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BOOK II.

The

ASHTADHYAYI

of

PANINI.

"2" =
PARTS V-VIII.

S. C. VASU.

Price Rs. 3.

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OPINIONS OF DISTINGUISHED PROFESSORS OF SANSKRIT

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Oxford, 9th February, 1892.

will be a very useful work. What years ago when I puzzled my head aries. . . . I hope you may

in Kathiawar, 20th February, 1892.

ready been out before the Public o pains to make the translation as then completed will no doubt claim a opean scholars on Sanskrit Grammar. of the book are excellent.

zburg, (Germany), 23rd April, 1893.

e gratifying to me, no doubt, than to nini's Ashtādhyayi, the standard work do my best to make this valuable immortal literature of ancient India

ow Haven, U. S. A., 17th June, 1893.

ery well planned and executed, doing is also, in my opinion, very valuable opean student of the native grammar It ought to have a good sale in

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

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Opinion of Professor Dr. R. Pischel, Halle (Saale), 27th May, 1893.

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Opinion of Pandit Lalchandrajī Vidyabhaskar, M.R.A.S. (London),

Guru to H. H. the Maharaja of Jodhpur.

स्वस्तीधरे हितपुरे हितरे प्रयागे सत्संगमप्रणयसंमतिरे बुधानां ।

विद्याविनोदवरिवर्द्धितबुध्युसारान् वास्वन्वयाञ्छिरिष्यन्धविदांवरिष्ठान् ॥ १ ॥

दृष्टातिमोदमुद्दिरोहमुदयशक्तौन् सञ्छल्लसोधितसुखास्पदबोधभाजः ।

सम्यक्कलसंबु नतयोनितराम्मदीयाः यद्वाबद्धकविकर्तृतांवरिष्ठः ॥ २ ॥

दृष्ट्वाद्भूतं विमलबोधनबोधराशिं सद्भाकृतिप्रथितकीर्तिकरप्रसङ्गं ।

यच्छूरीमदीयमतिमोदवहं वरेण्यं सत्पुस्तकं प्रमुदितोहमहोशकृत्वं ॥ ३ ॥

चित्रंयदस्ति भवतेलिङ्गबोधभाजा यद्वस्तुतो विरचितं समदृक् सुविम्बं ।

लोकैःसुचिन्नरचनाभरणैकशीला श्रिनेषचिन्नमनसः प्रतिविदमानं ॥ ४ ॥

सत्संग्लिशप्रकटितवरसूत्रवृत्तौ संज्ञादिपेक्षलमनो कुदकल्पसाक्षिं ।

स्थानेदसुप्रहितवित्तवित्तवयं यद्वासुनासुविहितोऽग्लिशभाषवृत्तिः ॥ ५ ॥

OPINIONS (continued.)

येन स्वया मुनिमत्तावतशास्त्रसंधान् निर्मथ्यसौधरसवन्महतादरेण ।
संगुम्फितं सरलसरंकृतसाध्यसारं धन्यं वदाम्यहमलं भवते इत्याद्य ॥ ६ ॥
मन्यस्य यरप्रसरणाखिलकीर्तिं कृत्ये याचेपराङ्गवतोप्यहमनविद्वन् ।
यत्पूर्वपश्चिममुखेयुसदाप्रचारं ज्ञानं सुखं गुरुचरं च तवाप धीमन् ॥ ७ ॥
वाणीविशाम्बरतवास्तुमखे जयोद्या यत्पूर्वपश्चिमजपोधभूते च विद्या ।
ख्यातिस्सदासकल बर्चभुजां समूहेऽप्याशीर्वचो भवतु पांडित नालचन्द्रं ॥ ८ ॥

श्रीमद्विद्वच्छिरोमणि विज्ञानामहर्निशं श्रेयोभिलाषी विद्याभास्कर । पण्डित (ज्ञानचंद्र) शर्मा
गुरुः श्रीमान्महाराजाधिराजराजराजेश्वर योधपुराधीश्वरावरज श्रीमन्महाराजाकिशोरीसिंह सेनाधीश्वर
राणां च)

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS:

The Indian Union, (Allahabad), 26th November, 1891.

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

The Tribune, (Lahore), 9th December, 1891.

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

The Amrita Bazar Patrika, (Calcutta), 18th December, 1891.

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

The Hope, (Calcutta), 20th December, 1891.

* * * The get-up of the publication is of a superior order, and the contents display considerable painstaking on the part of the translator.

The Arya Patrika, (Lahore), 22nd December, 1891.

* * * The talented Babu has rendered a great service to the cause of Sanskrit literature by producing the sort of translation he is engaged upon.
* * * His effort is most laudable and deserves every encouragement.

Karnatak Patra, (Dharwar), 7th February, 1892.

* * * Mr. Vasu gives ample proof of his competency to undertake the work which is not an easy task even to learned Sanskritists.

The Punjab Times, (Rawalpindi), 17th February, 1892.

* * * Babu Sris Chandra is well-known for his scholarly attainments. He has done the translation in a lucid and clear English. We can strongly

OPINIONS (continued.)

recommend it to those who wish to study Sanskrit Grammar through the medium of English.

The Mandalay Herald, 31st December, 1891.

* * * Students and readers of classic language of India are much indebted to the learned Pandit for his translation of this scientific work on the grammar and philology of the Sanskrit language.

The Arya Darpan, (Shahjahanpur), February, 1892.

* * * Such a work has been a desideratum. It is well got up, and praiseworthy. We wish it every success.

The Allahabad Review, January, 1892.

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

The Maharatta (Poona), 4th July, 1893.

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

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

॥ पाणिनीय व्याकरण अष्टाध्यायी का अङ्गरेजी अनुवाद ॥

उक्त पुस्तक श्रीयुक्त बा० श्रीशचन्द्र वसु वकील हाईकोर्ट बना कर छपाते हैं। वास्तवमें यह काम हमारे भारतवर्ष की उन्नति का इस लिये है कि संस्कृत के व्याकरण में थोड़ा भी जिन का प्रवेश है और अङ्गरेजी अच्छी जानने होंगे वे सहज में पाणिनीय व्याकरण का अच्छे प्रकार अभ्यास कर सकेंगे। ज्यों २ हमारे प्रशस्त पुस्तकों का अनेक भाषाओं में अनुवाद होता जायगा उस के साथ २ हमारी उन्नति जानिये। यद्यपि मैं इस अङ्गरेजी भाष्य के गुण हीरों को ठीक २ नहीं मान सकता तथापि अन्य लोगों से सुन कर कुछ जाना है। पहिले इस भाष्य में मूल सूत्र, दूसरे उस के पदच्छेद द्वितीय संस्कृत में सूत्र की वृत्ति-अर्थ लिखा है। इस के आगे अङ्गरेजी में सूत्र का स्पष्ट अर्थ लिखा, तिस पीछे उदाहरणों की सिद्धि में जिस २ अध्याय पाद को जो २ सूत्र लगते हैं उन के पते सहित उदाहरण वा प्रत्युदाहरण लिखे हैं और उस सूत्रपर जो कोई वार्तिक वा परिभाषा है तो उसके भी अर्थ और उदाहरण स्पष्ट सुगमरीति से सिद्ध किये हैं।

BOOK II.

THE

ASHTĀDHYĀYĪ OF PĀNINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

ŚRĪŚA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,

Munsiff, Ghazipur.



Allahabad:

PUBLISHED BY SATYAJNAN CHATERJI,
at the Panini Office,
1894.

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TO THE
Hon'ble Sir John Edge, Kt., Q. C.,
CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES,
THIS WORK
IS,
WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,
AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S
SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF ADMINISTRATION OF
JUSTICE AND OF HIGH EDUCATION
IN
THESE PROVINCES,
Dedicated
BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT
THE TRANSLATOR.

C. R. Lammiman

THEY ARE
YOUR LIVES
YOUR COUNTRY

PREFACE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Panini Office,
Allahabad. }

THE PUBLISHER.

ॐ नमः

॥ अथ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER FIRST.

समर्थः पदविधिः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ समर्थः , पद-विधिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिभाषेयम् , यः कश्चिदिह शास्त्रे पदविधिः भूवते स समर्थो वेदितव्यः ॥

1. A rule which relates to complete words (and not to the roots and affixes out of which the words are constructed) is to be understood to apply only to those words the senses of which are connected.

1. This is a paribhāṣhā or interpreting aphorism. Wherever in this Grammar a पदविधि is found, that must be understood to apply to समर्थ words. A rule relating to पद or complete words is called पदविधि. The word विधि is formed by adding वि to the root धाम्; that which is ordained (विधीयते) is called विधि. What are those rules which are ordained with regard to complete words? They are as follows.—(1) Rules relating to समास or compounding of words; (2) Rules relating to विभक्ति or the application of declensional and conjugational affixes; (3) and the rule by which one word is considered as if it had become a constituent member of another word (पराङ्मुखाद्भावः).

The word समर्थ means capable; that is to say, that which is capable of expressing the sense of a sentence on analysis, is called समर्थ; or the word समर्थ may mean that which depends upon words as connected in sense; that is to say, a rule relating to words whose senses are connected together.

Thus it will be taught in sūtra 24 'a word ending with the second case-affix is optionally compounded with the words अत्र , असीत &c. and forms tatpuruṣha compound;' as, कष्टं अत्रः = कष्टात्रः 'who has had recourse to pain.' But when these words are not समर्थ or connected in sense there can be no compounding; as, परम देवदत्त कष्टं, अत्रो विष्णुमित्रो गुरुकुलम् 'see O Devadatta, the pain, Vishnumitra has taken recourse to his teacher's house.' Here the words कष्टं and अत्र though read in juxtaposition are not compounded, as they are not समर्थ.

Similarly, it will be taught in sūtra 30 'a word ending with the 3rd case-affix is optionally compounded with what denotes that the quality of which is instrumentally caused by the thing signified by what ends with the 3rd case-affix and with the word भयं 'wealth,' as, शंकुजया + खण्डः = शंकुजाखण्डः 'a piece cut by nippers.' Here also when the words are not connected in sense there is no composition; as, करिष्यसि शंकुजया, खण्डो देवदत्त उपलेन 'thou shalt do it with the nippers, Devadatta is cut by the stones.'

Similarly, sūtra 36 declares, 'a word ending with the 4th case-affix, is compounded optionally with what denotes that which is for the purpose of what ends with the 4th case-affix, and so too with the words भयं, बलि &c.'

Thus वृषाव + शत = वृषशत 'wood for a stake.' But when these words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, गच्छ त्वं वृषाव, शत देवदत्तस्य गेहे 'go thou for the stake, the wood is in Devadatta's house.'

Similarly, sūtra 37 declares 'a word ending with the 5th case-affix may be compounded with the word भय; as, वृकोभ्यो + भयं = वृकभयं 'fear by reason of a wolf.' But when these words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, गच्छ त्वं मां वृकोभ्यो, भयं देवदत्तस्य यज्ञदत्तात् 'come thou to me from the wolves, there is fear to Devadatta from Yajñadatta.'

Similarly, sūtra II. 2. 8 declares 'a word ending with the 6th case-affix is optionally compounded with what ends with a case-affix;' as, राज्ञः पुरुषो = राजपुरुषः 'the king's man.' But when the words are not connected in sense, there is no composition: as भार्या राज्ञः, पुरुषो देवदत्तस्य 'the wife of the king, the man of Devadatta.'

Similarly, sūtra 40 declares. 'A word ending with the 7th case-affix is optionally compounded with the word शौण्ड 'skilled;' as, अक्षेपु शौण्डः = अक्षशौण्डः 'skilled in dice.' But when the words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, अक्षस्त्वमक्षेपु, शौण्डः पिवति वानागारे 'thou art skilled in dice, the gambler drinks in the tavern.'

Why have we used the word पद 'a complete word' in the sūtra? So that this समर्थ परिभाषा may not apply to वर्णविधि i. e. rules relating to letters.

Thus rules of सन्धि 'conjunction of letters' are वर्णविधि and not पदविधि; and therefore the condition of being connected in sense, does not apply here. Two words however disconnected in sense, must be glued together by the rules of sandhi, if those rules are applicable. Thus sūtra VI. 1. 77 declares: 'instead of a letter denoted by the pratyāhāra इक् there is one denoted by the pratyāhāra यण, in each instance, where one denoted by the pratyāhāra अच् immediately follows;' as, इधि + अग्रान् = इध्याग्रान्. This substitution of य for इ will take place, whether the words are in construction or not, as

तिष्ठतु इध्वशान स्वं शाकेन 'let the curd remain, eat thou with the vegetable curry.' So also तिष्ठतु कुमारीच्छन्नं हर देवदत्तात् 'let the girl be, take the umbrella from Devadatta.' Here the augment सुक् (त subsequently changed into च) comes between कुमारी and छन्न, though the two words are not connected in sense (VI. 1. 76).

सुवामन्त्रिते पराङ्गवत्स्वरे ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुप्, आमन्त्रिते,
पर-अङ्गवत्, स्वरे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुवन्तमामन्त्रिते परतः परस्याङ्गवद् भवति, स्वरे, स्वरलक्षणे कर्तव्ये ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ सुवन्तस्य पराङ्गवद्भावे समानाधिकरणस्योपसंख्यानमनन्तरत्वात् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्ययानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

2. A word ending in sup or a case affix, when followed by a word in the vocative case, is regarded as if it was the aṅga or component part of such subsequent vocative word, when a rule relating to accent is to be applied.

In other words, the word ending in a case-affix enters, as if, into the body of the vocative (āmantrita) word; as it will be taught in sūtra VI. 1. 198 which declares 'a word ending in a vocative case-affix, gets the udātta accent on the beginning i.e., first syllable.' Now, this rule will apply even when a word ending with a case-affix precedes such word in the vocative case. Thus the word पती 'O two lords!' has udātta on the first syllable. Now, when this word is preceded by another inflected noun as शुभस् 'of prosperity,' the accent will fall on शु, the two words being considered as a single word; as:—अश्विन्वा यज्यंतीरिषो ब्रवन् पाणी शुभस्पती ॥ पुरुभुजा चनस्यतम् ॥ Rig. I. 3. 1. 'O Asvins, riding on quick horses, lords of prosperity, and bestowers of plenty of food, eat the sacrificial offerings to your satisfaction.' So also in the following:—कुण्डे नाटन् 'O thou wandering with a bowl. परशुना वृधन् 'O thou cutting with an axe.' मद्राणां राजन् 'O thou king of Madras.' कश्मीराणां राजन् 'O thou king of Kashmir.'

Why do we say 'a word ending with a case-affix?' If the preceding word ends with any other affix than a case-affix, this rule will not apply. As पीड्ये पीड्यमान 'O thou who art pained, I am pained because of this thy pain.'

Here पीड्ये 'being a तिङन्त (a verb)' is not considered as an aṅga of the vocative word.

Why do we say 'when followed by a word in the vocative case?' This rule will not apply when the subsequent word is not a vocative. As गेहे गार्ग्यः 'Gārga is at home.'

Why do we say 'of the subsequent?' It will not be a part of the vocative word which precedes. As देवदत्त कुण्डेनाट् 'O Devadatta wandering with a bowl' Here कुण्डेन has not become part of Devadatta, but of the subsequent word अट्.

Why do we say 'an aṅga or component part?' Both must be considered as one word for the application of the rule of accent, so that the first syllable of each word separately may not get the udātta.

Why do we say 'as if or चत्.' It is not altogether the body of the subsequent word; rules depending upon its own separate independent existence also take effect.

Thus rule VIII. 1. 55 declares 'a word ending in the vocative case is not anudātta when it follows the word अत् there intervening a word between itself and अत्; as, आम् कुण्डेनाट्! Here kundena is considered a separate word for the purposes of Rule VIII. 1. 55 and is said to intervene between अम् and the vocative word अट्.

Why do we say 'for the purposes of the application of rule of accent?' For the purposes of the application of any other rule, it will not be the aṅga of the subsequent word; as, कूणे सिंचन् 'O thou sprinkling in the well.' चर्मनमन्. Here had कूणे and चर्म been the aṅgas of the subsequent words for all purposes, their स and न would have been changed into ष and ण respectively by Rules VII. 4. 2 &c.

Vart:—When a word ending in a case-affix becomes, as if, the component part of the subsequent word, it becomes so even when there are several words in apposition with it which intervene between it and the vocative word; because that, of itself, does not constitute want of immediateness. Thus सीद्मर्ण्या सूच्या सीद्मन् 'O thou sewing with a sharp needle' सीद्मणेन परगुणा दुधन्.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of indeclinable words. As ऊचैरधीयान 'O thou reading loudly.' नीचैरधीयान.

प्राक्कडारादसमासः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्, कडारात्, समासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कडारसंशब्दनात् प्राग् यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम स्ते समाससंज्ञा वेदितव्याः ॥

3. From this point up to the aphorism kaḍa-rakarmadhāraye (II. 2. 38), all the terms that we shall say describe will get the designation of samāsa or compound.

Thus it will be stated. 'The indeclinable word **सुप्** when not meaning like unto.' Here the word **समास** must be read into the sūtra to complete the sense. In fact this chapter and the second chapter treat of compounds and therefore the word compound must be read in all those aphorisms.

The word **prāk** is employed for the same purpose as it was used in I. 4. 56 that is to give the designation of **समास** to various technical terms like **अव्ययीभाव** &c. which otherwise would not have got the name of **समास**.

सह सुप् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सह , सुप् (सुप् समासः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबिति सहेति सुवेति च त्रयमव्यधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् बहिव कर्णं अनुक्रमिष्यामस्तन्नेह सुपस्थितं द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

4. The words '**saha supā**' meaning 'with a word ending in a case-affix,' are to be understood in each of the succeeding aphorisms.

In this aphorism the word **सुप्** is understood from sūtra 2, so that it consists of three words *viz.*, **सुप्**, **सह**, **सुप्**. All these three words jointly and severally, one at a time or two at a time, should be understood as governing the succeeding aphorisms, as the contingency of each sūtra may require. This aphorism will constantly be applied in translating the sūtras that follow.

Why have we used the word **सह**? Well, without it the sūtra would have stood thus: **सुप् सुप्** 'a noun may be compounded with another noun.' But this overlooks the case of a compounding with a verb. The word **सह** is therefore used so that we may be able to break this composite sūtra into two separate and simple sūtras, namely:—

(1). **सह , सुप् , समस्यते समर्थेन** 'a case-inflected word may be compounded with a word with which it is connected in sense.' Here the word **सह** with the help of the three words **सुप्** taken from sūtra 2, **समस्यते** from sūtra 3, and **समर्थेन** from sūtra 1, forms one complete aphorism, and applies to compounds like **अनुव्यञ्जनम् अनुवाचकम्**. The accent will depend upon these being considered as **samāsa**.

(2). **सुप् सह सुप् समस्यते** a sup-inflected word is compounded with another sup-inflected word. The compound which does not fall within any of the various sorts of compounds to be treated of hereafter, will fall under this general head of compounds; as, **पुनरुत्स्यूतं वासो देवं पुनर्भिष्टतो ह्यः**. This also is for the sake of accents.

अव्ययी भावश्च ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावः , च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञानित कर्तृवन्तुक्तमित्यामो ऽव्ययीभावसंज्ञा स्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

5. From this forward whatever we shall describe will get the name of Avyayibhāva samāsa or adverbial compound.

This is also an adhikāra aphorism like the last. As far as sūtra 21, the compounds treated of, will get the designation of Avyayibhāva. The word अव्ययीभाव like the word कर्मप्रवचनीय is a self-descriptive term, and not an arbitrary term like हि , चि &c. When that which was not an indeclinable becomes an indeclinable, it is called अव्ययीभाव or 'becoming an indeclinable.' In the Avyayibhāva compound the sense of the first of its elements is the main one or the independent one on which the other depends.

अव्ययं विभक्तिसमीपसमृद्धिव्यूह्ययार्थाभावात्ययासम्प्रतिशब्दप्रादुर्भाव-
पश्चाद्यथानुपूर्व्ययोगपद्यसादृश्यसंपत्तिसाकल्यान्तवचनेषु ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥
अव्ययम्, विभक्ति-समीप-समृद्धि-व्यूह्-अर्थोभाव-अत्यय-असंप्रति-शब्दप्रादुर्भाव-
पश्चाद्-यथा-आनुपूर्व-योगपद्य-सादृश्य-सम्प्रति-साकल्य-अन्त-वचनेषु, (सुप सुपा
अव्ययीभावः समासः) (समर्थः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभक्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु यदव्ययं वर्तते तत् समर्थेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते अव्ययीभाव-
श्च समासो भवति ॥

6. An indeclinable (avyaya) employed with the sense of an inflective-affix (vibhakti) or of near to, or prosperity, or adversity, or absence of the thing, or departure, or not now, or the production of some sound, or after, or according to, or order of arrangement, or simultaneousness, or likeness, or possession, or totality, or termination, is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is connected with it in sense, and the compound so formed is called Avyayibhāva.

The words सुप् and सुपा are understood in this sūtra. The word वचन should be read as connected with every one of the above phrases.

1. विभक्तिवचन;—As अधिस्त्रि कथा वर्तते 'a story relating to women.'
अधिकुमारि 'relating to a girl.'
2. समीपवचन;—As उपकुम्भम् 'near to the jar.' उपमणिकं 'near to the gem.'
3. समृद्धिवचन;—As सुमद्रं 'well or prosperous with the Madras';
सुमगधं 'well with the Magadh.'
4. व्यष्टिवचन;—As दुर्गवाहिकं 'ill with the Gavadikas'; दुर्गवनं 'ill with the Yavanas.'
5. अभाववचन;—As निर्मलिकम् 'free from flies'; निर्मशुकं 'free from mosquitoes.'
6. भत्ययवचन;—As निर्हिमम् 'on the departure of the cold weather';
निःशीतं .
7. असम्प्रतिवचन;—As अतिवैतुकम् 'past (not now) the time of wearing quilts.'
8. शब्दप्रादुर्भाववचन;—As हति हरि 'the exclamation Hari' (thus वैष्णवमुद्दे
हति हरि वर्तते 'in the house of the Vaishnava there is the cry of Hari Hari').
9. पश्चाद्वचन;—As अनुरथं पादावन् 'the infantry after the chariots.'
10. यथार्थवचन;—The meaning of the word यथा is four-fold, viz. corres-
pondence, severality or succession, the not passing beyond something, and
likeness; thus (1) अनुकूलम् 'in a corresponding manner.' (2) प्रत्ययम् 'according
to each or several object or signification.' (3) यथाशक्ति 'according to one's
ability.'
11. आनुपूर्व्यवचन;—As अनुस्येष्टं प्रविशन्तु भवन्तः 'let your honors enter
in the order of seniority.'
12. योगपथवचन;—As सचक्रं धेहि 'simultaneously with the wheel.'
13. सादृश्यवचन;—As ससखि 'like a friend.'
14. संपत्तिवचन;—As ससन्नम् 'as warriors ought.'
15. साकल्यवचन;—As सदणम् 'even to the grass' i.e. the whole,
not leaving even a scrap.
16. भन्तवचन;—As सामि as far as the chapter of fire (i.e. the whole
Veda).

यथा ऽसादृश्ये ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा , असादृश्ये , (समर्थः सुप्
सुपा अव्य०भा०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथेत्येतदव्ययमसादृश्ये वर्तमानं सुपा सह समस्यते, ऽव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति॥

7. The indeclinable word yathā when it does
not signify 'likeness' is invariably compounded with a

word ending in a case-affix which is in construction with it and the compound is called an *Avyayībhāva Samāsa*.

Thus *व्यावृद्धम् ब्राह्मणानामन्वयस्व* invite every old Brahmana. So also *व्यावृत्तम्*.

Why do we say 'when not signifying likeness?' For there is no composition when likeness is indicated. As *व्यावृत्तस्तथा यत्तद्वत्*: As is Devadatta so is Yajñadatta.

This *samāsa* could have been included in the last *sūtra* clause 10, but making a separate *sūtra* shows that the word *व्यावृत्तम्* there, must be limited by the present *sūtra*, to first three meanings of the word *व्या* given there and not to its fourth meaning. *vis.* there is no compounding when it means likeness.

यावद्व्यपारणे ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावद्, अवधारणे, (संयुपा अठ्योप्तासमास) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्व्यपारणे तद्वत्त्वमवधारणे वर्तमानं युता सह समस्यते भव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

8. The indeclinable word *yāvat* when it signifies limitation, is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is in construction with it, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayībhāva*.

The word *भव्यपारण* means accurate ascertainment, restriction or limitation. As, *यावद् मर्चं ब्राह्मणानामन्वयस्व* 'invite so many Brāhmanas only and not more as there are pots': *i.e.*, if there are five pots then invite five Brāhmanas; if six pots, then invite six Brāhmanas.

Why do we say 'when meaning limitation'? Observe *यावदन्नं तावद् भुक्तम्* 'I ate so long as it was given to me,' *i.e.* I donot know for certainty how much I have eaten.

युप्प्रतिनामात्रार्थे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ युप्, प्रतिना, मात्रा-अर्थे, (अठ्योप्तासमासह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मात्रार्थे वर्तमानेन प्रतिना सह युक्तं समस्यते भव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

9. A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with the indeclinable word *prati*, when meaning 'a little' and the compound is called *Avyayībhāva*.

The word **नान्ना** means 'a drop,' 'a little,' 'a wee bit,' as, **शाकयति** 'a little of vegetable,' **सूपयति** 'a little of soup.'

Why do we say 'when meaning a little'? Observe **वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतते विद्युत्** 'it lightens in the direction of the tree.' Here it is not compounded.

Though the word **sup** was, by *anuvritti* from *sûtra* 2, understood in this *sûtra*, its repetition in the text is for the purpose of indicating that the *anuvritti* of the word **अव्यय** which began with *sûtra* 6 does not extend further into the subsequent *sûtras*.

The word **प्रतिना** being exhibited in the 3rd case-affix is not an *upasarjana* (I. 2. 43) and therefore, it comes as the last member of the compound (II. 2. 30).

अक्षशलाकासंख्याः परिणा ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ अक्ष-शलाका-संख्याः, परिणा , (अ०स०सह) ॥

अक्षशब्दः शलाकाशब्दः संख्याशब्दश्च परिणा सह समस्यन्ते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

10. The words **aksha**, 'a die for playing with,' **salâkâ** 'an ivory piece used in gambling,' and **sankhyâ** 'numerals' are compounded with the word **pari**, and the compound formed is called **Avyayîbhâva**.

This **समास** is restricted to terms applicable to gambling. Thus there is a game called **panchikâ**, which is played with five dice or five ivory pieces. When all these five pieces fall with faces turned upward, or all with faces turned down, then the thrower wins the game. But when the fall is otherwise, he loses. Thus **अक्षपरि** 'an unlucky throw of dice,' **शलाकापरि**, 'an unlucky throw of ivory pieces'; so also **एकपरि** 'an unlucky throw by one over' **द्विपरि**, **त्रिपरि** and lastly **चतुष्परि**. This is the maximum. But when five are of one form, then of course, he wins.

विभाषा ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मिन् ऊर्जुमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तद्विभाषा भवति ॥

11. The word **vibhâshâ** or option governs all succeeding *sûtras*.

This is an *adhikâra sûtra*. All the rules of compounding given hereafter, are optional. The same sense can be expressed by the uncompounded words as by them when compounded. But not so are the compounds which have been treated of, before. Compounds like **सुमद्र**, **यथावृत्त**, **अक्षपरि** &c. mentioned above are invariable compounds (*निरय समास*), the sense conveyed by the compound term, not being capable of analysis, by taking the senses of

the separate members of the compounds, or at least not capable of expressing any sense without inserting extraneous words on analysis.

अपरिवहिरिच्छत्रः पञ्चम्या ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अप-परि-वहिः-
अञ्चवः, पञ्चम्या (स०अ० सह० वि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप परि वहिस् भञ्चु इत्येते सुबन्ताः पञ्चम्यन्तेन सह विभाषा समस्यन्ते अञ्चवी-
भावश्च समासो भवति ॥

12. The words *apa*, *pari*, *bahih* and indeclinables ending in *añchu* may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix, and the compound so formed will be *Avyayibhāva*.

As *अपरिवर्तन् वृष्टो देवः* or *अपरिवर्तन्व्यो वृष्टो देवः* 'it rained away from Trigarta.' So also, *परिवर्तन् वृष्टो देवः* or *परिवर्तन्व्यो देवः* 'round about Trigarta,' *वहिर्याम्* or *वहिर्यामात्* 'outside the village' *प्राग् ग्रामम्* or *प्राग् ग्रामात्* 'east of the village.'

Words formed from the verb *भञ्चु* 'to go,' are *उदञ्च* 'north' *प्रीञ्च* 'east,' &c.

From this *sūtra* we learn by inference (*jñāpak*) that the word *वहिः* also governs the ablative case (see II. 3. 29).

आङ् मय्यादाभिविध्योः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्, मय्यादा-अभि-
विध्योः, (स०अ०वि०पञ्चम्या सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् इत्येतन्मय्यादायामभिविध्यौ च वर्तमानं पञ्चम्यन्तेन सह विभाषा समस्यते,
अञ्चवीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

13. The word *ān* when signifying limit exclusive or limit inclusive, may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix and the compound so formed is called *Avyayibhāva*.

As, *आपाटलिपुत्रं* or *आपाटलिपुत्रात् वृष्टो देवः* 'it rained up to Pāṭaliputra.' *आकुपारं* or *आकुपारेभ्यो यशः पाणिनेः* 'the fame of Pāṇini extends even to the boys.'

लक्षणेनाभिप्रती आभिमुख्ये ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षणेन, अभि-
प्रती, आभिमुख्ये, (स०अ०वि०सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणं चिह्नं सदाचिना सुबन्तेन सहाभिप्रतीकत्वादाभिमुख्ये वर्तमानो विभाषा
समस्यते अञ्चवीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

14. The words *abhi* and *prati* when implying direction (towards), are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix denoting the limit, or the

goal which regulates or marks the direction; and the resulting compound is Avyayibhāva.

The word lakṣhaṇa means a sign goal. See also I. 4. 84 and 90 for a further explanation of this word. As अभ्यग्नि or अग्निमभि शलभाः पतन्ति 'the moths fall in the direction of fire.' So also प्रत्यग्नि or अग्निं प्रति, the sense being, that making the fire their aims (लक्ष्य) they fall towards it.

Why do we say 'when meaning lakṣhaṇa'? Observe कृष्णं प्रति गतः 'he turned back and went towards Srughna i.e., having turned back he went only towards the direction of Srughna but not to that place itself.

Why do we say the words abhi and prati? Observe येनाग्निस्तेन गतः 'he went in the direction of the fire.'

Why do we say 'when meaning direction towards'? Observe अभ्यङ्गा गावः or प्रत्यङ्गागावः 'the recently marked cows.'

अनुर्यत्समया ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुः, यत्-समया, (स०वि०अ०-स० लक्षणने) ३

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुर्यस्य समीपवाची तेन लक्षणभूतेन सह विभाषा समस्यते अग्वयीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

15. The word anu 'near to' is optionally compounded with that word, nearness to which is indicated by the particle, and the resulting compound is Avyayibhāva.

As, अनुवनमशुनिर्गतः 'the thunder bolt fell near the forest.'

Why do we say अनु? Observe वनं समया 'near the forest.'

Why do we say 'when compounded with the word, nearness to which is indicated'? Observe वृक्षमनु विद्योतते विद्युत् 'it lightens towards the tree.'

Though this compounding was valid even by sūtra 6, because nearness is mentioned there also; it is repeated here in order to show that an Avyayibhāva compound mentioned here is an optional compound after all, and not an invariable compound like others.

यस्य चायामः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, च, आयामः, (स०-अ०वि०स० लक्षणने अनुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुर्यस्यायामवाची तेन लक्षणभूतेन सह विभाषा समस्यते अग्वयीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

16. The word *anu* 'alongside of' is optionally compounded with the word indicative of that whose length the particle expresses, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayibhāva*.

As, *भनुरगं नाराणसी* 'the city of Benares extends alongside the river Ganges' *भनुरगं यमुना* 'Mathura, alongside of the Yamuna, the length of Mathura being measured by that of the Yamuna.'

Why do we say 'length'? Observe *वृत्तमनु विद्योतते विद्युत्*.

तिष्ठद्गु प्रभृतीनि च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिष्ठद्गु प्रभृतीनि ; च (अव्ययीभावसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिष्ठद्गुपादयः समुदाया एव निपात्यन्ते, तिष्ठद्गुप्रभृतीनि शब्दरूपाणि अव्ययीभावसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

17. And the words *tisṭṭhadgu*, 'at the time when the cows stand to be milked,' &c. are *Avyayibhāva* compounds.

The words *तिष्ठद्गु* &c. are all irregularly formed *Avyayibhāva* compounds. Most of these words are epithets of various times. The force of *च* in the sūtra is restrictive, that is to say these words always form the *Avyayibhāva* compound and nothing else. They are as follow:—

For low these words cannot be further compounded

तिष्ठद्गु, *वृद्धद्गु*, *आयतीगवम्*, *खलेयवम्*, *खलेवुसम्*, *लूनयवम्*, *लुबमानयवम्*, *पूतयवम्*, *पूयमानयवम्*, *संहृतयवम्*, *संह्रियमाणयवम्*, *संहृतवुसम्*, *संह्रियमाणवुसम्*, *समभूमि*, *समगदाति*, *सुयमम्*, *विपमम्*, *दुष्पमम्*, *निष्पमम्*, *अपरसमम्*, *भावतीसमम्*, *ग्रहणम्*, *प्ररयम्*, *प्रवृगम्*, *प्रवृत्तिगम्*, *अवरवृत्तिगम्*, *संप्रति*, *असंप्रति*, *पापसमम्*, *पुण्यसमम्*, इत् कर्मव्यतिहारे V. 4. 127. c. g. कक्षाकक्षि ॥

पारे मध्ये षष्ठ्या वा ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पारे, मध्ये, षष्ठ्या, वा (सःअःविःसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पारमध्ययन्दौ षष्ठ्यन्तेन सह विभाषा समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

18. The words *pāra* 'across,' and *madhya* 'middle' may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the sixth case-affix, when they take the forms *pāre* and *madhye*, and the compound so formed is *Avyayibhāva*.

Ordinarily these words would have formed Possessive Tatpurusha compounds. The present sūtra ordains *Avyayibhāva* instead. The force of

that in the text is that the Genitive Tatpurusha compounding also takes place in the alternative. As, पारंगङ्गम् or गङ्गापारम् 'across the Ganges.' मध्येगङ्गम् or गङ्गामध्ये 'middle of the Ganges.'

Of course according to the option allowed by sūtra II. 1. 11., this compounding need not take place at all, the same sense being expressed by a phrase; as पारं गङ्गायाः or मध्यं गङ्गायाः .

संख्या वंशयेन ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या, वंशयेन, (स०वि०अ०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वंशे भवः वंश्यः, तद्वाचिना सुबन्तेन सह संख्या समस्यते भव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

19. A numeral may be compounded with a word denoting 'one belonging to a family' and the resulting compound is Avyayibhāva.

The word वंश means uninterrupted descent of persons from a common source whether through birth or knowledge. A succession of teachers and pupils, of ancestors and descendants &c., would constitute a वंश 'family.' One born in or belonging to such a वंश is called a वंश्य or descendant.

As, द्विमुनि व्याकरणस्य 'of the Vyākaraṇa which has two sages as its principal expounders viz., Pāṇini and Patanjali. So, त्रिमुनि व्याकरणस्य 'having three representatives viz. Pāṇini, Patanjali and Sakatāyana or Kātyāyana.'

When we desire to express their equality as regards knowledge, then both the words are put in the same case: as द्विमुनि or त्रिमुनि व्याकरणम् .

So also when the relationship is by birth: as, एकविंशति भारद्वाजम् Twenty-one Bhāradwājas. These a subsequent compounds are like Dvigu.

नदीभिश्च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ नदीभिः, च, (स०अ०वि०संख्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नदीवचनैः शब्दैः सह संख्या समस्यते, भव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

20. A numeral (saṅkhyā) may be compounded with names of 'rivers' and the resulting compound is Avyayibhāva denoting an aggregate.

According to Patanjali this refers to their Aggregate (समाहार); as सप्तगङ्गा 'at the meeting of the seven Ganges,' द्वियमुनं 'at the meeting of the two Yamunās, पंचनदं 'where the five rivers meet', सप्तगोदावरम् 'where seven Godavaris' meet. See II. 4. 1, 17.

अन्यपदार्थं च संज्ञायाम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्यपदार्थं, च, संज्ञायाम्, (स०अ०वि०नदीभिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नदीभिः सह सुबन्तमन्यपदार्थं वर्त्तमानं संज्ञायां विषये समस्यते भव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

21. A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with words denoting the names of rivers, when the compound word denotes a thing other than that expressed by the terms of the compound, and is an appellative; the compound so formed being an Avya-yibhāva.

The anuvritti of the word saṅkhyā does not extend to this sūtra. Though this rule is given in the subdivision relating to optional compounds, it is, however, a Nitya-samāsa rule: for no Name (संज्ञा) can ever be expressed by a sentence, and that being so, these compounds can never be analysed. As, उन्मत्तगङ्गा 'the country called Unmatta Ganges.' So also ज्योतिर्गङ्गा, कृष्णगङ्गा; शनैर्गङ्गा II. 4. 18.

Why do we say 'when it denotes a thing other than that expressed by the component parts of the compound'? Observe कृष्णदेव the 'river Krishnavēṇa.'

Why do we say 'when it expresses an Appellative'? Observe शीघ्रगङ्गा देश: 'the country where the Ganges moves rapidly.'

तत्पुरुषः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुष इति संज्ञाधिक्रियते प्राग्बहुव्रीहे, यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमेण्यमस्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

22. From this aphorism as far as aphorism II. 2. 23, the word Tat-purusha is the governing word, and is understood in all the following sūtras.

From this sūtra as far as the sūtra II. 2. 23 relating to Bahuvrīhi compounds, the word Tat-purusha should be read into each sūtra. This big term is of older coinage than that of Pāṇini, being, in fact, made by older grammarians. In the Tat-purusha compound, the sense of the last of its elements is the main one, and governs the preceding one. The Karma-dhāraya (Appositional Determinative Compound) and Dwigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) are also subdivisions of this class of compounds. The rest of this chapter and 22 sūtras of the second, deal with this.

द्विगुश्च ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगुः, च, (तत्पुरुषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगुश्च समासस्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञो भवति ॥

23. And the kind of compound called Dwigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) is also called Tat-purusha.

The object of making Dwigu a subdivision of Tat-purusha Compound is that the समासान्व affixes and rules given in V. 4. 68-160 should apply to Dwigu also. Otherwise we could well have dispensed with this sūtra; as sūtra 52 of this chapter already defines Dwigu. Thus वंशराज V. 4. 91 fem. वंशराजो (IV. I. 15, 21), 'an aggregate of 5 princes' द्वयः V. 4. 89, वंशवन् 'an aggregate of 5 cows.' दशवन् 'an aggregate of ten cows.' V. 4. 92.

द्वितीया श्रितातीतपतितगतत्यस्तप्राप्तआपन्नैः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥

द्वितीया श्रित-अतीत-पतित-गत-अत्यस्त-प्राप्त-आपन्नैः, (सुखपाठविच्छेद-तत्पुरुष) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्तं सुबन्तं श्रितादिभिः सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ श्रितादिपुनर्निगन्त्यादीनां मूलसंख्याम् ॥

24. A word ending with the second case-affix is compounded with the words śrita 'who has had recourse to,' atita 'gone by' patita 'who has fallen upon,' gata 'who has gone to' atyasta 'who has passed,' prāpta 'who has obtained,' and āpanna 'who has reached,' and the resulting compound is called Tat-puruṣa.

