवति he enters the house, we could not say चोर
पर्यत he cooks the food, चन्द्र विमति he drinks saktu. By repeating the
word karma in this sūtra, such examples become valid everywhere. The
karma-kāraka, takes the second case-affix.

तथा युक्ते चालाविशिष्टस् ॥ ५० ॥ पदार्थ || तथा, युक्तस्, च,
अनीषिषितस्, (कारो कर्म) ॥

युक्तस् || चैन पकारेष कत्सु रिपिषितस् किष्रता दुष्प्रयते तेनेव चेद मकारेष उदारीत्वस् उदा
तथष्ठत् कर्मसंस् विवीरयते ॥

50. If that which is not intended to be most affected by
the act becomes however similarly connected with the action
it also is called karma.

That which is not desired by the agent is anipsita or object of
aversion. Thus विष भवति he eats poison, चोर बरवति. He sees the
thieves. नागमु गक्षु दुष्पूर्भ युपपगति going to the village, he plucks
the roots of the trees.

आकार्यितस् च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदार्थ || आकार्यितस्, च, (कारो कर्म) ॥

बूख्स || आकार्यितस् च बदासः तथसंसू भवति ॥

51. And that kāraka which is not spoken of as coming
under any of the special relations of ablation &c., is also called
karma.

There are some verbs in Sanskrit which take what is called an
akathita object, in addition to their usual direct one. As its name indi-
cates, it is that object which is not otherwise kathita or mentioned by way
of any of the other case relations, such as अपक्षान अभिधिकरण &c. and is, there-
fore optional. If the noun capable of taking this akathita object be not
intended for any other case, it is put in the Accusative case with such verbs;
as, चेदु दोषिन पव: he milks the cow (her milk) वशवेदि गाँ ‘he confines the
cow to the fold.’ Here चेदु and वशि are akathita or optional objects. If
the speaker does not intend to have this object, the words will be put in
their natural cases; as, नृचम (ablative) पवेदवेदिन, वशि (locative) वशवेदि गाँ.

The roots that are capable of governing two accusatives are mentioned in
the following kārikā:—हुक्तच्छ पत्र, दक्ष विप्र प्रभु रिष न्यु भादु जि कम्बु नुपादु ॥
कर्मवृक्ष उपहारकितं तथा उपह न्तं हुपु नम नवादु ॥
In the case of the roots दूर 'to milk' याष्ठ 'to beg,' पच 'to cook,' विष 'to punish,' धूप 'to obstruct or confine' प्रकृत 'to ask,' वि 'to collect' घू 'to tell माय 'instruct' वि 'to win' (as a prize of wager) मनुष्य 'to churn' खू 'to steal,' and also in the case of नी, न, खु, and बह all meaning 'to take or carry' and others having the same signification, that noun which, besides the direct object, is affected by the verb, is put in the Accusative case; as, नी दोन वस्त्रा (S. K.) 'he milks the cow'; वह ग्राहित देवां. He begs the earth of Bali'; similarly संद्रुतानान्त्य 'pass,' गार्हित 'work' दशवतित, दानववागिन्नित गाय, भाष्यवाग चं उच्चविन्निति तवानि, वाशावफ गाय भृते-प्राप्ति, वायु वजति देवदर्श, दुर्ल चौरसिनिच सबुद्धि, देवदर्श सत्तं दुबाराति; द्रामकान्तान्त्य दृति-हृति-कर्ष्यति-वहति अति are examples of the other roots in order. भाषावक गाय भृत ने कदिर वा, बाल्यविज्ञेय निसिर, तो दुर्ल चं श्वररचार्यं ज्यायाति विभार्यो एकत्रिष्टाः त एकत्रिष्टाः कांडत्र्यमीति विभार्यो ठीकताः कांडत्र्यमीति विभार्यो are instances of this kind of object, because भाषा or वाक्य and ग्राहित or दू ती have the same meaning as दू and ग्राहित, the roots given in the काञ्चिका.

Obs.—The roots विष, खू, पच, चं, स, न, खु, बह and ever बह are of every rare occurrence as governing two accusatives, in the classical literature, though given in the above list.

The roots mentioned above and others having the same sense, take two objects. One of them is principal, and the other, secondary. In the case of the first twelve roots from दूर to खू, the nouns पच, बुवार्ष, चलाविष, खु, र्ग, &c. are principal objects, and गाय, वह, दुर्ल, चौरसिनिच, &c. are secondary objects, for they can, according to the speaker's volition, be put in other cases. And in the case of the last four roots अभ, is the principal object and दुर्ल the secondary. Thus that which is necessarily put in the accusative case in order to complete the idea of the verb, is the principal object, and that which may be put in the Accusative case, depending upon the speaker's will, is called the secondary object.

गरित बुद्धि प्रयत्नवाचार्यं भृत्वं कर्मांक कार्यं मशिकाकार्यं स श्री ॥

52. Of the verbs having the sense of 'motion,' 'knowledge or information,' and 'eating,' and of verbs that have
some literary work for their object, and of intransitive verbs
that which was the agent of the verb in its primitive
(non-ni or non-causal state), is called the object (karma) in
its causative state (when the verb takes the affix ni).

In the case of the roots that imply 'motion,' 'knowledge' or 'information' or some kind of 'eating,' and other roots having a similar sense; also of roots that have some literary work for their object, and of intransitive roots, that which is the subject of the verb in its primitive sense is put in the Accusative case in the causal, the object remaining unchanged; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRIMITIVE</th>
<th>CAUSAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>कर्म</td>
<td>कर्माणि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>देवानाम</td>
<td>देवानामानि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>प्रथमी चलिते अभास</td>
<td>प्रथमी चलिते अभास</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But in गणपति रामो गोविन्द (Rama makes Govind go) if some body else (विषु नित्र) prompts Ráma to do this, we shall have to say विषु नित्र रामो गोविन्द 'Vishnu mitra prompts Ráma to cause Govind to go.' Here 'Ráma' is not put in the Accusative case, because it is the subject of the verb, not in its primitive, but causal, sense.

Patanjali, in his Mahábhāshya, adds this explanation on the meaning of the word गणकर्म in the sūtra. प्रविषुद्धि &c. गणकर्म may be either गणस्य निष्ठा or गणोद्वयन कनेशु.

