



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

Ind L
3451
2.19

BOOK VII.

The

ASHTADHYAYI

of

PANINI.

PARTS XXV—XXVIII.

S. C. VASU

Price Rs 3.

OPINIONS OF DISTINGUISHED PROFESSORS OF SANSKRIT.

Professor Max Müller, Oxford, 9th February, 1892.— * * From what I have seen of it, it will be a very useful work. What should I have given for such a work forty years ago when I puzzled my head over Pānini's Sūtras and the Commentaries. * * * I hope you may succeed in finishing your work.*

Professor Gopalji S. Desai, Rajkot in Kathiawar, 20th February, 1892.— * * The first part that has already been out before the Public shows clearly that the author has spared no pains to make the translation as exact and pithy as possible. The work when completed will no doubt claim a high place amongst the best works by European scholars on Sanskrit Grammar. The paper, printing and the general get-up of the book are excellent.*

Professor T. Jolly, Ph. D., Würzburg, (Germany), 23rd April, 1893.— * * Nothing could have been more gratifying to me, no doubt, than to get hold of a trustworthy translation of Pānini's Ashtādhyāyī, the standard work of Sanskrit literature, and I shall gladly do my best to make this valuable work known to lovers and students of the immortal literature of ancient India in this country.*

Professor W. D. Whitney, New Haven, U. S. A., 17th June, 1893.— * * The work seems to me to be very well planned and executed, doing credit to the translator and publisher. It is also, in my opinion, very valuable undertaking, as it does to give the European student of the native grammar more help than he can find anywhere else. It ought to have a good sale in Europe (and correspondingly in America).*

Professor V. Fausböl, Copenhagen, 15th June, 1893.— * * It appears to me to be a splendid production of Indian industry and scholarship, and I value it particularly on account of the extracts from the Kasika.*

Professor Dr. R. Pischel, Hlale (Saale), 27th May, 1893.— * * I have gone through it and find it an extremely valuable and useful book, all the more so, as there are very few Sanskrit scholars in Europe who understand Pānini.*

Pandit Lalchandra Vidyabhaskar, M. R. A. S. (London), Guru to H. H. the Maharaja of Jodhpur.

स्वस्तीभ्यो हितपुरे हितरे प्रयागे सत्संगमप्रणयसंमतिदे तुधानां ।
विद्याविनोदवरिच्छित्तुभुयारान् बास्त्वन्वयाऽङ्गिरशचन्द्रविशांवरिष्टान् ॥ १ ॥
हृष्टातिमेदमुद्दिरोहमुक्तप्रशन्तीन् सच्छास्त्रशाधितसुखास्पदबोधमाजः ।
सम्यक्लसंतु नत्योनितराम्भीवा: यद्यावृक्कविकर्त्तांतरेभ्यः ॥ २ ॥
हृष्टाकृतं विमलबोधनवोधराणी सद्याकृतिप्रथितकीर्तिकरंप्रशस्त्य ।
बद्धामीरायमतिमेदवहं वरेण्यं सत्पुस्तकं प्रमुदितोहमहोचकृत्य ॥ ३ ॥
चित्रवदस्ति भवतेऽग्निशब्दोधमाजा यद्यस्तुतो विरचितं समवृक्तुसुविम्ब ।
लोकेऽसुविचरणनाभरपैकशीला ग्रिब्देऽचित्रमनसः प्रतिबिवमाजे ॥ ४ ॥
सत्संगिलशप्रकावितंवरसूचवृत्तौ संज्ञाविपेशलमनो कुहकल्पसार्थ ।
स्थानेवसुप्रहितवित्ताविवृत्तिवै यद्यासुतासुविहिनोग्निशब्दावृत्तिः ॥ ५ ॥
थेनत्वया मुनिमताद्वातशास्त्रसंघान् निर्मध्यसौधरसवन्महतादरेण ।
संगुम्फितं सरलसंस्कृतसाध्यसारं धन्यं दशम्यहमलं भवते हिताद्य ॥ ६ ॥
अन्यस्यव्यप्तसरणाख्यलक्षितिकृत्य याच्चेपराङ्गवतोप्यहमविद्वन् ।
यत्पूर्वपश्चिममुरेद्यशुसदाप्रचारं लाभंसुखेणुरुचिरं च तवापि धीमन् ॥ ७ ॥
वाणोविशम्बरतवास्तुमुखे जयोद्या यत्पूर्वपर्मधमज्जोधधृते च विद्या ।
ख्यातस्सदातकल वर्धभूजां समूहऽन्याशीर्वद्धा भवतु पदित लालचन्द्रं ॥ ८ ॥



Harvard College
Library

THE BEQUEST OF

Charles R. Lanman
PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT
1880-1926

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

The Indian Union, (Allahabad), 26th November, 1891.— * * The original Text and Commentaries, carefully edited with English notes and explanations, bespeak of much diligence, care and ability; and those of the English-reading public who have a taste for Sanskrit cannot be too thankful to Babu Sris Chandra for offering them so easy an access to the intricate regions reigned over by that Master Grammarian. * * * We recommend this book to all English-knowing lovers of the Sanskrit Language.*

The Tribune, (Lahore), 9th December, 1891.— * * The translator has spared no pains in preparing a translation which may place Pāṇini's celebrated work within the comprehension of people not deeply read in Sanskrit. The paper, printing and the general get-up of the book before us are admirable, and considering the size of the book (it is estimated to extend 2000 pages) the price appears to be extremely moderate.*

The Amrita Bazar Patrika, (Calcutta), 18th December, 1891.— * * Judging from the first part before us, we must say that Babu Sris Chandra has succeeded well in the difficult work of translation, which seems to us to be at once lucid, full and exact. It is no exaggeration to say that Babu Sris Chandra's translation, when completed, will claim a prominent place among similar works by European Sanskrit Scholars.*

The Hope, (Calcutta), 20th December, 1891.— * * The get-up of the publication is of a superior order, and the contents display considerable pains-taking on the part of the translator.*

The Arya Patrika, (Lahore), 22nd December, 1891.— * * The talented Babu has rendered a great service to the cause of Sanskrit literature by producing the sort of translation he is engaged upon. * * * His effort is most laudable and deserves every encouragement.*

Karnatak Patra, (Dharwar), 7th February, 1892.— * * Mr. Vasu gives ample proof of his competency to undertake the work which is not an easy task even to learned Sanskritists.*

The Punjab Times, (Rawalpindi), 17th February, 1892.— * * Babu Sris Chandra is well-known for his scholarly attainments. He has done the translation in a lucid and clear English. We can strongly recommend it to those who wish to study Sanskrit Grammar through the medium of English.*

The Mandalay Herald, 31st December, 1891.— * * Students and readers of classic language of India are much indebted to the learned Pandit for his translation of this scientific work on the grammar and philology of the Sanskrit language.*

The Arya Darpan, (Shahjahanpur,) February, 1892.— * * Such a work has been a desideratum. It is well got up, and praiseworthy. We wish it every success.*

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS (*continued*).

The Allahabad Review, January, 1892.—* * * The translator has done his work conscientiously and faithfully. The translation of such a work into English, therefore, cannot but be a great boon to all students of the science of language and of Sanskrit literature in special. The translator deserves the help of the Government and the Chiefs of India.

The Maharatta (Poona), 4th July, 1893.—* * * If we may judge from the first part which lies before us, it will prove a very valuable help to the student of Pāṇini. * * So far as it goes it is creditably performed, and therefore deserves patronage from all students of Sanskrit and the Education Department.

Indian Mirror (Calcutta), 17th March, 1894.—* * * The manner in which the publication is being pushed through, speaks volumes in favour of the learning and patriotism of its editor, Babu Sris Chandra Vasu. The whole work when completed will be an invaluable guide to the study of Sanskrit literature and especially to the English speaking students of the Sanskrit language.

Lucifer (London), March 1896.—* * * We are pleased to find that the translation is clear and easy and the extracts from the Kāshika are not only very numerous but also valuable. The large number of references to the preceding sūtras for the formation of 'padas' will save much time and trouble, and obviate a difficulty which discourages many from the study of Pāṇini. Indeed the English translation of the grammar could rightly be called "Pāṇini Made Easy." * * * It can be recommended as of great importance, not only to all who wish to have a general knowledge of Pāṇini but also to the few who desire to master the great grammar thoroughly and enjoy all its benefits.

RATES OF SUBSCRIPTION

Payable in advance, for the complete work, including postage.

Indian	Rs. 20 0 0
Foreign	£ 2 0 0

Payable by instalments, per volume, excluding postage.

Indian	Rs. 8 0 0
Foreign	£ 0 6 0

Payable at the end of publication, for the complete work, excluding postage.

Indian	Rs. 30 0 0
Foreign	£ 3 0 0

All communications to be addressed to

SINDHU CHARAN BASU,

PUBLISHER OF PANINI,

Benares Cantonment,

N.-W. P., India.

The Tara Printing Works, Benares.

NOTICE.

The Eighth Volume is in the Press, and will be out soon. Any suggestions regarding Index, Introduction &c, will be thankfully received. In a voluminous work like this, issued during the leisure hours of an over-worked service it has not been always possible to avoid mistakes of printing &c. The readers who may have come across them will oblige the translator by communicating them to him.

MANAGER.

BOOK VII.

THE

ASHTÁDHYÁYI OF PÁNINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

SRISA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,

Provincial Civil Service, N. W. P.

—
BENARES:

PUBLISHED BY SINDHU CHARAN BOSE,

at the Panini Office,

—
1897.

(All Rights Reserved.)

Trd - 312 . 2.19

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

LATE CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES

THIS WORK

IS,

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

IN

THESE PROVINCES,

Dedicated

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT

THE TRANSLATOR.

Chowhan

ओ३म् ।

अथ सप्तमाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER FIRST.

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

यूतिः ॥ यु इत्यत्योरस्तृष्णिशेषण्वोरगूनासिक्याणः प्रस्थवयोर्भिरहं तयोः स्थाने वथासहस्र्य मन अक
इत्यतावादेषी भवतः ।

Kārikā युवोरेह द्विस्त्रिर्हेषो द्विल्लेघण्टु प्रसउते । अथ चेरेकवद्वादः कथ पुंवद्वेदयम् ॥

द्विल्लेनैगमिको लोप एकल्ले तुमनित्यता । आशिष्यत्वाद्वि लिङ्गस्य पुंस्त्वं देहि समाप्तिम् ।

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

यु and यु are taken here as stripped of all other indicatory letters, and the semi-vowels are also to be understood to have been nasalised. The अन replaces यु, and अक replaces यु ॥ Thus ल्यु (III. 1. 134) = अन, as मन + ल्यु = नन्नः रमणः ॥ So also व्यु and व्युऽ (IV. 3. 23), as सावंतनः, विरंतनः ॥ यु we find in व्युऽ (III. 1. 133), as कृ+व्युऽ = कारकः, हारकः ॥ So also युऽ (IV. 3. 98) as वाम्पुरेकः, अर्जुनकः ॥

Why do we say nasalised यु and यु? Observe कर्णावा युऽ (V. 2. 123) Here the यु is not replaced by अन, and we have कर्णायुः ॥ So also in शुजिष्ठूभ्यां युक्तस्यौकौ ॥ Here the यु of युक्त and युक्त (Uṇ III. 21) are not replaced by अन; as शुज्युः and युत्युः ॥ In the affixes above mentioned, the semi-vowel is not considered to have the nasal. There are no visible marks of nasality on any affixes, but the maxim is शतिशानुनासिक्याः पाणिनीयाः ॥

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

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

आयनेयीनीयियः फट्कच्छधां प्रत्ययादनिम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ आयन्-ए॒र्ण॑
ई॒र्ण॑-ए॒र्ण॑, फ॑-ट॑-ख॑-छ॑-धाम्, प्रस्त्यय-आदिनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आयन् ए॒र्ण॑ ई॒र्ण॑ ई॒र्ण॑ इत्येते भावेशा भवन्ति वयासंख्यं फ॑ ट॑ ख॑ छ॑ ध॑ इत्येतेषां प्रस्त्यवासीनाम् ।

2. आयन्, for फ॑, ए॒र्ण॑ for ट॑, ई॒र्ण॑ for ख॑, ई॒र्ण॑ for छ॑, and ई॒र्ण॑ for ध॑, are substituted, when these consonants stand in the beginning of an affix.

Thus फ॑क् (IV. 1. 99)=आयन, as न॒ह॑+फ॑क्=नाडायनः, चारायणः ॥ ट॑क् (IV. 1. 120)=ए॒र्ण॑ as सौपर्णेयः, वैनतेयः ॥ ख॑ (IV. 1. 139) ई॒र्ण॑, as आक्ष्यकुलीनः, शोभियकुलीनः ॥ छ॑ (IV. 2. 114)=ई॒र्ण॑, as गार्गीयः, वास्त्वीयः ॥ ध॑ (IV. 1. 138)=इ॒र्ण॑, as क्षिदिवः ॥

Why do we say 'of an *affix*'? Observe फ॑क्ति, ट॑क्ति, ख॑म्भि and छ॑म्भि, where these consonants are in the beginning of a *root*. Why do we say 'in the beginning'? Observe उ॒रुरुष्, आ॒रुरुष्, where ष is in the *middle* of the affix; and remains consequently unchanged.

These आयन &c, substitutions should be understood to have taken place at the very time the affixes फ॑क् &c, are taught, and these substitutions being made, the rule of accent, which makes an affix acute on the first syllable, applies. Thus ख॑ is not acute, but ई॒र्ण॑ of ई॒र्ण॑ substituted for it. Similarly in IV. 4. 117, the affix taught is घ॑च् with an indicatory च॑, showing that the final of the affix ई॒र्ण॑ will be acute (VI. 1. 163), and not of घ॑, for घ॑ would have been acute by the general rule affix.

In श॑मे॒र्ण॑ः (U॑ I. 99), श॑मे॒र्ण॑ः (U॑ I. 102), the affixes र्ण॑ and श॑ remain unchanged, and we have श॑र्ण॑ः, and श॑र्ण॑ः ॥ This is explained on the maxim of उपादाने वहुलम् (III. 3. 1). In the sūtra फ॑त्तरीव॑ह् (III. 1. 29), the affix ई॒र्ण॑ has been taught and not छ॑क्, this shows that the rule of substitution herein taught does not apply to the affixes to be added to the verbal roots. Thus ए॒र्ण॑ः ल॑क् (III. 2. 28), प॑रुज्जित्प॑स्य॑श॑ घ॑म् (III. 3. 16). Here the ल॑ and घ॑ are not be replaced by ई॒र्ण॑ and ई॒र्ण॑ ॥ In fact, they cannot be regarded as affixes, but only as ई॒र्ण॑ or servile letters. By I. 3. 8, the gutturals are ई॒र्ण॑ except in Taddhita: therefore, the substitutions take place in Taddhita affixes, where the ल॑ and घ॑ are not ई॒र्ण॑ ॥

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

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

शो अन्तः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वः, अन्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्यावयवस्थ इत्यवयमारेषो भवति ॥

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

The word प्रत्यय is understood here, but not so the word आदिः ॥ Thus श्वि becomes आन्ति and श् becomes अन्त (III. 4. 78). As कुर्वन्ति, मुन्वन्ति and चिन्वन्ति, so also शायन्ते, the लेद् of शीश् ॥ Thus शी + लेद् = शी + शष् + आद् + श् (III. 4. 54) = शी + शष् + आ + श् (III. 4. 79) = शी + शष् + आ + शै (III. 4. 96) = शी + शष् + आ + अन्ते (VII. 1. 3) = शी + आ + अन्ते = शायन्ते (after guna) : as अथ इतो विजगिष्वमाणाः पतिभिः सह शायन्ते ॥ So also in the Uṇadi affix श्वश् (Uṇ III. 126) : as शृ + श्वश् = अन्तैः, वेश्वन्तः ॥ This substitution does not take place when श् is not part of an affix: as उभ्यस्ता, उभ्यस्तुम्, उभ्यस्तव्यम् ॥ Here also the accent falls on the substitute, according as it is चित् or otherwise. Thus the substitute अन्तैः of श् is first-acute by the rule III. 1. 3; but the substitute अन्तैः of श्वश् is final acute because of the indicatory श् (VI. 1. 763) ॥

अद्भ्यस्तात् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्, अभ्यस्तात्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तासङ्गादुत्तरस्य शकारस्य अवित्यवयमारेषो भवति ॥

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

As ईति, इतु, इधि, इधुः अस्ति, अस्तु; आस्ति, आस्तु ॥ This अत् is replaced by श्वस्, as अस्तुः, अस्तुः ॥ Here also the accent will be on the firstsyllable of the substitute. Thus ईति, अत्, ईते, ईतु, ईसाश् in the subsequent sūtras. The accent of the reduplicates, however, is governed by VI. 1. 189, (अभ्यस्तानामादिः) ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु यो शकारस्तस्यानकारान्तासङ्गादुत्तरस्वादित्यवयमारेषो भवति ॥

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

Thus चिन्वते, चिन्वताम्, अचिन्वत ; लुनते, लुनताम्, अलुनत ॥ Why in the Atmanepada? Observe चिन्वन्ति, लुनन्ति ॥ Why "when not preceded by an अ" ? Observe च्यवन्ते, लवन्ते, in which, though the roots are च्यु and ल्वु, they assume the form च्यव and लव when the Vikarana शष् is added; the vikaraṇa is added first, because it is nitya ; and then the substitution of अन्त or अत् for श्, as the case may be. The word अन्तः qualifies श्, the श् should be *immediately* preceded by a stem ending in a non-अ ; if some other letter intervenes, the rule will not apply. Thus from शी—शायन्ते, here between शी and श्, intervenes the augment आद्, therefore श् is not preceded by a stem ending in non-अ, but by आद् ॥

शीङ्गो रुद् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शीङ्गः, रुट् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शीङ्गादुपरस्य शारेशस्यातो रुदागमो भवति ॥

6. The अत् substitute of श्, gets the augment रुद्, after the root शी ॥

Thus शेरते, शेरात्, शेरत ॥ The augment र् is added at the beginning of the affix, making अत्=रत् ॥ Had this र् been an augment of श्, then like the आ॒ augment in शावान्ते, it would have intervened between the शी and श्, and श् not immediately following a non-श् stem, अत् would not have been substituted for श् at all. Therefore रुट् is made the augment of the *substitute* अत्, and not of श् ॥ The root शी is read in the sūtra with its anubandha र् in order to indicate, that there is no रुद् augment when there is elision of the Intensive affix शह्, nor any Guṇa. As व्यति शेषते ॥

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

दितपा शपातुबन्धेन निर्तिं यद्यजेन च ।
यथेकाश् यहं थेव पञ्चैतानि न यहलुकिः ॥

"These five sorts of operations will not apply to Intensive-yañ-luk forms : 1. When the simple root is exhibited in the sūtra with दितप् as श् in VII. 4. 73 is shown as भवति ॥ In Intensive, the perfect will be दोभवाभूचकार and not दभवाभूचकार ॥ 2. Where the root is exhibited with शए्, as the root श् in VII. 2. 49 is shown as भर ॥ There is रुद् after the Desiderative of simple root but not in Intensive. 3. When a simple root is exhibited with an anubandha, as शीह् here. 4. Where a gaṇa is mentioned in a rule, as इवन् is taught after Divādi-roots (III. 1. 69). It will apply to simple roots of Divādi gaṇa, and not to their Intensive. 5. Lastly, where the word एकाश् is used in a sūtra. As VII. 2. 10. That rule will apply to एकाश् simple roots and not to their Intensives.

वेत्तेविभाषा ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेत्तेः, विभाषा ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वेत्तेरहादुपरस्य शारेशस्यातो विभाषा रुदागमो भवति ॥

7. The अत् substitute of श् optionally gets the augment रुद् after the verbal stem विद् (वेत्ति) ॥

As संविद्वते or संविद्रते ; संविदताम् or संविद्रताम् ; समविदत or समविद्रत ॥ The विद् is the Adādi root here, and does not apply to विन्ते, विन्वासे, विन्वते, which belongs to the Rudhādi class (विद् विचारणे) ॥

There is no augment in यहलुक here also, as व्यतिवेदिते ॥

वहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वहुलम्, छन्दसि, (रुद्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विष्वे वहुलं रुदागमो भवति ॥

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

Thus वेदा अदु॒ह ; गन्धर्वा अप्सरसो अदु॒ह ॥ Here अदु॒ह is the Imperfect (लहू) plural of दु॒ह ॥ Thus दु॒ह+सा = दु॒ह+एत् = अदु॒ह, the त् being elided by VII. I. 41. Sometimes, the augment does not take place, as अदु॒हत ॥ Owing to the word वहूल, 'diversely', the augment ए is added to other affixes also, than सा ॥ As अदश्मम् in अदश्मस्य केतवः ॥ This is the aorist in अहू of the root दु॒ह by III. I. 57, the guṇa ordained by VII. 4. 16, does not 'diversely' take place.

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

वृ॒सिः ॥ अकापन्ताशङ्कादु॒स्त्रव भिस् ऐसित्यब नावेषी भवति ॥
Kārikā ॥ एत्य भिसि परत्वावेषत ऐस्त्रव भविष्यति । कुतेष्वेष्ये भौतपूर्वादेस्तु नित्यस्तथा सति ॥

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

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

The form अतिज्ञरसैः illustrates some important principles of grammar. असि + ज्ञर = (ज्ञरामतिज्ञकान्नः) अतिज्ञर (अ being shortened by I. 2. 48). The word अतिज्ञर ends in अ, and therefore forms its Ins. pl. by ऐस् ॥ Thus अतिज्ञर + ऐस् ॥ Now we apply VII. 2. 101, which says for ज्ञर is substituted ज्ञरू before vowel-beginning case-endings. It should not be objected, that the substitution is ordained for ज्ञर and not ज्ञर; for the maxim एकशेषाविकृतमनन्यवद् भवति (a tail-less dog is still a dog) applies here. Having made this substitution, we get अतिज्ञरसैः ॥ Nor should you object that it was the अ of ज्ञर which had given occasion to the existence of ऐस्, and that अ should not be destroyed, on the maxim सेनिपातलश्चणो विधिरनिभित्तं तद् विघातस्य, for this maxim is not universal, as Pāṇini himself shows in employing the form कटाव (III. I. 14), in which ए of the Dative is changed into अ by VII. I. 13, and then this very अ causes the destruction of अ and makes it आ (See VII. I. 13 also).

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

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

**बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (ऐस्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुलमैसारेशो भवति ॥**

10. In the Veda the substitution takes place diversely.

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

**नेदमदस्तोरकोः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इदम्, अदसोः, अ, कोः, (भिस् ऐस्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इदम् भवत् इत्येत्योरककारायेभिस् ऐस् भवति ॥**

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

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

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

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

**टाङ्गसिङ्गसामिनात्स्याः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ टा, उंसि, उंसाम्, इन्, आत्, स्याः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तादङ्गादुत्तरेणां टाङ्गसिङ्गसाम् इन् आत् स्य इत्येते भावन्ति यथासंख्यम् ॥**

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

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

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

ॐः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ॐः, यः, (अतः अङ्गस्य) ॥

बृतिः ॥ देविति अतुध्येकवचनस्य महाम् अकारान्तास्त्रादुत्तरस्य ॐ इत्यत्तरादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

सर्वनामः स्मै ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वनामः, स्मै, (अतः ॐ) ॥

बृतिः ॥ अकारान्तास्त्रादेशो उत्तरस्य ॐः स्मै इत्यत्तरादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

ऊसिङ्घयोः स्मात् स्मिनौ ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊसि, ऊयोः, स्मात्, स्मिनौ, (अतः सर्वनामः) ॥

बृतिः ॥ ऊसि ॐ इत्यत्तरेकारान्तास्त्रादेशो उत्तरयोः स्मात् स्मिन् इत्यत्तरादेशो भवतः ॥

15. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ, स्मात्

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

Thus सर्वस्मात्, विष्वस्मात्, यस्मात्, तस्मात् and कस्मात् ॥ सर्वस्मिन्, विष्वस्मिन्, अस्मिन्, तस्मिन् and अन्यस्मिन् ॥ But भवतः and भवति from भवत् ending in a non-अ, and वृत्तात् and वृते in non-pronouns. See VII. 2. 102 for यद् तद् &c.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वादिभ्यो नवभ्यः सर्वनाम उत्तरोडितिङ्गधोः स्मात् स्मिन् इत्येतावादेशो वा भवतः ॥

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

Thus पूर्वस्मात् or पूर्वात्, पूर्वस्मिन् or पूर्वे, परस्मात् or परात्, परस्मिन् or पे, अपरस्मात्, or अपरात्, अपरस्मिन्, or अपेरे, एकिणस्मात् or एकिणीत्, एकिणस्मिन् or एकेणे, उत्तरस्मात्, or उत्तरात्, उत्तरस्मिन्, or उत्तरे, अपरस्मात्, or अपरात्, अपरस्मिन्, or अपेरे, अधरस्मात्, or अधरात्, अधरस्मिन्, or अन्तरे ॥ नवभ्य इति किन, यस्मात्, यस्मिन् ॥

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

जसः इति ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जसः, इति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकृण्तात्सर्वनाम उत्तरस्व जसः शीत्यथमादेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus सर्वे (सर्व+ई), विष्वे, वै, कं, हे ॥ Though सर्व+ई would have also given सर्वे, the long ई is taken for the sake of subsequent sūtras, in forming अपुणी, अतुणी ॥

ओऽह आपः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ औऽहः, आपः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आवन्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्वौङः शीत्यथमादेशो भवति ॥

Karika—भौकारोबं शीविधौ छिद्गृहीतो छिचास्माकं नालित कोयं प्रकारः ।

शामान्यार्थस्तस्य चासंजनेनिमन्डुक्षाबं ते इयं प्रतनकं स वोषः ॥

छिस्ते विद्याहर्णनिर्देशमार्थ वर्णे बस्त्वात्तस्य विद्यात्तवारी ।

वर्णमाबं तेन छिस्त्वैवर्षीयो निर्देशो वूर्पसूचेण वा स्यात् ॥

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

Thus श्वदे तिष्ठतः, सद्दे पश्य, बहुराजे (IV. 1. 13), कारीषगन्ये ॥ The ह in भौह is for the purposes of included औह also. There is, in fact, no such affix as औह taught by Pāṇini any where. The following Karika raises this question and certain doubts in the first verse and then answers them in the second.

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

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

नपुंसकाश्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपुंसकात्, च (औङ्गः शी) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकावङ्गादुच्चरस्य औङ्गः शी इत्यथमादेशो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इयां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

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

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

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

Similarly शधिनी, मधुनी, चपुणी, जतुनी ॥ The augment ए॒ is added by VII. 1. 73.

जश्शसोः शिः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ जस्, शसोः, शिः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकावङ्गादुच्चरयोर्जश्शसोः शि इत्यथमादेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus कुण्डानि तिष्ठति, कुण्डानि पश्य, शधीनि, मधूनि, चपूणी, जतुनि ॥ The augment ए॒ is by VII. 1. 72, The word शस् in the sūtra being read along with जस्

denotes the Accusative Plural ending श्व and not the Taddhita affix श्व (V. 4. 43); as कृष्णशो दशति, वनशः प्रविशति ॥

अष्टाभ्य औश् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टाभ्यः, औश्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टाभ्य इति कृताकारोऽश्वशो गृह्णते स्मादुत्तरवाच्चित्तसंसारौशिययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

षष्मयो लुक् ॥ २२ ॥ षष्मयः, लुक्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ षष्मसंज्ञकेभ्य उत्तरयोर्ज्ञश्वसोर्लुग्भवति ॥

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

As षष्ट तिष्ठन्ति, षष्ट पद्य, पञ्च, सप्त, नव, दश ॥ The rule applies even to compounds ending with 'shash' words: as परमषष्ट, उत्तमषष्ट, but the 'shash' should be the principal; if it is only a secondary member of the compound, the rule will not apply: as प्रियषष्टः, प्रियपञ्चानः ॥ For the elision of ए see VIII. 2. 7.

स्वमोर्नपुंसकात् ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, अमोः, नपुंसकात्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सु अम् इत्येतत्योर्नपुंसकादुत्तरयोर्लुग्भवति ॥

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

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

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

अतोऽप् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, अप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तान्पुंसकादुत्तरयोः स्वमोरमित्यवाइशो भवति ॥

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

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

अदूङ् उत्तरादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदूङ्, उत्तरा दिभ्यः, पञ्चभ्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरादिभ्यः परयोः स्वमोरदूङ् इत्यवाइशो भवति ॥

Kārikā अपून्तेऽप्यो दोषो निवृत्ते उत्तरादिषु । अदूङ्डिस्तानुत्तराशीनां न लोगो नापि सीर्यता ॥

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

These are the five pronouns, which in the list of Sarvanāmans are read together (See I. 1. 27):—उत्तर, उत्तम्, इतर, अन्य and अन्यतर ॥ Thus कतर+अदूङ्=कतरत् (the अ of katara elided by उ): as कतरत् तिष्ठन्ति, कतरत् पद्य ॥ So also कतम्, इतरत्, अन्यतरत् and अन्यत् ॥ Why after these five only? Observe नेमं तिष्ठन्ति, नेमं पद्य ॥ Why do we make the affix have an indicatory उ? In order to prevent the lengthening of the vowel in the nominative singular: as कतर+अत्=कतरात् by VI. 1. 102. In the case of the accusative, अत् being the substitute of अप् will be sthānivat, and give us कतरत् by VI. 1. 107 even without उ ॥ Why not make the affix merely त् and not अत्; it would give कतरत् &c without the application of any rule of Sandhi? The simple त् would not give us the Vocative हे कतरत्, The final would have been elided in the Vocative, as being an aprikta. See however VI. 1. 69.

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

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

नेतराच्छन्दसि ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इतरात्, छन्दसि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इतराच्छन्दसि विषये अद्वृवेशो न भवति ॥

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

As इतरमितरमण्डमजायत्; वार्षमितरम् ॥ Why in the Vedas? See इतरत् काष्ठम्, इतरत् कुष्ठम् ॥ Had this sūtra been placed immediately after असोऽम् (VII. I. 24), we could have made it simpler by saying इतराच्छन्दसि; the present position of the sūtra indicates that we should divide it into two, to include other cases. In the case of एकतर, the अद्वृ substitution does not take place, either in the Veda or in the Common Language. As एकतर लिङ्गति, एकतर पद्य ॥

युष्मदस्मद्धर्थं छसो इश् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मदस्मद्धर्थाम्, छसः, अश् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मद्धिवेताच्चामुक्तरस्य छसो इश्यत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

ॐ प्रथमयोरम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ॐ, प्रथमयोः, अम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ॐ इत्यविभक्तिको निरेशः ॐ इत्यतस्व प्रथमयोऽविभक्त्योः प्रथमाद्वितीयवेऽयुष्मदस्मद्धपामुक्तरवो-
एमित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

The ॐ the ending of the Dative is exhibited anomalously in the sūtra without any case ending (compare VII. I. 13, ॐः) प्रथमयोः means 'of the first and second cases.' Thus युष्मद् + ॐ = तुष्मद् + ॐ (VII. 2. 95) = तुष्म + ॐ (VII. I. 102) = तुष्म + अम् (VII. I. 28) = तुष्म (VI. I. 107 or 97); similarly ममम् ॥ So also युष्मद् + सु = स्मद् + सु (VII. 2. 94) = त्व + सु (VII. 2. 94) = त्व + मम

(VII. I. 28)=स्मृ (VI. I. 97 or 107). Similarly अहम् ॥ So also युवाम् and आवाम् by VII. 2. 92 and VI. 2. 88; यूथम् and यथम् by VII. 2. 93 and VI. I. 97 or 107, स्माम् and माम् by VII. 2. 97 and VII. 2. 87; and युवाम् and आवाम् as before.

शसो न ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शसः, न, ॥
बृत्तिः ॥ युष्मस्मद्धपापुन्नरस्य शसो नकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

भ्यसो भ्यम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्यसः, भ्यम् ॥
बृत्तिः ॥ युष्मस्मद्धपापुन्नरस्य भ्यसो भ्यमित्यवादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

पञ्चम्या अत् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्या, अत् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्या भवसो युष्मदसाकृत्यापुनरस्य अपित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

एकवचनस्य च ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकवचनस्य, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्या एकवचनस्य युष्मदसाकृत्यापित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

साम आकम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सामः आकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साम इति पष्ठीबहुवचनमागतसुदकं गृथते, तस्य युष्मदसाकृत्याकमित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

आत औ णलः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, औ, णलः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आकापन्तारक्षादुपरस्य जल भौकापदेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

तुष्टोस्तात्काशिष्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तु, शोः, तात्त्र, आशिषि, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृणिः ॥ तु हि इयेत्वोराशिषि विषये तात्काशेशो भवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥

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

As जीवतात् भवान्, जीवतात् त्वम्, जीवतु भवान्, जीव त्वम् ॥ The त्र prevents Guṇa and Vṛiddhi, (I. I. 4), and the substitute replaces the whole affix (I. I. 53 notwithstanding). The substitute is not sthānivat पित्, though it replaces a पित् affix, because it has its own indicator letter हि, and दित् does not become पित्; and consequently in ब्रूतात् ल is not added to the affix, by VII. 3. 93, ल being added only to पित् affixes after त्र ॥ When not denoting benediction, we have not this substitution: as आमं गच्छतु भवान् or गच्छ आमम् ॥

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

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

The Kārikā given below raises these points.

Kārikā :—तातङ्गे द्विर्वं संक्रमकृत्स्यादन्यविधिश्चेत्तच तथा न ।

हेरधिकारे हेरधिकारो लोपविधौ तु ज्ञापकमाह ॥

तातङ्गे द्विस्वसामर्थ्यान्वायमन्वयविधिः स्मृतः ।

न तद्वदनडारीनां तेन से उन्न्यविकारजाः ॥

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

विदेः शतुर्वसुः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदेः, शतुः, वसुः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विद शानहत्यत्तामादातोहसरस्व शतुर्वसुरस्तो भवति ॥

36. वसु is substituted for the Present Participle affix शतु after the root विद् ‘to know’.

Thus विद्व (n. s. विद्वान्), विद्वांतो, विद्वांतः ॥ The words formed with affixes having an indicatory व् or ङ् (उगित्) add a ङ् in their strong cases (VII. I. 70), and form their feminine with unaccented ई ॥ शतुः is an affix having an indicatory ङ्, therefore its substitute would also be considered as having an indicatory ङ्, the व् of वसु therefore is not absolutely necessary for the purposes of उगित् operations. वसु is so written, in order that in the sūtra वसो संप्रसारणं (VI. 4. 131.), both कूटुः and वसु should be included. Nor can we object that in the above mentioned sūtra, वसु with one indicatory letter being taken, cannot include an affix like कूटुः having two indicatory letters,—on the maxim एकानुबन्धकमणे न द्विनुबन्धकस्य—for if that were so, there was no necessity of व् in वसु ॥ Some read the anuvṛitti of the word optionally into this: and we have विद्व, विद्वन्, विद्वतः formed with शतुः (see V. 4. 38).

समासे उनश्चपूर्वे कूटो ल्यप् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ समासे, अनश्च, पूर्वे, कूटः ल्यप् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ समासे उनश्चपूर्वे वस्ता इत्येतस्य ल्यविद्ययमादेतो भवति ॥

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

Thus प्रकृत्य, प्रहृत्य ॥ The tvā is added by III. 4. 21, the compounding is by II. 2. 18, and तुकृ by VI. I. 71. पार्थितःकृत्य, The tvā is added by III. 4. 61, and compounding is by II. 2. 22. नानाकृत्य, द्विधाकृत्य The tvā is added by III. 4. 62. Why do we say ‘in a compound’? Observe कृत्या इत्या. Here the counter exam-

ple is तत्त्वा, which is preceded by an Indeclinable कृत्वा, but as it is not compound-ed, there is no substitution. Why do we say 'not preceded by नभ्र्'? Observe अकृत्वा, अहृत्वा, परमकृत्वा, उत्तमकृत्वा ॥ The word अभ्र् means 'other than भ्र्', and means words of the same class as भ्र्, i. e. Indeclinables : and does not mean words which are not Indeclinables. The compounds like स्तात्वाकालक contained in the class of भयूत्प्रसंक &c (II. 1. 72.), do not take स्वप् anomalously. Or the word समासे is in the Locative with the force of specification : and means those compounds which are specifically formed with त्वा and not any compound in general.

Now by the rule I. 1. 72, ktvā would denote a form ending with ktvā; and would include the case of a compound ending in ktvā. But this general rule is modified by the maxim प्रथम् प्रहणे वस्मात् स विहितं स्तदावेस्तदन्तस्य प्रहणम् "an affix denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added and ends with the affix itself." But the affix ktvā is never ordained after a compound. Therefore, the case of compounds ending in ktvā, would not be covered by the mere employment of ktvā. Then comes the maxim कृत् प्रहणे गति कारकं पूर्वस्वापि प्रहणं 'a kṛit affix denotes whenever it is employed in grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that kṛit affix has been added and which ends with the kṛit affix, but moreover should a gati, or a noun such as denotes a case-relation have been prefixed to that word-form, then the kṛit affix must denote the same word-form together with the gati or the noun which may have been prefixed to it.' By this a compound also may end in ktvā. This maxim will cover cases like प्रकृत्वा; पर्वितः कृत्वा but not उत्तमः कृत्वा &c because उत्तमः is neither a gati nor a kāraka. Hence the employment of the word समासे in the sūtra, and also of the word अनभ्रपूर्वे, for नभ्र् is neither a Gati nor a Kāraka.

In the case of प्रधाय and प्रस्थाय this maxim applies :—अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन् बहिरङ्गो स्वप् वाप्ते "a Bahiranga substitution of स्वप् supersedes even antaranga rule". What are these antaranga rules superseded by the substitute स्वप्? (1) हित्वं—the substitution of हि for धा (VII. 4. 42). Thus हित्वा but प्रधाय and not प्रहित्वा ॥ (2) इत्वं—the substitution of इ for शे (VII. 4. 46)—as इत्वा, but प्रधाय and not प्रहित्वा ॥ (3) आत्वं as required by VI. 4. 42: as खात्वा, प्रखाय and प्रखन्य ॥ (4) इत्वं—as स्तित्वा but प्रस्थाय ॥ (5) ईत्वं by VI. 4. 66, as पीत्वा but प्रपाय ॥ (6) शीत्वं by VI. 4. 15, as शान्त्वा but प्रशन्य ॥ (7) शुद् by VI. 4. 19, as पृष्ठा but आपृच्छय ॥ (8) ऋद्—as घृत्वा ॥ (9) इद् (VII. 2. 56)—सेवित्वा but प्रशीत्व ॥

कृत्वा पि छन्दसि ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्वा, अपि, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समासे इनभ्रपूर्वे कृत्वा इत्येतत्स्य कृत्वा इत्यथारेशो भवति अपिशब्दाल्प्यवपि भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

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

Thus कृष्णं वासो यजमानं परिधापयित्वा, प्रत्यञ्चर्मकं प्रत्यर्थयित्वा ॥ So also we have स्थप्, as उद्दृश्य शुहेति ॥ The sūtra could have been made shorter by saying merely वा छन्ति; not doing so indicates that conditions and limitations are set aside in the Vedas in applying this affix. Therefore स्थप् is applied even when there is no compound, as, अर्च्य तात् देवात् गतः ॥ The word छन्ति governs the following sūtras upto VII. i. 50, inclusive.

सुपां सुलुक्षपूर्वसवर्णच्छेयाङ्गाङ्गायाजालः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपाम्, सु, लुक्ष,
पूर्वसवर्ण, आ, आत्, शे, या, डा, ङ्गा, याच्, आलः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छान्ति विषये सुपां स्थाने सु लुक्ष पूर्वसवर्ण आ आत् श या डाङ्गा याच् आल इत्येते भवेत्ता
भवन्ति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुपां सुपो भवन्ति इति वन्त्यग् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तिडां तिडो भवन्तीति वन्त्यग् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इयाङ्गाजोकाराणामुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आङ्गाजयारामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

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

Thus (1) अनृक्षरा एज्जवः सन्तु पन्याः (for पन्यानः) Rig Veda X. 85. 23.

Vart :—It should be stated that case-endings replace case-endings promiscuously, as, धुरि शक्षिणायाः (for शक्षिणायाम् Rig I. 164. 9).

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

(2) लुक्ष-elision :—As आप्ते चर्मन्, लोहिते चर्मन् for चर्मणि ; श्विर्घाने बद् सुन्वन्ति, तद्
सामिधेनोर्लवाह (बद् for यस्मिन् and तद् for तस्मिन्) ॥

(3) Lengthening :—धीती, मती, सुहृती for धीत्या, मत्या and सुहृत्या ॥

(4) आ—उभा अन्तारौ (for उभौ) ॥

(5) आत्—न ताद् ब्राह्मणाद् निन्वन्ति for तात् ब्राह्मणाम् ॥

(6) शे—न युज्मे (for युवम्) वाज्ञवन्धवः, Rig VIII. 68. 19. अस्मे (for वदं) इन्द्राङ्ग-
हस्पती ; Rig IV. 49. 4, the यूद्य and वद् substitution has not taken place as a
Vedic usage.

(7) या—उहया, धृष्णुया for उहणा and धृष्णुणा ॥

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

(9) रुया—अनुउया च्यावयतात् for अनुउभा Ait Br. II. 6. 15.

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

(11) आ॒श्—व॑स॒न्ता यजेत् for व॑सन्ते ॥

Vart:—The following substitutes should also be enumerated, (a) इता, (b) इत्याच् with elision of the final vowel and the consonant, if any, that follows it, and (c) long ई ॥ As (a) उर्विया परिधानम्, for उरुणा, so also शर्विया for शरुणा ॥ (b) सुसेनिया for सुसेनिणा, and सुगाचिया for सुगाचिणा ॥ (c) इति न हृष्कं सरसी शयानम् for शरसि ॥

Vart:—So also (a) आ॒ह्, (b) अ॒या॒च् and (c) अ॒या॒दः as प्रवाहशा for प्रवाहना, (b) स्वप्नयो॑ सच॒ सेवनम् for स्वप्नेन, (c) सिन्मुकिव नारै॒वा for नारा ॥

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

अमो॑ म॒श् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि॑ ॥ अमः॑, म॒श् ॥

वृत्तिः॑ ॥ अ॒श् इति॑ निवादेशो गृह्णते॑ । तस्य॑ छन्दसि॑ विषये॑ निवादेशो॑ भवति॑ ॥

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

The अ॒म् here is the substitution of मिष्, and not the accusative singular affix. As व॑र्षी॒ष् (for अ॒विष्वम्) Rig I. 165. 8 : क्र॒मी॒ष् वृ॒क्षस्य॑ शालाच् ॥ The अ॒म् augment is diversely elided (VI. 4. 75). The indicatory श् of म॒श् shows that the whole of the affix अ॒म् is to be replaced. The substitution of श् for म् is to prevent the change of म् into anusvāra as in VIII. 3. 25.

लोपस्त आ॒त्मनेपदेषु॑ ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि॑ ॥ लोपः॑, त, आ॒त्मनेपदेषु॑ ॥

वृत्तिः॑ ॥ आ॒त्मनेपदेषु॑ यस्तकारस्तस्य॑ छन्दसि॑ विषये॑ लोपो॑ भवति॑ ॥

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

As देवा॑ अ॒तुह् and गन्धर्वा॑ अ॒प्सरसो॑ अ॒तुह् for अ॒तुह् (see VII. 1. 8) ; दु॒हाच् (for दु॒धाच्) अ॒ग्निभ्यां॑ पथो॑ अ॒ध्येवम्॑ ॥ Rig I. 164. 27. र॒क्षिणतः॑ श्वे॑ for देवते॑ ॥ Owing to the anuyittī of आ॒पि from VII. 1. 38, this substitution sometimes does not take place; as: आ॒मानमनृतंकुरुते॑ ॥ Why in the Atmanepada? Observe व॑स्तु॑ दु॒हांत्त कूलशं चतुर्विलम्॑ ॥

ध्वमो॑ ध्वात्॑ ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि॑ ॥ ध्वमः॑, ध्वात्॑ ॥

वृत्तिः॑ ॥ छन्दसि॑ विषये॑ ध्वमो॑ ध्वादित्यवादेशो॑ भवति॑ ॥

42. In the Veda, ध्वाद् is substituted for the Personal ending ध्वम्॑ ॥

As अ॒न्तर्वांप्याणं॑ वारवध्वात्॑ for वारवध्वम्॑ ॥ Ait Br. II. 6. 14.

यज्ञध्वै॒नमिति॑ च॑ ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि॑ ॥ यज्ञध्वै॒नम्, इति॑, च॑ ॥

वृत्तिः॑ ॥ यज्ञध्वै॒नमित्य॑ एनमित्य॑वैतस्य॑ नकारलोपो॑ निपात्यते॑ वकारस्य॑ च यकारं॑ छन्दसि॑ विषये॑ ॥

43. यज्ञध्वै॒नम् is irregularly formed in the Veda for यज्ञध्वै॒नम्॑ ॥

The word यज्ञध्वम् followed by ए॒म् loses its final म् in the Veda. As यज्ञध्वै॒नम् प्रियमेथाः॑ (Rig VIII. 2. 37). The Kasiśka adds "that च is also irregularly

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

तस्य तात् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तशब्दस्य लोप्तमध्वमुद्धरत्वचनस्य स्पाने तारित्वमादेशो भवति ॥

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

As गाचं गाचमत्या शूनं कृषुतात् (for कृषुत), and ऊर्ध्वे गोहं पार्थिवं लगतात् (for लगत) Ait Br. II. 6. 15, 16. अस्मारक्ष संसृजतात् (= संसृजत), सूर्यं चमुर्गमवतात् (= गमवत).

तस्मनसनयनाथ ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तप्, तनप्, तन, थनाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्यैति वर्तते । छन्दसि विषये तस्य स्थाने तप् तनप् तन यन इत्येति आदेशो भवन्ति ॥

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

This शूलोत प्रापाणः (for शूलुत), शुनोत (-शुनुत), संवरणा दधातन (for धन), शुशृ-टन (for शुश्रत) the ślu vikarana being added as a Vedic irregularity; बरिष्टन for बरिष्टत ॥ The indicatory प् makes तप् and तनप् non-dिन् affixes (I. 2. 4).

इदन्तो मसि ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदन्तः, मसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये मसित्यवं शब्द इकारान्तो भवति । मसः सकारान्तस्य इकारागमो भवति स च तस्मा-स्तो भवति ॥

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

Thus पुनस्त्वां शीप्यामसि (for शीप्यामः) शालम् भञ्जयामसि (for भञ्जयामः), स्ववि राखि वासयामसि for वासयामः ॥

क्लोयक् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्लः, यक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्वा इत्येतत्य वगागमो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

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

Thus इत्याच सविता विद्यः (for इत्या). This sūtra is not read immediately after VII. I. 38, as in that sūtra, the anuvṛitti of samāsa is understood, while there is no such anuvṛitti here.

इद्वीनमिति च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इद्वीनम्, इति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इद्वीनमित्यवं शब्दो निपात्वसे छन्दासि विषये । वज्ञः वस्त्राप्रत्यवाक्तस्य ईनमोर्द्धोन्त्यस्य निपात्वे ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ पीत्वीनमित्यपीत्वसे ॥

48. In the Veda, the Absolutive इद्वीनम् is irregularly formed for इद्वा ॥

To the root वज् is added स्त्रा, and the final भा is replaced by ईनम् ॥ As इद्वीनम् देवान् for इद्वा देवान् ॥ The च in the sūtra indicates that there are other forms like this, as पीत्वीनम् for पीत्वा ॥

स्नात्याद्यथा ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्नात्वी-आदयः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्नासी इत्येवमादयः शब्दानि निपात्यन्ते छन्दसि विषये ॥

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

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

आज्जसेरसुक् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, जसेः, असुक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्णन्तारङ्गादुत्तरस्य जसेरसुगामो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

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

Thus ब्राह्मणासः पितरः सोम्यासः for ब्राह्मणः and सोम्याः ॥ Rig VI. 75. 10. वे पूर्वांसो व उपरासः (Rig X. 15. 2) for पूर्वे and उपरे ॥ So also पुत्रासः (R. I. 3. 4) Why is not, after the adding of the augment असुक्, the जस् changed to श्च in the last example, as required by VII. I. 17, and on the maxim पुनः प्रसङ्गः विज्ञानात् ? No, the maxim that applies here is सहृद गतौ विप्रसिद्धेष्व यद्याधितं, तद्याधितमेव ॥

अश्वक्षीरनृष्टलवणानामात्मप्रीतौ क्यचित् ॥ ५१ ॥ अश्व, क्षीर, वृष, लवणानाम्,
आत्मा प्रीतौ, क्यचित् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसीवृत्तिः प्रश्नति निवृत्तम् । अश्व क्षीर वृष लवण इत्येतेषामङ्गानामात्मप्रीतिविषये क्वचित् परतो
इष्टगामो भवति ॥
वासिक्षम् ॥ अश्ववृषवैर्युनेष्ठावामितं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ शरीरलवणयोर्लालसायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ सर्वप्रातिप्रिकेभ्यो लालासायामसुवृत्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ सुवृत्तव्यः ॥

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

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

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

आमि सर्वनामः सुद् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमि, सर्वनामः, सुद् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आविति वर्तते अवर्णासर्वनाम उत्तरस्यामः सुदागामो भवति ॥

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

The word आम् of the last sūtra is understood here. Thus सर्वेषाम्, चिर्भेषाम्, वेषाम्, तेषाम्, सर्वासाम्, वासाम्, तासाम् ॥ But भवताम् of भवत् ॥ The आम् of the sūtra is the Genitive Plural ending आम्, and not the आम् of the Locative Singular ordained by VII. 3. 116; for that आम् takes the augments आद्, आट् or स्याद् (VII. 3. 112-114), while the present आम् takes शुद् or तुद् ॥ Nor the आम् of the Perfect Tense (III. I. 35 &c), because that refers to verb and Sarvanāma nor the आम् of V. 4. 11, for the same reason. The word आमि is exhibited in the sūtra in the locative case, for the sake of the subsequent sūtra VII. I. 53. For the purposes of the present sūtra, it should be construed, as if it was in the Genitive case (आमः सर्वनामः शुद्), because सर्वनामः being in the Ablative case, the augment शुद् will be added at the beginning of the affix following it, on the maxim तस्मादित्युपरस्य ॥

त्रेत्यः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रेः, त्रयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिह्नेतस्य आमि परे च इत्यमारेषो भवति ॥

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

As चयाणाम् ॥ चीजाम् however appears in the Veda: as चीजामपि समुद्राणाम् ॥ हस्वनधापो तुद् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्व, न दी, आपः, तुद् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ हस्वान्ताम्यन्ताशब्दोसरस्यामो तुदागमो भवति ॥

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

As वृक्षाणाम्, पक्षानाम्, भग्नीणाम्, वाशूनाम्, कर्तृणाम् ॥ नदीत्तान्:—कुमारीणाम्, किलोरीणाम्, गौरीणाम्, शार्ङ्गरचीणाम्, लक्ष्मीणाम्, लक्ष्मदन्धूनाम्, वीरदन्धूनाम् ॥ आवन्तात्:—खड्नानाम्, मालानाम्, बहुराजानाम्, कारीपणगन्धानाम् ॥

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

षट्चतुर्भ्यर्थः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ षट्, चतुर्भ्यः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ षट्संज्ञकेभवतुर्भवशब्दाशोत्तरस्यामो तुदागमो भवति ॥

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

As षण्णाम्, पञ्चानाम्, (VI. 4. 7), सप्तानाम्, नवानाम्, एकानाम्, चतुर्णाम् ॥ A numeral ending in त् is not 'shash'; hence the specific mention of चतुर् ॥

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

श्रीग्रामणयोऽछन्दसि ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्री, ग्रामण्योः, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ श्री ग्रामणी इत्येतत्योऽछन्दसि विषये आग्मो तुडाग्मो भवति ॥

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

As श्रीणाशुशारे धर्मो रथीणाम्, अन्यत्र सूतमामणीनाम् ॥ This sūtra could be well dispensed with: by I. 4. 5. श्री is optionally a Nadi in the Genitive plural. We make the option of that sūtra a vyavasthita-vibhāshā, by saying श्री is *always* Nadi in the Veda, and *optionally* every where else. As regards सूतमामणीनाम्, we have सूतम् ग्रामणीश = सूतमामणि, the Genitive Pl. of which by VII. I. 54 will be सूतमामणीनाम् ॥

The necessity of this sūtra will, however, arise if the compound be सूतमा॒श ते ग्रामणी॒श सूतमा॒मण्यः ॥

गोः पादान्ते ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोः, पादान्ते ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गो इत्येतसाहक्यपादान्ते वर्तमानादुत्तरस्यामो तुडाग्मो भवति ॥

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

As विद्याहि त्वा सत्पति शूरगोनाम्; but गर्वं गोवशुशृजा यशस्ति: in the beginning of a Pāda. "All rules have exceptions in the Vedas" is an established maxim, so at the end of a Pāda, sometimes this rule does not apply, as इन्तारं शृज्ञां कृधि विराजं गोपति गवाम् ॥

इदितो तुम् धातोः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदितः, तुम्, धातोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इदितो धातोर्तुमाग्मो भवति ॥

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

Thus from कुडि—कुण्डन्, कुण्डत्तुम्, from हुडि—हुण्डन्, हुण्डत्तुम्, हुण्डित्तव्यम् &c. But पञ्चति, पठति where इ is not इत् ॥ The न् is added to the root from its very inception, and they must be considered to have got a न्, for the purposes of the application of the grammatical rules. Thus III. 3. 103 says that आ is added in the feminine to a root which ends in a consonant and has a prosodically long vowel. The root कुडि must be considered to be such a root and कुण्डा, हुण्डा are thus formed. Similarly though the roots in the Dhātupāṭha are धिनि and कृन्, as the author himself has indicated in III. 1. 80. In short, in adding affixes, these roots should be considered as having a न् ॥ Moreover the root (*dhātu*) should have इ, and not the stem (*aṅga*). The affixes ताति (Future) and सिन् (Aorist) when added to roots, will not make those roots

इवित्; for the इ in तासि and सित् is merely for the sake of pronunciation, and is not to be considered as इत् in the strict sense of the word: in fact it should be considered as non-nasalised. If you say that "the इ in सित् should be considered as इत्, for because of its being इत्, the इ of मन् is not elided by VI. 4. 24 in अस्ता", we reply, "not so, the इ is not elided, because sūtra हमः सित् I. 2. 14 makes सित् a कित् after इत् only, the result of which is that इत् only loses its इ by VI. 4. 37, and no other root". In मन्त्रा = मन् + तासि + दा = मन् + त् + आ (the आस् is elided VI. 4. 143). For the purposes of the elision of इ, the elided आस् would be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22), for both VI. 4. 143, and VI. 4. 37, requiring the elision of इ are abhiya sūtras. In भेन्ना, छेन्ना from भिन्निर् and छिन्निर् the whole combination इत् is इत्, and not इ and इ separately, and hence तुम् is not added. But even if these roots be considered as इवित्, the syllable इत् having an इ, yet they will not get the तुम् augment, because the word अन्त of पासन्ते (VII. 1. 57) is understood here in this sūtra also, so that the roots must have a final इ as इत् for the application of this rule.

शो मुच्चादीनाम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शो, मुच्चादीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शो प्रत्येकं परतो भुच्चादीनां तुमागमो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शेत्प्रकाशीनाम् तुम्प्रसंख्यानकर्त्तव्यम् ॥

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

Thus तुम्पति—तुज्ज्वति, तुम्पति, विम्पति, लिम्पति, सिम्पति, कृम्पति, लिम्पति, पिम्पति ॥ Why "before इ"? Observe मोन्ना, मोन्नुम्, मोन्नव्यम् ॥ Why "of मुच् &c"? Observe तुम्पति, तुम्पति ॥

Vart:—The तुम्प &c should be also enumerated. These are the following roots of Tudādi class: 24. त्प (हफ), 25. तृन्प नपो, 26. तुप तुम्प, 27. तुफ तुम्फ, हिसावाम्, 28. हफ (हप), 29. हम्प उक्कलेष्टे, 30. छफ (रिफ), छम्प (रिम्प), हिसावाम्, 31. शफ, शम्प घन्ये, 32. उभ उन्म पूरणे, 33. शभ, शम्प शोभार्ये ॥ Of these, those which have a nasal, lose it by VI. 4. 24, and then get the तुम् augment by the present rule, which being specifically ordained, cannot be again dropped. Thus तुम्पति, तुम्पति, तुम्पति &c. Those which have no nasal, are conjugated as तुफति, तुफति, तुफति शम्पति, उम्पति and शुम्पति ॥

मस्तिनशोर्ष्णलि ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ मस्ति, नशोः, श्णलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मस्ति नशो इत्येत्योरङ्गयोर्ष्णलादौ प्रत्येकं तुमागमो भवति ॥

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

As महन्ना, मस्त् + तुम् (no इ by VII. 2. 10), add इ=मस्त् इ + त्, elide इ by VIII. 2. 29, change इ to क्, and इ to anusvāra, which then becomes इ ॥ महन्नुम्, महन्नव्यम्, नंदा, नंदुम् and नंदव्यम् ॥ But मज्जनम् and नशिता, and मग्म (VI. 4. 32). In नशः and मग्मवान्, the तुम् is supposed to be placed the last consonant in मस्त्, in order that it may get elided.

रथिज्जभोरचि ॥ ६१ ॥ रथि, जभोः, अचि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रथि जभि इत्येतयोरजासौ प्रत्यये तुमागमो भवति ॥

61. The augment तुम् is added after the root-vowel in रथ् and जभ्, before affixes beginning with a consonant.

Thus रन्धयति, रन्धकाः, साहुरन्धी, रन्धो वर्तते ॥ जम्भवति, जम्भकाः, साहुजम्भी, जम्भं-जम्भम्, जम्भो वर्तते ॥ Though the वृत्ति rule is subsequent, it is superseded by the augment. Why do we say 'before an affix beginning with a vowel'? Observe रथा, जम्भम् ॥

नेत्यलिटि रथेः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इटि, अ लिटि, रथेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इताशावलिटि प्रत्यये परे रथेन्तुमागमो न भवति ॥

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

As रथिता, रथितुम्, रथितन्धम्, but रथनम्, रथकः before Anit affixes, and रथिता, रथितम् in the Perfect. When तुम् is added रथ् becomes a root ending in a conjunct consonant, and therefore the लिट् affixes after it are not कित् (असंयोगात् लिट् कित् I. 2. 5), and therefore the न् is not elided by VI. 4. 24. But when the affix इट्सु of the Perfect is added, we have रेधितम् Nom. Sg. रेधितात् ॥ Here the affix being expressly taught with an indicatory क the न् is elided. The reduplicate is elided, the अ changed into ए, then इट् is added, then तुम्, and then the तुम् is elided by the expressly taught कित् ॥

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

रभेरशालिटोः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रभेः, अ शप्, लिटोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रभेरद्धस्य शश्लिङ्गिर्जिते जासौ प्रत्यये परतो तुमागमो भवति ॥

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

Thus आरम्भयति, आरम्भकः, साध्वारम्भी, आरम्भमारम्भम्, आरम्भो वर्तते ॥ But आर-भते in शप्, and आरभे in लिट्, and आरधा before an affix beginning with a consonant.

