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THE

ASHTÁDHYÁYÍ OF PÁÑINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

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

Allahabad:

INDIAN PRESS.

1891.

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May 10/89

C.R. Lanna.
PREFACE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

14th November, 1891.

ŚRĪṢA CHANDRA VASU.
THE

ASHTADHYAYI OF PANINI.

Salutation to the Supreme Spirit.

Ashtadhyayi

Now an explanation of words.

The term \( \text{प्रय} \) "now" in the sutra indicates a commencement, and points out that a dissertation is to be offered on the science of words, viz. Grammar and Philology. The term \( \text{शब्दशास्त्र} \) means explanation of any system. This is an \( \text{बाधिकार} \) sutra, and introduces the subject.

An aphorism or sutra is of six kinds, विविध or ‘a definition,’ विराम or the ‘key to interpretation,’ विविध or ‘the statement of a general rule,’ विविध or ‘a restrictive rule,’ विविध or ‘a head or governing rule, which exerts a directing or governing influence over other rules,’ and विविध or ‘extended application by analogy.’

The Pratyahāra Sūtras.

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

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The same letter खच is made use of as खचचच or an indicatory letter both in the sixth sutra खच and in the first खच. There arises consequently
the doubt, whether the pratyāhāras चर्चा and वच्च when they are employed in Panini's Grammar are formed with the च of the former or with the च of the latter sūtra, and one might, on that account, consider it impossible to ascertain what Panini intended to denote by चर्चा and वच्च when he employed these terms. To remove this doubt there is the following paribhāsha:

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

Accordingly we learn from interpretation that the term चर्चा except in Sutra I. 1. 69, is formed by means of the च of the first sūtra and that the term वच्च is formed by means of the च of the subsequent sūtra.
BOOK I.
CHAPTER FIRST.

1. या, ए and ओ are called वर्द्धी.

This defines the word वर्द्धी. The letters या, ए and ओ are वर्द्धी letters. The sūtra consists of three words वर्द्धी, एट and आिच. या means the long या, the final ग इ being indicator only, and is for the sake of the pratyāhāra आिच, and the pratyāhāra एट means the letters ए and ओ.

The indicator ग in या serves the purpose of showing that the very form या having two मृत्राः or prosodial measure, is to be taken. This ग also joins with the succeeding vowels ए and ओ by the rule of वर्द्धी (I. 1. 70) or that "which precedes or succeeds ग" and indicates that these vowels must be taken as having two मृत्राः only, though they may be the result of the combination of vowels whose aggregate मृत्राः may be more than two. A short vowel has one मृत्रा, a long vowel has two, and a consonant has half a मृत्रा. Thus by a rule of वर्द्धी or euphonic conjunction of letters या+ए = या, as गहा+छावा = नहाय्या: Here या has two मृत्राः and not four. So also in खेदीक: the vowel ए is the resultant of या+ए has only two, not four, मृत्राः.

Thus the initial vowels in the following secondary derivative nouns are वर्द्धी forms of their primitive vowels. बापुः: "bodily", from बापुः; बॉडी: "body" बॉडीक: "optional", from बॉडी "option"; बॉडीस: the son of Upagu, from the word उपागु: meaning "a sage called Upagu." Similarly in शालीव: "belonging to the house" the ए is radical, and is also called वर्द्धी. The word वर्द्धी occurs in sūtras like विक्रमकृष्णस्त्रापृश्च (VII. 2. 1.) "Let the final ए of the base get वर्द्धी substitute before the affix निः of the Parasmaipada".

2. या, ए and ओ are called गुणा.

Each one of the letters या, ए and ओ whether radical or secondary is called a गुणा letter; as the initial vowels in the following:—चन्द्रि, "he
Guna Vriddhi Paribhasha [Bk. I. Ch. I. §. 3]

moves"; श्रवि "he comes", चोख़ि "he goes." Here the initial vowels of the roots त्र, र, and श्र have been respectively gunated into श्र, र, and चौ before the third person singular termination ति.

The term Guna occurs in sūtras like निरेद्वया: (VII. 3. 8a). "Let there be guṇa substitute for the ik of the root विश "to melt."

इको गुणहृदिः III 3 पदपति। इक: गुण-चूँहि, (तुष्णि, गुण:) इकः।

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

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

Thus sūtra VII. 3. 84 declares:—"when a सार्वद्वितुक or an अर्धद्वितुक affix follows there is guṇa of the base." Here the sthāni or the original expression which is to be gunated, is not specified, and to complete the sense, the word "िकाह" must be read into the sūtra. The rule then being, "when a S. or an A. affix follows there is guṇa of the ik vowels of the base." The गुण of ठ or ह is ठ; of ड or ढ, is ठो, of ठर or ठु is ठ, of ठ is ठ; and their व्रिड्धि is ह्, श्रो, चाव्र and खार respectively. Thus नी+चाव्र= ने+चाव्र=नाव्रि "he leads."

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

The word 'िक' is thus understood in the following rules, and is there qualified by the term धंड or 'base':—निरेद्वया: (VII. 3. 82) अवत्सद्धि: (VII. 2. 114) गुणस्त्रवपत् ए&c., (VII. 3. 86; सङ्क्यन्त्रवस्त्र (VII. 4.11) क्रिापोरश्वया: (VII. 4.16) रूपस्त्रवपत् ए&c., (VII. 4. 156).

In the following sūtras, the term 'िक' is understood and qualifies the word अङ्ग or base, श्रुति (VII. 3. 83), साह्यायाकार्यायायावधि: (VII. 3. 84).

These sūtras will be explained in their proper places.

The word 'िक' has been used in the sūtra to show that the long ठ, ठु or the diphthongs and ठत्र or the consonants, are not to take गुण or व्रिड्धि by this
rule, as in the following examples बार “a carriage”, ब्लावगि “he feels aversion,”


Here वायूय is formed by adding the affix शिष्, third person singular term-


nation, with the class a affix शृणु to the root ग्लै; as ग्लै+शृणु+शिष्=ग्लै+श+ि. At this stage, rule VII. 3. 84, would require the गुण substitution of the vowel of the base before the सार्वद्वातुका termination श; the गुण substitute of देव being श्र, there would be ग्लै+श्रावि=घ्वविष्. But this is wrong, the letter श्र, being not included in the प्रत्याहारा इक, is not affected by rule VII. 3. 84, and there is no गुण substitution in this case. Similarly there is no change in the long श्र of बार. Thus श्र + शुद्र (III. 3. 115)=बार (VII. 1. 1). Here had there been गुण by Rule VII. 3. 84, the श्र of श्र, would have been changed into न, and the form would have been बार which is wrong. But it is not so, as श्र is not an श्र vowel. So also उम्ब्र + न्त्र = द्वित्तिः. Here, there is no गुण substitution in the place of the consonant श्र.

The repetition of the words गुण and व्रिद्धि in this भूत्र, (though by भुवृणि or the supplying of a word from the previous भूत्र, these words followed from the two preceding भूत्रs) is for the purpose of indicating that, this is a restrictive rule applicable only there, where गुण or व्रिद्धि has been ordained by the employment of the words गुण or व्रिद्धि. Therefore, it is not so in the following cases:—श्रो: श्री “sky”,


फृष्ठा: “way” श्र “he,” इन्द्र “this.” श्रो: is the nominative singular of the base श्र. It is formed by rule VII. 1. 84, which declares that “in the nominative singular the letter श्र takes the place of श्र.” Here the letter श्र is no doubt a व्रिद्धि letter, but as this substitution is not enjoined by the enunciation of the term व्रिद्धि, श्र does not take the place of the vowel श्र of श्र, but it replaces the final श्र. Thus श्र + श्र + श्र = श्रो:

Similarly rule VII. 1. 85, declares that of the word श्रिक, श्र is the substitute. The श्र is a व्रिद्धि letter no doubt, but not being enunciated by the term व्रिद्धि, it takes the place of श्र of श्रिक and not of श्र. Thus we have फृष्ठा:, the श्र being added by VII. 1. 87.

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

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

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

Though by the general rule, VII. 3. 84, the root is to be gunated before ārddhadhātuka terminations, yet it is not to be so, before those affixes which cause the शोध 'lopping off or ellipses' of a portion or a member of the original dhātu. Thus the termination स्वाभि is a first person singular termination of the future tense (्रूः) and is an ārddhadhātuka termination; when this is added to root शि 'to excel' the श of शि becomes gunated and we have स्वाभि "I shall or will excel." But in those cases where there is a lopa of the member of a root form, caused by an affix, there is no gunation. Thus in लोकः "a great cutter," the original root is लू "to cut" which forms the Intensive verb लोकः. In forming the noun of agency from the verb लोकः, an ārddhadhātuka suffix श्रतूः (II. 1. 134) is added. Thus लोकः + श्रतूः. At this stage, by force of sūtra II. 4. 74. which declares that "before the affix श्रतूः (II. 1. 134) the श of the Intensive verb must be suppressed," the श is dropped and we have लोकः + श्र। Here by the general rule VII. 3. 84, the final श ः would have been gunated. But by virtue of the present sūtra, no guṇa takes place, because here on account of the ārddhadhātuka affix श्रतूः, a portion of the root, namely, श, has been elided; therefore no guṇa takes place. Thus we have लोकः: "a great cutter."

The word श्रतू "root" has been used in the sūtra, in order to indicate that the exception does not apply where there is an elision of an anubandha or of an affix. As in लूमः + हृत = लृः + हृत = ललितः. Here the indicatory letter श has been elided, but that does not prevent gunation. Similarly in रेष the affix विष is added to the root विष "to injure." Thus रिषः + विष (III. 2. 75.) = रिषः + श्र (I. 3. 2. and 3.)= रिषः + श्र (VI. 1. 67.) Here the affix श is elided, but nevertheless, the guṇa substitute must take place in रिषः. Thus we have रिषः + श्र (VII. 3. 86 and I. 1. 62)= रेषः (VIII. 2. 39).

The word ārddhadhātuka has been used to indicate that a sārvadhātuka affix which causes the elision of a portion of a root, does not prevent guṇa or vriddhi as in रोपसिंहः (Rig Veda IV. 58. 3) "he roars much." शः + श्रः = शः (III. 1. 22). शः + विषः = शः + श्रः (II. 4. 74.). Here the sārvadhātuka
Exceptions

Thus here augment however takes place, and we have रोटे + इ + हि (VII. 3. 94) - रोटीहि, the augment हि being added by सूत्र VII. 3. 94.

The word “िकः” of the previous सूत्र is understood in this सूत्र also. The इक letters only are not gupad or vriddhied before such अर्धधातुका affixes; the other vowels may do so. Thus in ब्रह्मच दिति the equation is as follows:—वा + गुपाः + हिः = वा + गुपाः + हि (VI. 4. 33). Here the अर्धधातुका affix हिः has caused a portion of the root गुपाः, to be suppressed, विः, the letter हि has been elided. But nevertheless the हि of गुपाः is vriddhied before हिः because हि is not included in the pratyahāra इक; and the exception contained in the present सूत्र only applies to the इक letters. So also राम + ए (III. 3.18) = राम + ए (VI. 4. 27) = राम: (VII. 2. 116 and VII. 3. 52).

Thus the past participle terminations वा and श्रवण are अर्धधातुका affixes, which would, by the general rule VII. 3. 84, have caused gupa, but as their indicatory letter हि is हि, the real terminations being, वा and श्रवण, they do not cause gupa. Therefore, when these terminations are added to a root, the इक of the root is not gupated. Thus with the root गिः “to collect” we have गिः: or गिःतचन्, श्रु, “to hear,” श्रु; श्रवण; श्री; “to fear” श्री, श्रीवाचन.

Similarly the terminations क्षण केलिम, क्षण कान्त, क्षण, किंतू, &c., are all हि terminationsthe indicatory letters of all being हि, the real affixes being वा, एलिम, श्रवण, &c. &c. Before these, the root is not gupated. Thus we have from श्रु “to bear” श्रुघिं, from हिः “to pierce” हिःतिम.

The terms हिः &c., of this सूत्र are in the locative or seventh case. The force of this case termination here is that of निनित्ति or cause, that is the gupa or vriddhi which would otherwise have been caused, does not take place, if an affix is हि, हिः, हिः. Thus all अर्धधातुका and सार्वधातुका affixes cause gupation of the final इक of the inflective base (VII. 3. 84.) Thus the सार्वधातुका affix ज्ञात (श्रु) in the following:—

श्रु + गष्ट + हिः = श्री + गष्ट + हि = गौपि “he is.” Similarly सार्वधातुका and अर्धधातुका affixes cause the gupa substitution of the short penultimate इक of the inflective base (VII. 3. 85.) Thus वा + श्रष्ट + वि = नीचि.

The general force of the locative case in an aphorism is to cause the operation directed, on the expression immediately preceding it (I. 1. 66.) If the force of the locative case in the present सूत्र were also that as
Exception to Guna and Vriddhi. [Bk. I. Ch. I. § 5.]

explained in I. 1. 66, then the interpretation would be this:—An affix having an indicatory k, g or h, would not cause the guna substitution of the vowel ik; immediately preceding it. The case of the penultimate short ik will not be covered by it. Then though the rule may apply to गिः+क्तः=गिः: “collected” it would not apply to निंह+क्तः; there would be nothing to bar the guna substitution of the penultimate ह of निः. This however is prevented by explaining the locative as one of “occasion” and thus निः + क्तः = निः: “broken.”

Similarly from the root फ़ि we have a word फ़िःः: ‘victorious’ in which the affix गुस्तः has an indicatory गृ. Thus फ़ि + गुस्तः = फ़िःः: “victorious” (III. 2. 139), so also ब्यालः: “durable.”

Similarly the affix, घंहः is a हिः affix, the real suffix being घः the ह being merely indicatory. Therefore when घः is added to a root, there is no gunation or vriddhing. Thus we have from हिः “to know”. हिः.

Similarly by I. 2. 4, all सार्वधातुका affixes that are not marked by an indicatory गृ, are treated as हिः. Thus the second person singular termination तः is हिः, and we have निःः: “they two collect,” similarly सिंहतिः, “they collect,” गृः + क्तः = गृः: “cleansed,” गृःः “they cleanse.”

The phrase “when indicated by the term ik” is understood in this सूत्रa. The prohibition, therefore, applies to ik vowels only, and not to all vowels in general. Thus by III. 1. 30, the root क्रः “to desire” takes the affix हिः; of this affix the letters गृ and ह are indicatory, the real affix is हः. The force of हः is to cause vriddhi (VII. 2. 116). The indicatory हः does not prevent such vriddhi, as the letter ह of क्रः is not included in ik. Thus we have क्रः + घःते = क्रः + घःते = क्रःमवे “he desires.”

According to the wish of the author of the Mahābhāṣya, the verb गृः optionally takes vriddhi, before kit or निः affixes beginning with a vowel. As परिन्मानिः or परिनामानैनिः “they rub.” Here in this सूत्रa there is prohibition of the gana of the short penultimate ik also.

The indicatory हः of the verbal tense affixes i.e., लहः, लिःहः, तुहः, तुहः, is an exception to this rule of हिः. This is an inference deduced from III. 4. 104 which declares “when the sense is that of benediction, then the augment वासुरः of लिःहः is as if it were distinguished by an indicatory ब्र.” There would have been no necessity of making वासुरः a हिः, if लिःहः were a हिः, but the very fact of making वासुरः a हिः indicates by implication or is ज्ञापक that the final ह of लिःहः, लहः &c. does not make these tense affixes हिः. Thus in लहः or Imperfect tense we have ब्रिनवरः “he collected” (ब्रिःहः + लहः = ब्रिःहः + लहः = ब्रिःहः + प्रम = ब्रिःहः).
6. The *guna* and *vriddhi* substitutions, which would otherwise have presented themselves, do not however come, in the place of the vowels of *didhi* 'to shine,' and *vevi* 'to go,' and of the augment called श्रुः.

The roots श्री and वेशी never take the *guna* or *vriddhi* substitutions under ordinary circumstances. Thus the affix गुण generally causes *vriddhi* substitution when added to any root; and so the affix *सङ्क* causes *guna*. But these affixes when applied to the verbs *didhi* and *vevi*, never cause *vriddhi* or *guna* substitution. As श्रार्थी + गुण = श्रार्थी + ज्ञ (VII. 1. 1) = श्रार्थिन्यः. Similarly from वेशी we have वेशेव्यन्तु and वेशेव्यः. In the Vedas, however, these verbs take *guna*. Thus श्रार्थेवृ (Rig Ved. X. 98. 7), and श्रार्थिनः: (Rig Ved. V. 40. 5). These two verbs are confined generally to the Vedic literature, and the present rule therefore, seems to be an unnecessary prohibition; as they take *guna* in spite of such prohibition.

Of the augment श्रुः the real affix is श्रुः. In the general tenses, it is added to certain terminations beginning with consonants of the श्र class, i.e., all consonants except व (VII. 2. 35). Thus the future termination, first person, singular is श्रार्थी; this when added to the root व "to move" requires an intermediate श्रुः, and thus we have the form श्रार्थावः, 'I shall walk.' This श्रुः is never *guna*ated or *vriddhied*, though according to the general rule, coming before an अर्धाव्यन्तु termination, it ought to have been *guna*ted.

The augment श्रुः could under no circumstances have taken *vriddhi*, the prohibition therefore, is in the case of the *guna* substitute of श्रुः.

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

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

**Mukhāsaṅgaḥ Anunāsaṅka**: II 8

**Padaṇaḥ Anunāsaṅka-ṃ**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This defines the word savarṇa or a homogeneous letter. The svātra
consists of four words:—भास्व “equal or similar,” धास्व “mouth or place
of pronunciation,” प्रवल “effort” and सवर्णम् “words of the same class.”

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

The प्रवल or quality or effort is of two sorts primarily, प्रापा-ग्नात: “internal”
and स्वरा “external.” The first is again sub-divided into five parts:—

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

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

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

4. द्वस्वरुवं or slight opening. The letters घ, च, स, ह belong to
this class. Some however place the vowels and घ &c., into one group and call
them all vivīta.

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

The ṛbhya-prayatna is the mode of articulation preparatory to
the utterance of the sound, the भाय-प्रयत्न is the mode of articulation
at the close of the utterance of the sound.

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

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

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

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

Then lastly everyone of these six may be short, long, or prolated.
Thus:—अ, आ, अं, अॊ, ए, एॊ, ए, एॊ, ए, एॊ, ए, एॊ, ए, एॊ, ए, एॊ, ए, एॊ, ए, एॊ, ए, एॊ.

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

Thus then the homogeneous or savarṇa letters must satisfy two conditions before they could be called savarṇa. First, their place of pronunciation or खास्य must be the same. Secondly their रुप or quality must be equal. If one condition be present and the other be absent, there can be no savarṇa-hood. Thus च and र are both palatals, their खास्य or place of pronunciation being तालु 'palate,' but still they are not savarṇa, because their रुप is different, the रुप of च being sprishiśa and that of र being vivrita.

Similarly क and च though their रुप is the same i.e., sprishiśa, yet their खास्य being different, one being guttural and the other palatal, are not savarṇa.

There is exception to this rule in the case of ख and ख, which though having different खास्य are still called savarṇa by virtue of the vārttika of Kātyāyana; “the homogeneousness of ख and ख, one with another, should be stated.” Thus हौं + लक्ष्यः = हौंक्ष्यः; here ख and ख have coalesced into long ख by rules of sandhi, on the assumption that they are savarṇa letters.

The word savarṇa occurs in śūtras like खः: खर्णेण शर्षः: (VI. 1. 101).

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

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

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

This sūtra lays down an exception to the former sūtra. There can be no homogeneity or savarna relationship between vowels and consonants, though their खार्य and ब्रम्ह may be the same. Thus ः and ः have the same खार्य, namely तालु 'palate,' and the same ब्रम्ह: namely विविध्यता, but still they are not to be called savarna. Thus in द्विम्बलम, शवस्वारस्व &c., the letters ः and ः in the first example, and ः and ः in the second not being homogeneous letters; there is no combination or sandhi, which would otherwise have taken place.

Similarly if ः and ः be held homogeneous, then विहार + ब्रम्स (IV. 3. 53) = विहार + ब्रम्स (VI. 4. 148; here ः would be elided by VI. 4. 148, but it is not so and we have विहार: "belonging to vipāsa or born therein." So also in वानिज्ञ "ox-skin," the ः would have been omitted, if held homogeneous with ः.

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

As a general rule, Sanskrit allows of no hiatus in a sentence. If a word ends in a vowel, and the next word begins with a vowel, the two vowels coalesce, according to certain rules. This is called sandhi. But pragrihyas are exceptions to this sandhi, "they are certain terminations, the final vowels of which are not liable to any sandhi rules." (VI. 1. 125). This sūtra gives three of these terminations, viz., the duals of nouns or verbs ending in ः (हेंत्), ः (क्रृत्), or ः (एत्). Thus:—कची इन "these two poets," so also बादू इति "two winds;" माले इति "these two garlands." प्रथमेव हि इव "they two cook" प्रथमेव हि इव "you two cook." Here according to the general rule of sandhi, the final ः of कची and the initial ः of इन ought to have coalesced into an ः, but it is not so, because कची is the nominative dual of कचि.
Why do we say ending in \( t, s \), and \( e \)? Because when the dual ends in any other vowel this rule will not apply. As दुः + घर्त = दुःघास्त, "these two trees" (VI. 1. 78). Of course it follows from the definition, that \( \text{र}, \text{स}, \text{ए} \) of the dual number only are pragrihya; if these vowels terminate any other number they will not be pragrihya but will follow the general rule of sandhi, as कुमारी (I. s.) + घर्त = कुमारघर्त, "the girl is here" (VI. 1. 77).

Vart: The prohibition of नीसी &c., should be stated in treating of the pragrihya nature of \( \text{र}, \text{स}, \text{ए} \). Thus नीसी (two gems) + इस = नीसी "like two gems." So also हस्मीत "like a couple," अस्मीत "like man and wife," रोहस्मी "like heaven and earth." Some say that this vārtika is unnecessary. Because the final member of the above words is not इस, but the particle \( \text{s} \) only; which has the same meaning as \( \text{सा} \).

अद्वेर्तात् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्वैः, मात्, (हदुतेऽप्रश्लाम्)॥
\[ \text{स्वतं} \]

12. (The same letters) after the \( \text{र} \) of the pronoun घर्त are Pragrihya.

In the pronoun घर्त, the dual termination in \( \text{र}, \text{स}, \text{ए} \) will be pragrihya by force of the last sūtra, but the present sūtra makes this addition, that in the case of घर्त, all terminations ending in \( \text{र}, \text{स}, \text{ए} \) and preceded by \( \text{र} \), of whatever number they may be, will be pragrihya. As a matter of fact, there are only two such terminations satisfying the above conditions namely नीसी and नीसू. The rule may therefore be put in the following words of Dr. Max Muller:—"The terminations of नीसी and नीसू nom. plur. masc. and nom. dual of the pronoun घर्त are pragrihya." As नीसी घर्त : "Those horses," and नीसू घर्ताते. There is no example of the word एदास ending in \( \text{र} \).

Why do we say "of the word adas"? The letters \( \text{र}, \text{ह}, \text{ए} \) following after the \( \text{र} \) of any other word will not be pragrihya. As नीसी + घर्त = नीसू घर्त "this sami tree."

Why do we say "after the letter \( \text{र} \)"? Because in the example घर्त + घर्त = घर्त घर्त जने, "those here," the \( \text{र} \), preceded not by \( \text{र} \) but by the \( \text{र} \) of घर्त (V. 3. 71) is not pragrihya, which it would have been by the influence of sūtra 11, which includes \( \text{र} \) as well as \( \text{र}, \text{स}, \text{ए} \), and from which the word dual is not supplied here, else this rule would be useless.

शेषानि ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेष, (प्रश्लाम्)॥
\[ \text{स्वतं} \]

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

In the Vedic Sanskrit, the declension of nouns sometimes differs somewhat from the ordinary Sanskrit. One of the peculiar Vedic terminations, which
replace the ordinary declensional terminations is called ए (VII. 1. 39.)
Thus प्रसेस्वर्णव्रता.
   Of this substitute ए, the initial ए is indicatory, the real suffix being ए.
This final ए is a pragrihya.
In the sacred literature there is only one example of this pragrihya,
as given above; while in imitation of this, we have in secular writing phrases
as, त्यद्वच्य, बुधे हतिय, ने हति &c.

६४। पदानि । निपात । एकाष्ठ, अनादेन (प्रश्नम्)।

हातः। एकुदासाः एकाच्छ निपाति एकाष्ठ चाचतरितः च प्रग्रीयविंशो स्त्रानि।

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

This sūtra consists of three words:—निपात: “particle,” एकाष्ठ “consisting of one vowel,” अनादेन “with the exception of एकाष्ठ.”

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

It follows from the above definition that those nipātas which consist of two or more letters, vowel and consonant, are not pragrihya, e. g. ए in अनादेन वाष्ठीरः.

एकाष्ठ which is not a pragrihya, has four significations:—As a diminutive particle when joined to adjectives and nouns, as एकाष्ठ उपास्य = खोपास्य “little hot, tepid” (2) as a prefix to verbs, it expresses the senses of “near” “nearto,” and with verbs of “motion,” “taking” &c., it shows the reverse of the action, as एकाष्ठ तो गौ, प्रामाण तो कृमी:; ए + एकाष्ठ = एकाष्ठ (3) as showing the limit inceptive (अविनिष्ट) “from,” “ever since,” as एकाष्ठन्न: “ever since his birth,” (4) as showing the limit exclusive (मययोऽ), “till” “until” as एकाष्ठ + एकाष्ठन्न = एकाष्ठन्न, “until the reading begins.” When the particle एकाष्ठ has not any one of the above four senses and is used in expressing regret &c., it is a pragrihya, as एकाष्ठ एकाष्ठ किजातीन: “Ah! such there once was,” एकाष्ठ एकाष्ठ नक्षते. “Oh! do you think so.”

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

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

5. The final न of a particle is a pragrihya.

This sūtra consists of one word न/* of the final ॐ is a surplusage. The words "pragrihya" and "nipāta" are to be supplied from the preceding sūtras to complete the sense. The meaning is that those particles which end in न/* though consisting of several letters, are pragrihya. As खोर खोरी "Halloo, go away."

सम्बुद्धि शाक्यस्यायवानावद ॥ 15 ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्बुद्धि, शाक्यस्य, इति, अनान्तः ( प्रस्तावः )

दृष्टि: सम्बुद्धि निनित्ति व खोरार: स शाक्यस्यायवानावद नलेन प्रयुक्त संस्कृति भवति, दृष्टि शये जनावें परिष्कृते दर्शत:।

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

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

In अर्श to literature the sandhi is imperative, not optional, as एता गा प्राप्तवथितिवेव.

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

उत्तम ॥ 39 ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्तमः ( प्रस्तावः शाक्यस्यायवानावद )

दृष्टि: उत्तम: प्रयुक्त संस्कृति इति शाक्यस्यायवानावद नलेन।

17. The particle न/* before नती, according to Sākalya is a Pragrihya.

This sūtra consists of the single word न/* meaning न/*. According to the same Rishi Sākalya, न/* is a pragrihya, before नती, in modern Sanskrit. This is also an optional rule. Thus न/* इति or विवि.
18. The particle \( \text{देश} \) replaces \( \text{य} \) in non-vedic literature, and it is a pragrihya in the opinion of Sākalya.

Before the word \( \text{हा} \) the word \( \text{य} \) is replaced sometimes by \( \text{देश} \) the long nasal \( \text{द} \). Thus \( \text{देश} + \text{हा} = \text{द} \text{हा} \) or \( \text{द्वी} \). 

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

19. The final \( \text{र} \) and \( \text{रू} \) of words giving the sense of the locative case are pragrihya.

This sūtra finds its scope in the Vedic literature generally. There is a sūtra (VII. 1. 39) which declares that "in the Vedic Sanskrit, the case-affixes \( \text{sfr} \) are often replaced either by \( \text{रू} \) (1. s.), or are altogether elided, or they are changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior letter, or \( \text{रा} \), or \( \text{रा} \), or \( \text{र} \), or \( \text{र} \), or \( \text{रा} \), or \( \text{रा} \), or \( \text{रा} \), or \( \text{रा} \) takes their place." Let us take the example where a case-affix is changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior. Thus the case-affix of the seventh case is \( \text{रू} \) (र). In forming the 7. s. of \( \text{रू} \) "body," we have \( \text{तन्न} + \text{रू} \). The \( \text{रू} \) will be changed into a homogeneous letter with \( \text{रू} \) and we have \( \text{तन्न} + \text{रू} = \text{तू} \) "in the body," as, \( \text{रू} \text{व्यक्ति} \text{मायक्ति} \) (for \( \text{रू} \text{मायक्ति} \text{वन} \)). This is the Vedic form, the secular form being \( \text{तन्न} \). Similarly \( \text{रू} \text{गेरी} + \text{रू} = \text{रू} \text{गेरी} \) "on the Gauri," as \( \text{रू} \text{गेरी} \text{प्रक्षिप्त} \) (Rig Veda IX. 12. 3). It is in such cases, therefore, that the long \( \text{रू} \) and \( \text{रू} \) are used in the sense of locative, and are pragrihya.

It is only long \( \text{रू} \) and \( \text{रू} \) which are pragrihya, and not any other vowel, though used in the sense of locative. Thus by the same aphorism (VII. 1. 39) \( \text{दा} \) (\( \text{द} \)) may be employed to denote the seventh case-affix. Thus \( \text{रू} \text{मा} + \text{दा} = \text{रू} \text{मा} \text{दा} \) "in the fire," as, \( \text{रू} \text{मा} \text{विया} \text{रू} \text{मा} \text{दा} \text{वृत्तात} \) (Rig Veda V. 37. 5). Here \( \text{रू} \text{मा} \) though in the locative case, its final is not pragrihya. Therefore \( \text{रू} \text{मा} + \text{हा} = \text{रू} \text{मा} \text{हा} \).

The \( \text{रू} \) and \( \text{रू} \) must be of the 7th case. Therefore \( \text{रू} \text{मा} + \text{रू} \) (3rd s.) = \( \text{रू} \text{मा} + \text{रू} \) (letter homogeneous with the prior) = \( \text{रू} \text{मा} \) ‘with wisdom’. Here \( \text{रू} \) is in the sense of the instrumental case and is not pragrihya. Thus \( \text{रू} \text{मा} + \text{हा} = \text{रू} \text{मा} \text{हा} \).
GHU DEFINED.  

The word धृष्य is used in the aphorism, in order to exclude the application of this rule to cases like the following. Thus in forming the compound of धार्मार्थ "in the well" and धृष्य "horse," the case-affix is elided, and we get धार्मार्थ. Here, no doubt, the word धार्मार्थ is in the locative case, though the case-affix is elided; but we cannot say that the long हि of यवी has the sense of the locative. Here, therefore, we shall have sandhi; as, यवी "the horse near the well." In other words, the present aphorism is not to apply to the final हि or हि of words standing as the prior member of a compound term (पुर्वा-पाद); for words like धार्मार्थ &c., in the above example, can never, by themselves and alone, denote the locative case; while words like धारी, formed in the way described already, give the sense of the locative, even alone, though they be placed anywhere in a sentence.

20. The verbs having the form of धार्मार्थ 'to give' and धारी 'to place,' are called ghu.

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

The धार्मार्थ verbs are the following:—धार्मार्थ "to give," as अधिनयवितरण; धार्मार्थ "to give," as, अधिनयवितरण; हृ "to cut," as, अधिनयवितरण; हृ "to pity" as, अधिनयवितरण, धार्मार्थ "to place" as. अधिनयवितरण, हृ to "feed" as, अधिनयवितरण.

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

Similarly हृ "to cut" and हृ "to clean" not being called धार्मार्थ, rules VII. 4. 46 and 47 do not apply to them. Thus हृ + हृ = हृ रे "what is cut," as, हृ रे धार्मार्थ. So also हृ "washed" as, हृ हृ धार्मार्थ "a bright face." But with हृ "to give," &c. हृ + हृ = हृ + हृ (VII. 4. 46) हृ "given;" so also we have हृ + हृ + हृ = पहला (VII. 4. 47). The word हृ occurs in sutra VI. 4. 66, &c. The word धार्मार्थ includes also daip by the paribhāṣa given under III. 4. 19, हृ changed into हृ by VI. 1. 45.

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

This is an atidesa sutra and consists of four words, धारिनि "beginning," धारि "end," धारि "like," धारिनि "in one;" the literal translation being "beginning is end-like in one." The affix हृ has the force of the locative, and the
meaning is "on the beginning," and "on the end," i.e., let an operation be performed on a single letter, as upon an initial or upon a final. Thus by III. 1. 3. an affix has udatta or acute accent on its initial vowel. Thus the affix tavya has accent on the first ख, and we have तव्येष्वरू. But when an affix consists of a single vowel, it is itself the beginning and the end, and, as such, will have the accent. As in चौप्परम् aupagavam the last अ has the accent, which अ represents the affix खुट्रू.

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

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

22. The affixes tarap and tamap are called ष.

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

Thus the words कुमारित्वा and कुमारित्वा are formed by adding the affixes तर and तम to the word कुमारी 'a girl,' whose long अ is shortened before these affixes by sūtra 43 of the third chapter of the 6th Book.

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

These are certain words, besides the ordinary numerals, having some peculiarity of declension. The words like बहु ‘many,’ and गण ‘class,’ and those that have the affixes बहु and गण after them, belong to this class. The letters ब and ग of बहु and गण are or indicatory, the actual affixes being बहु and गण.

The word saṅkhyā means “numerals;” and this class contains, among others, the Sanskrit numerals. The words formed by adding बहु are generally compound pronouns, e. g. सावप “so much,” बावप “as much,” एसावप “so much,” similarly words formed by the affix गण, e. g. खाव “how many,” खाव “so many,” खाव “as many.”

Thus बहु + हस्तबुध्र (V. 4. 17) = हस्तबुध्र: “many times” the affix हस्तबुध्र being added only to saṅkhyā words in the sense of the repetition of the action. So also बहु + गण (V. 3. 42) = हस्तबुध्र “in many ways.” Here also the affix गण is added by virtue of बहु being a saṅkhyā. Similarly बहु (V. 1. 22) “purchased for a big sum,” बहु (V. 4. 43) “manifold.” So also गणहस्तबुध्र; गणहस्त, गणहस्त, गणहस्त, गणहस्त; so also तावतुकुश; तावतुकु; तावतुकु, तावतुक; कविकुश, कविकु, कविक; कविक.

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

Vart:—The word बहु “half” when standing as a first term in a compound number which takes an affix giving the sense of an ordinal, gets the designation of saṅkhyā, for the purposes of the application of the rules of samāsa and of the affix कत्रू. The ordinal affixes or पुराṇa pratyayas are like बहु (V. 2. 48), बहु (V. 2. 49), बहु (V. 2. 51), &c. Thus बहुकत्रु: “eleventh,” बहुकत्रु: “fifth,” बहुकत्रु: “fourth,” &c. Similarly we have बहुकत्रु = पुराण, a bahuvrīhi compound meaning 4½, viz., that in which half is the fifth term. बहुकत्रु: पुराण: कत्रु: = पुराणकत्रु; the taddhita affixes हस्त and हस्त required by V. 1. 19 and 26 being elided by V. 1. 28.

Here, there is compounding (dvigu) by taking बहुकत्रु as a saṅkhyā, and then applying śūtra II. 1. 51. The samāsa here is in the sense of taddhita, and this compounding is only possible by rules (II. 1. 50 and 51), when बहुकत्रु gets the appellation of saṅkhyā. Having got this name, it forms dvigu compound in the sense of the taddhita affixes हस्त and हस्त (V. 1. 26). The word बहु takes both these affixes in the sense of “being
The Sankhyās having ष or न as their final are called shat.

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

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

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

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

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

This sūtra enlarges the scope of the definition of ष by including in it, words formed by ति. By sūtra 22, words in ति are already saṅkhya; by this they are also ष. Therefore we have ति पञ्चिनि, ‘how many are reading,’ ति पञ्च ‘see how many.’ Here ति has lost its plural termination by VII. 1. 22.

26. The affixes kta and ktavatu are called Nishṭha.
This defines the nishtha affixes, that is to say, the affixes of the past participle. The actual affixes are स, सत्त, the क and द being indicatory. They being भित्र are liable to all the rules applicable to भित्र affixes, such as rule I. 1. 5. Thus we have, कुत्र, कुतार, तुस्त्र; तुस्तार.

The force of the indicatory क in कत्वत्व is, by IV. 1. 6, to indicate that in forming the feminine of nouns ending in an affix having an indicatory vowel of उक pratyahāra (उ, उ, द), the affix दीर्घ (द) must be added. Thus तुस्वत्र (masc.), तुस्वती (fem.). The word nishtha occurs in sūtra VII. 2. 14.

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

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

सर्व 'all,' विद्यार्थ 'all,' उदय 'both,' words formed by the affix उद्यत such as कत्तर 'which of two,' words formed by the affix दत्तम as दत्त 'which of many,' दत्तत्व 'other,' दत्तवर 'either,' दत्त 'other,' दत्त 'other,' दत्त 'half,' सम 'all,' सिम 'whole,' दिद 'he, she, it,' दू 'he, she, it,' दू 'who,' दू 'this,' दू 'it,' दू 'that,' दू 'one,' दू 'two,' दू 'you,' दत्त 'I,' दत्त 'you,' किमु 'what.' So also दू 'east,' दू 'prior;' दू 'subsequent,' दू 'west or posterior,' दू 'south or right;' दू 'north or inferior, subsequent,' दू 'other or inferior;' दू 'west or inferior,' are sarvanāmās when they imply a relation in time or place, as shown above, and not when they are names. So also दू when it does not mean a 'kinsman or a treasure,' but means 'own.' So also दू when it means 'outer,' or 'an under or lower garment' is a sarvanāma.

There are certain peculiarities in the declension of sarvanāma words. Thus दू though ending in दू, is not declined like दू which also ends in दू, the plural of दू being दूँ, that of नर being नरः. Similarly the dative singular नराय, सर्वावस्य; the abl. sing. नरास, शत्र; the loc. sing. नरे, शत्रस्त्र; the Gen. pl. नरायामस, सर्वायामस &c.

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

There are two ए in the above list, namely सर्वनाम and अर्थ having the same meaning, and both ending in ए. But the final ए of one is udātta, and of the other anudātta. Some give one ए only and not the other, and say that both have anudātta accent. The word सर्वनाम is a sarvanāma, when it is synonymous with the word ए ‘all,’ and not when it means ‘equality.’ When it has the latter sense of ‘equality,’ it is declined like ए i.e. like ordinary words ending in ए, as Pāṇini himself indicates in I. 3. 19, where he uses the regular genitive plural द्वारा, meaning ‘among or of equals.’ As a pronominal the genitive plural would have been द्वारात.

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

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

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

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

The quasi-bahuvrihi, or analogical bahuvrihi compounds, or to use the Sanskrit phrase, bahuvrihi-vadbhāva, is taught in sūtra VIII. 1. 9. where words in repetition are treated like bahuvrihi. Thus एक + एक = एकेकौ ‘one and one, each one.’ Bahuvrihi compounds are possessive compounds, but in the above example, no idea of possession enters. However the compound here is treated like a bahuvrihi, for the purposes of the elision of the case-affix of the first member, and the whole compound gets the designation of prātipadika. In compounds like this, therefore, which are bahuvrihi-vat, but not exactly bahuvrihi, the present rule and the succeeding sūtra do not apply. Thus एकौ गेिह गेिह ‘give to each one,’ रसिष्यास्तस्येवे बेहि एि

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

न बहुव्रीहि I II २९ II पदानि I II न, बहुव्रीहि, (सर्वदौरीिन, ग्वे-नामानि, समाचे ) I II

श्रीनि I II बहुव्रीहि समाचे सर्वानििनि सर्वेवामकंसिनि न मानि I II

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

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

This sūtra introduces thus an exception to sūtra 27. In bahuvrihi or possessive compounds, the nature of which compounds will be described
later on, the above mentioned words are not pronominals, and must follow
the ordinary rule of declension. Thus the compound विविर्द\ meaning
'beloved of all' is a bahuvrhi compound of विविर्द 'beloved,' and विविर्द 'all,'
(which is a sarvanása). The declension of this compound will follow the
general rule. Thus, in the dative singular, we have विविर्द विर्द, though the
dative singular of विविर्द by itself is विविर्द, like other pronominals. So also
विविर्द "to him who is beloved of both." So also इण्णाव, स्वन्दाव &c.

Similarly in bahuvrhi compounds, these words not being treated as
pronominals, they do not take also the special affix प्रकृत, but the general
affix कन्. अस, स्वस्वकिर्दको, मस्वकिर्दको (V. 3. 70).

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

**त्रिदीयास्वादोऽः** ॥ ३० ॥ **पद्यः** ॥ **त्रिदीय-व्यादे,** (स्वादीनि
स्वर्वनि, न, ) ॥

**हटः:** त्रिदीयास्वादोऽः स्वादीनि स्वर्वनिस्वादोऽः न भवनि ॥

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

This is another exception to the definition of sarvanása. There is
a class of compounds in Sanskrit called tatpurusha compounds, in which
the last word governs the preceding one. The word governed may be in any one
of the six cases: when it is in the third or instrumental case, the comp-
pound is called tritiya tatpurusha. When, therefore, there is such a samása,
the words mentioned in सूत्र 26 are not to be declined like pronominals.
Thus the word नास्तुष्क is a compound of नास and पूर्वः—मातस्तुष्कुर्वः meaning 'prior by
a month,' where the word मासा is in the instrumental case. This compound
will be declined like ordinary words, e.g. its dative will be नास्तुष्क, though the
dative of पूर्वः, when standing by itself, is पूर्वः; so also संस्कर्तिस्वादः !

The tritiya-samása of the present सूत्र has reference to the special
tritiya-samása ordained by the particular सूत्र II. 1. 31. namely, "that which
ends with the 3rd case affix, is compounded with the words पुर्व, sadriśa,
sama, &c." and has not reference to the tritiya-samása in general, such as one
ordained by II. 1. 32, "that which ends with the 3rd case-affix when it denotes
the agent or the instrument, is compounded diversely with what ends in a
krit affix." Therefore, in phrases \textit{वर्षका कृते 'done by thee,' सवका कृते 'done by me,'} these words are treated as pronominals, though in the instrumental case followed by a word ending in a \textit{कृत-affix}. In other words, reading this \textit{sutra} with II. 1. 31, we find that \textit{पूर्व} is the only \textit{sarvanāma} which is so compounded, and to which only the present \textit{sutra} would seem to apply.

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

\textit{हन्ने च} II 31 II \textit{पदार्थः} II \textit{हन्ने, च. (वर्णान्ति, सवनानांति, सवासे, न) II}

\textit{प्रर्ति:} II \textit{हन्ने च सवासे सर्वान्ति सवनानसंवति न मध्यः II}

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

This \textit{sutra} mentions another exception. In collective compounds the above words are not \textit{sarvanāma}. \textit{Dvandva} is a compound in which two words are simply joined together, the compound taking the terminations of the dual or plural according to the number of compounded words, or the terminations of the singular, being treated as a collective term. Thus, the compound \textit{वर्णामष्टि} means, \textit{वर्ण 'the castes,' अष्टि 'the orders' and द्वन्द्र 'the others.'} The word \textit{इतर} in this compound is not to be treated as a \textit{sarvanāma}, but an ordinary word. Therefore, in the genitive plural we have:—\textit{वर्णामष्टि इतरः प्रति} and not \textit{इतरेञ्जा.} So also \textit{पूर्वमपराया} 'of the priors and the posteriors.'

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

\textit{विभाषा अविष्कारः} II 32 II \textit{पदार्थः} II \textit{विभाषा, अविष्कार, (वर्णान्ति, सवनानांति, सवासे, हन्ने सवासे, न) II}

\textit{प्रर्ति:} II \textit{हन्ने सवासे जाधि विभाषा सर्वान्ति सवनानसंवति न मध्यः II}

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

This is a proviso to \textit{sūtra} 31, and declares that before the termination \textit{ज} (which is the termination of the nominative plural, as we shall find later on, and which in the pronominals is replaced by \textit{जी}), the \textit{dvandva}
compounds may be treated either as sarvanāmas or as ordinary words. Thus
the plural of वर्णात्मेलित may be either वर्णात्मेलिता or लित, that is, the word may
take either ज्ञ or श्री.

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

प्रथमचरमचरमतयप्राकृतिप्रकाशनाः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदार्थविषयोत्पत्तिप्रकाश ॥
प्रथमचरमचरमतयप्राकृतिप्रकाशनाः ॥

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

Thus we have प्रथमे or प्रथमा:, चरमे or चरमा:, द्वितीये or द्वित्तिया:, 
तत्तत्रो or तत्तत्रा:, कतराः or कतरमकः, नेमे or नेमा:, विभाषा or विभाषा,
भविष्यति ॥

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

The application of the affix kan or akach must depend upon the
nature of these words, if pronominals, then akach, otherwise kan.
34. The words पुर्वा 'prior;' परा 'after,' अवारा 'posterior,' दक्षिणा 'south,' उत्तरा 'north.' अपरा 'other,' and अधारा 'inferior,' when they discriminate relative position, not when they are appellatives, are optionally sarvanāma before the affix jas.

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

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

That there is a 'specification' (niyama), or tacit implication, of a determinate point (avadhi), with reference to which something is to be described by the word itself, is what we mean when we say "that a relation in time or place (avasthā) is implied." For example, if we wish to describe Benares as being southern (dakshina), to do this, we may specify some point, say one of the peaks of the Ṣimālayā with reference to which Benares may be described as a "place to the southward." Again we in the north may thus speak of the people to the south of the Vindhyā mountains, as being southern, not with reference to the inhabitants of Ceylon, but with reference (as every one here understands by tacit implication) to us ourselves, who live to the north the Vindhyā range. Thus, (पूर्वो या पूर्वः, पराः या पराः: परे या परा:) शतिष्ये or शतिष्या: ; उत्तरे या उत्तरा: ; पराः या पराः: ; पराः या उत्तरा.

स्मन्त्रातिधनाथ्यायाः || 35 || पदानि || शम्, अन्ताति-चन-बाह्यायाः, (विशष्या, जस्य, स्वार्तीनि सर्वनामानि ) ||

पूर्वोऽहाम् विशिष्येत्तथाय जस्य विनायक चन्द्रनामसंगते स्वतिनि न चेत्री छायि भवन्योऽऽत्र एवसने ||

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

The word रत्र when it does not mean a हात्वि 'kinsman' or प्रति 'property' or 'wealth' is always a sarvanāma, in every number and case, as it has been
enumerated among the pronominals, except in the nominative plural where it is optionally so. Thus स्वरः: or स्वा: 'one's own sons,' स्वा: गाह: or स्वा: गाह: 'one's own cows'.

But when it means 'kinsmen' or 'articles of property' स्वा: alone is the nom. pl. As, स्वा जातावि: 'these kinsmen' प्रमुखः: स्वा: 'much riches'.

अन्तर बहियोगोपंसम्यायोः || इ० || पदार्थ || अन्तरस्व-बहियोग-उपसंस्यायोः: ( बिल्याय, जलिः, स्वादीनिः, स्वानातानि )

स्वानिः || अन्तरस्विनिवेच्युतमस्य विभाजय जति स्वानात्सन्त मत्ति वहियोग उपसंख्याये गम्यानाने ||

वारिकम् || एवंपुरीति एव धक्क्क्क्यु�* ||

वारिकम् *बिल्याय स्वादीने तीव्रतथा वा हिस्सु स्वानात्सनेशु पुष्पक्यायमुः* ||

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

The word अन्तर when it means वहियोगः, viz., 'outer' is always sarvanāma, so also, when it means उपसंस्यावः or 'a lower garment.' Thus, अन्तर स्वस्तः: गाहः: 'outer houses, the residence of Chantal, and other low castes.' अन्तरः or अन्तरः शारा: 'the inner garments, such as petticoats worn under the upper garments.' The word अन्तर when used in the above sense is always sarvanāma, but in the nominative plural, it is optionally so. But, when it is not used in the above senses, it is never a sarvanāma, e.g., पान्दोरस्तेने बसति 'he lives between the two villages,' where the regular locative is चस्त्रे. With this sūtra ends the section on sarvanāmas, which began with sūtra 26.

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

Vart:—The words formed by the affix विभाजियो such as, विभाजियो and बस्तियो, are optionally declined as sarvanāma before the case-affixes having an indicative यः (हितं), which are the singular terminations of dative, ablative, genitive and locative, as, विभाजियो नेत्रे or विभाजियो, बस्तियो नेत्रे or बस्तियो नेत्रे.

