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BOOK III.

The

AZHTEKALAYA
of
PĀNINI.

PARTS IX—XII.

S. C. VASU.

Price Rs. 3.

OPINIONS OF DISTINGUISHED PROFESSORS OF SANSKRIT.

Opinion of 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 Pāṇini's Sūtras and the Commentaries. • * * I hope you may succeed in finishing your work.

Opinion of 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.

Opinion of 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 Pāṇini's Ashtadhyayi, 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.

Opinion of 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).

Opinion of Professor V. Fausböl, Copenhagen, 15th June, 1893.

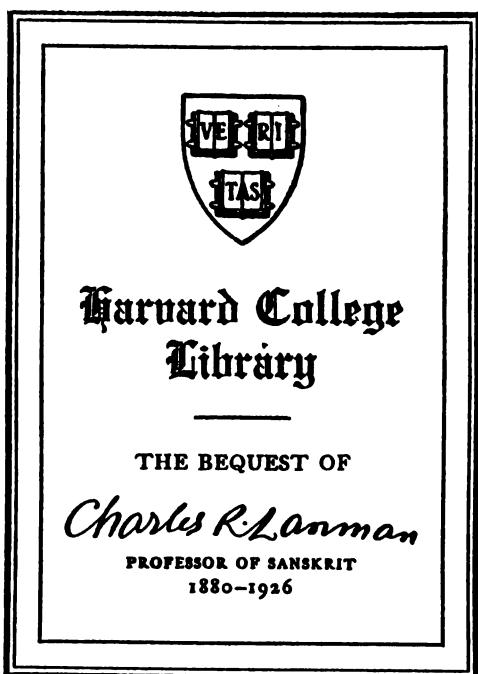
• * * It appears to me to be a splendid production of Indian industry and scholarship, and I value it particularly on account of the extracts from the Kāśika.

Opinion of Professor Dr. R. Pischel, Halle (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 Pāṇini. • * *

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

स्वस्तीभरे हितपूरे हितवे प्रवागे सस्तंगमप्रणवसंमतिहे बुधालां ।
 विद्याविनोदवर्तिवर्द्धितव्युत्थारान् वास्त्व्यवाच्छित्प्रश्नविदांवरिष्टाम् ॥ १ ॥
 दृष्टिनोदमुद्दिरोहमुदयशक्तोन् सच्छब्दसोधितसुखास्पदेष्वपनाजः ।
 सम्यक्कलसंतु नतवोनितराम्भवीयाः यद्यावद्युक्तविकर्मरतातरेभ्यः ॥ २ ॥
 दृष्ट्वादूरं विमलज्वोधनवोधरार्णि सद्याकृतिप्रथितकीर्तिकरंगणस्यं ।
 यच्छ्रीमदीयमतिमोरवहं वरेण्यं सत्यस्तकं प्रमुदितोहमहोशकृत्यं ॥ ३ ॥
 विच्चरवस्ति भवते गिर्लशोधभाजा यद्वस्तुतो विरचितं समटक् सुविम्ब ।
 लोकेसुविचरच्चनाभरणैकशीला श्रित्रेचचित्तमनसः प्रतिदिवमाने ॥ ४ ॥
 सर्सोंगिलशप्रकटितवरस्मृत्यौ संज्ञादिपेशजनमनो कुहकल्पसाक्षिं ।
 स्थानेवसुप्रहितवित्तविद्युतिवयं यद्यासुनासुविहितोग्निलशभाववृत्तिः ॥ ५ ॥



OPINIONS (*continued.*)

वेनसंवादा मुनिभाष्यत्वात्प्रशास्त्रात्वात् भिर्मध्यसौधरस्वप्नाहतादीण ।
 संगुम्भितं सरजसंस्कृतसाध्यसारं धन्यं वराम्बहमलं भवते हताव ॥ ६ ॥
 धन्यस्वद्यरप्रसरणात्खिलकीर्ति कृत्वे याचेपराह्यवतोप्यहमविद्वन् ।
 यस्त्वैष पञ्चममुख्येषु दाप्रचारं ज्ञामंसु लंगुरुच्यरं च तदापि धीमन् । ७ ।
 वाणीविवाच्वरतवास्तुमले जयोद्या चतुर्पूर्वपञ्चमज्ञानोधभृते च विद्या ।
 विद्यातिस्सशस्त्रकलं वर्धभृतां समूहेऽप्याशीर्वं चो भवतु परित ज्ञानचन्द्रं ॥ ८ ॥
 श्रीमद्विद्विष्टिष्ठोमणि विज्ञानामहर्मिशं अयोभिलापी विद्याभास्कर । पण्डित (ज्ञानचन्द्र) शर्मा
 गुरुः श्रीमान्महाराजाधिराजराजेभर बोधपुराधीभरावरज श्रीमन्महाराजाकिशोरीसिंह सेनाधीश
 राणा च)

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 Grammian. * * * 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 to 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 painstaking 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

OPINIONS (*continued.*)

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.

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.

The Arya Siddhanta (Allahabad), 15th November, 1891.

॥ पाणिनीय व्याकरण अष्टाव्यायी का अङ्गरेजी अनुवाद ॥

उक्त पुस्तक श्रीयुत वा० श्रीशचन्द्र चतुर्थ वकील हाईकोर्ट बना कर छाते हैं। वास्तवमें वह काम हमारे भारतवर्ष की उमति का इस लिवे है कि संस्कृत के व्याकरण में योदा भी जिन का प्रवेश है और अङ्गरेजी भव्यती जानके होंगे वे सहज में पाणिनीय व्याकरण का भव्यते प्रकार भव्यात् घडा सकेंगे। इदों २ हमारे प्रशस्त पुस्तकों का अनेक भाषाओं में अनुवाद होता जावगा उस के साथ २ हमारी उमति जानिये। वयपि में इस अङ्गरेजी भाष्य के गुण शीर्षों को ठीक २ नहीं जान सकता वयपि अन्य लोगों से सुन कर कुछ जाना है। पहिले इस भाष्य में मूल सूच, दूसरे उस के पद्धतिर दृष्टीय संस्कृत में सूच की वृत्ति-अर्थ लिखा है। इस के भागे अङ्गरेजी में सूच का स्पष्ट अर्थ लिखा, तिस पीछे उदाहरणों की सिद्धि में जिस २ अभ्याद पाइ के जो २ सूच लगते हैं उन के पाते सहित उदाहरण वा प्रश्नुदाहरण लिखे हैं और उस सूचपर भी कोई वार्तिक वा परिमापा है तो उसके भी अर्थ और उदाहरण स्पष्ट सुगमतीति से सिद्ध किये हैं।

BOOK III.

THE

ASHTÁDHYÁYÍ OF PĀṇINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

ŚRÍŚA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,

Munsif, Ghastipur.

—:-o:-○:-o:—

Alhabad:

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1894.

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TO THE
Hon'ble Sir John Edge, Kt., Q. C.,
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 HIGH EDUCATION
IN
THESE PROVINCES,
Dedicated
BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT
THE TRANSLATOR.

Ch. W. Barnes

PREFACE.

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

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

Unfortunately, however, for our college and school students, and also for that vast majority of English-educated gentlemen, whose number is daily on the increase, and who depend for their knowledge of what is contained in Sanskrit books, on English translations of Sanskrit authors, no translation of this important work exists in English. To supply this want, we have undertaken to translate Pānini's aphorisms, as explained in the well-known commentary, called the Kāsika. Though it is not a close translation of the whole of the Kāsika, it may be regarded as a free rendering of the most important portions of that book. We have closely followed this commentary, explaining it where necessary, and in short, making the work a help to the student, desirous of studying the Kāsika in the original.

The work when completed would, it is estimated, cover nearly two thousand pages. It would not therefore be possible to complete it and publish it as a completed work within a short time. We have on that account thought it expedient to publish the work in parts, that it might be of great advantage to our readers and a matter of great convenience to the publisher. The *Ashtādhyāyī*, as indicated by its name, is divided into *ashta Adhyāyas*, i. e., eight Books. Each of these Books again is divided into four *padas* or chapters. It has thus been found expedient to publish the work in 32 parts which are available to our subscribers only, and, when four parts are out, to have them bound in one volume available to the non-subscribing public as well as to our subscribers.

The rates of its subscription for the complete work published in eight Books or 32 chapters are as follow :—

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Any encourager of Sanskrit learning subscribing for ten or more copies of this work will be thankfully registered as our Patron and his name will be made immortal with that of the book by giving it a prominent place in the front of the book when it is completed.

Our hearty thanks are due to the Honourable E. White, c. s., Director of Public Instruction, N.-W. P. and Oudh, for his kindly subscribing for 10 copies of our work, and to all those gentlemen who have hitherto subscribed for any number of copies or in any way encouraged us in our undertaking.

Panini Office, }
Allahabad. }

THE PUBLISHER.

अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER I.

—:o:—

प्रत्ययः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्ययः ॥

बृतिः ॥ आ पञ्चमाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेवानित कर्त्त्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः प्रत्यवसंक्षात्ते वेदितव्याः, प्रकृतरूपपदोपाधिकारागमान्वर्जविस्ता ॥

1. An affix.

This is an aphorism intended solely to regulate the sense of others. From this place forward up to the end of the Fifth Book, whatsoever we shall treat of, will get the name of 'Pratyaya' or an affix, except the 'prakṛiti' or base (such as गुप्त, सित्ति, कित् in III. 1. 5 are bases, the affix being सन्), the 'upapada' or dependent word (such as स्तम्ब, शकृत् in III. 2. 24 are upapadas), the 'upādhi' or attribute, the special cause that occasions changes (such as पश्य in III. 2. 25 is an upādhi); in the sūtra, III. 2. 25, the word इति is a prakṛiti, इति and नाथ are upapadas, पश्य is an upādhi, the affix being इन्, the substitute and the augment. Such as the affixes तत्त्वत्, तत्त्व, अनीवर् taught in III. 1. 96, as कर्त्तव्यम्, करणीवर् 'to be done'.

परश्च ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ परः, च, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

बृतिः ॥ परस्य स भवति भालोर्वा प्रातिपदिकादा चः प्रत्यवसंहः ॥

2. And subsequent.

This is also an 'adhikāra' or regulating sūtra, and is understood in all subsequent aphorisms; or it might also be called a 'paribhāshā' or interpreting aphorism. That which is called an affix comes after, or is placed after, the 'dhātū' or root, or the 'prātipadika' or crude form; as कर्त्तव्यम् and तैतिरीवर्.

The force of the word च 'and' in this sūtra is to indicate that the affixes here treated of, are to be placed *after* a root &c.; not so, however, the affixes not taught in this Adhyāya. These latter, such as Unādi affixes, may sometimes, be placed in the beginning or the middle of a word.

आद्युदात्तश्च ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-उदात्तः, च, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

बृतिः ॥ आद्युदात्तश्च स भवति चः प्रत्यवसंहः ॥

3. That which is called an affix, has an acute accent on its first syllable.

This sūtra may also be treated as a Paribhāshā or an Adhikāra sūtra. The udātta accent falls on the affix, and if it consists of more than one vowel, then on the first of the vowels. Thus the affix तत्त्व has udātta on the first त्, as in कुर्त्तव्यम्. This general rule of accent applies only where there is no special

rule laid down. Thus, rule VI. I. 163, declares that affixes having an indicatory च will have उदात्ता on the final ; those having an indicatory त have accent on the middle (VI. I. 217) ; those that have an indicatory ए are अनुदात्ता ; those having an indicatory ञ, throw the acute accent on the syllable immediately preceding the affix (VI. I. 193) ; the affixes having an indicatory अ and न throw the acute accent on the first syllable of the word to which they are added (VI. I. 197) ; the taddhita affix having an indicatory क takes acute accent on the final (VI. I. 165) ; and the affix having an indicatory त is svarita (VI. I. 185).

अनुदात्तौ सुप्तितौ ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तौ, सुप्-पितौ,
(प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुपः पितश्च प्रत्यया अनुदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

4. The case-affixes (sup) and the affixes having an indicatory ए (pit) are अनुदात्ता.

This is an exception (apavâda) to the last aphorism. As दूसरौ 'two stones' ; the case-affix औ is अनुदात्ता ; so also दृष्टः ; so also पचति ; The third person singular affix तिष् has an indicatory ए, and is अनुदात्ता. But not पचतः.

गुप्तिज्ञकिदृम्यः सन् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुप्त-तिज्ञ-किदृम्यः, सन्
(प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुप्त गोपने, तिज निशामे, कित निवासे, एतेऽयो धातुम्बः सन् प्रत्ययो भवन्ति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ निन्दाक्षमाद्याधिप्रतीकारेषु सञ्जिद्वते इन्द्रज वथाप्राप्तं प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

5. After the verbs गुप्त, तिज and कित् comes the affix सन्.

This affix is to be added to the above verbs, when they mean to 'despise', 'to endure' and 'to heal' respectively, though they ordinarily mean 'to hide', 'to whet' and 'to dwell'. As जुगुप्तस्ते 'he censures or despises'; तितिष्ठते 'he endures patiently'; चिकित्सते 'he heals'. But गोपावति 'he protects'; सेजवति 'he sharpens'; संकेतयति 'he makes sign'.

When सन् is added, there is reduplication of the root, by VI. I. 9. Thus, गुप्त + सन् = जुगुप्त + च (VII. 4. 62) = जुगुप्त् to which is added the third person singular termination अते = जुगुप्तते.

मान्बधदान्शान्म्यो दीर्घश्वास्यास्य ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मान्ब-
ध-दान्शान्म्यो, दीर्घः, च, अभ्यासस्य, (सन्, प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मान पूजायाम्, बध बन्धने, दान भवत्पण्डने, शान भवत्सेजने, इर्थेतेम्यो धातुम्बः
सन् प्रत्ययो भवन्ति. अभ्यासस्व चेकारस्व वीर्वारेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भवापि सञ्जर्थविशेषं इर्थते ॥

6. The affix सन् comes after the verbs मान 'to honor', बध 'to bind', रात 'to cut' and शान 'to whet', and long ई is the substitute of the इ (VII. 4. 79) of the reduplicative (VI. 1. 4) syllable.

The सन् is to be added only then, when the sense of the desiderative verb is as below : मीमांसते 'he investigates', वीभत्सते 'he loathes', हीरांसते 'he straightens', शीशांसते 'he sharpens'. The verbs given in this and the preceding sūtra, are Desiderative in form, but not in meaning. The word 'optionally' in the next sūtra, may be read into this also, whereby the addition of सन् becomes optional. Thus मनवति, वाधवति, इनयति and निशानवति are also valid forms.

धातोः कर्मणः समानकर्तृकादिष्ठायां वा ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥

धातोः, कर्मणः, समान-कर्तृकाद्, इष्ठायाम्, वा, (सन्, प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इषिकर्मको वी धातुरिषिणैव समानकर्तृकस्तस्मादिष्ठायामयेऽवा सन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आशङ्कायामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इष्ठासञ्चन्ताश्प्रतिरेपो वक्तव्यः ॥

7. The affix सन् is optionally attached, in the sense of wishing, after a root expressing the object wished, and having the same agent of the action as the wisher thereof.

As, कृ 'to do'; चिकीर्षति=कर्तुमिष्ठति 'he wishes to do'. This is the Desiderative proper. It is optional to employ the desiderative affix, the same sense may be expressed by a phrase. The root must also be simple and not compounded with any upasarga, when the affix सन् is to be added. Thus प्रकर्तुमेष्ठत् = प्राचिकर्षत्.

Why do we say कर्मणः 'after (a root expressing) an object'? The affix-will not come after an Instrumental case. Thus गमनेष्ठति ; here there is no affix. But गत्तुमिष्ठति will be जिगमिष्ठति.

Why do we say समानकर्तृकात् 'when the subject of the verb to wish, is also the subject of the verb denoted by the object wished'? Observe ईवहत्तत्व भौजनमिष्ठति चक्षतः. Here Yajñadatta is agent of the verb इष्ठति ; but he is not agent of the action भौजनं; hence there is no affixing.

Why do we say इष्ठायाम् 'when the sense is that of wishing'? Observe कर्तुजानाति 'he knows how to make' ; here the sense being that of knowing, there is no affix.

The word वा 'optionally' shows that a sentence may also be employed to express the same idea. Thus कर्तुमेष्ठति or चिकीर्षति.

The word धातोः being especially used in this sūtra, shows that this सन् is an ārdhadhātuka affix, while the सन् taught in the two preceding sūtras, will not get this designation.

Vart : The affix सन् is added, when the sense is that of 'in imminent danger'; as शूले पतिष्वति कूलम् = पिपसिषति कूलम् 'the bank is in imminent danger of falling down'. So also इवा मुमूर्षति.

Vart : There is no affixing of सन् after a verb which has already taken सन् in the sense of wishing. As चिकीर्षितुमिष्टति. But the सन् of III. I. 5, 6 not denoting wishing, we have जुग्मिषते, मीमांसिषते.

सुप् आत्मनः क्यच् ॥ ए ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपः, आत्मनः, क्यच्,
(धातोः, कर्मणः, इच्छायां, च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इषिकर्मण एषितुरेवात्मसंबंधिनः सुष्टुतादिच्छायामये वा क्यच् प्रस्ववो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्यच्चित्त मान्त्राद्यवप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि परेच्छायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. The affix क्यच् is optionally employed, in the sense of wishing, after a word ending in a case-affix expressing the object wished as connected with the wisher's self.

This forms the Denominative verbs, *i. e.*, verbs derived from nominal bases. As, पुत्र 'son', पुत्रीकृति 'he wishes for a son of his own' (पुत्र + क्यच् = पुत्रीय) (II. 4. 71, VII. 4. 33).

Why do we use the word सुप्? The affix should not come after a whole sentence, but only after the particular word ending in the case-affix. Thus in महान्तं पुत्रमिष्टति, the affix comes only after पुत्रम् and not महान्तं पुत्रं.

Why do we say *ātmanah*? Observe राज्ञः पुत्रमिष्टति 'he wishes a son for the king'. Here there is no affixing as the wishing is for another and not for one's own self.

The क in क्यच् is for the sake of classing *kyach*, *kyan* and *kyash* in one common group by simply using the word क्य, as in sūtra तः क्ये I. 4. 15; while च distinguishes *kyach* from *kyan* &c., and is not for the sake of accent, the affix will be udātta by III. I. 3.

Vart :—In affixing *kyach*, prohibition must be stated of pronouns in म् and of Indeclinables. Thus in इमिष्टति, उच्चैरिष्टति, there is no affixing.

Vart :—In the Vedas, the affix is added even when the wish is with regard to another. As मा इवा वृक्षा भूषायवो विष्टम्. Here भूषावु (pl. भूषावः) is

formed by *kyach*, अ being added by III. 2. 170, and आ is added by VII. 4. 37. See Rig Veda I. 120. 7; 27. 3 &c.

काम्यच् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ काम्यच्, च, (सुपः, आत्मनः, धातोः, कर्मणः, इच्छायां, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्तास्त्वर्ण भालनेष्वावां काम्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

9. And the affix काम्यच् is also employed, in the sense of wishing, after a word ending in a case-affix, expressing the object wished as connected with the wisher's self.

Thus, पुच्काम्यति 'he wishes for a son of his own'.

The making of this a separate sūtra instead of adding it with the last aphorism and making one sūtra of them both, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, where the anuvritti of *kyach* only runs, and not that of *kāmyach*. The क of *kāmyach* is not indicatory, but is a part of the real affix. Here, therefore, rule I. 3. 8 which would have made the letter क indicatory, does not apply; because no particular purpose would be served by making indicatory. Or the affix *kāmyach* may be considered to have an indicatory च before it i.e. the affix being *chakāmya*.

उपमानादाचारे ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमानाद्, आचारे, (धातोः, कर्मणः, सुपः, वा, क्यच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानास्त्वर्णः सुबन्ताशाचारे इर्ये वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भविकरणाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

10. The affix क्यच् is optionally employed, in the sense of treatment, after a word ending in a case-affix denoting the object of comparison.

Thus, पुच्किवाचरति छात्रं = पुच्किवति छात्रम् 'he treats the pupil as a son'

Vart : So also in a locative case. As प्रासादीवति कुरुते 'he dwells in hut as if it were a palace'. पर्यंकीवति मन्त्रके 'in a cot he lies down as if he were on a royal bedstead; he treats a cot as a royal bedstead'.

कर्तुः क्यह् सलोपश्च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तुः, क्यह्, स-
लोपः, च, (उपमानाद्, आचारे, सुपः, धातोः, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानास्त्वर्णः सुबन्ताशाचारे इर्ये वा क्यह् प्रत्ययो भवति, सकारस्य च ज्ञोणो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आचारे इवगल्भक्षीवहो इर्यः किञ्चिद्बा वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वप्रातिपदिकेभ्य इत्येके ॥

11. The affix क्यः is optionally employed in the sense of behaving, after a word ending in a case-affix, denoting the object of comparison of the agent; and there is elision (lopa) of the final स of the noun; if it ends with a स.

Thus, इयेनेवाचरति काकः, इयेनायते, 'the crow behaves like a hawk'; अप्सरायते 'she behaves like an Apsarā'; पवस्त्वते or पवायते 'it becomes milk'; (इयेन + य = इयेनाय, VII. 4. 25).

In the words औजस् — औजायते, and अप्सरस् — अप्सरायते the final स is invariably elided when forming the denominative verb: but not so in the case of पवस् where the elision is optional, as पवायते or पवस्यते.

The elision of स refers to the final स, and not when it is followed by any vowel. Thus हंस—हंसायते; सारस—सारवायते; here the स is not elided as it is not final. See, I. I. 52.

Vart :—After the words भवगल्भ, क्षीब, and होइ, the affix किएँ is optionally added in the sense of behaving like some one or some thing. As भव-गल्भते or भवगल्भायते, क्षीबते or क्षीबायते, होइते or होड़ायते. The alternative forms are derived by the affixing of *kya*.

Vart :—According to the opinion of some Grammarians, the affix किएँ comes optionally in this sense after all crude nouns. As भृशति or भृशायते, गर्दभति or गर्दभायते.

भृशादिस्यो भुव्यच्छ्वेल्लोपश्च हलः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृश-आदिस्यः,
भुवि, अच्छ्वेः, लोपः, च, हलः, (क्यः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृश इत्येवमादिस्यः प्राप्तिपदिकेऽब्दान्वन्तेभ्यो भुवि भृशत्वयेऽक्यः प्रत्ययो भवति,
हलन्तानां च ज्ञोपः ॥

12. The affix क्यः in the sense of becoming what the thing previously was not, is employed after the crude forms भृश and the rest, which do not end with the affix चिव (V. 4. 50); and there is elision (lopa) of the final consonant of these words, if they end in a consonant.

Thus, भभृशो भृशो भवति=भृशायते 'he becomes much (from a little)'; शीशायते 'he becomes swift (from being tardy)'. All these roots will be Atmanepadi (I. 3. 12).

The phrase अच्छ्वेः 'not ending in the adverbial affix चिव' refers to every one of the words belonging to the class चिवाच्चि. It may be objected, what was the necessity of adding this condition, since the affix चिव itself denotes that something has become what it was not before; and therefore a word which has

taken the affix चित्, will not again take क्वच् in that very sense. The repetition of चित् here shows that the words गृह् &c. never take the affix चित्, in the sense of 'something becoming what it was not before'. Thus the present sūtra is an exception to sūtra V. 4. 50 which ordains चित्.

गृशादिः ।

गृशा, शीघ्र, मन्द, चपल, पण्डित, उत्सुक, उन्मनस्, अनिमनस्, सुमनस्, हुम्ननस्, रहस्, रेहस्, शश्वत्, बहस्, वेहस्, नृपत, शुधि, अधर, भोजस्, वर्चस्, (विमनस्, रभन्, दीहत्, हन्, शुचिस्, अरजस्) ।

**लोहितादिडाज्ञ्यः क्वच् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोहित-आदि-
डाज्ञ्यः, क्वच्, (भुवि) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञोहिताक्षिभ्यो डाज्ञते-वच्च भवत्ययेऽक्वच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

13. The affix क्वच् in the sense of becoming what the thing previously was not, is employed after the words ज्ञोहित, &c. and after those that end with the affix डाज् (V. 4. 57), when these words do not take the affix चित् (V. 4. 50).

Thus ज्ञोहितायते or लोहितायति 'he becomes red'; पटपटायते or पटपटायति 'he makes a noise like patapata'; (ज्ञोहित + य=ज्ञोहिता + य=ज्ञोहिताय, VII. 4. 25).

The word पटपटायते is formed by adding the affix *dāch* to the word पट which is first reduplicated, and then takes the denominative affix *kyash*. The affix *dāch* is added to express inarticulate sounds.

There is no special class called *lohitādi*. The Vārtika, therefore, proposes that the sūtra should read without the word *ādi*, as ज्ञोहिताविभ्यः क्वच्; 'the affix *kyash* comes after *lohita*, and words ending in *dāch*'.

This rule applies to words other than भिशादि which are always invariably Atmanepadi owing to the डित् affix वच्च, while क्वच् is optionally both. (I. 3. 90). Thus वर्मायति or वर्मायते, निङ्गायति or निङ्गायते, करुणायति or करुणायते, कृपायति or कृपायते. The *lohitādi* is an आकृतिगण, the following being some of the words of this class; ज्ञोहित, भीज, हरित, पीत, मद्र, केन and मन्द.

The indicatory क in क्वच् is not for the sake of prohibiting *guna* and *vridhi* (I. 1. 5). For *guna* or *vridhi* takes place in a *dhātu* followed by a *sārvadhātuka* or *ārdhadhātuka* affix. The affix क्वच् is not added to a *dhātu* but to a nominal stem : hence there is no scope for the operation of *guna* &c. The क is for the sake of grouping क्वच्, क्वच्, and क्वच् in one class as वच्; as in sūtra नः क्वचे (I. 4. 15). There is, however, no word ending in न among those enumerated above.

The affix शाच् (V. 4. 57) comes when the verb following is one of the three अस्, भू or कृ ; as पटपटाकरोति, -भवति or -स्वात्. The present sūtra teaches by implication that when क्वच् follows शाच्, the above restriction, that the verb should be कृ, भू or अस्, is not applicable. Here शाच् comes without the addition of कृ, भू or अस्ति.

The anuvṛitti of अच्चवे: comes from the last sūtra ; and hence the affix क्वच् is added in the sense of अभूतद्भाव i. e. something becoming that which it was not before.

कष्टाय क्रमणे ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कष्टाय, क्रमणे, (क्षण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कष्टशब्दाच्चतुर्थी समर्थात् क्रमणेऽनार्जवे क्वच् प्रस्वयो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सन्मकटकलकृच्छ्रगहनेभ्यः कर्त्तव्यिर्धार्थामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

14. The affix क्वच्, in the sense of exerting in dishonesty, is employed after the word कट 'mischief', when the latter has the fourth case-affix in construction.

Thus, कटाय कर्मणे क्रामति=कटायते 'he is assiduous for trouble, i. e. he is assiduous in the commission of dishonesty, or he plots'.

Vart :—The affix क्वच् comes in the sense of exerting in evil, after the words सन्म, कट, कट्ट, कृच्छ्र and गहन ; as, सन्मायते, कष्टायते, कृच्छ्रावते, and गहनायते.

When the sense is not of 'evil', the affix is not added, as भजः कर्मणं क्रामति.

कर्मणे रोमन्थतपोभ्यां वर्त्तिचरोः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणः,
रोमन्थत-पोभ्यां, वर्त्ति-चरोः, (क्षण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोमन्थशब्दात्तपःशब्दाच्च कर्मणो वयाक्रमं वर्त्तिचरोरथेभ्योः क्वच्प्रस्वयो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हनुचलन इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तपसः परस्मैपदं च ॥

15. The affix क्वच् is employed after the words, रोमन्थ 'ruminating' and तपस् 'austerity', when they are used as the objects of the action of repeating and performing respectively.

Thus, रोमन्थं वर्त्तवति=रोमन्थावते गौः 'the cow ruminates.'

Vart: This is restricted to the word signifying movements of the jaws. Therefore there is no affixing here ; as, कीटो रोमन्थं वर्त्तवति.

Vart: The Prasnaipada affixes are used after the word तपस् ; as तपस्मरति=तपस्मैति, 'he performs austerity'.

बाष्पोज्जम्यामुद्भने ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बाष्प- ऊर्जमस्यां, उद्भनें,
(कर्मणः, क्षयः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बाष्पशास्त्राद्यमशाश्वच कर्मण उद्भनेऽयं क्षयः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ फेनाच्छेति वन्नव्यम् ॥

16. The affix क्षयः is employed in the sense of ejecting, after the words बाष्प 'vapour' and ऊर्ज 'heat' as the object of the action.

Thus, बाष्पावते 'it emits vapour'; ऊर्जावते 'it sends out heat'. So also फेनावते 'it ejects froth'.

शब्दवैरकलहास्तकरवमेघेभ्यः करणे ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शब्द-वैर-
कलह-अस्त्र-करव-मेघेभ्यः, करणे, (क्षयः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शब्द वैर कलह अस्त्र करव मेघ इत्येतेभ्यः करणे करोत्ययं क्षयः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ सुविनदुर्विनीहारेऽबच्छेति वन्नव्यम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अदादृशीकाकोटापीटासीटाकटापहणं क्रमव्यम् ॥

17. The affix क्षयः, in the sense of making, comes after these words, as the object of the action, viz :—शब्द 'sound', वैर 'hostility', कलह 'strife', अस्त्र 'cloud', करण 'sin' and मेघ 'cloud'.

Thus, शब्दं करोति = शब्दावते 'he makes a noise'. So also वैरावते, कलहावते, अस्त्रावते, करणावते, मेघावते ।

Vart:—It should be stated that the affix comes after सुविन, दुर्विन and नीहार ; as, सुविनावते, दुर्विनावते, नीहारावते ।

Vart:—So also should be included the words भटा, अभू, शीका, कोटा, पोटा सीटा and कटा ; as भटावते, अभूवते, शीकावते, कोटावते, पोटावते, सीटावते and कटावते ।

The word करण in the sūtra is not the Grammatical *Karana* or the Instrumental case, but has here its primary meaning of 'doing'.

सुखादिभ्यः कर्त्तवेदनायाम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुख-आदिभ्यः,
कर्त्तवेदनायाम्, (कर्मणः, क्षयः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुखद्येदमाहितः कर्मणो वेदनायामयेऽनुभवे क्षयः प्रत्ययो भवति वेदवित्तुश्च-
रकर्त्तवेदनायामयेऽनुभवे कर्त्तवेदनायामयेऽनुभवे क्षयः प्रत्ययो भवति वेदवित्तुश्च-

18. The affix क्षयः in the sense of feeling, comes

after the words सुख 'pleasure' &c., when the pleasure &c. belong to the agent as feels thereof.

Thus सुखायते 'he feels pleasure'; दुःखायते 'he feels pain'.

Why do we say 'when the feeling belongs to the agent'? Observe सुखं वेष्यति प्रसाधको देवदत्तस्य 'the valet knows the happiness of his master Devadatta.' Here the agent viz. a valet, is not the percipient of the 'happiness,' which belongs to his master; hence there is no affixing.

सुखादिः ।

सुख, दुःख, दप्त, गहन, कृच्छ्र, अस्, अलीक, प्रतीप, करुण, कृपण, सोट ।

नमोद्दरिवरिचिन्हङ्करणः क्यच् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नमस्-वरिवस्-चिन्हङ्कः, क्यच्, (करते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नमस् वरिवस् चिन्हङ्क इत्येतेभ्यो वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति करणविशेषे पूजारौ ॥

19. The affix क्यच्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action viz.—नमस् 'adoration', वरिवस् 'honor' and चिन्ह 'wonder'.

Thus नमस्यति देवान्, 'he worships the gods'; वरिवस्यति गुरुन्, 'he honors or serves the elders'; चिन्हते 'he astonishes (makes it wonderful)'. The ङ् in चिन्हङ्क् indicates that it takes the affixes of the Atmanepada. (चिन् + च = चिन्ही + ङ् (VII. 4. 33) = चिन्हीव).

पुच्छभावहचीवराक्षचिन्हङ्क ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ पुच्छ-भावह-चीवरात्, चिन्हङ्क, (करते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुच्छ भावह चीवर इत्येतेभ्यो चिन्हङ्क प्रत्ययो भवति करणविशेषे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पुच्छादुइसने पर्वतसन वा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भावडात्समाचवने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चीवरादजने परिधाने वा ॥

20. The affix चिन्हङ्क्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action, viz.—पुच्छ 'tail', भाव 'pot' and चीवर 'rag'.

Thus उपुच्छवते 'he lists up the tail', (the sense must be that of listing or throwing about); सम्भावहसने 'he collects pots in a heap'; संचीवराक्षते चिन्हङ्क्: 'the beggar collects or wears rags'. Of the affix चिन्हङ्क्, the effective portion is ङ्, the other letters are servile. The ङ् indicates Atmanepada (I. 3. 12) and त् serves the purposes of the application of the rule VI. 4. 51 which applies generally to all affixes containing नि, such as चिन्हङ्क्, चिन्ह् &c.

Vart :—After the word पुच्छ the sense of the affix is that of listing or throwing about.

Vart :—After भाण्ड the sense of the affix is that of accumulation in a heap.

Vart :—After चीवर the sense of the affix is that of acquiring or wearing.

मुरहमिश्रश्लष्यलवक्षत्वस्त्रहलकलंकतत्तूस्तेभ्यो खिच् ॥ २१ ॥
पदानि ॥ मुरह-मिश्र-श्लष्य-लवक्ष-त्वस्त्र-हल-कल-कृत-तूस्तेभ्यः, खिच्,
(करणे) ॥

बृत्सिः ॥ मुरह मिश्र श्लष्य लवक्ष त्वत् वक्ष हल कल कृत तूस्त इत्यतेभ्यः करणे खिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

21. The affix खिच्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action viz: मुरह 'shaving', मिश्र 'mixture', श्लष्य 'soft', लवक्ष 'salt', त्वत् 'vow', वस्त्र 'dress', हल 'plough', कल 'strife', कृत 'done', and तूस्त 'matted hair'.

Thus मुरहति 'he shaves'; मिश्रति 'he mixes'; श्लष्यति 'he softens or alleviates'; लवक्षति 'he salts'; पवोन्नति 'he fasts on milk'; संवक्षति 'he covers with clothes i. e. dresses'; हलति 'he ploughs'; कलति 'he makes war'; कृतति 'he appreciates kindness'; खिच्तूस्तति 'he combs the hair, or disentangles matted hair or delivers from sin'.

The affix after the word त्रस्त has the sense of 'eating' or 'abstaining therefrom'; as पवो त्रस्तति 'he drinks milk,' वृचज्ञानं त्रस्तति 'he abstains from the food prepared by a low caste'; after the word वस्त्र the affix denotes the sense of covering. After हलि and कलि the sense is that of taking; as हलिं गृह्णाति = हल-ति. The words in the sūtra are हल and कल and not हलि and कालि. This anomalous form shows that in forming the Aorist of these by adding the affix अह् (III. 1. 48) the reduplication takes place, but not in the same way as if the affix were सह्; i.e. the सन्देशभाव does not take place here in the Aorist (VII. 4. 93). Thus the Aorists are भजहलत् and भचकलत्; and not भजहलत् and भचकलत् which would have been the forms by the application of rules VII. 4. 79. & 94. if there was सन्देशभाव.

The word स्तूत means either hair, or matted hair, or sin.

धातोरेकाचो हलादेः क्रियासमभिहारे यह् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥
धातोः, एक-अचः, हल-आदेः, क्रिया-समभिहारे, यह् ॥

बृत्सिः ॥ एकज्ञो धातुहेजादिः क्रियासमभिहारे वर्तते तस्मायह् प्रत्ययो भवति, शैवः मुनः भृशायो वा क्रियासमभिहारः ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सूचिसूचिदूष्पत्वं शूणोतीनां पदाणं वह् विधादनेकाग्रजायर्थम् ॥

22. The affix वह्, in the sense of repetition of the act, comes after a root, having a single vowel and beginning with a consonant.

The phrase *kriyā-samabhikhāra* means repetition of the act or its intensity. As पक् 'to cook', पापचते 'he cooks again and again'; जाज्ज्वते 'he shines with great intensity'. The root must be a simple root, and not compounded with any *upasarga*. We cannot therefore make Intensives of verbs like प्राद् 'to go', (because the root अद् is preceded by the upasarga प्र); or जाग् 'to be awake,' (because it contains two vowels); or इष् 'to see' (because it begins with a vowel).

Vart :—The intensive affix वह् comes after सूचि, सूचि, गूचि, भर्ति, भर्ति, भर्ति and भर्ति, though some of these contain more than two vowels and others begin with a vowel.

As, सोसूच्चते, सोसूच्चते, मोमूच्चते, अदाद्यते, अराद्यते, भशाद्यते, and श्रीर्णानूच्चते.

The affix is not added in these cases भृंगं शोभते or भृंगं रोचते, as it is against usage to make Intensive forms of these verbs on the sense of intensity, though in the sense of repetition we have रोहृच्चते and श्रीरुम्भते.

In making the Intensives, the root is reduplicated and it takes the terminations of the Atmanepada as the root is नित्य.

नित्यं कौटिल्ये गती ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, कौटिल्ये, गती,
(यह्) ॥

बृत्सिः ॥ गतिवचनाद्वातोः कौटिल्ये गन्धमाने नित्यं वह् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

23. The affix वह् invariably comes, in the sense of crookedness, after a simple verb expressing motion.

Thus क्रन् 'to move', चक्रन्वते 'he moves crookedly'. So also दन्वन्वते. After a verb of motion, the वह् never expresses intensity or repetition; so if the latter sense is to be expressed, a phrase must be employed; as भृंगं क्रामति 'he wanders much'. This is inferred from the word नित्य used in the sūtra i. e. वह् always has the sense of crookedness and no other sense after a verb of motion.

लुपसद्वरजपञ्चदहंशगृस्यो भावगर्हायाम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥
लुप-सद-वर-जप-ञ्च-दह-दंश-गृस्यः, भाव-गर्हायाम्, (यह्) ॥

बृत्सिः ॥ लुप सह वर जप ञ्च दह दंश गृ इत्येतेष्वो भावगर्हावां भास्यर्थगर्हावां वह् प्रस्तवो भवति ॥

24. The affix वह् when it is intended to convey the sense of contempt (गर्व) in respect of the sense

of the root (भाव) comes always after the following roots, viz:—जृप् ‘to cut off’, सृ ‘to sit’, चर् ‘to walk’, जप् ‘to mutter silently any sacred formula’, जग् ‘to gape or yawn’, रह् ‘to burn’, रष् ‘to bite’ and ग् ‘to swallow’.

Thus जोन्नुप्यते ‘he cuts off badly’; सास्यते ‘he sits badly’; चंचूर्यते ‘he walks badly’; जज्ञयते ‘he recites badly’; so also जंज्ञयते, इन्द्रियते, इन्द्रश्यते, निजेगिल्यते. The affix यत् does not come in the sense of repetition &c. after the above verbs, but only in the sense of censurable performance of the action denoted by the verbs. Separate words must be used to express the intensive or the frequentative meaning. As भृशं जुम्पति ‘he cuts off much’.

Why do we say ‘when contempt in regard to the sense of the root is meant’? Observe साधु जपति ‘he recites well’. There is no affixing as no contempt is denoted. Why do we say ‘in regard to the action denoted by the root’? When the contempt is not with regard to the sense of the root, but with regard to the action as accomplished, the affix is not employed. Thus मन्त्रं जपति वृजनः ‘the Sūdra recites the sacred mantras’. The word नित्य of the last aphorism is understood here also.

सत्यापपाश्रुपवीक्षातूलश्लोकसेनालोमतवचवर्मवर्षुर्षुरादिभ्यो
खिच् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्याप-पाश-रुप-वीक्षा-तूल-श्लोक-सेना-लोम-
तवच-वर्म-वर्ष-र्षुर्षुर-चुर-आदिभ्यः, खिच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्यादिभ्यश्चूर्णपर्यन्तेभ्यश्चुरादिभ्य खिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भर्त्य वैसर्यानामापुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

25. The affix खिच् is employed after these words, viz:—सत्य ‘truth’ (which then takes the form of सत्याप as exhibited in the sūtra), पाश ‘a fetter’, रुप ‘form’, वीक्षा ‘a lute’, तूल ‘cotton’, श्लोक ‘celebration’, सेना ‘an army’, लोम ‘the hair of the body’, त्वच ‘the skin’, वर्म ‘mail’, वर्ष ‘celebration’, चुर् ‘powder’ and the verb of the Churāḍī class.

Thus सत्यापत्ति ‘he speaks truly’; विपाशयति ‘he unfetters or liberates’; रुपयति ‘he looks’; उपवीणयति ‘he sings with the lute’; भनुत्तूलयति ‘he makes a brush’; उपश्लोकयति ‘he praises in verse’; अभिवेषयति ‘he advances with the army’; भनुत्तूलमयति ‘he rubs over the hair’; त्वचयति ‘he feels of the skin’; संवर्मयति ‘he puts on the mail armour’; वर्षयति ‘he celebrates or colors’; अवचुर्णयति ‘he pulverises’. The roots of the Churāḍī class belong to the tenth conjugation, for a list of which see the Dhātupātha. After the verbs of the Churāḍī class, the affix खिच् is employed without alteration of the sense; as चोरयति ‘he steals’. So also चिन्तयति.

Vart :—The words अर्ध, वेर and सम्ब take the augment आप् before the affix णिच् ; as, सर्वापयति, अर्धापयति, वेदापयति. The whole equation is thus shown अर्ध + आपुक् + णिच् + शाप् + लित् = अर्ध + आप् + इ + भति = अर्धापयति (VII. 3. 85). The final syllable called टि is not elided in this case, i.e. of अर्धाप् the syllable आप् is not elided before णिच्, as it would have been by VI. 4. 155. The reason is that if आप् was to be elided, there would have been no necessity of adding it. The affix णिच् has the sense of 'unfettering' after the word पाश, of 'seeing' after रूप, of 'singing in accompaniment' after वीणा, of 'brushing' after तूज़, of 'praising' after इलोक, of 'leading' after सेना, of 'rubbing' after जोम, of 'taking' after स्वच्, of 'putting on' after वर्म and of 'taking' after वर्ण.

हेतुमति च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतुमति, च, (धातोः, णिच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुः स्वतन्त्रस्य कर्तुः प्रयोगजकः तरीयो व्यापारः प्रेषणादिलक्षणाणी हेतुमान् तस्मिन्मभिधेये धातोर्णिच् प्रस्त्वयो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सत्करोतीत्युपसंख्यानं सूचवत्यावर्थम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आद्यानास्त्रूतस्तशाचष्ट इति णिच् कृत्तुक् प्रकृति प्रस्त्वापन्तिः प्रकृतिवद्यकारकम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाद्रजोपश्च कालारथन्तसं योगे मर्यादायाम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ विनिकरणे प्राप्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नक्षमयोगे ति ॥

26. The affix णिच् is employed after a root, when the operation of a causer is to be expressed.

The *hetu* (I. 4. 55) means the mover of the independent agent; an operation relating to the *hetu*, such as *directing* &c. is called *hetumat*; as कठं कारयति 'he causes to prepare a mat'; ओदनं पाचयति 'he makes the rice to be cooked'. In other words, the affix णिच् forms the causative verbs.

Vart :—The affix comes also in the sense of 'he does that' after the words सूत् &c. Thus सूत् करोति = सूत्यति 'he makes sūtra.' So also मूत्रयति.

Vart :—After words ending in कृत् affixes and describing legends, comes the affix णिच्, when the sense is 'he does that'. The कृत् affix is elided, the word reassumes its basic (प्राकृतिक) form, and the base is as if the agent, thus कंसवधिमाचष्टे = कंसं पातयति ; बलिवन्धमाचष्टे = बलिं बन्धयति ; राजागमनमाचष्टे = राजानम् आगमयति.

Vart :—Under the conditions mentioned in the last वार्तिक, the upasarga आ is elided, when duration of time is meant expressing limit. Thus आरात्रिविवासं भावष्टे = रात्रिविवासयति ; here the आ of आरात्रि is elided.

Vart :—Under the conditions mentioned in the second vartika the affix णिच् has the sense of 'making wonderful', meaning 'attaining that'. Thus

उज्जयिन्द्राः प्रस्थितो महिम्बत्यां सर्वेऽगमनं सभावयते = सूर्यमुद्गव्यति 'going from Ujjain he finds the sun rise in Mahismati (wonderful speed)'.

Vart :—When an asterism is in composition and the sense is that of knowing, there comes the affix ण् after a word ending in कृत् affix, the कृत् affix is elided, the word reassumes its basic form and the base is as if the agent. Thus पुष्ययोगं जानति = पुष्येण योजयति. So also मधाभियोजयति.

करण्ड्वादिभ्यो यक् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ करण्ड्वा-आदिभ्यः, (यक्)॥

पृतिः ॥ करण्ड्वा इत्येकमास्त्रियो यक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix यक् is employed after the roots कर्णु 'to itch'; &c.

Thus, कर्ण्ड्यति or कर्ण्ड्यते 'he itches or scratches'. This word takes terminations indicatory. The words कर्ण्ड् &c. are both roots and nouns, and are placed therefore in a separate list by themselves and are not included in the general list of verbs. The affix applies to these words as roots and not as nouns.

करण्ड्वादिः ।

कर्ण्ड्वा, मन्तु, हणीश्, बल्गु, भञ्ज, मनस्, महीह्, लेह, लोद, इरच्, इरज्, इरम्, इवस्, मेधा, कुपुभ, मगध, तन्तस्, पम्पस्, सुख, इङ्ग, सपर, अर, भिषज, भिषणज्, इपुध, चरण, चुरण, मुरण, तुरण, गव्गव, एंजा, कोजा, खेजा, लिद् and ज्ञोद् ।

गुप्तधूपविच्छिप्तिपनिभ्यः आयः ॥ २८ ॥ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुप्त-धूप-
विच्छिप्ति-पनिभ्यः, आयः ॥

पृतिः ॥ गुप्त रक्षणे, धूप सन्तापे, विच्छ गतौ, पण व्यवहारे स्तुतो च, पन च, इन्द्रेतेभ्यो भासुभ्य भाव प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix आय comes after गुप्त 'to protect', धूप 'to heat', विच्छ 'to approach', पण 'to contract or praise' and पन 'to praise'.

Thus गोपायति 'he protects'; धूषायति 'he heats'; so also, विच्छायति, पणायति, and पनायति.

The verb पण, being read along with पन 'to praise,' has here the sense of praise only; so that the affix does not come after the verb पण when it means 'to make a contract'; as शतस्य पणते, सहस्रस्य पणते.

The verbs in आय do not take Atmanepada affixes, as there is no indicatory letter to show that.

ऋतेरीयङ् ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतेः, ईयङ् ॥

पृतिः ॥ ऋतेः सौत्रो धातुर्घटायां धर्तते तत ईयङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix ईय्‌ह् comes after the sūtra root कृति 'to reproach'.

The indicatory ए shows that the verb will take the affixes of the Atmanepada ; as कृतीयते 'he pities or reproaches'; so also, कृतीयाते, कृतीयन्ते.

कमेर्षिण् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ कमेः, खिण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कमेर्षिण् विप्रस्यो भवति ॥

30. The affix खिण् comes after the root कम 'to desire'.

The ए indicates *vriddhi* (VII. 2. 115) and ण shows Atmanepada ; as, कामयते 'he desires'; so also कामयन्ते and कामयन्ते.

**आयादय आर्द्धधातुके वा ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आय-आदयः, आर्द्ध-
धातुके, वा, (प्रत्ययः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आर्द्धधातुकविषये आर्द्धधातुकविषयायामायादयः प्रत्यया वा भवन्ति ॥

31. The affixes भाव and those that follow it, (i.e. भाव, ईय्‌ह् and खिण्) are optionally added, when it is desired to express one's self with all अर्धाधातुका affix.

Thus वा 3rd. sing. of the Future is an अर्धाधातुका affix. It is optional to retain the *adya* of *gopāya* before this affix. So we have गोपायिता or गोपा 'he will protect'. So also अर्तिता or कृतीविता ; कमिता or कामविता.

But for this sūtra, the affixes भाव &c. would have come always even when अर्धाधातुका affixes were to be applied. This makes it optional. Therefore proper अर्धाधातुका affixes should be applied when we retain भाव &c. and when we do not retain them. Thus the अर्धाधातुका न्तिण् (III. 3. 95) will be employed in forming the feminine noun from the simple root, but the अर्धाधातुका अ (III. 3. 102) will be employed in forming the feminine when भाव &c. are retained. Thus गुणितः or गोपाया.

**सनायन्ता धातवः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्-आदि-अन्ताः,
धातवः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सनायन्ताः समुदाया धातुसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

32. All the words ending with the affixes सन् and others are called Dhātu.

This extends the sphere of Dhātu or roots already defined in sūtra I. 3. 1. These roots may be called derivative roots. They are separate independent roots, and have all the functions of a root, as taking tense-affixes &c. as shown in the above examples. Thus चिक्षीर्षा 'to wish to do', कारि 'to

cause to do'; चेकिय 'to do repeatedly' are separate roots and not the same as कृ 'to do' and thus take शप् &c.

स्यतासी लूलुटोः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्य-तासी, लू-लुटोः,
(धातोः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जृक्षपमुत्सृष्टानुबन्धं सामान्वयेकमेव तस्मिन् लुटि च परतो भासोर्द्धासंख्य
स्वतासी प्रस्त्रबो भवतः ॥

33. When जृ and लूऽ follow, then स्य and तासि are respectively the affixes of a verbal root.

जृ is the common expression for जृह् and लूऽ formed by rejecting their special *anubandhas*, and means therefore the 2nd Future and the Conditional tenses. लूऽ is the 1st Future also called the Periphrastic Future. Thus करिष्यति अकरिष्यत्, कर्ता. The इ of तासि is indicatory and shows that the nasal of the root is not to be dropped before this; as मन् 'to think', मन्ता 'he will think'.

सिष्महुलं लेटि ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिष्, बहुलम्, लेटि, (धातोः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भासोः सिष् प्रस्त्रबो भवति बहुलं लेटि परतः ॥

34. सिष् is diversely the affix of a verbal root when लेट् follows.

The tense called लेट् or subjunctive is found in the Vedas only. When the subjunctive tense is employed, the affix सिष् is diversely added.

Thus जोषिष्टत्, तारिष्टत्, मन्दिष्टत्. Sometimes this augment is not employed; thus पताति शिथुत् उदधिं उत्तावयाति. Thus in Rig Veda I. 1. 2, वक्तति is an example of लेट् with सिष् ॥

कास्प्रत्ययादानमन्त्रे लिटि ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कास्-प्रत्ययाद्,
आम्, अमन्त्रे, लिटि, (प्रत्ययः, भासोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कास् शब्द कुस्तासी, ततः प्रस्त्रवान्तेभ्यश्च भासुव भाम् प्रस्त्रबो भवति लिटि
परतोऽमन्त्रविष्टवे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कास्वनेकाच इति वक्तव्यम् चुलुभ्यार्थम् ॥

35. आम् is the affix of the verb कास् 'to cough', and of those roots that are formed by affixes (i. e. the derivative verbs), when लिट् follows, except in the Mantra.

This forms the Periphrastic Perfect. The Perfect of कास् will be कासाम्, after which the terminations of the Perfect are all elided (II. 4. 81) and instead, the perfect tense of the auxiliary verb भू or अस् or कृ is added. As कासांचक्रे 'he coughed'; ओरवानास 'he stole'. So also लोम्बूर्वांचक्रे.

This rule however does not apply to the Vedas; as कृष्णो नोनाव Rig. Veda I. 79. 2.

Vart :—This rule also applies where the root is polysyllabic consisting of more than one vowel; as चुलुम्भाऽचकार, सरिद्राऽच्चार ॥

The final म् of आम् is not indicatory.

इजादेश्च गुरुमतोऽनृच्छः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्च-आदेः, च, गुरुमतः, अनृच्छः, (सिटि, आम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इजासिवै धासुर्गुरुमान् ऋच्छतिवर्जितस्तस्माच्च लिटि परतः भान्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ उर्णोत्तेष्व प्रसिष्ठेष्व वन्त्वच्चः ॥

36. The affix आम् is used when लिटि follows, after a root beginning with a letter of इच्च pratyâhâra and having a heavy vowel, excepting the root ऋच्छ 'to go'.

Thus ईह 'to try', ईहाऽचके 'he tried'; so also उहाऽचके 'he guessed', एधाऽचके 'he grieved'.

But ऋच्छ forms भानच्छ 'he failed or went'. This applies to mono-syllabic roots which begin with any vowel prosodically long, except अ or आ. The verb उर्ण 'to cover' is, however, an exception; its perfect is उर्णुनाव 'he covered'.

Why do we say 'beginning with इच्च or any vowel except अ or आ'? Observe अर्ह, Perfect आनर्ह (VII. 4. 71). Why do we say 'heavy vowel'? Observe उख, Perf. उवोख (VI. 4. 78) उखतुः, उखः. Why do we say 'vowel'? Observe कुर्व, Perf. कुकुर्वः; पूर्व, Perf. सुपूर्वः.

दयायासश्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दय-अय-आवः; च, (सिटि, आम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दय शनगसिरसणेषु, अय गतो, आव उपवेशने, एतेभ्यश्च लिटि परतः भान्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. After the verbs दय 'to give', 'to go' and 'to protect', अय 'to go', and आव 'to sit', there is the affix आम्, when लिटि follows.

Thus दयाऽचके 'he gave'; पलायाऽचके 'he ran away'; आसाऽचके 'he sat'.

उषविदजागृभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उष-विद-जागृभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (आम्, ग्रत्ययः, सिटि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष शाहे, विद ज्ञाने, जागृ निद्रासणे, एतेभ्यो लिटि परतोऽन्यतरस्याम् ग्रत्ययो भवति ॥

38. The affix आम् is optionally employed after these, viz :—उष 'to burn', विद 'to know', and जागृ 'to wake', when लिटि follows.

Thus भीषाऽचकार or उवोष, विशाऽचकार or विवेष, जागराऽचकार or जजागर. As there is an agreement in the present instance to regard the verb विष as ending in a short अ, *guna* is not substituted, as it would otherwise have been by rule VII. 3. 86.

भीहीभृत्यां श्लुवद्ध ॥३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी-ही-भृ-त्यां, श्लुवत्,
च, (आम्, लिटि, अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिभी भये, ही जजायाम्, दुभृत् धारणपोषणयोः, हु दानादानयोः, एतेभ्यो लिटि परतः आम्प्रस्थयो भवत्वन्यतरस्याम्, इत्यादिव चास्मिन्कार्यं भवति ॥ ३९ ॥

39. आम् is optionally affixed, when लिटि follows, after these verbs भी 'to fear', ही 'to be ashamed', भृ 'to nourish', त्यु 'to sacrifice'; and when आम् is affixed, the effect is as if there were इन्त्य elision and the roots belonged to Hvādi class.

The effect of इन्त्य is to cause reduplication by rule VI. i. 10. As विभवाऽचकार or विभाय, जिहवाऽचकार or जिहय, विभराऽचकार or वभार, जुहवाऽचकार or जुहाव.

कृम्बानुप्रयुज्यते लिटि ॥४० ॥ पदानि, ॥ कृम्, च, अनुप्रयुज्यते, लिटि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आम्प्रस्थयस्य पश्चात्कृम्बानुप्रयुज्यते लिटि परतः, कृभिति प्रस्थाहारेण कृभवदस्यो गृह्णन्त तत्सामर्थ्यादस्तेर्भूतावो न भवति ॥

40. After a verb which ends with आम्, the verb कृ 'to do' is annexed, when लिटि follows.

After the above verbs formed by taking the augment आम् the perfect tense of कृ is added to form their Perfect. This has already been illustrated in the above examples. The word कृ includes also the verbs भू and अस्. All these three may be used as auxiliaries. The verb अस् when used as an auxiliary, is not replaced by भू (III. 4. 52) before the लिटि affixes which are Ardhadhatuka affixes. Thus पाचयाऽचकार, पाचयाम्बभूत, पाचयामास.

विदाङ्कुर्वन्तिवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु,
इति, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदाङ्कुर्वन्तिवत्यन्यतरस्याम् निपात्वते ॥

41. The form विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु is optionally employed as an irregular form.

This irregular form is obtained by adding the affix आम् to the root विद् 'to know,' when followed by लोट् or the Imperative tense; the tense-affixes of लोट् are then elided by लुक्; moreover there is no substitution of *guna*

as required by VII. 3. 86 ; and when we have thus obtained the form विशाम्, we annex to it the लोट् of the verb ज्ञूः ; thus we have विशाम्-कुर्वन्तु or विशम्-तु 'let them know'. The third person plural is not only intended to be spoken of by the employment of the form विशंकुर्वन्तु in the aphorism ; on the contrary, the word इति shows that all the numbers and persons of the Imperative may be so employed ; as विशम्-तेतु विशंकुर्ताम् &c.

अभ्युत्सादयांप्रजनयांचिकयांरमयामकः पावयांक्रियाद्विदाम-
क्रक्रिति छन्दसि ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्युत्सादयाम्-प्रजनयाम्-चिकयाम्-
रमयामकः, पावयांक्रियाद्-विदामक्तम्, इति, छन्दसि, (अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥
बृत्सिः ॥ भ-बुत्सादयामित्येवमादवः छन्दसि विष्वेऽन्यतरस्यां निपात्यन्ते ॥

42. The forms अभ्युत्सादयामकः प्रजनयामकः चिकयामकः रमयामकः पावयांक्रियाद् विशमक्तम् are irregularly formed in the Chhandas.

The first two of these and the fourth are the Aorists (लुह्) of the causatives of the roots सह् 'to sit', जन् 'to be born', and रम् 'to sport': to which the affix भाम् is added. The third is the Aorist of the root वि�् 'to collect', to which भाम् has been added after the reduplication and the change of च into क of the root. The auxiliary अकः is added to all these four. The fifth is derived from the root पू 'to blow, to purify', by adding the causative affix विष्व, annexing the affix भाम् before the terminations of the Potential (निह्) and then using after the form so obtained, the auxiliary क्रियात्. The last is the Aorist of विद् 'to know', to which भाम् is added and the auxiliary भक्तम् is employed. These are the archaic forms ; their modern forms are as follow :— भ-बुत्सीषरत्, ग्राजीजनत्, भवेषीत्, भरीरमत्, पाव्याद्, भवेत्पितुः ।

चिल लुहि ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिल, लुहि, (धातोः, प्रत्ययः) ॥
बृत्सिः ॥ धातोः चिल प्रत्ययो भवति लुहि परतः ॥

43. When लुह् follows, the affix चिल is added to the verbal root.

The इ of चिल is for the sake of articulation, the च is for the sake of accent (VI. 1, 162.) showing that an affix which has an indicatory च has *udatta* on its final. Then remains only लि, which after all, is to be replaced by other affixes, as we shall show below. In fact चिल is the common name for all Aorist affixes.

प्लेः सिच् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्लेः, सिच् ॥
बृत्सिः ॥ च्लेः सिजाहेशी भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ स्त्रशमुशकृष्टपृष्ठाणि सिरुवा वन्नहृष्टः ॥

44. Of चिन्, सिच् is the substitute.

The इ of सिच् is for the sake of pronunciation, the अ is for accent, and the real affix is स्; as भक्तार्थीत् 'he did'. When सिच् is added, the terminations of the Aorist assume the following forms.

Parasmaipada.			Atmanepada.				
	sing.	dual	plural		sing.	dual	plural
1st pers.	सं	स्व	स्म	सि	स्वहि	स्महि	
2nd pers.	सीः	स्तं, तं	स्त, त	स्याः, याः	सायां	॒	
3rd pers.	सीत्	स्तां, तां	सुः	स्त, त	सातां	सत	

The substitution of सिच् is optional in the Aorist of the roots स्पृश् 'to touch', स्फृत् 'to rub', कृष् 'to plough', हृष् 'to become satisfied', and हृष् 'to light'. Thus the Aorist of स्पृश् has three forms; अस्प्रासीत्, अस्प्रासीत् or अस्प्रसत्. Similarly स्फृत् has अस्फृत्, अस्फृत् or अस्फृत्; कृष्, अकृष्यात् अकृष्यात् or अकृषत्; हृष्, अहृष्यात्, अहृष्यात् or अहृषत्.

शल् इगुपथादनिटः कसः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शलः, इग्-उपथात्, अनिटः, कसः, (चलेः, लुड्डि) ॥

मृत्तिः ॥ शलन्तो वो धातुरिगुपधस्तस्मात् परस्व च्छेरनिटः, कस आदेशो भवति ॥

45. After a verb that ends in a श्ल consonant, and has an इक् vowel for its penultimate letter, and does not take इट् (VII. 2. 10), कस् is the substitute of चिन्.

The forms of the terminations of the Aorist with कस् are as follow:

Parasmaipada.			Atmanepada.				
	sing.	dual	plural		sing.	dual	plural
1st pers.	सं	साव	साम्	सि	सीवहि	सीमहि	
2nd pers.	सः	सतं	सत्	स्याः, याः	सायाम्	सभ्यत्, भ्यत्	
3rd pers.	सीत्	सतां	सम्	सत, त	सातां	समत	

As, मृश् and कृष् in the last sūtra have their Aorist with कस् as अस्फृत् and अकृषत्; so इह 'to milk' forms अभृत् 'he milked', जिह 'to lick' अजिहत्.

Why do we say 'when ending in श्, ष, स and इ'? Observe अभैसीत्, अच्छैसीत्; here सिच् is employed. Why do we say 'having for its penultimate इ, उ, ऊ or ऋ'? Observe अधासीत्. Why do we say 'not having an intermediate इ'? Observe अकौषीत् and अमौषीत्. See VII. 2. 4 and VIII. 2. 28.

शिलष आलिंगने ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिलषः, आलिंगने, (चलेः, कसः) ॥

मृत्तिः ॥ चिन्येधार्तोराजिङ्गुनक्षिवावचनात् परस्व च्छेः कस आदेशो भवति ॥

46. कस् is the substitute of चिन् after the verb शिलष, when it is employed in the sense of embracing.

This is a restrictive aphorism. As आश्विलज्जास् कन्याम् 'he embraced the girl'. But समाश्विलज्जातुकाष्ठम् 'the glue joined the wood'.

न दूशः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दूशः, (चलः, क्षवः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इशोर्धातीः परस्य चलः क्षवादेशो न भवति ॥

47. क्ष is not the substitute of च्छ after the verb दृष्टि 'to see'.

This is an exception to the sūtra III. 1. 45. enjoining क्ष. The root दृग् will form its Aorists by III. 1. 57. and will take भृत् and सिद्धः; as भद्रधातीत् or भद्राज्ञीत् 'he saw'.

विश्रिदुसुभ्यः कर्त्तरि चहूः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ वि-श्रि-दु-सुभ्यः,
कर्त्तरि, चहूः, (चलः, लुक्षि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एवन्तेऽयो धातुभ्यः भित्तुसुइत्वेतेभ्यभ्य परस्य चलेश्वरादेशो भवति कर्त्तृवाचिनि
लुक्षि परतः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कमेहपसंख्यानम् ॥

48. After a root which ends in णि (III. 1. 20, 21, 44, &c.) and after the verb वि� 'to serve', हृ 'to run', and क्षु 'to drop', चहूः is the substitute of च्छ, when लुहूः follows signifying an agent.

The हूः prevents *guna* and *vridhhi* and च्छ is to distinguish it from चहूः. When चहूः is added, there is reduplication (VI. 1. 11). The usual terminations of the Imperfect are employed after the root, when चहूः is used; as भवीकरत् 'he caused to make'; भशीभिवत् 'he served or went'; भद्रुवत् 'he ran'; भसुवृवत् 'it flowed'. This form is not used in Passive; as, अकारविषासाम्.

The root कम् 'to love' should also be included in this rule. कम्, when it takes the affix णिहूः (III. 1. 30) will of course be included in this sūtra, by virtue of its ending in णि; the *Vartika* makes the additional statement that even when the root कम् does not take the affix णिहूः, the present aphorism must apply to it. Thus we have अचकमत् 'he loved'; when it takes णिहूः, the Aorist will be भवीकमत् (VII. 4. 93, 79, 94).

विभाषा धेट्-इव्योः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषां, धेट्-इव्योः,
(चलः, चहूः, कर्त्तरि, लुक्षि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धेट् पाले, दुओश्चिव गतिश्चयोः, एतान्यामुत्तरस्य चलेविभाषा चहादेशो भवति ॥

49. After the roots खे 'to suck', and विव 'to grow', चहूः is optionally the substitute of च्छ, when लुहूः follows signifying an agent.

As, अश्वत् 'he sucked'. When it takes the alternative सिद्ध्, then rule II. 4. 78. comes into operation, and we have भधात् and भधासीत् 'he sucked'. So also of श्रिव्, we have भर्गश्रिवयत् 'he grew'. It also takes the भद् (III. I. 58) and then its form is भद्रवत् or भद्रवयीत्.

गुपेश्चहन्दसि ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ गुपेः, छन्दसि, (च्लेः, चह्, विभाषा, कर्तरि, लुङ्घि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुपेः परस्व च्लेश्चहन्दसि विषये विभाषा चडावेशो भवति ॥

50. After the verb गुप् 'to protect', चह् is optionally the substitute of च्ज्ञ in the Chhandas.

This rule applies where the root गुप् does not take the affix भाव (II. I. 28). As इमान् नो मित्रावरुणौ यत् गृहान् भजुगुप्तम् 'Mitrā Varuṇa protected these our houses'. The other forms are अग्नीप्तम्, अगोपिष्टम् or अगोपाचिष्टम्. In the secular literature, the latter three forms are used, but not the first.

नैनयतिध्वनयत्येलयत्यर्दयतिभ्यः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ऋनयति-
ध्वनयति-एलयति-अर्दयतिभ्यः, (च्लेः, चहि, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋन परिहाणे, धन शब्दे, इन प्रेरणे, भई गती वाचने च, एतेभवो पातु च्वो
ष्वन्तेभाः पूर्वेण च्लेश्चहिप्राप्तं छन्दसि विषये न भवति ॥

51. After the causatives of the verbs ऋन 'to decrease', धन 'to sound', इन 'to send', and भई 'to go or to beg', चह् is not the substitute of च्ज्ञ in the Chhandas.

Thus we have ऋनवोः in the Vedas ; भौनिन्त् in the classical literature ; so also धनयीत्, ऐलवीः and भईवीत् ; their classical forms being अद्विधनत्, ऐलिन्त्, and आद्विधत्. See Rig Veda I. 53, 3, I. 162. 15. and Pānini VII 2. 5.

अस्यतिवक्तिस्यातिभ्योऽह् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यति-वक्ति-
स्यातिभ्यो, अह्, (च्लेः, कर्तरि, लुङ्घि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असु खेगणे, वच परिभाषणे, भूत्रावेशो वा, ख्या प्रकथने, चक्षिलावेशो वा, एश्वः
परस्व च्लेरक्षावेशो भवति कर्तवाचिनि लुङ्घि परतः ॥

52. After the verbs भस् 'to throw', चच् 'to speak', and ख्या 'to speak', भद् is the substitute of च्ज्ञ, when चुह् follows signifying the agent.

चच् may be either the root, or the substitute of चू (II. 4. 53) and so also ख्या may be the root, or the substitute of चू (II. 4. 54). The root भस् belonging to the श्विवि or the Fourth conjugation, falls under the subdivision पुष्टावि, and therefore it would have taken भद् in the Parasmaipada

by rule III. i. 55. The repetition is to indicate that it takes अङ्‌, in the Atamanepada also ; as पर्वात्पथत् (VII. 4. 17), भवोचत् and भावत्. In the Passive, we have पर्वात्पिताम्.

लिपि-सिंचि-हृवश्च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिपि-सिंचि-हृवः, च, (च्छेः, अङ्‌, कर्त्तरि, लुक्षि) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ लिपि रपेहे, सिंच ज्ञरणे, हृव् स्पद्यं एतेभ्यथ परस्य, अज्ञेरहासेशो भवति ॥

53. After the verbs लिप् 'to paint', सिंच् 'to sprinkle' and हृ 'to call', अङ्‌ is the substitute of च्छि� when लुक्ष follows signifying 'the agent.'

Thus भनिपत्, 'he painted or wrote'; भसिचत्, 'he sprinkled'; and भाहत्, 'he called or challenged'.

आत्मनेपदेष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु,
अन्यतरस्याम्, (च्छेः, अङ्‌, लिपि, सिंचि, हृवः) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ लिपि-सिंचि-हृ आत्मनेपदेषु परतः अज्ञेरहासेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

54. After the verbs लिप्, सिंच् and हृ, अङ्‌ is optionally the substitute of च्छि�, when the affixes of the Atmanepada follow.

Thus भनिपत् or भनिप्त 'he painted'; भसिचत् or भसिक्त 'he sprinkled'; भाहत् or भाहारत् 'he challenged'.

पुषादिद्युताद्यालृदितः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुषादि-
द्युतादि-सृहृ-इतः, परस्मैपदेषु, (च्छेः, अङ्‌) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ पुषादिभ्यो द्युतादिभ्यः लाविद्यव्यध धातुन्यः परस्य अङ्गः परमैपदेषु परतो भनाहेशो भवति ॥

55. अङ्‌ is the substitute of च्छि�, after the verbs पुष् 'to nourish', and the rest, पुत् 'to shine', and the rest, and the verbs having an indicatory च, when the affixes of the Parasmaipada follow.

The verbs classed as पुषादि, are a sub-division of the 4th conjugational verbs; and द्युतादि verbs belong to the 1st conjugation. As पुष्, भपुषत् 'he nourished'; पुत्, भयुतत् 'he shone'; गम्य, भगमत् 'he went'. But not so in the Atmanepada ; as इक्षीतिष्ठ, भलोतिष्ठ.

सर्त्तिशावत्यतिंस्यश्च ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्त्तिं-शास्ति-अर्त्तिंस्यः,
च, (च्छेः, अङ्‌) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ च गतो, शाश्व भनुशिष्टो, चर गतो, इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य अज्ञेरहासेशो भवति ॥

56. After the verbs चु 'to go', शाष्ट् 'to order', and च 'to go', अङ् is the substitute of चिन् in the Parasmaipada as well as in the Atmanepada.

Thus असरत् 'he went'; अशिषत् 'he ordered'; भारत् 'he went'. This sūtra has been separately enunciated in order to make the rule applicable to Atmanepada; as समरन्त (I. 3. 29). The च in the text is for the sake of drawing the anuvritti of the phrase 'in the Parasmaipada' of the last sūtra, into the present and its anuvritti will extend to future sūtras also.

इतिं वा ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इर्-इतः, वा, (च्छेः, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इतिंधातोः परस्य अन्नेरादेशो वा भवति ॥

57. अङ् is optionally the substitute of चिन् after that root which has an indicatory इ, when the Parasmaipada terminations are employed.

Thus from भिरित् (भिर) 'to divide', we derive अभिइत् or अभैस्तीत्. But we have अभित् in the Atmanepada. So from द्विरि — अच्छित् or अच्छैस्तीत्.

जृस्तम्भुच्चम्लुच्चयुच्चुरग्लुच्चिवभ्यश्च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ जृ-
स्तम्भु-च्चुच्च-म्लुच्च-युच्च-ग्लुच्च-ग्लुच्चिवभ्यः, (ह्वेः, अङ्, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जृ स्तम्भु च्चुच्च म्लुच्च युच्च ग्लुच्च ग्लुच्चिव. एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः परस्य अन्नेरा-
देशो भवति ॥

58. And, optionally अङ् is the substitute of चिन् after the verbs चु 'to grow old', स्तम्भ् 'to stiffen' चुच्च and म्लुच्च 'to go', चुच्च and ग्लुच्च 'to steal', ग्लुच्च 'to go' and शिव 'to grow', when the terminations of the Parasmaipada are employed.

Thus अजरत् or अजारीत् 'he grew old'; असंभत् or असंभीत् 'he stiffened'; अम्लुच्चत् or अम्लोच्चीत् 'he went'; अपुच्चत् or अपोच्चीत् 'he went'; अश्वत्, अश्वीत् or अशिष्वयत् 'he grew'. The roots चुच्च and ग्लुच्च both give rise to the same three forms, viz. अग्लुच्चत्, अग्लुच्चयत् and अग्लशोत्. The use of one root would, therefore, have served the purpose. The employment of both indicates separateness of their meanings. Others say that the use of both roots indicates that in the case of ग्लुच्च, the nasal is never elided. Thus the Aorist of ग्लुच्च will be अग्लुच्चत् and अग्लुच्चीत्.

कम्भूरुहिभ्यश्चन्दसि ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृ-मृ-दू-रुहिभ्यः,
चन्दसि (ह्वेः, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृ न् इ रहि इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य च्छ्वः छन्वति विषये इडारेऽगो भवति ॥

59. After the verbs कृ 'to do', न् 'to die', इ 'to tear', and उह 'to rise', अद् is the substitute of च्छ्व when used in the Chhandas.

Thus अकरत् 'he did'; अमरत् 'he died'; भद्रत् 'he tore'; भाहत् 'he rose'. See Rig Veda X. 85. 17, X. 44. 6. The classical Aorist of these verbs are अकार्षीत्, भवत्, भद्रीत्, and भहसत्.

चिक् ते पदः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ चिक्, ते, पदः, (ह्मेः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पद गतो भक्षाद्वातोः परस्य च्छ्वेच्छिणारेऽगो भवति तश्च्छ्वे परतः ॥

60. चिक् is the substitute of च्छ्व after the verb पद 'to go', when the affix त follows.

The affix त here means the third person singular tense-affix of the Atmanepada; as भपाहि 'he went'; but not so in the dual and plural; as भपसाताम् 'they two went'; अपस्तत् 'they went'; अद्+पद+चिक्+त=अ+पाह+इ=भपाहि (the affix त being elided by rule VI. 4. 104).

दीपजनबुध्पूरितायिप्यायिभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥

दीप-जन-बुध-पूरि-तायि-प्यायिभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (ह्मेः, चिक्, ते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शीप जन बुध पूरि तायि प्यायि एतेभ्यः परस्य च्छ्वेत्तश्च्छ्वे परतोऽन्यतरस्यां चिणारेऽगो भवति ॥

61. चिक् is optionally the substitute of च्छ्व, when त, the third person singular of the Atmanepada follows, after the verbs शीप 'to shine', जन् 'to be produced', बुध् 'to teach or know', पूर् 'to be full', तायि 'to extend or protect' and प्यायि 'to smell'.

Thus भशीपि or भशीपिऽ 'he shone'; भजनि or भजनिऽ 'he was produced'; भशोयि or भशुद्धु 'he knew'; भपूरि or भपूरिऽ 'he was full'; भतायि or भतायिऽ 'he extended'; भप्यायि or भप्यायिऽ 'he grew'.

अथः कर्मकर्त्तरि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अथः, कर्म-कर्त्तरि, (ह्मेः, ते, चिक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भजन्ताद्धातोः परस्य च्छ्वः कर्मकर्त्तरि तश्च्छ्वे परतश्चिणारेऽगो भवति ॥

62. चिक् is optionally the substitute of च्छ्व when त, the third person singular of the Atmanepada follows, after a root which ends with a vowel, and when the object itself is spoken of as the agent.

A reflective verb is one in which the object is spoken of as the agent. In reflective verbs therefore, चिक् is employed after roots ending in

vowels ; as अकारि कटः स्वयमेव 'the mat became made of itself'. This is an optional rule (प्रातिभाषा). Therefore we have also अकृत कटः स्वयमेव ; similarly भजायि or भजविण केशरः स्वयमेव 'the embankment broke of itself'.

But in verbs other than those that end in vowels, i. e. in those which end with a consonant, the चिण् is obligatory in the reflective voice, and not optional ; as अभेदि काहम् स्वयमेव 'the wood split of itself'. So also in verbs other than reflexives ; as अकारि कटी देवसेन.

दुहश्च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दुहः, च, (च्लेः, चिण्, अन्वतरस्याम्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि) ॥

दृतिः ॥ दुह प्रपूणे, अस्मात्परस्व चलेचिणारेशो भवति अन्वतरस्याम् ॥

63. चिण् is optionally the substitute of च्लेन after the verb दुह 'to milk', when it is used reflexively, and when त follows.

Thus अदोहि or अदुग्ध गौः स्वयमेव 'the cow milked of itself'. In verbs other than reflexive, the चिण् is compulsory, e. g. अर्थाहि गौर्गोपालकेन 'the cow was milked by the cowherd'.

न रुधः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, रुधः, (च्लेः, चिण्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि) ॥
दृतिः ॥ रुधिर आवरणे, अस्मात्परस्व च्लेः कर्मकर्त्तरि चिणारेशो न भवति ॥

64. चिण् is not the substitute of च्लेन, after the verb रुध 'to obstruct', when used in the reflexive sense in the third person singular of the Atmanepada.

Thus अन्वदारुद्ध गौ स्वयमेव 'the cow was obstructed of itself'. In verbs other than reflexive, चिण् is employed, e. g. अन्वदारोधि गौर्गोपालकेन.

तपोभृतापे च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तपः, अनुतापे, च, (न, ह्लेः, चिण्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि) ॥

दृतिः ॥ तप संतापे, अस्मात्परस्व चलेचिणारेशो न भवति कर्मकर्त्तरि भृतापे च ॥

65. चिण् is not the substitute of च्लेन after the verb तप 'to suffer', when used reflexively, and when the sense is that of experiencing remorse.

This prohibition applies even to the passive and impersonal voices of the verb तप् ; as भत्तप तपस्तापसः 'the ascetic performed austerity' ; अन्वत्तप पापेन कर्मणा 'he repented from evil deeds'.

चिण् भावकर्मेषोः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिण्, भाव-कर्मेषोः, (ह्लेः, चिण्, ते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः परस्य च्छेभिष्णुष्टो भवति आवे कर्मणि तश्च अपरतः ॥

66. चिए is the substitute of चिन् when न of the third person singular Atmanepada follows, denoting the action (आवे) or the object कर्म.

A verb is said to denote an action when it is used impersonally ; and it is said to denote an object when used in the Passive sense. As भवति भवता 'it was lain by you i. e. you lay'; भक्तरि कटो देवदत्तेन 'the mat was made by Devadatta'. The repetition of चिए here is for the sake of distinctness.

सार्वधातुके यक् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सार्वधातुके, यक्, (भाव-कर्मणोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावकर्मवाचिनि सार्वधातुके परतो धार्येवंक् प्रस्तवयो भवति ॥

67. The affix यक् comes after a root, when a सार्वधातुक (III. 4. 113) follows, denoting the action or the object.

In forming Impersonal and Passive verbs, this affix is employed in the conjugational tenses. Thus in Impersonal verbs भास्यते भवता 'you sit', शृण्यते भवता 'you lie'. So in passive verbs ; as क्रियते कटः and गम्यते धामः. The क of यक् is servile, and prevents guna and vridddhi. This affix is also used in reflective voice (कर्मकर्त्तरि); as क्रियते कटः स्वयमेव 'the mat becomes made of itself'.

कर्त्तरि शप् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तरि, शप्, (सार्वधातुके, धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्त्तुवाचिनि सार्वधातुके परतो धातोः शप् प्रस्तवयो भवति ॥

68. The affix शप् comes after a root, when a सार्वधातुक follows, signifying the agent.

In active voice, शप् is employed in the conjugational tenses. This affix, which is technically called a विकरण comes after roots of the श् class and after compound roots formed by सन् &c. (III. 1. 32). The indicatory श makes it a सार्वधातुक affix by III. 4. 113, the श indicates that the vowel has *anuddatta* accent (III. 1. 4). As शू+शप्+तिप्=भू+भ+ति=भा+भ+ति=भवति. (VII. 3. 84). So also पचति.

दिवादिम्यः इवन् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिव्-आदिम्यः, इवम्, (सार्व-
धातुके, कर्त्तरि,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिव् इत्येवमाकिम्बो धातुम्यः इवन् प्रस्तवयो भवति ॥

69. The affix इवन् comes after a root of the Di-
vadi class, when a सार्वधातुक affix denoting the agent
follows.

This debars शप्. The servile न of इवन् is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 197), showing that the *uddatta* accent falls on the radical verb and not on the affix ; and the indicatory श makes the affix सार्वधातुक ; as दिव्+इवन्+

स्तिः = ही॒+व॑+ति (VII. 2. 77) = ही॒व॑ति ; so also सी॒व॑ति. The *Dividdi* verbs belong to the Fourth conjugation.

वा भ्राश्मलाशभमुक्तमुन्नसित्रुटिलषः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा,
भ्राश-भ्लाश-भूभु-क्लमु-क्लमु-त्रसि-त्रुटि-लषः, (सार्वधातुके, कर्त्तरि, इयन्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भ्राश भ्लाश भमु क्लमु त्रसि त्रुटि लष एतेभ्यो वा इयन् प्रस्वयो भवति ॥

70. The affix इयन् is optionally employed in the active voice after the following verbs; भ्राश 'to shine', भ्लाश 'to shine', भम् 'to whirl', क्लम् 'to walk', क्लम् 'to be sad', भस् 'to fear', त्रुट् 'to cut', and लष् 'to desire'.

Thus भ्राशते or भ्राश्वते 'he shines'; भ्लाशते or भ्लाश्वते 'he shines'; भमति or भ्रम्बति 'he whirls'; क्लामति or क्लाम्बति 'he walks'; क्लामति or क्लाम्बति 'he is sad'. So also भस्वति or भसति; त्रुट्पति or त्रुट्तति; लष्यति or लष्यति.

यसोऽनुपसर्गात् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यसः, अनुपसर्गात्, (इयन्,
वा, सार्वधातुके, कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यसोऽनुपसर्गात् इयन् प्रस्वयो भवति ॥

71. The affix इयन् is optionally employed after the verb वस् 'to strive', when it is employed, without a preposition, and when a sârvadhatuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus वास्वति or वसति 'he strives'. But no option is allowed in भावस्वति, प्रवस्वति. The root वस् belongs to the *Dividdi* class.

संयसश ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सं-यसः, च, (इयन्, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्णच्च वसेवा इयन् प्रस्वयो भवति ॥

72. The affix इयन् is optionally employed after the root वस् 'to strive', when it is preceded by the preposition सम्, and when a sârvadhatuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus संवस्वति or संवसति 'he strives'.

स्वादिभ्यः इनुः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-आदिभ्यः, इनुः, (सार्वधातुके,
कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चुअ् अभिषदे इस्वेवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः इनुप्रवयो भवति ॥

73. The affix इनु comes after the roots of Svâdi class when a sârvadhatuka affix denoting an agent follows.

This debars शप्. As, सु+इन्ति=सु+नु+ति=सुनोति 'he presses out'. These are roots of the Fifth class.

श्रुवः शृ च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रुवः, शृ, च, (श्नुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रुवः इनुप्रस्थयो भवति तर्संनियोगेन श्रुवः शृ इस्यवमादेशो भवति ॥

74. And शृ is the substitute of शु, and there is the affix इन् after it, when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus शु+इन्ति=शृ+नु+ति=शृणीति 'he hears'; शृणुतः 'they two hear'.

अक्षोऽन्यतरसाम् ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अक्षः, अन्यतरसाम्, (श्नुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अक्षू द्व्यासै भोवादिकः अस्मादन्यतरस्यां इनुप्रस्थयो भवति ॥

75. The affix इन् is optionally employed after the root अक्ष 'to pervade', when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus अक्षणीति or अक्षति 'he pervades or obtains'.

तनुकरणे तन्तः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तनु-करणे-तन्तः, (अन्यतरसाम्, श्नुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनु लक्ष तनुकरणे, अस्माननुकरणे वर्तमानादन्यतरस्या इनु प्रस्थयो भवति ॥

76. The affix इन् is optionally employed after the root तन्त 'to bore or hew' when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus तन्तति or तन्तणीति काण्ड 'he hews the wood'. But संतनति वाग्मिः 'he cuts with speech'.

