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BOOK VIII.

THE

ASHTA HYAYI

of

PANINI.

PARTS XXIX—XXXII.

S. C. VASU.

OPINIONS OF DISTINGUISHED PROFESSORS OF SANSKRIT.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

स्वस्तीर्थे हितपुरे हितदे प्रयागे सत्संगमप्रणयसंभविते बुधानां ।
विद्याविनां इवर्वर्द्धितबुध्युसारान् बास्तव्याभिज्ञरिशब्दविदांविष्टान् ॥ १ ॥
वृद्धातिमोदमुदिरोहुदमशक्तीन् सच्छाल्लभोधितसुखास्पदबोधभाजः ।
सम्यकलसंतु न तयोनितराम्भीया यदावृक्कर्विकर्मरत्तांतरेभ्यः ॥ २ ॥
दृष्टाङ्गतं विमलबोधनबोधराणि सद्याकृतिप्रथितकीर्तिकर्पंशस्य ।
वच्छ्रीमरीयमतिमोदवहं वरेण्यं सत्सुस्तकं प्रसुदितोहमहोशकृत्य ॥ ३ ॥
विचारवस्तिं भवतेऽग्निशब्दोऽभाजा वहस्तुतो विचारतं समदृक् चुविम्बं ।
लोकेऽसुचिभरच्यनाभरैककीलं भ्रिवेष्विचारमनसः प्रतिबिबमावे ॥ ४ ॥
सत्सौंग्लशप्रकटितवृत्तवृत्तौ संज्ञादिवशलमनो कुहकल्पसाक्षिः ।
स्थानेवसुप्रहितविसंविवृत्यर्थे यदासुसासुविहिनोग्निशभाववृत्तिः ॥ ५ ॥
येनस्वया द्रुतिमतावृत्तशास्वर्संधानं तिर्थयत्तौपरासवन्महतावरेण ।
संगुभितं सरलसंस्कृतसाध्यसारं धन्यं वदाम्यहमलं भवतेहिताय ॥ ६ ॥
धन्यस्ययत्प्रसरणाख्यिलकीर्तिकृते याचेपरामगवतोप्यहमज्ञविदृन् ।
यत्पूर्वप्रशिममुख्येषुदाप्रचारं लभंसुखंगुरुप्तिरं च तदापि धीमन् ॥ ७ ॥
वाणीविदाम्बरतवास्तुमुखे जयाद्या यत्पूर्वप्रशिमज्ञबोधभृते च विद्या ।
ख्यातिस्सशासकल वर्धभुजां समुद्रेऽप्याशीर्षयो भवतु पांडित लालचन्द्र ॥ ८ ॥



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Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) F. MAX MULLER.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

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

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BOOK VIII.

THE

ASHTÁDHYÁYI OF PÁNINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,

BY

SRISA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,

Provincial Civil Service, N. W. P.

—•—

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THE TRANSLATOR.

ओ३४।

अथ अष्टमाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।



BOOK EIGHTH.

CHAPTER FIRST.

सर्वस्य द्वे ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वस्य, द्वे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वस्येति च हैति ऐतरशिक्तं वेदितव्यम् । इत उत्तरं वद्वायामः प्राक् परस्येततः सर्वस्य है
भवत इत्येवं सदैवितव्यम् ॥

1. From here upto VIII. 1. 15 inclusive, is to be supplied always the phrase "the whole word is repeated".

This is an adhikâra sûtra. Whatever will be taught hereafter upto परस्य (VIII. 1. 16) exclusive, there the phrase सर्वस्य है should be supplied to complete the sense. Thus VIII. 1. 4. teaches "when the sense is that of 'always', and 'each'." Here the phrase 'the whole word is repeated' should be supplied to complete the sense. i. e. "The whole word is repeated when the sense is that of *always* and *each*". What is to be repeated? That which is most appropriate in sound and sense both. Thus one पचति becomes two, as पचाति पचाति 'he always cooks'. Similarly प्राणो यामे रमणीयः 'every village is beautiful'.

The sûtra 'sarvasya dve', should not be confounded as meaning 'the word-form *sarva* is doubled'. For then rules like VI. 1. 99, and VI. 1. 100 will find no scope. The word *sarva* has several meanings: (1) the totality of things (तत्त्वः) as सर्वतदस्याति, (2) the totality of modes (प्रकारः) सर्वान्नीनोभिषुः = सर्वप्रकार-रमणीयस्याति; (3) the totality of members (अवदानः), as सर्वः पदोऽप्यः ॥ In the present sûtra, the word *sarva* has this last sense: namely *all* the members of a word are doubled, no portion is omitted. The force of the genitive case in sarvasya, is that of *sthâna*, i. e. in the room of the *whole* of the words like एव &c there is doubling. So one meaning of the sûtra is, that in the room of the one word, two are substituted. In making such substitution, we must have regard to the rule of nearness.

Another meaning of the sūtra however is, that it does not teach *substitution* but *repetition* or *employment*, not ādesā, but prayoga. That is to say, one word is *employed* twice. In this sense, of course, there is no room left for finding out the proper substitute. The very word-form, पचति &c, is employed twice, i. e. is repeated twice or pronounced twice.

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

Obj. The word पदस्य should be employed in the sūtra, in order to prevent the application of the rule to Samāsa (compound), to taddhitas, and to vākyas (sentences). Thus सप्तपर्णैऽष्टापदम् ॥ Here there is the sense of vīpsā with regard to seven leaves, and does not mean a tree having seven leaves. There ought to have been doubling; but it would not take place, if we take the word padasya in the aphorism. Similarly हिपरिकां दशाति, here also the sense is that of vīpsā, and there ought to have been doubling, before the affixing of the taddhita affix. So also in भासे भासे पानयिष्म् the sentence भासे पानयिष्म् is not doubled, if we employ padasya. So the word padasya, should be employed in the sūtra. Moreover, it would prevent our employing the word padasya again in VIII. I. 16.

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

On the contrary, if we employ the word padasya in the sūtra, it would give rise to the following anomalies. We could not have प्रपचति प्रपचति; for upasarga being considered as a separate pada, only पचति would be doubled, and प्र would not. So also, we have two forms द्वोग्धा and द्वोदा ॥ Here दृष्ट् is added to the root दृह्, and दृ is optionally changed to द्व by VIII. 2. 77, and in the other alternative there is दृ ॥ As दृ and द्व are both asiddha (VIII. 2. 1), the doubling would take place without making this दृ or द्व substitution. So that having first doubled the word (something as द्वोहता द्वोहता) then optional दृ or द्व change will take place, and we shall get wrong forms, like द्वोग्धा द्वोदा, द्वोदा द्वोग्धा in doubling. While the correct forms are द्वोदा द्वोदा, or द्वोग्धा द्वोग्धा, and not the hybrid doubling as given above. Hence the necessity of the vārtika पूर्वचासिज्जीवम-द्विरेचन (See VIII. 2. 3 last vārtika).

Or the word सर्व may be considered to be formed by अ॒॑ affix of अ॒॑ अथा॒॑, meaning सर्वे कार्यं यस्मिन्नास्ति तदिदं सर्वे, सर्वे हे भवतः ॥ That is, all operations having been *first* performed, *then* the word is doubled; so that a word in its inchoate state is not doubled.

तस्य परमान्नेदितम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, परम, आन्नेदितम् ॥
पुस्ति ॥ तस्य विरुद्धस्य वस्त्रं शास्त्ररूपं तस्यान्नेदितसंज्ञं भवति ॥

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

Thus in चौर चौर १, वृष्टल वृष्टल ३ स्त्यो ३ घातयिष्यामि स्ता, बन्धविष्यामि स्ता, the second word being *amreḍita* is *pluta*. The word आम्रेडित occurs in Sūtras VI. 1. 99, VIII. 1. 57, VIII. 2. 95, VIII. 10. 3 &c.

The सत्य here denotes avayava-shash्ठि : and the word प्रः denotes the avayava. In fact, this sūtra indicates by implication, that a Genitive case is employed, when a member (avayava) is denoted. So that the sentences like पुर्वे कायस्य become valid.

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

अनुदात्तं च ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुशत्तम्, च ॥
त्रुतिः ॥ अनुदात्तं च तद्वत्ति यथापेडितसंज्ञयः ॥

3. That which is called *Amredita* is gravely accented.

Thus भुद्धके भुद्धके ; पशून् पशून् ॥

That is, all the vowels of the āmređita become anudātta or accentless. In the above examples, the root भूम् becomes ātmaneđadi by I. 3. 66: the Personal endings are anudātta by VI. 1. 186; the vikaraṇa शन् gets the acute by III. 1. 3; the ई of this ई is elided by VI. 4. 111, and thus भूक्ते becomes finally acute by udātta-nivṛtti-svara (VI. 1. 161). The āmređita bhuñkte becomes wholly anudātta. The word पञ्च is formed by the affix ञ् and is finally acute.

नित्यवीप्सयोः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्य, वीप्सयोः ॥
वत्तिः ॥ निले चार्थे वीप्सायां च यहस्ते तस्य है भवतः ॥

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

What words express 'always'? The finite verbs, and the Indeclinable words, formed by कृत affixes. What 'always' is meant here? The word 'निया' here means 'again and again', and this idea of 'repetition' is the quality of an action. That action which the agent does principally, without cessation, is called "निया". So that *nitya* refers to an action (See III. 4. 22). Thus पचाति पचति 'he cooks continually'. जप्तसि जप्तसि 'he talks incessantly'. भुक्त्वा भुक्त्वा भ्रजति or

भोजं भोजं व्रजते 'each one, when he has eaten goes away.' See III. 4. 22. लुनीहि लुनीहियेवाचं लुनाति (See III. 4. 2). The affixes *kta* and *namul* formed words and the Imperative mood express the idea of 'again and again', only when they are repeated. While the words formed with the affix यत् (Intensive) express this idea by the inherent force of the affix, without repetition. Thus पुनः पुनः पचति = पापच्यते || And when this intensive action is continually done, then this word also should be repeated; as पापच्यते पापच्यते || In the above, examples have been given of nitya, as illustrated by finite verbs like पचति, Indeclinable *krit* words like भूक्त्वा, and like भोजः || Now for शीप्त्वा || In what words the शीप्त्वा is found? It is found in nouns (स्फृत् formed words). As finite verbs (तिहृत्) express nitya, so inflected nouns (स्फृत्) express *vipsā* or a distributive sense. What is meant by the word *vipsā*? It is the wish of the agent to pervade (*vyāptum ichchha*) an object through and through with a certain quality or action. That is, when many objects are wished to be pervaded by the speaker, with a particular attribute or action simultaneously, it is *vipsā*. Thus आमो आमो रमणीयः : 'every village is beautiful'. So also जनपदो जनपदो रमणीयः पुरुषः पुरुषो निधनपूर्णैति ||

When a finite verb is repeated owing to the idea of *nityata*; and we also wish to add to such a verb the affix denoting comparative or superlative degree, such affix must be added after the word has been repeated, as पचति पचतितराम् || But in the case of a noun, which is repeated owing to *vipsā*, the whole superlative or comparative word should be repeated, as आकृतरमाकृतरमानम् ||

परेवर्जने ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः, वर्जने ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ परीयेतस्य वर्जनेर्ये हे भवतः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ परेवर्जनेऽसमासे वेति वल्लभम् ॥

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

As परि परि बिगर्त्तेभ्यो वृष्टो देवः (I. 4. 88 and II. 3. 10) 'It rained round about (but with the exclusion of) Trigarta'. Similarly परि परि सौवीरेभ्यः, परि परि सर्वसंनेभ्यः || Why do we say when meaning exclusion? Observe घोदनं परिषिञ्चति ||

Vart:—Optionally परि, meaning 'exclusion', is repeated when it occurs not in a compound, as परि परि बिगर्त्तेभ्यः or परि बिगर्त्तेभ्यः || In a compound, there is no repetition as, परिबिगर्त्ते वृष्टो देवः, because the word परि has not the meaning of exclusion only here; in fact, the whole compound word denotes here the idea of exclusion, and not the word परि alone.

The word परि is here a Karmapravachaniya (I. 4. 88), and governs the fifth case by II. 3. 11. In परिषिञ्चति the word is an upasarga.

प्रसमुपोदः पादपूरणे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र, सम, उप, उदः, पाद पूरणे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्र सम उप उद इत्येतेषां पादपूरणे हे भवतो द्विर्वचनेन चेत्पादः पूर्यते ॥

6. प्र, सम, उा and उत् are repeated, when by so doubling, the foot of a verse is completed.

As प्र मायामिभरस्य शृण्वे (Rig VII. 8.4), संसमिषुवते वृषन् ॥ (Rig X. 191. 1), उपोप मे परामृशा (Rig I. 126. 7), कि नोदुदु इर्षसे वातवाऽ (Rig IV. 21. 9). Why do we say when 'a foot of a verse is completed there by'? Observe प्रदेवं हेष्या धिया ॥ This rule applies only to the Vedic verses, for there alone the Preposition may be used separate from its verb. In the secular literature, this rule has no applicability, as Prepositions are never so used.

उपर्युक्त्यधसः सामीप्ये ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपरि, अधि, अधसः, सामीप्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपरि अधि अधस् इत्येतेषां द्वे भवतः सामीप्ये विवक्षितं ॥

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

The word *sāmipyā* means 'proximity' whether in time or space. As उपर्युपरि हुःखम्, or उपर्युपरि आमम्, अन्यथि आमम्, अधोधो नगरम् ॥ Why do we say 'meaning near'? Observe उपरि अन्नमा : ॥ Why the word is not repeated here: उपरि चिरसो घटं धारयति ॥ The relation expressed here is not that of nearness, but that of above and below.

उपर्युपरि पश्यन्तः सर्वं एव इतिहसि ।
अधोधो इर्षने कस्य महिमा नोपजायते ॥

Here the doubling is in the sense of *vīpsā*.

वाक्यादेरामन्त्रितस्यासूयासंमतिकोपकुत्सनभत्सनेषु ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाक्य-
आदेः, आमन्त्रितस्य, असूया, सम्मति, कोप, कुत्सन, भत्सनेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकार्थः पश्यन्तु वाक्यम् । वाक्यादेरामन्त्रितस्य द्वे भवतः असूया संमति कोप कुत्सन भत्सन इत्ये-
तेषु यदि तद्वाक्यं भवति ॥

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

A collocation of words, expressing one idea, is called a sentence or *vākya*. Thus (1) envy:—माणवका॑ ३ माणवक अ॑भिरूपका॑ ३ अभिरूपक रिक्तं ते भाबिरूपम् ॥ (2) praise — माणवका॑ ३ माणवक अ॑भिरूपका॑ ३ अभिरूपक शोभनः खल्वंति ॥ (3) anger :— माणवका॑ ३ माणवक अ॑विनीतका॑ ३ अविनीतक इदानीं ज्ञात्यसि जालम् ॥ (4) blame :— ईक्षिके॑ ३ शक्तिके यटिके॑ ३ यटिके रिक्ता ते शक्तिः ॥ (5) Threat—घैर घैरा॑ ३ इपल इष्टला॑ ३ वातविष्यानि स्वा, बन्धविष्यानि स्वा ॥ The first word becomes *pluta* as well as gets *svarita* accent, by VIII. 2. 103, in the case of the first four; in the case of 'threat', the second word or the *amredita* becomes *pluta* by VIII. 2. 95. Why do we say "at the beginning of a sentence"? The Vocative in the middle or the end of a sentence is not to be repeated, as शोभन खल्वंति माणवकः ॥ Why do we say of a Vocative? Observe उदारोदेवइतः ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning envy &c'. Observe देवदत्त गाम्याज शुक्लाम् ॥

In some books, the vākya is defined as 'a collocation of words having one finite verb', (एकतिह पदसमूहो वाक्यं) || In the first example, कर् is added.

एकं बहुव्रीहिवत् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकम्, बहुव्रीहि, वत् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एक मिलेतच्छब्दरूपं हिरन्यं बहुव्रीहिवद्वति ॥

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

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

आवाधेच ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, वाधे, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आवाधनमावाधः । पीडाप्रयोक्तु धर्मः । तच वर्त्मानस्य हे भवतः बहुव्रीहिवास्त्वं कार्यं
भवति ॥

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

Thus गत्तगतः: 'gone, gone to my affliction', नट्टनटः, वस्तिपसितः:, in the masculine, and गतगता, नटनटा, पासितपासिता in the Feminine (not गतागता for the reasons given in the preceding aphorism). The accent is governed by VI. 2. 1.

कर्मधारयवदुत्तरेषु ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मधारय, वत्, उत्तरेषु ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इति उत्तरेषु द्विवचनेषु कर्मधारयवस्त्रायं भवतीत्येतदेवित्यम् । कर्मधारयले प्रबोजनं सुलोप-
पुष्पाशान्तोशाच्छान्तिः ॥

11. In the following rules, the double-word is treated like a Karmadhāraya compound.

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

प्रकारे गुणवचनस्य ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकारे, गुण-वचनस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकारे भेदः साहम्यं च । ततिः साहम्यं प्रकारो गृह्णते । प्रकारे वर्तमानस्य गुणवचनस्य
हेऽभवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आनुपूर्वे हेऽभवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ स्वार्थे अग्नधार्यमाणेनेकस्मिन्देऽभवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ चापले हेऽभवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ क्रियासमभिहारे हेऽभवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ आभीक्षये हेऽभवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ डाक्षे हेऽभवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ पूर्वप्रथमयोरर्थातिशयविवक्षायां हेऽभवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ उत्तरउत्तमयोः समसंप्रधारणयोः खी निगदे भावे हेऽभवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ कर्मव्यति एव तर्तनांश्च हेऽभवत इति वक्तव्यम् । सामासवच बहुलम् ॥
वा० ॥ खीनयुंसकवाचरत्पदस्य चाम्भादो वक्तव्यः ॥

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

The word प्रकार means both 'difference' and 'resemblance'. It means 'resemblance' here : i. e. the person or thing *resembles*, but is not *fully like*, the thing expressing the attribute.* Thus पदुपदः, 'tolerably sharp', चदुचदः, "pretty soft", पिण्डपिण्डः &c. The sense is that the attribute is not *fully possessed* by the person. The affix जातिधृ (V. 3. 69) also expressing प्रकार, is not debarred by this sūtra. Thus पदुआतीयः, चदुआतीयः ॥

Why do we say prakāre "when denoting somewhat like it"? Observe पदुदेववतः 'the clever Devadatta'. Why do we say 'an attributive or adjective word'? Observe अग्निर्माणवकः, 'a fiery boy', गौ वौहीकः 'a cow-like Bāhika'. Here

'agni' and 'gau' are not naturally adjective words, though employed here like adjectives.

Vārt:—An adjective is repeated when denoting that persons or things possessing that attribute are to be taken in their due order. Thus मूले सूले स्थूलाः, अप्ते अप्ते सूस्माः, उच्छुं उच्छुं प्रवेशायः ॥

Vārt:—A word denoting more than one is repeated without change of sense, when it denotes the limit or extent of the thing. Thus अस्मात् कार्षापणादिह भवद्भां माषं माषं देहि 'give a māsha, a māsha out of this kārshāpana to you two': i. e. give only *two* masha one to each. A kārshāpana contains many māshas, out of them, the extent of gift is *limited* to two only. This therefore is distinguishable from the distributive double (*vīpsā*). The words माषं माषं देहि = ही-देहि; the माष does not take the dual case here. Why do we say when it expresses the limit'? Observe अस्मात् कार्षापणादिह भवद्भां माषमेकं देहि, हीमाषौ देहि, चीन्वा माषान् देहि. Here the word माष itself does not express limit, but the qualifying words एकं, ही, चीन् &c. Why do we say 'denoting more than one'? Observe अस्मात् कार्षापणादिह भवद्भां माषमेकं देहि ॥

Vārt:—In expressing perplexity or alarm, a word may be repeated twice. The word चापल in the vārtika means 'a confused state of mind'. As अहिःहिः बुध्यत्स बुध्यत्स "a snake, a snake, beware. beware". It is not a necessary condition that the word should be repeated twice only, but as many times as one likes, so long as his meaning is not manifest. As: अहिः अहिः अहिः बुध्यत्स बुध्यत्स ॥

Vārt:—When intensity or frequency of an action is denoted, the word is uttered twice: as, स भवान् लुनीहि लुनोहि इत्येवायं लुनाति ॥ See III. 4. 2.

Vārt:—In re-iteration the word is doubled; as, मुल्का मुल्का ब्रजति, भोजं भोजं ब्रजति ॥ See III. 4. 22. This has also been illustrated under VIII. 1. 4.

Vārt:—The word is repeated when the affix दाच् follows; as, पटपटा करोति, पटपटायते ॥ This doubling takes place when the word denotes an imitation of an inarticulate sound (V. 4. 57). Therefore, not here, दिसीया करोति, दुसीया करोति, where the affix दाच् denotes 'to plough', (V. 4. 58). Because of this restriction, some read the vārtika as, दाचि बहुलम् ॥

Vārt:—The words तृष्ण and प्रथम are repeated when a comparative or superlative sense is to be denoted: as पूर्वं पूर्वं पुञ्चन्ति, प्रथमं प्रथमं पञ्चन्ते ॥ The comparative and superlative affixes are not debarred hereby, as, पूर्वतरं पुञ्चन्ति, प्रथमतरं पञ्चन्ते ॥

Vārt:—The words ending in the affixes इत्तर and इत्तम (comparative and superlative), are doubled when they refer to feminine nouns and are employed in determining or pondering upon the relative condition of the superiority of one out of two or many; as इभाविमावाल्लौ, कतरा कतरा अनवोराल्लता "Both these are rich: let us ponder how much is their richness." सर्वं हमे भाल्याः, कतमा कतमा एषामा-

म्यता ॥ This is found in words other than those ending in तर and तम; as; उभावि-
मावाद्यौ, किंदशी क्रिंदशी अनयोराद्यता ॥ This is also found where the abstract noun
denoting condition (as आद्यता) is not in the feminine : as, उभाविमावाद्यौ, कतरं क-
सरोऽनयोर्विभवः “ Both these are rich, let us see what is their respective greatness.”

Vart:—In denoting reciprocity of action, the Pronominal is doubled;
and diversely it is treated like a compound (II. 2. 27) when it is not treated
like a compound, then the first word is always exhibited in the 'nominative
singular. See I. 3. 14, III. 3. 43, and V. 4. 127. Thus. अन्यमन्यमिमे ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति
“these Brâhmanas feed one another.” अन्योऽन्यमिमे ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति ॥ अन्योऽन्यस्य
ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति = इतरेतरान् भोजयन्ति ॥ The word अन्य and पर are never treated as
a compound, and इतर is *always* so treated. The following are from Siddhânta
Kaumudi:— अन्योऽन्यौ, अन्योऽन्यान् अन्योऽन्येनकृतं, अन्योऽन्यसैदत्तं, अन्योऽन्येषां पुञ्करैरामृशन्ते
(Mâgh) परस्परं ॥

Vart:—In the feminine and neuter, the augment आ॒ अ॒ is added option-
ally to the second term under the above circumstances, as, अन्यो॑ ऽन्यमिमे ब्राह्मणौ
भोजयतः, अन्योऽन्यं भोजयतः, इतरेतरां भोजयतः, इतरेतरं भोजयतः ॥ अन्योऽन्यमिमे ब्राह्मणकुले मोजयतः,
इतरेतरामिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः, इतरेतरमिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः ॥

अकृच्छ्रेणियसुखयोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-कृच्छ्रे, प्रिय, सुखयोः,
अन्यत रस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रिय सुख इत्यतयोरन्यतरस्यां हे भवतः अकृच्छ्रे थोते ॥

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

The word कृच्छ्रे means ‘difficulty and sorrow’, अकृच्छ्रे means ‘without
difficulty or sorrow, i. e. pleasantly’. Thus प्रियविवेण ददाति, सुखाखेन ददाति, or प्रियेण
ददाति, सुखेन ददाति = अतिप्रियमपि वस्त्व नायासेन ददाति ॥ That is, he gives with
pleasure, without feeling it as a trouble. Why do we say “when meaning
easily”? Observe प्रियः पुत्रः “beloved son”. सुखी रथः ॥

यथास्वे यथायथम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा स्वे, यथा यथम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यो व जात्मा यथानामीय तत्त्वयासं तस्मिन् यथावयमिति निपात्यते । यथाशब्दस्य हिंश्चनं
नपुसकलिङ्गता च निपात्यते ॥

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

What is one's own nature, and whatever is natural to one, that is called
यथास्व ॥ In this sense is formed यथायथैष्, there being doubling and neuter
gender. It is an Indeclinable. As ज्ञाताः सर्वे पदार्था यथावयम्=यथास्वभावं “all ob-
jects have been known according to their respective nature”. सर्वेषां तु यथावयं=
यथास्वीयं ॥

द्वन्द्वं रहस्यमर्यादावचनव्युत्क्रमणयक्षपात्रप्रयोगाभिव्यक्तिषु ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥
द्वन्द्वम्, रहस्य, मर्यादा वचन, व्युत्क्रमण, यक्ष पात्र प्रयोग, अभि व्यक्तिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रिये द्विशब्दस्य दिव्यचर्चनं पूर्वपदस्याम्बादः अत्य चोत्तरपदस्य निपात्यते रहस्य मर्दादावचनं व्युत्क्रमण वज्रपात्रं प्रयोग अभिव्यक्तिं एतेषु अर्थेषु ॥

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

The word इन्द्रं is formed from इ by doubling it, changing the first इ into अ, and the second इ into अ ॥ The word इन्द्र् itself means रहस्य or secret; while it marks ‘limit’ मर्दादा &c only secondarily, by context of the sentence. Thus इन्द्रं मन्त्रवन्ते ‘they are consulting some secret’. Limit or मर्दादावचनः, as, आचतुरं हीमे पश्चो इन्द्रं नियुनावन्ते = माता पुत्रेण नियुनं गच्छति, पौत्रेण, तत्पुत्रेणापि ॥ (See Maitr. S. I. 7. 3 Saṅkh. Br. III. 97). Separation of व्युत्क्रमणः—इन्द्रव्युत्क्रमन्तः = द्विवर्गसम्बन्धेन पृथगवस्थिताः ॥ Vyutkramana means bheda or separation, placing at a different place. Employment with regard to a sacrificial vessel (वज्रपात्रप्रयोगः) as—इन्द्रं वज्रपात्राभिः प्रयुनक्तिशीरः (See I. 3. 64) ॥ अभिव्यक्तिः or manifestation : as—इन्द्रं नारदपर्वती, इन्द्रं संकर्षण वासुदेवी = द्वावस्थाभिव्यक्तौ साहचर्येण ॥

The word इन्द्रं is found employed in connection with other senses also; as, इन्द्रं युधं वर्तते, इन्द्रानि सहतीरः, चार्ये इन्द्रः &c.

पदस्य ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्येत्यवमधिकारः प्रागपशान्ताधिकारात् । वरित उर्ध्मनुकमित्यामः पदस्येत्व तद्वित्यवम् ॥

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

This is an adhikāra sūtra, and extends up to VIII. 3. 55. Whatever we shall treat of here-after, should be understood to apply to a full ‘pada’ or a completed word. Thus VIII. 2. 23, (संयोगान्तस्य लोपः) teaches “there is elision of the final of what ends in a conjunct consonant”. The word पदस्य must be supplied here to complete the sense: viz, of a *word* which ends in a conjunct consonant, the final is elided. Thus पञ्चन्, वञ्चन्, from पञ्चन् and वञ्चन् ॥

Why do we say ‘of a Pada’? Observe पञ्चनौ, वञ्चनौ where the न though sanyogānta is not elided, because the stem is no longer called pada. The force of the Genitive in पदस्य must be construed according to the context, sometimes as sthāna-shashṭhi i. e. “in the room of the *whole* pada”; and sometimes as avayava-shashṭhi i. e. “of a pada-of the *portion* of a pada”.

पदात् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदानि विवरणात् प्राककुसने च द्वुष्यगोचाराविवेत्यमाचरित उर्ध्मनुकमित्यामः पदानि विवेत्यम् ॥

17. Upto VIII. 1. 68, inclusive should always be supplied the phrase “after a pada”.

Whatever we shall teach hereafter should be understood to apply to that which comes *after a pada*. Thus the sūtra VIII. I. 19, teaches "of an amantrita". The phrase पश्चत्, must be supplied to complete the sense. That is, "of a pada, which is in the Vocative case, and which comes after another pada, all vowels become anudātta". Thus पञ्चसि त्रेतुन् "Cookest thou, O Devadatta". Why do we say, "after a pada"? Observe देवदत्तं पञ्चसि ॥ Here Devadatta is not anudātta (VI. I. 198).

अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादौ ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, सर्वम्, अ-पाद्-आन्त्रौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुशासनिति च सर्वतिति च अपादाशयिति च एतच्छयमधिकृतं वेदितव्यमापारपरिसमाप्ते, तित
हन्तरं वद्यस्यामः अनुशासनं सर्वमपाशाशावित्यंवं तद्वितव्यम् ॥

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

The three words anudāttam "unaccented", sarvam "the whole", and apādādau "not in the beginning of a Pāda of a verse", should be understood to exert a governing influence over all the subsequent sūtras of this chapter, upto its end. Whatever we shall treat of hereafter, must be understood to be wholly unaccented, provided that, it does not stand as the first word of a verse or stanza. Thus VIII. I. 19, says "of a Vocative". The whole of this sūtra should be read there to complete the sense, viz : "all the syllables of a Vocative are unaccented when a word precedes it, and it does not stand as the first word of a hemistich"; as पञ्चसि त्रेतुन् ॥

Why do we say "when not at the beginning of a hemistich"? Observe वत्ते नियतं रजतं शूलो अनवधृत्यम्, here शूलो though in the Vocative case, is not anudātta, as it stands at the beginning of a Pāda.

Similarly VIII. I. 21, teaches "कः and नः are the substitutes of युम्भृ अस्मद् in the plural". The present sūtra must be read there to complete the sense, viz, when not at the beginning of a verse. Thus आमोऽस्त्वं, अनपश्च नः स्वम् ॥ But at the beginning of a hemistich, we must have the forms युम्भाकं and अस्माकं instead of कः and नः ॥ As,

रुद्रो विष्वेष्वरो हेतो युम्भाकं कुलेष्वता ।
स एव नायो भगवानस्माकं शत्रुमर्दनः ॥

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

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

Ans. The word sarvam is used in the sūtra, in order to indicate that a word, which has not acute accent on the first syllable, should also become anudātta. For the word पश्चत् (VIII. I. 17) is in the ablative case, and shows that the operation taught in any sūtra governed by it, will be performed on

the *first* syllable, according to the maxim शादेः परस्य ॥ Therefore, by rule VIII. i. 28, the word वृचाति, which is acutely accented on the *first* syllable, (because शादे and वृचे are anudatta), will only lose its accent in वैवदनः वृचाति; but not so the verb करोति which is acutely accented in the middle (by the vikaraṇa accent) in वैवदनः करोति ॥ But by force of the word सदैः करोति also loses its accent.

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

Ans. The word 'sarvam' is used to prevent the operation of अलोडन्स्यादीषिः; for where the rule शादेः परस्य will not apply there the other will apply: so that, if "sarvam" was not used, the rule would apply to the finals, and not to cases where there were other than initials to be operated upon. Thus the rule VIII. i. 28 would apply to कुरुतः which is finally acute by VI. i. 186, in वैवदत्यज्ञदत्तौ कुरुतः; but not to वैवदनः करोति ॥

Q. No; this cannot be the reason of employing the word 'sarvam' in the sūtra, for the author indicates that the rule is not confined to the *finals*, by the prohibition he makes in favor of लुट् in VIII. i. 51; for there is no verb, when conjugated in लृति, which has acute on the final. All लृति is acute in the middle by VI. i. 186. So the अलोडन्स्यस्य rule does not apply.

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

Another reason for employing this word is that the substitutes वां and नौ should come in the room of the *whole declined* forms of yushmad and asmad, with their case-affixes. Had not this word (sarvam) been used, then वां and नौ would have replaced only 'yushmad' and 'asmad'. Obj. Will not the anuvritti of the word 'padasya', cause the *whole declined word* to be replaced by वां and नौ, not only the crude-forms yushmad and asmad? And there cannot be a full word unless it takes case-affixes; so the whole of yushmad and asmad with their case-affixes will be replaced. Where is the necessity of using the word 'sar-

vam'? Ans. This objection will apply to those cases where a Pada is a word ending in a case-affix. But the word पद् is a technical term also, and applies to crude forms before certain case-affixes. Thus a nominal *stem* (not a *full* word) is also called Pada by I. 4. 17, before non-sarvanamasthana case-affixes. Therefore yushmad and asmad will be *pada* before those affixes. Thus before the affix of Dative Dual, they will be called Pada; and had स्त्रैं not been used, then only "yushmad" and "asmad" will be replaced and not their case-affixes. Thus आमो वां शीर्थे, जनपदो नौ शीर्थे ॥ Here वां and नौ would require after them the case - affix भ्यः otherwise.

आमन्दितस्य च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमन्दितस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्दितस्य पदस्य पशात्परस्यापादावै वर्तमानस्य सर्वस्यामुशात्तो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ समान वाक्ये निघात युष्मद् स्वशारेषां वन्त्याः ॥

19. All the syllables of a Vocative are unaccented when a word precedes it, and it does not stand at the beginning of a hemistich.

Thus पचसि देवदत्तु, पचसि शृणुत्तु ॥ The Vocative is acutely accented on the first by VI. I. 198, the present makes it all unaccented.

Vartika:—The rules relating to nighāta (by which all syllables of a word become unaccented, such as the present, and VIII. I. 28 &c) and to the substitutes of yushmad and asmad apply then only, when the preceding word which would cause the nighāta or the substitution, is part of the same sentence with the latter word. Therefore not here:—अथै इण्डो, हरामेन ॥ "This is the staff. Carry by means of it." Here हर does not lose its accent by VIII. I. 28, though preceded by the Noun daṇḍa, because these are parts of two different sentences. ओदनं पच, तव भविष्यति । ओदनं पच, मम भविष्यति ॥ "Cook the food, it will be for thee. Cook the food, it will be for me." That is the rice cooked by thee, will do both for thyself and myself. Here the से and मे substitutions have not taken place (VIII. I. 22) for yushmad and asmad, for the same reason.

Another example is, भवतीह विल्लुमित्रो, देवदत्तागच्छ ॥ "Vishnumitra is here. Come back Devadatta." Here Devadatta, though in the Vocative case, does not lose its accent. Nor can you say that समर्थः पदविधिः will make this *vartika* redundant. In all the above examples, the different sentences are connected with each other in sense. Thus in the last example, Devadatta was searching for Vishnumitra, when some one says to him, 'Here is V. come back D.' Thus the two sentences are samartha, yet there is no nighāta. But the rule will apply here:—इह देवदत्त ! माता ते कथयति । नव्यास्तिष्ठति (VIII. I. 28) कूलं ! शालीनां से ओदनं दास्यामि ॥ In the last examples the Vocatives, the verbs and the substitutes of yushmad and asmad are not in syntactical construction with the words that immediately precede them, and yet the nighāta rule &c does apply: inspite of the general maxim समर्थः पदविधिः (II. I. 1), for rules relating to completed words apply to such words only which are in construction.

In the last example, the construction is इह स्थिता मात्रा से वेदन, and not इह देवदत्त. Thus इह is in syntactical construction with स्थिता and not देवदत्त, yet it causes nighāta of Devadatta. Similarly in नवास्तिष्ठति कूलं, the word नवा: is not in construction with तिष्ठति, but with कूलं, i.e. नवा: कूलं तिष्ठति; yet it causes the nighāta of निष्ठति ॥ Similarly शालीनां is not in construction with ते, but with ओरनं, i.e. शालीनां ओरनं से शस्यामि ॥ Yet it causes से substitution of yushmad. Though the preceding words are not *samartha* with regard to the words that follow them, they cause the changes, because the words are in the *same* sentence.

युष्मदस्मदोः पष्टीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्थयोर्वाङ्मात्रौ ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद्, अ-स्मदोः, पष्टी, चतुर्थी, द्वितीयास्थयोः, वाम्, नात्रौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मद् इत्येतयोः पष्टीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्थयोर्व्यथासंख्यं वाङ्मात्रैत्येतावादेशौ भवतस्त्रौ चामुशास्त्रौ ॥

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

All the three sūtras पदस्थ, पदात् and अनुशास्त्रं सर्वमपादाशे are applicable here. Thus आमो वां स्वम् । अनपदो नां स्वम् । आमो वां दीयते । अनपदो नां दीयते । आमो वां पद्यति । अनपदो नां पद्यति ॥

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

Why do we say "for the Genitive, Dative and Accusative"? In other cases there will be no substitution. As, आमो युष्मात्यां कृतम् ॥ The word स्थ in the sūtra indicates that the case affixes must be express and not understood, for the purposes of this substitution. Therefore, not here: इति युष्मत्युक्तः though here yushmat is preceded by a word in a sentence, and is in the Genitive case yet यः substitution (VIII. 1. 21) does not take place, because the case-affix is elided.

बहुवचनस्य घञ्जस्त्रौ ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुवचनस्य, वस्, नस्त्रौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बहुवचनान्तयोर्युष्मदस्मशः पष्टीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्थयोर्व्यथासंख्यं वस् नस् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

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

Thus आमो त्रुः स्वम्, अनपदोत्रुः स्वम्; आमो त्रो दीयते, अनपदो त्रो दीयते; आमो त्रुः पद्यति अनपदो त्रुः पद्यति ॥

तेऽथ वेकवचनस्य २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ते, मयौ, एक, वचनस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मशेत्कवचनान्तयोः पष्टीचतुर्थीस्थयोर्व्यथासंख्यं से मे इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

22. For the Genitive and Dative Singular (of yushmad and asmad are substituted) ते and मे respectively, (when a word precedes and these are anudātta).

Thus आमस्ते स्वम्, आमो मे स्वम्, आमस्ते दीयते, आमो मे दीयते ॥ For the Accusative singular, other substitutes have been taught in the next sūtra, hence ते and मे come only in Genitive and Dative.

त्वामौ द्वितीयायाः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्वा, मौ, द्वितीयायाः ॥
शृणुः ॥ एकवचनस्वेति वर्तते । द्वितीयाया वेकवचनं तदल्पयुष्मदस्मर्त्ययासंख्यत्वा मा इत्येतावा-
दशौ भवतः ॥

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

The word एकवचनस्य is understood here. Thus आमस्त्वा पश्यति, आमो मा पश्यति ॥

न चवाहाहैवयुक्ते ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, च, वा, ह, अह, एव, युक्ते ॥
शृणुः ॥ च वा ह एव एभियोगे युष्मदस्मर्त्यावादयो न भवन्ति ॥

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

Thus आमस्तव च स्वम्, आमो मम च स्वम् ॥

युवयोर्ग्र त्वम् । आवयोर्ग्र त्वम् । युष्माकं च स्वम् । अस्माकं च स्वम् । आमस्तुभ्यं च दीयते ।
आमो महां च दीयते । युवाभ्यां च दीयते । आवाभ्यां च दीयते । युष्मभ्यं च दीयते ।
आमस्त्वां च पश्यति । आमो मां च पश्यति । युवां च पश्यति । आवां च पश्यति । युष्मां च पश्यति ।
अस्मांश्च पश्यति ॥ वा । आमस्तव वा स्वम् । आमो मम वा स्वम् । युवयोर्वा स्वम् । आवयोर्वा स्वम् । युष्माकं
वा स्वम् । अस्माकं वा स्वम् । आमस्तुभ्यं वा दीयते । आमो महां वा दीयते । युवाभ्यां वा दीयते । आवाभ्यां
वा दीयते । युष्मभ्यं वा दीयते । अस्मभ्यं वा दीयते । आमस्त्वां वा पश्यति । आमो मां वा पश्यति । युवां वा
पश्यति । आवां वा पश्यति । युष्मान् वा पश्यति । अस्मान्वा पश्यति । ह । आमस्तव ह स्वम् । आमो मम ह
स्वम् । युवयोर्ह स्वम् । आवयोर्ह स्वम् । युष्माकं ह स्वम् । अस्माकं ह स्वम् । आमस्तुभ्यं ह दीयते । आमो महां
ह दीयते । युवाभ्यां ह दीयते । आवाभ्यां ह दीयते । युष्मभ्यं ह दीयते । अस्मभ्यं ह दीयते । आमस्त्वां ह
पश्यति । आमो मां ह पश्यति । युवां ह पश्यति । आवां ह पश्यति । युष्मानह पश्यति । अस्मानह पश्यति ।
अह । आमस्तवाह स्वम् । आमो ममाह स्वम् । युवयोरह स्वम् । आवयोरह स्वम् । युष्माकमह स्वम् ।
अस्माक-
मह स्वम् । आमस्तुभ्यमह दीयते । आमो महामह दीयते । युवाभ्यामह दीयते । आवाभ्यामह दीयते । युष्मभ्यमह
दीयते । अस्मभ्यमह दीयते । आमस्त्वामह पश्यति । आमो मामह पश्यति । युवामह पश्यति । आवामह
पश्यति । युष्मानह पश्यति । अस्मानह पश्यति । एव । आमस्तवैव स्वम् । आमो ममैव स्वम् । युवयोरैव स्वम् ।
आवयोरैव स्वम् । युष्माकमेव स्वम् । अस्माकमेव स्वम् । आमस्तुभ्यमेव दीयते । आमो महामेव दीयते । युवा-
भ्यमेव दीयते । आवाभ्यमेव दीयते । युष्मभ्यमेव दीयते । अस्मभ्यमेव दीयते । आमस्त्वामेव पश्यति । आमो
मामेव पश्यति । युवामेव पश्यति । आवामेव पश्यति । युष्मानेव पश्यति । अस्मानेव पश्यति । युन्नप्रहृण
साक्षात्योगप्रतिपत्त्यर्थम् । युन्नयुन्ने प्रतिषेधो न भवति । आमश ते स्वम् । नगरं च मे स्वम् ।

The word युन्न is employed in the sūtra to indicate direct conjunction. There is, therefore, where the conjunction is not direct but intermediate the employment of the shorter forms. As आमश ते स्वं, नगरं च मे स्वम् ॥

The particles च, वा, &c denote conjunction, 'separation' 'wonder'

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

पश्यार्थेभानालोचने ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पश्य, अर्थः, च, अनालोचने ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ पश्यार्था दर्शनार्थः । दर्शनं ज्ञानम् । आलोचनं अस्मृतिंज्ञानम् । ते: पश्यार्थेनालोचने वर्त्मनैर्युक्ते पुष्पदस्त्रोवर्णावासयो न भवन्ति ॥

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

The word *पश्यार्थः* is equivalent to *दर्शनार्थः*, and *दर्शन* means ‘knowledge’, i.e. verbs denoting ‘to know’, *आलोचन* means perception obtained through sight i.e. physical ‘seeing’ opposed to metaphorical “seeing” = “knowing”. The substitutions of *वा* and *नौ* &c. for *युज्मद्* and *अस्मद्* do not take place when these pronouns are employed in connection with verbs denoting ‘seeing’ (metaphorically) but not ‘looking’ (physically).

Thus आमस्तव स्वं समीक्ष्यागतः, भासो मम स्वं समीक्ष्यागतः; आमस्तु य दीयमानं समीक्ष्योगतः; भासो महं दीयमानं समीक्ष्यागतः; आमस्त्वां समीक्ष्यागतः, भासो मां समीक्ष्यागतः ॥

Why do we say when not meaning ‘to look’? Observe आमस्त्वा पश्यति, भासो मा पश्यति ॥

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

सपूर्वायाः प्रथमाया विभाषा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स पूर्वायाः, प्रथमायाः, विभाषा ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषानपूर्वायथमान्तात्पशुन्तरयोर्युज्मदस्त्रोविभाषा वान्नावासयो न भवन्ति ॥ वार्त्तिकव्य ॥ युज्मदस्त्रो विभाषा अनन्वादेश इतिवत्तव्य ॥ वा० ॥ सर्व एव वान्नावासयोऽन्वादेश विभाषा वन्नव्यः ॥

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

Thus आमे कम्बलस्ते स्वम् or आमे कम्बलस्तवस्वम् ॥ आमे कम्बलोमैस्वम् ॥ आमेकम्बलोमम-स्वम् ॥ आमेकम्बलस्तेदीयते ॥ आमे कम्बलस्तु य दीयते ॥ आमे कम्बलो मे दीयते ॥ आमे कम्बलो महं दीयते ॥ आमे छाचास्त्वा पश्यन्ति ॥ आमे छाचास्त्वां पश्यन्ति ॥ आमे छाचा मा पश्यन्ति ॥ आमे छाचा मां पश्यन्ति ॥

Why do we say “which itself is preceded by another word”? Observe कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, कम्बलो मे स्वम् ॥

Why do we say “after a Nominative”? Observe कम्बलो आमे ते स्वम्, कम्बलो आमे मे स्वम् ॥

Vart:—The option herein taught is restricted to *युज्मद्* and *अस्मद्* when not employed in *anvādeśa*. But when there is *anvādeśa*, then the substitution is

compulsory and not optional. This *vārtika* restricts the scope of the sūtra, and makes it a *vyavashtita vibhāshā*. Therefore, there is no option here, where there is anvādeśa:—अयो मामे कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, अयो मामे कम्बलो मे स्वम् ॥

Vart:—Others say, that the substitutes तां, नौ &c are *all* optional, when not employed in anvādeśa, whether the nominative is preceded by another noun or not. Thus the rules 20, 21, 22, 23 are optional. As: कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, or कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, कम्बलो मे स्वम् or कम्बलो मम स्वम् ॥ Why do we say “when not in anvādeśa”? Observe अयो कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, अयो कम्बलो मे स्वम् ॥ Q. If this is so, where is the necessity of the present sūtra at all? Ans. The present sūtra is for the sake of anvādesā: i.e. the option taught in the present sūtra will take place only then, when there is anvādeśa and not otherwise; thus अयो मामे कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, or अयो मामे कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, अयो मामे कम्बलो मे स्वम्, or अयो मामे कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, अयो मामे कम्बलो मम स्वम् ॥ In other words, according to this *vārtika*, rules 20, 21, 22 and 23 are all *optional* in anvādeśa, but compulsory where is no anvādesā; but when the pronoun is preceded by a nominative which itself is preceded by another word, then the above rules are not compulsory, even in anvādeśa: there also the option will apply.

तिङ्गो गोत्रादीनि कुत्सनामीक्षणयोः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङ्गः, गोत्रादीनि, कुत्सन, आमीक्षणयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङ्गन्तात्पराणि गोत्रार्वानि कुत्सने आमीक्षण्ये आर्ये वर्त्तमानानि धनुशास्तानि भवन्ति ॥

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

Thus पचति गोत्रम्, जल्पति गोत्रम्, when contempt is meant.

Here पचति गोत्रं means ‘he proclaims his Gotra &c, so that he may get food &c’. पचति is from the root पचि व्यक्तिकरणे ‘to make evident’ (Bhu. 184). Similarly जल्पति गोत्रम् “he repeatedly utters, his descent &c, in order to get married &c”. Where contempt is not meant, it has the force of repetition, i. e. he repeatedly utters his Gotra as one is bound to do, in marriage-rites &c. And पचति पचति गोत्रम्, जल्पति जल्पति गोत्रम् when repetition or intensity is denoted. Similarly पचति हुवम्, पचति पचति हुवम् ॥ The word हुवं is a noun derived from the root हु by the affix कत्, the वच् substitution for हु has not taken place, as an anomaly.

1 गोत्र, 2 हुव, 3 प्रवचन, 4 प्रहसन, 5 प्रकर्थन, 6 प्रत्ययन, 7 प्रपञ्च, 8 प्राण, 9 न्याय, 10 प्रचलन, 11 विचलन, 12 अवचलन, 13 स्वाध्याय, 14 भूयिष्ठ, 15 वा नाम (नाम वा) 16 प्रदशन, 17 प्रथजन,

The word नाम optionally becomes anudātta: in the alternative, it is first-acute. Thus पचति नाम् or पचति नौम् ॥

Why do we say 'after a finite verb'? Observe कुस्तिं गोचम् ॥

Why do we say "Gotra and the rest"? Observe पचति पापम् ॥ Here पापं is an adverb.

Why do we say 'when contempt or repetition is meant'? Observe लनति गोर्वं समेत्य कृपं ॥ "He digs a well having assembled the Gotra".

The words 'contempt and repetition' in the text qualify the whole sentence or sūtra, and not the word गोचादि nor the word अनुदात्त understood. For we find that wherever the word गोचादि is used in this Chapter, it always implies the sense of 'contempt or repetition'. Thus the word गोचादि is used in VIII. I. 57 and there also the sense is of contempt and repetition.

**तिङ्कुतिङ्कः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङ्कु, अतिङ्कः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तिङ्कन्तं पश्चतिङ्कन्तात्पश्चरमनुशासनं भवति ॥**

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

Thus देवदत्तः पृच्छति ॥ Why do we say "a finite verb"? Observe नीलमुष्ट्यम्, शुक्लं वस्त्रम् ॥

Why do we say 'when the preceding word is not a finite verb'? Observe भवति पैचति 'the act of cooking exists' = पाक किया भवति ॥ Here the word भवति is a finite verb, therefore the verb pachati does not lose its accent. So also तरनिरिज्ञ उत्त्यति, भौति, पुष्यति 'successful he conquers, rules, thrives'. अस्तेभ्यां औषु वैत्सिष्ठ "for us conquer and fight". The word अतिङ्कः is in one sense redundant, because in one simple sentence, two finite verbs cannot be employed; one sentence consists of one finite verb only. But the very fact of this sūtra indicates that the condition of समानवाक्य does not apply to this sūtra; so that the two words need not be portions of the *same* sentence, for the application of this nighāta: as we have already explained in VIII. I. 19. Other examples are: अग्निमीडे पुरोहितं (Rv. I. 1. 1), स इदेषेषु गच्छावि (Rv. I. 1. 4), धैर्ये सूपायनैः भूत् (Rv. V. 1. 1), यजमानस्य पर्मून प्राप्ति ॥

**न लुट् ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लुट् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेणातिप्रसक्ते प्रतिषेध आरभ्यते । लुटन्तं तिङ्कन्तं नानुशासनं भवति ॥**

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

This restricts the scope of the last sūtra which was rather too wide. Thus इवः कर्त्ता, इवः कर्त्तरौ, मासेन कर्त्तरः ॥ The Sārvadhātuka affixes दा, रौ, रस, are anudātta after the affix तासि by VI. I. 186, the whole affix तासि becomes udātta (III. I. 3) and where the ति portion of तासि i. e. the syllable आसि, is elided before the affix दा, there also the आ of दा becomes udātta, because the udātta has been elided. See VI. I. 161.

निपातैर्यदिहन्तकुविन्नेच्चेष्टणकश्चिद्यत्रयुक्तम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ निपातैः, यद्, यदि, हन्त, कुवित्, नेत्, चेत्, चण्, कश्चित्, यत्र, युक्तम् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ नेति वर्तते । यत् यदि हन्त कुवित् नेत् चेत् चण् कश्चित् यत्र इत्यर्तानपौत्युक्तं तिङ्गन्तं नानुशास्त्रं भवति ॥

30. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with the particles यत्, 'that', 'because', यदि, 'if', हन्त, 'also'!, 'O!', कुवित्, 'well', नेत्, 'not', चेत्, 'if', च 'if', कश्चित् (interrogative particle, implying 'I hope' or 'I hope not'), and यत्र 'where'.

Thus यत् कुर्वति, यत् पैचति, यदि कुर्वति or यदि पैचति, हन्त कुरोति, हन्त पैचति, कुवित् कुरोति, कुवित् पैचति, नेत् जिह्मायन्त्या नरकं पैताम (Nir. I. 11), स चेद् भुइँ नेत् स चेद् अर्थते ॥ The particle चण् with the indicatory च has the force of चेत् ॥ Thus अथं च मरिष्यति = अथं चेत् मरिष्यति ॥ Other examples are स्वप् च सोम नो र्मैशो जीवातुम् र्मै सरामहे 'if thou, Soma willest us to live, we shall not die' औं च गच्छान् भिर्मेना दधाम "if he will come here, we will make friends with him." इन्द्रश्च मूलयाति नः, नतः पश्चादव्यं नशात् "If Indra makes us happy &c". This rule does not apply to the च which is a conjunction meaning 'and'. So also: कश्चिद् भुइँ नेत्, कश्चिद् अर्थते, यत्र भुइँ नेत्, यत्रार्थीते ॥

Why do we say "with particles"? Observe यत् कूजति शकटम् = गच्छान् कूजति शकटम् ॥ Here यत् is not a particle, but the Present Participle of the root इण् 'to go'. It means गच्छान् 'the car creaks while going'. Rule VIII. I. 28 applies here.

Q. Now by the rule of Pratipadokta &c. that यत् should only be taken, 'which is a Particle; moreover it is read in connection with other Particles like यदि &c, so it must be a Particle. How then can the Present Participle यत् be taken at all? Ans.—This sūtra indicates that the प्रतिपदोन्त rule and the साहचर्य rule do not apply here. Thus the word यावत् formed with the affix वत् (V. 2. 39) is also included in the word यावत् of this sūtra. As तावतुषो धर्मो अस्मभ्यं, रास्त्र यावत् स्तोत्रूष्यो अर्दो गृजानाः = यावतोऽधान प्रतीशृणीयात् ॥

Why do we use the word युक्तं "in connection with". Observe यत् कूच ते मनो दक्ष इधस उत्तरम् ॥

Other examples are: यं यत्तं परिभूर्वैसि (Rv. I. I. 4.) 'what offering thou protestest'. यत् नः पूर्वे पितरः परेषुः 'whither our fathers of old departed'. अथा मूरीष यदि यातुधानो र्मैस्मि 'let me die on the spot, if I am a sorcerer', हन्तेयान् पूर्यिशीष विर्म-आमहे "come on, let us share up this earth". ब्रह्मा चेदस्तम् र्मैपर्हीत् 'if a Brahman has grasped her hand', नेत् स्वा लैपति सूरो अर्खिण 'that the sun may not burn thee with his beam' उक्षेभिः कुवित् आर्गमत् 'will he come hither for our praises'(Whitney's Grammar, Para 595).

नह प्रत्यारम्भे ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नह, प्रत्यारम्भे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नह इत्येतेन युक्ते प्रत्यारम्भे तिङ्गन्तं नानुशास्त्रं भवति ॥

31. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with नह when employed in the sense of forbidding.

When something urged by one, is rejected insultingly by another, then the reply made by the first tauntingly, with a negation, is *pratyārambha*. Thus A says to B: "Eat this please". B rejects the offer repeatedly, in anger or jest. Then A in anger or jest says 'No, you will eat"—as नह भोक्ष्यसे ॥ Here भोक्ष्यसे retains its accent, which is acute on the middle, for से becomes accentless as it follows भद्रपदेष (VI. I. 186), and स्व becomes *udātta* by the प्रत्यवसर (III. I. 3).

Another example is नहावेष्यसे 'No, you will study'. Why do we say, 'when asseverative'? Observe नह वै स्तिष्मलं लोके॑ हैसिणमिच्छुन्ति॒ "Verily in that world they do not wish for see". Here it is pure negation. स्तिष्मलं is first acute by फिट् accent, लोके॑ is final acute because it is formed by अच् of पञ्चादि (III. I. 134), हैसिण is first acute, because it is a Pronoun ending in ए (स्वाङ्गशिदामदन्तानाम् Phit II. 6) and इच्छन्ति is *anudātta* by VIII. I. 28.

सत्यं प्रश्ने ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्यम्, प्रश्ने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्यमित्येन युक्तं तिङ्गतं नानुवाचं भवति प्रभे ॥

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

Thus सत्यं भोक्ष्यैसे 'Truly will you eat?' सत्यमयेष्यसे ॥ Why do we say 'in questioning'? Observe सत्यं वक्ष्यामि नानृतं 'I shall tell the truth, not falsehood'. सत्यमिदा त्र तं युवयिन्नं सत्याम् ॥

अङ्गाप्रातिलोम्ये ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्ग, अप्रातिलोम्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्ग इत्येन युक्तं तिङ्गतमप्रातिलोम्ये गम्भमाने नानुवाचं भवति ॥

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

Anything done to injure another is *prati-loma*, opposite of this is *apratiloma*, or friendliness. In fact, it is equal to *anuloma*. Thus अङ्गर्वच 'yes, you may cook'. Here *anga* has the force of friendly permission. So also अङ्ग ऐठ ॥ But when it has the force of *pratiloma*, we have:—अङ्ग कूजौ॑ १ वृष्टल ॥ इदारी ज्ञास्यसि जात्म "Well, chuckle O sinner! soon wilt thou learn, O coward". Here अङ्ग is used in the sense of censure, for chuckling is a thing not liked by the person: and is *pratiloma* action: for *pluta*-vowel see VIII. 2. 96.

हि च ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वित्येन युक्तं तिङ्गतमप्रातिलोम्ये नानुवाचं भवति ॥

34. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with हि when used in a friendly assertion.

Thus स हि कृहृ, सहि पैच, सहि ईऽ ॥ Why do we say 'in friendly assertion'? Observe स हि कृज वृष्टल । इवार्नी ज्ञास्यासि जाल्म ॥

छन्दस्यनेकमपि साकाङ्क्षम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, अनेकम, अपि, साका-
ङ्क्षम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हि चेतिवर्त्तते छन्दसि विषये वियुक्तं तिठन्तं साकाङ्क्षमनेकमपि नानुदासं भवति ॥

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

That is sometimes one verb, sometimes more than one verb retain their accent. Thus of more than one verb, we have the following example:—अनुसं हि मत्तो वृदति पाप्मा एवं वि विपुनाति 'Because the drunkard tells falsehood, therefore sin will make him impure: i. e. he does incur sin'. Here both verbs वृदति and विपुनाति retain their accent: and हि has the force of अत् 'because'. According to Kaiyyata the meaning of this sentence is अस्मात् मत्तोऽनुसं वृदति, तस्मादनुसृतवद्दन लोबेण न युज्यते i. e. a drunkard does not incur the sin of telling a falsehood, because he is not in his senses. See Maitr. Sanhita I. 11. 6. As regards one verb in a correlated sentence retaining its accent and the other losing it, we have:—अग्निहि पूर्ववृद्धयत् तमिन्द्रोऽसूरुङ्गवत् ॥ Here the first retains its accent and the second not. The force of हि is to denote here cause and its effect. So also:—अजा ह्यग्नेरजानिहि गर्भात् (or गर्भ्य), सा वा अपुष्टुङ् अनितारमघे (Taittariya Samhitā IV. 2. 10, 4). The word अजानिहि is first acute, the augment अ �having the accent; while अपुष्टुङ् is all anudatta.

यावद्यथाभ्याम् ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावत्, यथाभ्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्यथा इत्येताभ्यां युक्तं तिठन्तं नानुदासं भवति ॥

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

Thus यावद् मुहूर्क्ते यथामुहूर्क्ते, यावद्यथीते यथाधीते, ऐवश्चतःः पैचति यावत्, ऐवश्चतःः पैचति यथा ॥ The meaning is that the verb retains its accent, even when यावत् and यथा follow after it. Another example is यथा चित् कण्वमात्रम् ॥ The word आवत् is the Imperative (लेट्) Second Person Dual of the root अव् ॥ यावत् स्तोत्र्योऽद्वैष्ट-जानाः ॥ The verb अवरः is Imperfect (लड्) Second Person singular of the root एव् 'to scratch'. The accent, is on अ (the augment).

पूजायां नानन्तरम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूजायाम्, न, अनन्तरम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्यथा इत्येताभ्यां युक्तमनन्तरं तिठन्तं पूजायां विषये नानुदासं न भवति किं तर्हि अनुशासमेव ॥

37. But not so when these particles यावत् and यथा immediately precede the verb and denote 'praise'.

That is, the verb loses its accent, and becomes anudātta. Thus यावत् पूच्छति शोभनम्, यथा पूच्छति शोभनम्, यावत् करोति चारु ॥

Why do we say when denoting 'praise'? Observe यावद् भुङ्गेत्, यथा भुङ्गेत् ॥

Why do we say 'immediately'? Observe यावद् देवत्तः पैच्छति शोभनं, यथा देवत्तः करोति चारु ॥ Here the verbs retain their accent by the last sūtra.

उपसर्गव्यपेतं च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्ग, व्यपेतम्, च ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्याम्यां युक्तं उपसर्गव्यपेतं च पूजायां विषये नानुशासनं न भवति किं तर्हि अनुशासनम् भवति ॥

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

The last sūtra taught that the verb loses its accent when *immediately* preceded by यावत् and यथा ॥ This qualifies the word 'immediately' and teaches that the intervention of a Preposition does not debar immediateness. Thus यथा प्रकरोति चारु, यथा प्रपञ्चति शोभनं, यावत् प्रकरोति चारु, यावत् प्रपञ्चति शोभनम् ॥

The word 'immediately' is understood here also. Thus यावद् देवत्तः पैच्छति, शोभनं, यथा विष्णु मित्रः प्रकरोति चारु ॥ The upasarga प्र has udātta accent. Prof. Bohtlingk's Edition reads the sūtra as व्यवेतं ॥

तुपश्यपश्यताहैः पूजायाम् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तु, पश्य, पश्यत, अहैः, पूजायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तु पश्य पश्यत अहै इत्यैतर्युक्तं तिढन्तं नानुशासनं भवति पूजायां विषये ॥

39. A finite verb retains its accent in connection with तु, पश्य, पश्यत, and अहै, when meaning 'praise'.

Thus माणवकस्तु भुङ्गेत् शोभनम्; पश्य माणवको भुङ्गेत् शोभनं, पश्यत माणवको भुङ्गेत् शोभनम्, अहै माणवको भुङ्गेत् शोभनम् ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning praise'? Observe, पश्य चूणा धारुति ॥

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

Another example is आहो स्त्रीधामनु पुर्णग्रन्थस्त्रभेदात् ॥

अहो च ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अहो, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहो इत्यनेन युक्तं तिढन्तं नानुशासनं भवति पूजायां विषये ॥

40. A finite verb retains its accent when in connection with अहो meaning 'praise'.

Thus अहो देवत्तः पैच्छति शोभनं, अहो विष्णुमित्रः करोति चारु ॥ The separation

of this अहो from तु &c, of the last sūtra, indicates that the next rule applies to अहो only. Had अहो been joined with तु &c, then Rule VIII. I. 41, would have applied to तु &c, which is not desired. Hence the making of it a separate sūtra.

शेषे विभाषा ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, विभाषा ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अहो इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङ्गन्तं शेषे विभाषा नानुवाच्न भवति ॥

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

What is the शेष alluded to here? The शेष means here senses other than पूजा or 'praise'. Thus कटमहो करिष्यसि or कटमहो करिष्यते ॥ This is a speech uttered in anger or envy and not in praise (असूया वचनं) ॥ So also मम गेहमेष्यसि ॥

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

पुरा च परीप्सायाम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरा, च, परीप्सायाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुरा इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङ्गन्तं परीप्सायामर्ये विभाषा नानुवाच्न भवति ॥

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

The word परीप्सा means स्वरा or 'quick'. Thus अधीष्ट माणवक पुरा विद्योतते विश्वन्, or पुरा स्तनयति स्तनविश्वन् ॥ The word पुरा here expresses the future occurrence which is imminent or very near at hand. It is against the rule of Dharmāśtras to study while it thunders or lightens.

Why do we say 'when meaning *haste*'? Observe नहेन स पुराधीष्टते ॥ Here the word पुरा expresses a past time; that is, it means "long ago". So also कर्जया स पुराधीष्टते ॥ See III. 2. 118 and 122, for the employment of पुरा in the Past Tense, and III. 3. 4, for the Present.

नन्वित्यनुहैषणायाम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ननु, इति, अनुशा, एषणायाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ननु इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङ्गन्तं नानुवाच्न भवति अनुहैषणायां विषये ॥

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

The word एषणा means 'asking, praying'. The word अनुशा means 'permission'. The compound अनुहैषणा means 'asking-of permission'. Thus ननु कौरैष्मि भोः, "may I do it, sir"; ननु गैङ्छामि भोः 'can I go sir'. The sense is 'give me permission to do or to go'.

Why do we say when 'asking for' permission'? Observe अकार्ष कर्त्तव्यतः? ननु कुरुमि भोः: 'Devadatta hast thou made the mat? Well, I am making it'. Here ननु has the force of an answering particle, and not used in asking permission and hence the verb loses its accent.

किं क्रियाप्रश्नेनुपसर्गमप्रतिष्ठिद्धम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्, क्रिया-प्रश्ने, अनु-पिसर्गम्-अप्रतिष्ठिद्धम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमित्येतस्मिक्याप्रमे वा वर्तते तथानेन युक्तं तिङ्गतमनुपसर्गमप्रतिष्ठिद्धं नानुशार्तं भवति ॥

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

Thus किं देवदत्तः पैचति, आहो त्विद् भुइन्ते ॥ किं देवदत्तः शेते, आहो त्विदधीते ॥ Here some say, that the first verb (पैचति or शेते) being directly joined with किं retains its accent, whilst the second verb (भुइन्ते or आधीते) not being joined with किं, loses its accent by the general rule VIII. i. 28. Others say, though the word किं is heard in connection with one verb only, yet as both verbs are objects of doubt, therefore, किं is logically connected with both of them, and so both verbs retain their accents. Thus भुइन्ते will retain its accent according to this view.

Why do we say when the question relates to a क्रिया or action? The rule will not apply, when the question relates to an object or साधन ॥ Thus किं देवदत्त ओदनं पूचति आहेस्विच्छार्क ॥

Why do we say "when a question is asked"? Observe किमधीते देवदत्तः ॥ Here किं is used to express contempt, and not to ask a question.

Why do we say 'not preceded by a Preposition'? Observe किं देवदत्तः प्र पैचति आहेस्विन् प्रकरोति ॥

Why do we say "not preceded by a negative particle". Observe, किं देवदत्तो न पठति आहेस्विन् न करोति ॥

लोपे विभाषा ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपे, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंतो लोपे क्रियाप्रमे तिङ्गतमनुपसर्गमप्रतिष्ठिद्धं विभाषा नानुशार्तं भवति ॥

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

When किम् is elided in asking a question relating to an action, the finite verb which is not preceded by a Preposition or a Negative Particle, optionally does not become anudātta. When is there the elision of this किम् because no rule of Pāṇini has taught it? When the sense is that of an interrogation, but the word किम् is not used. In short, the word 'lopa' here does not mean the Grammatical substitute, but merely non-use. As देवदत्तः पैचति (or

प्रश्नति)भाषणेत्रित् पैठति(or प्रश्नति) Here the sentence is interrogative, even without the employment of किंव् ॥ The option of this sūtra is a Prāpta-vibhāsha, as it is connected with the sense of किंव् ॥ The counter-examples are the same as in the last aphorism, but without किंव् ॥

एहिमन्ये प्रहासे लद् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एहि, मन्ये, प्रहासे, लद् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एहिमन्ये इयनेन युक्तं त्वडतं तिङ्गतं नानुशास्तं भवति प्रहासे ॥

46. In connection with एहिमन्ये used derisively, the First Future that follows it, retains its accent.

The word प्रहास means great laughter, i.e. derision, mockery, railing, jeering, gibing, sneering. Thus एहि मन्ये ओरनं भोश्यते, नहि भोश्यते, भुक्तः सोऽतिथिभिः ॥ एहि मन्ये रथेन यास्यते, नहि यास्यते, यातस् तेन पितां ॥ The word एहि is the Imperative second Person of the root इण preceded by the preposition आह् ॥

Why do we say "used derisively"? Observe एहि मन्यसे ओरनं भोश्ये इति; शुषु च मन्यसे, साशु च मन्यसे ॥

By sūtra VIII. 1. 51, *in fra*, after the Imperative एहि which is a verb of 'motion' (गत्य), the following First Future (लद्) would have retained its accent. The present sūtra makes a niyama or restriction, namely that in connection with the Imperative एहि मन्ये, the लद् is accented only then when 'derision' is meant and not otherwise. Thus the लद् loses its accent here:— एहि मन्यसे ओरनं भोश्ये ॥ The employment of the First Person in मन्ये in the sūtra is not intended to be taught: for by I. 4. 105, the verb मन् (मन्यते) takes the affix of the First Person instead of the second, when 'derision' is meant and not otherwise. When प्रहास is not intended, the proper personal affix of the Second Person is employed. The employment of the First Person ceases there also by this restrictive rule. Thus एहि मन्यसे ओरनं भोश्ये ॥

The above counter example is given according to Kāsika, according to which एहि मन्ये इति उत्तमोपाशनमतन्त्रम् ॥ But according to Mahābhāshya, the counter-example is एहि मन्ये रथेन यास्यते ॥ Here यास्यते loses its accent. The meaning of the above is स्वं रथेन यास्यते इति अहं मन्ये, एहि ॥ According to Kaiyata, this would be an example also under the rule, the First Person not being necessary:—एहि मन्यसे रथेन यास्यामि ॥

जात्वपूर्वम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातु, अपूर्वम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जातु इयेतश्चिद्यमानपूर्वे तेन युक्तं तिङ्गतं नानुशास्तं भवति ॥

47. A finite verb retains its accent after जातु, when this जातु is not preceded by any other word.

Thus जातु भोव्यसे, जातु अध्यव्यसे, जातु कात्प्र्यामि । Here क्षे is anudātta by VI. 1. 186, as it is an sārvadhātuka affix coming after an अद्वयंश; the word जातु is first acute, as it is a Nipāta. Why do we say 'when not preceded by any other word'? Observe:—कटं जातु कृप्रिप्याति ॥ The word कटं is end-acute as it is a पिर or noun.

किंवृत्सं च चिदुत्तरम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ किंभृत्सम्, च, चिदुत्तरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमोवृत्सं किंवृत्सं, किंवृत्समहेण तदिभत्तरन्तं प्रतीवाद्वात्तरज्ञसमौ च मत्यवौ, तर्स्किंवृत्सं चिदुत्तर-मविद्यमानपूर्वं वजेन उन्नते तिङ्गतं नात्तुशास्त्रं भवति ॥

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

The word किंभृत्सं is a Genitive Tatpurusha meaning किमोवृत्सं ॥ The word किंभृत्सं means any form of किम् with its case-affixes, as well as the forms of किम् when it takes the affixes उत्तर and उत्तम् ॥ Thus कविद् भुद्वल्लै, कविद् भोव्यसि, कविद् अधीते, केनचित् कोर्णति, कस्मै चिद् ईशति, कस्मयिद् करोति, कतमविद् भुद्वल्लै ॥

Why do we say 'followed by चित्'? Observe को भुद्वल्लै ॥

The word अपूर्वं of the last sūtra qualifies this also; therefore, the verb loses its accent here:— देवदत्तः किंचित् पठति ॥

आहोउताहो चानन्तरम् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आहो, उताहो, च, अनन्तरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निशातप्रतिषेधोत्तुवर्तते ॥ अपूर्वमिति च ॥ आहो उताहो इत्येताभ्यामपूर्वाभ्यां उन्नतमन्तरं तिङ्गतं नात्तुशास्त्रं भवति ॥

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

The prohibition of *nighāta* or want of accentuation is understood here, so also there is the anuvṛitti of अपूर्वं from the last.

Thus आहो or उताहो भुद्वल्लै उताहो पैठति ॥ Why do we say 'immediately preceding'? In the following sūtra will be taught option, when these particles do not immediately precede the verb.

Why do we say "when no word precedes them"? Observe देवदत्त आहो or उताहो भुद्वल्लै ॥

शेषे विभाषा ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहो उताहो इत्येताभ्यां उन्नते तिङ्गतं नात्तुशास्त्रं शेषे विभाषा भवति ॥ कथं शेषः वदन्यशनमतपत् ॥

50. When the above-mentioned Particles आहो and उताहो do not immediately precede the verb, the verb may optionally retain its accent.