When we take the former interpretation, the roots भूतपति (भ्र) माति (भ्र) and शुभायते (denom. of शुभ) have to be excluded from the rule; as, भूतपति शुभायते-देवसः; माति-शुभायते-देवसः; माति-मध्यायति-देवसः. And the roots भूतम्, शुभम् with वि and शुभम् with शुभ must be included in the rule; as, भूतपति-विषुद्धि-शुभायति-शुभायति-देवसः. When we adopt the second interpretation, the roots भूतम्, शुभम् with शुभ and शुभ with शुभ must be included in the rule; भूतपति-विषुद्धि-शुभायति-देवसः, भूतपति-विषुद्धि-शुभायति-देवसः.

There are several exceptions and counter-exceptions to the preceding rule, which are important.

Vart:—The causals of भूत 'to lead' and शुभ 'to carry,' do not govern the Accusative, but the Instrumental; e.g. भूतम् भारं भूतपति भूतपति शुभम् भारं A servant carries a load. भूतम् भारं भूतपति शुभम् भारं (S. K.) (He) causes a servant to carry a load.
Vart.—But याग, when it has for its subject in the causal a word signifying a ‘driver,’ obeys the general rule; as, बाण याग स्वयम्भूतः. Horses draw the chariot.

Vart.—(b). The causals of the roots अदन्ति and जान्द्रूति, ‘to eat,’ govern the Instrumental case; e.g., अदन्ति खाद्यम् खाद्यता मा। The boy eats his food. जान्द्रूति खाद्यता खाद्यता वा. (He) causes the boy to eat his food.

Vart.—(c). अदन्ति, when it has not the sense of छिन्न, ‘injury to a sentient thing,’ governs the Instrumental; as, अदन्ति पिठीं देवदर्शन्। अदन्ति पिठीं देवदर्शन्। but अदन्ति वधन् शलीवर्धिन्, नाबवति बलिस्त्र यदाद् वधन्.

By ‘intransitive’ roots mentioned above is meant such roots as are not by their nature capable of governing an object other than that of ‘time,’ ‘place’ &c., and not those roots which, though transitive, may sometimes be used intransitively according to the speaker’s volition, or when their meaning is quite evident; as, विक्षरःप्रभूतःप्रभृति। Here विक्षरः, though transitive, is used without an object, because it can be easily understood; hence विक्षरःप्रभूतः and not विक्षरः; but विक्षरः वधन् देवदर्शन्.

In forming the passive construction of causal verbs, the principal object in the causal, which is the subject (agent) of the verb in its primitive sense, is put in the Nominative case, and the other object remains unaltered; e.g.,

**PRIMITIVE.**
चारितो चार्यो सर्वभीति।
Rāma goes to a village.

**CAUSAL ACTIVE.**
चारितो चार्यो सर्वभीति।
(He) causes Rāma to go to a village.

**CAUSAL PASSIVE.**
रामस्य चार्यो सर्वभीति।
The servant prepares a mat. (He) causes the servant to prepare a mat.

Govind sits for one month. (He makes Govind sit &c.) Govind is made to sit &c.

(a). But in the case of roots that imply ‘knowledge’ ‘eating,’ and those that have a literary work for their object, the principal object is put in the Nominative case, and the secondary in the Accusative, or vice versa, e.g., भाषवववलर्सेन साधणार्ति ‘he makes Mananaka know his duty’; भाषववलर्सेन साधणार्ति ‘M, is made known his duty’ or duty is made known to M.’; शत्रोदासं जेलास्वति ‘he makes the boy eat food: ‘शत्रोदासं जेलास्वति’ or 'भुजार्दशानं भनेरेति’ (S. K.)

With regards to roots that govern two accusatives, the rules mentioned above hold good in their case also; i.e., those roots that imply motion &c., govern the Accusative of the subject of the primitive Case, and others, the Instrumental case, sometimes; as, शामनन्द वतिः वयुष्णवार्तेः; (१०४५) शामनन्द वतिः
Bk. I. Ch. IV. § 53-54. | Agent Defined. 191

बुधवार वास्तवतः ‘(God) makes Vāmana ask Bali for Earth.’ नामीत्वानां नगरं हरितः।
(स्वामी) वाणी शैशिं बाजः नगरं हरितः। ‘(The master) makes the cowherd take
the sheep to the town.’

हूँ कौर्ण्यतरस्थापः || ५३ || पदनः || हूँ-कौँ || अन्नतरस्थापः,
(कातौ अशि कत्या स शी कर्मे) ||

वृत्ति: || इति: करोतिःण्यः नयः किं र्यः र्यः र्या र्यः कर्मः चं च च स्थापः।
बर्ति केशि || अभिवद्वि हूँहः वर्तः शी कर्मः ||

53. The agent of the verb in its non-नि (primitive) form
in the case of ह्रिः to lose and क्रिः to make, is optionally called
karma or object when these verbs take the affix.

di (Causal).

As हरितः भाँरः भाशसः: ||
The boy takes the load.
करोतिः यतः सुदरः:||
Devadatta makes the mat.

Vart.—The subject of the primitive verbs अभिवद्वि and हूँ when used
in the Atmanepada, is either put in the Accusative or instrumental case in
the causal; as,

PRIMITIVE.

As हरितः भाँरः भाशसः: ||
The boy takes the load.
करोतिः यतः सुदरः:||
Devadatta makes the mat.

Causal.

हारसितः भारः भाशसः or भाशसः:||
He causes the servant to take the load.
करः सुदरः or सुदरः:||
He causes Devadatta to make the mat.

PRIMITIVE.

अभिवद्विः गुर्देवधः:||
Devadatta bows down to the Guru. He makes Devadatta bow down to the
Guru.

Causal.

अभिवद्विः गुर्देवधः or गुर्देवधः
He makes the servants see the king.

कार्तिः

स्वतःतः कतः || ५४ || पदनः || स्वतःतः कतः || (कातौ) ||

हृतिः || किया परिवर्तः स्वतःतः विषः तद्याः तद्याः कर्मः संगः स्वतिः ||

54. Whatever the speaker chooses as the independent,
principal and absolute source of action is called kartā or
agent.

The agent is absolute and unconditioned, as देवः: पतिः Devadatta
cooks. स्वाधीन पतिः the pot cooks.
55. That which is the mover thereof, i.e., of the independent source of action, is called Hetu or cause, as well as kartâ or agent.