As कष्ट + श्रितः = कष्टश्रितः 'who has had recourse to trouble.' नरकश्रितः, So also:—कान्तारातीतः 'who has passed over the dreary forest.' नरकपतितः 'fallen into hell.' ग्रामगतः 'gone to village.' तरंगारवस्तः 'passed the waves.' सुखप्राप्तः 'who has reached pleasure.' सुखान्नः 'who has obtained happiness.'

Vart:—The words गमी, गामी &c. should also be included. As ग्रामगमी, ग्रामगामी; ओदनं बुभुक्षुः.

स्वयं क्तेन ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वयम्, क्तेन, (सर्वविशेषसुख) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वयमिदमेतत्सुबन्तं क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

25. The indeclinable word swayam 'oneself,' is compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, and the resulting compound is called Tat-puruṣa.

The anuvritti of the word द्वितीया from the last aphorism into this, cannot take place; though, however, it is understood in the next sūtra. The word स्वयम् being an Indeclinable, cannot take any case-affix. As स्वयं धीतो पदौ 'feet washed by himself' स्वयं विलीनमाज्यम्.

In this compounding, the two words do not appear to have undergone any change after their composition. They are the same as they were before the composition. But by calling their juxtaposition, 'a compound,'

two indirect advantages are gained. Namely these two words are regarded as one word, and their accent is also similarly regulated. See Rule VI. I. 223.

The words ending in *kta* which is a *Nishṭhā* affix, are past participles.

खट्वा क्षेपे ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ खट्वा, क्षेपे, (संवि०त०क्तेनस०)
(द्वितीयया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खट्वाशब्दो द्वितीयान्तः क्तान्तेन सह क्षेपे गम्यमाने समस्यते, सत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

26. The word *khatwā* in the accusative case is compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, when censure is implied, and the compound so formed is *Tat-purusha*.

The word *क्षेप* means 'censure,' 'blame' and this sense can be connoted only by the compound word as a whole and not by any of its constituent elements. This compound is also, therefore, a *Nitya Compound*, though it occurs in the subdivision relating to *Optional Compounds*:—because it is impossible to analyse such a compound and express, by means of *an sentence*, the sense conveyed by the function of the compound word.

As *खट्वाकृतः* or *खट्वावृत्तः* (literally lying on a bed); silly, stupid, going wrong or astray.

There is no compounding when 'censure is not meant. As *खट्वामाकृतः* 'lying on a bed.'

Why this word should have this opprobrious meaning, will be understood from the consideration of the following facts:—a person under the Aryan social polity, could only then enter the married state or the life of a house-holder, as it was called, when he had completed his *Brahmachārya* i.e. the prescribed period of bachelor studentship. All *Brahmachāris* were bound to sleep on ground and not on *खट्वा* or cots, so long as they were *Brahmachāris*. A person who without completing his studies, and without obtaining the permission of his teacher, entered into matrimony, was originally called, in reproach, *खट्वाकृतः* 'who had ascended the couch in an improper way.' Then the term was extended to all persons guilty of vile action.

सामि ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सामि, (संवि०त०सह क्तेन)
(द्वितीयया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सामीत्येतद्गम्ययमर्द्धशब्दपर्यायस्तस्य सन्ववाचित्वाद् द्वितीयया नास्ति संवन्धः सत् सुबन्तं क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते सत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

27. The indeclinable word *sāmi* meaning 'half' is compounded with a word ending in the affix *cta*, and the resulting compound is *Tat-purusha*.

The word *सामि* being an *avyaya*, and not denoting any substance, cannot take the affixes of the second or any case. Therefore the *anuvṛitti* of the word *द्वितीया* would be inapposite in this aphorism.

As *सामिकृतम्* 'half-done.' *सामिरीतम्* 'half-drunk' *सामिभुक्तम्* 'half-eaten.'

The object attained by this *saṁāsa* is the same as in II. 1. 25, namely making them one word and taking one accent.

कालाः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालाः, (संवि० त० सं० द्वितीययाक्तेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालवाचिनः शब्दा द्वितीयान्ताः कालान्तेन सह समस्यन्ते विभाषा तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

28. The words denoting time, being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in the affix *cta*, and the resulting compound is *Tat-purusha*.

This rule applies when duration of time is not connoted by the compound, which is provided for, in the next aphorism. The word *काला* does not mean here, as it would otherwise mean by *Sūtra* I. 1. 68, the word-form *काज* but special words denoting *काल*.

As *मासप्रवितथन्मसाः* 'the new moon,' (literally, the moon that has begun to measure the month). Similarly *अहस्संक्रान्ताः*, *रात्रिसंक्रान्ताः* applied to six *Muhurtas* (of 48 minutes each) which are called *चर* and *अचर* which sometimes occur in day time (in the summer month) and sometimes in the night (in the winter).

अत्यन्तसंयोगे च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्यन्त-संयोगे, च, (संवि० त० सं० कालाः सुपा द्वि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालवाचिनः शब्दा द्वितीयान्ता अत्यन्तसंयोगे गम्यमाने सुपा सह समस्यन्ते विभाषा तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

29. Words denoting time being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when used in the sense of complete connection throughout with the time (i.e., duration of time) and the resulting compound is called *Tat-purusha*.

The word काल is understood in this aphorism; but not so the phrase 'ending with the affix क्.'

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग means 'uninterrupted connection.' For accent of these words see VI. 2. 2.

As मुहूर्तसुखम् 'a momentary pleasure.' सर्वराजकल्याणी, सर्वराजशोभना.

तृतीया तत्कृतार्थेन गुणवचनेन ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया, तत्कृत-अर्थेन, गुण-वचनेन, (संवि० त० सु० सु० सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयान्तं सुवन्तं गुणवचनेन अर्थवचनेन च सह समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

30. A word ending with the 3rd case-affix is optionally compounded with what denotes quality, the quality being that which is instrumentally caused by the thing signified by what ends with the third case-affix and with the word artha 'wealth,' and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

The words सुष, सुषा are understood here: and the whole of this sūtra is an epithet of those words. A noun in the instrumental case is compounded with a word expressing quality, and with the word अर्थः provided that the word expressing quality is itself the result produced by the sense of the word in the instrumental case. As शंकुजयाखण्डः शंकुजयाखण्डः 'cut by nipper' किरिकाणः 'made blind of one eye by a hog' धान्यार्थः 'wealth acquired by grain.' For accent of these words see VI. 2. 2.

Why do we say 'when caused by the word in the instrumental case?' Observe अक्ष्णा काणः 'blind of one eye.' Here अक्ष्णा in the 3rd case is not the instrumental cause that produced blindness and hence no compounding.

Why do we say 'a word expressing quality?' Observe:—गोभिर्नैपावान् 'sowing with the cows.' Here though 'sowing' is instrumentally caused by the cows, yet it does not qualify cows but the sower, and hence no compounding.

Guna-vachanas are those words which, not being words formed by primary or secondary affixes, or other words entitled to the name of saṅkhyā, or sarvanāma, or jāti, or compound words, are words denoting qualities and capable of being used as adjectives qualifying substantives.

पूर्वसदृशसमोनार्थकलहनिपुणमिश्रश्लक्ष्णैः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥

पूर्व-सदृश-सम-ऊनार्थ-कलह-निपुण-मिश्र-श्लक्ष्णैः, (संवि० त० तृतीयास०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्व सदृश सम ऊनार्थ कलह निपुण मिश्र श्लक्ष्ण एतैः सह तृतीयान्तं समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पूर्वोद्दिश्यवरस्योपसंख्यानम् ॥

31. A word ending in the third case-affix is compounded with the words *pûrva* 'prior,' *sadriśa* 'like,' *sama* 'similar,' *ûnârtha* 'words having the sense of less,' *kalaha* 'quarrel,' *nipuna* 'proficient,' *miśra* 'mixed,' and *slakshna* 'polished sleek' and the resulting compound is called *Tat-purusha*.

From this sūtra, we learn incidentally that the words पूर्व &c., govern the instrumental case.

As, मासेन पूर्वः = मासपूर्वः 'prior by a month,' संवत्सरपूर्वः 'prior by a year,' मातृसदृशः 'like the mother,' पितृसदृशः 'like the father,' मातृसमः 'similar to the mother,' पितृसमः 'similar to the father,' माघोनम्, माघविकलं 'less by a māśā,' भस्मिकलहः 'a fight with the swords,' वाक्कलहः 'bandying words,' वाह्निपुणः 'proficient in speech,' आचार निपुणः 'proficient in the observances of sacred duties,' मिश्रमिश्रः—गुडमिश्रः 'mixed with sesamum or juggery' आचारस्लक्ष्णः 'polished in behaviour.'

Vart :—The word अवर should be enumerated in the list, as मासावरः 'later than a month.'

कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-करणे ; कृता बहुलम्, (संवि० त० तृती० ६०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृकरणे च या तृतीया तदन्तं कृदन्तेन सह समस्यते बहुलं, तत्पुरुषश्च संमासी भवति ॥

32. A word ending with the third case-affix, when it denotes the agent or the instrument (II. 3. 18) is compounded diversely with what ends with a *krit* affix; and the compound so formed is called *Tat-purusha*.

The word बहुलं shows that there is a general relaxation of all the rules and conditions. As अहिनाहतः = अहिहतः 'killed by the snake' नखनिर्भिजः 'divided by the nails,' परशुच्छिन्नः 'cut by the axe.'

Why do we say 'when denoting the agent or the instrument'? Observe निष्ठाभिरुचिः 'dwelt with alms.' Here the force of the 3rd case is that mentioned in sūtra II. 3. 21 and not that of II. 3. 18.

Why do we say 'diversely'? Observe शस्त्रेण लूनवान् 'cutting with the sickle,' परशुनाच्छिन्नवान् 'cutting with the axe.' Here there is no compounding. But there is compounding where otherwise there ought not to be, because of the word बहुलः—as पादहारकः and गले चीपकः.

कृत्यैरधिकार्यवचने ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्यैः, अधिक-अर्य-वचने,
(स०चि०त०कृत्यैरधिकार्यवचने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृकरणयोर्वा द्वितीया तदन्तं सुबन्तं कृत्यैः सह सम्बन्धे अधिकार्यवचने
गम्यमाने विभाषा, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कृत्यग्रहणे यत्पुण्यतोर्महत्वं कर्तव्यम् ॥

33. A word ending with the third case-affix when it denotes the agent or the instrument, is compounded optionally with a word ending in a kṛitya affix, when an exaggerated statement (whether of praise or of censure) is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As काकपेवानरी 'a shallow river' (so shallow that a crow may dip his beak into it and touch the bottom and drink). इषलेखः कुपुः 'a shallow well' (so that a dog can lick water from the brink of it). शण्डेयानि दृणानि 'thin grass' (so fragile that it can be cut by vapour) कण्टकसंचय भोदनः.

This sūtra is in a way a prolongation of the last.

Vart:—The phrase 'words ending in a kṛitya affix' must not be taken universally, only the kṛitya affixes यत् and एयत् are meant in the above sūtras. The following are the kṛitya affixes:—तस्य, भनीय, यत्, क्यत्, एयत्, (see sūtra III. I. 95-132). Therefore there is no compounding when the word ends in तस्य as in काकैः पातय्या.

अन्नेन व्यञ्जनम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्नेन, व्यञ्जनम्, (स०चि०त०-
न०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यञ्जनवाचि द्वितीयान्तवशाच्चिना सुबन्तेन सह सम्बन्धे विभाषा, तत्पुरुषश्च
समासो भवति ॥

34. A word ending with the third case-affix and denoting a condiment, is optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, signifying food, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

That which is to be prepared is called अन्न, and that which prepares is व्यञ्जन; as इष्योदनः = इष्या उपसिक्त ओदनः 'rice prepared or made relishable with curd.' So also क्षीरोदनः. The words 'food' and 'condiment' as represented in the above compounds, are connected in sense by a verb understood.

अस्येण मिश्रीकरणम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्येण , मिश्री-करणम्
(स०वि०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मिश्रीकरणवाचि द्वितीयादौ भक्ष्यवाचिना सुदम्येन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

35. A word, ending with the 3rd case-affix and denoting a relish giving or refining ingredient, is compounded with a word meaning, victuals, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Anything eatable, whether hard or soft, is called भक्ष्य; its refinement is called मिश्रीकरणं. As गुडधानाः 'barley prepared with juggery,' गुरूपुष्पाः 'flattened parched rice prepared with juggery.'

The connection here also between the two words is established by a verb understood.

चतुर्थी तदर्थार्थबलिहितसुखरक्षितैः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी,
तदर्थ-अर्थ-बलि-हित-सुख-रक्षितैः (स०वि०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदर्थं अर्थं बलि हित सुख रक्षित इत्येतेः सह चतुर्थ्यन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अर्थेन निरयसमासवचनं सर्वलिङ्गत्वाच्च वक्तव्या ॥

36. A word ending with the 4th case-affix is compounded with what denotes that which is for the purpose of what ends with the 4th case-affix and so too with the words artha 'on account of,' bali 'a sacrifice,' hita 'salutary,' sukha 'pleasure' and rakshita 'kept,' and the compound is called Tat-purusha.

The words सुख, सुखा are understood in this sūtra: and the whole sūtra qualifies these words.

By the expression तदर्थं 'for the purpose thereof,' the special relation of a material and its modification alone is by Patanjali here held to be intended. As यूपस्तवः दारुः = यूपस्तवः 'wood for stake' (that is wood which by modification will be changed into a stake). कुण्डलहिरण्यं 'gold for ear-ring.' But not so here. रन्ध्रनाय स्वाली 'pot for cooking,' अश्वहननाथोल्लङ्घनम् 'the wood mortar for threshing. From this sūtra we may also infer that the Dative case conveys also the sense of 'for the purpose thereof.' The word तदर्थार्थं is taken as one word by some, meaning 'a thing serviceable thereto.' See VI. 2. 44. For accent see VI. 2. 45.

Vart:—With the word स्य the compound so formed is a Nitya compound (an invariable compound) and agrees in gender with the word which it qualifies; as, ब्राह्मणार्थम् पत्रः 'milk for the sake of Brahmans;' and ब्राह्मणार्था यवाणः 'gruel for the Brahmanas.' So also कुबेरबलिः 'a sacrifice for Kuvera' महाराजबलिः 'a sacrifice for the great Raja.' गोहितं 'what is good for cows.' भयहितं 'what is good for horses' गोसुखं 'what is pleasant for cows' गोरक्षितं 'what is kept for cows,' (as grass).

पञ्चमी भयेन ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चमी, भयेन, (स०त०वि०सु० सुपा सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्यन्तं सुबन्तं भयशब्देन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते विभाषा तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भय भीत भीति भीति रिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

37. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is optionally compounded with the word bhaya 'fear,' and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The phrase सुप् सुपा is understood here, and the sūtra qualifies it.

As वृकोद्योभयं = वृकभयं 'fear from wolves' चोरभयं 'fear from thieves' रज्जुभयं 'fear from robbers.'

Vart:—So also with the words भीत, भीति and भीः as वृकभीतः, वृकभीतिः, वृकभीः.

This sūtra is an expansion of sūtra 33 and an exposition of the word बहुल there. So that we may have the following compounds also: ग्रामनिर्गतः 'gone out of the village.' अधर्मं मुमुक्षुः.

अपेतापोढमुक्तपतितापत्रस्तैरल्पशः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपेत-
अपोढ-मुक्त-पतित-अत्रस्तैः, अल्पशः, (स०वि०त०सु०पञ्चमीस०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भयेत भयोढ मुक्त पतित अपत्रस्त इत्येते सह पञ्चम्यन्तं समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥ अल्पश इति समासस्याल्पविषयतामाचष्टे ॥

38. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is compounded with the words apeta 'gone away,' apodha 'carried away,' mukta 'freed,' patita 'fallen,' apatrasta, 'afraid of,' when the event takes place in a gradual manner, and the compound is called Tatpurusha.

As, सुखापेतः 'gone away from pleasure' कल्पनापोढः 'carried away by imagination' चक्रमुक्तः 'freed from the wheel.' स्वर्गपतितः 'fallen from heaven.' तरङ्गापत्रस्तः 'afraid of the waves.' This is an expansion of II. 1. 32.

By using the word **अल्पः** 'in a gradual degree,' is shown the limited range of this kind of compounds. Not every ablative word can be so compounded. Hence there is no compounding at all in the following cases:—
प्रासादात् पतितः, 'fallen from the mansion. **भोजनात् भयस्तः** 'afraid of eating.' For here the fall &c. is violent and sudden, and not gradual and slight.

**स्तोकान्तिकदूरार्यकृच्छ्राणि स्तेन, ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तोक-
 अन्तिक-दूर-अर्य-कृच्छ्राणि, स्तेन, (सप्तविंशत्युपपन्नसह) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तोकान्तिक दूर इत्येवमर्थः शब्दाः कृच्छ्र शब्दश्च पञ्चम्यन्ताः स्तान्तेन सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सप्तसहस्रस्यो परेणेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

39. Words with the sense of stoka 'a little,' antika 'near,' dūra 'far,' and also the word krichehhrā 'penance,' ending in the 5th case-affix are compounded with what ends in kta, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As **स्तोकान् मुक्तः** 'loosed from a little distance.'

So also **अन्तिकादागतः** 'come from near' **अन्तिकादागतः** 'come from near' **दूरादागतः** 'come from far,' **विमदुष्टादागतः** 'come from a distance.' **कृच्छ्रान्मुक्तः** 'saved with difficulty.' **कृच्छ्रान् लब्धः** 'obtained with difficulty.'

By rule VI. 3. 2 the case-affix is not elided in compounds of this kind.

Vart:—The words **शत** 'a hundred' and **सहस्र** 'a thousand' are similarly compounded with the word **पर**. As, **शतात्परः**—**परशतः** 'beyond a hundred.' So also **परसहस्रः** 'beyond a thousand.' In these examples the word **शत** and **सहस्र** being exhibited in the 1st case and thus being upasarjana ought to have stood as the first member of the compound (II. 2. 30); But these compounds are supposed to fall under the class of **राजदन्त** &c., (II. 2. 31) and hence the upasarjana stands as the second member of the compound. Irregularly is also the augment **स** (**सु**) interposed between these two words.

**सप्तमी शीघ्रैः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, शीघ्रैः (सप्त-
 विंशत्युपपन्नसह) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं शीघ्रादिभिः सह समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

40. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the words **śaundā** 'skilled' &c. and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word **सौष्टे** in the sūtra being in the plural number indicates a class of words beginning with **saundā**.

As, **भस्तेषु सौष्टः** = **भस्सौष्टः** 'skilled in dice' **अक्षधूर्ते** 'cunning in dice' **अक्षकितवः** 'a gamester in dice.'

The following is the list of **शौष्टादि** words:—1 **शौष्ट**, 2 **धूर्त**, 3 **कितव**, 4 **व्याड**, 5 **प्रवीण**, 6 **संवीत**, 7 **अम्बर** when meaning place, 8 **अधि**, 9 **पटु**, (or **अधिपटु**), 10 **पण्डित**, 11 **कुशल**, 12 **चपल**, 13 **निपुण**, 14 **संख्याड**, 15 **मन्थ**, and 16 **समीर**.

सिद्धशुष्कपक्वबन्धे ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिद्ध-शुष्क-पक्व-बन्धे, च, (स०त०वि०सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिद्ध-शुष्क-पक्व बन्धे इत्येतेः सह सप्तम्यन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

41. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the words **siddha** 'perfected,' **śushka** 'dried,' **pakva** 'cooked' and **bandha** 'bound,' and the resulting compound is **Tat-purusha**.

As, **संकाश्यसिद्धः** 'perfect in **Sāṅkasya**,' **काम्पिन्यसिद्धः** 'perfect in **Kāmpilya**,' **आतपशुष्कः** 'dried in the sun,' **छायाशुष्कः** 'dried in the shade,' **स्थालीपक्वः** 'cooked in pot,' **कुम्भी पक्वः** 'cooked in an earthen jar,' **चक्रबन्धः** 'bound on the wheel.' For their accent see VI. 2. 32.

These are also further illustrations of the word **बहुल** in sūtra 32.

ध्वाङ्क्षेण क्षेपे ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ध्वाङ्क्षेण क्षेपे, (स०त०वि०सु०सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ध्वाङ्क्षवाचिना सह सप्तम्यन्तं सुबन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति, क्षेपे गन्धमाने ॥

42. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the word **dhvāṅksha**, 'a crow,' (and with synonyms of crow) when contempt is implied; and the resulting compound is **Tat-purusha**.

As, **तीर्थभाक्षः** 'a crow at the sacred bathing place' i.e., a very greedy person; as a crow in a bathing place does not remain long, any where, so a person who goes to his teacher's house and does not tarry there long, is called a **तीर्थकाकः** or a **तीर्थबाहसः**.

When it has not this meaning, there is no compounding: as, **तीर्थभाक्षस्तिष्ठति** 'There is a crow in the sacred bathing place.'

कृत्यैर्ऋणे ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्यैः, ऋणे, (स०त०सु०स०सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्य प्रत्ययान्तेः सह सप्तम्यन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

43. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with words ending with a *kṛitya*-affix (a fut. pass. Participle) and the resulting compound is 'Tat-purusha, when 'debt' is implied.

This compound is confined to the words formed by the *kṛitya* affix कृत् and not to every *kṛitya*-formed word.

As, मासदेयं 'a debt repayable within a month.' So संवत्सरदेयं 'payable within a year.' त्र्यहर्हदेयम् 'repayable within three days.'

By using the word कृत् we indicate by implication any appointed time in general, and not merely a time for the payment of a debt. Therefore we get compounds in the following cases also:—पूर्वाह्णे गेयं साम 'the Sāma that should be sung in the morning.' प्रातरभ्येयोऽनुवाकः 'the chapter that should be studied in the morning.'

Why do we say 'debt'? Observe मासे देया भिक्षा 'the alms that should be given each month.'

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (स०त०वि०म०स०नी सुपा सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये सप्तम्यन्तं सुपा सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

44 A word ending with the 7th case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when the compound thus formed is used as an appellative, and is called Tat-purusha samāsa.

A *sanjñā* is expressed by the complete word, hence it is an invariable (*nitya*) compound; for we cannot express an appellative by a sentence.

As, अरण्ये तिलकाः 'wild sesamum' yielding no oil; anything which does not answer to one's expectation. So also अरण्येभाषाः, वने किंयुक्ताः 'anything found unexpectedly.' So also वनेबिम्बकाः, कूपेपिशाचकाः.

The case-affix is not elided, in this case, in accordance to sūtra VI. 3. 9. (The 7th case-affix is not elided after words ending in consonants or in short अ when the compound denotes appellative.)

क्तेनाहोरात्रावयवाः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तेन, अहः-रात्र-अवयवाः, (स०वि०त०स०स०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहवयवा रात्रवयवाश्च सप्तम्यन्ताः क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

45. The names of divisions of day or night ending with a 7th case-affix are compounded with words ending with the affix kta; and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, पूर्वाह्नकृतम् 'done in the morning.' अपराह्नकृतम् 'done in the afternoon.' पूर्वरात्रकृतम् 'done in the first part of the night.' अपररात्रकृतम् 'done in the last part of the night.'

Why do we say 'members or divisions of day and night?' Observe अहनि भुक्तम् 'eaten in the day' रात्रौ वृत्तम् 'occurring in the night.'

This being a continuation of sūtra II. 1. 32, we have diversely रात्रिवृत्तं and संभ्रातर्जितं .

तत्र ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र , (स०वि०त०सप्त०सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येतत् सप्तम्यन्तं क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

46. The word tatra 'there,' which is a word ending with the 7th case-affix, (V. 3. 10) is compounded with a word ending in kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus तत्रभुक्तम् 'eaten there.' तत्रकृतम् 'done there.' तत्रपीतम् 'drunk there.' By making this a compound, the same purpose is served as in sūtra II. 1. 25 namely, these two words form one word and get one accent.

क्षेपे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षेपे , (स०वि०त०सप्त०सह क्तेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेपे गम्यमाने सप्तम्यन्तं क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

47. A word ending with a 7th case-affix is compounded with a word ending with the affix kta, when 'censure' is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, अश्वतरेनकुञ्जस्थितं त एतत् 'they are as if an ichneumon standing on hot ground (metaphorically said of the inconstancy of man) चापलम् ॥

So also उदके विशीर्णम् 'dried in water,' (figuratively used for any thing unheard of or impossible.)

So also प्रवाहे मूत्रितम् (lit.) 'making water in a stream,' (fig.) 'doing a useless action.' भस्मनि हुतम् 'offered oblation in ashes,' (fig.) 'a fruitless action.'

The 7th case-affix is not elided in the case of this sūtra also. See sūtra VI. 3. 14.

पात्रेसंनितादयश्च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पात्रे ; संनित-आदयः , च,
(स०त०क्षेपे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुसाया एव निपात्यन्ते, पात्रेसंनितादयः शब्दास्तत्पुरुष संज्ञा भवन्ति क्षेपे गम्यमाने॥

48. The words like pâtre-sammita 'a dish-companion' (a parasite), &c., are Tat-purusha compounds, when contempt is implied.

All these are irregular compounds. Some of the words contained in this list are compounds formed with the past-participle (क्त); they could have been formed by previous aphorism also. Their inclusion in this list is for the purpose that their first member should have udatta on the beginning ; because all the words belonging to this class, are a subdivision of a larger class called 'बुक्तरोषादि Class' treated of in sūtra VI. 2. 81.

The following is the list of the words:—1 पात्रेसंनिताः , 2 पात्रेसंनिताः 'a parasite' (constant at meals or dinner time). 3 उदुम्बरमशकः, 4 उदुम्बरकृमिः, 5 उदुम्बरकृमिः, 6 कूपकच्छपः, 7 कूपकच्छपः, 8 कूपमण्डूकः, 9 कुम्भमण्डूकः, 10 उदुम्बरमण्डूकः, 11 नगरकाकः, 12 नगरबायसः, 13 मातरिपुरुषः, 14 पिण्डीगूरः, 15 पितरिगूरः, 16 गेहेगूरः, 17 गेहेनर्षीः, 18 गेहेक्षेत्री, 19 गेहेविजिती, 20 गेहेग्यादः, 21 गेहेमेही, 22 गेहेसाली, 23 गेहेद्वयः, 24 गेहेधृष्टः, 25 गर्भेद्वयः, 26 आसनिरुचकः, 27 गोष्ठेगूरः, 28 गोष्ठेविजिती, 29 गोष्ठेद्वयः, 30 गोष्ठेपदुः, 31 गोष्ठेपण्डितः, 32 गोष्ठेप्रगल्भः, 33 कर्णेगिरिद्वि, 34 कर्णेगुरुगुरा ॥

पूर्वकालैकसर्वजरत्पुराणनवकेवलाः समानाधिकरणेन ॥ ४९ ॥
पदानि ॥ पूर्वकाल-एक-सर्व-जरत्-पुराण-नव-केवलाः समानाधिकरणेन ,
(स०वि०त०सु०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वकाल एक सर्व जरत् पुराण नव केवल इत्येते सुबन्ताः समानाधिकरणेन युजा सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासी भवति ॥

49. A case-inflected word denoting an action which naturally precedes in time (pûrvakâla), and the words eka 'one,' sarva 'all,' jarat 'old,' purâna 'ancient,' nava 'new,' and kevala 'only,' are compounded with their co-relative case-inflected words which are in the same case with them ; and the compound so formed is Tat-purusha.

The phrase सुर् युजा is understood here, the whole sūtra qualifying it.

Words which separately can be applied to many distinct and different objects, when they apply to one common object, are said to be in apposition (समानाधिकरणं) or abiding in a common substratum.

In the present sūtra the word-form pûrva-kâla is not to be taken

(I. 1. 68) but its significates; while of the rest एक &c., the very word-form is to be taken. A word denoting action which naturally precedes in time, is compounded with a word denoting action which naturally succeeds it. As, स्नातानुलिप्तः 'bathed and perfumed.' कृत्स्नीकृतम् 'ploughed and levelled.' हृथमकृतम् 'burnt and healed.' एकपादी (having) one petticoat.' एकमिक्षा (begging) once in a day.' सर्वदेवाः 'All gods.' सर्वमनुष्याः 'all men.' जरहस्ती 'old elephant.' जरह् गृष्टिः 'an old cow.' जरह्वृत्तिः 'old occupation.' पुराणान्नम् 'old rice.' पुराणान्नसयम् 'an old habitation.' So नवान्नम्; नवान्नसयम्; केवलान्नम् 'only rice.'

Why do we say 'when they are in the same case?' Observe एकपादी 'one's petticoat.'

These and the subsequent compounds are Karmadhāraya Compounds (I. 2. 42).

दिक्स्थे संज्ञायाम् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-स्थे, संज्ञायाम् ;
(स०त०वि०सुपा०समानाधिकरणेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिग्वाचिनः शब्दाः संख्या च समानाधिकरणेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

50. The words expressing a point of the compass, or a number (saṅkhyā) enter into composition with the word correlated to them by being in the same case, when the sense of the compound is that of an appellative; and it is a Tat-purusha.

The phrase 'being in apposition,' is understood in every one of these sūtras up to the end of the chapter.

As पूर्वेषुकामशमी 'the town of Ishukāmaśami-in-the-east.' अपरेषुकामशमी 'the town of Ishukāmaśami-in-the-west.' पञ्चाग्राः 'the five mangoes' सप्तर्षयः 'the seven-sages' (the constellation of the Great Bear).

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of an appellative?' Observe उत्तरा वृक्षाः 'northern trees.' पञ्च ब्राह्मणाः 'five Brahmanas.' See IV. 2. 107.

तद्धितार्थोत्तरपद समाहारे च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धित-अर्थ-उत्तरपद
समाहारे, च (स०त०वि०दिक्स्थेस०सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितार्थे विषये उत्तरपदे च परतः समाहारे चाभिधेये दिक्स्थे समानाधिकरणेन सुपा सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

51. In a case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix, or when an additional member comes after the compound, or when an aggregate is to be ex-

pressed, then a word signifying a point of the compass or a number, enters into composition with a case-inflected word which is in agreement with it by being in the same case, and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

First let us take the case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix. Thus when a compound is formed out of the words पूर्वस्वां शालायां भवः 'that which is in the eastern hall' (in which analytical exposition of the compound in question, the word भव (IV. 2. 107) serves to represent the force of a Taddhita-affix) the compound having reached the form of पूर्वा + शाला, the feminine termination of the पूर्वा is rejected, because Patañjali declares that the masculine state belongs to a pronominal when exercising any of the five functions belonging to a word; we have:—पूर्व + शाला + भ (IV. 2. 107) = पूर्वशालः (VII. 2. 117 and VI. 4. 148) 'who is in the eastern hall.'

So also when an additional member comes after the compound (uttarpade). As, पूर्वशालामियः or अपरशालामियः 'loving the eastern or western hall.' These Uttarpada Compounds are invariable (Nitya) compounds, so that they can not be resolved into their component elements.

When a समाहार 'aggregate' is to be expressed, it is of course impossible to use a word expressing points of the compass (दिक् words). The following compounds are formed with numbers (संख्या), when employed with the force of a Taddhita affix; as, पञ्चनावितिः 'relating to five barbers.' पञ्चकपालः 'relating to an oblation offered in five cups' (कपाल) (IV. 1. 88). So also पञ्चगवधन (V. 4. 92) 'whose wealth consists of five cows,' इरागवधनः

The following are examples of aggregates:—पञ्चफली 'the collection of five fruits' (IV. 1. 21) दशपुली 'an aggregate of ten bundles,' त्रिलोकी 'the aggregate of the three worlds.' पञ्चकुमारि 'an aggregate of five virgins,' this word is neuter by II. 4 17. and the long ई is shortened by I. 2. 47.

संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या-पूर्वः, द्विगुः, (संवि-
तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितायेंतरपदसमाहारे चेत्यत्र यः संख्यापूर्वः समासः स द्विगुसंज्ञो भवति ॥

52. In a case where the sense is that of a taddhita affix, or when an additional member comes after the compound or when an aggregate is to be expressed, the compound, the first member of which is numeral, is called Dvigu or Numeral Determinative compound.

First to take an example of Taddhitārtha:—as, पंचेषु कपानेषु संस्कृतः = पंचकपालः 'an offering prepared or offered in five cups.' So also दशकपालः 'prepared in ten cups.' These are names of Purodāsa offerings; and are formed by adding the affix भृच् in the sense of 'refining an object of food' by sūtra IV. 2. 16; then this affix is elided (लुक्) by IV. 1, 88.

To take an example when an additional member comes after the compound. As पंचनावधिनः 'loving five ships.' द्विनावध्वन् 'money which has come by two ships' (द्वि + नौ + ध्वन् V. 4. 99 = द्विनाव)

Of an aggregate we have पंचवृत्ती. The feminine is formed by IV. 1. 21.

कुत्सितानि कुत्सनेः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुत्सितानि कुत्सनेः ,
(स०वि०त०सु०सह०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुत्सितवर्षाणि सुवन्तानि कुत्सनवचनेः सुवन्ते. सह समव्यन्ते, सप्तद्वयश्च समासो भवति ॥

*That which is found faulted
is combined
with the
mist* 53. Case-inflected words expressing vileness are compounded with case-inflected words, expressing contempt, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As वैयाकरणखसृषिः 'a bad or dull grammarian.' Here it might be asked is the word व्याकरण 'grammar' a word of contempt, or the word वैयाकरण 'grammarian'? Neither 'Grammar' (it being a part of Vedāṅga,) nor the person who studies it *i. e.*, the grammarian, can be an object of contempt ordinarily.

The word 'grammarian' is, however, the expression of contempt in an indirect way, thus:—The person studying grammar but not studying it well, becomes an object of contempt and such a despicable person becomes also contaminated. The word खसृषि is a term of contempt *per se*. It literally means, a person who on being asked a question, and not possessing ready wit and intelligence to answer it, scratches his head and contemplates vacancy (खसृष्यति) and tries to divert the questioner's attention by exclaiming 'how beautifully clear is the sky,' such a person is called खसृषिः.

Such compounds are confined to cases where the reason for the use of any particular term is to express contempt with regard to the signification of that term. So we can not form a compound of the sentence वैयाकरणचोरः 'the thief grammarian;' for, contempt is not expressed with regard to the signification of the word 'grammarian.' But when the term 'grammarian' itself is used in a contemptuous signification, then a compound will be formed.

This aphorism is commenced in order to introduce an exception to sūtra 57, by which an adjective stands as the first member in a compound. By the present sūtra, however, the attributive word will stand as the second member.

Other examples of such compounds are: **याज्ञिककितवः** 'one who hankers after performing sacrifices for persons for whom one ought not to perform sacrifices' **मीमांसक-दुर्वृत्तः** 'an unbelieving logician,' 'an athiest.'

No compound can be formed under this aphorism, if both the words are not used in an opprobatory signification as such. Therefore it is not in the following case. **कुत्सितोग्राग्रणः** 'the bad Brāhmaṇa' &c.

पापानके कुत्सितैः ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाप-अणके , कुत्सितैः , (स०त०वि०सु०सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाप अणक एते सुबन्ते कुत्सितवचनैः सह समस्येते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

54. The case inflected words *pāpa* 'sin,' and *anaka* 'insignificant,' are compounded with words expressive of vileness, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Both the words **पाप** and **अनक** are words of contempt (**कुत्सन**) ; by the last *sūtra*, they would have stood as second members in the compound; the present *sūtra*, however, is so framed with regard to *sūtras* I. 2. 43 and II. 2. 30, that they will stand as first. As **पापनापितः** or **अणकनापितः** 'a contemptible barber' **पाप** or **अनक-कुत्सालः** 'a contemptible potter.'

उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमानानि , सामान्य-वचनैः , (स०त०वि०सु०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानवाचीनि सुबन्तानि सामान्यवचनैः सुबन्तैः सह समस्यन्ते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

55. Case-inflected words denoting objects of comparison, are compounded with words denoting what is likened to them, by reason of the latter possessing qualities in common with the former, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

That by or to which a thing is compared is '*upamāna*' and the '*upameya*' (the thing compared) is called **सामान्य** or 'common.' Thus **वनश्याम कृष्णः** 'cloud-black Krishna' (Krishna black as a cloud). Here **श्याम** is a quality common to Krishna and cloud: therefore 'cloud' which is the **उपमान** is compounded with it. So also **कुमुदश्वेनी** 'lily-white.' **हंसगद्गदा** 'Swan-sounding' **ग्लोबोथ-पारिमंडला** 'globular as Nyagrodha tree.' For accent see VI. 2. 2.

But not so in **देवदत्ता श्यामा** 'black Devadatta' or **फला इव वन्दुजाः** 'the rice are like fruits' **पर्वता इव बलाहकाः** 'clouds like mountains.'

उपमितं व्याघ्रादिभिः सामान्याप्रयोगे ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमितम्,
व्याघ्र-आदिभिः, सामान्य-अप्रयोगे, (स०त०वि०सु०स०उपमानानिस०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमेयउपमितं यद्वाचि सुबन्तं व्याघ्रादिभिः सामान्यार्थं उपमानवचनैः सह समत्वत्वे,
तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति, न चेत्सामान्यवाचि चान्नः प्रयुज्यते ॥

56. A case-inflected word denoting subject of comparison is compounded with the words vyāghra 'tiger,' &c., the latter being the standard of comparison, and in construction with the former; and the compound is Tat-purusha; provided that any word expressing the common characteristic (सामान्य) as explained above, is not employed.

This is a modification of sūtra 57, by which the objective would have stood first; by the present, the attribute stands second. As पुरुषोऽयं व्याघ्र इव = पुरुषव्याघ्रः 'a person-tiger' (in strength) पुरुषसिंहः

In the last sūtra, the compounding was between the उरमान and the common quality. In the present, the compounding is between the उपमित and certain उपमान but never with सामान्य वचन. Therefore we can not form this kind of compound from the following sentence:— पुरुषो व्याघ्र इव बलः 'a man strong as a tiger.' Similarly मुखरम्, मुखकमलं, करकिसलयम्, पार्थिवचन्द्रम् ॥

The words व्याघ्र &c. are अकृतिगणः i. e., this is a class of compound words, the fact of a word belonging to which, is known by its form, a posteriori and is not discoverable by any consideration of its constituent parts a priori.

The following is the list of such words:—

1. व्याघ्र = A tiger. 2. सिंह = A lion. 3. भ्रूल = A bear. 4. वृषभ = A bull. 5. चन्दन = Sandal. 6. वृक = A wolf. 7. वृष = A bull. 8. वराह = A boar, hog. 9. हस्तिन् = An elephant. 10. वरु = A tree. 11. कुञ्जर = An elephant. 12. रुद्र = A kind of deer. 13. पुषत = The spotted antelope. 14. पुण्डरीक = A lotus flower. 15. पलाश = A tree Butea Frondosa. 16. कितव = A rogue, cheat.

आकृतिगणोऽयम्

1. मुखपद्मम् } A lotus-like face.
2. मुखकमलम् }
3. करकिसलयम् = Sprout-like hand, a tender hand. 4. पार्थिवचन्द्रः .

विशेषणं विशेष्येण बहुलम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशेषणम्, विशेष्येण, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विशेषणवाचि सुबन्तं विशेष्यवाचिना समानाधिकरणेन सुबन्तेन सह बहुलं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

57. A case-inflected word denoting the qualifier (the Adjective), is compounded diversely with a case-inflected word denoting the thing thereby qualified, (the Substantive) the latter being in agreement (same case) with the former; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The 'discriminator' is called विशेषण and the 'discriminated' is called विशेष्य as नीलोत्पलं 'a blue lotus,' रक्तोत्पलं 'a red lotus.'

