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BOOK VII.

The

ASHTADHYAYI

of

PANINI.

PARTS XXV—XXVIII.

S. C. VASU

Price Rs 3.

OPINIONS OF DISTINGUISHED PROFESSORS OF SANSKRIT.

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

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

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

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

स्वस्तीश्वरे हितपुरे हितदे प्रयागे सत्संगमप्रणयसंमतिदे बुधानां ।
विद्याविनोदपरिवर्द्धितशुश्रूषाराम् बास्वन्वयाञ्छिरिषचन्द्रविशंवर्दिटान् ॥ १ ॥
वृष्टातिमोदमुदिरोहमुदमशन्तीन् सञ्छास्त्रशोधितसुखास्पदबोधभाजः ।
सम्यक्कलसंतु नतयानितराम्मसीयाः यद्वाबलूककविकर्मरतांतरेभ्यः ॥ २ ॥
वृष्टाकृतं विमलबोधनबोधराशिं सद्वाकृतिप्रथितकीर्त्तिकरप्रशस्यं ।
यच्छ्रीमश्रीयमतिमोदवहं वरेण्यं सत्पुस्तकं प्रमुदितोहमहोद्यकृत्यं ॥ ३ ॥
चित्रयस्ति भवतेग्लिशायोधभाजा यद्वस्तुतो विरचितं समवृक् सुविम्बं ।
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सत्संग्लिशप्रकटितवरसूत्रवृत्तौ संज्ञादिपेशलमनो कुहकल्पसाक्षि ।
स्थानेयसुप्रहितवित्तवित्तवर्धे यद्वासुतासुविहिन्नोग्लिशभाववृत्तिः ॥ ५ ॥
येनत्त्वया मुनिमतावृतशास्त्रसंपान् निर्मध्यसौधरसवन्महतादरेण ।
संगुम्फितं सरलसंस्कृतसाध्यसारं धन्यं वशम्यहमलं भवतेहिताय ॥ ६ ॥
ग्रन्थस्यवत्पसरणाखिलकीर्त्तिकृत्य याचेपराङ्गवतोप्यहमवविहन् ।
यत्पूर्वपश्चिममुखेषुसशप्रचारं लाभंसुखंशुचिरं च तवापि धीमन् ॥ ७ ॥
वाणोविशम्भरतवास्तुखे जयोद्या यत्पूर्वपश्चिममजबोधभृते च विद्या ।
ख्यातस्सरासकल बर्धभूजां समुहोऽप्याशीर्वचो भवतु पंडित लालचन्द्र ॥ ८ ॥



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MANAGER.

BOOK VII.

THE

ASHTÁDHYÁYI OF PÁNINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

SRISA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,

Provincial Civil Service, N. W. P.



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AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S
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THESE PROVINCES,

Dedicated

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT

THE TRANSLATOR.

Choraman

ओ३म् ।

अथ सप्तमाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER FIRST.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ यु इ इत्येतयोस्तुटविशेषणयोरनुनासिकयणोः प्रत्यययोर्महर्णं तयोः स्थाने यथासङ्ख्यं मन अक इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ।

Kārikā युनोमेद् द्वित्वनिर्देशो द्वित्वे यन्तु प्रसज्यते । अयं चैकैकवद्भावः कथं पुनरनेदयम् ॥

द्वित्वे नैगमिको लोप एकत्वे तुमानित्यता । आशिष्यत्वाद्भि लिङ्गस्य पुंस्त्वे वेहि समाश्रितम् ।

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

यु and इ are taken here as stripped of all other indicatory letters, and the semi-vowels are also to be understood to have been nasalised. The अन replaces यु, and अक replaces इ ॥ Thus ल्यु (III. 1. 134) = अन, as मन् + ल्यु = मन्लः रमणः ॥ So also व्यु and व्युल् (IV. 3. 23), as सावेतनः, चिरंतनः ॥ इ we find in ण्डुल् (III. 1. 133), as कृ + ण्डुल् = कारकः, शरकः ॥ So also इन् (IV. 3. 98) as वासुदेवकः, भर्जुनकः ॥

Why do we say nasalised यु and इ? Observe ऊर्णाया युन् (V. 2. 123) Here the यु is not replaced by अन, and we have ऊर्णायाः ॥ So also in युजिष्टृणां युक्लुको ॥ Here the यु of युक् and ल्युक् (Uṇ III. 21) are not replaced by अन; as भुज्युः and वृल्युः ॥ In the affixes above mentioned, the semi-vowel is not considered to have the nasal. There are no visible marks of nasality on any affixes, but the maxim is प्रतिज्ञानुनासिक्याः पाणिनीयाः ॥

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

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

आयनेयीनीयियः फढखच्छघां प्रत्ययादीनाम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ आयन्-एय्-ईन्
ईय्-इयः, फ-ढ-ख-छ-घाम्, प्रत्यय-आदीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आयन् एय् ईन् ईय् इय् इत्येते आदेशा भवन्ति यथासंख्यं ऋ ऌ छ घ इत्येतेषां प्रत्ययादीनाम् ।

2. आयन्, for फ्, एय् for ढ्, ईन् for ख्, ईय् for छ्, and इय् for घ्, are substituted, when these consonants stand in the beginning of an affix.

Thus फक् (IV. 1. 99) = आयन्, as नङ् + फक् = नाङायन्, चारायणः ॥ ढक् (IV. 1. 120) = एय् as सौपर्णेयः, वेनतेयः ॥ ख् (IV. 1. 139) ईन्, as आख्यकुलीनः, श्रोत्रियकुलीनः ॥ छ (IV. 2. 114) = ईय्, as गार्गीयः, वात्सीयः ॥ घ (IV. 1. 138) = इय्, as क्षत्रियः ॥

Why do we say 'of an affix'? Observe फक्कति, षौकते, स्वनति, छिनति and घूर्णते, where these consonants are in the beginning of a *root*. Why do we say 'in the beginning'? Observe ढरुद्रघ्नम्, आनुदघ्नम्, where घ is in the *middle* of the affix; and remains consequently unchanged.

These आयन् &c, substitutions should be understood to have taken place at the very time the affixes फक् &c; are taught, and these substitutions being made, the rule of accent, which makes an affix acute on the first syllable, applies. Thus ख् is not acute, but ई of ईन् substituted for it. Similarly in IV. 4. 117, the affix taught is घच् with an indicative च्, showing that the final of the affix ईय् will be acute (VI. 1. 163), and not of घ, for घ would have been acute by the general rule affix.

In घये ईः (Uṇ 1. 99), घये ख् (Uṇ 1. 102), the affixes ढ and ख् remain unchanged, and we have घण्डः, and घंखः ॥ This is explained on the maxim of उणादयो बहुलम् (III. 3. 1). In the sūtra ऋतेरीयैः (III. 1. 29), the affix ईयङ् has been taught and not छङ्, this shows that the rule of substitution herein taught does not apply to the affixes to be added to the verbal roots. Thus एञ्जः खच् (III. 2. 28), पङ्कजविघास्युद्यो घच् (III. 3. 16). Here the ख् and घ are not replaced by ईन् and इय् ॥ In fact, they cannot be regarded as affixes, but only as हन् or servile letters. By I. 3. 8, the gutturals are हन् except in Taddhita: therefore, the substitutions take place in Taddhita affixes, where the ख् and घ are not हन् ॥

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

प्राचामवृज्जान् किन् बहुन् ॥ Here the न् of किन् is indicatory, showing the position of the accent. But क् is replaced by आयन्, so if the न् of आयन् were also to be indicatory (इन्) there would have been no necessity of adding न् in किन् ॥ Hence the fact of this न् in किन् shows that the न् in आयन् and इन् are not इन् ॥

शो ऽन्तः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ झः, अन्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययावयवस्य झस्य अन्त इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

The word प्रत्यय is understood here, but not so the word आदिः ॥ Thus झि becomes झन्ति and झ becomes अन्त (III. 4. 78). As कुर्वन्ति, घृणन्ति and चिन्वन्ति, so also घद्यान्ते, the लेट् of चीङ् ॥ Thus ची + लेट् = ची + चप् + आद् + झ (III. 4. 54) = ची + चप् + आ + झे (III. 4. 79) = ची + चप् + आ + झे (III. 4. 96) = ची + चप् + आ + अन्ते (VII. 1. 3) = ची + आ + अन्ते = घद्यान्ते (after guna): as अद्य द्वौ विजगिष्यमाणाः पतिभिः सह घद्यान्ते ॥ So also in the Unādi affix झञ् (Un III. 126): as कृ + झञ् = अर्न्ते, वेद्यान्तः ॥ This substitution does not take place when झ is not part of an affix: as उञ्झिता, उञ्झितम्, उञ्झितव्यम् ॥ Here also the accent falls on the substitute, according as it is चित् or otherwise. Thus the substitute अन्त of झ is first-acute by the rule III. 1. 3; but the substitute अर्न्ते of झञ् is final acute because of the indicatory च (VI. 1. 763) ॥

अदभ्यस्तात् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्, अभ्यस्तात्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्य झकारस्य अदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

As ईवति, ववतु, वधति, वधतु; जसति, जसतु; जामति, जामतु ॥ This अत् is replaced by जुत्, as अवतुः, अवधुः ॥ Here also the accent will be on the first syllable of the substitute. Thus ईवति, अवत, अवधे, ईवतु, ईवताम् in the subsequent sūtras. The accent of the reduplicates, however, is governed by VI. 1. 189, (अभ्यस्तानामादिः) ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु यो झकारस्तस्यानकारान्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्यादित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus चिन्वते, चिन्वताम्, अचिन्वतः, लुनते, लुनताम्, अलुनतः ॥ Why in the Atmanepada? Observe चिन्वन्ति, लुनन्ति ॥ Why "when not preceded by an अ"? Observe च्यवन्ते, प्लवन्ते, in which, though the roots are च्यु and प्लु, they assume the form च्यव and प्लव when the Vikarana चप् is added; the vikarana is added first, because it is nitya; and then the substitution of अन्त or अत for झ, as the case may be. The word अनतः qualifies झ, the झ should be immediately preceded by a stem ending in a non-अ; if some other letter intervenes, the rule will not apply. Thus from ची—घद्यान्ते, here between ची and झ, intervenes the augment आद्, therefore झ is not preceded by a stem ending in non-अ, but by आद् ॥

शीङो रुट् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शीङः, रुट् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शीङोङ्गादुत्तरस्य ह्रादेषस्यातो रुडागमो भवति ॥

6. The अत् substitute of झ्, gets the augment रुट्, after the root शी ॥

Thus शेरेते, शेरेताम्, अशेरत ॥ The augment र् is added at the beginning of the affix, making अत्=रत् ॥ Had this र् been an augment of झ, then like the आट् augment in श्यान्ते, it would have intervened between the शी and झ, and झ not immediately following a non-झ stem, अत् would not have been substituted for झ at all. Therefore रुट् is made the augment of the *substitute* अत्, and not of झ ॥ The root शी is read in the sūtra with its anubandha ह् in order to indicate, that there is no रुट् augment when there is elision of the Intensive affix यङ्, nor any Guṇa. As व्यति शोद्यते ॥

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

क्षित्पा क्षपातुबन्धेन निर्विष्टं यङ्गणेन च ।
यैकाश्च यङ्गणं यैव पंचैतानि न यङ्गलुकि ॥

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

वेत्तेर्विभाषा ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेत्तेः, विभाषा ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वेत्तेरङ्गादुत्तरस्य ह्रादेषस्यातो विभाषा रुडागमो भवति ॥

7. The अत् substitute of झ् optionally gets the augment रुट् after the verbal stem विट् (वेत्ति) ॥

As संविदते or संविदते; संविदताम् or संविदताम्; समविदत or समविदत ॥ The विट् is the Adādi root here, and does not apply to विन्ते, विन्ताते, विन्दते, which belongs to the Rudhādi class (विट् विचारणे) ॥

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

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (रुट्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुलं रुडागमो भवति ॥

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

Thus देवा अदुह् ; गन्धर्वा अप्सरसो अदुह् ॥ Here अदुह् is the Imperfect (लङ्) plural of दुह् ॥ Thus दुह् + झ = दुह् + रत् = अदुह्, the त् being elided by VII. 1. 41. Sometimes, the augment does not take place, as अदुहत् ॥ Owing to the word बहुल, 'diversely', the augment र is added to other affixes also, than झ ॥ As अवग्रह् in अवग्रहस्व केतवः ॥ This is the aorist in अङ् of the root ह्य by III. 1. 57, the guṇa ordained by VII. 4. 16, does not 'diversely' take place.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तावक्रादुत्तरस्व भिस् ऐसित्यत्र मादेशो भवति ॥

Kārikā ॥ एत्वं भित्ति परत्याचरेत् ऐस्त्वं भविष्यति । कृतेष्वेते भौतपूर्वार्थेस्तु नित्यस्तथा सति ॥

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

As वृक्षेः, वृक्षेः, अतिजरसैः ॥ Why do we say ending in अ? Observe अग्निभिः, वायुभिः ॥ Why 'short अ'? Observe लङ्गाभिः, मालाभिः ॥ The adhikāra of "अतः" ('after a short अ'), extends up to VII. 1. 17.

The form अतिजरसैः illustrates some important principles of grammar. अति + जरा = (जराभित्तिः) अतिजर (अ being shortened by I. 2. 48). The word अतिजर ends in अ, and therefore forms its Ins. pl. by ऐस् ॥ Thus अतिजर + ऐस् ॥ Now we apply VII. 2. 101, which says for जरा is substituted जरस् before vowel-beginning case-endings. It should not be objected, that the substitution is ordained for जरा and not जर; for the maxim एकदेशादिकृतमन्यवद् भवति (a tail-less dog is still a dog) applies here. Having made this substitution, we get अतिजरसैः ॥ Nor should you object that it was the अ of जर which had given occasion to the existence of ऐस्, and that अ should not be destroyed, on the maxim सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद् विधातस्य, for this maxim is not universal, as Pāṇini himself shows in employing the form कटाव (III. 1. 14), in which ए of the Dative is changed into अ by VII. 1. 13, and then this very अ causes the destruction of अ and makes it आ (See VII. 1. 13 also).