स्वरः निपाततमय्यः || इ० || पदार्थ || स्वर-आदिः, निपातसम्, आयस्मस्* ||

श्रुतिः || स्वरात्सारे चाल्क्क्कपि निपाततमय्यसम्बन्धज्ञानि यतथावः ||

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

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

स्वर 'heaven,' अन्तरः 'midst,' प्रमुखः 'in the morning,' प्रमुखः 'again,' स्वरस्त्र 'in concealment,' छेदः 'high, aloft,' नीचः 'low, down,' शायथृ 'slowly,' अवस्यकः
rightly, separately, aside, singly, particularly, truly, तथावें 'except, without,' युग्मपात्र 'at the same time, at once,' भारात 'near, far from, directly.' प्रभु 'separately, apart,' ह्रास 'yesterday,' ददद 'to-morrow,' विविच 'by day,' रात्री 'by night or in the night,' सावधान 'at eve,' विरः 'long, long since, a long time,' वनाक 'a little,' ह्रास 'slightly, a little,' ग्राहावत 'ever,' उपस्थ 'gladly,' कृपायेन 'silently,' वहिष्ठ 'outside,' भारिष्ठ 'below, without, outside. समन 'near,' निरुष 'near, hard, close by,' स्त्रय 'of one's self,' द्वार 'in vain,' नकु 'at night, by night,' नम 'negative particle, not,' देव 'for this reason, by reason of,' ह्रास 'truly, really' हें 'exclamation, भर्त 'evidently, truly,' सावधान 'half,' वत 'but' enclitic like, as Brāhmaṇavat, priestly,' सन 'तन 'perpetually,' उपस्थ 'division,' तिरह 'crookedly, awry, over,' चत्वर 'except, without श्वसन, बेक 'long, कर 'expletive particle,' शुभ 'ease,' बना 'perpetually,' सहस्र 'suddenly, hastily,' विद्व 'without,' वान 'variously,' धन्य 'greeting, peace,' रस 'exclamation, oblation to Manes,' युग्म 'enough,' ददद 'exclamation,' अब्र 'interjection) 'oblation of butter,' चारव 'again, moreover, otherwise.' राशि 'being present,' वर्ण 'in a low voice, secretly, privately,' श्रवण 'patience, pardon,' बहावस 'aloft in the air,' श्रवण 'at night or in the evening,' श्रवण 'falsey,' श्रवण 'in vain,' पुर 'formerly,' निष्ठा or निष्ठा 'mutually, together,' प्राम 'frequently, almost,' हुद 'again, repeatedly' दग्धिकर 'or उष्णिका 'at the same time,' पारेयम 'violently' भीषणम 'repeatedly,' सारस्व 'or स्वभ 'with' नब 'reverence,' हिर्भ 'without,' विल 'fiel' चाप 'thus,' प्रमाणम 'with fatigue,' प्राग 'alike,' प्रमाण 'widely,' मा, मात 'do not.'

So, also the words formed by the affixes क्तव तो sūra, kasun, by the क्रिट affixes ending in र और ग, देण, बोर or चर, and the avyayiḥāva compounds, are indeclinables. So, also the words formed by the affixes beginning with चिन्ह (V. 3. 7.) and ending with पाल्प (V. 3. 47), by the affixes beginning with इष्ट (V. 4. 42) and ending with सामान्य: (V. 4. 68), by the affixes इष्टमुक्त, इष्ट, उत्तम and जाल by the affixes having the sense of the affix श्रवण, or by the affixes श्रवण or प्राम, तद्धि or विल, न or नाम are also indeclinables.

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

तद्वित्रोत्तर्विष्ठितं: II 38 || पदार्थं || तद्वित्रं, च, असवेत्विष्ठितं:
( अव्ययं )

वृत्तं: || स्वकिष्ठम्: श्वसन-विष्ठितर्विष्ठितस्तवयचो भवति ||

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

Those derivative words which do not take all the case-terminations, but only some of them and which are formed by the addition of Taddhita affixes are indeclinables. As ततः: 'thence,' वतः 'there.' Both these words are formed by taddhita affixes from the pronoun मृत्र 'that,' the one is used in the ablative case only and the other in the locative. So also वतः, वतः, वतः, वतः, वतः, वतः, वतः, वतः &c.

〈क्रमेरजन्तः〉 ३९ । पद्य्यनि । चूँ श्व-एत-अन्तः: (शध्यायन्)

39. The words formed by those krit or primary affixes, (III. 1. 93) which end with त्र or in त्र, त्र and त्र are also indeclinables.

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

Words formed by krit affixes which end in त्र or त्र, त्र, त्र, त्र (connoted by the pratyahara त्र ) are avayayas. Thus the affix त्र (technically त्र) and त्र (technically त्र, III. 3. 10) are affixes which end in त्र. The words formed by the addition of these affixes will be indeclinables. Thus त्र 'to give,' and त्र 'remembering' are avayayas. So also words like जीवे 'to live,' विवे 'to drink,' are also avayayas as they end in त्र, &c.

Thus, in the following examples, the words within quotation are avayayas 'त्वादुकारे,' 'संवाचकारे,' 'लवणकारे,' अहूँके, 'he eats first having made it relishing' (III. 4. 26). "वतः" रावः: (त्र + त्र III. 4. 9 - त्र); त्र 'बामेशे,' एताऽवायम् गद्ध्यविविष्यो (त्र + त्र=ज्ञे. Rig Veda V. 66. 3). त्र 'साते शास्ते शास्ते' शाश्व (रिक्त गेके चक्षे तने नम। स्याजै तु स्याजै 'दृश्ये,' (Rig Veda I. 25. 21, त्र + केन त्र III. 4. 11 दृश्ये).

The word त्र is used in this sūtra for the same purpose, as it was employed in sūtra 24, showing that these terminations must be सापादेय, and not derivative. Therefore the following words are not avayayas:—चापे (d. s.), चापे: (g. s.) विकाशे: विकाशे: विकाशे: विकाशे: विकाशे: (क्रकारे-वः: गगवारे-वः:)

〈क्रमेरजन्तः〉 ३९ । पद्य्यनि । क्रा, त्रेषु-त्रेषु, (शध्यायन्)

३९। क्रा त्रेषु त्रेषु त्रेषु त्रेषु त्रेषु. (शध्यायन्) ३९। क्रा त्रेषु त्रेषु त्रेषु त्रेषु त्रेषु.
40. The words ending with \textit{ktva}, tosun (III. 4. 16) and kasun are indeclinables.

As \textit{ktiva} 'having done' \textit{udrta}: 'having risen,' \textit{visrfa}: 'having spread.' Thus in the following examples the words within quotation are indeclinables:—\textit{pravahui} 'swelled' \textit{rudar}. \textit{suvarcana} 'concluded.' \textit{purnaprasrth} 'enriched' \textit{shabavah} \textit{jinavantu} II. (Yajur Veda. I. 28) \textit{prata} \textit{sastra} 'astras.'

\textit{Avayayibhava} II. 16. \textit{Pada} \textit{Avayayibhava}:-\textit{av} (\textit{Avayata}) II. \textit{Vr}.

41. (The compound called) \textit{Avayayibhava} (II. 1. 5) is also indeclinable.

The \textit{Avayayibhava} or adverbial or indeclinable compounds are formed by joining an indeclinable particle with another word. The resulting compound, in which the indeclinable particle forms generally the first element, is again indeclinable, and generally ends, like adverbs, in the ordinary terminations of the nominative or accusative neuter. Thus \textit{abhishri} 'upon Hari,' \textit{avayap} 'after the form \textit{i}, \textit{e}, accordingly.'

The word \textit{av} in the \textit{sutra} shows that here ends the definition of \textit{avayaya}. The \textit{avayayas}, therefore, are all those words which are comprised in the above five \textit{sutras}.

What is the object gained by making the \textit{Avayayibhava} compounds \textit{avayayas}? Three objects are gained, by making these compounds, indeclinables, \textit{viz.}, we can apply to them (1) the rule relating to the elision (\textit{tukr}) of the case-affixes and feminine affixes, \textit{i.e.}, \textit{sutra} II. 4. 82 thus, in the following example, the words up\textit{agni} and pratyagni though qualifying the word \textit{saclaveh}, do not take the gender and number of the latter, \textit{ubhaya pitavah} \textit{shatava}: \textit{nitya} (2) the rule relating to accent when an \textit{avayaya} is compounded with the word \textit{mukha}, (\textit{pruck tver}), \textit{i.e.}, \textit{sutra} VI. 2. 167 & 168. Thus, \textit{upaganna} \textit{mukh}, here, \textit{sutra} VI. 2. 167, required the final vowel to take the udatta accent, but the preceding word being an \textit{avayaya}, \textit{sutra} VI. 2. 168, intervened, and the first word retains its natural accent: (3) the rule relating to the change of \textit{visarga} into \textit{av}, this change being technically called \textit{patra}: thus \textit{upprabaka}, \textit{upprakrama}, as compared with \textit{prakrama}.

Here, the compound \textit{upprah} being treated as \textit{avayaya} \textit{sutra} VIII. 3. 46, applies and prevents the change of: into \textit{av}.

The four \textit{sutras} 38, 39, 40, and 41 have all been enunciated under the \textit{svaradigama} see \textit{sutra} 37. These \textit{sutras} properly, therefore, belong to the \textit{gana-patha} ; their repetition here in the \textit{Ashtadhyayi} indicates that these rules are \textit{yati} or not of universal application, \textit{viz.}, all rules relating to \textit{avayayas} in general, do not apply to them. Thus II. 3. 69. declaring that the genitive case is not used along with an \textit{avayaya} is not a rule of universal application, for we see
Sarvanamasthana.

indelincables like वरेती: governed by the genitive case as, सूरस्थोति; or बुद्धा विवर.

विष सर्वनामस्थानस् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ विष सर्वनामस्थानस्

बृवा: ॥ विष सर्वनामस्थानस्थानंनामावधि ॥

42. The affix विष (VII. I. 20) is called sarvanāmamasthāna.

This defines the word sarvanāmamasthāna. The affix विष is the nominative and accusative plural termination of neuter nouns. It replaces the ordinary nominative and accusative plural affixes चुस्स and शाृः used in every other gender. The चू of विष is servile, and the actual termination is चू; the peculiarity of the affix विष is that it lengthens the penultimate vowel (VI. 4. 8) and adds a चू (VII. I. 72). Thus the plural of सङ्क 'fruit' is फूलाडि 'fruits'. So also कुष्ठानि तिष्ठति, and कुष्ठानि परव. Here, there is no difference of form in the nominative and the accusative cases. So also महो, वृक्ष, जन्तु.

The word sarvanāmamasthāna occurs in sūtra VI. 4. 8.

स्यंगुलकसा ॥ ४३ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ सङ्क, अनुप्रसकसा, (सर्वनामस्थानस्)

बृवा: ॥ स्यंगुलकसा वर्णनाति सर्वनामस्थानस्थानि मन्यति स्यंगुलकार्यम् ॥

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

This defines further the word sarvanāmamasthāna. The case-terminations in Sanskrit are 21 as arranged below:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>पापना</td>
<td>तु (सू)</td>
<td>चौ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>हिमीया</td>
<td>वास्त्र</td>
<td>चौद</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>दनीया</td>
<td>र (श्रा)</td>
<td>वश्र</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>चतुर्शीर्ष</td>
<td>क (ए)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>पंचनी</td>
<td>विज (घू)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>पाणी</td>
<td>दश (घू)</td>
<td>चौः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>कृष्णिया</td>
<td>हि (ए)</td>
<td>चूः (घू)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above are the 21 vibhaktis, the चू of चूः, the चू of चूः, the चू of चूः, व &c. are indicatory. All these vibhaktis are included in the pratyāhāra सुः formed by taking the first vibhakti and the last letter of the last vibhakti. Similarly the first five terminations (सः, चौः, चूः, चूः and चूः) are represented by सः and are called sarvanāmamasthāna in the masculine and feminine genders. In the declension of nouns, it will be seen, that some nouns have two bases, one before these sarvanāmamasthāna and the other before the rest.
Thus the word राजस् 'king' has the base राजस्त्र before the सूर vibhaktis, while in the remaining cases, the base is राजस्त्र and राज as:

Sing. | Dual. | Plural.
--- | --- | ---
Nominative राजस् | राजस्त्री | राजस्
Accusative राजस्त्र | राजस्त्री | राजस्त्र
Instrumental राजस्त्र | राजस्त्री | राजस्त्र

But in the neuter nouns there is no such difference.

न बेहि विभाषा || 44 || प्रदानन्ति || न, या, बिः, विभाषा ||

बृत्ति: || नेति प्रत्येको बेहि विकल्पस्तयो: प्रत्येकविकल्पस्तयोंविभाषितं संता नवति ||

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

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

Thus the root विः 'to swell,' by virtue of the rule विभाषा रे (V. 1. 30), forms its perfect tense, either by samprasârana, or in the ordinary way. Thus the third person singular is either शुद्धव or शिरवा. इत्ययः संप्रसारणम् || 45 || पदार्थान्ति || इत्यतः, यथाः, संप्रसारणम् ||

बृत्ति: || हेतु यथा: स्यानेन मृत्यो भोजी या तथ संप्रसारणमिविषयं संता नवति ||

45. The याव vowels which replace the semi-vowels याव are called samprasârana.

This defines the word samprasârana. It is the name given to the change of semi-vowels into vowels. The pratyāhāra ik includes the four simple vowels घ, ङ, ज and झ, and their corresponding semi-vowels are न, न, ट, ट, and ज included in the pratyāhāra याव. The word samprasârana is properly the name of the word which has replaced the semi-vowel. Thus the past participle of स्वाय to sleep, is formed by adding the nishthā affix ल to (see sūtra 26). So that we have स्वाय, + ल. But there is a rule (VI. 1. 15) by which there is samprasârana of the य of स्वाय before the क् affixes, and we have the form स्वाय: 'slept.' Similarly from स्वाय-विहार, स्वाय-सम्बन्ध, स्वाय-विप्रत, महाय-महाय-महाय-प्रस्तुत. The term samprasârana is also employed to designate the whole process of the change of the semi-vowels into vowels as in VI. 1. 13; VI. 4. 131.
46. Of whatsoever the augments enunciated are distinguished by an indicatory र or श, they precede or follow it accordingly.

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

Similarly by sūtra VII. 3. 40. the root शी takes the augment श्र in forming the causative. This having an indicatory श is to be added after the word शी, as, शी +श्र+श्रिः+श=शीषष्ये 'he frightens.'

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

This sūtra explains the use of the indicatory र. The augments having an indicatory र, technically called मित्र augments, are placed immediately after the final vowel of a word. Thus there is an augment called गुप्त, in which र and श are र्र, and the actual augment is श. When, therefore, it is said "let गुप्त be added to the word," the letter र is added after the last vowel. Thus the plural of पवसू 'milk' is formed in the following way:—पवसू + गुप्त + र्र (VII. 1. 72) = पवालि (VI. 4. 8). Here र is added between र and श in the 6. after the ध of श, which is the final vowel of the word: and before this र the preceding short vowel is lengthened. Similarly गुप्त + श + ति (III. 1. 77) = गूप्त + गूप्त + श + ति (VI. 1. 59) = गुर्जरि। Similarly बिद्हाति.

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

There is, however, an exception, in the case of the root शर, in
which the augment ग्रुं is added not after the last vowel त्र of त्र, but between त्र and जृ. The result of adding the augment ग्रुं between त्र and जृ is, that sūtra VIII. 2. 29. applies, and the त्र is elided. Thus मस्त्रृ + त्र = मस्त्रृ + ग्रुं + त्र (VII. 1. 60) = मस्त्रृ + त्र = मस्त्रृ + त्र (VII. 2. 29) = मस्त्रृ “He will immerse”. So also ग्नन्: ‘immersed,’ ग्नानवान्, ग्नानकुमार.

48. Of श्र त्र vowels, द्र is the substitute, when short is to be substituted.

This sūtra points out the द्र substitutes of श्र. We know there are short and long vowels in Sanskrit, but properly speaking the श्र vowels have no corresponding short vowels. Therefore, when, in any rule, श्र vowels are told to be shortened, this sūtra declares that the short vowels of र and द्र, जृ and द्रृ, for the purposes of the rule, will be र and द्र respectively. Thus, I. 2. 47 declares:—“the short vowel is the substitute in the neuter of a crude form provided it end in a vowel.” Therefore in compounding बति + द्र, the द्र must be shortened. Properly speaking द्र has no short vowel corresponding to it, but by virtue of this sūtra, र supplies the place of such a short vowel, and we have बतिः ‘extravagant’ so नौ, श्रविः ‘disembarked or landed,’ द्रृ, श्रृ ‘near a cow’. All avayabhāva compounds are neuter (II. 4. 18).

Why do we say ‘of श्रृ’? Because the short of other vowels will not be द्र. Thus the short of श्र is श्र. As, बति + श्रृ = बतिश्रृ, बति + गान्त = वातिवातः.

Why do we say ‘when short is to be substituted?’ Because when श्र or prolated vowels are to be substituted for श्रृ, the द्र will not be the substitute. As श्रृवचः O Devadatta! द्रृवचः!

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

This sūtra explains the mode of interpreting words used in the possessive case (sixth case) in the sūtras of Pāṇini. The genitive case or शस्त्री denotes many sorts of relations in Sanskrit, such as causation, possession, relation in place, comparison, nearness, proximity, change, collection, component member, &c. So that when a word is in the genitive case in a sūtra generally, the doubt may arise in what sense that genitive is to be used. This aphorism
lays down the restrictive rule for the interpretation of such words. It says that the force of such genitive is to convey the meaning of "in the place of." Thus in the sutra 3, the word रज्जु is in the genitive case; the literal translation being: -"of ik there is guna and vriddhi." But "of" here means by virtue of the present rule of interpretation "in the place of." So that the sutra means 'in the place of रज्जु.' Similarly in the sutra immediately preceding this, *vis. 48, we have the word रज्जु in the genitive case and the sutra means 'of रज्जु.' Here also "of" means "in the place of."

Thus in sutra हन्ते (VI. 4: 36) 'of hanti, there is ज the word हन्ते, is the genitive of हन्ति; this genitive is used generally and its force is that of "in the place of." Therefore, ज displaces the verb हन्ति in हन्ते or imperative mood, and we have जहइ 'kill thou.'

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

The word स्थान here is synonymous with प्रकृत 'or 'occasion.' Thus in the sentence स्थानेस्थान स्थानं गरे: प्रस्तरस्तिः, the word sthāne, means 'prasange' i.e. wherever there is occasion to spread darbha grass, spread there the sara instead. Similarly in sutras यस्ते (I. 4. 52), or यस्ते वयस्ते (I. 4. 53), the words 'astī,' and 'था' are in the genitive case, and mean, 'wherever there arises occasion to use the verbs धार्य or धृ use there the verbs धृ or धार्य instead respectively.' Thus भविष्य, भविष्य, भविष्य, are the future, gerund, and passive participle respectively of धार्य; so also, रक्त, रक्त, and रक्त are the same forms of धृ.

The word स्थाने is a bahuvrhi compound of two words, not in apposition, (vyadhikaranā bahuvrhi, see II. 2: 248 35), and it qualifies the word शाश्ति. The compound means स्थाने यानोधया, 'that which assumes the peculiar relation denoted by the word sthāna.' Consequently the seventh case-affix is not elided in this compound; on the analogy of compounds like कण्डकाल: &c.

स्थाने अन्तर्त्वम्: II 50 II पद्धति II स्थाने-अन्तर्त्वम्: II

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

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

(1). Thus in applying rule VI. i. 101, “when a homogeneous vowel follows ak, the corresponding long vowel is the substitute for both,” we must have recourse to the present sūtra for finding the proper vowel. Thus—हा + हाग्य = हागाम्य; here the substitution of the long बा, for the two short बा’s, is an example of substitution by nearness of place, for both बा and बा are gutturals.

(2). A good example of substitution by the sense of the word is afforded by VI. i. 63:—“The words पर्व, पर्व, पर्व &c., are the substitutes when the case-affixes पर्व (acc.-pl.) &c., follow.” Here, we know the substitutes, but we do not know of what they are the substitutes. We apply the maxim of अर्ध: “that only can become a substitute which has the power to express the meaning of the original, i.e., a substitute takes the place of that the meaning of which it is able to express.” Thus we find that पर्व is the substitute of पार, बार of सन,नथ of नाणिक, &c., which convey the same meaning and contain almost the same letters. Another example of this is afforded by VI.3.34, by which feminine words in a compound are changed into masculine. Thus सामी (fem) + अवति = सामवच्चकिते.

(3). An example of prosodical substitution (प्रमाणाद्वः) is afforded by rule VIII.2. 80, “र is the substitute of what comes after the Ṛ of चारसं not ending in भु and in the room of Ṛ there is त.” Thus च + तान = चार + चारे = चारु; च + भातु = चात + भातात (VII. 3. 102) = चात + भातात = चातायः. Here, short र replaces the short च, and the long र replaces the long चा.
(4). An illustration of qualitative substitution is afforded by VII. 3. 52, "a letter of the guttural class is substituted for च and छ when an affix having an indicatory ख follows." Applying the rule of चुःकत: we find that छ which is an alpaprāna and aghosha letter replaces च having the same quality; while छ which is ghosha, and alpaprāna is replaced by the letter छ possessing similar quality. Thus चछ + छछ (III. 3. 18) = चछ; चछ + छछ = चछ: छछ + छछ = छछ: II

Though the anuvṛtti of the word sṭhāna was understood in this sūtra from the last, the repetition of this word indicates the existence of the following paribhāśā.

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

Thus in finding the guṇa substitutes of घ and ङ out of the three guṇa letters घ, ङ and छ, we find that घ is a proximate substitute having regard to prosodical measure, i.e., घ and ङ have all one mātrā; while having regard to the proximity of the organ of utterance, we get ङ and छ; the latter however prevails to the exclusion of the first; as, घस्, घसा.

Why do we use the word "likest" in the superlative degree? Where there are many sort of proximities, the likest must be taken. Thus वा + बहस् = बहस्तति. Here, by VIII. 4. 62, "after a letter of ष्ट्ट class, छ is changed into a letter homogeneous with the preceding," छ must be changed into a letter of the class छ. Out of the five letters of this class, छ and ङ are both aspirates, but छ is hard, and ङ is soft; so छ and ङ are both soft, but छ is unaspirate, and छ is aspirate, therefore these must be rejected; the only letter which has the nearest approach to छ, is छ, which is both soft and aspirate. Similarly in दिप्नुकरस्व, the छ has been changed into छ.

51. When a letter of ध्र pratyāhāra comes as a substitute for छ it is always followed by त.

This sūtra consists of three words viś., छ: which is the genitive singular of छ and means literally 'of छ' or 'in the place of छ'; the second word is ध्र, a pratyāhāra denoting छ, छ and छ long and short; the third word is रप, which qualifies ध्र and means 'having a छ after.'

This sūtra is useful in fixing the proper substitutes of छ. Thus, there.
are only three guṇa vowels य, र and लो. Of these what is the proper guṇa for य? By the application of the rule of 'nearness of place' we see that य is the nearest substitute. So that य is the guṇa of य; and further by this rule, this य must have a र after it. Thus though technically speaking य is the guṇa of य, the actual substitute is र।. Thus य + ला = क्ता; similarly हा।.

So also when य is replaced by र as by sūtra VII. 1. 100, this substitute र must be followed by a र. As री + नाय + रत्न = देवस्यर: 'son of two mothers'.

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

Thus by IV. 1. 97, "the य of the word धुषां is replaced by धकू (technically धकू) when the affix धर्म is added." Thus, धुषां + धर्म = धुषां + धकू + र = धौषांरक्षक, 'a descendant of Sudhāṭṛi' Here the substitute of य, that is to say, the syllable धकू is not followed by र।.

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

अलोकन्ययम् II ५२ II पदानि II अल, अल्यस्, (आदेश:): II
drśi: II प म नेपि व उ र भ व भ व भ व भ व भ: भ व भ व भ भ भ भ भ।

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

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

So also in sūtra I. 2. 50 श्रःगोपः: the short र replaces only the final letter of गोपी and not the whole word, as गोपःगी: 'purchased for five gopis.'

वृत्त: II निस II पदानि II र-इत्य, च, (आदेशः, अल्, अल्यस) II
drśi: II निस च आदेशः संविकालारि चालोन्यस्य भाविः II
53. And the substitute which has an indicatory र (even though it consists of more than one letter) takes the place of the final letter only of the original expression.

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

Thus in forming the dvandva compound of मान and विन there is a rule (VI. 3. 25) by which it is declared:—'In the place of words ending in न there is the substitution of सान्त्र in forming dvandvas.' Now the substitute सान्त्र is a हित substitute, and therefore it applies to the last letter of the word and not to the whole word, viz, the र of मान is only changed into न and not the whole word; and we have the compound मानान्त्र, so also होनात्रोकारे.

There is an exception, however, in the case of the substitute सान्त्र (VII. 1. 35) which, though it has an indicatory र, yet replaces the whole expressions र and न and not only their finals. As जीवसान्त्र 'may he live, or may you live'; instead of जीवत्र 'may he live,' or जीव लive thou.'

\[\text{आदें: परस् ॥ ॥ वदाणि ॥ आदें, परस्, (अभ: )} \]

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

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

How can we find when an operation is to be performed on a subsequent word? When the previous word is exhibited in the 5th or ablative case, see sūtra 67.
\text{substitutes.} \quad 55 \quad \text{Padāni} \quad \text{Aneka-āda,} \quad \text{āda, svabhāva,}

(\text{ādādeśā:})

\text{55. A substitute consisting of more than one letter, and a substitute having an indicatory ā take the place of the whole of the original expression exhibited in the sixth case.}

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

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

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

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

\text{sthaṇi-ādi, ādādeśā:} \quad 56 \quad \text{Padāni} \quad \text{sthaṇi-ādi, ādādeśā:}

\text{āda-vidhi} \quad 56

\text{vṛtī:} \quad \text{sthaṇiādiśā:} \quad \text{ādi} \quad \text{sthaṇiādādi} \quad \text{ādādi} \quad \text{sthaṇiādādi} \quad \text{ādādi} \quad \text{ādādi} \quad \text{ādādi} \quad \text{ādādi}

\text{56. A substitute (ādā)} is like the former occupant (sthaṇi) but not in the case of a rule the occasion for the operation of which is furnished by the letters of the original term.

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

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

Thus the gerund of verbs is generally formed by adding the affix लिङ्ग e. g. गृह + लिङ्ग. Now VII. 2. 35. prescribes the insertion of an intermediate ः before ārdhadhātuka affixes beginning with any consonant except व. This rule is clearly an al-vidhi, because the occasion for its application is conditional on the letters of the affix. The affix लिङ्ग begins with ः and is an ārdhadhātuka affix and fulfils all the conditions of the rule. Therefore, we have गृह + ः + लिङ्ग = गृहविलिङ्ग (VI. 1. 16; VII. 2. 37).

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

Substitutes replace either a गृह 'root,' or an ब्रज 'base,' or a krit affix 'primary affix,' or a taddhita affix 'secondary affix,' or an avyaya 'indeclinable,' or a ब्रज affix 'case affix,' or a ब्रज affix 'conjugational affix,' or lastly the full word or pada.

The substitute of a dhātu becomes like a dhātu. Thus sūtras II. 4. 52 and 53 declare:—'ू is the substitute of the root ू, and ू of the root ू when an ārdhadhātuka affix follows.' Here the substitutes ू and ू are treated as dhātu, and as such get the affixes व अ. by III. 1. 96, &c. Thus भवता, भविष्यत, भविष्यत; दत्त, दत्तू, दत्तू DV.

The substitute of an anga becomes like an anga. Thus VII. 2. 103 declares:—'अ is the substitute of the base किं when a case-affix follows.'
Here, क gets the designation ‘base’ and so rules applicable to base, are applied to क also. Thus in केन, काण्युष्य, त्री &c., we have हन, the lengthening of the vowel, and देश substituted by VII. 1. 12, and VII. 3. 102, and VII. 1. 9.

The substitute of a krit affix becomes like a krit affix. Thus VII. 1. 37 declares:- ‘स्वरूप is the substitute of the krit affix स्व when the verb is a compound, the first member of which is an indeclinable, but not नम्’. Here, स्वरूप is also called a krit affix, and as such, sūtra VI. 1. 71 applies, and पक्ष is added. As पक्ष + स्वरूप = पक्ष + त + य = पक्षव्य स; similarly पक्षव्य &c.

The substitute of a taddhita affix is like a taddhita. Thus VII. 3. 50 declares:- ‘इक्क is the substitute of the affix इ’ as श्वि + इक्क (IV. 2. 18) = शाधिन्यु, here, इक्क being treated as a taddhita, sūtra I. 2. 56 applies and the word formed by it, gets the name of pratisipadika, and is so declined.

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

The substitute of sup-affixes becomes like sup. Thus VII. 1. 13 declares:- ‘ह is the substitute of the sup-affix ह् after an inflective base ending in short ह्र’ Here, ह is treated as a sup-affix, and therefore sūtra VII. 3. 102 applies, and there is lengthening of the vowel, as, हस्व; हस्वम.

The substitute of तिन becomes like तिन. Thus III. 4. 101 declares:- ‘तस्म, तम्, त and तप्रम are substituted for तस्म, तस्म, य, and तिन when tense-affixes having indicatory ह follow.’ Here the substitutes तास्म &c., also make the words ending in them pada by rule I. 4. 14 as, ताक्ष्यस्म, ताक्ष्यस्त &c.

The substitute of a pada is like a pada. Thus VIII. 1. 21 declares:- ‘बस्त is the substitute of ब्रम्भान, ब्रम्भाव, ब्रम्भाक्ष, and बस्त of ब्रस्तान, ब्रस्तम्बस्त and ब्रस्ताक्ष.’ Here, बस्त and बस्त are treated as pada, and the final ह is changed into visarga, as, श; श.

Why have we used the word बस्त in the sūtra? Without it the aphorism would have been स्थानायमायितः-भविष्यत, and this being a chapter treating of definitions, the meaning would have been, ‘an ādesa is called sthāni.’ This certainly is not intended, for had it been so, then all operations would be performed by or on the substitute, but none by the original. But this is not so. Thus rule I. 3. 28, says ‘the root हस्त preceded by ह is ātmanepadī.’ वष the substitute of हस्त will be ātmanepadī, as ātwāhaḥ; but हस्त also will be so in its proper sphere, as, बाहव.

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

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

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

Thus there is an affix called लिंछ the actual affix being द्र; the other letters ध and ध being द्र. The peculiarity of every affix having an indicatory द्र is to cause the vṛiddhi of the penultimate ध; (sūtra VII. 2. 116) as प्रत्याहारा+ि=प्रत्याहारा. Now in forming the denominative verb from the word प्रत्याहारा, we have to add the affix लिंछ. Thus प्रत्याहारा + ध; but before पिच, the ध of प्रत्याहारा is substituted by a 'lopa' or blank, and this blank takes the place of the vowel ध of प्रत्याहारा and becomes sthānivat by force of the present sūtra. The result of becoming sthānivat is that though the ध of प्रत्याहारा is really a penultimate and ought to be vṛiddhied before 'pich' it is not so, the lopa-substitute not allowing the ध to be regarded as penultimate, and thus we have the form प्रत्याहारा the present tense third person singular of which is प्रत्याहारा. The equation being प्रत्याहारा +ि +ि, the zero preventing the ध of प्रत्याहारा from becoming penultimate. So also in the word सप्तिरिः, the aorist (इंध्र) of ध. Thus ध +ध +ि=ध +ध +ि +ि. Here, the ध of ध is elided by VI. 4. 48. (when an ārdhadhātuka affix follows there is elision of the short ध of that which ends in short ध;) this elision is thus caused by something which follows (parasmin.) Now there is a rule (VII. 2. 7.) which declares 'vṛiddhi is optionally the substitute of a laghu ध preceded by a consonant when सप्तिरिः (aorist) follows.' However in the present case the zero is consi.
Substitute is like the principal. [Bk. I. Ch. I. § 37.]

dered as sthānivat, and prevents the application of sūtra VII. 2. 7; otherwise we get the form चाबारेन्द्र which is inadmissible.

Similarly वृष्टित्व + क्र्यः - वृष्टित्व। Here, the short य is the substitute of the long चा of चात्र by VII. 4. 15; because of the subsequent (parasmin) affix 'कप'. However, the word वृष्टित्व will not be considered as a word ending in a short vowel, for the purposes of the application of rule VI. 2. 174, (the udātta accent falls on the last vowel but one of a word that ends in a short vowel and is the last member of a bahūvrihi compound followed by the affix kap). On the contrary the short य is regarded as sthānivat to long चा. Thus वृष्टित्व।

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

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

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

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

Similarly यक्खिकः, the aorist of कुष्डः. Thus चा + कुष्डः + विष्डः + साधः - चा + कुष्डः + साधः (VIII. 2. 26). Here the य is elided on account of what follows, but still the lopa substitute here is not sthānivat for the purposes of VIII. 2. 41. Had it been sthānivat, य of कुष्डः would be changed into चा.

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

The word युज्यजातः is a bahūvrihi compound of युज्यति and जातः, meaning 'he who has a young wife.' In forming this compound, the चा of चा is replaced by नि (tech. नित) by sūtra V. 4. 134. This नि will not be sthānivat to चा, as it is not caused by anything which follows. Had it been regarded as sthānivat, the य could not be elided by VI. 1. 66 ('there is elision of य
and when any consonant except \( \text{ु} \) or \( \text{ू} \) follows'. Thus, ड्रग्यावा+नि = ड्रग्यावा गारु + ज + नि (V. 4. 134) = ड्रग्यावा: (VI. 1. 66).

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

Similarly the word चालीसिस, 1st per. sing. atm. present tense of the root ची to shine.' Thus चालीसिस + रुृ = चालीसिस + र्र (III. 4. 79). This change of श्र into र्र is not caused by anything that follows, hence श्र is not sthānivat to र्र, for the purposes of the application of rule VII. 4. 53 (the finals of didht and vevt are elided when an affix beginning with श्र or र्र follows). Had श्र been sthānivat, the final श्र would have been elided.

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

Now is the ची of गो to be regarded as sthānivat to गो, which it replaces; for the purposes of this rule of elision of finals? If so, the consequence would be that the final श्र would have to be dropped in the vocative. But it is not so. Because the rule VI. 1. 69, which ordains the dropping of श्र after short vowels and श्र and गो applies to a letter, which is not anterior to the adeśa गो, but to one which follows it, and consequently there being no pūrva-vidhi here, the final श्र is retained and we have the vocative गो: ।

Similarly the word बालीयः, 'the pupils of Bābhravya.' The word बालीयः is derived from बाल in this wise. बाल + रुृ (IV. 1. 105) = बालीयः.
48 Substitute is like the principal. [Bk. I. Ch. I. § 58.

+ ब्रू (VI. 4. 146 and VII. 2. 117) = ब्रह्म + ब्रू (VI. 1. 79) = ब्रह्म. From this is formed ब्रह्मी in this wise:—ब्रह्म + छ (IV. 2. 114) = ब्रह्म + छ (VII. 1. 2) = ब्रह्म + छ (VI. 4. 148) = ब्रह्म + छ (VI. 4. 150). Here, had the substitute छ which replaced the छ of ब्रह्म, been sthānivat to छ, rule VI. 4. 150 ('there is elision of the छ of a taddhita affix coming after a consonant, when long छ follows'), could not have applied. But this substitute छ is not sthānivat for the purposes of rule VI. 4. 150, inasmuch as that rule does not apply to any letter that precedes the substitute छ, but to the very letters of the substitute itself.

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

न पदानाह्नलोकेटसंप्रदायवर्गाणनुसङ्गिरस्त्रेष्यत्वचिनिथिष्ठूण ॥ ८१॥

पदानि ॥ न, पदानत: द्विवर्गन- वरे- यलाचय्य- स्यल-स्वरण- अनुसार- दूर्य- धच-धच-विनिथिष्ठूण, ( स्वादिकवर )

वृत्ति: ॥ पूः । परावयवस्मिन्: व्याकरणवेद्यं विनिथिष्ठूण प्रविष्ठिष्ठूणे ॥

58. Not so, in rules relating to the finals of words, to the doubling of letters, to the affixing of varach, to the elision of ya, to accent, to homogeneous letters, to anusvāra, to the lengthening of vowels, and to the substitution of ja and char letters.

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

I. पदानाह्नलोकेतसंप्रदायवर्गाणनुसङ्गिरस्त्रेष्यत्वचिनिथिष्ठूण ॥ ८१॥

1. पदानाह्नलोकेतसंप्रदायवर्गाणनुसङ्गिरस्त्रेष्यत्वचिनिथिष्ठूण ॥ ८१॥

A rule relating to the last letter of a word. Thus the छ of प्रस्तु is elided before the terminations of dual and plural numbers (VI. 4. 111). Thus we have स्तित 'he is,' छ: 'they two are,' छवित 'they are.' Now in the technical phraseology of Sanskrit grammarians, the छ of छत्र; and छन्ति is
replaced by an ādesa called जोप, the peculiarity of which is that the whole of it vanishes. So that before the word रा: there is this ādesa existing, though it is in an invisible form. This invisible ādesa will be sthānivat, as it replaces a vowel, by reason of something that follows, i.e. the affixes व: and पा्मा: being हिर्य (I. 2, 4); and it will have all the powers of रा: by the last sūtra, in the absence of any rule to the contrary. Therefore, in the sentence वो रा: 'who two are,' the final वो of वो and the invisible रा: of रा: ought to coalesce by rules of sandhi into चार (VI. 1. 78). But this incongruity is prevented by the present sūtra, by which the change of वो into चार is a प्रायोगिक सिद्धि or a rule relating to the finals of a word, therefore, we have वो चार: So also in सांवि सन्निश्चित, rule VI. 1. 77 is not applied.

2. विकर्णनिमित्त: 'a rule relating to the doubling of letters.' In the sandhi of शच + भाष we have शष्ज. Here श is changed into श. If this श were sthānivat to श, then the rule by which श could be doubled before श would be inapplicable. But श is not equivalent to श, though its substitute; and we have the doubling of श and get the form शष्ज. Therefore, in rules relating to the doubling of letters the ādesa is not equivalent to the sthān.

3. बतविषय: 'a rule relating to the affix यशोऽ.' The affix यशोऽ is a krit affix which is added to certain roots to form nouns of agency; thus from यशोऽ 'to rule' we have यशोऽ: 'ruler.' So from the intensive verb यावाय we have यावाय: 'a vagrant.' It is formed in this wise याय + वा (III. 2. 176) = यावाय + वा + वा (VI. 4. 48). Here the श of श has been dropped and replaced by lopa, on account of its being followed by the Ārdhadrātuka affix यशोऽ. The next step is to drop the श by rule VI. 1. 66 which declares that the letters श and श are dropped before affixes beginning with any consonant except श i.e., beginning with consonants of क्षु प्रत्याहारा. Thus याय + श + श. Now there is a rule (VI. 4. 64) which declares that the final long श of a base is dropped before Ārdhadrātuka affixes having an initial vowel. Here therefore, if the ādesa 'lopa,' which replaced the vowel श, be considered as sthānivat, and श be considered as an affix having a latent initial vowel, then the श of यावाय requires to be dropped. But this sūtra prevents this and we have the form यावाय: as, यशोऽ यावाय: प्रसूं विनिवासम्.

4. बलोपितविषय: 'a rule relating to the dropping of ya.' Thus there is a verb कण्ठोऽ 'to scratch.' In forming an abstract noun from it, the affix वि (tech. कष्ठ) is added. Thus कण्ठोऽ + वि = कण्ठोऽ + वि, the श of श being dropped by VI. 4. 48. Now there is a rule (VI. 1. 66) already mentioned above which requires the elision of श before consonantal affixes. Now if the lopa-substitute be considered as sthānivat to श, then the affix वि is not an affix having an initial consonant and the rule, which requires the dropping of श, would not apply. The present sūtra, however, provides for this, and we have the form कण्ठोऽवि: 'scratching.'
5. स्वारविधिः: 'a rule relating to accent.' There is a *sūtra* (VI. 1. 193) which says that when a word is formed by an affix that has an indicatory च, the vowel that immediately precedes such an affix has the udātta accent. Now ग्युः is an affix that has an indicatory ग्य, the real affix being ग्यः (VII. 1. 1.). It is an affix used in forming nouns of agency. Adding this affix to the desiderative verb विक्रिये 'desirous of doing' we have:—

\[
\text{विक्रिये + ग्यः} = \text{विक्रिये + च + ग्यः},
\]

the ग्यः being dropped by VI. 4. 48. Now if the zero be considered as sthānivat, then the accent must fall on this latent ग्यः but it is not so. The accent falls on the ग्यः of की; and we have विक्रिये।।

6. स्वरविन्यासः: 'a rule relating to the substitution of homogeneous letters.' To explain this, let us form the second person singular of the verb श्रुः in the imperative mood. The affix हि is the sign of the second person imperative singular; and the verb श्रुः belongs to the seventh-class of verbs called Rudhādi. This class of verbs take the vikaraṇa श्रुः (III. 1. 78) the श्रुः and श्रुः being indicatory the real affix is न. This न is inserted between the radical vowel and the final consonant (I. 1. 47). Therefore we have the following equation:—

\[
\text{श्रुः} + \text{न} + \text{हि} = \text{श्रुः} + \text{न} + \text{हि} = \text{श्रुः} + \text{हि} + \text{न} + \text{हि}.
\]

The न of न is dropped by VI. 4. III, which declares that the न of न is dropped before those सार्वद्वितुका terminations which are कित्र or कित्ल।। By I. 2. 4 all सार्वद्वितुका terminations which have not got an indicatory ग्य are considered as हिन्य।। The affix हि therefore is a हिन्य सार्वद्वितुका affix, and by rule III. 4. 8, हि is to be regarded as ब्रह्मिन्य, not having an indicatory ग्य।। The next stage is:—

\[
\text{श्रुः} + \text{न} + \text{हि} + \text{न} + \text{हि}; \text{the हि being changed into हि by rule (VI. 4. 101)}
\]

which says that हि is changed into हि, when it follows a root—which ends in a consonant of श्रुः pratyāhāra.' here श्रुः and श्रुः are changed by general rules of sandhi into र्त and र्त and we have हि + र्त + हि + हि (VIII. 4. 41). Then there is a rule (VIII. 3. 24), which says that in the body of a word the र्त is changed into anusvāra when followed by a consonant of श्रुः pratyāhāra.' Therefore we have:—

\[
\text{श्रुः} + \text{हि} + \text{हि} + \text{हि}.
\]

This is the form to which the present rule is applicable. Thus, there is a rule (VIII. 4. 58) which says that an anusvāra followed by a letter of श्रुः pratyāhāra i.e., any consonant except ख, ख, ख and ख is changed into a letter homogeneous or savarṇa to the letter that follows. Therefore, if we regard zero as sthānivat to the ख which it replaces, the anusvāra cannot be changed into ख as homogeneous to ख।। But it is not to be so regarded, and we have the form हि + ख + ख + हि = श्रमिन्य or श्रमिन्य; so also हि।।

7. अनुस्वारविचारः: 'a rule relating to anusvāra.' The above example will serve the purpose here:—

\[
\text{श्रुः} + \text{हि} + \text{हि} + \text{हि}.
\]

This by the rule already mentioned (VIII. 3. 24), requires the ख to be changed into anusvāra,
Now if zero be considered as sthānivat, then र is not followed by a letter of हनु pratyāhāra, and cannot be changed into anusvāra. However, the zero is not regarded as sthānivat, and we change the र into anusvāra. Other examples are शि + हृ + ओ + हृ + धनि = धनि; so also धनि।

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

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

Let us add the affix किन्तु to the root अस 'to eat,' compounded with the word श or समान. In Vedic literature अस is replaced by एस, (II. 4. 39); so we have, अस + एस + किन्तु = एस + एस + किन्तु = एस + हृ + हृ (VI. 4. 100) = एस + हृ + हृ + हृ (VIII. 2. 26) = एस + हृ + हृ + हृ।

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

Similarly the word वस्यां , which is the Imperative (lot) 2nd per. dual of the root वस , and is thus evolved. This root belongs to the Juhutyādi class, and therefore, there is reduplication. Thus वस + वस = वस + वस + वस = व + वस + वस = व + वस + वस + वस + वस (VI. 4. 100) = व + वस + वस + वस + वस (VIII. 2. 26) = व + वस + वस + वस + वस (VIII. 2. 40) = व + वस + वस + वस + वस = वस्यां। Here the change of र into भ is by the application of VIII. 4. 53, which is a jaś rule, and therefore, the zero is not sthānivat.
10. एक धार्मिक: 'A rule requiring the substitution of the letters of चूँकि प्रत्येकारा instead of other consonants.' In the application of this rule, also the substitute that replaces a vowel is not sthānivat.

Let us form the 2nd pers. sing. perfect of the verb चूँकि 'to eat.' चूँकि is replaced by प्रेत (II. 4. 40) and प्रेत is the termination of the second person singular of लित और perfect tense. प्रेत + चूँकि = प्रेत + प्रेत + प्रेत (VI. 1. 8) = चूँ + प्रेत + प्रेत (VII. 4. 60) = चूँ + प्रेत + प्रेत (VIII. 4. 54) = चूँ + प्रेत + प्रेत (VI. 4. 98).

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

Similarly चूँकि the 3rd pers. plural aorist of प्रेत is thus formed:—चूँ + प्रेत + चूँ + प्रेत = चूँ + प्रेत + प्रेत (II. 4. 80) = चूँ + प्रेत + प्रेत (VIII. 4. 98). Here had the lopa been sthānivat, rule VIII. 4. 55 could not have applied. But it being a char rule, the lopa is not sthānivat. Therefore we have, चूँकि.

When lopa is the substitute of a vowel, it is not sthānivat, for the purposes of the application of the rules of accent, rules relating to the doubling of letters, and the rules relating to the elision of या. In other places, with the exception of the above three; the lopa substitute of a vowel is, and must be treated as sthānivat. Thus चूँकि: चूँकि, कियों, नियों, चाबों: चाबों.

In these cases the lopa-ādēśa being sthānivat, the rules relating to accent, lengthening and the elision of या, do not apply.

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

This sūtra has been explained in different ways by the authors of the Kasika and of the Siddhānta Kaumudi. According to the latter, the sūtra means:—'when an affix beginning with a vowel follows, that is a cause of reduplication, a substitute shall not take the place of a preceding vowel, whilst the reduplication is yet to be made: but the reduplication having been made,
the substitution may then take place.' The explanation given by Kasika is more in harmony with the Great Commentary. For all practical purposes, the two explanations lead to the same conclusion. According to Kasika, the vowel-substitute is sthānīvat, in the sense, that it is exactly of the same form as the original, and retains this form only for a fixed time *\textit{vīs},* so long as the reduplication is being made; but as soon as the reduplication has been made, the substitute takes its proper form. This rule has its scope in the rules relating (a) to the elision of long जर, (b) to the elision of the penultimate, (c) to the elision of the affix चित्र, (d) to the substitution of semi-vowels for vowels, and lastly (e) to the substitution of जर, घर, थर and धर for ह, घ, थ and ध respectively by the rules of sandhi.

(a). Elision of जर. Let us form the 2nd person perfect tense of the root जर 'to drink.' The termination of 2nd person perfect is जरसू। This is, therefore, a termination beginning with a vowel, and it causes the reduplication of the root. The conditions of the present sūtra all exist in this. Thus we have जर + जरसू = जर + * + जरसू (VI. 4, 64). Here the जर is elided by VI. 4. 64, which teaches that 'the जर of the root is elided before ārdhādhatuka affixes beginning with a vowel and which are कित्र or कित्र, and before हर.' The affix जरसू is such an affix (I. 2. 5, III. 4. 115).

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

(b). The elision of the penultimate. Let us form the same tense of हर 'to kill.' हर + हरसू = हर + * + हरसू (VI. 4. 98).

Here also the preliminary conditions are all fulfilled, the affix begins with a vowel and it causes the reduplication of the root. The penultimate हर of हर is replaced by the substitute lopa by VI. 4. 98, which teaches that the roots हर 'to go' हर 'to kill' and a few others lose their penultimate before affixes beginning with a vowel and which are also कित्र or कित्र. We know जरसू to be such an affix. For the reasons already given, we can not reduplicate the consonants हर as they have no vowel. However, this reduplication is effected by virtue of the present rule, and we have:—ह + ह + जरसू = जरसू (VII. 4. 62, VII. 3. 55). The first ह is changed into ह by VII. 4. 62 and the second ह into ह by VII. 3. 55.
(c). The elision of the affix चित्र. Let us form the Aorist (तु) of the causative form of चट्ट. The causative is formed by adding the affix चित्र to the root; and the aorist takes the augment झ। Thus we have:—च + चट्ट + चित्र + झ + िनिव = चछं + झ + िनिव + झ। The affix चछं (III. 1. 48) is added in forming the aorist of causatives. The letters झ and िन are indicative, the real affix being झ। Now by VI. 4. 51, the affix चित्र is elided before an अर्धद्वित्तुका affix that does not take the intermediate झ। Now चछं is such an affix. Therefore we have चाण + िन + चछं.