By using in the rule the expression बहुलं 'diversely' it is meant that in some cases it is imperative to make a compound (निरयसमास) as कृष्णसर्पः 'a black snake.' लोहितशालिः 'red rice':—and sometimes it is forbidden; as, रामो जामदग्न्यः 'Rama called also Jāmadagnya' (as being the son of Jamadagni): अर्जुनः कर्त्तवीर्यः—and in some cases it is optional, नीलमुरजं or नीलोत्पलं.

Why do we say 'qualifier?' Observe तक्षकः सर्पः 'the Takshaka snake.'

Why do we say 'qualified.' Observe लोहितस्तक्षकः 'the red Takshaka.'

पूर्वापरप्रथमचरमजघन्यसमानमध्यमध्यमवीराश्च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्व-अपर-प्रथम-चरम-जघन्य-समान-मध्य-मध्यम-वीराः, च (स०त०वि०सु०स० समानाधिकरणेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्व अपर प्रथम चरम जघन्य समान मध्य मध्यम वीर इत्येते सुबन्ताः समानाधिकरणेन सुपा सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

58. The case-inflected words pūrva 'prior,' apara 'other,' prathama 'first,' charama 'last,' jaghanya 'hindmost,' samāna 'equal,' madhya 'middle,' madhyama 'middle,' and vīra 'hero,' are compounded with words ending with a case-affix and which are in agreement (same case): with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As पूर्वपुरुषः 'ancestor,' (any one of the three, father, grandfather and great-grandfather), अपरपुरुषः 'successor,' चरमपुरुषः 'last person,' जघन्यपुरुषः 'hindermost person,' समानपुरुषः 'equal person,' मध्य or मध्यमपुरुषः 'middle person,' वीरपुरुषः 'heroic person.'

श्रेण्यादयः कृतादिभिः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रेणि-मादयः, कृत-
आदिभिः, (स०त०वि०सु०स०समान) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रेण्यादयः सुबस्ताः कृतादिभिः समानाधिकरणैः समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समानो
भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ श्रेण्यादिषु अयर्थवचनम् ॥

59. The case-inflected words śreṇī 'class' &c., are compounded with words kṛta 'made' &c., which are in agreement (same case), with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Vart.—The words श्रेणि &c., for the purposes of this sūtra, are supposed to have the force of the affix च् (chvi). Thus अश्रेणयः श्रेणयः कृताः = श्रेणिकृताः 'made into classes' (those who were not classified before).

The class of words called कृतादि are ākṛiti-gaṇa and cannot be known a priori. [This Samāsa is also an invariable Samāsa by reason of sūtra II. 2. 18, since all words that end in chvi (च्) are called gati (I. 4. 61.)]

1. श्रेणि = A line, a series. 2. एक = One or एक. 3. पृग = A heap, collection, multitude. 4. मुकुन् = Name of Krishna or कुन्. 5. राशि = A heap, mass, collection. 6. निचय = A collection, heap. 7. विषय = An object or विशेष. 8. निधन = Poor, indigent or विधान, निधान. 9. पर = Distant. 10. इन्द्र = The god of rain. 11. देव = Divine, celestial. 12. मुण्ड = Shaved, bald. 13. भूत = Become, being. 14. भ्रमण = Sraman or भ्रमण. 15. वदन् = Liberal minded. 16. अध्यापक = A teacher. 17. अभिरूपक = Handsome. 18. ब्राह्मण = Brāhman. 19. क्षत्रिय = Kshatriya. 20. विशिष्ट = Distinguished, distinct. 21. पटु = Clever, skillful, dexterous. 22. पण्डित = Learned, wise. 23. कुशल = Right, proper, good. 24. क्षयल = Shaking, trembling, tremulous. 25. निपुण = Skillful, dexterous. 26. कृपण = Wretched, helpless.

आकृतिगणोऽयम्

1. कृत = Done, performed, made. 2. मित = Measured. 3. मद् = Thought, believed, supposed. 4. मृत = Produced, formed. 5. उक्त = Said, spoken, uttered. 6. युक्त = Joined, united. 7. समाज्ञात = Known or understood thoroughly. 8. समान्नात = Repeated, recited. 9. समाख्यात = Reckoned up, counted, summed up. 10. संभावित = Considered, supposed, imagined. 11. संवेदित = Served. 12. अश्वधारित = Ascertained, known. 13. अवकल्पित = Corresponded with, answered. 14. निराकृत = expelled, banished. 15. उपकृत = Assisted, benefited, served &c. 16. उपाकृत = Invited. 17. दृष्ट = Seen, looked, perceived. 18. कलित = Counted. 19. कलित =

Broken, torn, rent, burst. 20. उदाहृत = Said, uttered. 21. विभूत = Well-known, renowned. 22. उद्दिष्ट = Risen.

क्तेन नञ्विशिष्टेनानञ् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तेन, नञ्-विशिष्टेन,
अनञ्, (स०त०वि०स०समानधि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्प्रैव विशेषो यस्य सर्वमन्यत् प्रकृत्यादिकं तुल्यं तत्तन्निशिष्टं तेन नञ्विशिष्टेन
क्तेनानेन समानाधिकरणेन सह अनञ् क्तान्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कृतापकृतादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥ १ ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ समानाधिकरणाधिकारे शाकपार्थिव्यादीनामुपसंख्यानम्, उत्तरपदलोपश्च ॥ २ ॥

60. A word ending with the affix kta, and not having the negative augment nañ is compounded with the same word ending with the affix kta but which is distinguished from the former, by having the augment nañ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus कृताकृतम् 'done and not done,' भुक्ताभुक्तं 'eaten and not eaten,' पीता-
पीतं 'drunk and not drunk,' उद्दिष्टानुद्दिष्टं 'spoken and not spoken.'

The intermediate augment न् or the इ, as in the following two examples, do not make the forms dissimilar. अशितानशितेन जीवति, क्षिष्टा-
क्षिशितेन वर्तते ॥

Vart:—The compounds कृतापकृत &c. should also be included.

भाकृतिगणोऽयम्

1. कृतापकृत. 2. भुक्तविभुक्त. 3. पीतविपीत. 4. गतप्रत्यागत. 5. वातानुवात.
6. कदाक्रयिका. 7. पुत्रपुटिका. 8. फलाफलिका. 9. मानोन्मादिका.

Vart:—The compounds like शाकपार्थिव should also be enumerated, and there is elision of the second member in these compounds. As शाकपार्थिवः पार्थिवः
= शाकपार्थिवः 'the king beloved by the people of his era.' i.e. an era making king.

1. शाकपार्थिव. 2. कुतपसोभुत. 3. अजातोन्वति.

सन्महत्परमोत्तमोत्कृष्टाः पूज्यमानैः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्-महत्-
परम-उत्तम-उत्कृष्टाः, पूज्यमानैः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत् महत् परम उत्तम उत्कृष्ट इत्येते पूज्यमानैः सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो
भवति ॥

61. The words sat 'good,' mahat 'great,' parama 'highest,' uttama 'best,' and utkrishṭa 'excellent,' are compounded with the words denoting the person deserving of respect; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As सत्पुरुषः 'a good person,' महापुरुषः 'a great man,' परमपुरुषः 'the highest person,' उत्तमपुरुषः 'the best person,' उत्कृष्टपुरुषः 'the excellent person.'

Why do we say 'with words denoting the person deserving of respect?' Observe उत्कृष्टः गौः कर्हिमात् 'the ox was pulled out of the mud.'

वृन्दारकनागकुञ्जरैः पूज्यमानम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृन्दारक-नाग-कुञ्जरैः, पूज्यमानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृन्दारक नाम कुञ्जर इत्येते सह पूज्यमानवाचि सुबन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

62. A case-inflected word denoting object deserving of respect is compounded with the words vṛindāraka 'eminent,' nāga 'serpent or elephant,' kuñjara 'elephant'; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As गोवृन्दारकः 'an excellent bull or cow,' अश्ववृन्दारकः 'an excellent horse'. So also गोनागः, गोकुञ्जरः &c. Why do we say 'when meaning the object deserving of respect?' Observe सुषीमोनागः 'the serpent Susīma.'

कतरकतमौ जातिपरिग्रहे ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कतर-कतमौ, जातिपरिग्रहे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कतर-कतमौ जाति-परिग्रहे वर्तमानौ समर्थेन सुषा सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

63. The words katara 'which or who of two' and katama 'which or who of many', when used in asking questions about the genus or class, are compounded with other case-inflected words with which they are in construction, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As कतरकतः and कतरकालापः 'which of the two is katha, and which kālāpa?' कतमकतः and कतमकालापः 'which of these is katha &c.'

It might be objected, 'what is the use of employing the word जातिपरिग्रह in the aphorism; since the word कतम is especially employed in asking such questions; (see V. 3. 93) and the word कतर will get the same signification by being read along with it?' The very use of this phrase

in the aphorism shows that the word कतम has other meanings besides that of an interrogative pronoun, of determining jāti; as कतरो भवतोर्देवदत्तः 'which of you two, Sirs, is Devadatta,' and कतमो भवतो देवदत्तः 'which of you, Sirs, is Devadatta.' Here there is no questioning about jāti, all belonging to the same genus, hence there is no compounding. (Accent VI. 2. 57.)

किं क्षेपे ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्, क्षेपे, (स०त०स०समानाधि-
करणेनवि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमित्येतत् क्षेपे गम्यमाने सुपा सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

64. The word kim 'what,' when implying 'contempt,' is compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As किं राजा यो न रक्षति 'he is a bad king who does not protect his subjects.' किं सखा योऽभिद्रुहति 'he is a bad friend who hates.' किं गौः यो न वहति 'it is a bad ox that does not carry.'

The affix टच् (V. 4. 91) does not come after this compound as in महाराजः, मन्त्रराजः &c., by force of Rule V. 4. 70. Otherwise the form would have been किंराज and not किंराजा.

Why do we say 'when censure is implied?' Observe कस्य राजा = किं राजः 'whose king'; किंसलः

पोटायुवतिस्तोककतिपयशृष्टिधेनुवशावेहद्बकयणीप्रवक्तृश्रोत्रियाध्या-
पकधूर्तैर्जातिः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पोटा-युवति-स्तोक-कतिपय-शृष्टि-धेनु-
वशा-वेहद्-बकयणी-प्रवक्तृ-श्रोत्रिय-अध्यापक-धूर्तैः, जातिः, (स०सह०त०-
वि०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पोटादिभिः सह जातिवाचि सुबन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

65. A case-inflected word denoting a genus (jāti) is compounded with the words potâ 'a hermaphrodite,' yuvati, 'a young female,' stoka 'a little,' katipaya 'a few,' grishṭi 'a cow which has had only one calf,' dhenu 'milch-cow,' vaśâ 'a barren female,' vehad, 'a cow that miscarries,' bashkayaṇi 'a cow that has a full-grown calf,' pravaktri 'an expounder,' śrotriya 'a learned Brāhmaṇa,' adhyâpaka 'a teacher,' and dhūrta 'a cunning fellow; and' the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

As हनयोटा 'a young female elephant' हनयुवति 'a female elephant.' So also अग्निस्तोकः 'a little fire' उद्विशत् कलेषवन् 'a little butter milk,' गोगृष्टिः, गोधेनुः, गोवशाः, गोदेहत्, गोवम्कपणी, कठप्रवक्ता 'an expounder of Kaṭha', कठश्रोत्रिव, 'a Brāhmaṇa who has mastered the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda' कठाध्यापकः 'a teacher of the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda.'

Why do we say 'when denoting a genus or a common noun?' Observe देवदत्तः प्रवक्ता 'Devadatta expounder.'

The word धूर्त has not a bad signification here. Hence कठधूर्त means 'a Brāhmaṇa well versed in the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda.'

प्रशंसावचनैश्च ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि प्रशंसा-वचनैः, च, (स०त०वि०-जातिसह समानार्थे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचि सुबन्तं प्रशंसावचनैः सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

66. A case-inflected word denoting a genus (jāti) is compounded with a word denoting praise and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The words denoting praise should be rūḍhi (रूढि) words like मतल्लिका &c., which retain their specific gender though used along with words of other genders, in apposition with them, as, गोमकाण्डम् 'an excellent cow,' अश्व मतल्लिका 'an excellent horse' गोमचरिर्वैका 'an excellent cow.' These words are generally used at the end of a compound to denote 'excellence' or 'the best of its kind.'

Why do we say 'when denoting genus?' Observe कुमारी मतल्लिका 'an excellent virgin.'

युवा खलतिपलितवलिनजरतीभिः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ युवा, खलति-पलित-वलिन-जरतीभिः, (स०वि०त०स०सहसमानाधिकरणेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खलत्यादिभिः समानाधिकरणैः सह युवशब्दः समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

67. The word yuvā 'young,' is compounded with the words khalati, 'bald headed,' palita 'grey-haired' valina 'wrinkled,' jarati 'decayed,' when they are in agreement (same case); and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word जरतीभि is exhibited in the feminine gender, in the aphorism, with the object of indicating the existence of the following maxim of interpretation प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् ॥

'A Prātipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.'

As, युवा + खलतिः = युव^१खलतिः. So also युवतिः खलती = युवखलती in the feminine: 'bald in youth.' So युवनिः fem. युवनिता, 'grey-haired in youth' युवबन्निः fem. युवबलिना 'wrinkled in youth' युवजरन् fem. युवजरती 'appearing old in youth,' (prematurely old.)

कृत्यतुल्याख्या अजात्या ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य-तुल्य-आख्या , अजात्या , (स०वि०त०स०सु०)

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्य-प्रत्ययान्तास्तुल्यपर्यायाश्च सुबन्ता अजातिवचनेन समस्यन्ते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

68. Words ending with a kṛitya affix, and the word tulya 'equal,' and its synonyms, are compounded with words which do not denote genus (jāti) being in the same case with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, भोज्योष्णम् 'hot food,' भोज्यन्नवणं 'salt food' वानीयक्षीतलं 'cool drink,' तुल्यश्वेतः 'equally white,' सदृशश्वेतः 'equally white.' सदृशमहान् 'equally great.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting a genus?' Observe भोज्य भोदनः 'eatable rice.' Here the word भोज्य is used as an Adjective and not as a common noun. Hence there is no compounding even under II. 1. 57.

वर्णो वर्णेन ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णः , वर्णेन , (स०त०वि०सह समानाधि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्णविशेषवाचि सुबन्तं वर्णविशेषवाचिना सुबन्तेन समानाधिकरणेन सह समस्यते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

69. A case-inflected word denoting 'colour' is compounded with another case-inflected word which is in agreement with the former, and also denotes colour, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As कृष्णसारङ्गः 'spotted antelope,' लोहितसारङ्गः 'antelope dappled with red.' कृष्णशबलः 'dappled with black spots' &c. For accent VI. 2. 3.

black and
spotted
red and
spotted

कुमारः श्रमणादिभिः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमारः, श्रमण-आदिभिः,
(स०वि०त०स०समा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमारशब्दः श्रमणादिभिः सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

70. The word kumâra 'a boy' is compounded with co-ordinate words śramanâ 'an ascetic,' &c., and the compound is Tat-purusha.

In this list of श्रमण and the rest, with the words which are feminine such as श्रमणा, प्रव्रजिता, कुलटा, the word कुमार must also be in the feminine gender; with the words which appear as masculine, e.g. आचार्यक, अभिरूपक, पण्डित the word कुमार must also be masculine, because 'a Prâtīpadika denotes, whenever it is employed also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.

As, कुमारीश्रमणा and कुमारश्रमणा, 'a virgin ascetic or a bachelor ascetic.'

श्रमणादिः ॥

1. श्रमणा = Labouring, toiling. 2. प्रव्रजिता = Gone abroad or into exile. 3. कुलटा = An unchaste woman. 4. गर्भिणी = A pregnant female. 5. तपसी = A hermit, devotee. 6. दासी = A female servant. 7. बन्धकी = An unchaste woman. 8. आचार्यक = A teacher. 9. अभिरूपक = Handsome. 10. पण्डित = Learned, wise. 11. मृदु = Soft. 12. कुशल = Right, proper, good. 13. चपल = Shaking, trembling. 14. निपुण = Clever, sharp, skillful.

चतुष्पादो गर्भिण्या ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुष्पादः, गर्भिण्या,
(स०त०दु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुष्पादवाचिनः सुबन्ता गर्भिणी शब्देन समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ चतुष्पादजातिरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

71. A case-inflected word denoting a quadruped is compounded with the co-ordinate word gar-
bhinī, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

गोवर्भिणी 'a pregnant cow.' भजावर्भिणी 'a pregnant she-goat.'

Vart:—It should be stated that the rule is confined to the words denoting genus of quadrupeds. So not here:—कालाक्षी गर्भिणी or स्वस्तिमती गर्भिणी 'the pregnant cow called Kālākṣhī or Svastimati.'

Why do we say 'quadrupeds?' Observe गजाणी गर्भिणी .

मयूरव्यंसकादयश्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयूर-व्यंसक-आदयः, च, स०त०वि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुदाया एव निपात्यन्ते मयूरव्यंसकादयः शब्दास्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञाश्च भवन्ति ॥

72. And the words mayūra-vyamsakā 'cunning like a peacock,' &c., are Tat-purusha compounds.

These are irregularly formed Tat-purusha compounds. The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of restriction. For though the compound like मयूरव्यंसक is allowable, we cannot form a compound like परम मयूरव्यंसक.

St. J. K. Kāmas

The following is the list of such compounds :—

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मयूरव्यंसकादयः ॥

1. मयूरव्यंसक. 2. छान व्यंसक. 3. कम्बोजमुष्ट. 4. यवनमुष्ट. 5. हस्ते-गृह्य or हस्तगृह्य in the Vedas. 6. पादगृह्य or पादगृह्य. 7. लाङ्गूलेगृह्य or लाङ्गूलेगृह्य. 8. पुनर्धय ॥ एहीडादयो अन्यपदार्थे as, 9. एहीडं वर्तते. 10. एहियं वर्तते ॥ 11. एहिवाणिजा (क्रिया). 12. अपेहिवाणिजा. 13. प्रेहिवाणिजा. 14. एहिस्वागता. 15. अपेहिस्वागता. 16. एहिद्वितीया. 17. अपेहिद्वितीया. 18. प्रेहिद्वितीया. 19. एहिकटा. 20. अपेहिकटा or अपोहटका. 21. प्रेहिकटा or प्रोहकटा. 22. आहरकरटा. 23. प्रेहिकर्मा. 24. प्रोहिकर्मा. 25. निधमचूडा. 26. उद्धमचूडा. 27. उद्धरचूडा. 28. आहरचैना. 29. आहर वसना. 30. (आहरसेना). 31. आहरचनिता. 32. (आहरचनिता). 33. कृन्तविचक्षणा. 34. उद्धरोत्सृजा. 35. उद्धरावसृजा. 36. उद्धमविधमा. 37. उत्पन्ननिपचा or निपचा. 38. उत्पन्ननिपता. 39. उच्चावचम्. 40. उच्चनीचम्. 41. आचोपचम्. 42. आचपराचम्. 43. नत्पचम्. 44. निधमचम्. 45. अर्किचन. 46. स्नात्वाकालक. 47. पीत्वास्थिरक. 48. भुक्त्वासुहित. 49. प्रोष्यपापीयान्. 50. उत्पत्यपाकला or व्याकुला. 51. निपत्यरोहिणी. 52. निषप-श्यामा. 53. अपेहिप्रपसा. 54. एहिनिपसा. 55. इहपञ्चमी. 56. इहद्वितीया ॥ जहि कर्मणा बहुलभाभीक्ष्ण्ये कर्तारं चाभिधाति. 57. जहिजोडः. 58. जहिजोडम्. 59. जहिस्तम्बम्. 60. (जहिस्तम्बः). 61. उज्जहिस्तम्बम् or च्च; आरच्यातमारच्यातेन क्रियासातत्वे. 62. अश्नीतपिबता. 63. पचतभृङ्गता. 64. खादतनोदता. 65. खादन-वमता. 66. खादताचमता. 67. आहरनिपचा. 68. आहरनिष्क्रिया. 69. आचप-निष्क्रिया. 70. उत्पन्नविपचा. 71. भिन्निजवणा. 72. कृन्तिविचक्षणा. 73. पचनचक्षणा. 74. पचप्रकृता.

आकृतिगणोऽयम्.

1. अकृतोऽभवः . 2. कान्दिर्णकः . 3. कन्दिशीकः . 4. भाहोपुरुषिका . 5. अहमहमिका . 6. यहच्छ . 7. एहिरेयाहिरा . 8. उन्मुजावमुजा . 9. द्रव्यान्तरम् . 10. अवश्यकार्यम् .

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॥ अथ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER II.

पूर्वापराधरोत्तरमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणे ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्व-अपर-
अधर-उत्तरम्, एकदेशिना, एकाधिकरणे, (स०त०वि०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकदेशोऽस्यास्तीत्येकदेशी अवयवी तद्व्याधिना सुबन्त्वेन सह पूर्वापराधरोत्तर-
शब्दाः सामर्थ्यादेकदेशवचनाः समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

1. The words *pūrva* 'front,' *apara* 'near,' *adhara* 'lower,' and *uttara* 'upper,' are compounded when in construction with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity; and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

The word '*ekādhikarāṇa*' (the unity of substance) is the attribute of or qualifies the word '*ekadeśin.*' This debars the Genitive *Tat-purusha* compound ordained by *sūtra* ⑨; which would have placed the words '*pūrva*' &c., last in the compound, whereas being here exhibited in the nominative case (I. 2. 43 and II. 2. 30), they take the precedence.

पूर्व + कायस्य = पूर्वकायः 'the front of the body'; अपरकायः 'the back of the body'; अधरकायः 'the lower part of the body'; and उत्तरकायः 'the upper part of the body.'

Why do we say 'what signifies a thing that has parts'? Observe पूर्व नाम्ने कायस्य. But not so in पूर्वे छात्राणामान्वय 'invite the fore-most of the pupils': because here the substratum (*adhikarāṇa*) is not unity (*eka*). But how do we get the compounds like मध्याह्नः 'noon'; सायाह्नः 'evening'? The word '*ahna*' is compounded with every word signifying its parts, because we learn this by inference from *sūtra* VI. 3. 110.

अर्द्धं नपुंसकम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्द्धम्, नपुंसकम्, (स०वि०त०सु०-
स०एकदेशिना एकाधिकरणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्द्धमित्येतन्नपुंसकमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणेन समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

2. The word अर्द्ध *ardha* when it signifies exactly equal parts i. e. halves, is always neuter, and is compounded with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing halved is numerically one; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word अर्द्ध is neuter when it means exactly equal parts or bisection.

The word एकदेशिन् and एकाधिकरण are understood here. This sūtra also debars sūtra 9; as अर्द्धपिप्पलाः = अर्द्धपिप्पली 'a half of the pepper'; अर्द्धकोशातकी 'a half of the Kośātaki.'

Why do we say 'when it is neuter'? Otherwise we have ग्रामार्द्धः 'half the village' नगरार्द्धः 'half the city.'

The word 'ekadeśin' must also be taken here. Thus in the sentence अर्द्धपशोर्वेवदास्य 'a half of the animal is of Devadatta'; we cannot compound the word 'ardha' with 'Devadatta.'

The word 'ekādhikarāṇa' must also be taken here. So we cannot compound अर्द्धपिप्पलीनाम् 'the half of the peppers.'

द्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थेतुर्यायन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीय-
तृतीय-चतुर्थ-तुर्याणि, अन्यतरस्याम्, (स०त०वि०एक-एक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयादीनि शब्दरूपाणि एकदेशिनैकाधिकरणेन सहान्यतरस्यां समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

3. The words dvitīya, 'second,' tṛitīya 'third,' chaturtha 'fourth,' and turya 'fourth,' are optionally compounded with that word which signifies a thing that has parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity. The compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

(४) This also debars sūtra 9. By the force of the word 'optionally' used here, II. 2. 9. also applies. The prohibition contained in II. 2. 11. as to the compounding of a genitive with an ordinal, does not apply here; for that rule can find its scope in other ordinals than those mentioned here.

As द्वितीयं भिक्षायाः = द्वितीयभिक्षा 'second begging.' When we apply sūtra 9, we have भिक्षाद्वितीयं. So also with the words तृतीयभिक्षा, चतुर्थभिक्षा, तुर्यभिक्षा.

Vart:—The word तुरीय 'fourth' should also be included. As भिक्षा-
तुरीयं or तुरीयभिक्षा.

But we cannot form compounds, for reasons given in the last sūtra, of the phrases द्वितीयं भिक्षाया भिक्षुकरश्च or द्वितीयं भिक्षाणाम् .

प्राप्तापक्ते च द्वितीयया ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राप्त-भापक्ते, च, द्वितीयया, (स०त०वि०स०सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राप्त भापञ्च इत्येतौ द्वितीयान्तेन सह समस्येते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

4. The words *prāpta* 'obtained,' and *āpanna* 'obtained' are optionally compounded with words ending in a second case-affix and form Tat-purusha compound.

The *anuvṛitti* of the words '*ekadeśin*' and '*ekādhikarapa*' does not exist here. This aphorism states an alternative course to rule II. 1. 24. Thus we have प्राप्तजीविकः (प्राप्नो जीविका) or जीविकाप्राप्तः 'obtained his livelihood.' So also आपन्नजीविकः or जीविकापन्नः .

कालाः परिमाणिना ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालाः, परिमाणिना, (स०-वि०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणमस्यास्तीति परिमाणो वद्वानिना सुबन्तेन सह सामर्थ्यात् परिमाणवचनाः कालशब्दाः समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

5. Words denoting time are compounded when in construction, with words denoting the object whose duration is measured by the time, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

5 This is also a kind of genitive compound. As मासो जातश्च = मासजातः 'a month old' (born a month ago.) So also संवत्सरजातः 'a year old.' द्व्यहजातः 'two-days' old.' &c.

नञ् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञ्, (समर्थःस०वि०त०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ् समर्थेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नम्रो नलीप, स्तब्धः क्षेपे ॥

6. The negative word *nañ* is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As न ब्राह्मणः = अभ्राह्मणः 'who is not a Brāhmaṇa,' (though a man). The न् of न is elided by VI. 3. 73:

Vart:—The न् of न is also elided even when the second member is a verb, provided that censure is implied as अवचसि स्वं ज्ञात्वा 'thou cookest not O knave.'

The word नम् has six senses:—(1) सादृश्य 'likeness or resemblance'; as भद्राक्षयः 'one like a Brāhmaṇa and wearing the sacred thread &c., but not a Brāhmaṇa, but a Kshatriya or a Vaisya.' (2) अभाव 'absence,' 'negation,' 'want,' or 'privation,' as अज्ञान 'absence of knowledge.' (3) भेदः 'difference' or 'distinction,' as अपरः 'not a cloth, but something different from or other than a cloth.' (4) अल्पता 'smallness,' 'diminution' used as diminutive particle, as अमृता 'having a slender waist.' (5) अमाश्रय 'badness,' 'unfitness,' having a depreciative sense, as अकाल 'wrong or improper time.' (6) विरोध 'opposition,' 'contrariety,' as अनीतिः 'opposite of morality,' 'immorality.'

ईषदकृता ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषद् , अकृता , (स०त०वि०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषदित्थं शब्दोऽकृत्येन सुपा सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ईषद् गुणवचनेनेतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

7. The word *ishat* 'a little,' is compounded with a case-inflected word which does not end with a *krit*-affix; and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

Vart:—It should be stated that the word ईषद् is only compounded with words expressing qualities (adjectives), as ईषत्कटारः 'a somewhat proud.' ईषत्पिङ्गलः 'a little brownish.' ईषद्विकटः 'a little hideous.' ईषदुन्नतः 'a little raised.' ईषत् पीतम् 'a little yellow.' ईषद्वस्त्रम् 'a little red.'

Why do we say 'with words expressing qualities'? Observe ईषद्गोमर्कः; there is no compounding here.

षष्ठी ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी , (स०वि०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षष्ठ्यन्तं सुबन्तं समर्थेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ह्रयोणा च षष्ठी समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction; and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

As राजः पुरुषो = राजपुरुषः 'the king's man' ब्राह्मणकन्ध्वलः 'the Brāhmaṇa's blanket.'

Vart:—When a word takes the genitive case because of its connection with a word ending in a *krit* affix; that word may be compounded with such a *krit* word. Rule II. 3. 65., states the conditions when a *krit*-formed

word governs the genitive case. Thus इजमन्नधनः 'a hatchet' (a fuel cutter), पलाशशायनः 'Palāsadestroyer. *leaf-cutter*

Why do we say so? The very fact that a special rule has been made for the compounding of genitive cases governed by kṛit-nouns, shows that other words which take genitive case by some special rule, are not so compounded. Such as the genitive cases ordained by II. 3. 38, 51, 52. In fact the genitive case ordained by any rule of Pāṇini, other than II. 3. 51, is a 'prātipadaviḍhāna' genitive; and a word taking genitive case according to those rules, is incapable of composition; see vārtika under II. 2. 10.

याजकादिभिश्च ॥ ८ ॥ यदानी ॥ याजक-आदिभिः, च, (सं-
तद्विमुक्तसंघटी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ याजकादिभिः सह यदी समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तस्यैव गुणैः यदी समस्यते इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गुणोत्तरेण तत्त्वोपपत्तिरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

9. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with the word yājaka 'sacrificer' &c., and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The compound which was ordained by the last aphorism, would have been prohibited by Rule 16 in the case of याजक &c.; hence the necessity of the present aphorism to guard against such a prohibition. As ब्राह्मणयाजकः 'a Brāhmaṇa's sacrificer.' क्षत्रिययाजकः 'one who sacrifices for Kshatriyas.

(याजकादि).

1. याजक . 2. पूजक . 3. परिचारक . 4. परिवेषक . 5. परिषेचक .
6. स्नापक or स्नातक . 7. भक्षापक . 8. उत्साहक or उत्सावक . 9. उद्दत्तक .
10. होतृ . 11. मर्त्य . 12. रथगणक . 13. पत्तिगणक . 14. पौतृ . 15. कृत् .
16. वर्तक .

Vart:—A word in the genitive case is compounded with a word expressing a quality which abides in the former word. As ब्राह्मणवर्णः 'Brāhmaṇa-caste.' चन्दनगन्धः 'sandal-scent.' कपित्थरसः 'the wood-apple juice.'

Vart:—So also with an adjective in the comparative degree; and the sign of comparison त्व is elided. Thus सर्वेषां श्वेततरः = सर्वश्वेतः 'the whitest of all.' सर्वेषां महत्तरः = सर्वमहान् 'the greatest among all.' This 'vārtika' is an exception in anticipation to the next sūtra which prohibits composition, when the genitive has the force of specification. Thus सर्वशुक्ला गोः 'a cow whitest among all.'

न निर्द्धारणे ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, निर्द्धारणे, (सप्तविंश-
संख्ये) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्द्धारणे वा षष्ठी सा न समस्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रतिपदविधाना च षष्ठी न समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

10. A word in the genitive case is not compounded with another, when the force of the sixth case-affix is that of specification (nirdhâraṇa).

With this sūtra, begins a series of exceptions to the composition of words in the genitive case. The separation of one from the many, on account of its genus, attribute and action, is called 'nirdhâraṇa.' As क्षत्रियो मनुष्याणां शूरतमः 'the Kshatriya is the most powerful amongst men.' कृष्णा गवां संपन्नधीरतमः 'the black cow is the most milk-giving amongst cows.' धावन्नधमानां शीघ्रतमः 'the runner is the swiftest amongst walkers.' This form of genitive meaning 'amongst,' is ordained by sūtra II. 3. 41.

Vart:—A word taking a genitive-case by force of any rule other than sūtra II. 3. 50, is never compounded. See sūtra 8. Thus the following words are never compounded सर्पिषोक्तानम्, मधुनोक्तानम्.

पूरणगुणसुहितार्थसद्व्ययतव्यसमानाधिकरणेन ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥
पूरण-गुण-सुहित-अर्थ-सद्-अव्यय-तव्य-समानाधिकरणेन (षष्ठीन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूरण गुण सुहितार्थ सद् अव्यय तव्य समानाधिकरण इत्येते सह षष्ठी न समस्यते ॥

11. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word having the sense of an ordinal, an attribute, or satisfaction, or with a participle ending in the affix called 'sat' (III. 2. 127) or an indeclinable, or ending with the affix *tavya*, or with a word denoting the same object (i. e., when they are in apposition).

The word 'artha' joins with all the first three words, as (1) छात्राणां पंचम. 'fifth amongst the pupils;' छात्राणाम् दशम. (2) काकस्य काण्व्यम् 'the blackness of the crow,' बलाकायाः शौर्यम्. (3) फलानां सुहितः 'satisfied of fruits;' फलानां दधः. (4) ब्राह्मणस्य कर्त्तव्यम् 'the doing of a Brāhmaṇa;' ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वाणः 'the doing of a Brāhmaṇa. (5) ब्राह्मणस्य कुरा 'being done of Brāhmaṇa,' ब्राह्मणस्य हुत्वा. (6) ब्राह्मणस्य कर्त्तव्यम्. When however the affix is तव्यम् having the indicatory न् (III. 1. 96.) there is compounding as ब्राह्मणकर्त्तव्यं 'the Brāhmaṇa's duty.' (7) राजः पाटलिपुत्रकस्य 'of the king Pataliputraka' पाणिनेः सूत्रकारस्य 'of the sūtra composer

Pāṇini. We can however form a compound like the following सूत्रकारपाणिनिः । By the general rule relating to words in apposition contained in sūtra II. 1. 57, the difference between that sūtra and the present, is as to position of the words. In the genitive compound the genitive word would have stood first if compounded ; not so in the other, there the quality stands first.

क्तेन च पूजायाम् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तेन , च , पूजायाम् , (स० षष्ठी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तेन च पूजायां विहितस्तेन षष्ठी न समस्त्वते ॥

12. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of 'kta' is to denote 'respect' &c.

The affix क्त is added in the sense of inclination, understanding 'or respect by sūtra III. 2. 188. The present sūtra alludes to that aphorism when it uses the word पूजाः and pūjā itself is used only as an illustration and includes the other two significations of 'kta' also, namely mati 'inclination,' and buddhi 'understanding.'

As राज्ञां मतः—बुद्धः—पूजितः 'the king wishes, understands or respects'

Why do we say 'when meaning respect'? When 'kta' has not this signification there is compounding. As छात्रहसितं 'pupil's laughing.'

अधिकरणवाचिना च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरण-वाचिना , च , (स० षष्ठी न क्तेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणवाचिना क्तेन षष्ठी न समस्त्वते ॥

13. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of the latter is to denote 'locality' in which something has happened.

When the affix क्त is attached to roots denoting 'fixedness, motion or eating', it gives the sense of agent and of location in connection with the action denoted by the roots i. e., that the action is located by the agent in this or that site (III. 4. 76); as इदमेवां यातम् 'here they have gone.' इदमेवां भुक्तम् 'here they have eaten.'

कर्मणि च ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि , च , (स० षष्ठी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि च या षष्ठी सा न समस्त्वते ॥

14. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with another, when the force of the genitive case is that of the accusative.

The anuvṛitti of कृ does not extend to this aphorism. The word karma qualifies shashṭhi. Sūtra II. 3. 66 declares the conditions when, instead of the accusative, the genitive may be employed *i. e.*, when the agent and the object of the action denoted by the nouns formed by kṛit affixes, are both used in a sentence, the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent; as आश्वत्थो गवां दधोऽभोपालकेन 'the milking of cows without a cowherd is a wonder.' रोचते भोदः नस्य भोजनं देवदत्तेन 'eating of rice agrees with Devadatta.' साधु खनु पयसः पानं देवदत्तेन 'the drinking of milk by Devadatta is indeed excellent.' विविधा सूत्रस्य कृतिः पाणिनिना 'wonderful is the structure of sūtras by Pāṇini.'

वृजकाभ्यां कर्तरि ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृज-अकाभ्याम्, कर्तरि,
(संषष्ठी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि वा षष्ठी सा वृजकाभ्याम् न सह न समस्यते ॥

15. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'trich' or 'aka,' when the force of the genitive case is that of an agent.

The word 'kartari' qualifies the genitive-case. The affix वृज् is taught in sūtra III. 1. 133, and the affix अकृ is not a single affix; all affixes that have an element वृ are अकृ; such as वृवृत् or वृम् or वृन् (sūtra VII. 1. 1.) Thus अवतः शायिका 'your honor's repose' अवत आशिका 'your eating' अवतोऽगगामिका 'your going in front.'

The affix वृज् is employed always in forming nouns of agency; hence there can be no example of a word in a genitive case having the force of an agent, governing another word also having the force of an agent. The वृज् therefore serves no purpose in this aphorism, but applies to the sūtras that follow.

The genitive has the force of an agent under conditions mentioned in II. 3. 65.

Why do we say 'when it denotes agent'? Observe इधुमस्तिकां ने धारयति.

कर्तरि च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, च (संषष्ठीनवृजकाभ्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि च वो वृजको ताभ्यां सह षष्ठी न समस्यते ॥

16. A word ending with the sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'trich' or 'aka' affix when the force of these latter affixes is that of an agent.

The word 'kartari' qualifies the word 'aka' only and not 'trich,' for the latter always denotes the agent and nothing else.

As अर्वा स्रज् 'the creator of waters' पुरा नेत्रा 'the destroyer of cities' वज्रस्य भर्ता 'the holder of thunderbolt.'

It might be suggested that the word भर्तृ being read in the class of धातुक (sūtra 9) ought to be compounded. The word भर्तृ there means 'husband,' while in the example we have given, it means 'holder.'

The above are examples of words formed by कृच्. Now we shall give examples of words formed by भक्; thus भोजनस्य भोजकः 'the eater of rice,' सक्तुना पायकः 'the drinker of saktu.'

नित्यं क्रीडाजीविकयोः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, क्रीडा-जीविकयोः, (सु०त०षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीडायां जीविकायां च निरर्थं षष्ठी समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

17. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending with aka, when these affixes denote a sport or a livelihood; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This is a Nitya-samāsa incapable of analysis. This anuvṛtti of the word 'na' which began with sūtra 10, does not extend further. The affix कृच् never has the sense of sporting or livelihood; the only examples possible are of 'aka.' Thus उद्दालकपुष्पभञ्जिका 'a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which uddālaka flowers are broken or crushed.' So also वारण्यपुष्पप्रचायिका 'a play of gathering flowers.'

So also दन्तलेखकः 'one who earns his bread by painting or marking the teeth.' नखलेखकः 'a nail-painter by profession.' iron-earner

Why do we say 'when meaning sporting or livelihood.' Observe भोजनस्य भोजकः.

कुगतिप्रादयः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कु-गति-प्र-आदयः, (सु०त०-नित्यसमर्थः सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कु गति प्रादयः समर्थेन शब्दान्तरेण सह निरर्थं समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रादयो गताद्यर्थे प्रथमया ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भयादयः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे द्वितीयया ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भवादयः क्रुडाद्यर्थे तृतीयया ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पर्यादयो ग्नानाद्यर्थे चतुर्थया ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ निरादयः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे पञ्चम्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इवेन सह निरर्थसमासो विभक्त्यलोपः पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरस्य च वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रादिप्रसङ्गे कर्मप्रवचनीयानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

18. The indeclinable word *ku* 'bad,' the particles called *gati*, and the prepositions *pra*, &c., are invariably compounded with other words with which they are in construction; and the resulting compound is *Tat-purusha*.

The word *ku* means 'badness or sin'; as, *कुपुरुषः* 'a sinful man'; (2) *Gati* (I. 4. 60) as, *उररीकृतं* 'having asserted'; (I. 4. 61.) *बहूरीकरोति* ॥

So also with the words *प्र* &c., when they are mere particles and not used as 'upasargas,' or 'gati'; as *दुर्* meaning 'bad,' in *दुष्पुरुषः* 'a bad man'; so also *सु* and *भस्ति* meaning 'respect' in *सुपुरुषः* 'honorable man'; *भस्तिपुरुषः* 'excellent man'; *आ* means 'a little' as *आपिङ्गलः* 'brownish.