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

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

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (ऐस्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुलमैसादेशो भवति ॥

10. In the Veda the substitution takes place diversely.

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

नेदमदसोरकोः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इदम्, अदसोः, अ, कोः, (भिस् ऐस्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इदम् अवस् इत्येतयोरेककारयोर्भिस् ऐस् भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

टाडसिङ्गसामिनात्स्याः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ टा, ङसि, ङसाम्, इन, आत्, स्याः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तादङ्गादुत्तरेषां टाडसिङ्गसाम् इन आत् स्व इत्येते आदेशा भवन्ति यथासंख्यम् ॥

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

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

would have the forms अतिअरसिन् and अतिअरसात् from अतिअर ॥ This is on the analogy of अतिअरसैः [See Sûtra 9 ante]. Thus अति + अर = अतिअर (I. 2. 48). Then by VII. 2. 101, अरस् is substituted for अर before the vowel-affixes. These forms are not supported however by Patanjali. According to him the forms will be either अतिअरेण, अतिअरात्, or अतिअरसा and अतिअरसः but never अतिअरसिन् and अतिअरसात् ॥

कुर्यः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊः, यः, (अतः अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेरिति चतुर्थ्येकवचनस्य ग्रहणम् अकारान्तासङ्गादुत्तरस्य ऊ इत्येकस्य य इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

सर्वनाम्नः स्मै ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वनाम्नः, स्मै, (अतः ऊ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तास्सर्वनाम्न उत्तरस्य ऊः स्मै इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

ऊसिङ्गोः स्मात्स्मिनौ ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊसि, ऊङ्गोः, स्मात्, स्मिनौ, (अतः सर्वनाम्नः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊसि ङि इत्येतयोराकारान्तास्सर्वनाम्न उत्तरयोः स्मात् स्मिन् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

15. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ, स्मात्

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

Thus सर्वस्मात्, विश्वस्मात्, यस्मात्, तस्मात् and कस्मात् ॥ सर्वस्मिन्, विश्वस्मिन्, यस्मिन्, तस्मिन् and अन्यस्मिन् ॥ But भवतः and भवति from भवत् ending in a non-अ, and वृक्षात् and वृक्षे in non-pronouns. See VII. 2. 102 for यद् तद् &c.

पूर्वादिभ्यो नवभ्यो वा ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्व-आदिभ्यः, नवभ्यः, वा, (सर्वनाम्नः ऊसिङ्ग्याः स्मात् स्मिनौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वादिभ्यो नवभ्यः सर्वनाम्न उत्तरयोर्ऊसिङ्ग्योः स्मात् स्मिन् इत्येतावदेशो वा भवतः ॥

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

Thus पूर्वस्मात् or पूर्वात्, पूर्वस्मिन् or पूर्वे, परस्मात् or परात्, परस्मिन् or परे, भवरस्मात्, or भवरात्, भवरस्मिन् or भवरे, वृक्षिणस्मात् or वृक्षिणात्, वृक्षिणस्मिन् or वृक्षिणे, उत्तरस्मात्, or उत्तरात्, उत्तरस्मिन्, or उत्तरे, अपरस्मात्, or अपरात्, अपरस्मिन्, or अपरे, अधरस्मात्, or अधरात्, अधरस्मिन्, or अधरे, स्वस्मात्, or स्वात्, स्वस्मिन् or स्वे, अन्तरस्मात् or अन्तरात्, अन्तरस्मिन् or अन्तरे ॥ नवभ्य इति किञ्, त्यस्मात्, त्यस्मिन् ॥

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

जसः शी ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जसः, शी, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक.पन्तात्सर्वनाम्न उत्तरस्य जसः शीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus सर्वे (सर्व+ई), विश्वे, ये, कं, ते ॥ Though सर्व+इ would have also given सर्वे, the long ई is taken for the sake of subsequent sūtras, in forming वपुणी, जतुनी ॥

औङ आपः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ औङः, आपः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आबन्तावङ्गादुत्तरस्यौङः शीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

Kārikā—औकारोऽयं शीविधौ ङिङ्गृहीतो ङिङ्गास्माकं नास्ति कोऽयं प्रकारः ।

सामान्यार्थस्तस्य चासंज्ञनेस्मिन्ङिङ्गकार्यं ते दयां प्रसक्तं स शेषः ॥

ङित्वे विद्यादूर्णनिर्देशमात्रं वर्णे बत्स्यात्तच्च विद्यात्तदाहो ।

वर्णमात्रं तेन ङित्वेऽप्यहो निर्देशार्थं पूर्वसूत्रेण वा स्यात् ॥

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

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

Kārikā :—In this rule about **शी**, the letter **ओ** has been enunciated with an indicatory **ह**; but we have no **ओ** with a **ह**, taught any where. What sort of sūtra construction is this? If you say, the use of **ह** is to form a common term for the two affixes **ओ** and **ओह**, then by so doing, **ङित्** operations must be performed with regard to this **शी** of yours, and this is an error. [**शी** replacing **ङित् ओह** will be considered as **ङित्**, and being **ङित्**, it will take the augment **वाद्** by VII. 3, 113: and the form will be **खद्वाये** and not **खद्वा**] ॥

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

नपुंसकाच्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपुंसकात्, च (ओङः शी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकावक्रादुत्तरस्य ओङः शी इत्यथमादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इयां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

19. After a neutral stem, **ई** is substituted for the nom. and acc. dual **ओ** ॥

Thus **कुण्डे**: तिष्ठतः, **कुण्डे** पश्य ॥ **कुण्ड + ई = कुण्डे**, the **अ** of **कुण्ड** required to be elided by VI. 4. 148. This is, however, not done by the following

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

Similarly **रथिनी**, **मधुनी**, **वपुणी**, **अनुनी** ॥ The augment **व** is added by VII. 1. 73.

जडशसोः शिः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ जस्, शसोः, शिः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकावक्रादुत्तरयोर्जडशसोः शि इत्यथमादेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus **कुण्डानि** तिष्ठन्ति, **कुण्डानि** पश्य, **रथिनि**, **मधूनि**, **वपूणि**, **अनुनि** ॥ The augment **व** is by VII. 1. 72, The word **शस्** in the sūtra being read along with **जस्**

denotes the Accusative Plural ending सस् and not the Taddhita affix सस् (V. 4. 43); as कुण्डसो वसति, वनसः प्रविशति ॥

अष्टाभ्य औग् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टाभ्यः, औग्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टाभ्य इति कृताकारोऽष्टाभ्यो गृह्यते तस्यादुत्तरयोर्जश्चसोऽपि शिष्यमादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

षड्भ्यो लुक् ॥ २२ ॥ षड्भ्यः, लुक्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षड्संज्ञकेभ्य उत्तरयोर्जश्चसोर्लुग्भवति ॥

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

As षट् तिष्ठन्ति, षट् पश्य, पञ्च, सप्त, नव, दश ॥ The rule applies even to compounds ending with 'shash' words: as परमषट्, उत्तमषट्, but the 'shash' should be the principal; if it is only a secondary member of the compound, the rule will not apply: as त्रियषषः, त्रियपञ्चानः ॥ For the elision of न् see VIII. 2. 7.

स्वमोर्नपुंसकात् ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, अमोः, नपुंसकात्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु अम् इत्येतयोर्नपुंसकादुत्तरयोर्लुग्भवति ॥

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

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

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

अतोऽम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, अम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्ताप्रसङ्गादुत्तरयोः स्वमोरमित्यभादेशो भवति ॥

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

As कुण्डं तिष्ठति, कुण्डं पश्य ॥ So also वनम्, पीडम् ॥ Why do we not say 'म् is substituted'? कुण्ड + म = कुण्डाम्, thus there would be lengthening if only म् was taught (VII. 3. 101), while कुण्ड + अम् = कुण्डम् (the single substitution of the form of the antecedent by VI. 1. 107).

अद् इतरादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्, इतरादिभ्यः, पञ्चभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इतरादिभ्यः परयोः स्वमोरद् इत्यभादेशो भवति ॥

Kārikā अपुनश्चेदसौ दोषो निवृत्ते इतरादिषु । अद्वित्त्वाद्भुतरादीनां न लोपो नापि दीर्घता ॥

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

These are the five pronouns, which in the list of Sarvanāmans are read together (See I. 1. 27) :—इतर, इतम्, इतर, अन्य and अन्यतर ॥ Thus कतर + अद् = कतरम् (the अ of katarā elided by इ) : as कतरम् तिष्ठति, कतरम् पश्य ॥ So also कतमम्, इतरम्, अन्यतरम् and अन्यम् ॥ Why after these five only? Observe नेमं तिष्ठति, नेमं पश्य ॥ Why do we make the affix have an indicative इ? In order to prevent the lengthening of the vowel in the nominative singular : as कतर + अन् = कतरान् by VI. 1. 102. In the case of the accusative, अन् being the substitute of अम् will be sthānivat, and give us कतरम् by VI. 1. 107 even without इ ॥ Why not make the affix merely न् and not अद्; it would give कतरन् &c without the application of any rule of Sandhi? The simple न् would not give us the Vocative हे कतरम्, The final would have been elided in the Vocative, as being an aprīkta. See however VI. 1. 69.

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

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

नेतराच्छन्दसि ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इतरान्, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इतराच्छन्दस्योः स्वमोच्छन्दसि विषये अद्इविशो न भवति ॥

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

As इतरान्तरमण्डमजायत; वार्धमन्तरम् ॥ Why in the Vedas? See इतरान् काष्ठम्, इतरान् कुड्यम् ॥ Had this sūtra been placed immediately after भक्तोऽन् (VII. 1. 24), we could have made it simpler by saying इतराच्छन्दसि; the present position of the sūtra indicates that we should divide it into two, to include other cases. In the case of एकतर, the अद्इ substitution does not take place, either in the Veda or in the Common Language. As एकतरं तिष्ठति, एकतरं पश्य ॥

युष्मदस्मद्भ्यां ङसो ऽन् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मदस्मद्भ्याम्, ङसः, अन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मद्विलेताभ्यामुत्तरस्य ङसो ऽस्मिन्त्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

ङे प्रथमयोः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङे, प्रथमयोः, अम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङे इत्यभिनिर्दिष्टो निर्देशः ङे इत्येतस्य प्रथमयोः विभक्तयोः प्रथमाद्वितीययोः युष्मदस्मद्भ्यामुत्तरयोः स्मिन्त्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

The ङे the ending of the Dative is exhibited anomalously in the sūtra without any case ending (compare VII. 1. 13, ङेः) प्रथमयोः means 'of the first and second cases.' Thus युष्मद् + ङे = तुभ्यद् + ङे (VII. 2. 95) = तुभ्य + ङे (VII. 1. 102) = तुभ्य + अम् (VII. 1. 28) = तुभ्यम् (VI. 1. 107 or 97); similarly मद्भ्याम् ॥ So also युष्मद् + सु = त्वद् + सु (VII. 2. 94) = त्व + सु (VII. 2. 94) = त्व + सु (VII. 2. 102) = त्व + मम

(VII. 1. 28)=स्वम् (VI. 1. 97 or 107). Similarly अहम् ॥ So also युवान् and आवान् by VII. 2. 92 and VI. 2. 88; यूयम् and वयम् by VII. 2. 93 and VI. 1. 97 or 107; स्वाम् and माम् by VII. 2. 97 and VII. 2. 87; and युवान् and आवान् as before.

शस्ते न ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शस्तेः, न, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मरूपाद्युत्तरस्य शस्ते नकारदेशो भवति ॥

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

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

भ्यस्ते भ्यम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्यस्तेः, भ्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मरूपाद्युत्तरस्य भ्यस्ते भ्यमित्यवगादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

The second case is an impossibility, namely, yushm+bhyam can give us no form. The third case yushma+abhyam will give us the proper form युष्मभ्यम् (अ + अ = अ by VI. 1. 97). Moreover the accent also will be on the middle युष्मभ्यम् by VI. 1. 161, the udātta अ् of yushma being elided by the anudātta अ् of अभ्यम्, the acute will be on the anudātta अ् ॥ It should not be objected that in VI. 1. 161, the word अन्त of VI. 1. 159 is understood, and the accent will be on the final. We have shown in that sūtra, that the udātta will fall on the आदि (beginning) of the anudātta term which causes the elision. The fourth alternative yushm+abhyam is free from all objections.

पञ्चम्या अत् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्या, अत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्या भ्यसो युष्मदस्मरूपादुत्तरस्य भग्नित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

एकवचनस्य च ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकवचनस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्या एकवचनस्य युष्मदस्मरूपादुत्तरस्यादित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

As त्वद् and मद् ॥ For the substitution of त्व and म see VII. 2. 97; and त्व and म + अत् = त्वत् and मत् by VI. 1. 97.

साम आकम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सामः आकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साम इति षष्ठीबहुवचनमागतसुद्धं गृह्यते, तस्य युष्मदस्मरूपादुत्तरस्याकमित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

आत औ णलः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, औ, णलः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तावग्रादुत्तरस्य णल औकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus पवौ, तस्यौ, जग्लौ, मग्लौ, from पा, त्या, ग्ले (ग्ला) and ग्ले (ग्ला) ॥ The form पवौ is thus evolved, पा + णल् = पा + अ ॥ Here three operations simultaneously present themselves for application, namely; 1. Reduplication, 2. Leng-

thening; by the single substitution of one long vowel आ, for आ + अ; and 3. The substitution of औ for आ by the present sūtra. In what order should these operations be then performed? First the affix अ should be replaced by औ. then the single substitution of औ for आ + औ; and then treating it as sthānivat, and then reduplication. For if the single substitution of आ for आ + अ had taken place first, then there would be no scope for औ substitution, therefore the औ substitution, should take place first. Thus we have पा + औ = पौ; this vṛiddhi-ekādeśa, is treated as sthānivat by I. 1. 59, and it causes reduplication. The vṛiddhi-ekādeśa should first take place (i.e. आ + औ = औ) and then the reduplication, because the former rule is subsequent to the latter.

तुष्टोस्तातङ्गाशिष्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तु, ष्टोः, तातङ्, आशिषि, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तु हि इत्येतयोराशिषि विषये तातङ्गादेशो भवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥

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

As जीवताद् भवान्, जीवतात् स्वम्, जीवतु भवान्, जीव स्वम् ॥ The ह् prevents Guṇa and Vṛiddhi, (I. 1. 4), and the substitute replaces the whole affix (I. 1. 53 notwithstanding). The substitute is not sthānivat पित्, though it replaces a पित् affix, because it has its own indicatory letter ह्, and पित् does not become पित्; and consequently in वृतात् ई is not added to the affix, by VII. 3. 93, ई being added only to पित् affixes after ह् ॥ When not denoting benediction, we have not this substitution : as मामं गच्छतु भवान् or गच्छ मामम् ॥

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

The object of ह् in तातङ् is, as we have said above, for the sake of preventing Guṇa and Vṛiddhi. It should not be said that the object of ह् in तातङ् is for the sake of अन्यविधिः by the application of sūtra हिच् (I. 1. 53), just as the substitutes अनङ् &c (VII. 1. 93 and 94) apply to the finals. For by so doing, तातङ् would replace only the ङ of तु and the ङ् of हि, which is not desired. And the case of तातङ् is to be distinguished from अनङ्, for in अनङ् the ङ् has no other object but to prevent sarvādeśa; but in तातङ् we see that ह् has another object, namely, the prevention of Guṇa and Vṛiddhi; and ह् having thus found scope, the तातङ् substitute will be governed by the general rule अनेकात् पित् सर्वस्य (I. 1. 55).