Thus आहो देवदत्तः पैंचाति or पुच्छति ॥ उत्ताहो देवदत्तः पैडति or पुडति ॥
 गत्यर्थलोटा लृणन्तेत्कारकं सर्वान्यत् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्यर्थ-लोटा, लृद,
 नं, चेत्, कारकम्, सर्व-अन्यत् ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ गतिना समानार्था गत्यर्थः; गत्यर्थानां धातुनां लोद् गत्यर्थलोट्; तेन गत्यर्थलोटा शुक्तं तदन्तं तिड-
 न्ते नातुदात्तं भवति, न येष्टकारकं सर्वान्यद्वयति ॥
 यजैव कारके कर्त्तरि कर्मणि वा लोद् यजैव यदि तदपि भवतीत्पर्यः। कर्तुकर्मणी एवाच
 तिडन्तशास्य कारकमहेण गृह्णते न कर्णादि कारकान्तरम् ॥

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

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

Thus आगच्छु देवदत्तमीमं, इस्त्वेनम् 'Come O Devadatta to the village, thou shalt see it'. Here the subjects of both verbs आगच्छु and इस्त्वसि are the same, and the objects of both verbs are also the same, namely माम् and एनम् ॥ आ is a Preposition and is accented, गच्छु and देवदत्त both lose their accent by VIII. i. 19 and 28, माम् is first-acute being formed by the नित् affix मूर् ॥ So also आगच्छु देवदत्त मामं, भोवनं भोव्यसे "Come, O Devadattal to the village, you will eat rice". Here the subjects of both verbs are the same, only the objects are different, and so the rule still applies. आहर देवदत्त शालीन्, बहुदत्त एतान् भोव्यते ॥ Here the subjects are different, but the objects are the same, namely शालीन् ॥ Similarly उद्यन्तं देवदत्तेन शालयः, बहुदत्तेन भोव्यते "Let the rice be carried by Devadatta, and let them be eaten by Yajnidatta."

Why do we say 'verbs of motion'? Observe पच देवदत्त आहनं, भोव्यसे एनम् ॥

Why do we say 'After the Imperative'? Observe आगच्छुदेवदत्त मामं, इस्त्वेनम् ॥ Here the Potential mood is used.

Why do we say the 'First Future'? Observe आगच्छु देवदत्त मामं, पद्यसि एनम् ॥ Here the Present Tense is used.

Why do we say 'if the kāraka is not wholly different'? Observe:

आगच्छ देवदत्त माम्, पिता से घोदनं मोक्षयते ॥ उद्यन्तां देवदत्तेन शालयः, सन्तवस्तेन प्रास्त्रयते ॥ उद्यन्तां
is the Imperative of बहु 'to carry'.

Why do we use the word सर्व 'wholly'? Observe आगच्छ देवदत्त माम्, स्वं
च अहं च इत्येव एनम् ॥ Here also there is prohibition of *nighāta* and the First
Future retains its accent, for the subject of the Future is not *wholly* different
from that of the Imperative. For here the subject of the Imperative is the
subject also of the Future, though only partly, in conjunction with another.
Moreover, the object here in both is the same. Had सर्व not been used in the
sūtra, where the sentence would have remained the same, there the rule would
have applied, and not where the sentences became different.

लोदृ च ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोदृ, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ लोडनं तिङ्गनं गत्यर्थलोटा युक्तं नाशुदात्तं भवति, न चेक्षारकं सर्वान्यद्वाति ॥

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

Thus आगच्छ देवदत्त मामं पश्य ॥ आग्रज विष्णुमित्र मामं शाधि ॥ आगम्यतां देवदत्तेन
मामो हृष्ट्यैतं यज्ञदत्तेन ॥

But not here पच देवदत्तौदत्तं, भुद्धेनम् because the first Imperative is not
one of गत्यर्थ verb. Nor here, आगच्छदेवदत्त मामं पश्येनम् because the first verb is
not Imperative but Potential.

If the subject and object of both Imperatives are wholly different, the
rule will not apply. Thus आगच्छ देवदत्त मामं, पश्यतु रामं यज्ञदत्तः ॥

By the force of the anuvritti of सर्व the rule will apply to the following:
आगच्छ देवदत्त मामं, स्वं चाहं च पश्यावः ॥

The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, by which the 'option' is with regard to लोदृ and not तद् ॥

विभाषितं सोपसर्गमनुस्तमम् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषितम्, सोपसर्गम्, अनुस्तमम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वे पूर्वमनुवर्त्तते ॥ प्राप्तविभाषितं, लोडनं सोपसर्गभुस्तमवर्जितं गत्यर्थलोटा युक्तं तिङ्गनं विभाषितं
नाशुदात्तं भवति न चेक्षारकं सर्वान्यद्वाति ॥

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

The whole of the preceding sūtra is understood here. This is a Prāptā-vibhāṣā. Thus आगच्छ देवदत्त मामं प्रविश्य or प्रविश्य ॥ आगच्छ देवदत्त मामंप्रशाधि ॥
or प्रशाधि ॥ When the verb is accented, the upasarga loses its accent by VII, I. 71.

Why do we say सोपसर्गे 'joined with a Preposition'? When there is no Preposition, there is no *option* allowed, and the last rule will apply. As आगच्छ देवदत्त आमंपश्य ॥

Why do we say अन्—उसमें 'not a First Person'? Observe आ गच्छानि देवदत्त, आमं प्रविशानि ॥

हन्त च ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन्त, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वे सर्वमतुर्वत्ते गत्यर्थलोटं वर्जयित्वा इत्त इत्यनेन युक्तं लोडन्तं सोपसर्गमुक्तमवर्जितं विभाषितं नामुशास्तं भवति ॥

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

With the exception of गत्यर्थ लीटा &c, the whole of the preceding sūtra is understood here.

Thus हन्त मै त्रिशु or प्रविशौ, हन्त मै चांषि or प्रशांषि ॥ But no option is allowed here हन्त कुहै, as it is not preceded by a preposition. Here rule VIII. I. 30, makes the accent compulsory after हन्त ॥ So also हन्त प्रभुनैजावहै, हन्त प्रभुनैजामहै, where the 1st Person is used, the verb retains its accent compulsorily by VIII. I. 30.

The word प्रभुनैजावहै is Imperative First Person, Dual of the root सुख in Atmane pada (I. 3. 66). The Personal ending वहै is anudātta by VI. I. 186, because the verb is anudātta-it. The vikaraṇa न therefore retains its accent.

आम एकान्तरमामन्त्रितमनन्तिके ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमः, एक-अन्तरम्, आम-नित्रतम्, अनन्तिके ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आम उत्तरमेकपशान्तरमामन्त्रितमनन्तिके नामुशास्तं भवति ॥

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

Thus आम् पचति देवदत्तैः; आम् मौ देवदत्ता १ ॥ The *nighāta* being hereby prohibited, the vocative gets accent on the first syllable by VI. I. 198. In the second example, though मौ itself is a Vocative, it is not considered to be non-existent by VIII. I. 72, but becomes effective by virtue of VIII. I. 73, as it is in apposition with the Vocative that follows.

Why do we say आम्? Observe शाक पचसि देवदत्त ॥ Here it is anudātta by VIII. I. 19.

Why do we say एकान्तरम् 'separated only by one word'? Observe आम् प्र पचसि देवदत्ता १ ॥

Why do we say 'the Vocative'? See आम् पचति देवदत्त ॥

Why do we say अनन्तिके 'not near'? See आम् पचसि देवहन् ॥ Here some hold that अनन्तिके is equivalent to दूर 'far off'. Therefore, according to them, the prohibition applies to एकशुति: as well as to निषातः ॥ Had it been merely a prohibition of *nighāta*, then the sūtra would become redundant, as the *nighāta* is precluded by the rule of eka-śruti (I. 2. 33). Thus arguing, they hold that eka-śruti being asiddha, the *pluta-udatta* of VIII. 2. 84, is not prohibited : and so the last vowel is protracted.

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

In the example आम् भो देवहन्, the word आम् being a Nipāta is first acute ; the word भो is a shortened form of भवत्, (VIII. 3. 1. Vārt), and it is accentless by VIII. 1. 19, being a Vocative case preceded by another word. देवहन् would also have become accentless by the same rule, this sūtra prohibits it. The निषातः being thus prohibited by this sūtra, two rules make themselves manifest now for application. The one is of एकशुतिशूरान्संबुद्धौ (I. 2. 33) causing एकशुति or monotony ; the other causing प्लुतोशाश्वत्यं by दूराद्भूते च (VIII. 2. 84). The opinions referred to above, relate to this doubt.

यद्धितुपरं छन्दसि ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यत्, हि, तु, परम्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्तिसमिलेतस्वरितत्वान्नानुवर्त्तते ॥ तिडिति वर्त्ततएव ॥ बल्परं हिपरं तुपरं च तिढन्तं छन्दसि नानुशास्त्रं भवति ॥

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

The anuvṛitti of आमन्तित् should not be taken in this sūtra, but that of तिडः ॥ Thus with बल्परे we have:—गदां गोषुदसज्ञा बवान्निरः ॥ The verb ददृशः is the Imperfect (लहू) 2nd person singular of सृश् of *Tudādi* class. With हि we have, इन्द्रो वा शुश्नन्ति हि (Rig Ved. I. 2. 4). The verb ददृश्चि is the Present (लहू) Plural of वश् of *Adādi* class. The samprasārana takes place because it belongs to शृश्चारि class. With तु we have, आमन्त्यामी तु ते ॥ By the previous sūtra VIII. 1. 30 a verb in connection with बल् would have retained its accent, so also in connection with हि by the sūtra VIII. 1. 34, and in connection with तु by VIII. 1. 39: the present sūtra is, therefore, a niyama rule. The verb retains its accent when these three Particles *only* follow and not any other. If any other Particle follows, the verb need not retain its accent. Thus आमे स्ता रोहौषैहि ॥ Here रोहौषै is the 1st Person Dual of the Imperative of रहू (रहू + शप्त + वस् = रोहू +

आद् + वृ॒ III. 4. 92 = रोहा॑व the स् being elided, as लो॑द् is like लङ् III. 4. 85 and 99). The verb एहि is the 2nd Person Singular of the Imperative of the root इ॒, preceded by the Particle आ॒ह् ॥ Here in रोहा॑व एहि (=रोहा॑व आ॒हि), the verb रोहा॑व is followed by the Particle आ॒, and does not retain its accent. But for this rule, it would have retained its accent. Because एहि is a गत्यर्थ लो॑द् (VIII. I. 51), रोहा॑व is another लो॑द् in connection with it, and therefore, by VIII. I. 52 it would have retained its accent. But now it loses its accent because it is a तिह् following after a non तिह् word स्वः ॥ The visarga of स्वः is elided before ए॑ by VIII. 3. 14, then the preceding अ is lengthened and we have स्वा (VI. 3. 111). Another reading is स्वो॑ रोहा॑वैहि ॥ It is a Vedic anomaly, the visarga is changed to ड॥

चन्नचिदिवगोत्रादितद्विताम्ब्रेडितेष्वगतेः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चन्, चिद्, इव, गोत्र-आदि, तद्वित, आम्ब्रेडितेषु, अगतेः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ चन चिद् इव गोत्रादि तद्वित आम्ब्रेडित इत्येतेषु परतः अगतेस्वतरं तिठन्तं नाशुशासं भवति ॥

57. A finite verb retains its accent, when it is not preceded by a Gati Particle (I. 4. 60 &c), and when it is followed by चन्, चिद्, इव, गोत्र &c, a Taddhita affix, or by its own doubled form.

Thus देवदत्तः पैचति चन्; देवदत्तः पैचति चिद्, देवदत्तः पैचतीव ॥ The list of Gotrādi words is given under sūtra VIII. I. 27. Thus देवदत्त पैचति गोत्रम्, देवदत्तः पैचति हृष्टम्, देवदत्तः पैचति प्रवचनम् &c. The Gotrādi words, here also, denote censure and contempt.

With a Taddhita affix, देवदत्तः पैचति कल्पम्, देवदत्तः पैचति रूपम् ॥ The examples should be given with anudātta Taddhita affixes, like रूप॒, कल्प॒ (V. 3. 66 and 67). Any other Taddhita affix added to the verb would cause the verb to lose its accent, the Taddhita accent overpowers the verb accent: as पैचतिरै॒क्ष्य (V. 3. 67).

With a doubled verb, as ; देवदत्तः पैचति पैचति ॥

Why do we say 'when not preceded by a Participle called Gati'? Observe देवदत्तः पैचति चन् ॥ The word गति in this sūtra as well as in सगतिरपि तिह् (VIII. I. 68) should be taken in its restricted sense, namely upasargas treated as Gati, and not the extended definition of Gati as given in I. 4. 61. Therefore the verb retains its accent here: हुङ्कीकरोति चन्, यत् काङ्क्षीकरोति, यत् काङ्क्षीकरोति ॥

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

चादिषु च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ च, आदिषु, च ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ चारिषु च परतः तिठन्तमगतेः परं नाशुशासं भवति ॥

58. A finite verb, not preceded by a gati, retains its accent before the Particles च (चा, ह, अह and एव VIII. I. 24).

The आति words are those mentioned in sūtra VIII. 1. 24. Thus देवदत्त पैचति च स्नातिं च, देवदत्तः पैचति वा स्नातिं वा, देवदत्तं पैचति ह स्नातते ह, देवदत्तः पैचति अह खोरत्यह, and देवदत्तः पैचत्येव स्नातत्येव ॥

But when preceded by a gati, we have देवदत्तः प्र पैचति च प्र स्नातति च ॥ Here the first verb retains its accent by virtue of the next sūtra, but the second verb loses its accent.

चवायोगे प्रथमा ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ च, वा, योगे, प्रथमा ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अगतेहिति पूर्वसूचे चानुकृटभित्यज नानुवर्तते । च वा इत्येताभ्यां योगे प्रथमा सिद्धिभन्निर्नानुशासना भवति ॥

59. The first finite verb only retains its accent in connection with च and वा ॥

The anuvṛitti of अगतेः which was drawn in the last sūtra, does not run into this. Thus गर्वमांष कालवसि, वीजां च ब्राह्मणि ॥ गर्वमान् वा कालवसि, वीजां वा ब्राह्मणि ॥

The word योग in the sūtra indicates that the mere *connection* with the verb is meant, whether this connection takes place by adding these words च and वा, *before* the verb, or *after* the verb, is immaterial for the purposes of this sūtra, (not so in the last). The word प्रथमा shows that the *first* verb is governed by this rule and not the *second*.

हेति क्षियायाम् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ह, इति, क्षियायाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ह इत्येतन युक्ता प्रथमा सिद्धिभन्निर्नानुशासना भवति क्षियायां गम्यमानावाप्त ॥

60. In connection with ह, the first verb retains its accent, when an offence against custom is reprimanded.

The word क्षिया means an error or mistake of duty, a breach of etiquette or a fault against good breeding.

Thus स्वयं ह रथेन याति ह, उपाध्यायं पशति ग्राम्यति 'He himself goes on a car, while he causes his Preceptor to trudge behind on foot'. स्वयं ह योदनं भुहन्ते ह, उपाध्यायं सकूलं पायति 'Himself eats the rice, and makes the preceptor eat the gruel'. Here in both examples, the nighāta of the first verbs is prohibited. The verbs become svarita-pluta by VIII. 2. 104.

अहेति विनियोगे च ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अह, इति, चि नि योगे, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अह इत्येतन युक्ता प्रथमा सिद्धिभन्निर्नानुशासना भवति विनियोगे गम्यमाने चशब्दात् क्षियायां च ॥

61. In connection with अह, the first verb retains its accent, when it refers to various commissions, (as well as when a breach of good manners is condemned).

The word विनियोग means sending a person to perform several commissions. The word च in the sūtra draws in the anuvṛitti of क्षिया also.

Thus स्वं अह यामं गच्छ, स्वं अह अरण्यं गच्छ ॥ So also when क्षिया is meant,

as स्वयमह रथेन याति १, उपाध्यायं पदःसि गमयति ॥ स्वयमहैरनं सुहन्ते १, उपाध्यायं सक्तून् पायति ॥ The prohibition of *nighata* and prolation are as in the last aphorism.

चाहलोपपवेत्यधारणम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ च, अह, लोपे, एव, इति, अवधारणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोपे अहलोपे च प्रथमा तिहविभक्तिर्नानुशासा भवति एवेत्येतत्त्वधारणार्थं प्रयुज्यते ॥

62. When च and अह are elided, the first verb still retains its accent, when एव with the force of limitation, takes their place.

When does this लोप take place? Where the sense of च or अह is connoted by the sentence, but these words are not directly employed, there is then the elision of च and अह ॥ There the force of च is that of aggregation (सम्बन्ध), and of अह is that of 'only' (केवल). The च is elided when the agent is the same, and अह is elided when the agents are several.

Thus where च is elided:—**देवहत्त एव मामं गच्छतु**, **देवहत्त एवारणं गच्छतु**—मामं आरणं च गच्छतु ॥

So where अह is elided: as:—**देवहत्त एव मामं गच्छतु**, यस्मद्देवहत्त एव अरणं गच्छतु—मामं केवलं, अरणं केवलं ॥

Why do we say अवधारणं 'when limitation is meant'? See **देवहत्तः**: फेव भोक्षयते, देवहत्तः फेव वाच्येष्यते ॥ The word एव here has the sense of 'never' 'an impossibility'. The first sentence means न क्वचिद् भोक्षयते ॥ क्व + एव = क्वेव by पररूप (VI. I. 94 Vārt).

चादिलोपे विभाषा ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ च, आदि, लोपे, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चावयो मत्प्रवाहादेवयुक्तिं सूचनिर्दिता गृह्णन्ते; तेषां लोपे प्रथमा तिहविभक्तिर्नानुशासा भवति विभाषा ॥

63. When च, (वा, ह, अह and एव) are elided, the first verb optionally retains its accent.

Thus with च लोपः—**गृह्ण ग्रीहयो भैवन्ति** or **भैवन्ति**, खेता गा आउयाव तुहन्ति ॥ Here भवन्ति optionally may either lose or retain its accent. So also when वा is elided, as:—**ग्रीहयि धैंजेत** or **युजेत्**, यै श्वेषेत् ॥ So also with the remaining.

घैवावेति च छन्दसि ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ घैवाव, इति, च, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वैवाव इत्येताभ्यां युक्ता प्रथमा तिहविभक्तिर्विभाषा नानुशासा भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

64. Also in connection with घै and वाव, may optionally, in the Chhandas, the first verb retain its accent.

Thus अहैवेवानाम् भासीत् (or आसीत्), राजिसुराणाम् भासीत् ॥ तृहस्ति वैवेवानं पुरोहित भासीत् (or आसीत्), शण्डामक्तव्युत्पाणां (Taittariya Sanhita VI.4. 10, 1. but with out the particle वै). अयं वाव हस्त भासीत् (or आसीत्), नेतर आसीत् ॥

वे has the force of स्फुट and समा, and वाच that of प्रसिद्धि and स्फुट ॥
एकान्याभ्यां समर्थाभ्याम् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक, अन्याभ्याम्, समर्थाभ्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एक अन्य इत्येताभ्यां समर्थाभ्यां युन्ता प्रथमा तिरुविभिन्निर्विभाषा नामुशाना भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

65. Also in connection with एक and अन्य, optionally in the Chhandas, the first verb retains its accent, when these words have the same meaning ('the one —the other').

Thus प्रजामेका ज्ञिन्वति (or चिन्त्वति), एकंगेकारक्षति ॥ तयोरन्वः पिपलं स्वार्हति (or अन्त्वति), अनभवन्त्वो अभिषाकशीति (Rig Veda I. 164. 20, Mundaka Upanishad III. 1).

Why do we say समर्थाभ्यां 'having the same meaning'? See एको हेतानुपासिष्ठत् ॥ Here एक is a Numeral and has not the sense of अन्य 'the one another'. The word समर्थ is used, in fact, to restrict the meaning of एक, for it has various meanings: while there is no ambiguity about the word अन्य ॥ एकोऽन्यार्थे प्रधाने च प्रथमे केवल तथा । साधारणे समानेऽप्ये संख्याभ्यां च प्रशुद्धते ॥

यद्वृत्तसाभित्यम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यत्, वृत्तसात्, नित्यम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमा छन्दसीति निवृत्तं, निधातप्रतिषेध इत्येव ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ वायाकाम्ये वेति वस्तव्यम् ॥

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

The anuvṛtti of प्रथमा and छन्दसि ceases. The prohibition of nighāta, which commenced with न तद् (VIII. I. 29) is present here also. In what ever sentence the word यद् occurs, that is called यद्वृत्तं ॥ The word वृत्तं denotes here the form of यद् in all its declensions with case affixes. According to Kāsikā, उत्तर and उत्तम are not included, according to Pātanjali they should be included. See also the explanation of किंवृत्तं in VIII. I. 48.

Thus यो मुहूर्णे, ये भोर्याति, वेन मुहूर्णे, यस्मै इशासि, यत् कामाते खण्डः (Rig Veda X. 121. 10) यद्यपह वाहुर्वाति (T. S. V. 5. I. 1.) यद् वाहुः पैवते ॥ For the form यद्यपह see VI. 3. 92. Though the sūtra is in the Ablative (यद्वृत्तसात्) and therefore requires that the verb should *immediately* follow it, yet in यद्यपह वाहु वाति, the intervention of वाहु: does not prevent the operation of this rule, according to the opinion of Pātanjali.

Vart:—Optionally when the sense is that of 'wheresoever' or 'whencever'. The word वायाकाम्य means वयेष्ठः 'as one wishes', without regard of time or space. The nighāta is prohibited here also. As यद् यत् यन् यजते यद् देववज्ञन एष यजते ॥

पूजनात्पूजितमनुदातं काष्ठादिभ्यः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूजनात्, पूजितम्, अनुदातम्, काष्ठादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूजनेभ्यः काष्ठादिभ्य उत्तरपदं पूजितमनुशानं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ मलोपम् ॥

67. After a word denoting praise belonging to काष्ठादि class, the word whose praise is denoted, becomes anudatta.

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

Thus काष्ठाध्यापकः, काष्ठाभिरूपकः, शारणाध्यापकः, शारणभिरूपकः ॥

अमातापुत्र । अमातापुत्राध्यापकः । अमातापुत्राभिरूपकः । अयुताध्यापकः । अयुताभिरूपकः ।
अनुत्त । अनुत्ताध्यापकः । अनुत्त । अनुत्ताध्यापकः । भूषा । भूषाध्यापकः । घोर । घोराध्यापकः । भूस्तः ।
भूलाध्यापकः । परम । परमाध्यापकः । सु । स्वध्यापकः । अति । अत्यध्यापकः । यौ । यौरध्यापकः । यौ-
रभिरूपकः । स्वध्यापकः । अपुत्र । अपुत्राध्यापकः । कल्याण । कल्याणाध्यापकः ॥

Vārtika :—The final ष् should be elided in forming these words. The word शास्त्र is an adverb, and therefore in the accusative case, like शास्त्रं गतः ॥ In such a case, there can be no compounding; hence the elision of ष् is taught. This is the opinion of Vārtika—kāra Kātyāyana. According to Kāśikā, there is compounding under मूरू ध्वंसकादि rule, and so ष् is elided by the general rule of samāsa. This becoming of अनुशत्त takes place in the compound, and after composition. In fact, it is an exception to the general rule by which a compound is *finally* acute (VI. 1. 223) But there is no elision in शारणमध्यापकः &c. and there is no loss of accent also of the second word. By the Vārtika 'मलेपन', this further fact is also denoted, where the case - affix is not employed and so the ष् is not heard, there the second member becomes anudatta. When there is no compounding, there is no elision of ष् as शारणमशीते, शारणमध्यापकः ॥

Though the word पूजन would have implied its correlative term पूजित, the specific mention of पूजित in the aphorism indicates, that the word denoting पूजित should follow *immediately* after the word denoting पूजन ॥ In fact, this peculiar construction of the sūtra, is a jñāpaka of the existence of the following rule :—इह प्रकरणे पठन्ती निर्देशेऽपि नामन्तरवामीयते "In this subdivision or context, though a word may be exhibited in the Ablative case, it does not follow that there should be consecutiveness between the Ablative and the word indicated by it". This has been illustrated in the previous rule of अद्वृत्तान् नियम, in explaining forms like अद्वृत्त वायुर्वाति &c.

Though the anuvṛitti of 'anudatta' was current, the express employment of this term in the sūtra indicates that the *prohibition* (of anudatta) which also was current, now ceases.

On this subject, the following extract from the Commentary on Siddhānta-Kaumudi, will give the view of later Grammarians :—The words काष्ठ &c, are all synonyms of अनुत्त, meaning *wonderful, prodigious*: and are words denoting *praise*. This is an aphorism appertaining to samāsa subject. In the examples the compounding takes place under the rule of Mayuravyansakādi.

Vārtī.—The elision of अ॒ should be mentioned. वार्षण्य+ध्यापकः, in making the compound of these two words, the elision of the case affix, in, this case अ॒, is natural. The vārtīka, therefore, teaches nothing new, but only repeats this general rule in a particular form. This is the opinion of the authors of Kāśikā. But according to Kayyata, the commentator on the Great Bhāṣya, this aphorism is not a samāsa rule: and the words वार्षण्य &c, are adverbs not admitting of samāsa; and so the rule applies to these words when they are not compounded. There is no authority for holding these to be compounds under the Māyuravyānsakādi class. Haradatta also says, had this been intended to be a samāsa rule, the word समासे would have been used in the sūtra and this is valid. There is no adhikāra of samāsa here, that could have caused samāsa and in this view, the vārtīka मलोपञ्च also becomes effective: had it been a samāsa rule, the vārtīka would have been redundant.

1 काष्ठ, 2 वार्षण, 3 अमातापुच्छ, 4 वेश, 5 अनाहात, 6 अनुत्तात, 7 अपुच्छ, 8 अयुत, 9 अनुत्त, 10 अनुक्त, 11 ध्रुव, 12 घोर, 13 दुख्य, 14 परम, 15 सु, 16 असि, 17 कल्प्याम्

सगतिरपि तिङ्क् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, गतिः, अपि, तिङ्क् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सगतिरगतिरपि पूजनेभ्यः काष्ठादिभ्यः परं पूजितं तिङ्क्तमनुशासनं भवति ॥

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

Whether a finite verb is compounded with a gati or stands single, both the compound and the simple verb lose their accent, when it is qualified by the adverbs काष्ठं &c. Thus वत् काष्ठं पुच्छति, वत् काष्ठं प्रपुच्छति ॥ By VIII. I. 28, the finite verb would have lost its accent after the word काष्ठं, but this loss was prohibited by VIII. I. 30 in connection with वत्; the present sūtra re-ordsains the loss, by setting aside the prohibition of VIII. I. 30.

The word सगति 'along with its Gati', indicates that the Gati even loses its accent. The word Gati here is restricted to Upasargas. Therefore not here वत् काष्ठं शुद्धी करोति, वत् काष्ठं कृष्णं करोति ॥

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

कुत्सने च सुप्यगोत्रादौ ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुत्सने, च, सुपि, अगोत्रादौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पदाविति निवृत्यम् ॥ सगतिरपि तिङ्किति वर्तते ॥ कुत्सने च द्वुन्ते गोत्राविवर्जिते परतः सग-
तिरपि तिङ्क् अगतिरप्यवतुषासो भवति ॥
वार्तिज्ञम् ॥ किंवा कुत्सन इति वन्नज्यम् ॥ वार्तिज्ञम् ॥ पूतिभ्य चानुबन्धो भवतीति वन्नज्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ विभाषितं चापि वह्येयमनुशासनं भवतीति वन्नज्यम् ॥

Kārikā द्वुपि कुत्सने किंवा भावं इदैऽ सिङ्गीति चोक्तायै ।

पूतिभ्य चानुबन्धो विभाषितं चापि वह्यर्थम् ॥

69. A finite verb, along with its preceding Gati, if any, becomes anudātta, when a Noun, denoting the fault of the action, follows, with the exception of गोत्रं &c.

The anuvṛitti of पश्यत् (VIII. 1. 17) ceases. But the anuvṛitti of the last sūtra is current. Thus पूच्छति पूति, प्रपूच्छति पूति, पूच्छति मिथ्या, प्रपूच्छति मिथ्या ॥

Why do we say कुस्तने 'denoting the fault of the action'? See दैचति शोभनम् ॥

Why do we say मूषि 'a noun'? Observe दैचति विलङ्घनाति ॥

Why do we say with the exception of गोच &c. See दैचति गोचम्, दैचति हुवम्, पचाति प्रपचनम् ॥

Vart: It should be mentioned that the 'fault' mentioned in the sūtra, must be the fault relating to the mode of doing the action, denoted by the verb. The rule will not apply, if the कुस्तन refers to the agent and not to the action. Thus दैचति पूतिर्वदनः, प्रपूतिति पूतिः ॥

Vart: It should be stated that पूति has an indicatory अ ॥ The effect of this is that the word पूति is finally acute, because of the indicatory अ ॥ The word पूति is not a किञ् formed word, because it is not feminine, as we find it in sentences like पूतिरथः; nor is it a word formed by किञ् affix, because this is not a संज्ञा word; therefore, it is a word without a derivation. Therefore by प्रातिपदिक स्वर (Phit I. 1) it will be end-acute. The *vartika*, therefore, indicates that when पूति causes the loss of accent of the verb, then it is end-acute, but in other cases it is acute on the beginning. According to Padamanjari, पूति is derived from धु by adding the Uṇādi affix तिष् diversely (Uṇ IV. 180), and is first acute.

Vart: A finite verb in the plural number, loses its accent optionally: when it loses its accent, then पूति is end-acute. Thus पूच्छन्ति पूतिः, or पूचन्ति धूतिः, प्रपूचन्ति पूतिः: or प्रपूचन्ति धूतिः ॥

Kārikā. The following noun denoting fault must refer to the action. The elision of अ is intended only in the case of non-verbs, because it is so said by those of old. The word पूति has an indicatory अ, but it is optionally so when the verb is plural. The elision of अ mentioned above refers to the elision of अ in दारणम्-ध्यापकः:—दारणाध्यापकः ॥ The words उक्तार्थम् mean आचार्यपरंपराकथित-प्रयोगानपेतदित्यर्थः ॥

गतिर्गतौ ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ गतिः, गतौ ॥
गृतिः: ॥ गतिर्गतौ परतो उक्तासामो भवति ॥

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

Thus अन्युज्जरति, सुशुर्वानवाति, आभिसंपर्यौ हस्ति ॥ Why do we say गतिः: "a Gati becomes &c"? Observe दैवदत्तः प्रपूतिति ॥ Here दैवदत्तः is a Prātipadika and does not lose its accent. Why do we say 'when followed by a Gati'? Observe अ अन्तरिन्द्र इतिः आहि मरुर रोमनिः ॥ Here आ is a Gati to the verb आहि, the complete verb is आआहि ॥ But as आ is not followed by a Gati, but by a Prātipadika मन्त्र, it retains its accent. Had the word गतौ not been used in the sūtra, this आ would have lost its accent, because the rule would have been too wide, without any restriction of what followed it.

तिङ्गि चोदाच्चवति ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङ्गि, च, उदाच्चवति ॥
शृणुः ॥ गतिर्वति वर्तते ॥ तिङ्गन्ते उदाच्चवति परत्वा गतिरुपाच्चो भवति ॥

71. A Gati becomes anudātta, when followed by an accented finite verb.

The word गतिः is understood here. Thus अ॒ प॑ चति, अ॒ प॑ करोति ॥

Why have we used the word तिङ्गि in the sūtra? In order to restrict the scope of the word उदाच्चवति; so that a Gati would not become accentless before every udātta word, but only before udātta verbs. Thus आ does not become anudātta before मनैः in आ॑ मनै॒ रिन् हरिभि बाहि ॥ If it be said that the word गति is a particular name which the Particles get before verb only, and therefore गति would always refer to its correlative term verb, and not to noun, like as the word *father* refers to its correlative term *son* and not *nephew*: and that, therefore, उदाच्चवति must refer to the verb like आहि and not to a noun like मनैः; then also we say that the employment of the term तिङ्गि is necessary, in order to indicate that the verb must be a *finite* verb, and not a *verbal root*. So that though a verbal root be udātta, yet if in its conjugated form (तिङ्गन्त) it is not udātta, the गति will not lose its accent. Thus in अ॒ प॑ करोति, the root कृ is anudātta, but the तिङ्गन्त form करोति is udātta, hence the rule will apply here: which would not have been the case had उदाच्चवति not been qualified by तिङ्गि ॥ For the maxim is अ॒ क्रियायुक्तः प्रावच्य॑ तेषां तं प्रति गत्वा पर्वत्यसंज्ञे भवतः ॥ Therefore in a तिङ्गन्त, the designation of गति is with regard to धातु or verbal root. Obj: If तिङ्गि is used for this purpose, then the rule will not apply to an आम ending forms, like प॑ पञ्चतिराम् and प्रपञ्चतिराम्, for these are not तिङ्गन्त; but as a matter of fact, we find that प॑ loses its accent, in these forms also. How is this explained? Ans. Here there are two views: some compound the Gati प॑ with the completed आमन्त form पञ्चतिराम् ॥ According to them, this प॑ would get the accent, on the rule that an Indeclinable first member retains its accent (VI. 2. 2); so that even if the word तिङ्गि was not used in the sūtra, the form पञ्चतिराम् being the second member of a compound, became anudātta; and so प॑ being followed by an anudātta never loses its accent. According to them, therefore, the Gati never loses its accent in प्रपञ्चतिराम् &c. Others compound the word ending in तराम् (पञ्चतिर) with the Gati, and having formed प्रपञ्चतिराम, then add the affix आम् ॥ According to this view, the आम् accent debars all other accents, on the maxim, 'the accent of the last prevails' (सतीश्छ), and so प॑ is anudātta, not by this rule, but by अनुशासनं परमेकावये ॥ According to them the word is प्रपञ्चतिराम् ॥ According to both of these views, this sūtra is not necessary for the purposes of प्रपञ्चतिराम् &c. But there is a third view which makes this sūtra necessary even for this purpose. There is this maxim: गतिकारकोपपदानाम् कृतिः सह समाप्तवचनं शाक् शुद्धत्यज्ञः "It should be

stated that Gatis, Kārakas and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with Kṛit-affixes, before a case-termination has been added to the latter". This maxim itself has been explained in two different ways, one saying that the compounding takes place with kṛit-formed words *only* before the addition of case-affixes; but with words formed by Taddhita affixes, the compounding does not take place before a case affix has been added. The other view makes no such difference between kṛit-formed and non-kṛit formed words. This latter view is not necessary for our purposes. According to the first view, the Gati प्र can never be compounded with पञ्चतितपद् as it is not a सुबन्नं ॥ So both प्र and पञ्चतितपद् having different accents, the present sūtra became necessary to cause the loss of accent of प्र ॥

Why have we used the word उदात्तता? See मै पञ्चति, मै करोति ॥ Here the verb loses its accent by VIII. i. 28, hence the Gati retains its accent.

आमन्त्रितं पूर्वमविद्यमानवत् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमन्त्रितम्, पूर्वम्, अविद्यमा-
नवत् ॥

पृतिः ॥ आमन्त्रितं पूर्वमविद्यमानवद्वति, तस्मिन्स्ति बल्कार्ये तत्र भवति ॥

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

Such a Vocative is treated as if not at all existing, it is simply ignored. The operation which its presence otherwise would have caused does not take place, and that operation takes place which would have taken place had it not existed. What are the particular purposes served by considering it as non-existent? They are (1) the absence of the accent-less-ness of the subsequent vocative, which the first, taken as a पद्, would have caused under VIII. i. 19. As हेवदस् ! हेशस् ! Here the first Vocative हेवदस् does not cause the second Vocative to lose its accent, but it remains first acute by VI. i. 198. (2) The accent less-ness of the verb required by VIII. i. 28 is prevented: as, हेवदस् पैचासि ॥ (3) The substitution of the shorter forms of युप्मद् and अस्मद्, required by VIII. i. 20-23 is prevented, as हेवदस् तव (not ते) आमः स्वम्, हेवदस् मम (not मे) आमः स्वम् ॥ (4) The application of VIII. i. 37 takes place, in spite of the intervention of the Vocative between the Particle and the verb; such intervention is not considered as taking away anything from the immediateness (अनन्तरपद्) of the Particle from the verb: as, आम् हेवदस् पञ्चसि ॥ (5) For the purposes of VIII. i. 47, though a Vocative may precede जातु, the latter is still considered as अविद्य-मानपूर्वे and VIII. i. 47 applies, as हेवदस् जातु पैचसि ॥ (6) So also in the case of VIII. i. 49, as आहो हेवदस् पैचासि, उत्ताहो हेवदस् पञ्चसि, no option is allowed here by VIII. i. 50.

Why do we use the word 'as if' or एत् in the sūtra, instead of saying 'altogether'? In other words, why do we say "it is considered as if non-existent", instead of saying "it is considered altogether non-existent"? The vocative does produce its own particular effect. Thus in आम् भो देवदत्तः the vocative भो is considered as one word (एकान्तर) for the purposes of separating आम् from the vocative देवदत्त under VIII. i. 55. This is the opinion of Patañjali; but the opinion of the author of Kāśikā is that भो would have been considered as अविद्यमानवत् but for VIII. i. 73.

Why do we say 'a Vocative'? Observe देवदत्तः पूर्वत्रिः ॥ Why do we say पूर्वं 'with regard to the subsequent word'? The vocative itself will not be considered as non-existent, for the application of rules that would apply to vocative as such. Thus in देवदत्त शत्रुघ्नदत्त, the vocative देवदत्त gets its accent by VI. i. 193 also. In fact, the word पूर्वं connotes its correlative परं 'subsequent'; and the vocative is considered as non-existent, for the purposes of the operations to be performed on such *subsequent* term, whether such operation be caused by the vocative itself, or by any other cause; but it is not to be considered non-existent for the purposes of operations to be performed upon itself. Therefore in देवदत्त पैचासि, Devadatta does get the accent of the vocative. In इमं मे गङ्गे बहुने सरस्वाति शत्रुघ्निः the first vocative गङ्गे is considered as non-existent with regard to बहुने, and, therefore, बहुने is considered as following immediately after the pada मे and thus बहुने becomes anudātta, not because of गङ्गे, but because of मे; similarly सरस्वाति and शत्रुघ्निः are anudātta, not because of the preceding Vocative, but because of मे ॥ In other words, the intervention of the vocatives does not stop the action of मे ॥

नामनित्रते समानाधिकरणे सामान्यवचनम् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आमनित्रते, समानाधिकरणे, सामान्य-वचनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यमानवस्त्वय प्रतिषेधः ॥ आमनित्रान्ते समानाधिकरणेपरतः पूर्वमामनित्रान्तं सामान्यवचनं नाविद्यमानवद्वयति ॥

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

This sūtra prevents the operation of the last sūtra in the particular case when the two Vocatives are in apposition, and the second qualifies the first. Thus हिमे ऐषपते, मौणवक्तुदिलकाभ्यापक् ॥ The first vocative being considered as existing, second vocative loses its accent.

Why do we say 'the *vocative* subsequent'? Observe देवदत्त पैचासि here the *verb* does not lose its accent. Why do we say 'standing in apposition or समानाधिकरणे'? Observe देवदत्त पैचित वशदत्त, here the word पैचित qualifies वशदत्त, and is not in apposition with देवदत्त, and hence it retains its accent.

Why do we say सामान्यवचनम् 'which is a generic word'? The rule will not apply when the Vocatives are synonyms. Thus शैल्ये देवि सरस्वति हौड़ काव्ये विहृष्य एतानि से अधन्ये नामानि ॥ All these Vocatives are synonyms of Saraswati, and hence all retain their accent of the Vocative (VI. i. 198). According to Padamanjari the reading given in Taittariya Br. is:— हौड़ शैल्ये [सिसे सरस्वति प्रिये भ्रष्टसि महि विशुते, एतानि से अधिन्ये नामानि ॥ सामान्यवचनम् means 'a generic term'. When the first is a generic term, and the second is a specific term, (विशेष वचन) qualifying the first, and both are in the singular number, there the present rule will apply.

**विभाषितं विशेषवचने बहुवचनम् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषितम्, विशेष-
वचने, बहुवचनम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेणाविद्यमानवचने प्रतिषिद्धे विकल्प उच्यते ॥ विशेषवचने समानाधिकरणे आमन्वयान्ते परतः पूर्वमामन्वित बहुवचनान्तं विभाषितमविद्यमानवचनात् ॥

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

This ordains option, where the last sūtra would have made the consideration of the first vocative as existent compulsory. Thus हैशः शैरण्याः or हैशा शैरण्याः ॥ श्रीग्राणा वै बाकरणाः or श्रीग्राणा वै याकुरणाः ॥

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

Why do we say 'in the plural number'? Observe शार्णवक चुटिलक ॥ No option is allowed here, and the preceding vocative is *always* considered as existent and so rule VIII. i. 73 applies.

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



ओ३म् ।

अथ अष्टमाध्यास्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

BOOK EIGHTH.

CHAPTER SECOND.

पूर्वन्नासिद्धम् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वन्न, अ-सिद्धम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वन्नासिद्धमित्यधिकार आ अन्यायपरिसमाप्तेः । यदित कर्त्त्वमनुकमित्यामः पूर्वन्नासिद्धमित्येवं सहेवितव्यम् । तच येवं सपादसप्ताध्याव्याकुकान्ता एतस्वामयं पादोनो उच्चारो इसिद्धो भवति । इत उत्तरं चोक्तये-चरो योगः पूर्वपूर्वन्नासिद्धो भवति । असिद्धवद्यति । सिद्धकार्यं न करोति हति अर्थः ॥ सरेतदसिद्धवद्यतनं आदेशलक्षणप्रतिषेधार्थं उत्सर्गलक्षणभावार्थं च ॥

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

This is an *Adhikāra* or governing rule, and extends upto the end of the Book. Whatever we shall teach hereafter is to be understood as non-existent, with regard to the preceding rule. With regard to whatever has been taught in the preceding Seven Books and a quarter, the rules contained in these three last chapters are considered as *asiddha*. And further, in these three chapters, a subsequent rule is, as if it had not taken effect, so far as any preceding rule is concerned. The word असिद्धम् = असिद्धवद्यति, सिद्धकार्यं न करोति ॥ The rule is “as if non-effective, does not produce the operation of a siddha or effective rule”. This rule of non-effectiveness is for the sake of prohibiting the operation of an *ādeśa* rule, and establishing the operation of an *utsarga* or general rule. Thus अस्ता उद्धरः; त्वा अच; त्वा आनन्द; असा आवित्यः ॥ In all these, the elision of त् and त् by VIII. 3. 19, being considered as not to have taken effect, there is no further sandhi, and आ+उ does not give rise to *guṇa*, nor आ+अ=आ ॥ In fact, for the purposes of the application of आदृशुणः rule of VI. 1. 87, or the शीर्ष rule of VI. 1. 101, the rule VIII. 3. 19 is considered as not to have taken effect at all.

Similarly असुमै, असुम्मात्, असुम्भिन् from अस् ॥ Thus अस् + ने = अ + ने (VII. 2. 102 अ being substituted for the final स, which again merges in the

preceding अ VI. 1. 97)=अमु+डे (VIII. 2. 80. उ being substituted for अ, and ए for ए of अर). Now the substitution of सै for डे takes place only after Pronouns ending in अ; but अमु is a pronoun ending in उ, so this सै (VII. 1. 14) should not take place. The present sūtra helps us out of this difficulty, and the change of अ into उ by VIII. 2. 80 is considered asiddha for the purposes of the application of VII. 1. 14.

शुष्किका शुष्कजह्वा अ कामिमानौजडतथा ।

मतोर्वस्ये भलं जम्ब्यं, गुडलिण्मानिदर्शनम् ॥

The forms शुष्किका, शुष्कजह्वा, कामिमान्, औजडत्, and गुडलिण्मान् illustrate this rule excellently.

(1) शुष्किका ॥ To the root शुष्क we add the Nishṭhā त, as शुष्क+त=शुष्क+क (त changed to क by VIII. 2. 51)=शुष्क ॥ Add the feminine affix टाप् and we have शुष्का ॥ Add to this the affix क (V. 3. 70, 73), as शुष्का+क=शुष्काक, the feminine of which with टाप् will be शुष्किका (the shortening taking place by VII. 4. 13). Now अ is changed to ए by VII. 3. 44 and we have शुष्किका ॥ Now rule VII. 3. 46 makes this ए substitution optional, when a क precedes the अ, as is the case here: and that rule would require the alternative form शुष्किका ॥ But there is no such alternative form, because the क of शुष्क was the substitute of त by VIII. 2. 51, which is considered as asiddha for the purposes of the application of VII. 3. 46.

(2) शुष्कजह्वा ॥ Here rule VI. 3. 37 would have required the form to be शुष्काजह्वा like महिकाकह्वा; there being no puñ-vad-bhāva when there is a penultimate क ॥ But the क in शुष्का being the result of VIII. 2. 51 is considered as asiddha for the purposes of VI. 3. 37.

(3) कामिमान् ॥ This word may be considered to have been formed by adding the affix मतुष् to the Patronymic word कामि: or to the noun कामिन् [काम-स्वापस्य = कामि:, or कामोऽस्यास्तीति = कामिन्] ॥ The word काम is formed by adding the Nishṭhā त to the root कै, as कै+त=का+त (VI. 1. 45)=काम (the त being changed to म by VIII. 2. 53). Now this म is considered as non-effectual for the purposes of application of VIII. 2. 9, which requires the change of म of मत् to ए, when मत् is added to a word having a penultimate म, as in कामीवान् ॥ Therefore we have कामिमान् and not कामिवान् ॥

(4) औजडत् ॥ This is the Aorist third person singular of the Derivative root औडि, from the Past-Participle of वह ॥ Thus वह+त=उह (VI. 1. 15). Add to it लिच् in the sense of समाख्यत् (III. 1. 26): and then form its लुह ॥ The लुह is formed by adding चह (III. 1. 48), before which the stem is reduplicated (VI. 1. 11). In reduplicating, all the rules that went before in forming उह are considered asiddha; viz. the rule by which ए was changed to उ (as वह+त=उह+त=उह+त VIII. 1. 31), the rule by which त was changed to ध (उह+त=उह+ध VIII. 1.

40), the rule by which ष was changed to श (VIII. 4. 41), and the rule by which the first ष was elided (VIII. 3. 13 as रह+ष=र+ष=जर VI. 3. 111). The elision of षि before षि being considered sthānivat, we reduplicate रह; as जरहठ+चर्ह +त=जरहत् (VII. 4. 60)=रहवत् (VII. 4. 62)=जरहत् (VIII. 4. 54). There is no ष added by VII. 4. 79, because of the prohibition of अनश्लोषे of VII. 4. 93. With the augment, it becomes औजरहत्॥ The form औजिरहत् is from रह ending in the affix न्ति॥

(5) शुद्धलिङ्गमात्र ॥ This is formed by adding मत्रप् to the word शुद्धलिङ्, which is formed by कृप् (शुद्ध लेणि) Here also the म of मत्रप् is not changed into व by VIII. 2. 10; because the change of ए to इ (VIII. 1. 3), and again of इ to व are considered asiddha.

The rules of interpretation, however, contained in the previous part will apply to this part also; because such rules cannot be considered 'prior' or *पूर्वी*; for they become operative then only when occasion requires to apply them. The maxim which governs such rules is कार्यकालं हि संज्ञा प्ररिभाषम् ॥ The rules, therefore, which are exhibited here in the sixth case such as VIII. 2. 23, or the seventh case, as VIII. 2. 26, or the fifth case, as VIII. 2. 27, should be interpreted in accordance with the sūtras उच्ची स्थाने वेगा, तस्मिन्निति निरिदेष्ट पूर्वस्थ, तस्मादीति उच्चरत्य ॥

But with regard to the paribhāshā विप्रतिशेषे परं कार्यं, the above will not hold good. For, by the very fact, that a subsequent rule in these chapters, is held to be asiddha, with regard to the prior, there cannot arise any conflict of two rules of equal force with regard to them. And it is only where there is such a conflict, that the above rule of interpretation applies. This being so, in विस्तार्यम्, भवगोर्यम् formed by अब्दृत् (III. 1. 124) the guṇa ordained by VII. 3. 86 is not debarred by the दीर्घि rule VIII. 2. 77, because there is no conflict between guṇa-rule VII. 3. 86 and the dīrgha-rule VIII. 2. 77, for the latter is simply non-existent with regard to the former.

But though the विप्रतिषेध rule does not apply in these chapters ; yet an apavâda rule here even, does over-ride an utsarga rule, for otherwise, the enunciation of an apavâda rule would be useless. The apavâda rule is therefore, not considered asiddha. Thus the utsarga rule होऽः (VIII. 2. 31) is set aside by the apavâda rule हत्यात्मोर्धः (VIII. 2. 32), and thus we have होऽधा, होऽपुष्म
(हु + त्तृ + होऽ + पुष्म) !!

न लोपः सुप्त्वरसंहातुग्निधिषु छति ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ न लोपः, सुप्त्वर-संहा-
तुग्निधिषु, छति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नलीपः पूर्वचारिसिद्धो भवति सुषिष्ठितौ स्वरविधौ संज्ञाविधौ त्रुणिवधौ च कृति । विधिशास्त्रोबं प्रत्येकम-
भिसंबन्ध्यमानः स्वरसंज्ञातुकां विधेवत्वातैः कर्मपश्चियुन्नैर्मार्गवसाधनो ऽभिसंबन्धते । मुषा तु संबन्धसामान्य-
वप्तमशष्टिश्लेन कर्मसाधनः । तेन मुषः स्थाने यो विधिः मुषे च परम्भूते सर्वोर्त्सौ मुषिपिरिति सर्वचारित्तर्त्वं
भवति ॥

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

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

(1) सुरविधि :—As राजमि:, तसमि: ॥ Here the elision of त् of राजत् and तसत् being asiddha, the भिस् is not changed to ऐस् by VII. 1. 9. So also राजभ्याम्, तसभ्यां, राजसु, तससु ॥ Here the finals of राज and तस are not lengthened before भ्यां by सुपिच (VII. 3. 102) and nor changed to ए before सु by (VII. 3. 103): as in नरभ्यां and नरेसु of the stem ending in अ ॥

(2) स्वरविधि :—As राजवती and not राजवत्ती ॥ For the elision of त् being asiddha, the rule VI. 1. 220, does not apply, for the word is considered not to end in अवती but अवती ॥ Similarly in पञ्चार्मत् and दशार्मत्, the elision of त् being asiddha, the first member does not become अद्य-उदात्ता by VI. 2. 90. Similarly पञ्चवतीजी : the elision of त् being asiddha, the first member does not retain its original accent as required by VI. 2. 29.

The word राजत् is first acute, as it is formed by the affix कनित् (Uṇ I. 156). राजवती is formed by adding वती् to the नत् ending word, by IV. 1. 6. पञ्चार्मत् is a compound under rule II. 1. 50 of पञ्चत्-अर्म, and when त् is elided, the first member becomes a word ending in अ and would require the accent of VI. 2. 90.

(3) संज्ञाविधि :—As पञ्च ब्राह्मणः, दश ब्राह्मणः ॥ The elision of त् being asiddha, the words पञ्च and दश are still called shash though they no longer end in त् (ज्ञानता पद् I. 1. 24). Being called पञ्च, they do not take दात् in the feminine (IV. 1. 10).

According to the Vārtikakāra, there is no necessity of using the word संज्ञा in the sūtra (संज्ञा भृगानर्थकं च न लिपितं स्वाक्षोपत्य), because the elision of त् is caused by reason of its having such a designation (as पञ्च). Thus without its having the name of पञ्च there would be no elision of अत् and शस्, without such elision, there is no pada sañjña of these words, and unless these words get Pada designation, there can be no elision of त् by VIII. 2. 7. The shash designation, however, would not be retained by these words after taking

plural affixes, when feminine affixes are to be added to them, but for this sūtra. The पञ्चन् and दशन् ending in न् would require णीप् in the feminine, which is however prohibited, for when अस् and न् are elided, the words end in अ and require टाप् for their feminine, which is also prohibited, because, by the present sūtra the word still retains its designation of पट ॥

Q. How can this be the purpose of this sūtra ? There are two views as regard definitions (संज्ञा), the one is that a particular name is given to a thing once for all, *prior* to any operations; and operations are performed afterwards upon it or with it, as occasions arise. This view is embodied in the maxim वयोरेति संज्ञापरिभाषम् 'Sanjñā, and Paribhāshās remain where they are taught.' The other view is that the sanjñā sūtra is to be read with every particular operative sūtra, and the sanjñā given to the word afresh, with every new operation. In other words, the sanjñā sūtra becomes identified with a vidhi sūtra, every time that a vidhi is to be applied. This is embodied in the maxim कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम् "Sanjñās and Paribhāsas are attracted by or unite with the rules that enjoin certain operations." In the first view, the पट sanjñā will be good throughout, both for the purposes of eliding अस् and शस् and for prohibiting टाप् ॥ Hence thus sūtra is not necessary in that view. But in the other view, the sūtra is necessary. For if the view be taken that a sanjñā is to be applied with regard to each operation, then that पट sanjñā which had taken effect for the purposes of eliding अस् and शस् , will no longer hold good for the purposes of preventing the application of the feminine affix. Hence, the word संज्ञा is taken in this sūtra, to prevent the application of the second view.

(4) त्रुविधिः—Thus वृचहस्मां, वृचहभिः ॥ On account of the elision of न् being asiddha, the त्रुक् augment is not added, though required by VI. I. 71. (इत्यस्य पिति कृति त्रुक्) ॥

Some hold that त्रुक् need not be read in the sūtra. They argue in this way:—There is this maxim सत्त्विपात लक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तदिष्यातस्य "That which is taught in a rule, the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination". Now the elision of न् of वृचहन् took place because of the case affix भां, this elision cannot be the cause of adding त्रुक् ॥ Or the त्रुक् being a विहारक् operation would be asiddha with regard to the antaranga elision of न् ॥ This opinion is, however, not sound. The employment of त्रुक् in this sūtra indicates, that the two maxims above referred to, are not of universal application i.e. they are anitya.

Why do we say before a Kṛt-affix ? Observe वृचहस्तम्, वृचहस्तात् ॥ Here त्रुक् is added by VI. I. 73.

The elision of न् taught by VIII. 2. 7 &c would be asiddha by the

general rule VIII. 2. 1; the specification of the four cases in which it is asiddha shows that it is a restrictive or niyama rule. That is, the elision of श् is considered asiddha only with regard to these four rules, and no other. It is not asiddha in राजीयते (राजन् + श्वच् + ते = राज + च + ते = राजीयते III. 1. 8, VII. 4. 33). There would not have been long ई had the नलोप been asiddha. So also राजायते there is lengthening, (VII. 4. 25) and राजाच्च there is ekādeśa (VI. 1. 101).

न मु ने ॥ ३ ॥ पश्चानि ॥ न, मु, ने, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुमाद्रो नामादे कर्त्तव्ये नासिद्धोभवति किं तर्हि सिद्ध एव ॥
 वास्तिकम् ॥ एकादेशस्तरोन्तरङ्गः सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ संयोगान्तस्य लोपो रो हस्ये सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥
 वा० ॥ सिद्धलोप एकादेशे सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥
 वा० ॥ निष्टारेशः पत्त्वस्त्रपत्त्वयविधीद्विधिषु सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ प्लुतिकारस्तुविधौ छें सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥
 वा० ॥ वसुत्वं पुष्टि सिद्धं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ अभ्यासजद्वचत्वे एत्वतुकोः सिद्धे वक्तव्ये ॥
 वा० ॥ द्विर्वचने परसवर्णत्वं सिद्धं वक्तव्यम् ॥
 वा० ॥ पश्चाधिकारबोल्लस्त्रदत्त्वपत्त्वनस्त्रपत्त्वजानुनासिकछत्वानि सिद्धानि वक्तव्यानि ॥

3. The sūtra VIII. 2. 80, teaching the substitution of मु for the दस् of the Pronoun अदस्, is however not treated as asiddha in relation to the case-ending ना ॥

The existence of श् is not considered uneffected when there is to be added ना ॥ On the contrary, it is considered as siddha or existing. Thus श् being considered as siddha, अश् gets the designation of शि by I. 4. 7, and as such, its Instrumental Singular is by VII. 3. 120, अशुना ॥ Had the श् been considered as non-effected, then the stem would not have been called शि, and there would have been no ना added. But when ना had been added, then the श् being asiddha, अश् is considered to be as अश् ending in श्, and this अश् would require lengthening by मुष्टि च VII. 3. 102: but it is not done on the maxim समिपातलक्षणो विवितनिभिर्तं तदिघातस्य "that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination". There being no long आ the उ of अश् remains short. Or this sūtra may be considered to be the condensation of two sūtras (1) श् is siddha when ना is to be added, (2) श् is siddha when any operations, otherwise to be caused when ना is added, are to take place. Or the sense of the sūtra is ने परतो वत् प्राप्नोति तस्मिन् कर्त्तव्ये मुमाद्रो नासिद्धः "the श् is not non-effected in relation to any operation that would otherwise be occasioned when ना followed". From this, it would follow by implication that श् must be considered valid for the purposes of नामाद् itself. So श् being always siddha, ना is added: and there is no lengthening.

Vārtika:—That ekādeśa accent which is antaranga, should be considered as siddha. What is the necessity of this vārtika? In order to regulate the accents of 1. अश्, 2. आश्, 3. आश् substitutions of ए, ऐ and औ; 4. the accent of

ekâdeśa substitutes, 5. the accent of the शृङ् formed words, 6. for the purposes of rule VI. I. 158, by which all syllables of a word are anudâttā except one, and 7. for the purposes of VIII. I. 28, by which *all* syllables become anudâttā.

Thus (1) let us take अश् first. शृङ् is finally acute by Phit I. I. The locative of this is वृत्त+दि (anudâttā III. I. 3)=वृत्ते॑ (ए is udâttā VIII. 2. 5). Now combine वृत्ते॑+इरम्=वृत्ते॑य॒+इरम्=वृत्ते॑ इरम् ॥ So also वृत्त इरम् ॥ The udâttā ekâdeśa ए॑ must be considered as siddha, so that the अश् substitute of ए should also become udâttā. (2) आवः As कुमार्य॑ इरम् ॥ Here also आ is udâttā for similar reasons. कुमारी॑+डे॒=कुमारी॑+आ॒+ए॑ (VII. 3. 112)=कुमार॒+आ॒+ए॑=कुमार॒+आ॑+ए॑ (VI. I. 174)=कुमार॒+ए॑ (VI. 2. 90)=कुमार्य॑ (VIII. 2. 5). The ए॑ is udâttā and its आ॑ substitute will also be udâttā. How do you give this example? This example is then valid, when by VI. I. 174, first the affix आ is made udâttā, then this आ (आ॑ VII. 3. 112) augment is added to डे॒, and then (आ॑+ए॑) there is vriddhi ऐ॑; and then कुमार॒+ऐ॑=कुमार्य॑ ॥ But if the order be reversed and आ॑+ए॑ be first combined into ऐ॑, and then this ऐ॑ be made udâttā by VI. I. 174, then there would be no necessity of this vartika for the purposes of आव् ॥ The word कुमार॑ is end-acute by Phit accent (Phit I. I). Add to it डी॑ in the feminine (IV. I. 20), as कुमार॑+ई॑=कुमार॒+ई॑ (अ is elided by VI. 4. 148)=कुमार॒+ई॑ (VI. I. 161)=कुमारी॑ ॥

(3) आव्. As वृत्तविरम् or वृत्तविर्दश्, for the same reasons as above [वृत्ते॑+ओ॑ (anudâttā)=वृत्ते॑ VIII. 2. 5, वृत्तो॑+इरम्].

(4) एकाशा accent. As गाह॑ इरम् ॥ Here गाह॑+इ॑=गाह॑ ॥ The word गाह॑ is formed by अ॒ affix (गंगाया इरम्) and is end-acute. The ekâdeśa ए॑ is udâttā by VIII. 2. 5. This udâttā accent will remain valid: so that when for ए॑+अ॒ there is pûrva-rûpa-ekâdeśa by VI. I. 109, this ekâdeśa ए॑ will be udâttā by VIII. 2. 5, or it will be svarita by VIII. 2. 6. The word अनूर॑ is a प्राणि compound, आपोऽनुगतं-अनूरं ॥ Here by VI. 2. 2, the Indeclinable first term would have retained its accent: but the word is end-acute by VI. 2. 189.

(5) शृङ् - accent. As तुरती॑, तुरते॑ ॥ Here in तुर॑+थ॑+शृङ्, the affix थ॑ is udâttā, and शृङ् is anudâttā. The ekâdeśa अ॑ will be udâttā by VIII. 2. 5. This ekâdeśa - udâttā should be considered valid for the purposes of the rule VI. I. 173 by which the feminine affix and the weak case-ending are udâttā. Thus तुरत॑+ई॑=तुरती॑, तुरत॑+ए॑=तुरते॑ ॥ The prohibition अनुमः in VI. I. 173 is a jñâpaka or indicator of the fact, that the ekâdeśa accent should be considered siddha, in the accent of the शृङ्, because without this ekâdeśa accent, there is no शत्रि ending word with तुर॑ which is antodâttā.

(6) एकानन्दुषाणः accent. As तुरन्ति॑, लिक्षन्ति॑ ॥ Here in तुर॑+थ॑+अन्ति॑ (VI. I. 186) the ekâdeśa अ॑ is udâttā by VIII. 2. 5, and this ekâdeśa accent is considered valid for the purposes of rule VI. I. 158, by which all the remaining syllables become anudâttā, as तुरन्ति॑, लिक्षन्ति॑ ॥

(७) सर्वादुशक्तः accent. As ब्राह्मणास्तुतुन्ति, ब्राह्मणा स्तिखन्ति ॥ Here the ekâdes'a-accent of तुत्ति and लिखेन्ति being valid, rule VIII. 1. 28 applies, and all the syllables become anudâtta.

The word antaranga is used in the vârtika` to indicate that the Bahiranga ekâdes'a accent will not be siddha. Thus पचसीति and पैपचसीति, where the word ईति is first acute, as it is an Indeclinable. And सोमष्टुप् पचसीति ॥ The accent of पचति + ईति = पचसीति is governed by VIII. 2. 5. This ekâdes'a accent of long ई has reference to external sandhi, and therefore naturally it is a bahiranga. This bahiranga ekâdes'a accent is not siddha for the purposes of the application of previous sûtras. Thus sûtra VIII. 1. 71. requires that the *gati* should be unaccented before an accented verb: but ए does not lose its accent, as पचसीति is not considered as an accented verb. In the second example, the ई of ती is not considered as accented, therefore, it does not become anudâtta by VIII. 1. 28.

Vart:—The rule VIII. 2. 23 causing the elision of the final consonant in a word ending with a conjunct consonant, should be valid for the purposes of changing रु into रू ॥ What is the necessity of this vârtika ? Observe हरिवा मेरिनं ल्ला ॥ The word हरिवः is formed by मत्तुए affix हर्योऽस्त्व सन्ति = हरि + मत् ॥ Now by VIII. 2. 15 the म is changed to व, as हरि + वत् or हरिवत्; add मु (Voc.Sg.) as हरिवत् + मु, then add तुष्ट् augment, as हरिवन्त् + तुष्ट् ॥ Then there is elision of the final consonant = हरिवन् ॥ Now by VIII. 3. 1. the final न् is changed to र्, and we have हरिवर्, the र् would be changed to रू by VI. 1. 114, if the elision of the conjunct consonants be considered as siddha: for then this र् is followed by म, a हर् letter. But if such elision be considered as Siddha, then र् is considered not to be followed by हर् letters, but by the consonants which were elided.

Vart:—When ekâdes'a is to be done, the elision of सिच्च is to be considered siddha or valid. As अलाशीत् and अपाशीत् ॥ Here the सिच्च is elided by इट् ईट् (VIII. 2. 28.) This elision is considered valid or siddha, and thus we have dirgha single substitution of ई for इ + ई as अलाइ + इ + सीत् = अलाई + इ + ओ + ईत् = अलाशीत् ॥

Vart:—The substitute of the Nishṭhâ affixes should be considered as valid or siddha for the purposes of the rules relating to the (1) changing of त् to ए, (2) accent, (3) affix, and (4) इट् augment. As (1) वृक्षणः, वृक्षणवात् ॥ The root is ओन्नाम्बु (VI. 11) the indicatory ओ shows that the nishṭhâ त् is changed to ए (VIII. 2. 45). This nishṭhâ substitute is considered as valid or siddha, and the final of the root is not changed to ए, as it otherwise would have been by VIII. 2. 36: for ए would have been still considered as त् or a हर् letter. The equation is as follows:—अश्व + त् = वृश्व + त् (VI. 1. 16) = वृश्व + ए (VIII. 2. 45) = वृश्व + ए (VIII. 2. 29) = वृक्ष + ए (VIII. 2. 30) = वृक्षणः (VIII. 4. 1) The ए is changed to ए by VIII. 2. 30, by considering ए as asiddha and therefore equal to त् or a हर् letter. Thus it will be seen that this ए is आसज्ज for the purposes of

rule VIII. 2. 30, but it is सिद्ध only for the purposes of rule VIII. 2. 36.

Similarly शीर्षेन सराति-शीर्षिक formed by शृं (IV. 4. 7) which affix is added, because it is considered a word of *two* syllables, the elision of इत् being considered as valid for the purposes of IV. 4. 7.

Similarly शीष may be considered to have been formed by eliding the त्; as शीष+त्=शीष+अ् ॥ In this view of its formation, the augment इट is not added, because the lopa of त् is considered as valid and siddha for the purposes of इट augment. In the opinion of Patanjali, the words इट विधि may well be omitted from the vārtika, for इट being a *portion* of a प्रत्यय, the word प्रत्ययविधि would include इट-विधि also.

Vārt—The prolation modification of a vowel (pluta) should be considered as valid and siddha, for the purposes of the rule relating to तुक्ष augment before the letter त ॥ Thus by VIII. 2. 107, the Vocative words अमे and पटे assume the forms अमाइ, and पटाइ ॥ These इ and उ are plutavikaras. As अग्नाइ रचत्वम् । पटाइ रचत्वम् ॥ Here the modification caused by VIII. 2. 107, is considered as valid and siddha; otherwise there would have been no compulsory तुक्ष augment as required by VI. 1. 73 but optional तुक्ष under VI. 1. 76.

Vārt—The ए and palatal change should be considered siddha and valid before शुद् (VIII. 3. 29). The root इचुतिर् स्तरणे (I. 41) is read as beginning with a श्, which is changed to ए because of the subsequent ए by VIII. 4. 40. This is not considered asiddha. Had it been so, there would come शुद् augment by VIII. 3. 29, in अद् इच्योतति, रद् इच्योतति ॥ The words अद् and रद् are अस् and रस् formed from the roots अटति and रटति by विषप् ॥

Why is the root इच्छनि॑ considered to begin with स् and not with श् as we find it written? Because had it been a root beginning with श् originally, we could not get the form मधुक् which would have been मधुर् ॥ The form मधुक् is thus evolved. Thus मधु इच्छोत्ताते—मधुश्चयुत् by adding विष् ॥ From मधुश्चयुत् we form a Derivative root in विष् in the sense of मधुइच्छतमाचेऽ—मधुश्चवति ॥ Add again विष् to this Derivative root मधुवि॒ष्, the विष् will be elided, and we have मधुश्च, then श् (which represents स्) is elided because it is at the beginning of a compound letter (VIII. 2, 29), and श् is elided, because it is at the

end of a conjunct letter final in a pada (VIII. 2. 23), and thus there remains मञ्च्, and च् is changed to क् (VIII. 2. 30) we have मञ्चुक् ॥ Had the root been चकारादि, then this च् could not be elided, and so we should elide only the final च् and श् and the form would be मञ्चुश् which would be changed to श् and then to इ and we should get मञ्चुइ which is not desired.

Vart:—The जश् and च॒ substitution of letters in the reduplicate should be considered siddha and valid for the purposes of ए change (VI. 4. 120) and तुङ्ग augment. Thus बमण्टुः and बमणुः ॥ Here the जश् change of भ, to ब in the reduplicate should be considered as valid, otherwise this would be अनादेशादि root and the Perfect would be भेण्टुः and भेणुः ॥ Similarly from छिद् we have चिच्छित्सति, and from रच्छ, रचित्सति ॥ In the latter, the second syllable छिस् of रछिस् (Desiderative) is reduplicated by VI. 1. 2. Here had the reduplicate substitute च for छ been considered asidha, there would not have been तुङ्ग augment by छे च (VI. 1. 73)

Vart:—The change of letter homogeneous with the subsequent is valid and siddha for the purposes of doubling. As सद्यन्ता, सद्यन्तरा, वद्यन्तोक् ॥ In सद्यन्ता &c the श् is changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 23, and the anusvāra is then changed to a letter homogeneous with the subsequent by VIII. 4. 58. Had the प्रसरण change been asidha, there would have been no doubling by VIII. 4. 47.

Vart:—If there be the adhikāra of the word 'pada' in those sūtras which ordain the following changes, then those changes are considered siddha for doubling, namely, 1. लत्व the change into ल (VIII. 2. 21), 2. दत्त्व the change into द (VIII. 2. 31), 3. षत्व the change into ष (VIII. 2. 33), 4. नत्व the change into न (VIII. 2. 56), 5. रत्व the change to र (VIII. 2. 75), 6. षत्व the change to ष (VIII. 3. 85), 7. जत्व the change to ज (VIII. 4. 11), 8. anunāsika change (VIII. 4. 45), 9. छत्व the change to छ (VIII. 4. 63).

As 1. गलो गलः; गरोगरः ॥ 2. होम्धा होम्धा ॥ 3. होदाहोदा ॥ 4. तुतो तुतः or तुतो तुतः ॥ 5. अभिनोऽभिनः or अभिनद् अभिनत् This is लहं second person singular of भिन्, the श् of सिष् is elided by VI. 1. 68, and the final त् changed optionally to र् by VIII. 2. 74. The न is the vikarana अन् ॥ 6. मातुः द्वसा मातुः द्वसा or मातुः द्वसा, मातुः द्वसा, 7. माषवापाणि माषवापाणि or माषवापाणि माषवापाणि ॥ 8. वाहू नयनम् वाहू नयनम् or वाग्नयनम् वाग्नयनं ॥ 9. वाक् च्छयनं वाक्च्छयनं or वाक्शयन वाक्शयनं ॥

The लत्व &c, changes being all optional, had the changes been considered asidha, we would have got the following double forms also गरोगल, गलोगरः which are not desired.

All these can be explained by dividing the sūtra न मु ने into two. The first being न, and this negative will prohibit all asidha-ness mentioned in the

preceding vārtikas. The second sūtra would be तु ने, and we would here draw in the anuvṛitti of न from the preceding.

उदात्तस्वरितयोर्यणः स्वरितो अनुदात्तस्य ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदात्त-स्वरितयोः, यणः, स्वरितः, अनुदात्तस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तवणः स्वरितयोर्यणं परस्यानुदात्तस्य स्वरितं भावेषो भवति ॥

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

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

Let us first take the vowel following an udātta yan. Thus कुमारौं, कुमार्वः ॥ The word कुमारौं is acutely accented on the final, because the long ई (ई॒॑) replaces औ॑ of कुमार (VI. 1. 161). The semi-vowel औ॑ is substituted in the room of this acute ई॑; the anudātta औ॑ and औ॒ become svarita after such a औ॑ ॥

Now to take an example of a svarita-yan. The words सहस्रौ॑ and खलौ॑ are finally acute by kṛit-accent (VI. 2. 139). The Locative singular of these words are खलौ॑+इ॑=खलिं॑, and सहस्रौ॑+इ॑=सहस्रिं॑ by VI. 4. 83. This इ॑ is a semi-vowel which comes in the room of the acute औ॑, therefore, it is udātta-yan. After this udātta-yan, the anudātta इ॑ of the Locative becomes svarita by the first part of this sūtra. Now when खलिं॑+भाशा॑ and सहस्रिं॑+भाशा॑ are combined by sandhi, this svarita इ॑ is changed to औ॑; it is, therefore, a svarita-yan. The unaccented भा॑ will become svarita, after this svarita-yan. As खलिं॑भाशा॑ and सहस्रिं॑भाशा॑ ॥ The word भाशा॑ is finally acute and consequently भा॑ is not acute (Phit. I. 18).