Thus kartâ he causes to be made, harapati he causes to be taken. When hetu is employed as agent the verb is put in the causative form (III. 1. 26).

The force of the word कि is to give both names to the mover of an agent, viz., Hetu and kartâ; otherwise by sûtra 1 of this Chapter only one name would have been given.

Nipâta.

THE PARTICLES.

56. From this point forward up to the aphorism Adhiritvâre (I. 4. 97), all that we shall say is to be understood to have the name of Nipâta or Particles.

The word मान of this sūtra serves the same purpose as the word cha of the last; namely, it makes the words Gati, upasarga and karmapravacanīya take two names, i.e., their one name as well as the name Nipâta. The letter क in श्रीस्यमदु is to remove doubt, i.e., aphorism I. 4. 97 should be taken as limit and not sūtra III. 4. 13 which has the word iswari also.

57. The word cha ‘and,’ &c., are called Nipâta or Particles, when they do not signify substances.

The following are particles (nipâta) च ‘and’ या ‘or’ र ‘an expletive’ एष ‘vocative particle’ एव ‘only exactly,’ एवद् ‘so thus,’ दद ‘certainly,’ शषद् ‘continually,’ युषद् ‘at once,’ ददषद् ‘repeatedly,’ पुषद् ‘exceedingly,’ ददषद् ‘abundantly,’ नद् ‘if’ दद ‘if,’ [the न is indicatory], चत्र ‘where,’ तत ‘there,’ कति ‘what if ?,’ तद् ‘no,’ इद् ‘ah,’ ! साकिष ‘[sacred]’ नवद ‘do not,’ इद् ‘indeed’ नद् ‘do not,’ तद् ‘not,’ एषद् ‘as much as,’ एवद् ‘so much,’ गवद् ‘perhaps,’ दि ‘disrespectful interjection) ओषद् ‘irrespe
Prepositions defined.

The vowels a, e, ai, o, au, when, as interjections, they indicate various emotions, differ from the ordinary vowels.

To the list of indeclinables belong also what have, without the reality, the appearance of an upasarga (No.59), of a word with one of the terminations of case or persons and of the vowels. In the example अवदत्तम ‘given away,’ the अव is not really an upasarga, for if it were, the word (by VII. 4. 47) would be अवदत्तम. In the example ahanyuh अर्ध: ‘egotistic,’ the अर्ध is not identical with the aham ‘I,’ terminating in a case affix—because a pronoun, really regarded as being in the nominative case, could not be the first member, in such a compound. In the example अविशेषीवर्त, a cow or the like ‘in which there is milk,’ the अविशेषीवर्त must be regarded as differing from the word अव, ‘is,’ which ends with the affix of the third person singular, otherwise it could not have appeared as the first member in a compound.

58. The words pra &c., are called Nipāta when not signifying substances.

The following is the list of मादय: or ‘prepositions’: प्र, पर, परथ, परस, परस्त, प्रव, प्रति, प्रति, प्रति, प्रति, द्वे, द्वे, द्वे, प्र, प्र, प्र, प्र, प्र, प्र.

The making of this a distinct aphorism, when it could well have been included in the last, is for the sake of giving the Pra &c., words two names, namely, those of Nipātas, as well as upasargas under certain circumstances, i.e., when they are in composition with verbs. Not so however the cha &c., words. They never get the designation of upasargas.

When these words signifying substances they are not Nipātas. As प्रति द्वे the excellent army conquers. Here the word प्रति is not a Nipāta.
59. The words pra &c., get the designation of upasarga or prepositions, when in composition with a verb.

As म+नविति=प्रविति. Here the dental न is changed into cerebral ः, because of the म getting the designation of upasarga (See sutra VIII. 4. 14). Similarly परिष्रविति, प्राणविति, परिष्रविति.

Why do we say when in composition with a verb? When in composition with a noun they are not called upasargas. As मन्त्रि नायकोर्त्तारों देशात् = मन्त्रीरूपिणी: a country destitute of a leader. Here न is not changed into ः. Thus while प्राणविति means 'a leader' the term प्राणविति means destitute of a leader; though both have the same radical elements:—pra in one is an upasarga, in the other a Nipāta pure and simple.

Vart.—The word भविति should be included in the list of upasargas. As भविति देशम्=मन्त्रि: given by Marut. भवि+पा+अः=भवि+र+अ (VII. 4. 47.) Here Marut being treated as an upasarga, though it does not end with a vowel, the पा is replaced by अ by rule VII. 4. 47 which declares अ the substitute of पा which is called ghu when it is preceded by an upasarga that ends in a vowel, and is followed by an affix beginning with आ which has an indicative क.'

It might be objected, that as भविति does not end with a vowel, sutra VII. 4. 47 does not apply. To this we say that otherwise the giving the designation of upasarga to भविति is superfluous; and in order that this should not be so, the fact of its not ending with a vowel, is overlooked.

Vart.—The particle भविति should be included in the list of upasargas. Thus भविति+भवि+अः=भवि (III. 3. 106). Here because भवि is treated as an upasarga, that sutra III. 3. 106 is made applicable.

60. The words pra &c., are called also Gati, when in composition with a verb.
As मकृत्वा, Now the gerund of the simple root त्र would have been कृत्वा, but as it is compounded with a gati word (II. 2. 18) the कृत्वा is replaced by वृत्त, see II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37. म + क + वृत्त = मकृत्वा (VI. 1. 71). Here pra being called gati we have compoundng by rule II. 2. 18; and then we apply VII. 1. 37. Similarly मकृत्वा. Here pra being a gati word retains its own accent by rule VI. 2. 49, 'a gati retains in a compound its own accent when it immediately precedes a second member that ends in kta, provided the latter denotes the object of the action which is expressed by the root to which kta is added.'

Similarly मकृत्वा, here pra being treated as gati gets annudatta accent by rule VIII. 2. 71.

The yoga-vibhāga or the separation of one aphorism into two, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms. The annuvrītti of gati only runs through the latter sūtras and not of upasarga. So that while pra &c., have two names upasarga and gati; uri &c., have only one name, namely, gati.

Thus in, मनःसत्य and अभिमिलक, by treating the words म and अभिमिलक as upasargas we change the न and श into न and श by rule VIII. 4. 14 and VIII. 3. 87; and again treating them as gati we regulate the accent.

