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THE

"ASHTÁDHYÁYÍ, OF PÁNINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

SRÍSA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,

Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P.

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Allahabad:

INDIAN PRESS.

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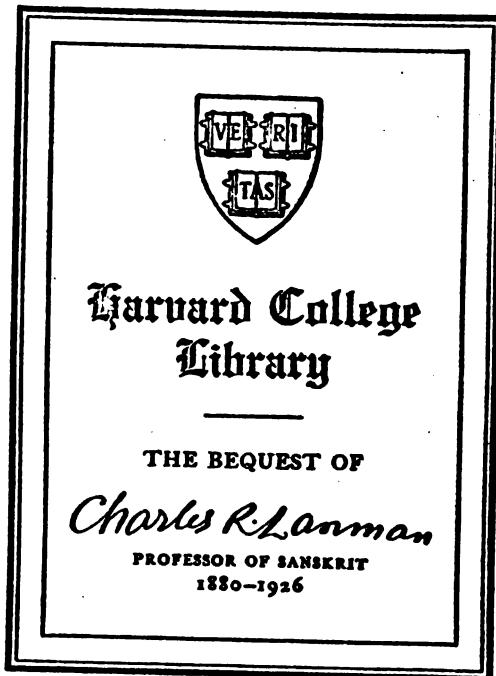
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PREFACE.

Since the advent of the British rule and the peace and prosperity that has followed in its train, India has witnessed a glorious revival of her ancient literature, in which is embodied some of the highest philosophies and religions of the world. Among the various blessings which our benign Government has conferred upon us, none can be greater in value or usefulness than this revival of Sanskrit. Our schools and colleges are annually turning out hundreds, nay thousands of scholars, who have entered upon the study of Sanskrit literature, and have thus learnt to appreciate the beauties of this language. Very few of them, however, have the opportunity of studying the language, with that depth and fulness, as 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 is locked up the highest aspirations of the ancient Aryan hearts *vis.*, the Vedas, the Brâhmaṇas, the Upanishads &c. it is absolutely necessary to have a complete knowledge of the Grammar elaborated by Pânini. The Grammar is reckoned as one of the Vedâṅgas, or the helps to the study of the Vedas; and it is unquestionably one of the most important of the Vedâṅgas. The four thousand sûtras of Pânini contain within themselves almost all that a student need know to enable him to understand the language of the Vedas.

Not only is this excellent treatise of Pânini necessary for those who are desirous of learning the ancient Sanskrit literature, but a knowledge of this is even necessary for understanding the modern Sanskrit, which is modelled on the rules laid down by that great Grammian, whose aphorisms are being constantly quoted in all Vedic commentaries, and classical authors and law books.

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

The style of these sûtras is studiously brief, but then this brevity is its greatest recommendation. That, which appears to many obscurity and ambiguity in the sûtras, vanishes before the clear and exhaustive explanations of

the commentators ; and shows the extreme skill and wonderful ingenuity of the author of these aphorisms. These sūtras, therefore, which though at first sight may appear difficult and repulsive, if once mastered, will enable a student to know and remember more of the Sanskrit Grammar, than he can ever learn through other methods, with twice that labour. Unfortunately, however, for our college and school students, and also for that vast majority of our English reading countrymen, whose number is daily on the increase, and who depend for their knowledge of what is contained in Sanskrit books, on English translation of Sanskrit authors, no translation of this important work exists in English. To supply this want, I have undertaken to translate Pāṇini's aphorisms, as explained by the Commentators Jayāditya and Vāmana in their well-known book, called Kāśikā vṛitti and issue one chapter every month. Though, it is not a close translation of the whole of Kāśikā, it may be regarded as a free rendering of the most important portions of that book. I have closely followed on the foot-steps of those authors, translating their commentary, explaining it where necessary ; and in short, making my work a help to the student, desirous of studying the Kāśikā in the original.

The translation of Sanskrit texts, especially those like Kāśikā, is always beset with great difficulties, even for the masters of Sanskrit learning. For a beginner, like the present translator, those difficulties were many and great, and I am fully conscious that here and there, I may have failed to grasp the full drift of the arguments of the authors of Kāśikā. But on the whole, I have spared no pains to render this work as free from errors as lay in my humble power. I shall feel much obliged to those gentlemen, who will be good enough to point out any errors, or suggest any improvements, so that I may be benefited by their advice.

I must here acknowledge the great assistance I have derived from the well-known translation of Laghu Kaumudi by Dr. Ballantyne ; Mr. Iengar's Guide to Pāṇini ; Professor Apte's Sanskrit Composition as well as from Dr. Kielhorn's Paribhāshenduśekhara. I have freely quoted from these authors and absorbed their rendering into my own, without distinguishing them by marks of quotation.

When I first undertook the translation of Pāṇini, I had thought that the work when completed, will not occupy more than 1200 pages. But from the present sample it will be seen, that that estimate was far below the mark. The complete translation, together with the Introduction, Glossary and the Indices, which I intend to add, will take up nearly double as much space i.e., nearly 2000 pages or more. I have, however, kept the price of the book the same, namely, Rs. 14 (payable by two instalments), for subscribers, who have already got their names registered, or who will do so within the 31st January 1892, and Rs. 20 for non-subscribers.

THE
ASHTADHYAYI OF PANINI.

ओ॒ऽन् परमात्मने नमः ॥

Salutation to the Supreme Spirit.

अथ शद्वानुशासनम् ॥

Now an explanation of words.

The term अथ "now" in the sūtra indicates a commencement, and points out that a dissertation is to be offered on the science of words, viz. Grammar and Philology. The term आनुशासन means explanation of any system. This is an आधिकार sūtra, and introduces the subject.

An aphorism or sūtra is of six kinds, संज्ञा or 'a definition,' परिभाषा or the 'key to interpretation,' विधि or 'the statement of a general rule,' नियम or 'a restrictive rule,' आधिकार or 'a head or governing rule, which exerts a directing or governing influence over other rules,' and आतिशेष or 'extended application by analogy.'

The Pratyāhāra Sūtras.

अद्वरण् । क्रहूङ् । एओङ् । ऐओच् । हय्यवर्द् । लण् । जम्हणनम् ।
क्ल॑म्ज् । घ॒धप्य । जङ्गड्ड॒म् । खफ्छठ॒थच्छट्टत्व् । कप्प॒य् । श॒ष्वस्त् । ह॒ल् ॥

The above fourteen aphorisms contain the arrangement of Sanskrit alphabets for grammatical purposes. The anusvāra and the visarga, the jihvā-muliya and the upadh māniya are not contained in the above list. The final अ in the consonants ह, च &c., is merely for the sake of articulation. The final pure consonants in the several aphorisms as प्, व्, ङ् &c., are non-efficient or इत्. The प्रत्याहार is a grammatical symbol or abbreviation and is 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 अच् means all the vowels, ह॒ल् means all the consonants, ज॒श् means all soft unaspirate consonants, च॒र् means all hard unaspirate consonants. Though numerous pratyāhāras could be formed, practically however, there are only 42 pratyāhāras ; as given below :—

ए॒ह् । य॒च् । अ॒प् । छ॒र् । अ॒ह् ॥ श॒ष् । भ॒ष् ॥ अ॒क् । इ॒क् । उ॒क् ॥ अ॒प् । ह॒प् ॥ अ॒म् । य॒म् । ड॒म् ॥ अ॒च् । ह॒च् । ए॒च् ॥ ऐ॒च् । य॒च् । म॒य् । फ॒य् । ख॒य् ॥ य॒ह् । श॒ह् । स॒ह् । च॒ह् । र॒ह् ॥ अ॒श् । ह॒श् । व॒श् । श॒श् । ज॒श् । ब॒श् ॥ अ॒ल् । ह॒ल् । व॒न् । र॒न् । श॒न् । ल॒ल् ॥

The same letter प् is made use of as आनुबन्ध or an indicatory letter both in the sixth sūtra लप् and in the first अ इरप्. There arises consequently

the doubt, whether the pratyâhâras अ॒ष् and इ॒ष् when they are employed in Pânini's Grammar are formed with the ष् of the former or with the ष् of the latter sûtra, and one might, on that account, consider it impossible to ascertain what Pânini intended to denote by अ॒ष् and इ॒ष् when he employed these terms. To remove this doubt there is the following paribhâshâ :—

"The precise meaning of an ambiguous term is ascertained from interpretation, for a rule, even though it contain an ambiguous term, must never-the less teach something definite."

Accordingly we learn from interpretation that the term अ॒ष् except in Sutra I. i. 69, is formed by means of the ष् of the first sûtra and that the term इ॒ष् is formed by means of the ष् of the subsequent sûtra.

—:o:—

ओ॒ऽम्

पालिजीयव्याकरणसूत्रवृत्तिः॥

BOOK I.
CHAPTER FIRST.

यृद्विरादैच् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिः, आत्-ऐच् ॥

इति: ॥ वृद्विशब्दः संज्ञात्वेन विधीयते प्रत्येकमादैचां वर्णानां सामान्येन तद्विवितानामतदा-
वितानांच ॥

1. आ, ऐ and ओ are called vriddhi.

This defines the word vriddhi. The letters आ, ऐ and ओ are vriddhi letters. The sūtra consists of three words vriddhi, ात् and ाच. आत् means the long आ, the final त् being indicatory only, and is for the sake of the pratyāhāra ाच, and the pratyāhāra ऐच् means the letters ऐ and ओ.

The indicatory त् in आत् serves the purpose of showing that the very form आ having two mātrās or prosodial measure, is to be taken. This त् also joins with the succeeding vowels ऐ and ओ by the rule of तप्त (I. 1. 70) or that "which precedes or succeeds त्," and indicates that these vowels must be taken as having two mātrās only, though they may be the result of the combination of vowels whose aggregate mātrās may be more than two. A short vowel has one mātrā, a long vowel has two, and a consonant has half a mātrā. Thus by a rule of सन्धि or euphonic conjunction of letters आ+आ=आ, as महा+आशकः=महाशकः. Here आ has two mātrās and not four. So also in खड्डकः the vowel ऐ the resultant of आ+ऐ has only two, not four, mātrās.

Thus the initial vowels in the following secondary derivative nouns are vriddhi forms of their primitive vowels. आज्ञः: "bodily", from आज्ञः; 'body' ऐच्छिकः: "optional", from इच्छा "option"; औपगुः: "the son of Upagu", from the word उपगुः meaning "a sage called Upagu." Similarly in शानीयः: "belonging to the house" the आ is radical, and is also called vriddhi. The word vriddhi occurs in sūtras like सिद्धिवृद्धपरस्मैप्तेषु (VII. 2. 1.) "Let the final िक् of the base get vriddhi substitute before the affix सिच् of the Parasmaipada".

अदेह गुणः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्-एह्, गुणः ॥

इति: ॥ गुणशब्दः संज्ञात्वेन विधीयते प्रत्येकमरेहां वर्णानां सामान्येन तद्विवितानामतदा-
वितानाम्य ॥

2. अ, ए and ओ are called guna.

Each one of the letters अ, ए and ओ whether radical or secondary is called a guna letter; as the initial vowels in the following:- अति, "he

moves"; एति "he comes", चोक्ति "he goes." Here the initial vowels of the roots न्त्, इ, and उर्म् have been respectively gunated into अ॒, ए॑, and ओ॑ before the third[person]singular termination ति.

The term Guna occurs in sūtras like मिदेगुणः (VII. 3. 82). "Let there be guna substitute for the ik of the root मिद् "to melt."

इको गुणवृद्धी ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि। इकः । गुण-वृद्धी, (वृद्धिः, गुणः) ॥

इति: ॥ वृद्धिगुणो स्वसंज्ञया (इदधा गुणेन वा) शिष्यमाणाविक एव स्थाने वेदितव्यो ॥

1.1.49

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 li long and short,) of that expression.

This is a paribhāshā sūtra, and is useful in determining the original letters, in the place of which the substitute guna 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 sārvadhātuka or an ārdhadhātuka affix follows there is guna 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 "ikah" must be read into the sūtra. The rule then being, "when a S. or an A. affix follows there is guna of the ik vowels of the base." The guna of इ or ई is ए॑; of उ or ऊ, is ओ॑, of न्त् or उर्म् is अ॒; of ल् is अ॒; and their Vriddhi is ऐ॑, ओ॑, आ॒ and आ॒ respectively. Thus नी + अति = नै॑ + अ॒ति॑ = नवति॑ "he leads."

Therefore, wherever in any rule in this Grammar, guna or vriddhi is ordained by employing the terms guna or vriddhi, there the word "ikah" 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 अङ्गः or 'base':—मिदेगुणः (VII. 3. 82) वृजेवृद्धिः (VII. 2. 114) प्रगन्तलपूषपथ &c., (VII. 3. 86); नरच्छ्रव्यूताम् (VII. 4. 11) नरदृशोऽडिगुणः (VII. 4. 16) स्थलदूरव्युव &c., (VI. 4. 156).

In the following sūtras, the term 'ik' is understood and qualifies the word अङ्ग or base, जुसि च (VII. 3. 83), सार्वपातुकार्पथातुकयोः (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 आ॒, ए॒॑ or the diphthongs and इ॒॑ or the consonants, are not to take guna or vriddhi by this

rule, as in the following examples यानम् “a carriage”, ग्लायति “he feels aversion,” उभिता “confined.”

Here ग्लायति is formed by adding the affix तिए, third person singular termination, with the class a affix शृण्, to the root ग्लै; as ग्लै + शृण् + तिए = ग्लै + श्च + ति. At this stage, rule VII. 3. 84, would require the guna substitution of the vowel of the base before the sārvadhātuka termination श्च; the guna substitute of ऐ being ए, there would be ग्लै + श्चाति = ग्लयति. But this is wrong, the letter श्च, being not included in the pratyāhāra ik, is not affected by rule VII. 3. 84, and there is no guna substitution in this case. Similarly there is no change in the long आ of यानम्. Thus या + स्थुद् (III. 3. 115) = यानम् (VII. 1. 1). Here had there been guna by Rule VII. 3. 84, the आ of या, would have been changed into अ, and the form would have been यनम् which is wrong. But it is not so, as आ is not an इक् vowel. So also उम् + इता = उभिता. Here, there is no guna substitution in the place of the consonant श्.

The repetition of the words guna and vriddhi in this sūtra, (though by अनुवृत्ति or the supplying of a word from the previous sūtra, these words followed from the two preceding sutras) is for the purpose of indicating that, this is a restrictive rule applicable only there, where guna or vriddhi has been ordained by the employment of the words guna or vriddhi. Therefore, it is not so in the following cases :—
 औः “sky”, पन्था: “way” सः “he,” इम् “this.” औः is the nominative singular of the base विश्.
 It is formed by rule VII. 1. 84, which declares that “in the nominative singular the letter औ takes the place of विश्.” Here the letter औ is no doubt a vriddhi letter, but as this substitution is not enjoined by the enunciation of the term vriddhi, औ does not take the place of the vowel इ of विश्, but it replaces the final श्. Thus इ + औ + श् = औः.

Similarly rule VII. 1. 85, declares that of the word पथिन्, आ॒ is the substitute. The आ॒ is a vriddhi letter no doubt, but not being enunciated by the term vriddhi, it takes the place of न॒ of पथिन् and not of इ॒. Thus we have पन्था:, the न॒ being added by VII. 1. 87.

Similarly सः from तह्, which is formed by VII. 2. 102 “short श्च is the substitute of त्याद्, &c.,” Here श्च takes the place of त्. Thus we have त, which is changed again into स by VII. 2. 106.

न धातुलेप आर्द्धधातुके ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न , धातु-लेपे ,
आर्द्धधातुके, (गुणवृद्धी) ॥

इति: ॥ धात्येकरेत्यो धातुस्तस्य जोपो यस्मिन्नार्द्धधातुके तदर्द्धधातुकं धातुलोपं तत्र वे गुणवृद्धी प्राप्नुतस्ते न भवतः ।'

4. The Guna and vriddhi 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 iks 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 श (called शित्), and the conjugational affixes, such as तिष्ठै, रः &c., (called तिष्ठ) 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 be so, before those affixes which cause the ज्ञोप 'lopping off or ellipses' of a portion or a member of the original dhātu. Thus the termination स्यामि is a first person singular termination of the future tense (ज्ञूट) and is an ārdhadhātuka termination; when this is added to root ज्ञि 'to excel' the इ of ज्ञि becomes gunated and we have जेष्यामि "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 लोन्युषः "a great cutter," the original root is न्यु "to cut" which forms the Intensive verb लोन्युष. In forming the noun of agency from the verb लोन्युष, an ārdhadhātuka suffix अच् III. 1. 134, is added. Thus लोन्युष + अच्. At this stage, by force of sūtra II. 4. 74. which declares that "before the affix अच् (III. 1. 134) the य of the Intensive verb must be suppressed," the ya is dropped and we have लोन्यु+अच्. Here by the general rule VII. 3. 84, the final उ would have been gunated. But by virtue of the present sūtra, no guṇa takes place, because here on account of the ārdhadhātuka affix अच्, a portion of the root, namely, यु, has been elided; therefore no guṇa takes place. Thus we have लोन्युषः "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 न्यूष्+इता=ज्ञो+इता=जविता. Here the indicatory letter श has been elided, but that does not prevent gunation. Similarly in रेष् the affix विष् is added to the root रिष् "to injure." Thus रिष्+विष् (III. 2. 75.) = रिष्+० (I. 3. 2. and 3.) = रिष्+० (VI. 1. 67.) Here the affix त् is elided, but nevertheless, the guṇa substitute must take place in रिष्. Thus we have रिष्+० = रेष् (VII. 3. 86 and I. 1. 62) = रेष् (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 guṇa or vṛiddhi as in रोरक्षिति, (Rig Veda IV. 58.3) "he roars much." रु + रक्ष = रोरक्ष (III. 1. 22). रोरक्ष+तिष्ठै-रोरु+ति (II. 4. 74.). Here the sārvadhātuka

affix तिष् causes the elision of अ, a portion of the root. The guna substitution however takes place, and we have रोरो+ई+ति (VII. 3. 94) = रोरवीति, the augment ई being added by sūtra VII. 3. 94.

The word "ikah" of the previous sūtra is understood in this sūtra also. The ik letters only are not gunated or vriddhied before such ārdhadhātuka affixes; the other vowels may do so. Thus in अभाजि the equation is as follows:—अ + भज् + चिष् = अ + भज् + इ (VI. 4. 33). Here the ārdhadhātuka affix चिष् has caused a portion of the root भज्, to be suppressed, viz., the letter अ has been elided. But nevertheless the अ of भज् is vriddhied before चिष् because अ is not included in the pratyāhāra ik; and the exception contained in the present sūtra only applies to the ik letters. So also रज्+षम् (III. 3. 18) = रज्+अ (VI. 4. 27.) = रागः (VII. 2. 116. and VII. 3. 52).

दृष्टितिष ॥५॥ पदानि ॥ गित-कित-छित-अ । (गुणवृद्धी, न) ॥
हृतिः ॥ द्विलिमिते ये गुणवृद्धी प्रानुतस्ते न भवतः ॥

5. And that, which otherwise would have caused guna or vriddhi, does not do so, when it has an indicatory क् ग् or र्.

Thus the past participle terminations क् and करु are ārdhadhātuka affixes, which would, by the general rule VII. 3. 84, have caused guna, but as their indicatory letter क is इत्, the real terminations being, ग् and तवत्, they do not cause guna. Therefore, when these terminations are added to a root, the ik of the root is not gunated. Thus with the root चिं "to collect" we have चितः or चितवान्, शू, "to hear," भूतः, भूतवान्; भी; "to fear" भीतः, भीतवान्.

Similarly the terminations क्षय् केलिम, क्षु कानच्, दसा, न्नित्, &c., are all कित् terminations 'the indicatory letters of all being क्,' the real affixes being अ, एलिम्, वस् &c. &c. &c. Before these, the root is not gunated. Thus we have from श् "to bear" शृश्, from शिर् "to pierce" शिलिम.

The terms कित् &c., of this sūtra are in the locative or seventh case. The force of this case termination here is that of निमित्त or cause, that is the guna or vriddhi which would otherwise have been caused, does not take place, if an affix is कित्, गित्, हित्. Thus all ārdhadhātuka and sārvadhātuka affixes cause gunation of the final ik of the inflective base (VII. 3. 84.) Thus the Sārvadhātuka affix शप् (अ) in the following:—

शू + शप् + तिष् = शो+अ + ति = भवति "he is." Similarly sārvadhātuka and ārdhadhātuka affixes cause the guna substitution of the short penultimate ik of the inflective base (VII. 3. 85.) Thus शुश् + शप् + तिष् = शोधति.

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 n, 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 निः + क्त = चितः “collected” it would not apply to निः + क्त; there would be nothing to bar the guna substitution of the penultimate इ of निः. This however is prevented by explaining the locative as one of “occasion” and thus निः + क्त = भिनः “broken.”

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

Similarly the affix, अङ्, is a डित् affix, the real suffix being अ, the ह being merely indicatory. Therefore when अङ् is added to a root, there is no gunation or vriddhing. Thus we have from विद् “to know”. विदः

Similarly by I. 2. 4, all sārvadhātuka affixes that are not marked by an indicatory श्, are treated as डित्. Thus the second person singular termination तस् is डित्, and we have चिनुतः : “they two collect,” similarly चिन्वन्ति, “they collect,” मृज् + क्त = मृष्टः : “cleansed,” मृजन्ति “they cleanse.”

The phrase “when indicated by the term ik” is understood in this sūtra. The prohibition, therefore, applies to ik vowels only, and not to all vowels in general. Thus by III. 1. 30, the root कर् “to desire” takes the affix निः; of this affix the letters श् and ङ् are indicatory, the real affix is श्. The force of श् is to cause vriddhi (VII. 2. 116). The indicatory ङ् does not prevent such vriddhi, as the letter अ of कर् is not included in ik. Thus we have कामे+अते=कामे+अते=कामयते “he desires.”

According to the wish of the author of the Mahābhāshya, the verb मृज् optionally takes vriddhi, before kit or nit affixes beginning with a vowel. As परिमृजन्ति or परिमार्जन्ति “they rub.” Here in this sūtra there is prohibition of the guṇa of the short penultimate ik also.

The indicatory ङ् of the verbal tense affixes i.e., लङ्, निः, तुङ्, नुङ्, is an exception to this rule of डित्. This is an inference deduced from III. 4. 104 which declares “when the sense is that of benediction, then the augment यासुद् of निः is as if it were distinguished by an indicatory क.” There would have been no necessity of making यासुद् a कित्, if निः were a डित्, but the very fact of making यासुद् a कित् indicates by implication or is ज्ञापक that the final ङ् of निः, लङ् &c. does not make these tense affixes डित्. Thus in लङ् or Imperfect tense we have अचिनवम् “he collected” (अचिन् + लङ् = अचिनु + अम् = अचिनो + अम् = अचिनवम्.)

दीधी वेष्टात् ॥६॥ पदानि ॥ दीधी-वेष्टी-इटात्, (गुणवद्वी न) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सीधीवेष्ट्योर्दिश्ये गुणवद्वी प्राप्तुतस्तेन भवतः ॥ ६ ॥

6. The *guna* and *vrid्धि* substitutions, which would otherwise have presented themselves, do not however come, in the place of the vowels of *didhi* 'to shine,' and *vevi* 'to go,' and of the augment called इ॒.

The roots शीरी and देरी never take the *guna* or *vṛiddhi* substitutions under ordinary circumstances. Thus the affix पुल् generally causes *vṛiddhi* substitution when added to any root; and so the affix स्युद् causes *guna*. But these affixes when applied to the verbs *didhi* and *vevi*, never cause *vṛiddhi* or *guna* substitution. As आशीर्धी + पुल् = आशीर्धी + अक (VII. 1. 1) = आशीर्धकः (VI. 1. 77). So also आशीर्धी + स्युद् = आशीर्धी + अन (VII. 1. 1) = आशीर्धनम्. Similarly from देरी we have आवेद्यनम् and आवेद्यकः. In the Vedas, however, these verbs take *guna*. Thus अर्तीधेत् (Rig Ved. X. 98. 7), and अर्तीधतुः (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 एऽ् the real affix is इ. In the general tenses, it is added to certain terminations beginning with consonants of the श्वर् class, i.e., all consonants except य (VII. 2. 35). Thus the future termination, first person, singular is स्यानि; this when added to the root चर् “to move” requires an intermediate इ, and thus we have the form चरिष्यानि, ‘I shall walk.’ This इ is never gunated or vriddhied, though according to the general rule, coming before an Ārdhadhātuka termination, it ought to have been gunated.

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

हलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः ॥१॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, अनन्तराः, संयोगः ॥
 halō'nantaraḥ samyogaḥ
 इति ॥ भिन्नजातीयैरभिरव्यवहिताः दिनष्टोषार्थिवा हनः संयोग संज्ञा भवन्ति समुशाः

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

This defines the word sanyoga. The sūtra consists of three words, सन्योगः, the plural of the pratyāhāra इति, denoting all the consonants, अनन्तरः means "without any separation or space" and संयोगः which is the word defined, and means "conjunction consonants." So that the sūtra means, conjunction consonants are those consonants between which there is no heterogeneous separating vowel and which are pronounced jointly, such as क्ष in the word कुक्षुः, "cock." The word "sanyoga" applies to the whole of the conjunction 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 तितरच्छवं "a sieve umbrella," the two vowels अ and उ have come together unseparated by any consonant; yet they are not called sanyoga, otherwise the final उ 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 पञ्चति पनसम्, the syllable सम् would be called sanyoga, and by VIII. 2. 29, the initial स would be elided.

मुखनासिकावचनोऽनुनासिकः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुख-नासिका-
वचनः, अनुनासिकः ॥

मुखसाहिता नासिका मुखनासिका, तथा य उच्चार्यते वर्णः सोऽनुनासिकसंज्ञो भवति ।

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

This defines the word *anunasika*. The sūtra consists of four words मुख "mouth" नासिका "nose" वचनः "utterance or pronunciation" and अनुनासिकः "nasals." Though the words मुख + नासिका (II. 4. 2) will by the rule of composition form मुखनासिकं and not मुखनासिका, yet the latter form might be held to be an irregularity; or the phrase मुखनासिकावचनं may be regarded as a compound of मुखनासिक + आवचनं, the word आवचना meaning "partial utterance." That is a letter partially uttered by the nose and partially by the mouth would be called *anunasika*. 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 *anusvāra*, while *anunasikas* 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 (*anunasika*). Thus अं, ओं. In the Vedas, the particle अहं is *anunasika*. As अभ अँ अपः (Rig Veda. V. 48. 1); so also पर्म गृने गंगीर अँ उम्पेष्टे (Rig Ved. VIII. 67. 11).

The consonants ङ, घ, ण, न and म are also *anunasika*. Thus ङ is pronounced by the throat along with the nose, घ by the palate and nose, ण by the upper palate and nose; न by the teeth and nose, and म by the lip and nose.

The semi-vowels य, न and ऊ are also nasalised and are then called *anunasika*. The term *anunasika* is used in sūtra V. 1. 126 &c.

Why have we used the word "by the mouth"? This definition will not include *anusvāra* 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, ख, ट, त, प &c. &c., which are pronounced wholly and solely through the mouth.

तुल्यास्यप्रयतं सवर्णम् ॥१॥ पदानि ॥ तुल्य-आस्य-प्रयत्नम्, सवर्णम् ॥
शृन्तः ॥ तुल्य आस्य प्रयत्नो वस्य वर्णस्य येन वर्णेन सह स समानजातीयं प्रति सवर्णसंहो
भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ *क्षकारलकारवोः सवर्णसंज्ञा वन्नव्या * ।

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

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

The आस्य or places or portions of the mouth by contact with which various sounds are formed are chiefly the following:—1. कण्ठ “throat” 2. तांलु ‘palate,’ 3. मुर्द्धा, (head,) 4. इन्ताः ‘teeth,’ 5. घोष्टो ‘lips,’ 6. नासिका ‘nose.’

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

1. स्पृष्टम् or complete contact of the organs. The twenty-five letters from क to म 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. ईप्तस्पृष्टम् or slight contact. The letters ख, र, ज, 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. विश्रृतं or complete opening. The vowels belong to this class.

4. ईप्तू विश्रृतं or slight opening. The letters श, ष, स, ह belong to this class. Some however place the vowels and ष &c., into one group and call them all vivṛita.

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

The अbhyantra prayatna is the mode of articulation preparatory to the utterance of the sound, the बाह्या-prayatna is the mode of articulation at the close of the utterance of the sound.

The division of letters according to अbhyantra prayatna has been already given. By that we get, 1. the sparsa or mute letters, 2. the antastha or intermediate between sparsas and ushmans, or semi-vowel.

liquid letters, 3. the svaras or vowels or vivṛita letters, 4. the ushmans or sibilants or flatus letters.

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

The second division of letters according to bāhya prayatna is into;

1. Aspirated (mahāprāṇa).
2. Unaspirated (alapaprāṇa).

The vowel अ has eighteen forms. The *acute* अ (udātta), *grave* अ (anudātta) and *circumflexed* अ (svarita). Each one of these three may be nasalised (anunāsika), or not (niranunāsika).

Then lastly everyone of these six may be short, long, or prolated. Thus:—अ, अ, अं, अ॒, अ॑, अ॒, आ, आ, आ॒, आ॑, आ॒, आ॑, आ॒, आ॑, आ॒, आ॑, आ॒, आ॑.

Similarly the letters इ, उ and ऋ have also eighteen forms. The letter औ 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 ए 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 आस्त्व must be the same. Secondly their प्रयत्न or quality must be equal. If one condition be present and the other be absent, there can be no savarṇa-hood. Thus च and श are both palatals, their आस्त्व or place of pronunciation being तालु 'palate,' but still they are not savarṇa, because their प्रयत्न is different, the प्रयत्न of च being sprishṭa and that of श being vivṛita.

Similarly क and ऽ though their प्रयत्न is the same i.e., sprishṭa, yet their आस्त्व being different, one being guttural and the other palatal, are not savarṇa.

There is exception to this rule in the case of ऋ and औ, which though having different आस्त्व are still called savarṇa by virtue of the vārttika of Kātyāyana; "the homogeneousness of ऋ and औ, one with another, should be stated." Thus होद + लकारः = होदूकारः ; here ऋ and औ have coalesced into long ऋ by rules of sandhi, on the assumption that they are savarṇa letters.

The word savarṇa occurs in sūtras like अकः सवर्णे शीर्षः (VI. 1. 101).

Why do we say "the place of pronunciation"? So that there may not be homogeneous relationship between कच्छत् and ष � whose prayatna is the same but whose आस्त्व is different. What is the harm if we make them savarṇa? Then in words like सर्वं and समृद्धं, the ष would be elided, if it be held homogeneous with ष, by VIII. 4. 65, "there is optional elision of ष, preceded by a consonant, when a homogeneous ष follows."

Why do we say "effort"? That there may be no homogeneity between इ and the palatals, and य and श, whose organ of pronunciation is the same, but whose prayatna is different. What harm if it be so? Then in अरुष्ट्वा-ति, the श would be elided before व्य by the rule already referred to, VIII. 4. 65.

नाज् फ्लौ ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ न , अच् हलौ, (सवर्णम्) ॥
इति: ॥ तुल्यास्य प्रयत्नापि अशूस्त्वा परस्तं सवर्णसंज्ञो न भवतः ॥

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

This sūtra lays down an exception to the former sūtra. There can be no homogeneity or savarṇa relationship between vowels and consonants, though their आस्य and प्रयत्न may be the same. Thus इ and श have the same आस्य namely तालु 'palate,' and the same प्रयत्न : namely vivṛta, but still they are not to be called savarṇa. Thus in इण्डहस्त, इधिशतिनं &c., the letters व्य and श in the first example, and इ and श in the second not being homogeneous letters; there is no combination or sandhi, which would otherwise have taken place.

Similarly if श and इ be held homogeneous, then विपाश + अप् (IV. 3. 53) = विपाश + अप् (VI. 4. 148); here श would be elided by VI. 4. 148, but it is not so and we have वैपाशः "belonging to vipāśā or born therein." So also in आनुद्वं "ox-skin," the इ would have been omitted, if held homogeneous with श.

ईदूरेइद्विष्वनम् प्रगृह्म् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईद्-ऊद्-एद्
द्विष्वनम् , प्रगृह्म् ॥

इति: ॥ ईत् ऊत् एत् इत्येवमन्तं द्विष्वनं शब्दरूपं प्रगृह्म संतां भवति ॥

11. A dual case affix ending in ई or ऊ or ए 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 sūtra gives three of these terminations, viz., the duals of nouns or verbs ending in ई (ईत्), ऊ (ऊत्), or ए (एत्). Thus:—कवी इमौ "these two poets," so also वायु इति "two winds;" माने इवि "these two garlands." पचेते इति "they two cook" पचेये इति "you two cook." Here according to the general rule of sandhi, the final ई of कवी and the initial ई of इमौ ought to have coalesced into an ई, but it is not so, because कवी is the nominative dual of कवि.

Why do we say ending in *i*, *u* and *e*? Because when the dual ends in any other vowel this rule will not apply. As वृक्षी + अन् - वृक्षावन्, "these two trees" (VI. I. 78). Of course it follows from the definition, that *ई*, *ऊ*, or *ए* 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 (I. s.) + अन् = कुमार्यन्, "the girl is here" (VI. I. 77).

Vart: The prohibition of मनीष &c., should be stated in treating of the pragrihya nature of *ई*, *ऊ* &c. Thus मनी (two gems) + इव = मनीष "like two gems." So also इमतीष "like a couple," जप्तीष "like man and wife," रोसीष "like heaven and earth." Some say that this vārtika is unnecessary. Because the final member of the above words is not इष, but the particle ष only; which has the same meaning as *iva*.

अदसेमात् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदसः, मात्, (इदूदेत् प्रगृह्णम्) ॥
शृणिः ॥ अदसः सम्बन्धी यो मकारस्तस्मात् पर ईरुदेतः प्रगृह्ण संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

12. (The same letters) after the ए of the pronoun अदस् are Pragrihya.

In the pronoun अदस्, the dual termination in *ई*, *ऊ* or *ए* will be pragrihya by force of the last sūtra, but the present sūtra makes this addition, that in the case of अदस्, all terminations ending in *ई*, *ऊ* or *ए* and preceded by म, 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 अमी and अम्. The rule may therefore be put in the following words of Dr. Max Muller:—"The terminations of अमी and अम् nom. plur. masc. and nom. dual of the pronoun अदस् are pragrihya." As अमी अम्भाः : "Those horses," and अम् अम्भाते. There is no example of the word *adas* ending in ए.

Why do we say "of the word *adas*"? The letters *ई*, *ऊ*, *ए* following after the ए of any other word will not be pragrihya. As अमी + अन् = अम्भन् "this sami tree."

Why do we say "after the letter म"? Because in the example अमुके + अन् = अमुकेऽन्, "those here," the ए, preceded not by म but by the क of अकाम् (V. 3. 71) is not pragrihya, which it would have been by the influence of sūtra 11, which includes ए as well as *ई* and *ऊ*, and from which the word dual is not supplied here, else this rule would be useless.

शे ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शे, (प्रगृह्णम्) ॥
शृणिः ॥ शे इत्येतत् प्रगृह्णसंतं भवति ॥

13. The affix शे, (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 शे (VII. I. 39.) Thus अस्मैइन्द्रावृहस्ती.

Of this substitute शे, the initial श is indicatory, the real suffix being ए. This final ए 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, स्वेहति, युज्ञे हति, मे हति &c.

निपात एकाजनाऽङ् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निपातः, एकाच्,
अनाऽङ् । (प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

इति: ॥ एकश्चासावद्य एकाच् निपातो य एकाच् आङ्गर्वंजितः स प्रगृह्यसंज्ञो भवति ॥

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

This sūtra consists of three words:—निपातः “particle,” एकाच् “consisting of one vowel,” अनाऽङ् “with the exception of आङ्.”

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. As इ इंद्र. “Oh, Indra” उ रत्तिष्ठ “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. श in प्राग्नवे वाचमीरव.

आङ् which is not a pragrihya, has four significations:—As a diminutive particle when joined to adjectives and nouns, as आ + उष्णम् = ओष्णम् “little hot, tepid” (2) as a prefix to verbs, it expresses the senses of “near” “nearto,” and with verbs of “motion,” “taking” &c., it shows the reverse of the action, as गम् ‘to go,’ आगम् ‘to come;’ आ + हहि = एहि, (3) as showing the limit inceptive (आभिविधि) “from,” “ever since,” as आजन्मनः “ever since his birth;” (4) as showing the limit exclusive (मर्यादा), “till” “until” as आ + अप्ययनात् = आप्ययनात्, “until the reading begins.” When the particle आ has not any one of the above four senses and is used in expressing regret &c., it is a pragrihya, as आ एवं किनासीत् “Ah! such there once was,” आ एवं मन्यसे “Oh! do you think so.”

The word एकाच् 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. आ, उ, इ &c. But the term एकाच् has a wider significance 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 एकाच् means a “syllable.” In that sense the words श, नि, वि &c., will also be एकाच्, but not so here. Therefore the rule of sandhi will apply

to them, thus प्राग्नवे वाचनीरव. See sūtra VI. 1. 1. where the word एकात् means a monosyllable.

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

ओत् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओत्, (प्रगृह्यम्) ॥
इति: ॥ ओइन्तो यो निपातः स प्रगृह्य संज्ञोभवति ॥

15. The final ओ of a particle is a pragrihya.

This sūtra consists of one word ओत् the final ए is a surplusage. The words "pragrihya" and "nipāta" are to be supplied from the preceding sūtras to complete the sense. The meaning is that those particles which end in ओ though consisting of several letters, are pragrihya. As ओहो ओगे हे "Haloo, go away."

सम्बुद्धौ शाकल्यस्येतावनार्थे ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्बुद्धौ, शाकल्यस्य,
इतौ, अनार्थे, (प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

इति: ॥ सम्बुद्धि निमित्तो य ओकारः स शाकल्यस्यावार्यस्य मतेन प्रगृह्य संज्ञो भवति,
इति शब्दे इतार्थे अवैदिके परतः ॥

16. The final ओ of the vocative singular (II. 3. 49) before the word इति according to Sākalya, in secular or non-vedic literature, is pragrihya.

This sūtra gives the opinion of the Rishi Sākalya, so that it is an optional rule. Thus both forms वायाविति (formed according to the general rule of sandhi) and वायो इति (where ओ is pragrihya) are correct.

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

The mention of the name of any sage, such as that of Sākalya in this sūtra, serves generally one of the two purposes:—(1) either it makes the rule an optional one, vibhāshārtham, 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; pujārtham, as the word Kāsyapa in sūtra I. 2. 25.

उभः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उभः, (प्रगृह्यम् शाकल्यस्येतावनार्थे) ॥
इति: ॥ उभः प्रगृह्य संज्ञा भवति इतौ शाकल्यस्यावार्यस्य मतेन ॥

17. The particle उभः before *iti*, according to Sākalya is a Pragrihya.

This sūtra consists of the single word उभः meaning उ. According to the same Rishi Sākalya, उभः is a pragrihya, before इति, in modern Sanskrit. This is also an optional rule. Thus उ इति or विति.

ॐ ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ॐ, (शाकत्यः, उमः, प्रगृह्णम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उम इतावनार्थे ऊं इत्ययमासेशो भवति शीर्षोऽनुनासिकः शाकत्यस्व मतेन प्रगृह्ण संज्ञकथ ॥

18. The particle ऊं replaces उम in non-vedic literature, and it is a pragrihya in the opinion of Śākalya.

Before the word इति the word उम् is replaced sometimes by ऊं the long nasal ा. Thus ऊं + इति = ऊं इति 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.

ईदूतौ च सप्तम्यर्थे ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईदू-ऊतौ, च, सप्तमी-अर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईरन्तमूरन्तम्च शब्द रूपं सप्तम्यर्थे कर्त्तमानं प्रगृह्णसंज्ञं भवति ॥

19. The final ई and ऊं of words giving the sense of the locative case are pragrihya.

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 सु (1. s.), or are altogether elided, or they are changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior letter, or आ, or आस, or शे, or या, or डा, or उच्चा, or याच्, or आल् 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 द्वि (इ). In forming the 7. s. of तनू "body," we have तनू+इ. The इ will be changed into a homogeneous letter with ऊं and we have तनू+ऊं = तनू "in the body," as, अर्थस्यां मामकीतनू (for मामद्वां तन्वा). This is the Vedic form, the secular form being तन्वा. Similarly गौरी+ई=गौरी "on the Gauri," as सोमो गौरी अधिप्रितः (Rig Veda IX. 12. 3). It is in such cases, therefore, that the long ई and ऊं are used in the sense of locative, and are pragrihya.

It is only long ई and ऊं which are pragrihya, and not any other vowel, though used in the sense of locative. Thus by the same aphorism (VII. 1. 39) द्वि (ई) may be employed to denote the seventh case-affix. Thus अग्निं + द्वि = अग्निं + इ = अग्ना 'in the fire,' as, मियः सूर्ये मियो अग्ना भवति य इंद्राय सुतसोमो द्वाशत् (Rig Veda V. 37. 5). Here अग्ना though in the locative case, its final ई is not pragrihya. Therefore अग्ना + इति = अग्नेति.

The ई and ऊं must be of the 7th case. Therefore मती + इ (3rd s.) = मती + ई (letter homogeneous with the prior) = मती 'with wisdom'. Here ई is in the sense of the instrumental case and is not pragrihya. Thus मती + इति = मतावे.

The word घुर्य 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 वाप्त्वात् “in the well” and घुर्य “horse,” the case-affix is elided, and we get वापी + घुर्य. Here, no doubt, the word वापी is in the locative case, though the case-affix is elided; but we cannot say that the long ई of वापी has the *sense* of the locative. Here, therefore, we shall have sandhi; as, वाप्त्वात्: “the horse near the well.” In other words, the present aphorism is not to apply to the final ई or अ of words standing as the prior member of a compound term (पूर्वा-पद); for words like वापी &c., in the above example, can never, *by themselves* and *alone*, denote the locative case; while words like गौरी, formed in the way described already, give the *sense* of the locative, even alone, though they be placed anywhere in a sentence.

द्राधाच्छवदाप् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ दा, धा, घु, अदाप् ॥

शृतिः ॥ शारूपाभ्यस्तारो धात्वो धारूपो च शौ, शस्त्रैपी वर्जयित्वा शुसंजका भवन्ति ॥

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

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

The घु verbs are the following:—दुशाश् “to give,” as प्रणिष्ठाति; शाप् “to give,” as, प्रणिष्ठाता; हो “to cut,” as, प्रणिष्ठाति; हेह् “to pity” as, प्रणिष्ठयते, दुधाश् “to place” as, प्रणिष्ठाति, धेह् “to feed” as, प्रणिष्ठयति.

In the above examples, because of the verbs being घु, the न of प्रणि is changed into ण by VIII. 4. 17.

Similarly शाए् “to cut” and हेह् “to clean” not being called घु, rules VII. 4. 46 and 47 do not apply to them. Thus शा + न्त् = शात् ‘what is cut,’ as, शात् बहिः. So also अवशारं “washed” as, अवशातं मुखं “a bright face.” But with शा “to give,” &c. शा + न्त् = हेह् + त् (VII. 4. 46) = हेत्: “given;” so also we have प्र+शा + न्त् = प्रशात् (VII. 4. 47). The word घु occurs in sūtra VI. 4. 66, &c. The word दाप includes also daip by the paribhāshā given under III. 4. 19, है changed into घा by VI. 1. 45.

आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-अंत-वत्, एकस्मिन् ॥

शृतिः ॥ स्मारविव अन्वित एकस्मिनपि कार्ये भवति ॥

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

This is an atideśasūtra and consists of four words, आदि “beginning,” अन्त “end,” वत् “like,” एकस्मिन् “in one;” the literal translation being “beginning is end-like in one.” The affix वत् 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 udātta or acute accent on its initial vowel. Thus the affix tavya has accent on the first अ, and we have कृत्तेष्वं्॑य. 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 अ॒पगवम् aupagavam the last अ has the accent, which अ represents the affix अ॒.

Similarly, by VII. 3. 102, the final of a base *ending in* short अ is lengthened before a case-affix beginning with a consonant of वर् class. Thus राम+॒या॒म् = रामा॒या॒म्. This rule will apply when the word consists of one letter only, and that letter is a short अ. Thus अ+॒या॒म् = आ॒या॒म् "by those two." Here it must not be objected that the solitary अ 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 सभा the initial short अ is not like the final long अ; otherwise सभा would get the name of वृद्धम् (I. 1. 73), and the secondary derivative from सभासभवन would be formed by the affix छ् (IV. 2. 114). But this is not so, the affix अ॒र् is employed instead, and the form is सभासभवन :

तरस्मपै अः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तरप्-तमपै, अः ॥
इति: ॥ तरप् तमप् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो अ संज्ञो भवतः ॥

22. The affixes tarap and tamap are called अ.

This sūtra defines अ affixes. They are two, तर and तम, the अ in them being इति. 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 कुमारितरा and कुमारितमा are formed by adding the affixes तर and तम to the word कुमारी 'a girl,' whose long ई is shortened before these affixes by sūtra 43 of the third chapter of the 6th Book.

बहुगणवतुडति संख्या ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहु-गण-वतु-डति ,
संख्या ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुगणवतुडति इत्येते संख्यासंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ *अर्द्धपूर्वपृथ्वे पूर्णप्रत्ययान्तः संख्यासंज्ञो भवतीति वन्नश्चम् , समापकन् शिखर्यम् ॥

23. The words bahu 'many,' gana 'class,' and the words ending in the affix vatu (V. 2. 39), and dati (V. 2. 41) are called numerals (sankhya).

This sūtra defines the word saṅkhyā, or numeral.

These are certain words, besides the ordinary numerals, having some peculiarity of declension. The words like वहु 'many,' and गण्य 'class', and those that have the affixes वत् and अति after them, belong to this class. The letters व and अ of वत् and अति are इति, or indicatory, the actual affixes being वत् and अति.

The word saṅkhyā means "numerals;" and this class contains, among others, the Sanskrit numerals. The words formed by adding वत् are generally compound pronouns, e. g. तावत् "so much," चावत् "as much," एतावत् "so much," similarly words formed by the affix अति, e. g. कति "how many," तति "so many," यति "as many."

Thus वहु + कृत्वसुच् (V. 4. 17) = वहुकृत्वः "many times" the affix कृत्वसुच् being added only to saṅkhyā words in the sense of the repetition of the action. So also वहु + धा (V. 3. 42) = वहुधा "in many ways." Here also the affix धा is added by virtue of वहु being a saṅkhyā. Similarly वहुकः (V. 1. 22) "purchased for a big sum," वहुधः (V. 4. 43) "manifold." So also गण्यकृत्वः, गण्यधा, गण्यकः, गण्यधः; so also तावत्कृत्वः, तावद्वा, तावच्छः; कतिकृत्वः, कतिधा, कतिकः, कतिधः.

When the words वहु and गण्य 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, भूरि "numerous," &c., which though they express numbers, are not to be treated as "numerals," technically so called.

Vart:—The word अर्द्धे "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 कन्. The ordinal affixes or pūrana pratyayas are like उर्द्ध (V. 2. 48), नद् (V. 2. 49), यन् (V. 2. 51), &c. Thus एकावशः "eleventh," पञ्चमः "fifth," चतुर्थः "fourth," &c. Similarly we have अर्द्धपञ्चमशूर्पः "purchased for 4½ baskets" (a dvigu). Here अर्द्धे + पञ्चमा (an ordinal) = अर्द्धपञ्चमम्, a bahuvrihi compound meaning 4½, viz., that in which half is the fifth term. अर्द्धपञ्चमैः शूर्पैः कीतः = अर्द्धपञ्चमशूर्पः: the taddhita affixes उर्द्ध and अर्द्ध required by V. 1. 19 and 26 being elided by V. 1. 28.

Here, there is compounding (dvigu) by taking अर्द्धपञ्चमम् 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 अर्द्धपञ्चमम् gets the appellation of saṅkhyā. Having got this name, it forms dvigu compound in the sense of the taddhita affixes उर्द्ध and अर्द्ध (V. 1. 26). The word शूर्प takes both these affixes in the sense of "being

bought with." Thus शौर्पिकम् and शौर्पिन् both mean "bought with a measure called śūrpa." In the above compound of अर्द्धपंचमशूर्पः the sense is that of the above-named taddhita; but the affixes have been elided by V. i. 28 after dvigu compounds. So also we have अर्द्धपंचमकः by applying the affix कन्. For these two purposes, namely samāsa and the application of कन्, compounds of ardha, like ardha-pañchama are treated as saṅkhyā.

ष्णान्ता षट् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ष-ण्-अन्ता, षट्, (संख्या) ॥
इति: ॥ एकारान्ता नकारान्ता च या संख्या सा पदसंज्ञा भवति ॥

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

This sūtra defines the term षट् which is a subdivision of the larger group saṅkhyā. Those saṅkhyās which end in ष or न् are called षट्. The word saṅkhyā is understood in this sūtra, because the word ष्णान्ता is in the feminine gender, showing that it qualifies saṅkhyā which is also feminine.

The numerals that end in ष or न are six, namely पञ्चन् 'five,' षष् 'six,' सप्तन्, 'seven,' अष्टन् 'eight,' नवन् 'nine,' दशन् 'ten.'

It is one of the peculiarities of षट् words that they lose their nominative and accusative plural terminations (VII. i. 22). Thus षट् विद्वन्ति, पञ्च गच्छन्ति ॥

The word अन्त in the sūtra shows that the letters ष and न must be aupadesika i.e., must belong to the words as originally enunciated and not added afterwards as affix &c. Thus in शतानि 'hundreds,' सहस्राणि 'thousands,' अष्टानाम् 'of eights' the न is not radical, but an augment, and therefore they are not षट् and the nominative and accusative plural terminations are not elided; as शतान् + इ = शतानि &c.

इति च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इति, च, (संख्या, षट्) ॥
इति: ॥ उत्थन्ता या संख्या सा पदसंज्ञा भवति ॥

25. And the sankhyās ending with the affix dati are called shat.

This sūtra enlarges the scope of the definition of षट् by including in it, words formed by इति. By sūtra 22, words in इति are already saṅkhyā; by this they are also षट्. Therefore we have कति पठन्ति, 'how many are reading,' कति पश्य 'see how many.' Here कति has lost its plural termination by VII. i. 22.

क्तक्तवतू निष्ठा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्त-क्तवतू, निष्ठा ॥
इति: ॥ क्तश्च क्तवतुश्च क्तवतवतू प्रस्ययौ निष्ठासंज्ञी भवतः ॥

26. The affixes kta and ktavatu are called Nishṭha.

This defines the nishtha affixes, that is to say, the affixes of the past participle. The actual affixes are त्, सत्, the क् and व् being indicatory. They being कित्रि are liable to all the rules applicable to कित्रि affixes, such as rule I. i. 5. Thus we have, कृतः, कृतवात्, भुक्तः, भुक्तवात्.

The force of the indicatory व् in ktavatu is, by IV. i. 6, to indicate that in forming the feminine of nouns ending in an affix having an indicatory vowel of उक् pratyahāra (उ, चर, ल), the affix डीप् (ई) must be added. Thus कृतवत् (masc.), कृतवती (fem.). The word nishtha occurs in sūtra VII. 2. 14.

सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्व-आदीनि,
सर्वनामानि ॥

इति : ॥ सर्वशब्द आदियेषां तानीमानि सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

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

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

सर्व 'all,' विश्व 'all,' द्वय 'two,' द्वय 'both,' words formed by the affix उतर 'such as कतर 'which of two,' words formed by the affix इतम् as कतम् 'which of many,' अन्य 'other,' अन्यतर 'either,' इतर 'other,' स्वत् 'other,' स्व 'other,' नेम 'half,' सम 'all,' सिम 'whole,' स्यद् 'he, she, it,' तद् 'be, she, it,' यद् 'who,' एतद् 'this,' इतम् 'it,' अस्त् 'that,' एक 'one,' हि 'two,' युष्मद् 'you,' अस्मद् 'I,' भवत् 'you,' किम् 'what.' So also पूर्वे 'east,' प्रीति 'prior,' पर 'subsequent,' अपर 'west or posterior,' दक्षिण 'south or right,' उत्तर 'north or inferior, subsequent,' अपर 'other or inferior,' अधर '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 स्व when it does not mean a 'kinsman or a treasure,' but means 'own.' So also अन्तर when it means 'outer,' or 'an under or lower garment' is a sarvanāma.

There are certain peculiarities in the declension of sarvanāma words. Thus सर्व though ending in य, is not declined like नर which also ends in य, the plural of सर्व being सर्वे, that of नर being नराः. Similarly the dative singular नराय, सर्वस्मै; the abl. sing. नरात्, सर्वस्मात्; the loc. sing. नरे, सर्वस्मिन्; the Gen. pl. नराणाम्, सर्वेषाम् &c.