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

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

(e). The fifth case is the substitution of चथुः &c. Let us form 1st person singular of the perfect of नी ‘to lead:’ नी + चथुः = ने + च = नानाण + झ। The झ is vṛddhi before the termination झ of the perfect (VII. 2. 115), and then changed into झाण by the general rule of sandhi (VI. 1. 78). Now the झ of the perfect causes reduplication, and it is an affix which begins with a vowel. It satisfies the conditions of this sutra. Therefore the झाण which was a substitute for झ, being a vowel substitute, becomes स्थानिवत to झ in form. In reduplicating the word नाण, we reduplicate as if it were still झ। Thus we have the form निनाण and not ननाण। Similarly निनाण, लुलर, and लुलार।

Why have we used the word “dvirvachane” in the sutra? Without it, the aphorism would have stood thus:—“Before an affix having an initial vowel which causes reduplication, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel
Lopa Defined.

is like the original vowel." Let us form जन्म the 3rd per. sing, perfect tense (निर्म) of the root लै "to be exhausted," in the atmanepada. The affix of 3rd per. sing. atm. of ल, is यज्ञ (III. 4, 31). Thus जन्म + यज्ञ = श्ल + यज्ञ (VI. 1. 45). Now here ल is changed into ना, on account of the affix यज्ञ; this affix causes reduplication, but still ना is not to be considered as sthânivat to ल. For if ना be considered so, then in the next stage श्ल + यज्ञ = श्ल + + यज्ञ (VI. 4. 64) the lopa will be regarded as sthânivat to ल and the reduplicative syllable will be न्त and not श्ल; the form being स्नेम्भ and not स्नेम्। But ना is not sthânivat to ल, because for the purposes of reduplication, the change of ल into ना is immaterial; it is the second and further change of ना into zero which is directly connected with reduplication, (for if zero be not considered sthânivat, there can be no reduplication); and therefore, this substitute zero should be regarded as sthânivat to ना.

Why do we say "which causes reduplication?" Without these words the sutra would have stood thus:—"Before an affix having an initial vowel, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel is like the original vowel, for the purposes of reduplication." In that case we could not get the form दुपशि, 3rd per. sing, desiderative present tense of विश्व 'to shine, to play.' This form is thus evolved:—विश्व+सन्त्र (III. 1. 7) =विद्व + श्ल + सन्त्र (VI. 4. 19) =दुपशि + श्ल + सन्त्र (VI. 1. 77). Here, the change of श्ल into ना is caused by न्त (tech. न्त्र), which begins with a vowel; is this न्त to be regarded as sthânivat to ल? No, because न्त does not cause reduplication, it is न्त्र which causes reduplication. Therefore the equation is:—दुप + सन्त्र = दुपशि (VI. 1. 9) =दुपशि। If न्त could be regarded like ल, then the form would have been दुपशि।

Why do we say "beginning with a vowel"? Otherwise the sutra would have run thus:—"Before an affix which causes reduplication, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel, is like the original vowel, for the purposes of reduplication." The affix यज्ञ of the Intensive verbs causes reduplication (VI. 1. 9); but as it does not begin with a vowel, the substitute will not be sthânivat. Let us form नाश्ववते the 3rd per. sing. Intensive of the root ना, 'to smell.' Thus ना + यज्ञ = नाश्व + यज्ञ (VII. 4. 31) = नाश्ववते (VII. 4. 82). Here, ना is changed into ते on account of यज्ञ; but ते is not sthânivat to ना; had it been so, the form would have been ताश्ववते। Similarly ताश्ववते।

इन्द्रियं क्रयं: || 60 || वद्यानि || अद्विनन्दनं, क्रयं: ||

कृति: || यद्यन्नमन्नंन्तंर्मकारयमुल्लमिख्यो गर्भविहिस्य इन्द्रियान्तवतः नाश्ववते योगोभिं क्रियोंति तथ। नाश्ववते इत्यं चेता भक्ति: ||

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

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

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

The word lopa occurs in sūtras VI. 1. 66 and VI. 4. 118 &c. The lopa substitute is a sense substitute, and not a form substitute. Thus when we say 'let the substitute lopa take the place of such and such a letter or word,' we do not mean that the letters ल, चो, ङ and घ should be substituted there, but the sense of the thing, namely 'disappearance.'

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

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

Thus in खुर्‍ + ग्राम + लि = शालि 'he eats.' Here the vikaraṇa शालि has been elided by using the word luk (II. 4. 72). Similarly in जुगौति 'he invokes,' the vikaraṇa जुगौ is elided by the word slu (II. 4. 75), so in बर्ण: 'a city in the vicinity of weeds called varanā.' Here the Tadddhita affix indicating vicinity has been elided by the word lup. (IV. 2, 82),

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

62. When elision of an affix has taken place (lopa), the affix still exerts its influence, and the operations dependant upon it, take place as if it were present.
This sūtra declares that when an affix disappears by lopa-elision its potency does not disappear. Thus the term ‘pada’ is defined to be that which ends in a case-affix or a conjugational-affix. But after certain bases, these affixes vanish; still those bases become ‘pada’ in spite of the vanishing of the whole affix. How can an operation directed by an affix take place, when the affix itself vanishes, is a doubt which may naturally arise. This sūtra answers the question. Though an affix may be elided by lopa, yet an operation of which such an affix was the cause, must take place. Thus जयत्व is a pada though the case-termination has been elided. Similarly the word चपोङ्ग्ल ‘he milked,’ which is the Imperfect (क्रम) of चा, and is thus formed. चा० + ज्य = चा० (III. 4. 100) = चा० + • (VI. 1. 68) = चा० + • (VIII. 2. 32) (here ह is changed into श by taking the word ‘aduh’ as a ‘pada’) चा० + • (VIII. 2. 37) = चा० (VIII. 2. 39) = चा०.

Why have we used the word प्रश्न in this aphorism again, when its anuvṛtti was understood in this sūtra from the last? This repetition indicates that the present rule applies where the whole of the affix is elided, and not when a portion of an affix is elided. The present sūtra, therefore, does not apply to forms like चान्नित्र and चान्नीत्र. These forms are the 1st person sing. चा Atmanepada of चा and चा. Thus चा० + श = चा० + श (III. 4. 106) = चा० + श + श (III. 4. 102) = चा० + श + श. Here, a portion of the affix श + श is elided by VII. 2. 79; now there will be no प्रश्नवलक्षण of this partial elision of an affix. Had it been so, the final nasal ह of चा० would have been elided by VI. 4. 37: but that is not so: and we have चान्नित्र (VII. 3. 54 and VI. 4. 98).

The word प्रश्न means that by which a thing is recognised. The word प्रश्नवलक्षण, therefore, means the effect by which an affix could be recognised. The orthographical changes, like the following, are not however pratyaya-lakshana. In forming the genitive singular of रू ‘wealth,’ we have रू + चा० = रूः; here, the change of हू into रू by the rules of sandhi, though caused by the affix चा०; is not such an effect, which the affix causes, by virtue of being an affix, but it is an effect caused by the accidental fact, that the affix begins with a vowel, and thus gives scope to the euphonic rule VI. 1. 78. Therefore, when in forming the genitive compound of रूः + हुः, we elide the case-affix चा०, we get the form रूः. Here the elided affix will not cause the peculiar orthographic change mentioned above, which is dependent upon its letters, and not upon the affix as such.
63. Of the base (anga), whose affix has been elided by the use of any of the three words containing च, the operations dependent on it do not take place, regarding such base.

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

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

Thus the word गर्भिः is the plural of the word गर्भः. The word गर्भः is formed by adding the affix ब्रह्म to गर्भ (IV. 1. 105); the force of the indicator च being to cause the वर्द्धि of the first vowel of the word (VII. 2. 117). But in forming the plural of गर्भः, rule II. 4. 64 presents itself, which declares that there is लुक of the affix ब्रह्म when the word takes the plural. Here the affix ब्रह्म is elided by the word लुक, which means not only the elision of the च of गर्भः but also the shortening of चा into च, that is, the affix being elided, it vanishes altogether, leaving no trace behind, in the shape of the वर्द्धिंg of the first vowel, which the affix was competent to cause.

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

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

When an affix is elided in any other way than by the enunciation of the three terms containing च, it is competent to cause its proper effect. Thus क + धिः + व धिः + व = कारी + व धिः + व = कार + व धिः + व = कार्ते. Here the elision of the affix धिः is by 'लोप,' (VI. 4. 51) and hence though the affix vanishes, its effect remains. Why do we say 'in respect of an Anga or inlative base?' Observe पञ्च 'five,' सप 'seven,' त्रम 'milk,' लाम 'sāma veda.' Here in the word पञ्च, the plural case-affix is elided by VII. 1. 22.
(after the words called shat, the जस्त and जस्त are elided by ‘luk’). Here the affix is elided by enouncing the word ‘luk,’ the result is, that the affix cannot produce any change which it would otherwise have caused, in the anaga or inflective base; such as lengthening, as in राज, ‘a king,’ i. p. राजानां ‘kings.’ But though it is inoperative as regards the anaga, the elided affix is not altogether inactive. It retains the virtue of raising the base to the dignity of a pada. Thus:—पन्थ + जस्त = पन्थजो, (luk VII. r. 22). The word pañchāna is now a pada, and as such, it drops its final ः.

अर्द्धपन्ताया शिप्‍कु | 64 | पदार्थ | अशं, अर्द्धपन्ताया, शिप्‍कु
पृति: "चर्यानां विभिन्नां वैद्याय साधनोऽस्मि च विभिन्नां दिन्तं भविष्‍यति"

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

This sūtra defines शि. It is that portion of a word which is included between the last letter and the nearest vowel. Thus in the word जानिन्द्रित, the portion द्रू is शि; so also in जानकृत्सु, the portion तृ. The word शि occurs in sūtra III. 4. 79.

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

अर्द्धपन्तायात्यथा उपपादः | 65 | पदार्थ | अशं, अर्द्धपन्ताया, पूर्वः, उपपादः
पृति: "त्रात्तिके वेधेऽस्मि वे वेधेऽस्मि: पूर्वः अष्टेऽवेधे पंक्तिः शि"

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

This defines उपपाद or penultimate. Thus in the words प्र, निच्, व्रज, ब्रज the letters व्र, र, त, and ळ are उपपाद.

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

तत्समिन्धिति निक्रिये पूर्वः | 66 | पदार्थ | तत्समिन्, इति, निक्रिये, पूर्वः
पृति: "तत्समिन्धिति सत्सम्यनिक्रिये पूर्वेऽवर्त्त्यायं भविष्‍यति शार्करस्"

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

This is a declaratory or interpreting sūtra. When in a sūtra, a word is used in the locative case, the operation ordained by that sūtra is to be per-
formed on the word preceding it. Thus in the sūtra iva वषणिः (VI. 1. 77) the word वषणिः is in the locative case, which sūtra, therefore, means that र, र, ल followed by a vowel (चर) are changed into र, र, ल, (चर). The literal translation of the sūtra being:—‘Of रक्त there is लगान in लगान.’ The force of ‘in’ or the locative case being to induce changes in the letter preceding the vowel. Thus वषणि + वषणिः = रक्तकरान्ति; so वषणिः, परक्तकरान्ति.

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

60. Thus sūtra VIII. 4. 61 declares that ‘after रक्त, of sthāna and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior.’ Thus रक्त + यथाननु. Here the word रक्त is exhibited in the original sūtra in the ablative case, and by the present sūtra it means that a dental letter रक्त must be substituted in the place of sthāna, and by I. 1. 54 ante, this dental takes the place of रक्त; we have रक्त + यथाननु = रक्त-यथाननु. Similarly in sūtra जस्व अन्तितः (VIII.2. 18, ‘a word ending in a conjugalational affix, when following after a word ending in a non-conjugational affix, becomes anudatta.’) Here the word ‘atिनान्त’ is exhibited in the ablative case, therefore, the operation directed by this aphorism, namely, the substitution of anudatta accent, must take place in the word that follows. Thus जस्वेनुम् चित; but not so in परपश्योवनसिध्यः

66. द्वितीय साहचर्यसंवाच इति, व्याख्यातीतः

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66. द्वितीय साहचर्यसंवाच इति, व्याख्यातीतः
68. In this Grammar, when an operation is directed with regard to a word, the individual form of the word possessing meaning is to be understood, except with regard to a word which is a definition.

This is a rule of interpretation. The word र्व which means 'one's own' denotes 'the meaning,' and the word ज्ञ denotes 'the individual form of a word.' The sense of the सुत्रा is that a word denotes both things expressed by those two words र्व and ज्ञ, viz., its meaning, and its form. Thus a rule applicable to शास्त्र will be applicable to the word composed of ए, य, त, र and not to the words synonymous with अग्नि, such as, पावक, चन्दन: &c.

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

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

Thus the सुत्रा शास्त्रेष्कृ (IV. 2. 33) declares:—"that the affix 'व्हक' comes after the word 'ाग्नि.'" Thus शास्त्र + व्हक = शाश्वेष्कृ "belonging to अग्नि," as in the following sentence अग्नेष्कृ निम्पेतु. Here the word शास्त्र indicates the individual word-form शास्त्रि and not its synonyms. Similarly सुत्रा IV. 2. 19 declares:—'let there be optionally व्हक after व्हविष्टु.' As शास्त्रेष्कृ (VII. 3. 50 and 51) or शास्त्रेष्कृ. The rule applies to the word-form 'udaśvita' meaning 'curd-milk' and not to तक, व्हरिष्ट, व्हालिष्ट, व्हण्डिष्ट and व्हथिं, which are synonyms.

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

Thus शास्त्राणि (I. 1. 20) and तत्तत्वमापि ए (I. 1. 22). Here the words 'ए' and 'ए' denote the words connoted by those terms and not to their word-form. There are, however, some सुत्राः in पाणिनि which are ap-
SVAM-RUPA RULE. [BK. I. CH. I. § 69.]

Apparently exceptions to this rule. These exceptions have been arranged under four heads, technically called सिद्ध, शिस्त, ज्ञित, and ज्ञित्. When there is a rule about a word, it may mean that very word-form, or words representing species falling under that word, or words which are synonymous with it. Thus rule II. 4. 12 declares:—“शुष्क ‘tree’ शुष्क ‘deer,’ शुष्क ‘grass,’ &c., may optionally be compounded as dvandva.” Here the word शुष्क stands as a generic name for the species falling under it, and does not represent the word-form, शुष्क. Thus we have dvandva-compound of शुष्क + न्यमोप, as शुष्कन्यमोपण्डृष्ट or शुष्कन्यमोपण्डृष्ट. Such सूत्रas are called सिद्ध.

Then in सूत्र III. 4. 40, we have an example of शिस्त. That सूत्र means “the word शुष्क ‘to feed’ takes the affix यपुष्कु (यपुष्कु) when compounded with the word शुष्क.” Here the word शुष्क means both the word-form शुष्क, as well as the synonyms of शुष्क and the species of शुष्क. Thus शुष्क and शुष्क ‘wealth’ are synonyms; while शुष्क ‘wealth’ and शुष्क ‘cow’ are genus and species. Thus शुष्क + शुष्क + यपुष्कु = शुष्कन्यमोप्यपुष्कु. Similarly एण्यल, धेन्यल, शेन्यल, अण्यल.

Such सूत्रas are called शिस्त.

Then in सूत्र II. 4. 23, we have an example of ज्ञित. “A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word शुष्क ‘court’ is neuter, provided that it is preceded by the word राजा, or by a word denoting a non-human being.” Here the synonyms only of the word ‘राजा’ are taken, and neither the word-form ‘राजा,’ nor the special instances falling under it. Thus शुष्क ‘king’ + शुष्क = शुष्क ज्ञित ‘king’s assembly,’ शुष्क ज्ञित ‘king’s assembly.’ But not राज्य + शुष्क, nor राज्य + शुष्क. Nor can we take particular kings, such as चतुर्वद्य or युष्मंनिर. In their case we must have युष्मिन्यन्तर, चतुर्वद्यस्व.

Then in सूत्र IV. 4. 35, we have an example of ज्ञित. The सूत्र means “the words पत्तिः ‘bird’ वस्त्र ‘fish’ शुष्क ‘deer,’ take the affix शक्रू when the meaning is the killer thereof.” Here the words पत्तिः &c. denote both the word-forms पत्तिः &c. as well as the species denoted by those terms, but not their synonyms. Thus पत्तिः + शक्रू = पत्तिः ‘a bird-killer,’ मालियकः; ‘a fish-catcher.’ शक्रू + शक्रू = शक्रू ‘a vulture-killer.’ But we cannot take the synonyms of ‘पत्तिः,’ &c. except in the case of ‘वस्त्र,’ when we may take the word ‘भीत.’ As मालियकः and भीतः ‘a fish killer.’

अणुदिकस्यायाय शास्त्रयः: II 69 II पद्यालम II अणु, शक्तिः, शष्ज्ञाय, श, अष्ज्ञाय: (शंखुषं) II

पद्यालम: II शुष्क गृहानातृत्विन्ता सर्वाणि: माहैति भवति शर्ष्य श कपर्य मस्त्यं वर्णभिष्टिा II

69. The letters of the Pratyāhāra श्रृं i.e. the vowels and semi-vowels, and a term having श for its indicative letter, refer to their own form as well as to their
homogeneous letters, except when they are used as pratyāyas or affixes.

The pratyāhāra ऋ in thus sūtra includes all the vowels and liquids. This is the only instance where ऋ pratyāhāra refers to the second ऋ of ऋ. The letters included in ऋ, and the letters having an indicatory ऋ, refer to, and include their homogeneous letters also. Thus ऋ refers to all the five gutturals क, ख, ग, घ, ङ, similarly ड, ढ, ण, and त, as in sūtra I. 3. 8. Similarly ऋ includes short, long and protracted ऋ. The words 'its own form' are understood in this sūtra, being drawn from the previous sūtra: Thus sūtra श्रात्तिगुणः: (VI. 1. 87), 'when a vowel comes after ऋ, guna is the single substitute for both.' Here though the rule mentions only short ऋ, we take the long ऋ also. Thus not only च + हः = चहः; but दह + हः = दहः.

So also in sūtra अस्त्यस्च (VII. 4. 32), 'there is long इ in the room of ऋ when the affix 'chvī' (V. 4. 50) follows.' Here long इ is also included; thus क्र्यः + क्रोऽि = क्र्यःक्रोऽि, and बहः + क्रोऽि = बहःक्रोऽि. So also in sūtra ब्रह्मयोऽि (VI. 4. 148). 'When long इ follows, there is elision of the र or ऋ of the base,' the rule applies to the bases ending in long इ and ऋ also.

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

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

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

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

Thus in the sūtra VII. 1. 9 तत्रक्रियावर्तमान ॠ. ‘After words ending in अनु (i.e. short अ), तत्र takes the place of नित्य.’ Thus तत्र. But in तत्र which ends in long अ and whose prosodial time is different from अ, this rule will not apply, and we have तत्र.

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

This sūtra explains the mode of interpreting pratyāhāras. Thus the pratyāhāra चतुर्दश means those letters whose beginning is त and whose final ॠ is ॠ.

Why do we say with the ‘final indicatory letter?’ Because a pratyāhāra like चद्व would be otherwise ambiguous. It might be doubted whether it is formed with the final ॠ of चद्व and refers to the first five case-affixes, or whether it is formed with the initial ॠ of च and therefore refers to the first seven case-affixes. The present sūtra clears up the doubt. A pratyāhāra is formed with the final ॠ and not with the initial चद्व.
72. An injunction which is made with regard to a particular attribute, applies to words having that attribute at their end as well as to that attribute itself.

This sūtra consists of three words:—श्रेष्ठ ‘by what (attribute),’ विधि: ‘rule,’ वहन्तरव ‘having that (attribute) at its end.’

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

Thus the sūtra आच (III. 3. 56) ‘after इ there is आच’ declares that the affix आच would come not only after इ, but after any expression that ends in इ. Thus इ + आच = इआच; मि + आच = मिआच.

Vart:—The present rule, (called tadanta-vidhi) must not be applied to rules relating to compounds (samāsa), and to pratyayas (affixes). Thus sūtra II. 1. 24, declares that a word in the accusative case is compounded with the words श्री, आति &c. As आति + भिष: = भिर्भिष: ‘involved in pain.’

The present sūtra must not be applied here, and we cannot say that a word in the accusative case would be compounded with another that ends in श्री; for tadanta-vidhi does not apply here. Hence we cannot form a compound of आति + परमभिष:.

Similarly, in rules of affixes. Thus sūtra IV. 1. 99 declares “that the words न्त &c., take the affix फक्.” Thus नं + फक् = नाडार्म. But we cannot apply the affix phak to the word शून्यः, the tadanta-vidhi not being applicable here. The descendant of शून्यः will be called खोवनार्म and not as above.

The above vārtika is however qualified by the following:

Vart:—The above vārtika does not apply to words formed by affixes.
that have an indicatory व्र (अ, त्र, ब्र), short or long, or where a rule is propounded with regard to letters. Thus the affix क्तावत् (I. 1. 26) has an indicatory त्र, and we have क्तावत्. A rule which will apply to क्तावत will apply also to the word which ends in क्तावत. Thus the feminine of क्तावत is क्तावती (IV. 1. 6), the feminine of सुक्तावत् will be सुक्तावत. Similarly rule IV. 1. 95 खत्र इत्र says “after धर त्र there is the affix इत्र.” This is a rule relating to प्रत्ययाः, but as it is propounded by mere letters, the rule of तदान्त-विद्धि will apply here. Thus श्लत + इत्र = श्लभि ‘the son of Daksha.’

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

Thus sūtra VI. 4. 77, achi श्ल धतु भ्रवर्म यव्र इत्र उवान, means “इत्र उवान are the substitutes of what ends with the प्रत्ययाः, श्ल and उवान are what ends in a verbal root in ध or त्र, whether long or short, and of the inflective base भ्रि, when an affix beginning with a vowel follows.” Here the word ‘achi’ is exhibited in the seventh case, which literally means ‘when a vowel follows;’ but by virtue of the present वर्तिका it means, ‘when an affix beginning with a vowel follows,’ as. विभवः, रूपः।

चृत्रि यहस्याचारामादिकाः यद्यु || ३३ || पद्यनि || चृत्र || श्लक्ष, यस्य, अवास, आदि, तदु, यद्यु ||

इति: II चर्चामध्ये वसव चृत्रियसंज्ञक चारिलिङ्गस्तत्क्रमयं इत्सचं भविति II
वाचनकम् || *भोजान्तासनसत्वतत्रयो भवेति च चर्च्ययं* II
वाचनकम् || *वा नामधेयतर्य इत्र संता च चर्च्ययः || *
वाचनकम् || *वियुप्ताचारविहिनेत्यतर्य चर्च्ययः || *

73. That word, among the vowels of which the first is a व्रिद्धि, is called व्रिद्धम.

This defines the word इत्र. The sūtra consists of five words:—
इत्र: ‘the व्रिद्धि vowel;’ दास्य ‘whose,’ चाराम् ‘among the vowels,’ आदि: ‘is first;’ तदु ‘that;’ इत्र ‘is called व्रिद्धम.’

If a word consisting of many vowels, has a व्रिद्धि vowel coming first in the order of vowels, that word is called व्रिद्धम. Thus the words नाला, शाळा &c., have the first vowel धा a व्रिद्धि vowel, therefore, they are called व्रिद्धम.
The word *vriddham* has been defined in order to make applicable to these peculiar words certain taddhita affixes. Thus there is a rule (IV. 2. 114) by which the affix छ is added to *vriddham*. Thus गाल + छ = गालछ. Why do we say “the first?” Because a word like सनातननवन, which is not a *vriddha* word, will not admit of the affix छ. Its corresponding derivative will be सनातननवन.

**Vart:** A proper noun, though not coming under the above definition, may yet be regarded optionally as a *vriddham*. Thus अस्वत्त + छ = अस्वत्तछ, or we may have अस्वत्त.

**Vart:** A compound ending in a Gotra word, is regarded for the purposes of the addition of this affix, as if it was not compounded. Thus लोक is a Gotra word and also *vriddham*. Its compound पुत्रलोक will be regarded as a *vriddham* too, for the addition of the affix. As पुत्रलोक + छ = पुत्रलोकछ: ‘the students of Ghritaraudhi.’ So also चौसनपाधिनीय, इजान्नीय: इजाराधिनीय: &c.

**Vart:** Exception must be made in the case of निम्नवाकात्य and हरिवाकाः। They do not take छ. Thus नेकुवाकात्य and हरिवाकाः.

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

The त्वृ &c. have been given in the list of sarvanāmas. See sutra 27. These words are also called *vriddham*. Thus त्वृ + छ = त्वृछ, एवहीवृ, नरीयृ, इरियृ, एवस्तीयृ, इस्तीयृ, यस्तीयृ, नासायनिः, ग्वायनिः: &c.

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

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

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

Why do we say 'having the letters ए and ॐ'? If a simple vowel is first among the vowels, of a word, that word will not be called vriddham; and as such will not take the affix वृ as वृहिष्ठ्यः, कान्तिकुमः.

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

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

1. All affixes after the verb gān 'to study' and the verb kut 'to be crooked', and the rest, are as if they had an indicatory र (नित), except those affixes which have an indicatory च (नित) or त (नित).

This is an atideśa sutra, and makes certain affixes, though not having an indicatory र, to produce the same effect as if they were really हिंदू.

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

After these roots all affixes are treated as if they were marked with a च with the exception of those affixes which are भिन्न or विन्न.

Thus from हृष्ट, we have in the aorist the form चाप्षिन्त; which is thus evolved. चंधि + चार + हृष्ट + सिण्ड + व = चाप्षिन्त + गाढ + चु + व (II. 4. 50) = चाप्षिन्त + गी + श (VI. 4. 66) = चाप्षिन्त 'he studied,' चाप्षिन्तीति 'they two studied,' चाप्षिन्तीति 'they studied.' Here by VI. 4. 66, the चा is changed into द्र before the affix विष्ड, which is regarded as हिंदू.

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

Thus कुठ + वश्व (III. 1. 133) = कुठ + हृष्ट + वश्व (VII. 2. 35) = कुठि, nominative singular कुठित 'who acts crookedly.' Here the affix वश्व being regarded as हिंदू does not cause the guṇa substitution of the द्र of कुठ.

Similarly with the affixes हृष्ट and हृष्ट, we have कुठित्वम and कुठित्वम. So on with all the forty roots of कुठि class: e. g. हृष्टित्व, हृष्टित्वम, हृष्टित्वम.
But the affixes marked with भ or भ will not be so treated. Thus भिष्ण by which causatives are formed, is such an affix; e.g. स्त्राक + भिष्ण + धार्य + भिष्ण = उक्तास्त्र + ध + ध + भिष्ण = उक्तास्त्रिवति. Here there is guna of the ध of कृत्रिम. So also before the affix भास्त्र of the perfect tense, we have भास्त्राकोट, and before the affix भामु we have भास्त्राकोट।

Vārtika:—The root प्रच्छ ‘to deceive,’ is also treated like कुटारि verbs, except before the affix प्रच्छ. As विश्वित ‘he shall deceive,’ विश्वित ‘for the purpose of deceiving’ विश्वित्वम् &c. Here there is samprastāraṇa before the नि terminations सा, हित्र and नष्ट्व, and the ध of प्रच्छ is changed into ध by rule VI. 1. 16.

But the affix प्रच्छ is not नि and consequently there is no samparasāraṇa before it. Thus प्रच्छतः ‘an imp.’

2. An affix that begins with the augment ध्र (VII. 2. 35) is नि after the root वन, ‘to fear, to move.’

The root प्रच्छ does not strengthen its vowel before the affixes that take the intermediate ध्र, because those terminations are treated like भिष्ण affixes. The root प्रच्छ belongs to the तुद्धि class. Thus विश्वित ‘he will be agitated,’ विश्वित्वम् ‘for the purpose of being agitated.’

विश्वित्वम् ‘ought to be agitated.’

But those affixes, which are not preceded by the augment ध्र, are not like भिष्ण, and they consequently produce their own proper action, such as gunation &c. As ध्र + विन्द + स्त्राक = उक्तास्त्र, उक्तान्यावृत ‘that which ought to be agitated.’

3. After the verb भ्रा ‘to cover,’ the affix beginning with the augment ध्र is regarded optionally like नि.

Thus before the त्राध्रि termination ध्रा of the future, we may have either प्रध्रा or स्त्राध्रा “he will cover.”

The equation of the form is :-म + क्रु्द्र + ध + ता = म + क्रु्द्र + ध्रा (VI. 4. 77) = प्रध्रा. When the affix is not regarded as प्रध्रा, it produces gupa, and we have the second form प्रध्रा।

Of course there is no option allowed before those affixes which do not take the augment ध्र, and before those terminations, consequently, we have only one form : as प्रध्रा + प्रध्रा = प्रध्रा + प्रध्रा = प्रध्रा ‘covering,’ प्रध्रा ‘which ought to be covered.’
4. A Sārvadhātuka (III. 4. 113) affix not having an indicatory ग is like नि.

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

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<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
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<tr>
<td>3rd Pers.</td>
<td>विषु</td>
<td>तत्तु</td>
<td>तत्तः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Pers.</td>
<td>सिषु</td>
<td>तस्त्र</td>
<td>य</td>
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<td>1st Pers.</td>
<td>शिषु</td>
<td>पत्र</td>
<td>भस्व</td>
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<td>3rd Pers.</td>
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<td>यास्य</td>
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<td>1st Pers.</td>
<td>हु</td>
<td>वास्य</td>
<td>गार्हस्य</td>
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Parasmaipada.

Atmanepada.

Except the terminations marked with a ग such as वि विः and वि &c., all the other Sārvadhātuka terminations are हि. The हि terminations like गृह, ग्नात्र &c., are also Sārvadhātuka terminations. These affixes are also हि, unless they have a ग as indicatory, as गृह. Thus the affix तस्त्र, being an भिन्न Sārvadhātuka affix, is a हि, and before it the vowel is not gunated: e.g. कुश्व: ‘they two do.’ The equation is:—कर्ष + द + तस्त्र (the द is added by Rule III. 1. 79) = कर्ष + द + भस्व (VI. 4. 110) = कर्ष + द = कुश्व: II Similarly कृतिन्य ‘they do.’

Here the गृह of कर्ष is changed into द and we have कुश्व, by virtue of rule VI. 4. 110, which declares that the गृ of the verb कर्ष is changed into द before those Sārvadhātuka affixes which are हि or हि. Here तस्त्र is a Sārvadhātuka हि affix by the present rule, and hence the change.

These four sūtras describe the हि terminations.

Why do we say ‘a Sārvadhātuka affix.’? Because an ārdhadhātuka affix though not being marked with an indicatory ग will not be a हि. As कर्ष ‘doer,’ कर्षु ‘to do’ कर्षण ‘duty.’

Why do we say ‘not having an indicatory ग’? If a Sārvadhātuka affix has an indicatory ग it will not be हि. As कर्ष + द + सिषु = करोः ‘he does’ करोः ‘thou doest,’ करोः ‘I do.’
5. The affixes of लित (Perfect Tense) not coming after a conjunct consonant, are as if they had an indicatory कृ (kit).

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

Thus from कित ‘to tear’ the Reduplicated non-pit second person perfect is विबितित्व: ‘thou hast torn.’ विबितित्व: ‘they have torn.’

Similarly विबिद्वित्व: ‘thou hast divided;’ विबिद्वित्व: ‘you divided;’ विबिद्वित्व: and विद्वित्व:.

This rule will not apply if the root ends in a conjunct consonant. Thus कित ‘to fall down’ forms its second person Perfect:—सत्सितः पुरुसस् सत्सितः. Here the affix is not treated as kit; for had it been so treated, it would have caused the elision of the penultimate nasal ( anusvāra) of the sāṅga by rule VI. 4. 24. Similarly from विद्वित्व: we have विद्वित्व:.

The pit terminations of the Perfect are not kit; and therefore, we have विबिद्वित्व: ‘he has divided,’ where the root is gunated before the 3rd person singular termination या which is a कित termination, because it being the substitute of कित is regarded like कित by I. 1. 56.

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

After these two roots the terminations of the Perfect are कित: These roots have been especially mentioned, because the root दन्तिन ending in a compound consonant will not be governed by sutra 5; and the root यू is mentioned because all the terminations of the Perfect are कित after यू, not excepting the कित terminations. Thus the verbs यूते and यूते are illustrations of Perfect Tense from the root यू as in the following examples:—सत्सितः सत्सितः, (Rig Veda VI. 16. 15), and यूते यूते प्रययायतः (Rig Veda VI. 16. 14). Here the nasal of the root is dropped by regarding the affix as कित: Similarly from the root यू, we have यूते, यूते.

Vart:—This rule should be applied also to the verbs भस्य ‘to loosen,’ भस्य ‘to fasten,’ भस्य ‘to injure’ and संध्य ‘to embrace.’ As भस्य: ‘thou hast
AFFIXES LIKE कित्

loosened’ अयु + चन्दु = अयु + चन्दु. (The च is elided by the rule already mentioned in the last sutra vis., VI. 4. 24).

= अयु + अयु + चन्दु = अयु: (VI. 4. 120). Similarly अयु:; अयु:, परिपर्श्येपो, भयन्तरीमाने.

8. The affixes ktvā and san (III. 1. 7) are kīt, after rud ‘to weep’, vid ‘to know’, mush ‘to steal’, grah ‘to seize’, svap ‘to sleep’, and prachchh ‘to ask.’
After the above mentioned verbs the *ktuḍ* though taking an intermediate Ṛ, and the affix सन् are कित्. The affix सन् is employed in forming desiderative verbs. The छ of सन् is दु, the real affix being स. The root is reduplicated before this सन् affix. Thus सुखस् ‘having cried,’ हुक्षित् ‘he wishes to cry’; विखित् ‘having known,’ विविवित् ‘he wishes to know’; गृहित् (VI. 1. 16). ‘having taken,’ निपुत् ‘he wishes to take’; सुनित् ‘having stolen,’ सुपुष्पित् ‘he wishes to steal’; सुवत् (VI. 1. 15) ‘having slept,’ सुपुष्पित् ‘he wishes to sleep,’ दुः (VI. 1. 16) ‘having asked,’ विपुष्पित् ‘he wishes to ask’. The verb तष्ण is changed into तुष्ण, तष्ण into सुष्ण, प्रष्ण into व्रṣṇ before *kit* affixes by samprastaraṇa (VI. 1. 16).

The *ktuḍ* and *san* would have been optionally *kit* after the verb नष्ण, विष्ण and सुष्ण by virtue of Rule 26 of this chapter, but this sutra makes them necessarily so, after these three verbs. In the case of the verb तष्ण, these affixes are *kit* by virtue of this sutra only. In the case of the verbs सुष्ण and प्रष्ण the affix सन् is of course *kit*, because these two verbs are anīt, that is, they do not take the intermediate Ṛ; and therefore the सन् being directly affixed to them, and rule 18 not applying, the indicatory *k* would make it *kit*. In reference to these verbs, therefore, the present sutra teaches something new, only with regard to the affix सन्, by making that also *kit*. The verb प्रष्ण takes the intermediate Ṛ when the affix सन् follows, by virtue of sutra VII. 2. 75.

एको सन् ॥ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ एकः, सन् (सन्, कित्) ॥
इति: ॥ इगर्नाथारामीः परो शास्त्रः सन् कित्यांशति ॥

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

In this sutra there is the *anuvṛtti* of सन् only and not of सन्. The sutra literally translated means:—“After *ik* the *jhal*.” The *Pratyāhāra* सन् contains the four letters Ṛ, Ṛ, छ, छ. The *Pratyāhāra* सन् contains all the consonants, except the nasals and the liquids. After the verbs ending in सन् the desiderative suffix सन् is *kit*, when it is हर्जाति, that is to say when the affix सन् does not take the intermediate Ṛ. The affix सन् is an affix which begins with छ a letter of the हर्जः class. But if the intermediate Ṛ is added before it, it is no longer a हर्जाति affix, and in that case it is not *kit*. Thus from जल ‘to conquer’ which is a verb ending in सन्, we have निर्रिति ‘he wishes to conquer’ छ ‘to mix’ व्रष्णिति; so also हृ ‘to do,’ निरीक्षिति हृ ‘to cross’ तिरीणाय, छ ‘to be’ दुष्णिति.

If however, verbs ending in Ṛ or छ or सन् or छ, take an intermediate Ṛ, they likewise take गुण. As:—सि ‘to smile’ takes गुण, and makes its desiderative विरीणिति.
The त्रानार्थिन सन्न is not kit after verbs ending in any other letter than the इक्ल. As दिपालि (from या) "he wishes to drink." So from या we have दिपालि.

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

हर्षत्तत् ॥ १२ ॥ पदालि ॥ हर्ष-अभावात्, च, ( इक्ल, इक्ल, रुक्त, कितथा ) ॥

हर्ष: ॥ हर्षत्तत्तवचित्समीपाछाय: पर: दिपालि: कितथा: ॥

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

Thus from वित्र to pierce we have बित्रिःसिंहि 'he wishes to break,' here the root नित्र contains the इक vowel इ; it ends in a consonant इ; the affix वत्री is directly added without taking an intermediate इ, and therefore it fulfills all the conditions of the sūtra; and the vowel is not gunated.
If the final consonant of the verb is not preceded by a vowel of the \textit{ik} class, the affix चत्र is not \textit{kit} after such a verb. As चत्र + चत्र + चे = विवस्त्रे 'wishes to sacrifice.' Had the affix चत्र been here a \textit{kit} affix, there would have been samprasārāṇa by rule VI. 1. 16 which declares that there is samprasārāṇa of the verbs चत्र, सत्र, and ब्र, &c., before \textit{kit} affixes.

If the \textit{san} takes the intermediate ह and is then no longer a जलानि चत्र, it is not \textit{kit}; and causes gunation etcetera, As इत्र + ह + चत्र = विवस्त्रे 'he desires to be.' Here there is guna of \textit{ri}.

Roots like इत्र, इत्र &c., are governed by this rule, though they end in conjunct consonants, for the word इत्र of the sūtra means \textit{jāti} or class; thus इत्र + चत्र + विन्त्र = इत्र + ब्रत्र (VI. 4. 24 the \textit{m} being elided by treating चत्र as विन्त्र) = ब्रस्त्रि or विन्त्रि (VII. 4. 56).

Accordingly to the Sūtra II. 11, इत्र-विन्त्रि, आरम्भनेत्रेशु (एकक्षात् इत्र क्षत्र) इत्र.

\textbf{III:} इत्र-विन्त्रि, आरम्भनेत्रेशु पर: इत्र-विन्त्रि आरम्भनेत्रेशु पर्यः. विन्त्रि इत्र-विन्त्रि आरम्भनेत्रेशु पर्यः:

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

The sūtra consists of two words इत्र-विन्त्रि and आरम्भनेत्रेशु, literally meaning "the affixes \textit{lin} and \textit{sich} in the Ātmanepada." The other phrases, given in the above text must be supplied from the previous sūtras, to complete the sense. The \textit{anuvṛtti} of the word इत्र, that began with sūtra 8, does not extend further. As:—निवित्रि 'may he break' and विन्त्रि 'may he know,' ब्रत्रि 'he broke' विस्त्रि 'he knew.'

Thus the root इत्र ends with a simple consonant, is preceded by ह a letter of \textit{ik} pratyāhāra; after this root the jhalādi affix सीत्र of Benedictive in the Ātmanepada is treated like कित्र; therefore there is no guna substitution of the vowel of the root before this affix. इत्र + सीत्र = विन्त्रि. Similarly in the Aorist we have भावि = च + मित्र + विन्त्र + ह, the ह of Aorist being elided by VIII. 2. 26. So also इत्र + सीत्र = इत्र + सीत्र (VIII. 2. 37) = विन्त्रि.

If the final consonant is not preceded by an \textit{ik} vowel, this rule will not apply. Thus Ben. चत्र + सीत्र = चत्र + सीत्र (VIII. 2. 36) = चत्र + सीत्र (VIII. 2. 41) = ब्रस्त्रि (VIII. 3. 58). Similarly its Aorist is भावि. Had the affixes सीत्र and ह been \textit{kit}, they would have caused samprasārāṇa of ह by VI. 1. 16.
This rule will not apply, if the Benedictive and Aorist affixes are Parasmaipadi. Thus the Aorist of द्वार ‘to let off,’ is भ + द्वार + दिश्न = भ + द्वार + दिश्न (VI. 1. 58) - प्राद्वार + दिश्न (VI. 1. 77) - अभाद्वार (VII. 2. 1). Similarly from द्वार we have Aorist Parasmaipadi द्वारात्मक. Had the Aorist been दिश्न, rule VI. 1. 58 (ध is the augment of the verbs द्वार and द्वार when an affix beginning with a jhal and not having an indicatory घ follows), would not have applied.

This rule will also not apply, if the verb ends in a vowel. Thus of the verb द्वार, we have Ben. द्वार, Aor. द्वार. Had the affixes been दिश्न, there would have been no guna substitution of घ into घ.

The rule will not apply if these affixes are not jhalddi but take the augment द्वार. Thus Ben. द्वार + द्वार - द्वारिक, so also Aorist द्वारिक. Had they been दिश्न, there would have been no guna substitution.

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

"र्ग" १२ पदानि चः, चः (विद्वदिष्ठ आतमेनेपदेषु द्वार दिश्नं)

शस्त्रः र्ग च च् र्गमानेष्ठ च तद्।

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

As from कु ‘to do’ the benedictive is कुपीठ ‘may he do.’ So also लिन, as चक्त ‘he did.’ So also हपीठ and खपीठ.

Of course this rule would not apply if these terminations take the intermediate च; as च + हपीठ = हपीठ ‘may he choose’ (Benedictive); च + ह + ह = हपीठ or हपीठ ‘he chose or covered,’ the च being lengthened by VII. 2. 38.

"ब्ग" १३ पदानि वा, खमः (विद्वदिष्ठ आतमेनेपदेषु द्वार दिश्नं)

शस्त्रः र्ग प्रमानेष्ठ च तद्।

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

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

The result of its being kit is that the nasal is dropped in the Atmanepada, in forming the Aorist with दिन्न, and the Benedictive. Thus we have
the forms:—संग्रंथि or संग्रंथ् in the Benedicive; and समग्र or समग्रन्त in the sich Aorist. These forms are thus evolved:—

सम + गत्र + सीत = सम + ग + सीत (VI. 4. 37) = संग्रंथि 'may he combine.'

Here the nasal म of गत्र is elided by treating the affix सीत as दित्र by Rule VI. 4. 37. In the alternative we have संग्रंथि.

So in the aorist सम + गत्र + सीत + व = सम + व + गत्र + गत्र + स (VI. 4. 37) = समग्र.

The दित्र being elided by VIII. 2. 27 (after a short inflective base, there is elision of दित्र, if a ज्ञात follows). So when म of गत्र is elided by VI. 4. 37, there remains only व which is a base ending in short इ, hence, the elision of दित्र. But in the alternative we have समग्रन्त.

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

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

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

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

The result of kit is that the nasal is elided. The verb बल becomes Atmanepada when preceded by the preposition बल by rule I. 3. 28. Thus बल + ब + बल + व = बलवत = 'he devulged,' बलसागर, बलस्ति, the sich is elided by VIII. 2. 27 and म by VI. 4. 37. When the verb बल has any other meaning than 'to divulge,' then the दित्र in the Atmanepada is not kit; as वायव्यस्त बल, 'he raised the foot.' So also सतायत्त व्याधुरस्तवः 'he raised water from the
well. Though here the verb *yam*, is in the transitive form and takes an object after it, yet it is Atmanepadi by Rule I. 3. 75 which declares "after the verb *yam* to strive, preceded by ष, ष and ष when it does not refer to a book, the Atmanepada is employed."

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

Thus वाप्याव कन्यास or वाप्याव कन्यास 'he espoused the girl,' वाप्याव or वाप्याव भार्ष्यास 'he espoused his wife.'

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

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

The roots श्या 'to stand,' श 'to give,' श ठ 'to place' ह 'to pity' ह 'to feed' ह 'to cut' change their vowels into ष before the terminations of the Aorist of the Atmanepada; and those terminations are also *kit*. As व्यास्यं, 'he worshipped' व्यास्यं, व्यास्यं; वादिब 'he gave' वादिब 'he fed.'

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

We had occasion to refer to this sūtra in explaining sūtra 7. The affix *ktvd* (the actual affix being *td*, the k being merely *st* or indicator letter) is on the face of it a *kit* affix. This sūtra however limits its kitness to cases where it is not *set*. If it is *set* i.e., has before it the intermediate ष it will not be treated like a *kit* affix. Thus in मः, यशा, the affix यशा is added directly to the root मः 'to do' and मः 'to sacrifice,' without an intermediate ष and therefore the root has not been gunated, the affix here being *kit*. But in
Affixes like कित्.

Of course this sūtra relates to कृत kūt only. Other affixes though having an intermediate ह will be treated as kīt, if they have an indicatory क. Thus the affix किन्तू (III. 3. 94) by which feminine nouns are formed from roots is a कित affix. This affix when ते, will remain किन्तू, as नित् + सूह + ह्र = नित् + सूह + ह्र + विन्त (VI. 1. 16) =नितुखिकित्: (VII. 2. 37). Here there is samprāśāna by treating कित as कित. So also in यपलितिकित्: and निक्तिकित्: there is no guṇa. After मूह &c., the affix किन्तू takes the augment ह्र by a Vārtika under sūtra VII. 2. 9 which see.

19. The set Nishṭhā affixes are not kīt after the verbs स् 'to lie down,' वृद्ध 'to sweat,' मृद 'to melt,' क्षविद 'to be unctuous,' and द्विप 'to offend.'

The Nishṭhās are क्ता and क्तवत (see sūtra 26, Chapter I). They are obviously kīt affixes. But in the case of the above five roots they are not kīt, and the vowels take guṇa. Thus राजिया: slept, राजियान, पारसिया, प्रेटिया, पुस्तेनिया; परसियान, प्रेटियान, पारसियान, प्रार्थिया, प्रार्थियान &c. In all the above roots the Nishṭhā affixes are also सूह.

The roots इश्वर (विभिन्ना: ), इश्वर (विभिन्ना: ), इश्वर (विभिन्ना: ) and घुष्ण (vīṣप्राय) have all long या as indicatory, as well as the syllable या. These roots therefore by Rule VII. 2. 16 are generally उनिक, and consequently beyond the scope of the operation of the present sūtra. As इश्वर:, इश्वरान, इश्वरण. But when the Nishṭhā affixes denote 'a state or condition, bhāva,' or 'beginning of action,' then the above four roots optionally become सूह. (VII. 2. 17) It is in that case that the present sūtra is applicable to them.

20. The set Nishṭhā is not kīt after the verb म्पिरिश when meaning 'to forbear.'

Thus म्पिरिष: 'forborne' म्पिरिशान 'forbore.'

Why do we say 'when meaning to forbear?' When it has not this sense, the set nishṭhā will be कित्. As चषाणपिते राजवाह 'he spoke unintelligible language.'
The set Nishtha is optionally not kit, after the verbs with a penultimate स if used impersonally or denoting the beginning of action.

According to some the set Nishtha suffixes are not kit after the verbs having a penultimate स if those verbs are used impersonally (bhāva) or denote the beginning of action (ādi-karman). Thus युत् ‘to shine’ सुखितमनव or स्वाहितमनव ‘it has been lighted.’ Similarly वातितित: or पुडुवित: ‘he first illumined.’ The word penultimate or upadha has been defined in sutra 65 ante.

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

This rule has no application where the Nishtha does not express either भाव ‘condition’ or ‘Impersonal action’; or चारिकरम ‘beginning of action’ but is used as a verbal adjective. As सिद्धियों कारोपर्यः सुधि ‘he gives a shining coin (called kārshāpana).’ Here the word सिद्धि ‘shining’ is used as adjective.

The rule applies to the Nishtha which takes the intermediate स and not to others as सुधा चोक: ‘the rice that has been eaten.’ Here no option is allowed.

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

The word ‘optionally’ of the previous sutra 21 does not govern this sutra, because the word ‘optionally’ has been again used in the next sutra 23; of which there would have been no necessity, had the word ‘optionally’ governing force in this sutra, for then this would have also governed the next sutra. The anuvṛtti of न चेत् however is to be read in this sutra.
By rule VII. 2. 51 after the verb श्रु the affixes Nish्ठा and क्रा क्षुद take the intermediate र. So that क्रा क्षुद being सेत (by virtue of Rule VII. 2. 51) would have been non-kit by Rule 18; and it might be asked what is the necessity of repeating it in this sūtra: when sūtra 18 comprised the case. The reason of this repetition is that by mentioning क्रा क्षुद in this sūtra, it has governing force over the succeeding sūtras. As पवित्र, पवित्रत्र.

23. The सेत क्षुद is optionally kit, after the verbs having a penultimate र and ending in र and र.

The सेत क्षुद may or may not be kit after the verbs ending in र or र preceded by a nasal. The result of being kit will be that nasal will be dropped. In other words the dropping of the nasal is optional in such verbs. Thus from संध्य we have मचित्वा or मचित्वा 'having twisted,' गुचित्वा or गुचित्वा 'having tied round' भगित्वा or भगित्वा.

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

This rule does not apply to verbs that have not a penultimate र though they may end in र or र. As रक्षित्वा 'having reviled,' गोचित्वा 'having tied.' Here by rule 18, the स्वा क्षुद being non-kit, the vowels of the root रित्व, and रुष्ट्य have been gunated.