लभेत्थ ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लभेः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ लभेषाजासौ प्रत्यये शश्लिङ्गिर्जिते तुमागमो भवति ॥

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

As लभयति, लभकाः, साधुलभ्नी, लभत्तेलभम्, लभो वर्तते ॥ But लभते with शप्, and लेभे in the Perfect, and लभ्या before an affix beginning with a consonant. The separation of this from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms.

आडो यि ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आडः, यि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आड उत्तरस्य लभर्यकारादिप्रत्ययविषये त्रुमागमो भवति ॥

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

As आलम्यो गौः ॥ The त्रुम् is added before the addition of the affix, and by so doing लभ् becomes लभ्य, and thus loses its character of having a penultimate अ, and therefore by III. i. 124, we shall have व्यत् affix, and not वत् affix by III. i. 98. Had the त्रुम् been added *after* the addition of the affix, then वत् would be added by III. i. 98. Though in both cases the form will be आलम्या, the difference will be in the accent: वत् would throw the acute on the first syllable (वतोऽनावः) while the word has svarita on the final; thus instead of आलम्या (by VI. i. 213 and VI. 2. 139), which वत् gives, we have आलम्या (तित् svar).

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

उपात्प्रशंसायाम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात्, प्रशंसायाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपादुत्तरस्य लभेः प्रशंसायां गम्यमानायां व्यकारादिप्रत्ययविषये त्रुमागमो भवति ॥

66. The augment त्रुम् is added to लभ् preceded by उप, before य, when the reference is to something praiseworthy.

As उपलम्या भवता विद्या, उपलम्यानि धनानि ॥ These words are formed by व्यत् and have svarita on the final. Why do we say 'when referring to something praiseworthy'? Observe उपलभ्यमस्माद् वृषलात् किंचित्, this is formed with the वत् affix (III. i. 98).

उपसर्गात्खलघज्ञोः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप सर्गात्, खल्, धज्ञोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गादुत्तरस्य लभेः खलघज्ञोः परतो त्रुमागमो भवति ॥

67. The augment त्रुम् is added to लभ् preceded by a Preposition, before the affixes खल् (III. 3. 126) and धज्ञ् ॥

Thus ईष्टप्रलभः, सुप्रलभः, हुष्पलभः, प्रलभः, विप्रलभः ॥ This is a Niyama rule, and restricts the scope of VII. I. 64. Before the vowel affixes खल् and धर्, the root लभ् gets the augment तुम् only then when it is preceded by a Preposition, and not otherwise, as ईष्टलभः, लाभो वर्तते ॥

न सुदुर्भयां केवलाभ्याम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, सु, तुभ्याम्, केवलाभ्याम् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ मु दुरित्येताभ्यां केवलाभ्यामन्योपसर्गरहिताभ्यामुपसृष्टस्य लभेःखलघ्योः परतो तुमागमोऽन भवति ॥

68. The augment तुम् is not added to लभ् before खल् and धर् when सु or तुः alone (without another Preposition along with them) precede the root.

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

विभाषा चिण्ठमुलोः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वि भाषा, चिण्, णमुलोः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ चिण् एष्टल इत्येतयोर्धिभाषा लभेन्मवति ॥

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

Thus अलभिः or अलभ्यः, लाभंलभम् or लम्भंलभम् ॥ This is a Vyavasthitavibhāshā, the option is allowed where there is no Preposition along with the root; and no option is allowed but तुम् must be added, when a Preposition precedes: as प्रालभिः, प्रलभम् ॥

उगिद्वानं सर्वनामस्थाने धातोः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ उगित्, अ चाम्, सर्वनामस्थाने, अ धातोः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ उगितामक्तानां धातुवर्जितानामज्ञतेष्व सर्वनामस्थाने परतो तुमागमो भवति ॥

70. Whatever has an indicatory उ, औ and ल्, (with the exception of a root), and the stem अच्, (अञ्जति) get the augment तुम् in the strong cases.

Thus भवतु has an indicatory उ, formed by the Upādi affix उपतुष्, and it is declined as भवतू, भवतौ, भवत्तः ॥ Similarly ईवसुन्—श्रेयान्, श्रेयांतौ, श्रेयासः; शत्—पचन्, पचन्तौ, पचन्तः ॥ अज्ञ—प्राह्, प्राञ्चौ, प्राञ्चः ॥

Why do we say 'having an indicatory उक् vowel or the stem अच्'? Observe दृष्टू, दृष्टौ, दृष्टः ॥

Why do we say in strong cases? Observe भवतः पञ्च, शेषसः पञ्च ॥ अञ्च् root is mentioned for the sake of niyama, i. e. of the roots, only अञ्च् gets तुम् and no other root. Therefore उखान्त्, पर्णञ्चत् formed from the roots लंभु and धंभु having indicatory उ ॥ (See III. 2. 76, IV. 1. 6, VIII. 2. 72). For the lengthening in भवान् &c, see VI. 4. 10, 14: the च् is elided in प्राह् by VIII. 2. 23, and त् becomes इ by VIII. 2. 62: and त् in भत् by VIII. 2. 72.

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

युज्जेरसमासे ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ युज्जैः, अ समासे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ युज्जेरसमासे सर्वनामस्थाने परतो तुमागमो भवति ॥

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

Thus युह् (VIII. 2. 23, 62) युज्जौ, युज्जौः; but अभयुह्, अभयुज्जौ, अभयुज्जौः in a compound. The root युज्ज समाधौ (Divādi 68) is not to be taken here; therefore not here युज्जापना कृष्णः ॥ But युज्जिर् योगे (Rudhādi 7) is to be taken.

नपुंसकस्य श्ललचः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपुंकस्य, श्लल्, अचः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकस्य श्ललन्तस्याजन्तस्य च सर्वनामस्थाने परतो तुमागमो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ बहूर्जि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ अन्त्यासूर्ये तुममेकाइच्छन्ति ॥

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

Thus उपर्विन्ति, शक्नन्ति (VI. 4. 10) वशांसि, पवांसि ; कुण्डानि, वनानि (VI. 4. 8), अपूर्जि, जटूनि ॥ Why 'of a Neuter'? Observe अन्तिनिष्ठ ब्राह्मणः ॥ Why do we say 'not ending in a semivowel or a nasal'? Observe बहुपुरि, बहुशुरि, विमलविनि, अत्त्वारि, भशनि (VII. 1. 98). A neuter having an indicatory उक् vowel gets तुम् by this sūtra and not by VII. 1. 70, as that is superseded by this, this being the subsequent. As शेषांसि, भूयांसि कुर्वन्ति कृषन्ति ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥

Vart :—Prohibition should be stated with regard to बहूर्जि; as बहूर्जि ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥ Some would have त् added between ए and इ of this word, as बहूर्जिज्ञ ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥ See I. 4. 13.

इको अचि विभक्तौ ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, अचि, विभक्तौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्य नपुंसकस्याजारौ विभक्तौ तुमागमो भवति ॥

Kārikā—इकोचि व्यञ्जने मा भूमस्तु लोपः स्वरः कथम् ।
स्वरो वै शूद्राणो वि लुप्ते किं न भविष्यति ॥
एवात्मं तिस्रावश्च व्यवधानं अभ्यां आपि ।
तु इह किं विचारो हस्ति ॥

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

Thus अपुणी, अतुनी, तुम्बुहणी, अपुणे, अतुने, तुम्बुहणे ॥ Why “with the exception of अ”? Observe कुण्डे, पीडे ॥ The phrase “before an affix beginning with a vowel” is employed here for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VII. 1. 75. Here we could have dispensed with it: for before affixes beginning with a consonant, तुष् would be elided by VIII. 2. 7. The only object that it serves here is that we can form हे अपो! or हे अपु! in the Vocative singular. For had we अपुन्+स् in the vocative, the form would have been हे अपुन् like हे राजन्, for न् would not be elided here, see VIII. 2. 8.

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

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

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

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

To this it is answered, the change of इ into आ in the case of रि, and the substitution of तिस् for नि will take place even when the तुष intervenes, on the maxim विभक्तिविधानवशायां वशानन्तर्यं सत् तत्राधीयते न स्वेषविधानवशायाम् ॥ And this is done in this way : अतिरि + भ्यां, and प्रियानि + भ्यां, here तुष is superseded by the subsequent rule requiring आ and तिस् respectively.

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

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

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

तृतीयादिषु भाषितपुस्कं पुंवद्गालवस्य ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीयादिषु, भाषित पुस्कम्, पुम्वत्, गालवस्य ॥
मृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयादिषु विभक्तिज्ञादिषु भाषितपुस्कं पुंसकलिङ्गमिगन्तं गालवस्याचार्यस्य मतेन पुंवद्वाति । वया पुंसि इत्यनुमौ न भवतस्तद्वशापि न भवत इत्यर्थः ।

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

As in the Masculine there is no shortening, nor the addition of तुष, so here also. As आमणि is the equivalent, uniform masculine of the neuter form आमणि, we have either Ins. आमणिना or आमण्या ब्राह्मणकुलेन, the Ins. Sg. of आमणि n. Similarly Dat. आमणिने or आमण्ये ब्राह्मणकुलाय ; Abl. आमणिनो or आमण्यो ब्राह्मणकुलात्, Gen. Sg. आमणिनो or आमण्यो ब्राह्मणकुलस्य, Gen. Du. आमणिनोब्राह्मणकुलयोः or आमण्योः ; Gen. Pl. आमणीनां or आमण्यां ब्राह्मणकुलानां ॥ Loc. आमणिनि or आमण्यां ब्राह्मणकुले ॥ Similarly : Ins. शुचिना (same form in mas. and neu.), Dat. शुचये or शुचिनः; Abl. and Gen. शुचेः or शुचिनः; Gen. Du. शुच्योः or शुचिनः; Loc. शुचो or शुचिनः ॥

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

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

Before case affixes beginning with a consonant we have one form only, as मामणिभ्यां ब्राह्मणकुलभ्याम् ॥

अस्थिदधिसकृध्यक्षणामनङ्गदात्तः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्थि, दधि, सक्थि, अ-
क्षणाम्, अन्, उदात्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्थिएव सक्थिएव अस्थिएव इत्येतेषां नुसकानां तृतीयारिधजारिषु विभक्तिषु परतो उन्नित्यवमा-
देशो भवति, स चैवात्तो भवति ॥

75. The acutely accented अन् (अन्^८) is substituted for the finals of asthi, dadhi, sakthi and akshi, before the affixes of the Instrumental and the cases that follow it, which begin with a vowel.

Thus अस्थीं, अर्थीं, इधीं, इर्थीं, सक्थीं, सक्खीं, अक्षीं, अक्ष्यीं ॥ The words अस्थि &c have acute on the first syllable, the substitute अन्^८ would have been also anudātta, but for this sūtra. The stem getting the designation अ, we elide the अ (VI. 4. 134), the udātta अ being thus elided, the case-ending, which was anudātta before, now becomes udātta (VI. 1. 161). The stems ending with 'asthi &c' and though not neuter, are governed by this rule. As गियास्था ब्राह्मणेन, गियास्था ॥ Why 'before the affixes of the Instrumental and the rest?' Observe अस्थिनी, इधिनी ॥ Before affixes beginning with a consonant, we have अस्थिभ्याम्, इधिभ्याम् ॥

छन्दस्यपि हृष्टयते ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, अपि, हृष्टयते ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अस्थिदधिसकृध्यक्षणामनङ्ग छन्दस्वपि हृष्टयते । यत् विहितस्ततोन्यचापि हृष्टयते ॥

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

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

bhakti), in the Vedic literature it comes before affixes which are not case-endings, as अभ्यर्थीता लाङ्गेलन, भस्यन्वैनं वदनस्या विर्भाति ॥ See VI. i. 176.

ई च द्विवचने ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, च, द्विवचने ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्विवचने परतङ्गन्वत्सि विषये इस्थावीनामीकारादेशो भवति, सर्वोदातः ॥

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

As अर्ही ते इन्द्रपिले कपेरिव ॥ अर्हीभ्यान् ते नासिकाभ्याम् ॥ In अर्ही the augment तुम् is not added to the stem before the vowel-beginning ending, because VII. i. 73, which ordained तुम्, is superseded by the present sūtra, and being once superseded, it is superseded for good. (सकृद गतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्वाधितं तद्वाधितमेव) ॥

नाभ्यस्ताच्छतुः ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानिं ॥ न, अभ्यस्तात्, शतुः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तारङ्गादुत्तरस्य शतुर्नुम् भवति ॥

78. The Participial-affix शतु (अत-अन्त्), does not take the augment तुम् after a reduplicate stem.

Thus इत्, इत्तौ, इत्तः, अस्त्, अस्तौ, अस्तः, आप्त्, आप्तौ, आप्तः ॥ This is an exception to VII. i. 70, and applies of course to sarvanāmāsthāna or strong cases. The तुम् is to be read into this sūtra from VII. i. 70; for the negation of this sūtra cannot apply to ई taught in the preceding sūtra, for ई is never ordained after शत्रि: therefore, though several other operations intervene, yet तुम् is to be read here.

वा नपुंसकस्य ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, नपुंसकस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तारङ्गादुत्तरो वः शतुप्रत्यवस्त्रपन्तस्य नपुंसकस्य वा तुमागमो भवति ॥

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

Thus इत्ति or इत्तिं, कुलानि; इधति or इधन्ति कुलानि, जस्ति or जस्तिं कुलानि, आप्ति or आप्तिं कुलानि। This of course applies to sarvanāmāsthāna or strong cases.

आच्छीनद्योर्नुम् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, शी, नद्योः, तुम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्णान्तारङ्गादुत्तरस्य शतुर्वा तुमागमो भवति शीनद्योः परतः ॥

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

Thus तुरती कुले or तुरन्ती कुले, तुरन्ती ब्राह्मणी, तुरती ब्राह्मणी, वाती कुले, वान्ती कुले वाती ब्राह्मणी, वान्ती ब्राह्मणी, करिष्यती कुले, करिष्यती ब्राह्मणी, करिष्यन्ती ब्राह्मणी ॥ अभ्यातरङ्गस्तावेकादेशे कुले इष्वपवर्गाभावादवर्णान्तारङ्गादुत्तरस्य शतुरिति न युज्यते वक्तुम्, उभवत आप्तवे नान्तादिवदिव्यन्तादिवज्ञावोपि नास्ति भूतपूर्वगत्याश्वयणो वा इत्तो ज्ञसीत्येवमारिष्यतिप्रसङ्ग इति, अत्र सभाधिं

के चिराहः, शतुरवये शतृशब्दो वर्तते, अवर्णन्ताश्नादुत्तरो वा शब्दवय इति ॥ अपरे पुनराहः, आविस्येतेन शीनयावेष विशेष्यते, अवर्णन्ताश्नादुत्तरे ये शीनया सयोः परतः शब्दवतीति, तत्र वेन नाव्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितिं वचनप्रमाणाविति तकारैव व्यवधानमाभ्यग्यते ॥ आशिरिति क्रिम्, कुर्वती, सुन्वती ॥ शीनयोरिति क्रिम्, तुश्ताम्, तुश्ताम् ॥

The form तुश्ती is thus evolved. तु॒+श्+शतृ॑+डी॒ ॥ The vikaraṇa श् is added by III. i. 77, & डी॒ by IV. i. 6. This is equal to तु॒+श्+शतृ॑+ई॒—तुश्ती the अ+अ becoming अ by the rule of परस्पर ekādeśa (VI. i. 97). This ekādeśa operation being antarāṅga, now there is no शतृ affix coming after a stem ending in अ, and therefore this sūtra will not apply. If you say the ekādeśa will be considered as the final of तु॒ by VI. i. 85, we reply, that the antāchvadbhāva of that sūtra will not apply when simultaneous operations are to be performed, for अ cannot be said at one and the same time as the final of तु॒ and the beginning of अ॒ (शतृ). If you say the maxim सांपत्कामये भूतपूर्व गतिः (when a word cannot denote something which actually is what is expressed by the word, it must be understood to denote something which formerly was what is expressed by it), will apply here, and that तु॒ will be considered to end in अ because it formerly did end in the affix अ॒ of श्; we reply that then the present rule should apply to forms like अ॒शती भूती &c. For here also we have अ॒+श॒ लोप + शतृ॑+डी॒; and अ॒ should be considered to end in अ॒, because it had the affix श॒ after it, though it was afterwards elided. The maxim quoted, therefore, proves too much.

To solve these objections, some say, that the word शतृ in this sūtra means 'a portion of the affix शतृ, such as त्' and the sūtra means 'after a stem ending in अ, to the portion त् of the affix शतृ there is added तुम्.' Others say, the word आ॒शती in the sūtra qualifies शी॒ and नशी॒ and not शतृ॑; and the sutra means "तुम् is added to a stem ending in शतृ, when शी॒ or नशी॒ affixes follow after a stem ending in अ॒." Therefore in तुश्ती the affix ई॒ is considered to come after the अ॒ of तु॒, the intervening त् not debarring it.

Why do we say "after अ॒"? Observe कुर्वती and सुन्वती, no optional तुम् is added here. Why do we say "शी॒ and नशी॒ following"? Observe तुश्ताम् and तुश्ताम्.

शप॒ह्यनोनैत्यम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ श॒प्, ह्यनोः, नित्यम् ॥
पृतिः ॥ श॒प् अ॒यन् इत्येतयोः शतृ॑ शीनयोः परतो नित्यं सुमागमो भवति ॥

81. When the affix शतृ comes after a verbal stem ending in the vikaranas श॒प् and ह्यन्, it invariably takes the augment तुम् before the neutral case-ending शी॒ (ई॒), and the feminine ending ई॒ (Nadi).

Thus पञ्चती कुले, पञ्चती ब्राह्मणी, शीव्यन्ती कुले, शीव्यन्ती ब्राह्मणी, सीव्यन्ती कुले, सीव्यन्ती ब्राह्मणी ॥ The word नित्य stops the anuvṛitti of वा (VII. i. 79).

साधनदुहः ॥ द२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सौ, अनदुहः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सौ परतो उन्दुहेऽप्रस्व तुमागमो भवति ॥

82. अनदुह gets the augment तुम् before the ending सु of the Nom. Sg. (and Vocative).

By VII. 1. 98 अनदुह gets the augment आ after द in the strong cases, and अ in Vocative Singular (VII. 1. 99). It thus becomes अनदुहा and अनदुह ॥ By the present स्त्रा इ is added after this आ and अ ॥ The case-ending is elided by VI. 1. 68, and the final इ by VIII. 2. 23. Thus we have अनदुहा Nominative Singular; and अनदुह in the Vocative Singular. The augments आम् and अम् (VII. 1. 98, 99), do not supersede तुम्, nor are they superseded by तुम् ॥

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

हक्स्ववस्स्वतवसां छन्दसि ॥ द३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हक्, स्ववस्, स्वतवसाम्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हक् स्ववस् स्वतवसाम्यतेषां सौ परतो तुमागमो भवति उन्मासेविषये ॥

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

Thus ईहः, ताहः, याहः, सहः, स्वान्, स्वतवान् ॥ The इ of ईहः (formed by III. 2. 60), is elided by VIII. 2. 23; and ह substituted for इ by VIII. 2. 62. The lengthening in स्वान् and स्वतवान् is through VI. 4. 14.

दिव औत् ॥ द४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, औत् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विवित्यतस्य सौ परतो औवित्यवगारेषां भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ पथ्यादीनामिकारस्य स्थाने आकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus पन्थाः, पन्थानौ, पन्थानम्, पन्थानौ, मन्थाः, मन्थानौ, मन्थानम्, मन्थानौ, असुक्षाम्, असुक्षामौ, असुक्षामः, असुक्षामम्, असुक्षामौ । आविति वर्तमाने पुनरद्वचनं षपूर्वायम्, असुक्षामितत्र वा षपूर्वत्य निगमद्विती शीर्धिविकल्पः ॥

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

थोन्थः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ थः, अन्थः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिमयोत्सर्वकारस्य स्थाने न्थ इत्यथमादेशो भवति सर्वनामस्थाने परतः ॥

87. न्थ् is substituted for the ऊ of pathin and mathin in the strong cases.

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

भस्य टेलोपः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भस्य, टे:, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथ्यादीनां भसंज्ञकानां टेलोपो भवति ॥

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

As पथः, पथे, पथः, मथः, मथे, असुक्षः, असुक्षा, असुक्षे ॥ The anuvṛitti of sarvanāmasthāna, of course, is inappropriate here: though its anuvṛitti is current as will be seen in the next śūtra.

पुं सो इसुद् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंसः, असुद् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुंस इत्येतस्य सर्वनामस्थाने परतो इसुडित्यमादेशो भवति ॥

89. असुङ्क् (अस्) is substituted for the final of उंस् in the strong cases.

The word उंस् is derived from आ (to protect)+उन्सुत् (Uṇ IV. 178), the न् being changed to anusvāra. So when न् of उंस् is replaced by अस् we get the form उमस्, the उ of असुङ्क् indicates that न् should be added in the strong cases after अ (VII. I. 70), so we have पुमान्, पुमांसौ, पुमांसः ॥

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

गोतो णित् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ गोतो, णित् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गोशब्दस्त्वं सर्वनामस्थानं णित्वति ॥

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

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

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

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

णलुक्तमो वा ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ णल्, उत्तमः, वा ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तमो जल्ला णित् भवति णित्कार्यं तज वा भवतीत्वर्यः ॥

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

The Vṛiddhi is optional, as अहं नकार or अकर, अहं पवाच or पवच ॥

सख्युरसम्बुद्धौ ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सख्युः, अ सम्बुद्धौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असंबुद्धौ यः सखिशब्दः तस्माल्परं सर्वनामस्थानं णित्वाते ॥

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

That is, they cause Vṛiddhi. As सखायी, सखायः, but हे सखे ॥

अनङ् सौ ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनङ्, सौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सखिशब्द्य सौ परतो ऽनङ्कित्ययमादेशो भवति स चेत्स्युशब्दः संबुद्धिर्भवति ॥

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

As सखा, but हे सखे ॥

ऋदुशनस्तुरुदंशोनेहसां च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्, उशनस्, पुरुदंशः अनेहसाम च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तानामङ्गानाशुशनस् पुरुदंश इयेतेशं आसंबुद्धौ सौ परतो ऽनङ्कित्ययो भवते ॥

वासिकम् ॥ उशनसः सम्बुद्धावपिषेऽनङ् इय्यते । न डिसंबुद्धारिते नलोपप्रतिषंधोपि पक्षाइय्यते ॥

Kārikā :—संबोधने तृश्नस्तस्मिकृपं सान्तं तथा नान्तमयाप्यवन्तम् ॥

माध्यं विनिर्वाणि गुणं विगते नंगुसके व्याघ्रपदां वरिष्ठः ॥

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

As कर्ता, इर्ता, माता, पिता, भाता, उशना, पुरुदंशा, अनेशा ॥ In the Voc. Sg. we have हे कर्तः, हे मातः, पितः पुरुदंशः, अनेशः and उशनः ॥

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

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

The त् in उशन् is for the sake of distinctness.

तृज्यत्कोषुः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृज्यत्, कोषुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओष्टुशस्तुन्प्रथयान्तः संज्ञाशब्दः सर्वनामस्थाने ऽसंबुद्धौ परते तृज्यत्वाते ॥

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

The word कोष्टु is declined like कोट्ट in the strong cases. As कोट्टी, कोट्टौरी, कोट्टौरम्, कोट्टौरी ॥ But कोट्टून् in weak cases, and हे कोष्टो in the Vocative Singular. The accent in the strong cases is also that of the तृच् affix, i.e. acute on the final. The word कोष्टु is formed by the affix तुन् (Uṇ सितनिगमि &c, I. 69).

स्त्रियां च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियां, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असर्वनामस्थानार्थमारम्भः । स्त्रियां च कोष्टूशब्दस्य तृज्ञद्वयनि ॥

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

This sūtra is commenced for the sake of cases other than strong ones. In strong cases, whether of masculine or feminine, the former sūtra applies; but in the feminine, in other cases also there is त्रिच-treatment. Thus कोट्टी, कोट्टीभ्याम्, कोट्टीभिः ॥ Some read the word कोष्टु in the Gaurādi class (IV. I. 41), and they treat it as a तृच् ending word before the feminine affix डी॒ष, as कोष्टा ॥ According to them, in forming the Taddhitārtha compounds like पञ्चभिः काष्टाभः कीतैः—पञ्चकोष्टी रैः, we could not get the form पञ्चकोष्टीभिः, because when the affix उङ् is elided by V. I. 28, the feminine is also elided by I. 2. 49, and the डी॒ष being thus luk-elided, there would be no तृज्ञाव, because the affix leaves no trace behind I. I. 63. To get out of the difficulty, we can only say, that the form is so, in spite of the apparent inconsistency.

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

And because कोष्टु is treated as if it was कोट्ट, the feminine will be formed by the affix डी॒ष by IV. I. 5, and the form कोट्टी^३ will be end-acute by VI. I. 174. So that whether कोट्टी be formed by डी॒ष under Gaurādi class, or by डी॒ष under IV. I. 5, the accent remains the same: while under this second view, we have not to face any such difficulty as in the first.

विभाषा तृतीयादिष्वचि ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, तृतीयादिषु, अचि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ श्रीवादिषु विभक्तिष्वजाषिषु कोष्टूविभाषा तृज्ञद्वयति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तृज्ञद्वयात् पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन तुम्हनुदै भवतः ॥

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

As कोट्टी or कोष्टूना, कोट्टौ or कोट्टे, कोट्टुः or कोटोः, कोट्टौरे or कोटौरी, कोट्टौः or कोटौरोः ॥ But कोष्टून् in the Accusative Plural, and कोष्टूयां before consonant-beginning affixes.

Vart:—तु॒द् and तु॒ह augment come in supersession of the Trich-vad-bhāva ordained by the preceding sūtras. Thus the Dative of the Neuter noun प्रियक्रोऽु will be प्रियक्रोऽुने उरण्याय, हितक्रोऽुने वृषलकुलाय, and not °क्रोऽु॥ Similarly with तु॒ह, as क्रोऽुनाम्॥

चतुरन्दुहोरामुदात्तः ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्, अन्दुहोः, आम्, उदात्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुर् अन्दुह इथेतयोः सर्वनामस्थाने परत आमागमो भवति, स चोदात्तः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अन्दुहः स्त्रियां वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

Thus चत्वारः, अन्दुर्लान्, अन्दुर्लाहो, अन्दुर्लाहः, अन्दुर्लाहम् ॥ The rule applies to compounds ending with चत्वार् and अन्दुह, as प्रियचत्वार्, प्रियचत्वारौ, प्रियचत्वारः, प्रियचत्वार॑, प्रियान्दुहौ, प्रियान्दुहः ॥

Vart:—In the case of अन्दुह there is option in the feminine, as अन्दुही, or अन्दुही ॥ This would be so, because it occurs in Gaurādi class IV. I. 41.

अम्संबुद्धौ ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अम्, सम्बुद्धौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबुद्धौ परतचतुरन्दुहोरमागमो भवति ॥

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

This debars the previous rule, as हे प्रियचत्वः (a Bahuvrīhi), हे प्रियन्दुन् ॥

ऋत इदातोः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, इत, धातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इकारान्तस्य धातोरङ्गस्य इकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

As किरति, गिरति from कृ and गृ of the Tūdādi class. आस्तीर्णम् विस्तीर्णम् from स्त्, the lengthening by VIII. 2. 77. Why do we say of a root? Observe पिनृणाम्, मानृणाम् ॥

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

उपधायाश्च ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपधायाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपधायाश्च इकारस्य इकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

As कीर्तयति, कीर्तयतः, क त्यन्तिः; from कृत् ॥ Lengthening by VIII. 2. 77.

उदोष्ठपूर्वस्य ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्त, ओष्ठ्य, पूर्वस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओष्ठपः पृथो यसाम् न्दुकारादसामीष्यपूर्वस्तरन्तस्य धातोरङ्गस्य उकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इस्तोत्त्वाभ्यां गुणवृद्धी भवतो विप्रतिवेधेन ॥

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

As पृ॑ति and पुण्य॑ति from पृ॒, so also शुभ॑र्षति ॥ The lengthening is by VIII. 2. 77. The rule applies when the dento-labial व precedes: as उ॒र्व॑र्षति कृ॒त्वज॑म् from वृ॒; so also प्राव॑दूर्षति कृ॒त्वज॑म् ॥ The labial consonant must be the consonant of the root. Therefore when ऋ॑ 'to go' is preceded by सम्, the rule will not apply, for म् is not part of the root: as समीर्ण॑म् by VII. I. 100.

Vart:—The Guṇa and Vṛiddhi do take place in supersession of ऋ॑ and उ॒र् substitution. Thus आस्तरण॑म् and आस्तारकः (from स्त॑ with स्यु॒द् and प्नु॒ल्), निपरण॑म्, निपारकः from पृ॒, निगरण॑म्, निगारकः from गृ॒ ॥

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये ऋ॑कारान्तस्य धातोरङ्गस्य बहुलषुकारादेशो भवति ॥

103. In the Veda, the उ॒र् substitution for ऋ॑ of a root-stem is diverse.

That is, it takes place even when the preceding letter is not labial, and does not take place even when the letter is labial. Thus मित्रा वरूण॑ ततुरिः, शूर॑ शूच्चा जगुरिः, प्रितम॑म् (no change), and पुण्य॑ति, from शृ॒, गृ॒ and गृ॒ ॥ All these words ततुरिः, जगुरि and प्रिति are formed by the affix किन् (III. I. 171).

ओ३म् ।

अथ सप्तमाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER SECOND.

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

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

The word इङ् is to be read into this sūtra by virtue of I. 1. 3. As अचैषीत्, अनैषीत्, अलावीत्, अपावीत्, अकार्षीत्, अहार्षीत् (VII. 3. 96 and VIII. 2. 28) The antarāṅga guṇa substitution is superseded by the express mention of Vṛiddhi. If the antarāṅga guṇa is superseded by this vṛiddhi, why is not the antarāṅga इवङ् also superseded in न्युवीत्, न्युषीत्? The Vṛiddhi does not take place, as these roots belong to कुटारि class, after which this affix is किंत् (I. 2. 1). The Vṛiddhi being thus superseded, we have इवङ् substitution. Why do we say in the Parasmaipada? Observe अच्योष्ट, अस्त्रैष ॥

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

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

As क्षर्-अक्षरीत्, स्सर्-अस्सरीत्, उवल-उज्ज्वलीत्, द्वाल-शद्वालीत् ॥ This debars the option of VII. 2. 7. Why 'short अ'? Observe न्यखारीत् न्यमीलीत् ॥ Why do we say "ending in र् or ल्"? Observe मा भवानशीत्, मा भवानटीत् ॥ The word अन्त means here 'proximity', as in the sentence उवकान्तं गतः = उवकसमीपं गतः ॥ The अ must be in the proximity of the र् and ल् ॥ Therefore the rule does not apply to अवभीत्, अश्वलीत्, for though र् and ल् are here *final* of the stem, yet are not in the proximity of अ ॥

वद्वजहलन्तस्याचः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वद्, वज, हलन्तस्य, अचः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वद्वजोहलन्तानां चाङ्गानामचः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति सिचि परस्मैपदे परतः ॥

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

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

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

The form उद्योगाम् is thus evolved. To the root वह we add विच् in the second Person singular. Thus वह + स्ताम् ॥ Now there appears the Vṛiddhi rule on the one side; and the rule requiring the change of ह to द (VIII. 2. 31) the rule requiring the elision of स् (VIII. 2. 26), the rule requiring the change of त into ध (VIII. 2. 40), then the rule requiring the change of घ into ट, and then the elision of one ट (VIII. 3. 13) on the other. What rule is to be applied first—the Vṛiddhi or the other rules? The Vṛiddhi rule is to be applied first, because the other rules are considered as asiddha (VIII. 2. 1); and after that we apply the other rules: and afterwards on account of the elision of ट, we change the Vṛiddhi आ into ओ (VI. 3. 112). The equation will be something like this:—वह + स्ताम् = वाह + स्ताम् (VII. 2. 3) = वाद + स्ताम् (VIII. 2. 31) = वाद + ताम् (VIII. 2. 26) = वाद + धाम् (VIII. 2. 80) = वाद + टाम् (VIII. 4. 41) = वा + अम् (VIII. 3. 13) = वोदाम् (VI. 3. 112). This with the upasarga उत् and the augment अ becomes उद्योगाम् ॥ Similar is the evolution of उद्योगाम् with त्तम् ॥ Once the अ has been Vṛiddhied into आ, there is no Vṛiddhi of ओ ॥ Had we not first Vṛiddhied the वह into वाह, but applied the vṛiddhi rule last, then there would have been vṛiddhi of ओ, as वौदाम् which is wrong. In fact where there has not taken place vṛiddhi first, there ओ is vṛiddhied, as = सोदामित्तस्यापत्तं — सौदामित्तः ॥

नेदि ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इति ॥
शक्तिः ॥ इडावे तिथि इत्यन्तस्याङ्गस्य वृद्धिर्न भवति ।

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

As अहेवीत्, असेवीत्, अकोपीत्, अमोषीत्, but अलावीत् where the root ends in a vowel. Will not तु by taking Guṇa (which is an antaraṅga operation) and the substitution of अह्, become a root ending in a consonant? No, though Guṇa is antaraṅga, it is superseded by the express Vṛiddhi.

ध्यान्तक्षणश्वसजागृणिश्वयोदिताम् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह, म, ए, अन्त, क्षण, श्वस्, जागृ, णि, श्वि, एदिताम् ॥

शक्तिः ॥ इकारान्तानां मकारान्तानां बकारान्तानां मङ्गानां क्षण श्वस जागृ णि श्वि इत्येतेषामोदितां च इडावे सिचि परस्मैपदे परसो वृद्धिर्न भवति ।

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

Thus भ्रह्, 'to catch' अभ्रीत्, स्थम्, 'to sound' अस्थीत्, श्वय, 'to expend' अश्वीत्, दुवश्, 'to vomit' अवमीत्, क्षण 'to hurt' अक्षणीत्, भ्रम् 'to breathe' अभ्रसीत्, जागृ 'to be awake' अजागरीत्, णि, ऊन (churādi) 'to lose' ऊनीत्, ईल 'to send' ईलवीत्, श्वि, अभ्रवीत् ॥ एदिताम्, रगे 'to cover' अरणीत्. क्षणे, अक्षणीत् ॥

ध्यान्तक्षणश्वसामेविसां च अतो हलोरेलवंचारिति विकल्पे प्राप्ते प्रतिषेधः ॥ जागृणिभीनां तु सिचि वृद्धिः प्राप्ता, सा च नेटीति न प्रतिषिद्धते, न वान्तराङ्गस्याहृष्टं पूर्वे गुणो भवति तिथि इत्येरनवकाश्यात् ॥ यदि पूर्वे गुणः स्थाविहणिभिग्रहणमन्यर्थकं स्थात् ॥ गुणायादेशायोः कृतयोर्बकारान्तस्यादेव प्रतिषेधस्य सिद्धात्मात् ॥ तसामिवेष्व णिभिग्रहणं ज्ञापकं न सिद्ध्यन्तराङ्गमस्तीति ॥ अथ जागृभ्रहणं क्रिमर्थम् ॥ आप्तो विचिण्णिणिङ्गस्य इति जागतेर्युणो वृद्धेरपवासे विद्यते ॥ स यथा अप्तो उपतीति वृद्धिं वाधते, तथा सिचि वृद्धिमपि वाधिष्ठते ॥ नैतदस्ति ॥ कृते गुण ईलोल्लान्तस्येति या वृद्धिः प्राप्तोति सा प्रतिषिद्धते, ॥ अथ गुणविभानसामर्थ्यादुभारकालभविन्यपि वृद्धिर्बाध्यते, ॥ यथा जागरयतीत्यचात उपधाया इत्यपि वृद्धिर्न भवति, तथा विष्णलोः प्रतिषेधेर्थवान्मवति इति शक्तमिह जागृभ्रहणमकर्तुम् ॥ न तु क्रियते विष्णदार्थम् ॥

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

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

took place first and then Vṛiddhi, the mention of णि-roots and स्वि in the sūtra would be redundant. For in ऊनयीत् and अश्वयीत्, having gunated the roots ऊनि and श्वि to ऊने and श्वे, and then substituting अश् (which is also antaranga) for ए before ईत्, we have ऊनश्+ईत्, and अश्+ईत्॥ Now these are roots which end in श् and would be covered by the first portion of the present sūtrā, viz, "h-m-y-anta", so the especial mention of णि-roots and स्वि would be superfluous, if guṇa was to take place first. The very mention of णि-roots and स्वि in this sūtra, is a jnāpaka (indicator) of the following maxim न सिद्धि अन्तरङ्गमस्ति ॥

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

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

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

जागर्+इस्+ईत्॥ Now appears VII. 2. 3 which requires vṛiddhi, because it is a root ending in a consonant. (2) But that vṛiddhi is superseded by VII. 2. 4 because the affix सिद्धि has taken the इत् augment. (3) Then appears the rule VII. 2. 7 requiring optional vṛiddhi, (4) But that optional vṛiddhi is superseded by the compulsory vṛiddhi required by VII. 2. 2, because it is a root ending in र्॥ (5) And this last vṛiddhi is prohibited by the present sūtra VII. 2. 5. These nine stages through which the form अजागरीत् is evolved, is abbreviated in the following mnemonic verse :—गुणो वृद्धिं ईजो वृद्धिः प्रतिषेधो विकल्प-मश्॥ पुन वृद्धिं निषेधोऽतो यज्ञपूर्वः प्राप्तयो नव ॥

ऊर्णोतेर्विभाषा ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊर्णोते:, विभाषा ॥
मृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्णोतेरिडाशी सिद्धि परस्मैपरपरे परतो दिर्दृ. १ वृद्धिर्निभवति ।

6. Before an इट्-beginning s-Aorist of the Paras-maipada, there is optional Vṛiddhi of the vowel of कर्णु ॥

As प्रौर्णवीत् or प्रौर्णवीत् ॥ This option applies when the सिंच् is not treated as डित् ॥ But after कर्णु, सिंच् is optionally डित्, (I. 2. 6) : when it is डित्, there being neither गुण nor व्रिद्धि; we have उवृह् substitution, as प्रौर्णवीत् (VI. 4. 77).

अतो हलादेलघोः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, हल आदेः, लघोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलोरक्षस्य लघोरकारस्य इडावै सिंचि परस्मैपद्ये परतो विभाषा वृद्धिर्न भवति ।

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

Thus अक्षीत् or अक्षाणीत्, अरणीत् or अराणीत् ॥ Why do we say 'of अ'? Observe अदेवीत्, असेवीत् ॥ Besides this patent objection, there is another, not so manifest. If we had not taken अतः, the sūtra would have ordained Vṛiddhi of every vowel (अच्चः: VII. 2. 3), the Vṛiddhi so ordained would be an अच्चं pertaining Vṛiddhi, and not an इक्-pertaining Vṛiddhi. Therefore डित् affixes will not debar such Vṛiddhi, for the किंति च (I. 1. 5), debars only इग्लक्षणा Vṛiddhi. Therefore कुटाइ roots after which सिंच् is डित् (I. 2. 1), will get Vṛiddhi, which is not desired. Therefore we have only one form of न्यक्तीत्, न्यपुरीत् ॥

Why do we say 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe ना भवानशीत्, ना भवानटीत् from अश् and अट् ॥ Why do we say 'prosodically short'? Observe अतसीत्, अरसीत् ॥

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

The word इट् is understood in this sūtra, so that the rule applies to सेह् aorist. The rule therefore, does not apply to Anित् aorist, as अपासीत् ॥

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

नेदुशि कृति ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इट, वशि, कृति ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वशादी कृति प्रत्यये परत इडागमो न भवति ।

8. The augment इट is not added to a Kṛit-affix beginning with a sonant consonant (वश pratayāhāra).

The वश pratayāhāra is rather vague. The rule really applies to Kṛit-affixes beginning with व, र (ल) म and न, and no कृत् affix begins with any other letter of वश class. Thus ईशिता, ईशितुम् non-vaś letters get the augment, but not ईश्वरः, (III. 2. 175) so also शीषिता, शीषितुम् but not शीषम् (III. 2. 167 र) भसिता, भसितुम् but not भस्म, (III. 2. 75. मनिन्) यतिता, यतितुम् but not यदः (III. 3. 90 नह्)

The Vārtika नेइ वरमनादौ कृति gives the rule in a more definite form. Of course, in the Uṇādi Kṛit-affixes, there is diversity. There we get the affix उ, for example, which of course does not take the augment, as रम् + उ = रण्डः (Uṇ I. 113). Why do we say कृत् affixes? Observe सर्वित्र, हरिम ॥

Here by VII. 2. 76 the Sārvadhātuka affixes beginning with a वल् consonant take इट augment after the roots रुद् &c; but this इट will also be prohibited by the present sūtra, if the word कृति be not read in the sūtra. So that rule VII. 2. 76 would find scope before those वलादि affixes only which do not begin with a वश letter; as रुदितः ॥ In some texts of Kāsika the counter-example is रुदितम् in the Perfect. This is wrong, according to Padainjari (कासिनि-यमादेव इटः सिद्धस्वात्) because इट always comes in the Perfect except after the root कृ &c. (VII. 2. 13); so the counter-example from the Perfect Tense is not valid. This sūtra is an exception to VII. 2. 35. The Kṛit-affixes beginning with वश letters as given by Pāṇini are the following: वन् (वनिष्, कुनिष्, छवनिष्), वर् (वरच् and कूरप्), वम् (कूम्बु), रु (कृ), लुक् (कलुक्), मन् (मनिन्), मर् (कमरच्) न (नह्, नव्), नर् (नजिह्), नु (कृनु) ॥ This list will show the truth of the above vārtika.

तितुत्रतथसिसुसरकसेषु च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, तु, त्र, त, थ, सि, सु, सर, क, सेषु, ॥

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

वार्तिकम् ॥ तितुत्रेषु अमहादीनाम् इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

Thus (1) क्लिच्—तन्ति: but तनिता, तनितुम्, क्लिन्—शीमिः but शीषिता, शीषितुम् ॥ (2) तुव् (Uṇ I. 70)—सत्तुः but सापिता, सापितुम् ॥ (3) छन् (III. 2. 182)—पञ्च but पतिता, पतितुम्, so also Uṇādi छन् (Uṇ IV. 158), as तन्त्वम् from तन् ॥ (4) तन् (Uṇ III. 86)—इत्तः but इतिता, इतितुम्; so also लीतः, पीतः, धूर्तः from लू, पू, धूर्यि forming सद् लविता, पविता, धूर्विता ॥ The त affix mentioned in the sūtra refers to this Uṇādi त (Uṇ III. 86), and not to the त (क्त) of Nishṭhā, for the Nishṭhā त takes the augment, as इतितम् ॥ (5) क्लयन् (Uṇ II. 2)—कृष्ण but कोषिता, कोषितुम्, काष्ठ but काशिता, काशितुम् ॥ (6) कृति (Uṇ III. 155), as कृतिः but कोषिता, कोषितुम् ॥ (7) कृष्ण (Uṇ III. 157)—रक्षुः but एषिता, एषितुम्; (8) सरन् (Uṇ III. 70)—शस्तरम्,

but अधिता, अधितुम् ॥ (9) कन् (Uṇ III. 43)—शक्षः but शलिता, शलितुम् ॥ (10) च (Uṇ III. 62)—वस्तः but विता, वितुम् ॥

Vāni :—The affix ति, तु and च take इ �augment after मह् and words of similar formations :—as विगृहीतिः, उपस्थितिः, निकृष्टिः निपातिः ॥

Before non-krit ति &c, we have इ, as रोशिति, स्वपिति ॥

एकाच उपदेशे अनुदात्तात् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ एकाचः, उपदेशे, अनुदात्तात्, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ उपदेशे व एकाच् धातुरतुषात्त तस्मादिगमो न भवति ।

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

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

Kārikā :—अनिद्वरान्तो भवतीति इयतामिमांस्तु सेदः प्रवर्त्ति तद्विदः ।

अन्तभूवन्तपूतां च वृक्षवृजौ विजीकृत्यर्थं शीङ्गिभिरादपि ॥

गणस्थमूवन्तपूतां च रस्तुवौ क्षुवन्तयोर्जेतिमयो युण्णणवः ।

इति स्वरान्ता नियुगैः समुचितास्ततो इलन्तानपि समिक्षोधतः ॥

As a general rule all monosyllabic roots ending in a vowel except अ, long ऊ and long औ are anudātta, and do not take इ augment: as रात्, नैत्, वैहृ, स्तान्त्, कर्त्, हर्ष् ॥ The following are the exceptions :—

(1) All roots ending in short अ are Udātta and take इ; as अथिष्ठ ॥

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

(3) All roots ending in short औ are अनिद् except वृह् (IX. 38 the references are to the class and number in the Dhātupāṭha) and वृम् (V. 8, X. 271): as निर्वर्तिता or निर्वरीता, प्रवर्तिता or प्रवरीता ॥

(4) All roots in short ई are Anit, except विधि (I. 1059), 'to grow' and विभ् 'to attend' (I. 945), as व्यविता, व्यविता ॥

(5) All roots in long ई are Anit, except शीङ्ग 'to rest' (II. 22), and वीङ्ग 'to fly' (I. 1017, IV. 27), as शविता, उड्जविता ॥

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

(7) All monosyllabic roots in short उ are Anit, except, रुह् 'to sound' (II. 24, I. 1008), स्तु 'to flow' (II. 29), शु 'to sound' (II. 27), यु 'to mix' (II. 23) तु 'to praise' (II. 26), शृणु 'to sharpen', (II. 28); and ऋण्म् 'to cover' (II. 30), though consisting of more than one syllable, is treated like तु for the purposes of यह् ॥ Thus रविता, प्रसविता, शविता, यविता, नविता, व्यविता and प्रोपविता ॥

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

Kārikā :—इति स्वरान्ता नियुगैः समुचितास्ततो इलन्तानपि समिक्षोधत ।

शक्तिस्तु कान्तेभ्यनिदेक इव्यते घसिष्व सान्तेषु वसिः प्रसारणी ॥

एभिस्तु भान्तेभ्य भैयुने वभिस्ततस्त्वंयोर्लभरेवनेतरे ॥

यमिर्यमन्तेष्ठनिदेक इव्यते रमिष्य यश क्यनि पश्यते मनिः ।
 नमिश्रतुर्यो हनिरंव पञ्चमो गमिष्य धषः प्रतिवेष्वाच्चिनाम् ॥
 लिहिर्दुहिर्मेहिरोहती वहिनहिस्तु धषो दहतेस्तथा लिहिः ।
 इमं उनिटोषादिष्ठ बुक्तसंशया गणेषु हान्ता: प्रविभज्य कीर्तिता: ॥
 तिर्ता दृश्य इंशिमयो दृश्य स्वर्ता तिर्ता रुद्धि ओशतिमष्टमं विशिष् ।
 लिहिं च शान्ताननिदः पुराणगः पठन्ति पाठेषु दृश्य नेतरान् ॥
 रुधिः सराधिर्मुधिवन्धिसाधयः कुधिक्षुभी दृध्यतिक्षुध्यतो ध्यधिः ।
 इमे तु धान्ता दश येऽनिदो मतास्ततः परं सिद्धातिरेत्र नेतरे ॥
 तिर्ति पिर्ति दृष्ट्यति दृष्ट्यती तिर्ति दृष्ट्यती तिर्ति दृष्ट्यती तिर्ति ।
 इमान्दृशौरोपविशन्त्यनिद्वैधौ गणेषु शान्तान्कृषिकर्पती तथा ॥
 तपि तिर्ति चारिमयो वार्ति स्वापि लिर्ति दृष्ट्यति दृष्ट्यति सृपिष् ।
 स्वरेण नाचेन शार्पि दृष्ट्यति प्रतीहि पान्तान्पठितांख्योदशः ॥
 शार्दि हर्ति स्कन्दिर्मविच्छिरिद्वैरीर शार्दि सर्वि दिन्यातेपवर्ती द्यारेष् ।
 तुर्ति तुर्ति विद्यातिविन्त इत्यपि प्रतीहि शान्तान्दश पञ्च चानिदः ॥
 पर्यं वन्ति विचिरिचिरिज्ज्ञातीन् निर्विचिरिज्ज्ञातीन् ।
 त्वार्ज यार्ज दृष्ट्यति दृष्ट्यति स्वार्ज स्वार्जित्यृज्ज्ञातीन् ।
 त्वार्ज यार्ज दृष्ट्यति दृष्ट्यति स्वार्ज स्वार्जित्यृज्ज्ञातीन् ।

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

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

(3.) भ—Three roots : रभ् 'to desire' (I. 1023), as, आरभा, अभ् coire (I. 1029), अभ्या, लभ् 'to take' (I. 1024), लभ्या ॥

(4.) ष—Four roots, यष् 'to cease' (I. 1033), अन्ता ; रष् 'to play' (I. 906) रन्ता, नष् 'to bow' (I. 867, 1030) नता, गम्ष् 'to go' (I. 1031) गन्ता ॥

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

(6.) द—Eight roots :—रिद् 'to smear' (II. 5), रेण्डा ; दुह् 'to milk' (II. 4), दोण्डा ; मिह् 'to sprinkle' (I. 1041) मीढा, रह् 'to grow' (I. 912) रोढा ; वह् 'to carry' (I. 1053) वोढा, नह् 'to bind' (IV. 57) नदधा ; दह् 'to burn' (I. 1041) दग्धा, लिह् 'to lick' (II. 6) लेढा ॥ In other collections सह् (I. 905, IV. 20), दुह् (IV. 89), रिह् (VI. 23), लुह् (?), are also enumerated ; of these रह् takes इ इव optionally before affixes beginning with त, so also दुह् because it belongs to the class of रधारि (VII. 2. 45) the other two are not found (?) in root-collections, hence the Kārika uses the words बुक्तसंशयः ॥

(7.) श—Ten roots :—रिश् 'to show' (VI. 3), दृश् 'to see' (I. 1037), दृश् 'to bite' (I. 1038), दृश् 'to rub' (VI. 131), स्तृश् 'to touch' (VI. 128), रिश् (VI. 126), रुश् (VI. 126) both meaning 'to hurt', विश् 'to enter' (VI. 130), लिश् 'to be small' (IV. 70, VI. 127). As देष्टा, द्रेष्टा, इंष्टा, आप्ता or आप्टा, स्पृष्टा or स्पृष्टा, The roots with a penultimate श् short, which are anudātta in the dhātupāṭha, with the exception of दृश् and दृश्, take optionally the augment रम् (VI. I. 59), ॥ रेष्टा, रोष्टा, क्रोष्टा, प्रवेष्टा, लेष्टा ॥

(8.) इ॒—Ten roots:—रुध् with अन्, 'to love'. इ॒ 'to obstruct' (IV. 65) राज्ञा. राध् 'to accomplish' (IV. 71, V. 16) राज्ञा; युध् 'to fight' (IV. 64) योज्ञा; बन्ध् 'to bind' (I. 1022), बन्धा; साध् 'to accomplish' (V. 17) साज्ञा; कुध् 'to be angry' (IV. 80) काज्ञा, क्षुध् 'to be hungry' (IV. 81) कोज्ञा; शुध् 'to be pure' (IV. 82) शोज्ञा, बुध् 'to be aware' (IV. 63) चोज्ञा; व्यध् 'to pierce' (IV. 72) व्यज्ञा; सिध् 'to be accomplished' (IV. 83) सेज्ञा ॥ The roots बुध् and सिध् are exhibited in the above Kārikā with ग्रथण् vikarana (बुद्धाति, सिद्धाति); therefore बुध् and सिध् take इ॒ in other ganas than the Fourth; as वेाधिता and सेधिता ॥ There being want of prohibition with regard to निधा, we have बुधितं and सिधितं ॥

(9.) इ॒-roots. Ten. शिष् 'to distinguish' (VII. 14) शेषा; पिष् 'to pound' (VII. 15) पेषा, शुष् 'to become dry' (IV. 74) शोषा; पुष् 'to be nourished' (IV. 73), शोषा, त्विष् 'to shine' (I. 1050) त्वेषा, विष् 'to pervade, to sprinkle' (I. 729, III. 13, IX. 54) वेषा, दिलिष् 'to embrace' (I. 734, IV. 77) इलेषा; तुष् 'to be satisfied' (IV. 75) तोषा, दुष् 'to be sinful' (IV. 76) दोषा. दोक्षयति, द्विष् 'to hate' (II. 3) देषा, देशयति, कृष् 'to draw' (I. 1059, VI. 6 both Bhuādi and Tudādi are taken, as the kārikā uses the two forms), आकृषा and आकर्ता ॥

(10.) इ॒-Thirteen roots : तप् 'to burn' (I. 1034, IV. 51) सप्ता, सप्त्यति, तिप् 'to distil' (I. 385) तेपा, आप् 'to obtain' (V. 14, X. 295) आप्ता; वप् 'to sow' (I. 1052) वप्ता; स्वप् 'to sleep' (II. 59) स्वप्ता; लिप् 'to anoint' (VI. 139) लेपा; लुप् (VI. 137) 'to break', लोपा ॥ The roots तुष् and दृष् optionally take इ॒, as they belong to रूपादि class (VII. 2. 45, Divādi 84-91). The special mention of these two roots in the kārikā, is for the sake of indicating that these roots take अन् augment; as जप्ता or तप्ता, or तर्पिता; ड्रप्ता, or दृप्ता or दर्पिता ॥ The तुष् and दृष् belonging to Tudādi class, are Udātta and सेद् ॥ कृष् (I. 1032) 'to creep' जप्ता, सप्ता; शप् 'to curse' (I. 1049) जप्ता; क्षुष् 'to touch' (VI. 125) छोप्ता; क्षिप् 'to throw' (IV. 14) खेपा ॥

(11.) इ॒-Fifteen roots. अद् 'to eat' [II. 1] अत्ता; इद् 'to void excrement' (I. 1026) हत्ता; स्कन्द् 'to leap' (I. 1028) स्कन्ता; भिद् 'to break' (VII. 2) भेत्ता, छिद् 'to cut' (VII. 3) छेत्ता; क्षुद् 'to pound' (VII. 6) कोत्ता, क्षोस्यति, शद् 'to perish' (I. 908, VI. 134) शत्ता, सद् 'to sink' (I. 907, VI. 133) सत्ता, स्विद् 'to sweat' (IV. 79) स्वेत्ता ॥ The root is exhibited as त्विद्यति in the above kārikā, showing that the Fourth class root is to be taken, and not the Bhuādi (I. 780), which is udātta and takes इ॒. पद् 'to go' (IV. 60), पत्ता; खिद् 'to be troubled' (IV. 61, VI. 142, VII. 12) खेत्ता, तुद् 'to strike' (VI. 1) तोत्ता; तुद् 'to impel' (VI. 2) मोत्ता; विद् (IV. 62) वेत्ता ॥ The root विद् is exhibited in the kārikā, as विद्यति and विन्त, therefore, the rule applies to त्विद्यति and क्षयादि विद् ॥ The Adādi (वेत्ति) and Tudādi (विन्त) विद् is सेद्, as वेस्तिता विद्यानाम्, वेस्तिताधनस्य ॥

(12.) इ॒-six roots :—पच् 'to cook' (I. 187) पत्ता, पक्षयति; वच् 'to speak' (II. 54) वत्ता, विच् 'to separate' (VII. 5) विवेत्ता; रिच् 'to make empty' (VII. 4) रेत्ता; सिच् 'to sprinkle' (VI. 140) सेत्ता; क्षुच् (VI. 136) 'to loose' मोत्ता ॥

(13.) इ॒-One root प्रश् 'to ask' (VI. 120) प्रेषा, प्रक्षयति ॥

(14.) अ—Fifteen roots :—उज् 'to colour' (I. 865. 1048) रहन्ता; विज् 'to cleanse' (III. 11) निर्णेन्ता, नेश्यति ; भज् 'to honor' (I. 1047) भन्ता; भञ्ज् 'to break' (VII. 16) भहन्ता; भूञ्ज् 'to fry' (I. 181) भदा or भर्दा; त्वज् 'to quit' (I. 1035) त्वन्ता; वज् 'to sacrifice' (I. 1051) वदा, युज् 'to join' (IV. 68, VII. 7) योन्ता; हज् 'to break' (VI. 123) हेन्ता; सज् 'to adhere' (I. 1036) सङ्क्ता, मज् 'to be immersed' (VI. 122) महन्ता; भुज् 'to bend' (VI. 124) 'to enjoy' (VII. 17). भोन्ता, स्वज् 'to embrace' (I. 1025) परि-प्रवन्ता; सृज् 'to emit' 'to create' (IV. 69, VI. 121) स्त्रा; मृज् 'to cleanse' (I. 269, II. 57), मार्ण, मर्जिता ॥ The root मृज् is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with a long indicatory क्, e-s, मृज् शुद्धो (II. 57). It, therefore, optionally would take इ ॥ Nor does this root take अग् augment. The inclusion of this root in the above list is, therefore, questionable. Others read विज् instead of मृज् ॥ The निजादि root विज् is Anīt (III. 12) i. e. विज् 'to separate' the विज् of Rudhādi takes इ ॥

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

The rule will not apply to roots which have become anudātta during evolution i. e. when taking affixes. Therefore, we have पविष्यति and लाविष्यति with इ, but not here, कर्ता कटान्, कर्तुष् ॥

शुचकः किति ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्री, उकः, किति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्री इत्येतस्मोगन्तानां च किति प्रस्थये परत इडागमो न भवति ।

Kirikū :—शास्त्र ऊणेर्तुष्ट्रायो यहूपसिद्धिः प्रयोजनम् । आमश प्रतिषेधार्थमेकाच्छेष्टुपमहात् ॥

11. The augment इ is not added to an affix having an indicatory क्, when it comes after the root श्री, or after a monosyllabic root ending in उ, ऊ, ए or ओ in the Dhātupāṭha.

As श्रिता, श्रितः, श्रितवान् ॥ So also with roots ending in उक् vowels : as श्रुता, श्रुतः, श्रुतवान् ; शूता, शूतः, शूतवान् ; शृता, शृतः, शृतवान् ; तीर्ता, तीर्तः, तीर्तवान् ॥

Why 'श्री and उक् ending roots only'? Observe विवितः ॥ Why having an indicatory क्? Observe अवित्, अवितुम्, अवितव्यम् ॥ Some read two क's in the sūtra and would apply it to the indicatory ए also, as भूञ्ज् (III. 2. 139).