Vart.—The words कारिका should be included in the list of Gati. As (1) कारिकाकृत्व (2) कारिकाकृत्व (3) यद्वकारिका कारिका. In the first by taking it as gati we have samasa (II. 2. 18) and यद्व (VII. 1. 37) The other two cases illustrate accent.

Vart:—The words पुनर्र and पद्यन are treated as Gati in the Vedas. As पुनर्र (पुनर्र) and पद्यन (पद्यन) are treated as Gati. Here the word पुनर्र being gati, causes पुनर्र to take annudatta accent (VIII. 1. 70) चन्द्राविन्द्र. Here also the accent is regulated by VIII. 2. 71.

अंकादितेश्वर || ६४ || पद्धति || करी-भाधि फिंद-हावः

(क्षयायेग्ये गति:) ||

पृश्चः || करीभाधि फिंदेव: सर्ववस्त्रा शास्त्रवस्त्रा क्षयायेग्ये गतिनिः भविष्यति ||

61. The words uri, assent, &c., and those that end with chvi (V. 4. 50), and those that end with धच्छ (V. 4. 57), (when in composition with the verb bhū, kṛi or as) are called Gati.

The affixes chvi and धच्छ are ordained when the verb in composition is either त्र, त्र or त्र (V. 4. 50 and 57) त्र &c., being read along with chvi and धच्छ, shows that the verb in composition with them must also be any one of the above three verbs, and none else; in order to entitle क्षय to the name of gati.
The words गती and उदरी mean to assent and spread. As गतिकृत्व (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37) गतिकृत्व (VI. 2. 49), यथेऽर्थस्थिति (VIII. 2. 71). So with the word उदरी. The following is a list of these words:

पथरी. पूर्वी. परमकला. पतली.
तात्री. यकला. युद्धुप्र. संधी.
पासात्री. भागकला. भे. आक्षी.
येतात्री. यज्ञकला. यज्ञु.

The words ending in च्विय are also gati. As च्वियकृत्व having made white what was not white.

So also words ending in श्व as पप्पद्दकृत्व having made the sound pat.

अनुकरणेण चात्मिति परम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुकरणस्मृ, च;/ चात्मिति-परम्, (क्रियायोजने गति:) ॥

 blister! अनुकरणमस्तिति परम् क्रियायोजने गतिबंधनम् भवति ॥

62. A word imitative of sounds is also called Gati, when it is not followed by the word iti.

The phrase चात्मितपथ्र is a Bahuvrihi compound; चात्मिति-परम् = 'that which has not the word ित after it'.

As शाक्तिफ्य having made the sound khāt. शाक्तिफ्य (VI. 2. 49), यम्याद-कर्तित (VIII. 2. 71).

Why do we say 'when it has not the word ित after it'? Observe चात्मितकृत्वा निम्नीस्व.

आदारानादरयो: सदसती ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदार-अनादरयो:,
सद-असती, (क्रियायोजने गति:) ॥

 blister! आदारा नादरयो श्वायात्रम् यद्वस्स्वदेरी गतिबंधनी भवति ॥

63. The words sat and asat when in composition with a verb are called gati, when used in the sense of 'respect or love,' and 'disrespect or indifference.'

As पदवृत्तिः having honored (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37) वदवृत्तिः, वदवृत्तिः or पदवृत्तिः (VI. 2. 49) यद्व यज्ञ कर्तित or यद्व यज्ञ कर्तित (VIII. 2. 71).
Why do we say when meaning 'respect or disrespect'? Observe श्रद्धालूक्ता जाष्ट्रदेवता.

64. The word alam when in composition with a verb is called gati, when used in the sense of 'ornament.'

The word अलं is an indeclinable and has four meanings:—'prohibition, competent, enough and ornament.' The term अलं is gati when it means ornament. As अलंकृत्व (II. 2. 18, VIII. 1. 37); अलंकृत (VI. 2. 49) पदार्थारत्व (VIII. 2. 71) when it does not mean ornament we have अल भूषण्या प्रजात आग देखकर we have.

65. The word antar is called gati, when used in the sense of 'non-accepting,' in composition with a verb.

The word परिप्रेक्ष्य means 'taking' or 'accepting,' परिप्रेक्ष्य means therefore the opposite of this namely 'rejecting,' abandoning. As अन्तर्भाव पुराण: he went away having abandoned home; अन्तर्भावसंग मुरार: falsehood being abandoned. पदार्थ ईर्षित.

Why do we say 'when meaning to abandon'? Observe अन्तर्भाव भूषकं स्वेषेनत: the hawk went away taking hold of the mouse.

Vart.—The word अन्तर्भाव is treated as an upsarga for the purpose of the application of the following rules; III. 3. 106 by which र्य is added; rule III. 3. 92 by which ि is added; the rule VIII. 4. 14 by which ि is changed into ि. As अन्तर्भाव, अन्तर्भाव: and अन्तर्भावि.

66. The words kane and manas are gati when in composition with a verb and used in the sense of reaction by satiation.'
The word अथ्ययत means 'satisfaction of desire.' As कण्ठितय पठान, विझत हेत्रहमilk to his heart's content or till he is satisfied? So also जने यत्व पर विझतत. That is to say, he drinks so much till his desire (अथ्ययत) is satisfied by revulsion of feeling. When not having this sense we have जाणे or जने यत्वयत: he went away satisfied.

पुरेः अथ्ययत || देख || पदार्थ || अथ्ययत, (गतिः) ||

67. The word purah in front of, when indeclinable, and in composition with a verb, is called gati.

The pronoun पुरेः 'front' with the affix अथ्य forms अथ्ययत, and by I. 1. 38 it becomes an Ayyaya. (See V. 3. 39 pur being substituted for पुर्वा). The object by making it gati is threefold (1) compounding by II. 2. 18 (2) accent by VI. 2. 49 (3) to change the :ह into :प by VIII. 3. 40. As अथ्ययत, अथ्ययत and एव अथ्ययत, when not an indeclinable we have पुरेः, पुरेः अथ्ययत.