तुदादिभ्यः शः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुद-आदिभ्यः, शः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुद व्यथने, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः शप्रहवदो भवति ॥

77. The affix श is employed after the roots of the Tudâdi class, in denoting the agent when a sârvadhâtuka affix follows.

This debars शप्. The indicatory श makes this affix a sârvadhâtuka affix. As तुद+श+ति = तुद+ध+ति = तुदति (I. 2. 4) 'he pains or torments'.

रुधादिभ्यः इनम् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुध-आदिभ्यः, इनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इधिर् भावरणे, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो इनम् प्रस्थयो भवति ॥

78. The affix इनम् comes after the roots of the Rudhâdi-class, in denoting an agent when a sârvadhâtuka affix follows.

This debars शप्. The indicatory न् of the affix इनम् shows that the affix न् is to be placed after the last vowel of the root; see Sûtra I. 1. 47. As रुध्+इनम्+ति=रुन्+न्+ति=रुन्+ति=रुण्डिः 'he obstructs'. So also भिनक्ति 'he splits'. The indicatory श् is for the sake of sûtra VI. 4. 23.

तनादिक्रम्य उः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तन-आदि-क्रम्यः, उः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तनु विस्तारे, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः कृपत्वं उपत्ययो भवति ॥

79. The affix उ comes after the roots of the Tanâdi class and after the verb कृ 'to make' when a sârvâdhâtuka affix follows, signifying the agent.

This debars शप्. As तन्+उ+ति=तनोति 'he expands'; कृ+उ+ति=करोति 'he makes'. Though the root कृ is included in the list of the Tanâdi verbs, for which see Dhâtupâtha, yet its separate enunciation in the present sûtra is for the sake of making a restrictive rule with regard to this verb; that is to say, the root कृ is a Tanâdi root only for the purposes of taking the affix उ; all the other operations of Tanâdi verbs are not to be performed upon it. Thus the rule II. 4. 79. does not apply to कृ. Thus भकृत् and भकृत्याः; the सि व् elision being compulsory and not optional.

धिन्विक्रम्यतेर च ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ धिन्वि-क्रम्योः, अ, च,
(उः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिवि धिवि जिवि प्रीणनाथोः कृवि हिंसाकरणयोः इत्येतद्योर्जात्योरुपत्ययो
भवत्यकारशास्त्रादेशः ॥

80. The affix उ comes after the roots धिन्वि 'to please', and क्रम्यि 'to hurt', when a sârvâdhâtuka affix denoting the agent follows; and in these verbs अ is the substitute of the final ई.

The root धिन्वि or धिन्वि belongs to the Bhûâdi class. Thus धिन्वि + उ+ति = धिन्+अ+उ+ति = धिन्+उ+ति (VI. 4. 48) = धिनोति 'he pleases'. It might be asked, why there is no guna of the उ of धिन् by rule VII. 3. 86 which requires the base to be gunated before a sârvâdhâtuka or an Ardha-dhâtuka affix. The answer is to be found in sûtra I. 1. 57; the substitute of अ which is a blank, is like the former occupant (*sthânivat*), and thus prevents guna.

क्रादिभ्यः इना ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्री-आदिभ्यः, इना ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उक्ताभ्य द्रव्यविनिमये इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः इनाप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix इना comes after the roots of the Kryâdi class when a sârvâdhâtuka affix follows denoting the agent.

This debars शप्. As की + इना + तिप् = कीणाति 'he buys'. So also माणाति 'he pleases'.

स्तम्भुस्तुभुस्कृभुस्कृभुस्कृभ्यः शुद्धः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥
स्तम्भु-स्तुभु-स्कृभु-स्कृभु-स्कृभ्यः, शुद्धः, च, (इना) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्भु स्तुभु स्कृभु स्कृभ्यः इनाप्रथयो भवति शुद्ध ॥

82 And there is the affix इना after स्तम्भ, स्तुभु, स्कृभ्य or स्कृभ्य 'to hinder', 'to be dull or insensible', 'to support', and स्कृ 'to go by leaps', as well as the affix इन्, when a sârvadhâtuka affix follows, in denoting the agent.

As स्तम्भाति or स्तम्भोति, स्तुभाति or स्तुभोति, स्कृनाति or स्कृनोति, स्कृनाति or स्कृनोति. The first four of these roots are not found in the Dhâtupâtha and are to be found in the sûtras, and hence called Saûtra roots.

इलः इनः शानउभौ ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इलः, इनः, शानच्-है ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इल उत्तरस्य इनाप्रथयस्य शानजावेशो भवति है परतः ॥

83. The affix शानच् is the substitute of इना after a root ending with a consonant, when हि follows.

The affix हि is the 2nd person singular of लोट् or the Imperative mood. Thus पूषाण् 'do thou nourish', गृहाण् 'do thou take', from roots पूष् and गृह which end with consonants. But we have कीणीहि 'do thou buy'; here there is no substitution of शानच्, because the root ends with a vowel. The repetition of इना in the sûtra shows that शानच् is a mere substitute and not an independent affix.

द्वन्द्वसि शायजपि ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वसि, शायच्, अपि,
(इलः, इनः, शानच्, है) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वसि विषये इनः शायजावेशो भवति शानजपि ॥

84. In the Chhandas, शायच् is also the substitute of इना after roots ending in consonants, when हि follows.

Thus गृभाय जिह्वा मध्, (Rig Veda VIII. 17. 5.) The affix शानच् is also employed; as वधान पशून् 'kill the beasts'.

व्यत्ययो बहुलम् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यत्ययः, बहुलम्, (द्वन्द्वसि, शायादयः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यथायथं विकरणः शायादयो विहितास्तेषां द्वन्द्वसि विषये बहुलं व्यत्ययो भवति ॥

85. In the Chhandas there is diversely an interchange of the various vikaranas शप् and the rest.

which have been previously ordained under special circumstances.

The word व्यत्यय means transgression of the fixed rule, or interchange, taking of two vikaraṇas at a time, and so on. Thus भेदति = भित् + शप् + ति instead of भिनन्ति from the root भित् 'to split', belonging to the Rudhādi class; e. g. शुभमस्य आण्डानि भेदति (Rig. VIII. 40. 11.) 'He (Indra) break the eggs (children) of Shushma ; so also, जरसा मरते पतिः (Rig. X. 86. 11) ; here there is मरते=(मृ+शप्+ते) instead of भिनते ; the root मृ belonging to the Tūdādi class. So also there are two vikaraṇas at one and the same time, in the following. इन्द्रो वस्ते न नेष्टु 'May Indra lead by this abode' ; here there is नेष्टु 3rd. per. sing. of the Imperative नोद् of the root नो 'to lead' ; there are two vikaraṇas सिप् and शप् instead of नय्तु =(नो+शप्+तु) ; इन्द्रेण युजा तर्षेम दृष्टम् (Rig. VII. 48. 1). The word तर्षेम (त्+र्+सिप्+शप्+भम्) is the 1st. per. sing. of the Optative (लिङ्ग) of the root त्, the classical form being तर्षेम or तीर्षांस्म 'may we cross'.

In the Vedic literature we have many apparent irregularities with regard to the rules of declension of nouns, conjugation of verbs, application of Parasmaipada or Atmanepada affixes ; rules of gender, person or tense, rules of interchange of consonants, or of vowels, rules of accent, rules relating to कृत् and तद्वित् affixes and rules relating to the affixes included in the pratyāhāra व्यह् (III. 1. 22 to III. 1. 86).

लिङ्गाशिष्यङ्क् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्गि, आशिषि, अङ्क्, (क्लन्दसि) ॥

वृन्तिः ॥ आशिषि विषये यो लिङ्क् तस्मिन्परतश्चन्दसि विषयेऽङ्क् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ दृग्मेरग्यन्तक्षयः ॥

86. The affix अङ्क् is employed in the Chhandas when the affixes of the Benedictive (आशीर्जिङ्क्) follow.

This debars शप्. The affixes of the Benedictive are अर्धाधातुका by III. 4. 116 ; but in the Vedas they are सार्वाधातुका as well ; see Rule III. 4. 117. The scope of the present rule is confined to the Benedictive of the verbs स्था, गा, गम्, वच्, वह्, शक् and रह् ; as उपस्थेत्वम् ; स्थवमुपगेयम् ; गमेम जानते गृहान्, मन्त्रवोचेमासये ; विशेषमेनां मनसि श्रविष्ठां ; व्रतम् चरित्यानि तच्छक्तेयम् ; स्वर्गं लोकमारुहेयम्.

The affix अङ्क् is employed in the Chhandas after the verb दृश् in the Benedictive. Had there been अङ्क्, it would have caused गुण् by rule VII. 4. 16. ; to prevent this, अङ्क् is ordained ; as पितरं दृशेय मातरं य 'May I see the father and the mother'.

कर्मवत्कर्मणा तुल्यक्रियः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मवत्, कर्मणा,
तुल्य-क्रियः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि क्रिया कर्म, कर्मस्थया क्रियया तुच्छकितः कर्ता कर्मवद्भवति ॥

87. The ज denoting the agent, when the action affecting the agent is similar to the action which affects the object, is treated as if it were a ज denoting the object.

This rule applies to reflexive verbs. "This direction implies the substitution for the operations incident to a tense-affix or ज, denoting an agent, of all the operations, which fall to be performed when the tense-affix or ज denotes the object. Hence there shall be the affixing of चक् (III. I. 67) the employment of Atmanepada terminations (I. 3. 13), the substitution of चिण् for चिन् (III. I. 66), and the treatment of the word as directed in sūtra VI. 4. 62." (Dr. Ballantyne). Thus भित्ते काष्ठं स्वयमेव 'the wood splits of itself'; भभेदि काष्ठं स्वयमेव 'the wood splits of itself'.

When an action is participated by or affects the agent in the same way as is done by the object, the agent is treated like an object.

When in an object, though it stands as an agent, the action is perceived to take place as in an object, then that agent becomes like an object; and all grammatical rules applicable to the object apply to such an agent.

The word वत् 'like' in the sūtra signifies that the rules which apply to an agent also come into operation; thus भित्ते कुसूलेन.

The word कर्मणा 'with the object' in the sūtra indicates that the *tulya-kriya* or similarity of action must be with the object, and not with the instrument or the location. Thus साधुसिद्धिनन्ति 'the sword cuts well'; here 'sword' is not agent but instrument. So also साधु स्थानी पचति 'the pot cooks well'; here स्थानी is a location.

This 'karma-vad-bhāva, the passive-like-construction takes place only in cases of some verbs.

तपस्तपः कर्मकस्तैव ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तपः, तपः, कर्मकस, एव,
(कर्मवत्, कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तप सन्तापे, भस्व कर्ता कर्मवद्भवति, स च तपः कर्मकस्तैव नान्व कर्मकस्य ॥

88. The agent of the verb तप् 'to heat,' becomes similar to the object, only when the object is the word तपस् itself.

Thus तप्त्वते तपस्तापसः: 'the devotee performs austere devotion'; but not so in उत्तपति सुवर्णं सुवर्णकारः: 'the goldsmith heats the gold'.

त दुहस्तुनमां ग्रन्थिदो ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ त, दुह-स्तु-नमां, यक्-चिदो, (कर्मकर्त्तरि, कर्मवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुह स्तु नम् इयेतेर्षा कर्मकर्त्तरि वक्त्विणी कर्मवद्गावापस्थितौ न भवतः ॥
वाच्चिकम् ॥ यक्त्विणीः प्रतिवेष्टे गिर्वन्धिमन्धिम्बूषात्मनेपशकर्मकाणामुपसंस्कानम् ॥

89. The affix यक् (III. 1. 67) and चिण् (III. 1. 62) are not employed in the reflexive voice of the verbs दुह 'to milk', स्तु 'to fall in drops' and नम् 'to bow'.

The affixes यक् and चिण् are used in forming the reflexive verbs, when the action affecting the agent is similar to the action which affects the object. With regard to the root दुह, the affix यक् is only prohibited by the present sūtra; the चिण् being optionally employed by rule III. 1. 63, as दुहते, अदुहते or अदोहि गोः स्ववमेव 'the cow flows or flowed of itself' प्रस्तुते or प्रास्तीष्ट गोः स्ववमेव 'the cow flows or flowed of itself'; नमते or अनंत सृणः स्ववमेव 'the stick bends or bent of itself'.

This prohibition of the employment of the affixes यक् and चिण् is extended to the verbs that take the affix णि (such as causatives &c.), to the verbs अन्ध 'to loosen', मन्ध 'to compose' and न्धु 'to speak', and to the Atmanepadi. Intransitive verbs. As कारवते 'it is caused to be made of itself'; अचीकरत् 'it was caused to be made of itself'; अधनीते 'it loosens of itself'; अप्रथिन्द 'it loosened of itself'; मधनीते; अप्रथिन्द 'it composes or composed of itself'; न्धते and अवोचत् 'it speaks and spoke of itself'; आहते and आवधिष्ट माणवकः स्ववमेव.

कुषिरङ्गोः प्राचांश्यन्परस्मैपदं च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुषि-रङ्गोः,
प्राचान्, स्यन्, परस्मैपदं, च, (कर्मकर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुष निष्कर्षेण, रङ्ग रागे, अनवोर्धात्मोः कर्मकर्त्तरि प्राचामाचार्याणां नतेन शब्दं प्रत्ययो भवति परस्मैपदं च ॥

90. The affix इवण् comes after the roots कृ 'to pull', and रङ्ग 'to colour', in the reflexive voice, according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, and these verbs take the affixes of the Parasmaipada.

This debars the affix यक् and the Atmanepada terminations. As कुष्वति पाहः स्ववमेव 'the foot draws up of itself'; रङ्गति वज्ज्ञं स्ववमेव 'the cloth colours of itself'.

The phrase 'in the opinion of the Eastern' shows that it is an optional rule; so that we have also the forms कुष्वते and रङ्गते.

धातोः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरित्पवमधिकारो वेदितव्यः, भा द्वतीयाऽचावपरिसमाप्तेवं द्वितीयमनुकृ-
पित्त्वामो धातोरित्पवेवं तदेवितव्यम् ॥

91. As far as the end of the Third Book

reckoning from the present aphorism, the affixes treated of are to be understood as coming after some verbal root.

This is an Adhikāra Sūtra. All these verbal affixes are broadly divided into two parts कृत् and क्रिया affixes, which will be described later on.

तत्रोपपदं सप्तमीस्थम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, उपपदं, सप्तमी-
स्थम्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तन्मैस्मिन्पात्रधिकारे दत्तीये वस्तुतमी निर्दिष्टं तदुपपदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

92. Here in this Third Book of Grammar referring to verbal roots, the word implied in a term exhibited in the locative case, is called 'upapada' or dependent word.

Thus in sūtra III. 2. कर्मेत्यत् the word कर्मणि is exhibited in the 7th case ; therefore the word implied by the word कर्मणि, namely, the word having the accusative case, will be called उपपद. Thus कुम्भ + कृ + भण् = कुम्भकारः 'a potter' ; here the word कुम्भम् is an upapada.

कृदतिष्ठ् ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृद्, अ-तिष्ठ्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मिन्धारात्रधिकारे तिष्ठवन्तिः प्रत्ययः कृसंहतको भवति ॥

93. In this portion of the Sūtras in which there is a reference to verbal roots, any affix except तिष्ठ् (tense-affixes), is called कृत्.

Thus the affixes तत्त्वम् &c. are कृत्. All affixes up to the end of this Book belong to this class. These are affixes by which substantives are formed from verbal roots ; and they have, therefore, most aptly been termed primary affixes. Words formed by these affixes will be Prātipadikas or crude forms or nominal bases (I. 2. 46). Thus शू + तत्त्वं = कर्त्तव्यं. Why do we say 'except तिष्ठ् affixes'? Observe चीतात् 'may he collect', सुशात् 'may he praise' which form verbs and not nouns.

वाऽसरूपोऽस्त्रियात् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, असरूपः, अस्त्रियात्,
(धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मिन्धारात्रधिकारे उसमानरूपः प्रत्ययो उपवासो वा वापको भवति स्वधिकार-
विहितप्राप्य वर्जयित्वा ॥

94. In this portion of the Sūtras, in which there is a reference to verbal roots, an affix which is calculated to debar a general one, not being of the same

form, optionally debars it; but not so in the case of feminine affixes (III. 3. 94 &c.)

Thus the affixes अ॒न् and द॑ष् (III. 1. 133) are general affixes applicable to all roots in forming nouns of agency; and the sūtra III. 1. 133 which ordains these affixes, is an *utsarga* or a general rule; while the sūtra III. 1. 135 ordaining the affix क after verbs having a penultimate इक् vowel, and the roots शा, श्री and क् is an *apavāda* or a special aphorism. In the latter case, therefore, optionally we may have the affixes अ॒न् and द॑ष् also. Thus विज्ञप् is a root that has a penultimate इ belonging to the pratyāhāra इक्; and therefore, in forming the noun of agency from it, the affix क will have to be applied by rule 135 of this chapter already mentioned; thus विज्ञप्+क = विज्ञप्+भ = विज्ञपः; but this special rule however does not debar the operation of the general rule, and we have optionally विज्ञप्+अ॒न् = विज्ञेपकः; and विज्ञप्+द॑ष् = विज्ञेष्ट् nom. sing. विज्ञेष्टा.

Why do we say 'not being of the same form'? Because if two affixes have the same form, the present rule will not apply; and in the case of such affixes, the special affix will debar the general affix. Thus the affixes अ॒ण् and क are, when stripped of their indicatory letters, affixes having the same form i. e. भ; and therefore the sūtra III. 2. 1. ordaining अ॒ण् as a general rule, will be always debarred by sūtra III. 2. 3 ordaining क, as the latter is a special sūtra applicable only to those roots which end in long आ, or which are simple roots not compounded with any preposition. Thus श्री+शा+क = शोषः 'giver of cows'. So also कम्बजः 'blanket-giver'. In these cases we cannot have the affix अ॒ण्.

It follows from this sūtra as a necessary corollary, that the addition of indicatory letters does not make two or more affixes dissimilar in form (भवरप) when their essential effective element is the same. Thus the affixes क, अ॒ण्, भ॑ष्, उ॑ &c. are similar.

Why do we say 'but not so in the case of feminine affixes'? Because in the case of feminine affixes, a special affix will debar a general affix, though they may be dissimilar in form. Thus sūtra III. 3. 94 ordaining निर्गुण् in forming feminine nouns from roots is a general or *utsarga* rule, while sūtra III. 3. 102 ordaining भ after roots that have already taken some affix is a special or *apavāda* rule, and though भ and ति are dissimilar in form, they being feminine affixes, the former will always debar the latter. Thus the compound desiderative roots चिकीर्ष and जिहीर्ष will form feminine nouns in आ and not by निर्गुण्. Thus चिकीर्षा and जिहीर्षा and not चिकीर्षति &c.

कृत्याः प्राङ्गवुलः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्याः, प्राङ्, व्युलः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षुज्ज्वलादिति वहयति प्रागतस्माण्पुज्जंशब्दनायानित कर्त्तव्यमतुक्तमित्यामः
कृत्वसंकास्ते देवित्याः ॥

95. From this aphorism, as far as the aphorism षुज्ज्वला (III. 1. 133), all the affixes treated, will get the name of Kritya.

This defines the class of affixes known as *kritya*, a subdivision of *kriti* affixes. These are certain affixes like तद्व, अनीव &c, which may be treated as declinable verbal terminations. (III. 4. 70). The following 38 sūtras treat of these affixes. These verbal adjectives correspond in meaning to the Latin participles in *udus* conveying the idea that the action expressed by the verbs ought to be done or will be done. The word formed by them may be called Passive Potential Participles or Future Passive Participles. The illustrations will be given hereafter under each affix as taught. The word *kritya* occurs in sūtras II. 1. 33, II. 3. 71 &c.

तव्यत्वाद्यानीयरः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तव्यत्-तव्य-अनीयरः,
(धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोत्तव्यत्वानीयर् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥
वात्तिकम् ॥ वसेत्तव्यत् कर्त्तव्य शिर्च ॥
वात्तिकम् ॥ केनिमर उपसंक्षानम् ॥

96. The affixes तव्यत्, तव्य and अनीयर् come after verbal roots.

The phrase 'after verbal roots' is understood in this aphorism by anuvritti from sūtra 91. The final letters त् of तव्यत् and र् of अनीयर् are for the sake of indicating accent, being merely diacritical letters. The letter त् indicating svarita accent (VI. 1. 185) and the letter र् indicating penultimate udātta accent (VI. 1. 217); these being exceptions to the general rule of accent given in sūtra 3 *ante* of this chapter.

Thus कृ+तव्यत् = कर्त्तव्यम्, and कृ+तव्य = कर्त्तव्यम् 'must be done'; कृ+अनीयर् = करणीयम् 'must be done'. In these cases the sense being that of the action itself, there is neuter gender singular number.

Vart:—The affix तव्यत् when coming after the verb वस् 'to dwell' in marking the agent, is treated as if it had an indicator ए. The force of ए is to cause vridddhi. Thus वस्+तव्यत् = वास्तव्यः 'a dweller'. Here the word is in the masculine gender, as the force of the affix is that of the agent, and not as it generally has that of an act or object (III. 4. 70).

Vart:—The affix केनिमर् should be enumerated in addition to those already enumerated in this aphorism. Thus पचेनिमा माषाः 'kidney beans fit to be

cooked'; निरेज्जिमानि काष्ठानि 'the woods are apt to be split i.e. fragile'. This affix is to be employed when it is intended to express an object alone (i.e. in the passive and reflexive sense) and cannot be employed like those enumerated above, to denote also the action.

अचो यत् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवः, यत्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भजन्ताद्वातोवत्प्रतब्दो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तकिरासि चतिवतिभनीनामुपसंख्यानम् हनो वा वध च ॥

97. The affix यत् comes after a root that ends in a vowel.

The letter त् of this affix is indicatory showing that the udātta accent falls on the first vowel (VI. 1. 213); thus गा+यत् = गेय, noun sing, गेयम् 'what is to be sung'; so also पेयम् 'what is to be drunk'; जेयम् 'what is to be conquered'. The आ of गा and ए is changed into इ by VI. 4. 65. Why do we say 'that ends in a vowel'? By sūtra 124 of this chapter, a root ending in a consonant takes व्यत् affix instead of यत्; reading these two aphorisms together, the conclusion to be drawn is that the affix यत् comes after roots which *primarily* end in a vowel, though in the course of development they may end in a consonant by the application of other rules. Thus from शे 'to cut', we have the desiderative root दिस्त्, which ends in a vowel अ. This अ is elided before ardhadhātuka affixes and thus the root becomes दिस्, which ends in a consonant; nevertheless we shall have the affix यत् and not व्यत्. Thus दिस्यम् 'what is wished to be cut'; दिस्यम् 'what is wished to be placed'. Similarly ज्ञ before ardhadhātuka affixes becomes ज्ञो, the ओ is changed into अ before य (VI. 1. 79) and the form then is ज्ञय्. The root ज्ञय् however takes यत् and not व्यत्; as ज्ञायो, व्यवम्, &c.

Vart :—The verbs तक् 'to fly', शच् 'to leap', चत् 'to ask', यत् 'to attempt' and जन् 'to be born', should be enumerated in addition; that is to say, these verbs, though ending in a consonant, take यत् and not व्यत्; as तक्यम्, शस्यम्, चर्यम्, व्यवम्, and जन्यम्.

Vart :—And of the verb हन् 'to kill' वध् is the substitute when it optionally takes the affix यत्. Thus we have वध्यम् or वास्यम्. The latter form is evolved by sūtras VII. 3. 32 and 54. The affix यत् comes only after the वध् substitute; after हन् the affix व्यत् comes which changes the ह into य, and न into त and causes vṛiddhi.

पोरदुपधात् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पीः, अद्वृ-उपधात्, (धातोः यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पवर्गन्ताद्वातोपधाद् यत् प्रस्तवी भवति ॥

98. The affix यत् comes after a root, which ends in a labial letter preceded by a short अ.

This debars व्यत्; thus शप्+व्यत् = शप्यत् 'to be sworn'; लभ्+व्यत् = लभ्यत् 'to be acquired'.

Why do we say 'which ends in a labial'? Because if a root ends in any other consonant, though preceded by a short अ, the root will take व्यत्; thus पच्+व्यत् = पाचयत् 'what is to be cooked'; वाक्यम् 'speech'.

Why do we say 'when preceded by a short अ'? When preceded by any other vowel, it will take व्यत्; thus कुप्+व्यत् = कौप्यत् 'to be angry'; so also गोप्यत् 'to be concealed'.

The word व्यत् is used in the sūtra in the original. The force of स् here is, by I. I. 70, that short अ having one mātrā or prosodial length is to be taken and not long आ. Therefore, after the root आप् 'to obtain', we have व्यत् and not व्यत्; thus आप्यत् 'to be reached' i.e. 'attainable'.

शकिसहोऽस्त्र ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शकि-सहोः, च, (धातोः, यत्) ॥

त्रुतिः ॥ शास्त्रशास्त्रो, सह मर्षणे, भगवीर्धास्त्रीर्द्धप्रस्त्रयो भवति ॥

99. The affix व्यत् comes after the roots गङ्ग् 'to be able', and सह 'to bear'.

Thus शक्यम् 'possible'; सहायम् 'endurable'.

गद-मद-चरयमष्टामुपसर्गं ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ गद-मद-चर-
यमः, च, अनुपसर्गं, (यत्) ॥

त्रुतिः ॥ गद मद चर यमः, एतेभ्यामुपसर्गेभ्यो वस्त्रस्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चरेराहि चागुरौ ॥

100. The affix व्यत् comes after the roots गद् 'to speak', मद् 'to be mad', चर् 'to go, to eat', and चम् 'to restrain', when these roots do not take any preposition.

Thus गद्यम् 'what is to be spoken, i.e. prose'; मद्यम् 'wine'; चर्यम् 'what is to be followed'; चम्यम् 'what is to be restrained'.

Why do we say 'when not preceded by a preposition'? When compounded with an upasarga, these roots will take व्यत्; thus प्रगायम्; प्रमायम् &c.

The root चम् would have taken the affix व्यत् by sūtra 98 also, as it ends in स and is preceded by अ; its separate enumeration in this sūtra is in order to show, that the compound verb चम् will not take the affix व्यत्. Therefore with regard to चम्, this is a niyama or restrictive rule and not a viāhi or original rule.

Vart :—The root चर् when preceded by the preposition आच् takes the व्यत् affix when the sense is not that of a preceptor; thus आचर्या ईशः 'an approachable or communicable country'. But when the sense is that of a teacher the root takes व्यत्; thus आचर्यः 'a preceptor'.

अवद्यपरयवर्यो गहूर्येपद्धितव्यानिरोधेषु ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥
 अवद्य-परय-वर्योः, गहूर्य-पद्धितव्य-अनिरोधेषु ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ भवय पएव वर्यो इत्वेते शब्दा निपात्वन्ते गर्वं पणिसव्य भनिरोध इत्वेतेष्येषु
 व्यासंस्वरम् ॥

101. The words भवय, परय and वर्यो are irregularly formed, having the sense of 'condemnable', 'saleable' and 'unobstructable' respectively.

Thus, भवयं पार्य 'censurable sin'. Another and regular form is अनुच्छम्. This is formed by adding the affix वर्य to the root वह् by III. I. 106. So also परयः कल्पजः 'saleable blanket'; पर्याः गौः 'saleable cow'. The other and regular form is पाण्डम्, formed by the addition of व्यत्. So also शतेन वर्यो 'unobstructed by hundred'; सहस्रेण वर्यो 'unobstructed by thousand'. The other and regular form is पृत्या from the root पृ 'to choose'. वर्यो means a girl choosing her own husband and is non-obstructable by any body. The word वर्यो in the sūtra is in the feminine gender, and it is in this gender only that the word is so formed. In the masculine gender, the word is regularly formed; thus वार्यो कृत्यिजः.

वहूर्यं करत्यम् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वहूर्यं, करत्यम्, (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वहेष्यतोः करणे वरप्रस्तवो निपात्वते ॥

102. The word वर्यं is irregularly formed, when the meaning of the word is an instrument of carrying.

The word वर्यं is derived from root वह् 'to carry' and means 'a vehicle', i. e., that by which a thing is carried; as वर्यं शक्तम्. When it does not mean a carriage, the root takes the affix व्यत्; thus वार्यः 'an ox'.

अर्यः स्वामिवैश्ययोः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्यः, स्वामि-वैश्ययोः ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ ऋगतो, भस्माण्यति प्राते, स्वामिवैश्ययोरभिपेववोर्यं प्रस्तवो निपात्वते ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ चतो उनाव इत्याद्युपात्तते प्राते, स्वामिन्बन्तोशास्त्रवं च वन्धुव्यम् ॥

103. The word भर्यो is irregularly formed when meaning 'lord' and a 'Vaisya'.

The root ऋ 'to go', would have taken व्यत् by sūtra 124 of this chapter; but it takes व्यत् when the sense of the word formed by it is that of a 'lord' or a man of 'Vaisya' caste. As भर्योः स्वामी, 'honored lord', भर्यो वैश्यः 'honored Vaisya'.

Vart: Though by VI. I. 213, the affix व्यत् makes the udātta accent fall on the first syllable of the word, yet in the case of the word भर्यो, when it means 'lord', the accent falls on the last syllable.

Why do we say 'when it means a lord or a Vaisya'? Otherwise the root takes the affix व्यत्; as भार्यो मात्रायः 'the respectable Brāhmaṇa'.

उपसर्या कारया प्रजने ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्या, कारया,
प्रजने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्येति निपात्वते काल्या चेत्यजने भवति ॥

104. The word उपसर्या is irregularly formed when meaning what has reached the time favorable to conception, or ripe for fruition.

The word उपसर्या is formed by adding चत् affix to the root स् 'to move', compounded with the preposition उप. The word काल्या means having reached the time. The word प्रजन means the first conception. Thus उपसर्या गोः 'the cow fit for the bull'; उपसर्या वडवा 'the mare fit for the horse'.

Why do we say 'when meaning what has reached the time favorable to conception'? Otherwise the affix अयत् will be used; as उपसर्या शरदि मधुरा 'Madhura is approachable in Sarat season'.

अजर्यम् संगतम् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अजर्यम्, संगतम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अजर्यमिति निपात्वते संगतं चेत्युच्चति ॥

105. The word अजर्यम् 'imperishable' is irregularly formed when qualifying the word संगतम् 'friendship' expressed or understood.

The word अजर्यम् is formed from the root ज् by the addition of चत्, and affixing the negative particle अ; as अ+ज्+यत् = अजर्यं.

Thus अजर्यं नोऽल्लु संगतम् 'let our friendship be imperishable'. So also अजर्यमार्यंसंगतम्.

Why do we say 'when qualifying the word संगतम्'? Observe अजरिता कम्बलः 'undecaying blanket'.

वदः सुषि क्षप् च ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वदः, सुषि, क्षप्, च,
(यत्, अनुपसर्गं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्त्त्वातोः सुवन्तरपपते अनुग्रहार्थी क्षप् प्रस्वादो भवति चकारायच्च ॥

106. After the root वर् 'to speak', governing a case-inflected word as its upapada, and not having a preposition annexed to it, there comes the affix क्षप् also.

The phrase 'not having a preposition' is to be read into this sūtra by *anuvritti* from sūtra 100 *ante*. The force of the word 'also' is to indicate that the affix चत् is also employed. The word सुषि means 'in construction with an upapada that ends in case-affix'.

Thus ब्रह्म + वर् + क्षप् = ब्रह्म + वर् + च = ब्रह्मोच्यम्; ब्रह्म + वर् + चत् = ब्रह्मच्यम् 'told by the Vedas or Brahman'. Similarly सत्योच्यत् or सत्यच्यम् 'truth-mouthed'.

Why do we say 'when it has a case-inflected word as upapada'? Otherwise वर् + चत् = वाचम् a 'musical instrument'.

Why do we say 'not having a preposition'? Observe प्रवाचन् 'a rumour' formed by the affix व्यत् and not by वत् or वयप्.

भुवो भावे ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, भावे, (अनुपसर्गे, सुषिपि, क्षयप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्थातोः सुवन्तरपते अनुपसर्गे भावे क्षयप् प्रव्यव्यो भवति ॥

107. After the root भू 'to be', in construction with a case-inflected word as its upapada and when used without a preposition, the affix क्षयप् is employed to denote condition (bhâva).

The words सुषिपि and अनुपसर्गे of previous sūtras are understood in this. The *anuvritti* of वत् does not cover this aphorism. As ब्रह्मभुवं गतः = ब्रह्मत्वं गतः: 'gone to or arrived at Brahmanhood'; देवभुवं = देवत्वं गतः: 'gone to divinity'.

The word *bhâva* of this sutra governs the succeeding ones.

Why do we say 'in construction with a case-inflected word'? Otherwise it will take वत्; as भू+वत् = भो+वत् = भव्यम् (VI. I. 79).

Why do we say 'not taking a preposition'? Observe प्रवाचन्.

हनस्त च ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, त, च, (सुषिपि, अनुपसर्गे, क्षयप्, भावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्थातोः सुवन्तरपते अनुपसर्गे भावे क्षयप् प्रव्यव्यो भवति तकारभान्तादेशः ॥

108. After the root हन् 'to kill', when in construction with a case-inflected word as its upapada, and when used without a preposition, comes the affix क्षयप् in denoting condition, and the letter त is the substitute of its final.

The phrases सुषिपि अनुपसर्गे and भावे are understood in this sūtra.

As ब्रह्म+हन्+वयप् = ब्रह्म+हत्+च = ब्रह्महत्या 'Brahman-murder'. So also भश्वहस्या 'killing a horse'.

When not in construction with a noun, the form is चासः: 'a blow' (हन्+णिच्+घम्). This verb does not take the affix वत् in denoting condition, there being no example of such formation.

Why do we say 'when not taking a preposition'? Observe प्रधातो वत्से 'there is a combat'.

**एतिस्तुशास्त्रदूजुषः क्षयप् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एति-स्तु-शास्-
त्र-दू-जुषः, क्षयप् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ एति स्तु शास् त्र दू जुषः इत्येतेभ्यः क्षयप् प्रव्यव्यो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शंसिद्विगुहिष्वो वैति वन्नत्यग्न् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाद्र पूर्वाद्यः संक्षावानुपसर्ववान् ॥

109. After the verbs इ 'to go', स्तु 'to praise', शास् 'to govern', चु 'to choose', इ 'to respect' and चुष् 'to please', comes the affix कवप्.

The anuvritti of सुपि, अनुपसर्गे and भावे does not extend to this aphorism. The present sūtra ordains generally the affix कवप् after the above verbs. Thus इ+कवप् = इ+त+व (VI. I. 71) = इत्वः 'to be gone'. The letter त being added by Rule VI. I. 71 which declares 'त is the augment of a short vowel when a कृत् affix, with an indicatory प् follows'. So also स्तु+कवप् = स्तुत्वः 'to be praised'; शास्+कवप् = शिष्य+व (आ being changed into इ by VI. 4. 34) = शिष्यत्वः 'to be instructed i.e. a pupil'. So also चु+कवप् = चृत्वः 'to be chosen'; भाव+कवप् = भावत्वः 'to be honoured'; चुष्+कवप् = चुष्ट्वः 'to be served'.

Though the anuvritti of कवप् was coming from the previous sūtra 100, its repetition in this aphorism is to indicate that other rules such as 125 of this chapter should not take effect in the above verbs. Thus Rule 125 requires चतुर् 'after the verb स्तु, but the present rule prohibits that. Thus we have भवत्व द्वात्वः 'must be praised'.

By चु in the sūtra the root चृष् is intended to be taken, and not the root चृह्. The equivalent derivative of the latter is वार्यः as वार्या ज्ञात्विज्ञः.

Vart:—The roots शस् 'to praise' हुह् 'to milk' and गुह् 'to cover' optionally take the affix कवप्. As शस्त्वम् or शंस्त्वम् (VI. 4. 37); हुह्यत्वम् or होह्यत्वम्, गुह्यत्वम् or गोह्यत्वम्.

Vart:—The verb अंज् 'to anoint', preceded by the preposition भाव् takes the affix कवप् when used as an appellative. As भा+अंज्+कवप् = भाङ्गत्वम् meaning clarified butter. The nasal is elided by VI. 4. 24.

Obj.—How do you explain the form उपेत्वम् which is evidently formed from the root इ by adding वत्? According to the present sūtra, the affix कवप् ought to have been added. Ans. The इ in उपेत्वम् is a different root from that taken here. The root in this sūtra is इण् of the Adādi class.

अद्वृपथाहाकृपिष्ठृतेः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्वृ-उपधात् च,
अकृपि-चृतेः, (कवप्) ॥

गृतिः ॥ चकारोपधात्य धातोः कवप् प्रस्तवो भवति कृपिष्ठृती वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्त्तिंकम् ॥ पाण्यो दृजेष्वैदृचन्त्रम् ॥

वार्त्तिंकम् ॥ समवपूर्वात्यच्च ॥

110. After verbs having a penultimate short च, the affix कवप् is employed, with the exception of the verbs कृष् 'to be able', and चृत् 'to hurt'.

Thus चृत्+कवप् = चृत्वम्; so also चृत्वम्. But कृष् and चृत् will form कृष्ट्वम्, and चर्वत्वम्.

Why have we used the letter त् in चतुर्? It is to indicate that short च

is meant and not long जर् (I. 1. 70). Therefore the root कृ त् will take व्यत् and form कीर्तम्.

Vart :—The root सूज् takes the affix व्यत् when compounded with the word पाणि. Thus पाणिसर्वा रजुः 'a rope'.

Vart :—The root सूज् when preceded by both सम् and भव takes व्यत् as समवसर्वा.

ई च खनः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, च, खनः, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खनेर्धातोः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवतीकारथान्तादेशः ॥

111. The affix क्यप् is employed after the root खन् 'to dig', and long ई is substituted for the final of the root.

Thus खन् + क्यप् = ख + ई + ब = खेदम् 'to be dug'. The long ई is used in the sūtra for the sake of euphony. The same purpose would have been served by using short इ, thus 'इ च खनः'. But the long ई indicates that the rule VI. 4. 43 does not apply here. By that rule the भ of खन् would have been lengthened into भा before the affix क्यप्.

भृजोऽसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृजः, अ-संज्ञायाम्, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृओ भासोरसंज्ञायां विषये क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ संपूर्णिभाषा ॥

112. The affix क्यप् is employed after the verb भृज् 'to bear' when not used as a name.

Thus भृ + क्यप् = भृत्या Pl. भृत्याः 'those who ought to be supported' i. e. 'servants'. Why do we say 'when not used as an appellative'? Observe भृ + व्यत् = भावः 'a Kshatriya'.

Vart :—The use of *kyap* is optional when this verb takes the preposition सम्. Thus संधत्या: or संभावाः:

सुजेर्विभावा ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुजेः, विभावा, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुजेर्धातोर्विभावा क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

113. The affix क्यप् optionally comes after the root सूज् 'to cleanse'.

This is an example of *Prapti-vibhāṣha*. By rule 110 *ante*, the root सूज् having a penultimate जर् would have necessarily taken *kyap*; this sūtra declares an option. As परिशृण्वः or परिमार्गः 'to be cleansed'. The second form is thus evolved :—

परिशृण् + व्यत् (III. 1. 124) = परिशृण् + ब (VII. 3. 52) = परिमार्गः (VII. 2. 114)

राजसूयसूर्यसूषोदारकुप्यलकृपयाव्यथा: ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥
राजसूय-सूर्य-सूषोदा-रच्च-कुप्य-कृष्ट-पच्च-अव्यथाः, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजसूय सूर्य सूषोदा रच्च कुप्य कृष्ट पच्च भव्यथा इत्येते शब्दाः क्यपि निपास्यन्ते ॥

114. The words राजसूय सूर्य सूषोदा रच्च कुप्य कृष्ट पच्च and अव्यथा are irregularly formed by the addition of the affix क्यप्.

Thus राजा सोतव्यः or राजा इह सूषते, राजा+सू+क्यप् = राजसूयः 'the Rajasuya or coronation sacrifice'.

Similarly द्व or सू+क्यप् = सूर्यः 'the sun', literally that which moves (सरति) in the sky ; or that which impels (सुचति) creation to action. सूष+वह+क्यप् = सूषोदाम् 'false speech' ; this is an exception to rule 106, by which वह would also have been applied. This rule prevents it. Thus रोचते ऽसौ, रच्च+क्यप् = रच्चः 'an agreeable lover'. So also गुप्त+क्यप् = कुप्यम् 'a base metal (other than gold and silver)' ; the other form is गोप्यम्। कृष्ट+पच् = कृष्टपच्चाः 'that which ripens of itself in cultivated ground'. न इयथते = अव्यथाः 'a snake (what does not move by legs)'.

भिद्युद्धूषी नदे ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिद्य-उद्धूषी, नदे, (क्यप्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भिद्ये रुद्धे उभये नदे ऽभिधेये ॥

115. The words भिद्य and उद्धूष are irregularly formed by the affix क्यप्, when meaning a 'river'.

Thus भिद्+क्यप् = भिद्यः 'a river that breaks its banks by the rush of its water', the name of the Bhidya river.

उज्ज्ञ+क्यप् = उद्धूष 'a river whose waters overflow the banks', name of the Uddhya river ; the झ is changed into ष.

When not meaning or qualifying the river, the regular forms are used ; thus भेत्ता and उज्ज्ञता.

पुष्यसिद्धूषी नक्त्रे ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुष्य-सिद्धूषी, नक्त्रे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुष्ये तिधेषाधिकरणे उभये निपास्यते नक्त्रे ऽभिधेये ॥

116. The words पुष्य and सिद्धूष are irregularly formed by the affix क्यप्, when used as names of asterisms.

Thus पुष्+क्यप् = पुष्यः 'the Pushya asterism'. It is so called because objects are nourished under the influences of this asterism. सिद्धूष+क्यप् = सिद्धूषः 'the asterism Siddhya' another name of Pushya, so-called because things are accomplished under the influence of this star.

When not the names of asterisms, the forms are पोषण् 'nourishing', सेप्तन् 'accomplishing'.

**विपूयविनीयजित्या मुञ्जकल्कहस्तिषु ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विपूय-
विनीय-जित्याः, मुञ्ज-कल्क-हस्तिषु ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ विपूय विनीय जित्य इत्येते शब्दा निपात्वते वयासंख्ये मुञ्जकल्कहस्ति इत्येते वर्येषु गोचरेषु ॥

117. The words विपूय, विनीय and जित्य are irregularly formed when they mean, the 'muñja grass', the 'sediment' and the 'plough' respectively.

Thus वि+पू+वृष्ट = विपूयः etymologically 'that which has to be purified to make rope'; वि+नी+कल्प = विनीय 'a sediment or sin'; जि+कल्प = जित्य 'a plough that which is to be conquered by strength'.

The regular derivatives are विपूष्म, विनीष्म and जित्य.

**प्रत्यपिष्म्यां यहेश्चन्द्रिष्मि ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-अपिष्म्यां,
गहेः, छन्दसि, (क्षय) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रति अपि इत्येवं पूर्वाद् गहेः वृष्टप्रस्त्रबो भवति छन्दसि विष्मि ॥

118. The verb गह 'to seize', preceded by the prepositions प्रति and अपि, takes the affix वृष्टप्र in the Vedic literature.

Thus मत्सस्त्र न प्रतिगृष्टम्; तस्मामापिगृष्टम् ॥

In the classical Sanskrit the proper forms are प्रतिगृष्टम् and अपिगृष्टम्.

**पदास्त्रैरिकाह्यापत्त्येषु च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद-अस्त्रैरि-
काह्या-पत्त्येषु, च, (गहेः, क्षय) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पदेऽस्त्रैरिणि वाह्याचारो गहये चायें गहेभास्तोः वृष्टप्रप्रस्त्रबो भवति ॥

119. The root गह takes the affix वृष्टप्र, when it means a 'word', a 'dependent', 'outside', or a 'partisan'.

Thus प्रगृष्टम् 'the Pragrihya words that do not admit of sandhi, already defined in sūtra I. i. 11. So also भवगृष्टः.

The word अस्त्रैरि means dependent upon others, not free to provide for himself. Thus गृष्टकाः शुक्राः 'the captive parrots'.

The word वाह्य means 'situated outside'. Thus वामगृष्टा सेना 'an army lying outside the village'. The word वाह्या being in the feminine gender indicates that the derivative word formed from गह must also be feminine in gender to have this sense.

The word वृष्टप्र is derived from वृत्त 'a side, a party', and means a partisan, follower or friend. Thus वासुदेवगृष्टाः 'siding with or being the partisans of Vāsudeva'. So also भर्जनगृष्टाः 'belonging to the party of Arjun'.

विभाषा कृष्णोः ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कृ-कृष्णोः, (कृष्ण)॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कृमो वृषभं विभाषा कृष्णं प्रस्तवयो भवति ॥

120. After the verbs कृ 'to do', and वृष् 'to rain' the affix कृष्ण is optionally employed.

The root कृ would have taken the affix 'वृत्त' by 124, and the verb वृष् would necessarily have taken कृष्ण by 110; the present sūtra therefore declares an optional rule. Thus : कृ+कृष्ण = कृत्यम् 'to be done'; or कृ+वृत्त = कार्यम्. So also वृत्तम् or वर्त्यम् 'stimulating'.

युग्मं च पत्रे ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ युग्मम्, च, पत्रे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ युग्मतिं निपात्यते पत्रं चेद्गृहति ॥

121. The word वृग्वम् is irregularly formed meaning a vehicle.

The word पत्र means that by which a thing is carried. Thus वृग्वो गौ 'the carrier bull or the yoked bull'. वृग्वो हस्ती 'the harnessed elephant ready to carry'. वृज्+कृष्ण = वृग्वम्. The ज is changed into ग. When not meaning a carrier or a carriage, it has the form वृग्म.

अभावस्यदन्यतरस्यात् ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभावस्यद्, अन्यतरस्यात् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अभाशाद्यः सहायेवत्तते, तस्मिन्नुपरवे वसेद्गृहीः कालेऽधिकरणे एव प्रस्तवयो भवति
तत्रान्वतरात् वृषभाषावो निपात्यते ॥

122. Optionally the word भमावस्या is irregularly formed.

The word भमा means 'along' or 'together'. भमा in composition with the root वस् 'to dwell', takes the affix 'वृत्त' in the sense of location of time. Optionally the *Vridhī* is not substituted in such a case. The time or the day on which the sun and the moon dwell together in the same constellation is called भमावस्या or भमावस्या.

The final त in भमावस्यत् is indicatory and is for the sake of showing where should the proper accent fall.

The two forms भमावस्या or भमावस्या are the same word, and a *fortiori* a rule made with regard to one will be made applicable to the other. And to this effect there is a paribhāshā which declares एकादेशविकृतस्यानन्वस्यम् ; 'that which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place'. Therefore sūtra IV. 3. 30, though it, in terms, says भमावस्यात् त् is made applicable to the form भमावस्या also.

स्वन्दसि निष्ठकर्त्तदेवहूयप्रणीयोक्त्रीयोचिद्धृष्टमर्यस्तर्याखर्ये स्वन्य-
स्वान्यदेवयन्या एव इत्यप्रतिष्ठीव्यद्वस्तवाद्यभाव्यस्ताव्योपचार्यपृष्ठानि ॥ १२३ ॥
पदानि ॥ स्वन्दसि, निष्ठकर्त्त-देवहूय-प्रणीय-उक्त्रीय-उचिद्धृष्ट-मर्य-स्तर्याखर्य-
स्वन्य-स्वान्य-देवयन्या-आपुष्ठृष्ट-प्रतिष्ठीव्य-द्वस्तवाद्य-भाव्य-स्ताव्य-उपचार्य-
पृष्ठानि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठकर्त्तदेवः शब्दाश्वन्दसि विषये निपारवन्ते ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ हिरण्य इति दक्षव्यम् ॥

123. In the Vedas the following words are found which are formed irregularly :—निष्ठकर्त्त, देवहूय, प्रणीय, उक्त्रीय, उचिद्धृष्ट, मर्य, स्तर्याखर्य, स्वन्य, स्वान्य, देवयन्या, भाव्यद्वस्तवाद्य, प्रतिष्ठीव्य, द्वस्तवाद्य, भाव्य-स्ताव्य and उपचार्यपृष्ठृ.

The formation of the above words are extremely irregular and they are all met with in the Vedic literature only. Thus the word निष्ठकर्त्त is derived from the root कृत् 'to cut', with the preposition निस्, and the affix एवत्, instead of क्वप्, which is the regular affix, by 110; निः + कृत् + एवत् = निः + दक्ष + व (the root कृत् transformed into दक्ष by transposition) = निष्ठकर्त्त. As निष्ठकर्त्त विन्दित् पशुकामः.

The above is apparently a guess-work etymology of grammarians.

So also देवहूय is formed by adding to the root हूयते 'to call' or हूय 'to invoke, the affix क्वप् and the upapada देव; the vowel of the root is then lengthened and the augment त (VI. 1. 71), is not allowed, देव + हूय or हूय + क्वप् = देवहूयः So also प्र + नी (to lead) + क्वप् = प्रणीयः; उत् + नी + क्वप् = उक्त्रीयः; उत् + शिष् (to leave) + क्वप् = उचिद्धृष्टम्; स् (to die) + बत् = मर्यः; स्त्व (to cover) + बत् = स्तर्याखर्यः; it is always feminine. अ॒ (to bend) + बत् = अ॒वर्यः; खन् (to dig) + बत् = खन्यः; खन् + एवत् = खान्यः; देव (God) + बत् (to sacrifice) + बत् = देवयन्या; always used as feminine. आ + पुष्ठृ (to ask) + क्वप् = भाव्यद्वस्तवाद्यः, प्रति + सीव (to sew) + क्वप् = प्रतिष्ठीव्यः; व्रशण + वर् (to speak) + एवत् = व्रशाव्यः; भू (to be) + एवत् = भाव्यः; स्तु (to praise) + एवत् = स्ताव्यः; उप + चि (to collect) + एवत् + पृष्ठृ = उपचार्यपृष्ठृम्. This last word is formed then only when the word पृष्ठृ follows : and when the sense is that of 'gold'. When it does not mean 'gold', the form is उपचार्यपृष्ठृम् ।

अहलोर्यत् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋ-हलोः, रुयत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अ॒वर्णा॑न्ता॒द्वासो॑हंन्ता॒च्च एवश्वत्ययो भवति ॥

124. The affix एवत् comes after a verb that ends in ऋ (long or short), or in a consonant.

The phrase अ॒हलोः is in the genitive case dual number, the force of genitive here being that of ablative. As कृ + एवत् = कार्यम् 'to be made'; हूय + एवत् =

हार्य nom. sing. हार्यम् 'to be taken'; धृ+व्यत् = पार्ये; 'to be held'; वच्+व्यत् = वक् + व्यत् (VII. 3. 52) = वाक्यं (VII. 2. 116) 'to be spoken'; पच्+व्यत् = पाचयम्.

ओरावश्यके ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ औः, आवश्यके (व्यत्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरान्ताद्वातोण्यस्पृथयो भवति आवश्यके योस्ये ॥

125. The affix व्यत् comes after a root that ends in the letter च long or short when the sense is that of necessity.

This debars the affix व्यत्. Thus लु+व्यत् = लौ+च = लाल्यं (VII. 2. 115 and VI. 1. 79) 'must be cut'; so also पु+व्यत् = पाल्यम् 'must be purified'.

When 'necessity' is not indicated we have the form लाल्य 'to be cut'. The sūtra as given in the original is rather ambiguous; it may be construed to mean, 1st when the word आवश्यक or a word having the sense of this term is in construction as upapada, the affix व्यत् is employed: or 2ndly when, the sense of the affix is that of 'necessity', the व्यत् is employed. There are objections to both these interpretations taken separately. For in the first case, though we could form the words अवश्यलाल्य &c., we could not form the word लाल्य by itself. In the second case, though we could form the single word लाल्य, we could not form the compound. The best solution is to take the second interpretation and form the compound by the universal rule of *Tatpurusha* contained in II. 1. 72, which would also regulate the accent.

आसुयुवपिरपिलपित्रपित्रमञ्च ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आसु-यु-वपि-रपि-लपि-त्रपि-चमः, च, (व्यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाड्, पूर्वक सुनोते: यु वपि रपि लपि त्रपि चम् इत्येतेभ्यश्च व्यत्, प्रवययो भवति ॥

126. The affix व्यत् comes after the verbs भासु 'to distil', चु 'to join', चप् 'to sow', रप् 'to speak distinctly' लप् 'to prate', चप् 'to be ashamed', and चम् 'to drink'.

The verb भासु is a compound verb formed by the preposition भाड् and the root सु. This sūtra debars व्यत्, that would otherwise have come by sūtra 97 and 98.

Thus भासु+व्यत् = भासाल्यम्, (VII. 2. 115 and VI. 1. 79); so also आल्यम्, राल्यम्, लाल्यम्, चाल्यम् and आचाल्यम्.

The force of the word च 'and' in the sūtra is to indicate that the roots not included in the above enumeration should also be taken. Thus इभ्+व्यत् = शभवम् ॥

आनाग्येऽनित्ये ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आनाग्यः, अनित्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आनाग्य इति निपास्यते भनिरब्रेऽभिधेये । नवतेराह् पूर्वाण्यशशावावेशी निपास्यते ॥

127. The word भानाट्वः is irregularly formed when meaning 'impermauent'.

This word is thus formed :—आट् + नी + वृत् = आ + नै + व = भानाट्व, (the व being changed into वा॒य by the analogy of VI. I. 79).

As भानाट्वो इक्षितामिः. This is a species of Dakshināgni fire. As this fire is *brought* from the Gārhapatya fire and is not permanently kept alive, therefore it is called अनाय्या. This however, is not co-extensive with Dakshināgni. It is that fire which is brought from the Gārhapatya, and has the same source with the Dakshināgni and Ahavaniyāgni. A Dakshināgni fire may be taken from different sources, as from the family of a well-to-do Vaishya, or from a frying place, or from Gārhapatya fire. When it is taken from the last i. e. from Gārhapatya fire, it is अनाय्या Dakshināgni. Ahavaniya is also taken from Gārhapatya.

It is not every thing, that is not lasting, which is called अनाय्या ; for a fragile pot will not be called so. It applies only to the consecrated fire. When it has not this sense, the form is भानेव meaning 'what ought to be brought'.

प्रणाग्योऽसम्मतौ ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रणाग्यः, असम्मतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रणाग्य इति निपारयते ऽसंमतावभिधेये ॥

128. The word प्रणाग्यः is irregularly formed when meaning 'disapproved'.

The word असम्मति is a negative word meaning 'non-agreement'. It means also 'disrespect'.

Thus प्रणाग्यवशीरः 'the thief is to be disliked'.

Why do we say when meaning 'disapproved'. Because otherwise the regular form is प्र + नी 'to lead' + वृत् = प्रणेयः 'tractable'.

The word in the sūtra is असम्मति which we have translated as 'disapproved'. But the word सम्मति also means अभिज्ञात or 'desire' ; and असम्मति would therefore, mean 'free from desire or worldly attachment'. Therefore the word असम्मति means also 'free from attachment', as in the following sentence :—

स्थेष्ठाव पुत्राव पिता भ्राता प्रभूतात्, प्रणाग्यवाव भन्तेशासिने नान्दस्मै कस्मेच्चन 'let the father teach the Secret Doctrine to his eldest son, or to such pupil who is free from worldly attachment, and to no one else'.

पार्यसांनाट्यनिकार्यधार्या भानहविर्भवासामिधेनीषु ॥
१२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पार्य-सांनाट्य-निकार्य-धार्याः, भान-हविः-निवास-सामि-
धेनीषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पार्यवानः शब्दा निपारयते वथासंख्यं माने हविषि निवासे सामिधेनी आनि-
धेनावान् ॥

129. The words पात्व, सामाद्य, निकाम्य and धाम्य are irregularly formed meaning 'a measure', 'an oblation to fire', 'a dwelling', and 'a sacrificial prayer', respectively.

These words are supposed to be formed thus:—मा (to measure) + ष्वत् = पात्वम्, the म being changed into प and another ष being added by VII. 3. 33. The regular form is मेष्वम् 'to be measured' (मा + ष्वत् = मे + ष्व VI. 4. 65 = मेष्व). सम् + नी (to lead) + ष्वत् = सामाद्यम् 'the oblation'. It being a crude form applies to a particular kind of oblation. The regular form is समेष्वन्। नि + चि (to collect) + ष्वत् = नि + चै + ष्व = नि + चाव + ष्व = निकाम्य: 'a dwelling'. The regular form is निचेव। धा (to put) + ष्वत् = धाम्या (fem.). The sāmadheni is the name of certain *Rik* hymns used as supplemental verses in a Litany. The other form is धेय।

**क्रतौ कुण्डपात्वसंचार्यै ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रतौ, कुण्डपात्व-
संचार्यै ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कुण्डपात्व संचार्य इत्येतो शब्दो निपात्वेते क्रतावभिरेवे ॥

130. The words कुण्डपात्वः and संचार्यः are irregularly formed meaning a sacrifice.

These words are thus formed: कुण्ड + पा (to drink) + ष्वत् = कुण्ड + पा + ष्व + त् (VII. 3. 33) = कुण्डपात्वः 'the sacrifice in which Soma is drunk with a bowl'. The accent falls on the first syllable by VI. 1. 213. सम् + चि (to collect) + ष्वत् = संचार्यः 'the sacrifice in which Soma is collected'.

If not applied to sacrifices, the forms will be कुण्डपानम् and संचेयः.

**अग्नौ परिचार्योपचार्यवसूहथाः ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नौ,
परिचार्य-उपचार्य-सूहथाः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ परिचार्य उपचार्य समूह इत्येते शब्दा निपात्वन्ते अग्नावभिरेवे ॥

131. The words परिचार्यः, उपचार्यः and समूहः are irregularly formed when they are names of fire.

These words are thus formed:—परि + चि + ष्वत् = परि + चै + ष्व = परि + चाव + ष्व = परिचार्यः 'sacrificial fire arranged in a circle' (the ऐ being changed into आव् by the analogy of VI. 1. 79. This peculiar sandhi before the semivowel ष has been illustrated in the previous examples also). So also उपचार्यः 'a kind of sacred fire'. सम् + षह + ष्वत् = सम् + ऊह + ष्व = समूहः 'a kind of fire'. समूहं चिन्तीत पशुकामः let him kindle the Samāhya fire desirous of a victim'.

Why do we say 'when they are names of fire'? Observe otherwise, परिच्छेष्वम् 'to be heaped', उपच्छेष्वम् 'to be increased', संचार्यम् 'to be carried'.

चित्याग्निचित्ये च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्य-अग्निचित्ये, च ॥
तृच्छिः ॥ चित्यग्निचित्येऽग्निचित्याशब्दं निपास्येते ॥

132. The words चित्य and अग्निचित्य are also irregularly formed.

The word चित्य: comes from the root चि 'to collect', and means fire i.e. that which is collected. As वित्योऽग्निः 'the funeral pile fire'. The word अग्निचित्यः means, arranging the fire. The affix च has been added to denote condition, together with the augment तुक् (त्). These words have *uddita* accent on the last vowel. The regular form is चेत्यम् 'to be gathered'.

एवुल्तुच्छा ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ एवुल्तुच्छा, (धातोः) ॥
तृच्छिः ॥ सर्वधातुभ्यो ष्वन्तुच्छो प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

133. The affixes ष्वन्त्(अक) and ल्तु (ह) are placed after all verbal roots, expressing the agent.

The word 'root' is understood in the above aphorism. Thus कु 'to do' + ष्वन्त् = कार + ष्वु (VII. 2. 115) = कार + अक (VII. 1. 1) = कारक nom. sing. कारकः 'doer.' कु + ल्तु = कर + ल्तु (VII. 3. 84) = कर्तु nom. sing. कर्ता. So also हारकः and हर्ता.

The च् of ल्तु is not indicatory, but distinguishes this affix from ल्तु; the simple ल्तु includes both ल्तु and ल्तु, as in V. 3. 59, and VI. 4. 154.

नन्दिप्रहिपचादिभ्यो ल्युण्णिन्यच्छः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नन्दि-
ग्रहि-पचादिभ्यः, ल्यु, ण्णिनि, अच्छः ॥

तृच्छिः ॥ जिभ्योगणेऽयस्यायः प्रत्यया वथासंख्यं भवन्ति, नन्द्याहिभ्यो ष्वुः, ग्रहादिभ्यो ण्णिनिः,
पचादिभ्योऽच्छः ॥

134. After the verbs classed as नन्द 'to be happy', ग्रह 'to take' and पच् 'to cook' there are the affixes ष्वु (अन) ण्णिनि (इन) and अच्छ (अ) respectively.

The word *addi* meaning *etcetera*, is to be joined with every one of the above three words. These three affixes come respectively after the verbs of the above three classes. Thus after the verbs of नन्द class, comes the affix ष्वु; after the verbs of ग्रह class, comes the affix ण्णिनि; after the verbs of पच् class, comes the affix अच्छ.

The नन्दादि verbs will not be found in one place in the Dhātupāṭha. The list of the words formed by these affixes have, however, been collected in the Gaṇapāṭha. Thus नन्द + ष्वु = नन्द + यु (I. 3. 8) = नन्द + अन (VI. 1. 1) = नन्दन nom. sing. नन्दनः 'son' (lit. what gladdens). So also from the following causa-

tive roots, nouns are formed, meaning names :—वासि—वासनः or वाशनः ; महि—महनः ; शूषि—शूषणः (or शूषणः) ; साधि—साधनः ; वर्धि—वर्धनः ; शीभि—शीभनः and दोधि—दोधनः.

The following derivatives are names :—सहि—सहनः ; तपि—तपनः ; दमि—दमनः :

So also the following words :—जल्पनः, रमणः, र्षणः, संकरणः, संकर्षणः, संहरणः, जनाईनः, यवनः, पवनः, मधुसूनः, विशेषणः, लक्षणः (the ण in लक्षण is irregular), चित्तविनाशनः, कुलदमनः and शत्रुदमनः.

The ग्रहावि verbs are also nowhere enumerated in a group. The following are, however, those verbs :—ग्रह—ग्रहिन् nom. ग्राही ; उत्साह—उत्साहिन् nom. उत्साही ; उहस—उहासिन् ; उद्भ्रास—उद्भ्रासिन् ; स्था—स्थायिन् ; मन्त्र—मन्त्रिन् ; संमर्द—संमर्दिन्. So also the verbs रस, भ्रु, वस्, वप् and शर preceded by नि ; as, निरक्षिन्, निश्चायिन्, निशाचिन्, निवापिन्, निशायिन्. The verbs आचि, व्याहृ, संव्याहृ, व्रज, वर् and वस take एिन् when preceded by the negative particle ; as, अव्याचिन्, अव्याहारिन्, असंव्याहारिन्, अव्याजिन्, अव्यारिन् and अव्यासिन्. So also after verbs ending in a vowel when agents are non-conscious beings : as, अकारिन्, अहारिन्. So also, अविनायिन्, अविशायिन्, विशयिन्, विषयिन् (meaning a place) विशायिन् and विषायिन्, अभिभाविन्, अपराधिन्, उपरोधिन्, परिभ्रविन् and परिभाविन् ।

The following are पचावि words :—पच, वच, वप, वद, चल, तप, पत नद्, भेद्, वस्, गरद्, भ्रवद्, तरद्, चीरद्, याहद्, जर, मर, ज्ञर, ज्ञम, सूरद्, देवद्, मोरद्, सेव, मेष, क्रोध, व्रण, फंश, दश, दम्भ, जारभर, इवपच, मेष, कीष, ज्ञप, मह, रज, शीषद्, चरद् ।

The द् in नद् &c., shows that the feminine of these is formed by long ई (IV. I. 15). The पचावि class is an आकृतिगणः ।

अविधिः सर्वधातुम्यः पञ्चन्ते च पचादयः ।

भएः वाधनार्थमेव स्यात् सिध्यन्ति इवपचादयः ॥

In fact the affix भव् comes after all verbs, and is not exclusively confined to the verbs above enumerated. The affix भव्, therefore, debars भएः and may be taken to be the universal affix, and by its help the forms like इवपच &c. may be explained.

इगुपथज्ञाप्रीकरः कः १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इग्-उपथ-ज्ञा-प्री-किरः, एः ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ इगुपथेष्यो जानाते: प्रीत्ताते: किरतेष्य कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135. After a verb ending in a consonant but preceded by ई, उ or ऊ (long or short), and after the verbs ज्ञा 'to know', प्री 'to please', and कृ 'to scatter', comes the affix क (भ).

Thus विज्ञिप्+क = विज्ञिप nom. sing. विज्ञिपः. So also विज्ञिखः 'inscription'; बुधः 'who knows'; कृशः 'lean'; ज्ञा+क = ज्ञः 'who knows' (VI. 4. 64); प्री+क =

प्रियः 'what pleases' ; कृ+क = कि+भ (VII. 1. 100) = किर+भ (I. 1. 51) = किरः 'who scatters' i. e. 'a hog'.

The words देव 'God', सेव 'service' and भेष 'ram', should be read in the पत्तादि class of the last sūtra, being formed by the affix भव् and not by क.

आतश्चोपसर्गं १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, च, उपसर्गं, (कः) ॥
बृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्य उपसर्गं उपपदे कप्रथयो भवति ॥-

136. Also after a verb ending in long आ when there is a preposition along with it, the affix क is placed.

This is an *apavattha* of III. I. 40, and debars the affix ए. Thus प्रस्था+क = प्रस्थ+भ = प्रस्थः (VI. 4. 64). सुम्जे+क = सुम्जे+भ = सुम्जः 'very weary' (आ substituted for ऐ by VI. I. 45.) सुम्जे+क = सुम्जा+भ = सुम्जः 'very languid'.

The final आ is dropped before the affix क by rule VI. 4. 64. There is elision of long आ when an ārdhadhātuka affix follows beginning with a vowel and having an indicatory क or ए.

पाप्त्राद्भाधेट् दूशः शः ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पा-प्त्रा-द्भाधेट्-दूशः,
शः, (उपसर्गं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादिभ्यो धातुभ्य उपसर्गं उपपदे शप्रथयो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ जिधूतेः संहार्यो प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

137. The affix श (भ) is employed after the roots पा 'to drink', ध्रा 'to smell', शा 'to blow', खेद 'suck', and दृश 'to see' when there is a preposition along with these roots.

Thus उत्+पा+श = उत्+पिद्+भ (VII. 3. 78) = उत्पिद् nom. sing. सत्पिदः ; so also विपिदः ; उज्जिष्ठः and विजिष्ठः । उत्+ध्रा+श = उत्+धन्+भ = (VII. 3. 78) ; उद्धमः ; विधमः ; उत्+धे+श = उद्धवः ; विधवः ; so also उत्+दृश+श = उद्धृशः, (VII. 3. 78), so also विप्रशः ;

Some commentators do not read the word 'upasarga' into this sūtra. According to them the forms like पश्यः &c., can be formed also.

The affix श, of which श is indicatory, the real affix being भ, causes the root to undergo all those changes, which it undergoes in special tenses ; for it is a sārvadhātuka affix there ; see sūtra III. 4. 113 and VII. 3. 78.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated of the root श्य, when the word to be formed is a name. As वि+भा+श्य+क=व्याघः 'tiger' (an animal that goes about smelling). Here there is क and not the affix श.

अनुपसर्गालिपविन्दधारिपारिवेद्युदेजि चेतिसातिसाहित्यश्च ॥
१३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुपसर्गात्, लिप्त-विन्द-धारि-पारि-वेदि-उदेजि-चेति-
साति-साहित्यः, च (शः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपसर्गम्भ्यो लिप्तादिभ्यः शपथयो भवति ॥

वाच्चिकम् ॥ नौ लिप्तेरिति वन्धवम् ॥

वाच्चिकम् ॥ गवादिषु विन्दे संज्ञायाम् ॥

138. The affix श is employed after the following verbs when used without a preposition : लिप्त, विन्द and the causatives धारि, पारि, वेदि, उदेजि, चेति, साति and साहित्य.

Thus लिप्तः: 'smearing' ; विन्दः: 'acquiring' ; धारयः: 'holding' ; पारयः: 'ferrying' ; वेदयः: 'knowing' ; उदेजयः: 'shaking' ; चेतयः: 'perceiving' ; सातयः, and साहित्यः.

Why do we say 'when used without a preposition'? Observe प्रलिपः ; here the affix is क.

Vart :—The verb लिप् with the preposition नि takes the affix श. As निलिप्ता 'the name of certain deities', 'a cow'.

Vart :—The affix श is employed after विन्द when compounded with the words गो &c. and when the word to be formed is a proper noun. As गोविन्दः: 'Krishna' (protector of cows) ; भारविन्दः: 'a lotus' (having petals like spokes).

ददातिदधात्योर्विभाषा ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ददाति-दधात्योः,
विभाषा, (शः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रामो धारय विभाषा शपथयो भवति ॥

139. The affix श is optionally employed, after the root दा 'to give', and धा 'to hold', when used without a preposition.

This debars ए. Thus ददः: 'giving' ; or दायः: 'inheritance' ; धदः: 'holding' or धायः: 'having'.

When a preposition is used, the affix श is not employed ; as प्रदः, प्रधः..

उवलिति कसम्भेभ्यो खः ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उवल-इति-कसम्भेभ्यः,
खः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवलदीपावित्येवमाक्ष्यो धातुःव्यः कसगतावित्येवमन्तेभ्यो विभाषा एशपथयो
भवति ॥

वाच्चिकम् ॥ तनोतेण उपसंख्यानम् ॥

140. After the verbs beginning with उवल 'to shine' and ending with कस 'to go', when used without a preposition, the affix श is optionally employed,

The word इति in इतिज्ञाति indicates beginning. These are about 56 verbs, all belonging to the *Bhvādः* class. See No. 804 to 860 in the Dhātupātha, Bombay Edition in the Appendix to *Sidhānta Kaumudi*.

This debars the affix अन्; as उत्तानः or उत्तनः; चानः or चनः.

The affix ए (अ) having an indicatory ए, causes the vṛiddhi of the penultimate अ. When the affix ए is not used, then अन् is used, and we have the other form. But compound verbs take अन्; as प्रश्वनः 'luminous'.

Vart.—The verb सन् 'to stretch' must be included in this list, and it takes the affix ए; as अवस्तान. The conditions 'option' and 'without preposition' do not apply in this case. The verb सन् necessarily takes this affix, though compounded with an upasarga.

श्याऽद्वयधामुसंस्तीयवसावहृलिहश्लिष्वसश्च ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥

श्या-आद्-व्यध-आस्तु-संस्तु-अतीय्-अवसा-अवहृ-लिह-श्लिष्व-श्वसः, च, (णः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इवेऽभाकारान्तेभवश्च धातुभ्यः व्यध आस्तु संस्तु अतीय् अवसा अवहृ जिह श्लिष्व श्वस इत्येतेभवश्च एप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix ए is employed after the following verbs also :—इये 'to go', verbs ending in long आ, व्यध 'to pierce', भासु 'to pain', सन् 'to flow', भरीय् 'to pass on', भवसा 'to complete', भवहृ 'to take away', जिह 'to lick', श्लिष्व 'to embrace', and श्वस 'to breathe'.

The root इयै, before affixes, becomes इया, (VI. 1. 45) and is thus included in the phrase 'verbs ending in long आ'. What is then the use of its separate enumeration? The separate enumeration is for the sake of excluding the application of every other rule which might have prohibited ए. Thus III. 1. 136 enjoins क when a compound verb ends in आ. But that rule does not apply to the verb इया.

Thus भवश्यायः 'frost', प्रतिश्यायः 'catarrh', शवः 'inheritance', धावः 'having', श्वापः 'pain', भासानः 'wound', संसादः 'flow', भरवायः 'transgression', अवसायः 'conclusion', भवहारः 'taken away', ज्ञेहः 'licking', श्लेषः 'embracing', श्वासः 'breath'. See VII. 3. 33.

इन्योरनुपसर्गे ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दु-न्योः, अनुपसर्गे, (णः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इनोत्तेनैवतेभानुपसर्गे एप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

142. The affix ए is employed after the verbs दु 'to burn', and नी 'to lead', when used without a preposition.

Thus शृ+ए = शृ + ए (VII. 2. 115) = शावः (VI. 1. 78) 'burning'. So also शी+ए = शी+अ = शायः 'leading'.

Why do we say 'when used without a preposition'? Observe प्रश्नः 'burning'; प्रणयः 'friendship'.

विभाषा यहः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, यहः, (यहः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषा प्रहेर्धातोर्प्रस्त्वयो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भवतंथेति वन्नव्यम् ॥

143. The affix ए is optionally employed after the verb भव् 'to seize'.

This debars the affix अच्. Thus भव्+ए = भव्+अ (VII. 2. 116) = आहः 'seizing', 'a crocodile'; or यह्+अच् = यहः 'a planet'.

The option allowed by this aphorism is a *vyavasthita-vibhāshā* or definite option, that is to say, the affix ए is *always* used when the word to be formed means a water-animal, such as a crocodile, shark &c., and in that sense the word is आह. But not so, when heavenly luminaries are meant; there the word is यह.

Vart :—This rule should be extended to the root भु 'to be' also. Thus :—भावः 'condition' and भवः 'existence'.

गेहे कः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गेहे, कः, (यहः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रहेर्धातोः कप्रस्त्वयो भवति गेहे कर्त्तरि ॥

144. The affix क is employed after the verb यह when the agent so expressed denotes a house.

Thus सह+क (VI. 1. 16) = गृहम् 'a house'. The ए is changed into क्त्र by the rule of *samprasāraṇa*. The plural form गृहाः means 'wife', as she is especially the person that constitutes the house; while the plural of गृह meaning 'houses' will be गृहाणि.

शिलिपनि च्छुम् ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिलिपनि, च्छुम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः व्युनप्रस्त्वयो भवति शिलिपनि कर्त्तरि ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नृत्यसनिरस्त्रियः परिगणने कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

145. The affix एव (भक) comes after a verb; when the agent so expressed denotes an artist.

Vart :—This affix should be confined to the verbs नृत् 'to dance', खेल् 'to dig' and रसा 'to dye'.

Thus नृत्+एव = नर्ते+भक (VII. 1. 1) = नर्तकः 'dancer'. The letter ए is indicatory (I. 3. 6) and by Rule IV. 1. 41, it denotes that words formed by prefixes having indicatory ए form their feminine gender by the affix शीव्. Thus

the feminine of नरेक is नरेकी ; so also खनकः 'miner', fem. खनकी ; रजकः 'washer-man', fem. रजकी.

In the case of the root रंज the nasal is elided. According to the opinion of the author of *Mahābhāshya*, only two verbs are governed by this sūtra namely मृत् and खन्. According to him, the verb रस्ता takes the affix कुन्. Thus रस्ता+कुन् = रस्ता+तु (VI. 4. 37) = रस्ता+भक् (VII. I. 1) = रस्ताकः, feminine रस्तिका.

ग्रस्यकन् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गः, यकन् (शिस्तिपनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गायते स्थकन् प्रस्वयो भवति शिस्तिपनि कर्त्तरि ॥

146. The affix यकन्, (यक) comes after the verb गे to 'sing', when the agent so expressed, denotes an artist.

As, गे+यकन् = गायकः (VI. I. 45) 'a singer', fem. गायिका.

श्युट् च ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्युट् च (गः, शिस्तिपनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गायते ष्युट् प्रस्वयो भवति शिस्तिपनि कर्त्तरि ॥

147. The affix ष्युट् is also employed after the verb गे 'to sing', when the agent so expressed denotes an artist.

By the word च 'also', the word गा of the last sūtra is drawn into this. Thus गे+ष्युट् = गा+भन् (VII. I. 1) = गायनः fem. गायनी ; the च is added by VII. 3. 33.

The separation of these rules (*yoga-vibhāga*) relating to गे is for the purpose of the sūtras that follow. Had ग्रस्यकन् and ष्युट् च been made one aphorism, the *anuvritti* of both these affixes would have run into the subsequent sūtras. But it is intended that the *anuvritti* of ष्युट् should only run, and hence this *yoga-vibhāga* or division of one sūtra into two.

हश्च ब्रीहिकालयोः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, च, ब्रीहि-कालयोः, (ष्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहाते जिहीते अधातो ष्युट् प्रस्वयो भवति ब्रीहि काले च कर्त्तरि ॥

148. After the verb ह, also the affix ष्युट् is employed when the agent so expressed denotes 'rice' and 'time'.

The verb हा denotes two verbs हाक् 'to abandon' and हाह् 'to go' both belonging to the Third Conjugation, forming जहाति and जिहीते as 3rd per. sing. Thus हा+ष्युट् = हावनः 'a kind of rice' (that which *jahāti* 'leaves off' all water) हावनः 'a year' (that which *jihīte* 'goes through' all conditions.)

The accents are however different in the two. In one case the *udātta* is on the middle ; in the other, on the last.

पुस्त् (सु)स्वः समभिहारे बुन् ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पु-स्त्-(सु)-स्वः, समभिहारे, बुन् ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ पु व् (सु) लू इत्येतेष्वो धातुभ्यः समभिहारे बुन् प्रस्त्ययो भवति ॥

149. After the verbs पु 'to go', स् 'to move', लू 'to flow' and लू 'to cut', the affix बुन् is employed, when repetition is meant.

As, पु + बुन् = प्री + अकः (VII. I. 1) = प्रवकः; so also, सरकः, सवकः, and लवकः.

The word *samabhihāra* in the sūtra indicates that the action done by the agent must be well performed. The affix *vun* being thus ordained for the action, when it is well performed, it follows, that it will not be employed where the action is repeatedly ill performed. The affix will be employed even when there is no repetition but the action is well performed even at the first attempt.

आशिषि च ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, च, (बुन्) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि गम्यमानार्था धातुमात्राद् बुन् प्रस्त्ययो भवति ॥

150. The affix बुन् is employed after all verbs, when benediction is intended.

As, शीष + बुन् = जीवकः 'may he live' ; नन्दकः 'may he be happy'.

The word आशिषि means a sort of prayer ; and it relates to action. The force of this affix is that of 'an agent with the addition that the action is simply the object of a prayer of some one who wishes that that may be the action of that agent'.

बौद्ध

आथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER II.

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कर्मण्यर् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, अष्ट, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वत्र कर्मण्युपपदे धातोरण्यप्रस्त्यवो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शीलिकामिभवाचरित्वो एः पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरस्य च वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिक म् ॥ ईशिष्मिण्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

1. The affix अष्ट comes after a verbal root when the object, (of whatever sort it may be), is in composition with it, (as an upapada).

The object or karma is of three sorts, namely *nivartya*, *vikārya* and *prāpya*.

The object which has a material cause, but such cause is however unexpressed in the sentence, is called *nivartya* object ; as कुम्भं करोति 'he makes a pot' ; here मुद् 'mud' the material cause of कुम्भ is unexpressed, therefore, कुम्भ is *nivartya* object. Where the material cause itself is changed, by a modification, into something else, such an object is called *vikārya* object ; as काण्डनावः 'the branch-cutter'. While the object which cannot be approached by any action, and is not affected by it, but is always constant, is called the *prāpya* object ; as वेदाध्यायः 'the reading of Veda' ; the Veda is always the same.

They will be illustrated by the following examples :—Of the first kind, we have कुम्भकारः 'a potter' and नगरकारः 'a city-builder' ; of the second, we have काण्डनावः 'a branch-cutter' and शरनावः 'a reed-cutter'. Of the third, वेदाध्यायः 'the learning of Veda' and चर्चापाठः 'the reading of Charchā'. But compound nouns cannot be formed of such sentences as ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village', आदित्यं पश्यति 'he sees the sun', 'हिमवंशं शृणोति 'he hears the Himavat'. The reason is that it is against the usage of the language to form nouns out of these.

Vart:—The affix ए comes after the verbs शील, काम्, भवय and आचर and the noun in composition with it, retains its original accent. As मांसशीलः 'addicted to flesh', fem. मांसकामः 'loving flesh', fem. मांसकामा ; मांसभवः 'carnivorous', fem. मांसभवा ; and कल्पाणाचारः 'good-conducted', fem. कल्पाणाचारा ।

Vart:—The affix ए comes after the roots इक् ‘to look’ and अम् ‘to forbear’ under similar circumstances. As सुखप्रतीक्षः; fem. सुखप्रतीक्षा ‘expecting happiness’; बहुजनः; fem. बहुजना ‘much forbearing’.

हावानश्च ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ हा, वा, नः, ए, (अ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हे भ्, वे भ्, माह्, एते यथ कर्मण्युपपदेण्यप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

2. The affix अए comes after the root हे भ् ‘to call’, वे भ् ‘to weave’, माह् ‘to measure’, when the object is in composition with it.

This debars the affix क (III. 2. 3); as स्वर्गं + हे + अए = स्वर्गं + हाय + अ (VII. 3. 33) = स्वर्गहायः (the अ is added by rule VII. 3. 33, ‘when a kṛit affix with an indicatory ए or अ follows, the augment अ is added after the verbs that end in long आ’). So also तन्तुवायः; धान्यमायः।

आतोऽनुपसर्गं कः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, अनुपसर्गं, कः, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्योऽनुपसर्गेभ्यः कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

3. The affix क comes after a verbal root that ends in long आ when there is no upasarga preceding it and when the object is in composition with it.

This debars अए; as गां + इ + क = गां + इ + अ = गोः ‘Giver of cows’, (the long आ is elided by VI. 4. 64).—So also, कम्बलः ‘who gives a blanket’; पाण्डित्यम् ‘what protects the rear’; अङ्गुलिम् ‘what protects the finger’ (a thimble).

Why do we say ‘when there is no upasarga’? Witness गोसंदायः ‘who ceremoniously gives a cow’, वदवरांदाय ‘who ceremoniously gives a mare’. Here the compound verb संदा takes the affix अए.

सुषि स्थः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुषि, स्थः, (कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्त उपपदे तिष्ठते: कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

4. The affix क comes after the root स्थ when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, as an upapada.

In the three previous sūtras, the word in composition was always in the accusative case. This sūtra declares that with regard to the verb स्थ, the upapada may have any case not necessarily the accusative. As समस्थः = समे तिष्ठति ‘who dwells in accessible position’; and विषमस्थः ‘having an inaccessible position’.

This sūtra should be divided into two sūtras (yoga-bibhāga). Thus:—
(1) सृष्टि ॥ The affix क comes after every root ending in long आ, when in composition with a case-inflected word ; as द्राघ्यां चिरति = द्रि + पा + क = द्रिष्टः (VI. 4. 64) 'who drinks with two organs' i.e., the proboscis and the mouth, an elephant'. So also पात्रः 'a plant' (what drinks through the foot). कच्छृपः 'a tortoise' (that always protects its mouth by drawing it in, at the approach of danger).
(2) सृष्टिस्थ. ॥ The affix क comes after the root स्था when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix. Why do we make this two-fold division, when we see the second rule is included in the first as the verb स्था also ends in a long आ ? The reason is that the first rule applies where the agent is indicated, while the second rule applies where condition is to be denoted. As भास्तुनामुरथानम् = भास्तुरथः 'a swarm of rats'; so also शन्मीस्थः 'a swarm of locusts'.

Both the words कर्मणि and सृष्टि are understood in the sūtras that follow: *vis*: the word कर्मणि in sūtras that relate to transitive verbs, and the word सृष्टि everywhere else.

तुन्दशोकयोः परिसृजापनुदोः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुन्द-शोकसोः,
परिसृज-अपनुदोः, (कर्मणि, कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुन्दशोकयोः कर्मणीरप्यरथयोः परिसृजापनुदोधार्तयोः कग्रस्ययो वृत्तिः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ भाजस्यसुखाहरणयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ कप्रकरणे मूलविशुजादिष्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

5. The affix क comes after the verbs परिसृज् 'to wash out' and भनुद् 'to drive away', when in composition with the words तुन्द 'navel' and शोक 'grief', as objects, respectively.