Generally these are attributive words but they are found elsewhere also, as *कोष्णं* or *कटुष्णम्* or *कवोष्णम्* 'tepid.' So also *दुष्कृतम्*, *भस्तिस्तुतम्* and *आवहम्* ॥

Vart:—The words *प्र* &c., when the sense is that of 'gone' or the like, combine with what ends with the first case-affix. Thus *प्राचक्षते*: 'a heretory teacher'; so also *प्रान्वेषासी*.

Vart:—The words *भस्ति* &c., when the thing denoted has the sense of 'gone beyond' or the like, combine with what ends with the second case affix. As *भस्तिक्कान्तः खट्वाद्* = *भस्तिखट्वाद्*: (I. 2. 44 and 48) 'without a bed-stead,' *भस्तिमालः* 'exceeding the necklace in beauty.'

Vart:—The words *भव* &c., when the thing denoted is 'cried out' &c., are compounded with what ends with third case-affix as *भवकुटः कोकिलया* = *भवकोकिलः* 'what is announced by the cuckoo' i. e., the Spring.

Vart:—The words *परि* &c., when the thing denoted is 'weary' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fourth case-affix as *परिग्लानोऽध्ययनाच्च* = *पर्यध्ययनः* 'weary of study.' *भलकुमारिः* 'wealth' (sufficient to support a maiden).

Vart:—The words *निर्* &c., when the thing denoted is 'gone beyond' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fifth case-affix, as *निष्कौशाम्बिः* 'who has gone beyond Kausāmbi'; so also *निर्बाराणसिः*.

Vart:—A word enters into composition with *इव* 'like'; and there is no elision of the case-affix, and the first member of the compound retains its natural accent, as *वागयार्थविद्वि* 'like a word and its meaning,' *वाससीद्व* 'like two garments.'

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of *प्र* &c., when they are 'Karma pravachaniya'; as *वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतते विद्युत्* 'the lightening flashes in the direction of the tree.' *साधु देवदत्तो मातरं प्रति* 'Devadatta is good towards his mother.'

उपपदमतिङ् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपपदम्, अतिङ् (स०त०-
नि०समर्थःसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपदमतिङ् सर्वेण शुब्दान्तरेण च सह सम्बन्धे तत्पुरुषस्य समासो भवति ॥

19. An upapada or attendant word (III. 1. 92), which does not end with a tense-affix (III. 4. 78) is invariably compounded with that with which it is in construction. The compound thus formed is Tat-purusha.

Thus कुम्भकारः 'one who makes pots,' नगरकारः 'one who makes cities.'

Why do we say 'which does not end with a tense-affix'? Observe एधानाहारको व्रजति 'he goes to bring fuel.

It might be objected, that the question of compounding with a word ending in a tense-affix is irrelevant; since the anuvṛitti of the words सुप् सुप् is understood here, so that तिङ् will find no scope. To this we reply that we should infer that the words सुप् सुप् should not be read into this and the last aphorism. The following Paribhāṣha also arises from this sūtra.

गतिकारको उपपदानां कृतिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुवृत्त्यतः ॥

"It should be stated that Gatis, Kārakas, and Upapadas, are compounded with bases that end with kṛit-affixes, before a case-termination or feminine-affix has been added to the latter."

The result is that Upapadas and Gatis are not compounded by sūtras 18 and 19 with case-inflected nouns, but they are compounded with primary nouns before a case-termination or feminine affix is added to the latter. The same considerations apply to kārakas also. Thus भर्तृक्रीती 'a female brought in exchange for a horse,' is formed correctly. भर्तृक्रीतः क्रीयते सा = भर्तृक्रीतः क्रीतः; add ङीप् (IV. 1. 50) and we have भर्तृक्रीती. If on the other hand, the feminine affix टाप् had been added to क्रीत previous to its composition with भर्तृक्रीत the form would have been भर्तृक्रीता, and we should have had no base ending with short भ and in that case ङीप् could not have been added by IV. 1. 50.

अनैवावयवेन ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अमा, एव, अवयवेन (स०त०-
नि०स०उपपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवयवेनोपपदस्य च समासः सोऽनैव भवति नाम्नेन ॥

20. When an upapada is compounded with an indeclinable, then it is compounded only with those avyayas which end in the affix अम्.

This makes a restriction to the general compounding of upapadas with avyayas as ordained by the last rule. As स्वादुकारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats having made his food sweet.' So also लवणकारं 'having seasoned.' The avyayas ending in भम् are formed by the affix तमुन् (III. 4. 26) &c.

Why do we say 'with avyayas ending in भम्'? Observe कालो भोक्तुम् 'the time of eating.' Here the avyaya ends in उम् of the affix तमुन् added by rule III. 3. 167 (the affix tumun may be applied, when the word in construction is not a verb, but काल, समय or वेला 'time.')

The force of the word 'only' is to indicate that this composition takes place in those cases where a rule ordains भम् only, after any root with regard to any upapada; so that no composition will take place where the affix भम् as well as another affix is ordained after a root with certain upapadas. Thus sūtra III. 4. 24, declares: "the affixes क्त्वा and तमुन् come after a verb when the words भवे, प्रपन्न and पूर्व are upapadas." Here the भम् (affix तमुन्) is not the sole affix ordained; but there is a co-ordinate affix with it namely क्त्वा. Therefore in भवेभोजम् 'having first eaten' there is no composition because भवेभोजम् is not the only form we can have; for, भवेभुक्त्वा is also used in the same sense.

तृतीयाप्रभृतीन्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-प्रभृतीनि अन्यतरस्याम् (स०त०उ०अमैवावयवेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपशंसस्वतीयायाभिरवतः प्रभृति बान्युपपदानि तान्यमैवावयवेन सहान्यतरस्यां समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

21. An upapada ending with a third case-affix (III. 4. 47) &c., is compounded optionally with an indeclinable formed by the affix अम् and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The term भम् is understood here. The upapadas ending with a third case-affix &c., are given in sūtra III. 4. 47 and the sūtras that follow. As मूलकोपशं भुङ्क्ते or मूलकोनोपशं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats after having relished the food with radish.' So also पार्श्वोपपीड or पार्श्वोरुपपीडन् रोते (III. 4. 49) 'he lies pressing on his ribs.' For upapadas ending with other cases, see sūtra III. 4. 52 &c. This being an optional rule, it is not necessary that the upapada should be tulya-vidhāna with the भम्; so that this optional compounding may take place even under rule III. 4. 59 where भम् is not the only affix enjoined, but there is क्त्वा as well. This vibhāṣhā may therefore be called both प्राज्ञ and अप्राज्ञ vibhāṣhā. It is प्राज्ञ with regard to those rules where भम् is the only affix employed; and it is अप्राज्ञ with regard to those where अम् is not the only affix.

क्त्वा च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्त्वा , च, (स०त०तृतीयाप्रभृत्यन्य-
न्यतरस्यान् उप०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्त्वाप्रत्ययेन सह दत्तोवा प्रभृतीन्वुपपदानि अन्यतरस्यां समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च
समासो भवति ॥

22. An upapada ending with a third case-affix or any other of the remaining four cases, is optionally compounded with a word ending with the affix *ktvá*; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This rule provides for avyayas ending in क्त्वा which the last two rules did not provide. Thus we have क्त्वैः कृत्वा or क्त्वैः कृता . Here the affix क्त्वा is added by sūtra III. 4. 59. In the case when there is composition, the क्त्वा is replaced by the substitute क्यप्; otherwise not. See VII. 1. 37.

The condition of the upapadas being in the 3rd case &c., applies here also. Therefore there is no composition in अलं कृत्वा or खलु कृत्वा .

शेषो बहुव्रीहिः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषः , बहुव्रीहिः (स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषः समासो बहुव्रीहितंती भवति ॥

23. The remaining compound is called Bahuvrīhi.

A compound which does not fall within any one of the rules given above, will be Bahuvrīhi. This is a governing aphorism and extends up to sūtra 28. Thus चिन्नगुः 'possessed of a brindled cow.'

अनेकमन्यपदार्थे ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनेकम् , अन्य-पद-अर्थे (स०-
बहुव्रीहिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनेकं सुबन्तमन्यपदार्थे वर्तमानं समस्यते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुव्रीहिः समानाधिकरणानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अव्ययानां च बहुव्रीहिवक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ समन्वयमानपूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदलोपश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ समुदायविकारपक्षेण बहुव्रीहिरुत्तरपदलोपश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रादिभ्यो धातुमस्योत्तरपदस्य लोपश्च वा बहुव्रीहिवक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नमोऽस्त्यर्थानां बहुव्रीहिर्वा चोत्तरपदलोपश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुबधिकारेऽस्तिषीरादीनां बहुव्रीहिवक्तव्यः ॥

24. Two or more words, ending in any case-affix, form a compound, denoting another new thing, not connoted by those words individually; and the compound is called Bahuvrīhi.

The Bahuvrhi compound comes ^{a village to which water has come} with the force of all the affixes but the first; as ^{ग्राममुत्तमं ग्रामं} = ^{ग्रामोद्गतो ग्रामः} 'a water-reached village.' ^{रुद्रायो जगाम्} 'a bull by whom a cart is drawn.' ^{उपहृतपशूनाः} 'Rūdra to whom cattle is offered,' ^{उद्वोदना स्थाली} 'a vessel ⁱⁿ which rice ^{has been} placed.' ^{विजगुर्देवतः} 'Devadatta ^{of whom there is} possessed of a brindled cow.' ^{वीरपुरुषको ग्रामः} 'a village ^{in which there are} possessed of heroic men.'

Bahuvrhi compound is not formed with the sense of the first case. As ^{वृष्टे देवे गतः} 'gone when it had rained.'

Why do we say 'more than one'? So that there may be compounding of many words, as in the following verse:—

सुसूक्ष्मजटकेन सुजगामिनवाससा । पुत्री पर्वतराजस्य कुतो हेतोर्विवाहिता ॥ .

'Why was the daughter of the king of the mountains married by Siva possessed of beautifully-delicate-locked-hair, and cheap-deer-skin-dress.'

Vart:—Bahuvrhi compounds are formed of words having the same case, so that words not being in apposition are not so compounded; as ^{पंचमिर्मुक्त-मस्य} .

Vart:—The compounds of indeclinables are Bahuvrhi; as ^{उच्चैर्मुखः} 'possessed of raised mouth.' So also नीचैर्मुखः &c.

Vart:—The second member is elided in a Bahuvrhi compound of which the first member is a word in the locative case, or a word with which comparison is made (^{उपमान}). As, ^{कण्ठे स्थितः काजोऽस्य} = ^{कण्ठे कालः} 'in whose throat there is blackness (Siva).' ^{उरसिजीमः} 'who has hair on his chest.' ^{उष्ट्रस्य मुखमिव मुखं यस्य सः} = ^{उष्ट्रमुखः} 'he whose face is like that of a camel.' ^{खरमुखः} 'ass-faced.'

Vart:—Bahuvrhi compound may be formed after eliding the second member with a word in the sixth case denoting 'collection or modification.' As ^{केशानां संघातः} = ^{केशसंघातः} , ^{केशसंघातभूडाऽस्य} = ^{केशचूडः} 'he who has a collection of hair as crest.' ^{सुवर्णस्य विकारोऽजकारोऽस्य} = ^{सुवर्णजकारः} 'he who has ornaments made of gold.'

Vart:—The optional compounding of what arises from a verbal root coming after ^अ &c. should be stated, and the elision of the subsequent term. As ^{प्रपतितं पण्यमस्य} = ^{प्रपतः} 'a tree of which the leaves are all fallen.' So also ^{प्रपलायः} .

Vart:—The compounding of words signifying what exists, coming after the negative ^{नञ्} should be stated, and the optional elision of the second of the terms. As, ^{अविद्यमानं पुत्री यस्य} = ^{अपुत्रः} 'childless.' So also ^{अभाज्यः} 'wifeless.'

Vart:—Compounds like ^{अस्तिक्षीरा} should be stated as Bahuvrhi. As ^{अस्तिक्षीरा ब्राह्मणो} 'a Brāhmaṇi having milk.' These words are indeclinables. The word 'asti' here is an indeclinable though appearing as a verb.

संख्ययाऽव्ययासत्तादूराधिकसंख्याः संख्येये ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥
 संख्यया , अव्यय-आसन्न-अदूर-अधिक-संख्याः , संख्येये , (स०बहुव्रीहिःसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्येये वा संख्या वर्तते तथा सहाव्ययासत्तादूराधिकसंख्याः समस्यन्ते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

25. Indeclinable words and the words āsanna 'near,' adūra 'near,' adhika 'more' and the words called saṅkhyā (Numerals) are compounded with another saṅkhyā word, when ^{that other word refers to an object to be counted (i.e. when it is used as an adi rather than as a noun).} the sense is that of a numeral or saṅkhyā. The compound is Bahuvrīhi.

Thus उपद्मः (V. 4. 73) 'those who are near ten i.e. nine or eleven.' Similarly उपविशः 'nineteen or twenty-one' (VI. 4. 142). So also आसन्नः 'nine or eleven.' अदूरः 'nine or eleven.' अधिकः 'eleven.'

So also two 'numerals' may be compounded; as, द्विषाः 'two or three.' द्विशः 'twenty.'

Why do we say 'with a numeral'? Observe पंच ब्राह्मणाः 'five Brāhmanas.'

Why do we say 'with an Indeclinable &c'? Witness ब्राह्मणाः पंच. Why do we say 'when denoting a numeral'? Observe अधिका विग्रहि गर्वान् 'of cows more than twenty.'

दिङ्नामान्यन्तराले ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिङ्-नामानि , अन्तराले (स०बहु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिङ्नामानि सुबन्तानि अन्तराले वाच्ये समस्यन्ते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सर्वनाम्नो वृत्तिभावे पुंस्त्वयः ॥

26. Words which are the names of the points of the compass are compounded, when the compound signifies the intermediate point, and the compound so formed is Bahuvrīhi.

Thus दक्षिणपूर्वः dakshina-pūrvā, 'south-east,' (the direction midway between south and east.) पूर्वोत्तरा 'north-east.'

The word नाम is introduced in the sūtra to indicate that no compounding takes place when the words denoting direction are derivative words whose primary signification is not indicative of direction; as ऐन्द्रपथकोविर्वाथ विशोर्यदन्तरालम् 'the point between east and north.' Here the words ऐन्द्री 'east' and कोविरी 'north' though denoting directions, are derivatively so, and hence no compounding.

Vart:—Whenever a Bahuvrīhi gets the designation of Sarvanāman (I. 1. 28, 29), the first term becomes masculine, by VI. 3. 34; as हस्तिना + वृत्ता = हस्तिवृत्ता ॥

तत्र तेनेदमिति सरूपे ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, तेन, इदम्, इति, सरूपे (स० बहुव्रीहिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सतम्यन्ते सरूपे परे तेनेति च द्वितीयान्ते इदमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे समस्यते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

27. Two homonymous words, both being in the locative case or both being in the instrumental case) are compounded, the sense being 'this happens therein or with that.' The compound so formed is Bahuvrīhi.

The word तत्र means 'a word in the locative case,' and तेन 'a word in the instrumental case.' The word सरूप or 'similar form' applies to both. The word इति indicates that the meaning of the compound so formed should be learned from popular usage, therefore it means, 'seizing, striking, fighting.' All these senses are implied by इति. The word is exhibited in the locative case, if the sense is that of seizing; and the word is exhibited in the instrumental case, when the sense is that of striking; the word indicated by the word इदमिति is इदम्; as केशेषुकेशेषु च गृहीत्वा इदं युद्धं वृत्तं = केशाकेशि (VI. 3. 137 and V. 4. 127.) 'hair to hair, fighting by pulling each other's hair'; कचाकचि 'hair against hair'; एण्डेथ एण्डेथ मृदस्य इदं युद्धं वृत्तं = एण्डाएण्डि 'stick against stick, fight with stick and stave,' so also मृगलामृगली. In the above examples the samāsānta affix इप् is added at the end by rule V. 4. 127; and all such words are Avyaya or indeclinable. The final vowel of the first term is lengthened by Rule VI. 3. 137.

Why do we say 'having the same form'? We cannot form such a compound from the following: हस्तेन मुपलेथ मृदस्य इदं युद्धं वृत्तम्.

तेन सहेति तुल्ययोगे ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन, सह-इति, तुल्ययोगे, (स० बहुव्रीहिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहेत्येतच्छुद्धं तुल्ययोगे वर्तमानं तेनेति द्वितीयान्तेन सः समस्यते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

28. The word saha 'together' is compounded with a word ending with the third case-affix and the compound is Bahuvrīhi; provided that, the companion and the person accompanied are equally affected by any action or thing, in the same manner.

Thus सह पुत्रेणागतः = सपुत्रः (VI. 3. 82, सह changed to स) 'he has come accompanied by his son'. सख्यजनः 'accompanied by the pupil.' सकर्मकरः 'accompanied by the servant.'

Why do we say 'tulya-yoga'? Witness सहेव दशानिः पुत्रैर्गारं वहति गर्वणी 'the she-ass carries the whole burden, though there exist her ten sons.'

How do we get the forms like सकर्मकः, सजीमकः, सपक्षकः &c., in which there is no 'tulya-yoga'? It shows that this condition is of limited operation (सुल्य योगवचनं प्रायिकं).

चार्थे द्वन्द्वः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ च-अर्थे, द्वन्द्वः, (स०अनेकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनेकं सुबन्तं चार्थे वर्तमानं समस्यते द्वन्द्वश्च समासो भवति ॥

29. When a set of several words ending with case-affixes stands in a relation expressible by 'and' the set is made into a compound; and the compound so formed is called Dvandva.

The meanings that may be indicated by च 'and' are four, (1) समुच्चयः 'community of reference,' (2) अन्वाचय 'collateralness of reference, (3) इतरेतरबोधः 'mutual conjunction' and (4) समाहारः 'aggregate.' In the first two cases *vis.*, community of reference, and collateralness of reference, composition does not take place, because the words are not directly related to one another (II. 1. 1). Composition is enjoined therefore, when the sense of च is that of mutual conjunction and lumping. Thus we cannot compound ईश्वरं गुरुं च भजस्व 'reverence God and thy Guru' or भिक्षामटं गां चानय 'go for alms and bring the cow.' But we can compound the following द्वयश्च न्यग्रोधश्च = द्वयान्वयोधो 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees.' So धन-सखि-पक्षायाः, वाक्पुत्रम्, वाग्दूतम् ॥

उपसर्जनं पूर्वम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्जनम्, पूर्वम् (समासः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्जनसंज्ञकं समासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

30. The upasarjana (I. 2. 43) is to be placed first in a compound.

The word समासे is understood here. The upasarjana being the word exhibited in the nominative case in the rules relating to samāsa, must stand first. The constant application of this rule has been illustrated in the previous aphorisms. Without this rule, there would have been no fixity as to the position of words.

राजदन्तादिषु परम् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजदन्त-मादिषु, परम्, (स०उपसर्जनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजदन्तादिषु परमुपसर्जनं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

31. the upasarjana is to be put last in the words Rājadanta &c.

Thus राजदन्तः (दन्तानां राजा) ' a chief of teeth ' (i.e., an eyetooth). It is not merely the upasarjana that is placed last in these examples ; but words which by some other rules would have stood first, stand in this list as second.

1. राजदन्तः. 2. भवेवणम्. 3. लिङ्गवासितम्. 4. नममुचितम्. 5. सिक्कसं-
मृष्टम्. 6. मृदुलुचितम्. 7. भवद्विजपकमे. 8. अर्पितोत्तम्. 9. (अर्पितोत्तम्). 10.
उद्यगादम्. 11. उल्लूखनमुत्तम्. 12. तण्डुलकिण्वम्. 13. इष्टदुपलम्. 14. आरुहा-
बनि. 15. (आरुहायनबन्धकी). 16. चिन्त्यबाल्हीकम्. 17. भवन्त्वश्मकम्. 18.
शूद्रार्थम्. 19. स्नातकराजानो. 20. विष्वक्सेनाशुभो. 21. अस्तिभुवम्. 22. हारगवम्.
23. शब्दार्थो. 24. धर्मार्थो. 25. कामार्थो. 26. अर्थशब्दो. 27. अर्थधर्मो.
28. अर्थकानो. 29. वैकारितम्. 30. गाजवाजम्. 31. (गोजवाजम्). 32. गोपालि-
धानपूजासम्. 33. (गोपालधानीपूजासम्). 34. पूजासकारणम्. 35. (पूजासककु-
रणम्). 36. स्थूलासम्. 37. (स्थूलपूजासम्). 38. उशीरबीजम्. 39. (मित्रास्थ).
40. सिद्धास्थम्. 41. (सिद्धास्थम्). 42. पित्रास्वाती. 43. (पित्रास्वाति).
44. भार्यापती. 45. इम्पती. 46. जम्पती. 47. जायापती. 48. पुत्रपती. 49.
पुत्रपद्. 50. कौशम्भ or श्मभुकौशो. 51. शिरोविजम्. 52. शिरोबीजम्. 53.
शिरोमानम्. 54. सर्पिर्मधुनी. 55. मधुसर्पिणी. 56. आद्यन्तो. 57. अन्तादीः.
58. गुणबद्धी. 59. वृद्धिगुणो.

द्वन्द्वे चि ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वे, चि, (स०उ०पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वे समासे प्यन्तं पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

32. In a Dvandva compound, let a word called चि (I. 4. 7) stand first.

As हरिहरो ' Hari and Hara. ' So also पदगुप्तो and मृदुगुप्तो. Where there are more than one such चि words in a compound, any one may be fixed upon as first member, and the rest to follow no fixed rule. As पदगुप्तगुह्यः or पदगुप्तगुह्यः.

Why do we say ' Dvandva ? Observe विसृष्टपदः which is Tat-purusha.

अजाद्यदन्तम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अज्-आदि-अदन्तम्,
(स०उ०पूर्वम्द्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजाद्यदन्तं शब्दकृतं द्वन्द्वे समासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुवचनियम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्वन्द्वेऽप्यजाद्यदन्तं विप्रतिषेधेन ॥

33. In a Dvandva compound, let what begins with a vowel and ends with a short अ be placed first.

Thus, **उष्ट्रश्चरुः** 'the camel and the ass,' **उष्ट्रश्चाशुः** 'the camel and the hare.'

Vart:—When there are many such words there is no fixed rule. As **अश्ववरयेन्द्राः** or **इन्द्रवरयाः**.

Vart:—In the Dvandva compounds the **चि** would stand first only then, when the rule of **अजायवन्त** does not prohibit it. Thus **इन्द्राग्नी** or **इन्द्रबायुः**. Here **अग्नि** and **बायु** though **चि**, do not stand first, because **इन्द्र** beginning with a vowel and ending in short **अ**, by the rule of **vipratishedha** takes precedence (I. 4. 2).

Why do we say 'अच् with a च्' (I. 1. 70)? This rule does not apply when it is long **आ** as **अश्वा + वृषः = अश्वावृषो** or **वृषारश्वे**:

अल्पाक्षतरम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अल्पाक्षतरम्, (सहस्रद्वन्द्वपूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अल्पाक्षतरं चन्द्रकर्म द्वन्द्वे समासे पूर्वप्रयोजक्यम् ॥

1 **वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ऋतुनक्षत्राणामनुपूर्व्येण समानाक्षराणां पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः ॥**

2 **वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लघ्वक्षरं पूर्वं निपततीति वक्तव्यम् ॥**

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अभ्यर्हितं च पूर्वं निपततीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वर्णानामनुपूर्व्येण पूर्वनिपातः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भ्रातृभ्य उयायसः पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संख्याया अस्पीयस्याः पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः ॥

34. In a Dvandva compound, that word-form which has fewer vowels, is to be placed first.

Thus **द्वक्ष + न्ययीष = द्वक्षन्ययीषो**; and **धवखदिरपक्षाशाः** ॥

When there are many words, there is no fixed rule. As **शंसुदुन्नुनिषीणाः** or **षीणाशंसुदुन्नुनयः**.

1 **Vart:—**Names of seasons and stars consisting of equal number of syllables should be arranged in the compound according to their natural order of succession. As **हेमन्तशिशिरवसन्ताः**; **चित्रास्वाती**; **कृत्तिकारोहिण्यौ**.

When they do not consist of equal syllables, the shorter should be placed first; as **दीप्तिवसन्तो**.

2 **Vart:—**A word consisting of light (laghu) vowels is placed first. As, **कुशकाक्षः**; **शरशावः**.

Vart:—The more honorable of the two is placed first; as, **मातापितरौ** 'mother and father,' **अद्विजे** 'faith and intelligence' **दीक्षातपसी** 'initiation and austerity'.

Vart.—The castes are placed according to their order: as, ब्राह्मणसन्निव
विद् युष्ठा: 'Brāhmaṇa Kshatriya Vaiśya and Sudra.' There is no limitation
of equality of syllables here.

Vart.—The name of the elder brother is placed first; as युधिष्ठिरार्जुनौ
'Yudhishṭhira and Arjuna.'

Vart.—Among numerals, the less in value is placed first; as द्वित्रि 'two;
and three'; त्रिचतुरा 'three and four.'

सप्तमी विशेषणे बहुव्रीहौ ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, विशेषणे,
बहुव्रीहौ, (स०पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं विशेषणं च बहुव्रीहिसमासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सर्वनामसंज्ञकयोरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वा भियस्व पूर्वनिपातः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सप्तम्याः पूर्वनिपाते प्राप्ते गङ्गादिभ्यः सप्तम्यन्तं परम् ॥

35. A word with the seventh case-affix and an
epithet are to be placed first in the Bahuvrīhi compound.

In a Bahuvrīhi, all words are upasarjana, and hence there is no
rule for their arrangement. The present aphorism declares that rule; as
कण्ठेकालः 'who is black in the throat.' So also वरसिलोमा, चिन्नगुः, शवन्गुः.

Vart.—The sarvanāmas and the numerals stand first; as सर्वश्वेनः,
सर्वकुण्डः, द्विशुक्रः, द्विकुण्डः. In a compound formed by the composition of sarva-
nāma words with a saṅkhyā word, the latter should stand first; as, द्वयम्,
अष्टम्: &c.

Vart.—The word भिन्न may optionally stand first; as गुडभिन्नः or
भिन्नगुडः.

Vart.—After the words गङ्गा &c., the word in the 7th case-affix comes
as subsequent; as गङ्गाकण्ठः 'a hump-necked'; गङ्गाशिरा: &c.

How is then the word बहिर्गङ्गा: 'hump in the shoulder' to be
explained? This is governed by the general rule, and not the excep-
tional vārtika.

निष्ठा, ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, (स०बहुव्रीहौ पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठान्तं च बहुव्रीहिसमासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ निष्ठायाः पूर्वनिपाते जायिकालसुखादिभ्यः परवचनम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ग्रहणार्थेभ्यश्च परे निष्ठासप्तम्यौ भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

36. What ends with a Nishthā (I. 1. 26) shall stand first in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus बुद्धयोगः 'one who is devoted to devotion'; कृतकरः 'one who has made the mat'; निमित्तनिमित्तः 'one who has begged alms.'

Vart:—A word expressing jāti (genus), time, or pleasure, is placed subsequent; as, शाङ्गजम्भी, नासमातः, and सुखमातः &c.

Vart:—The words ending in Nishthā or in the locative case stand subsequent, when coming after words denoting 'striking'; as अस्तुपय 'ready with sword'; इण्डपाणिः 'holding sceptre in hand.'

आहिताग्न्यादिषु ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आहित-अग्नि-आदिषु
(निष्ठा पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहिताग्न्यादिषु निष्ठान्धं पूर्वं वा प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

37. In the compounds Ahitāgni and the like, the Nishthā-formed word may optionally be placed first.

Thus अग्न्याहितः or आहिताग्निः 'one who has consecrated fire.'

1. आहिताग्निः. 2. जातपुत्रः. 3. जातदन्तः. 4. जातदन्तुः. 5. तैलपीवः.
6. पुत्रपीवः. 7. नयपीवः. 8. कडमार्यः. 9. गवार्थः.

आकृतिसिगणोऽयम्.

1. गडुकण्डः. 2. अस्तुपयः. 3. (अस्तुपयः). 4. इण्डपाणिः. 5. तैलपीवः.

This आहिताग्नि class is ākṛitigaṇa; so that words like गडु &c., must be looked for in this class.

कडाराः कर्मधारये ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कडाराः, कर्मधारये,
(समासे पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कडारादयः शब्दाः कर्मधारये समासे वा पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्याः ॥

38. The words kaḍārah and the like, are optionally placed first in the karma-dhāraya.

Thus कडारजैमिनिः or जैमिनिकडारः Kaḍārajaiminiḥ or jaiminikaḍārah.
'The tawny Jaimini.'

1. कशर . 2. महुज . 3. खञ्ज . 4. खोड . 5. काम . 6. कुल .
 7. खलवि . 8. गौर . 9. पुड . 10. मिभुक . 11. पिङ्ग . 12. पिङ्गल . 13.
 (पिङ्गल) . 14. वड . 15. वनु . 16. मडर . 17. वधिर . 18. मडर . 19.
 कञ्ज . 20. वरर .

This sūtra enjoins an option where by general rule guṇa words being attributes would have invariably stood first.

Why do we say 'in the karmadhāraya compound'? Observe कशर-
 पुरुषो ग्रामः 'a village of tawny men,' which is Bahuvrīhi. Here ends the force
 of I. 4. २ and II. १. 3.

—:0:—

ओ३म्

॥ अथ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER III.

अनभिहिते ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्-अभिहिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनभिहित इत्यधिकारोऽयं वेदितव्यः । यदित उर्ध्वमनुक्रमिन्यामोऽनभिहित इत्येवं
संवेदितव्यम् ॥

1. The word 'anabhihite' meaning 'not being specified' is to be understood as the governing word.

Whatever will be taught from this point forward, should be understood to apply to those cases which have not been specified otherwise. The case-affixes like those denoting 'object' 'instrument' &c., are applied to a noun, only then, when the force of the case-affix is not otherwise denoted or mentioned or exhibited. The force of a case-affix may be so denoted either by first, the conjugational affixes निङ् ; secondly, by the Primary affixes or कृत्, thirdly, by the secondary affixes सङ्घित ; or lastly by compounds. Thus sūtra 2 declares that the second case-affix is applied in denoting the object, as कटं करोति 'he makes the mat'; ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village.' But the object can otherwise be denoted. Thus by the passive conjugational affix, as कृत्यते कटः 'the mat is made.' Here the termination of the verb denotes the object. See sūtra I. 3. 13. and III. 4. 69. So also by the kṛit affix, as कृतः कटः 'the mat is made,' see Sūtra III. 4. 70. So also by a Tadūhita affix as शतशः or शतिकाः meaning 'purchased with a hundred' = शतेन क्रीतः . Similarly by samāsa, as प्राप्तमुदकं ग्रामम् = ग्रामोदको ग्रामः ॥

कर्मणि द्वितीया ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि , द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि कारकं या संख्या स च द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उभयवर्तसोः कार्या धिगुपर्यादिषु निषु ।

द्वितीयाऽच्चेडितान्तेषु ततोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अभितः-परितः-समया-निकषा-हा-प्रति-योगेषु च दृश्यते ॥

2. When the object is not denoted by the termination of the verb, i. e. when the verb does not agree with it, the second case-affix is attached to the word.

The terms *dvitīyā* &c., are technical phraseology of older grammarians, and hence not defined by Pāṇini; they apply to the triads of *सुप्* affixes. *कटं करोति* 'he makes the mat,' *ग्रामं गच्छति* 'he goes to the village.'

The words *उभयतः*, *सर्वतः*, *धिक्* and the double forms *उपर्युपरि*, *अधोऽधः*, *अधोऽधि*, when they have the sense of nearness, govern the accusative. Sometimes other cases also, as *उभयतो ग्रामं* 'on both sides of the village'; *सर्वतो ग्रामं* 'on all sides of the village'; *धिदेवदत्तं* 'fie to Devadatta'; *उपर्युपरि ग्रामम्* 'just over the village'; *अधोऽधि* or *अधोऽधो ग्रामम्* 'just below the village.'

Vart.—The words *अभितः*, *परितः* both meaning 'round', *समया*, *निकषा* both meaning 'near' and *हा* 'woe be to,' and *प्रति* 'to,' govern the accusative case; as, *अभितो ग्रामम्* 'round the village,' *ग्रामं समया* 'near the village'; *हा देवदत्तं* 'woe be to Devadatta'; *बुभुक्षितम् न प्रतिभाति किञ्चित्* 'to a hungry person nothing occurs to his mind.' See I. 4. 49 &c.

द्वतीया च होश्छन्दि ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वतीया, च, होः, छन्दि, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये जुहोतेः कर्मणि कारके द्वतीया विभक्ति भवति द्वितीया च ॥

3. In the *chhandas* (*veda*), the object of the verb *hu* 'to sacrifice' takes the affix of the third case, and of the second as well.

This ordains the third case-affix; and by force of the word *च* 'and' the second case-affix is also employed as *यवाग्निसहोमं जुहोति* 'he satisfies or pleases Agni with barley-powder,' or *यवाग्निसहोमं जुहोति* 'he throws barley-powder into the fire as oblation.'

Why do we say 'in the vedas?' In the classical Sanskrit, the accusative only must be used and not the instrumental.

अन्तराऽन्तरेणयुक्ते ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तरा, अन्तरेण, युक्ते, (द्वितीया)

वृत्तिः ॥ भून्तराऽन्तरेणयुक्ते निपातो साहचर्याद् गृह्यते । आभ्यां योगे द्वितीया विभक्ति भवति ॥

4. A word joined with (or governed by) the word *antarā*, or *antareṇa* takes the second case-affix.

The *anuvṛtti* of *dvitīyā* is understood here and not that of *tritīyā*. Both these words *antarā* and *antareṇa* are *Nipātas*. They govern the accusative. This debars the genitive case. The word *antarā* means 'between' while *antareṇa* means 'besides that,' 'without,' ('exception,' 'with reference to' 'regarding.') As, *अन्तरेण पुरुषकारं न किञ्चिद्भवति* 'nothing can be

gained without exertion. अन्तरा or अन्तरेण स्त्री च मां च कर्मणः 'the bowl is between thee and me.' कोऽन्यस्सर्गो मां तरेण शक्तः पतिकर्तुम् 'who else but thee is able to retaliate.'

Why do we say 'when joined with?' Observe अन्तरा वस्तुशिञोच पाठलिपुत्रं सुप्रसन्नं माकारः .

कालाध्यनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-अध्यनोः , अत्यन्त-संयोगे ; (द्वितीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काल चन्ने-योऽध्यनो-चश्च द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति अत्यन्त संयोगे गम्यमाने ।'

5. After a word denoting time, or length, the affix of the 2nd case is employed, when denoting full duration.

मासमधीते 'he reads for a month,' 'he studies full one month,' मासं कल्याणी 'prosperous during the month' (uninterruptedly), संवत्सरं पुष्पाः 'flowers during the year continually,' क्रोशं कुटिला नदी 'the river winding for one kos without any break,' क्रोशं पर्वतः 'the hill through one full kos.' सभा वैभवंती राजन् शवयोजनमायता 'O king the hall of Viśravana is 100 yojanas in length.'

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग or 'full continuity' means the complete relation of time or space with its action, attribute or substance.

Why do we say 'atyanta-sanyoga or complete continuity?' Observe मासस्य द्विरधीते or क्रोशस्त्वैकरेणे पर्वतः ॥

अपवर्गे तृतीया ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपवर्गे, तृतीया, (कालाध्यनो रत्यन्तसंयोगे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपवर्गे गम्यमाने कालाध्यनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

6. The third case-affix is employed after the words denoting the duration of time or place, when the accomplishment of the desired object is meant to be expressed.

मासेनानुवाकोऽधीतः 'he learnt the Anuvāka in a month,' क्रोशेनानुवाकोऽधीतः 'he learnt the Anuvāka by going over a kos.'

The word अपवर्ग means 'the finishing of an action, on the attainment of the object intended by the action, but not before.' Thus संवत्सरेणानुवाकोऽधीतः means 'Anuvāka was perseveringly and effectually read by him in the whole year.'

When the idea of apavarga is not intended, the accusative case is employed, as मासमधीतोऽनुवाकः 'learnt for a month, but not yet completed, the Anuvāka.'

सप्तमीपञ्चम्यौ कारकमध्ये ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी-पञ्चम्यौ,
कारक-मध्ये, (कालाध्वनोर०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कारकयोर्मध्ये यो कालाध्वनौ ताभ्यां सप्तमी पञ्चम्यौ विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

7. A noun denoting time or place gets the affix of the seventh or the fifth case, when the sense implied is that the time or space is the interval between one action and another action (or implies an interval of time and space between two kārakas).

Ex. भय भुक्ता देवदत्तो पुहे पुशद्राभोक्ता 'having dined today, Devadatta will dine in or after two days.' Here the 'time' is the interval between the agent and his power of eating. So also इहस्योऽवमिष्यासः क्रोश्यात् क्रोधे वा लङ्घं विधेत् 'standing here, he will hit a mark at the distance of one kos.' Here kos is the interval between the agent and the object, or the object and the ablation, or the object and the location. The rule I. 3. 10 does not apply here.

कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मप्रवचनीय-युक्ते,
द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्युक्ते द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

8. The second case-affix is employed after a word which is joined with a karmapravachanīya (I. 4. 83),

Ex. शाकल्यस्य संज्ञेतामनुवाचर्षत् 'It rained on (hearing) the reading of the Veda by Śākalya.' So also आगस्त्यमन्त्रसिंचत् प्रजाः ॥

यस्मादधिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं तत्र सप्तमी ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्माद्-
अधिकं, यस्य, च, ईश्वर-वचनं, तत्र, सप्तमी, (कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मादधिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्युक्ते तत्र सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

9. Where a word is governed by a karmapravachanīya in the sense of 'more than' (I. 4. 87) or 'lord of' (I. 4. 97) there the 7th case-affix (locative) is employed.

Ex. उपस्थार्यान् द्रोणः 'A Drona is more than a Khâri,' अधिप्राज्ञत्वे पञ्चालाः 'Brahmadatta is the lord of Panchālas.' The phrase वस्वचेश्वर वचनं indicates that both the thing owned and the owner may be in the locative. See I. 4. 97.

This aphorism debars the accusative.

पञ्चम्यपाङ्परिभिः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चमी, अप-आङ्-
परिभिः, (कर्मप्रवचनीययु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप आङ् परि इत्येतेः कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्वेगे पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

10. The fifth case-affix (Ablative) is employed when a word is governed by the following karmapravachanīyas i. e. apa, āñ and pari.

Ex. अय or आ or परि पाटलिपुत्रादावृष्टे हेवः 'It rained off or upto or with the exclusion of, Pāṭaliputra.'

The परि here has the meaning of 'exclusion' (I. 4. 88) being read along with अप; therefore, not here वृत्तं परि विद्योतते विद्युत् (I. 4. 90).

प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदाने च यस्मात् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-निधि-
प्रतिदाने, च, यस्मात् (कर्मप्र०) (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मात्प्रतिनिधिर्यतश्च प्रतिदानं तत्र कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

11. The 5th case-affix (ablative) is employed after what soever is governed by a karmapravachanīya in the sense of 'substitute' or 'exchange' (I. 4. 92).

Ex. अभिमन्युरर्जुनतः प्रति 'Abhimanyu is the representative of Arjuna.' माषानस्मैतिक्षेभ्यः प्रतियच्छति 'he exchanges māśhās for this sesamum.' See I. 4. 92 for an explanation of प्रतिनिधि and प्रतिदान .