Obj :—Here an objector may say : that the svarita accent on औ॑ in खलिं॑ is by this very sūtra, this svarita is to be considered as asiddha for the purposes of अ॒ अदेश of VI. 4. 83. How can then the औ॑ substituted for this इ॑ be considered as svarita-yan ?

Ans :—This is considered as siddha by अश्रया. (भाश्वात् सिद्धात्मक) ॥

Obj :—If this be so, then उदात्तानुदात्तस्य स्वरितः (VIII. 4. 66) should also be considered as siddha : and we should have svarita in एश्वाशा &c also. For the word ई॒॑ is first-acute by Phit II. 3. Therefore ई॒॑ is svarita by VIII. 4. 66. The औ॑ is svarita yan, the anudātta भा॑ after this should become svarita according this view, but this is not so.

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

Vart :—अ॒स्वरो अ॒वाइषो सिद्धो वन्नव्यः ॥ “The अ॒ accent should be considered as valid, for the purposes of अ॒ substitution ”.

Some say, that even in such cases as इष्टाशा the above rule applies, and that the unaccented vowel becomes svarita, if it follows a svarita-yañ which is preceded by an acute vowel. They quote the following from Taittariya Śâkhâ :— आत्मे विष्वाः समिधः सन्त्यग्ने, where the अ of अग्ने is pronounced as svarita. So also in the Brâhmaṇa portion as : इष्टाशावति the आ is read as svarita. But according to Kâtyayana and Patanjali, the unaccented vowel does not become svarita by this sûtra, when it follows a svarita-yañ which is preceded by an acute vowel.

To get rid of these anomalies, the Mâhabhâshya proposes several alternatives, two of which will be mentioned here. The first proposal is to divide this composite sûtra into two parts : (1) उदात्तयणः परस्य अनुशासस्य स्वरितो भवति "an unaccented vowel becomes svarita when it follows after an udâttayañ". (2) स्वरितयण उदात्तयण उदात्तयण स्वरितो भवति "an unaccented vowel becomes svarita, when following a svarita yañ" and in this second sûtra, we shall read the anuvritti of udâttayañ from the preceding half. So that this half will mean: : उदात्तयण इत्येवं यो निर्वृत्तः स्वरितः, तस्य यणः परस्य अनुशासस्य स्वरितो भवति ॥ The svarita must have been obtained by the application of the first half of this sûtra and *this* svarita should be changed to यण्, which would change the anudâttâ into svarita. So that the स्वरित यणः means this *particular* svarita obtained by the application of this very sûtra.

The second proposal is not to read svarita into the sûtra at all. The svarita in सकूल्याशा would then be explained by udâttayañ rule. सकूल्यू + इ + आशा = सकूल्यू + इ + आशा ॥ Here इ is udâttayañ. This will cause आ to become svarita. The intervening svarita इ is considered as not existent for the purposes of accent स्वरितोऽव्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवत् ॥ Nor is this इ to be considered as sthâni-vad to इ by I. i. 57, for in applying the rule of accent, such a substitute is not considered as sthâni-vat by I. i. 58.

Why do we say "of udâttâ and svarita"? Observe वैरी + आशी = वैशाशा, so also शार्ङ्ग्रव्याशा ॥ Here the semi-vowel replaces an unaccented इ, and is अनुशासन यण् ॥ These words are first acute owing to नित् accent (IV. i. 73).

Why do we say "an *unaccented* vowel becomes svarita"? Observe कुमार्यच, किरोर्यच ॥ The word अ॒च् is acutely accented on the first by लित् accent. (VI. i. 193).

एकादेश उदात्तेनोदात्तः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकादेशः, उदात्तेन, उदात्तः ॥
शृणिः ॥ उदात्तेन सहानुशासस्य य एकादेशः स उदात्तो भवति ॥

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

The word "of an anudâttâ" is understood here. An unaccented vowel,

which combined with the preceding udātta vowel remains as a single substitute, becomes udātta. Thus for the udātta इ of अनित् and for the case-ending औ which is anudātta, there is always substituted long ई single by VI. I. 102. This single substitute will be udātta according to the present sūtra, as अग्नी॒ ॥ Similarly वायू॑, वृत्त॑ः लृत्त॑ः ॥

Why do we say "with *udātta* vowel"? Observe पचन्ति, वजन्ति ॥ Here पच् + शष् + अन्ति = पैच् + अ + अन्ति । Here शष् is anudātta by III. I. 4, so also अन्ति by VI. I. 186. The ekādeśa of these two non-accented अ will be anudātta. In forming this para-rūpa ekādeśa by VI. I. 97, the svarita of the अ of शष् caused by VIII. 4. 66 is considered as invalid or asiddha.

Other examples are कु॑ वोऽस्मि॒ (Rig. V. 61. 2) and क्वावर॑ मरतः॒ ॥ The word वः is anudātta by VIII. I. 21, read with VIII. I. 18. The word अऽस्मि॑ is acutely accented on the first, as it is formed by adding क्रृत् to अश् (Uṇ. I. 151). The त् of मरतः॒ is changed to त् (VIII. 2. 66), which is again changed to त् (VI. I. 113). Thus वोऽस्मि॑ ॥ Here अ becomes pūrvva-rupa by VI. I. 109, which is udātta. कु॑ is formed from किष्म by अत् affix (V. 3. 12 and VII. 2. 105) and is svarita (VI. I. 185). The word अवर॑ is acutely accented on the first by the Phit II. 6. The single long substitute is udātta.

स्वरितो वा अनुदात्ते पदादौ॑ ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि॑ ॥ स्वरितः॑, वा, अनुदात्ते, पदादौ॑ ॥ वृत्तिः॑ ॥ अनुदात्ते पदादौ॑ उदात्ते एकादेशः॑ स स्वरितो वा भवत्युदात्तो वा ॥

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

Thus शु॑ + चत्यितः॑ = सू॑चत्यितः॑ or सू॑चयितः॑ ; वि�॑ + ईक्षते॑ = वी॑क्षते॑ or वी॑क्षते॑ ; वसुकः॑ + असि॑ = वसुकोऽसि॑ or वसुकोऽसि॑ ॥ Here the word शु॑ is a Karmapravachaniya by I. 4. 94, when it is compounded by पारिसमाप्ति with the Past Participle, the Avayayibhāva compound retains the accent of its first member (VI. 2. 2), and so it is acutely accented on the first, and the rest are anudātta. Thus the udātta ई॑ of शु॑ is compounded with the anudātta ई॒॑ of चत्यितः॑ which stands at the beginning of a Pada, and so the ekādeśa is optionally svarita. In वी॑क्षते॑ and वसुकोऽसि॑ also the verbs ई॑क्षते॑ and असि॑ lose all accent by VIII. I. 28 and so ई॒॑ and अ॑ become anudātta, which when compounded with वि॑ and वसुका॑ become optionally svarita.

The word स्वत्तिः॑ is employed in the sūtra only for the sake of distinctness, for the sūtra may have well stood as वाऽनुदात्ते पदादौ॑ ॥ In this form of the sūtra, the udātta of the preceding sūtra would become optional when the second member is a word beginning with anudātta. Udātta being optional, in the other alternative, where there will not be udātta, the svarita will be substituted by reason of the nearness in position.

Why do we say "anudātta beginning"? Observe एवैत्तोऽन् ॥ Here एवैत्तोऽन् begins with udātta and not anudātta, and hence no option is allowed.

Why do we say "beginning of a word"? Observe वृसैः, वृक्षाः, सृजैः and सृक्षाः, where anudātta case-endings are not beginnings of words.

According to Bhattoji Dikshita this is a vyavasthita-vibhāshā; in this wise. There will necessarily be svarita (1) where a long ई is the single substitute of (ई+ई) or of two short ई, (2) where there is pūrvā-rupa by the application of एङ्गपशान्तात् भविति (VI. i. 109). There will be udātta where a long vowel comes in. Thus in वि + इ॒म् = वी॒इ॑ ज्योतिर्दृश्ये, the long ई is substituted for two short ई's. This substitution of a long ई for two short ई's is technically called प्रस्लेष ॥ Where there is Pras'lesha, the long ई is necessarily svarita. Similarly when there is अभिनिहस्तसन्धिः i. e. the peculiar sandhi taught in VI. i. 109. Thus तेऽवश्यं, सोऽव्युमातात् ॥ So also where there is तैयः सन्धिः i. e. the substitution of a semi-vowel in the room of an udātta or svarita vowel, as अन्धामि ॥ The above rules about svarita are thus summarised in the Prātiśākhyas : इकारव्योऽन्तं प्रस्लेषे सैप्राभिनिहस्तेषु च ॥ But where a long ई is substituted as a single substitute for ई+ई (one of the ई's being long), there it must always be acute. As अस्य इलौको त्रिशीषते (Rig. i. 190. 4). The words विविद् + ई॒ते are compounded into विविद॒ते ॥ The word विविद् Locative singular is finally acute by VI. i. 171. ई॒ते is from the Divādi root इ॒गते, and has lost its accent by VIII. i. 28.

नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लोपः, प्रातिपदिक, अन्तस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रातिपदिकस्य पदस्य योन्यो नकारस्तस्य लोपो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अहो नलोपप्रतिवेष्ठो वन्नस्यः ॥

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

The word पदस्य 'of a Pada' is understood in this sūtra. Thus राजा, राजभ्याम्, राजभिः, राजला, राजतरः, राजतमः ॥ The Nominal stem राजन् gets the designation of Pada, before these affixes, by I. 4 17.

Why do we say 'of a Prātipadika or Nominal stem'? Observe अहोऽपि॒म् ॥ Here अहो॒ is a verb, the 3rd Per. Sg. Imperfect (लहूः) of the root इ॒हूः ॥

Why do we say 'at the end'? If the word अन्तस्य had not been used in the sūtra, then the sūtra would have stood thus नलोपः प्रातिपदिकस्य ; and as the word पदस्य is understood here, the sūtra would have meant, there is elision of न्, where ever it may be, of a Pada called stem. So that the न of नराभ्याम् would also have required elision. In fact, the genitive case here in पदस्य is not sthāna shashṭhī, but viseshāṇa shashṭhī, नलोप अन्तभृणं पशाधिकारस्व विशेषणस्तात् ॥

Q. But even if you use the word अन्त in the sūtra, it is compounded with the word प्रातिपदिक, and the sense of the sūtra will be "न् which is at the

end of a pratipadika, which (pratipadika) is a portion of a pada" &c. and not "क् which is at the end of a pada". So that the rule will not apply to अहन्नराम्यां but will apply to राजानौ &c? Ans. The word प्रातिपदिक् is not compounded, with the word अन्त in the sūtra. It is used without any case-affix, on the analogy of Chhandas usage. In fact, it is in the genitive case, the affix being elided by VII. 1. 39.

Vārtika: The prohibition must be stated with regard to the elision of the न of अहन् ॥ As अहः, In अह् the case-affix न् is luk-elided by VII. 1. 23, the pratyaya-lakshana is prohibited by I. 1. 63, and hence the न् of अहन् is changed to त् by VIII. 2. 69. अह्न्नराम्, अहोभिः ॥ For the rules VIII. 2. 68 and 69 by which the final of अहन् is changed to त्, are asiddha with regard to this present rule requiring elision of न्, hence this vārtika.

Q. There is no necessity of this vārtika, for the subsequent rules VIII. 2. 69, 68 will debar न लोप ॥ Ans. But त् and त् are considered asiddha for the purposes of न् elision. The त् and त् would have been debarred न् elision, had they otherwise found no scope. But they have their scope. Q. Where have they their scope? Ans. In the penultimate अ i.e. in the अ preceding the न् ॥ Q. The very fact that the author has used the word अहन् in the sūtra VIII. 2. 68, shows that त् does not replace अ but न् ॥ Ans. If so, then त् will find scope in the Vocative, हे अहन् where न् is retained by VIII. 2. 8, and it will be this न् which will be replaced by त्, as ह अह् and so also ह शीर्षहि निश्चय !

The word शीर्षहि न् is a Bahuvrihi (II. 2. 24), the Vocative affix is elided (VI. 1. 68), and the न् changed to त् by VIII. 2. 68, and it is changed to त् (VI. 1. 114). In हे अहन् ! the न् is not elided by the option of the Vārtika under VIII. 2. 8.

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

न द्विसंबुद्धोः ॥ त् ॥ पदानि ॥ न, द्वि, सम्बुद्धोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वै परतः संबुद्धौ च नकारलोपो न भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्वादुत्तरपेद प्रतिपेदस्य प्रतिपेदो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ वा नपुंसकानाभिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

This debars the elision of न्, which otherwise would have taken place by the preceding sūtra. The examples of non-elision of न् in the Locative singular are to be found in the Vedas. As परमे व्यामन् (Rig. I. 164. 39), आर्द्धे चर्मन्, लोहिते चर्मन् ॥ Here the sign of the Locative, namely, ह (द्वि) is elided by VII. 1. 39. In the Vocative Singular, the न् is not elided, as हे राजन्, हे तसन् ॥

Q. When न् or the Vocative is elided, the preceding stem is no longer a Prātipadika, and the stem does not get the designation of एव before the affix but is अ, hence where is the necessity of making the present prohibitory rule, when the elision of न् would not have taken place in the Locative and Vocative singular, by any rule?

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

Vārt :—Prohibition of the prohibition must be stated, when the Locative word is followed by another word in a compound. That is, when a compound is a Locative Tatpurusha, the न् is elided : as, अर्मिणि तिला धस्य = अर्मि तिलः ॥

In हे राजपुरुषाक ! the first member राजन् does not retain its न् by the present sūtra, because the *whole* compound, as such, is in the Vocative case, and not the word राजन् ॥ In fact, there can be no compound, which in its analysis, will give the first member as a Vocative word.

Vārt :—Optionally so in the neuter nouns. As हे अर्मन्, हे अर्म !

मातुपधायाऽभ्यं मतोर्वौ यवादिभ्यः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ म, आत, उपधायाः, अ, मतोः, वौः, अ यवादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारान्ताद् मकारेपधाशवर्णान्तादवर्णोपधावौ चरस्य मतोर्वै इत्ययमादेशो भवति यवादिभ्यस्तु परतो न भवति ॥

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

After a stem ending in अ् or having अ् as its penultimate letter, and after a stem ending in अ or आ, or having these letters as its penultimate, there is substituted अ् for the अ् of मत् ॥ First after stems ending in अ्, as किंवत् (किंवान्), शंवत् (शंवान्). Secondly अ् penultimate : as शमीवान्, शाद्मीवान् ॥ Thirdly a stem ending in अ or आ, as वृक्षवान्, हृक्षवान्, खद्वावान्, मालवान् ॥ Fourthly अ or आ in the penultimate : as—पथस्वान्, यशस्वान्, भास्वान् ॥

Why do we say “अ or आ ending or अ or आ penultimate”? Observe अग्निमान्, वायुमान् ॥ Why do we say “with the exception of यव &c”? Observe यवमान्, शत्रिमान्, उर्मिमान् ॥

The following is the list of यवादि words.

१. यत्, २. इन्मि, ३. उर्मिं, ४. भूमि, ५. कृपि, ६. कुञ्चा, ७. वशा, ८. द्राक्षा, ९. ध्राक्षा ॥
 These words either end in म and अ or have these as their penultimate.
 १०. ध्रजि, ११. धवजि, १२. सम्बि. These are exceptions to VIII. 2. १५. १३. हरित,
 १४. कक्षत्, १५. गरुद् ॥ These are exceptions to VIII. 2. १०. १६. इष्टु, १७. मष्टु, १८. तुम,
 १९. मण्ड, २०. ध्रुम् ॥ These are exceptions to VIII. 2. ११.

This is an अकृतिगाना. Wherever in a word, the श् of मत् श् is not changed to श्, though the rules require it, that word should be classified under यथादि class. In the secondary word नार्मतं (= नृमत इं), the श् change has not taken place, because the अ is here a Bahiranga, the real vowel being ए ॥

The word नात् in the sūtra is the Ablative of म, i. e. of म्+अ; it is a Samāhāra Dvandva of these two letters.

श्यः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ श्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संशयन्तादुच्चरत्य मतोर्व इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

10. The श् is substituted for the म् of मत् after a stem ending in a mute consonant.

As अग्निचित्स्यात् यामः, उद्दिवस्यात् घोषः, विशुस्यात् वलाहकः, इन्द्रो मरुस्यात्, दृष्टात् देशः ॥

संश्यायाम् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ संश्यायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संश्यायां विषये मतोर्व इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

11. The श् is substituted for म् of मत्, when the word so formed is a Name.

As अहीवती, कपीवती, चक्रीवती, मुनीवती ॥ For long vowel, see VI. 3. १२०.

आसन्दीघदष्टुविष्वक्षीवत्कक्षीवत्तुमण्डुष्वर्मण्वती ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आसन्दीवत्,
 अष्टीवत्, चक्रीवत्, कक्षीवत्, रुमण्वत्, चर्मण्वती ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आसन्दीवद् अष्टीवत् चक्रीवत् कक्षीवद् रुमण्वत् चर्मण्वती इत्येतानि संश्यायां निपात्यन्ते ॥

12. The following Names are irregularly formed : असन्दीवत्, अष्टीवत्, चक्रीवत्, कक्षीवत्, रुमण्वत्, चर्मण्वती.

The change of म् to श् in these was obtained from the last sūtra. The irregularity consists in the substitutions of stems. आसन्दीवत्, is from the stem आसन् which is here changed to आसन्ती ॥ As आसन्दीवात् यामः, आसन्दीवद् अहिस्थलम् ॥ As in the following śloka :

आसन्दीवति धान्यादं दक्षिणं हरितप्रजाम् ।

अद्यं वर्षन्ध सारङ्गं देवेभ्यो जनमेज्यः ॥

When not a name, we have आसनवात् ॥ Others say, that there is a separate and distinct stem आसन्ती, as in the sentence औदुम्बरी राजासन्ती भवति ॥ The change of म् to श् after this word would take place regularly by the last sūtra : its mention here, according to these authors, is merely explanatory. 2. अष्टीवत् is from

आस्थि which is changed to अस्त्री ॥ As अस्त्रीवान् the name of a particular portion of body; the knee-joints. Otherwise अस्त्रियवान् ॥ 3. अक्रीवत् is from अक्र which is changed to अक्री, as अक्रीवान् राजा ॥ Otherwise we have अक्रवान् ॥ अक्रीवन्ति सरेहविद्वामानि भवन्ति is a Vedic example. It means सारस्ते सबेजङ्गमानि सदो हविर्धानानि, न एकवाविधिवानि, तानि तत्र तत्र कर्त्तव्यं अक्रुक्तानि भवन्ति ॥ 4. कस्त्रीवत् is from कस्त्रा, there is vocalisation of अ and the lengthening is by VI. 4. 2. कस्त्रीवान् is the name of a Rishi. Otherwise we have, कस्त्रावान् ॥ 5. लमण्वत् is from लवण which is changed to लमण् ॥ Otherwise we have लवणवान् ॥ Others say, that there is a distinct word लमण्, and the व् is not elided, but changed to ष् ॥ Or that the affix मत् takes the augment तुद् ॥ 6. अर्मण्वती is from अर्मन्, there is non-elision of न् and its change to ष् ॥ Or मत् has taken तुद् augment. The Charmanvati is the name of a river. Otherwise we have अर्मवती ॥

उदन्वानुदधौ च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदन्वान्, उदधौ, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उदन्वानित्युक्तशस्य मतानुशन्मात्रो निपात्यते उदधावर्यं सज्जायां विषये ॥

13. The word उदन्वान् is irregularly formed, in the sense of "a sea".

It is derived from उदक 'water' with the affix मत् ॥ उदन्वान् is the name of a Rishi, because he controlled the rains, it rained at his command. It also means ocean or that in which water is held, like सदाक &c. The affix क्ति is added by III. 3 93, and उदक changed to उद् by VI. 3. 58, and thus we have उदविः ॥ Why do we say "when meaning a sea"? Observe उदकवान् घटः 'a pot having water'. Here the main idea is not that of "holding or containing", but simply the general fact of possessing water: a human being may also possess water in the same way.

राजन्वान्सौराज्ये ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजन्वान्, सौराज्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ राजन्वानिति निपात्यते, सौराज्ये गम्यमाने ॥

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

The kingdom whose king is good is called राजन्वान् देशः, राजन्वती पृथ्वी ॥ The affix मत् is used here in the sense of प्रशंसा or praise. Otherwise राजवान् ॥ छन्दसीरः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसिति, इ, रः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये इवर्णन्ताद्रेकान्ताद्योन्तरस्य मतोद्विषयं भवति ॥

15. In the Chhandas अ् is substituted for the म् of मत्, when the stem ends in इ (or ई) or ई ॥

To take some examples of a stem ending in इ, as विवती आज्ञानुवाक्या भवति; हरितो मे हनं स्वा; अधिपति वती शुहोति; अतुरग्निवानिति; आरेवानेतु मा विशात् (आरेवान् from एवि with vocalisation). सरस्वतीवान्, भारतीवान्, इधीवांश्वरः ॥ As all rules have

optional force in the Chandas, we have no change here सप्तर्षमन्तम्, अषिमान्, अतीमान् सूर्ये ते यावापृथिवीमन्ते ॥ Of stems ending in र we have गीर्वान्, धूर्वान्, वाशीर्वान् ॥ अन्ते तुद ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, तुद ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसीते वर्तते इनन्तादुत्तरस्य मतोरुदागमो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

16. The affix मत् gets the augment तुद, in the Chandas, after a stem ending in अन् ॥

As अक्षण्वन्तः कर्णवन्तः सखायः; अस्थन्वन्तं यदनस्था विभक्तिः (Rig. I. 164. 4), अक्षण्वता लाङ्गलेन ; शीर्षण्वती, मूर्द्धन्वती ॥

The word अक्षण्वत् is thus formed : आसि + मतुष् = अक्ष् + अन् + मत् (अन् न् is substituted for the final of akshi by VII. I. 76) = अक्षमत् (the न् is elided by VIII. 2. 7). Now we add the augment तुद्। If this augment is added to मतुष्, as मतुष् then it becomes a portion of मतुष्, and this न् would be changed to ए by VIII. 3. 9 read with I. I. 54, and not the letter अ, because न् intervenes. If we add this augment to the end of the stem, then in अक्षण्वता &c. we cannot change it to अ because of the prohibition in VIII. 4. 37, and the augment being तुद्, the न् would be changed to ह by VIII. 3. 7 in सुपथिन्तरः &c (VIII. 2. 17). The first view, however, is the correct one and the difficulty in its acceptance is obviated by तुदोऽसिद्धस्वान् तस्य च वस्त्रं न भवति; ततः परस्य च भवति ; as shown above.

The तुद् augment being considered as asiddha, is not changed to अ, but the letter following it, is so changed. Thus अक्षम् (VII. I. 76) + मत् = अक्ष + मत् (the न् of the stem is elided by VIII. 2. 7). Add the augment तुद् now, and we have अक्ष + तुद् ॥ The augment according to VIII. 2. 1, is asiddha, so that according to VIII. 2. 9, ए is substituted for अ, and not for न्, as would have been required by I. I. 54.

नाद् घस्य ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नात्, घस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तादुत्तरस्य घसंजकस्य तुदागमो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

वास्तिकम् ॥ भूरिदान्नम् तुद् वन्नव्यः ॥ वा: ॥ रथिन ईकारान्तादेशो ष वरतः ॥

17. In the Chandas, the affixes तर् and तम् receive the augment तुद् after a stem in न् ॥

The affixes तरप् and तमप् are called ष ॥ Thus सुपथिन् + तर = सुपथि + तर (VIII. 2. 7) = सुपथि + नूतर (VIII. 2. 17) = सुपथिन्तरः ॥ So also इस्युहन्तमः ॥

Vart :—The augment तुद् is added to these affixes after भूरिदान्नम् ; as भूरिदान्तरः (III. 2. 74, the affix is वनिष्).

Vart :—Long ई is the substitute of the final of रथिन् before तर and तम ॥ The word रथिन् is formed by the affix इनि in the sense of मतुष् ॥ The final न् is first elided by VIII. 2. 7, and then for the short ई of रथि the long ई is substituted by the present वार्तिका. If the long ई were substituted for the final न् of रथिन् as रथीई + तर, then this long ई being asiddha, it could not be compounded by ekādeśa with the preceding ई into ई, and the form would always remain रथीईतरः ॥ As रथीतरः, and रथीतम् रथीनाम् ॥ Or this ई may be considered to have come after रथ in the sense of मतुष् ॥

कृपो रो लः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृपः, रः, लः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कृपार्थो गे रेक्षय लक्षारेक्षो भवति ॥
वाच्चिकम् ॥ कृपणकृपाणकृपीटकृपूरादयोपि क्रपेरेव द्वष्टव्याः ॥
वा० ॥ बालशूलशूलसुरालमहृगुलीनां वा रो उमापथ्यतद्विति वन्नव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ कपिलकाशीनां सत्ताळन्दसोर्वा रो लमापथ्यतद्विति वन्नव्यम् ॥

18. For the र of the root कृप्, there is substituted ल ॥

The र here merely indicates the sound, and includes both the single consonant र and the same consonant of the vowel ए ॥ So also with ल ॥ So that for the single र there is substituted ल; and for र when a portion of ए, the ल is substituted, i. e. ए becomes ल ॥ Thus कृप् = कृल्, as in the sūtra लुटि ए कृपः (I. 3. 93). कल्पा, कल्पारौ, कल्पारः ॥ कृल्, कृल्पवान् ॥

The word कृपा is derived from the root कृप् by vocalisation, as it has been enumerated in Bhidādi class (क्रपेः संप्रसारणं च III. 3. 104). The vocalised root-form कृप is not to be taken here, as it is a lakshana form.

Vart :—The words कृपण, कृपाण, कृपीट, कर्पूर &c, are also from कृप् ॥ Or by the Uṇādi diversity, the ल change does not take place.

Vart :—Optionally so of बाल &c. As, बालः or बारः, मूलम् or मूरम्, लघु or एषु, असुरः or असुलः, अलम् or अरम्, अहृगुलिः or अहृगुरिः ॥

Vart :—Optionally so in the Vedas, or when names, of कपिलका &c, as कपिरकः or कपिलकः, सित्पिलीकम् or तिर्पिलीकम्, लोमाणि or रोमाणि, पांशुरं or पांशुलं, कर्म or कल्प, शुकः or शुलः, कल्पयं, कर्मयं ॥

Some say 'र and ल are one': and operations regarding र may be performed with regard to ल ॥

उपसर्गस्यायतौ ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप उर्गस्य, अयतौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अयतौ परत उपसर्गस्य यो रेहस्तस्य लक्षार ए. इ. गो भवति ॥

19. ल is substituted for the र of a Preposition, when अयते follows.

Thus पलायते, सायते ॥ Here arises the question, does the word अयति qualify the word र, or does it qualify the word Preposition. In the first view, the sūtra would mean, "the र immediately followed by अयति is changed to ल" ॥ But as a matter of fact, र is never immediately followed by अयति ॥ Thus in प्र+अयति or परा+अयति, the letter अ and आ intervene respectively. The ekādeśa sandhi of these, will make र immediately followed by अयति; but the ekādeśa, being sthānivat will prevent it. This difficulty however, is overcome by the maxim येन नाव्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितेऽपि वचनप्रामाण्यात्, for otherwise the rule will be useless. For the same reasons, परि+अयते = पस्यते, though here ए intervenes between र and अयते ॥ In short, the intervention of one letter is considered as no intervention.

In the second view, the sūtra would mean when a Preposition is followed by ayat then its र is changed to ल, and none of these difficulties will arise

with regard to the above forms. But then would arise a fresh difficulty, for the र् of प्रति would also require to be changed into ल् ॥ Some say, that प्रति is never followed by अव्ययिते; while others hold that the form प्रत्ययते (प्रति + अव्ययते) is valid. According to the first view, the valid form is प्रत्ययते ॥ The स् of the Prepositions दुर् and निर् is changed to र्, but this र् is not changed to ल्, because it is asiddha: thus we have the forms निरव्ययम्, दुरव्ययम् ॥ But there is a preposition निर् also the र् of which is changed to ल्, as निलव्ययम् ॥ See VII. 2. 46. According to the Siddhānta Kaumudi, there is a Preposition दुर् also, which gives दुलव्ययते ॥

ओ यक्षि ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रः, यक्षि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गृ इत्येतस्व धातो रेक्ष्य लकार अविद्यो भवति यक्षि परतः ॥

20. ल् is substituted for the र् of गृ in the Intensive.

Thus निजेगिस्वते, निजेगित्येते, निजेगिस्वन्ते ॥ The root गृ takes वृ, when the sense of contempt is conveyed, with regard to the action denoted by the root, (III. 1. 24). गहितं गिलति – जेगिस्वते ॥

Some say that ग्र of the sūtra includes the two roots गृ (निरति Tud. 117) and गु (गृष्णाति Kry. 28). Others hold that the Tudādi grī is only taken and not the Kryādi. The Kryādi grī never takes the Intensive form, no example of which is to be met in literature.

Why do we say in the Intensive? Observe निर्गीर्यते with the Passive affix यक् ॥

अचिं विभाषा ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचिं, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजातो प्रत्यये परतो यो रेक्ष्य विभाषा लकारेत्तो भवति ॥

21. The र् of grī is optionally changed to ल् before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As निगिरति or निगिलति, निगरणम् or निगलनम्, निगारकः or निगालकः ॥

This is a vyavasthita-vibhāshā, the optional forms have particular meanings. Thus गलः meaning 'neck' is always with ल्; while गरः 'poison' is always with र्.

In निर्गीर्यते or निर्गास्वते, the elision of ग्रि is considered sthānivad, and hence this option, though the actual affix begins with व् ॥ Obj.—The sthānivad-bhāva rule is invalid here by VIII. 2. 1. Ans. The rule वृश्चाचासिञ्च does not hold good with regard to the rules of संयोगाविलोप, लस्व and जस्व on the maxim "तस्य शेषः संयोगाविलोपलस्वजस्वेषु" ॥

Or the र् will be *first* changed to ल्, as being antaraṅga, and then the ग्रि will be elided.

The forms निरौ, निरः are either from the Kryādi root grī, or इ-change has not taken place on the maxim धातोः स्वरूपप्रवृत्ते तत्प्रत्यये विज्ञानम्, and as the

affixes अ॒ औ अ॑: are not affixes which are ordained after a verb, but are affixes added to nouns, hence the ल change has not taken place. In fact the words 'an affix beginning with a vowel' in the sūtra, means "a verbal affix beginning with a vowel," and not a noun affix. These are the Dual and Plural of the Nominative case of यु formed with the affix विश्वः ॥

परेश्च घाङ्क्योः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः, च, घ-अङ्क्योः ॥
वृन्तः ॥ परि इत्येतस्य यो रेफस्स्य घश्वे उक्षावे च परतो विभाषा लकार आदेशो भवति ॥
वर्तिकम् ॥ योगं चोति वक्तव्यम् ॥

22. The र् of परि is changed to ल्, before gha and anka.

As परिषः or परिधः, पर्यङ्कः or पर्यङ्कः ॥ The word घ here means the word-form घ, and not the technical घ of सरप् and समप् ॥ See III. 3. 84 by which इत् is replaced by घ ॥

Vart:—So also, it must be stated, before the word योगः ॥ As, परियोगः or पलियोगः ॥

संयोगान्तस्य लोपः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संयोगान्तस्य, लोपः ॥
वृन्तः ॥ संयोगान्तस्य पदस्य लोपो भवति ॥

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

As गोमान्, ववमान्, कृतवान् and इतवान् ॥ In श्रेयान्, भूवान्, the न though subsequent in order, does not prevent the operation of this rule, because it is asiddha (VIII. 2. 66). Thus श्रेयस् + स् = श्रेयन्स् + स् (VII. 1. 70), = श्रेयन्स् (VI. 1. 68) = श्रेयन् (VIII. 2. 23) = श्रेयान् (VI. 4. 8). But though the रुप् does not debar lopa, it debars the ज्ञा change. By VIII. 2. 39, the final स् required to be changed to a letter of ज्ञा class; रु prevents it. As यज्ञः, पञ्चः ॥

For रुप् is ordained even where the present संयोगान्तलोप applies and where it does not apply. Thus it is ordained in श्रेयन् where the present sūtra applies, as well as in पञ्च् where this sūtra does not apply. But the ज्ञात् rule (VIII. 2. 39) covers the whole ground of रुप्, hence if ज्ञात् rule were not debarred by रुप्, the latter would find no scope. Therefore रुप् debars ज्ञात् to justify its existence, but it does not debar संयोगान्तलोपः for it still has scope left to it elsewhere.

In इत्यन् and मन्त्रन् formed from इत्य+अन् and मन्+अन्, by changing य् and न् to ल् and ल्, we have इत्य+अन् and मन्+अन्, where य् and ल् are final in a pada, and so they require to be elided. It is, however, not done, because यन् substitution is a Bahiranga operation, as it depends upon two words and consequently, is considered asiddha for the purposes of this rule, which depends on one word only.

Why do we say 'of a Pada'? Observe गोमन्तौ, गोमन्तः ॥

रात्सस्य ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्, सस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगान्तपदस्य यो रेफस्तस्मादुच्चरस्याल्पस्य सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

24. Of a word ending in a conjunct consonant, only स् is elided, if it comes after र; (but any other consonant coming after र is not elided).

Thus अक्षाः and अस्तः for अक्षार्द्ध and अस्तार्द्ध the Aorist of क्षर् and स्तर in the following passages: गोभिरक्षाः, प्रत्यञ्चमस्ताः ॥ The ईऽ is not added as a Vedic diversity. See VII. 3. 97.

So also मातुः, पितुः for मातुर्स्य and पितुर्स्य ॥ Here by VI. 1. 111, the क्ष+अ of मातु+अस् is changed to इ, which is followed by ए by I. 1. 51.

Though the final स् would have been elided even after ए by VIII. 2. 23, the special mention of स् after ए shows, that this is a niyama rule. So that any other letter than स् following after ए will not be dropped. Thus ङ्क्र from क्षर्द्ध+क्षिप् (III. 2. 177), here श् is not elided, though final in a pada, but is changed to a guttural by VIII. 2. 30, and to छ् by VIII. 4. 56. Also अमार्द्ध from सूज् in लहू the तिप् (त्) is elided by VI. 1. 18; there is व्रिद्धि by VII. 2. 114, the श् is changed to ए by VIII. 2. 36, which is changed to ए VIII. 4. 53 and finally to ए (चर्) ॥

धि च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ धि, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भकारादी प्रत्यये परतः सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

Kdrikā:—धि सकारे सिचो लोपश्चकाच्छीति प्रयोजनम् ।
अशार्द्धं तु कर्यं जश्चात्म सकारस्य भविष्यति ॥
सर्वमेवं प्रसिद्धं स्याच्छुतिभापि न विद्यते ।
ज्ञाहशापि न मूर्द्धन्ये महणं सेति हुष्यति ॥
घसिभसोर्न सिद्धेत तस्मास्तिक्षमहणं न तत् ।
छान्दसो वर्णलोपो वा व्येष्कचर्त्तरमभ्यरे ॥

25. The स् is dropped before an affix beginning with ध ॥

As अलविध्वम्, अलविद्वूम्, अपविध्वम्, अपविद्वूम् for अलविस्थव्यम् and अपविस्थव्यम् ॥ Had this स् (of सिच्) not been elided; then स् would be first changed to ए, and then to a letter of जश् class (VIII. 4. 53), ए would never be heard even optionally, though so required by VIII. 3. 79, but the forms would be always with ए, as अलविद्वूम् &c. ॥

From an *ishti*, the elision of स् is confined to the स् of the Aorist सिच्, and not to any other स् ॥ Thus स् is not elided in चकाच्छि in चकाच्छि पलिं शिरः (हे शिरः पलिं सच् चकाच्छि शोभस्तेवर्यः). It is the Imperative of चकास् the सिप् is changed to हि, and हि to धि (VI. 4. 101), and स् to ए by VIII. 4. 53. Similarly it does not apply to पथस् धावति, where स् is changed to ए and then to उ (VI. 1. 114)

—पयो धावति ॥ The elision of स् in सग्धिः from घस् with त्तिन्, and in बधान् from भस् in the Imperative with तास्, is a Vedic diversity. But according to Patanjali अकारिषि is the proper form; while in पयो धावति the antaranga ह debars this bahirangga स् elision.

Obj.—If so, how do you form आशाधं, by the elision of स् of शास्; for स् would not be elided? Ans.—The स् is not here elided but changed to ज॒ letter, by VIII. 2. 39. Obj. If so, स् may always be changed to ज॒ letter, and there is no need of eliding it; in pronouncing, it will make no difference, whether you pronounce with one consonant or two, e.g. आशाङ्ग॑म् or आशाध॑म् ॥ Moreover by so doing, you will shorten the sūtra VIII. 3. 78, by omitting the word लुह् from it. For the forms like अस्योऽहुम्, असोऽहुम्, will be evolved regularly by changing स् of सिच् to श्; and the ह after it will be changed to उ, and then उ changed to इ by ज॒त्वा (VIII. 4. 53). Ans.—So far it will be all right, but in सेद् Aorist we shall never get the alternative forms अलविद्वम् &c, though we may get the form अलविड्वम् (VIII. 3. 79). Therefore, the word सिच् should be taken.

Obj. —If सिच् is to be taken here, then the स् of घस् and भस् will not be dropped, and we shall not get the forms सग्धिः and बधान् in the passages सग्धिष्व मे उरीतिष्व मे, and बधान् ते हरीधानाः ॥ Therefore, the present sūtra should not be confined to सिच् only. Ans.—We shall explain सग्धिः by saying, that it is a word derived from सघ्, and so also बधान् from the root बन्ध् ॥

[N. B.—The word सग्धिः is generally thus derived; अट् + त्तिन् = घस् + ति (II. 4. 39) = शम् + ति (VI. 4. 100) = श् + ति (VIII. 2. 26). Had the present rule been confined to सिच्, the स् could not have been elided by VIII. 2. 26. See VI. 4. 100, where these two forms are developed]. Or we may explain these forms as Vedic irregularity, by which letters are sometimes dropped, and so घस् and भस् have lost their स् ॥ That letters are sometimes dropped in the Chandas, we see in passages like the following इष्कत्तारमण्डरे for निष्कत्तारमण्डरे; तुभेदमग्ने for तुभ्यमिदमग्ने; आम्बानां चहः for नाम्बानां चहः; अव्याखिनी हग्णः or अव्याखिनीः द्वुग्णाः ॥

The above discussion is summarised in the following

Kārikā:—घिसकारे सिचोलोपशक्काङ्गीति प्रयोजनम्, “This rule is confined to the elision of the स् of सिच् only, for the sake of preserving the स् in अकारिषि” ॥

आशाधं तु कर्य? अभ्यत्वं सकारस्य भविष्यति ॥ “How then do you form आशाधं by the elision of स्? The स् is not elided but changed to a ज॒ letter”.

सर्वत्रेवं प्रसिद्धं स्थाच्, लुति आपि न विद्यते । लुड्डापि न मूर्खत्वे प्रहणं सेदि तुष्ट्वाति ॥ “If this be so, then let ज॒ come every where, for there is no difference in sound, moreover this will shorten VIII. 3. 78 by omitting the word लुह् from it. The ज॒ cannot come every where, as the difficulty will be in सेद् Aorist”. पसि भसोर्न सिच्छेत्, तस्मात् सिच् प्रहणं न तत् । “The forms सग्धिः and बधान् could not be formed

from श्व and भृ if the elision of स् were confined to सिद्ध. Hence सिद्ध should not be read into this sūtra."

तान्दसो वर्णलोपो वा येष्कत्तर्मध्ये "The elision of स् in सम्बिः and वर्णां will be explained as a Vedic anomaly, for letters are often dropped in Vedic forms, as in इष्कत्तर्मध्ये instead of निष्कत्तर्मध्ये ॥"

श्लो श्लिः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्लो, श्लिः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ श्ल उत्तरस्य सकारस्य श्लिपते लोपो भवति ॥

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

Thus अभिस्त for अभिस्त, अभिस्थाः for अभिस्तथाः ॥ So also आच्छित्त, अच्छित्तथाः, अवाचाम्, अवात् ॥ The last example may also be explained by VII. 4. 49; the elision of the स of किद्ध being considered as asiddha, the स of the root is changed to त् ॥

Why do we say 'of a *jhal* consonant'? Observe अभंत्त and अमंत्याः ॥ Why do we say followed by a *jhal* consonant? Observe आभिस्तात्ताम्, अभिस्तत् ॥

The स of this sūtra refers also to the स of सिद्ध; no other स is elided. As सीममष्टुत् स्तोता; ईष्टुत् स्थानम् ॥ Here the स of स्तोता and स्थानं, though preceded by a *jhal* letter स्, could never be elided as they do not form portion of *one* word.

हस्त्वादङ्गात् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्त्वात्, अङ्गात् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हस्त्वात्तावङ्गादुत्तरस्य सकारस्यलोपो भवति श्लिपते ॥

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

As अकृत्; अहयाः ॥ Why do we say after a short vowel stem? Observe अच्छोट्, अझोट् ॥ Why do we say 'after a stem'? Observe अकृथाः, अलाविदाम्, अलाविषुः अपाविदाम् and अपाविषुः ॥ Why do we say "before an affix beginning with a *jhal*"? Observe अकृषासाम्, अकृषत् ॥

This lopa is also of the सिद्ध, therefore not here हितां, हितमाम् ॥ Here to the word हि is added the affix मुष् (V. 4. 18), and then the comparative affixes तर and तम with आम् (V. 4. 11). This स् is not dropped.

इट ईटि ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इटः, ईटि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इट उत्तरस्य सकारस्य लोपो भवति ईटि पतः ॥

28. The स् is dropped after the augment इट्, if after this स् the augment ईट् follows.

Thus the Aorist-stem of लू is अलापिष् (III. 1. 44; VII. 2. 35), the Personal ending स् gets the augment ईट् by VII. 3. 96; and by the present

sūtra, this श between त् and क् is dropped, and we have अलार्ति॒; so also, अशी॒त्, असी॒त्, अकोषी॒त्, अमोषी॒त् ॥

Why do we say 'after the augment इ॒' ? Observe अकार्षी॒त्, अहार्षी॒त् ॥ Why when the augment इ॒ follows ? Observe अलाविद्या॒ष अलाविषुः ॥

स्कोः संयोगाद्योरन्ते च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्कोः, संयोग-आद्योः, अन्ते, च ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्यान्ते थः संयोगः शालि परते वा संयोगस्तश्योः सकारककारयोनेषो भवते ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ शैलि सङ्गीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

A conjunct consonant, having स् or क् as its first member, when coming at the end of a Pada, or when followed by a jhal beginning affix, loses its स् or क् ॥ Thus from the root लस्त् we have लग्नः and लग्नवान् before the jhal affix त् and तवत् ; the substitution of त् for त् is considered asiddha for this purpose (VIII. 2. 1). So also साखुल्क् at the end of a Pada. Similarly मग्नः मग्नवान्, साखुमङ् from मस्त् ॥ So also with initial क्, as तद् from तस् ; so also तटः, तटवान्, काष्ठतद् ॥

Vārtika :— It should be rather stated that "before a jhal affix included in the pratyahāra सह" ॥ The सह is a pratyahāra formed with the स् of सक् (III. 1. 5) and the ह् of महिह् (III. 4. 78). It thus includes all the kṛit affixes, and dhātu affixes i. e. affixes which come after a verb and not the Taddhita or the Feminine affixes. This Vārtika applies to all the preceding sūtras of this sub-division and is of use in the following places.

गिरी॒ भोधिर्द्विर्दृणं च दृष्टस्यः काष्ठशकूस्थिरः । कुञ्जचाषुर्वेति मा स्तैऽु सत्वासीनि भवांस्मिति ॥

So that in गिरः there should not be the optional ल् by VIII. 2. 21. In अभोषिः, the स् of अभस् is not elided before विः as required by VIII. 2. 25. In द्विर्दृणं the rule VIII. 2. 27 does not apply. In दृष्टस्यः the rule VIII. 2. 26 does not apply. In काष्ठशकूस्थिरः the rule VIII. 2. 29 is non-applicable. In कुञ्जचा the rule VIII. 2. 30 does not apply. In शुर्धः (धुरं वहति) there is not lengthening by VIII. 2. 77. Thus काष्ठशकूस्थाता ॥ Here क् would require to be elided as initial in a consonant, followed by a jhal consonant थ ॥ काष्ठशक् is formed by adding क्रिष् to शक् ॥ But according to Patanjali, there can be formed no valid word from शक् with क्रिष्, *a fortiori*, no such word can be formed as काष्ठशकूस्थाता (काष्ठशकि तिष्ठति).

In वास्त्वर्थम्, काक्षर्थम्, the स् and क् are not elided, because थ् is a Bahiranga substitute and asiddha, and the word वास्त्व काक्षम् are not considered as Pada, ending in a conjunct consonant.

Why do we say "of स् and क्" ? Observe नर्मसि, वर्षसि ॥

Why do we say 'initial in a conjunct consonant' ? Observe पथः शक् ॥

Why do we say 'at the end of a word' ? Observe तक्षिता, तक्षकः ॥

चोः कुः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ चोः, कुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चवर्गस्य कवर्गावेशो भवति शालि परतः पदान्ते च ॥

30. A Guttural is substituted for a Palatal, before a *jhal* affix, or at the end of a word.

Thus पञ्च, पञ्चुम्, पञ्चव्याम् and धोइनपक् from पञ् ॥ Similarly वन्त्र, वन्त्रम्, वन्त्रव्याम् and वाक् ॥

In कुञ्चा the feminine in दाप् of कुञ्च (कुञ्च) by IV. 1. 4 list, the ञ् a palatal is followed by च् a jhal letter, and therefore, it should be changed to a guttural. It is not so, because Pāṇini himself uses this word, in this form, in sūtra III. 2. 59. Or because the rule is confined to सह affixes only. Or the root is कुञ्च without इ and with a penultimate त्, and not ञ् as we find in Dhātu-pāṭha कुञ्च कौटिल्याल्पी भावयोः (Bhu. 200). With the elision of त् we have निकृचितिः before the निश् affix (VI. 4. 24) कृचितः in Past Part. and अचोक्तुम् ॥ In निकृचितम् we cannot have the optional कित् of the Nishṭhā by I. 2. 21, because the elision of the penultimate त् by VI. 4. 24 preceded on the basis of the affix being कित्, thus कृच्+त्त्=कृच्+त् ॥ This elision of त्, will not make the root उद्यपथा for the purposes of the application of rule I. 2. 21, on the maxim सन्मिपासलभणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विधातस्व ॥ In fact, one of the reasons on which this maxim is based, is this very fact, that the elision of त् does not make the root उद्यपथा for the purposes of making the affix non-कित् ॥ The affix निश् takes the augment इत् under VII. 2. 9 (vārt). The word कुञ्च is formed from this root by कृच् affix (III. 2. 59): the final च् is first elided by VIII. 2. 23, and then ञ् is changed to ह् by VIII. 2. 62. The rule VI. 4. 24 thus finds no scope here.

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

हो ढः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, ढः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हकारस्य डकारादेशो भवति क्षमि परतः पदान्ते च ॥

31. **ਤ** is substituted for **ਤ** before a jhal letter and at the end of a word.

Thus सोडा, सोडुम्, सोडव्याद् ॥ The इ॒ट is not added by VII. 2. 48, जलशाद्, तुराशाद् by विष (III. 2. 63, VI. 3. 137 and VIII. 3. 56) बोडा, सोडुम्, सोडव्याद्, प्रष्टव्याद्, रित्यव्याद् (III. 2. 64) from सह and वह, with the affixes न्, तुम्, तत्पव्य and विष ॥ For the त् of these affixes there is substituted ख् by VIII. 2. 40, and this ख् is changed to छ् by VIII. 4. 41, before which is dropped the first छ् by VIII. 3. 13. For the त् in प्रष्टव्याद् either ख् is substituted by VIII. 2. 39, or ख् by VIII. 4. 56.

दादेधातोर्धः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द-आदेः, धातोः, घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इकारोदधातोऽकारस्य घकारोदेषो भवति स्मालि परतः पश्चान्ते ॥

32. Of a root beginning with ए, the ए is substituted for ए, before a jhal letter or when final in a Pada.

For the final त् of a त्-beginning root, ष is substituted under similar circumstances. As दग्धा, दग्धुम्, दग्धव्यय्, काष्ठधक्, दोग्धा, देग्धुम्, देग्धव्यय्, गोग्धक्, from त् and तुह् ॥ For the त् of the affixes त् &c. ष is substituted by VIII. 2. 40, before which, the ष becomes ग् by VIII. 4. 53. For the ष in काष्ठदृश् is substituted ग् by VIII. 2. 39, or त् by VIII. 4. 56, and इ becomes ष by VIII. 2. 37.

Why do we say "of a root beginning with त्"? Observe लेडा, लेतुम्, लेत्वन्वय्, शुदेलिह् ॥

The force of the genitive case in भासोः is not to make it in apposition with the word शब्दः, but it has the force of denoting a part as related to the whole: so that it means "the word which begins with त् and forms part of a root, for the त् of such a part is substituted ष." What does follow from it? The letter ष is substituted in अथेण् also, which begins with ष ॥ For without the above explanation (भासेऽत्यवयो यो शिद्विष्टस्तत्पवयस्त्व एकारस्य &c), the ष would have come in examples like मास्म धीक्, without the augment ष, but not where there was the augment ष ॥ Moreover, that it is an अवयवयोगा षठी will appear necessary in sūtra VIII. 2. 37.

If it has the force of denoting a 'portion or member', how do you explain in the forms शेन्धा, शेन्धुम्, for here no portion is taken but the whole word? This will be explained on the maxim of व्यपरोपित् भावः "An operation which affects something on account of some special designation, which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone, and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach". (व्यपरोपित् एकास्ति) ॥ Or we may explain the sūtra, by saying 'that root which begins with त् in its original enunciation in Dhātupāṭha'? Thus in original enunciation the root is लिह् not beginning with त् ॥ If a Derivative root be formed from it like शमलिह् (शमलिहमिष्टाति = शमलिहाति), it is a root which begins with त्; the त् of this Denominative root, however, will not be changed to ष, for it is not a root of upadeśa. Therefore, when we add विह् to this root, we get शमलिह् by VIII. 2. 31, and not शमलिष् ॥

वा तुहम्बुह्णुहणिहाम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, तुह, मुह, ष्णुह, ष्णिहाम् ॥
तुहिः ॥ नह तुह ष्णुह ष्णिह इत्येतेषां भासुनां एकारस्य वा घकारसिधो भवति शलि परतः पशाते ष ॥

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

Thus तुहः, त्रोडा or द्रोग्धा, मित्तधुक्, मित्तधुद्, त्तुह, उम्मोडा, उम्मुह, उम्मुद्, त्तुह, उम्मोग्धा, उम्मोडा, उम्मुक्, उम्मुद्, त्तिह, देग्धा, देता, त्तिक्, त्तिह ॥

The root तुह would have taken always ष by the last sūtra, this makes it optional. The others would not have got ष but for this sūtra.

These roots belong to Radhādi sub-class of Divādi gaṇa: and are

taught there in this very order (Div. 89-91). By belonging to Radhādi subdivision, the इह is optional (VII. 2. 45). Instead of making the sūtra वाहृहसीनाम्, this longer formation of the aphorism indicates that the rule applies to वह्निक् also; as वेष्टक् or वेष्टद् ॥ See VII. 1. 6, for if the roots were taught not specifically but by गण, then the rule would not apply to यान् luk.

नहो धः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नहः, धः ॥

हृतिः ॥ नहो इकारस्य धकारादेशो भवति ह्यलि परे पशन्ते अ ॥

34. The ए of नह् is changed to अ before a *jhal* letter or at the end of a word.

As नहा, नहुम्, नहूष्यम्, उपानह्, परीजनह् ॥ The त् of the affixes त् &c, is changed to अ by VIII. 2. 40; and for the preceding अ is substituted ए by VIII. 4. 53. उपानह् is formed by VIII. 2. 39, read with VIII. 4. 56. परीजनह् is formed by विष्ट् as it belongs to सम्बशादि class, the lengthening is by VI. 3. 116, and अ-change by VIII. 4. 14. It would have shortened the processes of transformation, had only ए been ordained in the sūtra, instead of अ; but the ordaining of अ is for the purposes of VIII. 2. 40, by which there should be अ for the participial त् &c, in नहूष्यम्, and that there should not be the change of this Nishṭhā त् into अ by VIII. 2. 42. Thus नह्+त्=नह्+अ (VIII. 2. 40)=नहु-अम् (VIII. 4. 53). But had the substitute been ए, we should have नह्+त्=नहं by VIII. 2. 42.

आहृस्थः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आहः, अः ॥

हृतिः ॥ भावो इकारस्य यकारादेशो भवति ह्यलि परतः ॥

वास्तिकम् ॥ हप्तो र्भवत्तन्वसि हस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

35. For the ए of the root आह्, there is substituted अ before a *jhal* letter.

As इहमास्य, किमास्य ॥ The word आस्य becomes आस्य by VIII. 4. 55. Why has the last mentioned substitute अ not been ordained here, for this अ would also have given the form आस्य by चर change, as the अ is also changed to ए; and by so doing there would have been only one sūtra, instead of two i.e. आहनहो अ �would have been enough? Making this separate substitute, is for the sake of indicating that the rule VIII. 2. 40, does not apply here. For had VIII. 2. 40, still applied, the substitute अ of the last sūtra would have been enough. The त् substitute, however, would have been the best.

The word ह्यलि is understood here. Hence there is no change before vowel affixes, as आह, आहतुः, आहः ॥

Vart:— In the Chandas, अ is substituted for the ए of ए and अह ॥ Thus गर्दमेन एभरति; मरुवस्य गृणाति; सामिधेन्यो जधिरे, उद्यामङ्ग्य निमामङ्ग्य ब्रह्म देवा अवीवृधन् ॥

ब्रध्मस्यसूजमृजयजराजभ्राजच्छदां अः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रध्म, भ्रस्य, सूज, मृज, यज, राज, भ्राज, छ, शाम्, अः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्रथ भ्रस्ज सृज यज राज भ्राज इत्येतेषां छकारान्तानां शकारान्तानां च षकार आदेशो भवति
शालि परतः पशान्ते च ॥

36. For the final consonants of vrasch, bhrasj, s̄t̄ij
m̄t̄ij, yaj, r̄t̄j, and bhr̄t̄j, and for the final छ and श, there is
substituted ष before a *jhal* letter, or at the end of a word.

Thus व्रहचः—व्रष्टा, व्रहुम्, व्रहृष्यम् मूलवृद् ॥ भ्रष्टा । भ्रहुम् । भ्रहृष्यम् । धानाष्टद् । सृज् ।
स्त्रा । स्त्रुम् । स्त्रृष्यम् । रज्ञसृद् । यज् । मार्दा । मार्दुम् । मार्दृष्यम् । कंसपरिष्टद् । यज् । बदा । बहुम् ।
बहृष्यम् । उपयद् । राज् । सद्वाद् । स्वराद्, विराद्, विभ्राद् ॥ The श ending words would have
been changed to ज्ञ-letters and the others to Gutturals; this sūtra debars
that by ordaining ष ॥ In मूलवृद् and धानाष्टद् there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 16, the
ष is elided by VIII. 2. 19, and ष becomes ज्ञ-letter इ, which becomes ई by
VIII. 4. 56. The word शब्दप्राद् is formed by विश्प, there is lengthening and
no vocalisation.

The roots राज् and भ्राज् are never followed by a *jhal* beginning affix,
because such affixes will always take इ॒ augment. These roots are, therefore,
mentioned here, for the sake of the change of their ष to ष, when at the end of
a word. Some, however, form nouns like राष्ट्रिः, भ्राष्ट्रिः with लिङ् affix from these
roots by III. 3. 94, vārt, and इ॒ augment is prevented by VII. 2. 9.

Of roots ending in छ we have प्रण्डः—प्रेष्टा, प्रहुम्, प्रहृष्यम्, शब्दप्राद् ॥ According
to one view, the letter छ should not be mentioned in this sūtra: for by VI.
4. 19, छ is always changed to ष, and this ष will be changed to ष by the present
sūtra. Others hold, that the change of छ to ष by VI. 4. 19 is confined before
किंत् or किंत् affixes, and therefore the mention of छ is necessary in this sūtra;
moreover the ष substitution here, and the ष substitution in VI. 4. 19. refer to
the conjunct letter त्तु (with the augment त्तुक्). For if it were not so, then
छ alone being changed to ष, the त् of त्तुक् would be changed to इ, and we should
have पृद्धः instead of पृष्टः ॥

Of roots ending in श we have लिशः—लेष्टा, लेहुम्, लेहृष्यम्, लिद्; विशः—वैष्टा,
वेहुम्, वेहृष्यम्, विद् ॥

एकाचो बशो भृत् श्वसन्तस्य स्थ्वोः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक-अच्चः, बशः, भृत्,
श्वस-अन्तस्य, स्, ध्वोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरवयवो य एकाच् श्वसन्तः तदवयवस्य बशः स्थाने भृत् आदेशो भवति शालि सकारे अवश्ये
च परतः पशान्ते च ॥

37. For the letters ष, ग, छ or त् in the beginning
of a monosyllable, and belonging to a root, and which ends
in श, भ, ध, त् or ध्व, there is substituted भ, ध, छ or ध
respectively, before स or ध्व, or at the end of a pada (word).

Thus from गुह्—गोस्त्वन्ते, गभुष्यम् and गर्यभुद्; from त्तुह्—त्ति धोश्यते त्तुषुद्,
पर्णषुद् ॥ त्तुह् becomes त्तुष् by VIII. 2. 31, and thus it is a root ending in jhash.

From तुह—(which becomes तुध by VIII. 2. 32, and thus is a jhash ending root) धोस्यते अदुग्धवद्, गोधुक् ॥

So also from गृध् we have अजर्धः the 2nd Person. Sing. Imperfect (लह) Intensive (yah luk). There is guṇa of ध्, the स् (of सिं 2nd Pers. Sing.) is elided (VI. 1. 68), and we have अजर्धि, and for the letter ग of the monosyllabic root, ध् is substituted by the present aphorism. अजर्ध॑ ॥ Then the final ध् is changed to द्, अजर्ध॒ (VIII. 2. 39). Then द् is changed to र् by VIII. 2. 75, अजर्ध॒ ॥ Then the first र् is elided अजर्ध॒ (VIII. 3. 14). Then there is lengthening by VI. 3. 111, and we have अजर्धः ॥

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

Why do we say "a monosyllable beginning with वश् and ending with वश्?" Observe वामलिङ् from the Denominative root वामलिङ् ॥ For had एकाचः not been employed in the sūtra, the word वातोः (VIII. 2. 32) would have qualified वशः and the sūtra would have meant "in a root which ended in a jhash, and which contained a वश् letter as its member; there is jhash substitution for such वश्", and the द् of वामलिङ् would be changed then.

Why do we say "for a वश् letter"? Observe त्रुध—क्रोस्यति here क् is not changed to ध् ॥ Why do we say ending in jhash? Observe वास्यति ॥ Why before स् and वश्? Observe वोद्धा, वोद्धुम्, वोद्धवद् ॥

Why have we taken वश् and not merely ध्? Observe वाशि from वश् in the वह लुक्, Imperative 2nd Per. singular, the वि being changed to वि (VI. 4. 101). The substitutes are four ध, ध, द् and व, and their respective sthānins are also four, i. e. व, व, द् and व; so that व् is the substitute of व; but, as a matter of fact, व् never so stands at the beginning of a monosyllable, and so there is no व् substitution.

दधस्तथोध्न ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दधः, त, थोः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दध इति दधाति: क्रतद्विरचनो निर्विवते। तस्य वालत्तस्य वशः स्याने भव् आवेशो भवति तकार-यकार्योः परतम्भकारात् स्थानं परतः ॥

38. For the द् of दध (the reduplicated form of धा) is substituted ध, before the affixes beginning with त, थ, स् and before वशम् ॥

The word दध is taken in the sūtra as the reduplicated form of धा दधाति and not the root दध धारणे of Bhuādi class, as वश् intervenes there. By the word वश् we draw in the words स् and वश् ॥ Thus धनः, धस्य, धस्त्व, धश्वम् ॥ By the express injunction of this sūtra, the elided ध is not

considered as sthānivat. The last sūtra could not have applied to ध for two reasons. 1st. It does not begin with a ध letter, for the real reduplicate is धध, and ध is merely a substitute, and is considered asiddha. 2ndly. The form धध does not end in a jhash consonant, but in a vowel अ, and though this अ is elided before these affixes, yet the lopa would be sthānivat. Hence the necessity of अ in this sūtra. See coutra, the vārtika in Mahābhāshya.

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

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

श्लां जशोन्ते ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्लां, जशः, अन्ते ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ श्लां जश आदेश भवन्ति पदस्यान्ते वर्तमानानाम् ॥

39. A corresponding झ, ख, ग, ङ or ङ is substituted for all consonants (with the exception of semivowels and nasals) at the end of a word.

As वाग् अन्त, श्लिह् अन्त, अग्निचिद् अन्त, चिदुह् अन्त ॥ The word श्लिद् is formed by changing the ह of लिह् to उ first, and then changing this उ to ङ, a jaś-letter.

The word अन्त 'at the end' is used in the sūtra to indicate that the anuvṛitti of श्लि ceases. Thus वस्ता, वस्तुम्, वस्तव्यम् ॥

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

शष्टस्तथोद्धो धः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ श्लः, त-योः, धः, अधः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शष्ट उत्तरयोस्तकारथकारयो स्थाने धकार आदेशो भवति ॥

40. ध is substituted for त or थ coming after स, भ, घ, ङ or थ (jhash), but not after the root धा (धृ) ॥

Thus from लभ् we have लधा, लधुम्, लधव्यम्, अलध, अलधाः ॥

The ध of लभ् is changed to ध by VIII. 4. 53. From तुहः—दोग्धा, शोग्धुम्, अदुग्ध, अदुग्धाः ॥ The त is changed to थ by VIII. 2. 32, and then it is changed to ग by VIII. 4. 53.

From लिहः—लेहा, लेहुन्, लेहव्यत्, अलीढ़, अलीहः ॥ In लेहृ &c, the त is changed to त by VIII. 2. 31, and ध changed to त by VIII. 4. 41, before which the preceding त is elided by VIII. 3. 13.

From तुधः—बोद्धा, बोद्धुम्, बोद्धव्यत्, अदुज़, अदुहः ॥ For the ध of तुध there is substituted त by VIII. 4. 53.

Why do we say "but not after the root धा"? Observe धत्, धर्थः ॥

षटोः कः सि ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ षटोः, कः, सि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पकारदकार्योः ककारपेशो भवति सकारं परतः ॥

41. क is substituted for त or ठ before स ॥

Thus for त of विष् we have विषेष्यते, अविष्यत्, विविषति ॥ For ठ of लिह (लिड VIII. 2. 31) we have लेहति, अलेहत्, लिलिहतिं ॥

For the स of the affix स्य &c, is substituted त by VIII. 3. 59.

Why do we say "before स"? Observe पिनटि, लेहि ॥

रदाभ्यां निष्ठातो नः पूर्वस्य च दः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रदाभ्याम्, निष्ठातः, नः, पूर्वस्य, च, दः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफङ्काराभास्त्रनस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकार अविशो भवति । पूर्वस्य चकारस्य ॥

42. After त and द, for the त of the Participial suffix त and तवत्, there is substituted न, and the same substitution takes place also for the preceding ठ ॥

After तः—आस्तीर्णव्, विस्तीर्णव्, विशीर्णव्, विगीर्णव्, अवगूर्णव् ॥

After ठः—भिन्नः, भिन्नवान्, छिन्नः, छिन्नवान् from भिन् and छिन् ॥

Why do we say "after त and द"? Observe कृतः, कृतवान् ॥ The word त here does not denote the common *sound* त, which would include त् also, but the consonant त ॥ But even if त् be taken a common sound-name including त् and त्, yet the त् change does not take place in कृत् &c, because between त् and the त्-sound, there intervenes vowel-sound इ, for त् is sounded not like pure त्, but त्+a vowel sound.

Why do we say "of the Participial suffix"? Observe कर्ता, हस्ता ॥

Why do we say "for the त"? Observe चरितव्, हरितव् ॥ Here the त of the Nish्ठā does not follow *immediately* after त, the augment इत् intervenes.

Why do we say "of the preceding"? The succeeding त will not be changed. As भिन्नवद्याम्, भिन्नवद्धिः ॥

In the word कार्ति: the descendant of कृतः the त of Nish्ठā is immediately preceded by त्, but no change has taken place, because the Vṛiddhi, by which कृ is changed to कार्, is Bahiranga and consequently asiddha, and for the purposes of त change, the त् so obtained is invalid.

संयोगादेरातो धातोर्यण्वतः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संयोग-आदेः, आतः, धातोः, यण्वतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबोगारिको धातुराकारान्तो व्यञ्जान् तस्मादुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य मकारोदेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus from ग्रा we have प्रद्राजः, प्रद्राजवान् ॥ ग्लानः, ग्लानवान् from ग्ला ॥ These roots ग्रा and ग्ला end in आ, have a conjunct consonant in the beginning, one of which is a semi-vowel र and ल ॥

Why do we say "beginning with a double-consonant"? Observe वासः, वातवान् ॥

Why do we say "ending in आ"? Observe चुतः, च्युतवान्; प्लृतः, प्लृतवान् ॥

Why do we say "after a root"? Observe निर्बातः, निर्बातः ॥ For the roots here वा and वा do not begin with a conjunct consonant, and that which is a conjunct i. e. र्षि and र्षि is not a root, hence the rule does not apply.

Why do we say "having a व्यञ्ज or semi-vowel"? Observe स्नातः, स्नातवान् ॥

ल्वादिभ्यः ॥ ४४ ॥ पद्धनि ॥ छू-आदिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लूम् छेदने इत्येतत्प्रश्नति तु वरण इति वावत् वृक्षरणेन समापिता ल्वादयो गृष्णन्ते । तेभ्य उत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य मकारोदेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वृक्षादरस्यादिभ्यः निर्भित्तिवृक्षपतीति वृक्षभ्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ दुग्धोर्धिर्धेति वृक्षभ्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ पूर्णो विनाशादिति वृक्षभ्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ सिनोत्तिर्पासकर्मकर्त्त्वेति वृक्षभ्यम् ॥

44. The त of Nish्ठिः is changed to न, after the roots लू and those that follow it.

These roots belong to Kryādi class, and commence from लूम् छेदने (IX. 13) and end with तु वरण (IX. 32).

Thus लूनः, लूनवान्, लूमः, लूनवान्, जीवः, जीववान् from वरा the vocalisation is by VI. I. 16.

Vart :—After a root ending in लू or लू and after a root of Luādi class, the त of the affix निर्भि is changed to न, like as in Nish्ठā. Thus कीर्णि:, गीर्णि:, शीर्णि:, लूनि:, पूनि: ॥ These are from कृ (IX. 26), गृ (IX. 28), शृ (IX. 18), लू and पूम् ॥

Vart :—The vowel of the roots तु गतौ (Bhu. 991) and तु (Bhu. 997), are lengthened before the Nish्ठā which is changed to न ॥ As आतूनः, विगूनः ॥

Vart :—The न change takes place after पूम् 'to destroy' (Bhu. 1015). As पूना वरा :—विनदा: ॥ But पूतं धान्यं from पूम् 'to purify' (IX. 12).

Vart :—The same change takes place after the root सि वन्धने of Svādi class (2) when used in a Reflexive sense of becoming a morsel fit for swallowing. As सिनो भासः स्ववन्धेत् i.e. where a morsel by being mixed with curd, condiments &c, becomes rounded of itself, there this form is used. वध्यमानः पिण्डीक्रियमाणो भासः, वरा वध्यादिव्यज्ञन वशेन तथानुकूल्यं प्रतिपथते तथाऽव्यप्तं प्रयोगः ॥ But

when not used in this sense, we have सिता पारेन सूकरी ॥ Moreover, the प्राप्त must be the object and not the subject of the verb. Therefore not here: सितो भासो देवदत्तेन ॥

ओदितम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओदितः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओकारेतो धत्तो हस्तरस्य निष्ठात्कारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus ओलज्जी—लग्नः, लग्नवान्, ओविजी—उविग्नः, उविग्नवान् ॥ ओव्यादी वृज्जौः—आपीनः, आ पीनवान् ॥

The roots सूक्ष्म प्राणिप्रसवे (Div. 24) &c. are considered as ओदित् ॥ Thus, सूनः, सूनवान्; तूह—तूनः, तूनवान्; रीह—रीनः, रीनवान्; डीह—डीनः, डीनवान्; धीह—धीनः, धीनवान्; मीह—मीनः, मीनवान्; रीह—रीणः, रीणवान्, लीह—लीनः, लीनवान्, व्रीह—व्रीणः, व्रीणवान् ॥

क्षियो दीर्घात् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षियः, दीर्घात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षियो धातोर्धिर्थादुस्तरस्य निष्ठात्कारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus क्षीणः, क्षेत्रः; क्षीणो जात्मः; क्षीणस्तपस्वी ॥ The vowel of क्षि is lengthened by VI. 4. 60 and 61.

Why do we say 'when the vowel is lengthened'? Observe अस्तित्वसि नामेतेषाः ॥ The word अस्तित्वं is formed with त्वं in the sense of भाव and means 'imperishable'. The Nish्ठः being added in the sense of ज्यात्, there is no lengthening of the vowel by VI. 4. 60.

The root इत includes the two roots क्षि क्षये and क्षि निवांसगत्यैः ॥ As क्षितः कामो मत्य ॥ See also the commentary of Sāyana on अस्तित्वैतिः सतेऽन्तिं वाज्ञमिन्द्रः सहस्रिणैः ॥ (Rig I. 5. 9).

Obj:—The form क्षियः in the sūtra is the Genitive singular of the root-noun क्षि ending in long ई, and will denote the root क्षि ending in long ई according to the maxim प्रकृतिवदत्तुकरणं भवति "an imitative name (as क्षि here) is like its original (the root क्षि)". What is then the necessity of employing the word दीर्घात् in the sūtra? For had the root क्षि with short ई been meant, the form would have been क्षिः ॥

Ans.—The dhātu imitative noun though taking इयह् (VI. 4. 77) as in क्षियः, includes the dhātu ending in short ई also, as in sūtra VI. 4. 59, 60 where क्षि ending in short ई is taken.

Q. If a root ending in short vowel may also be indicated by an imitative name, declined with इयह् augment, then why is the root इत्र exhibited in sūtra I. 3. 19 as इत्रः instead of इत्रियः i. e. the sūtra ought to have been वि पराम्बां इत्रः? and not वि पराम्बां इत्रियः?

Ans. Here the word जि is not used as a dhātu-imitative word, there is no intention here to denote the verbal idea of the particular act connoted by the root जि; on the contrary, it simply expresses the *mere form* जि ॥

इयो उपर्यै ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इयः, अ-उपर्यै ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयात्तेहत्तरस्य निष्ठात्कारस्यात्पर्ये नकार आदेशो भवति ॥

47. The Nishṭhā त is changed to न after इयै, but not when the Participle denotes 'cold'.

Thus शीनं घृतम्, शीनो मेदः, शीना वसा; but शीतं वर्तते, शीतो वायुः, शीतमुखम् ॥ The त्र of इया is vocalised to ई by VI. I. 24.