As तुन्द परिसृज भास्ते 'he lay lazy'. So also शोकापनुदः पुन्नी जातः 'a son, destroyer of sorrow is born'.

Vart.—This affix is to be applied only then, when the meaning of the word to be formed is 'lazy' and 'giver of happiness'.

Vart.—The epithet तुन्द परिसृजः is applied to a lazy person ; while तुन्द परिमार्जः means who clears his navel. So शोकापनुदः means giver of happiness, while शोकापनोदः means 'removal of sorrow'.

Vart.—The words मूलविशुजः 'a chariot' and the rest should be included in the subdivision of words formed by the affix क. The words belonging to this head can only be recognised by their form, there being no list of them to be found anywhere. Thus मूलविशुजः 'a chariot', नस्मुचः 'a bow,' काकगुह 'sesamums', कुमुदम् (कौ मीदते) 'a lotus'.

प्रेदाशः ॥ द् ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, दा-शः, (कर्मसि, कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दशतेर्जानातेष्व धातोः प्रेषोपस्थात् कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रस्वयो भवति ॥

6. The affix क comes after the root श 'to give' and ज्ञा 'to know', when taking the preposition श and in composition with a word in the accusative case.

We applied by sūtra 3 the affix क after verbs that ended in long श and had no upasarga. Now begins the case of verbs with upasarga. This debars the affix भए; as सर्वग्रहः (VI. 4. 64) 'giver of all; liberal', पथिग्रहः (VI. 4. 64) 'acquainted with roads'. The long श of श and ज्ञा is elided by VI. 4. 64.

Why do we say 'when taking श'? With any other upasarga these verbs will take the general affix भए; as गीसंख्या.

समिस्थः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि समि, स्थः, (कर्मसि, कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्णात् ख्या इत्येतस्माद्वातोः कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रस्वयो भवति ॥

7. The affix क comes after the root ख्या 'to tell', when preceded by the preposition सम्, and when the object is in composition with it.

The verb ख्या ends in long श and by III. 2. 3 when compounded with an upasarga, it would have taken the affix भए. This debars भए; as गीसंख्या (VI. 4. 64) 'a cowherd' (गा संख्या).

गापोष्टक् ॥ द् ॥ पदानि ॥ गा-पोः, टक्, (कर्मसि, अनुपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गायते: पिवते श धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे अनुपसर्गे टक्-प्रस्वयो भवति ॥

पार्तिकम् ॥ सुराशीध्वोः पिवतेरिति वन्धनवम् ॥

पार्तिकम् ॥ लहूनं छन्दसि इति वन्धनवम् ॥

8. The affix टक् comes after the verbs गे 'to sing' and पा 'to drink' when used without a preposition, and when the object is in composition with it.

The phrase *anupasarga* is to be read again into this sūtra by *anuvritti* from sūtra 3, though this *anuvritti* had temporarily lain dormant in sūtra 6 and 7. as being unnecessary. This debars क; of this affix द् and क are indicatory the द showing among others that the feminine is formed by the affix ढीए (IV. I. 14)

As, शक्तं गायति = शक्त + गा + टक् = शक्तगः (VI. 4. 64) 'who sings Sakra hymns'. सामगः 'singer of Sāma'. fem. शक्तगी and सामगी !

Vart.—The affix टक् comes after the verb पा when it means to drink and only when it is in composition with the words सुपा and शीध् as its object,

This is an important modification of the general sūtra. Thus सुरापः fem. सुरापी 'wine-bibber' ; शीधुपः fem. शीधुपी 'spirit-drinker'.

Why do we say 'when in composition with surā and sidhu'? Observe शीर्षा ब्राह्मणी 'the milk-drinking Brāhmaṇī'; formed by the affix क and the semi-nine, therefore, not formed by the affix ई but by आ.

Why do we say 'when प्र means to drink'? When प्र means 'to protect' this affix is not used ; as सुरापा 'who protects wine'.

When these words are compounded with an *upasarga* they do not take एक् but अष्ट् ; as शक्तसंगाचः, सामसंगाचः ।

Vart.—There is diversity in the Chandas as to the employment of these affixes ; as वा ब्राह्मणी सुरापी or सुरापा भवति जैना देवाः पतिक्लोकं नयन्ति 'the gods do not carry that Brāhmaṇī to the regions of her husband who drinks wine'.

हरतेरमुद्यमनेऽच् ॥९॥ पदानि ॥ हरतेः, अमुद्यमने, अच्,
(कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतेर्वातोरनुद्यमने वर्तनामात् कर्मण्युपयदेऽच्प्रस्थयो भवति ॥
वार्तिंकम् ॥ भच्प्रकरणे शक्तिलांगलांकुशमष्टिसोमरघटघटीधनुष्यु ग्रहेष्वसंख्यानम् ॥
वार्तिंकम् ॥ सूक्ष्मेच धार्ययेऽ ॥

9. The affix अच् comes after the verb उभ् when it does not mean 'to raise up', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars अष्ट्. The word उद्यमत् means 'to raise a load'. Thus अंति हरति = अंशहरः 'who takes a share, or sharer' ; so रिक्षहरः 'an heir'. (ह + अच् = हर + अ = हरः) (VII. 3. 84).

Why do we say 'when it does not mean to raise up'? For then the affix अष्ट् will be employed ; as भारहारः 'a burden-bearer, a porter'.

Vart.—This affix comes after the verb उह् when in composition with the words शक्ति 'spear', लाङ्गल 'plough', अंकुश 'goad', वटि 'staff', तोमर 'an iron club', घट 'jar', घटी 'a small jar', घनुप 'a bow' ; as शक्तिप्रहः 'a lancer', लाङ्गलप्रहः 'a plough-man', अंकुशप्रहः 'an elephant driver', वटिप्रहः 'a staff-bearer', तोमरप्रहः 'a club-bearer', घटप्रहः, घटीप्रहः 'a jar-bearer', घनुप्रहः 'a bow-bearer'.

Vart.—This affix comes after the verb उह् when the word सूक्ष्म is in composition with it and the sense is that of 'holding' ; as सूक्ष्मप्रहः 'a thread-holder'. When it has not this meaning we have सूक्ष्मप्राहः 'a thread-taker'.

वयसि च ॥१०॥ पदानि ॥ वयसि, च, (हरतेः, कर्मणि, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वयसि गम्यमाने हरतेः कर्मण्युपयदेऽच्प्रस्थयो भवति ॥

10. The affix अ॒च् comes after the verb इ॒म् when the object is in composition with it and when the meaning of the word to be formed is descriptive of age.

In this sūtra the verb इ॒म् has the sense of *udyamana* which was specifically excluded in the last. The word वय॑स् means the condition of human body as dependent upon time. This rule applies to those words which indicate the attainment of appropriate age for the accomplishment of objects described by the *upapada*, or the reaching of that age in which the thing described by the *upapada* naturally takes place ; as भव्याहरः च 'the dog that has reached the age when it can chew bones' (lit. when it can raise it up) ; कवचहरः भजियकुमारः 'the Kshatriya boy old enough to wear (lit. 'to raise up or bear) the shield' ; so that the verb here has the sense of 'raising up'.

**आङ्गि ताच्छील्ये॥११॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्गि, ताच्छील्ये, (कर्मेणि, ह-
रते:, अ॒च्) ॥**

बृत्सः ॥ भाह् पूजाद्वरते: कर्मण्डुपपरेऽच्प्रस्त्वयो भवति ॥

11. The affix अ॒च् comes after the verb इ॒म् (when the object is in composition with it), the root taking the preposition भा॒म्, and the sense of the word to be formed is inclination or accustomed occupation.

The word ताच्छील्य means a natural inclination or habitual occupation ; as पूष्पाहरः (पूष्प + भाहरति = पूष्प + भाहर) 'he who has a natural tendency towards fetching flowers or whose habitual occupation is to collect flowers' ; so also फलाहरः ।

Why do we say 'when denoting inclination' ? Otherwise the affix will be अ॒ण् ; as भारमाहरति = भाराहारः 'who brings load'.

अहे: ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आहे:, (कर्मेणि, अ॒च्) ॥

बृत्सः ॥ भर्ह पूजाद्वा॒मि. भस्माद्वातोः कर्मण्डुपपरेऽच्प्रस्त्वयो भवति ॥

12. The affix अ॒च् comes after the verb अ॒हे 'to respect', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars भए. The words so formed are especially of feminine gender. As पूजार्हा 'deserving of respect' ; so also गन्धार्हा, मालार्हा ।

**स्तम्बकर्षयो रमिजपोः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्ब-कर्षयोः, रमि-
जपोः, (सुषि, अ॒च्) ॥**

बृत्सः ॥ स्तम्बकर्षयो इत्येतयोः सुषम्बयोरुपपरेऽच्प्रस्त्वयो
भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इरितसूचकवोरिति वन्हाच्यम् ॥

13. The affix अ॒॒ comes after the verb र॒॒ 'to sport' and ज॒॒ 'to whisper' when the case-inflected words स्तम्भ 'a clump of grass' and कर्ण 'ear' are in composition with them respectively.

The verb र॒॒ is intransitive and the verb ज॒॒ can take an object under very limited circumstances, only namely when the object denotes *Sabda*; therefore in the case of both these verbs, the object cannot be in composition as an accusative case; therefore, the *upapada* here must be a general case-inflected word. Hence we have read the *anuvritti* of the word सु॒॒ from *sûtra* 4 into this, the *anuvritti* of the word कर्म being inapplicable here.

Vari.—The words to be formed must have the sense of 'elephant' and a 'tale-bearer'. Thus स्तम्बेरमते = स्तम्बेरमः 'an elephant (lit. who sports in cluster of grass)' कर्णे जपति = कर्णेजपः 'a slanderer (lit. who whispers in the ear)'.

The affix अ॒॒ is not employed when the words to be formed do not mean an 'elephant' and a 'traducer'. Thus स्तम्बे रम्ता 'who plays in clusters of grass'. कर्णे जपिता मशक्. 'the mosquito that hums near the ear'.

शनि धातोः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शनि, धातोः, सं-
ज्ञायाम्, (अ॒॒) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शन्द्वपपरे धातुमात्रासंज्ञायां विष्वे इच्छत्वयो भवति ॥

14. The affix अ॒॒ is employed after the verbal roots when शम् 'well', is in composition, and the word to be formed denotes a name.

As शम्+कृ+अ॒॒=शंकरः lit. 'who does good'. So also संभदः संवदः । All these are proper nouns.

Why have we repeated the word *dhatu* in this aphorism, when it was understood by *anuvritti* from *sûtra* III. 1. 91? To this the reply is, that the repetition of the word *dhatu* shows that there is prohibition of the affix ए, that comes after the verb कृ in certain senses (III. 2. 20), when the word शम् is in composition. The affix अ॒॒ will be employed after the verb कृ and not the affix ए, when शम् is an upapada, even when the sense to be indicated is that of cause, habit &c. (III. 2. 20). The result is that the feminine of शंकर will be शंकरा, and not शंकरी, which, had the affix been ए, would have been the proper feminine (See IV. 1. 14). शंकरा means 'a female-ascetic,' 'a vulture' and 'one having the habit of doing good'.

अधिकरणे शेतेः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरणे, शेतेः, (सुषिः, अ॒॒) ॥

दृत्तिः ॥ शोतेर्भातोरधिकरणे सुबन्तउपपरे उच्चप्रस्तयो भवति ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ पाश्वर्दिष्पूसं खवानम् ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ दिग्भसहपूर्वाच्च ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ उत्तानादिषु कर्तृषु ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ गिरौ उच्छ्वन्दसि ॥

15. The affix भृ comes after the verb शी 'to lie down' when in composition with a case-inflected word indicating location, i. e., in the locative case.

The word सूर् (III. 2. 4) a noun ending in a case-affix is understood in this aphorism. As शेषे शेषे = स्थायः 'who lies in the sky'.

Vart.—The affix भृ comes after the verb शी when in composition with the words पाश्वं 'ribs', &c., though not necessarily denoting location; as पाश्वश्चां शेषे = पाश्वश्चायः 'who reclines on his sides', उत्तरश्चायः 'who lies on his stomach', पृष्ठश्चायः 'who lies on his back'.

Vart.—And when the verb शी is preceded by the word दिग्भसह; as दिग्भेन सह शेषे = दिग्भसहश्चायः ॥

Vart.—So also when the words उत्तान &c. are in composition with it denoting agent and in the nominative case. As उत्तानः शेषे = उत्तानश्चायः । भवमूर्द्धा शेषे = भवमूर्द्धश्चायः ।

Vart.—In the Chandas the affix उच्च comes after the verb शी when in composition with the word गिरि in the locative. As गिरौ शेषे = गिरिश्चायः 'who lies on the mountain'.

The letter उ of उच्च is indicatory denoting that there is elision of the final vowel with what follows it (I. I. 64).

चरेष्टः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरेः, टः, (अधिकारणे, सुषिः) ॥
 दृत्तिः ॥ चरेभातोरधिकरणे सुबन्त उपपरे उच्चप्रस्तयो भवति ॥

16. The affix उ comes after the verb चर 'to go' when a case-inflected word in composition with it, denotes location.

The word *adhibharana* of the last sūtra is understood in this. As कुरु चरति — कुरुचरः 'who goes among the Kurus'. मद्राचरः 'who goes among the Madras'.

Of the affix उ the real affix is भ, the letter उ being indicatory, showing that the feminine of these words is formed by the affix उच्च. (See. IV. I. 14), as कुरुचरी, मद्राचरी ।

भिक्षासेनादायेषु च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिक्षा-सेना-आदायेषु,
च, (चरेः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिक्षा सेना भावाच इत्येतेषुपदेषु चरेऽर्थातोऽप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. The affix च is employed after the verb चर् 'to go', when the words in composition with it are भिक्षा 'alms', सेना 'army' and भावाच 'having taken'.

The *anuvritti* of the words 'in the locative case' does not extend to this aphorism, and hence the necessity of making a distinct and separate sūtra.

Thus भिक्षाचरः 'a beggar' (who goes for alms); सेनाचरः 'one who goes with an army'; भावाचरः 'one who goes after having taken'.

पुरोऽग्रतोऽग्रेषु सर्तेः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरस्-अग्रतस्-अग्रेषु, सर्तेः,
(टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरस् भग्रतस् भवे इत्येतेषुपदेषु सर्तेऽर्थातोऽप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix च comes after the verb च 'to move' when the words in composition with it, are पुरः, भग्रतः and भवे, all meaning 'in front of or before'.

As पुरः सरति = पुरःसरः 'who goes in front, a harbinger'. So also भग्रतः सरः and भग्रवतः 'going in front, a leader'.

पूर्वे कर्त्तरि ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वे, कर्त्तरि, (सर्तेः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेग्रवे कर्त्तृवाचन्युपपरे सर्तेऽर्थातोऽप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. The affix च comes after the verb च 'to go', when पूर्वः is in composition with it, denoting the agent.

Thus पूर्वः सरति = पूर्वसरः 'going in front'.

Why do we say 'denoting the agent'? Otherwise the affix भण् will be employed. As पूर्वेशं सरति = पूर्वसरः 'going to the east'.

क जो हेतुसाच्छील्यानुलोम्येषु ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ कुजः, हेतु-ता-
च्छील्य-आनुलोम्येषु, (कर्मस्थि, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपरे करोतेर्थातोऽप्रत्ययो भवति हेतौ ताच्छील्ये भानुलोम्ये च गम्यमाने ॥

20. The affix च comes after the verb कृश् 'to make' when the object is in composition with it denoting cause, habit and going with the grain (concession).

The word हेतु of this sūtra means the final or conclusive cause, and is not the grammatical हेतु meaning agent. ताच्छील्य means habit, and literally, the

act of being accustomed to that. आनुज्ञोन्य comes from अनुज्ञोम meaning 'with the hair', that is to say, regular, in natural order, successive, and hence favourable, and agreeable complaisance, acquiescence &c. Of हेतु, we have शोककरी कन्धा 'the daughter that causes sorrow'; यशस्करी विद्या 'honorable science'; कुलकर धन 'the family making wealth'. Of ताच्छ्रीन्य, we have आख्यकरः 'who performs obsequies'; धर्यकरः 'who amasses wealth'. Of आनुज्ञोन्य, we have पैषकरः 'who promptly does what he is directed'; वचनकरः 'who regularly does what he is told'.

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Otherwise the affix will be भण्. As कुम्भकारः 'potter', नगरकारः 'city-maker'.

दिवाविभानिशाप्रभाभास्कारान्तानन्तादिवहुनान्दीकिंलिपिलिबि-
वलिभक्तिकर्तृचित्रहेत्र संस्थाजड्घावाह्वहर्यत्तद्वनुररुषु ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥
दिवा-विभा-निशा-प्रभा-भास्-कार-अन्त-अनन्त-आदि-बहु-नान्दी-किं-लिपि-
लिबि-वलि-भक्ति-कर्तृ-चित्र-हेत्र-संस्था-जड्घा-वाहु-अहः-यत्-तत्-धनुस्-अ-
रुषु, (कर्मस्ति, सुषि, करोते:, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवाविष्पूषदेषु करोतेर्वतोषप्रस्तवबो भवति ॥

वार्तिंकम् ॥ किं यत्तद्वहुषु कुम्भान्दीविधानम् ॥

21. The affix त्र comes after the verb कु 'to make' when the following words are in composition with it :— दिवा 'by day', विभा 'light', निशा 'night', प्रभा 'splendour', आः 'light', कार 'work', अन्त 'end', अनन्त 'endless', आदि 'beginning', बहु 'many', नान्दी 'benediction', किं 'what', लिपि 'writing', लिबि 'writing', वलि 'oblation', भक्ति 'devotion', कर्तृ 'agent', चित्र 'painting', जड्घा 'field', words denoting numerals, जड्घा 'thigh', वाहु 'hand', अहः 'day', यत् 'what', तत् 'that', धनुस् 'bow' and अन्तस् 'wound'.

Both the words 'karma' and 'sup' are understood in this aphorism; that is to say, sometimes these upapadas stand as accusative case and sometimes they have other cases, as the construction may require. This affix त्र comes when the sense is not that of cause &c., as it was in the last sūtra.

Thus दिवाकरः 'the sun.' The word दिवा is an indeclinable and means 'in the day time'. There the *upapada*, therefore, is in the locative case. The sun is so called, because it makes creatures active in the day time.

So विभाकरः 'the sun' (light-maker); निशाकरः 'the moon' (the night-maker); प्रभाकरः 'the sun'; भास्करः 'the sun' (the letter स is not changed into *visarga*, as it has been so read in the sūtra); कारकरः 'agent'; अनन्तकरः 'death' (end-maker); अनन्तकरः 'magnifying to any extent'; आदिकरः 'the creator'; बहुकरः 'the busy'; नान्दीकरः 'the speaker of benediction'; किंकरः 'a servant'; लिपिकरः 'a

scribe' ; लिखिकरः 'a scribe' ; वलिकरः 'offering sacrifice' ; भन्तिकरः 'a devotee' ; कर्तृकरः 'an agent' ; चित्रकरः 'a painter' ; क्षेत्रकरः 'a cultivator' ; एककरः 'doing only one thing' ; द्विकरः 'doing two things' ; त्रिकरः 'doing three things' ; जन्धवाकरः 'a runner, an express' ; बाहुकरः 'a hero', 'a manual labourer' ; भहस्करः 'the sun' ; तस्करः 'doing that' ; यस्करः 'doing that' ; पतुष्करः 'bow-maker' ; भहस्करः 'causing or inflicting wounds'.

Vart.—The affix अच् comes after the verb कृ when किम्, बद्, तद् and बहु are in composition with it. The speciality of इ affix is that the feminine of words derived from it is formed by long ई ; while the feminine of words derived by अच् is formed by long आ. Thus किंकरा, यशकरा, तस्करा and बहुकरा ; these words might be said to belong to the भजानि class (See IV. I. 31).

कर्मस्थि भूतौ ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मस्थि, भूतौ, (कर्मस्थि, करोते:, टः) ॥

यूनिः ॥ कर्मशब्द उपपदे कर्मशाचिन्नं करोतेष्टप्रत्ययो भवति भूतौ गम्यमानायाम् ॥

22. The affix इ comes after the verb कृ 'to make', when the word कर्म is in composition with it, and the sense of the word to be formed is that of wages.

The word भूति means service for hire, wages. The word कर्म does not mean the grammatical object but the word-form कर्म ; as कर्मकरः 'a hired labourer' (not a slave) ; otherwise the affix is अण् ; as कर्मकारः 'an artisan'.

न शब्दश्लोककलहगाथावैरचादुसूत्रमन्त्रपदेषु ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥
न, शब्द-श्लोक-कलह-गाथा-वैर-चादु-सूत्र-मन्त्र-पदेषु, (करोते:, टः) ॥

यूनिः ॥ शब्दादिष्पूपदेषु करोतेष्टप्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

23. The affix इ does not come after the verb कृ 'to make', when the following words are in composition with it :—शब्द 'sound', श्लोक 'verse', कलह 'quarrel', गाथा 'praise', वैर 'enmity', चादु 'flattery', सूत्र 'thread', मन्त्र 'hymns' and पद 'word'.

This prohibition relates even when the sense is that of cause, habit &c. The affix इ being prohibited, the general affix अण् takes its place. As शब्दकारः 'sounding, sonorous' ; श्लोककारः 'a verse-maker' ; कलहकारः 'one who foments quarrels' ; गाथाकारः 'a writer of Gāthās or prakritiee verses' ; वैरकारः 'an enemy' ; चादुकारः 'a flatterer' ; सूत्रकारः 'an author of sūtras' ; मन्त्रकारः 'a composer of Mantras' ; पदकारः 'an author of Padapātha'.

स्तम्भशुक्तोरिन् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्भ-शुक्तोः, इन्, (क-
र्म्मि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्ब शकुत् इत्येतयोः कर्मणोऽपपश्योरिन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ श्रीहिवल्लभोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

24. The affix इ॒ comes after the verb कृ when the objects in composition with it, are the words स्तम्भ 'a sheaf', and गङ्गा 'ordure'.

Thus स्तम्भ + कृ + इन् = स्तम्भकरि nom. sing. स्तम्भकरिः ; so also शक्रत् करिः.

Vart.—This rule is applicable when the sense of the words to be formed, is that of 'rice' and 'a calf' respectively. Therefore सत्यकरिः means 'rice', and शत्रुकरिः, 'a calf'.

When the words have not the senses of 'rice' and 'a calf', the affix अ॒न् is employed. As सत्त्वकारः 'sheaf-maker', शक्तकारः 'ordure-maker'.

हरतेद्वृतिनाथयोः पश्चौ ॥२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरतेः, दृति-नाथयोः,
पश्चौ, (कर्मजि, इन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृति नाय इरवेतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः हरतेर्धातोः पशौ कर्त्तरि इन् प्रददयो भवति ॥

25. When the agent indicated is an animal, the affix એ comes after the verb તા 'to take', the object in composition with it being the words એન 'a leather-bag' and નાય 'a master'.

Thus दृतिहरि: 'a dog' (a carrier of skin); नायहरि: 'a beast' (that carries its master).

When the words formed do not denote an animal, the affix भृत् is employed; as इतिहारः 'a water-carrier' (a carrier of a leather-bag for holding water). नाथहारः 'a carrier of his master'.

फलेयहिरात्ममभरिष्व ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ फलेयहिः-आत्ममभरिः;

पृथ्वीः ॥ फलेषु द्विः भास्मम्भरिः इत्येतत्रौ शब्दौ निपाश्येते ॥

26. And the words फज्जेमहि and भास्मभति are irregularly formed.

The word फलेभिः is formed by adding the affix इ् to the verb भए and making the upapada end in the vowel ए. Thus फलानि गृहणाति=फलेभिः: 'the fruit-bearing i. e. a tree'.

The word आस्मभिः is formed by adding the augment मूऽ् (अ) to the upapada आस्म, and the affix इ॒ to the verb भृ॒. Thus आस्मानं विभर्ति = आस्मभिः: 'selfish' (one who feeds his own self).

The word 'and' indicates that there are other such irregularly-formed words. As कुसिंश्चरिः 'gluttonous, selfish' (caring to feed his own belly). उद्दरम्भरिः 'gluttonous, selfish'.

द्वन्द्वसि वनस्पतिमथाम् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वसि, वन-स्पति-
रक्षि-मथाम्, (कर्मणि, इन्) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ वम सन संभक्तो, रक्ष पाज्ञने, मथ विज्ञोडने, एतेभ्यः कर्मण्युपयदे छन्दसि विपवे इन्
प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. In the Vedic literature, the affix ए॒ comes after the verbs व॑ 'to honor' स॑ 'to worship' र॑ 'to protect' and ग॑ 'to agitate', when the object is in composition.

Thus व्रायनि त्वा भवत्तिम् (Vaj. San. I. 17., V. 12., VI. 3) ; उत नो गोषनि (Rig. Ved. VI. 53. 10) ये ते इवानौ पयिरक्षा (Rig. Ved. X. 14. 11) इद्धा यातनामभवत् पारापारो हृतिर्मीनाम् (Rig. Ved. VII. 104. 21).

एजे: खश् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ एजे:, खश्, (कर्मणि) ॥

वर्णिः ॥ एजु कम्पने हृत्यस्माद् षष्ठ्यतत्कर्मण्युपपत्ते लक्ष्यप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ खद्रपत्यये वातशुभीतिलग्नखेंष्टमधेद् सुदजातीनामुपसंख्यान् ॥

28. The affix खा॒ comes after the verb ए॒ 'to tremble' when ending in ि॑ (III. 26.) and when the object is in composition with it.

This affix comes after the causative of एज्. Of the affix लग् the letters ल् and ग् are indicatory, the real affix is अ. The ल् indicates that the augment मु॒ is added to the upapada ending in a vowel (VI. 3. 67). The ग् indicates that this is a Sārvadhātuka affix (III. 4. 113), and therefore the vikaraṇas like शप् &c. (III. 1. 68.) will be employed here. Thus भज्जनेजयति = भज्जनेजयः (भज्जन् + एजि + शप् + लग् = भज्जन् + एजे + अ + अ) 'who awes the limbs'; जनमेजयः 'who awes mankind'.

Vart:—The affix खण् comes after the verbs भज् 'to go', खेद् 'to suck', तुह् 'to strike', श्वा 'to leave' when in composition with the words वात 'wind', शुर्ना 'a bitch', सिल 'sesamum' and शर्व 'flatulence'. As वातमज्जाः सूगाः 'swift antelopes' (going with the wind); शुर्निधवः 'a bitch-sucker'; सिलतुहः 'an oilman'; शर्वञ्जाहा मापाः 'a kind of bean' (that causes or cures flatulence). The long ई of शुर्ना is shortened by VI. 3. 66.

नासिकास्तनयोर्धर्माधेटोः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नासिका-स्तनयोः,
धमा-धेटोः, (कर्मणि, खण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नासिकास्तनयोः कर्मणोरुपपश्योर्धर्माधेटोर्धात्वोः खण् प्रस्थयो भवति ॥
वासिंकम् ॥ स्तने धेटः ॥ नासिकावांतु धम्भ धेटम् ॥

29. The affix खण् comes after the verbs आ 'to blow' and धे 'to suck' when नासिका 'nose' and स्तनं 'breast' are in composition with them as object.

The rule of *yathāsankhyā* as given in I. 3. 10 does not however, apply here. For स्तनं is compounded with धेटः; as (स्तनं + धे + खण् = स्तनं + दुम् + धे + शृः + खण् = रतनं + म् + धय् + भ + ध) = स्तनध्यः 'an infant' (sucking the breast).

But नासिका is compounded with both धमा and धे; as नासिका + धमा + खण् = नासिक + म् + धम + ध (VI. 3. 66 and 67; VII. 3. 78) = नासिकधमः 'blowing and breathing through the nose'. So also नासिकध्यः 'drinking through the nose'.

That the rule of *yathāsankhyā* does not apply here, is indicated by the irregular construction of the *Dvandva* compound नासिकास्तनयोः. By rule II. 2. 84. the word रतन containing fewer syllables ought to have stood first; one irregularity lets in another.

The feminine of द्वन्द्वध्यः is द्वन्द्वध्यी, as the verb धे has an indicatory द्।

नाडीमुष्टधोश्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नाडी-मुष्टधोः, च, (कर्मणोः,
धमा-धेटोः, खण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाडी मुष्टि इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपश्योर्धर्माधेटोः खण् प्रस्थयो भवति ॥

30. And when the words नाडी 'a tube' and मुष्टि 'fist' are objects in composition with the verbs आ and धे, the affix खण् is employed.

Here also the irregularly-formed *Dvandva* compound नाडीमुष्टि shows the non-applicability of the rule of *yathāsankhyā*; for मुष्टि being a धि ought to have stood first (II. 2. 32).

Thus नाडिन्धमः 'blowing through the tube'; मुष्टिन्धमः 'blowing through the fist'; नाडिन्ध्यः 'sucking through the tube', an infant; मुष्टिन्ध्यः 'an infant'.

The word 'and' in the aphorism indicates that there are other words also so formed. Thus घटिन्धमः, घटिन्ध्यः, खारिन्धमः, खारिन्ध्यः, वातन्धमः, वातन्ध्यः, 'a mountain'.

This sūtra is not Pāṇini's, but is really a Vārtika, raised to the rank of a sūtra by the author of the Kāsikā. The Vārtikakāra divides the last sūtra in this way: (1) रतने धेटः ॥ (2) ततो मुटो धम्भ ॥ (3) नासिकावां द्वन्द्वधेष्य ॥ (4) नाडी मुष्टि घटेखारीज्जिति द्वन्द्वध्यम् ॥

उदि कूले रुजिवहोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, कूले, रुजि-वहोः, (खण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुजो भञ्जने, वह प्रापणे, एतायामुत्पूर्वायां कूले कर्मण्युपपदे खण्प्रस्थयो भवति ॥

31. The affix खण् comes after the verbs रुज् 'to break into pieces' and वह् 'to carry', when preceded by the upasarga उदि and the word कूल 'bank' is in composition with them as the object.

Thus कूलमुद्भजति = कूलमुद्भजः 'breaking down banks' (such as a chariot, river, elephant, &c.); कूलमुश्वः 'tearing up or carrying away the bank'.

वहास्ते लिहः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वह-अस्ते, लिहः ॥ (खण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वह अथ इत्येतयोः कर्मणीहपपदयोः जिडेधातोः खण्प्रस्थयो भवति ॥

32. The affix खण् comes after the verb लिह 'to lick' when the object in composition with it, is the word वह 'the shoulder of an ox' or भव 'a cloud'.

As वहलिहो गोः 'the shoulder-licking cow'; भवलिहो वायुः 'the cloud-licking wind'.

परिमाणे पचः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमाणे, पचः, (कर्मणि, खण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणं प्रस्थादि, तस्मिन्कर्मण्युपपदे पचे: खण्प्रस्थयो भवति ॥

33. The affix खण् comes after the verb पच् 'to cook' when the object in composition with it denotes a measure.

Thus प्रस्थं पचति = प्रस्थपचा 'a pot having the capacity to cook a prastha of food'; so also श्रीणम्पचः, खासिम्पचः: 'a kettle'.

मितनसे च ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मित-नसे, च, (पचः, खण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मित नस इत्येतयोः कर्मणीहपपदयोः पचे: खण्प्रस्थयो भवति ॥

34. The affix खण् is employed after the verb पच्, when मित 'a measured partition' or नस 'a nail' is the word in composition with it as an object.

The aphorism has its scope when the words formed do not denote measures, which was the case in the last sūtra. Thus मितम्पचा ब्राह्मणी 'the Brāhmaṇī who cooks a little i. e. a. niggardly Brāhmaṇī'; नसम्पचा यवागूः 'the nail-scorching barley gruel'.

विष्वरुषोस्तुदः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विषु-अरुषो, तुदः, (कर्मणि, खण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विषु भरुस् इत्येतयोः कर्मणीहपपदयोः तुदेधातोः खण्प्रस्थयो भवति ॥

35. The affix लग् comes after the verb तुर् 'to strike', when चिं 'the moon' or भ्रस् 'a wound' is the word in composition with it as object.

As विधुन्तुरः राहुः 'the Rāhu that eclipses the moon'; भ्रन्तुरः 'corrosive, wounding the vital parts'. For the addition of the augment मूँ after the word भ्रस्, see VI. 3. 67.

असूर्यललाटयोदृशितपोः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ असूर्य-ललाटयोः,
दृशि-तपोः, (कर्मणि, लग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असूर्यजलाद् इत्येतयोः कर्मणीहपपतयोः दृशितपोर्धात्मोः लग्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix लग् comes after the verb दृश् 'to see' and तन् 'to heat' when भ्रस्त्रुं and ललाट् are the words in composition with them respectively as objects.

Thus भ्रस्त्रुं + दृश् + लग् = भ्रस्त्रूम्पश्च राजारा 'the king's wives not even seeing the sun' (being shut up in the harem, and so having no opportunity of seeing the sun, that is, they are so well protected that even the sun cannot see them, much less any irreverent gaze).

So also ललाटन्तपः 'heating the fore-head' (such as the sun).

The word भ्रस्त्रुं is an incomplete or impossible compound, as the negative भ applies to the verb दृश् and not to the word सूर्य्'. This is in opposition to the rule of *samartha pada vidhi* (II. I. 2).

उग्रस्पश्येरम्भदपाणिन्धमाश्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उग्रस्पश्य-
इरम्भद-पाणिन्धमाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उग्रस्पश्य इरम्भद पाणिन्धम दृश्यते रात्रा निपात्यन्ते ॥

37. The words उग्रस्पश्य, इरम्भद and पाणिन्धम are irregularly formed.

Thus उग्रं पश्यति = उग्रस्पश्यः 'fierce-looking'; इरया मन्यति = इरम्भः 'delighting in drinking an epithet of Agni, a flash of lightning'. So पाणिन्धमाः पन्थानः 'chilly roads'.

प्रियवशी वदः लग् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रिय-वशे, वदः, लग् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रिय वश इत्येतयोः कर्मणीहपपतयोर्वैर्धात्मोः लग्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ लग्प्रत्यकरणे गमे: सुन्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ विहायसो विह च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ लग्प्रत्यकरणे वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वै च विहायसो विहायशो वक्तव्यः ॥

38. The affix खच् comes after the verb वह् 'to speak' when प्रिय or वश is the word in composition with it as an object.

Thus प्रियं वहसि=प्रियेवहः 'who speaks kindly'; वशंवहः 'who professes submission'.

Of the affix खच्, the letters ख् and च् are indicatory; ख् indicates the insertion of the augment मुम् (VI. 3. 37), and च् shows that there is shortening of the vowel in certain cases (VI. 4. 94).

In the case of प्रिय and वश with वह्, the affix खश् would have given the same result as the affix खच्. Making a separate affix in this sūtra is for the sake of the aphorisms that follow, where this affix will produce different effects than खश्.

Vart.—The affix खच् comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when a word ending in a case-affix is in composition with it. As मितंगमो इस्ती 'the slow-moving i. e. an elephant'; मितंगमा इस्तनी 'the slow-moving i. e. a she-elephant'.

Vart.—This affix comes under similar circumstances when the word in composition with गम् is विहायस्; and the letter is then replaced by the word विह. As विहायसा गच्छति=विहंगमः 'a bird (that which goes through the sky)'.

Vart.—In the *Vārtikas* above given, the affix खच् may optionally be considered as if it had an indicatory उ. The force of उ is to cause elision of the final vowel with what follows it. As विहंगः or विहंगमः 'a bird'. So also भुजंगः or भुजंगः 'a serpent' (what goes crookedly).

Vart.—विहायस् is replaced by विह when the affix उ (III 2. 48) comes after the verb गम्; as विहंगः 'a bird'. Thus we have three forms: विहंग, विहञ्जन, विहञ्जनम्।

द्विषत्परयोस्तापेः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषत्-परयोः, तापे,
(खच्) ॥

पृथिः ॥ द्विषत्परयोः कर्मणोहपपदयोस्तापेधातोः खच्प्रत्यवो भवति ॥

39. The affix खच् comes after the verb ताप् 'to heat', when द्विषत् or पर is the word in composition with it as an object.

The verb तप् belongs both to *Bhādi* and *Churddi* classes. Both are meant in the sūtra. In the case of *Bhāddi*, the verb तापि is the causative ending in णि of तप्; while in *Churddi*, all verbs take णि.

Thus द्विषत्तापयति=द्विषत्तपः (VI. 4. 94) 'one who destroys his enemies', so also परत्तपः 'one who subdues his enemies, a hero'.

This affix however, will not apply when the above upapadas are in the feminine gender. In this case the general affix अण् will be employed; as द्विषतीं तापयति = द्विषतीतापः ।

वाचि यसौ ब्रते ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ वाचि, यसः, ब्रते, (खच्) ॥

पृतिः ॥ वाक्शब्दे कर्मण्युपरे वर्णेधातोः खच्प्रस्थयो भवति ब्रते गम्यमाने ॥

40. The affix खच् comes after the verb ब्रत् 'to curb' when the word वाक् 'speech' is in composition with it as object, and the sense indicated is that of a vow.

The word ब्रत means a vow taken according to the rules of Dharma-sastra. Thus वाचंयम आसते 'he has taken the vow of rigid silence'.

Why do we say 'vow'? Otherwise the form is वाच्यामः 'restraining speech' (VI. 3. 69).

पः सर्वयोर्दारिसहेऽः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूः-सर्वयोः, दारि-सहेऽः, (खच्) ॥

पृतिः ॥ पुर् सर्वं इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्यथासंख्यं दारिसहोर्वालोः खच्प्रस्थवदो भवति ॥

वाच्चिकम् ॥ भगे च शरेत्तिं वक्तव्यम् ॥

41. The affix खच् comes after the verbs शरि 'to split' and शह् 'to bear' when respectively in composition with the words पुर् 'a city' and सर्वं 'all', as objects.

As पुरं शरवति = पुरन्दरः 'name of Indra (who splits asunder cities)' (VI. 3. 69 and VI. 4. 94); सर्वेसहो राजा 'the king who is all-forbearing'.

Vart.—So also when the word भग is in composition with the verb शरि ; as भगन्दरः 'a fistula in the anus'.

सर्वकूलाभ्यकरीषेषु कषः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्व-कूल-अभ्य-करीषेषु, कषः, (खच्) ॥

पृतिः ॥ सर्वं कूलं भवति करीष इत्येतेषु कर्मणूपपदेषु कर्णेधातोः खच्प्रस्थवदो भवति ॥

42. The affix खच् comes after the verb शह् 'to rub' when the words सर्वं 'all', कूलं 'bank', अभ्यं 'cloud' and करीषं 'a dry cow-dung', are in composition with it as object.

As सर्वेकषः खजः 'a villain, a rogue'; कूलकपा नदी 'a river'; अभ्यक्षो गिरिः 'a mountain'; करीषकषा वात्वा 'a strong wind'.

मेघतिंभयेषु कृजः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मेघ-ऋति-भयेषु, कृजः,
(खच्) ॥

वृशिः ॥ मेघ ऋति भय इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपरेषु कृजः खच् प्रथवो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ उपपदविधि भवादिग्रहणं तदन्तविधि प्रबोधयति ॥

43. The affix खच् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' when the words मेघ 'cloud', ऋति 'misfortune' and भय 'fear' are in composition as objects.

As मेघकरः: 'producing clouds' ; ऋतिकरः: 'giving pain' ; भयकरः: 'frightful'.

Vart.—The *tadanta vidhi* applies in the case of upapadas like भय. &c. This is an exception to the *vartika* under I. I. 72. by which, in the case of affixes, *tadanta-vidhi* was prohibited. Thus we have भभयकरः: 'who causes security'.

स्वेमप्रियमद्वेज्ञच ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वेम-प्रिय-मद्वे, अग्न् च,
(खच्) ॥

वृशिः ॥ स्वेम प्रिय मद्व इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपरेषु करोतेरप्यप्रत्यवो चकारात् खच् ॥

44. And the affix अग्न् as well as खच् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' when the words स्वेम 'happiness', प्रिय 'pleasant' and मद्व 'joy' are in composition as objects.

The word 'and' denotes that the affix खच् is also to be included.

Thus स्वेमकारः: or स्वेमकरः: 'propitious' ; प्रियकारः: or प्रियंकरः: 'showing kindness' ; मद्वकारः: or मद्वंकरः: 'causing delight'.

The repetition of the affix अग्न्, when its *anuvritti* could have been read into this sūtra by using the word वा 'optionally', indicates that these words never take the affix ए of sūtra 20 though cause, habit, &c., may be denoted ; so that the feminine of those words is formed by आ and not by ई ; as अस्पारम्भाः शंसकराः: 'small beginnings lead to or cause prosperity'.

आश्रिते भुवः करणभावयोः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आश्रिते, भुवः, करण-
भावयोः, (खच्, सुष्ठुपि) ॥

वृशिः ॥ आश्रितशब्दे सुष्ठुप्ते उपपदे भवतेर्धातोः करणे भावे आये खच् प्रथवो भवति ॥

45. The affix खच् comes after the verb शू 'to be' when in composition with the case-inflected word आश्रित 'satisfied by eating' and the sense is that of instrument or condition.

The word 'सुष्ठुपि' of sūtra 4 is understood here.

Thus भाशितंभवः meaning 'food', literally that by which one is satiated. भाशिती भवती अनेन. Here the word denotes instrument. And भाशितंभवः also means 'satiety', which denotes condition.

संज्ञायां भृत्यृजिधारिसहितपिदमः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां,
भृ-तृ-वृ-जि-धारि-सहि-तपि-दमः, (कर्मजि, सुपि, लच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृ वृ वृ जि धारि सहि तपि इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः संज्ञायां विषये लच् प्रस्तवयो
भवति ॥

46. The affix लच् comes after the following verbs when the words to be formed denote a name :—viz. भृ 'to bear', वृ 'to cross over', वृ 'to choose', जि 'to conquer', धारि 'to hold', सहि 'to bear', तपि 'to heat' and इति 'to subdue'.

Both the words कर्मजि and सुपि of sūtra 1 and 4 are understood here and should be applied as the occasion requires. Thus विश्वभरा 'earth' (that which supports all) ; रथंतर 'the Rathantara Sāma'; पतिंवरा 'a girl' lit. (who is about to choose a husband); शब्दंजवः 'an elephant' lit. (who conquers the enemy); युगंधरः 'a mountain' or 'the pole of a carriage to which the yoke is fixed'; शत्रुसहः 'Satrunsa' (withstanding an enemy); शत्रुतपः 'Satruntapa' (destroying an enemy); भर्तिंदमः 'Arindama' (victorious).

Why do we say 'when denoting a name'? Observe कुटुम्बभारः 'he who supports his family'.

गमङ्ग ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गमः, च, (सुपि, संज्ञायां, लच्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गमेष्वातोः सुप्तुपपदे संज्ञायां विषये लच् प्रस्तवयो भवति ॥

47. And the affix लच् comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, and when the word to be formed denotes a name.

As सुतंगमः 'Sutangama'. Though the verb गम् could well have been included in the last aphorism, the separation serves the purpose of carrying the *anuvritti* of गम् into the subsequent sūtras.

अन्तात्यन्ताश्वदूरपारसर्वानन्तेषु इः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्त-
अत्यन्त-अश्वन्-दूर-पार-सर्व-अनन्तेषु, इः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त अत्यन्त अश्वन् दूर पार सर्व अनन्त इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपपरेषु गमेष्वप्रस्तवयो
भवति ॥
वार्त्तिंकम् ॥ उ प्रकरणो सर्वभपत्त्वोरुपसंस्थानम् ॥
वार्त्तिंकम् ॥ उरसी ज्ञोपध ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सुदूरधिकरणे ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ निरोक्षेशी ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ उप्रकरणोऽन्वेष्यपि दृश्यते ॥

48. The affix ए comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when in composition with the following words as its objects :—अन्त 'end', अस्मन् 'excessive', अथन् 'road', एव 'far', पार 'across', सर्व 'all' and भनन्त 'endless'.

The anuvritti of the word संज्ञावाम् does not extend to this. As अन्ताः 'having gone to the end, thoroughly conversant'; अस्वन्तगः 'going too fast'; अथगः 'a way-farer'; दूरगः 'going to a distant place'; पारगः 'completely familiar'; सर्वगः 'going everywhere, the Supreme Being'; भनन्तगः 'going to infinity, moving for ever'.

Of the affix ए the letter ए is indicatory, the real affix being अ. The ए indicates that the ए portion of the word to which this is added, must be elided (VI. 4. 143); as भन्त + गम् + ए = भन्त + ग + अ (the ए portion अ of गम् is elided). Now though the rule VI. 4. 143 says 'when that which has an indicatory ए, follows, there is elision of the ए of a अ'; yet in the present case, such elision takes place, although the word गम् here is not one of those called अ (I. 4. 18); because the presence of ए as an indicatory letter must not be unmeaning.

Vart.—The ए is also employed when the words in composition are सर्वं 'everywhere' and पत्र 'creeping'; as सर्वंगः 'Supreme Spirit'; पत्रगः 'snake.'

Vart.—So also when the word in composition is उरस् 'breast', and there is elision of its final. As उरस् + गम् + ए = उरगः 'moving on breast, a snake'.

Vart.—So also with the words शु 'well' and शुरु 'bad', when the resulting words denote location. As शुगः 'that in which one goes easily, easy of access'. शुर्गः 'difficult of access, a fort'.

Vart.—So also with the preposition निर्, the word to be formed meaning country; as निर्गः 'a country'.

Vart.—Others say, that this ए is added when other words besides the above stand as upapadas. Thus स्वगारगः (स्त्री + भगार + गम् + ए) 'who goes to the women's compartment'; पासगः 'going to the village'; गुहत्पर्णगः 'who pollutes the bed of his guru'.

आशिषि हनः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, हनः, (एः) ॥

शुतिः ॥ आशिषि गम्यमानायां हन्तेर्धातोः कर्मेण्युपपदे ए प्रस्थयो भवति ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ शारावाहनोऽपान्तस्थ ए एः संज्ञावाम् ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ चारौ वा ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ कर्मणि समि ए ॥

49. The affix व comes after the verb हृ 'to kill', when the object is in composition with it, and when benediction is intended.

The affix व is understood in this sūtra. Thus तिनि वध्यात् = तिनिहः 'may he kill the whale' ; शत्रुःः 'may he kill the enemy'.

Why do we say 'when benediction is intended'? Otherwise we have शत्रुघातः 'who kills his enemy'.

Vart.—The affix भर्त् comes after the verb आहन् when the word शरु 'wood' is in composition with it, and the final letter of the word so formed is changed into त्, when the word so formed denotes a name. As शत् भाहन्ति = शर्वाधाटः (शत् + आहन् + भर्त्) 'the wood-pecker'.

Vart.—So also optionally when the word चारु 'beautiful' is in composition under the circumstances detailed in the last *vartika*: as चार्वाधाटः or चार्वाधातः।

Vart.—So also, when the verb हृ is preceded by the preposition सम्, and is in composition with a word in the objective case, the affix भर्त् is employed ; and the final is replaced by त् ; as वर्णान् संहन्ति = वर्णसंधाटः or वर्णसंधातः 'the alphabet' ; पश्चानि संहन्ति = पश्चसंधाटः or पश्चसंधातः 'connecting the words that are separated, an annotator'.

अपे क्लेशतमसोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपे, क्लेश-तमसोः, (कर्मणि, हनः, इः) ॥

इति ॥ अपपूर्वाङ्गन्ते : क्लेशतमसोः कर्मणोहपश्चोर्ध्वयो भवति ॥

50. The affix व comes after the verb हृ 'to kill' when it is compounded with the preposition अ॒, and when the object in composition with it, is the word क्लेश 'pain' or तमस् 'darkness'.

As, क्लेशापहः पुत्रः 'the pain-allayer i. e. the son' ; तमोपहः सूर्यः 'the darkness-destroyer i. e. the sun'.

This aphorism has its scope when the sense is not that of benediction.

कुमारशीर्षयोर्ध्विनिः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमार-शीर्षयोः, ध्विनिः, (हनः) ॥

इति ॥ कुमार शीर्ष हस्येत्योहपश्चयोः हस्तेऽर्धनिः प्रस्त्रयो भवति ॥

51. The affix ध्विनि comes after the verb हृ 'to kill' when the word in composition with it is कुमार 'a child', or शीर्ष 'head'.

Thus कुमार+हन्+एति = कुमार+धात+हन् (VII. 3. 54 and VII. 3. 32) = कुमारधातिन् nom. sing. कुमारधाती 'child-killer'. So also शीर्षधातिन् nom. sing. शीर्षधाती 'head-killer'.

The word शीर्ष is an irregular form of the word शिरस्।

लक्षणे जायापत्योष्टक् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षणे, जाया-पत्योः, टक्, (हनः) ॥

शृतिः ॥ हन्ते जायापत्योः कर्मणोरुपपदव्योलंशजेवतिकर्त्तरि टक् प्रवयो भवति ॥

52. The affix टक् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when it is in composition with the word जाया 'wife' or पति 'husband' as object, and when the word so formed denotes the agent possessed of that attribute (or when the word so formed denotes a mark).

The word लक्षण of this sūtra gives rise to the doubt whether it means लक्षणे कर्त्तरि or लक्षणवति कर्त्तरि. In the former case the meaning will be 'when the agent is itself the mark'; as जायाधनः: 'a mole' (a mark on the body indicative of the death of one's wife). In the latter case the meaning will be 'when the agent is possessed of the attribute denoted by the word'; as जायाधनः: 'the murderer of his wife'; पतिधनः: 'the murderer of her husband'.

Of the affix टक् the letters ट and क् are indicatory. The ट shows that the feminine is formed by ह॑, and क् causing elision of the penultimate अ of हन्. Thus जाया+हन्+टक्=जाया+हन्+अ (VI. 4. 98)=जायाधनः (VII. 3. 54).

अभनुष्यकर्तृके च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-भनुष्य-कर्तृके, च, (टक्, हनः) ॥

शृतिः ॥ अभनुष्यकर्तृके वर्तमाद्यन्तेद्वातोः कर्मण्युपर्वे टक् प्रवयो भवति ॥

53. And the affix टक् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when the object is in composition with it, and when the word to be formed denotes an agent other than a human being.

As जायाधनस्तिलकानकः: 'the mole' (literally that which indicates the death of one's wife); पतिधनी पाणिरेखा 'the line of the palm of the hand' (that which indicates the death of one's husband). These two forms were deducible also from the last aphorism. इन्द्रेष्वधनं मधुं 'honey' (literally that which has the property of destroying the phlegm). पित्तधनं घृतं 'clarified butter' (lit. that which destroys the bile).

Why do we say 'when the agent is not a human being'? Observe आख्यधातः शूद्रः: 'a Sūdra' (literally one who kills the mice). Here the affix is अष्ट.

Why is the affix टक् not employed in the following? चौरथातो हस्तीः 'an elephant' (i. e. who kills a thief.) Here the word is formed by the affix भण् on the analogy of sūtra III. 3. 113 which allows a diversity in case of *kṛitya* affixes, which diversity is extended in this case to a *krit* affix.

शक्तौ हस्तिकपा(वा)टयोः ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्तौ, हस्ति-कपा-(वा)टयोः, (हनः, टक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तौ गम्यमानार्दा हस्तिकपा(वा)टयोः कर्मणोरुपप्रदयोर्हन्ते टक् प्रस्त्वयो भवति ॥

54. The affix टक् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when the word in composition with it as its object is हस्ती 'elephant' or कपा॒ 'gate' and when the sense indicated is that of power.

This sūtra applies where the agent is a human being. As हस्तिनं हन्तुं शक्तः=हस्तिधनः; मनुष्वः 'a man who is strong enough to kill an elephant'; so also कपाटधनः 'a burglar' (who is capable of breaking open the doors).

Why do we say 'where power is indicated'? Observe विषेण हस्तिनं हन्ति = हस्तिधातः 'who kills the elephant by poison'. Here the affix is भण्.

पाणिघताहघौ शिखिपनि ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाणिघ-ताहघौ, शिखिपनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाणिघ ताहघ हस्तेनो शब्दौ निपात्येते शिखिपनि कर्त्तरि ॥

वाच्चिकम् ॥ राजघ उपरंखवानम् ॥

55. The words पाणिघ and ताहघ are irregularly formed when denoting an artificer.

These forms are thus evolved. The affix क is employed after the verb हन् in composition with पाणि 'hand' and ताह 'a blow' as object; then the हि portion of हन् i. e. अन् is elided, and ह is changed into घ irregularly. Thus पाणि+हन्+क=पाणि+ह.+अ=पाणिघ: 'a drummer' (workman or handicraftsman); ताहघ: 'a smith'.

Why 'when denoting an artificer'? Observe पाणिधातः 'boxing'; ताहधातः 'hammering'.

Vart:—The word राजघः should be enumerated in this connection; राज-घः 'a regicide'.

आढघसुभगस्थूलपलितनरनाभप्रियेषु चव्यर्थेष्वच्छ्रौ रुजः करणे स्फुन् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आढघ-सुभग-स्थूल-पलित-नरन-अन्ध-प्रियेषु, चिव-अ-र्थेषु, अच्छ्रौ, रुजः, करणे, स्फुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आद्यारिषु कर्मसूपरेषु अवयेऽवच्छन्तेषु करोते द्रष्टासोः करणे कारके ख्युन्प्रथयो
भवति ॥

56. The affix **ख्युन्**, when the sense of the word to be formed is that of an instrumental agent, comes after the verb क 'to make', when the following words are in composition with it as objects:—आर्थ 'rich', सुभग 'fortunate', स्थूल 'big', पलित 'grey', नग 'naked', अन्ध 'blind' and मिव 'pleasant', provided that these words have the sense of the words formed by the affix **स्त्रिः**, though not actually ending in the affix **स्त्रिः**.

The affix **स्त्रिः** (V. 4. 50.) is added to a noun when it is in composition with the verbs भू 'to become', करु 'to make' and भस् 'to be'; its force being that a thing attains to a condition in which it previously was not. The **स्त्रिः** being an optional affix, its sense is two-fold; namely, words ending in **स्त्रिः** and words not ending in **स्त्रिः**. Both may have the force of **स्त्रिः**. [In the present sūtra, however, the words that actually end in **स्त्रिः** have been excluded, while words which do not take the affix **स्त्रिः**, but have the force of **स्त्रिः** are included in the present sūtra.]

Thus आर्थ + करु + ख्युन् = आर्थ + कर + भावंकरण् 'that by the instrumentality of which the poor becomes rich, viz., wealth, prosperity, means of enriching'; सुभगंकरण् 'making happy'; स्थूलंकरण् 'by which one becomes big'; पलितकरण् 'rendering grey'; नगंकरण् 'making naked'; अन्धकरण् 'making blind'; मिवकरण् 'showing kindness'.

Why do we say 'when the force is that of the affix **स्त्रिः**'? Otherwise आर्थ तैलेन कृत्वा विनिति i. e. अभजयन्ति 'they anoint with oil'. Here though something is joined with what it previously was not joined, namely with oil, yet as the radical word is not prominent here, the sense is not that of **स्त्रिः** and hence this counter-example.

Why do we say 'when not ending in the affix **स्त्रिः**'? Observe आर्थी कुर्वन्ति भनेन 'they make rich by this'. Here the affix **ख्युन्** is not employed.

It might be objected: 'well if **ख्युन्** is not used, then the affix **स्त्रुट्** must be used (III. 3. 117) as there is no difference between **ख्युन्** and **स्त्रुट्**; both having the efficient portion त्रु; what is then the use of prohibiting **स्त्रिः**? We reply, 'because there is this prohibition, when the affix **ख्युन्** is not employed the affix **स्त्रुट्** will also be not employed. Thus by implication the affix **स्त्रुट्** is also prohibited. The prohibition of **स्त्रिः** in this sūtra is for the sake of the aphorisms that follow'.

Patanjali observes this prohibition as superfluous, because there is no distinction between स्वृद् and स्वयन्. For the word formed by any one of these affixes have the same form and the same accent. Nor there is any distinction in the feminines of their derivatives. For the word formed by नम्, स्नम्, ईक्, अक् and स्वयन् take ई in the feminine as well as the words तत्त्वन् and तत्त्वन. Nor there is any distinction in their *samāsas*. For in both the cases it will be *nitya samāsa*. Nor is the prohibition made for the sake of the augment सु. For it being an indeclinable, सु cannot come after it. The prohibition therefore is of no use to this sūtra but it is inserted here for the sake of the following sūtras.

कर्तरि भुवः स्थिष्टुच्च-सुकमी ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, भुवः,
स्थिष्टुच्च-सुकमी, (आठधादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आठधादिषु सुबन्तेषूपदेषु अवर्येष्वभवन्तेषु भवतेर्वातोः कर्तरि कारके स्थिष्टुच्च-
सुकम् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

57. The affixes स्थिष्टुच्च and सुकम्, when the word to be formed denotes an agent, come after the verb शु 'to become', when it is in composition with words आवृ &c., provided that these have the sense of the words formed by the affix चित् though not ending in चित्.

Thus आवृष्मविष्णुः 'becoming rich (who was not rich before)'; आवृ-
आवृकः 'becoming rich'; सुप्रगंभविष्णुः or -आवृकः 'becoming happy'; स्थूलंगविष्णुः or
-आवृकः 'becoming big'; पलितविष्णुः or -आवृकः 'becoming grey'; नग्नमविष्णुः or
-आवृकः 'becoming naked'; अन्पनविष्णुः or -आवृकः 'becoming blind'; पितमविष्णुः or
-आवृकः 'becoming an object of affection, amiable'.

Why do we say 'when denoting the agent'? Not so when it denotes the instrument. The affixes will apply when the sense of the upapada is that of चित्, otherwise not; as आवृष्म भविता 'he will be rich'.

These affixes will not apply when the upapada ends in चित्; आवृष्म भविता।

स्पृशोऽनुदके क्लिन् ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्पृशः, अनुदके, क्लिन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पृशेष्वातोरनुदके सुबन्तउपदे क्लिन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

58. The affix क्लिन् comes after the verb स्पृश् 'to touch', when it is in composition with a case-inflected word other than उदक् 'water'.

By sūtra 4 of this chapter, the *anuvritti* of the word सुषि is to be read into this sūtra. It might be objected 'why do we not read the *anuvritti* of the word क्लर्म instead of सुषि, because the verb स्पृश् is a transitive verb, and after

such verbs, the anuvritti of कर्म ought to come by sūtra 4' ? To this we say there is no harm in reading the anuvritti of सुषि in this case ; because the word कर्तृति of the last sūtra is also, in a way understood here, and indicates the collection of all sorts of agents whether objects, instruments &c., and this can only be when the first member of the compound is a word in general.

Thus चूतं स्वशति = चूतस्वग्, nom. sing. चूतस्वक् 'he who touches clarified butter'. स्पृष्ट + किन् + सु = स्पृश + षि + o (VI. I. 68) = स्पृक् + o (VI. I. 67, and VIII. 2. 62). So also मन्त्रेण स्वशति = मन्त्रस्वक् 'who touches with hymns' ; जलेन स्वशति = जलस्वक् 'who touches with water'. But उदकेन स्वशति = उदकस्पर्शः ; here we have the general affix अण्.

The न् of किन् is to distinguish this affix from affixes like किष् &c. For, had it been merely कि, then in sūtra VIII. 2. 62. we should have used कि प्रवर्यस्य कुः, and it would have been ambiguous, for कि might be explained as meaning both कि and किष्, as क्य means क्वप्, क्वप् &c. To remove this ambiguity, न् is added to make a distinctive affix. The न् cannot be for the sake of accent. (VI. I. 117), the verb being monosyllabic would of itself have taken that accent.

ऋत्विगदधृक्-स्वग्-दिगुषिक्षगंचयुजिकुम्बां च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥
ऋत्विक्-दधृक्-स्वक्-दिक्-उषिक्षक्-अङ्गु-युजि-कुम्बाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋत्विगदयः पञ्चशब्दाः किन्प्रवर्ययान्ता निपास्यन्ते अपरे चतो धातवो निर्विश्वन्ते ॥

59. The words ऋत्विक् 'a domestic priest', धृक् 'impudent', स्वक् 'a garland', दिक् 'a direction' and उषिक्षक् 'a quatrain' are irregularly formed by adding the affix किन् ; and so also after the verbs अङ्गु 'to worship', युजि 'to join' and कुम्ब 'to approach', the affix किन् is employed.

The first five words are irregular forms. Thus ऋतु + बज् + किन् = ऋत्विक् 'he who performs sacrifice in the season (ऋतौ) or to the season (ऋतुम्)'. This word, however is a रूढि word in which it is fruitless to search for its etymological meaning. धृष् + किन् = धधृक्. Here there is reduplication and the final has acute accent. स्वन् + किन् = स्वक्. Here there is augment अ॒. दृश् + किन् = दिक्. So also उत् + स्विह् + किन् = उषिक्षक्. All these are in fact crude nouns, their current meaning having little traces of their root meaning.

The affix किन् comes after the three roots युज्, अङ्गु, and कुम्ब. Being read along with the five above-mentioned irregularly-formed words, there is some irregularity in the application of किन् to these verbs. Thus the affix किन् comes after अङ्गु only when a word ending with any case-affix precedes it in composition. As प्र+अङ्गु+किन्=प्राङ्ग् nom. sing. प्राङ् (VI. 4. 24; VII. I. 70, VIII. 2. 23 and 62) 'east' ; so also प्रस्वद् 'west' ; उष्ठ् 'north'.

The affix किन् comes after बुज्जृ and कुञ्चृ when these are uncombined. Thus बुज् + किन् = बुज्जृ. In nominative singular, बुज् + सु = बुज्जृ + सु (VII. 1. 71) = बुज्जृ + ओ (VI. 1. 68) = बुज्जृ (VIII. 2. 62) 'who joins'. When the root बुज् is in composition with an *upapada*, it takes the affix किप् (see sutra 61). As अध्वक् 'yoked with horses'.

So also कुञ्चृ + किन् = कुञ्चृ, nom. sing. कुञ्चृ, 'a curlew'. The non-elision of the श (VI. 4. 24) of कुञ्चृ is an irregularity, as this word has been taught in connection with other irregular words.

त्यदादिषु दूशोऽनालोचने कम्भ ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यद्व-आदिषु,
दूशः, अनालोचने, कम्भ, च, (किन्) ॥

पृच्छः ॥ स्वार्थीषूपपरेषु दृशोर्धातोरनालोचनेऽयं वर्तमानात् कम्भप्रस्ववो भवति चकारात्
किन्चृ ॥

60. And the affix कम्भ comes after the verb दृश् 'to see' when it is in combination with स्वर् &c. and does not signify perception.

The force of 'and' is that the किन् also comes under similar circumstances. स्वर् &c. are pronouns, for a list of which see I. 1. 27. Thus स्वादृश् nom. sing. स्वादृक्, 'such-like' when it is formed by किन्; and स्वादृशः 'such-like' when the affix is कम्भ. So also तद् + दृश् + किन् = तादृग् (VI. 3. 91) nom. sing. तादृक् (VI. 1. 68, VIII. 2. 36 and 62, VIII. 4. 56); and तादृशः when कम्भ is the affix. So आदृक् or आदृशः 'what-like'.

What is the force of the letter श of कम्भ? It is for the sake of accent; the *udatta* is on the first syllable of those words which are formed by an affix having an indicatory श or त् (VI. 1. 117). But the indicatory त् would have given the same accent, there being no difference between कम्भ and कन् in this respect. The indicatory श then serves only the purpose of distinguishing the affix कम्भ from कम् in sūtra IV. 1. 15 in which कम्भ is taken and not कम्. Had we not formed this separate affix, then for कम्भकरण् of that sūtra, we should have read कम् करण् so that the feminine of words formed by कम् would have also taken long ई, so that the feminine of आदृकः (आद् + कन् V. 4. 29) would have been आदृकौ instead of आदृका.

Why do we say 'when not signifying perception'? See तं पद्वति = तदर्थः 'who sees that'. The words स्वादृक्, तादृश् &c. are crude nouns, in which the etymological sense of the root not being visible, the act of seeing can never be denoted by these words.

Vart.—This rule applies also when the words समान and अन्व are in composition with दृश्. 'As सदृक् or सदृशः 'like'(समान + दृश् + किन् = स + दृश् VI. 3. 89); so also अन्वादृशः or अन्वादृक् 'of another kind'.

Vart.—The affix क्स comes also after the root दृश्. As तादृशः, वादृशः, अन्यादृशः and कीदृशः। तृ॒+दृ॒श्+क्स = ता॑+दृ॒श्+क्स (VI. 3. 91.)=तादृ॒श्+स (VIII. 2. 36) = तादृ॒क्+स (VIII. 2. 41)=तादृ॒क्+ष(VIII. 3. 59) = तादृ॒शः।

सत्-सू-द्विष्टुहदुहयुजविदभिदचिद्दजिनीराजामुपसर्गेऽपि क्षिप् ॥
६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्-सू-द्विष्टुहदुहयुजविदभिदचिद्दजिनीराजाम्,
उपसर्गे, अपि, क्षिप्, (सुपि) ॥
दृ॒शः ॥ सत्सिद्धो धातुम्बः सुबन्ते उपसर्गेऽप्यमुपसर्गेऽपि क्षिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The affix क्षिप् comes after the following verbs when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, though it may be an upasarga, viz:—सत् ‘to sit’, सू ‘to bring forth’, द्विष्टु ‘to hate’, दुह् ‘to bear malice’, दृह् ‘to milk’, युज् ‘to join’, ‘to concentrate the mind’, विद् ‘to know’, ‘to become’, ‘to consider’, भिद् ‘to divide’, छिर् ‘to cut’, जि ‘to conquer’, नो ‘to lead’ and राज् ‘to shine’.

The phrase ‘the word ending with a case-affix’ is understood in this sūtra. The *anuvritti* of कर्म is not to be taken in this sūtra for the same reasons as in sūtra 58 *ante*. The upasargas are also words ending in a case-affix i. e. they are also *subanta* words. Their special mention in this section, indicates by implication (*jñādpaka*) that wherever in the previous sūtras, the word *subanta* (a case-inflected word) is used, it does not include an upasarga (III 1. 106).

The root सू being read in conjunction with द्विष्ट् shows that भवति class verb is meant here, and not तुश्चिदि class. The verb युज् includes, both युजिर् ‘to join’ and युज् ‘to concentrate one’s mind’. The verb विद् includes the three verbs having the sense of ‘to know’, ‘to become’ and ‘to consider’, but does not include the verb विह् ‘to gain’, because that root has an indicatory न् (विह्न्) while all these verbs have indicatory भ.

Thus, सत्—शुचिपत् ‘dwelling in purity’; अन्तरिक्षसत् ‘dwelling in the skies’, ‘epithets of Brahma’ (Kath. 5. 2); उपसत् ‘serving’. सू—अण्डसूः ‘oviparous’; शतसूः ‘bringing forth hundred’; प्रसूः ‘parent’. द्विष्ट्—मित्रद्विष्ट् ‘treacherous’; प्रद्विष्ट् ‘hostile’. दुह्—मित्रमुक् ‘treacherous’; मधुक् ‘hostile’ (VIII. 2. 37). दुह्—गोधुक् ‘cow-milker’; मधुक् ‘milker’ (VIII. 2. 32. and 37). युज्—अभयुक् ‘carriage’; मधुक् ‘impulse’. विद्—वेदविद् ‘knower of Veda’; प्रविद् ‘knower’; ब्रह्मविद् ‘knower of Brahma’. भिद्—काटभित् ‘wood-cutter’; प्रभित् ‘cutter’. छिर्—रजनुच्छिर् ‘rope-cutter’; प्रच्छिर् ‘a cutter’. जि—शत्रुजित् ‘enemy-conqueror’; प्रजित् ‘conqueror’. नो—सेनानीः ‘leader of an army’; प्रणीः ‘a leader’; मामणीः ‘head-borough’; अपणीः ‘first’. (Why is there cerebral ण in these words? Because the word मामणी has a cerebral ण in

sûtra V. 2. 78 and that indicates that these words will have ए, as also by sûtra VIII. 4. 3). राज्—विराज् 'splendour'; समाज् 'emperor' (the letter म is added by sûtra VIII. 3. 25).

This sûtra is a continuation and expansion of sûtras 75 and 76 *sup.*

भजो विषः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भजः, विषः, (उपसर्गे, अषि, सुषि)॥ वृत्तिः ॥ भजेधातोः सुबन्त उपपदे उपसर्गेऽप्यनुपसर्गेऽपि विप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

62. The affix विष comes after the verb भज् 'to share' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix whether it be an upasarga or not.

The words 'upasarga' and 'supi' are understood in this sûtra. As अर्द्धं भजते = अर्द्धभाज् nom. sing. अर्द्धभाक् 'sharing a half'. So also when in composition with a preposition; as प्रभाक् 'division'.

छन्दसि सहः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, सहः, (उपसर्गे, सुषि, विषः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये सहेधातोः सुबन्त उपपदे विप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

63. In the Chhandas, the affix विष comes after the verb सह् 'to bear' when it is in composition with a word ending in a case-affix.

The words 'upasarga' and 'supi' are understood here. As तुर+सह+विष = तुरासह् nom. sing. तुराश् 'name of Indra'. The dental स is changed into cerebral ष by VIII. 3. 56, and the ह into ष by VIII. 2. 31. The final भ of तुर is lengthened by VI. 3. 137. See Rig Veda. I. 175. 2, III. 48. 5.

वहश्च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वहः, च, (छन्दसि, विषः, सुषि) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ वहेधातोऽप्यच्छन्दसि विषये सुबन्त उपपदे विप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

64. The affix विष comes after the verb वह् 'to carry', in the Chhandas, when a word ending with a case-affix is in composition with it.

As प्रवहाह् 1st sing. प्रवहाद् 'carrying a prashtha measure'; so, दित्यवाद् ।

The division of this sûtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sûtras, into which the anuvritti of वह् only is carried and not of सहः. See Ya॒ur. Veda. XIV. 10, XVIII. 26.

कव्यपुरीषपुरीष्येषु उयुट् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कव्य-पुरीष-पुरीष्येषु, उयुट्, (छन्दसि, सुषि, वहः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ कव्य पुरीष पुरीष्य इत्येतेषु उपपदेषु छन्दसि विषये वहेधातोऽर्द्धप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

65. In the Chhandas the affix व्युट् comes after

the verb वह when it is in composition with the words कर्य 'oblation of food to deceased ancestors', पुरीष 'fæces' and पुरीष्व 'water'.

As कर्यवाहनः पितृणाम् (Yajur. Ved. II. 29) 'fire that carries the oblation to the *pitrīs*'; पुरीषवाहनः 'carrier of water'; पुरीषवाहनः (Yaj. Ved. XI. 44). The feminine of these words is formed by adding long ई !

इव्येनन्तःपादम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इव्ये, अनन्तः-पादम्,
(छन्दसि, वहः, इयुट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इव्यशब्दे उपपदे छन्दसि विषये वहेधातोऽवृद्धप्रस्तवो भवति, अनन्तःपादं चैद्वहि-
कर्त्तते ॥

66. The affix इयुट् comes in the Chhandas, after the verb वह 'to carry' when it is in composition with the word इव्य 'an oblation to gods', provided that the word so formed does not occur in the middle of a pada (fourth part of a stanza).

As अग्निंश्च इव्यवाहनः 'fire, the carrier of oblation to the gods'. (Rig. Ved. I. 44. 2).

When this word occurs in the middle of a pada, or at the beginning, the form is इव्यवाद्, which is derived by adding the affix विद् (sūtra 64). As इव्यवादःग्नरजाः पिता नः 'the never-decaying *agni*; or fire that carries oblation to the gods, is our father'. (Rig. Veda. III. 2. 2.)

अनसनसनकमगमेविट् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन-सन-सन-
कम-गमः, विट्, (छन्दसि, उपसर्गं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः सुबन्त उपपदे छन्दसि विषये विद्प्रस्तवो भवति ॥

67. The affix विद् (the whole of which is elided) comes in the Chhandas after the verbs जन् 'to be born', सन् 'to bestow', खन् 'to dig', क्रम् 'to pace' and गम् 'to go', when a word ending in a case-affix is in composition, and the final nasals are changed into long आ.

The words छन्दसि, उपसर्गं and सुषे are understood in this sūtra. The verb जन् includes two verbs meaning 'to be born' and 'to happen'; so also सन् means both 'to give' and 'to worship'.

Of the affix विद् the letter ई is indicator, and is qualifying, as in VI. 4. 41, by which rule the final nasal of जन्, सन् &c. is replaced by long आ when the affix विद् follows, and the whole affix is elided by VI. 1. 67.

As अप् + जन् + विट् = अज्ञाः (Rig. Ved. VII. 34. 16) 'born in water' (VI. 4. 41); गौता: 'born in the heaven i.e. God' (Rig. Veda IV. 40. 5). So also from सन्—गोता: 'acquiring or bestowing cows' (VIII. 3. 108); गोता इद्रो नृषा असि 'O Indra bestower of cows ! thou art lover of mankind' (Rig. Veda IX. 2. 10). From खन्—विसखः 'digger of lotus stalk'; कृपखः 'digger of well'. From कम्—विधिक्षा: 'who gets milk' (Rig. IV. 39. 1 and 40. 5). From गम्—अयोगा उक्तेद्विताम् 'the leader'.

अदोऽनके ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदः, अनके, (सुषि, विट्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अदेधातोरनन्न सुन्युपपरे विद्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix विट् comes after the verb अद् 'to eat,' when in composition with a case-inflected word other than अज् 'food'.

The *anuvritti* of the word 'Chhandasi' does not extend to this sūtra. Thus आममत्ति = आमात् 'eating raw food'; शस्वात् 'granivorous'.

But with अज् as an upapada, we have अजादः 'eating food', which is formed by the general affix अप् (III 2. 1.)

कृत्ये च ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्ये, च, (अदः, विट्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यशब्द उपपरे अदेधातोर्विद्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix वि�ट् comes after the verb अ॒ 'to eat,' when the word कृत्य is in composition with it.

As कृत्यमत्ति = कृत्यात् 'carnivorous'.

Why has it been made a separate sūtra, when this form could have been obtained by the last sūtra also? To this the vārtika replies: 'This has been made a separate sūtra in order to indicate that the rule of वासरूप (III. 1. 94) does not apply here. Therefore the affix अप् will not apply in the alternative. If the affix अप् does not apply, how then we get the form कृत्यादः which is evidently formed by the affix अप्? The affix अप् comes after the root when the word formed means the eater of meat which has been cut, dressed and cooked'; thus कृत्यादः means a man who eats meat cooked and prepared, i.e. a meat-eater as opposed to a vegetarian, while कृत्यात् means an animal which eats raw flesh; the word कृत्यादः in fact may be regarded as an irregular form falling under पुषोदराति class of sūtra VI. 3. 109.

दुहः कृत्यश्च ॥ ७० ॥ दुहः, कृप्-घः, च, (सुषि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सुहेधातोः सुन्युपपरे कृप्त्रप्रत्ययो भवति घकारभान्तावेशः ॥

70. The affix कृप् comes after the verb दुह् 'to milk' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix and the letter च replaces its final.

As कामदुषा खेनुः 'a milch cow, giving abundance of milk' ; so also भर्यदुषा, सर्वदुषा ।

मन्त्रे इवेतवहोक्त्यशस्पुरोडाशो चिवन् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्रे,
इवेतवह-उक्त्यशस्-पुरोडाशः, चिवन् ॥

दृष्टिः ॥ खेतवह उक्त्यशस् पुरोडाश् इवेतवहो चिवन् प्रत्ययो भवति मन्त्रे चिवने ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ खेतवहारीनां उत्पाद्यते वक्तव्यम् ॥

71. In the Mantra literature, the affix चिवन् comes after the words खेतवह, उक्त्यशस् and पुरोडाश् ।

The above words contain both the verb and the upapada ; the fact of their being so given indicates that there is some irregularity in the application of the affix.

Thus the affix चिवन् comes after the verb वह preceded by the upapada खेत as denoting an agent, while the force of the whole word so formed denotes an object. As खेता एन वहन्ति = खेतवाह् nom. sing. खेतवाः 'a name of Indra' (whom white horses carry).

The affix चिवन् is applied to the verb शंस् 'to praise' when preceded by the word उक्त्य as object or instrument ; and then the nasal is irregularly dropped. As उक्त्यानि उक्त्यैर्वा शंसति = उक्त्यशस्, nom. sing. उक्त्यशः (Rig. Ved. II. 39. 1,) 'a reciter of hymns, the name of the sacrificer'.

The affix चिवन् is applied after the verb शाग् 'to give', preceded by पुरी, and ए is changed into औ, the force of the whole word denoting an object. As पुरो शाशन्ति एन् = पुरोडाश्, nom. sing. पुरोडाः (Rig. Ved. III. 28. 2) 'an offering'.

Vart:—The augment उत् is added to the words खेतवाह् &c., when the *pada* affixes follow. Thus before *pada* terminations खेतवाह् becomes इवेतवस् । Therefore its Instrumental dual is इवेतवोभास्, pl. इवेतवोभिः ।

The augment उत् is not applied before सर्वनामस्थान and भ terminations. As इवेतवाहौ, इवेतवाहः ।

अबे यजः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अबे, यजः, (चिवन्, मन्त्रे) ॥

दृष्टिः ॥ अबे उपपरे वजोर्धातो जिर्वन् प्रत्ययो भवति मन्त्रे चिवने ॥

72. In the Mantra literature, the affix चिवन् comes after the verb यज् 'to sacrifice' when in composition with the word भृ.

As भवयाज्, nom. sing. भवयाः (Rig. Ved. I. 173. 12) 'name of a Vedic priest' ; as ल्वं वह्ने वरुणस्यावया भसि 'Thou art the priest of Varuṇa in the sacrifice'.

The division of this aphorism from the last in which it could have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras in which the *anuvritti* of यज

only runs. This word is thus declined :—

sing.	dual	plural.
1st. अवदातः,	अवदातौ,	अवदातःः
2nd. अवदातः,	अवदातौ,	अवदातःः
3rd. अवदाता,	अवदोत्वां,	अवदोत्वाः

विजुपे छन्दसि ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विच्, उपे, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपरपदे यजेऽप्तं इति विषये विच्प्रत्ययी भवति ॥

73. The affix विच् comes after the verb च ज when उप precedes, in the Chhandas.

As उपबृहिरुपैँ वहन्ति 'they carry it up with the उपबृहि formulas'. उपबृहि is the name of eleven formulas at a sacrifice.

The word 'Chhandas' has been repeated here though the anuvṛitti of the word 'mantra' was present in it, in order to include the Brāhmaṇa literature also.

The च is indicator and is useful in including the affix विच् in the larger group called वि (which includes किन्, किप्, णिव, विट्), as in the sūtra वेरपृक्त्व (VI. 1. 67).

Why has this sūtra been made, since the affix विच् would have been valid even by aphorism 75? The sūtra has been separately made to show that it is a restrictive rule here. The form उपबृहि is found in the Chhandas only, and not in the ordinary literature.

**आतो मनिन्क्षनिवनिपञ्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, मनिन्-
कनिप्-वनिपः, च, (छन्दसि, सुषि, विच्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यः सुध्युपपदे छन्दसि विषये मनिन् कनिप् वनिप् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति आकाराद्विजपि ॥

74. The affixes मनिन्(मन्), कनिप्(वन्), वनिप्(वन्) and विच् come in the Chhandas, after verbs which end in long आ, when a case-inflected word or an upasarga is in composition.

The force of 'and' is to include विच्. Thus सुशा + मनिन् = सुशामन्, 1st. sing. सुशामा (Rig. VI. 20. 7) 'one who gives liberally'; अश्व + स्था + मनिन् = अश्वस्थामन्, 1st. sing. अश्वस्थामा 'the name of Asvatthāman'; सुधा + कनिप् = सुधी + वन् (VI. 4. 66) = सुधीवन्, 1st. sing. सुधीवा 'having good understanding'; सुषा + वनिप् = सुषीवन्, 1st. sing. सुषीवा 'a good drinker'. भूरि + श + वनिप् = भूरिशवन्, 1st. sing. भूरिशवा (Rig. II. 27. 17) 'liberal'; घृतपावन् 1st. sing. घृतपावा (Yaj. VI. 19) 'ghee-drinker'.

The affix विच् is also included in this aphorism. As कीलाल + पा + विच् = कीलालपा; (Rig. X. 91. 14) 'nectar-drinker'; सुभंवा; (Rig. IV. 3. 6. and Pānini VII.

3. 46) 'beautifully going'; रामस्त्रोपदः: 'an offering of Râma.' (see sûtra III. 3. 106 and Yajur. Ved. XXX. 9).

अन्येष्योपि दृश्यते ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येष्यः, अपि, दृश्यते,
(मनिन्, क्रनिप्, वनिप्, विच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येष्योपि धातुभ्योऽनाकारान्तेभ्यो मनिन् वनिप् वनिप् इत्यत्रै प्रश्यता दृश्यते,
विचत् ॥

75. These affixes viz. मनिन्, क्रनिप्, वनिप्, and विच् are seen after other verbs also besides those ending in long भा.

The word छन्दसि is not understood here. As सु+श् 'to injure' + मनिन् = सुशर्मन्, 1st. 'sing. सुशर्मा 'who destroys well i.e. destroys sin or ignorance'. प्रात्+इ 'to go' + क्रनिप् = प्रात्+इत् + वन् (VI. 1. 71) = प्रातिरिषन्, 1st. sing. प्रातिरिषा 'who goes early'. वि+जन्+वनिप् = वि+जा+वन् (VI. 4. 41) = विजावन्, 1st. sing. विजावा 'who brings forth'. अप्तेगावा 'who goes before'. रिष्+विच् = रेष् (VII. 3. 86) 1st. sing. रेष् 'who injures'; as in रेषसि पर्णं मवेः (Yajur. Ved. VI. 18).

The word 'also' in this aphorism has the force of removing all conditions under which these affixes were employed in the previous aphorisms, that is to say, these affixes come even when there is no upapada. As वीवा, धीवा.

The words 'are seen' in this sûtra show that all verbs do not admit of these affixes indiscriminately. It is only when we see a particular form that we can infer the existence of these affixes.

क्रिप् च ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रिप्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वधातुभ्यः सोपहेभ्यो निरपदेभ्य छन्दसि भाषावा च क्रिपप्रस्थवी भवति ॥

76. And the affix क्रिप् is also seen after all verbs, whether having an upapada or not in the Vedic as well as in the modern Sanskrit.

As उखावा: संसते = उखासत् (VI. 4. 24) 'falling from the pot'; पर्णसत् 'falling from the leaves'; वाहाऽभ्रति = वाहाभ्रग्, 1st. sing. वाहाभ्रट् 'falling from a car'. The ए is long by VI. 3. 137. See Rig. Ved. I. 3. 8.

स्थः क च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थः, क, च, (सुषि, उपसर्ग, क्रिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्था इत्येतस्मादातोः सुप्तुपर्णं कप्रस्थवी भवति क्रिप् च ॥

77. The affixes क and क्रिप् come after the verb स्था when it is in composition with a word ending in a case-affix or an upasarga.

Why has this aphorism been made, when by rule III. I. 4, स्था would have taken क and by rule III. I. 75, it would have taken क्रिप् also? This repetition is for the purpose of prohibiting the prohibition, that is to say, the

sūtra III. 2. 14 prohibited the sūtra III. 2. 4, and the present sūtra removes that prohibition. Thus शैषः and शैस्याः। But for this sūtra, this form could not have been evolved; for, with the upapada शै, the verb स्था would have taken the affix भू by III. 2. 14.

सुप्यजाती खिनिस्ताच्छीर्ष्ये ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुषि, अजाती,
खिनिः, ताच्छीर्ष्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भजातिवाचिनि सूक्ष्मत्वं उपपदे ताच्छीर्ष्ये गम्बमाने धातोर्णिनिप्रस्थवो भवति ॥
गार्जिकम् ॥ उत्प्रतिभवामाङ्गि सत्तेहपसंख्यानम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ साधुकारिणि च ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ व्रहणि चरः ॥

78. When habit is to be expressed, the affix एनि comes after a verb, provided the word with a case-affix in composition with it, does not mean a genus.