गत्यर्थकर्मणि द्वितीयाचतुर्थ्यौ चेष्टायामनञ्वनि ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥
गत्यर्थ-कर्मणि, द्वितीया-चतुर्थ्यौ, चेष्टायाम्, अनञ्वनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थानां धातूनां चेष्टाक्रियाणां परित्यक्तक्रियाणां कर्मणि कारकेऽनञ्वर्जिते द्वितीयाचतुर्थ्यौ भवतः

12. In the case of roots implying motion, the place to which motion is directed takes the affix of the 2nd (Accusative) or the 4th (Dative) case in denoting the 'object,' when physical motion is meant, and the object is not a word expressing 'road'.

Ex. ग्रामं or ग्रामाच्च गच्छति 'he goes to the village.' But not so in मनसा हरिं व्रजति (the verb not denoting physical motion) 'he goes mentally to Hari' अश्वानं गच्छति 'he goes over the way' (the object being the 'way'). But not so in ओदनं पचति 'he cooks rice;' (the verb not denoting 'motion') nor in अग्नेन व्रजति (the verb not denoting 'the object.')

Note:—The word *adhvan* includes the synonyms of road (I. 1. 68) as *पन्थानं गच्छति, मार्गं गच्छति.*

Note:—The prohibition applies with regard to the going over or occupying the road; so that where a person from a wrong road goes to the right road, there the fourth case-affix will be employed as *पथे गच्छति.*

चतुर्थी संप्रदाने ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी, संप्रदाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रदाने कारके चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चतुर्थी विधाने सार्वभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कृपिसंप्रदाने चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उत्पातेन ज्ञाप्यमाने चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हितयोगे चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥

13. In denoting the *sampradāna-kāraka* (I. 4. 32) the fourth affix or the Dative is employed after the noun.

Ex. उपाध्यायाय गां ददाति 'He gives a cow to the teacher' देवदत्ताय रोचते 'it pleases Devadatta' (I. 4. 33) पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृहयति (I. 4. 36) 'he desires flowers.'

Vart:—The fourth case-affix should be employed when the sense is that of 'for the purpose thereof' as *यूपाय दारु* 'wood is for making posts.' *कुण्डलाय हिरण्यं* 'gold used for the purpose of making ear-ring.' *रन्ध्रनाय स्थानी* 'pot for the sake of cooking.' *अवहननायोलूखलं* 'mortar for the sake of threshing.'

Vart:—The verb *कृष* and other verbs meaning 'to be fit or adequate for, result in, bring about, accomplish, produce, tend to,' govern the dative case: as, *मूत्राय कल्यते यवागुः* 'the barley gruel tends to produce urine.' So also *मूत्राय संपद्यते जायते वा यवागुः.*

Vart:—The fourth case-affix is employed with the force of 'indicating a portent or calamity,' as.

वाताय कपिला विद्युश्चातपायाति लोहिनी ॥

पीता वर्षाय वित्तेया दुर्भिक्षाय सिता भतेत् ॥

'The reddish lightening portends wind, extremely red indicates heat, yellow portends rain and white lightening prognosticates famine.'

Vart:—The fourth case-affix should be employed in connection with the word *हित*: as *गोभ्योहितं* 'good for cows.'

क्रियार्थोपपदस्य च कर्मणि स्थानिनः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रिया-अर्थ-उपपदस्य, च, कर्मणि, स्थानिनः. (चतुर्थी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियार्थोपपदस्य च स्थानिनोऽप्युज्ज्वलानस्य धातोः कर्मणि कारके चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

14. The fourth case-affix is employed in denoting the object (karma) of that verb, which is suppressed (sthâni) in a sentence, and which has in construction (upapada) therewith another verb, denoting an action, performed for the sake of the future action (kriyârthe III. 3. 10).

In other words, when the sense of an infinitive of purpose formed by 'tumun' and 'nvul' (III. 3. 10,) is suppressed in a sentence, the object of this infinitive is put in the Dative case.

फलेभ्यो व्रजति = फलान्यावर्तुं व्रजति 'he goes for fruits i. e., to bring fruits.' This debars accusative case. So also we have एधेभ्यः व्रजति 'he goes for fuel.' The words क्रियार्थेऽप्यस्य and स्थानिनः are in apposition. The first is a Bahuvrīhi compound of क्रियार्थ + उपपद and means 'a verb whose upapada denotes the purpose of the action (kriyârtha).' Thus in एधानाहर्तुम् 'to bring fuel'; the infinitive verb आहर्तुम् is क्रियार्थोपपद, the object of this verb is एधः; when this verb is suppressed, it becomes स्थानिनः; the object of this verb takes the fourth case-affix.

Why do we say 'of the verb whose upapada denotes the purpose of the action?' Observe प्रविशति पिंडीम्.

Why do we say 'in denoting the object.' Witness एधेभ्यो व्रजति शुकटेन 'for fuel he goes with a cart.'

Why do we say 'when suppressed'? Observe एधानाहर्तुं व्रजति.

तुमर्थाच्च भाववचनात् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुम-अर्थात्, च भाव-वचनात्, (चतुर्थी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुमर्थभाववचनप्रत्ययान्तात् प्रातिपदिकाचतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

15. The fourth case-affix is employed after a crude-form which ends in an affix denoting 'condition' (abstract noun, III. 3. 11.) and having the force of the affix tum (or Infinitive of purpose).

Ex. यागाय व्रजति 'he goes to offer a sacrifice' = यष्टुं व्रजति. So also स्थागाय व्रजति, भूतये व्रजति.

The word तुमर्थ means 'having the same significance as the affix तुम्'.

नमःस्वस्तिस्वाहास्वधालंबवद्योगाच्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नमः-स्वस्ति-स्वाहा-स्वधा-भलम्-वपद्-योगात्; च, (चतुर्थी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नमः स्वस्ति स्वाहा स्वधा भलं वपद् इत्येतेषां चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

16. The fourth case-affix is employed in conjunction with the words *namah* 'salutation,' *svasti* 'peace,' *svâhâ*, *svadhâ* (terms used in offering oblations to Gods and Pitris respectively), *alam* 'a match for' 'sufficient for' and *vashaṭ* a term of oblation.

Ex. नमो देवेभ्यः, स्वस्ति प्रजाभ्यः, स्वाहाग्नेये, स्वधा पितृभ्यः, अलं मल्लो मल्लान 'Salutation to Gods'; 'peace to the people'; 'svâhâ to fire'; 'svadhâ to the Pitris'; 'an athlete is a match for an athlete' &c. The word *अलं* includes its synonyms also, as *प्रभुः*, *शुक्तः* &c.; so *वषट्पिण्डन्नाय*, *वषट्पत्रे*.

The च indicates that the Dative will debar Genitive, in spite of II. 3. 73, in the case of these words, though used benedictively; as, स्वस्ति गोभ्यो भूयात् ॥

सन्यकर्मण्यनादरे विभाषाऽप्राणिषु ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्य-कर्मणि, अनादरे, विभाषा, अप्राणिषु, (चतुर्थी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सन्यकर्मणि प्राणिवर्जिते विभाषा चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति अनादरे गन्धमाने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यदेतदप्राणिष्विति तदनावादिष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

17. In denoting the indirect object, which is not an animal, of the verb *manya* 'to think,' the dative case is optionally employed, when contempt is to be shown.

Ex. न त्वां तृणाय वा मन्ये 'I do not consider thee worth a straw.' न त्वां चुसं चुसाय वा मन्ये 'I do not consider thee worth a chaff.' Why do we use the word *मन्ये*? Observe न त्वां तृणं चिन्तयामि. The optional dative will not be employed with the synonyms of the verb *मन्यति*. So also the sūtra uses the form *मन्य* with the vikarana इषप्, indicating that it is Divâdi that governs a dative, and not the Tanâdi मन्; for the latter governs the accusative only, as न त्वां तृणं मन्ये.

When contempt is not meant, the verb does not govern the Dative, as:—

अभ्यानं दृषहं मन्ये, मन्ये काष्ठमुज्जूलम् । अन्यायास्तं सुतं मन्ये यस्य माता न पश्यति ॥

'I consider a rock to be a stone, I consider mortar but as wood, I consider him to be the son of a blind woman whose mother cannot see.'

So also when the object of comparison is an animate being, it will not take the dative:—as न त्वां शुगालं मन्ये 'I do not consider thee even as a jackal.' The case of न त्वां शुने मन्ये is an exception.

Vart:—Instead of using अप्राणिषु in the sūtra, the word अनावादिषु should be used. The following words belong to Nāvâdi class, they are always in the accusative after the word *मन्ये*, never in the Dative:—नौ 'ship,' काक 'crow,' अन्न 'food,' शुक् 'parrot,' and शुगाल 'jackal.'

कर्तृकरणयोः स्तृतीया ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-करणयोः स्तृतीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि करणे च कारको द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सुमीया विधाने प्रकृत्यासीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

18. In denoting the agent (I. 4. 54) or the instrument (I. 4. 42), the third case-affix is employed.

Ex. देवदत्तेन कृतं 'done by Devadatta,' हानेन कुनति 'he cuts with the sickle.' So also, यत्तद्वत्तेन भुक्तम्, परसुना छिनति ॥

Vart:—The following words take the 3rd case. प्रकृति 'original,' प्राक् 'almost,' गोत्र 'gotra,' सम 'equal,' विषम 'unequal,' द्विप्रोण, पंचक and साहस्र as प्रायेण याज्ञिकः, गार्ग्योऽस्मि गोत्रेण, समेन or विषमेण धावति, द्विप्रोणेन क्रीणाति &c.

सहयुक्तेऽप्रधाने ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहयुक्ते, अप्रधाने, (स्तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहायेन युक्तेऽप्रधाने द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

19. When the word सह 'with,' is joined to a word, the latter takes the third case, when the sense is that the word in the third case is not the principal but the accompaniment of the principal thing.

Ex. पुत्रेण सहागतः पिता 'the father has come with the son.'

The same will be the result with the synonyms of सह as, पुत्रेण साह 'with the son.' So also when the word सह is understood, as Pāṇini himself uses in I. 2. 65 बुद्धो बुना &c.,

Why do we say 'when not the principal.' Observe, शिष्येण सहोपाध्यायस्त्वगौः .

येनाङ्गविकारः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ येन, अङ्ग-विकार, (स्तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येनाङ्गेन विकृतेनाङ्गिनो विकारो लक्ष्यते ततस्तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

20. By whatsoever limb, being defective, is pointed out the defect of the person, after that the third case-affix is employed.

As, अङ्गुष्ठा काणः 'blind of one eye' पादेन खङ्गः 'lame of foot.' पाणिना कुण्डः &c. The word aṅga in this sūtra applies to the whole body, whatsoever by reason of being a member of the body is defective is indicated here.

इत्थंभूतलक्षणे ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्थंभूत-लक्षणे, (स्तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कश्चित्प्रकारं प्राप्त इत्थंभूत, ततस्तत्तलक्षणमित्थं भूतलक्षणं, ततस्तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

21. Any mark or attribute, by which is indicated the existence of a particular state or condition, is put in the third case to express this relation.

जशमिस्तापसः 'he is an ascetic by (the fact of his having) matted hair.' अपि भवान् कमण्डलुना छन्नमग्रासीत् 'your honor might see the student by the fact of his having a kamandalu.' So also ह्यनेनोपाध्यायन् 'a teacher by the fact of having students.' शिष्या परित्राजकम् 'a Parivrājaka by a tuft of hair.' But not so here, कमण्डलुपाणिछन्नः 'a student has kamandalu in his hand.' Because here in the compound कमण्डलुपाणि is hidden the mark.

Why do we say ittha-bhuta? Observe वृत्तं प्रति विद्योत्तमं।

संज्ञोऽन्यतरस्यां कर्मणि ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-ज्ञः, अन्यतरस्यां, कर्मणि, (द्वितीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्णस्व जानातेः कर्मणि कारकं द्वितीयायां प्राप्तायामन्यतरस्यां द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

22. After the verb sam-jñā the third case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the object.

पित्रा or पितरं संजानीते 'he knows his father.' मात्रा or मातरं संजानीते ॥

हेतौ ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतौ, (द्वितीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलसाधनयोग्यः पदार्थो लोके हेतुरुच्यते; तद्विज्ञानस्तद्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

23. When a word denotes 'cause,' it takes the third case affix.

विद्यया यशः 'by learning there is produced fame.' धनेन कुलम् 'by wealth, family;' कन्यया शोकः 'by daughter there is grief.'

The word हेतु here is used in its popular sense and not the grammatical hetu (I. 4. 55). Any thing capable of accomplishing a desired object is called hetu.

अकर्तार्युगे पञ्चमी ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्तारि, ऋणे, पञ्चमी, (द्वितीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृवर्जितं यद्वृत्तं हेतुस्ततः पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

24. A word, implying debt, considered as a 'cause' but not as a kartri or agent, takes the fifth case-affix.

Ex. शताद्रुद्धः 'he has been bound on account of a debt of a hundred pieces.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting the agent?' Observe शतेन बन्धितः; 'a debt of hundred has thrown him in prison'; here शत being considered as a prayojaka hetu, is an agent and takes the third case-affix.

विभाषा गुणेऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, गुणे,
अस्त्रियाम्, (हेतौ पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुणे हेतावत्स्त्रीलिङ्गे विभाषा पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

25. The fifth case-affix is employed optionally when the noun expresses an attribute, being the cause of an action, and not being of the feminine gender.

Ex. जाड्यने जाड्यताम् वा बद्धः 'he has been bound by reason of his dullness.' पांडित्येन or पांडित्याद् मुक्तः 'saved through learning.'

Guna-vachana nouns are generally abstract nouns. Therefore not here धनेन कुजम्. If an abstract noun is of feminine gender, this rule will not apply, as बुद्ध्या or प्रज्ञया मुक्तः 'he was set at liberty on account of his skill or wisdom.'

षष्ठी हेतुप्रयोगे ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, हेतु-प्रयोगे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुगुणस्य प्रयोगे हेतौ योस्ये षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

26. The sixth case-affix is employed after a noun implying the cause of an action, when the word hetu is used along with such a word.

Ex. भक्षस्य हेतौ र्वसति 'he dwells for the sake of food.'

सर्वनाम्नस्तृतीया च ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वनाम्नः तृतीया,
च, (हेतुप्रयोगे) (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनाम्नो हेतुगुणप्रयोगे हेतौ योस्ये तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति षष्ठी च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ निमित्तकारणहेतुषु सर्वानां प्रायश्चयनम् ॥

27. After a sarvanāman (I. 1. 27) when it signifies the cause of an action, and the word hetu is used with it, the third case-affix is employed, as well as the sixth.

Ex. कस्य or कोन हेतुना वसति 'for the sake of what does he live?' वस्य or येन हेतुना वसति .

Vart;—When the words निमित्त or कारण are so used, almost all the case affixes may be employed; as किं निमित्तं or कोन निमित्तेन or कस्मै निमित्ताद् or कस्मात्निमित्तत् or कस्य निमित्तस्य or कस्मिन् निमित्ते वसति . Similarly with the words

kāraṇa and hetu. Here also the word हेतु does not mean the word-form hetu (I. 1. 68) but its synonyms also; as किं प्रयोजनं or कौन प्रयोजनेन or कस्यै प्रयोजनाय &c., वसति .

अपादाने पञ्चमी ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपादाने , पञ्चमी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपादाने कारके पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पञ्चमीविधाने ऋब्लोपे कर्मण्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अधिकरणे चोपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रमादयानयोश्च पञ्चमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यतश्चात्रकालनिर्माणं तत्त्र पञ्चमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तत्पुनरकाले सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भवनः प्रथमा सप्तमी च वक्तव्या ॥

28. When the *Apādāna-kāraka* (I. 4. 24) is denoted, the fifth case-affix is employed.

Ex. ग्रामादागच्छति 'he comes from the village' (I. 4. 24); वृक्षेभ्यो विभेति (I. 4. 25), अभ्ययनात् पराजयते (I. 4. 26) &c.

Vart:—The fifth case-affix is employed in denoting the object, when the verbal participle ending in ऋब्र् is elided; as प्रासादात्कृञ् प्रेक्षते = प्रासादात् प्रेक्षते 'he sees from a palace.'

Vart:—And under similar circumstances in denoting the location the place where an action is performed is put in the ablative case, as, आसने उपविश्य प्रेक्षते = आसनात् प्रेक्षते 'he sees from a seat.'

Vart:—In questions and answers, the fifth case-affix is employed:—कुतो भवान्? पाटलिपुत्राद् 'whence is your Honor coming? From Patali putra.'

Vart:—That point of time or space from which distance in time or space is measured is put in the ablative case:—as, गवीधूमतः सांकाश्यं चत्वारि योजनानि 'Sankāśya is from Gavidhuma four yojanās.' कार्तिक्या आमहायणी मासे 'Agrahāyana is one month from Kārtika. The word denoting the distance in time is put in the locative case, as मासे .

Vart:—In the above the word denoting the distance in space may be put either in the nominative or locative; as गवीधूमतः सांकाश्यं चत्वारि योजनानि or चतुर्षु योजनेषु ।

अन्यारादितरत्तदिक्शब्दाञ्चत्तरपदाजाहियुक्ते ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥
अन्य-आरात्-इतर-ऋते-दिक्शब्द-अञ्च-उत्तरपद-आच्-आहियुक्ते , (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्य आरात् इतर ऋते दिक्शब्द अञ्चत्तरपद भाच् भाहि इत्येतैर्योगे पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

29. When a noun is joined with words meaning 'other than' or with ârât 'near or remote' or itara 'different from' or pite 'without,' or words indicative of the 'directions' (used also with reference to the time corresponding to them) or with words having añchu 'to bend' as the last member of the compound (and expressive of direction), or with words ending with the affix âch or âhi (V. 3. 36 and 37) the fifth case-affix is employed.

Ex. अन्यो, भिन्नो, इतरो, अर्यान्तरं, विन्नक्षणो वा देवदत्तात् 'different from Devadatta' भारात् देवदत्तात् 'remote from or near to Devadatta.' The word ârât meaning 'near or remote' would have taken the sixth case-affix by sūtra 34, but this enjoins 5th case-affix. कृते देवदत्तात् 'excepting Devadatta.' पूर्वो ग्रामात् 'east of the village,' उत्तरो ग्रामात् 'north of the village,' पूर्वो ग्रीष्मात् वसन्तः 'the spring is prior to summer' प्राक् पश्यन्वा ग्रामात् 'to the east or west of the village' दक्षिणा दक्षिणाहि वा ग्रामात् 'to the south or in the eastern direction of the village.'

The words like प्राक् &c., formed from the verb añchu are also विक्रम्यः ; their separate enumeration shows that the sixth case-affix ordained by the next sūtra does not come after them.

षष्ठ्यन्तसर्थप्रत्ययेन ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, अतसर्थ-
प्रत्ययेन ॥

वृत्तिः अतसर्थेन प्रत्ययेन युक्ते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

30. The sixth case-affix is employed when used in connection with words ending with affixes having the sense of the affix atasuch (V. 3. 28).

The affix अतसुच् is ordained by V. 3. 28.

Ex. ग्रामस्य दक्षिणतः उत्तरतः पुरस्तात् उपरि वा 'to the south or north, foremost, in or above the village.'

एनपा द्वितीया ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ एनपा, द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एनवन्यतरस्यामद्वे पञ्चम्या इति वक्ष्यति । तेन युक्ते द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

31. With a word ending with the affix 'enap' (V. 3. 35), the second case-affix is employed as well as the sixth.

Ex. दक्षिणेन ग्रामम् ग्रामस्य वा 'south of the village.'

पृथग्विनानानाभिस्तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पृथग्-
विनः-नानाभिः, तृतीयां, अन्यतरस्याम्, (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पृथक् विना नाना इत्येते त्रयो तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति अन्यतरस्यां पञ्चमी च ॥

32. When joined with the words prithak 'without,' vinā 'without' and nānā 'without' the third case-affix is employed, optionally (as well as the fifth and the second).

Ex रामाग्रामेन रामं वा विना पृथग् नाना वा 'without or different from Rāma.'

This sūtra may be divided into two parts:—(1) पृथग् विना नानाभिः (2) तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम्. By this arrangement we can read dvitiya into the aphorism.

विना वातं विना वर्षे विद्युत्प्रपतनं विना ।

विना हस्ति कुतान्दोषान् केनेनौ पातितौ द्वौ ॥

करणे च स्तोकात्पठच्छ कतिपयस्याऽसत्त्ववचनस्य ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥
करणे, च, स्तोक-अल्प-कृच्छ्र-कतिपयस्य, असत्त्ववचनस्य, (तृतीया-
पञ्चमी-अन्यतरस्यां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तोकं अल्पं कृच्छ्रं कतिपय इत्येतेभ्योऽसत्त्ववचनेभ्यः करणे कारकोऽन्यतरस्यां
द्वितीया भवति पठे पञ्चम्येव ॥

33. When expressing an instrument-kāraka, optionally after the words stoka 'little,' alpa 'little,' krichchhra 'difficulty,' and katipaya 'some,' the fifth case-affix is used, when they do not denote material objects.

Ex. स्तोकात् स्तोकेन वा मुक्तः and अल्पान्मुक्तः or अल्पेनमुक्तः &c, 'he got off easily &c. But स्तोकेन विषेन हतः, अल्पेन मधुना मत्तः &c. 'killed by a little poison.' No option allowed, as it qualifies a substance. So also स्तोकं मुञ्चति 'he loosens a little.' Here स्तोक is used as an adverb and not as an instrument (करण) .

दूरान्तिकार्थैः षष्ठ्याऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दूर-अन्ति-
क-अर्थैः, षष्ठी, अन्यतरस्याम्, (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दूरान्तिकार्थैः शब्दयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति अन्यतरस्यां पञ्चमी च ॥

34. When in conjunction with words having the sense of dūra 'distant,' and antika 'near,' the sixth case-affix is optionally employed.

Ex. ग्रामाद् ग्रामस्य वा वनं दूरं विप्रवृद्धं, अन्तिकं, अभ्याशं, निकटं समीपं वा 'the forest is distant from or near to the village.'

The force of the word **अन्यतरस्यां** is to indicate that the 5th case-affix employed in the alternative, would have run into this sūtra, had we not used 'anyatarasyam.'

दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यो द्वितीया च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दूर-अन्तिक-अर्थेभ्यः , द्वितीया , च , (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यः शब्देभ्यो द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति चकारात्पञ्चमी द्वितीयापि समुचीयते ॥

35. After the words having the sense of *dūra* 'distant,' and *antika* 'near,' the second case-affix is used as well as the fifth and the third.

Ex. दूरं दूराद् दूरेण वा ग्रामस्य and अन्तिकत् , अन्तिकेन or अन्तिकं ग्रामस्य .

This rule applies only when these words have their original signification and do not denote a substance. Otherwise the proper case-affix should be employed, as दूरः पन्थाः , दूराच्च पथे रेहि .

सप्तम्यधिकरणे , च , ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी , अधिकरणे , च , (दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवत्यधिकरणे कारके चकारा दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यश्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सप्तमीविधाने क्तस्येन्द्रियस्य कर्मण्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ साध्यसाधुप्रयोगे च सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कारकार्हाणां चा कारकत्वे सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अकारकार्हाणां चा कारकत्वे सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तद्विपर्याये च सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निमित्तात्कर्मसंयोगे सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

36. The seventh case-affix is employed when the sense is that of location (I. 4. 45) as well as after the words meaning 'distant' or 'near'.

Ex. कटे आस्ते 'he sits on the mat' अन्तिके दूरे वा ग्रामस्य 'near or distant from the village.' स्यात्स्यां पचति 'he cooks in the pot.' Thus the words दूर and अन्तिक take four case-affixes, namely the second, third, fifth and seventh.

Vart:—Words like अधीतिन् 'who has learnt,' गृहीतिन् 'who has comprehended;' i. e., words formed by adding इन् to the past participle in क्त , govern the locative of that which forms their object:—as अधीती व्याकरणे 'versed in Grammar.' परिगणितो यज्ञिके 'well versed in sacrificial rites.' भाषन्ती छन्दसि 'well read in the Veda.' See V. 2. 88.

Vart:—The words साधु and असाधु govern the locative of that towards whom goodness or otherwise is shown; as मातरि साधुरसाधु वा 'well behaved or ill-behaved towards his mother.'

Vart:—The Locative absolute is used in cases other than those specified in the next sūtra, namely, in cases where the action done or suffered does not indicate the time of another action; as कृद्धेषु भुञ्जानेषु हरिद्रा भावते 'the poor are sitting, while the rich are eating,' हरिद्रेषु भावानेषु कृद्धा भुञ्जते 'the rich are eating, while the poor being seated.' So also *vice versa*.

Vart:—The Locative is sometimes used to denote the object or purpose for which anything is done; as.

चर्मणि द्वीपिनं हन्ति, वंतयोर्हन्ति कुंजरम् ।

केशेषु चमरीं हन्ति सोमि पुष्कलको हतः ॥

'Man kills the tiger for his skin, the elephant for his tusks, the chamari cow for her hair, and the musk-deer for its musk.'

यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, च, भावेन, भाव-लक्षणम्, (सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावः क्रिया । यस्य च भावेन यस्य च क्रिययाक्रियान्तरे लक्ष्यते ततो भाववतः सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

37. By the action (bhava) of what-soever, the time of another action is indicated, that takes the seventh case-affix.

This is Locative Absolute. गोषु दूयमानासु गतः 'the cows being milked, he went away' दुग्धास्वागतः 'and returned when they were milked' अग्निषु हुयमानेषु गतः, हुतेष्वागतः.

Why do we say 'by the action of whatsoever'? Observe यो जगन्निः स भुङ्क्ते. Why have we used the word 'action' twice? Witness यो भुङ्क्ते स विवदत्तः.

षष्ठी चानादरे ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, च, अन्-अदरे, (सप्तमी, भावेन भावलक्षणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनादराधिके भावलक्षणे भाववतः षष्ठीसप्तम्यो विभक्ती भवतः ॥

38. The sixth case-affix is employed (as well as the seventh), when disregard is to be shown, after that by whose action the time of another action is indicated.

This is Genitive Absolute. रुदतः रुदति वा मात्राजीन् 'in spite of her weeping, he went away.' The force of this genitive is that of the English words 'not-with-standing' 'in spite of' 'for all,' &c., नन्वाः पश्य इव हताः पश्यतो राजसस्य 'the

Nāndas were killed like so many beasts, Rakshasa looking on,' (not-withstanding that Rakshasa was looking on).

स्वामीश्वराधिपतिदायादसाक्षिप्रतिभूप्रसूतैश्च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥
स्वामिन्-ईश्वर-अधिपति-दायाद-साक्षिन्-प्रतिभू-प्रसूतैः, च, (षष्ठी सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वामिन् ईश्वर अधिपति शब्दाद् साक्षिन् प्रतिभू प्रसून इत्येतेषां षष्ठी सप्तमी विभक्तौ भवतः ॥

39. The sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after words when they are joined with svāmin 'master,' īśvara 'lord,' adhipati 'ruler,' dāyāda 'an heir,' sākshin 'witness,' pratibhū 'a surety,' and prasūta 'begotten.'

गवां गोषु वा स्वामी or ईश्वर 'master of cows.' So also गवामधिपतिः or गोषुधिपतिः, गवां शब्दाद् or गोषु शब्दाद्, गवां or गोषु शास्त्री, प्रतिभू &c.

These words naturally would have governed the Genitive; the present sūtra ordains Locative as well.

आयुक्तकुशलाभ्यां भासेवायाम् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ आयुक्त-
कुशलाभ्यां, च, भासेवायाम्, (षष्ठी सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आयुक्तो व्यापारितः कुराजो निपुणः ताभ्यां योगे भासेवायां गम्यमानायां षष्ठी सप्तम्यो विभक्तौ भवतः ॥

40. In conjunction with the words āyukta 'engaged,' and kuśala 'skilful,' when meaning entire absorption in an engagement, the sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after a word.

Ex. आयुक्तः कुराजो वा कटकरणं कटकरणस्य वा 'deeply absorbed in mat-making.'

When not meaning 'deeply absorbed,' the construction is different; as आयुक्तो गो शक्ते 'the cow is slightly yoked to the cart.' Here the seventh case-affix only is employed.

यतश्च निर्दोरणम् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यतः, च, निर्दोरणम्,
(षष्ठी-सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यतो निर्दोरणं ततः षष्ठीसप्तम्यो विभक्तौ भवतः ॥

41. The sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after those words from which specification is made, (as of an individual from the whole class).

Ex. गवां गोषु वा कृष्ण बहुक्षीराः 'among cows the black one gives much milk.' मनुष्याणां or मनुष्येषु क्षत्रियः गुरुतमः.

A nirdhārana or specification is made by separating one from the many by reason of its genus, quality and action (II. 2. 10).

पञ्चमी विभक्ते ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चमी, विभक्ते, (यतश्च निर्द्धारणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मिन्निर्द्धारणाभवे विभक्तमस्ति ततः पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥ विभागो विभक्तं ॥

42. The fifth case-affix is employed when the thing specified is different or divided from (and not included in) that from which specification is intended.

This debars the sixth and the seventh case-affixes, as, माथुराः पाटलिपुत्रेभ्यः सुकुमारतराः 'Mathura is more beautiful than Pātaliputra.'

साधुनिपुणाभ्यामर्थायां सप्तम्यप्रतेः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ साधु-निपुणाभ्यां, अर्थायाम्, सप्तमी-अप्रतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साधु निपुण इत्येताभ्यां योगेऽर्थायां गम्यमानायां सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवति न चेत्, प्रतिः प्रयुज्यते ॥

43. In conjunction with the words 'sādhu' 'good,' and nipuṇa 'skillful,' when they denote respect, the seventh case-affix is employed; provided that the word prati is not used.

मातरि साधुः or निपुणः 'good behaved towards his mother'? But साधुर्वेदवत्तो मातरं प्रति 'Devadatta is good behaved towards his mother.'

Why do we say 'when respect is denoted'? Observe, साधुर्वेत्योक्तः 'the servant is good towards the king.' Here it is a bare statement of a fact.

The exception applies not only to प्रति but to other prepositions, like परि, अनु &c., as, मातरं परि साधुर्वेदवत्तः ॥

प्रसितोत्सुकाभ्यां तृतीया च, ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रसित-उत्सुकाभ्यां, तृतीया, च, (सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रसित उत्सुक इत्येताभ्यां योगे तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति चकारात्सप्तमी च ॥

44. In conjunction with the words prasita 'longing for,' and utsuka 'greatly desirous of,' the third case-affix is used after a word, as well as the seventh.

Ex. निद्रायां निद्रया वा उत्सुकः 'longing for sleep.' कोशः or कोशेषु प्रसितः

नक्षत्रे च लुपि ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रे, च, लुपि, (द्वितीया
सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुपन्तानक्षत्रशब्दात् द्वितीयासप्तम्यौ विभक्ती भवतः ॥

45. When an affix declaring the time of an Asterism is elided by lup (IV. 2. 4); the seventh and the third case-affixes are used after the word, whose affix is so elided.

Ex. पुष्येण पुष्ये वा पायसमभीयात् 'when the moon is in the Asterism of Pushya, let him drink milk.' See Rules IV. 2. 4 and IV. 2. 5. So also मघाणिः पल्लोदनं मघासु पञ्जलोदनम्. But not so here पंचालेषु वसति 'he lives in Panchāla'. Here the country is meant, and not a star, though here also there is elision of the Taddhita affix.

Why do we say 'lup elision'? Observe मघासु महः 'the planet in the Maghā.' Here there is no elision. But why not in अयमुष्यः, अयकुत्तिका. Because they do not denote location, which is understood. It is when location is expressed by such words that we may use the third case-affix in the alternative.

प्रातिपदिकार्थलिङ्गपरिमाणवचनमात्रे प्रथमा ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥

प्रातिपदिक-अर्थ-लिङ्ग-परिमाण-वचन-मात्रे, प्रथमा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रातिपदिकार्थमाने लिङ्गमाने परिमाणमाने वचनमाने प्रथमा विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

46. Where the sense is that of the Nominal-stem (I. 2. 45) or of gender only, or measure only or number only, the first case-affix is employed.

Ex. उच्चैः 'aloft,' नीचैः 'below,' कुमारी 'virgin,' वृक्षः 'tree,' कूङ् 'owl,' द्रोणः 'a measure'. By 'number' grammatical number is meant; as एकः 'one,' द्वौ 'two,' बहवः 'many'.

The sense of a Prātipadika is to denote mere existence. Genders are three, masculine, feminine and neuter. Measures are such as droṇa, khāri, āḍhaka &c.. Numbers are singular, dual and plural. The Nipatas which do not denote anything are also Prātipadika.

संवोधने च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संवोधने, च (प्रथमा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संवोधने च प्रथमा विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

47. And when the sense is that of addressing, the first case-affix is employed.

Ex. हे राम 'O Ram' हे रामौ, हे रामाः ॥

साऽमन्त्रितम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सआमन्त्रितम् (सम्बोधने प्रथमा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबोधने वा प्रथमा तदन्तं शब्दरूपमामन्त्रितसंज्ञं भवति

48. The word ending with the first case-affix, in the sense of addressing, is called Amantrita or vocative (VIII. 2.78).

एकवचनं संबुद्धिः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकवचनं सम्बुद्धिः, (आमन्त्रितम् प्रथम) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितप्रथमाया यदेकवचनं तत्संबुद्धिसंज्ञं भवति ॥

49. In the sense of vocative, the singular number of the first case-affix is called Sambuddhi.

The vocative singular is called sambuddhi, when it is employed in the vocation. Thus VI. 1.69 declares 'after an inflection base ending in एद् or in a short vowel, a consonant is elided if it be that of Sambuddhi' as हे राम ॥

षष्ठी शेवे ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, शेवे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मादिभ्योऽन्यः प्रातिपदिकार्थस्यतिरिक्तः स्वस्वामिसंबन्धादिः शेषस्तत्र षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

50. The sixth case-affix is employed in the remaining cases, that is to say, where there is a sense, such as the relation between property and its owner, &c. different from that of a word related to a verb and from that of a Nominal-stem.

Ex. राज्ञः पुरुषः 'the king's man' पशोः पादः 'beast's foot' पितुः पुत्रः 'father's son.'

ज्ञोऽविदर्थस्य करणे ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञः, अविदर्थस्य, करणे, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानातेरविदर्थस्याज्ञानार्थस्य करणे कारको षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

51. Of the verb ज्ञा jñā, when not used in the sense of 'to know,' the instrument takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. मधुनो ज्ञानीते 'he engages in sacrifice with honey'. So also सर्पिषो ज्ञानीते. The verb ज्ञा when not meaning 'to know', has the significance of

'to act, or to engage in;' or it may denote 'false knowledge'; as, सर्पिषि रक्तः प्रसिद्धो वा . Compare I. 3. 45.

But not so here स्वरेण पुत्रं जानाति 'he recognises the son by the voice.'

अधीगर्थदयेयांकर्मणि ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधि-इक्-अर्थ-दय-ईशां,
कर्मणि , (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधीगर्थाः स्मरणार्थाः । इव हानगतिरक्षणेषु । ईश ऐश्वर्ये । एतेषां कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

52. Of the verbs having the sense of 'remembering,' (adhīk) and of daya 'to give,' 'to pity' 'to protect,' 'to move,' and of īśa 'to rule or be master of,' the object takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. मातुः अभ्यति 'he remembers the mother,' सर्पिषो दयते 'he gives clarified butter,' नायं गन्धाणामीडे 'he can not rule his limbs.' But not so here मातुर्गुणैः स्मरति because गुण here is not the object. The word शेव is also understood here. So that the cases not otherwise provided for, take this case. So that स्मरति is also allowed.

रुजः प्रतियत्ने ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुजः , प्रतियत्ने , (कर्मणि शेवे षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतेः कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते प्रतियत्रे गम्यमाने षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

53. The object of the verb kri takes the sixth case-affix, when it means 'to impart a new quality or virtue' (I. 3. 32).

Ex. एधोदकस्योपस्कुरुते 'the wood gives a new quality to the water' (or he prepares the wood and water for sacrifice). (By VI. 1. 139, स is inserted).

When प्रतियत्र is not meant, the second case-affix is employed: as कटं करोति .

The word शेव is also understood here. So that we have also एधोदकम् पस्कुरुते ॥

रुजार्थानां भाववचनानामज्वरे ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुज-अर्थानां , भाववचनानाम् , अज्वरे , (कर्मणि शेवे षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुजार्थानां धातूनां भाववचनानां भावकर्तृकाणां जरिवर्जितानां कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भञ्जति संताप्योरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

54. The object of verbs having the sense of *ruj* 'to afflict,' with the exception of the Causative verb *jvaraya* 'to be feverish,' takes the sixth case-affix, when the verb expresses a condition (i. e., when the subject is an Abstract noun).

Ex. चौरस्य रजति रोगः 'the disease afflicts the thief' चौरस्यामयति भागवः ।

Why do we say 'when the subject is an Abstract noun'? Observe नदी कूलानि रजते 'the river breaks the banks.' So also not here चौरं ज्वरयति ज्वरः 'the fever burns the thief.' So also when the verb संताप is used, चौरं संतापयति तापः ।

The word चौर is also understood here. Thus चौरं रजति रोगः ॥

आशिषि नाथः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, नाथः (कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाथु नाथु याञ्चोपतापैर्वर्वाग्नीःषु पठयते, तस्याग्नीःक्रियस्व कर्मणि कारके शेषेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

55. Of the verb *nāth* when meaning 'to bless'; the object takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. मधुनो नाथते 'he blesses the honey.' But मणवक्रमुपनायति, अंग पुत्री-काधीन् 'he solicits mānavaka saying (child) son, study.' Here नाथ does not mean to bless, and so it takes the accusative case.

आशिनिप्रहणनाटकायपिषां हिंसायाम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशि-निप्रहण-नाट-काय-पिषां, हिंसायाम्, (कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशि निप्रहण नाट काय पिष इत्येतेषां धातूनां हिंसा क्रियाणां कर्मणि कारके षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

56. The object of the verbs *jâsi* 'to strike'; 'to hurt,' *han* 'to strike' preceded by *नि* and *प्र*, *nâṭ* 'to injure,' *krâth*, and 'pish,' when they mean, 'to injure', takes the sixth case-affix.

चौरस्य योज्जासयति, निरहन्ति, निहन्ति, प्रहन्ति, प्रणिहन्ति, उजाटयति, काययति, पिनष्टि वा, 'he injures the thief.'

The root *जसु* belonging to the Churadi class should be taken, and not *Divâdi*. *हन्* with the prepositions *pra* and *ni* may be taken in any order. The root *क्रय्* takes in the causative *vridhhi* irregularly. This verb is *Bhvâdi* and falls into the subdivision *ghatâdi*, and is called there a *मिच्* verb; all *मिच्* verbs shorten their penultimate before the causative affix *णिच्* (VI. 4. 92). Thus *काय* is an irregularity.

Why do we say 'when meaning to injure'? Observe धानाः पिन्दि 'he pounds the barley.'

The word चेष is also understood here as चौरमुज्जासवति . Only these govern the genitive, not so here चौरं हिनस्ति , चौरं विहन्ति ॥

व्यवहृपणोः समर्थयोः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यवहृ-पणोः , समर्थयोः
(कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवहृ पण इत्येतयोः समर्थयोः समानार्थयोः कर्मणि कारके षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

57. The object of the verbs vyavahri and paṇ when they are synonymous, that is when they mean 'dealing in sale and purchase transactions' or 'staking in gambling,' takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. शतस्य व्यवहरति or पणते 'he deals in, or stakes hundred.'