A verb may have a penultimate र, but if it has not final र or र, the rule does not apply. As संध्य + रत्सा-सचित्वा 'having dropped' भचित्वा 'having killed.' Had it been kit, the nasal would have been dropped.

24. The सेत क्षुद is optionally kit, after the verbs वतिच, 'to cheat' लुिच 'to pluck' and रित 'to dare or abhor.'

After the above three verbs, the क्षुद affix being सेत, may or may not be kit. As सचित्वा or सचित्वा 'having cheated.' So also लुिच्या or लुिच्या 'having plucked' क्षतिस्वा or क्षतिस्वा 'having dared.'

When the verb सर्सर रित takes the affix देवह it is not governed by this sūtra. See sūtra III. 1. 29.
When the *ktvd* is not *sēt*, but *anit*, then there is no option allowed.

As वष्ण + सरण = ब्लत्या.


tुपित्विपिव्रेः: कायपस्य || २५ || पदानि || द्वार-सूतिः-रूपे:।
कायपस्य, ( द्वा चेतु न कितुः ) ||


tृत्तिः: || द्वारे सूतिः द्वारे: पर: द्वारे परवर्त्त्ये कायपस्याचार्य्ये न ते व न
कित्तति।

25. The *sēt* *ktvd* is optionally *kit*, according to the opinion of Rishi Kāśyapa, after the verbs तिष्क ‘to be thirsty,’ छिष्क ‘to sprinkle,’ and यरः ‘to become lean.’

As कविर्याः or सतिष्क ‘having thirsted,’ केविर्या or झरिष्क ‘having sprinkled,’ कृदिर्या or कृषिर्या ‘having become lean.’ By *sūtra* 18, the *sēt* *ktvd* is never *kit*. This *sūtra* adds another exception to that general rule.

The special mention of Kāśyapa is for the sake of showing respect. The ता is already understood in this *sūtra* by Anuvṛtti from *sūtra* 23.

रेतो व्युपचार्य्याते: संय || २६ || पदानि || रशः, उ- उ-व्युपाचार्यः
एल-आदि:। चन, च ( बाचित तितुः ) ||


tृत्तिः: || उकारोपाचार्यकारोपाचार्यानि उकारति: पर: संय ग्रां वेते या कितो
भवत:।

26. After a verb which begins with a consonant, and ends in a letter of *Rāl pratyāhāra*, and has as its penultimate र or ल, द or द, the *ktvd* and *san* affixes are optionally *kit*.

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

1. रस: रलाल, ablative of रस (after the consonants included in the *Pratāhāra* rāl i.e., all the consonants except य and व):—Verbs having their final letter any single consonant except य or व.

2. व्युपाचार्य means “after penultimate श.” It is a compound of श + उपाचार्य. The श itself is a compound of द + र = श, in the dual श. Therefore the phrase means “after (verbs) having for their penultimate either र or ल u long or short.”

3. इन्त्याः: means “beginning with a consonant.”

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

4. संय means “and san.”

The *sūtra* means, those verbs which have a रस letter in the end, a रस in the beginning, and an र, ल or द, द in their penultimate, may optionally treat the affixes *ktvd* and *san* as ब्लतुः.
Thus त्वु to shine, makes युति or युति having shone, तित्र to write makes जलि or जलि.

Similarly in san affix we have जलि or जलि he wishes to write तः त् or त् he wishes to shine.

The rule does not apply if the verb ends in a letter other than र।
As रि + रात्र = रात्रि; its desiderative will be रात्रि. No option is allowed here.

Similarly there is no option when the penultimate vowel is not र or र। As रि + रात्र = रात्रि. Des. निधि.

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

The rule does not apply if the रा and श्रु are anit. As रुसन, रुसने.

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

A vowel whose time is that of short उ, long ध and the prolated उ, is called respectively hrasva short, dirgha long, and pluta prolated.

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

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

As ष्टि ‘curd’ नेप ‘honey’ here ध and ध are short. कुमारी, गोरी, here ध is long. भेदवाह भाव देवदत्त ध। Here ध is pluta or prolated.

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

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

This is a paribhāṣā sūtra, and declares the object to which the terms ‘short,’ ‘long’ and ‘prolated’ are to be applied. When in this book ‘short’
'long' or 'prolated' are taught by using the words *hrasva, dirgha or pluta*, they must be understood to apply to vowels. As will be found in the सूत्रा, I. 2. 47, "there is the substitution of *hrasva* or short in the neuter gender of the crude-form." The word 'vowel' must be inserted in this सूत्रा to complete the sense. That is:—the *hrasva* is substituted for the final *vowel* of the crude-form. As रे द्वितिरि, नौ वातिनु, गो वचनू.

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

Similarly सूत्रा VII. 4. 25, "There is the substitution of *dirgha* or 'long vowel' before all affixes beginning with the letter व्र, except *krit* and सार्वधातुखा affixes." Here also the word 'vowel' must be read into the सूत्रा; which will then be "of an injective base ending in a *vowel*, the long vowel shall be the substitute &c." As रि + व्रू + वे = चीयवेव 'it is collected'; व्र + व + वे = भ्रुवेव 'it is heard'. Why do we say "in the place of vowels only"? The substitution must take place in the room of a *vowel* and not of a consonant. As व्रि + व + वे = निघवेव 'it is divided,' हिघवेव 'it is pierced'.

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

Why do we say "in the place of *vowels only"? The substitution must be in the place of the *vowel* of the हि and not of the consonant. As ग्राणिनिििििि, ग्रामुशुििि. Here the syllables व्रू and व्रू are हि, and the vowels व and व have been prolated and not the consonant व्र.

The substitution must be enunciated as such by using the terms, *hrasva, dirgha, and pluta*. Therefore it is not so here; यो; पान्या; व; गृहायु बुधि: | See I. 1. 4:

रायद्वाहः | 29 | रद्वांगि | उद्वान्; | उदित: | (अष्ट;) |
कृति: | योरिक्षल्यनां योचिनु स ऊर्ध्वसन्धो नविषि:
29. The *vowel* that is perceived as having a high tone is called *Udātta* or acutely accented.

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

(1) हस्तेषु नुवअस्ते प्रक्षिपिक्षयं | (2) जनकर्ष्याधागुषयस्य: | (3) शाभ्यस्य: |
in writing. The word 'vowel' of the previous sūtra is understood in this also. These accents are the qualities of letters, and are well known in the sacred and profane literature. The vowel which is perceived as having a high tone is called udātta. This tone depends upon the organ from which the vowel is pronounced. In the various organs, such as the throat, palate &c., if a vowel is pronounced from a higher part of that organ, it is called udātta. The vowel in the pronouncing of which there is the restraining and checking of the bodily parts, and in which there is dryness and roughness of tone, as well as a contraction of the larynx, is said to have the acute accent. The word is used in sūtra III. i. 3. 1 "the first vowel of an affix has the udātta accent." As कु + कन्धु = कर्तव्य- kartavyam.

30. The vowel that is perceived as having a low tone is called Anudātta or gravely accented. The word "vowel" of s. 28 is understood in this sūtra. As क्षण: agnīḥ, here has the grave accent. The vowel accent known as grave or anudātta is pronounced by lowering the voice. In writing, the anudātta is marked by a line underneath the vowel. The vowel which is uttered from the lower portions of its special place of pronunciation gets the grave accent.

This word is used in sūtra III. 1. 4. 9 "The case terminations called गुरू and those affixes that have an indicatory गृ are anudātta" &c. As नवः, बोधानि.

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

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

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

The word is used in sūtra VI. 1. 185. 3 "The affixes having an indicatory गृ have svarita accent." As जन्या kanyā द्विक्षिणः śikyām, हेक kva.

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

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

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

The phrase ardhahrasva is used to indicate half the measure of a short vowel. Thus if a short vowel is svarita, its mātrā being one, half will be udātta and the other half anudātta. If a long vowel, whose mātrās are two, be svarita, then ½ will be udātta, ½ will be anudātta. If a plutā (protracted) vowel be svarita, then first half measure will be udātta, and the remaining ½ measures will be anudātta. In short, the udātta portion of a svarita must not occupy more time than is taken in pronouncing a half short vowel. Thus in विकर्षण् sūkyam the a is svarita, half being acute, the other half, grave or monotony; in कृष्णं kanyā, the long a is svarita, its first half measure is acute, the remaining ½ is grave; in मनावकरं manavakā, here a prolated is svarita, its first ½ is acute, the balance ½ measure is grave.

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

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

The word 'Sambuddhi' means here addressing a person from a distance; and has not its technical meaning of the singular number of the vocative case. As यागस्व नो माधवं हेविन्ताः 'O boy Devadatta! come.' There is vanishing of all the accents in the above case; and the final short vowel of Devadatta is changed into plutā by the rule already referred to in s. 28 ante (VIII. 2. 84)
Ekasruti defined.  [Bk. I. Ch. II. § 34, 35]

If the person is not addressed from a distance, then the word will get its proper accent. As खानच्छ भो खानवत रेषति 'come, O boy. Devadatta."

यज्ञकर्मः जपन्यूक्त-सामस्यु ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्ञ-कर्मेणि, अज-प-न्यूक्त-सामस्यु (एकस्थिति:) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ जपन्यूक्त-सामस्युमानि वर्गांविस्तर यज्ञकर्मणि नन्मानामैव युग्मं भवति ॥

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

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

"Japa" is the repetition of mantras, and their recitation in a low voice or whisper. Nyūnkha is the name of certain hymns of the veda, and the names of 16 sorts of "Om." Some of these are pronounced with udātta and others with anudatta accent. Sāmas are songs, or the musical cadence in which some vedic hymns are to be uttered. As:—अनिन्दुसिद्धिरुक्तपितिः पञ्चन्यति: पञ्चन्यति: साऴस्य सूचयत्। धनात्म रेमति जिन्त्वो ॥ १ ॥ (Rig Veda VIII. 14. 16).

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

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

In the sama chanting, the mantras should have their accent, there can be no Ekaśruti there. As यहैं विद्वेषपेतु रहस्य। Here there is no Ekaśruti.

दैविष्टरां बा बप्तकारः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दैविष्टराम, बा, बप्तकारः (यज्ञकर्मेणि, एकस्थिति:) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ यज्ञकर्मणि बप्तकारः दैविष्टरां बा भवति एकस्थिति। ॥

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

The phrase "yajña-karma" is understood here. Even in yajña-karmas or sacrifices the word चौप्रद: may optionally be pronounced in a raised tone. The word चौप्रद: in the sūtra signifies चौप्रद:. But why was not the word चौप्रद: used in the text, it could have been used with as much ease as चौप्रद:? To this natural query, the only answer is, विविधता: इति सूतस्य कृति: पाणिनि: strange and wonderful is the structure of Panini's aphorisms. Thus सोमस्यान्ते श्रीसाधु श्रीं पर or सोमस्यान्ते श्रीराधु श्रीं परः।
36. The Monotony is optional in the recitation of the Vedas, or they may be recited with accents.

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

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

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

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

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

The subrahmanya hymns are portions of Rig Veda mentioned in ṣatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

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

As गुरुस्तथ्यो षुद्धिकोषा सतपाठा धर्मस्यायण्यः. Here the word गुरुस्तथ्य is formed by the addition of the affix ब्रु to the word गुरुस्तथ्य, and this ब्रु will get svarita
accent by VI. 1. 185, (तत्स्वरित्य) as it has an indicator र; by the present sūtra, this nascent svarita is changed into udātta. In the phrase इन्द्र भाग्य, the word Indra being in the vocative case, र is udātta, the ॐ of Indra is anudātta VI. 1. 198 1 The anudātta preceded by an udātta is changed into svarita (VIII. 4. 66) *.

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

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

By sūtra 37, it was declared, that in subrahmanya hymns, svarita accent is replaced by udātta accent. This sūtra makes an exception in favor of the words इन्द्र and भ्राम्ण occurring in those hymns. These words have anudātta accent. As हिरि भ्राम्ण भाग्य 'come ye Devas and Brahmāṇas.' Here the word हिरि gets udātta accent, on the first syllable by rule VI. 1. 198. 1 (in the vocative the accent is on the beginning): र व is originally an anudātta accent which by rule VIII. 4. 66 * (an anudātta following an udātta is changed into svarita) would have been changed into svarita. This svarita, by the previous sūtra required to be changed into udātta; but by this rule, it is replaced by anudātta. In other words, the original anudātta remains unchanged.

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

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

(*) भ्राम्णीत्व प ॥ (*) वर्षातादात्ताः स्वरितं ॥
the anuddatta accents become Ekaśruti if they are preceded by svarita vowels; and are pronounced monotonously. As त्रेता बन्धने सरस्वति (Rig Veda X. 75. 5) O Ganga, Yamuna, Sarasvati this mine.

Here the word त्रेता has udatta on the last syllable: the word त्रेता is originally anuddatta, but by rule VIII. 4. 66 following an udatta, it is changed into svarita; after this svarita all anuddatta like त्रेता, &c., are replaced by ekaśruti. All the vowels of the words त्रेता बन्धने &c., had anuddatta accent by rule VIII. 1. 19 (all vocatives get anuddatta if standing in the middle of a sentence and not beginning a stanza.)

The word “sanhitā” has been used in the sūtra to show that when there is a hiatus between the words then there is no change of anuddatta into ekaśruti. The word sanhitā will be defined in sūtra I. 4. 109.

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

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

The sannatara is therefore that accent which was originally anuddatta, and which is preceded by a svarita and is followed by an udatta or a svarita.

This is one explanation of the sūtra. There is another explanation which does not take the anusvṛtti of Ekaśruti in this sūtra. The anuddatta is replaced by sannatara when such anuddatta immediately precedes an udatta or a svarita. The sannatara is also called anuddatta. As रेवा गहनं: श्रेमषःतरोऽव: Here the word मात्रत: is anuddatta. The word धर्म: has udatta on the last syllable by VI. 1. 171. In the phrase धर्मस्वरोऽव: (धर्म: + प्रम:) The syllable रे is anuddatta, because anuddatta + anuddatta = anuddatta. This anuddatta रे, preceding the udatta प:, is changed into sannatara.

अपृत्त एकाद्रिप्रयः || 41 || पदानि || अपृत्तः || एक-अन्तः ||

प्रवयः ||

प्रवयः || अपृत्तः इति च बंश्यं भवति एकाद्रिः प्रवयस्वरः ||

(1) उद्धाराभुततःतरः सरस्वतिः || (2) प्रामणित्वरः परः || (3) परम: द्विनिक्षे: संज्ञि ||

(*) वर्णस्वार्यायवृत्ताय: ||
41. An affix consisting of a single letter is called an *Aprikta*.

This defines *Aprikta* affixes. They are those affixes which consist of only one letter of the alphabet. Thus the affix रू in श्रेष्ठि is a one lettered suffix and is an *Aprikta*. Similarly the affix किन is an *Aprikta*, because the letters क, र, and रू are merely indicatory, the real affix is रू. This रू being a single letter, and therefore an *Aprikta*, when added to a base, is elided by rule VI. 1. 67 (the *Aprikta* रू is elided). Thus पुत्रस्वत + किन्न = पुनस्वत + (III. 2. 58) - = पुनस्वत॥ वंगवं + किन्न = अहमाख 'co-sharer.' (III. 2. 62). An affix which consists of more than one letter is not an *Aprikta*. As ज्रिः 'a ladle' formed by the Upādi affix ज्रिः (पुर्णां ज्रिः).

1 तत्पूर्वः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधरायः || 42 || पदार्थः तत्पूर्वः,

वंगवंशिच्छ: कर्मधरायः, कर्मधरायः, ||

वंगवंशिच्छ: कर्मधरायः कर्मधरायः वंगवं वंगवं ||

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

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

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

As, परमालाश्च, is a karmadhāraya compound meaning “the best Government.” Had it not been a karmadhāraya compound, the udāta accent would have fallen on the syllable श by rule VI. 2. 130, (the word राज्यस्व has udatta on the first syllable in Tat-purusha compounds, except in karmadhāraya).

Similarly पारिक्ष + अन्तरिक्ष - पारिक्ष-अन्तरिक्ष। (VI. 3. 42) the feminine adjective is changed into masculine in the karmadhāraya).

Each member of a compound may have the same case, but if it is not a Tat-purusha compound, it won’t be karmadhāraya. As पारिक्ष + भार्या - पारिक्ष-भार्या। ‘He who has a wife for a cook.’ This is an example of a Bahuvrihi compound, and therefore the word पारिक्ष retains its gender sign.
A compound may be a *Tat-purusha*, but if its component parts do not refer to the same thing and are not in the same case, it won’t be karmadhāraya:—सूर्य राज्यमं ब्राह्मणा राज्यम ‘a Brahmana kingdom.’ Here राज्यम gets uñatā on the first syllable by the rule already mentioned (VI. 2. 130).

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

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

Thus sūtra II. 1. 24 (द्रित्या विनिर्द्वेष विनिर्द्वेषा विनिर्द्वेषा:) is a samāsa sūtra enjoining composition. In this sūtra the word द्रित्या is exhibited in the nominative case, and the remaining words are in the Instrumental case. The sūtra means, “An accusative (द्रित्या) is compounded with the words भिन्न, द्रित्या, विनिर्द्वेष, विनिर्द्वेष, ब्राह्मण, and ब्राह्मण and forms *Tat-purusha*.” Therefore, in forming accusative compounds, the word having the accusative case will be called Upasarjana. Thus कदनि+भिन्न = कदनिभिन्न. Here the word कदनि being Upasarjana, stands first in the compound, by Rule II. 2. 30. उपसर्जितपुरुष, (in a compound the Upasarjana should be placed first). Similarly in rules relating to the formation of Instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative *Tat-purusha*, the words standing in those cases will be Upasarjana. Thus चंद्रेनायकः, खुसल; कुणतयु, राजपुरुषः, धर्मदैवतः.

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

44. A word which has one fixed case, (while the word compounded with it may vary its case) is also *upasarjana*, except for the purposes of the rule which requires the *upasarjana* to stand first in a compound.
A word which in the analytical statement of the sense of a compound has one fixed case, whilst the word with which it is compounded may vary its case is also called upasarjana, but does not necessarily stand first.

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

Thus the prepositions नि: &c., when meaning across &c., are compounded with another word in the ablative case. Though the first word may have any one of the several case terminations, the second member must always be in the fifth (ablative) case, when analytically stated. Ex निर्माणः:

+ कौशलम् = निर्माणम्: , निर्माणः + कौशलम् = निर्माणकौशलम् , निर्माणः +

Similarly the word निर्माणः:

If the word, when analytically stated, does not retain the one and the same case, it will not be called upasarjana, as the word कृत्तिर in the compound राजकुमारिः, 'the king's daughter,' because राजः: + कृत्तिर = राजकुमारिः; राजः: + कृत्तिरः = राजकुमारिः; राजः: + कृत्तिः = राजकुमारिः, राजः: + कृत्तिः = राजकुमारिः.

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

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

अयुबद्दातुरमतिः प्रातिपदिकः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदार्थः || अयुबद्धः

अयुबद्धः , अयुबद्धः , प्रातिपदिकः ॥

प्रृति: || प्रायेषव्यवस्थाः प्रातिपदिकः संस्करणं नवते धातुप्रस्तरः ब्याख्या ॥

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

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

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

(¹) उपसर्गं जूडः ||
a pratipadika, as विन्यः: 'a wooden elephant,' कविश्यः: 'the wood-apple tree,' कुङ्खः 'a bowl,' पीठः 'a seat'.

Why do we say "significant"? Of course it must have some meaning,
thus of the word श्री, we cannot say that the portion श्री is pratipadika; as it
has no meaning, and had it been a pratipadika, the final न would have been
dropped by Rule VIII. 2. 7 1 (the final न of a pratipadika is dropped).

The word must not be a verb, as the word प्रतिव्र (the third person
sing. number, Imperfect tense of प्रति); he killed. Had it been a pratipadika,
the न would have been dropped.

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

A nipāta or particle though not a significant form of a word, yet gets
the designation of pratipadika in the opinion of the author of the Mahā-
bhāshya. As चप्प्रान्ताद्दि, बलम्वेये.

(प्रातिपदिकस्.)

(1) कुतस्त्रि: ततसान्तः अविनिष्ठतं भक्षितं

46. The forms ending in Krit affixes, or Taddhita affixes, or compound are also called Pratipadika.

This further explains the use of the word pratipadika. "Suffixes for the
formation of nouns are of two kinds. Those by which nouns are derived direct
from roots, primary suffixes. Those by which nouns are derived from other
nouns; secondary suffixes. The former are called Krit, (III. 1. 93) 9 the latter
Taddhita (IV. 1. 76). 8 Thus जन jana, man, is derived from the root जन jun
by the krit suffix त; but जनीन jānīna, appropriate for man, is derived from
जन jana by the Taddhita affix तन ina. The name pratipadika would apply
both to जन jana and जनीन jānīna, as nominal bases ready to receive the termi-
nations of declension" (Max Müller).

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

In the last sūtra, the words "not ending in an affix" were too exten-
sive; this sūtra makes an important provision in favor of words ending in
Krit or Taddhita affixes. So also compounds are also called pratipadika.
Being restricted to compounds only, it, of course, does not apply to sentences.

(1) नलेप: मातिपदिकान्तरंिः (२) कुङ्खः (३) विन्तः निष्ठतः
The words formed by krit affixes are pratipadika as, क (to do)+षुष्ट्र—
क्रष +षु—कारू+ष्रक—कारू. The affix षुष्ट्र is a krit affix, and it is added
the root to form agent by Rule III. 1. 133. ¹ The letters षु and ष are indicatory,
the force of ष being to cause the vṛddhi of the vowel of the root. The real
affix षु is changed into ष्र by (VII. 1. ² the affixes षु and ष are replaced by षन and ष्र respectively), thus the form कारू is a pratipadika,
and is capable of declension by receiving case terminations, as, कारू: ।
Similarly क्र +षु (III. 1. 133) ¹ = करू; nom. case कसा.

The word formed by Taddhita affixes are also pratipadika; क्षुष्ट्र +
ष्रषु=प्रोष्ठगो +षु=प्रोष्ठगक ‘the son of the Rishi Upag: nom. case प्रोष्ठगक;
similarly क्षष्ट्र: ।

In fact in the chapters treating of these affixes, the derivative sub-
tantives formed by them are always shown by the Indian Grammarians in the
nominative case singular number. The examples of nouns given in this
book will be always declined nouns and not pratipadikas, except in peculiar
cases. So also in the chapter of samāsa or compounds.
The words ending in compound are pratipadika: as राज: +षुष्ट्र: = राज-
षूष्ट्र, nom. case राजषूष्ट्र: ।

हुस्को नन्युष्टके प्रातिपदिकस्य ॥ ॥ पदानि ॥ हुस्क: , नन्युष्टके ,
प्रातिपदिकस्य: ॥

हुस्क: नन्युष्टककलिशुः चच्चालिपिरिः चसति ततो हुस्को चच्चात चारेशोज्ज्ञोन्यथ्यथः: ॥

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

In the neuter gender, the pratipadika that would have ended in a long
vowel, changes it into short. Thus चाति +षु—चातिरि ‘extravagant’ as चातिरि=
कुलष्ट्र ‘an extravagant family’; चाति जो = चातिन्तु ‘very hairy’ चातिन्तु कुल ‘a very
hairy family.’

There is no substitution of short vowel, if the noun is not in the
neuter gender, as भाग + नी = भागनी, nom. case भागनी: ‘the leader of a village
or head-borough,’ similarly बेनानी: ‘the leader of an army.’

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

(¹) षुष्ट्र देवी ॥ (²) क्रषष्ट्रगकः ॥
to be so, because the word prātipadika has been especially mentioned in the text, and therefore this ekādēsa is not treated as the final of the form which precedes it.

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

Thus चित्र + शी = चित्रशी: 'possessed of a brindled cow'. This is an example of a Bahuvrihi or possessive compound. So also चित्रशी 'a spotted cow'. Similarly in those prātipadika upasarjanas which end in feminine suffixes having a final long vowel, there is a shortening. Thus ति: + कौमायक्री = कौमायक्री: Here the final long य is shortened. So also विघाहायिष्ठः.

The word prātipadika of the previous sutra is understood in this.

The word शी in the sutra means the form शी and not other words synonym with it. The word शी means "a word ending in a feminine affix," because it has the svarita accent. The word upasarjana qualifies both these words, i.e. when शी is an upasarjana and when a word having a feminine termination is an upasarjana.

Other examples are :—प्रति + कृष्ण = प्रतिकृष्णः 'without a bed stead'. प्रतिमानः: 'surpassing a necklace in beauty'.

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

Vart :—In Bahuvrihi compounds, exception must be made of feminine nouns ending in the affix इयमय, as बुधशय, विष्णुब्रह्मय.

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49. When a Taddhita affix is elided by the word luk there takes place the elision by luk of the feminine affix of the upasarasjana.

The word लक्ष्य defined in सूत्रा 61 Chapter I, is twice used in this सूत्रa. Where a Taddhita affix is elided by the word लक्ष्य; there the feminine suffix of the प्रतिपादिका is also dropped, or becomes luk. Thus there are certain Taddhita suffixes by which patronymics are formed (one of them being यज्ञ) from other nouns. Before this प्रतिय the initial vowel of the word is vridhied and the final is gminated. Thus निन्दु 'ocean'; forms निन्दु + यज्ञ = सत्+यज्ञ 'born in ocean or oceanic.' But there are certain words e.g. विविध, रुपनिनी &c. which are all feminine gender (see सूत्रa IV. 3. 34) after which the patronymic suffix is totally elided, without leaving any trace of its action, by using the word luk. Thus विविध + (प्रदनु) = विविध: II Here then the present सूत्रa finds its scope. The Taddhita suffix being luked; the original feminine termination यज्ञ also becomes luk. Therefore the patronymic derivative of विविध (is not a longer word, as might have been expected) but actually a shorter word, namely विविध; similarly from रुपनिनी we have रुपनिनी: &c.

Thus there is a feminine suffix called यज्ञ (actually लक्ष्य) and certain words like निन्दु &c., (IV. 1. 49) * take an additional suffix called निन्दु (actually निन्दु). Thus the feminine of निन्दु will be निन्दु + निन्दु + यज्ञ = निन्दु + यज्ञ: + लक्ष्य: = निन्दूलक्ष्य. Now in forming Dvigu compound (Numeral Determinative compound), the Taddhita suffixes are dropped. Thus विविधावश: 'an offering (purodashi) made in a dish with five compartments.' In this compound the Taddhita suffix यज्ञ is dropped. Otherwise the form would have been काशिकावश: II Similarly when the word निन्दूलक्ष्य forms a Dvigu compound, the Taddhita suffixes are dropped. But not only that, even the original radical affixes are also dropped by force of the present सूत्रa. Thus निन्दु: which means the cake sacred to the five goddesses निन्दूलक्ष्य. Here the full form was निन्दु + निन्दूलक्ष्य + यज्ञ: (The suffix यज्ञ has the force of "sacred to God." Thus निन्दु + यज्ञ = निन्दूलक्ष्य: sacred to God Indra). In the above expression, first the Taddhita-suffix यज्ञ: is luked by rule contained in सूत्रa IV. 1. 88 * relating to Dvigu compounds: we have then remaining लक्ष्य + निन्दूलक्ष्य. In this stage, the present सूत्रa comes into force and declares that where a Taddhita suffix has been luked, the final feminine suffixes of the upasarasjana प्रतिपादिका are also luked. Therefore, the feminine suffixes निन्दु and यज्ञ are also dropped, and we have निन्दु: which means "cake sacred to the five Indrānis (goddesses)."

(1) अविविधायनूपम्यस्वाधिकालिकतिव्यूःप्रदन्ताधिकालिकान्तालक्ष्य: II (2) इत्यद्विशव- अविविधायनूपम्यस्वाधिकालिकतिव्यूःप्रदन्ताधिकालिकान्तालक्ष्य: II (3) विविधावश:लक्ष्य: II
The words स्नी and upasarjana of the last sutra are understood in this. By the last sutra, a word ending in a feminine affix was told to be shortened when it was an upasarjana; this sutra teaches the total suppression of such an affix in special cases. To take another example: Thus Rule IV. 3. 163 declares फ़ज्जल्कुक् "luk takes the place of an affix signifying modification or product when fruit is meant." Thus ब्रह्म is an affix which means modification. Thus गो + ब्रह्म = गौक्रम 'cow's milk or the product of cow.' This affix is suppressed when applied to a tree, in the sense of the fruit of the tree. Thus the fruit of the tree शामलकी will be called शामलकी i.e., first the Taddhita affix is luked, and then the feminine affix is also dropped. Similarly fruits of बहरी or बहुती trees, are बहरं or बहुले.

This rule only applies when a Taddhita affix is elided; and not so when any other affix is luked. Thus गर्भस्यः + कुञ्ज = गार्भकुञ्जसु 'the family of Gargi.' Here in forming the समास, the case affix of the word Gargi is luked by II. 4 71 1. But this suppression of the genitive termination does not necessitate the elision of the feminine affix हे of Gargi.

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

Nor will the rule apply when the word is not an upasarjana. As श्रवणी, कृती, कुकुः.

इदुः नायदा: II 55 II पद्मानि II इत्तुः, मायस्यः, (तद्धित्तुष्किः) II इति: II गोष्यान्तिकुञ्जसु चानि इकारसेव्यो नभवति II.

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

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

This sutra is divided into two separate rules by the process called yoga-vibhâga. Thus हूः is made one sutra by itself, and then it means, when there is a suppression of Taddhita affix by हूः, then the long हूः is replaced by short हूः. Thus purchased with five needles - पायति: गोष्याः: कृति: - पंक्ति: गोष्याः: भावाः:। This is restricted to such examples of purchase only.

\(^{(1)}\) चौपी धारणामारितिविकरियोः II \(^{(2)}\) श्रवणीपूण्ड्रिकोऽग्यवष्टाबायुः II
A RULE OF LUP-ELISION. [Bk. I. Ch. II. § 51.

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

This sūtra consists of four words: लूप, 'where there is a rejection by using लूप' 2 लूप, 'appropriate to the same;' व्यतिक्रम, 'gender;' पदार्थ, 'number.' The form vyakti vachane is dual.

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

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

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

Thus स्वाभाविक: are a class of Kshatriyas, as such it is masculine gender and plural number. The country in which Paṇchālaś live is also called Paṇ- chālaś; similarly लक्षण, नामविकः &c. There is a rule जनातिरिक्त. (IV. 2. 81, the lup takes the place of an affix when signifying the proper name of a country or kingdom). Thus स्वाभाविकः: तथापि (this is one of the affixes forming country) स्वाभाविकः:

This rule does not apply when the affix is suppressed by the word लुक and not लूप. Thus लुकः लुकः 'salted soap' लवणावचावभुः 'salted gruel,' लवणाया ग्राहकः 'salted vegetable.' Here the affix लुकः has been elided by the word लुक, by IV. 4. 24, लवणालकः (after the word lavana; the affix is luted). These derivatives retain only the gender and number of the original, but no other quality. Thus as we have already seen that विश्वासः Sirishāḥ, is the name of a village and is formed by the lup of the affix. Now compounding it with वन we have विश्वासवन्नः the forest of the village Sirishāḥ. Here
the word गारीपा: means village, and not trees. Had it meant trees called 
सरीशा, then the न of गारी would have become न optionally by Rule VIII.
4. 6. (विभाजनिक विनिर्देश: न the of the word गारी is optionally changed into न 
when preceded by words signifying annual herbs and trees).

Vart:—In the case of the words Haritaki &c. the gender only is 
retained and not the number. As हरितक्षण फलानि 'the fruits of Haritaki.' Here 
पद्म न is neuter in form, while हरितक्षण is feminine.

Vart:—The words खाजातिक &c. retain their number only but not gen-
der, as खाजातिक: वनानि 'mountain forests i.e. forests in the vicinity of mountains.' 
Here खाजातिक is singular and वनानि plural, but the gender of both is the same 
vis. neuter.

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

When a Taddhita is luped, the adjectives which qualify such secondary 
derivatives agree with them in number and gender. This is a rule of syntax. Thus 
पंचाला: रमणीय: बुद्ध: बुद्रतीपत्रा: बुद्धाल्पक्या: 'the pleasant रहचाला: having 
plenty of food, plenty of milk and butter.' Here the adjective रमणीय: pleasant 
&c., agrees in number and gender with the पंचाला: being also in masculine 
plural. But when such a derivative is used as a जाति word then the 
adjective does not agree in number and gender, as रमणीय: जाति: गोरी: गोरी: रमणीय: 
Here जाति though qualifying पंचाला does not agree with it in number 
and gender, as it is a noun of class. All attributes of such words formed 
by the lup of Taddhita agree with their substantives in number and gender: 
provided that such an attribute is not a common noun used as an ad-
jective. Similarly adjectives which do not directly qualify such Taddhita-
formed nouns, but do so through the medium of a noun of class, do not 
agree in gender and number with the Taddhita-word. Thus पंचाला: 
जातिः रसायनीय: बुद्ध: 'the country of पंचाला is pleasant and fertile.' Here the 
words रसायनीय: and बुद्ध: qualify directly the word 'जातिः' and indirectly 
the word पंचाला, and therefore do not agree with the latter.
The explanation of this sūtra as given by Patanjali in the Mahābhāshya is somewhat different from that of the Kāśikā. The phrase जाति is analysed by him as च and बहास्य, the sense being "and as far as the जाति goes." The word जाति is thus explained:

A word expressing whatever is distinguishable by its form or figure, or which being the name of an individual is easily found applicable to others without any further teaching, (a common name) provided it is not a word used in all genders, (common noun मुख्यमाति genus); and (only. for the purpose of grammar as coming under the rules relating to the above mentioned words), a word expressing descendants by their parentage as well as a word expressing a person by the branch of the Vedas (शाखा) which the family to which the person belongs is competent to read. शाखायेव (श्याखद्धयत्री) (भौषणमाति) = जातिवाचक (जातिवाचक) जातित्व हृदयाचारितिर्लिखितानि ज सूक्ष्मात्मक। शस्त्रसाधारण निमायामेते ज परइः: सह।

The following examples will illustrate the meaning of the above definition:—(1) बल is a जाति word because it denotes what is distinguishable by its form, i.e. by its being contiguous to a place covered with water, (2) शूष्क is such a word, because when given as the name of an individual, is applicable to other शूष्कras (common name), (3) विषयव is such a word, and (4) कुच a person belonging to the family competent to read the branch of the Vedas called kathā is also such a word. बलेवेत is not such a word, because it is a proper name applicable to only one individual and शूष्क is likewise, not such a word, because it, though a common name, is used in all genders.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of nouns formed by the शूष्क elision of an affix relating to man. Thus the Taddhita affix कुच (क) is employed in denoting representation by imitation. Thus चंद्र means a figure like a horse (in wood or clay or paper). But when the imitation is that of a man, this affix is elided. Thus चंद्र means a "doll of straw." But when we want to say a doll in the figure of a man, we will have चंद्र + कुचुर. (सम्प्रयोग V. 3. 98) = चंद्रा. Here this word is formed by the elision of an affix relating to man. Adjectives qualifying this word will not agree in gender and number. Thus चंद्रा वानिच्छ: ‘the delightful straw figure of man.’ षविका: देवनेन्द्र: ‘a beautiful representation of an eunuch.’

तद्विषिष्टं जंधाप्रत्यापत्तात् II 52 II पदानि II तदुपशिष्यं चंद्रा प्रत्यापत्तात् II

II शिष्य: II तदविष्टं न वेद्यस्य कल्पशाक्षिकाप्रत्यापत्तात् II
53. This (concord of gender and number, of primitive and derivative nouns, and of attributes and substantives) need not be taught (or approved), because it has the authority of samjñā (or conventional term or idiom).

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

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

...

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

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

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

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

It has already been said that words like पन्चाल: &c. are not derivative words, &c. but are appellatives. If these words be taken as proving their etymological meaning, that is, as expressing or dependent upon, the sense of the original word, then when there is a loss of the original word signification, the secondary word must also cease to be employed. Thus if Pañchâlâs be the name of the country in which the Kshatryas called Pañchâlîs live, then when they cease to live in this country, it should cease to be called Pañchâlâs. But we know, as a matter of fact, these words are now used without any reference to the people who once inhabited the countries. These words are consequently not derivative, but their sense is determined by usage. They are what may be called जाति words.
56. (Nor need be taught) the rule relating to the dependence of the meaning of a word on the principal (pradhāna, in a compound) or on the affix (pratyaya), because the authority of the meaning (of a word, compound or derivative) consists in something else.

This sūtra may be divided into two parts. The first part stating the proposition and ending with the word vachanam. The second part giving the reason. The first part consists of four words; Pradhāna: 'Principal in a compound.' As in the compound राजपुरुष: 'king's man,' the word rāja is Upasarjana; and पुरुष: is pradhāna. 2. Pratyaya: 'affix.' 3. वचनोऽ ‘meaning.’ 4. वचनूऽ ‘word or sentence.’

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

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

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

Similarly common people also know the use of the word upasarjana, for they say:—"चन्द्रम गृहि पापे वा उपसर्जनः 'we are secondary or unimportant persons in this house or village,' meaning that they are not the principal persons. Therefore that which is valid according to the usage of the people is needless to be taught.

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

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

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

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

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

वार्त:—An exception must be made when a class noun is qualified by a numeral adjective. As एको धीर्षः संपत्ति: मुखितः करोऽि.

अस्मद्: द्वेोऽि ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्मद्: द्वेोऽि, च, (एक-सिम्नू, बहुवचनं अन्तरसयाम्)

वार्त:—There is prohibition when the pronoun of the 1st person is qualified by an attribute:—as बहुः देवदत्त: ब्राह्मीि ‘I Devadatta am speaking’; बहुः गार्ग्यां ब्राह्मीि ‘I Gārgya am saying.’ Here we cannot use the plural.

वार्त:—The word गुरु ‘master’ may have plural form though referring to one person, when following the word सुन्दर; as संस्ये गुरुः or संस्ये गुरुः: ‘Thou art my master’, or ‘you are my master.’

60. And the dual of Phālgunī and Proshṭhapāda, when signifying asterisms, (also connotes optionally plural).
Some rules of number. [Bk. I. Ch. II. § 61-63.]

The word च in this aphorism draws in the anuvṛtti of the word द्रवः from the last. Of the stars phalguni and prosthapada, the forms may be either dual or plural. As द्रवः पूर्वम् प्रत्यक्ष (dual) or द्रवः प्रत्यक्ष (plural).

So also पूर्वम् प्रमादिके or पूर्वम् प्रमादिके. There are two pairs of stars of the name of phalguni and prosthapada, both being of feminine gender, and their logical number being 'dual.' The present śūtra ordains plural optionally. If phalguni and prosthapada are not names of asterisms they must have their proper number: as प्रत्यक्ष गाः.

छन्दों कुलक्षोधारकवचनस्य ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दों, पुनर्वेश्वरोऽर्कतकवचनस्य ॥

इससे: ॥ द्विलोकनामे वाच्य पुनर्वेश्वराद्वादनार्थ विचारे क्रियावस्थनमन्यतरस्याः भवि ॥

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

In the Vedas, the star Punarvasu which is always dual in form, may be in the singular form and connote a dual meaning. As पुनर्वेश्वरस्य or पुनर्वेश्वरस्य नामगणितरूपस्य ॥ The option is only allowed in the Vedas and not in profane literature. In the latter it must be in the dual, that is, पुनर्वेश्वर। Similarly when it is not the appellation of an asterism but of a man, there is no option. As पुनर्वेश्वरैः.

विशाखयोरः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशाखयोः, च (छन्दों, अन्य-लरस्याः) ॥

इससे: ॥ द्विलोकायोऽर्कतकाद्वादनार्थ विचारे क्रियावस्थनमन्यतरस्याः भवि ॥

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

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

तिप्यपुनर्वेश्वरोऽर्कतकोऽकाद्वादनाद्वादनानित्यन ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिथ-पुनर्वेश्वरोऽर्कतकाद्वादनाद्वादनानित्यन ॥

इससे: ॥ तिथ-पुनर्वेश्वरात्माद्वादनात्माद्वादनानित्यनानि नामार्थद्वादनार्थ ॥

63. In the Dvandva compounds of the stars Tishya and Punarvasu, the dual constantly comes in the place of the plural.

When there is a collective compounding of the words Tishya and Punarvasu (meaning two groups of stars), the final compound is always in the dual. Thus दैविक Tishya and Punarvasu having risen are seen (dual).
There is one star called Tishya; and there are two stars called Punarvasu. As the Dvanda compound of these stars refers to more than two stars, it ought to have been in the plural number. This rule teaches that there should be a dual number, where otherwise there would have been a plural number. Why do we say 'Tishya' and 'Punarvasu'? Observe विभन्नायाणां: 'the stars Visâkhâ and Anurâdhâ.' The compound is in plural number.

This rule would not apply if these words do not connote stars but are used in any other sense. As विभयुपन्नस्य मात्रका: , 'Boys called Tishya and Punarvasu.'

Why is the word 'star' repeated in the sutra, when the previous sūtras and the context show that stars were being treated of. The repetition is for the sake of including the synonyms of Tishya and Punarvasu. As विभयुपन्नस्य: पुष्युपन्नस्य: विभयुपन्नस्य:.

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

The rule only applies to the plural Dvandva. If the Dvandva takes the singular termination, this rule has no application. As विभयुपन्नस्य इत्यादि.

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

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

सहस्यागमाभषो एकविश्वासी || केचिद् पदानि || सहस्यागम: एक-शेष, एक-विश्वासी,
हुन्त || सहस्यागम: शब्दानां एकविश्वासी परव एकरोपो भविषय ||

64. Of the words having the same form, and all in the same one case-termination, the last one is only retained.

This is a very important sūtra, and deals with what is technically called Ekaśesha (or retention of one). When there are two or more words of the same form, and the same case termination, standing together, one is retained and the rest are dropped. Thus वृष्ण: + वृष्ण: = वृष्ण: (trees, in dual) बृण: + बृण: + बृण: = बृण:.

Every individual thing requires an individual word to express it; one word therefore could not express many things; to prevent the repetition of
the same word to express many objects of similar form, is the purpose of this sutra, by which one word is only retained.

This applies only to words having the same form and not if they have different forms; as श्रयः नयाहोः: the plaksha and nyagrodha trees.

The word "form" is used in the text to show that even if two words have different meanings, but the same form, the rule of Ekaśesha will apply, as श्रयः (die) + श्रयः (eye) + श्रयः (axle) = श्रयः. Similary पङ्क्तः and ना:.

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

The word श्रयः (retention) is used to show that there is not a substitution (adeśa) of one for many, but the retention of one out of many.

The rule will not apply if the two words are in different case-terminations, though they may have the same form. As एकः (1. s.) पङ्क्तः (2. s.) जन्मणि; नराधमणि (3. d.) एकः नराधमणि (4. d.) एकः.

विलोकनम्। युनाः तत्तत्सः भित्रविशेषः। ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्रृद्ध: युना, ततः-ङ्कण:, चेत्रः प्रव, विशेषः: ॥

विलोकनम्। इदायुनाचचएर्वे युनिविश्वंते तत्तत्सः भित्रविशेष: विरोपः: ॥

65. The vṛiddha (or patronymic Gotra word becomes ekaśesha, and is retained, when compounded) with a patronymic word called yuvan, provided that the specific difference in form between them be in their signs (affix) only.

The word śesha of the previous sutra is understood here. The word "युना" in the text is in the instrumental case. The yuvan word is dropped when read along with a Vṛiddha word. The word Vṛiddha means gotra: the old Acharyas (grammarians) used the word Vṛiddha for gotra. The vṛiddha (or in other words, the gotra) word designates a person between whom and original head of the family a son (or a word formed by an apatya affix) intervenes. In using together two words, one formed by a gotra affix and the other by a yuvan affix, the Vṛiddha is retained, where the difference between those words is in their affixes only. These two words gotra and yuvan are defined in sutras IV. 1. 162 and 163. (यापत्य पौर्णप्रतिष्ठा गोपन्॥ नीवति न तंत्रेये युना)॥

Roughly speaking a gotra word is formed from the original noun which is the name of the head of the family when a son of such person is living; and a vṛiddha word represents thus a grandson, or lower than that, but not a son; while a yuvan word is derived from such last mentioned gotra word by another affix and thus represents persons lower than grandsons.
The word 'tad' in the sūtra refers to the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word lakṣaṇa 'sign' in the sūtra is synonymous with 'cause' or 'occasion'; meaning the specific difference is caused or occasioned by the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word वेदः in the sūtra means 'if.' The word एकः 'only' is used to exclude others. The word विशेषः in the sūtra means the 'dissimilarity of form.'

Thus गर्ग्ययायत्: + गर्ग्ययायत्: = गर्ग्ययायत्. Here the first word denotes a clan named Gārgya (the offspring or grandsons of Garga formed by the affix चर्चा (IV. I. 105) the second word denotes a younger branch of the same, and is formed by the Taddhita affix फ़ाद्क denoting a secondary derivative. * In this then, the first or 'Vṛiddha' remains; the second or the yuvan is dropped; and the form 'Gārgya' means both the old and the new clan. Similarly वास्तवः: + वास्तव्यवन: वास्तवः

This Ekaśeṣha is to be done only in those cases, where the two words have the same radical form, the only difference between them being in their derivative formation.

The words must differ only by their affixes, but their radical element must be the same. The rule therefore does not apply to :—गर्ग्ययायत्: (a Vṛiddha word(+ वास्तव्यवन: (a yuvan word)= गर्ग्ययायत्: वास्तव्यवन:)

This rule of ekaśeṣha does not apply if one of the words be not a Vṛiddha word. Thus गर्ग्ययायत्: + गर्ग्ययायत्:—गर्ग्ययायत्: वास्तव्यवन:। Here the one word is Vṛiddha, but the other is not yuvan.

The word "only" is used in the sūtra in an exclusive sense, the force being, that two words may stand in the relation of Vṛiddha and yuvan, their radical element, i.e. form may be the same; but if the secondary word has another sense over and above the sense of a yuvan affix, this rule is not applicable. Thus Rule IV. I. 148 * says a "Vṛiddha word may optionally take the affix चर्चा to form a yuvan word and to indicate contempt and born in the country of Sauvira." Thus गर्ग्ययायत्: + गर्ग्ययायत्: = गर्ग्ययायत्: गर्ग्ययायत्:। Here the second word, though a yuvan word, connotes the additional sense of contempt and degradation. The affix चर्चा is not merely a yuvan affix but conveys the other sense also. The pure yuvan word being गर्ग्ययायत्:

N. B.—The system of domestic economy among the ancient Aryas was considerably different from the prevalent one. The surnames or the gotras represented the patriarchal system. Three forms of surnames are constantly met with in ancient literature. The first was most important; it was the patronymic by which the lord of the united family the patriarch was known. For example, Garga or Gargachārya was the recognised head of all the Gargas who may be a hundred. His eldest son and heir was called Gārgi. This is the first form of the patronymic (apäya). The grandsons or sons of Gārgi were named Gārgyas (Vṛiddham or Gotra). On the decease of the old patriarch, Gārgi began to be called Garga; and the eldest of the grandsons was called Gārgi; and those great grand-sons who belonged to the family, and were designated Gārgyas (yuvan) were now called Gārgyas.

(*) गर्ग्ययायत्: वास्तवः (**) गर्ग्ययायत्: गर्ग्ययायत्: (**) गर्ग्ययायत्: गर्ग्ययायत्:—

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Ekāsesha.

[Bk. I. Ch. II. § 67.

66. And so also a feminine word, ending with a vṛiddha affix, when similarly spoken along with the same word but which ends with a yuvan affix, is only retained; and it is treated like a masculine.

When a word denoting gotra and in the feminine gender is compounded with another word denoting a yuvan, the first is retained and the last is dropped; and the feminine noun so remaining is then treated like the masculine. This aphorism makes an addition to the previous sūtra and is governed by all the conditions mentioned in that sūtra. Thus गर्गिः + गण्यायणः = गर्गिः. Here note that the resultant form is the same as in the former sūtra namely the masculine.

Similarly शांति + शास्त्रायणः = शांति (masculine dual of शांति).

Part—The word stri in the sūtra means Vṛiddhā stri, that is the eldest daughter of a grandson, or a further descendant considered as the female head of the family. The words ‘tal lakṣaṇaḥ chedeva viśeṣaḥ’ of the previous sūtra govern this sūtra also i.e. the distinction between the two words must be in their formative element and not in any thing else.

67. A word in the masculine gender, similarly spoken along with the same word, but ending with the feminine affix, becomes ekaśesha, and the latter is dropped.

When two words of different genders differ only in their derivative elements but not in their radical elements, that is to say, one is masculine and the other feminine because of certain affixes, the masculine only is retained and the feminine is dropped.