अस्ति अथ्ययत || देख || पदार्थ || अस्ति, (गतिः अथ्ययत) ||

68. And the indeclinable word astam 'at home,' is called gati, when in composition with a verb.

The word अस्ति is an indeclinable as it ends in अम, and means 'not visible.' As अस्ति वतिः अस्ति it rises again अस्ति वतिः अस्ति riches that have vanished. अस्ति नमिः, when not an indeclinable it is not gati as अस्ति अस्ति the arrow has been thrown.

अस्तिः गतिः अथ्ययत || देख || पदार्थ || अस्तिः, गति-अथ्ययत, (गतिः अथ्ययत) ||

69. The indeclinable word achchha, meaning 'before in the presence of,' is called gati, when used in composition with verbs denoting 'motion' or with the verb 'vad' to speak.

The word अस्ति is an indeclinable and has the force of the word अनि. As अस्ति अनि, अस्ति अनि, and अस्ति अनि. So also अस्ति अनि अथ्ययत and अस्ति अनि अथ्ययत when not an Ayyaya, we have प्रदेशः अस्ति.

अद्रेः अथ्ययत || देख || पदार्थ || अद्रेः, अनुपदेशः, (गतिः) ||

अद्रेः अथ्ययत || पदार्थ || अद्रेः, अनुपदेशः (गतिः) ||
70. The word adas 'that' is called gati when in composition with a verb and not implying a direction to another.

The word upadesa means a direction to another. When a person cogitates within himself and does not address another, that is anupadesa. That is when it is not a demonstrative pronoun. As बद: कृत्वा, ज्ञान: कृत्वा and यद: करोति when used as a demonstrative pronoun we have बद: कृत्वा कार्यते गति:

लिरो उत्तरद्वीप ॥ ०६ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ तिर: , अन्तर्द्वीप (गति:) ॥

71. The word tiras when used in the sense of 'disappearance,' is called gati when in composition with a verb.

As तिरीयवः तिरीयवः तिरीयवः तिरीयवहि why do we say when meaning disappearance? Observe तिरो चूर्वार्द्वित: i.e., standing apart.

बिभाषा ॥ ०७ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ बिभाषा, कृत्वा (गति: अन्तर्द्वीप) ॥

72. The word tiras meaning 'disappearance' is optionally called gati, when the verb kri follows.

This is an example of मात्र-विभाषा. As तिर: कृत्वा तिरस्कृत्वा (VIII. 3. 42) तिर: कृत्वा तिरस्कृत्वा (VIII. 3. 42). The change of visarga into त is optional VIII. 3. 42. When not meaning disappearance we have तिर: कृत्वा कार्यते तिरति he stands having laid aside the stick.

उपाजःन्यायाय ॥ ०८ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ उपाजः-न्यायाय, (विभाषा कृति गति:) ॥

उपाजःन्यायायेष्वर्थी विभाषा प्रतिपक्षी निमाती इत्यकाय यान्यां बतं तदे दी कृति विभाषा गतिङ्गो भवत्:॥

73. The words upaje and anvaje both meaning 'supporting or assisting the weak,' are optionally called gati when used along with the verb kri.

As उपाजः कृत्वा or उपाजः कृत्वा having given support. अन्याजः कृत्वा or अन्याजः कृत्वा.

साक्षात्-सूतीनिच ॥ ०९ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ साक्षात्, प्रभुतीनिच, च (गति: विभाषा कृति) ॥

साक्षात् सूतीमहतीनिच श्राद्धपारिक कृति विभाषा गतिङ्गो भवित:॥

साक्षात्तुसः तिरस्कुट्ट्व वन्धय: यथार्थः ॥
74. The words sākṣāt, ‘in the presence of’ &c., are optionally called gati, when used along with the verb kṛi.

*Vari*nt:—In the words sākṣāt &c. the force of the affix विच is understood, namely making a thing what it was not before. As ग्रामवासमु खुस्त्र or खुस्त्रा लिखित्वासु तद्निध्यात्मयम् making evident what was concealed before.

अन्तर्वाचार उपविस्तते || 85 || पदार्थ || अन्तर्वाचारे, उपविसःतकृतं, (लिखिता खः जीति: ||

ूँतिः || अन्तर्वाचार उपविस्तते दुर्ज्योयम् नवद्यायानं अन्तर्वाचारे उपविसःतकृतं शास्त्री लिखिता खः जीति:

75. The word urasi, ‘in the breast,’ and manasi ‘in the mind’ are optionally gati when the verb kṛi follows, provided that they are not used in the sense of ‘placing.’

As उरसार्च्यम् или उरसार्च्यम्; शास्त्री उरसार्च्यम् or शास्त्री उरसार्च्यम्. When it has the sense of placing we have उरसार्च्यम् पार्श्वे he lies down having clasped the hand on the breast, उरसार्च्यम् दया च च्यायति he ponders‘having placed the word in his mind.

सध्ये पदे निबन्धने च || 86 || पदार्थ || सध्ये पदे, निबन्धने,

च, (लिखिता खः जीति: अन्तर्वाचारे) ||

ूँतिः || सध्ये पदे निबन्धने दुर्ज्योयम् शास्त्री, अन्तर्वाचारे लिखिता खः जीति गतिःसंवते शरसिष्ठि ||

76. And the words madhye ‘in the middle,’ pade ‘in the foot’ and nivachane ‘speechless’ are optionally gati, when kṛi follows, the sense not being of ‘placing.’

As भर्त्रे खुस्त्र खुस्त्र; पदे खुस्त्र खुस्त्र; निवचने खुस्त्र खुस्त्र।

But when it has the meaning of placing we have दलसान: पदे खुस्त्र बिसर्वे he lies down having put his head under the foot of the elephant.

नित्यं इस्ते पाशादुपयोगले || 89 || पदार्थ || नित्यं, इस्ते-पाशी

उपयमलें (गतिः: कृति: ||

ूँतिः || इस्ते पाशी दुर्ज्योयम् शास्त्री कृति नित्यं गतिःसंवते भवते उपयमलें ||

77. The word haste ‘in the hand,’ pāṇau ‘in the hand’ are always and necessarily called gati when used with the verb kṛi in the sense of ‘marriage.’

As पाणी खुस्त्र or हल्ले खुस्त्र having married. But हल्ले खुस्त्र कार्यांपर्यं गति: he went out having taken in his hand a kārshāpana (a coin).
78. The indeclinable word prādhram followed by the verb kṛi, is always called gati when used in the sense of ‘binding.’