The Kārikā given below raises these points.

Kārikā:—तातङि ङिस्वं संक्रमकृत्याहन्त्यविधिभेदश्च तथा न ।

हेरधिकारो हेरधिकारो लोपविधौ तु ज्ञापकमाह ॥

तातङ्गो ङिस्वसामर्थ्याभायमन्त्यविधिः स्मृतः ।

न सङ्घटनकारीनां तेन ते ऽन्त्यविकारजाः ॥

Kārikā:—In तातङ् the ङ् is for the sake of preventing Guṇa and Vṛiddhi (संक्रम = गुणवृद्धिप्रतिषेधः) ॥ If it be said, it is for the sake of अन्त्याविधि by I. 1. 53; we say it is not so. (If you say that after roots ending in short अ, तात् should be elided, by VI. 4. 105 read with I. 1. 56, we reply): when the anuvṛtti or adhikāra of हि was already existent in the sūtra VI. 4. 105 from sūtra VI. 4. 101, the express employment of हि in VI. 4. 105, indicates that the lopa rule does not apply to तातङ् ॥ (The lopa-rule not applying to तातङ्, it follows that it replaces the whole of हि and not only its final). The ङ् in तातङ् finds its scope in preventing Guṇa and Vṛiddhi, therefore, it is not for the sake of antya-vidhi (I. 1. 53). The ङिस्व in अतङ् &c has no other scope, therefore, these substitutes replace the final only.

विदेः शतुर्वसुः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदेः, शतुः, वसुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद ज्ञानइत्येतस्माद्भातोदत्तरस्य शतुर्वसुरादेशो भवति ॥

36. वसु is substituted for the Present Participle affix शतृ after the root विद् 'to know'.

Thus विद्स् (n. s. विद्वान्), विद्वांसो, विद्वांसः ॥ The words formed with affixes having an indicatory उ or ऋ (उगित्) add a व् in their strong cases (VII. 1. 70), and form their feminine with unaccented ई ॥ शतृ is an affix having an indicatory ऋ, therefore its substitute would also be considered as having an indicatory ऋ, the उ of वसु therefore is not absolutely necessary for the purposes of उगित् operations. वसु is so written, in order that in the sūtra वसो संप्रसारणं (VI. 4. 131.), both वसु and वसु should be included. Nor can we object that in the above mentioned sūtra, वसु with one indicatory letter being taken, cannot include an affix like वसु having two indicatory letters,—on the maxim एकावुबन्धकमहणे न द्व्यवुबन्धकस्य—for if that were so, there was no necessity of उ in वसु ॥ Some read the anuvṛtti of the word optionally into this: and we have विदन्, विदन्तो, विदन्तः formed with शतृ (see V. 4. 38).

समासे ऽनञ्पूर्वे क्तो ल्यप् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ समासे, अनञ्, पूर्वे, क्तः ल्यप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समासे ऽनञ्पूर्वे क्त्वा इत्येतस्य स्थविल्यमपदेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus प्रकृत्य, प्रहृत्य ॥ The tvā is added by III. 4. 21, the compounding is by II. 2. 18, and तुक् by VI. 1. 71. पार्श्वतःकृत्य, The tvā is added by III. 4. 61. and compounding is by II. 2. 22. नानाकृत्य; द्विधाकृत्य The tvā is added by III. 4. 62. Why do we say 'in a compound'? Observe कृत्वा कृत्वा. Here the counter exam-

ple is क्त्वा, which is preceded by an Indeclinable क्त्वा, but as it is not compounded, there is no substitution. Why do we say 'not preceded by नञ्'? Observe अकृत्वा, अहृत्वा, परमकृत्वा, उत्तमकृत्वा ॥ The word अमञ् means 'other than नञ्', and means words of the same class as नञ्, i. e. Indeclinables : and does not mean words which are not Indeclinables. The compounds like स्वात्वाकालक contained in the class of मयूरव्यंसक &c (II. 1. 72.), do not take ल्यप् anomalously. Or the word समासे is in the Locative with the force of specification : and means those compounds which are specifically formed with क्त्वा and not any compound in general.

Now by the rule I. 1. 72, क्त्वा would denote a form ending with क्त्वा; and would include the case of a compound ending in क्त्वा. But this general rule is modified by the maxim प्रत्यय ग्रहणे यस्मात् स विहित स्तदादेस्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम् "an affix denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added and ends with the affix itself." But the affix क्त्वा is never ordained after a compound. Therefore, the case of compounds ending in क्त्वा, would not be covered by the mere employment of क्त्वा. Then comes the maxim कृद् ग्रहणे गति कारक पूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणं 'a kṛit affix denotes whenever it is employed in grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that kṛit affix has been added and which ends with the kṛit affix, but moreover should a gati, or a noun such as denotes a case-relation have been prefixed to that word-form, then the kṛit affix must denote the same word-form together with the gati or the noun which may have been prefixed to it." By this a compound also may end in क्त्वा. This maxim will cover cases like प्रकृत्यः पार्श्वतः कृत्य but not उच्चैः कृत्य &c because उच्चैः is neither a gati nor a kāraka. Hence the employment of the word समासे in the sūtra, and also of the word अनञ्पूर्वे, for नञ् is neither a Gati nor a Kāraka.

In the case of प्रधाय and प्रस्थाय this maxim applies:—अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन् बहिरङ्गो ल्यप् बाधते "a Bahiranga substitution of ल्यप् supersedes even antaranga rule". What are these antaranga rules superseded by the substitute ल्यप्? (1) हित्वं—the substitution of ह्ति for धा (VII. 4. 42). Thus हित्वा but प्रधाय and not ग्रहित्वा ॥ (2) इत्वं—the substitution of इद् for हो (VII. 4. 46)—as इत्वा, but प्रदाव and not प्रदत्वा ॥ (3) आत्वं as required by VI. 4. 42 : as आत्वा, प्रत्वाय and प्रत्वन्य ॥ (4) इत्वं—as स्थित्वा but प्रस्थाय ॥ (5) ईत्वं by VI. 4. 66, as पीत्वा but प्रपाय ॥ (6) दीर्घत्वं by VI. 4. 15, as शान्त्वा but प्रशान्य ॥ (7) झृद् by VI. 4. 19, as पृष्ट्वा but आपृच्छय ॥ (8) कृद्—as कृत्वा ॥ (9) इद् (VII. 2. 56)—देवित्वा but प्रदील्य ॥

क्तापि छन्दसि ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्ता, अपि, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समासे ऽनञ्पूर्वे क्त्वा इत्येतस्य क्त्वा इत्ययमादेशो भवति अपिवाङ्माल्यवपि भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

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

Thus कृष्णं वासो यजमानं परिधापयित्वा, प्रत्यङ्चर्मकं प्रत्यर्थयित्वा ॥ So also we have ल्यप्, as उद्धृत्य जुहोति ॥ The sūtra could have been made shorter by saying merely वा छन्दसि; not doing so indicates that conditions and limitations are set aside in the Vedas in applying this affix. Therefore ल्यप् is applied even when there is no compound, as, अर्घ्यं तान् देवान् गतः ॥ The word छन्दसि governs the following sūtras upto VII. 1. 50, inclusive.

सुपां सुलुक्पूर्वसवर्णाच्छेयाडाड्यायाजालः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपाम्, सु, लुक्, पूर्वसवर्ण, आ, आत्, शे, या, डा, ड्या, याच्, आलः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छान्दसि विषये सुपां स्यान् सु लुक् पूर्वसवर्ण आ आत् श या डाड्या याच् आल इत्येते आदेशा भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सुपां सुपो भवन्ति इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ तिङां तिङो भवन्तीति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ इयाडियाजोकाराणामुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ आड्याजयाराणामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

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

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

Vārt:—It should be stated that case-endings replace case-endings promiscuously, as, घुरि हस्तिनायाः (for हस्तिनायाम् Rig I. 164. 9).

Vārt:—One personal ending replaces another personal ending in the Vedas चपालं वै अभ्ययूपाय तक्षति (for तक्षन्ति) Rig I. 162. 6.

(2) लुक्-elision:—As आत्र चर्मन्, लोहिते चर्मन् for चर्मणि; हविर्धाने बत् सुन्यन्ति, तत् सन्निधेनोन्वाह (यद् for यस्मिन् and तद् for तस्मिन्) ॥

(3) Lengthening:—धीती, मती, सुहुती for धीत्या, मत्या and सुहुत्या ॥

(4) आ—उभय यन्तारौ (for उभौ) ॥

(5) आत्—न ताद् ब्राह्मणाद् निन्वामि for तान् ब्राह्मणान् ॥

(6) शे—न युष्मे (for यूयम्) वाजबन्धवः, Rig VIII. 68. 19. अस्मे (for वयं) इन्द्रावृ-हस्पती; Rig IV. 49. 4, the यूय and वय substitution has not taken place as a Vedic usage.

(7) या—उरुया, धृष्णुया for उरुणा and धृष्णुणा ॥

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

(9) ड्या—अनुड्या व्यावयतात् for अनुडुभा Ait Br. II. 6. 15.

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

(11) आह्—वर्सेन्ता यजेत for वसन्ते ॥

Vart:—The following substitutes should also be enumerated, (a) इया, (b) डियाच् with elision of the final vowel and the consonant, if any, that follows it, and (c) long ई ॥ As (a) उडिया परिधानम्, for उरुणा, so also डार्विया for डारुणा ॥ (b) सुसेनिया for सुसेनिना, and सुगाविया for सुगाविना ॥ (c) इति न शुष्कं सरसी शयानम् for सरसि ॥

Vart:—So also (a) आह्, (b) अयाच् and (c) अयार्: as प्रबाह्वा for प्रबाहुना, (b) स्वमर्यो सच सेवनम् for स्वमेन, (c) सिन्धुमिव नार्व्या for नारा ॥

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

अमो मश् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अमः, मश् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अम् इति निबादेशो गृह्यते । तस्य छन्दसि विषये मद्यादेशो भवति ॥

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

The अम् here is the substitution of मिष्, and not the accusative singular affix. As वर्षी वृषम् (for अवधिषम्) Rig I. 165. 8: कमीम् वृषस्य शाखाम् ॥ The अद् augment is diversely elided (VI. 4. 75). The indicatory ष् of मश् shows that the whole of the affix अम् is to be replaced. The substitution of ष् for म् is to prevent the change of म् into anusvāra as in VIII. 3. 25.

लोपस्त आत्मनेपदेषु ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, त, आत्मनेपदेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु यस्तकारस्तस्य छन्दसि विषये लोपो भवति ॥

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

As देवा अदुह and गन्धर्वा अप्सरसो अदुह for अदुहन् (see VII. 1. 8) ; दुहाम् (for दुग्धाम्) अग्निभ्यां पयो अपृण्यवम् ॥ Rig I. 164. 27. वक्षिणतः शब्दे for शेते ॥ Owing to the anuvṛitti of आवि from VII. 1. 38, this substitution sometimes does not take place; as: आत्मानमनृतंकुरुत ॥ Why in the Atmanepada? Observe वस्तं दुहान्तं क्लृप्तं चतुर्विधम् ॥

ध्वमो ध्वात् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ध्वमः, ध्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दासि विषये ध्वमो ध्वादित्स्वयमादेशो भवति ॥

42. In the Veda, ध्वात् is substituted for the Personal ending ध्वम् ॥

As अन्तरंवाष्पानं वारवध्वात् for वारवध्वम् ॥ Ait Br. II. 6. 14.

यजध्वैनमिति च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यजध्वैनम्, इति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजध्वमित्येतस्य एनमित्येतस्मिन्परतो मकारलोपो निपात्यते वकारस्य च यकारो छन्दसि विषये ॥

43. यजध्वैनम् is irregularly formed in the Veda for यजध्वमेनम् ॥

The word यजध्वम् followed by एनम् loses its final म् in the Veda. As यजध्वेनं त्रिवदेधाः (Rig VIII. 2. 37). The Kasika adds "that व is also irregularly

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

तस्य तात् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्यच्चस्य लोपमध्वमपुरुषबहुवचनस्य स्थाने तादित्यवमादेशो भवति ॥

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

As गात्रं गात्रमस्या दूतं कृणुतात् (for कृणुत), and ऊवध्वे गोहं पार्थिवं खनतात् (for खनत) Ait Br. II. 6. 15, 16. अस्मारसं संसृजतात् (= संसृजत), सूर्यं चधुर्गमयतात् (= गमयत).

तत्तनतनयनाश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तप्, तनप्, तन, यनाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्योति वृत्ते। छन्सि विषये तस्य स्थाने तप् तनप् तन यन इत्येते आदेशा भवन्ति ॥

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

This भृजोत मावाणः (for भृणुत), सुनोत (= सुनुत), संवरत्ना दधातन (for धत्त), जुजु-
हन् (for जुषत) the ślu vikaraṇa being added as a Vedic irregularity; वविष्ठन for वविष्ठत ॥ The indicatory प् makes तप् and तनप् non-ङित् affixes (I. 2. 4).

इदन्तो मसि ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदन्तः, मसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्सि विषये मसित्वयं शब्द इकारान्तो भवति। मसः सकारान्तस्य इकारागमो भवति स च तस्या-
न्तो भवति ॥

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

Thus पुनस्त्वां शीपयामसि (for शीपयामः) शालभं भञ्जयामसि (for भञ्जयामः), स्ववि राशि वासयामसि for वासयामः ॥

क्रोयक् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रः, यक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्वा इत्येतत्त्व यगागमो भवति छन्सि विषये ॥

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

Thus इत्वाय सविता धियाः (for इत्वा). This sūtra is not read immediately after VII. 1. 38, as in that sūtra, the anuvṛitti of samāsa is understood, while there is no such anuvṛitti here.