Why does not the verb पण take the affix भाय्? It takes भाय् when meaning 'to praise or honor,' and not in the sense of 'gambling, or bartering' &c. Not so here शलाकां व्यवहरति 'he throws the dice,' ब्राह्मणान् पणायते 'he praises the Brahmanas.' The word चेष is also here understood, so that we have शतं पणते 'he stakes a hundred.'

दिवस्तदर्थस्य ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः , तदर्थस्य । (व्यवहृपणोः समर्थयोः कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवहृपणिसमानार्थस्य दीव्यतेः कर्मणि षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

58. The object of the verb div when having the above-mentioned sense of 'dealing' or 'staking,' takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. शतस्य दीव्यति 'he stakes or deals in hundred.' But not in ब्राह्मणं दीव्यति 'he jokes with the Brahmana.'

The yoga vihbāga, when this root might well have been included in the last aphorism, is for the sake of the succeeding sūtras, in which the anuvṛitti of दिव runs, and not of others.

विभाषोपसर्गे ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा , उपसर्गे , (दिवस्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गं सति दिवस्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि कारके षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

59. The object of the verb div when having the above-mentioned sense of dealing or staking, optionally takes the sixth case-affix, when it is preceded by an upasarga (or preposition).

Ex. शतस्य शतं वा प्रवि दीयति 'he deals in or stakes a hundred.' But no option is allowed when the verb is simple as in the last aphorism ; nor does this rule apply when the sense is not that of dealing or gambling. As, शलाकां प्रवि दीयति 'he throws the missile.'

द्वितीया ब्राह्मणे ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीया , ब्राह्मणे , (द्विव-
स्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्राह्मणविषये प्रयोगे दिवस्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि कारके द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

60. The object of the verb div when having the above-mentioned sense of 'dealing' or 'staking' takes the second case-affix in the Brahmana literature.

Ex. गामस्य तदङ्गः सभायां दीयतेयुः (Maitr. S. 1. 6. 11) In the Vedic literature the simple verb div takes the accusative instead of the genitive. And with upasarga it is optional. The anuvṛtti of the word शेष does not extend to this sūtra, or the following.

प्रेष्यब्रुवोर्हविषो देवतासंप्रदाने ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रेष्य-ब्रुवोः ,
हविषः , देवता-संप्रदाने (षष्ठी कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेष्यब्रुवोर्हविषः कर्मणः षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति देवता संप्रदाने सति ॥

61. The object of the verb preshya and brūhi (imperative singular of Divādi verb, meaning 'send' and 'utter,') denoting sacrificial food, takes the sixth case-affix, when making offerings to deity is meant or when deity is the recipient.

Ex. अग्नये छागस्य हविषोवपाया मेदसोऽनुब्रूहि प्रेष्य वा 'send to fire as oblation, the goat, the fat, and the marrow.' But not here:—अग्नये छागं हविर्वपा मेदोऽनुब्रूहि . Because the verb is not preshya or brūhi. So also not here अग्नये गोमयान् प्रेष्य . Because it is not an oblation. Not here too माणवकाय पुरोडाशं प्रेष्य . Because the recipient is not a deity. Compare VIII. 2. 91.

Vart:—This rule does not apply when the word प्रस्थित 'set out' qualifies the word हविः as; इन्द्राग्निभ्यां छागं हविर्वपा मेदः प्रस्थितं प्रेष्य 'send to Indra and Agni the oblation set out for them' &c.

चतुर्थ्यर्थे बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी-अर्थे , बहुलं ,
छन्दसि (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये चतुर्थ्यर्थे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति बहुलम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ षष्ठ्यर्थे चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥

62. In the chhandas the sixth case-affix is employed diversely with the force of the fourth case-affix.

Ex. पुरुषमृगधन्वसः or चन्द्रमसे 'to the moon, a male deer.' गीधा कालका शर्वा चाटस्ते वनस्पतीनाम् or वनस्पतिभ्यः 'to you lords of the forest, are lizard, kálaka bird, &c. So also वायुरस्मा उपा मन्थत् (R. Ved. X. 136. 7).

Why do we say 'diversely?' Observe कृणोराञ्चै, शिवतो हस्ती .

Vart:—In the Veda, the 4th case-affix is employed in the sense of the sixth: as या खर्वेण पिबति तस्यै खर्वोजायते 'who soever woman drinks with a woman in her courses, gets herself in menstua. So also वा दन्तो भावति तस्यै श्यावदन् 'who cleans her teeth, her teeth become black.' वा नखानि कृन्तति तस्यै कुनखः 'who pairs her nails, her nails become ugly.' So on, in वाङ्क्तेतस्यै काणः याङ्क्तेतस्यै दुश्भा , या केशान् मज्जितति तस्यै खजति ॥ भह्व्याये जातः (T. S. 2. 5. 1. 7).

यजेश्च करणे ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यजेः , च, करणे , (चष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजैर्धातोः करणे कारकं छन्दसि बहुजं षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

63. The sixth case-affix is diversely employed in the chhandas in denoting the instrument of the verb yaj 'to sacrifice.'

Ex. पृतस्य or पृतेन बजते 'he sacrifices with butter.' सोमस्य or सोमेन बजत ॥

कृत्वोऽर्थप्रयोगे कालेऽधिकरणे ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्वो-अर्थप्रयोगे, काले , अधिकरणे (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्वोऽर्थानां प्रत्ययानां प्रयोगे कालेऽधिकरणे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

64. The sixth case-affix is employed in denoting location (adhikarana) after a word denoting time (kāla), when used along with a word ending with an affix having the sense of kritvasuch (V. 4. 17) 'so many times.'

Ex. पंचकृत्वोऽहोभुङ्क्ते 'he eats five times a day.' In short, 'words meaning so many times, or the numeral adverbs of frequency, govern the genitive of time in the sense of locative.' As द्विरहोऽधीते 'he studies twice in a day.'

Why do we say 'having the force of कृत्वसुच्?' Observe भद्वि शेवे 'he sleeps in the day.'

This rule will not apply when the adverb of frequency is understood, not expressed (prayoga) as in अहनि भुङ्क्तम् . Nor when the time is not meant, as द्विः कात्यापायशो भुङ्क्ते 'he eats in two brass vessels.' So also when location is

! Good
Good.
she who
drinks
with a
brother
(Cook)
will
become
crippled
herself.

not meant: as द्विरहो भुञ्जे . The शेष being understood we have द्विरहन्वधीवे .

कर्तृ-कर्मणोः कृति ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-कर्मणोः , कृति ।
(षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतप्रयोगे कर्तरि कर्मणि च षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

65. The sixth case affix is employed after a word, in denoting the agent and the object, when used along with a word ending with a kṛit affix (III. 1. 93).

Ex. क्रियां कालिदासस्य 'the composition of Kalidāsa.' भाहता कर्तॄना 'the performer of sacrifice.' So also भवतः शायिका 'your turn of lying down.' भर्ता स्या , पुरा भेत्ता वज्रस्य भर्ता . But not in शस्त्रेण भेत्ता 'cutting with weapon.'

Why do we say 'kṛit?' Not so when a Taddhita-affix is employed as कृतपूर्वाकटं . In other words, the genitive in Sanskrit is both subjective and objective.

उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणि ॥ ६६ ॥ उभयप्राप्तौ, कर्मणि, (कृति षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उभयोः प्राप्तिर्यस्मिन्कृति सोऽयमुभयप्राप्तिस्तत्रकर्मण्येव षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति , न कर्तरि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भक्ताकारयोः स्त्री प्रत्यययोः प्रयोगे नेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शेषे विभाषा ॥

66. When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the words formed by kṛit-affixes, are both used in a sentence, in the object only, the sixth case-affix is employed, and not in the agent (the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent).

आश्चर्य्यो गवां द्दोहोऽंगोपालकेन 'the milking of a cow without a cowherd is a wonder.' रोचते मे भोदनस्य भोजनं देवदत्तेन 'The eating of rice by Devadatta pleases me;' पयसः पानं यज्जदत्तेन 'the drinking of milk by Yajñadatta.'

Vart:—' When the agent and object are both used, the agent is put in the instrumental, or genitive case, when, as some say, the kṛit terminations are of the feminine gender, or as others say, when the terminations are of any gender; as, विश्विना जगतः कृतिर्हरेर्हरिणा वा 'the creation of the world by Hari is wonderful.' शब्दानामनुशासनमाचार्य्येण आचार्य्यस्य वा 'the dissertation on words by the āchārya' विश्विनाहि सूत्रस्य कृतिः पाणिनेः or पाणिनिना 'beautiful is the structure of sūtra by Panini.' Apte.

क्तस्य च, वर्तमाने ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तस्य, च, वर्तमाने (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तस्य वर्तमानकालविहितस्य प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ननु सके भावउपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शेषवित्तानात् सिद्धम् ॥

67. The past participle ending in क् when used in the sense of the present tense, (III. 2. 187 and 188) is used with the genitive.

Ex. राज्ञां वृजितः 'honored by kings,' अहमेवमती महीपते: 'I alone am regarded by the king.'

Why do we say 'क्त'? Observe ओदनं पचमानः 'rice is cooked.' Why do we say 'when denoting the present tense'? Observe ग्रामं गतः 'gone to the village.'

Vart:—When used as abstract neuter nouns, past participles are used with the genitive, as मयूरस्य नृतं 'the dancing of a peacock.' छात्रस्य हसितं 'the laughing of the students.' कोकिलस्य व्याहृतम् 'the screaming of the cuckoo.' When, however, agent is desired to be particularised, the instrumental case is employed: as छात्रेण हसितम् .

This sūtra debaras sūtra 69 by which genitive is prohibited after Nishṭhā affixes. This is an exception to that sūtra.

अधिकरणवाचिनश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरणवाचिनः , च ;
(षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क् अधिकरणे चेति वक्ष्यति तस्य प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

68. The past participle in क् is used with the genitive when the former expresses location (III. 4. 76).

This also is an exception to the prohibition about Nishṭhā contained in II. 3. 69. As इदमेवामासितम् 'this is their seat.' इदमेवां शयितं 'this is their sleeping.'

In connection with verbs taking two objects, both take the genitive case, when a word ending in kṛit-affix denotes the agent, as they would have taken the accusative: as, नेताऽश्वस्य ग्रामस्य चैव: 'Chaitra is the leader of the horse of the village.' When, however, one is the principal, then the object takes the genitive: as, नेताऽश्वस्य ग्रामं चैव: , 'Chaitra leads the horse to the village.'

न लोकाव्ययनिष्ठाखलर्थेतृनाम् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ल-उ-उक्-
अव्यय-निष्ठा-खलर्थ-तृनाम्, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल उ उक् अव्यय निष्ठा खलर्थे तृन् इत्येतेषां प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उक् प्रतिषेधे कर्मभाषायामप्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अव्ययप्रतिषेधे तौसुन्कसुनोरप्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्विषः शत्रुर्वा वचनम् ॥

69. The sixth case-affix is not used to express the agent or the object, when the word is governed by an Active Participle ending in the affix ल, or उ, or उक, or by an Indeclinable, or by a Past Participle in क्त and क्तवतु, or by a word ending in an affix having the sense of खल्ल or by a Noun of agency formed by तृन् ॥

After these words, the Instrumental case must be employed to denote the Agent, and the Accusative case to denote the object. This sūtra debar Genitive which would have come by II. 3. 65. The word लोक् is formed by ल + उ + उक = ल + उक = लोक् .

1. The word ल means 'the substitutes of ल i. e., the Present Participles in श्त्, शानच् (III. 2. 124), कानच् (III. 2. 106) कसु (III. 2. 107) क्रि and किन् (III. 2. 172). Thus ओदनं पचन्, पचमानः, पेचानः or पेचिवान्, पपिः सोमम्, रुदिर्गाः ॥

2. The affix उ is enjoined by III. 2. 168, as, कटं चिकीर्षुः, ओदनं बुभुषुः ॥ The prohibition applies when a word ending in इष्णुच् (III. 2. 136) is the governing term; as, कन्यामलंकरिष्णुः ॥

3. The affix उक is ordained by III. 2. 154: as आगामकं वाराणसीं रत्नं भाहुः ॥

Vart:—But the word कानुक in secular Sanskrit, governs the Genitive, as शस्याः कानुकः 'lusting for the slave.'

4. Indeclinables formed by कृत् affixes, as, कटं कृत्वा, ओदनं भुङ्क्ता ॥

Vart:—This prohibition, however, does not apply to the indeclinables formed by लोसुन् (III. 4. 16) and कसुन् (III. 4. 17), as, पुरा सूर्यस्योदितोराधेयः, पुरा क्रूरस्य विसृष्टो विरपृशित् (I. 1. 40).

5. Nishṭhā i. e., क्त and क्तवतु; as ओदनं भुक्तवान् देवदत्तेन कृतम् .

6. The words formed by खल्ल affixes (III. 3. 126), as, ईषत्करो भवता कटः, ईषत्पानः सोमो भवता .

7. The तृन् in the aphorism is a pratyāhāra, formed by taking the तृ of श्त् (III. 2. 129) and the final न् of तृन् (III. 2. 135), meaning the affixes शानन् (III. 2. 128), चानश् (III. 2. 129), श्त् (III. 2. 130) and तृन् (III. 2. 135). As सोमं पचमानः, नटमागानः, अधीयन्, पारायणम्, कर्ता कटान्, वदिता जनापवादान् .

Vart:—Optionally so, when the root द्विप् takes the affix श्त्, as, चौरं or चौरस्य द्विप् ॥

अकेनोर्भविष्यदाधमण्ययोः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अक-इनोः, भविष्यद्-आधमण्ययोः (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकस्य भविष्यति काले विहितस्येनस्तु भविष्यति आधमण्यं च विहितस्य प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्न भवति ॥

70. The sixth case-affix is not used when the word is governed by a verbal noun in भक denoting futurity, or in इन् denoting 'futurity and indebtedness.'

The affix भक, such as एबुज, बुम् &c., denote futurity, and never denote indebtedness. The affix इन् such as णिनि (III. 3. 3 and 170) denotes both. Thus कटं कारको ब्रजति 'he goes to make a mat.' भौदनं भोजको ब्रजति 'he goes to eat rice.' So also with इन्, as, ग्रामं गमि or गामी 'he has to go to the village.' शतं दायी 'he owes hundred.'

Why do we say 'when denoting futurity or indebtedness'? Observe यवानां लावकः 'the cutter of barley.' सक्तूनां पावकः, भवरत्नं करी कटस्व ॥

Why is the Genitive employed in the following वर्पशतस्व पूरकः, पुष्पोन्मार्ण्यं दर्शकः? The words पूरक and दर्शक, though formed by भक (III. 1. 133), are not formed by that भक which denotes futurity, *vis.*, III. 3. 10. The present sūtra relates to this latter भक, and not every भक in general.

कुर्यानां कर्त्तरि वा ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्यानां, कर्त्तरि, वा., (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुर्यानां प्रयोगे कर्त्तरि वा षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति, न कर्मणि ॥

सर्त्तिकम् ॥ उभयप्राप्तौ कुर्ये षष्ठ्या प्रतिषेधौ वक्तव्यः ॥

71. The sixth case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the agent, (but not the object), when the word is governed by a Future Passive Participle (kṛitya).

By II. 3. 65, verbal nouns, (krit-formed), always govern the Genitive in denoting agent or object. The present sūtra declares an option as to agents only, in the case of those verbal nouns which are Future Passive Participles. Thus भवतः or भवता कटः कर्त्तव्यः (III. 1. 95).

Why do we say 'in denoting the agent'? In denoting the object, no option is allowed; the Genitive is compulsory. As गेयो मानवकः साम्नाम् ॥

Vart:—The prohibition of the Genitive should be stated in the case of the Future Passive Participles of those verbs which govern two objects. Thus कृष्टव्या मामं शाखा देवदत्तेन, नेतव्या पावमजा देवदत्तेन ॥

तुल्यार्थैरतुलोपमाभ्यां तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुल्य-अर्थैः, अतुल-उपमाभ्यां, तृतीया, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुल्यार्थैः सन्दर्भान्ने तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवत्यन्यतरस्यां, पक्षे षष्ठी च, तुलोपमा शब्दौ वञ्चयिष्या ॥

72. The third or the sixth case-affix may optionally be employed, when the word is joined with another word meaning 'like to, or resemblance'; excepting तुला and उपमाः.

Thus तुल्यो देवदत्तेन or देवदत्तस्य, सङ्गो देवदत्तेन or देवदत्तस्य ॥ But with तुला and उपमा the Genitive must necessarily be employed. As तुला देवदत्तस्य नास्ति, उपमा कुलस्य न विद्यते ॥

Though the anuvritti of च was understood in this sūtra from the previous sūtra, yet the repetition of अन्यतरस्याम् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra. The word च in II. 3. 73 attracts the word अन्यतरस्याम् into that sūtra; but had the word अन्यतरस्याम् not been used in this sūtra, then the word च would have attracted the word द्वितीय instead, which is not desired.

On this sūtra, Professor Apte says:—‘Pāṇini says that the words तुला and उपमा can not be used with the Instrumental. But this is against good usage: as, तुलां यशरोहति इति वाचसा (Kum. Sam. V. 24), नमसा तुलां समाहरोह (Raghuvaṃsa VIII. 15). स्फुटोपमं भूतिसितेन शंभुना (Māgh I. 4).’

चतुर्थी आशिष्यायुष्यमद्रभद्रकुशलसुखार्थहितैः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥
चतुर्थी, च, आशिषि, आयुष्य-मद्र-भद्र-कुशल-सुख-अर्थ-हितैः, (अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि गम्यमानायाम् आयुष्य मद्र भद्र कुशल सुख अर्थ हित इत्येतेषां चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति । अकारो विकल्पानुकर्षणार्थः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अभायुष्यादीनां पर्यायग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ॥

73. The fourth as well as the sixth case-affix may be employed, when blessing is intended in connection with the words āyusha ‘long life,’ madra ‘joy,’ bhadra ‘good fortune,’ kuśala ‘welfare,’ sukha ‘happiness,’ artha ‘prosperity,’ and hita ‘good.’

The च in the sūtra makes the employment of Dative optional: in the alternative we have Genitive.

Vart:—In this sūtra आयुष्य &c., include their synonyms also.

Thus आयुष्यं देवदत्ताय भूयात् or आयुष्यं देवदत्तस्य भूयात् ॥ Similarly चिरं जीवितं, मद्रं, भद्रं, कुशलं, निरामयं, सुखं, शं, अर्थो, प्रयोजनं, हितं पर्यं देवदत्ताय or देवदत्तस्य भूयात् ॥

Why do we say when ‘benediction is intended’? Observe आयुष्यं देवदत्तस्य तपः ‘the austerity is the cause of the long life of Devadatta.’ Here there is no option allowed: and the Genitive case is only employed.

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॥ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

BOOK II.

CHAPTER IV.

द्विगुरेकवचनम् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगुः । एक-वचनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगुः समासः एकवचनं भवति ॥

1. The compound Dvigu (II. 1. 52) is singular in number.

The word एकवचन is a genitive Tat-purusha compound meaning 'the expression for one,' that is to say, it expresses the sense of unity. The rule therefore, enjoins that the sense inherent in a Dvigu compound is that of unity.

This is confined to Samāhāra Dvigu i. e., an aggregate compound taken in a collective sense. As, पञ्चपदं 'an aggregate of five cows,' पञ्चपदी (IV. 1. 21.). The sense of Dvigu being that of one, it follows that it retains the singular number even when further modified by other affixes, and used as an attributive and though no longer a Dvigu; as, पञ्चपदीयं शोभना ॥

द्वन्द्वश्च प्राणितूर्यसेनाङ्गानाम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वः , च, प्राणि-
तूर्य-सेना-अङ्गानाम् (एकवचनं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राण्यङ्गानां द्वन्द्व एकवचनं भवति, तथाचूर्याङ्गानां सेनाङ्गानां च ॥

2. A Dvandva compound too is singular in number, when it is compounded of words signifying members of the animal body, players (or singers or dancers) and component parts of an army.

As, प्राणिपादम् 'the hand and foot' शिरोभीषं 'the head and neck' मर्दिङ्ग-
पाणविकम् 'players on the mṛdaṅga and panava (kinds of drums)' रथिकाश्चरोहम्
'the soldiers on chariot and horse.' शीणावाहं रूपरिवाहकम्, रथिकपादावम् ॥

This rule applies to cases of Samāhāra Dvandva or aggregate Dvandva Compounds only; and not to Itaretara Dvandva (II. 2. 29.)

In the Dvandva Compounds of animals such as elephants, horses &c., the singular is optional; (II. 4. 12.) The present rule also gives us an index as to where we must make Samāhāra Dvandva and where an Itaretara Dvandva. The Dvandva compounds of words signifying members of animal body, players or army, are always and solely Samāhāra Dvandva. The compounds of words like दधिपयसी 'curd and milk' (II. 4. 14) are purely Itaretara Dvandva and can never be Samāhāra Dvandva; while compounds of words denoting tree, animals &c., (II. 4. 12.) are optionally either Samāhāra or Itaretara Dvandva.

अनुवादे चरणानाम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुवादे, चरणानाम् ।
(द्वन्द्वः, एकवचनम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ चरणानां द्वन्द्व एकवचनवृत्ति, अनुवादे गम्यमाने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्थेयोरयतन्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

3. A Dvandva compound of words signifying persons belonging to the different Vedic-Schools when the sense is that of repetition, is singular.

The word चरण means a school or branch of any of the Vedas designated by the name of the person who founded such a branch and hence means such a person. The word अनुवाद means repetition by way of explanation, illustration or corroboration; that is to say, when a speaker demonstrates for some special purposes, a proposition which had already been demonstrated before, that is called anuvāda.

This aggregate is used with the aorist of the roots स्था and इद् only; as उद्गात् कठकालापम् 'kaṭha and kālāpa arose (again, further demonstrating their doctrines)'; प्रत्यष्टात् कठकौथुमम् 'kaṭha and kauthuma established again.'

Why do we say 'when meaning repetition'? Observe उद्गुः कठकालापाः or प्रत्यष्टुः कठकौथुमाः, when demonstration for the first time is meant. It is the aorist of स्था and इद् which takes such a Dvandva and not any other verb or any other tense of these verbs; as:—अनन्विषुः कठकालापाः and उद्यन्ति कठकालापाः.

Note:—This sūtra is translated thus by Mr. Iyengar, 'Aggregation alone is admissible between words denoting persons belonging to the different charaṇas of the Vedas, when they are used along with the aorist derived from the roots sthā and iḍ, in the sense of recitation of the charaṇas as already learnt, as distinguished from learning them the first time.' Prof. Bohthlingk's translation is, 'The Dvandva Compound of the names of Vedic-Schools is singular, when such a school is repeatedly mentioned equally along with another.'

अध्वर्युऋतुरनपुंसकम् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्वर्युऋतुः, अ-नपुंस-
कम् । (द्वन्द्व, एकवचनम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्वर्युऋतुवाचिनां शब्दानामनपुंसकलिङ्गानां हन्द् एकवचनवति ॥

4. A Dvandva compound of words denoting sacrifices (kratu) ordained by the Yajur (Adhvaryu) Veda, is singular, provided they are never used in the neuter gender.

As, अर्काश्वमेधम् 'the Arka and Aśvamedha sacrifices,' सायाह्नातिरात्रम् 'the Sāyāhna and Atirātra sacrifices.'

Why do we say 'Yajur-veda sacrifices? Observe इषुवज्रो 'the Ishu and Vajra ceremonies,' उद्भिर्वचनभिदो ॥

Why do we say 'when not in the neuter gender'? Observe राजसूयवाजपेयो 'the Rājasūya and Vājapeya sacrifices.'

Why have we इक्षोषैर्मासौ? Because the word ऋतुः is a technical term applying only to Soma-sacrifices and not any sacrifices in general. Therefore, though Darśa and Pūrṇamāsa are Yajur-veda ceremonies, they not being Soma ceremonies, the present rule does not apply.

अध्ययनतोऽविप्रकृष्टाख्यानाम् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्ययनतः, अवि
प्रकृष्टाख्यानाम्, (द्वन्द्व, एकवचनम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्ययनेन निमित्तेन येषामविप्रकृष्टा प्रत्यासन्ना आख्या तेषां हन्द् एकवचनवति ॥

5. A Dvandva compound of words denoting (persons who have studied) subjects, which in their order of study are not remote from each other, is singular.

As, पदक्रमकम् 'a person who has studied the pada arrangement and a person who has studied the krama arrangement; so also क्रमकवार्तिकम्.

Why do we say 'order of study'? Observe पितापुत्रौ 'father and son.' Why do we say 'not remote'? See याज्ञिकवेद्याकरणौ 'sacrifice-knower and the grammarian.'

जातिरप्राणिनाम् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातिः, अप्राणिनाम्,
(द्वन्द्व, एकवचनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचिनां शब्दानां हन्द् एकवचनवति, प्राणिनो वर्जयित्वा ॥

6. A Dvandva compound of words signifying jāti (genus) which are not names of living beings, is singular.

Thus भारगृह्णि 'the probe and the knife'; धानाशुक्लि 'fried rice and barley cake.'

Why do we say 'words denoting genus'? Observe नन्दकपाञ्चजन्यो 'Nandaka and Pāñchajanya.'

Why do we say 'not of living being'? See ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियो "Brāhmanas and the Kshatriyas.'

This rule applies to the jāti or genus names of substances (द्रव्यजाति) and not the jāti names of qualities and actions. (गुणक्रियाजाति). Thus रूपरस-गन्धस्पर्शा: 'colour, savour, odour, and tangibility'; गमनाकुञ्चनप्रसारणानि 'going, contraction and expansion.'

Even with jāti names of substances, the Dvandva compound takes singular, only when the objects are spoken of collectively as a class; when, however, the individuals belonging to a class are indicated, the proper number should be employed; as, इह कुण्डे बदरामलकानि तिष्ठन्ति 'in this bowl are the badari and āmalaki fruits.'

The words जाति 'genus,' द्रव्य 'substance,' गुण 'quality' and क्रिया 'action' are technical terms of Indian Logicians. Jāti has already been explained. Substances are nine: earth, water, light, air, ether, time, space, soul, and mind. Qualities are twenty-four: colour, savour, odour, tangibility, number, dimension, severalty, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, weight, fluidity, viscosity, sound, understanding, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, effort, merit, demerit and faculty. There are five actions: throwing upwards, throwing downwards, contraction, expansion and going.

विशिष्टलिङ्गो नदी देशोऽग्रामाः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशिष्ट-लिङ्गः, नदी, देशः, अग्रामाः, (द्वौपदौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विशिष्टलिङ्गानां भिन्नलिङ्गानां नदीवाचिनां शब्दानां देशवाचिनां च ग्रामवर्जितानां द्वन्द्व एकवचनवि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अग्रामा इत्यत्र नगराणां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उभयतश्च ग्रामाणां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

7. A Dvandva compound of words of different genders, denoting names of rivers and countries, but not of towns, is singular.

Thus गंगाशोणम् 'the Ganges and the Sona.' कुरुवः + कुरुक्षेत्रं = कुरुकुरुक्षेत्रं 'the country of the Kurus and the Kurukshetra.' इक्ष्वारवती कुरुकुरु जाङ्गलम् ॥

Why do we say 'of different genders'? Observe गंगायमुने 'the Ganges and the Yāmuna.' Both being feminine gender, so also मद्रकैकयाः ॥

Why do we say 'rivers and countries'? Observe कुकुटमयुरौ 'the hen and the pea-hen.'

Why do we say 'not of a town'? See जाम्बवशातूकिन्धौ, Jāmbaba and Sālukinf' which are the names of two villages or grāma.

We have taken the word 'river,' as the word 'country' does not include 'river.' So also 'mountains' are not included; as कैलाशगन्धमादने 'the Kailāsa and the Gandhamādana.'

Vart:—The prohibition extends to villages and towns (grāma) but not to cities, (Nagara), as मथुरापाटलिपुत्रं 'the cities of Mathura and Pātaliputra.'

Vart:—When a compound consists of two words, one a town and the other a city, the prohibition applies; as सौर्यकेतवते 'the city of Saurya and the village of Ketavata.'

क्षुद्रजन्तवः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुद्र-जन्तवः, (द्वन्द्व एकवचनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुद्रजन्तु वाचिनां द्वन्द्व एकवद्ववति ॥

8. A Dvandva compound of words signifying small animals, is singular.

Thus यूकालिन्तम् 'the louse and the nit'; शंशमशकम् 'the bug and the mosquito.' The word क्षुद्रजन्तु means an animal of a very small size. Some say that animals not having bones are called क्षुद्रजन्तु, (invertebrates); others say, those which are small in size; others say, all below the mongoose are kshudrajanu.

येषां च विरोधः शाश्वतिकः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ येषां, च, विरोधः, शाश्वतिकः (द्वन्द्वः, एकवच०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येषां शाश्वतिको विरोधस्तद्वाचिनां चन्दानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्ववति ॥

9. A Dvandva compound of words signifying those animals only among whom there is permanent enmity i. e., natural and eternal antipathy or quarrel, is singular.

The word विरोध means enmity; and शाश्वतिकः means permanent.

Thus, मार्जारभूषकम् 'the cat and the rat'; श्वशूगालम् 'the dog and the jackal'; भहिनकुलं 'the snake and the mongoose.'

Why do we say 'natural and eternal'? Observe गोपालिशालंकायनाः कलहायन्ते 'Gaupāli and Sālankāyana are quarrelling.'

The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of एव 'only.' Dvandva compounds of such animals only are invariably singular; no other rule, even

if otherwise applicable, would apply to such compounds. Thus rule 12 says that Dvandva compounds of beasts and birds, is optionally singular. That rule (by I. 4, 2.) would have set aside the present rule. But च prevents that, and no optional plural number is allowed in case of beasts or birds that are naturally at war; as अश्वमहिषम्, 'the horse and the buffalo'; काकोलूकम् 'the crow and the owl.'

शूद्राणामनिरवसितानाम् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ शूद्राणाम्, अनिरव-
सितानाम्, (द्वन्द्वः, एकवचः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनिरवसितशूद्राणि चानां द्वन्द्व एकवच इति ॥

10. A Dvandva compound of words denoting those classes of Sûdras who have not been expelled from the communion of higher classes, is singular.

Thus, तत्तायस्कर्म 'the carpenter and the blacksmith'; रजकतन्तुवायम् 'the washerman and the weaver.'

The word अनिरवसित means one not expelled (from the dish).

A Sûdra who can take food from the dish of a higher class, without permanently defiling that vessel, is called an Anirvāsita Sûdra.

Why do we say 'not expelled'? Observe चण्डालमृतपाः 'the Chandāla and the Mritapa.'

गवाश्वप्रभृतीनि ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ गवाश्व-प्रभृतीनि, (एक-
वचनम्, द्वन्द्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गवाश्वप्रभृतीनि कृतैकवद्भावानि द्वन्द्वरूपाणि साधुनि भवन्ति ॥

11. The word gavāśva, and others are also Dvandva compounds which take the singular number.

Thus गवाश्वम् 'the cow and the horse.' So also गवाविकम्.

गवाश्वविकः

1. गवाश्वम्. 2. गवाविकम्. 3. गवैडकम्. 4. अजाविकम्. 5. अजै-
डकम्. 6. कुम्भवाहनम्. 7. कुम्भकौरातकम्. 8. पुत्रपौत्रम्. 9. श्वचण्डालम्. 10.
स्त्रीकुमारम्. 11. हासीमाणवकम्. 12. शाटीपिच्छकम्. 13. उष्ट्रखरम्. 14. उष्ट्रश-
शम्. 15. मूत्रशकृत्. 16. मूत्रपूरीषम्. 17. यकुन्नेरः. 18. मांसशोणितम्. 19.
दर्भशरम्. 20. दर्भपूतीकम्. 21. भर्जुनशिरीषम्. 22. हणोलपम्. 23. हासीहासम्.
24. कुटीकुटम्. 25. भगवतीभागवतम्.

Vart:—In this list, the forms as given, are singular; but when the same words assume different forms they may take either number. As गोश्वम् or गोश्वौ. In this form of गो and अश्व the next rule applies and option is allowed.

विभाषा वृक्षमृगतृणधान्यव्यञ्जनपशुशकुन्यश्ववहवपूर्यापराधरोत्तराणाम् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वृक्ष-मृग-तृण-धान्य-व्यञ्जन-पशु-शकुनि-अश्ववहव-पूर्व-अपर-अधर-उत्तराणाम्, (६८९०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृक्ष मृग तृण धान्य व्यञ्जन पशु शकुनि अश्ववहव पूर्वपर अधरोत्तर इत्येतेषां द्वन्द्वो विभाषकवद्वचि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुप्रकृतिः फलसेना वनस्यातिमृगशकुनिषु ब्रजन्तुधान्यवहणानाम् ॥

12. A Dvandva compound of words being the names of trees, wild animals, grass, corn, condiment, domestic beasts and birds, and the compounds aśva-vaḍava, purvā-para and adharottara, are optionally singular.

12 Thus. वृक्षम्वयोधम् or वृक्षम्वयोधाः 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees'; रुरुपृषतम् or रुरुपृषताः 'the Ruru-deer and the spotted antelopes'; कुशकाशम् or कुशकाशाः 'the Kuśa grass and the Kāśa grass'; ब्रीहियवम् or ब्रीहियवाः 'the rice and the barley' इषिपृतम् or से 'the curd and the butter' गोमहिषम् or वाः 'the cow and the buffalo'; तित्तिरिपिञ्जलम् or ज्ञाः 'the Tittiri (a kind of partridge) and the Kapinjala birds'; अश्ववहवम् or वाः 'the horse and the mare'; पूर्यापरम् or रे 'the first and the last'; अधरोत्तरम् or रे 'the upper and lower.'

Vart:—The Dvandva compound of words denoting names of fruits, army, large trees, wild animals, birds, small animals, grain and grass, is singular, when a large number or quantity of these is spoken of; that is when a large number of them is taken collectively, the compound is singular, otherwise not; as, बदरामलके तिष्ठतः 'a badari and an āmalaki fruit are here'; रथिकाधरोहो 'a charioteer and a horseman'; वृक्षम्वयोधो 'a Plaksha and a Nyagrodha tree'; रुरुपृषनो 'a Ruru and a Prishata deer'; हंसचक्रवाको 'a Hansa and a Chakravaka bird'; बूकानिभे 'a louse and a nit'; ब्रीहियवो 'a brihi and yava grain'; कुशकाशौ 'the kuśa and kāśa grass.

विप्रतिषिद्धं चानधिकरणवाचि ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विप्रतिषिद्धं, च, अनधिकरण-वाचि, (विभाषा ६९९८) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विप्रतिषिद्धार्थानां शब्दानामनधिकरणवाचिनामद्वन्द्ववाचिनां द्वन्द्व एकवद्वचि विभाषानुर्कषणार्थं चकारः ॥

13. A Dvandva compound of words of contrary significations, but not being the names of concrete substances, is optionally singular.

Thus शीतोष्णम् or शीतोष्णे 'cold and heat'; सुखदुःखं or सुखदुःखे 'pleasure and pain'; जीवितमरणं or जीवितमरणे 'life and death.'

The word विप्रतिषिद्धं means words of contrary significations. च indicates the anuvṛtti of the word 'optionally' from the last sūtra.

Why do we say 'of contrary significations'? Observe, कामक्रोधौ 'lust and anger,' which are not of contrary significations.

Why do we say 'not being the names of substances'? Observe शीतोष्णौ उदके 'cold and warm waters,' which denote substances.

न दधिपय आदीनि ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दधिपयः, आदीनि (दृ० ए०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दधिपय आदीनि शब्दरूपाणि नैकवचनानि ॥

14. The Dvandva compounds like 'dadhipaya' &c., are not singular.

Thus दधिपयसी 'the curd and the milk'; सर्पिर्मधुनी or मधुसर्पिणी 'the clarified butter and the honey.'

With this sūtra begins prohibition of singular number which previous sūtras would have caused.

The following is a list of such compounds:—

1. दधिपयसी . 2. सर्पिर्मधुनी or मधुसर्पिणी . 3. मलमज्जापती . 4. शिव-वेभ्रवणी . 5. स्कन्दविशाखी . 6. परित्राड्कोशिकी . 7. प्रवर्ग्येपिसद्वी . 8. शुक्लदृष्टी . 9. इभावर्हिणी ॥ निपातनादीर्घः ॥ 10. सीतातपसी . 11. अज्ञातपसी . 12. वेधातपसी . 13. अभ्ययनतपसी . 14. उलूलमुसले . 15. आद्यावसाने . 16. अज्ञाने . 17. चक्रसाने . 18. वाङ्मनसे .

अधिकरणैतावत्वे च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरण-एतावत्वे, च, (न दृ० ए०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणं वर्तिष्यार्थः, स हि समासस्यार्थस्याधारः तस्यैतावत्त्वे परिमाणे गम्यमाने द्वन्द्वो नैकवचनः ॥

15. A Dvandva compound denoting a fixed number (etavatva) of concrete things (adhiḥkaraṇa) is not singular.

Comments pronounced by the
As, दश दन्तोष्ठाः 'ten sets of teeth and lips'; दशमर्दङ्गिकपाणविकाः 'ten sets of drum and panavika players.' Compare II. 4. 2.

विभाषा समीपे ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा समीपे, (अधिकरणैतावत्वे, द्वन्द्वः एकवच०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणैतावत्त्वस्य समीपे विभाषा द्वन्द्व एकवचनवति ॥

16. A Dvandva compound, denoting an approximate number of concrete substances, is optionally singular.

As, उपरसं दन्तोष्ठं or उपरसा दन्तोष्ठाः 'nearly ten i. e., nine or eleven sets of teeth and lips'; उपरसं मारङ्गिकपाणविकम् or उपरसा मारङ्गिकपाणविकाः 'nearly ten (nine or eleven) mridaṅga and panava players.'

An indeclinable, when compounded with a numeral, may either be a Bahuvrīhi or an Avyayibhāva compound. When the compound is singular in form, it is Avyayibhāva, and when it takes proper number-terminations, it is Bahuvrīhi compound. As, उपरसं ; उपरसाः (II. 2. 25).

स नपुंसकम् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, नपुंसकम् (एकवचनम्, द्वन्द्वः, द्विगुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्यायनेकवक्त्राणो विहितः स नपुंसकनिष्कृतो भवति द्विगुरन्त्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अकारान्तो स रूपो द्विगुः स्त्रियां भाष्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वाऽऽद्यस्यः स्त्रियामिष्टः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनो गलोपश्च वा च द्विगुः स्त्रियाम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पामादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

17. It, namely the Dvigu or the Dvandva compound, with regard to which singular number has been ordained by the above rules, is always a neuter gender.

As, दशपदम् 'an aggregate of ten cows,' पाणिपादम् 'hands and feet,' शिरोमूर्ध्नि 'head and neck.'

This sūtra debars the operation of the rule by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent member. See II. 4. 26.

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which ends in short अ, is employed in the feminine gender only; as पञ्चपूनी, दशरथी.

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a feminine word ending in आप् affix, is optionally feminine; as, पञ्चखट्वम् or पञ्चखट्वी.

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a word ending in अम्, is optionally feminine and the न् is elided; as, पञ्चतन्त्रम् or पञ्चतन्त्री.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of Dvigu compounds ending in पात्र &c., पञ्चपात्रम्; चतुर्भुजम्; त्रिभुवनम्.

अव्ययीभावश्च ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययी भावः, च, (नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावश्च समासो नपुंसकनिष्कृतो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुण्यसुविनाश्यामद्वः स्त्रीवतेत्यतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पयः संयथाव्ययारोः स्त्रीवतेत्यतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्रियाविशेषणानां कर्मस्य नपुंसकनिष्कृता च वक्तव्या ॥

18. An Avyayibhāva (II. 1. 6.) compound is also neuter gender.

Thus, अधिजि 'pertaining to a woman'; so also, उपकुमारि, उष्मत्तर्गम् &c.