The compounds (with certain exceptions) ending in these words are also sarvanāmas. The word द्वय 'both' is always used in the dual number as उभौ, उभायाम्. The object of its being inserted in the list of pronominals, (whilst its declension does not differ from that of नर), is its taking the augment अक्ष (V. 3. 71) which it could not have taken, if it were not a pronominal

{ as उभकौ. 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 स्त्र in the above list, namely सर्वत् and स्त्र, having the same meaning, and both ending in अ. But the final अ of one is udātta, and of the other anudātta. Some give one सर्वत् only and not the other, and say that both have anudātta accent. The word सुम् is a sarvanāma, when it is synonymous with the word सर्वं '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 अ, as Pāṇini himself indicates in I. 3. 10, where he uses the regular genitive plural समानम्, meaning 'among or of equals.' As a pronominal the genitive plural would have been समेषाम्.

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The above words sarva &c. are not to be treated as pronouns when they are used as appellatives. For example, if सर्वे be the name of a person then it will be declined like ordinary nouns, as सर्वाय देहि '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 sarvanāma, but follow the regular declension, as अविसर्वाय देहि 'give to (him who is) above all.' Here in the compound अविसर्वे 'Above-all' or 'Supreme Being,' the word सर्वे loses its independent character and defines and determines the sense of another word. Fuller explanation of the word उपसर्जना will be given later on in I. 2. 43. This term सर्वनाम is an अन्वर्यांता that is a term the application of which accords with its meaning. ANVYĀNTA.

विभाषा दिक्षसमाप्ते बहुव्रीही ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा,
दिक्ष-समाप्ते, बहुव्रीही, (सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि) ॥

इति: ॥ विशं समाप्तो दिक्षसमाप्तो रिगुपस्ते समाप्ते बहुव्रीही विभाषा सर्वादीनि सर्वनाम संज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

28. The above words are optionally sarvanāma when they occur in a bahuvrīhi compound signifying direction (II. 2. 26.)

This is an exception to sūtra 29 which follows. As a general rule (see sūtra 29), in bahuvrīhi 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 bahuvrīhi compound of direction उत्तरपूर्वा 'north-east' may form its dative case as a pronominal, e.g. उत्तरपूर्वस्य or it may form its dative like ordinary words ending in अ, i.e. उत्तरपूर्वाय. So उत्तिष्ठपूर्वस्वै or उत्तिष्ठपूर्वाय.

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 इक्, 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 एकैकलै सेहि 'give to each one,' सत्तिणासत्तिणास्यै सेहि ॥

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

न बहुब्रीहै ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, बहुब्रीहै, (सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि, समासे) ॥

इति: ॥ वहत्रीहौ समासे सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

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 प्रियविश्व meaning 'beloved of all' is a bahuvrīhi compound of प्रिय 'beloved,' and विश्व 'all,' (which is a sarvanāma). The declension of this compound will follow the general rule. Thus, in the dative singular, we have प्रियविश्वाय, though the dative singular of विश्व by itself is विश्वस्मै, like other pronominals. So also प्रियोभयाय "to him who is beloved of both." So also द्वन्याय, इन्याय &c.

Similarly in bahuvrīhi compounds, these words not being treated as pronominals, they do not take also the special affix अक्ष्, but the general affix कन्. As, वस्त्रपिट्ठको, मस्तकपिट्ठको (V. 3. 70).

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

सूतीयासमासे ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ सूतीया-समासे, (सर्वादीनि
सर्वनामानि, न,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दत्तीशासमासे सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंसानि न भवन्ति ॥

30. In Instrumental Determinative Compounds the words sarva &c. are not sarvanāma.

This is another exception to the definition of sarvanāma. 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 compound is called tritiyā tatpurusha. When, therefore, there is such a samāsa, the words mentioned in sūtra 26 are not to be declined like pronominals. Thus the word मासपूर्व is a compound of मास and पूर्व = मासेनपूर्व 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 मासपूर्वाय, though the dative of पूर्व, when standing by itself, is पूर्वस्मै; so also संवस्तरपूर्वाय ॥

The tritiyā-samāsa of the present sūtra has reference to the special tritiyā-samāsa ordained by the particular sūtra II. 1. 31. namely, "that which ends with the 3rd case affix, is compounded with the words pūrvā, sadṛśā, sama, &c." and has not reference to the tritiyā-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

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krit affix." Therefore, in phrases त्वयका कृतं 'done by thee,' मयका कृतं '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 sūtra with II. I. 31, we find that pūrvā is the only sarvanāma which is so compounded, and to which only the present sūtra would seem to apply.

The word समाप्त may appear to have been mentioned redundantly, as it has already been mentioned in the previous sūtra, the primary object of the sūtra authors being to shorten the rules by the keeping out of every unnecessary word. But here, the word समाप्त has been repeated, to show that even in phrases like मासेन पूर्णाय, though not a compound, but used in construction with an instrumental case, the word पूर्ण is not a sarvanāma, 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 ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वे, च, (सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि, समाप्ते, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रे च समाप्ते सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

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

This sūtra mentions another exception. In collective compounds the above words are not sarvanāma. 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 वर्णाश्रमेतर means, वर्णं 'the castes,' आश्रमं 'the orders' and इतरं 'the others'. The word इतरं in this compound is not to be treated as a sarvanāma, but an ordinary word. Therefore, in the genitive plural we have—वर्णाश्रमेतराणाम् and not इतरेषाम्. So also पूर्णपराणाम् 'of the priors and the posteriors.'

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

विभाषा जसि ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, जसि, (सर्वादीनि, सर्वनाम, द्वन्द्वे समाप्ते, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रे समाप्ते जसि विभाषा सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

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

This is a proviso to sūtra 31, and declares that before the termination जस् (which is the termination of the nominative plural, as we shall find later on, and which in the pronominals is replaced by यस्), the dvandva

compounds may be treated either as sarvanāmas or as ordinary words. Thus the plural of वर्णाभवेतर may be either वर्णाभवेतराः or वर्णे, that is, the word may take either जस् or शृ.

This sūtra governs the four succeeding sūttas. The option allowed in the case of the application of the affix जस् 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, कतरः+ कतमकः = कतरकतमकः in the plural. This affix अक्ष (अक्ष) comes before the last vowel, with what follows it, of the pronominals and indeclinables.

प्रथमचरमतयाल्पार्द्धकतिपयनेमाश्च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथम-
चरम-तय-अहप-अर्द्ध-कतिपय-नेमाः, च (विभाषा जसि, सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथम चरम तय अर्द्ध कतिपय नेम इत्येतेजसि विभाषा सर्वनामसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

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 प्रथमे or प्रथमाः, चरमे or चरमाः, अल्पे or अल्पाः, अर्द्धे or अर्द्धाः, कतिपये or कतिपयाः, नेमे or नेमाः, दितये or दितयाः ॥

The words "optionally when the affix जस् 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 तय. The rest are prātipadikas or crude bases. The word नेम has already been enumerated among the pronominals, therefore, the option in its case, is what is called prāpta-vibhāṣā, the result of which will be that though in the nom. pl. it may be declined like नर, the rest of its declension 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 तय, 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.

पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोऽत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ३४ ॥
पदानि ॥ पूर्व-पर-अवर-दक्षिण-उत्तर-अपर-अधराणि, व्यवस्थायाम्, असंज्ञा-
याम्, (विभाषा, जसि, सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वादीनि विभाषा जसि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि भवन्ति व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् ॥

34. The words *pûrva* '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 *sarvanâma* before the affix *jas*.

These seven words have already been mentioned in the list of *sarvanâmas*. They are always *sarvanâmas*, 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 *sarvanâmas*, nor are they so when they are used as appellatives (संज्ञां). Thus, when the word शक्तिण् means 'clever,' it is not a *sarvanâma*, as, शक्तिण् इमे गाथकाः 'these clever minstrels,' similarly in उत्तराः कुरुक्षः '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 *sarvanâma*, they are declined like *sva*, except in the nominative plural, when they may be declined either as *sarvanâmas*, or as ordinary nouns. The option allowed in the case of these words is a *prâptavibhâsa*.

That there is a 'specification' (*niyama*), or tacit implication, of a determinate point (*avadhi*), 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 (*avasthâ*) is implied." For example, if we wish to describe Benares as being southern (*dakshinâ*), to do this, we may specify some point, say one of the peaks of the *Himâlayâ* 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, (पूर्वे or पूर्वाः, अवरे or अवराः, परे or पराः) शक्तिण्यो र शक्तिणाः; उत्तरे or उत्तराः; अपरे or अपराः; अधरे or अधराः.

**स्वमन्नातिभनात्यायाम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वम्, अन्नाति-धन-
आत्यायाम्, (विभाषा, जसि, सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि) ॥**

ब्रूति: । स्वमित्येतच्छब्दरूपं जसि विभाषा सर्वनामसंज्ञं भवति न चेत् ज्ञाति धनयोः
संज्ञारूपेण वर्तते ॥

35. The word *sva* 'own,' when it does not mean a kinsman or property is optionally *sarvanâma* before the affix *jas*.

The word स्व when it does not mean a ज्ञाति 'kinsman' or धन 'property' or 'wealth' is always a *sarvanâma*, in every number and case, as it has been

enumerated among the pronominals, except in the nominative plural where it is optionally so. Thus स्वे पुत्राः or स्वाः पुत्राः 'one's own sons,' स्वे गावः or स्वा गावः 'one's own cows'.

But when it means 'kinsmen' or 'articles of property' स्वाः alone is the nom. pl. As, स्वा ज्ञातयो 'these kinsmen' प्रभूताः स्वाः 'much riches'.

अन्तरं बहिर्योगपसंव्यानयोः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तरम्-बहिर्योग-उपसंव्यानयोः (विभाषा, जसि, सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तरनिरयेतच्छब्दरूपं विभाषा जसि सर्वनामसंज्ञं भवति बहिर्योग उपसंव्याने गम्यमाने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ *अपुरीति च वक्तव्यम्* ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ *विभाषा प्रकारणे तीयस्य वा हिस्तु सर्वनामसंज्ञेऽयुपसंख्यानम्* ॥

36. The word antara being always a sarvanāma, when meaning "outer" or "a lower garment," is optionally so before the affix jas.

The word अन्तर when it means बहिर्योग, viz., 'outer' is always sarvanāma, so also, when it means उपसंव्यान or 'a lower garment.' Thus, अन्तरे गृहः or अन्तरा गृहाः 'outer houses, the residence of Chandal, and other low castes.' So अन्तरे or अन्तरा शाटकाः 'the inner garments, such as petticoats worn under the upper garments.' The word अन्तर when used in the above sense is always sarvanāma, but in the nominative plural, it is optionally so. But, when it is not used in the above senses, it is never a sarvanāma, e. g., पामयोरंतरे वसति 'he lives between the two villages,' where the regular locative is अन्तरे. With this sūtra ends the section on sarvanāmas, which began with sūtra 26.

Vart:—The word अन्तर when qualifying the word पुरि 'a city,' is not to be treated as a sarvanāma, and is, therefore, declined like ordinary nouns. As, अन्तरायां पुरि वसति 'he lives out of the city.'

Vart:—The words formed by the affix तीय such as, द्वितीय and द्वतीय, are optionally declined as sarvanāma before the case-affixes having an indicatory इ (डित्), which are the singular terminations of dative, ablative, genitive and locative, as, द्वितीयसौ or द्वितीयाच, द्वतीयाच or द्वतीयस्मै.

स्वरादि निपातमव्ययम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वर्-आदि, निपातम्, अव्ययम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरासीनि शब्दरूपाणि निपाताशाब्द्यसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

37. The words syar 'heaven,' &c., and the particles (I. 4. 56) are called indeclinables.

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

स्वर् 'heaven,' अन्तर् 'midst,' प्रातर् 'in the morning,' पुनर् 'again,' सुन्तर् 'in concealment,' उच्चैऽसू 'high, aloft' नीचैऽसू 'low, down,' शनैऽसू 'slowly,' चरैऽसू

'rightly, separately, aside, singly, particularly, truly,' ज्ञाते 'except; without,' बुगपत्रु 'at the same time, at once,' आरात् 'near, far from, directly.' पृथक् 'separately, apart,' इत्यु 'yesterday,' इत्यसु 'to-morrow,' दिवा 'by day,' रात्रौ 'by night or in the night,' सायम् 'at eve,' चिरम् 'long, long since, a long time,' मनाक्रू 'a little,' ईषत् 'slightly, a little,' शश्वत् 'ever,' जोषम् 'gladly,' तुष्णीम् 'silently,' अविम् 'outside,' आविसु 'below, without, outside. समया 'near,' निकषा 'near, hard, close by,' स्वयम् 'of one's self,' इथा 'in vain,' नक्तम् 'at night, by night,' नम् 'negative particle, not,' इतौ 'for this reason, by reason of,' इद्धा 'truly, really' हे ह 'exclamation,' अद्धा 'evidently, truly,' सामि 'half,' वत् वत् 'enclitic like, as Brāhmaṇavat, priestly,' सनन् सनात् 'perpetually,' उपधा 'division,' तिरस् 'crookedly, awry, over,' अन्तरा, अन्तरेण 'except, without' उयोक्, योक् 'long,' कम् 'expletive particle,' शम् 'ease,' सना 'perpetually,' सहसा 'suddenly, hastily,' विना 'without,' नाना 'variously,' स्वस्ति 'greeting, peace,' स्वधा 'exclamation, oblation to Manes,' अन्नम् 'enough,' वषट् 'exclamation,' श्रौषट्, वौषट् (interjection) 'oblation of butter,' अन्यत् 'again, moreover, otherwise.' अस्ति 'being present,' उपाणि 'in a low voice, secretly, privately,' ज्ञाता 'patience, pardon,' विहायसा 'aloft in the air,' दोषा 'at night or in the evening,' शृणा, मिथ्या 'falsely,' मुधा 'in vain,' पुरा 'formerly,' भियो or मिथ्यस् 'mutually, together,' प्रायस् 'frequently, almost,' मुद्दुस् 'again, repeatedly' उवाहकम् or उवाहिका 'at the same time,' आर्यहलम् 'violently' अभीज्ञाणम् 'repeatedly,' साकम् or सार्थकम् 'with' नमस्, 'reverence,' हिरुक् 'without,' धिक् 'fie!' अथ 'thus,' प्रताम् 'with fatigue,' प्रशान् 'alike,' प्रतान् 'widely,' मा, माड़ 'do not.'

So, also the words formed by the affixes *ktvā* tosun, *kasun*, by the *kṛit* affixes ending in म् or ए, ऐ, ओ or औ, and the *avyayibhāva* compounds, are indeclinables. So, also the words formed by the affixes beginning with *तसिन्* (V. 3. 7) and ending with *पाश्* (V. 3. 47), by the affixes beginning with *शस्* (V. 4. 42) and ending with *समासांतः* (V. 4. 68), by the affixes कृत्वसुच्, सुच्, आच् and धाल् by the affixes having the sense of the affix *स्त्रि*, or by the affixes अम् or आम्, तसि or वसि, न or नाम् are also indeclinables.

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

तद्वितश्वासर्वविभक्तिः ॥३८॥ पदानि ॥ तद्वितः, ष्व, असर्वविभक्तिः
(अव्ययम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वितान्तः शब्दोऽसर्वविभक्तिरत्ययसंज्ञो भवति ॥

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 taddhitāḥ, cha and asarva-vibhaktīḥ. Taddhitas or secondary affixes are certain affixes, by which nouns are derived from other nouns, such as, from मन् we have मानवः, 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 यतः 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 ततः: 'thence,' सत्र 'there.' Both these words are formed by taddhita affixes from the pronoun तस्मै 'that,' the one is used in the ablative case only and the other in the locative. So also यतः, सत्र, सत्ता, यसा, सर्वसा, सर्वा &c.

कृत्स्नेजन्तः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्, स-एज्-अन्तः (अध्ययन्)
वृत्तिः ॥ कृद्यो मकारान् एजन्तश्च तदन्तं शब्दरूपमव्ययसंज्ञं भवति ॥

39. The words formed by those krit or primary affixes, (III. 1. 93) which end with त् or in ए, ओ, ऐ and औ 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 म or ए, ओ, ऐ, or औ (connotated by the pratyahara एञ्) are avyayas. Thus the affix तुम् (technically तुम्न्) and अम् (technically अम्न्, III. 3. 10) are affixes which end in म्. The words formed by the addition of these affixes will be indeclinables. Thus सतुम् 'to give,' and स्मारम् 'remembering' are avyayas. So also words like जीवते 'to live,' पितरते 'to drink,' are also avyayas as they end in ए, &c.

Thus, in the following examples, the words within quotation are avyayas 'स्वादुकारं,' 'संपन्नकारं,' 'जशण्णकारं,' भुह्न्ते, 'he eats first having made it relishing' (III. 4. 26). "वसे" रायः (वच् + से III. 4. 9 = वसे); ता 'वामेषे,' रथनामुर्वीम् गव्युतिमेषां (इ + से=एषे. Rig Veda V. 66. 3). अस्ते शतं शरवो 'जीवते' धा अस्ते वीराञ्छृश्वत इद्व शिपिन् (Rig Veda III. 36. 10). आपः पृष्ठीत भेषजं वर्षयं तन्वे नम। इयोक् च सूठर्ये 'इरो,' (Rig Veda I. 25. 21, इर + केन् III. 4. 11 इरो).

The word अन्ति 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 avyayas:—आभवे (d. s.), आधे: (g. s.) चिकीर्षे । चिकीर्षोः । कुम्भकारेभ्यः । नगरकारेभ्यः ॥

क्षातोसुन्कसुनः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षाता, तोसुन्-कसुनः, (अध्ययन्)
वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रा सोष्टुन् कस्तुन् इत्येवमन्तं शब्दरूपमव्ययसंज्ञम्भवति ॥

40. The words ending with ktva, tosun (III. 4. 16) and kasun are indeclinables.

As कृत्वा 'having done' उद्देतोः 'having risen,' विसृष्टः 'having spread.' Thus in the following examples the words within quotation are indeclinables :—पुरासूर्ये 'स्त्रोरेतो' राधेयः। पुरावस्ताना 'मपाकक्तोः'। पुराकूरस्य 'विस्पो' विरचित्वन् शाश्वत पृथग्वीं जीवशन्तुम्॥ (Yajur Veda. I. 28) य च ते विसभिभिः पुरा जर्देष्व 'शाश्वः'। (Rig Ved. VIIIa. 1. 12).

अव्ययीभावश्च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावः-च (अव्ययम्)॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावसमासोऽव्ययसंज्ञो भवति ॥

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

The Avyayibhāva 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 अधिहरि 'upon Hari,' अनुरूपं 'after the form i., e., accordingly.'

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

What is the object gained by making the avyayibhāva compounds avyayas? Three objects are gained, by making these compounds, indeclinables, viz., we can apply to them (1) the rule relating to the elision (नुक्र) of the case-affixes and feminine affixes, i.e., sūtra II. 4. 82 thus, in the following example, the words upāgni and pratyagni though qualifying the word śalavāḥ, do not take the gender and number of the latter, उपाग्निं प्रत्यग्निं शलाभाः पतन्ति (2) the rule relating to accent when an avyaya is compounded with the word mukha, (मुख स्तर), i.e., sūtras VI. 2. 167 & 168. Thus, उपाग्ने मुखः, here, sūtra VI. 2. 167, required the final vowel to take the udatta accent, but the preceding word being an avyaya, sūtra VI. 2. 168, intervened, and the first word retains its natural accent: (3) the rule relating to the change of visarga : into स्, this change being technically called उपचारः thus उपपयःकारः, उपपयःकामः, as compared with अयस्कारः Here, the compound उपपयः being treated as avyaya sūtra VIII. 3. 46, applies and prevents the change of : into स्.

The four sūtras 38, 39, 40, and 41 have all been enunciated under the svaradīgapa. see sūtra 37. These sūtras properly, therefore, belong to the gāṇapatha; their repetition here in the Ashtādhyāyī indicates that these rules are अनिस्त्य or not of universal application, viz., all rules relating to avyayas in general, do not apply to them. Thus II. 3. 69. declaring that the genitive case is not used along with an avyaya is not a rule of universal application, for we see

indeclinables like उरेतोः governed by the genitive case as, सूर्यस्योरेतोः ; or कूरस्य विद्युपः .

शि सर्वनामस्थानम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शि, सर्वनामस्थानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शि इत्येतत्सर्वनामस्थानसंज्ञम्भवति ॥

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

This defines the word sarvanāmasthāna. The affix शि is the nominative and accusative plural termination of neuter nouns. It replaces the ordinary nominative and accusative plural affixes जस् and शस् used in every other gender. The श् of शि is servile, and the actual termination is शि; the peculiarity of the affix शि is that it lengthens the penultimate vowel (VI. 4. 8) and adds a न् (VII. I. 72). Thus the plural of कज्जन 'fruit' is कज्जनानि 'fruits.' So also कुण्डानि तिष्ठन्ति, and कुण्डानि परव. Here, there is no difference of form in the nominative and the accusative cases. So also मधूनि, भपूषि, जतूनि. The word sarvanāmasthāna occurs in sūtra VI. 4. 8.

सुडनपुंसकस्य ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुट्, अनपुंसकस्य, (सर्वनामस्थानम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ सुडिति पञ्च वचनानि सर्वनामस्थानसंज्ञानि भवति नपुंसकासन्ध्यक ॥

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-terminations in Sanskrit are 21 as arranged below :—

		Singular	Dual	Plural.
Nominative	प्रथमा	सु (स)	शौ	जस् (अस्)
Accusative	द्वितीया	अस्	ओद्	शस् (अश्स्)
Instrumental	द्वितीया	श (शा)	भ्यान्	भिष्
Dative	चतुर्थी	हे (ए)	"	भ्यस्
Ablative	पञ्चमी	ठसि (अस्)	"	"
Genitive	पष्टी	ठस् (अस्)	ओस्	आन्
Locative	सप्तमी	ठि (इ)	"	सुर्णु(सु)

The above are the 21 vibhaktis, the श् of जस्, the श् of अश्स्, the श् of ओद् &c. are indicatory. All these vibhaktis are included in the pratyāhāra सुर्णु formed by taking the first vibhakti and the last letter of the last vibhakti. Similarly the first five terminations (सु, शौ, जस्, अश्स् and ओद्) are represented by सुट् 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 राजन् 'king' has the base राजा॑न् before the सूट vibhaktis, while in the remaining cases, the base is राजा॑ and राज as :—

Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
Nominative राजा॑	राजा॑नी॒	राजा॑नः॒
Accusative राजा॑नम्॒	राजा॑नौ॒	राजा॑ः॒
Instrumental राजा॑	राजा॑न्यां॒	राजा॑नि॒

But in the neuter nouns there is no such difference.

न वेति विभाषा॑ ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि॑ ॥ न, वा, इति, विभाषा॑ ॥

वृत्तिः॑ ॥ नेति प्रतिषेधो वेति विकल्पस्तयोः प्रतिषेधविकल्पयोर्विभाषेति संज्ञा भवति ॥

44. "May or may not" is called vibhāshā or option.

This sūtra defines the word विभाषा॑. 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 vibhāshā :— prāpta-vibhāshā, aprāpta-vibhāshā and prāptāprāpta-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 श्रृ॒ 'to swell,' by virtue of the rule विभाषा॑ इवे॑ (V. i. 30), forms its perfect tense, either by samprasāraṇa, or in the ordinary way. Thus the third person singular is either शुगाव or शिश्वाव.

इन्यणः॑ संप्रसारणम्॑ ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि॑ ॥ इक्, यणः॑, संप्रसारणम्॑ ॥
वृत्तिः॑ ॥ इन्यो यणः॑ स्थाने भूतो भाषी वा सत्यं संप्रसारणमित्येषा संज्ञा भवति ॥

45. The ik vowels which replace the semi-vowels yan 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 इ, उ, ऋ and ऋ, and their corresponding semi-vowels are ई, औ, ई, and ऋ 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 स्वप्॑ 'to sleep,' is formed by adding the nishṭhā affix िक् (see sūtra 26). So that we have स्वप्॑ + िक्. But there is a rule (VI. i. 15) by which there is samprasāraṇa of the व of स्वप्॑ before the कित् affixes, and we have the form सुष्टः॑ 'slept.' Similarly from वृ॒-उदितः॑, यज्ञ॒-इष्टम्॑, अथ॒-विद्धः॑, मह॒-गृहीतम्॑-प्रदृ॒-पृष्ठम्॑. The term samprasāraṇa is also employed to designate the whole process of the change of the semi-vowels into vowels as in VI. i. 13; VI. 4. 131.

आद्यन्तो॑ टृ॒कितो॑ ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि॑ ॥ आदि॑-अन्तो॑, टृ॒-कृ॒-इती॑ ॥
वृत्तिः॑ ॥ आदिइद्वति॑ अन्तः॑ किछ्वति॑ षष्ठी॑ निरिष्टस्य ॥

46. Of whatsoever the augmenta enunciated are distinguished by an indicatory इ or क्, they precede or follow it accordingly.

This sūtra explains the special use of two of the indicatory letters इ and क्. Where the indicatory letter of an augment is इ that augment is to be placed before the word in the genitive case with regard to which it is enjoined; while a कित् 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 “ārdhadhātuka affixes beginning with a consonant except च, have इ॒”. The question may arise where is this इ॒ to be added, in the beginning or the end or the middle of the आर्धाधातुका affix? This sūtra answers the question. The indicatory इ shows, that it is to be placed before the आर्धाधातुका affix. Thus the future termination स्यति, is an आर्धाधातुका affix: when this is added to the root, it takes the augment इ॒. Thus भू+इ॒+स्यति=भविष्यति, ‘he will be.’ Similarly लविता ‘he will cut’.

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

मिदचेऽन्त्यात्परः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिद्, अष्टः, अन्त्यात्, परः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अचां सञ्जिविदानामन्त्यात्परः परो मिदवति ॥

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

This sūtra explains the use of the indicatory इ. The augmenta having an indicatory इ, technically called वित् augmenta, are placed immediately after the final vowel of a word. Thus there is an augment called नुम्, in which उ and म् are इ॒, and the actual augment is न्. When, therefore, it is said “let नुम् be added to the word,” the letter न् is added after the last vowel. Thus the plural of पयस् ‘milk’ is formed in the following way:—पयस् + नुम् + इ (VII. 1. 72) = पयान्ति (VI. 4. 8). Here न् is added between उ and म् i. e. after the च of उ, which is the final vowel of the word: and before this न् the preceding short vowel is lengthened. Similarly मुच् + श + ति (III. 1. 77) = मुच् + नुम् + श + ति (VI. 1. 59) = मुच्चति । Similarly विरुण्णदि ।

The word अष्टः is in the genitive case, having the force of nirdhāraṇa 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 मह्, in

which the augment तुम् is added not after the last vowel अ of म, but between स् and ज्. The result of adding the augment तुम् between स् and ज् is, that sūtra VIII. 2. 29. applies, and the स् is elided. Thus मस्त् + ता = मस्त् + तुम् + ता (VII. 1. 60) = मस्त् + ता = मत्त् + ता (VII. 2. 29) = महत्ता “He will immerse”. So also मनः: ‘immersed,’ मनवान्, महत्त्वम्.

एष हृग्रस्वादेशे ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ एषः, इक्, हृस्व-आदेशे ॥
बृत्तिः ॥ एचो हृस्वादेशे कर्तव्यरगेव हृस्वो भवति नान्यः ॥

48. Of एच् vowels, इक् is the substitute, when short is to be substituted.

This sūtra points out the हृस्व substitutes of एच्. We know there are short and long vowels in Sanskrit, but properly speaking the एच् vowels have no corresponding short vowels. Therefore, when, in any rule, एच् vowels are told to be shortened, this sūtra declares that the short vowels of ए and ऐ, ओ and औ, for the purposes of the rule, will be इ and उ respectively. Thus, I. 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 अति + रै, the रै must be shortened. Properly speaking रै has no short vowel corresponding to it, but by virtue of this sūtra, इ supplies the place of such a short vowel, and we have अतिरै ‘extravagant’ so नौ, अतिरु ‘disembarked or landed,’ गो, उपगु ‘near a cow.’ All avyayībhāva compounds are neuter (II. 4. 18).

Why do we say ‘of एच्?’ Because the short of other vowels will not be इक्. Thus the short of आ is अ. As, अति + खट्टा = अतिखट्टः, अति + माला = अतिमालः।

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

षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, स्थाने-योगा ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ इह चाचे या षष्ठी अनियतयोगा श्रूयते सा स्थानेयोगैव भवति नान्ययोगा स्थानेयोगनिमित्तभूते सति सा प्रतिपत्त्या ॥

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 shāshṭhi 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 aphorism

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 इक् is in the genitive case; the literal translation being:—"of ik there is guna and vṛiddhi." 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 इक्.' Similarly in the sūtra immediately preceding this, *vis.* 48, we have the word एष्व in the genitive case and the sūtra means 'of एष्व.' Here also "of" means "in the place of."

Thus in sutra हन्तेर्ज (VI. 4: 36) 'of hanti, there is ज' the word हन्ते, 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 हन् in जोइ 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 प्रसङ्गः or 'occasion.' Thus in the sentence ईर्षाणां स्थाने शरैः प्रस्तरितव्यम्, the word sthāne, means 'prasange' *i. e.* wherever there is occasion to spread darbha grass, spread there the śara instead. Similarly in sūtras आत्मेर्जः (II. 4. 52), or मुक्तो परिः (II. 4. 53), the words 'asti,' and 'भूति' are in the genitive case, and mean, 'wherever there arises occasion to use the verbs आस् or भूते use there the verbs ज् or वद् instead respectively.' Thus भविता, भवितुम्, भवितव्यम्, are the future, gerund, and passive participle respectively of आस्; so also, वक्ता, वक्तुम् and वक्तव्यम् are the same forms of ज्.

The word स्थानेयोग is a bahuvrīhi compound of two words, not in apposition, (vyadhikarāna bahuvrīhi, see II. 2. 248 35), and it qualifies the word shashṭhi. The compound means स्थाने योगोऽस्या, '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 कण्ठेकालः &c.

स्थानेऽन्तरतमः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थाने-अन्तरतमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थाने प्राप्यमाणानामन्तरतम आशेषो भवति सदृशतमः ॥

50. When a common term is obtained as a substitute, the liklest of its significates to that in the place of which it comes, is the actual substitute.

This sūtra also lays down another rule of paribhāṣha. To explain this we must take an example. The guṇa of इ, उ, ऋ, and औ, is अ, ए, ओ. There is nothing to specify what letter is the guṇa of what. It might be said that औ is the guṇa of इ because the definitions as laid down up to so far, do not say anywhere that औ is not the guṇa of इ. So that when in a word like इवि we are told 'let there be the guṇa of इ' we do not know what specific guna letter is to be substituted, whether it is अ, ए or औ. To clear up this doubt, this sūtra declares that the likeliest of its significates is to be substituted. Now the nearest in place to इ is उ, both having their place of pronunciation, the palate. Similarly औ is the guṇa of ऋ, 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 स्मर्त्य (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 *vis.*, 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 ak, the corresponding long vowel is the substitute for both," we must have recourse to the present sūtra for finding the proper vowel. Thus—
एष्ट + अमं = एष्टामं; here the substitution of the long आ, for the two short अ's, is an example of substitution by nearness of place, for both अ and आ are gutturals.

(2). A good example of substitution by the sense of the word is afforded by VI. 1. 63 :—"The words पृ, इत्, नस् &c., are the substitutes when the case-affixes शस् (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 स्मर्त्यतः: "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 पृ is the substitute of पार, इत् of इन्त, नस् of नासिका, &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 वातण्डी (fem) + युवति = वातण्डपयुवतिः.

(3). An example of prosodial substitution (प्रमाणतः) is afforded by rule VIII. 2. 80, "उ is the substitute of what comes after the इ of अस्तु not ending in स् and in the room of इ there is स्." Thus अम + स्ते = अम् + अस्ते = अमुष्टे; अम + न्याम् = अमा + न्याम् (VII. 3. 102) = अम् + न्याम् = अम्न्याम्. Here, short उ replaces the short अ, and the long उ replaces the long अ.

(4). An illustration of qualitative substitution is afforded by VII. 3. 52, "a letter of the guttural class is substituted for ष् and ज् when an affix having an indicatory ष् follows." Applying the rule of गुणतः we find that क् which is an alpaprâna and aghosha letter replaces ष् having the same quality; while ज् which is ghosha, and alpaprâna is replaced by the letter ष् possessing similar quality. Thus पञ्च् + षम् (III. 3. 18) = पाकः; स्वज् + षम् = स्यागः; रञ्ज् + षम् = रागः ॥

Though the anuvritti of the word sthâna was understood in this sûtra from the last, the repetition of this word indicates the existence of the following paribhâsha—

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 इ and उ out of the three guna letters इ, ए and औ, we find that इ is a proximate substitute having regard to prosodial measure, i. e., इ and उ have all one mâtrâ; while having regard to the proximity of the organ of utterance, we get ए and औ; the latter however prevails to the exclusion of the first; as, खेता, स्तोता.

Why do we use the word "likkest" in the superlative degree? Where there are many sort of proximities, the likkest must be taken. Thus वाक् + हसति = वाघसति. Here, by VIII. 4. 62, "after a letter of सूक्ष्म class, इ is changed into a letter homogeneous with the preceding," इ must be changed into a letter of the class क्. Out of the five letters of this class, ख् and इ are both aspirates, but ख् is hard, and इ is soft; so ष् and इ are both soft, but ष् is unaspirate, and इ is aspirate, therefore these must be rejected; the only letter which has the nearest approach to इ, is ष्, which is both soft and aspirate. Similarly in निष्टुद्भवसति, the इ has been changed into ष्.

उरण् रपरः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उः, अण्, र-परः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उः (ऋकारस्य) स्थाने पृष्ठ प्रसङ्गमान एव रपरो वेदित्यः ॥

51. When a letter of अन् pratyâhâra comes as a substitute for क्त it is always followed by a उ.

This sûtra consists of three words *vis.*, उः which is the genitive singular of क्त and means literally 'of क्त' or 'in the place of क्त'; the second word is अण्, a pratyâhâra denoting अ, इ and उ long and short; the third word is रपरः which qualifies अण् and means 'having a उ after.'

This sûtra is useful in fixing the proper substitutes of क्त. Thus, there

are only three guṇa vowels अ, इ and औ. Of these what is the proper guṇa for चर् ? By the application of the rule of 'nearness of place' we see that अ is the nearest substitute. So that अ is the guṇa of चर्; and further by this rule, this अ must have a र् after it. Thus though technically speaking अ is the guṇa of चर्, the actual substitute is अर्. Thus कृ+ता-कर्ता; similarly हर्ता.

So also when चर् is replaced by इ as by sūtra VII. 1. 100, this substitute इ must be followed by a र्. As कृ+अति=कि+र्+अति=किरति 'he scatters;' similarly गिरति 'he swallows.'

So also when चर् is replaced by उ, as by sutra IV. 1. 115 this उ must be followed by a र्. As हि + माद + अपूर् = हेमातुरः 'son of two mothers'

This र् is to be added only when चर् is replaced by अ, इ or उ (अपूर्) vowels, and not when it is replaced by any other letter.

Thus by IV. 1. 97, "the चर् of the word सुधात्रि is replaced by अक् (technically अकर्) when the affix इपूर् is added." Thus, सुधात्रि + इपूर् = सुधात्रु + अक् + इ = सौधात्रकिः, 'a descendant of Sudhātṛi' Here the substitute of चर्, that is to say, the syllable अक् is not followed by र्.

The र् in the text has been taken by some to be a pratyāhāra formed by the letter र् and अ of नपूर्; and thus it includes the letters र् and ल्. In that case the sūtra would mean that अपूर् substitutes of चर् and ल् are always followed by र् and ल् respectively. Thus guṇa of रि=ar, of जि=al.

अलेन्त्यस्य ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलः, अन्त्यस्य, (आदेशः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पष्टीनिर्दिष्टस्वय उच्यते आदेशः सोन्त्यस्यानः स्थाने वेदितव्यः ॥

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 स्यार्सानामः "in the place of स्यद् &c., there is अ." It does not mean that the whole word स्यद्, is replaced by अ; 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 स्यद्, namely इ is to be replaced by अ.

So also in sūtra I. 2. 50 इस्गोण्याः the short इ replaces only the final letter of गोणी and not the whole word, as पंचगोणिः 'purchased for five gōnis.' रशगोणिः:

ठिक्ष ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छ-इत्, अ, (आदेशः, अलः, अन्त्यस्य) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ठिक्ष य आदेशः सोऽनेकालापि अलोन्त्यस्व भवति ॥

53. And the substitute which has an indicatory ए (even though it consists of more than one letter) takes the place of the final letter only of the original expression.

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

Thus in forming the dvandva compound of मात् and पित् there is a rule (VI. 3. 25) by which it is declared:—‘In the place of words ending in क्त् there is the substitution of आनक् in forming dvandvas.’ Now the substitute आनक् is a हिन्दू substitute, and therefore it applies to the *last* letter of the word and not to the *whole* word, *viz.*, the क्त् of मात् is only changed into आ and not the whole word; and we have the compound मातापितरी, so also शोतापेतारी.

There is an exception, however, in the case of the substitute तातक् (VII. 1. 35) which, though it has an indicatory ए, yet replaces the whole expressions तु and हि and not only their finals. As जीवतात् ‘may he live, or may you live’; instead of जीवतु ‘may he live,’ or जीव ‘live thou.’

आदेः परस्य ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदेः, परस्य, (अलः) ॥
बृत्तिः ॥ परस्य कार्ये गिष्यमाणमारेत्तः प्रत्येत्तव्यम् ॥

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 अप् used after the words हि and अन्तः and the particles called उपसर्ग there is ई.’ This rule may be stated in other words as:—‘In the place of अप् there is ई when अप् follows हि or अन्तः.’ Now it is clear that ई is not to replace all the letters of अप् but only one. By sūtra 52 that letter would have been the last letter of अप्, but this sūtra 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 ई replaces the अ of अप् and we have हि + अप् = हीरं (the final अ is added by V. 4. 74) ‘an island,’ अन्तरीरं ‘promontory.’ So also in the sūtra ईशः (VII. 2. 83) ‘long ई is the substitute of अन् when the latter comes after the root आस्.’ Thus आत् + अन् = आत् + ईन् = आसीनः. Here also the ई replaces the initial अ of अन्.

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 sūtra 67.

अनेकाल् शित्सर्वस्य ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनेक-अल्, शित्, सर्वस्य,
(आदेशः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनेकाल् य आदेशः शित् सर्वस्य पक्षी निर्दिष्टस्व स्थाने भवति ॥

55. A substitute consisting of more than one letter, and a substitute having an indicatory श 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 श as its indicatory letter, it replaces the whole word.

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

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

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 अनेकाल् or not, the indicatory letters must not be counted; and the affix must be stripped of all its इत् letters.

स्थानिवदादेशोऽनलूपिधी ॥५६॥ पदानि ॥ स्थानि-वत्, आदेशः,
अनल्-विधी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थानिवदादेशो भवति स्थान्याभवेषु कार्येष्वनलाभवेषु स्थान्यलाभयाणि कार्याणि वर्जयित्वा ॥

56. A substitute (ādeśa) is like the former occupant (sthāni) 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. Adeśa 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 Adeśa 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 Adeśa.

Thus the gerund of verbs is generally formed by adding the affix स्वा e. g. गृ + स्वा. Now VII. 2. 35. prescribes the insertion of an intermediate इ before ārdhadhātuka affixes beginning with any consonant except य. 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 त् and is an ārdhadhātuka affix and fulfils all the conditions of the rule. Therefore, we have गृ + इ + स्वा = गृहीत्वा (VI. 1. 16; VII. 2. 37).

Now in compound verbs the affix स्वा is replaced by य (tech. स्वय्). Thus संगृ + य. This Adeśa य 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 Adeśa य 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 प्रत्याहारा; while य is the only consonant which is not included in this pratyāhāra. Therefore, for the purposes of taking इ by rule VII. 2. 35. the Adeśa य 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 संगृय.

Substitutes replace either a धातु 'root,' or an अधातु 'base,' or a कृति affix 'primary affix,' or a taddhita affix 'secondary affix,' or an avyaya 'indeclinable,' or a सुर् affix 'case affix,' or a तिष्ठ् affix 'conjugational affix,' or lastly the full word or pada.

The substitute of a dhātu becomes like a dhātu. Thus sūtras II. 4. 52 and 53 declare:—'य् is the substitute of the root अस्, and वच् of the root श् when an ārdhadhātuka affix follows.' Here the substitutes य् and वच् are treated as dhātu, and as such get the affixes मन् &c. by III. 1. 96, &c. Thus भविता, भवितुम्, भवितव्यम्; वचा, वच्न्, वचत्वप्.

The substitute of an anga becomes like an anga. Thus VII. 2. 103 declares:—'क् is the substitute of the base किम् when a case-affix follows.'

Here, क gets the designation 'base' and so rules applicable to base, are applied to क also. Thus in केन्, काम्यात्, कैः &c., we have इन्, the lengthening of the vowel, and ऐस् substituted by VII. 1. 12, and VII. 3. 102, and VII. 1. 9.

The substitute of a kṛit affix becomes like a kṛit affix. Thus VII. 1. 37 declares:—‘स्वप् is the substitute of the kṛit affix तत्वा when the verb is a compound, the first member of which is an indeclinable, but not नभ्’ Here, स्वप् is also called a kṛit affix, and as such, sūtra VI. 1. 71 applies, and तुक् is added. As प्रकृ + स्वप् = प्रकृ + त् + य = प्रकृत्य; similarly प्रदृश्य &c.

The substitute of a taddhita affix is like a taddhita. Thus VII. 3. 50 declares:—‘इक् is the substitute of the affix उ as इधि + इक् (IV. 2. 18) = इधिकम्, here, इक् 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, प्रस्तुत्य; प्रदृश्य. The affix तत्वा makes avyayas (I. 1. 40), its substitute स्वप् 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:—‘य is the substitute of the sup-affix दे after an inflective base ending in short अ.’ Here, य is treated as a sup-affix, and therefore sūtra VII. 3. 102 applies, and there is lengthening of the vowel, as, वृभाय; द्वसाय.

The substitute of तिन् becomes like तिन्. Thus III. 4. 101 declares:—‘ताम्, तम्, त and अम् are substituted for तस्, यस्, य, and मिष् when tense-affixes having indicatory द्व follow.’ Here the substitutes ताम् &c., also make the words ending in them pada by rule I. 4. 14 as, अकुरुतम्, अकुरुत् &c.

The substitute of a pada is like a pada. Thus VIII. 1. 21 declares:—‘वस् is the substitute of युष्मान्, युष्मायम्, युष्माकम्, and नस् of अस्मान्, अस्मायम् and अस्माकम्.’ Here, वस् and नस् are treated as pada, and the final स् is changed into visarga, as वः, नः.

Why have we used the word वट in the sūtra? Without it the aphorism would have been स्यान्यादेशोऽनन्दिवधी, 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 इन् preceded by आ is ātmanepadi.’ वट the substitute of इन् will be ātmanepadi, as आवाधिष्ट; but इन् also will be so in its proper sphere, as, आहत्.

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

The word al-vidhi is used in order to indicate that the substitutes of विस्,

परित्रू, एवं &c., such as the change of ए into अौ (VII. 1. 84), ए into आ (VII. 1. 85), इ into अ॒ (VII. 2. 102), are not to be treated like the original : as अौः, एस्याः, सः Had these substitutes been treated like the original, rule VI. 1. 68 would apply, and the case-affix सु would have been elided.

अ॒चः परस्मिन्पूर्वविधौ ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ॒चः, परस्मिन् पूर्वविधौ, (स्यानिवत् आदेशः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजादेशः परनिमित्तकः पूर्वविधौ कर्त्तव्ये स्यानिवद्वयि ॥

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:—अ॒चः genitive of the pratyāhāra अ॒च् meaning 'of a vowel,' and means an ādeśa which takes the place of a vowel. The words ādeśa 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-vidhau loc. sing. of pūrva-vidhi meaning 'a rule applicable to a preceding thing.' The whole sūtra thus comes to mean that an ādeśa 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 Ādeśa.

Thus there is an affix called तिच् the actual affix being इ; the other letters ए and उ being इत्. The peculiarity of every affix having an indicator ए is to cause the vriddhi of the penultimate अ; (sūtra VII. 2. 116) as ए+इ=एचि. Now in forming the denominative verb from the word एट्, we have to add the affix तिच्. Thus एट् + इ; but before एचि, the ए of एट् is substituted by a 'lopa' or blank, and this blank takes the place of the vowel ए of एट् and becomes sthānivat by force of the present sūtra. The result of becoming sthānivat is that though the अ of एट् is really a penultimate and ought to be vriddhied before 'एचि' it is not so, the lopa-substitute not allowing the अ to be regarded as penultimate, and thus we have the form एटि the present tense third person singular of which is एट्यति. The equation being एट् + • + इ, the zero preventing the अ of एट् from becoming penultimate. So also in the word अवर्तित्, the aorist (तुह्) of एध्. Thus एध् + एव्यु + इत् = अ + एव्यु + • + इत्. Here, the ए of एव्यु is elided by VI. 4. 48. (when an Ārdhadhātuka affix follows there is elision of the short ए of that which ends in short ए;) this elision is thus caused by something which follows (parasmin.) Now there is a rule (VII. 2. 7.) which declares 'vriddhi is optionally the substitute of a laghu ए preceded by a consonant when तिच् (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 अवाधीत् which is inadmissible.

Similarly बहुखट्टा + कप् = बहुखट्टकः। Here, the short अ is the substitute of the long आ of खट्टा by VII. 4. 15; because of the subsequent (parasmin) affix 'kap'. However, the word बहुखट्ट 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 kap). On the contrary the short अ is regarded as sthānivat to long आ. Thus बहुखट्टकः.

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 kṛit affix called स्वप्, the real suffix being अ, the त् and प् being diacritical letters. Before this अ the verb आगम् (to come) loses its त्, and lopa or blank takes the place of म्. Here then lopa or blank is an ādeśa and प् a consonant is sthāni.

Now there is a rule which says (VI. I. 71), that before kṛit affixes having an indicatory प्, the letter त् is added after verbs *ending* in light vowels. Now in आगम्, when म् is omitted, the अ of अ becomes final; and therefore a त् is required before अ (which is a पित् affix). Thus we have आगत्य.

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

Similarly in forming the word प्रश्नः. Thus प्रश्न् + नह् (III. 3. 90) प्रश् + नह् (VI. 4. 19). Here, अ is substituted for त्; this will not be sthānivat to त्; though this substitute is caused by something that follows (parasmin). Were it to be sthānivat, there would come the augment तुक् (त्) by VI. I. 73.

Similarly अकाटाम्, the aorist of कृत्. Thus अ + कृष् + सित् + ताम् = अ + कृष् + • + ताम् (VIII. 2. 26). Here the स् 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, अ of कृष् would be changed into त्.

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 युवजानिः and वधुटीजानिः.

The word युवजानि is a bahuvrihi compound of युवति and जाया, meaning 'he who has a young wife.' In forming this compound, the आ of या is replaced by नि (tech. निद्) by sūtra V. 4. 134. This नि will not be sthānivat to आ, as it is not caused by anything which follows. Had it been regarded as sthānivat, the म् could not be elided by VI. I. 66 ('there is elision of अ

and व when any consonant except इ or ई follows'). Thus, शुद्धजाता+नि = शुद्ध-
जातू + नि (V. 4. 134) = शुद्धजानिः (VI. 1. 66).

Similarly the word वैयाप्रपथः, 'a descendant of व्याप्रपाद्' also illustrates this rule. व्याप्रपाद् is a bahuvrihi compound of व्याप्र and पाद्, meaning 'whose foot is like that of a tiger.' Now the final अ of 'pāda' is elided in such compounds by V. 4. 138. This lopa substitution is not caused by anything that follows, therefore, this लोपादेश will not be sthānivat for the purposes of the application of sūtra VI. 4. 130 ('पत् is the substitute of the word पाद् when part of an inflective base ending in the word पाद् and entitled to the name of Bha. I. 4. 18'). Therefore, व्याप्रपाद् + चम् (IV. 1. 105) = वैयाप्रपथः. Had the lopa been like the original, there could not have been the substitution of 'pad' for 'pād.'

Similarly the word आर्द्धश्च, 1st per. sing. atm. present tense of the root शीर्षि 'to shine.' Thus आर्द्धशीर्षि + इह = आर्द्धशीर्षि + ए (III. 4. 79). This change of इ into ए is not caused by anything that follows, hence ए is not sthānivat to इ, for the purposes of the application of rule VII. 4. 53 ('the finals of didhi and vevi are elided when an affix beginning with व or इ follows'). Had ए been sthānivat, the final ए would have been elided.

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

Now is the घौ of गौ to be regarded as sthānivat to घो, which it replaces ; for the purposes of this rule of elision of finals? If so, the consequence would be that the final श् would have to be dropped in the vocative. But it is not so. Because the rule VI. 1. 69, which ordains the dropping of श् after short vowels and ए and ओ applies to a letter, which is not *anterior* to the आदेश घौ, but to one which follows it, and consequently there being no पूर्वा-विधि here, the final श् is retained and we have the vocative गौः।

Similarly the word बाभ्रवीयाः, 'the pupils of Bābhṛavya.' The word बाभ्रवं is derived from बभ्रु in this wise. बभ्रु + वय् (IV. 1. 105) = बाभ्रौ

+ वभ् (VI. 4. 146 and VII. 2. 117) = वाभव् + वभ् (VI. 1. 79) = वाभव्यः. From this is formed वाभवीय in this wise:—वाभव्य + इ॒ (IV. 2. 114) = वाभव्य + ई॒ (VII. 1. 2) = वाभव्य + ई॒ (VI. 4. 148) = वाभव् + ई॒ (VI. 4. 150). Here, had the substitute अ॒ which replaced the य॒ of वाभो, been sthānivat to आ॒, rule VI. 4. 150 ('there is elision of the य॒ of a taddhita affix coming after a consonant, when long ई॒ follows'), could not have applied. But this substitute अ॒ 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 अ॒, but to the very letters of the substitute itself.

Similarly the word नैधेयः, which is evolved from the root धा, in this wise नि॒ + धा॒ + कि॒ (III. 3. 92) = नि॒ + धा॒ + इ॒ (I. 3. 8) = नि॒ + ध॒ + ०॒ + इ॒ (VI. 4. 64) = निधि॒. Let us then form a secondary derivative from the word निधि॒ applying दक्॒ (IV. 1. 122), the whole of which affix is replaced by ए॒ (VII. 1. 2). Thus निधि॒ + ए॒ = निध॒ + ए॒ (VI. 4. 148) = नैधेय॒ (VII. 2. 118). Here, the lopa substituted for the आ॒ of धा॒ by VI. 4. 64 is not sthānivat for the purposes of the application of IV. 1. 122 by which the affix दक्॒ is added. Rule V. 1. 122 says, 'ऽधक is added to a word ending in इ॒, provided it be a word containing *two* vowels.' Now निधि॒ ends in इ॒ and contains two vowels; but if the lopa were sthānivat to the elided आ॒, then it would be a word of *three* syllables. That is however not so; because the rule enjoining the affix दक्॒ is not applicable to anything *preceding* the lopādeśa, but is enjoined with regard to something after this substitution.

न पदान्तद्विवचनवरेयले।पस्वरस्वर्णानुस्वारदीर्घजञ्चिषु ॥५८॥
पदानि ॥ न, पदान्त- द्विवचन- वरे- यलोप- स्वर- स्वर्ण- अनुस्वार- दीर्घ- जञ्च- चर-
विषिषु, (स्थानिवत्)

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेणातिप्रसन्कः स्थानिवद्वाव एतेषु विषिषु प्रतिषिष्यते ॥

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 ja॑ 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. पशान्तविधि:—'A rule relating to the last letter of a word.' Thus the आ॒ of अ॒ is elided before the terminations of dual and plural numbers (VI. 4. 111). Thus we have अस्ति 'he is,' स्तः 'they two are,' सन्ति 'they are.' Now in the technical phraseology of Sanskrit grammarians, the आ॒ of रतः and सन्ति is

replaced by an *ādeśa* called जोर्, the peculiarity of which is that the whole of it vanishes. So that before the word स्तः there is this *ādeśa* existing, though it is in an invisible form. This invisible *ādeśa* will be *sthānivat*, as it replaces a vowel, by reason of something that follows, i. e. the affixes तः and चन्ति being दित् (I. 2, 4); and it will have all the powers of अ by the last sūtra, in the absence of any rule to the contrary. Therefore, in the sentence कौ स्तः 'who ^{whom} two are' the final चौ of कौ and the invisible अ of स्तः ought to coalesce by rules of sandhi into आव् (VI. I. 78). But this incongruity is prevented by the present sūtra, by which the change of चौ into आव् is a प्रान्त विधि or a rule relating to the finals of a word, therefore, we have कौ स्तः। So also in तानि सन्ति, rule VI. I. 77 is not applied.

2. हिर्वचनविधिः 'a rule relating to the doubling of letters.' In the sandhi of इष्टि + अव् we have इष्टव्. Here इ is changed into श्. If this श् were *sthānivat* to इ, then the rule by which श् could be doubled before श् would be inapplicable. But श् is not equivalent to इ, though its substitute; and we have the doubling of श् and get the form इष्टव्. Therefore, in rules relating to the doubling of letters the *ādeśa* is not equivalent to the *sthānī*.