Thus उष्ण + भूज + एनि = उष्णभूजिन्, 1st. sing. उष्णभूजी 'who eats his meal hot'. So also श्रीतभूजी &c.

Why do we say 'when it does not mean a genus'? Witness ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रयिता 'the inviter of Brāhmaṇas'. We cannot form ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रवी

Why do we say 'when habit is to be expressed'? Witness उष्णं भूहन्ते कर्तव्यित् 'he sometimes eats hot'.

Though the anuvṛitti of the word 'supi' was understood in this aphorism, its repetition here declares that upasargas are not included. This is contested by the author of the Siddhānta Kaumudi. According to him this affix comes even with upasargas. As अनुनादित्, अनुजीविन्, उपजीविन् &c.;

Vart.—The verb भाव in composition with the prepositions उप or प्रति should be enumerated as taking this affix. As उपसारित्, fem. उपसारिणी, 1st. plural उपसारिष्ठः. So also प्रस्वासारिणी, pl. प्रस्वासारिष्ठः।

Vart.—So also when the sense is 'having skill in such and such action'. As साधुकारी 'excellent worker'; साधुशब्दी 'giving liberally'.

Vart.—So also after the verb वद preceded by व्रह. As ब्रह्मादिन्, in ब्रह्मादिनो वदन्ति 'the knowers of Brahma say'.

कर्त्तर्युपमाने ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तरि, उपमाने, (खिनिः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कर्त्तृवाचिनि उपमान उपपदे धातोर्णिनिप्रस्थवो भवति ॥

79. The affix एनि comes after a verb when it is in composition with a word denoting an object of comparison, expressing the agent, the sense of the affix being 'doing something like that', that is to say, when the

upapada agent is the standard of comparison of the agent denoted by the word to which the sense of the affix refers.

Thus उच्च इव कोशति = उच्चकोशिन् 'who makes a noise like a camel'; चांसराविन् 'who makes a noise like a crow'.

This sūtra applies where 'habit' is not indicated : or where 'genus' is denoted in opposition to the last aphorism.

Why do we say 'when expressing the agent'? Witness as अपूर्णानिव अक्षयति माषान् 'he eats *māsha* like *aphā*'. Here अपूर्ण is object and not agent, and hence no composition takes place.

Why do we say 'denoting a standard of comparison'? Otherwise there will be no composition. As उच्चः कोशति 'the camel makes noise'. For the accents of these words, see VI. 2. 80.

ब्रते ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रते, (धारतोः, सुषिति, खिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रते गम्यमाने सुषन्त तृष्णपदे धारतोर्णिःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

80. The affix खिनि comes after a verb, in composition with a word ending in a case-affix.

The word ब्रत means a 'vow' as regulated and ordained by the Scriptures. This condition 'when vow is expressed' applies to the completed word, that is to say, when the complete word made up of the root, the upapada, and the affix, denotes a vow. As स्थिरज्ञशायिन् 'the vow of sleeping on bare ground (and nowhere else) or a person who has taken this vow'. अभाङ्गोजिन् 'who has vowed not to eat during the performance of a Sraddha ceremony'.

Why do we say 'when vow is to be expressed'? Otherwise there is no composition. As स्थिरज्ञे श्वरे देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sleeps on bare ground'.

This sūtra is also an exception to III. 2. 78 applicable when habit is not meant, or when genus is to be expressed.

बहुलमाभीदयते ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम् आभीद्यते, (खिनिः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आभीद्यते गम्यमाने धारोर्णहन्ते खिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix खिनि comes after a verb diversely when continued repetition of an action is to be expressed.

The word आभीद्यते means continued repetition, that is to say, zealous practice or assiduous performance of anything, but does not mean habit. As कथायपायिणी गांधाराः 'the people of Gāndhāra are kashāya-drinkers'. कथाय + पा + यिणि = कथाय + पा + युक + यिणि (VII. 3. 33). So also जीरपायिण उशीनाराः 'the people of Usināra are milk-drinkers'. सौवीर-पायिणो बाह्लीकाः 'the people of Bāhlika are sauvira-drinkers'.

By using the word 'diversely' in the sūtra, this affix is not applied in other places, as in the following :—कृष्णपत्तादः 'a grain eater'.

मनः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनः, (सुपि, खिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्यते: सुर्वत उपपदे खिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

82. The affix खिनि comes after the verb मन् 'to think' when there is a word with a case-affix in composition with it.

The word 'supi' is understood in this sūtra. As एर्षनीयमानी 'who thinks himself handsome'; शोभनंमानी 'who thinks himself beautiful'.

The verb मन् belonging to the 4th conjugation is taken here and not that belonging to the 8th conjugation; because the anuvritti of the word 'diversely' is understood here. In the present aphorism, whether we take the Divādi or Tanādi मन्, the resulting form would be the same, namely मानिन्. But not so in the next aphorism, where before the affix खण् there would be difference of form owing to the vikaraṇa, i. e., in the 4th conjugation इवन् would be added, but not so if the verb belonged to the 8th class.

आरम्भमाने खण् ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आरम्भमाने, खण्, च, (खिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आरम्भमाने वर्तमानाप्रत्ययसः सुर्युपपदे खणप्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराभ्यनिध ॥

83. And the affix खण् comes after the verb मन् 'to think' when the word in composition with it is a word with a case-affix, and when it is employed to signify thought, whereof the object is self (the sense of the affix being 'thinking himself as such').

The word आरम्भमान means thinking of one's own self. By the word 'and' it is meant that the affix खिनि may be employed in the same sense. This rule applies where the agent, indicated by the sense of the affix, thinks himself possessed of the qualities of 'handsomeness' &c., denoted by the upapada. As एर्षनीयमन्वः or एर्षनीयमानी 'who thinks himself handsome'; परिदर्शनमन्वः or परिदर्शमानी 'who thinks himself learned'.

Why do we say 'when employed to signify thought whereof the object is self'? Witness एर्षनीयमानी ऐवदत्त बहदतः 'Yajñadatta is thought handsome by Devadatta.'

Of the affix खण् the letter ख् causes मु मु augment by VI. 3. 66; and ण् makes it a sārvadhātuka affix, which brings in the proper vikaraṇas. The affixes so far treated of are applicable in all tenses. The others that follow denote some particular time.

भूते ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूत इत्यधिकारो वर्तमाने लड्डिति बावल् बहित ऋद्वन्नुक्तिप्राप्तः भूत इत्येवं तद्वेदितमन् ॥

84. All the affixes to be treated of hereafter should be understood to come in the sense of past time.

The phrase 'with the sense of past time' is an adhikāra or governing aphorism and exerts its influence up to aphorism 123 of this chapter; that is to say, these affixes give a signification of the past tense to the verb whose anuvṛitti is also understood throughout the subsequent sūtras; see III. I. 91.

Thus it will be taught in the next aphorism: 'after the verb यज्, when the word in composition is in the instrumental case, the affix यिनि is employed'. Here to complete the sense we must read into the sūtra, the words 'with the sense of past time'. As अग्निष्टोमेनेष्टवान् = अग्निष्टोमयाजित् 'who has sacrificed with an Agnīṣṭoma or a five-day series of offerings'.

Why do we say 'with the sense of past time'? Otherwise these affixes will not be employed. As अग्निष्टोमेन यजति 'he sacrifices with Agnīṣṭoma'.

**करणे यजः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, यजः, (यिनिः, भूते)॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यजते धातोः करणपपरे यिनिप्रस्थयो भवति भूते ॥**

85. The affix यिनि comes after the verb यज् 'to sacrifice' with the sense of past time, when the word in composition is in the instrumental case.

The anuvṛitti of यिनि and not of यज् is to be read into this sūtra. As अग्निष्टोमयाजित् 'who has sacrificed with Agnīṣṭoma.' Here Agnīṣṭoma is the instrument for the attainment of the desired fruit.

**कर्मयि हनः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मयि, हनः, (यिनिः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मयि उपपरे हनते धातोयिनिप्रस्थयो भवति भूते काले ॥**

86. The affix यिनि comes after the verb हन् 'to kill', with the sense of past time, when the word in composition is in the accusative case.

As पितृवधातिन् 'who has killed his paternal uncle'; मातृवधातिन् 'who has killed his maternal uncle'; हन् + यिनि = घन् + यिनि (VII. 3. 54) = घत् + यिनि (VII. 3. 32) = घातिन् (VII. 2. 116).

This affix is employed only when censure is implied. Therefore it is not employed in चोरं हतवान् 'he has killed the thief'.

The anuvṛitti of the word कर्मयि of this aphorism extends up to sūtra III. 2. 96.

**ब्रह्मसूक्ष्मवृत्रेषु क्विप् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रह्म-भूख-वृत्रेषु, क्विप्,
(कर्मयि, हनः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रह्मविषु कर्मसूपपरेषु हनते धातोः क्विपप्रस्थयो भवति भूते ॥**

87. The affix क्विप् comes after the verb हन् 'to

kill' with the sense of past time, when the following words in the accusative case are in composition: नम् 'a Brâhmaṇa', खूण् 'a foetus' and वृत्र 'Vṛitra'.

As नम्हाहन्, 1st. sing. नम्हा 'who has killed a Brâhmaṇa'; खूण्हा 'who has killed a foetus'; वृत्रा 'who has killed Vṛitra, a name of Indra'.

Since by sūtra 76 *ante*, the affix किवप् was ordained to come after all verbs, and therefore would have come after the verb हन् also, where is the necessity of the present aphorism? This aphorism makes a niyama. *i.e.* the verb हन् takes the affix किवप् only when it is in composition with the words नम् &c. Four-fold restriction is here intended.

(1) When हन् has, as upapada, the words नम् &c., and not any other word; as पुरुषं हसवान् 'he has killed the man'.

(2) When the words नम् &c. are upapadas of any other verb than हन्, then this affix is not employed; so that the verb must be हन्; thus नम्हाधीतवान् 'he has read the Veda'.

(3) The किवप् is the only affix to denote past time in the case of हन् preceded by नम् &c., and no other affix can be employed in this sense.

(4) This is employed only in the past tense and not in any other tense; as नम्हाणं हन्ति or हनिष्यति 'he kills or will kill the Brâhmaṇa'. This sūtra anticipates the diversity taught in the next sūtra, and is an example of वहन्ति use of the affix.

वहस्तं द्वन्द्वसि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वहस्तम् द्वन्द्वसि, (हन्, किप्) ॥
पृच्छः ॥ द्वन्द्वसि चिष्ठवे उपपार्तरेषि हन्तेर्वहुजं किवप्स्त्वयो भवति ॥

88. In the Chhandas, the affix किवप् diversely comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' with the sense of past time, even when the word in composition with it is other than those mentioned in the last aphorism.

This aphorism ordains किवप् in cases which are not governed by the restrictive rule contained in the last aphorism. As मादहा सप्तं नरकं प्रविशेत् 'may the matricide enter the seventh hell'; so also पिदहा 'patricide'.

Diversely we find also नादधातः and पिदधातः।

सुकर्मेपापमंत्रपुरयेषु रुजः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-कर्म-पाप-मन्त्र-
पुरयेषु, रुजः, (किप्) ॥

पृच्छः ॥ एवादिषु कर्मसूपरेषु करोते-द्वातोः किवप्स्त्वयो भवति ॥

89. The affix किवप् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' with the sense of past time, when the following words in the accusative case are in composition:— चु 'well', कर्म 'action', पाप 'sin', मंत्र 'hymn' and पृष्ठ 'virtue'.

The phrase 'in the accusative case' is understood in this aphorism, and applies to all the above-mentioned words, except सु, which being an attributive word, of course, cannot take any case-terminations. As सुकृत् (VI. I. 71) 'who has done well'; कर्मकृत् 'who has done all works'; आपकृत् 'who has committed sins'; मन्त्रकृत् 'who has made a mantra'; पृथकृत् 'who has done virtuous actions'.

This sūtra also ordains a restrictive rule or niyama. Three-fold restriction is intended here: namely, restrictions with regard to time, upapada, and affix; but not with regard to verbs. See III. 2. 87. There being no restriction with regard to the root, this affix is employed when words other than these are upapadas. As, शास्त्रकृत् 'who has made Scriptures'; भाष्यकृत् 'who has made a commentary'. The त् is added to the root by VI. I. 71.

सोमे सुजः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमे, सुजः, (कर्मजि, क्लिप्) ॥

यूचिः ॥ सोमे कर्मण्वुपष्टे सुनोतेष्ठातोः किनप्रस्तवयो भवति ॥

90. The affix क्लिप् comes after the verb सु 'to press out juice', with the sense of past time, when the word सोम, in the accusative case, is in composition.

As, सोमसुत् 'who has pressed the soma juice, or soma-distiller'; 1st. dual सोमसुतौ ; 1st. plural सोमसुनः ।

This sūtra is also for the sake of making a niyama or restrictive rule. The four-fold restriction is here intended. i.e. as regards the verb, the tense, the upapada and the affix.

अग्नी चेः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नी, चेः, (कर्मजि, क्लिप्) ॥

यूचिः ॥ भग्नो कर्मण्वुपष्टे सुनोतेष्ठातोः किनप्रस्तवयो भवति ॥

91. The affix क्लिप् comes after the verb च 'to collect' with the sense of past time, when the word भग्नि, in the accusative case, is in composition.

As, भग्निचित् 'one who has kept the sacred fire'; 1st. dual भग्निचितौ ; 1st. plural भग्निचितः ।

Here also, as in the last aphorism, four-fold restriction is intended.

कर्मदयग्नास्यायाम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मजि, अग्नि-आस्यायाम्, (कर्मजि, चेः, क्लिप्) ॥

यूचिः ॥ कर्मण्वुपष्टे चिनोतेः कर्मण्वेव कारके किनप्रस्तवयो भवति भग्नदायायाम् ॥

92. In expressing an object the affix क्लिप् comes after the verb च 'to collect' with the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case, provided the word so formed is the name of fire.

The words चेः and कर्मजि are understood in this sūtra. The Name is

expressed by taking the complete word consisting of the verbal root, the upapada and the affix. As इयेनचित् 'a fire which has been arranged in the shape of a hawk'; कक्षुचित् 'fire arranged like a heron'.

The word भारवा indicates that these words are ruḍhi words, their sense depending upon usage rather than etymology. The arrangement of bricks for sacrificial purpose with regard to fire, gets these various names; that is, when the bricks are arranged like a falcon, it is called इयेनचित्, and so on.

कर्मस्त्रीनि विक्रियः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मस्त्रि, इनि, विक्रियः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्डुपपदे विपूर्वात् क्लीणाते धर्मादीर्तिनिप्रस्तवयो भवति ॥

93. The affix इनि comes after the compound verb विक्रि 'to sell', in the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case.

The repetition of the word कर्मस्त्रि in the sūtra, though its anuvṛitti might have been drawn from the last aphorism, indicates that when the object carries with it a sense of censure on the agent, then only this affix is employed and not with every and any object. As सीमविक्रियन् 'the seller of soma plant'; रसविक्रियन् 'the seller of liquors'; employing disapproval of the action of those persons who carry on these mean professions. But not so in धान्वविक्रियात् 'the seller of paddy'.

दृश्यः क्वनिष् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृश्यः, क्वनिष्, (कर्मस्त्रि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दृशोर्धातोः कर्मण्डुपपदे क्वनिषप्रस्तवयो भवति ॥

94. The affix क्वनिष् comes after the verb दृश् 'to see' in the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case.

As मेरुदृश्वन्, 1st. sing. मेरुदृश्वा 'who has seen the Meru'. परज्ञोकदृश्वा 'who has seen the hereafter.'

Though the affix क्वनिष् was valid by sūtra III. 2. 75 its repetition here shows that no other affix comes in this sense after this verb.

राजनि युधिक्षः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजनि, युधि-क्षः,
(कर्मस्त्रि, क्वनिष्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन् शब्दे कर्मण्डुपपदे बुध्यते: करोतेभ क्वनिषप्रस्तवयो भवति ॥

95. The affix क्वनिष् comes after the verbs बुध् 'to fight' and क् 'to make' with a past signification when the word राजन् 'king' is in composition, in the accusative case.

How can the verb बुध्, which is an intransitive verb, govern an object? It is a transitive verb, inasmuch as it is taken to be a causative verb, with the विष् affix latent. As राजयुधन्, 1st. sing. राजयुध्वा (VIII. 2. 7) 'who has caused the king to fight'; राजकृत्वन्, 1st. sing. राजकृत्वा (VI. I. 71) 'who has made a king'.

सहे च ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहे, च, (युधि, कर्मः, क्लनिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहशब्दं चोपपरे युधिक्लनीर्दातोः क्लनिप्प्रस्वयो भवति ॥

96. The affix क्लनिप् comes after the verbs युधि and क्लनि, with a past signification, when the word सह 'with', is in composition.

The word सह, being a particle, and not denoting a substance, is incapable of taking any case. As सहयुधन् 'who has made to fight with'; सहक्लनन् 'who has done any thing along with another'.

सप्तर्णां जनेर्दः ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तर्णां, जनेः, डः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्बन्त उपपरे जनेर्दःप्रस्वयो भवति ॥

97. The affix डः comes after the verb जन् 'to be produced', with a past signification, when the word, in composition with it, is in the locative case.

As उपसरे जातः = उपसरजः । जन् + डः = ज् + अ (VI. 4. 143) = ज 'born of the first conception'; मन्त्रुरजः 'born in the stable'.

पञ्चम्यामजातौ ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्याम्, अजातौ, (जनेः, डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्बन्त उपपरे जातिवर्जिते जनेर्दःप्रस्वयो भवति ॥

98. The affix डः comes after the verb जन्, with a past signification, when the word in composition with it, is in the ablative case, which does not denote a genus.

As युद्धिजः 'born through understanding'; संस्कारजः 'born of habit'; शुखजः 'born through pain'.

Why do we say 'when not denoting a genus'? Observe इस्तनो जातः 'born of elephant'; भावाज्ञातः 'born of horse'.

उपसर्गे च संज्ञायाम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, च, संज्ञायाम्, (जनेः, डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे चोपपरे जनेःप्रस्वयो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

99. The affix डः comes after the verb जन् with a past signification, when an upasarga is in composition and when the sense is simply appellative.

The term here being simply appellative, and not descriptive, cannot be explained by giving the signification of its component elements. As प्रजा: 'people', or 'a son'; as in the sentence अथेमा मानवी प्रजा: ।

अनौ कर्मेष्वि ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनौ, कर्मेष्वि, (जनेः, डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वज्ञनेः कर्मण्वृपपरे डःप्रस्वयो भवति ॥

100. The affix डः comes after the verb जन् with

a past signification, when the root takes the preposition अन् and is compounded with a word in the accusative case.

As पुमनुजा 'a girl born after the male child i. e. a girl having an elder brother'; स्त्रिमनुजः 'a boy born after the female child i. e. a boy having an elder sister'.

अन्येष्वपि दूर्घयते ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येषु, अपि, दूर्घयते,
(जनेः, हः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येष्वप्युपरेषु कारकेषु जनेऽः प्रत्यक्षो दूर्घयते ॥

101. The affix दृ is seen to come after the verb जन् with a past signification, though it be in composition with other nouns, having cases other than those mentioned in the previous sūtras.

Thus the locative case has been dealt with in sūtra III. 2. 97; but the affix comes when the upapada has any other case than the seventh. As न जावते = भजः 'unborn'; द्विजीतः = द्विजः 'twice-born'.

Thus, it is said in sūtra III. 2. 98 that the upapada may be in the ablative case, when genus is not denoted. We see, however, the affix employed when genus is denoted. As भ्रातृपाञ्जो धर्मः; स्त्रिवजं वृद्धम्।

It is declared in sūtra III. 2. 98 that when appellative is meant, the affix दृ comes after the compound verb जन्. We find, however, the affix employed when the sense is not simply appellative; as भविजाः or परिजाः 'born or produced all round i. e. hair'.

It is declared in sūtra III. 2. 100, 'When an object is in composition with the verb अनुजन्, this affix is employed'. But it may also be employed when no object is in composition. As अनुजः 'born after i. e. younger brother'.

The force of the word अपि 'though' is to free this rule from all restrictions and conditions. So this affix comes after other verbs and other cases in composition with such verbs. As परिनः खाता = परिखा 'a moat' (literally that which has been dug all round); आखा 'a pond'.

निष्ठा ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्फूरत् तिष्ठेत्वुक्तं स निष्ठासंज्ञकः प्रत्यक्षो भूते भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ आदिकर्मणि निष्ठा वक्तव्या ॥

102. The affixes called निष्ठा come after a verbal root, employed with the sense of past time.

The affixes कृ and कृत् are निष्ठा (I. I. 26). As कृ+कृ = कृतम् 'made'; कृ+कृत् = कृतवत्, 1st. sing. कृतवान् 'done'; so also भृतम् and भृतवान् 'eaten'.

Vart.—The Nishṭha affixes come when *Adi-karma* is meant. For a fuller description of what constitutes *Adi-karma* see sūtra III. 4. 71, and the illustrations under it. Thus प्रकृतः कृत देवहस्तः; प्रकृतवान् कृत देवहस्तः;

सुयजोर्क्षवनिप् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-यजोः, र्क्षवनिप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुनोतेर्यजतेश र्क्षवनिप् प्रस्त्रयो भवति ॥

103. The affix र्क्षवनिप् comes after the verbs सु 'to press out or extract juice' and यज् 'to sacrifice', with a past signification.

As सु+र्क्षवनिप् = सुत्+वन् (VI. I. 71) = सुवन्, 1st. sing. सुता 'who has pressed out or extracted juice'; यज्वन्, 1st. sing. यज्वा 'who has sacrificed'. The त् is added by VI. I. 71. See Rig. Ved. I. 3. 1.

जीर्यतेरद्वन् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जीर्यतेः, अद्वन्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीर्यतेरद्वन् प्रस्त्रयो भवति भूते ॥

104. The affix भद्वन् comes after the verb ज् 'to grow old' with the sense of past time.

As ज्+भद्वन् = जर्+भव् (VII. 3. 84) = जरत्, 1st. sing. जरन्, 1st. dl. जरन्ते, 1st. pl. जरन्तः 'grown old' (VII. I. 70).

By the rule of वास्तवप् (III. I. 94), the Nish्ठा� affixes also come after this verb. As जीर्णः and जीर्णवन्। ज्+न्त् = जिर्+त् (VII. I. 100 and I. I. 51) = जिर्+न् (VIII. 2. 42)= जीर्ण (VIII. 2. 77 and VIII. 4. 1) 'grown old'.

छन्दसि लिट् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, लिट्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये धातोलिंट् प्रस्त्रयो भवति ॥

105. In the Chhandas, the affix लिट् comes after a verb with a past signification.

As भद्रं सूर्यमुभयतो इदर्शं 'I saw the sun from both sides'; भद्रं आवाप्यिद्वा आततान् 'I stretched the heaven and the earth'. Here the words इदर्शं and आततान् have the force of nish्ठā. See Yaj. Ved. VIII. 9.

Why this separate sūtra, when by aphorism III. 4. 61, in the Chhandas the *lun*, *lan* and *lit* come in all tenses? That rule is made with regards to two or more verbs when in syntactical relation (चातुर्संबन्ध) with each other (III. 4. 1). The present rule is general, and without any such limitations.

Lit is the affix of the Present Perfect and will be fully treated of in the conjugation of verbs.

लिटः कानश्वा ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटः, कानश्, वा; (छन्दसि)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि लिटः कानजावेशो भवति वा ॥

106. In the Chhandas the affix लिट् is optionally replaced by the affix कानश्!

As भग्ने चिकवानः 'he consecrated the fire'; सोमं सूषुपाणः 'he pressed the *soma* juice'. This being an optional affix, is sometimes not employed; as in the examples in the last aphorism.

Why has the word *lit* been repeated in this sūtra, when its anuvṛitti could have been drawn from the last sūtra? The substitute कान्त् replaces not only the special जिद् of sūtra III. 2. 105, but the general जिद् which comes after the roots in forming the perfect tense; so that the affix कान्त् forms verbal adjectives as well as the perfect tense.

This affix comes after those verbs only which take Atmanepada terminations. See I. 4. 100. तूत्यान् (Rig. Ved. I. 3. 6).

कसुष् ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कवसुः, च, (चन्द्रिः, लिटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दति जिदः कसुरावेशो भवति ॥

107. In the Chhandas the affix कवसु is optionally the substitute of जिद्.

As जह्निवस् 1st. sing. जह्निवान् 'eaten' (Yaj. VIII. 19); पपिवस् 1st. sing. पपिवान् 'drunk'.

Sometimes it does not come, as in the example under sūtra III. 2. 105; अहं सूर्यमुभवतो रहस्य.

The division of this sūtra from the last, in which it could well have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvṛitti of कवसु only runs.

भाषायां सद्वसन्नुवः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भाषायाम्, सद-वत्त-श्रुवः, (लिटः, कवसुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सह एत श्रु इत्येतेभ्यः परस्व जिदो भाषायां विवेते वा कसुरावेशो भवति ॥

108. In the modern Sanskrit, the affix कवसु optionally replaces जिद् after the verbs सह, वत् and श्रु with a past signification.

This being a substitute only, the original affix लिट् also comes after these verbs. As, उपसेहिवान् कौत्सः पाणिनिद् 'Kautsa served Pāṇini'. In the alternative, the proper affixes of the past tense will be employed. As उवासद् 'he served'; उपासीद् and उपसाद्.

So also अनूषिवान् कौत्सः पाणिनिद्. In the alternative we have अन्ववासीद्, अन्ववसद् and अनूषाद्.

So also उपशुभुवान् कौत्सः पाणिनिद्. In the alternative we have उपाश्रीद्, उपाग्रुणीद् and उपशुभाव.

The affix कवसु is employed with the force of लिट् and जिद् also.

उपेयिवाननाश्वाननूचानश् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपेयिवान्-अनाश्वान्-अनूचानः, (च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपेयिवान् अनाश्वान् अनूचान इत्येते शब्दा निपात्वन्ते ॥

109. The forms उपेयिवान् अनाश्वान् अनूचान् are irregularly formed.

These forms are thus evolved:—To the verb इ 'to go' with the preposition उप, the affix कवसु is added: as उप+इ+कवसु. The root is reduplicated: as उप+ई+इ+कवसु. The reduplicate is here long ई by VII. 4. 69. This long ई does not coalesce with the short इ by the rules of sandhi; for then the rule by which this ई was introduced would have no scope. Now we add the augment इट्, contrary and in opposition to the rule VII. 2. 67, and this is the irregularity. As उप+ई+इ+इट्+कवसु. Then the root इ is replaced by ए by sūtra VI. 4. 81. As उप+ई+ए+इट्+कवसु=उपेक्षिवस् 1st. sing. उपेक्षिवान्. The augment इट् is however dropped in those cases (अ) where वस् is changed into उष्; because the insertion of इट् was itself an exceptional case of limited scope:—for while the general rules VII. 2. 75 &c. ordained it, the special rule of VII. 2. 67 prohibited it; and it was by prohibition of this prohibition that इट् was employed before वस्. Therefore in accusative plural we have उपेक्षुषः; instrumental sing उपेक्षुषा &c.

This irregular participle is not limited to the upasarga उप; we find such irregular forms with other upasargas and without them also; thus समीक्षिवान्, ईक्षिवान् as well.

By the anuvṛitti of the word शा read in this aphorism, we have लुह् &c. in the alternative. As in Aorist उपागात्, Imperfect उपेत्, Perfect उपेयाच !

The word अनाधान् is thus formed:—To the verb अग् 'to enjoy' we add the negative particle अन; apply the affix कसु and do not insert the augment इट्; so, we have अन+अग्+कवसु=अनाधास्, 1st. sing. अनाधान्. In the alternative we have Aorist नाशीत्, Imperfect नाशात् and Perfect नाश.

The word अनूचानः is thus derived:—The affix कानच् is added in expressing the agent to the verb वच् preceded by अनु. In the alternative we have Aorist अन्वदोचत्, Imperfect अन्वदशीत्, Perfect अनूचाच.

लुह् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ लुह्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतेऽयं वर्त्तमानाद्यातोलुह् प्रवदो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वसतेर्लुह् रात्रिश्चेदे जागरणसन्ततौ वक्तव्यः ॥

110. The affix लुह् comes after a verb in the sense of past time.

The लुह् forms what is known as aorist. It is in fact the name of the aorist, as the whole of this affix is replaced by other personal terminations. See III. 1. 43 and subsequent sūtras.

The aorist has reference to a past time indefinitely or generally, without reference to any particular time. An action done before today is expressed by the perfect or imperfect; whatever remains for the aorist is, therefore, to express a past action, done very recently, say, in the course of the current day or having reference to a present act. Aorist, therefore, merely implies the completion of an action at a past time generally, and also an action done at a

very recent time, as during the course of this day. The imperfect and perfect are used in narrating events of past occurrence, generally in remote past time; the aorist is used in dialogues and conversations which refer to recent past actions, but it is not used to denote past specified time or to narrate events.—Apte's Composition. As अकार्षत् 'he did'; भार्षत् 'he took'.

Vart.—The affix लङ् comes after the verb वस् 'to dwell', when 'end of the present night' is indicated. Supposing a person rising from his bed at the proper time of rising (not in the middle of the night, but in the early morning) and finding another near him were to ask that one, 'where did you dwell i. e. pass the night'? That person so asked should answer in the लङ् and not in लङ्. As अमुचावस्तम् 'I dwelt there'; and not अमुचावसम्.

Vart.—The above rule applies only in connection with waking after regular sleep. He who has not slept the whole night, but only for half an hour or so, should reply अमुचावसम्.

अनद्यतने लङ् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनद्यतने, लङ्, (भूते) ॥

यृत्तिः ॥ भविद्यमानाद्यतने भूतेर्वेव वर्त मानाद्यतोर्लङ् प्रस्त्यदो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परोक्षे च ज्ञोक्तिज्ञाते प्रयोन्तुर्दैवतप्रिपये लङ् वन्नत्यः ॥

111. The affix लङ् comes after a verbal root employed in the sense of past before the commencement of the current day.

The word अनद्यतन् is a Bahuvrihi compound, meaning that which has not occurred during the course of the current day (*adyatana*). The whole of this affix is replaced by conjugational terminations, and the affix लङ् by itself denotes the Imperfect tense. As अकरोत् 'he did'; अहरत् 'he took'.

Why have we explained *anadyatana* as a Bahuvrihi compound? Because when there is a doubt as to the time, whether it was to-day or yesterday, there the Imperfect should not be used. As अय द्यो वा भभूत्तमहि 'we ate to-day or yesterday'. In such a case the affix is लङ्.

Vart :—The affix लङ् is also employed in signifying what is not witnessed by the narrator, when it relates to a well-known public event which can form the object of perception by the narrator. Thus in speaking of a recent public occurrence we may say:—अद्याद् ववनः साकेतम् 'the Yavanas have besieged Sāketa'; अद्याद् ववनः माध्यमिकान् 'the Yavanas have besieged Mādhyamika'.

Why do we say 'not witnessed by the speaker'? Observe उदगात् भादितः 'the sun arose'. Why do we say 'a popular public event'? Observe चकार कट्. देवदत्तः 'Devadatta has made the mat'. Why do we say 'which is the object of perception by the speaker'? Observe जयान कंस किल वासुदेवः 'Vāsudeva killed Kansa'.

अभिज्ञावदने लृट् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिज्ञा-वदने, लृट्, (भूते, अनद्यतने) ॥

पृष्ठः ॥ अभिज्ञा स्मृतिस्तद्वचन उपपदे भूतानश्चतने लृट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. When a word implying 'recollection' is in connection with it, a verb takes the affix लृट् (2nd future) in the sense of the past before the commencement of the present day.

The word अभिज्ञा means 'recollecion'. This rule sets aside the affix लृट्. As अभिज्ञानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरेषु वरस्वामः 'rememberest thou, Devadatta, we were dwelling (lit. we will dwell) in Kashmir'.

The word वचन meaning 'signification' in the sūtra, denotes that the construction is the same when the synonyms of अभिज्ञा are used; as स्मरसि 'dost thou remember'; ज्ञायसे 'dost thou know'; चेतयसे 'dost thou reflect'; and the like.

न यदि ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यदि, (अभिज्ञावचने, लृट्) ॥

पृष्ठः ॥ यच्छब्द सहितेऽभिज्ञावचन उपपदे लृट्प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

113. The affix लृट् (the 2nd future) is not applied in the sense of the past, when the upapada denoting recollection has in connection with it the particle चत्.

This prohibits लृट् which the verb वस् obtained from the last sūtra. As अभिज्ञानासि देवदत्त चत् कश्मीरेषु वरस्वाम 'thou rememberest Devadatta how we did dwell in Kashmir'. Here the mere fact of dwelling is recollected, there being no other idea implied; therefore the subsequent aphorism has no scope here. That aphorism has its scope, when with recollection, is added another dependent idea or action, without which the sentence is not complete.

विभाषा साकांक्षे ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, साकांक्षे, (लृट्, अभिज्ञावचने) ॥

पृष्ठः ॥ अभिज्ञावचन उपपदे यच्छब्दसहिते केवले च विभाषा लृट्प्रत्ययो भवति साकांक्ष-
स्येत्प्रयोक्ता ॥

114. The affix लृट् is optionally applied in the sense of the past, when a word implying 'recollection' is in connection with it, and whether such word has the particle चत् or is employed simply; provided that the two verbs, occurring in the same complex sentence, are so connected together, that each is necessary to the other, to complete the sense of the speaker.

The word साकांक्षा means the relation between the sign and the thing signified, wished for or wanted by the speaker, or in other words, when the first verb is related to another verb used in the same sentence, as a sign is to that which is indicated by the sign. As अभिज्ञानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरान् गमिष्यामः, तत्र सकून्

पास्यामः or भगिजानासि ऐवदत्त कश्मीरान् गच्छाम, तत्र सन्कूल् पिवाम, 'do you remember Devadatta we went to Kashmir and there did drink Saktu'.

This option is allowed whether the particle यत् is or is not used. As भगिजानासि ऐवदत्त यत् कश्मीरान् गमिष्यामः (or यत् कश्मीरान् गच्छाम,) यत् तत्रौदत्तं भोज्यामहे (or यत् तत्रौदत्तमभुज्ञमहि) 'Do you recollect, Devadatta how we went to Kashmir and how we ate rice there'.

In the above examples, the verb 'to go' is the sign, and the 'eating' or 'drinking', in the second sentence, is the thing really signified ; the first verb is necessary as an introduction to the thought of the speaker which dwells more upon the second verb. Here the second sentence or proposition is used as completion or complement of the first proposition.

परोक्षे लिट् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परोक्षे, लिट्, (भूते, अनद्यतने) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भूतानयतनपरोक्षेऽथेऽवर्तमानाद्वातेनिर्दिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ भत्यन्तापन्हवे च लिङ्गवक्तव्यः ॥

115. The affix लिट् comes after a verb in the sense of the past before the commencement of the current day and unperceived by the narrator.

The word परोक्ष 'unperceived' qualifies the words भूतु 'past' and भनयतन 'non-current day' understood in this aphorism.

'Well, are not the senses of verbs *all* unperceived, since they are mere words, and words cannot be perceived? Exactly so; but in popular phraseology, the perception is imagined to attach to the agent with regard to certain verbs; this rule relates to cases where such perception does not take place. As, चकार 'he did'; जहार 'he took'.

'It is evident that the लिट् (perfect) should not be used in the first person, *i. e.* when the agent of the action is the speaker or writer himself; for it is impossible that the action should not have been witnessed by him. But if by reason of some distracted, unconscious or absent state of mind, it is possible for the agent to speak of the action as one, of which he was not a conscious witness, the perfect may be used even in the first person. As सुरोऽहं किञ्चित्प्रलाप 'indeed I prated while asleep'.

Vart :—The perfect should be employed (in denoting past time simply, whether of the current day or otherwise, and whether the action has been witnessed personally or not) if the sense is total denial of the action. As कलिङ्गेषु स्थितोऽसि ? नाहं कलिङ्गम् जगाम 'did you live in the Kalinga country? I did not even go to the Kalinga country'; इषिणापथं प्रविष्टोऽसि ? नाहं इषिणापथं प्रविष्टः.

हशश्वतोर्लेङ्घच ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह-शश्वतोः, लङ्घच, (भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे, लिट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतानयतनपरोक्षेऽथेऽलिटि मात्रे हशश्वतोर्लेङ्घप्रवद्वोर्लेङ्घप्रवद्वो भवति चकारालिट् च ॥

116. And the affix जड़ comes after a verb when the particles ए and शाखा are in connection with it, and when the verb denotes past action unperceived by the speaker, and before the commencement of the current day.

The force of ए 'and' is that the affix जित् (perfect) may also be employed in similar construction. As इति हाकरोत् (imperfect), or इति ह चकार (perfect) 'Alas ! he did it'. शाखकरोत् or शाखचकार 'again and again he did it'.

प्रश्ने चासनकाले ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रश्ने, ए, आसनकाले, (भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे, लट्, सिट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भासनकाले पुच्छधमानो भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षेऽथेऽवर्तमानादातोर्जन्मज्जीव प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

117. The affixes जड़ (imperfect) and जित् (perfect) come after a verb (in expressing a past time not belonging to the current day and unperceived by the speaker) when the past time referred to is recent, and the sentence is interrogative.

This sūtra also qualifies the words भूत, अनद्यतन and परोक्ष understood in this sūtra. The word प्रश्न means 'what should be asked'; and भासनकाल 'time close at hand': As, some one may ask another, अगच्छह देवदत्तः or जगाम देवदत्तः 'did Devadatta go or has Devadatta gone (just now)?' अवज्ञह देवदत्तः or इयाज देवदत्तः 'Did Devadatta sacrifice or has Devadatta sacrificed?'

Why do we say 'in asking question'? Otherwise there would be Perfect tense only. As, जगाम देवदत्तः 'Devadatta has gone'.

Why do we say 'when the past time referred to is imminently recent'? Observe भवन्ति पुच्छामि, जघान कंस किञ वासुदेवः 'I ask you, did Krishna indeed kill Kansa in days of yore'.

लट् रमे ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लट्, रमे, (भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रमशब्द उपग्रहे भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षे लट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

118. The affix जड़ (present) comes after a verb, when the particle रम is in connection with it, (and denotes a past time not belonging to the current day and unperceived by the speaker).

All the words within brackets are understood in this aphorism. This debars जित् or the perfect tense. Thus यज्ञति रम दुष्ठिष्ठिरः 'Yudhishṭhira sacrificed'; so also नज्ञेन रम पुराधीयते । उर्णवा रम वराधीयते ॥

अपरोक्षे ए ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरोक्षे, ए, (भूते, अनद्यतने, रमे, लट्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरोक्षे च भूतानयतनेऽयं वर्तमानादातोः स्मरपरे जट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The affix जट् (present) comes after a verb when the particle स्त्र is in connection with it, and denotes a past action not belonging to the current day, and when the action is perceived by the agent.

As एवं स्त्र पिता नवीति 'thus said the father' ; हिति स्मोपाध्यायः कथयति 'thus said the preceptor'.

ननौ पृष्ठप्रतिवचने ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ ननौ, पृष्ठ-प्रतिवचने, (भूते, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नमुशब्द उपपरे प्रमपूर्वके प्रतिवचने भूतेऽयं जटप्रत्ययो मतति ॥

120. The affix जट् is employed after a verb in denoting past action, when the word ननु is in connection with it, and an answer is given to a question.

The anuvṛitti of the words 'anadyatana' and 'paroksha' does not extend to this sūtra. This declares a rule with regard to past time in general. This debars जट् (the Aorist tense). As अकार्षः कट् इवहस—ननु करोमि भोः 'Devadatta, did you make the mat ? O, yes, I did make it'. अयोचस्तत्र किञ्चिद् इवहस—ननु नवीमि भोः 'Devadatta, did you speak there anything ? O, yes, I did speak'.

Why do we say 'in reply to an interrogation' ? Observe नन्वकार्षन् माणवकः 'certainly, Mānavaka did it'.

नन्वोर्धिभाषा ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-न्वोः, विभाषा, (भूते, पृष्ठ-प्रति-वचने, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नशब्दे नुशब्दे चोपपरे पृष्ठप्रतिवचने विभाषा जटप्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

121. The affix जट् comes optionally after a verb, in denoting past time, in reply to an interrogation, when the words न 'not' and नु 'what of that' are in connection with it.

As, अकार्षः कट् इवहस—न करोमि भोः or नाकार्षन् ;—अहं नु करोमि or अहं न्वकार्षन् 'Devadatta, did you make the mat ?—No I did not ;— what of that, I did'.

पुरि लुह् चासने ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरि, लुह्, च, असने, (भूते, अनयतने, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुराशब्द उपपरे स्मशब्दवर्जिते भूतानयतनेऽयं विभाषा नुहप्रत्ययो भवति जट् च ॥

122. Optionally the affixes लुह् and जट् come after a verb, in denoting past time not belonging to the current day, when the word पुरि is used in the sentence, provided that the word स्त्र is not used.

The *anuvṛitti* of the word *anadyatana* which had come to a stop with III. 2. 120 manifests itself again in this sūtra by a process of jumping over the two intermediate aphorisms. This sort of *anuvṛitti* is technically called *manduka-pluti* 'the leap of a frog' i. e. skipping of several sūtras and supplying a word from a previous sūtra.

This is an optional rule, so that when *lat* and *lun* are not used, the proper tenses, as the case may be, must be employed. As वसन्तीह पुरा छाचाः: 'the pupils lived here formerly'. So also, Aorist, भवास्तुः पुरा छाचाः; Imperfect, भवसन्तीह पुरा छाचाः; Perfect, रूपुरिह पुरा छाचाः।

Why do we say 'when the word स्त्र is not used'? Observe वजति स्त्र पुरा युधिष्ठिरः 'Yudhishṭhira did perform a sacrifice formerly'. Here rule 118 *ante* exerts its influence.

वर्तमाने लट् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्तमाने, लट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भारव्योऽपरिसमाप्त्वा वर्तमानस्तस्मिन् वर्तमानेऽयं वर्तमानाद्वातोल्लेश्मत्वयो भवति ॥

123. The affix लट् comes after a verb when denoting a present action.

The word वर्तमान means that which is begun and which has not yet come to an end. The action denoted by a verb in the present tense is yet continuing and has not stopped. As पचति 'he is cooking'; पठति 'he is reading'. So also whatever is constant, regular, uniform, is represented by the Present Indefinite. As तिष्ठन्ति पर्वताः 'the mountains stand'; नवन्ति नद्यः 'the rivers flow'.

लटः ग्रदुशानचावप्रथमासमानाधिकरणे ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लटः,
ग्रदु-शानचौ, अप्रथमा-समानाधिकरणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लटः ग्रदुशानचाविवेतावारेणौ भवतः भप्रथमान्तेन चेत्तस्व सामानाधिकरणं भवति ॥
वार्तिक्तम् ॥ माद्याक्षोशो ॥

124. The affixes शब् and शानच् are substitutes of लट्, when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix.

As पचमानं हेवदत्तं पश्य 'behold Devadatta who is cooking'; पचता कृतम् 'or पचमानेन कृतम् 'done by one who is cooking'. पच्+शानच् = पच्+शप्+शानच् (III. 4. 113, III. 1. 68)=पच्+भ+मुक्त+भाग (VII. 2. 82)=पचमान । So also पच्+शप्+शद्=पच्+भ+भत्=पचत् ।

Why do we say 'when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix'? Observe हेवदत्तः पचति 'Devadatta cooks'.

Since the term लट् might have been supplied from the last aphorism, its double citation is for the sake of larger application of this rule; that is to say, this rule applies sometimes even when the word is in concord with a nominative case. As सन् भास्त्रणः 'who is a Brahmana' = भस्त्रि भ्रास्त्रणः; so also

विषये व्राणः and विषयमानो व्राणः ; शुहृ and शुहृति ; and भर्तीवानः and जर्जे ।

Vart.—These affixes are employed after a verb, when the particle नाद् is in composition, and censure or curse is implied. As मा पचन् and मा पचमानः 'may he not cook' ; मा जीवन् चः परावज्ञादुःखस्थोऽपि जीवति 'cursed be he (lit. may he not live) who though smitten by the pain of the contempt of others, still lives'. Some commentators read the anuvṛitti of the word 'option' from sūtra 121 into this. That option, however, is a limited option (*vyavasthita-vibhāshā*) and not of universal application. Whenever a particular form is found as differing from the general form, there it should be understood that the option has been allowed, and not everywhere.

सम्बोधने च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्बोधने, च, (लटः, शब्दशानची) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्बोधने च विषये लटः शब्दशानचो प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

125. The affixes शब्द and शानच् are the substitutes of लट् even when agreeing with what ends with a first case-affix, provided that it is in the vocative case.

This aphorism declares when these participles may be employed even in the first case ; as हे पचन् or हे पचमान 'O thou who art cooking'.

लक्षणहेत्वोः क्रियायाः ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षण-हेत्वोः, क्रियायाः, (लटः, शब्द-शानची) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणे हेतौ चायें वर्त्मानाद्वातोः परस्य लटः शब्दशानचावासेशौ भवतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लक्षणहेत्वोःक्रियायाः गुण उपसंश्लेषम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वाख्याने च ॥

126. The affixes शब्द and शानच् are the substitutes of लट् and come after a verb, in expressing an attendant circumstance or characteristic, and the cause of an action.

The word लक्षण means that by which a thing is recognised or known i. e. an attribute ; हेतु means producer or cause. Both these words are attributes of the word क्रिया. Of *lakshana* :—as, शावानाः भुज्ञते वयनाः 'the Yavanas take their meals lying down'. तिष्ठन्ते नुशासति गणकाः । Of *hetu* :—as हर्ते पश्वन् मुच्यते 'by (reason of) seeing Hari, he gets absolution' ; भर्तीवानो वसति 'for the sake of study he dwells here'.

Why do we say 'when denoting a characteristic or a cause' ? Observe पचति 'he cooks' ; पठति 'he reads'.

Why do we say 'of the action' ? Not so when the participle is the characteristic or cause of a substance or a quality. As चः कम्पते सोऽप्यसः 'that which is shaking is the Aswattha' ; अदृष्टपूर्वे तद्वपु 'whatever floats is light' ; वनिषीरति तद्गुरु 'that which sinks down is heavy'.

Vart.—This participle also defines the agent of an action as, योऽधीवान् भास्ते स देवदत्तः 'he is Devadatta who sits studying'.

Vart.—This participle is also used to state a general truth : as श्रावना कर्त्ते दूर्वा 'the Dūrvā grass grows in a recumbent position'; भासीनं वर्षते विसं 'a lotus stalk grows in an upright position'. The compound लक्षणहेस्तोः of the sūtra contradicts the rule by which a word of fewer syllables stands first (II. 2. 14). This shows that the rule II. 2. 14. is not universal.

तौ सत् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तौ, सत्, (शुद्ध-शानचै) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तौ शृद्धशानचौ सत्संज्ञौ भवतः ॥

127. These two शृद्ध and शानच् are called सत्.

These participial affixes get collectively this name ; and as such they are not limited by the conditions enumerated above ; so that they replace not only the affixes of the Present tense but sometimes of Future also (III. 3. 14.), as well as other tenses. Thus ब्राह्मण्य कुर्वन्, करिष्यन्, कुर्वण्णः, करिष्यमाणः ।

The word सत् occurs in sūtra II. 2. 11. &c.

पूरुषज्ञोः शानन् ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूरुष-यज्ञोः, शानन् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पूरुष यज्ञेभ धासोः शानन् प्रत्यय यो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हिषः शत्रुवा वचनम् ॥

128. The affix शानन् comes after the verbs पूरुष 'to purify' and यज्ञ 'to sacrifice'.

As पवमानः 'purifier (fire or air)' ; वजगानः 'sacrificer'.

It might be asked 'is the शानन् with others that follow, an affix *suo generis*, or is it merely a substitute of ज्ञ, as शृद्ध and शानच् ? Why we ask this question is this. If they are affixes and not substitutes of ज्ञ, then they should govern genitive case by rule II. 3. 65. instead of nominative or the accusative. If, on the other hand, they are substitutes of ज्ञ, then by rule II. 3. 69. they should not govern the genitive case. But evidently they are not the substitutes of ज्ञ, as they are not so taught. How is it then that we have such forms as सोमं पवमानः 'drinking Soma' ; and नहमाध्नानः ? These forms can be explained on other grounds than supposing that शानन् &c. must be the substitutes of ज्ञ. The term द्वन् in sūtra II. 3. 69. is not the affix द्वन् taught in this Chapter sūtra 135 ; but it is a *pratyādhara* including several affixes. It is a *pratyādhara* formed by taking the वृ of शृद्ध in sūtra 124 ; and न् of द्वन् in 135 ; and thus it means all the affixes from शृद्ध in 124 down to द्वन् in 135. Thus though शानन्, चानग् &c. are not substitutes of ज्ञ, still the rule II. 3. 69. applies to them, as they are included in the term द्वन्.

Vart.—The rule II. 3. 69. applies only optionally when the verb हिष् takes the affix शृद्ध. As चोरत्व or चोरं हिषन् 'hating the thief'.

तारक्षीस्यवयोदधनशक्तिः चानश् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तारक्षीस्य-
वयः-वर्जन-शक्तिः चानश् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तारक्षीम्बाहिपु धातोधानश्चप्रसवबो भवति ॥

129. The affix चानश् comes after a verb in expressing 'habit', 'standard of age' and 'ability'.

The word तारक्षीन्द्रि means 'habit' or 'disposition'; वयः means the condition of body such as 'infancy', 'youth' &c; शक्तिः means 'capacity to do a thing'. As भौतिं भुज्ञानः 'habituated to enjoy'; कवचं विभ्राणः 'wearing an armour (of the age at which armour may be worn)'; शत्रुं निप्रानः 'able to destroy his foe'. So also, कर्ताह मुष्टवमानाः, भूषवमानाः, कवचं पर्वतवमानाः, पितॄलपूर्वं वहमानाः and पचमानाः।

इड्धायोः शत्रुकुचिक्षिः ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ इड्ध-धायोः, चतु,
अकुचिक्षिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इडो धारेष धालोः शत्रुप्रस्तवयो भवति अकुचिक्षिः कर्त्तरि ॥

130. The affix शत्रु comes after the verbs इड् 'to go' and धारि 'to hold' in denoting that the agent does the action without trouble.

The word अकुचिक्षु means that which is accomplished by the agent with ease and facility. As अधीयन् पारावण् 'the facile reading of the Purāṇa'; धारवन् पनिषद् 'easily mastering the Upanishad'. The root धारि is causative of धु and means here 'to master'.

Why do we say 'when facility is indicated'? Otherwise कुच्छेष्टाप्तीते 'he reads with difficulty'; कुच्छेष्टाप्तीते 'he remembers with difficulty'.

द्विषोऽभिन्ने ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषः, अभिन्ने, (शतु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिन्ने कर्त्तरि द्विषेषातोः शत्रुप्रसवबो भवति ॥

131. The affix शत्रु comes after the verb द्विष् when the agent indicated means an enemy.

The word अभिन्न means 'enemy'. As द्विषन् 'enemy', द्विषन्तो 'two enemies', द्विषन्तः 'enemies'.

Why do we say 'when denoting an enemy'? Observe हेष्टि भावा पतिम् 'the wife hates her husband'.

सुजो यज्ञसंयोगे ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुजाः, यज्ञ-संयोगे, (शतु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वससंयुक्तोऽभिषवे वर्तमानात्मुनोते धातोः शत्रुप्रसवबो भवति ॥

132. The affix शत्रु comes after the verb शु 'to press out juice' when the sense is that of association with sacrifice.

The word असंयोग is an instrumental compound, meaning association or connection (संयोग) with sacrifice. As सु+नु+श्व (III. 1. 76, III. 4. 113)=सुनु+अश्व (I. 2. 4.)=सुन्वत् (VI. 1. 77), 1st. sing. सुन्वन्, 1st. pl. सुन्वन्तः 'the sacrificers'; as in सर्वे सुन्वन्तः 'all are interested in, or partake of, or share in the sacrifice'.

The word संयोग indicates that the principal sacrificer. i. e. the यजमान is meant and not every person who is associated in the performance of a sacrifice in a subordinate capacity; such as वाजका: 'the sacrificing priests'.

When connection with sacrifice is not meant we have सुनोति सूराम् 'he distils liquor'.

अहैः प्रशंसायाम् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहैः, प्रशंसायाम्, (शव)॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अहतेऽर्द्धतोः प्रशंसायां शब्दप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

133. The affix श्व comes after the verb अहै in expressing praise.

As अहैनिह भवनिव्याम् 'thou art worthy of this knowledge here'; अहैनिह भवान्पूजाम् 'thou art worthy of honor in this place'.

Why do we say 'when meaning to praise'? Witness अहैति चौरो वधम् 'the thief deserves death'.

आ क्षेत्रश्छीलतद्वर्मतत्साधुकारिषु ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, क्षः,
तश्छील-तद्वर्म-तत्साधुकारिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आ एतस्मात् क्षिंसंशब्दाणानित उद्देमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तश्छीलारिषु कर्त्तव्य से वैरितव्याः ॥

134. From this sūtra as far as क्षिः in sūtra 177 inclusive, the affixes that we shall treat of, are to be understood in the sense of agents having such a habit, or nature, or having skill in such and such action.

The force of आ in this sūtra is limit inclusive, and includes विकृप् also. The term तश्छील means 'the natural inclination towards an action not prompted by a contemplation of its fruit or result'. The term तद्वर्म means 'who enters upon an action not from habit but thinking that it is his duty'. The term तत्साधुकारि means 'who does the action expressed by the verb in an excellent way'. Illustrations of these will be given under the subsequent aphorisms.

तुम् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुम्, (तश्छील-तद्वर्म-तत्साधुकारिषु) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वधातु-यस्त्वन्प्रस्तवयो भवति तश्छीलारिषु कर्त्तव्य ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ तन्त्रिवधावृत्तिवक्षु चानुपर्यग्नव्य ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ नवसे: पुक् च ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ चिवर्षेहेवतायामकारथोपधावा भविद्वत्वम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ शहेभ नियुक्ते ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि दृच्छ ॥

135. The affix सृ॒ वं comes after all verbs in the sense of 'agents having such a habit &c'.

The न् of सृ॒ वं is indicatory, and regulates the accent (VI. I. 197). As कृ+हृ॒=कर्ता॑, 1st sing. कर्ता॑. This affix denotes *habit* in the following ; as, कर्ता॑ कडान् 'who is accustomed to make mats. *Nature* :—as, मृष्टविसारः आविष्टावना भवन्ति वधूमूढाम् 'the family of Sravishtāyana shave the heads of their widows'; भजमप-हस्तां भाहरका भवन्ति आद्ये तिद्ये 'the Ahvarakas steal away food as soon as Sraddha is accomplished'; उज्जेतारस्तोच्चज्ञावना भवन्ति पुजे जाते 'the Taulvalāyanas become elated on the birth of a son'. *Skill* :—as, कर्ता॑ कटम् 'skilful maker of mats'. गन्ताऽस्तेष्टम् 'skilful hunter'.

Vart :—The simple verbs, without upasargas, take the affix हृ॒, when the words so formed are names of sacrificial priests. As हृ॒+हृ॒=होहृ॒, 1st. sing. होता॑ 'the *Hotri* priest' ; so also पोहृ॒ 'the *Potri* priest'.

Why do we say 'when not taking the upasargas'? Observe उद्गात॑ 'the Udgātri priest'; प्रतिहर्त॑ 'the *Pratihartri* priest'. Here the affix is हृ॒. Though the form is the same, there is difference however in the accent; i.e. हृ॒ places udātta accent on the first syllable (VI. I. 197), while हृ॒ places it on the last (VI. I. 163).

Vart :—The augment पुक् is added when नी takes the affix हृ॒; as नी॑ +पुक्॒+हृ॒=नेहृ॒, 1st. sing. नेता॑ 'the Neshtri priest'.

Vart :—When signifying diety, the verb स्विष्ठ॑ takes हृ॒; the letter श is the substitute for the इ of the root; and the affix does not take the intermediate इ॒ augment; as, स्विष्ठ॑+हृ॒=स्वहृ॒, 1st. sing. स्वदा॑ 'Tvashtri'.

Vart :—The root ऋ॒ व॒ takes हृ॒, when the word to be formed means an officer; as ऋव॒ 'an attendant, a door-keeper'.

Vart :—In the Veda, the root ऋ॒ व॒ takes हृ॒, as ऋद॑. The form is the same as the last, but there is difference of accent.

अलंकृनिराकृप्रजनोत्पचोत्पतोन्नदस्थपत्रपद्मुखुसहचरः
इष्टुच् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलंकृ-निराकृ-प्रजन-उत्पच-उत्पत-उन्नद-
रुचि-अपत्रप-दृमु-दृधु-सह-चरः, इष्टुच्, (तच्छीलादिषु, कर्दुषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अलंकृमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्दुषु इष्टुच्प्रवद्यो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अलंकृजीमण्डनार्थायुचः पूर्वविप्रतिवेदेनेष्टुच्प्रवद्यः ॥

136. The affix इष्टुच् comes after the following verbs, in the sense of the 'agents having such a habit &c'; viz.—भलंकृ 'to adorn', निराकृ 'to expel', प्रजन् 'to be born', उत्पच् 'to be ripe', उत्पत 'to fly', उन्नद॑ 'to be mad', उच् 'to shine', अपत्रप् 'to be ashamed', दृमु 'to be', दृधु 'to grow', ऋ॒ व॒ 'to bear' and चर् 'to walk'.

As भर्नकरिष्णुः 'decorating', निराकरिष्णुः 'repudiating', प्रजनिष्णुः 'procreative', उत्पविष्णुः 'apt to ripen', उत्पतिष्णुः 'flying', उन्मविष्णुः 'mad', दीचिष्णुः 'bright', अपत्रविष्णुः 'bashful', वर्तिष्णुः 'revolving', वर्दिष्णुः 'growing', सहिष्णुः 'patient', चरिष्णुः 'moveable'.

Vart:—The affix इष्णुञ् debares by anticipation the affix चुञ् of III. 2. 151, after the root अनंग्, though it has the sense of 'decorating'.

सेऽद्वंद्वसि ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चोः, चंदसि, (तच्छीलादिषु, इष्णुञ्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्वमताज्ञातोश्छन्वसि विषवे तच्छीलादिषु कर्देषु इष्णुञ्चप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

137. The affix इष्णुञ् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', comes in the Chhandas after a verb that ends in the causative एव.

The Causatives take this affix in the Vedic literature. As इष्वं धारविष्णवः 'who hold the stones'; वीर्वः पारविष्णवः ।

भुवश्च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, च, (चंदसि, तच्छीलादिषु, इष्णुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्धातोश्छन्वसि विषवे तच्छीलादिषु इष्णुञ्चप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

138. The affix इष्णुञ् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', comes in the Chhandas, after the verb शु 'to be' also.

Thus भविष्णुः 'becoming'.

The *yoga-vibhāga* or the division of this sūtra from the last, with which it could well have been read, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras.

The word 'also' indicates the existence of other verbs not included in the above two sūtras; as, भाजिष्णुना ज्ञोहितचन्वनेन ।

ग्राजिस्पञ्च कस्तुः ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रा-जि-स्पः, च, कस्तुः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्ना जि स्था इस्वेतेष्वो धासुभ्वशकारात् भुवश तच्छीलादिषु कस्तुःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ वंगेश्छन्वपत्स्यानम् ॥

139. The affix कस्तु comes after the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' viz.—ग्ना 'to be weary', जि 'to conquer' and स्था 'to stand', as well as after शु 'to be'.

As, ग्नास्तुः 'languid'; जिष्णुः 'victorious'; स्थास्तुः 'disposed to stand firm, immoveable'; भूष्णुः 'being'.

The anuvṛitti of the word *Chhandasi* does not extend to this sūtra. The indicator letter of this affix is really ग and not क, and therefore, there is

no substitution of long ए for the आ of स्था, which would otherwise have taken place, had the affix been कित् (VI. 4. 66).

In the sūtra I. I. 5. (कृदिति च) the letter ग is also included ; for ग coming before क, is changed by the rules of sandhi into क and is not therefore visible. This affix therefore does not cause guna.

So also in sūtra VII. 2. 11 (भयुकः किति), the augment इट् does not come after the verb स्तु, or a monosyllabic verb ending in the pratyāhāra उक्, when an affix having an indicatory क follows. Here also क includes ग ; and therefore in भूष्यत् we have no intermediate augment इट्.

Vart.—In the Chhandas this affix comes after the verb वंश 'to bite' ; as वंशायः पशवः 'the beasts that bite'.

असिगृधिघृषितिपेः कनुः ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ असि-गृधि-घृषि-तिपेः,
कनुः, (तप्तीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असाकिंचो धातुभवत्तच्छीलादिषु क्लःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

140. The affix क्ल् comes after the verbs जस् 'to tremble', गृध् 'to be greedy', धृष् 'to be bold' and तिप् 'to throw' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

As, जस्तुः 'trembling'; गृधनुः 'greedy'; धृष्णुः 'bold' ; and तिप्तुः 'throwing'.

शमित्यष्टाभ्यो घिनुक् ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शम्-इति-अष्टाभ्यः,
घिनुक्, (तप्तीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शमादिष्यो धातुभवत्तच्छीलादिषु घिनुण्मप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix घिनुक् comes after the eight verbs beginning with शम् 'to be calm', in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The word इति in the aphorism indicates beginning. These eight verbs begin with शम् and end with मह् in the list of verbs. Of the affix घिनुक् the real affix is इन्, the other letters are servile ; the ए is for the sake of substituting guttural for the final palatals ; उ is for the sake of euphony, or for the sake of rule VI. 3. 45 ; and the letter ए causes vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 116) : which in the case of roots ending in म् is prohibited by the rule VII. 3. 34, the only verb taking vṛiddhi' being मह् !

As शमिन् 1st. sing. शमी 'calm'; likewise शमी 'desiring'; शमी 'taming'; शमी 'laborious'; शमी 'whirling', 'moving round'; शमी 'fatiguing'; शमी 'forbearing'; शमादी 'mad' and शमादी 'mad'. Though by rule 136, the verb उम्है takes the affix इष्टुष्, it also takes the affix घिनुक् by the rule of वा.स्वरूप (III. 1. 94).

All these verbs belong to the *Divyādi* class. After other verbs than these eight, we have other affixes ; as असिता.

संपृष्ठानुरूपाड्यसपरित्वसंस्तुजपरिदेविसंज्वरपरिज्ञिपपरिरट
परिवदपरिदहपरिमुहुष्टद्विष्टदुहुयुजाक्रीडविविचत्यजरजभजातिचरापचरा-
मुषाम्याहनञ्च ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संपृष्ठ-अनुरूप-आड्यम-आड्यस-परित्व-
संस्तुज-परिदेवि-संज्वर-परिज्ञिप-परिरट-परिवद-परिदह-परिमुह-दुष्ट-द्विष्ट-दुहु-
दुह-युज-आक्रीड-विविच-त्यज-रज-भज-अतिचर-अपचर-आमुष-अम्याहनः,
ष, (तच्छीलादिषु, घिनुण्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्पृष्ठाविभी धातुभ्यो घिनुण्प्रस्त्वयो भवति ॥

142. The affix घिनुण् comes after the following verbs, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'. viz :— संपृष्ठ्, अनुरूप्, भावस्, परित्व, संस्तुज्, परिवेश, संज्वर, परिज्ञिप्, परिरट्, परिवद्, परिदह्, परिमुह्, दुष्ट्, द्विष्ट्, दुह्, युज्, आक्रीड्, विविच्, त्यज्, रज्, भज्, अतिचर्, अपचर्, आमुष् and अम्याहन्.

The root संपृष्ठ् is to be taken as belonging to the Rudhādi class, and not as belonging to Adādi, because the vikaraṇa is elided in the latter. The root परिवेश belongs to Bhvādi class, the simple verb being वेश् 'to sport'. The verb ज्ञिप् 'to throw' is common both to Tūdādi and Divādi, and both are taken here. चुञ् 'to concentrate' is Divādi, and युञ् 'to join' is Rudhādi ; both are meant here. The verb रंञ् 'to color' has lost its nasal in this sūtra, irregularly.

Thus संपृष्ठ् + घिनुण् = संपर्क + इन् (VII. 2. 52) = सम्पर्किन्, 1st. sing. सम्पर्की 'mixture'; similarly, अनुरोधी 'compliant'; भावामी 'one who restrains'; भावासी 'one who exerts'; परिसारी 'that which flows round'; संसर्गी 'united'; परिवेशी 'lamenting'; संसारी 'greatly heating'; परिक्षेपी 'moving about'; परिराटी 'crying aloud'; परिवाही 'reviling'; परिशाही 'burning'; परिमोही 'beguiling'; शोषी 'guilty'; द्वेषी 'hating'; शोही 'quarrelling'; शोषी 'milking'; शोगी 'uniting or concentrating'; आक्रीडी 'playing'; विवेकी 'discriminating'; स्वागी 'renouncing'; रागी 'yearning after'; भागी 'sharing'; अतिचारी 'transgressing'; अपचारी 'offending'; भाषीषी 'a thief'; अम्याहाती 'attacking'. (VII. 3. 52 and 54).

The indicatory ष of the affix shows that the final palatal is changed into a corresponding guttural before this affix.

वै कषलसुकत्यस्त्रभः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वै, कष-लस-कत्य-
स्त्रभः (घिनुण्, तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कष लस कर्त्य स्त्रभ एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो विश्वरूपपदे घिनुण्प्रस्त्वयो भवति ॥

143. The affix घिनुण् comes after the verbs कष् 'to injure', लस् 'to embrace and sport', कत्य् 'to praise' and स्त्रभ् 'to believe', when these are in composition with the preposition वि ।

As विकासी 'injuring'; विज्ञासी 'sportive, a sensualist'; विकर्त्त्वी 'vaunting'; and विशम्भी 'confiding'.

अपे च लषः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपे, च, लषः, (चिनुख्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ लष कान्तो, अस्माद्ब्रह्मेतप्रपदे चकारादौ च विनुण्णप्रस्वयो भवति ॥

144. The affix विनुण्ण comes after the verb जप 'to wish' when compounded with the preposition अप and च.

As अपलाषी 'thirsty'; विज्ञासी. The term वि is to be read into this sūtra by the force of the word 'and'.

प्रे लपस्त्रूभयवद्वसः ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, लप-स्त्रू-भय-वद-
वसः, (चिनुख्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र उपपदे लपादिन्यो विनुण्णप्रस्वयो भवति ॥

145. The affix विनुण्ण comes after the verbs जप, च, त्रू, भय, वद and वस when compounded with the preposition वि.

As प्रज्ञापी 'prattling'; प्रसारी 'extending around'; प्रद्रावी 'running away, fugitive'; प्रमाणी 'tormenting'; प्रवाणी 'reporting'; प्रवासी 'a traveller'.

The root वस here is the Bhvādi वस meaning 'to dwell' and is not Adādi meaning 'to cover', because in the latter the vikaraṇa is elided.

निन्द्हिंस्क्षिशसादविनाशपरिक्षिपपरिरटपरिवादिव्याभाषासूयो
बुज् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निन्द्ह-हिंस-क्षिश-साद-विनाश-परिक्षिप-परिरट-परि-
वादि-व्याभाष-असूयः, बुज्, (तष्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निन्द्हादिन्यो धासु-यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्द्यु वुभप्रस्वयो भवति ॥

146. The affix वुभ is added to the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c':— निन्द्ह, हिंस, क्षिश, साद, विनाश, परिक्षिप, परिरट, परिवादि, व्याभाष and भसूत्र।

In this sūtra the whole phrase ending with भसूत्र has taken the termination of the first case; which, however, has the force of the ablative here.

As निन्द्ह+वुभ = निन्द्हकः (VII. I. 1) 'blaming'; so also हिंसकः 'injuring'; क्षेशकः 'tormenting or troublesome'; सादकः 'eating'; विनाशकः 'destroying'; परिक्षेपकः 'surrounding'; परिरटकः 'who cries aloud'; परिवादकः 'a plaintiff'; व्याभाषकः 'detracting'; and भसूत्रकः 'detracting'.

The same forms as the above would have been obtained by adding the affix वुल taught in III. I. 133, as by adding वुभ; its separate enunciation indicates the existence of this paribhāsha :—

"The rule of III. I. 94 by which an *apavdda*-affix which is not uniform with an *utsarga*-affix should supersede the latter only optionally, has no concern with *apavdda*-affixes added in the sense of 'having such a habit' i. e. with the affixes taught in III. 2. 134—177". Therefore the affixes वुभ &c, are not added in the sense of 'having such a habit &c'.

देविकुशोभोपसर्गे ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवि-कुशोः, च, उपसर्गे,
(युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवयतेः कुशोभोपसर्गे उपपरे युच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

147. The affix युच् comes after the verbs देवि 'to lament' and कुश् 'to cry', when an upasarga is in composition with them.

As आदेवकः: 'one who sports or laments'; भाकोशकः: 'vociferous, a reviler'; परिदेवकः: 'one who laments'; परिक्लोशकः: 'a reviler'.

Why do we say 'when in composition with an *upasarga*'? Observe देवयता and क्लोषा formed by देव् (III. 2. 135).

चलनशब्दार्थोदकर्मकाद् युच् ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चलन-शब्दार्थात्,
अकर्मकाद्, युच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चलनार्थेभ्यः शब्दार्थेभ्यः कर्मकाद्यो धातुभवस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृपु युच्प्रत्ययो भवति।

148. The affix युच् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'. after intransitive verbs denoting 'motion' or 'sound'.

As, चल् + युच् = चलनः: 'moving' (VII. 1. 1); चौपनः: 'creeping'; शब्दनः: 'sounding'; रक्षणः: 'roaring'.

Why do we say 'intransitive'? Observe पठिता विचारम्.

अनुदातेतश्च हलादेः ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदातेतः, च, हला-
देः, (युच्, अकर्मकात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुशासनेयो धातुः हलादिरकर्मकस्ततश्च युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

149. The affix युच् comes in the same sense after such intransitive verbs as are Atmanepadi and begin with a consonant and are Anudāttet i. e. have a gravely accented vowel as indicator.

As वर्तनः: 'being'; वर्द्धनः: 'growing'.

Why do we say 'Anudāttet'? Observe भविता.

Why do we say 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe एधिता, which though Atmanepadi, takes देव्.

Why have we used the term आदि 'beginning' in the sūtra? Observe जुगुप्तनः: 'censuring'; भीमांसनः: 'an investigator. For without the word आदि, the rule would have stood thus:—अनुशासतश्च हजः which by I. 1. 72. would mean 'the affix युच् comes after the verbs which end with a consonant'; so that even after एञ्च we shall have युच्; and there would be no युच् after जुगुप्त which ends with a vowel.

This rule will not apply if the root is transitive; as वसिता वसन्।

शुच्छक्षम्यदम्दस्यसुग्धिजवलशुचलषपतपदः ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥
 शु-चक्षम्य-दम्दस्य-सु-ग्धिजवल-शुच-लष-पत-पदः, (युच् तच्छीलादिषु)॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ जु प्रभृतिभ्यो धासुभ्यो शुच् प्रस्त्वयो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तव्यु ॥

150. The affix शु comes after the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', viz :—शु, चक्षम्य, इन्द्रम्य, सु, गृध, रज्जन, शुच, लष, पत and पद.

The verb जु is not to be found in the Dhātupātha, and is taught in the aphorisms and is hence called a *sautra dhātu*. It means 'to go', 'to be quick'. As जु+शु=जो+भन (VII. I. I. and VII. 3. 84)=जवनः (VI. I. 78, II. 3. 46) 'a courser, a swift horse'. चक्षम्य+शु=चक्षन्+भन् (II. 4. 74)=चक्षमनः 'moving about'; so also इन्द्रमणः 'wandering'; सरणः 'flowing'; गर्हनः 'greedy'; रज्जनः 'burning'; शौचनः 'grieving'; लषणः 'desiring'; पतनः 'falling'; पदनः 'moving'.

The enumeration of the word पद in the above, indicates that this sūtra applies to the transitive verbs; otherwise the sūtra III. 2. 148 would have been sufficient, as पद is a चलनार्थ verb. Others say that the inclusion of पद in this aphorism indicates the existence of the *paribhāṣha* already given under sūtra III. 2. 146 i.e. the rule of III. I. 94 has no concern with affixes added in the sense of 'having such a habit &c'. The affix इत्युच् which by III. 2. 136 is added to भनंक्ष, supersedes therefore not merely the addition of दन् to भलंक्ष (III. 2. 135), but also the addition of शुक्ष to the same. If a *tāchchhilika apavāda* were to supersede only an *atāchchhilika utsarga*, it would have been superfluous for Pāṇini to teach in this sūtra the addition of शुच् to पद, because in that case the addition of दक्ष to पद by III. 2. 154 would not have debarred the addition of शुच् to पद by III. 2. 149. The repetition is for the sake of *jñāpaka*, therefore, and it indicates the existence of the above-mentioned maxim. The *jñāpaka* is not, however, of universal application; for sometimes both affixes are applied concurrently; as, गन्ता खेटं विकल्पनः।

क्लुधमस्तार्थेभ्यश्च ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्लुध-मस्त-अर्थेभ्यः, च, (युच्)।
 वृत्तिः ॥ क्लुध कोपे, मण्ड भूषायाम्, इत्येतत्येभ्यश्च धातुयो शुच् प्रस्त्वयो भवति ॥

151. And after the verbs having the sense of क्लुध 'to be angry' and मण्ड 'to adorn', the affix शुच् is employed.

As क्लोधनः 'wrathful'; रोषणः 'irascible'; मण्डनः 'adorning'; भूषणः 'ornament', But not so after the verb भनंक्ष to which sūtra III. 2. 136 applies.

न यः ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यः, (युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारानन्तादातोर्युच् प्रस्त्वयो न भवति ॥

152. The affix शुच् is not employed after those verbs which end in the letter न.

This debars III. 2. 149. As क्लूयिता 'making creaking sound'; क्लमादिता 'trembling'. In these cases the affix दन् is employed (III. 2. 135).

सूददीपदीक्षा ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूद-दीप-दीक्षः, च, (युच्, न) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सूददीपदीक्षा इत्वेत्प्रथमो न भवति ॥

153. The affix युच् does not come after the verbs सूर् 'to strike', शीष् 'to shine' and शीक् 'to initiate'.

These three verbs are *anuddatteś*, and by sūtra III. 2. 149, would have taken युच्. The present sūtra prohibits that. Therefore they take दन्. As, सूर्दित् 1st. sing सूर्दिता 'one who strikes'; शीषिद् 'one who shines'; शीकित् 'one who initiates'.

Now, it might be objected—"We find that sūtra III. 2. 167 specifically enjoins the affix र् after शीष्; this apavāda rule will therefore, supersede the general rule; where is then the necessity of the present rule? If you say that the affix युच् is also obtained by the rule of non-uniformity (III. 1. 94), we reply that the Paribhāshā given under sūtra 146 and 150 will prevent that." This objection is answered by saying that the above-mentioned Paribhāshā is not of universal application; there are exceptions to it, as कन्त्रा युवतिः and कन्मना युवतिः 'a young girl' which are both valid forms derived by adding र् and युच् to the verb कन्. So also कन्मा and कन्मना शाला 'a shaking branch'.

If we prohibit युच् after the root सूर्, how do we get the forms मधुसूरन् and रिपुसूरन्? This objection may be answered in three ways: (1) the present is an *anitya* rule, not of universal application, which can be inferred from finding this sūtra separated from the last (yogavibhāga), when it was easier to make them one, (2) the words मधुसूरन् &c belong to the मन्त्रादि class (III. 1. 134) taking the affix र्यु or (3) they are formed by III. 3. 113 by the affix र्वुद्.

लघपतपदस्थाभूवृष्टहनकमगमशूभ्य उकज् ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लघ-
पत-पद-स्था-भू-वृष्ट-हन-कम-गम-शूभ्यः, उकज्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जन्मादियो धातुभृत्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्देषु उकमप्रथयो भवति ॥

154. The affix उकज् comes after the following verbs, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c':—जन्, पत्, पद्, स्था, भू, वृष्ट, हन्, कम्, गम् and शू।

As अपनाषुक् वृष्टलसंगतं, प्रपातुका गर्भा भवन्ति, उपपातुकसारं, उपस्थातुका एनं पश्चात् भवन्ति, प्रभातुकमनं भवति, प्रवर्षकाः पर्जन्याः, भाषातुकं कापालिकस्व शूलम्, कामुकं एनं लिंगो भवन्ति, आगामुकं वाराणसीं रक्षा आहुः, किंशारकं तीहणामाहः। The उ is added after स्था in उपस्थातुक by VII. 3. 33. The हन् is changed into धात् by VII. 3. 32 and 54.

जरुपभिक्षकुट्टलुण्ठवृडः धाकन् ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जरुप-भिक्ष-
कुट्ट-लुण्ठ-वृडः, धाकन्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जन्मादियो धातुभृत्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्देषु धाकनमप्रथयो भवति ॥

155. The affix धाकन् comes, in the sense of the 'agent having such a habit &c', after the following verbs:—जन्, भिक्ष, कुट्ट, लुण्ठ and वृ।

The ए is indicatory showing that the feminine of the words so formed take the affix र्णैष् i.e. long ई (IV. I. 41). As जप्ताकः 'talkative'; भिन्नाकः 'a beggar'; कुट्टाकः 'who or what cuts'; लुण्ठाकः 'a thief or robber'; वराकः 'low, miserable'. In the feminine जन्माकी &c..

प्रजोरिनिः ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रजेः, इनिः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥
पृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वाज्जवतेस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्त्तृषु इनिःप्रस्तवयो भवति ॥

156. The affix इनि comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit etc'. after the verb पञ्ज 'to hasten forward'.

As प्रजविन्, 1st. sing. प्रजशी 'an express, courier', 1st. dual प्रजविनौ &c.

जिद्गृहिविश्रीणवभाव्यथाभ्यमपरिभूप्रसूभ्यश्च ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥
जि-दृ-हि-विश्री-इण्ड-वम्-अव्यथ-अभ्यम्-परिभू-प्रसूभ्यः, च(इनिः, तच्छील०) ॥
पृत्तिः ॥ जिप्रभृत्ययो धातुभ्य इनिःप्रस्तवयो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्त्तृषु ॥

157. The affix इनि comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs जि 'to conquer', हि 'to respect', व्य 'to waste, to dwell, to go', विभि 'to shelter', वा 'to go', वम् 'to vomit', अव्यय 'not to give pain', अभ्यम् 'to injure', परिभू 'to humiliate' and पस् 'to beget'.

As : जयिन् 1st. sing. जयी 'conquering'; similarly, वर्ति 'respecting'; व्यवी 'wasting'; विभवी 'wasting'; अव्यवी 'exceeding'; वमी 'vomiting'; अव्यधी 'free from pain'; अभ्यवी 'not injuring'; परिभवी 'humiliating' and प्रसवी 'procreating'.

स्पृहिगृहिपतिदियनिद्रातग्न्द्राश्रद्धाभ्य आलुच् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥
स्पृहि-गृहि-पति-दियि-निद्रा-तन्द्रा-श्रद्धाभ्यः, आलुच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥
पृत्तिः ॥ स्पृहिगृहिपतिदियनिद्रातन्द्राभद्रा एतेभ्यतच्छीलादिषु कर्त्तृषु आलुच्प्रस्तवयो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आलुचि शीढो प्रहण्ण कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

158. The affix आलुच् comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the following words:—
ल्लाह 'to desire', गृह 'to seize', पस् 'to go', वा 'to give, to go, to protect', विद्रा 'to sleep', वस्त्रा 'to be tired' and अद्वा 'to venerate'.

The word निद्रा is formed by adding the preposition नि to the verb द्रा 'to go crookedly'; so also तन्द्रा is formed by adding त ए to द्रा, and then irregularly changing the ए into न्. The term अद्वा is formed by adding अ ए to the verb दुधाम् 'to hold'. The first three verbs belong to Churādi class and take णिष्.

As, स्पृहवालुः 'disposed to be desirous of'; गृहवालुः 'disposed to catch hold of or seize'; पतवालुः 'tending or prone to fall'; वायालुः 'compassionate'; विद्रालुः 'disposed to sleep'; तन्द्रालुः 'slothful'; अद्वालुः 'full of faith'. See VI. 4. 55 for adding अवा।

Vart :—The affix आनुभ् comes also after the root शीर् ‘to lie down’; as शाराज्ञः ‘disposed to lie down’.

दा-धेट्-सि-शद्-सदो रुः ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दा-धेट्-सि-शद्-सदः, रुः॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दा धेष्टुं ति शाश सद इश्येते भयो इः प्रस्थययो भवति ॥

159. The affix **એ** comes after the verbs એ 'to give', ખેડ 'to suck', બિં 'to bind', શર 'to fall' and સર 'to sit'.

As, शान्: 'a munificent man'; धार्वस्तो मासरम् 'a sucking child of the mother'. The genitive case is here prohibited by II. 3. 69, the त्र being taken as equivalent to तु. As सूहः 'binding'; ग्रहः 'falling'; and सप्तः 'resting'.

सुधस्यदः वनरच ॥१६०॥ पदानि ॥ सु-घसि-अदः, वनरच,(तपद्मी०)॥

४३५ वसिः ॥ सु घसि अद् दृश्येतेऽमी धात्रयः तच्छ्रीज्ञादिषु कर्द्देषु क्षमरच्चप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

160. The affix अर्थः in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', comes after the verbs अ 'to flow', खसि 'to eat' and भर 'to eat'.

As घमरः 'going, a kind of deer'; घस्मरः 'gluttonous'; भृष्मरः 'voracious'.

भद्रभासमिदो शुरच् ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भद्र-भास-मिदः, शुरच्,
(तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भञ्ज्न भास मिद् इत्येतेभ्यो घुरच्चप्रत्ययो भवति तच्छ्रीजातिषु कर्त्तुषु ॥

161. The affix शृं comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.', after the verbs भ्रा॑ 'to break', भास् 'to shine', and भिर् 'to be fat'.

As भंग् + घुरच् = भंग् + हर् (VII. 3. 52) = भंगुरः 'brittle'; the palatal being changed into guttural, because of the indicatorily घ. So also भेदुरः पशुः 'a fat beast'; भासरं झ्वोति॒: 'splendid light'.

After the verb अस् this affix gives a reflexive signification—that which naturally breaks of itself.

विदिभिदिक्षिदेः कुरच् ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदि-भिदि-क्षिदेः,
कुरच्, (तच्छीलादित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदाधि-यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छ्रीज्ञानिषु कर्त्तव्य कर्त्तव्यप्रथयो भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्युधेः सम्प्रसारणं करुण्य वक्तव्यः ॥

162. The affix करन् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs जिद् 'to know', भिर् 'to divide' and छिर् 'to pierce'.

As विदुरः प॒दितः 'a knowing Pandit'; भिदुर् काट्म् 'a splitting or fragile wood'; भिदुरा रञ्जुः 'a cutting or breaking rope'. The affix is employed in a reflexive sense after the verbs भिद् and भिदुर्.

Vart :—The affix कुरच् comes after the verb व्यथ 'to kill'; and there is vocalisation of the semivowel; as विधृतः ।

इत्यनश्चजिसर्तिर्भ्यः करप् ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्य-नश्च-जि-
सर्तिर्भ्यः, करप्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इत्यनश्च जि सर्ति इत्येतेभयो धातुभवस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्त्तृषु कल्पप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

163. The affix करप् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs इ 'to go', नश् 'to destroy', जि 'to conquer', and च 'to flow'.