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

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

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

The word उपरेण is understood here also, so that the rule will apply to roots which end in उक् vowel, in their original states and not to the transformed base before the affix. Thus तु is a उक्-ending root, which is transformed to तीर् before the Nishtha त ॥ The rule will apply to it, as तीर्णः ॥ If you object saying, that तु ends in long उ and its Desiderative optionally takes इह् by VII. 2. 41, and therefore, its Nishtha will always take no इह् by VII. 2. 15. we reply, that the option taught in VII. 2. 41 applies to roots ending in long उ; but when the root vowel is changed to ई, it is no longer a उक्-ending root. If you say, the rule of sthānivad bhāva will apply: we say, that that rule is not applicable to अल्पविधि, and this is an अल्पविधि ॥ Therefore, the word उपरेण should be read into this sūtra. If this be so, the rule ought to apply to आर्, and we could not get the forms जागर्तिः and जागर्तिवान् ॥ To explain this we should also read the anuvṛitti of एकाच् into this sūtra. The root उर्णु, however is an exception and is governed by this rule, in spite of its consisting of more than one vowel. Thus प्रोर्णुतः and प्रोर्णुतवान् ॥

Kārikā :—उर्णु is treated as if it was तु, when the affix उर्णु is to be applied, आर् is to be prohibited, or इह् is to be debarred.

सनि प्रहगुहोध ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, प्रह, गुहोः, च ॥
बृत्तिः ॥ प्रह गुह इत्येतयोरुगन्तानां च सनि प्रत्यये परत इडागमो न भवति ।

12. The Desiderative affix सन् does not get the augment इह्, not only after roots ending in उ, ऊ, उर्णु and उर्णु, but also after प्रह and गुह ॥

As जिघृक्षति, जुघृक्षति, रुरूपति, लुलूषति ॥ The anuvṛitti of चिः is not drawn into this sūtra, as option is allowed regarding it by VII. 2. 49. गह् would always get इह्, यह् (I. 944) being उर्णित् (in the Dhātupāṭha), would have optionally taken इह् (VII. 2. 44).

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

कुरुभृवृस्तुदुन्मुश्रुतो लिदि ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कु, सृ, भृ, वृ, स्तु, द्वृ, स्मृ, श्रुतः, लिदि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृ शु भृ स्तु त्रु शु शु इत्येतेषां लिटि प्रस्त्रये इडागमो न भवति ।
षार्त्तिकम् ॥ कृप्रासुट इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

13. The Personal endings of the Perfect do not get the augment ए॒, after कृ, सृ, भृ, वृ, स्तु, हृ, क्षृ, श्वृ ॥

Thus कृ-चक्रव, चक्रम; सृ, ससृव, ससृम; भृ, वभृव, वभृम; वृम्, ववृव, ववृम; वृह्, ववृवहे, ववृमहे; स्तु, तुदुव, तुदुम्; हु, दुद्रव, दुद्रम्; सु: सुसुव, सुसुम्; शु: शुशुव, शुशुम् ॥ सिद्धे सत्यारम्भोनियमार्थः, क्रारय एव लिप्यनिदस्ततोन्ये सेत इति ॥

These roots with the exception of वृ are Anित by rule VII. 2. 10; their special mention here is for the sake of niyama, namely, these roots alone are Anित in the Perfect, other roots are all Se॑t in the Perfect. Thus विभिदिव, विभिदिम, लुलुविव, लुलुविम ॥ All anudâttâ roots of the Dhâtupâṭha are to be understood, by this rule, to get इट ॥ The affix य of the Perfect gets इट after वृ॒प्, as the irregular form वृव्य॑ in VII. 2. 64, indicates that in the Veda, य does not get इट after वृ॒प्, but in the secular literature it does. By VII. 2. 63, the य would have got इट after स्त्, ह्, श् and शु॒; that इट is also prohibited by the present sûtra. As तुष्टोय, इुष्टोय, उष्टोय, इश्टोय ॥

Vart :—ए॒र is added when कृ takes the शुद् augment : as संचस्करि॑य, संचस्क-
रि॑य ॥ The rule VII. 2. 63, applies here also, as संचस्करि॑य ॥

इवादितो निष्ठायाम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्व, ईदितः, निष्ठायाम्, ॥
बुत्तिः ॥ भवतेरीवितश्च निष्ठायामिद्गामो न भवति ॥

14. The Participial affixes त and तवत् (kta and ktavatu), do not get the इ augment after श्व, and after the root which has an indicatory ई ॥

As शूनः, शूनवान् ; ओलंजी (VI. 10),—लम्, लग्नवान् ; ओविजी (VI. 9), उद्दिमः, उद्दिमवान् ॥ The त is changed to न because of the indicatory ओ (VIII. 2. 45). So also शीर्षी (IV. 42), शीर्षः, शीर्षवान् ॥ In the Dhātupāṭha, डीहः (IV. 27), is classed among ओवित् roots, and it indicates that the Nishṭhā is aniṣ after it : and ओ is for न-change (VIII. 2. 45) as, उद्दीनः, उद्दीनवान् ॥ The word निष्ठावान् governs the following sūtras upto VII. 2. 35.

यस्य विभाषा ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, विभाषा ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यस्य धातोविभाषा क्वचिदिदुक्तस्तस्य निष्ठायां परत इडगमो न भवति ॥

15. The Participial-affixes do not take **ए**, after those roots, to which another suffix can optionally be added, with or without this augment **०**.

That is, a root which is *optionally* Set before other affixes, is *invariably* anit before Nishṭhā. Thus by VII. 2. 44, वल् consonant beginning affixes are optionally सेद् after the roots धु &c. The Nishṭhā after धु &c, will be invariably anit. Thus विधूतः, विधूतवान्; गूडः, गूडवान् ॥ By VII. 2. 56, the roots having an indicatory उ, *optionally* are followed by Setक्ता ॥ The Nishṭhā after उदित् roots will *invariably* be anit: as वृद्धः, वृद्धवान् ॥

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

आदितश्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदितः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आस्तिश्च धातोर्मिष्टायामिदागमो न भवति ॥

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

As ग्रिमिश्च — मिनः, मिनवान् ; ग्रिष्मिश्च — ग्रिष्मणः, ग्रिष्मणवान् ; ग्रिष्मिश्च — स्विनः, स्विनवान् ॥ The च implies that other roots not enumerated are to be also included, as आश्वस्तः, वान्तः ॥

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

**विभाषा भावादिकर्मणोः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, भाव, आदिकर्मणोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भावे भास्तिर्मणि च आदितो धातोर्मिष्टायामिदागमो न भवति ॥**

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

Thus मिन्नमनेन or मेवितमनेन, प्रमिनः, प्रमेवितः ॥ The Saunāgas optionally make the *Nishṭhā* set after the root शक्, when the affix has a Passive significance even, as शकितो घटः कर्तुष् or शक्तोः घटः कर्तुष् ॥ Not so, when the affix has Impersonal force, as शक्तमनेन ॥ The root अस् 'to throw' (अस्यति), is followed by सेह *Nishṭhā*, when the sense is Impersonal : as अस्तिमनेन ; but not when the beginning of action is meant, as अस्तः काण्डः ॥

क्षुधस्वान्तध्वान्तलभ्रम्पिष्टविरिष्टफाण्टबाढानि मन्थमनस्तमः सकाविस्पष्टस्वरा-

नायासभूशेषु ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुध्य, स्वान्त, ध्वान्त लग्न, मिष्ट, विरिध, फाण्ड,
बाढानि, मन्थ, मनः, तमः, सक्त, अविस्पष्ट, स्वर, अनायास, भूशेषु ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुध्य स्वान्त ध्वान्त लग्न मिष्ट विरिध फाण्ड बाढ इत्येते निपातन्ते वयासंख्यं मन्थ मनस्तमः
सक्ताविस्पष्ट स्वरानायासभूश इत्येतेष्वर्येषु ॥

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

1. क्षुध्यः ‘a churning stick’, 2. स्वान्तः ‘the mind’, 3. ध्वान्तः ‘darkness’, 4. लग्नः ‘attached’, 5. मिष्टः ‘indistinct or unintelligible’, 6. विरिधः ‘a note or tone’, 7. फाण्डः ‘made without an effort or by an easy process’, and 8. बाढः ‘excessive’.

When the words have not the above sense, we have 1. क्षुभितं ‘disturbed or agitated’. The phrase क्षुधो गिरिः or नरी is a metaphorical use of the word. 2. स्वनितः as स्वनिता शूद्रः, स्वनितं मनसा ॥ 3. ध्वनितो शूद्रः or ध्वनितं मनसा ॥ 4. लग्नितं, 5. म्लेच्छितं, (— अपभावितं) 6. विरेभितं from रेषु ‘to sound’, or विरिभितं from रिभि ॥ 7. फाणितं ॥ फाण्ड is a decoction, prepared without much trouble, by simply slightly heating the substance with some water, without powdering or pasting it. (यदशृतमपिदं च कषायमुक्तसंपर्कमादाद् विभक्तरसमीपदुल्जां) a medicine for any disease may be administered in five forms :—रसः or essence, कल्पः paste or powder, शूषः decoction or extract, शीतः cold extract prepared by throwing pounded drugs into cold water, and keeping that all night to soak. This watery extract, to be drunk in the morning, is so called. फाण्ड is a similar hot preparation, but for immediate use, when the drugs are put in boiling water and the decoction after purification is ready for use as a drink. 8. बाहितं from बाहु ‘to strive’.

धृषिशसी वैयात्ये ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ धृषि, शसी, वैयात्ये, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वियात्य्य भावो वैवात्यम् प्रागल्मविनीतता ॥ तथ पृष्ठ शस इत्येतयोर्निष्ठायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

19. The Participial affix does not get इ � augment, after the roots धृष् and शस्, when meaning ‘bold, impudent and arrogant’.

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

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

हठः स्थूलबलयोः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ हठः, स्थूल, बलयोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हठ इति निपात्यते स्थूले बलवति आर्ये ॥

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

It is derived from हठ with न् affix. In other senses, the forms are हृषितम् or हृषितम् ॥ There are two roots one हठ (I. 769) without nasal, and the other हट् (I. 770) with the nasal. हठ can be derived from any one of these by eliding ह्, and the nasal, and changing त् to ठ्, and not adding the augment हृ् ॥

The difference between स्थूल and बल is that a man may be stout or स्थूल without being strong (बलवान्) and vice versa. The word बल in the sūtra is equal to बलवत्; in fact, the word बल is formed by अच् affix. The irregularity in the formation of हठ consists in the absence of हृ् and the elision of ह् (and of न्, if the root हठ be taken) : and the change of त् into ठ् ॥ This irregular elision of ह् is for the sake of preventing the application of the rule पूर्वचासिज्जम् (VIII. 2. 1). The form could have been obtained in the regular way by the elision of ठ्, thus: हठ+त्=हठ+त् (VIII. 2. 31)=हठ+ध्=हठ+ड्=हृ+ठ् (VIII. 3. 13)=हृठ ॥ But then when ठ् is elided, the rule पूर्वचासिज्जम् will apply, and the forms प्रदिमा, प्रदीयान्, हठयति could not be obtained. For ठ् is changed to ठ् by VI. 4. 161 only when it is laghu or light, but ठ्-lopa being considered asiddha, the ठ् would be heavy as standing before a conjunct consonant. So also the form परिहृस्याऽगतः could not be obtained: for the जि would not be changed to अच् before स्थप when the ठ् is not light or laghu (VI. 4. 56). So also, परिहृस्यापत्तं-पारिहृदी (the daughter of Paridṛḍha) could not be formed. For ठ् being considered guru or heavy, the affix अच् would have come in the feminine (IV. 1. 78).

प्रभौ परिवृढः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रभौ, परिवृढः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिवृढ इति निपात्यते प्रभुभेदवाति ॥

21. The irregularly formed परिवृढ means 'Lord'.

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

The ह् is elided first as an anomaly. By so doing we can get the forms like परिवृदयति, परिवृदस्यगतः; पारिवृदीकन्त्या ॥ The form परिवृद्य is formed by स्थप instead of ktvā ॥ Though the full noun is परिवृढ and जिच् is added to such a noun, yet for the purposes of ktvā it is considered as a compound verb, having परि as upasarga. In fact, जिच् is added to वृढ, and the root becomes व्रादि, and then ktvā is added to this root, and then there is compounding of परि with this word ending in ktvā, and then by the regular process the ktvā is replaced by स्थप ॥ The general rule is that Derivative roots formed from nouns, like परिवृढ, उत्तमनस्, सुगनस् &c which have an upasarga as one of their formative elements,

are treated as if they were compound verbs having those upasargas. The result of this is, that though the full noun is सुमनस्, yet in the derivative verb, इत् will be treated as an upasarga, as in ordinary compound verbs. Thus the augment इत् in the Imperfect is added after इत् and not before it, as स्वमनायत्, उद्मनायत् ॥ The rule is उपसर्गसमानाकारं पूर्वपदं धातुसंज्ञाप्रयोजके प्रत्येय चिकीर्षिते पृथक् कियते ॥ The Participial form of these words is therefore with स्वप् and not स्वा, as सुमनाय्य and उमनाय्य ॥ The only exception to this rule is the noun समाम्, in which the upasarga सम् is not considered as a separate member in the Derivative verb. This being the general rule, in परिव्रद्यति the portion परि is treated as an upasarga, and व्रद्यति as the verb, and its accent is governed by तिहङ् तिह् (VIII. I. 28) i. e. it becomes altogether unaccented and परि retains its accent. So also परिव्रद्य, where is परि is compounded with the Participial form व्रादित्वा, and then स्वा is changed to स्वप् by VII. I. 37.

कुच्छुगहनयोः कषः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुच्छु, गहनयोः, कषः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुच्छु गहन इत्येत्योर्पर्ययोः कपेद्वातोर्निष्ठायामिदागमो न भवति ॥

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

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

शुचिरविशब्दने ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुचिः, अविशब्दने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुचेद्वातोरविशब्दनेर्थे निष्ठायामिदागमो न भवति ॥

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

As शुष्टा रक्षुः, शुष्टो पासै but अशुचितं वाक्यमाह ॥ विशब्दन = प्रतिज्ञानम् 'assertion, affirmation, agreement'. शुचिर अविशब्दने is Bhvādi (I. 683), and शुचिर् विशब्दने is Churādi (X. 187), both of these are referred to in the sūtra. The prohibition of विशब्दन in the sūtra, indicates by jñāpaka that the चित् added to the root in the Churādi class in the sense of विशब्दन is anitya. So the following construction becomes valid:-as महीपालवचः शुस्ता शुशुषः पुष्पमाणवाः "expressed their opinions in words".

In short the चित् is optionally added to the शुचिर् of the Churādi class.

Some say the Churādi चित् is anitya generally and not only after शुचिर् (अनित्यं व्यवन्ताम् शुरावदः) ॥ This is inferred from the mention of the root चिति स्मृत्याम् (X. 2) in this class. The indicator इ in चिति shows that the augment

इति will be added to the root, which will thus become चिन्ति and this न will be retained throughout and never dropped. (VII. I. 48). Now had the चित् been nitya, then the root ought to have been taught as चिन्त सूख्याम्, because no rule would have caused the elision of the न of चिन्त when चित् was added. The enunciation of the root as चिति, therefore, indicates that the churadi चित् is anitya, and thus we get the forms like चिन्तितः, चिन्तया, चिन्तयते, चिन्तति, चिन्तेत् &c.

अर्द्धः समिक्षिभ्यः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्द्धः, सं, नि, विभ्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सं नि वि इत्येत्य उत्तरस्यार्थेनिष्ठायामिदागमो न भवति ॥

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

As समर्णः, 'plagued' अर्णः, अर्णः ॥ Why 'of अर्द्ध'? Observe समेधितः ॥ Why 'सं, नि or वि'? Observe आर्द्धितः ॥

अमेघाविद्युर्ये ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अमेः, च, आविद्युर्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अग्निशब्दादुत्तरस्यार्थेनिष्ठायामिदागमो न भवति ॥

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

As अभ्यर्णा-सेना, अभ्यर्णा इति ॥ Why 'when meaning near'? See अभ्यर्णितो इति: शीतेत् meaning शीकितः ॥ विद्युर् means 'remote,' that which is not remote is अविद्युर् 'non-remote,' the state of being non-remote is आविद्युर्यः 'non-remote-ness.' The affix इति is added irregularly, in spite of the prohibition contained in V. I. 121.

णेत्रज्ययने वृत्तम् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ णेः, अज्ययने, वृत्तम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तस्य वृत्तेनिष्ठायामध्ययनार्थे वृत्तमितीडभावो जिल्लक् च निपात्यते ॥

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

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

वा दान्तशान्तपूर्णदस्तस्पष्टच्छञ्चसाः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, दान्त, शान्त, पूर्ण,
दस्त, स्पष्ट, छञ्च, छसाः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जेरित्यनुवर्तते। एष शाम् पूरी दस् स्पष्ट छद् जप् इत्येतेषां प्यन्तानां धानूनां वा भानिदत्तं निपात्यतं ॥

27. The following irregularly formed Participles, from the causative roots, may optionally take इ॒ट्, namely, वान्त्, शान्त्, पूर्ण्, दस्त्, स्पष्ट्, छन्न्, छस् ॥

These words are formed either from the causative base or from the primary roots इ॒म् &c. The other forms are शमितः, शमितः, पूरितः, शासितः, शाशितः, छादितः and ज्ञपितः ॥ The words वान्त् &c. are formed by the luk-elision of णि(Causative), and not taking the इ॒ट् Augment. By VII. 2. 49 ज्ञप् optionally is सेद् and, therefore, by VII. 2. 15, its Participle would have been *always* अनिट्, hence, this sūtra makes an option.

रुद्ध्यमत्वरसंध्यास्वनाम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुषि, अम, त्वर, संधुष, आस्वनाम् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ वैति वर्तते । रुषि अम त्वर संधुष आस्वन इत्येतेषां निष्ठायां वा इडागमो न भवति ॥

28. The Participial affix may optionally get इ॒ट् augment, after रुष्, अम्, त्वर, संधुष, and आस्वन् ॥

As इ॒ट् or रुषितः ॥ By VII. 2. 48, the affixes after रुष् are *optionally* सेद्, and therefore by VII. 2. 15, the Nishṭhā after this verb would have been *always* अनिट्; hence this optional rule. अभ्यान्तः or अभ्यमितः; तूर्णः or त्वरितः ॥ The इ॒ट् is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha as इ॒स्वरा (I. 812) i. e. with an indicatory long आ, and hence by VII. 2. 16. would have been अनिट् always, this rule makes it optionally अनिट्. So also, संधुष्टौ पासौ, or संधुषितौ पासौ, संधुण् or संधुषितं वाक्यमाह, संधुष्टौ or संधुषितौ इ॒स्मी ॥ शुष preceded by सम् will be optionally अनिट्, even when having any sense other than that of 'proclaimed', as this *subsequent* sūtra supersedes VII. 2. 23 so far. So also आस्वान्तः or आस्वानितौ इ॒वस्मः, आस्वान्तम् or आस्वानितं मनः ॥ सम् when preceded by आ, though denoting 'mind,' is *optionally* अनिट्, in spite of VII. 2. 18, that rule being superseded so far by this *subsequent* rule.

हृषेलौमसु ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हृषेः, लोमसु, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ लोमसु वर्तमानस्य हृषेनिष्ठायां वा इडागमो न भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विस्मितप्रतिषातयोर्बैति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

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

we say "in connection with लोम?" Observe हृषे (bhūadi) देवदत्तः 'the deceived Deva Datta' and हृषतो (Divādi) देवदत्तः 'the delighted Devadatta'.

Vārt:—The option is allowed also in the senses of 'astonished' and 'beaten back', as हृषे or हृषितो देवदत्तः 'the astonished D'. हृषाः or हृषिता इन्ताः 'the bent or destroyed teeth'.

अपचित्य ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपचितः, च, ॥

शृतिः ॥ अपचित् इति वा निपात्यते । अपपूर्वस्य आयतेर्निष्ठायामनिदत्यं चिभावम् निपात्यते ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ निति नित्यमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

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

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

हु हृरेश्छन्दसि ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हु हृरेः, छन्दसि ॥

शृतिः ॥ इतरेत्तीतोर्निष्ठायां छन्दसि हु इत्ययमादेशो भवति ।

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

As हुतस्य आहुतस्य च, अहुतमसि हविर्बृताम् (Vaj. San. I. 9). But हृतम् in secular literature.

अपरिहृताम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरिहृताः, च ॥

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

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

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

सोमे हृरितः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमे, हृरितः ॥

शृतिः ॥ हृरित इति हृतेर्निष्ठायामिदागमो शुणम् निपात्यते छन्दसि विषये, सोमभृतवति ।

33. हृरित is irregularly formed from हु in the Veda, by guna substitution and हृद् augment, when it refers to Soma.

As मा नः सोमो हृरितो, विहृतिस्त्वम् ॥

प्रसितस्कमितस्तमितोत्तमितचत्तविंकस्तां विशस्तुशंस्तुशास्तुतरुतरुतरुष्टरुष-
रुतरुरुत्रीरुज्ज्वलिति क्षरिति क्षमिति वमित्यमितीति च ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रसित,
स्कमित, स्तमित, उत्तमित, चत्त, विकस्त, विशस्तु, शंस्तु, शास्तु, तरुतु, तरुतु,
धरुतु, घरुतु, घरुत्रीः, उज्ज्वलिति, क्षरिति, क्षमिति, वमिति, अमिति, इति, च ॥

दृष्टिः ॥ प्रसिद्ध स्तम्भित उत्तम्भित च च विकस्त विशास्त धैस्त शा स्तु तरहू तकन् वरहू वंकन् वंकनीः दुर्जलिति क्षमिति वर्मित्यमिति इत्येतानि छन्दसि निपात्यन्ते ।

34. In the Veda, the following irregular forms are found, some with, and some without the augment ए—1 *grasita*, 2 *skabhita*, 3 *stabhita*, 4 *uttabhita*, 5 *chatta*, 6 *vikasta*, 7 *viśastri*, 8 *sanstri*, 9 *sāstri*, 10 *tarutri*, 11 *tarūtri*, 12 *varutri*, 13 *varūtri*, 14 *varūtrih*, 15 *ujjvaliti*, 16 *kshariti*, 17 *kshamiti*, 18 *vāmiti* and 19 *amiti*.

Of the above nineteen words, 1, 2, 3, and 4 are from roots असु, 'to swallow' (I. 661) स्तम्भु 'to stop' (I. 414) and स्तम्भु (I. 413) all having an indicatory उ, and therefore by VII. 2. 56 read with VII. 2. 15, their Nishṭhā would not have taken उट् ॥ Thus असितं (ver. पस्त) वा एतत् सोमत्य ॥ विष्कम्भिते अज्ञे (= विष्कम्भः); येन स्तस्तम्भितेन (= स्तस्तम्भ), सत्येनोन्माभिता भूमि: (= उत्पत्तिः) ॥ The irregularity is only with the preposition उत्, with other prepositions, the form स्तम्भित is not employed. Similarly (5) चता (= चतिता) वर्णेण विद्युत् from चते द्वाच्नेन ॥ (6) उत्तानामा हृषयं यद् विकस्तम् (= विकासितम्) The forms, 7 8, and 9 are from the roots शासु हिसायाम् and शंसु स्तुतौ, and शासु अमुशिदौ with the affix हृष् and no augment; as एकस्त्वद्वृत्यादिशस्ता (= विशसिता), उत् शंस्ता शुविप्रः (= शंसिता), प्रशास्ता (= प्रशासितम्) ॥ The forms 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 are from the roots हृ and दृ (हृह् and दृह्), with the affix हृष्, and the augment उट् and उट् ॥ As तरुतारं or तक्तारं रथानाम् (= तरितारम् or तरीतारम्), वरुतारम् or वरुतारम् रथानाम् (= वरितारम् or वरीतारम्); वरुनीद्वा वेवीविधेव्यावती ॥ वरुनीः is exhibited in this form of Nom. pl. of the feminine वरुनी merely for the sake of showing one form in which it is found : another form is अहोरात्राणि वेवरुनवः ॥ Here the plural is formed irregularly, by taking the word as वरुनिः ॥ The feminine form could have been easily obtained from वरुनू, by adding ठीण्, the special mention is explanatory. The rest 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19 are from उत्-उचल, क्षर, क्षम, वम्, and अम्, formed with the vikarana शप् and the affix of the 3rd Per Sing लिप्, इ being substituted for अ of शप्, or शप् is elided and the augment उट् is added ॥ As अग्निहश्चत्वाग्निति (= उ-उच्चत्वलति), स्तोमं क्षमिति (= क्षमति), स्तोकं क्षरिति (= क्षरति), वः सोमं वमिति (= वमति), अभ्यमिति वह्णः (= अभ्यमाति) ॥ Sometimes we have अभ्यमात, as रावंवभ्यमाति ॥

आर्जुधातुकस्येहलादेः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदादि ॥ आर्जुधातुकस्य, इह, वलादेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उन्नतीति निवृत्तम् । आर्जुनातुकस्य वलादेःरिगग्मो भवति ।

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

Thus लविता, लवितुम्, लवितव्यम्, पविता, पवित्रुम्, पवितव्यम् ॥ Why 'ārdhadhātuka'? Observe आस्ते, वर्ते ॥ The niyama rule of VII. 2. 76 ordaining इ॒ augment to sārvadhātuka affixes of Rudādi verbs, would prevent इ॒ augment before sārvadhātuka affixes when coming after other roots. The employment of ārdhadhātuka here can be dispensed with. Why before affixes beginning with a ब॒-consonant? Observe लव्यम्, पव्यम्, लवनीयम्, पवनीयम् ॥ Though the anuvṛtti of इ॒ was understood here, its repetition is for the sake of preventing the prohibition of the foregoing sūtras like VII. 2. 8.

स्तुकमोरनात्मनेपदनिमित्ते ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तु, कमोः, अनात्मनेपदनिमित्ते ॥ दृष्टिः ॥ नियमार्थमिरश् । स्तुकमोरार्ज्ञधातुकस्य वलोवरिडागमो भवति, न चेस्तुकमौ भाष्णेनपरस्य निमित्तं भवतः । वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कमस्तु कर्त्तर्यास्तनेपशविषयाशसस्यात्मनेपरे कृति प्रतिवेष्ठो वक्तव्यः ॥

36. The augment इ॒ is added to ārdhadhātuka valādi affixes after स्तु and कम्, only then when they do not occasion the taking of the Personal endings of the Atmanepada.

The roots स्तु and कम् are udātta, and will get इ॒ augment naturally, the sūtra makes a restriction or niyama. The restriction is that when the roots themselves occasion atmanepada affixes, then they do not take इ॒, otherwise they will.

When do roots give occasion to Atmanepada affixes? The roots occasion atmanepada affixes when employed in the Impersonal, Passive, and Intensive senses. Sutras I. 3. 38-43, teach us when कम् takes Atmanepada affixes. Thus प्रस्तावता, प्रस्तावितुम्, प्रस्तावितव्यम्, प्रकमिता, प्रकमितुम्, प्रकमितव्यम् ॥ Why do we say 'when not the occasion of getting the Atmanepada affixes'? Observe, प्रस्तावीष्ट, प्रकंसीष्ट, प्रस्तोष्यते, प्रकंस्यते, प्रस्तुषिष्वते, प्रष्टिकंसिष्वते ॥ In all these examples स्तु and कम् have become the causes of taking the Atmanepada affixes. The Desiderative is also Atmanepadi because of I. 3. 62.

Why have we used the word निमित्त in the sūtra? Would it not have been simpler to say स्तुकमोरनात्मनेपरे? This form of sūtra would have indicated that whenever an Atmanepada affix followed, then there would be no इ॒ augment. Now the rule is that all words exhibited in the Locative case in this Grammar, have the force of परस्तावी, i. e. when that word follows. Therefore आत्मनेपरे would mean when an Atmanepada affix followed. If then this "Atmanepada" be taken as qualifying स्तु and कम्, then it must follow immediately after those roots, as in प्रस्तोषीष्ट and प्रकंसीष्ट; but we would not get the forms प्रस्तोष्यते and प्रकंस्यत, because स्त्य intervenes between the atmanepada and the

affix. On the other hand if "atmanepada" be taken to qualify the word "Ardhadhātuka affix" understood, viz, if the sūtra meant स्तुकमिभ्यां परस्यार्थधातुकस्याल्मेषपदे-जन्मते then the forms प्रस्तोष्यते and प्रकृस्थते would be valid, but we should not get the forms प्रस्तोषीष्ट and प्रकृसीष्ट, because the augment सीयुद् is a portion of the अत्मानेपादा affix, and there is no अर्धधातुका affix here. If the sūtra be taken to have both the above senses, then we could not get the form प्रचिकांसिष्यते in the Desiderative, because here the अत्मानेपादा does not follow immediately after the सर्वाधातुका affix that follows क्रम् ॥ Therefore, the word निमित्त should be taken. For by so doing, there takes place prohibition with regard to सीयुद् &c, and also with regard to that after which comes the अत्मानेपादा, as the स्य in प्राचक्रिष्यते, and also with regard to that which precedes the latter, as the स्त् affix in the above. In प्रस्तवितीयते (प्रस्तवितेवाचराति), the root स्त् has not occasioned the अत्मानेपादा affix, but the affix क्यह्, hence the prohibition of this sūtra does not apply.

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

With regard to स्त्, it will take no इट् in the Desiderative, and before a क्रित् affix, by virtue of VII. 2. 11 and 12. Therefore, we have the forms प्रस्तुतुष्यति, प्रस्तुतः, प्रस्तुतवान् ॥

ग्रहो श्लिष्टि दीर्घः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रहः, अ लिष्टि, दीर्घः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रह उपरस्य इट् अलिष्टि दीर्घो भवति ।

37. The augment इट् added to valādi अर्धधातुका affixes, becomes lengthened, except in the Personal endings of the Perfect, after the root ग्रह् ॥

As ग्रहीता, ग्रहीतुष्य, ग्रहीतव्यम् ॥ Why not in the Perfect? Observe अण्हित अण्हितम् ॥ The lengthening takes place of the इट् taught in VII. 2. 35, and does not refer to the विष्णवद् इट् of VI. 4. 62 : as ग्राहीता, ग्रहिष्यते ॥

घृतो वा ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ घृतः वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ य इति वृत्तुभाः सामान्येन ग्रहणं तस्मादुपरस्य ग्रहकार्यन्तेभ्येष्टो वा दीर्घा भवति ।

38. The इट् is optionally lengthened after वृत्त्, वृत्तः and after roots ending in long ग्रह्, except in the Perfect.

As वरिता । वरीता । प्रावरिता । प्रावरीता ॥ चूकारान्तेभ्यः । तरिता । तरीता । आस्तरिता । आस्तरीता ॥ वृत् इति किम् । करिष्यति हरिष्यति । अलिदीस्यव । वरिथ । तेरिथ ॥ Why do we say 'after वृ and long चू ending roots'? Observe करिष्यति and हरिष्यति ॥ Why do we say except in the Perfect? Observe वरिथ and तेरिथ ॥

न लिङ्गि ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लिङ्गि ॥

वृतिः ॥ वृत् उच्चरत्य इतो लिङ्गि शीर्घो न भवति ।

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

As विवरिषीष्ट, प्रावरिषीष्ट, आस्तरिषीष्ट, विस्तरिषीष्ट ॥

सिञ्चि च परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ सिञ्चि, च, परस्मैपदेषु ॥

वृतिः ॥ परस्मैपदपरे सिञ्चि वृत् उच्चरत्य इतो शीर्घो न भवति ।

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

As प्रावारिषाम्, प्रावारिषुः, अतारिषाम्, from वृ वृत्वनतरणयोः ॥ आस्तारिषाम्, आस्तारिषुः, from सूच्छ आच्छादये; but प्रावरिष, प्रावरीष in the Atmanepada.

इ सनि वा ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इ, सनि, वा ॥

वृतिः ॥ वृतः सनो वा इडागमो भवति ।

41. The Desiderative स may optionally take इ (which is optionally lengthened also) after the said वृ and चू ending roots.

As वृवूर्षति । विवरिषते । विवरीषते । प्रावृवूर्षति । प्राविवरिषति । प्राविवरीषति । चूकारान्तेभ्यः । तिरीषति । तितरिषति । तिसरीषति । आतिस्तरिषति । This Parasmaipada form is not valid, according to Padamanjari. आतिस्तरिषति । आतिस्तरीषति । सनि भवेति इप्रतिषेधे प्राप्ते पक्षे इडागमो विधीयते । इट वृतो वेति पक्षेशीर्यः । चिकीषति जिहीषति इत्प्रोपदेशोधिकारालाभ-पिकल्पाद्य इडागमो न भवति ॥

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

लिङ्गसिचोरासनेपदेषु ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्ग, सिचोः, आत्मनेपदेषु ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ्गे सिचिं च आत्मनेपदे परे वा इडागमो भवति ।

42. The इट् is optionally added to the endings of the Atmanepada Benedictive and s-Aorist, after the श् and श्व् ending roots.

As वृषाण् or वरिषीट्, प्रादृषीट् (I. 2. 12 no guna) प्रावरिषीट्, आस्तरिषीट्, आस्तीर्षीट् ॥ सिचिस्त्वपि, अदृत्, अवरिट्, अवरीट्, प्रावृत्, प्रावरिट्, प्रावरीट्, आस्तरिट्, आस्तीर्षीट् ॥ आत्मनपदे-विति किम्, ? प्रावारिटाम्, प्रावारिषुः ॥ लिङ्गः प्रथुशाहरणं न इर्षीतमसंभवाविदं इवलादित्यांदति ॥

Why in the Atmanepada? Observe प्रावारिटाम्, प्रावारिषुः ॥ No counter-examples of Benedictive Parasmaipadī are given, as the affixes not being वलाति, the इट् can never be added to them.

श्रुतश्च संयोगादेः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रुतः, च, संयोगादेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इट्वन्ताज्ञातोः संयोगादेस्तरयोर्लिङ्गसिचोरासनेपदेषु वा इडागमो भवति ।

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

As श्वरीट् or श्वरिषीट्; स्मृषीट्, or सरिषीट्; अश्वरिषाताम्, or अथरिषाताम्; अस्त्रपाताम्, or अस्मरिषाताम् ॥ श्रुत इति किम् । अ्योषीट्, श्वाषीट्; अश्योट्, श्वाषाण् ॥ संयोगादेविति किम् । कृषीट्, हृषीट्; अकृत्, अहृत् ॥ आत्मनेपदेविद्येव । अप्यार्षीट्, अस्मार्षीट् ॥ संस्कृषीट् समस्कृतेत्यशोपदेशाधिकारपदभन्त-त्वाम् श्वइट्वन्तागमो त भवति ॥

Why ending in short श्? Observe अ्योषीट्, अश्योट्, श्वोषीट् and अश्वोट् ॥ Why 'beginning with a conjunct consonant'? Observe कृषीट्, हृषीट्, अकृत् and अहृत् ॥ Why 'in the Atmanepada'? Observe अप्यार्षीट्, अस्मार्षीट् ॥ In संस्कृषीट् and समस्कृत् there is not इट्, first because श् (the form assumed by श् with श्व् augment) is not so enunciated in the Dhātupāṭha; the word upadeśa VII. 2. 10, is understood here; so that the rule applies to those roots only which in the Dhātupāṭha are श् ending and preceded by conjunct consonant; and secondly' श्व् augment is considered as not attached to the root (VI. 1. 135), and therefore श् is not considered a root beginning with a conjunct consonant.

स्वरतिसूतिसूयतिधूर्वितो वा ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरति, सूति, सूयति, धूर्व, ऊर्वितः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरति सूति सूयति धूर्व इत्यतेभ्य इविट्-व्योरास्तस्य वलादेरार्द्धधातुकस्य वा इडागमो भवति ।

44. A Valādi-ārdhadhātuka affix optionally takes इट्, after svr̥i, after the two roots सू (sūti and sūyati), after धूर्व्, and after a root which has an indicatory long ऽ ॥

As स्वरिता or स्वर्ता ॥ प्रसोता, प्रसविता ॥ सूवति, सोता, सविता ॥ धूर्व, धोता, धविता ॥ ऊर्वितः स्वत्वपि । गातृ, विगाता, विगाहिता ; गृहृ, गोता, गोपिता ॥ वेति वर्तमाने पुनर्वामहणं लिङ्गसि-ओर्निवृत्यर्थम् । सूतिसूयत्योर्विकरणनिवेदः श् ग्रेरणइत्यस्य निवृत्यर्थः । धूमिति सात्रुप्रभकात् निरेणो धू-

विधूननात्यस्य निवृत्यर्थः । सविता धवितेस्येव नित्यमेतत्वोर्मयति । स्वरतेरेतसाहिकल्पादृद्गमोः स्वद्वयेत्तद्-
वति विप्रतिष्ठेन । स्वरिष्यति । किंतु प्रत्यं शुष्कः किंतीति नित्यः प्रतिषेधो भवति पूर्वप्रतिषेधेन ॥
सूखा, सूखा, धूखा ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of वा was current, the second employment of वा is to stop the anuvṛitti of the Benedictive and the S-Aorist. The roots सू of Adādi (21) and Divādi (24) are to be taken, as the special forms सूति and सूयति indicate, and not the सू of the Tudādi (115) class. The इ is exhibited with the anubandha श्, in order to exclude धू विधूनने of Tudādi (105). In the case of these latter the इ augment is invariable, as सविता and धविता ॥ The root सू takes invariably इ in the Future, by virtue of the subsequent superseding rule VII. 2. 70, as स्वरिष्यति ॥ And before किंत् affixes, the prior rule VII. 2. 11, invariably debars इ, as सूखा, सूखा, धूखा ॥

रथादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ रथ-आदिभ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रथ विसांसिद्धारिष्येवमारिष्यो इष्टात्म उत्तरस्य वलोदेवार्दधातुकस्य वा इडागमो भवति ॥

45. A valādi-ārdhadhātuka affix optionally takes इत् after रथ् and the seven roots that follow it (Divādi. 84 to 91).

As एविता or एवा ; नंदा, (VII. 1. 60 उत्) नशिता ; अपा, (VI. 1. 59 अत्) तर्पा,
तर्पिता : इपा, रपा, शर्पिता ; इग्धा, इग्ना, (VIII. 2. 33) इग्निता ; मोग्धा, मोग्ना, मोहिता ; ज्वोडा,
ज्वोहिता, ज्वोग्धा, ज्वेडा, ज्वेहिता ॥

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

निरः कुषः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निरः, कुषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर इत्येवंपूर्वात् कुष उत्तरस्य वलोदेवार्दधातुकस्य वा इडागमो भवति ।

46. A valādi-ārdhadhātuka affix gets optionally the augment इत्, after कुष् when it is preceded by निर् ॥

As निष्कोटा or निष्कोषिता, निष्कोटुम् or निष्कोषितुम्, निष्कोटव्यम् or निष्कोषितव्यम् ॥ But only कोषिता, कोषितुं, कोषितव्यम् without निर् ॥ The exhibition of निर् instead of निष्कोटा indicates the existence of a separate and distinct preposition निर्, besides निष्कोटा ॥ It is the इ of this निर् which is changed to इ by VIII. 2. 19, in निलवनम्; for the इ of निष्कोटा being asiddha could not be changed to इ ॥

इणिष्टायाम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, निष्टायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निरः कुषो निष्टायामिडागमो भवति ।

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

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

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

तीषसहलुभृष्टरिषः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, इष्ट, सह, लुभ, रुष, रिषः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तकापावार्ज्ञधातुके इष्ट सह लुभ रुष रिष् इत्येतेभ्यो वा इडागमो भवति ।

48. An ārdhadhātuka affix beginning with a त may optionally take the इत्, after the roots इष्ट, सह, लुभ, रुष and रिष् ॥

As एष्ट or एष्टिता ॥ The इष्ट 'to wish' (VI. 59) is taken here, and not the इष्ट (IV. 19. IX. 53) of the Divādi and Kryādi class. Of the Divādi इष्ट 'to send, to go' we have invariably प्रेष्टिता, प्रेष्टितुं, प्रेष्टित्व्य; and the इष्ट 'to repeat' of the Kryādi is governed also by this rule and has the same forms. Therefore some read the anuvṛitti of उष्टित् into this sūtra. सह । सोष्टा । सहिता । लुभ । लोभिता । लोधा । रुष । रोष्टा । रोषिता । रिष् । रेष्टा ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with a त'? Observe एष्टिष्टति ॥

सनीवन्तर्द्धभ्रस्जदम्भुधिस्त्वयूर्णु भरज्ञपिसनाम् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, इवन्त, अष्टु, भ्रस्ज, दम्भ, ध्रि, स्त्व, यु, ऊर्णु, भर, ज्ञपि, सनाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इवान्तानाम् धातुनाम् । एष्टु भ्रस्ज इम्बु ध्रि स्त्व ऊर्णु भर ज्ञपि सन् इत्येतेषां च सनिवा इडागमो भवति ।

49. The desiderative स् may optionally take इत्, after a root ending in इष्ट, and after अष्टु, भ्रस्ज, दम्भ, ध्रि, स्त्व, यु, ऊर्णु, ध्रि, ज्ञपि, and सन् ॥

Thus विशेषिष्टति or दुष्टूषिष्टति, सिसेविष्टति, सुस्तूषिष्टति ॥ एष्टु, अर्द्धिष्टति, ईर्ष्टति ॥ भ्रस्ज, विभ्रज्ञिष्टति, (VI. 4. 47) विभ्राति, (VIII. 2. 36 and 41) विभ्रज्ञिष्टति, विभ्रस्ति ॥ दम्भु, विद्य-मिष्टति, धिष्टति, (VII. 4. 56) धीप्तस्ति, ध्रि, उच्छिष्टव्यविष्टति, उच्छिष्टशोषाति ॥ स्त्व, सिसारिष्टति, सुस्त्वर्ष्टति ॥ यु, यियविष्टति, (VII. 4. 80) युयूषिष्टति, ऊर्णु, प्रोर्णुनविष्टति, प्रोर्णुनूषिष्टति, ॥ The root भृष्टु of the Bhūādi class is to be taken, as the form भर with शप् in the sūtra indicates. विभरिष्टति, दुभृष्टति, ॥ ज्ञपि, ज्ञपयिष्टति, ज्ञीप्तस्ति ॥ सन्, सिसनिष्टति, सिषास्ति ॥ केष्टिइत्यभरज्ञपिसनितनिष्टिविद्विष्टति ॥ तितनिष्टति, तितंस्ति, तितांस्ति, पिष्टिष्टति, पिष्टस्ति, विद्विष्टति, विद्विष्टिविष्टति ॥ सनीति किम् वेविता, भट्टा ॥

Some add सन्, पत् and शरिष्टा also, as तितनिष्टति or तितंस्ति or तितांस्ति, (VI. 4. 17) पिष्टिष्टति or पिष्टस्ति (VII. 4. 54, VIII. 2. 29. VII. 4. 58) विद्विष्टिविष्टति or विद्विष्टिविष्टति ॥ Why do we say 'Desiderative'? Observe वेविता, भट्टा ॥ The form अर्द्धिष्टति is thus evolved. The Desiderative root is अर्द्धिस्, the ष्ट being gunated by VII. 3. 86 before सन् ॥ Now we reduplicate it, and the second syllable ष्टस् will be reduplicated by VI. 1. 2. and the रेष्ट is not duplicated by VI. 1. 3: so we get धिष्ट to reduplicate, and ष्ट is changed to इ ॥ The form ईर्ष्टति is thus evolved. By VII. 4. 55, the ष्ट is changed to long ई, which is followed by त् by I. 1. 57. Thus we have ईर्ष्ट् as root, and ष्टस् is reduplicated, and the reduplicate is elided (VII. 4. 58). The forms धिष्टति and धीप्तस्ति are similarly formed.

क्लिशः क्लानिष्ठयोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्लिशः, स्का, निष्ठयोः ॥ ५० ॥
वृत्तिः । क्लिशः क्लानिष्ठयोर्वा इडागमो भवति ।

50. The affixes *ktvī*, क् and *क्लवतु*, may optionally take इ �after क्लिश् ॥

As क्लिश्वा or क्लिशित्वा, क्लिष्टः or क्लिशित्प्रियः, क्लिष्टवान् or क्लिशितवान् ॥ क्लिश् (ix. 50) having an indicatory क् would have optionally taken इ before *ktvā* by VII. 2. 44, but then the Nishṭhā affixes by VII. 2. 15 would never have taken the augment. क्लिश् (Divādi 52) उपतापे, being anudātta would *always* have taken इ before *ktvā* and Nishṭhā. Hence this rule ordains option with regard to *ktvā*.

पूङ्क्लश्च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूङ्क्लः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पूङ्क्लस्त्वानिष्ठयोर्वा इडागमो भवति ।

51. The affixes *ktvī*, क् and *क्लवतु* optionally get इ after पूङ् ॥

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

वसतिश्चुधोरिद् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसति, श्चुधोः, इ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वसते: श्चुधेष्व त्वानिष्ठयोरिडागमो भवति ।

52. The affix *ktvī*, क्ता and *ktavatu* always receive the augment इ after वस् (वसति) and श्चुध् ॥

As उषित्वा, उषितः and उषितवान्, शुषित्वा, शुषितः, शुषितवान् ॥ The वस् of the Adādi class will get इ as it is enumerated in the list of सेत् roots. The repetition of इ shows that the rule is invariable, the 'optionally' of the preceding sūtra does not affect it.

अञ्जेः पूजायाम् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अञ्जेः, पूजायाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्जेः पूजायामर्थे त्वानिष्ठयोरिडागमो भवति ।

53. The affixes *ktvā*, क्ता and *ktavatu* take the augment इ after the root अञ्जच्, when meaning 'to honor or do something to show honor'.

As अञ्जित्वा आतु लुहति, अञ्जितं अस्य एत्वः (III. 2. 188, VI. 4. 30, II. 3. 67) By VII. 2. 56 अञ्जु would optionally have caused इ to come before *ktvā*, and hence by VII. 2. 15 never before the Nishṭhā. This sūtra ordains invariable addition of this augment. Why do we say when meaning 'to honor'? Observe उरक्तुषुकं कूपात्, 'the water is raised from the well'.

लुभो विमोहने ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुभः, विमोहने ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ लुभो विमोहनर्थे वर्तमानात् त्वानिष्ठयोरिडागमो भवति ।

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

As लोभिता and लोभित्वा, विलुभिताः केचाः, विलुभितः सीमन्तः, विलुभितानि पदानि ॥ विमोहनं = आकुलीकरणं ॥ By VII. 2. 48 लुभ would have optionally caused इत् to come before ktvā, and then by VII. 2. 15 the Nishṭhā would never have been सेद् ॥ Hence this sūtra. Why do we say when meaning 'to entangle'? See लुधः वृप्तः = सीतेन पीडितः, ॥ लुश् 'to be greedy' (Div. 128) is not governed by this rule, but by VII. 2. 48. As लुधिता or लोभिता and लुभिता (I. 2. 26) ॥

जूदश्चोः क्लिः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जू, व्रश्चोः, क्लिः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जू व्रश्च इत्येतयोः स्काप्रत्यये इडागमो भवति ।

55. 'The affix ktvā takes the augment इत्, after जू and व्रश्च ॥'

As अरित्वा or अरीत्वा, (VII. 2. 38) and व्रशित्वा ॥ जू was prohibited by VII. 2. 11, and व्रश् would have been optionally सेद्, as it has an indicatory long क्, by VII. 2. 44. Hence this rule. The special mention of ktvā, stops the anuvṛtti of kta and ktavatu.

उदितो वा ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदितः, वा ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उदितो धातोः स्काप्रत्यये परतो वा इडागमो भवति ।

56. 'The इत् is optionally the augment of ktvā, after a root which has an indicatory short उ ॥'

As शमु—शमित्वा or शान्त्वा; तष्टु—तस्मित्वा or तान्त्वा; दषु—दस्मित्वा or दान्त्वा ॥ से असिचि कृतचृतच्छृदत्तदनुतः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ से, असिचि, कृत, चृत, छृद, तद्, नृतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारात्मविच्यार्जधातुके कृत चृत छृद तद् नृत इत्येतेष्यो धातुयो वा इडागमो भवति ।
57. An ārdhadhātuka affix beginning with a स् (except सिच् the characteristic of the s-Aorist) may optionally take the augment इत्, after the verbs कृत्, (Tud 141, Rudh. 11) चृत्, (Tud. 35) छृद् (Rudh. 8) तद् (Tud. 9) and नृत् (Div. 9).

As कस्तर्चिति, अकस्तर्चित्, चिकृतस्तिति, कर्तिष्वति, अकर्तिष्वति । चृत्, चस्तर्चिति अतस्तर्चित्, चिचृतस्तिति, चांत्स्तिति, अचर्तिष्वति । छृद्, छस्तर्चित् । अछुतस्तर्चित्, अच्छुतस्तर्चित् । छित्तर्चित्, अछित्तर्चित् । तद्, तस्तर्चिति, अतस्तर्चित्, तितृतस्तिति, तिहिष्वति । अतर्चिष्वति । नृत्, नस्तर्चिति, अनतस्तर्चित्, नर्तिष्वति । अनर्तिष्वत् । निनर्तिष्वति ।

Why do we say 'beginning with a स्'? Observe कर्तिता ॥ Why असिचि? Observe अकर्तिता ॥

गमेरित् परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गमे:, इत्, परस्मैपदेषु ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गमेर्जातोः सकापरेशरार्जधातुकत्वं परस्मैपदेष्विडागमो भवति ।
इटिः ॥ आसनेपदेन समानप्रस्त्यस्य गमेरजमिडागमोनेष्वते ॥

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

As गमिष्वति, अगमिष्वत्, जिगमिष्वति ॥ Why of गम्? Observe चेष्वति ॥ The repetition of इत् shows that the rule is invariable. Why 'in the Parasmaipada'? Observe संगंगीष्टि, संगंगीट, संगंस्त्वते, संजिगंसते, संजिगंसिष्वते, अविजिगंसते, अविजिगंसिष्वते ॥

The lengthening takes place by VI. 4 16 when गम् is the substitute of the root इ॒ (II. 4. 48) Why before स्? Observe गन्तासि, गन्तास्तः, गन्तासः ॥

Ishṭi: This इ॒ augment is not desired of the root गम् standing in the same pada with an atmanepada affix. But it occurs every where else. As जिगमेषिता इ॒ आचरति = जिगमेषित्विते, here there is इ॒ augment, because Atmanepada affix is not in the same pada with गम्, but is bahiranga. Compare VII. 2. 36 *vast*. It occurs before कृत affixes, and even where is luk-elsion of Parasmaipada affix, and where therefore the affix generally would have left no trace behind by I. 1. 63. As संजिगमेषिता and भाधिजिगमेषिता व्याकरणस्य ॥ So also जिगमेष स्वम्, here there is luk-elsion of the Imperative affix हि ॥ The opinion of the author of Padaśeshakāra is that the employment of the term Parasmaipada in the sūtra is illustrative. He explains it by saying:—परस्मैपदेषु यो गमिरुपलक्षित स्तस्मात् सकारादेवार्थधातुकस्य इ॒ भवति ॥ According to him we have the forms संजिगंसिता and अधिजिगंसिता व्याकरणस्य ॥

न वृद्धयश्चतुर्भ्यः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, वृद्धशः, चतुर्भ्यः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वृतादिभ्यश्चतुर्भ्य उत्तरस्य सकारादेवार्थधातुकस्य परस्मैपदेषु इडागमो न भवति ।

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

Thus वृत्—वर्त्यति, शवस्यत्, विवृत्यति । वृथ॑ वर्त्यते । शवस्यत् । विवृत्यति । शृष्ट॑ । शस्यत् । शशस्यत् । विशृष्ट्यति । स्यन्त् । स्यन्त्यति । शस्यन्त्यत् ।

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

Obj :—The word चतुर्भ्यः may conveniently have been omitted from the sūtra. A reference to the Dhātupāṭha will show that the वृतादि roots form a subdivision of गुतादि roots, and stand at the end of Dyutādi class. So that the sūtra न वृद्धशः would have been enough, and there would have been no uncertainty or vagueness about it, for the word वृतादि would mean 'the roots वृत् &c. with which the Dyutādi class ends'. Thus we shall get the five roots 795 वृत् वृत्ते 796 वृथ॑ वृत्तौ, 797 शृष्ट॑ शशकृत्यायाः; 798 स्यन्त् प्रशवणे and कृप॑ सामध्ये ॥ As regards the last root कृप॑, we shall find from the next sūtra, that the present sūtra applies to this root also. Or we can change the order of the roots, putting कृप॑ first, and वृत् &c after it, so that वृतादि will mean four roots only. Whether वृतादि be taken to mean the five or the four roots, the word चतुर्भ्यः is redundant.

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

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

The word 'Parasmaipada' is understood in this sūtra, so that the prohibition does not apply to Atmanepada affixes: as वर्तिषीष्, वर्तिष्यते, अवर्तिष्यत्, विर्तिष्यते, स्यनिष्यते or स्यन्स्यते ॥ Moreover, with regard to Atmanepada also, the इ॒ is added to these roots when they stand in the same 'pada' with the affixes. But when the Atmanepada affixes are added not to the *roots* 'vṛit &c', but to the *roots* which are derived from the *nominal* bases formed from 'vṛit &c', then the 'root' is not in the same pada with the affix, and the prohibition of this sūtra will apply. As विवृत्सिनीयते ॥ Moreover, the rule applies, as we have said, to the affixes standing in the same 'pada' with the 'roots'; therefore it will apply to Desiderative roots, as विवृत्स्यति, though शृङ् here intervenes between the Ardhadhatuka affix सत् and the Parasmaipada तिएः; so also, an ekādeśa though sthānivat and therefore an intervention, will not be considered so for the purposes of this rule, as विवृत्सित्यति; so also in विवृत्स्यति ॥ The prohibition, moreover, applies to कृत् affixes, and where there is luk-elision of Parasmaipada affixes. As विवृत्सिता; and विवृत्स स्वयं where the Imperative हि is luk-elided, and being so elided, the force of Parasmaipada does not here remain by न लुभताहस्य (I. 1. 63); hence the above *Ishti*.

तासि च कल्पः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ तासि, च, कल्पः ॥
मृत्तिः ॥ कृप उत्तरस्य तासेः सकारेभार्द्धातुकत्य परस्मैपदेषु इडागमो न भवति ।

60. The Parasmaipada Ardhadhatuka affixes beginning with स्, and the affix तास् (the sign of the Periphrastic Future) do not get the augment इ॒, after the root कल्पः ॥

Thus कल्पासि, कल्पन्त्यति, अकल्पन्त्यत्, चिकल्पन्त्यति ॥ But कल्पितासि, कल्पिष्यते, अकल्पिष्यत, चिकल्पिष्यते in the Atmanepada.

In the case of कल्पः also, the इ॒ is added to the Ardhadhatuka affixes in the Atmanepada, when the root stands in the same pada with the affixes and there is prohibition everywhere else. So also there is prohibition before कृति-affixes, and the luk-elision of Parasmaipada. As चिकल्पिता, चिकल्पत्स स्वं ॥

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

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

अचस्तास्वत्थल्यनिटो नित्यम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, तास्तत्, यत्ति, अनिटः, नित्यम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तासा ये नित्यानिटो धामशोऽजन्तास्तेभस्तासाविव यनीडागमो न भवति ।

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

Those vowel-ending roots in Dhātupāṭha which are *invariably* अनिट before the affix तास् (Peri. Future), are also अनिट before the Perfect ending यत् ॥ As आता (Peri-Fut.), यथाय (Per.), चेता, चिरिथ, भेता, निनेय; होता शुष्णेय ॥ Why 'ending in a vowel'? Observe भन्ता, विभेषिय ॥ Why 'like तास्'? Observe लूत्वा but लुलविध, Why 'यत्'? Observe आता but यथेत्र, यथिम ॥ The word नित्यं qualifies अनिट, if therefore तास् be *optionally* अनिट, then the यत् will be सेत् *always*. As तास्-विधेता or विधविता ; the यत् is विदुषविधिय ॥

Here इत् is optional before तास् by VII. 2. 44. Similarly अक्रमिय, for क्रम् is अनिट in अत्मनेपदा, and सेत् in Parasmaipada. In fact, wherever there is want of इत्, whether by complete prohibition or optional prohibition, all that is regulated by VII. 2. 13 : this is the view adopted by the Kāsikā. But another view is that the prohibition of this sūtra applies to the इत् of VII. 2. 13 only, but does not debar the option of VII. 2. 44 ; so they have two forms विदुषोय and विदुषविधिय ॥ This view is applied by them to VII. 2. 46, as सत्त्वर्थ or सत्त्वरिय (VII. 2. 44).

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

उपदेशोऽस्त्वतः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपदेशो, अत्वतःः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपदेशो यो धातुरकारवान् तासो नित्यानिट तस्मात्तासाविवयनीडागमो न भवति ।

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

As Fut. पत्ता, Per. पपक्ष्य, यष्टा, इवश्च, शक्ता, शक्षक्ष्य ॥ Why do we say 'in the Original Enunciation'? Observe Fut. कर्ष्ण Per. चकर्ष्य in which the अ of 'karsh' is the result of guṇa substitution. Why do we say 'having an अ'? Observe Fut. भेत्ता Per. विभेत्यि, here the root-vowel is ई ॥ Why do we say "short अ"? Observe Fut. रात्ता Per. र्पात्यि from रात् the root-vowel being long आ ॥ The word तास्त् is understood here also. Therefore we have जिघृत्यि, जिघृत्यि ॥ Here the root ग्रह is anīt before सत् (VII. 2. 12) and not before तास् so it will not be anīt before य ॥ The words नित्यं भनिदः are also understood here. Therefore the rule does not apply to आनज्जय (VII. 4. 71, 72). For the root भञ्ज् (VII. 21) takes *optionally* इ उपरि तास् (VII. 2. 44) as भञ्जता and भञ्जता ॥

ऋतो भारद्वाजस्य ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतुः, भारद्वाजस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एकारान्ताद्वात्मीद्वाजिस्याचार्यस्य मतेन तासाविव नित्यानिट्यले इडागमो न भवति ।

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

As सत्ता, ससर्थ, धर्ता, वधर्थ ॥ The अ roots are covered by VII. 2. 61 ; the specification of these roots makes a restriction, so that *all* other roots, are not anīt, though the Peri-Fut in तास् be anīt. So that according to Bhāradvāja, we have forms like यथिय, वयिय, पेचिय, शेकिय ॥ Thus this sūtra makes the preceding two sūtras optional, except so far as short अ-ending roots are concerned.