इष्टीनमिति च ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इष्टीनम्, इति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इष्टीनमित्ययं शब्दो निपात्यते छन्सि विषये। यजेः इत्याप्त्ययान्तस्य ईनमादेशोन्यस्य निपात्यते ॥
वास्तिकम् ॥ पीत्वीनमित्यपीष्यते ॥

48. In the Veda, the Absolutive इष्टीनम् is irregularly formed for इष्ट्वा ॥

To the root यज् is added क्का, and the final आ is replaced by ईनम् ॥ As इष्टीनम् देवान् for इष्ट्वा देवान् ॥ The च in the sūtra indicates that there are other forms like this, as पीत्वीनम् for पीत्वा ॥

ज्ञात्वाद्यश्च ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञात्वी-आद्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्नात्वी इत्येवमाद्यः शब्दा निपात्यन्ते छन्दसि विषये ॥

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

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

आञ्जसेरसुक् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, जसेः, असुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्णान्तादुत्तरस्य असेरसुगागमो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

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

Thus ब्राह्मणासः पितरः सोम्यासः for ब्राह्मणाः and सोम्याः ॥ Rig VI. 75. 10. वे पूर्वातो व उपरातः (Rig X. 15. 2) for पूर्वे and उपरे ॥ So also पुतातः (R. I. 3. 4) Why is not, after the adding of the augment असुक्, the अस् changed to णी in the last example, as required by VII. 1. 17, and on the maxim पुनः प्रसङ्गः विज्ञानात्? No, the maxim that applies here is सकृद् गतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्वाधितं, तद्वाधितमेव ॥

अश्वक्षीरवृषलवणानामात्मप्रीतौ क्यच्चि ॥ ५१ ॥ अश्व, क्षीर, वृष, लवणानाम्, आत्मा प्रीतौ, क्यच्चि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसीत्यतः प्रथति निवृत्तम् । अश्व क्षीर वृष लवण इत्येतेषामङ्गानामात्मप्रीतिविषये क्यच्चि परतोऽनुगागमो भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ अभ्यवृषयोर्मैयुनेच्छायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ क्षीरलवणयोर्लासायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ सर्वप्रातिपदिकेभ्यो लालासायामनुग्वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ अनुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

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

The anuvṛitti of छन्दसि does not extend to this sūtra or any further. Thus अभ्यस्यति वडवा, क्षीरस्यति माणवकः, वृषस्यति गौः, लवणस्यस्युष्टः ॥ अभ्य + अस् + य + ति = अभ्यस्यति (VI. 1. 97). Why 'when the delight of the subject is meant'? Observe अभ्यीयति, क्षीरीयति, वृषीयति and लवणीयति ॥

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

आमि सर्वनाम्नः सुद् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमि, सर्वनाम्नः, सुद् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाविति वर्तते अवर्णान्सर्वनाम्न उत्तरस्यामः सुडागमो भवति ॥

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

The word आत् of the last sūtra is understood here. Thus सर्वेषाम्, विधेषाम्, येषाम्, तेषाम्, सर्वसाम्, यासाम्, तासाम् ॥ But भवताम् of भवन् ॥ The आम् of the sūtra is the Genitive Plural ending आम्, and not the आम् of the Locative Singular ordained by VII. 3. 116; for that आम् takes the augments षाद्, आद् or स्याद् (VII. 3. 112-114), while the present आम् takes तुद् or जुद् ॥ Nor the आम् of the Perfect Tense (III. I. 35 &c), because that refers to verb and Sarva-nāma nor the आम् of V. 4. 11, for the same reason. The word आमि is exhibited in the sūtra in the locative case, for the sake of the subsequent sūtra VII. 1. 53. For the purposes of the present sūtra, it should be construed, as if it was in the Genitive case (आमः सर्वनाम्नः सुद्), because सर्वनाम्नः being in the Ablative case, the augment तुद् will be added at the beginning of the affix following it, on the maxim तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य ॥

त्रेस्त्रयः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रेः, त्रयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिद्व्येतस्य आमि परे चय इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

As त्रयाणाम् ॥ त्रीणाम् however appears in the Veda: as त्रीणामपि सद्युग्राणाम् ॥

ह्रस्वनद्यापो जुद् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्व, न दी, आपः, जुद् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वान्ताप्रत्यन्ताशब्दान्ताद्योत्तरस्यामो जुडागमो भवति ॥

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

As वृक्षाणाम्, प्रक्षानाम्, अग्नीणाम्, वायूनाम्, कर्तृणाम् ॥ नद्यन्तीनाम्—कुमारीणाम्, क्रिषोरीणाम्, गौरीणाम्, चार्ङ्गस्त्रीणाम्, लक्ष्मीणाम्, ब्रह्मबन्धूनाम्, वीरबन्धूनाम् ॥ आबन्तात्—खट्वानाम्, मालानाम्, बहुराजानाम्, कारीषगन्ध्यानाम् ॥

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

षट्चतुर्भ्यश्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ षट्, चतुर्भ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षट्संज्ञकेष्वचतुर्भ्यश्च षष्ठाद्योत्तरस्यामो जुडागमो भवति ॥

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

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

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

श्रीग्रामण्योऽछन्दसि ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्री, ग्रामण्योः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्री ग्रामणी इत्येतयोऽछन्दसि विषये ग्रामो नुडागमो भवति ॥

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

As श्रीणाहुदो धरुणो रयीणाम्, अन्यत्र सूतग्रामणीनाम् ॥ This sūtra could be well dispensed with: by I. 4. 5. श्री is optionally a Nadi in the Genitive plural. We make the option of that sūtra a vyavasthita-vibhāṣā, by saying श्री is *always* Nadi in the Veda, and *optionally* every where else. As regards सूतग्रामणीनाम्, we have सूतश्च ग्रामणीश्च = सूतग्रामणि, the Genitive Pl. of which by VII. I. 54 will be सूतग्रामणीनाम् ॥

The necessity of this sūtra will, however, arise if the compound be सूताश्च ते ग्रामण्यश्च सूतग्रामण्यः ॥

गोः पादान्ते ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोः, पादान्ते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गो इत्येतस्मादङ्कपादान्ते वर्त्तमानानुत्तरस्यामो नुडागमो भवति ॥

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

As विद्याहि त्वा सत्यति शूरगोनाम्; but गवां गोचमुत्सृजा यदङ्गिरः in the beginning of a Pāda. "All rules have exceptions in the Vedas" is an established maxim, so at the end of a Pāda, sometimes this rule does not apply, as हन्तारं चानूनां कृधि विराजं गोपति गवाम् ॥

इदितो नुम् धातोः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदितः, नुम्, धातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इदितो धातोर्नुमागमो भवति ॥

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

Thus from कुडि—कुण्डिन्, कुण्डितुम्, कुण्डितव्यम्; from हुडि—हुण्डिन्, हुण्डितुम्, हुण्डितव्यम् &c. But पचति, पठति where इ is not इत् ॥ The न् is added to the root from its very inception, and they must be considered to have got a न्, for the purposes of the application of the grammatical rules. Thus III. 3. 103 says that आ is added in the feminine to a root which ends in a consonant and has a prosodically long vowel. The root कुडि must be considered to be such a root and कुण्डा, हुण्डा are thus formed. Similarly though the roots in the Dhātupāṭha are धिषि and कृषि, in applying affixes we must consider them as धिन् and कृन्, as the author himself has indicated in III. 1. 80. In short, in adding affixes, these roots should be considered as having a न् ॥ Moreover the root (dhātu) should have इ, and not the stem (aṅga). The affixes तासि (Future) and सिन् (Aorist) when added to roots, will not make those roots

इदिन् ; for the इ in तासि and सिच् is merely for the sake of pronunciation, and is not to be considered as इन् in the strict sense of the word : in fact it should be considered as non-nasalised. If you say that “the इ in सिच् should be considered as इन्, for because of its being इन्, the न् of मन् is not elided by VI. 4. 24 in भवेत्ता”, we reply, “not so, the न् is not elided, because sūtra इमः सिच् I. 2. 14 makes सिच् a कित् after इन् only, the result of which is that इन् only loses its न् by VI. 4. 37, and no other root”. In मन्ता = मन् + तासि + टा = मन् + त् + टा (the टास् is elided VI. 4. 143). For the purposes of the elision of न्, the elided टास् would be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22), for both VI. 4. 143, and VI. 4. 37, requiring the elision of न् are ābhiya sūtras. In भेत्ता, छेत्ता from भिदिर् and छिदिर् the whole combination इर् is इन्, and not इ and र separately, and hence तुम् is not added. But even if these roots be considered as इदिन्, the syllable इर् having an इ, yet they will not get the तुम् augment, because the word अन्त of पाशान्ते (VII. 1. 57) is understood here in this sūtra also, so that the roots must have a *final* इ as इन् for the application of this rule.

शे मुचादीनाम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शे, मुचादीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शे प्रत्यये परतो मुचादीनां तुमागमो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शेहृस्फादीनामुपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥

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

Thus वृत्त—वृञ्चति, लुम्पति, विन्वति, लिम्पति, सिञ्चति, कृन्ताते, खिन्वति, पिञ्चति ॥ Why “before श”? Observe मोक्ता, मोक्तुन्, मोक्तव्यम् ॥ Why “of मुच् &c”? Observe तुवति, नुवति ॥

Vart :—The हृक् &c should be also enumerated. These are the following roots of Tudādi class : 24. तृप् (तृफ), 25. हृन्फ नतौ, 26. तुप् तुम्प, 27. तुफ तुम्फ, हिंसायाम्, 28. हृफ (हृप), 29. हृम्फ उन्फलेषे, 30. कृफ (रिफ), कृम्फ (रिम्फ), हिंसायाम्, 31. शुफ, शुम्फ मन्पे, 32. उभ उन्भ पुरणे, 33. शुभ, शुम्भ शोभार्ये ॥ Of these, those which have a nasal, lose it by VI. 4. 24, and then get the तुम् augment by the present rule, which being specifically ordained, cannot be again dropped. Thus हृम्फति, तुम्फति, हृम्फति &c. Those which have no nasal, are conjugated as हृफति, तुफति, हृफति शुफति, उभति and शुभति ॥

मस्जिनशोर्झलि ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ मस्जि, नशः, झलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मस्जि नशि इत्येतयोरङ्गयोर्झलादौ प्रत्यये तुमागमो भवति ॥

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

As मङ्क्ता, मस्ज् + तुच् (no इद् by VII. 2. 10), add न् = मस् न् इ + तु, elide स् by VIII. 2. 29, change ङ् to क्, and न् to anusvāra, which then becomes ङ् ॥ मङ्क्तुम्, मङ्क्तव्यम्, नंटा, नंतुम् and नंटव्यम् ॥ But मज्जनम् and नञिज्ञा, and मज्ज (VI. 4. 32). In मज्जः and मज्जान्, the तुम् is supposed to be placed the last consonant in मस्ज्, in order that it may get elided.

रधिजभोरचि ॥ ६१ ॥ रधि, जभोः, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रधि जभि इत्येतयोरञ्जासौ प्रत्यये नुमागमो भवति ॥

61. The augment नुम् is added after the root-vowel in रध् and जम्, before affixes beginning with a consonant.

Thus रन्धयति, रन्धकः, साधुरन्धी, रन्धो वर्तते ॥ जम्भयति, जम्भकः, साधुजम्भी, जम्भं-जम्भम्, जम्भो वर्तते ॥ Though the वृद्धि rule is subsequent, it is superseded by the augment. Why do we say 'before an affix beginning with a vowel'? Observe रङ्गा, अभ्यम् ॥

नेट्यलिटि रधेः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इदि, अ लिदि, रधेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इडाशवलिटि प्रत्यये परे रधेर्नुमागमो न भवति ॥

62. The augment नुम् is not added to रध्, before an affix beginning with the augment इद्, except in the Perfect.

As रधिता, रधितुम्, रधितव्यम्, but रन्धनम्, रन्धकः before Anit affixes, and रन्धिव, रन्धिम in the Perfect. When नुम् is added रन्ध् becomes a root ending in a conjunct consonant, and therefore the लिट् affixes after it are not कित् (असंयोगात् लिट् कित् I. 2. 5), and therefore the न् is not elided by VI. 4. 24. But when the affix क्वस्तु of the Perfect is added, we have रधिवस् Nom. Sg. रधिवान् ॥ Here the affix being expressly taught with an indicatory क् the न् is elided. The reduplicate is elided, the अ changed into ए, then इद् is added, then नुम्, and then the नुम् is elided by the expressly taught कित् ॥

Why was not the sūtra made as इदि लिदि रधेः when by so doing, the augment नुम् would have been added only in the Perfect when it had इद् and no where else? This form of sūtra would have also meant that नुम् would be added in that Perfect which took इद् and in no other Perfect, while cases other than Perfect might take it. That being so, there would be no नुम् in रन्ध, while रधिता would require नुम् ॥ See, however, the Mahabhāṣya for the *contra*.

रभेरशब्जिदोः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रभेः, अ शप्, लिदोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रभेरङ्गस्य शब्जलिङ्गजिते ऽञ्जासौ प्रत्यये परतो नुमागमो भवति ॥

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

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

लभेश्च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लभेः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लभेष्वाञ्जासौ प्रत्यये शब्जलिङ्गजिते नुमागमो भवति ॥

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

As लम्भयति, लम्भकः, साधुलम्भी, लम्भलम्भम्, लम्भो वर्तते ॥ But लम्भते with घप्, and लेभे in the Perfect, and लब्ध before an affix beginning with a consonant. The separation of this from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms.

आङो यि ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङः, यि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ उत्तरस्य लभेर्धकारादिप्रत्ययविषये नुमागमो भवति ॥

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

As आलम्भ्यो गौः ॥ The नुम् is added before the addition of the affix, and by so doing लम् becomes लम्भ् and thus loses its character of having a penultimate अ, and therefore by III. 1. 124, we shall have ण्यत् affix, and not यत् affix by III. 1. 98. Had the नुम् been added *after* the addition of the affix, then यत् would be added by III. 1. 98. Though in both cases the form will be आलम्भ्या, the difference will be in the accent: यत् would throw the acute on the first syllable (यतोऽनावः) while the word has svarita on the final; thus instead of आलम्भ्या (by VI. 1. 213 and VI. 2. 139), which यत् gives, we have आलम्भ्या (तिन् svar).

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

उपात्प्रशंसायाम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात्, प्रशंसायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपादुत्तरस्य लभेः प्रशंसायां गम्यमानायां यकारादिप्रत्ययविषये नुमागमो भवति ॥

66. The augment नुम् is added to लम् preceded by उप, before य, when the reference is to something praise-worthy.

As उपलम्भ्या भवता विद्या, उपलम्भ्यानि धनानि ॥ These words are formed by ण्यत् and have svarita on the final. Why do we say 'when referring to something praise worthy'? Observe उपलम्भ्यमस्माद् वृषलात् किञ्चित्, this is formed with the यत् affix (III. 1. 98).

उपसर्गात्स्त्रलघञोः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप सर्गात्, स्त्रलघ, धञोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गादुत्तरस्य लभेः स्त्रलघञोः परतो नुमागमो भवति ॥

67. The augment नुम् is added to लम् preceded by a Preposition, before the affixes स्त्रलघ (III. 3. 126) and घञ् ॥

Thus ईषत्प्रलम्भः, सुप्रलम्भः, दुष्प्रलम्भः, प्रलम्भः, विप्रलम्भः ॥ This is a Niyama rule, and restricts the scope of VII. I. 64. Before the vowel affixes खल् and घम्, the root लम् gets the augment नुम् only then when it is preceded by a Preposition, and not otherwise, as ईषल्लम्, लाभो वर्तते ॥

न सुदुर्भ्यां केवलाभ्याम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, सु, दुर्भ्याम्, केवलाभ्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सु दुरित्येताभ्यां केवलाभ्यामन्योपसर्गहिताभ्यामुपसृष्टस्य लभेः खल्घञोः परतो नुमागमो न भवति ॥

68. The augment नुम् is not added to लम् before खल् and घम् when सु or दुः alone (without another Preposition along with them) precede the root.