The ग् is indicatory in order to introduce the augment तुक् between the verb and the affix (VI. 1. 71). Thus इ+करप्=इ+त्+वर=इत्यवरः, fem. इत्यरी 'a traveller'; नश्चरः, fem. नश्चरी 'transitory'; जिस्वरः, fem. जिस्वरी 'victorious'; चत्वरः, fem. चत्वरी 'going, a river'.

Though the affix begins with a letter of वल् pratyādhāra, and ought to have taken the intermediate इ॒ (VII. 2. 35) yet it is prohibited by VII. 2. 8.

गत्यरम् ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्यरः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर इति निपात्वते, गमेरनुनासिकलोपः करप्-प्रत्ययः ॥

164. And the word गत्यर is irregularly formed.

The word गत्यर is formed by eliding the श् of गम् and adding the affix करप्. As गत्यरः, fem. गत्यरी 'locomotive, transient'.

जागुरुकः ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जागुः, रुकः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जागत्तेकःप्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्त्तृषु ॥

165. The affix रुक् comes after the verb जाग् 'to be awake' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit'.

As जागरुकः 'wakeful'.

यज्ञजपदशां यहः ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज-जप-दशाम्, यहः (त-
च्छीलादिषु, रुकः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वजाहीना वर्णसामामूकःप्रायदयो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्त्तृषु ॥

166. The affix रुक् comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs वज्, जप् and यह् when they end in the affix वर्.

The intensives of these verbs take रुक्. As वावरुकः 'a performer of frequent sacrifices'; जंजपुकः 'a mutterer of prayers repeatedly'; इत्यशुकः 'a snake (what bites frequently)'.

नमिकन्पिस्त्वयजसकमहिंसदीपोरः ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नमि-कन्पि-
स्त्व-अजस-कर-हिंस-दीपः, रः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नम्बादिभ्यो धातु-बस्त्वाच्छीज्ञादिषु कर्देषु रःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

167. The affix र comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' after the verbs नम् 'to bow', कम् 'to shake', स्मि 'to smile', अजस् 'not to cease', कम् 'to desire', हिन्स 'to injure', and शीष 'to shine'.

Thus, नमं काष्ठं 'soft wood'; क्षम्पा शाखा 'shaking branch'; स्मेरं मुखं 'smiling face'; अजस्तं जुहोति 'he sacrifices perpetually'; कमा युवती 'a beautiful maiden'; हिन्स रक्षः 'the injuring Rākshas'; शीषं काष्ठं 'brilliant wood'.

The word अजस् is an adverb, and is derived from the root जस् 'to set free', with the negative particle अ, and the affix र; as अ + जस् + र = अजस् ।

सनाशंसभित्त उः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन-आशंस-भित्तः, उः, (तच्छीलादित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्य आशंसेभित्तेभ्य तच्छीज्ञादिषु कर्देषु उःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

168. The affix उ comes after roots that have taken the affix सन्, and after the verbs आशंस् 'to wish' and भित्त् 'to beg' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The term सन् in the aphorism means Desideratives in the affix सन्, and not the verb, सन्, because the verb सन् is never seen with this affix.

As, चिकिर्षुः 'desirous of doing'; जिहीषुः 'desirous of taking'; आशंसुः 'desirous'; भित्तुः 'a beggar'.

The verb आशंस् with the upasarga आ is the verb शसि 'to desire' and not the verb शंसि 'to praise'.

विन्दुरिच्छुः ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विन्दुः, इच्छुः, (तच्छील०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विनेन्मागम इषेऽव्यस्तमुकारश्च प्राययो निपात्यते तच्छीज्ञादिषु कर्देषु ॥

169. The words विन्दु and इच्छु are irregularly formed by the addition of the affix उ, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

To the verb विदि we add the augment नुम् and then the affix उ; as, विद् + नुम् + उ = विन्दुः (I. I. 47) = वेदनशीलः 'intelligent'; so of इच्छु 'to wish', the ष is replaced by छ, and we have इच्छुः = एषणशीलः 'desirous'.

क्षाद्यन्दसि ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षात्, क्षन्दसि, (तच्छील०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षवप्रत्ययान्ताद्यात्मोऽद्यन्दसि विषये तच्छीज्ञादिषु कर्तृषु उकारप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

170. The affix उ comes in the Chandas, after the roots that have taken the Denominative affix क्ष in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The term क्ष includes the three affixes क्षयच्, क्षयह् and क्षयष् (see sūtras III. I. 8, 11, 13, &c). As भित्त्युः, संस्वेद्युः, सुम्भ्युः (Rig. Ved. I. 3. 4).

In the modern Sanskrit तृन् will be employed. As निर्वाचिता. By sūtra VII. 4. 33, the long ई replaces the final अ, when व्यय follows; as पुञ्च + क्वच्छ = पुञ्ची + य = पुञ्चीय. Why then in the case of मित्रयुः there is not the substitution of long ई for the अ of मित्र? Because the rule VII. 4. 33 is set aside by VII. 4. 35 which declares that in the Chhandas the long ई is not substituted for the अ!

आदूगमहनजनः किकिनौ सिट् च ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदू-अ-
गम-हन-जनः, कि-किनौ, सिट्, च, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेऽय ऋषणान्तेभ्यश्च गम हन जन इत्येस्मयप्रद्वन्द्वसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु
कर्तृषु किकिनौ प्रथयौ भवतः, लिङ्गवच्छ तौ भवतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ किकिनादुत्सर्गश्वद्वन्द्वसि सदाविन्द्रो दर्शनात् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भाषाद्वां धाम्भूभूजनिगमिनमित्यः किकिनौ वक्तव्यौ ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सहिवहिच्चनिपतिष्ठो यहन्तेभ्यः किकिनौ वक्तव्यौ ॥

171. In the Chhandas, the affixes कि and किन् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' come after the verbs that end in long आ, or short or long अ, and after the verbs ग् 'to go', इन् 'to kill', and जन् 'to be produced', and these affixes operate like जिद् causing reduplication of the root.

The ए after आ is either for the sake of euphony, or for the sake of precision. Had it been त्, then by the rule of तपर (I. 1. 70) short अ would only be included and not long अ. But the present rule is applicable to long अ as well.

Thus पा+कि = पषिः 'drinking'; as पषिः सोमं 'drinking the soma-juice'; दधिर्णः 'giving cows' (Rig. Ved. VI. 23. 4). मित्रावहणौ ततुरिः (Rig. Ved. IV. 39. 2, VI. 68. 7). दूरे अध्याजगुरिः (Rig. Ved. X. 108. 1). गम् + किन् = जग्मिः 'being in constant motion, wind'; जग्मियुवा (Rig. Ved. II. 23. 11); हन् + किन् = जघनिः 'killing, a weapon offensive'; जघनिवृतम् (Rig. Ved. IX. 61. 2); जन् + किन् = जङ्गिः as जङ्गिवीजम् (T.S. VII. 5. 20. 1).

The letter क् in these affixes is indicatory. It might be said 'it is superfluous to make these affixes कित्, because these being treated like जिट् will be कित् by rule I. 2. 5'. True, they would be कित् by the rule I. 2. 5, but then the rule VII. 4. 11. (when लिट follows, guna is the substitute of the verb व्यय and of those that end in the long अ) would also have applied to these affixes, and would have caused guna. It is to prevent this guna of the letter अ that we have annexed an indicatory क् to these affixes.

Vart:—The affixes कि and किन् are of universal application in the Chhandas, and not confined to the verbs enumerated in the sūtra, as we see them in सद् &c.; as सेदिः (Yaj. Ved. XII. 105); मेमिः (Rig. Ved. II. 5. 3).

Vart:—The affixes कि and किन् come after the roots धाम्, कृत्, इ, जनि,

गमि, and नग्नि in the secular literature also; as, वहिः, चक्षिः, सखिः, जहिः, अग्निः, नेत्रः।

Vart:—The affixes कि and किन् come after the Intensive (बहुव्यत) roots of सह्, वह्, चन्, and वत्. As, सासहिः, वावहिः, चाचनिः, वावतिः (VII. 4. 83).

स्वपितृष्टीर्नजिङ् ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपि-तृष्टोः, नजिङ्,
(तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वपेत्क्षये च तच्छीलादिषु कर्द्धं पु नजिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ धृत्येश्वरे वक्तव्यम् ॥

172. The affix नजिङ् comes in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c', after the verbs स्वप् 'to sleep' and तृष्ट् 'to be thirsty'.

As स्वप् + नजिङ् = स्वप्नः 1st. sing. स्वप्नक् 'sleeping, drowsy'; तृष्टः 1st. sing. तृष्टणक् 'covetous, thirsty'.

Vart:—So also after the verb धृष्ट् 'to insult, be bold'; as, धृष्टणक् 1st. sing. धृष्टणक् 'bold, impudent'.

शृदन्त्योराहः ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शृ-वन्धोः, आरुः, (तच्छी०) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शृ हिंसावाम् वन्दि भविवादनस्तुत्योः एतम्या तच्छीलादिषु कर्तुष्वाहः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

173. The affix आरु comes in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c' after the verbs शृ 'to injure' and वन्दि 'to praise', 'to salute'.

As शराहः 'noxious, a mischievous animal'; वन्दाहः 'praising, a bard'.

भियः क्रुकुकनौ ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भियः, क्रु-क्रुकनौ, (तच्छी०) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भिभी भये अस्माद्वातोत्तच्छीलादिषु कर्द्धं पु क्रुकनौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्रुकनपि वक्तव्यः ॥

174. The affixes क्रु and क्रुकन come in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit' after the verb भी 'to fear'.

As, भीरः 'fearful, timid'; भीलुकः 'timorous, a bear, a tiger, a jackal'.

Vart:—The affix क्रुकन् should also be stated ; as भीरकः ।

इथेशभासपिंसकसो वरच् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्था-ईश-भास-
पिंस-कसः, वरच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्था ईश भास पिंस कस एतेभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्द्धं पु वरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

175. The affix वरच् comes in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c' after the verbs स्था 'to stand', ईश 'to rule', भास 'to shine', पिंस 'to go' and कस 'to go'.

As स्थावरः 'immoveable'; ईशरः 'ruler, God'; वेस्वरः 'going, destructive'; विकस्वरः 'opening, expanding'.

यस्तु यङ्गः ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यः, च, यङ्गः, (तच्छीलादिषु, वरच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ या प्रापणे भस्माद्यहन्ताच्छ्वान्जादिषु कर्तृपु वरच्चप्रस्वयो भवति ॥

176. The affix वरच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' comes after the verb या when it ends with the affix यद्.

With the affix यद्, the intensives of verbs are formed; as यावाहरः 'a vagrant, an ascetic'. See sūtra I. 1. 58.

भाजभासधुर्विद्युतोर्जिपृजुग्रावस्तुवः क्षिप् ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥
भाज-भास-धुर्विद्युत-उर्जिपृजु-ग्रावस्तुवः, क्षिप्, (तच्छ्लीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाजादिष्यो धातुभस्तच्छ्लीलादिषु कर्तृपु क्षिप्प्रस्वयो भवति ॥

177. The affix क्षिप् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' after the verbs भाज् 'to shine' भास् 'to shine', धुर्विद्युत् 'to injure', पृजु 'to shine', उर्ज 'to be strong', पृ 'to fill', जु 'to move rapidly' and स्तु 'to praise', when it is preceded by the word मावन् 'a stone'.

Thus, विभाज् 1st. sing. विभाद् 'splendid'; भास् 1st. sing. भाः 'light'; धुर्विद्युत् = धुर् (VI. 4. 21), 1st sing. धुः 'who injures'; विष्णुत् 'lightening'; उर्ज 1st. sing. उर्जक् 'strength'; पृजु 1st. sing. पृः 'what fills'; जुः 'swift'. In the case of जु, a long vowel is the substitute of जु; मावस्तुत् (VI. 1. 71) 'a stone-worshipper'. Though by the universal rule III. 2. 76, the affix क्षिप् would have come after these verbs also, the repetition of the affix shows that वाऽसङ्गविधि does not apply in तच्छ्लीलिका affixes.

अन्येभ्योपि दृश्यते ॥ १७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यते,
(तच्छ्लीलादिषु, क्षिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योपि धातुभस्तच्छ्लीलादिषु क्षिप्प्रस्वयो दृश्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्षिप्प्रविच्छिप्तप्रावस्तु कटप्रुजुभीषां शीघ्रांसप्रसारणं च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ युतिगमिजुहोतीनां द्वे च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ जुहोतेर्वार्यं च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इत्यव इवस्व इवस्व द्वे च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ध्यायसे: सप्रसारणं च ॥

178. The affix क्षिप् is seen after other verbs also, besides those mentioned above, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

As युज्, 1st. sing. युक् 'joining'; छिप् 'piercing'; भित् 'dividing'.

By using the words 'is seen' in the aphorism, it is implied that other rules also apply concurrently with क्षिप्. Thus in some cases we find lengthening of the vowel; in some, there is reduplication of the root; in some instances there is *samprasāraṇa* of the semivowel; and in other cases there is not.

Vart:—When किप् follows, the long vowel is the substitute of इच् 'to speak', पृच्छ् 'to ask', आयतस्तु 'to praise long', कटम् 'to move through a mat', जु 'to move rapidly', and श्री 'to serve', and there is no substitution of a vowel for the semivowel (VI. I. 16).

As, वाक् 'the voice'; प्रच्छ + किप् = प्रश् + किप् (VI. I. 10) = प्रश् + किप् (VIII. 2. 36) = प्राट् (VIII. 4. 56) 'who asks'; आयतस्तु 'who praises long'; कटम् 'a worm'; जु 'swift'; श्री 'the goddess Lakshmi'.

The word जु which was mentioned in the last sūtra is redundant here.

Vart:—There is reduplication of the verbs धुत् 'to shine', गम् 'to go' and हु 'to invoke', when किप् follows. As, विधुत् 'shining'; जगत् 'going, the world'.

Vart:—There is lengthening also of the vowel of जुः as जुः 'a crescent-shaped wooden ladle used for pouring the sacrificial ghee into the fire'.

Vart:—The root हु 'to tear' is shortened also; as दहु 'tearing'.

Vart:—The verb चारा 'to think' has samprasāraṇa; as धीः 'thinking'.

भुवः संज्ञान्तरयोः ॥१७६॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, संज्ञा-अन्तरयोः, (किप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्धातोः संज्ञायामन्तरे च गम्यमाने किपपत्त्ययो भवति ॥

179. The affix किप् comes after the verb अ॒ 'to be' when the word so formed denotes a name or a surety.

As, विभूः 'a person called Vibhū'; प्रतिभूः 'a surety i. e. he who stands intermediate between the debtor and the creditor'.

विप्रसंभ्यो इ॒वसंज्ञायाम् ॥ १८० ॥ पदानि ॥ वि-प्र-संभ्यो, हु, अ॒संज्ञायाम्, (भुवः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि प्र सम् इत्येवं पूर्वाह्वतेर्धातोः हुपत्तयो भवति न चेत् संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उपकरणे मित्रावादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

180. The affix हु comes after the verb अ॒ when it is preceded by the upasargas वि, प्र and सम् provided that the word to be formed does not mean an appellative.

As विभूः 'all pervading'; प्रभूः 'lord'; संभूः 'Creator'.

Why do we say 'when it is not a proper name? Observe विभूः 'a person called Vibhū'.

Vart:—The words मित्रहु 'the sea'; संभुः 'causing happiness'.

Why have we applied हु and not किप् to this root, as the forms would have been the same in either case? We have done so for two purposes: (1) To prevent the rules relating to *dhātus* from applying to this. (2) To prevent the insertion of तुक् augment. Thus the 1st. dual of मित्रहु is मित्रहु, 1st. pl. is मित्रहुः। Here there is no substitution of उक्त which the rule VI. 4. 77 required, if हु had retained its *dhātu* characteristic; so also the rule of accent in VI. I. 175

does not apply to Instrumental sing. मित्राद्वा &c, (2.) We have no त् which rule VI. I. 71 required. मित्र इवति=मित्रुः।

धः कर्मणि षट् ॥ १८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धः, कर्मणि, षट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धयतेर्वधाते ॥ ध कर्मणि कारके षट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

181. The affix षट् comes, in denoting the object, after the verb धा 'to feed'.

The indicatory ए denotes that the feminine is formed by छीष् (ई) affix. As धात्री 'a nurse whom the children suck (*dhayanti*)'; and 'Amalaki fruit which holds (*dadhāti*) all medicinal properties'.

दास्त्रीशसयुयुजस्तुतुदसिसिचमिहपतदशनहः करणे ॥ १८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाप्-नी-शस्-यु-युज-स्तु-तुद्-सि-सिच्-मिह-पत्-दश्-नहः, करणे, (षट्) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ दाप् नी शस वु युज स्तु तुद सि सिच मिह पत दश नह एतम्यो धात्री धात्री कारके षट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

182. The affix षट्, with the sense of instrument, comes after the verbs शण 'to cut', नी 'to lead', शस 'to hurt', वु 'to join', वुज् 'to join', स्तु 'to praise', तुइ 'to inflict pain', सि 'to bind', सिच् 'to sprinkle', मिह 'to urine', पत् 'to fall', दश 'to bite' and नह 'to bind'.

As शण, 1st. sing. neuter शणम् 'a sickle' (lit. that with which one cuts); नेज 1st. sing. नेजम् 'eye'; शस्वं (VII. 2. 9) 'a weapon'; वोनं 'the tie that fastens the yoke'; वोक्तम् 'the tie of yoke'; स्तोनं 'a penegyric'; सोनं 'a goad', संनं 'a ligament'; सेन्कं 'a sprinkling vessel'; मेषदूम् 'the penis'; पतम् 'a vehicle'; वृद्धा 'a large tooth'.

The word दंडूर belongs to the *Ajaddi* class and hence forms its feminine in दंडूर(आ) and not in ई (IV. I. 4).

The root दंडा is read in the aphorism without its nasal i.e. as दंडा. This indicates by implication that दंडा loses its nasal before some affixes such as स्तुदूर; thus we have दंडानम् 'tooth'.

And lastly नह+षट् = नहभ्र sem. नहभ्री (VIII. 2. 34 and 40), 'a thong'.

हलसूकरयोः पुवः ॥ १८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल-सूकरयोः, पुवः, (षट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्व पूर्व पवने, अस्माद्वातोः करणे कारके षट् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्चेत् करणे हलसूकरयोरवद्वातो भवति ॥

183. The affix षट् is employed after the verb त् with the sense of instrument when denoting a member of the body of a plough or of a hog.

The verb त् includes both पूर्व and पूर्वः; as पौर्वम् 'a plough-share'; पौर्वते 'the snout of a hog'.

**अर्तिंशूध्यसुखनसहचर इत्रः ॥ १८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्ति-शू-ध्य-सु-
खन-सह-चरः, इत्रः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ भर्ति जू धू सू खन सह चर एतेष्वो धातुभ्यः करणे कारके इत्यप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

184. The affix इत्र comes after the verbs जू 'to go', जू 'to cut', धू 'to shake', सू 'to bring forth', खन् 'to dig', सह् 'to bear', and चर् 'to go' with the sense of instrument.

Thus, अर्तिं 'a rudder'; लविनं 'a sickle'; धविनं 'a fan'; सविनं 'cause of production'; खनिनं 'a spade'; सहेनं 'patience'; अरिनं 'an instituted observance or a narrative'.

पुषः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुषः, संज्ञायाम्, (इत्रः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पवतेधर्तोः करणे कारके इत्यप्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेत्सज्जा गम्यते ॥

185. The affix इत्र comes after the verb पू 'to purify' with the sense of the agent so expressed being the instrument; when the sense of the complete word is simply appellative, and not descriptive.

The verb पू includes two verbs पूङ् and पूङ् both meaning 'to purify', but belonging to two different conjugations; as पविन् an instrument for cleansing or purifying, such as a sieve or a strainer; and in this sense it means 'two blades of *Kusa* grass used at sacrifices in purifying and sprinkling ghee'. It also means 'the sacred thread, the clarified butter, &c.'

**कर्तेरि अर्थिदेवतयोः ॥ १८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तेरि, च, अर्थि-देवतयोः,
(इत्रः, पुषः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पुषः करणे कर्तेरि च इत्यप्रत्ययो भवति, अर्थिदेवतयोर्देवतयोर्यथा संबन्धः ॥

186. The affix इत्र comes after the verb पू 'to purify' in the sense of 'the agent or the instrument' when it is respectively employed in connection with a sage or a deity.

That is to say, when applied to a *Rishi* the force is that of an instrument, and when applied to a *Devata* the force is that of an agent. As, पविक्षेपयश्चिः 'this sage is sacred' (through whose instrumentality one is sanctified); भस्मिः पविन् स मा पुनातु 'the God Agni is sacred' (one that purifies), 'let him purify me'. So also, वाचुः सोमः सूर्य इत्प्रः पविन् ते मा पुनन्तु ।

जीतः चक्षः ॥ १८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जि-इतः, चक्षः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीतो धातोर्वर्तमानेऽयै न्त्यप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

187. The verbal roots, marked with an indicatory जि, take the affix चक्ष, in denoting the present time.

The *Nishtha* affix न्त, as a general rule, is a past participle affix and denotes past time ; and is so ordained by rule III 2. 102. The present sūtra thus makes an exception in case of those verbs which are marked with an indicatory अ in the *Dhatupātha*; as अभिष्ठा 'to be affectionately inclined'; भिषः (भिष् + त्व = भिष् + त् = भिन् + त्) (VIII. 2. 42) 'being affectionately inclined'. So अहिंशा—हिंशः 'sounding inarticulately'; अधृषा—धृषः 'bold'. The anuvṛitti of वर्तनाने 'in the sense of the present', is read into this sūtra from III. 2. 123.

मतिबुद्धिपूजार्थेभ्यश्च ॥ १८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मति-बुद्धि-पूजा-अर्थेभ्यः,
च, (क्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतिरिच्छा, बुद्धिर्वानम्, पूजा सत्कारः, एतद्येभ्यश्च धातुभ्यो वर्तमानायेऽन्तप्रस्तवो
भवति ॥

188. And after roots denoting inclination, understanding, or respect, the affix न्त is employed with the force of the present.

The word मति means 'wish' or 'desire'; बुद्धि means 'knowledge'; and पूजा means 'worship', 'honor' or 'respect'. As राजा मतः,—इषः,—बुद्धः,—हातः,—पूजितः, &c. 'the king wishes, desires, thinks, knows, honors, respects &c'.

The force of the word न्त is to include other kinds of verbs not included in the above sūtra. Thus the following participles have their senses confined not to the past time only: शीलितः 'practised'; रक्षितः 'protected'; भास्तः 'forbearing'; भाकुटः 'censured'; जृदः 'pleased'; रुदः 'angry'; हृषितः 'angry'; अभिष्ठाहतः 'uttered'; हृषः 'happy'; तुषः 'satisfied'; कान्तः 'favourite'; संयतः 'restrained'; उद्यतः 'ready'; कष्ट 'evil, misery' (with a future signification); and अमृत 'immortal'. So also :—सृष्टः 'sleeping'; शवितः 'lying down'; भाशितः 'eaten'; लितः 'smeared'; तुषः 'satisfied'; all these have a present signification.

ओ३८

ऋथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER III.

—०—

उत्तादयो बहुलं ॥१॥ पदानि ॥ उत्त-आदयः, बहुलन्, (वर्तमाने) ॥
पृचिः ॥ उत्तादयः प्रत्यया वर्तमाने येऽसंक्षायां विषये बहुलं भवन्ति ॥

1. The affixes 'Un' and the rest, with the force of the present, and with a sense simply appellative, are attached diversely.

The phrase 'with the force of the present' (implying neither past nor future time) and 'with a sense simply appellative' (and not descriptive) must be read into this sūtra by anuvṛitti from sūtras III. 2. 123 & 185. By using the word 'diversely' it is indicated that these affixes are, of course, applied after roots about which they are ordained, but they come also after roots about which they are not ordained. Sometimes we must infer their application by seeing actual words. Some affixes, though there be no express injunction regarding them, are to be inferred to belong to this class. The maxim in regard to the *Undi* affixes is that when, in appellatives, we find the forms of verbal roots and affixes coming after them, then we may know, from the result as presented in the word, what are the indicatory letters which the affix must be possessed of in order to produce the result.

These affixes are not given in Pāṇini's work, but they have been separately collected. The affix उत्त् is the first of these. The first sūtra of *Undi* affixes is the following—

कृषपाजिमिस्वदिसाध्यशून्य उत्त् ॥

The affix उत्त् comes after the verbs कृ 'to make', वा 'to blow', पा 'to drink', जि 'to overcome', नि 'to scatter', स्वर् 'to be pleasant to the taste', साप्त् 'to accomplish', and वज् 'to pervade'.

Thus कृ+उत्त्=कारः 'an artisan'. So also, वायुः 'the wind'; पायुः 'the organ of excretion'; जायुः 'a drug (which overcomes disease)'; मायुः 'the bile'; स्वायुः 'sweet'; साप्तुः 'who accomplishes the object of another, hence virtuous'; and वायुः 'quickly'.

These *Undi* affixes come after a limited number of roots, and not after every root, as the affixes taught in this grammar whose application is general; hence the word बहुज् has been employed. Moreover there has been no exhaustive enumeration of the several roots after which these affixes come:

only some of them have been collected in works treating of *Unadi* affixes. Thus though the affixes उन्नत् is ordained after वृत्, it comes also after शक् as शंकुला. In fact there is a long discussion and it was a moot point at the time of Pāṇini whether these words said to be formed by *Unadi* affixes were really derivative, or primitive ones. Moreover all the operations of these affixes have not been shown, that is, their effects are not without remainder (सर्वेष). They are valid and good if found in sacred Scriptures or secular literature. The authors of *Niruktas* and grammarians of the school of Śākāyaṇa, consider all nouns and substantives (नाम) as derivative words from simple roots (धातुञ्ज). Therefore where the derivation of a word is not apparent, one should infer the existence of proper base (प्रकृति) or affix (प्रत्यय) to form such a word.

The following slokas will be of some use to the student for ascertaining the *Unadi* affixes :

वाहूनकं प्रकृतेस्तनुदृष्टेः प्राचसमुच्चवनादपि वेषाम् ।
 कार्यसशोषिष्येभ ततुक्तं नैगमरुदिभवं हि सुसाधु ॥ १ ॥
 नाम च धातुञ्जमाह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्व च तोकम् ।
 वज्र पशायदिग्नेषसमुत्पयं प्रत्ययसः प्रकृतेभ तदूष्यम् ॥ २ ॥
 संज्ञासु धातुरुपाणि प्रत्ययाभ ततः परे ।
 कार्याद्विद्यादनुभवेत्प्राप्तान्मुणादिषु ॥ ३ ॥
 भूतेऽपि दूश्यन्ते ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते, अपि, दूश्यन्ते, (उत्तादयः)॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ भूतेकाने उणादयः प्रत्यया दूश्यन्ते ॥

2. The 'Unadi' affixes are seen also attached with the force of the past time.

By the last sūtra, it was taught that the *Unadi* affixes come with the force of the present time. The present aphorism teaches that they come with the force of the past also, not as a general rule, but in special cases. The force of the words 'are seen' being that no general rule can be laid down about it, but on *finding* that certain words have a past significance, we conclude that the affix in that particular case has the force of the past time.

Thus वृत्+मनिन्=वर्तन् 'a way, road' (that which has been established as a rule); चर्+मनिन्=चर्मन् 'skin' (that which is lived in); so also भृत्तन् 'ashes' (that which has been reduced to ashes).

भविष्यति गम्यादयः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भविष्यति, गमि-आदयः॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काले गम्यादयः शब्दः साधयो भवन्ति ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भनयतन उपसंख्यानम् ॥

3. The words 'gami', &c. are valid forms, having the sense of the future time.

The force of the future time is in the affix, and is so ordained, and not in the original word which takes the affix. Thus we see that the *Unadi*

affixes, in a way, do come with the force of not only present, but past and future also, though in the latter two cases its scope is very limited. As गमी याम् 'intending to go to the village'; आगमी 'that which has to come' So also प्रस्थावी 'departing'; प्रतिरोधी 'an opponent, (who is going to obstruct). प्रतिबोधी 'going to be awakened'. So also प्रतिवोधी 'an adversary'; प्रतियोगी 'an enemy'; प्रतिवाची; आवाची; भासी, &c.

Vart :—The Future, for the purposes of this rule, must be *anadyatana* future i. e. the affix should come in the sense of what will happen but not in the course of the current day. In other words, the force must be of the first future नृद्, and not of the second future नृद्. As ष्ठो गमी याम् 'he intends to go to the village tomorrow'.

यावत्-पुरानिपातयोर्लट् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावत्-पुरा-निपातयोः,
लट्, (भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावत्-पुराशब्दयोर्निर्वातयोरुपपदयोर्भविष्यति काजे धातोर्लंद्रप्रस्थवो भवति ॥

4. The affix 'Lat' comes after a root, with the force of futurity, when it has in construction with it the particles 'yāvat' and 'purā'.

The present tense has the force of the future when the *adverbs* यावत् and तावत् are used. The phrase 'futurity &c' is to be read into this sūtra from the last. Thus भालोके ते निपत्ति पुरा 'he will surely fall in the range of your sight'. यावतस्य तुरात्मनः समुन्मूलनाय शशुष्णेऽपेषयामि. 'I shall send Satrughna to exterminate this wretch'.

These words पुरा and यावत् must be used as adverbs (*nipātas*), and not as relative pronouns. Therefore not here, यावत् शस्यति तावत् भोक्षते 'as long as he will give, so long he will eat'; पुरा भ्रजिष्यति 'he goes along the city'. Here यावत् is a relative pronoun; and पुरा is the Instrumental singular of पुर् 'city'.

विभाषा कदाकर्त्त्वोः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कदा-कर्त्त्वोः,
(भविष्यति, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्त्तव्यकर्हि इत्येतयोरुपपदयोर्विभाषा भविष्यति काजे धातोर्लंद्रप्रस्थवो भवति ॥

5. The affix 'Lat' is optionally employed after a root with the force of the futurity, when it has in construction with it, the adverbs 'kadā' and 'karhi'.

As करा भुक्त्वे 'when will he eat', or करा भोक्षते or भोक्ता ; so also कर्हि भुक्त्वे or भोक्षते or भोक्ता 'when will he eat'.

किंवृत्ते लिप्सायाम् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्-वृत्ते, लिप्सायाम्,
(भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तारपपदे लिप्सायां भविष्यति काजे धातोर्विभाषा लद्-शस्यवो भवति ॥

6. When the word 'kim' or its derivatives are in construction with the verb, the affix 'Laṭ' is employed optionally after a root, in denoting future time, provided that the sentence expresses a desire of gaining on the part of the speaker.

The word 'optionally' is understood in this sūtra. By using the word वृत्त along with किं it is meant that the rule applies even when किम् takes the affixes उत्तर and उत्तम. The word लिप्त्वा means the desire of gaining or acquiring, a wish to have something or an intention of begging'.

As कं भवन्तो भोजयन्ति or भोजयितारः 'whom will you feed'? It implies a request on the part of the questioner to feed him also. So also कतरो मिषां शस्त्रति, इश्वति, शाशा, or कतमो भिषां शस्त्रति &c, 'Which of the two or which of these all, will he give alms? Will he give something to me'?

When no desire of gain is implied, the future tense must be employed as कः पाटलिपुत्रं गमिष्यति 'who will go to Pātaliputra'.

लिप्त्वमानसिद्धौ च ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिप्त्वमान-सिद्धौ, च,
(भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ लिप्त्वमानसिद्धौ गन्धमादादां भविष्यति काले धारीर्वभाषा लट्प्रस्थयो भवति ॥

7. And when the success, that would accrue to another by fulfilling the desire of the speaker, is indicated in a sentence, the present tense may optionally be employed with the force of the futurity,

The word 'optionally' is also understood here. The word लिप्त्वमानसिद्धिः is equal to लिप्त्वमानात् सिद्धि, an Ablative-Tatpurusha Compound, signifying *siddhi* or success, that would be acquired by another by complying with the request of the speaker. The difference between this and the last sūtra is, that whereas the last related to interrogative sentences having किम् in construction, the present relates to sentences in general. As वो भक्तं इत्यति, स स्वर्गं गच्छति 'he who gives food, goes to heaven'; वो भक्तं शस्त्रति or शाशा, स स्वर्गं गमिष्यति or गन्ता.

Here the speaker encourages the giver to the act of charity by holding out the hope, that from rice which is the object desired (लिप्त्वमान) the success (सिद्धि), in the shape of *svarga*, will accrue to the giver.

In other words, 'the present is sometimes used for the future in conditional sentences, i. e. it is employed in connection with a sentence declaring the compensation or reward which follows from the granting of the wish'.

लोहर्घसष्ठ्ये च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोहू-अर्घ-सुष्ठुपे, च, (भविष्य-
तिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञोऽर्थः मैषादिर्जन्मक्षते येन स ज्ञोऽर्थज्ञक्षणी धार्थः, तत्र वर्तमानाद्वातोर्भविष्यति काले विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. The affix 'Lat' is optionally employed with the force of the futurity, after that root, which in a conditional sentence, is the condition precedent for the action indicated by another verb having the sense of the imperative mood.

The word ज्ञोऽर्थ means 'having the sense of the affix ज्ञोऽ् or imperative mood'. The force of *lat* is 'to command, direct, invite &c' as given in III. 3. 162 and 163. The sūtra, translated literally, will mean 'the present tense may optionally be employed when the action denoted by the verb is related to another action denoted by another verb in the imperative, as a sign (ज्ञक्षण) is to the thing signified (ज्ञहेतु)'. Thus उपाध्यावशेशगच्छति (भागमिष्यति or भागन्ता) अथ एवं छन्दोऽधीष्ट 'if the professor comes (i. e. will come) then *read* you prosody'. Here the coming of the professor is the *lakshana* of the direction as to reading.

लिङ् चोर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ् च, ऋर्ध्व-मौहूर्तिके,
(भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्, ज्ञोऽर्थलक्षणे) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ ऋर्ध्वमौहूर्तिकं भविष्यतिकाले, ज्ञोऽर्थज्ञक्षणे वर्तमानाद्वातोर्भिर्भाषा लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराल्पद ॥

9. The 'Lat' (present) or the 'Lin' (potential) is used under similar conditions in denoting futurity, when the future time is future by a 'muhūrta' (48 minutes).

All the conditions of the last sūtra apply here also, namely 'when the action denoted by the verb is related to another action denoted by another verb in the imperative, as a sign is to the thing indicated'. By force of the word च we read the anuvṛitti of *lat* also into this aphorism. The word ऋर्ध्व-मौहूर्तिक is a secondary derivative from ऋर्ध्वमौहूर्ते, meaning 'that which exists in time *above* a muhūrta'. This is an irregular compound; and the vṛiddhi takes place irregularly of the उ of मौ and not of ऋ as the general rule required. The whole word thus formed qualifies the word 'future'. Thus ऋर्ध्वं मौहूर्तापरि मौहूर्तस्य उपाध्यावशेशगच्छत् (भागमिष्यति, भागमिष्यति or भागन्ता), अथ एवं छन्दोऽधीष्ट 'If the teacher comes after an hour (of 48 minutes), you had better read the Prosody'.

तुमुन्यवुली क्रियायां क्रियार्थायाम् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ तुमुन् रवु-
लौ, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम्, (भविष्यति काले) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ क्रियार्थायां क्रियायामुपर्वे धातोर्भविष्यति काले तुमुन्यवुलौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥
वार्त्तकम् ॥ क्रियार्थायां क्रियायामुपर्वे वासर्वपेण द्रव्यादयो न भवन्ति ॥

10. The affixes 'tumun' and 'yivul' are placed after a verbal root, with the force of the future, when the

word in construction therewith is another verb, denoting an action performed for the sake of the (future) action.

As भोक्तुम् ग्रजति 'he goes to eat'; भीजको ग्रजति 'he goes to eat'. Here the upapada or the verb in construction is ग्रजति; it denotes an action performed for the sake of the future action (क्रियार्थ), namely, eating.

Why do we say 'denoting an action'? The upapada must be an action and not a substantive; as विज्ञिस्ये इति भस्य जटा: 'matted hair is for the purpose that he should beg.' Here the affixes are not employed.

Why do we say 'performed for the sake of another action'? Observe भावसरसे पतिष्ठति शृङ्खः 'running, thy stick will fall'.

Now, it might be asked why वृद्ध् is taught a second time, when it was already taught generally by rule III. 1. 133; and that being a common rule, would have applied to this subject also? If you reply that the future affix शृङ्ख् would have prevented its application, in conditional sentences like the above, we say that the rule of 'non-uniform affixes applying simultaneously' given in III. 1. 94 will step in and will conduce the application of वृद्ध् in spite of शृङ्ख्.

Vart.—The repetition of the affix वृद्ध् (ordained to come after a verbal root, when the word in construction therewith is another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action,) is for the sake of prohibiting the application of the affixes like शृङ्ख् &c. in denoting the above sense; that is to say, the rule of वाऽसरूप (III. 1. 94) does not apply here and we cannot optionally employ any other affix, with this gerundial sense. Thus we cannot say कर्ता ग्रजति 'he goes to do'; but we must say कर्तुम् instead.

These affixes form the gerund of the infinitive of purpose.

भाववचनात् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ भाव-वचनाः, च, (भविष्यति, काले,
क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावहृति प्रकृत्य ये घमादयो विहितासे च भाववचना भविष्यतिकाले क्रियाकामपदे
क्रियार्थां भवन्ति ॥

11. And the affixes that are ordained to come after a root with the force of denoting the mere action of the verb, such as धृ &c. (III. 1. 13.) have also the force of the future, when the word in construction therewith, is another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action.

As पाकाव ग्रजति 'he goes to cook'; भूत्वे ग्रजति 'he goes for the sake of success'; पृष्ठे ग्रजति ।

Now it might be asked, why make this rule at all, when those affixes have already been ordained? It has already been said that the वाऽसरूप rule

does not apply in regard to infinitive; and hence शुभ् would have prevented the application of other affixes. So the making of the present sūtra.

Why the word वचन has been employed in the sūtra? The meaning is that the words should be expressive or वाचक. How do the affixes become वाचक? When affixes which are ordained after certain bases, are employed after those bases only, then they are said to be वाचक, not when they are employed after other bases, or are even after those bases, but not in the mode as directed. So that, in short, those nouns only which have been especially formed by the भाववाचक affixes, अत् &c, can be employed with the force of gerund, and not every noun. The भाववाचक nouns correspond to the nouns of action or verbal nouns.

अत् कर्मणि च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्, कर्मणि, (भविष्यति, काले, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरण्प्रथयो भवति भविष्यतिकाले कर्मण्युपर्यं क्रियायां च क्रियार्थायाम् ॥

12. The affix 'an' comes after a root with the force of the future, when the word in construction with it is in the accusative case, and when the action is performed for the sake of another action.

The word 'future' is understood here. The force of च is merely that of a connective particle. By rule III. 2. 1. the affix अत् comes after a root when the word in composition is in the accusative case. That is a general injunction; and the rule of वाऽसर्वप not applying, the affix शुभ् would have debarred it as already said; hence this repetition. This rule being an apavāda rule (an exception or a special rule with regard to those verbs which have the accusative case in composition) will thus, within its own jurisdiction, prevent the application of शुभ् of III. 3. 10; and by the rule of परत् given in I. 4. 2, it will debar the affixes like अ &c. Therefore this अत् comes after even those verbs also which were especially exempted from its operation by rules like III. 2. 3. Thus by rule III. 2. 3 the अत् of III. 2. 1 could not have come after simple verbs ending in long आ, such as दा 'to give' &c. But the present अत् with a gerundial force will come even after such verbs. As गीष्यायो ब्रजति 'he goes to give cows', and not गोदः। So also कम्बलयायो ब्रजति 'he goes to give blanket'; भृत्यायो ब्रजति । दा+अत्=दायः (VII. 3. 33).

So also काण्डलायो ब्रजति 'he goes to cut wood'. In this case अत् would have been applied even by III. 2. 1.

लृट् शेषे च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लृट्, शेषे, च, (भविष्यति, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायां, धातोः, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषे शुद्धे भविष्यतिकाले चकारात् क्रियायां चोपर्यं क्रियार्थायां धातोन्त् प्रथयो भवति ॥

13. The affix 'Lrit' is employed after a verb, in the remaining cases, where futurity pure and simple is indicated; and also where there is in construction with it another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action.

This is what is well-known as the Second Future. As करिष्यामि इति व्रजति 'he goes that I will do'; हरिष्यामि इति व्रजति 'he goes that I will take'. So also, करिष्यति 'he will do'; हरिष्यति 'he will take'. Thus the Second Future is used both in dependent sentences as well as to denote simple Future.

लृटः सद्वा ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लृटः, सद्, वा ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ लृटः स्थाने सत्संज्ञौ शब्दशानचौ वा भवतः ॥

14. The affixes called 'Sat' i. e. 'Satri' and 'śānach' are optionally the substitutes of 'Lrit'.

The सत् has been defined in III. 2. 127. This option is a regulated option; that is to say, the affixes शद् and शानच् replace लृट् under the conditions in which they replace लृट्; thus by III. 2. 124, these affixes will replace लृट् when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix. In these cases सत् will invariably replace लृट्. In other cases it will optionally replace लृट्. In these cases they will form what is known as future participles. As करिष्यन्ते देवदत्तं पश्य 'behold Devadatta about to do'; करिष्यमाणं देवदत्तं पश्य 'behold Devadatta being about to be done'. हे करिष्यन् or हे करिष्यमाणः. Besides simple futurity, it denotes intention or purpose, as अर्जविष्वमाणी वसति 'he dwells intending to earn his livelihood'; करिष्यमाणः सशर्तं शरासने 'intending to furnish his bows with arrows'.

When, however, it agrees with the nominative case, it is optionally employed. As करिष्यन्, करिष्यमाणः, करिष्यति or करिष्यते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta will do'.

The form करिष्यन् is thus evolved. As कृ+लृट्=कृ+स्व+लृट् (III. 1. 33)=कर+इट्+स्व+शद्=करिष्यत् nom. sing. करिष्यन्। In other words the participial affixes अत् (भवन्) and मान, technically known as शद् and शानच्, also come after a verb that has taken the personal ending स्व of the Future.

अनद्यतने लुट् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनद्यतने, लुट्, (भविष्यति) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यदन्यतने येऽवर्तमानादातोल्लृदप्रस्त्रयो भवति ॥
वार्तिंकम् ॥ परिहेतने चस्तनी भविष्यदयेऽवर्कष्या ॥

15. The affix 'Lut' comes after a verbal root in the sense of what will happen, but not in the course of the current day.

This debars 'Lrit'. As एः कर्ता 'he will do tomorrow'. इति भोक्ता 'he will eat tomorrow'.

The word 'anadyatana' is a Bahuvrihi compound. Therefore in cases where there is not pure futurity beyond today, but a mixture of the two, लूङ् will be employed and not लूँ. As भयं खो वा भवित्यति 'it will be today or tomorrow'. And where there is doubt, the second Future should be employed.

Vart.—The First Future (लूँ) is employed with the force of the Second Future (लूङ्) when sorrow is expressed. As इवं तु कहा गन्ता, वैवं पाहो निष्प्राप्ति ! 'Oh when will she go, who places her feet in such a way (who is such a slow walker)' अबं तु कहाऽप्येता, व एवमनभिवृक्तः 'when will he learn, who is so inattentive'!

पदरुजविश्वस्पृशो घञ् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद-रुज-विश्व-स्पृशः,

घञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्थियो धातुभ्यो चम्प्रस्थयो भवति ॥

16. The affix 'ghāñ' comes after the roots 'pad' (to pace), 'ruj' (to pain), 'viś' (to enter), and 'spriś' (to touch).

The anuvṛitti of 'future' does not extend to this sūtra. The affixes hereinafter taught come in all the tenses.

As पद+चम्प=पदः 'foot'; रुज+चम्प=रोगः 'disease'; so, वेशः 'entrance'.

Vart :—The verb स्पृश् takes चम्प when the sense is that of 'distress'; as स्पर्शः 'disease' or 'warmth'. The word स्पर्श meaning 'touch' is formed by adding the affix चम्प, under rule III. I. 134; as स्पर्शो देवदत्तः। There is difference in accent between these two words.

स्तु स्थिरे ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तु, स्थिरे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वेदातोः स्थिरे कर्त्तरं चम्प प्रस्थयो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ व्याधिमत्स्यवज्ञेण्वति वक्तव्यम् ॥

17. The affix 'ghāñ' comes after the verb 'sri' (to move) when the agent is permanently fixed.

The word स्थिर means an object remaining steady throughout any period of time. That which thus remaining permanent moves through any interval of time, will apply to the agent of the verb. Thus, स+चम्प=सारः 'an essence'; as चन्दनसारः 'the essence of sandal', खसिरसारः 'the essence of catechu'.

Why do we say 'permanently fixed'? Observe सर्वा 'moves', सारकः 'that which flows'.

Vart :—The word so formed also applies to disease, fish and strength. As भविसारः 'dysentery'; विसारः 'a fish'; सारः 'strength'.

भावे ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे वाच्ये धातोर्धं चम्प प्रस्थयो भवति ॥

18. The affix 'ghāñ' comes after a root when mere action is denoted.

Thus, पच् + घम् = पाकः 'cooking' (VII. 2. 116 and VII. 3. 52); र्वाणः 'abandoning'; राणः 'colouring' (VI. 4. 27). An action expresses a general state; so that all roots denote 'action' when their meaning is to be expressed. And as the meaning of the root can be expressed by the root itself, therefore, the affixes घम् &c. come after all verbal roots, when the sense of the root is denoted as having attained to the completed state. It is not necessary that the words so formed should be always of the masculine gender, singular number. They may take any other gender or number. As वन्तिः, पचनम्, पाकौ, पाकाः। These affixes form, in short, verbal nouns, or abstract nouns being names of action.

अकर्तरि च कारके संज्ञायाम् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-कर्तरि, च,
कारके, संज्ञायाम्, (घम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कदेव वर्जिते कारके संज्ञायां विषये धातोर्धम् प्रश्वयो भवति ॥

19. And the affix 'ghāñ' comes after a root, when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as agent.

Thus प्रासः (*i. e.* प्रास्यन्ति तम्) 'a dart, lit. that which men throw'; प्रसेवः (*i. e.* प्रसीद्यन्ति तम्) 'a sack, lit. that which men stitch together'; भाहारः (*i. e.* भाहन्ति भस्माद्वस्म) 'food, lit. that from which men take out the juice to nourish themselves'. As मधुराहारः, लक्षणिजाहारः।

Why do we say 'not related as an agent'? Observe मेषः 'a sheep, lit. that which looks helplessly'. Here the word मेषः is related to the verb मिषति as agent, and the affix is consequently not घम्.

Why do we say 'when denoting an appellative'? Observe कर्तव्यः कटः 'the mat must be made'.

The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that घम् may be applied irregularly in cases where appellative is not meant: as कौ भवता लायो इतः 'what gift was given by you'; कौ भवता लाभो लभः 'what gain was gained by you'.

The word कारक is used in the sūtra for this purpose. The word अकर्तरि is a compound word formed by the negative नम्. The word means a non-agent. Now the word 'non-agent' has two-fold significance; either it means any other kāraka which is not an agent-kāraka; or it may mean any thing in general which is not an agent. That is to say, the former negative, called पर्युशत्, points out, by implication, the objects which are different from the thing prohibited; and in fact, makes the rule applicable to those objects; while the second sort of negative called प्रसञ्च प्रतिषेध is a simple prohibition of the particular matter specified, without mentioning what is different from it. Giving the former interpretation to the word अकर्तरि, the word कारक becomes redundant, because 'non-agent' would mean any kāraka other than an agent.

But the very fact, that कारक is used, indicates the existence of the following rule which is nowhere expressly taught by Pāṇini:—That नभ् is compounded even with the force of प्रसर्य प्रतिषेध'. (VI. I. 45). भवित्, *non-sit'*.

Both the phrases, 'when denoting mere condition (भाव)' and 'a kāraka 'which is not an agent' are understood in the succeeding aphorisms. See II 2. 6 about नभ् Compound.

परिमाणाख्यायां सर्वेभ्यः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमाण-आख्या-
याभ्, सर्वेभ्यः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणाख्यायां सर्वेभ्यो धातुयो घञ् प्रसर्ययो भवति ॥
वाचिकम् ॥ शरणारो कर्तव्ये पितृनुक् च ॥

20. The affix 'ghañ' comes after all roots when the word so formed is the name of a measure.

Thus, नि+चि+घञ्=निचै+अ (VII. 2. 115)=निचाय(VI. I. 78) 'a heap'; as एकस्तण्डुजनिचायः; ही शर्पनिच्चवी। कृ 'to scatter'+घञ्=कारः। ही कारौ; नयः काराः।

By using the word 'all' in the sūtra, it is indicated that the affix अप् (III. 3. 57) is also superseded when this sense is to be indicated. Otherwise the affix अच् would only be prohibited by the *Paribhāṣha*:—"Apavādas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the *apavāda*-operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules". Thus अप् being taught in III. 3. 56 would be superseded, but not so अप् taught in the subsequent aphorism III. 3. 57.

Why do we say 'when they are the names of measures'? Observe निधानः 'ascertaining'.

The word आख्यः has been used in the aphorism in order to indicate that the words so formed are not Primitive words (रूढिः). The numerals are also there included, and not only measures like *Prastha*, *Pala* &c.

We have said above, that the force of the word सर्वेभ्यः in this sūtra is to indicate that the affix घञ् must be used after all verbs (not excluding even such verbs as require अच् or अप् by sūtras 56 and 57), when we want to express measure. This must be taken however, with certain limitations. The word सर्वेभ्यः is not after all so wide as at first sight it may appear. If we wish to form a word indicating measure, in the feminine gender, we cannot use घञ्; we must use the affix निक्त् (III. 3. 94). In other words, the feminine affixes are not superseded by घञ् when it supersedes अच् and अप्. Thus in forming a feminine noun denoting measure, we have एकातिलोच्छित्तिः, ही प्रसूती &c.

Vart:—The affix घञ् comes after the causative verbs शरि and जारि, and there is *luk* elision of the causative affix पिच्; when the word so formed is related to the verb as agent. Thus शरयन्ति धातृन् = शराः 'a wife' (lit 'who divides brothers' a wife breaking up the brotherly love); जारयन्ति = जाराः 'a paramour'.

इडवा ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इडः, च, (घञ्) ॥

पृतिः ॥ इडो धातोर्घम् प्रस्वबो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अपाशने लियामुपसंख्यानम् तदन्ताच्च वा डीष् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ शू वादुवर्णनिष्टलेषु ॥

21. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'in' (to study).

This debars भच् (III. 3. 56). As भधि+इ+घम् = भधि+ऐ+म् = भध्याव 'a lesson or lecture'; उपाध्यायः (उपेत्याक्षारधीते) 'a teacher'.

Vart.—When the word to be formed is related to the verb इह् as an ablative, the word is feminine also and optionally takes the affix डीष्. As उपेत्याधीते॒स्या = उपाध्याया or उपाध्यायी 'a female teacher'.

Vart.—The affix घम् comes after the root रु, when the word so formed means 'wind', 'color', or 'cessation'. As रुतः: 'wind', 'green colour' &c. गौरिवाहून-मीशारः प्रावेष्य शिशिरे कृषः ।

उपसर्गे रुवः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, रुवः, (घञ्) ॥

पृतिः ॥ उपसर्गे उपसर्गे रुतेर्धातोर्घम् प्रस्वबो भवति ॥

22. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'rū' (to roar), when it has an upasarga in composition with it.

This debars भप् (III. 3. 57). As संरावः: 'claimour', उपरावः: &c.

Why do we say 'compounded with an upasarga'? Observe रुवः: 'sound',

सर्वि युद्रुदुवः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वि, यु-द्रु-दुवः, (घञ्) ॥

पृतिः ॥ सर्वि उपपदे यु द्रु दु इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो घम् प्रस्वबो भवति ॥

23. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'yu' (to join), 'dru' (to run) and 'du' (to burn), when in composition with the preposition 'sam'.

As संयावः, संद्रावः, संशावः: But प्रयवः where the preposition is not *sam*.

श्रिष्ठीभुवो॒नुपसर्गे ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रि-ष्ठी-भुवः, अनुपसर्गे, (घञ्) ॥

पृतिः ॥ श्रि ष्ठी भु इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो॒नुपसर्गेभ्यो घम् प्रस्वबो भवति ॥

24. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'sri' (to go to), 'nī' (to lead) and 'bhū' (to be), when not in composition with an upasarga.

This debars the affix भच् (III. 3. 56). As आवः: 'shelter', नावः: 'a means', भावः: 'a condition'.

But with *upasargas*, we have प्रभावः: 'respect', प्रणावः: 'love'; प्रभृशः: 'source'.

How do we explain the form प्रभाव in प्रभावो राजः: 'the splendour of the king'? Here the word प्रभाव is not made from the compound root प्रभू+घम्, but by compounding प्र with भाव by the rules of *samāsa*, meaning 'excellent condition'.

How do you explain the form नव in नवो रातः? Here the root नौ has taken the affix अ॒ diversely by III. 3. 113.

बौ सुश्रुतः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बौ, सु-श्रुतः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाकुपपरे शु श्रु इत्येतत्पादा धातुभावं घञ् प्रत्यक्षो भवति ॥

25. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'kshu' (to sneeze), and 'sru' (to move and hear) when the preposition 'vi' is in composition.

This debars the affix अ॒ (III. 3. 57); as, विकावः: 'cough'; विकावः: 'flowing forth', 'celebrated'. But when without preposition, we have जावः and श्रवः:

अवोदोर्मियः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव-सदोः, नियः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव उत् इत्येतत्पादपहोर्मिवत्सर्वात्मेष्ट्यम् प्रप्रत्यक्षो भवति ॥

26. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'ni' (to lead) when the prepositions 'ava' and 'ut' are in composition.

As अवनावः: 'throwing down'; उत्तावः: 'elevation'.

How do you explain उत्तवः in उत्तवः पश्यांनाम्? Here the affix is 'ach' by III. 3. 113.

प्रे द्रुस्तस्तुवः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, द्रु-स्तु-स्तुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेराच्छ उपपरे हृ स्तु सु इत्येतत्पादो धातुभ्यो घञ् प्रत्यक्षो भवति ॥

27. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'dru', 'stu' and 'sru', when the word in composition is 'pra'.

As प्रदावः, प्रस्तावः, प्रशावः: But not so in इवः, स्तवः and जवः:

निरभ्योः पूर्खोः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ निर्-अभ्योः, पूर्खोः (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निरभिपूर्खयोः पूर्खोर्धातुभ्योर्धम् प्रत्यक्षयो भवति ॥

28. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'pū' (to purify) and 'lu' (to cut) when 'mir' and 'abhi' are respectively in composition.

The word ए refers to both पूर्ख and पूर्म्. The rule I. 3. 10. must be applied here, and thus निर् comes before ए, and अभि before ए. As निरपावः: 'winnowing'; अभिलावः: 'moving'. But पवः and जवः, without these prepositions.

उत्तन्योर्यः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्-न्योः, यः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तन्योरुपपदयोः गृ इत्येतत्पादात्मोर्धम् प्रप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grī' when the upasargas 'ut' and 'ni' are in composition.

The verb ए here refers to both the verbs ए 'to make sound', and ए 'to swallow'. As उत्तगारः समुद्रसङ्क 'the roaring of the sea'; निगारो वैवहसरसङ्क 'the swallow-

ing of Devadatta'. But when without these prepositions, we have गः।

कृ धान्ये ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृ, धान्ये, (घञ्, उम्न्योः)॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कृ इत्येतस्मादातोरुन्न्योरुपपदवोर्वंश्प्रत्ययो भवति धान्विषवधेऽन्यासयोः भवति ॥

30. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'kr̥̄', when the prepositions 'ut' and 'ni' are in composition and when the sense of the verb relates to grain.

The verb कृ here means 'to scatter', and not 'to injure', because no words formed by this affix are found in Sanskrit in that sense.

As उत्कारो धान्वस्त्व 'the winnowing of corn'; निकारो धान्वस्त्व 'the winnowing of corn'. But when not referring to grain, we have भैरवीरकरः 'a heap of alms', पुष्पनिकरः 'the essence or heap of flowers'.

यज्ञे समि स्तुवः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्ञे, समि, स्तुवः, (घञ्)॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वक्षविषवे प्रयोगे संपूर्णस्तोतेर्वंश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'stu' when it is preceded by the upasarga 'sam' and the word refers to sacrificial subjects.

As संस्तावश्चन्द्रोगानाम् 'the Sanstāva of the Chhandogas; संस्ताव(=संस्तव ल्लवन्ति यस्मिन् देशो छंशोगः स देशः) means 'the place which the Brāhmaṇas repeating hymns and prayers, occupy at a sacrifice'.

But when not referring to sacrifice we have संस्तवश्चाचारः 'the praising together of the two pupils'.

प्रे स्त्रोऽप्यज्ञे ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, स्त्रः, अयज्ञे, (घञ्)॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रम् भाष्ट्वादने भस्मादातोः प्रशब्दपपरे पम् प्रत्ययो भवति, न चेष्टविषवः प्रयोगो भवति ॥

32. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'str̥̄' (to cover), when preceded by the preposition 'pra'; provided that the word so formed does not refer to sacrifice'.

As, शंखप्रस्तारः 'a bed of conch'; मणिप्रस्तारः 'strewing of gems'.

प्रथने वावश्चाददे ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथने, वौ, अश्चाददे, (स्त्रः, घञ्)॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रम् भाष्ट्वादने भस्मादातोर्विशब्दपपरे वम् प्रत्ययो भवति प्रथने गम्बमाने तच्चे लयनं शब्दविषवं न भवति ॥

33. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'str̥̄' (to cover), when the preposition 'vi' is in composition with it, when the sense is that of extension, and when such spreading does not refer to words.

The word प्रथन् means 'extent, circuit, range'. As पठस्व विस्तारः 'the extension of the garment'.

Why do we say 'when meaning extent'? Observe, वृणविस्तारः 'a collection of grass'. Why do we say 'not referring to words'? Observe विस्तरो वचसाम् 'prolixity of words'.

खंदो नान्नि च ॥ ३४ ॥ खंदः, नान्नि, च, (वी, स्त्रः, घ०)

बृतिः ॥ विष्वारप्लवातेश्वर्वन्नोनान्नि चम् प्रथयो भवति ॥

34. The affix 'ghānī' comes after 'strī' with the upasarga 'vi', when the word so formed is the name of a metre.

The word छन्द here means prosodial metre such as Gāyatri &c; and not the Vedas; otherwise the word नाम would not have been used. Thus वि+स्त्र+चम्=वि+ष्व+चम्(VIII. 3. 94)=विष्टारः 'the name of a metre called Vishṭāra-Pankti'.

The whole word विष्टारपौक्ति is the name of a metre, and is not a word ending with the affix ghānī; only a member of this word, i. e. the first part ends with ghānī. The seventh case-affix in the word छन्नोनान्नि has the force of location i. e. when the word so formed occurs in a portion of a name of a metre; it is not the full name, but it is in the name i. e. forms a portion of the name.

उदि यहः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, यहः, (घ०) ॥

बृतिः ॥ उद्युपरे महेऽर्जुतोर्धम् प्रथयो भवति ॥

वान्निकम् ॥ उद्युपति निष्वारपीष्वते मुगुधमन्मिपातमयोः ॥

35. The affix 'ghānī' comes after the verb 'grah' (to seize), when the preposition 'ut' is in composition.

This debars the affix अप्. As उद्याहः 'lifting up'.

Vart:—In the Vedas this affix is applied even when the word यह is preceded by नि; and the इ is changed into ए; the sense of the two words being 'to lift up' and 'throw down' respectively of the sacrificial ladle; as, उद्यामं च निपामं च लक्षणेया भवतीवृधन् ।

समि मुष्टी ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ समि, मुष्टी, (यहः, घ०) ॥

बृतिः ॥ सम्युपरे महेऽर्जुतोर्धम् प्रथयो भवति मुष्टिविष्ववशेषधात्ययोः भवति ॥

36. The affix 'ghānī' comes after the root 'grah' when in composition with the preposition 'sam' when the sense of the root refers to fist.

The word मुष्टि means 'boxing', 'fist'; as, भहो मङ्गस्व संप्राहः 'O! the clenching of the fist of the athlete'; भहो मुष्टिकस्य संप्राहः 'O! the seizing of the boxer', meaning grasping firmly.

Why do we say 'referring to fist'? Observe संग्रही धान्दस्य 'a collection of grain'.

परिन्योनीघोर्यूताखेषयोः ॥३७॥ पदानि ॥ परि-न्योः, नी-इवोः,
द्यूत-अखेषयोः, (च०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दे निशब्दे चोपपदे व्यासंख्यं निब इष्ट धातोर्धभूत्वाची भवति, अधो-
वकारः, यूताखेषयोः ॥

37. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'ni' (to lead), and 'i' (to go), when the prepositions 'pari' and 'ni' are respectively in composition with them, 'and when the words so formed respectively mean 'a game' and 'propriety or arrangement or law'.

Here again we take help of I. 3. 10 in interpreting this sūtra. The verbs परि+नी and नि+इ, take घञ् when respectively meaning 'gambling' and 'fitness'. As परिणाथेन शारान् इन्ति 'he kills (or takes) many pieces by moving a chessman.' Here परिणाव=समन्तानव means 'the moving of chess-pieces from every side, and so winning the game'. So also नि+इ+घञ्=नि+ऐ+भ=नि+
भाव=न्यावः 'justice', 'propriety', 'logic'.

But when not having these senses, we have परिणवः 'marriage', and न्वयं 'decay'; as न्वयन्नुतः पापः 'the sin has been destroyed'. The word अवेष means परायानामनवचारो व्यापासकरणम्.

परावनुपात्यय इहः ॥३८॥ पदानि ॥ परै, अनुपात्यये, इहः, (च०) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्द उपपदे इहो धातोर्धभूत्वाची भवति अनुपात्यये गम्यमाने ॥

38. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'i' (to go) in composition with the word 'pari' when the sense is that of following in regular succession.

As पर्वावः 'turn, succession'; तव पर्वावः 'thy turn'; मम पर्वावः 'my turn'.

Why do we say 'when meaning turn'? Observe कालरव पर्ववः 'the lapse of time'. The word अनुपात्यवः=कलप्राप्तरवान्तिपातः 'not breaking the series or order'.

व्युपयोः शेते: पर्याये ॥३९॥ पदानि ॥ वि�-उपयोः, शेते:, पर्याये, (च०) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वि उप इत्वेतत्त्वोरुपपद्वोः शेतेर्धातोर्धभूत्वाची भवति ॥

39. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'si' (to lie down) when the prepositions 'vi' and 'upa' are in composition with it, and when the sense of the word so formed is that of 'regular succession'.

As, तव विशावः 'thy turn of sleeping' (i. e. the rest enjoyed in rotation by the sentinels on watch); मम विशावः 'my turn of rest'; तव राजोपशावः=तव राजानन्मु
पश्चिमुम्पर्वावः 'thy turn of sleeping the king'.

Why do we say 'regular succession'? Observe उपशकः 'lying by the side of or ambush'; विश्वकः 'doubt',

इस्तादाने चेरस्तेये ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ इस्तादाने, चे:, अस्तेये, (घञ्) ॥
 वृशिः ॥ इस्तादाने गम्यमाने चिनोतेर्षतोर्धंप्रस्थयो भवति, न ब्रेत् स्तेवं चौये भवति ॥
 वार्त्सकम् ॥ उच्चयद्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

40. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'chi' (to collect), when the sense expressed is that of taking by hand, provided it does not refer to stealing.

By saying 'taking by hand' the close proximity of the person taking to the thing accepted or taken is indicated. As पुष्पप्रचायः 'gathering flowers by hand'; फलप्रचायः 'gathering fruits by hand'.

Why do we say 'taking by hand'? Observe वृक्षामस्थानां फलानां वट्टणं प्रचयं करोति 'he gathers with the stick the fruits hanging on the top of the tree'.

Why do we say 'when not meaning to steal'? Observe पुष्पप्रचबन्धेयेण 'the gathering of flowers by theft'.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the word उच्चवः 'gathering'; as पुष्पोऽचबः 'gathering of flowers by hand'.

निवासचितिश्शरीरोपसमाधानेष्वादेश्च कः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ निवास-चिति-शरीर-उपसमाधानेषु, आदेः, च, कः, (घञ्) ॥

वृशिः ॥ निवास चिति शरीर उपसमाधान, एतेष्वयेषु चिनोतेर्षंप्रस्थयो भवति धातोरादेश ककार आवेशो भवति ॥

41. The affix 'ghañ', comes after the root 'chi' (to gather), and 'k' is the substitute of the initial 'ch' in these senses viz.—'a dwelling', 'a fire on the funeral pile', 'the body' and 'collection'.

That in which people dwell (निवासि) is called निवासः or 'dwelling'. That which is gathered together (चीयते) is called चिति or 'funeral pile'. शरीर means the body of all living beings; and उपसमाधान means making a heap. Thus निकायः 'a dwelling'; as in काशीनिकायः 'Kāsi-dwelling'; आक्षयमिन्न चिन्नित 'let him arrange the akāya fire i. e. the funeral fire'; कायः 'body', as अग्निश्चः कायः 'a perishable body'; महात् गोमयनिकायः 'a heap of cow-dung'.

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Observe चबः 'gathering'. Why is not this rule applied in महात् काष्ठनिकायः 'a large heap of wood'? Here multiplicity is expressed and not collection or aggregation.

संघे चानौत्तराधर्थ्ये ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघे, च, अनौत्तराधर्थ्ये,
 (चे:, आदेष्व, कः, घञ्) ॥

वृशिः ॥ संघे वाच्ये चिनोतेर्षातोर्धंप्रस्थयो भवति भावेष्व कः ॥

42. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'chi' (to gather) and 'k' is the substitute of the initial 'ch' in

the sense of 'a multitude or assembly' (of living beings possessing some common characteristics), but not merely a confused crowd of men.

The word संघ means a collection or assembly of living beings. It is of two sorts :—either by collection of persons possessing common qualifications, or a mere confused crowd of men. The collection denoting a confused crowd is here excepted and by *paryuddha* negation the other is taken. Thus भिसुकनिकायः 'the assembly of beggars'; ब्राह्मणनिकायः 'the assembly of Brāhmaṇas'; वैदिकरणनिकायः 'the assembly of Grammarians'.

But सूकरनिकायः 'a herd of hogs'; because it is a mere collection. So also कृताकृतसमुच्चयः 'the collection of what is done and not done'; प्रमाणसमुच्चयः 'the collection of proofs'. Here there is no संघ in either of the two senses, it not being a collection of living animals, the affix *ghaṭṭ* is not employed.

कर्मव्यतिहारे वाच् स्त्रियाम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्म-व्यतिहारे,
वाच्, स्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मव्यतिहारे गम्यमाने धातोर्णव्यप्रस्थवदो भवति व्यीजिज्ञः वाच्वे ॥

43. The affix 'nach' comes after a root in denoting reciprocity of action, and the word so formed is in the feminine gender.

The word कर्म means 'action' and is not the technical 'Karma' meaning the accusative case. व्यतिहार means reciprocity or interchange of action. The word so evolved is feminine in form and denotes mere 'action' (भाव) also. The anubandha वा in वाच् is qualitative and is added to distinguish this affix from other affixes : thus in sūtra V. 4. 14 this particular affix is meant.

Thus वि + भव + क्रुग् + एच् + भव + ढीष् = व्यावक्षोरी (V. 4. 14, and VII. 3. 6) 'mutual abuse'. So also व्यावहारी, व्यावज्ञेशी. The affix एच् forms only an imaginary stem ; for this stem must take the affix भव् by V. 4. 14, which even does not form the complete word until the affix ढीष् of the feminine is added.

Why do we say 'in the feminine'? Observe व्यतिपाको वर्तते ।

The making of this a separate sūtra by itself and not reading it in the subdivision of feminine affixes beginning with न्तिन् (III. 3. 94) is for the sake of removing the obstructing aphorisms that would otherwise have prevented the application of this rule.

For, had it been taught in connection with न्तिन् &c, then the affixes that would have debarred न्तिन् &c, would *a fortiori* have debarred this also. But by keeping it separate from that class, it is indicated that those obstructive affixes which debar न्तिन् &c, do not debar this. Thus व्यावक्षोरी, व्यावचर्ची । Here चुर् being a चुर् class root would have taken चुच् (III. 3. 107) in the semi-

nine, as चोरणा ; and चर्चा would have taken अ॒ by III. 3. 104, as चर्चा. The roots ई॒श् and ई॒ष्, by III. 3. 102 & 103, take अ॒ by debarring किन्। This debarring affix अ॒, however, is not debarred by this rule; as व्यर्तस्ता, व्यतीहा are the proper feminine forms, and not व्यर्तसेष्टा &c. The form व्यर्तसुर्ता is, however, an apparent exception. All these exceptions, counter-exceptions &c. are examples of बहुज्ञ taught in III. 3. 113.

अभिविधी भाव इनुण् ॥४४॥ पदानि॥ अभिविधी, भावे, इनुण् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अभिविधौ गम्यमाने धातोर्मात्रे इनुणप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44. The affix 'inuṇ' comes after a root in denoting condition, when co-extensiveness is meant.

The word अभिविधि means co-extensiveness, that is to say, the complete comprehension or relation between the action and the quality. Thus संरात्तिणम् 'a general or tumultuous uproar'; सं॑+कूट॒+इन्॑+भण् (V. 4. 15. and VI 4. 164) = संकूटिणम् 'a general confusion'; so संसादिणम् 'a general flow or stream'.

Why do we say 'when meaning co-extensiveness'? Observe संकोषः, संरातः, संद्राशः ।

Why do we use the word भाव again in this sūtra, when its anuvṛitti was already flowing from sūtra III. 3. 18? The object is that the वाऽसरूप rule (III. 1. 94) should not apply here and hence अ॒ �never comes in this sense. Patanjali says that the repetition is for the sake of indicating that in neuter gender, when co-extensiveness is expressed, the affixes न्त् &c. are prohibited; so that the affixes न्त् &c. should not come in the neuter with the force of भाव ।

The separateness of this sūtra is for the same purpose as the last aphorism. The affix इनुण् is not, however, prohibited; as संकूटिणम्. See rule कृचर्वन्तुष्टो बहुज्ञ (III. 3. 113). The affix इनुण् (the operative part being इन्) forms but an imaginary stem, which does not become real and complete till it takes the affix अ॒ by V. 4. 15, as shown above.

आक्रोशेऽवन्योर्ग्रहः ॥४५॥ पदानि॥ आक्रोशे, अवन्योः, ग्रहः, (अ॒अ॒)॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भव नि इत्येतयोरुपपत्वोर्महर्दातोर्धम्प्रत्ययो भवति आक्रोशे गम्यमाने ॥

45. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'grah' (to seize), in composition with 'ava', and 'ui'; when malediction is meant.

Though इनुण् is immediately, near, we take the anuvṛitti of अ॒ (III. 3. 16), because we see that its anuvṛitti is possible.

The word आक्रोश means 'cursing'. As अवगाहो हन्त ते वृपजभूवात् 'cursed be thou, O! sinner'. So also निषाहस्ते भूवात् ।

Why 'when meaning cursing'? Observe अवग्रहः प॒वस्त्रः निप्रहश्चौरस्त्र ।

प्रे लिप्सायाम् ॥४६॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, लिप्सायाम्, (ग्रहः, अ॒अ॒)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रशब्दरप्परे गहेर्धातोर्चभ्यस्ययो भवति जिप्सावाम् गम्बमानावाम् ॥

46. The affix 'ghāñ' comes after the root 'grah', when the word 'pra' is in composition, and the sense denoted is the desire of acquisition.

As पाचमाहेण चरति भिक्षुः 'the beggar walks for the sake of alms, carrying a vessel in hand'; कृष्णप्राहेण चरति द्विजी इक्षिणार्थी 'carrying a sacrificial ladle, the Brāhmaṇa walks about for his fee'. The word जिप्सा means the wish to have something'.

Why do we say 'when meaning desire of gain'? Observe प्रपदो देवदत्तस्व ।

परै यज्ञे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ परै, यज्ञे, (ग्रहः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दरप्परे ग्रहेर्धभ्यस्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix 'ghāñ' comes after the root 'grah', in composition with 'pari' when it relates to sacrificial subjects.

As उत्तरपरिमाहः 'the northern fencing of the sacrificial altar'; भधरपरिमाहः 'the southern fencing of the sacrificial altar'.

Why do we say 'when relating to sacrifices'? Observe परिमहः देवदत्तस्व 'the fencing of Devadatta'.

नै वृ धान्ये ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नै, वृ, धान्ये, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निशब्दरप्परे वृ इर्येत्तमाद्यातोर्धान्यविशेषं भिवेदे प्रभ्यस्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix 'ghāñ' comes after the verb 'vṛi' preceded by 'ni'; when the sense is that of grain.

The वृ here means both वृह् and वृभ्. This debars the affix भप्. As नीवारा: 'rice growing wild or without cultivation'.

Why do we say 'meaning grain'? Observe निवरा कल्पा 'a virgin girl'.

उदि अयतियैतिपूद्रूवः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, अयति-यैति-पू-द्रूवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरब्रह्मरप्परे श्वरवाहिन्यो प्रभ्यस्ययो भवति ॥

49. The affix 'ghāñ' comes after the verbs 'śri', 'yu', 'pū' and 'dru', when the preposition 'ut' is in composition.

This debars the affix *ach* (III. 3. 56). Thus उच्छ्रूयः 'rising of a planet'; उच्यावः 'mixing'; उत्पावः 'purifying ghec'; and उद्दावः 'flight'.

How do you explain the form समुच्छूयः in पतनान्तः समुच्छूयः? The word विभाषा 'optionally' in the next sūtra, exerts a retrospective effect on this sūtra, and the form is an optional one. This is a most unusual thing and is

called सिंहावलोकनन्यायः 'the maxim of the lion's backward glance'. It is used when one casts a retrospective glance at what he has left behind, while at the same time he is proceeding, just as the lion, while going onward in search of prey, now and then bends his neck backwards to see if any thing be within its reach.

विभाषा गङ्गिरूपस्तुवोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, आङ्गि, रुपस्तुवोः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गि उपपरे रौतेः स्तुतेश विभाषा घम्प्रस्तवयो भवति ॥

50. The affix 'ghāñ' is optionally employed after the verbs 'ru' (to roar) and 'plu' (to float), when the preposition 'ān' is in composition.

As भारावः or भारतः: 'noise'; भास्त्रावः or भास्त्रः: 'bathing'.

**अवे ग्रहो वर्षप्रतिबन्धे ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवे, ग्रहः, वर्ष-प्रति-
बन्धे, (विभाषा, घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अव उपपरे ग्रहेऽर्थातोर्धम्प्रस्तवयो भवति विभाषा वर्षप्रतिबन्धेऽभिवैष्टे ॥

51. The affix 'ghāñ' is optionally employed after the root 'grah', when the word 'ava' is in composition, the sense being withholding of rain.

The word 'optionally' is understood here. The word वर्षप्रतिबन्ध means the absence of rain, from some cause or another, when the season has arrived; as भवमाहः or भवमहो देवस्त्व 'the draught of rain'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'obstruction of rain'? Observe भवमहः पदस्त्व ।

प्रे वस्त्रिजाम् ॥ ५२ ॥ प्रे, वस्त्रिजाम्, (विभाषा, ग्रहः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र शब्द उपपरे ग्रहेऽर्थातोर्धम्प्रस्तवयो भवति प्रश्यान्तवाच्यवच्छेद वस्त्रिजां सम्बन्धी भवति ॥

52. The affix 'ghāñ' is optionally employed after the verb 'grah' in composition with 'pra', when the word so formed relates to commerce.

Both the words *grah* and *vibhāshā* are understood here. By 'relation to commerce' is meant here the string of the balance; and not commerce in general. That string by which a balance is held is called तुलाप्रग्रहः or तुलाप्रग्राहः, as तुलाप्रग्राहेण चरति or तुलाप्रग्रहेण चरति; and this may be said of any person whether he be a trader or not.

Why do we say 'when belonging to commerce'? Observe प्रग्रहो देवदत्तस्त्व 'the whip of Devadatta'.

रस्मी च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रस्मी, च, (ग्रहः, विभाषा, प्रे, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र शब्दउपपरे ग्रहेऽर्थातोर्धम्प्रस्तवयो भवति रस्मभेत्प्रस्तवान्तेनाभिधीयते ॥

53. The affix 'ghañ' comes optionally after the verb 'grah' in composition with 'pra', when the word so formed means 'a rein'.

The word रक्षित means here the bridle by means of which horses &c. joined to the carriage, are held under control; as प्रग्रहः or प्रग्राहः 'a rein'.

वृषोतेराण्डादने ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृषेतः, आण्डादने, (विभाषा, प्रे, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रशब्दपरदे वृषोतेर्धातेविभाषा घञ् प्रस्तवयो भवति प्रस्तवान्तं न चेशाण्डादनविग्रेष उच्चते ॥

54. The affix 'ghañ' comes optionally after the verb 'vṛ̥i' (to choose), when 'pra' is in composition, and the word so formed means 'a sort of covering'.

As प्रावारः or प्रवरः 'a cloak, a veil'.

Why do we say 'when it means a covering'? Observe प्रवरागौ!

परौ भुवो जवज्ञाने ॥ ५५ ॥ परौ, भुवः, अवज्ञाने, (विभाषा, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिग्रह्यपरे विभाषा घञ् प्रस्तवयो भवति भवज्ञाने गम्यगामे ॥

55. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verb 'bhū', the word 'pari' being in construction, and the sense of the word so formed being 'disregard'.

The word भवज्ञान means 'contempt', 'neglect', 'disregard' &c. As परिभावः or परिभ्रः 'insult, humiliation'.

Why do we say 'when meaning disregard'? The word परिभ्रः may be then construed to mean सर्वतोभवन्=परिभ्रः 'surrounding'.

एरच् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, अच्, (अकर्तेरि, संज्ञायाम्, भावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इवल्लान्ताज्ञातोभावे अकर्तेरि च कारके संज्ञायामचूमस्त्वयो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अजिवधौ भवादिनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ जनसत्रौ छन्दसि वक्तव्यो ॥

56. The affix 'ach' comes after a root ending in 'i' or 'ī' (when mere action is denoted, or when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as an agent).

The words within brackets are to be supplied from sūtras 18 and 19: and these words are to be supplied in every subsequent sūtra as far as sūtra 113 of this chapter. This debars घञ्. The च् in अच् is qualitative, in sūtras like VI. 2. 144.

Thus, चक्षः 'collecting'; अचः 'going'; जचः 'victory'; लचः 'wasting'.

Vart.—In this connection the words भव &c. should also be enumerated. As शी+भवू=भवम् 'fear'; वर्षम् 'rain'. These being neuter words, otherwise would have taken the affix क्त &c. but for this VArtika.

Vart.—The words जत्र and सत्र are formed by this affix, and occur in the Vedas. As र्वोरस्तु मे जत्रः, पञ्चाइनसत्रः। These roots जू and सू would have otherwise taken the affix अप्. The form would have been the same, but there would be difference of accent. See Rig. I. 112. 21, and Yaj. XI. 2.

अदृदोरप् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदृत्-ओः, अप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जरकारान्तेऽय उवण्णान्तेऽयश्च अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

57. After a root ending in long 'ṛ̥i', short 'u', or long 'ū', there is the affix 'ap'.

This debars घञ्. The q is indicatory for the sake of accent (III. 1. 3); as, कृ+भप्=करः 'scattering'; गृ—गरः 'beverage, poison'; शृ—शुरः 'arrow'; दु—बदः 'barley'; लू—लनः 'reaping'; पू—पनः 'winnowing corn'.

The ए in नहृ is merely for the sake of euphony: it is not त् changed into ए; for then by the rule 'that which follows त् is also called तप्त' short त् only would have been taken and not long ए (I. 1. 70).

यहवृदूनिष्ठिगमन् ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यह-वृ-दू-निष्ठि-गमः, च, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रहादित्यो धातुम्यो अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ विशिरणयोहपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वर्गार्थं कविधानं स्थास्नापाद्वधिहनियुवर्धम् ॥

58. The affix 'ap' comes after the verbs 'grahi', 'vṛ̥i', 'dṛ̥i', 'niśchi' and 'gam'.

This debars घञ्; and in the case of निष्ठि the affix भव् is debarred. As अः 'a planet'; वरः 'a boon'; वरः 'tearing, a cave'; निष्ठः 'certainty'; गमः 'march'.

The verb निष्ठि would have taken भव्, but takes अप् which causes difference of accent.

Vart.—The roots वर् and रथ् should also be included in this; as वरः 'obedient'; रथः 'battle'.

Vart.—When the sense is that of घञ्, the affix क्त is directed to be employed, after the following verbs:—स्था, स्ना, पा, व्यध्, हन् and शुध्। As प्रस्थः 'a table-land' (on which they move); प्रस्नः 'a vessel for bathing' (in which they bathe); प्रपा: 'a place where water is distributed to travellers' (that out of which they drink); आविधः (VI. 1. 16) 'an awl, a drill' (that by which they pierce); विघः 'an obstacle' (in which they are obstructed); आवृधः 'battle' (where they fight).

उपसर्गेऽदः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गं, अदः, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गं उपपरेऽवैर्धातोरप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

59. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'ad' (to eat) when an upasarga is in composition.

As विषसः (II. 4. 38) 'half-chewed morsel'; प्रघसः 'voracious'.

Why do we say 'when compounded with an upasarga'? Observe चासः 'grass'; अद् + घस् = घस् + अ (II. 4. 38).

नै ख च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ नै, ख, च, (अदः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निशब्द उपपते भरेष्टोर्त्यो भवति चकाराहप् च ॥

60. And the affix 'ni' as well as 'ap', comes after the verb 'ad' (to eat), when the upasarga 'ni' is in composition.

As नि + अद् + ए = नि + भाद् + अ = न्याएः (VII. 2. 116) 'feeding'; नि + अद् + अप् = नि + घस् + अ (II. 4. 38) = निघसः 'eating, food'.

व्यधजपीरनुपसर्गं ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यध-जपोः, अनुपसर्गं, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यध जप इत्येतत्यौरनुपसर्गं योरप्यत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The affix 'ap' comes after the verbs 'vyadh' and 'jap', when no upasarga is in composition with them.

This debars घस्. As व्यधः 'wound'; जपः 'muttering'.

Why do we say 'when upasarga-less'? Observe भाव्याधा, उपजाया ।

स्वनहसेवा ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वन-हसेः, वा, (अप्, अनुपसर्गं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वनहसेवानुपसर्गं बोवां भप्यमवदयो भवति ॥

62. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verbs 'svan' and 'has' when no upasarga is in composition with them.

Thus स्वनः or स्वानः 'sound'; हसः or हासः 'laughter'. But with upasargas, we have only one form; प्रस्वानः 'a loud noise'; प्रहासः 'a loud laughter'.

यमः समुपनिविषु च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यमः, सम्-उप-नि-विषु, च, (अनुपसर्गं, वा, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम् उप नि वि इत्येतेष्पूर्वेषु भनुपसर्गेऽपि यमेषां भप्यत्ययो भवति ॥

63. And the affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verb 'yam', when the upasargas 'sam', 'upa', 'ni' and 'vi' are in composition; or even when it is upasarga-less.

This debars घस्. As संयामः or संयमः 'restraint'; उपयामः or उपयमः 'marriage'; नियामः or नियमः 'restrictive rule'; वियामः or वियमः 'check, distress'; यामः or यमः ।

नै गदनदपदस्वनः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नै, गद-नद-पद-स्वनः, (अप्, वा) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ निशाच्च उपपदे गद नद पठ स्वन इत्येतेभ्यो धातुयो वा अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

64. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verbs 'gad' (to speak), 'nad' (to sound), 'path' (to read), 'svan' (to sound), when the upasarga 'ni' is in composition with them.