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

बभूथाततन्थजगृम्भववर्थेति निगमे ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बभूथ, आततन्थ, जगृम्भ
ववर्थ, इति, निगमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वश्य आततन्थ जगृम्भ ववर्थ इत्येतानि निपात्यन्ते निगमविषये ।

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

As स्वं हि होता प्रथमो बभूय (=बभूविय); बेनान्तरिक्षमुर्वाततन्थ (=आतेनिय), जगृम्भा
ते इतिषमिन्द्र इत्याम् (=जगृहिम), ववर्थ स्वं हि ज्योसिषा (=ववरिय). See VII. 2. 13. This is also a niyama rule with regard to इ for by VII. 2. 13 the root इ was already anīt, and its Perfect would have been ववर्थ by that rule. The special mention of this form shows that in secular literature this root is always सेत् before य of the Perfect.

विभाषा सृजिदशोः ॥ ६५ ॥ विभाषा, सृजि-दशोः ॥
षुक्तिः ॥ सृजि दशि इत्येत्योस्थलि विभाषा इत्यागमो न भवति ।

65. थल् the Personal ending of the Perfect, optionally gets the augment इ उपरि after सृज् and दश् ॥

As सप्तष्ठ or सप्तर्जिय, दशष्ठ or दशर्जिय ॥ See VI. 1. 58 for अ उपरि augment.
इडस्यर्त्तिव्ययतीनाम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इ उपरि, अस्ति-आर्ति-व्ययतीनाम् ॥
षुक्तिः ॥ अस्ति आर्ति व्ययति इत्येत्यो यत्तिद्वागमो भवति ।

66. The affix थल् gets always the augment इ उपरि after अद्, अर्द् and व्यय् ॥

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

वस्वेकाजादघसाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसु, पक्षाच्च-आत्-घसाम् ॥
षुक्तिः ॥ कृतहिंश्चनानामेकार्थां धासूनाम् आकारान्तानां घसेभ वसाविडागमो भवति ।

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

Thus आरिवान्, आ॒रिवान्, प॒विवान्, श॒किवान् ॥ In the first two of these, the reduplicate stems आद् and आश् become of one syllable by the coalescence of अ अद् and अर्द् ॥ In प॒वि॒श् and श॒क॒श् the reduplicate is elided and the vowel अ changed to ए, and thus the reduplicate has become of one syllable. Of roots ending in आ we have, अविवान्, तस्तिवान्, of वस्—जस्तिवान् ॥ This वस् would have taken the augment by the general rule of इ उपरि increment, the present sūtra makes a niyama, so that the roots which are not monosyllabic in their reduplicate form are anīt : as विभिवान्, चिर्भिवान्, वभूवान्, शिभिवान् ॥ The niyama is made with regard to the roots which would have taken इ उपरि generally, as not being governed by the prohibition in VII. 2. 13. The roots ending in long आ may consist of more than one syllable in their reduplicate form, as आ॒था + वस्, hence their separate enumeration: as a matter of fact, however, these reduplicates also become monosyllabic ultimately by losing their आ ॥ The root इरिद्रा is not governed by this rule, for its Perfect will be formed periphrastically by III. 1. 35 Vārt, because

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

विभाषा गमहनविदविशाम ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, गम-हन-विद-विशाम ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गम हन विद विश इत्येतेषां धातुनां वसौ विभाषा इडागमो भवति ।
वार्तिकम् ॥ देहंश्चति वक्तव्यम् ॥

68. The affix घस् (वंस्) optionally takes इ after गम, हन्, विद् and विश् ॥

As गम—जग्निवान् or जगन्नान् (अ changed to न by VIII. 2. 64); हन—जग्निवान् or जगन्नान्, (VII. 2. 54 and 55) विद—विविरिवान् or विविहान्, विश—विविशिवान् or विविश्वान् ॥ The root विद् 'to acquire' belongs to the Tūdādi class, as it is read here with the Tūdādi विश् ॥ The root विद् 'to know' (II. 55, IV. 62), forms *invariably* विविहान् because it is अत्मनेपादि and cannot take इ augment before घस् affix.

Vārt.—The root देहं should also be enumerated. As इद्यिवान् and देहंश्वान् ॥

सनि ससनिवांसम् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनिम-ससनिवांसम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सनोते: सनतेर्वा धातां: सनिससनिवांसमिति निपात्यते ।

69. The form ससनिवांसम् with सनि is irregularly formed.

This is derived from सनोति or सनते root. As अङ्गजत्वाग्रे सनि ससनिवांसम् ॥ The augment इ is added, there is no change of अ of सनि to ए, nor the elision of the reduplicate before वंस् ॥ The other form is सेनिवांसम् when not preceded by सनिम् ॥ This form ससनिवांसम् is Vedic, in secular literature we have सेनिवांसम् ॥

अद्यनोः स्ये ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्यत-हनोः, स्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तानां धातृनां हनेत्वा स्ये इडागमो भवति ।

70. स्य the sign of the Future and Conditional gets the augment इ द्, after a root ending in short अ् and after हन् ॥

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

अज्ञेः सिचि ॥ ७१ ॥ अज्ञेः, सिचि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अज्ञेः सिचि इडागमो भवति ।

71. The स् of the s-Aorist always takes the इ द् after अज्ञ् (Rudh. 21).

As आज्ञान्, आज्ञिदाम्, आज्ञिषुः ॥ But आज्ञा or आज्ञिता in tenses other than Aorist. The root having an indicatory long अ् optionally takes इ द् (VII. 2. 44.)

स्तुसुधूभ्यः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तु, सु, धूभ्यः, परस्मैपदेषु ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्तु सु धूभ्य इत्येतेष्वः सिचि परस्मैपदे परत इडागमो भवति ॥

72. The सिच् of the s-Aorist gets the इ द् in the Parasmaipada after the roots स्तु, सु and धूभ्य् ॥

As अस्तावीत्, असावीत्, अथावीत् ॥ But अस्तोष, असोष, अधोष or अधविष्ट in Atmanepada. Exception to VII. 2. 10 and 44.

यमरमनमातां सक्तच ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यम, रम, नम, आताम्, सक्, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यम रम नम इत्येतेषामङ्गानामाकारान्तानां च सगागमो भवति परस्मैपदे सिचि इडागमम् ॥

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

Thus अयंसीत्, अयंसिदाम्, अयंसिषुः ॥ अयंसीत् ॥ अयंसिदाम् ॥ अयंसिषुः ॥ The root यम् is Parasmaipadi when preceded by वि or आ (I. 3. 83). अनंसीत् ॥ अनंसिदाम् ॥ अनंसिषुः ॥ आकारान्तानाम् ॥ अयासीत् ॥ अयासिदाम् ; अयासिषुः ॥ अयासीनां इलन्तलक्षणा वृद्धिः प्राप्ता सा नेतीति प्रतिषिद्धयते । परस्मैपदेष्विद्यते । आयंस्त ॥ अरंस्त ॥ अनंस्त ॥

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

स्मिष्ठुरभज्जवशां सनि ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्मि, पूङ्, शु अज्ञू, अश् सनि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्मिष्ठु पूङ् शु अज्ञू अश् इत्येतेषां धातृनां सनीडागमो भवति ॥

74. The Desiderative सन् gets the augment इ द् after the roots स्मिष्ठू, पूङ्, शु, अज्ञू and अश् ॥

Thus सिस्मविषते, पिपविषते (VII.4.80) अरिरिषति, अजिजाजिषति (VI. 1. 2 and 3) and अशिशिषते ॥ The root गृह् is not governed by this rule, as पुरुषति ॥ The अग् (V. 18) of Suādi class is taken here, and not अग् (IX. 51) of Kryādi class, for the latter *always* has इ॒, while the former having an indicatory long क् has *optionally* इ॒ ॥

किरभ्य पञ्चभ्यः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ किरः, च, पञ्चभ्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ किरादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः सनि इडागमो भवति ॥

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

Thus विकारिषति, जिगरिषति, दिशरिषते, विधरिषते, पिप्रिष्ठिषति (I. 2. 8; VI. 1. 16). But सिस्मति not included in the five. The roots क् and गृ would have optionally got इ॒ in the desiderative by VII. 2. 41, which would have been optionally lengthened by VII. 2. 38. But the इ॒ here being specifically ordained, does not get lengthened by VII. 2. 38.

रुदादिभ्यः सार्वधातुके ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुददिभ्यः, सार्वधातुके ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रुदादिभ्य उत्तरत्वं वलादेः सार्वधातुकस्य इडागमो भवति ॥

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

Thus रोत्सिति, स्वपिति, भसिति, प्राणिति, जसिति ॥ But जागर्ति which is beyond the five, and स्वस्त्रा before अर्धाद्वातुक affixes, and रुदत्ति before a vowel beginning affix.

ईशः से ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईशः, से ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ईश उत्तरत्वं से इत्येतत्स्य सार्वधातुकस्य इडागमो भवति ॥

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

As ईशिषे and इत्येत्ति ॥ से becomes स्त्र by III. 4. 91 and 80. The से is exhibited in the sūtra without any case-ending.

ईडजनोर्द्धे च ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईड्ज, जनोः, ध्वे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईड जन इत्येताभ्याष्टसत्त्वं एव इत्येतत्स्य स इत्येतत्स्य च सार्वधातुकस्य इडागमो भवति ॥

78. The śrīryādhātuka affix से and ध्वे, (the endings of the Present and Imperative Atmanepadi) get the augment इ॒ after the roots ई॒ (Ad. 9) and जन् ॥

Thus ईदिषे, ईदिष्वम्, ईडिषे, ईदिष्व, जनिष्वे, जनिष्वम्, जैनिष्वे, जनिष्व ॥ The root जनी (IV. 41) is taken here, The Vikarana इच्छन् has been elided in this case, as a Vedic irregularity, and so also there is not elision of the penultimate,

In the secular literature the form is जावसे ॥ Here the व would prohibit इ always. The जन् of the third class (III. 24) is also to be included, thus we have व्यतिजन्मिषे, व्यतिजन्मिष्वे, व्यतिजन्मिषम् in karma vyatihāra. Otherwise this root is Parasmaipadi. व takes इ after ईश् also, as ईशिष्मव् ॥

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

The form चे being taken in the sūtra, the rule will not apply to the ध्वम् of लह (Imperfect): which will not take इ ॥ But इ will apply to the ध्वम् of the Imperative on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्द्यत्वात् ॥

लिङ्गः सलोपो अनन्त्यस्य ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्गः, स, लोपः, अनन्त्यस्य ॥ शृणुतः ॥ सार्वधातुकश्चित् वर्तते, सार्वधातुक यो लिङ्ग तस्य अनन्त्यस्य सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

79. In the sārvadhātuka Lin (i.e. Potential), the स् which is not final (i.e. the स् of the augments यास् and सीर्), is elided.

What is the स् which is not final? The स् of the augments यासुइ, इयुइ and सीयुइ ॥ Thus कुर्यात्, कुर्याताम्, कुर्हुः, कुर्वति, कुर्वियाताम्, कुर्वीत् ॥ Why 'not the final'? Observe कुर्युः, कुर्याः ॥ Why in the Sārvadhātuka? Observe क्रियास्ताम्, क्रियासुः, क्रिष्ट, क्रीयास्ताम्, क्रीरत् in the Benedictive.

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

शृणुतः ॥ अकारान्तारङ्गादुत्तरस्य या इत्येतस्य सार्वधातुकस्य इ इत्यमादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

आतो छितः ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, छितः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारस्य दिवदयवस्थ अकारान्तारकारस्य सार्वधातुकस्य इय इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus पचेते, पचेये, पचेताम्, पचेयाम्, यजेते, यजेये, यजेयाम्, वास्येते, वास्येये || The इत्य of इत्य drops by VI. 1. 66. Why do we say "the long आ"? Observe अचन्ति, यजन्ति, पचन्ते, यजन्ते || Why do we say 'a डित् affix'? Observe पचावै, पचामै (I. 2. 4). Why do we say 'ending in short अ'? Observe चिन्नाते, सुभ्राते || Why 'short'? Observe भिन्नाते, भिन्नाये ||

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

आने मुक् ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आने, मुक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आनं परतोङ्गस्यातो बुगागमो भवति ॥

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

Thus पचमानः, यजमानः ॥

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

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

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

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

ईदासः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईत्, आसः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आस उत्तरस्यानस्य ईकारादेशो भवति ॥

83. ई is substituted for the आ of आनिः, after आस् ॥

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

अष्टुन आ विभक्तौ ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टुनः, आ, विभक्तौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टुनो विभक्तौ परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

रायो हलि ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ रायः, हलि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऐ इलेस्य हलादौ विभक्तौ परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

As राम्याम्, रामिः, ॥ But रायौ, रायः before affixes beginning with a vowel. Why ‘a case ending’? Observe रैत्वम्, रैता ॥

युष्मदस्मदोरनादेशो ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद्, अस्मदोः, अनादेशो ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदित्येत्योरनादेश विभक्तौ परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

द्वितीयायां च ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीयायाम्, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयायां च परतो युष्मदसंराकारारेषो भवति ॥

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

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

प्रथमायाम् द्विवचने भाषायाम् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमायाः, च, द्विवचने, भाषायाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमायाम् द्विवचने परतो भाषायां विषये युष्मदसंराकारारेषो भवति ॥

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

As युवाम्, आवाम् ॥ Why of the nominative? Observe युवयोः, आवयोः ॥ Why in the Dual? Observe स्त्रं, अहं, शूर्यं, वर्णं ॥ Why in the secular literature? Observe युवं वस्त्राणि पीवसा वसाये in the Veda, so also आवश् ॥

योच्चि ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ यः, अच्चि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजाहै विभक्तावनारेषो युष्मदसंराकारारेषो भवति ॥

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

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

शेषे लोपः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, लोपः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शेषे विभक्तौ युष्मस्मशोङ्कोंपो भवति ॥

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

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

पञ्चस्याम चतुर्थाम षष्ठीप्रथमवोरपि ।
आन्यद्विवचनान्यत्र सेषु लोपो विधीयते ॥

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

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

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

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

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

मपर्यन्तस्य ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ म पर्यन्तस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मपर्यन्तस्येत्यमधिकारो, यस्ति उर्ध्वमनुकमित्यामो मपर्यन्तस्येत्येवं तदेवित्यव्याख्य ॥

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

Thus VII. 2. 92 teaches that युव and आव are substituted for yushmad and asmad in the dual. The substitutes replace युष्म् and अस्म्. Thus युषाम्, आवाम् ॥ Why ' upto म् ' ? Observe युषकाम्, आवकाम् ॥ The क (V. 3. 71), is not replaced. Similarly VII. 2. 97 teaches that स्व and म् replace ' yushmad ' and ' asmad ' in the singular ; by this sūtra ' yushm ' and ' asm ' are only replaced. Thus स्वया, मया, the अम् portion remains for which व् is substituted by VII. 2. 89. Had the whole been replaced, then the म् of स्व and म् would have been replaced by व् (VII. 2. 89), and given us undesired forms like स्व्या and स्या ॥ Why is the word पर्यन्त employed in the sūtra and not the word अन्त, as मान्तस्य? In the first place the word अन्त is ambiguous, it may mean ending with म् but excluding म्, or ending with म् and including म् ॥ In the second place, the word पर्यन्त is used to indicate the limit, or portion taken out of the whole. The word मान्त would have meant, that form of yusmad and asmad which ends with म् ॥ Now these words have a form which ends in म्, as युष्मानाच्छटे or अस्मानाच्छटे - युष्मते or अस्मते formed by जिष्ठ (the दि portion अम् is elided by VII. 4. 155, *udrtika*). Now a noun formed from this derivative root युष्मि and अस्मि by क्रिप् affix will be युष्म् and अस्म् ॥ These are the two forms of yusmad and asmad which are complete words ending in म् ॥ The present sūtra does not apply to these words.

In declining these nouns युष्म् and अस्म्, we shall apply the rules VII. 2. 89 and 86, thus :-

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.		Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	स्वं	युष्मां	युष्मं	Acc.	युष्मां	युष्मां	युषाम्
Ins.	युष्मा	युष्माभ्यां	युष्माभिः	Dat.	तुष्मं	युष्माभ्यां	युषभ्यं
Abl.	युष्मत्	युष्माभ्यां	युष्मत्	Gen.	तव	युष्मोः	युषाकं
Loc.	युष्मिय	युष्मोः	युष्मास्तु		(Padamanjari).		

युवामौ द्विवचने ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ युव, आवौ, द्विवचने ॥

बृतिः ॥ द्विवचनहस्यर्थप्रहणम् । द्विवचने वे युष्मस्मसी द्व्यर्थाभिधानंविषये स्थोर्मपर्यन्तस्य स्थाने युव आव इस्यतावारेषो भवतः ॥

92. In the Dual, युव is substituted for युष्म् and आव for अस्म् ॥

Thus युषाम्, आवाम्, युषाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम्, युवयोः, आवयोः ॥ This substitution takes place even in compounds, where the sense of duality is prominent, if some other substitute like VII. 2. 94 &c. does not intervene. As अतिक्रान्तं युवाम् - अतियुवाम्, so also अत्यावाम्; अतियुवान्, अत्यावान् (=अतिक्रान्तान्, युवाम् &c.) अतियुवया and अत्यावया (= अतिक्रान्ते युवाम्) Similarly अतियुवाभिः, (अतिक्रान्तैयुवां) अत्यावाभिः, अतियुवभ्यम्, (अतिक्रान्तेभ्योयुवाम्) अत्यावभ्यम्, अतियुवत्, (अतिक्रान्ताद् युवां) अत्यावत्, अतियुवाकम्, (अतिक्रान्तानां युवां) अत्यावाकम्, अतियुवयि, (अतिक्रान्ते युवां) अत्यावयि, आतयुवास्तु, अतिक्रान्तेयुवां अत्यावास्तु ॥ But where स्व &c are to be substituted, there those will be substituted, as अतिस्वम् (=अतिक्रान्तो युवाम्), अत्यहम्, अतिशूयम्, अतिषयम्, अतितुष्मम्, अतिमहम्, अतिसव, अतिमम् ॥ This substitution does not take place when ' yushmad ' and ' asmad ' denote one or many (more than two), though the compound may denote a duality: as अतिक्रान्तौ त्वाम् - अतित्वाम्, अतिगाम्, अतियुगान्, अत्यस्मान् ॥

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

	Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.
Nom.	अतिस्वम्	अतियूधम्	अस्यहम्	अतिवयम्
Acc.	अतियुवाम्	अतियुवाम्	अस्यावाम्	अस्यावाम्
Ins.	अतियुवया	अतियुवयिः	अस्यावया	अस्यावयिः
Date.	अतितुभ्यं	अतियुवभ्यं	अतिमहम्	अस्यावभ्यं
Abl.	अतियुवत्	अतियुवत्	अस्यावत्	अस्यावत्
Gen.	अतिस्वप्	अतियुवाकम्	अस्यम्	अस्यावाकम्
Loo.	अतियुवति	अतियुवाष्टि	अस्यावति	अस्यावाष्टि

But when the words *yushmad* and *asmad* denote singular or plural, nbt the compound denotes a dual, then the *yuva* and *āva* substitutions do not take place. As अतिक्रान्तौ स्वाम् = अतिस्वाम्, so also अतिक्रान्तौ शुभाम् = अतियुभाम् so also अस्यस्मान् ॥ So on in other cases.

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

दृष्टिः ॥ युभदस्मरोर्मपर्यन्तस्य जसि परतो शूय वय इत्येतावादेशी भवतः ॥

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

As शूयम्, वयम्, परमशूयम्, परमवयम्, अतियूयम्, अतिवयम् ॥ The Tadanta-vidhi applies here. That rule applies in this angādhikāra on the maxim अक्षाधिकारे तस्य च तदुत्तरपरस्य च ॥ See also VII. 3. 10. In शूयम् and वयम्, the final त् is elided by VII. 2. 90, and we have शूय and वय + अ + मम् (VII. 1. 28) = शूयम् and वयम् (VI. 1. 97 and 107).

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

दृष्टिः ॥ युभदस्मरोर्मपर्यन्तस्य सौ परे स्व अह इत्येतावादेशी भवतः ॥

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

Thus स्वम् and अहम्, परमस्वम्, परमाहम्, अतिस्वम् and अतिवयम् ॥ See VII. 1. 28, VI. 1. 97 and 107.

तुभ्यमहौ उयि ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुभ्य, महौ, उयि ॥

दृष्टिः ॥ युभदस्मरोर्मपर्यन्तस्य तुभ्य महौ इत्येतावादेशी भवते उयि परतः ॥

95. In the Dative Singular तुभ्य is substituted for युभम् and महौ for अस्म ॥

As तुभ्यम्, महौम्, परमतुभ्यम्, परममहौम्, अतितुभ्यम्, अतिमहौम् ॥

तथममौ ऊसि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तव, ममौ, ऊसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तुष्मस्मशोर्मपर्वन्तस्व तव मम इत्येतावारेशो भवतो ऊसि परतः ॥

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

As तव, मम, परमतव, परमम, अतितव, अतिमम ॥ The त् is elided by VII. 2. 90, and तव and मम + थ + अ (VII. I. 27) – तव and मम by VI. I. 97.

त्वमावेकवचने ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्वमौ, एक वचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकवचनइत्यर्थनिर्वेषः । एकवचने वे तुष्मस्मसी एकार्याभिधानविषये तत्रोर्मपर्वन्तस्व स्थाने त्व
म इत्येतावारेशो भवतः ॥

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

As ल्वाम्, माम्, ल्वया, मया, ल्वत्, मत्, ल्वयि, मयि ॥ The compounds also take this substitution according to the sense : as अतिकान्तस्त्वाम् = अतित्वम्, अत्यवाम्, अतिकान्तान्तम् = अतिमाम्, अतित्वाम्, अतिकान्तान्तम् = अतिमान्तम्, अतित्वाम्, अतिमान्तम् = अतिमामिः, अतिमामिः ॥

When in a compound, the words yushmad and asmad denote one, though the compound may denote two or many, thereeven the त्व and म substitutions must take place. And as regards different substitutes, like ल्व and आइ before त्व &c, those prior taught substitutes debar this latter by the rule of पूर्वविप्रतिषेधः ॥ Some examples have already been given above, others are अतिचूब्रम्, अतितुभ्यम्, अतितव ॥ So also with asmad. Similarly अतित्वां पद्य, अतित्वाम्, अतित्वाभ्याम्, अतित्वाभिः, अतित्वाभिः, अतित्वात्यवाम्, अतित्वात्यवाभिः, अतित्वात्यवाभिः, अतित्वात्यवाम्, अतित्वात्यवाभिः, अतित्वात्यवाभिः, अतित्वात्यवाम् ॥

प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोग्य ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्यय, उत्तरपदयोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकवचनइत्यनुवर्त्तते । प्रत्यये उत्तरपदे च परत एकस्ये वर्तमानयोर्युष्मस्मशोर्मपर्वन्तस्व त्व म
इत्येतावारेशो भवतः ॥

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

As ल्वरीयः, मरीयः, with the affix त् (IV. 2. 114, I. I. 74) ल्वरारः (= अतिशयेन त्वं), मरारः, ल्वयसि (= ल्वामित्तासि), मयसि ; ल्वयते (= ल्वमित्ताचात्ते), मयते ॥ Similarly when a second member of the compound follows. As तव पुचः = ल्वतपुचः, मतपुचः ॥ ल्वं नायोऽत्य = ल्वन्नायः, मन्नायः ॥ When more than one individual is signified, the substitution does not take place, as युष्मरीयं (= युष्माकामिहं), अस्मरीयं, युष्मतपुचः (= युष्माकं पुचः), अस्मतपुचः ॥

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

and that having in them suppressed vibhaktis, the substitutions would take place in spite of this sūtra. This objection is not valid, for there the vibhaktis have been elided. But is not elision a Bahiranga and the substitute an antarāṅga process; and should not, therefore, the substitute come first and then the vibhakti elided? The substitution specially taught in this sūtra is, therefore, a jñāpaka and proves the existence of the following maxim :—अन्तरङ्गानपि विभक्ति बहिरङ्गोऽनुग्राधते 'a bahiranga substitution of लुक् supersedes even antarāṅga rules'. Thus गोमान् प्रियोऽस्य = गोमतृपियः, here the antarāṅga लुक् augment is superseded by the bahiranga लुक् ॥ This sūtra further indicates, that all other substitutes of 'yushmad' and 'asmad' which take place in the singular, such as तथ, मम, तुव्य, मद्य, स्व, अह, do not take effect, before general affixes or in compounds, but that स्व and म are the only substitutes there even. As तुभ्यं हिंतं = स्वाद्यतं, मद्यतं ॥ तथ पुचः = स्वत्पुचः, मत्पुचः ॥

श्रिचतुरोऽख्यायं तिसूचतसु ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रि, चतुरोः, ख्यायाम्, तिसु चतसु ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ त्रि चतुर् इत्यतयोः ख्यायां वर्तमानयोस्तिसृ चतसृ इत्यतावदेशो भवतो विभन्तौ परतः । वाचिकम् ॥ तिसूचये सज्जायां कन्युपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥ ३० ॥ चतसर्वाऽपुशास निपातनं कर्तव्यम् ॥

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

Thus तिसः, चतसः, तिसृष्टिः, चतसृष्टिः ॥ Why 'in the Feminine'? Observe चतुरः, चत्स्वारः, चीणि, चत्स्वारि ॥ The word ख्यायाम् qualifies त्रि and चतुर् and not the word अङ्ग 'stem' which is of course understood here. Therefore, the substitution will take place even where the anga refers to a Masculine, or a Neuter; when त्रि and चतुर् refer to a Feminine; as प्रियातिसौ ब्राह्मण्योऽस्य ब्राह्मणस्य = प्रियतिसा ब्राह्मणः (VII. I. 94) प्रियतिसौ, प्रियतिसः ॥ The guna of VII. 3. 110 is debarred in anticipation by VII. 2. 100 ordaining ए ॥ प्रियतिसृ ब्राह्मणकुलं, प्रियतिसृष्टी, प्रियतिसृष्टि ॥ Similarly प्रियचतसा. °चतसौ, °चतसः, प्रियचतसृ, °चतसृष्टी, °चतसृष्टि ॥ The samāsānta affix कण् (V. 4. 153) is however not added in the above, because तिसु &c are bahirangasubstitutions. Conversely, the anga may be feminine, but if त्रि and चतुर् refer to Masculine or Neuter nouns, the substitution will not take place: as प्रियास्त्वयोऽस्याः or प्रियाणि चीणि वा अस्त्वा ब्राह्मण्याः = प्रियादिः 'a Brahmani to whom three are beloved.' dual. प्रियचीः, प्रियचदः ॥ Similarly प्रियचत्स्वारः, प्रियचत्स्वारौ, प्रियचत्स्वारः ॥

Vart:—The substitution of तिसु for त्रि takes place before the affix कण्; as तिसृका नाम भाषः ॥

Vart:—चतसु has acute on the first, as च॒तसृः पश्य ॥ Rule VI. I. 167 does not apply. But चतसृ॒ष्टौ according to VI. I. 179: the इलादि debars the निपातन accent.

अच्चि र ऋद्धतः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्चि, र, ऋद्धतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिसु चतसु इत्यतयोर्भृतः स्थाने रेकादेशो भवति अज्ञातौ विभन्तौ परतः ।

100. र् is substituted for the छू of तिसु and चतसु before case-affixes beginning with a vowel.

Thus तिसः, (in तिसस्तिष्ठन्ति, तिसः पञ्च) चतस्रस्तिष्ठन्ति, चतसः पञ्चय ॥ प्रियतिस आनव, प्रियचतस आनव; प्रियतिसः स्वम्, प्रियचतसः स्वम् ॥ प्रियतिसि निर्भेदः, प्रियचतसि निर्भेदः ॥ This supersedes VI. I. 102 (ordaining the single long substitution of the form of the first), VI. I. 111 (substitution of उ॒ for ए॑), and VII. 3. 110 (the substitution of गुण). The last rule VII. 3. 110, though subsequent in order, is however superseded by this rule. Why 'before the affixes beginning with a vowel?' Observe तिसाम्बिः, चतस्राम्बिः ॥ The अ॒तः of the sūtra refers to the ए॑ of तिस् and चतस् and not to a ए॑ ending stem in general: and had it not been used in the sūtra, the latter would have stood thus अधिरः "ए॑ is substituted for the final of the words above-mentioned before an affix beginning with a vowel." So ए॑ would have been substituted for the final of ति and चतुर् also.

जराया जरसन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ जरायाः, जरस्, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥ शृणिः ॥ जरा इत्येतस्य जरसित्यब्मादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यामजारौ विभक्तौ परतः ।

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

As जर्या or जरसा, in जरसा or जरायान्तः शीर्यन्ते ॥ जरयै or जरसे (जरते or जरत्यै स्या परिश्च) ॥ But only जराभ्याम्, जराभिः before an affix beginning with a consonant. The जरस् substitution takes place in the Neuter plural, when the augment तुम् is added: as अतिजरांसि ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥ In अतिजरसं ब्राह्मणकुलं पञ्च the affix is not elided. The form is thus evolved: अतिजर + अम् ॥ Here three rules present themselves simultaneously; first, luk-elision of the affix अम् by VII. I. 23, (2) then the अम् substitution by VII. I. 24, (3) and thirdly, जरस् for जर by this rule. Of these लुक-elimination is superseded by अम् of VII. I. 24 which is an exception to VII. I. 23; and in its turn अम् is replaced by the जरस् of this sūtra. जरस् being substituted for जर, we have अतिजरस्, now luk cannot again appear and cause elision, as it has already lost the opportunity: and we are left with अम् alone, and have अतिजरसं ॥ In the Nom. Sg. and Ins. Pl we have अतिजरं and अतिजरै: according to the opinion of Gonardiya. The reason being सभिपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तदिधातन्य 'that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination'. Because अम् was added to अतिजर because it ended in अ (VII. I. 24), and similarly ति: was replaced by ए॑ (VII. I. 9). Now अ has caused the production of अम् and ए॑, therefore, these latter affixes, though beginning with a vowel will not cause जरस् to be substituted for जर by this rule, for then the produced will cause the destruction of the producer. Others hold that the above maxim is anitya, and we have Nom. Sg. अतिजरसं, and Ins. Pl. अतिजरसैः ॥

The form अतिजरांसि is thus evolved अतिजर + ए॑ ॥ Here if the तुम् augment be added first, it will be a portion of the aṅga, and will not be an intervention to anything which is to be added or operated upon the aṅga. But this

augment will be an intervention with regard to जरा which is but a portion of the word अतिजर ॥ So that an operation applicable to जरा will not take effect, because of this तुम् intervention. And though tadantaviddhi applies in these chapters (पश्चात्याधिकारे तस्य च तदन्तस्य च), yet the maxim is that the substitutes only replace those which are specifically exhibited in a rule (निर्दिष्टमानस्य भवेत्ता भवन्ति), therefore जरस् would not replace जरा which forms only a portion of a full word अतिजर ॥ Even if the substitution does take place, the तुम् would be found after the च of जरस् ॥ Therefore, the जरस् substitution should be made first, because this is a subsequent rule; and having done so, the तुम् should be added afterwards under VII. 1. 72.

The form अतिजरस् is thus evolved. We have अतिजर + अम् ॥ Here on the maxim एकरूपाविकरणस्य भवन्वत्वात्, we substitute जरस् for जर also, (for जर and जरा are considered as one). Then appears VII 1. 23 ordaining the lūk of अम् and VII. 1. 24, teaching अम् ॥ The latter rule is preferred for the reasons given above.

त्यदादीनामः ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यदादीनाम्, अः ॥
तुम्हिः ॥ त्यदित्यवारीनामकारेण्यो भवति विभक्तौ परतः ।

102. For the final of त्यद् and the rest, there is substituted अ, when an affix, called vibhakti, follows.

Thus त्यद्—त्यः, त्यौ, त्ये ॥ तद्—तः, तौ, ते; बद्—बः, बौ, बे; एतद्—एषः, एतौ, एते; इदम्—भवम्, इमो, इमे; अदम्—भसो, भम्, भमीःहि, श्व, शाभ्याम् ॥ The tyadādi words extend upto हि, in the list of the pronouns, for the purposes of this अ substitution. Therefore, the substitution does not take place here in भवत् which forms भवाम् ॥ When the word त्यद् &c are employed as names, or as a secondary member in a compound, the substitution does not take place, as त्यद्, त्यौ, त्यः, अतित्यद्, अतित्यौ, अतित्यः. See also I. 1. 27 commentary. But when they form the principal member of a compound, the substitution takes place, as परमसः, परमतौ, परमते ॥ For case affix (vibhakti) see V. 3. 1. also. Those affixes are also called vibhakti and cause these substitutions.

किमः कः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ किमः, कः, ॥
तुम्हिः ॥ किम् इत्यतस्य क इत्यवारेण्यो भवति विभक्तौ परतः ।

103. क is substituted for किम् before a vibhakti affix.

As कः, कौ, के ॥ The substitution takes place even when the augment अकम् is added. Therefore, the substitute is here क and not अ which latter would have been sufficient for किम् ॥ For त् of किम् being replaced by अ (VII. 2. 102), the त् would be left, which would be replaced by अ, had the sūtra been किमोऽज् and the forms would have been the same (क्+अ+अ=क VI. 1. 97). See V. 3. 1, 13 &c.

कु तिहोः ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कु, तिहोः, ॥
तुम्हिः ॥ तकारारौ इकारारौ च विभक्तौ परतः किमित्यतस्य कु इत्यवारेण्यो भवति ।

104. कु is substituted for किम् before a vibhakti affix beginning with a त or a ह ॥

Thus कुतः, कुर, कुह (V. 3. 13, 7). The ह in कि means beginning with a त ॥

काति ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ क, आति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असीत्येतत्थां विभन्नौ परतः किमिलेतत्थं कु इत्यथमादेशो भवति ।

105. क is substituted for किम् before the vibhakti अत् (V. 3. 13).

As कु गमिष्यति, कु भोक्षते ॥ The substitute कु of the last rule, before the affix अ would have become कु, but that it would have caused guṇa, hence this separate substitute. Had the sūtra been किमोऽङ्गुत् it would not have included the अक्रूङ् augmented किम् ॥

तदोः सः सावनन्त्ययोः ॥ १०६ पदानि ॥ तदोः, सः, सौ, अनन्त्ययोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणानां तकारपकारयोरनन्त्ययोः सकारादेशो भवति सौ परतः ।

106. For the non-final त् and द् of स्यद् &c. there is substituted स् in the Nominative Singular.

As स्यद्+सु=स्य+अ+सु (VII. 2. 102)=स्य+अ+सु (VII. 2. 106)=स्यः (VI. 1. 97). Similarly सः from तद्, एषः from एतद् as एतद्+सु=एत+अ+स (VII. 2. 102)=एस+अ+स (VII. 2. 106)=एषः (VI. 1. 97). So असी from अस्सु by the following sūtra. Why do we say 'non-final'? Observe हे से, सा ॥ Had not this word been used, the case-affix would not be elided in the vocative, as then there would have been no short vowel, as required by VI. 1. 69.

अदस औ सुलोपभ्य ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदसः, औ, सुलोपभ्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अदतः सौ परतः सकारात्थ औकारादेशो भवति सौष लोगो भवति ।
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ औत्प्रतिवेष्टः साक्रूङ्काशा वक्तव्यः साहुर्वं च ॥
वा० ॥ उत्तरपश्चूतानां लक्षणानामकृतसन्धीनामादेशा वक्तव्याः ॥

Kārikā अदसः सोभवेशैर्वं किं सुलोपो विधीवते ।

इत्वाल्लुप्येत् संबुद्धिने हलः प्रकृतं हि सत् ॥

आप एवं भवेत्तस्मि इतीत्यनुरूपतान् ।

प्रत्ययस्थाप्त काविलं शीभावभ्य प्रसङ्गते ॥

107. For the स् of अदस् there is substituted औ, whereby the Nom. affix सु is elided.

As अस्स+सु=अइ+औ+सु (VII. 2. 107)=अस+औ (VII. 2. 106)=असौ ॥

Vart:—When the augment अक्रूङ् is added, the औ substitution is optional, and in that alternative इ is added after स्, as असुकः or असकौ ॥

Vart:—When स्यद् &c. form second members of a compound, the above mentioned substitutions take place before the application of sandhi: as परमाइष, परमायष, परमानेन ॥

The form असुकः is thus evolved:—असकैं+सु, now औ॑ substitution of the present sūtra is prohibited; therefore, the अ substitution of VII. 2. 102 takes

place, and the त् is changed to स् by VII. 2. 106, and the अ of अकथ् after स् is changed to त् ॥

The following observations may be made with regard to the forms परमाहम् &c. A substitute would be a bahirāṅga with regard to a case-affix that should be added to a compound. Therefore, being an antaraṅga rule, the ekadeśa should be made first, and this ekadeśa being considered as the beginning of the subsequent word, we should get erroneous forms like परमहम्. परमवं instead of परमाहम् and परमायम् &c. Hence the necessity of the above vārtika.

Kārikā—Let the sūtra be अस्त औ without the words मुलोपश्च ॥ The word सौ is understood here from the preceding aphorism. The word अस्तः is in the ablative case, the word सौ which is in the 7th case, should be changed here into the 6th case सौः ॥ The sūtra would then mean अस्त उच्चरत्य सौरौकारो भवति—औ is substituted for the शु after अस्त् ॥ Then the final अस् of अस्त् is changed to अ by VII. 2. 102, and त् is changed to त् by VII. 2. 106, and we have अतौ ॥ So where is the necessity of using the words मुलोपश्च in the sūtra.

Obj : If औ be substituted for शु, then in the vocative this औ should be elided by VI. 1. 69, as it comes after a short vowel अ of VII. 2. 102. Ans. औ will not be elided by VI. 1. 69, for that rule refers to the elision of a consonantal affix only, the word शुः being understood in that sūtra, from the preceding sūtra VI. 1. 68.

Obj : If this be so, then in the Feminine Vocative we have असा + औ, and by the rule VII. 3. 106, the आ should be changed to ए before this औ ॥ Ans. No, this will not be so, for the त् substitution takes place only before a क्ल beginning affix, for the word मुलि is understood in the sūtra VII. 3. 106 from the sūtra VII. 3. 103.

Obj : If this be so, then in the semiminine with अकथ्, we have, असका + औ, and here rule VII. 3. 44 shows itself and requires the अ of का to be changed to त् (असिका) before the का of an affix. Ans. That rule VII. 3. 44 applies where the feminine affix आ is audible and remains unchanged, but here it is changed to औ (Vṛddhi अ + औ = औ, in असकौ ॥)

Obj : But then in असा + औ, the औ would require to be changed to शी by VII. 1. 18. Ans. This objection is partial only, for औश् in VII. 1. 18 is explained by some, to be the common name given by ancient grammarians to the औ of Dual; and not to this औ ; moreover, in the masculine no objection can apply. Hence the words मुलोपश्च may well be omitted.

इदमो मः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदमः, मः ॥
दृशिः । इदमः सौ परतो मयारोत्तरेशो भवति ।

108. अ is substituted for the final अ of इदम् in the Nominative Singular.

As इवम्, अवम् ॥ The substitution of म् for एः is to prevent the एः substitution of VII. 2. 102. The case-ending is elided by VI. 1. 68, and ए substituted by VII. 2. 110.

दम् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दः, एः, ॥

वृत्तिः । इवमो उकारस्य स्थाने मकारादेशो भवति विभन्नो परतः ।

109. And म् is substituted for the द् of इवम् before a case-affix.

As इमौ, इम्, इम्, इमौ, इम् ॥ Thus इवम्+अम्=इवम्+अम् (VII. 2. 102)=इमम्+अम् (VII. 2. 109)=इम् (VI. 1. 97, 107).

यः सौ ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ यः, सौ, ॥

वृत्तिः । इवमो मकारस्य उकारादेशो भवति सौ परतः ।

110. एः is substituted for the द् of इवम् in the Nom. Sg. in the feminine.

As इवम् ॥ This is confined to the Feminine, as the following sūtra relates to the masculine; and in the Neuter, the एः is लुक् elided by स्वरोन्मुखकात् and so leaves no trace behind.

इदोऽथ पुंसि ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदः, अय्, पुंसि ॥

वृत्तिः । इवम् इहूपस्य पुंसि सौ परतो ऽय् इत्यमादेशो भवति ।

111. अय् is substituted for the इद् of इवम् in the Nom. Sg. masculine.

As अवम् ॥ In the Feminine इवम् ॥ As अवं ब्राह्मणः, and इवं ब्राह्मणी ॥

अनाप्यकः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन, आपि, अकः, ॥

वृत्तिः । इवमो उकारस्य इहूपस्य स्थाने अन इत्यमादेशो भवति आपि विभन्नो परतः ।

112. अन is substituted for the इद् of इवम् in the Instrumental singular and the cases that follow, provided that the augment akach is not added.

As अनेन, अनयोः ॥ Why do we say "not when क is added by V. 3. 71"? Observe इमकेन, इमकयोः ॥ The word आप् (आपि) in the sūtra is a pratyāhāra, formed with the आ of ए (Ins. Sg), and ए of एः (Loc. Pl).

हलि लोपः ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलि, लोपः, ॥

वृत्तिः । हलादी विभन्नो परते इवमो उकारस्य इहूपस्य लोपो भवति ।

113. The इद् of इवम् is elided before a case-affix beginning with a consonant.

As आभ्याम्, एषिः, (VII. 1. 11) एन्यः एषाम्, एषु ॥ For एः is substituted ए by VII. 2. 102, and for ए+ए=ए by VI. 1. 97. The rule I. 1. 52 by which a substitute replaces only the final letter, does not apply here, on the maxim नानर्थके अलोऽन्त्यविधिः ॥ For no purpose is served by eliding merely the final एः

of इत् ॥ Hence इत् is elided. Or it may be said that the sūtra does not teach the elision of इत्, but of अत् which was substituted for इत् by the preceding sūtra.

मृजेवृद्धिः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मृजेः, वृद्धिः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विभक्ताविति निवृत्य वृजेवृद्धिं इतो वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

114. The Vṛiddhi (आर्) is substituted for the root vowel (ऋ) of the stem मृज् before an affix.

As आर्ष, मार्दुम्, मार्द्यम् ॥ The इत् here is a root, and the affixes before which this Vṛiddhi takes place are those which come after roots, and not which come after Prātipadikas. Therefore, not before the affixes अं &c, as कंसपरिष्ठृष्ट्याम्, भृष्टमिः ॥ The anuvṛitti of the word vibhakti has ceased. This sūtra debars guṇa of VII. 3. 84.

अचो अणिति ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, अ, णिति ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्त्वा ग्रन्थं भिति णिति च वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

115. Before the affixes having an indicatory अ् or ए, Vṛiddhi is substituted for the end-vowel of a stem.

Thus एकस्तप्तुलनिष्यावौ, कारः and हारः (with अम्); नौः, गावौ, गावः, सखावौ, सखावः where the case-endings are णित् by VII. 1. 90, 92. जैर्वृष्ट्, वौष्टम् with the Uṇādi ष्ट्रृष्ट् from णि and तु ॥ ष्ट्रौवः with अृज् and means 'strength'. It is an obsolete Vedic word.

अत उपधायाः ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, उपधायाः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अह्नीपधाया अकारस्य स्थाने भिति णिति च प्रत्यये वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

116. In a stem ending in a consonant with an अ immediately preceding it, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for such अ, when an affix having an indicatory अ् or ए follows.

As पाकः, लागः, वागः with अम्, पाचिः with the causative णि, पाचकः with अृल् ॥ Why do we say 'अ'? Observe भैरवति, भैरकः with guṇa only from भित् where इ is penultimate and not अ ॥ Why do we say 'penultimate'? Observe अकारवति, अतश्कः ॥

तद्धितेष्वचामादेः ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धितेषु, अचाम, आदेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धिते भिति णिति च प्रत्यये परतीव्रस्याचामादेरथःस्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

117. The Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the stem, when a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory अ् or ए follows.

As गार्दः from गर्ग + अम्, so also वास्तवः ॥ शकिः (शक + इम्), शाकिः, औपगवः (with अृ from उपगु), कापडवः &c. This debars the Vṛiddhi of VII. 2. 115 and 116. as लाहूः from लवृह्, and जागतः from जगत् ॥

किति च ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ किति, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ किति च तद्रिते परतोऽस्त्वाचामादेष्यः स्पाने वृत्तिर्भवति ॥

118. The Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the stem, when a Taddhita affix with an indicatory क् follows.

As नारायन् with फक्, so also चारायणः (IV. 1. 99), and भासिकः and शाला-किकः with ठक् (IV. 4. 1).

ओ३प् ।

अथ सप्तमाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER THIRD.

देविकार्शिशापादित्यवाह्नीर्धसत्रथेयसामात् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ देविका, शिशापा,
दित्यवाह्, दीर्घसत्र, थ्रेयसाम्, आत् ॥

भूतिः ॥ देविका शिशापा दित्यवाह् दीर्घसत्र थ्रेयस इत्येतेषामङ्गानामचामादेवतःः स्पाने वृद्धिप्रसङ्गे भाकारो
भवति भिति णिति किति तद्विते परतः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वहीनरस्यहृष्टनम् ॥

1. When a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory अ, ए or ओ follows, आ is substituted instead of Vṛiddhi for the first vowels of the following: devikā, simsapā, dityavāt, dīrghasatra, and sreyas.

Thus शविकम् (= शविकाचार्य भवम्) in शविकास्त्रकम्; शविकाकूलः शालवः (= शविकाकूल भवाः), पूर्वशविकः from पूर्वशेषविक्ता 'the name of a village of the Eastern people'. Here the vṛiddhi of the second member ordained by VII. 3. 14, becomes आ ॥ Similarly शांशपञ्चमसः: (= शिशापादविकारः) ॥ The word belongs to the Palāśādi class (IV. 3. 141), and takes अञ्ज or अञ्ज, the difference being in accent. So also शांशपास्त्यलाः: (= शिशापास्त्यलं भवाः), and पूर्वशांशप from पूर्वशिशाप: 'the name of a village' See VII. 3. 14. Similarly शास्त्रोहम् from शिश्वाह्, (शिश्वोह इर) and शार्वसत्रम् (र्शसत्रे भवं) and शायसत्रम् (श्रेयसि भवं) ॥

Vart:—The Vṛiddhi of वहीनर under similar circumstances is with an ऐ as if ए was वि, as वहीनरस्तापर्यं—वैहीनरिः ॥ Some say the original word itself is विहीनर (विहीनोनरः), and so its taddhita derivative is regular.

केकयमित्त्वयुप्रलयानां यादेरियः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ केकय, मित्त्वयु, प्रलयानाम्,
य-आदेः, इयः, ॥

भूतिः ॥ केकय मित्त्वयु प्रलय इत्येतेषां यकारेतेरिय इत्यबनारेषो भवति तद्विते भिति णिति च परतः ॥

2. When a Taddhita affix with an indicatory अ्, ए् or क् follows, इय् is substituted for the य् and यु of केकय, मित्रयु and प्रलय ॥

As केकयः (=केकथापत्य), with the affix अम् (IV. 1. 168); similarly मैत्राये-का formed with इम् (V. 1. 134) in the sentence मैत्रेयिकया इत्याधितः ॥ The word Gotra in that sūtra V. 1. 134 means a Rishi name, for in ordinary parlance the name of a Rishi is called Gotra. Similarly प्रालयम् (=प्रलयाशागत). As प्रालयसुक् ॥

न व्याभ्यां पदान्ताभ्यां पूर्वों तु ताभ्यामैच् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, व्याभ्याम्, प-दान्ताभ्याम्, पूर्वों, तु, ताभ्याम्, ऐच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्याकारवकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य अव्याप्तामादेरचः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति; ताभ्यां तु व्याकारवकाराभ्यां पूर्वमैचा-गम्भी भवतां अिति विति किति च तद्विते परतः ॥

वास्तिकम् ॥ अव्याप्तानां भवते दिलोपः ॥

3. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ए् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel in a compound, when it follows a word ending in य् or उ्, but ऐ and औ are respectively placed before the semi-vowels.

That is ऐ is placed before उ्, and औ before ई ॥ As वैवसनम् from व्यसन; (व्यसने भवते) वैवाकरणः from व्याकरण (व्याकरणमधीते) सौवर्यः from स्वर्यः (स्वस्वापत्य) ॥ Why after य् or उ् only? Observe चार्यः: son of चर्यः ॥ Why do we say 'ई or ई final of a pada or word'? Observe चारीकः from चारिः, (चारिः प्रहरणमस्य) IV. 4. 59 चाता from चति (चतेभ्लाषाः or चत इम छाषाः) ॥ The rule does not apply to शास्त्राभिः and माध्याभिः, for no rule ordains the Vṛiddhi of ई or उ॒, and so no occasion for the prohibition of this rule arises. These are Patronymns formed by इम् (IV. 1. 95) from इथम् and मध्यम् (शास्त्रे प्रियोऽस्थोवस्य &c). The present rule applies to that Vṛiddhi also which takes place in the second member of the compound by VII. 3. 10 &c. As पूर्वचैयालिनः from पूर्वच्यालिनः (पूर्वच्यालिने भवते) ॥ But this prohibition does not apply where the य् or उ् are not the parts of the second member, as द्याशीतिकः (=द्ये अशीती भूतो, भूतो भावी वा) ॥

द्यारादीनां च ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्यार, आदीनाम्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्यार इत्येवमार्द्धानां व्याभ्याम् उत्तरपदस्याचामादेरचः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति पूर्वों तु ताभ्यामैजागम्भी भवतः ॥

4. Before a Taddhita-affix with an indicatory अ्, ए् or क् the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel after य् or उ्, but ऐ and औ are respectively placed before these semi-vowels in द्यार &c.

As द्यार नियुक्तः = द्यैवारिकः, सौवारपालम् from द्यारपाल ॥ The Tadādi rule applies here. सौवरः from स्वर, (स्वरमधिकस्य कृतो भव्यः) ॥ So also सौवरोऽध्यायः, सौवर्यः सप्तम्यः ॥ वैयलक्षणः from व्यलक्षण, (व्यलक्षणे भवते) सौवस्तिकः from स्वस्ति, (स्वस्तीति भाव) सौवः from स्वर (स्वभवः) ॥

Vart :—The last vowel, with the consonant, if any, which follows it, is elided in the Indeclinables : as सौवर्गामिकः (= स्वर्गमनमाह) ॥

Some read the word स्वाध्याय also in this list, but it is unnecessary, as it would be governed by the last rule, because it is a compound of स्व + अध्याय (शोभनोऽध्याय), or it may be a compound of स्व + अध्याय, then also it is unnecessary, as स्व is separately mentioned, in this list, and therefore when स्व begins a word it would get this peculiar substitution then also. Similarly स्फैयकृतः from स्फैयकृत ; सौवादुष्टुद्भू from स्वादुष्टु, शौवनम् from श्वन् the prakṛiti-bhāva is by (VI. 4. 167) while शौवन् from श्वन् where there is no prakṛitibhāva (by अभ् IV. 3. 154) : शौवाद्यः (श्वादंद्रयां भवः). Similarly सौवन् from स्व (= स्वस्वेदः); सौवग्नामिकः from स्वग्नाम with the affix उभ् (अग्नात्मादिस्वाद् उभ्). This sūtra is made because the श् and ए here are not finals of a पर or word, as they were in the preceding sūtra. The following is a list of Dvārādi words.

1 शार, 2 स्वर, 3 स्वाध्याय, 4 व्याख्या, 5 स्वस्ति, 6 स्वर् (स्वर), 7 स्फैयकृत, 8 स्वादुष्टु, 9 श्वस*, 10 श्वन्, 11 स्व ॥

न्यग्रोधस्य च केवलस्य ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न्यग्रोधस्य, च, केवलस्य, ॥

शृतिः ॥ न्यग्रोधश्वस्य केवलस्य यकापादुपास्याचामादेष्यः यथाने शृद्धिन् भवति तस्माच्च पूर्वमैकार भागमो भवति ॥

5. ऐ is placed before the श् of न्यग्रोध, instead of Vṛiddhi, when the word stands alone, and is not a member of a compound, and is followed by a Taddhita affix with the indicatory श्, ए or क् ॥

As नैवपीधश्वसः : (= न्यग्रोधस्य विकारः). Why do we say 'when it is alone'? Observe न्यग्रोधश्वूते भवाः शालयः = न्यग्रोधश्वलः ॥ If न्यग्रोध is a derivative word (from न्यग्रोहवाति = नीचैगतौ परोहैर्वर्धते), then it would have been governed by VII. 3. 3, this separate, sūtra is then for the sake of making a restrictive rule (niyama) with regard to this word. If it is a primary word, then this sūtra makes a Vidhi rule. The word केवल is a jñāpaka that the rule of Tadādi applies in this section. See VII. 3. 8, also.

न कर्मव्यतिहारे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, कर्मव्यतिहारे ॥
शृतिः ॥ कर्मव्यतिहारं यदुन्तं तम भवति ॥

6. The prohibition and the augment, ordained by VII. 3. 3, do not apply to a word which expresses the reciprocity of an action.

As व्यावक्रोशी, व्यावेलखी, व्याववर्ती, व्यावहासी ॥ See III. 3. 43 and V. 4. 14.
स्वागतादीनां च ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वागत, आदीनाम्, च, ॥
शृतिः ॥ स्वागत इत्येवमादीनां यदुन्तं तम भवति ॥

7. The prohibition and augment taught in VII.
3. 3 does not apply also to स्वागत &c.

As स्वागतिकः, (=स्वागतमिति आह) स्वाप्तरिकः, (=स्वधरेण चरति) स्वाङ्गिः, व्याङ्गिः, व्यादिः (sons of Svanga, Vyanga and Vyada). स्वावहारिकः and स्वापतेषः (=स्वपते साधुः) ॥ The word स्ववहार does not mean reciprocity of action, for then it would have been governed by the last sūtra. स्वपते being a compound with स्व, would have been governed by VII. 3. 4 as it is included in the Dvārādi list, hence its specific mention here. The following is the list of svāgatādi words,

१ स्वागत, २ स्वधर, ३ स्वङ्ग, ४ व्यङ्ग, ५ व्यद, ६ व्यवहार, ७ स्वपति ॥

श्वादेरिजि ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्व, आदे:, इजि ॥

वृन्तिः ॥ श्वावेषङ्गस्य इजि परतो यदुन्तं तत्र भवति ॥

वार्तीकम् ॥ इकपरिम्बहणं कर्तव्यं पूर्वगणिकाचर्यम् ॥

8. A compound beginning with श्वन्, and followed by the Taddhita affix इजि, is not governed by the prohibition, nor takes the augment, taught in VII. 3. 4.

Thus the descendant of इवभञ्ज is इवाभञ्जिः; so also इवाशंडिः ॥ The word श्वन् is included in the list of Dvārādi words VII. 3, 4., the present sūtra implies that the rule VII. 3. 4 applies not only to those words, but to compounds beginning with those words.

Vart:—This rule applies when any Taddhita affix beginning with इ follows; as श्वगणेन चराते = श्वागणिकः, श्वातौरिकः (IV. 4. 11).

The prohibition applies, when other Taddhita affixes follow such a word ending with इजि (an affix beginning with इ): as from इवाभञ्ज we have इवाभञ्जम् (इवाभञ्जातिं) ॥

पदान्तस्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदान्तस्य, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृन्तिः ॥ श्वावेषङ्गस्य पदशब्दान्तस्यान्यतरस्यां यदुन्तं तत्र भवति ॥

9. The rule VII. 3. 4. is optionally applied to श्वन् followed by पद ॥

As श्वापस्थेऽयं = श्वापदम् or श्वौवापदम् ॥

उत्तरपदस्य ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्तर पदस्य ॥

वृन्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदस्येत्यमपिकारः, हनस्ताञ्जिणलोरिति प्रागंतस्मात् । यस्मिंस उत्तरभ्यमनुकारित्वाम उत्तरपदस्थेऽयं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

10. Upto VII. 3. 31 inclusive, the substitution of Vṛiddhi will take place, for the first vowel of the second member in a compound.

This is an adhikāra sūtra, and exerts governing influence upto VII. 3. 32 exclusive. The phrase "of the second member of the compound" should

be supplied in all those sūtras, to complete the sense. Thus in VII. 3. 11, the word उत्तरप्रस्थ should be supplied. As पूर्ववार्षिकम्, अपरवार्षिकम्, पूर्वहेमनम्, अपरहेमनम् ॥

In those sūtras, where the word denoting the first member is not exhibited in the Ablative case, as in VII. 3. 18, 19, 20, 21, the present sūtra is absolutely necessary for causing the vṛiddhi of the second member. But in those sūtras, where the first member is exhibited in the ablative case, as in VII. 3. 11 (अवयवात्), there this sūtra is only explanatory (and not absolutely necessary), and serves also the purpose of placing such vṛiddhis under the category of 'uttarapada-vṛiddhi'. This peculiar vṛiddhi is liable to certain rules of accent, as in VI. 2. 105. Hence the importance of the present aphorism in those sūtras also, where the word is exhibited in the fisth case.

अवयवाहतोः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवयवात्, ऋतोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवयवाचिन उत्तरप्रस्थ इतुवाचिन उत्तरप्रस्थाचामादेत्यो वृद्धिभवति तद्विते ग्रिति ग्रिति किति च परतः ॥

11. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ए् or ए॒, Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of a word denoting season, when it is preceded by a word denoting a part.

As पूर्ववार्षिकम्, पूर्वहेमनम्, अपरवार्षिकम्, अपरहेमनम् ॥ The composition with पूर्व and अपर &c takes place by II. 2. 1. and then by IV. 3. 18 there is इक् after वर्ष, and अण् after हेमन् with the elision of त by IV. 3. 22. The Tadanta-vidhi, as a general rule, does not apply to compounds, so that a rule made applicable to a particular word, will not apply to a compound which ends with that word: but tadanta-vidhi applies to a word denoting season when it takes an affix causing Vṛiddhi, and is preceded by a word denoting a portion. We draw this rule from the present sūtra, for हेमन् being formed from हेमन् by a vṛiddhi-causing affix (IV. 3. 22), the affix अण् will be applied to हेमन् even when it is the second member of a compound, the first member of which denotes a part. (ऋतोर्मूलं महाभाष्यवयवात् I. 1. 72 Vārt. Mahābhāshya).

Why do we say 'denoting a portion'? Observe पूर्वासु वर्षासु भवं पौर्ववर्षिकम् with उभ् (IV. 3. 11). The tadanta-vidhi applies only when the first member denotes a portion.