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

The word स्पर्श is a guna word formed by घर्, and denotes the particular guna or sensation to be sensed through the organ of touch. In this sense it is derived from the root सृश संस्पर्शने ॥ It also denotes a disease, derived from सृश उपतापे ॥ There is nothing to show, what स्पर्श is meant in the sūtra. Explanation is the only refuge here.

अङ्गचो उपादाने ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अंगः, अन्-अपादाने ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गतेहत्तरपरस्य निष्ठात्कारस्य नकारादेशो भवति न चेत्पाशनं तच भवति ॥

48. The Nishṭhā त is changed to न, after अङ्ग्, but not when it is in conuection with an Ablative case.

Thus समझौ शक्तने: पात्रौ = समझौ; तस्मात् पश्यो न्यक्ताः ॥

Why do we say 'when not in construction with an Ablative case'? Observe उदन्तसुदकं कृपात् = उद्धृतं 'drawn out'.

The word व्यक्तम् is from the root अङ्गू व्यक्तिमध्यज्ञ कान्तिगतिषु, and not from the root अङ्ग्; and hence the Nishṭhā is not changed.

दिवो विजिगीषायाम् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, अ-विजिगीषायाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दिव उत्तरस्य निष्ठात्कारस्य नकारादेशो भवति अविजिगीषायामये ॥

49. The Nishṭhā त is changed to न, after दिव्, when the sense is not that of 'play'.

The word विजिगीषा means "desire of conquest or gain", but here it means "gambling".

Thus आशूनः, = आश्रितः, परिशूनः, = क्षीणः ॥ Why do we say "when it does not mean to play"? Observe इयूतं वर्तते ॥ Here the throwing of dice is with the desire of winning or gaining victory (vijigishā) over the opponent.

निर्वाणो उवाते ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ निर्वाणः, अ-वाते ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वाण इति निस्पूर्वाद्वातेहत्तरस्य निष्ठात्कारस्य नकारे निपात्यते । न चेत्प्राताधिकरणे वात्यथो भवति ॥

50. The word निर्वाण is irregularly formed by changing the Nish्ठात् to न्, when the sense is not that of 'wind'.

The word निर्वाण is formed from the root वा, with the preposition नि॒ and the Participial affix वा॑ ॥ Thus निर्वाणोऽग्नः, = उपशान्तः, निर्वाणः प्रवीपः, निर्वाणो भिष्मः = उपरकः ॥

Why do we say when not meaning "the wind"? Observe निर्वाणो वासः, निर्वाणं वासेन ॥

In the sentences निर्वाणः प्रवीपो वासेन, निर्वाणोऽग्निर्वाणेन, the न change has taken place, because the location of the verb वा is in the प्रवीप and अग्नि, and not in the वास, which is merely an Instrument. Hence the above वृत्ति uses the words "if the sense of the verb वा does not govern वास in the locative case".

शुष्टः कः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुष्टः, कः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपर्जातोरुचरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य ककारादेशो भवति ॥

51. कः is substituted for the Nish्ठात् after the root शुष्टः ॥

As शुष्कः, शुष्कवान् ॥

पचो वः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पचः वः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपर्जातोरुचरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य वकारादेशो भवति ॥

52. वः is substituted for the Nish्ठात् after the root पचः ॥

As पक्वः, पक्ववान् ॥

क्षायो मः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षायः, मः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपर्जातोरुचरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य मकारादेशो भवति ॥

53. मः is substituted for the Nish्ठात् after the root क्षै ॥

Thus क्षामः, क्षामवान् ॥

प्रस्त्योन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्त्यः, अन्यत रस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्णात् स्वायतेरुचरस्य निष्ठातकारस्यान्यतरस्यां मकारादेशो भवति ॥

54. मः is optionally substituted for the Nish्ठात्, after the root स्त्वै preceded by प्र ॥

Thus प्रस्तीमः or प्रस्तीतः, प्रस्तीमवान् or प्रस्तीतवान् ॥ In the second alternative when म does not come, we first vocalise the root स्त्वा into स्ती, and then add त् ॥ Had Samprasāraṇa not taken place first, then the Nish्ठात् would have been changed to न् after स्त्वा by VIII. 2. 43. But when samprasāraṇa is

once made, the root no longer has a semi-vowel and so there remains no occasion for the application of VIII. 2. 43. See VI. 1. 23 for vocalisation.

अनुपसर्गात्कुल्लक्षीबक्षशोल्लाघाः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुपसर्गात्, कुल्ल-क्षीब-क्षश-उल्लाघाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुल्ल क्षीब क्षश उल्लाघ इत्येते निपादनेते न अनुपसर्गात्कुल्लाघा भवति ॥
वार्षिकम् ॥ उल्लासंकुल्लयोरिति उल्लाघम् ॥

55. The irregular Participles कुल्ल, क्षीब, क्षश and उल्लाघ are formed then only, when no Preposition precedes them.

The word कुल्ल is derived from the root अङ्गला विशरणे the त् is changed to ल् ॥ The change of अ to ल् (VII. 4. 88) and the want of इ॒॒ augment (VII. 2. 16) are regular. The same change takes place before क्षश् also, as कुल्लवान् ॥

The affix त् is elided after the roots क्षीब्, क्षश् and उल्ल—लाघ्, and the augment इ॒॒ is prohibited ; this is the irregularity in क्षीबः, क्षशः and उल्लाघः ॥

Why do we say when not preceded by a Preposition ? Observe प्रकुलः, मुननसः, प्रशीवितः, प्रकृषितः, प्रोक्षाधितः ॥ In the case of लाघ्, prepositions other than उल्ल are prohibited.

Or the augment इ॒॒ is added, and then इ॒॒ is elided from क्षीवितः &c. See VIII. 2. 3 *vart.*

Vart.—The forms उल्लकुल्लः and सकुल्लः should be enumerated. Here त् is changed to ल्, though the root has taken a Preposition.

In the word परिकुल्लः, the word परि is not a Preposition with regard to the verb कुल्लः; परिगतः कुल्लः = परिकुल्लः ॥ So that परि is upasarga of the verb गतः understood, hence we have the form कुल्लः ॥

नुदविदोन्दचामाहीऽन्योऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नुद, विद, उन्द, आ,
ग्रा, हीऽन्यः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नुद विद चा ग्रा ही इत्येतेऽथ उल्लास्य निष्ठासकारस्य नकार आदेशी भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

Kārikā—वैसेस्तु विदितो निष्ठा विद्यतेर्विन्न इत्येते ।

वित्तेर्विन्न विद्यते भागे विद्यते विन्नते ॥

56. The Nishṭhā त् may optionally be changed to न्, after नुद, विद, उन्द, आ, ग्रा, ही ॥

Thus नुन्नः or नुन्तः, विन्नः or विन्तः, सन्नन्नः or सन्नन्तः, आन्नः or आन्तः, ग्रान्नः or ग्रान्तः, हीन्नः or हीन्तः ॥

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

The root विद विचारणे of Rudhādi is to be taken here, and not the other विद roots. Thus the following : *Kārikā*

The Nishṭhā of विद्—वैति of Adādi class is विदितः ; (2) of विद्—विष्टो of Divādi class is विजः only ; (3) of विद् of Tudādi is विजः ; (4) of विद् of Rudhādi are both विजः and विनः ॥ The Tudādi विद् has also the form वित्तः in the sense of भोग by VIII. 2. 58.

न ध्यात्यापुमूर्च्छमदाम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ध्या, रुद्या, पृ, मूर्छि, मदाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ध्या रुद्या पृ मूर्छि मद इत्येतपां निष्ठातकारस्य नकारपेशो न भवति ॥

57. The Nishṭhā त is not changed to न after ध्या, रुद्या, पृ, मूर्छि and मद ॥

Thus ध्यातः, ध्यातवान्, ध्यातः, ध्यातवान्, पूर्तः, पूर्तवान्, मूर्छः, मूर्छवान्, मदः, मदवान् ॥

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

The root मूर्छि is exhibited in the sūtra in its lengthened form ; the root मूर्च्छि is lengthened by VIII. 2. 78, and the छ is elided before त by VI. 4. 21.

विष्टो भोगप्रस्तययोः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वित्तः, भोग, प्रस्तययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वित्त इति विवेलभार्यादुत्तरस्य नक्षत्र निपात्यते भोगे प्रस्तयं आभिधेये ॥

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

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

Thus वित्तमस्य बहु = धनमस्य बहु ‘he has much riches’. Because riches are enjoyed (भुजते), so they are called भोग or ‘enjoyments’ *par excellence*.

In the sense of ‘renowned’, we have वित्तोऽथं मतुष्यः “this man is renowned or famous”. Here वित्तः = प्रतीतः ॥ प्रतीते = प्रस्तयः ॥

Why do we say when having the sense of ‘possessions’ and ‘famous’? Observe विनः ॥

भित्तं शकलम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भित्तम्, शकलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भित्तमिति निपात्यते शकलं वेत्सद्वति ॥

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

Thus भित्त तिष्ठति, भित्तं प्रपसति ॥ This is synonymous with शकल ॥ The root-meaning of भित्त is not very manifest in this word, it may be taken as a *rudhi* word. The regular form is भित्तं under VIII. 2. 42.

ऋणमाधमण्ये ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋणम्, आधमण्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋणमिति ऋदत्येतस्माप्तातोरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारे निपात्यते आधमण्यविषये ॥

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

It is derived from ऋ, the त is changed to न ॥ The word आधमण्य is compounded from आधम ऋणे “he who in a debt transaction holds a lower position”—

i.e. a debtor. This nipātana shows that such irregular Locative compounds may be formed; for here the first member is *not* in the Locative case, but the second member. The condition of being a debtor is आधमर्यम् or "indebtedness:"

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

The word द्वज we use in sentences like द्वजे इशति, द्वजं धारयति ॥

Why do we say when meaning 'debt'? Observe द्वत् वक्ष्यामि, नानुत्तम् ॥

नसत्तनिषत्तानुप्रतूर्त्सूर्त्तगूर्त्तानि छन्दसि ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नसत्त, निषत्त, अनुत्त, प्रतूर्त्त, सूर्त्त, गूर्त्तानि, छन्दसि ॥

हृतिः ॥ नसत्त निषत्त अनुत्त प्रतूर्त्त सूर्त्त गूर्त्त इतेतानि छन्दसि विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

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

The words नसत्त and निषत्त are derived from the root सह preceded by न and नि, and there is not the न change of VIII. 2. 42. Thus नसत्तमञ्जसा ॥ In secular literature we have नसन्नम् ॥ So also निषत्तः in the Vedas, but निषणः in secular literature. The word अनुत्तः is from उन्त् with the negative अ ॥ The option of VIII. 2. 56 does not apply here. As अनुत्तमा से मधवन् (= अनुमय) ॥ प्रतूर्त्तम् is from त्वर् or त्वर्व, as प्रतूर्त्त शाजिमय (= प्रतूर्मय) ॥ When it is derived from त्वर् then ऊँ is added by VI. 4. 20; and when from त्वर् then VI. 4. 21 is applied. सूर्त्तम् is from सू, the द्व is changed to उ irregularly, as सूर्त्तागावः = सूतागावः ॥ गूर्त्तम् is from गूर्, as गूर्त्ता अशत्तम् (= गूर्णे) ॥

किन्प्रत्ययस्य कुः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ किन्, प्रत्ययस्य, कुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्यति वर्तते । किन्प्रत्ययस्य सर्वत्र पशन्ते कुत्तमिष्यते । किन्प्रत्ययो वस्ताद्वातोः स किन्प्रत्ययः, स्य परस्यालोन्यस्य कवर्णविशेषो भवति ॥

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

The word पदस्य is understood here. The word किन्प्रत्यय is a Bahuvrihi meaning 'that stem which has किन् as its affix.' For the final consonant of such a stem, a guttural is substituted. As धृतस्पृक् (III. 2. 58), हलस्पृक्, मन्त्रस्पृक् ॥

The sūtra could have been किनः कुः; the word प्रत्यय is used in the sūtra to show the Bahuvrihi compound; so that the द्व of किन् may not be changed to a guttural. Moreover this Bahuvrihi also indicates that the roots which take the किन् affix, change their final to a guttural before other affixes than किन् ॥

Thus the roots सूर् and हृष्ट take किन् to form सूक् and हृक् nouns by III. 2. 59, 60. The guttural change will take place even when these roots are declined as verbs: as, मानो अस्त्राक् मानो अत्राक्, where अस्त्राक् and अत्राक् are the Aorist of सूर् and हृष् ॥ The augment अद् is not elided, though the मा is added (VI. 4. 75) as a Vedic diversity. The ई॑ augment also does not take place as a Vedic irregularity. The augment अष् is added by VI. 1. 58, and the vowel is lengthened by Vṛiddhi by VII. 2. 3. Thus अद्+सूर्+सिष्+तिष्=अस्त्र् (VI. 1. 58)=अस्त्राक् (VII. 2. 3 and VIII. 2. 62). Other wise it would have been ए by VIII. 2. 36. So also in हृष्टाण्, हृष्टमः, the श् is changed to a guttural, though the noun हृष् is a किन्- formed noun and not formed by किन् ; and this is so, because the verb हृष् does take किन् also.

Obj. If this be so, there ought to be guttural change in रज्जुस्सर्वां from the root रज्जु with किष्ट? Ans. The guttural change however is not desired here.

In gutturalisation, झ is changed to घ, and ञ to ख, which both become क by वावसाने (VIII. 4. 56)

नदोर्वा ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नदोः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्थेति वर्त्तसे ॥ नशोः पदस्थ वा कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

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

The word परस्य is understood here also. As सा वै जीवनदाहृतिः (Maitr. S. I. 4. 13): or सा वै जीवनगाहृतिः ॥ According to Pro. Bohtlingk this latter form is not found in the Samhitā.

Here the root नष्ट has taken निष् in denoting 'condition or state'; by considering it as belonging to संपश्चादि class.

शीवस्य नाशः = शीवनक् or शीवनद् ॥ The gutturalisation optionally debars the ष change of VIII. 2. 36. When the ष change takes place, this ष is changed to द by VIII. 2. 39 and VIII. 4. 56.

मोनो धातोः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मः, नः, धातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारान्तस्य धातोः पदस्य नकारदेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनुनासिकस्य क्रिहलोः क्रितीतिरीर्धत्वम् ॥

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

As प्रशान्, प्रतान्, प्रवान् ॥ These are formed by adding विष्ट् to the roots शान्, तान् and वान् ॥ The lengthening takes place by VI. 4. 15. The न् being considered as asiddha is not elided.

Why do we say "of म-ending roots"? Observe भित्, लित् ॥

Why do we say "of a root"? Observe इरम्, किम् !!

The word परस्य is understood here also. So we have प्रतामौ, प्रतामः where म is not at the end of a word.

अवोऽम् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ म्, ओः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारवक्रार्थोऽपरसः मकारन्तस्य धातोर्नेकारादेशो भवाति ॥

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

As अगम्न, अगन्व the Imperfect of गम्, as in the sentence अगम्नम् तमसः पारम् ॥ The श् is elided as a Vedic diversity. So also अगन्वान् with इवसु, the augment इ॒ is not added by the option allowed, owing to VII. 1. 68. This sūtra applies to those cases where the म is not at the end of a word, as it was in the last sūtra.

ससज्जुषो रुः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, सज्जुषोः, रुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारन्तस्य परस्य सज्जुष् इत्यंतस्य च रूपेवति ॥

66. For the final स् and for the ष् of सज्जुष् is substituted रु, at the end of a word.

Thus अनिरच, वायुरच ॥ So also सज्जुष्विष्मिः, सज्जुष्वेष्मिः ॥ सज्जुष् is derived from ज्जुष् with the affix क्षिष् and the preposition सह which is changed to स in Bahuvrihi. The lengthening takes place by VIII. 2. 76. and the word means सप्रीतिः ॥ The इ is ई, but it should be distinguished from it. This secondary ई (or इ) undergoes a distinct and separate Sandhi change from that of the primary ई ॥

अवयाः श्वेतवाः पुरोडाभ्यः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवयाः, श्वेतवाः, पुरोडाः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अवयाः श्वेतवाः पुरोडाः इत्येते निपातने ॥

67. The same substitution takes place for the final of the Nominatives of अवयाः, श्वेतवाः and पुरोडाः ॥

The word अवयाः is from अव + यज्; श्वेतवाः from श्वेत + वह and पुरोडाः from पुरू + डाश् ॥ The affix विन् is added to the two latter by III. 2. 71. The word अवयाज् is also formed by विन् (III. 2. 72). Thus the three words श्वेतवाह्, पुरोडाश् and अवयाज् are formed. These words take the affix उस् before the Pada-terminations (See Vārtika to III. 2. 71). After having taken उस्, the above forms अवयाः &c., are made in Nominative singular irregularly.

Why is this nipātana, when इ would have come by the last sūtra and the lengthening would have taken place by VI. 4. 14, of the words अववस्, श्वेतवस् and पुरोडस्? They are so exhibited here, for making them long in the Vocative singular also. For they could not have been lengthened in the Vocative singular, because VI. 4. 14 does not apply to it. Thus हे अवयाः, हे श्वेतवाः, हे पुरोडाः ॥

The word च shows that other forms, not enumerated, may also be included here under. As हे रक्षयताः ॥

अहन् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहनिवेतस्य पदस्य रूभवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अहो रविष्ठौ कृपराजिरथन्तेरशूपपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

68. रु is also substituted for the न् of अहन् at the end of a Pada.

Thus अहोऽभाव, अहोभिः ॥ The sūtra exhibits the form अहन् without the elision of न्, in order to indicate that there is not elision of न् ॥ As शीर्षाहो, निशाधः, हे शीर्षाहोऽबोति ॥ See Vārtika to VIII. 2. 7. The न् of अहन् is not changed to रु in the sūtra by VIII. 2. 69, because it is intended to show the word-form अहन् ॥ The Nominal stem is Pada in the above examples by I. 4. 17.

Vārti:—Before the words रूप, राजि and रथन्तर, the न् of अहन् is changed to रु ॥ As अहोरूपम्, अहोराजः, अहोरथन्तरं साम् ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 2. 69. Others say, that this रु change takes place *universally* before all words beginning with रु; as अहो रम्यम्, अहो रक्षानि ॥

रोऽसुष्टुपि ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुः, अ-सुष्टुपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहनिवेतस्य रेफादेशो भवत्यसुष्टुपि परतः ॥

69. When no case-ending follows (i. e. at the end of a Pada in the narrower sense), रु is substituted for the न् of अहन् ॥

Thus अहर्दाति, अहर्षुहन्ते ॥ Why do we say 'when no case-ending follows'? Observe अहोऽभाव, अहोभिः ॥ Here रु-called रु replaced the final न् of अहन् ॥ The difference between this रु-called रु and the ordinary रु is illustrated in the above set of examples. The रु-called रु is changed to रु by VI. 1. 113, the ordinary रु is not so changed.

Obj. In अहर्दाति and अहर्षुहन्ते the case-ending is elided after अहन्, and so by Pratyaya - lakshaṇa, we may say that there is a case - ending here also ? Ans. This is not so, because of the following maxim अहो रविष्ठौ लुमता लुमे प्रत्यव लक्षणं न भवति ॥ The rule of pratyaya lakshana does not apply to the substitution of रु for the final of अहन् when the affix has been elided by लुक् or लुप्. Therefore, this अहन् is not considered to be followed by लुप् or case-affix. But where an affix is elided by using the word लोप, there the rule of Pratyaya - lakshaṇa does apply to अहन् ॥ As हे शीर्षाहोऽज्ञ, हे शीर्षाहो निशाध. (VIII. 2. 7). Here the affix is elided by using the word 'lopa' by VI. 1. 68.

अम्नरुधरवरित्युभयथा छन्दसि ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अम्नस्, ऊधस्, अवस्, इति उभयथा, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अम्नस् ऊधस् अवस् इत्येतेषां छन्दसि विषवे इभवया भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि भाषायां च विभाषा प्रथेतसोऽग्रजन्युपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥
या० ॥ अहरासीनां पत्यार्थिपुण्यसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

70. In the Chhandas, both रु and रं are substituted for the final of amnas, उ॒ल्हस, and avas.

Thus अम्ब् एव or अम्बरेत, अभ् एव or अधरेत; अव् एव or अवरेत ॥ When रु is substituted for the finals, this रु is replaced by रं by VIII. 3. 17, which is elided by VIII. 3. 19. The word अम्बस् means 'a little', and अवस् 'protection'.

Vart :—रु and रं both replace the final of प्रथेतस् before राजन्, in the Vedic as well as in the secular language. As प्रथेता राजन् (VIII. 3. 14, VI. 3. 111) प्रथ-
ता राजन् ॥

Vart :—The words अहर् &c before पति &c should be enumerated. That is, the finals of अहर् &c are replaced by रु or रं before पति &c. As. अहर्पतिः or अहर्पतिः or अहः पतिः; अहर्पुचः, अहर्पुचः, अहः पुचः, गीर्पतिः, गीः पति, गी × पतिः; धूर्पति, धूः पतिः, धू × पतिः ॥ Here रं is substituted for the final रु of अहर् &c, which at first sight may appear superfluous. But it is so ordained, in order to prevent the visarga change of this रं ॥

भुवश्च महाव्याहृतेः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, चः, महाव्याहृतेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भुवस् इत्येतस्य महाव्याहृतेभ्लन्दसि विषये उभवया भवति ॥

71. In the Chhandas, रु and रं may replace the final of the word भुवस् when used as a mahā-vyāhṛiti.

Thus भुवत्तिन्तरिक्षम् or भुव इत्यन्तरिक्षम् ॥ The mahā-vyāhṛitis are three, used generally before the famous Gāyatri mantra. They denote respectively the earth, the firmament and the heaven. भुवस् is an Indeclinable and a Vyāhṛiti denoting the firmament. The other two are धूः and स्तः ॥

Why do we say when it is a mahā-vyāhṛiti ? Observe भुवो विषेषु भुवनेषु अक्षियः ॥ Here भुवः is a verb, 2nd Pers. Singular, Imperfect (लह) of the root भु, without guṇa of the root, and the अ॒ augment is not added as a Vedic diversity.

वसुस्त्रंसुध्वंस्वनदुहां दः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसु, स्त्रंसु, ध्वंसु, अनदुहाम्, दः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तश्चोरुरित्यतः स इति वर्तते । वस्वन्तस्य परस्य सकारान्तस्य लंसु ध्वंसु अनदुह इत्येतेषां च
दक्षारोरेष्या भवति ॥

72. दः is substituted for the final स् of a word ending in the affix वस्, and for the final of संस्, ध्वंस् and अनदुह at the end of a Pada (in the wider sense I. 4. 14, 17).

The anuvṛitti of स् is understood here from VIII. 2. 66. It qualifies वस् only, and not the rest. That is, when the word formed by the affix वस् ends with स्, such स् is replaced by दः ॥ For a word formed by वस् does not

sometimes end in स्, and in those cases the rule will not apply. As शंस् and धंस् always end in स्, there is no necessity of qualifying these by the स् of VIII. 2. 66. अनङ्गुह ends in ह and so स् cannot qualify it.

Thus विद्वद्याम्, विद्वद्भिः, पविद्वद्याम्, पविद्वद्भिः with वस् affix. शंस्—श्लाष्ट्वा-भाम्, श्लाष्ट्वाभिः ॥ (VII. 1.70 and III. 2. 36). धंस्—पर्णद्वद्याम्, पर्णद्वद्भिः ॥ अनङ्गुह—अनङ्गुद्याम्, अनङ्गुद्भिः ॥

But when a वस् formed word does not end in स्, the rule does not apply. As विद्वान्, पविद्वान् ॥ Here न् is not changed to इ ॥

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

Why in अनङ्गुह the न् is not changed to इ? By the very fact, that तुष् is ordained (विधान-सामर्थ्यात्), this न् will not be changed to इ: otherwise तुष् rule would become superfluous; for it would be easier to say let इ be changed to ई, and we should get the form अनङ्गुद् by this rule without तुष् ॥

Obj.:—If this be so, that the तुष् is not changed to इ, because of giving it a scope, then in अनङ्गुन् अच, this तुष् should not be changed into ई by VIII. 3. 9?

Ans.:—No; the maxim is that that rule is set aside, with regard to which a particular rule would become useless, if not so over-ruled: but that rule is not set aside which is only an occasion for the application of another rule (वै विधि प्रति उपरेक्षाऽनर्थकः, सविधिर्वाप्यते, यस्य तु विधे लिमित्तमेव नासौ वाध्यते) ॥ With regard to इ change, the तुष् vidhi is *useless* (anarthaka), with regard to ई change, it is merely an occasion.

The word परस्य is understood here also, so the change does not take place in विद्वांसौ and विद्वांसः ॥

तिष्यनस्ते: ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिषि, अन्-अस्ते: ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तिषि परतः सकारान्तस्य परस्य अनस्तैर्विकार अरिष्ठो भवति ॥

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

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

Why do we say 'before तिष्'? Observe चकास् formed by चिष् affix added to the root.

Why do we say 'with the exception of अस्'? See भाष एवेदं सलिलं सर्वम् आः ॥ Here आः is the Imperfect 3rd Person singular of अस् ॥ The ई is not added as a Vedic irregularity. See VII. 3. 93, 97.

सिपि धातो रुवा ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिपि, धातोः, रुः, वाः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सिपि परतः सकारान्तस्य पदस्य धातो रुः इत्यव्याप्तेशो भवति इकारो वा ॥

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

Thus अचकास् स्वम् or अचकात् स्वम्, अन्वशास् स्वम् or अन्वशात् स्वम् ॥ For the रु is first substituted visarjaniya, which is then changed to स् ॥

The word धातुः is employed in the sūtra for the sake of the subsequent sūtras : so also the word रु ॥

दध्म ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इकारान्तस्य धातोः पदस्य सिपि परतो रुभवति इकारो वा ॥

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

Thus अभिनत् स्वम् or अभिनस् स्वम्, अचिनत् स्वम् or अचिनस् स्वम् ॥

बोरुपधाया दीर्घ इकः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बोः, उपधायाः, दीर्घः, इकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफवकारान्तस्य धातोः पदस्य उपधाया इको शीर्षो भवति ॥

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

Thus गीः, धूः, पूः, आर्तीः ॥ These are all examples of roots ending in ई ॥ Of roots ending in उ, examples will be given in the next sūtra.

Why have we used the word 'penultimate'? Observe अविभ्र भवान्, here the ई of the reduplicative syllable is not to be lengthened.

Why do we say 'of इक् vowels'? So that the अ of अ in the above example अविभ्र may not be lengthened.

The word धातोः 'of a root' is understood here also. Therefore ई and उ are not lengthened in अग्निः, वायुः ॥

The word पदस्य is understood here also, therefore, not here, गिरौ, गिरः ॥

हलि च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलि, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हलि च परतः रेफवकारान्तस्य धातोरुपधाया इको शीर्षो भवति ॥

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

Thus आस्तीर्णम्, विस्तीर्णम्, विशीर्णम्, अवगूर्णम्, all ending in ई ॥ So also, शीघ्रता, सीघ्रता ending in उ ॥

The Nishtā of विद्—वेति of Adādi class is विदितः ; (2) of विद्—विद्यते of Divādi class is विज्ञः only ; (3) of विद् of Tudādi is विज्ञः ; (4) of विद् of Kudhādi are both विज्ञः and विज्ञः ॥ The Tudādi विद् has also the form विज्ञः in the sense of भोग by VIII. 2. 58.

न ध्यास्यापूर्मुच्छिमदाम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ध्या, रुद्या, पू, मूर्च्छि, मदाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ध्या रुद्या पू मूर्च्छि मद इत्येतपां निष्ठातकारस्य नकारप्रयोगे न भवति ॥

57. The Nishtā त is not changed to न after ध्या, रुद्या, पू, मूर्च्छि and मद ॥

Thus ध्यातः, ध्यातवाम्, ध्यातः, ध्यातवाम्, पूर्तः, पूर्तवाम्, मूर्च्छः, मूर्च्छवाम्, मत्तः, मत्तवाम् ॥

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

The root मूर्च्छि is exhibited in the sūtra in its lengthened form ; the root मुच्छि is lengthened by VIII. 2. 78, and the छ्छि is elided before त by VI. 4. 21.

विज्ञो भोगप्रत्यययोः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विज्ञः, भोग, प्रत्यययोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विज्ञ इति विश्वर्लभार्युस्तरस्य नकारात्ये निष्ठात्ये भोगे प्रत्ययं चाभिधेये ॥

58. The irregularly formed Participle विज्ञ denotes 'possessions' and 'renowned'.

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

Thus विज्ञमत्वं वहु—धनमत्वं वहु 'he has much riches'. Because riches are enjoyed (मुज्ज्यते), so they are called भोग or 'enjoyments' *par excellence*.

In the sense of 'renowned', we have विज्ञोऽयं मनुष्यः "this man is renowned or famous". Here विज्ञः = प्रतीतिः ॥ प्रतीतिः = प्रत्ययः ॥

Why do we say when having the sense of 'possessions' and 'famous'? Observe विज्ञः ॥

मित्तं शकलम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मित्तम्, शकलम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मित्तमिति निष्ठात्ये शकलं चेत्तद्वाति ॥

59. The word मित्त is irregularly formed in the sense of 'a'fragment, a portion'.

Thus मित्तं तिष्ठति, नित्तं प्रपतति ॥ This is synonymous with शकल ॥ The root-meaning of मित्त is not very manifest in this word, it may be taken as a *rūḍhi* word. The regular form is मित्रं under VIII. 2. 42.

ऋणमाधमण्ये ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋणम्, आधमण्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऋणमिति ऋद्यत्येतस्माद्यातोहत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारो निष्ठात्ये आधमण्यविषये ॥

60. The word ऋण is irregularly formed in the sense of 'debt.'

It is derived from ऋ, the त is changed to न ॥ The word आधमण्य is compounded from आधम ऋणे "he who in a debt transaction holds a lower position"—

i.e. a debtor. This nipātana shows that such irregular Locative compounds may be formed; for here the first member is *not* in the Locative case, but the second member. The condition of being a debtor is आधमर्यम् or "indebtedness:"

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

The word द्वज we use in sentences like द्वजं इशति, द्वजं धारयति ॥

Why do we say when meaning 'debt'? Observe द्वतं वक्ष्यामि, नानुत्तम् ॥

नसत्तनिषत्तानुत्तप्रतूर्त्तसूर्त्तगूर्त्तानि छन्दसि ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नसत्त, निषत्त,
अनुत्त, प्रतूर्त्त, सूर्त्त, गूर्त्तानि, छन्दसि ॥

हृतिः ॥ नसत्त निषत्त अनुत्त प्रतूर्त्त सूर्त्त गूर्त्त इत्येतानि छन्दसि विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

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

The words नसत्त and निषत्त are derived from the root सह preceded by न and नि, and there is not the न change of VIII. 2. 42. Thus नसत्तमउज्जसा ॥ In secular literature we have नसन्नम् ॥ So also निषत्तः in the Vedas, but निषणः in secular literature. The word अनुत्तः is from उत्त with the negative अ ॥ The option of VIII. 2. 56 does not apply here. As अनुत्तमा से मधवत् (= अनुभव) ॥ प्रतूर्त्तम् is from त्वर् or त्वर्त्, as प्रतूर्त्त शाजिनम् (= प्रतूर्त्तम्) ॥ When it is derived from त्वर् then ऊर् is added by VI. 4. 20; and when from त्वर्त् then VI. 4. 21 is applied. सूर्त्तम् is from सूर्, the द्व is changed to त irregularly, as सूर्त्तागावः = सूतागावः ॥ गूर्त्तम् is from गूर्, as गूर्त्ता अगृतम् (= गूर्णे) ॥

किन्प्रत्ययस्य कुः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ किन्, प्रत्ययस्य, कुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्यति वर्तते । किन्प्रत्ययस्य सर्वत्र पदान्ते कुत्समिष्यते । किन्प्रत्ययो यस्माद्वातोः स किन्प्रत्ययः, तस्य पदस्यालोन्यस्य कवर्गादेषो भवति ॥

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

The word पदस्य is understood here. The word किन्प्रत्यय is a Bahuvrihi meaning 'that stem which has किन् as its affix.' For the final consonant of such a stem, a guttural is substituted. As धृतस्पृक् (III. 2. 58), हलस्पृक्, मनस्पृक् ॥

The sūtra could have been किनः कुः; the word प्रत्यय is used in the sūtra to show the Bahuvrihi compound; so that the त of किन् may not be changed to a guttural. Moreover this Bahuvrihi also indicates that the roots which take the किन् affix, change their final to a guttural before other affixes than किन् ॥

Thus the roots सृज् and हृष्ट take क्रिन् to form सक् and हृक् nouns by III. 2. 59, 60. The guttural change will take place even when these roots are declined as verbs: as, मानो अस्त्राक् मानो अद्वाक्, where अस्त्राक् and अद्वाक् are the Aorist of सृज् and हृष्ट् ॥ The augment अ॒ is not elided, though the मा is added (VI. 4. 75) as a Vedic diversity. The ई॑ augment also does not take place as a Vedic irregularity. The augment अ॒म् is added by VI. 1. 58, and the vowel is lengthened by Vṛiddhi by VII. 2. 3. Thus अ॒+सृज्+सिष्ठ+तिष्ठ=अस्त्र (VI. 1. 58)=अस्त्राक् (VII. 2. 3 and VIII. 2. 62). Other wise it would have been ए॑ by VIII. 2. 36. So also in हृष्टभां, हृष्टिभः, the श् is changed to a guttural, though the noun हृष्ट् is a क्रिया॑ formed noun and not formed by क्रिन् ; and this is so, because the verb हृष्ट् does take क्रिन् also.

Obj. If this be so, there ought to be guttural change in रुच्छुस्सभां from the root हृष्ट् with क्रिया॑? Ans. The guttural change however is not desired here.

In gutturalisation, श् is changed to ग्, and श् to ख्, which both become क् by वाचसने (VIII. 4. 56)

नशोर्वा॑ ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि॑ ॥ नशोः॑, वा॑ ॥
वृत्तिः॑ ॥ पदस्तेति॑ वर्तते॑ ॥ नशोः॑ पदस्त्वं वा॑ कवर्गादेशो॑ भवति॑ ॥

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

The word पदस्त्वं is understood here also. As सा॑ वै जीवनदाहृतिः॑ (Maitr. S. I. 4. 13) : or सा॑ वै जीवनगाहृतिः॑ ॥ According to Pro. Bohtlingk this latter form is not found in the Samhitā.

Here the root नश् has taken क्रिया॑ in denoting 'condition or state'; by considering it as belonging to संपशादि class.

जीवस्त्वं नाशः॑ = जीवनक् or जीवनद् ॥ The gutturalisation optionally debars the श् change of VIII. 2. 36. When the श् change takes place, this श् is changed to द् by VIII. 2. 39 and VIII. 4. 56.

मोनो धातोः॑ ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि॑ ॥ मः॑, नः॑, धातोः॑ ॥
वृत्तिः॑ ॥ सकारान्तस्त्वं धातोः॑ पदस्त्वं नकारादेशो॑ भवति॑ ॥
वार्त्तिकम्॑ ॥ अनुगामिकस्त्वं क्रिसलोः॑हृतीतिरीर्धस्त्वम्॑ ॥

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

As प्रश्नाम्, प्रश्नान्, प्रश्नाम् ॥ These are formed by adding क्रिया॑ to the roots श्व, त्व, and इ॒म् ॥ The lengthening takes place by VI. 4. 15. The श् being considered as asiddha is not elided.

Why do we say "of म-ending roots"? Observe भित्, छित् ॥
Why do we say "of a root"? Observe इ॒म्, क्रिम् ॥

The word परस्य is understood here also. So we have प्रतामौ, प्रतामः where म is not at the end of a word.

म्वोश्च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ म्, घोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारात्कारयोश्च परतः सकारात्तस्य धातोर्नेकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

As अगन्म्, अगन्त् the Imperfect of गम्, as in the sentence अगन्म तमसः परम् ॥ The श् is elided as a Vedic diversity. So also अगन्तान् with कवसु, the augment इत् is not added by the option allowed, owing to VII. 1. 68. This sūtra applies to those cases where the म is not at the end of a word, as it was in the last sūtra.

ससञ्जुषो रुः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, सञ्जुषोः, रुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारात्तस्य परस्य सञ्जुष् इत्यंतस्य च रूप्तवति ॥

66. For the final स् and for the च् of सञ्जुष् is substituted रु, at the end of a word.

Thus अविनरच, वायुरच ॥ So also सञ्जुष्विष्मिः, सञ्जुष्वेष्मिः ॥ सञ्जुष् is derived from जुष् with the affix क्षिष् and the preposition सह which is changed to स in Bahuvrihi. The lengthening takes place by VIII. 2. 76. and the word means सप्तीतिः ॥ The इ is ई, but it should be distinguished from it. This secondary ई (or रु) undergoes a distinct and separate Sandhi change from that of the primary ई ॥

अवयाः श्वेतवाः पुरोडाच्च ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवयाः, श्वेतवाः, पुरोडाः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अवयाः श्वेतवाः पुरोडाः इत्येते निपात्यन्ते ॥

67. The same substitution takes place for the final of the Nominatives of अवयाः, श्वेतवाः and पुरोडाः ॥

The word अवयाः is from अव + यज्; श्वेतवाः from श्वेत + वह and पुरोडाः from पुरम् + डाश् ॥ The affix विष् is added to the two latter by III. 2. 71. The word अवयाच् is also formed by विष् (III. 2. 72). Thus the three words श्वेतवाह्, पुरोडाश् and अवयाच् are formed. These words take the affix उत् before the Pada-terminations (See Vārtika to III. 2. 71). After having taken उत्, the above forms अवयाः &c., are made in Nominative singular irregularly.

Why is this nipātana, when रु would have come by the last sūtra and the lengthening would have taken place by VI. 4. 14, of the words अववस्, श्वेतवस् and पुरोडस्? They are so exhibited here, for making them long in the Vocative singular also. For they could not have been lengthened in the Vocative singular, because VI. 4. 14 does not apply to it. Thus हे अवयाः, हे श्वेतवाः, हे पुरोडाः ॥

The word ए shows that other forms, not enumerated, may also be included here under. As हे उक्तप्रशाः ॥

अहन् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहनित्येतस्य पश्य रूपेवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अहो सविधौ रूपरचिरथन्तेरपुषसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥

68. ए is also substituted for the न् of अहन् at the end of a Pada.

Thus अहोभाष, अहोभिः ॥ The sūtra exhibits the form अहन् without the elision of न्, in order to indicate that there is not elision of न् ॥ As शीर्षाः, निशाः, हे शीर्षाहोऽब्रह्मिः ॥ See Vārtika to VIII. 2. 7. The न् of अहन् is not changed to ए in the sūtra by VIII. 2. 69, because it is intended to show the word-form अहन् ॥ The Nominal stem is Pada in the above examples by I. 4. 17.

Vārti—Before the words रूप, राजि and रथन्तर, the न् of अहन् is changed to ए ॥ As अहोरूपम्, अहोराजः, अहोरथन्तरं साम ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 2. 69. Others say, that this ए change takes place *universally* before all words beginning with ए; as अहो रथम्, अहो रथानि ॥

रोऽसुपि ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, अ-सुपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहनित्येतस्य रेफावेशो भवत्यसुपि परतः ॥

69. When no case-ending follows (i. e. at the end of a Pada in the narrower sense), ए is substituted for the न् of अहन् ॥

Thus अहर्दाति, अहर्सुहन्ते ॥ Why do we say 'when no case-ending follows'? Observe अहोभाष, अहोभिः ॥ Here ए-called ए replaced the final न् of अहन् ॥ The difference between this ए-called ए and the ordinary ए is illustrated in the above set of examples. The ए-called ए is changed to ए by VI. 1. 113, the ordinary ए is not so changed.

Obj. In अहर्दाति and अहर्सुहन्ते the case-ending is elided after अहन्, and so by Pratyaya - lakṣaṇa, we may say that there is a case-ending here also? Ans. This is not so, because of the following maxim अहो रविधौ लुमता लुप्ते प्रयत्नं न भवति ॥ The rule of pratyaya lakṣaṇa does not apply to the substitution of ए for the final of अहन् when the affix has been elided by लुक् or लुप्. Therefore, this अहन् is not considered to be followed by लुप् or case-affix. But where an affix is elided by using the word लोप, there the rule of Pratyaya - lakṣaṇa does apply to अहन् ॥ As हे शीर्षाहोऽब्रह्म, हे शीर्षाः निशाः. (VIII. 2. 7). Here the affix is elided by using the word 'lopa' by VI. 1. 68.

अस्त्राधरवरित्युभयथा छन्दसि ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्त्रस्, ऊधस्, अवस्, इति उभयथा, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्त्रस् ऊधस् भवत् इत्येतेषां छन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि भाषायां च विभाषा प्रचेतसोराजन्युपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ अहरशीनं पत्त्वा विशुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

70. In the Chhandas, both रु and र् are substituted for the final of amnas, उलhas, and avas.

Thus अङ्ग एव or अङ्गरेव, ऊङ्ग एव or ऊङ्गरेव; अव एव or अवरेव ॥ When रु is substituted for the finals, this रु is replaced by र् by VIII. 3. 17, which is elided by VIII. 3. 19. The word अङ्गस् means 'a little', and अवस् 'protection'.

Vārti :—रु and र् both replace the final of प्रचेतस् before राजन्, in the Vedic as well as in the secular language. As प्रचेता राजन् (VIII. 3. 14, VI. 3. 111) प्रेचेता राजन् ॥

Vārti :—The words अहर् &c before पति &c should be enumerated. That is, the finals of अहर् &c are replaced by रु or र् before पति &c. As. अहर्पतिः or अहर्रपतिः or अहः पतिः; अहर्पुत्रः, अहर्पुत्रः, अहः पुत्रः, गीर्पतिः, गीः पति, गी रु पतिः; धूर्पति, धूः पति:, धू रु पतिः ॥ Here र् is substituted for the final र् of अहर् &c, which at first sight may appear superfluous. But it is so ordained, in order to prevent the visarga change of this र् ॥

भुवश्च महाब्याहृतेः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, चः, महाब्याहृतेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भुवस् इत्येतस्य महाब्याहृतेभ्लन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति ॥

71. In the Chhandas, रु and र् may replace the final of the word भुवस् when used as a mahā-vyāhṛiti.

Thus भुवरित्यन्तरिक्षम् or भुव इत्यन्तरिक्षम् ॥ The mahā-vyāhṛitis are three, used generally before the famous Gāyatri mantra. They denote respectively the earth, the firmament and the heaven. भुवस् is an Indeclinable and a Vyāhṛiti denoting the firmament. The other two are धूः and स्तः ॥

Why do we say when it is a mahā-vyāhṛiti? Observe भुवो विभेषु भुवनेषु अह्मिवः ॥ Here भुवः is a verb, 2nd Pers. Singular, Imperfect (लह) of the root भु, without guṇa of the root, and the अङ्ग augment is not added as a Vedic diversity.

बसुर्घंसुर्घंस्वनदुहां दः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ बसु, घंसु, घंसु, अनुहाम्, दः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तशुषोरुरित्यतः स इति वर्तते । वस्वन्तस्य परस्य सकारान्तस्य लंसु घंसु अनुहाम् इत्येतेषां च दक्षारोरेषो भवति ॥

72. र् is substituted for the final स् of a word ending in the affix वस्, and for the final of घंस्, घंस् and अनुहाम् at the end of a Pada (in the wider sense I. 4. 14, 17).

The anuvṛitti of स् is understood here from VIII. 2. 66. It qualifies वस् only, and not the rest. That is, when the word formed by the affix वस् ends with स्, such स् is replaced by र् ॥ For a word formed by वस् does not

sometimes end in स्, and in those cases the rule will not apply. As ऋंस् and धंस् always end in स्, there is no necessity of qualifying these by the स् of VIII. 2. 66. अनङ्गुह ends in ह् and so स् cannot qualify it.

Thus विद्वद्यात्, विद्वत्पिः, पपिवद्याम्, पपिवद्पिः with वस् affix. ऋंस्:—उखामद्याम्, उखामद्पिः ॥ (VII. 1.70 and III. 2. 36). धंस्—पर्णधवद्याम्, पर्णधवद्पिः ॥ अनङ्गुह—अनङ्गुद्याम्, अनङ्गुद्पिः ॥

But when a वस् formed word does not end in स्, the rule does not apply. As विद्वान्, पपिवान् ॥ Here न् is not changed to त् ॥

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

Why in अनङ्गुन् the न् is not changed to त्? By the very fact, that तुष् is ordained (विधान-सामर्थ्यात्), this त् will not be changed to त्: otherwise तुष् rule would become superfluous; for it would be easier to say let ह् be changed to त्, and we should get the form अनङ्गुद् by this rule without तुष् ॥

Obj:—If this be so, that the तुष् is not changed to त्, because of giving it a scope, then in अनङ्गुन् अत्, this तुष् should not be changed into त् by VIII. 3. 9?

Ans:—No; the maxim is that that rule is set aside, with regard to which a particular rule would become useless, if not so over-ruled: but that rule is not set aside which is only an occasion for the application of another rule (विधि प्रति उपरेकाऽनर्यकः, सर्विधिर्वाध्यते, यस्य तु विधे निमित्तमेव नासौ वाध्यते) ॥ With regard to ह् change, the तुष् vidhi is *useless* (anarthaka), with regard to त् change, it is merely an occasion.

The word परस्य is understood here also, so the change does not take place in विद्वान्ती and विद्वान्तः ॥

तिष्यनस्तेः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिषि, अन्-अस्तेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तिषि परतः सकारान्तस्य परस्य अनस्तरकार भावेष्ठो भवति ॥

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

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

Why do we say 'before तिष्'? Observe चकास् formed by क्षिष् affix added to the root.

Why do we say 'with the exception of अ॒॒'? See आप एवेदं सल्लिं सर्वम् आः ॥ Here आः is the Imperfect 3rd Person singular of अ॒॒ ॥ The ई॒ is not added as a Vedic irregularity. See VII. 3. 93, 97.

सिपि धातो रुवा ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिपि, धातोः, रुः, वाः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सिपि परतः सकारान्तस्य पदस्य धातो रुः इत्यमादेषो भवति एकारो वा ॥

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

Thus अथकास्॒ स्वम् or अथकात्॒ स्वम्, अन्वशास्॒ स्वम् or अन्वशात्॒ स्वम् ॥ For the रु॒ is first substituted visarjaniya, which is then changed to स्॒ ॥

The word धातुः is employed in the sūtra for the sake of the subsequent sūtras : so also the word रु॒ ॥

दश्म ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई॒ः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकारान्तस्य धातोः पदस्य सिपि परतो रुभवति इकारो वा ॥

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

Thus अभिनत्॒ स्वम् or अभिनस्॒ स्वम्, अच्छिनत्॒ स्वम् or अच्छिनस्॒ स्वम् ॥

वौंरुपधाया दीर्घ॑ इकः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वौः, उपधायाः, दीर्घः, इकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऐफवकारान्तस्य धातोः पदस्य उपधाया इको शीर्षे भवति ॥

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

Thus गीः, धूः, पूः, आशीः ॥ These are all examples of roots ending in ई॒ ॥ Of roots ending in उ॒, examples will be given in the next sūtra.

Why have we used the word 'penultimate'? Observe अविभृ॒ भवति॒, here the ई॒ of the reduplicative syllable is not to be lengthened.

Why do we say 'of इकः vowels'? So that the अ॒ of अ॒ in the above example अविभृ॒ may not be lengthened.

The word धातोः 'of a root' is understood here also. Therefore ई॒ and उ॒ are not lengthened in अग्निः, वायुः ॥

The word पदस्य is understood here also, therefore, not here, गिरै॒, गिरः ॥

हलि च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलि च परतः ऐफवकारान्तस्य धातोरुपधाया इको शीर्षे भवति ॥

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

Thus आस्तीर्णम्, विस्तीर्णम्, विशीर्णम्, अवगूर्णम्, all ending in ई॒ ॥ So also, शिष्वीत, सीष्वति ending in उ॒ ॥

The phrase "of the root", is understood here also. Therefore not here, विष्वति and चतुर्यति, which are derived from the nouns विष्व and चतुर i.e. विष्व-मित्ति = विष्वति, and चतुर इच्छति = चतुर्यति ॥

The phrase इकः "of the vowels इ or उ" is understood here also. Therefore not here, सार्वतं, भव्यम् ॥

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

उपधायां च ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपधायाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरुपधादूसौ वौ रेफवकारौ हृष्टरौ तयोरुपधाया इको शीघ्रो भवति ॥

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

The anuvṛtti of इलि is current. The root must end in a consonant, and must have a इ or उ as preceding such consonant, for the application of this rule. Thus मूर्छा, मूर्छिता, मूर्छा, मूर्छिता, मूर्छी, मूर्छिता. धूर्णी, धूर्णिता ॥

The इ or उ must be followed by a consonant. Therefore not here: as, चिरि, जिरि are roots having a penultimate इ, which however is followed by a vowel. Therefore we have चिरिणोति, जिरिणोति ॥

Q.—Why there is not lengthening in विष्वतुः, विष्वुः or विष्वतुः, विष्वः Perfect, forms derived from the roots वि गतौ and वी गतौ &c? Here the इ of the abhyāsa required lengthening, and it would not be shortened, as it is asiddha.

Ans.—The बष्ट् substitute of इ here by VI. 4. 82, is treated as sthāni-vat, to इ, and therefore, the इ or उ is considered as *not* to be followed by a consonant, and hence there is no lengthening. Another reason is, that the बष्ट् substitute is taught in angādhikāra (VI. 4. 82), and depends upon the affix, and is consequently Bahiranga, with regard to this rule of lengthening which is antaranga. Hence अणारेषः is considered as asiddha. Therefore इ and उ are not followed by a consonant (for उ is not considered as such for the above reasons).

Similarly in चतुर्यितृ formed with तच् affix from the Denominative (क्वच्) root चतुर्य ॥ Here इह is added before तच् as चतुर्य+इ+तु and then अ is elided, चतुर्य+इ+तु ॥ Here the elision of अ is a Bahiranga process, and therefore, इ is not here really penultimate, and so there is no lengthening of the vowel.

In प्रतिशीला (Instrumental singular) there is lengthening by VIII. 2. 77. To the root प्रति-विष् is added कनिन् by Uṇ I. 156, and we have प्रतिविषन् ॥ To this is added दा (Instrumental affix), as प्रतिविषन्+दा, and अ is elided by VI. 4. 134, and we get प्रतिशीला ॥ The lengthening takes place here, the elision of अ is not considered here as sthāni-vat, and so इ becomes penultimate. In fact,

here we apply the maxim that a lopa substitute of a vowel is not to be considered as sthānivat when a rule of lengthening is to be applied (See I. 1. 58).

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

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

The word जिन्हि: is formed by the Uṇādi affix किं added to the root शृ॒ (शृ॑), the ई being changed to ए (Uṇ V. 49). So also किरि: and गिरि: are formed by the Uṇādi affix कि added to शृ॑ and गृ॑ (Uṇ IV. 143). The Genitive Dual of which is किरीोः and गिरीोः ॥ There is no lengthening in जिन्हि:, किरीोः and गिरीोः, on the maxim that the Uṇādi formed words are primitive words and not Derivative; and so the rules of etymological changes do not apply to them (उणाशबोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रतिपादिकानि) ॥

न भक्तुर्षुराम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भ, कुर, छुराम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रेकवकारान्तस्य भस्य कुर, छुर इत्येतत्वो वीरों न भवति ॥

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

Thus शुर्यः (शुर वहति IV. 4. 77 or शुरि साशुः) ॥ Similarly कुवाम्, छुर्याम् ॥ The latter is Benedictive of शुर् छुर्याम् ॥

Why have we qualified the word भ by saying that it must end in ई or उ॒? Observe प्रतिशीला, प्रतिशीले ॥ For here the stem which ends in उ॒ is not Bha, and the stem which is Bha does not end in उ॒ but in उ॒ ॥

अदसो इसेद्वातु दो मः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदसः, अ-सेः, दात्, उ, दः, मः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अदसो इसकारान्तस्य वर्णस्य वाक्यरस्य उवर्णादेशो मवति इकारस्य च मकारः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अदसो इनास इसि वन्नव्यम् ॥

Kārikā:—अदसेद्वातु पृथक् शुल्खं के विविधानित लक्षणत् ।

के विविधानित लक्षणत् ॥

80. When the pronoun अदस् does not end in उ॒, then there is substituted उ or ऊ for the vowel after दू, and म् for दू ॥

Thus अषुम्, अमू, अमूर्, अमूना, अमू-क्षाम्, ॥ यह is substituted for अदस् before a case-ending by VII. 2. 102, which in Feminine becomes अदा ॥ By the

Why do we say, "not ending in स"? Observe अद् इच्छति = अदृश्यते || Obj. How can this be a valid example, as the word वरस्त् is understood here, and भवत् before the affix द्य is not a pada (I. 4. 15)? Ans. This indicates that the ग change takes place, even when अदृश्यते is not a pada. As अदृश्यते ||

Vart:—It should rather be stated that the rule applies to that असू which has no ओ, or स or ई॥ So that the prohibition may apply to असौञ्च, अः कुलम्॥ The visarjaniya being considered as asiddha, this word is considered as ending in ई॥

In order to apply the prohibition to भौ and इ also, some explain the sūtra thus :—भः स्वर्यस्य सोयमासिः, यथ सकारस्य अकारः क्रियते ॥ “The word असिः in the sūtra is a Bahuvrīhi, and means that in which अ is substituted for स” ॥ The sūtra is thus confined to the form अइ derived by changing the स into अ by VII 2. 102: and not to any other अइ ॥

When अद्दृ takes the final-substitute आत्रि by VI. 3. 92, how is this rule to be applied? Thus by III. 2. 59, the root अङ्गू takes क्लिन् ॥ We compound it with अद्दृ, as अद्वाऽङ्गूति ॥ अद्दृ + अङ्गू + क्लिन् = अद्व + आत्रि + अङ्गू + क्लिन् (VI. 3. 92) = अद्वङ्गूपत् (VI. 4. 24). Now there are three views, (1) the द of अद्व, and गु of आत्रि are both changed to मु by the present sūtra; (2), the first द is not changed, but only गु; (3) none is changed. Thus we have (1) असुयद् (VII. 1. 70, VI. 1. 68, VIII. 2. 23 and 62), असुयङ्गूचौ, असुयङ्गूचः ॥ (2) Secondly, अद्वयद् अद्वयङ्गूचौ, अद्वयङ्गूचः ॥ (3) Lastly अद्वङ्गूपत्, अद्वङ्गूपत्तौ, अद्वङ्गूपतः ॥ The above verse summarises this:

"Some ordain that ए should come separately for both adas and adri, as there is double l (in चलीकर्त्त्वते); others would have ए only for the last portion which stands in proximity to the final, (i. e. for ए); while a third class would have nowhere, because they explain असेः of the sūtra, by cōfining it to: VII. 2. 102." The first class interpret असेः by "that form of अस्त् which has no स्"; and they do not apply the maxim अनन्त्यविकारेऽन्यसंशेषस्य कार्ये भवति "when a modification is ordained with regard to some thing which is not final, the operation takes place on that only which is in proximity to the final." The second class apply this maxim and make ए change only for ए which stands in proximity to the final; while the last class interpret the word असेः in a different way altogether (अः अस्त्य सकारस्य सोऽयम् असिः) ||

Why do we say शात् 'for the vowel after द' ? Observe अमृया, अमृयोः, the final य as not changed to रु ॥

एत ईद्वचने ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतः ईत्, बहुवचने ॥
वृणः ॥ अस्तो इकारादुत्तरस्य एकारस्य ईकारादेशो भवति इकारस्य च मकारः बहुवचने बहुनामयीना-
मुन्तौ ॥

81. For the ए coming after the द of अदस्, there is substituted ई, and द् is changed to म्, when plurality is to be expressed.

Thus अभी for अते (or अते) अभीभिः for अतेभिः, अभीभ्यः for अतेभ्यः, अभीषाम् for अतेषाम्, अभीतु for अतेतु ॥ ए is changed to त् in अते &c.

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

वाक्यस्य टेः प्लुत उदात्तः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाक्यस्य, टेः, प्लुतः, उदात्तः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वाक्यस्य टेरिति प्लुत इति च उशन्त इति च एतत्रयमप्यधिकृतं वेवितव्यमापावपरिसमाप्तं थीरित
कथ्यमनुक्रमिष्यामो वाक्यस्य टेः प्लुत उदात्त इत्येवं सदृशितव्यम् ॥

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

This is an adhikāra sūtra. All the three words i. e. "the last vowel (टि) of a sentence", "pluta" and "acute"—are to be supplied in the subsequent aphorisms to complete the sense, upto the end of this Pāda. Whatever we shall treat hereafter will refer to the final vowel (टि) in a sentence, and it will get the plutā lengthening and acute accent. Thus VIII. 2. 83, says "In answer to a salutation, but not when it is addressed to a Śūdra". We must supply the present aphorism to complete the meaning :—"In answer to a salutation, the last vowel of a sentence becomes plutā and gets the acute accent, but not when it is addressed to a Śūdra". As अभेवादवे वेवरनोऽहे । यो अयुष्मानेषि वेवरन्तोऽहे ॥

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

The employment of the word "vākya" would not debar the anuvrittī of पद, for the final vowel of a sentence, will *a fortiori* be the final vowel of a word (pada), then what is the use of employing the word वाक्यस्य in this sūtra ?

The word वाक्य is employed in the sūtra, so that a word which is not the last word of a sentence, will not get the pluta and acute. Had the sūtra been पत्त्व हेः &c. then all the words of a sentence would become pluta and acute in the final.

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

प्रस्तुभिवादे इश्वरे ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्तुभिवादे, अ-शुद्धे ॥

दृष्टिः ॥ प्रस्तुभिवादे नाम वस्त्राभिवादमानो शुश्राणिषं प्रयुक्ते । तत्राशूद्रविषये वाक्यं वर्तते तस्य हेः प्लुत वाक्यात् भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्विवामपि प्रतिपेधो वन्नम्बः ॥ वा० ॥ असूद्रकेऽपि केचित् प्रतिपेधाभिज्ञान्ति ॥

इष्टिः ॥ अभिवादवास्ये वल संकीर्तिं नाम गोवं वा तद् वच प्रस्तुभिवाद वाक्यान्ते प्रयुक्तये तत्राशूत इष्ट्यते ॥ वा० ॥ भोटाजन्य विशां वेति वन्नम्बः ॥

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

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

Thus अभिवादये देवदत्तोऽहि is said by Devadatta to his Guru. The latter says भो भाषुभान् एषि देवदत्तोऽहि ॥ "O Devadatta ! be thou long-lived".

Why do we say when not referring to a Śūdra ? Observe अभिवादये तुष्ट-कोऽहि is said by a Śūdra. In reply to this the Guru replies भो भाषुभान् एषि तुष्टजक !

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated with regard to women also. As अभिवादये गार्ग्यहि is said by Gārgī. To this the Guru replies :—भो भाषुभानी भवगार्गि ! ॥

Vart :—Some would have this prohibition where a detractor or an arrogant person is addressed. So long as one's arrogance or ridicule does not become manifest, there is prolation. But when one comes to know that he is my detractor, and is really ridiculing me by a show of respect ; then the reply is not a blessing, but is, in fact, a curse. Thus अभिवादये स्थात्वाह भोः, is uttered by the detractor ; and the Guru understanding the word Sthālin to be the Proper Name of the person, replies भाषुभान् एषि स्थालिन् ॥ Then the

detractor says, Sthālin is not my Proper Name, but an adjective, like dañdin, viz. he who has a स्थाल or cooking pot. The Guru, believing this to be true, again replies, आयुष्मान् एषि स्थालिन् but without prolation, because the word is not a Proper Noun. The other then says "O Sir, it is not my epithet, it is my Proper Name". The Guru now comes to learn that he is being laughed at, and so gets angry and says : असूयकस्वं जालम् ! न स्वं प्रसभिवासनमर्हसि ; मिद्यस्वं दृष्टल स्थालिन् ! ॥ Here it is a curse, as well as a pun : i. e. "burst thou, O sinner ! like unto a cooking pot (sthālin = sthalī-vat).

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

Vṛtti :—The prolation is optional, when भोः follows such Proper Name, or when the Person addressed is a Kshatriya or a Vaishya. As भो अभिवादये देवदत्तोऽहं ॥ Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एषि देवदत्तं भोः १ or (2) आयुष्मान् एषि देवदत्तं भोः ॥ So also when a Kshatriya is addressed, as अभिवादये इन्द्रवर्म्माहं भोः, Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एषि इन्द्रवर्म्मा॑ १ or (2) आयुष्मान् एषि इन्द्रवर्म्मा॑ ॥ Vaishya : अभिवादये इन्द्रपालितोऽहं भोः ॥ Guru : आयुष्मानोषि इन्द्रपालित १ or आयुष्मानोषि इन्द्रपालित ॥

दूरादृते च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दूरात्, दृते, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दूरादृते यदाक्षयं वर्तते तस्य दे: प्लुतो भवति स चोशातः ॥
इटिः ॥ वाक्यस्यान्ते यच सम्बोधनपदं भवति, तच अयं प्लुत इष्यते ॥

84. The final vowel of a sentence becomes *pluta* and acute, when used in calling a person from a distance.

The word दूरा॒त् is in the Fifth case by II. 3. 35; the word दृ॒ते means 'calling', 'addressing'. Thus आगच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्ता॑ ॥ आगच्छ भो माणवक यस्तद्गाँ॑ ॥ The word 'distance' is a relative term, and is not fixed at what distance there should be prolation. The prolation however takes place, when a voice is to be raised, in order that the sound may reach the person. That distance upto which the voice can be heard without raising its pitch and without any special effort, need not be considered as "distance" for the purposes of this sūtra.

The word दूर् here includes, 'addressing in general', and not only 'calling'. Thus there is prolation here also सन्तूर् पित देवदत्ता॑, पलायस्व देवदत्ता॑ ॥ This *pluta* sentence becomes *eka-śruti* by I. 2. 33.

Why do we say "from a distance"? Observe आगच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्त !

Ishṭi :—This prolation takes place only then, when the noun in the vocative case stands at the end of the sentence. Therefore, there is no prolation here: देवदत्तं आगच्छ !

हैहेप्रयोगे हैहयोः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ है, हे, प्रयोगे, है, हयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हैदेप्रयोगे वूराद्धते यद्याक्यं वर्तते सज्ज हैहयंरेव प्लतो भवति ॥

85. When the words है and हो are employed, in addressing a person from a distance, there the है and हो alone get the pluperf and the accent.

As है ३ देवदत्त, देवदत्त है ३ ॥ हे ३ देवदत्त, देवदत्त है ३ ॥

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

गुरोरनृतोनन्त्यस्याप्येकैकस्य प्राचाम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुरोः, अनू-श्रूतः, अ-
नन्त्यस्य, अपि, एक, एकस्य, प्राचाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रह्मारवर्जितस्य युग्मे नन्तरस्यापि शब्दशब्दन्तस्यापि देवेकैकस्य सम्बोधने वर्तमानस्य प्लुतो भवति प्राचामानार्थाणां भवेत् ॥

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

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

Why do we say अनृतः "with the exception of कृत्"? Observe कृष्णमित्रैष, कृष्ण-
मित्रैष, but never कृष्णमित्र ॥

The word एकैकस्य shows that the prolation should not be simultaneous, but of one at a time; not देवदेवदेवता ॥

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

As शास्त्राभास् पृष्ठि देवरत्न ॥ Thus the present sūtra, makes VIII. 2. 83 and 84, optional sūtras. This also is an authority for the following dictum of Patanjali “ सर्वे एव प्लुतः साहसमनिष्ठता विभाषा कर्त्तव्यः ” (Mahabhaṣya VIII. 2. 92. Commentary). Thus *all* rules relating to Prolation become optional. In short, the word प्राप्ताभ् should be read in all rules regarding prolation, and thus without doing violence (sāhasa) to grammatical authority, one may have optional *pluta* everywhere.

ओमभ्यादाने ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओम, अभ्यादाने ॥
त्रितीयः ॥ अभ्यासानं प्रारम्भः तत्र य ओमशब्दः तस्य प्लृतो भवति ॥

87. The vowel in ओम् is pluta in the beginning of a sacred text.

The word अभ्याशनं means the commencement of a sacred mantra or Vedic text. Thus ओ॒म् अप्रिमीले पुराहितं यज्ञस्य देववृत्तिं ॥ (Rig I. 1. 1).

Why do we say "in the beginning"? Observe ओमित्येतद्भुतीयपुरासीत् (Chhāndogya Upanishad. I. 1. 1). Here ओम् is not used to indicate the commencement of a Text or Mantra, but is itself the subject of comment.

ये यज्ञकर्मणि ॥ दद ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, यज्ञ, कर्मणि ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ ये इस्येतस्य यज्ञकर्माण प्रत्युतो भवति ॥
 इष्टिः ॥ ये यज्ञमह इस्यत्रैवायन्प्रत इष्टयते ॥

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

Thus येऽयजामहे ॥ Why do we say when employed in sacrificial work ? Observe ये यजामह इति पञ्चास्तरम् “ Ye yajamahe consists of five syllables ”. Here it is simple recitation.

Ishti :—The word ये is pluta before अज्ञानहे only. Therefore not so here : ये देवतासो रिष्ट्यकांशस्थ (Rig. I. 139. 11).

प्रणवष्टेः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रणवः, देः ॥
मुक्तिः ॥ अज्ञकर्मणि देः प्रणव आशेषो भवति ॥

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

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

When not employed in connection with sacrificial works, there is no such substitution. Thus in simple reading of the Vedas, we should always recite अपां रेतांसि जिन्वति ॥

याज्यान्तः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ याज्या, अन्तः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ याज्या नाम वे बांधा काण्डे पञ्चन्ते मन्त्रास्तेषामन्त्यो थट्ठः स इतरे वक्तकर्मणि ॥

90. The last vowel at the end of Mantras called Yājya, when employed in sacrificial works, is plutā and has the Acute.

Thus स्तोमैर्विभेषामयेः (Rig. VIII. 43. 11), जिह्वामये अकुपे इष्वाशाइ (Rig. X. 8. 6).

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

शूहिप्रेष्यश्वीषद्वौषदावहानामादेः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शूहि, प्रेष्य, श्वीषद्, औषद्,
आवहानाम, आदेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शूहि प्रेष्य श्वीषद् औषद् आवह इस्तेषामादेः प्लुतो भवति वक्तकर्मणि ॥

91. In a sacrificial work, the first syllable of शूहि, प्रेष्य, श्वीषद्, औषद् and आवह is plutā.

Thus अग्नेऽनुशूहिः (Maitr. S. I. 4. 11), अग्ने गोमयानि (or 'न') प्रेष्य, अस्तु
श्वीषद्; सोमस्यामे वीर्णै वैष्टिषद्, अग्निश्वीषद् ॥

So also in पित्र्यामनुस्तृधा on the analogy of शूहि, so also अस्तुस्तृधा ॥
The word श्वीषद् is illustrative of the six forms षष्ठ, वैष्टिषद्, वाष्टद, वौषद्, वाषद्, वसाद् ॥

But there is no prolation in आवह ऐवान् वज्रानाम ; आवह जात वेदः ॥

अग्नीत्येषणे परस्य च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नीध्, प्रेषणे, परस्य, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अग्नीधः प्रेषणमग्नीत्येषणम् तवादेः प्लुतो भवति परस्य च ॥

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

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

NAMES OF PRINCIPAL.

S U B O R D I N A T E.

I.	½.	⅓.	⅔.
Adhvaryu : (Yajur)	Pratiprasthātā	Nesṭhā (VI.4.11)	Unnetā.
Udgātā (Sāman)	Prastotā	Pratihartā	Subrahmanya.
Hotā (Rig) VI. 4. 11.	Maitrā varuṇa	Achchhāvāk	Potā (VI.4.11).
Brahmā (Atharvan)	Brāhmaṇāchhañśī	Āgnīdhra	Grāvastuta.

The duty of Ágnidhra is to kindle the sacrificial fire. In a summons or call (प्रेषण) made by the Adhvaryu, who is the Director of ceremonies, to the Ágnidhra to perform the functions of Ágnidh, both syllable become plutā.

The word अग्नीत् प्रेषण is a compound = अग्नीधः प्रेषण् " a call or summon relating to Agnidhduity."

Thus आ॒ आ॑ वा॒ वा॑ वा॒ वा॑ वा॒ || The plutā takes place only in these examples; therefore, not here, as अग्नीदग्नीन् विहर ; वहि स्तुषीहि || Some, therefore, read the aunvṛitti of the word विभाषा from the next sūtra, into this, and would have it an optional rule, of fixed jurisdiction (viyavasthita vibhāshā). Others say " all plutā rules are optional " (सर्वे एव प्लुतः साहसमनिष्ठता विभाषा विशेषः) || In उद्धर॑ इ उद्धर॑, अभिहर॑ इ अभिहर॑, there is Vedic diversity.

The words 'relating to sacrificial work' (यज्ञकर्मणि) are understood here also. Therefore not in आ॒ आवाय ||

विभाषा पृष्ठप्रतिवचने हे॑ः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, पृष्ठ-प्रतिवचने॑ः, हे॑ः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पृष्ठप्रतिवचने॑ विभाषा हे॑ः प्लुतो भवति॑ ॥

93. हि at the end of an answer to a question may optionally be plutā.

Thus Q. अकार्षः कर्तृ देवदत्त ? Ans. अकार्षं हि॒॑ इ or अकार्षं हि॑ ॥ Q. अलापीः केवारं देवदत्त ? Ans. अलापिं हि॒॑ इ or हि॑ ॥

Why do we say "in answer to a question" ? Observe कर्तृ करिष्यति॑ हि॑ ॥

Why do we say हे॑ः "of हि॑" ? Observe करोमि॑ ननु॑ ॥

निगृह्णानुयोगे च ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि॑ गृह्ण, अनु॑ योगे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वमतात्प्रत्यावनं निग्रहः ॥ अनुयोगस्तस्य भत्स्वाविष्करणम् ॥ तत्त्वं निगृह्णानुयोगे यहाक्यं वर्तते सत्यं देः प्लुतो भवति॑ विभाषा ॥

94. The end syllable of that sentence is optionally plutā, when it asserts something which has been refuted, and is employed by the victor by way of censure.

The word निग्रहः means the refutation of another's opinion. निगृह्ण is a gerund, and means 'having refuted'. अनुयोगः is the expression of the same proposition which has been refuted. When a person has demonstrated the untenability of another's assertion, and then employs the said assertion by way of taunt, reproach or reprimand, then the final syllable of such a sentence becomes plutā. The sūtra literally means "Having refuted(it) when asserting (the same by way of censure)."

Thus an opponent asserts that "The word is not eternal." (अनित्यः शब्दः). Proving by arguments the untenability of this position, and after refuting it, the victor says by way of reprimand:—अनित्यः शब्द इत्यार्थ्य॑ इ or अनित्य शब्द इत्यारथ॑ ॥ 'This is then your assertion—that the word is not eternal'. Similarly अय आ॒ अभित्यार्थ्य॑ इ or अय आ॒ अभित्यारथ॑ ॥ अयामावास्त्वेत्यार्थ्य॑ इ or अयामावास्त्वेत्यारथ॑ ॥

In some texts of Kāśikā, according to Padamanjari, only the last example is given.