3. वरेविधिः 'a rule relating to the affix वरच्.' The affix वरच् is a *kṛita* affix which is added to certain roots to form nouns of agency; thus from इष्ट 'to rule' we have इष्टवरः 'ruler.' So from the intensive verb यायाव् we have यायावरः 'a vagrant.' It is formed in this wise यायाव् + वर (III. 2. 176) = यायाव् + o + वर (VI. 4. 48). Here the अ of य has been dropped and replaced by *lopa*, on account of its being followed by the *Ārdhadhātuka* affix वरच्. The next step is to drop the श् by rule VI. I. 66 which declares that the letters श् and श् are dropped before affixes beginning with any consonant except श् i. e., beginning with consonants of बूळ् *pratyahāra*. Thus याया + o + वर. Now there is a rule (VI. 4. 64) which declares that the final long अ of a base is dropped before *Ārdhadhātuka* affixes having an initial vowel. Here therefore, if the *ādeśa* 'lopa,' which replaced the vowel अ, be considered as *sthānivat*, and वर be considered as an affix having a latent initial vowel, then the अ of याया requires to be dropped. But this sūtra prevents this and we have the form यायावर; as, अप्सु यायावरः प्रवर्षेत पिण्डान्॥

4. चजोपविधिः 'a rule relating to the dropping of ya.' Thus there is a verb कण्ठूय 'to scratch'. In forming an abstract noun from it, the affix ति (tech. न्तिच्) is added. Thus कण्ठूय + ति = कण्ठूश् + o + ति, the अ of य being dropped by VI. 4. 48. Now there is a rule (VI. I. 66) already mentioned above which requires the elision of श् before consonantal affixes. Now if the *lopa*-substitute be considered as *sthānivat* to अ, then the affix ति is not an affix having an initial consonant and the rule, which requires the dropping of श्, would not apply. The present sūtra, however, provides for this, and we have the form कण्ठूतिः 'scratching.'

5. स्वरविधि: '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 इ, the vowel that immediately precedes such an affix has the udātta accent. Now पुल् is an affix that has an indicatory इ, the real affix being अक् (VII. 1. 1.). It is an affix used in forming nouns of agency. Adding this affix to the desiderative verb चिकीर्ष 'desirous of doing' we have:— चिकीर्ष + अक् = चिकीर्ष + ० + अक्, the अ being dropped by VI. 4. 48. Now if the zero be considered as sthānivat, then the accent must fall on this latent अ but it is not so. The accent falls on the ई of की; and we have चिकीर्षकः, so also चिह्नीर्षकः॥

6. सर्वणविधि: 'a rule relating to the substitution of homogeneous letters.' To explain this, let us form the second person singular of the verb शिष् in the imperative mood. The affix शि is the sign of the second person imperative singular; and the verb शिष् belongs to the seventh-class of verbs called Rudhādi. This class of verbs take the vikarāṇa मम (III. 1. 78) the इ and इ 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:—शि॒ + इन॑म् + हि॒ = शि॒ + न॑ + इ॒ + हि॒ = शि॒ + न॑ + ०॒ + इ॒ + हि॒. The अ of न॑ is dropped by VI. 4. 111, which declares that the अ of इन॑ is dropped before those sārvadhātuka terminations which are कित् or डित्. By I. 2. 4 all sārvadhātuka terminations which have not got an indicatory ग् are considered as डित्. The affix हि therefore is a डित् sārvadhātuka affix, and by rule III. 4. 87, हि is to be regarded as अपित्, not having an indicatory ग्. The next stage is:—शि॒ + न॑ + ०॒ + इ॒ + हि॒; the हि॒ being changed into फि॒ by rule (VI. 4. 101) which says that 'हि॒ is changed into फि॒, when it follows a root—which ends in a consonant of स्ल् pratyāhāra.' here इ॒ and फि॒ are changed by general rules of sandhi into इ॒ and ए॒ and we have शि॒ + न॑ + ०॒ + इ॒ + हि॒ (VIII. 4. 41). Then there is a rule (VIII. 3. 24), which says that in the body of a word the न॑ is changed into anusvāra when followed by a consonant of स्न् pratyāhāra.' Therefore we have:—शि॒ + ०॒ + ०॒ + इ॒ + हि॒. 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 यय् pratyāhāra i.e., any consonant except इ॒, ए॒ उ॒ and स॒ is changed into a letter homogeneous or savarṇa to the letter that follows. Therefore, if we regard zero as sthānivat to the अ which it replaces, the anusvāra cannot be changed into इ॒ as homogeneous to इ॒. But it is not to be so regarded, and we have the form शि॒ + न॑ + ०॒ + इ॒ + हि॒ = शिष्म॒ or शिष्व॒; so also पिण्ठ॒.

7. अनुस्वारविधि: 'a rule relating to anusvāra.' The above example will serve the purpose here:—शि॒ + न॑ + ०॒ + इ॒ + हि॒. This by the rule already mentioned (VIII. 3. 24), requires the न॑ to be changed into anusvāra,

Now if zero be considered as sthānivat, then त्र् is not followed by a letter of प्रत्या॑हारा, and cannot be changed into anusvāra. However, the zero is not regarded as sthānivat, and we change the त्र् into anusvāra. Other examples are शि + त्र् + • + श् + अन्ति = शिष्वन्ति; so also पिष्वन्ति ॥

8. सीर्धविधि: 'a rule directing the substitution of long vowels for short vowels.' Let us form the Inst. sing. of the noun प्रतिविन्. The termination of the Inst. sing. is टा or इटा. Therefore, we have प्रतिविन् + आ = प्रतिविन् + • + त्र् + आ. Here the इ has been elided by rule VI. 4. 134, which teaches that words ending in आन् lose their इ 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 इक् प्रत्याहारा, of words that end in इ or इ and are followed by a consonant. Here विन् is a root that ends in इ; and if the zero be considered as sthānivat, then this त्र् is not followed by a consonant, but by a latent vowel, and so the short इ of विन् will not be lengthened. This rule, however, provides for such lengthening, and therefore we have:—प्रतिविन् + • + त्र् + आ = प्रतिविन्ना ॥

9. जश्वविधि: 'a rule requiring the substitution of soft unaspirate consonants, of प्रत्याहारा जश्, in the place of hard consonants' In this case also the आदेश that takes the place of a vowel is not sthānivat.

Let us add the affix न्तिन् to the root अह् 'to eat,' compounded with the word स or समान. In Vedic literature अह् is replaced by घस्, (II. 4. 39); so we have, स + घस् + न्तिन् = स + घस् + ति = स + घ् + • + स + ति (VI. 4. 100) = स + घ् + • + • + ति (VIII. 2. 26) = स + घ् + • + • + थि (VIII. 2. 40).

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

Similarly the word बधाम्, which is the Imperative (loṭ) 2nd per. dual of the root भस्, and is thus evolved. This root belongs to the Juhutyādi class, and therefore, there is reduplication. Thus भस् + ताम् = भस् + भस् + ताम् = भ + भस् + ताम् = ब + भस् + ताम् = ब + भ् + • + स् + ताम् (VI. 4. 100) = ब + भ् + • + • + ताम् (VIII. 2. 26) = ब + भ् + • + • + धाम् (VIII. 2. 40) = ब + भ् + • + • + धाम् = बधाम् ॥ Here the change of भ् into भ् is by the application of VIII. 4. 53, which is a jaś rule, and therefore, the zero is not sthānivat.

10. चतुर्विधि: 'a rule requiring the substitution of the letters of चत् pratyāhāra instead of other consonants.' In the application of this rule, also the substitute that replaces a vowel is not sthānivat.

Let us form the 2nd pers. sing. perfect of the verb चत् 'to eat' चत् is replaced by चत् (II. 4. 40) and चतुस् is the termination of the second person singular of lit. or perfect tense. चत् + चतुस् = चत् + चत् + चतुस् (VI. 1. 8) = च + चत् + चतुस् (VII. 4. 60) = ज + चत् + चतुस् (VIII. 4. 54) = ज + च + • + सु + चतुस् (VI. 4. 98) = जच् + • + सतुस्.

At this stage comes the चत् rule in operation, which says that the letters of चन् pratyāhāra are replaced by those of चत् pratyāhāra, when followed by letters of चत् pratyāhāra. Here च is a letter of चन् class, and if zero is not sthānivat, it is followed by सु which is a letter of चत् class, and therefore च is required to be changed into चू of चत् class. By the present rule, zero is not sthānivat and thus we have :—जच् + सतुस् = जच्चतुः (VIII. 3. 60).

Similarly चत्तन् the 3rd per. plural aorist of चत् is thus formed:—च + चत् + च्छि + चत् = च + चत् + चन् (II. 4. 80) = च + चू + • + सु + चत् (VI. 4. 98). Here had the lopa been sthānivat, rule VIII. 4. 55 could not have applied. But it being a char rule, the lopa is not sthānivat. Therefore we have, चत्तन्.

When lopa is the substitute of a vowel, it is not sthānivat, 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 sthānivat. Thus बहुखट्टकः, कियोः, गियोः, वाच्योः. In these cases the lopa-ādeśa being sthānivat, the rules relating to accent, lengthening and the elision of ya, do not apply.

द्विर्वचनेऽचिः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विर्वचने, अचि, (स्यानिवत्, आदेशः, अचः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विर्वचननिमित्तेऽचि शानारेषाः स्यानिवद्वति द्विर्वचन एव कर्त्तव्ये ॥

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 sthānivat, in the sense, that it is exactly of the same form as the original, and retains this form only for a fixed time *vis.*, 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 अा, (b) to the elision of the penultimate, (c) to the elision of the affix अिष्ठ, (d) to the substitution of semi-vowels for vowels, and lastly (e) to the substitution of अय्, अ॒, आय् and आ॒ for ए, ए॒ ई and औ respectively by the rules of sandhi.

(a). Elision of अा. Let us form the 2nd person perfect tense of the root पा 'to drink.' The termination of 2nd person perfect is अतुस्. 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 + अतुस् = ए + • + अतुस् (VI. 4. 64). Here the अा is elided by VI. 4. 64, which teaches that 'the अा of the root is elided before अर्धाधातुका affixes beginning with a vowel and which are किर् or दिस् and before इ॒.' The affix अतुस् 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 अा, the only visible root left to us is ए 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 sthānivat i. e. as if it were the very अा itself. Thus we have पा + ए + • + अतुस् = एपतुस् (VII. 4. 59). The long अा of the reduplicative syllable has been shortened by VII. 4. 59. So also एः।

(b). The elision of the penultimate. Let us form the same tense of हूं 'to kill.' हूं + अतुस् = इ + • + तूं + अतुस् (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 अ of हूं is replaced by the substitute lopa by VI. 4. 98, which teaches that the roots गम् 'to go' हूं 'to kill' and a few others lose their penultimate before affixes beginning with a vowel and which are also किर् or दिस्. We know अतुस् to be such an affix. For the reasons already given, we can not reduplicate the consonants हूं as they have no vowel. However, this reduplication is effected by virtue of the present rule, and we have:—इ + इ + अतुस् = जपतुः (VII. 4. 62, VII. 3. 55). The first इ is changed into अ by VII. 4. 62 and the second इ into ए by VII. 3. 55.

(c). The elision of the affix शिक्. Let us form the Aorist (लुन) of the causative form of आद्. The causative is formed by adding the affix शिक् to the root; and the aorist takes the augment अ. Thus we have:—अ + आद् + शिक् + त् = आद् + इ + शि + त् = आद् + इ + शहू + त्. The affix शहू (III. I. 48) is added in forming the aorist of causatives. The letters श् and हूः are indicatory, the real affix being शहू. Now by VI. 4. 51, the affix शिक् is elided before an अर्धाद्वातुका affix that does not take the intermediate इ. Now शहू is such an affix. Therefore we have आद् + ० + शत्.

At this stage, comes into operation another rule (VI. I. 11), which declares that 'the root is reduplicated before the affix शहू.' The शहू is, thus, an affix which causes reduplication; it is an affix which also begins with a vowel. Therefore, it satisfies the conditions of this sūtra. Therefore, the zero which was a substitute in place of the vowel इ, becomes sthānivat to इ; as if it were the very इ itself. Thus we have the reduplicative syllable इ॒, by rule VI. I. 2, which says that a verb beginning with a vowel reduplicates its second syllable. But as soon as the reduplication is over, the अदेश takes up its original form of zero. Thus आदिद् + ० + शत् = आदित्.

(d). The fourth class of cases, where this sūtra has scope, is the substitution of शूः for vowels. Thus let us form the perfect 2nd person singular of कृ 'to do':—कृ + शत् = कर् + शत्, the semi-vowel र् taking the place of ऋ by the general rule of sandhi VI. I. 77. Now we have already learned that शत् is an affix which causes reduplication and it begins with a vowel. Now र् is a substitute which comes in the place of a vowel (*i.e.*, ऋ), it will therefore be sthānivat by this sūtra. Had it not been sthānivat, the consonants र् could not be reduplicated, as they have no vowel. The substitute र् being taken equal to ऋ, we reduplicate कृ; in reduplication the क is changed into चूः by VII. 4. 62, and ऋ into अ by VII. 4. 66. Thus we have:—चक्तुः; similarly चक्तुः।

(e). The fifth case is the substitution of आय् &c. Let us form 1st person singular of the perfect of नी 'to lead': नी + एल् = नै + अ = नाय् + अ. The इ is vriddhied before the termination अ of the perfect (VII. 2. 115), and then changed into आय् by the general rule of sandhi (VI. I. 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 sūtra. Therefore the आय् which was a substitute for इ, being a vowel substitute, becomes sthānivat to इ in form. In reduplicating the word नाय्, we reduplicate as if it were still नै. Thus we have the form निनाय् and not ननाय्. Similarly निनय्, लुनव्, and लुनाव्.

Why have we used the word "dvirvachane" in the sūtra? 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 जन्मते the 3rd per. sing, perfect tense (निर्) of the root ज्ने "to be exhausted," in the atmanepada. The affix of 3rd per. sing. atm. of lit, is एश् (III. 4, 81). Thus ज्नै + एश् = ज्ना + एश् (VI. 1. 45). Now here ए is changed into श्चा, on account of the affix एश्; this affix causes reduplication, but still श्चा is not to be considered as sthānivat to ए. For if श्चा be considered so, then in the next stage ज्ना + एश् = ज्नै + ० + एश् (VI. 4. 64) the lopa will be regarded as sthānivat to ए and the reduplicative syllable will be ज्नि and not ज्न; the form being ज्निन्मते and not जन्मते. But श्चा is not sthānivat to ए, because *for the purposes of reduplication*, the change of ए into श्चा is immaterial; it is the second and further change of श्चा 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 श्चा.

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 दुयूषति, 3rd per. sing, desiderative present tense of दिव् 'to shine, to play.' This form is thus evolved:—दिव्+सन् (III. 1. 7) = दि+व्+सन् (VI. 4. 19) = द्यु+व्+सन् (VI. 1. 77). Here, the change of इ into द्यु is caused by व् (tech. वद्), which begins with a vowel; is this द्यु to be regarded as sthānivat to इ? No, because व् does not *cause* reduplication, it is सन् which causes reduplication. Therefore the equation is:—श्चा + सन् = दुयूस् (VI. 1. 9) = दुयूषति. If व् could be regarded like इ, then the form would have been दिष्टूषति.

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 यद् 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 जेग्रीयते the 3rd per. sing. Intensive of the root ग्रा 'to smell.' Thus ग्रा+यद्=ग्री+यद् (VII. 4. 31)=जेग्रीयते (VII. 4. 82). Here, श्चा is changed into ई on account of यद्; but ई is not sthānivat to श्चा; had it been so, the form would have been जग्रीयते. Similarly देखीयते.

अदर्शनं लोपः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदर्शनम्, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदर्शनमश्वत्त्वमनुचारणमनुपलब्धिरभावो वर्णविनाश इत्यनर्थान्तरमेतेः शब्दै-
योऽथाऽभिधीयते तस्य जोप इतीयं संज्ञा भवति ॥

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 *ādesa*, 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, ślu 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. 1. 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 ल्, श्वो, प् and अ should be substituted there, but the sense of the thing, namely 'disappearance.'

प्रत्ययस्य लुक्-श्लुलुपः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्ययस्य, लुक्-श्लु-लुपः,
(अदर्शनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययादर्शनस्य लुक् श्लु लुप् इत्येताः संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

61. The disappearance of an affix when it is caused by the words luk, ślu 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 ślu or lup, the disappearance gets the name of ślu or lup.

Thus in अ॒+शप्लुक् +ति=अ॒ति 'he eats.' Here the vikarāṇa शप् has been elided by using the word luk (II. 4. 72). Similarly in जुहोति 'he invokes,' the vikarāṇa शप् is elided by the word ślu (II. 4. 75), so in वरणः 'a city in the vicinity of weeds called varanā.' Here the Taddhita 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, ślu 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 agastya, and kaundinya; 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.

प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्यय-लोपे, प्रत्यय-लक्षणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययलोपे कृते प्रत्ययलक्षणं प्रत्ययहेतुकं कार्यं भवति ॥

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 अभिचित् is a pada though the case-termination has been elided. Similarly the word अधोक् 'he milked,' which is the Imperfect (जह) of दुह, and is thus formed. अरेह + तिपु - अरोह + त् (III. 4. 100) = अरोह + • (VI. 1. 68) = अरोष + • (VIII. 2. 32) (here त् is changed into ष् by taking the word 'aduh' as a 'pada') अधोष + • (VIII. 2. 37) = अधोग् (VIII. 2. 39) = अधोक्.

Why have we used the word प्रत्यय in this aphorism again, when its anuvṛitti 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 आप्नीय and सहनीय. These forms are the 1st person sing. लिङ् Atmanepada of हन् and गम्. Thus आहन् + हन् = आहन् + अ (III. 4. 106) = आहन् + सीयुद् + अ (III. 4. 102) = आहन् + ईय् + अ. Here, स् a portion of the affix सीयुद् is elided by VII. 2. 79; now there will be no प्रत्ययजन्मण of this partial elision of an affix. Had it been so, the final nasal न् of आहन् would have been elided by VI. 4. 37: but that is not so: and we have आप्नीय (VII. 3. 54 and VI. 4. 98).

The word जन्मण means that by which a thing is recognised. The word प्रत्ययजन्मण, therefore, means the effect by which an affix could be recognised. The orthographical changes, like the following, are not however pratyaya-lakshana. In forming the genitive singular of रै 'wealth,' we have रै + अस् = रासः; here, the change of रै into रास् by the rules of sandhi, though caused by the affix अस्; 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 रावः + कुलं, we elide the case-affix अस्, we get the form रैकुलम्. 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 लुमताङ्गस्य ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लुमता, अङ्गस्य, (प्रत्यय-
लक्षणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुमता रावेन लुमे प्रत्यये वरङ्गः तस्य प्रत्ययजन्मणं कार्यं न भवते ॥

63. Of the base (anga), whose affix has been elided by the use of any of the three words containing लु, 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 लुक्, लुलू, or लुरू, then the 'sign' or नास्त्रि 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 लुरू &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 अङ्गः in this sūtra requires some explanation. "A root, followed by a suffix (pratyaya), is raised to the dignity of a base (prātipadika); 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 गर्भीः is the plural of the word गर्भः. The word गर्भः is formed by adding the affix यज् to गर्भ (IV. 1. 105); the force of the indicatory ज् being to cause the vriddhi of the first vowel of the word (VII. 2. 117). But in forming the plural of गर्भः, rule II. 4. 64 presents itself, which declares that there is *luk* of the affix यज् when the word takes the plural. Here the affix यज् is elided by the word *luk*, which means not only the elision of the य of गर्भः but also the shortening of आ into अ, that is, the affix being elided, it vanishes altogether, leaving no trace behind, in the shape of the vriddhing of the first vowel, which the affix was competent to cause.

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

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

When an affix is elided in any other way than by the enunciation of the three terms containing लु, it is competent to cause its proper effect. Thus कृ+णिच्+यक्+ते=कार्ति+यक्+ते=काट्ट+यक्+ते=कार्यते. Here the elision of the affix णिच् 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 inflective base?' Observe पञ्च 'five,' सप्त 'seven,' पदः 'milk,' सामा 'sāma veda.' Here in the word pañcha, the plural case-affix is elided by VII. 1. 22

(after the words called *shaṭ*, the जस् and शस् are elided by 'luk'). Here the affix is elided by enouncing the word 'luk,' the result is, that the affix cannot produce any change which it would otherwise have caused, in the *anga* or inflective base; such as lengthening, as in *rājan*, 'a king.' i. p. *rājānaḥ* '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:—पञ्चन् + जस् = पञ्चन् + o, (luk VII. 1. 22). The word *pañchan* is now a *pada*, and as such, it drops its final त्.

अचोऽन्त्यादि टि ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, अन्त्यादि, टि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अचां संनिविटानां योऽन्त्योन्मुक्तशारि शब्दरूपं दिसंजं भवति ॥

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

This sūtra defines टि. It is that portion of a word which is included between the last letter and the nearest vowel. Thus in the word अग्निचिन् the portion इत् is टि; so also in सामसुन् the portion उत्. The word टि occurs in sūtra III. 4. 79.

The word अचः 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.'

अलेऽन्त्यात्यूर्वं उपधा ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलः, अन्त्यात्,
पूर्वः, उपधा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्वादौर्ण्यं समुदायेऽन्त्याद्वः पूर्वोयो वर्णः सोऽन्त्योपधा संज्ञो भवति ॥

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

This defines उपधा or penultimate. Thus in the words पञ्च, भिन्न, इन् the letters च, इ, उ, and न् are उपधा.

The word 'upadhā' occurs in sūtra VII. 2. 116.

तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मिन्, इति,
निर्दिष्टे, पूर्वस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थनिर्देशे पूर्वस्यैव कार्यं भवति नोन्नरस्व ॥

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 इको चण्डि (VI. 1. 77) the word चण्डि is in the locative case, which sūtra, therefore, means that इ; उ, ऊ ल followed by a vowel (अच्) are changed into इ, औ, ई, क्ष, (चण्). The literal translation of the sūtra being:—‘Of इक् there is चण् in अच्.’ The force of ‘in’ or the locative case being to induce changes in the letter preceding the vowel. Thus चणि + उदकम् = स्थुदकम् ; so मधिदम्, पचत्योदनम्॥

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

तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सस्मात्, इति, उत्तरस्य,
(निर्दिष्टे) ॥

इत्तिः ॥ तस्माविति पञ्चम्यर्थनिर्देश उत्तरस्यैव कार्यं भवति न पूर्वस्य ॥

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 उद्, of sthā and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior.’ Thus उद्+स्थानम्. Here the word उद् is exhibited in the original sūtra in the ablative case, and by the present sūtra it means that a dental letter ध must be substituted in the place of sthāna, and by I. 1. 54 *ante*, this dental takes the place of स्; we have उद्+ध्यानम् = उद्ध-यानम्. Similarly in sūtra तिङ् छिङः (VIII.2. 18, ‘a word ending in a conjugational affix, when following after a word ending in a non-conjugational affix, becomes anudātta.’) Here the word ‘atiñah’ 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 श्वोहनं पञ्चति ; but not so in पञ्चत्योहनभिति ॥

स्वं रूपं शब्दसाथव्यसंज्ञा ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वम्, रूपम्,
शब्दस्य, अशब्दसंज्ञा ॥

इत्तिः ॥ शाल्ये स्वमेव रूपं शब्दस्य याहं योऽप्यंप्रत्याप्तं भवति न वाशोऽप्यः शब्दसंज्ञा वर्ज-
वित्वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * सित्तदिशेषाणां इक्षार्थर्थम् * ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ * पितर्यायवचनस्व च स्वायर्थम् * ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ * जितर्यायवचनस्वैर राजायर्थम् * ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ * हितद्वेषपाणाम् मस्यायर्थम् * ॥

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 स्व 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 स्व and रूप, viz., its meaning, and its form. Thus a rule applicable to अग्नि will be applicable to the word composed of अ, ग्, न्, ि and not to the words synonymous with agni, such as, पाककः, रुजनः &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 आग्नेर्दक् (IV. 2. 33) declares:—"that the affix 'dhak' comes after the word 'agni'." Thus अग्निः + दक् = आग्नेयम् "belonging to agni," as in the following sentence आग्नेयमष्टाकपालं निर्देशेत्. Here the word अग्निः indicates the individual word-form अग्निः and not its synonyms. Similarly sūtra IV. 2. 19 declares:—"let there be optionally ठक् after उदाश्वित्." As औदाश्वितकम् (VII. 3. 50 and 51) or औदाश्वितम्. The rule applies to the word-form 'udaśvita' meaning 'curd-milk' and not to तक्, अरिट, कालयोप, इण्डाहव and मधित, 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 शाधाप्यसाए (I. 1. 20) and तरसमपौ षः (I. 1. 22). Here the words 'शु' and 'षः' 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 सित्, पित्, जित्, and मित्. 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, :—“इत्त ‘tree’ सूग ‘deer,’ दण्ड ‘grass,’ &c., may optionally be compounded as dvandva.” Here the word इत्त stands as a generic name for the species falling under it, and does not represent the word-form, इत्त. Thus we have dvandva-compound of सूक्ष + न्यगोध, as इत्तन्यगोधम् or इत्तन्यगोधाः। Such sūtras are called सित्.

Then in sūtra III. 4. 40, we have an example of पित्. That sūtra means “the word पुष्टि ‘to feed’ takes the affix एमुल (चम्) when compounded with the word स्व.” Here the word ‘स्व’ means both the word-form स्व, as well as the synonyms of स्व and the species of स्व. Thus स्व and धन ‘wealth’ are synonymous; while स्व ‘wealth’ and गो ‘cow’ are genus and species. Thus स्व + पुष्टि + एमुल = स्वपोषम्. Similarly रैपोषम्, धनपोषम्, गोपोषम्, अश्वपोषम्. Such sūtras are called पित्.

Then in sūtra II. 4. 23, we have an example of जित्. “A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word सभा ‘court’ is neuter, provided that it is preceded by the word राजा, or by a word denoting a non-human being.” Here the synonyms only of the word ‘राजा’ are taken, and neither the word-form ‘राजा,’ nor the special instances falling under it. Thus इन ‘king’ + सभा = इनसभम् ‘king’s assembly,’ ईश्वर + सभा = ईश्वरसभम् ‘king’s assembly.’ But not राजसभम्, but राजसभा. Nor can we take particular kings, such as चन्द्रगुप्त or पुष्पमित्र. In their case we must have पुष्पमित्रसभा, चन्द्रगुप्तसभा.

Then in sūtra IV. 4. 35, we have an example of हित्. The sūtra means “the words पक्षि ‘bird’ मर्स्य ‘fish’ सूग ‘deer,’ take the affix उक् when the meaning is the killer thereof.” Here the words पक्षि &c. denote both the word-forms पक्षि &c. as well as the species denoted by those terms, but not their synonyms. Thus पक्षि + उक् = पक्षिकः ‘a bird-killer,’ मारिस्यकः ‘a fish-catcher.’ शकुनि + उक् = शाकुनिकः ‘a vulture-killer.’ But we cannot take the synonyms of ‘पक्षि,’ &c. except in the case of ‘मर्स्य,’ when we may take the word ‘मीन.’ As मारिस्यकः and मैनिकः ‘a fish killer.’

अणुदित्सवर्णस्य धामत्ययः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्, उदित्,
सुवर्णस्य, च, अमत्ययः (स्वंकृपं) ॥

इत्तः ॥ अण् गृह्यमाण उदित्सवर्णानां भावको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य प्रत्ययं वर्जयित्वा ॥

69. The letters of the Pratyāhāra अ॒ i. e. the vowels and semi-vowels, and a term having उ for its indicatory letter, refer to their own form as well as ^{to} their

homogeneous letters, except when they are used as *pratyāyās* or affixes.

The *pratyāhāra* अ॒॑ in thus sūtra includes all the vowels and liquids. This is the only instance where अ॒॑ *pratyāhāra* refers to the second अ॒॑ of अ॒॑. The letters included in अ॒॑, and the letters having an indicator उ॑, refer to, and include their homogeneous letters also. Thus क॑ refers to all the five gutturals क्, ख्, ग्, घ्, ङ्, similarly च॑, द॑, त॑, न॑, and न्न॑, as in sūtra I. 3. 8. Similarly अ॑ includes short, long and protracted अ॑. The words 'its own form' are understood in this sūtra, being drawn from the previous sūtra: Thus sūtra आदेषः (VI. 1. 87), 'when a vowel comes after अ॑, guṇa is the single substitute for both.' Here though the rule mentions only short अ॑, we take the long अ॑ also. Thus not only नर + ईशः = नरेशः; but महा + ईशः = महेशः। So also in sūtra अस्य च॑व॑ (VII. 4. 32), 'there is long ई॑ in the room of अ॑ when the affix 'chvi' (V. 4. 50) follows.' Here long अ॑ is also included; thus कृष्ण + करोति = कृष्णीकरोति, and खट्टा॑ + करोति = खट्टीकरोति. So also in sūtra यस्येति अ॑ (VI. 4. 148). 'When long ई॑ follows, there is elision of the ई॑ or अ॑ of the base,' the rule applies to the bases ending in long ई॑ and अ॑ also.

This rule of course does not apply to affixes. Thus sūtra III. 2. 168; says, 'after words ending in the affix san, and the words ासां and bhiksha, there is उ॑.' Here उ॑ is an affix and therefore does not include long उ॑. Thus भिक्षुः 'a beggar.' So also in IV. 3. 9, the short अ॑ only is to be taken and not the long one.

तपरस्तकालस्य ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ त-परः, तत्-कालस्य, (रुचं
रूपम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तपरो वर्णस्तकानस्यास्मनातुल्यकालस्य गुणान्तरदुक्तस्व सर्वर्णस्व भावको
भवति स्वस्य अ॑ रूपस्व ॥

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

By the previous sūtra it was declared that a vowel standing by itself included all the letters of its class. Thus अ॑ includes अ॑; and ई॑, ई॑; &c. This sūtra 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 उ॑ either after or before the letter. Thus अ॒॑ means the very letter अ॑ and not all its homogeneous letters. Similarly उ॒॑ means short उ॑ only and not long or protracted उ॑. We had to refer to this sūtra, in our very first sūtra, in explaining the term अ॒॑.

The sūtra consists of two words सप्तः and तस्कालस्य. Taparah means that which has a त् after it or that which is after त्. 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 त् refers to its own form as well as to those only of its homogeneous letters which have the same time. Thus the letter अत् 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 anuvṛitti of अत् of the previous sūtra does not run into this sūtra. Any other letter than अत् may be followed by त् and the rule of this sūtra will apply to that also. This rule qualifies the previous sūtra which would therefore mean that an अत् letter which is not followed or preceded by a त् includes its homogeneous letters also.

Thus in the sūtra VII. 1. 9 अतोभिस एत्. 'After words ending in अत् (i. e. short अ), एत् takes the place of भिस.' Thus वृत्तेः. But in खट्टा which ends in long अ and whose prosodial time is different from अ, this rule will not apply, and we have खट्टुभिः.

आदिरन्त्येन सहेता ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, अन्त्येन, सह,
इता, (स्वं रूपम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिरन्त्येनेस्तंशकेन सह गृह्यमाणस्तन्मध्यपतितानां वर्णानां प्राहको भवति
स्तस्य च रूपस्य ॥

71. An initial letter, with a final इत् 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 अत् means those letters whose beginning is अ and whose final इत् is कृ.

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

येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ येन, विधिः, तद्-अन्तस्य,
(स्वं रूपम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येन विशेषणेन विधिर्विधियते सततन्तस्यास्मान्तस्य समुदायस्य प्राहको भवति
स्तस्य च रूपस्य ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * समास प्रत्ययविधौ तदन्तविधेः प्रसिद्धेषो वक्तव्यः ॥ *
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * उग्निवर्णप्रहणवर्जन् ॥ *
 परिभाषा ॥ * वस्मिन्विधिस्ताशाब्दलभाषे ॥ *

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 :—येन 'by what (attribute),' विधि: 'rule,' तदन्तस्य '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 यत् 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 विं + यत् = चेयत्. 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 एतच् (III. 3. 56) 'after इ there is अच्' declares that the affix ach would come not only after इ, but after any expression that ends in इ. Thus इ + अच् = अयः, विं + अच् = चयः॥

Vart :—The present rule, (called tadanta-vidhi) must not be applied to rules relating to compounds (samāsa), and to pratyayas (affixes). Thus sūtra II. 1. 24, declares that a word in the accusative case is compounded with the words śrita, atita &c. As कष्टं + अतिः = कष्टअतिः '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 śrita; for tadanta-vidhi does not apply here. Hence we cannot form a compound of कष्टं + परमअतिः॥

Similarly, in rules of affixes. Thus sūtra IV. 1. 99 declares "that the words नड &c., take the affix फक्." Thus नड + फक् = नाडायनः। But we cannot apply the affix phak to the word सूचनड, the tadanta-vidhi not being applicable here. The descendant of सूचनड will be called सोचनाडि 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

that have an indicatory उक् (उ, ऊ, ऊः), short or long, or where a rule is propounded with regard to letters. Thus the affix कृतवा॑त् (I. 1. 26) has an indicatory उ, and we have कृतवृ॒त्. A rule which will apply to कृतवृ॒त् will apply also to the word which ends in कृतवृ॒त्. Thus the feminine of कृतवृ॒त् is कृतवृ॒ती॑ (IV. 1. 6), the feminine of सुकृतवृ॒त् will be सुकृतवृ॒ती॑. Similarly rule IV. 1. 95 अत इच्छ् says "after अत there is the affix इच्छ्." This is a rule relating to pratyayas, but as it is propounded by mere letters, the rule of tadanta-vidhi will apply here. Thus दत्त + इच्छ् = दाति॑ '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, अचि॑ श्नु॒ धातु॑ भ्रुवाम्॒ य्वो॑ इयां॒ उवाहाँ॒, means "इयां and उवाहाँ are the substitutes of what ends with the pratyaya श्नु॒ and what ends in a verbal root in इ or उ, whether long or short, and of the inflective base भ्रु॒, 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. अधिः॑, भ्रु॒ः॑॥

वृद्धिर्यसाचामादिस्तद् वृद्धम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिः॑, यस्य,
अचाम्॑, आदिः॑, तद्॑, वृद्धम्॑ ॥

इति॑ः॑ ॥ अर्थामध्ये यस्य वृद्धिसंज्ञक आदिभूतस्तच्छब्दरूपं वृद्धसंज्ञं भवति॑ ॥

वार्त्तिकम्॑ ॥ *गोवान्तादसमस्तवत्प्रत्ययो॑ भवतीति॑ वन्त्कव्यम्॑ ॥

वार्त्तिकम्॑ ॥ * वा नामधेयस्य वृद्ध॒ संज्ञा वन्त्कव्यः॑ ॥ *

वार्त्तिकम्॑ ॥ * जिह्वाकात्यहरितंकात्य वर्जम्॑ ॥ *

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

This defines the word वृद्धम्॑. The sūtra consists of five words :—
वृद्धिः॑ 'the vriddhi vowel,' यस्य 'whose,' अचाम्॑ 'among the vowels,' आदिः॑ 'is first,' तद्॑ 'that ;' वृद्धम्॑ '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 माला, शाला &c., have the first vowel अ॑ 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 द् is added to vriddham. Thus माला + द् = मालीवः॥

Why do we say "the first?" Because a word like समासंनवन्, which is not a vriddha word, will not admit of the affix द्. Its corresponding derivative will be सामासंनवनः॥

Vart:—A proper noun, though not coming under the above definition, may yet be regarded optionally as a vriddham. Thus देवदत्त + द् = देवदत्तिया, or we may have देवदत्ता.

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 घृतरौद्रि will be regarded as a vriddham too, for the addition of the affix. As घृतरौद्रि + द् = घृतरौद्रीया: 'the students of Ghṛitarauḍhi.' So also शोदनपाणिनीया:, इद्धाम्भीया:, इद्धकाश्यपीया: &c.

Vart:—Exception must be made in the case of जिह्वाकास्य and हरितकास्य। They do not take द्. Thus जैह्वाकाता and हरितकाता: .

त्यदादीनि च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यद्-आदीनि, च ॥

इति: ॥ त्यदादीनि शब्दरूपाणि इद्धसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

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

The त्यद् &c. have been given in the list of sarvanāmas. See sūtra 27. These words are also called vriddham. Thus तद्+द् = तदीयम्, एतरीवद्, मरीयम् इस्मीयम्, अरसीयम्, स्वासायनिः, माशायनिः &c.

एड् प्राचां देशे ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ एड्, प्राचाम्, देशे, (यस्याचामादिः, वृद्धम्) ॥

इति: ॥ एड् यस्याचामादिस्तत्प्रागेवशाभिधाने इद्ध संतः भवति ॥

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

As गोनर्द is a country of the east, it is a vriddham word and we have गोनर्द + द् = गोनर्दिवः; similarly एषीपचनीयम्, भोजकटीवः.

The word prâk in the sûtra has been differently interpreted. The Grammarian Kunin takes the word prâk as an epithet qualifying the word āchârya, 'professor' understood. In that case the sûtra will be thus translated:—'In the opinion of the Eastern (or ancient) professors, a word that has the letters *e* and *o* as the first among its vowels, and is the name of a country, is called vriddham.' Under this interpretation, this will be an optional rule only, giving the opinion of eastern or ancient grammarians.

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

Why do we say 'having the letters ए and ओ'? If a simple vowel is first among the vowels, of a word, that word will not be called vriddham: and as such will not take the affix द्वः; as आदिद्वः, कान्यकुर्जः.

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

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

ओ३म्

॥ अथ प्रथमाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER II.

गाढु कुटादिस्योऽज्ञिन्दित् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाढु-कुट-आदि-
स्यः, अज्ञिणत्, डित् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाढुकुटादिस्यः परेऽज्ञिणतः प्रथया डितो भवन्ति, डिद्वद्वन्तीर्थर्यः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * व्यव्यः कुटादित्वमनसीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

1. All affixes after the verb *gāñ* 'to study' and the verb *kut* 'to be crooked,' and the rest, are as if they had an indicatory इ (īt), except those affixes which have an indicatory ए (ēt) or औ (ōt).

This is an *atideśa sūtra*, and makes certain affixes, though not having an indicatory इ, to produce the same effect as if they were really इत्.

The root गाढु is substituted for the verb इड् in certain tenses, in which the verb इड् is defective (II. 4. 49). The कुटादि verbs are roots belonging to the *Tudādi* class of verbs, and they are forty roots beginning with कुट् 'to be crooked' and ending with कुड् 'to groan.'

After these roots all affixes are treated as if they were marked with a इ with the exception of those affixes which are शित् or षित्.

Thus from गाढु, we have in the aorist the form आध्यगीट; which is thus evolved. आधि + आट + इड् + सित् + त = आध्य + गा + सु + त (II. 4. 50) = आध्य + गी + स्त (VI. 4. 66) = आध्यगीट 'he studied,' आध्यगीषातो 'they two studied;' आध्यगीषत 'they studied.' Here by VI. 4. 66, the आ is changed into ई before the affix सित्, which is regarded as षित्.

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

Thus कुट् + तच् (III. 1. 133) = कुट् + इट् + तच् (VII. 2. 35) = कुटिट्, nominative singular कुटिता 'who acts crookedly.' Here the affix तच् being regarded as षित् does not cause the *guṇa* substitution of the त of कुट् by I. 1. 15.

Similarly with the affixes तुमुर् and तव्यम्, we have कुटिमुर् and कुटितव्यम्. So on with all the forty roots of *kutādi* class: e. g. उत्पुटिता उत्पुटितव्यम्, उत्पुटितव्यम्.

But the affixes marked with अ॒ or अ॑ will not be so treated. Thus विज् by which causatives are formed, is such an affix; e. g. उत्कृद् + विज् + श्रू + तिष् = उत्कोद् + इ + अ॑ + ति = उत्कोट्यते. Here there is guna of the उ॒ of कृद्. So also before the affix ए॒ल् of the perfect tense, we have उच्चुकौट, and before the affix प्लुज् we have उत्कोटकः।

Vārtika:—The root व्यक्त् ‘to deceive,’ is also treated like kuṭādi verbs, except before the affix अस्. As विचिता ‘he shall deceive,’ विचितव्यम् ‘for the purpose of deceiving’ विचितव्यम् &c. Here there is samprasāraṇa before the नित terminations ता, तुम् and सव्यम्, and the अ॑ of व्यक्त् is changed into इ by rule VI. 1. 16.

But the affix अस् is not नित and consequently there is no samprasāraṇa before it. Thus उत्प्रव्ययः ‘an imp.’

विज इट् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ विजः, इट्, (फित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओविजी भवन्नलनयोः, अस्मात्पर इडादिप्रत्ययो डिहवति ॥

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

The root विज् does not strengthen its vowel before the affixes that take the intermediate इ॒, because those terminations are treated like फित् affixes. The root विज् belongs to the Tudādi class. Thus उद्दिजिता ‘he will be agitated,’ उद्दिजितव्यम् ‘for the purpose of being agitated.’ उद्दिजितव्यम् ‘ought to be agitated.’

But those affixes, which are not preceded by the augment इ॒, are not like फित्, and they consequently produce their own proper action, such as gunation &c. As उत् + विज् + स्युट् = उद्देजनम्, उद्देजनीयम् ‘that which ought to be agitated.’

विभाषोर्णीः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, ऋणीः । (फित्, इट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋण॑ आच्छादने, अस्मात्पर इडादिप्रत्ययो विभाषा डिहवति ॥

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

Thus before the इडादि termination इता of the future, we may have either प्रोर्णुविता or प्रोर्णविता “he will cover.”

The equation of the form is :—प्र + ऋण॑ + इ॒ + ता = प्र + ऋण॑व् + इता (VI. 4. 77) = प्रोर्णविता. When the affix is not regarded as फित्, it produces guna, and we have the second form प्रोर्णविता।

Of course there is no option allowed before those affixes which do not take the augment इ॒, and before those terminations, consequently, we have only one form : as प्रोर्ण॑ + स्युट् = प्रोर्ण॒॑ + अनम् = प्रोर्ण॒॑वनम् ‘covering,’ प्रोर्ण॒॑वनीयम् ‘which ought to be covered.’

सार्वधातुकमपित् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सार्वधातुकम् , अप्-इत् ,
(डित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सार्वधातुके यशपित्तन्दित्तवति ॥

4. A *Sārvadhātuka* (III. 4. 113) affix not having an indicator ए is like नित्.

The terminations which are added to roots are either *Sārvadhātuka* or *ārdhadhātuka*. The *Sārvadhātuka* terminations are all those that are marked with a ए and also the tense terminations called तित्, the latter are the following :—

	<i>sing.</i>	<i>dual.</i>	<i>pl.</i>	
3rd Pers.	तिष्	तस्	ति	
2nd Pers.	सिष्	थस्	थ	
1st Pers.	मिष्	मस्	मस्	
3rd Pers.	त	आतास्	स्त	
2nd Pers.	थास्	आयास्	धस्	
1st Pers.	इद्	वाहि	महित्	

Except the terminations marked with a ए such as ति थि and मि &c. all the other *Sārvadhātuka* terminations are डित्. The शित् terminations like शट्, शानच् &c., are also *Sārvadhātuka* terminations. These affixes are also डित्, unless they have a ए as indicator, as शष्. Thus the affix तस्, being an अपित् *Sārvadhātuka* affix, is a डित्, and before it the vowel is not gunated: e. g. कुरुतः 'they two do.' The equation is :—कृ+उ+तस् (the उ is added by Rule III. 1. 79)= कर् + उ + तस् (VI. 4. 110)= कुरु + तस् = कुरुतः ॥ Similarly कुर्वन्ति 'they do.'

Here the ए of कर् is changed into उ and we have कुर्, by virtue of rule VI. 4. 110, which declares that the ए of the verb कर् is changed into उ before those *Sārvadhātuka* affixes which are डित् or कित्. Here तस् is a *Sārvadhātuka* डित् affix by the present rule, and hence the change.

These four sūtras describe the डित् terminations.

Why do we say 'a *Sārvadhātuka* affix.'? Because an *ārdhadhātuka* affix though not being marked with an indicator ए will not be a डित्. As कर्ता 'doer,' कर्तुम् 'to do' कर्तव्यम् 'duty.'

Why do we say 'not having an indicator ए'? If a *Sārvadhātuka* affix has an indicator ए it will not be नित्. As कृ+उ+तिष्=करोति 'he does:' करोषि 'thou doest,' करोमि 'I do.'

असंयोगाङ्गिद् कित् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ असंयोगात् , लिट् ,
कित् , (अपित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असंयोगाम्बादासोः परो जिद् प्रसंयोजिष्ठु कित्तवति ॥

5. The affixes of Lit (Perfect Tense) not coming after a conjunct consonant, are as if they had an indicatory क् (kit).

With this sūtra begins the description of affixes which are regarded as कित् though not actually having a क् to mark them as such. The terminations of नित् (Perfect) not being पित् terminations, are कित्, after verbs that have no compound consonants. The phrase अपित् (not being marked with ग्), qualifies this sūtra also, being drawn from the previous sūtra by the rule of Anuvṛitti.

Thus from भित् 'to tear' the Reduplicated non-पित् second person perfect is विभित्तुः 'thou hast torn.' चिभित् : 'they have torn.'

Similarly विच्छित्तुः 'thou hast divided;' विच्छित् : 'you divided;' इज्जुः and इज्ः.

This rule will not apply if the root ends in a conjunct consonant. Thus धंस् 'to fall down' forms its second person Perfect:—संधंस् + अतुस् = संधंसत्॒॑. Here the affix is not treated as kit; for had it been so treated, it would have caused the elision of the penultimate nasal (anusvāra) of संधं by rule VI. 4. 24. Similarly from धंस् we have संधंसे.

The पित् terminations of the Perfect are not kit; and therefore, we have विभेद् 'he has divided,' where the root is gunated before the 3rd person singular termination एल् which is a पित् termination, because it being the substitute of तिष् is regarded like तिष् by I. 1. 56.

इन्धिभवतिभ्यां च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्धि-भवतिभ्याम्, च,
(लिट् कित्) ॥

इन्धिः ॥ इन्धिभवतीत्येताभ्यां परो नित् प्रत्ययः कित्त्वति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * अन्धिप्रविशम्भस्वञ्चानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

6. The Lit or Perfect Tense affixes after the roots *indhi* 'to kindle,' and *bhu* 'to become,' also are kit.

After these two roots the terminations of the Perfect are कित्. 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 भू is mentioned because all the terminations of the Perfect are कित् after भू, not excepting the पित् terminations. Thus the verbs समीक्षे and इष्ठे are illustrations of Perfect Tense from the root इन्धि as in the following examples:—समीक्षे इस्यहन्तम्, (Rig Veda VI. 16. 15), and पुन इष्ठे अथवणः, (Rig Veda VI. 16. 14). Here the nasal of the root is dropped by regarding the affix as कित् ॥ Similarly from the root भू, we have बभूत्, बभूविष्य ॥

Vart:—This rule should be applied also to the verbs अंत् 'to loosen,' पंथ् 'to fasten,' इन् 'to injure' and संज् 'to embrace.' As अेयत्ः 'thou hast

loosened' अथू + अनुसू = अथू + अनुसू. (The न् is elided by the rule already mentioned in the last sūtra *viz.*, VI. 4. 24).

= अथू + अथू + अनुसू = अथेनुः (VI. 4. 120). Similarly अथेनुः; वैभवः, परिपत्तवै, परिषस्वजाते.

**सृष्टसृदगुधकुपहितशब्दवसः रक्ता ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सृष्ट-सृद-गुध-
कुष-हित-शब्द-वराः, रक्ता (कित्) ॥**

सृच्चिः ॥ सृष्ट सृद गुध कुष हित शब्द वस् इत्येतेभ्यः परः तत्त्वाप्रत्ययः कित्तराति ॥

7. The affix *kīvā* is *kit* after *mṛid* 'to be gracious,' *mṛid* 'to squeeze,' *gudh* 'to wrap up,' *kush* 'to tear,' *kliś* 'to suffer,' *vad* 'to speak' and to *vas* 'dwell.'

After these seven verbs, the gerundial *kīvā* is *kit*. It might be objected, what was the necessity of this sūtra? The affix *kīvā* is clearly a *kit* affix, as it is marked with the diacritical letter क्, and it was useless to call it a *kit* affix after these verbs. The reason of this apparent repetition is this. Though *kīvā* is a *kit* affix generally; but there is a later sūtra in this chapter (I. 2. 18) which declares that the prefix न्ता is not कित्, if it is preceded by the intermediate इ. Or in other words, if रक्ता is added to those verbs, which are called सेत् verbs, viz., that take an intermediate इ, it is not then *kit*. Thus the verb शी 'to sleep' is सेत्. Therefore शी + इ + रक्ता = शी + इ + रक्ता = शयित्वा.

Now it happens that all the seven verbs mentioned in the sūtra are सेत् verbs, and take an intermediate इ. The रक्ता before these verbs would have lost its *kit*ness by virtue of sūtra 18; therefore arose the necessity of this sūtra, to provide in anticipation an exception to that sūtra, in favor of these verbs, where the affix *kīvā* is necessarily *kit*. Thus we have सृदित्वा 'being gracious' सृदित्वा 'having squeezed' गुधित्वा 'having wrapped' कुषित्वा 'having torn,' हितित्वा 'having suffered' उदित्वा 'having spoken' वपित्वा 'having dwelt.' The व *v* of रक्ता and रक्ता are changed into इ by the rule of Samprasāraṇa (VI. 1. 15).

Moreover in the case of the verbs गुध्, कुष् and हित्, sūtra 26 would have made रक्ता *optionally kit*; the present sūtra makes it *necessarily so*.

**रुदविदमुषप्रहित्वपिप्रच्छः संश्व ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुद-विद-मुष-
ग्रहि-स्वपि-प्रच्छ संश्व , (रक्ता कित्) ॥**

सृच्चिः ॥ रुद विद मुष ग्रहि स्वपि प्रच्छ इत्येतेभ्यः संश्व तत्त्वा च कित्तौ भवतः ॥

8. The affixes *kīvā* 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 *kta* though taking an intermediate इ, and the affix सन् are कित्. The affix सन् is employed in forming desiderative verbs. The न् of सन् is इत्, the real affix being स. The root is reduplicated before this सन् affix. Thus रुदित्वा 'having cried,' रुदिष्यति 'he wishes to cry'; विदित्वा 'having known,' विविदिष्यति 'he wishes to know'; गृहीत्वा (VI. I. 16) 'having taken,' जिधृत्वा 'he wishes to take'; मुषित्वा 'having stolen,' मुमुषिष्यति 'he wishes to steal'; सुप्त्वा (VI. I. 15) 'having slept,' सुपृत्वा 'he wishes to sleep,' पृत्वा (VI. I. 16) 'having asked,' पिपृच्छिष्यति 'he wishes to ask'. The verb घट् is changed into गृह्, सन् into सुप्, प्रच्छ् into पृच्छ् before *kit* affixes by samprasārana (VI. I. 16).

The *kta* and *san* would have been *optionally kit* after the verb रह्, वित् and मुप् 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 घट्, these affixes are *kit* by virtue of this sūtra only. In the case of the verbs स्वप् and प्रच्छ् the affix रक्ता is of course *kit*, because these two verbs are anīt, that is, they do not take the intermediate इ; and therefore the रक्ता being directly affixed to them, and rule 18 not applying, the indicatory क would make it *kit*. In reference to these verbs, therefore, the present sūtra teaches something new, only with regard to the affix सन्, by making that also *kit*. The verb प्रच्छ् takes the intermediate इ when the affix सन् follows, by virtue of sūtra VII. 2. 75.

इको भल् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, भल् (सन्, कित्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्ताद्वातोः परो श्लाहिः सन् कित्वति ॥

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

In this sūtra there is the *anuvṛitti* of सन् only and not of रक्ता. The sūtra literally translated means:—"After *ik* the *jhal*." The *Pratyāhāra* इक् contains the four letters इ, उ, ऋ, ऋ. The *Pratyāhāra* श्ल् contains all the consonants, except the nasals and the liquids. After the verbs ending in इक् the desiderative suffix सन् is *kit*, when it is श्लाहि, that is to say when the affix सन् does not take the intermediate इ. The affix सन् is an affix which begins with स् a letter of the श्ल् class. But if the intermediate इ is added before it, it is no longer a श्लाहि affix, and in that case it is not कित्. Thus from जि 'to conquer' which is a verb ending in इक्, we have जिगीषति 'he wishes to conquer' यु 'to mix' युशृषति; so also कृ 'to do,' चिकीषति वृ 'to cross' तिरीषति, भू 'to be' भूभृषति.

If however, verbs ending in इ or उ or ऋ or ऋ, take an intermediate इ, they likewise take गुणा. As:—स्मि 'to smile' takes गुणा, and makes its desiderative सिस्मयिषति.

The शनादि सन् is not *kit* after verbs ending in any other letter than the इक्. As पिपासति (from पा) 'he wishes to drink.' So from स्था we have सिष्टासति.