This debars अप्. Thus निगंदः or निगादः 'recitation'; निनदः or निनादः 'noise'; निष्ठः or निषाठः 'reading'; निस्तनः or निस्तानः 'a noise'.

क्षणो वीक्षायां च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षणः, वीक्षायाम्, च, (नी, वा, अनुपसर्गे, अप्) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ क्षणेऽधातोर्निष्ठापूर्वाद्यनुपसर्गच्च वीक्षाक्षणो वा अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

65. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verb 'kvan' (to jingle), when 'ni' is in composition with it, as well as when it is without any upasarga, or when 'flute' is meant.

This debars the affix अप्. Thus निक्षणः or निक्षाणः 'a musical tone'. क्षणः or क्षणः 'sound'. When it refers to 'flute', it must have some upasarga not necessarily नि; as क्षण्वाणप्रक्षणा वीक्षणा.

But not so here, अतिक्षणो वर्तते, where the upasarga being अति and the word not referring to 'a flute', no option is allowed. When flute is not meant the upasarga must be नि or no upasarga at all, for the optional application of the affix अप्. To sum up, क्षण takes अप् optionally under three conditions:—1st when preceded by नि, or 2ndly when having no upasarga, or 3rdly when it refers to 'flute', and then it must have some upasarga.

नित्यं पदः परिनामे ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, पदः, परिनामे, (अप्) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ पण व्यवहारे स्तुतो च, भस्माद्धातोर्नित्यमप्प्रत्ययो भवति परिनामे गम्भमाने ॥

66. The affix 'ap' comes invariably after the verb 'pad' (to barter), when the sense is that of measure.

The word नित्यं 'invariably' is used in the aphorism in order to stop the anuvṛitti of the word optionally. Thus मूलकपणः 'a handful of radishes'; शाकपणः 'a handful of vegetable'. These words secondarily have come to mean 'a measure equal to a handful', irrespective of any thing.

When not meaning measure, we have पाणः 'trade'.

भदोऽनुपसर्गे ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भदः, अनुपसर्गे, (अप्) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ मदेऽधातोरनुपसर्गाद्यनुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'mad', when not in composition with an upasarga.

This debars वभ्. As विद्यमः: 'pride of knowledge'; धनमः: 'pride of wealth'; कुसमः: 'pride of family'. When compounded with upasargas, we have उम्माहः: 'mad'; प्रमाहः: 'error or carelessness'.

प्रमदसम्मदै रुचे ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रमद-सम्मदै, रुचे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमद सम्मद इत्येतो शब्दो निपात्येते रुचेऽभिव्येते ॥

68. The words 'pramada' and 'sammada' are irregularly formed, meaning 'joy'.

As कवचाना॒ प्रमदः: 'the joy of girls'; कौकिलाना॒ संमदः: 'the rejoicing of cuckoos'.

Why do we say 'when meaning delight'? Observe प्रमाहः: 'carelessness'; संमाहः: 'frenzy'.

Instead of saying 'the verb *mad* preceded by *pra* and *sam* takes the affix *ap*' which also would have given the above forms, the full forms have been used in the sūtra to indicate that these words are रुचे in this sense; for the sense of the root is not visible in these words.

समुदोरजः पशुषु ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-उदोः, अजः, पशुषु, (अप्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ समुदोरपादयोरजतंर्जातोः पशुविषवे धात्ययेऽप्रपत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'aj' (to go), when the prepositions 'sam' and 'ut' are in composition, and the word so formed refers to beasts.

This debars वभ्. The root अज 'means to go, to throw'. When preceded by सम्, it means 'a collection'; and preceded by उत् it means 'driving'. As समजः: पशुलूट 'a herd of cattle'; उदजः: पशुलूट 'driving forth of cattle'.

Why do we say 'when applying to cattle'? Observe समाजो जाग्यानां, उदाजः भवित्वाणि ।

अहोषु ग्लाहः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अहोषु, ग्लाहः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ त्वाह इति निपात्यते भक्षविषवभेदात्ययो भवति ॥

70. The word 'glaha' is irregularly formed, when the sense of the root refers to gambling.

This word is derived from the root ग्ल. The verb ग्ल takes the affix अप् and thus forms ग्ल; and then irregularly ग्ल is changed into ग्लाह; as भग्लत्वं ग्लाहः: 'cast of the dice'.

Why do we say 'when referring to gambling'? Observe ग्लः पादस्य ।

Others say, this word is derived regularly from the root ग्लाह 'to gamble', by adding the affix अप्, and thus debarring वभ्. They suppose, therefore, the existence of the root ग्लाह to explain the form ग्लाहः । The counter-example which they would give, is ग्लाहः: 'receiving', formed by adding the affix वभ् ।

प्रजने सर्तः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रजने, सर्तः, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्तेषांतोः प्रजने विषये अप्-प्रस्त्रयो भवति ॥

71. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'sri' (to flow), in the sense of impregnating (the covering of cows &c).

This debars वृत्. The word प्रजने means 'the first covering of a cow by a bull'. As गवामुपसरः: 'impregnation of cows'; पश्चामुपसरः: 'impregnation of cattle'.

हवः संप्रसारणं च न्यम्युपविषु ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हवः,
संप्रसारणम् च, नि-अभि-उप-विषु, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नि अभि उप वि इत्यतेषु उपपरेषु हवयतेर्जातोः संप्रसारणम् अप् प्रस्त्रयो भवति ॥

72. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' (to call), when the preposition 'ni' 'abhi' 'upa' and 'vi' are in composition with it, and its semivowel is changed into the corresponding vowel.

This debars वृत्. As नि+हवे+अप्=नि+ह+अ(VI. I. 108)=नि+हो+अ(VII. 3. 84)=निहव (VI. I. 78) 'invocation'; अभिहवः: 'invocation'; उपहवः: 'invitation'; विहवः: 'calling'. But प्रहावः: 'a summons'.

आङ्गि युद्धे ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्गि, युद्धे, (हवः, संप्रसारणं, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्ग् उपपरे हवयतेर्जातोः संप्रसारणमप् प्रस्त्रयो भवति युद्धेऽपिष्ठेचे ॥

73. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' when the word in composition is the upasarga 'āñ', and the semi-vowel of the root is changed into its corresponding vowel, when the word so formed means battle.

As आहवः: 'battle' (where they *challenge* each other). But otherwise आहावः: 'calling'.

निपानमाहावः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निपानम्, आहावः, (आङ्गि,
हवः, संप्रसारणम्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गपूर्वस्थ हवयतेर्जातोः संप्रसारणमप्रस्त्रयो युद्धिश्च निपानते निपानं चेदभिधेयं भवति ॥

74. The word 'āhāva' is irregularly formed when meaning a trough.

The word आहावः is irregularly formed from वृत् by the prefix आ, then samprasāraṇa, and the vriddhi of the vowel. Thus आ + हृ + अप् = आहृ + अ = आहावः: 'a trough near a well for watering cattle'. Otherwise आहावः: 'calling'. Even in the word आहावः the sense of calling is understood. It is that place near a well, containing water, where cattle are called or invited to drink water.

भावेऽनुपसर्गस्य ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे, अनुपसर्गस्य, (हवः, संप्रसा-रवत्, अप्) ॥

बृतिः ॥ अनुवर्त्तन्तव इवयते: संप्रसारणमप्स्त्वयो भवति भावेऽभिधेये ॥

75. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' and there is the change of the semi-vowel to its corresponding vowel, when the root is upasarga-less, and mere action is denoted.

As हवः: 'calling'; हवे हवे सुहव शर्मिन्द्रम् ।

Why do we say 'when no upasarga is in composition with it ? Observe भावातः । Though the anuvṛitti of the word भाव was understood in this aphorism from sūtra 18, its repetition here shows that the anuvṛitti of sūtra 19. which was running, must not be taken ; so that this word applies to agent-kāraka also.

हनश्च वथः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, च, वथः, (भावे, अनुपसर्गस्य, अप्) ॥

बृतिः ॥ हन्तेर्जातोरनुपसर्गे भावे अप् प्रवदयो भवति, तस्मनिद्वयोन च वथादेशः, सचान्तोदातः ।

76. The affix 'ap' comes after the root 'han' when upasarga-less, in the sense of mere action, and 'vadha' is the substitute of 'han' before this affix.

Thus वथ has udātta accent on its final. The affix अप् which is anudātta generally (III. I. 4) thus becomes udātta.

As वधक्षोरात्माम् 'the killing of thieves'; वधीरस्त्वाम् 'the killing of robbers'.

When action is not denoted, the affix अप् applies; as घातः 'a blow.'

So also when an upasarga is in composition with it; as प्रघातः, घातः ।

The word च in the aphorism does not connect इन् with the substitute वथ, there being no co-ordination, it refers to the affixes under discussion. Thus we have the affix अप् also; as घातः 'killing'.

मूर्तीं घनः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मूर्तीं, घनः, (हनः, अप्) ॥

बृतिः ॥ मूर्तावभिधेयायां हन्तेरप्स्त्रवयो भवति, घनादेशः ॥

77. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han', when the word so formed means solidity, and 'ghan' is the substitute.

The word मूर्ति means 'hardness', 'solidity'. Thus अभघनः 'a mass of cloud'; तथिघनः 'solid curd'. How do we say घनं इति ? Here the quality is taken for the thing qualified.

अन्तर्घनो देशे ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, घनः, देशे, (हनः, अप्) ॥

बृतिः ॥ अन्तःपूर्णद्वन्तेरप्स्त्रवयो भवति घनादेशभ भवति देशोऽभिधेये ॥

78. The verb 'han' preceded by the word 'antar' takes the affix 'ap', and 'ghan' is the substitute of the word 'han', when the word so formed means 'a country'.

As अन्तर्+हन्+अप्=अन्तर्=घन्+अ=अन्तर्घनः 'name of a country of Bahika'; (a porch or court, an open space before the house between the entrance door and the house). Some write the word with a ए as अन्तर्घणः, that is also valid.

Why do we say 'when meaning a country'? Observe अन्तर्घातो 'striking in the middle'.

अगारैकदेशे प्रघसः प्रघाणश्च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अगार-एकदेशे, प्रघसः, प्रघाणः, च, (हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वस्य हन्ते: प्रघण प्रघाण इस्येवौ शब्दौ निपातयते अगारैकदेशे वाच्चे ॥

79. The words 'praghaisa' and 'praghâna' are irregularly formed meaning 'a portion of a dwelling house'.

Thus प्रघणः or प्रघाणः 'a porch before the door of a house, a portico'. This is formed from हन् with प्र, irregularly.

Why do we say 'when meaning a portion of a house'? Observe प्रघातः ।

उद्घनोत्याधानम् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्घनः, अत्याधानम्, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्पूर्वस्य हन्तेरुपन इति निपातयते अत्याधानं चेत् भवति ॥

80. The word 'udghana' is irregularly formed in the sense of 'bench'.

This is formed from उत्+हन् irregularly. Thus उत्घनः 'a carpenter's bench' (the wood on which placing other planks &c. the carpenter carves &c).

When not having this sense, we have उत्घातः 'uneven'.

अपघनोऽङ्गम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपघनः, अङ्गम्, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपपूर्वस्य हन्तेरपन इति निपात्यते, अङ्गः चेत्प्रभवति ॥

81. The word 'apaghana' is irregularly formed meaning 'a member of the body'.

This is formed irregularly from अप्+हन्. Thus अपघनः 'a limb or member of the body'. The word अङ्गम् means a portion of the body, such as hand or foot, and not the whole body. Otherwise we have अपघातः ।

करणेऽयोविद्युषु ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, अयः-विद्युषु, (हनः, अप्, घनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयस् वि दु इत्येते अपपत्तेषु हन्तेर्धातोः करणे कारकेऽप्प्रथमो भवति, घनादेशाश्च ॥

82. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han'

when the words 'ayas', 'vi' or 'dru' are in composition with it, when the word so formed is related to the verb as an instrument, and 'ghan' is the substitute of 'han'.

As भयोधनः 'a forge-hammer' (whereby the iron is destroyed); विघ्नः 'a mallet'; द्रुघ्नः 'an axe'. Some write द्रुघ्णः, the न being changed into ण either by rule VIII. 4. 3. or by including this word in the class of आरोहणादि (IV. 2. 80).

स्तम्बे क च ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्बे, क, च, (करणे, हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्बशब्द उपसर्गे करणे कारके इन्तेः कः प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराप् ॥

83. The affix 'ka' also comes after the verb 'han', when 'stamba' (a clump) is the word in composition, and the relation of the word so formed to the verb is that of an instrument.

The word च in the sūtra draws in अप् from the last aphorism and in that case हन् replaces च. Thus स्तम्बप्नः or स्तम्बधनः 'a small hoe for weeding clumps of grass'. In the feminine gender, the forms are स्तम्बधना as well as स्तम्बधना। When क is added, we have स्तम्बकः। Thus हन्+क=हन्+अ (VI. 4. 98)=प् (VII. 3. 54). When अप् is added, हन् is totally replaced by अप्। When instrument is not meant, we have स्तम्बधातः।

परौ चः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परौ, चः, (करणे, हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दउपसर्गे हन्तेर्दातोरप्रत्ययो भवति करणेकारके चशब्दभावेषः ॥

84. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han', when the upasarga 'pari' is in composition, and the relation between the word so formed, and the verb, is that of an instrument, and 'gha' replaces 'han'.

Thus परिधः or परिधः (VIII. 2. 22) 'an iron beam used for locking or shutting the gate, an iron club'.

उपग्न आश्रये ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपग्न, आश्रये, (अप्, हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वस्व हन्तेरप्रत्यय उपधालोपश्च निपात्वते ॥

85. The word 'upaghna' is irregularly formed meaning 'an inclined place for leaning or support'.

It is formed by adding अप् (III. 3. 76) to the verb हन् preceded by the upasarga उप, then eliding the penultimate अ of ह; this is the irregularity. Then by sandhi rules हन् is changed into चनः। This form would have been given by the affix क also, without any irregularity.

The word आश्रय refers to proximity, contiguity. Thus पर्वतोपप्नः 'the declivity of the mountain'; so also मासोपधनः 'bordering the village'.

Why do we say 'when meaning "support"? Observe पर्वतोपधातः।

संघोद्घौ गङ्गप्रशंसयोः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघ-उद्घौ, गङ्ग-प्र-
शंसयोः, (अप्, घत्वं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सदुशोहपपरयोर्हन्ते ह्रातोरप्रथयटिलोपो घत्वं च निपारथते, यथासंख्यं गणेऽभिधेये
प्रशंसावां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

86. The words 'saingha' and 'udgha' are irregularly formed in the sense of 'a collection', and 'a praise' respectively.

These words are thus formed; स + हन् + अप् = सं + ह् + अ = संघः। Thus संघः पशुनाम् 'a herd of cattle'; so also उद्घौ मनुष्यः 'an excellent man'. The word 'respectively' is inserted from I. 3. 10. When not used in these senses, we have संवातः 'union'.

निघो निमितम् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ निघः, निमितम् (हनः, अप्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निप इति निपूर्वाद्वन्तेरप्रथयटिलोपो घत्वं च निपारथते निमितं चेदभिधेयं भवति ॥

87. The word 'nigha' is irregularly formed in the sense of 'as high as broad'.

The word निमित means 'measured all round' i. e. 'as high as broad'. As निघा वृक्षाः 'trees as high as broad'. निघा शान्तयः 'square or cubic or circular halls'. Otherwise, when not meaning 'as high as broad', we have निघातः 'a blow'. The word निमित्=समन्तान्मित्, समारोहपरिणामम्। It may be derived from मा or from नि। In the first case it will mean 'measured' and in the other, 'erected, built'. Professor Bothlingk refers to *Apastamba Dharma*. I. 20. 30 for the meaning of this word.

द्वितः कित्रः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दु-इतः, कित्रः, (भावे, अकर्त्तरि,
कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दु इयस्य तसाम् द्विती धातोः किः प्रथयो भवति ॥

88. The affix 'ktṛi' comes after the verb which has an indicatory 'du', when denoting mere action &c.

The phrases 'when the sense is that of mere action', and 'when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as agent', are of course understood in this, as in all the previous aphorisms. Then by IV. 4. 20, (of the affix किः, मप् is always the augment) we must add म, for we can not use the affix किः alone; but we must always use किम्. Thus डुपचृष् 'to cook'—पक्षिमम् 'what is ripe'; डुवप्—उपनिमम् 'sown' (VI. I. 15); डुकृष्—कृचिमम् 'artificial'.

द्वितोऽप्युच् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दु-इतः, अप्युच्, (भावे, अकर्त्तरि,
कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दु इयस्य तसाम् द्विती धातोरप्युच् प्रथयो भवति भावादै ॥

89. After that verb which has an indicatory 'tu', the affix 'athuch' comes with the force of denoting mere action &c.

As दुबेषु—वेष्युः 'a trembling'; दुधोषि—धयुः 'swelling'; दुख—ज्ञवयुः 'sneezing'; दुरु—सवयुः 'burning'.

यज्यायाचयतविष्णुप्रचलरत्तो नङ् ॥५०॥ पदानि ॥ यज-याच-यत-
विष्णु-प्रचल-रत्तः, नङ्, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यजाहिष्यो धातुभ्यो नङ् प्रस्त्वयो भवति ॥

90. After the verbs 'yaj' (to worship), 'yâch' (to ask for), 'yat' (to strive), 'vichchhh' (to shine), 'prachchhh' (to ask) and 'raksh' (to preserve), comes the affix 'nan' with the force of denoting mere action &c.

The conditions of sútras 18 and 19 are understood here also. The ङ् of नङ् is for the sake of prohibiting guṇa or vriddhi (I. I. 5); as यजः 'sacrifice'; याचया 'solicitation'; यतः 'effort'; विष्णः (VI. 4. 19) 'lustre'; प्रशः 'a question'; रक्षणः protection.

The root प्रचल, by VI. I. 16, ought to have changed its र् into क् before the विष्णु affix नङ्. Its not doing so must be taken to be an irregularity countenanced by Pāṇini, as we know from the fact that Pāṇini himself uses the form प्रशः in III. 2. 117.

स्वपो नम् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपः, नम्, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्वपेधातोन्मन् प्रस्त्वयो भवति ॥

91. The affix 'nan' comes, under similar circumstances after the verb 'svap' (to sleep).

The final न् is indicatory and regulates the accent (VI. i. 197); as स्वप्नः 'a dream'.

उपसर्गे घोः किः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, घोः, किः, (भावे, अ-
कर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे उपपदे घुसंजकेभ्यो धातुभ्यः किःप्रस्त्वयो भवति ॥

92. The affix 'ki' comes under similar conditions, after a 'ghu' verb (I. 1. 20), when an upasarga is in composition with it.

The क् is indicatory, by force of which the final आ is elided (VI. 4. 64). Thus प्र+श+कि=प्रशः 'a present'; प्रथः 'the periphery of a wheel'; उपाधिः 'fraud'; अन्तर्द्विः 'vanishing'.

कर्मण्यधिकरणे च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, अधिकरणे, च, (घोः,
भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मेणयुपरे चुसंकोभ्यो भासुभ्यः किःप्रवद्यो भवति, अधिकरणे कारके ॥

93. The affix 'ki' comes after a 'ghu' verb, when a word in the accusative case is in composition with it, and when the relation of the word so formed to its verb, is that of 'location'.

As जलधिः: 'the ocean (in which water is held)'; शरधिः: 'a quiver (that in which arrows are put)'.

The word 'location' in the aphorism indicates that the words so formed should have no other significance. The word च in the aphorism draws in the affix कि from the last sūtra.

स्त्रियां क्लिन् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाम्, क्लिन्, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छीलिङ्गे भावादौ भासोः क्लिन् प्रवद्यो भवति ॥
वास्तिकम् ॥ निजावादिवयश वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ श्रुयजित्सुभ्यः करणे ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ गजाम्नाउद्याहन्यो निः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ शृकारल्पादिभ्यः किलिष्टावद्वति इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ सम्परादिभ्यः किन् ॥

94. To express an action &c. by a word in the feminine gender, the affix 'ktin' is added to the root.

The conditions of rules III. 3. 18. and 19 are understood here also. This supersedes चम्, भव् and भए affixes. Thus कृतिः: 'action'; चित्तिः: 'a gathering'; मतिः: 'understanding'.

Vart.—The affix *ktin* should be declared to come after the verbs भाप् 'to get' &c. There is no list of these words given anywhere, but by seeing the form, we can infer the affix. Thus भासिः: 'getting'; रात्रिः: 'accomplishment'; धृतिः: 'shining'; लक्षितः: 'a slip'; वृष्टिः: 'destruction'; लक्षितः: 'gain'.

Vart.—So also after the verbs श्रु 'to hear', वज् 'to worship' and स्तु 'to praise', when instrument is meant; as श्रुतिः: 'ear' (that by which we hear); so इष्टिः: 'a sacrifice'; स्तुतिः: 'a praise'.

Vart.—The affix नि comes after the verbs गम्ने 'to be exhausted', नर्ते 'to fade', उद्बा 'to grow old' and वा 'to leave'; as ग्नातिः: 'exhaustion'; न्नातिः: 'fading', उद्बातिः: 'old age'; वातिः: 'loss'.

Vart.—The affix क्लिन् coming after verbs ending in long च्छ and the verbs लू &c. is like a Nishṭhā. Thus कीर्णेणः: 'scattering'; This form is thus evolved: कृ + क्लिन् = किं + ति (VII. 1. 100) = किन् + ति (I. 1. 51) = कीर् + ति (VIII. 2. 77). At this stage, त्र is changed into न by the affix being treated as a Nishṭhā (VIII. 2. 42), and this न is changed into ए by the ordinary rules of sandhi; so

also गीर्णः: 'praise'; जीर्णः: 'old age'; शीर्णः: 'drying'; लूनः: (VIII. 2. 44) 'cutting'; बूनिः: 'joining'; धूनिः: 'agitation'; पूनिः: 'destruction'.

Vart.—The affix क्ति comes after the verbs संपत् &c; as संपत् 'prosperity'; विपत् 'a calamity'; प्रतिपत् 'access'. The affix क्तिन् is also employed after these verbs:—as संपत्तिः, विपत्तिः। The verbs लू &c. are 21 verbs of kryādi class.

स्थागापापचो भावे ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्था-गा-पा-पचः, भावे,
(स्त्रियाम्, क्तिन्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्थादित्यो धातुभ्यः स्त्रीलिङ्गे भावे क्तिन् प्रवचनो भवति ॥

95. After the roots 'sthâ' (to stand), 'gâ' (to sing) 'pâ' (to drink) and 'pach' (to cook), the affix 'ktin' is employed, when a word in the feminine gender denoting a 'mere action' is to be expressed.

This debars the affix अह् (III. 3. 106) which generally supersedes क्तिन् in cases of compound verbs ending in long भा. Thus प्रस्त्वितिः 'a journey' (VII 4. 40); उद्गीतिः 'a singing aloud'; गी+क्ति=गा+ति (VI. 1. 45)=गी+ति (VI. 4. 66); संगीतिः 'a concert'; प्रवितिः 'a cistern'; संपीतिः 'drinking together'; पक्तिः 'cooking'.

The repetition of the word भाव in this aphorism, in spite of its anuvṛtti being understood from sūtra 18 is to exclude every other significance.

How do we get forms like भवस्था and संस्था? Pāṇini himself, in his sūtras, has used forms like अवस्था &c. See I. 1. 34. This is enough justification for us to derive forms like भवस्था, संस्था &c. by applying the affix अह् under rule 106, in spite of the present sūtra, which requires us to apply क्तिन् only.

मन्त्रे वृषेषपचमनविद्भूवीरा उदातः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्रे,
वृष-इष-पच-मन-विद-भू-वी-रा, उदातः:, (भावे, स्त्रियाम्, क्तिन्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रे विषेषे वृषादित्यो धातुभ्यः क्तिन्-प्रवचनो भवति उदातः ॥

96. In Mantra literature, 'ktin' acutely accented comes after the following roots, forming words in the feminine gender, denoting a mere action:—'vṛish' (to rain), 'ish' (to wish), 'pach' (to cook), 'man' (to think), 'vid' (to know), 'bhū' (to be), 'vi' (to go, to consume) and 'rā' (to give).

The construction of this sūtra is anomalous. Instead of the bases being put in the ablative case, they are put in the nominative case. Thus वृषिः: 'training'; इषिः: 'wishing'; पक्तिः: 'cooking'; मतिः: 'thinking'; वित्तिः: 'knowing'; भूतिः: 'being'; वीतिः: 'consuming'; रातिः: 'giving'.

The affix क्तिन् has been generally ordained by sūtra 94 after all verbs. The present sūtra is made for the sake of regulating the accent in the case of these nouns. From इष we have also an irregular noun इष्मा (III. 3. 101), and

another by the general rule 94 having acute accent on the first syllable, altogether 3 forms. See Rig Veda I. 116. 12; II 5. 6; I. 62. 3, 57. 2; IV. 24. 7; III. 39. 1; I. 6. 5, 60. 1; X. 95. 17 for these words.

ऋतियूतिजूतिसातिहेतिकीर्तयश्च ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋति-
यूति-जूति-साति-हेति-कीर्तयः, च, (उदात्तः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उत्त्वादवः शब्दा निपास्यन्ते ॥

97. And these words viz. 'ūti' (preserving sport), 'yūti' (joining), 'jūti' (velocity), 'sāti', (destruction), 'heti' (a weapon) and 'kīrti' (fame) are anomalous forms, acutely accented.

The anuvṛitti of the word उत्ति does not exist in this; but the word उदात्त of the last syllable is understood here. The word कृति is thus formed :—भृ 'to protect' + कृत् = कृ + तिः (VI. 4. 20) = कृतिः । this form is regular and could be evolved from sūtra 94 also; but not so the accent. The irregularity in पूतिः and जूतिः consists in the lengthening of उ into औ; in सातिः the आ of the root श्च which becomes सा by VI. 1. 45, is not changed into औ, as rule VII. 4. 40 required, and this is the irregularity. This form may also be derived from the root उत् with perfect propriety, except as to the accent which would be regulated by the present sūtra: thus सन् + कृत् = सा + कृत् (VI. 4. 42) = साति. The form हेति may be derived either from हृ or हिनोति ।

इन्हुं वाऽप्यु नोऽव सुहन्त्रप्रथमेषु च । उपरुपाभिरुत्तिभिः ॥ (Rig. I. 7. 4) 'O Indra, mayst thou mighty, defend us in battles and in fights of a thousand duels, with thy mighty protections'.

व्रजयजोर्धावे क्वप् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्रज-यजोः, भावे, क्वप्,
(उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्रजवजोर्धात्मोः विनिर्गे भावे क्वप् प्रत्यवो भवति, उदात्तः ॥

98. The affix 'kyap' comes after the roots 'vraj' (to go) and 'yaj' (to worship) acutely accented in forming a word in the feminine denoting action.

This supersedes कृत्. Thus व्रजय 'wandering about'; इव्या (VI. 1. 15) 'worshipping'. The प् of क्वप् is indicator, and though it serves no purpose in this sūtra, it is, however, necessary in the next, for it is by force of क्वप् having प्, that we add a त by VI 1. 71, in the words formed in the next aphorism.

संक्षायां समजनिषदनिपतमनविद्युञ्जीष्ठभृजितः ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥
संक्षायां, समज-निषद-निपत-मन-विद्यु-ञ्जीष्ठ-भृज-इतः, (सिन्ध्रयां, क्वप्,
उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समजासिद्धो भासुभः क्लिका क्वप् प्रस्तवयो भवति उहातः संज्ञाका विषये ॥

99. The affix 'kyap' comes after the following verbs in forming a word in the feminine denoting an appellative and is acutely accented viz:—'sam-aj' 'ni-shad', 'ni-pat', 'man', 'vid', 'suñ', 'śiñ', 'bhṛiñ' and 'in'.

Thus समज्या 'an assembly'; निषया 'a small bed or couch'; निपरया 'slippery ground'; मन्या 'thinking'; विद्या 'knowledge'; सृज्या (VI. I. 71) 'extraction of soma juice, parturition'; शृण्या 'bed'; भृत्या 'wages, service'; इहया 'a litter, palanquin'.

Here a question arises as regards भृ. By rule III. I. 112, भृ would have taken क्वप्, and we could have got the form भृत्या by that rule also. But the भृत्या formed under that rule would not have denoted an appellative which the present rule does. It would be said that rule III. I. 112 when it used the words भसंज्ञाका, was rather too wide, for क्वप् does come in denoting संज्ञा in feminine nouns by the present rule; so that the word भसंज्ञाका there, must be qualified by the phrase, 'except in the feminine'. The test whether rule 112, is too widely worded or not, has been made to hinge on the forming of the term भार्ता meaning 'wife'. This word is formed by the affix एवत् to the exclusion of क्वप्।

संज्ञाका पुंसि इष्टवा न से भार्ता प्रसिद्धति ।

क्लिका भावाधिकारोऽस्ति नेन भार्ता प्रसिद्धति ॥

The word भावाधिकारः is explained by the author of Kāsikā as भावधापरो, वाच्यस्वेन विवितः, ननु शास्त्रीयोऽधिकारः ।

कृजः श च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृजः, श, च, (स्त्रियां, क्वप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतेर्थातोः क्लिका शः प्रस्तवयो भवति चकारात् क्वप् च ॥

100. And after the root 'kṛi' comes the affix 'sa' in forming a feminine, as well as the affix 'kyap'.

By the force of the word च we draw the affix क्वप् into this sūtra, and by the process called योगविभाग we can split up this aphorism into two :—

(1) कृचः: 'after the root कृ there is the affix क्लिक्'

(2) श च 'and the affix श as well as क्वप्'. Thus क्लिका, कृत्या (VI. I. 71) and कृतिः । When the affix श is added, the root assumes the form क्लिक् by III. I. 67,

इष्टद्वा ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इष्टद्वा, (श) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इष्टेर्थातोः शः प्रस्तवयो यागभावश्च निपास्यते ॥

वाच्यिकम् ॥ परिचर्चापरिचर्चाशुगवाटाटानामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वाच्यिकम् ॥ जागतेरकारो वा ॥

101. The form 'ichchhā' (desire) is irregular.

The word is thus formed : इष्ट + श = इष्टद्वा + अ = इष्टद्वा. The अ, ordained by III. I. 67 is not added, this is the irregularity.

Vart.—The following words are also irregularly formed :—परिसर्वा 'perambulation'; परिचर्वा 'attendance, service'; शगवा 'hunting'; अवार्ष 'the habit of roaming about as a religious mendicant'.

Vart.—From the root जाग् we have either जागरा or जागर्ण 'waking'. The first is formed by the affix अ, the latter by श which brings in अक् (III. I. 67).

अ प्रत्ययात् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, प्रत्ययात्, (सिन्ध्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रश्वयान्ते यो धातुभ्यः लिङ्गामकारः प्रश्वयी भवति ॥

102. After the verbs that end in an affix, there is the affix 'a', the word being feminine.

The verbs that end in an affix are derivative roots, such as Desideratives, Causatives, Intensives and Denominatives. Though taking affixes, they are called धातु (III. I. 32), after these verbs the affix अ is used in forming the feminine noun.

Thus कृ+सन्=चिकीर्ष् 'to wish to do'; this is a Derivative root; after this root चिकीर्ष्, we add अ। Thus चिकीर्ष्+अ (VI. 4. 48)=चिकीर्ष । Then we add इष् by IV. I. 4. and get चिकीर्ष 'the desire to do'; so also जिहीर्ष 'the desire to take'; पुत्रीया 'the desire to be like a son'; पुत्रकाम्या 'desire of a son'; लोक्या 'much cutting'; कण्डूया 'itch'. The sūtra is also found as अः प्रश्वयात् ।

गुरुरोऽहलः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुरोः, अ, हलः, (सिन्ध्यां, अ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हजन्ते यो धातुर्गुरुः लिङ्गामकारः प्रश्वयी भवति ॥

103. The affix 'a' comes after that verb which has a prosodically heavy vowel and ends in a consonant, when the word to be formed is feminine.

This debars लिङ्गः। Thus कुम्हा 'an adulteress'; हुङ्गा 'a tigress'; ईहा 'effort'; बहा 'supplying an ellipsis'.

Why do we say 'which has a prosodically heavy vowel'? Observe भक्ति 'devotion'. Why do we say 'which ends in a consonant'? Observe नीति 'polity'.

चिद्दिदादिभ्योऽह् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ षित्, भिद्-आदिभ्यः, अह्, (सिन्ध्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षितो भिदा दिभ्य लिङ्गामह्यप्रश्वयी भवति ॥

104. The affix 'aṁ' comes after those verbs that have an indicatory 'sh', and after 'bhid' &c, when the word to be formed is feminine.

Thus जप् has an indicatory श्, the real root being जृः। From it we have जरा 'old age' (VII. 4. 16); जपुष्—जपा 'bashfulness'.

So also from verbs of *Bhiddi* class we have भिता 'breaking'; in the alternative we have भित्तिः। So also छिदा 'cutting'; छित्तिः 'cutting'; आरा 'a knife, an

iron instrument'; भार्ति: 'distress'; धारा 'a stream'; धृतिः । The list of *Bhidddi* verbs will not be found given in one place in the *Dhatupātha*. They have been collected from different *Ganas*, and are the following :—

भिशा, छिशा, विशा, सिपा, गुहा (गियोष्योः), अद्वा, मेधा, गोधा, भारा, हारा, कारा, सिया, भारा, धारा, जेला, रेला, चूडा, पीडा, वपा, वसा, मृजा, सृजा, कृपा, (कपे:संप्रसारणं च) ॥

चिन्तिपूजिकथिकुम्बचर्चश्च ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिन्ति-पूजि-कथि-
कुम्ब-चर्चः, च, (स्त्रियां, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिन्ति पूजि कथि कुम्ब चर्च एव्यो धातुयो युचि प्राप्ते लियामह् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. The affix 'an' as well as the affix 'yuch' comes after the following verbs, forming feminine words:—'chint' (to think), 'pūj' (to worship) 'kath' (to narrate), 'kumb' (to cover) and 'charch' (to learn).

The force of च is to include the affix युच् into this sūtra (see III. 3. 107). All these verbs belong to the *Churidī* or 10th class, and would have exclusively taken युच् by III. 3. 107.

Thus चिन्ता 'thought'; पूजा 'worship'; कथा 'narration'; कुम्बा 'a covering', 'a thick petticoat'; चर्चा 'recitation'.

When the affix is युच्, the forms are चिन्तना &c. (VII. 1. 1).

आतम्बोपसर्गं ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, च, उपसर्गं, (स्त्रियां, अङ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेऽय उपसर्गे उपपरे लियामह् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्तरोऽपसर्गं दृत्तिः ॥

106. The affix 'an' comes after those verbs which end in long 'ā' when an upasarga is in composition, and when the word to be formed is feminine.

This supersedes न्तिन्. Thus प्रशा, प्रधा, उपशा, उपधा, &c.

Vart.—For the purposes of this rule the particles भत् and भन्त् should be treated like upasargas. Thus भद्रा 'faith' भन्तर्जा (I. 4. 59).

गयासम्रन्यो युच् ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चि-आस-अन्यः, युच्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ष्वन्तेऽयो धातुयो भासमन्य इत्येताभ्यां च लियां युच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ घट्टिवन्दिविदिऽय उपसंहवानम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ इष्वरनिष्ठार्थस्व युज्वलन्त्यः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ परेवा ॥

107. After verbs ending in 'ni', and after 'ās' (to sit) and 'śranth' (to loose), there is the affix 'yuch' when the word to be formed is feminine.

This excludes the affix भ (III. 1. 102). Thus कृ+युच्=कारि; कारि+युच्=कारणा (the इ is elided by VI. 4. 51) 'the causing to do'; हारणा 'the causing to

take'; आसना 'the sitting'; अन्यना 'the loosening'. How do we get the form आस्या? It is the feminine of आस् formed by adding एवत् to the root आस् by III. I. 124. Is not that rule made non-applicable by rule III. I. 94, which declares that वाऽसरूप rule does not apply to Feminine affixes? Yes, that is, however, not total exclusion. The phrase अलियाम् in III I. 94 is to be interpreted thus:—"Non-uniform affixes prohibit each other, when they belong to the class of affixes especially ordained for the feminine nouns; such as the affix न्ति म् (III. 3. 9), क्षयप् (III. 3. 98), अ (III. 3. 102): That is to say, an utsarga-feminine affix will be always superseded by an apavâda-feminine affix; but a feminine affix in general will not supersede another affix which is not enjoined in the feminine gender especially. In other words, feminine affixes *inter se* supersede each other totally, but not so with regard to general कृत् affixes". Now by the present sūtra the root आस् takes युक्त्; this totally excludes other feminine affixes like अ (III. I. 102); but it does not exclude the non-feminine affix एवत्.

The root अन्यि taken here belongs to the *Kryādi* class, meaning 'to loosen' and is not the अन्य of *Churādi* class, for the latter would be included, as a matter of course, by belonging to the *Churādi* class which class of verbs take the affix णिष्ठः।

Vart.—The verbs चहु 'to move', वन्द 'to praise', and विह 'to feel', should also be enumerated, as taking युक्त्. Thus चहृना 'shaking', वन्दना 'praising', वेदना 'knowledge, feeling, pain'. The verb चहु here belongs to the *Tudādi* class, and means 'to move' and not चहु of the *Churādi* class, for that is already included by being णिजन्तः।

Vart.—The affix युक्त् comes after इष् when it does not mean 'to desire'. Thus अन्येषणा 'solicitation'; अन्येषणा 'the searching after'.

Vart.—So also optionally when इष् takes the upasarga परिः as, परेषणा or परीष्टिः 'investigation by reasoning'.

रोगास्यायां यदुलब्धहुलम् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रोग-आस्यायाम्,
यदुल्, यहुलम् (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

दृशिः ॥ रोगाख्यायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्बहुन्नं युक्तप्रश्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ धात्वर्यनिहंशे युलवक्तव्यः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इक्षितपौ धातुनिहंशे इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वर्णात्कारः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ रादिकः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मस्थर्पच्छः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इग्नजादिभ्यः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इक्कृत्यादिभ्यः ॥

108. The affix 'nvul' comes diversely after verbs when the word to be formed is a feminine noun, begin the name of 'diseases'.

This debars निन् and all the rest. By using the word भाष्या in the sūtra it is meant that the word so formed by this affix should be the appellation of the disease. The word 'diversely' shows the usual licence in the application of all the rules of grammar. Thus पच्छाहिका (VII. 1. 1) 'vomiting'; प्रवाहिका 'diarrhoea'; विचर्चिका 'itch, scab'. Sometimes this affix does not apply; as शिरोर्ति: 'head-ache'.

Vart.—The affix *nvul* is employed also in simply pointing out the meaning of the roots; thus, भाशिका 'to enjoy', शाश्विका to 'lie down' &c.

Vart.—The affixes इक् and रित् (that is शृष् and लिप्) are also employed in merely pointing out the roots; as भिदि:, छिदि:, पच्चिः, पठति: &c. The constant use of these affixes is to be found in these very sūtras. In the aphorisms the roots are exhibited in various ways; thus in sūtra 49 of this chapter we have the root भ्रि and चु exhibited as भ्रयति: and चैति: These latter forms indicating nothing more than the simple roots. So also, see VIII. 4. 17; VI. 4. 49.

Vart.—The affix कार् is employed in merely pointing out letters; as ककारः means 'the letter क'; so also भकारः: 'the letter भ'; इकारः: 'the letter इ'.

Vart.—The affix इक् is employed in pointing out the letter त; as टेक्।

Vart.—The affix छ् comes after the word नस्त्वर्थ in merely pointing it out, and there is elision of the final भ; as मन्त्रयैयः।

Vart.—The affix इम् comes after the verbs भज् &c; as भाजिः, भासि:, भाषि:।

Vart.—The affix इक् comes after the verbs कृष् &c; as, कृषिः, क्रितिः, &c.

संज्ञायाम् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (एवुल्, स्त्रियाम्) ॥

भृतिः ॥ संज्ञाबां विषये धातोण्डु नप्रस्वयो भवति ॥

109. The affix 'nvul' comes after the verbal roots, when the word to be formed is an appellative.

As उत्तानकपृष्ठभृतिका 'a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which *uddalaka* flowers are broken or crushed'. वरणपृष्ठ-प्रवाहिका 'a sort of game'; आन्ध्रपश्चादिका; भाष्योष्णवादिका; शालभृतिका; सालभृतिका।

विभाषास्यानंपरिप्रश्नयोरिज् च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, आ-स्याम्-परिप्रश्नयोः; इम्, च, (एवुल्, स्त्रियां) ॥

भृतिः ॥ परिप्रश्ने भाष्याने च गम्यमाने धातोरिज्मप्रस्वयो भवति ॥

110. And the affix 'in' comes optionally after a root, when a question and answer is expressed, (as well as 'nvul' and other affixes ordained by other rules).

The word परिप्रश्न means 'question' and भाष्यान means 'answer'; in the sūtra, in making the compound of these words, the logical sequence is not observed. The compound भाष्यानपरिप्रश्न may, however, be justified on the ground that in a Compound a word consisting of smaller number of syllables should stand first (II. 2. 34,) and hence *akhyāna* is put first.

The force of च is to draw the anuvṛitti of the word ज्वल् from the last into this. By the word 'optionally', it is meant that those affixes which would otherwise present themselves from the subsequent rules, should also be applied; thus: Q.—कां स्वं कारिमकार्षः 'What work did you do?' A.—सर्वं कारिमकार्षम् 'I did all work'. Optionally we may have instead of कारि the following also. Q.—कां कारिका, कृत्यां, कृतिं, क्रिया, भकार्षाः A.—सर्वं कारिका or कृत्यां or कृतिं or क्रिया भकार्षम्। Similarly, Q.—कां गण्ये (गणना, गणिका &c.) भजीगण्यः A.—सर्वंगण्ये &c. भजीगण्यम्. So also कां याजिन् or याजिकाम्; कां याचिन् or याचिकाम् &c.

Why do we say 'in question and answer? Observe कृतिः and हृतिः।

पर्यायार्हस्तोत् पत्तिषु ज्वुच् ॥१११॥ पदानि ॥ पर्याय-अर्ह-ऋण-उत्-पत्तिषु, ज्वुच्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतेष्वयेषु धातोऽनुच्चप्रस्थयो भवति ॥

111. The affix 'न्वुच' comes optionally after a root in the sense of succession, merit, debt or production.

The word पर्याय means turn or order of succession; अर्ह means worthy of respect; ऋण means debt owed to another; and उत्पत्ति means birth or production. This rule supersedes स्तिन् and other affixes. Thus: (1) भवतः शब्दिका 'your turn of sleeping'; भवतोऽप्रासिका 'your turn of eating first'. (2) अर्हति भवानिषुभविकाम् 'you deserve to have a meal of sugar and molasses'. (3) इषुभविका ने धारयसि 'thou owest me a meal of sugar and molasses'; भोदनभेजिका 'a meal of rice'; पदःपायिका 'a drink of milk'. (4) इषुभविका मे उपादि ।

The word 'optionally' is understood in this sūtra also; as चिकीषोऽप्यते ।

The forms given by ज्वल् and ज्वुच् are the same, the difference is only in the accent. (VI. i. 193, and VI. i. 163).

आक्रोशे नश्यनिः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रोशे, नशि, अनिः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशे गम्यमाने नन्वुपपदे धातोरनिःप्रस्थयो भवति ॥

112. The affix 'ani' comes after a verb when the particle 'nañ' is in composition with it, and the sense implied is that of cursing.

The anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally' does not extend to this aphorism. The word आक्रोश means to curse. This supersedes the affixes स्तिन् &c. Thus अक्राण्यस्ते पृष्ठल भूत्वात् 'may failure be to thee, O sinner!' तस्याकरणिरेवास्तु 'may he be disappointed'.

Why do we say 'when meaning to curse'? Observe भकृतिस्तस्य कदस्य 'the non-making of his mat'.

Why do we say 'when नश् is in composition'? Observe वृत्तिस्ते पृष्ठल भूत्वात् 'may death be to thee, O! sinner'!

कृत्यल्युटो बहुलम् ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य, ल्युटः, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्त्यसंकाः प्रत्यया ल्युट् च वहुलमधेषु भवन्ति ॥

113. The affixes called 'kritya' (III. 1. 95) and the affix 'lyut', are diversely applicable and have other senses than those taught before.

The anuvṛitti of the phrases 'when denoting action' and 'when the relation of the word formed to its parent verb is not that of an agent', which began with sūtras III. 3. 18 and 19, does not extend to this sūtra or further. By saying 'diversely' we mean that they occur in other places than those where ordained by the rules. Thus the *kritya* affixes are ordained to come when 'act' or 'object' is to be expressed, but they come also when the *kāraka* is other than the objective. Thus स्नानीयं चूर्णम् 'powder for bathing'; शानीयो ब्राह्मणः 'a Brāhmaṇa' to whom a donation is to be made'. In the first of these examples the 'powder' is the 'instrument' expressible by the 3rd. case, and in the second the 'Brāhmaṇa' is the recipient expressible by the fourth case; so that in both cases the affix is applied without any express rule.

Similarly, ल्युट् is ordained to come in denoting instrument, location, and a verbal noun (III. 3. 115 and 117). But it is applied in other senses also. Thus राजभोजनाः शान्तयः 'halls for the eating of kings'; राजाच्छादनानि वासांसि 'dresses to be worn by the king'.

By using the word 'diversely', even the *krit* affixes are applied in places other than those expressly ordained. Thus पाशभ्याम् द्वित्यते=पाशारकः । गले चोद्यते=गलेचोपकः । For accent see VI. 2. 150.

नपुंसके भावे चः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपुंसके, भावे, चः, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकलिङ्गे भावे धातोः चः प्रत्ययो भवन्ति ॥

114. The affix 'kta' is added to the root, when action is expressed, the word being in the neuter gender.

These are neuter abstract nouns: thus, हसितम् 'laugh'; जन्मतम् 'speech'; शावितम् 'sleeping'. So also गतं, सहितं &c.

ल्युट् च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल्युट्, च, (नपुंसके, भावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकलिङ्गे भावे धातोल्युट्प्रत्ययी भवन्ति ॥

115. The affix 'lyut' is added to the root, when the name of an action is expressed, in the neuter gender.

Thus हसनं छाचस्य 'the laughter of the student'; शोभनं 'beauty'; जन्मनं 'speech'; शयनं 'sleep'; आसनम् 'seat'.

The separation of this sūtra from the last, in which it might well have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms, in which the anuvṛitti of *lyut* only runs, and not that of चः ।

कर्मस्ति च येन संस्पर्शात् कर्तुः शरीरसुखम् ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥

कर्मणि, च, येन, संस्पर्शात्, कर्तुः, शरीर-सुखम् (नपुंसके, भावे, स्थुट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येन कर्मणा संस्पर्शयमानस्य कर्तुःशरीरसुखमुत्पयते तस्मिन्कर्मण्युपपरेधातोनपुं-
सकलिंगे भावे स्थुट्प्रस्थयो भवति ॥

116. The affix 'lyut' is added to a root, when the name of an action is expressed in the neuter gender; provided that the verb has in construction with it, such a word in the accusative case, as indicates the thing, from the contact with which, there arises a pleasant sensation corporally to the agent.

This sūtra is thus translated by Bohtlingk:—"The affix स्थुट् comes in connection with an object, when through the contact with that, the agent of the action feels a lively pleasure". Though the affix *lyut* would have presented itself by the last aphorism, under the circumstances mentioned in this sūtra, the framing of this sūtra, is really for the purpose of teaching, that the compound so formed is a निरत्य or invariable compound i. e. a compound which cannot be analysed into its component members:—for every उपपत्ति compound is a निरत्य compound. (II. 2. 19) Thus पथः पान्सुखः 'the pleasure of drinking milk'; औदनभीजनं खुखः 'the pleasure of eating rice'.

Why do we say 'when the word in construction is in the accusative case'? Observe तूलिकाया उरथानं सुखः 'rising from a bed of down is pleasant'. Here there is no compounding as the upapada तूलिका is in the ablative case.

Why do we say 'from the contact'? Observe अर्दिन्कुरुदस्योगासमं सुखः 'it is pleasure to sit near by a fire-hearth'. Here there being no contact between 'fire' and 'body', there is no compounding.

Why do we say 'to the agent'? Observe गुरोः स्नापनं सुखः 'to the teacher it is pleasure, when he is made to bathe'. Here the word गुरुः is not the agent, but the object of the verb स्नापयति ।

Why do we say 'corporally'? Observe पुनस्य परिष्वज्जनं सुखम् 'embracing of the son is a pleasure'. Here the pleasure is a mere mental satisfaction and not a physical one.

Why do we say 'a pleasant sensation'? Observe कटकानां मर्दनं हुखम् 'it is painful to rub thorns'. In all the above counter-examples there is no compounding; see II. 2. 19 and the connected sūtras.

**करणाधिकरणयोग्य ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ करण-अधिकरणयोः, च,
(स्थुट्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ करणोऽधिकरणे च कारके धातोन्युद्ग्रस्थयो भवति ॥

117. The affix 'lyut' comes after a root, when

the relation of the word to be formed to the verb is that of an instrument or location.

Thus इमप्रत्यधनः 'an axe' (lit. an' instrument for cutting wood); पलाशाधनः 'palāsa-cutter'; गोदीहनी 'a milk-pail' (a vessel into which milk is milked); so also सक्तुधानी। In other words, this affix expresses also the idea of the instrumental case (a tool), and of the locative case (a repository).

पुंसि संज्ञायां घः प्रायेण ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंसि, संज्ञायाम्,
घः, प्रायेण, (करणाधिकरणयोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुंसिज्ञयोः करणाधिकरणवोरभिषेययोर्धातोर्धः प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेत् संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

118. The affix 'gha' generally comes in the sense of an instrument or location after a root, when the word to be formed is a name and is in the masculine gender.

The force of the word प्रायेण 'generally' is to show that this rule is not a universal rule. Thus इनच्छृङ्: 'the lip'. छादि 'to cover' + घ(VI. 4. 96) = छृङ् lit. 'that by which the teeth are covered'; so also उरच्छृङ् 'a breast plate'; घः; These denote instruments.

So also in denoting 'location'. Thus आ+कृ+घ = आकरः 'a mine', so named because men work (*akurvanti*) in it, आज्ञयः 'a house' that in which men settle down.

Why do we say 'in the masculine gender'? Observe प्रसाधनम् 'a comb'; (lit. that by which men decorate). Here the affix is *lyut*.

Why do we say 'when the complete word so formed is merely an appellative? Observe प्रहरणी इण्डः 'the beating stick'.

The indicator घ is merely qualifying; for the application of sūtra VI. 4. 96. by which after the causative छादि, when घ is added, the long आ is shortened.

गोचरसंचरवहन्नव्यजापखनिगमाश्च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोचर-
संचर-वह-व्रज-व्यज-आपख-निगमाः, घ (घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोचरादयः शब्दा घप्रत्यवान्ता निपात्यन्ते पूर्वस्थितेवाणेः ॥

119. And the words 'gochara', 'samchara', 'vaha' 'vraja', 'vyaja', 'apana' and 'nigama' are anomalous:

These words are irregularly formed by the affix घ with the same force as in the last aphorism. This is an *apavattha* or exception to rule III. 3. 121, by which after roots ending in consonants, the affix घम् is added. Thus गोचरः 'pasturage', (lit. that in which the cows graze); संचरः 'a passage', (lit. through which they move); वहः 'a vehicle' (lit. by which men are carried); व्रजः 'a cow-pen' (by which they go); व्यजः 'a fan' (by which they move the air); the anomaly

in this consists in not replacing the भञ् of व्यभञ् (वि+भञ्) by the substitute शी as required by sūtra II. 4. 56; आपत्ता 'a market' (lit. that in which men come and traffic); निगमः 'the Veda', 'a market' (that into which they enter).

The force of the word च in the aphorism is to include other words also, which have not been already mentioned. Thus कषः, निकषः 'a touch-stone' (lit. that on which they rub).

अथे तृस्त्रोर्धन् ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अथे, तृ-स्त्रोः, चष्, (करणाधि-
करणयोः संज्ञायाम्) ॥

दृतिः ॥ अव उपर्वे तरतेत्त्वातेष खातोः करणाधिकरणयोः संज्ञायां षम्प्रस्त्रबो भवति ॥

120. The affix 'ghāñ' comes after the roots 'tri' (to cross) and 'stṛi' (to spread), when the upasarga 'ava' is in composition with them, and when the word so formed is an appellative related to the verb either as an instrument or as a location.

This supersedes च । The घ is indicatory and causes the vṛiddhi of न् (VII. 2. 115) and is also for the sake of regulating the accent (VI. 1. 195, 197). The indicatory च is useful in the subsequent aphorism where it changes the palatals into gutturals. Thus अवतारः 'the descent (or incarnation of a deity); अवस्तारः 'a screen round a tent'.

How do we apply अवतार also in phrases like अवतारो नद्यः 'the descent of rivers', for here the word *avatāra* is not an appellative? This use is also allowed, because the anuvṛitti of the word प्राच is understood here also ; so that these words *avatāra* &c. may be employed in senses other than appellative.

हलच्छ ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, च, (पुसि, संज्ञायां, करणाधि-
करणयोः, चञ्ज) ॥

पुसिः ॥ हलन्ताद्वातोः करणाधिकरणयोर्षम्प्रस्त्रबो भवति ॥

121. And after a verb ending in a consonant, comes the affix 'ghāñ', (when the word to be formed is masculine, and related to the verb as an instrument or a location, and thereby the palatal is changed into a guttural).

The whole of the phrase within brackets is to be read into this sūtra from sūtra III. 3. 118. This excludes च. Thus लेखः 'a writing' (that in which something is inscribed) ; वेदः 'the Veda' (that by which all is known) ; वेषः 'dress' (that which is entered into) ; बन्धः 'obstruction' ; मार्गः 'a way' (that on which they seek) ; अपासार्गः 'a plant' (that by which disease or the like is cleared away) ; रामः 'Rāma' (i. e. in which the devout delight).

अध्यायन्यायोद्यावसंहाराधारावायाश्च ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्याय-
न्याय-उद्याव-संहार-आधार-आवायाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भैयायादयः शब्दा घमन्ता निपात्वन्ते ॥

122. And the words 'adhyâya', 'nyâya', 'udyâva', 'samhâra', 'âdhâra' and âvâya' are anomalous.

These words are formed by adding the affix घम् to the exclusion of च which would have come by rule III. 3. 118. All these words are derived from roots which end in vowels. Thus भैयि+इ+घम्=भैयायः 'a chapter or book' (lit. that in which they read); नी—न्यायः 'logic, justice', (lit. that by which men are lead); उत्त-यु—उत्तायः 'mixture' (lit. that in which they blend); सम्-ह—संहारः 'destruction' (lit. by which they are destroyed); आ-धु—आधारः 'support' (lit. in which anything is held); आ-वि—आवायः = भाववन्ति भस्मिन् ।

The force of च is to include others not enumerated above; as, भवहारः ।

उदङ्कोञ्जुदके ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदङ्कः, अनुदके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदङ्क इति निपात्वते भनुदक विषवधेऽधात्ययो भवति ॥

123. The word 'udâṅka' is anomalous, when the sense of the root refers to subjects other than 'water'.

The word is thus formed: उत्त+भंच+घम्=उदङ्कः 'a vessel'.

Would not the affix घम् have come by sûtra III. 3. 121, why then this aphorism? This is made a separate aphorism in order to prohibit the application of the affix, where the word to be formed means 'water'.

Thus सैलोदृशः 'a leathern vessel for oil'.

Why do we say 'when not referring to 'water'? Observe उदकोर्णनः 'a bucket for drawing water' (उत्त+भंच+घ्नुद्).

Why do not we give the counter-example by adding the affix च to the root उत्तंच्? Because the form evolved by applying च, would be the same in every respect as that evolved by घम्; even the accent would be the same. For by sûtra VI. 2. 144, the udâtta accent, in the case of घम्, will fall on the final.

जालभानायः ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जालम्, आभायः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भानाय इति निपात्वते जालं स्मेतद्वति ॥

124. The word 'âñaya' is irregularly formed when meaning 'a net'.

The word is thus formed in the sense of instrument. आ+नी+घम्=आभायः 'a net' (by which they are caught); as भानादो मरस्यानां 'a net for fish'; आभादो शृगाणाम् 'a net for wild deer &c'.

खनी घ च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खनः, घ, च, (करणाधिकरणे, घम्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खनतेर्हातोः करणाधिकरणयोर्धःप्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद् घम् च ॥

वार्तिंकम् ॥ डो वन्हात्यः ॥

वार्तिंकम् ॥ उटो वन्हात्यः ॥

वार्तिंकम् ॥ इको वन्हात्यः ॥

वार्तिंकम् ॥ इकवको वन्नवदः ॥

125. The affix 'gha' as well as 'ghañ' [comes after the verb 'khan' (to dig), (when the word to be formed is an appellative related to the verb as instrument or location).]

The affix घम् has been read into the sūtra by force of the word च । Thus भाल्लानः or भाल्लनः: 'a spade, a hoe'.

Vart.—The affix च also comes in this sense after the verb खल्. Thus भाल्लन् + च = भाल्लः: 'a spade'. The indicatory च showing that the final portion called चे should be elided.

Vart.—The affix उर् also comes in the same sense; as भाल्लरः: 'a spade'.

Vart.—So also the affix इकः; as भाल्लनिकः: 'a spade'.

Vart.—So too the affix इकवक as भाल्लनिकवकः: 'a spade'.

ईषद्दुःसुषु कृच्छ्राक्षार्येषु खल् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषत्-दुस्-
सुषु, कृच्छ्र-अकृच्छ्र-अर्येषु, खल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषत् दुस् सु ईषत्ते पूपदेषु कृच्छ्राक्षार्येषु भासोः खल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

126. In the sense of 'hard and difficult' or 'light and easy', the affix 'khal' is added to a verb, when 'ishad', and 'dur' and 'su' are combined with it as upapadas.

The anuvṛitti of the phrase 'when related as instrument or location' ceases with this aphorism. The word कृच्छ्र् means heavy, and दुर् has the force of conveying that sense. The word भृत्यल् means 'light, easy'; and the words ईषत् and सु convey that sense. Thus ईषत्करो भवता कः: 'a mat is made easily by you'; so also ईषकरः: 'made with difficulty'; सुकरः: 'made with ease'. Similarly ईषभोजः: 'eating pleasantly'; दुर्भोजः: and सुभोजः: ।

Why do we say 'after ईषत् &c.? See कृच्छ्रौण कार्ये कः: 'the mat which is made with difficulty'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'hard or light'? Observe ईषत्कार्ये 'a small work'.

Of the affix खल्, the letter ख and ल् are indicatory ; ख causing the insertion of a nasal (technically called मुम् augment, VI. 3. 67) ; and ल् regulates the accent (VI. 1. 196). The augment मुम् will be added in the subsequent sūtra, the ख thus having no work in this sūtra.

कर्तुकर्मखेऽन्नं भूक्षेजाः ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ खल्-कर्मखोः, च, मू-
क्षेजोः, (ईषद्-दुः-सुषु, खल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवते करोतेऽन्नं धासोर्यथासंख्यं कर्तुरि कर्मणि ओपपदे अकाराशीपशाविषु च खल्
प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कर्त्तकर्मणोऽप्यवर्द्धौरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

127. The affix 'khal' comes after the verbs 'bhū' and 'kṛi', when the upapadas in composition with them are 'agent' and 'object' respectively, preceded by the words 'iṣhad' &c. in combination with them, meaning 'hard or light'.

Thus ईषद्गत्य भवं 'being enriched easily'; दुराढ्य भवन् 'to be enriched with difficulty'; स्वाक्षर्करो देवदत्तो भवता 'Devadatta can be made rich by you easily'.

Vart.—It should be stated that the agent and object in composition should be, as if they ended in the affix चित् (V. 4. 50). Compare III. 2. 56 and III. 2. 57. &c. Therefore we do not have it here : स्वाक्षरेन भूयते or भावेन सुभूयते ॥

आतो युच् ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, युच्, (ईषद्गतुःसुषु, कर्ष्णा-कर्ष्णार्थ्यु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्ष्णाकर्ष्णार्थ्येषु ईषद्गतिपूर्वेषु भाकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यो युच् प्रवत्ती भवति ॥

128. The affix 'yuch' comes after roots ending in long 'ā', (when 'iṣhad', 'dur' and 'su' are combined as upapadas, in the sense of easily or with difficulty).

The word ईषद् &c. are to be read into this sūtra, not so the words कर्त्त-कर्मण &c. This supersedes the affix लज्. Thus ईषत्पानः सीमो भवता 'the soma juice can be lightly drunk by you'; दुष्पानः 'difficult to be drunk'; सुपानः 'easy to be drunk'. ईषत्पानो गौर्भवता 'the cow can be given with ease by you'; दुष्पानः, सुपानः &c.

दूष्पसि गत्यर्थ्यः ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लन्दसि, गति-अर्थ्यः, (ईषद्गतुःसुषु, कर्ष्णाकर्ष्णार्थ्यु, युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषद्गतिपूर्वाकर्ष्णार्थ्येषु गत्येष्येभ्यो धातु-वश्वन्तसि विषवे युच् प्रवत्ती भवति ॥

129. The affix 'yuch' comes in the Chhandas, after roots having the sense of 'to go', when the word 'iṣhad' &c. meaning 'lightly' or 'with difficulty' are in composition with such verbs.

This debars the affix लज्. Thus सूपसहनोऽग्निः । सूपसहनमस्तरिज्ञम् । See T.S. 7. 5. 20. I.

अन्येभ्योऽपि दूश्यते ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दूश्यते, (गत्यर्थ्यः, युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योऽपि धातुभ्यो गत्येष्येभश्वन्तसि विषवे युच् प्रवत्ती दूश्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भाषावां शासिवुधिश्विधिमृषिभ्यो युच् वक्तव्यः ॥

130. The affix 'yuch' is seen to come in the Vedas, after other verbs also, than those meaning 'to go',

Thus सुरोह नाम कृष्णोऽव्राण्ये गां ; so also सुरेद नाम कृष्णोऽव्राण्ये गां ॥ (Rig. Veda. X. 112. 8).

Vart.—In the modern Sanskrit, the affix 'yuch' comes after the verbs शास्, युध्, दृग्, धृप्, and मृष्; as दुःशासनः 'Duhsāsana'; दुर्योधनः 'Duryodhana'; दुर्जीनः, दुर्जीणः; and दुर्जीषः ।

वर्तमानसामीप्ये वर्तमानवद्वा ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्तमान-
सामीप्ये, वर्तमान-वत्, वा, (भूते, भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्तमानसामीप्ये भूते नविष्यति च वर्तमानद्वार्तमानवल्पवद्यवा वा भवन्ति ॥

131. The affixes which are employed when the sense is that of present time, may, optionally in like manner, be employed when the sense is that of past or future time not remote from the present.

The words समीप and सामीप्य are the words with the same signification, the latter being derived from the first by adding the affix एव्य. This affix is added with a self-descriptive force, without making any modification in the meaning. We learn thus incidentally from Pāṇini's using the word सामीप्य, that the affix एव्य also comes with a self-descriptive (svārtha) force, and the words वातुर्शर्थ्यः &c. are thus formed.

The affixes which begin with sūtra III. 2. 123 (वर्तमाने लक्ष्य) and end with III. 3. 1 (उपादव वहुलं), are affixes which come in denoting the present time. These affixes come also with the force of the past or future time, when the sense is that the action has just taken place, or will immediately take place. Thus, to the question करा देवदत्ताऽगतोसि 'when didst thou come Devadatta', it may be replied, either अबमागच्छामि 'I come now', or आगच्छन्तमेव मौ विद्धि 'know me even to have come'; or अबमागम् 'I have now come'; or एषोस्म्यागतः 'I have come now'. So also to the question करा देवदत्त गमिष्यसि 'when will you go Devadatta', it may be replied, either एष गच्छामि 'I go now' or गच्छन्तमेव मौ विद्धि or एष गमिष्यामि or गन्तामि &c.

The phrase 'in like manner' (वत्) has been employed to indicate complete resemblance; that is to say, with whatever qualifications, the affixes have been enjoined to denote present time, namely, with whatever bases (प्रकृति), and words in compositions (उपपत्), and restrictive significations (उपाधि), certain affixes have been enjoined;—the same affixes under those conditions and those circumstances, only will denote also immediate future and recent past. Thus शान्त् by rule III. 2. 128 comes after the prakṛitis त् and वज् in forming present participles; this affix, to denote past and future, must come only after त् and वज्, and so on. Thus पश्मानः, यज्ञमानः, भज्ञकरिष्यः (III. 2. 136) &c.

Why do we say 'not remote from the present, (सामीप्य)'? This rule will not apply when distant future or distant past is intended to be expressed.

As पहू भग्नच्छत् पारम्परुषम् 'he went day before yesterday to Pātaliputra'; वर्षे गमिष्यति 'he will go in a year'.

One may say that "the word गच्छति can denote by itself nothing but the present tense, and it is because it occurs in a sentence in connection with other qualifying words, that it is made to denote any other time; and it is a well-known fact that a tense which a sentence as a whole may indicate, has no bearing on the question as to what tense a verb must take, when we are preparing it for taking a grammatical tense; and hence the present sūtra is superfluous". To such we reply that the present sūtra and those that follow are not meant for those who know the proper idioms of Sanskrit language; but for those only who do not know this.

Dr. Bohtlingk translates this sūtra thus:—'Whatever is near to the present time, may be expressed as a present tense.'

आशंसायां भूतवद्ध ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशंसायाम्, भूतवत्,
च, (भविष्यति, वर्तमानवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काले आशंसादां गम्यमानादां धातोर्वा भूतवत् प्रस्तवा भवन्ति चकाराद्
वर्तमानवद्ध ॥

132. The affixes which are employed, when the sense is that of the past time or of the present time, may, optionally, in like manner, be employed, after a root in denoting future time, when hope is expressed.

The word 'optionally' is understood here also. The phrase 'not remote from the present' is not valid in this aphorism. The word आशंसा means the wish or expectation of getting an object not yet obtained, and consequently this can refer only to future time. The force of च is to draw the word वर्तमानवत् from the last sūtra in this aphorism. This sūtra has been thus put by Mr. Apte:—"When hope is expressed in a conditional form, the Aorist (लुह्), the Present, or Simple Future is used in both the clauses to denote a future time. Thus उपायादधेशगमत् or आगतः, or आगच्छति or आगमिष्यति वा एते द्वाकरणमधगीमहि, or अधीमहे or अध्येष्यामहे 'if the teacher were to come, we should read grammar'.

This construction is possible only when the past tense is expressed by लुह् (Aorist); and not by लह् or लिह्. For लुह् denotes past time in general, while लह् and लिह् denote particular forms of past time; (see III. 2. 110, 111 and 115). The phrase भूतवत् making an analogy with time in general, will not therefore, refer to लिह् or लह् which refer to past time in special.

Why say 'when hope is expressed'? Observe भागमिष्यति 'he will come'.

क्षिप्रवचने लृट् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षिप्र-वचने, लृट्, (आशंसायां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिप्रवचन उपपदे भाशंसावी गम्बमानाची धातोर्ज्ञ॑ प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

133. When the word 'kshipra' (quickly) or its synonym is in construction with the verb, the future affix, 'Lrit' is employed after the root, when 'hope' is expressed in a conditional form.

This supersedes the last rule by which Aorist could also have been employed. By the present rule the Second Future can only be employed. Thus उपाख्यावचेत्सिप्रमाणगम्बति (or उपाख्यावचेतागतः—Apte.) सिं द्याकरणवेष्वामहे 'if the teacher were to come soon, we shall soon learn grammar'.

By force of the word वचन in the aphorism, we take the synonyms of जिप्र also, such as शीत्रं, भाग्य, लक्षितम्, &c.

An objector might say, "the use of the word लक्ष् in the sūtra is redundant; for Future tense is the natural tense to be used, whenever *hope* is indicated. Sūtra III. 3. 132 was merely an exception to this rule; so that the present sūtra re-enacting the general rule, ought to have been worded thus;— न जिप्रवचने 'not so when a word expressing quickness is employed'; for such a rule debarring the past tenses given by III. 3. 132, would have, of necessity, given scope to the Future tense which is the natural tense to express *hope*". To them we say, that there are two future tenses, कृद् and लक्ष्। By specifying लक्ष् we mean that लक्ष् should not be employed even where it would otherwise have come, such as in the following:—यः जिप्रमध्येष्वामहे 'to-morrow we shall learn soon'.

आशंसावचने लिङ् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशंसा-वचने, लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाशंसा येनोच्चते तदाशंसावचनं तस्मिन्नुपपदे धातोर्ज्ञ॑प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. The affix of the Potential is employed in denoting Futurity, after a root, when the upapada in composition with it, is a word expressing 'hope'.

This is also an *aparicca* of rule III. 3. 132, and teaches the employment of the Potential with a future force. Thus उपाख्यावचेतागच्छेऽ, भाषंसे बुक्तोऽधीयीच 'if the teacher will come, I hope, you will study with diligence'. This being a subsequent rule, will apply even when the words expressive of 'quickness' are in composition. Thus भाषंसे जिप्रमधीयीच 'I hope, you will learn soon'. So also, अवकल्पजे बुक्तोऽधीयीच, &c.

नानद्यतनवत् क्रियाप्रबन्धसामीप्ययोः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न,
अनद्यतन-वत्, क्रिया-प्रबन्ध-सामीप्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भनद्यतनवत् प्रत्यवयित्वा भवति क्रियाप्रबन्धे सामीप्ये च गम्बमाने ॥

135. When constant continuance of action or a near Past or Future is meant, the Past and Future are not denoted as taught in III. 2. 111 and III. 3. 15, through

the Imperfect and the Second Future, but through the Aorist and the First Future.

The affixes ज्ञात् (Imperfect Past) and ज्ञात् (First Future), have been ordained to come, when past time not belonging to the current day, and future time not belonging to the current day, are respectively indicated. The present sūtra prohibits these two affixes. The word क्रियापदन्धः means 'performing an action with continuity'; and साक्षीच्च means 'not remoteness of time, immediateness, without the intervention of anything of the same genus'. Thus आवड्नीवं भूशमप्मदात् (not भूशत्) 'he gave food throughout his life'; or भूशमन् शस्यति 'he will give much food'. आवड्नीवं पुनोऽप्याप्तिपत् 'throughout his life he taught', or आवड्नीवम् एवाप्यच्छति 'throughout his life he will teach'. In both these cases the Aorist and the Second Future are used instead of the Imperfect and the First Future.

So also when recent past or immediate future is meant, the Aorist and the Second Future are employed, instead of the Imperfect and the First Future. Thus वेदं पौर्णमास्यतिक्रान्ता, एतस्यामुपाध्यायोग्नीनाधित् or सोमेनावहु or गामद्वित् 'during the full-moon that has just past, the teacher consecrated the fire, or performed the soma-sacrifice or gave a cow'. Here the Aorist is for the Imperfect. वेदममावाद्याऽगामिनी, एतस्यामुपाध्यायोग्नीनाधारयते or सोमेन वहयते, or स गां शस्यते 'on the next new-moon day, the teacher will perform the fire-sacrifice or the soma-sacrifice, or he will give a cow'. Here the Second Future is employed instead of the First Future.

The double negative न अनयत्न 'not non-today' implies the proper corresponding tenses which indicate adyatana.

भविष्यति यर्यादावचनेऽवरस्मिन् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भविष्यति,
यर्यादावचने, अवरस्मिन्, (नानद्यतनवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काले यर्यादावचनेऽवरस्मिन् प्रविभागे अनयत्नवत् ग्रन्थविधिर्न भवति ॥

136. The Futurity is not expressed, as taught in III. 3. 15, through the Second Future, but through the First Future, when a statement is made of a limit on this (avara) side of another place.

The phrase नानद्यतनवत् is valid in this sūtra also. The two conditions of the last aphorism, namely, 'continuity of action' and 'immediateness', however, do not apply here. Thus योऽवमध्याग्रस्तव भाषादज्ञिपुष्टासरव चक्षरं कौशाम्ब्यास्तनोइर्न भोद्धवामहे, तत्त्वं सन्तुन्पास्यामः 'on this side of the road from the city of Kosāmbi to the city of Pātaliputra, there we will eat rice, and there we will drink saktu'.

Why do we say 'in denoting future time'? Observe योऽवमध्याग्र भाषादज्ञिपुष्टात् तस्य चक्षरं कौशाम्ब्यास्तव चुक्ता भाष्येत्वा 'on this side of the road that leads from the city of Kosāmbi to the city of Pātaliputra, we read together &c.'

Why do we say 'when signifying limit'? Observe योऽवमध्यानिरपेक्षिक

गन्तव्यस्तत्र अवशं कौशाम्बवास्तत्रोहनं भोक्तास्महे, सत्तुन् पातास्मः । Here the First Future is employed.

Why do we say 'when the word अवशं is in construction'? Observe योऽवशम्बाग्नंतर्दय भागाटिनिपुनात् तस्य अवशं कौशाम्बवास्तत्रोहनं भोक्तास्महे &c.

The examples of limit given in this aphorism, refer to local limit; in the subsequent sūtras examples will be given as to the limit of time and some difference will be observed therein.

कालविभागे चानहोरात्राकाम् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-विभागे,
अ, न-अहः-रात्राकाम्, (भविष्यति, वर्यादावचने, अवरस्सिन्, च, अनद्यतनवत्) ॥

वृशिः ॥ कालमर्यादाविभागे सरथवर्त्सेनविभागे भविष्यति कालेऽनयतनवत् प्रायविधिर्वा नवति, न वेरहोरात्रसम्बद्धी विभागस्तेषां च विभागे प्रतिषेधः ॥

137. The Second Future is employed instead of the First Future, in denoting Future time not belonging to the current day, when the word 'avara' is used together with a word expressing division of time, but not when it is a word giving the sense of 'day' or 'night'.

The whole of the last sūtra should be read into this. The difference between this and the last sūtra is, that sūtra III. 3, 136 referred both to the limit of space and time, while sūtra III. 3, 137 refers to the limit of time only; moreover with regard to time, there is exception with regard to the portions of day and night. The *yoga-vibhāga*, the separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of subsequent aphorisms. Thus योऽवं संवत्सर भागामी तस्य अवशरमाप्रहायएयास्तत्र युक्ता अध्येत्यामहे 'in the month of Chaitra, the year after next, we shall read together'; तत्रौहनं भोक्तास्महे 'we shall eat rice then &c'.

This construction is, of course, only valid in denoting future time, otherwise not. Therefore not here: योऽवं वस्त्रोऽसीतरतस्य अवशरमाप्रहायएयास्तत्र युक्ता अध्येत्यामहि 'in the month of Chaitra, the year before last, we *read* together'; तत्रौहनं भोक्तास्महि 'we *ate* together &c'.

Why do we say 'limit'? Observe योऽवं निरवधिकः काल भागामी तस्य अवशरः-प्रहायएयास्तत्र युक्ता अध्येत्यामहे — तत्रौहनं भोक्तास्महे ।

The limit must be 'on this side i. e. अवशं side'. With the पर side limit, this rule will not apply. With the word पर, this construction is optional. See the next sūtra.

Why do we say 'when not divisions of day and night'? There are three sorts of counter-examples in this case; as, योऽवं मास भागामी तस्य योऽवशः पंचशत्रात्रः or योऽवं अंशदात्र भागामी तस्य योऽवशोऽसामासः or योऽवं निशाहोरात्र भागामी तस्य योऽवशः पंचशत्रात्रस्तत्र युक्ता अध्येत्यामहे तत्र सत्तुन् पातास्मः । Here *Lut*, or First Future has been employed and not the Second Future.

परस्मिन् विभाषा ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परस्मिन्, विभाषा, (भविष्यति, भव्यादावचने, कालविभागे, अनहोरात्रावचन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालमर्बादविभागे सति भविष्यति काले परस्मिन् प्रविभागे विभाषाऽन्यतत्त्वत् प्रत्ययविधिर्भवति, न चेदहोरात्रसम्बन्धी प्रविभागः ॥

138. Optionally so, when a declaration is made with regard to that side of a limit of time.

The whole of the last aphorism must be read into this: The sūtra will then stand thus: "The Second and the First Futures are optionally both employed in denoting future time, not belonging to the current day, instead of the First Future alone, when the word पर is used signifying a limit of time on that side of a fixed period, provided that this word does not give the sense of day or night".

This rule allows an option when the time refers to the पर side of a starting limit. Thus योऽयं संवत्सर भागान्ती तत्त्व चत् परमापहाय्यास्तच चुक्ता भवेत्यामहे or भवेतास्त्वं 'we will read together in the month of Chaitra, the year after next'.

All the counter-examples given under the last aphorism, are also valid here by substituting the word पर instead of भवत.

लिङ्-निमित्ते लृङ् क्रियातिपत्तौ ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्-निमित्ते, लृङ्, क्रिया-अतिपत्तौ, (भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुहेतुमतेभिन्निभित्येवमात्रिक लिङ्गो निमित्तं, तत्र लिङ्-निमित्ते भविष्यति काले लृङ् प्रवयो भवति, क्रियातिपत्तौ सख्यात् ॥

139. Where there is a reason for affixing 'Linn' the affix 'Lrin' is employed in the Future tense when the non-completion of the action is to be understood.

The words 'in denoting future time' are here. The reasons for affix लिङ् are such as cause and effect &c. mentioned in sūtra III. 3. 156 and 157 &c. The लृङ् is called the conditional tense. "It comes in the conditional sentences in which the non-performance of the action is implied; or where the falsity of the antecedent is implied as a matter of fact. It usually corresponds to the English Pluperfect Conditional, and must, in Sanskrit, be used in both the antecedent and the consequent clauses".—Apte's Guide.

Thus सुशुष्टिष्ठेऽभविष्यत् तत्र सुभिस्तमभविष्यत् 'if there had been good rain, then there would have been plenty of food; or if there were to be good rain then there would be plenty of food'. It is implied that there was not good rain, nor consequent plenty: or that the occurrence of good rain is dubious, and the desirable consequence equally so.

So also here, एकाणेन चेशायास्तच शकटं पर्याभविष्यत् 'if he were to go by the right side, the carriage would not be upset'; बदि कमलकम् भाहास्तच न शकटं

पर्वाभविष्यत् 'if he were to call Kamalaka (which he will not), the carriage would not be "upset"; आभोक्षत भवान् पूर्तेन वहि मत्सनीयम् आगमिष्यत्, 'you would eat food with clarified butter, if you (were to) come to me (but you will not come).

All these sentences refer to future time. The non-upsetting is a future contingency and is an effect the cause of which is the 'calling of Kamalaka. The speaker—having apprehended the cause and effect, and having also learned from other sources that such an effect will not take place, that is to say, that Kamalaka will not be called, and the carriage will be upset—has employed this conditional tense to express his idea. The whole sentence वहि कमलकम् &c. really gives this sense:—That both actions, 'the calling' and 'the non-upsetting', which are subjects of a future time, and which are related as cause and effect, will not be completed; that neither Kamalaka will be called, nor the impending fate averted from the carriage. The sūtra may also be thus rendered according to Professor Bohtlingk:—In a conditional sentence, which would require a Potential according to III. 3. 156, is used, if the sense is that of Future time, the Conditional Tense, when the action is not complete.

भूते च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते, च, (सिद्धनिमित्ते, लृण्, क्रियाति पत्ती) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूते च काले जिह्वनिमित्ते क्रियातिपत्तौ सत्त्वाम् लृण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

140. And (where there is a reason for affixing 'Lin', the affix 'Lrin' is to be employed, when the non-completion of the action is to be understood) if the sense is that of past time.

The whole of the last aphorism is understood in this. The last sūtra enjoined लृण् in the Future tense; this sūtra ordains it in the Past, the Conditional tense having both these significations. The reasons for affixing जिह्वा are given in sūtras III. 3. 152 and those that follow it. In sūtra III. 3. 141 and those that follow, as far as III. 3. 152, optional rules for the employment of the Conditional tense will be given. Thus:—इत्यो मया भवत्पुनोऽज्ञात्यर्थं चहक्कन्यमाणः भारथ दिनो शाश्वतार्थी, यहि स तेन इत्योऽभविष्यत्, तदाऽभोक्षत, न तु भुक्षवान्, भवेन पथा स गतः 'I saw your son, wandering about in search of food, I saw also a twice-born in search of a Brāhmaṇa (whom he would feast); if he (your son) had been seen by him (the twice-born), then he would have been fed; but as a matter of fact, he has not been fed, he went by a different road'.

The conditional sentence वहि स तेन इत्योऽभविष्यत् तदाऽभोक्षत is employed under circumstances set out above. It refers to a past time, there is the relation of cause and effect existing, one being in search of food, and another in search of a guest to feed; and the action is not completed; both taking different roads, did not come across each other.

वोताप्योः ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आ-उत्ताप्योः, (भूते, लिङ्गनि-
ति, क्रियातिपत्ती) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्ताप्योः समर्थ द्वारा लिङ्गिति वहयति पागेतस्मात् सूचावधेऽर्द्दित ऋर्मनुकमिष्यामः,
तत्र भूते लिङ्गनिमित्ते क्रियातिपत्ती लृह् वा भवतीर्थं तदधिकृतं वेदितद्यम् ॥

141. From this point as far as sūtra III. 3. 152 (the whole of the following sentence is to be taken as exerting a governing influence on the sūtras that follow: where there is a reason for affixing 'Liñ', the 'Liñ' may be) optionally (employed in denoting past time, when the non-completion of the action is to be understood).

All the words within brackets must be supplied from the previous sūtras to complete the sense. This sūtra consists of three words वा 'optionally', आ 'as far as' and उत्ताप्योः (the sūtra III. 3 152). The words वा+आ+त्र form वा by the rules of conjunction. The particle आ in this aphorism has the force of limit exclusive and not that of limit inclusive. The *optional* use of the conditional tense will be illustrated in the following aphorisms, where, in addition to the special tenses to be employed by those rules, we may employ the conditional also under those very circumstances, in the alternative, provided that the non-completion of the action is understood. Prof. Bohtlingk translates this aphorism thus: "optionally so, in connection with तत्र and अपि, the conditional tense may be employed".

गर्हयां सङ्घपिजात्वोः ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्हयां, सट्, अपिजात्वोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गर्हयां गम्यमानाचात् अपिजात्वोरुपपद्योर्पतीलंप्रश्वयो भवति ॥

142. The affix 'Lat' is employed after a root, when it has in composition with it the words 'api' or 'jātu', the sense implied by the sentence being that of 'censure'.

The word गर्ह means 'censure, 'blame'. The affix लङ् has been enjoined to come with a present signification, and would not have come to denote time in general, which, however, it does here, for here the Present tense is employed in preference to the tense required by the time of the action, which is totally excluded. Hence the present sūtra.

Thus अपि तत्र भवान् वृष्टलं वाजवति 'even your honor sacrifices (or sacrificed or will sacrifice) to a Sūdra'; जात् तत्र भवान् वृष्टलं वाजवति गर्हमहे, भवो अन्वाट्यमेतस् 'possibly your honor sacrifices for a Sūdra'; the sense implied being that such conduct on the part of those men are blameworthy.

In the present case, there being no occasion for the application of लिङ्ग, of course, we cannot employ लृह् to denote the non-completion of the action

So also भवि or जातु जायां श्वजसि 'Fiel you abandon (or abandoned or will abandon) your wife!'

विभाषा कथमि लिङ् च ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कथमि,
लिङ् च, (गर्हयाम्, लट्, वोताप्योः) ॥
वृच्छः ॥ कथंशब्द उपरे गर्हयाम् गम्बमामावां भासोलिङ्गप्रतयो भवति, चकारालाद्च ॥

143. The affix 'Lin' as well as 'Lat' is optionally employed after a root, when the word 'katham' is in construction with it, and censure is implied.