The governing force of the words ‘vṛiddha’ and ‘yuvan,’ of sūtra 65, does not extend to this sūtra, but the remaining portion of sūtra 65 is to be read into this sūtra. When a masculine word is read along with a feminine word, the feminine word is dropped and the masculine is retained, when the difference between the two words is caused only by the feminine and masculine affixes: as भास्करः = भास्करी = भास्करः ‘the Brāhmaṇa and the Brāhmanī’; कुकुटः = कुकुटी = कुकुटः ‘the cock and hen’.
But not so in the following: कुकुर + मग्नी = कुकुर्मग्नी (the cock and the peahen). Similarly गणक = गणन = गणकगणनी. Here the feminine affix श्री, by which the word गणक is formed from गणaka; in addition to its feminine signification, has the further signification given to it by Rule IV. 1. 48, कुबोणकान्यावम्, meaning the “wife of” a गणaka and not a feminine गणaka; so also श्री रज्ज मनी गनेरण्यायो. Similarly वार्षय + वार्षी = वार्षी, but वार्षय + रावरणी = रावरणीण्यायी. Because the feminine affix in aryani conveys more than its feminine signification. See Rule IV. 1. 49.

This rule does not, of course, apply when it is not a masculine noun which is compounded, but it is a noun without any gender or neuter noun which is compounded with a feminine noun. Therefore प्राक = प्राणी = प्राकणणी. The word प्राक is an indeclinable and is without any gender.

68. The words भ्रत्रि, 'brother,' and पुत्रा, 'son,' when spoken of along with वस्मी, 'sister' and दुहित्रि 'daughter' respectively are only retained, and the latter are dropped.

With this sutra ceases the governing force of the remaining conditions contained in sutra 65. Even where the radical elements of two words are different, there may be an ekaśesha under special circumstances. Thus शत्र + शच = शत्रो (brother and sister or brothers), similarly पुत्र + पुद्रत = पुत्री, (son and daughter or sons).

N. B.—The practical application of this sutra is very neatly illustrated by the following example. There is a verse in Yājñavalkya smṛiti पद्मवतिरतिव वित्तती भातस्तथा which declares that on the death of a sonless person his property passes to his wife, daughters, and खंडारा,.

Here the word खंडारा, if it be taken as simply the plural of भ्रत्रि, it means "brothers" and excludes sisters. But if it be interpreted according to this sutra, it means "brothers and sisters"; and thus gives sisters a right to inherit property of their brothers.
69. A neuter noun, which has the same form, only differing in affix; is optionally retained, and the other is dropped, and it is like a singular number.

A neuter prevails over a masculine or feminine noun when spoken of along with them; provided that the words differ in gender signs only; but radically they be the same. Thus श्रास्त्रयो, मैथुनं, मः च प्रयामयां विषूङ्के 'Idleness, lust, and sleep, indulged in, increase.' Here the adjective 'sevyamānām' is in the neuter gender, though it qualifies the words 'ālasya' which is in the masculine; 'maithunām' which is in the neuter, and 'nirā' which is in the feminine gender. The rule, therefore, may be stated in these words, that where one adjective qualifies several nouns, in different genders, but one of which must be neuter, the adjective agrees with the neuter.

The above illustration also shows that the neuter ekaśesha may be in the singular number.

If the neuter is compounded with another neuter, this rule does not apply. Thus युग्म + युग्म + युग्म = युग्मानि the word is in the plural; there is no ekavadbhāva.

The words समासवर्गीय विरोधः of sutra 65 governs this sutra also: thus युग्मध्वजः, युग्म प्रूढ़विकिर, युग्म च स्त्रीः. "The white (masc.) blanket, the white (fem.) wrapper, and the white (neut.) garment," may all be spoken of collectively as युग्म (neut.).

70. The word pitri, 'father' is optionally only retained when spoken of along with mātri, 'mother.'

Thus पिताः + माता = पितरी, 'father and mother, or parent' or मातापितरी. The verse quoted under sutra 68 illustrates this sutra also. There the word 'pitarau' has been explained by all commentators as "father and mother." The word "ekavad" of the last sutra does not govern this sutra; though the anuvṛitti of 'optionally' is to be read into this.

71. The word śvasura 'father-in-law,' is optionally only retained, when spoken of along with śvasrū, 'mother-in-law.'
Thus ब्रजस्वरः + व्रजस्वरः may be either ब्रजस्वरः 'father-in-law and mother-in-law,' or ब्रजस्वरः.

71.73. यदुदैवीति चवर्तित्यम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यदु-अदैिनि, खरे, निरप्रम् (शेषः) ॥

71.73. The pronouns 'tyad &c.' when spoken of along with any other noun, (pronoun other than 'tyad &c.') are always retained as ekāsesha, (to the exclusion, of others).

The list of 'tyadādi' pronouns has been given under śūtra I 1. 27. They are 12 words beginning with 'tyad' and ending with 'kim,' when these tyadādi pronouns are compounded with any other noun, (or a pronoun, which does not belong to their class), they prevail, the rest are dropped. The word 'sarva' is used in the aphorism to indicate 'universality'; i.e. whatever may be, the word in composition with them, the 'tyad &c.' are retained to the exclusion of others. The word 'nitya' is used to indicate that this is an obligatory rule, and not optional, as were the last rules.

Thus सः (he)+वेदर्पः (Devadatta)=सः (they two).

Vart.—When वेदासि words are compounded among themselves, the word which is read last in the order given in the Gaṇapātha remains, the rest are dropped. Thus सः+कः=कैः; कः+कः=कैः। Thus वृष्णिः is read after वृष्णिः (see I. 1. 27), so वृष्णिः will be retained and not वृष्णिः; similarly किङ्गिः is read after किङ्गिः, and therefore किङ्गिः is retained to the exclusion of वृष्णिः.

73. The feminine noun is only retained, when denoting a collection of domestic animals, not being young.

As a general rule, when there is a compounding of masculine and feminine nouns, the masculine noun is retained (see 67). The present śūtra is an exception to that rule. It ordains that when there is a compounding of words denoting group of domestic animals, of different genders;
the feminine noun is preferred; provided that the words should not relate to the young of such animals. The word 'ataruṇa' in the aphorism qualifies the word 'paśu' with which it is in construction, and not the word 'saṅgha.' As गाव रुरु: 'these cows (and bulls),' बजर रुरु: 'these goats' (both males and females).

The rule only applies to domestic (grāmya) animals and not to wild animals; and only to beasts (paśu) and not men. As हरव रुरे, 'these wild deers' (male and female), पृष्ण रुरे, 'these antelopes' (male and female), भार्जनण: 'the Brāhmaṇas' (male and female) चतुर्व, 'the Kshatriyas.' In all these, the masculine noun is retained by Rule 67.

Vart.—This rule must be confined to domestic animals having divided hoof. Therefore ब्रव रुरे, 'these horses' (male and female). Here the masculine noun is retained, because horse has no divided hoof.

Why have we used the word (saṅgha) "collection"? Observe तै गारे फत: ‘these two cows are grazing.’ Here the word 'gāvau' does not connote 'bull' also.

Why do we say "not being young."? बस्सा रुरे 'these calves'; बफतर रुरे 'these kids.' Here the masculine noun is retained, by the application of Rule 67.
BOOK I.

CHAPTER III.

1. The words beginning with bhû 'to become,' and denoting action, are called dhâtu or verbal roots.

This defines the word dhâtu or root. The list of Sanskrit verbs begins with the root bhû 'to be.' Sanskrit grammarians have divided all verbs into ten classes, according to certain modifications which their roots undergo before certain terminations. The ten classes are as follows:


There are nearly two thousand verbs, and they are conjugated in two forms, some taking the Parasmaipada terminations only, the others the Atmanepada terminations and some both. The present chapter deals mostly with rules determining the nature of the verbal root, whether it is Parasmaipadi or Atmanepadi or both. A verb expresses action. The word dhâtu is a word coined by older grammarians than Pâpini and they employed the term in denoting a word expressing action. Here also therefore, the word dhâtu means a word which expresses action.

The बा in the sūtra is for the sake of auspiciousness; for the regular sandhi of भू + यारि is यारि and not भूयारि; while Dr. Ballantyne considers that बा is a separate root: he translates the sūtra thus:—"Let the verbal roots bhû 'be,' và 'blow' and the like be called dhâtu."

UPADESHASAMNANAŚIKSA ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ UPADESHA, अष्ट, अनु-NANAŚIKSA ॥, सत् ॥

1. The nasalized vowels are ॠ in Upadeśa, or original enunciation.

* Such is the inference of Mahâbhâṣya.
Anunāsika or nasalized vowels are ह्र that is indicator, when occurring in technical words. Thus in निन, विन, विव the anunāsika ह्र is ह्र. The original sūtra contains the word 'upadesā' which we have translated as technical term. 'Upadesā' literally means 'instruction' or the first mentioning of a thing either in a sūtrapāṭha, or gaṇapāṭha or dhatupāṭha &c.

From this sūtra up to sūtra 9, there is a description of servile or indicator letters called ह्र “In Pāṇini’s Grammar there is no visible sign of the nasality of a vowel—hence we can know a vowel to be nasalized only from Pāṇini’s explicitly asserting that it is so, or from our finding that he treats it in such a way that we must conclude he regarded it as nasal.” An upadesā is defined as signifying an original enunciation, that is to say, an affix (pratyaya), or an augment (āgama), or a verbal root (dhatu), or in short, any form of expression which occurs only in technical treatises of grammar, and which is not a word ready for use, but one of the supposed original elements of a word. Thus in the root एष ‘to increase,’ the final श is indicator, the real root is एष. So also the final श of औष्ठ is ह्र॥

If the word is not an upadesā, then the nasal vowel is not ह्र॥ As व्य प्रि म्र: ॥ A word may be an upadesā and nasal, but if it is not a vowel, it need not be ह्र as the affix मनि in sūtra III. 2. 74. (पांचि मनि तविष बनियथ ) It is only the nasal vowel of an upadesā that becomes ह्र, and not all the vowels. The word ह्र occurs is sūtras 3. 2. 16. (पांचि नसि &c.).

हषण्यस् ॥ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्र-अन्त्यस्, (उपदेशे ह्रृ:) ॥

3. In upadesā, the final consonant of roots &c. is ह्रृ.

All the final consonants of roots, affixes &c. are indicator. As in the pratyāhāra sūtras द्र द ए; here ए is ह्रृ॥ कः लः कः; here कः is ह्रृ॥ ए ओह्र; here ह्रृ is ह्रृ॥ ए ओह्र; here ह्रृ is ह्रृ॥ It is only in upadesā, that a final consonant is ह्रृ. Not therefore, in ब्रमिति or स्रोपुर, which are complete words.

न विभक्ति तुस्मा: ॥ ॥ पदानि ॥ न विभक्ति, तु-चु-मा: ॥

4. The final dental consonants, and the final ण, and त, are not ह्रृ, in affixes called vibhakti or inflective affixes.

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This is an exception to the previous sūtra which declared all final consonants to be हस्त. In case terminations, the final य, यु, य, यु, य, and य, are not हस्त. Thus the case termination of nominative plural is यस्तु. Here the final य, though a consonant is not an हस्त; and is not rejected, as in भाष्य: II
The word य in the sūtra means the letters of the class य, by virtue of sūtra 69 Chapter I. (see ante). The word vibhakti will be defined later on in sūtra I. 4. 104. These are terminations applied to nouns in declining them through various cases; and to verbs in conjugating them. Thus in sūtra VII. 1. 12, (शष्टसिद्धासामत्मत्वः:) the vibhaktis हस्त, पालस्त् and रस्त् replace या, दास्ति and हस्त्. Here the final य of the affix पाल्य is not indicatory and hence not rejected, as हस्तः. Similarly verbal terminations हस्त् and यस्त् as पवः, रचः: II So also the final य as सत्य and त्य in भाष्यमाध्यम and भाष्यमाध्यम.

This exception applies only to vibhaktis and not to affixes in general. Thus the finals of यह (III. 1. 97 भाष्यमाध्यम:) हस्त् (V. 2. 123 भाष्यमाध्यम हस्त्) and सम् (III. 1. 78 समार्थः-सम्) are हस्त् and are rejected. This exception, however does not apply to the vibhakti यस्त् (in V. 3. 12 भाष्यमाध्यम or III. 4. 106, भाष्यमाध्यम). In those two sūtras the final य of the vibhakti is हस्त्. The reason of this is, that the present sūtra is an anitya sūtra, i.e. a rule not of general application. In sūtra V. 3. 24, (भाष्यमाध्यम:) we find, ‘the word हस्त् takes the vibhakti यस्त् in the sense of mode or manner.’ As हस्त् + हस्त् = हस्तः, ‘in this manner.’ Now यस्त् is a vibhakti by V. 3. 1. (भाष्यमाध्यम:) the य is हस्त्, the real vibhakti is यस्त्. Now had the present sūtra been of universal application, then there would have been no necessity of adding this य as indicatory letter, which has been evidently added to save the य of यस्त् from becoming an हस्त्. This sūtra is consequently an anitya sūtra.

5. The initial नि, तु, and दु are हस्त॥

The syllables नि, दु and दु, standing at the beginning of a root are indicatory; as निमिन्ता ‘to have affectionate pleasure.’ The real root is दु, the दु is servile. So दुमिनि ‘to rejoice, be glad’ the real root being दु. So दुदास् ‘to give’ the real root being दु.

The दु shows that the past participle दु has the power of the present III. 2. 187 (भाष्य: दु). As दुपक्ता—पुज्या: ‘blown’; दुमिन्ता—दुमित: ‘fat’; दुहुस्ता—दुहुस्त: ‘bold’; दुसिंहस्ता—दुसिंहस्त: ‘soft,’ दुविश्वस्य—दुविश्वस्य: ‘kindled.’

The दु subjoined to a root serves to show that it admits the affix प्रायु to form a noun indicative of the act (III. 3. 89 प्रायुप्रः); as प्रायुप्रः—प्रायुप्रः ‘shaking’; प्रायुप्रः—प्रायुप्रः ‘swelling.’

The दु indicates that the root to which it is subjoined admits of the affix शिष्य (III. 3. 88, शिष्यशिष्य:) to form a noun or adjective attributive of the act.
by which the substantive thing has been produced, as दुक्म—कृत्मि ‘artificial’ जुप्तपु—पद्मपु ‘ripe’; उज्जू—कृमिम ‘sown.’

If these three syllables do not stand in the beginning of a verb, they are not indicatory; as श्रोयति, कप्यःति &c.

6. The initial य of an affix is indicatory.

The initial य of an affix gets the name of हुन and is rejected. Thus by Rule III. 1. 145 (विक्षितिः ज्ञ्युन) the affix युन is added to a verb to indicate proficient in the art expressed by the verb. The य and य are हुन and युक्त takes the place of यu (VII. 1. 1, जुप्तोपनात). Thus युनू + बूव = युनू + युक्त = युक्त: ‘a dancer’ (by profession); जू हुन (IV. 1. 41, विनामस्य ‘words formed by affixes having an indicatory य take the affix हुन in the feminine.’): so also जू जू हुन.

The initial य of an affix only is हुन and not every initial य. Thus not in वोह: ‘six,’ or विरहः: The य must be initial, therefore it is not हुन in the affix विधर्म in अर्थमहत्तधृतः (U. I. 45) as यविध: ‘an ocean’ यविध: ‘a buffalo.’

7. The initial palatals and linguals of an affix are indicatory.

The consonants नू, शू, शू, भू, भू, भू, भू, and शू are always हुन and are rejected when initial in affixes. The word ‘affix’ of the previous सूत्रa governs this also.

As the affix युन chphaṅ in सूत्रa (IV. 1. 98 गोचे कुञ्जाकाश्रु) Here यu is indicatory, as, कौञ्जाकाश्रुः: The initial यu chh of an affix is always replaced by हुन (VII. 1. 2 चारायामहस्यविध: वर्णाद्याक्षरं प्रत्ययात्तनाम). The initial यu of an affix is हुन. As यु (Nom. Pl. term.) युप्तणा: यu: The initial यu of an affix is always replaced by अन्त, as यु + यु + यु = अन्त (VII. 1. 3 भूत.). The initial यu of an affix is हुन in सूत्र which comes after the words शक्तिक &c. As चारायामहस्य (IV. 3. 92 चारायामहस्य): The indicatory यu causes वर्द्धि ब्रह्म व वर्द्धियामानाः.

The initial यu of an affix is हुन as in III. 2. 16 (तरघें: the root यu takes the affix य when compounded with a noun in the locative). As कुन्तिच्छा: ‘who goes among the Kurus.’ The feminine of words formed by this affix takes हुन (IV. 1. 15 हुनाद्याक्षरम् &c.) As कुन्तिच्छा, महच्छा: The initial यu of an affix is always replaced by हुन (VII. 3. 50 युक्तिधा य युक्तिधा:.) The initial यu of an office is हुन, as in III. 2. 97 (सहस्य जनेः: the root यu takes the affix य when in composition
with a word in the locative, as रागमः: मन्त्रमः. The र indicates that the final of the word called दे should be elided when an affix having indicatory द is added. The initial र of an affix is replaced by र (VII. 1. 2).

The letter र is always an ह when initial. As in the aphorism IV. 4 85 (प्रजासा:) the affix र comes after the word अन्त्र 'food.' As अन्त्र + र = प्रजासा:.
The र causes व्रिद्धिः.

This sūtra could very well have been included in the last aphorism. Why has it then been made a separate aphorism? The reply is that the present sūtra declares an anitya rule—that is to say, a rule which is not universally true. The initial palatal or lingual of every affix is not indicatory. Thus in the affixes ब्रजमुखः and मन्त्रमः the initial र is not indicatory but forms part of the real affix. As दित्यवादुः दित्यवादुः 'famous for one's learning.' See S. V. 2. 26 तेन निश्चदुः प्रजासा। Similarly the initial र of the affix श्रीरुः (V. 2. 31 श्रीरुः तमासा, तस्मातः श्रीरुः तासा श्रीरुः) is not it. As श्रीरुः 'flat nosed.'

Of course it is the initial palatal and lingual which are servile; if these letters occur in the middle of an affix, they will not be indicatory. As र of the affix अरुः is not indicatory in sūtra V. 2. 35 (कर्मभिः प्रतीतः) कर्मः: 'dexterous.'

इक्षुश्रवङ्गिन्ति ॥८॥ पदानि इन श्रुः, अतिश्रवः, (प्रत्ययसि, अादिः हः)॥

बृत्ति इत्तिश्रवङ्गिनिति प्रत्ययश्वाधित्ति परमात्मानः भक्तार्थः कर्मणि इस्ताता भवनिः॥

8. The initial ल and ज, and the gutturals of all affixes, except taddhita, are indicatory.

The initial ल, ज, क, ज, ग, ज, र, ल, of affixes are indicatory, except in Taddhita affixes. Thus the initial ज in रङ्गरः is रङ्गरः (III. 3 115 रङ्गरः) बि+वर्गः = वर्गः (VII. 1 1) 'collecting.' The initial ज in श्रावः is हः (III. 1 68 कर्मवः श्रावः) लः+श्रावः+बि = श्रावः+बि = भवनि 'he is.' The initial ज is हः as in क्ष and क्ष्ठः (I. 1. 26), हः 'eating' क्ष्ठः. The initial ज is हः as in श्र्तः (III. 2. 38 दित्यवादुः श्र्तः: the word श्र्तः takes the affix क्षाक्ष when compounded with दित्य and श्र्तः) विवेयः 'speaking kindly' वर्षः: 'submissive.' The initial ज is हः as in the affix भर (III. 2. 139 भावनिः भरः), भावः: 'languid' विवेयः: 'victorious,' श्वासः: 'unmoveable.' The initial ज is हः as in श्रुः (III. 2. 161 भावनिः भृजः) भृजः+श्रुः = भृजः+भृजः 'brittle.' The initial ज is हः, as in हः (termination of the ablative sing.) हः ditto of genitive sing. (IV. 1 2), हः = हः+हः = हः+हः 'of a well minded.' In Taddhita affixes however, these initials ज and ज are not ह; and are therefore not elided. Thus श्रुः+भृजः = भृजःः (V. 2. 96 प्रायः पश्चातः लगभगश्वासः) 'crested'; लोः+र
RULE OF ASSIGNMENT.

— लोमः (V. 2. 100 नोभारातस्मासतित्वार्थं चतुर्वेदं) ‘hairy’; इत्त + कन्य = इत्तकः (V. 3-81-86 जाविनामः कन्य) ‘a small tree.

तस्य लोपः || 9 || पदार्थः || तस्य, श्रीः; (इत्त) ||

चूति: || तत्वस्यतत्वकर्त्त्वे लोपे भस्ति ||

9. Of this, (namely of that which has been called इत्त), there is elision.

This sutra declares the function of इत्त; namely it is a mere indicative letter, and must be rejected. It is useful only as a mnemonic and is not a part of the term.

The word tasya in the sutra indicates that the substitution of lopa must be in the place of the whole term called इत्त, and not only in the place of the final letter, which last is the general rule (see. I. 1 52). Therefore, the whole of इत्त, इत्त and इत्त is rejected and not only their finals.

यथा चह्नुदेशः सनातनः || 10 || पदार्थः || यथा-सहजेः

अनुदेशः, सनातनः ||

चूति: || सनातनं समसम्बन्धानां समपरिचितानामधुचितानामधुचितानां च सनातनेष्विचित्रावलिकः सम्भवन्ते ||

10. When a rule involves the case of equal numbers of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted, their mutual correspondence or assignment of each to each, is according to the order of enumeration.

Thus sūtra III. 1 134 (नलिनमहिष्कारिति रुपुविन्यासः) declares:—‘the affixes इत्त, चिनि and वच्छ are applied to नविः, महि and वच्छ class of words.’ It means the affix इत्त is applied to the words of नविः class, the affix चिनि to words of महि class, and वच्छ to words of वच्छ class. The application must be respectively according to order, and not hap-hazard. Similarly in VI. 1 77 इत्तो बण्वि (if a vowel follows) in the place of इत्त, चिनि, तत्र, लत्र there is इत्त i. e., इत्त, इत्त, इत्त, इत्त. So also see S. IV. 3. 94 (नृछद्धारसत्तमीसुधिपं तत्र इत्तकः) where the four affixes चहक, चहण द्वान, and यक are applied respectively to the words ताल, सावर्त, वर्मता, वुष्टकाः; i. e., the first affix in the order of enumeration to the first word, the second affix to the second word &c.

As एः, धासार्विरः, चांगनः: चौचावसः: ||

Why do we say ‘of equal members’? This rule will not apply if the number of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted are unequal. As in sūtra I. 4. 90 लक्षणेत्यन्नानवियनांगिन्यात्रः रसिष्ठ पर्वतः: for here the words lakshaṇa &c. in the first part of
the sūtra are four in number, while the words prati & c. are only three. That sūtra therefore must be read as thus. "The words मति, परि and चतु are karma-
pravachaniya, whenever they indicate either lakshaṇa (a mark), ithambhutā-
khyaṇa (a statement of mere circumstance); bhāga (division); or vipsā
(desire)."

11. In these aphorisms, when a word is marked with a svarita accent, by that an adhikāra or a
governing rule is to be understood.

When in this collection of grammatical sūtras, there is any sūtra
that has a circumflex accent, it denotes that it is either the beginning of a
subject and the subsequent sūtras are governed by it, or that it ends a sub-
ject and separates the previous sūtras from the following.

As a rule, the sūtras are not marked with accents; it is therefore fron
commentaries that one has to learn whether a sūtra has a svarita or not.
Thus the following sūtras, must evidently have svarita as they are go-
verning sūtras; प्रत्यय: (III. 11.) प्रतात: (III. 1. 91), यजुर्वेय (VI. 4. 1), नास्य
(VI. 4. 129).

अनुदातित्व आत्मनेपदस् ॥ १२ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ अनुदाति-हृ-हतः
आत्मनेपदस् ॥

12. After a root which has an indicative anu-
dātta vowel (anudāttet) or an indicative न (niit), the
affixes are those of the Atmanepada.

The word 'atmanepada' here governs all the subsequent sūtras up to
sū. 77 inclusive, and is understood in them all; and will not therefore be re-
peated. Thus of the verb भास the final य is anudātta and is हृ.
It is therefore an Atmanepada verb. As भास.

आधाकरणानि: ॥ १३ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ साध-करणानि: (आत्मनेपदस्) ॥

13. An atmanepada affix is the substitute of
the affix न (III. 4. 69) when it denotes the action of the
verb or the object of the verb.

Sūtra III. 4. 69 declares the "letter न (न, नित & c.,) is placed after
transitive verbs in denoting the object also as well as the agent; and after
intransitives in marking the condition (i.e., the action itself which the verb
imports) also as well as the agent." The Paras. and Atman. affixes would
have come, therefore, generally after all these verbs. The present sūtra restricts Atman. affixes to bhāva and karma verbs.

This is clear. Impersonal verbs and passive verbs as a rule are conjugated in the atmanepada and take the terminations of that pada. These originally were verbs expressive of states rather than of actions. As of नाघ we have गङ्घर्थते मथत 'you dislike' (lit. 'it is disliked by you') सुभूतते भवति 'you sleep.' Similarly passive verbs as क्रियते करः 'the mat is made'; हितते भारः 'the load is carried.'

All verbs in Sanskrit may have three voices vis. active, passive, and middle or impersonal; active voice is generally parasmaipada. The reflexive verbs known as कर्त्त्वकेति are also Atmanepadi. Thus नृत्ते केसाः लघुभेष 'the wood cuts of itself.' See sūtra 78.

कर्त्तेर्व कर्त्ते-व्यतिहारे || 18 || पदानि || कर्त्तेर्व, कर्त्ते-व्यतिहारे || (अत्मनेपदस्त) ||

वृत्ति: || कर्तेव व्यतिहारे विधिविध विध्या व्यत्नालालनेष्ये भवति ||

14. In denoting the agent, when reciprocity of action is to be expressed, the affixes of the Atmanepada are employed.

The active or कर्त्त्ववच्च प्रस्तुत verbs when denoting reciprocal action are अत्मनेपदिः. As, व्यतिहारे, 'they cook for each other,' व्यतिहारे 'he performs' cutting of wood which was the appropriate office of another.'

The words "reciprocity or interchange of action" of this sūtra govern and are understood in the two following sūtras also.

The word karma in the sūtra means action and not the technical 'karma' meaning 'object' and the word vyatihāra means reciprocity or interchange. When an action which was appropriate to one person is performed by another, whose duty it was not, that is called 'interchange of action.' When such interchange is not meant Paras. is used. As तुमनि 'they cut.' The word kartari here is used for the sake of the subsequent aphorism 78, which see.

(अत्मनेपदस्त कर्त्त्ववच्चाः) ||

वृत्ति: || गति-हिंसा-वच्चाः भाष्यम्: कर्त्ते व्यतिहारे अत्मनेपदशे न मशतिः.

वासिंकरम् || गति-हिंसा-वच्चाः भाष्यम्: ||

15. After verbs having the sense of 'motion,' or 'injury,' when expressing interchange of action the Atmanepada affixes are not used.
This aphorism prohibits Atmanepada affixes in certain cases where by force of the last sutra Atmanepada affixes would have been obtained. As व्याकरणविधि 'they go against each other,' व्याकरणविधि 'they injure each other,' व्याकरणविधि 'they fight together.'

The word 'not' of this sutra is understood in the subsequent sutra.

Vart.—This prohibition extends to the verbs हुस 'to laugh,' and the rest. As व्याकरणविधि, व्याकरणविधि, व्याकरणविधि.

Vart.—Prohibition must be made of the verbs हस 'to injure,' as तस्माद राजन:।

इतर्वर्त्तत्रायोपव्याप्तिः॥ १६॥ पदानि॥ इतर-इतर, अन्य:-अन्य, उपपदात, च, ( का त्य अस्तमने । )॥

वृत्ति:॥ इतर्वर्त्तत्रायोपव्याप्तिः हस्येनुपपदात: कर्मच्यतिहारेऽशालनेपर्व ध अथि॥

वाचिककः॥ परस्रोपपदाययेति वस्सौमु॥।

16. And after the verbs which take the words इतर्वर्त्तत्रायोपव्याप्तिः 'each other,' and अन्या 'one another,' as उपपदात (or dependant qualifying words), the affixes of Atmanepada are not used, though reciprocity of action be denoted.

Thus इतर्वर्त्तत्रायोपव्याप्तिः 'they cut each other' शालनेपदात 'they cut one another.'

Vart.—This rule must also be applied when the word परस्र is in composition with the verb, as an upapada. शालनेपदात.

नेविष्य:॥ १७॥ पदानि॥ ने:, विष्य:,( अस्तमनेपदात् )॥

वृत्ति:॥ ने: परस्रधे योप शालनेपर्व ध अथि॥

17. After the verb विष 'to enter,' when preceded by the preposition नि, the Atmanepada affixes are employed.

As विषाण 'he enters,' but निविष हत 'he enters in.'

Even when the augment धार् of the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional tenses intervenes between the root and the preposition, terminations are of the Atmanepada. शालनेपदात 'he entered in.'

The नि of the sutra must be an upasarga, because that has a sense, and not any नि. On this there is this paribhāṣā:—"a combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote the same combination of letters void of a meaning." Thus in शालनेपदात 'the beetles enter the honey flowers.'
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Here the फि is a part of the word न्यूनि and has no sense by itself, and therefore the verb is in the Parasmaipada and not in the Atmanepada.

परिष्करणः कः य: || १७ || पदार्थः || परि-फि-अवेश्यः, कः, ( आः )

वृत्तः || परिष्करणः उत्तराणुः प्रक्षेतिराल्पेनेण भवति ||

18. After the verb क्रः 'to purchase,' when preceded by pari, vi or ava, the Atmanepada affix is employed, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb बुः ग्री 'to buy or barter,' has an indicatory य and therefore, by सूत्र ७२ it will be Atmanepadi when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present सूत्र, therefore, refers to cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The root बुः 'to buy' as a general rule takes the terminations of both padas, but when it is preceded by pari, vi, or ava, it is restricted to Atmanepada terminations. As प्रीरक्रीपति 'he buys'; विक्रीपति 'he sells'; खःक्रीपति 'he buys.'

The word pari, vi, and ava must be upasargas, therefore, in the following example, there is no Atmanepada termination, because the vi there, is not a preposition but a noun, as, खरिक्रीपति वनवुः.

विपराभ्यां जे: || १६ || पदार्थः || विपराभ्यामः, जे: ( आः )

वृत्तः || बि परि पुरावज्ञायेत्त्वाल्पेनेवं भवति ||

19. After the verb जि 'to conquer,' preceded by vi or para, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

This सूत्र debars S. ७८ by which the root फि is generally Parasmaipadi.

As बिङ्कः 'he conquers' परामत्रः 'he conquers.' The words vi and para must be upasargas (prepositions), for the application of this rule. In the following examples, they are used as substantives खरिन्यवयः वनवुः, परा भवति केना.

आः दूरामाय सिध्वरणे || २० || पदार्थः || आः, दः, अनास्य-विद्वरणे, ( आः )

वृत्तः || खरि पूर्वाश्वस्थिरान्त्विद्वरि वस्मादाक्स्मात्वेपि भवति ||

वासिकाम् || भक्तस्विनहिरणस्मानात्ति प्रतिवेदः वक्तव्यः ||

वासिकाम् || स्याज्ञर कर्मकायेति वक्तव्यः ||
20. After the verb dā ‘to give,’ preceded by अन्, and when not meaning ‘to open the mouth,’ the Atmanepada affix is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The root ग is generally both Parasmaipadi and Atmanepadi (see S. 72). But when preceded by the preposition ए, it is restricted to the Atmanepada. As सिद्धांशुन ‘he acquires knowledge.’ But when it means ‘to widen the mouth’ whether actually or metaphorically, it is parasmaipadi. As शाम्भवे यत्सचिवाः ‘He expands his own mouth.’

Vart:—The prohibition also applies when the action is similar to the act of opening the mouth. As विपाध्यात्मा यस्य ‘he opens the tumour.’ कूले यस्याहन्ति न कि ‘the river breaks the bank.’

Vart:—When the action does not affect the agents’ own body the verb is Atmanepadi, as शस्यस्य ‘लक्षणं मुख, ‘the ants open the mouth of a locust.’

21. After the verb क्रिः ‘to play’ preceded by अनु, सम or परि, as well as अन्, the Atmanepada affix is used.

The word “अन्” is to be read into the सुत्रa by virtue of the conjunction ए in the text. As पारस्माः संक्रियाः स्युपक्ष्याः, or परिक्रियाः ‘he plays.’

Vart.—When the verb क्रिः compounded with सम means ‘to make a rattling or creaking noise,’ it does not take Atmanepada terminations. As संक्रियाः सुपक्ष्याः ‘the carts rattle or creak.’ The word अनु, पैरि &c., being taught along with सम, indicates that the upasargas अनु, पैरि &c., are to be taken, and not the karmapravachanyā अनु पैरि &c. Therefore, when these prefixes are used as karmapravachanlyā, they do not cause the verb क्रिः to
take the Atmanepada terminations as मायाबलकुण्ठकर्तिः 'he plays in imitation of the boy.' For the definition and action of karmapravachanlya, see I. 4. 83 and II. 3. 8.

*Vart.*—The verb भाग्य तakes the Atmanepada terminations when meaning 'to wait for,' 'to over look' 'to have patience' as, भाग्यवयस्त्वावनूत्माणकर्तिः 'Have patience with the boy.'

*Vart.*—The verb त्रिशिः takes अत्मानेपदा terminations, when meaning 'to enquire':—as, विभाषा धिष्ठैः 'he investigates sciences.

*Vart.*—The verb नायू when meaning 'to bless,' takes अत्मानेपदा terminations, as, छाविशु नायू 'he blesses with clarified butter.' Why do we say 'when meaning to bless?' Observe, मायाबलकुण्ठकर्तिः 'he begs of Manavaka.'

*Vart.*—The verb ह्रतिः takes अत्मानेपदा terminations when meaning 'to take after the nature of the parents.' As वेदकाः श्रद्धालस्ते 'the horses resemble their father.' नायके श्रद्धालस्ते 'the cows always imitate their mother.' But when not having this meaning, we have मायाबलकुण्ठकर्तिः 'he resembles his mother.'

*Vart.*—The verb किरतिः takes अत्मानेपदा terminations when meaning 'to scratch out or scatter with joy, for abode or food.' As भपरस्करच श्रवणो हि: 'the happy bull scratches with joy.' भपरस्करच श्रवणो भक्तिः 'the cock scratches in search of food;' भपरस्करच भाजाभक्तिः 'the dog scratches to make his abode.' When not having these senses we have भपरस्करच कशुमस्य 'he scatters about the flowers.' The dental स in apaskirate is added by sūtra VI. 1. 142. मायाबलकुण्ठकर्तिः

*Vart.*—The verbs गृ 'to cry' and पृश्च 'to ask' take the अत्मानेपदा terminations when preceded by the preposition सार्वस्त, as सार्वस्ते मुखः 'the jackal howls.' भाजाभक्तिः कशुमस्य 'he questions the Guru.'

*Vart.*—The verb श्रुं when meaning 'to touch the body by the word' takes अत्मानेपदा affixes. As इस्यत्व स्खते 'he promises by oath to Devadatta.' Otherwise we have श्रवतिः 'he curses.'

22. After the verb स्थान 'to stand,' preceded by सम, आव, प्र-विनय:, स्खः

इति: || सम धार्य धव इति इस्यत्व श्रवीये महानेबी चस्थाने ||

*वार्तिकम्* || चाहः स्खः महिताख इति वनस्यमुः

22. After the verb sthā 'to stand,' preceded by sam, ava, pra, vi, the Atmanepada affix is used.

As स्थाने 'he stays with,' श्रविष्ठो 'he waits patiently,' प्रविष्ठेः 'he sets forth,' विष्ठैः 'he stands apart.'
Vart.—The verb स्व when preceded by ज्ञान and meaning ‘solemn declaration’ takes अत्मापदा terminations; as ज्ञानस्थितापानाद्वितीयपर्यंत्वेः। Or to take another example, नस्ते चिन्तना च च चारस्तायायः ‘for thee I shall surely have recourse to water or poison.’

23. After the verb स्थान when meaning ‘to indicate one’s intentions to another,’ or ‘to make an award as an arbitrator,’ the अत्मापदा affix is employed.

The word प्रकाशिता means disclosing one’s intentions. The word स्थेयश्चर्चिता is a compound of स्थेय ‘arbitrator’ and िच्छ ‘name.’

As निस्ते जारायस्वे 'the wife expresses her wish to the husband,’ िच्छन्तेते, ‘he refers to thee for settlement,’ संचयोऽधिकरणं निस्ते च, ‘who, when he is in doubt, has recourse to Karpa as his judge or umpire.’

24. After the verb स्थान, preceded by उत, when not meaning ‘to get up or rise,’ as from a seat; the अत्मापदा affix is employed.

The word ‘कर्म’ in this aphorism means ‘action,’ and does not mean the grammatical ‘karma’ or ‘object.’

As गोऽजोऽजजिते 'he strives for the house’ so also कृत्यजोऽजजिते। But भास्यानुप्राच्यायाः ‘he rises up from the seat.’

Vart.—The force of the preposition उत must be to express ज्ञान, ‘effort, exertion, wish or desire, to surprise or excell.’ If this be not the force of उत, the terminations are those of the धर्मापदा. As ज्ञानस्थितापानाद्वितीयपर्यंत्वेः ‘a hundred is yielded by this village.’ The word ज्ञान qualifies the word ‘अनुरुःकर्मणि,’ and does not debar the latter.
25. After the verb sthā, preceded by upa, when meaning 'to adore,' the Atmanepada affix is used.

As एस्यामाधिप्रसुपविधिते 'he approaches with prayers or worships the Gārhapatya fire with aindra hymns.'

If it does not mean 'praising with hymns' the terminations which the verb takes, are those of the Parasmaipada, as भावायुपविधिष वौवनेििि 'she approaches the husband through youth.'

Vart.—The verb ब्या after the preposition यः takes the terminations of the Atmanepada when meaning 'worshipping a deity;' 'to approach for intercourse or uniting or joining,' 'to form friendship with,' and 'to lead to as a way.' Thus:—1st Deva pujā यायुपविधिते 'he worships the Aditya.' 2. Sangati karaṇa पतिमुपविधिते नारि 'the wife approaches the husband,' रियायुपविधिते 'forms union with charioteers.' 3. Mitri karaṇa संतुपविधिते साय: 'the good man approaches the saints to make friends with.' What is the difference between Sangati-karaṇa and Mitri-karaṇa? Sangati-karaṇa means drawing near and approaching together in space, as गंगायुपनन्दिते 'the Ganges joins the Jumna.' While the friendly relations may be established without coming in physical contact. 4. Patha:—यं पन्या: हुःपुपविधििे 'this road leads to Srughna.

Vart.—It must be stated that the Atmanepada is optional when the sense is 'desire of getting.' As निमुनो प्रासाेकः कुलमुपविधििे or उपायितििे 'a beggar waits at the palace of a Brahmana with the desire of getting something.'

26. After the verb sthā, preceded by upa, when used intransitively, the Atmanepada affix is used.

As भागजाकाले यपविधिते 'he stands ready at the time of dinner,' याबस्योषकुपविधिते 'he is present whenever it is dinner time,' याबलोणपविधिते 'he is present whenever there is food, that is he comes at the time of dinner.' The word bhukta is formed by adding the affix kta to the root, and has the force of 'condition' here.

The phrase 'when used in the Intransitive' governs the three succeeding śūtras also.

If it is transitive; the verb upasthā takes the parasmaipada terminations. As राजायुपविधिते 'he approaches the king.'
27. After the verb saṣa-, 'to shine,' when used intransitively, and preceded by ut or vi the Atmanepada affix is employed.

As उत्सर्गेत्र तर्फः or लिन्ते तर्फः विद्यापी 'The scholar shines with knowledge.' But in transitive verbs, it is Parasmaipadi. As उत्सर्गेत्र स्वसुवषष्टकार; 'the goldsmith heats the gold,' विन्तेपर्रु विपर्रु 'the sun heats the back.'

Vart.—It must be stated that the terminations are of the Atmanepada, though the verb ut-saṣa or vi saṣa be transitive, when the object is some limb of one's own body. As ut-saṣa or लिन्ते तर्फः विद्यापी 'he heats his own hand or back' The word चाष्ट्र means one's own body and not the परिबाषिक or the technical चाष्ट्र meaning "a thing which not being liquid or gaseous and being capable of being perceived by the senses, and not being one produced by a change from the natural state, exists in a living being and though found elsewhere actually or at any particular time, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually (not figuratively) the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being." (See IV. 1. 54 चाष्ट्रान्नायिष्कर्षानीखालिकात्रानि.) Therefore not so in the following रेवस्त्री द्वारायत्तु चाष्ट्रपित 'Devadatta heats the back of Yajñadatta. When the preposition is other than ut or vi, parasmaipada affix is employed; as, निद्धपि.

अङ्कोपसनहें: Ⅱ २८ ॥ पद्यिनि ॥ आइः, यम-हुनः! (अकन्नकालः आर यथा) ॥

२८. After the verb yam 'to stop,' and han 'to injure,' when used intransitively and preceded by अन, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The word intransitive of s. 26 is understood here also. Both these verbs are generally parasmaipadi. When they take the affix अन they become अत्मापदी. Yam belongs to Bhādi class; and han to Adādi class. Thus अ + यम + यम + अ = अ + यम + अ (VII. 3. 77 दुर्गमानवर्तका क्रिया चन्द्रायामानादेह चन्द्रायामानादेह-पर्ष अन्वितौ ॥

Not so when these verbs are used in the transitive, as याख्यैवित्वाकान्: 'it draws up the rope from the well,' जाहिन्तु व्यथल पाणिन 'they kill the sinner with the foot.'
Vart.—When the object is some member of the agent's own body these verbs take the Atmanepada terminations though transitive. As भावते भावते 'he puts forth his own hand.' भावते श्रद्धां 'he hurts his own head.' When the object is some limb of another's body, the terminations are of the Parasmaiapa, as भावते श्रद्धां 'they hurt others head.'

The above seven verbs when preceded by the preposition खस्तु and used in the intransitive, take the terminations of the Atmanepada. As श्रद्धते (VII. 3. 77) 'he joins,' श्रद्धते 'he becomes hard or goes.' श्रद्धते 'he blames,' श्रद्धते 'they are attained.' In the case of this last verb which belongs both to Bhvādi and Jujhūtyādi class it is Atmanepadi only in the Aorist. As श्रद्धते अध + अध + स (III. 1. 56 श्रद्धास्वाक्षरलिः) = श्रद्धते, as मां श्रद्धते (VI. 4. 75 श्रद्धास्वाक्षरलिः) श्रद्धते अध + अध + अन्त = श्रद्धते (VII. 4. 16 श्रद्धास्वाक्षरलिः). This occurs generally in the Vedas. The verb कीि must have the meaning of 'to know,' and not that of 'to acquire.' श्रद्धते 'he hears,' श्रद्धते 'he knows.'

Vart.—The root श्रद्धते (to see) after the preposition खस्तु when used intransitively takes the terminations of the Atmanepada as श्रद्धते 'he sees.' But when transitive, it takes Parasmaiapa terminations as श्रद्धते 'he sees the town.'

निषुपविषयो द्व: || 30 || पदानि || न-एसू-उप-विषयः, हृः, (आत पो) ||

ृष्टि || निषुपविषयो द्वः || निष-एसू-उप-विषयः, हृः,

30. After the verbs खे 'to call,' preceded by नी, sam, upa, and vi, the Atmanepada is used, even, when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.
The verb वे: 'to call' whether transitive or intransitive is Atmanepadi after the above prepositions. The condition of being Intransitive does not apply to this sūtra, and from this sūtra forward general rules of Atmanepada are treated of. As निर्बोधे, अंशुबोधे, उपहृते.

The verb वे is marked in the Dhātupātha with a ्अ and therefore by sūtra 72 of this Chapter, it will take the terminations of the Atmanepada when the direct fruit of the action accrues to the agent. But even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the verb वे takes the terminations of the Atmanepada when preceded by the above prefixes.

Vart.—The verbs वष्य 'to throw' and वेष्य 'to note' take optionally Atmanepada affixes when compounded with upasargas. As निरस्वतः—०े 'he casts out,' समुद्रतः—०े 'he collects.'

वष्ये: वष्ये: पदानि II वष्ये: वष्ये: पदानि II वष्ये: (हः)

31. After the verb वे, when meaning 'to challenge' and preceded by अं, the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

As मल्लो मल्लामाहूः वचने 'an athlete challenges another athlete (in order to conquer him)’ अमल्लामाहूः वचने 'one student emulates with another student.'

This sūtra is also for the purpose of showing that the root वे takes the Atmanepada terminations even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The word spardhā means to emulate, to vie, to desire to conquer another. When the verb वे has not the above signification, it takes the terminations of the parasmaipada. As गामाव्यति गोपाल: 'the cowherd calls the cows.'

32. After the verb क्रि when meaning 'to divulge,' 'to revile,' 'to serve,' 'to use violence,' 'to cause change,' 'to recite,' and 'to do an act tending to effect a desired purpose,' the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.
The verb कृत्य by sūtra 72 would take the affixes of the Atmanepada when the direct fruit of the action accrues to the agent. This sūtra has been begun to show that this verb takes the Atmanepada terminations under certain circumstances even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The word gandhana comes from the root gandh ‘to injure,’ of churādi class and means to inform against another maliciously with the object of injuring such person. Avakshepana means ‘to revile’ ‘to over-come,’ sevana means ‘to obey and serve,’ sāhasikya means ‘an act of violence,’ pratiyatna means ‘imparting a new quality or virtue,’ prakathana means ‘to narrate fully,’ upayoga means ‘the disposal of a thing for the object of attaining merit &c.’

Thus बक्रुवते, बक्रुवते means he informs against (2) पशुन इति पालिकामुद्याये ‘the hawk overcomes or reviles a snail’ (3) गणकाऊऽकरुवते ‘he serves the prostitutes,’ महामात्रांकरुवते ‘he serves the mahamatra.’ (4). परस्परद्वारा मकरुवते ‘he outrages another’s wife.’ (5). एकवक्ष्योपकरुवते ‘the fuel gives a new quality (boils) to the water (or he prepares the wood and water for a sacrifice).’ The object of the verb kri takes the affix of the sixth case i.e. genitive, only when the verb means pratiyatna, see S. II. 3. 53 (कृत्य: प्रतियतने) Therefore udakasya, though an object, has genitive form. The verb takes the augment स्त्र� only when it is preceded by upa and signifies pratiyatna see VI. 1. 139. (सपत्त धरीतव प्रेतव वाक्याध्यात्मा) Therefore, there is the insertion of sibilant in upaskurute.

(5). गायत्रा: मकरुवते ‘he recites stories,’ जनंपतसा मकरुवते ‘he recites slander.’ (6). खर्न मकरुवते ‘he devotes a hundred’ pieces of money; for the sake of merit. खर्न मकरुवते he devotes a thousand.

Why do we say in these senses? Witness कर्त्त करोति ‘he makes a mat.’ In this case the Atmanepada affix is not employed.

The verb kri is understood in the three succeeding sūtras.

अत: प्रसहने || 33 || पदार्थि || अत्रेष्य: प्रसहने, (कृत्य: लोक प्रो) ||

33. After the verb kri preceded by adhi, when the sense is that of ‘overcoming or defeat,’ the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

This sūtra is commenced to show that kri may take the Atmanepada affix even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word prasahana means ‘to over come, to be not defeated.’ As लक्षणिके ‘he overcame him or he was not defeated by him.’

Why do we say, ‘in the sense of to overcome’? Witness प्राधिपन्याकरोति ‘he learns the meaning’ in which example the Atmanepada affix is not employed.
The necessity of making a separate sūtra of this rule, instead of including it in the last apporism, arose with the object of giving a distinctive meaning to the prefix adhi.

34. After the verb kṛi preceded by vi, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, and when the sense is that of 'making sound,' (literally, having 'sound' for its object) the Atmanepada is employed.

The word karma in the sūtra indicates objective case or kāraka; and does not express 'action,' as in some previous sūtras such as 24 ante.

As को विकुरते नवरानु 'the birds are making noise,' बापो विकुरुते स्वरानु.

The word वि� governs the succeeding sūtra.

Why do we say "when governing a word expressive of sound in the objective case"? Witness विचं विरोगित काम: 'love affects the mind.'

35. After the verb kṛi preceded by vi, when used intransitively, the Atmanepada is used.

As विकुरुन्ते धर्मेन 'the horse move gracefully,' ओकस्य पूर्णार्जना विकुरुन्ते 'the students being full of food are acting as they will or are aimlessly wandering about.'

36. After the verb ni 'to lead,' when used in the sense of 'to guide so as to render the person guided worthy,' 'to lift up,' 'to make one a spiritual guide,' 'to determine the true sense,' 'to employ on wages,'
The Atmanepada verbs. [ Bk. I. Ch. III. § 37.

'to pay as debt,' and 'to give as in charity,' even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the Atmanepada is used.

This sūtra is begun in order to show that the verb नि may take the terminations of the Atmanepada, even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, in the following cases, viz., when it means to 'respect' &c.