The word माध्वूम ends in ल and means ‘favourably suitably.’ When however it means ‘bound’ it is a gati: as, माध्वूमत्तत्त्व having bound. But when not meaning to bind, we have:—माध्वू कूल्वा पथरं गत: having made (the carriage agreeable, he is gone.

79. "The words Jīvikā and upanishad followed by the verb kṛi are called gati when used in the sense of likeness or resemblance."

As जीविकाकृत्त्व having made it as if it was a means of living; उपनिषद-कृत्त्व—having made it like an upanishad. But जीविका कृत्त्व गत: having made his livelihood he is gone.

ले माध्वालो: || ७५ || पद्धति || ले, माध्वू, घातो: (गति: उ पश्चात्:) ||

80. The particles called gati and upasarga are to be employed before the verbal root: (that is to say, they are prefixes).

The word र has been employed to include the term उपचर्य also. The preceding examples all illustrate the application of this rule.

81. In the chhandas (veda) these gati and upasarga are employed indifferently after the verbal root as well as before it.

As.—वायविकृत्त्व प्रधूम छायात्मसत्त्वकृत्त्व || शत्त्वम् चिखा नरा (Rig. I. 2. 6).
In this we have ज्वालायुर instead of ज्वालायुर ‘vayu and thou Indra, ye heroes, come ye both quickly to the soma of the worshipper by this sincere prayer.’

82. In the chhandas (veda) these gati and upasarga are also seen separated from the verb by intervening words. As:— इन्द्र वायु इसे चुना उप वैरोधाभान्त इनः वेदः वा युवनिविन्धि (Bṛg. I. 2. 4). “Indra and vayu, here are soma—libations for you. Approach, ye with pleasures for us. For the libations are desiring you.” Here उप is separated from the word सर्वन by the intervening word अनुष्ठानः.

Karma pravachaniya.

83. From this point as far as aphorism I. 4. 97 the particles treated of, are to be understood as having the name of karma-pravachaniya.

These particles govern a substantive and qualify a verb and differ from other particles termed upasarga and gati. As युक्तत भवति well praised by you. यु फल वचन you have sprinkled. Here यु is a karma pravachaniya and qualifies the sense of the verb, i.e. it is an adverb. It is not an upasarga, for had it been so, it would have changed the यु into यु (VIII. 3. 65). The term karma pravachaniya is a big term compared with other technical terms such as, दी, चिं, यु &c., which generally do not exceed more than two syllables. The word karma pravachaniya is not however merely a technical term; it contains within itself a definition of itself. It means that which qualifies or speaks about (प्राणस्वत्) an action (कर्म) is so called.

84. The word अनु when it denotes a sign, is called karma-pravachaniya.

The word laksana means a sign; an attendant circumstance an invariable concomitant or accident in its logical sense and not merely an occasional concurrence. The force of अनु in this case is that of ‘after,’ ‘in consequence of,’ ‘because of, or being indicated by.’ As चवमु हारष्य it rained
after or in consequence of the muttering of prayers. To put it in other
words, anu is a karmacraṇa when it governs the word which indi-
cates the cause or the attendant circumstance of an action.

So also भास्कर्य विद्वानस्य न मार्गेर्दृश्यस्य च विद्वानस्य विद्वानस्य देव: भास्कर्यः. The God (clouds) rained having listened to the well performed reading, by
Sākalya. The force of a karmacraṇa, therefore, when fully ana-
lysed will be found to be that of an upasarga whose verb is not expressed
in the sentence but is understood; and because of its being so understood,
the particle itself seems to govern the noun which in fact was governed
by the unexpressed verb. Thus in the above example तित्ति is in the accusa-
tive case, apparently governed by the preposition अति, but really governed
by the verb अनुनिश्व निष्कृत understood.

So also अनुदुः वर्त्त्वस्तुपमत. The Taurus sprinkled water after the
sacrifice, अनुदुः वर्त्त्वस्तुपमत भवताः the people began sprinkling water after the
rising of the canopus.

Why make unnecessarily this śūtra, when अति would have been called
karma prācchāniya even by force of śūtra 90 following, where also the
word lakṣaṇa occurs? This is for the sake of indicating that the karma-
prācchāniyas should always govern the accusative case (II. 3. 8) even in
expressing अति (II. 3. 23). Otherwise Rule 23rd of the third chapter of
Book II would have set aside Rule 8 of the same by the maxim of परम
I. 3. 2. and would have caused a karana prācchāniya to govern an
Instrumental case where the sense was that of hetu.

१७५॥ प्रदानी || १७६॥ तृतीय-अर्थे, (अति: कर्मप्रृ) ||

85. The word anu is karma-prācchāniya when it has
the force of the third case.

The meaning of अति in this case will be that of 'with' or along with.
As नदीमुख अवतिता वेषा the army lying along side the river. पर्वतमुख अवतिता
वेषा lying along the slopes of the mountain.

हीने || १७६॥ प्रदानी || हीने, (अति: कर्मप्रृ) ||

86. The word anu is karma-prācchāniya when it is
used in the sense of inferior or subordinate to.

The word हीन means 'inferior,' and being a comparative term requires
the other term with which comparison is made and which is superior; to
complete the sense. In other words अति governs the person to which others
are inferior, in the accusative case. As अति अवतिता घातात्विकाय: all grammari-
ans are inferior to Sākalya.
87. The word upa when it means ‘superior’ or ‘inferior to’ is karma-pravachaniya.

That is when the sense is that of ‘over, above,’ or ‘inferior’ as upa शारीर: a Drona is above a khāri. upa नवन्ते कार्यायण: a karshapana is more than a Nishka. In this sense upa governs the Locative of the thing which is inferior (II. 3. 9). So also upa शाक्तायणे बेवाकारण: ‘all grammarians are inferior to Sākataśyana.’ In this sense upa governs the accusative case.

88. The words apa and pari are karma-pravachaniya when meaning ‘exclusion.’

The force of upa and pari is in this case that of ‘with the exception of.’ As अपिवित्तेऽवृष्टै: it rained outside of or with the exception of Trigarta. So also pari निन्तत्तेऽवृष्टै: In this sense they govern the noun excluded in the ablative case (II. 3. 10). When not having these senses, they are not karma-pravachaniya. As आदेन परिविश्वै: He waters the rice. Here it is an upasarga, and hence changes the व into ॥

89. The word an as far as, is karma-pravachaniya when it expresses limit (e.g. when it means ‘as far as inclusive of’ or, ‘as far as exclusive of.’)