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

विभाषा चिण्ठमुलोः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वि भाषा, चिण्, णमुलोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चिण् णमुल् इत्येतयोर्विभाषा लभेर्नुम्भवति ॥

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

Thus अलम्भि or अलम्भि, लाभंलामम् or लम्भंलम्भम् ॥ This is a Vyavasthita-vibhāṣā, the option is allowed where there is no Preposition along with the root ; and no option is allowed but नुम् must be added, when a Preposition precedes: as प्रालम्भि, प्रलम्भम् ॥

उगित्त्वां सर्वनामस्थाने ऽधातोः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ उगित्, अ चाम्, सर्वनाम-स्थाने, अ धातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उगितामङ्गानां धातुवर्जितानामञ्चतेष्व सर्वनामस्थाने परतो नुमागमो भवति ॥

70. Whatever has an indicative उ, ऋ and लृ, (with the exception of a root), and the stem अच्, (अञ्जति) get the augment नुम् in the strong cases.

Thus भवतु has an indicative उ, formed by the Upādi affix उवतुप्, and it is declined as भवान्, भवन्तौ, भवन्तः ॥ Similarly ईवसुन्-श्रेयान्, श्रेयांसौ, श्रेयांसः ; शान्-पचन्, पचन्तौ, पचन्तः ॥ अञ्च-प्राह्, प्राञ्चौ, प्राञ्चः ॥

Why do we say 'having an indicative उक् vowel or the stem अच्'? Observe हवत्, हवौ, हवः ॥

Why do we say in strong cases? Observe मवतः पञ्च, मेयसः पञ्च ॥ अञ्च् root is mentioned for the sake of niyama, i.e. of the roots, only अञ्च् gets नुम् and no other root. Therefore उखासत्, पर्णध्वत् formed from the roots खंसु and ध्वंसु having indicatory उ ॥ (See III. 2. 76, IV. 1. 6, VIII. 2. 72). For the lengthening in भवान् &c, see VI. 4. 10, 14: the च् is elided in प्राङ् by VIII. 2. 23, and न् becomes ङ् by VIII. 2. 62: and त् in सत् by VIII. 2. 72.

Why do we say 'with the exception of a root' when by the mere fact of including *one* root अञ्च् all other roots would have been excluded from the scope of this sūtra? The specific mention of अधातोः shows that the prohibition applies to *original* roots, and not to those roots which are *derived* from nouns. Thus गोमन्तनिच्छति = गोमन्तति formed by क्यच् ॥ Here गोमन्त is a derivative root, in its primitive state it was a noun. The prohibition of अधातोः will not apply to this root and नुम् will be added. Thus गोमन्त + क्तिप् = गोमन्त + ० (the अ is dropped by VI. 4. 48) = गोमन् + ० (the य् is elided by VI. 4. 50). Now is added नुम् and we have गोमान् ॥

युजेरसमासे ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ युजेः, अ समासे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युजेरसमासे सर्वनामस्थाने परतो नुमागमो भवति ॥

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

Thus युङ् (VIII. 2. 23, 62) युज्जौ, युज्जः; but अश्वयुक्, अश्वयुजौ, अश्वयुजः in a compound. The root युज् समाधौ (Divādi 68) is not to be taken here; therefore not here युज्जमापन्ना कृषवः ॥ But युजिर् योने (Rudhādi 7) is to be taken.

नपुंसकस्य झलचः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपुंसकस्य, झल्, अचः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकस्य झलन्त्याजन्तस्य च सर्वनामस्थाने परतो नुमागमो भवति ॥

वास्तिकम् ॥ बहुर्जं प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ अन्त्यात्पूर्वं नुमेकश्छन्ति ॥

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

Thus उदधिन्ति, शकन्ति (VI. 4. 10) यथांसि, पयांसि; कुण्डानि, वनानि (VI. 4. 8), अपूणि, जतूनि ॥ Why 'of a Neuter'? Observe अग्निषिद् ब्राह्मणः ॥ Why do we say 'not ending in a semivowel or a nasal'? Observe बहुपुरि, बहुपुरि, विमलसि, चत्वारि, अहानि (VII. 1. 98). A neuter having an indicatory उक् vowel gets नुम् by this sūtra and not by VII. 1. 70, as that is superseded by this, this being the subsequent. As भूयांसि, भूयांसि कुर्वन्ति कृषन्ति ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥

Vārti:—Prohibition should be stated with regard to बहुर्जं; as बहुर्जं ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥ Some would have न् added between र् and ङ् of this word, as बहुर्जं ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥ See I. 4. 13.

इको ऽचि विभक्तौ ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, अचि, विभक्तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्य नपुंसकस्याङ्स्वाङ्गौ विभक्तौ नुमागमो भवति ॥

Kārikā—इकोपि व्यञ्जने मा भूवस्तु लोपः स्वरः कयम् ।
 स्वरो वै श्रूयमाणो पि लुप्ते किं न भविष्यति ॥
 शयात्वं तिसृभावश्च व्यवधानाभूमा अपि ।
 तुङ् वाच्य उत्तरार्थे तु इह किं विमयो इति ॥

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

Thus ऋपुणी, जतुनी, तुम्बुरुणी, ऋपुणे, जतुने, तुम्बुरुणे ॥ Why "with the exception of अ"? Observe कुण्डे, पीठे ॥ The phrase "before an affix beginning with a vowel" is employed here for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VII. 1. 75. Here we could have dispensed with it: for before affixes beginning with a consonant, तुम् would be elided by VIII. 2. 7. The only object that it serves here is that we can form हे ऋपो! or हे ऋपु! in the Vocative singular. For had we ऋपुन् + स in the vocative, the form would have been हे ऋपुन् like हे राजन्, for न् would not be elided here, see VIII. 2. 8.

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

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

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

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

To this it is answered, the change of इ into आ in the case of रि, and the substitution of तिसृ for ञि will take place even when the नुम् intervenes, on the maxim विभक्तिविधानदशायां यदानन्तर्ये तत् तच्चाश्रीयते न त्वदिष्टविधानदशायाम् ॥ And this is done in this way : अतिरि + भ्यां, and प्रियाञि + भ्यां, here नुम् is superseded by the subsequent rule requiring आ and तिसृ respectively.

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

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

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

तृतीयादिषु भाषितपुंस्कर्तुं पुंवद्गालवस्य ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीयादिषु, भाषितपुंस्कर्तुं, पुंस्वत्, गालवस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयादिषु विभक्तिष्वजादिषु भाषितपुंस्कर्तुं सकलिङ्गमिगन्तं गालवस्याचार्यस्य मतेन पुंवद्भवति । यथा पुंस्ति ह्रस्वनुमौ न भवतस्तद्वद्भाषि न भवत इत्यर्थः ।

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

As in the Masculine there is no shortening, nor the addition of नुम्, so here also. As ग्रामणी is the equivalent, uniform masculine of the neuter form ग्रामणि, we have either Ins. ग्रामणिना or ग्रामण्या ब्राह्मणकुलेन, the Ins. Sg. of ग्रामणि n. Similarly Dat. ग्रामणिने or ग्रामण्ये ब्राह्मणकुलाय ; Abl. ग्रामणिनो or ग्रामण्यो ब्राह्मणकुलात्, Gen. Sg. ग्रामणिनो or ग्रामण्यो ब्राह्मणकुलस्य, Gen. Du. ग्रामणिनोब्राह्मणकुलयोः or ग्रामण्योः ; Gen. Pl. ग्रामणीनां or ग्रामण्यां ब्राह्मणकुलानां ॥ Loc. ग्रामणिनि or ग्रामण्यां ब्राह्मणकुले ॥ Similarly : Ins. शुचिना (same form in mas. and neu.), Dat. शुचये or शुचिने; Abl. and Gen. शुच्ये or शुचिनि; Gen. Du. शुच्योः or शुचिनोः; Loc. शुचौ or शुचिनि ॥

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

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

Before case affixes beginning with a consonant we have one form only, as मामिनिभ्यां ब्राह्मणकुलाभ्याम् ॥

अस्थिदधिसक्थ्यक्ष्णामनङ्कुदात्तः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्थि, दधि, सक्थि, अक्ष्णाम्, अनङ्, उदात्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्थि दधि सक्थि अक्षि इत्येतेषां नपुंसकानां तृतीयादिभ्यश्चादिषु विभक्तिषु परतो ऽनङ् इत्ययमादेशो भवति, स चोदात्तो भवति ॥

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

Thus अस्थौ, अस्थे, दधौ, दधे, सक्थौ, सक्थे, अक्षौ, अक्षे ॥ The words अस्थि &c have acute on the first syllable, the substitute अनङ् would have been also anudatta, but for this sūtra. The stem getting the designation अ, we elide the अ (VI. 4. 134), the udatta अ being thus elided, the case-ending, which was anudatta before, now becomes udatta (VI. 1. 161). The stems ending with 'asthi &c' and though not neuter, are governed by this rule. As मियास्था ब्राह्मणेन, मियस्था ॥ Why 'before the affixes of the Instrumental and the rest?' Observe अस्थिनी, दधिनी ॥ Before affixes beginning with a consonant, we have अस्थिभ्याम्, दधिभ्याम् ॥

छन्दस्यपि दृश्यते ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दासि, अपि, दृश्यते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्थिदधिसक्थ्यक्ष्णामनङ् छन्दस्यपि दृश्यते । यच्च विहितस्ततोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते ॥

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

Thus the substitute is ordained before endings beginning with a vowel. In the Veda it comes before affixes beginning with a consonant. As इन्द्रो दधीधो अस्थीभिः, अङ् पश्येमाक्षीभिः ॥ The substitute is ordained to come after the Instrumental &c. In the Vedic literature it is found in the Acc. &c. As अस्थीनि in अस्थान्युत्कृत्य जुहोति ॥ The substitute comes before case-endings (vi-

bhakti), in the Vedic literature it comes before affixes which are not case-endings, as अक्षधैता लङ्गलेन, अस्यन्त्यन्तं यदनस्था विभक्तिः ॥ See VI. 1. 176.

ई च द्विवचने ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, च, द्विवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विवचने परतन्त्रन्तसि विषये ऽस्थायीनामीकापदेशो भवति, सचोदात्तः ॥

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

As अक्षी ते इन्द्रपिङ्गले कपेरिव ॥ अक्षीभ्यान् ते नासिकाभ्याम् ॥ In अक्षी the augment नुम् is not added to the stem before the vowel-beginning ending, because VII. 1. 73, which ordained नुम्, is superseded by the present sūtra, and being once superseded, it is superseded for good. (सकृद् गतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्वाधितं तद्वाधितमेव) ॥

नाभ्यस्ताच्छतुः ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अभ्यस्तात्, शतुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तात्प्रादुत्तरस्य शतुर्नुम् भवति ॥

78. The Participial-affix शतृ (अत्-अन्त्), does not take the augment नुम् after a reduplicate stem.

Thus वदत्, वदतौ, वदतः, जसत्, जसतौ, जसतः, जामत्, जामतौ, जामतः ॥ This is an exception to VII. 1. 70, and applies of course to sarvanāmasthāna or strong cases. The नुम् is to be read into this sūtra from VII. 1. 70; for the negation of this sūtra cannot apply to ई taught in the preceding sūtra, for ई is never ordained after śatṛi: therefore, though several other operations intervene, yet नुम् is to be read here.

वा नपुंसकस्य ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, नपुंसकस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तात्प्रादुत्तरस्य वः शतृप्रत्ययस्तदन्तस्य नपुंसकस्य वा नुमागमो भवति ॥

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

Thus वदति or वदन्ति, कुलानि; वधति or वधन्ति कुलानि, जसति or जसन्ति कुलानि, जामति or जामन्ति कुलानि ॥ This of course applies to sarvanāmasthāna or strong cases.

आच्छीनद्योर्नुम् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, शी, नद्योः, नुम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्णान्तात्प्रादुत्तरस्य शतुर्वा नुमागमो भवति शीनद्योः परतः ॥

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

Thus तुवती कुले or तुवन्ती कुले, तुवन्ती ब्राह्मणी, तुवती ब्राह्मणी, याती कुले, यान्ती कुले याती ब्राह्मणी, यान्ती ब्राह्मणी, करिष्यती कुले, करिष्यन्ती कुले, करिष्यती ब्राह्मणी, करिष्यन्ती ब्राह्मणी ॥ अभास्तरङ्गस्वादकादेशे कुले व्यपवर्णमावावर्णान्तात्प्रादुत्तरस्य शतुरिति न पुञ्यते वक्तुम्, उभयत आश्रये मान्तादिवदित्यन्तादिवङ्गावोपि नास्ति भूतपूर्वगत्याश्रयणो वा ऽतो प्रतीत्येवमादिष्वितिप्रसङ्ग इति, अथ सभाधि

किं चिराद्ः, चातुरवयवे चातुराव्यो वर्त्तते, अवर्णान्तादुत्तरो यः चावयव इति ॥ अपरे पुनराहुः, आदित्येतेन शीनयावेव विशेष्यते, अवर्णान्तादुत्तरे ये शीनया तयोः परतः शान्तस्य तुम्भवतीति, तत्र येन नाध्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितेति वचनप्रमाण्यादिति तकारेणैव व्यवधानमाश्रयेष्यते ॥ आदिरिति किम्, कुर्वती, सुन्वती ॥ शीनयोरिति किम्, तुस्ताम्, तुस्ताम् ॥

The form तुर्वती is thus evolved. तुर् + च + चात् + ङीप् ॥ The vikaraṇa च is added by III. 1. 77, & ङीप् by IV. 1. 6. This is equal to तुर् + च + चात् + ई = तुर्वती the च + च becoming ञ by the rule of पररूप ekādeśa (VI. 1. 97). This ekādeśa operation being antaranga, now there is no चात् affix coming after a stem ending in ञ, and therefore this sūtra will not apply. If you say the ekādeśa will be considered as the final of तुर् by VI. 1. 85, we reply, that the antāchvadbhāva of that sūtra will not apply when simultaneous operations are to be performed, for च cannot be said at one and the same time as the final of तुर् and the beginning of ञ (चात्). If you say the maxim सांपत्तिकामावे भूतपूर्व गतिः (when a word cannot denote something which actually is what is expressed by the word, it must be understood to denote something which formerly was what is expressed by it), will apply here, and that तुर् will be considered to end in च because it formerly did end in the affix च of चा; we reply that then the present rule should apply to forms like अवर्ती व्रती &c. For here also we have अर् + चाप् लोप + चात् + ङीप्; and अर् should be considered to end in च, because it had the affix चाप् after it, though it was afterwards elided. The maxim quoted, therefore, proves too much.