The object of making the affix सन् *kit* affix after verbs ending in *ik* vowels, is to prevent the *guṇa* of the vowel of the root, as in चिक्षीषति 'wishes to collect' गुदूषति 'wishes to praise.' To this it might be objected "this cannot be : for rule VI. 4. 16 (when सन् beginning with a *jhal* i.e., not preceded by the augment इट follows, a long vowel is the substitute of verbs ending in a vowel, and of the verbs इन् and गम्) would prevent *guṇa* by substituting long vowel." To this it may be replied "if rule VI. 4. 16, enjoining long vowel, debars rule VII. 3. 84 requiring *guṇa*, it should *a fortiori* debar rule VI. 4. 51 which requires the elision of the affix फि� before Ardhādhātuka affixes not taking the augment इट. But evidently that is not so ; for the elision of फि� 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 सन् be treated as कित्." Thus in चिक्षीषति 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 Pāṇini when both find their scope in a single case. Thus in forming the desiderative of the verb ज्ञप् 'to inform,' both the rules VI. 4. 16 and VI. 4. 51 present themselves, but the latter prevails. The verb ज्ञप् belongs to the churādi class of verbs, and takes the affix फिच्छ. Thus ज्ञप् + फिच्छ + सन् + तिप्; here the present sūtra comes into force, and सन् being treated as कित्, the *guṇa* of the इ of फिच्छ is prevented. Thus sūtra VII. 3. 84 requiring *guṇa* being set aside, sūtra VI. 4. 51 comes into play, and causes the elision of फिच्छ and we have ज्ञप् + स + ति = ज्ञीप्तस्ति (VII. 4. 55 ज्ञा changed to ई) 'he wishes to inform.'

हलन्ताच्च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल्-अन्तात्, च, (इक्, सन्, कल्, कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः १ इगन्तादिक्समीपाद्यज्ञः परः सन् शनादिः कित्यति ॥

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

Thus from भिर् 'to pierce' we have विभिस्ति 'he wishes to break,' here the root भिर् contains the *ik* vowel इ; it ends in a consonant र्; the affix सन् is directly added without taking an intermediate इ, and therefore it fulfills all the conditions of the sūtra ; and the vowel is not gunated.

If the final consonant of the verb is not preceded by a vowel of the *ik* class, the affix सन् is not *kit* after such a verb. As वज् + सन् + से = वियसते 'wishes to sacrifice.' Had the affix सन् been here a *kit* affix, there would have been *samprasāraṇa* by rule VI. 1. 16 which declares that there is *samprasāraṇa* of the verbs वज्, स्वप्, and यज्, &c., before *kit* affixes.

If the *san* takes the intermediate इ and is then no longer a श्वनादि सन्, it is not *kit*; and causes gunation *etcetera*. As इन् + इ + सन् = विवर्तिषते 'he desires to be.' Here there is *guna* of *ri*.

Roots like इम्, देह् &c., are governed by this rule, though they end in conjunct consonants, for the word इल् of the sūtra means *jdti* or class; thus इम् + सन् + तिप् = इन् + सति (VI. 4. 24 the *m* being elided by treating सन् as किन्) = धीप्सति or धिप्सति (VII. 4. 56).

लिङ्गसिचावात्मनेपदेषु ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्गसिचौ , आत्म-
नेपदेषु (छलन्तात् इक् भल्) ॥

शक्तिः ॥ इग्न्तादिक्षमीपादजः परो श्वनादि निलिङ्गसिचौ आत्मनेपदेषु परतः किंतो
भवतः ॥

11. After roots ending in a consonant, that adjoins a vowel of *ik* pratyāhāra, the substitutes of *lin* (III. 3. 161) and *sich* (III. 1. 44) when they begin with a consonant of *jhal* pratyāhāra, are *kit*, when the ात्मनेपada affixes follow.

The sūtra consists of two words निङ्गसिचौ and आत्मनेपदेषु, literally meaning "the affixes *lin* and *sich* in the Atmanepada." The other phrases, given in the above text must be supplied from the previous sūtras, to complete the sense. The *anuvritti* of the word सन्, that began with sūtra 8. does not extend further. As:—भिस्ति 'may he break' and भुस्ति 'may he know,' अभित्त 'he broke' अबुत्त 'he knew.'

Thus the root भित् ends with a simple consonant, is preceded by इ a letter of *ik* pratyāhāra; after this root the *jhalādi* affix सीट of Benedictive in the Atmanepada is treated like किन्; therefore there is no *guna* substitution of the vowel of the root before this affix. भित् + सीट = भिस्ति. Similarly in the Aorist we have भवित्त = अ + भित् + सित् + त, the स of Aorist being elided by VIII. 2. 26. So also जुत् + सीट = भुंत् + सीट (VIII. 2. 37) = भुस्ति.

If the final consonant is not preceded by an *ik* vowel, this rule will not apply. Thus Ben. यज् + सीट = यष् + सीट (VIII. 2. 36) = यक् + सीट (VIII. 2. 41) = यक्ति (VIII. 3. 58). Similarly its Aorist is अयष्. Had the affixes सीट and त been *kit*, they would have caused *samprasāraṇa* of य by VI. 1. 16.

This rule will not apply, if the Benedictive and Aorist affixes are Parasmaipadi. Thus the Aorist of सञ्ज् 'to let off,' is अ + सृज् + सीत् = अ + सु + अ + ज् + सीत् (VI. 1. 58) = असञ्ज् + सीत् (VI. 1. 77) = भसासीत् (VII. 2. 1). Similarly from इष् we have Aorist Parasmaipadi अद्रासीत्. Had the Aorist been कित्, rule VI. 1. 58 (अस् is the augment of the verbs सृज् and इष् when an affix beginning with a *jhal* and not having an indicatory क् follows), would not have applied.

This rule will also not apply, if the verb ends in a vowel. Thus of the verb चि, we have Ben. चेषीट्, Aor. अचेषट्. Had the affixes been कित्, there would have been no *guṇa* substitution of *i* into *e*.

The rule will not apply if these affixes are not *jhalādi* but take the augment इट्. Thus Ben. इत् + इषीट् = अविषीट्, so also Aorist अवितिष्. Had they been कित्, there would have been no *guṇa* substitution.

This rule, of course, is confined to the Benedictive and the Aorist. Other tenses will not be affected by this rule. Thus the 1st and 2nd Future of दिष् is देष्टा and देष्यति.

उथ ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उः, उ, (लिङ्गसिचौ आत्मनेपदेषु
क्लृ कित्)

इति: ॥ चरण्णान्तादावोः परौ निःसिचावास्मनेपदेषु शनार्थी कितो भवतः ॥

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

As from कू 'to do' the benedictive is कूषीट् 'may he do.' So also सिच्, as अकूत् 'he did.' So also हृषीट् and अहृत्.

Of course this rule would not apply if these terminations take the intermediate इ; as इ + इषीट् = अविषीट् 'may he choose,' (Benedictive); अ + इ + इट् = अविरिट् or अवरिट् 'he chose or covered,' the इ being lengthened by VII. 2. 38.

या गमः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ या, गमः, (लिङ्गसिचौ आत्मने-
पदेषु क्लृ कित्) ॥

इति: ॥ गमेष्टातोः परौ निःसिचावास्मनेपदेषु शनार्थी या कितो भवतः ॥

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

The verb गम् 'to go' is Atmanepadi after the preposition सम् by Rule I. 3. 29.

The result of its being *kit* is that the nasal is dropped in the Atmanepada, in forming the Aorist with सित्, and the Benedictive. Thus we have

the forms :—संगंसीट् or संगसीट् in the Benedictive ; and समगत् or समगंस्त् in the sick Aorist. These forms are thus evolved :—

सम् + गम् + सीट् = सम् + ग + सीट् (VI. 4. 37) = संगसीट् ‘may he combine.’ Here the nasal म् of गम् is elided by treating the affix सीट् as कित् by Rule VI. 4. 37. In the alternative we have संगंसीट्.

So in the aorist सम् + गम् + सिच् + त = सम् + घट् + गम् + त (VI. 4. 37) = समगत्. The सिच् being elided by VIII. 2. 27 (after a short inflective base, there is elision of सिच्, if a *jhal* follows). So when म् of गम् is elided by VI. 4. 37, there remains only ग which is a base ending in short अ, hence, the elision of सिच्. But in the alternative we have समगंस्त्.

हनः सिच् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, सिच् । (कित्) ॥

इति: ॥ हन्सेर्थातोः परः सिच् कित्वा विद्यते ॥

14. The sick Atmanepada affixes are *kit* after the root *han* ‘to kill.’

As आहत्, आहसाताम्, आहसत् are the aorist of हन्. When a सिच् or second aorist is *kit* the verb loses its nasal, by Rule VI. 4. 37. After the verb हन् the सिच् is only *kit* and not the Benedictive लिङ् terminations, as was the case in the previous sūtra; hence the repetition of the word *sick* in this sūtra. The sūtras 12, and 13 were governed both by निङ् and सिच्; from and after this sūtra, the governing power of निङ् ceases. The governing power of the word “Atmanepada” in sūtra 11 does not however cease, and its anuvṛitti runs through the succeeding sūtras; though as regards this sūtra, its anuvṛitti is redundant, inasmuch as before the Parasmaipada terminations, the root हन् is always replaced by वध् in the aorist, there is no necessity of making the affix *sick* a *kit*. For the object served in making *sick*, *kit*, after the verb हन्, is to elide the nasal, while in the case of वध्, no such purpose can be served.

यमेऽगन्धने ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ यनः, गन्धने, (सिच् आसनने-पदेषु कित्) ॥

इति: ॥ यमेर्थातोऽग्न्धने वर्तमानास्तः सिच् प्रत्ययः कित् भवति आसनेपदेषु परतः ॥

15. The affix *sick* before Atmanepada affixes, is *kit* after the verb *yanam*, when meaning ‘to divulge.’

The word *gandhana* means ‘to divulge,’ ‘to make known that which had been concealed.’ The verb यन् has various meanings.

The result of *kit* is that the nasal is elided. The verb यन् becomes Atmanepada when preceded by the preposition आद् by rule I. 3. 28. Thus उत् + आ + यन् + त = उत्यात् = ‘he divulged,’ उत्यायसत्, उत्यायसत्, the *sick* is elided by VIII. 2. 27 and म् by VI. 4. 37. When the verb यन् has any other meaning than ‘to divulge,’ then the सिच् in the Atmanepada is not *kit*; as उत्यायसत् पारम् ‘he raised the foot.’ So also उत्यायसत् कूपातुरकम् ‘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 सम्, उत् and आद् when it does not refer to a book, the Atmanepada is employed."

विभाषिपयमने ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उपयमने, (यमः
हित् आत्मनेपदेषु कित्) ॥

शृज्जिः ॥ यमेष्ठातोरुपयमने वर्तमानात् परः सित्रू प्रस्थयो विभाषा किद्वरति आत्मनेपदेषु
परतः ॥

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

Thus उपायत कन्याम् or उपायस्त कन्याम् 'he espoused the girl,' उपायत
or उपायस्त भार्याम् 'he espoused his wife.'

The word 'Upayamana' in the sūtra means 'to accept in marriage,' 'to espouse.' The verb यम् preceded by the preposition उप is Atmanepadi when it means 'to espouse' by Rule I. 3. 56.

स्पास्थ्येरित्य ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्था, द्वा:, इत्, च (सिजात्म-
नेपदेषु कित्) ॥

शृज्जिः ॥ तिष्ठतेर्थातोः शुसंजकानात्पू इकारभान्तारेशः सित्रू किद्वरति आत्मनेपदेषु परतः ॥

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

The roots स्था 'to stand,' दा 'to give,' धा 'to place' ऐ 'to pity' ऐ 'to feed' दो 'to cut' change their vowels into इ before the terminations of the Aorist of the Atmanepada; and those terminations are also *kit*. As उपास्थित, 'he worshipped' उपास्थिषाताम्, उपास्थिषत; अधिव 'he gave' अधिव 'he fed.'

न द्वा सेट् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, द्वा, सेट्, (कित्) ॥

शृज्जिः ॥ कृप्रस्थयः सेष्ण किद्वरति ॥

18. The affix *ktvā* when it takes the augment इ (i. e. when it is *set*) is not *kit*.

We had had occasion to refer to this sūtra in explaining sūtra 7. The affix *ktvā* (the actual affix being *tva*, the *k* being merely *it* or indicatory letter) is on the face of it a *kit* affix. This sūtra however limits its kitness to cases where it is not *set*. If it is *set* i.e., has before it the intermediate इ it will not be treated like a *kit* affix. Thus in कृस्था, हस्ता, the affix स्था is added directly to the root कृ 'to do' and ह 'to sacrifice,' without an intermediate इ and therefore the root has not been gunated, the affix here being *kit*. But in

स्वेदित्वा, सेवित्वा, वर्त्तित्वा, from स्विद्, सिद् and इत् 'to sweat,' 'to shine,' 'to be,' the affix is not *kit*, because there is an intermediate इ before त्वा and the root has been consequently gunated.

Of course this sūtra relates to कृता *kṛvā* only. Other affixes though having an intermediate इ will be treated as *kit*, if they have an indicator क्. Thus the affix किन् (III. 3. 94) by which feminine nouns are formed from roots is a कित् affix. This affix when सेट्, will remain किन्, as नि+प्रहृ+इद् किन्=नि+गृहृ+इ+ति (VI. 1. 16)=निगृहीतिः (VII. 2. 37). Here there is samprāśāraṇa by treating *ktin* as *kit*. So also in उपस्थितिः and निकृचितिः there is no guna. After प्रहृ &c., the affix किन् takes the augment इद् by a Vārtika under sūtra VII. 2. 9 which see.

**निष्ठा शीङ्गस्तिदिमिदिश्विदिधृष्यः ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा,
शीङ्ग-स्तिदि-मिदि-श्विदि-धृष्यः (न, सेट्, कित्) ॥**

इति: ॥ शीङ्ग स्तिदि मिदि ह्विदि धृष् इत्येतत्यः परो निष्ठा प्रथयः सेषुन किहवति ॥

19. The sēṭ Nishṭhā affixes are not *kit* after the verbs *sī* 'to lie down,' *svid* 'to sweat,' *mid* 'to melt,' *kshvid* 'to be unctuous,' and *dhrish* 'to offend.'

The Nishṭhās are *ktta* and *ktavatu* (see sūtra 26, Chapter I). They are obviously *kit* affixes. But in the case of the above five roots they are not *kit*, and the vowels take guna. Thus शयितः: slept, शयितवान्, प्रस्वेदितः, प्रमेदितः, प्रद्वेदितवान्, प्रमेदितवान्, प्रधर्षितः, प्रधर्षितवान् &c. In all the above roots the *Nishṭha* affixes are also *sēṭ*.

The roots स्विद् (अभिविदा), निइ (अभिनिषा), किइ (अभिकिंशा) and धृष् (अधिष्पता) have all long आ as indicator, as well as the syllable अ. These roots therefore by Rule VII. 2. 16 are generally *anis*, and consequently beyond the scope of the operation of the present sūtra. As स्विजः, स्विजवान्. But when the Nishṭhā affixes denote 'a state or condition, bhāva,' or 'beginning of action,' then the above four roots optionally become *sēṭ*. (VII. 2. 17) It is in that case that the present sūtra is applicable to them.

**सृष्टस्तितिक्षायाम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ सृष्टः, तितिक्षायाम् (निष्ठा
सेट् न कित्) ।**

इति: ॥ वृषेभातोः तितिक्षायामर्थेनिष्ठासेषुन किहवति ॥

20. The sēṭ Nishṭhā is not *kit* after the verb *mṛish* when meaning 'to forbear.'

Thus मर्षितः: 'forborne' मर्षितवान् 'forbore.'

Why do we say 'when meaning to forbear?' When it has not this sense, the sēṭ nishṭhā will be कित्. As अपश्चितं वाद्यमाह 'he spoke unintelligible language.'

उदुपधाद्वायादिक्षर्मन्तरस्याम् ॥२७॥ पदानि ॥ उत्-उपधात्,
भाय-आदि-कर्मणोः, अन्तरस्याम् (निष्ठासेण् न कित्) ॥

यत्तिः ॥ उदुपधाद्वातोः परो भावे आदिकर्मणि च वर्तमानो निष्ठाप्रत्यवः सेन्द्रन्तरस्यां न
कित्वति ॥

21. The sēt Nishṭhā is optionally not *kit*, after the verbs with a penultimate त if used impersonally or denoting the beginning of action.

According to some the sēt Nishṭhā suffixes are not *kit* after the verbs having a penultimate त if those verbs are used impersonally (bhāva) or denote the beginning of action (ādi-karman). Thus यत् 'to shine' युतिवनेन or योतिवनेन 'it has been lighted.' Similarly प्रयोतितः or प्रयुतितः 'he first illuminated.' The word penultimate or *upadhd* has been defined in sūtra 65 ante.

If the verb has any other vowel than त as penultimate, then the rule does not apply. As निष्ठिवमनेन 'written by him.' Here त 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 आदिकर्म 'beginning of action' but is used as a verbal adjective. As रुचिं कार्पापणं इति 'he gives a shining coin (called kārshāpanā).' Here the word रुचिं 'shining' is used as adjective.

The rule applies to the Nishṭhā which takes the intermediate त and not to others as प्रभुक्त योद्धः '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 गुण i. e. the verbs of the *Bhu* class &c., admit of this option. Thus गुण 'to wrap up' belongs to Divādi class, and therefore, its participle has one form only as गुणितं.

पूङः क्षा च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूङः, क्षा, च (सेट्, कित्, न
निष्ठा) ॥

यत्ति ॥ पूङः परो निष्ठा प्रत्यवः क्षा च सेन्द्रन कित्वति ॥

22. The sēt Nishṭhā and the sēt *kīvā* are not *kit* after the verb puṇ '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 *anuvṛitti* of न सेट् however is to be read in this sūtra.

By rule VII. 2. 51 after the verb त् the affixes Nishṭhā and चूा ktvā take the intermediate इ. So that चूा ktvā being sēt (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 sūtra: when sūtra 18 comprised the case. The reason of this repetition is that by mentioning चूा ktvā in this sūtra, it has governing force over the succeeding sūtras. As पवितः, पवितवाऽरु .

नोपधात् यफान्ताद्वा ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-उपधात्-य-फ-अन्तात्-
वा (क्षा सेट् न कित्) ॥

शृतिः ॥ नकारोपधात्वातोस्यकारान्तात्कारान्तात्वं परः चूा प्रत्ययः सेद्वा न किद्वति ॥

23. The sēt ktvā is optionally *kit*, after the verbs having a penultimate त् and ending in य or ए.

The sēt ktvā may or may not be *kit* after the verbs ending in य or ए preceded by a nasal. The result of being *kit* will be that nasal will be dropped. In other words the dropping of the nasal is optional in such verbs. Thus from मंथ् we have प्रथित्वा or पन्थित्वा 'having twisted,' गुणित्वा or गुंडित्वा 'having tied round' श्रथित्वा or शन्थित्वा .

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

This rule does not apply to verbs that have not a penultimate त् though they may end in य or ए. As रेकिस्ता 'having reviled' गोकिस्ता 'having tied.' Here by rule 18, the त्वा tvā being non-kit, the vowels of the root रेक्, and गोक् have been gunated.

A verb may have a penultimate त्, but if it has not final य or ए, the rule does not apply. As संस् + इत्वा = संसित्वा 'having dropped' संसित्वा 'having killed.' Had it been *kit*, the nasal would have been dropped.

वच्छिलुभूतश्च ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वच्छि-लुभूचि-ऋतः, च, (क्षा सेट् न कित्) ॥

शृतिः ॥ वच्छि लुभूचि ऋत् इत्येतेष्यः परः चूा प्रत्ययः सेद्वा न किद्वति ॥

24. The sēt ktvā is optionally *kit*, after the verbs *vāñch*, 'to cheat' *luñch* 'to pluck' and *rit* 'to dare or abhor.'

After the above three verbs, the ktvā affix being *sēt*, may or may not be *kit*. As वच्छित्वा or लुभूचित्वा 'having cheated.' So also लुचित्वा or लुभित्वा 'having plucked' ऋतित्वा or ऋतित्वा 'having dared.'

When the verb ऋत् ?it takes the affix ईयद् it is not governed by this sūtra. See sūtra III. 1. 29.

When the *kta* is not *sēt*, but *anit*, then there is no option allowed.
As वृत्त + स्वात् = वस्त्रा.

दृष्टिसृष्टिलभ्यः काश्यपस्य ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृष्टि-सृष्टि-कृत्यः,
काश्यपस्य, (क्षा सेट् न कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृष्टि सृष्टि दृष्टि इत्येतम्यः परः क्षा प्रत्ययः सेट् काश्यपस्याचार्यस्व वा वा वा कित्यति ॥

25. The *sēt kta* is optionally *kit*, according to the opinion of Rishi Kāshyapa, after the verbs *trish* 'to be thirsty,' *mrish* 'to sprinkle,' and *kriś* 'to become lean.'

As हवित्वा or तर्पित्वा 'having thirsted,' सृषित्वा or मर्षित्वा 'having sprinkled,' कृतित्वा or कृशित्वा 'having become lean.' By sūtra 18, the *sēt kta* is never *kit*. This sūtra adds another exception to that general rule.

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

रलो द्युपधादुलादेः संश्व ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रलः, उ- इ-उपधाद्,
एल्-आदेः, सन्, च (वासेट् कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारोपधाद्विकारोपधाद्विधातो रजन्ताद्वज्ञादेः परः संश्व क्षात् सेट् वा कित्तो
भवतः ॥

26. After a verb which begins with a consonant, and ends in a letter of *Ral pratydhra*, and has as its penultimate इ or ई, उ or ऊ, the *kta* and *san* affixes are optionally *kit*.

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

1. रलः: *ralah*, ablative of रल् (after the consonants included in the *Pratydhra ral* i.e., all the consonants except श् *y* and श् *v*):—Verbs having their final letter any single consonant except श् *y* or श् *v*.

2. द्युपधात् means "after penultimate शी." It is a compound of शी + उपधा. The शी itself is a compound of उ + इ = शि, in the dual शी. Therefore the phrase means "after (verbs) having for their penultimate either इ or उ long or short."

3. इन्नादेः means "beginning with a consonant."

All these three words qualify the word "verb" understood.

4. संश्व means "and san."

The sūtra means, those verbs which have a रल् letter in the end, a इन्न् in the beginning, and an इ, ई or उ, ऊ in their penultimate, may optionally treat the affixes *kta* and *san* as कित्.

Thus दृश् 'to shine,' makes इयुतिस्वा or योतिस्वा 'having shone,' लिख् 'to write' makes निखित्स्वा or लेखित्स्वा.

Similarly in *sas* affix we have निनिखिषति or लिनेखिषति 'he wishes to write' दिश्युतिषते or दियोतिषते 'he wishes to shine.'

The rule does not apply if the verb ends in a letter other than रञ्. As दिश् + क्षा = देवित्सा; its desiderative will be दिवेषिषति. No option is allowed here.

Similarly there is no option when the penultimate vowel is not इ or उ. As दृश् + क्षा = दर्शित्सा. Des. दिवर्तिषते.

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

The rule does not apply if the क्षा and सर् are *anit*. As भुक्षा, भुमुखते.

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

अकालोऽज्ञ द्रुत्वदीर्घमूतः ॥ २३॥ पदानि ॥ अ-कालः अच्, द्रुत्व-
दीर्घ-मूतः ॥

युतिः ॥ उ उ क ३ इत्येवं कालोऽज्ञ यथाक्रमं इस्वरीर्घमूत इत्येवं संहो भवति ॥

27. A vowel whose time is that of short *u*, long *a* and the prolated *u*, is called respectively *hrasva* short, *dirgha* long, and *pluta* prolated.

The उ *u* 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 उ उ has been taken to illustrate the rule. The phrase इस्वरीर्घमूतः 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 शुषि 'curd' मधु 'honey' here उ and उ are short. कुमारी, गौरी, here उ is long. देवदत्ताऽ अन्वास Devadatta ! Here आ *a* is *pluta* or prolated.

These words are used in the following sutras I. 2. 47, VII. 4. 25. VIII. 2. 82.

अचक्ष ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, च, (द्रुत्व दीर्घ मूतः) ॥
युतिः ॥ इस्वरीर्घ मूतः स्वसंज्ञायामिष्यमाणा अचएवस्थाने वेदितव्याः ॥

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 paribhāshā 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 I. 2. 47.¹ "there is the substitution of *harsva* 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 ई अतिरि, नौ भ्रतिनु, गो उपगु.

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

Similarly sūtra VII. 4. 25² teaches "There is the substitution of *dirgha* or 'long vowel' before all affixes beginning with the letter य्, except *krit* and *Sārvadhātuka* affixes." Here also the word 'vowel' must be read into the sūtra, which will then be "of an inflective base ending in a vowel, the long vowel shall be the substitute &c." As चिं + यह् + ते = चीयते 'it is collected'; भु + य + ते = भूयते '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 भित् + य + ते = भिद्यते 'it is divided,' छियते 'it is pierced'.

So also in the case of *pluta* substitution. Thus rules VIII. 2. 82 and 84,³ declare that in calling from a distance, *pluta* is substituted for the फि portion of the word in the vocative. (The word फि 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 फि &c." Thus देवदत्तः, O Devadatta! यज्ञदत्तः O Yajñadatta!

Why do we say "in the place of vowels only"? The substitution must be in the place of the vowel of the फि and not of the consonant. As अग्निचित्त, सोमसृष्ट. Here the syllables इन् and उन् are फि, and the vowels इ and उ have been prolated and not the consonant त्.

The substitution must be enunciated as such by using the terms, *hrasva*, *dirgha*, and *pluta*. Therefore it is not so here; यौ; पन्या; सः, युवान् युभिः || See I. 1. 4.

उच्चेष्ठातःः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उच्चैः, उदात्तः, (अच्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उच्चैरपलभ्यमानो योच्यत् स उदात्तसंज्ञो 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 अग्निः agnīḥ, here i has the acute accent. The *udātta* is not marked

(¹) हस्तो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्य ॥ (²) अकृत्स्वार्थधातुकयोर्दर्शः ॥ (³) वाक्यस्वट्टः
मुत उदात्तः ॥ दूराद्युभ्यः ॥

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 profane 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. 1. 3. ¹ "the first vowel of an affix has the udātta accent." As कृ+तव्यम्=कर्तव्यम् kartávyam.

नीचैरनुदात्तः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नीचैः, अनुदात्तः, (अच्) ॥
युतिः ॥ नीचैरुपलभ्यमानो योऽच् सोनुशात्तसंज्ञो भवति ॥

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 अग्निः agnīḥ, here अ 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. 1. 4. ² "The case terminations called सुप् and those affixes that have an indicatory प् are *anudātta*" &c. As चयः, वोधानि.

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 स्वरितः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ समाहारः, स्वरितः (अचः,
उदात्तः, अनुदात्तः) ॥

युतिः ॥ उपात्तानुशात्तस्वरसमाहारो योऽच् स्वरितसंज्ञो भवति ॥

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. 1. 185. ³ "The affixes having an indicatory प् have *svarita* accent." As कन्या kanyaः शिक्ष्यं म् śikṣyam , क् kvā.

(¹) आयुशात्तश्च ॥ (²) अनुशात्ती सुप्तितौ ॥ (³) तिरत्स्वरितम् ॥

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.

तस्यादित उदात्तमर्हुस्वस् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, आदितः, उदात्तम्, अर्हु-हुस्वम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्य स्वरितस्य आशवर्द्धस्वमुशम् भवति ॥

32. Of it (*svarita*) the first portion is *uddatta*, to the extent of a half measure, or prosodial length.

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

The phrase *ardhahrasva* 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 *uddatta* and the other half *anudātta*. If a long vowel, whose mātrās are two, be *svarita*, then $\frac{1}{2}$ will be *uddatta*, $\frac{1}{2}$ will be *anudātta*. If a *pluta* (protracted) vowel be *svarita*, then first half measure will be *uddatta*, and the remaining $2\frac{1}{2}$ 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 शिक्यम् śikyam the *a* is *svarita*, half being acute, the other half, grave or monotony; in कृन्या kanya, the long *a* is *svarita*, its first half measure is acute, the remaining $1\frac{1}{2}$ is grave; in मानवका manavaka, here *a* prolated is *svarita*, its first $\frac{1}{2}$ is accute, the balance $2\frac{1}{2}$ measure is grave.

एकश्रुतिदूरात्सम्बुद्धी ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकश्रुति, दूरात्, सम्बुद्धी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकश्रुति वास्तवं भवति दूरात्सम्बुद्धी सति ॥

33. In addressing a person from a distance, the tone is called *Ekaśruti* or monotony.

Monotony or *Ekaśruti* 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 आगच्छ भो माणवक देवस्त्नाऽ '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 दूरात्सम्बुद्धी ॥)

If the person is not addressed from a distance, then the word will get its proper accent. As आगच्छ ओ माणवक देवदत्त 'come, O boy. Devadatta.'

यज्ञकर्मण्यजपन्यूङ्खसामसु ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्ञ-कर्मणि, अज-
य-न्यूङ्ख-सामसु, (एकश्रुतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जपन्यूङ्खसामानि वर्जयित्वा यज्ञकर्मणि मन्त्राणामैकभ्रुत्यं भवति ॥

34. In sacrificial works, there is Monotony, except in *japa* (silent repetition of a formula), Nyûñkha vowels (sixteen sorts of om) and the *Sâma* 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. Nyûñkha is the name of certain hymns of the veda, and the names of 16 sorts of "Om." Some of these are pronounced with udâtta and others with anudâtta accent. Sâmas are songs, or the musical cadence in which some vedic hymns are to be uttered. As:—अ॒नि॑र्मूद्धा॒द्वि॒रः कृ॒कुल्ति॑ः प॒ष्टि॑न्या॒ च॒यम् । च॒पा॑म् रे॒तां॑सि जि॒न्वतो॑ १२४ ॥ (Rig Veda VIII. 14. 16).

When a mantra is recited as a *japa*, then it must be pronounced with accents:—As सम॑ग्ने वच्चो॑ विहृ॒ष्वंसु॑ (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 *sâma* chanting, the mantras should have their accent, there can be no Ekaśruti there. As ए॒ विश्वं॑ समन्विष्यं॑ इहा॑ ॥ Here there is no Ekaśruti;

उच्चैस्तरां॑ वा॑ वषट्कारः॑ ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उच्चैस्तराम्॑, वा॑ ,
वषट्कारः॑, (यज्ञकर्मणि, एकश्रुतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञकर्मणि वषट्कारः॑ उच्चैस्तरां॑ वा॑ भवति॑ एकभ्रुतिर्वा॑ ॥

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

The phrase "yajñâ-karma" is understood here. Even in *yajña-karmas* or sacrifices the word वौषट् may optionally be pronounced in a raised tone. The word वषट् in the sûtra signifies वौषट्. But why was not the word वौषट् used in the text, it could have been used with as much ease as वषट्? To this natural query, the only answer is, विचिनाः हि सूतस्व कृतिः पाणिनेः strange and wonderful is the structure of Panini's aphorisms. Thus सोमस्याग्ने वीही॒३ वौ॒३ वषट् or सोमस्याग्ने वीही॒३ वौ॒३ वषट् .

विभाषा छन्दसि ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, छन्दसि, (एकाश्रुतिः)
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये विभाषा एकाश्रुतिर्वत्ति पञ्चान्वरे चैत्यर्वमेव भवति।

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 Ekaśruti 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 (*vyavasthita-vibhāshā*).

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 Ekaśruti; while some say there must be Ekaśruti necessarily and not optionally in the recitation of the Brahmanas.

Thus:—अग्निर्मीने पुरोहितं or simply अग्निर्मीने 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 *anuvṛitti*; why then use the word विभाषा “optional” again? To this we reply, this apparently redundant repetition is for the sake of indicating that the *anuvṛitti* of the word ब्रह्मकर्मणि, which was understood in the last sūtra, does not extend to this. Had we taken the *anuvṛitti* of वा, the other word also would have been attracted; hence the separate use of the word विभाषा.

न सुब्रह्मण्यायां स्वरितस्य तुदात्तः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, सुब्रह्म-
ण्यायाम्, स्वरितस्य, तु, उदात्तः, (एकाश्रुतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुप्रदृष्ट्यायामेकाश्रुतिर्वभवति यस्तु लक्षणप्राप्तः स्वरितस्योत्तमं आदेष्टो भवति॥

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

The subrahmanyā hymns are portions of Rig Veda mentioned in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

This sūtra prohibits Ekaśruti in the case of certain prayers called subrahmanyā. By rule 34 read with 36 *ante*, prayers might be *optionally* uttered with Ekaśruti accent. This ordains an exception to that rule. In subrahmanyā prayers there is no ekaśruti; and in these hymns, a vowel which otherwise by any rule of grammar would have taken a svarita accent, takes an udātta accent instead.

As सुप्रदृष्ट्यो इ मिन्द्रागच्छ इति आगच्छ. Here the word सुप्रदृष्ट्य is formed by the addition of the affix यत् to the word सुप्रदृष्ट्, and this यत् will get *svarita*

accent by VI. i. 185, (तिस्त्रितिम्) as it has an indicatory त्र; by the present sūtra, this nascent *svarita* is changed into *udātta*. In the phrase इन्द्र आगच्छ, the word Indra being in the vocative case, इ is *udātta*, the आ of *Indra* is *anudātta* VI. i. 198¹ The *anudātta* preceded by an *udātta* is changed into *svarita* (VIII. 4. 66)².

Thus the आ of इन्द्र must become *svarita*, but by the present sūtra this nascent *svarita* is changed into an *udātta*. Thus in इन्द्र, both vowels become *udātta*. In the word आगच्छ, the आ is *udātta*; the next letter which was *anudātta* becomes *svarita*, and from *svarita* it is changed to *uddātta* 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 हरि आगच्छ, for the reasons given above, the letters र and च्छ are *anudātta*, the rest are all acutely accented.

देवब्रह्मणैरनुदात्तः ॥३८॥ पदानि ॥ देव-ब्रह्मणोः, अनुदात्तः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ देवब्रह्मणोः स्वरितस्यानुदात्त भारेणो भवति ॥

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

By sūtra 37, it was declared, that in subrahmanya hymns, *svarita* accent is replaced by *udātta* accent. This sūtra makes an exception in favor of the words देवा and ब्रह्मण occurring in those hymns. These words have *anuddātta* accent. As देवा ब्रह्मण आगच्छत् 'come ye Devas and Brahmāṇas.' Here the word देवा gets *udātta* accent on the first syllable by rule VI. i. 198.¹ (in the vocative the accent is on the beginning): वा वा has originally an *anudātta* accent which by rule VIII. 4. 66² (an *anudātta* following an *udātta* is changed into *svarita*) would have been changed into *svarita*. This *svarita*, 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.

स्वरितात्संहितायामनुदात्तानाम् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितात्,
संहितायाम्, अनुदात्तानाम्, (एकश्रुतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संहितायाम् विषये स्वरितात्परेषामनुदात्तानामेकश्रुतिर्भवति ॥

39. The Monotony takes the place of the *anuddātta* vowels which follow the *svarita* vowels, in close proximity (*sanhitā*).

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) भामन्वितस्य च ॥ (²) उदात्तानुदात्तस्य स्वरितः ॥

the *anudditta* accents become Ekaśruti if they are preceded by *svarita* vowels; and are pronounced monotonously. As इमं मे॒ गङ्गे॑ यमुने॑ सरस्वति॑ (Rig Veda X. 75. 5) O Ganga, Yamuna, Sarasvati ! this mine.

Here the word इमं has *udātta* on the last syllable: the word मे॒ is originally *anudditta*, but by rule VIII. 4. 66¹ following an *uddatta*, it is changed into *svarita*; after this *svarita* all *anudditta* like गङ्गे॑, &c., are replaced by ekaśruti. All the vowels of the words गङ्गे॑ यमुने॑ &c., had *anudātta* accent by rule VIII. 1. 19² (all vocatives get *anudātta* if standing in the middle of a sentence and not beginning a stanza.)

The word "sanhita" 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 ekaśruti. The word *sanhitā* will be defined in sūtra I. 4. 109³.

उदात्तस्वरितपरस्य सन्धतरः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उदात्तस्वरित-
परस्य , सन्धतरः , (अनुदात्तानाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तपरस्य स्वरितपरस्य आनुदात्तस्य सन्धतरभ्यासेषां भवति ॥

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

In the previous sūtra it was said that an *anudātta* preceded by a *svarita* becomes Ekaśruti. If however such an *anudditta* is followed by an *udātta* or a *svarita*, it does not become Ekaśruti but becomes *sannatara* i.e. lower than *anudātta*.

The *sannatara* is therefore that accent which was originally *anudditta*, and which is preceded by a *svarita* and is followed by an *udātta* or a *svarita*.

This is one explanation of the sūtra. There is another explanation which does not take the *anuvṛitti* of Ekaśruti in this sūtra. The *anudātta* is replaced by *sannatara* when such *anudātta* immediately precedes an *udātta* or a *svarita*. The *sannatara* is also called *anudātta*. As ऐवा मरुतः पृथिवीतरोपः ॥

Here the word मरुतः is *anudātta*. The word अपः has *udātta* on the last syllable by VI. 1. 171.⁴ In the phrase मरुतरोपः (मरुतः + अपः) The syllable रो॒ is *anudātta*, because *anudātta* + *anudātta* = *anudātta*. This *anudditta* अपः, preceding the *udditta* अपः, is changed into *sannatara*.

अपृक्त एकाल्प्रत्ययः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपृक्तः , एक-अलू ,
प्रत्ययः , ॥

वृत्तिः । अपृक्त इतीयं संज्ञा भवति एकालू अः प्रत्ययस्तस्य ॥

(¹) उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः ॥ (²) आमन्त्रितरब्य अ ॥ (³) परः संनिकर्षः चहिता ॥
(⁴) उदिवस्यादप्युभ्यः ॥

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 त् *t* in असेधीत् is a one lettered suffix and is an *Aprikta*. Similarly the affix किन् *kvin* is an *Aprikta*, because the letters क्, ि, and न् are merely indicatory, the real affix is त् *v*. This त् *v* being a single letter, and therefore an *Aprikta*, when added to a base, is elided by rule VI. 1. 67¹ (the *Aprikta* त् *v* is elided). Thus पृतस्वश् + किन् = पृतस्वक् + इ (III. 2. 58)² = पृतस्वक् ॥ अंगाभञ्ज + एव = अंगाभाक् ‘co-sharer.’ (III. 2. 62). * An affix which consists of more than one letter is not an *Aprikta*. As रविः ‘a ladle’ formed by the *Upādi* affix विन् (दृष्ट्या विन्).

तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारयः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषः,
समानाधिकरणः, कर्मधारयः, ॥

दृतिः ॥ तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

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 नीजोत्पन्नं ‘the blue lotus’ परमात्मा ‘the supreme spirit’ &c. are examples of *karmadhāraya* compounds. “The component words, if dissolved, would stand in the same case, (samānādhikarāṇa), 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 *udāttā* accent would have fallen on the syllable रा by rule VI. 2. 130, * (the word राज्यम् has *udāttā* on the first syllable in Tat-purusha compounds, except in *karmadhāraya*).

Similarly पाचिका + वृन्दारिका = पाचकवृन्दारिका। (VI. 3. 42.³ 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 पविका + भार्या = पाचिकाभार्यः . ‘He who has a wife for a cook.’ This is an example of a Bahuvrihi compound, and therefore the word पाचिका retains its gender sign.

(¹) वैतपूत्रस्य ॥ (²) स्वप्नोऽनुदके किन् ॥ (³) भजो एवः ॥ (⁴) अकर्मधारये राज्यम् ॥

(⁵) पुष्टकर्मधारयजातीयदेशीवेषु ॥

A compound may be a Tat-purusha, but if its component parts do not refer to the same thing and are not in the same case, it won't be karmadhāraya:—ग्राम्यं राज्यं Brāhmaṇa rājyam 'a Brahmana kingdom.' Here राज्यम् gets udatta on the first syllable by the rule already mentioned (VI. 2. 130).

प्रथमानिदिष्टं समासउपसर्जनम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमा-निदिष्टम्,
समासे , उपसर्जनम् , ॥

इति: ॥ प्रथमया विभक्त्या यज्ञिदिश्यते समासशाले सदुपसर्जनसंबंधं भवति ॥

43. In (this book, in the sūtras relating to) compound, the word that is exhibited in the first (Nominate) case, is called *upasarjana* or the secondary word.

This defines or rather describes the Upasarjana. In the sūtras referring to compounds, the words that have the case termination of the nominative, are called Upasarjanam.

Thus sūtra II. 1. 24 (द्वितीया भितातीत पसितगतास्यस्तप्राप्तेः) is a samāsa sūtra enjoining composition. In this sūtra the word द्वितीया is exhibited in the nominative case, and the remaining words are in the Instrumental case. The sūtra means, "An accusative (द्वितीया) is compounded with the words भित, अतीत, पतित, गत, अत्यस्त, प्राप्त, and चाप्त and forms Tat-purusha." Therefore, in forming accusative compounds, the word having the accusative case will be called Upasarjana. Thus कट+भितः = कटभितः. Here the word कट being Upasarjana, stands first in the compound, by Rule II. 2. 30. उपसर्जनंपूर्वम्, (in a compound the Upasarjana should be placed first). Similarly in rules relating to the formation of Instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative Tat-purusha, the words standing in those cases will be Upasarjana. Thus एकज्ञासण्डः, यूपशारु; इकभयम्, राज्यपुरुषः, अन्तशोणः.

Upasarjana is, therefore, that word which either by composition or derivation loses its original independent character, while it also determines the sense of another word called प्रधान or principal.

एक-विभक्ति चापूर्वनिपाते ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक-विभक्ति , च ,
अपूर्व-निपाते , (उपसर्जनम्) ॥

इति: ॥ एका विभक्तिर्थस्य तत्त्वेक विभक्ति, समासे विधीयमाने यान्त्रियतविभक्तिके द्वितीये सम्बन्धिनि बहुर्भिर्विभक्तिभिर्युज्यमानेऽयेक यैव विभक्त्या युज्यते सदुपसर्जनसंबंधं भवति, भपूर्व-निपाते, पूर्वनिपातं पूर्वनिपाताख्यमुपसर्जनकार्यं वर्जयित्वा ॥

44. A word which has one fixed case, (while the word compounded with it may vary its case) is also *upasarjana*, except for the purposes of the rule which requires the *upasarjana* to stand first in a compound.

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; *apūrva-nipātē*, such a word will be an upasarjana for all purposes, except for the purpose of the rule (II. 2. 30) ^(अपूर्व निपाते), which requires an upasarjana to stand first in a compound.

Thus the prepositions निः &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 निष्क्रान्तः + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्ब्यः . निष्क्रान्तं + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्ब्यम्, निष्क्रान्तेन + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्ब्यना . निष्क्रान्ताय + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्ब्यये, निष्क्रान्ते + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्ब्यौ.

Similarly the word निर्वाराणसिः :

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 राजः + कुमारी = राजकुमारी ; राजः + कुमारीम् = राजकुमारीं ; राजः + कुमार्या = राजकुमार्या, राजः + कुमार्ये = राजकुमार्ये .

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

This upasarjana, however, contrary to the general rule (II. 2. 30) ¹ can not stand first in the compound, because there is no such form as, कौशाम्बीनिः

अर्थवदधातुप्रत्ययः प्रातिपदिकम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्थवत् ,
अधातुः , अप्रत्ययः , प्रातिपदिकम् ॥

इति : ॥ अर्थवद्ध्वद्भूर्प्रत्ययं प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञं भवति धातुप्रत्ययौ वर्जयित्वा ॥

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

This defines the word "pratipadika" or crude-form. The *pratipadika* is the intermediate stage in the development of a full word (*pada*), from the undifferentiated ore 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

⁽¹⁾ उपसर्जनं पूर्वम् ॥

a pratipadika, as दित्यः 'a wooden elephant,' कपिस्थः 'the wood-apple tree,' कुण्डः 'a bowl,' पीठम् 'a seat'.

Why do we say "significant"? Of course it must have some meaning, thus of the word वनं, we cannot say that the portion वन् is prātipadika; as it has no meaning, and had it been a prātipadika, the final न् would have been dropped by Rule VIII. 2. 7¹ (the final न् of a pratipadika is dropped).

The word must not be a verb, as the word अहन् (the third person sing. number, Imperfect tense of हन्); he killed. Had it been a prātipadika, the न् 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 ए of the locative case, and is consequently not a 'prātipadika' or crude form, but a complete word. Had it been a prātipadika, the ए would have been shortened into ए by rule 47 succeeding.

A nipāta or particle though not a significant form of a word, yet gets the designation of prātipadika in the opinion of the author of the Mahābhāshya. As अथागच्छाति, प्रजन्मवे.

कृतद्वितसमाप्ताश्च ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत-तद्वित-समाप्तः, च,
(ग्रातिपदिकम्) ॥

शृङ्खः ॥ कृतस्तद्विताः समाप्ताश्च प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

46. The forms ending in Kṛit affixes, or *Taddhita* 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)² the latter Taddhita (IV. 1. 76).³ Thus जन juna, man, is derived from the root जन् jan by the kṛit suffix ए; but जनीन janīna, appropriate for man, is derived from जन jana by the Taddhita affix ईन īna. The name prātipadika would apply both to जन jana and जनीन janīna, 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, Bahuvrīhi and Avyayibhāva. 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 favor 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.

(¹) नजोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्त्वः ॥ (²) कृतिष्ठ ॥ (³) तद्विताः ॥

The words formed by कृत affixes are prātipadika as, कृ (to do) + एवुल् = कृ + एवुल् + कार् + अक् = कारक. The affix एवुल् is a कृत affix, and it is added to the root to form agent by Rule III. I. 133.¹ The letters ए and ल् are indicatory, the force of ए being to cause the विद्धि of the vowel of the root. The real affix ल् is changed into अक् by (VII. I. 1²) the affixes एवु and ल् are replaced by अन् and अक् respectively), thus the form कारक is a prātipadika, and is capable of declension by receiving case terminations, as, कारकः ॥ Similarly कृ + एव्वर् (III. I. 133)¹ = कर्तुः; nom. case कर्ता ॥

The word formed by Taddhita affixes are also prātipadika ; उपगु + अप् = शौपगो + अ = शौपगव 'the son of the Rishi Upagu': nom. case शौपगवः, similarly कापटवः.

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 prātipadikas, except in peculiar cases. So also in the chapter of samāsa or compounds.

The words ending in compound are prātipadika : as राजः + पुरुषः = राजपुरुष, nom. case राजपुरुषः ॥

ह्रस्वो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्य ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वः, नपुंसके, प्रातिपदिकस्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकलिङ्गेऽयै यत्प्रातिपदिकं वर्तते तस्य ह्रस्वो भवति आदेशोऽन्यस्यस्याचः ॥

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

In the neuter gender, the prātipadika that would have ended in a long vowel, changes it into short. Thus आति + रै = आतिरि 'extravagant' as आतिरि = कुञ्ज् 'an extravagant family'; आति जो = आतिञ् 'very hairy' आतिलु कुञ् 'a very hairy family.'

There is no substitution of short vowel, if the noun is not in the neuter gender, as माम + नी = मामणी, nom. case ममणीः 'the leader of a village or head-borough,' similarly सेनानीः 'the leader of an army.'

A word may be in the neuter gender, but if it is not a prātipadika, the vowel is not shortened, as काण्डे तिष्ठतः 'two cantos remain.' Here the ए of काण्डे is formed by the coalescence of अ (of the prātipadika काण्ड) and इ (the dual case termination); thus काण्ड+इ=काण्डे. Now it might be urged, that here one letter ए, replaces two letters अ and इ, 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) एवुल् एव्वर् ॥ (²) एवुल् एव्वर् ॥

to be so, because the word prātipadika has been especially mentioned in the text, and therefore this ekādēśa is not treated as the final of the form which precedes it.

गोस्त्रियोर्हपर्जनस्य ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो-स्त्रियोः, उपसर्जनस्य,
(प्रातिपदिकस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्जनगोशब्दान्तस्य उपसर्जनस्य च प्रातिपदिकस्य इस्तो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ ईयसोवहुत्रीहः प्रतिषेधावन्कन्धः ॥

48. A short vowel is the substitute of prātipadika which ends with the word गो '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 गो becomes shortened when it stands last and is an upasarjana.

Thus चित्र + गो = चित्रगुः 'possessed of a brindled cow'. This is an example of a Bahuvrīhi or possessive compound. So also शब्दगु 'a spotted cow'. Similarly in those prātipadika upasarjanas which end in feminine suffixes having a final long vowel, there is a shortening. Thus निः + कौशास्त्री = निकौशास्त्रिः. Here the final long ई is shortened. So also निर्वाताणसिः.

The word prātipadika of the previous sūtra is understood in this. The word गो in the sūtra means the form गो and not other words synonymous with it. The word स्त्री means "a word ending in a feminine affix," because it has the *svarita* accent. The word upasarjana qualifies both these words, i. e. when गो is an upasarjana and when a word having a feminine termination is an upasarjana.

Other examples are:—अति + लट्ठ = अतिलट्ठः 'without a bedstead' अतिमानः '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 राजन् 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 लक्ष्मी, श्री &c. are feminine originally, and are not derived from the masculine nouns, by the addition of any feminine affix. Therefore we have अतिलक्ष्मीः 'surpassing Lakshmi in beauty' अतिश्रीः ॥

Vart—In Bahuvrīhi compounds, exception must be made of feminine nouns ending in the affix ईयसी, as बहुभ्रेयसी, विद्यमानभ्रेयसी।

लुक्तद्वितलुकिः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुक्, तद्वित-लुकिः, (स्त्री, उपसर्जनस्य) ॥

इति: ॥ तस्मित्तमुक्ति दति स्त्रीप्रत्ययस्य उपसर्जनस्य लुभवति ॥

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 लुक् defined in sūtra 61 Chapter I, is twice used in this sūtra. Where a Taddhita affix is elided by the word लुक्; 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 अप्त्) from other nouns. Before this अप्त् the initial vowel of the word is vridhied and the final is gunated. Thus सिन्धु 'ocean'; forms सिन्धु+अप्त्=सैन्धो+अ=सैन्धव 'born in ocean or oceanic.' But there are certain words e. g. अविष्टा, कल्पुणी &c. which are all feminine gender (see sūtra IV. 3. 34) ¹ after which the patronymic suffix is totally elided, without leaving any trace of its action, by using the word *luk*. Thus अविष्टा+(अप्त्युक्)=आविष्टः || Here then the present sūtra finds its scope. The Taddhita suffix being *luked*; the original feminine termination आ also becomes *luk*. Therefore the patronymic derivative of अविष्टा (is not a longer word, as might have been expected) but actually a shorter word, namely अविष्टः; similarly from कल्पुणी we have कल्पुनः &c.

Thus there is a feminine suffix called डीष् (actually ई) and certain words like इन्द्र &c., (IV. 1. 49) ² take an additional suffix called आनुक् (actually आन्). Thus the feminine of इन्द्र will be इन्द्र + आनुक्+डीष् = इन्द्र + आन् . + ई. = इन्द्राणी. Now in forming Dvigu compound (Numeral Determinative compound), the Taddhita suffixes are dropped. Thus पञ्चकपाञ्जः 'an offering (purodash) made in a dish with five compartments.' In this compound the Taddhita suffix अप्त् is dropped. Otherwise the form would have been कापाञ्जः || Similarly when the word इन्द्राणी forms a Dvigu 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 पञ्चद्रः which means the cake sacred to the five goddesses इन्द्राणी. Here the full form was पञ्च + इन्द्राणी + अप्त्. (The suffix अप्त् has the force of "sacred to God." Thus इन्द्र + अप्त् = सेन्द्रं sacred to God Indra). In the above expression, first the Taddhita-suffix अप्त् is *luked* by rule contained in sūtra IV. 1. 88 ³ relating to Dvigu compounds: we have then remaining पञ्च + इन्द्राणी. In this stage, the present sūtra comes into force and declares that where a Taddhita suffix has been *luked*, the final feminine suffixes of the upasarjana prātipadika are also *luked*. Therefore, the feminine suffixes आनुक् and डीष् are also dropped, and we have पञ्चेन्द्रः which means "cake sacred to the five Indrāṇis (goddesses)."

(¹) अविष्टाकल्पुण्यनुराधास्वातिसिष्य पुनर्वसुहस्तविशापादावह्नाल्लुक् || (²) इन्द्रवह्न्य-वर्षस्मृडहिमारण्यवयवनमामुलाचार्याणामानुक् || (³) दिगोर्लुगनपत्ये ||

The words स्त्री and upasarjana of the last sūtra are understood in this. By the last sūtra, a word ending in a feminine affix was told to be shortened when it was an upasarjana; this sūtra teaches the total suppression of such an affix in special cases. To take another example: Thus Rule IV. 3. 163 declares कलोलुक् "luk takes the place of an affix signifying modification or product when fruit is meant." Thus यत् is an affix which means modification. Thus गो + यत् = गव्यम् 'cow's milk or the product of cow.' This affix is suppressed when applied to a tree, in the sense of the fruit of the tree. Thus the fruit of the tree आमनकी will be called आमनकं i.e., first the Taddhita affix is *luked*, and then the feminine affix is also dropped. Similarly fruits of बरसी or बञ्जी trees, are बहरं or बकुलं.

This rule only applies when a Taddhita affix is elided; and not so when any other affix is *luked*. Thus गार्ग्योः + कुन्जं = गार्गीकुन्जम् 'the family of Gārgī.' Here in forming the samāsa, the case affix of the word gārgī is *luked* by II. 4 71¹. But this suppression of the genitive termination does not necessitate the elision of the feminine affix ई of gārgī.