आग्नेडितं भर्त्सने ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आग्नेडितम्, भर्त्सने ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वाम्यादेरामन्वितस्येति भर्त्सने द्विर्वचनमुक्तं तस्यादेडितं प्रवते ॥
वाप्तिकम् ॥ भर्त्सने पर्वादेपति वन्नव्यम् ॥

95. The end syllable of an Amredita Vocative is pluta, when threat is expressed.

A Vocative is reiterated when threat is meant (VIII. I. 8). Its final syllable becomes *pluta*. Thus औरै औरौः घातिष्वामि त्वा ॥ So also दृपल दृपलौः बन्धविष्वामि त्वा, एत्य एत्यौः &c.

Though the anuvṛitti of the sūtra VIII. 2. 82, is current here, yet the final of the sentence is not *pluta*, but of the āmredita.

Vart :—It should be rather stated that any one of the repeated words may be pluta by alternation. Thus चौराँ॒ चौर or चैर॑ नौराँ॒ ॥ The word अम्रेदिता is employed in the sūtra as illustrative of the doubling, for threat is expressed by *both* words, so pluta may be of *both* words in turn: and not of the second word only, though that is called technically अम्रेदिता.

अङ्गयुक्तं तिरुकारुक्षम् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्ग, युक्तम्, तिरुकारुक्षम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गाद्यनेन युक्तं तिठन्तमाकारुक्षं भर्त्सने भ्रते ॥

96. The final syllable of a finite verb, used as a threat becomes **pluta**, when the word अहं is joined with it, and it demands another sentence to complete the conclusion.

Thus अहं कर्ता॑ है इशानी॒ ज्ञात्यसि॑ जात्म ॥ अहं व्याहर्ता॑ है, इशानी॒ ज्ञात्यसि॑ जात्म ॥

Why do we say 'a verb'? Observe अनु सेवकम् भित्ता वदसि !!

Why do we say "when this calls for a conclusion"? Observe अतः पूर्ण ॥
Here it is a complete sentence and does not demand another to complete
the sense.

The word भर्त्सने of the last sūtra is understood here also. Therefore not here, अङ्ग अधीक्ष्य, ओ॒इनं से वास्तवामि ॥ Here अङ्ग has the force of solicitation. (VIII. 1. 33).

विज्ञार्थमाणानाम् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विज्ञार्थ-माणानाम् ॥

मणिः ॥ प्रमाणेन बल्लभपरीक्षणं विषारः । सत्यं विषये विश्वार्थमाणानां शास्त्रानां देः प्रस्तो भवति ॥

97. The end-syllable of those sentences is *pluta*, which denote acts of reflection (or balancing between two alternatives).

To determine a thing by weighing all arguments *pro* and *con* is called vichāra or judgment. Thus होतव्यं सिक्षितस्य गृहा ३ इ न होतव्यौ३म् “should one perform sacrifice in the house of an initiated person”. Similarly सिद्धेष्यपापा३, अनुभवे३

पूर्वाश्रृतः ॥ Here also it is being reflected upon whether शूरे सिष्टेत् or शूरे अनुपश्चेत् ॥ i.e. should the stake remain upright or should it be put flat by the yajamâna. किं शूष्पस्तिष्ठेत्, किं वा शूरं यजमानः शायवेत् ॥

पूर्वं तु भाषायाम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वम्, तु, भाषायाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भाषादां विषये विचार्यमाणानां पूर्वमेव प्रवत्ते ॥

98. In the common speech, the end-vowel of the first alternative is only plutia.

This makes a niyama or restriction. The previous sûtra, is thus confined to Vedic literature, and not to the vernacular. तु here has the force of 'only'. Thus अहि द्वैः इच्छुतुः 'Is it a snake or a rope?' लोटो द्वैः कगोतोतुः 'Is it a clod of earth or a pigeon?'

The priority, of course, depends upon employment. The order of words depends upon one's choice.

प्रतिश्वषणे च ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिश्वषणे, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिश्वषणमभ्युपगमः प्रतिज्ञानच ॥ अवणाभिषुक्ष्यं च तथाविषेषास्तर्वस्वं महणच ॥ प्रतिश्वषण
यद्वाक्यं वर्तते तस्य देः प्लुतो भवति ॥

99. The end-syllable of the sentence which expresses assent or promise or listening to, is plutia.

The word प्रतिश्वषण means "agreement, assent or promise": It also means "listening to". All these senses are to be taken here, as there is nothing in the sûtra to restrict its scope. Thus it has three senses, 1. to promise something to a petitioner, 2. to acknowledge the truth of some proposition, 3. to listen to another's words. Thus नां मे हेहि भीः, 1. हन्ते से एवामि॑ ॥ 2. नित्यः
शब्दो भवितुमर्हति॑ ॥ 3. देवदत्त भीः, किमात्यर्थ॑ ॥

**अनुदात्सं प्रश्नान्ताभिषूजितयोः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्सम्, प्रश्न-अन्त,
अभि॒ पूजितयोः ॥**
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्सः प्लुतो भवति प्रश्नान्ते अभिषूजिते च ॥

100. The end-vowel at the end of a question or of a praise is plutia, but unaccented.

That which is employed at the end of an interrogative sentence is called प्रश्नान्तः ॥ According to some, this rule does not ordain plutia, but only ordains the anudâttâ-ness of those syllables which become plutia by the previous rules VIII. 2. 84 &c. The meaning of the sûtra then is:—That plutia which comes at the end of an Interrogative sentence or a sentence denoting admiration, is anudâttâ.

Thus अगमै॑ः पूर्वै॑त् यामै॑त् अभिषूता॑त् or अगमै॑ः पूर्वै॑त् यामै॑त् पदा॑त् (i. e. अगमः पूर्वात् यामात् अभिषूते or पदो) ॥ The words अभिषूते, and पदो being finals in a

question, become anudātta as well as plutā. The other words अग्नः &c become svarita and plutā by VIII. 2. 105. See VIII. 2. 107.

As regards अभिपूजिते we have शोभनः स्वर्वसि माणवका॑ ॥ Here the final of माणवक becomes anudātta and plutā.

चिदिति चोपमार्थे प्रयुज्यमाने ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्, इति, च, उपमा-अर्थे, प्रयुज्यमाने ॥

बृतिः ॥ अनुवाचमिति वर्तते चिदित्येत्स्मिन्पाते उपमार्थे प्रयुज्यमाने वाक्यस्य देवनुशासः प्लुतो भवति ॥

101. The end-vowel at the end of a sentence becomes anudātta and plutā, when the particle चित् is employed, denoting comparison.

The word अनुशासनं is understood here. This sūtra ordains plutā as well and not merely accent.

Thus अप्निच्छ भावाश्च 'may he shine as fire'. So also राजधिर भावाश्च 'may be shine as a King'.

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of comparison'? Observe कर्यं चिद् धाहुः ॥ Here चिद् has the force of 'littleness or difficulty'.

Why do we say प्रयुज्यमाने 'when expressly employed'? Observe अनिमाणवको भावाश्च 'Let the boy shine like fire'. Here चित् is understood, hence the rule does not apply.

उपरिस्विदासीदिति च ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपरि-स्वित्-आसीत्, इति, च ॥
बृतिः ॥ अनुवाचमिति वर्तते ॥ उपरिस्विदासीयेत्स्य देवनुशासः प्लुतो भवति ॥

102. In उपरि स्वित् आसीत् the end vowel is anudātta and plutā.

The word anudātta is understood here also. The end-vowel would have been plutā here by VIII. 2. 97: the present sūtra really ordains accentlessness of this plutā.

Thus अधः स्वितासीश्च, उपरि स्वितासीश्च (Rig X. 129. 5). In the first portion आसीत् is plutā and udātta by VIII. 2. 97, in the second it is anudātta by the present sūtra.

स्वरितमाङ्गेडितेसूयासंमतिकोपकुत्सनेषु ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितम्, आङ्गेडिते, असूया, सम्मति; कोप, कुत्सनेषु ॥

बृतिः ॥ स्वरितः प्लुतो भवति आङ्गेडिते परतः असूयावां सम्मतौ कोपे कुत्सने च गम्भेयान ॥
वा० ॥ असूयारिषु वा वचनं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

103. Of the two Vocatives of the same form standing at the beginning of a sentence, the end-vowel of the first becomes plutā and svarita, when envy, praise, anger, or blame is expressed.

The vocative is doubled by VIII. 1. 8. This sūtra ordains plutā there. Thus Envy:—माणवका॑२ माणवक, अभिरूपका॑२ अभिरूपक, रित्तं त अभिरूपम् ॥ Praise:—

माणवका॒ भाणवक, अ॑भिरुपका॒ अभिरुपक शोभनः स्वस्त्रि॒ Anger :—माणवका॒ भाणवक, अ॑विनीतका॒ अविनीतक इशार्नी॑ ज्ञास्त्रिसि जालम् ॥ Blame :—ज्ञान्त्रिका॒ ज्ञान्त्रिक, वादीका॒ वादीक रित्ता॑ ते शन्तिः ॥

Vart :—The word “optionally” should be read into this sūtra. Thus there is no plutā and svarita in one alternative. As माणवक माणवक &c.

क्षियाशीः प्रैषेषु तिङ्गाकाङ्क्षम् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षिया, आशी, प्रैषेषु, तिङ्ग-
आकाङ्क्षम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वारित इति वर्तते । क्षिया आचारभेदः । आशीः प्रार्थनाविशेषः । शब्देन व्यापारणं प्रेषः । एतेषु
गम्भमानेषु तिङ्गन्तामकाङ्क्षां वस्त्रित्य स्वरितः पूरुतो भवति ॥

104. When an error against polite usage is censured, or when a benediction or a bidding is intended, the end syllable of a finite verb becomes plutā and svarita, if this requires another sentence to complete the sense.

The word ‘svarita’ is understood here. The word क्षिया means ‘the error in usage’ or ‘want of good breeding’. (VIII.1.60) आशीः means ‘benediction’. प्रेषः means ‘order’ or ‘commanding by words’.

Thus (1) स्वं दयेन वौति॑, उपाध्यायं पशाति गमयति ॥ स्वं धोरनं भुहन्ते॑, उपाध्यायं
सम्मूलं पाचति॑ ॥ In both these, the first sentence requires the second as its complement, and hence there is साकाङ्क्षा ॥

Benediction :—द्युसांच लप्सीष्टाऽपनं च तात ; छन्दोध्येषीष्टाऽव्याकरणं च, भ्रम् ॥

Order :—कर्तुं कुर्कं॑ मार्मं च गच्छ ; वदान् लृतीष्टिं॑, सकूलं च पिष ॥

Why do we say “when it requires another sentence as its complement”? Observe वैर्धे ते आयुरस्तु ; घर्मीन् विहर ॥ There cannot be any counter-example of क्षिया, for there two sentences are absolutely necessary to express the sense of censure.

अनन्त्यस्यापि प्रश्नास्यानयोः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनन्त्यस्य, आपि, प्रश्न, आस्या-
नयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनन्त्यस्यापि अनन्त्यस्यापि पदस्य देः पूरुतो भवति प्रेषे आस्याने च ॥

105. In a question or narration, the end-vowel of a word, though not final in a sentence, becomes svarita and plutā, as well as of the word which is final in a sentence.

The word ‘padasya’ is understood here: and so also the word ‘svarita’. The end-vowel of a word which is not the last word in a sentence, as well as of the last word, becomes svarita and plutā, when a question is asked, or a fact is narrated. In fact, *all* the words of a sentence become svarita and plutā hereby.

Thus in questioning we have :—माणमां॑ः पूर्वी॒३ भानां॑३ आपि भूतां॑३ or
पदां॑३ ॥ Thus all words have become svarita and plutā. The final word

would, in one alternative, become anudatta also, by VIII. 2. 100, as shown under that sūtra. The force of the word अषि in the sūtra, is to make the final word also svarita, and thus this sūtra makes VIII. 2. 100 an *optional* sūtra with regard to question.

In *ākhyāna* or narration, there is no other rule, which is debarred by this. Therefore there, *all* words become svarita and *pluta necessarily*, by the force of this sūtra. Thus अगमां॒॒॒ पूर्वी॒॒॒ पामा॒॒॒ भोः॑ः ॥

Another view of this sūtra is that the word अषि applies only to *ākhyāna*, so that in *ākhyāna* *all* words become svarita. But in *prāśna*, the final word will not become svarita, but *anudatta necessarily* by VIII. 2. 100. According to this view, this sūtra does not ordain *option*. This view is not adopted by Kāsikā, or Padamanjari or Siddhanta Kaumudi.

प्लुतावैच इदुतौ ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्लुतौ, ऐचः, इदुतौ ॥
इति: ॥ पूराप्लुतादिषु प्लुतो विदितः तच ऐचः प्लुतप्रसङ्गे तदवयवभूतावि इतौ प्लुतौ ॥

106. In forming the *pluta* of the diphthongs ऐ and औ, their last element इ and उ get the *pluta*.

The *pluta* ordained by VIII. 2. 84 &c. when applied to ऐ or औ, cause the prolation of the last element of these diphthongs namely of इ or उ. The word प्लुतौ in the sūtra is Nominative dual of प्लुत, and the aphorism literally means “इ and उ are *pluta* of the diphthongs ऐ and औ” ॥

Thus ऐतिकाव्य, औपग्रह ॥

The letters ऐ and औ are compound letters or diphthongs consisting of अ+इ and अ+उ ॥ In making the *pluta* of these, the question arises, should both अ and इ (or उ) be prolated, or only the last element, or the first only. The present sūtra answers that doubt. If in the analysis of these letters, अ be taken as having one mātrā (or *moras*), and इ and उ one mātrā, then the *pluta* इ and उ will have two mātrās, so that the whole *pluta* ऐ and औ will have three mātrās. In fact, the word प्लुत is used here as a Past Participle of प्लु, having the force of a verb ; and इदुतौ प्लुतौ means इदुतौ प्लुयते i. e. वृद्धिं गच्छतः, i. e. इ and उ are lengthened. And इ and उ are lengthened to that extent, so as to make ऐ and औ three mātrās. Thus when अ+इ and अ+उ each has one mātrā, then the *pluta* of इ and उ will have two mātrās as we have said before. But when अ+इ (ऐ) and अ+उ (औ) are considered to have अ half mātrā, and इ and उ one mātrā and a half, then इ and उ are made *pluta*, so as to have two and a half ($2\frac{1}{2}$) mātrās each, thus the whole of ऐ and औ, has still three mātrās. In fact, the definition of *pluta* is, that it is a vowel which has three mātrās : so that we should so prolate the vowel as to make it have three mātrās.

But according to Patanjali, this *pluta* of ऐ and औ has four mātrās. Thus अ+इ and अ+उ each has one mātrā. The *pluta* of इ and उ will have

three mātrās. Thus अ + इ and अ + उ. or the *whole* has *four* mātrās. According to this view a vowel may have *four* mātrās also.

एचोऽप्रगृह्णस्यादूरादधूते पूर्वस्यार्द्धस्यादुक्तरस्येकुतौ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एचो,
अ-प्रगृह्णस्य, अदूरादधूते, पूर्वस्य अर्धस्य, आत्, उक्तरस्य ईत्, उतौ ॥
युतिः ॥ एचो अप्रगृह्णस्यादूरादधूते पूर्वविषयस्यार्द्धस्याकार अदेशो भवति स च पूर्तः उक्तरस्येकारोका-
रावदेशो भवतः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ विषयवर्तिगणं कर्तव्यं ॥ वा०॥ प्रभान्ताभिपूजितविचार्यमाणप्रत्यभिवादवाङ्मतेभिति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ आमन्तिसे छन्दविकारोबं वक्तव्यः ॥

107. In the diphthongs, which are not Pragṛhya (I. 1. 11 &c) and which become *pluta* under the circumstances mentioned in VIII. 2. 83 &c., but not when that circumstance is a call from a distance (VIII. 2. 84); for the first half, there is substituted the prolated आ, and for the second portion इ or उ ॥

The diphthongs or एच् are ए, ऐ, ओ and औ ॥ Their elements are अ+इ, and अ+उ ॥ When these diphthongs are to be prolated, *at the end of a word*, the diphthong is resolved into its elements, the *first* portion अ is prolated, and इ or उ added, as the case may be. This इ and उ, in fact, are the substitutes of the second portion, which may be इ or उ, or ए or औ ॥

This rule is not of universal application, but applies to Rules VIII. 2. 100, VIII. 2. 97, VIII. 2. 83, and VIII. 2. 90 only, according to the

Vṛtti :—The scope of this sūtra should be determined by enumerating the rules to which it applies.

Vṛtti :—It should be stated that it applies to sūtras VIII. 2. 100, 97, 83 and 90.

Thus VIII. 2. 100: As अगमाइः पूर्वाइन् मामाइन् अभिभूताइँ ॥ or पदाइँ ॥
माइ करेषि माणवकाइ अभिभूताइ ॥ or पदाइँ ॥ So also VIII. 2. 97: होतव्ये शीलितस्य
गृहाइँ ॥ So also VIII. 2. 83, as :—मायुष्मान् एषि अभिभूताइँ ॥ or पर्वाइँ ॥ So also
VIII. 2. 90:—as.

उक्तामात्र वशामात्र सोमपृष्ठात्र वेधसे ।

त्वेमै विष्णेमामवाइँ ॥ (Tait. S. I. 3. 14. 7).

This *pluta* आ is *udātta*, *anudātta* or *svarita*, according to the particular rule which has been applied, i. e. at the end of a question it is *anudātta* or *svarita*, and every where else, *udātta*. The इ and उ are of course, always *udātta*: because the *anuvṛitti* of *udātta* is current here.

Why do we restrict this sūtra to the above-mentioned four rules? Observe विष्णुभूते विष्णुभूते शातविष्वामि त्वा आतच्छ ओ माणवक विष्णुभूते ॥

In fact, the present sūtra being confined to the above-mentioned four rules, the words अदूरादधूते in the sūtra, are redundant: and should not have

been used. Moreover the word पश्च त्रिष्णु should have been used in the sūtra, for it applies to diphthongs at the *end* of a pada. Therefore, not here, भर्तु करोति गौरिति ॥ Here गौ before the sarvanāmsthāna affix श्व is not a Pada (I. 4. 17).

Why do we say 'when it is not a Pragṛhya'? Observe शोभने शुल्क स्पःखदेः ॥

Vart :—This peculiar modification of plutā vowel takes place in the Vocative case in the Vedas. As अग्राइ पवीषाऽः सूर्येन त्वश्च सोमं पित् ॥ Here by no other rule, the Vocative would have become prolated

तयोर्युवचि संहितायाम् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तयोः य, औ, अचि, संहितायाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तयोरितुसोर्यकारवकारादेशो भवते इचि संहितायां विषये ॥

Kārikā :—किं तु वर्णा भवतीह न सिञ्चं द्वाविदुतोर्यवर्णं विदधाति ।

ती च मम स्वरसन्धिषु सिञ्चौ शाकलवीर्यविधी तु निवर्तते ॥

इकं तु वर्णा भवति पञ्चतपूर्वस्तत्त्वं वर्णं विदधात्यपवादव् ।

तेन तत्त्वो भवति शाकलवीर्यै वप्त्वरवाधनमेव तु हेतुः ॥

108. For these vowels इ and उ are substituted य and श when a vowel follows them in a samhita (in an unbroken flow of speech).

The word संहितायाम् is an adhikāra and exerts its influence upto the end of the Book. Whatever we shall teach hereafter, upto the end of the Book, will apply to words which are in Sanhita.

Thus अग्राइवाचा, पदाइवाचा, अग्राइविन्द्रम्, पदाइवुरकम् ॥

Why do we say "when a vowel follows"? Observe अग्राइ, पदाइर ॥

Why do we say संहितायाम् 'in an uninterrupted flow of speech'? Observe अग्राइ इन्द्रम्, पदाइर उरकम् in Pada Pāṭha.

This sūtra is made, because इ and उ being Pluta-modifications are considered as asiddha (VIII. 2. 1) for the purposes of इको बण्डिति (VI. I. 77). But supposing that some how or other, these इ and उ be considered siddha, still the present rule is necessary to prevent their lengthening before a homogeneous vowel (VI. I. 101), or their retaining their form unchanged by VI. I. 127. If it be said, that these rules VI. I. 101, and VI. I. 127, would not apply, because of the Vārtika इकः पञ्चतपूर्वस्त्वं सर्वर्जीर्यं वाधनायै वर्णादेशो वक्तव्यः (Vārtika to VI. I. 77); still the present sūtra ought to be made, in order to prevent अश्व accent (VIII. 2. 4).

Kārikā :—Q. Could not this have been accomplished by the वर्णादेश of VI. I. 77, that the Achārya has taught this separate इ and उ substitution?

Ans.—If you say that plutā is siddha in the vowel sandhi rules, because of the jñāpaka in sūtra VI. I. 125, then still this rule is necessary in order to prevent the lengthening of VI. I. 101, and the Sākala rule VI. I. 127.

Q.—But those two rules VI. 1. 101, and VI. 1. 127, have already been debarred by the Vārtika which ordains that असैश्च takes place of such a vowel following a plutā (See vārtika to VI. 1. 77), what is then the necessity of the present sūtra?

Ans.—The necessity of the present sūtra is to prevent the अ-accident of VIII. 2. 4.

According to one view, the vārtika under VI. 1. 77, refers to those vowels which are not plutā-elements, like the present ए and उ, but which are *independent* vowels following after a plutā vowel. As शोऽह इन्द्र = शोऽह विन्द्र ॥ Here ए is a Nipāta.

In some texts of Kāsikā, according to Padamanjari, only the last example is given.

आम्रेडितं भर्त्सने ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आम्रेडितम्, भर्त्सने ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वाक्यादेतामनिवार्तस्त्वेति भर्त्सने हिरवचनपुक्तं तस्यादेऽर्थं द्वयते ॥
वार्तिकाश् ॥ भर्त्सने पर्यायेणेति वक्तव्यश् ॥

95. The end syllable of an āmredita Vocative is plutia, when threat is expressed.

A Vocative is reiterated when threat is meant (VIII. I. 8). Its final syllable becomes plutia. Thus चौरै चौरै शातिष्ठामि त्वा ॥ So also वृषल वृषलै वन्धविष्ठामि त्वा, इत्य इत्योऽ &c.

Though the anuvṛitti of the sūtra VIII. 2. 82, is current here, yet the final of the sentence is not plutia, but of the āmredita.

Vart :—It should be rather stated that any one of the repeated words may be plutia by alternation. Thus चौरै चौर or चौरै चौरै ॥ The word āmredita is employed in the sūtra as illustrative of the doubling, for threat is expressed by both words, so plutia may be of both words in turn: and not of the second word only, though that is called technically āmredita.

अङ्गयुक्तं तिङ्काकाङ्क्षम् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्ग, युक्तम्, तिङ्काकाङ्क्षम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गहत्येन युक्तं तिङ्कन्तमाकाङ्क्षं भर्त्सने द्वयते ॥

96. The final syllable of a finite verb, used as a threat becomes plutia, when the word अङ्ग is joined with it, and it demands another sentence to complete the conclusion.

Thus अङ्ग कूर्जै इशार्णी ज्ञात्यसि जात्य ॥ अङ्ग व्याहर्तै इशार्णी ज्ञात्यसि जात्य ॥

Why do we say 'a verb'? Observe अङ्ग ऐवहत्य मिथ्या वदसि ॥

Why do we say "when this calls for a conclusion"? Observe अङ्ग पञ्च ॥ Here it is a complete sentence and does not demand another to complete the sense.

The word भर्त्सने of the last sūtra is understood here also. Therefore not here, अङ्ग अधीज्ञ, आवनं ते ज्ञात्यामि ॥ Here अङ्ग has the force of solicitation. (VIII. I. 33).

विचार्यमाणानाम् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विचार्य-माणानाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाणेन वत्सुपरीकरणं विचारः । तस्य विषये विचार्यमाणानां वाक्यानां देः पुतो भवति ॥

97. The end-syllable of those sentences is plutia, which denote acts of reflection (or balancing between two alternatives).

To determine a thing by weighing all arguments *pro* and *con* is called vichāra or judgment. Thus होतव्यं सीक्षितस्य गृहा ३ इ न होतव्यैऽन् "should one perform sacrifice in the house of an initiated person". Similarly सिष्टेष्टूपाऽह, अनुप्रहे

पूर्वाश्रम् ॥ Here also it is being reflected upon whether शूरे तिषेण् or शूरे अनुप्रहरेत् ॥ i. e. should the stake remain upright or should it be put flat by the yajamāna. किं शूष्पस्तिषेन्, किं वा शूरं यज्ञानः शायवेत् ॥

पूर्वे तु भाषायाम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वम्, तु, भाषायाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भाषादां विषवे विचार्यमाणानां पूर्वमेव क्षवते ॥

98. In the common speech, the end-vowel of the first alternative is only plutā.

This makes a niyama or restriction. The previous sūtra, is thus confined to Vedic literature, and not to the vernacular. तु here has the force of 'only'. Thus आहि दैः॒॒ रज्जुरुः॑ 'Is it a snake or a rope?' लेदो दैः॒॒ कगोतोऽुः॑ 'Is it a clod of earth or a pigeon?'

The priority, of course, depends upon employment. The order of words depends upon one's choice.

प्रतिश्वरणे च ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिश्वरणे, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिश्वरणमभ्युपगमः प्रतिश्वानव ॥ अवणाभिशुश्रवं च तथाविशेषास्तर्वस्वं यहनव ॥ प्रतिश्वरण
यद्वाक्यं वर्तते तस्य देः प्लुतो भवति ॥

99. The end-syllable of the sentence which expresses assent or promise or listening to, is plutā.

The word प्रतिश्वरण means "agreement, assent or promise": It also means "listening to". All these senses are to be taken here, as there is nothing in the sūtra to restrict its scope. Thus it has three senses, 1. to promise something to a petitioner, 2. to acknowledge the truth of some proposition, 3. to listen to another's words. Thus गां ने देहि भीः, 1. हन्त से रक्षामि॑ ॥ 2. नित्यः
शब्दो भवितुमर्हते॑ ॥ 3. देवहन्त भीः, किमात्यर्थ॑ ॥

अनुदात्तं प्रश्नान्ताभिपूजितयोः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, प्रश्न-अन्त,
अभि पूजितयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मनुदात्तः प्लुतो भवति प्रश्नान्ते अभिपूजिते च ॥

100. The end-vowel at the end of a question or of a praise is plutā, but unaccented.

That which is employed at the end of an interrogative sentence is called प्रश्नान्तः ॥ According to some, this rule does not ordain plutā, but only ordains the anudātta-ness of those syllables which become plutā by the previous rules VIII. 2. 84 &c. The meaning of the sūtra then is:—That plutā which comes at the end of an Interrogative sentence or a sentence denoting admiration, is anudātta.

Thus अगमैः॑ पूर्वै॒॒ यामै॒॒॑ अग्निश्चाश्रम् or अगमैः॑ पूर्वै॒॒ यामै॒॒॑ पदाश्रम् (i. e. अगमः पूर्वम् यामाम् अग्निश्चते or पदो) ॥ The words अग्निश्चते, and पदो being finals in a

question, become anudâtta as well as plutâ. The other words अग्नः &c become svarita and plutâ by VIII. 2. 105. See VIII. 2. 107.

As regards अभिपूजिते we have शोभनः खल्वसि माणवका॑ ॥ Here the final of माणवक becomes anudâtta and plutâ.

चिदिति चोपमार्थे प्रयुज्यमाने ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्, इति, च, उपमा-अर्थे, प्रयुज्यमाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुवाचमिति वर्त्तते चिदितेतस्मिन्निपाते उपमार्थे प्रयुज्यमाने वाक्यस्व देवनुशासः प्लुतो भवति ॥

101. The end-yowel at the end of a sentence becomes anudâtta and plutâ, when the particle चित् is employed, denoting comparison.

The word अनुशासन is understood here. This sûtra ordains plutâ as well and not merely accent.

Thus आमिचिद् भाव्यात् 'may he shine as fire'. So also राजचिद् भाव्यात् 'may be shine as a King'.

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of comparison'? Observe कथं चिद् भावुः ॥ Here चिद् has the force of 'littleness or difficulty'.

Why do we say प्रयुज्यमाने 'when expressly employed'? Observe अग्नि माणवको भावात् 'Let the boy shine like fire'. Here चित् is understood, hence the rule does not apply.

उपरिस्विदासीदिति च ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपरि-स्वित्-आसीत्, इति, च ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अनुशासमिति वर्त्तते ॥ उपरिस्विदासीत्येतस्य देवनुशासः प्लुतो भवति ॥

102. In उपरि स्विद् आसीद् the end vowel is anudâtta and plutâ.

The word anudâtta is understood here also. The end-vowel would have been plutâ here by VIII. 2. 97: the present sûtra really ordains accentlessness of this plutâ.

Thus अथः स्विदासीद्, उपरि स्विदासीद् (Rig X. 129. 5). In the first portion आसीद् is plutâ and udâtta by VIII. 2. 97, in the second it is anudâtta by the present sûtra.

स्वरितमाग्नेडितेसूयासंमतिकोपकुत्सनेषु ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितम्, आग्नेडिते, असूया, सम्मति, कोप, कुत्सनेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरितः प्लुतो भवति आग्नेडिते परतः असूयायां सम्मतौ कोपे कुत्सने च गम्भेनान ॥

वा० ॥ असूयारिषु वा वचनं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

103. Of the two Vocatives of the same form standing at the beginning of a sentence, the end-vowel of the first becomes plutâ and svarita, when envy, praise, anger, or blame is expressed.

The vocative is doubled by VIII. 1. 8. This sûtra ordains plutâ there. Thus Envy:—माणवका॑ माणवक, अभिरूपका॑ अभिरूपक, रिक्तं त अभिरूपम् ॥ Praise:—

माणवकां॒ भाणवक, अ॑भिरुपकां॒ अभिरुपक शोभनः स्वत्वसि ॥ Anger :—माणवकां॒ माणवक, अ॑भिनीतकां॒ अभिनीतक इशार्ना॑ शास्त्रसि आस्म ॥ Blame :—शान्तीकां॒ शान्तीक, धारीकां॒ धारीक रित्ता॑ ते शनिः ॥

Vdrt :—The word “optionally” should be read into this sūtra. Thus there is no plutā and svarita in one alternative. As माणवक माणवक &c.

क्षियाशीः प्रैषेषु तिङ्काकाङ्क्षम् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षिया, आशी, प्रैषेषु, तिङ्क-
आकाङ्क्षम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वाति इति वर्तते । क्षिया आचारभेदः । आशीः प्रार्थनाविद्येषः । शब्देन व्यापारणं प्रेषः । एतेषु
गम्यमानेषु तिङ्कन्तामकाङ्क्षां वस्त्व स्वरितः पूर्तो भवति ॥

104. When an error against polite usage is censured, or when a benediction or a bidding is intended, the end syllable of a finite verb becomes plutā and svarita, if this requires another sentence to complete the sense.

The word ‘svarita’ is understood here. The word क्षिया means ‘the error in usage’ or ‘want of good breeding’. (VIII.1.60) आशीः means ‘benediction’. प्रैषः means ‘order’ or ‘commanding by words’.

Thus (1) स्वयं रथेन वौसिः॑, उपाञ्चायं पशाति गमवति ॥ स्वयं शोरनं मुहूर्ते॒॑, उपाञ्चायं
सम्मूरू पाववति ॥ In both these, the first sentence requires the second as its complement, and hence there is साकाङ्क्षा ॥

Benediction :—सुतां॒ लक्ष्मीषां॒ धनं च तात ; छन्दोध्येषीषां॒ व्याकरणं च, भ्रा॒ ॥

Order :—कर्तुं कुर्व॑ मामं च गच्छ ; वशात् लक्ष्मीहि॒॑, सकूरूपं पिष ॥

Why do we say “when it requires another sentence as its complement”? Observe वैर्धे ते आयुरस्तु ; भग्नीन् विहर ॥ There cannot be any counter-example of क्षिया, for there two sentences are absolutely necessary to express the sense of censure.

अनन्त्यस्यापि प्रशास्यानयोः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनन्त्यस्य, अपि, प्रश, आस्य-
नयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनन्त्यस्यापि अन्त्यस्यापि पदस्य देः पूर्तो भवति प्रसे आस्याने च ॥

105. In a question or narration, the end-vowel of a word, though not final in a sentence, becomes svarita and plutā, as well as of the word which is final in a sentence.

The word ‘padasya’ is understood here: and so also the word ‘svarita’. The end-vowel of a word which is not the last word in a sentence, as well as of the last word, becomes svarita and plutā, when a question is asked, or a fact is narrated. In fact, all the words of a sentence become svarita and plutā hereby.

Thus in questioning we have :—शाशमां॑ः पूर्वी॒॑ शाशमां॒॑ शाशि भूती॒॑ or
पदां॒॑ ॥ Thus all words have become svarita and plutā. The final word

would, in one alternative, become anudatta also, by VIII. 2. 100, as shown under that sūtra. The force of the word अषि in the sūtra, is to make the final word also svarita, and thus this sūtra makes VIII. 2. 100 an *optional* sūtra with regard to question.

In *ākhyāna* or narration, there is no other rule, which is debarred by this. Therefore there, *all* words become svarita and plutā *necessarily*, by the force of this sūtra. Thus अगमांशु पूर्वेन् प्राप्ताःः ॥

Another view of this sūtra is that the word अषि applies only to ākhyāna, so that in ākhyāna *all* words become svarita. But in praśna, the final word will not become svarita, but arudatta *necessarily* by VIII. 2. 100. According to this view, this sūtra does not ordain *option*. This view is not adopted by Kāsikā, or Padamanjari or Siddhanta Kaumudi.

प्लुतावैच इहुतौ ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्लुतौ, ऐचः, इहुतौ ॥
इति: ॥ तूराज्ञानादिभु प्लुतो विहितः तज्जे ऐचः प्लुतप्रसङ्गे तदवयवभूतावै इहुतो प्लुतौ ॥

106. In forming the plutā of the diphthongs ऐ and औ, their last element इ and उ get the plutā.

The plutā ordained by VIII. 2. 84 &c. when applied to ऐ or औ, cause the prolation of the last element of these diphthongs namely of इ or उ. The word प्लुतौ in the sūtra is Nominative dual of प्लुत, and the aphorism literally means “इ and उ are plutā of the diphthongs ऐ and औ” ॥

Thus ऐश्विकावन, औपग्रह ॥

The letters ऐ and औ are compound letters or diphthongs consisting of अ+इ and अ+उ ॥ In making the plutā of these, the question arises, should both अ and इ (or उ) be prolated, or only the last element, or the first only. The present sūtra answers that doubt. If in the analysis of these letters, अ be taken as having one mātrā (or *moras*), and इ and उ one mātrā, then the plutā इ and उ will have two mātrās, so that the whole plutā ऐ and औ will have three mātrās. In fact, the word प्लुत is used here as a Past Participle of प्लु, having the force of a verb ; and इहुतो प्लुतौ means इहुतो प्लुते i. e. वृद्धं गच्छतः; i. e. इ and उ are lengthened. And इ and उ are lengthened to that extent, so as to make ऐ and औ three mātrās. Thus when अ+इ and अ+उ each has one mātrā, then the plutā of इ and उ will have two mātrās as we have said before. But when अ+इ (ए) and अ+उ (ओ) are considered to have अ half mātrā, and इ and उ one mātrā and a half, then इ and उ are made plutā, so as to have two and a half ($2\frac{1}{2}$) mātrās each, thus the whole of ऐ and औ, has still three mātrās. In fact, the definition of plutā is, that it is a vowel which has three mātrās : so that we should so prolate the vowel as to make it have three mātrās.

But according to Patanjali, this plutā of ऐ and औ has four mātrās. Thus अ+इ and अ+उ each has one mātrā. The plutā of इ and उ will have

three mātrās. Thus अ + इ and अ + उ. or the *whole* has *four* mātrās. According to this view a vowel may have *four* mātrās also.

एचोऽप्रगृह्णस्यादूरादधूते पूर्वस्यार्द्धस्यादुत्तरस्येतुतौ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एचो,
अ-प्रगृह्णस्य, अदूरादधूते, पूर्वस्य अर्धस्य, आत्, उत्तरस्य ईत्, उत्तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एचोऽप्रगृह्णस्यादूरादधूते पूर्वविषवस्यार्द्धस्याकार अदेशो भवति स अ पूर्वः उत्तरस्येकारोका-
रावादेशो भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ विषवस्यार्द्धं कर्तव्यं ॥ वा०॥ प्रभान्ताभिषूचितविचार्द्धमाणप्रत्यभिवादयाउद्यान्तेभिति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा०॥ आमन्त्रे छन्दसि पूर्वविकारेवं वक्तव्यः ॥

107. In the diphthongs, which are not Pragrhya (I. 1. 11 &c) and which become plutā under the circumstances mentioned in VIII. 2. 83 &c., but not when that circumstance is a call from a distance (VIII. 2. 84); for the first half, there is substituted the prolated आ, and for the second portion इ or उ ॥

The diphthongs or एच are ए, ऐ, ओ and औ ॥ Their elements are अ+इ, and अ+उ ॥ When these diphthongs are to be prolated, *at the end of a word*, the diphthong is resolved into its elements, the *first* portion अ is prolated, and इ or उ added, as the case may be. This इ and उ, in fact, are the substitutes of the second portion, which may be इ or उ, or ए or औ ॥

This rule is not of universal application, but applies to Rules VIII. 2. 100, VIII. 2. 97, VIII. 2. 83, and VIII. 2. 90 only, according to the

Vṛtti :—The scope of this sūtra should be determined by enumerating the rules to which it applies.

Vṛtti :—It should be stated that it applies to sūtras VIII. 2. 100, 97, 83 and 90.

Thus VIII. 2. 100: As अगमाइः पूर्वैन् मामाइन् अभिभूताइँ ॥ or पदाइँ ॥
महं करोषि माणवकाइ अभिभूताइँ or पदाइँ ॥ So also VIII. 2. 97: होतव्यं शीशितस्य
गृहीँ ॥ So also VIII. 2. 83, as :—मायुष्मान् एषि अभिभूताइँ or पदाइँ ॥ So also
VIII. 2. 90:—as.

उक्तामाय वशामाय सोमपृष्ठाय वेष्टते ।

स्त्रैमै विषेमाप्नवाइँ ॥ (Tait. S. I. 3. 14. 7).

This plutā आ is udātta, anudātta or svarita, according to the particular rule which has been applied, i. e. at the end of a question it is anudātta or svarita, and every where else, udātta. The इ and उ are of course, always udātta : because the anuvritti of udātta is current here.

Why do we restrict this sūtra to the above-mentioned four rules? Observe विष्णुभूते विष्णुभूते यातविष्वामि स्या आमच्छ भी माणवक विष्णुभूते ॥

In fact, the present sūtra being confined to the above-mentioned four rules, the words अदूरादधूते in the sūtra, are redundant: and should not have

been used. Moreover the word पश्च शould have been used in the sūtra, for it applies to diphthongs at the end of a pada. Therefore, not here, भ्रं करोपि गौरिति ॥ Here गौ before the sarvanāmsthāna affix षु is not a Pada (I. 4. 17).

Why do we say 'when it is not a Pragṛhya'? Observe शोभने खलु स्यःखद्वै ॥

Vart :—This peculiar modification of plutā vowel takes place in the Vocative case in the Vedas. As अग्राइ पतीवाः सज्जेन स्पष्टा सोमं पित् ॥ Here by no other rule, the Vocative would have become prolated

तयोर्यावचि संहितायाम् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तयोः य, वौ, अचि, संहितायाम् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ तयोरिदुतोर्मकारवकारवेशो भवते एचि संहितायां विषये ॥

Kārikā :—कि तु वणा भवसीह न सिञ्च श्वाविदुतोर्बद्यं विदधाति ।
ती च मम स्वरसनिष्ठु सिञ्चौ शाकलरीर्थविधी तु निवलौ ॥
इक तु वणा भवति द्व्युतपूर्वस्त्व वणं विदधात्यपवादम् ।
तेन तबोभ न शाकलरीर्थौ बणस्वरवाधनमेव द्वु हेतुः ॥

108. For these vowels इ and उ are substituted य and औ when a vowel follows them in a samhita (in an unbroken flow of speech).

The word संहितायाम् is an adhikāra and exerts its influence upto the end of the Book. Whatever we shall teach hereafter, upto the end of the Book, will apply to words which are in Sanhita.

Thus अग्राइवाशा, पदाइवाशा, अग्राइविन्दम्, पदाइवुरकम् ॥

Why do we say "when a vowel follows"? Observe अग्राइ, पदाइउ ॥

Why do we say संहितायाम् 'in an uninterrupted flow of speech'? Observe अग्राइ इ इन्द्रम्, पदाइउ उरकम् in Pada Pāṭha.

This sūtra is made, because इ and उ being Pluta-modifications are considered as asiddha (VIII. 2. 1) for the purposes of इको वर्णविधि (VI. 1. 77). But supposing that some how or other, these इ and उ be considered siddha, still the present rule is necessary to prevent their lengthening before a homogeneous vowel (VI. 1. 101), or their retaining their form unchanged by VI. 1. 127. If it be said, that these rules VI. 1. 101, and VI. 1. 127, would not apply, because of the Vārtika इकः द्व्युतपूर्वस्त्व सर्वर्जीर्थ वाधनार्थं वणावेशो बन्धमः (Vārtika to VI. 1. 77); still the present sūtra ought to be made, in order to prevent उष्म accent (VIII. 2. 4).

Kārikā :—Q. Could not this have been accomplished by the बणावेश of VI. 1. 77, that the Achārya has taught this separate उ and औ substitution?

Ans.—If you say that plutā is siddha in the vowel sandhi rules, because of the jñāpaka in sūtra VI. 1. 125, then still this rule is necessary in order to prevent the lengthening of VI. 1. 101, and the Sākala rule VI. 1. 127.

Q.—But those two rules VI. 1. 101, and VI. 1. 127, have already been debarred by the Vārtika which ordains that अप्तिका takes place of such a vowel following a plutā (See vārtika to VI. 1. 77), what is then the necessity of the present sūtra?

Ans.—The necessity of the present sūtra is to prevent the अप्त-accent of VIII. 2. 4.

According to one view, the vārtika under VI. 1. 77, refers to those vowels which are not plutā-elements, like the present ए and उ, but which are *independent* vowels following after a plutā vowel. As भोइ इ इन्द्र = भोइ यिन्द्र ॥ Here ए is a Nipāta.

ओ३प् ।

अथ अष्टमाध्यास्य तृतीयः पादः ।

BOOK EIGHTH.

CHAPTER THIRD.

मतुवसो रु सम्बुद्धौ छन्दसि ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतु, वसोः, रु, सम्बुद्धौ, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वन्तस्य वस्वन्तस्य च परस्य हरित्यवमादेशो भवति सम्बुद्धौ परतः छन्दसि विषये ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ वन उपसंक्षयानं कर्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ भवद्गवदध्यवसामाचावस्य ॥

1. For the final of the affixes मत् and वस्, there is substituted रु, in the Vocative singular, in the Chhandas.

The word सहितायां is understood here. A word ending in the affix मत् or वस्, changes its final त् or स् into रु, in the Chhandas, in the Vocative singular. Thus मत् :—इन्हं मरुत् इह पाहि सोम्य (Rig. III. 51. 7) हरिवो भेदिनं त्वा ॥ Here मरुत्: is Vocative Sg. of मरुत् and हरिवः of हरित्, meaning "he who is possessed of Maruts or Hari horses". The स् of मत् is changed to व् by VIII. 2. 10 ; 15. The base मरुत् before this termination is Bha by I. 4. 19. The affix श्व (nom. sg.) is elided by VI. 1. 68 ; the त् is elided by VIII. 2. 23, and the न् (of तुम् VII. 1. 70) is changed to रु by this sūtra. So also इन्द्रायाहि शूतुजानः उपब्रह्माणि हरिवः (Rig. I. 3. 6).

With वस् :—मीद्वास्त्रोकाङ्गं तनेयाव शृङ् (Rig. II. 33. 14), इन्द्रसाहः ॥ See VI. 1. 12, for the formation of मीद्वान्, साहान् with कृश् ॥

Why do we say 'of मत् and वस्'? Observe ब्रह्मन् स्तोप्यामः ॥ Why do we say in the Vocative Singular? Observe व एवं विहानमिमाधने ॥ Why do we say in the Chhandas? Observe हे गामत्, हे पपिवन् ॥

Vart :—The affix वस् should also be enumerated. The affixes कृनिष् and वनिष् are both meant here. Its final is also changed to रु in the Vocative Sg. As वस्त्वायन्तं वसुना प्रातरित्वः ॥ The word प्रातरित्वन् is formed by adding कृनिष् to the root इ (इष्ट) preceded by प्रातः ॥ See III. 2. 75. The तुरुक् is added by VI. 1. 71.

Vart :—The finals of भवत्, भगवत् and अघवत् are changed to रु, optionally in the secular as well as the sacred literature, and the syllable अ॒ व of these words is changed to ओ॑ ॥ This is a general rule, applying both in the Vedas and the Bhāshā. Thus भवत्—हे ओः or हे भवन् ॥ भगवत्—हे भगोः or हे भगवन् ॥ अघवत्—हे अघोः or हे अघवन् ॥ Or these words ओः भगोः and अघोः are so irregularly formed by the Achārya himself in VIII. 3. 17. These are found in other numbers than the Vocative Singular, as भो देवदत्तवहस्ती, भो देवदत्तवहस्त विष्णुमित्राः ॥ It is found in connection with Feminine nouns also, as भो ब्राह्मणि ॥

The adhikāra of the word संहितायां does not exert any apparent influence in this sūtra. It however has influence in those subsequent sūtras, where the change in one word is occasioned by another word on account of sanhita or juxta-position, as in VIII. 3. 7.

See VIII. 2. 3 (Vārtika 2) by which the lopa is considered siddha in इति॒, otherwise there would have been no रु change in इति॒ मे &c.

अत्रानुनासिकः पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्र, अनुनासिकः, पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् । इत उत्तरं वस्य स्थाने शर्वधीयते ततः पूर्वस्य तु वर्णस्य वाऽनुनासिको भवतीत्येतदधिकृतं वेदितस्याम् ॥

2. In the following sūtras upto VIII. 3. 12, this is always to be supplied :—“But here a nasal vowel may optionally be substituted for the preceding vowel after which रु has been ordained”.

This is an adhikāra sūtra. For the letter which stands before that letter for which रु has been substituted, there is substituted a nasal vowel, in this division of Grammar, where रु is the subject of discussion.

Thus sūtra VIII. 3. 5 says “In the place of the final of सम्, there is रु when सु॒ द augment follows”. The vowel अ of सम् becomes nasal ; as संस्कर्ता॒, संस्कर्तु॒म्, संस्कर्तव्यम् ॥

Why have we used the word अ॒ व in the sūtra? It means “here i. e. in this division where रु is the subject of discussion”. Obj. This object would have been gained, without using the word अ॒ व ; since it is an adhikāra sūtra and would apply to रु ॥ Ans. No. Here रु is taught in connection with nasal, therefore, the rule would not apply to any other context. For had अ॒ व not been used, we could not have known the extent of the jurisdiction (adhikāra) of this nasal ; and we might have applied the rule of nasality to those *beyond* the jurisdiction of रु, such as VIII. 3. 13. The employment of अ॒ व prevents this doubt and shows that रु and nasality are co-extensive.

आतोदि नित्यम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, अटि, नित्यम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अटि परतो ऐः पूर्वस्याकारस्य स्थाने नित्यमनुनासिकादेशो भवति ॥

3. A nasal vowel is *always* substituted for आ before रु, when it is followed by a letter of अद् pratyâhâra (i. e. when it is followed by a vowel or ह, य, व, or र).

Thus VIII. 3. 9 teaches रु substitution of न्, the long आ preceding it, would have been optionally nasal by the last sûtra. The present sûtra makes it necessarily so. Thus महीं भसि (Rig. III. 46. 2) महीं इन्द्रो य ओऽस्ता (Rig. VIII. 6. 1). ऐर्वां भवांभासीव्यत् ॥

Some (i. e. the Taittariyas) read it as anusvâra. This is a Vedic diversity.

Why do we say "for a long आ"? Observe वा वनस्पतीरु ॥ Why do we say "when a vowel or ह, य, व, or र follows"? Observe भवांभरति, भवांभासवति ॥

The word नित्य 'always' is employed for the sake of distinctness only. The very fact of making a separate sûtra, would give it a compulsory force, even without the word nitya.

अनुनासिकात्परे उनुस्वारः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुनासिकात् परः, अनुस्वारः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकाश्यो यो वर्णः परः पूर्वः वस्त्वानुनासिको न विहितस्तः परो उनुस्वार आगमो भवति ॥

4. After what precedes रु, if we omit to substitute the nasal, then anusvâra shall be the augment.

The substitution of nasal is *optional* by VIII. 3. 2. When nasal is not substituted, we add an anusvâra to such vowel. The word अन्य should be read into the sûtra to complete the sense, i. e. अनुनासिकात् अन्यो यो वर्णः "a letter *other than* a nasal", i. e. a letter for which nasal has not been ordained, and which stands before रु ॥

Thus VIII. 3. 5, teaches रु substitution of the व् of सम् an anusvâra would be added. As संस्कर्मा, संस्कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ Similarly VIII. 3. 6, teaches रु substitution of the व् of पुम् ॥ An anusvâra will be added here also, as, पुम्कामा ॥ Similarly VIII. 3. 7, teaches रु substitution of final व् ॥ Here also an anusvâra will be added, as भवांभरति ॥

Some say "the word परः in the sûtra means अन्यः, and so we need not supply the word अन्यः from outside". They say अनुनासिकात् परः = अनुनासिकाअन्यः; i. e. the anusvâra takes place in that alternative when there is no nasal. That anusvâra is an *augment* and not a *substitute*. It is an augment to the vowel which precedes रु ॥

समः सुटि ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः, सुटि ॥
वृन्मिः ॥ सम इत्येतत्य र्घवति सुटि परतः संहितायां विषये ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ संपुकानां सो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ समो वा लोपमन्ते ॥

5. रु is substituted for the म् of सम् (and thereby अ॑ or अ॒ is substituted for अ) when the augment स् follows, in a samhitâ.

The augment शुद् is added by VI. i. 137 &c. Thus संस्कर्ता or संस्कर्ता, संस्कर्तुष् or संस्कर्तुष्, संस्कर्तव्यप् or संस्कर्तव्यप् ॥ The word is thus evolved: सम् + स् + कर्ता = सर् + स् + कर्ता (VIII. 3. 5). Here rule VIII. 3. 15 appears and requires रु to be changed to visarjanya. This visarga may optionally be retained unchanged by VIII. 3. 36. This, however, is not done in the present instance: but the visarga is *always* and *necessarily* changed to स् by VIII. 3. 34. In fact, the option of VIII. 3. 36 is a determinate option (vyavasthita vibhâshâ) and does not apply to the present case.

Or even this sûtra may be so read as to teach the रु substitution as well. Thus, the sûtra is समः स्मृति with two स्, and the sûtra will mean, “रु is substituted for the म् of सम् before शुद्, and this रु is always changed to स्” ॥

Why do we say “for the म् of सम्”? Observe उपस्कर्ता ॥ Why do we say “before शुद्”? Observe संकृति ॥

Vartika—For the finals of सम्, पुम् and कान् there is always substituted स् ॥ There would arise anomalies, if रु be substituted. Thus संस्कर्ता, पुंस्कामा, कांस्कान् ॥ In fact, according to this vArtika, रु is never substituted for सम् (VIII. 3. 5), पुम् (VIII. 3. 6) and कान् (VIII. 3. 12).

Vartika—समो वा लोपमेके ॥ Some would have the elision of the स् after सम् ॥ This *Vartika* is not given in the Kâsikâ, but the Padamanjari gives it, and so also the Mahâbhâshya.

According to Bhattoji Dikshita there will be 108 forms of this word संस्कर्ता ॥ Thus संस्कर्ता and संस्कर्ता with the elision of स् ॥ Then with two स्, as संस्स्कर्ता, संस्कर्ता ॥ Then we apply VIII. 4. 47 to this latter, and have three स्, as संस्स्कर्ता or संस्स्कर्ता ॥ The anusvâra is considered to be a vowel (अ॒) for this purpose. From the three nasal forms संस्कर्ता, संस्स्कर्ता and संस्स्कर्ता, we get three more by doubling the क् by the vArtika शाः खाः ॥ The three forms having anusvâra, will also double their anusvâra in addition to क् doubling. Thus we have 12 forms in anusvâra: and six in nasal, altogether 18 forms. Then the स् will be doubled and trebled: and thus with one स्, two स् and three स्, we have $3 \times 18 = 54$ forms. This will be doubled ($2 \times 54 = 108$) when अ॒ is nasalised.

पुमः खच्यम्परे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुमः, खयि, अम्-परे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुनिर्येतस्य रुभवात् अम्परे खयि परतः ॥

6. रु is substituted for the म् of पुम्. (whereby the

उ is changed to ऊ or उ) before a surd mute (ख्य्) which is followed by a vowel, semivowel or a nasal (अम् pratyâhâra).

Thus उंस्कामा or पुंस्कामा; उंस्तुषः or पुंस्तुषः; उंस्फलं or पुंस्फलम्; उंषली or पुंषली ॥ The visarga in पुंस्कामा required to be changed optionally to × jihvâ-mâliya by VIII. 3. 37, but it is not so done. It is changed *always* to ह here by VIII. 3. 34, also. The स् of पुंस् is dropped by VIII. 2. 23, and the preceding sound is ख्, which comes to light in forms like पुमान् &c. For the sake of distinctness, Pâṇini has elected to exhibit the shorter form पुम् when in the beginning of a composition: because this shorter form पुम् is the real stem in composition. ख्य् pratyâhâra includes the ten hard consonants, and अम् pratyâhâra includes all vowels, semivowels and nasals. पुंस्कामा is formed by the affix ऊ = पुमांसं कामयते ॥

In that alternative when we read the preceding sûtra as समःसुषुदि, then the anuvṛitti of this ह will be current in the present sûtra also, and so there will be no scope for the operation of VIII. 3. 37. And though the anuvṛitti of ह is also current, yet it will not apply here, because of its non-appropriateness in that alternative.

Why do we say 'before a surd mute'? Observe पुमासः, पुंगवः (V. 4. 92). Why do we say 'followed by a vowel or semivowel or nasal'? Observe पुंशीरः, पुंष्वरः ॥ Why do we use the word पे in the sûtra? Had we not used it, the sûtra might have been open to this construction also. The ह of पुम् is so changed before a ख्य् letter which has an अम् letter, (whether preceding it or following it). So that the rule would have applied to पुमाख्यः, पुमाचारः ॥

न इच्छुभ्य प्रशान् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, छवि, अप्रशान् ॥
दृतिः ॥ नकारान्तस्य परस्य प्रशान्वर्जितस्य रूपवस्थपरे छवि परतः ॥

7. ह is substituted for the final न् of a word, with the exception of the न् of प्रशान्, before a छवि letter (छ, ठ, थ, च, ट, त), which is followed by an अम् letter (vowel, semivowel and nasal).

The word अम्बरे is to be read into this sûtra. The word अप्रशान् in the sûtra is in the Nominative case, but it has the force of Genitive.

Thus भवौङ्गादवति or भवांभादवति; भवौश्चिनोति or भवांश्चिनोति; भवौटीकते or भवांटीकते, (from the root दीकि 'to go'), भवौस्तरते or भवांस्तरते ॥

Why do we say 'before a छवि letter'? Observe भवान् करेति ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of the न् of प्रशान्'? Observe प्रशान् लादवति, प्रशान् चिनोति ॥ Why do we say 'when अम् follows छवि'? See भवान् त्सरकः ॥ त्सरक is sword, he who is dexterous in it, is called त्सरकः (कन् V. 2. 64).

उभयथर्षु ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उभयथा, अष्टुषु ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नकारात्स्य पश्च छविपरतः अन्यं उभयथा एषु भवते ॥

8. In both ways, in the Rig verses.

This ordains an option to the last sūtra, by which the र substitution was compulsory. A word ending in र followed by a letter of छ च class, which itself is followed by आम्, changes its final र to ए optionally in the Rig Veda. Sometimes there is ए and sometimes र ॥ Thus समिश्र त्वा इधाति or समिश्र त्वा इधति ; पशुस्तीवके ॥

Why do we say "in the Rig verses". No option is allowed here तात्स्य लाद ध्यावितात् ॥

दीर्घादवे समानपादे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात, आटि, समानपादे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घादुत्तरस्य पश्चात्स्य नकारस्य हमवत्यति परतस्तौ चेतिमित्तनिमित्तनौ समानपादे भवतः ॥

9 र is optionally substituted for that final र of a word which is preceded by a long vowel, and is followed by an अद् letter (vowels and semi-vowels with the exception of औ), when these (त् and अद्) come in contact with each other in the same stanza of the Rig Veda.

The नः of VIII. 3. 7 is understood here : and so also एषु ॥ The word समानपाद means एकपाद, i. e. when both words are in one and the same Pāda of the verse. Thus परिषेऽर्ति (Rig. IX. 107. 19) स देवां एहवत्ति (Rig. I. 1. 2) देवां अच्छारीव्यत् ; मही इन्द्रो य भोजसा ॥

Why do we say 'preceded by a long vowel'? Observe अहमाहिष् ॥ Why do we say "when followed by a vowel or अ, ए or ए"? Observe इन्द्रान् भवित्वात् ॥ Why do we say 'when both words are in the same Pāda of a verse'? Observe यातुभामात् उपस्युः ॥

The word उभयथा of the preceding sūtra is understood here also : so that it is an optional rule : and र remains unchanged also, as आवित्यात् इवानहे आवित्यात् याचिष्यामहे ॥ See VIII. 3. 3.

नन्ये ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ नून्, पे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नूनित्येत्स्य नकारस्य हर्षवति पश्चेष्य परतः ॥

10. र is optionally substituted for the र of नून् before पे ॥

The अ in पे is for the sake of pronunciation only. Thus नूः पाहि or नूः पाहि ; नूः प्रीणीहि or नूः प्रीणीहि ॥

Why do we say 'before पे'? Observe नून् भोजवति ॥ Some read the anuvṛitti of उभयथा into this sūtra, so that it is an optional one. Thus we have नून् पाहि also. The nominative case in नून् has the force of Genitive.

स्वतवान्पायौ ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वतवान्, पायौ ॥
वृणिः ॥ स्वतवानित्येतस्य नकारस्य रमेवति पायुशब्दं परतः ॥

11. The त् of स्वतवान् is changed to रु before पायु ॥

As स्वतवानिः पायुरन्ते (Rig. IV. 2. 6). The word is स्वतवस्, the तु त् is added by VII. 1. 83. The word is derived from तु त् जी with the affix अस्त्र (स्वत्वो वस्त्वज्ञी स्वतवान्) ॥

कानाम्बेदिते ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कान्, आम्बेदिते ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कानित्येतस्य नकारस्य रमेवति आम्बेदिते परतः ॥

12. रु is substituted for the त् of कान् when it is followed by another कान् which is an अम्रेदिता.

The sūtra might have been कान् कानि; but the use of the longer form आम्बेदिते shows, that where there is 'doubling', and the word gets the designation of अम्रेदिता, then the rule applies. Thus कांस्कान् आमन्दवते, कांस्कान् भीजवति; or कांस्कान् &c. When the second कान् is not an अम्रेदिता, we have कान् कान् पश्चवति? Here one is कि asking question, and the other is used in the sense of contempt. This word is read in the list of कस्कारि (VIII. 3. 48), and hence sūtra VIII. 3. 37, does not apply. Or the श् of समः समुटि (VIII. 3. 5), is understood here, and that श् is enjoined here and not रु ॥ It should not be objected that in the preceding sūtras also श् should be enjoined and not रु; because in those sūtras रु is appropriate but not so here.

Why do we say 'when an अम्रेदिता कान् follows'? Observe कान् कान् पश्चवति where one is interrogatory and the other denotes contempt (II. 1. 64).

ढो ढे लोपः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ढः, ढे, लोपः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उकारस्य उकारे लोपे भवति ॥

13. There is elision of त् when त् follows.

Though this sūtra is read in the division of Grammar which is governed by पश्चाधिकार, yet this elision takes place only then when the त् is not at the end of a pada. Thus लीढ from लिह+त् ॥ The त् is changed to रु by VIII. 2. 31, and the त् is first changed to ख् by VIII. 2. 40, and then to त् by VIII. 4. 41. Thus लिह+त् ॥ The first त् is elided by this sūtra. Similarly भीढय्, उपगूढम् ॥ The change of ख् into त् by VIII. 4. 41, should be considered as valid and siddha for the purposes of this rule, otherwise this rule will find no scope.

Obj—It will find scope before that त् which is primary, as in श्वलिह+डीकते, where त् of डीकते is primary.

Ans.—No. Here the first त् will be changed to रु by अश् rule (VIII. 2. 39) and so there will be no occasion to elide it. The form will be श्वलिह डीकते ॥ Nor is this त् लोपः rule an apavāda to अश् rule, because it has its scope in लीढ &c. For the अश् rule depends upon one pada, and is antaranga, or being

prior to this the lopa is asiddha with regard to it. Therefore जइत्व will take place first. Moreover in लिद्+॒ there is similarity of sounds (शुस्तिकृतं आनन्दर्यम्); though there may not be theoretical similarity (शास्त्रकृतं आनन्दर्यम्) when the change of श into इ by VIII. 4. 41, is considered asiddha. But this theoretical technical dissimilarity will be removed by the express text of the present sūtra. But in श्वलिङ्गैकते there is neither similarity of sounds (śruti kṛtamānāntaryam) between इ and ई, nor similarity created by any technical rule; therefore इ लोप has no scope here. It is Bahiranga as well as subsequent to अ॒ rule (VIII. 2. 39), and therefore *doubly* asiddha; and consequently it does not debar the अ॒ rule. So when इ is changed to ई by अ॒ rule (VIII. 2. 39) in श्वलिङ्गै, then there remains no sort of ānantarya—neither of śruti nor of śāstra.

रो रि ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ रः, रि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफस्य रेके परतो लोपो भवति ॥

14. ई is elided before a र ॥

The sūtra is रः रि, and not रोः रि ॥ That is रो रि is the form which रः रि and रोः रि will both assume. रः is the Genitive of ई, and रोः would be the Genitive of रु ॥ The sūtra is not confined to ई only, but to every ई in general including रु ॥ Thus नीरक्तम्, दूरक्तम्, where it is simple ई of निर् and दुर्; and अग्नी रथः, and इन्द्रू रथः where it is रु (अग्निः रथः, इन्द्रुः रथः). The lengthening is by VI. 3. 111. The word पदस्य is understood here, and the Genitive here has the force of विशेषण i. e. a quality, or avayava-shashṭhi; i. e. when रेक is a *portion* of the pada. Thus a रेक which is not at the end of a pada is also elided. Had the Genitive been construed as sthāna-shashṭhi, then रेक would qualify रु, and the rule would mean “रु should be elided before a रु when at the *end* of a word.” ॥ See VIII. 1. 16. But we have the elision of the *penultimate* ई in अजर्थैर् the second person singular of the Imperfect of the Intensive, and we get the form अजर्थः ॥ See VIII. 2. 37. So also भपास्यः from स्वर्ण in Intensive, Imperfect. The reduplicate is lengthened by VII. 4. 83, the श॒ is elided, and सिष् is elided by VI. 1. 68, the final ई is changed to ई by VIII. 2. 39, and this ई changed to ई by VIII. 2. 75.

खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खर, अवसानयोः, विसर्जनीयः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रेफान्तस्य पदस्य खरि परतो रुपसाने च विसर्जनीयादेशो भवति ॥

15. The Visarjanīya is substituted for ई, before a खर् consonant or when there is a Pause.

The word रु is understood. The visarga is the substitute of ई final in a Pada, before surd consonants and sibilants, or at a Pause,

Thus वृषभादर्यति (VIII. 3. 34, VIII. 4. 40), मृशष्टादर्यति, वृशस्तरति, मृशस्तरति वृशष्टकारः, मृशष्टकारः, वृशष्टीकर्ते, मृशष्टीकर्ते, वृशष्टिनोर्यति, मृशष्टिनोर्यति ॥ Pause:—वृशः; मृशः ॥

Who do we say “before a खर् consonant or at a Pause”? Observe अग्निर्यति, वातुर्नवति, नार्कुटः (हृ कुर्क्यां भवः), नार्पस्यः (नृपतेरपस्य) ॥ In these two latter,

the Vṛiddhi being considered as Bahiranga, and the त् being the result of such Bahiranga Vṛiddhi, is asiddha, and is consequently not changed to visarga.

The word पत्त्वा is understood here, and the genitive should be construed here as sthāna-saṁsthā, so that for the final त् of a Pada there is visarga, and not for that त् which is not final.

रोः सुपि ॥ पदानि ॥ रोः, सुपि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ए इत्येतस्य रेफस्य मुपि परते विसर्जनीयादेशो भवति ॥

16. Visarjaniya is substituted for the ए called ए (and not any other ए), before the Locative Plural case-affix ए॒ ॥

Thus पथःए॒, सम्प्लिःए॒, यथःए॒ ॥ The word ए॒ is here the Locative Plural affix. Though the त् would have been changed to visarga by the last sūtra also; the making of this a special sūtra is for the sake of niyama. That is, only ए॒ becomes visarga, and not any other ए॒ ॥ Thus गीर्हु॒, भूर्हु॒, when the ए॒ is not ए॒ ॥ In पथस् &c, the ए॒ becomes ए॒ by VIII. 2. 66.

भोभगोअधोअपूर्वस्य योशि ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भो, भगो, अधो, अपूर्वस्य, यः, अशि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भो भगो अधो इत्येत्यपूर्वस्य अवपेपूर्वस्य ए॒ रो रेफस्य बक्तारादेशो भवति अशि परतः ॥

17. ए॒ is substituted for the ए॒ called ए॒, when it is preceded by भो, भगो, अधो, अ or आ, before an अश् letter (vowels and soft consonants).

Thus भो अच, भगो अच, अधो अच, भो इत्याति, भगो इत्याति, अधो इत्याति ॥ क आस्ते, कश्च आस्ते, ब्राह्मणा इत्याति, पुरुषा इत्याति ॥ The ए॒ is elided by VIII. 3. 19, 20, 22 &c. With ए॒, the forms will be भोयच, भगोयच, अधोयच ॥

Why do we say 'when preceded by भो &c'? Observe अग्निरच, वायुरच ॥ Why do we say 'when followed by a letter of अश् pratyāhāra'? Observe वृत्तिः, द्वृत्तिः ॥ No, this is no valid counter-example, because no other word follows the visarga; while some word must follow it because the word sanhitā (VIII. 2. 108) is understood here.

Ans.—If this be so, then अश् is employed in this sūtra for the sake of subsequent sūtras. Its employment here is superfluous. For letters other than अश् are खर् ॥ Before a खर् letter, the त् will be changed to visarga by VIII. 3. 15; and the खर् of this rule will be considered as asiddha for the purposes of VIII. 3. 15, so there will necessarily be visarga. Thus अश् serves no purpose in this sūtra, but is for the sake of subsequent ones. Thus in VIII. 3. 22, the word इलि must be qualified by the word अश्, namely those consonants only which are in the class अश् ॥ Before any other consonant there will be no elision of ए॒ ॥ Thus वृत्तं वृत्तिः = वृत्तवृद् ॥ The denominative verb from this will be वृत्तवृद्यति ॥ A secondary derivative from this root, with the affix

विच् will be वृष्ट् as in वृष्ट् करोति ॥ Here व् would require elision by VIII. 3. 22, before क्, but it is not so because अशि qualifies हलि ॥

Obj.—If so, why is the word हल् used in that sutra VIII. 3. 22, it would have been better to say हसि सर्वेषाम् instead of हलि सर्वेषाम् ॥

Ans.—The word हल् is used in that sutra for the sake of the subsequent sutra VIII. 3. 23, which applies to *all* consonants. Had हसि been used in VIII. 3. 22, then in VIII. 3. 23, हलि ought to have been used.

Moreover अशि is used in this sutra, so that rules VIII. 3. 18, 19 may not apply to वृष्ट् करोति ॥

This sutra applies to व् called त्, therefore not here प्रातरन्, पुनरन् ॥

व्योर्लघुप्रयत्नतरः शाकटायनस्य ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्योः, लघुप्रयत्नतरः, शाक-
टायनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वकारयकारयोभीभगोभधोभवर्णपूर्वयोः पशन्तयोर्लघुप्रयत्नतर आदेशो भवति, अशि परतः, शाकटा-
यनस्याचारस्य भतेन ॥

18. व् and श् (in भगोय् &c and after अ or आ, at the end of a Pada) are pronounced with a lighter articulation before an अश् letter, according to the opinion of Śakaṭāyana.

That the effort in pronouncing which is very light is called laghu-prayatna-tara. Effort or articulation is a quality of the person who utters and which is the cause of the utterance of a letter. व् and श् of lighter articulation are substituted for the final व् and श् in भोय्, भगोय्, अयोय्, or after an अ or आ ॥ The lighter व् will replace the heavy व्, and so the lighter श् the heavy श् ॥

Thus भोयन्, भगोयन्, अयोयन्, कथास्ते or क आस्ते, अस्माद्ग्रह or अस्मा उद्गर, असावा-
दित्यः or असा आदित्यः, शावन् or शा अन्, शावानय or शा आनय ॥

The lighter articulation results from the relaxation of the muscles and the organs employed in speech. The places of pronunciation are palate &c, the organs are the root, the middle and the tip of the tongue. When the contact of the tongue with the various places is very light, the articulation is laghu prayatna-tara. In fact, व् and श् are to be slurred over.

लोपः शाकल्यस्य ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, शाकल्यस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वकारयकारयोः पशन्तयोर्लघुपूर्वयोल्पो भवति शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मसेनाशि परतः ॥

19. व् and श् preceded by अ or आ and at the end of a pada, are elided before an अश् letter, according to the opinion of Śakalya.

As क आस्ते or कवास्ते, काक आस्ते or काकवास्ते, अस्मा उद्गर or अस्माद्ग्रह, शावन् or शा अन्, असावादित्यः or असा आदित्यः ॥

The name of Śakalya is used to make it an optional rule. Therefore, where there is not the lighter articulation of व् and श् by the last sūtra, there

also in the other alternative the fuller sounds of त् and त् are heard. Thus there are three forms, *heavy* त् and त्, *light* त् and त् and *elision* of त् and त् ॥

When त् and त् are preceded by ओ, then there is elision by the next sūtra compulsorily.

ओतो गार्यस्य ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ ओतः, गार्यस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओकारादुचरस्य यकारस्य लोपे भवति गार्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन आशी पतः ॥

20. त् preceded by ओ is elided, according to the opinion of Gārgya, before an अश् letter.

There can be no त् preceded by ओ, so only त् is taken in explaining the sutra. Thus ओ अश्, भगो अश्, ओ इश्, भगो इश् ॥

The making of it a separate sutra, is for the sake of indicating that this is a necessary (*nitya*) rule and not a vibhāshā rule. The name of Gārgya is used simply *honoris causa* (pujārtha). The elision of laghu - prayatna त्, which VIII. 3. 19 would have otherwise caused, is hereby prohibited. So that laghu pratyatnatara त् does come also. As ओ अश् or ओयश्, भगो अश् or भगोयश्, अघो अश् and अघोयश् ॥

According to others every kind of त् (whether heavy or light) is to be elided: and अघोयश् is not valid in their opinion.

उञ्जि च पदे ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उञ्जि, च पदे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्णपूर्वयोः ओः पादान्तयोलोपो भवति चमि च पदे पतः ॥

21. त् and त् (preceded by अ or आ, at the end of a pada), and followed by त्, when it is a word, are elided necessarily.