सुसर्वाद्वाजजनपदस्य ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, सर्व, अद्वात्, जनपदस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तु सर्व अद्वा इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरप्रस्थ जनपदवाचिन उत्तरप्रस्थाचामादेत्यो वृद्धिभवति तद्विते ग्रिति ग्रिति किति च परतः ॥

12. After सु, सर्व and अद्वा, the first vowel of the name of a country gets the Vṛiddhi, when a Taddhita affix with an indicatory अ्, ए् or ए॒ follows.

As सुपाञ्चालकः, सर्वपाञ्चालकः and अर्धपाञ्चालकः, formed with बुध् (IV. 2. 125). This sūtra also gives rise to the following rule मुसर्वार्थशिक्तु शब्देभ्यो जनपदस्य “The tadantavidhi applies to words denoting country, when the first member is सु, सर्व, अर्ध or a direction-denoting word”. As shown in the above examples, and for direction denoting words see the following sūtra. (I. 1. 72 Vārt. Mahābhāshya).

दिशो ऽमद्राणाम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिशः, अ मद्राणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिग्बाचिन उत्तरस्य जनपदवाचिनो महार्जितस्याचामादेवाच्चिर्भवते तद्विते ग्रिति ग्रिति क्रिति च परतः ॥

13. After a word denoting direction, the first vowel of the name of a country, with the exception of मद्र, gets Vriddhi before a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory अ्, ए्, or क् ॥

As पूर्वपाञ्चालकः, अपरपाञ्चालकः, संक्षिप्तपाञ्चालकः, उत्तरपाञ्चालकः (IV. 2. 125, 107, 108. VI. 2. 105 accent). The Tadanta-vidhi applies here, as shown in the preceding sūtra. Why do we say ‘denoting direction’? Observe पूर्वः पञ्चालानां – पूर्वपञ्चालः, तत्र भवः – पौर्वपञ्चालकः; आपरपञ्चालकः ॥ With मद्र we have पौर्वमद्रः; आपरमद्रः with अमद्र् (IV. 2. 108). The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

प्राचां ग्रामनगराणाम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्, ग्राम, नगराणाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचां देशो ग्रामनगराणां दिश उत्तरेषामचामादेवाचां वृद्धिर्भवते तद्विते ग्रिति ग्रिति क्रिति च परतः ॥

14. After a word denoting direction, the first vowel of the name of a village or city in the land of the eastern people, gets the Vriddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ए् or क् ॥

Thus पूर्वेषुकामशमः, अपरेषुकामशमः, पूर्वकार्ब्बषृतिकः, अपरकार्ब्बषृतिकः (IV. 2. 107). These are village names. पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रकः, अपरपाटलिपुत्रकः; पूर्वकान्यकुडजः, अपरकान्यकुडजः ॥

The word प्राचां in this sūtra, as well as in VII. 3. 24, does not here mean ‘the eastern grammarians’, but ‘the eastern countries’, because of the context. पूर्वेषुकामशमः is thus formed. पूर्वा च असौ इषुकामशमी – पूर्वेषुकामशमी ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 50. Then the affix अ् is added to it, in the sense of ततो भवः by IV. 2. 107. In पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रकः the affix बुध् is added by IV. 2. 123. Though Pāṭaliputra is the name of one city, Purva-pāṭaliputra means the Eastern portion of the city Pāṭaliputra.

That place is called ‘grāma’, where people reside, and a ‘nagara’ is also a ‘grāma’ in this sense. Therefore, the rules which good men observe with regard to ‘grāma’, are observed by them in ‘nagara’ also. Thus the rule is शमङ्गे ग्रामकुडजः; therefore, the नागर cock is also not eaten. So also ग्रामे नाघवद् is applied to nagara also. In this grammar also, we see that ‘grāma’ includes

'nagara' also, as in IV. 2. 109, 117, VI. 2. 103. Therefore, where is the necessity of employing the word नगर separately in this aphorism? The two words are separately used, in order to indicate the separate nature and relation of the two kinds of words. The *full* word पूर्वेषुकामशमी is the name of a 'grāma', and not the portion इषुकामशमी ॥ But in पूर्वपाटलिषुच, the word पाटलिषुच itself is the name of the 'nagara'. In the present sūtra, there is the adhikāra of अङ्गस्त्र and of उत्तरपत्रत्व ॥ We apply these separately to these two classes of words: namely आमवाचिनाम् अङ्गानाम् and नगरवाचिनाम् उत्तरपत्रनाम् ॥ This we could not have done without employing these words in the sūtra. Therefore, in the case of 'grāma' word, the vriddhi takes place in that *portion* of it which follows a direction denoting word (आमवाचिनामङ्गानामवद्यवस्थ दिक्षाद्वादुत्तरस्व वृद्धिर्भवति). While a *nagara* word itself gets vriddhi when it is preceded by a direction denoting word (दिशः उत्तरेण नगराण्याम्) ॥ In पूर्वेषुकामशमी, the vriddhi of इषुकामशमी takes place first, and then the combination by sandhi. See on this point VII. 3. 22.

संख्यायाः संवत्सरसंख्यस्य च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्यायाः, संवत्सर, संख्यस्य, च ॥

द्वितीयः ॥ संख्याया उत्तरपत्रस्य संवत्सरशब्दस्य संख्यायाभावादेवतः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति तद्विते भिति जिति किति च परतः ॥

15. After a Numeral, the first vowel of संवत्सर and of a Numeral, gets the Vriddhi, before a Taddhita having an indicator अ, ए, or क ॥

Thus द्विसांवस्त्रिकः = हौ संवत्सरावधीयो भूतो भूतो or भावी (V. 1. 80), त्रिसांवस्त्रिकः, चित्पात्रिकः = हे चटी अधीयो भूतो भूतो भावी वा ॥ द्विसामतिकः ॥ The words हि, चटी &c when applied to वर्ष (VII. 3. 16) and Numerals give rise to the affixes taught under kalādhikāra (V. 1. 78-97). The special mention of संवत्सर here, (though this is a परिमाण word and would have been included in the sūtra VII. 3. 17) implies that the word परिमाण in that sūtra does not mean the measure of *time*, but a measure of any other thing than time. Therefore, with other time-words than samvatsara, the Vriddhi takes place in the regular way : as द्वेष्मिकः, त्रेष्मिकः ॥ Similarly in sūtra IV. 1. 22, the word परिमाण does not mean the measure of time or numerals, as चित्पर्ष, चित्पर्षा माणविका ॥ In short, the word परिमाण in these sūtras (and elsewhere III. 2. 23, II. 3. 46 &c.) means "mass or bulk", and not a measure in general.

घर्षस्याभाविष्यति ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ घर्षस्य, अ-भविष्यति, ॥

द्वितीयः ॥ संख्याया उत्तरस्व वर्षशब्दस्याभावादेवत्प्रो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्विते भिति जिति किति च परतः, स चेत्तद्वितो भविष्यत्यर्थं न भवति ।

16. After a numeral, the first vowel of वर्ष gets the Vriddhi, before a Taddhita affix having an indicator अ, ए or क, when the affix does not refer to a Future time.

As हिवर्षे अधीटो भूतो भूतो वा=हिवार्षकः, चिवार्षकः ॥ But when denoting future time, we have हेत्वर्षिकः, ऐवर्षिकः "calculated to last two or three years" as in the sentence यस्य चैवर्षिकं धान्यं निहितं भूत्यवृत्तये अधिकं वापि विद्येत् स सोमे पातुमहाते ॥ (= चीजि वर्षाणि भावी). The word अभविष्यत् does not qualify the words अधीट and भूत (V. 1. 80), the sense of futurity is there denoted by the sentence and not by the taddhita-affix: as हे वर्षे अधीटो भूतो वा कर्म करिष्यते=हिवार्षको मनुष्यः ॥

परिमाणान्तस्यासंज्ञाशाणयोः ॥१७॥ पदानि ॥ परिमाणान्तस्य, असंज्ञा, शोणयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणान्तस्याङ्गस्य संख्यायाः परं बहुत्तरपदं तस्याचामावेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्विते भिति जिति क्रिति च परतः, संज्ञायां विषये शाणे चेत्तरपदे न भवति ॥

17. After a numeral, the first vowel of a word denoting mass in its widest sense (with the exception of शाण) gets the Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ए or क्, when the word so formed does not mean a Name.

As ही कुडौ प्रयोजनमस्य = हिकौडविकः (V. 1. 109) हायां चुवर्णाम्यां क्रीते = हिसौवाणिकम् (V. 1. 37), चिसौवर्णिकम् ॥ The taddhita affix is optionally elided, see वृत्तिका to V. 1. 29. When the affix is elided there can be no Vṛiddhi, as हिचुवर्णम् ॥ Similarly हिनैषिकम्, चिनैषिकम् (V. 1. 30). Why 'when it is not a name'? Observe पाञ्चलोहितिकम्, पाञ्चकपालिकम् (= पञ्चलोहितः or कपलानि परिमाणमस्य V. 1. 30) The whole word is a Name here. Why with the exception of शाण? Observe हृशाणम्, चैशाणम् formed with अण् (V. 1. 35 and 36). Some read the sūtra as अंसत्ताशाणकुलिजानाम् so that कुलिज is also excepted, as हेकुलिजिकः (V. 1. 55 हेकुलिजे प्रयोजनमस्य) ॥

जे प्रोष्टपदानाम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ जे, प्रोष्टपदानाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जहति जातार्थे निर्विद्यते । सत्र यस्तद्वितो विवितस्तस्मिन् भिति जिति क्रिति च परतः प्रोष्ट-पदानामुत्तरस्याचामावेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

18. In प्रोष्टपद and its synonyms, the first vowel of the second member gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita affix meaning 'born in that time', and having an indicatory अ्, ए or क् ॥

The word जे means 'born', the affixes denoting 'born under that asterism' are meant here. प्रोष्टपद is the name of an asterism, the time appertaining there to is also called प्रोष्टपद (the affix अण् of IV. 3. 3, is elided by IV. 2. 4): प्रोष्टपशु जातः = प्रोष्टपारो माणवकः (with अण् IV. 3. 16). Why do we say 'born in that time'? Observe यथा प्रौष्टपरेमेघः (= प्रोष्टपशु भव) धरणीमभिवर्षति ॥ The plural number प्रोष्टपशानां indicates that the synonyms of प्रोष्टपद such as भ्रष्टपाद् are also to be included.

हृदगसिन्ध्वन्तं पूर्वपदस्य च ॥१९॥ पदानि ॥ हृद्, भग, सिन्धु, अन्त, पूर्वपदस्य च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हृद् भग सिन्धु इत्येवमन्तेऽपि पूर्वपदस्याचामावेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्विते भिति जिति क्रिति च परतः ॥

19. The Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowels of both (the first and second) members in a compound ending with हृद्, भग्, and सिन्धु, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ए् or क् ॥

As सुहृदस्येऽवृद्धिः = सौभाग्यवृद्धिः, सौभाग्यवृद्धिः, सौभाग्यवृद्धिः (IV. 1. 126). The words सुभगा and दुर्भगा occur in the Kalyānādi class (IV. 1. 126), and the affix उक् and इन् augment are added. सुभग also occurs in Udgātṛi class (V. 1. 129). That word, however, does not get the Vṛiddhi in the second member. As महते सौभगाय ॥ This is a Vedic anomaly. Similarly from सन्कुसिन्धवः (= सन्कुप्रधानाः सिन्धवः) we have सान्कुसिन्धवः (= सन्कुसिन्धुषु भवः) so also पानसिन्धवः ॥ The word सिन्धु occurs in Kachchhādi class, and सैन्धवः is formed by अण् ॥ The Tadanta-rule applies to words formed there-under.

The words सुहृद् and हुर्हृद् are anomalously formed by V. 4. 150. But the reading adopted by Kāśikā is सुहृदस्येऽवृद्धिः; so the word हृदया is changed to हृदि by VI. 3. 50 or VI. 3. 51. The word sindhu means 'a country', 'a river' or 'an ocean'.

अनुशातिकादीनां च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुशातिकादनिम्, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुशातिक इस्येवमार्थानां चाङ्गानां पूर्वपरस्य ओच्चरपरस्याचामारेत्तः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति तद्विते
प्रियते प्रियते किंति वा परतः ॥
वार्तात्क्रमः ॥ कल्याण्याशीनामिनाङ्गितिनह ॥

20. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ए् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of both members of the compounds अनुशातिक &c.

Thus (1) आनुशातिकम् (= अनुशातिकस्येऽवृद्धिः) V.I.21 and IV.3.120; (2) आनुशैदिकः (= अनुशोडेन चरति IV.4.8). (3) आनुसांवरणम् (= अनुसांवरणे शीवते V. 1. 96). (4) आनुसांवत्सरिकः (IV. 3. 60 formed by उक् from अनुसम्बसरेण शीवते) (5) आंगारवैष्णवः (son of अङ्गारवेष्णु). (6) आसिहस्यम् (= अस्यहस्ये भवते). Some read this word as अस्यहस्य; this will also take अण् as belonging to विशुक्तादि class. As आस्वहास्यः (= अस्यहस्याङ्गोऽप्तिमिश्रावृद्धिः) Others read this as अस्यहेति; as आस्यहेतिकः (= अस्यहेतिः प्रयोजनमस्य). The word अस्य in these is treated like a Prātipadika, its case-affix is not elided. (7) वाञ्छौगः (= वध्योगस्य भवत्य). It belongs to Bidādi class. (8) पुस्करसांप्रस्य = पौस्करसादिः ॥ This belongs to Bāhvādi class. (9) आनुहारत् from अनुहारत् ॥ The same as above. (10) कुरुकतः belongs to Gargādi class. Its partonymic is कौरकात्तः (11) कौरणांचालः (कुरुपञ्चालेषु भवः) ॥ The affix उक् is not added here, because अनपदसुदारावो अनपदप्रहेतन शृण्यते ॥

(12) औदुकशौदिः (son of उदकशौदिः) ॥ (13, 14) ऐहलौकिकः, पारलौकिकः, from इहलोकः and परलोकः by adding उक् in the sense of तत्त्व भवः (लोकोच्चरपरस्य च) ॥ (15) सार्वलौकिकः from सर्वलोकः by उक् under V. 1. 44. (16) सार्वपौरुषम् from सर्वपुरुषः in the

sense of स्वेदम् ॥ (17) सार्वभौमिनितं संवोगो or उत्पातो वा V. I. 41) ॥ (18) प्रयोगः—प्रायैगिकः (तत्र भवः, प्रयोगाधिवेषाधिभूतस्यास्मादयः) (19) परस्ती—पारस्तीयः formed by इनव (IV. I. 126).

(20) So also of राजपुरुष before the affix व्यञ्, as राजपौरुषम् ॥ Why do we say before व्यञ् only? Observe राजपुरुषस्यापत्यं=राजपुरुषायजिः; formed by किंशु (IV. I. 157).

(21) शतकुम्भे भवः=शतकौम्भः, (21 a) सौखशायनिकः from सुखशब्द (21 b) पारसारिकः from परवर ॥ (22) सौचनाडि=सूचनडस्यापत्यं ॥

This is an Akṛitīgāṇa class; therefore, we have forms like these, आभिगामिकः (अभिगममर्हति), आधिवेषिकम् (अधिवेषभवः), आधिभौतिकः; आतुर्वैद्यम् (चतुर्वैद्य एव निद्या) ॥ The affix व्यञ् is added in svārtha.

1 अनुशतिक, 2 अनुहेष्ट, 3 अनुसंवरण (अनुसंचरण), 4 अनुसंवल्सर, 5 अनुरवेणु, 6 असिहत्य (अस्यहत्य), 7 अस्यहेति, 8 वध्योग, 9 पुष्करसद्, 10 अनुहरन्, 11 कुरुक्त, 12 कुरुपञ्चाल, 13 उरकशुद्ध, 14 इहलोक, 15 परलोक, 16 सर्वलोक, 17 सर्वपुरुष, 18 सर्वशूनि, 19 प्रयोग, 20 परस्ती, 21 राजपुरुषात् प्यजिः; 22 सूचनड ॥ आकृतिगण, 23 अभिगम, 24 अधिभूत, 25 अधिवेष 26 चतुर्वैद्या, 27 सुखशब्द 28 शतकुम्भ 29 परवर ॥

देवताद्वन्द्वे च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवता-द्वन्द्वे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवताद्वन्द्वे च पूर्वप्रस्त्वोत्तरप्रस्त्व चाचामादेवतः स्थाने वृद्धिभवति तद्विते भिति निति क्रिति वा परतः ॥

21. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory श्, ष्ट् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowels of both members a Dvanda compound of the names of Devas.

As अग्निमास्ति in अग्निमास्तीमिनङ्गामीमालभेत् ॥ आग्निमास्तं कर्म ॥ The rule applies to Dvandas relating to hymns (सूक्त) and sacrificial offerings (हाति). Therefore, not here, स्कान्दविशाखौ ऐवतेऽस्य = स्कान्दविशाखः (IV. 2. 24). So also ब्राह्मप्रजापत्यम् by ष्ट् from ब्रह्मप्रजापती ॥ See VI. 3. 26.

The short इ in the आग्नि in आग्निमास्त, आग्निवास्तम् is by VI. 3. 28. A compound relates to a sūkta, which worships a deva through hymns; and that by which a 'havis' is determined, is a compound relating to sacrificial offering.

नेन्द्रस्य परस्य ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इन्द्रस्य, परस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रशब्दस्य परस्य यदुन्तं तत्र भवति ॥

22. But the Vṛiddhi of the first vowel of Indra, when it stands as the second member of a Dvanda compound, does not take place before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory श्, ष्ट् or क् ॥

As सौमेन्द्रः, आग्नेन्द्रः ॥ Why "when it stands as the subsequent member"? Observe ऐन्द्राग्न मेकादशपालं चर्ह निर्वपेत् ॥ There are two vowels in the word इन्द्र, and when a Taddhita affix is added, then one of these i. e. the ष्ट् or the last vowel is elided by VI. 4. 148, and the other (i. e. the इ, coalesces with the last

vowel of the first term, as सोम + इन्द्र + अर्ण = सोम + इन्द्र + अ = सोमे + मृ + अ ॥ Now, no vowel is left of इन्द्र when it gets the form न्द्र, so what is the necessity of the present prohibitory rule? This prohibition indicates the existence of the following maxim : विहरकुपि पूर्वोन्तरपदायः पूर्वं कार्यं भवति, पश्चात्कारेण ॥ or in other words पूर्वोन्तरनिमित्तकार्यात् पूर्वमन्तरप्रोत्येकारेण न ॥ "The substitution of one vowel for the final of the first and the initial of the second member of a compound does, even when it is antaranga, not take place previously to an operation which concerns the first or the second member of the compound". It is on this maxim that the forms पूर्वशुक्रामशम (VII. 3. 14) &c are constructed, otherwise उ being the first vowel of the second member (इ of इषु having merged in पूर्व), would have been vṛiddhied.

दीर्घात् वरुणस्य ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, च वरुणस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शीर्षादुन्तरस्य वरुणस्य वदुन्तं तम भवति ॥

23. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ए् or ओ, in a Dvandva compound of god-names, the vṛiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel of वरुण; when a long vowel precedes it.

As ऐन्द्रावरुणम्, भैशावरुणम् from इन्द्रवरुणौ &c. (VI. 3. 26). But आग्निवाहणीम् in आग्निवाहणीमन्द्राही मालभेत् when a short vowel precedes it. This word is derived from the compound word आग्नीवरुणौ the इ of आग्नि being lengthened by VI. 3. 27. But in forming a Taddhita-derivative from this word, the long ई is shortened by VI. 3. 28, and therefore, it cannot be said that a long vowel precedes वरुण ॥

प्राचां नगरान्ते ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम, नगरान्ते ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचां देशे नगरान्तेऽपि पूर्वपदस्यान्तरपदस्याचामादेशो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्विते ग्रिति जिति किति च परतः ॥

24. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ए् or ओ, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowels of both members of the compound, which is the name of a city of the Eastern People, and which ends in the word नगर ॥

As साद्ग्रानगरः (-सुद्ग्रानगरे भवः), पौण्ड्रानगरः ॥ Why do we say 'of the Eastern people'? Observe माद्ग्रानगरः, from मद्ग्रानगरः the city of the Northern people.

जङ्गलधेनुवलजान्तस्य विभाषितमुत्तरम् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जङ्गल, धेनु, वलज, अन्तस्य, विभाषितम्, उत्तरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जङ्गल धेनु वलज इत्यवमन्तस्याङ्गस्य पूर्वपदस्याचामादेशो वृद्धिर्भवति विभाषितमुत्तर मुत्तरपदस्य विभाषितं तद्विते ग्रिति जिति किति चा परतः ।

25. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ए्, or ओ, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of-

the compound ending in जङ्गल्, धेनु and बलज्, and optionally for the first vowel of these second members also.

As कौरुजङ्गल् or कौरुजाङ्गल्, वैश्वधेनवम् or वैश्वधेनवम्, सौवर्णबलजः or सौवर्णबालजः॥
अर्द्धत्परिमाणस्य पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्द्धात्, परिमाणस्य, पूर्वस्य,
तु, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्द्धत्परिमाणस्य परिमाणवाचिन उत्तरस्याचामावेरचः स्याने वृद्धिभवति पूर्वस्य तु वा भवति
तद्विते भिति गिति किति वा परतः ।

26. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ए्, or औ्, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the second member, denoting a mass in its widest sense, when the word अर्ध precedes it, but optionally for the first vowel of अर्धे ॥

As अर्धाणिकम् or आर्धाणिकम्, अर्धकौडविकम् or आर्धकौडविकम् with उम् (V. I. 18). Why do we say when denoting a mass? Observe आर्धकौडविकम् only (=अर्ध-
कौडः प्रयोगनमस्य) ॥

नातः परस्य ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अतः, परस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अर्द्धत्परस्य परिमाणाकारस्य वृद्धिर्न भवति, पूर्वस्य तु वा भवति, तद्विते भिति गिति किति वा
परतः ॥

27. When the first vowel of the second member, preceded by अर्ध and denoting mass is short अ, the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for this अ, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ए् or औ्; and optionally so for the first vowel of the first member (i. e. अर्धे) ॥

Thus अर्धप्रस्थिकः or आर्धप्रस्थिकः (V. I. 18) ॥ अर्धकंसिकः or आर्धकंसिकः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a short अ'? Observe आर्धकौडविकः ॥ Why 'short अ'? Observe अर्ध खार्याम् भवः = अर्धखारी ॥ Here Vṛiddhi is substituted for the आ of खारी, and though the form remains the same, the power of this word is changed. For अर्धखारी being formed by a Taddhita affix causing Vṛiddhi, in forming a Bahuvrīhi compound, this word will retain its feminine form and will not be changed into masculine under VI. 3. 39. as अर्धखारीभार्यः (= अर्धखारीभार्यायस्य) (वृद्धि-
निमित्तस्य च तद्वितस्य &c.) Wherever Vṛiddhi is prohibited with regard to a Taddhita affix, that affix cannot be called वृद्धिनिमित्त, and a word formed with such an affix will become masculine in a Bahuvrīhi compound referring to a male person, वैयाकरणी भार्या अस्य = वैयाकरणभार्यः ॥ The word वैयाकरण is formed by *prohibition* of Vṛiddhi. See VII. 3. 3.

प्रवाहणस्य हे ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रवाहणस्य, हे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रवाहणस्य हे परत उत्तरप्रस्थाचामावेरचो वृद्धिभवति पूर्वप्रस्य वा भवति ॥

28. Before the affix द (ए), the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the second member of प्रवाहण, but optionally so for the first vowel of the first member (i. e. प्र) ॥

Thus प्रवाहणस्यापत्यं = प्रावाहणेयः or प्रवाहणेयः ॥ The affix दक् IV. 1. 123, is added, similarly प्रवाहणेयो भार्याऽस्य = प्रवाहणेयीभार्यः (VI. 3. 39, masculination prohibited). Or we may translate the sūtra as "Before the affix द, the vowel of प्र in प्रवाहण optionally gets Vṛiddhi", and omit the rest. The masculination will still be prohibited by VI. 3. 41, (जाते) ॥

तत्प्रत्ययस्य च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्प्रत्ययस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रवाहणस्येति वर्तते, सविति उपत्रयस्य प्रत्यवर्मणः, दक् प्रवाहणस्य प्रवाहणशङ्कस्य तद्वितेषु परतः उच्चरपत्रयाचामादेश्चो वृद्धिर्भवति पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥

29. Even so in a new derivative from this stem ending in द, formed with a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ए् or क्, there is vṛiddhi substitution for the first vowel of the second member, and optionally for the first vowel of the first member, in प्रवाहणेय and प्रावाहणेय ॥

As प्रवाहणेयस्यापत्यं = प्रावाहणेयिः or प्रवाहणेयिः, प्रा or प्र-वाहणेयकम् ॥

नन्नः शुचीश्वरक्षेप्रक्षकुशलनिपुणानाम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नन्नः, शुचि, ईश्वर, क्षेप्रक्ष, कुशल, निपुणानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नन्न उच्चरेणां शुचि ईश्वर क्षेप्रक्ष कुशल निपुण इत्येतेषामामादेश्चो वृद्धिर्भवति, पूर्वपत्रस्य वा भवति तद्विते प्रिति जिति किति वा परतः ॥

30. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ए् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is always substituted for the first vowel of शुचि, ईश्वर, क्षेप्रक्ष, कुशल and निपुण when preceded by the Negative particle, but this substitution is optional for the vowel of the Negative particle.

As अशोषम् or आशोषम्, अनैश्वर्यम् or आनैश्वर्यम्, अक्षेप्रक्षम् or आक्षेप्रक्षम्, अक्षो शलम् or आक्षोशलम्, अनैपुणम् or आनैपुणम् ॥ Some say the optional vṛiddhi of the negative particle is an aprāpta-vibhāsha, no other rule would have caused its vṛiddhi had this rule not existed. They argue that by V. 1. 121, all affixes denoting भाव are prohibited after a Tatpurusha compound with the negative particle; therefore, the words शुचि &c, should be first developed by the addition of भाव-affixes, and then they should be compounded with the negative particle, which may be optionally vṛiddhied by this rule, which would apply to it, though it is not an aṅga, because the rule teaches vṛiddhi. Others controvert this opinion, and hold that other affixes causing vṛiddhi than भाव-affixes, also come after negative-Tatpurusha compounds, such as affixes denoting des-

endant &c : and भाव-affixes are added to Bahuvṝhi negative compounds also, therefore, the force of the anuvṝitti of अन्, which is understood up to the end of the Seventh Adhyāya (VI. 1. 1), and *a fortiori* in this sūtra also, should not be set aside as the above interpretation would do. Moreover the full Taddhita compounds असेष्यम् and अनीश्वर are read in the list of Brāhmaṇādi words (V. 1. 124), and as such they take the भाव affix व्यञ् which would have *always* caused the vriddhi of अ, but for this sūtra which makes it optional. Therefore it is a prāpta-vibhāshā.

यथातथयथापुरयोः पर्यायेण ॥३१॥ पदानि ॥ यथातथ, यथापुरयोः, पर्यायेण ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बयातय बयापुर इत्यतयोनभ उत्तरयोः पर्यायेणाचामादेष्यो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्विते ग्रिति गिति क्रिति वा परतः ॥

31. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ए् or ए॒, the words अयथातथ and अयथापुर may have vriddhi of the first vowel of their first member, or that of the second member, in alternation.

That is, when the Negative particle gets the vriddhi, the words remain unchanged; and when these words are vriddhied, the negative particle remains unaltered. As आयथातथम् or अयथातथम्, आयथापुर्यम् or अयथापुर्यम् ॥ The words अयथातथ and अयथापुर should be considered to belong, as negative compounds, to Brāhmaṇādi class (V. 1. 124): and take व्यञ् ॥ In the sūtra the compounds अयथातथ and अयथापुर are exhibited and are Avyayibhāvas (II. 1. 7), and being neuters, the आ of तथा and पुरा are shortened. According to Patanjali this sūtra is superfluous When the negative particle takes Vriddhi, the compound should be analysed as, न अयथातथ = अयथातथा, अयथातथा भावः = आयथा-तथम् ॥ When the second member gets the vriddhi, the compound should be analysed as, अयथातथ भावः = आयथातथं, न आयथातथम् = अयथातथम् ॥

हनस्तो इच्छणलोः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, तः, अ, चिंण णलोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वितेविति निवृत्तम् । तस्मैवज्ञं किरीत्यपि । ग्रितीति वर्तते । हनस्तकारोदेशो भवति ग्रितिं प्रस्थये परतः चिंणलौ वर्जयित्वा ॥

32. त् is substituted for the न् of the root हन् before an affix with an indicatory अ् or ए्, which causes also the vriddhi of the penultimate अ, but the augment is not added before the Aorist-sign चिंण्, nor before the Personal ending णल् of the Perfect.

The anuvṝitti of 'Taddhita' ceases, and with it that of किरीत् also which causes Vriddhi in Taddhita only. The ग्रित् and ग्रित् do govern still. Thus आवः (with व्यञ्), आतयति (with ग्रित्), आतकः (with ए॒व्यञ्), साधुआतिन् with ए॒व्यञ्; आतंधातम् with ए॒व्यञ् ॥ But जग्धामि and जग्धान with ग्रित् and णल् ॥ This sūtra has

reference to roots, and refers to those affixes only which come after roots (पात्र-पत्वय), therefore not here वार्द्धनः from शुभहृ ॥

आतो युक्तिचिण्ठक्तोः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, युक्ति, चिण्ठि, कृतोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भाकारान्तस्यान्तस्य चिण्ठि कृति तिण्ठि युगागमो भवति ।

33. A root-stem ending in आ receives the augment युक्ति (य्), before the Aorist sign चिण्ठि, and before a kṛit-affix with an indicatory अ or ए, which causes also the Vṛiddhi of the root-vowel.

As अशायि, अधायि with चिण्ठि, शावः and शावकः, धावः, धावकः with अ and एवुल ॥ Why चिण्ठि and kṛit only? Observe इत्यै, इत्यौ in the Perfect, and चौद्दिः, बालाकः with इश्च a Taddhita affix (IV. 1. 96). So also ज्ञा देवता अस्य = ज्ञः ॥

नोदात्तोपदेशस्य मान्तस्यानाचमे ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उदात्तोपदेशस्य, मान्तस्य, अनाचमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उडानोपदेशस्य मान्तस्यान्तस्याचमिर्जितस्य चिण्ठि कृति च तिण्ठि वदुन्तं तत्र भवति ॥
वा० ॥ अनाचमिकमिवमीनाभिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

34. The Vṛiddhi is not substituted before the Aorist चिण्ठि or a kṛit-affix with indicatory अ or ए for the vowel of that root which ends in अ and is acutely accented in its original enunciation (Dhātupāṭha), but not so in अम् after आ ॥

The vṛiddhi of the penultimate अ takes place before चिण्ठि and मिण्ठि affixes (VII. 2. 116), that vṛiddhi does not take place in the case of udātta roots ending in अ ॥ Thus अशामि, अत्तमि, and अवामि in चिण्ठि ॥ Compare VI. 4. 92, 93. Similarly with कृति affixes, as शामकः, तमकः, इमकः, शामः, तमः, इमः ॥ Why do we say 'acutely accented'? Observe, शामकः, रामकः ॥ How do you explain इमम् and इपरम्? These are irregular forms exhibited by Pāṇini himself in the Dhātupāṭha अद्वरथमे (Bhu. 380), अम इपरमे (Bhu. 1033) Why do we use "in the original enunciation or upadeśa"? So that the rule may apply to शामी शामी, तमी, but not to शाममः, रामकः ॥ Here to the root शाम्, तम् and इम् is added the affix घिण्ठि (III. 2. 141). The words शामिण् &c. get the affix-accent, namely acute ए; and thus the root-vowel becomes anudātta. Though the root now becomes anudātta, yet because in its upadeśa it was udātta, the present sūtra will apply and prevent vṛiddhi. The roots अम्, इम् are anudātta in upadeśa, but in शामकः, रामकः they become udātta by लिण्ठि accent. This accent is a secondary accent and not the 'original' accent; and hence the present rule does not apply and there is vṛiddhi. Why do we say ending in अ? Observe शामकः पाठकः ॥ Why with the exception of शामम्? Observe शामामकः ॥

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the roots आ-अम्, कृम् and इम्, as शामः, कृमः and शामामः ॥ In the case of कृम्, the affix घम् is added

in that alternative, when the root does not take the affix जिक् (III. 1. 31). It thus gets व्रिद्धि.

The word आमः is formed from the Churādi आम्, which with the affix जिक् gets Vṛiddhi, because जिक् is not a kṛit-affix, and is not therefore governed by this rule. If you say "let there be व्रिद्धि of जिक्, but this व्रिद्धि will be shortened by VI. 4. 92 because it is a मित् root", we reply "this root is not मित्" ॥ The मित् roots are those enumerated in Bhuādi class, subdivision घटादिः (800). No doubt, there it is said that the roots ending in अश् are मित् (in अमन्ताश्). But a root is regarded मित् only with regard to the Causative जिक् affix, and not with regard to that जिक् of the Churādi class where the sense of the causative is not involved in it. Therefore this root is not मित् (VI. 4. 93).

The phrases सूर्योदयामा भूतिः and others like it are incorrect. Why do we say 'चिक् and kṛit only'? Observe आशाम्, इशाम्, आचाम् ॥

जनिषध्योऽम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनि, वध्योः, च ॥
भूतिः ॥ जनि वधि इत्येतत्वाद्यथिनि कृति च सणिति यदुन्तं तम् भवति ।

35. The Vṛiddhi is not substituted for the vowels of अन् and अश् before the Aorist-sign चिक् and the kṛit-affixes with an indicatory अ and अ ॥

As अज्ञानि and अवधि with चिक्, and अनकः and वधकः (with अद्वल्), प्रज्ञानः, वधः ॥ This rule refers to the separate and the distinct root वध and not to the substitute of हन् ॥ This we see in the line भक्षकोऽवध विद्येत वधकोऽपि न विद्यते ॥ The form from हन् will be घातकः ॥ Moreover the substitute वध ends with अ i. e. it is of two syllables 'badha', and as such it also does not admit Vṛiddhi. (See II. 4. 42). The prohibition refers to चिक् and kṛit-affixes, therefore not here, as अज्ञान गमे महिमानभिन्नाश् ॥

अर्तिहीब्लीरीकनूयीस्माच्यातां पुरुणौ ॥ ३६ ॥ अर्ति, ही, ब्ली, री, कनूयी, स्माच्यी, आताम्, पुरु, णौ ॥

भूतिः ॥ सर्वे निवृत्सम्भूत्येति वर्तते । अर्ति ही ब्ली री कनूयी स्माच्यी इत्येतेषामङ्गानामाकारास्तानां च पुगागमो भवति णौ परतः ।

36. The augment पुक् (प) is added to the roots अश्, ही, ब्ली, री, कनूय, स्माच्य, and to a root ending in long आ, when the affix जि (the Causative) follows.

As अप्यति, ऐप्यति, औप्यति, रैप्यति, क्लोप्यति, स्माप्यति ॥ The anuvṛitti of every word other than अश् (VI. 4. 1.) ceases. The अ of अश् and स्माश drops by VI. 1. 66. The guṇa takes place by VII. 3. 86. Of the roots ending in long आ, we have शाप्यति, धाप्यति ॥ The root अ (Bhu. 983) गतिप्राप्यतोः, and अ (Juhotyādi 16) गतौ are both meant here. Similarly अ includes अहू भवते (Dīvādi 30), and री गतिरेप्यतोः (Kryādi 30). The augment is added at the end of

the preceding stem of root, and not to the affix. Being added to the root it becomes part of the root-stem, and in forming the reduplicate Aorist of such stems, the vowel before ए is shortened by VII. 4. 1. If ए were not the part of the stem, that vowel would not be shortened. Thus from शापयते; we have Aorist अशीरपत् ॥

शाच्छासाहाव्यवेपां युक् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शा, छा, सा, हा, व्या, वे पाम्, युक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शा छा सा हा व्या वे पा इत्येतेषामहानां शुगागमो भवति जौ परतः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ लुगागमस्तु तस्य वन्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ धुम् प्रीमोरुगवन्तव्यः ॥

37. The augment युक् (य) is added to the verbal stems शा, छा, सा, हा, वे and पा before the affix ण (Causative).

As नंशायथति, अवच्छायथति, अवसायथति, हावयति, संज्ञायथति, वायथति, and पायथति। The word पा includes the root पा 'to drink'. (Bhu 972) ऐ 'to dry' (Bhu 968), but not पा 'to protect' (Ad. 47); because the latter loses the शाप् vikaraṇa.

Vart :—The root पा 'to protect' takes the augment लुक् before णि, as पालयति ॥

Vart :—The roots धुम् and प्रीम् take the augment तुक् before णि, as धूनयति, प्रीयति ॥

All these augmenta are added to the roots, in order that VII. 4. 1. should cause the shortening of the vowel preceding these. Thus the Aorist of the above are: अशीशापत्, अपीपलत्, अधूधूनत्, अपीप्रिणत् ॥

The roots शा, छा, सा, हा, व्या and पा are exhibited as ending in long आ their Dhātupāṭha forms are शा, शो, छो, सै, सो, है, व्ये and पै ॥ This indicates that these roots would have taken उक् by the last sūtra, the word आत् 'ending in long आ' means the roots which actually end in long आ, as well as those which get long आ by VI. 1. 45. This also indicates, that in this subdivision or section, the maxim of lakṣaṇa protipadokta &c does not apply. Therefore when the roots ए with भावि, and इजि assume the form अधि-आ and आ before the affix णि by VI. 1. 48, the augment उक् is added to them, thus अध्यापयति, जापयति ॥

घो विधूनने जुक् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वः, विधूनने, जुक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वा इत्येतस्य विधूननर्थे वर्तमानस्य शुगागमो भवति जौ परतः ।

38. वा gets the augment जुक् (ज़) before the affix णि when the Causative has the sense of 'shaking'.

As पक्षेणोपवाजयति ॥ But आ वापयति केशान् when the sense is not that of shaking. This form could have been obtained from the root वज् 'to move', (Bhu 271) with the affix णि in the ordinary way without any augment. The special augment ज़ to वा indicates that this root will not take उक्, which it would have otherwise done by the last sūtra. The root वा belongs to Bhu. 969 [ज्ञोवै शोषणे] ॥

लीलार्नुग्लकावन्यतस्यां स्मेहविपातने ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ली, लोः, नुक, लुकौ,
अन्यतरस्याम्, स्नेह विपातने ॥
वृत्तः ॥ ली लो इवेत्यब्रह्मव्याप्ततरस्यां तुक लुक इवेतावागमै भवते जै परतः स्मेहविपातनर्थे ॥

39. The roots ले and ला get optionally रुक् and लक् augment respectively, before the affix णि, when the causative means 'the melting of a fatty substance'.

As वि लीनवति, वि लालवति, वि लायवति, or वि लापयति घृतम् ॥ The augment तुक्ष is added to ली when the root ends in long ई, and that also optionally. When the augment is not added, the regular causative लायवति is formed. But when ली gets the form ला by VI. 1. 51, it does not take the augment तुक्ष ॥ The root ली includes both ली and लीङ् of Kryādi and Divādi. The root ला includes ला 'to give' (adādi 49), and ला the form assumed by ली under VI. 1. 51. When तुक्ष is not added to ला, तुक्ष is added by VII. 3. 36. Why do we say when meaning 'to melt fat'? Observe only लोहं विलापयति, जटाभिरालापयते (I. 3. 70).

मियो हेतुभये शुक् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ भियः, हेतुभये, शुक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भी इत्येतत्स्य हेतुभयं दर्ये शुगागमो भवति जौ परतः ॥

40. The augment तुक् is added to the root भी before the affix णि, when fear is caused immediately owing to the agent of the Causative.

As मुण्डो भीषयते, अटिलो भीषयते ॥ See I. 3.68. Here also भी with long ई being employed in the sūtra, indicates that मुक् is added then only, when the root has the form भी, but when it assumes the form भा by VI. 1. 56, the proper augment मुक् will come: as मुण्डो भाषयते ॥ Why do we say 'when the agent of the causative is himself the direct cause of fear'? Observe कुडिष्ठकयैनं भाषयति, for here कुडिष्ठका causes fear and not the agent of the verb. The ई is व्रिद्धित and आव् substituted.

स्फायो वा: ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फायः, वः ॥
वृक्षः ॥ स्फाश् इत्येतस्याह्रुस्य वक्तारासेषो भवति तौ परतः ॥

41. For the final of the stem रक्षा्॑य is substituted
ष in the causative.

As स्फावयति ॥

शदेरगतौ तः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शदेः, अ गतौ तः ॥
इतिः ॥ शोदे रक्ष्यागतावये वर्तमानस्य तकारादेशो भवति जौ परसः ॥

42. For the final of the शब्द is substituted क्, in the Causative, when it does not mean 'to drive'.

As पुष्पाणि शातयति, फलानि शातयति, but गः शातयति गोपालकः ॥

रुहः पोन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुहः, पः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संवरप्रस्थान्वतरस्यां पकारादेशं भवति जीव परतः ॥

43. प् may optionally be substituted for the final of रुह in the Causative.

As ग्रीष्मीन् रोपयाते or ग्रीयते ॥ According to Padamanjari this sūtra could be dispensed with. The form रोपयति could be obtained from the root रुह of Divādi class : which though meaning नोहन may be taken to mean 'grow' also; भनेकार्यत्वाद् धातुनाम् ॥

प्रत्ययस्थात्कात्पूर्वस्योत इदोन्यसुपः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्ययस्यात्, कात्,
पूर्वस्य, अतः, इत्, आपि, असुपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्यये लिङ्गतीति प्रत्ययस्यः तस्मात् प्रत्ययस्थात्कारात् पूर्वस्याकारस्य इकारादेशो भवति आपि
परतः, स च वास्तुपः परो न भवति ।
वार्तिकम् ॥ भामकनरक्योदयसंख्यानं कर्तव्यमप्यतस्यस्यात् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रत्ययनिषेधे त्वक्यपोषोपसंख्यानम् ॥

44. इ is substituted for the अ which stands before the क् belonging to an affix, when the Feminine-ending आ follows, provided that, it does not come after a case-affix (i.e. when such a word in अक् does not stand at the end of a Bahuvrīhi).

That which stands in an affix is called प्रत्ययस्य, i. e. क् must be the part of the affix. The अक् is changed into इक् in the feminine in आ ॥ As आटिलिका, मुण्डिका, युणिका, दिलिका, कारिका, शरिका ॥ So also इतिका from एतद् + अकाच् + आप् एतकाद् + अत् ॥ The इ is then replaced by अ (VII. 2. 102). The क् must belong to the affix, therefore, not in शक् रात्रिति ॥ The स्य in प्रत्ययस्य is for the sake of distinctness, there is no affix which is only क् ॥ The rule applies to क्, therefore, not to नन्दना, रमणा ॥ The इ is substituted for the अ which precedes (पूर्वस्य) क्, and not the अ which follows क्, as पहुका, दुका ॥ The क् must be preceded by short अ, therefore, not here शोका, नौका, nor in राका, धाका ॥ The substitution takes place when अ follows, therefore, not in कारकी ॥ The word आपि qualifies क् ॥ The क् should be followed by आ ॥ Obj. But in कारिका from कारक + आ, क् is not directly followed by आ, but by अ? Ans. When अ+आ=आ there is ekādeśa, the क् is followed by आ, there being no third letter intervening then. Obj. But an ekādeśa is sthānivat to what it replaces when a pūrva-vidhi is to be applied, therefore there still exists the intervention. Ans. The express text of this sūtra will remove the intervention. Obj. Then इ should be substituted in रथकाम्या and गर्गकाम्या ॥ These words are formed by the affixes काम्यक् and काम्याच्, as रथानां समूहः, (IV. 2. 51) and गर्गमिच्छति आत्मनः (III. 1. 9)=रथकाम्य and गर्गकाम्य ॥ Here also before the क् of the affix, the अ should be replaced

by इ, when the feminine affix आ॒ is added: for there is no intervention between क् and आ॒ (the intermediate letters being non-existent, as you say). Ans. We say that intervention is no intervention, when it consists of only *one* letter, which even does not *actually* exist, but only through the fiction of sthānivat. Therefore, the feminine of the above words will not take इ॑, as क् is not followed immediately (in the sense above expressed) by आ॒, as रथकामा॒ and गर्जकामा॒, because in these *actually* many letters are heard as intervening between the क् and आ॒॥

Why do we say असुपः 'provided that the feminine affix आ॒ does not come after a case-affix'? Observe वहः परित्रायका अस्त्वं मशुरादां = वहुपरित्रायका मशुरादा॥ Here आ॒ comes after the noun वहुपरित्रायक which ends in a case-affix, and hence the अ of आ॒ is not changed to इ॑॥ The case-affix is elided by II. 4. 71, and it still exerts its influence by I. 1. 62. The word असुपः is a प्रसञ्चयप्रतिषेधः (a simple prohibition of the particular matter specified without mentioning what is different from it): and not a पर्युशः or exception. Had it been a Paryudāsa, (मुणोऽन्यः = असुपः) then आ॒ coming after a full word not having a case-affix, would have caused the इ॑ substitution in the last example. Nor should असुपः be explained as that in which there exists no case-affix. Had it been so, then in वहूनि चर्माण्यस्त्वं = वहुचर्मिका no इ॑ ought to be added.

Vart :—मामक and नरक should be enumerated, for the क् of these is not part of the affix: as मामिका, नरिका॥ Here ममक् is substituted for मम before the affix अक् (IV. 3. 3), to which is then added दा॒॥ The word ममक takes long ई in the feminine only when it is a Name or in the Vedas (IV. 1. 30): therefore though मामक ends in अ॒, it does not take ई॒ (IV. 1. 15) but दा॒ (IV. 1. 4), नराम् कावति = नरक formed with the affix क् (अ III. 2. 3).

Vart :—The rule applies to the words ending in स्वक् (IV. 2. 98) and स्वप् (IV. 2. 104) in spite of the prohibition in VII. 3. 46. As शासिणास्त्रिका, इहत्विका॥

The word in the sūtra is कात् the fifth case of क ending in अ॒॥ If then this be the condition, that the affix must end in ka क and not in k क्, then the rule will not apply to एतिका॥ Because here the augment is अकक् (अक्) with क्; the final अ in अकक् is for euphony only, and not a portion of the affix, as we find in भिन्नकि, छिन्धकि, हन्धाकि॥ The word कात् therefore, is construed to mean ending in the consonant क्॥

न यासयोः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, या, सयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ या सा इत्येतद्वोरिकारादिशो न भवति ॥

वासिन्करम् ॥ वत्तद्वोः प्रतिषेधे लक्कन उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ पादकारीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ आशिवि चोपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ उत्तरपदलोपे चोपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ लिपकारीनां चोपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ तारका उयोतिष्ठुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ वर्जका तान्मत्र उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ वर्तका शकुनो ग्राम्यादुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ अष्टका पितृरैतये ॥ वा० ॥ वा० सूतकापुत्रकावृन्शारकाणामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

45. The इ is not substituted for the अ of य and स, with the augment क, when the feminine आ follows.

As यका. सका ॥ The आ and सा simply stand for अद् and सद्, and the prohibition is not confined to the nominative case only, as the forms वा and सा may lead one to think. न यत् तवोः would have been a better sūtra. The prohibition applies in every case, as यकामधीते. तकां पचामहे ॥ Or यकांयकामधीमहे (i. e. अद्यां गाथां अ), and तकां तकामध्यचामहे (i. e. घोषर्थी शाकिर्णि वा)

Vārt :—The affix स्थन् (V. 3. 34) should be enumerated also along with अद् and सद् ॥ As उपर्यका, भाषित्यका ॥

Vārt :—The feminine of पादक &c in the Veda does not take इ for अ ॥ As हित्यवर्णः शुचयः पादकाः, वासु अ लंगकाः, कक्षकाः &c. But पादिकाः, अलामिकाः in secular literature.

Vārt :—So also in the affix शुन् used in benediction: as जीवताद् जीवका, नन्दताद् नन्दका, भवताद् भवका ॥ See III. 1. 150.

Vārt :—So also when the second member is elided in a compound: as देवका, यज्ञका, the second member इत् is elided, the fuller forms being देवशक्तिका, अदरतिका (अनजार्णि अ विभाशा लोपो वन्नस्यः) See V. 3. 83 *Vārt*.

Vārt :—क्षिपका &c should be enumerated in this prohibition: as क्षिपका, धृषका, धुषका, चटका ॥

Vārt :—तारका is formed when it means 'stars', but सारिका 'a maid-servant' from सारयति ॥

Vārt :—वर्णका is formed when it means 'a mantle or mask', but वर्णिका 'an expounder': as वर्णिका भागुरी लोकायते 'Bhāgurī is a commentary of Lokāyata'

Vārt :—वर्तका 'a bird' according to the Eastern grammarians, but वर्तिका according to the Northern authorities. Why do we say 'when meaning a bird'? Observe वर्तिका भागुरी लोकायतस्य ॥

Vārt :—भट्टका when meaning a पितृसैवत्य ceremony, but भट्टिका खारी ॥ The ceremony related to Pitridaivatya is called Pitridaivatya, the affix is अद् ॥ The former is derived from the root भट् with the affix सकन् (अइनान्ति ब्राह्मणा भारनमत्यां), the other is derived from the numeral अष्ट by the affix कन् (V. 1. 22).

Vārt :—Optionally सूतका, उष्टका and शून्यारका, the other forms are सूतिका, पुष्टिका, and शून्यारिका ॥

उदीच्चामतः स्थाने यकपूर्वायाः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदीच्चाम, आतः, स्थाने, यक, पूर्वायाः, ॥

शृतिः ॥ उदीच्चामाचार्याणां भतेन यकारपूर्वायाः कक्षारपूर्वायाभातः स्थाने बोऽक्षारस्तस्वातः स्थाने इकारारेणो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यकपूर्वत्ये धात्वन्तप्रतिषेधः ॥

46. According to the opinion of Northern grammarians, इ is not substituted for that अ which is obtained by

shortening the long आ of the feminine (under rule VII. 4. 13 before the affix क), which is preceded by a य or a क॥

The mention of 'northern grammarians' makes this an optional rule. As इभका or इन्यिका, भमियिका or भमिकिका, चदकका or चटकिका, मूषिकका, मूषिकिका॥ Why do we say preceded by य or क? Observe अभक्त-आधिका only (from अभा)॥ The word ब्रह्मपूर्वाशः is exhibited in the feminine, in order to indicate that the rule applies when the *feminine* affix आ is shortened to अ॥ Therefore not here शुभंयिका from शुभंश्या (शुभं वाति). So also भाईयिका from भृया, where आ is part of the root आ (see III. 2. 74).

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated of the य and क being finals of a root. When the य or क preceding this अ, is the final of the root, the prohibition contained in the sūtra, does not apply: as शुभंयिका, शुशयिका, शुपाकिका, and अशोकिका॥

Why do we say 'of long आ'? Observe संकाश्ये भवा = संकाश्यिका॥ The word संकाश्य is formed from संकाश by the affix य (संकाशे निरूप्तं)॥ Then is added the affix शुभ (IV. 2. 121). Here there is no shortening of a long आ, and hence no option is allowed. But in इभका or इन्यिका the long आ has been shortened. Because this word is thus derived: इभमस्ति = इया (इण्डाइश्योयः V. 1. 66). To this क is added, and the long आ is shortened.

Why is the word स्थान used in the sūtra, when by the general rule एषी स्थाने वोगः this word would be understood here? The special mention is for the sake of pointing out that the अ which takes the place of आ is intended here: i. e. the इ replaces this short अ; but had the word स्थाने not been used in the sūtra the इ would have replaced the long आ॥

भस्त्रैषाजाह्नाद्वास्था नश्चपूर्वाणामपि ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भस्त्रा, एषा, अजा, इा, इा, स्वा, नश्, पूर्वाणाम, अपि ॥

वृतिः ॥ उर्वीचामातः स्थाने इति वर्तते ॥ आतः स्थाने योकारस्तस्य इत्यं न भवति उर्वीचामात्यायां मतेन ॥

47. According to the opinion of Northern grammarians, इ is not substituted for that अ which is obtained by shortening the आ (before क by VII. 4. 13), of भस्त्रा, एषा, अजा, इा, इा, स्वा; even not then when the negative particle precedes them.

As भस्त्रका or भस्त्रिका, अभस्त्रका or अभस्त्रिका, एषका or एषिका, अजका or अजिका, इका or इकिका, भजका or भजिका, इके or इकिके, स्वका or स्विका, अस्वका or अस्विका॥ Of एषा and इ तhere are no examples with the negative particle. For if the compounding with नश् takes place after the addition of the अकञ्च, or on the contrary, if first अकञ्च be added and then the नश् compounding takes place, in both alternatives, the case-affixes must be added in order to substitute अ for the final by VII. 2. 102: and it is only when this अ is substituted that the se-

minine शृणु can come. So that the case-affix is the principal ingredient, and शृणु comes after शृणु, and therefore by the prohibition of अशृणुः in VII. 3. 44, there can arise no occasion for the substitution of ए ॥ Therefore अभिष्का and अहके are the invariable forms of these words with the negative particle. स्व meaning agnates and property, takes the negative particle. भक्ता is a word which has no corresponding masculine form, and as such, by the following rule VII. 3. 48 it would not have taken ए; its special mention here indicates that it should be the secondary member of the compound here: as अविद्यमाना भक्ता अस्त्वा — अभक्ता, the Diminutive of which is अभिष्का or अभिष्का ॥ Here first the भक्ता is shortened as it is a secondary member (upasarjana), then when the Bahuvrihi is made, the feminine affix शृणु is added to this भाषितपुरुष word, then this आ is shortened before क by VII. 4. 13. This short अ (VII. 4. 13) does not come in the room of the आ which is ordained to come after a word having no corresponding masculine.

The force of अवि shows that the rule applies, when words other than नस् also precede, and even when no words precede. As निर्भिका or निर्भका, वहुभिका or वहुभक्ता ॥

Note:—The form इके is from the word इकि, dual number, the final ए is changed to अ (स्वास्थ्य), then the feminine आ (शृणु) is added (इका), and then शी is substituted for औ ॥

अभाषितपुरुस्कात् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, भाषितपुरुस्कात्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभाषितपुरुस्कात्तिहितस्यातः स्थाने योऽकारस्तस्योर्विचामाचार्याणांमतेन इकारादेशो न भवति ॥

48. According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, ए is not substituted for an अ obtained from the shortening of the Feminine आ (VII. 4. 13), when to the feminine in long आ there is no equivalent masculine, even when the Negative particle precedes.

As खट्टका or खट्टिका, भखट्टका or भखट्टिका, परमलट्टका or परमलट्टिका ॥ When before the affix क्षण्, the stem is shortened in a Bahuvrihi, this rule will apply (VII. 4. 15). There also, the अ must be substituted for the आ of a feminine word which has no corresponding masculine. But this rule does not apply when the negative compound is the synthesis of अविद्यमाना खट्टा अस्त्वा:— अखट्टा, अस्त्वा अखट्टा— अखट्टिका ॥ Similarly अतिक्रान्ता खट्टाम्— अतिखट्टा, अस्त्वा अतिखट्टा— अतिखट्टिका ॥

Note:—The word खट्टा is always feminine and has no corresponding masculine.

आदाचार्याणाम् ॥ ४९ ॥ आत्, आचार्याणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभाषितपुरुस्कात्ताः स्थाने योऽकारस्तस्याचार्याणामाकारोरेषो भवति ॥

49. According to the opinion of other Teachers, आ is substituted for the अ which arose from the shortening of the feminine आ of a word which has no corresponding masculine form.

As अखाद्वाका, अखाद्वाका or परमस्तद्वाका॥

Note—The “Teachers” referred to here are either those other than the Northern Grammarians, or it may refer to the Teacher of Pāṇini, the plural being for the sake of respect. Thus there are three forms अखाद्वाका, अखाद्विका, and अखाद्वाका॥

ठस्येकः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ ठस्य, इकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गस्य निमित्तं बहुः, कथाङ्गस्य निमित्तं, प्रत्यय, स्त्रस्य प्रत्ययस्य इक इत्यब्यावेशो भवति ॥

50. For ठ in the beginning of a Taddhita affix there is substituted इक ॥

As आशिकः, शालाकिकः (ठक IV. 4. 1), लाशिकः (ठस्य IV. 4. 52). In the affixes ठक, ठभ् &c, if the affix is the consonant ठ, and अ is only for euphony, then here also the अ is for pronunciation only: but if on the contrary, the aggregate ठ(ह+अ) is the affix, then the same is the case here. This rule does not apply in Unādi affixes always, as कण्ठ ठः—कण्ठः (Uṇ I. 103), for there is diversity (बहुल) in the Unādi.

माधितिकः (—मधितं पञ्चमस्य IV. 4. 51) is thus formed मधित + ठक = मधित + इक (VI. 4. 148 the अ is dropped). Now arises the doubt, should इक be replaced by क as taught in the next aphorism VII. 3. 51, as it comes after a त ॥ This substitution, however, does not take place, because it was इक which caused the elision of अ, and now त which became final by such elision cannot cause the destruction of इक its producer (सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तदिधासत्य). Or the elided अ (VI. 4. 148) may be considered as sthānivat, and would thus prevent क substitution.

There are two views about this ठ ॥ Some say that the consonant ठ only is the sthāni, and the अ is only for the sake of pronunciation. The others hold that ठ, the consonant and the vowel are sthāni in the aggregate. In the first view, the rule would apply to the consonant ठ at the end of roots like पर् in पठिता, पठितु; in the other view the rule would apply to the affix अठच् in कर्मठः॥ Hence, the commentary uses the word, that ठ must be the cause of अङ्ग ॥

इसुसुक्तान्तात्कः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इस, उस, उक्, त, अन्तान्त्, कः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इस उस इत्येवमन्तानां अङ्गन्तानां तान्तानां चाङ्गानां अङ्गन्तरस्य ठस्य क इत्यब्यावेशो भवति ॥ वार्तिकद् ॥ शोष उपसंख्यानम् ॥

51. क is substituted for ठ after a stem ending in इस, उस, उ or ऊ, अङ्ग and त् ॥

As सार्वज्ञः, धातुज्ञः, वाङ्गुञ्जः, नैषादकर्त्तुकः, शास्त्रारज्ञमुकः; मातृकम्, पैतृकम्; औद्यिति-

तकः, शाकूनकः, वाकूनकः ॥ The इ॒स् and उ॒न् are the affixes of that name, therefore not here, भासिरिकः (= भासिषा चर्ता), औंविका (= उषा चराति) ॥

Vart :—So also after शेष, as शै॒ष्टकः (शैभौंचराति) ॥

The word सार्विकः is formed by इ॒क् of तदेव पण्ये, (IV. 4. 51) and स् is changed to ष by इ॒ण् षः (VIII. 3. 39). भानुष्कः is by उ॒क् of महरं ॥ वाणुष्कः is by उ॒क् of सीम्बाते ॥ नैषाइकूष्मः &c by उ॒क् of भवादारये शोरेऽर्थे उ॒ष्मः ॥ मातृकः by उ॒ष्मः of तत भागतः, उ॒ष्टटम् ॥ औषाधूनकः by उ॒क् (IV. 2. 19) शाकूनकः by उ॒ष्मः of संस्कृते (IV. 4. 12).