This rule would also not apply if there is no elision by *luk* of a Taddhita affix, as in गार्गीस्वम्.

Nor will the rule apply when the word is not an upasarjana. As अवन्ती, कुन्ती, कुरुः.

इदू गोण्याः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, गोण्याः, (तद्वित्तलुकि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गोण्यास्तद्वित्तलुकि वाति इकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

By the former sūtra when a Taddhita is elided, the long ई of the semi-nine also required elision. But this rule makes an exception in favor of the word गोणी॑ in which, under similar circumstances the short ई replaces the long ई, as in the compound पञ्चगोणिः 'purchased for five gonis.' Here the Taddhita suffix which conveys the meaning of "purchased for," has been rejected after गोणी by V. 1. 28,² therefore by previous sūtra, the feminine suffix ई also required rejection. But this sūtra intervenes and changes the long ई into short ई.

This sūtra is divided into two separate rules by the process called yoga-vibhāga. Thus इत् is made one sūtra by itself, and then it means, when there is a suppression of Taddhita affix by लुक्, then the long ई is replaced by short ई. Thus purchased with five needles = पञ्चाभिः सूचीभिः कीतिः = पञ्चसूचिः, इशसूचिः. This is restricted to such examples of purchase only.

(¹) सुपो धानुप्रातिपदिकयोः ॥ (²) अथवर्षपूर्वद्विगोलुगसंज्ञायाम् ॥

* like that of (the original word) which was joined to the lupa'd suffix).

लुपि युक्तवद्व्यक्तिवचने ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुपि, युक्तवत्, व्यक्तिंवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुपीति युक्तवद्व्यक्तिवचने ॥ लुपतस्य प्रत्ययस्यार्थं उच्यते; तत्र लुपि युक्तवद्व्यक्तिवचनेभवतः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ हरीतकयादिषु व्यक्तिः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ सन्तिकादिषु वचनम् ॥

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

This sūtra consists of four words : लुपि, 'where there is a rejection by using लुप्' 2 युक्तवत् 'appropriate to the same.' 3 व्यक्तिः, 'gender,' 4 वचनं 'number.' The form vyakti vachane is dual.

When a Taddhita affix is luced, 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 जुक्' and "let there be a लुप्" ॥ The direct action of both words is the rejection of the suffix ; but a derivative formed by luke 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 शिरीषः meaning 'a village not far away from शिरीष 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 पञ्चान्नः is masculine plural in form though applicable to a single province.

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

Thus पञ्चान्नः are a class of Kshatriyas, as such it is masculine gender and plural number. The country in which Pañchānlas live is also called Pañchānlas ; similarly कुरवः, मागधः &c. There is a rule जनपदेलुप्. (IV. 2. 81, the *lup* takes the place of an affix when signifying the proper name of a country or kingdom). Thus पञ्चान्नः + अण् (this is one of the affixes forming country) = पञ्चान्नः.

This rule does not apply when the affix is suppressed by the word लुक् &c. and not लुप्. Thus जनणः सूपः 'salted soap' जनणायवाणः 'salted gruel,' जनणं शाकं 'salted vegetable.' Here the affix उक् has been elided by the word *luk*, by IV. 4. 24, जनणालुक् (after the word lavana ; the affix is *luked*).

These derivatives retain only the gender and number of the original, but no other quality. Thus as we have already seen that शिरीषः śirishāḥ, is the name of a village and is formed by the *lup* of the affix. Now compounding it with वन् we have शिरीषवनम् 'the forest of the village Śirishā.' Here

the word शिरीषाः means village, and not trees. Had it meant trees called शिर्षा, then the न of वन् would have become ए optionally by Rule VIII. 4. 6. (विभाषौषधि वनरपतिभ्यः ॥ the न of the word वन् is optionally changed into ए 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 हरीतक्य फलानि ‘the fruits of Haritaki.’ Here फलं is neuter in form, while हरीतकी is feminine.

Vart :—The words खज्जतिक &c. retain their number only but not gender, as खज्जतिकवनानि ‘mountain forests i. e. forests in the vicinity of mountains.’ Here खज्जतिक is singular and वनानि plural, but the gender of both is the same *viz.* neuter.

दिशेषणानां चाजाते: ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशेषणानाम् , च,
अजाते:, (लुपि) ॥

इति: ॥ लुबर्धस्ययानि विशेषणानि तेषामपि व्यक्तिशब्दने भवतो जातिं वर्जयित्वा ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ मनुष्यलुपि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

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

When a Taddhita is *luped*, the adjectives which qualify such secondary derivatives agree with them in number and gender. This is a rule of syntax. Thus पञ्चाजाः रमणीयाः बहुनाः, बहुत्तीरघृताः बहुमाल्यफलाः ‘the pleasant Pāñchālās having plenty of food, plenty of milk and butter.’ Here the adjective रमणीयः: pleasant &c., agrees in number and gender with the Pāñchālāḥ; being also in masculine plural. But when such a derivative is used as a *jāti* word then the adjective does not agree in number and gender, as पञ्चाजाः जनपदः, गोत्रो भासः. Here जनपद though qualifying Pāñchālā does not agree with it in number and gender, as it is a noun of class. All attributes of such words formed by the *lup* 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 पञ्चाजाः जनपदे रमणीयो बहुनः ‘the country of Pāñchālās is pleasant and fertile.’ Here the words रमणीयः and बहुनः qualify directly the word ‘जनपदः’ and indirectly the word Pāñchālās, 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 Kāśikā. The phrase चाजातेः is analysed by him as च and चाजाते:, 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 being 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 above mentioned words), a word expressing descendants by their parentage as well as a word expressing a person by the branch of the Vedas (शाखा) which the family to which the person belongs is competent to read शाखाध्येत् (śākhādhyetṛi) (गौणजाति) = जातिवाचकाः (jātivāchakāḥ) आकृति गृहणाज्ञातिर्जिणनां च नसर्वभाक् । सकृत्याख्यात निमाहगोनं च चरणैः सह ॥

The following examples will illustrate the meaning of the above definition :—(1) तट 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) शूद्र is such a word, because when given as the name of an individual, is applicable to other śūdras (common name), (3) औपगव is such a word, and (4) कठ a person belonging to the family competent to read the branch of the Vedas called kaṭha is also such a word. But देवदत्त is not such a word, because it is a proper name applicable to only one individual and शुद्ध is likewise not such a word, because it, though a common name, is used in all genders.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of nouns formed by the लृप elision of an affix relating to man. Thus the Taddhita affix कर् (क) is employed in denoting representation by imitation. Thus अश्वकः 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 चंचा means a "doll of straw." But when we want to say a doll in the figure of a man, we will have चंचा+कर्तुष् (लुम्पुष्ये V. 3. 98) = चस्ता. 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 चंचा अभिरूपः 'the delightful straw figure of man.' वीक्षिकाः दर्शनीयः 'a beautiful representation of an eunuch.'

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तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्भृत्यम्, संज्ञा
प्रमाणत्वात्, ॥

शृतिः ॥ तदशिष्यं न वन्नन्यं कस्मारसंज्ञाप्रमाणस्तात् ॥

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 samjñâ (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 आपः 'water' is always feminine plural in form, so also गृहा: वर्षा: सिक्ताः. This sûtra, therefore, modifies the former sûtras, and leaves the whole question of syntactic agreement to be decided by usage and idiom.

The words like Pañchâlâs, Kurava &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.

लुब् योगाप्रस्थानात् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुप्, योग-अप्रस्थानात्;
(अशिष्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ योऽथं जनपदे लुप् वरणादिवयेति लुबृष्ट्यते च्यवं म वक्तव्यः, किं कारणं योगाप्र-
स्थानात् नहि पञ्चाला वरणा हति योगः सम्बन्धः प्रस्थायते वैतदुपज्ञामहे षुड्योगाज्ञगते
वरणा हति ॥

54. The sûtras 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 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 वरणः Varanâḥ is the name of a city. To say that it is derived from वरणः 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 वरणा at all near the town Varanâ. Let us therefore call words like वरणा, पश्चाना, &c., as simply proper nouns. Therefore there is no occasion for the application of the Taddhita affixes given in IV. 2. 69 and 70 (सत्यं निशासः, अद्भूतवस्त्रः), relating to residence and vicinity; much less of rules relating to 'lup' elision contained in IV. 2 81 and 82 (जनपदेनुप्, वरणाद्यन्यथा).

योगप्रमाणे च तदभावेऽदर्थनं स्यात् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ योग-
प्रमाणे, च, तद्-अभावे, अदर्थनम्, स्यात्,

इति ॥ पञ्चालादयः संज्ञा शब्दा न योगनिमित्ताइत्युक्तं, सद्यावश्यमेवाम्युपगन्तव्यं योग-
प्रमाणे हि तदभावे उर्ध्वान्तं स्यात्, यदि पञ्चालादि शब्दो योगस्य प्रमाणं योगस्य वाचकः स्यात् ततस्तद-
भावेऽर्थनमप्योगः स्यात् ॥

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 connote 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 पञ्चालः &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 Pañchālās be the name of the country in which the Kshatryas 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 रूढि words.

प्रधानप्रत्ययार्थेवचनमर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥
प्रधान-प्रत्यय, अर्थ-वचनम् अर्थस्य, अन्यप्रमाणत्वात् (अशिष्य) ॥

इति ॥ प्रधानं समाप्ते किञ्चत्पदं प्रत्ययस्तद्यशासि: साम्यामर्पवचनमर्थाभिधानमनेन प्रका-
रेण भवतीति पूर्वाचार्यः पारभाषितम् प्रधानोपसर्जने प्रधानार्थं सहमूलः प्रकृति प्रत्ययोसहार्थं भूत इति ।
तस्यापाणिनिराचार्यः प्रत्ययस्य अशिष्यमेतत् अर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वादिति । अन्य इति शास्त्रोपेत्तवा
लोकोन्यपदित्यते, शब्दैरर्थाभिधानं स्वाभाविकं न पारिभाषिकमशक्यत्वात् । लोकत् एवार्थांग ते ॥

56. (Nor need be taught) the rule relating to the dependence of the meaning of a word on the principal (pradhâna, in a compound) or on the affix (pratyaya), because the authority of the meaning (of a word, compound or derivative) consists in something else.

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

In the time of Pânini, 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. Pânini controverts this opinion by declaring that in as much 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 Pânini, 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 an official and not a king, nor even any person in general. Similarly when told to bring an औपगत he brings a 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.

कालेपसर्जने च तुल्यम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-उपसर्जने, च,
तुल्यम्, (अशिष्यम्) ॥

इति: ॥ कानोपसर्जने चाश्रित्ये कामादर्थस्वान्वयप्रमाणस्वात् ॥

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

Here Pânini 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. Pânini declares that these are redundant definitions and reprehensible, for the same reason as given in the previous sûtra.

To give another example. Thus अद्यतनः कालः 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 ‘upasarjana’ to mean “that which is not the principal word in a compound is called upasarjana.” The sage Pāṇini has not thought it worth his while to define such words as upasarjana, in as much 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 upasarjana, for they say :—“वयमन् गृहे पात्रे वा उपसर्जनम् ‘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 sūtra included in the last? What is the necessity of making a separate rule of this? The answer is that it is an illustrative sūtra, 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 Bahuvrīhi compound connotes ownership.” “In Dvanda compounds the sense of both the members of a compound are principal” “In Avyayibhāva compounds the sense of the prior word is the principal” &c.

जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन्बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥
जाति-आख्यायाम्, एकस्मिन्, बहुवचनम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥
इति: ॥ जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन्येव बहुवचनमन्यतरस्यां भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ संख्याप्रयोगे प्रतिषेधोवक्तव्यः ॥

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

The words of this sūtra 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 sūtra such words may take the plural number also. In such nouns of class, the plural number has also the force of the singular. The anuvṛitti of aśishyam does not go further.

It follows from this that adjectives which are not themselves common noun, such as संपन्नः &c., agree with the noun and will also get the plural number. Thus संपन्नो वरः or संपन्ना वराः; "Full grown barley" पूर्ववा नाश्वाः प्रस्तुत्येवः or पूर्ववद्यसो नाश्वाः प्रस्तुत्येवाः ॥

Why have we used the word jāti in this sūtra? For this aphorism does not apply to Proper Nouns. Thus देवदत्तः Devadatta, वज्रदत्तः Yajñadatta. Why have we used the word आख्यायाम्? A word may be a class noun or jāti, but it may not be the appellation of a class. Thus the statue of kāsyapa may also be called kāsyapa; this is a class noun, but as it is not the appellation आख्या 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 भीहियदौ '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 भीहि: संपन्नः सुभित्तं करोति.

अस्मदौ द्वयोऽम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्मदः, द्वयोः, च, (एक-स्तिन्, बहुवचनं अन्यतरस्याम्)

श्रुतिः ॥ अस्मदो योऽर्थस्तस्यैकत्वे दिस्वे च बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सविशेषणस्थ प्रतिपेदो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शुभ्यदि गुरादेकेषाम् ॥

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" (अहं भवीति or वर्त्तते शुष्टः), may be spoken by one person, similarly two persons may either use the dual case or the plural case, thus आवां शूष्टः 'we to speak' or वर्त्तते शूष्टः 'we speak.'

Vart :—There is prohibition when the pronoun of the 1st person is qualified by an attribute :—as अहं देवदत्तो भवीति. 'I Devadatta am speaking.' अहं गार्ग्यो भवीति 'I Gārgya am saying.' Here we cannot use the plural.

Vart :—The word शुष्टः 'master' may have plural form though referring to one person, when following the word शुभ्यतः; as त्वं मे शुष्टः or त्वं मे शुभ्यतः 'Thou art my master', or 'you are my master.'

फलगुनीप्रोष्ठपदानां च नक्षत्रे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ फलगुनी-प्रोष्ठ-पदानां च नक्षत्रे ॥

श्रुतिः ॥ फलगुन्योर्दयोः प्रोष्ठपद्धत्य इयोर्नक्षत्रयोर्बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् भवति ॥

60. And the dual of Phâlgunî and Proshṭha-padâ, when signifying asterisms, (also connotes optionally plural).

The word एव in this aphorism draws in the anuvitti of the word इति: from the last. Of the stars phalgunî and proshṭhapadâ, the forms may be either dual or plural. As उदिते पूर्वे फल्गुन्यौ (dual); or उदिताः पूर्णाः फल्गुन्यः (plural.) So also पूर्वे श्रोष्टपदे or पूर्णाः श्रोष्टपदाः॥ There are two pairs of stars of the name of phalgunî and proshṭhapadâ, both being of feminine gender, and their logical number being 'dual.' The present sūtra ordains plural optionally. If phalgunî and proshṭhapada are not names of asterisms they must have their proper number : as फल्गुन्यौ माणविके ॥

छन्दसि पुनर्वस्वोरेकवचनम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, पुन-
र्वस्वोः, एक-वचनम्, (अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

इति: ॥ इयोद्दिवचने प्राप्ते पुनर्वस्वोरेकवचनम् विषये एकवचनमन्यतरस्यां भवति ॥

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

In the Vedas, the star *punarvasû* which is always *dual* in form, may be in the singular form and connote a dual meaning. As पुनर्वसुर्सुर्नक्षत्रं or पुनर्वसु नक्षत्रमवित्तिरेतता ॥ The option is only allowed in the Vedas and not in profane literature. In the latter it must be in the dual, that is, पुनर्वसू ॥ Similarly when it is not the appellation of an asterism but of a man, there is no option. As पुनर्वसू माणवकौ ।

विशाखयोश्च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशाखयोः, च (छन्दसि, अन्य-
तरस्याम्) ॥

इति: ॥ द्विवचने प्राप्ते द्वन्द्वसि विषये विशाखयोरेकवचनमन्यतरस्यां भवति ॥

62. In the Vedas, the two stars Viśâkhâ may optionally be in the singular number.

The word विशाखा is in the dual number as a rule. In the Vedas, it is found sometime to have the singular form, denoting duality. Thus विशाखा नक्षत्रम् or विशाखे नक्षत्रमिन्द्राग्नी देवता ॥

तिष्यपुनर्वस्वोरेकवचनस्य द्विवचनं नित्यम् ॥ ६३ ॥
पदानि ॥ तिष्य-पुनर्वस्वोः, नक्षत्र-द्वन्द्वे, बहुवचनस्य, द्वि-वचनम्, नित्यम्, ॥

इति: ॥ तिष्यपुनर्वस्वोरेकवचनस्य बहुवचनस्य नित्यं द्विवचनं भवति ॥

63. In the Dvandva compounds of the stars Tishya and Punarvasû, 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 उदितो तिष्यपुनर्वस्तुद्वयेते 'the Tishya and Punarvasu having risen are seen (dual).' Digitized by Google

There is one star called Tishya; and there are two stars called Punarvasu. As the Dvanda 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 'Punarvasu'? Observe विश्वासानुराधाः 'the stars Visâkhâ and Anurâdhâ.' 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 तिष्यपुनर्वसवा माणवकाः, 'Boys called Tishya and Punarvasus.'

Why is the word 'star' repeated in the sûtra, when the previous sûtras and the context show that stars were being treated of. The repetition is for the sake of including the synonyms of Tishya and Punarvasu. As तिष्यपुनर्वसूः पुनर्वसूः, सिष्यपुनर्वसू॥

The rule only applies when these words form a Dvandva compound, and not when they are compounded in any other way. Thus तिष्यपुनर्वसः is an example of Bahuvrihi compound meaning "persons who confound the Tishya with the Punarvasu."

The rule only applies to the *plural* Dvandva. If the Dvandva takes the singular termination, this rule has no application. As तिष्यपुनर्वसु इति.

This sûtra indicates by implication (jñâpaka) that "every Dvandva compound may optionally take the terminations of the singular" for otherwise the employment of the term बहुवचनस्य in the sûtra would be superfluous.

The word 'always' has been used in the text to show that the governing power of "option" stops here with this sûtra and does not extend to it or any further.

सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ ॥६४॥ पदानि ॥ सरूपाणाम्, एक-
शेष, एक-विभक्तौ,

इति ॥ सरूपाणां शब्दानां एकविभक्तौ परते एकशेषो 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 sûtra, and deals with what is technically called Ekaśesha (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 वृक्षः + वृक्षः = वृक्षौ (trees, in dual) वृक्षः + वृक्षः + वृक्षः = वृक्षाः.

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 प्लक्ष न्यग्रोधः the plaksha 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 Ekaśesha will apply, as अक्षः (die) + अक्षः (eye) + अक्षः (axle) = अक्षाः Similary पासः and भासः .

The present rule only applies to the retention of *one*, and prevents the retention of two or more.

The word शेष (retention) is used to show that there is not a substitution (Adeśa) 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 पथः (1. s.) पथा (2. s.) जरयति ; ग्राहणान्यां (3. d.) च कृतं ग्राहणान्यां (4. d.) च सेहि .

वृद्धो युना तस्मिणश्चेदैवविशेषः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धः, युना,
तत्-लक्षणः, चेद्र एव, विशेषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धोयुनासहचर्चनेशिष्यते युवानेवर्त्तते तस्मिणश्चेदैवविशेषः ॥

65. The vṛiddha (or patronymic Gotra word becomes ekaśesha, 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 śesha of the previous sūtra is understood here. The word "yūnā" 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 Acharyas (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 apatya 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. (अपस्थं पौष्ट्रमभूति गोत्रम् ॥ जीवति तु वंशये युवा ॥) 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 lakṣhaṇa '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 यत् in the sūtra means 'if.' The word एव 'only' is used to exclude others. The word विशेषः in the sūtra means the 'dissimilarity of form.'

Thus गार्ण्यः+गार्ण्यायणः = गार्ण्यौ. Here the first word denotes a clan called Gārgya (the offspring or grandsons of Garga formed by the affix यम् (IV. I. 105)¹) the second word denotes a younger branch of the same, and is formed by the Taddhita affix फक् denoting a secondary derivative.² In this then, the first or "Vṛiddha" remains; the second or the yuvan is dropped; and the form "Gārgyau" means both the old and the new clan. Similary वास्त्वः + वास्त्वायनः वास्त्वौ³ !!

This Ekaśesa 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 :—गर्गः (a Vṛiddha word) + वास्त्वायनः (a yuvan word) = गार्ण्यवास्त्वायनौ !!

This rule of ekaśesa does not apply if one of the words be not a Vṛiddha word. Thus गर्गः+गार्ण्यायणः = गर्गगार्ण्यायणौ !!

Similarly *vice versa* गार्ण्यः+गर्गः = गार्ण्यगर्गौ !! Here the one word is Vṛiddha, 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 Vṛiddha 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. 148³ says a "Vṛiddhā word may optionally take the affix उक् to form a yuvan word and to indicate contempt and born in the country of Sauvīra." Thus भागविच्चिः + भागविच्चिकः = भागविच्चिभागविच्चिकौ. Here the second word, though a yuvan word, connotes the additional sense of contempt and degradation. The affix उक् is not merely a yuvan affix but conveys the other sense also. The pure yuvan word being भागविच्चायनः.

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 Gargāchārya 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 (apatya). The grandsons or sons of Gārgi were named Gārgyas (Vṛiddham 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 grand-sons who belonged to the family, and were designated Gārgyānas (yuvan) were now called Gārgyas."

(¹) गर्गादिभ्यो यम् !! (²) यमिषोष्टु !! (³) बृद्धातुक्षौवीरेषु बहुलम् !!

स्त्री पुंबच्च ॥६६॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्री, पुंबत्, च (शेषवृद्धूना तज्जटविः)
वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्री वृद्धा यूना सहवच्चने शिष्यते तज्जन्तप्रथेव विशेषो भवति ॥

66. And so also a feminine word, ending with a *vṛiddha* affix, when similarly spoken along with the same word but which ends with a *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 गार्णी + गार्ण्यायणः = गार्णी. Here note that the resultant form is the same as in the former sūtra namely the masculine.

Similarly दाक्षी + दाक्षायणः = दाक्षी (masculine dual of दाक्षि).

Vart—The word *stri* in the sūtra means *Vṛiddhā stri*, that is the eldest daughter of a grandson, or a further descendant considered as the female head of the family. The words 'tal lakshanaś chedeva viśeshah' of the previous sūtra govern this sūtra also i. e. the distinction between the two words must be in their formative element and not in any thing else.

पुमान् स्त्रिया ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुमान्, स्त्रिया (शेषः , तज्ज-
क्षणश्चेदेषविशेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रियासहवच्चने पुमान् शिष्यते स्त्रीनिवर्तते स्त्रीपुंसज्जन्तप्रथेवविशेषो भवति ॥

67. A word in the masculine gender, similarly spoken along with the same word, but ending with the feminine affix, becomes *ekaśesa*, 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 '*vṛiddha*' and '*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 आद्धणः + आद्धणी = आद्धणी 'the Brāhmaṇa and the Brāhmaṇī'; कुक्कुटः + कुक्कुटी = कुक्कुटी 'the cock and hen.'

But not so in the following :—कुकुटः + मवूरी = कुक्रुक्टमवूर्यौ ‘the cock and the peahen,’ Similarly गणकः + गणकी = गणकगणक्त्वा०. Here the feminine affix डीप्, by which the word *gapakī* is formed from *gapaka*; in addition to its feminine signification, has the further signification given to it by Rule IV. 1. 48, पुंयोगादाद्यायाम्, meaning the “wife of” a *gapaka* and not a feminine *gapaka*; so also इन्द्रधृ इन्द्राणी चेन्द्रेन्द्राण्यौ ॥ Similarly आर्यः + आर्या० = आर्यौ but आर्यः + आर्याणी० = आर्यार्याण्यौ०. 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 not 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 प्राक् + प्राची = प्राक्प्राची. The word प्राक् is an indeclinable and is without any gender.

भ्रातृपुत्रौ स्वस्त्रदुहितृभ्याम् ॥६८॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रातृ-पुत्रौ, स्वस्त्र-
दुहितृभ्याम्, (शेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथासंख्यं भ्रादपुनश्चादौशिष्येते सहवच्चने स्वप्नुहितभ्याम् ॥

68. The words bhrātri, 'brother,' and putra, 'son,' when spoken of along with svasrī, 'sister' and duhitri '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 ekaśeṣa under special circumstances. Thus भाव + स्वस् = भातरो (brother and sister or brothers), similarly पुत्र + पुहिद् = पुचौ, (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 Yājñyavalkya smṛiti पद्मिहुहितरश्चैव पितरौ भातरस्तथा which declares that on the death of a sonless person his property passes to his wife, daughters, parents and bhrātarah.

Here the word bhrātarah, if it be taken as simply the plural of bhrātri, 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.

नपुंसकमनपुंसकेनैकवद्वास्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥
नपुंसकम्, अनपुंसकेन, एकवत्, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, (शेष,
तत्त्वज्ञानशब्दे विशेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ न पुंसकानपुंसकमात्रकृते विशेषेऽनपुंसकोन सहवद्धने न पुंसकशिष्यते ; एकवद्धास्त्व-
कार्यं भवति अन्यतररूपाम् ॥

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 चान्तस्थो, मैथुनं, निद्रा सेव्यमानं विवर्द्धते ' Idleness, lust, and sleep, indulged in, increase.' Here the adjective ' seyyamānam ' is in the neuter gender, though it qualifies the words ' alasya ' 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 ekaśeṣha may be in the singular number.

If the neuter is compounded with another neuter, this rule does not apply. Thus शुद्धं + शुद्धं + शुद्धं = शुद्धानि the word is in the plural; there is no ekavadbhāva.

The words तत्पत्तयत्तेदेव विरोषः of sūtra 65 governs this sūtra also: thus शुद्धश्च कम्बजः, शुद्धा च वृहतिका, शुद्धं च वस्त्रं. "The white (masc.) blanket, the white (fem.) wrapper, and the white (neut.) garment," may all be spoken of collectively as शुद्धं (neut.).

पिता मात्रा ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ पिता, मात्रा (शेष, अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मात्रासह वचने पिदशब्दः शिष्यते अन्यतरस्याम्

70. The word pitri, ' father' is optionally only retained when spoken of along with mātri, ' mother.'

Thus पिता + माता = पितरौ , ' father and mother, or parent ' or मातापितरौ. 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 " ekavad " of the last sūtra does not govern this sūtra; though the anuvṛitti of ' optionally ' is to be read into this.

श्वशुरः श्वश्रा ॥७१॥ पदानि ॥ श्वशुरः, श्वश्रा, (शेष, अन्य-
तरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वश्रासह वचने श्वश्रशब्दः शिष्यते अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

71. The word śvaśura ' father-in-law,' is optionally only retained, when spoken of along with śvaśrū, ' mother-in-law.'

Thus इवशुरः+इवभू may be either इवैशुरार्थ 'father-in-law and mother-in-law,' or इवभैशुरार्थ ॥

त्यदादीनि सर्वैर्नित्यम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यद्-मादीनि , सर्वैः , नित्यम् (शेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदादीनि शब्दरूपाणि सर्वैः सहस्रने नित्यं शिष्यन्ते त्यसामित्रन्वैष्व ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ त्यदादीनां मियोवद्यत्प्रतंतराच्छिष्यते ॥

72. The pronouns 'tyad &c.' when spoken of along with any other noun, (pronoun other than 'tyad &c.') are always retained as ekaśesha, (to the exclusion, of others).

The list of 'tyadādi' pronouns has been given under sūtra I. 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 'sarva' is used in the aphorism to indicate 'universality'; i. e. whatever 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 सः (he) + देवदत्तः (Devadatta)=सौ (they two).

Vart :—When त्यसामि words are compounded among themselves, the word which is read last in the order given in the Ganapāṭha remains, the rest are dropped. Thus यः+सः=यौ; यः+कः=कौ ॥ Thus यद् is read after तद् (see I. 1. 27), so यद् will be retained and not तद्; similarly किम् is read after यद्, and therefore किम् is retained to the exclusion of तद्.

**याम्यपशुसंचेष्वतरुणेषु स्त्री ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ याम्य-पशु-संचेषु,
अतरुणेषु , स्त्री , (शेषः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ याम्याणां पशुनां संघाः याम्यपशुसंघाः; एतेषु सह विवसायां स्त्री शिष्यते ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अनेकशुक्लेज्ञिविवक्तव्यम् ॥

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 'paśu' with which it is in construction, and not the word 'saṅgha.' As गावै इमाः 'these cows (and bulls).' अज्ञा इमाः 'these goats' (both males and females).

The rule only applies to *domestic* (grāmya) animals and not to *wild* animals; and only to *beasts* (paśu) and not men. As रुद्रै इमे, 'these wild deers' (male and female), पुष्टा इमे, 'these antelopes' (male and female), ब्राह्मणाः, 'the Brāhmaṇas' (male and female) क्षत्रियाः, '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 अश्वा इमे, 'these horses' (male and female). Here the masculine noun is retained, because horse has no divided hoof.

Why have we used the word (saṅgha) "collection"? Observe एतौ गावौ चरतः, 'these two cows are grazing.' Here the word 'gāvau' does not connote 'bull' also.

Why do we say "not being young"? वस्ता इमे 'these calves'; वर्करा इमे 'these kids.' Here the masculine noun is retained, by the application of Rule 67.

બોલ્સ

॥ અથ પ્રથમાધ્યાયસ્ય તૃતીયઃ પાદઃ ॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER III.

भૂવાદયો ધાતવઃ ॥ १ ॥ પદાનિ ॥ ભૂવ-આદયઃ, ધાતવઃ ॥
વૃત્તિઃ ॥ ભૂ ઇસ્યેવમાદવઃ શચ્ચ ક્રિયાવચન ધાતુસંતા ભવત્તિ ॥

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 :—

1. Bhû class. 2. Ad. 3. Hu. 4. Div. 5. Su. 6. Tud. 7. Rudh.
8. Tan. 9. Kri. 10. Chur.

There are nearly 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 Pânini and they employed the term in denoting a word expressing action. Here also therefore, the word dhâtu means a word which expresses action.

The વા in the sâtra is for the sake of auspiciousness; for the regular sandhi of ભૂ+આરિ is ભારિ and not ભૂારિ; while Dr. Ballantyne considers that વા is a separate root: he translates the sâtra thus :—"Let the verbal roots bhû 'be,' vâ 'blow' and the like be called dhâtu."

ઉપદેશેજનુનાસિક ઇત् ॥ २ ॥ પદાનિ ॥ ઉપદેશે, અચ્ચ., અનુ-
નાસિકઃ, ઇત् ॥

વૃત્તિઃ ॥ ઉપદિશ્યતેજનેનેતિ ઉપદેશઃ, શાલ્વવાક્યાનિ સૂત્રપાઠ: ખિલપાઠથ તત્ત્વ ઓર્ડજનુનાસિ-
કઃ સ ઇસ્તંતો ભવતિ ॥

2. The nasalized vowels are ઇન્ in Upadeśa, or original enunciation.

* Such is the intent. of Malā! Lā, etc.

Anunāsika or nasalized vowels are इत् that is indicatory, when occurring in technical words. Thus in किन्, वित्, विच् the anunāsika ए is इत्. The original sūtra contains the word 'upadeśa' which we have translated as technical term. 'Upadeśa' literally means 'instruction' or the first mentioning of a thing either in a sūtrapāṭha, or gaṇapāṭha or dhātupāṭha &c.

From this sūtra up to sūtra 9, there is a description of servile or indicatory letters called इत् "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 upadeśa is defined as signifying an original enunciation, that is to say, an affix (pratyaya), or an augment (āgama), 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 एष् 'to increase,' the final ष्ट् is indicatory, the real root is ए॒. So also the final ष्ट् of स्पर्श् is इत्॥

If the word is not an upadeśa, then the nasal vowel is not इत्॥ As अथ आं अपः॥ A word may be an upadeśa and nasal, but if it is not a vowel, it need not be इत् as the affix मनिन् in sūtra III. 2. 74. (आतो मनिन् कनिन् वनिपथ) It is only the nasal vowel of an upadeśa that becomes इत्, and not all the vowels. The word इत् occurs in sūtras ४. 2. 16. (आदितश्च &c.).

हलन्त्यम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल्-अन्त्यम्, (उपदेशे इत्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ धात्वारे: समुदायस्य यदन्त्यं हल् तदित्यं भवति ॥

3. In upadeśa, the final consonant of roots &c. is इत्.

All the final consonants of roots, affixes &c. are indicatory. As in the pratyāhāra sūtras अ इ उ ए; here ए् is इत्॥ ऋ ल् क्; here क् is इत्॥ ए भोड्; here ड् is इत्॥ ऐ औच्; here च् is इत्॥ It is only in upadeśa, that a final consonant is इत्. Not therefore, in अभिच्छित् or सोमसुत्, which are complete words.

न विभक्तौ तुस्माः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न विभक्तौ, तु-स्-साः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेण प्राप्तायामित्यंजायां विभक्तौ वर्तमानानां सर्वगे सकार मकाराणां प्रतिषेध उच्यते ॥

4. The final dental consonants, and the final च्, and ख्, are not इत्, in affixes called vibhakti or inflective affixes.

This is an exception to the previous sūtra which declared all final consonants to be इत्. In case terminations, the final स्, थ्, ह्, ध्, त्, ष्, and श्, are not इत्. Thus the case termination of nominative plural is जस्. Here the final स्, though a consonant is not an इत्; and is not rejected, as in आद्याः॥ The word त्रु in the sūtra means the letters of the class त्, 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. 12, (शडसिंहसमिनात्म्याः) the vibhaktis इन्, आत् and एव replace इ, इति and इत्. Here the final त् of the affix आत् is not indicatory and hence not rejected, as इत्तात्. Similarly verbal terminations तस् and यस् as पत्वः, पवयः॥ So also the final म् as ताम् and तम् in अपवत्ताम् and अपवत्तम्॥

This exception applies only to vibhaktis and not to affixes in general. Thus the finals of यत् (III. 1. 97 अचोयत्;) युस् (V. 2. 123 रर्णवा युस्) and यम् (III. 1. 78 रूपाद्य यम्) are इत् and are rejected. This exception, however does not apply to the vibhakti यस् (in V. 3. 12 किमोऽस् or III. 4. 106, इत्येत्). In those two sūtras the final त् of the vibhakti is इत्. 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, (इत्यथम्) we find, 'the word इत्यम् takes the vibhakti यम् in the sense of mode or manner.' As इत् + यम् = इत्यम्, 'in this manner.' Now यम् is a vibhakti by V. 3. 1. (प्राग्विशो विभक्तिः) the त् is इत्, the real vibhakti is यम्. Now had the present sūtra been of universal application, then there would have been no necessity of adding this त् as indicatory letter, which has been evidently added to save the म् of यम् from becoming an इत्. This sūtra is consequently an anitya sūtra.

आदिर्जिंटुष्वः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, जि-टु-ष्वः, (इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यि इ त्रु इत्ये तेषां समुशाचानामादितो वर्तमानामित्संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

5. The initial नि, त्रु, and द्वि are इत्॥

The syllables नि, टु and त्रु, standing at the beginning of a root are indicatory; as निमित्ता 'to have affectionate pleasure.' The real root is नित्, the नि is servile. So द्वन्द्वि 'to rejoice, be glad' the real root being नर्. So उदाहृ 'to give' the real root being शा.

The नि shows that the past participle नक् has the power of the present III. 2. 187 (ग्रीतः नकः). As निफला—फूल्नः 'blown'; निमित्ता—मितः 'fat'; निधृष्टा—धृष्टः 'bold,' निहिता—हितः 'soft,' निइन्धी—इदः 'kindled.'

The टु subjoined to a root serves to show that it admits the affix अथु to form a noun indicative of the act (III. 3. 89 द्वितोऽप्युच्); as द्वेषैः—वेषयुः 'shaking'; द्विशोऽविष—इवययुः 'swelling.'

The त्रु indicates that the root to which it is subjoined admits of the affix निम (III. 3. 88, द्वितः निमः) to form a noun or adjective attributive of the act

by which the substantive thing has been produced, as उकूम्—कृनिम् 'artificial' उपचू—पक्षिम् 'ripe'; उवै—उनिम् 'sown.'

If these three syllables do not stand in the beginning of a verb, they are not indicatory; as पद्यति, कण्डयति &c.

षः प्रत्ययस्य ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ षः, प्रत्ययस्य, (आदि इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पकारः प्रत्ययस्यादिरिसंतो भवति ॥

6. The initial षु of an affix is indicatory.

The initial षु of an affix gets the name of इत् and is rejected. Thus by Rule III. 1. 145 (शिष्पिनि इतुन्) the affix षुन् is added to a verb to indicate proficient in the art expressed by the verb. The षु and न् are इत् and अत् takes the place of त् (VII. 1. 1, युवोरनाकौ). Thus नूत् + षुन् = नर्त् + अत् = नर्तकः 'a dancer' (by profession); fem. नर्तकी (IV. 1. 41, विश्वारादिष्यथ 'words formed by affixes having an indicatory षु take the affix हीष् in the feminine'): so also रजकः fem. रजकी.

The initial षु of an affix only is इत् and not every initial षु. Thus not in पोषः 'six,' or षडिकः ॥ The षु must be initial, therefore it is not इत् in the affix टिष्टन् in अविमहोटिष्टच्. (U. I. 45) as अविषः 'an ocean' महिषः 'a buffalo.'

षुटू ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जु-टू (प्रत्ययस्य आदिः, इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चवर्गे द्वर्गे प्रत्ययस्यादी इत्संस्तो भवतः ॥

7. The initial palatals and linguals of an affix are indicatory.

The consonants च्, छ्, ज्, झ्, ष्, द्, ढ्, ट्, ठ्, and ण् are always इत् and are rejected when initial in affixes. The word 'affix' of the previous sūtra governs this also.

As the affix ष्टभ् chphañ in sūtra (IV. 1. 98 गोने कुञ्जादिष्यभूफभ्). Here ष्ट् is indicatory, as, कौञ्जायन्यः ॥ The initial छ् chh of an affix is always replaced by ईय (VII. 1. 2 आयनेयीनीयः फट खच्छयोः प्रत्ययादीनाम्). The initial ज् of an affix is इत्. As, जस् (Nom. Pl. term.) ब्राह्मणः ॥ The initial षु of an affix is always replaced by भन्त, as भू + षुप् + स्ति = भवन्ति ॥ (VII. 1. 3 सोऽन्तः). The initial ष् of an affix is इत् as in ऊय which comes after the words शाण्डिक &c. As शाण्डिदयः (IV. 3. 92 शण्डिकादिष्योऽयः). The indicatory ष् causes vṛddhi by rules VII. 2. 115, 116 and 117: (अच्छीश्वर्णिति, अतउपधाया:, तद्वितेष्वचामादेः).

The initial द् त् of an affix is इत् as in III. 2. 16 (चरेण: the root चर् takes the affix त् when compounded with a noun in the locative). As कुरुचरः 'who goes among the Kurus.' The feminine of words formed by this affix take हीरू (IV. 1. 15 टिङ्गाणभूद्यसज् &c.) As कुरुचरी, मद्धचरी. The initial द् of an affix is always replaced by इक (VII. 3. 50 इत्येकः.) The initial त् of an affix is इत् as in III. 2. 97 (सप्तम्या जनेत्: the root जन् takes the affix त् when in composition

with a word in the locative, as उपसरजः, मन्दुरजः. The इ indicates that the final of the word called इ should be elided when an affix having indicatory इ is added. The initial इ of an affix is replaced by एव (VII. 1. 2).

The letter इ is always an इत् when initial. As in the aphorism IV. 4 85 (अचासः) the affix एव comes after the word अत्र 'food.' As अत्र+एव=अचासः. The ए causes विद्धि.

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 चुञ्जुरू and चण्ड् the initial च् is not indicatory but forms part of the real affix. As विद्याचुञ्जुः विद्याचण्डः 'famous for one's learning.' See S. V. 2. 26 तेन विज्ञेयं चुञ्जुरू चण्डौ. Similarly the initial ट् of the affix शीट्त्रू (V. 2. 31 अवात्रकुटारच्छ, नते नाधिकायाः संज्ञायां शीट्त्रू नाट्त्रू अट्त्रू), is not *it*. As अवशीट्त्रू '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 ट् of the affix अट्त्रू is not indicatory in sūtra V. 2. 35 (कर्मणि षट्टोऽत्रू) कर्मणः 'dexterous.'

लश्क्रतद्विते ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल-श-कु, अतद्विते, (प्रत्ययस्य, आदिः इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वितवर्जितस्य प्रत्ययस्यादितो वर्तमाना लकार शकार कवर्गा इत्यंता भवन्ति ॥

8. The initial l and ś, and the gutturals of all affixes, except taddhita, are indicatory.

The initial इ, श्, क्, ख्, ग्, घ्, ङ् of affixes are indicatory, except in Taddhita affixes. Thus the initial ल् in स्युद् is इत् (III. 3 115 स्युद्यत्) एव+स्युद्=स्यन्म् (VII. 1. 1) 'collecting.' The initial श् in शप् is इत् (III. 1 68 कर्तृरि शप्) भू+शप्+तिप्=भो+भ+ति=भवति 'he is.' The initial क् is इत् as in न्न and न्नवत् (I. 1. 26), as भुक्तः 'eating' भुक्तवान्. The initial ख् is इत् as in खच् (III. 2. 38 प्रियवचे वसः खच्) the word वस takes the affix *khach* when compounded with प्रिय and वस. The initial ग् is इत् as in गुरच् (III. 2. 139 ग्नाजिस्थध ग्नु), ग्नास्तुः 'languid' जिष्ठुः 'victorious,' स्यास्तुः 'unmoveable.' The initial घ् is इत् as in घुरच् (III. 2. 161 भञ्जभासभिष्ठे घुरच्) भञ्ज+घुरच् = भञ्ज्जुरम् 'brittle.' The initial ङ् is इत्, as in ङसि (termination of the ablative sing.) ङसि ditto of genitive sing. (IV. 1. 2), as सुमनस्+ङस् = सुमनश्+अङस् = सुमनसः 'of a well minded.' In Taddhita affixes however, these initials इ, श् and gutturals are not इत्; and are therefore not elided. Thus चूडा+लच् = चूडान्मः (V. 2. 96 प्राणिस्थासातो नजन्थनरस्याम्) 'crested'; लीम+ग

— लोमशः (V. 2. 100 लोमादिपामादिपिच्छादिष्वः शनेजङ्) ‘hairy;’ शृङ् + करु = शृङ्करः (V. 3.-81-86 जातिनामः करु) ‘a small tree.’

तस्य लोपः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य लोपः, (इत्) ॥
वृणिः ॥ तस्येत्संज्ञकस्य लोपो भवति ॥

9. Of this, (namely of that which has been called इत्), there is elision.

This sūtra declares the function of इत्; 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 इत्, and not only in the place of the final letter, which last is the general rule (see I. 1 52). Therefore, the whole of ओ, उ and औ is rejected and not only their finals.

यथा सहृननुदेशः समानाम् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा—सहृन्,
अनुदेशः, समानाम् ॥

युनिः ॥ समानां समसंख्यानां समपरिपटितानामुद्देशिनामनुदेशिनां च यथा क्रममुद्देशिभिरनुदेशिनः सम्बन्धन्ते ॥

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 (नन्दिमहिपचादिष्वो न्युणिन्यष्टः) declares:—‘the affixes न्यु, णिनि and अच्रु are applied to नन्दि, महि and पच्र् class of words.’ It means the affix न्यु is applied to the words of नन्दि class, the affix णिनि to words of महि class, and अच्रु to words of पच्र् class. The application must be respectively according to order, and not hap-hazard. Similarly in VI. 1 77 इकी यण्चि (if a vowel follows) in the place of ह, उ, ऊ, ऊ there is यन् i. e., य, ऊ, ऊ, ऊ ॥ So also see S. IV. 3. 94 (तूर्दीशलानुरवर्मतीकूचवाराङ् दक् छन् दन् यकः) where the four affixes धक, छन् dhañ, and yak are applied respectively to the words तुर्दि, शलाता, वर्मती and कूचवारा; i. e., the first affix in the order of enumeration to the first word, the second affix to the second word &c. As तौदेयः, शालातुरीयः, वार्मतेयः and कौचवार्यः ॥

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 लक्षणेत्यभूताल्यानभागवीप्तिसु प्रति पर्यन्वः for here the words lakṣaṇa &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-pravachaniya, whenever they indicate either lakshana (a mark), itthambhutā-khyāna (a statement of mere circumstance); bhāga (division); or vipsā (desire)."

स्वरितेनाधिकारः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितेन, अधिकारः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरितो नाम स्वरादिशेषो वर्णधर्मः केन चिह्नेनाधिकारो वेरितम् ॥

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; प्रत्ययः (III. 1. 1.) धातोः (III. 1. 91), अञ्जस्य (VI. 4. 1), गत्वा (VI. 4. 129).

अनुदात्तङ्गित आत्मनेपदम् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्त-हृ-इतः ॥
आत्मनेपदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुशास्तेतो ये धातवो ङ्गितश्च तेभ्य एव भात्मनेपदं भवति नान्येभ्यः ॥

12. After a root which has an indicatory anudātta vowel (anudāttet) or an indicatory न (nit), 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 भास the final अ is anudātta and is इत्. It is therefore an atmanepadi verb. As अस्ति. So पूर्व—सूते, शीढ़ गते.

भावकर्मणोः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भाव-कर्मणोः, (आत्मनेपदम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भावे कर्मणि आत्मनेपदम् भवति ॥

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 (लट्, निट् &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 Ātmanepada and take the terminations of that pada. These originally were verbs expressive of states rather than of actions. As of भाव we have न्नायते भवता 'you dislike' (lit. 'it is disliked by you') सूच्यते भवता 'you sleep.' Similarly passive verbs as क्रियते कः 'the mat is made'; द्वियते भारः 'the load is carried.'

All verbs in Sanskrit may have three voices *vis.* active, passive, and middle or impersonal; active voice is generally parasmaipada. The reflexive verbs known as कर्मकर्तृति are also Ātmanepadi. Thus लूयते केशः स्वयमेव 'the wood cuts of itself.' See sūtra 78.

कर्त्तरि कर्म व्यतिहारे ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तरि, कर्म-व्यातिहारे ॥ (आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्म व्यतिहारे सद्विग्रहं क्रिया वचनाद्वातोरात्मनेष्व भवति ॥

14. In denoting the agent, when reciprocity of action is to be expressed, the affixes of the Atmanepada are employed.

The active or कर्तुवाच्य verbs when denoting reciprocal action are Ātmanepadi. As, व्यतिपचन्ते, 'they cook for each other,' व्यतिलुनते '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 लुनन्ति 'they cut.' The word kartari here is used for the sake of the subsequent aphorism 78, which see.

**न गति हिंमार्थभ्यः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गति-हिंसा-अर्थभ्यः ॥
(आत्मनेपदम् कर्मव्यतिहारे) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थ्यो हिंसार्थ्यभ्य धानुभ्यः कर्म व्यतिहारे आत्मनेष्व न भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रतिबेधो हसादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हरतेरप्रतिबेधः ॥

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 sūtra Atmanepada affixes would have been obtained. As व्यतिगच्छन्ति 'they go against each other,' व्यतिहिसन्ति 'they injure each other.' व्यतिश्रन्ति 'they fight together.'

The word 'not' of this sūtra is understood in the subsequent sūtra.

Vart.—This prohibition extends to the verbs हस् 'to laugh,' and the rest. As व्यतिहसन्ति, व्यतिजन्पन्ति, व्यतिपठन्ति।

Vart.—Prohibition must be made of the verbs हरति 'to injure,' as संप्रहरन्ते राजानः॥

इतरेतरान्योन्योपपदाद्ध ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतर-इतर,

अन्यः-अन्यः, उपपदात्, अ, (कर्मचय० आत्मन० न) ॥

बूत्तिः ॥ इतरेतरोऽन्योन्य इत्येवमुपपदाद्धातोः कर्मचयतिहरे आत्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

शार्तिकत्र ॥ परस्परोपपदाद्येति दक्षब्यन् ॥

16. And after the verbs which take the words itaretara 'each other,' and anyonya 'one another,' as upapada (or dependant qualifying words), the affixes of Atmanepada are not used, though reciprocity of action be denoted.

Thus इतरेतरस्य व्यति लुनन्ति 'they cut each other' अन्योन्यस्य व्यतिलुनन्ति 'they cut one another.'

Vart.—This rule must also be applied when the word परस्पर is in composition with the verb, as an upapada. As परस्परस्य व्यतिलुनन्ति.

नैर्विशः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नेः, विशः, (आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

बूत्तिः । नेः परस्माइ विश आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

17. After the verb viś 'to enter,' when preceded by the preposition ni, the Atmanepada affixes are employed.

As विशति 'he enters,' but निविशते 'he enters in.'

Even when the augment अ॒ of the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional tenses intervenes between the root and the preposition, terminations are of the अत्मनेपदा. As न्यविशत 'he entered in.'

The नि of the sūtra must be an upasarga, because that has a sense, and not any नि. On this there is this paribhāṣā:—सर्वशृष्टप्रहणे नानर्थकस्य "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 मधुनि विशन्ति भवतः 'the beetles enter the honey flowers.'

Here the जि is a part of the word मधुनि and has no sense by itself, and therefore the verb is in the Parasmaipada and not in the Atmanepada.

परिभ्यवेभ्यः क्रियः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परि-वि-अवेभ्यः, क्रियः,
(आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिभ्यवेभ्य उत्तरात् क्षीणातेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

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 बृक्षीभू 'to buy or barter,' has an indicatory भू 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 बृक्षी '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 प्रीक्रीणीते 'he buys'; विक्रीणीते 'he sells'; अवक्रीणीते '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, बहुविक्रीणाति वनम्.

विपराभ्यां जे: ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विपराभ्याम्, जे: (आ०) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वि परा पूर्वाज्ञयतेर्धातोरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

19. After the verb ji 'to conquer,' preceded by vi or parā, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

This sūtra debars S. 78 by which the root जि is generally Parasmaipadi.

As विजयते '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 बहुविजयति वनम्, परा जयति सेना ॥

आङ्गो दोऽनास्य विहरणे ॥ २० ॥ पदानिः ॥ आङ्गः, दः, अनास्य-विहरणे, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्ग पूर्वाहवातेरनास्यविहरणे वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिंकम् ॥ भारथविहरणसमानकितादपि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिंकम् ॥ स्थाङ्गः कर्मकाद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

20. After the verb *dā* 'to give,' preceded by *āñ*, 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 *ता* is generally both Parasmaipadi and Atmanepadi (see S. 72). But when preceded by the preposition *स्ता*, it is restricted to the Atmanepada. As विद्यामात्रते 'he acquires knowledge.' But when it means "to widen the mouth" whether actually or metaphorically, it is parasmaipadi. As स्तास्त्वं व्यादशाति. 'He expends his own mouth.'

Vart.—The prohibition also applies when the action is similar to the act of opening the mouth. As विपाइको व्यादशाति 'he opens the tumour.' कूलं व्यादशाति नदी 'the river breaks the bank.'

Vart.—When the action does not affect the agents' own body the verb is Atmanepadi, as व्यादरतेपिरिलिकाः पतंगस्य मुखश्, 'the ants open the mouth of a locust.'

क्रीडोऽनुसंपरिभ्यश्च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रीडः, अनु-सम्-परिस्थः, च, (आङः, आत्मने प०)

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीडु विहारे एतस्माद् अनुसम्परि इत्येवं पूर्वाद् भाङ् पूर्वाद्यात्मने रहं भवति ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ समोऽकृज्ञने इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ आगमे: स्तमायामात्मने पदे वक्तव्यम् ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ शिक्षोऽज्ञजासायाम् ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ आशिखिनायः ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ इतरेगतसाच्छ्रीलये ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ किरतेहर्षजीविका कुजायकरणेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ आङ्नुप्रच्छोरुपसंख्यानम् ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ शप उपालभ्न इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

21. After the verb *krīḍ* 'to play' preceded by *anu*, *sam* or *pari*, as well as *āñ*, the Atmanepada affix is used.

The word "भाङ्" is to be read into the sūtra by virtue of the conjunction च in the text. As आङ्नीडते संक्रीडते अनुक्रीडते, or परिक्रीडते 'he plays.'

Vart.—When the verb *क्रीडु* compounded with सम् means 'to make a rattling or creaking noise,' it does not take Atmanepada terminations. As संक्रीडन्ति शक्टानि '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 karmapravachanīya *anu* *pari* &c. Therefore, when these prefixes are used as karmapravachanīya, they do not cause the verb *क्रीडु* to

take the Atmanepada terminations as माणवकमनुक्रीडति । 'he plays in imitation of the boy.' For the definition and action of karmapravachanīya, see. I. 4. 83 and II. 3. 8.

Vart.—The verb भागत् takes the Atmanepada terminations when meaning 'to wait for', 'to over look' 'to have patience' as, आगमयस्व तादन् माणवकत् । 'Have patience with the boy.'

Vart.—The verb शिष्य takes Atmanepada terminations, when meaning 'to enquire':—as, विद्यासु शिक्षते 'he investigates sciences.'

Vart.—The verb नाय् when meaning 'to bless,' takes Atmanepada terminations, as, सर्विषो नायते 'he blesses with clarified butter.' मधुनो नायते । Why do we say 'when meaning to bless?' Observe, माणवकमनुनायति, 'he begs of Manavaka.'