But for this rule, an Avyayibhāva compound would have been either without any gender, if gender were to be regulated by its first member, which is generally an indeclinable, and which is the principal member in the compound; or it would have taken the gender of its subsequent member, like other compounds in which the last member is principal.

The force of च is to include cases not mentioned already.

Vart:—Neuter gender is employed after the word अह् preceded by पुण्य or सुदिन; as पुण्यदिनम् 'sacred day'; सुदिनम् 'lucky day.'

Vart:—The word पथ is neuter when compounded with a numeral or an Avyaya; as विपथम्, चतुष्पथम्, विपथम्, सुपथम्.

Vart:—Adverbs, qualifying verbs, are put in the neuter gender (and accusative case); as मृदु पचति 'he cooks mildly,' शोभनं पचति 'he cooks well.'

तत्पुरुषोऽनङ्कर्मधारयः ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषः, अनङ्कर्मधारयः (नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकमात्रं कर्मधारयं च वर्जयित्वाऽन्यस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवतीत्येतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

19. A Tat-purusha compound, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle नाँ, and of the Karmadhāraya compound, becomes neuter gender, in the cases explained in the following sūtras.

This is a governing sūtra and regulates the sense of the succeeding aphorisms which show when a Tat-purusha may be neuter. Thus, ब्राह्मणसेनम् or. ना (II. 4. 25); but इहसेनो राजा (the compound not being Tat-purusha); भवेना (it being a compound with नम्=अ); and परमसेना (it being Karmadhāraya).

संज्ञायां कन्योऽशीनरेषु ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, कन्या, अशीनरेषु. (तत्पुरुषः नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये कन्यान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति, सा चेत् कन्या अशीनरेषु भवति ॥

20. When denoting an appellative, a Tat-purusha compound ending with the word kanthā 'town,' is neuter in gender, provided that it is the name of a town situated in the country of the Uśīnaras..

As, सौमिकन्यम् 'the town of Sauśami'; आह्वरन्यम् 'the town of Ahwara.'

When not an appellative, the form is different; as, वीरणकन्या. So also if the town is not in the country of the Uśīnaras; as राक्षिकन्या.

This debars the rule (II. 4. 25.) by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent term. (For accent see IV. 2. 124.)

उपज्ञोपक्रमं तदाद्याधिख्यासायान् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपज्ञा-
उपक्रमं, तद्-भादि-आधिख्यासायान् (तत्पुरुषः, नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपज्ञोपक्रमं तदन्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति तदाद्याधिख्यासायां ततो-
उपज्ञोपक्रमयोरादौराधिख्यासायां गन्धमानावान् ॥

21. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words 'upajñā' (invention) and 'upakrama' (commencement) is neuter in gender, when it is intended to express the starting point of a work which is first invented or commenced.

As, पाणिन्युपज्ञमाकाङ्क्षापकं व्याकरणम् 'the grammars Kalāpa &c., had their commencement with Pāṇini's invention'; व्याद्युपज्ञं दुष्करणं 'Vyādi-invented Dushkarana'; आद्योपक्रमं श्रसाहः 'the palace is an invention of rich folks.' नन्दोपक्रमणि मयानि 'the measures are the invention of king Nanda.'

Of course, when it has not this sense, the neuter gender is not employed; as देवदत्तोद्यो रथः 'the chariot made by Devadatta,' यज्ञदत्तोपक्रमो रथः 'the chariot commenced by Yajñadatta.' So also the sense may be that of invention &c., but when these words are not employed, the neuter gender is not used; as वाल्मीकिरिज्ञोक्ताः 'the slokas invented by Vālmiki.' N. P. Prof. Bohthlingk gives पाणिन्युपज्ञनकालकं व्याकरणम् 'The Grammar omitting the time of day is the work invented by Pāṇini, (VI. 2. 14.)

छाया बाहुल्ये ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ छाया, बाहुल्ये, (तत्पुरुषः,
नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छायान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति बाहुल्ये गन्धमाने ॥

22. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word chhâyā 'shadow' is neuter in gender when the sense is that of profuseness of the thing indicated by the first term.

Thus, शूलमच्छाद्यम् 'A crowd of locusts darkening the sky.' इमृच्छाद्यम् 'the sugarcane shade i. e., groves of sugarcane.' Otherwise, कुम्भच्छाया 'the shadow of a wall.' (VI. 2. 14, accent.)

The sūtra 25 gives optional neuter; this rule enjoins invariable neuter when chhâyâ has the sense of profuseness.

सभा राजामनुष्यपूर्वा ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सभा, राजा-मनुष्य-पूर्वा (तत्पुरुषनपुंसक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सभान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति, सा चेत् सभा राजपूर्वा मनुष्यपूर्वा च भवति ॥

23. A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word sabhâ 'court' is neuter, provided that it is preceded by (a word synonymous with) the word Râjâ, or by a word denoting a non-human being.

As इनसभम् 'the King's Court.' ईश्वरसभम् 'Lord's Court.'

But in राजसभा 'the King's Court,' the word is not neuter; for synonyms of राजा are only to be taken and not the word-form राजा; an apparent exception to Rule I. 1. 68.

So also रक्षससभम् 'the Court of the Rakshasas.' विशाचसभम् 'the Court of the Piśāchas.'

But in काष्ठसभा, देवदत्तसभा &c., the word is not neuter; for the word non-human has a technical significance meaning Rākshasa or a monster.

अशाला च ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अशाला, च, (तत्पुरुषनपुंसक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अशाला च या सभा तदन्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति ॥

24. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word sabhâ, when it does not mean a house, but means concourse, is neuter.

As, स्त्रीसभम्, दासीसभम् 'the concourse of ladies and slaves;' otherwise अनायसभा 'the poor-house.'

विभाषा सेनासुराछायाशालानिशानाम् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥
विभाषा, सेना-सुरा-छाया-शाला-निशानाम्, (नपुंसकं, तत्पुरुषः) ॥

वृत्तिः । सेना सुरा छाया शाला निशा इत्येवमन्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति विभाषा ॥

25. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words senâ 'army' surâ 'wine,' chhâyâ 'shadow,' śālâ 'house' and nisâ 'night,' is optionally neuter, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle nañ (II. 2. 6) and the karmadhâraya compound.

As ब्राह्मणसेना, ब्राह्मणसेनम् 'the Brāhmaṇa army,' बरसुरम्, बरसुरा 'the barley wine,' कुट्यच्छायम्, कुट्यच्छाया 'the shadow of the wall,' गोशालम्, गोशालम् 'the cow house,' इवनिशम्, इवनिशा 'tomorrow night.' But भवेना 'non-army,' परमसेना good army,' the former being negative and the latter karmadhāraya compound. For accent see VI. 2. 14, 123.

परवलिङ्गं द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ परवत्-लिङ्गम्,
द्वन्द्व-तत्पुरुषयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्य यलिङ्गं तद्वति द्वन्द्वस्य तत्पुरुषस्य च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्विगुप्राप्तापन्नालपूर्वगतिसमासेषु प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

26. The gender of Dvandva or Tat-purusha compound is like that of the last word in it.

This applies to Itaretara Dvandva or coupling by mutual conjunction कुक्कुःमयूर्याविने, 'those two (fem.) the cock and the peahen' मयूरीकुक्कुटाविनो 'those two (mas.) the peahen and the cock.' The Samāhāra Dvandva is always neuter. So also in Tat-purusha compound not especially mentioned in the previous aphorism: As अर्धपिप्पल्याः, अर्धपिप्पली 'half a pippali; अर्धकौशाम्बी.

Vart:—Prohibition must be made in regard to (1) Dvigu compound, (2) compounds with श्रार, आपन्न and, अलं, and (3) compounds with Gati words; as, पंचकपालः 'Puroḍāsa prepared in five cups'; प्रावजीविकः (प्राव + जीविका) 'has obtained living,' आपन्नजीविकः, अलंजीविकः; निष्कौशाम्बिः 'gone beyond Kauśambi.

पूर्ववदश्ववहवौ ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्ववद्, अश्व-वहवौ,
(लिङ्गम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश्ववहवयोः पूर्ववलिङ्गं भवति ॥

27. The gender of the compound of the word aśva 'horse' and vaḍava 'a mare,' is like that of the first word in it.

This applies where the compound is not an aggregate by rule II. 4. 12; in that case it will be neuter. अश्ववहवाविनो; अश्ववहवान्, अश्ववहवोः &c., (in every number and case) 'those two (mas.) the horse and the mare.' This is an exception to the last and general rule, by which the gender of the subsequent term, guides the gender of the whole compound.

हेमन्तशिशिरावहोरात्रे च च्छन्दसि ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेमन्त-
शिशिरौ, अहो-रात्रे, च, छन्दसि, (पूर्ववत्, लिङ्गम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेमन्तशिशिरौ अहोरात्रे शय्येववो छन्दसि विषये पूर्ववलिङ्गं भवति ॥

28. Of the compounds 'hemantasiśirau' and 'ahoratre' the gender is like that of the first word; in the Chhandas. (vedas).

हेमन्तशिशिरावृत्तनां प्रीणानि , अहोरात्रे इह मृतः ॥

This aphorism debars the general rule given in II. 4. 26.

This applies to these words in all cases and numbers, not being confined to them in the dual number, though exhibited in the sūtra in the dual number, as:—पूर्वपक्षाभितयः , अपरपक्षाः पुरीषम् , अहोरात्राणीष्टकाः 'The white fortnight is fuel-wood, the black fortnight is the dung-cake, and days and nights are bricks (of the altar of sacrifice).'

Why do we say 'in the Vedas ? Observe दुःखे हेमन्तशिशिरे, अहोरात्राविधौ पुण्यौ . In the Vedas the ordinary rules of gender are often set aside; this is an individual example of the universally exceptional nature of the Vedic language.

रात्राह्नाहाः पुंसि ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्र-अह्न-अहाः , पुंसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रात्र अह्न अह इत्येते पुंसि माप्यन्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनुवाकादयः पुंसीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

29. The Dvandva and Tatpurusha compound ending with rātra and ahna and aha are spoken of in the masculine.

These words refer to kṛit and Samāsānta affixes. Thus the word रात्र is formed by रात्रि + अच् (V. 4. 87) अह्न is formed by V. 4. 88 and अह by V. 4. 91. The general rule II. 4. 26 also does not apply here.

द्विरात्रः , त्रिरात्रः 'A space of two or three nights' पूर्वार्द्धः , अपरार्द्धः , मध्याह्नः 'the forenoon, the afternoon and noon', द्वयः 'two days' त्रयः , 'three days.'

Vart:—The words अनुवाक &c., are masculine, as अनुवाकः , वयुवाकः , सूक्तवाकः &c.,

अपथं नपुंसकम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपथम् , नपुंसकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपथ शब्दो नपुंसकनिङ्गो भवति ॥

30. The Tatpurusha word apatham 'a bad road' is neuter.

अपथमिदम् 'this (neuter) is a bad road' अपथानि गाहते मूढः 'the fool roams on wrong roads.' But अपथोदेशः a (masc.) 'a roadless country.' Here the compound being Bahuvrithi the word is masculine so; also अपथा नगरी ॥

अर्धर्चाः पुंसि च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्धर्चाः, पुंसि, च,
(नपुंसकम्) ॥

पुंसः ॥ अर्धर्चाः शब्दा पुंसि नपुंसके च भाष्यते ॥

31. The words 'ardharcha' &c., are spoken of in masculine and neuter.

As अर्धर्चः and अर्धर्चम् 'half a verse', गोमयः and गोमयम् 'cow-dung.' These twofold genders sometime, convey different meanings, the masculine form having one meaning and the neuter, another. Thus वनः 'treasure,' वनः or वनम् 'lotus', वनः 'treasure,' and शंखम् or शंखः 'conch-shell,' भूतः or भूतम् 'ghost.' But when it is a verbal noun, it takes the gender of the word it qualifies. सैन्धवः or सैन्धवम् 'salt'; but when it is considered as a derivative word meaning 'born in or belonging to the sea' it takes the gender of the word it qualifies. सारः 'best' सारः 'compendium.' So धर्मः and धर्मम्.

1. अर्धर्चः. 2. गोमयः. 3. कषावः. 4. कार्पाणः. 5. कुतपः. 6. कुसपः.
7. (कुसपः). 8. कषावः. 9. शङ्खः. 10. गृध्रः. 11. वृषः. 12. ध्वजः. 13. कवचः.
14. वनः. 15. गृहः. 16. सरकः. 17. कंसः. 18. दिवसः. 19. वृषः. 20. अन्धः.
- कारः. 21. वृषः. 22. कमण्डलुः. 23. मण्डः. 24. भूतः. 25. द्वीपः. 26. छतः.
27. चक्रः. 28. धर्मः. 29. कर्मः. 30. मोक्षः. 31. शतमानः. 32. वानः. 33. नखः.
34. नखरः. 35. चरणः. 36. पृष्ठः. 37. शङ्खः. 38. दिनः. 39. रजतः. 40. सक्तः.
40. पिधानः. 41. सारः. 42. पात्रः. 43. पुत्रः. 44. सैन्धवः. 45. औषधः. 46. आदकः.
47. चपकः. 48. शीघ्रः. 49. खलीनः. 50. पानिषः. 51. पञ्चकः. 52. वारवाणः.
53. (वारवाणः). 54. ग्रीधः. 55. कपिलः. 56. शुष्कः. 57. शालः. 58. शीलः. 59.
- शुष्कः. 60. (शुष्कः). 61. शीघ्रः. 52. कवचः. 63. रेणुः. 64. (क्षपः). 65. कपटः. 66.
- शीकरः. 67. मुसलः. 68. सुवर्णः. 69. वर्णः. 70. पूर्वः. 71. वनजः. 72. क्षीरः.
73. कर्षः. 74. आकाशः. 75. अष्टावहः. 76. नङ्गलः. 77. निधनः. 78. निर्वासः.
79. जम्भः. 80. वृत्तः. 81. पुस्तः. 82. वृत्तः. 83. हरेडितः. 84. वृद्धः. 85. निगडः.
86. (खलः). 87. मूलकः. 88. मधुः. 89. मूलः. 90. स्थूलः. 91. शरावः.
92. वानः. 93. वनः. 94. विमानः. 95. मुखः. 96. प्रदीपः. 97. घृणः. 98.
- वज्रः. 99. कटकः. 100. कण्टकः. 101. (कर्पटः). 102. शिखरः. 103. कल्कः.
104. (वल्कलः). 105. नटमकः. 106. (नाटमटकः). 107. बलवः. 108. कुसुमः.
109. वृषः. 110. वृद्धः. 111. कुण्डलः. 112. किरीटः. 113. (कुसुमः). 114.
- अर्धः. 115. अङ्गुशः. 116. तिमिरः. 117. आश्रमः. 118. भूषणः. 119. इलकसः.
120. (इलकासः). 121. मुकुलः. 122. वसन्तः. 123. तटाकः. 124. (तटामः).
125. पिटकः. 126. पिटङ्गः. 127. विटङ्गः. 128. पिण्याकः. 129. माषः. 130.
- कीशः. 131. कलकः. 132. दिनः. 133. रैवतः. 134. पिनाकः. 135. समरः.
136. स्थाणुः. 137. अनीकः. 138. उपवासः. 139. शाकः. 140. कर्पावः. 141.
- (विशालः). 142. चवालः. 143. (चलालः). 144. खण्डः. 145. हरः. 146. विटपः.
147. (रणः). 148. (बलः). 149. (नकः). 150. वृणालः. 151. हस्तः. 152. वार्द्धः.

153. हल. 154. (सूत्र.) 155. ताण्डव. 156. गाण्डीव. 157. भण्डव. 158. पट्टह. 159. चौध. 160. चौध. 161. पाश्व. 162. शरीर. 163. फल. 164. (छल. 165. पुर. 166. पुरा. 167. राष्ट्र. 168. अम्बर. 169. विम्ब. 170. कुक्षि. 171. मण्डल. 172. (कुक्षुट). 173. कुक्षु. 174. ककुक्षु. 175. खण्डल. 176. तोमर. 177. तोरण. 178. मञ्चक. 179. पञ्चक. 180. पुङ्ख. 181. मय. 182. (वाल). 183. छल. 184. वल्मीक. 185. वर्ष. 186. वल. 187. वसु. 188. वेह. 189. उयान. 190. उद्योग. 191. स्नेह. 192. स्तेन. 193. (स्त्रन). 194. (स्वर). 195. संगम. 196. निष्क. 197. क्षेम. 198. शूक. 199. क्षत्र. 200. पवित्र. 201. (यौवन). 202. (कलह). 203. मालक. 204. (पालक). 205. मूषिक. 206. (मण्डल). 207. (वम्कल). 208. कुज. 209. (कुञ्ज). 210. विहार. 211. लोहित. 212. (विषाण). 213. भवन. 214. भरण. 215. पुलन. 216. इह. 217. भासन. 218. ऐरावत. 219. सूर्य. 220. तीर्थ. 221. ज्योति. 222. (लोमश). 223. तवाल. 224. लोह. 225. इण्डक. 226. शपथ. 227. प्रतिसर. 228. शर. 229. धनुस्. 230. मान. 231. वर्यस्क. 232. कूर्च. 233. तण्डक. 234. मह. 235. सङ्ग. 236. भोदन. 237. प्रवाल. 238. शकट. 239. अपराङ्ग. 240. मीड. 241. शकल. 242. तण्डल ॥

इदमोऽन्वादेशेऽनुदात्तवृत्तीयादौ ॥ ३२ ॥ पदनि ॥ इदमः ,
अन्वादेशे , अथ , अनुदात्तः वृत्तीयादौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इदमोऽन्वादेशे विषयत्वादेशो न त्वनुदात्तवृत्तीयादौ विभक्तौ परतः ॥

32. In the room of idam 'this,' in case of its re-employment in a subsequent member of the same sentence and referring to the same thing (anvādeśa) there is the substitution of aś which is anudātta i. e., gravely accented, when the third case-affix and the rest follow.

The word अन्वादेश means literally saying (ādesa) 'after' (anu) or after-say or re-employment.

अश् (actually अ) replaces इदम् in all cases except the nominative and the accusative, when anvādeśa or repetition is implied. अश् replaces the whole of इदम् by 55 and not only the final म्. Anvādeśa means repeating in a second sentence with reference to the preceding in which it has already been used. Both pronouns, the antecedent and the subsequent, must refer to the same object. As, आभ्याम् छात्राभ्याम् रात्रिपथिता, अथो आभ्यामहरपथितम् 'These students studied in the night and they have read in the day also.' The substitute अश् will replace इदम्, even when the latter takes the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71.)

अस्मै छात्राय कम्बलं देहि, अथो अस्मै शाकटमपि देहि 'Give this student a blanket and give him also a cloth'. अस्मै छात्रस्य शोभनं शीलम्, अथो अस्मै प्रभूतं स्वम्, 'this student's conduct is excellent, and his wealth is great.'

So also when the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71) comes after the Pronominal as इमकाभ्यां छात्राभ्यां राधिरधीता, अथो आभ्यामहरण्यधीतम्.

The mere mentioning in a subsequent sentence is not anvādeśa: it is the employment again of what has been employed to direct one operation, to direct another operation. Therefore the rule does not apply here:—देवदत्तं भोजय, इमं च यज्ञदत्तम् 'feed Devadatta and this Yajñadatta.'

एतदस्त्रतसोस्त्रतसो चानुदात्तो ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतद्, त्र-तसोः त्र-तसो, च, अनुदात्तो, (अन्वादेशे, अश्, अनुदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतदोऽन्वादेशविषयस्य अशादेशो भवति अनुदात्तस्त्रतसोः परतः ॥ तौ चापि ततसावनुदात्तो भवतः ॥

33. In the room of एतद् in case of its re-employment there is the substitution of the gravely accented अश् when the affixes ऋ (V. 3. 10) and तच् (V. 3. 7) follow, and the affixes ऋ and तच् are anudātta also (gravely accented.)

Thus अत्र 'here,' and अतस् 'hence' in the following:—एतस्मिन् ग्रामे सुखं वसामः; अथो अत्र युक्ता अधीमहे । 'We live in this (etasmin) village, happily, therefore let us read with full devotion in this (atra).' एतस्माच्छात्राच्छन्तोऽधीष्व, अथो अतो व्याकरणमप्यधीष्व । 'Learn from this student Prosody and also learn from him Grammar.' By rule V. 3. 5 अश् is declared to be the substitute of एतद्; its repetition here is to indicate that this अश् of anvādeśa is anudātta.

द्वितीयाटोस्त्वेनः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीया-टा-ओस्त्सु, एनः, (इदम्, एतद्, अन्वादेशे, अनुदात्ते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयां टा ओस् इत्येतेषु परत इदमेतदोऽन्वादेशविषययोरेनशब्द आदेशो भवति अनुदात्तः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ एतदिति नपुंसकैकवचने वक्तव्यम् ॥

34. When an affix of the 2nd case or ए (Ins. Sing.) or ओच् (Loc. dual) follows, एन which is anudātta is the substitute of इदम् and एतद् in the case of its re-employment.

The word *इहम्* is also understood in this sūtra though it was not so in the last. This skipping is technically called 'frog-leap.' Thus:—*इन्* or *एत्* छात्रं छन्दोऽध्यापय, भयो एन् व्याकरणमप्यध्यापय 'teach this pupil Prosody, and teach him Grammar also.' अनेन or एतेन छात्रेण रात्रिधीत 'भयो एन्नेनाहस्प्यधीतम्' 'this pupil studied in the night and he studied in the day also.' अनयोः or एतयोः छात्रयोः शोभनं शीलम्, भयो एन्योः प्रभूतं स्व 'the family of these two students is respectable and their wealth is great.'

Vart:—The word *एनत्*, neuter and singular, is also used in anvādeśa: as, 'इहम् कुण्डमानम् मक्षालयेत्' 'bring this bowl and wash it.' The above three Sūtras regulate the accent only of certain pronouns.

आर्द्धधातुके ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आर्द्ध-धातुके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तदाऽर्द्धधातुके वेदितव्यम् ॥

35. The clause 'when the affix is *Ārdhadhātuka*' is understood in the following aphorisms up to aphorism 58 of this chapter.

Thus it will be taught in sūtra 42, 'that *वच्* is the substitute of *इन्* when *लिङ्* follows.' The words 'when the affix is *Ārdhadhātuka*' must be read into the sūtra to complete the sense. The result will be that in the *Ārdhadhātuka* *लिङ्* namely the *आशीर्लिङ्* or the Benedictive mood, *इन्* is replaced by *वच्*, but not so in the *Sārvadhātuka* *लिङ्* i. e., the Potential mood (*विधिलिङ्*). Thus, Benedictive *वध्यात्* 'may he kill'; but Potential *हन्यात्* 'let him kill.'

The word *आर्द्धधातुके* is in the 7th case; the force of this case-affix here is not that given in I. 1. 66. i. e., the sūtra does not mean 'when an *Ārdhadhātuka* affix follows.' But the 7th case has the force of indicating the subject, the meaning of the sūtra being 'when the subject is an *Ārdhadhātuka* affix.' The result of this explanation is, that the various substitutions enjoined hereafter should be made first, and then the respective affixes should be applied. Thus whenever we want to affix any *Ārdhadhātuka*-affix to *अस्* 'to be,' we must first substitute *भू* for it, and then take the proper *Ārdhadhātuka*-affix which would come with regard to *भू*. Thus we can apply *वत्* to *भू* by rule III 1. 97 which says: 'after verbs ending in vowels *वत्* is applied.' But this affix could never have been applied to *अस्* which ends in a consonant. Thus we have *भव्यम्*. So the substitution does not depend upon any particular affix, but *Ārdhadhātuka*-affixes as a class.

अदो जग्धिर्ल्यसि किति ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्, जग्धिः, ल्यप्-ति, किति, (आर्द्ध-धातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असौ जग्धिरादेशो भवति ल्यपि परतः वकारादेशो च किति प्रत्यये ॥

36. The word जग्धि is the substitute of अद् 'to eat,' when the affix ल्यप् (VII.1.37) or an ârdhadhâtuka किति affix beginning with त follows.

प्रजग्ध 'Having eaten.' (प्र + अद् + ल्यप् = प्र + जग्ध् + च). So also जग्ध 'eaten' (अद् + क्क = जग्ध् + त).

The द् in जग्धि is merely for the sake of articulation and is not an anubandha, otherwise there would have been the insertion of the nasal न् (नुन्). So also the द् in दक्षि &c., is merely for the sake of articulation. But अद् + क्क = भक्षः 'food' is an irregularity.

The employment of ल्यप् in this sūtra indicates the existence of this Paribhāṣā. 'A bahiraṅga substitution of ल्यप् supersedes even antaraṅga rules.' Because in case this maxim did not exist, the substitution of जग्ध् for अद् before ल्यप् which is taught in this sūtra, would follow already from the word किति (before that which is distinguished by an indicative क्) in this rule, i. e., जग्ध would (by maxim 'that which is bahiraṅga is regarded as not having taken effect, or as not existing, when that which is antaraṅga has taken effect') first be substituted for अद् before क्क and ल्यप् afterwards for क्क.

Why do we say 'before affixes beginning with त'? Observe भक्षते 'is eaten.'

Why do we say 'before affixes having indicative क्'? Observe भक्षत्यन्.

लुङ्सनोर्घस्लु ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङ्-सनोः, घस्लु (अद्, आर्द्ध-धातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङि सनि च परतोऽसौ घस्लु आदेशो भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ घस्लुभावेऽप्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

37. When luṅ (aorist) or san (desiderative) follows घस्लु is the substitute of अद् 'to eat.'

अपसत्, अपसतान्, अपसन् 'he ate.' The लृ in घस्लु is servile and indicates the substitution of अद् for स्लि of the Aorist (III. 1. 55,) So also in desiderative, as, जिषत्सति, जिषत्सतः जिषत्सन्ति 'wishes to eat.'

Varṭ:—The verb अद् is replaced by पद् when the affix भक्ष follows. Thus प्र + अद् + भक्ष = प्रपद् + भक्ष = प्रपक्षः 'voracious.'

घञपोश्च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ घञ्-अपोः, च, (अदः, घस्लु, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घञि अपि च परतोऽसौ घस्लु आवेशो भवति ॥

38. And when the affix घञ् and भृ follow घस्लु is the substitute of भृ.

घासः 'food, grass,' भृ + घञ् = घास + भ (III. 3. 19). प्रघसः 'voracity.'
घ + भृ + भृ = घ + घस.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलं, छन्दसि, (अदः, घस्लु, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुलमसौ घस्लु आवेशो भवति ॥

39. In the chhandas (Vedas), घस्लु is diversely substituted for भृ.

पस्ताञ्जनम् । सन्धिश्चने । (Yajur Veda Vaj. S. XVIII. 9). Sometimes it does not take place; as आतामय मयतो मेव उद्भूतम् .

The word बहुलं is used in this sūtra and the word अन्यतरस्याम् in the next. There is evidently difference between the senses of these words; otherwise Pāṇini would not have employed them in such juxtaposition, had they been synonymous. For then the anuvritti of बहुलं in the next sūtra would have been sufficient. The following verse indicates that difference.

कश्चित् प्रवृत्तिः कश्चिदप्रवृत्तिः, कश्चिद्विभाषा कश्चिदन्यदेव ।

विधेर्विधानं बहुधा समीक्ष्य, चातुर्विधं बाहुल्यं वदन्ति ॥

'Sometimes they are, where there is no express rule for their application; sometimes they are not applied, in spite of an express rule for their application; sometimes they are optionally employed or not, and sometimes there is some other result, licence permitted by the rule.' Thus in घस्ताम् there is not elision of the penultimate.

लित्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटि, अन्यतरस्याम्, (अदः, घस्लु, आः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटि परतोऽसौ अन्यतरस्यां घस्लावेशो भवति ॥

40. When लिट् (Perfect) follows घस्लु is optionally the substitute of भृ.

जघास or भाद् 'he ate,' जत्ततुः or आस्तुः 'they two ate,' जभुः or आहुः 'they all ate.' The word जत्ततुः is thus formed:—पस् + अतुस् = पस् + पस् + अतुस् (VI.

1. 8) = व + वस् + भुत् (VII. 4. 60) = व + वस् + भुः (VII. 4. 62) = व + वस् + भुत् (VIII. 4. 53) = व + वस् + भुत् (VI. 4. 98.) = वसतुः (VIII. 3. 60).

वेजो वयिः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेजः , वयि, (लिट्यन्यतरस्यान्, आहुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेजो वयिरावेष्टो भवति अन्यतरस्यां लिटि परतः ॥

41. When लिट् follows, वयि is optionally the substitute of वेम् 'to weave.'

In the Perfect tense thus we have two roots: Let us first take वेम्. Then we have regularly वे + लिट् = वे + एल् = ववो. The roots in व, वे and ओ are treated like roots ending in आ thus:—

Sing.	Dual.	Plural.	} In this case samprasāraṇa ordained by VI. 1. 17 does not take place by VI. 1. 40.
1. ववो	वविष	वविम	
2. वविय or ववाय , ववयुः	वव	ववुः	
3. ववो	ववतुः	ववुः	

When however we take the base वस्, the इ being for the sake of articulation only, we have the following forms:—वस् + एल् = वस् + वस् + भ (VI. 1. 8) = वस् + वस् + भ (VI. 1. 17) = ववाव ; the य is not changed into इ by VI. 1. 38. In this dual we have वस् + भुत् = वस् + भुः (VI. 1. 15) = व + वस् + भुत् (VII. 4. 60) = ववतुः. The affix भुत् being कित् affix by rule I, 2. 5 there is samprasāraṇa before reduplication. Thus we have ववाव , ववतुः , ववुः . Further by rule VI. 1. 39 before कित् affixes व may be optionally substituted for व , i. e., ववतुः or ववतुः and ववुः or ववुः .

हनो वध लिङि ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः , वध, लिङि (आहुः धातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्धातोर्वध इत्ययमावेष्टो भवति लिङि परत आहुः धातुके ॥

42. वध् is the substitute of हन् 'to kill' when the ârdhadhâtuka लिङ् (Benedictive) follows.

वध्यात् 'may he kill,' वध्यास्तात् 'may they two kill,' वध्यासुः 'may they all kill.'

The substitute वध ends with short अ , this अ is elided. This elision being like the original (sthānivat I. 1. 56), in forming the Aorist वदुः, we have अवध् + • + ईत् = अवधीत्. Here zero being sthānivat prevents the vṛddhi of अ of व which otherwise would have taken place by VII. 2. 7.

लुङि च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङि; च (हृनो, बध, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङि च परतो हृनो बध इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

43. And when लुङ् (Aorist) follows, च is the substitute of हृन् .

भवधीत् 'he killed,' भवधीष्टान् 'they all killed.' The division of this aphorism from the last sūtra (yoga-vibhāga) indicates that the next rule applies to Aorist only and not to Benedictive as well. There is no option in Benedictive Atmanepada.

आत्मनेपदेष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु, अन्य-
तरस्याम्, (हृनो, बध, लुङि, आः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेषु निरुद्धे प्राप्ते विकल्प उच्यते । आत्मनेपदेषु परतो हृनो लुङ्यन्यतरस्यां बध इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

44. When Atmanepada affixes follow, च is optionally the substitute of हृन् in the लुङ् (Aorist).

Thus आवधिष्ट or आहत; आवधिषाताम् or आहसाताम्; आवधिषत or आहसत.

The verb हृन् becomes Atmanepadi when preceded by आ (I. 3. 28). By sūtra I. 2. 14, the Aorist-affixes in the Atmanepada are कित् after हृन् and by VI. 4. 37 the न is elided before कित् affixes, then by VIII. 2. 27 the च is elided. Thus आहृन् + सिच् + त = आहत .

इणो गा लुङि ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, गा, लुङि, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इणो गा इत्ययमादेशो भवति लुङि परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इण्वधिक इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

45. गा is the substitute of the root इण् when लुङ् follows.

अगात् 'he went.' (II. 4. 77) अगाताम् 'they two went' अगुः 'they all went.' The repetition of the word लुङ् in this sūtra though its anuvṛitti was coming from the last aphorisms, indicates that there is no option allowed even in the Atmanepada, गा being the invariable substitute in all the Padas. Thus अगाधि भवता 'you went.' The form अगात् is thus evolved अ+गा+सिच्+त् = अगात् (II. 4. 77).

Vart:—गा is the substitute of हृक् 'to remember' in the Aorist, as it is of हृन्. Thus अभ्यगात् 'he remembered.' अभ्यागाताम्, अभ्यगुः. The root हृक् belongs to Adādi class.

जा गनिरबोधने ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जा ; गनिः , अबोधने ,
(बहः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जो परत इणोऽबोधनार्थस्व गनिरादेशो भवति ॥

46. When the affix जि (Causal) follows, गमि is the substitute of इण् when the sense is not that of 'informing' but that of 'going.'

गमयति 'makes him go' गमयतः, गमयन्ति &c. But प्रत्यावयति 'causes to believe.' अधिगमयति. The इ of गमि is for articulation. So also इक् to 'remember'; as, अधिगमयति ॥

सनि च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि , च , (इणः , अबोधने ,
गमिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनि परत इणोऽबोधनार्थस्व गनिरादेशो भवति ॥

47. And when सन् (Desiderative) follows, गमि is the substitute of ण् when the sense is not that of 'informing.'

जिगमिषति 'wishes to go' जिगमिषतः, जिगमिषन्ति. But अर्थान् प्रतीचिषति 'he wishes to inform the meaning.' So also with इक्, as अधिजिगमिषति. The yoga-vibhāga indicates that the anuvṛitti of सन् only runs in the next sūtra and not of णि. The form is thus evolved in the Parasmaipada; गन् + सन् = गन् + गन् + णि. The form is thus evolved in the Parasmaipada; गन् + सन् = गन् + गन् + णि (VI. 1. 9) = ग + गन् + स (VII. 4. 60) = ज + गन् + स (VII. 4. 62) = ज + गन् + इट + स (VII. 2. 50) = जिगमिष, and then we add the personal terminations.

इकृश्च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकृः , च , (सनि ; गमिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इकृश्च सनि परतो गनिरादेशो भवति ॥

48. And of इक् 'to study,' गमि is the substitute when सन् follows.

अधिजिगांसते , • सेते , • सन्ते 'he wishes to study.' The root इक् is always preceded by the preposition अधि. This will be Atmanepadi by I. 3. 12 and I. 1. 56. The form is similarly evolved by the application of rules VII. 2. 58, and VI. 4. 16.

गाङ् छिटि ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाङ् , छिटि , (इकृः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाङ्गदेशो भवतीको छिटि परतः ॥

49. गम् is the substitute of इद् when लिङ् (Perfect) follows.

The substitute being like its original (I. 1. 68.) गम् would have been Atmanepadi, even without the indicator, ङ. Why has then this इद् been added to it? The object is that in the sūtra I. 2. 1. गम् there should mean this substitute गम् and not the verb गम् 'to go.'

Thus we get अभिजग्मे 'he studied'. अभिजगाते, अभिजगिरे. See VI. 4. 64 and III. 4. 8.

विभाषा लुङ्लुङोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, लुङ्लुङोः (इङ्, वि, गाङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङि लुङि च परत इङो विभाषा गाङ्गदेशो भवति ॥

50. गम् is optionally the substitute of इद् when लुङ् (Aorist) and लृङ् (Conditional Future) follow.

Let us take the case when गम् replaces इद्. The affixes of लुङ् and लृङ् are treated as ङिच् by I. 2. 1. and then by the Rule VI. 4. 66 (When -an ārdhadhātuka affix, beginning with a consonant and distinguished by an indicator क or ङ् follows; then let ई be the substitute of long आ of the verbs termed घृ and of ना, स्या, गा, पा, हा, सी), we get अभ्यगीष्ट (अधि + भ + गी + स्त), अभ्यगीषाताम्, अभ्यगीषत. In the alternative we have अभ्येष्ट, अभ्येषाताम् and अभ्येषत.

So also in लृङ्; as अभ्यगीष्यत, अभ्यगीष्येताम्, अभ्यगीष्यन्त, or in the alternative, अभ्येष्यत, अभ्येष्येताम् and अभ्येष्यन्त.

णौ च संञ्चङो, ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ णौ, च, सन्-चङो, (इङ्, गाङ्, विभाषा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णौ सन्चरे चङ् परे च परत इङो विभाषा गाङ्गदेशो भवति ॥

51. गम् is optionally the substitute of इद् in the causative लि, when that causative takes the affix san (desiderative) and chañ (Aorist).

अभिजिगापयिषति or अभ्यापिपयिषति 'he desires to teach.' The form is thus evolved: गा + लिच् = गावि (VII. 3. 36); then by the rules already stated, we get the above form with the affix सन्. अभ्यजीगपत् or अभ्यापिपत् 'he taught.' The ई is changed into आ by VI. 1. 48. Thus इ + लिच् = आ + लिच् = आ + व् + इ = आवि. This rule applies to the desideratives of causatives and aorist of causatives.

अस्तेभूः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्तेः, भूः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तेर्भातोर्भू इत्यव्ययार्थेभ्यो भवति आर्द्धधातुके ॥

52. भू is the substitute of the verb अस् 'to be,' when an ārdhadhātuka affix is to be applied.

भविता 'he will be,' भवितुम् 'in order to be,' भवितव्यम् 'must be.' Now the Perfect tense affixes are also ārdhadhātuka affixes (III. 4. 115). The Perfect of अस् is therefore the same as that of भू, namely, बभूव &c. There is, however, an important exception to this rule, namely, when अस् is employed as an auxiliary verb in forming Periphrastic Perfect of other verbs. In that case अस् forms its Perfect tense regularly, आस, आसतुः, आसुः &c. This apparent breach of the present sūtra is explained by taking the term कृम् in III. 1. 40. as a Pratyāhāra including कृ, भू and अस्, and if अस् could not form its Perfect in the regular way, its inclusion in this Pratyāhāra would be useless; hence we conclude, that as an auxiliary verb, अस् forms its Perfect regularly.

ब्रूवो वचिः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रूवः, वचिः, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रूवो वचिरार्थेभ्यो भवति आर्द्धधातुके विषये ॥

53. वचि is the substitute of ब्रू 'to speak' when any ārdhadhātuka affix is to be applied.

वक्ता 'he will speak,' वक्तुम् 'in order to speak.' The इ of वचि is for the sake of articulation only. The substitute being like the principal, वच् is Atmanepadi when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, as कचे 'he spoke,' वक्ष्यते 'he will speak.'

चक्षिङः ख्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चक्षिङः, ख्याम्, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चक्षिङः ख्यामार्थेभ्यो भवति आर्द्धधातुके ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लशार्थिरप्यव्ययार्थे इत्यव्यये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वर्जने प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ असनयोश्च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं संज्ञान्वयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

54. ख्याम् is the substitute of चक्षिङ् 'to perceive, to tell,' when any ārdhadhātuka affix is to be applied.

आख्याता 'he will perceive or tell'; आख्यातुम् 'in order to tell'; आख्यातव्यम् 'must be told.' The substitute being like the principal, चक्षिङ् being always Atmanepadi (I. 3. 12), ख्याम् would have also been always Atmanepadi. But in that case the letter म् would have no scope; it therefore follows that ख्याम् is not always Atmanepadi, but under conditions mentioned in I. 3. 72.

Vart:—This substitute is also said to begin with कृ instead of क. Thus आकृशाता, आकृशातुम्, आकृशातव्यम्.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when meaning 'exclusion'; as दुर्जनाः संवद्याः 'bad men should be excluded.'