चजोः कु॒ घिण्णयतोः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चजोः, कु॒, घित्, ण्णयतोः, ॥ शृतिः ॥ अकारभक्तात्वोः कवर्गादेशो भवति यिति एव प्रत्यये परतः ॥

52. For the final च् or ज् of a root, there is substituted a corresponding guttural, before an affix having an indicatory ष, and before ण्णयत् ॥

As पाक, खागः, रागः with उ॒ष्म, and चाकूयम्, वाकूयम् and लै॒ष्मयम् with ण्णयत् ॥ Compare VII. 3. 59.

न्य॒ङ्कादीनां च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न्य॒ङ्कु, आदीनाम्, च, ॥ शृतिः ॥ न्य॒ङ्कु इत्येवमारीनां कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

53. The guttural is substituted in न्य॒ङ्कु and the rest.

Thus न्य॒ङ्कुः from नि + अ॒ञ्ज + उः; So also म॒द्युः ॥

(1) By the sūtra नावङ्कृतेः (Uṇ I. 17), the affix उ is added to the root अ॒ञ्ज preceded by नि ॥ (2) म॒द्यु is formed by adding उ to the root म॒ञ्ज (Uṇ I. 7) (3) शृणुः, is formed by the affix उ added to the root अ॒ञ्ज, the स् is elided, and उ is vocalised (Uṇ I. 28). (4 and 5) शूरेपाकः, फलेपाकः formed by the अ॒ञ्ज affix of वचादि class, (= शूर पच्यते हृष्टमेव, फले पच्यते हृष्टमेव) ॥ The vṛiddhi is by nipātana. The seventh case-affix is not elided in these compound words by VI. 3. 14. (6) क्षणेपाकः ॥ This word is read by some. Others read these as शूरेपाका, फलेपाका with दात् ॥ A third reading is शूरेपाङ्कुः फलेपाङ्कुः, by the affix उ added irregularly. (7 and 8) तङ्क and वङ्क ॥ These are formed from the roots तङ्कच and वङ्कच with the affix रूक् 'Uṇ II. 13). (9) व्यतिष्ठः, formed from व्यतिष्ठाति with पचादि अ॒ञ् ॥ (10) अ॒ञ्जुष्मः ॥ (11) अ॒वसर्गः ॥ (12) उपसर्गः ॥ (13) म॒षः ॥ (14) अ॒षपाकः ॥ (15) म॑ांसपाकः ॥ (16) कपोतपाकः ॥ (17) उलूकपाकः ॥ (18) पिण्डपाकः formed by the affix अ॒ञ् with an accusative word in construction as upapada. (19) अ॒र्धः when it denotes a name meaning 'price'. This is formed from the root अ॒र्ह with the affix उ॒ष्म ॥ When it is not a name, the form is अ॒र्हः ॥ (20 and 21) अ॒वसायः and निशायः, when they are names meaning "Summer or Hot season". These are formed from the root उ॒ह preceded by अ॒व and नि ॥ But when they are not names, the forms are अ॒ववाहः, निशाहः ॥ (22) व्यधोऽः: formed from the root उ॒ह preceded by व्य॒क् and by adding the पचादि अ॒ञ् ॥ The उ् is changed to ष ॥ (23) वीरूऽः ॥ Formed from उ॒ह with वि and the affix व्य॒क्, and ष changed to ख ॥ व्यथोऽव्याति and विरोहव्याति ॥

1 न्य॒ङ्कु, 2 म॒द्यु, 3 शृणु, 4 शूरेपाक, 5 फलेपाक, 6 क्षणेपाक, 7 शूरेपाका, 8 फलेपाका, 9 शूरेपाङ्कु, 10 फलेपाङ्कु, 11 तङ्क, 12 वङ्क, 13 व्यतिष्ठः, 14 अ॒ञ्जुष्मः, 15 अ॒वसर्ग, 16 उपसर्ग, 17 अ॒षपाक, 18 म॑ांसपाक, 19 उलूकपाक, 20 कपोतपाक, 21 उलूकपाक, 22 संदातानं भेषणिशायावसायार्था: भेष 23 व्यथोऽः, 24 वीरूऽः ॥

हं हन्तेण्यजिङ्गेषु ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, हन्तेः, डिंत्, नेषु, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेहिकारस्व कवर्गादेशो भवति जिति त्रिंशं प्रत्यय परतो नकारे च ॥

54. A guttural is substituted for the **त्** in **हन्** before an affix having an indicatory **श्** or **ष्** and before **च्**.

As पात्यात् with जिङ्ग, वृत्तिः with षुल, साधुष तिल् with इग्ग, धात्यात् with अम्बुल, वातः with घस्स, ग्निति, ग्नन्तुम्, and अग्नन् before त् ॥ Why do we specify ह? Otherwise the substitute would replace the final letter. Why of हन्? Observe प्रहारः, प्रहारकः ॥ ष् and ष् qualify the affixes, and त् means the त् of हन् which becomes joined with त् when the intermediate त् is dropped. This त् comes in immediate contact with त् because it is *heard* in pronouncing, and in writing. If the elided त् be considered as sthānivat, then त् can never be followed by ष्, for there will exist the intervention of this latent त्, but by virtue of the special text of this sūtra, such an elided त् should not be considered as an intervention. And if ष्, ष् and त् be all considered as qualifying the त् of हन्, still on the maxim त् न नाव्यवधानं सन् व्यवहितेऽपि व्यवन्नामादात्, therefore ष् or ष् are considered to come after त् though a portion of the root intervenes. But not so here, हन्नमिष्टति हननीयति, add षुल to this Denominative root, and we have हननायकः ॥

अभ्यासाच्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यासात्, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासादुत्तरस्व हन्तिहकारस्व कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

55. A Guttural is substituted for the **त्** in **हन्** after a reduplication also.

As जियांसति, अहघन्ते, अहे अधान ॥ The rule applies when such an affix follows which causes the reduplication of the stem (aṅga) हन्, therefore not here हननीयितुमिष्टति = जिहननीयिष्टति ॥

हेरचडि ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हे:, अ, चडि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हिनोतेहिकारस्याभ्यासादुग्नरस्व कवर्गादेशो भवति अचडि ॥

56. A guttural is substituted for the **त्** of हि (हिनोति) after a reduplication, but not in the Reduplicated Aorist.

As जिधीषति, प्र जेधीयते, प्रजिधाय; but प्राजीहयद् शूतम् in the simple Aorist. Obj. The word अचडि could be dispensed with from the sūtra, in as much as अचडि can never come after the simple root हि, but after the causative of हि, and the causative stem of हि is a different verb than, हि. Ans. The fact of this word अचडि being employed in the sūtra indicates the existence of the following maxim : महति महणे ज्ञापिकस्वापि महणम् "A radical denotes whenever it is employed in Grammar, not only that radical itself, but it denotes also whatever stem may result from the addition to it of the causative affix हि" ॥ Therefore we have प्रजिधाय विष्टति ॥

The word प्राजीहवत् is the Aorist of the causative of हि, with चह्, the elision of जि, the shortening of the penultimate the reduplication, guttural change by कुहोऽसु, and lengthening by सीर्वोलघोः ॥

सन्लिटोर्जेः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्, लिटोः, जेः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सनि लिटि च प्रत्यं जेरहस्य वोभ्यासस्तस्मादुच्चरस्य कवर्गारेषो भवति ॥

57. A guttural is substituted for the ज् in जि after a reduplication before the Desiderative affix सन्, and in the Perfect.

As जिनीषति, जिगाव ॥ Why in the Desiderative and Perfect only? Observe जेर्जीवते ॥ Though the root ज्ञा also assumes the form जि by vocalisation (VI. 1. 16, 17) yet that जि is not to be taken here. That will form जिज्ञवतुः, जिज्ञुः ॥

विभाषा चेः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, चेः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विनोसेहस्य सन्लिटोर्ज्ञासादुच्चरस्य विभाषा कवर्गारेषो भवति ॥

58. A guttural is optionally substituted for the च of चि after a reduplication in the Desiderative and Perfect.

As चिकीषति or चिकीषति, चिकाव or चिकाव ॥ But चेचीवते in other cases.
न कादेः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, कु, आदेः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कवर्गारेद्वातोशजोः कवर्गारेषो न भवति ॥

59. A guttural is not substituted for the final च ज् of a root which begins with a guttural, before an affix having an indicatory घ and before ष्वत् ॥

As कूञ्जः, खञ्जः and गञ्जः with घम् ; कुञ्जः, खञ्जः and गञ्जः with ष्वत् ॥ This is an exception to VII. 3. 52.

अजिग्रज्योध ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अजि, ग्रज्योः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अजि ग्रजि इत्येतदोध कवर्गारेषो न भवति ॥

60. A guttural is not substituted for the final च ज् of अज् and वज् before an affix having an indicatory घ and before ष्वत् ॥

This is an exception to VII. 3. 52. Thus समाजः, उवाजः, परिव्राजः and परिव्राज्यवृत् ॥ There is no example of अज् with the affix ष्वत्, because by II. 4. 56, वी replaces अज् before all ार्धाद्वातुका affixes except घम् and घष् ॥ The च of the sūtra implies that the rule applies to other roots also not mentioned, as वाजः, वाज्यवृत् from वज् ॥

भुजन्युवृजौ पाण्युपतापयोः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुज, न्युवृजौ, पाणि, उपतापयोः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भुज न्युवृज इत्येतदोशजो निपातेते वथासंख्यम् पाणादुपतापे च ॥

61. शुज 'an arm', and श्युष्ज 'a kind of bodily disease', are irregularly formed, without any change of their ज before धृ॥

The word शुजः = शुज्यतेऽनेन, with धृ (III. 3. 121). The irregularity consists in the absence of Guṇa, as well as of gutturalisation. श्युषिताः शरसेऽस्मान् = श्युषजः from the root उःज अर्जव (Tudādi 20). The irregularity consists in the non-changing of ज ॥ When not meaning 'an arm' and 'a disease', we have शोगः, सशूदणः ॥

प्रयाजानुयाजौ यज्ञाङ्गे ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयाजः, अनुयाजौ, यज्ञ, अङ्गे, ॥
पृतिः ॥ कुस्तप्रतिषेदोऽनुवत्ते ॥ प्रयाज अनुयाज इत्येतो निपात्यते यज्ञं विभवेये ॥ प्रदूर्दस्य वज्र्यंभिरुत्सामावो निपात्यते ॥

62. प्रयाज and अनुयाज are irregularly formed with धृ, when meaning a portion of a sacrificial offering.

These words are derived from यज्ञ with धृ without the guttural substitution; as उप्य प्रयाजः, अयोनुयाजः, स्वग्ने प्रयाजाना पश्चात् स्वं पुरस्तात् ॥ But प्रयागः and अनुयागः when not referring to portions of a sacrifice. The प्रयाजः and अनुयाजः are illustrative only. The guttural change does not take place with other prepositions &c. also, as उपयाजः, उपांशुयाजः, संयाजः, एतुयाजः, as in the sentences एकाशोपयाजः, उपांशु याजमन्तरा यज्ञति, अटो पक्षी संयाजा भवन्ति, एतुयाजै यत्तिनि ॥

वश्चेत्तो ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वश्चेत्तो, गतौ, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वज्रेत्कुस्त गतौ वर्तमानस्य कर्त्तव्येष्यो न भवति ॥

63. A guttural is not substituted for the palatal of धृ in the sense of 'going'.

As वज्र्य वज्र्यन्ति वर्णितः, but वाहूव्य कौड़ि = कुटिले ॥ Why is गतौ used, when we know from the Dhātupāṭha (Bhuadi 204) that धृ means 'to go'? The specification shows that the roots possess many meanings other than those assigned to them in the Dhātupāṭha.

ओक उच्चः के ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओकः, उच्चः, के, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उच्चेत्तोः के प्रत्यं ओक इति निपात्यते ॥

64. ओक is irregularly formed from the root उच्च with the affix क (अ) ॥

The change of च into क, and the Guṇa are the irregularities. As मोक्षः 'a bird, a tree'. The affix क is added under III. 1. 135. The क is added with the force of धृ the Kāraka relation being that of Location &c. The धृ affix would have given the form regularly, but then the word would have been acutely accented on the first syllable, but it is desired that the acute should be on the last. The words विक्षेपः, जलौक्षः &c are also irregular,

formed with the Uṇadi affix अप्तुं the अ being substituted for अ as an Uṇadi diversity (bahulam).

परमावश्यके ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ यजः, आवश्यके, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आवश्यकेऽप्येदो ष्यप्रत्ययस्तस्मिन् परमूरुषे चज्ञाः कुसं न भवति ॥

65. A guttural is not substituted for the palatal, before the affix **एव**, when it means 'to do as absolute necessity'.

As अवदय पाप्यन्, अवदय वाप्यन्, अवदयतेरप्यन्, but पाप्यन्, वाप्यन् and रेप्यन् when the sense is not that of necessity.

यजयाचरुचप्रवच्चर्चम् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज, याच, रुच, प्रवच, मूचः, च, ॥
मृतिः ॥ यज याच रुच प्रवच कृत्वा हत्येतेषां पूर्णे परतः कषण्डिदेशी न भवति ॥
पार्तिकम् ॥ पूर्णते प्रतिषेधे लग्नं रुपसंक्षयनम् ॥

66. A guttural is not substituted for the final palatals of यज्, यच्, रुच्, प्र-सच्, and श्वच् before the affix च्यत् ॥

As वाऽच्यम्, वाऽप्यम्, रोऽप्यम्, प्रवाऽप्यम्, and अर्च्यम् || Though वच् has a penultimate ए and therefore by III. 1. 110 would have taken एष, it takes एत् by force of this sūtra. प्रवच् shows that the present sūtra applies to it, though it means 'a word or speech', and the prohibition of VII. 3. 67 does not apply. प्रवाऽप्यम् is the name of a particular book. Others say that the prohibition applies to वच् only when it is preceded by ए, and does not mean word or speech (VII. 3. 67) and not when it is preceded by any other preposition. As अविवाक्य-पहरिते पठन्ति || This even in a very restricted sense, namely on the tenth day of the Daśarātra ceremony. In other places we have अविवृच्य एष ||

Vart :— रक्ष should be enumerated in this connection i. e. before रक्ष, the क remains unaltered, as द्यारक्षण ॥

वचोऽशब्दसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वचः, अ, शब्द, संज्ञायाम् ॥
वत्ति ॥ प्रवृत्ति वर्तमे वचोशब्दसंज्ञायां प्रवृत्ति परतः कवर्णो न भवति ॥

67. The guttural is not substituted for the final of श्व before प्रत्, when it does not mean 'a word or speech'.

As वाच्यमाह, अवाच्यमाह, but अपश्यितं वाच्यमाह ॥

प्रयोज्यनियोज्यौ शक्यार्थे ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयोज्य, नियोज्यौ, शक्य, अर्थे, ॥
प्रतिः ॥ प्रपञ्चस्तु निपर्वत्स च यज्ञः प्रसाज्य निवोज्य इत्येतो शब्दो शक्यार्थे निषत्यंते ॥

68. प्रयोज्य and नियोज्य preserve their palatal in the sense of 'capable to do this'.

As प्रयोज्यः — प्रयोक्तुशक्यः ; नियोज्यः — नियोक्तुशक्यः, but प्रयोग्य and नियोग्य in other senses.

भोज्यं भक्ष्ये ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भोज्यम्, भक्ष्ये, ॥

श्रुतिः ॥ भोउयं निषाल्यते भृष्णेभिर्धेवे ॥ प्रज्ञार्थाति इत्याभासो निषाल्यते शक्त्याये ॥

69. भोज्य preserves its palatal in the sense of 'eatable'.

The word is derived from शुद्ध with एत् in the sense of 'able'. As भोज्य भोजनः 'eatable rice', भाज्या वज्राग् 'eatable barley-gruel'. शुद्ध here means anything which is fit for being eaten. When not having this sense, we have शोधः कम्बलः ॥

घोलोपो लेदि वा ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ घोः, लोपः, लेदि, वा, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शुसंहकारां लेदि परतो वा लोपो भवति ॥

70. The final of वा and धा (शु roots) may optionally be elided in the Subjunctive (लेद्) ॥

As इधरता शश्चे Rig I. 35. 8. सामो इहू गन्धर्वाव Rig X. 85. 41. But also वश्चनिरग्नवे इहात् ॥ The form इहात्, however, may also be deduced even when the final of वा is elided, for then by the आह् augment (III. 4. 9+) we get this form. The word वा is therefore employed in the sūtra only for the sake of distinctness, for the sūtra without वा would have also given the above forms, as we have shown. Or the वा is used to remove the doubt which one may entertain to this effect "इहात्" is the form which may be deduced by the general rule, since लोप is taught, this form will be excluded altogether and will never appear".

The form इहत् is thus evolved. We add तिष् to the root वा; then the त् of तिष् is elided (III. 4. 97). शश्चे - वश्चनानाव रत्नानिरश्चात् ॥ Others say, the इहत् is the form of the root with the शश् affix. इहत् is from the root शश् ॥

Some say that वा is jñāpaka and indicates the existence of the following maxim :—अनित्यमाग्नशासनश् "the rule about augments is anitya". So that the augment आह् being anitya, we could not have got the form इहात् ॥ Hence the employment of the word वा ॥

ओतः इयनि ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओतः, इयनि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ओकायन्तस्याकृस्य इयनि परतो लोपो भवति ॥

71. A stem ending in ओ loses its final before the Present characteristic इयन् of the Divādi class.

As निष्पत्ति from शो, अवच्छन्ति from छो, अवधाति from धो, and अवस्थति from थो ॥ The त् in ओत् is for the sake of euphony or ease of pronunciation.

According to Padamanjari, the sūtra should have been ओतः इयति, and thereby there would be the saving of half a mātrā, and also there would be no necessity of repeating the word इयति in VII. 3. 75.

कृसस्याच्चि ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृसस्य, अच्चि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कृसस्याजाहौ प्रत्यये लोपो भवति ॥

72. The अ of the Aorist characteristic कृत् is elided before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As अधुक्षाताम्, अधुक्षापाम्, अधुक्षि from the root दुह् ॥ Had the अ not been elided before भाताम् and भापाम्, then इव must have been substituted for it according to VII. 2. 81. Why do we say before an affix beginning with a vowel? Observe अधुक्षत्, अधुक्षताम् ॥ Why do we say क्स and not only स? So that the elision should not take place here, as उस्तौ, उस्ता:, उस्तौ, उस्ता:, तृष्णसौ, तृष्णसः ॥

लुग्धा दुहविहलिदगुहामात्मनेपदे दन्त्ये ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुक्, वा, दुह, दिह, लिह, गुहाम्, आत्मनेपदे, दन्त्ये, ॥

इति: ॥ इह रिह लिह एवेतपामात्मनेपदे दन्त्यारै परतः क्रस्त्य वा लुग्धवति ॥

73. The whole of the affix क्स is elided optionally before the personal endings of the Atmanepada beginning with a dental, after दुह्, दिह् लिह् and गुह् ॥

As अदुग्ध or अधुक्षत्, अदुग्धाः or अधुक्षयाः, अदुग्धम् or अधुक्षत्वम्, अदुग्धविहि or अधुक्षापविहि, अदिग्ध or अधिक्षत्, अलीढ or अलिक्षत्, व्यग्ध or व्यधुक्षत् ॥

Why दुह् &c. only? Observe अधुक्षत् ॥ Why in the Atmanepada? Observe अधुक्षत् only. Why before an affix beginning with a dental? Observe अधुक्षामहि only. Though the anuvṛitti of लोप was understood in this sūtra; the employment of the term लुक् indicates that the *whole* of the affix is to be elided. For लोप would have elided only the final अ of स ॥ But even with the elision of अ alone we would have got all the above forms, except those in वहि ॥ For अ being elided, we have स् between इ (a consonant of श्वर् class) and a dental (which is also a letter of श्वर् class). This स् situate between two श्वर् will be elided by VIII. 2. 26. Nor can it be objected that the elided अ is sthāniyat, for by पूर्ववासिज्ञ VIII. 2. 1, such an elision cannot be sthāniyat. Though इ is a dento-labial, yet it is included in the word dental. Had it not been meant to be so included, त्वौ (letters of त् class) would have been taken in the sūtra. See III. I. 45, for this Aorist-affix.

शामामष्टानां दीर्घः स्यनि ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शामाम्, अष्टानाम्, दीर्घः, स्यनि, ॥ इति: ॥ शामार्दिनामष्टानां रीर्घो भवति इति परतः ॥

74. Before the Present character इवन्, a long is substituted for the root-vowel in शाम् and the seven roots that follow it.

As शान्वति, शान्वति, शान्वति, शान्वति, शान्वति इवन् and मायति ॥ Why of these eight only? Observe अस्त्वति ॥ Why before इवन्? Observe इवन्; the इवन् being optional after this root by III. I. 70.

षिखुक्षम्याचमां शिति ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ षिखु, क्षम्यु, आचमाम्, शिति, ॥ इति: ॥ रीर्घ इति वर्तते ॥ दिखु इव भाचम् इत्येतेषां रीर्घो भवति शिति परतः ॥

75. Before any other Present character (शिति), the root vowel of षिखु, क्षम्यु, and आचमाम् is lengthened.

As शीति, क्लामति, and भा चामति ॥ क्लम् lengthens its vowel before अव् by the last rule, the present rule produces this change before the affix शृष् also, which it gets by III. I. 70. अव् lengthens its vowel only when it is preceded by भा; therefore not here: अमात, विचमति or उचमति ॥ The sūtra is exhibited as इत्युग्रं अमां शिति in the original text of Pāṇini; the present form, owes its existence to the insertion of भा from the vārtika शीर्षस्वनाङ्गे अमः ॥

क्रमः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रमः, परस्मैपदेषु, ॥ शृतिः ॥ शों इति वर्तते ॥ क्रमः परस्मैपदेष्वरे शिति परतो शीर्षो भवति ॥

76. The long इ is substituted in क्रम्, before a शित् affix, in the Parasmaipada.

As क्रामति, क्रामताः, क्रमन्ति ॥ Why in the Parasmaipada? Observe आक्रमते आदित्यः ॥ How do you explain the lengthening in उद्द्रकाम and संक्राम (Imperative 2nd Per. Sg.)? For when हि is elided by शृक्, (VI. 4. 105) then by I. I. 63, the affix being dropped by a शृ-elision, it would produce no effect and so there ought to have been no lengthening? This is no valid objection. The prohibition of I. I. 63, applies to the अव् stem after which the affix is elided. Here क्रम् is not a stem or अहग with regard to हि, but it is a stem with regard to शृष्, as क्रम् + शृष् + हि ॥ Therefore, though हि is elided, the lengthening will take place by I. I. 62, (पद्यद लक्षणम्) ॥

इत्युग्रमिथमां छः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इषु, गमि, यमाम्, छः, ॥ शृतिः ॥ शितीति वर्तते ॥ इषु गमि वस इत्येतेषां शिति प्रत्यये परतम्भकारादेशो भवति ॥

77. शृ is substituted for the final of इष्, गम् and यम् before a Present-character (शित्) ॥

As इष्टति, गम्षति, यम्षति ॥ The इष् with the indicatory ष is taken here, (Tud. 59), and not इष् of Divādi (19) class or of Kryādi class (53). There we have इष्यति and इण्यति respectively. Those who do not read the sūtra as इष् &c, but as इष्णमि &c, read the anuvṛitti of the word अष्टि from VII. 3. 72 into this sūtra; so that the शित् is qualified by the word अष्टि, i. e. a शित् affix which is merely a vowel, and has no consonant in it; (and not a शित् affix which begins with a vowel). Therefore though शान्तश् is a शित् affix beginning with a vowel, yet as it contains a consonant, the ष substitution does not take place, as इषाणः (III. I. 83) The reading of the text according to Patanjali and Kātyayana is इषगमिथमां छ, and hence the necessity of the above explanation. The reading इषु, though convenient, is not अरsha.

पाद्याध्मास्थादाण्हृथ्यर्तिसर्तिशदसदां पिबजिघधमतिष्ठमनयच्छपश्यर्त्यौशीर्यसीदाः ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पा, ग्रा, ध्मा, स्था, झा, दाण्हृ, इशी, अर्त्ति, सर्त्ति, शद, सदाम, पिब, जिघ, धम, तिष्ठ, मन, यच्छ, पश्य, ऋच्छ, धौ, शीय, सीदाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पा आ ध्मा स्था आ साश् दृषि भर्ति सर्वि चाह सह इत्येतेषां पिब जित्र खम तिष्ठ मन वच्छ पद्म
वच्छ भी शीय सीद इत्येते भावेणा भवति शिति परतः ॥

78. Before a Present-character (शित्), the following substitutions take place :—पित् for पा, जित्र for आ, धम् for ध्मा, तिष्ठ् for स्था, मन् for आ, यछ् for दा (दाण्), पश्य् for दृष्, शुच्छ् for धृ, धी for स्, शीय् for शाद् and सीद् for सद् ॥

As पिबति, जित्रति, धमति, तिष्ठति, मनति, वच्छति, पद्मति, धारति, शीयते and शीवति ॥ पित् + शाप् + तिष् required Guṇa of the ए of पि by VII. 3. 86, it however does not take place on the maxim अङ्गाधिकारे पुनर्दृतावविधिः “when an operation which is taught in the angādhikāra, has taken place, and another operation of the angādhikāra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place”. Or the substitute पिब् is one which ends with अ, and is acutely accented on the first. It must be acutely accented on the first ; otherwise by VI. 1. 162, the acute will be on the last पित् ॥ Then when there is ekādeśa with शप्, the acute will be on the middle in शिति, which is not desired. धी is substituted for स् when the sense is ‘to run, move quickly’; in any other sense, we have प्रसरति, भनुसरति ॥

ज्ञाजनोजाँ ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञा, जनोः, जा, ॥
भृतिः ॥ ज्ञा चन इत्येतयोर्जावेषो भवति शिति परतः ॥

79. Before a शित् affix, जा is substituted for ज्ञा and जन् ॥

As जानाति and जायते ॥ The जन् here belongs to Divādi class, meaning ‘to be produced’, and not जन् of the Juhotyādi class. Why जा (long) and not ज्ञा, for this ज्ञ would assume the form जा by VII. 3. 101 ? This long ज्ञा of ज्ञा indicates the existence of the maxim given above in VII. 3. 78 ; and had ज्ञा been the substitute, VII. 3. 101, could not have lengthened it.

प्वादीनां हस्यः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ पू, आदीनाम्, हस्यः, ॥
भृतिः ॥ पू इत्येवमासीगां हस्यी भवति शिति परतः ॥

80. A short is substituted for शू &c, before a शित् affix.

The Pvādi roots form a subdivision of the Kryādi class, beginning with पूष् पद्मे (2) and ending with श्वी गत्ती (32). The व्यापि roots (VIII. 2. 44) are a portion of व्यापि (nos 13 to 32). Others hold that upto the end of the Kryādi class are Pvādi. Thus उनाति, शूनाति, स्तुणाति ॥ Those who hold that Pvādi roots are upto the end of the Class, explain the non- shortening of जानाति (for ज्ञा would also then become Pvādi), by saying that the express

text of VII. 3. 79, substituting long आ prevents the shortening. They say had हा been also shortened, then merely आ substitute would have been enough and not आ ; and this आ would have been lengthened in the case of अन् by VII. 3. 101, to form आवते ॥

मीनातेनिंगमे ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मीनाते:, निंगमे, ॥
हृतिः ॥ मीनातेहस्त्वं शिति प्रत्यये परता हस्तो भवासि निंगमविषयं ॥

81. In the Veda मो is shortened before a शित् affix.

As प्रमिनन्ति ग्रातानि Rig. X. 10. 5. The अ becomes अ (प्रमिणन्ति according to Kāshika) by VIII. 4. 15. Why in the Veda? Observe प्र मीनाति ॥

मिदेर्गुणः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिदे:, गुणः, ॥
हृतिः ॥ मिदेहस्त्वंको शुणो भवाति शिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

82. For इ in मिद्, there is substituted a guṇa before a शित् affix.

As मेष्यति, मेष्यतः, मेष्यन्ति ॥ Why मिद् only? Observe स्विष्यन्ति, मिल्लिष्यन्ति ॥ The root मिष्यति belongs both to the Bhvādi and the Divādi classes. The Bhvādi मिद् will get guṇa before शुष्ट by virtue of VII. 3. 86, but the Divādi मिद् would not have got guṇa before हस्त, as this affix is छित् (I. 2. 4): hence the necessity of this sūtra. Before non शित् affixes there is no guṇa, as मिष्यते, मेष्यते ॥

ज्ञुसि च ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञुसि, च, ॥
हृतिः ॥ ज्ञुसि च प्रत्यये परते हग्नतस्याहस्त शुणो भवाति ॥

83. Before the personal-ending ज्ञुस् (उस) of the Imperfect, guṇa is substituted for the final इ, ई, उ, ऊ, अ॒, and औ॒, ल॒ of the stem.

As अञ्जहुः, अविभयः, अविभहः, अजागः ॥ This Personal ending is छित् according to I. 2. 4, and would not have caused guṇa (I. 1. 5), but for this sūtra. The ending ज्ञुस् (III. 4. 108) comes in the लह॑ also. There, however, it does not cause guṇa. As चिन्युः, च्छुयुः ॥ Here there are two छित् affixes, the augment आसु॒, and the sārvadhātuka ज्ञुस् ; and the आसु॒ prevents guṇa. The इ॒ is read into the sūtra from I. 1. 3.

सार्वधातुकाखंधातुकयोः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सार्वधातुक, आखंधातुकयोः, ॥
हृतिः ॥ सार्वधातुके आखंधातुके च प्रत्यये परते हग्नतस्याहस्त शुणो भवाति ॥

84. The Guṇa is substituted for the final इ॒ vowel of a stem before the affixes called sārvadhātuka and अर्धधातुका (III. 4. 113 &c).

As सर्वति, भवति, भवति ; कर्तु, वेतु, स्तोतु, ॥ Why sārvadhātuka and ārdhadhātuka affixes only ? Observe अनन्तस्य अभिनकाम्याते ॥ For had the sūtra been सङ्ग then the rule would have applied to affixes like सं काम्य &c which go to form Denominative verbs. सङ्ग includes all affixes beginning with सं and ending with मित् ॥ If the sūtra had been प्रथं, then the rule would have applied to the affixes like स्वम् &c. To exclude these cases, the two words sārvadhātuka and ārdhadhātuka are used. For exceptions See I. 1. 4, 5, 6.

जाप्रोऽविचिण्णलङ्घित्सु ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जाप्रः, अ, विच्, चिष्, णल्, डित्सु ॥ तृतीयः ॥ जागृ इत्येतत्स्वाकृत्य एतो भवति अविचिण्णलङ्घित्सु परतः ॥

85. The Guṇa is substituted for the अ॒ of the stem जागृ, except before the affix वि, before the Aorist-character चिष्, before the Personal ending, णल् of the Perfect, and before an affix with an indicatory इ॑ ॥

As जागरत्याति, with विच्, जागरत्कः (with विच्) साधुजागरी, जागरं जागरन् (with विच्) जागरो वतते (with वत्), जागरितः (with तः), जागरितवान् (with वान्) ॥ This is an exception to the Vṛiddhi rule of VII. 2. 115, and to the prohibition in I. 1. 5. When this guṇa is substituted, there does not take effect that rule, which causes Vṛiddhi of the penultimate short अ of जागरः; (अत उपधावा: VII. 2. 116). Had that been the case, then the guṇa substitution would become simply useless, and the prohibition with regard to चिष् and णल् superfluous. Why do we say not before वि, चिष् and णल् and डित् ? Observe जागविः (with the affix विन् Uṇādi) अजागारि with चिष् which causes Vṛiddhi, and अजागर with णल्, and जागृतः and जागृयः with a डित् (I. 2. 4) affix. Some hold that the इ in वि is for the sake of pronunciation only, and the prohibition applies to all affixes beginning with a इ, such as कस्तु, as अजागृतान्, here there is no guṇa. In अजागरः with खुत् the guṇa takes place by virtue of VII. 3. 83 : for though it is a डित् affix also, the prohibition डित्सु of this sūtra does not affect it. Similarly अह अजागर with णल् the optional guṇa VII. 1. 91 is also not prohibited by the णल् of this sūtra. In fact the phrase अविचिष् णल् डित्सु is a Paryudāsa prohibition : for had it been a prasayya-pratishedha, then the guṇa before खुत् and the 1st Pers. णल् would also have been prohibited. In short this sūtra positively ordains guṇa of जागृ before every affix, other than वि, चिष्, णल् and डित्, and if by any other rule these latter would cause guṇa, that guṇa is not prohibited. That is the result of Paryudāsa negation.

But if the sūtra be construed as a Prasayyapratishedha, then we shall apply the maxim अनन्तरस्य विद्यर्थं भवति प्रतिषेधो वा ॥ The prohibition is therefore stated with regard to जागृ in connection with the affixes वि, चिष्, णल् and डित् ॥ But the Guṇa ordained by VII. 3. 84, 83 is not prohibited.

पुरान्तलघूपधस्य च ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुक् अन्त, लघु उपधस्य, च, ॥
त्रिसि ॥ पुरान्तस्याकृत्य लघूपधस्य च सार्वधातुकार्यधातुकयोर्यजो भवति ॥

Káriká:—सैवेण शुरुंशान्तां गुणो भेतुर्म सिद्ध्यति ।
 विष्वेषते लयोधासो कथं कुण्डनं दुष्यति ॥
 धातोहेनुम कथं रजः, स्वाविश्वधीर्निपातनात् ।
 अग्नक्षोपशिदीर्षत्वं विष्वेषते न सिद्धतः ॥
 अभ्यंसंसर्वं बद्धाहान्ति रुद्राद्यं तस्मात्तेऽभेत् ।
 कृत्युत्तो बद्धतं किस्म इष्टपकं स्थाव्योर्मुणे ॥

86. *Guṇa* is substituted before a sārvadhbātuka and an ārdhadhbātuka affix, for the त् त् vowels of the Causative stems which take the augment ए (VII. 3. 36), and for the short penultimate vowel of a root which ends in a single consonant.

As लेपयति, हेपयति, क्लोपयति, भेदनम्, छेदनम्, भेत्ता, छेत्ता ॥ Of course the vowel should be laghu or light, before the addition of the affix; the heaviness caused by the addition of the affix, will not prevent guṇa. Thus भिरु + सृ, though शृ + सृ = सृ causes the शृ to become heavy, that will not prevent guṇa: for विष्यपेत्ते लघु महणम् ॥ Obj: If this be so, why the forms कुण्डसृ, हुण्डसृ are not incorrect, for in them also the vowel is laghu (the roots are कुरु and हुरु), and the augment ए॒ is added afterwards by a Vidhi rule? Ans. The augment ए॒ is added to the root, and becomes upadeśivat. (See VII. 1. 58). Obj. If so, how do you cause Vṛiddhi in रञ्ज, as in राणः with धञ्ज; as रञ्ज॑+धञ्ज = रञ्ज॑+धम् (the धम् being dropped by VI. 4. 27), for it is after the elision of धम्, that the ध of रञ्ज becomes penultimate and can admit of Vṛiddhi by VII. 2. 116? Ans. The exceptional forms स्वरः from स्वन्द॑+धम्, and ध्रथः from धन्य॑+धम्, taught in VI. 4. 28, 29 teach by implication that roots of this form take Vṛiddhi as a general rule. Obj. If the विष्यपेत्ते maxim is not of universal application: though by VI. 4. 134, the धम् of धन् &c. is elided in bha stems, like राधन् thus राहा; yet the ध shoud not be elided if you be consistent, in धन्मसृ augment added by VII. 1. 75 to सृष्टि, सृष्टिं &c. In fact, you could not get the forms सृष्टा सक्तिधा &c. Moreover though there can be the lengthening of the penultimate in सामन्—सामानि (before नि affix Nom. Pl), yet not in the case of कुण्डानि from कुण्ड for here न॒ is added by another rule VII. 1. 72. If you say, the maxim is not of universal application, then there can be no guṇa of न॒ in भिरु to form भेत्ता ॥ Ans. The guṇa takes place in forms like भेत्ता &c, because the prohibition of the following rule VII. 3. 87, with regard to the affixes beginning with a vowel, proves by implication that before affixes beginning with a consonant, as न॒, the guṇa also takes place. Obj. The prohibiton in the case of vowel beginning affixes is for the sake of लहू, to form अनेनक् ॥ This is derived from निजिर् (Juhotyadi 11), in the Imperfect, as व॑ + निज् + राप्त्वलु, + तिषु then reduplication (VI. 1. 10), then guṇa of the reduplic.

cate, (VII. 4. 75), then त् which had become त् in the Imperfect, is elided by VI. 1. 68. Thus अनिश्च+अत्+त्=अ +निश्च+त् (VI. 1. 10)=अ नेनिश्च+त् (VII. 4. 75)=अ नेनश्च (VI. 1. 98)=अननक्. The elided त् produces its effect, the guṇa by VII. 3. 86. This is why अत् is taken in sūtra VII. 3. 87, namely अजात् affixes do not cause guṇa, the हलात् affixes like त् cause guṇa. You cannot therefore say that आत् in VII. 3. 87 is a jñāpaka. Ans. The sūtra असिगृधिष्ठिषिष्पः कुः (III. 2. 140) teaches the addition of त् to धृ &c, as गद्यत्; if this त् had not tended to cause the guṇa of the penultimate vowels of these roots, what was the necessity of making this affix a इक्त्? Similarly I. 2. 10 teaches that सत् (Desiderative) is इक्त् after roots ending in consonants. These rules show that words like भव &c get guṇa, and the final consonant of the root plus the initial consonant of the affix, does not make the root vowel heavy. Obj: The इक्त् of सत् is for the sake of the elision of the nasal, in धिष्ठिष्प, धाप्साते (VI. 4. 24). Ans. Let it be so: still the किंत् of कुः is enough for us.

The "upadhā short" must be the vowels of the इक्त् pratyāhāra. Therefore in भिन्नति, the penultimate is short अ (of अन्त्) and it does not take guṇa. In fact, the word penultimate qualifies the word इक्त् understood. Others explain it by saying that पुग्नत् is to be analysed by उक्तिअन्त् "in the vicinity of ए" ॥ The word अन्त् means समीप, and means the इक्त् vowel in the proximity of पुक्त् ॥ The word लघूपथा should be analysed as लट्टी दपधा and is a Karmadadhāraya compound, and means "a short or light penultimate". The word पुग्नत्लघूपथ is a Samāhara Dvandva.

नाभ्यस्तस्याच्च पिति सार्वधातुके ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अभ्यस्तस्य, अचि;
पिति, सार्वधातु के ॥

वृत्ति ॥ अभ्यस्तसंहक्षयाङ्गस्य लघूपधस्याजारो पिति सार्वधातुके एषो न भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं छन्दसीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

87. The guṇa is not substituted for the penultimate light इक्त् vowel in the reduplicated form of a root, before a Sārvadhātuka affix beginning with a vowel and having an indicatory ए ॥

As नेनिजानि, अनेनिजम्; परि वेदिषाणि, पर्वतेविषम् ॥ Why of a reduplicated root? Observe वेतानि ॥ Why beginning with a vowel? Observe नेनेक्त् ॥ The word पित् is read here for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VII. 3. 92. For here in cases other than पित्, guṇa will be prevented by इक्त् because of सार्वधातुकमपित् ॥ Why a sārvadhātuka affix? Observe नेनेज् in the Perfect, the affixes of which are Ardhadadhātuka (III. 4. 115). Why do we say a penultimate light vowel? Observe शुहुवानि, अशुहवम् ॥

Vārt:— There is diversity in the Vedas. As शुजोषत् the लेद of शुस् ॥ The forms पृष्ठात्, आकर्षीति, वापसीति: are irregular. सप्त् + लेद = सप्त् + भाद् + त् = सप्त् + शप्त्स्तु + भाते = पृष्ठाति ॥

The above forms are thus evolved. 1. ने लिग्नानि is लेव (Impérative 1st Per Sing), the ने is changed to नि, the augment आर् is added which is तिष् (आट्-समस्य पद्म III. 4. 92), शु॒ is substituted for श॑, then there is reduplication, then गुणा by VII. 4. 75. 2. अनानज्ञम् is लङ्, the लप् is changed to लम् ॥ 3. वहनि is 1st Pers. Sing. Imperative of वह् ॥ 4. ननाक्त् is 3rd Person singular of the Present. 5. ननज्ञ is the Perfect with जल which is अर्धाद्वत्का III. 4. 115. 6. त्रुजोप्त् is the लव् of त्रुषी प्राप्तस्वनयोः (Tudādi 8), in the Parasmaipada, the इ of तिष् is elided (III. 4. 97), then is added the augment अह् (III. 4. 94) then श॑ is irregularly replaced by शु॒, then reduplication.

In the words पस्यात् &c. the reduplicate has been shortened, as a Vedic form, in the Intensive वह् लुक् ॥ चाकशीति is from काम्भूंस्तो there is (वह् लुक्, लद्, तिष्, and इह् augment by वहा वा (VII. 3. 94). वावशीति: is from वाम्भूंस्तो, in the Intensive (वह्लुक्), लद्, श॑प् and श॑म् i. e. it is the Accusative plural of the Feminine Present Participle from the Intensive root of वाश् ॥ The reading in the Kāsikā is वावशाति ॥ In these two काश् and वाश् the roots have been shortened. Or the above forms may be derived regularly, without shortening, from the roots कश् and वश् ॥

भूसुवोस्तिङ्गि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भू, सुवोः, तिङ्गि ॥
शृतिः ॥ भू शू इत्येत्योस्तिङ्गि सार्वधातुके शुणो न भवति ॥

88. भू and शू get no गुणा before an immediately following Personal ending which is Sārvadhātuka.

As अभूत्, अभूः, अभूवद्; शुवै, शुवावै, शुवामै ॥ The शू refers to the Adadi root (21) in which the Present character is dropped, and does not refer to Div-adi (24) or Tudādi (115) roots, because there the Present character अवत् and ए intervene between the Personal endings (तिङ्गि) and the root: and moreover the affixes अवत् and ए are डिङ्गि (I. 2. 4) and would not cause गुणा. Why do we say before तिङ्गि? Observe भवति where the गुणा takes place before श॑ ॥ Why before a sārvadhātuka affix? Observe अविशीष्ट, where the Benedictive is not a Sārvadhātuka (III. 4. 116), and the augment is of course considered as a portion of the personal ending. Why the गुणा is not prohibited in वोभवीति when the Intensive वह् is dropped, and the Personal ending is added directly to the root. Because the form वोभूतु in VII. 4. 65 indicates by implication that गुणा takes place in वह्लुक् except in वोभूतु ॥

But of शू we have सोषुवति where गुणा has been prohibited in the Intensive, because there is no jñāpaka with regard to it.

The forms शुवै &c are the 1st Per. Impérative of शू ॥

उतो वृद्धिर्लिंगि हलि ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उतः, वृद्धिः, लुकि, हलि ॥
शृतिः ॥ सार्वधातुके पित्तीति वर्तते ॥ उकारान्तस्वाङ्गस्य वृद्धिर्भवति लुकि सति हलादौ पित्ति सार्वधातुके ॥

89. A root ending in short उ, which has no Present

characteristic (i. e. the *vikarana* is dropped by *luk elision*), gets *vṛiddhi*, before a पित् *Sārvadhātuka* affix beginning with a consonant, but not if the stem is reduplicated,

Thus शेति, यौषि, यौमि ; नौति, नौषि, नौमि, स्तौति, स्तौषि, स्तौमि ॥ Why ending in त् ? Observe एति, एषि, एमि ॥ Why do we say whose *yikarana* is elided by शुक् ? Observe सुनोति, सुनोषि, सुनोमि ॥ Why beginning with a हूङ् ? Observe वाणि, रवाणि, the First Person of the Imperative is पित् by III. 4. 92, Why before a पित् affix ? Observe युतः, रुतः ॥ The augment आसुद being छित् (III. 4. 103), prevents पित् action in आति स्तुयात् राजानक् ॥ The phrase नाथस्तस्य should be read into the sūtra from VII. 3. 87; therefore *Vṛiddhi* does not take place here शोबोति तोनोति ॥ Here there is *luk-elision* of शुक् ॥

ऊर्णोतेर्विभाषा ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊर्णोते:, विभाषा ॥

शृचिः ॥ ऊर्णोतेर्विभाषा वृद्धिर्भवते हलाहि पिति सार्वधातुके ॥

90. Before a पित् *Sārvadhātuka* affix beginning with a consonant, the final त् of ऊर्णु gets optionally *vṛiddhi*.

As प्रोर्णोति or प्रोर्णोति, प्रोर्णोषि or प्रोर्णोषि, प्रोर्णोमि or प्रोर्णोमि ; but प्रोर्णवानि before an affix beginning with a vowel.

गुणोऽपृक्ते ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुणः, अपृक्ते ॥

शृचिः ॥ ऊर्णोतेर्विभाषोऽपृक्ते हलि पिति सार्वधातुकं शुणो भवति ॥

91. Before a पित् *Sārvadhātuka* affix which is a single consonant, *Guna* is substituted for the final of ऊर्णु ॥

As प्रोर्णोत्, प्रोर्णः ॥ Though the *anuvṛitti* of हाल् was understood in this sūtra from the last aphorism, the employment of the term अपृक्त् implies the existence of the following maxim :—विद्युत् विद्युत् स्तवासावल् प्रह्लेण “when a term which denotes a letter is exhibited in a rule, in the form of a Locative case, and qualifies something else which likewise stands in the Locative case, that which is qualified by it must be regarded as beginning with the letter which is denoted by the term in question, and not as ending with it”.

रुणह इम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुणहः, इम् ॥

शृचिः ॥ तुषह इत्येतस्याकृस्य इमाग्मो भवति हलि पिति सार्वधातुके ॥

92. Before a पित् *Sārvadhātuka* affix beginning with a consonant, इ is added after अ of the verbal stem रुणह ॥

As रुणेडि, रुणेषि, रुणेष्टि, अत्यन्तेर ॥ In the last example though the affix vanishes altogether, yet it produces its effect. Why beginning with a consonant ? Observe रुणहानि ॥ Why a पित् affix ? Observe रुणः with इम् ॥ The stem रुणह is formed from the root रुण् (Rudhādi) with the *vikarana* अत्, and is so exhibited in the sūtra in order to indicate that the augment इम् is added after the *vikarana* अत् has been added, and that the root रुण् of *Tudādi* class is not to be taken.

The above forms are thus derived :—

हृ + द्वन्म् + सिए = हृण्ह + द्व + सि = हृण्ह + सि = हृण्ह + सि (VI. 1. 87) = हृण्ह-१-सि (VIII. 2. 31) = हृण्ह + सि (VIII. 2. 40) = हृण्ह + सि (VIII. 4. 41) = सुण्हि with the elision of one ह (VIII. 3. 13). The form हृण्हि is similarly formed by VIII. 2. 41, the ह being changed to क before सि of सिए ॥ अहृण्हि is the लङ् 2nd and 3rd Per. Sing.

मुख ईदू ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुखः, ईदू ॥
भृतिः ॥ तु इत्येतस्मातुपरस्य हलादेः पितः सार्वधातुकस्य ईडागमो भवति ॥

93. Before a पित् Sārvadhātuka affix beginning with a consonant, the augment एव is placed after श ॥

As ब्रयीति, ब्रयीषि, ब्रयीनि, भवत्वीत् ॥ But ब्रयाणि before such an affix beginning with a vowel, and दृतः before an affix which is not वित् ॥

यज्ञो वा ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्ञः, वा, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अहं उत्तरस्य हलादेः पितः सार्वधातुकस्त्वं ईडागमो भवति वा ॥

94. The पितृ Sārvadhātuka affixes, beginning with a consonant, optionally get the augment इ॒ in the Intensive.

As लालपीति in शाकुनिको लालपीति, so also दुन्तुभिर्वाचवीति, निधावज्ञो दृष्टमो येरवीति मृहादेवोमस्त्वा भाविदेश ॥ (Fig. IV. 58. 3). Also note, as वर्षर्त्ति चक्रवृत् and वर्षर्मि ॥ These are all examples of the Intensive with the elision of वक्त् ॥ When the stem retains वक्त्, there can be no पित् Sarvadhatuka affix beginning with a consonant after it, because then शृङ् will intervene between the affix and the stem. Hence no examples of the same can be given.

तुरुस्तुशम्यमः सार्वधातुके ॥६५॥ पदानि ॥ तु, रु, स्तु, शमि, अमः, सार्वधातु के ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तु इति सौनोर्वं भातुः, रु शब्दे हुम् लुता॒ शम उद्धमे भ्रम गत्यारिषु इत्यतेभ्यः परस्व सार्वधातुकस्त्वं
हलाहर्वा॑ इडाग्नी॑ भवाते॑ ।

95. A sārvadhatuka affix, beginning with a consonant, optionally gets ईङ् augment, after the roots तु, रु, स्तु; श्राम् and अम् ॥

The root तु (Adādi 25) means 'to increase', रु (Adādi 24) 'to make a sound', स्तु (Adādi 34) 'to praise', सृष् 'to be satisfied', and अस् 'to go'. According to Kāśikā तु is a Sautra dhātu. Thus उत्सौति or उत्सवीति, उपरौति or उपरवीति, उपस्तौति or उपस्तवीति, शास्यध्वम् or शामीध्वम्, अभ्यमति or अभ्यमीति || शृष् and अस् can then be followed by a consonant beginning sārvadhatuka affix, when they lose their Present character (vikaraṇa) as a Vedic anomaly (bahūlam chhandasi).

The Apiśālās read the sūtra as मुरस्तुषाम्बः सार्वधातुकाम्बुज्जम्बिः ॥ This will then become a विधि rule for the Vedic forms. The word सार्वधातुका is here exhibited in the seminine.

The repetition of 'sārvadhātuka', though its anuvṛitti was present is for the sake of stopping the anuvṛitti of पितृ, and this rule applies to आप्त् affixes also, as सुशीत्, शमाध्यम् ॥

अस्तिसिचोऽप्ते ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्ति, सिचः, अ, पृके ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तेवरङ्गात् सिचन्ताद् परस्वापृक्षस्व सार्वधातुकस्व ईडाग्नो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ आहिषुवोरीदि प्रतिषेधः ॥

96. A single consonantal sārvadhātuka affix gets the augment ई इ, after अस्त् (अस्ति) and after the Aorist character ईच् ॥

As आसाम्, आसीः ; अकार्षीत्, असावीत् ॥ Why do we say a single-consonant affix? Observe आस्त्, अकाषम् ॥

Vart.—Prohibition of the sthānivad-bhāva must be stated when आह् is substituted for आ (III. 4. 84), and आ॒ for आस् (II. 4. 52), before the augment ई ॥ Therefore not here आत्य and आभूत् ॥ The word आत्य is thus formed. आह्+तिष्=आह्+थल् (III. 4. 84)=आय्+य (VIII. 2. 35)=आत्+य (VIII. 4. 55)=आत्य ॥

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तिसिचोऽपृक्षस्व सार्वधातुकस्व ईडाग्नो भवति बहुलं छन्दसि विषये ॥

97. In the Veda, a single consonantal Sārvadhātuka affix gets diversely the augment ई इ, after अस्त् and सिच् ॥

As आप् एवेऽ साल्ल सवनाः ॥ Here आः is used instead of आसीत् ; but also अहंवासीत् रात्रिः (See Maitr. S. I. 5. 12). So also with s-Aorist, as गोभिरताः (Rig IX. 107. 9), प्रत्यज्यमस्ताः (Rig X. 28. 4). And अ॒षीर्णा पुचक्, the आ॒ is not elided though आ॒ is added (VI. 4. 75). अस्ताः and अस्त्वाः are examples of सिच् without ई. Compare VIII. 2. 73.

The word आः is the लहू of आस्, there is added तिष्, then श्वर् is elided, then श्वर् is changed to ई, and it is turned to visarjaniya. The words अस्ताः and अस्त्वाः are derived from the roots लहू (सश्लेष) and श्वर् (उच्चातौ), in the Aorist, the तिष् is elided (VI. 1. 68), the सिच् is elided by VIII. 2. 24, and the ई of the roots is changed to visarga. The augment ई इ is not added as a Vedic irregularity.

रुद्रभ्य पञ्चभ्यः ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुद्रः, अ, पञ्चभ्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रुद्रसिभ्यः परस्व सार्वधातुकस्व ईडाग्नो भवति ॥

98. After रुद्र् and the four roots that follow it, comes the augment ई इ to a sārvadhātuka affix consisting of a single consonant.

As अराणीत्, अराणीः, अस्वपीत् and अस्वपीः, अभसीत्, अभसीः, प्राणीत्, प्राणीः, अज्ञीत्, अज्ञीः ॥ Why of these five only? Observe अज्ञान्, अवान् ॥ Why an aprikta affix? Observe खण्डिति ॥ The word रुद्रः is singular, though it ought to have been plural.

अङ्गार्घ्यगालवयोः ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्, गार्घ्य, गालवयाः ॥
मृतिः ॥ इशाविभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः परस्य अपुन्नस्य सार्वधातुकस्यादागमो भवति गार्घ्यगालवयोर्मतेन ॥

99. According to the opinion of Gārgya, and Gālāva, the augment अद् comes before a Sārvadhātuka affix consisting of a single consonant, after the above five roots रुद् &c.

As अरात्, अरांसः, अस्वपत्, अस्वपः, अभसत्, अभसः, माणत्, माणः, अजसत्, अजसः ॥ The names of Gārgya and Gālāva are mentioned for honoris causa.

The mention of these names is not for the sake of "option" (विकल्पार्थम्). Because the very injunction about अद्, would make the ई of the preceding sūtra optional. The mention of more than one Achārya in the sūtra is also for this very reason.

अदः सर्वेषाम् ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदः, सर्वेषाम् ॥
मृतिः ॥ यद भक्षणे अस्मादुत्तरस्यापृक्षस्य सार्वधातुकस्यादागमो भवति सर्वेषामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥

100. After अद् 'to eat', comes the augment अद् before a Sārvadhātuka affix consisting of a single consonant, according to the opinion of all grammarians.

As आहत् and आहः ॥ Before a non-aprikta we have अति, अति ॥ The word सर्वेषाम् makes it a necessary rule and not optional, like the last.

अतो दीर्घीं यज्ञि ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, दीर्घः, यज्ञि ॥
मृतिः ॥ अकारान्तस्यापृस्य शीर्घो भवति वगारो सार्वधातुके परतः ॥

101. The long आ is substituted for the final अ of, a Tense-stem, before a Sārvadhātuka affix beginning with श् or श (lit.a consonant of यज्ञ pratyāhāra).

As पचामि, पचावः, पचामः, पश्यामि, पश्यावः, पश्यामः ॥ Why 'for the अ only'? Observe चिनुवः, चिनुमः ॥ Why before a अ् consonant (semivowels, nasals and श् and श) only? Observe पचतःः, पचयः ॥ Why a 'Sārvadhātuka'? Observe अङ्गना, केशः ॥ Some read the anuvṛitti of तिष्ठ् into this sūtra, from VII. 3. 88 so that the lengthening takes place only before Personal-endings. According to them before कृष्ट there is no lengthening, as भवताम् ॥

The word भवताम् is thus formed. To श् is added कृष्ट, then comes श्, treating kvasu as a sārvadhātuka under III. 4. 117; the reduplication of the root ending in श् is prevented, because the word dhātu is used in VI. 1. 8 which ordains reduplication of a root only, and not of a root plus a vikarāṇa like the form भव (भू-१-श्) ॥ Those who do not read the anuvṛitti of तिष्ठ् in this sūtra, but only of the word सार्वधातुके, they explain the form भवताम् as a Vedic anomaly.

सुषि च ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुषि, च ॥
मृतिः ॥ भतो शीर्घो वगीरवत्तुर्वस्ते । सुषि च वगारो परतो अकारान्तस्यापृस्य शीर्घो भवति ॥

102. Before a case-ending beginning with य or भ (lit. a consonant of यज् Pratyâhâra), the final अ of a Nominal-stem is also lengthened.

The whole of the phrase अतो हीर्षो अभिः is understood here. Thus वृक्षाद्, प्लक्षाद्, वृक्षाभ्याद्, प्लक्षाभ्याद्॥ But अर्गन्मध्याद् where the stem ends in इ, and वृक्षस्त्रं प्लक्षस्त्रं where the affix does not begin with a वज् consonant.

वदुष्वच्ने श्लूप्येत् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वदुष्वच्ने, श्लृलि, एत् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वदुष्वच्ने श्लूप्ये श्लृपि परतो उकारान्तस्वाकृस्त्रं एकारादेषो भवति ॥

103. Before a case-ending beginning with भ् or स् (lit. a श्लूप् consonant), in the Plural, ए is substituted for the final अ of a Nominal-stem.

As वृक्षाभः, प्लक्षाभः, वृक्षेषु, प्लक्षेषु ॥ Why in the Plural? Observe वृक्षाभ्याद् प्लक्षाभ्याद्॥ Why before a case-affix beginning with a श्लूप् consonant? Observe वृक्षाणाम् (the lengthening here is by VI. 4. 3). Why a case-affix? Observe अंगमध्यम्, पञ्चमध्यम् ॥

ओसि च ॥ २०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओसि, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ओसि परतोकारान्तस्वाकृस्त्रं एकारादेषो भवति ॥

104. Before the case-ending ओस्, ए is substituted for the final अ of a Nominal-stem.

As वृक्षयोः (Gen. dual) स्वं, प्लक्षयोः स्वं, वृक्षयोः (Loc. dual) as वृक्षयोर्मिषेदि, प्लक्षयोर्मिषेदि ॥

आङ्कि चापः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्कि, चें, आपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्किति पूर्वाचार्यनिर्देशेन तृतीयैकवचनं गृह्णत । सत्तिन्नाङ्कि परतेष्वकारादेषो च आवन्तस्वाकृस्त्रैकारादेषो भवति ।

105. Before the case-endings ओस् and before आ of the Instrumental, ए is substituted for the final आ of the Feminine-affix.