Vart.—The verb हरति takes Atmanepada terminations when meaning 'to take after the nature of the parents.' As पैद्रकमप्ता भनुहरन्ते 'the horses resemble their father.' मादकं गावोऽनुहरन्ते 'the cows always imitate their mother.' But when not having this meaning, we have मानुहरति 'he resembles his mother.'

Vart.—The verb किरति takes Atmanepada terminations when meaning 'to scratch out or scatter with joy, for abode or food.' As भपस्किरते इषभो हटः 'the happy bull scratches with joy.' अपस्किरते कुकुटे भज्ञार्थी 'the cock scratches in search of food,' अपस्किरते भाऊभयार्थी 'the dog scratches to make his abode.' When not having these senses we have अपस्किरति कुसुमत् 'he scatters about the flowers.' The dental स in apaskirate is added by sūtra VI. 1. 142. अपाद्यतुष्पाच्छ्वकुनिष्वालेखने ॥

Vart.—The verbs नु 'to cry' and प्रच्छृ 'to ask' take the Atmanepada terminations when preceded by the preposition आङ्, as आनुते शूगलः 'the jackal howls.' आपुच्छृते गुरुम् 'he questions the Guru.'

Vart.—The verb शृ when meaning 'to touch the body by the word' takes Atmanepada affixes. As इवदत्ताय शपते 'he promises by oath to Devadatta.' Otherwise we have शपति 'he curses.'

समव्युविभ्य स्यः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-अव-प्र-विभ्यः , स्यः ॥
इति: ॥ सम् अव प्र वि इत्येवं पूर्वात् तिष्ठते रात्मनेष्व भवति ॥
शार्तिकम् ॥ आङः स्यः प्रतिज्ञान इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

22. After the verb sthā 'to stand,' preceded by sam, ava, pra, vi, the Atmanepada affix is used.

As संतिष्ठते 'he stays with,' अवतिष्ठते 'he waits patiently,' प्रतिष्ठते 'he sets forth,' वितिष्ठते 'he stands apart.'

Vart.—The verb स्था when preceded by शास् and meaning 'solemn declaration' takes अत्मनेपद terminations; as अस्ति संस्कारमाचमातिष्ठते ॥ Or to take another example, जलं विद्यं वा तव कारणादास्थास्ये 'for thee I shall surely have recourse to water or poison.'

प्रकाशनस्थेयास्ययोऽश्च ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकाशन-स्थेय-आस्ययोः,
च, (स्था, आत्मनेऽ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकाशने स्थेयास्यायां च तिष्ठतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

23. After the verb sthā when meaning 'to indicate one's intentions to another,' or 'to ~~make an~~ award as an arbitrator,' the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The word prakāśana means disclosing one's intentions. The word stheyaśhya is a compound of stheya 'arbitrator' and śhya 'name.'

As तिष्ठते जायापरस्ये 'the wife expresses her wish to the husband,' संशब्द कर्णादिषु तिष्ठते च, 'who, when he is in doubt, has recourse to Karṇa as his judge or umpire.'

उद्देश्यानुर्ध्वकर्मणि ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्दः, अनुर्ध्व-कर्मणि,
(स्था, आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्र पूर्वात् तिष्ठते एनुर्ध्वकर्मणि वर्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ उर ईहायामिति वन्दन्यम् ॥

24. After the verb sthā, 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 गेहे उत्तिष्ठते 'he strives for the house' so also कुदुम्बे उत्तिष्ठते ॥ But भासनादुत्तिष्ठति 'he rises up from the seat.'

Vart.—The force of the preposition ut must be to express ईहा, '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 अस्माद् यामात् चतुर्मुत्तिष्ठति 'a hundred is yielded by this village.' The word ईहा qualifies the word 'anūrdhakarmani,' and does not debar the latter.

उपान्मन्त्रकरणे ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात्, मन्त्र-करणे, (स्था,
आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वात् तिष्ठतेर्मन्त्रकरणे ये वर्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ उपादेवपूजासंगति करणमिति करणपथिष्ठिति वाच्यम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ वा लिप्सायामिति वन्दन्यम् ॥

25. After the verb *sthâ*, preceded by *upa*, when meaning 'to adore,' the Atmanepada affix is used.

As ऐन्यागार्हपत्यमुपतिष्ठते 'he approaches with prayers or worships the Gârhapatya fire with aandra hymns.'

If it does not mean 'praising with hymns' the terminations which the verb takes, are those of the Parasmaipada, as भर्तारमुपतिष्ठति यौवनेन 'she approaches the husband through youth.'

Vart.—The verb स्था 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 pujâ आदित्यमुपतिष्ठते 'he worships the Aditya.' 2. Sangati karaṇa पतिमुपतिष्ठते नारी 'the wife approaches the husband,' रथिकानुपतिष्ठते 'forms union with charioteers.' 3. Mitri karana सन्तमुपतिष्ठते साधुः 'the good man approaches the saints to make friends with.' What is the difference between Sangati-karaṇa and Mitri-karana? Sangati-karana means drawing near and approaching together in space, as गंगायमुनामुपतिष्ठते 'the Ganges joins the Jumna.' While the friendly relations may be established without coming in physical contact. 4. Patha :—श्रव्यं पन्था: मुन्मुपतिष्ठते 'this road leads to Srughna.'

Vart.—It must be stated that the Atmanepada is optional when the sense is 'desire of getting.' As भिक्षुको ब्राह्मणकुजमुपतिष्ठते or उपतिष्ठति 'a beggar waits at the palace of a Brahmana with the desire of getting something.'

अकर्मकाच्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्मकात् , च , (उप स्था आ०प०) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वात् तिष्ठतेरकर्मकाद्वकर्मकियावचनाश्वनेपदं भवति ॥

26. After the verb *sthâ*, preceded by *upa*, when used intransitively, the Atmanepada affix is used.

As भोजनकाले उपतिष्ठते 'he stands ready at the time of dinner,' यावदभुक्तमुपतिष्ठते 'he is present whenever it is dinner time,' यावदोहनमुपतिष्ठते '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 sūtras also.

If it is transitive; the verb *upasthâ* takes the parasmaipada terminations. As राजानमुपतिष्ठते 'he approaches the king.'

उद्दिष्यां तपः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्दु-विष्याम् , तपः , (अकर्म-
कात् आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद्दु विष्ययेवं पूर्वात् तपतेरकर्मकियावचनाश्वनेपदं भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ स्वाद्ग कर्मकादेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

27. After the verb *tapa* 'to shine,' when used intransitively, and preceded by *ut* or *vi* the Atmanepada affix is employed.

As उत्तप्ते or वितप्ते विद्यया विद्यापूर्वी 'The scholar shines with knowledge.' But in transitive verbs, it is *Parasmaipadi*. As उत्तपति सुशर्णुसुवर्णकारः, 'the gold-smith heats the gold,' वितपति पृष्ठं सविता 'the sun heats the back.'

Vart.—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 उत्तपतेपाणिम् or वितपतेपाणिम् or पृष्ठं 'he heats his own hand or back' The word स्वाङ् means one's own body and not the pāribhāshika or the technical स्वाङ् 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 स्वाङ्गाधीपत्तर्जनाइचंयोगोपधात्). Therefore not so in the following देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तस्य पृष्ठमुच्चपति 'Devadatta heats the back of Yajñadatta. When the preposition is other than *ut* or *vi*, *parasmaipada* affix is employed; as, निष्टपति.

आङ्गोयमहनः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङः, यम-हनः, (अकर्मकात् आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यम उपरमे, हन हिंसागतयोः । ताम्यामर्कमक्रिया वचनाभ्यामाह् पूर्वाभ्यामास्मने-पर्व भवति ॥

28. After the verb *yam* 'to stop,' and *han* 'to injure' when used intransitively and preceded by *āñ*, 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 आ॒ they become Atmanepadi. *Yam* belongs to *Bhvādi* class; and *han* to *Adādi* class. Thus आ॒ + यम् + आ॒ + ते = आ॒ + यच्छु + अते (VII. 3. 77 इषुगमियमां छः 'chh is the substitute of the finals of ish, gam and yam, when an affix having an indicatory श् follows) = आयच्छते 'it spreads.' आयच्छते and आयच्छन्ते; so also आ॒ + हन् + ते = आ॒ + ह + ते (I. 2. 4 and VI. 4. 37 अनुदात्तोपदेशवनतितनोत्याशीनामनुनासिकलोपो सञ्जिक्किति) = भाइते, 'he strikes.' आ॒ = हन् + आते = आ॒ + हन् + आते (I. 2. 4 and VI. 4. 98 सार्वधानुकमपित् गमहनजनखनघसां लोपः कृष्ण इत्यनडि) = आप्नाते (VII. 3. 54), (हो हन्तेष्य-ग्रिन्तेषु) Pl. आप्नते.

Not so when these verbs are used in the transitive, as आयच्छति कूपाद्व-इषुम् 'he draws up the rope from the well,' भाइन्ति वृषलं पासेन 'they kill the sinner with the foot.'

* actually, in the Trans. (Except a few lines of the body,) it always includes 'd-a-n-i-l-a-g-h-i' instead of 'd-a-n-i-l-a-g-h-i'

Vart.—When the object is some member of the agent's own body these verbs take the Atmanepada terminations though transitive. As भायच्छते पाणिम् 'he puts forth his own hand.' भाहते शिरं 'he hurts his own head.' When the object is some limb of another's body, the terminations are of the Parasmaipada, as शाहन्ति शिरः परकीयं 'they hurt others head.'

समेगसृच्छप्रच्छस्वरत्यर्तिशुविदिभ्यः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः,
गमि-कृत्तिष्ठ-प्राचिष्ठ-स्वरति-अर्त्ति-शु-विदिभ्यः, (अकर्मा० आ० प०) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वेभ्यो गमि कृत्तिष्ठ प्राचिष्ठ स्वरति अर्तिशुविदिस्त्वेतेभ्योऽकर्मकेभ्यो धातुभः
च्छाल्मनेपरं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ इशेषेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

29. After the verbs *gam* 'to go,' *richchh* 'to become hard,' *prachchh* 'to ask,' *svar* 'to find fault,' *ri* 'to go,' *śrū* '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 संगच्छते (VII. 3. 77) 'he joins,' समच्छते 'he becomes hard or goes.' संपूर्वते 'he asks,' संस्वरते 'he blames,' समरन्त 'they are attained.' In the case of this last verb which belongs both to *Bhvādi* and *Juhūtyādi* class it is Atmanepadi only in the Aorist. As सम् + कृ + अह् + त (III. 1. 56 सर्तिशास्त्यर्तिभ्यः) = समृत, as ना समृत (VI. 4. 75 वहुजन्द्वस्यमाइयोगपि) सम् + कृ + अह् + अन्त = समरन्त (VII. 4. 16 कृत्तिशुभिन्नगुणः). This occurs generally in the Vedas. The verb विद् must have the meaning of 'to know,' and not that of 'to acquire.' संशुषुते 'he hears,' संवित्ते 'he knows.'

Vart.—The root इश् (to see) after the preposition सम् when used intransitively takes the terminations of the Atmanepada as संपूर्वते 'he sees.' But when transitive, it takes Parasmaipada terminations as भासम् संपूर्वति 'he sees the town.'

निसमुपविभ्यो ह्वः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नि-सम्-उप-विभ्यः, ह्वः,
(आ० प०) ॥

इति ॥ निसमउपविद्यते इत्येवं पूर्वाद् ह्वयते द्वातोराल्मनेपरं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ उपसर्गादस्यस्थूलोर्वा वचनम् ॥

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 हैः 'to call' whether transitive or intransitive is Atmanepadī 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 निद्युयते, चंद्र्यते, उपद्युवते ॥

The verb है is marked in the Dhātupāṭha with a श् 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 hve takes the terminations of the Atmanepada when preceded by the above prefixes.

Vart.—The verbs चस् 'to throw' and इह् 'to note' take optionally Atmanepada affixes when compounded with upasargas. As निरस्याति—०ते 'he casts out,' समूहति—०ते 'he collects.'

स्पर्द्धायामाङ्गः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्पर्द्धायाम्, आङ्गः, (ह्वः
आ० प०) ॥

शक्तिः ॥ स्पर्द्धायां विषये चाङ् पूर्व॑ हृयतेरालनेपदं भवति ॥

31. After the verb hve, when meaning 'to challenge' and preceded by अं, the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

As मन्लो मन्जामाहृयते 'an athlete challenges another athlete (in order to conquer him)' छन्नश्छात्रमाहृयते 'one student emulates with another student.'

This sūtra is also for the purpose of showing that the root hve 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 hve has not the above signification, it takes the terminations of the parasmaipada. As गामाहृयति गोपाङ्गः 'the cowherd calls the cows.'

गन्धनावक्षेपणसेवनसाहस्रिक्ष्यपूर्तियन्तप्रकथनोपयोगेषु रुजः ॥ ३२ ॥
पदानि ॥ गन्धन-अवक्षेपण-सेवन-साहस्रिक्ष्य-प्रतियन्त-प्रकथनउपयोगेषु, रुजः,
(आ० प०) ॥

शक्तिः ॥ गन्धनादिक्ष्येषु वर्तमानात् करोतेरालनेपदं 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 कृञ् 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 rōṭ gandh 'to injure,' of churādi class and means to inform against another maliciously with the object of injuring such person. Avakshepana means 'to revile' 'to over-come,' sevana means 'to obey and serve,' sahasikya means 'an act of violence,' pratiyatna means 'imparting a new quality or virtue,' prakathana means 'to narrate fully,' upayoga means 'the disposal of a thing for the object of attaining merit &c.'

Quail Thus उरकुरते, उसकुरते means he informs against (2) इयेनो वर्तिकामुदाकुरते 'the hawk overcomes or reviles a snail' (3) गणकानुपकुरते 'he serves the prostitutes,' महामात्रानुकुरते 'he serves the mahamatra.' (4). परदारान् प्रकुरते 'he outrages another's wife.' (5). एथोदक्षयोपस्कुरते '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 kṛi takes the affix of the sixth case i. e. genitive, only when the verb means pratiyatna, see S. II. 3. 53 (कृञः प्रतियत्वे) ! Therefore udayasya, though an object, has genitive form. The verb takes the augment सु- only when it is preceded by upa and signifies pratiyatna see VI. 1. 139. (उपात् प्रतियत्वं चैकृत् वाक्याध्याहारेत्) !! Therefore, there is the insertion of sibilant in upaskurute. (5). गायाः प्रकुरते 'he recites stories,' जनापवादात् प्रकुरते 'he recites slander.' (6). शतं प्रकुरते 'he devotes a hundred' pieces of money, for the sake of merit. सहस्रं प्रकुरते he devotes a thousand.

Why do we say in these senses? Witness कर्तं करोति 'he makes a mat.' In this case the Atmanepada affix is not employed.

The verb kṛi is understood in the three succeeding sūtras.

अधेः पूरसहने ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधेः, पूरसहने, (कृञः आ० प०) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अधि पूर्वात् करोते: प्रसहने वर्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

33. After the verb kṛi 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 kṛi may take the Atmanepada affix even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word prasahana means 'to over come, to be not defeated.' As तमधिकरे 'he overcame him or he was not defeated by him.'

Why do we say, 'in the sense of to overcome?' Witness चर्यमधिकरोति 'he learns the meaning' 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 apporism, arose with the object of giving a distinctive meaning to the prefix adhi.

देः शब्दकर्मणः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वे:, शब्द- कर्मणः, (कुञ्जः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि पूर्वात् करोतेरकर्मभिप्राये क्रियाकले शब्दकर्मण आत्मनेपरं भवति ॥

34. After the verb kṛi preceded by vi, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, and when the sense 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 24 ante.

As क्रोटा विकुरुते स्वरात् 'the birds are making noise,' खांस्तो विकुरुते स्वरात् ॥

The word वि governs the succeeding sūtra.

Why do we say "when governing a word expressive of sound in the objective case"? Witness चित्तं विकरोति कामः 'love affects the mind.'

अकर्मकात् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्मकात्, च, (कुञ्जः आ० प० वे:) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि पूर्वात् करोतेरकर्मकात्कर्मक्रियावचनादात्मनेपरं भवति ॥

35. After the verb kṛi preceded by vi, when used intransitively, the Atmanepada is used.

As विकृचन्ते सैन्यवा 'the horse' move gracefully,' औषधस्य पर्णश्छना विकृचन्ते 'the students being full of food are acting as they will or are aimlessly wandering about.'

संसानन्तोत्सञ्जनाधार्यकरणज्ञानभूतिविगणनव्ययेषु नियः ॥ ३६ ॥
पदानि ॥ संसानन-उत्सञ्जन-आधार्यकरण-ज्ञान-भूति-विगणन-व्ययेषु, नियः, (आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतीज्, प्राप्ते इयतेसमाद्वातोकर्मभिप्राये क्रियाकले रात्मनेपरं भवति, सम्माननारिषु विद्येष्येषु सरम् ॥

36. After the verb nī 'to lead,' when used in the sense of 'to guide so as to render the person guided worthy,' '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 sūtra is begun in order to show that the verb नी 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, *viz.*, when it means to 'respect' &c.

Sammānana means to respect; as नयते चार्वा लोकायते 'the Chārvī gives instruction in the Lokāyata śāstra.' 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 (Sanmānitā) and honored.

Utsañjana, 'to throw up, or lift up,' as माणवकमुद्धनयते 'he lifts up Manavaka.'

Achārya-karaya '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 achārya. As माणवकमुद्धनयते 'he initiates Manavaka (*i. e.*, making himself the preceptor he brings the boy near himself.)'

Jnāna means 'knowledge, a demonstrated verity.' As नयते चार्वा लोकायते 'the Chārvī investigates the truth of the Lokāyata doctrine.'

Bhṛiti means 'wages.' As कर्मकारानुपनयते 'he employs the servants on hire or wages.'

Vigañana means the paying off as a tribute, debts &c. As मद्राकर्तविनयन्ते, 'the Madras pay the tax due to the king, that is, they discharge the debt.'

Vyaya means 'allotment of money on works of merit &c.' As शतं विनयते 'he expends a hundred pieces on religious acts.' सहस्रं विनयते 'he devotes a thousand.'

Why do we say, in these senses? Witness अज्ञां नयति साम्प्र 'he carries the goat to the village' Here there is no Atmanepada affix, as the verb has not any one of the above significations.

कर्तृस्थे चाशरीरे कर्मणि ॥३७॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृस्थे, च, अशरीरे, कर्मणि, (नियः आ० प०) ॥

इति ॥ नयते: कर्त्तव्येवदन्तादिलकारवाच्यः कर्द्यथे कर्मज्यशरीरे सति नयतेरालनेपरं भवति ॥

37. After the verb *ni*, 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 क्रोधविनयते 'he subdues his own anger,' मन्त्रविनयते 'he suppresses anger.'

The word *śarīra* means the body of living beings, any portion of such body is also called *śarīra*.

The object must reside in the agent, (*kartṛistha*), otherwise the verb will be *parasmaipadi*. As देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तस्य क्रोधं विनयति 'Debadatha removes Yajnadatta's anger.'

The object moreover must be immaterial, otherwise the affix will be of parasmaipada. As गङ्क विनयति 'he removes his own wort.' घाती विनयति 'he bows his neck.'

Why do we say 'in the case of an object?' Witness बुद्धिं विनयति 'he is submissive through knowledge,' प्रस्तुत्या विनयति. Here the verb विनयति has not taken an accusative case, but is in construction with an instrumental case, and therefore the present rule does not apply.

वृत्तिर्गतयनेषु क्रमः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृत्ति-सर्ग-तायनेषु,
क्रमः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृत्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु क्रमेर्पातोरास्मनेपदं 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.

Vṛitti '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 (1) कर्त्तव्य क्रमते दुद्धि:—‘his reason proceeds unobstructed through the Rig. scriptures i. e., he can easily comprehend the Rig.’ (2). व्याकरणाप्त्ययनाय क्रमते ‘the pupil shows energy or exerts to study the grammar.’ (3). अस्तिनन् शास्त्राणि क्रमन्ते ‘the shastras are developed in him.’

Why in these senses only? Witness अपासि 'he runs away.'

उपपराभ्याम् ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप-पराभ्याम्, (वृत्तिसर्गता-
यनेपुकमः आः प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपरापूर्वात् क्रमतेर्वृत्यादिष्वयेषु वर्तमानाशास्त्रनेपदं 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 parasmaipada; as संक्रामति 'he makes progress.' If the sense is not that of "continuity" &c., parasmaipada will be employed, as उपक्रमति, पराक्रमति.

आडुरद्धमने ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ आडः, उदगमने (क्रमः, आ० प०) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आडु पूर्वात् क्रमते रुद्धगमने वर्तमानाशास्त्रनेपदं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ ऊयोतिरुद्धगमने हस्ति वक्तव्यम् ॥

40. After the verb kram, preceded by ाः, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of the rising of a luminary.

As आक्रमते सूर्यः 'the sun rises.' आक्रमते चन्द्रमः 'the moon rises' आक्रमन्ते ऊयोतिर्पि 'the stars rise.'

Vart.—This ascending must refer to heavenly bodies. Therefore in आक्रमते धूमोहस्यतलात्, '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 आक्रमते माणवकः कुतपम् 'the boy assails the ox.' *steps on the great bull in rage.*

वैः पादविहरणे ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वैः, पाद-विहरणे, (क्रमः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विपूर्वात् क्रमते: पादविहरणे उर्वे वर्तमानाशास्त्रनेपदं भवति ॥

41. After the verb kram, preceded by vi, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of 'placing of foot-steps.'

As वाजी विक्रमते 'the horse is pacing.' The term vikramaṇa is applied to the special movements of horse &c.

Though in the Dhātupāṭha (catalogue of verbal roots), the verb क्रमि and क्रम् have the meanings of pāda-viharāṇa and pāda-vikṣepa, 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 dhātupāṭha, 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 विक्रामति भजिनतन्तिः the ^{क्रम्}_{पूर्वार्थः} of the antelope skin is ruptured;

प्रोपाभ्यां सत्याभ्याम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र-उपाभ्याम्, समर्थ-
भ्याम्, (क्रमः आ० प०) ॥

शृतः ॥ प्र उप इत्येताभ्यां परत्वात् क्रमतेरात्मनेपरं 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 प्रक्रमते भोक्तुत्, उपक्रमते भोक्तुत् '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 पूर्वेषुः प्रक्रामति अपरेषु उपक्रामति '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 'aparedyur upakramati' 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.

अनुपसर्गाद्वा ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्-उपसर्गात्, वा (क्रमः आ० प०) ॥
शृतिः ॥ उपसर्ग वियुक्तात् क्रमतेरात्मनेपरं 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 vibhāsā viz., an option which is not an alternative limitation to a general rule already found or known.

Examples: क्रमते or क्रामति 'he goes over.' Why do we say 'when it is without any preposition?' For no option is allowed when it takes preposition. As संक्रामति.

अपद्वये चः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपद्वयेः, चः, (आ० प०) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जानातेरपद्वये वर्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

44. After the verb *jñā*, when used in the sense of 'denying,' the Atmanepada is employed.

The root *jñā* which ordinarily means 'to know' and is parasmaipadi by rule 78, becomes Atmanepadi when through the virtue of any prefix it means 'to deceive:' as अपज्ञानीते 'he deceives,' शतमपज्ञानीते 'he denies the debt of a hundred rupees,' सहस्रमपज्ञानीते 'denies a thousand.'

Why do we say when meaning 'to deny?' observe :—न एव किंचित्परि जानासि 'thou knowest not anything.'

अकर्मकात् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्मकात्, च (चः, आ० प०) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जानातेरकर्मकार्यकियावच्नादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

45. And when used intransitively, after the verb *jñā*, the Atmanepada is employed, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

As सर्पिषो जानीते मधुनो जानीते 'he engages in sacrifice by means of clarified butter or honey.' (See II. 3. 51).

This Atmanepadi form of *jñā* is employed when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. From sūtra 76 it will be seen that when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the verb is Atmanepadi.

How in the above example the verb *jñā* is intransitive? Because the word *sarpiṣ* is not the object of knowledge, but it is an instrument of sacrifice, into which one engages from complete knowledge (*jñāna*) ; and it (*sarpiṣah*) is in the genitive case by virtue of II. 3. 51 (सोऽविद्यत्य करणे) by which the instrumental kāraka of the *jñā* is put in the genitive case.

Why do we say of "Intransitive"? Because in the transitive it is parasmaipadi, as तरेण पुनः जानाति 'he knows (recognizes) the son by his voice.'

संपूतिभ्यामनाध्याने ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-पूतिभ्याम् अन्-
आध्याने , (चः आ०प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रतिइत्येवं पूर्वज्ञानातेरनाध्याने वर्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

46. After the verb *jñā*, preceded by *sam*, and *prati*, the Atmanepada is employed, when not used in the sense of "remembering with regret."

The word *jñā* is understood in this sūtra: and the aphorism applies to that *jñā* which is used in the transitive. As शुरु संजानीते 'he looks for a hundred,' so सहस्रं प्रतिजानीते 'he promises a thousand.' *agrees to* (*recognizes a debt of*)

Why do we say when 'not meaning remembering with regret?' Because it is not Atmanepadi, when it conveys that meaning. Thus भासः संजानाति 'he remembers with regret his mother' पितृः संजानाति ॥

भासनोपसंभाषानयद्विमत्युपमन्त्रणेषु वदः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥
भासन-उपसंभाषा-शान-यद्विमति-उपमन्त्रणेषु, वदः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भासनादिषु विशेषणेषु सत्त्वं वरतेरात्मनेष्व 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 sūtra 78, vad generally takes the terminations of the Parasmaipada, by the present sūtra, it takes also the affixes of the Atmanepada when having certain meanings.

Bhāṣana, (shining) means to illumine as वर्ते चार्या लोकावते. The chārvī illumines the Lokayat shastras, by his discourses and clear exposition.

Upasambhāṣṭha (persuasions) means to appease, to conciliate as कर्त्त-करानुपरवते he conciliates or cajoles the servants.

Jñāna (knowledge) means to know completely as वर्ते चार्या लोकावते the chārvī knows completely to discourse upon Lokayat shastra.

Yatva (endeavour) means energy as कर्त्ते वर्तते. 'He toils in the field,' गेहे वर्तते 'he toils in the house.'

Vimati (disagreement) means dissension, want of unanimous opinion. As कर्त्ते विवदन्ते. 'They disagree over the field' i. e., holding different opinions they talk diversely.

Upamantrana (enticing) means to coax in secret as, कुलभार्यामुपवर्तते 'he entices the wife of a respectable family (i. e., seduces her in secret)' जंतरानुप-वर्तते 'he flatters another's wife.'

Why in the above senses only? See यत्र किञ्चित्प्रसवि 'he says something'.

व्यक्त्वाचारं समुच्चारणे ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यक्त्वाचारम्, सम्-उच्चा-रणे, (वदः, आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यक्त्वाचारं समुच्चारणे व्यक्त्वाचारणे वरतेरात्मनेष्व भवति ॥

48. After the verb vad, the Atmanepada is employed when used in the sense of "speaking articulately in a similar manner."

As संप्रवदन्ते शास्त्राः: 'the Brâhmaṇas are speaking.' But in संप्रवदन्ति कुक्कुतः: 'the cocks are crowing' it is properly Parasmaipadi.

The sense of the sûtra 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 samuchchâraṇa for the application of this rule, when there is no samuchchâraṇa or speaking in a chorus, this rule does not apply, as शास्त्राणो वरति 'the Brâhmaṇan speaks.'

अनेऽरकर्मकात् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनेऽः , अकर्मकात् , (वदः , आ० प०) व्यक्तवाचां ॥

शृण्वः ॥ अनुपूर्वादृतेरकर्मकादृव्यक्तवाचिभयास्तनेष्व भवति ॥

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 अनुवदते कडः कलास्त्य kâṭha is echoing or imitates kalapa. He reutters exactly what the kalâpa-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 Parasmaipada. As पूर्वमेव यजुर्वाचितमनुवदति he repeats the yajurveda which he had learned before.

The words 'uttering of articulate speech' are understood here also. Otherwise अनुवदति शीणा the lute resounds, here it is Parasmaipada.

विभाषा विप्रलापे ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा , विप्रलापे , (वदः आ० प० उव्यक्तवाचां) ॥

शृण्वः ॥ विप्रज्ञापास्तके व्यक्तवाचां समुच्छारणे वर्तमानादृतेरास्तनेष्व भवति विभाषा ॥

50. After the verb vad, the Atmanepada is employed optionally, when the sense is that of "contradicting each other."

As विप्रवदन्ते or न्ति वैद्या: (the doctors are at variance). The words vyaktavâchâom (articulate utterance) and samuchchâraṇa (speaking together) are understood in this sûtra also.

No option is allowed when the sense is not that of contradiction or wrangling as संप्रवदन्ते शास्त्राः. The Brâhmaṇas are speaking together.

The phrase 'articulate utterance' is necessary in this also. Because as विप्रवदन्ति शक्तुनशः the kites are quarrelling, the verb is in the Parasmaipada.

The wrangling must be by talking at one and the same time otherwise this rule will not apply. As क्रमेण वैया वैयेन सह विप्रवदन्ति the doctors contradict by turn another doctor.

अवादूयः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवाद् , यः , (आ० प०)

इति: ॥ संपूर्णार्थ गिरतेरात्मनेपरं भवति ॥

51. After the verb grī 'to swallow,' when preceded by ava, the Atmanepada is used.

As अवगिरति (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 Tudādi class, it is not the grī 'to make sound' which belongs to the kryādi 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 प्रतिज्ञाने ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः , प्रतिज्ञाने , (यःआ०प०) ॥

इति: ॥ संपूर्णार्थ गिरते: प्रतिज्ञाने वर्तमानात्मनेपरं भवति ॥

52. After the verb grī preceded by sam, the Atmanepada is used, when employed in the sense of 'promising.'

As शनैं संगिरते (he promises to pay a hundred rupees) If it does not mean to promise or acknowledge, it takes parasmaipada terminations. As अवगिरति भास्म् he swallows the mouthful.

उदश्वरः सकर्मकात् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदः , घरः , सकर्मकात् ॥
(आ० प०) ॥

इति: ॥ उरपूर्णघरते: सकर्मकक्षियावचनाश्वनेपरं भवति ॥

53. After the verb char 'to walk' preceded by ut, when used transitively the Atmanepada is employed.

As ग्रेहमुच्चरते he strays away from home; गुरुवचनमुच्चरते he transgresses the commands of his preceptor.

Why do we say "when used in the transitive"? Observe वाष्पमुच्चरति the vapour is rising. Here it is parasmaipadi.

समस्तुतीयायुक्तात् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः , तृतीया-युक्तात् ,
(घरः आ० प०) ॥

इति: ॥ संपूर्णघरतेस्तुतीयायुक्ताश्वनेपरं भवति ॥

54. After the verb char, preceded by sam, and connected with a noun in the Instrumental case, the Atmanepada is employed.

As भृत्येन संचरते 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 उभो ज्ञाकौ संचरति इमं चारुं च देवज ! 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 parasmaipada terminations.

दाणश्च सा चेत्यतुर्यर्थं ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाणः , च , सा , चेत् ,
चतुर्य-अर्थं , (समस्त० यु० घरः आ० य०) ॥

इति: ॥ शाणशने परस्मैपदी ततः संपूर्णाऽवतीयायुक्ताशास्त्रेनपदं भवति सांचेत् वतीया चतुर्यर्थं
भवति ।

रातिकम् ॥ अशिष्टव्यवहारे वतीया चतुर्यर्थं भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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 शास्त्रा or वृष्ण्या संप्रयच्छते (he gives with the object of enticing to the female slave or prostitute).

The verb dā to give, is generally parasmaipadi, it becomes Atmanepadi 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, parasmaipada terminations will be used, as पाणिना संप्रयच्छति, 'he gives with his hand.'

It might be asked how the Atmanepada terminations are employed when the preposition sam is not directly applied to the verb, but another preposition pra, intervenes between sam and the verb. The reply is that the word samah in sūtra 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.

उपायमः स्वकरणे ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात् , यमः , स्वकरणे ,
(आ० य०) ॥

इति: ॥ उपपूर्णाऽवस्थमः स्वकरणे वर्तमानाशास्त्रेनपदं भवति ॥

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 भार्यामुपवच्छते 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 Kāsika; 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 parasmaipada affixes will be employed as देवदत्तो यज्ञात्प्रस्तव भार्यामुपवच्छति, Devadatta has illicit intercourse with the wife of Yajñadatta.

शाश्रुस्यदूधारं सनः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्ला-श्रु-स्सु-दूधार्, सनः ,
(आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्ला श्रु श्लृ इत्येतां सञ्जन्तानामास्तनेपरं भवति ॥

57. After the Desideratives formed by the affix *san*, of the verbs *jñā* to know, *sru*, to hear, *smṛi* to remember, and *dṛiś* to see, the Atmanepada is employed.

The above four roots are ātmanepadi when in the Desiderative form, the suffix "san" being the pratyaya 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 *sru*, and *dṛiś*, take the terminations of the ātmanepada, when preceded by *saṁ*, 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 *smṛi*.

As धर्मे जिज्ञासते he wishes to know (*i.e.* enquires after) religion गुरुं शुभ्रपते he serves the teachers, नटं सुस्मृष्टते he wishes to remember the lost. गुरुं दिदृक्षते 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; शृणोति he hears, समाति he remembers प्रथति he sees.

नानोर्ज्ञः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न , अनोः , चः , (सनः आ०प०) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वाज्ञानाते: सञ्जन्ताशास्त्रनेपरं न भवति ॥

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 *पुनरुज्ञासति* he enquires after the son.

Why do we say when preceded by *anu*? Because otherwise it will take the Atmanepada terminations. As *धर्मानुज्ञासते* he inquires after religion.

प्रत्याङ्गम्यां श्रुवः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-आङ्गम्याम् , श्रुवः , (सनः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रति आङ्ग इत्येवं पूर्वाच्छृणुते: सञ्जन्ताशास्त्रनेपरं न भवति ॥

59. After the desideratives of *śru* when preceded by *prati* and *āñ* the Atmanepada is not used.

The verb *śru* when taking the prefixes *prati* and *āñ*, is not Atmanepadi, though taking the desiderative "san." This is also an exception to the rule of sūtra 57. Thus *प्रतिशुभूषाति* and *आङ्गशुभूषाति* !

The word *prati* and *āñ* must be upasargas; if they are used as karma-pravachaniyas (see 1. 4.—83) then the rule will not apply. As *देवदत्तं प्रति शुभूषते* !!

शदेः शितः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ शदेः , शितः , (आ० प०) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शिरिष्यः शिङ्गावीशितो वा सम्बन्धी सत्त्वाशास्त्रनेपरं भवति ॥

60. After the verb *śad* to decay, when it has one of the affixes with an indicatory *s* (*sit*) the Atmanepada is used.

The root 'sad' when taking any affix which is marked with an indicatory *s*, is conjugated in the Atmanepadi. In connection with this, must be read sūtra VII. 3. 78. *पान्नाभास्त्याक्षाहाण्यश्चर्यनिर्दिशसदांपिद्वज्ज्विभूतिउपनयच्छपश्चर्यैषौ-शीयतीवाः* by which the root *शृ* is replaced by *शीय* before affixes having an indicatory *s*. Thus *शृ + श + से = शीय + अते = शीयते* he decays or withers, *शीयते* they two decay *शीयन्ते* they decay.

Why do we say before affixes having an indicatory *s*? Before other affixes, it is not Atmanepadi. As *शास्त्रश्चर्यतु* if he decayed, *शास्त्रश्चर्यति* he will decay, *शिश्टसति*.

The well-known vikaranas like *शष्*, *श* &c., the affixes like *शद्* &c., are *वित्* affixes. In other words the root *śad* is Atmanepadi in all conjugational tenses.

स्थियते लैङ्ग्-लिङ्गोद्धृष्ट ॥ ६१ ॥ स्थियते, लुङ्ग्-लिङ्गोः, च (स्थितः
आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थियते लैङ्ग्-लिङ्गोः शितधारमनेपरं भवति भन्वत् न भवति ॥

61. After the verb *mṛi* to die, when it has one of the affixes having an indicatory च, as well as when it takes the affixes *luñ* (aorist III 2. 110) and *liñ* (Benedictive III. 3. 159) the Atmanepada is used.

This is a restrictive sūtra, the root मृह् (to die), is marked with a ङ् as an indicatory letter, so by sūtra 12 it would be always Atmanepadi. But the present aphorism restricts it to लुङ् *luñ* (Aorist) and लिङ् *liñ* (Benedictive) tenses, as well as to those tenses which are शित्. It will be found hereafter that out of the ten tenses, those that take शित् affixes are the special tenses i.e., the present, the Imperfect, the Potential and the Imperative.

It is only before these three affixes, namely, *liñ*, *luñ* and *śit* affixes, that the root *mṛi* takes the terminations of the Atmanepada. Thus the aorist अमृत् *amrita* he died; Benedictive मृशीङ् *mṛishishṭa* 'may he die.' Similarly before *śit* affixes thus स्थियते 'he dies,' - मृ + च + ते (VII. 4. 28 रिङ् शब्दग्निहृष्ट) स्थिय + च + ते = स्थियते (VI. 4. 77. अच्च इन्द्रानुभुवां व्योरिवहृष्टङ्गो) स्थियते, स्थियन्ते The root मृ belongs to the sixth class of verbs called *Tudādi* which take the *vikaraṇa* च in the conjugational tenses (III. 1. 77).

In other tenses, viz., the two Futures, the Perfect and the conditional, this verb is parasmaipadi. As:—मरिष्यति he will die. अमरिष्यन्.

पूर्ववस्त्वनः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्ववत्, सनः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनः पूर्वो यो धातुः आस्मनेपरी सहस्त्रजन्तादास्मनेपरं भवति ॥

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 sūtras 57, 58, and 59. A root which was Atmanepadi, before taking the Desiderative affix सन् *san*, will be Atmanepadi even when it takes the affix सन् *san*. In other words, that by reason of which the Atmanepada affixes were ordained in the primary verb, will cause the same termina-

tions to be applied when the verb ends in सन् san. Thus it was said in sūtra 12, that roots having an anudātta accented vowel as indicatory or अङ् ग्रं न् as their indicatory letter take the terminations of the Ātmanepada. Thus आस्ते he sits down and शीते 'he sleeps.' The verb आस् (to sit down) and शीहू (to lie down) will remain Ātmanepadi, even when they are used as Desideratives. Thus आत्मितिष्ठते 'he wishes to lie down.' Similarly sūtra 17 declared that the verb निविष्ट is Ātmanepadi as निविष्टते, this will be Ātmanepadi also in the Desiderative form, as निविविष्टते 'he wishes to enter.' So also by sūtra 49, आक्रमते is Ātmanepadi, the Desiderative आचिक्षते will also be Ātmanepadi.

But though by 60 and 61. शीयते and नियते are Ātmanepadi, yet शिचस्ति 'he wishes to lie down' मुर्द्धति 'he wishes to die,' are parasmaipadi. Because the Ātmanepada affixes were ordained after the roots शृङ् and मुद्ध् 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 अनुचिक्षीर्षति 'he wishes to imitate,' पराचिक्षीर्षति. Here the root कृम् by rule 79 has been especially declared to be parasmaipadi, to the exclusion of Ātmanepada affixes which would otherwise have come by Rule 32 and 72, and therefore its Desiderative is also parasmaipadi. The force of श् 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 सन् 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 सन् in this way, called also the self-descriptive सन्. Those quasi-roots are गुण्, तिज्, किस्, मान्, वध्, रान् and शान्. What are we to do with these quasi-roots, which are always conjugated with the affix सन् and have no simpler conjugation?" To this we reply; "In the case of these partial verbs which take the self-descriptive सन् the pada will be regulated by the indicatory letters which these quasi-roots have. For though the full roots are जुगुप्त लितिज्, चिकित्स, मीमान्त्र, शीभस्त, शीशन्स and शीरान्स, yet by the maxim भवयते कृते लिङ्गः समाधायस्त विशेषकं भवति, "a sign made in a portion of a thing, qualifies the whole thing;" the sign made in the expression गुण् &c., will qualify the whole verb जुगुप्त &c." Thus we have जुगुप्तते he despises, चिकित्सते he cures; मीमांसते he investigates &c.

आम्प्रत्ययघटक्षोऽनुप्रयोगस्य ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आम्-प्रत्ययवत्,
कृजः, अनुप्रयोगस्य (आ० प०) ॥

शृणिः ॥ आम्प्रत्ययस्येवधातोः कृओऽनुप्रयोगस्वालमेष्वं भवति ॥

63. Like the verb that takes the affix *ām*, if the verb be conjugated with the Atmanepada terminations, so of the verb *kṛi* 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 (*लित्*): 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 *आम्* to the root, and then affixing to it the perfect tense of the roots *कृ* (to do), *भू* (to be) or *भस्तु* (to be). These latter verbs are called anuprayoga 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 *कृ* follows the conjugation of principals, the other auxiliaries do not. Thus the root *एष* (to increase, prosper) is Atmanepadi, therefore in forming the periphrastic perfect, the verb *कृ* will be also in the Atmanepada. Thus *एषांचके* (he prospered). Similarly *इत्* (to appear with great splendour) is parasmaipadi and the auxiliary *कृ* after it will be parasmaipada, as *इन्द्रास्त्वकार* (he appeared with great splendour).

But the other auxiliaries *भू* and *भस्तु* retain their own peculiar conjugation and are not influenced by the conjugation of their principal. Thus *एष-स्वभूत्*, *एधामास*.

The word *ām-pratyaya* of the sūtra means 'that after which the affix *ām* (III. I. 35 and 36. कात्प्रत्ययारामपन्ते जिति) 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 *ām*. If this sūtra enjoined a rule of injunction (*vidhi*), then there would be the termination of the Atmanepada even in examples like *उद्गानंचकार* and *उद्भाषकार* 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 कृ, भू and अस् are used in forming the periphrastic perfect. This is done by force of the aphorism III. I. 40 कृस्तानुप्रयुज्यते लिहि, meaning, the verb कृन् is annexed in the perfect tense, to verbs that take अम्. In this sūtra (III. I. 40) the word कृन् is a pratyāhāra, implying the verbs कृद्, भू and अस्. It might be asked how is this pratyāhāra formed? The word कृ is taken from the fourth word of sūtra V. 4. 50, अभूतश्चावे कृभस्तियोगे &c., and the letter न् is taken from sūtra V. 4. 58 कृयोदितीव &c. This is the way in which the commentators explain how not only the verb कृन् is used as an auxiliary in forming the periphrastic perfect, but also the verbs भू and अस्. 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 कृन् in this sūtra is not used as a pratyāhāra and consequently does not include the verbs भू and अस्.

प्रोपाभ्यां युजेरयज्ञपात्रेषु ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र-उपाभ्याम्, युजेः, अयज्ञ-पात्रेषु, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र उप इत्येवंपूर्वाद् युजेरयज्ञपात्रप्रयोगविषयाशत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्वरायन्तोपदृष्टादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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 युजित् 'to join' is svaritet, and consequently by sūtra 72 it is always Atmanepadi, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present sūtra declares when this verb may take the terminations of Atmanepada, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. After the verb युज् preceded by the prepositions प्र and उप the terminations are of the Atmanepada, when not employed in reference to sacrificial vessels. As प्रयुज्नन्ते 'he joins or employs'; उपयुज्नन्ते '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 इन्द्रं न्यज्जि पानाणि प्रयुनन्ति.

Vārtika:—It shall be rather stated that the root takes the terminations of the Atmanepada when preceded by any preposition beginning or ending with a vowel. This is an important modification of the above rule. Thus उपयुज्नन्ते and नियुज्नन्ते. In fact, all upasargas, with the exception of स्म्, निर्, and तुर्, either begin or end with a vowel, and therefore the Vārtika amounts to the inclusion of all prepositions with the above exception.

With सम्, निर् and द्वय्, however, the root will take parasmaipada terminations; as संयुनक्ति.

समः द्वयः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः, द्वयः, (आ० प०) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्वय तेजने परस्मैपदी ततः संपूर्णशास्त्रनेपदं भवति ॥

65. After the verb kshnu, to sharpen, preceded by sam, the Atmanepada is employed.

The verb द्वय 'to sharpen, whet, or grind,' is generally parasmaipadi, but it is Atmanepadi when it is preceded by the prefix सम्; as संद्वयते शस्त्रम् 'he whets the weapon' संद्वयते 'they two whet' संद्वयते 'they all whet'.

It might be objected, why has a separate aphorism been made of the verb kshnu, when it could well have been included in the sūtra 29 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 akarmaka being understood therein, while the present sūtra, as is evident from the example we have given above, treats of transitive verbs.

भुजोऽनवने ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुजः, अनवने, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भुजपाननाभ्यवहारयोर्तिति रुधाशौ पठयते । तस्मादनवनेऽपानने वर्तमानाशास्त्रनेपदं भवति ॥

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 Atmanepadi. This root belongs to the rudhadi class and has several meanings, as, to feed, to cherish, to preserve, to eat, and to enjoy. As भुञ्जे 'he eats or enjoys' also bhuñjāte, bhuñjate &c. But पुत्रान् भुनक्ति पिता 'the father cherishes the sons' भुन्त्येनपनिराहितः.

The root bhuj belongs also to the tudadi class, but there it has the sense of being curved or crooked. The bhuj belonging to the tudadi class is not to be taken in this sūtra, because that bhuj has never the sense of protecting. Therefore विभुजति पाणिम् 'he bends the hand,' is in the parasmaipada.

ऐरणी यत् कर्म गौ चेत् स कर्त्तानाध्याने ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जोः, अणी, यत्, कर्म, गौ, चेत्, सः, कर्त्ता, अनाध्याने, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदन्ताशास्त्रनेपदं भवति, कथम् अणी यत्कर्म गौ चेत् तदेवकर्म, स एव कर्त्ता भवति । अनाध्याने, आध्यानं वर्जयित्वा ॥

67. After a verb ending in the affix नि (causal) the Atmanepada is employed, provided that when the object in the non-ni 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 (जित्त) are conjugated in the अत्मनेपादि, 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 अत्मनेपादि. This round-about phraseology has been employed, because the base of the active and the passive causatives do not differ in form; as भारोहयते हस्तिपक्तान् हस्ती.

The phrase 'जे: (after the causatives)' of this सूत्रा governs the four succeeding सूत्राः and is understood in them. The सूत्रा consists of the following words:—जे: 'after the causative'; अजौ 'in the non-causative'; यत् 'what'; कर्म 'object'; जौ 'in the causative'; चेत् 'if'; सः 'that'; कर्ता 'nominative'; अनाध्याने 'except to remember.'

In general, by सूत्रा 74, the causative verbs take the terminations of the अत्मनेपादि, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present सूत्रा applies to the case where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

After the verbs that take the affix जित्त, the terminations are those of the अत्मनेपादि. 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 भारोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपक्ताः 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant.' Let us paraphrase this sentence by transforming the primitive non-causative verb भारोहन्ति into a causative form. The sentence then will be, भारोहयते हस्ती स्वयमेव 'the elephant makes itself to be mounted'. Similarly उपसिचन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपक्ताः 'the elephant-keepers sprinkle the elephant'; and उपसेचयते हस्ती स्ययमेव 'the elephant makes itself to be sprinkled'; पश्यन्ति भृत्या राजानम् 'the attendants see the king'; and सर्वयते राजा स्वयमेव 'the king makes himself to be seen.'

Why do we say 'after the causatives?' Because the rule of this सूत्रा will not apply, if the verb though conveying the sense of a causal verb, is, however, not formed by the affix जित्त; as भारोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपक्ताः 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and भारोहयते हस्ती साप्तारीहस्ति '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-pi'? For this rule will not apply, when the primitive verb itself is formed by the affix शिष्य; such are the roots of the tenth class or churādi in which the pi-ch is added in the self-descriptive sense, and not for a causative purpose. Thus the root गण belongs to churādi class; whose causative and primitive forms are the same. As गणयति गण्य गोपानकः 'the cowherd counts the herd;' and the causative form is गणयति गणः स्वयमेव '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 लुनाति दानेण 'he cuts with the scythe,' लापयति शनं स्वयमेव 'the scythe is made to cut of itself.' Here the word dātra 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 sūtra? 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 सेचयति in the second sentence was not used in the first sentence; आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपक्षः 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and आरोहयमाणो हस्तीभीतान् सेचयति मूरेण '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. आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपक्षः 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant'; and आरोहयमाणो हस्ती स्थलमारोहयति मनुष्यान् 'the elephant, that is being caused to mount, makes men mount on the land.'

Why do we use the word kartā (agent) in the sūtra? If the former object is not the agent in the second case, the terminations of the parasmaipada only would be used. As आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपक्षः 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant'; and तानारोहयति महामाजः 'the elephant-driver makes it to mount.'

Why do we say 'except when meaning to remember with tenderness?' Observe, स्मरति इनगुम्भस्त्र कोकिलः 'the dove remembers, with regret, the forest tree'; and स्मरथयेन इनगुम्भः स्वयमेव 'the forest tree is made to be remembered of itself.'

भीस्मयोहेतुभये ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी-स्मयोः, हेतु-भये, (जे, आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभेते: स्मयते श रथन्ताशास्मनेपरं भवति हेतुभये ॥

68. After the causatives of the verbs bhī 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 णि' is understood in this sūtra and is to be supplied from the previous aphorism. This sūtra is also restricted to cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word हेतु in the aphorism has been defined later on in sūtra I. 4. 55 (स्वतन्त्र कर्ता); it is the agent which is the mover of another's agent. When a fear is caused by a हेतु it is called हेतुभव. The word भय 'fear' in the aphorism is illustrative, and includes by implication विस्मय 'astonishment' also. As जटिलो भीषयते 'the jatila, the cock-headed frightens.' मुण्डो भीषयते 'the munda, the shave-headed frightens'; जटिलो विस्मापयते 'the jatila astonishes,' मुण्डो विस्मापयते 'the munda astonishes' i.e. the very fact of matted-hair or shaven-head frightens' &c. .

Why do we say हेतुभय? 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 कुच्चिकवैनं भाययति 'he frightens him with the kunchika,' रूपेण विस्माययति 'he astonishes with his form'. Here kunchika and rupa are the instruments, which cause fear or astonishment, and are not the hetu thereof.

गृधिवज्ञायेः प्रलभ्नने ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गृधि-वज्ञायेः, प्रल-भ्नने, (जे: आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गृधु अभिकाङ्क्षायाम् वज्ञु गतावित्येतयोर्एर्यन्तयोः प्रलभ्नने वर्तमानयोरात्मनेपरं भवति ॥

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 णि' is to be supplied here from sūtra 67. This sūtra is also restricted to the cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word प्रलभ्नन of the sūtra means deceiving. As मानशकं गर्हयते 'he deceives the boy,' मानशकं वज्ञायते 'he cheats the boy.'

Why do we say 'when it means deceiving.' For these verbs have not this meaning, their causatives take parasmaipada. As इवान्म गृह्णति 'he causes the dog to bark,' अहं वस्त्रयति 'he avoids the serpent.'

लियः संमाननशालीनीकरणयोऽश्च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ लियः ;
संमानन-शालीनी-करणयोः , च , (ये: प्रलभ्नने आ० प०) ॥

शृतिः ॥ लियो ष्यन्तासंसानने शालीनीकरणे च वर्तमानास्तमनेपरं भवति च उद्धारू
प्रज्ञभ्नने च ॥

70. After the causative of the verb लि 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 यि' 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 जी, one is technically called जीङ् and means to stick, and belongs to divadi class. The other जी meaning to 'melt' belongs to kryādi class. As there is no specification in the sūtra what जी is to be taken, both are therefore taken.

The force of the word च in the sūtra is to include the word प्रज्ञभ्नन 'to delude' of the last sūtra into the present. The word संमानन means to show respect. The word शालीनीकरण means to subdue. As जटाभिराजापयते 'he gets respect or causes respect to be shown to him through or on account of his matted hair.' इयेनो वतिकामुखापयते 'the hawk subdues the partridge', कस्त्वामुखापयते 'who deceives thee?..'

The sūtra विभाषा जीयते: VI. I. 51 declares that the ई of जी is optionally changed into आ before certain terminations. But there is no option allowed when the root जी has any of the above three senses: in these cases the substitution of आ is necessary and not optional. For the option allowed by sūtra VI. I. 51 is a व्यवस्थितविभाषा and not a general विभाषा applicable everywhere.

Why do we say 'when it has the meaning of, to show respect &c.'? Because otherwise there is parasmaipada. As बालकमुखापयति.

मिथ्यापपदात्कर्जोऽभ्यासे ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिथ्या-उपपदात्,
कृजः ; अभ्यासे , (ये: आ० प०) ॥

शृतिः ॥ एयन्तात् करंते मिथ्योपपदास्तमनेपरं भवति अभ्यासे ।

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 गि.

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 नि' is to be supplied from sūtra 67. The aphorism is restricted to the cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word abhyāsa means doing again, or repetition; as परं मिथ्या कारयते 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 परं सुष्टुप् कारयति 'he pronounces the word correctly.'

Why do we say 'of the verb कृश्'? Because the causative of any other verb used along with the word mithyā will not have ātmanepada; as परं मिथ्या शाश्वयति 'he repeatedly utters the word wrongly.' Here श्व takes parasmaipada.