Sammānana means to respect; as नवते चार्वी ज्ञानाये 'the Chārvi gives instruction in the Lokāyata śāstra.' The word chārvi primarily means intelligence, and by secondary use it has been extended to the preceptor also, such a preceptor gives instruction in Lokāyata śāstra, that is to say, having established the truth of the doctrines of that philosophy by argumentation, imparts them to the pupils. Those doctrines being thus established by reason, become respected (Sanmānita) and honored.

Utsaṅjana, 'to throw up, or lift up,' as माण्डक्षुमानये 'he lifts up Manavaka.'

Achārya-karana 'acting as a teacher,' that is to say, to bring a boy near oneself in such a way, that being so brought near (upa-neta), he may himself become an achārya. As माण्डक्षुमानये 'he initiates Manavaka (i.e., making himself the preceptor he brings the boy near himself.)

Jnāna means 'knowledge, a demonstrated verity.' As नवते चार्वी ज्ञानाये 'the Chārvi investigates the truth of the Lokāyata doctrine.'

Bhrīti means 'wages.' As कर्मकाराप्रसन्नये 'he employs the servants on hire or wages.'

Vīgaṇana means the paying off as a tribute, debts &c. As माण्डक्षुमानये 'the Madras pay the tax due to the king, that is, they discharge the debt.'

Vyaya means 'allotment of money on works of merit &c.' As नवले विनयदे 'he expends a hundred pieces on religious acts.' बहुले विनयदे 'he devotes a thousand.'

Why do we say, in these senses? Witness चार्वी नवति माण्डू 'he carries the goat to the village.' Here there is no Atmanepada affix, as the verb has not any one of the above significations.

कन्दस्य कायारी वक्ष्मणि ||3|| पदानि || कन्दस्य, च, अशरीरि, क्षमणि, (निम्ब: आर पर) ||

इति: || नवते: कन्दस्यवेद्वित्तकारीशच्च: कन्दस्यं कर्मणवारीरं शति नवतेरालनेष्वरे अविति ||

37. After the verb नि, when it governs an incorporeal object existing in the agent, as its object, the Atmanepada is used.
The verb नी is Atmanepadi when governing an object which has no material body, but is an abstract noun, that is an object which has abstract but no concrete existence; and when such an object has its seat in a portion of the agent of the verb. As कोष निवार्ते ‘he subdues his own anger,’ मन्त्र निवार्ते ‘he suppresses anger.’

The word शारिरा means the body of living beings, any portion of such body is also called शारिरा.

The object must reside in the agent, (कार्तिष्ठ), otherwise the verb will be parasmaipadi. As वेष्टो यज्ञनन्दन कोष निवार्ति ‘Devadatha removes Yajnadatta’s anger.’

The object moreover must be immaterial, otherwise the affix will be of parasmaipada. As गई निवार्ति ‘he removes his own wort.’ पाणि निवार्ति ‘he bows his neck.’

Why do we say ‘in the case of an object?’ Witness कुड्डा निवार्ति ‘he is submissive through knowledge,’ प्रत्यय निवार्ति. Here the verb निवार्ति has not taken an accusative case, but is in construction with an instrumental case, and therefore the present rule does not apply.

अभिवृत्तिः कर्मः 
पदानि 
कृत्य-धर्म-तायनेतुः
कर्मः (आद पद) 
पुस्तिः इत्युपि नामेनालंगस्येतुं कनेद्यौर्घुरानेव स्वति
38. After the verb kram ‘to move’ when used, in the senses of ‘continuity,’ ‘energy’ and ‘development,’ the Atmanepada is employed.

The word ‘kram’ governs the succeeding sutras up to 43 and is understood in them all.

The verb kram by string I. 3. 78 (after the rest, let the parasmaipada affixes be employed in marking the agent), would have taken the affixes of the parasmaipada; the present aphorism enjoins Atmanepada affixes in certain cases when the verb means to have a taste for &c.

Vṛtti ‘continuity’ means unobstructed, or want of interruption (i.e., a taste for, or facility in, anything), ‘sarga energy’ means application resolution and determination. Tāyana ‘development’ means increase and growth.

As (1) कार्त्तिश्च कर्तन्ते बुधि——‘his reason proceeds unobstructed through the Rig. scriptures i.e., he can easily comprehend the Rig.’ (2) यथाकर्तिष्ठ-धर्म- नामय कर्तन्ते ‘the pupil shows energy or exerts to study the grammar.’ (3) प्रस्तुतं शास्त्राध्य हत्याण्य कर्तन्ते ‘the shastras are developed in him.’

Why in these senses only? Witness धार्मानुगतिः ‘he runs away.’
39. After the verb kram, preceded by upa and para, when used in the senses of continuity, energy and development, the Atmanepada is employed.

The words vṛitti &c., of the last sūtra are understood here also. Why has this been made a separate sūtra and not included in the last? The reason is to make a restrictive rule in the cases of upasargas; that is to say, only in the cases of the upasargas upa and para, there is Atmanepada affix; but not so when any other upasarga precedes the verb kram, though the sense may be of continuity &c., Thus उपक्रमसे 'he commences to advance,' पराक्रमसे 'he marches to attack.'

Why do we say after the upasargas ‘upa and para’? Because, after any other preposition the affix will be of the parasmaipada; as बस्क्रमसे ‘he makes progress.’ If the sense is not that of “continuity” &c., parasmaipada will be employed, as उपक्रमसे, पराक्रमसे.

40. After the verb kram, preceded by anus, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of the rising of a luminary.

As पाक्रमसे पूर्ण: ‘the sun rises,’ पाक्रमसे पूर्ण: ‘the moon rises’ पाक्रमसे ध्वनिः ‘the stars rise.’

Vart.—This ascending must refer to heavenly bodies. Therefore in पाक्रमसे ध्वनिः ‘the smoke rises from the surface of the terrace,’ the verb kram is parasmaipadi. Why do we say in the sense of “to ascend”? Witness पाक्रमसे माणसे: कुजद्दृश्य: ‘the boy assails-the-cut’ steps on the floor.'

व्र: पादविघ्रणे || ॥ पदार्थ || व्रः, पाद-विघ्रणे, (क्ल: ज्ञात पूर्ण) ||

41. After the verb kram, preceded by vi, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of ‘placing of foot-steps.’

As शान्तिविलक्षने ‘the horse is pacing.’ The term vikramāna is applied to the special movements of horse &c.
Though in the Dhātupāṭha (catalogue of verbal roots), the verb क्रम and रज्जु have the meanings of पाद-विहरण and पाद-विक्षेप, that is “throwing or placing of foot,” and so it might be objected that the present sūtra is a useless repetition, yet as verbs have various other meanings than what is assigned to them in the dhātupāṭha, the present sūtra is not unnecessary.

Why do we say “in the sense of throwing of foot”? In any other sense, the terminations will be those of the parasmaipada. As बौद्ध अभिवाच्च: the skin of the antelope is ruptured."

42. After the verb kram, the Atmanepada is employed when it is preceded by pra and upa, both conveying the same sense; viz. that of “beginning an action.”

As प्रक्रमस्यो भेदकृतः, उपक्रमस्यो भेदकृतः ‘he commences to eat’ &c.

The prefixes pra and upa are synonyms, when they denote the commencement of an action.

Why do we say, “when they are synonyms.” Witness the following पूर्वश्च: प्रक्रमबिध प्रक्रमबिध ‘he goes during the first part of the day and he comes back during the latter part of the day.’ Here in one case the sense is “to go,” in another it means “to return.”

Why in the latter case of ‘aparedyur upakramati’ there is not Atmanepada by virtue of sūtra 39 ante, as there is the upasarga upa here? The answer is that Rule 39 is not applicable, as that rule is limited by the condition of the sense of ‘continuity’ &c. while in the present sūtra, that limitation is not applicable.

43. After the verb kram, the Atmanepada is optionally employed, when it is not preceded by any preposition.

The root ‘kram’ may always be conjugated as Atmanepadi when not having any upasarga. The upasarga will be defined in I. 4. 59. The option allowed by this sūtra is an example of what is technically known as aprāpta vibhāsā viz., an option which is not an alternative limitation to a general rule already found or known.
Examples: कतनते or कायति 'he goes over.' Why do we say ' when it is without any preposition?' For no option is allowed when it takes preposition. As वण्यातिष्ठति.

अपश्ये दृ: \( 44 \) पदानि \( \text{II. (अ) पः } \)
पुष्प: नायातस्ये च वर्णमालास्ये भवति \( \text{II. 3. } \)

44. After the verb jña, when used in the sense of 'denying,' the Atmanepada is employed.

The root ज्ञा which ordinarily means 'to know' and is parasmaipadi by rule 78, becomes Atmanepadi when through the virtue of any prefix it means 'to deceive;' as ज्ञानातिष्ठते 'he deceives,' ज्ञानातिष्ठते 'he denies the debt of a hundred rupees,' ज्ञानातिष्ठते 'denies a thousand.'

Why do we say when meaning 'to deny?' observe:—न ज्ञाने विधिविधि ज्ञानाति 'thou knowest not anything.'

अस्मैकाशः \( 45 \) पदानि \( अस्मैकाशः, च (चः, अ) पः \)
पुष्प: नायातस्ये च ज्ञानातिष्ठते कालिकायतस्य वर्णमालास्ये भवति \( \text{II. 3. } \)

45. And when used intransitively, after the verb jña, the Atmanepada is employed, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

As सर्पिलिते ज्ञानीते मनोज्ञानीते ज्ञाने 'he engages in sacrifice by means of clarified butter or honey.' (See II. 3. 51).

This Atmanepadi form of ज्ञा is employed when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. From sūtra 76 it will be seen that when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the verb is Atmanepadi.

How in the above example the verb ज्ञा is intransitive? Because the word सर्पिलित is not the object of knowledge, but it is an instrument of sacrifice, into which one engages from complete knowledge (ज्ञाने); and it (सर्पिलित) is in the genitive case by virtue of II. 3. 51 (तोऽधिकरणश्च करणे) by which the instrumental कारक of the ज्ञा is put in the genitive case.

Why do we say of "Intransitive"? Because in the transitive it is parasmaipadi, as रक्षण पुरो ज्ञानवे 'he knows (recognizes) the son by his voice.'

स्मृतिष्यामाणाय जानीते, च (चः आ) पः \( \text{II. } \)
पुष्प: स्मृतिष्यामाणाय ज्ञानाते च ज्ञानातिष्ठते कालिकायतस्य वर्णमालास्ये भवति \( \text{II. 3. } \)

46. After the verb ज्ञा, preceded by सम, and प्रति, the Atmanepada is employed, when not used in the sense of "remembering with regret."
The word jña is understood in this sūtra: and the aphorism applies to that jña which is used in the transitive. As ज्ञाते ज्ञानानि व 'he looks for a hundred,' so ज्ञाते ज्ञानानि र 'he promises a thousand.'

Why do we say when 'not meaning remembering with regret?' Because it is not Atmanepadi, when it conveys that meaning. Thus ज्ञाते ज्ञानानि 'he remembers with regret his mother' ज्ञानानि ज्ञानानि ज्ञानानि

47. After the verb vad, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the senses of "showing brilliance, or proficiency in," "pacifying," "knowledge," "effort," "difference of opinion," and "flattering."

By sūtra 78, vad generally takes the terminations of the Parasmani-pada, by the present sūtra, it takes also the affixes of the Atmanepada when having certain meanings.

Bhāsana, (shining) means to illumine as ब्रह्म चारित्म जोकाभुव. The chārvi illumines the Lokayat shastras, by his discourses and clear exposition.

Upasambhāṣā (persuasions) means to appease, to conciliate as जन्याकरानवस्था जन्याकरानवस्था जन्याकरानवस्था, he conciliates or cajoles the servants.

Jñāna (knowledge) means to know completely as ज्ञाते ज्ञानानि जोकाभुव the chārvi knows completely to discourse upon Lokayat shastra.

Yatna (endeavour) means energy as ज्ञाते ज्ञानानि 'he toils in the field,' ज्ञानानि ज्ञानानि ज्ञानानि 'he toils in the house.'

Vimati (disagreement) means dissension, want of unanimous opinion. As ज्ञानानि ज्ञानानि 'They disagree over the field' i. e., holding different opinions they talk diversely.

Upamantrana (enticing) means to coax in secret as, कुल्लम्बातो उपमान्तर 'he entices the wife of a respectable family (i. e., seduces her in secret)' ज्ञानानि ज्ञानानि ज्ञानानि ज्ञानानि 'he flatters another's wife.'

Why in the above senses only? See ज्ञानानि ज्ञानानि 'he says something'.

48. After the verb vad, the Atmanepada is employed when used in the sense of "speaking articulately in a similar manner."
The Atmanepada verbs. [Bk. I. Ch. III. § 49, 50.

As संवेदन्ते ब्राह्मण: 'the Brāhmanas are speaking.' But in संवेदन्ति क्षुद्र: 'the cocks are crowing' it is properly Parasmaipadi.

The sense of the sūtra is that when men, who are only capable of articulate speech, speak all in one and the same time, then the verb vad takes the affix of the Atmanepada. When lower animals make a chorus of noise, the verb does not take the Atmanepada.

There must be samuchchāraṇa for the application of this rule, when there is no samuchchāraṇa or speaking in a chorus, this rule does not apply, as ब्राह्मण: 'the Brāhman speaks.'

मनोरकमकादत् || 49 || पदानि || अनेकोऽलस्टोऽस्मि, अनमकादत् (यद्व: आऽप्रोऽ) व्यक्तवाचार् ||

इति: || ब्रुपुर्णादिरकमकानुयक्तवाचार्याः वास्तवाद्यानेपि सति ||

49. After the verb vad, preceded by anu when it is intransitively used, the Atmanepada is employed, when the sense is that of "speaking articulately in a similar manner."

As ब्रुपुर्णने कः: कलापास्य कथा इशृग अवगुरुत्वा kalapa. He reutters exactly what the kalāpa-reader or the teacher says. The word anu here means similarly.

Why do we say ' in the Intransitive'? Because when it is used in the transitive it takes the affixes of the Parasmaipada. As नूवममेव ब्रुपुर्णादिरकमकानुयक्तवाचार्याः वास्तवाद्यानेपि he repeats the yajurveda which he had learned before.

The words 'uttering of articulate speech' are understood here also. Otherwise अनुस्वरूपः शीष्य the lute resounds, here it is Parasmaipada.

विभाषाय विभ्राय || 50 || पदानि || विभाषाय, विभ्राय, (यद्व: आऽप्रोऽ व्यक्तवाचार्) ||

इति: || विभ्रायार्थात व्यक्तवाचार्य समुदायाः वातुत्सादिरकमकानुयक्तवाचार्याः वास्तवार्थ विभाषाः ||

50. After the verb vad, the Atmanepada is employed optionally, when the sense is that of "contradicting each other."

As नूवमने घृः वैयाः (the doctors are at variance). The words vyaktavāchāram (articulate utterance) and samuchchāraṇa (speaking together) are understood in this sūtra also.

No option is allowed when the sense is not that of contradiction or wrangling as संवेदन्ते ब्राह्मण: The Brāhmanas are speaking together.

The phrase 'articulate utterance' is necessary in this also. Because as नूवमने घृः: the kites are quarrelling, the verb is in the Parasmaipada.
The wrangling must be by talking at one and the same time otherwise this rule will not apply. As येवा येवेन यह विप्रस्वतिन्म the doctors contradict by turn another doctor.

शब्दपद्: 
संस्कृतम्: ग्रितम् खरिजर्य नित्यालस्येव प्रति

51. After the verb gri 'to swallow,' when preceded by ava, the Atmanepada is used.

As श्रवणिवर्त (he swallows). The root gri to swallow preceded by the preposition ava is Atmanepadi. The verb gri taken in this sūtra means to swallow and belongs to the Tūdādi class, it is not the gri 'to make sound' which belongs to the kṛyādi class. Because there is no word formed with the latter verb by affixing the preposition ava to it. By sūtra 78 this verb gri 'to swallow' would have been Parasmaipadi, the present sūtra debars that.

When it is not preceded by ava, it is Parasmaipadi, as गिराति he swallows.

शम्भ: प्रतििजाने घरृविन्दि वसि: , प्रतििजाने , (प्र:आतो) 

शम्भ: शरखूहार मित्रे: प्रतििजाने अल्पावतारस्येव प्रति

52. After the verb gri preceded by sam, the Atmanepada is used, when employed in the sense of 'promising.'

As शरि संगिरते (he promises to pay a hundred rupees) If it does not mean to promise or acknowledge, it takes parasmaipada terminations. As षणििरति प्रासम् he swallows the mouthful.

उद्धर: सकरेकालु। ५२। पदानि। उदृ: , सरि: , सकरेकालि। (प्र:आतो) 

उद्धर: शंखांसारे: सकरेकालाकिब्यास्यास्यास्यास्येव प्रति 

53. After the verb char 'to walk' preceded by ut, when used transitively the Atmanepada is employed.

As श्रेष्ठुश्चरे he strays away from home; ग्रुप्पस्तुपुष्चरे he transgresses the commands of his preceptor.

Why do we say "when used in the transitive"? Observe श्रष्ठश्चरवि the vapour is rising. Here it is parasmaipadi.
54. After the verb char, preceded by sam, and connected with a noun in the Instrumental case, the Atmanepada is employed.

As अस्मि बनवी he rides on the horse-back.

The rule does not apply when it is not in composition with a word in the instrumental case. As तत्त्वो लोकी संपरिति हस्त बाणु च रेवति! O Devala! thou wanderest through both regions, this and that. Here though the sense of the Instrumental case is implied, yet as it is not expressly stated, we use the parasmaipada terminations.

55. And after the verb दाते to give, preceded by sam, and connected with a noun in the Instrumental case, the Atmanepada is employed, provided this Instrumental case have the sense of the Dative case.

When is the 3rd case used with the force of the 4th case? That is answered by the following.

Vart:—The Instrumental has the force of the Dative when immoral conduct is implied. As शाश्वयास्त्र or ध्ययया संपरिति (he gives with the object of enticing to the female slave or prostitute).

The verb दाते to give, is generally parasmaipadi, it becomes अत्मापादि under the above conditions.

Why do we say “when it has the force of the dative case”? Because when it has not the sense of the dative, parasmaipada terminations will be used, as वासिन्त संपरिति, 'he gives with his hand.'

It might be asked how the अत्मापादि terminations are employed when the preposition sam is not directly applied to the verb, but another preposition pra, intervenes between sam and the verb. The reply is that the word samah in सूत्र 54 is not in the ablative case (which would have required its being placed immediately before the verb), but it is in the genitive case, and is used as an attribute.
56. After the verb yam, to give, preceded by upa, when used in the sense of "espousing," the Atmanepada is employed.

This is clear. As आदात्मपदात्माः he espouses or knows his wife. But not so when another's wife is meant, there it is parasmaipadi.

By rule 78, the verb yam would have been parasmaipadi, but the present सूत्र makes an exception, when the root takes the preposition upa and means "to marry, to espouse, or to accept." The meaning of sva-karana is confined to accepting in general. This is according to Kasika; according to Mahabhashya, sva-karana means to make one's own what was not previously his own.

Why do we say in the sense of "marrying"? When it has any other sense parasmaipada affixes will be employed as देवस्व यद्यमिच्छामाः अत्मानपदात्माः. Devadatta has illicit intercourse with the wife of Yajnadatta.

57. After the Desideratives formed by the affix san, of the verbs jña to know, sru, to hear, smṛi to remember, and dṛś to see, the Atmanepada is employed.

The above four roots are ātmanepadi when in the Desiderative form, the suffix "san" being the pratyaya by which desideratives are formed.

The verb jña takes the terminations of the ātmanepada when used in the senses indicated by the three sūtras 44, 45 and 46 already explained. The desiderative form of jña would ex necessitate take ātmanepada affixes when used in the above senses: see Rule 62. The present sūtra however enlarges the scope of ātmanepada by declaring all desideratives of jña to be ātmanepada, in whatever sense they may be used.

Similarly by sūtra 29 ante and the vārtika under it, the roots sru, and dṛś, take the terminations of the ātmanepada, when preceded by sam, the desideratives of those would of course have taken ātmanepada affixes by 62, but the present sūtra makes it general.

The present sūtra however enunciates a new rule in the case of the root smṛi.

As परधिः निःस्वाते he wishes to know (i.e. enquires after) religion पुरूष समाप्तम् he serves the teachers, परधिः पुस्तद्वाते he wishes to remember the lost. परधिः विद्वानस्वाते he wishes to see the king.

Why do we say, when taking the affix san? Because the primitive verbs will take the parasmaipada terminations as अत्माः he knows; पुस्तविः he hears, समास्वाते he remembers परधिः he sees.
58. After the desiderative of jñā when preceded by anu the Atmanepada is not employed.

This is an exception to the last sūtra. The desiderative of jñā with the prefix anu is not Atmanepadi.

This sūtra read with sūtra 45 limits the scope of parasmaipada to the transitive, desiderative verb anu-jñā. As व्यक्तिनिग्रहायति he enquires after the son.

Why do we say when preceded by anu? Because otherwise it will take the Atmanepada terminations. As 'वर्तमाननिग्रहायति' he inquires after religion.

59. After the desideratives of śrū when preceded by prati and an the Atmanepada is not used.

The verb śrū when taking the prefixes prati and an, is not Atmanepadi, though taking the desiderative "san." This is also an exception to the rule of sūtra 57. Thus मतिधनुर्धारी and प्राप्तिव्यवस्था is.

The word prati and an must be upasargas; if they are used as karmaprvachaniyas (see I. 4.—83) then the rule will not apply. As वर्तमानमति चुङ्गपूज्ये शदेहः द्वितीये II

शदेहः त्वित: II 60 II पदानि II शदेहः, चित: , ( अर् पि ) II

Vṛtī: II मही चाप्तं पुरोषोपरम्योत्तः समन्तास्तिपोदेन न मयाति II

60. After the verb sad to decay, when it has one of the affixes with an indicatory श (sit) the Atmanepada is used.

The root 'sad' when taking any affix which is marked with an indicatory श, is conjugated in the Atmanepadi. In connection with this, must be read sūtra VII. 3. 78. वर्तमाननिग्रहायति विचार्यति विचार्यति विशिष्टार्थं विशिष्टार्थं विशिष्टार्थं विशिष्टार्थं अपि

शोधति: by which the root श्रृ is replaced by श्रीव before affixes having an indicatory श. Thus श्रृ + श + के = श्रीव + के - श्रीवते he decays or withers, श्रीवते they two decay श्रीवते they decay.

Why do we say before affixes having an indicatory श? Before other affixes, it is not Atmanepadi. As चप्तस्वयं if he decayed, श्रीवति he will decay, ल्यापति.

The well-known vikaranas like श्रृ, श &c., the affixes like श्र &c., are ल्यापति affixes. In other words the root sad is Atmanepadi in all conjunctival tenses.
61. After the verb mṛi to die, when it has one of the affixes having an indicatory अ, as well as when it takes the affixes luṇ (aorist III 2. 110) and liṅ (Benedictive III. 3. 159) the Atmanepada is used.

This is a restrictive sūtra, the root तत्स (to die), is marked with a अ as an indicatory letter, so by sūtra 12 it would be always Atmanepadi. But the present aphorism restricts it to मुद्धू ruṇ (Aorist) and लिङ liṅ (Benedictive) tenses, as well as to those tenses which are तत्स. It will be found hereafter that out of the ten tenses, those that take जन्तu affixes are the special tenses i.e., the present, the Imperfect, the Potential and the Imperative.

It is only before these three affixes, namely, liṅ, luṇ and जन्तu affixes, that the root mṛi takes the terminations of the atmanepada. Thus the aorist ब्रस्व amṛita he died; Benedictive जपीष्ट मृषिष्टa 'may he die.' Similarly before जन्तu affixes thus प्रियते 'he dies,' — व + ज + वे (VII. 4. 28 वर्णधारण) ज्ञिय + ज + ते = प्रििते (VI. 4. 77. अब्ज जन्तुदृढ़ो भोरिषीदुर्जी) जिबिते, बिबिते.

The root तत्स belongs to the sixth class of verbs called Tuddadi which take the vikaraṇa ज in the conjugational tenses (III. 1. 77).

In other tenses, viz., the two Futures, the Perfect and the conditional, this verb is parasmaipadi. As:——गरियति he will die. चपाकियत.

62. The verb which is Atmanepadi in its primitive form before the taking of the affix san, will also be Atmanepadi when it ends in the affix san. In other words; after a desiderative verb, Atmanepada is employed, if it would have been used after the primitive verb.

If the primary verb is parasmaipadi, its desiderative will be also parasmaipadi; if the primary verb is Atmanepadi, its desiderative will be Atmanepadi. This is the general rule. Some exceptions to it have already been mentioned in sūtras 57, 58, and 59. A root which was अमनेपादि, before taking the Desiderative affix सन, will be अमनेपादि even when it takes the affix सन. In other words, that by reason of which the अमनेपादि affixes were ordained in the primary verb, will cause the same termina-
tions to be applied when the verb ends in सन. Thus it was said in सूत्र 12, that roots having an anudatta accented vowel as indicatory or त्र त्र as their indicatory letter take the terminations of the अत्मानपदा. Thus शास्त्र he sits down and शेष 'he sleeps.' The verb भास्त्र (to sit down) and शेष (to lie down) will remain अत्मानपदी, even when they are used as Desideratives. Thus शास्त्रितपि 'to wish to lie down.' Similarly सूत्र 17 declared that the verb तिनिःसू म अत्मानपदी as तिनिःसू , this will be अत्मानपदी also in the Desiderative form, as तिनिःसू 'he wishes to enter.' So also by सूत्र 40, शास्त्रित हो अत्मानपदी, the Desiderative ातपि अत्मानपदी will also be अत्मानपदी.

But though by 60 and 61. शास्त्रित and शास्त्रि are अत्मानपदी, yet शास्त्रित 'he wishes to lie down' गुप्तसू 'he wishes to die,' are parasmaipadī. Because the अत्मानपदा affixes were ordained after the roots त्र त्र only under exceptional conditions and not generically, and as those conditions do not exist in the desiderative, the latter does not take अत्मानपदा terminations.

Of course that which in its primary state would not have taken the terminations of the अत्मानपदा, there being a prohibition to that effect will not allow them in its Desiderative form. As प्रायुतकीति धारिते 'he wishes to imitate,' परामार्शकीति. Here the root श्रृष्टि by rule 79 has been especially declared to be parasmaipadī, to the exclusion of अत्मानपदा affixes which would otherwise have come by Rule 32 and 72, and therefore its Desiderative is also parasmaipadī. The force of त्र, causing अत्मानपदा is counteracted by 79.

Now it might be asked:—True, this rule provides for those cases where a root is conjugated in two forms, one a Primitive and another a Desiderative conjugation. But what provision do you make for those partial verbs which take the affix त्र त्र even in their primitive form; and in whose case we have no prior form to look upon as a guide in the application of अत्मानपदा affixes. And there are at least 7 such quasi-roots which take त्र त्र in this way, called also the self-descriptive त्र त्र. Those quasi-roots are गुप्त, तिज्ज, कित्त, गात्, बध, गात् and सात्. What are we to do with these quasi-roots, which are always conjugated with the affix त्र त्र and have no simpler conjugation?" To this we reply; "In the case of these partial verbs which take the self-descriptive त्र त्र the pada will be regulated by the indicatory letters which these quasi-roots have. For though the full roots are गुप्तसू तिज्जसू, कित्तसू, गात्सू, बधसू, गात्सू and सात्सू, yet by the maxim अथवे ज्ञातं निर्देशं गुणान्वयन विवेच्येः सूत्रि ति, "a sign made in a portion of a thing, qualifies the whole thing;" the sign made in the expression गुप्त अनि, will qualify the whole verb गुप्त अनि." Thus we have गुप्तसू ति he despises, तिज्जसू he cures; गात्सू he investigates अनि.
63. Like the verb that takes the affix अम, if the verb be conjugated with the Atmanepada terminations, so of the verb क्रि when subjoined thereto as an auxiliary, the terminations are of the Atmanepada, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

This sutra applies where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. There are in Sanskrit two forms of the perfect tense (लिप्त्): one formed in the ordinary way by the reduplication of the root and adding the terminations; the other called the periphrastic perfect, is formed by adding अत्र to the root, and then affixing to it the perfect tense of the roots क् (to do), शू (to be) or श्रू (to be). These latter verbs are called anuprayoga or auxiliary verbs, as it is with their help that the perfect tense is formed. The question then arises, what conjugation, paraśmai or Atmanepada, do these auxiliaries take in forming the periphrastic perfect? This sutra supplies the answer:—the auxiliary श्रू follows the conjugation of principals, the other auxiliaries do not. Thus the root श्रू (to increase, prosper) is Atmanepadi, therefore in forming the periphrastic perfect, the verb श्रू will be also in the Atmanepada. Thus एष्याव्रेष्य (he prospered). Similarly श्रू (to appear with great splendour) is paraśmai and the auxiliary श्रू after it will be paraśmaipād, as इन्द्राजच्याक (he appeared with great splendour).

But the other auxiliaries शू and अष्ठ retain their own peculiar conjugation and are not influenced by the conjugation of their principal. Thus एष्याम् मेवशू , एष्याम्.

The word अम-pratayā of the sutra means 'that after which the affix अम (III. I. 35 and 36. कालस्ययात्रायमः लिति) comes.' Of the verb क्रि, when subjoined to another as an auxiliary, the termination is that of the Atmanepada like the verb that takes the affix अम. If this sutra enjoined a rule of injunction (vidhi), then there would be the termination of the Atmanepada even in examples like मुन्मांचकाद्याय and यामान्यकाय where the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. This is no valid objection to the present sutra. It is to be interpreted in both ways, that is, both as a vidhi (a general injunction) and a niyama (a restrictive injunction). How is that to be done? Because the word पुरववत of the last sutra is to be read in the present aphorism also. The second explanation in that case will be for the sake of establishing a niyama or restrictive rule.
It has already been said above that the auxiliary verbs क्र, नू and भस्त्र are used in forming the periphrastic perfect. This is done by force of the aphorism III. I. 40. कुष्टानुपुस्तवे लिद्द, meaning, the verb क्रिः is annexed in the perfect tense, to verbs that take तोम. In this सूत्र (III. I. 40) the word क्रिः is a त्रयताधारा, implying the verbs क्रु, नू and भस्त्र. It might be asked how is this त्रयताधारा formed? The word क्रि is taken from the fourth word of सूत्र V. 4. 50, अकुष्ठ नानां कृष्ठसिद्धन्ये &c., and the letter द is taken from सूत्र V. 4. 58 कुष्ठाधिकीय अ &c. This is the way in which the commentators explain how not only the verb क्रिः is used as an auxiliary in forming the periphrastic perfect, but also the verbs नू and भस्त्र. These three verbs denoting absolute action unmodified by any especial condition have in all languages been fixed upon as the best auxiliaries.

It must however be noted that the word क्रिः in this सूत्र is not used as a त्रयताधारा and consequently does not include the verbs नू and भस्त्र.

After the verb युज to join, the Atmanepada is used, when it is preceded by प्रा and उपा except with reference to sacrificial vessels even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb युजते 'to join' is svarīta, and consequently by सूत्र 72 it is always अत्मानेपदि, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present सूत्र declares when this verb may take the terminations of अत्मानेपदि, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. After the verb युजते preceded by the prepositions श्र and श्र the terminations are of the अत्मानेपदि, when not employed in reference to sacrificial vessels. As युजुऽ 'he joins or employs'; उपात्शके 'he fits or uses.

Why do we say “when not employed in reference to sacrificial vessels?” Because there the terminations will be of the parasmaipadā. As इन्द्र न्यासिन पापाणं प्रयुक्ति

Vārtika:—It shall be rather stated that the root takes the terminations of the अत्मानेपदि when preceded by any preposition beginning or ending with a vowel. This is an important modification of the above rule. Thus उपाके and नियुक्तके. In fact, all upasargas, with the exception of समु, निर्मि, and दुः, either begin or end with a vowel, and therefore the Vārtika amounts to the inclusion of all prepositions with the above exception.
With सम्, निर् and दुः, however, the root will take parasmaipada terminations; as संज्ञानिकः.

स: हुनु: ! 65 ! पदानि ! सम:, हुनु:, ( आऽ पाऽ ) ॥

इति: हुनु नेपणे परमेश्वरः संज्ञानिकः तत: ॥

65. After the verb kshnu, to sharpen, preceded by sam, the Atmanepada is employed.

The verb हुनु 'to sharpen, whet, or grind,' is generally parasmaipadi, but it is Atmanepadi when it is preceded by the prefix सम्; as हुनुमग्ने शतव्र् ‘he whets the weapon’ हुनुमग्ने ‘they two whet’ हुनुमग्ने ‘they all whet’.

It might be objected, why has a separate aphorism been made of the verb kshnu, when it could well have been included in the sutra 29 ante, which also speaks of the force of the prefix सम्, when used with the verbs गम, रिच्च्च, &c. To this the answer is that, that sutra treats of intransitive verbs, the word akarmaka being understood therein, while the present sutra, as is evident from the example we have given above, treats of transitive verbs.

मुनिःपनवे ॥ 66 ॥ पदानि ॥ भुस:, अनवने, ( आऽ पाऽ ) ॥

इति: भुसानानाभवसाहोनिति एजान्य पदवें । तस्माननवे अनवने वर्णमानानानने परे नविति ॥

66. After the verb bhuj, the Atmanepada is used, except in the sense of protecting.

The root bhuj when it does not mean to protect, is Atmanepadi. This root belongs to the rudhadi class and has several meanings, as, to feed, to cherish, to preserve, to eat, and to enjoy. As अभुज्ये 'he eats or enjoys' also bhunjītā, bhunjītā &c. But भुजाः मुन्तकि भिः 'the father cherishes the sons' भुजाःपनानानिराहिः.

The root bhuj belongs also to the tudadi class, but there it has the sense of being curved or crooked. The bhuj belonging to the tudadi class is not to be taken in this sutra, because that bhuj has never the sense of protecting. Therefore तिल्लितः पालिः 'he bends the hand,' is in the parasmaipada.

जेरण यतृ कर्म गै चेत् स कतानाप्पाने ॥ 67 ॥ पदानि ॥ जे: अण्ड, यतृ, कर्म, गै, चेत्, सं, कताः, अनाप्पाने, ( आऽ पाऽ ) ॥

इति: प्रवरसाल्लेनार्थे नविति, मस्मय्य चाणो सङ्क्त्र्यो चेतृ सतः कर्त्यां श्वासु भविति । बनाध्याने, प्राप्ताने वर्णविष्टः ॥

67. After a verb ending in the affix नी (causal) the Atmanepada is employed; provided that when the object in the non-नी or non-causal sense becomes the
agent in the causal; and when it does not mean 'to remember with regret,' even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The causatives (विष्णु) are conjugated in the Atmanepadi, when they are used in the passive voice, that is to say when a word which was an objective case in the ordinary verb becomes nominative case in the causative; and the nominative case of the ordinary verbs becomes objective case in the causative. In short when causatives are used in the passive voice, they are Atmanepadi. This round-about phraseology has been employed, because the base of the active and the passive causatives do not differ in form; as भारीरथि हर्षितकान्त हस्ती.

The phrase 'केठ (after the causatives)' of this सूत्रa governs the four succeeding sūtras and is understood in them. The sūtra consists of the following words:—केठ: 'after the causative;' अन्ने 'in the non-causative;' यदू 'what;' कभ्ये 'object;' यो 'in the causative;' वेछु 'if;' स: 'that;' कल्ल 'nominative;' भनियाने 'except to remember.'

In general, by sūtra 74, the causative verbs take the terminations of the Atmanepada, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present sūtra applies to the case where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

After the verbs that take the affix विष्णु, the terminations are those of the Atmanepada. How? When that which was the object when the primitive verb was used non-causatively, becomes also the object when the derivative verb is used causatively; and even that object becomes also the agent as well. There is exception however, in the case when the verb means to 'remember with regret.' As प्राप्तवत्तम हस्तिन गर्सितकरा: 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant.' Let us paraphrase this sentence by transforming the primitive non-causative verb प्राप्तवत्तम into a causative form. The sentence then will be, प्राप्तवत्तम हस्ति स्यवनेब 'the elephant makes itself to be mounted.' Similarly ज्यांचाल्म हस्ति हसितकरा: 'the elephant-keepers sprinkle the elephant'; and ज्यांपेबारे हस्ति स्यवनेब 'the elephant makes itself to be sprinkled,' ज्यांचाल्म भुस्या राजानन्त 'the attendants see the king'; and ज्यांपेबारे राजा स्यवनेब 'the king makes himself to be seen.'

Why do we say 'after the causatives?' Because the rule of this sūtra will not apply, if the verb though conveying the sense of a causal verb, is, however, not formed by the affix विष्णु: as भारीरथि हस्तिन हर्षितकरा: 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and भारीरथि हस्ति स्यवनेब 'the elephant that is being mounted, mounts gracefully.' Here the terminations are of the parasmaipada in the second case also.
Why do we say ‘in the non-causative non-pi’? For this rule will not apply, when the primitive verb itself is formed by the affix चिदु; such are the roots of the tenth class or चुरादि in which the चि is added in the self-descriptive sense, and not for a causative purpose. Thus the root गष belongs to चुरादि class; whose causative and primitive forms are the same. As गष्यादि गष्य गोपालकाः ‘the cowherd counts the herd,’ and the causative form is गष्याति गष्यः र्वयमेव ‘the herd makes itself to be counted.’ The terminations in both cases are those of the parasmaipada.

Why do we say ‘when the object (karma) becomes the agent.’ Because the rule will not apply, when any other कारका or case, than the karma or object, of the primitive verb becomes the agent in the causative. Thus दुष्नादि दुष्न ‘he cuts with the scythe,’ लाब्धवति लाब्ध स्वयमेव ‘the scythe is made to cut of itself.’ Here the word दात्र was the instrument of the primitive verb which became agent in the causative, and therefore in the causative the terminations are of the parasmaipada only.

Why do we say ‘if in the causative’ in the शृत्रा? It is for the purpose of indicating that the verb must be one and the same, both in the primary sentence and the causative sentence. Therefore the rule does not apply here where the causative verb चेष्टावति in the second sentence was not used in the first sentence; ख्योरोहिन्नति हस्तिनं हस्तिपक्षः ‘the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;’ and ख्योरोहिन्नाहि हस्तीयो मोहसीतान्त्रृ चेष्टावति मूलेण ‘the elephant that is being caused to mount is made to sprinkle with urine the frightened men’.

The word शः ‘that’ is employed in the aphorism to show that the objects in both sentences must be the same and not different. Therefore in the following example where the objects are different, the terminations of parasmaipada are only used. ख्योरोहिन्नति हस्तिनं हस्तिपक्षः ‘the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;’ and ख्योरोहिन्नाहि हस्तीयो मोहसीतान्त्रृ चेष्टावति मूलेण ‘the elephant, that is being caused to mount is made to sprinkle with urine the frightened men.’

Why do we use the word कर्ता (agent) in the शृत्रा? If the former object is not the agent in the second case, the terminations of the parasmaipada only would be used. As ख्योरोहिन्नति हस्तिनं हस्तिपक्षः ‘the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;’ and ख्योरोहिन्नाहि महामात्र ‘the elephant-driver makes it to mount.’

Why do we say ‘except when meaning to remember with tenderness?’ Observe, स्त्रादि बन्गुज्जस्व कोकिलः ‘the dove remembers, with regret, the forest tree;’ and स्त्रादि मोहस्व हस्तिपक्षः स्वयमेव ‘the forest tree is made to be remembered of itself.’
68. After the causatives of the verbs bhī to fear, and smī to wonder, even the fruit of the action accrues not to the agent the Atmanepada is employed, when the fear is produced directly by the causative agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in फ़' is understood in this सूत्र and is to be supplied from the previous aphorism. This सूत्र is also restricted to cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word हेतु in the aphorism has been defined later on in सूत्र I. 4. 55 (स्त्रया कर्मे ); it is the agent which is the mover of another's agent. When a fear is caused by a हेतु it is called हेतुहय. The word नय 'fear' in the aphorism is illustrative, and includes by implication विलय 'astonishment' also. As जड़िते नीपलः 'the jatila, the cock-headed frightens.' मुँहो चिपरवते 'the munda, the shave-headed frightens'; जड़िते विलयायते 'the jatila astonishes,' मुँहो विलयायते 'the munda astonishes' i.e. the very fact of matted-hair or shaven-head frightens &c.

Why do we say हेतुहय? For if the fear or astonishment is not the direct result caused by the agent, but arises from something else, then the अतमनेपधा will not be used. As कुविविज्ञेन भाववति 'he frightens him with the kunchika,' स्त्रेय विलयवति 'he astonishes with his form'. Here kunchika and rupa are the instruments, which cause fear or astonishment, and are not the hetu thereof.

69. After the causatives of the verbs ग्रिध्य to covet, and वानिच्छ to go, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of deceiving, even though the fruit of action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase 'of the causatives ending in फ़' is to be supplied here from सूत्र 67. This सूत्र is also restricted to the cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word प्रलम्बन of the सूत्र means deceiving. As मानवस पर्यायेते 'he deceives the boy,' मानवस पर्याये 'he cheats the boy.'
Why do we say 'when it means deceiving.' For these verbs have not this meaning, their causatives take parasmaipada. As रसार्त वर्जनः 'he causes the dog to bark,' पावित्र स्वानिधि 'he avoids the serpent.'

70. After the causative of the verb लिट to melt or stick, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of showing respect, subduing and deceiving, even though the fruit of action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in लिट' is to be supplied here from sūtra 67. This sūtra has its scope only when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. In the Dhātupātha, there are two roots लिट, one is technically called लिट and means to stick, and belongs to divadi class. The other लिट meaning to 'melt' belongs to kryādi class. As there is no specification in the sūtra what लिट is to be taken, both are therefore taken.

The force of the word लिट in the sūtra is to include the word पल्लवन 'to delude' of the last sūtra into the present. The word समानन means to show respect. The word शालीनकरण means to subdue. As जानिराजस्वलखस्बोस्ते 'he gets respect or causes respect to be shown to him through or on account of his matted hair.' येनो बलाभावस्थापयस्व 'the hawk subdues the partridge', कस्तामुखस्वलखस्बोस्ते 'who deceives thee.'

The sūtra विभाषा लीलस्वस्ते: VI. I. 51 declares that the लिट of लिट is optionally changed into लिट before certain terminations. But there is no option allowed when the root लिट has any of the above three senses: in these cases the substitution of लिट is necessary and not optional. For the option allowed by sūtra VI. I. 51 is a व्यवस्थलिङ्गविभाषाय and not a general विभाषा applicable everywhere.

Why do we say 'when it has the meaning of, to show respect &c.'? Because otherwise there is parasmaipada. As बलक्रुड्यविभाषनि.

71. After the causative of the verb क्रि, the Atmanepada is used, when it has the word रूपया, incorrect, as an upapada or dependent word, and गीत.
employed in the sense of ‘repeated wrong utterance’ even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase ‘of the causative ending in ति’ is to be supplied from sūtra 67. The aphorism is restricted to the cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word abhyāsā means doing again, or repetition; as प्रदीर्घ वर्णावलि means ‘he repeatedly pronounces the word incorrectly that is with wrong accent &c., not once but constantly’.

Why do we say ‘when the word mithyā is used as an upapada?’ The causative of kṛi will take parasmaipada when it has any other upapada. Thus प्रदीर्घ वर्णावलि ‘he pronounces the word correctly.’

Why do we say ‘of the verb कुसृ’? Because the causative of any other verb used along with the word mithyā will not have ātmanepada; as प्रदीर्घ वर्णावलि ‘he repeatedly utters the word wrongly.’ Here कुसृ takes parasmaipada.

Why do we say ‘repeatedly’? For if the incorrect utterance is not habitual, then parasmaipada will be used; as प्रदीर्घ वर्णावलि ‘he pronounces wrongly, not always but once.’

स्वरितजितः: कश्यपिन्याये वियाकरणे ||६२|| पदानि || स्वरित-जितः, कार्य-अन्नियाये, विया-वाक्ये (प्र: लाठी पठ) ||

शः: || स्वरितजितः ये पात्यो वित्तवे एव व्याकरणगते चतुर्भ्रात्र चतुर्भ्रात्र वियाकरणमिति।

72. After the verb marked with a svarita, (svaritet) or which has an indicatory न ‘निति, the terminations of the ātmanepada are employed, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The anuvṛtti of the phrase दिः does not go further. The word कियाकरणे is a compound, meaning ‘fruit of the action.’ When the principal object for the sake of which the action is begun, is meant for the agent indicated by the verb, there the ātmanepada is used after verbs having an indicatory म or a svarita accent. As वज्ये ‘he sacrifices for himself’ वसूळे ‘he cooks for himself.’ Here the verb द्वसूळ and द्वसूळ are marked with svarita accent in the Dhātupātha, and therefore they take the ātmanepada terminations.

Similarly ‘he presses the soma-juice,’ कुसृवे ‘he does.’ Here the verbs द्वसूळ and द्वसूळ have an indicatory म.

In all the above cases, the principal object of the action such as getting heaven by performance of sacrifice, eating of food &c., is meant for the agent. That is to say, he sacrifices in order that he himself may attain heaven, he cooks in order that he himself may eat, &c.
The Atmanepada verbs.

Why do we say 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent'? Otherwise it will have parasmaipada. As वर्गन्ति वाकरः: the priests sacrifice, (not for themselves, but for their clients) परस्मिति पाठकः: 'the cooks cook (for their masters)' कृत्तिति कर्मकरः: 'the menials work (for their masters).' Here though the fees and the wages are the fruits which the agent gets, yet as that fruit is not the principal object for which the action was begun—the principal object of the sacrifice was not that the priest should get his fee, but that the sacrificer may go to heaven—the verb takes the terminations of the Parasmaipada. Here the principal fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent; but to a third party.

अपाधूँ: II 73, 74 अपाधूँ: (कर्त्तिभिमाये कियायफळे (आतू पठे) II

श्रसि: II वर्गन्तहस्तेनेपि: कर्त्तिभिमाये कियायफळे भाज्यापिरे भविष्य II

73. After the verb vad to tell, preceded by apa, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the terminations are of the Atmanepada.

The phrase "when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent," is understood here. The sutra is clear. As धान्यायारे धान्यायारे 'the wealth-seeker forsakes justice, that is to say, he wishes to acquire wealth at the sacrifice of justice. But when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the parasmaipada is employed. As भविष्यः.

विनवः II 74 II पदानि II विचः, (कर्त्तिभिमाये कियायफळे आतू पठे) II

श्रसि: II विचन्तहस्तायापिरे भविष्य कर्त्तिभिमाये कियायफळे II

74. After a verb ending in affix ni (causal) when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the Atmanepada is employed.

The phrase "when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent" is to be supplied from sutra 72. The verbs that take the affix शिप्तू nich are generally causatives. As करं कारविवे 'he causes the mat to be made for himself' प्रोत्ति पाठविवे 'he causes the food to be cooked for himself. When the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the parasmaipada is used. As करं कारविवि परस्त 'he causes another's' mat to be made.

समुदायः यथा अपने II 75 II पदानि II समुदायः, यथा, अपने (कर्त्तिभिमाये आतू) II

श्रसि: II समुदायः यथा अपने परायाये: कर्त्तिभिमाये कियायफळे भाज्यापिरे भविष्यि: पवित्रपीयायोगायेभविष्यः II
75. After the verb yam to strive, preceded by sam, ut and ān, when it does not refer to a book, the Atmanepada is employed, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent' is read into this aphorism by anuvṛtī from sūtra 72. As samutpāda अत्मनेपद ते 'he gathers rice' नागरुपक्तेः ते he lifts up the load' श्वासनायतेः 'he draws out the cloth.' The root yam preceded by the preposition यान्त्र ते takes the terminations of the Atmanepada by virtue of aphorism 28 ante; but in that aphorism the verb was intransitive, here it is transitive, and this explains the necessity of making two different sūtras for one compound verb यान्त्र ते.

Why do we say 'when it does not refer to a book.' For otherwise the verb will take the terminations of the parasmaipada. As यान्त्र ते, यान्त्र ते, श्वासनायतेः.

When however the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent the above compound verbs are parasmaipadī. As यान्त्र ते, यान्त्र ते, श्वासनायतेः.

अनुवर्गांगुर्गः॥ 76॥ पदानि॥ अनुपर्वर्गेत्, शः (कर्त्तेपिराये
आऽ थै)॥

दृष्टिः॥ अनुपर्वर्गांगुर्ग: आनाते: कर्त्तेपिराये क्षियायते श्वासनेपे भविः॥

76. After the verb jñā when not preceded by any upasarga, the terminations are of the Atmanepada, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent' is understood in this sūtra also. Thus गा जानीते 'he recognises the cow as his own'; चर्चा जानीते 'he recognises the horse as his own.'

Why do we say when not preceded by any upasarga? For when compounded with prepositions, it may take the Atmanepada terminations; as चर्चा ते न प्रजानायति मूः 'the fool does not know the heavenly regions.'