The *particle* त् is a full pada or word. That Particle is meant here by the word उश्, and not the उश्, which is a root obtained by the samprasāraṇā of उश् ॥ Thus स उ एकविशतिः, स उ एकाग्निः ॥

Why do we use the word पदे “त् when it is a pada”? So that the rule may not apply to उश् the form assumed by उश् by samprasāraṇā as तन्ते उतं-ह-न्त्युतम् ॥ Obj. उश् could never have meant the form assumed by उश्, for the samprasāraṇā of उश् is उ, the उ is merely indicatory. Moreover the maxim of lakshaṇa-pratipadokta &c, will prevent the inclusion of this उश् resulting from vocalisation, when there is a separate particle उश् ॥

Ans.—The word पदे is used here for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VIII. 3. 32. So that रुद्ध may come before a word beginning with a vowel, and not before a vowel which is an affix. Thus there is no double त् in परमदण्डना ॥ This is also a *nitya* rule, and not optional. Had it been optional, there would have been no necessity of this aphorism, because VIII. 3. 19, would have been enough.

हलि सर्वेषाम् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलि, सर्वेषाम् ॥

शृङ्खिः ॥ हलि परतो भोभगेभयोभपूर्वस्य यकारस्य पशान्तस्य लोपो भवति सर्वेषामाचार्याणां मत्तन ॥

22. (The य preceded by भो, भगो, अघो, or by अ or आ, being final in a pada, is elided) before a consonant, according to the opinion of all Āchāryas.

Thus भो हसति, भगो हसति, अघो हसति; भो याति, भगो याति अघो, याति, शृङ्खा हसति ॥ Though the anuvṛitti of य and य both is present here, yet we have taken य only to the exclusion of य ॥ Because after भो, भगो and अघो there is य only, and never य; and य can come only when preceded by अ or आ: the only example of which given by Grammarians is वृक्षय करोति (VIII. 3. 17). Here य is not elided, because the word अघि qualifies the word हलि of this sūtra.

Q.—But य should be elided in वृक्षय हसति, because य is an अश्व letter.

Ans.—There is no such example to be found in any standard author. Moreover Patanjali in his commentary on the Pratyāhāra sūtra लण् says that no words can end in य, य, र्, व् or ल् ॥ So that the existence of the very word वृक्षय is doubtful.

The word sarveshām indicates that VIII. 3. 18, even does not apply, and there is no light articulation, but lopa there too.

मो अनुस्वारः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मः, अनुस्वारः, ॥

शृङ्खिः ॥ मकारस्य पशान्तस्यानुस्वार आदेशो भवति हलि परतः ॥

23. The Anusvāra is substituted for य, at the end of a word, before a consonant.

Thus कुण्डं हसति, वनं हसति, कुण्डं याति, वनं याते ॥ The word हलि is understood in this sūtra. Therefore not here, त्वमष्ट, किमष्ट ॥ The य must be at the end of pada; therefore not here; गम्यते, रम्यते ॥

न आपदान्तस्य शलि ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, च, अपदान्तस्य, शलि ॥

शृङ्खिः ॥ नाकारस्य मकारस्य आपशान्तस्यानुस्वारेषो भवति शलि परतः ॥

24. The Anusvāra is substituted for the य and र, not final in a pada, before all consonants, with the exception of Nasals and semi-vowels.

Thus पशांसि, यशांसि, सर्पीषि, धन्त्रिषि with य (VII. 1. 72); and आकंस्यते, आदिकंस्यते, अधिजिगांस्यते with य ॥

Why do we say 'not final in a Pada'? Observe राज् भुक्ष् ॥ Why do we say 'before a प्राण् consonant'? See रम्यते, गम्यते ॥

मो राजि समः कौ ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मः, राजि, समः, कौ ॥

शृङ्खिः ॥ समो मकारस्य मकार आदेशो भवति राजतो क्विप्रस्थवान्ते परतः ॥

25. य is substituted for the य of सम, before the word राज् ending with the affix किवप् ॥

Thus समाद्, सामाज्यम् ॥ The substitution of न for न् is for the sake of preventing the anusvāra change (cf VII. 1. 40). Why do we say 'before रात्'? See संवत् (VI. 4. 40 Vart). Why do we say 'of सम्'? Observe कि रात् (V. 4. 70). Why do we say 'ending with विषप्'? Observe संताजिता, संताजितुम्, संताजितव्यम् ॥

The विषप् is added by III. 2. 61, the अ् is changed to ए् by VIII. 2. 36, which is changed to इ at the end of a word, in समाद् ॥ सामाज्यम् is formed by व्यभ् affix, as it belongs to Brāhmaṇādi class.

हे मपरे वा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हे, मपरे, वा ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हकारे मकारपरे परतो मकारस्य वा मकार भावेषां भवति ॥
वार्तीकमः ॥ ववलपरे ववला वा ॥

26. न् is optionally substituted for न्, before ह, which itself is followed by a न् ॥

The ए् may be changed to anusvāra or remain unchanged before a word beginning with हा ॥ Thus कि or किम् ह्लायति, 'what does be cause to shake'? कथं ह्लायति or कथमह्लायति ॥

Vart :—Before हा, ह्न्, and ह्नु, the preceding न् may be changed to न, न् or न् respectively. Thus कि ह्यः or कियैः, 'what does it matter about yesterday?' किं ह्लायति or किं ह्लायति 'what does he cause to shake'? कि ह्लायति or किं ह्लायति 'what gladdens'.

नपरे नः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपरे, नः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नकारपरे हे परतःमकारस्य वा नकारादेषो भवति ॥

27. न् is optionally substituted for न्, when it is followed by ह which has a न् after it.

हृ becomes न् before a word beginning with हु; as किन् ह्नुते or कि ह्नुते 'what withholds'. कथन्हुते or कथं ह्नुते ॥

डणोः कुक्कुक् शारि ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ डणोः, कुक्कु, दुक्कु, शारि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ डकारणकारयोः पशान्तयोः कुक्कु दुग् इत्येतावागमौ वा भवतः ॥

28. The augment क् is added to a final र्, and the augment द् to a final ए्, before a sibilant, optionally.

Thus प्राहृक् शेते, or प्राहृ शेते; प्राहृक् षष्ठः or प्राहृ षष्ठः, प्राहृक् साये or प्राहृ साये ॥ पष्ट् शेते or पष्ट् शेते ॥

The augments are कुक्कु and दुक्कु with an indicatory क्, showing that they are to be added to the end of the prior word (I. 1. 46), and not to the *beginning* of the second word. In sanhita reading, it would have made no difference *practically*, whether these augments were added to the *end* of the first, or the *beginning* of the second. But they are added to the end of the *first*, in order to indicate that VIII. 4. 63, will take effect. Thus we have प्राहृ शेते also. This ए् change of ए् would not have taken place had the augment क् been added to

ए॒ of संते ; because in श॒ष्ठोऽसि (VIII. 4. 63) the स्व् letter must be at the end of a pada. So that if क् were added to ए॒ of संते, as क्र॒शेत्, here too ए॒ follows a स्व् letter, but this स्व् letter (क्) is not at the *end* of a pada, so ए॒ will not be changed to क् (VIII. 4. 63). Thus ए॒ is not changed to क् in the body of a word, like विरप्शिन् though ए॒ is a स्व् letter. युग्मूरूत्स्य विसृष्टो विरप्शिन् ॥ विरप्शिन्—महत्, formed with the Preposition वि added to the root ए॒, with the Uṇādi affix शिनि ॥

Moreover in प्राहू साथे, the स is not changed to ए॒ by VIII. 3. 59. Had the augment क् been added to साथे, as कृसाथे, the स would have been changed to ए॒, as प्राहू साथे, for then VIII. 3. 111, would not have applied, as स was no longer at the beginning of a pada.

Moreover in वण्ट॒ साथे, the ए॒ is not changed to ए॒ because of the prohibition of VIII. 4. 42. Had इ॒ been the augment of साथे, as इ॒साथे, then there would have been the change of ए॒ to ए॒ by VIII. 4. 41.

इ॒ः सि धुद् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इ॒ः, सि धुट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारान्तात्परादुत्तरस्य सकारादेः पदस्य वा धुडागमो भवति ॥

29. After a word ending in इ॒, there may optionally be added the augment ध॒ to a word beginning with स॒ ॥

Thus श्वलिद् साथे or श्वलिद् साथे, मधुलिद् साथे or मधुलिद् साथे ॥

The word इ॒ is to be construed as Ablative singular, and not Genitive singular of इ॒, because of the maxim उभयनिर्देशे पञ्चमी निर्देशो बलीयात् ॥

Q.—Why it is धुद् and not धुक्, in other words, why is this augment added to the beginning of the second word and not to the end of the first?

Ans.—This is done in order to prevent the ए॒ change by VIII. 4. 41. But being at the beginning of the second word, VIII. 4. 42 would prevent this change. श्वलिद् + साथे = श्वलिद्साथे, (VIII. 4. 41) but the correct form is श्वलिद् स्साथे ॥ For the इ॒ of श्वलिद् is इ॒ substituted by VIII. 2. 31, which becomes इ॒ by VIII. 2. 39, for the ध॒ of the augment, स॒ is substituted by VIII. 4. 55, and for इ॒ there is इ॒ by the same rule.

नहच ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारान्तात्परादुत्तरस्य सकारस्य वा धुडागमो भवति ॥

30. After a word ending in त्, धुद् is optionally the augment to a word beginning with स॒ ॥

Thus भवात् स्साथे, महात् स्साथे or भवात् साथे, महात् साथे ॥ The ए॒ of the augment becomes त् by VIII. 4. 55. This त् is asiddha (VIII. 2. 1), and therefore त् is not changed to इ॒ by VIII. 3. 7. This is the reason why the augment is exhibited as धुद् and not तुद् ॥ In sūtra VIII. 3. 29 तुद् would have done as well but not so here. This view of the Kāśikā, however, is not approved by Padamanjari. The ए॒ can never be changed to इ॒ here, because त् is followed

by स् which is not an अप्त् letter. The word अप्तेरे is understood in VIII. 3. 7. In fact, तु॒ट् would have been a better augment.

शि तु॒ट् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शि, तु॒ट् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नकारस्य पश्चान्तस्य शकारे परतो वा तुगणमो भवति ॥

31. The augment त् may optionally be added to a word ending in त्, when a word beginning with श follows.

Thus भवाप्त् छ्णते ॥ The augment is added to the end of the preceding word, and not to the beginning of the second word, in order to change श into ष ॥ In fact, the augment तु॒ट् added to the second would have been as good as तु॒ट्, namely both are त् ; but then ष change would not have taken place.

Obj.—If this be so, then why त् is not changed to ष, since it is no longer final in a pada, when तु॒ट् is added to it, in कुर्वप्त् छ्णते ॥

Ans.—This is to be thus explained. The sūtra स्तोः इच्छना इच्छुः (VIII. 4. 40) should be divided into two parts, in order to prevent ष change. Thus the first part will be स्तोः इच्छना, which will mean that स and तु followed by श and चु will not cause the change of त् to ष ॥ The next sūtra will be इच्छुः, which will mean that the preceding स and तु are changed to श and चु respectively.

ठमो हस्तादचि ठमुणिनत्यम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ठमः, हस्तात्, आचि, ठमु॒ट्, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्तात्परे यो ठम् तदन्तात्पशादुपरत्याचो ठमुडागमो भवति नित्यम् ॥ ठणनेभ्यो वयासंक्षयं ठणना भवति ॥

32. After a word ending in त्, ष् or न् which is preceded by a light vowel, the same consonant त्, ष् or न् is added invariably at the beginning of the next word, which commences with a vowel.

The word ठमः is in the Ablative singular here ; and हस्तात् qualifies ठमः ; and ठम् itself qualifies the word परत्य understood, and thus there is tadanta-viddhi. Though the word परत्य (VIII. 1. 16) is in the Genitive singular, yet it should be converted here into Ablative singular, because of its connection with ठमः ॥ आचि is in the Locative singular, but should be construed as Genitive singular here : it is exhibited in the 7th case for the sake of brevity, and of the subsequent sūtras. ठम् is a pratyāhāra meaning ठ, ष and न् ; and so also ठमु॒ट् is a pratyāhāra containing the three augments ठु॒ट्, षु॒ट् and नु॒ट् ॥

In other words त् is augment after ठ, ष् after ष् and न् after न् ; or that these letters are doubled practically. Thus ठु॒ट् is the augment after a word ending in ठ, as प्रत्यहृणते ॥ षु॒ट् is the augment after a word ending in ष्, as

वणास्ते ॥ तुद् is the augment after a word ending in श्, as कुर्वन्नास्ते, कुर्वन्नोचत्, कु-पञ्चास्ते, कुषन्नोचत् ॥

Why do we say 'ending in श्, ष or न्'? See ल्वमास्ते ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a light vowel'? Observe पाङ्गास्ते, भवामास्ते ॥ Why do we say "followed by a vowel"? Observe प्रस्थङ्करोति ॥

The Mahabhāshya thus comments on this aphorism :—

Vṛtī:—डंगुटि पशादिप्रहणम् “The डंगुटि augment is added to a vowel which stands at the beginning of a word”. So that in इण्डन्+आ (Ins. Sing.), तुद् is not added to आ, because it is not the beginning of a Pada. Then should this वार्तिका be held to be necessary? No, because the word पशात् is understood here: so तुद् will not come in इण्डना ॥ But then it will come in परमण्डन्+आ ॥ Because it is a compound of two nouns, and though the case-affixes have been elided, yet इण्डन् is here a Pada by reason of pratyaya lakshaṇa; and hence there should be तुद् here added to आ ॥ Ans. This is no valid objection. इण्डन् is not here a Pada, on the maxim उत्तरपश्ये चापशादिविधौलुमता लुप्तं प्रस्थयलक्षणं न भवति “When an affix has been elided by लुक् or लुप्, the pratyaya-lakshaṇa rule will not apply, when the object of it is to give the designation of Pada to the second member of a compound, with the exception of the rule applying to the beginning of a Pada”. Thus in परमण्डन् the word इण्डन् is not treated as a पद, because the rule to be applied is to the *end* here. But the second member of a compound is treated like a pada, when a rule is to be applied to the beginning of a Pada. Thus in इधिसेचै, the second member सेचै is considered as a Pada for the purposes of the rule सात् पशाद्यः (VIII. 3. 111), and the स is not changed to ष ॥ This view proceeds upon the supposition that the word पशात् governs this sūtra. But the anuvṛitti of पशात् ceased with VIII. 1. 27, as we stated before. How are we then to get out of this difficulty? Are we to make the above वार्तिका necessary? No: because the anuvṛitti of परे from VIII. 3. 21 runs into this sūtra. So that the sūtra means अजाही परे डंगुटि भवति ॥ “The augment डंगुटि is added to a vowel with which a Pada commences”. Not therefore to the case affix आ in इण्डना ॥

मय उजो वो वा ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयः, उजः, वः, वा ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मय उत्तरस्य उजो वा वकारादेशो भवति अथि परतः ॥

33. ष् is optionally the substitute of the Particle उ, when it is preceded by a मय् consonant (all consonants with the exception of semivowels, sibilants, ह and अ), and is followed by a vowel.

Thus शम्भु अस्तु वेदिः or शम्भु वेदिः, तद् उ अस्य रेतः or तद्वस्य रेतः, किं उ आवपनम् or किंश्चावपनम् ॥ The उ is a Pragṛihya by I. 1. 14, and therefore would have remained unchanged, this ordains ष् optionally. This ष being considered asiddha, the ष् is not changed to anusvāra in किंश्चावपनम्, शम्भु &c, by VIII. 3. 23.

When this ए is followed by इति, and preceded by a मर्त् consonant, then by I. i. 17, it is optionally प्रगृह्य, and it may be replaced by औं ॥ When it is not a pragrihya, then it is changed to ए by अणारेषा (VI. i. 77), or to ए by the present sūtra. In the case of अणारेषा ए, there is anusvāra by VIII. 3. 23, as किंविति ॥ When it is a Pragrihya, then it is changed to ए by the present sūtra as किन्विति or किष्ठु इति ॥ So also with औं substitute, where the ए will be nasal : as किन्विति, or औं will remain unchanged, as किष्ठु औं इति ॥ Thus we have five forms with इति ॥

विसर्जनीयस्य सः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विसर्जनीयस्य, सः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विसर्जनीयस्य सकार भाद्रेषो भवति खरि परतः ॥

34. स् is the substitute of a visarga, when a hard consonant (खर्) follows.

The word खरि is understood 'here'. Thus वृक्षशङ्काशयति, प्रक्षशङ्काशयति, वृक्षशङ्कारः, प्रक्षशङ्कारः, वृक्षस्थकारः, प्रक्षस्थकारः, वृक्षाधिनोति, प्रक्षाधिनोति, वृक्षटीकते, प्रक्षटीकते, वृक्षस्तरति, प्रक्षस्तरति ॥

By VIII. 3. 15, the ए was changed to visarga before a hard consonant, or at the end of a Pause. In the present sūtra, no special cause being mentioned, the स् change would take place, not only before a hard consonant, but at the Pause also, i. e. in वृक्षः, प्रक्षः also. This however, is not the case, because the word संहितायाम् governs this sūtra ; so the स् change will be in Sanhitā only, and not in Pause, moreover we read the anuvṛitti of खरि here and so prevent the स् change in Pause.

शर्पेरे विसर्जनीयः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानी ॥ शर्पेरे, विसर्जनीयः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शर्पेरे खरि परतो विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीयादेषो वभति ॥

35. The visarga is the substitute of visarga, when it is followed by a hard consonant (खर्) which itself is followed by a sibilant (शर्) ॥

The word शर्पेरे is a Bahuvrīhi, meaning that which is followed by शर् ॥ In other words, when a sibilant follows a hard consonant, the preceding visarga remains unchanged. Thus शाशः श्वरम्, पुरुषः श्वरम्, भाद्रः प्लाताम्, वासः श्लोभम्, पुरुषः श्लरुषः, घनाधनः श्लोभमर्द्धजीनाम् ॥

Though the sūtra could have been shortened by saying शर्पेरे न ; yet the longer form is used, in order to indicate that the jihvāmuliya and upadhamāniya changes also do not take place, in cases like भाद्रः प्लाताम्, वासः श्लोभम् ॥

वा शरि ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, शरि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीयादेषो वा भवति शरि परे ॥
वाच्चिकम् ॥ शर्पेरेशरि वा लेपो वन्तव्यः ॥

36. The visarga is optionally the substitute of visarga, when a sibilant follows.

As वृक्षः शेते or वृक्षशेते, वृक्षः शेते or वृक्षशेते, वृक्षः षण्डे or वृक्षष्णण्डे, वृक्षः साये or वृक्षसाये ॥ Cf. VIII. 4. 40, 41, for ष and ष ॥

Vart :—When the sibilant is followed by a hard consonant, there is optionally the elision of the preceding visarga. As वृक्षा स्थातारः or वृक्षाः स्थातारः or वृक्षास्थातारः ॥

कुप्तोऽक्॒पौ च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुप्तोऽक्॒पौ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्वगपवर्गयोः परतो विसर्जनीयस्य यथासंख्य॒॑क॒प॒॑प॒॑ इत्यतायादेषौ भवतः ॥

37. × क and × प are optionally substituted for the visarga, when followed by a hard guttural or a hard labial.

Thus वृक्ष × करोति or वृक्षः करोति, वृक्ष × खमति or वृक्षः खमति, वृक्ष × पचति or वृक्षः पचति, वृक्ष × फलति or वृक्षः फलति ॥ The क and प in × क and × प are for the sake of pronunciation only. The substitutes are the Jihvamāliya and the Upadhmāniya : two lost sibilants belonging to the class of क and प respectively.

When the rule VIII. 3. 34. does not apply, then this sūtra will apply ; and will debar that. But VIII. 3. 35. will not be debarred. As वासः क्षौभूम्, अहिःस्त्रातम् ॥ There is no vipratischedha between VIII. 3. 35. and 37, because of the asiddhahood of one with regard to the other. (VIII. 2. 1). In fact, every rule in these three chapters stands by itself, and ignores the *existence* of the subsequent rule. Hence VIII. 3. 35 would not have been debarred by VIII. 3. 37.

To get this, some divide this sūtra into two :—(1) कुप्तोः “The visarga is the substitute of visarga before a guttural or labial which is followed by a sibilant.” (2) × कुप्तोच The jihvāmāliya and upadhmāniya are substitutes of a visarga before a guttural and a labial in every other case.”

सोपदादौ ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, अ-पदादौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकार आदेषो भवति विसर्जनीयस्य कुप्तोरपश्योः परतः पाशकल्पककाम्बेषु ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ सोपदादावित्यनव्ययस्तोति वक्तव्यम् ॥ रोरेव काम्ये नान्यस्त्वयति नियमार्थं वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ उपध्मानीयस्य कर्वग परतः सकार आदेषो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

38 स is the substitute of a visarga before an affix beginning with a hard guttural or labial.

The word अपशादौ means “when the guttural and labial are not at the beginning of a *word*,” in other words, when they stand at the beginning of an affix. This is possible only before the affixes पाश, कल्प, क, and काम्य ॥ Thus पयस्याशम् (V. 3. 47); पयस्कल्पम्, यशस्कल्पम्, (V. 3. 67), पयस्कं, यशस्कम्, (V. 3. 70); पयस्काम्याति, यशस्काम्याति (III. 1. 9).

Why do we say ‘when not at the beginning of a word’? Observe पय× कामयते, पय×पिषति ॥

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated, when the visarga belongs to an Indeclinable : as, प्रातः कल्पम्, पुनः कल्पम् ॥

Vart :—The visarga which comes from *ह* is only changed to *स* before काम्य, and not any other visarga. As पयस्काम्यात्, and यशस्काम्यति ; but not here, शीःकाम्यति धूःकाम्यति ॥

Vart :—*स* is the substitute of the Upadhmāniya when followed by a guttural. The root उड्ज् (आज्वे Tud 20) has Upadhmāniya as its penultimate : though it is written in the Dhātupāṭha as उड्ज् the ड् only represents the *प* of षप्, and is not to be pronounced. This ड् is changed to *स*, when the final ज् is changed to a guttural, as उ स् ग, and then this *स* is changed to *ह्*, as in अभ्युदगः, सह्यः ॥

These words, however, may be derived from the root गम् with the Prepositions अभि, उत्, and सम् उत्, by adding the affix इ ॥

इणः षः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, षः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपशाशाविति वर्तते । इण उत्तरस्य विसर्जनीयस्य षकारादेशो भवति कुप्तोरपशायोः परतः पाशक-स्पककाम्येषु ॥

39. ष् is the substitute of that visarga, which is preceded by ह or उ and is followed by an affix beginning with a hard guttural or a labial.

The word अपशाशौ is understood here also. The affixes meant are the same पाश, कर्षप, क, and काम्य ॥ Thus सर्पिष्याशम्, यज्ञप्राशम्, सर्पिष्कल्पम्, यज्ञप्रकल्पम्, सर्पिष्कम्, यज्ञप्रकम् ; सर्पिष्काम्यति, यज्ञप्रकाम्यति ॥

Why do we say ‘by an *affix*’? Observe अभिः करोति, वायुः करोति, अभिः पचति, वायुः पचति ॥

The affix should begin with a guttural or a labial. Therefore not here, सर्पिस्ते, यज्ञस्ते ॥

In the succeeding sūtras, the anuvṛitti of स from VIII. 3. 39 and of इणः षः from this, are both current. The visarga will be changed to ष् if preceded by ह or उ, otherwise it will be स ॥

According to some, this sūtra ordains ष् in the room of the स् taught in the preceding sūtra, and not of visarga : and so also in the following sūtras.

नमस्पुरस्त्वेगत्योः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ नमस्-पुरसोः, गत्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नमस्पुरस् इत्येत्योर्गतिसंज्ञकयो विसर्जनीयस्य सकारादेशो भवति कुप्तोः परतः ॥

40. For the visarga of नमस् and पुरस् there is substituted स before a hard guttural or a labial, when these words are Gati (I. 4. 67 and 74).

Thus नमस्कर्त्ता, नमस्कर्त्तुम्, नमस्कर्त्तव्यम् ; पुरस्कर्त्ता पुरस्कर्त्तुम्, पुरस्कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

Why do we say “when they are Gati”? Observe पूर्वकरोति, पुरौ करोति, पुरः करोति ॥ Here गुरः is a noun, Accusative Plural of गुः ॥

नमस् is Gati by I. 4. 74, and पुरस् is Gati by I. 4. 67. The anuvṛitti of अपशाशौ ceases.

इतुतुपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदू-उदू-उपधस्य, च, अ-प्रत्यस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इकारोपधस्य उकारोपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य विसर्जनीयस्य पकार आदेशो भवति कुप्तोः परतः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुम्हुसोःप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

41. श् is substituted, before a hard guttural or a labial, for the visarga which is preceded by इ or उ, and is not part of an affix.

This applies to the visarga of निर्, हुर्, बहिर्, आविस्, चतुर् and प्रादुर् ॥ Thus निष्कृतम्, निष्वीतम्, दुष्कृतम्, दुष्पीतम्, बहिस्, बहिष्कृतम्, बहिष्वीतम्, आविष्कृतम्, चतुष्कृतम्, चतुष्पीतम्, चतुष्कृपालम्, चतुष्कृलम्, प्रादुष्कृतम्, प्रादुष्पीतम् ॥

Why do we say 'when not belonging to an affix'? Observe अथिः करोति, वातुः करोति ॥ How do you explain मातुः करोति, पितुः करोति? For here in पितुः &c, the श् of the affix is elided by VIII. 2. 24, and the ए of पितुर्+श् is changed to visarga; this is not the visarga of an affix, and ought to be changed to श् ॥

Ans.—The inclusion of the word भातुष्वच् in Kaskādi class (VIII. 3. 48) indicates by implication, that श् change does not take place of this visarga in पितुः, मातुः &c: the only exception being भातुः ॥ The reason of this may be that the visarga here does not follow a simple त, but an ekādeśa त (VI. 1. 111).

Vārtī:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of पुष् and मुहुर्; as पुस्कामा, मुहुस्कामा ॥

Vārtī:—वृद्धिभूतानां षट्वं वक्तव्यम् । The visarga is changed to श् even when इ or उ are vṛiddhied; as नैष्कृत्यम्, हैष्कृत्यम् ॥

Vārtī:—प्लृतानां तावौ च ॥ The visarga is changed to श् even when इ or उ are plutā, and then before dentals as well as gutturals and labials. Thus निष्कृलम्, दुष्कृलम् (VIII. 2. 86 for plutā). दुष्पुरुषः, वहीष्टरः ॥

These last two vārtikas may be dispensed with, because Vṛiddhi and Pluta are Bahiranga change, and so the visarga will be changed to श् in these cases also by the sūtra itself; except so far as त is concerned.

तिरसोन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिरसः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सिरसो विसर्जनीयस्यान्यतरस्यां सकारादेशो भवति कुप्तोः परतः ॥

42. The visarga of the Gati तिरस् is optionally changed to स before a hard guttural or a labial.

Thus तिरस्कर्त्ता, तिरस्कर्तुष्, तिरस्कर्त्तव्यम्, or तिरः कर्त्ता, तिरः कर्तुष्, तिरः कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ The word गतेः is understood here also. Therefore no option is allowed here, तिरः कृत्या काण्डं गतः, where तिरस् does not mean 'disappearance'. (I. 4. 72).

द्विस्तिष्ठतुरिति कृत्वोर्थे ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विः-श्रिः-चतुर्, इति, कृत्वोर्थे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ श इति संबद्धाते । द्विस् विस चतुर् इत्येतेषां कृत्वोर्थे वर्तमानानां विसर्जनीयस्य पकार आदेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां कुप्तोः परतः ॥

43. ष् is optionally the substitute of the visargas of द्विस्, त्रिस् and चतुर् when they are used as Numeral adverbs, (before a hard guttural and labial).

The affix सुष् (४) is added to the three words dvi, tri and chatur in the sense of कृत्वासुच by V. 4. 18.

As हि॒ करोति or हिष्करोति, त्रि॒ करोति or त्रिष्करोति, चतु॒ करोति or चतुष्करोति, हि॒ पचति or हिष्पचति, त्रि॒ पचति or त्रिष्पचति, चतु॒ पचति or चतुष्पचति ॥

Why do we say 'when used in the sense of कृत्वासुच or Numeral adverbs'? Observe चतुष्कपालम्, चतुष्कण्टकम्, where ष् is compulsory by VIII. 3. 41. चतुर्षु॑ कपालेषु॒ संस्कृतः (IV. 2. 16 and IV. 1. 88). This sūtra is an example of ubhayatra-vibhāshā. With regard to चतुर् the visarga is a non-affix visarga, and hence VIII. 3. 41, would have made ष् compulsory, this makes it optional. With regard to द्विस् and त्रिस् the visarga is that of an affix (सुष् or ४ V. 4. 18), and hence VIII. 3. 41, would not have applied. Thus with regard to चतुर् it is a Prāpta-vibhāshā, and with regard to द्विस् and त्रिस् it is an Aprāpta-vibhāshā.

Why have we used the words 'dvis, tris and chatur'? Objector's answer: so that the rule may not apply to पञ्चकृत्यः करोति, the visarga of kritvasuch (V. 4. 17) is not changed to ष् ॥

The anuvṛitti of उ and ई is understood here from VIII. 3. 41: so that the visarga must be preceded by ई and उ for the application of this rule. In पञ्चकृत्यः the visarga is preceded by अ, and so there is no applicability of this rule.

In fact, by reading the anuvṛitti of इदुषुपा into this sūtra, and qualifying the visarga by the further epithet of 'belonging to a word that has the sense of कृत्वासुच'; we may dispense with the words हिष्पचतुरिति from the sūtra. The simple sūtra कृत्योर्ये would have been enough. For there are no other Numerals that have a penultimate ई or उ, except these three. The chief objection to this view is, that in चतुर् the visarga is not the affix सुष्, but a portion of the word (See V. 4. 18): so the rule would not apply to chatur, if this word were not expressly mentioned.

The various objections and their solutions are given in the following verses.

कृत्यसुष्ये॒ पञ्चं॒ ब्रवीति॒ कस्माच्चतुष्कपाले॒ ना
पञ्चं॒ विभाषया॒ भूमतु॒ सिञ्चं॒ तच्च॒ पूर्वेण॒ ॥
सिञ्चे॒ हयं॒ विधने॒ चतुरः॒ पञ्चं॒ यथापि॒ कृत्योर्ये॒ ॥
ज्ञुष्णे॒ कृत्योर्ये॒ रेफस्य॒ विसर्जनीयो॒ हि॒ ॥
एवं॒ सति॒ स्विशार्नी॒ हिष्पचतुरित्यनेन॒ किं॒ कार्यम्॒ ॥
अन्यो॒ हि॒ नेदुषुपाधः॒ कृत्योर्थः॒ कविदप्यास्ति॒ ॥
आक्रियमाने॒ यहने॒ विसर्जनीयस्तदा॒ विशेष्येत ॥

चतुरो म सिद्धाति तथा रेफस्य विसर्जनीयो हि ॥
सत्संस्तु कियमाणे युक्तं चतुरो विशेषणं भवति ॥

प्रकृतं पदं तदन्तं तस्यापि विशेषणं न्याय्यम् ॥

Kṛtikā—कृत्स्यस्तु अर्थे वस्तुं ब्रवीति कस्मात्? Why does the author teach वस्तु

when these words have the sense of Numeral-adverbs? In other words, why the word कृत्स्योऽर्थे is used at all in the sūtra? There is no necessity of using it at all, because द्विस्, त्रिस् are clearly adverbs as they are formed by the affix शुच् (V. 4. 18) and चतुर् being read in their company will also denote the *adverb* chatur, in which शुच् has been elided (V. 4. 18). So that all these three words are शुच्-formed, and all शुच्-formed words have the sense of Kṛtvatasuch. One answer to this is that the rule of शाहचर्य does not always hold good, as in शीधीवेकीदाम् (I. 1.6), the words शीधी and वेकी are verbs, while एव् is an augment. Though therefore द्विस् and त्रिस् are kṛtvortha words, yet चतुर् need not be so: and may be a simple Numeral. Ans. चतुष्कपाले भा वस्तुं विभाषणा भूत् ॥ The word कृत्स्योऽर्थे is employed to indicate that there should be no optional वस्तु in चतुष्कपालं ॥ The वस्तु here is compulsory by VIII. 3. 41. Q. ननु सिद्धं तत्र पूर्वेण ॥ Well this would be valid by the previous sūtra (VIII. 3. 41). That is, let in चतुष्कपाल also there be optional वस्तु, as चतुःकपाल and चतुष्कपाल ॥ Now rule VIII. 3. 41 will apply to चतुःकपाल and will change this visarga to ए, so that with regard to चतुष्कपाल, we shall have *always* ए ॥ Ans. सिद्धे शब्दं विभस्ते चतुरः वस्तुं यदापि कृत्स्योऽर्थे, लुप्तं कृत्स्योर्ध्वं रेफस्य विसर्जनीयो हि । If VIII. 3. 41 be considered as applying here (siddha), then when the affix शुच् is elided after चतुर्, and the ए is changed to visarga, then the adverb चतुः also ends with a non-affix visarga, and will come under the compulsory वस्तु rule of VIII. 3. 41; for though we may have optionally two forms as चतुःकरोति and चतुष्करोति, by the present sūtra, yet in the former the visarga would be changed to ए by VIII. 3. 41. Hence the necessity of employing the word कृत्स्योऽर्थे ॥ Q. But we say that the ए in the adverb चतुर् is that of शुच्, thus चतुर्+ए=चतुर्+॒ (VIII. 2. 66)=चतु+॒ (the first ए is elided by VIII. 3. 14)=चतुर्; and that this ए when changed to visarga, will be an affix-visarga and so VIII. 3. 41 will not apply to the *adverb* चतुर् ॥ Ans. No. For उ would require to be lengthened by VI. 3. 111. and the form would be चतूर् ॥

एवं सति स्तिवार्ता द्विस्य चतुर्तियनेन किं कार्यम् ॥ If this be so, then what is the purpose served by using the words द्विस् त्रिस् चतुर्ति in the aphorism? The simple sūtra कृत्स्योऽर्थे would have been enough. Because (अन्योहि नेत्रुपथः कृत्स्योर्ध्वः कदिच्चश्चात्मिति) there are no other numeral adverbs than these three which have a penultimate ए or उ ॥

अक्रियमाणे ग्रहणे विसर्जनीयस्तसा विशेष्येत । If we do not use the words dvis, tris, chaturiti in the sūtra, then the word kṛtvorthe would qualify the word visarga, and the sūtra would mean “the visarga of an affix which has the sense of kṛtvatasuch is changed optionally to ए” ॥ The result of this will be

that (चतुरा न सिद्ध्यति तथारकस्व विसर्जनयोदि) it will not apply to चतुः where the visarga is that of च and not of the affix चुच् ॥

Therefore by using dvis &c, the word कृत्वोर्ये would qualify चतुर् (तस्मिन् तु क्रियमाणे युन्तं चतुरो विशेषणं भवति) ॥

Ans.—प्रकृतं परं तदन्तं तस्यापि, विशेषणं नाद्यम् ॥ Though we may not use dvis &c, the word कृत्वortha will not qualify visarga, but will qualify the word पर whose context runs here; and the rule of तदन्त will apply; so that the sūtra कृत्वोर्ये will mean, परस्य कृत्वोर्ये वर्तमानस्य यो विसर्जनीयः, तस्य सकारः एकारो व ॥ “The visarga of that word which is employed in the sense of a Numeral adverb, is optionally changed to स् or ष् before a guttural or a labial, provided that such visarga is preceded by इ or उ”.

The above is the opinion of Patanjali, who considers the words dvis &c, as redundant. The Kāśikā however controverts this opinion. According to him, if these words were not used in the sūtra, then the mere sūtra कृत्वोर्ये would be insufficient for the visarga of चतुः: though used as an adverb, the चतुः will be compulsory by VIII.3.41; for the present sūtra will be considered as asiddha or non-existent for the purposes of VIII. 3. 41, (See VIII. 2. 1). But this however may be answered by saying that the rule of पूर्वचासिद्धम् applies in these chapters, with this modification, one subject-matter is considered as asiddha with regard to another subject-matter gone before; but one aphorism is not considered asiddha with regard to a previous aphorism, when belonging to the same subject matter. (प्रकरणे प्रकरणमसिद्धं न योगे योगः) ॥ Therefore the present sūtra VIII. 3. 43, would not be considered asiddha with regard to VIII. 3. 41. Or the present sūtra may be considered as an apavāda to VIII. 3. 41: and an apavāda is never asiddha with regard to an utsarga.

इसुसोः सामर्थ्ये ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इस्-उसाः, सामर्थ्ये ॥
वृन्तः ॥ इस् उस् हयेतयोर्विसर्जनीयस्यान्यतरस्यां एकारादेशो भवति सामर्थ्ये कुप्तोः परतः ॥

44. For the visarga of words ending in इस् and उस्, before a hard guttural or labial, there is optionally substituted ष, when the two words stand in correlation with one another.

The ष is understood here. Thus सर्पिष्करोति or सर्पिः करोति, यजुः करेति or यजुष्करोति ॥

Why do we say ‘when the two words are correlated’? Observe लिङ्गतु सर्पिः, पित्र ल्लभुकश्, where सर्पिः is not in construction with पित्र, but with लिङ्गतु ॥

The word सामर्थ्ये here means अपेक्षा or mutual relation of two words; and not “having the same meaning”, or it may mean both. In fact सामर्थ्ये is equivalent to आकाङ्क्षा i. e. the syntactical want of another word to complete the sense. It does not here mean ‘compound’. For it being a प्रविधिः the word समर्थः is

understood here (समर्थः प्रतिष्ठिः II. 1. 1). The employment of the word सामर्थ्य here indicates that it is a different sāmarthyā from that of II. 1. 1. It does not denote एकार्थीभावः or ऐकार्थ्य which is the sāmarthyā of compounds where *two or more* words denote *one* object. The sāmarthyā here means vyapekshā, which is thus defined मानाभूयोः, पर्याययो चौं सांख्यौ वर्तते, तयो चौं योगः “the syntactical union of two words expressing two different ideas”.

नित्यं समासे अनुच्चरपदस्थस्य ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, समासे, अनुच्चर पदस्थस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इसुसोपिति वर्तते । समासविषये इसुसोर्धिसर्जनीयस्यानुच्चरपदस्थस्य नित्यं वस्त्रं भवति कुद्योः परतः ॥

45. The visarga of an इस् or उस्-ending word, which is not preceded by any other word, is invariably changed to ष् in a compound, when followed by a hard guttural or labial.

The words इस् and उस् are understood here. Thus सर्पिङ्कुण्डिका, धनुष्कलम्, सर्पिष्यानम्, धनुष्कलम् ॥

Why do we say when it is not preceded by another word? Observe परमसर्पिः कुण्डिका, परमधनुः कपालम् ॥ The option even of the last sūtra does not apply to these examples.

Q.—The word सर्पिस् is derived from the root सृष् by adding the Uṇādi affix इसि (Uṇ II. 109), and वज्रस् by the Uṇādi affix उसि (Uṇ II. 117), therefore on the maxim प्रत्ययमहेण &c, the word इसुसोः would denote the mere forms सर्पिस् and वज्रस् and not forms like परमसर्पिस् &c. then what is the necessity of employing the word अनुच्चरपदस्थस्य in the sūtra?

The very employment of the word anuttara-pada-sthasya in this sūtra, is an indicator (jñāpaka), that the restriction of the following maxim does not apply with regard to the affixes इस् and उस् : प्रत्ययमहेण यसात् स विहित स्तदेव-स्तदन्तस्य भवेत् “an affix denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added and ends with the affix itself”. This maxim not applying, we have परमसर्पिङ्करोते or परमसर्पिः करोति by the previous sūtra VIII. 3. 44.

Q.—Why is not there option in the case of compounds also by the previous sūtra?

Ans :—Because the word सामर्थ्य there means व्यपेक्षा, and therefore does not apply to compounds.

अतः कृकमिक्सकुम्भपात्रकुशाकर्णीज्वनव्ययस्य ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, कृ-कमि-कंस-कुम्भ-पात्र-कुशा-कर्णीषु, अन्-अव्ययस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकाराद्वृत्तरस्य अनव्ययविसर्जनीयस्य समासेऽनुच्चरपदस्थस्य नित्यं सकारोदशो भवति कृ कागि कंस कुम्भ पात्र कुशा कर्णी इत्येतेषुपरतः ॥

46. For the visarga of a word ending in अस्, with the exception of an Indeclinable, स् is substituted in a compound, when a form of कृ and कम्, or the words कंस कुम्भ, पात्र, कुशा and कर्णी follow, and the first word is not preceded by another word.

Thus कृः—अयस्कारः, पयस्कारः (III. 2. 1) कम्—अवस्कामः, पवस्कामः, कंसः—अयस्कंसः, पयस्कंसः, कुम्भः—अयस्कुम्भः पयस्कुम्भः || So also अयस्कुम्भी पयस्कुम्भी, on the maxim प्रातिपादिकपदहेन लिङ्गविधिष्ठापि महते भवते || पात्रः—अयस्पात्रम्, पवस्पात्रम्, अयस्पात्री, पयस्पात्री || कुशाः—अयस्कुशा, पयस्कुशा || कर्णी—अयस्कर्णी, पवस्कर्णी || The form शुनस्कर्णः belongs to Kaskādi class (VIII. 3. 48).

Why do we say अतः “a visarga preceded by short अ, or the visarga of the word ending in अः”? See गीकारः धूकारः || Why do we say ‘preceded by short अ’? Observe भाकरजम् || The form भास्करः belongs to Kaskādi class (VIII. 3. 48). See also III. 2. 2.

Why do we say “with the exception of an Indeclinable”? Observe इवःकारः, पुनःकारः ||

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here; अथः करोति पयः करोति, यज्ञः क्रामयते ||

The word अनुच्चरपदस्थत्य is also to be read in this. Therefore not here, परमपयः कारः, परमपयः क्रामः ||

Q. The word कंस need not have been taken, because it is a form of the root कम्, since it is derived from कम् by adding the Uṇādi affix स (III. 62 Uṇ)?

Ans.—The employment of कंस indicates the existence of the following maxim :—उणादयोऽब्दुत्प्रभानि प्रातिपदिकानि “Words which end with उण् &c. are crude-forms that do not undergo or cause such operations as would depend on their etymological formation.”

अधः शिरसी पदे ॥४७॥ पदानि ॥ अधः-शिरसी, पदे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधस् शिरस् इत्येवं विद्यनीयस्य समासेऽनुभरपदस्थत्य सकार भावेषो भवति पदशब्दे परतः ॥

47. For the visarga of अधस् or शिरस् when not preceded by another word, and followed by the word पद in composition with it, there is substituted स् ||

Thus अधस्पदम्, शिरस्पदम् ॥ अधस्पदी, शिरस्पदी ॥

The word समासे is understood in this, therefore not here अधः पदम् ॥

The word अनुच्चरपदस्थत्य is also understood here. Therefore not in the following परमशिरः पदम् ॥

The word अधस्पदम् is a compound formed under Mayūravyansa-kādi class.

कस्कादिषु च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कस्कादिषु, च ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ कस्क इत्येवमादिषु च विसर्जनीयस्य सकारः षकारे वा वथायोगमादेशो भवति कुपोः परतः ॥

48. स or ष is substituted for the visarga, before a hard guttural and labial in the words कस्क and the rest.

This is an Apavâda to Sûtra VIII. 3. 37. एः is substituted after इ or उ, and स् everywhere else. Thus कस्तः, 2. कौतस्तुतः (with अण् of कुत् व्यागतः). 3. भातुष्पूषः (VI. 3. 23) 4. मुनस्कर्णः (VI. 3. 21) 5. सथस्कालः; 6. सथस्की (from की 'to buy' with the affix विष्ट्, because it belongs to Sampadâdi class.) 7. साथस्कः (from सथस्की in the sense of तत्रभवः करुः). 8. कांस्कान् (the ह is by VIII. 3. 12). 9. सर्विष्ट्कुण्डिका, 10. अतुष्कपालम्, 11. धनुष्कपालम् 12. वर्षिष्ट्यूलम्, 13. यजुष्पात्रम् ॥ "The words 9 to 13 are exceptions to VIII. 3. 45, so that there might be ए, even when सर्विष्ट् &c are preceded by another word. Thus परमसर्वि ष्ट्कुण्डिका ॥ The counter-example then to VIII. 3. 45 will be परमसर्वि ष्ट्कलम् ॥" This is the opinion of the Pârâyanikâs. But in the Mahâbhâshya, the counter-example under VIII. 3. 45 is परमसर्वि !कुण्डिका ॥ Another reason why these words are listed here, is that ए change will take place, even where there is no correlation or vyapekshâ. As तिष्ठतु सर्विष्ट्कुण्डिकां भानय ॥ So also when there is correlation, as इं सर्विष्ट्कुण्डिकायाः ॥ Here सर्विष्ट् is an incomplete word. The ए change, will take place even where there is no compounding. Where there is no compounding, and there is complete want of correlation, even there the ए will invariably come. And where there is correlation, but no compounding there the ए would have been optional by VIII. 3. 44, but it becomes invariable here, on account of these words being so listed. Thus we have these cases : (1) Without correlation, as तिष्ठतु सर्विष्ट्कुण्डिकाभानय ॥ (2) Where there is correlation, as इं सर्विष्ट्कुण्डिकायाः ॥ (3) Where there is composition, as सर्विष्ट्कुण्डिका ॥ (4) Where there is no composition and no correlation even, as, in example (1). (5) Where there is correlation but no compounding as in example (2). In all these cases there is ए invariably in case of these words. 14. अवस्काण्डः, 15. नेत्रस्पिण्डः ॥ अविहितलक्षण उपचारः कस्कादिषु इत्यः ।

Every change of visarga to **ঃ** or **ঁ**, must be referred to Kaskādi class, if not governed by any other rule. Thus this is an Akṛtīgaṇa. Upachāra is the name of **ঃ** and **ঁ** which replace the visarga.

The Pārāyaṇa is of two sorts, Dhātu-Par, and Nāma-Par. Those who devote themselves in committing to memory and reciting these are Pārāyanikas.

छन्दसि वा प्राप्नेडितयोः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, वा, अ-प्र-आप्नेडितयोः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि शिष्ये विसर्जनीयत्वं वा सकारादेषा भवति कुण्ठीः परतः प्रशब्दं आप्नेडितं वर्जयित्वा ॥

49. स may optionally be substituted for the

visarga before a hard guttural and labial, in the Chhandas ; but neither before प्र, nor before a doubled word.

Thus अयः पाचम् or अयस्याचम् ॥ This is an example of non-compounds. In compounds, the स change is compulsory by VIII. 3. 46 : because the option of the present sutra is asiddha there, and it finds its scope in cases other than compounds. If the maxim प्रकरणे प्रकरणमसिद्धं न योगे योगः be applied, then the two sutras VIII. 3. 46 and VIII. 3. 49 belong to the same प्रकरण and one is not asiddha with regard to the other. Then we could give examples of compounds also under this sutra : but then such compounds will also be governed by VIII. 3. 46, and so the स would be compulsory.

विश्वस्याचम् or विश्वतः पाचम्, here the word विश्वतः is an Indeclinable and hence the rule VIII. 3. 46, does not apply to it. उ॒ षः कारः or उ॒ ष ल्कारः ॥ Here न॒ स् is substituted for अ॒ सद्, and then the न is changed to ष by VIII. 4. 27. The word कारः is a ष॒ formed word.

Why do we say "not before प्र and a doubled word"? Observe अग्निः प्र विश्वात् (Av. V. 26. 1), पुरुषः पुरुषः परि ॥

In सूर्योदिमर्हिकेणः पुरस्तात् (Rig. X. 139. 1), स नः पावकः (Rig. I. 12. 10), the स change has not taken place, as all rules are optional in the Vedas.

कःकरत्करतिकृधिकृतेष्वनदितेः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ कः-करत्-करति-कृधि-कृतेषु, अन्-अदितेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कः करत् करति कृधि कृत् इत्येतेषु परतः अनवित्पर्विसर्जनीयस्य सकारादेषो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

50. The visarga is changed to स् in the Chhandas, before कः, करत्, करति, कृधि and कृतः but not so the visarga of अदितिः ॥

Thus विश्वस्त्कः ॥ कः is the Aorist of क्, the त्वि has been elided by II. 4. 80 : the क् of क् is gaṇated before the affix त्वि, thus we have करत्, the त् is elided by VI. 1. 68 ; and the augment अ॒ ह् is not added by VI. 4. 75. Similarly विश्वस्त्करत् ॥ Here also करत् is the Aorist of क्, with अ॒ ह् by III. 1. 59. पदस्करति, here करति is the ल॒ of क् ; श॒ ः is added instead of त्, as a Vedic anomaly. उ॒ रजस्त्कृधि, here कृधि is the Imperative of क्, the सि is changed to हि, the vikaraṇa is elided, and हि changed to षि by VI. 4. 102. See VIII. 4. 27, for the change of न to ष ॥ स॒ कृतम्, here कृतम् is Past Participle of क् ॥

Why do we say 'but not of असितिः'? Observe वथा नो असितिः करत् (Rig. I. 43. 2).

पञ्चम्याः परावध्यर्थे ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्याः, परौ, अध्यर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसित्येव । पञ्चमीविसर्जनीयस्य सकारादेषो भवति परौ परतः अध्यर्थे ॥

51. The visarga of the Ablative case is changed to स् before परि meaning 'over'.

The word Chhandas is understood here also. Thus दिवस्परि प्रथंम जाहे (Rig X. 45. 1) अविनिर्हिमवत्तस्परि ॥ दिवस्परि, महस्परि ॥

Why do we say 'of the Ablative'? Observe अहिरिव भोगैः पर्येति बाहुम् ॥ Why do we say "before परि"? See एथोवा एतलालोकेभ्यः प्रजापतिः समैरयम् ॥ Why do we say 'when परि means 'over'? See दिवः पृथिव्याः प्रयोज उभूतेष्व (Rig. VI. 47. 27). Here परि has the sense of "on all sides".

पातौ च बहुलम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पातौ, च बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पातौ च धातौ परतः पञ्चमीविसर्जनीयस्य बहुलं सकार आदेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

52. स् may diversely be substituted for the visarga of the Ablative before the verb पातु in the Chhandas.

Thus दिवस्पातु, रात्रस्पातु ॥ Sometimes, the change does not take place, as परिषदः पात ॥

षष्ठ्याःपतिपुत्रपृष्ठपारपदपयस्पोषेषु ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठ्याः-पति-पुत्र-पृष्ठ-पार-पद पयस्त्-पोषेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षष्ठीविसर्जनीयस्यकारादेशो भवति पति पुत्र पृष्ठ पार पद पयस्त् पोष इत्येतेषु परतः छन्दसि विषये ॥

53. For the visarga of the Genitive, there is substituted स in the Vedas, before पति, पुत्र, पृष्ठ, पार, पद, पयस्त्, and पोष ॥

Thus वाचस्पाति विश्वकर्मणमूर्तये, (Rig. x. 81. 7), दिवस्पुत्राय सूर्याय, दिवस्पृष्ठे धावमानं द्वपर्णम्, अग्नम्, तमसस्पात्, इडायस्यै समित्यसे, सूर्यं चक्षुं दिवस्पयः, रात्रस्पीर्यं यजमानेषु धत्तम् ॥

Why do we say 'after a genitive case'? See मदुः पुत्रेभ्यो शब्दं व्यभजत् ॥

इडाया वा ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इडायाः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इडायाः षष्ठीविसर्जनीयस्य वा सकार आदेशो भवति पत्थादिषु परतस्तदन्वसि विषये ॥

54. स् is optionally substituted for the visarga of इडायाः, before पति &c, (VIII. 3. 53.) in the Chhandas.

Thus इडायाः पतिः or इडायास्पतिः इडायास्पुत्रः । इडायाः पुत्रः । इडायास्पृष्ठम् । इडायाः पृष्ठम् । इडाया स्पारस्, इडायाः पारम् । इडायास्पदम् । इडायाः पदम् । इडायास्पयः । इडायाः पयः । इडायाः पोषम् । इडायास्पोषम् ॥

अपदान्तस्य मूर्द्धन्यः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-पदान्तस्य, मूर्द्धन्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपदान्तस्योति मूर्द्धन्यं इति चैत्रधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । आपादपरिसमाप्तेः ॥

55. Upto the end of the Pāda, is throughout to be supplied the following: "A cerebral letter is substituted always in the room of ——, when this letter does not stand at the end of a word".

Here ceases the Padādhikāra which commenced with VIII. 1. 16. The two words अपशत्त्वं 'not final in a pada', and मूर्द्धन्यः 'cerebral' exert a governing influence on all sūtras upto the end of this chapter. Thus VIII. 3. 59, teaches "of an affix and a substitute". The whole of the present sūtra should be read there to complete the sense: i.e. "a cerebral sound is substituted always in the room of the स of an affix and of the स which is a substitute, when it does not stand at the end of a word". Thus सिषेव, सुष्वाप, भाग्नु, वायुषु ॥

Why do we say 'not final'? See अग्रस्तच, वायुस्तच ॥ Though the anuvṛitti of ष was understood here, yet the employment of the word 'cerebral' is for the sake of ष; as अकृद्धृष्ट, अकृद्धृष्टे (VIII. 3. 78).

सहः साढः सः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहः, साढः, सः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहेद्वातोः साढ़प्रस्य यः सकारस्त्वं मूर्द्धन्यं भावेतो भवति ॥

56. ष is substituted for the स् in सह, when this occurs in the form of साढ़ (साढ)

Thus जलाशाह्, तुराशाह्, पृतनाशाह् ॥ साढ़ is derived from सह by the affix प्रिष्ठ (III. 2. 63), there is vṛiddhi of the penultimate, the ह is changed to ढ (VIII. 2. 31), and the upapada is lengthened (VI. 3. 137).

साढः सः would have been enough, for there is no other form साढ़ except this derived from सह; why then the word सहः is used in the sūtra? There is another form साढ़ not derived from सह ॥ Thus सह ढेन वर्त्तते = सढः, सढस्य अपयं = साढः ॥ He in whose name there is the letter ढ is called सढ़; as सढ़ ॥

Why do we say 'in the form of साढ़'? The rule will not apply when the form is सह, as जलाशाहम्, तुराशाहम् ॥ Why do we say सः "for the स"? So that the आ of साढ़ may not be changed to cerebral: the ढ is already cerebral.

इण्कोः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इण् कोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इण्कोर्तियेसविष्कृतं वेदितव्यम् । इत उत्तरं वद्वस्यामः इणः कवर्णाचेत्येवं सहेदितव्यम् ।

57. From this, upto the end of the chapter, should be supplied in every sūtra, the following :—"when a vowel (with the exception of अ or आ), or a र or a guttural precedes".

The word इण is a pratyāhāra formed with the second ष of लष ॥ It includes all vowels and semivowels except अ and आ ॥ Of the semi-vowels ए is only efficient: so that only is taken in the translation. कु means the letters of the क class. Thus इण्कोः is supplied in VIII. 3. 59, to complete the sense. Thus सिषेव, सुष्वाप, भग्नु, वायुषु, कर्तृषु, हर्तृषु, गंतृषु, धूर्षु, वाष्णु, स्वष्णु ॥

Why do we say "when preceded by इण or कु"? Observe शास्त्रति, असौ ॥ Here the affix स of स्त्रति, and the substitute स in असौ (VII. 2. 106) are not changed to ष ॥

नुम्बिसर्जनीयशब्दवायेपि ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नुम्, विसर्जनीय-शब्दवाये, अपि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नुम्बवायेपि विसर्जनीयव्यवायेवि शब्दवायेवि इण्कोहत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्दन्वारेषो भवति ॥

58. The substitution of ष for स takes place then also, when the augment न् (नुम्), the visarjanīya or a sibilant occurs between the said इण् and कु letters or the स ॥

The word व्यवाय 'separation, intervention' applies to every one of the words मुम्, &c. Thus (1) when मुम् intervenes, as सर्पिषि, वृष्णिषि, हर्षीषि (VII. 1. 72, VI. 4. 10). (2) When a visarjanīya intervenes, as सर्पिषु, वृष्णिषु, हर्षीषु (VIII. 3. 36) (3) When a Sibilant intervenes, as सर्पिष्णु, वृष्णुषु हर्षीष्णु ॥

The व्यवाय takes place, when मुम् &c intervene *singly* and not when they intervene collectively. Therefore not here, निस्त्वे, निस्त्वे from the root निस् 'to kiss.' Here there is the intervention of *two*, namely, मुम् and स (III. 4. 91).

The word इण्कोः is in the Ablative case, and it required that the स should follow *immediately* after it. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra for the intervention of certain letters.

आदेशप्रत्यययोः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदेश, प्रत्यययोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आदेशो यः सकारः प्रत्ययस्य च यः सकार इण्कोहत्तरस्य मूर्दन्यो भवति ॥

59. ष is substituted for that स which is a substitute (of the ष of a root in Dhātupāṭha by VI. 1. 64), or which is (the portion of) an affix, under the above mentioned conditions (VIII. 3. 57, 58), of being preceded by an इण् vowel or a guttural.

The word cerebral is understood here from VIII. 3. 55, as well as स ॥ The sūtra आदेश-प्रत्ययोः is in the Genitive case. The force of the Genitive however is different in the word आदेश, from what it is in pratyaya. In the first it is samānādhikaraṇa-shashṭhi, in the latter avayava-yogāshashṭhi. That is that स which is an आदेश, and that स which belongs to an affix. If we took it as avayavayoga shashṭhi in both places, then the sūtra would mean "of that स which is a portion of a substitute, or of an affix," and there would arise the following anomaly. In doubling a word by VIII. 1. 1, one view is that two are *substituted* in the room of one (See VIII. 1. 1). Thus विसंविसं, मुसलंमुसलं ॥ Here the स in these words, is a *portion* of a substitute, and would be changed to ष, if we translate the sūtra as above.

If we take the other view, and translate the sūtra as "of that स which is a substitute or an affix", we land on the following anomaly. We must have forms like करिस्यति and हरिस्यति, and not the correct forms करिष्यति, हरिष्यति ;

for here स् is not an affix, but a *portion* of an affix. In fact, with regard to affixes, the sūtra would be confined to those affixes only which consist of a single स्, such as सिप् in the Vedic subjunctive लेद् ॥ That this is the proper interpretation of the sūtra is indicated by the sūtra VIII. 3. 60, (the next aphorism). The substitute घस् is taken in this sūtra. If therefore, the force of Genitive in आरेश्वस्य was = आरेश्वस्य यः सकारः and not = आरेशः यः सकारः, then there would have been no necessity of including the substitute घस् in the sūtra, for then the present sūtra would have covered the case of घस् also. Similarly, if the force of the Genitive in प्रत्ययस्य was = प्रत्ययः यः सकारः, and not = प्रत्यवस्यः यः सकारः; then there would have been no necessity of excluding the affix सात् (V. 4. 52) from the operation of the present rule by VIII. 3. 111, because it is not an affix consisting of a single letter स् ॥

Having surmised this, we shall now give illustrations. First of that स् which is a substitute. It can only be the स् which replaces the ष of a root in Dhātupāṭha. Thus सिषेद्, सुष्वाप ॥ Of an affix, we have अमिषु, वायुषु, कर्तृषु, इर्वुषु; वक्षत् in इन्हो मा वक्षत्; and वक्षत् in स देवान् वक्षत् ॥

Q.—In the case of वक्षत् and वक्षत्, the स् is not the *portion* of an affix, but the *whole* affix itself: the present sūtra should therefore not apply to this स् ॥

Ans.—Here we apply the maxim व्यपदेशिष्वद् एकमित्र ॥

These words (वक्षत् and वक्षत्) are from the roots वक्ष् and वज्, in लेद् with तिप्, the इ is elided by III. 4. 97, the augment अट् (III. 4. 94), the affix सिप् by III. 1. 34; the ष् of वक्ष् is changed to a guttural, and the ज् of वज् to ष् and then to a guttural.

The Uṇādi word अक्षरं (अश्+सर् Uṇ III. 70) complies with this rule, but not so the word कृक्षरं and धूक्षरं (Uṇ III. 73) formed with the same affix सर् ॥

शास्त्रिवसिधसीनांच ॥६०॥ पदानि ॥ शास्त्रि-वासि- घसीनाम्, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शास्त्रि वासि घसी इत्येतेषां च इण्कोहत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्खन्यो भवति ॥

60. ष् is substituted for the स् of शास्, वक्ष् and घस्, when it is preceded by an ई vowel or a guttural.

Thus अन्वशिष्टत्, अन्वशिष्टाम्, अन्वशिष्टन्, the Aorist of शास्; the तिप् is replaced by अह् (III. 1. 56), and the आ changed to इ by VI. 4. 34. So also शिष्टः, शिष्टवान् ॥ From वक्ष् we have वक्षिष्टः, वक्षेतवान्, वक्षिष्टा ॥ The Samprasāraṇa takes place by VI. 1. 15 as it belongs to yajādi class. From घस् we have अघस्तुः, अघस्तुः in the Perfect. घस् is the substitute of अट् (II. 4. 40), the penultimate अ is elided by VI. 4. 98. So also अघस्त् in अघस्त्रीमदन्ते पितरः (Rig. I. 82. 2). This is the Aorist form of अट्, the घस् is substituted for अट् (II. 4. 37): the Aorist sign is elided by II. 4. 80.

This sūtra is made to cover cases not governed by the last sūtra, namely, where the स् is not an Adeśa. Though the स् in पद्म is the स् of a substitute, yet it is not governed by the preceding aphorism, because the word आरेष्ट्य there means 'the स् which is a substitute'. Here स् is not a substitute, but a portion of a substitute. The non-substitute वस्तु is not to be taken here : as it seldom occurs.

The word इष्टोः is understood here also. Therefore the rule would not apply to शास्ति, वसति and जगति ॥

स्तौतिष्योरेष्ट षण्यभ्यासात् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तौति-ष्योः, एव, शाणि,
अभ्यासात् ॥ वृशि ॥ स्तातेष्यन्तानां च षण्यमूले समि परतः अभ्यासादिण उत्तरस्य अविषासकारस्य मूर्खन्योरेष्टो भवति ॥

61. ष् is substituted for स after इ or उ in the reduplication of a Desiderative, if the स of सन् is changed to ष् ; but only in स्तु and in Causative of roots which in Dhātupāṭha begin with a ष् ॥

This rule is confined to the Desideratives of स्तु and of स् beginning roots in the Causative, provided that the Desiderative sign स् is changed to ष् ॥ The rule applies to the स् of the substitute, and not to the affix स् as there can be no such स् after a reduplicate syllable. Therefore स् means that स which replaces the स् of the roots.

Thus from स्तु we have स्तूष्टपति ॥ Here the स of सन् is changed to ष by the last sūtra, and therefore so also after the reduplicate उ, the स of स्तु is changed to ष ॥

Of the Causatives of roots beginning with ष् in Dhātupāṭha, we have सिषेष्यिष्यति, सिषिष्यादिष्यति, मुष्यापयिष्यति ॥ In this last, the ष् is changed to उ by VII. 4. 67.

Though this ष change would have taken place by the previous sūtra (VIII. 3. 59), yet the separate enunciation of this rule indicates that this is a niyama aphorism—the ष change takes place only in these cases of स्तु and Causatives of Desideratives under the conditions mentioned in this sūtra, and *no where else*. Thus सिषिष्यति from the root षिष्य भरणे (Tud. 140). This is a root, which is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with a ष, therefore the form ought to have been सिषिष्यति by VIII. 3. 59, but it is not so, because of the niyama of the present sūtra. So also मुष्यूष्यते from षूष्य प्राणिप्रसवे (Div. 24) : and मुष्यूष्यति from षूष्य भरणे (Tud. 115).

If this is a niyama rule by the very fact of its separate enunciation, what is then the necessity of using the word एव in the aphorism ? Ans. इष्टो-उत्तरजार्थम् ; so that, the sūtra may mean "if स्तु and Causatives *only*, when ष् follows" ? and not "if स्तु and Causatives when पद्म only follows". In the

latter view, we could not get the form सुषाव ; and the rule would have applied to सिसिक्षति also.

Why do we say "in the Desiderative ए"? So that the niyama may not be anywhere else. Had एनि not been used in the sūtra, the restriction would have been with regard to every affix, and the sūtra would have meant "if there is occasion of एनि change after a reduplicate, it should take place only in the case of स्तु and the Causatives". Therefore ए change would not have taken place in सिसिक्षति, as it is not a Causative.

Q.—को विनतेऽनुरोधः? Why have we used the word एनि with ए, and not the word स्त्रै? That is, what compulsion was there to exhibit the Desiderative affix ए, in this changed form? The word विनत is the name given in the Prāti-sākhyas to ए and ए change.

Ans.— So that the restrictive rule may not apply to the अविनत form of स्त्रै. As मुषुप्तस्ति ॥ The स्त्रै is here किंत् by I. 2. 8, and there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 15. For had स्त्रै been used in the sūtra, then the restriction would have been with regard to all Desideratives in *general*, whether the स्त्रै was changed to ए or not. Therefore as there is restriction of VIII. 3. 59, in the case of सिसिक्षति where स्त्रै is not changed to ए; so there would have been restriction in मुषुप्तस्ते, the स्त्रै could not have been changed to ए by VIII. 3. 59. Similarly in तिष्ठासति ॥

Q.— What is the necessity of exhibiting एनि with the anubandha ए? So that the rule should not apply to ए in general, but to the Desiderative affix ए only. As मुषुपिष्ट इन्द्रै ॥ This मुषुपिष्टe is the Perfect of स्वप्, the affix याप् is added as Chandas irregularity instead of यस्; for याप् there is से, the affix is किंत् by I. 2. 5, and so there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 15, and reduplication, and the augment इट् is added by VII. 2. 13, the ए is changed to अद्, as मुषुपिष्ट इन्द्रै, the ए is elided by VIII. 3. 19. Here after the reduplicate ए, the स्त्रै is changed to ए, in ए by the *general* rule VIII. 3. 59, as the restriction of this sūtra does not apply in this case. But had ए in general been taken, then मुषुपिष्ट has an affix ए, and therefore sūtra VIII. 3. 59, would have been restricted, and there would have been no change of स्त्रै to ए after the reduplicate, as it is not a causative. Hence एनि has been employed with an anubandha.

Why do we say 'after a reduplicate'?

Ans.— So that this restriction may apply to that ए which would have been caused by the इ or ए of an abhyāsa, and not to that which would have been caused by an upasarga. As अभिपिष्टसति, though without the Preposition, the form is सिसिक्षते ॥

*Q.—*No, this cannot be the reason, because the ए caused by the upasarga is considered as asiddha, and hence there would be no restriction.

Ans.—Then we say, the abhyāsa is taken to be qualified by सू, namely that abhyāsa which is *caused* by सू, would give occasion to this rule and not any other abhyāsa. Therefore if a reduplication has been caused by वृ, and then वृ is added to it, then the restriction of the present sūtra will not apply, and पत्र change will take place though the root may not be a Causative &c. Thus the वृ of स्वप् is सोषुप्त्व (VI. 1. 19), the Desiderative of this root is सोषुपिष्टे, with इ॒ augment, the elision of अ (VI. 4. 48) of अ, the elision of अ by VI. 4. 49.

Q.—No this also cannot be the reason: because the पत्र change is antaranga, while the restriction niyama is Bahiranga. Therefore, the word abhyāsa is employed superfluously in the sūtra.

Ans.—The word abhyāsa is taken in the sūtra, so that the restriction may be with regard to that अ which might have been caused by the इ or उ of the abhyāsa; and not to that अ which might be occasioned by the इ or उ of a धृत् or verbal root. Thus मंसिषिष्टति, अधीषिष्टति ॥ Here the root इ in the sense of शोधन, is turned to Desiderative with सू; and by VI. 1. 2, the स is reduplicated, then by VII. 4. 79, the अ is changed to इ ॥ Thus इसिष्ट; here by the force of the इ of the abhyāsa सि, the स is changed to अ as इसिष्ट; (VIII. 3. 59) then as the restriction of this sūtra does not apply, the root इ causes the पत्र of the abhyāsa, as इसिष्ट ॥ Had the word अभ्यसात् not been used in the sūtra, the स of abhyāsa could not have been changed to अ, for then the sūtra would have meant “अ is substituted for स, only in the case of त्तु and Causatives in the Desiderative वृ”; and as इसिष्ट is not a Causative-Desiderative, the restriction would have applied.

सः स्वदिस्वदिसहीनां च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, स्वदि-स्वदि-सहीनाम, च ॥
वृत्ति ॥ स्वदि स्वदि सहीनाम व्यन्तानां सनि अभूते परतो अभ्यासादुत्तस्य सकारस्य सकारादेशी
मवति ॥

62. सू is substituted for the सू after the reduplicate of the वृ Desiderative of the Causatives of स्वद्, स्वद्, and सह ॥

The सू substitute of सू debars the cerebral change. In other words, the सू of these roots remains unchanged. As सिस्वेशविषति, सिस्वाशविषति and सिसाहविषति ॥

प्राक्सितादद्व्यवाये अपि ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्, सितात्, अद्, द्व्यवाये, अपि ॥
वृत्ति ॥ सेवसितेति वृत्ताति प्राक्-सितसंशब्दनाथावृति कर्त्त्वमतुकामिष्यामस्तवाद्व्यवायेपि-मूर्खन्यो भवति-
त्वेऽपि तद्वेतिष्यमपिशब्दादनद्व्यवायेपि ॥

63. (The substitution of अ for सू, to be taught hereafter, will take place) for all roots upto सित् exclusive in

VIII. 3. 70, even when the augment अ॒ � intervenes (between the स and the efficient letter).

The root सित् occurs in sūtra VIII. 3. 70. Thus VIII. 3. 65 teaches ष change : as अभिषुणोति, परिषुणोति, विषुणोति, निषुणोति ॥ So also when अ॒ intervenes ; as अभ्युणोत्, पर्युणोत्, व्युणोत्, न्युणोत् ॥ The force of अ॒ is that the change takes place even when the augment अ॒ does not come, i. e. in cases other than the augment.

स्थादिष्वभ्यासेन चाभ्यासस्य ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थादिषु, अभ्यासेन, च, अभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राक् सिताविति वर्त्तते ॥ उपसर्गात्सुनोतीत्यत्र स्थासेनवेत्पेति स्थादवस्तेषु स्थाविषु प्राक् सितासंश्लिष्टाभ्यासेन व्यवाये मूर्खन्यो भवत्यभ्याससकारस्य च भवतीत्येवं वेदितव्यम् ॥

64. In स्था &c upto सित् exclusive (VIII. 3. 65 to VIII. 3. 70), this ष substitution takes place then also, when the reduplicate intervenes, and the स of the reduplicate is also changed to ष ॥

The words प्राक् सितात् are understood here also. The स्थावि roots are, स्था, सेनव &c in VIII. 3. 65 and ending with क्ते in VIII. 3. 70. The sūtra consists of two sentences : (1) The ष takes place in स्था &c. even when a reduplicate intervenes ; (2) The स of the reduplicates of स्था &c. is changed to ष ॥ The first is a *vidhi* rule, and the second is a *niyama* rule.

Thus परितष्ठौ where the abhyāsa त intervenes. This applies even to roots other than those which have been taught with a ष in the Dhātupāṭha. As अभिषिष्येणविषति, परिषिष्येणविषति (सेनवा अभियातुगिष्मुन्ति). This applies moreover to reduplicates which end in अ, as अभितष्ठौ ; here the स would not have been changed to ष (by VIII. 3. 59) as it is not preceded by इ or उ ॥ Another *raison d'être* of this sūtra is that it prohibits षष्ठ (VIII. 3. 61). As अभिषिष्यिषति, परिषिष्यिषति ॥

The word अभ्यासस्य is for the sake of niyama, as we have said above. स of स्था &c. and of no other roots is changed to ष ॥ As अभिषुषुषति from ष प्रेरणे with सन्, the augment is debarred by VII. 2. 12 : the root स is unchanged by the niyama prohibition of VIII. 3. 61 ; the reduplicate स remains unchanged by the restriction of the present sūtra.