Why do we say 'repeatedly'? For if the incorrect utterance is not habitual, then parasmaipada will be used; as परं मिथ्याकारयति 'he pronounces wrongly, not always but once.'

स्वरितज्जितः कर्त्रेभिप्राये क्रियाफले ॥७२॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरित-ज्जितः, कर्तु-अभिप्राये , क्रिया-फले (जोः भा० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरितेतो ये धातवो ज्ञितश्च तेऽय शास्त्रेषु भवति कर्त्तारं चेत् क्रियाफलमभिप्रैति।

72. After the verb marked with a svarita, (svaritet) or which has an indicatory नि (nit), the terminations of the Ātmanepada are employed, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The anuvṛitti of the phrase जोः does not go further. The word क्रियाफलं 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 indicated by the verb, there the Ātmanepada is used after verbs having an indicatory नि or a svarita accent. As यजते 'he sacrifices for himself' पक्षते 'he cooks for himself.' Here the verb यज् and पक् are marked with svarita accent in the Dhātupātha, and therefore they take the Ātmanepada terminations.

Similarly सुनुते 'he presses the soma-juice,' कुरुते 'he does.' Here the verbs सुश् and कृश् have an indicatory नि.

In all the above cases, the principal object of the action such as getting heaven by performance of sacrifice, 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 यजन्ति याजकाः the priests sacrifice, (not for themselves, but for their clients)' पश्चन्ति पाचकाः 'the cooks cook (for their masters)' कुर्वन्ति कर्मकराः '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.

अपाद्वदः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपाद्, वदः, (कर्त्तभिप्राये क्रियाफले (आ० प०) ॥

इति: ॥ अपपूर्वशूश्रवेः कर्त्तभिप्राये क्रियाकले आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

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 धनकासो न्यायमनवदते '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 अपवशति.

णिचञ्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ णिचः, च, (कर्त्तभिप्राये क्रियाफले आ० प०) ॥

इति: ॥ णिजन्ताश्मनेप्रदं भवति कर्त्तभिप्राये क्रियाकले ॥

74. After a verb ending in affix ni (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 णिच् nich are generally causatives. As कर्त्त कारयते 'he causes the mat to be made for himself' शोषनं पाचयते '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 कर्त्त कारवति परस्य he causes another's mat to be made.

समुदाङ्गभ्यो यसो उग्रन्थे ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-उड्-आङ्गभ्यः, यमः, अग्रन्थे (कर्त्तभिप्राये आ०) ॥

इति: ॥ सम् उड् आङ्ग इत्येवं पूर्वाथमेः कर्त्तभिप्राये क्रियाकले आत्मनेपदं भवति पन्थादि-षष्ठेष्टप्रयोगोन भवति ॥

75. After the verb *yam* to strive, preceded by *sam*, *ut* and *āñ*, 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 to the agent' is read into this aphorism by anuvritti from sūtra 72. As भोवीन् संयच्छते 'he gathers rice' भारमुच्छते 'he lifts up the load' सखायच्छते 'he draws out the cloth.' The root *yam* preceded by the preposition आङ् 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 sūtras for one compound verb सायम्.

Why do we say 'when it does not refer to a book?' For otherwise the verb will take the terminations of the parasmaipada. As उद्यच्छति विकिस्ति वैष्णः 'the physician studies diligently the medicine.'

When however the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent the above compound verbs are parasmaipadi. As संयच्छति, उद्यच्छति, भायच्छति.

अनुपसर्गान्तः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुपसर्गत्, ज्ञः (कर्त्रभिप्राये आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपसर्गज्ञानातेः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आत्मनेपरं 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 sūtra also. Thus गां ज्ञानीते 'he recognises the cow as his own'; अश्वं जानीते '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 स्वर्गं लोकं न प्रजानाति मृदः '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. देवदत्तस्य गां जानाति 'he recognises Devadatta's cow.'

विभाषेपपदेन प्रतीयमाने ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उपपदेन, प्रतीयमाने (कर्त्रभित्र आ०.प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समाप्तेभूयमाण शब्दान्तरमुपपरं लेन प्रतीयमाने कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले विभाषा-स्मनेपरं 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 स्वं यज्ञे यजति or यजते 'he sacrifices for his own yajña' स्वं कर्तुं करोति or कुरुते 'he makes his own cot.' स्वं पुनरपवदति or भपवते, स्वं मोहनं पाचते or पाचयति &c. So on with all the above five sūtras.

शेषात् कर्तरि परस्मैपदम् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषात्, कर्त्तरि, परस्मैपदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषात् कर्तरिपरस्मैपदं भवति शेषादेवनान्वस्मात् अनुशास्त्रात् आल्लनेपरमुक्तम् ॥

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 śesa 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 ऽ as it, will take Atmanepada terminations. As भास्ते, शेते. The converse of this will take parasmaipada terminations, namely all verbs which do not have an anudātta accent or a ऽ as it. Thus याति 'he goes,' शति 'it blows.' It has been declared by sūtra 17 that the root विश्व when preceded by नि takes Atmanepada termination, as निविश्वते. When not preceded by नि but any other preposition it will take the parasmaipada termination. As चादिश्वति, प्रविश्वति.

Why do we say "when marking the agent"? For when used in the passive voice, the root will take the Atmanepada termination. As पक्षते 'it is cooked' गम्यते 'it is gone.'

Why is not parasmaipada used when the verb is employed reflexively? As in the following example:—पच्यते शोशनः स्वयमेव 'the food cooks of itself.' Because in the present sūtra, the word कर्तवि of sūtra 14 ante is to be read in by anuvritti, so that, in fact there are two कर्तवि 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 (कर्म्मकर्तवि) 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.

अनुपरात्म्यांकजः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु-परात्म्याम् । कजः ।

(परस्मैपदम्) ॥

इति: ॥ भनुपरा इत्येवं पूर्वात् करोते: परस्मैपदं 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 कृ 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 sūtra 72, because the root कृत्र has an indicator अ. The present sūtra makes an exception to those rules, and ordains parasmaipada. Thus अनुकरोति he imitates, पराकरोति he does well.

अभिप्रत्यतिभ्यः क्षिपः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-प्रति-अतिभ्यः ।
क्षिपः ॥ (प० प०) ॥

इति: ॥ अभिप्रति अतिइत्येवं पूर्वात् क्षिपः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

80. After the verb क्षिप् to throw, coming after abhi, prati and ati, parasmaipada is used, even though the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

The root क्षिप् to throw, is svariteta therefore by sūtra 72 ante it would have taken Atmanepada termination, when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent; this aphorism ordains parasmaipada instead. As अभिक्षिपति 'he throws on' प्रतिक्षिपति 'he turns away or rejects,' अतिक्षिपति '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 sutra 72. As आक्षिपते 'he throws down.'

The second कर्त् of sūtra 14 is also understood here, so that when the verb is used reflexively, the agent not being purely an agent, the present sūtra will not apply. As अभिक्षिप्यते स्वयमेव 'it is thrown on of itself.'

प्राद्वहः ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राद् । वहः (पर० प०) ॥
शुचिः ॥ प्र पूर्वार्थ वहते: परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

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 वह to carry is svaritet, 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 प्रवहति 'it flows.'

Why do we say "when coming after pra"? Because after any other preposition it will not take parasmaipada as आवहते 'he brings.'

परेसूषः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परे: । सूषः । (पर० प०) ॥
शुचिः ॥ परिपूर्वार्थ सूष्यते: परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

82. After the verb mṛish to bear, preceded by pari, parasmaipada is used, even when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The root सूष "to suffer" is svaritet, 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 परमृश्यति he 'endures or he becomes angry.' When not preceded by this preposition, it takes Atmanepada termination. As आमृश्यते .

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 parasmaipada terminations; as परिवहति .

व्याढ् परिभ्योरमः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वि-आढ्-परिभ्यः । रमः ।
(पर० प०) ॥
शुचिः ॥ विआढपरिरथ्येवं पूजाइरमते: परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

83. After the verb ram to sport, preceded by vi and आ, parasmaipada is used.

The verb रम means 'to sport.' It is anudāttet and therefore by sūtra 12 it would have taken Atmanepada terminations; the present sūtra ordains parasmaipada instead, as विरमति 'he takes rest'; आरमति 'he delights in,' परिरमति 'he sports.'

With other prepositions than these, it will take Atmanepada termination. As आभिरमते .

उपाच्च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात् । च । (रमः परस्मैपदम्) ॥
इति ॥ उपपूर्वाद्रमते: परस्मैपरं भवति ॥

84. And also after upa, the verb ram takes the affixes of the parasmaipada.

As देवदत्तमुपरमति 'he causes Devadatta to refrain.' The sense of the verb uparamati is causative here, as if it was उपरमयति. This is an example of a verb involving in it the force of the causative affix यित्.

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.

विभाषाकर्मकात् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा । अकर्मकात् (रमः
उप० प०) ॥

इति ॥ उपपूर्वाद्रमतेरकर्मकादिभाषा परस्मैपरं भवति ॥

85. After the verb ram preceded by upa, parasmaipada is optionally used, when employed intrinsitively.

The last aphorism ordained parasmaipada absolutely, this declares an option under certain circumstances. As यावद्गुन्मुपरमति or उपरमते he desisted from or was quiet while it was eaten.

बुधयुधनशजनेह्न्मुदुस्तुभ्योणः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बुध-युध-नश-जन
एह्न्मु-दु-स्तुभ्यः । णेः । (प० प०) ॥

इति ॥ बुधयुधनशजन एह्न्मु दु स्तु इत्येतेभ्योण्यन्तेभ्यः परस्मैपरं भवति ॥

86. After the verbs budh to know, yudh to fight, naś to destroy, jana to be born, iñ to go, pru to move, dru to run, and sru to flow, ending in the affix णि (*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 योधयति he expands योधयति he causes to fight; नाशयति he causes destruction, जनयति he begets; चायापयति he teaches; प्रापयति he causes to obtain; श्रावयति he causes to melt; स्रावयति he causes to trickle.

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 a 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 a reason. As वौशयति पद्मम् he makes the lotus to expand, योधयति काशानि he makes the woods to strike each other, नाशयति दुःखम् he destroys the sorrow, जनयति सुखम् he produces pleasure.

Again of the above eight roots, those that have ordinarily the sense of "moving" will get parasmaipada by sutra 87. The present sutra, in their case makes this additional statement, that they will take parasmaipada terminations even when the sense is not that of moving. Thus ग् means both 'to move,' and 'to obtain,' द् means 'to run' as well as 'to melt,' and ल् means 'to flow' as well as to 'to trickle.' As प्रवर्तते he obtains; अग्नोद्रवति the iron melts; कुणिडका नष्टवति the water-vessels drip. The examples in the first paragraph have therefore been thus translated.

The root इह् is always compounded with आधि.

निगरणचलनार्थेभ्यश्च ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ निगरण-चलन-अर्थेभ्यः ॥
च । (णे: परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निगरणार्थेभ्य चलनार्थेभ्य धातु-योग्यन्तेभ्यः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥
वार्ताकम् ॥ चरेः प्रतिषेधोवक्तव्यः ॥

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 (णे) 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 निगरण means 'eating,' and चलन 'means' 'moving,' 'shaking.' As निगरयति he causes to swallow; आशयति he causes to eat. भोजयति he feasts. अन्नयति he moves; चोपयति, कम्पयति he shakens. 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 अह to eat, must be mentioned. The causative of अह to eat, takes ātmanepada. Thus आने देवदत्तः Devadatta eats; आदयते देवदत्तेन he is made to eat by Devadatta.

अणावकर्मकाच्छित्तवत् कर्तृकात् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अणी । अकर्मकात् । चित्तवत् । कर्तृकत् (णे: पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः । अण्यन्तो यो धातु एकर्मकचित्तश्वकदक्षतस्माइण्यन्ताम् परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

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 षेः is understood here also. The Atmanepada was ordained by sūtra 74 when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This aphorism is an exception to that, and ordains parasmaipada. As आस्ते देवदत्तः Devadatta sits: आसयते देवदत्तं he makes Devadatta to sit. षेते देवदत्तः Devadatta sleeps, आशयति देवदत्तं 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 Yajnadatta, 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 is आरोहयते in the Atmanepada, from the root आरुह to mount; and not आरोहयति.' (lengar'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 कारि the causative from कृ, if the person caused to do the act denoted by the verb does it for his own use, comes only कार्त्यते though the person has a will; for the original root कृ 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 शोषि the causative from शुष् 'to dry' if that which dries is a thing not possessed of a will as ब्रीहियः 'paddy,' for instance, though the fruit of the action i.e., the drying, affects only the paddy itself, comes शोषयते in the Atmanepadi, though 'to dry' is an intransitive root; e.g., शोषयते ब्रीहीनातपः the sun-shine causes the paddy to dry.' (*Ibid.*).

न पादस्थाङ्ग्यमाङ्ग्यसपरिमुहस्तचिनृतिवद्वसः ॥८१॥ पदानि ॥
न । पा-दस्ति-आङ्ग्यम-आङ्ग्यस-परिमुह-रुचि-नृति-वद्-वसः । (षेः । परस्मै-
पदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पासनि आङ्ग्यम आङ्ग्यस परिमुह रुचि नृति वद्वसः इत्येतेऽयोग्यन्तेभ्यः परस्मैपदं
न भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पादिषु धेष्ट उपसंख्यानम् ॥

89. But the affixes of the parasmaipada are not used after the causals of the verbs पा to drink, दम् to tame, आयम् to extend, आयस् to exert oneself, परिमुह् to be bewildered, रुच् to shine, नृत् to dance, वाद् to speak, and वास् 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 पा to drink, has the sense of निगराणा or swallowing, the roots इम् &c., have sentient beings as their agent; the root नृत् to dance has the sense of चलन् or moving, but still these verbs have अत्मनेपदा affixes, and do not take parasmaipada in the causative. As आययते he causes to drink, इमयते he causes to be tame, आयासयते he lengthens, आयासयते he troubles, परिमोहयते he entices, रोचयते he makes agreeable, नर्तयते he causes to dance, वादयते he makes to speak, वासयते he causes to dwell.

Vart:—The root धेण् should be enumerated along with पा &c. Thus धापयेते शिशुमेकं समीची. The doe suckles a young infant.

ब्रह्मयः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा । क्यषः । (परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्यषन्ताद्वावोर्व परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

90. The affixes of the parasmaipada are used optionally after the denominative verbs ending in the affix क्यषः.

The affix क्यषः is ordained by sūtra III. 1. 12 भूशादिभ्यो भूद्यन्त् वेलोपथं हन्तः after the words लोहित् &c. These root take optionally parasmaipada. As लोहितायति or ते he reddens. पठपदायति or ते he makes पात् पात्.

द्युद्भ्योलुडि ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्युद्भ्यः । लुडि । (या परस्मै-पदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्युतादियो लुडि वा परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

91. After the verbs द्युत् to shine &c. the terminations of the Parasmaipada are optionally employed, when the affixes of लुडि (aorist) follow.

The Dyutādi verbs are 22 in number, to be found in Dhātupāṭha in the Bhūadi class. By the use of the word द्युद्भ्यः 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 अत्मनेपदी, this aphorism makes them optionally

so in the aorist. Thus अशुत्र् or अयोतिष्ठ he shone. In other tenses than the aorist (लुङ्) these verbs are invariably Atmanepadi. As योतते he shines.

For a list of Dyutādi verbs see Dhatupāṭha.

वृद्ध्यः स्यसनीः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्ध्यः । स्य-सनीः । (वा । परस्मैप०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृत्, वृध् शध् स्यन्त्कप् । एतेभ्यो भाकु-यः स्येतनि च परतो वा परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

92. After the verbs vṛit to exist &c., Parasmaipada is optionally employed when the affixes sya (Future and conditional) and san (Desiderative) follow.

The इतादि verbs are five in number and are included in the युतादि sub-class. They are वृत् to be, वृध् to grow, गृह् to fart or break wind; स्वन्तु to ooze, and कृत् to be able. As 1st Future वृत्स्यति or वृत्तिष्यते, it will be, conditional अवृत्स्यत् or अवृत्तिष्यत्; Desiderative विवृत्सति or विवृत्तिष्यते &c.

In other tenses than the above, they are always Atmanepadi. As वर्तते it is.

लुटिच्छृपः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुटि । च । लृपः । (स्यसनी वा परस्मैप०)

वृत्तिः ॥ लुटि च स्यसनोभक्षणे परस्मैपदं वा भवति ॥

93. After the verb kliṣṭ to be fit, Parasmaipada is optionally employed, when luṭ (1st Future) is affixed, as well as when sya and san are affixed.

The verb लृप् is one of the five verbs of the sub-class, युतादि of the last aphorism. Therefore it will take both parasmaipada and Atmanepada, when the affixes स्य or सन follow. The present sūtra makes the additional declaration in the case of 1st Future or लुट्. Thus in Luṭ we have:—कल्पसे or कल्पसते thou wilt be; in 1st Future we have :—कल्पिष्यते or कल्पस्यति he will be; in the Desiderative we have:—विलृप्तःसति or विकल्पिष्यते ; in the conditional we have:—अकल्पस्यत् or अकल्पिष्यत्.

ओ॒म्

॥ शास्त्र प्रधाराच्छायत्य द्वुर्धः पादः ॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER IV.

आकडारादेका संज्ञा ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ कडाराद्, एका-संज्ञा ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ कडाराः कर्मधारव इति वहयति आ एतस्मात् सूनावयेर्दित उद्घर्मनुक्रमिष्वामः
तत्र एकासंज्ञाभवतीति वेदितव्यम् ॥

1. From this sūtra up to the aphorism Kadārāh Karmadhāraye (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 conduced 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 भित् to divide छित् to split, the ई is 'light' while the same letter is 'heavy' in शिक्षा teaching शिक्षा begging.

Thus in the root तक् the अ is 'heavy' and therefore in forming its aorist we have the form अततक्त्. Similarly अरतक्त्. The rule VII. 4. 93 not applying here as that rule is applicable to laghu vowels only.

विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ विप्रतिषेधे, परम्,
कार्यम् ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ (सुन्यवलविरोधो विप्रतिषेधः) तस्मिन् विप्रतिषेधे परंकार्यम् भवति ॥

2. When rules of equal force prohibit each other, then the last in the order herein given is to take effect.

The word विप्रतिषेध 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

vipratischedha. 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 yañ *pratyāhāra* follows, the long vowel is substituted for the final of an inflective base ending in a short अ.' As *Vṛiksha* + *bhyām* = *Vṛikshābhyaṁ*. The next rule declares :—'When a plural case-affix beginning with a letter of *jhal* *pratyāhāra* follows, ए is the substitute for the final short अ of an inflective base.' As *Vṛiksha* + *su* = *Vṛiksheshu*. But when the plural case-affix *bhyāḥ* follows, what rule are we to apply? For the letter *bha* belongs both to the *pratyāhāras* *yañ* and *jhal*. Are we to lengthen the short अ, or substitute ए? The present sūtra gives the reply, ए is to be substituted because VII. 3. 103 ordaining ए follows next to VII. 3. 102. Thus *Vṛiksha* + *bhyāḥ* = *Vṛikshebhyaḥ*.

यूरुस्त्र्याख्यौ नदी ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई-अ, स्त्री-आख्यौ, नदी ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ईकारान्तम् कारान्तं च स्त्राख्यं शब्दरूपं नदीं संहतं भवति ॥

3. Word-forms ending in long ई and उ being names of females are called Nadi.

The word आँखू is compound of ई + अ. The word *stryākhyā* 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 *grāmanī* has. As the words कुमारी Kumārī a virgin, यवाग् yavāgū rice gruel. The declension of nouns of *nadi* class is somewhat peculiar which will be treated of later. As see Rule VII. 3. 112 आँखू is the augment of the case-affixes having an indicatory ए when they come after a word ending with a *Nadi*.

Why do we say ending in ई and अ? Because feminine nouns not ending in these vowels will not be declined like *Nadi* words. Thus while the dative of कुमारी will be कुमार्यै, the dative of बुहिद् will be बुहिदै.

Why do we say 'which are feminine'? Because if they are names of males, they will not be called *Nadi*. As यामणीः leader of a village; सेनानीः leader of an army; खल्पूः a sweeper; their dative being यामण्ये, सेनान्ये खल्प्ये.

Why have we used the word आँख्या '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 यामण्ये सिन्धै and खल्प्ये खिदै.

ने यडुवड्स्थानाव स्त्री ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इयड्स्वल्स्थानी,
अस्त्री, (यूनदी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयड्ड उवडोःस्थान मन्योरितीयडुवड्स्थानौ तो यू नदीसङ्क्षेपे न भवति ॥

4. Feminine words ending in ī and ū which admit the substitute (इयङ्) iyan and (उवङ्) uvai (VI. 4. 77) are not called Nadi; except the word stri, (which is called nadi notwithstanding its substituting iyan).

The definition of Nadi given in the last sūtra was rather too wide, this limits the scope. Thus श्री, happiness, भूं brow, admit the substitutes iyan and uvai respectively, and are not nadi. Their vocative singular is हे श्रीः, हे भूं &c., while the vocative singular of stri is हे जिः.

याम्नि ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आमि, (नेयहुवङ्ग्यू-नदी) ॥
कृत्तिः ॥ इयहुवङ्ग्यानो यु-आमिपरतो वा नरीसंज्ञो न भवतः ॥

5. Feminine words ending in ī and ū, though admitting iyan and uvai substitutes, are optionally termed Nadi, when the affix ाम् (Gen Pl.) follows, but not so the word stri, which is always Nadi.

श्री + आम् = श्री इयङ् + आम् = श्रीयाम्; भू + आम् = भूयाम्; or श्री + आम् = श्री + नुं + आम् (VII. 1. 54.) = श्रीणाम्; भू + आम् = भूणाम्. But stri is always nadi, and we have स्त्रीणाम् strinām.

To the absolute prohibition enjoined by the last sūtra, this allows an option in the case of Genitive Plural.

डिति हस्तवश ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ डिति (ह-इति) हस्तः, च,
(यु रुद्या-नदी-इयहुव-वा-अस्त्री) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डिति परसो हस्तवश व्योः सम्बन्धी चः स्त्रास्यो इयहुवङ्ग्यानो च च वा नरीसंज्ञो भवतः ॥

6. When a case-affix having an indicatory न (nit) follows, then feminine words ending in short ī and ū are optionally termed Nadi, as well as feminine nouns in long ī and ū which admit of iyan and uvai; but not so the word stri, which is always Nadi.

Feminine words in long ī and ū 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 iyan and uvai. The present sūtra 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:—

Dative मतवे or मत्वे येनवे or धेनवे भिवे or भ्रिवे ; Ablative Genitive मते: or मत्वा: धेनो or धेन्वाः भियः or भ्रियाः ; Locative मतौ or मत्वाम् धेनौ or धेन्वां भिवि or भ्रियां . So also भुवे or भुवे &c. But stri is always लिवै &c.

शेषो च्यस्ति ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषः, चि, असति, (हस्त)

बृतिः ॥ शेषो इन विसंज्ञो भवति सत्यिग्रन्थं वर्जयित्वा । क च शेषः? इस्तमिवर्णोवर्णान्तर्म-
यन्नस्याहर्य, स्याद्यन्यं च यन्ननदीसंज्ञकं स शेषः ॥

7. The rest of the words that end in short इ and उ are called ghi with the exception of the word sakhi.

This defines the word ghi. The peculiarity of the declension of ghi words will be treated later on. The word hrasva is understood in this sūtra. The word śesha or 'the rest' implies 'the words ending in short इ or उ which are not the names of females, or if they are feminine names, they are not nadi words.'

As अग्नि fire. Before case-affixes having an indicatory न, the ghi nouns guṇate their vowel VII. 3. 111. As अग्निं + हे = अग्नेः + ए = अग्नये to the fire. So also वायुं × हे = वायवे to the wind. But the declension of sakhi in these cases is:—सख्या सख्ये सख्युः and सख्यौ.

पतिः समाप्त एव ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पतिः, समाप्ते, एव, (चि) ॥

बृतिः ॥ पतिशब्दः समाप्त एव विसंज्ञो भवति ॥

8. The word pati is called ghi only when it is in a compound.

The word pati would have been ghi by the last sūtra; the present sūtra is therefore a niyama rule, restricting the use of ghi in the case of pati to its occurring in composition. The word eva 'only' is used in a restrictive sense.

As पत्या by the lord but प्रजापतिना by the lord of creatures. So also पत्ये and प्रजापतये; पत्युः and प्रजापतौ:, पत्यौ and प्रजापतौ &c. When पति is ghi, there is guṇa of the vowel before the four डित् affixes by VII. 3. 111.

**षष्ठी युक्तश्छन्दसि वा ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी-युक्तः, छन्दसि,
वा, (पतिः चि) ॥**

बृतिः ॥ पठशन्तेन युक्तः पतिशब्दः छन्दसि विषये वा, विसंज्ञो भवति ॥

9. The word pati when used in connection with a noun ending in the sixth or genitive case, is ghi, optionally, in the Chhandas (veda).

The word pati is understood in this sūtra. By the last sūtra, pati would have not been ghi when not in composition. This sūtra makes an exception to that when this word occurs in the Vaidic literature.

कुलुच्चानां पतये or पतये नमः salutation to the lord of the Kulunchas.

Why do we say 'when used in connection with a noun in the genitive case'? Observe मया पतया जरदृष्टिर्यथासःः .

Why do we say 'in the Chhandas'? Observe शामस्व पत्त्वे .

ह्रस्वं लघु ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वम्, लघु ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वमक्षरं लघुसंहं भवति ॥

10. A short vowel is called 'light' (laghu).

This defines the word Laghu. A hrasva vowel which has already been defined (I. 2. 27), is under certain circumstances called laghu or 'light'; thus the i of भिर् to break, is laghu; and by being laghu it is guṇated before the affix ता + आ, as भेत्ता he will break, by virtue of the rule VII. 3. 86, which declares that a laghu penultimate vowel is guṇated before a Sarvadhatuka or an ārdhadhatuka affix. So also छेत्ता, भसीकरत् and अजीहरत् .

संयोगेगुरु ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ संयोगे, गुरु, (ह्रस्वम्) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ संयोगे परतो ह्रस्वमन्तरं गृह्णसंहं भवति ॥

11. When a conjunct consonant follows, a short vowel is termed 'heavy' (Guru).

A hrasva vowel however is not to be called 'light' when it is followed by a conjunct consonant. As the i of शिक्षा 'learning' is a heavy vowel. Thus शिक्षा is derived from शिख + ा (III. 3. 103, let the affix ा come after that verb which has a heavy vowel and ends in a consonant when the word to be formed is feminine). So also कुण्डा and भिक्षा.

दीर्घञ्च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घम्, ा, (गुरु) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घचक्षरं गुरुसंहं भवति ॥

12. And a long vowel is also termed heavy, (Guru).

This is clear the anuvritti of the word conjunct is not understood in this sūtra. As i of ईर्हाचक्षे he endeavoured, ईसांचक्षे he saw. Here the letter ा is guru, and because of its being called guru, the rule III. 1. 36 is applied in forming the perfect tense by the addition of the augment आ॒. Thus all long vowels, and short vowels followed by conjunct consonants are guru or heavy. All other short vowels are laghu.

यस्मात् प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि प्रत्यये अङ्गम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्मात् ॥
प्रत्यय-विधिः, तद्-आदि, प्रत्यये, अङ्गम् ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ यस्मात् प्रत्ययो विधीयते धातोर्वा शातिपरिकारा ततादि शब्दरूपं प्रत्यये परतो अङ्गसंहं भवति ॥

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 sūtra require some explanation. Yasmat after whatsoever; pratyaya-vidhi compound of pratyaya meaning an affix and vidhi, a precept, i.e. a rule enjoying an affix; tadādi, 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 anga, with regard to the affix that follows. The word yasmāt is used in the aphorism to point out the thing named, as anga; because the word tadādi follows it. This defines the word anga. The word 'base' is thus a relative term with regard to its affix. Thus कृ + ता = कर्ता he will do हत्ता he will lose. करिष्यति, हरिष्यति Here because the root कृ and हृ gets the name अंग they are gunated by (VII. 3. 84) similarly because उपगु &c. get the name Anga, their vowel is vriddhied in औपगुः &c.

The words क्रि ह्रि are anga with regard to the affix ता &c. उपगु + अप् = औपगुः; कापात्: . Here upagu and kāpat् are anga with regard to अ. Similarly कृ + स्य + वः = करिष्य + वः = करिष्यावः. Here the whole word-form Karishya is regarded as anga, and as such the short a is lengthened by VII. 3. 101; because though the affix वाḥ is enjoined after the word क्रि, the form which begins with क्रि i.e. karishya will also be called anga when the affix is to be added. The word tadādi, therefore, has been used in the sūtra, to make the definition of Anga applicable to the forms which a word may assume after taking the intermediate affixes like sya &c., or नुम् before the final affixes. Thus कुण्ड + नुम् + इ = कुण्डन् + इ = कुण्डानि (VII. 1. 72 and VI. 4. 8) kundā + num + इ = kundān + इ = kundāni, bowls. Here the whole form kundān is called anga, and as such it lengthens its vowel before the case-affix इ by VI. 4. 8.

Why have we used the word pratyaya? Without it the rule would have run thus:—‘After whatever there is anything enjoined &c., is called Anga.’ Then in स्त्री + इयति = स्त्रयति. Here sandhi of vowels is enjoined between इ + इ = ई. If स्त्री was here an Anga, then its last vowel would have been replaced by इयइ (VI. 4. 77), the form being स्त्रिययति.

Why have we used the word विधि? Had we omitted it the rule would have run thus:—“After whatsoever there is an affix, whether root or prātipadika is Anga.” Thus in श्वर अपुना, though the affix adhunā is placed after

the word dadhi, it is not enjoined by any rule; and the word इयि is not called anga. Had it been so called, then the इ 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 पुर्णै + अर्थं = स्त्रीयै for the sake of the woman. Here in forming the Tat purusha compound the dative case-affix after the word स्त्री has been elided, for as a general rule case-affixes are elided in forming compounds. If the word स्त्री after its affix had been elided, still retained its old designation of Anga, the स्त्री + अर्थं would have been स्त्रीयै, the augment iyan being added by the rule already referred to above.

सुस्तिन्तं पदम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुप्-तिष्ठ-अन्तम्, पदम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्तं विडन्तं च शब्दक्षं परसंज्ञं भवति ॥

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 tin are tense-affixes by which verbs are conjugated. They have already been given before. Thus भ्रातृण + जन् - भ्रातृणाः the Brāhmaṇas पचन्ति they cook.

It might be asked by a caviller why the word अन्त 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 भ्रातृणितरा will not be called gha, for had it been so called, the long ई will be shortened in गौरी भ्रातृणितरा. 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.'

नः क्ये ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, क्ये, (पदम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नान्तं शब्दक्षं इवे परतः परसंज्ञं भवति ॥

15. The word-form ending in n, is called pada, when kya follows (i.e., the affixes kyach, kyan 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 राजन् + क्यच् = राजीव 3rd Per. s. राजीविल्लभि he

behaves like a king. So also राजन् + क्यद् = राजायसे (VII. 4. 25.) चर्णन् + क्यप् = चर्मायते or चर्मायति. The result of its being called pada is that the न् of राजन्, चर्णन् &c., is elided by Sûtra VIII. 2. 7. (there is elision of न् final in a pada which is entitled to the designation of prâtipadika). Thus राजन् + क्यप् = राज + प् = राजीय (VII. 4. 33).

These three affixes क्यप् &c., come after case-inflected words (*i.e.*, words ending in sup), and though, before these affixes, the case terminations are elided, still by Sûtra I. 1. 62 such words would have retained the name of pada which they got by Rule 14 of this Chapter. The present sûtra however makes a restriction (niyama). It declares that only words ending in त् retain the name of pada; while all other case-inflected words before these affixes do not retain that designation. Thus the words वाच् speech, मुख् a ladle are not treated as pada and we have वाच्यते and मुख्यते. Had they been pada, the त् would have been changed into क् by VIII. 2. 30.

सिति च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स-इति, च, (पदम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ सिति प्रत्यये परतः पूर्वं परसंज्ञं भवति ॥

16. When an affix having an indicatory च follows then that which precedes it is called pada.

The sûtra 18 of this chapter teaches that before certain affixes, the preceding word is called bha. This sûtra declares an exception to that by anticipation. Thus Rule IV. 2. 115 declares:—"Affixes इक् and इस् come after the vridha (I. 1. 74) word भवत्." Here the affix इस् has an indicatory च, therefore the word भवत्, standing before it, will be called pada. Thus भवत् + इस् = भवसीयः VII. 1. 2. belonging to you. The result of being pada is that त् is changed into श् (VIII. 2. 39). Similarly स् is इत् in युस् (After the word उर्ना there is yus V. 2. 123). Thus रूर्णायुः; so also यस् V. 1. 106, has स् as indicatory. Thus कृत्वियः There is no guña because of its being pada.

स्वादिष्व सर्वनामस्थाने ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-आदिषु, असर्वनामस्थाने, (पदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वादिषु प्रत्ययेषु परतः सर्वनामस्थानशर्जितेषु पूर्वं परसंज्ञं भवति ॥

17. When the affixes beginning with सु (IV. 1. 2) and ending in कप् (V. 4. 151.) follow, not being Sarvanâmiasthâna (I. 1. 43) then that which precedes is called pada.

The affixes beginning with su and ending with kap are meant by the above sûtra. Thus the case-affix न्याम् (Ins Dual) is an affix included in the above. Thus राजन् + न्याम् = राजन्याम्, राजनिः, राजरूपं, राजवा, राजवरः, राजतमः. The न् is elided by being pada.

Why do we say 'when not a Sarvanāmsthāna'? Observe राजा॒ + य॑
= राजानो two kings. राजानः kings. The य् is not elided.

यचि भम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ य्-अचि, भम्, (स्वादिष्वसठ)

युतिः ॥ यदाराराद्यजातो च स्वादो सर्वनामस्थानवर्तिं प्रत्यये परतः पूर्वं भस्तर्तं भवति ॥
वार्त्तिंकम् ॥ नभोऽङ्गिरोमनुवां वृष्ट्युपसंख्यानम् ॥
वार्त्तिंकम् ॥ वृष्ट्यस्तश्वयोः ॥

18. And when an affix, with an initial y or an initial vowel, being one of the affixes, beginning with su and ending in k, follows, not being Sarvanāmsthāna, then what precedes, is called Bha.

This debars the application of pada. Thus गर्ग + यम् (IV. 1. 105) गार्यः: a grandson of Garga. So also वारस्यः. The affix yañ begins with a ya and the word garga being treated as Bha its final ए is elided before the affix by VI. 4. 148.

So also इत्त + इम् = इत्तिः (IV. 1. 95) grandson of Daksha दाक्षिः. Here the affix इम् 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 य् or यम् follow; and by the last *Vart* of Sūtra I. 1. 72, it means 'when an affix beginning with ya or ach follow.'

Vart:—The words नभस्, आङ्गिरस् and मनुष् should be treated as Bha when the affix वस् follows. Thus नभस्त् like the sky. आङ्गिरस्त् like the Angiras. मनुष्त् like the man. By being Bha, the त् is not changed into त्, which it would have been, had it been a pada (VIII. 2. 66).

Vart:—The words वृष्ट्यन् is treated as Bha in the vedas when the words वस् and वास् follow. Thus वृष्ट्यसुः; वृष्ट्याधस्य मेने. Here had the word vishan been treated as pada, the न would not have been changed into य (See Rule VIII. 4. 37); and this न would have been dropped before the affix vasu by VIII. 2. 7.

तसै मत्वर्थे ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ त-सै, मतु-अर्थे, (भम्) ॥

युतिः ॥ सकारान्तं सकारान्तं शब्दस्त्रं मत्वर्थे प्रत्यये परतो भस्तर्तं भवति ॥

19. The word-form ending in t or in s 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 उद्धिष्ठत् having butter milk Nom. Sing. उद्धिष्ठान् घोषः the herdsman having butter milk, विष्वान् बजाहकः the cloud full of thunder. So also वापस्त्री famous;

पयस्ती full of milk. Thus उद्धित् + वस्॒ = उद्धित्वस्॒, वश्॒ + विनि (V. 2. 121) = वशविन्. By making these Bha, the operation of pada rule is debarred in their case. That is to say the final त of udaśvit &c., and the स्॒ of yaśas &c., are not changed into त and र respectively, which had they been pada words would have been the case by the action of Sûtra VIII. 2. 39, and VIII. 2. 66. vis., उद्धित्वस्॒ and वशविन् which are incorrect.

अयस्मयादीनि च्छन्दसि ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अयस्मय-आदीनि,
छन्दसि, (भूमि)

वृत्तिः ॥ अयस्मयादीनि शब्दरूपाणि च्छन्दसि विचये साधुनि भवन्ति ॥

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 formed in the chhandas by the application of the rules of Bha and pada. Thus अयस्॒ + मय = अयस्मय made of iron. Here the word अयस्॒ is treated as Bha and hence the स्॒ is not changed into र्॒. Thus अयस्मयं वर्त्ते iron-made coat of mail. अयस्मयानि पानाणि iron vessels. The present form of this word is अयोमर्य. In some places both these pada and Bha apply simultaneously. Thus in the word ऋक्त् formed by ऋच्॒ + वर्त्॒, the च्॒ is first changed into क्॒ by treating the word ऋच्॒ as a pada. Then the word ऋक्॒ is treated as bha, and therefore the क्॒ is not changed into ग्॒ before वर्त्॒. For had it been pada, the form would have been ऋग्वस्॒ Rigvat. These irregularly formed words occur only in the chhandas or Vedic literature. Thus स सुऽभास ऋक्ता गणेन.

बहुषु बहुवचनम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुषु, बहु-वचनम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बहुषु बहुवचनम् भवति ॥

21. In expressing multeity, a Plural case affix is employed.

When it is intended to denote multeity those affixes should be employed after nouns and verbs, which denote plural number. Thus श्राद्धाणः पठन्ति 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.

द्वैकये द्वैवचनैकवचने ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि-एकये:, द्वैवचन-
एकवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वैवैकल्पयोरर्थयोर्द्वैवचनैकवचने भवतः ॥

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 प्राप्तयोऽप्यतः the two Brahmins cook. श्रावणः पचति the Brahmin cooks.

कारके ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कारके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कारक इत्यविकारो वेदितव्यः, यदिव ऋर्घ्वमनुकामिष्यामः कारक इत्येवं तदेवितव्यम् ॥

23. The phrase 'kâraka' (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 kâraka. 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 kâraka; 'food' is object kâraka; 'vessel' is a locative kâraka, fire is an instrumental kâraka, 'furnace' is the ablative kâraka and 'master' is the dative kâraka.

The word 'kâraka' thus is synonymous with the word cause (hetu) and occasion (nimitta). All the various causes and occasions that are required to complete an action will be kârakas. 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 kâraka to a verb.

प्रुषमपाये अपादानम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रुषम्, अपाये, अपादा-
नम् (कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रुवं यदपाययुक्तं मपाये सप्त्ये यदपधिभूतं सत्कारकमपादानसंसं भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ज्ञगुप्तसाविरामप्रमाणार्थीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

24. A noun whose relation to an action is that of a fixed point from which departure takes place is called apâdâna or ablation.

This defines the Ablation or Apadâna kâraka. Thus आपादानगच्छति he comes from the village. पर्वतादपरोहति he descends from the mountain. स्तार्यद्वीनः lost his object. रथात् पतितः fallen from chariot. The Apadâna 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 grâma, parvata &c., in the above) which is the limit denoted by a word dependent on a verb, is called ablation.'

Vart :—The objects of verbs denoting ‘aversion,’ ‘cessation’ and ‘negligence’ are also called ablation. Thus :—**अधर्मज्जुगप्तते** he dislikes injustice; **अधर्मादिरमति** he ceases from injustice. **धर्मात्प्राप्यति** he neglects justice.

भीत्रार्थानां भयहेतुः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भीत्रा-अर्थानाम्, भयहेतुः, (कारके अपादानम्) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ विभेत्यर्थानां शायत्यर्थानां च धातूनां प्रयोगे भयहेतुर्य स्तस्कारकमपाशानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

25. In case of words implying ‘fear’ and ‘protection from danger’ that from which the danger or fear proceeds is called *Apâdâna kâraka*.

The verbs signifying ‘fear’ or ‘protection’ govern the object feared of, or the danger to be protected from, in the ablative case. Thus **चौरेभ्यो विभेति** he is afraid of thieves, **चौरेभ्य उद्दिजते** he is agitated because of the thieves. **चौरेभ्यस्मायते** or **रक्षति**. He protects or saves from the thieves.

Why do we say ‘the cause of fear (*bhaya-hetu*) is put in the ablative case?’ Observe **अरण्ये विभेति** or **शायते** he fears or protects in the forest.

पराजे रसेदः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पराज्ये:, असेदः, (काठ अपादानम्) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ परापूर्वस्य जयते: प्रयोगेऽसोदो योऽर्थः सीढुं नशक्यते स्तस्कारकमपाशानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

26. In the case of the verb *parâji*, ‘to be tired or weary of,’ that which becomes unbearable, is called *Apâdana kâraka*.

When the verb जि to conquer, with the preposition *para* has the sense of ‘becoming tired or unbearable’ it governs ablative case of the thing become unbearable. As **अश्ययनात् पराजयते** he finds study unbearable.

Why do we say ‘that which becomes unbearable.’ Observe **शम्लुः पराजयते** he defeats the enemies.

वारणार्थाना मीत्सितः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वारण-अर्थानाम्, ईत्सितः (काठ अपादाठ) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ वारणार्थानां धातूनां प्रयोगे च ईत्सितोऽर्थः स्तस्कारकमपाशानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

27. In case of verbs having the sense of ‘preventing, the desired object from which one is prevented or warded off is called *Ablation* or *Apâdana kâraka*.

The obstruction to one’s natural inclination is called *vâraṇa* or prevention. As **यदेभ्यो गां शायति** or **निश्चयति** he wards off or withholds the cow from the barley.

Why do we say 'the object desired' is put in the ablative case? Observe गां वात्यति स्त्रैं he wards off the cow in the field.

अन्तर्द्वौ येनादर्शनं सिल्पति ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्द्वौ, येन,
अदर्शनम्, इच्छति, (का० अपादा०) ॥

यृतिः ॥ अन्तर्द्विनिष्ठिं येनादर्शनमात्मनिच्छतितस्त्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

28. When concealment is indicated, the person whose sight one wishes to avoid, is called *Apādāna karaka*.

Thus उपाध्यायादन्तर्द्वै or निजीयते 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 चौरान् म इदृशते 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 *apādāna kāraka* is to be used there only, where one desires that he should not be seen, yet he shows himself.

आत्यातीपयेते ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ-स्याता, उप-योगे,
(का० अपा०) ॥

यृतिः ॥ उपयोगे साध्ये च भारद्याता तस्त्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

29. The noun denoting the teacher is called *Apādāna* or ablation, in relation to the action signifying formal teaching.

The word शास्त्र्याता means teacher, and उपयोग means acquiring knowledge in the regular way. Thus उपाध्यायादपीते or भागमयति he learns from the preceptor.

Why do we say 'when meaning to learn'? Observe नटस्त्र भृणोति he hears the player.

जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ जनि-कर्तुः, प्रकृतिः,
(का० अपा०) ॥

यृतिः ॥ जन्वर्यस्यजन्मनः कर्ता जायमानः तत्यया प्रकृतिः कारणं हेतुः तस्त्कारकमपादान-
संज्ञंभवति ॥

30. The prime cause of the agent of the verb *jan* to be born, is called *Apādāna*.

That which is the Agent (कर्ता) of the verb *jan*, is called जनिकर्ता. That which is the prime-cause (प्रकृति) of the agent (or product) of the root *jan*

is put in the ablative case. As भृङ्गार्ढरो जायते, the arrow is produced from horn गोमयाद् वृथिको जायते the scorpion is produced from cowdung.

भुवः प्रभवः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, प्रभवः, (का० अपा०) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भूकर्तुः प्रभवो च स्तत्कारकमपानसंहं भवति ॥

31. The source of the agent of the verb bhū, to become, is called Apādāna.

The phrase 'of the agent (kartuh,) is understood here. The word प्रभव means the source or that from which anything arises. As हिमवतो गंगा प्रभवति the Ganges has its source in the Himalayas. काश्मीरेभ्यो वितस्ता प्रभवति. The Hydaspes has its source in Cashmere.

कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति संप्रदानम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणा, यम्, अभिप्रैति, सः, संप्रदानम्, (का०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणा, करणभूतेन कर्त्ता यमभिप्रैति तत्कारकं संप्रदानसंहं भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कियामहण मपि कर्त्तव्यम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कर्मणः करणसंज्ञा वक्तव्या संप्रदानस्य च कर्मसंज्ञा ॥

32. The person whom one wishes to connect with the object of giving, is called Sampradāna or recipient.

Though the word कर्मणा in the sūtra 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 उपाध्यायाय गां ददाति he gives the cow to the teacher. आणवकाव निष्ठाम् इहाति 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 आदाय निर्गर्हते he censures for the sake of Sraddha. श्रुदाय सन्त्यते he prepares for battle. पत्ने श्रुते she sleeps for her husband.

Vart :—2. After some verbs (especially to sacrifice), the object (karma) gets the name of Instrument (karana) and the recipient (Sampradāna) is called object (karma).

Thus पशुना ऋद्धं चजते or पशुं ऋद्धाव ददाति he sacrifices with an animal to Rudra, which is equivalent to, 'he gives an animal to Rudra.'

रुद्धर्थानां प्रीयमाणः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुद्धि-अर्थानाम्,
प्रीयमाणः, (का० संप्रदानम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ रुद्धर्थानां भातूनां पश्योगे प्रीयमाणो योर्ज्यं स्तत्कारकं संप्रदानसंहं भवति ॥

33. In case of verbs having the signification of the root ruchi '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 इच्छर्थः. A desire or longing caused by something else, is called ruchi. As देवदत्ताय रोचते मोदकः the sweet meat pleases Devadatta. यज्ञदत्ताय स्त्रवे अपुः 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 देवदत्ताय रोचते मोदकः पथि. Devadatta likes modak in the way. The word pathi being in the 7th case.

श्लाघनुहृस्याशपां धीप्स्यमानः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्लाघ-न्हुहृ-स्या-शपाम्, धीप्स्यमानः, (का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृन्तिः ॥ इलाघ न्हुहृ स्या शप् इस्येतेषां हीप्स्यमानो योऽर्थं स्त्रैः कारकं संप्रशानसंहं भवति ॥

34. In case of verbs slâgh to praise, hnu to take away, sthâ to stand, and sap to curse, the person whom it is intended to inform of or persuade by, these actions, is called Sampradâna.

The word हीप्स्यमान means whom it is desired to make known or inform. As देवदत्ताय इलाघते he praises Devadatta, i.e., while praising Devadatta, he wishes that he should know this praise. So also with other verbs. As देवदत्ताय हृते he hides from (wishing that Devadatta should know of it) Devadatta. देवदत्ताय निष्ठते she offers herself to Devadatta for (sexual embrace, wishing that he should know of it). देवदत्ताय शपते he reviles Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the person whom it is intended to inform'? Observe देवदत्ताय इलाघति पथि. Here pathi is in the Locative case.

धारे उत्तमणः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ धारेः, उत्तम-ऋणः, (का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृन्तिः ॥ धारयते: प्रयोगे उत्तमणो योऽर्थं स्त्रकारकं संप्रशानसंहं भवति ॥

35. In the case of the verb dhâpri 'to owe,' the creditor is called Sampradâna.

The word उत्तमण is compounded of two words उत्तम best and ऋण debt meaning (whose debt is best) creditor, as opposed to ऋणमण̄ debtor. As देवदत्ताय शुते धारयति he owes hundred to Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the creditor is called Recipient'? Observe देवदत्ताय शुतंधारयति मासे he owes hundred to Devadatta in the village. Here village is in the Locative case. .

स्पृहे रीपितः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्पृहेः, ईपितः;
(काठ संप्रदान) ॥

यूनिः ॥ स्पृह ईप्सायां, चुरादावदन्तः पथते, तस्य ईपितो योर्ज्यस्तस्कारकं संप्रशान
संज्ञं भवति ॥

36. In the case of the verb *sprīh* to desire, the thing desired is called *Sampradāna* karaka.

The verb *स्पृह* to desire, belongs to the *churādi* class. The word governed by this verb takes the Dative case. As पुष्पेणः स्पृहयति he desires flowers, फलैः स्पृहयति he desires fruits.

Why do we say 'the thing desired.' Observe पुष्पेभ्यो वने स्पृहयति he desires flowers in the forest. Here वने is in the Locative case.

कुधदुहेऽप्या सूयार्थानां यं प्रतिकेापः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुध- दुह-
दैर्घ्या-असूय-अर्थानां, यं, प्रतिकेापः (काठ संप्र०) ॥

यूनिः ॥ कुधायर्थानां प्रयोगे यं प्रतिकोपस्तस्कारकं संप्रशानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

37. In the case of the verbs having the sense of *krudh* to be angry, *druh* to injure, *īrshya* to envy, *asūyā* to detract, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called *Sampradāna*.

Krudh means non-tolerance, *droha* means doing wrong or hurt, *īrshya* jealousy; and *asūya* means to find out the faults of another. The word *kopa* includes all the above four sorts of actions. As देवदत्ताय कुधयति-
दुहति-ईर्ष्यति or असूयति 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 भायोमीर्ष्यति he is jealous of his wife, *i.e.*, does not wish her to be seen by others. Here the word *bhāryā* is in the accusative case.

कुधदुहो रूपसूष्टयोः कर्म ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुध-दुहोः, रूप-
सूष्टयोः; कर्म (काठ यं प्रतिकेापः) ॥

यूनिः ॥ कुधदुहो रूपसूष्टयो रूपसर्गसंबन्धयो यं प्रतिकोपस्तस्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥

38. But in the case of the verbs *krudh* and *druh*, 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 देवदत्तमभिकृप्यति आभिकृप्यति. When used simply, those verbs of course govern the Dative case by the last aphorism. As देवदत्ताय कृप्यते.

राधीहयोर्यस्य विप्रशः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ राधि-ईक्षयेः, यस्य, विप्रशः, (का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राधेरीक्षेश्चकारकं संप्रशनसंज्ञं भवति कीदृशं यस्य विप्रशः, विविधः प्रशः, विप्रशः; स कस्य भवति यस्य शुभाशुर्णे पृष्ठते ॥

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 राध्यति-ईक्षते गर्गः 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 शिष्याय राज्ञीति or ईक्षते वा गुहः meaning, the pupil asks the teacher various questions to resolve his doubts, and the teacher answers those questions to the pupil.

प्रत्याङ्ग्रभ्यां श्रुवः पूर्वस्य कर्त्ता ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-आङ्ग्रभ्याम्, श्रुवः, पूर्वस्य, कर्त्ता (का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिभाङ्ग-इत्येवं पूर्वस्य शृणोते: कारकं संप्रशनसंज्ञं भवति कीदृशं पूर्वस्य कर्त्ता ॥

40. In the case of the verb Sru preceded by the prepositions prati and āṅg, 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 प्रतिभू and भाङ्ग 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 गो प्रतिशृणोति—भाशृणोति he promises a cow to Devadatta.

अनुप्रतिशृणश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु-प्रति-शृणः, च, (का० संप्रदा० पूर्वस्य कर्त्ता) ४

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वस्य प्रतिपूर्वस्य च गुणाते: कारकं पूर्वस्याः क्रियायाः कर्त्तुभूतं संप्रशनसंज्ञं-भवति ॥

41. In the case of the verb *gṛī*, 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 *Sampradāna*.

The phrase *pūrvasya kartā* of the last is to be read into this aphorism. As होने जनुगृणाति. 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 भज्यते and प्रतिगतः mean encouraging the invoker.

साधकतमंकरणम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ साधकतमम्, करणम्
(कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियाप्रसिद्धौ यत् प्रकृशेष्वकारकं विश्वितं सत्साधकतमं कारकं करणसंज्ञं भवति ॥

42. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action is called the Instrument or *karaṇa kāraka*.

As शब्दे लुनाति he cuts with the sickle. परशुना छिनति he divides by the axe. The instrument कारक takes the third-case affix.

Why do we say 'especially'? Because in the case of the other *kārakās*, 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 गङ्गायां घोषः the herdsman in the Ganges, not strictly in, but on the banks of, the Ganges. कृषे गर्गकुलम् the family of frogs in the well, i.e. on the sides of the well.

दिवः कर्म च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, कर्म, च, (का० साधक
तमम् करणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवः साधकतमं यत्कारकं सर्वकर्मसंज्ञं भवति चकारात् करणसंज्ञं च ॥

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 sūtra ordains accusative case, where by the operation of the last aphorism there ought to have been Instrumental case. The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that *karaṇa* is also to be read into this. As अक्षात् शीघ्र्यति or अक्षे शीघ्र्यति he plays the dice or with the dice.

परिक्ययणे संप्रदानमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिक्ययणे,
संप्रदानम्, अन्यतरस्याम् (का० साधकतमं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिक्ययणे साधकतमं कारकमन्यतरस्यां संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

44. In the case of hiring on wages, that which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action of the verb *parikṛī*, 'employing on stipulated wages,' is optionally called *Sampradāna* or recipient.