आङ् is the name given to the affix आ, the Ins. Sg. by the ancient grammarians. As खट्टवा, मालवा, खट्टवोः, मालवोः, वदुराजवा, वदुराजवोः, कांशिषगन्धवा, वदुराजवीः, कांशिषगन्धवोः ॥ Why the आ of the Feminine affix only? Observe कीलालपा ब्राह्मणन कीलालपोः ब्राह्मणकुलवोः ॥ Where ever ढी or आप् is employed in Grammar, they mean the long forms इ and आ, and not when they are shortened, therefore, not here, अतिखट्टैन ब्राह्मणकुलैन ॥

The word कीलालपा is derived from कीलाल विवाति with the affix विष् (III. 2. 74). In the Ins. Sing. the final आ is elided by VI. 4. 140. Had therefore, आ only been used in the sūtra, instead of आप्, there would have been ए substitution in the case of कीलालपा also; for the विष् rule VI. 4. 140 would find its scope in कीलालपः विष् &c, and would be debarred here by the present sūtra.

The maxim स्थानवद्भावेऽर्थमहणम् is necessary, because otherwise on the maxim of sthānivadvadbhāva, the short substitutes of ठी and आप् would also be included. In fact, in the sūtra prohibiting sthānivad bhāva, we find this vārtika उत्तराद्यंहनेऽपश्चिंतः: "A short (not long) substitute of ठी and आप् is not sthānivat".

संबुद्धौ च ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संबुद्धौ, च ॥
शृणिः ॥ आप हति वर्तते । संबुद्धौ च परत आवन्तस्वाकृत्य एत्यं भवति ॥

106. ए is substituted for the final आ of a Feminine stem, in the Vocative Singular.

As हे खड़े, हे बहुपाजे, हे कारीषगन्धे ॥
अम्बार्थनयोहस्वः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अम्बार्थ, नयोः, हस्वः ॥
शृणिः ॥ संबुद्धाविति वर्तते । अम्बार्थनामक्षानां नयन्तानां हस्वो भवति, संबुद्धो परतः ॥
वार्तिकान् ॥ उल्कवतीनां प्रसिद्धेषो वर्तत्यः ॥ वा० ॥ छन्दसि वेति वर्तत्यम् ॥
वार्तिकान् ॥ ताले हस्वो वा छिंसंबुद्धारिति वर्तत्यम् ॥
वार्तिकान् ॥ छन्दस्येव हस्व व्याप्तियते ॥ मातृणां मातृचू पुत्रार्थमहते ॥

107. A short vowel is substituted in the Voc. Sg. for the आ of the feminine, in the sense of 'mother, mother-dear', as well as for the long vowel of the Feminines called Nadi (I. 4. 3 &c).

As हे अम्ब ! हे अम्ब ! हे अम्बारि ! हे शास्त्रीवि ! हे ब्रह्मवन्धु ! हे वीरवन्धु !
Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when the endearing terms denoting mother have an uncombined उ, ल or क, as हे अम्बार्डः! हे अम्बाल ! हे अम्बिक ! But हे अम्ब and हे अम्ब where the ल and क are conjunct.

Vart:—Optionally so in the Veda: as हे अम्बार्ड ! or हे अम्बार्ड ! हे अम्बाल ! or हे अम्बाले, हे अम्बिक ! हे अम्बिके !

Vart:—A feminine stem formed with the affix तल् optionally becomes short before the Loc. Sg. and Voc. Sg. As हे वेत भान्तः or हे वेतायां भन्ति, हे वेत ! or हे वेते ! This shortening takes place in the Veda only.

Vart:—In a Bahuvrīhi compound ending with मात्, there is substituted मात् for मातृ in the Voc. Sg. when the word means a son worthy of such a mother. As हे गारामात् !—माता व्यवर्द्धमर्हते इलाघनीयस्वात् यः पुञ्चः ॥ This debars the कृप् affix of V. 4. 153. The च् of मातृचू makes the final acute.

हस्वस्य शुणः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्वस्य, शुणः, ॥

शृणिः ॥ संबुद्धाविति वर्तते । हस्वेन्तस्वाकृत्य शुणो भवति संबुद्धा परतः ॥

108. For short ए and उ final in a nominal-stem, a guna is substituted in the Vocative Singular.

As हे अग्ने, हे वायो, हे पटो ॥ But there is no guna in हे कुमारि, हे ब्रह्मवन्धु, because ए and उ were shortened specifically, and to substitute guna for them

would make their shortening a useless operation. Moreover, had guna been intended in the case of these nadi words, the sūtra would have been अम्बार्यनांद्वस्तः, २ नदीद्वस्तवयोर्युः ॥

जसि च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ जसि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जसि परतो इत्वान्तस्थाद्वस्त गुणो भवति ॥

वासिकम् ॥ जसादिषु छन्दसि वावचनं प्राक् जौ चहृषुपधाया इत्व इत्येतस्मात् ॥

109. Before the affix अस् of the Nom. Pl., Gunā is substituted for the final short vowel of a nominal stem.

As अग्नयः, वाववः, पट्टवः, धेनवः, शुद्धवः ॥

Vdrīt :—All these rules upto the end of this chapter are of optional application in the Veda. As अग्ने or अग्न, पूर्णा इर्वि or पूर्णा इर्वी, अधा शतकत्वः or शतकत्वः, पंथं शूलः or पश्ये शूलः, किकिरीश्वा or किकिरीविना ॥

The forms इर्वि and इर्वी could have been regularly obtained by the optional use of ढीष् (कृषिकारात्मक्त्वः) ॥ शतकत्वः is formed by adding अस् to शतकत्वु without guna of उ, and उ being changed to इ ॥ The rule of lengthening the prior vowel (VI. 1. 102) which would have otherwise come, in the absence of guna does not take place, as a Vedic option (VI. 1. 106). किकिरीश्वा is the Instrumental singular, the ना of VII. 3. 120 does not come. The word किकिरीदि is formed by Uṇādi nipātan (कृषिधृष्टि &c Un. IV. 56).

अग्नो डिसर्वनामस्थानयोः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नतः, डि, सर्वनामस्थानयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एव इति वर्तते इत्वान्तस्थाद्वस्त गुणो भवति ॥

110. Gunā is substituted for the final इत् of a stem, in the Locative singular and in the Strong cases.

As मातरि, पितरि, भातरि, कर्तरि; ग्रातरौ, पितरौ, भातरौ, कर्तरौ, कर्तारः ॥ For the long in कर्तारौ and कर्तारः see VI. 4. 11. The त् in इत् is for the sake of facility of utterance.

Because before डि and strong cases, it is impossible for a stem to end in a long vowel इत् nor a dhātu noun can so come, since in that case, long इत् would be changed to इर् by VII. 1. 100, and in forms like कर्तृष्टि there is तुर् ॥

घेर्डिति ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ घे:, डिति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इत्वान्तस्थाद्वस्त डिति प्रत्यये परतो गुणो भवति ॥

111. For the इ and उ of the stems called वि (I.4.3.) Gunā is substituted in Dative, Ablative and Genitive Singular.

As अग्नये, वाववे, अग्नेः, वावोः, (VI. 1. 110). Why of वि stems? Observe सख्ये, पत्ये ॥ Why in the Singulars of the Dat. Abl. and Loc. only? Observe अग्निः-भावः ॥ The word case ending (मुष्ठि) is understood here also, as the counter-examples are पट्टी, कुरुतः ॥

The word पट्टी is formed by adding ढीष् to पट् (IV. 1. 44). ढीष् is not a case-affix, though it is डित् and is added to पट् which is वि ॥ कुरुतः is no proper example: for though तत् which is added to कुरु, is डित्, it is only so by atideśa (सार्वधातुकमपित्), and moreover कुरु is not वि ॥

आण्नयाः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आद्, नयाः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नयन्तारङ्गादुत्तरस्य डितः प्रत्ययस्यादागमो भवति ॥

112. The augment आद् is added to the case-endings of the Dat. Abl. and Gen. Sg. after the stem called Nadi (I. 4. 3. &c.).

As कुमारैः, किंशोरैः, ब्रह्मवन्नैः, धीरवन्नैः, कुमार्याः, किंशोर्याः, ब्रह्मवन्न्याः, धीरवन्न्याः ॥
यादापः ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ याद्, आपः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नावन्तारङ्गादुत्तरस्य डितः प्रत्ययस्य वाकागमो भवति ॥

113. The augment याद् is added to the Dat. Abl. and Gen. Sg. after a Feminine stem ending in आ ॥

As खद्वायै, बहुराजायै, कारीषगन्ध्यायै, खद्वायाः, बहुराजायाः, कारीषगन्ध्यायाः ॥ But in the compound अतिखद्, (from खद्वामिकान्तः), this rule does not apply, on the maxim उपाह पहेन्दरीर्थः as the आ has been shortened here. Even when the word अतिखद् assumes the form अतिखद् in the Dative by VII. 3. 102, the affix does not take the augment याद्, because this long आ is a lākshāṇika आ only, while the आ of the sūtra is a pratipadokta (लक्षणप्रतिपरोक्तयोः पतिपदस्यैत्र) ॥

सर्वनामः स्याद्रस्वभ्य ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वनामः, स्याद्, हस्वः च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनाम नावन्तारङ्गादुत्तरस्य डितः प्रत्ययस्य स्यादागमो हस्वभ्य भवति ॥

114. After a Pronominal stem ending in long आ of the Feminine, the Dat. Abl. and Gen. Sg. receive the augment स्याद् and the आ of the stem is shortened.

As सर्वस्यै, विभृत्यै, यस्यै, तस्यै, कस्यै, भवते, भवत्याः, सर्वस्याः, विभृत्याः, यस्याः, तस्याः, अन्यस्यै अन्यस्याः ॥

But अनुच्छै where the stem does not end in long आ of the Feminine.

विभाषा द्वितीयातुतीयाभ्याम् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, द्वितीया, तृतीयाभ्याम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीया तृतीया इतेताभ्यादुत्तरस्य डितः प्रत्ययस्य विभाषा स्यादागमो भवति ॥

115. After द्वितीया and तृतीया the Dat. Abl. and Gen. Sg. may optionally get the augment स्याद् before which the आ is shortened.

As द्वितीयस्यै or द्वितीयायै; तृतीयस्यै or तृतीयायै, द्वितीयस्याः or द्वितीयायाः, तृतीयस्याः or तृतीयायाः ॥

डेराङ्गायास्त्रीर्थः ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ डे:, आम्, नदी, आप्, नीर्थः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नयन्तारङ्गाद्वन्नैत्येत्यमात्रोत्तरस्य डेरान्तियस्यायै भवति ॥

116. For the ending इ of the Loc. Sg. there is substituted आम्, after a stem calle } Nadi (I. 4. 3. &c), after the Feminines in आ, and after नी ॥

As कृमार्याम्, किशोर्याम्, गौर्याम्, ब्रह्मवन्न्याम्, भीरवन्न्याम्, खद्रायाम्, वद्रायाम्, कारी-
षगन्ध्यायाम्, नी-प्रामण्याम्, सेनान्याम् ॥

The word मामणी is formed by क्रिप् affix added under III. 2. 61, the न is changed to न् by भम् मामान्याम्; and the व् substitute in the Locative is by VI. 4. 82.

इदुद्ध्याम् ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, उद्ध्याम्, ॥
श्रुतिः ॥ इकारोकारात्थं नरीसंज्ञकाऽयादुद्ध्यरस्य डेरामदेशो भवति ॥

117. After the Feminine nadī words ending in ए and अ short, आम् is substituted for the ए of the Loc. Sg.

As कृत्याम्, धेन्याम्! See I. 4. 6.

The word नरी is understood here also. Obj. If this be so, it is not a really separate sūtra, because it is included in the last, and these forms could be obtained by the last sūtra: so that we ought to make only one sūtra of 117 and 118, as इदुद्ध्यामैत् ॥ Ans. We could not have done so, for then in the case of कृत् and धेन्, the भौ would have come and not आ, in this way. The आम् would have found scope in nadī words like कृमार्याम्, the भौ would have undisputed scope in पत्नी and सख्यौ; but in the case of कृति when getting the designation नरी the भौ would have come, being subsequently taught, and the form would have been कृत्यौ instead of कृत्याम् ॥

आत् ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत् ॥
श्रुतिः ॥ इदुद्ध्यापुद्ध्यरस्य डेराकारादेशो भवति ॥

118. After a stem ending in ए or अ short, and which is not a Nadī or a Ghi, भौ is substituted for the ए of the Loc. Sg.

As सख्यौ, पत्न्यौ ॥

In the case of नरी words आम् is taught by the previous sūtras; in the case of वि words भौ preceded by अ substitution of वि letters will be taught in the next sūtra, so by the rule of exclusion, the present sūtra applies to words other than nadī and ghi.

अवधेः ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्, अ, धेः, ॥
श्रुतिः ॥ भौश्रुते वस्ते धिसंज्ञकाइद्ध्यरस्य डेराकारादेशो भवति तस्य अ घेरकारादेशो भवति ॥

119. After a Ghi (I. 4. 7) stem ending in short ए or अ, भौ is substituted for the ए of the Loc. Sg. and अ is substituted for the final of such Ghi stem.

As अर्णौ, वायौ, कृतौ, धेनौ, पदौ ॥ The short अ is substituted, in order to prevent the दाष् affix in the Feminine. Those who read 118 and 119 combined as भौएषः धेः translate it thus: "After every other stem ending in ए and अ (i. e. which is not a Nadī), भौ is substituted for the Locative Singular ए, whereby for the final of Ghi stems, अ is substituted". They do so on the analogy of the sūtra कर्तुः क्ष्वङ् सलोपम् (III. 1. 11).

आङ्गो नाऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्गः, ना, अ स्त्रियाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ घरन्तरस्थाङ्गो नामावो भवति अस्त्रियाम् ॥

120. ना is substituted for the ending आ of the Instrumental singular, after the Ghi stems, when they are not Feminine.

As अग्निना, वायुना, पटुना ॥ Why do we not say आङ्गो ना युति 'ना is substituted for आ in the Masculine'? Ans. In order to form the neuter Instrumentals also, as अपुणा, अतुना ॥ Obj. These can be formed by the augment तुश् under rule VII. 1. 73, and not by the ना of this sūtra. Ans. But अबुना will not be so formed as अबुना अग्नाणक्ते ॥ Because तु is substituted for एस् of अएस् VIII. 2. 80 is considered as asiddha or non-existent (VIII.2.1) for the purposes of the application of VII. 1. 73, and as अतु cannot take तुश्, it will take ना by this rule. Why do we say "not in the Feminine?" Observe कृत्या, खेन्वा ॥

ओ३म् ।

अथ सप्तमाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।



BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

जो चक्षुपधाया हस्तः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ जो, अङ्गि, उपधायाः, हस्तः, ॥
बृतिः ॥ अङ्गस्थिति वर्तते चक्षुरं जीव ब्रह्मं तत्योपधाया हस्तो भवति ॥
वार्तीकम् ॥ उपधाहस्तस्य जोगिचक्षुपसंख्यानम् ॥

1. A short is substituted for the vowel, standing in a penultimate position, in the Causative stem, when the affix चक् (sign of the Reduplicate Aorist of the Causatives) follows.

As अचीकरत्, अजीहरत्, अलीलवत्, अपीपठत् ॥ Here the rules of reduplication and shortening of the penultimate both present themselves simultaneously. The rule about shortening, being subsequent in order, is applied first, and then the reduplication takes place. Thus कारि + अत् = कार् + अत् (जि being elided VI. 4. 51) = कर् + अत् (shortening VII. 4. 1) = चकर् + अत् (VI. 1. 11) = चिकर् + अत् (VII. 4. 93, 79) = चीकरत् (VII. 4. 94). The necessity of maintaining this order will appear from the following considerations. The Causative stem of अत् is आटि ; the Aorist of which is आटि + चक् + त् = आट + अत् (VI. 4. 51). Now if reduplication took place first we shall have आटिद् + अत् (I. 1. 59 the elided इ will be present for the purposes of reduplication) and as the penultimate is short already, the form will be आटिटत्, which with the augment अ will be अ + आटिटत् = आटिटत् ॥ This is a correct form, so far as it goes; but when the augment is elided in connection with the negative ना, the form will be ना भवान् आटिटत्, the correct form however is ना भवान् आटिटत् with a short अ, which can be formed if we shorten first and then reduplicate, as आट + अत् = आट + अत् = आटिद् + अत् = आटिटत्, which with the augment अ, will be आटिटत् ॥ In fact, though the reduplication of the second syllable (VI. 1. 2) is a *nitya* rule, because it applies even where a penultimate is shortened and where not, yet the rule about shortening takes effect first, because the author has himself indicated this, by making the root

ओण have an indicatory च in the Dhātupāṭha (See VII. 4. 2 about चूर्णित् verbs). For had the reduplication taken place first in the case of ओण (Bhu. 482), as ओणिष्, there would be no long vowel to be shortened, and there would be no necessity of the prohibition (VII. 4. 2).

Obj: Why do we say 'in the Causative'? The चूर्ण Aorist is formed of Causatives only (See III. I. 48), the only exceptions being the simple roots निः, हु, श्व, धेद् and विः, none of which have any vowel in the penultimate and कच् and गुप् have already short upadha. The sūtra चूर्णु पथावा इत्यः would have been enough. Ans. Had the sūtra been, as proposed, then it would have meant, 'that which is penultimate when चूर्ण follows, should be shortened'. Therefore in the Aorist of the Causative of हु, we have हु+निः+चूर्ण-।-हु=हु+इ+भत् here the penultimate *with regard to चूर्ण* is इ, which would be shortened; debarring Vṛiddhi and आ॒ substitute, and there would have come the चूर्ण substitute instead. But that is not the case. We have अलीलवत्, and not अहुलुवत् ॥ Similarly, in the Aorist of the Causative of श्व, we shall have श्व+इ+भत्, and श्व being shortened we have इ+इ+भत्, so that we cannot add the augment युक् (VII. 3. 36), and form अशीदपत् ॥ And the forms like अपीपचत् (पच्+इ-।-भत्) would not at all admit of shortening.

Why do we say when चूर्ण follows? Observe कारवाति, हारवाति where there is no shortening in the Present Tense. Why do we say of the penultimate? Observe अचकाङ्कात् from काङ्क्षा, and अववाञ्छत् from वाञ्छा, where the penultimate being a consonant, there can be no shortening. Had the word penultimate been not used, the vowels of these would be shortened. And the word 'upadha' is also absolutely necessary for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VII. 4. 4, and it prevents shortening in the above case, which would have otherwise taken place, on the maxim तेन नाम्बवधानं तेन अवहितेऽपि वचन प्राप्नाम्बात् which qualifies I. I. 67.

Vārt :—The rule of shortening of the penultimate applies to the चूर्ण Aorist of the Causative of the Causative i. e. to the double Causative even. Thus अवीवशत् (=वावितवत्तं प्रयोजितवान्) शीर्णं परिवासकेन ॥ Otherwise शारि +इ+भत् = शाद् +इ+भत् = शाद् +०+भत् ॥ Here the elided इ being sthanivat, will prevent shortening, or because the stem has lost a simple-vowel (अग्लोपिन्), it will not be shortened. The present vārtika makes it so however:

नाग्नोपिशास्त्रवृद्धिताम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अक्, लोपि, शास्त्रु, अद्विताम् ॥
तृतीयः ॥ अग्नोपिनामद्वाना शास्त्रेभ्वितां च जो चह्युपधाया इत्यो न भवाति ॥

2. The shortening of the penultimate of the stem, before the causative affix, in the reduplicated-Aorist, does not take place, when it is a (Denominative) stem, which has lost

a simple (end vowel of the Nominal-stem), before the Causative sign and also not, when it is the verb शास्, or a root which has an indicatory अ॒ ॥

The word अग्लोपिन् means literally a stem, in which a simple vowel (अ॒ pratyāhāra) or a portion containing an अ॒ vowel has been dropped. As the final vowels of Denominative stems are so elided before the Causative sign जि, the sūtra has been translated accordingly. Thus अममालत् – मालामालत्; अम-मातरत् – मातरमात्रत्, अतरराजत् – राजाममत्कान्तवान्, अम्बलुलामत् – लोमाम्बलुमृष्टवान् ॥ Where a simple अ॒ vowel alone is elided, as in the case of माला, there the elided आ being sthānivat, would prevent the shortening, the आ of आ not being then considered penultimate. So that अग्लोपिन् could be spared from the sūtra, since the sthānivad-bhāva would prevent shortening. But where an अ॒ vowel plus a consonant is dropped, as in राजन् and लोमन्, there the sthānivad-bhāva does not apply (I. i. 57), hence the necessity of employing the term अग्लोपिन् in the sūtra. Similarly अशासात् with शात्; and अवदाधत् from वाधृ, अवदाचत् from वाचृ, and अदुदोकत् from दौकृ ॥ See III. i. 21 and 25.

भ्राजभासभाषदीपजीवमीलपीडामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्राज, भास, भाष, दीप, जीव, मील, पीडाम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भ्राज भास भाष दीप जीव मील पीड इत्येतेषामङ्गानां जौ चहयुपधाया इस्तो भवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ वाचिकम् ॥ काण्डारीतां वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

3. The shortening of the penultimate of the Causative stem, in the reduplicated Aorist, is optional in the following:—bhrāj, bhās, bhāṣ, dīp, jīv, mīl and pīḍ.

As अविभजत् or अवभाजत्, अवीभसत् or अवभासत्, अवीभषत् or अवभाषत्, अवी-विपत् or अविवीपत्, अजीजिवत् or अजिजीवत्, अमीमिलत् or अमिमीलत्, अपीचिडत् or अपिचीडत् ॥ The Dhātupāṭha reads भ्राज् (Bhu. 194) and भास् (Bh. 655). The indicatory अ॒ is unnecessary and not countenanced by Pāṇini, as shown in this sūtra. Had they been अ॒वित्, they would have been governed by the last aphorism.

Vāst:—The words काणि, शाणि, राणि, हेणि, लोणि should be enumerated: as अचकाणत् or अचीकणत्, अरराणत् or अरीरणत्, अशशाणत् or अशिश्वरणत्, अवभाणत् or अवीभणत्, अजीहेणत्, अजिहेणत्, अलुलोपत् or अलूलुपत् ॥

लोपः पिवतेरीचाऽभ्यासस्य ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, पिवतेः, ईत्, अ, अभ्यासस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पिवतेरङ्गस्य जौ चहयुपधाया लोपो भवति अभ्यासस्येकारावेशो भवति ॥

4. The penultimate vowel, in the Causative stem of पा ‘to drink’ is elided in the Aorist, and for the vowel of the Reduplicate there is substituted long ई ॥

As पा + णि + अत् = पात् + इ + अत् (VII. 3. 37) = पात् + अत् (VI. 4. 51) = पृथ् + अत् (VII. 4. 8) = पृथ् + अत् (I. I. 59) = पीच्यत् (VII. 4. 4). Thus अपीच्यत्, अपीच्यताम्, अपीच्यत् ॥ When the penultimate आ is elided, there remains ए which cannot be reduplicated as having no vowel, but the elided आ is considered as sthānivat and thus ए is reduplicated. Sūtra VII. 4. 80 establishes by implication the principle that the substitutes caused by णि are sthānivat. Thus भू + णि = भावि; in reduplicating, this आ will not be reduplicated, but भू, as भुभावि, भा = भू by sthānivad-bhāva.

तिष्ठतेरित् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिष्ठतेः, इत् ॥

युक्तिः ॥ तिष्ठतेरङ्गस्य जौ चञ्चुपधाया इकारादेशो भवति ॥

5. Short इ is substituted for the penultimate vowel of the Causative stem of स्था in the Aorist.

Thus अतिष्ठिपत्, अतिष्ठिपताम्, and अतिष्ठिपत् ॥ The form is thus evolved. स्था + णिष्ठ् + अत् = स्थाए् + इ + अत् (VII. 3. 36) = स्थाए् + अत् (VI. 4. 51) = स्थिए् + अत् (VII. 4. 5) = तिष्ठिपत् ॥

जिघ्रतेर्वा ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जिघ्रतेः, वा ॥

युक्तिः ॥ जिघ्रतेरङ्गस्य जौ चञ्चुपधाया इकारादेशो वा भवति ॥

6. Short इ is optionally substituted for the penultimate vowel of the Causative stem of ग्रा in the Aorist.

As अजिग्रिपत् or अजिग्रपत्, अजिग्रिपताम् or अजिग्रपताम्, अजिग्रिपत् or अजिग्रपत् ॥ Thus ग्रा + णि + अत् = ग्राए् + इ + अत् (VII. 3. 36) = ग्रिए् + इ + अत् (VII. 4. 6) = ग्रिए् + अत् (VI. 4. 51) = जिग्रिपत् ॥ When इ is not substituted, ग्रा is shortened by VII. 4. 1.

उच्छ्रुत् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उः, उच्छ्रुत् ॥

युक्तिः ॥ जौ चञ्चुपधाया उच्चर्णस्य स्थाने वा उच्कारादेशो भवति ॥

7. Short उच्छ्रुत् is optionally substituted for the penultimate उच्छ्रुत् and उच्छ्रुत् of a Causative stem, in the reduplicated Aorist.

This debars the इ॒ (VII. 3. 101), आ॒ (VII. 3. 86), and आ॒ (VII. 2. 114) substitutes. Thus अनिकीर्तत् (VII. 1. 101) or अनिकिर्तत् from कृत् (Chur 111): अवर्तत् (VII. 3. 86), or अवीर्तत्; अमार्जत् (VII. 2. 114) or अमीर्जत् ॥ Though the इ॒, आ॒ and आ॒ substitutes are antarāṅga operations, they are prohibited by the express text of this sūtra. The short उच्छ्रुत् is substituted even for a long उच्छ्रुत्: the त् of उच्छ्रुत् shows that, as in अचीकृत् (VIII. 2. 77). In fact, this उच्छ्रुत् substitute does not take place after the operations of इ॒, आ॒ and आ॒ substitutions have taken effect, but it is a form which suspends the operation of all those rules.

नित्यं छन्दसि ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, छन्दसि ॥

युक्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये जौ चञ्चुपधाया उच्चर्णस्य स्थाने उच्कारादेशो भवति नित्यम् ॥

8. Short अ॒ is invariably substituted in the Veda, for the penultimate अ॑ or अ॒ of a Causative stem, in the Reduplicated Aorist.

As अवीश्वर्, असीश्वराम् and अवीश्वर् ॥

दयतेर्दिगि लिटि ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दयते:, दिगि, लिटि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एयतरङ्गस्य लिटि परतो शिरीश्वरमादेशो भवति ॥

9. दिगि is substituted for दे (दयते), in the Perfect.

As अव विश्वे, अव विश्वासे, अव विश्विर ॥ The root इ॒ 'to protect' (Bhu. 1011) is to be taken, and not ए॒ 'to give' (Bhu. 510), for that root forms its Perfect by आ॒ (Periphrastic Perfect) as taught in III. I. 37. The substitute विगि debars reduplication.

अ॒तभ॑ संयोगादेर्गुणः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ अ॒तः, च, संयोग-आ॒ः, गुणः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एकारान्तस्वाङ्गस्य संयोगादेर्गुणो भवति लिटि परतः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ संयोगादेर्गुणविधाने संयोगोपधापहणं कृपर्यं कर्तव्यम् ॥

10. A root ending in short अ॒, and preceded by a conjunct consonant, gets Guṇa in the Perfect.

As सस्वरतुः, सस्वरः from स्व, इव्वरतुः, इव्वरः from इ॒, सस्वरतुः, सस्वरः from स्व ॥ Why do we say ending in अ॒? Observe चिरिक्षिवतुः, चिरिक्षिवुः ॥ Why do we say beginning with a conjunct consonant? Observe एकत्रुः, एक्त्रुः ॥ This sūtra ordains Guṇa where there was prohibition by I. 2. 5 read with I. 1. 5. But this does not debar the Viśuddhi caused by जल् (VII. I. 115). In fact, that prior rule supersedes this posterior rule, as सस्वर, इव्वर, सस्वर ॥ The word लिटि is to be supplied in the sūtra, the rule does not apply to Nishṭhā &c., as सूत, सूतवाम् ॥

Vartī—For the sake of कृप, the guṇa should be stated even where the double-consonant is in the penultimate position and not in the beginning. As संचस्करतुः, संचस्करः ॥ See VI. I. 135. On the maxim पूर्वं धातुः साधनेन युज्वते पश्चादुपसर्गेण 'a root is first developed fully and then the preposition is added to it'; we first develop कृ in the Perfect by reduplication, which gives us एक्त्रु+एक्त्रु, then we add the preposition as संचक्त्रु+एक्त्रु; then we add युज्व though the reduplicate intervenes, by VI. I. 136 and 137, as संचक्त्रु-एक्त्रु; now the root assumes a form in which the penultimate begins with a double consonant, and applying the vārtika we make guṇa, and get संचक्त्रतुः ॥

It is by this consideration that in संस्कृष्टी, उपस्कृष्टी, the युज्व augment being Bahiranga and consequently considered as non-existent (asiddha), there is no इ॒ augment added by VII. 2. 43.

अ॒च्छत्यृताम् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ॒च्छाति, अ॒, अ॒ताम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एक्त्रतेरङ्गस्य एक्त्रतेरङ्गस्य एक्त्रापन्तानां च लिटि परतो शुणो भवति ॥

11. There is *guṇa* in the Perfect of अच्छ्, आः and roots ending in long आः.

As आनच्छं, आनच्छतुः, आनच्छुः from अच्छ्, आर, आरतुः, आहः from अ, and नि चकरतुः, नि चक्रहः, नि जगरतुः, नि जगहः from क् and गृ ॥ अच्छ् not having a light vowel in the penultimate, would not have received *guṇa* by VII. 3. 86, this sūtra ordains it; roots in long आः never received *guṇa*, but इ् substitution; this ordains *guṇa*. The Vṛiddhi of VII. 2. 115 supersedes this rule, within its own jurisdiction, a prior superseding the posterior: as निचकार, नि जगर ॥

शूद्रप्रां हस्यो वा ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शू, दृ, प्राम, हस्यः, वा, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शू दृ पृ इत्येतेषामङ्गानां लिटि परतो वा हस्यां भवति ॥

12. In आ, 'to injure' (IX. 18) दृ 'to tear' (IX. 23) and पृ to protect' (IX. 19) the vowel may optionally be shortened in the Perfect.

As वि शाश्वतुः by shortening or वि शाश्वरतुः; by *guṇa*, which prevents ए and abhyāsalopa (VI. 4. 126) वि शाश्वुः or विशाश्वः, विश्वरतुः; विश्वुः or विश्वः; निप्रतुः or नि पपरतुः, नि पृष्ठः or नि वप्तः ॥ Why is the word 'short' made optional in the sūtra, and not the word 'guṇa'; for in the absence of *guṇa*, the long आः would have become इ before शतुः by यासेषः; and we would have got the forms विश्वश्वतुः, विश्वश्वुः by the regular rules of 'sandhi'? The word 'short' is used in the sūtra, in order to debar the इ् and उ् alternatives. Had the sūtra been " शू दृ प्रां वा" the alternative examples would have been with इ् (VII. 1. 101) as विश्विरतुः, विश्विरतुः and उ् (VIII. 2. 77) as विशुरतुः ॥ Some say this sūtra is unnecessary. The above forms like वि शाश्वतुः, विश्वश्वुः, &c. can be regularly obtained from the roots आ 'to cook', द्रा 'to abuse', and प्रा 'to fill' and as the roots have many other senses, besides those assigned to them in the Dhātupāṭha, the roots आ, द्रा and प्रा will give the meanings of शू, दृ, and पृ ॥ If that were so, the form विश्वश्वान् with the affix कृत्वा could not be formed, for we should have either विश्वश्वान् from शू root or विश्वप्रिवान् from आ root but never विश्वश्वान् ॥ So the rule about shortening is necessary.

केऽणः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ के, अणः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ के प्रत्यये परतो इत्यो हस्यो भवति ॥

13. Before the affix क्, the preceding आ, ई and उ are shortened.

As हका, (VII. 3. 47) कुमारिका, किशोरिका, ब्रह्मवृक्षका ॥ Why आ, ई and उ only? Observe गोका, नोका ॥ The words गोका, नोका are irregular being formed by *Uṇadi* diversity. with the affix क् added to रा and खा (*Uṇ* III. 40). By the following sūtra, the rule does not apply to the affix कृप्; it therefore implies that कृप् is governed by this rule, though it has the anubandha उ ॥ Kātyāyana would confine this rule to the Taddhita क्, and not the कृप् क् of the

Uṇādi, as राका, धाका; but Uṇādi words are not derivatives (उणाद्वोऽस्युपमानि प्रातिपदिकानि), and hence no necessity of reading Taddhita into the sūtra.

न कपि ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, कपि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कपि प्रत्यये परतो इतो हस्तो न भवति ॥

14. But before the samāsanta affix कष coming after Bahuvrīhi compounds, the अ॒ vowels are not shortened.

As बहुक्षमारीकः, बहुपूर्णीकः, बहुधूकः, बहुलभीकः ॥ The shortening ordained by I. 2. 48 even does not operate when कष follows.

For had there been upasarjana shortening (I. 2. 48), the present sūtra would be useless. Therefore, the very existence of this sūtra debars every sort of shortening. Obj. The present sūtra would not be useless, for it will find scope where there is no shortening of the upasarjana by I. 2. 48: namely before non-feminine affixes, as बहुवागूकः; but there should be shortening in feminine affixes. Ans. The shortening of I. 2. 48 will not take place before कष affix. Because the affix कष will first be added to the second member in the sense of the compound, and then the word so ending in कष will be compounded with the first member. So there is no *pratipadika* left which ends in a feminine affix, and therefore I. 2. 48, does not apply, because the pratipadika now left is one ending in the affix कष and not in a feminine affix.

आपोन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आपः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आवत्स्यक्षयं कपि हस्तो न भवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥

15. Optionally the feminine stem in आ is not shortened before कष ॥

As बहुसद्वाकः or बहुखद्वकः, बहुमालकः or बहुमालाकः ॥
अहुहशो अङ्गि गुणः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहु, हशः, अङ्गः, गुणः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बहुर्जान्तानां हशेष अङ्गि परतो एषो भवति ॥

16. Guṇa is substituted for the vowel of the root, before the affix अ॒, in the roots ending in अ॒ or अ॑, as well as in हश ॥

As शकलाहुषुष्कोऽकरत्, अ॒हं सेष्योऽकारं नमः, अ॒सरत्, आरत्, अ॒र्दशत्, अ॒र्दशाम्, अ॒र्दशन् ॥ The affix अ॒ means the Aorist-character अ॒ of which the above examples are given. It also is the krit-affix (III. 3. 104), of which we have जृ—जरा ॥

The word अ॒करत् is अ॒ Aorist formed from कृ by III. 1. 59. The word अ॒सरत् is from सृ (III. 1. 56). अ॒र्दशत् by VI. 1. 57.

अस्यतैस्युक् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यते:, शुक्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अ॒स्यतैस्युक् शुगागमो भवत्याङ्गि परतः ॥

17. The stem अस् (अस्यते) gets the augment अ॒क् before this Aorist अ॒ङ् ॥

As अस्यत्, अस्यताम्, अस्यत् ॥ See III. 1. 52.

श्वयतेरः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वयतेः, अः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वयतेरङ्गस्याकारादेषो भवत्यङ्गि परतः ॥

18. The अ is substituted for the final of श्वि in the अ॒ङ् Aorist.

As अश्वत्, अश्वताम्, अश्वत् ॥ For the अ of the stem and the अ of the affix, there is the single substitute of the last by VI. 2. 97. See III. 1. 58.

पतः पुम् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पतः, पुम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतेरङ्गस्य पुमाग्नो भवत्यङ्गि परतः ॥

19. The augment अ॒प् is added after the vowel of the root पत् in the अ॒ङ्-Aorist.

As अपस्त्, अपस्ताम्, अपस्त् ॥ The पत् takes the अ॒ह् Aorist as it has an indicatory एङ् in the Dhātupāṭha (III. 1. 55).

वचउम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ वचः, उम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वचेरङ्गस्य अङ्गि परते उमाग्नो भवति ॥

20. The augment अ॒प् is added after the अ of वच् in the अ॒ङ्-Aorist.

As अवोचत्, अवोचताम्, अवोचत् ॥ See III. 1. 52.

शीङ्गः सार्वधातुके गुणः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शीङ्गः, सार्वधातुके, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शीङ्गोङ्गस्य सार्वधातुके परते गुणो भवति ॥

21. For the vowel of शी, there is substituted guna, when a Sārvadhātuka affix follows.

As शेते, शयाते, शरते, but शिद्ये before the ārdhadhātuka affix (III. 4. 115). Though these sārvadhātuka affixes were फित् (I. 2. 4) and would not have caused guna (I. 4. 5), they do so by virtue of the present sūtra. The word शीङ्ग् is read in the sūtra with the anubardha ह्, in order to indicate that the rule does not apply to अ॒ह् लुक् as शेशीतः, शेशयाते ॥

अयङ् यि कृद्धिति ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवैङ्, यि, कृद्धिति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारारो कृद्धिति प्रत्यये परतः शीङ्गोङ्गस्यायङ्गित्यथमादेषो भवति ॥

22. Before an affix beginning with अ॒ and having an indicatory क् or ङ्, there is substituted अ॒य् for the ए॒ of शी ॥

As शाश्वते with अ॒क्, शाश्वयते with अ॒ह्, प्रश्वत् and उपश्वत् with ल्य॒प् which being the substitute of अ॒वा is कित् ॥ But शिद्ये where the affix is ए॒, and शेषङ्ग् where the affix is अ॒त् (neither कित् or फित्) ॥

उपसर्गाङ्गस्य ऊहते: ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप॑ सर्गात्, हस्वः, ऊहते: ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गादुत्तरत्वं ऊहतेरङ्गत्वं इत्यो भवति बकारादौ कृदिति ॥

23. The short is substituted for the ऊ of ऊह when a Preposition precedes it, and an affix beginning with इ or ई with an indicatory क् or इ follows.

As सद्याते, प्रस्तुताते, समृद्धाते, अभ्युद्धाते, अभ्युद्धा ॥ But ऊहते without Preposition. Why do we say of ऊह? Observe समीक्षाते ॥ Why do we say 'before ब'? Observe समूहितम् ॥ Why do we say having indicatory क् or इ? Observe अभ्यूद्धः with अत् ॥ Of course the shortening takes place of ऊ (or अण् vowel, the word अण् being understood here from VII. 4. 13), and not when it assumes the form औ, as आ ऊहाते = भोग्याते, समोद्धाते ॥

पतेलिङ्गि ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पतेः, लिङ्गि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एसेरङ्गत्वोपसर्गादुत्तरत्वं लिङ्गि बकारादौ कृदिति परतो इत्यो भवति ॥

24. The short is substituted for the vowel of the stem इ (एति) before the augment यात् in the Benedictive, when a Preposition precedes it.

As उवियात्, समिवात्, अनिवात् ॥ This is an exception to the following sūtra by which a long would have been substituted. But इयात् without a Preposition. The अण् (VII. 4. 13) is understood here also. Therefore ए form of इ will not be shortened, as आ-इयात् = एयात्, समेवात् ॥

अकृत्सर्वधातुकयोर्दीर्घिः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहृत्, सार्वधातुकयोः, दीर्घिः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अकृत्यकारे भसार्वधातुकयकारं च कृदिति परतोञ्जन्तस्याङ्गत्वं शीर्णो भवति ॥

25. A long is substituted for the final vowel of the stem, before an affix beginning with a य having an indicatory क् or इ, when it is not either a Kṛit or a Sārvadhātuka affix.

Thus भृत्याते, भृत्यावते, and दुःखावते with the Denominative affix कृत् according to III. 1. 12 and 18. चीवते and स्त्रूवते with the Passive बृक्, चेचीवते and स्त्रूवृवते with the Intensive बृह्, and चीवात् and स्त्रूवात् in the Benedictive (See III. 4. 116). But प्रकृत्य and प्रहृत्य where the affix त्यपि is kṛit, and had the vowel been lengthened by this subsequent rule, the antecedent तुक् augment would have been debarred (VI. 1. 71). And चिनुवात् and दुरुवात् where the Personal endings of the Potential are sārvadhātuka. The phrase कृदिति is understood in this sūtra, so there is no lengthening before non-kit and non-hit affixes, as, उद्धवा, धृष्णुवा, formed by वा under VII. 1. 39.

चू॒ौ च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चू॒ौ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिन्मात्यये परतोञ्जन्तस्याङ्गत्वं शीर्णो भवति ॥

26. A long is substituted for the final vowel of the stem, before the Adverbial affix च्चि (V. 4. 50).

As शुची करोति, शुची स्थात्, शुची भवति, पदू करोति, पदू स्थात्, पदू भवति ॥ The च draws in the anuvṛitti of the phrase 'non-krit, and non-sārvadhātuka' from the last sūtra, which though not of any direct use in this aphorism, is necessary for the sake of subsequent ones. See VII. 4. 32 for words ending in अ ॥

रीक्ष्मृतः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ रीक्ष्, श्रृतः ॥

शृतिः ॥ शारीरिति वर्तते ॥ अकृत्सार्वधातुकयोरिति च ॥ अकारायन्तस्याङ्गस्य अकृत्यकारेऽसार्वधातुके यकारे चौ च परतो रीक्ष्मृत्यमारेषो भवति ॥

27. री is substituted for the final short श्रृतः of a stem, before an affix beginning with च, when it is not a Kṛit nor a Sārvadhātuka affix, and before the adverbial affix चित् ॥

The anuvṛitti of श्रृतिः is, however, not understood in this sūtra; that of चौ and अकृत्सार्वधातुकयोः is present. Thus मारीचति and पित्रीचति with अवच् (III. 1. 8), मारीचते, पित्रीचते with अवच् (III. 1. 11). चेक्षीचते with अवच्, मारीचृतः with चित् ॥ The कित् and दित् not being understood here, we have पितुरागत् = पित्रवच् (IV. 3. 79), which is thus formed पितृ-१-वच् = पित्री + च = पित्र-१-च (१ being elided by VI. 4. 148). Why do we say short श्रृतः? Observe चेक्षीचते, from कृ चिक्षेते, with अवच्, अवत्तदृ धातोः and इलिच lengthening. निजेगिल्लते from कृ and गृ ॥

रिक्ष् शायग्लिक्ष्मृतुः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रिक्ष्, शा, यक्, लिक्ष् श्रृतुः ॥

शृतिः ॥ अकारायन्तस्याङ्गस्य च यक् इत्यत्यार्लिङ्गं च यकाराशो असार्वधातुके परतो रीक्ष्मृत्यमारेषो भवति ॥

28. For the final short श्रृतः of a root, there is substituted रि, before the Present-character अ (शा), before the Passive-character य, and before the augment यास् in the Benedictive.

The word लिङ्ग in the aphorism is qualified by the phrase अकाराशो असार्वधातुके ॥ A Lin affix which begins with a च and is not a Sārvadhātuka, is necessarily the augment यास् of the Benedictive. Thus शा—भा लिङ्गते and भा लिङ्गते (the च comes by VI. 4. 77). यक्—किवते, श्रियते ॥ लिङ्ग—कियात् and श्रियात् ॥ This short रि debars the long रि of the last. The word non-Sārvadhātuka being understood, the rule does not apply to the Potential, as विपृथात् ॥ The चित् (VII. 4. 22) is understood here also, therefore when the Benedictive affix does not begin with च, the rule does not apply, as कृषीट, हरीट ॥

गुणोर्त्तिसंयोगाद्योः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुणः, अर्त्तिः, संयोगाद्योः ॥

शृतिः ॥ परतो यकि लिङ्गं इति वर्तते ॥ याह्यत्रासंभवान्नामुवर्तते ॥ गुण भवत्यर्त्तेः संयोगादीनामुकारायन्तानां यकि परतो, लिङ्गं च यकाराशवसार्वधातुके ॥

29. Guṇa is substituted for the final श्रृतः in the root श्रृतः (अर्त्तिः), and in those roots ending in श्रृतः, in which

the vowel is preceded by a conjunct consonant, when the Passive character यक् or the Benedictive augment यास् follows.

The words इतः, यकि and लिङ्गि are understood here. Not so the word य as its anuvṛitti is impossible. Thus अर्थते, अवर्तते, सर्वते and स्मर्यात् ॥ This is an exception to I. 1. 5. In संस्कृते and संस्कियात् (VI. 1. 135), there is no Guṇa, either because in स्कृ the augment स् is considered as Bahiranga and therefore asiddha, or because it is considered as no part of (or non-attached to) कृ, and therefore स्कृ is not a root beginning with a conjunct consonant. See however VII. 4. 10, where in forming संपत्करतुः, स्कृ is considered as a root beginning with a conjunct consonant. See also Mahābhāṣya on VI. 1. 135. The वि (VII. 4. 22) is understood here also ; the Benedictive affix must begin with य, therefore not here धृषीष्ट, धृषीष्ट ॥ The word non-sarvadhatuka is also understood here, the rule does not apply to the Potential, as इत्यात्, there is शु substitution of शप, reduplication, then there is त् substitution in the reduplicate by VII. 4. 77, then इत्यक् by VI. 4. 78.

यक्ति च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ यक्ति, च ॥

वृच्छिः ॥ यक्ति च परतो भर्तेः संबोगदेव इतो एषो भवति ॥
वान्तिकम् ॥ न नन्नः संबोगादय इति विवरणप्रतिषेधो वकारपरत्व नेप्त्वते ॥
या० ॥ हन्तेहिंसायां यक्ति श्रीभाष्यो वक्तव्यः ॥

30. Guṇa is substituted for the final यक् of the root यक् (अर्ति) and in those roots, ending in short यक्, in which the vowel is preceded by a conjunct consonant, when the Intensive character यक् follows.

As अर्थते, सास्त्वर्थते, शाध्वर्थते, सासर्वते ॥ The root यक् takes यक् according to a Vārtika under Sūtra III. 1. 22, with Guṇa we have यक्-१-य-अर्थ ॥ By VI. 1. 2, the second member is reduplicated, in spite of the prohibition in VI. 1. 3, for according to Patanjali त् followed by य is not governed by that prohibition. So we have अर्थये, and according to VII. 4. 60, the य is dropped, and we have अर्थ, and by VII. 4. 83, we get अर्थ॑ ॥ This is an exception to I. 1. 5.

Vārti :—In the Intensive of इक् ‘to kill’, इकी is substituted for इक् as ज्ञेयीयते ॥ The substitute is with a long ई, had it been with a short ई, that might also have been lengthened by VII. 4. 25. Not doing so, however, indicates the existence of the maxim संज्ञापूर्वकविधेरानित्यत्वम् “A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it is denoted by a technical term”. It is through this that स्वावंशुदः is formed from स्वयम् ; because the Guṇa taught by VI. 4. 146, does not take place here before the Taddhita affix अ॒य, in as much as that rule VI. 4. 146, is taught by employing the technical term गुणः in शोर्य॑णः instead of शोरोत्, hence that rule is anitya, and we have उव॒य ॥

धतिस्यतिमास्थामिति किति ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ धति, स्यति, मा, स्थाम्, इति, किति ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ धति स्यति मा स्था इत्येतामङ्गानामिकारादेशो भवति तकारादौ किति प्रत्येष परतः ॥

40. Short इ is substituted for the final of द्वे, स्तो, मा and स्था, before an affix beginning with त् and having an indicator क् ॥

As निर्दितः and निर्दितवान्; अवसितः and अवसितवान्, भितः and भितवान्; स्थितः and स्थितवान्, all with त् and त्वं त् ॥ Why before त्? Observe अवशाय ॥ Why before a किति affix? Observe अवशाय with त् ॥

शाढोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शा, छोः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ शा छा इत्येतयोरन्यतरस्यामिकारादेशो भवति तकारादौ किति प्रत्येष परतः ॥

चार्चिकम् ॥ इत्येतिरित्वं ब्रते नित्यमिति वन्नव्ययम् ॥

Kārikā:—सेवचातो गलो घाह इतियोगे च संचितिः ।

मिथस्ते न विभाष्यन्ते गवाक्षः संचितब्रतः ॥

41. Short इ is optionally substituted for the final of शा (शो) and छा (छो), before an affix beginning with त् and having an indicator क् ॥

As निशितं or निशातम्, निशितवान् or निशातवान्; अवच्छितं, अवच्छितवान् or अवच्छातं, अवच्छातवान् ॥ The शा always takes the इ when it means a vow: as संपितो आद्यणः—संचितब्रतः ॥ The rule of this sūtra thus becomes a vyavasthita vibhāshā. Other examples of such vyavasthita vibhāshā are to be found in VIII. 2. 56, where जात and जाण past participles are formed with त् or ण, but जात is only employed in names as ऐवजातः &c, and never जाण, while in denoting action both forms are valid: similarly by VIII. 2. 21, गल and गर are both formed, but गल alone is used when 'neck' is meant, and गर alone when 'poison' is indicated; optionally both when an action is meant. Similarly by III. 1. 143, घाह and घह are formed, but घाह: is only used when 'a crocodile' is meant, and घह: alone is employed when a 'planet' is indicated. Similarly the addition of the Present Participle affix शहु and शान्तः under III. 2. 126, is debarred when इति is added, as हन्ति इति पलायते, वर्षतीति धावति ॥ In all the above examples, the option though taught generically, should be limited to specific cases; as also in the examples गवाक्षः 'a window', and गोऽक्षम् 'cow's eye' (VI. 1. 123) and संचितब्रतः ॥ In short, we should limit a general vibhāshā to a vyavasthita-vibhāshā, on the maxim व्यवस्थितविभाषा विज्ञानात् सिद्धम् ॥

दधाते हि: ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दधाते:, हि: ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ दधाते इत्येत्यमादेशो भवति तकारादौ किति प्रत्येष परतः ॥

42. हि is substituted for धा (दधाति) before an affix beginning with त् and having an indicator क् ॥

As हितः, हितवत्, हित्वा ॥

जहातेऽथ क्षि ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जहातेः, च, क्षि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेऽङ्गस्य हीत्यवमादेशो भवति क्लाप्तये परतः ॥

43. हि is substituted for हा (जहाति) before क्त्वा ॥

As हित्वा राङ्गं वनम् गतः, हित्वा गाप्तुति ॥ The rule does not apply to जहाते ॥ There we have हात्वा गतः ॥

विभाषा छन्दसि ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेऽङ्गस्य विभाषा हीत्यवमादेशो भवति उन्नसि विषये क्लाप्तये परतः ॥

44. हि is optionally substituted for हा before क्त्वा in the Chhandas.

As हित्वा शरीरं यात्यन्यं, or हात्वा also. The long ई of VI. 4. 63 does not take place also as a Vedic irregularity.

सुधितवसुधितनेमधितधिष्ठिरीय च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुधित, वसुधित, नेमधित, धिष्ठ, धिषीय, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुधित वसुधित नेमधित धिष्ठ धिषीय इत्येतानि उन्नसि विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

45. These five Vedio forms are irregularly formed, सुधित, वसुधित, नेमधित, धिष्ठ and धिषीय ॥

Of these five, सुधित, वसुधित and नेमधित are formed from the root धा with the affix क्त्, preceded by सु, वसु and नेम ॥ As गर्भं माता सुधितम् (=सुहितम्), वसुधित-मन्त्रं शुषेति (=वसुधितं), नेमधिता वाधते (=नेमहिता) ॥ धिष्ठ is Imperative 2nd Per. Sg. of धा, there is no reduplication, as धिष्ठ सोमद्वय-धस्त्व ॥ धिषीय is Benedictive Atmanepada 1st Per. Sg. of धा, the regular form being धासीय ॥

दो दद् धोः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दः, दत्, धोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हा इत्येतस्य वृत्तसंहक्त्वा वरित्यवमादेशो भवति तकारादौ किंति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

46. For दा, when it is a Ghu (I. 1. 20), there is substituted दद् before a किंत् affix beginning with त् ॥

As इन्दः, इत्तवान्, वच्नः ॥ Why of दा? Observe धीता, धीतवान् from धेत्; and the long ई is by VI. 4. 66. Why when it is a Ghu? Observe दातं वर्तिः from वर्त् 'to cut', and अवदातं वृत्तं from वृत् "to cleanse". The substitute is दद् ending in य, according to an Ishti.

Kārikā:—ताते दोषो दीर्घसं स्वाद्, दाने दोषो निष्ठा मत्वम् ।

धाने दोषो धत्वा प्राप्तिस्, यान्तेऽशप स्तसात् यान्तम् ॥

If the substitute be दद् ending in त्, then it would require the lengthening taught in VI. 3. 124. (N. B. The sūtra इत्यि should be interpreted as 'the vowel of the Preposition is lengthened before a substitute of दा which ends in त्', in order to make this objection applicable. That sūtra however is capable of another interpretation). If the substitute be दद् ending in त् then the Nishṭhā त् would be changed to न् by VIII. 2. 42: as in भिद्+त-विन्नः ॥ If the substitute be दद् ending in ध्, then by VIII. 2. 40; the Nishṭhā त् would be changed to ध् ॥ Hence the substitute is दद् ॥ If

Why do we say when meaning 'to kill'? Observe अहृष्टवते where it means to do.

ई ग्राध्मोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, ग्रा, ध्मोः, ॥
शृन्तः ॥ ग्रा भा इत्येत्यार्थं परत ईकारारेषो भवति ॥

31. Long ई is substituted for the vowel of the roots ग्रा and ध्मा in the Intensive.

As जेवीयते, ऐधीयते ॥ The long ई is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, short ई would have, by VII. 4. 25, given the same forms also.

अस्य चूौ ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्य, चूौ, ॥
शृन्तः ॥ ई इति वर्तते अवर्णान्तस्याङ्गस्य चूौ परत ईकारारेषो भवति ॥

32. Long ई is substituted for the final अ or आ of a Nominal stem, before the Adverbial affix चित् (V. 4. 50).

As शुल्ली करोति, शुल्ली भवति, शुल्ली स्वात् ॥ खद्दी करोति, खद्दी भवति and खद्दी स्वात् ॥
क्यचिचि च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यचिचि, च, ॥

शृन्तः ॥ अस्येति वर्तते क्यचिचि परतोवर्णान्तस्याङ्गस्य ईकारारेषो भवति ॥

33. Long ई is substituted for the final अ or आ of a Nominal stem, before the Denominative affix क्यच् ॥

As पुशीयति, धरीयति, खद्दीयति, भालीयति ॥ This is an exception to VII. 4. 25. The separating of this aphorism from the preceding, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorism.

अशनायोदन्यधनाया बुभुक्षापिपासागर्देषु ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अशनाय, उदन्य
धनायाः, बुभुक्षा, पिपासा, गर्देषु, ॥

शृन्तः ॥ अशनाय उदन्य धनाय इत्येतानि विपासते बुभुक्षा पिपासा गर्देषु इत्येत्यर्थेषु ॥

34. The Denominative roots अशनाय, उदन्य and धनाय are irregularly formed, when they respectively mean 'to be hungry', 'to be thirsty', 'to be greedy'.

Thus अशनायति from अशन-॑-क्यच्, आ instead of ई; the other form being अशननीयति who is not hungry at the time, but wishes to get food for some future occasion, and therefore when not meaning 'to be hungry'; उदन्यति 'he is thirsty', उदन् being substituted for उदक्; in any other sense we have उदकनीयति, who wants water for purposes of bathing &c. धनायति 'he is greedy'; in any other sense, धनीयति who is poor, and therefore wishes to get riches.

नच्छुन्दस्यपुत्रस्य ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, छन्दसि, अ, पुत्रस्य ॥
शृन्तः ॥ छन्दसि विषये पुरुषवर्जितस्याकर्णान्तस्याङ्गस्य क्याचि बदुन्तं तप्त भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अपुत्राशीनामिति बन्तव्यम् ॥

35. In the Veda, the above rules causing lengthening, or the substitution of long ई for the final vowel of the stem, do not apply, except in the case of पुत्र ॥

Thus मिष्युः, संस्वेष्युः, देवाभ् चिगाति द्वृष्ट्युः ॥ But पुरीयन्तः, द्वृशमवः (Rig VII. 96. 4).

Vārtī :—It should be rather stated पुर् and the rest : as अनीयन्तोऽन्वयः ॥ See III. 2. 170, for the affix द् ॥

दुरस्युर्द्विणस्युवृष्ट्यति रिषण्यति ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दुरस्युः, द्रविणस्युः, वृष्ट्यति, रिषण्यति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुरस्युः द्रविणस्युः वृष्ट्यति रिषण्यति एतानि छन्दसि निपात्यन्ते ॥

36. In the Veda दुरस्यु, द्रविणस्यु, वृष्ट्यति and रिषण्यति are irregularly formed.

As अश्वियोना दुरस्युः, (= हृषीयति with the affix क्यच् added to दुर्), द्रविणस्यु रिषण्यता (द्रविणीयति, here द्रविणस् is substituted for द्रविण similarly). वृष्ट्यति = वृषीयति (वृष्ण substituted for वृष्) ॥ रिषण्यति = रिषीयति (रिषण् substituted for रिष्) ॥

अश्वाधस्यात् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अश्व, अधस्य, आत्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश्व अध इत्येतयोः क्यविष्य परतः छन्दसि विषये आकारारेशो भवति ॥

37. In the Veda, long आ is substituted for the final of अश्व and अध, before the Denominative क्यच् ॥

As अश्वायन्ते मधवन् (Rig VII. 32. 23), मा स्ता वृक्षा अश्वायवो विश्वन् ॥ This also indicates that other words do not lengthen their vowel in the Veda before क्यच्, as taught in VII. 4. 35. See Vārtika to III. 1. 8. The word अश्वाय occurs in Rig I. 120. 7, 27 ; 3.

देवसुम्भयोर्यजुषि काठके ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ देव सुम्भयोः, यजुषि, काठके, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ देव सुम्भ इत्येतयोः क्यविष्य परते आकारारेशो भवति यजुषि काठके ॥

38. Long आ is substituted for the final of देव and सुम्भ before the Denominative क्यच् in Yajush Kāthaka.

As देवायन्तो यजमानाः सुम्भायन्तो इवानहै ॥ Why in the Yajus? Observe देवाज्ञिगाय सुम्भयः ॥ Why do we say in the Kāthaka? Observe द्वृष्ट्युरिष्मासात् ॥

कव्यध्वरपृतनस्यर्थं लोपः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कवि, अध्वर, पृतनस्यः, श्रुतिं, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवि अध्वर पृतना इत्येतेषामङ्गानां क्यविष्य परतो लोपो भवति क्यविष्य विषये ॥

39. In the Rig Veda, the final of कवि, अध्वर and पृतना is dropped before the Denominative क्यच् ॥

As कव्यन्तः द्वृमनसः (not in the Rig Veda), अध्वर्यन्तः (not in this case in the Rig Veda). पृतन्यन्तस्तिष्ठन्ति (not in this connection in the Rig. Veda). The examples given above are of Kāsikā : according to Pro. Bohtlingk none of them are from the Rig Veda. The following are given by Bhattoji Dikshita in his Siddhanta Kaumudi: स पूर्वाय निविषा कव्यतायोः (Rig I. 96. 2). अध्वर्युं वा मधुपाणिष्ठ (Rig X. 41. 3), इमयन्तं पृतन्युर् ॥

however, the sūtra VI. 3. 124, is interpreted as "the vowel of a preposition is lengthened before a substitute of श which begins with त", then the substitute may be त् also without any harm. Even if the substitute be त् or त्त्, the apprehended त् and त्त् substitutions will not take place, on the maxim सन्निपातलक्षणं विधि रनिभिं तदिधातस्य ॥

The following are exceptions to VII. 4. 47, अवरत्तं, विवरत्तं, प्रवरत्तं, सुवरत्तं, अनुवरत्तं and निवरत्तं ॥ Or the words अव् &c, here are not Upasargas. See I. 4. 57.