To solve these objections, some say, that the word चात् in this sūtra means 'a portion of the affix चात्, such as त्' and the sūtra means 'after a stem ending in ञ, to the portion त् of the affix चात् there is added तुम्.' Others say, the word आत् in the sūtra qualifies शी and नदी and not चात्; and the sūtra means "तुम् is added to a stem ending in चात्, when शी or नदी affixes follow after a stem ending in ञ." Therefore in तुर्वती the affix ई is considered to come after the च of तुर्, the intervening त् not debarring it.

Why do we say "after च"? Observe कुर्वती and सुन्वती, no optional तुम् is added here. Why do we say "शी and नदी following"? Observe तुस्ताम् and तुस्ताम्.

शप्श्यनोर्नित्यम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शप्, श्यनोः, नित्यम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शप् श्यन् इत्येतयोः चातुः शीनयोः परतो नित्यं तुमागमो भवति ॥

81. When the affix चात् comes after a verbal stem ending in the vikarāṇas शप् and श्यन्, it invariably takes the augment तुम् before the neutral case-ending शी (ई), and the feminine ending ई (Nadi).

Thus पचन्ती कुले, पचन्ती ब्राह्मणी, शीष्यन्ती कुले, शीष्यन्ती ब्राह्मणी, सीष्यन्ती कुले, सीष्यन्ती ब्राह्मणी ॥ The word नित्य stops the anuvṛtti of वा (VII. 1. 79).

साधनदुहः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सौ, अनदुहः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सौ परतो ऽनदुहोऽस्य नुमागमो भवति ॥

82. अनदुह् gets the augment नुम् before the ending सु of the Nom. Sg. (and Vocative).

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

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

इक्स्ववस्स्वतवसां छन्दसि ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इक्, स्ववस्, स्वतवसाम्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इक् स्ववस् स्वतवस् इत्येतेषां सौ परतो नुमागमो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

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

Thus ईदृक्, तादृक्, यादृक्, सदृक्, स्ववान्, स्वतवान् ॥ The इ of ईदृक् (formed by III. 2. 60), is elided by VIII. 2. 23; and दृ substituted for इ by VIII. 2. 62. The lengthening in स्ववान् and स्वतवान् is through VI. 4. 14.

दिव औत् ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, औत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिविष्येत्स्य सौ परतो औदिव्यमादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ पथ्यादीनामिकारस्य स्थाने आकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus पन्याः, पन्यानौ, पन्यानः, पन्यानम्, पन्यानौ, मन्याः, मन्यानौ, मन्यानः, मन्यानम्, मन्यानौ, ऋमुक्षाः, ऋमुक्षाणौ, ऋमुक्षाणः, ऋमुक्षाणम्, ऋमुक्षाणौ. आदिति वर्त्तमाने पुनरुच्चनं वपूर्वायम्, ऋमुक्षाणमित्यत्र वा वपूर्वस्य निगमइति दीर्घविकल्पः ॥

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

थोन्यः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ थः, अन्थः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिमथोऽस्यकारस्य स्थाने न्य इत्ययमादेशो भवति सर्वनामस्थाने परतः ॥

87. न्थ is substituted for the थ् of pathin and mathin in the strong cases.

As पन्याः, पन्यानौ, पन्यानः, मन्याः, मन्यानौ मन्यानः ॥

अस्य ढेलोपः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्य, टेः, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथ्यादीनां असंज्ञकानां ढेलोपो भवति ॥

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

As पयः, पया, पये, मयः, मया, मये, ऋमुक्षः, ऋमुक्षा, ऋमुक्षे ॥ The anuvṛitti of sarvanāmasthāna, of course, is inappropriate here: though its anuvṛitti is current as will be seen in the next sūtra.

पुं सो ऽसुङ् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंसः, असुङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुंस इत्येतस्य सर्वनामस्थाने परतो ऽसुङ् इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

89. अनुङ् (अस्) is substituted for the final of पुस् in the strong cases.

The word पुस् is derived from पा (to protect) + डमुन् (Uṇ IV. 178), the ड् being changed to anusvāra. So when स् of पुस् is replaced by अस् we get the form पुमस्, the उ of अनुङ् indicates that न् should be added in the strong cases after अ (VII. 1. 70), so we have पुमान्, पुमांसौ, पुमांसः ॥

This substitution must take place in its incipient stage before the affixes are added, (उपदेशवद्भावः): otherwise the accent will be wrong. The compounds have acute on the final, (VI. 1. 223), therefore, परमपुस् has acute on पु, and in the Nominative Singular परमपुमान् the acute will remain on पु, but it is intended that it should be on मा, thus परमपुमान् ॥ The simple word पुमान् of course, has accent on पु ॥

गोतो जित् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ गोतो, जित् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोशब्दात्परं सर्वनामस्थानं जित्भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

जलुत्तमो वा ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ जल्, उत्तमः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तमो जल्वा जित् भवति जित्कार्यं तत्र वा भवतीत्यर्थः ॥

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

The Vṛiddhi is optional, as अहं गकार or चकार, अहं पपाच or पपच ॥

सख्युरसम्बुद्धौ ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सख्युः, अ सम्बुद्धौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असंबुद्धौ यः सखिशब्दः तस्मात्परं सर्वनामस्थानं णिङ्गवति ॥

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

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

अनङ् सौ ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनङ्, सौ. ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सखिशब्दस्य सौ परतो ऽनङ्गिष्यमादेशो भवति स चेत्सुशब्दः संबुद्धिर्न भवति ॥

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

As सखा, but हे सखे ॥

ऋदुशनस्पुरुदंशोनेहसां च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्, उशनस्, पुरुदंशः अनेहसाम् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तानामङ्गानामुशनसः पुरुदंशस् इत्येतेषां चासंबुद्धौ सौ परतो ऽनङ्गदेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उशनसः सम्बुद्धावपिपक्षेऽनङ् इष्यते । न ङिसंबुद्धाविति नलोपमतिषंभोपि पक्षइष्यते ॥

Kārikā:—संबोधने तुशानसस्त्रिरूपं सान्तं तथा नान्तमथाप्यइन्तम् ॥

माध्यं शिनिर्वदि गुणं विगन्ते नपुंसके व्याघ्रपदां वरिष्ठः ॥

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

As कर्ता, इर्ता, माता, पिता, भ्राता, उशाना, पुरुदंशा, अनेहा ॥ In the Voc. Sg. we have हे कर्तः, हे मातः, पितः पुरुदंशः, अनेहः and उशनः ॥

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

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

The न् in ऋत् is for the sake of distinctness.

तृज्वत्क्रोष्टुः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृज्वत्, क्रोष्टुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रोष्टुशब्दस्तुन्यथयान्तः संज्ञाशब्दः सर्वनामस्थाने ऽसंबुद्धौ परत तृज्वङ्गवति ॥

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

The word क्रोष्टु is declined like क्रोष्ट in the strong cases. As क्रोष्टी, क्रोष्टीरो, क्रोष्टीरः, क्रोष्टीरम्, क्रोष्टीरौ ॥ But क्रोष्टुन् in weak cases, and हे क्रोष्टो in the Vocative Singular. The accent in the strong cases is also that of the तृच् affix, i.e. acute on the final. The word क्रोष्टु is formed by the affix तुच् (U० सितनिगमि &c, I. 69).

स्त्रियां च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियां, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असर्वनामस्यानार्यभारम्भः । स्त्रियां च क्रोष्टुशब्दस्य तृच्चवति ॥

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

This sūtra is commenced for the sake of cases other than strong ones. In strong cases, whether of masculine or feminine, the former sūtra applies; but in the feminine, in other cases also there is trich-treatment. Thus क्रोष्ट्री, क्रोष्ट्रीभ्याम्, क्रोष्ट्रीभिः ॥ Some read the word क्रोष्टु in the Gaurādi class (IV. 1. 41), and they treat it as a तृच् ending word before the feminine affix ङीष्, as क्रोष्टा ॥ According to them, in forming the Taddhitārtha compounds like पञ्चभिः क्रोष्टीभिः क्रीतैः = पञ्चक्रोष्टी रयैः, we could not get the form पञ्चक्रोष्टभिः, because when the affix ङङ् is elided by V. 1. 28, the feminine is also elided by I. 2. 49, and the ङीष् being thus luk-elided, there would be no तृच्भाव, because the affix leaves no trace behind I. 1. 63. To get out of the difficulty, we can only say, that the form is so, in spite of the apparent inconsistency.

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

And because क्रोष्टु is treated as if it was क्रोष्ट, the feminine will be formed by the affix ङीष् by IV. 1. 5, and the form क्रोष्ट्री will be end-acute by VI. 1. 174. So that whether क्रोष्ट्री be formed by ङीष् under Gaurādi class, or by ङीष् under IV. 1. 5, the accent remains the same: while under this second view, we have not to face any such difficulty as in the first.

विभाषा तृतीयादिष्वचि ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, तृतीयादिषु, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयादिषु विभक्तिष्वजादिषु क्रोष्टुर्विभाषा तृच्चवति ॥

पार्त्तिकम् ॥ तृच्चभावात् पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन मुमुदौ भवतः ॥

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

As क्रोष्ट्री or क्रोष्टुना, क्रोष्ट्री or क्रोष्टवे, क्रोष्टुः or क्रोष्टोः, क्रोष्टीरो or क्रोष्टौ, क्रोष्ट्रीः or क्रोष्ट्रोः ॥ But क्रोष्टुन् in the Accusative Plural, and क्रोष्टुभ्यां before consonant-beginning affixes.

Vart:—नुम् and नुद् augments come in supersession of the Trich-vad-bhāva ordained by the preceding sūtras. Thus the Dative of the Neuter noun प्रियक्रोदु will be प्रियक्रोदुने ऽरण्याय, हितक्रोदुने वृषलकुलाय, and not 'क्रोद्रे ॥ Similarly with नुद्, as क्रोदुनाम् ॥

चतुरनडुहोरामुदात्तः ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्, अनडुहोः, आम्, उदात्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुर् अनडुह् इत्येतयोः सर्वनामस्थाने परत आमागमो भवति, स चोदात्तः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनडुहः स्त्रियां वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

Thus चत्वारः, अनडुहो, अनडुहोः, अनडुहोः, अनडुहोः ॥ The rule applies to compounds ending with चत्वार and अनडुह्, as प्रियचत्वार, प्रियचत्वारो, प्रियचत्वारः, प्रियानडुहो, प्रियानडुहोः, प्रियानडुहोः ॥

Vart:—In the case of अनडुह् there is option in the feminine, as अनडुही, or अनडुही ॥ This would be so, because it occurs in Gaurādi class IV. 1. 41.

अम्संबुद्धौ ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अम्, सम्बुद्धौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबुद्धौ परतचतुरनडुहोरमागमो भवति ॥

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

This debars the previous rule, as हे प्रियचत्वरः (a Bahuvrīhi), हे प्रियनडुह ॥

ऋत इच्छातोः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, इत्, धातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तस्य धातोर्ऋस्य इकारदेशो भवति ॥

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

As किरति, गिरति from कृ and गृ of the Tudādi class. आस्तीर्णम् विस्तीर्णम् from स्तृ, the lengthening by VIII. 2. 77. Why do we say of a root? Observe पितृणाम्, मातृणाम् ॥

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

उपधायाश्च ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपधायाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपधायाश्च ऋकारस्य इकारदेशो भवति ॥

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

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

उदोष्ठ्यपूर्वस्य ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्, ओष्ठ्य, पूर्वस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओष्ठ्यः पृथो यस्मात् ऋकारादसाधोऽप्यपूर्वस्तदन्तस्य धातोर्ऋस्य उकारदेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इत्सोत्साध्यां गुणवृद्धी भवतो विप्रतिषेधेन ॥

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

As पूर्त्त and पुपुर्षन्ति from पू, so also दुर्धृषन्ति ॥ The lengthening is by VIII. 2. 77. The rule applies when the dento-labial व precedes: as दुर्धृषन्ति कृत्स्विजम् from वृ; so also प्रावुर्धृषन्ति कम्बलम् ॥ The labial consonant must be the consonant of the root. Therefore when कृ 'to go' is preceded by सम्, the rule will not apply, for स is not part of the root: as समीर्णम् by VII. 1. 100.

Vart:—The Guṇa and Vṛiddhi do take place in supersession of इर् and उर् substitution. Thus आस्तरणम् and आस्तारकः (from स्तृ with ल्युट् and ण्वल्), निपरणम्, निपारकः from पू, निगरणम्, निगारकः from गृ ॥

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये कृकारान्तस्य धातोरङ्गस्य बहुलधुकारदेशो भवति ॥

103. In the Veda, the उर् substitution for ऋ of a root-stem is diverse.

That is, it takes place even when the preceding letter is not labial, and does not take place even when the letter is labial. Thus मित्रा वरुणौ ततुरिः, कूरे ह्यष्टा जयुरिः, पप्रितमम् (no change), and पपुरिः, from तृ, गृ and पू ॥ All these words ततुरि, जयुरि and पप्रि are formed by the affix किन् (III. 1. 171).

ओ३म् ।

अथ सप्तमाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER SECOND.