This ordains dative case, where there would otherwise have been Instrumental case. The word परिक्रीयते means to engage for a limited period on payment of wages, and not absolute purchase for all time. As शताब्दि परिक्रीतो उनुग्रूहि or शतेन परिक्रीतो उनुग्रूहि.

ADHIKARANA.

आधारोऽधिकरणम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आधारः, अधिकरणम्, (का०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृकर्त्तव्यः क्रियाभ्यभूतयोर्पारण क्रियां प्रति व आधारस्तरकारकमधिकरण संज्ञभवति ॥

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 *ādhāra*. As कटे आस्ते he is seated on the mat. कटे शोषे he is sleeping on the mat. स्थान्या चक्षति he cooks in the pot. The *Adhikarana* takes the 7th case-affix.

अधिश्वेडस्थासां कर्म ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधि-शीढ़-स्था-आसाम्, कर्म, (का० आधारः)

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिपूर्वाणां शीढ़ स्था आस् इत्येवेषा माधारोयस्तरकारकं कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥

46. That which is the site of the verbs si to lie down, stha to stand, as to sit, when preceded by the preposition *adhi*, is however called *karma kāraka* or object.

This ordains accusative case, where otherwise by the last sūtra there would have been the Locative case. As आधारिश्वेते अभितिष्ठति or आधास्ते he lies down, occupies or lies in the village.

अभिनिविश्व ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-नि-विशः, च, (का० आधारः कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिनिपूर्वस्य विश्वतेराधारो यस्तरकारकं कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥

47. That which is the site of the verb *abhinivis* to enter, is also called *karma-kāraka*.

As याममभिनिवेशते he resorts to the village. This is an optional rule, as the word "option" of sūtra 44 should be read into it. Thus we have the following forms also पापेऽभिनिवेशः resorting to sin. कल्याणेऽभिनिवेशः resorting to good. The rule here is that of vyavasthita vibhāsa.

उपान्धव्याहृ वसः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप-अनु-अधि-आहृ-वसः, (काठ आधारः कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उप भनु अधि आहृ इत्येव पूर्वस्य वसतेरागारो यस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥ वाच्चिकम् ॥ वसेरइयर्यस्य प्रतिषेधो वच्छब्दः ॥

48. That which is the site of the verb *vas* to dwell, when preceded by *upa*, *anu*, *adhi*, and *āñ*, is called *karma-kāraka*.

As यामसुपवसति सेना the army dwells in the village पर्वतमुपवसति-अनुवसति-अधिवसति or आवसति.

Vart—Prohibition must be stated when the verb वस् means "fasting," or does not denote lying in a locality. As यामे उपवसति he fasts in the village. Here the verb *upavasati* governs the locative case and not the accusative.

KARMA.

कर्तुरीप्सिततम् कर्म ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तुः, ईप्सिततम्, कर्म, (काठ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तुः क्रिया यसामिष्टतम् तस्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं 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 कटं करोति He makes the mat. यामे गच्छति he goes to the village. Why do we say "desired by the agent"? Observe माषेष्व इवं बधाति he ties the horse in the gram field. Here gram is no doubt most desired by the horse, but as horse is not the agent of the verb, the word माष takes the locative case. Why do we use the word "most"? Observe परसौरम्न भुद्धन्ते 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 anuvritti from the last sūtra, the repetition of this word here is to indicate that the anuvritti of the word अधारा does not extend to this sūtra, because as we do not take the anuvritti of the word karma into this sūtra, we do not take the

anuvritti of any word of the previous sūtra into this. Had we taken the anuvritti 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 गेहं प्रविशति he enters the house, we could not say भोजनं पचति he cooks the food, सर्वं पिचति he drinks saktu. By repeating the word karma in this sūtra, such examples become valid everywhere. The karma-karak, takes the second case-affix.

तथा युक्तं धानीपिस्तम् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ तथा, युक्तम्, च,
अनीपिस्तम्, (काऽ कर्म) ॥

यृतिः ॥ येन प्रकारेण कर्तुं रोपिस्तमं क्रियता युज्यते तेनैव षेष् प्रकारेण यदनीपिस्तम्
युक्तं भवति तस्य कर्मसंज्ञा विचीयते ॥

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 anipita or object of aversion. Thus विषं भज्यति he eats poison, चौरान् पश्यति He sees the thieves, यामन् गच्छन् वृक्षमूलान् न्युगसर्पति going to the village, he plucks the roots of the trees.

अकथितं च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकथितम्, च, (काऽ कर्म) ॥
यृतिः ॥ अकथितं च यत्कारकं ताकर्मसंज्ञं 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 indicates, it is that object which is not otherwise kathita or mentioned by way of any of the other case relations, such as अपादानं अधिकरणं &c. and is, therefore 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, षेषु शोषित्य पश्यः he milks the cow (her milk) अजमवरुणद्विगां 'he confines the cow to the fold.' Here षेषु and अजम् 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, षेष्वाः (abative) पश्योशोषित्य, अजे (locative) अदवरुणद्विगां.

The roots that are capable of governing two accusatives are mentioned in the following kārikā :—**दुष्टाच् पश् इद्विलिपि प्रचिद् चि त्रू चासु जि मन्य् न्याम् ॥ कर्मयुक्**
स्वावकापितं तथा स्वामी इ कृष् वहाम् ॥

In the case of the roots दुध् 'to milk' याच् 'to beg,' पच् 'to cook,' दण्ड् 'to punish,' रुध् 'to obstruct or confine' प्रच्छ् 'to ask,' चि 'to collect' शू तo tell शास् 'to instruct' जि 'to win' (as a prize of wager) मन्त् 'to churn' मुष् 'to steal,' and also in the case of नी, ह, कृष्, and वह् 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, गो शेखि पयः (S. K.) 'he milks the cow'; बलिं यापते वसुधाः.

'He begs the earth of Bali'; similarly संज्ञानोदनं पश्यति, गर्गाश्च शतं इद्यति, अगमवरुणादि गां, माणवकं पंथानं पृच्छति, दृश्मवचिनोति फलानि, माणवकं धर्मं शूते-शास्ति वा, शतं जयति देवदत्तं, सुधां ज्ञीरनिधिं नयनाति, देवदत्तं शतं मुष्टाति; भासमर्जा नयति-हरति-कर्षति-धहति-वा are examples of the other roots in order. माणवकं धर्मं भाषते वन्निः वा, वन्निः-वसुधाः भिक्षते, तां त्वां संवरणस्थायै वरयामि विभावसी are instances of this kind of object, because भाष् or वाच् and भिक्ष् or वृ have the same meaning as शू and याच्, the roots given in the *kasikā*.

Obs.—The roots चि, मुष्, पच् मन्त्, रुध्, जि, कृष् हु and ever वह् are of every rare occurrence as governing two accusatives, in 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 दुध् to मुष्, the nouns पयः, वसुधाः, फलानि, सुधाः, &c. are principal objects, and गां, वन्निः, वृत्तां, ज्ञीरनिधिं &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 अजा, is the principal object and भासं 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.

गति बुद्धि प्रत्यवसानार्थशब्द कर्मकर्म काणा मणिकर्त्ता स णौ ॥ ५२ ॥
पदानि ॥ गति-बुद्धि-प्रत्यवसान-अर्थ-शब्दकर्त्ता-कर्मकाणाम्, अणिकर्त्ता, सः, णौ (कारके कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थानां बुद्ध्यर्थानां प्रत्यवसानार्थानां च धातूनां तथाशब्द कर्मकाणा मकर्मकाणा उच्च पृथ्यन्तानां यः कर्त्ता स एन्तानां कर्मसंतो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गत्यर्थेषु नी वस्योः प्रतिषेधो वन्नव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वहरं नियन्त्वं कर्त्तव्यस्येति वन्नव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आविं सायोः प्रतिषेधो वन्नव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भस्तेरं हिंसार्थस्य प्रतिषेधो वन्नव्यः ॥

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-*पि* or non-causal state), is called the object (*karma*) in its causative state (when the verb takes the affix (*पि*)).

In the case of 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.

PRIMITIVE.

गृष्मः स्वर्गमगच्छत्
स्वे देशार्थमविदुः
देवा धूसमाधनन्
विधिवैदमध्यैत
दृश्यी सन्ति भास्त

CAUSAL.

गृष्मृ लक्ष्मगमवत्
स्वान देशार्थ मवेदवत्
देवान धूसमाधयत्
विधिं देवमध्यामयत्
दृश्यों सन्ति आसवत्

But in गमयति रामो गोविन्दं (Rama makes Govind go) if some body else (विष्णु मित्र) prompts Ráma to do this, we shall have to say विष्णुमित्रो रामेण गोविन्दं गमयति '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 Mahâbhâshya, adds this explanation on the meaning of the word शब्दकर्ते in the sútra गतिचुद्रि &c. शब्दकर्ते may be either शब्दो येषां क्रिया or शब्दो येषां कर्ता.

When we take the former interpretation, the roots हृयति (हृ) क्रंदति (क्रंद) and शब्दायते (denom. of शब्द) have to be excluded from the rule; as, हृयति हैवहतः द्वाययति देवहतेन; क्रंदति-शब्दायते-हैवहतः; क्रंदयति-शब्दाययति-हैवहतेन. And the roots श्रु, त्ता with वि and लभ् with उप must be included in the rule; as, शूलोति विजानाति-उपलभते-हैवहतः आवयति-विजापयति-उपलभयति-हैवहतन्. When we adopt the second interpretation, the roots जन्मत्, भाष् with चा and लभ् with वि, must be included in the rule; जन्मयति-विजनपति-चाभाषते-हैवहतः, जन्मयति-विजनापयति-चाभाषयति-हैवहत्त.

There are several exceptions and counter-exceptions to the preceding rule, which are important.

Vart :—The causals of नी 'to lead' and बहू 'to carry,' do not govern the Accusative, but the Instrumental; e. g. भृत्यो भारं नयति बहुति चा A servant carries a load. भृत्येन भारं नाययति बाहुयति चा (S. K.) (He) causes a servant to carry a load.

Vart:—But वह्, when it has for its subject in the causal a word signifying a 'driver,' obeys the general rule; as, वाहा रथं वहन्ति. Horses draw the chariot. वहति यवान् बजीवर्द्धः.

Vart:—(b). The causals of the roots अद् and खाद्, 'to eat,' govern the Instrumental case; e. g. बहुरजमन्ति खादति वा. The boy eats his food. बहुनाभमादयति खादयति वा. (He) causes the boy to eat his food.

Vart:—(c). भक्ष्, when it has not the sense of हिंसा 'injury to a sentient thing,' governs the Instrumental; as, भक्षयति पिंडौ देवदत्तः, भक्षयति पिंडौ देवदत्तैऽन्; but भक्षयति यवान् बजीवर्द्धः, भक्षयति वज्जी वर्द्धान् यवान्.

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, किंकरः पच्चः पचति. Here पचति, though transitive, is used without an object, because it can be easily understood; hence किंकरेण पाचयति and not किंकर; but मासमासयति देवदत्तं.

In forming the passive construction of casual 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 unchanged; e. g.

PRIMITIVE.	CAUSAL ACTIVE.	CAUSAL PASSIVE.
रामो यामं गच्छति. Rama goes to a village.	रामं यामं गमयति. (He) causes Rama to go &c.	रामो यामं गम्यते. Rama is caused to go &c.
भृत्यः कटं करोति. The servant prepares a mat.	भृत्येन भृत्यं वा कटं कारयति. (He) causes the servant to prepare a mat.	भृत्यः कटं कार्यते. The servant is made to prepare &c.
गोविंदो मासमास्ते. Govind sits for one month.	गोविंदं मासमासयति. (He) makes Govind sit &c.	गोविंदो मासमास्यते. 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. माणवकं धर्मे बोधयति 'he makes Mananaka know his duty'; माणवको धर्मे बोधते or माणवकं धर्मो बोधते 'M. is made known his duty' or 'duty is made known to M.'; बहुमोदनं भोजयति 'he makes the boy eat food:' बहुरोदनं भोजयते or बहुमोदनं भोजते (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, वामनो बलिं वसुधी-

याचते: (ईप्तो) वामनेन यज्ञे वसुधार्मा बाचयति ' (God) makes Vamana ask Bali for Earth.' गोपोऽजां नगरं हरति; (स्वामी) गोपे गोपेन वाजां नगरं हारयति . ' (The master) makes the cowherd take the sheep to the town.'

४३ द्वौरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इक्षोः, अन्यतरस्याम् ,
(काठ अणि कर्त्ता स णौ कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरते: करोते भाण्यन्तयोर्यः कर्त्ता स व्यव्ययो रन्यतरस्यां कर्मसंज्ञो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अभिवादि दृशोरामनेपद उपसंख्यामन् ॥

53. The agent of the verb in its non-ni (primitive) form in the case of ह्रि to lose and क्रि to make, is optionally called karma or object when these verbs take the affix.

nf (CAUSAL).

PRIMITIVE.

- As हरति भारं माणवकः:
The boy takes the load.
करोतिकर्त्त देवहस्तः:
Devadatta makes the mat.

CAUSAL.

- हारयति भारं माणवकं or माणवकेन .
He causes the servant to take the load.
कारयति कर्त्त देवहस्तं or देवहस्तेन .
He causes Devadatta to make the mat.

Vart:—The subject of the primitive verbs अभिश्रूति and हरा, when used in the Atmanepada, is either put in the Accusative or Instrumental case in the causal: as,

PRIMITIVE.

- अभिश्रूति गुह्यं देवहस्तः:
Devadatta bows down to the Guru.
प्रथयन्ति भृत्या राजाम् .
The servants see the king.

CAUSAL.

- अभिश्रूतवे गुह्यं देवहस्तं or देवहस्तेन .
He makes Devadatta bow down to the Guru.
प्रथयते भृत्याम् राजाम् or प्रथयते भृत्यै .
He makes the servants see the king.

KARTRI.

स्वतन्त्रः कर्त्ता ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि स्वतन्त्रः कर्त्ता । (काठ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रिया प्रसिद्धौ स्वातन्त्र्येण विवद्यते तत्कारकं कर्दसंज्ञो भवति ॥

54. Whatever the speaker chooses as the independent, principal and absolute source of action is called kartṛ or agent.

The agent is absolute and unconditioned, as, देवहस्तः पचति Devadatta cooks. स्थाली पचति the pot cooks.

सत् प्रयोजको हेतुञ्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत् प्रयोजकः, हेतुः, च,
(काऽ स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वतन्त्रस्य प्रयोजको चोऽर्थः तस्कारकं हेतुसंतं भवति चकारात् कर्द्दंतं च ॥

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 कारयति he causes to be made, इतरयति he cause to be taken. When hetu is employed as agent the verb is put in the causative form (III. i. 26).

The force of the word च is to give both names to the mover of an agent, *vis.*, Hetu and kartâ: otherwise by sûtra 1 of this Chapter only one name would have been given.

Nipâta.

THE PARTICLES.

प्राग्नीश्वरान्निपाताः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राग् शीश्वरात्, निपाताः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिरीश्वर इति वह्यति प्रागेतस्माद्वयोर्नित रुद्धमनुक्रमिष्यामः निपात
संज्ञा स्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

56. From this point forward upto the aphorism Adhîrî-svare (I.4.97), all that we shall say is to be understood to have the name of Nipâta or Particles.

The word प्राग् of this sûtra serves the same purpose as the word cha of the last; namely, it makes the words Gati, upasarga and karmapravachnîya take two names, *i. e.*, their one name as well as the name Nipâta. The letter त in प्राग्नीश्वरात् is to remove doubt, *i. e.*, aphorism I. 4. 97 should be taken as limit, and not sûtra III. 4. 13 which has the word iswari also.

चादयो ऽस्त्वे ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ च-आदयः अस्त्वे, (निपाता) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चादयो निपातसंज्ञा भवन्ति न चेस्त्वे वर्त्तन्ते ॥

57. The word cha 'and,' &c., are called Nipâta or Particles, when they do not signify substances.

The following are particles (nipâta) च 'and' ए 'or' ए 'an expletive' अह 'vocative particle' एव 'only' 'exactly.' एवम् 'so, thus,' नूनम् 'certainly.' शश्वत् 'continually,' चुगपत् 'at once,' भूयस् 'repeatedly,' सुपत् कूपत् 'excellently,' कुवित् 'abundantly,' नेत् चेत् 'if' चल 'if,' [the न is indicator], चन 'where,' तत् 'there,' क्रच्छत् 'what if?,' नह 'no,' हन्त 'ah,' माकिम् [माकीम्] नकिम् 'do not' आकीम् 'indeed!' माद् 'do not,' वम् 'not,' चावत् 'as much as,' तावत् 'so much,' त्वे न्वे है 'perhaps,' है (disrespectful interjection) भोषद् शोष-

स्वाहा (interj.) 'oblation to the gods,' स्वप्ता 'oblation to the manes,' forefathers वप्त् 'oblation to the gods,' स्मृत् (mystical ejaculation typical of the three great deities of the Hindu mythology), सुम् 'thouing,' क्याहि 'thus,' introducing an exposition, (खलु 'certainly,' किल 'indeed,' अथ 'now' auspicious inceptive), सुहु 'excellent,' स्त्र (attached to the present tense gives it a past signification), भद्र 'fie' अ इ उ क्त न्त ए ऐ ओ ओ. The vowels a, ा, i, ि, u, ऊ, e, ai, o, au, when, as interjections, they indicate various emotions, differ from the ordinary vowels.

उभ्, उक्तम्, देलायाम्, मात्रायाम्, यथा, चत्, तत्, किन्, पुरा, वधा, (वधा), शिक्, हासा, हेरै, (हेरे), पाट्, व्याद्, आहो, उत्ताहो, हो, भहो, गो, (नो), अयो, मन्, मन्ये, मिष्या, भसि, त्रूहि, तु, नु, हति, इव, वत्, वाव्, घन, बत्, [सम्, वशम्, शिकम्, दिकम्,] सनुकम्, छवद्, (छवठ), शंके, शुकम्, खम्, तनात्, सनुत्, नहिकम्, सत्यम्, करतम्, अद्दा, इदा, गोचेत्, नचेत्, नहि, जातु, कथम्, कुतः, कुच, अव, अनु, हा, हे, (है), आहोस्ति, शम्, कम्, खम्, दिष्या, पशु, वह्, सह, (अनुष्ठृ), आनुष्क, अज्ञ, फट्, ताज्जक्, (जाज्जक), अबे, भरे, वाद्, (चादु), कुन, खुम्, पुम्, भम्, इम्, सीम्, सिम्, सिः, वै .

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 भवत्तम् avdattam 'given away,' the भव् is not really an upasarga, for if it were, the word (by VII. 4. 47) would be भवत्तम् avattam. In the example ahanyuh अहंगुः 'egotistic,' the ahañ 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, भस्तिशीता astikshirā, a cow or the like 'in which there is milk,' the asti अस्ति must be regarded as differing from the word asti, 'is,' which ends with the affix of the third person singular, otherwise it could not have appeared as the first member in a compound.

प्रादयः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र-आदयः, (निपाता अस्त्वे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रादयो ऽसन्ने निपातसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

58. The words pra &c., are called Nipāta when not signifying substances.

The following is the list of प्रादयः or 'prepositions:' प्र, परा, भव, चम्, अनु, अव, निस्, तुम्, वि, आह्, नि, अवि, भवि, भति, सु, उत्, अभि, प्रति, परि, उप ॥

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 chā &c., words. They never get the designation of upasargas.

When these words signifying substances they are not Nipātas. As वरा अवति सेना the excellent army conquers. Here the word परा is not a Nipāta.

उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गाः, क्रिया-योगे
(प्राद्यः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शाइवः क्रिया योगे उपसर्ग संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मरुष्टुष्ट्वस्य चौपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अरुष्टुष्ट्वोप संख्यानम् ॥

59. The words pra &c., get the designation of upasarga or prepositions, when in composition with a verb.

As प्र + मयति = प्रणयति . Here the dental न is changed into cerebral ण because of the प्र getting the designation of upasarga (See sūtra VIII. 4. 14). Similarly परिणयति, प्रणायकः, परिणायकः.

Why do we say when in composition with a verb? When in composition with a noun they are not called upasargas. As प्रगती नायकोर्ज्ञात् देशात् = प्रगतीयकोर्ज्ञः a country destitute of a leader. Here न is not changed into ण. Thus while प्रगतीयकः means 'a leader' the term प्रगतीयकः 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 मरुत् should be included in the list of upasargas. As मरुर्दित्तः = मरुतः given by Marut. मरुत् + श + त्त = मरुत् + त् + त् (VII. 4. 47). Here Marut being treated as an upasarga, though it does not end with a vowel, the त् is replaced by त् by rule VII. 4. 47 which declares 'त् the substitute of त् which is called ghu, when it is preceded by an upasarga that ends in a vowel, and is followed by an affix beginning with त् which has an indicatory k.'

It might be objected, that as मरुत् does not end with a vowel, sūtra VII. 4. 47 does not apply. To this we say that otherwise the giving the designation of upasarga to मरुत् 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 अत् should be included in the list of upasargas. Thus अत् + धा + अह् = अहा (III. 3. 106). Here because अत् is treated as an upasarga, that sūtra III. 3. 106 is made applicable.

गतिष्ठ ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ गतिः, अ, (प्राद्यः क्रियायोगे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गतिसंज्ञकाश्च प्राद्यो भवन्ति क्रियायोगे ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कारिका शब्दोप संख्यानम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुनश्चनसौ छन्दसि गतिसंज्ञौ भवत श्विदन्तव्यम् ॥

60. The words pra &c., are called also Gati, when in composition with a verb.

As प्रकृत्य, Now the gerund of the simple root कृ would have been कृत्या, but as it is compounded with a gati word (II. 2. 18) the त्या is replaced by न्यप् see S. II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37. प + कृ + न्यप् = प्रकृत्या (VI. 1. 71). Here pra being called gati we have compounding by rule II. 2. 18; and then we apply S. VII. 1. 37. Similarly प्रकृत्या. 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 of which kta is added.'

Similarly प्रकरोति, here pra being treated as gati gets annudatta accent by rule VIII. 2-7 & 1. 71 (and 8.1.57)

The yoga-vibhāga or the separation of one aphorism into two, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms. The annuvitti 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 प्रणीतम् and अभिषिञ्चन्, by treating the words प्र and अभि as upasargas we change the न and स into ण and व 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) कारिकाकृत्य (2) कारिकाकृतम् (3) यत्कारिका करोति. In the first by taking it as gati we have samasa (II. 2. 18) and न्यप् (VII. 1. 37.) The other two cases illustrate accent.

Vart:—The words पुनर् and चनस् are treated as Gati in the Vedas. As पुनरुत्स्थूत्यासो देयम्. Here the word पुनर् being gati, causes स्थूते to take annudatta accent (VIII. 1. 70) चनोहितः. Here also the accent is regulated by VIII. 2. 71.

जर्योदि चिष्ठाचश्च ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ जरी-आदि चिष्ठ-हाचः, च, (क्रियायोगे गतिः) ॥

तुतिः ॥ जर्योदयः शब्दाः चल्यन्ता डाजन्ताभ्यु क्रियायोगे गतिसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

61. The words uri, assent, &c., and those that end with chvi (V. 4. 50), and those that end with dāch (V. 4. 57), (when in composition with the verb bhū kṛi or as) are called Gati.

The affixes chvi and dāch are ordained when the verbs in composition is either कृ, च or अस् (V. 4. 50 and 57) uri &c., being read along with chvi and dāch; 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 जरी to the name of gati.

The words उरी and उरती mean to assent and spread. As उरीकृत्य (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37) उरीकृतम् (VI. 2. 49), उर्दूकरोति (VIII. 2. 71). So with the word उरती. The following is a list of these words:—

उरी.	उरती.	भंगकला.	फली.
उराली.	शकला.	गुलगुधा.	पिही.
उराली.	संश्कला.	सजूः	आळी.
उराली.	भंसकला.	फलूः	

The words ending in chvi are also gati. As शुद्धीकृत्य having made white what was not white.

So also words ending in जात् as पटपटाकृत्य having made the sound pat.

अनुकरणं चानिति परम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुकरणम्, च;
अनिति-परम्, (क्रियायोगे गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुकरणानिति-परम् क्रियायोगे गतिरुप्तं भवति ॥

62. A word imitative of sounds is also called Gati, when it is not followed by the word iti.

The phrase अनितिपरम् is a Bahuvrishi compound; भन्-इति-परम् = 'that which has not the word इति after it.'

As खाद्यकृत्य having made the sound khât. खाद्यकृतम् (VI. 2. 49), यद्याद्यकरोति (VIII. 2. 71).

Why do we say 'when it has not the word इति after it?' Observe खादितिकृत्या निरठीवत्.

आदरानादरयोः सदसती ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदर-अनादरयोः,
सद्-असती, (क्रियायोगे गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भादरा नादरयो यथाक्रमं सदसच्छब्दौ गतिसंही भवतः ॥

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 सत्कृत्य having honored (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37) भसत्कृत्य, सत्कृतम् or असत्कृतम् (VI. 2. 49) वस् सत् करोति or वसत् करोति (VIII. 2. 71).

Why do we say when meaning 'respect or disrespect'? Observe सतकृत्या काण्डं गतः.

भूषणेरुम् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूषणे; अलम्,
(किं गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूषणे यो उन्मशब्दः स गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

64. The word alam when in composition with a verb is called gati, when used in the sense of 'ornament.'

The word अलम् is an indeclinable and has four meanings :—'prohibition, competent, enough and ornament.' The term अलम् is gati when it means ornament. As अलंकृत्य (II. 2. 18, VII. 1. 37); अलंकृतं (VI. 2. 49) यदलंकरोति (VIII. 2. 71) when it does not mean ornament we have अलं भुक्त्या प्रजाति he goes having eaten enough.

अन्तरपरिघे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्-अपरि-घे,
(किं) गतिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तः शब्दोऽपरिघे उपेगतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्तः शब्दस्यां द्विविधि जट्येष्वूपसर्गसंसावक्त्याः ॥

65. The word antar is called gati, when used in the sense of 'non-accepting,' in composition with a verb.

The word परिघे means 'taking' or 'accepting,' अपरिघे means therefore the opposite of this namely 'rejecting,' abandoning. As अन्तहंस्य गुडंगतः he went away having abandoned home; अन्तहंतमनृतम् falsehood being abandoned. यदन्त हृनित.

Why do we say 'when meaning to abandon'? Observe अन्तहंस्या मूषिकां श्वेतोगतः the hawk went away taking hold of the mouse.

Vart :—The word अन्तर् is treated as an upasarga for the purposes of the application of the following rules; III. 3. 106 by which भङ् is added; rule III. 3. 92 by which किं is added; and rule VIII. 4. 14 by which न् is changed into ए. As अन्तर्हार्ता, अन्तर्दिनः and अन्तर्पर्ययति.

कणेयनसी श्रद्धाप्रतीघाते ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कणे-मनसी, श्रद्धा-
प्रती-घाते, (गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कणेशब्दसी मनसशब्दस्थ अङ्गा प्रतीघाते गतिसंज्ञो भवतः ॥

66. The words kāne and manas are gati when in composition with a verb and used in the sense of 'reaction by satiation.'

The word अद्वा-प्रतीषात् means 'satisfaction of desire.' As क्षेहस्य पवः पिवति he drinks milk to his heart's content or till he is satisfied? So also मनोहस्य पवः पिवति. That is to say, he drinks so much till his desire (अद्वा) is satisfied by revulsion of feeling. When not having this sense we have कर्ते or मनोहस्यागतः he went away he satisfied.

पुरो अव्ययम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरः, अव्ययम्, (गतिः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ असिप्रश्यद्यान्तः पुरः शब्दोऽव्ययं गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

67. The word purah in front of, when indeclinable, and in composition with a verb, is called gati.

The pronoun पूर्वं 'front' with the affix असि forms पुरस्, and by S. I. 1. 38 it becomes an Avyaya. (See S. V. 3. 39 pur being substituted for pūrva). 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 स by VIII. 3. 40. As पुरस्कृतव्य, पुरस्कृतम् and अस्त् पुरस्कृताति, when not an indeclinable we have पूः, पुरौ, पुरः कृत्वा कारणंगतः.

अस्तं च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्तम्, च, (गतिः अव्ययम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तं शब्दो मकारान्वोऽव्यय नुपलब्धो वर्तते स गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

68. And the indeclinable word astam 'at home,' is called gati, when in composition with a verb.

The word अस्तम् is an indeclinable as it ends in म् (I. 1. 39); and means 'not visible.' As अस्तंगत्य सविता पुनरुर्देति the sun having set, rises again अस्तंगतानि धनानि riches that have vanished. अस्तं गच्छति, when not an indeclinable it is not gati as भरतं कारणम् the arrow has been thrown.

अच्छ गत्यर्थवदेषु ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्छ, गति-अर्थ-वदेषु,
(गतिः अव्ययम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच्छशब्दोऽव्ययमभिशुभस्यायेण वर्तते, स गत्यर्थेषु धातुषु वस्तौ च गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

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 अच्छ is an indeclinable and has the force of the word अभि. As अच्छात्वा, अच्छात्, and अच्छाच्छति. So, also अच्छेत्य अच्छोरितम् and अच्छ-वदति when not an Avyaya, we have उद्देश्यं गच्छति.

अदो अनुपदेशे ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदस्, अनुपदेशे, (गतिः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अः शब्दो अनुपदेशो गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

70. The word adas 'that' is called gati when in composition with a verb and not implying a direction to another.

The word upadeśa means a direction to another. When a person cogitates within himself and does not address another, that is anupadeśa. That is when it is not a demonstrative pronoun. As अदः कृत्वा, अदः कृतम् and अदः करोति when used as a demonstrative pronoun we have अदः कृत्वा काएँ गतः

तिरो अन्तरद्दुर्दो ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिरः, अन्तद्दुर्दो, (गतिः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तर्दिर्यवधानम्, तचतिरः शब्दो गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

71. The word tiras when used in the sense of 'disappearance,' is called gati when in composition with a verb.

As तिरोभूय् तिरोभूतम् and अद् तिरोभवति why do we say when meaning disappearance? Observe तिरो भूत्वास्थितः i. e., standing apart.

विभाषाकृजि ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कृजि, (गतिः अन्तद्दुर्दो) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तिरः शब्दः करोती परसो विभाषा गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

72. The word tiras meaning 'disappearance' is optionally called gati, when the verb kri follows.

This is an example of प्राप्त-विभाषा. As तिरः कृत्वा or तिरस्कृत्वा (VIII. 3. 42); तिरः कृत्वा or तिरस्कृत्वा (VIII. 3. 42). The change of visarga into स is optional VIII. 3. 42. When not meaning disappearance we have तिरः कृत्वा काष्ठे तिष्ठति he stands having laid aside the stick.

उपाजेऽन्वाजे ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपाजे-अन्वाजे, (विभाषा कृजि गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपाजे-अन्वाजे शब्दो विभक्ति प्रतिरूपको निपातो दुर्बलस्य सामर्थ्याधाने बतेसे सो कृजि विभाषा गतिसंज्ञो भवतः ॥

73. The words upâje and anvâje both meaning 'supporting or assisting the weak,' are optionally called gati when used along with the verb kri.

As उपाजे कृत्वा or उपाजे कृत्वा having given support. अन्वाजे कृत्वा or अन्वाजे कृत्वा.

साक्षात्प्रभूतीनिष ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ साक्षात्, प्रभूतीनि, च,
(गतिः विभाषा कृजि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साक्षात्प्रभूतीनि शस्त्रपाणि कृमि विभाषा गतिसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ साक्षात्प्रभूतीनि चक्र्य चक्रम् ॥

74. The words sâkshât, 'in the presence of' &c., are optionally called gati, when used along with the verb kri.

Vart:—In the words साक्षात् &c. the force of the affix एव is understood, namely making a thing what it was not before. As साक्षात् कृत्य or कृत्या विद्यकृत्य मिथ्याकृत्य making evident what was concealed before.

अनत्याधान उरसिमनसी ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनत्याधाने ; उरसिमनसी , (विभाषा कृति गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनत्याधान मुपश्लेषणं तदभावे अनत्याधाने उरसिमनसी शब्दो विभाषा कृतिसंज्ञो भवतः ॥

75. The word urasi, 'in the breast,' and manasi 'in the mind' are optionally gati when the verb kri follows, provided that they are not used in the sense of 'placing.'

As उरसिकृत्य or उरसिकृत्या ; मनसिकृत्य or मनसिकृत्या. When it has the sense of placing we have उरसिकृत्या पाणिं श्रेते he lies down having clasped the hand on the breast, मनसिकृत्या चचन् ध्यायति he ponders having placed the word in his mind.

मध्ये पदे निवचने च ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्ये पदे, निवचने, च , (विभाषा कृति गतिः अनत्याधाने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मध्ये पदे निवचने इत्येते शब्दा, अनत्याधाने विभाषा कृति गतिसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

76. And the words madhye 'in the middle,' pade 'in the foot' and nivachane 'speechless' are optionally gati, when kri follows, the sense not being of 'placing.'

As मध्ये कृत्य or कृत्या पदे कृत्य or कृत्या ; निवचने कृत्य or कृत्या.

But when it has the meaning of placing we have हस्तिनः पदे कृत्या शिरः श्रेते he lies down having put his head under the foot of the elephant.

नित्यं हस्ते पाणावुपयमने ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, हस्ते-पाणौ उपयमने (गतिः कृति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्ते पाणौ इत्येतौ शब्दौ कृति नित्यं गतिसंज्ञो भवत उपयमने ॥

77. The word haste 'in the hand,' pañau 'in the hand' are always and necessarily called gati when used with the verb kri in the sense of 'marriage.'

As पाणौ कृत्य or हस्ते कृत्य having married. But हस्ते कृत्या कार्षपणं गतः he went out having taken in his hand a kârshâpana (a coin).

प्राध्वं बन्धने ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राध्वम्, बन्धने, (गतिः कृति
नित्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राध्वमिति मकारान्तमन्ययमासुकूल्ये वर्तते, तसानुकूल्यं बन्धनहेतुकं बदा भवति
तसापार्थशब्दः कृति नित्यं गतिसंतो भवति ॥

78. The indeclinable word prâdhvam followed by the verb kṛi, is always called gati when used in the sense of binding.'

The word प्राध्वम् ends in म् and means 'favourably suitably.' When however it means 'bound' it is a gati: as, प्राध्वकूरय having bound. But when not meaning to bind, we have :—प्राध्वं कृत्वा चकटं गतः having made the carriage agreeable, he is gone.

जीविकेऽपनिषदाद्यौपस्थे ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ जीविका-उपनिषदौ,
औपस्थे, (गतिः कृति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीविका उपनिषदित्येतौ शब्दो औपस्थे विषये कृति गतिसंतो भवतः ॥

79. The words Jīvikā and upanishad followed by the verb kṛi are called gati when used in the sense of 'likeness or resemblance.'

As जीविकाकूरय having made it as if it was a means of living ; उपनिषद्कूरय—having made it like an upanishad. But जीविकां कृत्वा गतः having made his livelihood he is gone.

ते प्राधातोः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ ते, प्राग्, धातोः, (गतिः
उपसर्गः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ते गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञकाः धातोः प्राग् प्रयोक्तव्याः ॥

80. The particles called gati and upasarga are to be employed before the verbal root: (that is to say, they are prefixes).

The word ते has been employed to include the term उपसर्ग also. The preceding examples all illustrate the application of this rule.

छन्दसि परेऽपि ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, परे, अपि, (गतिः
उपसर्गं प्राप्त) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये गत्युपसर्ग संज्ञकाः परेऽपि पूर्वेषि प्रयोक्तव्याः ॥

81. In the chandas (veda) these gati and upasarga are employed indifferently after the verbal root, as well as before it.

As:—वायविन्द्रध्य सुन्वत आयतमुपनिष्ठतम् ॥ महित्यथा पित्या गता (Rig. I. 2. 6).

In this we have आयातम् instead of उपायतम् 'vayu and thou Indra, ye heroes, come ye both quickly to the soma of the worshipper by this sincere prayer.'

व्यवहिताश्च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यवहिताः, च, (ग ० स ०
छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवहिताश्च गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञकाः छन्दसि इत्यन्ते ॥

82. In the chandas (veda) these gati and upasarga are also seen separated from the verb by intervening words.

As.—इन्द्र वायु इने सुता उप प्रयोगिरागतम् ॥ इनशो वा मुशन्तिहि (Rig. 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 आगत by the intervening word प्रयोगिः.

KARMA PRAVACHANIYA.

कर्मप्रवचनीयाः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मप्रवचनीयाः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यानित कर्मप्रवचनीयामः कर्मप्रवचनीय संज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

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-pravachanīya.

These particles govern a substantive and qualify a verb and differ from other particles termed upasarga and gati. As सुस्तुतं भवता well praised by you. सु सिन्कं भवता you have sprinkled. Here सु is a karma pravachanīya 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 स into ष (VIII. 3. 65). The term karma pravachanīya is a big term compared with other technical terms such as, दि, षि, शु &c., which generally do not exceed more than two syllables. The word karmapravachanīya is not however merely a technical term; it contains within itself a definition of itself. It means that which qualifies or speaks about (प्रोक्तवन्त) an action (कर्म) is so called.

अनुरुक्षणे ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुः लक्षणे, (कर्मप्रवचनीयाः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अमुशब्दो लक्षणे योत्ये कर्मप्रवचनीयसंतो भवति ॥

84. The word anu when it denotes a sign, is called karma-pravachanīya.

The word lakṣhaṇa 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 अपमनु प्रावर्षत् it rained

after or in consequence of the muttering of prayers. To put it in other words, *anu* is a *karmapravachniya* when it governs the word which indicates the cause or the attendant circumstance of an action.

So also शाकज्ञस्य संहितामनु प्राप्तर्थः—शाकस्येन सुकृतं संहितामनुनिश्चम्य हेतुः प्राप्तर्थः. The God (clouds) rained having listened to the well performed reading, by Śākalya. The force of a *karmapravachaniya*, therefore, when fully analysed 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 संहिता is in the accusative case, apparently governed by the preposition मनु, but really governed by the verb अनुनिश्चम्य understood.

So also अनुदृष्ट अग्नमन्वसिच्चत्. The Taurus sprinkled water after the sacrifice, अग्नस्यमन्वर्तिंचत् प्रजाः: the people began sprinkling water after the rising of the canopus.

Why make unnecessarily this *sūtra*, when अनु would have been called *karma parvachaniya* even by force of *sūtra* go following, where also the word *lakṣaṇa* occurs? This is for the sake of indicating that the *karmapravachaniyas* should always govern the accusative case (II. 3. 8) even in expressing हेतु (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 परत्वा I. 3. 2: and would have caused a *karama pravachaniya* to govern an Instrumental case where the sense was that of *hetu*.

दृतीयार्थे ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृतीया-अर्थे, (अनुः कर्मप्र०) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुराग्व स्त्रीपार्थे योत्ये कर्मवचनीयसंक्षेपे भवति ॥

85. The word *anu* is *karma-pravachanlya* when it has the force of the third case.

The meaning of अनु in this case will be that of 'with' or along with. As नवीमनु अवसिता सेना the army lying along side the river. पर्वतमनु अवसिता सेना lying along the slopes of the mountain.

हीने ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हीने, (अनुः कर्मप्र०) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हीने योत्येऽयमनुः कर्म प्रवचनीय संक्षेपे भवति ॥

86. The word *anu* is *karma pravachanlya* 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 अनु governs the person to which others are inferior, in the accusative case. As अनुशाकटायनं वैयाकरणः 'all grammarians are inferior to Śākalya.'

उपोधिके च ॥ ८७ ॥ उप, अधिके, च, (हीने कर्म प्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपशब्दः अधिके हीने च योर्ये कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

— 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 उप खार्यं श्वेषः a Drona is above a khāri. उप निष्ठे कार्यापयः a karshapana is more than a Nishka. In this sense उप governs the Locative of the thing which is inferior (II. 3. 9). So also उप शकदायनं दैयाकरणः 'all grammarians are inferior to Śakatāyana.' In this sense उप governs the accusative case.

अप परी वर्जने ॥ ८८ ॥ अप-परी, वर्जने, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप परी शब्दो वर्जने योर्ये कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवतः ॥

88. The words apa and pari are karma-pravachaniya when meaning 'exclusion.'

The force of अप and परि is in this case that of 'with the exception of.' As अपनिगतेऽभ्यो वृष्टो देवः it rained outside of or with the exception of Trigarta. So also परि निगतेऽयो वृष्टो देवः. 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 शोदरं परिषिद्धति. He waters the rice. Here it is an upasarga, and hence changes the स into च.

आङ् मर्यादा वचने ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्, मर्यादा-वचने, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाङ् इत्येषशब्दः मर्यादावचने कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

89. The word āñ 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 वचन in the text shows that both sorts of limits are here meant. As आपातनिपुच्छाद् वृष्टो देवः it rained as far as (but excluding) Pātaliputra आपातनिपुच्छ वृष्टो देवः it rained as far as (including) Pātaliputra आपातनिपुच्छः पापिनेः आसांकाश्यात्, आ मयुरायाः when it means 'little' or is a verbal prefix it does not get this name.

लक्षणेत्यस्मृताल्यानभागवीप्सासुप्रति पर्यनवः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥
लक्षण-इत्थं भूताल्यान-भाग-वीप्सासु, प्रति-परि-अनवः, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणे इत्थं भूताल्याने भागे वीप्सायां च विषयभूतादौ प्रति परि स्तु इत्थेते कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

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) वृक्षं प्रति-परि or अनु विद्योतते विद्युत् ‘the lightening is flashing in the direction of the tree.’ (2) साधुरेवदत्तो मातरं प्रति—परि = अनु ‘Devadatta is a good man as regards his mother.’ (3) हरं प्रति हन्नाहनं ‘the poison fell to the share of Hara.’ यदन्माणं प्रति स्थात् that it may fall to my share. So with परि and अनु. (4) वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रति सिञ्चति he sprinkles one tree after another. So with परि and अनु.

अभिरभागे ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिः, अभागे (लक्षण इत्य-
मूताख्यात कर्मपूर्व) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणादिष्वेद भागवर्जितेष्वभिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

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 वृक्षाभि विद्योतते; मातरमभि &c. But it is not *karma-pravachaniya* when भाग is meant. भाग means the share which is allotted to one as his own. As यदभमाभि व्यात् वह दीयताम् give that which falls here to my share. Here *abhi* is an upasarga, and therefore स of स्व is changed into ए.

प्रतिः प्रतिनिधि पूतिदानयोः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूतिः, पूति-
निधि-पूतिदानयोः, (कर्मपूर्व) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिनिधिविषये प्रतिशाने विषये च प्रतिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

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 प्रतिनिधि. Giving in return for what is obtained, is प्रतिशान. As अभिमन्युरजुनतः प्रति Abhi-manyu is the representative of Arjuna. माषानस्ते तिजेभ्यः प्रतिवच्छङ्गति he exchanges Māshas for these sesamum. In these senses *prati* governs the Ablative (II. 3. 11).

अधिपरी अनर्थकौ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधि-परी, अनर्थकौ,
(कर्मप्र॒र) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधि परी उन्हो अनर्थकौ अनर्थान्तरवाचिनौ कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवतः ॥

93. The words adhi and pari are karma-pravachanīya when used as mere expletives.

As कुतोऽयागच्छति whence has he come? or कुरु पर्यं गच्छति. These words though mere surplusages, have been called karma-pravachanīya so that they may not get the designation of upasarga or gati and thus produce results peculiar to those words.

सुः पूजायाम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुः, पूजायाम्, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु शब्दः पूजायामये कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

94. The word su is karma-pravachanīya in the sense of respect, (when it means 'excellently').

As सुचिन्तं भवता, सु स्तुतं भवता excellently sprinkled by your honor. Well praised by your honor. By not being an upasarga, it does not change the ए into ए (VIII. 3. 65).

Why do we say 'when respect is meant'? Observe सुचिन्तं किं तवाम् has this your place been well sprinkled to-day.

अतिरिक्तमणेष ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतिः, अति क्रमणे, च, (कर्मप्र० पूजायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अति शब्दः अतिक्रमणे चकारात् पूजायांच कर्म प्रवचनीय संतो भवति ॥

95. The word ati in the sense of super-abundance ('excessively') and 'excellently' is karma-pravachanīya.

The word अतिक्रमण means to do more than what is necessary for the accomplishment of an object. The force of अ in the aphorism is to draw in the word पूजायाम् from the last. As अतिस्तुतमिव भवता. It has abundantly been sprinkled by your honor, अतिस्तुतमिव भवता so also अतिस्तुतं भवता excellently praised by your honor. अति सिन्तं भवता .

अपि: पदार्थं संभावनान्ववसर्गं गह्यांसमुच्चयेषु ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥
अपि:, पदार्थ-संभावन-अन्ववसर्ग-गह्या-समुच्चयेषु (कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदार्थे संभावने अन्ववसर्गे गह्यांसं समुच्चये च वर्तमानः अपि: कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

96. The word api is karma-pravachanīya, when it implies, the sense of word understood ('some-what') 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 पर्याप्ति means the sense of another word which is not expressed but has to be supplied. As सर्विषोऽपि स्यात् there may be perhaps a drop of ghee मधुनोऽपि स्यात्. Here some word like vindu 'a drop,' stoka 'a little' mātrā 'a measure &c., has to be understood. The word संभावना means possibility, a supposition. As, अपि सिंचेत् मूजकसहस्रं ज्ञानैकेन possibly may sprinkle a thousand trees in one moment; अपि स्तुयाद् राजान् he may praise possibly, a king. In the above cases it is used with the potential mood. अन्वसर्ग 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 अपि सिंच यू may sprinkle if you like. अपि स्तुहि you may praise if you like. The word गर्ही means censure, contempt or reproof. As धिग्जाल्यं देवदत्तमपि सिंचेत् पञ्चाण्डम्. The word समुच्चय means cumulative. As अपि स्तुहि—भपि सिंच praise as well as sprinkle.

In all the above instances, the word not being an upasarga, does not change the स into अ.

अपिरीश्वरे ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिः, ईश्वरे । (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईश्वरः स्वामी सच स्वमपेक्षत । सदयं स्वस्वामि संवन्धः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंतो 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. Sometime locative of the person possessing, sometime locative of the property possessed: as अपि प्रदादस्ते पञ्चालाः or अपि पञ्चालेषु प्रदादत्तः. Brahmadatta rules over Panchālas.

विभाषा रुप्ति ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, रुप्ति कर्मप्र० अधिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपि करोति विभाषा कर्मप्रवचनीयसंतो भवति ॥

98. The word adhi is optionally karma pravachaniya when the verb क्रि follows.

As यदन्न मानभि करिष्यति. Here the word अपि may be treated either as a गति or a कर्मप्रवचनीय. When it is a गति the accent will be regulated by S. VIII. 1. 71; otherwise not.

लः परस्मैपदम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लः, परस्मैपदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लारेश्वरः परस्मैपदसंहा भवन्ति ॥

99. The substitutes of ज्ञ are called parasmaipada.

The word लः is in the genitive case, and means 'of ज्ञ.' The word भावेश्वर 'substitutes' must be supplied to complete the sense. The term लः is a generic word for verb in general, viz., लद्, लिद् लुद् लद्, लेद् जोद्, लह् लिह् लुह् लह्: The substitutes of ज्ञ are the well known personal terminations by which the verbs are conjugated in those tenses. Namely the following.

PARASMAIPADA.

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st Pers.	मि॒	मि॒	मि॒
2nd Pers.	सि॒	य॒	य॒
3rd Pers.	ति॒	त॒	ति॒

And the affixes शब् and क्षम् (III. 2. 107, and 124, and III. 4. 78).

तडानाबात्मनेपदम् ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ तड्-आनी आत्मनेपदम्,
(लः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेण परस्मै पदसंज्ञार्था प्रात्मार्था तडानयोरात्मनेपदसंज्ञा विभीयते ॥

100. The nine affixes comprised under the Pratyâhâra tan and the two ending in âna (Sânach and Kânach), which are substitutes of ज्ञ are called Atmanepada.

The following are the Atmanepada affixes :—

Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st इ॒	वहि॒	वहिह्॒
2nd थ॒	थायाम्॒	थाम्॒
3rd त॒	थाताम्॒	ताम्॒

And the affixes शामच् and कानच् (III. 2. 106).

तिङ्गस्त्रीणि श्रीणि प्रथम मध्यमोत्तमाः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङ्गः ,
श्रीणि , श्रीणि , प्रथम , मध्यम , उत्तमाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङ्गोऽष्टावश्म प्रस्त्ययाः नव परस्त्वैपह संहकाः प्रवाल्पनेपरसंहकाः तचपरस्त्वैपदेषु
प्रयत्निकाः यथाक्रमम् प्रथममध्यमोत्तमवत्तमा भवन्ति । भास्मने परेष्वपि प्रयत्निकाः प्रथममध्यमोत्तमवत्तमा
भवन्ति ॥

101. The three triads in both the sets Parasmaipada and Atmanepada, of conjugational affixes (comprised under the general name *tin*, a *pratyâhâra* formed of the first and last of them, viz., tip and *mahiñ*) 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.

तान्येकवचन द्विवचन बहुवचनान्येकशः ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥
तानि , एकवचन-द्विवचन-बहुवचनानि एकशः , (श्रीणि २) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तान्येकवचन द्विवचन बहुवचन संज्ञानि भवन्ति एकशः एकैकं परम् ॥

102. These three triads of conjugational affixes, which have received the name 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.

सुपः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपः, (श्रीणि २ एकवचन द्विवचन बहु-
वचनानि एकशः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुपश श्रीणि श्रीणि पदानि एकश एकवचन द्विवचन बहुवचन संज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

103. Of sup (which is a *Pratyâhâra* 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.

विभक्तिं ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभक्तिः , च , (त्रीणि २ सुपः तिङः) ॥

यूनिः ॥ त्रीणि भीणि विभक्ति संज्ञात्वा भवन्ति सुपस्तिङ्गम् ॥

104. The triads of conjugational affixes and case affixes are also called vibhakti or Inflective affixes.

The word विभक्ति means a complete triad. Thus सत्त्वी विभक्ति means the three affixes of the seventh case, i. e., the locative singular, dual, and plural. So प्रथमा विभक्ति means the third person, singular, dual, and plural.

युष्मद्युपपदे समानाधिकरणे स्थानिन्यपि मध्यमः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥
युष्मदि , उपपदे , समान-अधिकरणे , स्थानिनि , अपि , मध्यमः ॥

यूनिः ॥ युष्मद्युपपदे सति व्यवहिते चाव्यवहिते सति समानाधिकरणे समानाभिषेदे तुल्ब-
कारके स्थानिनि प्रयुज्यमाने प्रयुज्यमाने एवि मःयम पुरुषो भवति ॥

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 त्वं पचसि thou cookest or पचसि; युश्मा पचयः or पचयः you two are cooking; यूयं पचय or पचय you cook.

प्रहासे च मन्योपपदे मन्यतेरुत्तम एकवच्च ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥
प्रहासे , च , मन्य-उपपदे , मन्यतेः , उत्तमः , एकवत् , च , (मध्यमः) ॥

यूनिः ॥ प्रहासे गम्यमाने मन्योपपदे धातो मन्यमपुरुषो भवति , मन्यतेश्वेत्तमः स चैक वद्यति ॥

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 प्रहास means joke, sport. As एवं मन्ये ओइनं भोद्धवे इति; नहि भौद्धयसे, भुक्तः स्तोर्तिपिभिः. Thus thou thinkest 'I shall eat rice,' thou shalt not eat, that has been eaten by a guest. एहि मन्ये रथेन यास्वयिति नहि यास्वयिति, यास्वस्तेन से 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, एहि मन्यसे ओइनं भोद्धवे. Thus thou thinkest 'I shall eat rice.'

अस्मद्युक्तमः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्मदि, उत्तमः, (उपपदे समानाधिकरणे स्थानिन्यपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मद्युपपदे समानाधिकरणे प्रयुक्त्यमाने व्यप्रयुक्त्यमाने एषि उत्तमपुरुषो भवति ॥

107. When the pronoun asmad "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 भहं पचामि I cook, or merely पचामि-प्लावा पचामः or merely पचामः.

शेषे प्रथमः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे प्रथमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यन् युज्जस्मदी समानाधिकरणे उपपदे न स्तः तनशेषे प्रथमपुरुषो 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 पचति he cooks, पचतः they two cook. पचन्ति they cook.

परः संनिकर्षः संहिता, ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ परः संनिकर्षः, संहिता ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परो वः सनिकर्षे वर्णाना मर्द्दमाचाकालव्यवधानं संहितासंज्ञो भवति ॥

109. The closest proximity of letters, there being the intervention of half a मात्रा or prosodial length between them, is called contact or sanhitā.

When words are in sanhita, they are glued together by the rules of sandhi. As एक्षुण्ड = एषि + षुण्ड.

विरामो अवसानम् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ विरामः अवसानम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विरति विरामः । विरन्वते अनेनेति वा विरामः । सोऽवसानसंज्ञो भवति ॥

110. The cessation or the absence of succeeding letters is called pause or avasâna.

The word avasâna occurs in sûtras VIII. 3. 15 &c.



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