The word when in the text shows that both sorts of limits are here meant. As यायान्तित्तुष्टादृश: it rained as far as (but excluding) Pātaliputra आयान्तित्तुष्टादृश: it rained as far as (including) Pātaliputra when it means ‘little’ or is a verbal prefix it does not get this name.
90. The words prati, pari and anu are karma pravachaniya when used in the sense of ‘sign’ (in the direction of) ‘mere statement of circumstance’ (‘as regards’) ‘division’ ‘share of’ and ‘pervasion’ severally.

As (1) चुंब मः परि or चुंब विद्वदृश्ये विद्राध्यु ‘the lightening is flashing in the direction of the tree.’ (2) सावधेवद् साततं मः परि=चुंब ‘Devadatta is a good man as regards his mother.’ (3) इर मः इवांल ‘the poison fell to the share of Hara.’ चालनाय वित्त स्वाद् that it may fall to my share. So with परि and चुंब. (4) चुंब चुंब मः वित्ति विद्वदृशि he sprinkles one tree after another. So with परि and चुंब.

अभिवर्धने ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिः, अभागे (लक्षण इत्यादि, 
मूलाक्षणो कर्मभो) ॥

चुंबि ॥ सावधेवद्दैव साततं विद्वदृश्ये विद्राध्यु वित्ति ॥

91. The word abhi is karma-pravachaniya, in the above senses of ‘in the direction of,’ ‘as regards,’ and ‘each severally’ but not when it means division, ‘share of.’

The illustrations given under the last sūtra mutus mutandi apply here also. with the exception of those given under head (4). As चुंब सिवित्ति विद्वदृशि; साततमि &c. But it is not karma-pravachaniya when भाग means, भाग means the share which is allotted to one as his own. As चालनाय वित्ति स्वाद् तृतीयां द्वे give that which falls here to my share. Here abhi is an upasarga, and therefore च of स्व is changed into च.

प्रति: प्रतिनिधि प्रतिद्राध्यो: ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति:, प्रति: 
निधि-प्रतिद्राध्यो:, (कर्मभो) ॥

चुंबि ॥ प्रतिनिधिविवचे प्रतिद्राध्ये विवचे च प्रति: कर्मभिवन्यास्ये च वित्ति ॥

92. The word prati is karma-pravachaniya when used in the sense of representative (‘representative of’) or exchange (‘in exchange for.’)

That which is like to the principal is called pratipravach. Giving in return for what is obtained, is pratisara. As अभिमन्युस्तुल: प्रति Abhi-manyu is the representative of Arjuna. भापानस्य लिलिभ्य: प्रतिविवचित्ति he exchanges Māhās for these sesamum. In these senses prati governs the Ablative (II. 3. 11.)

अधिपरी अनार्यो ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधि-परी:, अनार्यो,
(कर्मभो) ॥

चुंबि ॥ अधि परी भागो अनार्यो अनार्यार्थवाचारियो कर्मभियास्ये च वित्ति ॥
93. The words adhi and pari are karma-pravachaniya when used as mere expletives.

As सुतेर्ष्वमल्लति whence has he come? or फूत: पता ग्रहिति. These words though mere surplusages, have been called karma-pravachaniya so that they may not get the designation of upasarga or gati and thus produce results peculiar to those words.

94. The word su is karma-pravachaniya in the sense of respect, (when it means ‘excellently’).

As बुधिज्ञ भवता, बुध तथा excellently sprinkled by your honor. Well praised by your honor. By not being an upasarga, it does not change the च into च (VIII. 3. 65).

Why do we say ‘when respect is meant’? Observe बुधिज्ञानिः किं सताः has this your place been well sprinkled to-day.

95. The word ati in the sense of super-abundance (‘excessively’) and ‘excellently’ is karma-pravachaniya.

The word अतिक्रमण means to do more than what is necessary for the accomplishment of an object. The force of च in the aphorism is to draw in the word प्रवचन from the last. As अतिक्रमणस्वयम् भवता. It has abundantly been sprinkled by your honor, अतिशुद्धिभवति so also अतिशुद्धता भवता excellently praised by your honor. अत्र विशेषः भवता.

96. The word -api is karma-pravachaniya, when it implies, the sense of word understood (‘somewhat’) or possibility (e. g., ‘even’ in the sense of such a great person), or permission to do as one likes, (‘if you like’), or censure (‘even’ in the sense of what is disgraceful); or collection (‘and’).
The word पदार्थ means the sense of another word which is not expressed but has to be supplied. As विंचित यथादि there may be perhaps a drop of ghee शमेविनयम् यथादि. Here some word like विंदु 'a drop,' शोक 'a little' माॅर 'a measure &c., has to be understood. The word वंशावन means possibility, a supposition. As अधि संयुक्त चुल्लवदेस्त्र शेखरभक्ति possibly may sprinkle a thousand trees in one moment; अधि लुभाइ राजानेह he may praise possibly, a king. In the above cases it is used with the potential mood. अवशयेष means indifference on the part of the speaker where he permits another to do as he likes. It is used with the Imperative mood. As अधि संयुक्त यथादि you may sprinkle if you like. अधि संयुक्त यथादि you may praise if you like. The word वर्ताय means censure, contempt or reproof. As विगुणाभस्ते देवदत्तकरणि संयुक्त चलासाय: The word महुकश्च means cumulative. As अधि संयुक्त—अधि संयुक्त praise as well as sprinkle.

In all the above instances, the word not being an upasarga, does not change the य into य.

अधिरीिरवरे || क || पदार्थे || अधिः, ईश्वरे || (कर्मप्र) ||

वृत्ति ईश्वर: स्वाभो च च स्वसंवेदः।

tदत् स्वस्वाभो संवेदः कर्ममृवविवेदः भवति।

97. The word adhi is karmapravachaniya when used in the sense of "lord" ("being as a lord" or "having as a lord").

The word ईश्वर means 'master,' and it therefore requires another correlative word denoting 'property' of which one is master. The word adhi governs a Locative case. Sometimes locative of the person possessing, sometime locative of the property possessed: as अधि द्रव दने वर्गाला: or अधि चतुःचतुः वात्र दता। Brahmadatta rules over Panchālas.