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

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

The word इक् is to be read into this sūtra by virtue of I. 1. 3. As अचैषीत्, अनैषीत्, अलावीत्, अपावीत्, अकार्षीत्, अहर्षीत् (VII. 3. 96 and VIII. 2. 28) The antarāṅga guṇa substitution is superseded by the express mention of Vṛiddhi. If the antarāṅga guṇa is superseded by this vṛiddhi, why is not the antarāṅga उवङ् also superseded in न्यनुवीत्, न्यधुवीत्? The Vṛiddhi does not take place, as these roots belong to कुटादि class, after which this affix is ङिन् (I. 2. 1). The Vṛiddhi being thus superseded, we have उवङ् substitution. Why do we say in the Parasmaipada? Observe अच्योष्ठ, अहोष्ट ॥

अतो लान्तस्य ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, लान्तस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रेफकारौ यावतः समीपौ तदन्तस्याङ्गस्य अत एव स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

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

As क्षर्-अक्षरीत्, स्तर्-अस्तारीत्, उवल्-अज्वालीत्, ह्यल्-अह्यालीत् ॥ This debars the option of VII. 2. 7. Why 'short अ'? Observe न्यखारीत् न्यमीलीत् ॥ Why do we say "ending in र् or ल्"? Observe मा भवानग्रीत्, मा भवानदीत् ॥ The word अन्त means here 'proximity', as in the sentence उदकान्तं गतः = उदकसमीपं गतः ॥ The अ must be in the proximity of the र् and ल् ॥ Therefore the rule does not apply to अवधीत्, अश्वहीत्, for though र् and ल् are here *final* of the stem, yet are not in the proximity of अ ॥

वद्वज्रहलन्तस्याचः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वद, वज्र, हलन्तस्य, अचः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वद्वज्रजोर्हलन्तानां चाङ्गानामचः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति सिचि परस्मैपदे परतः ॥

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

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

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

The form उद्वोद्यम् is thus evolved. To the root वद् we add सिच् in the second Person singular. Thus वद् + स्ताम् ॥ Now there appears the Vṛiddhi rule on the one side; and the rule requiring the change of इ to ऋ (VIII. 2. 31) the rule requiring the elision of स् (VIII. 2. 26), the rule requiring the change of त् into ध (VIII. 2. 40), then the rule requiring the change of घ into ङ, and then the elision of one ङ (VIII. 3. 13) on the other. What rule is to be applied first—the Vṛiddhi or the other rules? The Vṛiddhi rule is to be applied first, because the other rules are considered as asiddha (VIII. 2. 1): and after that we apply the other rules: and afterwards on account of the elision of ङ, we change the Vṛiddhi आ into ओ (VI. 3. 112). The equation will be something like this:—वद् + स्ताम् = वाद् + स्ताम् (VII. 2. 3) = वाद् + स्ताम् (VIII. 2. 31) = वाद् + ताम् (VIII. 2. 26) = वाद् + धाम् (VIII. 2. 40) = वाद् + ङाम् (VIII. 4. 41) = वा + ङम् (VIII. 3. 13) = वोढाम् (VI. 3. 112). This with the upasarga उत् and the augment अ becomes उद्वोद्यम् ॥ Similar is the evolution of उद्वोद्यम् with स्ताम् ॥ Once the अ has been Vṛiddhied into आ, there is no Vṛiddhi of ओ ॥ Had we not first Vṛiddhied the वद् into वाद्, but applied the vṛiddhi rule last, then there would have been vṛiddhi of ओ, as वौढाम् which is wrong. In fact where there has not taken place vṛiddhi first, there ओ is vṛiddhied, as = सोढामिन्नस्यापत्वं = सोढामिन्निः ॥

नेटि ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इदि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इकारो सिचि इत्तन्त्याङ्गस्य वृद्धिर्न भवति ।

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

As अवेषीत्, अवसीत्, अक्रोषीत्, अमोषीत्, but अलाषीत् where the root ends in a vowel. Will not लू by taking Guṇa (which is an antaranga operation) and the substitution of अच्, become a root ending in a consonant? No, though Guṇa is antaranga, it is superseded by the express Vṛiddhi.

झयन्तक्षणश्चसजागृणिश्च्योदिताम् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह, म, य्, अन्त, क्षण, च्वस् जागृ, णि, श्वि, यदिताम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इकारान्तानां मकारान्तानां वकारान्तानां यङ्गानां क्षण च्वस जागृ णि चि इत्येतेषामोदितां च इकारो सिचि परस्मैपदे परतो वृद्धिर्न भवति ।

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

Thus मह, 'to catch' अमहीत्, ह्वम, 'to sound' अस्यमीत्, व्यय, 'to expend' अव्ययीत्, दुवम, 'to vomit' अवमीत्, क्षण 'to hurt' अक्षणीत्, च्वत् 'to breathe' अच्वसीत्, जागृ 'to be awake' अजागरीत्, णि, ऊन (churādi) 'to lose' ऊनयीत्, ईल् 'to send' ईलयीत्, च्वि, अच्वयीत् ॥ एदिताम्, रगे 'to cover' अरणीत्. कखे, अकखीत् ॥

झयन्तक्षणच्वसामेदितां च अतो हलादेल्लोपारिति विकल्पे प्राप्ते प्रतिषेधः ॥ जागृणिच्वीनां तु सिचि वृद्धिः प्राप्ता, सा च नेटीति न प्रतिषिध्यते, न वान्तरङ्गत्वाच्च पूर्वे गुणो भवति सिचि वृद्धेरनवका-
शत्वात् ॥ यदि पूर्वे गुणः स्यादिहणिच्विमहणमनर्थकं स्यात् ॥ गुणायदेष्टव्योः कृतयोर्वकारान्तत्वादेव प्रतिषे-
धस्य सिद्धत्वात् ॥ तस्मादिहमेवणिच्विमहणं ज्ञापकं न सिध्यन्तरङ्गमस्तीति ॥ अथ जागृमहणं किमर्थम् ॥ जाग्रो
विचिण्णल्लिङ्गस्य इति आगतेर्गुणो वृद्धेरपराधो विधीयते ॥ स यथा अचो जिजसीति वृद्धि बाधते, तथा सिचि
वृद्धिमपि बाधिष्यते ॥ नैतदस्ति ॥ कृते गुणः ऽतोऽन्तस्वेति वा वृद्धिः प्राप्नोति सा प्रतिषिध्यते, ॥ अथ गुणवि-
धानसामर्थ्यादुत्तरकालभाविन्यपि वृद्धिर्बाध्यते, ॥ यथा आगत्यतीत्यन्ता उपधाया इत्यपि वृद्धिर्न भवति,
तथा चिण्णलोः प्रतिषेधोऽर्थवान्भवति इति वाक्यमिह जागृमहणमकर्तुम् ॥ नस्तु क्रियते विस्पष्टार्थम् ॥

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

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

took place first and then Vṛiddhi, the mention of णि-roots and चि in the sūtra would be redundant. For in ऊनयति and अभयति, having gunated the roots ऊन and चि to ऊने and ह्ये, and then substituting अय् (which is also antaranga) for ए before ईत्, we have ऊनय् + ईत्, and अभय् + ईत् ॥ Now these are roots which end in य् and would be covered by the first portion of the present sūtra, viz, "h-m-y-anta", so the especial mention of णि-roots and चि would be superfluous, if guṇa was to take place first. The very mention of णि-roots and चि in this sūtra, is a jñāpaka (indicator) of the following maximं न सिचि अन्तरङ्गमस्ति ॥

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

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

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

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

ऊर्णोतेर्विभाषा ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊर्णोतेः, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्णोतेरिडादौ सिचि परस्मैपदपरे परतो दि१५. १ वृद्धिर्नभवति ।

6. Before an इद्-beginning s-Aorist of the Parasmaipada, there is optional Vriddhi of the vowel of ऊर्णु ॥

As प्रौर्णवीत् or प्रौर्णवीत् ॥ This option applies when the सिच् is not treated as ङित् ॥ But after ऊर्णु, सिच् is optionally ङित्, (I. 2. 6): when it is ङित्, there being neither guṇa nor vriddhi; we have उवद् substitution, as प्रौर्णवीत् (VI. 4. 77).

अतो हलादेर्लघोः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, हल् आदेः, लघोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलादेरङ्गस्य लघोरकारस्य इडाद्यै सिचि परस्मैपदस्ये परतो विभाषा वृद्धिर्न भवति ।

7. Before an इद्-beginning s-Aorist of the Parasmaipada, the short अ of the root gets optionally Vriddhi, when the stem begins with a consonant, and the अ is prosodially short by being followed by a simple consonant.

Thus अकणीत् or अकाणीत्, अरणीत् or अराणीत् ॥ Why do we say 'of अ'? Observe अवेवीत्, असेवीत् ॥ Besides this patent objection, there is another, not so manifest. If we had not taken अतः, the sūtra would have ordained Vriddhi of every vowel (अचः VII. 2. 3), the Vriddhi so ordained would be an अच् pertaining Vriddhi, and not an इक्-pertaining Vriddhi. Therefore ङित् affixes will not debar such Vriddhi, for the क्ङिति च (I. 1. 5), debars only इग्लक्षणा Vriddhi. Therefore कुटादि roots after which सिच् is ङित् (I. 2. 1), will get Vriddhi, which is not desired. Therefore we have only one form of न्यकुदीत्, न्यपुटीत् ॥

Why do we say 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe ना भवानक्षीत्, ना भवानदीत् from अश् and अद् ॥ Why do we say 'prosodially short'? Observe अतक्षीत्, अरक्षीत् ॥

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

The word इद् is understood in this sūtra, so that the rule applies to सेद् aorist. The rule therefore, does not apply to Anit aorist, as अपाक्षीत् ॥

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

नेङ्गशि कृति ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इद्, वशि, कृति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वशादौ कृति प्रत्यये परत इडागमो न भवति ।

8. The augment इद् is not added to a kṛit-affix beginning with a sonant consonant (वश् pratyāhāra).

The वश् pratyāhāra is rather vague. The rule really applies to Kṛit-affixes beginning with व, र (ल) न and न, and no कृत् affix begins with any other letter of वश् class. Thus ईक्षिता, ईक्षितुम् non-vaś letters get the augment, but not ईश्वरः, (III. 2. 175) so also क्षीपिता, क्षीपितुम् but not क्षीप्रम् (III. 2. 167 र) भक्षिता, भक्षितुम् but not भक्षः, (III. 2. 75. मनिन्) यक्षिता, यक्षितुम् but not यक्षः (III. 3. 90 नह्)

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

Here by VII. 2. 76 the Sārvadhātuka affixes beginning with a वल् consonant take इद् augment after the roots रुद् &c; but this इद् will also be prohibited by the present sūtra, if the word कृति be not read in the sūtra. So that rule VII. 2. 76 would find scope before those वलादि affixes only which do not begin with a वश् letter; as रुदितः ॥ In some texts of Kāśika the counter-example is रुदिव in the Perfect. This is wrong, according to Padamnjari (क्राशिनि-यमादेव इटः सिद्धत्वात्) because इद् always comes in the Perfect except after the root कृ &c. (VII. 2. 13): so the counter-example from the Perfect Tense is not valid. This sūtra is an exception to VII. 2. 35. The Kṛit-affixes beginning with वश् letters as given by Pāṇini are the following: वन् (वनिष्, कुनिष्, ऊवनिष्), वर (वरश्च and कुरष्), वम् (कुष्ठ), रु (कृ), लुक् (बलुकन्), मन् (मनिन्), मर (मरश्च) न (नह्, नम्), नह् (नजिह्), नु (कुनु) ॥ This list will show the truth of the above vārtika.

तितुत्रतथसिसुसरकसेषु च ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, तु, त्र, त, थ, सि, सु, सर, क, सेषु, ॥

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

वार्तिकम् ॥ तितुत्रेषु अमहाशीनाम् इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

Thus (1) क्तिष्—तन्तिः but तनिता, तनितुम्, क्तिन्—क्षीप्तिः but क्षीपिता, क्षीपितुम् ॥ (2) तुन् (Uṇ I. 70)—सक्तुः but साक्षिता, साक्षितुम् ॥ (3) छन् (III. 2. 182)—पञ्च but पक्षिता, पक्षितुम्, so also Uṇādi छन् (Uṇ IV. 158), as तन्त्रम् from तन् ॥ (4) तन् (Uṇ III. 86)—हस्तः but हसिता, हसितुम्; so also लीतः, पीतः, धूर्तः from लृ, पू, धूर्ति forming सेद् लविता, पविता, धूर्विता ॥ The त affix mentioned in the sūtra refers to this Uṇādi त (Uṇ III. 86), and not to the त (क्त) of Nishṭhā, for the Nishṭhā त takes the augment, as हसितम् ॥ (5) क्यन् (Uṇ II. 2)—कुष्ठम् but कोषिता, कोषितुम्, काष्ठम् but काक्षिता, काक्षितुम् ॥ (6) कृत्ति (Uṇ III. 155), as कुक्षिः but कोषिता, कोषितुम् ॥ (7) कुष्ठ (Uṇ III. 157)—इष्टुः but एषिता, एषितुम्; (8) सरन् (Uṇ III. 70)—गभारम्,

but अशिता, अशितुम् ॥ (9) कञ् (Uṇ III. 43)—बल्कः but बलिता, बलितुम् ॥ (10) स (Uṇ III. 62)—बल्सः but बलिता, बलितुम् ॥

Vāri:—The affix ति, तु and नि take इद् augment after षष् and words of similar formations:—as विगृहीतिः, उपस्निहितिः, निकुञ्चति निपाठितिः ॥

Before non-kṛit ति &c, we have इद्, as रोदिति, स्वपिति ॥

एकाच उपदेशेऽनुदात्तात् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ एकाचः, उपदेशे, अनुदात्तात्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपदेशे य एकाच् धातुरनुदात्तश्च तस्मादिडागमो न भवति ।

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

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

Kārikā:—अनिद्वस्वान्तो भवतीति दृश्यतामिमांस्तु सेटः प्रवदन्ति तद्विदः ।
भवन्तभूवन्तभृतां च वृहवृजौ धिडीडिबर्णेभ्यश्च णीङ्भिश्चावपि ॥
गणस्थसूवन्तभृतां च रुस्तुयौ ध्रुवन्तयोर्णोतिमयो युणुङ्गवः ।
इति स्वान्ता निपुणैः समुच्चितास्ततो हलन्तानपि समिबोधतः ॥

As a general rule all monosyllabic roots ending in a *vowel* except अ, long ऊ and long कू are anudatta, and do not take इद् augment: as राह्, नेह्, चह्, स्ताह्, कर्त्त, हर्त् ॥ The following are the exceptions:—

- (1) All roots ending in short अ are Udatta and take इद्; as अवधिष्ट ॥
- (2) All roots ending in long ऊ are सेट्, as नृ—तरिता or तरीता ॥
- (3) All roots ending in short कू are अनिट् except वृह् (IX. 38 the references are to the class and number in the Dhātupāṭha) and वृम् (V. 8, X. 271): as निर्वरिता or निर्वरीता, प्रवरिता or प्रवरीता ॥
- (4) All roots in short इ are अनिट्, except धि (I. 1059), 'to grow' and भिष् 'to attend' (I. 945), as धियिता, भियिता ॥
- (5) All roots in long ई are अनिट्, except णीङ् 'to rest' (II. 22), and ङीङ् 'to fly' (I. 1017. IV. 27), as णयिता, उङ्गयिता ॥
- (6) All roots in long ऊ are सेट्, as लयिता, पयिता from लृ and पू ॥
- (7) All monosyllabic roots in short उ are अनिट्, except, रुङ् 'to sound' (II. 24, I. 1008), स्तु 'to flow' (II. 29), ध्रु 'to sound' (II. 27), यु 'to mix' (II. 23) तु 'to praise' (II. 26), शृणु 'to sharpen', (II. 28); and ऊर्णुम् 'to cover' (II. 30, though consisting of more than one syllable, is treated like तु for the purposes of यङ्) ॥ Thus रयिता, प्रसरयिता, शयिता, ययिता, नयिता, शृणयिता and प्रोर्णयिता ॥

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

Kārikā:—इति स्वरान्ता निपुणैः समुच्चितास्ततो हलन्तानपि समिबोधतः ।
शक्तिस्तु कान्तेष्वनिडेक इभ्यते घसिच्च सान्तेषु घसिः प्रसारणी ॥
रभिस्तु भान्तेष्वय मेयुने यभिस्तत्तत्सृतीयोर्लभिरवनेत्ते ॥