उपसर्गात्सुनोतिसुवतिस्यतिस्तौतिभतिसासेनयसेवसिचसञ्जस्वज्ञाम् ॥ ६५ ॥
पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, सुनोति-सुवति-स्यति-स्तौति-स्तोभाति-सा-सेनय-सेव-सिच-सञ्ज-स्वज्ञाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्यान्निमित्तातुसरस्व द्वनोति सुवति स्यति स्तौति स्तोभाति स्या सेनय वेष्ट विच सञ्ज त्वञ्ज त्वेतेषां सकारस्य मूर्खन्यारेषो भवति ॥

65. ष is substituted for स, after an इ and उ of an upasarga in the following verbs : स (सुनोति), ष (सुवति), स्तौ

(स्यति VII. 3. 71), स्तु (स्तौति VII. 3. 89), स्तुभ (स्तोमते), स्था, सेनय (Denominative), सिध् (सेधति), सिच्, सङ्ज् and सङ्ज् ॥

Thus अभिषुजोति, परिषुजोति, अभ्यषुजोत्, पर्यषुजोत् ॥ सुवति, अभिषुवति, परिषुवति, अभ्यषुवत्, पर्यषुवत् ॥ स्यति, अभिष्यति, परिष्यति, अभ्यष्यत्, पर्यष्यत् ॥ स्सौति, अभिष्टौति, परिष्टौति, अभ्यष्टौत्, पर्यष्टौत् ॥ स्तोमति, अभिष्टोमति, परिष्टोमति, अभ्यष्टोमत्, पर्यष्टोमत् ॥ स्था, अभिष्ठास्थाति, परिष्ठास्थाति, अभ्यष्ठास्, पर्यष्ठास्, अभिष्टास्, परिष्टास् ॥ सेनय, अभिषेणयति, परिषेणयति, अभ्यषेणयत्, पर्यषेणयत् ॥ अभिषिषेणयिषति, परिषिषेणयिषति ॥ सेध, अभिषेधति, परिषेधति, अभ्यषेधत्, पर्यषेधत् ॥ सिच्, अभिषिच्छति, परिषिच्छति, अभ्यषिच्छत्, पर्यषिच्छत्, अभिषिच्छिषति, परिषिच्छिषति ॥ सङ्ज, अभिषञ्जति, परिषञ्जति, अभ्यषञ्जत्, पर्यषञ्जत् ॥ अभिषिष्वहक्षति, परिषिष्वहक्षति ॥ वडज्, अभिष्वजते, परिष्वजते, अभ्यष्वजत्, पर्यष्वजत्, अभिष्वजति, परिष्वजति ॥ सेष्व हति शब्दिकरणमिहेषः सिष्वतिमिहेष्यर्थः ॥ उपसर्गादिति, किम्? इधि सिष्वति, मधु सिष्वति, निगताः ॥ सेष्वका अस्मादेशान्तः सेष्वको देश इति ॥ नायं सिष्वेहप-सर्वः ॥ अभिसावकीयतीयापि न मुनोति प्रति क्रियायोगः किं तहि सावकीयं प्रति ॥ अभिसावयतीयम् तु मुनोतिमेव प्रति क्रियायोगो न सावयतिमिति घट्यं भवति ॥

The root सिध् is exhibited in the sūtra as सेध with शप् vikaraṇa, thus debarring सिध्-सिध्यति ॥

Why do we say "after an upasarga"? Observe इधि सिष्वति, मधु सिष्वति (VIII. 3. 111). So निःसेष्वको देशः=निर्गता सेष्वका अस्माद् देशात् ॥ Here निः is not an Upasarga to सिष्व, but to the noun सेष्वक ॥ Similarly in अभिसावकीयति, the upasarga अभि is not added to the root मु (मुनोति), but to the *third* derivative of मु (मुनोति). Namely, from मु we derive सावक with प्लुल्, and from सावक we form the Denominative root सावकीय with क्षयच्; and to this Denominative root अभि is added. The upasarga, however may be added to the root first, and then प्लुल् and क्षयच् added. In that case, the rule will apply. As अभिसावकीयति ॥ So also with the Causative, as अभिसावयति, for here the upasarga is added to the root मु and not to the causative form सावय ॥

The roots मुश् अभिष्वते belongs to Svādi class, मु भेदे to Tudadi class, वोऽन्तकर्मणि to Divādi class, एदुश् स्तुतो to Adādi class and एदुभ स्तंभे, to Bhuādi Class. These have been shown in the sūtra in their declined form in order to indicate that the rule does not apply to their यह लुक्, as अभिसोवताति ॥ See VII. I. 6 for this rule of इत्युपसर्ग exhibited roots. On the other hand, the roots सिच् &c. being not so exhibited, change their स in यह लुक् also, as अभिषेषिष्वीति ॥

The upasarga need not end with त् and तु for the purposes of this rule. Thus निष्वुजोति, बुद्धुजोति, where the upasarga is निस् and बुद् ॥

सदिरप्रतेः ॥ इद ॥ पदानि ॥ सदिः, अप्रतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सदैः सकारस्य उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादप्रतेहतरस्य मूर्द्दन्यं आदेशो भवति ॥

66. The स of सद् is changed to ष after an Upasarga having an इ or उ, but not after प्रति ॥

The word सदिः is in the first case, but has the force of genitive. Thus प्रिष्वीति विष्विति, न्यष्वीत्, व्यष्वीत् ॥ निष्वसाद्, विष्वसाद् ॥ The second स remains unchanged in the Perfect by VIII. 3. 118.

Why do we say 'but not after प्रति'? Observe प्रातिसदिति ॥ Prof. Bohtlingk points out that the sūtra is सत्तरपते: as given by Sayānāchārya in his commentary on Rig Veda VI. 13. 1. Pāṇini, however, often uses the first case with the force of the Genitive, as in VIII. 3. 80.

स्तन्मेः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तन्मेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्त-मेः सकारस्य उपसर्गस्याश्रमित्तापुत्रस्य मूर्जन्य आदेशो भवति ॥

67. The स of स्तन्म is changed into ष after an up-asarga, having an इ or उ ॥

Thus अभिट्टनाति । परिट्टनाति । अभट्टनात् । पर्वट्टनात् । अभिहट्टम् । The word अप्रते: of the last sūtra is not to be read here. Hence we have forms like :—प्रतिट्टनाति । प्रस्थट्टनात्, प्रत्यप्रतिट्टम् ॥

अथात्तालम्बनाविदूर्ययोः ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अथात्, च, आलम्बन-आविदूर्ययो ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अवश्यम्भाषुपसर्गापुत्रस्य स्तन्मेः सकारस्य मूर्जन्वादेशो भवति । आलम्बनये जाविदूर्ये च ॥

68. The क्त्र of स्तन्म is changed into ष after the preposition अव in the sense of 'support' and 'contiguity'.

The word आलम्बन means "support, refuge, that upon which any thing depends or leans". आविदूर्य means "the state of not being विदूर or far off, i. e. to be contiguous".

Thus अवट्टनात्ते "He remains leaning upon a staff" &c, अवट्टम् तिट्टति ॥ So also in the sense of to be near, as अवट्टन्य सेना 'the army near at hand'. अव-ट्टन्य शारद् ॥ See V. 2. 13.

Why do we say "when having the sense of support or contiguity"? Thus अवस्तम्भो दृष्टलः शीतेन 'the Śūdra is afflicted with cold'.

The present sūtra is commenced in order to make the ष change even while the preceding letter is not इ or उ ॥

वेष्ट स्वनो भोजने ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, च, स्वनः, भोजने ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वेष्टपर्वत्याक्षोत्तरस्य भोजनार्थे स्वनते: सकारस्य मूर्जन्वादेशो भवति ॥

69. The ष is substituted for the क्त्र of स्वन्, after वि� and अव, when the sense is "to smack while eating".

Thus विष्वणसि, अवष्टणत्, विष्वणाज, अवष्टणति, अवाष्टणत्, अवपष्टाज ॥ That is, he makes sound while eating, he eats with a smack.

Why do we say 'when making a smacking sound in eating'? Observc विस्वननि शरङ्गः "the drum sounds".

परिनिविभ्यः सेवसितसयसिद्धुसहस्रदस्तुस्वज्ञाम् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ परिनिविभ्यः, सेव-सित-सय-सिद्धु-सह-सुर-स्तु-स्वज्ञाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परि नि वि इत्येतेभ्य उपसर्गेभ्य उत्तरेणां सेव विस्वते सव तिद्धु सह सुर-स्तु स्वज्ञ इत्येतेभ्यः सकारस्य मूर्जन्व आदेशो भवति ॥

70. ष् is substituted for the स् of सेव्, सित्, सय्, सिथ्, सह, the augment सुइ्, स्तु, and स्वज्, after the prepositions परि, नि, and वि ॥

The root सेव belongs to Bhuādi class. The word सित् is the Past Participle of विभूत्यने, and सय् is the noun derived from the same root with the affix अस्; सिद् is a Divādi root.

Thus परिषेवते । निषेवते । विषेवते । पर्वेवते । व्यषेवते । परिषेविषते । विषेविषते । निषिषेविषते । सित् । परिषितो, विषितः । सद् । परिषदो, विषदः । सिद् । परिषीव्यति । निषीव्यति । विषीव्यति । पर्वीव्यत् । व्यषीव्यत् । पर्वसीव्यत् । व्यसीव्यत् । व्यवीव्यत् । सह परिषहते । निषहते । विषहते । पर्वेषहत् । व्येषहत् । पर्वसहत् । व्यसहत् । एव । सुइ् । परिष्करोति । पर्वस्करोत् । स्तु । परिष्टोति । निष्टोति । विष्टोति । पर्वेष्टोत् । व्येष्टोत् । पर्वस्तीत् । व्यस्तीत् । व्यज्ञात् । व्यस्तात् । व्यज्ञात् । विष्वज्ञाते । विष्वज्ञते । विष्वज्ञते । पर्वव्यज्ञत । पर्वस्वज्ञत । पूर्वेष्व सिद्धे स्तुस्वतिजग्महणमुक्तर्यम् । अभ्यव्यायं विभाषा वया स्वात् ॥

The nasal is elided in स्वज् by VI. 4. 25. The स of स्तु and स्वज् would have been changed to ष् by VIII. 3. 65 also. Their inclusion here is for the sake of subsequent sūtra, by which the ष् change is *optional* when the augment अ॒ intervenes.

सिवादीनां वाऽब्यवायेपि ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिवादीनाम्, वा-अव्य-ब्यवाये, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनन्तरसूत्रे सिद्धसहस्रस्तुस्वज्ञाभिति सिवादः । सिवादीनामव्यवायेपि परिनिविभूत उत्तरस्य सकारस्य वा मूर्खन्यो भवति ॥

71. The ष्-change may take place optionally in the सिथ् and the rest (of the last sūtra), even when the augment अ intervenes between the prepositions परि, नि or वि and the verb.

The सिवादि are the four roots सिद् सह, स्तु and स्वज्, as well as the augment सुइ् ॥ This is an example of ubhayatra-vibhāshā. In the case of स्तु and स्वज् it is prāpta-vibhāshā, in the case of others it is aprāpta. The examples have already been given under the preceding sūtra, and so need not be repeated here.

अनुविष्यभिनिभ्यः स्यन्दतेरग्राणिषु ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु-वि-परि-भाभि निभ्यः, स्यन्दते:, अग्राणिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनु वि परि भाभि नि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य स्यन्दतेरग्राणिषु सकारस्य वा हुर्जन्यादेशो भवति ॥

72. ष् is optionally the substitute of the स् of स्यन्दू, after the prepositions अनु, वि, परि, भाभि and नि, when the subject is not a living being.

The root स्यन्दू प्रशब्दने is anudātta. Thus अनुवन्दते । विष्वन्दते । परिष्वन्दते । अभिष्वन्दते तैलन्दू । निष्वन्दते । अनुस्वन्दते । विस्वन्दते । परिस्वन्दते ।

Why do we say 'when the subject is not a living being'? Observe अनुस्थन्दते मस्य उद्धके ॥ The option of this sūtra will apply, when the subject is a compound of living and non-living beings. Thus अनुस्थन्देति or अनुस्थन्देति मस्योद्धके ॥ The subject here is a Dvandva compound, and it is not in the singular number because of II. 4. 6. The word अप्राप्यिषु is a Paryudāsa and not a Prasajya-pratishedha. If it be the latter sort of prohibition, then the force will be on the word *living*, and in a compound like मस्योद्धके, consisting of *living* and *non-living* beings, the prohibition will apply because it has a *living* being in it, and so there will be no च ॥ In the other view, the force is on the word *non-living*, and because the compound contains a non-living being, therefore the option will be applied, and the presence of the living being along with it will be ignored.

The anuvṛitti of परि, नि and वि is understood here from VIII. 3. 70. So these words could well have been omitted from the sūtra, which might have then been अन्वभिभ्यां च स्थन्देतप्राप्यिषु, and by the force of च we would draw in the anuvṛitti of परि &c.

वे: स्कन्देरनिष्ठायाम् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वे:, स्कन्दे:, अनिष्ठायाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ परेष्यस्यार्दुचरस्य स्कन्दे: सकारस्य मुद्दर्भ्यो वा भवति अनिष्ठायाम् ॥

73. च् is optionally substituted for the स् of स्कन्द्, after the preposition वि, but not in the participles in त and तवत् ॥

The root is स्कन्दित् गति शोषणयोः ॥ Thus विष्कन्ता or विस्कन्ता, विष्कन्तुम् or विस्कन्तुम्, विष्कन्तव्यम् or विस्कन्तव्यम् ॥

Why do we say 'but not in the Nishṭhā'? Observe विस्कन्तः परेभ्य ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परे:, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दार्थोन्तरस्य स्कन्दे: सकारस्य वा मुद्दर्भ्यो भवति ॥

74. च् is optionally substituted for the स् of स्कन्द् after the preposition परि every where.

Thus परिष्कन्ता or परिस्कन्ता, परिष्कन्तुम् or परिस्कन्तुम्, परिष्कन्तव्यम् or परिस्कन्तव्यम् ॥

The word परि could well have been included in the last sūtra as विपरिभ्यां त्वक्वर् &c. The very fact that it has not been so included, indicates that the prohibition of अनिष्ठायाम् does not apply to it. Thus परिष्कणः or परिस्कनः ॥

परिस्कन्दः प्राप्यभरतेषु ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिस्कन्दः, प्राप्यभरतेषु ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ परिस्कन्द इति मुद्दर्भ्याभावो निपात्यसे प्राप्यभरतेषु प्रबोगाविषयेषु ॥

75. The word परिस्कन्द is used without the cerebral change in the country of Eastern Bharata.

This is an anomaly. The ष required by the last sūtra is prohibited. The other form is परिक्लनः ॥ The word परिक्लनः is formed by the affix अच् or it is a Nishṭhā, the त being elided. The word भरत qualifies the word प्राच्य ॥

Prof. Bohtlingk translates it “परिक्लनः is seen in the usage of the Eastern People and the Bharata”. He bases his construction on the sūtras II. 4. 66, and IV. 2. 113, where प्राच्यभरतेषु means “the Eastern People and Bharata”.

स्फुरतिस्फुलत्योर्निर्विभ्यः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फुरति, स्फुलत्योः, निस्, नि, विभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्फुरतिस्फुलत्योः सकारस्य निस् नि वि इतेतेभ्य उत्तरस्य वा मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

76. ष् is optionally substituted for the स् of स्फुर् and स्फुल् after the prepositions निस्, नि, and वि ॥

Thus निष्फुरति or निस्फुरति, निस्फुरति or निष्फुरति, विष्फुरति, विष्फुलति ॥ स्फुलति, निष्फुलति, निस्फुलति, निष्फुलति, विष्फुलति, विष्फुलति ॥

वे: स्कञ्चातेनित्यम् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वे:, स्कञ्चातेः, नित्यं ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेहतस्य स्कञ्चातेः सकारस्य नित्यं मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

77. ष् is always substituted for the स् of स्कन्म्, after the preposition वि ॥

Thus विष्कन्माति, विष्कन्मिता, विष्कन्मितुम्, विष्कन्मितव्यम् ॥

इणः षीध्वंलुङ्गिटां धोङ्गात् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, षीध्वं, लुङ्गिटाम्, धः, अङ्गात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूर्द्धन्य इति वर्तते । इणल्लाङ्गात्परेषां षीध्वंलुङ्गिटां यो धकारस्तस्य मूर्द्धन्योदेशो भवति ॥

78. The cerebral sound is substituted in the room of the ध् of षीध्वम्, and of the Personal-endings of the Aorist and the Perfect, after a stem ending in इण् (a vowel other than अ).

The word ‘cerebral’ is understood here from VIII. 3. 55. Thus अयोषीद्वम्, षोषीद्वम् ॥ Aorist :—अय्योद्वम्, अष्योद्वम् (VIII. 2. 25). Perfect : अक्ष्यै ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of इण्कोः was current here from VIII. 3. 57, yet the repetition of the word इण् here indicates that the anuvṛitti of क्ष or the guttural ceases. As पक्षीध्वम्, यक्षीध्वम् ॥

Why do we say “the ध of षीध्वं, लुङ्गं and लिङ्”? Observe स्तुष्टे, अस्तुष्टम्, where the ध is of लङ् and लङ् ॥

Why do we say अङ्गात् ‘after a stem’? Observe परिवेषीभ्यम्, from विष्टव्यासौ of the Juhotyādi class. There is Guṇa of the reduplicate by VII. 4. 75, the स् of सीयुङ् is elided by VII. 2. 79, and षीध्वम् here is made up of the ष् of the root विष्, and ईध्वम् the affix; therefore षीध्वं here is not after the *anga* परिवे वि, for the *anga* here is परिवे विष्, and ईध्वम् is the affix. This result could have been

obtained, without using the word अक्षात् in the sūtra, by the maxim अर्थवद् महेन नानर्थकस्य "a combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning, denotes that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote a combination void of meaning".

विभाषेटः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, इटः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इणः परस्मासिद् उत्तरेषां शीघ्रंलुह्लिं वा धकारस्तस्य मूर्जन्यारेषो भवति विभाषा ॥

79. The cerebral sound is optionally substituted for the ध् of शीघ्रम् and of the Aorist and the Perfect after the augment इट्, when the stem ends in इण् ॥

Thus लू+इट्+शीघ्रम्=लविशीघ्रम् or लविशीद्वम् so also पविशीधम् or पविशीद्वम् from लू ॥ Aorist :—अलविश्वम् or अलविद्वम् ॥ Perfect :—लुह्लिं वा धकारस्तस्य मूर्जन्यारेषो भवति विभाषा ॥

The word इण् is understood here and it qualifies the word इट्, so that the stem should end in an इण् vowel which should be followed by the इट् augment and this letter should be followed by शीघ्रम् and the ध beginning affixes of the Aorist and the Perfect. If the stem does not end in an इण् vowel, the rule will not apply; as आसिशीघ्रम् from the root आस उपवेशने ॥

Then in the word उपविशीघ्रिण्डे, will the cerebral change not take place by the option of this sutra or otherwise? This is from the root शीड् क्षये in the Perfect with the augment इट् (VII. 2. 13.), and युट् (by VI. 4. 63). Some say that as the augment युट् intervenes between the stem ending in ई (इण् vowel), and the augment इट्, therefore this rule will not apply and there will not be the optional ट् ॥ Others hold that the anuvṛitti of अक्षात् has ceased, and the anuvṛitti of इण् is only current, in this sutra, and there is no intervention and so there will be the optional change into ट् ॥

समासेऽङ्गुलेः सङ्कःः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ समासे, अङ्गुलेः, सङ्कःः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सङ्कसकारस्याह्युलेहस्तस्य मूर्जन्यारेषो भवति समासे ॥

80. ध् is substituted for the स् of सङ्कः after the word अङ्गुलि in a compound.

Thus अङ्गुलिपङ्कः । अङ्गुलिपङ्को वयागः । अङ्गुलिपङ्को गाः सादवति ॥ Why do we say in a compound? Observe अङ्गुले सङ्कं पद्य ॥

The word सङ्कः is exhibited in the sūtra in the nominative case. The force is here that of Genitive i. e. सङ्कस्य ॥

भीरोः स्थानम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भीरोः, स्थानम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्थानसकारस्य भीरोहस्तस्य मूर्जन्यारेषो भवति ॥

81. ध् is substituted for the स् of स्थानं when preceded by भीरु in a compound.

Thus भीरुस्थानम् ॥ The word compound is understood here also; otherwise भीरी स्थानं पद्य ॥

अग्नेः स्तुतस्तोमसोमाः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नेः, स्तुत, स्तोम, सोमाः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अग्नेहनस्य स्तुत स्तोम सोम इत्यतेषां सकारस्य मूर्जन्यादेशो भवति समासे ॥
इष्टिः ॥ अग्नेर्वीर्धात् सोमस्येव्यते ॥

82. ४ is substituted for the स् of स्तुत, स्तोम and सोम when preceded by अग्नि in a compound.

Thus अग्निष्टुत्, अग्निष्टोमः, अग्नीषोमः ॥

Ishṭi :—The इ of अग्नि is lengthened before सोम and it is after such lengthened इ, that the स of सोम is changed to ष, otherwise not. As अग्निसोमौ माणवकौ ॥ So also अग्निसोमौ सिष्टः (where 'agni' means fire, and 'soma' a kind of herb) "the fire and the soma plant are here."

When there is no compounding we have अग्ने सोमः ॥

The word अग्निष्टुत् is formed by विष्ट्, the *sacrifice* in which Agni is praised (स्तुयते) is so called. अग्निष्टोमः is also the name of a sacrifice: the 'first division (संस्था) of the Soma-yāga. अग्नीषोमः is a वेष्टा-इन्: so where there is no Devatā-Dvandva, the ष change will not take place. Thus where Agni and Soma are names of two boys, or where they refer to physical fire and herb. According to Áśvalāyana there is lengthening and ष change in the last case also, as अग्नीषोमौ प्रणेव्यामि ॥

ज्योतिरायुषः स्तोमः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्योतिः, आयुषः, स्तोमः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ज्योतिस् आयुस् इत्येताभ्यादुत्तरस्य स्तोमसकारस्य मूर्जन्यादेशो भवति समासे ॥

83. The स् of स्तोमः is changed to ष् after ज्योतिस् and आयुस् in a compound.

As ज्योतिष्टोमः, आयुष्टोमः, but ज्योतिः स्तोमसर्वायति where there is no compounding.

मातुपितृभ्यां स्वसा ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातु, पितृभ्याम, स्वसा ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मातु पितृ इत्येताभ्यादुत्तरस्य स्वसृष्टकारस्य समासे मूर्जन्यादेशो भवति ॥

84. The स् of स्वस् is changed to ष् after मातु and पितृ in a compound.

As मातुस्वसा, पितृस्वसा ॥ See VI. 3. 24.

मातुःपितृभ्यामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातुः, पितृभ्याम, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मातुरपितृर इत्येताभ्यादुत्तरस्य स्वसृष्टस्यान्यतरस्यां मूर्जन्यादेशो भवति समासे ॥

85. The स् of स्वस् is optionally changed to ष्, after मातुर् and पितृर् in a compound.

Thus मातुःस्वसा, or मातुःस्वसा ; पितृःस्वसा or पितृःस्वसा ॥ The word मातुर् and पितृर् end in इ, which is changed to visarga (See VIII. 2. 24). In fact, the word पितृर् is so exhibited in the sūtra itself, with a इ, the word मातुः therefore, by the rule of साहचर्य is also to be understood as a इ ending word.

Q.—Well, if this be so, when this इ is changed to a visarga, and the visarga changed to स् by VIII. 3. 36, then there would be no ष change?

Ans.—The ष change would take place both after the visarga-ending or स-ending words, on the maxim एकवेशविकृतस्थानव्यस्तात् “That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means, in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place”. Therefore, these words are taken to end in ई॥ For if they were taken to end in ष्, then the rule would not apply when they ended in a visarga. If they be supposed to end in a visarga, then the form पितुभ्याम् with a ई before भ्याम् in the sūtra is hard to explain.

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here मातुः स्वसा when the words are used separately in a sentence.

अभिनिस्तनः शब्दसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-निसः, स्तनः, शब्द-संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभि निस् इत्येत्स्मादुग्ररस्य स्तनतिसकारस्य मूर्जन्यारेषो भवति अन्यतरस्यां शब्दसंज्ञायां गम्य-मानायाम् ॥

86. The स्त्र of स्तन् is optionally changed to ष् after the double preposition अभि निस्, when the word so formed is the name of a particular letter (i. e. visarga).

As अभिनिष्ठानो वर्णः, अभिनिष्ठानो विसर्जनीयः or अभिनिष्ठानो वर्णः or विसर्जनीयः ॥ The compound preposition अभि-निस् causes this change, and not any one of them separately. Thus Ápastamba :—द्विसर्वं चतुरसरं वा नामपूर्वाक्यातोन्नरं शीर्षभिनिष्ठानं, घोषवशाद्यन्तरत्तस्थम् “a name (nâma) should be such that it should consist of two-syllables or four-syllables, that its first portion should be a noun (nama-pûrva), and its second portion a verb (âkhyâta), that it should end in a long vowel (dirgha) or a visarga (abhinishîâna), that the first letter of such a noun should be a ghosha or sonant letter (ghosha-vad-âdi), and a semi-vowel (antastha) should be in the body of it.” Thus the names द्रविणोश, वरिणोश fulfill these conditions and are good names.

Why do we say “when it is the name of a particular letter.”? Observe अभिनिष्ठानति श्वसङ्गः ॥ The anuvṛitti of समासे ceases from this place.

उपसर्गग्रातुभ्यामस्तिर्यच्चरः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्ग, ग्रातुभ्याम्, अस्तिः, यच्चरः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्थानेभिन्नात्मादुसंश्लिष्टोग्ररस्य यकारपरस्याच्चपरस्य आस्तिसकारस्य मूर्जन्यो भवति ॥

87. The स्त्र of the verb अस्त् is changed to ष्, when it is followed by a vowel or य् and is preceded by ग्रातुः, or an upasarga having इ or उ in it.

The word यच्च परः means ‘followed by य or अच्’॥ The word ग्रातुः is an Indeclinable, meaning ‘evidently’.

Thus अभिष्ठन्ति, निष्ठन्ति, विष्ठन्ति, ग्रातुःपन्ति ; अभिष्यात्, निष्यात्, विष्यात्, ग्रातुः-प्यात् ॥

Why do we say "when preceded by an *Upasarga* having an इ or ए?" Observe शंधस्यात्, मधुस्यात् ॥ Why do we say 'of the verb अस्'? Observe अनुसृतम्, विसृतम् ॥

Q.—How is there any occasion for the application of the rule here? The context here relates to स्, and the word "upasarga" qualifies that स्, but here the upasarga is not applied to स् but to the *whole verb* स्, therefore this is no counter-example. In fact, what is the necessity of using the word अस् at all in the sūtra: for even without it, the word 'upasarga' would qualify that verb which consists of स् only, and such a verb is अस्, with its अ elided and no other verb? Nor is the employment of अस् necessary for प्रादुः, for it comes only in connection with the verbs कृ, भू and अस् ॥

Ans.—All that you urge, is true, yet the following counter-example should be given, as अनुम्, the son of Anusū will be आनुसेयः with उक्त as it belongs to Subhrādi class. Thus अनुसू+उक्त = आनुसू+एय = आनुसू+एय ॥ Here the उ is elided by VI. 4. 147. Now when उ is elided, the ए is the only verb-element that remains, अनु is upasarga, and एय is affix; so that had अस् not been taken in the sūtra, the rule would apply to this स् also.

Why do we say "when it is followed by a vowel or ए"? Observe निस्तः, विस्तः, प्रादुस्तः ॥

सुविनिरुद्धर्यः सुपिसूतिसमाः ॥ द८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, वि, निर्, दुर्धर्यः, सुपि, सूति, समाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु वि निर् दुर् इयेतेभ्य उत्तरस्य सुपि सूति सम इयेतेषां सकारस्य मूलन्यादेशो भवति ॥

Kārikā:—सुपे: वस्त्रं स्वपेमा भूषिसुष्वापेति केन न ।

हलादिशेषान्न भुषिरिणं पूर्वं प्रसारणम् ॥

स्थावीनां नियमो नाच प्राक्षितादुत्तरः सुपि ।

अनर्थके विषुषुपः सुपिभूतो दिरुच्यते ॥

88. The स् of स्वप्, सूति, and सम् is changed to ए after सु, वि, निर् and दुर् ॥

The word सुपि is exhibited in the sūtra as the form of स्वप् with vocalisation. Thus सुषुपः, निः सुपः दुः सुपः ॥ The word सूति is the न्तिन् ending form of सू; the rule applies to this form only, as सुषूतिः, विषूतिः, निषूतिः and दुषूतिः ॥ The word सम् also means the noun सम् and not the verb सम् स्तम् वैकल्ये ॥ Thus सुषपम्, विषपम्, निःषमम्, दुःषमम् ॥

Kārikā—Why is एत्वा taught with regard to the सुए form of स्वप्? *Ans.* सुपे: वस्त्रं स्वपेमा भूत्, so that the एत्वा change should not take place in स्वप् form, as विस्वमः and विस्वमक् (III. 2. 172) ॥ *Q.* विषुष्वापेति केन न? For what reason the एत्वा change has not taken place in the reduplicate विषुष्वाप, for here also in the reduplicate, is the form सुए, as विषुष्वस्वप्, and then by applying हलादिश rule, the ए is elided, and एकदेशशक्तिकृतस्थानन्यस्थात् applies? *Ans.* हलादि शेषान् न सुपिः, we

reduplicate the form स्वप्, as विश्वस्वप् and then elide प्, as विश्वस्वप्, and then vocalise, as विशुस्वप् so that there being no form सुप्, there is no पत्त्व ॥ इष्टं पूर्वे प्रसारणं, in fact, the vocalisation takes place first, and then elision according to an ishtि. See VI 1. 17. Otherwise, in स्वप् स्वप्, as प् is elided, व् would also have been elided. Why is the स of विशुस्वप् not changed to ष by VIII. 3. 64? स्थासीनां नियमो नाच प्राक् सितादुचारः सुपि, the rule VIII. 3. 64 does not apply, because that rule is confined only to verbs up to सित in VIII. 3. 70, while सुप् is after that verb. Moreover the प् of सुप् being elided, the mere सु is अनर्थक्, and the maxim is अर्थवद् गृहणे नानर्थकस्य ॥ Q. If this maxim is applied, how do you form विशुसुप्? Ans. अनर्थके विशुसुप्: सुपिभूताद्विहस्यते, here the form सुप् is doubled, and not सुप् ॥ The root is first joined with the affix वि + स्वप्, then there is vocalisation विशुप्, then there is ष change, as विशुप्, then reduplication, as विशुप्षुप् ॥ Now पत्त्व being considered asiddha, the doubling should take place first? No, for we have already shown that for the purposes of doubling, the पत्त्व change is not asiddha (VIII. 2. 3 Vart.)

निनदीभ्यां स्नातेः कौशले ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि, नदीभ्याम्, स्नातेः, कौशले ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नि नवी इत्येताभ्यामुचरस्य स्नातिसकारस्य मूर्दन्यादेषो भवति कौशले गम्यताने ॥

89. The ष is substituted for स् of स्ना after नि and नदी when the word so formed denotes "dexterous."

Thus निष्णातः कट्करणे । निष्णातो रज्जुवर्तने । नद्यां स्नातीति नशीष्णः ॥ This last word is formed by the affix क added to स्ना preceded by the upapada नदी under sūtra III. 2. 4.

Why do we say when meaning dexterous? Observe निस्नातः, नशीस्नातः (नद्यां स्नातः)

सूत्रं प्रतिष्णातम् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ सूत्रम्, प्रतिष्णातम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिष्णातमिति निपात्यते । सूत्रं चेष्टवति । प्रतिष्णातं सूत्रम् ॥

90. The word प्रतिष्णातः is irregularly formed when meaning a sūtra.

Thus प्रतिष्णातः सूत्रम् i. e. शुद्धम् 'pure'. When it has not this meaning we have प्रतिस्नातं = 'bathed'

कपिष्ठलो गोत्रे ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कपिष्ठलः, गोत्रे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कपिष्ठल इति निपात्यते गोत्रविषये ॥

91. The word कपिष्ठल is irregularly formed denoting the founder of a gotra of that name.

Thus the son of Kapishṭhala will be कपिष्ठलिः ॥ The word 'gotra' here does not mean the grammatical "gotra," but the popular term 'gotra' denoting 'clans,' as described in the list of pravaras. Why do we say "when denoting the founder of a gotra"? Observe कपिस्त्यलम् The land of the monkeys.

प्रष्ठो अग्रामिनि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रष्ठः, अग्रामिनि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पष्ठ इति निपात्यसे अग्रामिन्यभिधेये ॥

92. The word प्रष्ठ is irregularly formed when denoting 'a chief' or 'one who goes in front'.

Thus प्रष्ठोऽह्न meaning a 'best horse'. Why do we say when meaning 'going in front'? Observe प्रस्थे हिमवतः पुञ्चे "On the sacred peak of the Himalaya". प्रस्थो लीहीणाम् 'a measure of barley'.

वृक्षासनयोर्विष्टरः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृक्ष, आसनयोः, विष्टरः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विष्टर इति निपात्यसे वृक्षे आसने च वाच्ये । विपूर्वस्त्र सृष्टातेः पत्त्वं निपात्यसे ॥

93. The word विष्टर is irregularly formed in the sense of "tree" and "seat."

This word is formed by adding the affix अप् to the root सृष्टु preceded by the preposition वि ॥ Thus विष्टरो वृक्षः ॥ विष्टरमासनम् ॥

Why do we say when meaning a 'tree' or a 'seat'? Observe औलपिवाक्यस्य विस्तरः ॥ See sūtra III. 3. 33. by which अप् is added here instead of धम् ॥

छन्दोनाम्नि च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दोनाम्नि, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विष्टर इतिं निपात्यसे । विपूर्वांस्त्रृ इत्येतस्माद्वातोः छन्दोनाम्नि चेत्येवं विहित इति विष्टर इत्येवं प्रकृते विष्टर इत्यन्त विज्ञायते ॥

94. Also when it is the name of a metre, the irregular form विष्टार is used.

By Sūtra III. 3. 34 the word विष्टार is formed denoting a sort of metre called विष्टारपांक्तिः ॥

Why do we say when denoting 'the name of a chhandas'? Observe पटस्य विस्तारः ॥

In fact this sūtra makes unnecessary the sutra III. 3. 34. To avoid this difficulty, some say that the sūtra III. 3. 34 is not confined to the preposition वि, so that we can form प्रस्तारपहन्तिः संसारपहन्तिः ॥

गवियुधिभ्यां स्थिरः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गवि, युधिभ्याम्, स्थिरः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गवियुधिभ्यादुत्तरस्य स्थिरसकारस्य मूर्खन्यादेशो भवति ॥

95. The स् of स्थिरः is changed to ष् after the words गवि and युधि ॥

Thus गविष्टिर, युधिष्टिर ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 44. and the 7th case affix is not elided by VI. 3. 9. though the word गो does not end in a consonant, yet it retains its Locative ending by virtue of this sūtra.

विकुशमिपरिभ्यः स्थलम् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वि, कु, शमि, परिभ्यः, स्थलम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वि कु शमि परि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य स्थलसकारस्य मूर्खन्यादेशो भवति ॥

96. श् is substituted for स् in स्थल after वि, कु, शमि, and परि ॥

Thus विष्टलम्, कुष्टलम्, शमिष्टलम् and परिष्टलम् ॥ The word वि, कु and परि are compounded under II. 2. 18.; the word शमि forms a genitive by VI. 3. 63. In the aphorism the word शमि is shown with a short इ, indicating thereby that when the इ is not shortened, the cerebral change does not take place; as शमि-स्थलम्

अस्मास्वगोभूमिसव्यापद्वित्रिकुशेकुशङ्गुमज्जिपरमेवर्हीर्द्वयग्रिभ्यः सः ॥ १७ ॥ · पदानि ॥ अस्व, आस्व, गो, भूमि, सव्या, अप, द्वि, त्रि, कु, शेकु, शङ्गु, मज्जि, पुज्जि, परमे, वर्हिस्, दिवि, अग्रिभ्यः, स्थः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्व आस्व गो भूमि अप द्वि त्रि कु शेकु शङ्गु अहणु मज्जि पुज्जि परमे वर्हिस् दिवि अग्रि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य स्थशब्दसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥ वाचिकप् ॥ स्थस्थिन्स्थृणामिति वन्नव्यप् ॥

97. The स् of स्थ is changed to श् after अस्व, आस्व, गो, भूमि, सव्या, अप, द्वि, त्रि, कु, शेकु शङ्गु, अहणु, मज्जि, पुज्जि, परमे, वर्हिस्, दिवि and अग्नि ॥

Thus अस्वष्टः, आस्वष्टः, गोष्टः, भूमिष्टः, सव्येष्टः, अपष्टः, द्विष्टः, त्रिष्टः, कुष्टः, शेकुष्टः, शङ्गुष्टः, अहणुष्टः, मज्जिष्टः, पुज्जिष्टः, परमेष्टः, वर्हिष्टः, दिविष्टः, अग्निष्टः ॥

The word स्थ is shown in the sūtra in the first case, and means the word-form स्थ, and it is not the genitive case of स्था, for then the rule would apply to गोस्थानम्, भूमिस्थानम् &c.

Vart :—The same change takes place in स्था, स्थिन्, and स्थृ ॥ As सव्येष्टः । परमेष्टः । सव्येष्टा सारथिः ॥

सुषामादिषु च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानिं ॥ सुषामादि षु, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सुषामादिषु शब्देषु सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

98. The स् is changed to श् in the words सुषामन् and the rest.

Thus सुषामा ब्राह्मणः = शोभनम् साम अस्य असौ ॥

1 दुषामा, 2 निःषामा, 3 दुःषामा, 4 सुषेष्ठः, 5 निषेष्ठः (निषेष्ठः), 6 दुषेष्ठः, 7 सुषंधिः, 8 निःषंधिः (निषंधिः), 9 दुःषंधिः, 10 सुष्टु (सुष्टु), 11 दुष्टु (दुष्टु), 12 नौरिषक्यः संज्ञावान्, 13 प्रतिलिङ्का, 14 जलाषाहम्, 15 नौषेषवनम् (नौषेषवनम्), 16 दुन्दुभिषेषवनम् (दुन्दुभिषेषवनम्; °षेषवनम्) 17 एति संज्ञायामगात्, 18 इरिषेण, 19 नक्षत्राशा, रोहिणीषेणः ॥ आकृतिगण ॥

Some of the above words would have been governed by the prohibition in VIII. 3. 111, others would never have taken ष, hence their inclusion in this list. The word षु is here a karmapravachaniya (I. 4. 94) and निर् and दुर् also are not upasargas, because they are so only in connection with the verbs गम and क्षी ; so VIII. 3. 65 does not apply to सेष preceded by निर् and दुर् ॥ The words निःषेषः and दुःषेषः = निर्षेषः सेषः or दुर्षेषः सेषः ॥ The word सेष here is a घम formed word, from षिष्ठू हिसा संराङ्गोः; if it be derived from

विध गत्याम्, then also, the word is included here in order to prevent the application of VIII. 3. 113. The words सुषन्धिः, हुःवन्धिः &c are derived from आ with the prepositions सु and सव्, and the affix कि (III. 3. 92); and the स of सव् is changed to व्॥ The words सुष्टु, हुष्टु are Uṇādi formed words (Un. I. 25). The word गौरिषक्यः is a Bahuvrīhi, the स of सक्षिप्त is changed to व् and the Samāśānta वच् is added (V. 4. 113). The long ई of the first member is shortened by VI. 3. 63. The word प्रतिभिन्नका is formed by adding the Preposition प्रति to the root भा, and the affix अद् (III. 3. 106), and we have प्रतिभ्णा with दां; then क is added by V. 3. 73, and भा shortened (VII. 4. 13), and ई added by VII. 3. 44. The word नैषेचनं is formed by adding व्युह् to सिच्॥ दुन्दुभिषेवण is also a व्युह् formed word from सेवति or सीवति॥

एति संज्ञायामगात् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एति, संज्ञायाम्, अगात् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एकारपरस्य सकारस्य मूर्खन्यावेशो भवति इष्कोहसरस्यागकापत्परस्य संज्ञायां विषये ॥

99 The स् followed by ए and preceded by इष् or कु is changed to व्, when the word is a name, and when the स् is not preceded by ग्॥

Thus हस्यः सेना अस्य=हसिषेणः, परितः सेना अस्य=परिषेणः, जातुरेणी॥ Why do we say 'followed by ए'? Observe हसिषक्यम्॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe पृथी सेना अस्य स=पृथुसेनो राजा (VI. 3. 34). Why do we say 'when the स् is not preceded by ग्'? Observe विष्वक् सेनः॥ The phrase इष्कोः is understood here also, so the rule does not apply to सर्वसेनः॥

नक्षत्राद्वा ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रात्, घा ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रवाचिनः शास्त्रादुपरस्य सकारस्य वा एति संज्ञायामगकाराद् मूर्खन्यो भवति ॥

100 When the preceding word is the name of a Lunar mansion, the व् substitution for स् under the above mentioned circumstances is optional.

Thus रोहिणिषेणः or रोहिणिसेनः, भरणिषेणः or भरणिसेनः॥ But not here शतभिषक् सेनः were the preceded letter is ग्॥ These two sūtras 99 and 100 are really Gaṇa-sūtras, being read in the शुषामादि Gaṇa. The author of Kāsikā has raised them to the rank of full sūtras.

All cerebral व् changes, when not referable to any specific rule, should be classified under this Sushāmādi gaṇa.

हस्याच्चादौ तद्विते ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्यात्, तादौ, तद्विते ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हस्यादुपरस्य सकारस्य मूर्खन्यावेशो भवति सार्वै तद्विते परतः ॥
वार्त्तिकः ॥ तिङ्गन्तस्य प्रतिषेधो वन्तव्यः ॥

101. व् is substituted for a final स् preceded by a short ए or उ before a Taddhita affix beginning with त ॥

The following are the affixes before which this change takes place, namely, तर्, तम्, तय्, स्व, तल्, तस्, तप् ॥ As तर—सर्पिष्टरम् यजुष्टरम् । तम् । सर्पिष्टमम् । यजुष्टमम् । तय् । चतुष्टये ब्राह्मणानां निकेताः । स्व । सर्पिष्टम् । यजुष्टम् । तल् । सर्पिष्टा । यजुष्टा । तस् । सर्पिष्टो, यजुष्टः । स्वप् । आविष्ट्यो बर्द्धते । इत्यावति किम् । गीत्सरा । धूत्सरा । तावाविति किम् । सार्पिष्टसाहवाति । प्रत्ययसकारस्य स्थापयश्योरीति सन्ध्यपि प्रतिषेधे प्रकृतिसकारस्य स्थात् । तद्वितद्विति किम् । सर्पिष्टत्तराति ॥

Why do we say before affixes beginning with त ॥ Observe सर्पिष्टसाहवति ॥

Q.—But this स् would never have been changed to श् because of the prohibition in VIII. 3. III, how can you then give this counter-example?

Ans.—Though the स् of the affix सात् is prohibited by VIII. 3. III, yet the counter-example is valid, because the स् of the base सर्पि॒म् is also not changed. Why do we say ‘of a Taddhita’? Observe सर्पिष्टत्तराति ॥

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated of finite verbs before Taddhita affixes. As भिन्न्युत्सराम् । छिन्न्युत्सराम् ॥ These are the Potential third person plural of भिन्न् and छिन्न् with the augment आसुइ; the Taddhita affix तरप् is added by V. 3. 56, and आम् is added by V. 4. 11.

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated with regard to उंस् as उंस्त्यम् उंस्ता ॥

निस्स्तपतावनासेवने ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ निसः, तपतौ, अनासेवने ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निसः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यावेशोभवति तपतौ परतोनासेवनये ॥

102. श् is substituted for the स् of निस् before the verb तप् when the meaning is not that of ‘repeatedly making red hot’.

The word आसेवन means doing a thing repeatedly and here it means making it red-hot repeatedly. Thus निष्टपति: मुद्वर्णम्=सकृत् अग्निम् स्पर्शवति i. e. he puts the gold into fire only once.

Why do we say when not meaning repeatedly. Observe निस्तपति उंस्त्यम् मुवर्णकारः=पुनः उन्नरप्ति स्पर्शवति ॥

In the sentences निष्टपते रथः, निष्टपा अरातयः the change has taken place either as a Vedic irregularity or because the sense of repeatedness is not implied here.

युष्मत्सत्तत्क्षुःप्वन्तःपादम् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मत्, तत्, तत्क्षुः शु, अन्तः पादम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मत् तत् तत्क्षुः इत्येतेषु तकाराविषु परतः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यावेशो भवति स चेत्सकारेन्तः पादं भवति ॥

103. The स् standing in the inner half of a stanza is changed to श् before the त of त्वम् &c. and तद् and तत्क्षुः ॥

The word युज्मद् here means the substitutes स्वम्, स्वाय, से, तव. As अग्निः, नामासीत् ॥ स्वा, अग्निः द्वयामसि ॥ ते, अग्निं विश्वमानय ॥ तव, अप्स्वम् सप्तिष्ठ, (Rig VIII. 43. 9) ॥ तत्, अग्निष्ठिभ्वमापृणाति, (Rig X. 2. 4) सतक्षुम्, आवापृथिवी निष्टक्षुः षु ॥ अन्तः-पाशमिति किम्, नित्यमास्मनो विदाभूरभिस्तस्युनराह जातवेशो विचर्षणिः ॥

Why do we say in the inner half of a stanza? Observe अन्मध्यास्मनो भिन्नाभूरभिन्न स्तस्युनराह जातवेशो विचर्षणिः ॥ Here the word अग्निः is at the *end* of the first stanza while तत् is at the *beginning* of the second stanza, therefore the स of अग्निस् is not in the middle of a stanza.

यज्ञुष्येकेषाम् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्ञुषि, एकेषाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञुषि विषये युज्मत्तत्तत्त्वः षु परत एकेषामाचार्याणां मतेन सकारस्य मूर्खन्यादेशो भवति ॥

107. In the opinion of some, the above change takes place in Yajurveda also.

Thus अर्थिर्भिन्नम् or अर्थिर्भिस्त्वम् । अग्निंप्रभुम् or अग्निस्तेप्रभुम् । अग्निष्ठुः or अग्निस्तत्त्वः ॥

स्तुतस्तोमयोश्छन्दसि ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तुतस्तोमयोः, छन्दसि ।
वृत्तिः ॥ एकेषामिति वर्तते । स्तुत स्तोम इत्येतयोः सकारस्य छन्दसि विषये मूर्खन्यादेशो भवति एकेषामाचार्याणां मतेन छन्दसिविषये ।

105. The स् of स्तुत and स्तोम, in the Chhandas, is changed to ष् in the opinion of some.

Thus चिभिन्नस्य or चिभिस्तुतस्य, गोटीमं षोडशिनम् or गोस्तोमं षोडशिनम् ॥ This change would have taken place by the general rule contained in the next sūtra VIII. 3. 106, the special mention of स्तुत and स्तोम here is a mere amplification. The word छन्दसि of this sūtra governs the subsequent sutra also.

पूर्वपदात् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वपदात् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदस्याभिनित्तादुत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्खन्यादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये एकेषामाचार्याणां मतेन ।

106. In the Chhandas, according to some, स् is changed to ष्, when it stands in the beginning of a second word, preceded by a word ending in ई &c.

The words छन्दसि and एकेषां are both understood here. Thus द्विष्ठिः or द्विसन्धिः, विष्ठिः or विसन्धिः; मधुष्ठानम् or मधुस्थानम्, द्विसाहस्रं चिन्वीत or द्विषाहस्रं चिन्वीत ॥

The word पूर्वपद here means the first member of a compound word as well as the prior word other than that in a compound. Thus चिःपूर्वस्वाय or चिःसपूर्वस्वाय ॥

सुञ्जः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुञ्जः ।
वृत्तिः ॥ सुभिति निपात इह गृह्णते तस्य पूर्वपदस्याभिनित्तादुत्तरस्य मूर्खन्यादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ।

107. The स of the Particle सु is changed to ष in the Chhandas, when preceded by another word having in it the change-effecting letter इ &c.

Thus अभी शु जः सखीनाम् (Rig. IV. 31. 3) ऊर्ध्वं ऊ शु जः (Rig. I. 36. 13). The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 134, and न changed to ज by VIII. 4. 27.

सनोतेरनः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनोतेः, अनः ।
वृत्तिः ॥ सनोतेरनकारान्तस्य सकारस्य मूर्खन्यादेशो भवति ।

108. The स of the verb सन्, when it loses its न्, is changed to ष, under the same circumstances.

Thus गोषाः (Rig. IX. 2. 10), formed by the affix विद् (III. 2. 67), the न् is elided by VI. 4. 41. So also नृषाः ॥

Why do we say 'when it loses its न्'? Observe गोसनि वाचमुहीरवन् (Atharv. III. 20. 10). Here the affix is इन् (III. 2. 27). See however गोषणि in Rig. VI. 53. 10.

Though this ष change would have taken place by VIII. 3. 106 also, the separate enumeration is for the sake of niyama or restriction. Some however read the word गोसनि: in the list of सवनानि words (VIII. 3. 110), and they hold that the proper counter-example is सिसानविषति ॥ So also सिसनी: formed by adding क्लिष्ट् to the Derivative root सिसनिस, thus सिसनिस + क्लिष्ट् = सिसनिस् (the न् is elided by VI. 4. 48)+०. add शु, सिसनिस् + शु = सिसनिस् +० [शु is elided by VI. 1. 68. Now the final स (of the Desiderative affix सन्) is liable to be changed either to ष or to इ (इ). The ष being asiddha, the इ change takes place.] = सिसनिइ = सिसनीः (the lengthening is by VIII. 2. 76). Here the Desiderative affix सन् is not changed to ष, hence this word is not governed by VIII. 3. 61. This being the object of this sūtra, there will be ष change in सिसानविषति in the Causative.

सहः पृतनर्ताभ्यां च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहः पृतना-प्रृताभ्यांगम्, च ।
वृत्तिः ॥ पृतना एत इत्येताभ्यांपृतनस्य सहिसकारस्य मूर्खन्यादेशो भवति ।

109. The स of सह is changed to ष, after पृतना and प्रृत ॥

Thus पृतनापाहम्, प्रृतापाहम् ॥ Some divide this sūtra into two; as (1) सहः ; (2) पृतनान्ताभ्यांच ॥ So that the rule may apply to एत्तीवहः also. The word एत्तीवहः is lengthened by VI. 3. 116, in sañhitā : and the ष change takes place in sanhitā only. Otherwise the form is एत्तीवहृ ॥ The word च 'and' in the sūtra includes words other than those not mentioned in it. The word एत्तीवहृ would be valid by this also.

न रपरस्पिसुजिस्पृशिस्पृहि सवनादीनाम् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, र-पर, सृषि,
सृजि, स्पृशि, स्पृहि-सवनादीनाम् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफपरस्य सकारस्य सृषि सृजि स्पृशि स्पृहि सवनादीनां च मूर्खन्यो न भवति ।

110. The ष् substitution does not take place if र follows the स्, as well as in सृष, सृज, स्पृशा स्पृह, and in सवन and the rest.

Thus विलंसिकायाः काण्डं शुणेति ॥ The word विलंसिक् is formed by the affix षुल् (III. 3. 109), विलः कथयति ॥ This word is from the root सृमु विश्वासे, the इट is not added by VII. 2. 15 and the nasal is elided by VI. 4. 24. before the nisṭhhā त ॥ सृषः—पुरा कूरस्य विसृषः ॥ The word विसृषः is formed by the affix कस्म् (III. 4. 17), सृजः—वाचो विसर्जनात् ॥ सृशः—विविसृशम् ॥ सृहिः—निसृहं कथयति ॥

The following is a list of सवनादी words :—

१ सवने सवने, २ सूते सूते, ३ सोमे सोमे, ४ सवनमुखे सवनमुखे, ५ किसः किसः (किस्यतीति किसः), ६ अनुसवनमनुसवनम्, ७ गोसामि गोसामिष्, ८ अभसनिमध्यसनिम् ॥ In some books this is the list ९ सवने सवने, १० सवनमुखे सवनमुखे, ११ अनुसवनमनुसवनम् (अनुसवने २), १२ संज्ञायां वृहस्पतिसवः, १३ शङ्कनिसवनम्, १४ सोमे, सोमे, १५ छुते छुते (सूते २), १६ संवस्तरे सवस्तरे, १७ विसं विसम्, १८ किसं किसम् (किसं किसम्), १९ बुसलं बुसलम् २० गोसामिष्, २१ अभसनिम् ॥

सात्पदाधोः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ सात्, पदाधोः ।
वृत्तिः ॥ साविति चैतस्य यदि परतो मूर्खन्योदेशो न भवति ।

111. The ष् substitution does not take place in the affix सात् and for that स् which stands at the beginning of a word.

Thus सात् here is the affix ordained by V. 4. 52, and it would have been changed to ष् by VIII. 3. 59. The present सूत्र prevents that. The Padādi स् refers to those verbs which in the Dhātupāṭha are taught with a ष्, and for which a स् is substituted. This also is an exception to VIII. 3. 59. Thus अभिसात् । एधिसात् । मधुसात् ॥ So also with Padādi स् as एषि सिष्यति, मधु सिष्यति ॥

सिचो यदि ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिचः, यदि ।
वृत्तिः ॥ सिचः सकारस्य यदि परतो मूर्खन्योदेशो न भवति ।

112. The ष् substitution does not take place in the स् of सिच् of the Intensive.

Thus सेसिच्यते and अभिसेसिच्यते ॥

Q.—The स् of the reduplicate should be changed into ष् by VIII. 3. 65, in अभिसेसिच्यते, and the स् of the root should be changed into ष् by VIII. 3. 64. Because सिच् is one of the roots taught in VIII. 3. 65, and therefore, as this

latter rule prevents the operation of VIII. 3. 111 i. e. पशादि स so far as it goes, so it would prevent also the operation of this rule and the form ought to be अभिषेषिष्यते?

Ans.—The ष ordained by VIII. 3. 65 prevents only the operation of पशादि स of VIII. 3. 111, and not the स of this rule. Therefore the present prohibition is of universal application.

Why do we say in the Intensive. Observe अभिषिष्यति ॥

सेधतेर्गतौ ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सेधतेः, गतौ ।
वृत्तिः ॥ गतौ वर्तमानस्य सेधतेः सकारस्य मूर्खन्यादेशो न भवति ।

113. The स् of the verb सेधि is not changed to ष when the meaning is that of moving.

Thus अभिसेधयति गा:, परिसेधयति गा: ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 3. 65.

Why do we say 'when meaning to drive'? Observe शिष्यमकार्यात्मति-वेधयति ॥ Here the sense is that of preventing or prohibiting.

प्रतिस्तब्धनिस्तब्धौ च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिस्तब्ध-निस्तब्धौ, च ।
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिस्तब्ध निस्तब्ध इत्येतो मूर्खन्यप्रतिष्पदाय निपात्येते ।

114. The words प्रतिस्तब्ध and निस्तब्ध are anomalous.

In these words the स is not changed to ष, though so required by VIII. 3. 67.

सोढः ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोढः: ।
वृत्तिः ॥ सहिरयं सोइषुतो गृह्णते तस्य सकारस्य मूर्खन्यादेशो न भवति ।

115. The स् of सोढ form of the root सह is not changed to ष ॥

As परिसोढः, परिसोड्यम्, परिसोढ्यम् ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 3. 70.

Why do we say 'when सह assumes the form of सोढ' ॥ Observe परिसहसे, विपरिसे ॥

स्तम्भुसिद्धुसहां चक्षि ॥ ११६ ॥ घदानि ॥ स्तम्भु-सिद्धु-सहाम्, चक्षि ।
वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्भु सिद्धु सह इत्येतेषां चक्षि परतः सकारस्य मूर्खन्यादेशो न भवति ।
वार्तिकः ॥ स्तम्भु सिद्धुसहां चाङ उपसर्गार्थिति वक्तव्यम् ।

116. The ष change does not take place in the reduplicated Aorist of the roots स्तम्भ्, सिद्ध् and सह् ॥

The root स्तम्भ required ष change by VIII. 3. 67, and the roots सिद्ध् and सह् by VIII. 3. 70. Thus पर्यतस्तम्भत्, अभ्यतस्तम्भत् ॥ सिद्धः—पर्यसीषिद्धत्, असीषिद्धत् ॥ सहः—पर्यसीषहत्, असीषहत् ॥

Vārtī—This prohibition refers to the ष change that is caused by an Upasarga and not to the reduplicate change, as we have illustrated in the above example.

सुनोते: स्यसनोः ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुनोतेः, स्य-सनोः ।
वृत्तिः ॥ सुनोते: सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेषो न भवति । स्यसनि ष्ठ परतः ।

117. स् of सु (सुनोति) is not changed to ष in the Future, Conditional and Desiderative.

Thus :—अभिसोष्यति, परिसोष्यति, अभ्यसोष्यत्, पर्यसोष्यत् ॥

What example will you give under Desiderative? सुसूषति ॥ This is not a valid example, for by VIII. 3. 61, the reduplicate will not be changed here. Then we shall give the example अभिसुसूषते ॥ This is not also a proper example, for it is governed by the restrictive rule of VIII. 3. 64. Then this is the example अभिसुसूः, निसुसू derived from the desiderative root अभिसुसूषति by the affix किंत् ॥ Here the desiderative affix सू उ is not changed to ष (VIII. 3. 61) and therefore the second स would have been changed to ष as it comes after a reduplicate.

Why do we say before स्य and सू ॥ Observe सुषाव ॥

सदिष्वज्जोः परस्य लिटि ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सदि-ष्वज्जोः, परस्य, लिटि ।
वृत्तिः ॥ सदि व्याङ्ग इत्येतयोर्द्वान्मोलिदि परतः सकारस्य परस्य मूर्द्धन्यो न भवति ।

118. The स् of सद् and संज् after the reduplicate in the Perfect is not changed to ष ॥

In the Perfect, when these words are reduplicated, there are two स 's, as ससाद् and ससंज् ॥ After a preposition, the first स will be changed to ष, but not so the second. Thus अभिषसाद्, परिषसाद्, निषसाद्, विषसाद्, परिष्वज्जोः, परिष्वज्जिरे, अभिषस्त्वज्जो ॥ The nasal of संज् is elided though here, the लिट् affix is not किंत्, because it ends in a compound vowel (VI. 4. 24), (I. 2. 5 and 6).

The word संज् does not occur in the sūtra, but has been inserted in it by the author of Kāśikā from the following Vārtika :—सहो लिटि प्रतिषेधे स्वज्जे रूपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥

निव्यभिभ्योऽब्द्यवाये वा छन्दसि ॥ ११९ ॥ पदीन ॥ नि-वि-अभिभ्यः, अद्ब-
व्यवाये, वा, छन्दसि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ नि वि अभि इत्येतेभ्य उपसर्गेभ्य उपस्थित्य सकारस्याऽब्द्यवाये छन्दसि विषये मूर्द्धन्यादेषो न भवति वा ।

119. The ष is optionally substituted in the Chhandas after the prepositions नि, वि and अभि, when the augment अद् intervenes.

Thus न्यसीरत् or न्यसीरत् पिता नः; व्यषीरत्; or व्यसीरत् पिता नः, अभ्यषीरत् or अभ्यसीरत् ॥

The anuvṛitti of सत् and संज् is not to be read into this sūtra. It is, in fact, a general rule and applies to verbs other than these two. As व्यस्तौत्, न्यटौत्, अभ्यटौत् or अभ्यस्तौत् ॥

ओ३४ ।

अथ अष्टमाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।



BOOK EIGHTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे ॥ १ ॥ पडानि ॥ रषाभ्याम्, नः, णः, समानपदे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रेफषकाराभ्याषुत्तरस्य नकारस्य जकारादेशो भवति, समानपदस्यौ चेत्रिमित्तिनिमित्तिनौ भवतः ।
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कृत्वा चोति वन्तव्यम् ॥

1. After इ and ए, the औ is the substitute of न्, when they occur as component letters of the same word.

These letters must be parts of the same pada or word, one being the 'occasion' for the application of the rule as regards the other. As आस्तीर्णम्, विस्तीर्णम्, अवगूर्णम् ॥ So also after उ; as, कृष्णाति, पुष्णाति, मुष्णाति ॥

The letter औ is included in this aphorism for the sake of subsequent sūtras: for औ will be changed into औ when preceded by ए by rule 41 of this Chapter, as well.

Why do we say "when occurring in the same word?" Observe अन्तिमयसि, वायुर्नयति ॥

Vārtī.—So also after the letter ए ॥ As तिसृणाम्, अतसृणाम्, मातृणाम्, पितृणाम् ॥

This vārtīka may well be dispensed with: because the ए in the sūtra is the common sound ए which we perceive both in ए and औ; and so the ए will denote both the vowel औ and the consonant ए. See contra. VIII. 2. 42. Obj. But if even this be so, the letter औ has three parts, its first part is a vowel, in the middle is the ए sound of a quarter mātrā, and a vowel sound at the end. This vowel-sound will intervene between the ए-sound and the subsequent औ, and will prevent the application of the sūtra, hence the vārtīka is valid?

Ans. This vowel-sound will be no intervention, because it will be included in the exception अ॒ of the next sūtra. Obj. The vowel-sound at the end of औ is not a full vowel of one mātrā, but is of half-mātrā, being only a fragment of औ, and hence is not included in the pratyāhāra अ॒, it has no separate

स्थान or प्रवल्ल or homogeneity with any vowel. Hence this vowel-sound will prevent the application of this rule. Ans. The ज change, however, does take place in spite of such intervention of a fragment of a letter, as we know from the jñāpaka of VIII. 4. 39. In the kshubhnādi list there we find नृनमन as an exception, implying that न is generally changed to ज after such a fragmentary interposition. Or we may take नृनमन as a jñāpaka, that after the letter न also the ज change takes place.

अद्कुप्ताद्वनुम्ब्यवायेपि ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्कु-पु-आद्व-नुम्ब-ध्यष्टये, अपि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अद्कु पु आद्व नुम्ब इत्येतेव्यवायेपि रैफकाराम्याद्वुत्तरस्य नकारस्य जकार आदेशो भवति ।

2. The substitute ण takes the place of न्, even when a vowel, or य्, च्, ह् or a guttural, or a labial, or the preposition आ, or the augment नुम्ब intervenes, causing separation.

The pratyāhāra अद् stands for vowels and the letters ह व च र. Thus करणम्, हरणम्, किरिणा, गिरिणा, छुरुणा, शुरुणा &c.

The कु means all the gutturals, e. g. अक्षेषं, मूर्खेषं, गर्भेषं, अर्धेषं ॥

The गु means all the labials, e. g. हर्षेषं, रेषेषं, गर्भेषं, चर्मणा, वर्मणा ॥

The आद्व means the particle आः e. g. पश्यन्द्वम् from नह् (VIII. 2. 34) निराजद्वम् (cf VIII. 4. 14). The particle आ is a vowel and so included in अद् pratyāhāra. Its specification in the sūtra shows that the restriction of the rule to the letters occurring in the *same word*, does not apply in the case of आद्व, in which case the rule applies to letters separated by another word.

So also when the anusvāra separates the letters e. g. वृहणम्, वृहणीद्वम् ॥

It is from the root वृहिवच्चौ, the नुम्ब is added, because the root is वृहित (VII. 1. 58) and न् changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24. Q. Well the intervention is here by Anusvāra and not नुम्ब, why is then नुम्ब taken in the sūtra?

The word नुम्ब in the sūtra refers to anusvāra, and must be taken co-extensive with it. Otherwise the rule would not apply to words like शुहृं from शुहृं शुहृं विसाये ॥ Here the anusvāra is not the substitute of the augment नुम्ब but an original anusvāra. Even where there is an augment नुम्ब, but where it is not changed into 'anusvāra, the rule does not apply. As वैननम्, वैननीद्वम् from वैष्णः शीणार्यः ॥

The rule will apply even when these letters are combined in any possible way, or occur singly. As अक्षेषं, here a guttural and a vowel i. e. 2 letters come between त and न ॥ See VIII. 3. 58 in the case of ष ॥

पूर्वपदात्संशायामगः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वपदात्, संशायाम, अगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदस्यान्निमित्ताद्वुत्तरस्य गकारवर्जिताद् नकारस्य जकार आदेशो भवति संशायां विषवे ।

3. So also, न् is replaced by ण, when the letter occasioning the substitution, occurs in the first member of a compound, and the whole compound is a Name, provided that the first member does not end with the letter ग ॥

As द्रुणसः, वार्द्धोणसः (a kind of antelope), खरणसः, शूर्पणसा ॥ See V. 4. 118 and IV. 1. 58.

Why do we say "when a Name"? Observe, चर्मनासिकः ॥

Why do we say when 'not ending in the letter न'? Observe; उत्तरपदम् ॥

Some say, that this sūtra is a नियम or a restrictive rule, and not a विधि or original enunciation, so that the substitution takes place, only when the word is a *Name*, and not otherwise. A compound is one word or समानपद, though composed of two or more words or पद ॥ Therefore by VIII. 4. 11 the न will always be changed into ण when preceded by ए or अ. But the present sūtra restricts its scope, to those cases only, when the compound denotes a *Name*, as not in चर्मनासिका ॥ The word पूर्वपद is a relative term and connotes an उत्तरपद ॥ The present sūtra therefore applies to those cases where the ए or अ is in the पूर्वपद, and न occurs in the उत्तरपद ॥ It therefore, does not apply to तादेत् words, nor when both the letters occur in the पूर्वपद ॥ In the case of a Taddhita, there is a पूर्वपद, but there is no properly speaking उत्तरपद ॥ Thus खरपत्यापन्थं = खारपायजः (IV. 1. 99). Here the affix अयन् is equivalent to अपत्यं, and खरप is the Pūrvapada. But the affix अयन् not being a Pada, we cannot call it an uttara pada. Hence न will be changed into ण though खारपायजः is not an Appellative but a generic term. So also मातृभोगाय हितः = मातृभोगीजः with ख �affix. Similarly in करणमित्यः, the words ए and न both occur in the Pūrvapada and are not affected by this rule, but by the general rule VIII. 4. 1. So also the proviso relating to न, only prohibits the change of न into ण, but does not prohibit the restrictive character of this sūtra.

According to others, this sūtra is an original enunciation or a Vidhi rule, and not a Niyama rule. They say that the word समानपद in VIII. 4. 1 is equivalent to नित्यं पदं i. e. a word integral and indivisible into component words. In other words, समानपद means, a 'simple-word'. The present sūtra therefore enunciates a new rule for a "compound-word". For in a compound or समास, there being a division of पूर्वपद and an उत्तरपद, we cannot say that a compound is a समानपद or indivisible word. Hence this sūtra is a विधि ॥

The sūtra should be thus divided :— पूर्वपदात् संज्ञायाम् one sūtra, and अगः another. So that every rule relating to ण change would be debarred with regard to न intervention.

वनं पुरगामिश्रकासिध्रकाशारिकाकोटराग्रेभ्यः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वनम्, पुरगा, मिश्रका-सिध्रका-शारिका-कोटराग्रेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदास्तंज्ञायामिति वर्तते । पुरगा मिश्रका सिध्रका शारिका कोटरा अये इत्येतेभ्यः पूर्वपदेभ्य उत्तरस्य वनमकारस्य णकारारेषो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ।

4. The न of वन, is changed into ण, when preceded by the words puragā, miśrakā, sidhrakā, śarikā, koṭarā, and

agree, as first members of the compound, and the whole compound is a name.

The words पूर्वपदात् and संज्ञावाम् of the last sūtra, are to be read into this aphorism. Thus गुरुगावणम्, मिश्रकावणम्, सिन्ध्रकावणं, कोटरावणम्, अष्टवणम् (II. 2. 31) शारिकावणम् ॥

The lengthening of the finals in the above is by VI. 3. 117. Though the word अष्टवणं is not a Name, yet the rule VI. 3. 9, applies to it and the case-affix is not elided, because it is so read in Rājadantādi list (II. 2. 31).

The substitution of ण for न would have taken place by the preceding rule. The separate enunciation of the rule with regard to the word वन् shows that this is a restrictive or निवाम rule. The न of वन् is changed into ण, when preceded by these words only and no other. Thus कुबेरवनं, शतधारवनम्, असिद्धवनम्॥

प्रनिरन्तःशरेष्ठप्लक्षाभ्रकार्थ्यस्तदिरपीयूक्षाभ्योसंज्ञायामपि ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥
प्र-निर-अन्तर-दार-इक्षु-प्लक्ष-आभ्र-कार्थ्य-खदिर-पीयुक्षाभ्यः संज्ञायां, अपि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्र निर अन्तर दार इक्षु प्लक्ष आभ्र कार्थ्य खदिर पीयुक्षा इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य वननकारस्य संज्ञायाम
संज्ञायामपि जकारादेशो भवति ।

5. The न of वन् is replaced by ण, even when the compound is not a Name, when it is preceded by the words pra, nir, antar, śara, ikshu, plaksha, āmra, kārshya, khadira, and pīyūkshā.

Thus प्रवणे वटक ; निर्वणे प्रतिधीवते, अन्तर्वणे, शरवणम्, इक्षुवणम्, प्लक्षवणम्, आभ्रवणम्,
कार्थ्यवणम्, खदिरवणम् and पीयुक्षावणम् ॥

The words प्रवणं and निर्वणं are शास्त्रिः compounds. अन्तर्वणं is an Avyayī-
bhāva in the sense of a case-affix. The rest are Genitive compounds.

विभाषौषधिवनस्पतिभ्यः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा ओषधि-वनस्पतिभ्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ओषधिवाचि वस्तुर्वपं वनस्पतिवाचि तस्याग्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य वननकारस्य जकार आदेशो भवति
विभाषा ।

वाच्चिकाः ॥ द्व्यपारञ्जसरेभ्य इति वन्नव्यव ॥ वा० ॥ इरिकादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वन्नव्यवः ॥

Kārika फली वनस्पतिहेत्यो वृक्षाः पुष्पफलोपगाः ।

ओषधः फलपाकान्ता लता गुम्माद्य वीहधः ॥

6. The न of वन् is optionally replaced by ण, when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound and which denotes a perennial herb or a forest tree.

When the pūrvapada is a word denoting ओषधि or a perennial herb, or denoting a वनस्पति or a tree, and it has a change-producing letter, then the न of वन् is replaced by ण ॥ This is an optional rule. Thus :—शूर्ववनम् or शूर्ववणम्;

मूर्वावनम् or मूर्वावनम् ॥ Here वूर्वा and मूर्वा are names of ओषधि ॥ Similarly शिरीषवनं or शिरीषवनम् ; बदरीवनं or बदरीवनम् ॥

Vart :—This rule applies when the first word is a dissyllabic or trisyllabic word. Therefore the change does not occur in देवदारुवनम् ; भद्रशारुवनम् ॥

Vart :—Prohibition should be stated with regard to the words इरका &c. As इरिकावनम्, सिमिरकावनम् ॥

Though there is a distinction, botanically speaking, between a वृक्ष and a वनस्पति also ; yet in this sūtra, the word वनस्पति includes वृक्ष also.

Kārika :—Technically speaking वनस्पति is a tree that bears fruit apparently without a flower, as a fig tree udumbara. वृक्ष is a tree that bears both flower and fruit, ओषधि is an annual herb, that dies after the ripening of the fruit, and creepers and tubercles are called वीरुधः ॥

अहोऽदन्तात् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहः, अदन्तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असन्तं यथूर्धपदं तस्थान्निमित्तादुच्चरस्याहो नकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति ।

7. The ण is the substitute of न of अहन्, when it is preceded by a word ending in अ, having in it a letter capable of producing the change.