विभाषा कृति || क || पदार्थे || विभाषा, कृति कर्मप्र अधिः।

बृत्ति अधिः करािी विभाषा कर्मप्रवधिवेदः भवति।

98. The word adhi is optionally karma pravachaniya when the verb kṛi follows.

As यदञ्जा भक्ति करिष्यति. Here the word अधि may be treated either as a गति or a कर्मस्रवीयम्. When it is a गति the accent will be regulated by S. VIII. 1. 71; otherwise not.
99. The substitutes of लः are called parasmaipada.

The word लः is in the genitive case, and means 'of लः.' The word आदेश 'substitutes' must be supplied to complete the sense. The term लः is a generic word for verb in general, viz., लश्रू, लश्रम, लश्रु, लश्रू, लश्रू, लश्रू, लश्रू, लश्रू, लश्रू, लश्रू. The substitutes of लः are the well known personal terminations by which the verbs are conjugated in those tenses. Namely the following.

**Parasmaipada.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Dual.</th>
<th>Plural.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Pers.</td>
<td>विन्दु</td>
<td>विन्दु</td>
<td>विन्दु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Pers.</td>
<td>वियु</td>
<td>वियु</td>
<td>वियु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Pers.</td>
<td>वियु</td>
<td>वियु</td>
<td>वियु</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And the affixes शन्त and शन्त (III. 2. 107, and 124, and III. 4. 78).

100. The nine affixes comprised under the Pratyâhâra tañ and the two ending in अन्त् (Sânach and Kânach), which are substitutes of लः are called Atmanepada.

The following are the Atmanepada affixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Dual.</th>
<th>Plural.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st दास्त्र</td>
<td>दास्त्र</td>
<td>दास्त्र</td>
<td>दास्त्र</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd दास्त्र</td>
<td>दास्त्र</td>
<td>दास्त्र</td>
<td>दास्त्र</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd दास्त्र</td>
<td>दास्त्र</td>
<td>दास्त्र</td>
<td>दास्त्र</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And the affixes दास्त्र and दास्त्र (III. 2. 106).
101. The three triads in both the sets Parasmaipada and Atmanepada, of conjugational affixes (comprised under the general name tiṇa, a pratyāhāra formed of the first and last of them, viz., tip and mahiṇa) are called, in order, Lowest (3rd person of European Grammar,) the middle (2nd person), and the highest (1st person).

Of the 19 conjugational affixes, above given; 9 are Parasmaipadi and 9 are Atmanepadi. Each of these two classes is subdivided into three classes, according to person, as shown in the above list.

102. These three triads of conjugational affixes, which have received the names of Lowest &c, are called (as regard the three expressions in each triad) severally “the expression for one” (singular) “the expression for two” (dual), and “the expression for many” (plural).

Of the six triads thus formed, each is divided according to number into three classes, viz., singular, dual, and plural.

103. Of sup (which is a Pratyāhāra formed of su the first of the case affixes and the final p of the last of them) the three expressions in each successive set of the three, are also severally called singular, dual and plural.
The sup or the case-affixes by which nouns are declined are 21 in number corresponding to the seven cases, see sūtra IV. 1. 2. They also have three numbers singular, dual and plural.

104. The triads of conjugational affixes and case affixes are also called vibhakti or Inflective affixes.

The word vibhakti means a complete triad. Thus सहस्रविभक्ति means the three affixes of the seventh case, i.e., the locative singular, dual, and plural. So प्रथम विभक्ति means the third person, singular, dual, and plural.

105. When the pronoun yushmad, “thou” understood, and also when the same expressed, is the attendant word in agreement with the verb, then there is the verbal termination called the middle (2nd person).

This defines the 2nd person of conjugational affixes. As रथ पचि thou cookest or पचि; दया पचि; or पचि: you two are cooking; दया पचि or पचि you cook.

106. When joke is implied with reference to an action, the verb denoting it is used in the 2nd person; provided that the word manya ‘to think’ is the attendant word (upapada) of such verb, and of the verb manya itself, the affix must be of the 1st person and singular number.
The word महाव means joke, sport. As यथं मने चोदने मोदवेदे हरि; नचि मास्वये, भुज सेलधिमिः. Thus thou thinkest 'I shall eat rice,' thou shalt not eat, that has been eaten by a guest. यथं मने स्वैं नास्यवति न महि यास्वये, यास्वये दे पिता. I think thou wilt go by the chariot, no, thou wilt not, thy father has gone before thee on it. When joke is not intended, the proper persons should be used: as, यथं मने चोदने मास्वये. Thus thou thinkest 'I shall eat rice.'

अस्संयुक्तम् □ १०७ □ पदार्थं □ असद्दि, उत्तमः, (उपपदे समानाधिकरे स्थानिनययिः) □

हृदिः □ अससद्युपपदे समानाधिकरे प्रमुखगाने प्रमुखगाने उपिन उत्तमसुधे भवति □

107. When the pronoun असमाता "I," understood and also when expressed, is the attendant word in agreement with the verb, then there is the verbal termination called the Highest or the 1st person.

This is clear. As अहं प्रचारिः I cook, or merely प्रचारिः सायं प्रचारिः or merely प्रचारः.

श्रवे प्रथमः □ १०८ □ पदार्थं □ श्रवे प्रथमः □

हृदिः □ वच अन्तवदस्सी समानाधिकरे उपपदेन स्त्र: तथापि प्र्या श्रवेदे प्रमुखगाने भवति □

108. In the other cases, namely where, "thou" or "I" are not the attendant words in agreement with the verb, there is the verbal termination called the Lowest (or 3rd person).

As प्रचारिः he cooks, प्रचारिः they two cook. प्रचारिः they cook.

परं संबिनयः संहिता, □ १०९ □ पदार्थं □ परं संबिनयः संहिता □

हृदिः □ परं संबिनयः वर्तना नास्यवास्ताकारकवाचस्य य संहितावेदी भवति □

109. The closest proximity of letters, there being the intervention of half a मात्रा or prosodical length between them, is called contact or sanhita.

When words are in sanhita, they are glued together by the rules of sandhi. As द्रव्य = द्वि + अभः.
110. The cessation or the absence of succeeding letters is called pause or avasâna.

The word avasâna occurs in sûtra VIII, 3, 15 &c.
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