When however, the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the simple root ज्ञा takes parasmaipada terminations. हेवदस्तः गा जानाति 'he recognises Devadatta's cow.'
77. The Atmanepada is optionally used, when the fact of the fruit of the action accruing to the agent is indicted by an upapada i.e., by a word used along with the verb.

By the preceding five sūtras 72 to 76, Atmanepada terminations were ordained to come after verbs which implied the accrual of the fruit of the action to the agent, that is to say, where the verb by itself denoted this. But when the same idea, instead of being inherent in the verb, is expressed by an upapada, that is by a word governed by the verb, the necessity of using the Atmanepada affixes, to denote the same idea, is obviously removed, and in such a case it is optional whether we use the Atmanepada or the Parasmaiipada terminations. As त वातं वशति or वजने 'he sacrifices for his own yajña' सं वातं करति or कुरते 'he makes his own cot' सं युज्यति or युज्यते, स्वेत मात्र पावते or पावतलि &c. So on with all the above five sūtras.

78. After the rest i.e., after all those verbs not falling under any one of the previous provisions, the terminations of the Parasmaiipada are employed, in marking the agent (i.e., in the active voice).

The rules of Atmanepada have been declared in the preceding 66 sūtras, 12 to 77. The terminations of the Parasmaiipada, which are the general verbal terminations, will come everywhere else that is to say where its operation is not debarred by any one of the preceding aphorisms. The present sūtra declares this universal rule. The word sesha or the rest, means that which is the residue after the application of all the previous restrictive rules. Thus it was declared by sūtra 12 ante that a root having an Anudātta vowel or अ as it, will take Atmanepada terminations. As भासे, धोते. The converse of this will take parasmaiipada terminations, namely all verbs which do not have an anudātta accent or अ as it. Thus वालि 'he goes,' वालि 'it blows.' It has been declared by sūtra 17 that the root रिष when preceded by नि takes Atmanepada termination, as निविषेदे. When not preceded by नि but any other preposition it will take the parasmaiipada termination. As चालिविषयि, द्विविषयि.

Why do we say "when marking the agent"? For when used in the passive voice, the root will take the Atmanepada termination. As पच्यते 'it is cooked' गम्यते 'it is gone.'
Why is not parasmaipada used when the verb is employed reflexively? 
As in the following example:—पाठस्यो ब्रह्मन्: स्वयमेव 'the food cooks of itself.' 
Because in the present sūtra, the word कर्तरी of sūtra 14 ante is to be read in by anuvṛtti, so that, in fact there are two कर्तरी in this aphorism which thus means "when the agent of the verb is an agent pure and simple then parasmaipada is employed." While when a verb is used reflexively (कर्मकर्तरि) the agent of the verb is also, in one aspect, the object of the verb; and it is therefore, that in reflexive verbs the Atmanepada terminations are employed.

अनुपरस्यांकुष्ठः: || ६७ || पदानि || अनु-परास्यास् || क्रः: ||

( परस्यांकुष्ठः )

(पाठस्यो ब्रह्मन्: स्वयमेव 'the food cooks of itself'.)

79. After the verb kri to make, preceded by anu and para, parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent, and when the sense is that of "divulging" &c.

By aphorism 32 ante, the root वृः took the terminations of the Atmanepada when the sense denoted was that of "divulging, reviling" &c., and it also took Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent by virtue of sūtra 72, because the root वृः has an indicatory श्र. The present sūtra makes an exception to those rules, and ordains parasmaipada. Thus वृः कर्तरी he imitates, पराधृतोरिव he does well.

अन्तिन्स्यांकुष्ठस्य: लिपिः || ६८ || पदानि || अन्तिन्स्यांकुष्ठस्य: ||

लिपिः || ( पाठस्यो ब्रह्मन्: स्वयमेव 'the food cooks of itself'.)

80. After the verb kship, to throw, coming after abhi, prati and ati, parasmaipada is used, even though the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

The root वृः to throw, is svariteta therefore by sūtra 72 ante it would have taken Atmanepada termination, when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent; this aphorism ordains parasmaipada instead. As अशिल्पिति 'he throws on,' अशिल्पिति 'he turns away or rejects,' अशिल्पिति 'he throws beyond.'

Why do we say "when coming after abhi, prati, and ati"? Because when compounded with any other preposition, it will not take parasmaipada, but will be governed by sūtra 72. As अशिल्पिति 'he throws down.'

The second कर्तरी of sūtra 14 is also understood here, so that when the verb is used reflexively, the agent not being purely an agent, the present sūtra will not apply. As अशिल्पिति स्वयमेव 'it is thrown on of itself.'
81. After the verb vah to bear, coming after pra, parasmaipada is used, even though the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The root वह to carry is svarītē, and by sūtra 72 it would have taken the Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. But the present sūtra ordains parasmaipada instead. As वहि 'it flows.'

Why do we say "when coming after pra"? Because after any other preposition it will not take parasmaipada as वहि 'he brings.'

82. After the verb mṛish to bear, preceded by pari, parasmaipada is used, even when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The root बुध to suffer' is svarītē, and by sūtra 72 it would have taken Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This ordains parasmaipada instead. As मृष्ठि he 'endures or he becomes angry.' When not preceded by this preposition, it takes Atmanepada termination. As आत्मशति.

According to some authors, the root वह of the last aphorism is said to be understood in this, so that वह preceded by परि will also take parasmaipada terminations; as परिषष्ठि.

83. After the verb ram to sport, preceded by व्रि and अण, parasmaipada is used.

The verb रम् means 'to sport.' It is anudattē and therefore by sūtra 12 it would have taken Atmanepada terminations; the present sūtra ordains parasmaipada instead, as विरमि 'he takes rest'; आत्मि 'he delights in,' विरमि 'he sports.'

With other prepositions than these, it will take Atmanepada termination. As आत्मशति.
And also after upa, the verb ram takes the affixes of the parasmaipada.

As he causes Devadatta to refrain. The sense of the verb uparamati is causative here, as if it was uparamāti. This is an example of a verb involving in it the force of the causative affix.

It might be asked why was not the preposition upa read along with the other preposition in the last aphorism, instead of making this a separate sūtra. The answer is that the necessity of making a separate sūtra with the preposition upa arose from the exigencies of sūtra making. It is desired, that the next sūtra 85 should apply only to the root upa-ram, and not to other compounds of ram; and this could only be done by making these two distinct sūtras.

84. After the verb ram preceded by upa, parasmaipada is optionally used, when employed intrinsically.

The last aphorism ordained parasmaipada absolutely, this declares an option under certain circumstances. As or he desisted from or was quiet while it was eaten.

85. After the verb ram preceded by upa, parasmaipada is optionally used, when employed intrinsically.

The last aphorism ordained parasmaipada absolutely, this declares an option under certain circumstances. As or he desisted from or was quiet while it was eaten.

86. After the verbs budh to know, yudh to fight, nāśa to destroy, jana to be born, in to go, pru to move, dru to run, and srū to flow, ending in the affix ni (i.e., when used in the causative), parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

By sūtra 74 ante, causatives took the ātmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This makes an exception to that and ordains parasmaipada. As he expands he causes to fight; nāśa he causes destruction, jana he begets; pru he teaches; srū he causes to obtain; dru he causes to melt; pru he causes to trickle.
The above eight roots, those which are intransitive would have taken the parasmai\-pada terminations under the conditions mentioned in sûtra 88 sub, that is to say, when the agent is a being endowed with a reason. The present aphorism in the case of such intransitive verbs makes this additional statement, that those intransitive verbs will take parasmai\-pada, even when the agent is not a being endowed with a reason. As श्रेष्ठवति प्रसन्न he makes the lotus to expand, क्षणवति कावश्रेण he makes the woods to strike each other, नाश-वति हुँकान् he destroys the sorrow, जम्पति वृक्षम् he produces pleasure.

Again of the above eight roots, those that have ordinarily the sense of "moving" will get parasmai\-pada by sûtra 87. The present sûtra, in their case makes this additional statement, that they will take parasmai\-pada terminations even when the sense is not that of moving. Thus म, means both 'to move,' and 'to obtain,' हूँ means 'to run' as well as 'to melt,' and त, means 'to flow' as well as to 'to trickle.' As प्रवेशे he obtains; ब्रह्मस्वादित्ति the iron melts; कुपःरका वशति the water-vessels drip. The examples in the first paragraph have therefore been thus translated.

The root हूँ is always compounded with धि.

87. And after the causatives of verbs which have the sense of the 'eating or swallowing' and 'shaking or moving' parasmai\-pada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

The phrase 'when used in the causative (कैः) of the last sûtra is to be read into this also. The parasmai\-pada is ordained as an exception to sûtra 74 by which अत्मानेपादति was ordained when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. The word निगरण means 'eating,' and श्रेष्ठति 'means' 'shaking.' As निगरणवति he causes to swallow; श्रेष्ठति he causes to eat. भाषयति he feasts. श्रेष्ठति he moves; भोजयति, क्षणवति he shakes. This aphorism applies to transitive verbs, and to verbs whose agents in non-causative state are inanimate objects i.e., not possessed with reason.

Vart:—The prohibition of the root हूँ to eat, must be mentioned. The causative of श्रेष्ठ to eat, takes अत्मानेपादति. Thus श्रेष्ठति देवदत्त: Devadatta eats; श्रेष्ठति देवदत्तः he is made to eat by Devadatta.
88. The affixes of the paraśmaipada are employed after the causal of that verb, which in its non-causal state was intransitive and had a being endowed with reason for its agent; even when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase अत्यंत: is understood here also. The Atmanepada was ordained by sutra 74 when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This aphorism is an exception to that, and ordains paraśmaipada. As अत्यंत: अनिश्चित: Devadatta sits: अनिश्चिततः he makes Devadatta to sit. अनिश्चिततः Devadatta sleeps, अनिश्चिततः he causes Devadatta to lie down.

Why do we say 'in its non-causal state'? For if the causative' root is from another causative root, and not from a simple non-causative root, then the paraśmaipada will not be employed. Thus if one person such as Devadatta, causes another person Yajnadatta, to cause a third person Ramadatta, to do an act denoted by an intransitive root, as 'mounting' for instance, though Ramadatta mounts for his own benefit, the verb to be used in such a case is यात्राहवते in the Atmanepada, from the root यात्रा to mount; and not यात्राहवतः.' (Iengar's Guide to Panini).

Why do we say 'which was intransitive'? This rule will not apply if the verb in its non-causal state was transitive. Thus from कारि the causative from हृ, if the person caused to do the act denoted by the verb does it for his own use, comes only कारकते though the person has a will; for the original root हृ though a non-causative root, is not an intransitive root.' (Ibid).

Why do we say 'having a being endowed with reason for its agent'? For if the agent is a non-sentient object, the verb will be Atmanepadi. Thus from श्रीवि the causative from श्रृः 'to dry' if that which dries is a thing not possessed of a will as श्रीवि: 'paddy,' for instance, though the fruit of the action i.e., the drying, affects only the paddy itself, comes श्रीवि in the Atmanepadi, though 'to dry' is an intransitive root; e.g., श्रीवि श्रीवि: the sun-shine causes the paddy to dry.' (Ibid).
89. But the affixes of the parasmaipada are not used, after the causals of the verbs pada to drink, dam to tame, अयाम to extend, अयास to exert oneself, parimih to be bewildered, ruch to shine, नित to dance, vad to speak, and vas to dwell.

The last two aphorisms had ordained parasmaipada instead of Atmanepada, even when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent, thus debarring the latter's action which would otherwise have taken place by virtue of सूत्र 74. This सूत्र prohibits the last two सूत्रs, and re-instates Atmanepada of सूत्र 74. Thus root pada to drink, has the sense of nigarana or swallowing, the roots घृम &c., have sentient beings as their agent; the root वृृ to dance has the sense of चलन or moving, but still these verbs have Atmanepada affixes, and do not take parasmaipada in the causative. As वाययते he causes to drink, घमयते he causes to be tame, भायवयते he lengthens, भायासयते he troubles, परिषोधयते he entices, रोचयते he makes agreeable, नरसयते he causes to dance, वाययते he causes to speak, भायवयते he causes to dwell.

Vart: —The root ग्रेः should be enumerated along with पा &c. Thus घाययते यियुनेके समली. The doe suckles a young infant.

90. The affixes of the parasmaipada are used optionally after the denominative verbs ending in the affix क्याश.

The affix क्याश is ordained by सूत्र III. 1. 12 मुशाकि-बो मुद्यां बेलेपां इति: after the words लोहित &c. These root take optionally parasmaipada. As लोहितायति or शे he reddens, पद्यायति or शे he makes पात पात.

91. After the verbs dyut to shine &c. the terminations of the Parasmaipada are optionally employed, when the affixes of लुङ्क (aorist) follow.

The Dyutādi verbs are 22 in number, to be found in Dhatupātha in the Bhuadi class. By the use of the word घुङ्क: in the plural in the सूत्रs, the force is that of &c. These verbs are anudatta and so by सूत्र 12 they would have been invariably Atmanepadi, this aphorism makes them optionally
so in the aorist. Thus भर्तुष्वत् or भर्तुष्वितिः he shone. In other tenses than the aorist (भ्रूः) these verbs are invariably Atmanepadi. As घोषिते he shines.

For a list of Dyutadi verbs see Dhatupatha.

92. After the verbs विज्ञ to exist &c., Parasmai-pada is optionally employed when the affixes sya (Future and conditional) and san (Desiderative) follow.

The ज्ञाति verbs are five in number and are included in the शुद्धिः sub-class. They are हुर्य to be, हुर्य to grow, हुर्य to fart or break wind; हुर्य to ooze, and हुर्य to be able. As 1st Future भर्तुषिति or भर्तुष्विति, it will be, conditional भर्तुषिन्ति or भर्तुष्विन्ति; Desiderative भर्तुषिन्ति or भर्तुष्विन्ति &c.

In other tenses than the above, they are always Atmanepadi. As घोषिते it is.

93. After the verb क्लिप to be fit, Parasmai-pada is optionally employed, when लूट (1st Future) is affixed, as well as when sya and san are affixed.

The verb हुर्य is one of the five verbs of the sub-class, ज्ञाति of the last aphorism. Therefore it will take both parasmai-pada and Atmanepada, when the affixes स्व or सन follow. The present sutra makes the additional declaration in the case of 1st Future or हुर्य. Thus in लूट we have:—कलप्पति or कलप्पाति thou wilt be; in 1st Future we have :—कल्पितस्वति or भर्तुषिति he will be; in the Desiderative we have:—भिहृत्तति or भिक्तालाति; in the conditional we have:—भर्तुषिन्ति or भर्तुष्विन्ति.
1. From this sūtra up to the aphorism Kaḍārāṇā Karmadhāraye (II. 2. 38) only one name of each thing named is to be understood.

What is that name then? That which comes last, where the claims are otherwise equal (I. 4. 2) and that which were its claim disallowed, would have no other opportunity of conducing to any result, would be the recognised name. As a short vowel is called 'light' by I. 4. 10, and it is also called 'heavy' when it precedes a conjunct consonant (I. 4. 11.) Thus a short vowel has two names 'light' and 'heavy.' But it will not be called 'light' when it precedes a conjunct consonant, but will have only one name, i.e., 'heavy.' Thus in ने to divide ते to split, the र is 'light' while the same letter is 'heavy' in श्रेष्ठ teaching श्रेष्ठ begging.

Thus in the root त्र the र is 'heavy' and therefore in forming its aorist we have the form त्रतत्त्वः. Similarly त्रतत्त्वः. The rule VII. 4. 93 not applying here as that rule is applicable to laghu vowels only.

2. When rules of equal force prohibit each other, then the last in the order herein given is to take effect.

The word विप्रतिवेच means 'opposition of rules of equal force.' When two topics having different objects in view find scope of action simultaneously in one particular case, that opposition of equal forces is called
Because vipratishedha. A general rule (utsarga) and its exception (upavāda), or an invariable (nitya) and an optional (anitiya) rule, or an antaranga and a bahiranga rule, are not rules of equal force. There the stronger prevails against the weaker.

As an example of rules of equal force, see VII. 3. 102 and VII. 3. 103. The first rule declares, 'when a case-affix beginning with a letter of yaṅ pratjāhāra follows, the long vowel is substituted for the final of an inflective base ending in a short ə.' As Vṛkṣa+ bhyām = Vṛkṣabhyyam. The next rule declares:—'When a plural case-affix beginning with a letter of jhal pratjāhāra follows, ə is the substitute for the final short ə of an inflective base.' As Vṛkṣa + su = Vṛkṣeshu. But when the plural case-affix bhyāḥ follows, what rule are we to apply? For the letter bha belongs both to the pratjāhāras yaṅ and jhal. Are we to lengthen the short ə, or substitute ə? The present sūtra gives the reply, ə is to be substituted because VII. 3. 103 ordaining ə follows next to VII. 3. 102. Thus Vṛkṣa + bhyāḥ = Vṛkṣeshbhyaḥ.

3. Word-forms ending in long ə and ə being names of females are called Nādi.

The word ə is compound of ə + ə. The word stryākhya means that which by itself denotes the name of a female. These words must be always feminine, having no masculine of the same form, as the word grāmaṇi has. As the words कुमāरी Kumārī a virgin, चारु yavāgūḥ rice gruel. The declension of nouns of nādi class is somewhat peculiar which will be treated of later. As see Rule VII. 3. 112 चारु is the augment of the case-affixes having an indicatory ə when they come after a word ending with a Nādi.

Why do we say ending in ə and ə? Because feminine nouns not ending in these vowels will not be declined like Nādi words. Thus while the dative of कुमारी will be कुमारेण, the dative of चारु will be चारुः.

Why do we say 'which are feminine'? Because if they are names of males, they will not be called Nādi. As ग्रामेण leader of a village; केनानी leader of an army; खलवे a sweeper; their dative being पाणे, केनानेखलवे.

Why have we used the word अख्या 'name' in the text? Because feminine gender must be denoted by the word itself and not by any other epithet used along with the word. Thus if the head-borough or the sweeper should be of the female sex, the Dative Singular would still be पाणे फिने and खलवे खिलवे.

ने यहवह्यानान्य स्त्री || ॥ पदानि || न, हयव-वच-व्यानी, अश्वी, (कुनादी) ||

पुत्रि: हयव उघोपान गनयोरितीवहस्थानो तौ यू नवीसनौ न भति: यः.
4. Feminine words ending in \( i \) and \( u \) which admit the substitute (र्यां) र्यां and (ुवां) उवां (VI. 4. 77) are not called Nadi; except the word stri, (which is called nadi notwithstanding its substituting र्यां). The definition of Nadi given in the last sutra was rather too wide, this limits the scope. Thus श्री, happiness, श्रू, brow, admit the substitutes र्यां and उवां respectively, and are not nadi. Their vocative singular is श्री, श्रू &c., while the vocative singular of stri is श्री।

याःंिि || \( 5 \) || पदांि || िा, आिि, (नेयिुङ्ग-ु-िदी) ||

ूूि: || िइिुङ्गः सु िाििििे िा िीिििो ि वस्त्र: ||

5. Feminine words ending in \( i \) and \( u \), though admitting र्यां and उवां substitutes, are optionally termed Nadi, when the affix अम (Gen Pl.) follows, but not so the word stri, which is always Nadi.

श्री + ाम् = श्री र्यां + ाम् = र्यांम्; श्रू + ाम् = उवांम्; or श्री + ाम् = श्री + दृष + ाम् (VII. 1. 54.) = श्रीअम्; श्रू + ाम् = उवांअम्. But stri is always nadi, and we have श्रीिाम् िर्मि।

To the absolute prohibition enjoined by the last sutra, this allows an option in the case of Genitive Plural.

हििि हृिि || \( 6 \) || पदांि || हििि (ू-ििि) हृिि: , ि, (ू र्यां-िदी-िइिुङ्ग-िा-िख्ती) ||

ूूि: || हििि पसि हृिि घो: सम्बन्धि ि: िइिुङ्गः िइिुङ्गः ि िा िीिििो वस्त्र: ||

6. When a case-affix having an indicatory ि (नित) follows, then feminine words ending in short \( i \) and \( u \) are optionally termed Nadi, as well as feminine nouns in long \( i \) and \( u \) which admit of र्यां and उवां; but not so the word stri, which is always Nadi,

Feminine words in long \( i \) and \( u \) have been defined as nadi, words in short vowels can never be termed nadi, while even some words in long vowels have also been excluded from the scope of the definition if they take र्यां and उवां. The present sutra declares an option in the case of all the above words, when a case-affix having an indicatory ि follows.

The case-affixes having an indicatory ि are the Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative singulars. Thus we have:—
Dative गत्वी or गत्वी गत्वी or गत्वी गत्वी or गत्वी; Ablative Genitive गत्वी or गत्वी गत्वी गत्वी गत्वी गत्वी गत्वी गत्वी गत्वी गत्वी; Locative गत्वी or गत्वी गत्वी गत्वी गत्वी गत्वी गत्वी गत्वी गत्वी गत्वी गत्वी. So also गत्वी or गत्वी &c. But strl is always गत्वी &c.

7. The rest of the words that end in short र and र are called ghi with the exception of the word sakhi.

This defines the word ghi. The peculiarity of the declension of ghi words will be treated later on. The word hrasva is understood in this sutra. The word sesha or 'the rest' implies 'the words ending in short र or र which are not the names of females, or if they are feminine names, they are not nadi words.'

As भृगु fire. Before case-affixes having an indicatory य, the ghi nouns gupate their vowel VII. 3. 111. As भृगु + य = भृगु + य भृगु to the fire. So also य + य = य to the wind. But the declension of sakhi in these cases is:—सत्या सत्या सत्यु, and सत्यु.

पति: सनाय एव || 8 || पदानि || पति: वसनाय एव, (पि) ||

8. The word pati is called ghi only when it is in a compound.

The word pati would have been ghi by the last sutra; the present sutra is therefore a niyama rule, restricting the use of ghi in the case of pati to its occurring in composition. The word eva 'only' is used in a restrictive sense.

As पथ्य by the lord but प्रजापति by the lord of creatures. So also पथ्य and प्रजापति; पथ्य and प्रजापति; पथ्य and प्रजापति &c. When पति is ghi, there is gupa of the vowel before the four हिंदू affixes by VII. 3. 111.

पादी युक्तायत्विनी या || 9 || पदानि || पादी-युक्ताय, छन्द्विः,

य, (पति: पि) ||

9. The word pati when used in connection with a noun ending in the sixth or genitive case, is ghi, optionally, in the Chhandas (veda).

The word pati is understood in this sutra. By the last sutra, pati would have not been ghi when not in composition. This sutra makes an exception to that when this word occurs in the Vaidic literature.
Laghu and Guru

10. A short vowel is called 'light' (laghu).

This defines the word Laghu. A hrasva vowel which has already been defined (I. 2. 27), is under certain circumstances called laghu or 'light'; thus the i of नित्त to break, is laghu; and by being laghu it is gunated before the affix ता + या, as नेता he will break, by virtue of the rule VII. 3. 86, which declares that a laghu penultimate vowel is gunated before a Sarvadhatuka or an Ārdhadhatuka affix. So also नेता, अश्विन्त्र and अंजीत्र.

11. When a conjunct consonant follows, a short vowel is termed 'heavy' (Guru).

A hrasva vowel however is not to be called 'light' when it is followed by a conjunct consonant. As the i of नित्त 'learning' is a heavy vowel. Thus नित्त is derived from नित्त + त (III. 3. 103, let the affix त come after that verb which has a heavy vowel and ends in a consonant when the word to be formed is feminine). So also कुष्ठ and नित्त.

12. And a long vowel is also termed heavy, (Guru).

This is clear the anuvrtti of the word conjunct is not understood in this sūtra. As I of नित्त के he endeavoured, नित्त के he saw. Here the letter त is guru, and because of its being called guru, the rule III. 1. 36 is applied in forming the perfect tense by the addition of the augment त. Thus all long vowels, and short vowels followed by conjunct consonants are guru or heavy. All other short vowels are laghu.
13. After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether verbal root or crude-form, that which begins therewith in the form in which it appears when the affix follows it, is called an Inflective base (āṅga).

The words of this śūtra require some explanation. Yasmat after whatsoever; pratyaya-vidhiḥ compound of pratyaya meaning an affix and vidhiḥ, a precept, i.e. a rule enjoying an affix; tadādi, I. S. that which begins therewith; pratyaye 7. S. = in a pratyaya i.e. when a pratyaya follows (I. 1.) is called a base.

After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether it be a verbal root (Dhātu) or a nominal base (prātipadika), the word-form having that as its beginning, is called an āṅga, with regard to the affix that follows. The word yasmat is used in the aphorism to point out the thing named, as āṅga; because the word tadādi follows it. This defines the word āṅga. The word ‘base’ is thus a relative term with regard to its affix. Thus kṛ + vā = kṛvā he will do īta he will lose. करिष्यति, हरिष्यति Here because the root kṛ and ṣṇ gets the name चण they are gunated by (VII. 3. 84) similarly because जप &c. get the name āṅga, their vowel is vṛiddhied in भोपण: &c.

The words kṛ iḥ kṛ are āṅga with regard to the affix ta &c. उपगु + अष्टु = चोपण; कारक. Here upagu and kapaṭu are āṅga with regard to an. Similarly kṛ + ṣṇ + v = करिष्य + v = करिष्याव. Here the whole word-form Karishya is regarded as āṅga, and as such the short a is lengthened by VII. 3. 101; because though the affix vaḥ is enjoined after the word kṛ, the form which begins with kṛ i.e. karishya will also be called āṅga when the affix is to be added. The word tadādi, therefore, has been used in the śūtra, to make the definition of Āṅga applicable to the forms which a word may assume after taking the intermediate affixes like sya &c., or न्दु before the final affixes. Thus कुप + न्दु + इ = कुपन्दु + इ = कुपन्दिनि (VII. 1. 72 and VI. 4. 8) kuṇḍa + num + i = kuṇḍan + i = kuṇḍanī, bowls. Here the whole form kuṇḍan is called āṅga, and as such it lengthens its vowel before the case-affix i by VI. 4. 8.

Why have we used the word pratyaya? Without it the rule would have run thus:—‘After whatever there is anything enjoined &c., is called Āṅga.’ Then in क्री + क्रवती = क्रवती. Here sandhi of vowels is enjoined between इ + इ = इ. If क्री was here an Āṅga, then its last vowel would have been replaced by क्रवत (VI. 4. 77), the form being स्त्रवविवि.

Why have we used the word विषम्? Had we omitted it the rule would have run thus:—‘After whatsoever there is an affix, whether root or prātipadika is Āṅga.’ Thus in द्वि भूरम, though the affix adhunā is placed after
the word dadhi, it is not enjoined by any rule; and the word शवि is not called anga. Had it been so called, then the र of dadhi should have been elided by rule VI. 4. 148.

The word pratyaya has been repeated twice in this sūtra in order to show that when an affix is elided, the term anga will not apply to what stood before it. Thus in the compound word लियै + गर्य = गर्ये for the sake of the woman. Here in forming the Tat purusha compound the dative case-affix after the word शवि has been elided, for as a general rule case-affixes are elided in forming compounds. If the word शवि after its affix had been elided, still retained its old designation of Anga, the शवि + गर्य would have been गर्ये, the augment iyah being added by the rule already referred to above.

'होस्टव्यात् पदम् द्रै || पदार्थम् || वाप्पू-तिप्पू-अन्तनू, पदार्थम् ||

14. That which ends in sup (case-affix) IV. 1. 2; or in तिन III. 4. 78 (tense-affix), is called a pada or inflected word.

The sup or case-affixes are those by which nouns are declined; and तिन are tense-affixes by which verbs are conjugated. They have already been given before. Thus श्राय + धार् - श्राय: the Brāhmaṇas प्रचूर्वित they cook.

It might be asked by a caviller why the word शवि has been used in the aphorism, for by the rule of tadanta given in Sūtra I. 1. 72 a rule relating to sup will mean and include also that which ended with a sup-affix. To this we reply, that the very fact that the word anta is used in this sūtra, indicates by implication (jñāpaka) that the Tadanta rule of Sūtra 72 Chapter I does not apply to rules of sanjña (definition) made with regard to affixes. Thus tarap and tamap affixes are called गहा by Sūtra I. 1. 22. The tadanta-vidhi will not apply here; words ending with these affixes will not be called गहा: Thus श्रायिन्तरा will not be called गहा, for had it been so called, the long र will be shortened in गहारी श्रायिन्तरा. In short, 'an affix when employed in a rule which teaches the meaning of a technical term (sanjña) does not denote a word-form ending with the affix.'

न: क्ये || पदार्थम् || न: , क्ये, (पदम्) ||

15. The word-form ending in न, is called pada, when kya follows (i.e., the affixes kyach, kyan and kyash).

These are affixes by which denominative verbs are formed from nouns. See III. 1. 8, 11, and 13. A word ending in र is called pada, when these affixes follow. Thus राजन् + त्रायै = राजीव 3rd Per. s. राजीविन्द be
behaves like a king. So also राज्य + यज्ञ = राज्यगृह (VII. 4. 25.) यज्ञ + यज्ञ = यज्ञगृह or यज्ञविवि. The result of its being called pada is that the य of राज्य, यज्ञ &c., is elided by Sūtra VIII. 2. 7. (there is elision of य final in a pada which is entitled to the designation of prātipadika). Thus राज्य + यज्ञ = राज + य = राजीय (VII. 4. 33).

These three affixes यज्ञ &c., come after case-inflected words (i.e., words ending in sup), and though, before these affixes, the case terminations are elided, still by Sūtra I. 1. 62 such words would have retained the name of pada which they got by Rule 14 of this Chapter. The present sūtra however makes a restriction (niyama). It declares that only words ending in य retain the name of pada; while all other case-inflected words before these affixes do not retain that designation. Thus the words यज्ञ speech, यज्ञ a ladle are not treated as pada and we have राज्यगृह and यज्ञगृह. Had they been pada, the य would have been changed into क by VIII. 2. 30.

सूतिः च नाम पदानि स-इति, य (पदम) ।

सूतिः सूतिः प्रथमं प्रमः पूर्णं परस्तरं भविष्यति ।

16. When an affix having an indicatory य follows then that which precedes it is called pada.

The sūtra 18 of this chapter teaches that before certain affixes, the preceding word is called bha. This sūtra declares an exception to that by anticipation. Thus Rule IV. 2. 115 declares:—"Affixes यज्ञ and यज्ञ come after the vṛiddha (I. 1. 74) word भविष्यति." Here the affix यज्ञ has an indicatory य, therefore the word भविष्यति standing before it, will be called pada. Thus यज्ञ + यज्ञ = भविष्य: VII. 1. 2. belonging to you. The result of being pada is that य is changed into स (VIII. 2. 39). Similarly य is यज्ञ in यज्ञ (After the word यज्ञ there is yus V. 2. 123). Thus यज्ञार्थाः; so also पदसन्त V. 1. 106, has य as indicatory. Thus कृतिवच: There is no guna because of its being pada.

स्यादिद्व यज्ञार्थाः पदानि य-आदिपु, अस्यवनाम स्याने, (पदम) ॥

सूतिः स्यादिपु प्रथमं प्रमः सर्वनामानामस्यते पूर्णं परस्तरं भविष्यति ॥

17. When the affixes beginning with य (IV. 1. 2) and ending in कृ (V. 4. 151.) follow, not being Sarvanāma-māsāna (I. 1. 43) then that which precedes is called pada.

The affixes beginning with su and ending with kap are meant by the above sūtra. Thus the case-affix यज्ञ (Ins Dual) is an affix included in the above. Thus राज्य + यज्ञ = राज-यज्ञ, राजनिः, राजस्व, राजस्त, राजस, राजस्क, राजसङ्क, राजस्वः. The य is elided by being pada.
Why do we say 'when not a Sarvanâmasthâna'? Observe राजम् + यो = राजानी two kings. राजान: kings. The य is not elided.

18. And when an affix, with an initial y or an initial vowel, being one of the affixes, beginning with su and ending in k, follows, not being Sarvanâmasthâna, then what precedes, is called Bha.

This debars the application of pada. Thus यां + वम्म (IV. 1. 105) गार्ग: a grandson of Garga. So also वार्गः. The affix यां begins with a ya and the word garga being treated as Bha its final य is elided before the affix by VI. 4. 148.

So also ल्रत + द्रम्म = लभः (IV. 1. 95) grandson of Daksha लभः. Here the affix द्रम्म begins with a vowel the word standing before it being Bha, it causes elision of the final भ of daksha.

The word यां is in the 7th case meaning when अ or ख्रा follow; and by the last Vart of Sûtra I. 1. 72, it means 'when an affix beginning with या or अच follow.'

Vart:—The words नाम, यांनिस, नामुष should be treated as Bha when the affix नामुष follows. Thus यांनिस, like the sky. यांनिस, like the Angiras. नामुष, like the man. By being Bha, the य is not changed into य, which it would have been, had it been a pada (VIII. 2. 66).

Vart:—The words वर्ष्ण is treated as Bha in the vedas when the words वर्ष्ण and वर्ष्ण follow. Thus वर्ष्णस्तु; वर्ष्णस्तु मेके. Here had the word वर्ष्ण been treated as pada, the य would not have been changed into य (See Rule VIII. 4. 37); and this य would have been dropped before the affix वसु by VIII. 2. 7.

19. The word-form ending in t or in s is called Bha when an affix with the force of matup ('whose is it,' 'or in whom it is') follows.

The word Bha is understood in this sutra. Thus is the word सच्चिदानन्द having butter milk Nom. Sing. सच्चिदानन्द पौर: the herdsman having butter milk, सच्चिदानन्द कलाकः the cloud full of thunder. So also ब्रह्मलोकी famous;
BHA CASES.

(Bk. I. Ch. IV. § 20, 21.

If full of milk. Thus उद्विक्त + वर्ग = उद्विक्तवर्ग, वर्ग + विनि (V. 2. 121) = वर्गालिनि. By making these Bha, the operation of pada rule is debarred in their case. That is to say the final र of उद्विक्त &c., and the स of यास &c., are not changed into र and स respectively, which had they been pada words would have been the case by the action of Sūtra VIII. 2. 39, and VIII. 2. 66. &c., उद्विक्तस्य and यासोऽित्वन which are incorrect.

अयस्मादीनि चन्द्रनि || 20 || पदानि || अयस्मयः-आदीनि, चन्द्रनि, (सन्)

पूर्वे: || अयस्मादीनि श्रावणस्यिति चन्द्रनि विषये साधूनि अवलि ||

20. Words like ayasmaya &c., are valid forms in the chhandas (veda).

These words being taught here in the topic relating to pada and Bha, show that they have been properly formed in the chhandas by the application of the rules of Bha and pada. Thus भवस्य + वर्ग = भवस्यवर्ग made of iron. Here the word भवस्य is treated as Bha and hence the र is not changed into र. Thus भवस्यवर्ग देने iron-made coat of mail. भवस्यानि पाचारित iron vessels. The present form of this word is भवस्यवर्ग. In some places both these pada and Bha apply simultaneously. Thus in the word भवस्यवर्ग formed by भवस्य + वर्ग, the र is first changed into र by treating the word rich as a pada. Then the word भवस्यवर्ग is treated as bha, and therefore the र is not changed into र before र. For had it been pada, the form would have been भवस्यवर्ग Rigvat. These irregularly formed words occur only in the chhandas or Vedic literature. Thus र भवस्यवर्ग रत्ना गणेन.

भवस्य भवस्यवर्गस्य || 21 || पदानि || भवस्य, भवस्यवर्गस्य ||

पूर्वे: || भवस्य भवस्यवर्गस्य मवि ||

21. In expressing multitude, a Plural case affix is employed.

When it is intended to denote multitude those affixes should be employed after nouns and verbs, which denote plural number. Thus प्राचारण: प्रतिनि त भ्रातसि गनसि भ्रातमि 

The Brahmins read.

This rule applies to words which are capable of expressing numbers. Indeclinables (Avyaya) do not admit of numbers, and consequently they are always in singular number which is the general form.

छोऽको छोऽकवर्गनिकारखने || 22 || पदानि || छोऽक-एकायेऽऽ, छोऽकवर्ग-एकायणे ||

पूर्वे: || छोऽकवर्गद्वीपस्यारन्ति: एकायणे भवसि ||
22. The dual and singular case-affixes are employed severally in the sense of duality and unity.

This is also clear. When duality is to be expressed, a dual case-affix should be employed, and in the case of unit, the singular case-affix. Thus प्राणायिनि पञ्चः: the two Brahmins cook. प्राणः पञ्चः: the Brahmin cooks.

23. The phrase 'kāraka' (meaning 'in the special relation to a word expressing an action') is to be understood in the following aphorisms.

Any thing that helps towards the accomplishment of an action is a kāraka. Thus 'in 'cooking,' the fire, the furnace, the vessel, the cook are all helpers in the accomplishment of the action. Thus 'Rama cooks food in a vessel, by the fire from the furnace for his master.' Here Rama is agent kāraka; 'food' is object kāraka; 'vessel' is a locative kāraka, fire is an instrumental kāraka, 'furnace' is the ablative kāraka and 'master' is the dative kāraka.

The word 'kāraka' thus is synonymous with the word cause (hetu) and occasion (nimitta). All the various causes and occasions that are required to complete an action will be kārakas. Out of the seven cases in which a sanskrit noun is declined, six represent such relation with an action. The Genitive or the sixth case can never be directly related with an action, and thus can never stand in the relation of a kāraka to a verb.

24. A noun whose relation to an action is that of a fixed point from which departure takes place is called apādāṇa or ablation.

This defines the Ablation or Apādāṇa kāraka. Thus पावारणम् he comes from the village. पवारणम् he descends from the mountain. त्यावरणम्: lost his object. त्यावरणम्: fallen from chariot. The Apādāṇa takes the 5th case-affix (II. 3. 28) and the above examples show this. When therefore this relation is to be expressed, ' the fixed point (like grāma, parvata &c., in the above) which is the limit denoted by a word dependent on a verb, is called ablation.'
Vart:—The objects of verbs denoting ‘aversion,’ ‘cessation’ and ‘negligence’ are also called ablation. Thus:—चत्मान्यमथिस्मति he dislikes injustice; चत्मान्यमथिस्मति he ceases from injustice. चत्मान्यमथिस्मति he neglects justice.

25. In case of words implying ‘fear’ and ‘protection from danger’ that from which the danger or fear proceeds is called अपादाना कराका.

The verbs signifying ‘fear’ or ‘protection’ govern the object feared of, or the danger to be protected from, in the ablative case. Thus चौराने विगेति he is afraid of thieves, चौराणे उदिस्ते he is agitated because of the thieves. चौराणे-यथायाते or रसिति. He protects or saves from the thieves.

Why do we say ‘the cause of fear (bhaya-hetu) is put in the ablative case?’ Observe चारणे विगेति or चारणे he fears or protects in the forest.

26. In the case of the verb parâji, ‘to be tired or weary of,’ that which becomes unbearable, is called अपादाना कराका.

When the verb जिस to conquer, with the preposition परâ has the sense of ‘becoming tired or unbearable’ it governs ablative case of the thing become unbearable. As अध्ययनात् पराषजते he finds study unbearable.

Why do we say ‘that which becomes unbearable.’ Observe शापूस पराषजते he defeats the enemies.

27. In case of verbs having the sense of ‘preventing, the desired object from which one is prevented or warded off is called Ablation or अपादाना कराका.

The obstruction to one's natural inclination is called वारापा or prevention. As यवेयो गृहारणयति or निसर्गयति he wards off or withholds the cow from the barley.
Why do we say 'the object desired' is put in the ablative case? Observe वान्न वार्षक में he wards off the cow in the field.

अन्तर्दृष्ट विनन्दिताः निर्धारिताः \[28\] पदानि \[28\] वन्न, \[28\] अन्तर्दृष्टाः, वान्न, \[28\] अन्तर्दृष्टाः, इक्क्ष्मिकम्, (काल अपादान) \[28\]

वृत्ति: \[28\] अन्तर्दृष्टिनिर्विन्दित विनन्दिताः वान्न अन्तर्दृष्टिनिर्धारिताः \[28\] वृत्ति: \[28\]

28. When concealment is indicated, the person whose sight one wishes to avoid, is called अपादानाः कारका.

Thus उपपादायिन्तिमि or निलिये he conceals or hides from the teacher; so that the teacher may not find him out or see him.

Why do we say 'when concealment is indicated'? Observe जीर्णाः व निलिये he does not wish to see the thieves. Here the term chauran is in the accusative case.

Why has the word ichchhati been used in the text? The apādāna kāraka is to be used there only, where one desires that he should not be seen, yet he shows himself.

आव्यात्यत्त येनाद्वेगः \[29\] पदानि \[29\] वा-स्वात्ता, उप-येने, \[29\] (काल अपादान) \[29\]

वृत्ति: \[29\] उपयोगे साधेन ब भाविणा वाक्यार्थकमात्रानां \[29\] गति: \[29\]

29. The noun denoting the teacher is called अपादाना or ablation, in relation to the action signifying formal teaching.

The word आव्यात्यत्त means teacher, and उपयोग means acquiring knowledge in the regular way. Thus उपपादायिते or भाविणा वाक्यार्थकमात्रां he learns from the preceptor.

Why do we say 'when meaning to learn'? Observe नश्वर भूषणः he hears the player.

अनि-कस्त्रूः \[30\] प्रकृति: \[30\] ठण \[30\] पदानि \[30\] अनि-कस्त्रूः \[30\] प्रकृति: \[30\], \[30\] (काल अपादान) \[30\]

वृत्ति: \[30\] जन्त्वर्य्यास्वत्तः कर्म्भ्या भावान: सत्त्वणां प्रकृति: कारणः हृदुः \[30\] वाक्यार्थकमात्राः \[30\] संस्कृति: \[30\]

30. The prime cause of the agent of the verb jan to be born, is called अपादाना.

That which is the Agent (कारणः) of the verb jan, is called जनित्वम्. That which is the prime-cause (प्रकृति:) of the agent (or product) of the root jan
is put in the ablative case. As गृहाराज्योऽधिकारिः जायन ते, the arrow is produced from horn. गृहाराज्योऽधिकारिः जायन ते the scorpion is produced from cowdung.

31. The source of the agent of the verb bhu, to become, is called अपदाना.

The phrase of the agent (कर्मण्) is understood here. The word ब्रम्ह means the source or that from which anything arises. As हिमचल्लं गंगा प्रवत्तिः the Ganges has its source in the Himalayas. गंगायणिर्धार्य विवर्तस्ता प्रवत्तिः. The Hydaspes has its source in Cashmere.

32. The person whom one wishes to connect with the object of giving, is called समप्रदाना or recipient.

Though the word कर्मण् in the sutra is indefinitely used, meaning 'with the object' yet it is not every object of any verb. The object must be of the verb 'to give.'

As श्रवणायावेद गाँ श्रव्यः he gives the cow to the teacher. गांधकार्यमित्राम श्रव्यः he gives alms to the boy. Here the words 'cow' and 'alms' are the object of the verb 'give'; the persons connected with this object are the teacher and the boy respectively. These latter are in the Dative case and take the 4th case-affix. 

Varti:—The person whom one wishes to connect with the action should also be called recipient. As श्रवणायावेद निमित्ते he censures for the sake of Sraddha. श्रवणाय निमित्ते he prepares for battle. निमित्ते she sleeps for her husband.

Varti:—2. After some verbs (especially to sacrifice), the object (karma) gets the name of Instrument (कर्त्तच) and the recipient (समप्रदाना) is called object (karma).

Thus श्रुति श्रुति वहने or श्रुति श्रुति श्रुति he sacrifices with an animal to Rudra, which is equivalent to, 'he gives an animal to Rudra.'
33. In case of verbs having the signification of the root ruch ‘to like,’ the person or thing that is pleased or satisfied, is called Sampradâna or receipient.

The verbs having similar meaning (artha) as the word ruchi or ‘liking’ are रुचि. A desire or longing caused by something else, is called ruchi. As रुचि िै रोपने नेत्रक: the sweet meat pleases Devadatta. रुचि िै वस्त्रे पुजा: Yajnadatta likes Apupa. Here modaka is the agent that draws out the longing which is latent in Devadatta.

Why do we say ‘the person pleased?’ Observe हेविा िै रोपने नेत्रक: Devadatta likes modak in the way. The word pathi being in the 7th case.

34. In case of verbs शल्ग to praise, हनु to take away, श्वात to stand, and शप to curse, the person whom it is intended to inform of or persuade by, these actions, is called Sampradâna.

The word श्वात means whom it is desired to make known or inform. As हेविा िै रोपने he praises Devadatta, i.e., while praising Devadatta, he wishes that he should know this praise. So also with other verbs. As हेविा िै रोपने he hides from (wishing that Devadatta should know of it) Devadatta. हेविा िै रोपने she offers herself to Devadatta for (sexual embrace, wishing that he should know of it). हेविा िै रोपने he reviles Devadatta.

Why do we say ‘the person whom it is intended to inform’? Observe हेविा िै रोपने िै धारा. Here pathi is in the Locative case.

35. In the case of the verb धार ‘to owe,’ the creditor is called Sampradâna.

The word धार is compounded of दाता best and धारा debt meaning (whose debt is best) creditor, as opposed to धारा debt. As हेविा िै रोपने धारा he owes hundred to Devadatta.

Why do we say ‘the creditor is called Receipient?’ Observe हेविा िै रोपने धारा िै धारा he owes hundred to Devadatta in the village. Here village is in the Locative case.

In the case of the verb *sprih* to desire, the thing desired is called Sampradāna karaka.

The verb *sprih* to desire, belongs to the churādi class. The word governed by this verb takes the Dative case. As ज्ञातिः श्रुतिः he desires flowers, फलेः शुभवतिः he desires fruits.

Why do we say 'the thing desired.' Observe ज्ञातिः श्रुतिः he desires flowers in the forest. Here श्रुतिः is in the Locative case.

36. In the case of the verbs having the sense of *krudh* to be angry, *druh* to injure, *irshya* to envy, *asfyā* to detract, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called Sampradāna.

*Krudh* means non-tolerance, *droha* means doing wrong or hurt, *irshya* jealousy; and *asfyā* means to find out the faults of another. The word *kopa* includes all the above four sorts of actions. As वेदताय क्रुद्धतिः हुद्धतिः or श्रुतिः he is angry upon, (*i.e.* with) or bears malice to, or is jealous of, or finds out the faults of Devadatta. Here Devadatta is in the Dative case.

Why do we say 'against whom the feeling of anger is directed.' Because if there be no feeling of anger, then these verbs will not govern the dative case, but the accusative. Thus ज्ञातिः हुद्धतिः he is jealous of his wife, *i.e.*, does not wish her to be seen by others. Here the word भार्या is in the accusative case.

37. But in the case of the verbs *krudh* and *druh*, when preceded by prepositions, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called karma karaka or object.
This aphorism is a proviso to the last, and enjoins accusative case, where by the last, there would have been dative. The word upasrishta means having upasarga or preposition. As देवस्तव भवनाति चतुर्वाति. When used simply, those verbs of course govern the Dative case by the last aphorism. As देवस्तव कुषाणि.

राधीदयोर्येंस्य विप्रश: || 39 || पदानि || राध-इहोण: || यथ: । विप्रशः || (कारां संप्रदातः) ||

पुत्रः || राधीदयोर्येंस्य संप्रदायंतः भवति कीृतः यथ: विविधः || विभिन्न: । विभिन्न: ।

39. In the case of the verbs राध, to propitiating, and इक्ष, to look to, the person about whose good or bad fortune questions are asked is called Sampradāṇa.

The word vipraśna means literally asking various questions; and denotes questioning about the good or bad luck of another. Thus देवस्तव राध्यते-इहोण: गर्वः Garga is favorable to or looks to Devadatta, the sense is that being casually asked by Devadatta, he reflects upon the good or bad fortune of Devadatta.

Another explanation of this sūtra is, the agent that puts various questions is put in the dative case. As शिष्याय राध्यति अर इहोण: गर्वः meaning, the pupil asks the teacher various questions to resolve his doubts, and the teacher answers those questions to the pupil.

प्रस्तावाद्यां शुः पूवेः तत्ता || 40 || पदानि || प्रति-आह्स्यां, शुः, पूवेः, तत्ता (कारां संप्रदातः) ||

पुत्रः || प्रतिभादुर्वेद्यं तूवेः पूवाधोते: कारकं संप्रदायंतं भवति कीृत्यं पूवेः कर्मा ||

40. In the case of the verb Sru preceded by the prepositions prati and ān; and meaning ‘to promise,’ the person to whom promise is made (lit: the person who was the agent of the former verb) is called Sampradāṇa.

The compound verb प्रतिभुः and आभू means to promise. A promise is made on the motion or at the instance of another. The person so proposing who was the agent of the former action becomes the recipient of the promise in the latter case. As देवस्तव गर्वः प्रतिभुः—आभूः he promises a cow to Devadatta.

अनुप्रतिभुः || 41 || पदानि || अनु-प्रति-रूप: || च, (कारां संप्रदातः पूवेः कर्मा) ||

पुत्रः || अनुपूवेः प्रतिभुः गाण: गुणोते: कारकं पूवेः: शिवाय: कृत्य: संप्रदायं-भवन्ति ||
41. In the case of the verb gri, preceded by anu and prati, and meaning 'to encourage by repeating,' the person who was the agent of the prior action, which is repeated, is called Sampradâna.