The word 'censure' is understood, and by च we draw लङ् from the previous sūtra into this. By using the word 'optionally' in the aphorism, it is indicated that this rule does not exclude the application of the alternative tenses which would otherwise have been required by the time of the action. It is not total exclusion like the last. Thus कथं नाम तत्र भवान् वृष्टलं याजयेत् or याजयति or याजविष्वसि 'Indeed, how your honor can (or will) sacrifice for a Sūdra'.

So also कथं नाम तत्र भवान् वृष्टलं याजयता, भवाजयत् or याजवांचकार ।

Here there is an occasion for the application of the Potential mood (लिङ्); therefore when we intend to express non-completion of action in the past time, we can *optionally* employ the Conditional also (ज्ञङ्). As कथं नाम तत्र भवान् वृष्टलम् भवाजविष्वत् or याजवेत् 'Indeed, why did your honor (attempt to) sacrifice for that Sūdra (in vain)'.

Under similar circumstances, in denoting future time, the Conditional (ज्ञङ्) must *invariably* be employed (III. 3. 139); as, कथं पर्वत् भवतिष्यतः 'why will you (attempt to) give up your duty'.

किंदृते लिङ्लृटी ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्-दृते, लिङ्-लृटी, (ग-
र्हयाम्, वोताप्योः) ॥
वृच्छः ॥ किंवृत्तरुपपहे गर्हयाम् गम्बमामावां भासोलिङ्गलृटी भवतः ॥

144. The affixes 'Lin' and 'Lrit' come after a verb, when the interrogative words like 'kim' &c, are in composition with it, and censure is implied.

Here also the Potential and the First Future are employed in preference to the time required by the action.

The word 'censure' is understood here; not so, however, the word 'optionally'. This excludes all other tense-affixes. The repetition of the word लिङ् in this sūtra, is for the sake of excluding लङ्, whose anuvṛitti would also have run into this sūtra, had we taken the anuvṛitti of लिङ् from the last sūtra, instead of repeating it. Thus कः कतरो वा हरि निन्देत्, निन्दयति वा 'who will censure Hari ?

In the Past tense, when the non-completion of action is implied, we may optionally employ the Conditional (लृत्); and in the Future tense, under similar circumstances, we must employ the Conditional necessarily; as को नाम वृष्णो वं तत्र भवानवाजविष्वत् 'who is the Sūdra for whom your honor did sacrifice (in vain)'. This sūtra may be rendered thus also:—"In connection with an Interrogative Pronoun, when censure is implied, may be employed the Potential or the First Future".

अनवकृप्त्यमर्षयोरकिंवृत्तेऽपि ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनवकृसि-अ-
मर्षयोः, अकिंवृते, अपि, (किंवृते, लिङ्गलृटी, वोताप्योः) ॥

दृतिः ॥ किंवृतेऽकिंवृते चोपपरेऽनवकृप्त्यमर्षयोर्दातोर्लिङ्गलृटी भवते ॥

145. When it is to be expressed that some body holds that something is not likely to take place, or is not to be tolerated, the Potential and the First Future are employed, even without the Interrogative Pronoun.

The anuvṛitti of the word 'censure' ceases. The word अनवकृसि: means 'impossibility, not to be believed'. The word अमर्षः means 'not endurable or not to be tolerated'. This excludes all other tenses, the Potential and the 2nd. Future coming in preference to all other tenses required by the time of the action. In the Dvandva Compound अनवकृप्त्यमर्षयोः, the word अनवकृसि ought to have stood as second member of the compound as it contains larger number of syllables than the word अमर्षः (II. 2. 14). The non-compliance with rule II. 2. 14. indicates that the rule of व्यासंख्यं, (I. 3. 10) does not apply here, which would otherwise have applied—the sense of the sūtra then being 'that the Potential should be employed when the act is not likely to occur, and the 2nd. Future to be used when the act is not to be tolerated'. This is not, however, the interpretation which we should put upon the sūtra.

Thus नावकस्यामि, न संभावामि, न अद्वधे, तत्र भवान् नाम वृष्णं वाजवेत्, or वाजविष्वति 'I do not believe, or think it possible or trust that your honor sacrifices (or sacrificed or will sacrifice) for a Sūdra'. न मर्षामि तत्र भवान् वृष्णं वाजयेत् or वाजविष्वति 'I can not tolerate that your honor does (did or will) sacrifice for a Sūdra'.

When past time together with the non-completion of the action is to be expressed, we may *optionally* employ the Conditional (लृत्), but *necessarily* so, when Future time is to be expressed. Thus नावकस्यामि तत्र भवान् नाम वृष्णम् भवानविष्वत् 'I do not believe that your honor did or will sacrifice for a Sūdra'.

किंकिलास्त्यर्थेषु लृट् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ किंकिल-अस्त्यर्थेषु, लृट्,
(अनवकृप्त्यमर्षयोः, वोताप्योः) ॥

दृतिः ॥ किंकिलास्त्यर्थेषु अनवकृप्त्यमर्षयोर्धातोर्लिङ्गप्रस्त्रयो भवति ॥

146. The affix 'Lrit' (the First Future) is used after a root, when the words 'kimkila' or those having the sense of 'asti' (he is) are in construction with it, (when the action is not likely to occur, or is not to be tolerated).

The words within brackets must be supplied from the last aphorism. The whole word किंकिला is to be taken as an upapada and not the word किं and किला separately. This word expresses anger. The words having the sense of *asti* are भवित्, भवति and विद्यते । This rule supersedes the Potential (लिङ्). Thus किंकिला or भवित् or भवति or विद्यते नाम सब भवान् वृषजं वाज्यिष्वति, न मर्षयामि, न श्रद्धेऽपि 'Is it possible that your honor will (or did or does) sacrifice for a Sūdra ? I cannot believe or tolerate it'.

As there is no occasion for लिङ् here, we cannot have the Conditional (नृङ्) required by rule III. 3. 141.

Another example is न श्रद्धेऽपि न मर्षयेवा किंकिला स्वं शूद्राज्ञम् भोक्षयसे 'I do not believe or can tolerate that thou shouldst eat the food of Sūdra'; भवित् भवति विद्यते वा शूद्रोऽगमिष्वति 'Is it possible that thou shouldst go to a female Sūdra'.

**जातुयदोर्लिङ् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातु-यदोः, लिङ्, (अनवलू-
प्त्यमर्षयोः, वोताप्योः) ॥**

यतिः ॥ जातु बहिरवेत्योरुपपद्योरनवङ्ग्लवर्षयोर्गम्बमानयोर्धातोलिङ्गप्रत्यवो भवति ॥
वार्षिकम् ॥ जातुयदोर्लिङ्गविधाने यशयद्योरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

147. The affix 'Lini' comes after a root, the words 'jātu' and 'yat' being in construction with it, when the sense is that the action is not believed to be likely, or is not to be tolerated.

This excludes the First Future or 'Lrit'. जातु सब भवान् वृषजम् आज्ञवेत्, or वामान सब भवान् वृषजम् आज्ञयेत्, न श्रद्धेऽपि, न मर्षयामि ।

Vart.—The words यशा and वहि should be enumerated along with the words जातु and यत् in this rule. As यशा or वहि वा स्वादृशो हर्ति निन्देत् or अनिन्दिष्यन् नावकल्पयामि, न मर्षयामि वा 'neither do I believe, nor do I tolerate that one like you did attempt to blaspheme Hari'.

Here also when the non-completion of the action is implied, the Conditional (लृङ्) is *necessarily* employed in denoting future time, and *optionally* so in denoting past time. As जातु, यत्, यशा or वहि स्वादृशो हर्ति निन्देत् or अनिन्दिष्यन् नावकल्पयामि, न मर्षयामि वा 'neither do I believe, nor do I tolerate that one like you did attempt to blaspheme Hari'. वहि सुरभिमशाप्स्वस्तमुखोऽङ्गशासगम्भम् तव इति रथविष्यत् पृष्ठरीके किमस्मिन् 'if you had felt (which you clearly have not) the fragrant smell of her breath, would you have had any liking for this lotus'?

यस्ययत्रयोः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य-यत्रयोः, (अनवक्षृप्त्यनर्थयोः, लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वच्चवम् इत्येतयोऽपपर्वोरनवक्षृप्त्यमर्थयोर्गम्बमानयोर्धातोलिङ्गप्रस्तवयो भवति ॥

148. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, the words 'yachcha' and 'yattra' being in construction, when the sense is that the action is not believed to be likely, or not to be tolerated.

This supersedes the First Future. The separation of this aphorism from the previous one, is for the sake of the rules that follow. The rule I. 3. 10 does not also apply here. Thus वच्च वच वा स्वमेवं कुर्वाः न अहे, न मर्त्यानि 'I do not think, nor can I tolerate that thou wilt do so'.

The Conditional (लिङ्) will also be employed under its own proper conditions as shown in the last aphorism.

गर्हयां च ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्हयाम्, च, (यस्ययत्रयोः, लिङ्, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वच्चवम् इत्येतयोऽपपर्वोर्धातोलिङ्गप्रस्तवयो भवति गर्हयाम् गम्बमानाकाम् ॥

149. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root in all tenses when the words 'yachcha' and 'yattra' are in composition with it, provided that censure is implied.

The governing force of the words *anavaklīpti* and *amarsha* ceases. This debars all other tense-affixes. Thus वच्च or वच तथ भवान् वृष्णं वाजवेत् चक्षु चृदः सन् ब्राह्मणः, गर्हयादे, अहो अन्वाच्चमेतत् 'we blame you who being an opulent, old Brahmana (who ought to know better) officiate as a sacrificial priest for a Sūdra, O ! It is improper' !

When the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional tense must be employed under the rules given in III. 3. 139-140-141. As वच्च or वच एवं हरिं निन्देः or अनिन्दित्यः, गर्हयादे 'we censure that you should (have attempted to) blaspheme Hari', &c.

चित्रीकरणे च ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्रीकरणे, च, (यस्ययत्रयोः, लिङ्, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वच्चवप्रयोऽपपर्वोपितीकरणे गम्बमाने भातोलिङ्गप्रस्तवयो भवति ॥

150. The affix 'Lin' comes in all tenses after a root, when used with the words 'yachcha' and 'yattra' and the sense implied is that of 'wonder'.

The word चित्रीकरण means 'wonder, astonishment, strangeness &c'. This debars all the other tense-affixes. Thus वच्च or वच तथ भवान् वृष्णं वाजवेत् आभर्दमेत् 'this is a wonder that you should sacrifice for a Sūdra'.

When the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional is employed under the rules III. 3. 139, 140 and 141. Thus आश्वर्यमेतत् यच्च or यन स्वं शूद्रं याजये: or भयाज्येष्यः 'it is a wonder that you should (have attempted to) perform a sacrifice for a Sūdra'; आश्वर्यमेतत् यच्च or यन स्वं शूद्रं भयाज्यिष्यः 'it is a wonder that you should (hereafter attempt to) make a Sūdra perform a sacrifice.'

शेषे लृहयदौ ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, लृह, अयदौ, (विश्वीकरणे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शेषेउपपदे विश्वीकरणे गम्यमाने धासोल्लिङ्गप्रत्ययो भवति विश्वाद्वधेन प्रयुज्यते ॥

151. In all other cases, when wonder is implied by other words than 'yachcha' and 'yatra', the affix 'Lrit' is employed after a root, except when the word 'yadi' is used.

In all other cases, that is to say, in cases where the words यच्च or यन are not employed, as well as where the word यदि is not used, the First Future is used in preference to the Potential.

Thus आश्वर्ये, चिन्नं, भद्रभूम् भन्धो नाम पर्वतमारोह्यति, बधिरो नाम व्याकरणम् भवेष्यते 'it is wonderful, strange and astonishing that the blind man should ascend a mountain, or a deaf person should read grammar'.

Not so, when the word यदि is employed. Thus आश्वर्ये यदि सोऽधीशीत 'a wonder, if he study'. आश्वर्ये यदि स भुज्ञेत 'a wonder, if he eat'.

As there is, in this case, no occasion to employ the Potential, we cannot employ the Conditional as directed in sūtras III. 3. 139, 140 and 141.

उताप्योः समर्थयोर्लिङ्गः ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत-अप्योः, समर्थयोः,
लिङ्गः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उत अपि इयेतयोः समर्थयोर्द्वासोलिङ्गप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

152. The affix 'Lini' comes after a verb in all tenses, when the words 'uta' and 'api', both having the same meaning, are in composition.

This excludes all the other tense-affixes. The meaning which is common both to उत and अपि is that of बादम् 'assuredly, certainly, surely, really'. Thus उत कुर्यात् 'certainly he does'; अपि कुर्यात् 'assuredly he does'; उताधीशीत 'certainly he studies (will study &c)'; अप्याधीशीत 'surely he studies &c'.

Why do we say 'when they mean certainly'? Observe उत हंडः पतिष्ठति 'will the stick fall'? अपि इति धास्यति 'he shuts the door'. Here उत is employed in asking questions, and अपि with धा means 'to shut'. The option allowed by rule III. 3. 141. ceases. Hereafter the Conditional (लिङ्गः) must invariably be used even in indicating Past action, when action is not completed, and there is reason for the employment of लिङ्गः (Potential). In indicating Future time, of course, लिङ्गः

must necessarily be employed as before. Henceforward, therefore, no option is allowed, but लृङ् must be employed where sūtras III. 3. 139 and 140 require it.

कामप्रवेदनेऽकच्छिति ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ काम-प्रवेदने, अकच्छिति, (लिङ्) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ काम इच्छाभिजाप्त इत्यर्थान्तरम्, तस्य प्रवेदनं प्रकाशनम्, तस्मिन् गम्बमानेऽकच्छित्वुपर्याप्ते धारोलिङ्गप्रस्तवो भवति ॥

153. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, in expressing or making known of a wish, except when the word 'kachchit' is in composition with it.

The phrase कामप्रवेदन means the expression of one's wish. This debars all other tense-affixes. As कामो मे भुज्जीत भवान् = अभिजाप्तो मे भुज्जीत भवान् 'it is my wish that you will eat'.

Why do we say 'except the word कच्छित्'? Observe कच्छित्तीवति ते माता कच्छित्तीवति से पिता । मारविद् स्वा इच्छामि कच्छित्तीवति पार्वती ॥ 'I hope thy mother is living, I hope thy father is living, I ask thee, O māravīd! (Parrot), I hope that Pārvatī is living'.

संभावनेऽलभिति चेत् सिद्धाप्रयोगे ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संभावने, अलम्, इति, चेत्, सिद्ध-अप्रयोगे, (लिङ्) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ संभावनं, कियासु योग्यता॑ यवसानशक्तिभवानम्, सविशानीमलम्येन विशेषत्वे, तद्वेत् संभावनं पर्याप्तमवित्यं भवति, सिद्धाप्रयोग इत्यलमो विशेषणं, सिद्धश्चेदलमोऽप्रयोगः; कवासी सिद्धः, वज्र गव्यते चायां न चासी प्रयुज्यते, तद्वेत् सम्भावनोपाधिकोऽप्येवं वर्तमानाद्वातोलिङ्गः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

154. The affix 'Lin' is employed after a root, when the expectation (of a person or thing being able or competent to do or suffer the action denoted by the verb) is implied (or expressed by any other word used along with them) than 'alām'.

The word लिङ् is understood here. The word संभावन means supposition and expectation in the power or ability of another to perform any action. This word is here qualified by the sense of the word अलं. The word अलं means 'adequate'; so that the above-mentioned संभावन must be completed, full and true i. e. realised. The phrase सिद्धाप्रयोग qualifies अलं, and means 'if the non-employment or omission of अलं is valid or unobjectionable. When is that unobjectionable, when the sense of अलं is implied by the sentence, but this word itself is not used? The Potential Mood is employed when the expectation is of the kind above described. This rule debars all other tense-affixes. Thus अपि पर्वतं शिरसा भिन्न्यात् 'I expect he will break even the hill with his head'; अपि द्वीपाकं भुज्जीत 'I expect you will eat away even a *drona* of cooked food'.

Why do we use the word अलं 'competent to do'? Observe, विशेषस्त्वादी

३६८ त्रायेण गमिष्यति ग्रामम् 'I expect Devadatta who is living in a foreign country, will some day go back to his country'. Here though expectation' is expressed the idea conveyed by अलं, namely, the power to do something or adequacy to do is not present; and hence the Future is employed instead of the Potential.

Why do we use the phrase सिद्धाप्रयोगे 'when the actual result does not take place'? Observe, अलं ३६८ त्रो हस्तिनं हनिष्यति 'Devadatta is in a position to kill the elephant, and he will carry it out also'.

Under similar circumstances, in past and future times, when non-completion of action is indicated, the Conditional tense (लक्) must be invariably used in preference to every other tense. Professor Bohtlingk translates the sūtra thus: "The Potential is employed when it is expressed that some one is believed to be capable of doing something, pre-supposing that the actual performance of the action does not take place".

विभाषा धातौ सरभावनवचनेऽयदि ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा,
धातौ, सरभावन-वचने, अयदि, (संभावने, जलनिति, चेत्, सिद्धाप्रयोगे, लिङ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सम्भावनवचने धातावुपपत्ते वच्छब्दवर्जिते धातोर्विभाषा निहृ प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

155. The affix 'Lin' is optionally employed after a verb when it has another verb which expresses 'expectation', in construction with it, but not so when the word 'yat' is used.

The whole of the last sūtra qualifies this sūtra; the 'expectation' indicated here being of the kind mentioned in the last sūtra and governed by the conditions laid down in that aphorism. The word by which an 'expectation' is expressed such as संभावय अपि, or अपिनाम, is called संभावन-वचन. This sūtra enjoins an option where by the last aphorism, there would have been necessarily the Potential Tense. Thus सम्भावयामि भुञ्जीत or भोह्यते भवान् 'I expect you will eat'; अवकल्पयामि भुञ्जीत or भोह्यते भवान् 'I hope you will eat'; अदृष्टे भुञ्जीत or भोह्यते भवान् 'I believe you will eat'. But no option is allowed, and the Potential must necessarily be used, when the word वस् is employed. As सम्भावयामि वस् भुञ्जीत भवान् 'I expect you will eat'.

The sūtra may also be rendered thus. "The Potential is not necessarily employed where there is in connection with it a verb in the sense of 'to hold as possible', but not when वस् is employed."

हेतुहेतुमतोर्लिङ् ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतु-हेतुमतोः, लिङ् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुभूते हेतुमति चायेऽवर्तमानाव धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

156. The affix 'Lin' is optionally employed after both those verbs which express the condition and its consequence.

The word हेतु means 'cause or 'condition' and हेतुमत् means consequence or effect'. This supersedes all other tense-affixes; in other words, 'in conditional sentences in which one statement is made to depend upon another as its reason or ground, the Potential is used in both the antecedent and the consequent, otherwise called the *protasis* (हेतु) and *apodosis* (हेतुमत्), the former containing the condition or ground of argument, and the latter the conclusion based upon it'. Thus:—इति एन चेयावान् शकटम् पर्याभवेत् 'if he go by the right side, the cart will not be upset'; यदि कमलकम् भाद्रयेन शकटम् पर्याभवेत् 'if he calls Kamalaka, the cart will not be upset'. Here 'going by the right side' is the *protasis* (हेतु), and 'not-upsetting' the *apodosis* (हेतुमत्).

This is an optional use of the Potential; we may use the Second Future in the alternative; thus इति एन चेष्ट वास्तवति न शकटं पर्याभिष्वति 'if he goes by the south, the cart will not be upset'.

The word विभाषा 'optionally' used in the sūtra immediately preceding is also understood here.

Though the anuvṛitti of लिङ् could have been taken from the last aphorisms, its repetition here is for the sake of pointing out the particular time, namely, the Future, in which the Potential should be employed. Therefore it is not employed in the following sentences: हन्तीते पलायते 'he kills, therefore he flies'; वर्षति इति धावति 'it rains, therefore he runs'.

It, of course, follows that when the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional (मत्) should be employed, under these very circumstances. See examples under sūtra III. 3. 139.

इष्वार्येषु लिङ्गोटो ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इष्वार्येषु, लिङ्गोटौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इष्वार्येषु धातुपूपदेषु धातोलिङ्गोटो प्रवद्यते भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ कामप्रवेहनहति वक्तव्यम् ॥

157. The affixes 'Lin' and 'Lot' are employed after a root, when another verb having the sense of 'wishing, is in construction with it.

This supersedes all other tense-affixes. When words expressing 'wish', such as इष्व, कम्, पार्थ &c, are used, the Potential or Imperative is used; thus इष्वामि कामये or प्रार्थये भुक्तीत भवान् or भुक्त्वा भवान् 'I wish, desire or pray that your honor may eat'.

Vart.—It is only when a desire is expressed that Potential or Imperative should be employed and not merely when the verb 'to wish' or its synonyms are in composition. Therefore the Potential or Imperative are not used here: इष्वन् करोति 'wishing, he does'.

The sūtra may be rendered thus: 'In connection with a verb in the sense of 'wishing' the Potential or the Imperative may be employed'.

**समानकर्तृकेषु तुमुन् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-कर्तृकेषु, तुमुन्,
(इच्छार्थेषु) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु धातुषु समानकर्तृके पूपरेषु धातोस्तुमुन् प्रस्वयो भवति ॥

158. The affix 'tumun' comes after a verb, when another verb meaning 'to wish' is in construction, provided that the agent of both the verbs is the same.

Thus इच्छति, वहि or वादति भोन्नुन् 'he desires to eat'; कामयते भोन्नुन् 'he wishes to eat'; पिनाकपाणिं पतिन् भासुन् इच्छति 'desires to obtain for her husband the Pinaka-handed God Siva'.

But why do we say 'when the agent of the Infinitive and the verb are the same'? We can not say देवदत्तं भोन्नुन् इच्छति यजदत्तः 'Yajñadatta wishes Devadatta to eat'; for here the agents of भुज् and इष् are not the same. We must say, भुज्ञानन् instead of भोन्नुन् ।

Why do not we use it here:—इच्छन् करोति 'wishing, he does'? Because the Infinitive is never found in such constructions. In other words, the Infinitive in तुम् is employed when both the verbs have the same agent.

लिङ् च ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ् च, (इच्छार्थेषु, समानकर्तृकेषु)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु समानकर्तृकेषु धातुपूपरेषु धातोनिङ्ग्रह-प्रस्वयो भवति ॥

159. The affix 'Lin' is used after a verb when verbs meaning 'to wish' are in construction with it, and the agent of both the verbs is the same.

Under similar conditions, with words implying 'wish', the Potential is used in the sense of the Infinitive; Thus भुज्ञीय इति इच्छति 'he wishes that he may eat'; अपीडीयेति इच्छति 'he wishes that he will read'.

When the non-completion of the action is implied, the Conditional must be employed under rule III. 3. 139.

**इच्छार्थेभ्यो विभाषा वर्तमाने ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा-अर्थस्यः,
विभाषा, वर्तमाने, (लिङ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेभ्यो धातुभ्यो वर्तमाने काजे विभाषा निङ्ग्रह-प्रस्वयो भवति ॥

160. After roots meaning 'to wish', the Potential (Lin) is optionally used in denoting the present time.

This ordains निङ् where there would have been otherwise नद. Thus इच्छति or इच्छेत् 'he wishes'; वहि or उश्यात्; कामयते or कामवैत ।

**विधिनिमन्त्रणामन्त्रणाधीष्ट संप्रश्नप्रार्थनेषु लिङ् ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥
विधि-निमन्त्रण-आमन्त्रण-अधीष्ट-संप्रश्न-प्रार्थनेषु, लिङ् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ विध्यायर्थेषु धातोनिङ्ग्रह-प्रस्वयो भवति ॥

161. The affix 'Liñ' comes after a verb, when the agent either commands, invites, permits, politely expresses a wish, asks questions, or prays.

The word विधि: means 'commanding or directing a subordinate'; निमन्त्रणः means 'giving invitation'; आमन्त्रणः means 'expressing permission to do as one likes'; भधीषः means 'to politely express a wish'; सम्प्रशः means 'a question'; and प्रार्थना means 'a prayer'.

This excludes all other tense-affixes. Thus :—

(1) करं कुर्यात् 'let him make the mat'; पास्म भवान् भागच्छेत् 'you come to the village';

(2 and 3) इह भवान् भुख्लीत् 'you will or may dine here'; इह भवान् आसीत् 'here you will or may sit';

(4) भधीच्छानो भवन्तं माणवकं भवानुपनयेत् 'we wish that you should condescend to initiate this boy';

(5) किं भो व्याकरणमधीचीव उत तर्कम्? 'Sir, what shall I learn, the Grammar or the Logic?'

(6) भवति मे प्रार्थना व्याकरणं भधीचीव 'this is my prayer that I should learn Grammar'.

लोट् च ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोट् च, (विधि-निमन्त्रण-आमन्त्रण-
भधीच्छ-संप्रश्न-प्रार्थनेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट् प्रस्तवयो भवति धातोर्विद्याविष्वयेषु ॥

162. The affix 'Lot' also is employed after a root in the sense of commanding, &c.

The Imperative Mood is employed also under the circumstances mentioned in the last aphorism. The division of this aphorism from the last, is for the sake of subsequent sūtras in which the anuvṛitti of लोट् only runs and not those of others. Thus :—

(1) करं तावह् भवान् करोतु 'make the mat'; पास्म भवान् भागच्छइतु !

(2 and 3) अमुञ्च भवान् आस्ताम् 'there you are invited to, or you may, sit'.

(4) पुम्भवान् अथापयतु 'you will teach, I hope, the son'.

(5) किं भो वेदप्रश्नयै उत तर्कै 'Sir what shall I learn, the Veda or the Logic?'

(6) भवति मे प्रार्थना व्याकरणमधीवै छन्दोऽध्यवै 'this is my prayer that I may learn the Grammar, or that I may learn the Prosody'.

प्रैषातिसर्गप्राप्तकालेषु कृत्याङ्ग ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रैष-अतिसर्ग-
प्राप्तकालेषु, कृत्याः, च, (लोट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रैषाण् प्रैषः, कामचारायनुज्ञानमसिसर्गः, निमित्तभूतस्य कालस्थावस्तः प्राप्त-
कालः, एतेष्वयेषु धातोः कृत्यसंहकाः प्रस्तवा भवन्ति ॥

163. The affixes called 'Kṛitya', and the affix 'Loṭ' come also after verbs, in the sense of direction, granting permission, and proper (particular) time.

The word श्रेष्ठ means 'direction'; अतिसर्गः means 'permission to do as one likes'; प्राप्तकालः means 'arrival of appropriate occasion or time for the doing of an action'. The force of च is to introduce the word ज्ञोट् into this aphorism. Thus भवता कठः करणीयः, कर्तव्यः, कृत्यः or कार्यः: 'you must, (may, or it is proper time for you to) make the mat'.

So instead of the Passive Potential Participles, for such the Kṛitya affix (III. 1. 95 &c) may properly be called; we may have the Imperative also. Thus करोतु कठः 'you must (may or it is the appropriate time to) make the mat'.

It might be asked 'Why the *kṛitya* affixes are enjoined to come with the force of direction, permission &c'. They have been ordained most generically to come in denoting action in the Abstract (भाव) and object (कर्म) and *a fortiori* they will come in denoting the senses of direction, permission &c; for the latter are but a species of action. If you say that ज्ञोट् being ordained in these special senses, will (on the principle, that an apavāda or special rule excludes an utsarga or general rule within the jurisdiction of such special rule) exclude *kṛitya* affixes; we would reply, that *kṛitya* affixes will not be excluded, for the rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94) will apply'.

To this objection we answer 'the special mention of the word *kṛitya* in this sūtra, indicates the existence of the following maxim :—

'The rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94) does not necessarily apply in all cases after sūtra III. 3. 94 treating of primary affixes by which feminine nouns are formed'.

Q.—What is the difference between the words विधि and श्रेष्ठ? Some say विधि means a precept enjoining something for the first time; while श्रेष्ठ means mere 'direction'.

लिङ् चोर्ध्वं मीहूर्तिके ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, च, उर्ध्वं-मीहूर्तिके, (प्रैषातिसर्ग-प्राप्तकालेषु, कृत्याः, लोट्) ॥

वृशिः ॥ श्रेष्ठादिषु गम्यमानेषु उर्ध्वं-मीहूर्तिके वर्तमानाद्वातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यथा प्राप्तज्ञ्च ॥

164. The affix 'Lin' (as well as the 'Kṛitya' and 'Loṭ') is used (under similar circumstances in the sense of direction, permission &c.) when the time is future by a Muhūrta (48 minutes or an Indian hour); (or the Potential may be used as well, when it signifies 'at this very moment').

The words प्रैष &c. of the last sūtra must be read into this. The force of च is to introduce the words कृत्या and लोट् from the last sūtra, into this. Thus कर्त्त्वं मुहूर्ताद्युपरि मुहूर्तस्य भवता खलु कठः कर्त्तव्यः, करणीयः, कार्यः, or भवान् खलु कठं कुर्बात् (Potential) or करोतु (Imperative). 'You may make the mat after an Indian hour'; or 'you must &c', or 'it is proper time for you to make a mat just now'. Compare III. 3. 9.

स्मे लोट् ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्मे, लोट्, (प्रैषातिसर्गप्राप्तकालेषु, कर्त्तव्यनौहूर्तिके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्दउपरहे प्रैषादिषु गम्यमाने शूर्वमौहूर्तिके येव वच्चमानादातो लोट्प्रस्त्वयो भवति ॥

165. The affix 'Lot' comes after a verb, when the word 'sma' is in composition; (when the sense is that of 'direction' permission) &c. and referring to time future by a Muhūrta).

This supersedes the Potential (जिह्वा) and Potential Passive Participles (कृत्वा). Thus कर्त्त्वं मुहूर्ताद् भवान् कठं करोतु स्म, पासं गच्छतु स्म, भाण्डवकमध्यापवतु स्म 'you (may, must, or it is proper time to) make the mat, or go to the village, or teach Māṇavaka just now'.

अधीष्टे च ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधीष्टे, च, (स्मे, लोट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्दउपरहे अधीष्टे गम्यमाने धातो लोट् प्रस्त्वयो भवति ॥

166. And when 'wish' is meant (the Imperative may be used when the word 'sma' is in composition with the verb).

The word स्म is understood here. The word अधीष्ट has already been explained in sūtra III. 3. 161. This rule supersedes the Potential. Thus भज्जः स्म राजन् माणवकमध्यापय or भज्जः स्म राजन्ननिहीनं जुहुषि 'O ! King ! I wish that you teach the boy or make Agnihotra sacrifice'.

कालसमयवेलासु तुमुन् ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-समय-वेलासु, तुमुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालादिष्टपरेषु धातोस्तुमुन् प्रस्त्वयो भवति ॥

167. The affix 'tumun' comes after a root, when the words 'kāla', 'samaya', and 'velā' (all meaning time) are in composition.

Thus काली भोक्तुम् 'time to eat'; समयः खलु स्नानभोजने सेवितुम् 'it is time to bathe and take food'; वेला भोक्तुम् 'time to eat'. In short, Infinitive in तुमुन् may be used with words meaning 'time'; as भवसरोऽवमात्मानं प्रकाशयितुम् 'this is, indeed, the time to show myself'.

Why do not we use the Infinitive here? कालः पञ्चति भूतानि 'time de-

vours all creatures'. The sense of 'direction &c'. is understood in the sūtra; so when 'direction &c' is not meant, the Infinitive will not be used.

Why do not we use the Infinitive here, कालो भोजनस्य 'proper time to eat'? Because, by the rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94), we can use also the affix स्युद् (by which the word भोजन is formed). As we have already said in sūtra III. 3. 163 that after sūtras III 1. 113 and forward, namely, in other sūtras than those treating of feminine affixes, the rule of III. 1. 94 may be employed as an *Anitya* or a non-universal rule.

लिङ् यदि ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ् यदि, (कालसमयवेलासु) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अच्छम्भे उपरे कालादिषु धातोर्जिंश् प्रस्वयो भवति ॥

168. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, when the word 'yad' is in composition, and the words 'kāla', &c. occur in construction.

This ordains the Potential and supersedes the Infinitive in '*tumun*'. Thus कालः समयो वेला वा यद् भवान् भुख्तीत् 'it is time that your honor should take your meals'.

अहे कृत्यत्ववृत्ति ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहे, कृत्य-त्ववः, च, (लिङ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अहे कर्त्तरित्वाच्ये गम्भमाने वा धातोः कृत्यत्ववः प्रस्वया भवन्ति ॥

169. The affixes 'kritya', and the affix 'trich' are added to a root, when fitness as regards the agent is implied, (as well as the affix 'lin').

The force of च is to introduce the Potential (जिङ्) into this, from the last. Thus भवता खलु कन्या वोद्या वाहा or वहनीया, (kritya); or भवान् खलु कन्या वोडा (trich); or भवान् खलु कन्या वहेत् (lin) 'your honor is fit to marry the girl'.

Why specifically enjoin 'kritya' and 'trich' in the sense of fitness? They being enjoined universally, would *a fortiori*, be applied when *fitness* is to be denoted? Because the जिङ् being specially enjoined to denote fitness, and being an *Apavaccha*, would have debarred *kritya* and *trich*, which being universal affixes, would give way. Nor can we, to prevent this contingency, take shelter under rule III. 1. 94 of 'non-uniform affixes', for we have seen that that rule is not universally valid.

आवश्यकाधमर्ययोर्जिनिः ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ आवश्यक-आध-
मर्ययोः, यिनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवत्यभवत्विशिष्टे भाधमर्ययविशिष्टे च कर्त्तरित्वाच्ये धातोर्जिंश्निप्रस्वयो भवति ॥

170. The affix 'nini' is added to the root in denoting agent, showing that there is some 'necessity'

or indebtedness or obligation on the part of the agent in connection with the action denoted by the verb.

Thus भवश्यं कारी 'must be done'. The compounding here takes place by II. I. 72. So also शतं शब्दी 'ought to be given a hundred'; सहस्रं शब्दी; निष्क्रं शब्दी &c.

कृत्याश्च ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्याः, च, (आवश्यकाधमर्थयोः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यसंज्ञकाश्च प्रस्थया आवश्यकाधमर्थयोःयोहपाधिभूतयोर्धातोर्भवन्ति ॥

171. The affixes called 'kritya' also come after a root when the sense to be indicated is that of 'necessity or obligation'.

Thus भवता खलु भवश्यं कर्तः कर्त्तव्यः, करणीयः, कार्यः or कृत्यः 'you ought to make the mat'; भवता शतं शतव्यं, देय, &c, 'you ought to pay a hundred'.

Q.—Where is the necessity of this aphorism? The *kritya* affixes, being enjoined universally without any limitation would, of course, come under these special circumstances also.

A.—They would be excluded by the special affix लिनि of the last sūtra, which comes especially with the force of 'necessity' and 'obligation'.

Q.—Not so, for लिनि comes in denoting the 'agent' (कर्ता), while *kritya* denotes the 'action' (भाव) and the 'object' (कर्म); so their scope being different, how can one supersede the other?

A.—Well, to remove this objection, some say, that *kritya* words like भव्य, गेय &c. (III. 4. 68) which especially refer to the *agent*, are the proper examples to be given under this aphorism; and not examples of *kritya*-formed words in general.

शक्ति लिङ् च ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्ति, लिङ्, च, (कृत्याः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तोरव्योपाधिके धात्वये लिङ्प्रस्थयो भवति चकारात् कृत्याश्च ॥

172. And the affix 'Lin' as well as the 'kritya' affixes come after a verb, when the sense is that of 'capability'.

The word 'capability' qualifies the root so that the sense of capability must be inherent in the root; Thus भवता खलु भारी बोड्यः, वहनीयः, वास्यः (*kritya*), or भवान् खलु भारं वहेत् 'you can carry the load'.

Though *kritya*-affixes would have come in this sense, even without any special rule, for they are general affixes, their special mention in this sūtra is to guard against their being superseded by लिङ्, for rule III. I. 94 is not universally valid.

आशिषि लिङ्ग्लोटै ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, लिङ्ग्-लोटै ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भावशीर्विशिष्टेऽयं वर्तमानाद्यात्तोर्जिङ्ग्लोटै प्रस्थयो भवतः ॥

173. The affixes 'Lin' and 'Lot' come after a verb by which 'benediction' is intended.

The word आशीस् means the wish to obtain an object which one desires, a blessing, an expression of one's good wishes. The लिङ् here referred to is what is known as the आशीर्विंश् or the Benedictive tense. Its conjugation is different from the conjugation of the ordinary लिङ् which we have called the Potential or Optative; as चिरं जीव्याद् भवान् or चिरं जीवतु भवान् 'may you live long'!

Why do we say 'when denoting benediction'. Observe चिरं जीवति देवदत्तः 'Devadatta lives long'.

क्तिष्ठूक्तौ च संज्ञायाम् ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तिष्ठूक्तौ, च, संज्ञा-याम्, (आशिषि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि विषये धतोः क्तिष्ठूक्तौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः समुश्येन चेत्संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

174. The affixes 'ktich' and 'kta' are employed after a root, when benediction is intended, provided that the whole word so formed, is an appellative.

The affixes therefore, 'give the sense of the agent, with the addition that the action is simply the object of a prayer of some one who wishes that that may be the action of that agent, the sense being simply appellative.' Thus तन्तिः = समुत्तात् 'a weaver' (lit. may he weave); सातिः or सतिः = सनुतात् (VI. 445) 'wealth or gift'; भूतिः = भवतात् 'success'; मन्तिः = मनुतात् 'respect'. These are examples of words formed by the affix क्ति॒। Of words formed by क्त् in this sense, we have देवदत्तः = देवा एनं देवासुः 'Devadatta (lit. may the Gods give him). Though the affix क्त् has already once been generally ordained, its repetition here is to prevent its being superseded by क्ति॒। The च् of क्ति�॒ is qualifying only, distinguishing it from क्तिन् &c. and is useful in sūtra VI. 4. 39.

नाडि लुङ् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नाडि, लुङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ माढ्युपपरे धातोल्लुङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

175. The affix 'Lun' comes after a verb when the word 'mān' is used in connection with it.

This sets aside all other tense-affixes. As मा कार्बैत् 'let him not do' मा हार्षैत् 'let him not take'.

How have we then the Imperative and the Future tenses in the following sentence instead of the Aorist? मा भवतु सत्य पापं मा भविष्यति। This sentence is against good usage. Or, we may explain it by saying that there is another मा which has not the indicatory च; and with that मा, other tenses may be used. The augment is elided after the prohibitive particle मा, by VI. 4. 74.

स्मैत्तरे लङ् च ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्म, उत्तरे, लङ् च, (माडि,
लुङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्दोत्तरे माह्युपपदे धातौर्जङ् प्रथयो भवति चकारालङ् च ॥

176. When the word 'māñ' is followed by 'sma', the affix 'Lañ' as well as 'Luñ' may be employed after a verbal root.

By च we introduce लुङ् into the aphorism. Thus मास्म करोत् or कार्षीत् 'let him not make'; मास्म हरत् or हार्षीत् 'let him not take'.

बो॒३८

अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER IV.

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धातुसम्बन्धे प्रत्ययाः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातु-सम्बन्धे, प्रत्ययाः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ धात्वर्थानां सम्बन्धो धातुसम्बन्धः, विगोषणविशेष्यभावः, तस्मिन्सति भवयाकालोका
अपि प्रत्ययाः साधवो भवन्ति ॥

1. When there is a syntactical relation between the senses of the verbs, the affixes are valid, even in denoting time other than that for which they have been specifically enjoined.

The above sūtra is thus translated by Professor Bohtlingk :—"Words formed with affixes stand, (in reference to the time) in closer relation to the verb (with which they are allied)". Thus III. 2. 85 has taught that words like अग्निष्टोमवाज्ञा have a past significance, i. e. they denote a person who *has* already *performed* the ceremony of Agnishtoma. According to the present sūtra, in spite of this past significance, inherent in the word, one may use this word with a future tense, whereby it is reduced to a future-denoting word. Thus अग्निष्टोमवाज्ञावस्य पुनो जनिता means 'to him a son will be born who will perform the said Agnishtoma sacrifice'.

The above is not a literal translation but rather an adaptation. The literal translation will be something like this. "Affixes are employed in denoting relation (संबन्ध) between the senses of verbs". The word धातुसम्बन्ध is a Genitive Compound meaning 'relation of root'. The word धातु 'root' is figuratively used for धारण्य 'sense of root'; so that the above compound means 'relation of the senses of roots'. In other words, the relation between the roots should be that of qualifier and the qualified. When there exists such a relation between the senses of two verbs, namely, that of qualifier and the thing qualified, then the affixes may be employed in denoting other times than that specifically ordained for them. In other words, to quote from the Guide to Pāṇini: "It is to be observed, that when primitive words are joined with verbs so as to qualify them, the time of the verbs being mainly the time that controls the sentence, any time denoted by the primitive affixes, by which the former words have been formed will be subordinate to and regulated by, but need not correspond to, the time of the verbs, so far as the form of those words is concerned."

Thus तत्र वसन् एहर्गे 'living there, he saw'; अग्निष्टोमवाऽवस्त्वं पुत्रो जनिता 'to him a son will be born, a performer of the Agnishtoma sacrifice'; कृतः करः चौ भविता 'he will be to-morrow maker of the mat'; भाविकृत्यमासीत्।

Here, though the time of the action of living denoted by वसन् is present, (III. 2. 124), this action is present only in relation to the action of seeing, and though because the latter action is past, the former action also is past with reference to the speaker or writer, this circumstance does not affect the form of वसन्, which therefore may remain as it is. In other words, 'affixes are related directly to the root, and not to the whole sentence'.

Similarly the word अग्निष्टोमवाची is formed by an affix (III. 2. 85) denoting past time, while the word जनिता is in the Future tense. Now, this linking together of a word in the Past tense with a word in the future is a valid usage. Here the time of the qualified verb भविता does not affect the special time of the qualifier *Agnishtomayajt*.

Q.—Why has the word ग्रन्थव been repeated in this sūtra, when it was understood in this from III. 1.1? Ans.—The repetition is for the sake of indicating that affixes which are not ordained to come after roots (धातु), but which are enjoined to come after nouns &c. such as Taddhita affixes, are even valid in other tenses than those in which they have been specifically enjoined when related to a verb. Thus गोमानासीत् 'he was possessed of a cow'; गोमान् भविता 'he will be possessed of a cow'. Here the Taddhita affix मतुप् is added to the noun गो 'cow', with a present signification (V. 2. 94), the word गोमत् meaning 'who *has* cows' or 'in which there *are* cows.' This word गोमत्, however, is related and validly so, to the words आसीत् and भविता—one in the Past tense and the other in the Future.

क्रियासमभिहारे लोट् लोटो हिस्वौ वा च तथ्वमोः ॥२॥ पदानि ॥
क्रिया-समभिहारे, लोट्, लोटो, हि-स्वौ, वा, च, त-थ्वमोः, (धातुसम्बन्धे)॥
वृत्तिः ॥ समभिहारविशिष्टक्रियाद्यनामाद्यतोलोद्पत्त्ययो भवति सर्वेषु कालेषु, सर्वज्ञाराणामपवादः तस्य च लोटो हि त्व इष्वेतावारेशौ भवतः, तथम्भाविनस्तु वा भवतः ॥

2. When the (frequency or) repetition of an action is indicated, the affix 'Lot' is added to the root, and the verb is repeated. And the affixes 'hi' and 'sva', or the affixes 'tā' and 'dhvam' are the substitutes of 'Lot'.

Professor Bohtlingk translates this as follows: "When the repetition of an action is expressed, the Imperative is used, and though the second person singular is used, it may also stand for the second person plural."

The phrase धातुसम्बन्ध of the last sūtra is understood here also. The frequency or repetition of an action is called समभिहारः। This word qualifies the sense of the original. In other words, "when the sense of frequency &c. is under-

stood in connection with the action, this sense not being included in that of the verb, as it may be in the case of a verb from frequentative roots."

This Imperative mood is employed in all Tenses and Persons in connection with all moods. But this peculiar use of the Imperative is confined to the 2nd. person singular and plural Parasmaipada (हि and त); and 2nd. person singular and plural Atmanepada (स्त्र and षष्ठ्). In other words, "the Imperative second person (Parasmaipada and Atmanepada) is repeated, though the subject of the main verb be different and the verb be in any tense." Thus लुनीहि लुनीही-स्थेवाचं लुनाति 'he cuts repeatedly', as if some one was always calling out to him 'cut thou, cut thou'. लुनीहि लुनीहीस्थेव इतो लुनीतः or इते लुनन्ति 'they cut often and often'. So also लुनीहि लुनीहीस्थेव स्त्रं लुनाति, युवाम् लुनीयः or बूद्यं लुनीय 'thou or you two or you all cut repeatedly' as if some one was calling out to you 'cut you, cut you'.

So also लुनीत लुनीतेस्थेव यूऽं लुनीय, अहं लुनामि, अवमन्नाति &c. 'you cut, I cut, he has cut repeatedly', as if some one was calling out to us 'cut ye, cut ye'. Similarly with Atmanepada roots; as अधीष्वाधीष्वेवेवायमधीते, इतो अधीवाते, इते अधीयते &c. 'he or they study hard' as if some one was calling out to them 'study thou, study thou'.

So also अधीष्वमधीष्वमित्येव यूमधीष्वे &c. Similarly in every tense, mood and person; as, अधीष्वाधीष्वेत्येवाहमधोये, आवामधीष्वहे, ववमधोमहे !

The Intensive verbs in श्वः also have this meaning of frequency, but there the verb is not repeated, as the sense of frequency there is inherent in the verb; in this case we must repeat the verb to express frequency. See VIII. I. 4.

This use of the Imperative is not found in Literature (Bohtlingk), but in Marathi.

समुच्चयेऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समुच्चये, अन्यतरस्याम्,
(लोट्, लोटो, हिंखी, वा, तच्चमोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुच्चयोवान क्रियावचनाद्यतेरन्यतरस्यां लोट् प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य लोटो हिस्वावारेशो भवतः ॥

3. The affix 'Lot' is similarly added to the root optionally, when several themes follow one after another.

In this case also the terminations of the second person singular and plural Atmanepada and Parasmaipada are employed, namely, हि, स्त्र, or त and षष्ठ्. Thus आष्ट्रमट् भठमट् खरूमट् स्याल्यपिधानमदेत्येवायमटति or इमावटतः; or इमेऽटन्ति ।

Similar examples can be formed as in the last aphorism; only the Imperative is not doubled as in the last case.

Similarly छन्दोऽधीष्व, व्याकरणमधीष्व, निहक्तमधीष्वेत्येवायमधीते, or इमावधीवाते or इमेऽधीवते 'he or they two or they all learn, learning Prosody, learning Grammar, learning Nirukta'.

This being an optional rule, we have these forms also; व्याकरणमधीते,

छन्दोऽधीते, निरक्तमधीते, इत्येवायमधीते, इमावधीयाते, इमेऽधीयते । छन्दोधीये, व्याकरणमधीये, निरक्तमधीये, इत्येव त्वमधीये, युशमधीयये, चूदमधीयवे । छन्दोधीये व्याकरणमधीये, निरक्तमधीयत्वे याहमधीये, भाषामधीयहे, वयमधीयहे ।

यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगः पूर्वस्मिन् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा-विधि, अनु-प्रयोगः, पूर्वस्मिन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वस्मिन् ज्ञात्विधाने यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगो भवति ॥

4. In the first case (comprised under sūtra III. 4. 2), the same verb must be used in the subsequent clause, as the verb which was put in the Imperative mood.

The examples have already been given under sūtra III. 4. 2. We cannot say लूप्तीहि लूप्तीहीयेवायं द्विनन्ति; we must use a verb from the root लू 'to cut'. Such as लूनाति, &c. So also अधीष्वाधीष्व takes अधोते only after it and not a synonymous verb like पठति &c.

समुच्चये सामान्यवचनस्य ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ समुच्चये, सामान्य-व-चनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीये लोद् विधाने समुच्चये सामान्यवचनस्य भातोरनुप्रयोगः क्रस्त्वः ॥

5. In the second case (III. 4. 3) where many actions are spoken of together, the verb that is made to follow, should be such as has the sense common to all those verbs.

Thus औरन भुद्द्वय, सकून्निव, धानाः खादेत्येवायमभ्यवहरति 'he takes his meals, eating rice, drinking saktu, and tasting fried corn'. Here the verb अभ्यवहरति has a sense common to all the verbs in the Imperative mood. The object of taking the second verb, having the senses common to all the antecedent verbs, is to prevent the repetition of *all* the previous ones. In the secular vernacular, the brevity, however, is often not approved.

छन्दसि लुङ्गलङ्गसिटः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, लुङ्ग-लङ्ग-सिटः, (धातुसम्बन्धे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये धातुसम्बन्धे सर्वेषु कालेषु लुङ्ग-लङ्ग-सिटः प्रसववा नवनित ॥

6. In the Vedas, the Aorist, Imperfect and Perfect are optionally employed in all tenses, in relation to verbs.

The words धातुसम्बन्ध and अन्यतरस्वाम् are understood here also. By saying 'optionally', other tense-affixes may be similarly employed.

Thus हे वे हे वे मिरागमत् (Rig. I. i. 5.) 'O God Agni ! come hither with the gods'. Here the Aorist धागमत् has the force of the Imperative. वे भूतस्व प्रवेतत

इं तेऽकरं नमः 'I make salutation &c. &c'. (Rig. X. 85. 17). Here अकरं is Aorist (न्तुः) and has the sense of the Present.

So also अग्निमय होतारमवृणीतां यजमानः। Here ज्ञः is used instead of ज्ञा।

So also भद्य ममार=भद्य भ्रियते। Here ज्ञित् is used instead of ज्ञा।

लिङ्गर्थे सेट् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्गर्थे, सेट्, (छन्दसि, अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिडये च न जिड् विधीते, विष्वारिडेत् उतुमतोर्जिण्डित्वै वमाविस्तम छन्दसि विष्वे अन्यतरस्यां ज्ञेत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. The affix 'Let' is optionally employed in the Vedas, wherever the Potential can be used.

Thus in the sense of 'command' &c., ज्ञेत् may be employed instead of लिङ्गः. This is called the Vedic Subjunctive and is peculiar to the Vedas only. Thus जोषिष्ठ (Rig. II. 35. 1) 'may he make us beautiful'. तारिष्ठ (Rig. I. 25. 12) 'may he increase'. पताति विष्वुत् (Rig. VII. 25. 1) 'may the thunder-bolt fall'. भवाति (Rig. V. 37. 5) 'may he become'. So also मन्दिष्ठ, नेता, नेष्ट, तक्षिष्ठ, उदिष्ठ च्यावद्याति।

उपसंवादाशङ्कयोऽथ ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसंवाद-आशङ्कयोः, च, (छन्दसि, सेट्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसंवादे भाग्यांकादां च गम्बमानादां छन्दसि विष्वे ज्ञेत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. Where a contingent promise (a reciprocal agreement), or apprehension is implied, the affix 'Let' is employed after a root, in the Chandas Literature.

The word उपसम्वाद means 'reciprocal agreement, contracting to do'. Thus यदि मे भवानिदं कुर्वाद् भहमपि भवत इहं शस्यामि 'If you do this for me, I will give this to you'. Agreements like these are called उपसम्वाद; while guessing or inferring the result from a cause is called भाशङ्कु 'apprehension or fear'.

Thus भहमेत् पश्नूतामीशै ॥ महपा एव वो ग्रहा गृष्यान्ते ॥ महेवत्यान्येव वः पानाण्यु-
च्यान्ते ॥ नेज्जित्यायन्तो (or नेज्जित्यायन्त्यो) नरकं पताम् ॥ (Nir. I. 11. Bohtlingk)=जित्याचरणेन
नरकपात भाशांकयते ॥ All the above examples have the sense of Potential, but the
Subjunctive (Let) must be employed necessarily in these senses and not optionally, which anuvritti was understood in the last sūtra.

**तुमर्थे सेसेनसेअसेन-क्सेकसेनध्यैअध्यैन्-क्यैकध्यैन्-श्यैश्यैन्तवै-
तवेष्ट-तवेनः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुमर्थे, से-सेन-असे-असेन-क्से-कसेन-अध्यै-अध्यैन्-
क्यै-कध्यैन्-श्यै-श्यैन्-तवै-तवेष्ट-तवेनः, (छन्दसि) ॥**

तुमनोऽर्थस्तुमर्थः, तत्र छन्दसि विष्वे धानोः सवाद्यः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

9. In the Vedas the following affixes come

after roots with the force of the affix 'tumun', viz.—'se', 'sen', 'ase', 'asen', 'kse', 'kasen', 'adhyai', 'adhyain', 'kadhyai', 'kadhyain', 'sadhyai', 'sadhyain', 'tavai', 'taven' and 'taven'.

In the Vedic literature the Infinitive is formed by the above 15 affixes. These, when stripped of their indicatory letters, will be found to consist of the following five affixes :—(1) से = से, सेन् and क्ते ॥ (2) असे = असे, असेन् and क्तसेन् ॥ (3) अथै = अथै, अथैन्, कर्थै, कर्थैन्, शृथै and शृथैन् ॥ (4) तवै ॥ (5) तवैन् and तवेन् ।

The difference in the affixes is made by four indicatory letters, viz. न्, क्, श् and ध् । The forces of क्, श् and ध् have already been explained ; the indicatory न् makes the word take the *udatta* accent on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). Thus से is acute (III. 1. 3); सेन् has acute on the first syllable of the word (VI. 1. 197); असे has accent of the affix (III. 1. 3); असेन् throws the accent on the first syllable of the word; the indicatory श् makes the numbers 11 and 12 *Sárvadhátuka*, and the root takes the proper *Vikarana* of its class before these affixes; while before तवै, the acute falls both on the first syllable and the last syllable simultaneously (VI. 1. 200, VI. 2. 51).

Before going to give examples of these affixes, let us explain what is meant by तुमर्थ 'the sense of the affix तुम्' । The word तुमर्थ is here equivalent to भाव or 'action'; for the *pratyayas* or affixes, to which no meaning has been assigned in grammar, convey the meaning of the bases to which they are added. Thus no special meaning having been attached to तुमन्, it will convey the meaning of the root to which it is added, i. e. it will denote the 'action' of the verb, or Infinitive mood. (1) से—वर्षे राथः । (2) सेन्—त्रामेषे रथानाम् (Rig. V. 66. 3). (3 and 4) असे and असेन्—भृस्मे शुतं शुरवे जीवसे धा (Rig. III. 36. 10). So also कृत्ये इक्षाव जीवसे (Rig. X. 57. 4). With असेन् the word will be जीवसे । (5) क्तसे—प्रिये भगव । (6) कर्तेन्—गर्वासिव भ्रियसे (Rig. V. 59. 3). It has not the नित् accent (VI. 1. 197) which would have given us अवसे । (7 and 8) अथै, अथैन्—कर्मण्वपचारधै । (9) कर्थै—इन्द्राग्नी आहुरथै (Rig. VI. 60. 13). (10) कर्थैन्—भ्रवधै । (11 and 12) शृथै, शृथैन्—पितैषै (Rig. IV. 27. 5); the accent however is on पि । सह मातृवैषै (Rig. VI. 60. 13). (13) तवै—धोमिन्द्राव पातवै । (14) तवेन्—तं ते गर्भे हवामहे शशमे मासि द्यूतवै (Rig. X. 184. 3). (15) तवेन्—गंतवै (Rig. I. 46. 7); कर्तवै (Rig. I. 85. 9); इर्तवै ॥

प्रयै रोहिष्यै अव्ययिष्यै ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयै, रोहिष्यै,
अव्ययिष्यै, (तुमर्थ, कंदसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रयै रोहिष्यै अव्ययिष्यै इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते छन्दसि विष्वे ॥

10. The words 'prayai', 'rohishyai' and 'avyayishyai' are irregular Vedic Infinitives.

Thus (1) प्रवै देवेभ्यो महीः (Rig. I. 142. 6); प + बा + कै = प्रवै = प्रवातुम्। (2) अवामो-वर्पिनां रोहिष्ये। न्ह + इष्ये = रोहिष्ये = रोहणाय। (3) भ + ध्यय + इष्ये = अध्यधिष्ये=अध्ययनाय।

दूशे विस्ये च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ दूशे, विस्ये, च, (तुमर्ये, छन्दसि)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इतो विश्वे इरवेतौ छन्दसि विष्वे निष्ववेते ॥

11. The words 'driše' and 'vikhye' are anomalous Vedic Infinitives.

Thus दृशो विचाच सूर्यम् (Rig. I. 50. 1)=इष्टुम्। विश्वे त्वा हरामि=विष्वातुम्।

शकि णमुल्-कमुलौ ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शकि, णमुल्-कमुलौ, (तुमर्ये, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तेतो भातामुपगे छन्दसि विष्वे तुमर्ये णमुल्-कमुल् इरवेतौ प्रवद्यते भवतः ॥

12. The affixes 'ṇamul' and 'kamul' are added to roots in the Chhandas to form Infinitives, when they are governed by the verb 'śak' (to be able).

Of the affix णमुल् the real affix is अम्; the letter ण causes vriddhi (VII. 2. 115); and ल् regulates the accent (VI. I. 193). So also of कमुल्, the letter क prevents guṇa and vriddhi substitution (I. I. 5).

Thus अभिन्नं वै ऐवा विभाजं नाशक्नुवन् 'the Gods were not able to divide Agni'. विभञ्ज् + णमुल् = विभाजं = विभन्नुम्। So also अपलुप्तं नाशक्नुवन्, instead of अपलोमुम्।

ईश्वरे तोसुन्-कसुनी ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईश्वरे, तोसुन्-कसुनी, (तुमर्ये, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईश्वरोऽश्वरे-छन्दसि विष्वे तुमर्ये-पातोस्तोसु-कसु-प्रवद्यते भवतः।

13. The affixes 'tosun' and 'kasun' are added to roots in the Chhandas, to form Infinitives, when the word 'īśvara' is in composition.

Thus ईश्वरोऽभिचरितो = अभिचरितुम्। ईश्वरे विजितः=विजितितुम्। ईश्वरो विद्वः=विद्वितुम्।

कृत्यार्थं तदैकेन्-केन्यत्वनः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य-अर्थं, तदै-केन्-केन्य-त्वनः, (छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यानामर्थं भावकर्मणे, तस्मिन् कृत्यार्थं छन्दसि विष्वे तदै केन् केन्यत्वन् इरवे-ते प्रस्तव्या भवति ॥

14. The affixes 'tavai', 'ken', 'kenya' and 'tvai' are added to roots in the Chhandas, in the sense of the 'Kṛitya-affixes'.

The force of *kṛitya* affixes is to denote 'action' (आव) and 'object' (कर्मन्). Thus भन्नेतवै=भन्नेतव्यम्; परिधासवै=परिधातव्यम्; नावगाहै=नावगाहितव्यम्; विद्वेषवै (Rig. I.

146. 5) = शिद्वित्तव्यम्; शुभ्रौचः = शुभ्रप्रतिष्ठव्यम्; कर्तव्यम्; (Rig. I. 10. 2) = कर्तव्यम्।

The affix तवे was mentioned in sūtra III. 4. 9 also; there it has the force of the Infinitive, and here that of the Passive Participle. For its accent, see VI. 1. 200; 2. 51.

अवचक्षे च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवचक्षे, च, (कृत्यार्थं, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवपूर्वार्थक्षिण एशप्रथम्यो निपास्यते ॥ .

15. The word 'avachakshe' is an anomalous passive participle in the Vedas.

Thus रिपुणा नावचक्षे (Rig. IV. 58. 5) = नावचक्षात्तव्यम्। अव + चक्ष + एग् = अवचक्षे। The sūtra II. 4. 54 is not applied here.

भावलक्षणे स्येष्कञ्जवदिचरिहुतमिजनिभ्यस्तोसुन् ॥१६॥ पदानि ॥
भाव-लक्षणे, स्या-इष्ट-कञ्ज-वदि-चरि-हु-तमि-जनिभ्यः, तोसुन्, (कृत्यार्थं, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावो जन्मयते येन वस्तिमये वर्तमानेभ्य स्थाप्य भावुभवेष्टन्दसि विषवे तुमये तोसुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix 'tosun' comes in the Vedas after the following verbs, when mere name of the action is indicated, viz.:—'sthā' (to stand), 'in' (to go), 'kriñ' (to make), 'vad' (to speak), 'char' (to walk), 'hu' (to sacrifice), 'tam' (to grow tired) and 'jan' (to produce).

These are also Infinitives. The phrase कृत्यार्थं is not to be read into this sūtra. The word भावलक्षणा qualifies the sense of the root (भावो जन्मयते थेन). Thus, स्या—भा संस्यातोवेद्या सीइन्ति = भासमादेः सीइन्ति । इष्ट—पुरा सूर्योवेतोरावेदः । कञ्ज—पुरा पस्त्वानामपाकतोः । वद—पुरा प्रवदितोरन्नौ प्रहोतव्यम् । चर—पुरा प्रचरितोराग्नीधीवे होतव्याः । (Gopatha Brahmana II. 2. 10) । हु—भा होतोरप्रमत्तस्तिष्ठति । तम्—भा तमितोरासोत् (Taitt. Br. I. 4. 4. 2) । जन—भा विजनितोः सम्भवाम् (Taitt. S. II. 5. 1. 5).

स्त्रिपितृदोः कसुन् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रिपि-तृदोः, कसुन्, (तुमर्थं, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रिपितृदोर्भासीवलक्षणेऽर्थं वर्तमानवीश्वन्दसिविषवे तुमये कसुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. In the Vedas, the affix 'kasun' comes after the verbs 'srip' (to creep) and 'trid' (to injure), in the sense of Infinitives indicating name of action.

Thus विष्टपः । पुरा क्रूरत्वं विष्टपः (Yaj. I. 28.); भावदः (Rig. VIII. 1. 12); पुरा जनुभ्य भावदः (Rig. VIII. 1. 12). These words are Indeclinable by I. 1. 40.

असंख्यवोः प्रतिषेधयोः प्राचां कृत्वा ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ असं-संख्यवोः, प्रतिषेधयोः, प्राचां, कृत्वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनं खलु इत्येतद्वाः प्रतिषेधवांचिनोरपपद्योधार्थाः तदा प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. According to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix 'ktvā' comes after a verb, when there are in combination with it, the words 'alam' and 'khalu', expressing the sense of prohibition.

The anuvṛitti of the words 'in the Vedas &c' does not extend further. Thus अनं कृत्वा 'do not make'; खलु पीत्वा 'do not drink'; अलं बाजे इत्येत्वा 'do not weep, O girl !

Why do we say 'when there are अनं and खलु'? Witness माकार्षीः 'do not make'. Why do we say 'when expressing prohibition'? Observe अलङ्कारः 'decoration'.

The phrase 'in the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians' shows that it is an optional rule. Therefore we have अनंरोइत्वेन 'do not weep'. Or if rule III. 1. 94 be applied, then the use of the word प्राची is for the sake of merely showing respect (pūjārtha); the rule could have stood without it.

उदीचां माङ्गे व्यतीहारे ॥१॥ पदानि ॥ उदीचां, माङ्गः, व्यती-
हारे, (कृत्वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ माङ्गे धातोर्ध्वंहारे वर्तमानसुसीचामाचार्याणां भवेत् तदग्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. According to the opinion of the Northern Grammarians, the affix 'ktvā' is added to the root 'men' (to exchange), when the sense is that of interchange, (though the action denoted by the former word is not prior to the action denoted by the latter word).

Thus अपमिश्य याचते 'having offered an exchange, he asks' अप + मे + कृत्वा = अप + मा + स्वप् = अप + मि + तुक् + च (VI. 1. 45 and 71) = अप + मित्य (VII. 4. 40). This is an optional rule, as the phrase 'according to the northern' indicates. So we have in the alternative, याचित्वाऽपयमते 'having asked he exchanges'; and this is the more general use of *ktvā*; namely, it comes after that verb which is concerned about a time *anterior* to that of the other; see rule 21. The present sūtra is an exception to III. 4. 21.

The root मे॒ङ् has been exhibited in the sūtra as माङ्ग, with the vowel आ instead of ए. This indicates the existence of the following Paribhāshā:—

"A root, which, when destitute of anubandhas, ends in either ए, ओ or औ, must not be considered to have ceased to end in either ए, ओ, or औ, when an anubandha has been attached to it." By this Paribhāshā औ must be regarded as ending in ए, and as therefore आ may be substituted for the vowel ए (VI. 1. 45), even while औ remains, औ ए॒ङ् docs assume the form ए॒ङ् and is consequently; by the prohibition अशृ॒प् in sūtra I. 1. 20, forbidden to be termed ए॒ङ्।

परावरयोगे च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ पर-अवर-योगे, च, (कृत्वा) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ परेण पूर्वस्य योगे गम्यमाने भवते च परस्य धातोः ज्ञनं प्रस्ययो भवति ॥

20. The affix 'ktvā' is added to a root, to denote what is situation on that (para) side or on this (avara) side of something.

The situation on the पर 'the other' side and अवर 'this' side, is called परावरयोगः। Thus अप्राप्य नदीम् पर्वतः स्थितः 'the mountain is situate without having reached the river i. e. on this side of the river, the river being on the other side. Here the word पर्वत is qualified by the word नदी which is the point from which the situation is taken; and which in this case, is on the other side of the mountain. Similarly अतिक्रम्य तु पर्वतं नदी स्थिता 'the river is situate on the other side of the mountain'. Here the relation between the 'mountain' and the 'river' is of अवर and पर।

In other words:—"The gerund of a root may be used to imply the situation of a thing with reference to the situation of another spoken of as the agent of the action denoted by that root and of the action denoted by another verb or primitive word used along with the gerund; though the action referred to in the gerund is not prior to the other action"—G. P.

समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-कर्तृकयोः, पूर्व-
काले, (कृत्वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानःकर्त्ता यथोद्दूरात्मर्थयोस्तत्र पूर्वकालेपादत्यर्थे वर्तमानाद्वातोः कृत्वाप्रस्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आस्य व्यावाय स्वप्निति सम्भील्य इस्तीःस्युपसंख्यानमपूर्वकालस्यात् ॥

21. When two actions have the same agent, the affix 'ktvā' comes after that verb which takes place in a time anterior to that of the other (i. e. the Locative Absolute construction in 'tva' refers to that action which precedes in time).

Thus भुक्त्वा ग्रजति 'having eaten he goes'; पीत्वा ग्रजति 'having drunk, he goes'.

The rule is not confined to the case of *two* verbs: thus, स्ताप्त्वा, पीत्वा, भुक्त्वा, इत्वा ग्रजति 'having bathed, drunk, eaten and given, he goes'.

Why do we say 'having the same agent'? When the agents are different, the gerund cannot be used, but the Locative Absolute construction will have to be used to express the same sense. Thus भुक्तवति ब्राह्मणे गच्छति देवदत्तः the 'Brāhmaṇa having been fed, Devadatta goes'.

Why do we say 'which denotes *prior* action'? For, if the actions are co-eval, the gerundial construction will not be employed. Thus ग्रजति च जप्तति च 'he goes and chatters'.

Vart.—The phrase आस्यं व्यादय स्वप्निति, संमील्य हसति 'he sleeps, with his mouth open, and laughs with his mouth closed', is valid, though the affix कृत्वा is not added to the verb denoting prior action.

आभीकृण्ये खमुल् च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आभीकृण्ये, खमुल्, च,
(समानकर्तृकयोः, पूर्वकाले) ॥

वृत्तः ॥ आभीकृण्यविशिष्टेऽप्येवं वर्तमानाद्यातोर्पमुल् प्रश्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affixes 'namul' and 'ktvā' come after a root, when re-iteration is to be expressed.

The phrases 'when the agent of both the verbs is the same' and 'after the verb whose action occurs first in time' are to be read into this sūtra to complete the sense. The force of च is to introduce the affix कृत्वा into this sūtra. The affixes *ktvā* and *namul* express 're-iteration' then only when the verb is doubled, and not singly. See rule VIII. i. 4. Thus भोजं भोजं ब्रजति 'having eaten repeatedly, he goes'; similarly भुक्त्वा भुक्त्वा ब्रजति, पादं पादं ब्रजति 'having drunk repeatedly he goes'.

न यद्यनाकाङ्क्षे ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यदि, अनाकाङ्क्षे,
(कृत्वा, खमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्छब्दउपपदे धातोः कृत्वाणमुलौ प्रत्ययौ न भवतोऽनाकाङ्क्षे वाक्ये ॥

23. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' are not added to a root, when the word 'yad' is used, in a simple sentence, which does not depend upon another to complete the sense.

The word आकाङ्क्षा means 'inter-dependence' or the inability of a word, phrase or sentence, to indicate the intended sense in the absence of another word, phrase, or sentence. In other words, when there are two actions one prior and another subsequent, and they complete the sense of the sentence, without standing in need of any other verb; in such a case, *ktvā* and *namul* are not used, when the word *yad* is in composition. This sūtra prohibits the affix *ktvā* also, though the affix *namul* is in immediate context. Thus बद्यं भुक्त्वा ततः पचति, यद्यमधीते ततः शोते, having eaten, he cooks ; having read, he sleeps'.

But when there is inter-dependence or आकाङ्क्षा, we have बद्यं भुक्त्वा ब्रजति, अधीत एव ततः पत्तम् ! Professor Bohtlingk translates it thus : "In connection with च, the above-mentioned Absolutives will not be applied, unless the two verbs required one more as complement."

विभाषायेप्रथमपूर्वेषु ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, अये-प्रथम-
पूर्वेषु, (समानकर्तृकयोः, पूर्वकाले, खमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अये-प्रथम पूर्वे इत्येतेष्पदेषु समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले धातोः कृत्वाणमुलौ प्रत्ययौ
विभाषा भवतः ॥

24. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' come optionally after that verb which denotes the prior action, when both verbs have the same agent, provided that the following words are in composition :—'agre', 'prathama' and 'pūrva'.

This is an *Aprapti-vibhāshā*. The word 're-iteration' is not understood here. Thus अप्ते प्रथमं पूर्वे वा भोजं भुक्त्वा व्रजति 'having first eaten he goes'.

By using the word 'optionally' it is indicated, that the regular Tenses, such as the Present &c, may be employed also. Thus अप्ते भुक्त्वा ततः व्रजति 'he eats first and then goes'.

Q.—The affixes of *Lat* (Present tense) &c. would have been applied by the rule of वाऽसर्व (III. I. 94); why then use the word 'optionally'?

Ans.—The very use of the word 'optionally' in this sūtra indicates the existence of this *Paribhāshā* :—“The rule III. I. 94 has no concern with the affixes *ktvā* and *namul*, when both these affixes are enjoined at one and the same time by a single rule.”

Therefore, we cannot apply III. I. 94 and use the affixes *Lat* &c, when 're-iteration' is meant. That is the exclusive province of कृत्वा and एवम्।

Why is not here the Upapada compounding by rule II. 2. 20? For an answer to this, see the commentary on II. 2. 20. Had only एवम् been enjoined by this sūtra, and not कृत्वा also, then we could have formed the उपपद समास, for such is the force of the word एव in that sūtra.

कर्मयत्कोशे रुजः खमुज् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, आक्रोशे, रुजः, खमुज् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपरे कृमो धातोः खमुज् प्रत्ययो भवति भाक्रोशे गम्यमाने ॥

25. The affix 'khamuñ' is added to the verb 'kṛi' (to make), when a word in the accusative case is in construction with it, if the sense intended implies 'abuse'.

Of the affix खमुज्, the efficient portion is भम्; the indicatory ख introduces the augment मु (VI. 3. 67). Thus चौरं कारपाक्षोशति 'he reviles him as thief, i. e. he calls out in abuse 'thou art a thief, thou art a robber, &c.' The person is not really made a thief, but making him a thief is to express one's indignation.

स्वादुनि खमुल् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वादुनि, खमुल्, (रुजः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वाद्येष्पूपरेषु कृमो एवम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. (When the actions, signified by the verbs 'kṛi' and another, have the same agent), the affix 'namul' is added to the verb 'kṛi' (which is concerned

about a time anterior to that of the other), provided that a word signifying 'sweet' is in composition.

The words within brackets are to be read into the sūtra by anuvṛitti from III. 4. 21. Thus स्वादुकूरं or जपण्कारं भुइके 'he eats, having made his food sweet or seasoned'.

In the sūtra, the word स्वादुम् is used ending with a म्. It is an anomalous form, and indicates that a म् must be added to the upapadas in these cases the object served by this form being that rule IV. I. 44, by which feminine of words like स्वादु ending in उ is formed by long ई, does not apply here. Thus स्वादीम् कृत्या यवागम् भुइके = स्वादुकूरं यवागम् भुइके। Here though यवाग् is feminine, the attribute is still स्वादु and not स्वादी।

It might be said 'why not use the previous affix स्वमुभ्? That will solve all difficulties; and will give us the augment मुम्! To this, however, there is a fatal objection. The augment मुम् will, no doubt, come in the last example, but it will *not* come when the word to be formed is an Indeclinable (VI. 3. 67), such as, when the sense is of the affix चित् and all *chiti*-ending words are Indeclinables (I. 4. 61). Therefore, the affix स्वमुभ् will not remove the difficulty in the following case; अस्वादीं स्वादोऽकृत्या मुहूके = स्वादुकूरं भुइके 'he eats, having first sweetened what was not sweet before'.

By applying rule III. I. 94, we have the affix चित् in the alternative. Thus स्वादु कृत्या भुइके। All these affixes form abstract nouns (भाव) as they have the sense of the affix तुमुन् (III. 4. 16). In connection with एमुन्, the Instrumental case can not, however, be used, i. e. we cannot use the Passive construction; e. g. स्वादुकारं यवागम्युऽस्वते देवदर्शन will be wrong.

अन्यथैवंकथमित्यसुसिद्धाप्रयोगश्चेत् ॥२७॥ पदानि ॥ अन्यथा-एवं-
कथम्-इत्यंसु, सिद्ध-अप्रयोगः, चेत्, (कञ्चः, खमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्यथादिष्पृष्ठेषु कृत्यो एमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति सिद्धाप्रयोगश्चेत्करोतेर्भवति ॥

27. When the words 'anyathâ' (otherwise), 'evam' (so), 'katham' (how) and 'ittham' (thus) are compounded with the verb, then 'namul' comes after 'kri' (to make), if it be such that its omission would be unobjectionable.

When is the non-employment of कृम् valid? When the same sentence will remain correct by omitting कृ, i. e. when without employing it, the same idea will be expressed. Thus अन्यथाकारं, एवंकारं, कथंकारं or इत्यंकारं भुइके 'he eats otherwise, he eats so, how does he eat, or he eats thus'. In fact, the sentence अन्यथाकारं भुइके is equivalent to अन्यथा भुइके।

Why do we say 'if the non-employment would be valid'? Witness

अन्वया कृत्वा शिरो भुद्धे 'he eats, having turned his head aside'. Here कृत् could not be spared.

यथातयेऽस्याप्रतिवचने ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा-तथयोः, अ-
स्या-प्रतिवचने, (कृजः, खमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथा तथा शब्दयोरुपपदयोः कृजो एमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति, अस्या प्रतिवचने गम्यमाने ॥

28. The affix 'namul' is added to the root 'kṛi' (to make), the words 'yathā' and 'tathā' being compounded with it, when an angry reply is made : (if the omission of 'kṛiñ' is unobjectionable).

When one questions or replies in indignation, displeasure or anger, then is this construction valid. Thus तथाकारं भोद्ये, किं तवानेन 'I will eat in that way ; what is that to you' ? Similarly यथाकारं भोद्ये, किं तवानेन ।

Why do we say 'when an angry reply is made'? Observe यथाकृत्वाऽहं भोद्ये तथा एव प्रवृत्यति 'in what way I will eat, that thou wilt see'.

Why do we say 'when the omission of कृत् would be valid'? Witness यथाकृत्वाऽहं शिरो भोद्ये किं तवानेन 'what is that to you, in what way turning my head I will eat' ?

कर्मणि दूशिविदोः साकल्ये ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, दूशि-विदोः,
साकल्ये, (खमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपरे साकल्यविशिष्टेऽप्यैश्चिद्विदोद्वाल्बोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. When the object is compounded with it, the verb 'driś' (to see), or 'vid' (to know), takes the affix 'namul', to denote the total number of such objects.

Thus कन्दासर्णी वर्त्यति 'he woos every girl that he sees i. e. all the girls seen'. आद्यात्मेऽभीजयति 'he feeds as many Brāhmaṇas as he knows, i. e. all'.

Why do we say 'when denoting the total number of such objects'? Observe आद्यात्मेऽद्विद्वा भोजयति 'having seen the Brāhmaṇa he feeds him'.

यावति विन्द्जीवोः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ यावति, विन्द्जीवोः,
(खमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्वद्व उपपदे विन्दते जीवते भ्य एमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'vid' (to get) and 'jīv', (to live), when the word 'yāvat' is combined with them.

As यावद्वद्व भुन्ते 'he eats all that he gets'. यावद्वीवमधीते 'he studies as long as he lives, i. e. throughout his life'.

चर्मोदरयोः पूरेः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चर्मे-उदरयोः, पूरे:, (कर्मणि, रामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चर्मोदरयोः कर्मणीहपदयोः पूरथतेष्टमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pûr' (to fill), when the words 'charman' and 'udar' are compounded with it as object.

Thus उदरपूरं भुक्ते 'he eats so as to fill his belly'? चर्मपूरं स्फृणाति 'he spreads so as to cover the skin'.

वर्षप्रमाणं कलोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्ष-प्रमाणे, ऊ-लोपः, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, (कर्मणि, रामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूरथतेष्टात्मोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति कलोपश्चास्य पूरथतेरन्यतरस्या भवति समुदायेन चेदूर्धव्य प्रमाणमित्यता गम्यते ॥

32. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pûr' (to fill), when the word so formed expresses a measure of rain-fall; and optionally the long 'û' of this 'pûr' is elided.

Thus गोष्पदपूरं वृट्टो हेतः 'it rained filling up small puddles (lit. the impression made by the foot of the cow on the soil)'. सीतापूरं or सीतापं वृट्टो हेतः 'it rained filling up all furrows'.

Why have we used the word अस्त्र 'of this pûr' in the sûtra? The long ऊ of पूर् is to be elided, and not the long ऊ, if there be any, of the upapada. Thus मूषिकाविजपूरं or मूषिकाविजर्ण वृट्टो हेतः । Here the long ऊ of शू is not shortened.

चेले कूनोपेः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चेले, कूनोपेः, (कर्मणि, रामुल्, वर्ष-प्रमाणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कूनूयो शब्दे उन्वने च, अस्माण्णवन्तादातोश्चेन्येषु कर्मसु उपपरेषु एमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति वर्षप्रमाणे गम्यमाने ॥

33. The affix 'namul' comes after the causative of the root 'knûy' (to wet), when there is compounded with it a noun denoting 'clothing', in the accusative case, as an upapada, if the whole word so formed expresses a measure of the rain-fall.

The verb क्लोपि is the causative root formed from the simple root क्लूय् 'to wet'. Thus चेलक्लोपं वृट्टो हेतः or वस्त्रक्लोपं or वसनक्लोपं &c. 'it rained so as to wet the clothes'.

निमूलसमूलयोः कषः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निमूल-समूलयोः, कषः, (कर्मणि, रामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निमूलसमूलगाढयोः कर्मवाचिनोहपपदयोः कषेद्वातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'kash' (to rub), when the words 'nimūla' and 'samūla' are compounded with it in the accusative case.

Thus निमूलकार्षं कषति 'he scrapes down to the roots'; समूलकार्षं कषति 'he scrapes up to the roots'. In fact, the gerund of the root and the root itself denote the same thing; the whole sentence निमूलकार्षकषति being equal to निमूलं कषति. From this sūtra up to sūtra III. 4. 46, the subsequent verb governing the previous word, must be derived from the same root from which the gerund is derived; see sūtra III. 4. 46.

शुष्कचूर्णरूपेषु पिषः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुष्क-चूर्ण-रूपेषु, पिषः, (कर्मणि, गमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुष्कादिषु कर्मवाचिषुपदेषु पिषेद्वातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

35. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pish' (to grind), when the words 'śushka' (dry), 'chūrṇa' (powder), and 'rûksha' (dry), in the accusative case are compounded with it.

Thus शुष्कपेषं पिनष्टि = शुष्कं पिनष्टि 'he grinds it dry'; चूर्णपेषं पिनष्टि 'he grinds to powder'; रूक्षपेषं पिनष्टि 'he grinds it dry'. Here also an appropriate verb from the same root पिष must be used to govern the gerund.

सूखलाकृतजीवेषु हन्त्याहः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूखल-अकृत-जीवेषु, हन्-कृत्य-याहः, (कर्मणि, गमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समूल अकृत जीव इत्येतेषु शब्देषु कर्मसूपदेषु वथासंख्यं हन् कृम् यद् इत्येतेष्यो धातुभ्यो गमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'han' (to kill), 'kṛi' (to make) and 'grah' (to seize), when the words 'samūla', 'akṛita' and 'jīva' in the accusative case are respectively compounded with them.

Thus समूलघातं हन्ति (VIII. 3. 32 and 54) 'he destroys so as to tear up by the roots i. e. he totally extirpates'; अकृतकारं करोति 'he does a thing which was not done before'; त जीवमाई गृहाति 'captures him so as to preserve his life, i. e. captures him alive'. Here also appropriate verbs from the same roots are used to govern the gerund.

करणे हनः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, हनः, (गमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करणे उपपदे हन्तेद्वातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb

'han', when a word in the Instrumental case is in composition with it.

Thus पाणिवात् वेदि हन्ति (VII. 3. 32 and 54)= पाणिना वेदि हन्ति 'he strikes the *Vedi* with the hand'; पादवात् भूमि हन्ति 'he strikes the ground with the foot'. Reading this sūtra along with III. 4. 48, we find that हन् here does not mean 'to kill', and the further difference between this aphorism and that is, that in the case of this sūtra a cognate verb from the same root must be used, as the gerund; not so in sūtra III. 4. 48; or this sūtra may be for the sake of forming Invariable compounds with the upapadas, such as पाइवात् ।

According to Pātanjali, this affix comes after हन् under this aphorism, even when हन् means 'to injure'; thus counteracting rule III. 4. 48, by anticipation, and in opposition to the general principle of interpretation enunciated in rule I. 4. 2. Thus भसिवात् हन्ति 'he kills with the sword'; शरवात् हन्ति 'he kills with arrows'.

Rule III. 4. 46 applies here also, and an appropriate verb from the same root is employed to govern the gerund.

**स्नेहने पिषः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्नेहने, पिषः, (करते, गमुल्)॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्नेहनवचिनि करणे उपयहे पिषेद्वातोर्णमुल् प्रथवो भवति ॥**

38. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pish' (to grind), when a word in the Instrumental case denoting 'liquid' is in composition.

Thus उद्धेषं पिनष्टि = उद्धकेन पिनष्टि (VI. 3. 58.) 'he grinds with water'; तैजरेषं पिनष्टि 'he grinds with oil'. Here also III. 4. 46 applies, and an appropriate verb from the same root is employed to govern the gerund.

**इस्ते वर्तिंग्रहोः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इस्ते, वर्ति-ग्रहोः, (करते,
गमुल्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ इस्तवाचिनि करणे उपयहे वर्तयतेर्गृह्णाते श गमुल् प्रथवो भवति ॥

39. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'varti' (causative of vrit) and 'grah', when a word denoting 'hand', in the Instrumental case, is in composition.

Thus इस्तवते, करवते or पाणिवते वर्तयति = इस्तेन वर्तयति 'he revolves by the hand'. So also, तम् इस्तमाहम् गृहणाति 'he takes him by the hand': so पाणिमाहम्, करभाहम् &c.

Here also rule III. 4. 46 applies and appropriate verbs from the same roots must be employed to govern the gerund.

**स्वे पुषः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वे, पुषः, (करते, गमुल्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्ववचिनि करणे उपयहे पुषेभासोर्णमुल् प्रथवो भवति ॥**

40. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'push' (to feed), when a word in the Instrumental case, having the sense of 'sva' is in composition.