Thus पूर्वाहणः “fore-noon” ; अपराहणः “after-noon”.

Why do we say “ending in अ”? Observe, निरहः, दुरहः ॥

The word अहुः is substituted for अहन् by V. 4. 88. The word अहुः being used in the sūtra as ending in अ, the rule does not apply to other words. Thus शीर्घाहुः शरत् ॥ The word अहुः in the sūtra is in the nominative case, and should not be construed as the genitive of अहन्, because all sthānins are exhibited in Nominatives as, वनं (VIII. 4. 4), वाहनं (VIII. 4. 8), आनं &c. The compounding takes place by II. 2. 1, then is added the samāsānta affix द्वच् (V. 4. 91), and अहुः substitution by V. 4. 88. The word शीर्घाहुः is a Bahuvrihi compound and not a Tatpurusha, and hence the affix द्वच् does not apply to it. The feminine डीप् is added by IV. 1. 28, there is elision of अ of अहन् by VI. 4. 134.

वाहनमाहितात् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहनम्, आहितात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहितवाचि यथूर्धपदं तस्थान्निमित्तादुच्चरस्य वाहननकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति ।

8. The न of वाहन is changed into ण, when the letter, producing the change, occurs in the first member of a compound, denoting the thing carried.

Thus इक्षुवाहणम् ‘a sugar-cart’. शरवाहणम् “a reed-cart”. इर्भवाहणम् ‘a hay-cart’.

The thing which being placed on a cart is carried, is called आहित ॥

Why do we say “denoting the thing carried”. Observe शास्त्रिवाहणम् “a vehicle belonging to Dākshi”.

The word वाहन is formed by adding स्त्रुट् to वह, and lengthening of the penultimate is valid by the nipātana of this sūtra.

पानं देशो ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पानम्, देशो ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पाननकारस्य पूर्वपदस्थानिमित्तादुच्चरस्य देशाभिधाने जकार भावेशो भवति ।

9. The न of पान is changed into ण, when it occurs as the second member of a compound, the first member of which contains a letter causing change; and the whole compound denotes a country or a people.

The word पान is formed by the affix स्त्रुट् III. 3. 113. Thus क्षीरपाणा दशीनराः = क्षीरपाणं येषां 'the milk-drinking Uśinaras'. मुरापाणाः प्राच्याः 'the wine-drinking Prāchyas'. सौवीरपाणा वाहूकाः "the sauvīra-drinking Bāhlikas". कषायपाणा गान्धाराः &c.

Why do we say "when denoting a country"? Observe दक्षिणां the drink of the Dākshis.

'The words दशीनर and the rest are applied to persons also through the medium of being country-names.

वा भावकरणयोः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, भाव-करणयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भावे करणे च यः पानशब्दस्तशीयस्य नकारस्य जकार भावेशो भवति वा पूर्वपदस्थानिमित्तादुच्चरस्य॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वाप्रकरणे गिरिनिरासीनामुपसंख्यानम् ।

10. Optionally when the compound denotes a condition or an instrument, the न of पान is changed into ण, when it is a second member, the cause of change occurring in the first member in a compound.

Thus क्षीरपाणम् or क्षीरपानम् "drinking of milk" कषायपाणम् or कषायपानम् 'drinking of kashaya'. मुरापाणम् or मुरापानम् &c are examples of भाव or condition.

Similarly क्षीरपाणः of क्षीरपानः कंसः 'a vessel for drinking milk' This is an example of करण or instrument.

Vārti :— Optionally so in the case of गिरिनिरी &c. Thus गिरिनिरी or निरिणी; अक्रनिरी or अक्रणी, अक्रनितम्बा or अक्रणितम्बा ॥

प्रातिपदिकान्तनुभिवक्तिषु च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रातिपदिकान्त-नुम्-विभक्तिषु, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वेति वर्तते । प्रातिपदिकान्ते तुभिवक्तौ च यो नकारस्य पूर्वपदस्थानिमित्तादुच्चरस्य वा जकार भावेशो भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ युवासीनां प्रसिद्धेषो वक्तव्यः ॥

11. Optionally ण is substituted for न when it stands at the end of a Nominal-stem (Prātipadika) or is the augment नुम् or is न of a case-affix, (when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound).

Thus, to take the case a प्रतिपदिकान्त first. माषवापिणी or माषवापिनी from माषवापिन् 'māsha-sowing' formed by गिने under III. 2. 81.

To take the example of a तुष्म augment माषवापाणि or माषवापा नि, ब्रीहिवापाणि or ब्रीहिवापानि nom. pl. neut. The. augment तुष्म is here added by VII. I. 72 from माषवा वपयन्ति = माषवाप with कर्मणि अज्, the plural गति is added by VII. I. 20, and then तुष्म !!

To take the विभक्ति or case-termination, माषवापेण or माषवापेन, ब्रीहिवापेण or ब्रीहिवापेन !!

The word प्रतिपदिकान्त means 'final in a Prātipadika'. But here it means 'final in a prātipadika which is a second member, of compound, the first member containing the cause of change'. Therefore the change does not take place in गर्गाणां भगिनी = गर्गभगिनी "the sister of Garga". But गर्गभगिणी if the word is derived from गर्गभगः 'the share of Garga', with the adjectival affix इन्, feminine इनी, meaning, "enjoying the share of Garga." In this case, like the word मातृभोगीणः 'fit to be possessed by a mother': the change will invariably take place.

The word माषवापिणी or 'नी' is to be understood to have a final न्, the affix being added afterwards in accordance with the following maxim :—(II. 2. 19). "It should be stated that Gatis, Kārakas, and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with krit-affixes, before a case termination or a feminine affix has been added to the latter" गतिकारकोपपशनां कृदिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुदुत्पसः ॥

Therefore the composition takes place first with the word ending in the krit affix, as माषवापिन् (माष + वापिन्), and thus the second term वापिन् is a Prātipadika which ends in न्, and so the rule is applied to it, when the feminine affix is added.

Similarly तुष्म is not considered as the end portion of the *second* member of the compound, but as the end-portion of the *full* compound word.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated of the words तुष्म &c. As आयंशू (VI. 4. 133 vocalisation), लक्षियशूना ॥ प्रपदवानि is a gati-samas, सीर्धाही शारत् ॥

एकाज्ञुसरपदे णः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकाच्, उत्तरपदे, णः ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ एकाज्ञुसरपदं वस्य स एकाज्ञुसरपदः । तस्मिन्नेकाज्ञुसरपदसमासे प्रतिपदिकान्ततुष्मिभक्तिषु पूर्वपदस्थानिभित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति ।

12. In a compound, the second member of which is a monosyllable, there is ण in the room of न of the second member, provided that the न is at the end of a prātipadika, or is the augment तुष्म, or occurs in a vibhakti ; and when the first member contains a cause of change.

Thus वृत्तहणो and वृत्तहणः 'the Vṛitra-killer'. सीरापाणि "Drinkers of milk": द्विरापाणि 'drinkers of wine': being examples of तुष्म VII. 3. 88, सीरापेण and सुरापेण are examples of case-terminations.

Why the letter न is repeated in this sūtra, while its anuvṛitti was understood from the context? It is repeated in order to show that this is not an optional rule, but an obligatory rule. In fact, it shows that the anuvṛitti of वा 'optional' ceases, and does not extend further.

कुमति च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्वण्वाते चोचरपरे प्रातिपदिकान्तं गुणभन्निषु पूर्वपश्यान्निमित्तादुसरस्य नकारस्य जकारपेशो भवति ।

13. In a compound, the second member of which contains a guttural, there is ण in the room of न, that follows anything which standing in the prior member is qualified to cause the change, provided the न be at the end of a prātipadika, or be the augment नुम्, or occur in a vibhakti.

If the second part of a compound contains a letter of the class कु, the change is obligatory, even though the second part be not monosyllabic. As वस्त्रयुगिणौ, वस्त्रयुगिणः, स्वर्गकामिणौ, वृषगामिणौ ॥ नुम् :—वस्त्रयुगाणि, वरयुगाणि ॥ विभन्निः :—वस्त्रयुगेण, खरयुगेण ॥

The word वस्त्रयुगिणौ is a compound of वस्त्र with युगिण् (the affix इनि is added first to युग and then the word so formed is compounded with vastra). Thus the न् becomes प्रातिपदिकान्ति i.e. it becomes the final of a Nominal-stein, which stands as a second member in a compound.

उपसर्गादसमासेऽपि जोपदेशस्य ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, अ-समासे, अपि, जोपदेशस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ए उपदेशे यस्यासौ जोपदेशः । जोपदेशस्य धातोर्यो नकारः तस्य उपसर्गस्यान्निमित्तादुसरस्य जकारपेशो भवति असमासेपि समासेपि ।

14. Of a root which has ण in its original enunciation, when it comes after a cause of such change standing in an upasarga, even though the word be not a samāsa, the न is changed into ण ॥

The word जोपदेश means a root which is enunciated in the Dhātupāṭha with an initial ण ॥ Thus प्रणमति 'he bows'. परिज्ञमति, प्रणायकः 'a leader' परिज्ञायकः &c.

Why do we say "after an Upasarga"? Observe प्रणायकः—प्रणता नायका अस्माद् देशात् 'a country without a leader'. Here the word प्र is not an upasarga, but a mere nipāta. See I. 4. 57, 58 and 59. In fact, प्र is upasarga here with regard to न त understood, and not with regard to नी ॥

Why do we say "even when it is not a compound?" Because by context, the anuvṛitti of the word पूर्वपश्, which is current throughout this sub-

division, would have been understood in this sūtra also, and the rule would have applied to samāsas only, for there only we have pūrvapada. By using the word असमासे it is shown that the adhikāra of pūrvapada ceases, and the rule applies to non-compounds also where there is no पूर्वपदः॥

Why do we say "having ज in Upadeśa"? Observe प्रनर्दति, प्रनर्तिनम्, प्रनर्तकः॥ For the root नर्द is recited in Dhātupāṭha with न॥ There are eight such roots नर्द, नाद, नाथ, नाध, नन्द, नक्ष, नृ, नृत्॥ See VI. I. 65.

हिनुमीना ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिनु-मीना, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिनु मीना इत्येतत्योपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य जकारारेशो भवति ।

15. The न of हिनु and मीना is changed into ण, when coming after an upasarga containing in it a cause of change.

Thus प्रहिणोति, प्रहिणुतः, प्रमीणाति, प्रमीणीतः॥ The root हि belongs to Svādi class of verbs and takes the vikaraṇa तु technically हनु; and the root मी belongs to Kryādi class which takes the vikaraṇa ना॥ In the sūtra the verbs are shown with the vikaraṇas affixed. Under certain circumstances the forms of the vikaraṇa is changed from तु to शी and ना to शी, but the rule still applies, because the substitute of an अश्च or vowel is like the principal. See I. I. 57.

आनि लोट् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आनि, लोट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गान्विते वर्तते । आनीत्येतस्य लोडारेशोपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य जकारारेशो भवति ।

16. The न of आनि, the affix of the Imperative, 1st Person, is changed into ण when it follows a letter competent to cause such a change standing in an Upasarga.

The word आनि is the termination of the Imperative. Thus प्रवपाणि, प्र-रिपाणि, प्रवाणि, परिवाणि ॥

Why do we say 'the Imperative'? Observe प्रवपाणि मासानि ॥ Here आनि is the neuter plural termination, and the word means प्रकृष्टा वपा खेतु, तानि ॥

According to Padamanjari, the employment of the word लोट in the sūtra is redundant. For without it also आनि would have meant the *Imperative* affix, and not the Neuter termination, on the maxim of अर्थवद् प्रहेष &c. Moreover in the noun प्रवपाणि, प्र is not an upasarga at all, on the maxim बत् किञ्चयुक्ताः प्राप्त्य-स्तं प्रति गति-उपसर्ग-संहेत् भवतः ॥

नेर्गदनदपतपदघुमास्यतिहन्तियातिवातिद्रातिप्सातिवहतिशाम्यतिचिनोति देविधेषु च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नेः, गद-नद-पत-पद-घु-मा-स्यति-हन्ति-याति-चाति-द्राति-प्साति-वपति-वहति-शाम्यति-चिनोति-देविधेषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निरित्येतस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य जकारारेशो भवति गद नद वप घु मा स्यति हन्ति याति द्राति प्साति वपति वहति शाम्यति चिनोति देविध इत्येतेषु परतः ।

17. The अ् is the substitute of न् of the prefix नि, following a cause for such change standing in an upasarga, when these verbs follow, gad 'to speak', nad 'to be happy', pat 'to fall', pad 'to go', the ghu verbs, mâ 'to measure', sho 'to destroy', han 'to kill', yâ 'to go', vâ 'to blow', drâ 'to flee', psâ 'to eat', vap 'to weave', vah 'to bear', sam 'to be tranquil', chi 'to collect', and dih 'to anoint'.

Thus

गदः; प्रणिगदति, परिणिगदति	मदः; प्रणिनदति, परिणिनदति
पतः; प्रणिपतति, परिणिपतति,	पदः; प्रणिपदति, परिणिपदति
धुः; प्रणिदधाति, परिणिदधाति, प्रणिदधाति, परिणिदधाति	
माहः; प्रणिमीति, परिणिमीति	मेहः; प्रणिमवते, परिणिमवते

Ishti :—By the word मा in the sūtra, both verbs माहः and मेहः are to be taken and not the roots मी or मि or मा माने, for they also take the form मा by VI. I. 50.

स्वति	प्रणिष्वति, परिणिष्वति	हन्ति	प्रणिहन्ति, परिणिहन्ति
वाति	प्रणिवाति, परिणिवाति	वासि	प्रणिवासि, परिणिवासि
द्राति	प्रणिद्राति, परिणिद्राति	प्लाति	प्रणिप्लाति, परिणिप्लाति

The last five roots belong to Adādi class.

वपति	प्रणिवपति, परिणिवपति	वहति	प्रणिवहति, परिणिवहति
शास्यति	प्रणिशास्यति, परिणिशास्यति (VII. 3. 74)		
चिनोति	प्रणिचिनोति, परिणिचिनोति	देभिति	प्रणिदेभिति, परिणिदेभिति

Ishti :—The above change takes place even when the augment अ् intervenes.. As प्रणिगदत्, परिणिगदत् ॥

The roots स्वति &c, are exhibited in their declined form in the sūtra, in order to indicate that the rule does not apply to अहूङ् लक् form of these roots (VII. I. 6).

शेषे विभाषाकस्तादावषान्तउपदेशो ॥ १८ ॥ पठानि ॥ शेषे, विभाषा, अकस्तादौ, अषान्ते, उपदेशो ॥

शुक्षिः ॥ नेतिति वर्तते उपसर्गादिति च । अककारलक्कारादिरप्तकारान्तश्च उपदेशो द्वा धातुः शेषस्तस्मिभरत उपसर्गस्थानिभिन्नादुन्नरस्य नर्नकारस्य विभाषा जकार आदेशो भवति ।

18. In the remaining verbs, optionally the न of नि is replaced by ण, when it is preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change; provided that, in the original enunciation, the verb has not an initial क or ख, nor ends with ष ॥

The words नेः and उपसर्गात् are understood in the sūtra. The word शेषे means verbs other than those mentioned last. Thus प्रणिपचति or प्रणिपचात्, प्रणिभिनति or प्रणिभिनति ॥

Why do we say अकारात् “not beginning with क or क्”? Observe प्रगि
करोति, प्रनिष्ठावति ॥ Here there is no change.

Why do we say अषान्तः “not ending in ष”? Observe प्रगिष्ठिनाति ॥

Why do we say उपरेष्टे “in original enunciation”? So that the prohibition
may apply to forms like प्रगिष्ठकार, प्रगिष्ठलाद, प्रगिष्ठेष्टवति (VIII. 2. 41). Here
चकार &c, do not begin with क or क् nor does पिष्ट end with ष but with क् (VIII.
2. 41) but in the Dhātupāṭha the verb क् and क्षट् begin with क and क् and
पिष्ट ends with ष, and hence the rule will not apply. So also in प्रगिष्ठेष्टा and
प्रगिष्ठेष्टवति from the root विष्ट ॥ Here though the verb now ends with ष by
VIII. 2. 36, yet in the original enunciation or Dhātupāṭha, it ends with क् ॥

अनितेः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनितेः ॥

शृणुः ॥ अभिर्देनकारस्योपसर्गस्याग्निभिसादुम्भरस्य पकारादेशो भवति ।

19. The न of the verb अन् ‘to breathe’, is changed
into ण, when preceded by an upasarga competent to
produce the change.

Thus प्र+अनिति—प्रगिति ‘he breathes’. पराग्निति ॥ For एव augment,
see VII. 2. 76.

अन्तः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः ॥

शृणुः ॥ उपसर्गस्याग्निभिसादुम्भरस्य परन्ते वर्तमानस्य पकारादेशो भवति ।

20. The न of अन् is changed into ण, when it
is preceded by an upasarga competent to produce the
change, provided it occurs at the end of a pada.

As हे प्राण् ! हे पराण् ! ॥ This rule is an exception to VIII. 4. 37 *sub*, by
which final क् in a pada is not changed into ण ॥ The word अन्तः in the sūtra
is to be understood to be equivalent to पदान्तः, and the rule applies when the
word is in the vocative case.

According to some अन्तः is taken to be a part of the last sūtra, and
has the meaning of ‘proximity’. That is the न is changed to ण, if the ए is
not separated from the क् by more than one letter. Therefore there is no
change in परि+अनिति = पर्वगिति ॥ In this view, another अन्तः should be taken for
the sake of final क्, in हे प्राण् ॥

According to others the form पर्वगिति is valid, and they do not connect
अन्तः with the last sūtra.

The word प्राण् is a किष्ट formed word, and the क् final is not elided in
the Vocative Singular because of the prohibition of VIII. 2. 8; in every other
place, when the क् is padānta, it would be dropped; and therefore the illustration
is given with Vocative singular, which alone satisfies the requirements of
this sūtra.

उभौ साभ्यासस्य ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उभौ, साभ्यासस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ साभ्यासस्यानितेरपर्गस्याभिमित्तादुत्तरस्योभयोर्नकारबोर्णकार आदेषो भवति ।

21. Both the न s are changed into ण in the reduplicated forms of the verb अन्, when preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change.

Thus in the Desiderative प्राप्तिपिपासि and Aorist of the Causative प्राप्तिपूर्व, and so also प्राप्तिपिपासि and प्राप्तिपूर्व ॥

If the maxim पूर्ववासिलीबमहिर्यज्ञे be not applied here; then we have the following dilemma in, प्राप्ति + सू + त्रि ॥ Here the affix सू requires reduplication, and the present sūtra requires ण change of न ॥ The जत्व being asiddha, the reduplication being made first, we have प्राप्तिनि + सू + त्रि, and then the reduplicate ण intervenes between the cause सू and the root-त्रि of त्रि, and so this न would not be changed to ण ॥ If however the above maxim be applied, we first apply the जत्व rule, as प्राप्ति + सू + त्रि, and then reduplicate त्रि; and we get the form प्राप्तिपिपासि even without this sūtra.

If we could get this form by the application of the above maxim, where is the necessity of the present sūtra? The sūtra is necessary in order to indicate that the above maxim is *anitya* or not of universal application. And because it is *anitya*, that the form प्राप्तिपूर्व is evolved by reduplicating एव (See VIII. 2. 1).

हन्तेरत्पूर्वस्य ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन्ते:, अत्, पूर्वस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अकारपूर्वस्य इन्द्रियाकारस्य उपसर्गस्याभिमित्तादुत्तरस्य यकार आदेषो भवति ।

22. The न, when preceded by अ, in the root हन्, is changed to ण, when the verb is preceded by a preposition competent to cause the change,

Thus प्रहृण्यते, परिहृण्यते, प्रहृण्यनन् परिहृण्यनन् ॥

Why do we say अत्पूर्वस्य 'when preceded by अ'? When अ is elided, the change does not take place. As प्रहृन्ति, परिहृन्ति (VI. 4. 98, and VIII. 3. 54).

Why do we say अहृ "perceded by short अ"? Observe प्रहृन्तानि and प्रहृन्ति, the Aorist of हन् by the affix चिष् (III. 1. 60) प्रहृन् + चिष् = प्रहृन् + चिष् (VIII. 3. 54) - प्रहृन् + चिष् (VIII. 2. 116) - प्रहृन्ति 'he killed'. Here न being preceded by the long अ is not changed.

घमोर्या ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ घमोः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारमकारत्योः परतो इन्द्रियाकारस्याभिमित्तादुत्तरस्य या यकारेषो भवति ।

23. Optionally when वा or न्न follow, the न्न of हन् is changed to ण, when preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change.

Thus प्रहृन्नः, परिहृन्नः, or प्रहृन्नः and परिहृन्नः, प्रहृन्नः or प्रहृन्नः, परिहृन्नः ॥

This sūtra enjoins an option in certain cases, where it would have been obligatory by the last rule,

अन्तरदेशो ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्, अदेशो ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तःशब्दादुपसर्व्य हन्तिनकारस्वास्पूर्वस्व जकारादेशो भवति ।

24. The न preceded by short अ of the root हन् is changed into ण, when the root follows the upasarga अन्तर्, and the word does not mean a country.

Thus अन्तर्धृष्टे and अन्तर्ईनं ॥

Why do we say "when not meaning a country अदेश?" Observe अन्तर्ईनम् ॥

देशः ॥

The phrase अन्तपूर्वस्व "preceded by short अ" of sūtra 22 ante, is to be read into this sūtra also. Observe, अन्तर्धृष्टिः ॥

Why do we say "short अ?" See, अन्तरधृष्टिः ॥ The word antar is an upasarga for the purposes of ण change, by the vārtika under I. 4. 65; therefore, it would have caused the ण change by VIII. 4. 22. The present sūtra is made, to show that the change takes place only then, when it does not mean a country.

अथनं च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अथनम्, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तर्देशहति वर्तते । अवननकारस्व जान्तः शब्दादुपसर्व्य जकारादेशो भवति ।

25. The न of अथन is changed to ण, when preceded by the word अन्तर्, and the word does not denote a country.

Thus अन्तरर्थं सोमनष् ॥ Why do we say "not denoting a country?" Observe अन्तर्देशो देशः ॥ This ण change would have taken place by VIII. 4. 29, this special sūtra is for अविष्टुप्तi purposes. The word अवन is formed by स्वृद् added to अव् or इष् ॥

छन्दस्यृद्वग्रहात् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, अहृत-अवग्रहात् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एकारात्मादवप्तवप्तूर्वपशादुपसर्व्य जकारादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ।

26. In the Chandas, न of a second term is changed into ण, when the prior term ends with a short अ, even when there is an *avagraha* or hiatus between the two terms.

In the Veda, अ becomes ण, after a अ, after which in Padapāṭha, the word appertaining to it is divided. Thus in Pada-pāṭha the words मृणाः &c, are separated, and are read as नृ, मणाः ॥ The word अवग्रहात् = विच्छिन्न पव्यते, as in Pada-pāṭha. अवग्रहात् means 'after a short अ which is an avagraha'. The अ here, of course, means 'a word ending in अ', because अ alone cannot be a pūrvapada. The ज्ञात्वा took place during saṅhitā, and in Pada reading this ण would not have remained, hence this sūtra.

Why have we used the word *avagraha* in the sūtra? Because we have already said that the word saṅhitā governs all sūtras of this chapter. So the न is changed to ण in the Saṅhitā state in these; and the ण is retained, when

In the state of avagraha. The word avagraha in the sūtra indicates the scope of the rule. The न is changed to ज after that ए only, which is capable of avagraha, namely that ए which stands at the end of a word (pada), and not that which is in the body of a word. Thus in नृमणः, पितृयाप्तम्, the ए is capable of avagraha, as it is at the end of a word नृ or पितृ; but when it is not at the end of a word, it can never become avagraha, and will not produce the ज change.

The word पूर्वपश्चात् is understood here. The word अवग्रह means a hiatus or separation. Thus पितृ याप्तम्, नृ मणः ॥ Here ए is अवग्रह ॥ The change of न into ज is effected ordinarily then, when the terms, one containing the cause, and the other न, are in संहिता or conjunction. For the rules of Sandhi and the rules like these can apply only to words in saṃhitā. The present rule is an exception to it, and here, even when the words are not in संहिता, but there is an actual hiatus between the two, the change still takes place. The word संहिता of VIII. 2. 108, exerts regulating influence upto the end of the Book.

न ए धातुस्योरुष्यभ्यः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, च, धातुस्य, उरु, षुष्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नम् इत्येतस्य नकारस्य यकारारेशी भवति धातुस्यामिभित्तादुच्चरस्योरुष्यात्सुष्याच चक्षन्ति सिद्धये ।

27. In the Chandas, the न of (the Pronoun) नम् is changed into ज, when it comes after a root having a र or ष or after the words उरु and षु (सु) ॥

Thus अग्ने रक्षाः (Rig VII. 15. 13) 'O Agni ! protect us'. शिक्षा जो अस्तित्व (Rig. VII. 32. 26) 'Teach us this'. उरुः—उरुस्त्वाथि (Rig. VIII. 75. 11) तु—अभीषुषः सखीनाम् (Rig IV. 31. 3). षर्वं षुष्णः उरुष्य (Rig. I. 36. 13).

The word नम् is here the pronoun नम्, which is the substitute, in certain cases, of अस्ति (VIII. 1. 21) and does not mean here the नम् substitute of नासिका। In the next sūtra, however, both नम् are taken. धातुस्य means 'that which exists in a dhātu', namely ए and ष when occurring in a root. The word उरु means the word-form उरु; and षु means सुष्य, and is exhibited with ए-change. It does not mean the affix षु of the Locative Plural. Therefore, not here इत्तो धता गृष्य नः ॥ The word रक्षा is the 2nd Person singular, Imperative, the lengthening is by VI. 3. 135. The root शिक्षा has the sense of शन् in the Veda. कृषी is 2nd Person sg. Imperative of कृ (VI. 4. 102), the visarga of नः is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 50. In अभीषु there is lengthening by VI. 3. 134: so also in उरुषः &c.

उपसर्गाद्बुलम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, बहुलम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्यामिभित्तादुच्चरस्य नमो नकारस्य यकारारेशी भवति ।

28. The न of नम् is changed diversely into ज, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

Thus प्रणः शुद्धः; प्रणसः प्रणो राजा ॥ The change does not sometime take, place, as, प्र नो शुद्धतम् ॥

By force of the word बहुलम् the rule applies to secular literature also as distinguished from the Chandas or sacred Vedic text. Thus प्रणसं शुलं ॥ The word उन्नासि does not govern this sūtra.

In प्रणसं शुलम्, the word शूल् is the substitute for नासिका and means 'nose'. See V. 4. 119.

This is not the sūtra as given by Pāṇini. His sūtra is उपसर्गाद्वयोत्पत्तः: "after an Upasarga, the न of नस् when not preceded by or followed by an ओ, is changed into औ". There being several objections to this rule, the above rule is substituted as an amendment, in the Mahābhāṣya. For ओत्पत्तः may have two meanings:—(1) ओकारात् परः, that which comes after ओ; (2) ओकारः परेऽस्मात् that which is followed by ओ ॥ In both cases, the rule is objectionable. In the first case, the औ change would be required in प्रनो शुद्धतः; in the second case, there should be no औ change in प्रणोवनिर्वेता ॥ In fact, we find in the Vedas प्रणः as well as प्रनः; so also प्रणो as well as प्रनो ॥ Hence the necessity of this amendment.

कृत्यचः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृति, अच ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यो यो नकारो ऽच उत्तरस्योपसर्गस्थानीनित्तादुत्तरस्य जकारादेषो भवति ।
वार्तिकः ॥ कृत्यस्य जले निर्विण्यस्योपसंबद्धानं कर्त्तव्यम् ।

29. The न् of a Kṛit affix, preceded by a vowel, is changed into औ, when it follows an upasarga having the cause of change.

The following are the specific Kṛit affixes in which this change takes place:—अन (शु), मान (शानच् &c VII. 2. 82), अभीष्य (III. 1. 96) अनि, (III. 3. 111) इनि (इनि III. 2. 78 &c) and the substitutes of निष्ठा (VIII. 2. 42) ॥

Thus

अनः प्रवाणम्, परिमाणम्, प्रमाणम्, परियाणम् ॥ मानः प्रवायमाणम्, परिवायमाणम् ॥

अभीष्य प्रवाणीयम्, परियाणीयम् ॥ अनि अप्रवाणि, अपरियाणि ॥

इनि प्रवायिन्, प्रवायिनौ, परियायिन्, परियायिनौ

निष्ठादेशः प्रहीणः, परिहीणः, प्रहीणवान् परिहीणवान् ॥ Long ī by VI. 4. 66.

Why do we say अचः 'preceded by a vowel'? Observe प्रशुद्धः, परिशुद्धः the Nishṭhā of शुद्ध ॥ It is thus formed: शुद्ध + न् = शुद्ध + त् = शुद्ध + न् (VII. 2. 45, the root शुद्ध is read as शुज्ञो कौटिल्ये in the dhatupāṭha, having an indicator ओ, thus giving scope to the rule). शुद्ध + न् = शुद्ध + न् (VIII. 2. 30) = शुद्ध ॥

Vārtā:—The word निर्विणः should be enumerated in this place. As निर्विणोऽस्मि खलसंगेन ॥ निर्विणोऽहमत्वासेन ॥

नोर्विभाषा ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ णः, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यन्ताणो विहितः कृप्रत्ययः तस्यस्य नकारयोपरांगस्थानीनित्तादुत्तरस्य विभाषा जकारादेषो भवति

30. The न् of a Krit - affix ordained after a causative verb (प्यन्त), is optionally changed to ण्, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

Thus प्रवापणम् or प्रवापनम्, परिवापणम् or परिवापनम्, प्रवाप्यमाणम् or प्रवाप्यमानम्, प्रवाप्णीयम् or प्रवापीयम्, अप्रवापणः or अप्रवापनः; प्रवापिणौ or प्रवापिनौ ॥

Why have we used the word विहितं 'ordained' in explaining the sūtra ? Because the change takes place, even where the कृत् affix does not follow directly after the affix निः; where a third affix such as कृत् intervenes. As प्रवाप्यमाणम् ॥ The जे: being in the ablative, under the ordinary rule of interpretation (I. 1. 72), the krit - affix should come immediately after निः.

हलभेद्युपधात् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, च, इच्च-उपधात् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हलासिर्वो धातुरिश्युपधस्तस्मात्परो वः कृत्यस्याः तस्यस्याच उत्तरस्योपसर्गस्थानिभिर्नातुरस्त्व विभाषा जकारादेषो भवति ।

31. A krit - affix, coming after a verb, which begins with a consonant and has a penultimate इच्च vowel, changes optionally its न्, which is preceded by a vowel, into ण्, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

The phrase कृत्यस्याः is understood here. Thus प्रकोपणम् or प्रकोपनम्, परिकोपणम् or परिकोपनम् ॥

Why do we say हलः 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe मेहणम् and मोहणम् where the change is obligatory, under VIII. 4. 29. These are from ईह चेष्टायाम् and ऋह वितके ॥

Why do we say इच्युपधात् 'having a penultimate इच्च vowel'? Observe प्रवपणम् and परिवपणम् ; no option.

By the rule कृत्यस्याः the change was obligatory, this rule makes it optional.

The न् of the krit - affix must come after a vowel, otherwise there will be no change. See परिमुक्तः:

The word हलः in the sūtra should be interpreted as हलादेः, and not as ordinarily "after what ends in हल्" ॥ For an इच्युपधा verb implies that it ends with a consonant, and so the employment of the word हलः in the text would have been useless had it meant हलन्तात् ॥

इजादेः सनुमः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इजादेः, सनुमः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इजादेः सनुगो हलन्ताद्वासोर्मिहितो वः कृत्यस्याच उत्तरस्य जकारे भवति ।

32. A krit - affix ordained after a verb beginning with an इच्च vowel, having the augment नुम् in it, and ending

with a consonant, changes its न् into ण, when preceded by an upasarga having in it the cause of change.

The word इलः of the last sūtra is understood here. But contrary to the construction put upon it in the last sūtra, here it means इलन्तात्, by the natural rule of construction as given in I. i. 72. We must interpret it so here, because it is impossible for an इआदि root to commence with a इलः; while to have done so in the last aphorism would have been redundant.

Thus प्रेह्लणम्, परेह्लणम् from इति गत्यर्थः; the तुष् is added because it is इवित् ॥ प्रेह्लणम्, परेह्लणम्, प्रोभ्लणम् परोभ्लणम् ॥ In तुष्म पूर्णे the nasal is part of the root. The rule will not apply to प्रेव्लनम्, because तुष् here means the anusvāra generally (VIII. 4. 2) though the change would have been valid by the general rule, (VIII. 4. 29) this sūtra makes a नियम or restriction. That is, only in the case of इआदि सतुष् verbs the change takes place, not in other सतुष् verbs. Thus प्रमङ्गनम्, परिमङ्गनम् from the root भागि सर्पणे ॥

This rule does not affect rule VIII. 4. 30, relating to ष्वन्त् verbs, for those verbs cannot be said to end with a consonant. Moreover, we have used the word विहितः in explaining the sūtra, in order to indicate this fact, that the kṛit-affix must be *ordained* after a consonant-ending verb. In the case of causative verbs, the kṛit-affix is *ordained* after a vowel-ending (णि) verb, and the vowel is elided *after* the adding of the affix. So that *before* the adding of the affix, the verb did not end in a consonant.

वा निसनिक्षनिन्दाम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, निस-निक्ष-निन्दाम् ॥
वृत्तः ॥ उपसर्गावित्तिवर्तते । निस निक्ष निन्द इत्येतेषां नकारस्योपसर्गस्थानिमित्तादुच्चरस्य वा जकारा-
देशो भवति ।

33. The न् of निस निक्ष and निन्द is changed to ण optionally, when preceded by an upasarga having in it a cause of change.

Thus प्रणिसनम् or प्रनिसनम्, प्रणिक्षणम् or प्रनिक्षणम्, प्रणिन्दनम् or प्रनिन्दनम् ॥ These verbs are written with ण in the Dhātupāṭha, and therefore by rule VIII. 4. 14 ante, the change of न into ण would have been obligatory. The present sūtra makes it optional. The root णिसि means 'to kiss', णिति रोषणे, and णिति छुत्साधाम् ॥

**न भासूपूकमिगमिष्यायिवेपाम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भा-भू-पू-कमि-गमि-ष्यायि-
वेपाम् ॥**
वृत्तिः ॥ ना हीमो भू सत्त्वावाम् पू पवने कमि कामो गमि गतो ष्यायि दृष्टो वेप कम्बने इत्येतेषादुपस-
र्गस्थानिमित्तादुच्चरस्य कृत्सयस्य नकारस्य जकारादेशो न भवति ।

34. The न of a kṛit-affix is not changed to ण, though preceded by an upasarga having in it a cause of change,

when the affix is added to the following verbs: भा 'to shine', भू 'to be', पू 'to purify', कमि 'to be brilliant', गमि 'to go', प्यायि 'to increase', वेष 'to shake'.

This rule is an exception to VIII. 4. 29. Thus :—

भा प्रभानश्, परिभानश् भू प्रभवनश्, परिभवनश् पू प्रपवनश्, परिपवनश् ॥

Ishti :—The verb पूश् is to be taken and not the verb पूह् ॥ In the case of the latter the change is obligatory, as, प्रपवणं सोमस्य ॥

कमि प्रकमनश् परिकमनश् ॥ गमि प्रगमनश् परिगमनश् ॥

प्यायि प्रप्यायनश्, परिप्यायनश् ॥ वेष प्रवेषनश्, परिवेषनश् ॥

Vdrt :—The above roots, even when in the Causative, do not change the न of their krit-affix. As प्रभापनश्, परिभापनश् ॥

षात्पदान्तात् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ षात्, पदान्तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारात्पदान्तादुच्चरस्य नकारस्य जकारोरेषो न भवति ।

35. After a श final in a Pada, the न् is not changed to ए ॥

Thus निष्पानश्, तुष्पानश् ; the visarga is changed to ए here by VIII. 3. 41. The rule VIII. 4. 29 is debarred. सर्पिष्पानश् (is a genitive compound contra II. 2. 14). So also बुष्पानश् (II. 1. 32). The ए is in these two by VIII. 3. 45, and VIII. 4. 10 is debarred.

Why do we say "षात् after a श?" Observe निष्पदः ॥

Why do we say पदान्तात् 'final in a Pada'? Observe तुष्पाति, तुष्पाति ॥ The word पदान्त is equivalent to पदे अन्त or Locative Tatpurusha ; and does not mean final of a Pada. Therefore the rule does not apply here. मुसर्पिष्केष (ins. sg.) मुव्युष्केष ॥ Here the क is added by V. 4. 154. शोभनं सर्पिरस्य = मुसर्पिष् (a Bahuvrihi). The ए is by VIII. 3. 39. Before the affix क, the word मुसर्पिष् is a Pada (I. 4. 17), and thus ए (ए) is final of a Pada: but it is not final of a preceding member followed by another Pada. The rule, in fact, applies to compounds, the ए being final in the first term.

नशः षान्तस्य ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नशः, षान्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नशः षकारान्तस्य जकारोरेषो न भवति ।

36. ए is not the substitute of the verb नश 'to destroy', when ending in ए ॥

When the ए is changed to ए in नश, the न of नश is not changed. Thus प्रनष्टः, परिनष्टः ॥ The तुष् ordained by VII. 1. 60, is elided by VI. 4. 24, and ए changed ए by VIII. 2. 36.

Why do we say षान्तस्य? Observe प्रज्ञद्वयति, परिज्ञद्वयति ॥ The word षान्त is taken in order that the prohibition may apply to words like प्रनहस्यति, which did end with ए though the ए has been changed by other rules, and is no longer visible. For here the ए of नश is changed to ए by VIII. 2. 36, and then this ए is changed to ए by VIII. 2. 41; and the तुष् is added by VII. 1. 60.

पदान्तस्य ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदान्तस्य ॥
दुनिः ॥ पशन्तो यो नकारस्तस्य णकारदेशो न भवति ।

37. Of a न final in a Pada, ण is not the substitute.

Thus वृक्षान्, प्रस्तान्, अरीन्, गिरीन् ॥

पदव्यवायेषि ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदव्यवाये, अषि ॥

बुन्धः ॥ पदेन व्यवायेदि सति निमित्तनिमित्तिनोर्नकारस्य जकापदेशो न भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पदब्यपाये इति वन्नब्यम् ।

38. The **ஞ** is not changed to **ஞி** when a Pada intervenes between the cause of the change and the word containing the **ஞ** ||

The word पश्यवाय is a compound meaning पशेन व्यवाय 'separated by a Pada'. Thus माषकुम्भवापेन, चतुरक्षयोगेन, प्रावनद्वय, पर्यवनद्वय, प्रगाम्यामः, परिगाम्यामः || Here the Padas कुम्भ, अक्ष, अव &c, intervening, the change does not take place.

Vartika.—It should be stated when there is separation by a Pada, except in a Taddhita. Prohibition does not apply to words like आर्गोमये, शुष्णगोमये ॥ Here गो takes the affix मय् by IV. 3. 145, and the word गो is a Pada by I. 4. 17, and it intervenes between मय् and the first word. The author of *Mahâbhâshya* however does not approve of this *Vartika*. According to him the word परब्यवाय means पक्षे व्यवाय ॥

क्षुभ्नादिषु च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुभ्नादिषु, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुभ्ना इत्येवमादिषु शब्देषु नकारस्य जकारारेषो न भवति ।

39. The **w** is not the substitute of **v** in the words
kshubhna &c.

The 'not' of sūtra 34 is to be read into this. Thus शुभाति, so also in शुभीतः, शुभन्ति, the substitutes of अच् being like the principal I. I. 57.

So दृढ़म्: where the change was called for by VIII. 4 3, and VIII.

नन्दिनी, नन्दन and **नगर** when second members in a compound, denoting a name, as, हरिनन्दी, हनुमन्दनः, गिरिंगरः ॥

The word नृत् when taking the Intensive affix यह, as, नरीनृत्यते ||

सृष्टि, सृष्टेति also belongs to this class. नर्तन, गहन, मन्दन, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि and अश्रु when used as second terms in a compound. As, परिनर्तनम्, परिगहनम्, which required change by VIII. 4. 3. So परिनम्दनम् contrary to VIII. 4. 14. शरनिवेशः, शरनिवास, शराम्भः, इर्भासुः: II All these are Names.

After the word आचार्य there is no change, as, आचार्यमोगीनः, आचार्यानी ॥

प्रतिका, तिमिर, समीर, कुवेर and हरि and कर्मर followed by वन do not cause change in the न of वन when the compound is a Name. This is an आकृतिगणण: II

1 भुभा (भुभाति), 2 नृनमन; 3 मन्दिम्, 4 मन्दम्, 5 मगर, एताम्युभारपशमि संक्षयाऽपि प्रयोज्य-
यन्ति, 6 हरिनन्दी, 7 हरिनन्दनः; 8 गिरिनगरम्; 9 नृतिश्वर्णि प्रयोज्यति, मरीनृत्यसे; 10 नर्हन, 11 गहन,

12 नन्दन, 13 निवेदा, 14 निवास, 15 अग्नि, 16 अनूप, एतान्युत्तरपशानि प्र योजयन्ति, 17 परिनर्तनम्, 18 परिगहनम्, 19 परिनन्दनम्, 20 शारनिवेदा:, 21 शारनिवास:, 22 शाराम्भः, 23 एर्मानूपः, 24 आचार्याद्वापस्तं च आचार्यभोगीनः (आचार्यानी). शुभ्ना, 25 हृष्णु, नन्दन, 26 नन्दन-वद् नृती, 27 गिरिनरी. 28 गृहनमन, निवेदा, निवास, अग्नि, अनूप, आचार्यभोगीन, 29 चतुर्हाथन, 30 इरिकादीनि वनोन्नतपशानि संज्ञायाम् । इरिका, सिमिर, समीर, कुबेर, हरि कर्मार, अकृतिगण.

स्तोः इच्छुना इच्छुः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तोः, इच्छुना, इच्छुः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ षकारटवर्गाभ्यां सन्निपाते षकारटवर्गादेशो भवतः ।

40. The letters स and the dentals when coming in contact with श and the palatals, are changed to श and palatals respectively.

The rule of व्यासस्त्रव्य does not apply here with regard to first part स्तो इच्छुना ॥ The स in contact with श is changed to श but it is also so changed when in contact with letters of च class. Similarly letters of त class coming in contact with श or a letter of च class, are changed to च class. The rule of व्यासस्त्रव्य, however, applies to the substitutes, namely स is changed to श, and तु to चु ॥

1st. स in contact with शः as, वृक्षस् + शेते = वृक्षशेते, so also प्लक्षशेते ॥
2nd. स in contact with चुः—as, वृक्षस् + चिनोति = वृक्षचिनोति, प्लक्षचिनोति, वृक्षच्छाद्यते, प्लक्षच्छाद्यते ॥

3rd. तु with शः—अग्निचित् + शेते = अग्निचिच्छेते, so सोमसुच्छेते ॥

4th. तु with चुः—अग्निचित् + चिनोति = अग्निचिच्छ चिनोति, so also सोमसुच्छचिनोति, अग्निचिच्छाद्यते, अग्निचिच्छज्जयते, अग्निचिच्छ इकारम्, सोमसुच्छाद्यति, सोमसुच्छज्जयति, सोमसुच्छ-कारम्, अग्निचिच्छज्जकारः, सोमसुच्छज्जकारः ॥ Similarly मस्त् gives मञ्जति, the स is changed to इ by इलांश्च शास्त्र VIII. 4. 53, and then this इ is changed to a palatal i. e. to च here; and इ obtained by जश् rule is not considered asiddha here. See VIII. 2. 3. So also from भस्त् we have भञ्जति ॥

5th. चकार followed by लकारः as, चक्ष + न (III. 3. 90) = चक्ष + न् = चक्षः, वाच् + न – वाच्चमा ॥ In fact the instrumental case इच्छुना shows that the mere contact of स and तु with श and चु is enough to induce the change, whether स्तु is followed by इच्छु, or इच्छु be followed by स्तु ॥ Other examples of mere contact are:—

5th.(a) स followed by चु is changed into शः as, भस्त् + ति = भस्त् + श + ति (III. 1. 77, VI. 1. 16) = भस्त् + ति = भस्त् + श + ति = (VIII. 4. 53) = भञ्जति ॥ Similarly मस्त् forms मञ्जति, व्रश् forms व्रञ्जति ॥

The aphorism शात् (VIII. 4. 44) which prohibits the change of तु into चु when following the letter श, indicates by implication that the rule of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration (I. 3. 10) does not hold good here.

Had the sūtra been स्तो ओः इच्छुः i. e. instead of instrumental, had there been the locative case, then the rule would not have applied to cases covered by the fifth clause.

इच्छुना इच्छुः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छुना, इच्छुः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ षकारटवर्गाभ्यां सन्निपाते षकारटवर्गादेशो भवतः ।

41. The letters स् and dentals in contact with ष् and cerebrals, are changed into ष् and cerebrals respectively.

The word स्तोः is to be read into the sūtra. Here also there is absence of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration.

(1) स with ष as, वृक्षस् + षण्डे = वृक्षष्वण्डे; प्लक्षप्लण्डे ||

(2) स with द्व, as, वृक्षस् + दीकते = वृक्षद्वीकते, वृक्षष्वद्वाकरः; प्लक्षद्वीकते and प्लक्षष्वद्वाकरः ||

(3) तु with ष as वेष्ट + ता = वेष्टा, वेष्टुम्, वेष्टव्यम्, कृषीष्ट, कृषीष्टाः (Atmane, Aorist 2nd per dual).

(4) तु with द्व, as, अग्निचित् + दीकते = अग्निचिद्वीकते, सोमसुद्वीकते, अग्निचिद्वकारः, अग्निचित्त जीनः, अग्निचिद्वौकते, अग्निचित्तज्ञकारः, सोमसुद्वौकते, सोमसुद्वौकारः ||

The root असृष्ट असिक्रमणाहिसयोः, and अदृष्ट अभियोगे, are read in the Dhātu-pāṭha with त् and द् penultimate, in order that when the affix विष्ट् is added to them, the final त् and द् being elided by संयोगान्त rule, the derivatives will be असृष्ट and असृष्ट ending in त् and द् || Another reason is that the sūtra VI. i. 3, should apply to their reduplicate. In these roots the स् and द् are changed, as असृष्टि and असृष्टि ||

न पदान्ताद्वारनाम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, पदान्तात्, दोः, अनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पशान्ताद्वर्गादुन्नरस्य स्तोः दुल्यं न भवति नामितेतद्वर्जयित्वा ।

पर्तिकम् ॥ अनाम्नवतिनगरीणामिति वक्तव्यम् ।

42. After दु final in a Pada, the change of a dental (स्तु) to a cerebral (षु), does not take place, except in the case of the affix नाम् ॥

Thus श्वलिद् + साये = श्वलिद्साये, मश्वलिद्साये, श्वलिद्सरसि, मश्वलिद्सरसि ॥

Why do we say पशान्तात् 'final in a Pada'? Observe ईद् + ते = ईद् + ते = ईद् ॥

Why do we say दोः 'after दु'? Observe सर्विष्ट + तमस् = सर्विष्टमस् ॥

Why do we say अनाम् 'except in the case of the affix नाम्'? Observe ई + नाम् = ईण्णाम् ॥ This exception is very inadequate. Hence the following

Vāni—It should be stated rather that नवति and नगरी as well as नाम् are not prevented from undergoing the cerebral change. As, षण्णाम् 'of six', षण्णवति: ninety-six, and षण्णगरी 'six cities'.

तोः षि ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तोः, षि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तवर्गस्य षकारे वदुन्नें नन्न भवति ।

43. In the room of तु there is not a cerebral substitute, when ष follows.

The word न is to be read into the aphorism. As, अग्निचित् + षण्डे = अग्नि-चित्तषण्डे ॥ भवान्तप्लण्डे, महान्तप्लण्डे ॥

शात् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शकारादुन्नरस्य तवर्गस्य यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ।

44. In the room of तु there is not a palatal substitute, when श precedes.

The words न and तोः are understood here. This is an exception to VIII. 4. 40. Thus, प्रष्टु + न (III. 3. 90) = प्रष्ट + न (VI. 4. 19) = प्रष्टः, विषः &c.

यरोनुनासिकेनुनासिको वा ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ यरः, अनुनासिके, अनुनासिकः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यरः पशन्तस्यानुनासिके परतो वानुनासिकादेशो भवति ।
वार्तिकम् ॥ यरोनुनासिके प्रस्त्रे भावाद्यां नित्यवचनं कर्त्तव्यम् ।

45. In the room of a यर letter (every consonant except ह final) in a Pada, when a Nasal follows, there is optionally a Nasal substitute.

The word पशन्त is understood here. Thus वाक्तु + मवति = वामवति or वाह-नवति, अग्निचिदनवति or अग्निचिन्ननवति, विदुब्नवति or विदुम्नवति, खलिष्नवति or खलिद्ववति ॥

Why do we say 'final in a Pada'? Observe, वेद + मि = वेष्टि ॥ Here there is no option. So also शुभाति ॥

Vart :—When it is a pratyaya or affix that follows, the nasalisation is obligatory in the secular language. Thus वाक्तु + मात्रम् = वाह्मात्रम्, किञ्चन्मात्रम् ॥ It is, however, only before the affixes मव and मात्र that the change is obligatory, and not before every affix beginning with a nasal.

अचो रहाभ्यां द्वे ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, रहाभ्यां, द्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच उत्तरो वौ रेक्षकादौ ताभादुन्नरस्य वरो हे भवतः ।

46. There is reduplication of यर्, i. e. all the consonants except ह, after the letters र् and ह following a vowel.

The word यर् of last sūtra is understood here. According to others, the वा is also understood, and this is an optional rule. Thus अर्हः, मर्हः, व्रह्मा, अपरह्मुते ॥

Why do we say अचः: 'following a vowel'? Observe इतुते, इत्यत्यति ॥

अनचि च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्, अचि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच इत्यत्यते वरो हे भवते इनचि परतः ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ अणो मयो हे भवते इति वन्तव्यम् ।

वा० ॥ यरः लयो हे भवते इति वन्तव्यम् । वा० ॥ अवसाने च वरो हे भवतः इति वन्तव्यम् ।

47. When a vowel does not follow, there is reduplication of यर् (all the consonants except ह), after a vowel.

The words अचः and यरः are understood here.

Thus श्वि+अच्=श्व॒+अच् (VI. I. 77)=श्वश्व॒+अच् श्व॒+अच् (VIII. 4. 53)=श्वाच्, so also मञ्चन् ॥

Why do we say अच्: "after a vowel?" Observe लितम्, सातम् ॥

Vart :—यनो मये हे भवतः ॥ This Vārtika may be interpreted in two ways. First taking अच्: as ablative and मये: as genitive. "The letters of the pratyāhāra मञ्च are reduplicated after अच् letters." उल्का, वात्मीकः ॥ Secondly taking अच्: as genitive, and मये: as ablative. "The letters अच् are reduplicated after मये letters". As श्वश्व॒, मञ्चन् ॥

Vart :—शरः खयो हे भवतः ॥ This is also similarly explained in two ways. 1st "There is reduplication of खय् letters, after a sibilant for शर् letters". as शथाल, शथात्. Secondly. 'There is reduplication of a sibilant (शर् letters), after खय् letters, ss, वस्सरः, अप्सरः' ॥

Vart :—अवसाने च यतो हे भवतः ॥ There is reduplication of शर् when a Pause ensues. As वाङ्, वष्टक्, पट्ट, तत् &c.

These reduplications are curiosities, rather than practicalities.

नादिन्याक्रोशे पुत्रस्य ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आदिनी, आक्रोशे, पुत्रस्य ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ आदिनी परत आक्रोशे गम्यमाने पुत्रशब्दस्य न हे भवतः ।

वात्मिकम् ॥ तत्परे चेति वन्धव्यम् । वा० ॥ वा हतजग्धपरदति वन्धव्यम् ।

वा० ॥ चयो द्वितीया: शरि पौष्ट्रसादेः ।

48. There is not reduplication of the letters of 'putra', when the word ādīnī follows, the sense being that of reviling or cursing.

This debars the reduplication required by the last sūtra. Thus पुचादिनी ल्वमसि पापे "O sinful one! thou art eater of thy own son". Here the word पुचादिनी is used simply as an abusive epithet. But when a fact is described, and the word is not used as an abuse or आक्रोश, the reduplication takes place. Thus पुचादिनी व्याघ्री 'a kind of tigress, that eats up her young ones'. = विश्वामारी व्याघ्री ॥

Vart :—So also when पुच is followed by पुचादिनी ॥ As पुच पुचादिनी ल्वमसि पापे ॥ So also पुचपौचादिनी ॥

Vart :—Optionally so when the words हत and जग्ध follow. As पुचहती or पुचजग्धी, पुचजग्धी or पुचजग्धी ॥

Vart :—According to the option of Āchārya Paushkarasādi, the letters of चय् pratyāhāra are replaced by the second letters of their class, when followed by a sibilant (a letter of शर् pratyāhāra).

As वस्सः becomes वथ्सः; अक्षरम् becomes अखरम् and अप्सरा becomes अफ्सरा ॥

शरोचि ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शरः, अचि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शरोचि परतो न हे भवतः ।

49. There are not two in the room of a sibilant (शर्), when a vowel follows.

The word न is to be read into the sūtra. This debars the application of rule 46 *ante*. Thus कर्षति, वर्षति, आकर्षः, असर्षः ॥

Why do we say अचि 'when a vowel follows? Observe इहर्वते ॥

त्रिप्रभृतिषु शाकटायनस्य ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रिप्रभृतिषु, शाकटायनस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ त्रिप्रभृतिषु वर्णेषु संयुक्तेषु शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन न भवति ।

50. According to the opinion of Śakaṭāyana, the doubling does not take place when the conjunct consonants are three or more in number.

As इन्दः, अन्दः, उद्धः, राष्ट्रम्, भाष्ट्रम् ॥
सर्वत्र शाकल्यस्य ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वत्र, शाकल्यस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शाकल्याचार्यस्य मतेन सर्वत्र हिर्वचनं न भवति ।

51. According to the opinion of Śâkalya, there is reduplication no where.

As अर्कः, मर्कः, ब्रह्मा, अपहृते ॥
दीर्घादाचार्याणाम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, आचार्याणाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घदुस्त्रस्याचार्याणां मतेन न भवति ।

52. According to the opinion of all Teachers, there is no doubling after a long vowel.

As शब्दम्, पाशम्, शूष्मन्, सूष्मम् ॥
श्लालं जश्शशिः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्लालम्, ज्वरा, शशि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ श्लालं स्थाने जश्शशेषो भवति शशि परतः ।

53. In the room of शब्द letters, there is substitution of जग्न् letters, when शब्द् letters follow.

A mute letter is changed to a sonant non-aspirate mute, when a sonant mute follows it.

This is the well-known rule of softening the hard letters. Thus लभ् + ता = लभ्ता, so also लक्ष्म, लक्ष्म्यम् ; सोग्ना, सोग्न्म, सोग्न्म्यम् ; वोज्ञा, वोज्ञ्म, वोज्ञ्म्यम् ॥

Why do we say शशि, 'when a jhas follows'? Observe इतः, इतःः, इतःः ॥
अभ्यासे चर्च ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यासे, चर्च, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासे वर्तमानानं श्लालं चराशेषो भवति चकाराज्ञाम् ।

54. The चर् is also the substitute of शब्द् letters occurring in a reduplicate syllable, as well as जग्न् ॥

In a reduplicate syllable, a sonant non-aspirate (जग्न्) as well as a surd non aspirate (चर्) is the substitute of a Mute letter. By applying the rule of

'nearest in place (I. i. 50), we find that sonant non-aspirate (अ॒) is the substitute of all sonants; and is the substitute of all surds. In other words all aspirate letters become non-aspirate. The word अ॒ has been drawn into the sūtra by the word ए 'also'.

Thus चिल्लनिष्टि ॥ Here सन् (Desiderative), is added to the root सन्, the स्व is changed to छ by VII. 4. 62, and this aspirate छ is now changed to non-aspirate by the present sūtra. चिल्लनिष्टि, दिक्कारयिष्टि, तिष्ठासति, पिफ्कारयिष्टि, प्रभूष्यति, जिष्ठसति, दुदौकिष्टते ॥

If there is शू (non-aspirate surd) in the original, it will remain of course unchanged. As, चिरीषति, दिटीकिषते, तितनिषति ॥

The original ज् also remains unchanged. Thus जिज्ञासति, बुद्धेः, दसौ, दिग्देः ॥ Or to be more accurate a च् is replaced by a च॒ and a ज् by a ज॑ letter.

खरि च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खरि, च ॥

वज्जिः ॥ खरि च परस्तो मूलां चरादेशो भवति ।

55. In the room of शज्ज, there is the substitute चरू, when खरू follows.

बावसाने ॥ ५६ ॥ पठानि ॥ वा, अवसाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इलां चरिति वर्तते । अवसन्ने वर्तमानानां इलां ता चरादेशो भवति ।

56. The चर् is optionally the substitute of a स्वच् that occurs in a Pause.

The words भलां चर् is understood in the sūtra. A sonant or a surd non-aspirate may stand as final in a Pause: but not an aspirate consonant. By VIII. 2. 39, a non-aspirate sonant can only stand in a final position. This ordains that a non-aspirate surd may also stand as the final, when there is Pause. Thus वाळू or वाण्, स्वकू or स्वण्, खलिद् or खलिण्, निषुप् or निषुण्. //

अणोप्रगृह्णस्यानुनासिकः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अणः, अप्रगृह्णस्य, अनुनासिकः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अणः अप्रगृह्णसंस्थापयेत् समाने वर्षमाने वानुनासिकारेषु भवति ।

57. The *anunâsika* is optionally the substitute of an अ॒ vowel which occurs in a Pause, and is not a *Pragrihya*.

अ, इ and ऊ, short and long, may, when final in a Pause, be pronounced as nasals, provided that they are not Pragrihya (I. 1. 11 &c.) The अ here

is a Pratyâhâra with the first ए ॥ Thus श्विं or श्वि, मृं or मृ॒, कुमारीं or कुमारी ॥

Why do we say 'of an अण् vowel?' Observe, कर्तृ, हर्तृ ॥

Why do we say 'which is not a pragrihya'? Observe अग्नी, वायू which are pragrihya by I. I. II.

अनुस्वारस्य यथि परस्वर्णः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुस्वारस्य, यथि, परस्वर्णः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अनुस्वारस्य यथि परतः परस्वर्ण वादेशो भवति ।

58. In the room of anusvâra, when यश् follows, a letter homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus शहृता, शहृतुम्, शहृतव्यम्, उभिता, कुषिता, नमिता, कमिता &c. These are from roots शहृत् शहृत्यम्, उभित् उभ्यम्, कुषित् कुषित्यम्, द्वनित् सश्वद्, कपि चलने ॥ Here त्रुम् is added because they are उवित्, and this त्रुम् becomes anusvâra by VIII. 3. 24, and this anusvâra is changed to त्रु when followed by a guttural क् &c, to म् when followed by a palatal च् &c, and so on to ष्, न् and म् ॥

Why do we say when यश् follows'? Observe आक्रम्यते, आधिक्रम्यते ॥

In कुर्वन्ति, वृत्तिः, the न is not changed into ण, though required by VIII. 4. 2. Because the जस्त् is asiddha, and therefore by the prior rule VIII. 3. 24, the न is first changed into anusvâra (VIII. 2. 1). That anusvâra is again changed into न by the present rule, न being homogeneous with त् ॥ This change again being असिद्ध as if it had never taken place (VIII. 2. 1), the ण is never substituted for न ॥

वा पदान्तस्य ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, पदान्तस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पदान्तस्यानुस्वारस्य यथि परतो वा परस्वर्णवेशो भवति ।

59. In the room of anusvâra final in a Pada, the substitution of a letter homogeneous with the latter is optional.

Thus तं कयं चित्परां उवमानं नभःस्यं पुरुषोऽवधीत् or तक्षयज्ञचपस्पदवमानम् भःस्यमुखोऽवधीत् ॥

तोर्लिः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ तोः, लिः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वत्स्य लकारे परतः परस्वर्णवेशो भवति ।

60. In the room of त्रु (a dental) when the letter ल follows, one homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus अभिष्ठित् + कुनाति = अभिष्ठिल्लुनाति, सोमधुल्लुनाति ; भवान् + कुनाति = भवाँल्लुनाति, भवाँल्लुनाति ॥ Here त्रु has been changed to pure ल, while the dento-nasal ष् is changed to a nasal लै ॥

उद्दः स्तास्तम्भोः पूर्वस्य ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्दः, स्ता स्तम्भोः, पूर्वस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उद्द उत्तरबोः स्ता स्तम्भ इत्यत्तबोः पूर्वस्वर्णवेशो भवति ।
वार्तिकम् ॥ उद्दः पूर्वस्वर्णले स्तम्भवेश्चन्द्रस्तुपसंव्यानम् । वा० ॥ रोगे चेति वन्नव्यानम् ।

61. After उद्, in the room of the स of sthâ and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior (i. e. a dental is substituted for this स) ॥

As उद् + स्थाता = उद् + यथाता = उद् + याता (VIII. 4. 65) = उत् + याता (VIII. 4. 55) = उत्याता, उत्यातुम्, उत्यातव्यम् ॥ So also with स्तम्भ, as, उत्स्तम्भता, उत्स्तम्भतुम् &c. (See I. 1. 67 and 54).

Why do we say of स्था and स्तम्भ? Compare उत्स्ताता ॥

Vart :—In the Vedas, the above substitution takes place in the case of स्कन्द preceded by उद् ॥ As, अथे उत्स्तुत्कन्दः ॥

Vart :—So also when it means a disease. As उत्कन्दको नाम रोगः ॥ Or this form may have been derived from the root कन्द, and not स्कन्द ॥

स्थयो होन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वयः, हः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वय उत्तरस्य इकारस्य पूर्वस्वर्णरेत्तो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

62. In the room of the letter ह, after (a sonant Mute) there is optionally a letter homogeneous with the prior.

The pratyâhâra श्वय includes all Mutes. But practically sonant Mutes are only taken here.

As वाङ् + इसति = वाग्इसति or वाग् इसति, श्वलिद् इसति or इसति, शिषुद् भसति or इसति, सोमसुद् भसति or सोमसुद् इसति ॥

Why do we say श्वय: 'after a sonant Mute?' Observe प्राह् इसति, भवान् इसति ॥

शाश्छोटि ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शः, छः, अदि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वय इति वर्तते । अन्यतरस्यामिति च । श्वय उत्तरस्य शकारस्यादि परत्तश्छकारारेत्तो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छन्नममीति वक्तव्यम् ।

63. In the room of श preceded by a surd Mute; there is optionally the letter छ when a vowel or य, व or र follows such श ॥

Though श्वay means all Mutes, the rule, however, applies to surd mutes. The words श्वय and अन्यतरस्यां are to be read into the sûtra. Thus वाङ् + शेते = वाङ्छेते or वंशेते ॥ अभिविच्छेते or अभिवित्तु शेते, श्वलिद् शेते or छेते, शिषुण्छेते or शेते ॥

Vart :—It should rather be stated when a letter of अद् pratyâhâra follows. The sûtra only gives अद् letters, the vârtika adds the letters ल, and the nasals. Thus तत् श्लोकेन = तच्छ्लोकेन, तच्छ्लमभुणा ॥

हलो यमां यमि लोपः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, यमाम्, यमि, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरेषां यमां यमि परतो लोपो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

64. After a consonant, the following semi-vowel or a nasal is elided optionally, when the same letters follow it.

The word अन्यतरस्याम् should be read into the sūtra. Thus शब्दवा or शब्दा, the middle श् being elided. In शब्दा there are two श्, one of the affix श्वर् (III. 3. 99); and the second of अश्व (VII. 4. 22), and the third arises by doubling (VIII. 4. 47). आदित्य (formed by doubling श् by the Vārtika under 47 ante), or आदित्य 'son of Aditi' In आदित्य there are two श्, one of श्व (IV. 1. 85), and the second arises by doubling.

Similarly आदित्य देवता अस्य स्थाली पाकस्य=आदित्यः ॥ Then by VIII. 4. 47, there is a third श्, as आदित्यः ॥ Here also we may elide the one middle श् or both the middle श्'s. Thus आदित्यः or आदित्यः ॥

Why do we say इलः 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe अम् when श् is preceded by a vowel.

Why do we say अम् "of अ् letters"? Observe अग्निः, अर्धम् (V. 4. 25) where अ् is not a अम् ॥

Why do we say बनि "when अम् follows"? Observe शार्दूल् here श् is not followed by a अम् ॥

श्रो शरि सवर्णे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शरः, शरि, सवर्णे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इल उपरस्य श्रो शरि सवर्णे परतो लोपो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

65. A Mute or Sibilant (शर्) preceded by a consonant and followed by a homogeneous mute or sibilant, is optionally elided.

The word इलः is understood. Thus प्रत्यक्षम्, अवत्सम् have three त्, namely, one त् substituted for ज्ञा by VII. 4. 47, the second त् resulting from the change of त् to त् by चर्त्वं change, the third त् is that of the affix. A fourth arises by doubling (VIII. 4. 47) of these four, one or two middle ones may be dropped. मरुत्सुत् here are four त्. A fifth may be added by doubling, and by this rule, one, two or three of them may be elided. मरुत् + श + त् = मरुत् + इत् + त् (VII. 4. 47) the word मरुत् being treated as an Upasarga (I. 4. 59, vārt) = मरुत्तम् ॥

Why do we say शरः 'of a jhar'? Compare शार्दूल्, here श् which is not a शर् is not elided, though it is followed by a शर् letter. Why do we say शरि 'followed by a jhar'? See मिथपञ्चमः ॥ This is a Bahuvrīhi compound=मिथा पञ्चास्य ॥ The word मिथ stands first in the compound under II. 2. 35. (vārt). The full word is मिथपञ्चम्, the अ् is elided by VI. 4. 134, and we have मिथपञ्चम्; and then this श् becomes a palatal श् ॥ Here श् is preceded by a इल् letter, and itself is a शर्, and is followed by a homogeneous

letter अ्, but as अ् is not स्त्र॒, the अ् is not elided. The elided अ is not considered sthānivat, and so अ् is considered to be *immediately* followed by अ्॥

Why do we say सवर्णे 'when a homogeneous jhar follows'? Observe सर्वं तर्सम् &c, where ए and त् are not homogeneous.

By using the word सवर्णे, the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) is avoided. Had the rule been सरो हारि the rule of mutual correspondence according to order of enumeration would have applied, and the forms शिष्टिपिण्डिलिपि could not have been evolved by the elision of उ before उ॥ For the evolution of these forms see the commentary under I. 1. 58. These are the Imperative 2nd Person Singular of शिष्ट and पिण्ड॥ The अ of अम् is elided by VI. 4. 111: the हि is changed to हि by VI. 4. 101, the उ is changed to इ by VIII. 4. 53, the त् of अत् is changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24; this anusvāra is again changed to औ by VIII. 4. 58; the औ is changed to उ, and by the present rule, the preceding उ is elided before this उ॥

उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदात्तात्, अनुदात्तस्य, स्वरितः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितादेशो भवति ।

66. The Svarita is the substitute of an Anudātta vowel which follows an Udātta vowel.

Thus अप्रिम् + ईं = अप्रिमीले ॥ Here ई which was अनुदात्त by rule VIII. 1. 28, becomes svarita by the present rule, as it comes after the udātta ई of agni.

So also गौर्ग्यः, वैस्त्वः ॥ Here वैम् is added by IV. 1. 105, and being मित् the words are first acute. The final is anudātta, which becomes svarita. So also वैचति and वैठति, the शष् and तिष् are anudātta, the root is accented, the अ of शष् becomes svarita.

The rule VI. 1. 158, does not change this svarita into an Anudātta, because for the purposes of that rule, the present rule is असिद्ध, or as if it had not taken place (VIII. 2. 1). Therefore both the udātta and the svarita accent are heard.

नोदात्तस्वरितोदयभगार्घ्यकाश्यपगालवानाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उदात्तस्वरित-उदयम्, अ-गार्घ्य-काश्यप-गालवानाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तोदयस्य स्वरितोदयस्य चानुदात्तस्य स्वरितो न भवति अगार्घ्यकाश्यपगालवानामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥ उदात्तोदयः = उदात्तपरः ।

67 All prohibit the above substitution of svarita, except the Āchāryās Gārgya, Kāshyapa and Gālava; when an udātta or a svarita follows the anudātta.

This debars the preceding rule. That anudātta which is *followed* by an Udātta is उदात्तोदयः or उदात्तपरः ॥ The word उदय means पर in the terminology of ancient Grammarians. That anudātta which is *followed* by a svarita is called स्वरितोदयः ॥ These are Bahuvṛṣhi compounds. Thus उदात्तोदयः—गौर्ग्य-

स्तं च, वौस्तु स्तं च ॥ The word तं च is first acute by तिन् accent, before this udatta, the च of these words does not become svarita. So with स्वरितोऽवः—गांतः कुः वौस्तुः कुः ॥ The word कुः is svarita being formed by the तिन् affix अत् (V. 3. 12); before this svarita the preceding च does not become svarita.

Why do we say "except in the opinion of Gārgya, Kāsyapa and Gālava"? Observe गार्ग्यः कुः, गार्ग्यस्तं च ॥ According to their opinion, the svarita change does take place.

The employment of the longer word उदय instead of the shorter word पर is for the sake of auspiciousness, for the Book has approached the end. The very utterance of the word उदय is auspicious. All sacred works commence with an auspicious word, have an auspicious word in the middle, and end with an auspicious word. Thus Pāṇini commences his sūtra with the auspicious word वृद्धिः 'increase' (in Sūtra I. 1. 1): has the word शिव 'the well-wisher' in the middle (IV. 4. 143), and उदय at the end.

The mention of the names of those several Āchāryas is for the sake of showing respect (pujārtham).

अ अ इति ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, अ, इति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकोच विवृतो उपरः संवृतस्तच विवृतस्य संवृतः क्रियते । अकारो विवृतः संवृतो भवति ।

68. The अ which was considered to be open (विवृत) in all the preceding operations of this Grammar, is now made contracted (संवृत) ॥

The first अ is here विवृत or open; the second is संवृत or contracted. The open अ is now changed to contracted अ ॥ "In actual use the organ in the enunciation of the short अ is *contracted*; but it is considered to be *open* only, as in the case of the other vowels, when the vowel अ is in the state of taking part in some operation of Grammar. The reason for this is, that if the short अ were held to differ from the long आ in this respect, the *homogeneous-ness* mentioned in I. 1. 9, would not be found to exist between them, and the operation of the rules depending upon that homogeneity would be debarred. In order to restore the short अ to its natural rights, thus infringed throughout the Ashṭādhyāyi, Pāṇini with oracular brevity in his closing aphorism gives the injunction अ अ; which is interpreted to signify—Let short अ be held to have its organ of utterance contracted, now that we have reached the end of the work in which it was necessary to regard it as being otherwise". (Dr. Ballantyne).

Thus वृत्तः, दृष्टः ॥ In this Grammar, the अ is regarded open or विवृता, when operations are performed with it: but in actual pronunciation it is contracted. The long आ and the pluta आ ॥ are not meant to be included here in the open short अ; therefore those two are not contracted by this rule. Only

the *short अ* consisting of *one* mātra, with *its* various modifications is to be taken here. In other words the *six* shorts अ are only taken here, namely एँ, अँ, अै, अौ, अै॥ For these six short open अ's, there are substituted six contracted corresponding अ's See 1. 1. 9.

॥ शुभं भवतु ॥

10. 10. 98.



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