The phrase pûrvasya karta of the last is to be read into this aphorism. As होत्रा नुतनाति. They encourage the Hotri, i.e., the Hotri priest invokes first, the others then follow him in invocation and by so doing encourage him. The word भूनगर: and प्रतिवार: mean encouraging the invoker.

42. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action is called the Instrument or karaṇa kāraka.

As स्त्रियां मृत्युमुखः वह प्रबुद्धकारक हविविशिष्टव भवानान्तः कारकः कारणसंगत भवति.

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As स्त्रियां मृत्युमुखः वह प्रबुद्धकारक हविविशिष्टव भवानान्तः कारकः कारणसंगत भवति.

43. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action, of the verb div to play, is called karma object, as well as karaṇa, Instrument.

The present sūtra ordains accusative case, where by the operation of the last aphorism there ought to have been Instrumental case. The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that karaṇa is also to be read into this. As वेयः श्रवणिः or वेयः श्रवणिः he plays the dice or with the dice.
44. In the case of hiring on wages, that which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action of the verb parikri, ‘employing on stipulated wages,’ is optionally called Sampradāna or recipient.

This ordains dative case, where there would otherwise have been Instrumental case. The word परिक्रृत व्रेत च means to engage for a limited period on payment of wages, and not absolute purchase for all time. As शाताव परिक्रृत व्रेत च or तवेन परिक्रृत व्रेत च.

ADHIKARANA.

45. That which is related to the action as the site where the action is performed by reason of the agent or the object being in that place is called Adhikarana or the Location.

That in which the action is supported or located is called अधि-स्थिति. The Adhikarana takes the 7th case-affix.

46. That which is the site of the verbs स्थि to lie down, स्थि to stand, स्थि to sit, when preceded by the preposition अधि, is however called karma kāraka or object.

This ordains accusative case, where otherwise by the last सूत्र there would have been the Locative case. As शाताव अधि स्थि व्रेत he lies down, occupies or lies in the village.

47. That which is the site of the verb abhinivāsī to enter, is also called karma-kāraka.
As नामनिनिर्देशसे he resorts to the village. This is an optional rule, as the word “option” of सूत्र 44 should be read into it. Thus we have the following forms also पारंपरिनिर्देश: resorting to sin. कर्मापूर्णनिनिर्देश: resorting to good. The rule here is that of vyavasthitā vibhāsa.

उपाध्यायः वसः || 48 || पदानि || उप-अनु-अधि-आह-वसः,

(कार आपत्ति: कन्ये) II

58. That which is the site of the verb vas to dwell, when preceded by upa, anu, adhi, and an, is called karma-karaka.

As नामनिनिर्देश स्त्री the army dwells in the village प्रविष्टगृहसि-नवसि-चापियसि or भावसि.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when the verb वस् means “fasting,” or does not denote lying in a locality. As धारे रूपचति he fasts in the village. Here the verb upavasati governs the locative case and not the accusative.

Karma.

कतुंरीपिततं कर्मे || 49 || पदानि || कर्म्: इंदिष्टतमस्,

कर्मे, (कार) II

69. That which it is intended should be most affected by the act of the agent is called the object or karma.

That which is especially desired by the agent to be accomplished by the action is called karma. As कर्म कः करोति He makes the mat. पार्षद गत्विव इति he goes to the village. Why do we say “desired by the agent”? Observe मापेष्य रूपः बन्धुः he ties the horse in the gram field. Here gram is no doubt most desired by the horse, but as horse is not the agent of the verb, the word मापेष्य takes the locative case. Why do we use the word “most”? Observe प्रवृत्तस्भिः भूताः he eats the food along with the milk. Here milk is no doubt desired by the agent, but not being the principal object desired, takes the Instrumental case.

Though the word कर्म was understood in this सूत्र by anuvrītti from the last सूत्र, the repetition of this word here is to indicate that the anuvrītti of the word अधिरा does not extend to this सूत्र, because as we do not take the anuvrītti of the word karma into this सूत्र, we do not take the
anuvritti of any word of the previous sūtra into this. Had we taken the
anuvritti of the word karma from the last sūtra, then we could use the accu-
sative case in those limited instances, where the word is capable of taking
the Locative case also, but not in other cases. Thus while we could very
well say गृहे विस्तारित he enters the house, we could not say भूसनं कल्पित he cooks
the food, संज्ञेन विस्तित he drinks saktu. By repeating the word karma in this
sūtra, such examples become valid everywhere. The karma-karak, takes
the second case-affix.

50. If that which is not intended to be most
affected by the act becomes however similarly con-
nected with the action it also is called karma.

That which is not desired by the agent is anipsita or object of
aversion. Thus विष्णु भक्तिति he eats poison, चौराछु पद्धति He sees the thieves.
स्रावणरूप कुलतृत्या भड्डरूप-going to the village, he plucks the roots of the
trees.

51. And that kāraka which is not spoken
of as coming under any of the special relations of abla-
tion &c., is also called karma.

There are some verbs in Sanskrit which take what is called an
akathita object, in addition to their usual direct one. As its name indicates,
it is that object which is not otherwise kathita or mentioned by way of any
of the other case relations, such as धनाम् भागिकरण &c. and is, therefore
optional. If the noun capable of taking this akathita object be not intended
for any other case, it is put in the Accusative case with such verbs; as, जागी
श्रेणि he milks the cow (her milk) नमनवद्यति he confines the cow to
the fold. Here जागी and नमन are akathita or optional objects. If the speaker
does not intend to have this object, the words will be put in their natural
cases; as, जागी (ablative) ज्योशिका, नमन (locative) अनविद्यति.

The roots that are capable of governing two accusatives are mentioned
in the following kārikā:—

क्रियायुक् रूप संज्ञा हिरणी विनिल न च माता। ति मध्य नामाय।
क्रियायुक्त
रूपाकधित् तथा रूपान्तः द दशु वहार्।
In the case of the roots दूध ‘to milk’ शाप ‘to beg,’ पच्च ‘to cook,’
वच्च, ‘to punnish,’ रस ‘to obstruct or confine’ रघु ‘to ask,’ विध ‘to collect’
पूर्वस ‘to tell’ ग्राह ‘to instruct’ ने ‘to win’ (as a prize of wager) गस्स
‘to churn’ गुढ ‘to steal,’ and also in the case of नी, दूध, and गस्स, all meaning
‘to take or carry’ and others having the same signification, that noun
which, besides the direct object, is affected by the verb, is put in the Accusative
case; as, गां होरिच पश्च: (S. K.) ‘he milks the cow’; बलिं गायचे वसुचा.

‘He begs the earth of Bali’; similarly जस्तानानीसंच पचति, गर्गासू शार्व शादवति,
प्रान्नवस्तादि गां, माणवकृ पंथां रूपति, कुष्ठवर्जनसंच पक्षति, माणासंधक धर्म दूधे-मागस्ति वा, गां
वयति वेदांत, सूता हृतरिच गयता, वेदांत गां जलायति; गाणाम व पश्चिम- पश्चिमा-
वा are examples of the other roots in order. माणासंधक धर्म नापते वलिं, पश्चिम-
सुनू निश्चेति, ता वर्ग संचारकाच्याच दर्शति विनंते वी are instances of this kind of
object, because नी र पच्च असंच निश्चेति or दूध have the same meaning as दूध, and
शाप, the roots given in the kasika.

Obs.—The roots ने, पच्च, पच्च नंद, रस, जि, कुदु दूध and ever दूध are of
every rare occurrence as governing two accusatives, in classical literature,
though given in the above list.

The roots mentioned above and others having the same sense,
take two objects. One of them is principal, and the other, secondary. In
the case of the first twelve roots from दूध to मुद्ध, the nouns पच्च; दूधम, पक्षम,
शृङ्ग, &c. are principal objects, and गां, बलिं, पुस्त, शृङ्गमिच &c. are secondary
objects, for they can, according to the speaker’s volition, be put in other
cases. And in the case of the last four roots शाप, is the principal object
and गां the secondary. Thus that which is necessarily put in the accusa-
tive case in order to complete the idea of the verb, is the principal object,
and that which may be put in the Accusative case, depending upon the
speaker’s will, is called the secondary object.

गति बुधुतू प्रस्यवधानांग्राणकातुः कान्तेकान्त नगिर्कात थ यो ॥ ५२ ॥
पद्लालिः।।
गति-बुधुतू प्रस्यवधान-अर्थ-शादूकातुः-कान्तेकान्त, अनिर्कातः, थः,
यो (कार्यकेत के) ॥

52. Of the verbs having the sense of ‘mo-
tion’ ‘knowledge or information’ and ‘eating,’ and of
verbs that have some literary work for their object, and of intransitive verbs, that which was the agent of the verb in its primitive (non-\(\text{ni}\) or non-causal state), is called the object (karma) in its causative state (when the verb takes the affix (\(\text{ni}\)).

In the case of roots that imply ‘motion,’ ‘knowledge’ or ‘information’ or some kind of ‘eating,’ and other roots having a similar sense; also of roots that have some literary work for their object, and of intransitive roots, that which is the subject of the verb in its primitive sense is put in the Accusative case in the causal, the object remaining unchanged; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primitive</th>
<th>Causal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>शर्म: स्त्रमणमायित्वादः</td>
<td>शर्मक स्त्रमणमायित्वादः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्त्रे बवायित्वादः</td>
<td>स्त्रान बवायित्वादः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>देवा बमृतमायित्वादः</td>
<td>देवा बमृतमायित्वादः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>निश्चितकाचेव</td>
<td>निश्चितकाचेव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>गुरुभी बलिते भास्तः</td>
<td>गुरुभी बलिते भास्तः</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But in गमयति गालो गोविन्दः (Rama makes Govind go) if some body else (विरूद्ध निर्चन) prompts Rāma to do this, we shall have to say विरूद्धनिर्चन रामेष गोविन्दे गमयति ‘Vishnu mitra prompts Rāma to cause Govind to go.’ Here ‘Rāma’ is not put in the Accusative case, because it is the subject of the verb, not in its primitive, but causal, sense.

Patanjali, in his Mahābhāṣya, adds this explanation on the meaning of the word श्रवण कैले in the sūtra परि मुखङ्क्रमः &c. श्रवण कैले may be either श्रवण वेयां किया or गालो बेयां करी.

When we take the former interpretation, the roots हृति (हे) कर्ति (कर) and श्रवणे (denom. of श्रवण) have to be excluded from the rule; as, हृति वेयां: हृति वेयां; कर्ति-श्रवणे-वेयांन: कर्ति-श्रवणे-वेयांन. And the roots श्र, श्रा with वि and श्रा with व श्रहु must be included in the rule; as, श्रुतिकार्य विनामायित-उपलब्धे-देवत: श्रुतिकार्य-विनामायित-उपलब्धे-देवत: श्रुतिकार्य-विनामायित-उपलब्धे-देवत: श्रुतिकार्य-विनामायित-उपलब्धे-देवत:.

When we adopt the second interpretation, the roots श्र, श्रा with वा and श्रा with वि, must be included in the rule; जन्ति-विनामायित-पाणाधे-देवत:; जन्ति-विनामायित-पाणाधे-देवत:.

There are several exceptions and counter-exceptions to the preceding rule, which are important.

\textit{Vart.}—The causals of नी ‘to lead’ and यह ‘to carry,’ do not govern the Accusative, but the Instrumental; e.g. भुजो नार यहान चाहति यहारि शा A servant carries a load. भुजो नार यहान चाहति शायारि शा (S. K.) (He) causes a servant to carry a load.
Vart:—But यह, when it has for its subject in the causal a word signifying a ‘driver,’ obeys the general rule; as, यह रथ यहनि. Horses draw the chariot.

Vart:—(b). The causals of the roots यह and रथ, ‘to eat,’ govern the Instrumental case; e.g. यहूदियन यहनि यात्रित शा. The boy eats his food. यहूदियान यहनि यात्रित वा . (He) causes the boy to eat his food.

Vart:—(c). यह, when it has not the sense of हिंसा ‘injury to a sentient thing,’ governs the Instrumental; as, यहदित्र रिः रेवरस:, यहदित्र पिंड़ी देवरचेिन ; but यहदित्र धरानि बलीबर्ति:, यहदित्र बली वर्तूण वर्तानि.

By ‘intransitive’ roots mentioned above is meant such roots as are not by their nature capable of governing an object other than that of ‘time,’ ‘place’ &c., and not those roots which, though transitive, may sometimes be used intransitively according to the speaker’s volition, or when their meaning is, quite evident; as, फ्रिक्यः: परर: पण्ति. Here पण्ति, though transitive, is used without an object, because it can be easily understood; hence फ्रिक्यः पण्ति and not फ्रिक्यः; but यहदित्र यात्रित रेवरसः.

In forming the passive construction of casual verbs, the principal object in the causal, which is the subject (agent) of the verb in its primitive sense, is put in the Nominative case, and the other object remains unchanged; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRIMITIVE.</th>
<th>CAUSAL ACTIVE.</th>
<th>CAUSAL PASSIVE.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>रामो यांग गातरित.</td>
<td>रामो यांग गातरित.</td>
<td>गातरित रामो गातरित्वे.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rama goes to a village.</td>
<td>(He) causes Rama to</td>
<td>Rama is caused to go &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वृक्षः कर्त कारोति .</td>
<td>वृक्षः कर्त कारचाति .</td>
<td>वृक्षः कर्त कारते .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The servant prepares a mat.</td>
<td>(He) causes the servant</td>
<td>The servant is made to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to prepare a mat.</td>
<td>prepare &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>गोविंश गातमाबले .</td>
<td>गोविंश गातमाबलि .</td>
<td>गोविंश गातमाबलि .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Govind sits for one month.</td>
<td>(He makes Govind sit &amp;c.</td>
<td>Govind is made to sit &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a). But in the case of roots that imply ‘knowledge’ ‘eating,’ and those that have a literary work for their object, the principal object is put in the Nominative case, and the secondary in the Accusative, or vice versa e.g. मानवः धर्म योपायति ‘he makes Mananaka know his duty’; मानवः धर्म योपायति or मानवः पृथ्वी काटि ‘M. is made known his duty’ or ‘duty is made known to M.’; वुधालू भौतिक ‘he makes the boy eat food’ वुधालू भौतिक योपायति or वुधालू भौतिक योपायति (S. K.).

With regards to roots that govern two accusatives, the rules mentioned above hold good in their case also; i.e., those roots that imply motion &c., govern the Accusative of the subject of the primitive Case, and others, the Instrumental case, sometimes; as यदना वालि. दुष्यना—
Agent defined.

53. The agent of the verb in its non-ṇi (primitive) form in the case of hṛṣi to lose and kṛi to make, is optionally called karma or object when these verbs take the affix.

nf (Causal).

As (God) makes Vamana ask Bali for Earth.'

The boy takes the load.

Devadatta makes the mat.

He causes the servant to take the load.

He causes Devadatta to make the mat.

54. Whatever the speaker chooses as the independent, principal and absolute source of action is called kartā or agent.

The agent is absolute and unconditioned, as, (The master) makes the cowherd take the sheep to the town.'

The agent is either put in the Accusative or Instrumental case in the causal: as,

Primitives.

Devadatta bows down to the Guru.

He makes Devadatta bow down to the Guru.

The servants see the king.

He makes the servants see the king.
55. That which is the mover thereof, i.e., of the independent source of action, is called Hetu or cause, as well as kartā or agent.

Thus the causes to be made, he causes to be taken. When hetu is employed as agent the verb is put in the causative form (III. 1. 26).

The force of the word च is to give both names to the mover of an agent, viz., Hetu and kartā; otherwise by sutra 1 of this Chapter only one name would have been given.

Nipāta.

The Particles.

56. From this point forward up to the aphorism Adhirt-śvare (I.4.97), all that we shall say is to be understood to have the name of Nipāta or Particles.

The word प य of this sutra serves the same purpose as the word cha of the last; namely, it makes the words Gati, upasarga and karmaprayachnīya take two names, i.e., their one name as well as the name Nipāta. The letter ऋ in प्राप्तीरात्रि is to remove doubt, i.e., aphorism I. 4. 97 should be taken as limit, and not sutra III. 4. 13 which has the word iswari also.

57. The word cha ‘and,’ &c., are called Nipāta or Particles, when they do not signify substances.

The following are particles (nipāta) च ‘and’ या ‘or’ ह ‘an expletive’ यथा ‘vocative particle’ इत्य ‘only’ ‘exactly.’ ईव ‘so, thus,’ नूतन ‘certainly,’ शास्त्र ‘continually,’ यथा ‘at once,’ भवतु ‘repeatedly,’ नूतन ‘excellently,’ यथावत ‘abundantly,’ ने वेतु ‘if’ च ‘if,’ [the n is indicatory], वच ‘where,’ तत ‘there,’ कातिष्ठ ‘what if?,’ न नह ‘no,’ हन्त ‘ah,’ ! मार्गेषु ‘there,’ महिमत ‘indeed I’ मात्र ‘do not,’ महिम ‘not,’ वास्तव ‘as much as,’ वास्तव ‘so much,’ से ‘हे हे ‘perhaps,’ हे (disrespectful interjection) शोधन वेद
58. The words pra &c., are called Nipāta when not signifying substances.

The following is the list of pra: or 'prepositions': य, पर, भ, चध, चधु, भव, निद, पुस्, वि, धार, वि, षोध, भोध, भण्ड, भु, दुध, भान, पति, वदि, यदि, यव, यक्ष.
59. The words pra &c., get the designation of upasarga or prepositions, when in composition with a verb.

As म + मन्त्व = मन्त्वपरि. Here the dental म is changed into cerebral म because of the प getting the designation of upasarga (See सूत्र VIII. 4. 14). Similarly परिपपरि, परिमन्त्वक; परिमन्त्वक.

Why do we say when in composition with a verb? When in composition with a noun they are not called upasargas. As मन्त्व मन्त्वक मन्त्वक प्रायः: a country destitute of a leader. Here म is not changed into प. Thus while प्रायः means 'a leader' the term मन्त्वक: means destitute of a leader; though both have the same radical elements.—pra in one is an upasarga, in the other a Nipāta pure and simple.

Varti—The word मन्त्वक: should be included in the list of upasargas. As मन्त्वक: मन्त्वक: given by Marut. मन्त्वक: मन्त्वक: मन्त्वक: मन्त्वक: = भविष्यतोक्तेः: a country destitute of a leader. Here म is not changed into प. Thus while प्रायः: means 'a leader' the term मन्त्वक: means destitute of a leader; though both have the same radical elements.—pra in one is an upasarga, in the other a Nipāta pure and simple.

Thus भविष्यतोक्तेः: which is called ghu, when it is preceded by an upasarga that ends in a vowel, and is followed by an affix beginning with श which has an indicatory क.

It might be objected, that as मन्त्वक: does not end with a vowel, सूत्र VII. 4. 47 does not apply. To this we say that otherwise the giving the designation of upasarga to मन्त्वक: is superfluous; and in order that this should not be so, the fact of its not ending with a vowel is overlooked.

Varti—The particle भविष्यतोक्तेः: should be included in the list of upasargas. Thus भविष्यतोक्तेः: भविष्यतोक्तेः: भविष्यतोक्तेः: (III. 3. 106). Here because भविष्यतोक्तेः: is treated as an upasarga, that सूत्र III. 3. 106 is made applicable.

60. The words pra &c., are called also Gati, when in composition with a verb.
As प्रत्यय, Now the gerund of the simple root हु would have been हुता, but as it is compounded with a gati word (II. 2. 18) the हता is replaced by हुस्ते see S. II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37. ह + ह + हुस्ते = हुता (VI. 1. 71). Here pra being called gati we have compounding by rule II. 2. 18; and then we apply S. VII. 1. 37. Similarly प्रत्यय. Here pra being a gati word retains its own accent by rule VI. 2. 49. 'a gati retains in a compound its own accent when it immediately precedes a second member that ends in kta , provided the latter denotes the object of the action which is expressed by the root of which kta is added.'

Similarly प्रकरणिति, here pra being treated as gati gets anuddatta accent by rule VII. 2. 49. 1. 71 (and 8. 1. 57)

The yoga-vibhåga or the separation of one aphorism into two, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms. The annuvriti of gati only runs through the latter sūtras and not of upasarga. So that while pra &c., have two names upasarga and gati; uri &c., have only one name, namely, gati.

Thus in प्रणीतम् and प्रणितिक्तम्, by treating the words ह and अभि as upasargans we change the त and त into त and त by rule VIII. 4. 14 and VIII. 3. 87: and again treating them as gati we regulate the accent.

Vart:—The words कारिक शालियास should be included in the list of Gati. As (1) कारिकात्यां (2) कारिकात्यांम (3) भुत्ताकारिकात्यां कारिक. In the first by taking it as gati we have samasa (II. 2. 18) and हुस्ते (VII. 1. 37.) The other two cases illustrate accent.

Vart:—The words पुनर्थ and पूर्वस् are treated as Gati in the Vedas. As पुनर्थ्यसूत्रसि हुस्तुषु. Here the word पुनर्थ being gati, causes हुस्ते to take anuddatta accent (VIII. 1. 70) बनोहित. Here also the accent is regulated by VIII. 2. 71.

उपाधि चित्तस्वयम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ जनि-आदि चिव-हाबः ॥ (नियमायोगी गति:) ॥

बृत्ति: ॥ उपाधि: शास्त्र: सुभवंतर राजं व्रतं किबयोगे गतिर्विना न नि: ॥

61. The words uri, assent, &c., and those that end with chvi (V. 4. 50), and those that end with दच (V. 4. 57), (when in composition with the verb bhū kṛi or as) are called Gati.

The affixes chvi and दच are ordained when the verbs in composition is either हु, हु or हुस्त (V. 4. 50 and 57) हु &c., being read along with chvi and दच; shows that the verb in composition with them must also be any one of the above three verbs, and none else; in order to entitle जरी to the name of gati.
The words गत्र and सह गत्र mean to assent and spread. As समयकः (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37) समयकः (VI. 2. 49), बस्तीकः (VIII. 2. 71). So with the word सह गत्र. The following is a list of these words:

- यानी.
- खूटी.
- भंगकः.
- फली.
- शाली.
- शालकः.
- बुष्टी.
- बाही.
- धाराली.
- धंगकः.
- सबू.
- बाही.
- बेंवाली.
- धंगकः.
- फली.

The words ending in chvi are also gati. As शुभेहत्वम् having made white what was not white.

So also words ending in बाच् as पर्यङ्कः having made the sound pat.

अनुकरणं बाचिति परस् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुकरणस्, च; बाचिति-परस्, (किमायोगे गति:) ॥

वृति: ॥ अनुकरणमानिति-परस् किमायोगे गतिः तं नवि ॥

62. A word imitative of sounds is also called Gati, when it is not followed by the word iti.

The phrase वाचितिपरस् is a बहुव्रूपhi compound; अनु-बाचिति-परस् = ‘that which has not the word इति after it.’

As शासकः having made the sound khat. शासकः (VI. 2. 49), बशुशासकः (VIII. 2. 71).

Why do we say ‘when it has not the word इति after it?’ Observe चासितिपूष्टिः निर्देशितः.

अदरुनादरुद्रेो: सदस्ती ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदुर-अनादुरुद्रेो: , जह्न-अस्ती , (किमायोगे गति:) ॥

वृति: ॥ भास्त्रा नास्त्रयो दंपायकः शाश्वस्त्रयो गतिस्त्रयो भवि: ॥

63. The words sat and asat when in composition with a verb are called gati, when used in the sense of ‘respect or love,’ and ‘disrespect or indifference.’

As महाकः having honored (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37) महाकः, महा कः or बशुमहाकः (VI. 2. 49) बलसु करेदि or बलसत् करोति (VIII. 2. 71).
Why do we say when meaning 'respect or disrespect'? Observe बलकल्याण काण्ये वत:।

शैवणेभवतिर्म ॥ ६४ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ शैवणे; अच्छन्,

(कष्ट गतिः)

शैवणे यो ज्ञन शब्दः; स गतिवंती भविः॥

64. The word alam when in composition with a verb is called gati, when used in the sense of 'ornament.'

The word शब्दम् is an indeclinable and has four meanings:—'prohibition, competent, enough and ornament.' The term शब्दम् is gati when it means ornament. As शब्दम् (II. 2. 18, VII. 1. 37); शब्दम् (VI. 2. 49) यथास्त्पतिक (VIII. 2. 71) when it does not mean ornament we have शब्दम् पुनः घरम् भविः he goes having eaten enough.

अन्तरपरियते ॥ ६५ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ अन्तर-अपरि-प्राप्ते,

(कष्ट) गतिः॥

शैवणे यो अन्तर-अपरि-प्राप्ते अपेक्षतीता भविः॥

वास्तिकम् ॥ भले: शब्दं शिरोगितिः शल्यपुरस्तरोन्तस्त्रांक्षणं॥

65. The word antar is called gati, when used in the sense of 'non-accepting,' in composition with a verb.

The word परिच्छ ं means 'taking' or 'accepting,' अपरिच्छ means therefore the opposite of this namely 'rejecting,' abandoning. As शब्दम् युंगकः he went away having abandoned home; शब्दम् युंगकः फाल्को falsehood being abandoned. यतन हंसतः।

Why do we say 'when meaning to abandon'? Observe शब्दः युंगकः फाल्को फाल्का फाल्का फाल्का फाल्का: the hawk went away taking hold of the mouse.

Vart:—The word अन्तर is treated as an upasarga for the purposes of the application of the following rules; III. 3. 106 by which अच्छन् is added; rule III. 3. 92 by which कष्ट is added; and rule VIII. 4. 14 by which न is changed into नृ. As अन्तराश्च, अन्तरतिः: and अन्तरयंतिः.

कण्यापि युंगकः युंगकः युंगकः युंगकः: (गतिः)॥

कण्यापि युंगकः युंगकः युंगकः युंगकः: (गतिः)॥

66. The words kape and manas are gati when in composition with a verb and used in the sense of 'reaction by satiation.'
The word गति means 'satisfaction of desire.' As कनेहस्य यथा रचः रिवति he drinks milk to his heart's content or till he is satisfied? So also मनोहस्य यथा रिवति. That is to say, he drinks so much till his desire (भक्ति) is satisfied by revulsion of feeling. When not having this sense we have कनेः or मनोहस्यामः: he went away he satisfied.

पुरो अवयवस्य ॥ ६७ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ पुरः । अवयवस्य । (गति:) ॥

वृत्ति: भक्तिप्रवासः पुरः शाब्दोपयग्यं गातिवस्तीर्थं प्रत्येकः ॥

67. The word purah in front of, when indeclinable, and in composition with a verb, is called gati.

The pronoun पूर्व 'front' with the affix वाति forms पुराः, and by S. I. I. 38 it becomes an Avyaya. (See S. V. 3. 39 pur being substituted for प्रवा). The object by making it gati is threefold (1) compounding by II. 2. 18 (2) accent by VI. 2. 49 (3) to change the प्रवा into गति by VIII. 3. 40. As पुरस्त्रव्यं, पुरस्त्रव्यस्त्रव्यं and श्रव्यवस्त्रव्यस्त्रव्यं, when not an indeclinable we have पूरः पुरोः पुरः श्वस्त्रव्य कार्याः.

अस्त च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ अस्तस्य । च । (गति: अवयवस्य:) ॥

वृत्ति: च अस्त गाति मकरान्याहर्मयां गनुपलवेऽधर्मेऽत्स्त्रः श अविनिर्विस्त्रो भवति ॥

68. And the indeclinable word astam 'at home,' is called gati, when in composition with a verb.

The word पुरस्त्रव्य is an indeclinable as it ends in म (I. I. 39); and means 'not visible.' As पुरस्त्रव्य शब्दिता पुरस्त्रव्यिति the sun having set, rises again पुरस्त्रव्यिति पुरस्त्रव्यिति riches that have vanished. पुरस्त्रव्यिति, when not an indeclinable it is not gati as अस्त कार्याः the arrow has been thrown.

अस्त घर्ययः देवः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ अस्तः अवः अवः देवः ।

(गति: अवयवस्य:) ॥

वृत्ति: अस्त गाति मकरान्याहर्मयां गनुपलवेऽधर्मेऽत्स्त्रः श गातिवस्त्रः भागुः शलो श गातिवस्त्रिः भवति ॥

69. The indeclinable word achchha, meaning 'before in the presence of,' is called gati, when used in composition with verbs denoting 'motion' or with the verb, 'vad' to speak.

The word अवः is an indeclinable and has the force of the word अवः. As अवः शाब्दोपयग्यं गातिवस्तीर्थं शरणाः. So, also अवः शाब्दोपयग्यं गातिवस्तीर्थं शरणाः when not an Avyaya, we have श्रव्यवस्त्रिः गातिवस्त्रिः.

अदुरः अनुपदेशः ॥ ७० ॥ पदार्थि ॥ अदुरः अनुपदेशः (गति:) ॥

वृत्ति: अदुरः शाब्दोपयग्यं गातिवस्तीर्थं भवति ॥
70. The word adas ‘that’ is called gati when in composition with a verb and not implying a direction to another.

The word upadeśa means a direction to another. When a person cogitates within himself and does not address another, that is anupadeśa. That is when it is not a demonstrative pronoun. As पार्थ कृत. पार्थ कृतेऽ and बसं: करोति when used as a demonstrative pronoun we have पार्थ: कृता कार्यः.

तिरो अन्तः।। ॥ ॥ पदार्थः।। करणेऽ।। (गति:।।)

71. The word tiras when used in the sense of ‘disappearance,’ is called gati when in composition with a verb.

As तिरोभूषय। तिरोभूषयः and करेऽ तिरोभूषयः why do we say when meaning disappearance? Observe तिरो भूषयः: i.e., standing apart.

विशालप्रकृति।। ॥ ॥ पदार्थः।। चित्तः।। (गति:।। करणेऽ।।)

72. The word tiras meaning ‘disappearance’ is optionally called gati, when the verb क्रि follows.

This is an example of शब्द-विशाखा. As तिर: कृत्व तिर: कृत्व (VIII. 3. 42): तिर: कृत्व तिर: कृत्व (VIII. 3. 42). The change of visarga into $ is optional VIII. 3. 42. When not meaning disappearance we have तिर: कृत्व कार्यः विशिष्टः.

उपायप्राप्तः।। ॥ ॥ पदार्थः।। उपाय-अन्तः।। (विशाखा कृति गति:)।)

73. The words upāje and anvāje both meaning ‘supporting or assisting the weak,’ are optionally called gati when used along with the verb क्रि.

As उपाये कृतव उपाये कृतः having given support. पान्तः कृत्व or पन्तः कृतः.

वाल्लामभूतिनिष।। ॥ ॥ पदार्थः।। कृतव।। प्रभृतिनिष।। (गति:।। विशाखा कृति।)


74. The words sākshāt, 'in the presence of' &c., are optionally called gati, when used along with the verb kri.

**Vart:**—In the words दाताभुञ्जिं &c. the force of the affix फ़िच्छ is understood, namely making a thing what it was not before. As दाताभुञ्जिं लघु or कृत्य निर्भाहवर्त निर्भाहक निर्भाहक making evident what was concealed before.

75. The word urasi, 'in the breast,' and manasi 'in the mind' are optionally gati when the verb kri follows, provided that they are not used in the sense of 'placing.'

As दरिलिण्य or दरिलिण्य; मनसीकृत्य or मनसीकृत्य. When it has the sense of placing we have दरिलिण्य पाठि शेति he lies down having clasped the hand on the breast, मनसीकृत्य वचन ध्रायति he ponders having placed the word in his mind.

76. And the words madhye 'in the middle,' pade 'in the foot' and nivachane 'speechless' are optionally gati, when kri follows, the sense not being of 'placing.'

As मद्ये कृत्य or कृत्य; पादे कृत्य or कृत्य; निवाचने कृत्य or कृत्य.

But when it has the meaning of placing we have हरिसन: पादे कृत्य शिष: शेति he lies down having put his head under the foot of the elephant.

77. The word haste 'in the hand,' paṇau 'in the hand' are always and necessarily called gati when used with the verb kri in the sense of 'marriage.'

As पाणी कृत्य or हस्ते कृत्य having married. But हस्ते कृत्य कार्यर्थ गाव: he went out having taken in his hand a kārṣṭhāpana (a coin).
78. The indeclinable word \textit{prādhvam} followed by the verb \textit{kṛṛ}, is always called gati when used in the sense of binding.

The word \textit{prādhvam} ends in \textit{ḥ} and means ‘favourably suitably.’ When however it means ‘bound’ it is a gati: as, \textit{prādhvam} having bound. But when not meaning to bind, we have:—\textit{prādhvam} \textit{kṛṛ} \textit{ṣaḍa} 
\textit{gātah} having made the carriage agreeable, he is gone.

79. The words \textit{Jīvika} and \textit{upanishad} followed by the verb \textit{kṛṛ} are called gati when used in the sense of ‘likeness or resemblance.’

As \textit{Jīvika} having made it as if it was a means of living; \textit{upanishad}—having made it like an \textit{upanishad}. But \textit{Jīvika} \textit{kṛṛ} \textit{gātah} having made his livelihood he is gone.

80. The particles called gati and upasarga are to be employed before the verbal root: (that is to say, they are prefixes).

The word \textit{gātah} has been employed to include the term \textit{upasarga} also. The preceding examples all illustrate the application of this rule.

81. In the chhandas (veda) these gati and upasarga are employed indifferently after the verbal root, as well as before it.
In this we have यायातमस् instead of ज्ञायतस् 'vayu and thou Indra, ye heroes, come ye both quickly to the soma of the worshipper by this sincere prayer.

82. In the chhandas (veda) these gati and upasarga are also seen separated from the verb by intervening words.

As:— रेत्र शायु हे मुता उप पर्योपिरात्तनम् इन्द्रेऽ व न्यूमि (Rig. I. 2. 4). "Indra and vayu, here are soma—libations for you. Approach, ye with pleasures for us. For the libations are desiring you." Here उप is separated from the word ज्ञात by the intervening word प्रयोक्ति.

KARMA PRAVACHANIYA.

83. From this point as far as aphorism I. 4. 97 the particles treated of, are to be understood as having the name of karma-pravachaniya.

These particles govern a substantive and qualify a verb and differ from other particles termed upasarga and gati. As सुव्रत भवता well praised by you. यु सिल्ल भवता you have sprinkled. Here यु is a karma pravachaniya and qualifies the sense of the verb, i.e. it is an adverb. It is not an upasarga, for had it been so it, would have changed the यु into यु (VIII. 3. 65). The term karma pravachaniya is a big term compared with other technical terms such as, रि, धि, धु &c., which generally do not exceed more than two syllables. The word karmapravachaniya is not however merely a technical term; it contains within itself a definition of itself. It means that which qualifies or speaks about (मेकृतत्त्व) an action (कर्म) is so called.

84. The word anu when it denotes a sign, is called karma-pravachaniya.

The word lakshana means a sign; an attendant circumstance an invariable concomitant or accident in its logical sense and not merely an occasional concurrence. The force of लक्ष्य in this case is that of 'after,' 'in consequence of,' because of, or being indicated by.' As जरमनु प्राक्ते it rained
after or in consequence of the muttering of prayers. To put it in other words, anu is a karmapravachaniya when it governs the word which indicates the cause or the attendant circumstance of an action.

So also शाकाकल्ला शाकाकल्ला शाकाकल्ला शाकाकल्ला शाकाकल्ला शाकाकल्ला शाकाकल्ला शाकाकल्ला शाकाकल्ला शाकाकल्ला शाकाकल्ला शाकाकल्ला शाकाकल्ला. The God (clouds) rained having listened to the well performed reading, by Śākalya. The force of a karmapravachaniya, therefore, when fully analysed will be found to be that of an upasarga whose verb is not expressed in the sentence but is understood; and because of its being so understood, the particle itself seems to govern the noun which in fact was governed by the unexpressed verb. Thus in the above example द्वितीय is in the accusative case, apparently governed by the preposition यथै, but really governed by the verb अनुप्रवचनीय understood.

So also चन्द्रमा चन्द्रमा चन्द्रमा. The Taurus sprinkled water after the sacrifice, चन्द्रमा चन्द्रमा चन्द्रमा चन्द्रमा. The people began sprinkling water after the rising of the canopus.

Why make unnecessarily this sūtra, when अनु would have been called karma parvachaniya even by force of sūtra 90 following, where also the word lakṣaṇa occurs? This is for the sake of indicating that the karmapravachaniyas should always govern the accusative case (II. 3. 8) even in expressing हेतु (II. 3. 23). Otherwise Rule 23rd of the third chapter of Book II would have set aside Rule 8 of the same by the maxim of परमेश्वर I. 3. 2; and would have caused a karama pravachaniya to govern an Instrumental case where the sense was that of hetu.

अनु 85 पदार्थि 85 तुरीया-अर्थ, (अनु: कर्मप्रवचनीय) 85

85. The word anu is karma-pravachaniya when it has the force of the third case.

The meaning of अनु in this case will be that of 'with' or along with. As श्रीमन्त्र त्रसिता श्रीमन्त्र त्रसिता the army lying along side the river. श्रीमन्त्र त्रसिता श्रीमन्त्र त्रसिता the army lying along the slopes of the mountain.

अनु 86 पदार्थि 86 हीने, (अनु: कर्मप्रवचनी) 86

86. The word anu is karma pravachaniya when it is used in the sense of inferior or subordinate to.

The word हीन means 'inferior,' and being a comparative term requires the other term with which comparison is made and which is superior; to complete the sense. In other words अनु governs the person to which others are inferior, in the accusative case. As अनुप्रवचनीय शाकाकल्ला 'all grammarians are inferior to Śākatāyana.'
The word *upa* when it means 'superior' or 'inferior to' is karma-pravachaniya.

That is when the sense is that of 'over, above,' or 'inferior' as उत्तरां श्वेत: a Drona is above a khāri. उप निन्दे कार्शपण: a karshapana is more than a Nishka. In this sense उप governs the Locative of the thing which is inferior (II. 3.9). So also *उपास्तात्त्वः* तोऽवारः: 'all grammarians are inferior to Śākatāyana.' In this sense उप governs the accusative case.

The words *apa* and *pari* are karma-pravachaniya when meaning 'exclusion.'

The force of च ति and परि is in this case that of 'with the exception of.' आपाश्च भवेःऽविषयः: it rained outside of or with the exception of Trigartta. so also परि निन्दे यो युद्धः: . In this sense they govern the noun excluded in the ablative case (II. 3.10). When not having these senses, they are not karma-pravachaniya. आपाश्च भवेःऽविषयः: He waters the rice. Here it is an upasarga, and hence changes the ः into ः.

The word अन as far as, is karma-pravachaniya when it expresses limit (e.g. when it means 'as far as inclusive of' or, 'as far as exclusive of.')

The word च ति in the text shows that both sorts of limits are here meant. बहुः भवेःऽविषयः: it rained as far as (but excluding) Pātaliputra भाषालिपिन्थः युद्धः: it rained as far as (including) Pātaliputra भाषाः: पा. when it means 'little' or is a verbal prefix it does not get this name.
90. The words prati, pari and anu are karma-pravachaniya when used in the sense of 'sign' (in the direction of) 'mere statement of circumstance' ('as regards') 'division' 'share of' and 'pervasion' severally.

As (1) पूर्व प्रति-परि or प्राचु दिष्टते दिष्टा 'the lightening is flashing in the direction of the tree.' (2) सापृंशकोत्तर प्रतिपरि न भानु 'Devadatta is a good man as regards his mother.' (3) हर प्रति 'the poison fell to the share of Hara.' यद्रम मर्म स्वाति that it may fall to my share. So with परि and भानु. (4) पूर्व प्रृष्ट प्रति लिस्टिबि he sprinkles one tree after another. So with परि and भानु.

अभिप्राप्ते ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि:, अभागे (क्षण इस्त्रं-पूर्वायाम् कर्मप्रवाचनिय) ॥

91. The word abhi is karma-pravachaniya, in the above senses of 'in the direction of,' 'as regards,' and 'each severally,' but not when it means division, 'share of.'

The illustrations given under the last माृता mutus mutandis apply here also, with the exception of those given under head (४२) अवसनिष्ठि विशीत; माताशिषि &c. But it is not karma-pravachaniya when भाग is meant. भाग means the share which is allotted to one as his own. As यद्रम माति स्वाति वाँ हीरवतास्ति give that which falls here to my share. Here abhi is an upasarga, and therefore य of क्षण is changed into य.

प्रति: प्रतिनिधि पुत्रदानये: ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पृति:, पृति-लिपिपदानये: (कर्मप्रवृचनिय) ॥

92. The word prati is karma-pravachaniya when used in the sense of representative ('representative of') or exchange ('in exchange for')

That which is like to the principal is called प्रतिनिधि. Giving in return what is obtained, is पदानि. As यत्रसनन्दर्ज्जनः प्रति अभिमन्यु is the representative of Arjuna. भापाष्टि धिलेचि प्रतिबन्धि be exchanges Mādhās for these sesamum. In these senses prati governs the Ablative (२. ३. ११).

अधिपरी अनंयके ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधि-परी, अनंयके, (कर्मप्रवृचनिय) ॥
93. The words adhi and pari are karma-pravachaniya when used as mere expletives.

As कुक्ती रागचर्च घर्षित, whence has he come? or कुलः पर्वित. These words though mere surplusages, have been called karmapravachaniya so that they may not get the designation of upasarga or gati and thus produce results peculiar to those words.

94. The word su is karma-pravachaniya in the sense of respect, (when it means 'excellently').

As शुस्त्रास भवता, शुस्त्राबायवर्ण कर्मवचनीयवर्णि भवति

Why do we say 'when respect is meant'? Observe शुस्त्रास तिद श्वास has this your place been well sprinkled to-day.

95. The word ati in the sense of super-abundance ('excessively') and 'excellently' is karmapravachaniya.

The word शातिकम् means to do more than what is necessary for the accomplishment of an object. The force of श्र in the aphorism is to draw in the word प्राणाय म from the last. As शातिकम् भवता. It has abundantly been sprinkled by your honor, शातिकम् भवता so also शातिकम् भवता excellently praised by your honor.

96. The word api is karmapravachaniya, when it implies, the sense of word understood ('something') or possibility (e. g., 'even' in the sense of such a great person), or permission to do as one likes, ('if you like'), or censure ('even' in the sense of what is disgraceful); or collection ('and').
The word पद्लः means the sense of another word which is not expressed but has to be supplied. As वाचि क्रिया अन्तः there may be perhaps a drop of ghee मधुमेहिः अन्तः. Here some word like विन्दु 'a drop,' स्टोका 'a little' मात्रा 'a measure &c., has to be understood. The word अन्तः means possibility, a supposition. As वाचि रित्र द्वितीयस्य अन्तः possibly may sprinkle a thousand trees in one moment; वाचि स्नुएँ राजाम् he may praise possibly, a king. In the above cases it is used with the potential mood. अन्तः means indifference on the part of the speaker where he permits another to do as he likes. It is used with the Imperative mood. As वाचि श्रेणी तु you may sprinkle if you like. वाचि चुूँ तु you may praise if you like. The word गाज़ means censure, contempt or reproof. As विद्यालस्य शेषस्यास्य वाचि श्रेणे राज्यम्. The word वियक्ति means cumulative. As वाचि श्रेणे—वाचि श्रेणे praise as well as sprinkle.

In all the above instances, the word not being an upasarga, does not change the क्रियां into क्रि.

विशाल कान्ति ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अघि—, ईश्वरेऽ ॥ (कर्मप्रभृति) ॥

यति—॥ ईश्वरः स्वामी क्रिया स्वनियत। तत्त्व व्रतस्य संबन्धः कर्मप्रवचनीयस्य भविष्य ॥

97. The word गाज़ is karmapraavachaniya when used in the sense of “lord” (“being as a lord” or “having as a lord”).

The word ईश्वर means ‘master,’ and it therefore requires another correlative word denoting ‘property’ of which one is master. The word गाज़ governs a Locative case. Sometime locative of the person possessing, sometime locative of the property possessed: as अघि श्रद्धेः वन्धाः: or अघि वन्धाः द्राक्षस्य श्रद्धाः. Brahmadatta rules over Panchalas.

विशाल कान्ति ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशाला, कान्ति

कर्मप्रभृति अघि:) ॥

यति—॥ अघि—करोधौ विशाला कर्मप्रवचनीयस्य भविष्य ॥

98. The word गाज़ is optionally karma pravachaniya when the verb kri follows.

As वस्त्र मानिषि कारिप्रति. Here the word अघि may be treated either as a क्रिया or a कर्मप्रवचनीय. When it is a क्रिया the accent will be regulated by S. VIII. 1. 71; otherwise not.
The substitutes of अ are called parasmaipada.

The word अ is in the genitive case, and means 'of अ.' The word अ 'substitutes' must be supplied to complete the sense. The term अ is a generic word for verb in general, viz., अ, अ अ अ अ, अ अ, अ अ. The substitutes of अ are the well known personal terminations by which the verbs are conjugated in those tenses. Namely the following.

**Parasmaipada.**

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<td>2nd Pers.</td>
<td>निर</td>
<td>अ</td>
<td>अ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Pers.</td>
<td>निर</td>
<td>अ</td>
<td>अ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And the affixes अ and अ (III. 2. 107, and 124, and III. 4. 78).

The following are the Atmanepada affixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Dual.</th>
<th>Plural.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>अ</td>
<td>अ</td>
<td>अ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>अ</td>
<td>अ</td>
<td>अ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>अ</td>
<td>अ</td>
<td>अ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And the affixes अ and अ (III. 2. 106).
101. The three triads in both the sets Parasmaipada and Atmanepada, of conjugational affixes (comprised under the general name tin, a pratyâhâra formed of the first and last of them, viz., tip and mahin) are called, in order, Lowest (3rd person of European Grammar, the middle (2nd person), and the highest (1st person).

Of the 19 conjugational affixes, above given; 9 are Parasmaipadi and 9 are Atmanepadi. Each of these two classes is subdivided into three classes, according to person, as shown in the above list.

102. These three triads of conjugational affixes, which have received the name of Lowest &c., are called (as regard the three expressions in each triad) severally "the expression for one" (singular), "the expression for two" (dual), and "the expression for many" (plural).

Of the six triads thus formed, each is divided according to number into three classes, viz., singular, dual, and plural.

103. Of sup (which is a Pratyâhâra formed of su the first of the case affixes and the final p of the last of them) the three expressions in each successive set of the three, are also severally called singular, dual and plural.
The sup or the case-affixes by which nouns are declined are 21 in number corresponding to the seven cases, see sūtra IV. 1. 2. They also have three numbers singular, dual and plural.

The triads of conjugational affixes and case affixes are also called vibhakti or Inflective affixes.

The word विभक्ति means a complete triad. Thus विभक्ति विभक्ति means the three affixes of the seventh case, i.e., the locative singular, dual, and plural. So प्रथम विभक्ति means the third person, singular, dual, and plural.

When the pronoun yushmad, "thou" understood, and also when the same expressed, is the attendant word in agreement with the verb, then there is the verbal termination called the middle (2nd person).

This defines the 2nd person of conjugational affixes. As तुम प्रथम thou cookest or प्रथम प्रथम: or प्रथम: you two are cooking; तुम प्रथम or प्रथम you cook.

When joke is implied with reference to an action, the verb denoting it is used in the 2nd person; provided that the word manya 'to think' is the attendant word (upapada) of such verb, and of the verb manya itself, the affix must be of the 1st person and singular number.
The word जस्वति means joke, sport. As एवं नन्दे भोजन भोजने दृव; वहि भोजने, सुनाऻ सोहितयिनि. Thus thou thinkest 'I shall eat rice,' thou shalt not eat, that has been eaten by a guest. वहि नन्दे रपेन यात् दति नहि यात्, यात् से पिता. I think thou wilt go by the chariot, no, thou wilt not, thy father has gone before thee on it. When joke is not intended, the proper persons should be used: as, एवं नन्दे भोजन भोजने. Thus thou thinkest 'I shall eat rice.'

107. When the pronoun asmad 'I,' understood and also when expressed, is the attendant word in agreement with the verb, then there is the verbal termination called the Highest or the 1st person.

This is clear. As अभि पञ्चायि I cook, or merely पञ्चायि-पञ्चायि पञ्चायि: or merely पञ्चायि:

शेषे प्रथम: II 108 पद्वाें II शेषे प्रथम: II

108. In the other cases, namely where, "thou" or "I" are not the attendant words in agreement with the verb, there is the verbal termination called the Lowest (or 3rd person).

As पञ्चायि he cooks, पञ्चायि they two cook. पञ्चायि they cook.

109. The closest proximity of letters, there being the intervention of half a मात्रा or prosodical length between them, is called contact or sanhitा.

When words are in sanhitा, they are glued together by the rules of sandhi. As रक्षण = रक्षि + च.
110. The cessation or the absence of succeeding letters is called pause or avasāna.

The word avasāna occurs in sūtras VIII. 3. 15 &c.
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