The word स्व means 'self', 'kinsmen' and 'property'. Thus स्वपोषं पुष्याति 'he feeds himself'; भारमपोषं, गोपोषं, पितृपोषं, मातृपोषं, खनपोषं, रैपोषं &c. See I. I. 68. Rule 46 applies here also.

अधिकरणे बंधः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरणे, बंधः, (गमुल्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणवाचिन्युपरे बन्नातेद्वातोर्णमुल् प्रस्वयो भवति ॥

41. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'baudh' (to bind), when a word expressing location is in construction with it.

Of course, rule III. 4. 46 applies here also, and the gerund must be governed by a verb from the same root *bandh*. Thus चक्रबन्धं बन्नाति 'he binds to the wheel'; कट्टबन्धं बन्नाति 'he binds in a snare'; मुटिबन्धं बन्नाति 'he binds in the fist'. चोरकबन्धं बन्नाति = चोरको बन्नाति।

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (बंधः, गमुल्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायाम् विषवे बन्नातेद्वातोर्णमुल् प्रस्वयो भवति ॥

42. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'baudh' (to bind) when the word so formed denotes an appellative.

Thus क्रोचबन्धं बन्नाति 'he binds in the manner called *krauncha-bandhan* or 'heron-knot'. मयूरिकाबन्धं बन्नाति or बद्धः 'he binds or is bound in a 'peacock-knot'. अवृत्तिकाबन्धं बद्धः 'bound in a knot called *attidlikha-bandhan*'.

All the above, *krauncha-bandhan* &c. are names of various sorts of 'bonds or knots'. The rule III. 4. 46. also applies here.

कर्त्रीर्जीवपुरुषयोर्नश्चिवहोः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्रीः, जीव-पुरु-
षयोः, नश्च-वहोः, (गमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीवपुरुषयोः कर्त्रीवाचिन्योरुपपवयोः बन्नासंस्वयमनश्चिवहोद्वात्योर्णमुल्प्रस्वयो भवति ॥

43. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'naś' (to perish) and 'valh' (to carry), when the words 'jīva' (life) and 'purusha' (person) expressing the agent of these verbs, are respectively in construction with them.

Thus जीवनाशं नश्यति=जीवो नश्यति 'perishes, so that his life perishes i.e. dies away'; पुरुषवाहं वहति 'the man carries, i.e. the man becoming a servant, carries another on him=पुरुषः प्रेष्यो भूष्या वहति'.

Why do we say 'when denoting an agent'? Observe, जीवेन नहः 'destroyed by life'; पुरुषेणीहः 'carried by a man'.

ऋर्वे शुषिपूरोः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋर्वे, शुषि-पूरोः, (कर्त्रीः, रमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋर्वेशाद्ये कर्त्रंशाचिन्दुपगदे शुषिपूरोऽर्द्धांशोर्णमुन् प्रस्त्रबो भवति ॥

44. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'śush' (to dry), and 'pūr' (to fill), when the word 'ūrdhvā', denoting an agent, is in composition with them.

Thus ऋर्वशोषे शुष्वति वृक्षः = ऋर्वे शुष्वति 'the tree is dried up while it is still standing'. Compare यद्योर्खेष्ट्रापद्मविशुष्कः: 'or wither like the up-heaved grass drying up' (Bhatti. III. 14); ऋर्वपूरं पूर्वते 'is filled full to the brim'. Rule III. 4. 46 applies here also.

उपमाने कर्मस्थि च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमाने, कर्मस्थि, च, (कर्त्रीः, रमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमाने कर्मण्डुपपदे चकारात् कर्त्रेति धातोर्णमुन् प्रस्त्रबो भवति ॥

45. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when an object or an agent, denoting similitude, is in composition with it.

The word 'agent' is read into the sūtra, by virtue of the word च 'also'. That with which any thing is compared is called उपमान or 'object of comparison or similitude'. As घृतनिधावम् निहितम् जलम् 'water was kept as ghee would be kept'. सुर्णनिधावम् निहितः 'was kept as gold'. The force is that of इति; thus घृतनिधावम् निहितः = घृतमिव निहितः। So also when the object of comparison is as agent: thus, अजनाशो नटः 'he perished like a goat'. So also चूडकनाशम् एत्तनाशम्, &c.

कषादिषु यथाविष्यनुप्रयोगः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कष-आदिषु, यथा-विधि, अनुप्रयोगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निमूलसमूलयोरित्येतत्सारम् कषादिषः, एतेषु यथाविष्यनुप्रयोगो भवति ॥

46. The same verb should be employed after the gerunds formed from the verbs 'kash' &c; as the verb from which the gerund is derived.

From sūtra III. 4. 34 up to sūtra III. 4. 45, a verb from the same root must be employed in the subsequent part, as *anuprayoga*, from which the gerund in *namul* was formed. This rule has been illustrated in the examples under the previous aphorisms.

The present is a restrictive or *niyama* rule. This chapter deals with affixes employed in denoting syntactical relation between two verbs (भासुसम्बन्धे प्रस्त्रयाः)। See III. 4. 1 : so a gerund in *namul*, would, of course, be followed by some verb as *anuprayoga*; the present sūtra declares that the other verb must be from the same root as the gerund.

उपदंशस्तीयायाम् ॥४७॥ पदानि ॥ उपदंशः, दृतीयायां, (खम्ल्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वंश इहाने, अद्यमाद्यातोरप्यपूर्वात्कर्त्तव्याम्त उपपदे एमुल् प्रत्यक्षो भवति ॥

47. The affix 'namul' comes after the root 'daus' (to bite) preceded by the preposition 'upa'; when a word ending with the third case-affix is in composition with it.

The *Upapada samasa* is optional in this case (II. 2. 21). Thus मूळको-परं शम् भुद्ग्ने or मूळकेनोपदंशम् भुद्ग्ने 'he eats after having relished the food with radish'. Similarly आद्वकीपदंशम् or आद्वकीयोपदंशम् 'relished with ginger'.

The words मूळक &c in the above examples are the 'objects' of the verb उपदंश, and 'instruments' of the verb भुद्ग्ने.

By the rule of वाऽसरूप (III. I. 94) the affix क्ता (or its substitute स्वप्) may be optionally used, wherever we may use the affix एमुल्। Thus मूळकेनोपदंश भुद्ग्ने ।

हिंसार्थानां च समानकर्मकाण्डाम् ॥४८॥ पदानि ॥ हिंसा-अर्थानां, च, समान-कर्मकाण्डां, (खम्ल्, दृतीयायां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिंसा पाण्युपचासः, तदर्थानां धातूनामनुप्रबोगधातुनां समानकर्मकाण्डां दृतीयान्त उपपदे एमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix 'namul' comes after roots having the sense of 'hins' (to strike), when the object of this gerund is the same as the object of the main verb, and when the noun with which it is compounded ends with the third case-affix.

Thus इष्टोपघातम् गा: कालवति 'he collects together cows, beating them with a club'. The compounding is optional (II. 2. 21.) Thus we have also इष्टेनोपघातम्। Similarly with other verbs having the sense of हिंस; thus, इष्टकाण्डम् or इष्टेन ताण्डम् ।

Why do we say 'when the object of the gerund is the same as the object of the main verb'? When the objects are different, एमुल् will not be employed. Thus चोरम् इष्टेनोपहस्त, गोपालको गा: कालवति 'having beaten the thief with the club, the cowherd collects together the cows'.

सप्तम्यां घोपपीडहस्तकर्षः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तम्यां, च, उप-पीड-हस्त-कर्षः, (दृतीयायां, खम्ल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वेभ्यः पीडहस्तकर्षः सप्तम्यन्त उपपदे चकारात्कर्त्तव्यान्त उपपदे एमुल् प्रत्यक्षो भवति ॥

49. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'pīḍ' (to press), 'rudh' (to obstruct), and 'kṛish' (to draw),

when they are preceded by the preposition 'upa', and when they are compounded with nouns ending with the 7th case-affix or the 3rd case-affix.

The phrase '3rd case-affix' must be read into the sūtra by virtue of the word च। Thus पार्ष्वोपर्षीङ्गे शोते 'he sleeps pressing on his sides'. The compounding is optional (II. 2. 21); so we have in the alternative, पार्ष्वोरुपर्षीङ्गम् or पार्ष्वोरुपर्षीङ्गम्।

So also ब्रजोपरोधम् (or ब्रजे उपरोधम् or ब्रजेनीपरोधम्) गा: स्थापति 'he stations the cows so that they are all in the fold'. पाण्युपकर्षे (or पाण्यावृपकर्षम् or पाणिनीपकर्षम्) धानाः संगृहणाति। It is Bhvādi कृष्ण here, and not Tūdādi.

समासत्तौ ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ समासत्तौ, (सप्तर्थां, दृतीयायां, खमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समासत्तौ गम्भमानादां दृतीयासप्तर्थोरुपपदयोर्दातोर्णमुन् प्रश्वयो भवति ॥

50. (The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a word in the Locative or Instrumental case is in composition with it), and when immediate contiguity is intended i. e. 'to fall together by the ears'.

The word समासत्तिः means 'immediate contiguity'. Thus केशप्राहम् (or केशोषु माहम् or केशैर्माहम्) युध्वन्ते 'having closely caught each other by the hair, they fight.' Similarly हस्तप्राहम् or हस्तेषु माहम् or हस्तैर्माहम्; so also यथिप्राहम् 'taking a stick'; ज्ञोन्धप्राहम् &c. See II. 2. 21.

प्रभासे च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रभासे, च, (दृतीयायां, सप्तर्थां, खमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रभासे गम्भमाने दृतीयासप्तर्थोरुपपदयोर्दातोर्णमुन् प्रश्वयो भवति ॥

51. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a noun in the Instrumental or Locative case is in composition with it, and when measure of length is intended.

The word प्रभास् means 'length or extension'. Thus इध्युःज्ञोत्कर्षे (इध्युः उत्कर्षम् or इध्युःज्ञोत्कर्षम्) खण्डिकां छिनति 'he cuts pieces of the length of two fingers'. See II. 2. 21.

अपादाने परीप्रसायाम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपादाने, परीप्रसायां, (खमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परीप्रसायां गम्भमानादां अपादाने उपपरे धातोर्णमुन् प्रश्वयो भवति ॥

52. The affix 'namul' is added to the root, when a noun in the Ablative case is in composition, and when 'lasto' is intended,

The word परीप्सा means 'haste, hurry'. Thus शब्दोत्पादय (or शब्दात्मा) धावति 'having risen from bed, he runs away'. That is to say, he runs with such a haste that he does not perform even the necessary ablutions &c, but as soon as he rises from the bed, he runs off. Similarly रन्नापकर्षम् पदः पिबति 'he drinks milk from a hole in the vessel', he being in such a haste, that he does not care to drink from the proper aperture. भाष्टपकर्षमपूपान् भज्जयति 'he eats cakes hot from the frying pan', not waiting till they are placed on a dish.

Why do we say 'when meaning hurry'? Observe, आसनाहुत्याच गच्छति 'having risen from the seat, he goes'. Here 'haste' not being intended, the affix तत्रा (त्वप्) is employed. See II. 2. 21.

द्वितीयायां च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीयायां, च, (परीप्सायां, शमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्त उपपरे परीप्सायां गम्भमानायां धातोर्णेमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

53. The affix 'namul' comes after a verb, when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, and when 'haste' is intended.

Thus खटियाहम् (or खट्टिं शाहम्) युध्यन्ते 'they fight, having hastily taken up sticks'. That is, they are in such a haste to fight, that they do not tarry to take up the proper weapons, offensive and defensive, but engage in fight with anything that is at hand, such as sticks, stones &c. Similarly लोष्टपाहम् or ज्ञोष्टं शाहम्।

स्वाङ्गेऽभ्रुवे ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गे, अध्रुवे, (द्वितीयायां, शमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रुवे स्वाङ्गेऽवाचिनि द्वितीयान्त उपपरे धातोर्णेमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

54. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, signifying the limbs of one's own body, when the limb is such that its loss will not destroy life.

Thus धूविषेऽकथयति 'he narrates, throwing his eye-brows (glances) about in all directions'. अस्तिनिकाण्यां जल्पति 'he prattles, having closed the eyes'.

The स्वाङ्ग् word is "a word denoting a thing which not being liquid or gaseous, and being capable of being perceived by the senses, and not being one produced by a change from the natural state, exists in a living being, or though found elsewhere actually or at any particular time, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually, (not figuratively) the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being."

The word अध्रुव means 'non-vital organ', or a limb which even being cut off, does not necessarily destroy life. Therefore, we cannot use the affix

एमुन् in the following, as *head* is not an अभूत limb:—उरिक्षय शिरः कथवति 'he narrates, having thrown the head on one side'. Compare VI. 2. 177.

परिक्षियमाने च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिक्षियमाने, च, (स्वाङ्गे, द्वितीयायां, शमुल) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिक्षियमाने स्वाङ्ग-वाचिनि द्वितीयान्तं उपगदे धातोर्णेमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

55. The affix 'पुमल' comes after a root, when a word in the Accusative case denoting a limb of one's own body, which is completely afflicted by the action, is in composition.

The word परिक्षियमान means 'completely hurt or affected'. Thus उरः प्रतिपेषं or उरःपेषं युधन्ते = कृश्लमुरः पीडवन्तः 'they fight so as to afflict their whole bosom'. So also शिरःपेषं or शिरःप्रतिपेषं ।

The difference between this and the last sūtra consists in this, that this sūtra applies even to vital organs, such as 'breast', 'head' &c; while the last aphorism applies 'non-vital organs' only.

विशिष्टिपदिस्कन्दां व्याप्तमानसेव्यमानयोः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशि-पति-पदि-स्कन्दां, व्याप्तमान-आसेव्यमानयोः, (द्वितीयायां, शमुल) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्तं उपगदे विश्याक्षियो धातुयो एमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति व्याप्तमाने आसेव्यमाने चायें गम्यमाने ॥

56. The affix 'पुमल' comes after the verbs 'vis' (to enter), 'pat' (to fall), 'pad' (to go) and 'skand' (to leap), when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, and when the sense denoted is that of complete pervasion and total absorption.

The word व्याप्ति (or व्याप्तमान) means the full and complete pervasion of the substances with the actions (denoted by the verbs विशि, &c). The word आसेवा means 'assiduous performance of any action, or absorption into it'. In other words, 'frequency' of an action is आसेवा । The word व्याप्ति therefore refers to the noun (in the accusative case) and आसेवा to the verb (such as *vis* &c). These two words have the same significance here as the words निष्ठ and वीक्षा in sūtra VIII. 1. 4. and by the application of that rule, both the noun and the verb require to be repeated. That rule, however, will not apply here, when there is compounding by II. 2. 21. But when there is no compounding, (for rule II. 2. 21. makes composition only optional) then there is repetition of the noun if व्याप्ति 'all' is meant; and of the verb, if आसेवा 'frequency or assiduous performance' is meant. Thus गौहानुप्रवेशमास्ते, (or गौहं गौहमनुप्रवेशमास्ते or गौहमनुप्रवेशमनुप्रवेशमास्ते) 'having entered the house, he sits down', meaning either, 'having en-

tered every house in succession, he sits down', or 'having repeatedly entered the house, he sits down'.

Similarly with the root पत्, we may have three examples as in the last, and so also with the roots पह and स्कन्द्। Thus गेहानुप्रपातमास्ते (or गेहंगेहमनुप्रपातमास्ते or गेहमनुप्रपातमनुप्रपातमास्ते) ; गेहानुप्रपातमास्ते (or गेहंगेहमनुप्रपातं or गेहमनुप्रपातमनुप्रपातम्) ; गेहावस्कन्दमास्ते (or गेहंगेहमवस्कन्दमास्ते or गेहमवस्कन्दमवस्कन्दम्)।

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of *all* or *frequency*? Observe, गेहमनुप्रविश्य भृक्ते 'having entered the house, he eats'.

Q.—By sūtra III. 4. 22, *namul* would have been valid, when *abhibhikṣṇa* was meant; and *abhibhikṣṇa* and *āsevā* mean the same thing *i. e.*, 'frequency'. Why then ordain *namul* again, by the present sūtra, in the sense of *āsevā*? If you say, "we repeat it, in order to prevent the coming of the affix तत्त्वा", that is not so. For तत्त्वा would come by वाऽसर्व rule; (see III. 1. 94 and III. 4. 47).

A.—The repetition is for the sake of *Upapada-samāsa* with a word in the accusative case. Under rule 22, there was no *upapada*, while in the present case there is an *upapada*.

Professor Bohtlingk translates this sūtra thus:—"विश्, पत्, पह, and स्कन्द् in composition with an accusative, form the absolute gerund in भृक् (namul), when one wishes to express that every object of that name is completely affected by the action, or that the action is constantly repeated in that object."

अस्यतितृष्णोः क्रियांतरे कालेषु ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यति-तृष्णोः,
क्रिया-अंतरे, कालेषु, (द्वितीयार्या, एमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियामन्तरवति क्रियान्तरः, क्रियाव्यवधायकः, क्रियान्तरे धात्वयेऽवर्त्तमानाव्य-
मस्यतिद्विष्ण्या द्वितीयान्तेषु कालवाचिष्पृपरेषु एमुल् प्रत्यवी भवति ॥

57. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'as' (to throw) and 'trish' (to thirst), when it is intended to express an intermission of the action denoted by the root, provided that a word in the accusative case denoting time, is in composition.

The word क्रियान्तर means 'the interval between two actions'. Thus दूषहारयास्ते or दूषहमरयास्ते गाः पाववति 'he gives drink to the cows, after an interval of two days, *i. e.* every third day'. So also दूषहत्ते or दूषहं तत्ते गाः पाववति 'having kept the cows thirsty for two days, he makes them drink'. That is to say, 'having given them a drink today, he gives them another drink after an interval of two days'; &c.

Why do we say 'after the verbs भृक् and तत्ते'? Because the affix एमुल् will not be applied after other roots, though the sense be that of interval of time. Thus दूषहमुपोष्ट भृक्ते 'having fasted for two days, he eats'.

Why do we say 'when denoting an intermission of action'? Observe भइरत्यवेष्टु गतः; here there is no intermission in the action of 'going'.

Why do we say 'denoting time'? Observe बोजनमत्यव्यगः पाववति 'allowing an interval of four miles to pass, he gives drink to the cows i. e. he waters the cows at every four miles'. Here the interval is that of 'space' and not of 'time', and hence the affix is स्थप् and not लमुल्।

नाम्यादिशिग्रहोः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नात्ति, आदिशि-ग्रहोः,
(द्वितीयायां, लमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नामरब्दे हिसीबान्त उपपदे भादिशेषेष्टेष्ट भास्तोषेष्टमुल् प्रत्यब्दो भवति ॥

58. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'ādiś' and 'grah', when the word 'nāman' (name) in the Accusative, is in composition.

Thus नामधेशमाच्छ्वे 'he mentions it, telling his name'. नामधारं नामादृच्छि 'he calls me by taking my name (i. e. by my name)'.

अव्ययेऽयथाभिप्रेतास्थाने कृमः कृत्वालमुलौ ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥
अव्यये, अयथा-अभिप्रेत-आस्थाने, कृमः, कृत्वा-लमुलौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यय उपपदेऽव्याभिप्रेतास्थाने गन्धमाने करोते: लक्षणमुलौ भवतः ॥

59. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' come after the root 'kṛi' (to make), when an Indeclinable word is in composition with it, and the meaning is the communication of anything in a disagreeable or undesired way.

The word भवथाभिप्रेतास्थान means literally 'to denote the expression of that which is not really intended' i. e. a manner not suited to the proper communication of that news, such as communicating a bad news in a loud voice and good news in a low voice. The compounding being optional, the affix लक्षा may be replaced by स्थप्. Thus we have three forms नीचैःकृत्वा, नीचैःकृत्वा, or नीचैःकार. Thus if one had communicated an agreeable news like the birth of a son in a low voice, the other may retort "किं तर्हि वृपलं नीचैःकृत्वा, नीचैःकृत्वा or नीचैःकारमाच्छ्वे"; and so, if one had communicated an unpleasant news as ज्ञात्वा कर्तव्यासे गर्भिणी in a loud voice, the other may reply "किं तर्हि वृपलोच्चैःकृत्वा, उच्चैःकृत्वा, or उच्चैःकारमाच्छ्वे"! (See II. 2. 22 for compounding).

Why do we say 'communicating in an undesired manner'? Observe उच्चैःकृत्वाऽऽच्छ्वे पुच्छते जातः। Here only लक्षा is added. Why have we repeated लक्षा in this sūtra, when in this chapter, by the rule of वाऽसर्व (III, I. 94), *ktvā* would have presented itself in the alternative? The repetition is for the sake of *samsasa* or composition, by the application of II, 2, 22. The repetition

of लामुल् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvṛitti of *ktr̥v* and *namul* runs concurrently.

तिर्यक्षयपवर्गे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ तिर्यक्षि, अपवर्गे, (कृतः, कृत्वा-
लामुलौ) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ तिर्यक्षयपवर्गे कृतः लात्मुलौ प्रथयो भवतोऽपवर्गे गम्यमाने ॥

60. The affixes 'ktr̥vā' and 'namul' come after the root 'kṛ̥tī', when the word 'tiryak' is in composition in the sense of 'carrying to the end'.

The word अपवर्ग means 'completing or finishing'. Thus तिर्यक् कृत्वा, तिर्यक् कृत्वा or तिर्यक् कारं गतः = समाप्तं गतः 'having completed, he went away'.

Why do we say 'when meaning completion'? Observe तिर्यक् कृत्वा काढं गतः 'having placed the wood obliquely, he went away'. Here लामुल् is not employed. See II. 2. 22 for compounding. The word तिर्यक्षि is the locative of the word-form तिर्यक्, and not of the word तिर्यक्. Other examples are: एतदोऽग् (V. 3. 5); भद्रसो मात् (I. I. 12).

स्वाङ्गे तस्प्रत्यये कृत्योः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गे, तस्-प्रत्यये,
कृ-भ्योः, (कृत्वा-लामुलौ) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ तस्प्रत्यये स्वाङ्गावाचिनि उपपते करोतेर्भवतेभ्य भासीः लात्मुलौ प्रथयो भवतः ॥

61. The affixes 'ktr̥vā' and 'namul' are added to the roots 'kṛ̥tī' (to make) and 'bhū' (to become), in composition with a word denoting a member of one's own body; when the affix 'tas' is joined thereto.

The word स्वाङ्ग has already been defined in sūtra III. 4. 54. The *svāṅga* word in the present case must be such as should end in the affix तस्—a *taddhita* affix technically called सत्ति and सत्तिल् (V. 3. 78 &c). Though here there are two roots कृ and भू, and there are two affixes to be applied i. e. लात्वा and लामुल्; yet the rule of 'respective allocation' (I. 3. 10) does not apply here. Both the affixes are applied to each of the roots. Thus मुखतः कृत्य गतः or मुखतः कृत्वा गतः or मुखतः कारंगतः। Similarly पृष्ठतः भूत्य तिष्ठति or पृष्ठतः भूत्या तिष्ठति or पृष्ठतः भावं तिष्ठति।

Why do we say 'a word denoting a limb of one's own body'? Observe सर्वतः कृत्वा गतः।

Why do we say 'ending in the affix तस्'? Observe मुखीकृत्य गतः, मुखी-भूत्य गतः।

Why do we use the word 'the affix'? If तस् is not an affix, but a verb, the rule will not apply. Thus मुखे तस्थति=मुखतः 'throws in the mouth'. With this मुखतः so formed, we cannot apply the rule. Thus मुखतः कृत्य गतः।

नाधार्थप्रत्यये चक्षयर्थे ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ना-धा-अर्थ-प्रत्यये,
कृषी-अर्थे, (कृभ्वोः, कृत्वा-शमुली) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाधार्थप्रत्यये शब्दे अवर्थउपपदे कृभ्वोर्भास्तोः तत्त्वाण्मुलो प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

62. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'प्रामुल' are added to the roots 'kṛi' and 'bhū', when a word ending in the affix 'nā' (V. 2. 27) or in an affix having the force of 'dhā' (V. 3. 42), or having the sense of the affix 'chvi' (to make or to become something what it had not been before, V. 4. 50), is in composition.

Two words, नाना 'various' and विना 'without' are formed by the affix ना (V. 2. 27); affixes having the force of धा are धा, अधा, धम् and एधा (V. 3. 42 to 46) which are added to numerals in the sense of 'part' or 'fold' &c. The force of *chvi* has already been explained.

Thus अनाना नाना कृत्वा गतः = नाना कृत्वा or नानाकारं गतः । So also विना कृत्वा, विना कृत्वा or विना कारं गतः । So also नाना or विना भूत्वा—भूत्वा or भावं गतः । With words formed by धा and cognate affixes, we have:—हिधा or हैधं कृत्वा—कृत्वा—कारं—भूत्वा or भावं गतः । But not so in हित्वक् कृत्वा, पृथक् कृत्वा ।

Why do we use the word 'affix (प्रत्यय)' in the sūtra? Without it, the sūtra would have run thus: नाधार्थे अवर्थे, and then any word, having the sense of ना, which has the force of 'except', 'various' or the sense of धा which means 'part or fold', when in composition with कृ or भू, would have taken the affix अमुल् and लग्न. But that is not so. Thus the words हित्वक् 'except' and पृथक् 'separately' have the sense of ना and धा respectively; as हित्वक् कृत्वा, or पृथक् कृत्वा ।

Why do we say 'when the upapada has the force of the affix *chvi*'? Observe नाना कृत्वा काण्डानि गतः ।

The word अर्थ in नाधार्थ qualifies only the term धा, and not ना, for there are no other affix having the sense of ना, which is a single affix taught in V. 2. 27; while, as shown above, there are other affixes having the force of धा। The composition optionally takes place by II. 2. 22.

तूष्णीनि भुवः ॥६३॥ पदानि ॥ तूष्णीनि, भुवः, (कृत्वा-शमुली)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तूष्णींश्चउपपदे नवतेर्भास्तोः तत्त्वाण्मुलो भवतः ॥

63. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'प्रामुल' are added to the root 'bhū', when the word 'तूष्णीम्' (silently) is in composition.

Thus तूष्णींभूत्वा, तूष्णीं भूत्वा, or तूष्णींभावम् 'having become silent'. The repetition of भू in this sūtra, shows that the anuvritti of कृ does not run into it and altogether ceases.

अन्वयश्यानुसोऽये ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्वयि, आनुसोऽये, (भुवः, कर्त्ता-जमुलो) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्वक्षश्वदपवे भवतेर्धातोरानुलोम्बे स्वाणमुलौ भवतः ॥

64. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' come after the root 'bhū', when the word 'anvak', in the sense of being favourably disposed, is in composition.

The word आनुलोऽय means 'agreeable, friendly or favourably disposed, or doing according to the wish of another'. Thus अन्वग्भूत्वा—अन्वग्भूत्वा or अन्वग्भावमास्ते 'he is favourably disposed'.

Why do we say 'when meaning friendly'? Observe अन्वग्भूत्वा लिङ्गिति 'he remains behind'.

शक्धृष्टश्चाग्लाघटरभलभक्तमसहार्हारस्थर्थेषु तुमुन् ॥६५॥ पदानि ॥
शक-धृष्ट-श्चा-ग्ला-घट-रभ-लभ-क्तम-सह-अर्हा, अस्ति-अर्थेषु, तुमुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शकादिष्पवेषु भस्त्वयेषु वा धातुमात्रात् तुमुनप्रथयो भवति ॥

65. The affix 'tumun' is added to every verb, when another verb having the sense of 'śak' (to be able), 'dhṛish' (to make bold), 'jñā' (to know), 'glai' (to be wearied), 'ghat' (to strive), 'rabh' (to begin), 'labh' (to get), 'kram' (to set about), 'sah' (to bear), 'arh' (to be pleased or to condescend), and 'as' (to be), is in construction.

The use of the Infinitive in तुमुन् formed by this rule, differs from that given in sūtra III. 3. 10. In that sūtra the Infinitive had the force of 'purpose' and here there is no such force. Moreover in this case there is an *upapada* in construction, though that *upapada* is a verb; in rule III. 3. 10, there was no such *upapada*.

Thus शक्नोमि भीक्तुम् 'I am able to eat'. Similarly जानति—ज्ञावति—घटते—आरभते—ज्ञाते—प्रकरणते—सहते—भईति—अस्ति—भवति—or विद्यते भीक्तुम् 'he knows', he is wearied, he strives, he begins, he gets, he proceeds, he bears, he condescends or he is, to eat'.

This sūtra presents a knotty point. Bhattoji Dikshita says भर्यश्वल-मस्तित्वैव सम्बन्धते भनन्तरलभात् i. e. the sūtra gives roots from शक् to भई and roots having the same sense as भव् 'to be'. But this is hardly consistent with the almost overwhelming evidence of usage. According to Dikshita's interpretation, पारव 'to be able' cannot be used with the Infinitive, but न पारवामि निरेष-वित्तुम् (S. 4), पारविद्यश्वलभवत्यभपराइत्तुम् (M. 3.) are instances from a standard author; similarly विद् 'to know' cannot be used with the Infinitive; but न विद् वेद सम्बन्धित्तुम् न सा (R. VI. 30) is as good an instance. We must, therefore, suppose

that the sūtra indicates the existence of an interpretation connecting अर्थ with all the preceding roots; otherwise we shall have to condemn as wrong, all such constructions as those given above. Taking this view I have interpreted the sūtra, connecting अर्थ with all the above roots.—*Apte's Composition.*

पर्यासित्वचनेष्वलमर्थेषु ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्यासि-वचनेषु, अलम्-अर्थेषु, (तुमुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्यासित्वचनेष्वलमर्थेषु पूष्पवेषु धारोस्तु मुन् प्रस्थयो भवति ॥

66. The affix 'tumun' comes after a verb having in composition with it, 'alam' and its synonyms, when these words express 'to be capable of something'.

The word पर्यासि means 'capability, ability, fulness'. Thus लिखितमपि जन्मादे शोऽभिष्टुम् कः समर्थः (Hitopadesa) 'who is able to avoid that which is stamped on his forehead'. ज्ञोकान् भज्ञे हमुम् हि तन्त्रपः (Kumāra II. 56) 'his penance is able to burn the worlds'. अस्ति मे विभवः सर्वं परित्तात् (Vikramorvasi 2) 'I have power to know every thing'. भोक्तुम् प्रवीणः कुशलः पदुर्धा 'skilful in eating'.

Another interpretation of the sūtra is "the affix *tumun* is added to a verb, when it has in composition with it, the word पर्यासि or अलम् or a synonym of *alam* having the sense of *paryāpti*. Thus पर्यासो भोक्तुम्, अलं भोक्तुम्, भोक्तुम् पारवति ।

Why do we say 'having the sense of capability'? Observe अलमकृत्वा ।

Why do we say 'having the meaning of अलम्'? Observe पर्यासिमुन् भुड्को । The word शक् in the preceding sūtra has not the sense of अलम् in that aphorism. With the sense of अलम्, the present sūtra will apply: as शक्यमेवं कर्तुम् ।

कर्तेरि कृत् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तेरि, कृत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतसंज्ञकाः प्रवयवाः कर्तेरि कारके भवन्ति ॥

67. The affixes called 'krit' are used in the sense of an agent.

The words formed by *krit* affixes have the sense of agency; when no other special sense has been assigned to them by any rule, then this rule will apply, and fix the force of the affix. This rule will not, therefore, apply to *krit* affixes like ख्युन् (III. 2. 5 and 6) to which a special sense has been assigned, but affixes like ज्वन् and द्वच् &c, (III. 1. 133). Thus कारकः means a 'doer'; कर्ता 'an agent'; नन्दनः 'one who causes happiness'; प्राही 'who seizes'; पचः 'who cooks'.

भव्यगेयप्रवचनीयोपस्थानीयजन्याप्लाव्यापात्या वा ॥ ६८ ॥ प० ॥

भव्य-गेय-प्रवचनीय-उपस्थानीय-जन्य-आप्लाव्य-आपात्याः, वा, (कर्तेरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भव्यादवः शब्दः कर्तेरि वा निपाप्यन्ते ॥

68. The words 'bhavya', 'geya', 'pravachanīya',

'upasthāntya', 'janya', 'aplāvya' and 'āpātya' may optionally be used to denote the agent.

These words are formed by *kritya* affixes and therefore by rule III. 4. 70, they would generally denote an action in the abstract, and the object, but not the agent. The present sūtra, however, makes them denote optionally the agent also. In the alternative they denote the action-name and the object also. Thus भव्य may mean 'existed', 'existence', or 'one who exists'; गौव्य means 'a singer', 'a song', or 'singing'; प्रवचनीव्य means 'one who explains', 'what ought to be explained', or 'an explanation'; उपस्थानीव्य means 'who waits upon', 'what ought to be waited upon or served', or 'waiting upon or attendance'; जन्य = जावतेऽसौ or जन्यमनेन means 'one who gives birth i. e. a father', 'birth' or 'what is born'; आप्नाय्य = आहृपतेऽसौ or आप्नापत्यमनेन means 'who immerses', one 'immersing', or 'what ought to be immersed'; आपारय्य = आपत्यसौ or आपारयमनेन means 'what falls upon', 'falling upon', or 'what ought to fall upon'. Thus गोव्यो माणवकः साम्नः 'the boy is the singer of the Sāma'; or गोव्यानि माणवकेन सामानि 'the boy ought to sing the Sāma'; प्रवचनीयो गुरुः स्वाध्यावस्त्व 'the guru is the expounder of the lesson'; प्रवचनीयो गुरुणा स्वाध्यायः 'the lesson ought to be explained by the teacher'; उपस्थानीयोऽन्तेवासी गुरुः 'the pupil is the servant of the teacher'; उपस्थानीव्यः शिष्यवेण गुरुः 'the teacher ought to be served by the pupil'.

लः कर्मस्ति च भावे चाकर्मेभ्यः ॥६८॥ पदानि ॥ लः, कर्मस्ति, च,
भावे, च, अकर्मेभ्यः, (कर्तंरि) ॥

पृष्ठः ॥ ज्ञकाराः कर्मणिकारके भवन्ति, चकारात् कर्तंरि च, भकर्मकेभ्यो धातुभ्यो भावे भव-
न्ति, पुनर्भकारात् कर्तंरि च ॥

69. The tense-affixes called 'la' are used in denoting the object and the agent; and after intransitive verbs, they denote the action as well as the agent.

The term लः means the ten affixes known as लट्, लिट्, &c; लः is the common element of them all; and these affixes, when stripped of all indicatory letters, leave behind only the letter ल् which is thus common name for them all. The लः in the sūtra, is the nominative plural of ल्। By the word च in the sūtra, we draw in the word कर्ता or 'agent' from the last sūtra into this. The force of these tense-affixes, when placed after transitive verbs is to denote the object and the agent; and when placed after intransitive verbs, is to denote either 'action' (भाव) or it may denote the 'agent'.

The verb itself denotes the action ; to be or to do, generally ; or to be or to do, in a particular manner. In the active voice the affix marks the agent; in the passive voice of a transitive verb, it marks the object; but in the passive form of an intransitive verb, the action itself. Thus गम्भते यामी देवदत्तेन 'the village is gone to by Devadatta'; here देवदत्तेन denotes the object

and is in passive construction. गच्छति ग्रामं देवदत्तः 'Devadatta goes to the village'; here the affix ति of गच्छति denotes the agent, and the sentence is in active construction. The verb गृ being a transitive verb, can take both the active and passive constructions or, to use the Sanskrit technical phraseology, the tense-affixes, after transitive verbs, denote the agent and the object. They can never denote भाव or action after transitive verbs, that is, transitive verbs cannot be used impersonally. Let us now give examples of Intransitive verbs; आस्यते देवदत्तेन 'it is seated by Devadatta'; the verb आस्यते here denotes merely भाव or 'action'. In other words, we may call this an impersonal construction. आस्ते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sits'; here the verb आस्ते denotes the agent or is in the active voice.

Professor Bohtlingk translates the sūtra thus:—"A finite verb expresses the agent as well as the object ; but the Intransitive verbs denote, in addition to that, the Impersonal idea of the action". The word भाव means action considered in the abstract.

तयोरेव कृत्यक्षस्तर्थाः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ तयोः, एव, कृत्य-क्ष-
स्तर्थाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तयोरेव भावकर्मणोः कृत्यसंज्ञकाः कृत्यस्तर्थाः प्रस्वता भवन्ति ॥

70. The affixes called 'kritya' and the affix 'kta' and those that have the sense of 'khal', have only these last two senses, namely, an action and an object. (bhāva and karma).

The word तयोः 'of those two' refers to भाव 'an Impersonal act', and कर्म, 'object'. The word एव 'only' is used in the sūtra to exclude the word 'agent' from it. Thus कर्त्तव्यः कर्ता भवता 'the mat must be made by you'; भोक्तव्यः भोक्त्वा भवता 'the rice must be eaten by you'. Here the affix तव्य has the force of denoting the object; we may, therefore, call it the Potential Passive Participle affix. So also आश्रितव्यं भवता 'thou must eat'; श्रवितव्यं भवता 'thou must lie down'. Here the sense of the affix तव्य being that of the action itself, which being Impersonal, is in the singular number, as it is one only, and neither male nor female, there is, from the nature of the case, a singular affix, and the neuter gender is employed.

Similarly the affix क्ष denotes both the object and the action; कृतः कर्ता भवता 'the mat is made by you'; मुक्त भोक्त्वा भवता 'the rice is eaten by you'. Here त is used with the force of denoting the object and may be called the past passive participle.

Similarly त may be used in denoting the mere act; आसित्वं भवता 'you sat'; श्रवित्वं भवता 'you lay down'.

Similarly the affixes having the sense of स्त्र (III. 3. 126) denote both

the object and the Impersonal act. In the following examples the affixes denote the object; ईष्टकरः कटो भवता 'this mat is made, by little at a time, by you'; सुकरः 'what is made with ease'; दुष्करः 'what is made with difficulty'. In the following examples the affixes denote the act; ईष्टादृष्टभवं भवता and स्वार्थभवं भवता।

After transitive verbs, the *kṛitya*, the *kta* and the *khaldartha* affixes only denote the object, but never denote the भाव or 'an Impersonal action'.

आदिकर्मणि रः कर्तेरि च ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-कर्मणि, रः, कर्तेरि, च, (भावे, कर्मणि) ॥

दृष्टिः ॥ आदिकर्मणि यः न्तो विहितः स कर्तेरि भवति; अकारात् यथाप्राप्तं भावकर्मणोः ॥

71. The affix 'kta' also denotes the agent, when it expresses a beginning of an action.

The word आदिकर्मणि means 'the beginning of an action' or when the action signified by the roots, is intended to be expressed merely as having been simply begun. The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that even when the beginning of an action is intended to be expressed, the न्त may be used to denote the act and the object as well. Thus प्रकृतः कटं देवदत्तः here the agent is denoted. प्रकृतः कटो देवदत्तेन; here the object is denoted. प्रकृतम् देवदत्तेन; here mere action is denoted. Similarly प्रभुन् ओदनं देवदत्तः (agent); प्रभुन् ओदनो देवदत्तेन (object); प्रभुन्ते देवदत्तेन (act).

गत्यर्थकर्मकश्लिष्टास्थासवसजनहृणीर्यतिभ्यः ॥ ७२ ॥ प-
दानि ॥ गत्यर्थ-अकर्मक-श्लिष्ट-शीढ़-स्था-आस-वस-जन-हृह-सीर्यतिभ्यः, च,
(रः, कर्तेरि, भावे, कर्मणि) ॥

दृष्टिः ॥ गत्यर्थे धातुभ्योऽकर्मकेभ्यः श्लिष्टास्थित्य चः न्तः स कर्तेरि भवति, अकारात्यथाप्राप्तं च भावकर्मणोः ॥

72. The affix 'kta' is employed in denoting the agent as well as the act and the object, after verbs implying motion, after intransitive roots, and after the verbs 'ślīsh' (to embrace), 'śi' (to lie down), 'sthā' (to stand), 'ās' (to sit), 'vas' (to dwell), 'jan' (to produce), 'ruh' (to mount) and 'jṛi' (to grow old).

The phrase 'the act and the object' has been added into the sūtra by virtue of the word च. Thus गतो देवदत्तो प्रामन् 'Devadatta is gone to the village' (agent); देवदत्तेन गतः 'the village was gone to by Devadatta (object); गतं देव-
दत्तेन 'Devadatta went' (act). The past participle forms from Intransitive verbs, denote the agent and the act only; or in other words, they are used impersonally and in the Active voice, but never in the Passive voice or denoting the object. Thus गतानो भवान् 'you were wearied' (agent), गतानं भवता (object); आसिनो

भवान् 'you sat' (agent), भासितं भवता (object); उपसिष्टो गुरुम् भवान् 'you embraced the teacher' (agent), वासिष्टो गुरुः भवता 'the guru was embraced by you' (object), उपसिष्टम् भवता 'you embraced' (act); उपशयितो गुरुम् भवान् 'you lay near the guru' (agent), उपशयितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपशयितं भवता (act); उपस्थितो गुरुम् भवान् (agent), उपस्थितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपस्थितं भवता (act); अनूषितो गुरुम् भवान् (agent), अनूषितो गुरुः भवता (object), अनूषितं भवता (act); अनुजातो माणवकी माणविकाम् (agent), अनुजातं माणवकेन माणविका (object), अनुजातं माणवकेन (act); आरुदो वृत्तं भवान् (agent), आरुदो वृत्तो भवता (object), आरुदं भवता (act); अनुजीणो वृषलो देवदत्तः (agent), अनुजीणी वृषलो देवदत्तेन (object), अनुजीणी देवदत्तेन (act). The verbs श्रिलष &c., become transitive with certain prepositions or *upasargas*, hence they have been mentioned here. Otherwise there was no necessity of mentioning them separately; as they, being intransitive verbs, when without prepositions, would be included in the word *akarmaka* of the sūtra.

दाशगोप्ती संप्रदाने ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाश-गोप्ती, संप्रदाने ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दाशगोप्ती शब्दो सम्प्रदाने कारके निपारयेते ॥

73. The words 'dāśa' and 'goghna' are irregularly formed, and the affix in these denotes the idea of the Dative or Recipient.

The word दाश comes from the root दाश 'to give' by adding the affix भञ् under rule III. I. 134. This being a कृसन्त word would have otherwise denoted the agent by rule III. 4. 67 of this chapter. The present sūtra makes it denote the recipient or have the force of the dative case. Thus दाश means 'to whom something is given i. e. a servant'. Similarly *goghna* does not mean 'the killer of cow' but 'he on whose coming the cow is killed in order to give him, that is to say, a guest'. It is this irregularly-formed word *goghna* which is made applicable to the priests, guests, sons-in-law &c, and not the regularly-formed word *goghna* which means 'a killer of cow' or a 'Chandāl'. Thus दाशः = दाशन्ति सम्भैः; गोघ्नः = तस्मै दाशुं गो भ्रन्ति ॥

भीमादयेऽपादाने ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भीम-आदयः, अपादाने ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भीमादयः शब्दा भपादाने निपारयन्ते ॥

74. The words 'bhīma' &c. are irregularly formed and denote ablation.

These words are formed by *Unddi* affixes. Thus श्री+मक्=भीम (Uṇ. I. 145, 148); श्री+षुक्+मक्=भीम (Uṇ. I. 148) &c. By the next sūtra, *Unddi* words do not denote ordinarily the recipient and the ablation.

The present sūtra makes them do so in the case of भीमादि words. The following is a list of Bhimādi words :—गीमः, भीमः, भयानकः (Uṇ. III. 82), वरः, चरः,

(Uṇ. I. 7), भूनिः (Uṇ. IV. 45), रजः (Uṇ. IV. 217), संस्कारः, संकल्पनः, प्रपतनः, समुद्रः, सूचः, or सूक्षः (Uṇ. II. 61), कृक् (Uṇ. II. 62) खलतिः ।

ताम्यामन्यत्रोणादयः ॥७५॥ पदानि ॥ ताम्यां, अन्यत्र, उणादयः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उणादयः शब्दास्ताम्यामपाशानसंप्रशानामन्वय कारके भवन्ति ॥

75. The words formed by 'Uṇādi' affixes denote other ideas than these two, i. e., recipient and ablation.

The *Uṇādi* affixes being a subdivision of *krit* affixes, would have, by rule III. 4. 67, denoted the agent. By the present sūtra they are made to denote the object, the instrument and the location also. The word ताम्यां has been used in the sūtra in order to include the word *sampradāna* also. For, had the sūtra been अन्यत्रोणादयः, only the *Apādāna kāraka* would have been excluded, as being the nearest; but not so the *Sampradāna kāraka*. Thus कृषितोऽसौ=कृषिः (Uṇ. IV. 120) 'agriculture i. e. what is ploughed' (object); तन्वत हन्ति=तन्वः (Uṇ. I. 69) 'a thread i. e. what is drawn out'; वृत्तिं वर्त्तते (Uṇ. IV. 145) 'a way i. e. what is established'; चरितं = चर्त (Uṇ. IV. 145) 'skin' (in which they live).

क्तोऽधिकरणे च ग्रीष्मगतिप्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥
क्तः, अधिकरणे, च, ग्रीष्म-गति-प्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः, (क्तः, भावे, कर्मणि, कर्त्तरि)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रीष्मगतिप्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः च ज्ञो विहितः सोऽधिकरणे भवति चकाराण्यामासं च
ग्रीष्मार्थेभ्यः कर्त्तव्याधिकरणेषु गत्यर्थेभ्यः कर्त्तव्यमंभावाधिकरणेषु, प्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः कर्मभावाधिकरणेषु ।

76. The affix 'kta' which is ordained after roots denoting fixedness (to cling to a place), motion and taking, gives the sense of location as well..

The verbs denoting ग्रीष्म or 'persisting in a place' are Intransitive verbs. The word *pratyavasāna* means 'eating' also; the force of च in the sūtra is that the affix *kta* expresses other relations also. Thus after verbs denoting 'fixedness' or *dhrauvyārtha* it denotes the agent, the act and the location; after verbs denoting 'motion' it gives the sense of agent, object, act and location; after verbs denoting 'taking or eating', it has the sense of object, act and location. Thus भासितो देवहन्तः 'Devadatta sat'; भासितं लेन 'sitting by him (act); इत्येषामासितम् 'this was their seat' (location); आतो देवहन्तो भासम् 'Devadatta went to the village' (active); आतो देवहन्ते भासः (passive); आतं देवहन्ते (abstract); इत्येषो आतम् 'this is their place of going' (location); भुक्त भोइनो देवहन्ते (passive); भुक्त भोइने देवहन्तः (active); देवहन्ते भुक्तम् (abstract); इत्येषो भुक्तम् (location); कथं भुक्ता भासाणाः । पीता गावः । The भा in भुक्ता and पीता has the force of मत्पृष्ठ (IV. 2. 85). भुक्तभेषामस्ति or पीतभेषामस्ति ।

लस्य ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लस्येवदवभिकारः, विदित ऋर्षमनुकृतिवासी लस्येवं तदेहितव्यम् ॥

77. In the place of 'la' will be substituted the affix which we shall announce hereafter.

This sūtra consists of one word लस्य meaning 'of ल'. It is an *adhibhāra* sūtra. The word लस्य is the genitive singular of ल, the अ in ल being for the sake of pronunciation. The ल means the ten affixes: लः present, लित् perfect, लु॒ first future, लू॒ second future, लो॒ imperative लेत् Vedic subjunctive, लू॒ imperfect, लित् potential and benedictive, लू॒ aorist, लू॒ conditional. Six of these tenses have indicatory ए, and four have indicatory इ !

Professor Bohtlingk translates this sūtra thus:—In the following sūtras, the word लस्य should be supplied to complete the sense, i. e. the phrase 'in the place of all those endings which are known as the Personal endings of various tenses and moods, and are known in their totality as ल' !

तिसूक्ष्मिसिप्-शस्यनिभवस्मस्तातान्-भासायाम्-स्वनिहृवहिनहित्
॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिप्-तस्-फि-सिप्-यस्-य-सिप्-वस्-मस्-त-आतान्-भ-
यास्-आयाम्-ध्वम्-इट्-वहि-नहित्, (लस्य) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ लस्य तिबाद भावेशा भवन्ति ॥

78. The following are the substitutes of 'la':— 'tip', 'tas', 'jhi'; 'sip', 'thas', 'tha'; 'mip', 'vas', 'mas'; 'ta', 'ātām' 'jha'; 'thās', 'āthām', 'dhvam'; 'it', 'vahi', mahiñ.

These are the well-known Conjugational-affixes, called also Personal endings, and are ordained generally after all the ten tenses. But as a matter of fact, they undergo various additions and alterations in the different tenses. Some of these changes have already been mentioned before; see sūtra II 4. 85, III. I. 33, &c. Others will be mentioned hereafter. It is only in the present tense or लह that the affixes as above given, may be applied to the root, in some cases, without any alteration.

The ए in तिप्, सिप् and निप् is for the sake of accent (III.I. 4); the इ in इट् for distinguishing it in the sūtra इटौत् (III. 4. 106); and the ए in नहित् for forming the *Pratyabhāra* लित् which is the general name of the above 18 conjugational or personal affixes. Stripped off their indicatory letters, the following table shows the conjugational affixes as added under various tenses :—

PRESENT TENSE.—लह ।

Parasmaipada.

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.		Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st. pers.	मि	वस्	मस्		ए	वहे	महे
2nd.	"	सि	यस्	य	ते	आये	पै
3rd.	"	ति	तस्	भन्ति	ठे	आते	भन्ते

IMPERFECT OR FIRST PTERITE.—लङ्।

Parasmaipada.

Atmanepada.

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st. pers.	अम्	म	म	इ	एहि	महि
2nd.	८	म८	म	थाम्	भायाम्	भयम्
3rd.	त्	ताम्	भन्	त	भाताम्	भन्त

POTENTIAL OR OPTATIVE.—विधिलिङ्ग।

1st. pers.	आम्	आम्	आम्	ईम्	ईमहि	ईमहि
2nd.	८	म८	म	ईयाम्	ईबायाम्	ईप्यम्
3rd.	त्	ताम्	भुस्	ईत	ईबाताम्	ईर्त

IMPERATIVE.—ज्ञोद्।

1st. pers.	आनि	आव	आम्	ऐ	आवहि	आमहि
2nd.	८	म८	त	स्व	भायाम्	भयम्
3rd.	त्	ताम्	भन्तु	ताम्	भाताम्	भन्ताम्

PERFECT OR SECOND PTERITE.—ज्ञिर्।

1st. pers.	म	म	म	ए	वहि	महि
2nd.	८	भयुस्	भ	स्व	भाये	भये
3rd.	त्	भयुस्	उस्	ए	भाते	भयते

FIRST FUTURE OR DEFINITE FUTURE.—ज्ञुद्।

1st. pers.	तासि	तास्यस्	तास्यस्	ताहे	तास्यहि	तास्यहि
2nd.	तासि	तास्यस्	तास्य	तासे	तासाये	तास्ये
3rd.	ता	तारौ	तारस्	ता	तारौ	तारस्

SECOND FUTURE OR INDEFINITE FUTURE.—ज्ञुद्।

1st. pers.	स्वानि	स्वायस्	स्वायस्	स्वे	स्वायहि	स्वायहि
2nd.	स्वासि	स्वयस्	स्वय	स्वसे	स्वये	स्वये
3rd.	स्वाति	स्वयस्	स्वन्ति	स्वते	स्वते	स्वन्ते

AORIST OR THIRD PTERITE.—ज्ञुद्।

1st. pers.	सम्	स्व	स्व	सि	स्वहि	सहि
2nd.	सीष्	स्वत्	स्व	स्वास्	सायाम्	भयम्
3rd.	सीष्	स्वाम्	सुस्	स्व	साताम्	सत

PRECATIVE OR BENEDICTIVE.—भारीलिङ्ग।

1st. pers.	आसम्	आस्व	आस	सीब	सीवहि	सीवहि
2nd.	आस्	आस्म	आस	सीप्यास्	सीप्याम्	सीप्यम्
3rd.	आस्	आस्माम्	आसुस्	सीष	सीवास्माम्	सीर्त

CONDITIONAL.—लङ्।

1st. pers.	स्वम्	स्वाय	स्वाम	स्वे	स्वायहि	स्वायहि
2nd.	स्वस्	स्वयस्	स्वय	स्वयसे	स्वयाम्	स्वयम्
3rd.	स्वस्	स्वयाम्	स्वन्	स्वते	स्वताम्	स्वन्त

टित आत्मनेपदानां देरे ॥७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ टितः, आत्मनेपदा-
नाम्, टे:, ए, (लस्य) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ दितो जकारस्व स्थाने आत्मात्मनेपदानि सेषां देरेकारादेशी भवति ॥

79. The substitute 'e' replaces the last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, of the 'Atmanepada' substitutes of that 'la' which has an indicatory 't'.

The त्त or the tense-affixes that have an indicatory त्त are six:—ज्ञात्, ज्ञित्, ज्ञुत्, ज्ञद्, ज्ञोत्, ज्ञेत् । In these tenses the final portion called त्त of the Atmanepada affixes is changed into ए । Thus त becomes त्त, आत्मान् becomes आत्मै, न्न becomes न्न्न &c, as shown in the foregoing table.

The affixes शानत्, and कानत् are also Atmanepada affixes. Why are not their finals changed into ए as in पचमानः, चञ्चपानः? Because the word आत्मनेपदानां in the sūtra refers by context to the Atmanepada affixes included in the Pratyāhāra तित् ।

यासरसे ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ यासः, से, (लस्य, टितः) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ दितो जकारस्व बस्थात्मस्व सेशब्द आदेशी भवति ॥

80. The word 'se' is the substitute of 'thās' in those tenses that have an indicatory 't'.

In the six tenses already mentioned in the last sūtra, the Atmanepada यास् is replaced by से, as we have already shown in the preceding table. Thus पचसे, पेचिष्ये, पक्षासे, पहचये ।

लिट्टस्तफ्येरेश्चिरेच् ॥८१ ॥ प० ॥ लिटः, त-फ्येः, इश्, इरेच् ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ जितावेशबोस्तस्तबोर्यथासंख्यमेष्टिरेच् इश्चेतावादेशी भवतः ॥

81. The words 'es' and 'irech' are the substitutes of 'ta' and 'jha' respectively in the Perfect tense.

The त् of इश् indicates that it replaces the whole of the affix त् (I. I. 55). The च् of इरेच् is for the sake of accent (VI. I. 165). Thus पेचे, पेचाते वेचिरे । See the foregoing table of tenses for the Atmanepada.

परस्मैपदानां खलतुसुस्थलयुपसखलव्यमाः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परस्मै-
पदानां, खल्-अतुस्-उस्-यल्-अयुस्-अ-खल्-व-भाः, (लिटः) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ जितावेशानां परस्मैपदसंज्ञकानां यथासंख्यं सिद्धानीनां उपलादयो नवादेशा भवन्ति ॥

82. In the room of the Parasmaipada affixes, the following are substituted in the Perfect tense:

Sing.	nal (भ)	thal (घ)	nal (भ)
Dual.	atus (भतुः)	athus (भयुः)	va (व)
Plural.	us (उः)	a (अ)	ma (म)

The indicatory अ॒ in अ॒न् and अ॒न् is for the sake of accent (VI. I. 193). The indicatory ए॑ is for the sake of causing वृद्धि (VII. 2. 25). Thus पा॒च, पे॒चतुः, पे॒चुः, पे॒चिथ or पा॒क्थ, पे॒चयुः, पे॒च, पा॒च or पा॒च, पे॒चिव पे॒चिम।

विदो लटो वा ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदः, लटः, वा, (परस्मैपदानां, खलतुसुस्थलयुस्थलवभाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद ज्ञाने, अस्माद्गानोः परेषां जडादेशानां परस्मैपदानां एजाहयो नव विकल्पे-
नावेशा भवन्ति ॥

83. The above nine affixes of the Perfect tense are optionally added in the Present tense also after the verb 'vid'.

Thus:—

Singular.	वे॒द or वे॒त्ति	वे॒त्य or वे॒त्सि	वे॒द or वे॒त्ति
Dual.	विव॒तुः or विच्छित्ति	विव॒थुः or विव॒त्यः	विव॒द् or विव॒दः
Plural.	विव॒तुः or विव॒न्ति	विव॒द् or विव॒त्य	विव॒ग्र or विव॒ग्नः

ब्रुवः पञ्चानामादित आहो ब्रुवः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रुवः, पञ्चानाम्,
आदितः, आहः, ब्रुवः, (परस्मैपदानां, खलतुसुस्थल०, लटः, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रुवः परस्व जटः परस्मैपदानां पञ्चानामादिभूतानां पञ्चेव एजाहय आवेशा भवन्ति,
तस्मलियोगेन च ब्रुव भावशब्द आवेशी भवति ॥

84. Instead of the first five tense-affixes, in the Present tense coming after the verb 'brū' (to speak), there may optionally be the affixes of the Perfect; 'āha' being, at the same time, the substitute in the room of 'brū'.

Thus आ॒ह 'he says'; आहतुः 'they two say'; आहुः 'they say'; आत्य 'thou sayst'; आहयुः 'you two say'; the rest like ब्रू॒ as shown below:—

Singular.	आ॒ह or आ॒वीति	आ॒त्य or आ॒वीति	आ॒वीति
Dual.	आ॒हतुः or आ॒त्यतुः	आ॒हयुः or आ॒त्ययुः	आ॒त्य
Plural.	आ॒हुः or आ॒त्यन्ति	आ॒त्य	आ॒त्य

The word आदितः 'first' is used in the sūtra to indicate that the substitution should not take place in the case of the last four affixes. The repetition of the word ब्रुवः in the sūtra indicates the original expression which is to be replaced; and shows that this change occurs in the Parasmaipada affixes only.

लोटो लठ्यत् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोटः, लठ्यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोटो लठ्यत्कार्यं भवति ॥

85. The personal endings of the Imperative are as those of the Imperfect.

This is an अतिरेश सूत्र; as in the ज्ञात् there are the affixes ताम्, तम्, त, व
and न, so also in the ज्ञोइः। Thus पञ्चताम्, पञ्चतम्, पञ्चत, पञ्चाव, पञ्चाम्।

Q.—If जोइ is like जह, why have we not the augment अ॒, आ॒, or the substitution of जु॒स् for सि॒ (see III. 4. 111) in the case of जोइ also?

A.—The वा॑ of sūtra III. 4. 83 is understood in this sūtra also, so that the analogy between जोइ and जह is a limited analogy and does not make all the rules which are applicable to जह, equally applicable to जोइ also.

ए॒ः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि॑ ॥ ए॑ः, उ॑ः, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः॑ ॥ जोडारेशानामिकारस्य उकारारेशो भवति॑ ॥

वार्तिकम्॑ ॥ हिन्दीहस्वप्रतिवेधो वन्नस्यः॑ ॥

86. In the Imperative, 'u' is substituted for 'i'.

Thus ति becomes तु, भन्ति becomes भन्तु, as have already been given in the above table.

Vdr.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of affixes हि and नि॑ of जोइ। In the case of these two affixes, the इ is not changed into उ, either because they have been so taught in the sūtras, or because the वा॑ of sūtra III. 4. 83 is understood here also and makes this rule an optional rule of limited scope as in the last sūtra (ब्यवस्थित विभाषा). Thus पचतु॑, पचन्तु॑।

In fact, this sūtra is confined to ति and सि॑ only, and does not apply to सि॑ to which the next sūtra applies.

सेर्हयपित्त॑ ॥ ८७ ॥ से॑ः, हि॑, अपित्॑, च॑, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः॑ ॥ जोडारेशास्य सेर्हिं इस्थयमारेशो भवति॑ ॥

87. In the Imperative, 'hi' is substituted for 'si', and this has not the indicatory 'p' of 'sip', i. e., it is acutely accented.

The substitute being like the original expression (I. 1. 56), हि॑ substituted for सिप्, would have been a पित् affix, but for this sūtra, which clearly states in its latter portion that this हि॑ is not to be regarded as having an indicatory प॑।

Thus जुनीहि॑, पुनीहि॑, राघुहि॑, तस्युहि॑; and as this affix is अपित्, rule I. 2. 4 makes it लित् also, and thereby no guna takes place.

वा॑ छन्दसि॑ ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि॑ ॥ वा॑, छन्दसि॑, (सेर्हयपित्॑, लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः॑ ॥ भारेशश्वन्दसि॑ विष्वे॑ हिशब्दो वाऽपिद्वति॑ ॥

88. In the Vedas, the substitute 'hi' is optionally treated as not having an indicatory 'p'.

The result is that in the Chandas the second person singular of जोइ, has two forms as मीणाहि॑ or मीणीहि॑; युयुधि॑ or युयोधि॑, सि॑ being substituted for हि॑ in the Vedas, by rule (VI. 4. 103) as in the following verse:

अमे॑ नव॑ सुपथ॑त्राये॑ अ॒स्तान्विधा॒निदेव॑ वृयूना॑निविद्वान्॑ ।

वृ॑ यो॑ वृ॒स्मद्गुह॑राणमेनो॒भूविद्वान्ते॑ नमऽदृक्तिम्बिष्वे॑ ॥

— Rig 1. 189. 1 : Yajur Veda, 40. 16.

मेर्निः ॥ ए॒ ॥ पदानि ॥ मे॑, नि॑, (लोटः) ॥

पृष्ठः ॥ लोडारेश्वय मेर्निरारेश्वो भवति ॥

89. In the Imperative, 'ni' is substituted for the affix 'mi'.

This supersedes the rule relating to the change of इ into ए, and the rule of *lōpa*; see the table; thus पचानि, पठानि।

आमेतः ॥ ए॒ ॥ पदानि ॥ आम्, एतः, (लोटः) ॥

पृष्ठः ॥ लोट् सम्बन्धिन एकारस्व भास्मिस्वभारेश्वो भवति ॥

90. In the Imperative 'am' is substituted for what would have substituted otherwise 'e' by III. 4. 79.

This relates to the Atmanepada affix ए. In the Atmanepada, आम् is substituted for ए in the Imperative; see the table; पचाम्, पचेताम्, पचन्ताम्।

सचाम्यां वाभी ॥ ए॒ ॥ प० ॥ स-चाम्यां, व-अभी, (लोटः, एतः) ॥

पृष्ठः ॥ सकारात्वकाराभ्यामुपात्स्व लोट् सम्बन्धिन एकारस्व चथासंख्यं व भम् इत्येतावारेश्वो भवतः ॥

91. For such an 'e' coming after 's', is substituted 'v', and for that coming after 'v', is substituted 'am', in the Imperative.

This supersedes the आम् substitution of the last sūtra. Thus, for से we have एव, and for एवे we have एवम्; see the table; thus पचव्य, पचव्यम्।

आहुसमस्य पित्त॑ ॥ ए॒ ॥ पदानि ॥ आट् उत्तमस्य, पित् च, (लोटः) ॥

पृष्ठः ॥ लोट् सम्बन्धिन उत्तमपुहृष्टवाङागमी भवति च चोत्तमपुहृष्टः पित्तवति ॥

92. In the Imperative 'एत' is the augment of the affixes of the first person and the termination is as if it had an indicatory 'p'.

This is clear. Thus in the Parasmaipada, we have आनि, आव, आम्। Thus करवाणि, करवाव, करवाम्; करवै, करवावै, करवामै।

एत ए॑ ॥ ए॒ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतः, ए॑, (लोटः; उत्तमस्य) ॥

पृष्ठः ॥ लोट् सम्बन्धिन एकारस्व एकारारेश्वो भवति ॥

93. The 'ai' is substituted for 'e' forming part of the affixes of the first person of the Imperative.

This relates to the Atmanepada affix. Thus करवै, करवावै, करवामै।

But the ए resulting from sandhi, is not to be changed into ए॑। Thus पचाव + इवम् = पचावेवम्, पचाम + इवम् = पचामेवम्। Here, no doubt, the ए belongs to the Imperative by VI. 1. 85, being the substitute of अ of ए and ए॑। But this is not to be changed into ए॑ on the maxim that this ए॑ is the result of a नहिरङ्ग् rule, for

the rule of sandhi (VI. i. 87), is a वहिरङ्गुः rule, while the present sūtra is an अन्तरङ्गुः rule; because of the following Paribhāshā, भसिखं वहिरङ्गुःमन्तरङ्गुः 'that which is Bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect, when an Antaranga rule is to be applied.

लेटो इटाटौ ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लेटः, अट्-आटौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेटोऽडादावाग्मो भवतः पर्यावेष ॥

94. The augments 'at̄' and 'āt̄' are added to the personal endings of the Vedic Subjunctive.

The augments भद् and भाद् are not to be added at once, but by turns. Thus जुष् + सिष् + भद् + त् = जोषिषत्; तारिषत्, मान्दिषत्; similarly पूर् + भाद् + ति = पशाति; च्वावचाति । See III. i. 34 for the addition of सिष् in the above.

आत् ऐ ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, ऐ, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट्-सम्बन्धिन आकारस्व एकारारेशो भवति ॥

95. In the Subjunctive, 'ai' is the substitute of 'e' in the first and second person dual of the Atmanepada.

Thus मन्त्रवैते, मन्त्रवैये, कर्त्रवैते, कर्त्रवैये । Why is not the augment भाद् changed into ऐ? Because otherwise the rule enjoining भाद् would be superfluous.

वैतोऽन्यत्र ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, ऐतः, अन्यत्र, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट्-सम्बन्धिन एकारस्व वा ऐकारारेशो भवति भन्तवेत्यनभारो विभिरपेक्षते । आत् ऐ इत्येतद्विषयं वर्जितिवा एत् ऐ भवति ॥

96. In the Subjunctive, 'ai' is optionally the substitute of 'e', in other places than those mentioned in the last sūtra.

Thus शब्दै, ईशै, &c, in the following examples:—सप्ताहानि शब्दै, अहमेष पशूनामीशै, नश्या एव वो प्रहा गृश्यान्तै, महेवस्वान्देव वा: पानाण्वुच्चान्तै । And in the alternative we have simply ए, as वज्ञ क च ते मनो दस्मै एवसरन्तरम् ।

Why do we say 'in other places than those governed by the last sūtra'? Observe मन्त्रवैते, मन्त्रवैये ।

इतम् लोपः परस्मैपदेव ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, च, लोपः, परस्मै-पदेषु, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट्-सम्बन्धिन इकारस्व परस्मैपदविषवद्व लोपो भवति वानुवृत्तेः पहो श्रवणात्पि भवति ॥

97. In the Parasmaipada affixes the 'i' is optionally elided in the Subjunctive.

The वा of the last sūtra is understood here also. Thus जोषिषत् (Rig. II. 35. 1). तारिषत् (Rig. I. 25. 12). मन्दिषत् । In the alternative, it is not elided as पशाति विष्युत् (Rig. VII. 25. 1). उर्ध्वि च्वावचाति । The इ of इट्, वहि and महि of the Atmanepada are not elided.

स उत्तमस्य ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, उत्तमस्य, (लेटः, वा, सोपः)॥
वृत्तिः ॥ लेट् सम्बन्धिन उत्तमपुरुषस्य सकारस्य वा ज्ञोपो भवति ॥

98. The 's' of the first person is optionally elided in the Subjunctive.

As करवाव or करवावः, करवाम or करवामः । The first person is used in the sūtra to indicate that the श् is not elided in any other person.

नित्यं छितः ॥ ९९ ॥ प० ॥ नित्यं, छितः, (सस्य, उत्तमस्य, सः, सोपः)॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छितो लकारस्य य उत्तमस्तस्य नित्यं सकारस्य ज्ञोपो भवति ॥

99. There is always elision of the 's' of the first person of the affixes that come in the room of that 'la' which has an indicatory 'n'.

The tense-affixes having indicatory श् are four, namely, लट्, लिट्, लुट् and लूट् । In their case, the elision of श् is not optional as was the case in the last sūtra, but compulsory. See the table already given. In other words, in the Imperfect, Potential, Aorist and Conditional, the श् is elided in the 1st person. Thus अपचाव, अपचाम । The word निर्वं 'always' is used in order to stop the anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally'.

इत्थ ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, च, (छितः, नित्यं, सोपः, सस्य)॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छित्कारसम्बन्धिन इकारस्य निर्वं ज्ञोपो भवति ॥

100. And there is elision of the 'i' of that Parasmaipada affix which is the substitute of a 'la' having an indicatory 'n'.

Thus, for ति we have त्, for त्वि we have त्, &c, as in the above table. The त् of Atmanepada is, however, not elided, because the anuvṛitti of Parasmaipada is understood here from sūtra III. 4. 97. Thus अपचत्, अपात्तीत्, but अपचावहि and अपचामहि ।

तस्यस्यभिपां ताम्तंतामः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्-यस्-य-भिपात्,
तां-तं-त-आमः, (छितः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छित्कारसम्बन्धिनां चतुर्णां वयासंवर्तं तामाद्व आदेशा भवन्ति ॥

101. The affixes 'tām', 'tam', 'ta' and 'am' are the substitutes of the four affixes 'tas', 'thas', 'tha' and 'mip' respectively, of any 'la' which has an indicatory 'n'.

This we have shown in the above table. Thus अपचताम्, अपचतम्, अपचत्, अपचाम्, अपात्ताम्, अपात्तम्, अपात्, अपामहि ।

लिङ्गस्सीयुट् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्गः, सीयुट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ्गादेशानां सीयुटागमो भवति ॥

102. The personal endings of the Potential and the Benedictive take the augment 'siyuṭ'.

The ए् of सीयुट् is indicatory and shows that this augment is to be placed before the affixes (I. 1. 46). The ए् is for the sake of pronunciation; this rule applies to the Atmanepada affixes. In the Potential, the ए् of this augment is elided by VII. 2. 79, and the ए् also, before a personal-ending beginning with a consonant, is dropped according to VI. 1. 66. In this way, we have पचेत्, पचेवासाम्, and by III. 4. 105, पचेरन्। In the Benedictive, the augment retains its full form, only so far as it is not governed by VI. 1. 66. Thus वस्तीट्, वसीयास्ताम् पक्षीरन्।

यासुट् परस्नैपदेषुदातो छित् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यासुट् परस्नै-
पदेषु, उदातः, छित्, ए, (लिङ्गः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्पैषविष्वस्य लिङ्गो वासुदागमो भवति सीयुटोऽपवाइः सचोशास्तो भवति, छित्त्वा ॥

103. When the Parasmaipada affixes of the Potential follow, then 'yāsuta' acutely accented, is their augment, and the termination is regarded as having an indicatory 'n'.

This debars सीयुट्; the ए् of यासुट् is indicatory; the real augment is यास्. All augments being anudatta, the present sūtra therefore especially uses the word udatta to show that this augment is an exception to the general rule. Though लिङ्ग् has an indicatory ए्, and therefore by the rule I. 1. 56, its substitutes would also be regarded as having an indicatory ए्, the repetition of the word छित् in this sūtra shows the existence of the paribhāshā "that the ए् belonging to लिङ्ग् does not influence its substitutes;" in other words, the substitutes of लिङ्ग्, लिङ्, लुङ् and लुङ्, are not to be regarded as having an indicatory ए् (लक्षणभवित्वमावश्यानां न भवति). In the Potential, the ए् of यासुट् is elided by VII. 2. 79. So we get the forms कुर्यात्, कुर्वताम्, and by applying III. 4. 108 and VI. 1. 96, कुर्युस्। For the Benedictive लिङ्ग् the following sūtra applies.

किदाशिषि ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कित् आशिषि, (लिङ्गः, यासुट्-
उदातः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि वी लिङ्ग् तद्व वासुदागमो भवति सचोशास्तः किदाशिषि ॥

104. The augment 'yāsuta' comes after that 'lin' also which denotes benediction, and it is acutely accented, and the substitutes of this 'lin' are as if they had an indicatory 'k'.

The कित् of this sūtra refers to the personal affixes of the Benedictive mood and not to the augment यासुट्, for that would have been unnecessary,

being already हित् by the last rule. हित् and कित् are equal in prohibiting गुण and वृद्धि, but हित् is distinguished from कित् inasmuch as हित् causes the गुण of जाग् (VII. 3. 85), and also there is distinction between them with regard to the change of semi-vowel to vowel (VI. 1. 15 and 16). Thus इष्वात्, इष्वास्तात्, इष्वासुः, and जागर्यात्, जागर्यस्तात् and जागर्यसुः। In the Potential, उच्चात् (no samprasāraṇa); in the Benedictive, उच्चात् (vocalisation). So also जाग्रत् बात् in the Potential.

भस्य रन् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भस्य, रन्, (लिङ्गः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रय लिङ्गादेशस्य इति॒रिष्ववमादेशो भवति ॥

105. The affix 'ran' is the substitute of 'jha' in the 'Lिङ्ग' (Potential and Benedictive).

The रा in other places, is replaced generally by अन्त् (VII. 1. 3), but in लिङ्ग, it is replaced by रन्। Thus पचेरन्, बजेरन्, कृषीरन्।

इटोऽत् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इटः, अत्, (लिङ्गः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ्गादेशस्य इटोऽरिष्ववमादेशो भवति ॥

106. Short 'a' is the substitute of 'i' of the Atmanepada first person singular in the Potential and Benedictive.

Thus पचेत्, बजेत्, कृषीय, हृषीय।

Q.—In the sūtra, the word अत् is used, and the final त् belongs to the विभक्ति, therefore by rule I. 3. 4, this त् is not indicatory; why is it made so?

A.—This त् is not any portion or member of the substitute अत्; it is added to अ merely for the sake of euphony.

The इट् refers to the भास्मनेपद् affix of the first person singular ; and not to the augment इट् on the strength of the maxim अर्थवद्प्रहणो नानर्थकत्वः। A combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote the same combination of letters void of a meaning,

सुट् तिथोः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुट्, ति-थोः, (लिङ्गः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ्ग संबिधनोस्तकारयकारयोः सुदागमो भवति ॥

107. The augment 'sut' is added to the affixes 'ta' and 'tha' when part of the affixes of the Potential and Benedictive.

The letters त् and थ् are the objects to which the augment सुट् is to be added; provided that the त् and थ् are the initial of the affixes employed in लिङ्ग।

The augment स्त्रीबुट् is applied to लिङ्ग as such; in other words, लिङ्ग is

there the आगमी ; but in the case of सुट्, लिङ् is not the आगमी, but त् and य् are the आगमी ! The scope of सीयुः and सुट् being thus different, one does not debar the other.

In the sūtra, the word ति is used; the इ of ति is merely for the sake of pronunciation. Thus कृषीट्, कृषीवस्ताम्, कृषीरत्, कृषीष्टः, कृषीवास्याम् ! In the Potential, the श् is elided by VII. 2. 79.

भेर्जुस् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भे:, जुस्, (लिङ्:) ॥
यूसिः ॥ लिङ्गावेशस्य स्त्रेर्जुस् आवेशो भवति ॥

108. In the Potential and Benedictive, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', the ending of the first person plural Parasmaipada.

This debars भन्त (VII. I. 3); thus पचंतुः, यज्ञेतुः ।

सिच्यस्तविदिष्यश्च ॥ १०९ ॥ सिच्-अस्यस्त-विदिष्यः, च, (भेर्जुस्) ॥
यूसिः ॥ सिच् परस्य अवस्था संहक्षण्यो देवेशोत्तरस्य जूसावेशी भवति ॥

109. (In those tenses which are marked with an indicatory 'n') 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', when it comes after an Aorist in 'sich', or the Imperfect of a reduplicated verb, or the root 'vid' (to know).

This applies to tenses having इ other than that of लिङ्, namely, the नह् and लुह् ।

सिच् is employed in forming the first Aorist. The reduplicated verbs, as well as the verb विद्, form their third person plural in जुस्, in the tenses other than लिङ्, and those that take सिच् । The word लिङ् of sūtra III. 4. 99, is understood here also; and therefore this rule is restricted to the Imperfect (नह्) of the reduplicated verb. Thus of सिच्, we have अकार्युः, भाव्यः । Similarly, after the Imperfect of the reduplicated verbs, we have अविभवुः, अंजिहवुः, भजाग्नः । In the case of विद्, we have अविदुः ।

आतः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, (भेर्जुस्, सिच्) ॥
यूसिः ॥ सिच् आकारान्माच्य परस्य स्त्रेर्जुसावेशी भवति ॥

110. (When 'sich' is elided), 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', after an Aorist stem which ends in long ा.

The सिच् is elided by rule (II. 4. 77). Thus अतुः, अघुः, अस्युः । In other words, in those cases, where सिच् is elided by rules II. 4. 77, 78 and 79, only जुस् is the substitute of ति where the verbs end in long आ । In other words, this sūtra restricts the scope of the last sūtra, by which after every सिच्, जुस् was to replace ति ।

The Present sūtra says that after verbs in which सिच् has been elided,

जुस् does not replace सि in the case of any other verb than that which ends in long आ; it is thus a *niyama* rule.

Thus, by rule II. 4. 77, सिच् is elided after the verb भू, but as भू does not end in long आ, its 3rd person plural Aorist will not be in जुस्। Thus, अभुवन्। Here, by the last rule, and on the maxim that 'though सिच् is elided, yet its force remains (I. I. 62)', जुस् would have replaced सि; but the present sūtra prohibits that. But where the सिच् is not elided, there, of course, जुस् does come. Thus अकार्षः, अहार्षः।

लङ्घः शाकटायनस्य ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ लङ्घः, शाकटायनस्य, (भे:, जुस्, आतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाकारान्तादृचरस्य लङ्घादेशारथं स्मर्जुसादेशो भवति शाकटायनस्याचार्वस्वं मरेत ॥

111. In the opinion of Sākaṭāyana only, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', in the Imperfect of the roots which end in a long 'ā'.

Thus अयुः, अयुः। In the alternative, we have अवान् and अवान्।

Why is लङ्घ repeated here, when the context would have supplied this word; for the sūtra applies to छित् tenses, of which लङ्घ् being dealt with in the last, would leave लङ्घ् only to be dealt with by this aphorism, for no other छित् tense (like निङ्ग् or लङ्घ्) can end in आ? The repetition shows that the rule applies to those affixes which come after लङ्घ् as लङ्घ्, and not to those which come after another tense which is treated like लङ्घ्। Thus लोट् is treated like लङ्घ्, but for the purposes of this rule, लोट् would not be so treated. Thus the सि of लोट् will not be changed into जुस् by III. 4. 109. Thus विश्वनु, जापनु, विदन्तु। The word एव has been used in the sūtra, for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

द्विषश्च ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषः, च, (लङ्घः, शाकटायनस्य, भेर्जुस्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विषः परस्य लङ्घादेशारथं स्मर्जुसादेशो भवति शाकटायनस्याचार्वस्वं मरेत ॥

112. In the opinion of Sākaṭāyana only, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', in the Imperfect after the verb 'dvish' (to hate).

Thus अद्विषः। But according to others, अद्विषन्।

तिङ्ग्नित्सार्वधातुकम् ॥ ११३ ॥ प० ॥ तिङ्ग्न-ग्नित् सार्वधातुकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिङ्गः शित्तथ प्रत्ययाः सार्वधातुकसंहा भवन्ति ॥

113. All personal endings (III. 4. 78) and all affixes with an indicatory 's', are called 'sārvadhātuka'.

Of course, this applies to the affixes which have been already treated before, namely, the affixes which relate to verbal roots and not to तद्वित् affixes &c. Thus, स्वप्निति, रोदिति, पञ्चमानः, पञ्चमानः। लिङ् and आशीर्णिङ् are exceptions.

आर्द्धधातुकं शेषः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आर्द्धधातुकम् शेषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङः शितश्च वर्जयित्वाऽन्यः प्रत्ययः शेषो धातुसंशब्दनेन विहित भार्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

114. The remainder, i. e. the affixes other than 'tin', and those with an indicator 's' subjoined to a verbal root, are called 'ardhadhātuka'.

Thus the affixes इ, इम्, तथम् &c. are आर्द्धधातुक affixes as in the following words—नविता, नवितम्, नवितव्यम्। Here the augment इ is added, because of these affixes being called *ardhadhātuka* by VII. 2. 35.

The word धातोः whose anuvritti began with sūtra III. 1. 91, is understood here also. So that the affixes in relation to the verbal roots get the name of *sārvadhātuka* and *ardhadhātuka*; the affixes applied to nouns do not get these names. Thus the case-affix न्याम् when added to the noun न्, is not called an *ardhadhātuka* affix, and therefore we have कूम्याम्, जूभिः &c. Had these affixes been *ardhadhātuka*, they would have caused the *guna* of the base (VII. 3. 84). Similarly the affixes सं and ता in the words वृत्तसं and वृत्तता are not *ardhadhātuka* affixes. Had they been so, there would have been the insertion of the augment इ (VII. 2. 35).

Similarly in sūtra III. 1. 5, the affix सन् is used without changing the sense, after the roots गृष्, तिज् and कित्। But as this affix is added without the enunciation of the word धातोः as it is in sūtra III. 1. 7, this सन् is not called *ardhadhātuka*, and does not take the augment इ, as जुगुप्सते ।

लिट् च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिट्, च, (आर्द्धधातुकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वाणशस्तिडार्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

115. The personal endings of the Perfect are also called 'ardhadhātuka'.

This debars them from being called *sārvadhātuka* and, being *ardhadhātuka*, some of them take the augment इ; as वेच्यिथ, शेकिथ। Moreover by their being *ardhadhātuka* they do not admit of the *Vikaraṇas* शण् &c.

So from रै (रला, VI. 1. 45) we have जर्जे; here the भा is elided by VI. 4. 64, the affix being treated as *ardhadhātuka*; similarly मम्ले from म्ले ।

लिङ्गाशिषि ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, आशिषि, (आर्द्धधातुकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि विषये यो लिङ् स भार्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

116. When the sense is that of Benediction, the substitutes of 'lin' are called 'ardhadhātuka', i. e. the personal endings of the Benedictive are 'ardhadhātuka'.

This debars these affixes from being called *sārvadhātuka*. Being *ardhadhātuka* they take the augment इ, and before these affixes the root does

not take the Vikaraṇas शप् &c. Thus from the root न्त् 'to cut', we have in the आशीर्णिङ्ग्, लविसीट्; and from the root प् 'to purify', पविष्टीट्. But in the विभिलिङ्ग् (Potential), we have the proper Vikaraṇas &c. as नुनीवात्, पुनीवात्।

द्वन्द्वस्युभयथा ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वसि, उभयथा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वसि विषये उभयथा भवति सार्वधातुकमाद्वधातुकं च ॥

117. In the Vedas this distinction of 'sārvadhadhātuka' and 'ārdhadhadhātuka' is not always maintained, and the affixes are promiscuously employed.

In the Vedas, there is no hard and fast rule about *sārvadhadhātuka* and *ārdhadhadhātuka* affixes. Sometimes the तिङ् and शित् are treated as if they were *ārdhadhadhātuka*. Thus वर्जन्तु स्वा सुष्टुतयः। Here the affixes of the ज्ञोट् are treated as *ārdhadhadhātuka* and consequently there is the elision of the णित् by rule VI. 4. 51; the proper form of this word would be वर्जवन्तु। Sometimes *ārdhadhadhātuka* affixes are treated like *sārvadhadhātuka* affixes; as विगृहिष्वरे; here the affixes of the ज्ञिट् are treated as *sārvadhadhātuka* and so there is the Vikaraṇa श् and the त् is changed into व्। Thus, वि+श्+श्+इरे=वि+श्+न्+इरे (III. 1. 74) =वि+श्+न्+इरे (VI. 4. 87)=विष्पृष्ठिरे। Similarly, सुन्विरे। The ज्ञिट् is sometimes treated in the Vedas both as *sārvadhadhātuka* and *ārdhadhadhātuka* at one and the same time; as वपस्येवाम् शरणं ब्रह्मतम्। Here, by treating the affix as *sārvadhadhātuka*, there is elision of स् in the ज्ञिट् (VII. 2. 79) and by treating it again as *ārdhadhadhātuka*, the भा of स्था is changed into ए। So also in स्वति the affix is treated as *sārvadhadhātuka* and there is no substitution of भ् for अस् as required by II. 4. 52.

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