Kārikā:—अवरत्तं विवरत्तं च प्रवरत्तं आसिकर्मणि ।

सुवरत्तमनुवरत्तं च निवरत्तभिति चेष्टते ॥

The word आसिकर्मणि qualifies pradatta only. The word च shows that regular forms अवरत्तं, विवरत्तं, प्रवरत्तं, &c also are valid.

अच उपसर्गात्तः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, उपसर्गात्, तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्ताहुपसर्गादुपरस्य श इत्येतत्स्य शुसंहस्रस्य त इत्यथामारेशो भवति सकारात्ते किसि ॥
कार्त्तिकम् ॥ अतेरिद्वाश्चस्त इत्येतत्तवति विप्रतिष्ठेन ॥

47. त् is substituted for the ghu शा before a कित् affix beginning with त्, when a Preposition ending in a vowel precedes it.

The examples under the present sūtra are शर्तं, अवरत्तं, शीर्तं, परीर्तं ॥ For the lengthening see VI. 3. 124. Why do we say 'ending in a vowel'? Observe निर्वरत्तम् तुवरत्तम् ॥ Why 'after an Upasarga only'? Observe विधि तत्त्वं, मष्टु तत्त्वम् ॥ Why 'the शा called Ghu'? Observe अवरात्तं शुल्ल from देष् ॥

Obj. The word उपसर्गात् in the sūtra is in the Ablative case, and by I. 1. 67, the substitute त् should replace only the *first* letter of शा, how does it replace the *whole*?

Ans—The word अचः is to be repeated in the sūtra, one अचः being in the Ablative case and qualifying उपसर्गात्, and the other अचः being in the Genitive case, showing the sthānin to be शा, as "after an Upasarga ending in a vowel, त् is substituted *for the vowel of शा*". Or the word अस्य may be read into this sūtra from VII. 4. 32. Or उपसर्गात्तः consists of three त्'s, the substitute being त्, and being a substitute of more than one letter, it replaces the *whole* of शा (I. 1. 55). In the following sūtra अपोभि, the अचः in the Ablative case is understood, and therefore त् replaces only ष् ॥

Vart :—After a Preposition ending in a vowel, त् is substituted for शा (शी), when त् would have been substituted otherwise for its final by VII. 4. 40. As अवरत्तम्, प्रवरत्तम् शुशोसि and शीर्तं, शीर्तं ॥

अपो भि ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपः, भिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप् इत्येतत्स्यादुपरस्य भकारात्ते परतस्त इत्यथामारेशो भवति ॥

48. त् is substituted for the final of the stem अप् before a case-ending beginning with श् ॥

As अद्याप, अर्द्धः, अमृषः ॥ Why beginning with a भ? Observe अप्सु ॥

In the Veda, त् is substituted before भ, for the final of स्वत्स, from सु + अत् + अमृत्; meaning सोभनमवेषणः; स्वत्सवस् from the root तु meaning स्वं तवी वेषणः; मास and उपस्, as स्वविद्धः, स्वत्सविद्धः, मार्दिरिटा इन्द्रां वृच्छा, समुषविरजायथाः ॥ The word मास becomes मास by VI. I. 63.

सः स्यार्द्धधातुके ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, सि, आर्द्धधातुके ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सकारान्तस्यास्त्वं सकाराशा वार्द्धधातुके परतस्तकापरेणो भवति ॥

49. त् is substituted for the final स् of a root before an Ārdhadhātuka affix beginning with स् ॥

As वस्यति, भवस्यत, विवस्यति, जिष्यस्यति ॥ Why do we say 'when ending in स'? Observe वृत्तिः ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with स'? Observe शासः; वासः ॥ Why an ārdhadhātuka? Observe भास्त्वं, वस्त्वं, from भास् 'to sit' and वस् 'to cover'; both Adādi roots.

तासस्त्वोऽपः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ तासभस्त्वोः, लोपः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तासेत्स्तेष्व सकारात्म्यं सकाराशो प्रत्यवेलोपो भवति ॥

50. The final स् of तास् (the character of the second Future) and that of अस् 'to be', is elided before an affix beginning with स् ॥

As कर्त्तासि, कर्त्तासे, स्वमसि, प्यति से ॥ See VI. 4. III. In से the अ and स् both of अस् have been elided, the अ by VI. 4. III, and स् by the present sūtra, so that the mere suffix से remains, which however here is a finite verb: hence the स् is not changed to ए ॥ See VIII. 3. III.

रि च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऐकारौ च प्रत्यये परतः तासस्त्वोः सकारात्म्यं लोपो भवति ॥

51. The स् of तास् and अस् is dropped before an affix beginning with a ए ॥

As कर्त्तारौ, कर्त्तारः, अध्येतारौ, अध्येतारः ॥ The स् of अस् 'to be' is elided in the Perfect, because it is there that a ए beginning affix can follow it. Thus व्यक्तिरे (See VI. 4. III). According to the reading of Padamanjari, there can be no example of अस् ॥ अस्त्वेत्साहरणं न प्रशिक्षितं, ऐकारेत्सम्भवात् ॥

ह एति ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, एति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तासस्त्वोः सकारात्म्यं इकाराशेणो भवति एति परतः ॥

52. For the स् of तास् and अस् there is substituted ह before the personal-ending ए ॥

As कर्त्ताहै, and अवै ह from अस् ॥ See VI. 4. III. The ह substitution does not take place before the Personal ending एष (III. 4. 8), as एषामासे ॥ The reason of this is that the ए referred to in this sūtra, is that ए which can come after तास्; and that very ए should also come after अस् ॥ The ए that can

come after तास् is the 1st Person singular ए; and not this ए of the Perfect 3rd Person singular. Others say, this even sārvadhātuka, and therefore not here क्षमोऽहं त्वां प्रेक्षामासि ॥

यीवर्णयोर्दीधीवेद्योः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यि, इवर्णयोः, दीधी, वेद्योः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बकाराशविवर्जनासौ च परतो दीधीवेद्योलोगो भवति ॥

53. The final of दीधी and वेदी falls before an affix beginning with य्, इ or ई ॥

Thus आशीष्य and आवेद्य गतः, आशीष्यसे, and आवेद्यते before त् ॥ आशीष्यत्, आवेद्यत्; आशीधीत् and आवेदीत् ॥ Why before त्, इ or ई? Observe आशीष्यनम् and आवेद्यनम् ॥ The long ई in यी is a sūtra वैचित्र, for विवर्णयोः would have been enough.

सनि भीमाघुरभलभशकपतपदामच इस् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, भी, मा, घु, रभ, लभ, शक, पत, पदा म्, अचः, इस् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनि प्रत्यये सकाराते परतो भी मा घु रभ लभ शक पत पद इत्येतेषामङ्गानामचः स्पाने इसियथ-मारेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सनि राधो हिसायामच इस्तन्तव्यः ॥

54. इस् is substituted for the root-vowel of भी, भा, दा and धा (घु), रभ, लभ, शक, पत and पद when the Desiderative सन् beginning with स् (i. e. not taking the augment ए) follows.

The भी includes भीनाति (Kryādi 4), and भिनोति (भि of Svādi 4) for भि assumes the form भी by VI. 4. 16 Thus भिस्तति, प्रभिस्तति ॥ The मा denotes all the roots which assume the form मा, on the maxim गामाश यहयेष्वविशेषः “The terms गा, मा or शा when they are employed in Grammar denote both the original roots गा, मा and शा and also the roots which are changed to गा, मा and शा” ॥ They are मा and माड् माने, and नेह—प्रजिष्ठने ॥ Thus भिस्तते, भप्त भिस्तते ॥ घु—हिस्तति, भिस्तति; रभ—आरिप्सते, लभ—आलिसते, शक—चिसति, पत—पिस्तति, पद—प्रिस्तते ॥ In the roots that end in a vowel, the स् of इस् is changed to त् by VII. 4. 49, and in the roots that end in a consonant, this स् is dropped, according to VIII. 2. 29. The reduplication falls by VII. 4. 58.

Why do we say ‘when the Desiderative follows’? Observe शस्तति ॥ The word स्ति is understood here from VII. 4. 49, so the rule will not apply when the Desiderative takes the augment इह्, as प्र पतिष्ठति ॥ Here पत् optionally takes इह् under the vārtika सनिपतिष्ठतिरिद्वाणामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

Vārti:—The इस् comes after the root-vowel of राध् in the Desiderative, when the sense is that of to injure. As प्रति रिस्तति ॥ Why do we say when the sense is that of ‘to injure’? Observe आरि शस्तति ॥

आप्लाप्यृधामीत् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आप्, शप्, श्वधाम्, ईत् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शाप श्वपि राध इत्येतेषामङ्गानामच ईकारादेशो भवति सनि सकाराते परतः ॥

55. For the vowel of the roots आप्, हपि and अ॒ष्ट there is substituted long ई before the सन् of the Desiderative, when it begins with स् ॥

Thus आप्—ईप्सति, हपि—ही॒ष्टसि, अ॒ष्ट—ई॒स्ति (I. 1. 51.). The reduplication is dropped by VII. 4. 58. In the Causative stem हपि there are two vowels, the ई (पि) is dropped by पूर्वा-vipratischedha (the prior debarring the subsequent) according to VI. 4. 51, and ई substituted for अ according to the present sūtra. The word सन् is to be read into the sūtra, otherwise प्राप्सति ॥ The सन् must begin with स् i.e. should not take the ई augment, as in जिह्वपविष्टि, अ॒धिष्टति ॥ The roots हपि and अ॒ष्ट are optionally सेद् in the Desiderative by VII. 2. 49.

दम्भ इ॒ष्ट ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दम्भः, इत्, च ॥
भृत्यः ॥ इ॒मेरच इकारारेणो भवति चकारारीच सनि सकारारौ परतः ॥

56. For the vowel of the root दम्भ there is substituted ई as well as ई before the सन् of the Desiderative, when it begins with स् ॥

As धी॒प्तति or धिष्टति ॥ But इ॒शिभृति before the सेद्सन् ॥ The reduplication falls off by VII. 4. 58.

मुचोऽकर्मकस्य गुणो वा ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुचः, अ॒कर्मकस्य, गुणः वाः ॥
भृत्यः ॥ मुचोऽकर्मकस्य गुणो वा भवति सनि सकापरौ परतः ॥

57. When मुच् has an Intransitive signification, Guṇa is optionally substituted for its vowel before the anit् सन् of the Desiderative.

By I. 2. 10, after a root ending in a consonant, the सन् is like कित् and does not cause Guṇa. The present sūtra ordains it optionally. As भोक्त्वे or भुवक्त्वे वस्तः स्ववमेव ॥ In the Transitive there is one form only, as हृष्टस्ति वस्तं देवदत्तः ॥ हृष्ट becomes Intransitive when it has a Reflexive significance, or when it expresses a mere action. The reduplication is elided by VII. 4. 58.

अ॒ञ्च लोपोऽभ्यासस्य ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ॒ञ्च, लोपः, अ॒भ्यासस्य ॥
भृत्यः ॥ वै॒शत्प्रकान्तं सनि भीमेत्यादि मुचोऽकर्मकस्य गुणेऽति वावत् भज्ञाभ्यासलोपो भवति ॥

58. The reduplicate is dropped under the circumstances mentioned in the foregoing sūtras VII. 4. 54 to VII. 4. 57.

The examples are given under the above-mentioned sūtras. The word 'of the reduplicate' अ॒भ्यासस्य is to be supplied in all the subsequent sūtras upto the end of the chapter. Thus Sūtra VII. 4. 59, says 'a short is to be substituted', we must supply the words 'for the reduplicate' to com-

plete the sense : as दुर्वैकिष्टे, दुर्वैकिष्टे ॥ The word अष्ट् in the sūtra indicates that the reduplication is not to be elided, when an affix is treated like सन् but is not actually सन् ॥ Thus अष्ट्-Aorist is treated like सन् by VII. 4. 93 ; but the reduplication will not be dropped there : as असीमपत्, असीमपत् ॥ Some say the word अष्ट् here indicates that the *whole* of the reduplicate is dropped, and not only its final letter. Others elide the whole of the reduplicate on the maxim नामर्थकोऽस्त्रोऽन्त्यविधिः ॥ “The rule I. 1. 52, by which a substitute should take the place of only the final letter of that which is exhibited in the Genitive case, is not valid, where what is exhibited in the Genitive is meaningless”.

हस्तः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्तः ॥

धृतिः ॥ इस्त्वो भवत्यभ्यासस्य ॥

धार्तिकष्ट् ॥ अभ्यासस्यानच्च ॥

धार्तिकष्ट् ॥ चरि चलि पति वरीनं वा विस्वभ्याक् चाभ्यासस्य इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

59. A short is substituted for the long vowel of the reduplicate.

As दुर्वैकिष्टे, मुर्वैकिष्टे, दुर्वैके, मुर्वैक्रे, अदुर्वैकत्, अमुर्वैकत् ॥

Vart :—The shortening takes place before affixes other than अष्ट् (III. 1. 134). Before अष्ट्, the roots चर्, चल्, पत् and वद् are reduplicated, and the augment अङ् added to the reduplicate. See VI. 1. 12 *Vart*. This augment when added to the reduplicate, is not to be shortened by this rule : and because this is not to be shortened, also indicates that the consonants of the reduplicate other than the first are also not dropped : as चराचरः, चलाचलः, पतापतः, वदावदः ॥

हलादिः शेषः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ हल् आदिः, शेषः ॥

धृतिः ॥ अभ्यासस्य हलादिः शिष्यते अनादिरुच्यते ॥

60. Of the consonants of the reduplicate, only the first is retained, the remainders are dropped.

As जग्नौ, मन्तौ, पपाच, पपाठ, भाद, भादतुः, भादुः ॥ This rule ordains the retention of the initial consonant, if any, and elision of the non-initials in the reduplicate. If the root begins with a vowel as अष्ट्, there being no initial consonant, in अष्ट् अष्ट्, the ष् will be elided of course. The word हलादिः should not be construed as a Genitive Tatpurusha ‘first among the consonants’, for then in अष्ट्+लिद्-अष्ट् अष्ट्, the ष् only would be elided, and क् retained.

The word शेषः or शिष्यते here means अवस्थाच्यते ‘is retained’. The word हलादिः is not a compound. For had it been a compound, then if it is a Karma-dhāraya, the word आदि should stand first ; if it be a Genitive compound then the first among compound consonants would be retained and we could not get the form भानक्ष from अक्ष. The word abhyāsa is to be taken in the sense of jāti or kind, i.e. in the jāti which is collectively called abhyāsa, the consonant that stands first in respect to abhyāsa, is retained, and not the consonant standing

in any other portion of it. So that all consonants, where ever they may be situate in the body of an abhyāsa, whether in the beginning or middle or end, are dropped, except one with which the abhyāsa begins. Thus if the abhyāsa begins with a simple consonant, it is retained; if it begins with a conjunct consonant, the first is only retained; and if the consonant or consonants are not in the beginning they are all dropped.

Others say, the word शेषः here means "retention along with the cessation of others". Therefore, though literally the word शेषः or retention appears to be the principal word in this sūtra, yet as a matter of fact, it is secondary, because the injunction is not with regard to retention, but with regard to cessation. The rule is not "Retain the first consonant"; but "Drop every consonant but the first, if there be a first consonant". Or the sūtras 59 and 60, may be combined and read thus: इत्योऽहलक्षणं "The abhyāsa becomes short and also without consonant". आदिसेषः "The first consonant is retained". Or the sūtras may be divided thus:—

- (1) 'A short vowel is substituted in the abhyāsa'.
- (2) 'The consonants of abhyāsa are all elided'.
- (3) 'The first is retained'.

The sūtras 59 and 60 must be joined by sandhi "इत्योऽहलक्षणं", and then we shall be able to read an elided अ between इत्य and अहल, as if it was a compound of इत्य and अहल ॥

शार्पूर्वा: खयः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शार्पूर्वाः, खयः ॥
मृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्य शार्पूर्वाः खयः पित्त्वन्ते ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ खर्पूर्वाः खय इति वन्तव्यम् ॥

61. Of a reduplicate, the hard consonants (aspirate and unaspirate) when preceded by a sibilant, are only retained, the other consonants are elided.

As चुह्योतिष्ठति, from श्युतिर क्षराणे, तिष्ठाति, पित्त्वन्ते ॥ Why do we say 'when preceded by a sibilant'? Observe पपाच ॥ Why do we say hard consonants? Observe स्त्रौ ॥

Vart:—It should be said rather, a hard consonant preceded by a hard consonant or a sibilant is only retained: and the श्वर consonants are elided: as in उचित्तिष्ठति, here उच्छ्रव्य becomes उच्छ्रव्य by the augment त् (तुह्य); in the reduplicate the श्वर should be elided, and श्वर retained out of श्वर्तुह्य; and not श्वर retained and श्वर elided; for the श्वर represents त्, and if this were retained, it would be त् and not श्वर that would be heard: for by VIII. 2. 1, the change of त् to श्वर is asiddha for the purposes of this rule.

कुहोऽश्वुः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुहोः, श्वुः ॥
मृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्य कर्वगहकारयोधवर्गार्दिशो भवति ॥

62. For the Guttural and **ह** of a reduplicate there is substituted a Palatal.

As चकार, चखान, जगाम, जधान, जहाग, जिहीर्णति, जहै ॥
न कवतेर्यङ्गि ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, कवते:, यङ्गि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कवतेर्यासस्य यङ्गि परतशुर्न भवति ॥

63. The Palatal is not substituted for the Guttural of the reduplicate of कु (कष्टे) in the Intensive.

As कोकूयते उष्टः, कोकूयते खरः ॥ The कु here is कुइ (Bhu. 999), and not कु 'to make sound' (Ad. 33, कौति), nor कुह (Tud. 108, कुवति) ॥ Of those two, we have चोकूयते ॥ Why do we say in the Intensive? Observe उकुये ॥

कुयेऽम्भुन्दसि ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुयेः, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कुयेऽम्भुन्दसि विषये यङ्गि परतोर्यासस्य उर्न भवति ॥

64. The Palatal is not substituted for the Guttural of the reduplicate of कुष्ट in the Veda, when in the Intensive.

As कर्तंकूष्टे वज्ञकुण्ठः; otherwise चरीकूष्टे कूषीवलः ॥

दाधर्तिदर्शर्तिदर्शर्थिबोभूतुतेतिक्लव्यापनीफणत्संसनिष्यदत्करिकत्कनिकदञ्ज-
रिन्नदिविध्वतो दविद्युतस्तरित्रतः सरीसूपतंवरीवृजन्मर्मृज्यागनीगन्तीति च ॥ ६५ ॥
पदानि ॥ दाधर्ति, दर्शर्ति, दर्शर्थि, बोभूतु, तेतिक्ल, अलर्थि, आपनीफणत्, संसनि ष्य-
दत्, करिकत् कनिकदत्, भरिन्नत्, दविध्वतः, दविद्युतत्, तरित्रतः, सरीसूपतम्,
वरीवृजत्, मर्मृज्य, आगनी गन्ति, इति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाधर्ति दर्शर्ति दर्शर्थि बोभूतु तेतिक्ल अलर्थि आपनीफणत् संसनिष्यदत् करिकत् कनिकदत्
भरिन्नत् दविध्वतः दविद्युतत् तरित्रतः सरीसूपतम् वरीवृजत् मर्मृज्य आगनीगन्ति इत्येतानि वादादृश छन्दानि
विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

65. In the Veda are found the following eighteen irregularly reduplicated forms:—1 dādharti, 2 dardharti, 3 dardharshi, 4 bobhūtu, 5 tetikte, 6 alarshi, 7 औ panīphā-
ṇat, 8 sam sanishyadat. 9 karikrat, 10 kanikradat, 11 bhari-
bhrat, 12 davidhvataḥ, 13 davidyutat, 14 taritrataḥ, 15 sarī-
śṛpatam, 16 varīvṛjat, 17 marmṛjya and 18 औ ganīganti.

The word छन्दसि is drawn in to this sūtra, by force of च ॥ The form दाधर्ति, is either from the Causative of the root धृ भवस्थाने or from धृ, in the अृ or वर्त् लुक्, there is lengthening of the abhyāsa and elision of णि ॥ (2) So also दर्शर्ति is the form in श्ल, with लुक् augment of the abhyāsa. (3) दर्शर्थि if it be a form of वर्त् लुक्, there is no irregularity. (4) बोभूतु is from भू in the Intensive (वर्त् लुक्), Imperative, irregularly without guṇa. Q. There is no necessity of including this, because there would be no guṇa regularly even under VII. 3.

88? Ans. The inclusion of शोभृत् is a jñāpaka, indicating that in every other case, the *guṇa* is not prohibited in the Intensive (व्यक्त सुकृ), as शोभेति, शोभीति (लृ with व्यक्त VII. 3. 94) (5) लेसिन् is from लिङ् in the Intensive यां luk, Ātmanepada is irregular. Q. The व्यक्त् is लिङ् and therefore by pratyaya lakshaṇa rule (I. I. 62) read with I. 3. 12, the व्यक्त सुकृ will be Ātmanepadi, where is the necessity of reading this nipātan? Ans. The Ātmanepada nipātan is a jñāpaka, that in the Intensive यां luk the Ātmanepada affixes are not employed. (6) अलंपि is from the root लृ (व्यक्ति), in Present, 2nd Person, the ई of abhyāsa is not elided, though required by VII. 4. 60, and this ई is changed to ए irregularly. This form is found in the 3rd Person also, as अलंपि इतः ॥ (7) आ पर्मीकरण् is from कर् with आ augment, and रात् affix is added to व्यक्त सुकृ, and in the reduplicate एषी is added. (8) उत्तनिष्ठवत् is from स्वन् with the Preposition सम्, in the Intensive यां luk, with रात् affix, एषी being added in the abhyāsa, the root स is changed to ए ॥ The Preposition स is not absolutely necessary, with other Prepositions also we have this form, as आ सनिष्ठवत् ॥ (9) करिकरण् is from कर् (करोति), in the Intensive यां luk, with रात्, in the abhyāsa there is no palatal change (VII. 4. 62), and एषी is added to the reduplicate. (10) करिकरण् from कर् in the Aorist with व्यक्त्, reduplication, there is no chutva (VII. 4. 62) of the reduplicate, and the augment एषी is added. In the secular literature, the form is अकम्भीत् ॥ (11) अस्ति-भृत् from व्यृ (व्यक्ति) in यां luk with रात्, without ई of VII. 4. 76, without jaśtva, and एषी is added to the reduplicate. (12) उविष्टवा from व्यृ (व्यरते) in the यां luk, सत्र, plural number Nominative. The एषी is added to the reduplicate, the व्यृ is elided, उविष्टवा: एषयः सूर्वस्त्वः ॥ (13) उविष्टपुत्र॑ is from dyut, यां luk with सत्र, there is no vocalisation of the reduplicate, with व्यृ change and एषी augment, (14) उत्तिष्ठतः from व्यृ (तरति) with श्वृ, सत्र, genitive singular: and एषी added to abhyāsa. (15) उत्तिष्ठपत् from सूर्प with श्वृ, सत्र, Accusative with एषी added to abhyāsa. (16) उत्तिष्ठपत् from व्यृ with श्वृ, सत्र and एषी augment. (17) उत्तिष्ठत् from व्यृ with लिर (Perfect) ज्ञृ, एषी added to abhyāsa, and एषी added to the root, and there is no vṛiddhi, because there is no short penultimate now. In fact VII. 2. 114 is to be qualified by the words लाभृपत् from VII. 3. 86. (18) आ गर्भी-गन्ति is from गर् with the Preposition आ, in the Perfect, with श्वृ, there is no chutva (VII. 4. 62), and augment एषी is added. ग्रहणती वेदा गर्भीगन्ति कर्मद् ॥

The word एषी in the aphorism indicates that other forms, similar to these, are also to be included.

उत्तद् ॥ व्यृ ॥ पदानि ॥ उः, अत् ॥
तृतीयः ॥ उत्तर्णामितस्त्राभासस्त्राकापरेषो भवति ॥

66. अत् (I. 1. 51) is substituted for the व्यृ or व्यृ of the reduplicate.

As व्यृते, व्यृष्टे, व्यृष्टे, व्यृत्ति, व्यृत्तिः तत्तीत्तिः ॥ The ई is elided by VII. 4. 60. In the Intensives VII. 4. 90 &c, are applied, by which after the substitution of अत्,

by the present sūtra, we apply those sūtras and add रिक् रक्. रिक् &c: for the maxim is शास्यासविकारेषु भपवानो नात्सर्गान् विधीन् भाषते "so far as the changes of a reduplicative syllable are concerned special (apavāda) rules do not supersede the general (utsarga) rules".

शुतिस्वाप्योः, संप्रसारणम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुतिः स्वाप्योः, संप्रसारणम् ॥ शुतिः ॥ शुते स्वापि हेत्यतेवार्थासत्यं संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

67. There is vocalisation of the half-vowel of the reduplicate of शुत् and स्वापि (Causative of स्वप्) ॥

As वि दिशुतत्, वि दिशोतिपते, वि दिशुतिपते, (I. 2. 26) वि दशुतते ॥ स्वापि—शुभ्रपविषति ॥ The Causative of स्वप् is taken here, and the vocalisation takes place then only, when it is immediately followed by an affix which causes reduplication. Therefore not here, स्वापि+ष्वद्=स्वापकः; स्वापक+मयत्=स्वापकीय, स्वापकीय + सत्=सिद्धापकीयिषति ॥

The simple root स्वप् will get vocalised in its reduplicate by VI. i. 15, 17 in the Perfect. The Desiderative of स्वप् is कित् by I. 2. 8, and therefore the reduplicate of स्वप् will be vocalised before सत् by VI. i. 15. The reduplicate of स्वप् will be vocalised in the Intensive also by VI. i. 19.

Quere :—Does the reduplicate of the Desiderative of the Denominative verb शोतकीयति get vocalised or not.

व्यथो लिदि ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यथः, लिदि ॥
शुतिः ॥ व्यथेलिदि परतोभ्याससत्यं संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

68. There is vocalisation of the half-vowel of the reduplicate of व्यथ् in the Perfect.

As विव्यथे, विव्यथाते, विव्यथिरे ॥ This ordains the vocalisation of व्, which otherwise would have been elided as being a non-initial consonant (VII, 4. 60). The vocalisation of व् is prevented by VI. i. 37. Why do we say in the Perfect? Observe शास्यविषते ॥

दीर्घ इणः किति ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घः, इणः, किति ॥
शुतिः ॥ इणोऽस्त्व शोभ्याससत्यं शीर्षो भवति किति लिदि परतः ॥

69. A long vowel is substituted in the reduplicate of the root इ (पति), before a Personal ending of the Perfect, which has an indicatory क् ॥

As ईयतु, ईयः ॥ These are thus formed इ+अतुम्=इ+अतु (इ substituted for इ by VI, 4. 81). Then there is reduplication, the इ becomes श्वानिवत् to इ by I. i. 59, and we have इ इ+अतुः and then by the present rule ईयतुः ॥ Why do we say before a कित् affix? Observe ईवाय, ईविषय ॥

अत आदेः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, आदेः, ॥
शुतिः ॥ शास्यासस्यावेकारत्यं शीर्षो भवति लिदि परतः ॥

70. A long vowel is substituted in the Perfect for the initial अ of a reduplicate.

This debars the single substitute of the form of the subsequent ordained by VI. 1. 97. Thus आट, आटुः, आटः ॥ Why do we say 'the *initial*'? Observe पा॒ष्ठ and पा॒षट् ॥ Thus अ॒ट् + अ॒टुः = अ॒ट् अ॒ट् + अ॒टुः = स अ॒ट् + अ॒टुः = आ अ॒ट् + अ॒टुः ॥

तस्मान्नुइ द्विहलः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मात्, नुइ, द्वि॒हलः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मास्तोऽचासारीश्चूतादुत्तरस्य द्विहलोहगस्य त्रुडागमो भवति ॥

71. After such a lengthened आ of the reduplicate, there is added the augment तुइ (न्) to the short अ of the root which ends in a double consonant.

As from अ॒ष्ट्व्—आ अ॒ष्ट्व्—आन॒ष्ट्व्, which with the affixes of the Perfect gives us, आन॒ष्ट्व, आन॒ष्ट्वुः, आन॒ष्ट्वुः ॥ From अ॒ञ्ज्—आन॒ञ्ज, आन॒ञ्जुः, आन॒ञ्जुः ॥ Why do we say 'containing two consonants'? Observe आट, आटुः, आटः ॥

With regard to तुइ augment, ए॒ट् is considered like ए॒, as आन॒ष्ट्वुः, आन॒ञ्जुः ॥ This proceeds on a वार्तिका to be found under the Pratyāhāra sūtra ऐ औ॒ष् ॥ The वार्तिका is कु॒द्यिधि—ल॒वेष—विनामाप्तु एकारे प्रतिविधातव्यं ॥ The examples of ल॒वेष are इ॒स्तः, इ॒स्तप्तान्; (See VIII. 2. 18) and of विनाम are कर्तृणाम् and भर्तृणाम् ॥

अश्वोतेष्व ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अश्वोतेः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविहर्य आरम्भः ॥ अश्वोतेष्व सीर्धिश्चूताश्चासादुत्तरस्य त्रुडागमो भवति ॥

72. After the lengthened आ of the reduplicate of अश्व (अश्वोति), comes the augment तुइ (न्) before the short अ of the root in the Perfect.

This applies to a case where the root does not contain a double consonant. Thus व्यानश्च, व्यानश्चाते, व्यानश्चिरे ॥ The rule applies to अश्व (Svādi 18) and not to अश्व (Kryādi 51); there we have आश्व, आश्वुः, आश्वः ॥

भवतेरः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भवते:, अः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेरभ्यासस्वाकारयेषां भवते लिदि परतः ॥

73. अ is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate of भू in the Perfect.

As बू॒ष्ट, बू॒ष्टुः, बू॒ष्टुः, बू॒ष्टे ॥ Why do we say 'in the Perfect'? Observe बू॒ष्टप्ति and बौ॒ष्टते ॥

The word भवते: is shown in the sūtra in the Active Voice, therefore the rule will not apply to Passive and Reflexive forms; as अ॒ष्टु॒ष्टे कम्बले है॒ष्टै॒ष्टेन ॥ This opinion of Kāśikā, however, is not endorsed by later Grammarians

ससू॒ष्टेति निगमे ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ससू॒ष्ट, इति, निगमे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ससू॒ष्ट इति निपात्यते सूतोलिति परमेष्वरं त्रुडागमो उत्तरस्य चार्थं निपात्यते ॥

74. In the Veda सूत्र is irregularly formed in the Perfect.

It is derived from सू || Thus सूत्र स्थविर विषभितान् otherwise सुषुपे || Rig. IV. 18 10.

This word सूत्र might well have been included in sūtra VII. 4. 65.
निजां त्रयाणां गुणः स्लौ ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ निजाम्, त्रयाणाम्, गुणः, स्लौ ॥
दृष्टिः ॥ निजादीनां चत्वारामध्यासस्य गुणो भवति स्लौ सति ॥

75. Gupa is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate, in the Reduplicated Present form (स्लु) of निज्, विज् and विष् ॥

Thus निजेत्ति, विजेत्ति, विषेत्ति ॥ The word चत्वारा could have been spared in this sūtra, as these three roots stand at the end of a subdivision, and निजां would have denoted these three without the word trayāṇām. The word is however used here for the sake of the subsequent sūtra. Why do we say in the reduplicated Present form? Observe निजेत्ति in the Perfect.

भृजामित ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृजाम्, इत् ॥
दृष्टिः ॥ चत्वारीनां चत्वारामध्यासस्येकारादेशो भवति स्लौ सति ॥

76. In the Reduplicated Present-form of the three roots भृ, मा (भाङ्) and हा (ओहाङ्), इ is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate.

As विभर्ति, भिनीते, (VI. 4. 113) जिहीते ॥ The word 'three' is understood here, therefore not in ओहाङ्—जहाति ॥ The rule applies in the Reduplicated Present system (स्लु) only: therefore not in बभार ॥

अर्त्तिपित्योन्न ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्त्ति-पित्योः, च ॥
दृष्टिः ॥ अर्ति पित्ये इत्येत्योरभ्यासस्येकारादेशो भवति स्लौ ॥

77. इ is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate of उ॒ and ए॑ in the Reduplicated Present-form.

As इवर्ति (VI. 4. 78) घूमन्, विषर्ति लोमन् ॥
बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि ॥
दृष्टिः ॥ छन्दसि विषवे अथासस्य स्लौ बहुलमिकारादेशो भवति ॥

78. इ is diversely substituted in the Veda, for the vowel of the reduplicate, in the Reduplicated Present-form.

As ए॒ विषहि॑ (from वह्), जनिमा विषक्ति॑ (from वच्), वस्तं व वाना सिषक्ति॑ (from सच्), and विषर्ति॑ लोमन् ॥ But also इवर्ति॑, जञ्जनम्, इधनत् as in इवातीत्येवं त्रूपात्; जञ्जनमिन्नं माता वहीरं इधनद् धनिदा ॥ All these three roots belong to Juhotyādi class.

सन्यतः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, अतः ॥
दृष्टिः ॥ सनि परतोकाराम्भासस्येकारादेशो भवति ॥

79. एः is substituted for the final short अ of the reduplicate in the Desiderative.

As पिपसति, विवसति, (VIII. 2. 36, 41) सिंडौसति, पिपासति ॥ Why do we say in the Desiderative? Observe पपाच ॥ Why do we say "for the अ"? Observe शुभ्रसति ॥ Why do we say 'short अ'? Observe पापचिष्ठते the Desiderative of the Intensive पापच्यते ॥

ओः पुयण्ज्यपरे ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, पु-यण-जि-अपरे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनीति वर्तते रहिति च ॥ उवर्णान्ताभ्यासस्य परमे वाग्मि ब्रकारं चार्वणपरे परत इकारारेषो भवति सानि प्रथमे परतः ॥

80. एः is substituted for the final उ or ऊ of a reduplicate, before a labial, a semi-vowel and before ञ्, when अ or आ follows these consonants, in the Desiderative.

The word पु-बृ-ञि is the Locative singular of the samāhāra dvandva compound of those three words—पु, बृ and ञ् ॥ The samāsānta affix एष् (V. 4. 106) does not come, as these affixes are anitya. The word अ-क्षरे means that after which is the letter अ ॥

Thus : 1. Labial :—पिपविष्टते, पिपावविष्टति, विभावविष्टति ; 2. Semi-vowel :—विवविष्टति, विवावविष्टति, रिरावविष्टति, लिलावविष्टति ; 3. ञ—जिज्ञावविष्टति from the root शु ॥

The word पिपविष्टते is from पु which gets एष् augment in शक् (VII. 2. 74), then there is guna, and अत् substitutions, but these latter being sthanivat for reduplication (I. 1. 59), पु is doubled : and for ऊ there is substited ए by the present sūtra. पिपावविष्टति is the Desiderative of the Causative of पु ॥ विभावविष्टति is the Desiderative of उ 'to mix', which is सेष् by VII. 2. 49. विवावविष्टति is the Desiderative of the Causative of this root. The words रिरावविष्टति and लिलावविष्टति are the Desiderative of the Causatives of रौति and शुनाति ॥

This sūtra indicates the existence of the following maxim:—अहिर्वचन निविस्ते-इपि जो स्थानिकता भवति, "though not the cause of reduplication, the substitute which takes place when अ follows, becomes like the original". Thus in विभावविष्टति we have भावि + सत् from भू + अ + सत्, here the भावृ substitute caused by अ is sthanivat to ऊ, otherwise there would be no उ in the reduplicate to be operated upon by the present sūtra. See VI. 1. 31 also. Why do we say "for the उ or ऊ"? Observe पापच्यते, the Desiderative of which will be पापचिष्ठति ॥ Why do we say "followed by a labial, semi-vowel or ञ्"? Observe अव तुवावविष्टति, according to Padamanjari it is अव तुवा वविष्टति from the sautra root तु ॥ शुद्धावविष्टति ॥ Why do we say 'when these consonants are followed by an अ'? Observe शुभ्रसति ॥

स्ववतिशृणोति-द्रवतिप्रवतिपूवतिच्यवतीनां वा ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्ववति-शृणोति-द्रवति-प्रवति-पूवति-च्यवतीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्ववति शृणोति द्रवति प्रवति पूवति च्यवति इत्येतेषामभ्यासस्य भोरवर्णपरे वाग्मि वा इकारारेषो भवति सानि परतः ॥

81. एः is optionally substituted for the final उः of the reduplicate of सु, श्रु, हु, प्रु, ल्लु and च्यु when the semi-vowel is followed by अ or आ in the Desiderative.

Thus सिद्धाविषति or सुस्ताविषति ; प्रिभाविषति or शुभाविषति ; विभाविषति or दुष्टाविषति ; प्रिप्राविषति or पुप्राविषति ; पिस्ताविषति or पुस्ताविषति ; विच्छाविषति or चुच्छाविषति ॥ All these are Desideratives of the Causatives of the above roots. Here though a letter like स्, श्, ह् &c, intervenes between the semi-vowel and the preceding एः of the reduplicate, yet the substitution takes place owing to the express text of this sūtra. In the preceding aphorism, the semi-vowel followed *immediately* after the एः of the reduplicate. The option of the present sūtra is, therefore, an aprāpta-vibhāshā. The word अप्ते is understood here also : therefore not in सुसूषति, शुशूषति ॥

गुणो यद्गुणकोः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुणः, यद्गुणकोः ॥
वृनिः ॥ वडि यहस्तुकि च इग्नस्त्वाभ्यासस्थ गुणो भवति ॥

82. Guṇa is substituted for the एः and उः (with their long) of a reduplicate, when the Intensive character यद्गुण follows and also when it is elided.

Thus चेचीयते, लोलूयते with यह, and जोहवीति with यह लक्ष ॥ The ईरु is added in the latter by VII. 3. 94. So also चोकुशीति from कुश (VII. 3. 94 and 87).

दीर्घोक्तिः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घः, अक्तिः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अकितोभ्यासस्थ दीर्घो भवति वडि यहस्तुकि च परतः ॥

83. A long vowel is substituted for the अ of the reduplicate in the Intensive (with expressed or elided यद्गुण), when the reduplicate receives no augment having an indicatory क् ॥

The reduplicate receives augments like भीकृ, तुकृ by the following sūtras. Thus पापचत्ते, and पापचीति, यावज्जते and यावजीति ॥ Why do we say "when it gets no augment"? Observe यंयन्ते, यंवीति, रंत्यते, रंतीति ॥

Obj:—When the क् augment is added, the reduplicate will end in a consonant, and as it does not end in a vowel, there will be no occasion for lengthening; hence the employment of the term अकितः is useless.

Ans.—The employment of this term by the Achārya indicates the existence of the following maxim: अभ्यासविकारेष्वपाश मोस्त्वर्गान् विधात् वाचने “so far as changes of a reduplicative syllable are concerned, rules which teach those changes do not supersede one another”. What is the necessity of this

indication (jñāpaka)? Observe ऊढौक्यते, here the rule of lengthening of this sūtra, does not supersede, though it is subsequent, the rule of shortening in VII. 4. 59; so the diphthong औ is shortened to उ, and it is then gunated by VII. 4. 82. Secondly observe भर्तीकरत्, here इ is substituted in the reduplicate by VII. 4. 79 plus 93, and then this is lengthened by VII. 4. 94, the latter not superseding the former. Thirdly observe मीमांसते &c, where in मात् + सत् (III. 1. 6), the reduplicate is lengthened, but that does not prevent the इ of VII. 4. 79. Fourthly observe भजीगणन्, where the ई substitute (VII. 4. 97) does not supersede the sūtra VII. 4. 60, by which the ज् of गण् is elided.

नीग्नञ्चुंसुधंसुभ्रंसुकसपतपदस्कन्दाम् ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नीक्, वञ्चु-संसु
धंसु-भंसु-कस-पद-स्कन्दाम् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ वञ्चु संसु धंसु भंसु कस पत पद स्कन्द इरेतेषामभ्यासस्य नीगागमो भवति यहि वह्यलुकिं च ॥

84. The augment नीक् is added to the reduplicate of the Intensive (with the expressed or elided यङ्) in the following :—घञ्च्, घंस्, धंस्, भंश्, कस्, पत्, पद् and स्कन्द् ॥

Thus वनीवध्यते and वनीवञ्चीति ; सनीधस्यते and सनीधंसीति ; इनीधस्यते and इनीधंसीति ; वनीधस्यते and वनीधंसीति, (वनीधइते and वनीधंसीति), चनीकस्यते and चनीकसीति ; पनीपत्यते and पनीपत्सीति, पनीपथ्यते and इनीपशीति ; चनीस्कयते and चनीस्कन्तीति ॥ The nasal is elided in one alternative by VI. 4. 24.

नुगतोनुनासिकान्तस्य ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नुक्, अतः, अनुनासिक-अन्तस्य ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकान्तस्याह्नस्य योग्यासस्तस्याकारान्तस्य नुगागमो भवति वह्यवह्यलुकाः पतः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ पशान्तवच्छिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

85. The augment नुक् (न्) is added after the short अ of a reduplicate in the Intensive (with or without यङ्), when the root ends in a Nasal.

As तन्तन्यते and तन्तनीति ; अङ्गन्यते and अङ्गनीति, बंधन्यते and बंधनीति ; रंत्यते and रंतीति ॥ The augment न् here should be considered as anusvāra, because an ādeśa is indicated by the nature of the sthānin which is replaced; and therefore in यन्धन्यते, it remains anusvāra. Had it been न्, it could not have been changed to anusvāra in यन्धन्यते, रंत्यते (See VIII. 3. 24). In तन्तन्यते &c, the anusvāra is changed to न्, इ &c, by VIII. 4. 58; the other forms तंतन्यते तंतनीति, अंगन्यते, अंगनीति are derived by the following :—

Vārti :—This anusvāra should be treated as if it was at the end of a Pada or word. That being so, VIII. 4. 59 applies, and we have the anusvāra unchanged, as in तंतन्यते &c.

Why do we say “after a short अ”? Observe तेतिन्यते ॥ The त् in अत् indicates that the augment will not be added to a reduplicate which once was long आ but became short by VII. 4. 59 as from आम ‘to be angry’, is आमन्यते.

(the second lengthening takes place by VII. 4. 83). Why do we say ending in a nasal? Observe पाप्त्वते ॥

जपजभदहदशभञ्जपशां च ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जप-जभ-दह-दश-भञ्ज-पशाम्, च ॥ शृणिः ॥ जप जभ दह दश भञ्ज पश इत्येतयोर्भासस्य तुगागमो भवति वह्यहल्कोः परतः ॥

86. The augment लुक् comes after the reduplicates of जप, जभ, दह, दश, भञ्ज, and पश in the Intensive (with or without यज्) ॥

Thus जंजप्ते and जंजपीति; जंजभते and जंजभीति; दंदशते and दंदशीति ॥ The root is एष्, but it is exhibited in the sūtra as इष्ट, showing that even in वह्यहल्क, the root loses its nasal. Similarly दंभञ्जते and दंभञ्जीति, and दंपशते and दंपशीति ॥ This last is a sautra root.

चरफलोम्य ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चर-फलोः, च ॥

शृणिः ॥ चर फल इत्येतयोर्भासस्य तुगागमो भवति वह्यहल्कोः परतः ॥

87. The augment लुक् comes after the reduplicate of चर् and फल् in the Intensive (with or without यज्) ॥

Thus चंचूर्धते and चंचूरीति ('the lengthening of च' is by VIII. 2. 77) वंफुल्लते and वंफुलीति ॥ See the following sūtra.

उत्परस्यातः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्, परस्य, अतः ॥

शृणिः ॥ चरफलोर्भासात्परस्यात् उकारादेषो भवति वह्यहल्कोः परतः ॥

88. For the subsequent अ (i. e. for the अ of the root and not of the reduplicate), there is substituted उ in the Intensive (with or without यज्) of चर् and फल् ॥

The examples have been given above, as चंचूर्धते, चंचूरीति and वंफुल्लते वंफुलीति ॥ Why do we say 'the अ which stands subsequent to the reduplicate'? The substitute does not replace the अ of the reduplicate. Why do we say 'of अ'? The substitute should not replace the final letter, which it otherwise would have done by I. 1. 52. The त् in उत् debars guṇa (VII. 3. 86) in चंचूर्धते and वंफुलीति, for though उ is lengthened by VIII. 2. 77, in चंचूरीति, yet that lengthening is considered as non-existent or asiddha (VIII. 2. 1) for the purposes of Guṇa (VII. 3. 86). *Quere*. If the त् in उत् debars guṇa, why should it not debar lengthening also of VIII. 2. 77?

ति च ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, च ॥

शृणिः ॥ उकारादेषो प्रलब्धे परत्परफलोर्भासात् उकारादेषो भवति ॥

89. उ is substituted for the vowel of चर् and फल् before an affix beginning with त् ॥

Thus चूर्धिः (=चर्ण or छाणः), प्रफुल्लिः and प्रफुल्लाः ॥ The anuvṛitti of वह्यहल्कोर्भासस्य does not apply here, though present. See VIII. 2. 55.

रीशुपथस्य च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ रीक्, अट्ट-उपथस्य, च ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ अदुपथस्याद्य योऽभ्यासस्तस्य रीगागमो भवति वक्लुकोः परसः ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ रीगृत्तं इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

90. The reduplicate of a root, which has a अट्ट in the penultimate position, gets the augment री in the Intensive (with or without यट्ट) ॥

As वरीबृत्ते and वरीबृत्तीति, वरीबृत्ते and वरीनृत्ते and वरीनृत्तीति ॥

Vart:—It should be rather stated 'a root which contains a अट्ट': when अट्ट follows, whether this अट्ट be of upadesha, or obtained by samprasāraṇa, so that the augment may come in वरीबृत्ते and वरीबृत्तीति where the अट्ट is of vocalisation, and not penultimate also.

रुभिकौ च लुकि ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुक्-रिकौ, च, लुकि ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ वह्लुकि अदुपथस्याद्य योऽभ्यासस्तस्य रुभिकावागमो भवत शकाराद्रीकच ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ मर्षज्ञयं मर्षज्ञमानास इत्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

91. The augments रीक्, रुक् and रिक् come after the reduplicate of a root which has a अट्ट in the penultimate, only when the यट्ट of the Intensive is elided.

Thus नर्वति, मर्विति, and नरीनृति; वर्वति, वर्विति, वरीनृति ॥ The च in इल् is for the sake of pronunciation, the augment is र् ॥

Vart:—मर्षज्ञयं and मर्षज्ञमानास: should also be enumerated. These have taken रुक् augment, though the अट्ट is not elided here.

अट्टतम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अट्टतः, च ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तस्याद्य योऽभ्यासस्तस्य रुभिकावागमो भवतो रीक्ष्यवह्लुकि ॥
Kārikā:—किराति अर्कीतानं पचतीत्य यो न वेत् ।
 प्राप्तिहं तमहं मन्त्रे प्राप्तिस्तेन संप्रहः ॥

92. The reduplicate of a root, which ends in short अट्ट, gets, in the Intensive without यट्ट, the above augments री, र्, and रि� ॥

Thus अर्कति, अरिकति, and अरीकति, अर्हति, अरिहति and अरीहति ॥ Why do we say 'which ends in a short अट्ट'? The rule does not apply to roots ending in long अट्ट as, आकर्ति, आकीर्तः, आकिरति from कृ ॥ The word अट्टः qualifies the word अट्ट and not the word अभ्यास, for an abhyāsa is always short, so the त् in अट्ट would become meaningless if the word qualified reduplicate. Therefore कृ ending in long अट्ट does not get री, र् and रि� augments in the reduplicate.

Kārikā:—He who can conjugate, in the Present tense, the yan-luk Intensive of कृ and of other roots ending in long अट्ट, is considered by me to be a person who has attained to the right knowledge of the employment of the

augments ए, एि, एि &c: and he has obtained the right use of words.

The word किरति in the Kārikā is illustrative of all roots like कृ (किरति) ending in long ए ॥ चर्करीत is the name given to the वद् लुक् form of the Intensive, by ancient grammarians. चर्करीतात्म means, therefore, a form ending in yah-luk. पचति is illustrative of लद् or Present tense.

सन्वल्पुनि चह्यपरेऽनग्लोपे ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्वत्, लघुनि, चह्य - परे, अन् अग्लोपे ॥

कृतिः ॥ लघुनि भास्वते परते योग्यास्तस्य चह्यपे जो परतः सर्वीव कार्यं भवति अनग्लोपे ॥

93. In the reduplicated Aorist of the Causative, the reduplicate adapts itself to that of the Desiderative, when the vowel of the root is light, and the root has not lost its end-vowel before the Causative affix.

The words of this sūtra require a little detailed explanation. The word सन्वत् means "like unto सत् or Desiderative"; i. e. as the Desiderative is treated, so should the चह्य Aorist of the Causative. The words लघुनि and चह्यपे are both in the Locative case, but not in apposition with each other, but refer to different objects. लघुनि means 'when a light vowel follows', namely that reduplicate which is followed by the light root-vowel. The operations to be performed on such a reduplicate, in the चह्य Aorist, after the एि are the same, as on the reduplicate of the Desiderative. अन्-अन्-लोपे "provided that a simple vowel of the Pratyāhāra अक् has not been elided". We read the word 'causative' into this sūtra, because there can be no other root which will form चह्य Aorist. Causatives form such Aorist. (III. 1. 48), as well as the simple roots शि, हु and तु ॥ The words चह्यपे qualifies the word चह्य understood: that stem which is followed by चह्य; therefore, it refers to the Causative stem, and not to the simple roots एि, dru and sru. The *light* vowel, therefore refers, to the light vowel of the *Causative stem* before चह्य ॥

The word अनश्वलोपे is in apposition with चह्यपे ॥ Thus कन्त + निद् (III. 1. 30).= अकान्त + ए + अत् (III. 1. 48)= अकान्त + अत् (VI. 4. 51)= अकन्त + अत् (VII. 4. 1)= अचकन्त + अत् (VI. 1. 11)= आचकन्त + अत् (VII. 4. 79 read with VII. 4. 93)= अची-कन्त (VII. 4. 94).

Thus VII. 4. 79 teaches the substitution of ए for अ in the reduplicate of the Desiderative. The same substitution will take place in the reduplicate of the Aorist: as अचीकरत्, अचीपचत् ॥ Thus by VII. 4. 80, ए is substituted for the अ of the reduplicate in the Desiderative, the same will be the case in the reduplicate of the Aorist, as अचीपवत् and अलीलवत्, and अचीजवत् ॥ Thus by VII. 4. 81, ए is optionally substituted for अ in the Desiderative reduplicate of तु &c, the same will hold good in the Aorist-reduplicate, as असिन्नवत् or अमुन्नवत्, अणिभवत्.

or अशुद्धवत्, असिद्धवत् or अदुद्रवत्, अपिप्रवत् or अपुप्रवत्, अपिद्ववत् or अपुद्ववत्, अचिष्ठवत् or अचुष्ठवत् ॥ Why do we say 'having a light vowel'? Observe अतत्कात्, अरत्कात्, अजागरत् ॥

Some say, that in अजागरत्, the syllable ए is *light*, and therefore, the san-vat rule would apply: for a light vowel no where *immediately* follows a reduplicate; therefore, though a long syllable जा intervenes, yet the rule will apply, because of the express text. This reasoning is wrong. The maxim देन नाज्यवधाने सेनव्यवहितेऽपि वचनप्रामाण्यात् cannot be extended to cases like this. It applies only when the intervention consists of one letter and not of more than one. Obj. If so, how do you form अचिक्षणत् for here two letters ए and ए (ए) intervene between the reduplicate and the light vowel. Ans. The author indicates by implication in VII. 4. 95 that these roots like क्षण् do take ए in the reduplicate; for had it not been so, what was the necessity of making an exception in favor of roots like सृ, स्वर, स्त्, स्पृश् in VII. 4. 95. So that a conjunct consonant is not considered an intervention for the purposes of this rule. Therefore, सृ &c would have taken ए in the reduplicate by VII. 4. 79, read with the present sūtra, and so the Achārya enjoins ए instead in VII. 4. 95 with regard to these.

Why do we say 'when चक follows'? Observe अहं पपच ॥ Why do we use the word पर "followed by"? The rule would not apply when चक alone follows without ए, as अचकम् where क्षण् has taken चक under the vārtika क्षेष्ट-पसंख्यानम् ॥

Why do we say 'when an एक vowel has not been dropped'? Observe अचकयत् from the Churādi root कथ which ends in ए, and this ए is elided by VI. 4. 48. Obj. This lopa being considered sthānivat, will prevent the application of the present rule, as there will be an intervention. Ans. We shall give another example, अदृष्टत् from इष्टव्याकातवाक् ॥ Here एक् is added to इष्टव् under the Vārtika तत्कर्त्तिसाक्षण्, and the ए portion is elided by इष्टव्याकः; here a vowel and a consonant have been elided, and so the lopa is not sthānivat.

In the double causative Aorist अवीचदत् the present rule applies, though one ए has been elided. अवीचदत् - शादितव्यं प्रयोगितवाक् ॥ In fact, the elision of one ए when followed by another ए is not considered as an ak-lopa; the latter refers to the elision of any other vowel than ए ॥ Therefore we have अवीचदत् शीर्णं परिवारकम् ॥ In fact, this exception rests on the following vārtika सम्भवाद-शीर्णेन ए एक्षुपसंख्यानम् ॥

The lopa of the reduplicate which takes place before सृ of the roots नी, ना &c (VII. 4. 54) does not, however, take place in चक Aorist. The analogy does not extend so far. In fact, the present sūtra teaches a क्षणात्तिरेष,

namely the *form* which a reduplicate has in Desiderative, will be the *form* in the Aorist. But as शी, मा &c have *no* reduplicate form in the Desiderative, the analogy stops. Therefore, we shall have अनीमपत् ॥ Moreover the word सञ्चवत् here means the operations that depend *solely* on सञ् ॥ Now the total elision of the reduplicate by VII. 4. 54 does not depend upon सञ् alone, but upon the augment इत् also of VII. 4. 54. But as there can be no इत् in the Aorist, so there will be no elision also. In fact, an atidesā should be confined to general cases and not to particulars.

दीर्घों लघोः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घः, लघोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रीर्घों भवति लघोरभ्यासस्य लघुनि औ चहृपरे इनश्लोरे ॥

94. In the reduplicative syllable, a prosodically short vowel is lengthened in the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative, when the vowel of the root is light, and the root has not lost its end-vowel before the Causative ण ॥

Thus अचीकरत्, the ई (VII. 4. 79) is lengthened. Similarly अचीहरत्, अलीलवत्, अपीपवत् ॥ Why do we say which is prosodically light? Observe अदिभजत् ॥ Why do we say when the vowel of the root is light? Observe अततक्षत्, अररक्षत् ॥ Why do we say in the reduplicated Aorist? Observe अह पप्त ॥ The word पर is understood here also, so the rule will not apply to simple roots as अचकमत् ॥ The words 'anaglōpe' are to be read here, therefore not so in अचकयत् ॥

अत्स्मृदृत्वरप्रथम्भद्रस्तूस्पशाम् ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत, स्मृ-दृ-त्वर-प्रथ-म्भद्र, स्तू-स्पशाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्मृ दृ त्वर प्रथ स्तू स्पश इत्येतेषामभ्यासस्यादित्यबमादेषो भवति चहृपरे औं परतः ॥

95. Short अ is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate in the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative, of the roots smṛi, dṛī, tvar, prath, mrad, strī and spaś,

Thus असस्मरत्, अरसरत्, असत्वरत्, अपप्रयत्, अमम्रदत्, अतस्तरत्, अपस्पशत् ॥ This debars the ई which would have come under VII. 4. 93. The 'short अ indicates that it is not to be lengthened by VII. 4. 94, as असरत् ॥

विभाषा वेष्टिचेष्टयोः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वेष्टि, चेष्टयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वेहि चेष्टि इत्येतयोरभ्यासस्य विभाषा अवित्यबमादेषो भवति चहृपरे औं परतः ॥

96. Short अ is optionally substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate in वेष्टि and चेष्टयोः in the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative.

7009 - 13

Thus अवयेट् or अविवेट्, अचयेट् and अविच्येट् ॥ In one alternative there is shortening of the reduplicate (VII. 4. 59), and after such shortening, there is अ substituted in the other alternative.

ईच गणः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, च, गणः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गणंभासस्य ईकारावेशो भवति चह्यपेर जौ परतः ॥

97. In the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative, ई is substituted optionally for the vowel of the reduplicate in गण ॥

As अजीगणत् or अजगणत् ॥ गण is a root which ends in अ, and this अ being elided by VI. 4. 48 before the Causative आ, the rule VII. 4. 93, does not apply to it, because there is an ak-lopa here, so in the other alternative, it has its natural अ ॥

RATES OF SUBSCRIPTION FOR PANINI.

Payable in advance for the complete work, including postage.

Indian	Rs. 20 0
Foreign	£ 2 0

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

Intending Subscribers are requested to apply with remittances to

THE MANAGER,
PANINI OFFICE, BAHADURGUNJ, ALLAHABAD
N. W. Provinces, India.

Will be published during 1899-1900

SIDDHĀNTĀ KAUMUDI.

The Well-known Sanskrit Grammar of Panini as arranged and explained by
Bhattaji Dikshit.

Sanskrit Text and English Translation with copious notes

By

Srisa Chandra Vasu, Translator of Ashtadhyayi of Panini &c.,
and Manmath Nath Pal.

To be completed in two volumes. Price each vol. Rs. 6.

The Subscribers of Ashtadhyayi will get it for half price and will have
to pay nothing in advance. Each part will be sent, per V. P. P. as soon as ready.

Apply to :—Manager, Panini office, Bahadurgunj, Allahabad.

Printed by Freeman & Co., Ltd., at the Tārā Printing Works, Benares.

This book is a preservation photocopy.
It was produced on Hammermill Laser Print natural white,
a 60 # book weight acid-free archival paper
which meets the requirements of
ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992 (permanence of paper)

Preservation photocopying and binding
by
Acme Bookbinding
Charlestown, Massachusetts

1996



3 2044 025 019 217