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when the affixes भव and भन follow: as नृक्षसा राक्षसाः 'the Rākshasas are cruel.' This is Vedic Sanskrit; modern नृक्षः. The meaning of the root क्ष here, is 'to injure.' So also विचक्षन्ः पण्डितः; here the affix is भन.

Vart:—Substitutes are made diversely in denoting appellatives and not qualities and in the Vedic Sanskrit; as भक्षम् 'food' (here the substitute जन्धि does not replace अह); वधकम् 'killer' (वध being substituted for हन् before एवञ्); गात्रं 'body' (गा is substituted for हण before the unādi affix टन्); विचक्षन्ः (here चक्ष is not replaced by क्षा before भन); भजिरम् 'a court yard' (here भज is not replaced by ज्यै as the next sūtra 56 requires).

वा लिटि ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, लिटि, (चक्षिङः, ख्याञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटि परतश्चक्षिङः ख्यामादेशो वा भवति ॥

55. ख्याम् is optionally the substitute of चक्षिङ् when लिट् (Perfect) follows.

The जित्, also is an ārdhadhātuka affix and by the last sūtra ख्या would always have been the substitute of चम्; the present sūtra makes this substitution optional, as आचख्यौ, आचख्यतुः and आचख्युः. In the alternative we have आचचक्षे, आचचक्षान्ते and आचचक्षिते; 'he told &c.'

अजेर्व्यञ्जपोः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अजेः, व्यौ, अचञ्-अपोः (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजेर्धातोर्वात्ययमादेशो भवत्याहुं धातुके परतो षमपो वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ षमपोः प्रतिषेधे क्पप उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वजादावाहुं धातुके विकल्प इष्यते ॥

56. वी is the substitute of the verb भञ् 'to drive,' 'to lead,' when an ārdhadhātuka affix follows, with the exception of the affixes चम् (III. 3. 18.) and अप् (III. 3. 69).

प्रवायकः 'driver,' प्रवायकीवः.

Why do we say 'with the exception of चम् and अप्'? Observe सन् + भञ् + चम् = समाजः 'society'; उवाञ्जः 'driving out': So also with अप्, as समजः 'a multitude or herd of animals &c.' उवजः 'driving out of cattle.' See III. 3. 69.

Why have we used वी with a long ई? For the sake of forms like वीनीतः &c.

Vart.—Prohibition must also be stated (along with षम् and भ्) of the affix क्यप्, as समझ्या 'a meeting, fame.'

Vart.—The substitution is optional before Ārdhādhatukas beginning with a letter of वल् Pratyāhāra (all consonant except व) as प्रवेत्ता or प्राजित्ता प्रवेतुम् or प्राजितुम्. See VI. 2. 144 for accent.

वा यौ ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, यौ, (अजे: वी, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यो परभूते भजेर्वा वी इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

57. वी is optionally the substitute of भञ् when the affix यु (III. 3. 15 &c.) follows.

This declares an option in case of the affix क्युद्, the word यु in the Sūtra referring to this affix; as, प्रवयनः or प्राजनो दण्डः 'driving stick or whip.'

एयस्रजिपार्वजितो युनि लुगणिजो ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ एय-स्रजिय-
आर्ष-जितः, युनि, लुग्, अण्-इजोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एयान्तात् क्षत्रियगोत्रात् आर्षादजितश्च परयोरणिभ्योर्दूनि लुग् भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ भग्राह्यगोत्रमात्रा युवप्रत्ययस्योपसंख्यानम् ॥

58. After a word ending with the Gotra affix ण्व (IV. 1. 151 and after a Gotra word denoting the descendant of a Kshatriya or a Rishi (seer), and after a word ending with a Gotra affix having an indicative म्, the affix भण् and इण् employed in forming युवन् (IV. 1. 163) descendants, are elided by the substitution of लुक् ॥

1. Thus by sūtra IV. 1. 151 (the affix एय comes after कुरु &c., in denoting descendant) we get कुरु + ण्व = कौरव्यः (VII. 2. 117) 'a grandson of Kuru.' This is a Gotra word (IV. 1. 162). Now in forming a word denoting a lower descendant than grandson, we add a Yuvan affix. Thus कौरव्य + इण् (IV. 1. 95). Now this इण् is elided by the present sūtra, and we get the form कौरव्यः which thus means both a Gotra and a Yuvan (IV. 1. 163) descendant of Kuru. So that कौरव्यः is the name both of the father and the son.

Now it may be objected: 'the word कौरव्यः belongs to the त्रिकादि class and by IV. 1. 154, it will take the affix किम्. Do we, what we may, the form will be कौरव्यायणिः (VII. 1. 2.)' To this we reply, the word कौरव्यः which we see in that list of त्रिक् &c., is not the word कौरव्यः which we formed by adding एय under rule IV. 1. 151; that Tikādi word is formed by एव under rule IV. 1. 172, and is confined to Kshatriya. The कौरव्यः which we have taken, denotes a Brahmin Gotra formed by IV. 1. 151.

2. Now to give an example of a word denoting the descendent of a Kshatriya. We take IV. 1. 114. which tells us that 'the affix भृन् may be added to the words which are the names of Rishis, or of persons belonging to the family of Andhaka, or Vrishinis or Kuru.' The Andhaka family is a Kshatriya family, and इवाकः is a person of that family. Then इवाकः + भृन् = इवाकः 'a descendent of Svaphalka.' This is a Gotra descendent. In forming Yuvan descendent we have इवाकः + इम्. Now this इम् must be elided by the present sūtra. So that इवाकः means both father and the son.

3. Now to give an example of Rishis family. The sūtra last mentioned IV. 1. 114. will also hold here. We take the word वसिष्ठः ; and वसिष्ठः + भृन् = वासिष्ठः ; the Yuvan affix इम् will similarly be elided after this ; and thus the word वासिष्ठः means both the father and the son.

4. Then to take the example of Gotra word formed by affixes having indicative ञ्. Thus sūtra IV. 1. 104. declares 'the affix भृन् comes after the words विद् &c., in denoting Gotra descendents.' Thus विद् + भृन् = वैद् ; Then add इम् to denote Yuvan descent, and we have वैद् + इम्. By the present rule this इम् is elided and thus we have वैद् both for the father and the son.

The above examples show the elision of the affix इम्. Now we shall give example of the elision of the affix भृन्. Now rule IV. 1. 154 says 'the affix किम् comes after the words तिक् &c., in denoting descendent.' Thus तिक् + किम् = तैकायनिः (VII. 1. 2.) Then to form the Yuvan descendent we add भृन् by IV. 1. 83. Thus तैकायनिः + भृन्. By the present sūtra, this भृन् is elided, and we have तैकायनिः both applicable to the father and the son. Other examples can be multiplied.

Why do we say 'there is elision only after these words'? The Yuvan affix will not be elided after other words. Thus rule IV. 1. 112 says:— 'The affix भृन् comes after शिव &c., in forming Gotra.' कौहड + भृन् = कौहड. Now this is neither a word formed by एङ् nor is it the name of a Kshatriya or a Rishi ; nor any affix having ञ् goes to form it. Therefore the Yuvan affix इम् will not be elided after this. Thus कौहड + इम् (IV. 1. 95) कौहडिः 'son of Kaubada.'

Why do we say 'affix denoting Yuvan descendent is elided'? An affix not denoting "Yuvan descendent will not be elided. Thus the pupils of वामरथ्यः are called वामरथ्याः which word is thus formed: वामरथ्य + एङ् = वामरथ्यः 'a descendent of Vāmaratha' (IV. 1. 115). Then to denote pupils we add भृन् by IV. 2. 111. Thus वामरथ्य + भृन् = वामरथ्यः 'a pupil of Vāmarathya.'

Why do we say 'Yuvan affix भृन् and इम् are elided'? The other Yuvan affixes under similar circumstances are not elided. Thus the Yuvan

descendent of दाक्षि (grandson of दाक्ष) will be दाक्षावणः. Here the affix कृ (IV. 1. 101) is not elided.

Vart.—All Yuvan affixes are elided after Gotra words not denoting Brahmin Gotras; as दौहि: applies equally to father and son; जाबालि: father, जाबालि: son; भौहृन्वति: father, भौहृन्वति: son; भाण्डीमद्वि: father, भाण्डीमद्वि: son. Here, first इम् is added by IV. 1. 173, then कृ to denote Yuvan descendent. Then this कृ is elided by the present Vartika.

पैलादिभ्यश्च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पैल-आदिभ्यः, च (युनि, लुग-णिजोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पैल इत्येवमादिभ्यश्च युवमत्वयस्व लुग् भवति ॥

59. And after the words पैल &c. there is the लुक् elision of the युवन affix.

पीला + भण = पैलः (IV. 1. 118). 'The Gotra descendent of Paila.' पैलः + कृ (IV. 1. 156). The present rule intervenes, and the Yuvan affix कृ is elided; so पैल is both a Gotra and a Yuvan word. Some say that the 'Paila &c. words are formed by the affix इम्; (IV. 1. 95) and then the 'luk-elision of the Yuvan affix would be valid by the next rule 60. They would limit the scope of the present sūtra to cases where the Gotra of the people is not known, the Prachyas not being indicated.

1. पैल. 2. शालङ्कि. 3. सात्यकि. 4. सात्यकानि. 5. राहवि. 6. राहणि. 7. भौहृन्वि. 8. भौहृन्वि. 9. भौहृन्वि. 10. भौहृन्वि. 11. भौहृन्वि. 12. भौहृन्वि. 13. वैवस्थानि. 14. पैङ्गलायनी. 15. राहसति. 16. भौहृन्वि. 17. राणि. 18. भौहृन्वि. 19. भौहृन्वि. 20. भौहृन्वि. 21. भौहृन्वि. 22. वराजान्वाणः. 23. वराज.

इजः प्राचासु ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ इजः, प्राचासु, (युनि, लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रे य इम् तदन्तायुवमत्वयस्व लुग् भवति ॥

60. After a word ending with the Gotra affix इम् (IV. 1. 95) there is luk-elision of the Yuvan affix, when the Gotra of the people called Prachya (Eastern) is denoted.

पान्नागर + इम् = पान्नागारिः 'the Gotra descendent of Pannāgara'; after this the Yuvan affix कृ (IV. 1. 101) is elided by the present rule, and so पान्नागारिः is both the father and the son. So नान्यरेषाणि: father and son. The word प्राचासु here qualifies the word Gotra understood and does not show that it is an optional rule in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians. When the Gotra of Prāchyas is not denoted, there is no elision. Thus दाक्षि: and दाक्षावणः 'son of Dākshi.'

न तौल्वलिभ्यः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, तौल्वलिभ्यः, (युनि, लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तौल्वल्यादिभ्यः परस्य युवप्रत्ययस्य न जुग् भवति ॥

61. After the words तौल्वलि and the rest there is not luk-elision of the Yuvan affix.

तौल्वलिः is the name of the father and तौल्वलायनः is the son of the former, formed by the Yuvan affix फक् (IV. I. 101).

1. तौल्वलि . 2. भारणि . 3. पारणि . 4. रावणि . 5. वैलीवि . 6. वैवति .
7. वार्कलि . 8. नैवति . 9. नैवकि . 10. डैवनिवि . 11. डैवमति . 12. डैववति . 13. चाफहकि .
14. वैन्वकि . 15. वैकि . 16. वैकु . 17. आनुहारति . 18. आनुराहति .
19. पोष्करसाहि . 20. आनुरोहति . 21. आनुति . 22. प्राग्गोहनि . 23. वैमेषि . 24. प्राडाहति .
25. बान्धकि . 26. वैशीति . 27. आसिनासि . 28. आहसि . 29. आधुहि .
30. वैमेषि . 31. आसिबन्धकि . 32. पौष्य . 33. कारेणुपालि . 34. वैकनि . 35. वैरकि .
36. वैहति ॥

तद्वाजस्य बहुषु तेनैवास्त्रियाम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्वाजस्य, बहुषु, तेन-एव, अस्त्रियाम्, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वाजसंतस्य प्रत्ययस्य बहुषु वर्तमानस्य अस्त्रीलिङ्गस्य लुग् भवति, तेनैव चेदगोत्रप्रत्ययेन कृतं बहुत्वं भवति ॥

62. There is luk-elision of the तद्वाज (IV. I. 174) affix, when the word is used in the plural number, provided that the plural number is taken by the base itself, and not by its standing as a compound epithet dependent upon another word, and provided that the base is not used in the feminine.

आङ्गः = अंग + अण् (IV. I. 170) 'a prince of Aṅga'; plural अङ्गाः 'the princes of Aṅga.' The affix अण् is elided by the present rule, and the Vriddhi vanishes with it too (I. 1.63); but आङ्ग्यः 'the princesses of Aṅga,' plural of आङ्गी 'a princess of Aṅga.' But प्रियवाङ्गः 'he to [whom the prince of Vanga is beloved]' forms its plural प्रियवाङ्गाः 'they whose beloved is the prince of Vanga,' there being no elision.

यस्कादिभ्यो गोत्रे ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्क-आदिभ्यः, गोत्रे, (बहुषु, तेनैवास्त्रियाम्, लुग्)

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्क इत्येवमादिभ्यः परस्य गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु वर्तमानस्यास्त्रीलिङ्गस्य लुग् भवति तेनैव चेदगोत्रप्रत्ययेन कृतं बहुत्वं भवति ॥

63. After the word यस्क &c., there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word of itself and

not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another word, takes the plural; but not in the feminine.

यस्क + अम् = यास्कः 'a descendent of Yaska not nearer than grandson.' In the plural, the affix is elided and the form is यस्काः 'the descendents of Yaska.'

यस्कादयः ॥

1. यस्क . 2. लय . 3. दृष्ट . 4. भयस्थूण . 5. भयः स्थूण . 6. दणकण .
7. सदासत् . 8. कन्वलहार . 9. बहिर्याग . 10. कर्णादक . 11. पर्णादक . 12. पिण्डी जङ्घ . 13. वक्तव्य . 14. वक्तव्य . 15. विन्धि . 16. कुन्धि . 17. भजवस्त्रि . 18. मित्रयु . 19. रत्नोमुख . 20. महारथ . 21. उक्तास . 22. वदुक . 23. मयक . 24. मन्यक . 25. पुष्करद् . 26. पुष्करसद् . 27. विषपुट . 28. उपरिमेखल . 29. क्रोदुमान . 30. क्रोदुमान . 31. क्रोदुमार . 32. क्रोदुमाव . 33. शीर्षमाव . 34. इवदप . 35. पवक . 36. वपुक . 37. भलन्वन . 38. भडिल . 39. भण्डिल . 40. भडित . 41. भण्डिल .

यजजोश्च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्-अजोः, च, (यहुषु, तेनैवालुग) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यमोऽयश्च गोपमस्ययस्य बहुषु वर्त्तमानस्यास्त्रीलिङ्गस्य लुङ् भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यमोदीनामेकद्वयोर्वा तत्पुरुषे यस्या उपसंख्यानम् ॥

64. And there is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes यम् (IV. I. 105) and अम् (IV. I. 104.) when the word of itself and not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another, takes the plural but not in the feminine.

गर्ग + यम् = गार्ग्यः; plural गर्गाः 'the male descendents of Garga'. So also वत्साः 'the male descendents of Vatsa'; the singular being, वात्सवः. Similarly, विह + अम् = वैहः (IV. I. 104); plural विहाः and not वैहाः; similarly भोर्ग singular; भोर्गाः plural.

But these affixes are not elided when the word forms part of a compound. Thus, प्रियगार्ग्याः 'those to whom Gārgya is beloved,' प्रियवैहाः 'those to whom Baida is beloved.'

These affixes will not be elided in the feminine. Thus, गार्ग्वैः, वैह्य, feminine plurals.

Of course these affixes must be Gotra or patronymic affixes, otherwise there will be no elision. Thus द्वीप + यम् = द्वीप्यः 'living on the island,' plural द्वीप्याः; here the affix यम् is not elided as it does not denote a Gotra. So उत्स + अम् = औत्सः 'the pupil of Utsa,' plural औत्साः.

Vart:—In forming Tat-purusha compound of the singular and dual genitive, the affix यम् and अम् are optionally elided. Thus गार्ग्वैस्व कुलं = गार्ग्वै-कुलं or गार्ग्वकुलं, गार्ग्वयोः कुलं = गार्ग्वैकुलं or गर्ग्वकुलं.

Similarly वेदस्व or वेदयोः कुलं = वेदकुलं or विदकुलं.

Why do we say 'the affixes यम् or अम्'? Because other affixes will not be elided in forming तत्पुरुष compound; such as आङ्ग-कुलं।

Why do we say 'singular or dual'? Because in the plural तत्पुरुष compound these affixes must necessarily be elided and not optionally; thus गर्गाणां कुलं = गर्गकुलं.

Why do we say 'in forming तत्पुरुष compound'? Because in forming other compounds, these affixes will not be elided. Thus, उपगार्ह्ये which is an अध्ययीभाव compound, meaning गार्ह्यस्य समीपं. Of course, it is only in the Genitive तत्पुरुष that this rule is applicable; it will not therefore apply in कर्मधारय तत्पुरुष &c., as परमगार्ह्येः।

अत्रिमृगुकुत्सवसिष्ठगोतमाङ्गिरोभ्यश्च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्रिमृगु-कुत्स-वसिष्ठ-गोतम-अङ्गिरोभ्यः, च, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्र्याङिभ्यः परस्य गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति ॥

65. And after the words अत्रि, मृगु, कुत्स, वसिष्ठ, गोतम अङ्गिरस, there is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix, when the word takes the plural, but not in feminine.

Thus the plural of आनेच (अत्रि + इक IV. 1. 122.) the descendent of अत्रि, is अचयः, the regular plural of अत्रि. So also, singular भार्गवः, plural भृगवः; singular कौरवः, plural कुत्साः; so, वसिष्ठाः, गोतमाः, अङ्गिरसः. In all these the affix has been elided. Thus मृगु + अम् = भार्गवः 'the descendent of Bhrigu. Of course, it is only in the plural number that the Gotra affixes इक and अम् are elided, not in any other number; so we have in singular आनेचः भार्गवः; dual आनेचौ भार्गवौ; plural आचयः, भृगवः &c.

But when these words are part of a compound, the Gotra affixes are not elided in forming their plural. Thus त्रियाचनेयाः or त्रियभार्गवाः।

In the Feminine plural the affixes are not elided. Thus:—आनेच्यः लिङः।

बह्वच इज प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बह्वचः, इजः प्राच्य-भरतेषु, (बहुषु लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बह्वच प्रातिपदिकाद् य इज विहितः प्राच्यगोत्रे भरतगोत्रे च वर्तते तस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति ॥

66. There is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix इम् (IV. 1. 95) after a word containing many vowels (a polysyllabic word) which denotes the Gotra of the people called प्राच्य and भरत when the word takes the plural.

The plural of वसामादिः is वसामादिः, there being elision of इङ्; so also न्य-रेषणाः plural of नान्यरेषणिः; so the plural of बौधिसिद्धिः is बुधिसिद्धिराः 'the descendents of Yudhishtira. But वैकिः and पौष्पः not being polysyllabic, their plural will be वैकवः and पौष्पवः . .

Why do we say 'when denoting the Gotra of Prāchyas and Bhāratas'? Because when denoting the Gotra of any other people, these affixes will not be elided. Thus बान्नाकयः plural of बान्नाकिः, हस्तिदासवः plural of हस्तिदासिः .

Though the Bhāratas are Prāchyas, its specification here is to indicate that, wherever 'Prāchyas' will be used, it will not include Bhāratas as in V. 4. 60. Here the Yuvan affix of Bhāratas will not be elided. Thus भार्जुनिः father, भार्जुनायनः son.

न गोपयनादिभ्यः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गोप-यन-आदिभ्यः (लुग्), ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोपयनादिभ्यः परस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुग् न भवति ॥

67. After the words गोपयन, &c., there is not luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word takes the plural.

This prevents the application of II. 4. 64. Thus गोपयन + भञ् = गोपयनः, plural गोपयनाः; singular शौमवः, plural शौमवाः . The गोपयन &c. belong to Vidādi class, vide IV. 1. 104, and are the following:—गोपयन, शिशु, विन्दु, भञ्, भञ्च, भवतान, श्यामक and श्वारण. The remaining words such as हरित &c., should not be taken in this sub-class. In the case of हरित &c., the Gotra affix must be elided in the plural by Rule 64. Thus हरिताः किंदासाः &c.

तिक्कितवादिभ्यो द्वन्द्वे ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिक-कितव-आदिभ्यः, द्वन्द्वे, (बहुलुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिकादिभ्यः कितवादिभ्यश्च द्वन्द्वे गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति ॥

68. After the words तिक कितव &c. when used as Dvandva compound, there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affixes, when the compound word takes the plural.

Thus तिक + फिम् = तैकायनिः (IV. 1. 154). Its plural is तैकायनवः । तैकायनवः + कैतवायनवः = तिककितवाः । There is elision of फिम् . So also बांखरिः plural बांखरवः (IV. 1. 95) + भाण्डीरययः = बांखरभण्डीरयाः; there is elision of इम् (IV. 1. 95). The following is a list of such compounds.

1. तिककितवाः 2. बह्वलभण्डीरयाः 3. उपकलपकाः (भोरकायनाः + लामकायनाः. IV. 1. 99, elision of फक्). 4. पक्कनरकाः (पाक्कवः + नारकवः. IV. 1. 95, elision

of इम्). वकनखगुपपरिणताः, 6. उज्जककुमाः (ओज्जवः IV. 1. 95. + काकुमाः IV, 1. 112, then the elision of इम् and अण्). 7. लङ्गुशान्तनुषाः (the elision of इम् IV. 9. 95 as in 4). 8. उरसलंकटाः (औरसायनवः IV. 1. 154 + लंकटवः IV. 1. 95, elision of किम् and इम् . 9. ऋक कपिष्टलाः (elision of इम् as in 4) 10. कृष्णाजिनकृष्णसुन्दराः (elision of इम्) 11. अग्निवेश—हासेरकाः (आग्निवेशः IV. 1. 105 + हासेरकवः IV, 1. 95, elision of both वम् and इम्).

उपकादिभ्योऽन्यतरस्यामद्वन्द्वे ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपक-आदिभ्यः,
अन्यतरस्याम्, अद्वन्द्वे, (बहुषु लुग् द्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपक इत्येवमादिभ्यः परस्य गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति अन्यतरस्यां द्वन्द्वे च
द्वन्द्वे च ॥

69. After the words उपक &c. there is optionally luk-elision of the Gotra affix when the words take the plural whether they enter into a Dvandva compound, or are used separately.

Of the words belonging to this list, three have already been enumerated in the group of Tika-kitavādi of the last sūtra. The elision is invariable in the Dvandva compound of these three, but when used separately the elision is optional. As, उपकलमकाः, ऋककपिष्टलाः, कृष्णाजिनकृष्णसुन्दराः. But the plurals of औपकायनयः, the Gotra-derivative of उपक (IV. I. 99) is उपकाः or औपकायनाः; of लामकायनः is लमकाः or लामकायनाः; of ऋक is ऋकाः or ऋकयः. The plural of कापिष्टलिः is कपिष्टलाः or कापिष्टलयः. The plural of काष्णाजिनिः is कृष्णाजिनाः or काष्णाजिनवः. The plural of कृष्णसुन्दरः is कृष्णसुन्दराः or काष्णसुन्दरवः.

Of the rest of the words belonging to this group, there is option allowed, both when they occur in Dvandva compound or when used alone. They are as follow:—

1. पण्डारक . 2. अण्डारक . 3. गडुक . 4. सुपर्यक . 5. सुपिट . 6. पयूर-
कर्ण . 7. खारीजङ्घ . 8. शलाबल . 9. पतञ्जल . 10. कडेरणि . 11. कुशीतक . 12.
काशकृस्त्र . 13. निराध . 14. कलशीकण्ड . 15. रामकण्ड . 16. कृष्णपिंगल . 17.
कर्णक . 18. पण्यक . 19. जडिलक . 20. वधिरक . 21. जन्तुक . 22. अनुज्ञोम . 23.
अर्द्धपिंगलक . 24. प्रतिलोम . 25. प्रतान . 26. अनभिहित . (27. चूडारक . 28. उदङ्ग .
29. सुधायुक . 30. अभन्धक . 31. पदञ्जल . 32. अनुग्रह . 33. अपजङ्घ . 34. कमक .
35. लेखात्र . 36. कमन्धक . 37. पिप्पल . 38. मसूरकर्ण . 39. मराध . 40. कशामत्त .
41. रामकण्ड) ॥

आगस्त्यकौण्डिन्ययोरगस्ति कुण्डिनच् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अगस्त्य-
कौण्डिन्ययोः, अगस्ति-कुण्डिनच्, (बहुषु लुग्, अणो यञः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आगस्त्यकौण्डिन्ययोरणो यञश्च बहुषु लुग् भवति पतिशिष्टस्त्वथ प्रकृतिभागस्त्व
अथासंख्ययगस्ति कुण्डिनच् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

70. There is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes भण् and बम् of the words भगस्त्व and कौण्डिन्य, when they take the plural; and the words भगस्ति and कण्डिनच् are the substitutes of the bases so remaining after the elision.

The plural of भगस्त्व is भगस्तयः (as if it was the plural of भगस्ति) and of कौण्डिन्यः is कण्डिनाः. The affix भण् (IV. 1. 114.) after भगस्त्व and the affix बम् (IV. 1. 105) after कौण्डिन्य are elided.

The च in कण्डिनच् is indicatory and regulates the accent (VI. 1. 163); the word कण्डिन has udātta on the middle vowel; and its substitute will also have the same accent. There is no elision however in भगस्तीयारुजा (IV. 1. 89) कौण्डिनारुजाः (IV. 2. III).

सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि सुपः, धातु-प्रातिपदिकयोः, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुपो विभक्तेर्धातुसंज्ञायाः प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञायाश्च लुग् भवति ॥

71. There is luk-elision of the case-affix of a word when it gets the name of a root, or as a crude form.

A noun is changed into a root (धातु) when it is made a denominative verb. As पुत्रीयति (III. 1. 8) he wishes for a son of his own. A noun which forms part of a compound becomes a crude-form (I. 2. 46); as कटभितः 'having recourse to pain' राजपुरुषः 'king's man.' In all these examples, the case affixes have been elided.

Thus पुत्रन् इच्छति = पुत्रीयति, here the 2nd case-affix is elided. कटभितः = कटभितः &c.

Why do we say 'when it gets the name of धातु or प्रातिपदिक ?

Because when it gets any other name, such as भङ्ग &c., the case-affix is not elided. Thus वृक्षः, वृक्षः ।

अदिप्रभृतिभ्यः शपः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदि-प्रभृतिभ्यः, शपः, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदिप्रभृतिभ्य उक्तस्त्व शपो लुग् भवति ॥

72. After the verb भृ 'to eat' and the rest, there is luk-elision of the Vikarāṇa शप् (III. 1. 68).

Thus भृ + शप् + ति = भृति 'he eats'; हन्ति 'he kills'; द्वेष्टि 'he envies'. The Adādi verbs belong to the second conjugation. In this class of verbs, therefore, the terminations are added direct to the root.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (शपः लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये शपो बहुलं लुग् भवति ॥

73. In the Chhandas (Vedas) there is diversely the luk-elision of the Vikarāṇa शप् (III. 1. 68).

There is elision in other conjugations than Adādi; and there is sometimes even no elision in Adādi verbs. As वृजं हन्ति 'he kills Vṛitra.' हन् + शप् + ति = हन्ति instead of हन्ति । So also, अहिः शयते instead of शेते. (Rig. V. I. 32. 5). In these cases the Vikarāṇa शप् has not been elided.

In some cases the शप् is elided as चाभ्यन् नो देवाः instead of चाभ्यभ्यम् ॥

यङोऽचि च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यङः, अचि, च, (लुग् बहुलम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङो लुग् भवति अचि प्रत्यये परतः, चकारेण बहुलं यङमनुकृत्यते नतु छन्दसि इति ॥

74. And there is diversely the luk-elision of यङ् (III. 1. 22) when the affix अभ् (III. 1. 134) follows.

By using 'diversely' there is elision of यङ् when other affixes than अभ् follow, both in the sacred and profane literature; as लोलुपः 'much cutter' (लोलुप + अभ्); पोषुवः 'much purifier.' सनीधंसः from धंस 'to drop.' दनीधंसः from धंस 'to fall,' the नी being added by (VII. 4. 84).

So also यङ् is elided before other affixes than अभ्; thus शाकुनिकी कालपीति, दुन्दुभिपीति ॥ See also I. 1. 4.

जुहोत्यादिभ्यः श्लुः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जुहोति-अदिभ्यः, श्लुः, (शपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जुहोत्यादिभ्य उत्तरस्य शपः श्लु भवति ॥

75. After the verbs ह् 'to sacrifice' and others, there is ślu-elision of the Vikarāṇa शप् (III. 1. 68).

These verbs belong to the JuhotyĀdi class. जुहोति 'he sacrifices' (VII. 1. 10). श्लु causes the reduplication of the root. So also विभेति 'he fears.' विभेति from निज् 'to purify,' he purifies.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (शपः श्लुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुलं शपः श्लु भवति ॥

76. In the Chhandas there is ślu-elision of शप् diversely.

Elision does not take place where ordained, and takes place where not ordained. दाति मिथानि (instead of ददाति) 'he gives pleasant objects,' धाति instead of दधाति.

So also there is slu-elision of the vikaranas after roots other than those belonging to the JuhotyĀdi class. Thus; पूर्ण विवक्षि, जनिम विवक्षि .

गातिस्थाशुपाभूभ्यः सिचः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥
गाति-स्था-शु-पा-भूभ्यः, सिचः, परस्मैपदेषु, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाति स्था शु वा भू इत्येतेभ्यः परस्मै सिचो लुग् भवति परस्ये पदेषु परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गापो मंहने इणपिबस्वो मंहनम् ॥

77. There is luk-elision of the affix सिच् (III. 1. 44) in the Parasmaipada, after the verbs गौ 'to go,' स्था 'to stand,' the verbs called च् (I. 1. 20), वा 'to drink' and भू 'to be.'

गा is the substitute of इण् (II. 4. 45). सिच् the affix of the Aorist is elided after these verbs in the Parasmaipada as अगात् 'he went,' अस्थात् 'he stood,' अदात् 'he gave,' अधात् 'he held,' अवात् 'he drank,' अभूत् 'he was.'

Vart:—The verbs गा and वा in the aphorism mean the गा 'to go' (which is the substitute of इण्, and not गै 'to sing,') which also assumes the form गा, and वा 'to drink' and not वा 'to protect.' The verbs गा 'to sing' and वा 'to protect' will form their Aorist with सिच् without its elision; thus अगासीत् 'he sang,' अवासीत् 'he protected.'

In the Atmanepada the सिच् is not elided; thus अगासातां मामो देवदत्तेन .

विभाषा प्राधेद्शाछासः ; ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, प्रा-धेद्-शा-छासः, (सिचः परस्मै विभाषा लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रा धेद् शा छा सा इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्व सिचः परस्मैपदेषु विभाषा लुग् भवति ॥

78. After the verbs प्रा 'to smell,' धेद् 'to drink,' शा 'शो' 'to pare,' छा (छो) 'to cut,' and सा (सो) 'to destroy,' there is optionally the elision of सिच्, when the parasmaipada terminations are employed.

Thus अग्रात् or अग्रासीत् 'he smelled,' अधात् or अधासीत् 'he drank,' अशात् or अशासीत् 'he pared,' अच्छात् or अच्छासीत् 'he cut' and असात् or असासीत् 'he destroyed.'

There is no option allowed in Atmanepada; thus, अग्रासातां सुमनसो देवदत्तेन ॥

The root धेद् is a Ghu verb, and in its case, the सिच् would have been elided by the last rule also. The present declares an option.

तनादिभ्यस्त्वयासोः, ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तन-आदिभ्यः, त-यासोः,
(सिचःविभाषा लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनादिभ्य उत्तरस्व सिचस्त्वयासोः परसो विभाषा लुक् भवति ॥

79. After the verbs तन् 'to expand, and others there is optionally the luk-elision of सिच् when the Atmanepada affixes त् and यास् of the second person follow.

Thus अतत् (VI. 4. 37) or अतनिष् 'he expanded,' अतयाः or अतनिष्ठाः 'thou didst expand.' Similarly असात् or असनिष् 'he gave,' असायाः or असनिष्ठाः 'thou didst give.'

The roots तन् and सन् must both belong to the Atmanepada, and not to Parasmaipada. Hence in the Parasmaipada there is no elision of सिच्. Thus, अतनिष् वृत्तम् 'you did expand.'

मन्त्रे चसन्ह्वरणशब्दहादृक् कृगमिजनिभ्यो लेः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥
मन्त्रे-चस ह्वर-णश-सृ-दृह-आत्-सृक्-कृ-गमि-जनिभ्यः, लेः, (लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रविषये चस इर णश च दृह आत् सृक् कृ गमि जनि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्व ले लुक् भवति ॥

80. In the Mantra portion of the Vedas there is luk-elision of the sign of the Aorist (& Perfect), after the verbs चस् 'to eat' इर 'to be crooked,' णश 'to destroy' च 'to choose,' 'to cover,' दृह 'to burn,' verbs ending in long आ, सृक् 'to avoid,' कृ 'to make,' गमि 'to go' and जनि 'to be produced.'

The word लि is the name given by ancient grammarians to the affixes of Perfect tense as well as the Aorist, or it might be common term for all tense-affixes. Thus from चस we have अक्षन् in the sentence, अक्षन् पितरो ऽमी' मन्त्र पितरो' ऽसीदन्व पितरः पितरः शुन्धन् (Yajurveda XIX. 36 so also Rig. I. 82. 2).

From the verb इर we have माहर्निमस्व स्वम्. From णश we have प्रणह् in the following verse मानः संसो अरुषो धूर्तिः प्रणह्मर्त्यस्य । रक्षा गोव्रह्मण्यसते ॥ (Rig. I. 18. 3.)

The word च् in the sūtra includes both चृह् and चृम्, as the word वेन in the following ब्रह्मं जज्ञानं प्रथमं पुरस्ताद्विष्टी' मयः सुरुषो वेन आचः । सचु धृष्टा उपमा अंस्य विष्टाः सुतश्च योनिमसंतश्च विचः ॥ (Yajurveda 13. 3).

From दृह we have आधक् as in सरस्वद्विनि' नेपिबस्यो मार्षस्फुरीः पर्यसा मान् आधक् ॥ (Rig. VI. 61. 14). The word आत् means verbs ending in long आ as प्रा 'to fill.' Thus, निचः देवानामुद्गातनीकं चक्षुर्भिनस्य वरुणस्याग्नेः । आमा यावा वृथिवी अन्तरिक्षं सूर्ये आत्मा जगत्स्तस्यु च ॥ (Rig. I. 115. 1.)

The root सृच् gives us सर्क as in the following verse:—ना नो अस्मिन्महाधने परा- वग् मारभुयथा । संवर्गे संरचि जवः ॥ (Rig. VIII 75. 12).

From कृ we have कृन् as in the following verse कृन् कर्म कर्म कृतः सप्त
शाखा मयो मुनी । वेदेभ्यः कर्म कृत्वास्तं शैतं सचामुवः ॥ (Yajurveda III. 47).

From गन् we have अगन्; as in the following verse: वृतेषु बलं बहुभिर्वसो
स्वेरभि जागृतांसो अनुगन् । कृत्वात्मनि रघोतः वृत्तं वपावतं विभवा रीदिसांसं ॥ (Rig. VI. 1.1).

From जन we have अजन्त as अजन्त वा अस्य इन्ताः . This is an example from
the Brāhmaṇ literature, as the word मन्त्र in the sūtra refers also to the
Brāhmaṇ literature.

आमः ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमः, (लेः, लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमः परस्व ले ईङ् भवति ॥

81. There is luk-elision in the room of that
tense-affix (लुक्) which comes after आम् of the Perfect.

आम् is used in forming Periphrastic Perfect ईहांचके 'he endea-
voured. Here, after the verb ईहाम् all tense-affixes are elided, and the Perfect
of कृ is added to form its Perfect. Similarly कृहांचके, ईसांचके ॥

अव्ययादाप्सुपः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययात्, आप्-सुपः, (लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययादुत्तरस्यापः सुपश्च लुक् भवति ॥

82. There is luk-elision of आप् (the feminine
termination) and सुप् (the case-affixes) after an Avyaya
or Indeclinable.

Thus, तत्र शान्तायाम् 'in that hall'. Here the Indeclinable तत्र 'there,'
does not take the feminine termination, although it is equivalent to तत्त्वाम् 'in
that.' So also कृता 'having done' हिरा &c. Here the case-affix is elided.

नाव्ययीभावादतोमृत्पञ्चम्याः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अव्ययी-
भावात्, अतः, अन्, तु, अपञ्चम्याः, (सुपः लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्ताव्ययीभावादुत्तरस्व सुपो न लुक् भवति, अमादेशस्तु तस्व सुपो नवरत्न-
पञ्चम्याः ॥

83. There is not luk-elision of the case-affix
after an Avyayi-bhāva compound that ends in आ; आम् is
the substitute of its case-affixes, but not when it is the
fifth case-affix.

This debars luk-elision which was to have taken place by the last
sūtra; instead of luk-elision, we have आम् added to the words ending in short
अ; for examples of this, see sūtra II. 1.6; as उपकुम्भं तिष्ठति 'upakumbha is
standing'; उपकुम्भं पश्य 'see the upakumbha.'

Why do we say 'after words ending in short अ'? Because after Avyayibhāva compound ending in any other vowels there is not substitution, but there is total-elision of the case-affixes; as अधिकारी, अधिकारी.

But the ablative case-affix is not elided after Avyayibhāva compound ending in short अ, nor is there the अन् substitution; as उपकुम्भोद्गमनम्.

तृतीया सप्तम्योर्बहुलम् ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-सप्तम्योः, बहुलम्, (अन् अठ्ययीभावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीया सप्तम्योर्विभक्तयोर्बहुलमम्भावो भवति अठ्ययीभावे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सप्तम्या ऋद्धि नदी समास संख्यावयवयो नित्यमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

84. The change to अन् of the third and seventh case-affixes coming after an Avyayibhāva compound that ends in अ, occurs diversely.

उपकुम्भेन or उपकुम्भम् कृतं 'done by upakumbha'; उपकुम्भे निधेहि or उपकुम्भम् निधेहि 'put it in the upakumbha.'

Vart. The अन् substitution is invariable and not optional in the locative case when the Avyayibhāva compound denotes prosperity (II, 1. 6.) or a compound of rivers (II. 1. 20 and 21) or a compound having a numeral for its member (II. 1. 19); as, सुमद्रम् 'well or prosperous with the Madras'; सुमगधम् 'well or prosperous with the Magadhas'; similarly उन्नतगङ्गम्, ज्योतिषगङ्गम्, एकविंशतिभारद्वाजम्. The word 'diversely' establishes all these even without the Vārtika.

लुटः प्रथमस्य द्वारौरसः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुटः, प्रथमस्य हा-रौ रसः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुटारेशस्य प्रथमपुरुषस्य परस्मैपदस्यालनेपरस्य च हा रौ रस इत्येते आदेशा भवन्ति वयासंख्यम् ॥

85. हा, रौ and र्त्स् are substituted respectively in the room of the three-affixes of the third person of लृट् (First-future), both in the Parasmaipada and the Atmanepada.

Thus in the Parasmaipada कर्ता 'he will do,' कर्तारौ 'they two will do,' कर्तारः 'they will do.' So also in the Atmanepada we have अभ्येता, अभ्येतारौ, अभ्येतारः.

Why do we say 'in the 3rd person'? Observe इवः कर्तासि । इवोऽभ्येतासे ॥

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