यमिर्यमन्तेष्वनिडेक इष्यते रमिष्व यश्च इयनि पृथ्यते मनिः ।
 नमिष्वतुर्थो हनिरेव पृचमो गमिष्व षष्ठः प्रतिषेधवाचिनाम् ॥
 सिहिर्दुर्हिर्मेहतिरोहती वहिर्नहिस्तु षष्ठो वहतिस्तथा लिहिः ।
 इमे ऽनिटोऽष्टादिह युक्तसंज्ञाया गणेषु हान्ताः प्राविभज्य कीर्त्तिताः ॥
 रिशि कृशि वंशिमयो वृशि स्पृशि रिशि रुशि क्रीशतिमष्टमं विशिम् ।
 लिशं च शान्ताननिटः पुराणगाः पठन्ति पाठेषु द्वावेव नेतरान् ॥
 रुधिः सराभिर्युधिवन्धिसाधयः कुधिशुभी शुध्यतिबुध्यतो व्यधिः ।
 इमे तु धान्ता दश येऽनिटो मतास्ततः परं सिद्धतिरेव नेतरे ॥
 शिधि पिधि शुध्यतिपुष्यती स्विधि विधि भ्लिधि तुष्यतिदुष्यती द्विधिम् ।
 इमान्दशैवोपविशन्त्यनिटुधौ गणेषु धान्तान्कृषिकर्षती तथा ॥
 तपि तिपि व्यापिमयो वपि स्वापि लिपि लुपि हृष्यति कृष्यती सृषिम् ।
 स्वरेण नीचेन शपि ह्यपि क्षिपि प्रतीहि धान्तान्पठितांस्त्रयोदश ॥
 शधि हवि स्कन्तिमिच्छिच्छिस्तुतीन् शवि सवि स्त्रियातिपद्यती खिदिम् ।
 तुवि लुवि विद्यातिविन्ति इत्यापि प्रतीहि शान्तान्दश पृच चानिटः ॥
 पचि वचि विचिरिचिरिञ्जिपृच्छतीन् निचि सिचि मुचिमजिमञ्जिभृज्जतीन् ।
 स्थञ्जि यञ्जि युञ्जिहञ्जिसञ्जिमञ्जतीन् भुञ्जि स्वन्मिहृजिभृजी विज्जघनिदस्वरान् ॥

(1.) क-चाक् 'to be able' (IV. 78, V. 15). चान्ता, चाद्यति

(2.) स्-चस् 'to eat' (I. 747, and also substitute of षद्), as, चस्ता ; वस् 'to dwell' (I. 1054), as वस्ता ॥ The वस् which takes Samprasāraṇa by VI. 1. 15, is meant here, and not वस् 'to cover' (II. 13), 'which does not vocalise, as वासिता वस्त्राणाम्, but उचितः from वस 'to dwell' (VII. 2. 52).

(3.) भ्-Three roots: रभ् 'to desire' (I. 1023), as, आरब्धा, यभ् coire (I. 1029), यब्धा, लभ् 'to take' (I. 1024), लब्धा ॥

(4.) च्-Four roots, यच् 'to cease' (I. 1033), यन्ता ; रच् 'to play' (I. 906) रन्ता, नच् 'to bow' (I. 867, 1030) नन्ता, गच्छ 'to go' (I. 1031) गन्ता ॥

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

(6.) ह्-Eight roots:—रिह् 'to smear' (II. 5), रेग्धा ; दुह् 'to milk' (II. 4), दोग्धा ; मिह् 'to sprinkle' (I. 1041) मीढा, रुह् 'to grow' (I. 912) रोढा ; वह् 'to carry' (I. 1053) वोढा, नह् 'to bind' (IV. 57) नद्धा ; बह् 'to burn' (I. 1041) बग्धा, लिह् 'to lick' (II. 6) लेढा ॥ In other collections संह् (I. 905, IV. 20), सुह् (IV. 89), रिह् (VI. 23), लुह् (?), are also enumerated ; of these सह् takes इद् optionally before affixes beginning with त, so also सुह् because it belongs to the class of रधादि (VII. 2. 45) the other two are not found (?) in root-collections, hence the Kārika uses the words युक्तसंज्ञायः ॥

(7.) श्-Ten roots:—दिश् 'to show' (VI. 3), दृश् 'to see' (I. 1037), दृश् 'to bite' (I. 1038), घृश् 'to rub' (VI. 131), स्पृश् 'to touch' (VI. 128), रिश (VI. 126), रुश् (VI. 126) both meaning 'to hurt', विश् 'to enter' (VI. 130), लिश् 'to be small' (IV. 70, VI. 127). As रेष्टा, द्रष्टा, संष्टा, आस्रष्टा or आस्रष्टा, स्पष्टा or स्पष्टा, The roots with a penultimate ऋ short, which are anudātta in the dhātupāṭha, with the exception of घृश् and दृश्, take optionally the augment र्म् (VI. 1. 59), ॥ रष्टा, रोष्टा, क्रोष्टा, प्रवेष्टा, लेष्टा ॥

(8.) ध्—Ten roots:—रुध् with अनु, 'to love'. रुध् 'to obstruct' (IV. 65) रोद्धा, राध् 'to accomplish' (IV. 71, V. 16) राद्धा; युध् 'to fight' (IV. 64) योद्धा; बन्ध् 'to bind' (I. 1022), बन्धा; साध् 'to accomplish' (V. 17) साद्धा; क्रुध् 'to be angry' (IV. 80) क्रोद्धा, क्षुध् 'to be hungry' (IV. 81) क्षोद्धा; शुध् 'to be pure' (IV. 82) शोद्धा, बुध् 'to be aware' (IV. 63) बोद्धा; व्यध् 'to pierce' (IV. 72) व्यद्धा; सिध् 'to be accomplished' (IV. 83) सेद्धा ॥ The roots बुध् and सिध् are exhibited in the above Kārikā with श्यप् vikarana (बुध्यति, सिध्यति); therefore बुध् and सिध् take इद् in other ganas than the Fourth; as बोधिता and सेधिता ॥ There being want of prohibition with regard to निष्ठा, we have बुधितं and सिधितं ॥

(9.) ष्—roots. Ten. शिष् 'to distinguish' (VII, 14) शेष्टा; पिष् 'to pound' (VII. 15) पेष्टा, शुष् 'to become dry' (IV. 74) शोष्टा; पुष् 'to be nourished' (IV. 73), पोष्टा, त्विष् 'to shine' (I. 1050) त्वेष्टा, विष् 'to pervade, to sprinkle' (I. 729, III. 13, IX. 54) वेष्टा, हिल् 'to embrace' (I. 734, IV. 77) ह्लेष्टा; तुष् 'to be satisfied' (IV. 75) तोष्टा, दुष् 'to be sinful' (IV. 76) दोष्टा. शोक्ष्यति, द्विष् 'to hate' (II. 3) द्वेष्टा, द्वेक्ष्यति, कृष् 'to draw' (I. 1059, VI. 6 both Bhuādi and Tudādi are taken, as the kārīkā uses the two forms), भाकष्टा and भाकर्ष्टा ॥

(10.) प्—Thirteen roots : तप् 'to burn' (I. 1034, IV. 51) तप्ता, तप्यति, तिप् 'to distil' (I. 385) तेप्ता, भाप् 'to obtain' (V 14, X. 295) भाप्ता; वप् 'to sow' (I. 1052) वप्ता; स्वप् 'to sleep' (II. 59) स्वप्ता; लिप् 'to anoint' (VI. 139) लेप्ता; लुप् (VI. 137) 'to break', लोप्ता ॥ The roots लुप् and वृप् optionally take इद्, as they belong to रधादि class (VII. 2. 45, Divādi 84-91). The special mention of these two roots in the kārīkā, is for the sake of indicating that these roots take अय् augment; as वप्ता or तप्ता, or तर्पिता; वृप्ता, or वर्प्ता or रर्पिता ॥ The लृप् and वृप् belonging to Tudādi class, are Udātta and सेद् ॥ वृप् (I. 1032) 'to creep' लप्ता, सर्प्ता; शप् 'to curse' (I. 1049) शप्ता; छुप् 'to touch' (VI. 125) छोप्ता; क्षिप् 'to throw' (IV. 14) क्षेप्ता ॥

(11.) ह्—Fifteen roots. अद् 'to eat' [II. 1] अत्ता; हद् 'to void excrement' (I. 1026) हत्ता; स्कृद् 'to leap' (I. 1028) स्कन्ता; भिद् 'to break' (VII. 2) भेत्ता, छिद् 'to cut' (VII. 3) छेत्ता; क्षुद् 'to pound' (VII. 6) क्षोत्ता, क्षोक्ष्यति, श्मद् 'to perish' (I. 908, VI. 134) श्मत्ता, सद् 'to sink' (I. 907, VI. 133) सत्ता, त्विद् 'to sweat' (IV. 79) त्वेत्ता ॥ The root is exhibited as त्विद्यति in the above kārīkā, showing that the Fourth class root is to be taken, and not the Bhuādi (I. 780), which is udātta and takes इद् ॥ पद् 'to go' (IV. 60), पत्ता; लिद् 'to be troubled' (IV. 61, VI. 142, VII. 12) लेत्ता, तुद् 'to strike' (VI. 1) तोत्ता; नुद् 'to impel' (VI. 2) नोत्ता; विद् (IV. 62) वेत्ता ॥ The root विद् is exhibited in the kārīkā, as विद्याति and विन्ति, therefore, the rule applies to विद्यादि and क्रषादि विद् ॥ The Adādi (वेत्ति) and Tudādi (विन्त्यति) विद् is सेद्, as वेदिता विद्यानाय्, वेदिताधनस्य ॥

(12.) क्—six roots :—पक् 'to cook' (I. 187) पक्ता, पक्ष्यति; वक् 'to speak' (II. 54) वक्ता, विक् 'to separate' (VII. 5) विवेक्ता; रिक् 'to make empty' (VII. 4) रेक्ता; सिक् 'to sprinkle' (VI. 140) सेक्ता; लुक् (VI. 136) 'to loose' लोक्ता ॥

(13.) छ्—One root प्रछ् 'to ask' (VI. 120) प्रष्टा, प्रक्ष्यति ॥

(14.) ज्-Fifteen roots :—रञ्ज् 'to colour' (I. 865. 1048) रङ्क्ता; निज् 'to cleanse' (III. 11) निर्णेक्ता, नेज्यति; भज् 'to honor' (I. 1047) भक्ता; भञ्ज् 'to break' (VII. 16) भङ्क्ता; भृञ्ज् 'to fry' (I. 181) भृष्टा or भर्ष्टा; त्यज् 'to quit' (I. 1035) त्यक्ता; यज् 'to sacrifice' (I. 1051) यष्टा, युज् 'to join' (IV. 68, VII. 7) योक्ता; रुज् 'to break' (VI. 123) रोक्ता; सृज् 'to adhere' (I. 1036) सृङ्क्ता, मृज्ज् 'to be immersed' (VI. 122) मृङ्क्ता; मुज् 'to bend' (VI. 124) 'to enjoy' (VII. 17) भोक्ता, स्पर्ज् 'to embrace' (I. 1025) परि-स्पर्ज्ता; सृज् 'to emit' 'to create' (IV. 69, VI. 121) सृष्टा; मज्ज् 'to cleanse' (I. 269, II. 57), मार्ष्टा, मर्षिता ॥ The root मृज् is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with a long indicative ऊ, e-s, मृजू शुद्धौ (II. 57). It, therefore, optionally would take इद् ॥ Nor does this root take झन् augment. The inclusion of this root in the above list is, therefore, questionable. Others read विज् instead of मृज् ॥ The निजादि root विज् is Anit̐ (III. 12) i. e. विज् 'to separate' the विज् of Rudhādi takes इद् ॥

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

The rule will not apply to roots which have become anudātta during evolution i. e. when taking affixes. Therefore, we have पचिष्यति and लविष्यति with इद्, but not here, कर्ता कटान्, कर्तुम् ॥

श्रुचकः किति ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्री, उक्, किति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रि इत्येतस्योगन्तानां च किति प्रत्यये परत इडागमो न भवति ।

Kārikā:—वाच्य ऊर्णोर्नुवज्ञावो यद्प्रसिद्धिः प्रयोजनम् । आसञ्च प्रतिषेधार्थमेकाचभेदुपपन्नात् ॥

11. The augment इद् is not added to an affix having an indicative क्, when it comes after the root श्रि, or after a monosyllabic root ending in उ, ऊ, ऋ or ॠ in the Dhātupāṭha.

As श्रित्वा, श्रितः, श्रितवान् ॥ So also with roots ending in उक् vowels : as युत्वा, युतः, युतवान् ; लृत्वा, लृतः, लृतवान् ; वृत्वा, वृतः, वृतवान् ; तीर्त्वा, तीर्णः, तीर्णवान् ॥

Why 'श्रि and उक् ending roots only'? Observe विहितः ॥ Why having an indicative क्? Observe अयितुः, अयितुम्, अयितव्यम् ॥ Some read two क's in the sūtra and would apply it to the indicative श् also, as भूष्णु (III. 2. 139).

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

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

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

The word उपदेश is understood here also, so that the rule will apply to roots which end in उक् vowel, in their original states and not to the transformed base before the affix. Thus वृ is a उक्-ending root, which is transformed to वीर् before the Nishthā त् ॥ The rule will apply to it, as वीर्णः ॥ If you object saying, that वृ ends in long वृ and its Desiderative optionally takes इद् by VII. 2. 41, and therefore, its Nishthā will always take no इद् by VII. 2. 15. we reply, that the option taught in VII. 2. 41 applies to roots ending in long वृ; but when the root vowel is changed to ई, it is no longer a वृ-ending root. If you say, the rule of sthānivād bhāva will apply : we say, that that rule is not applicable to अलृ विधि, and this is an अलृविधि ॥ Therefore, the word उपदेश should be read into this sūtra. If this be so, the rule ought to apply to जाह, and we could not get the forms जागरितः and जागरितवान् ॥ To explain this we should also read the anuvṛitti of एकाच् into this sūtra. The root ऊर्णु, however is an exception and is governed by this rule, in spite of its consisting of more than one vowel. Thus प्रोर्णुतः and प्रोर्णुतवान् ॥

Kārikā :—ऊर्णु is treated as if it was उ, when the affix वृह is to be applied, आम् is to be prohibited, or इद् is to be debarred.

सनि ग्रहगुहोश्च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, ग्रह, गुहोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रह गुह इत्येतयोर्गन्तानां च सनि प्रत्यये परत इडागमो न भवति ।

12. The Desiderative affix सन् does not get the augment इद्, not only after roots ending in उ, ऊ, ऋ and ॠ, but also after ग्रह and गुह ॥

As जिघृक्षति, जुघृक्षति, रुक्षति, लुक्षति ॥ The anuvṛitti of णि is not drawn into this sūtra, as option is allowed regarding it by VII. 2. 49. ग्रह would always get इद्, ग्रह (I. 944) being ऊर्णु (in the Dhātupāṭha), would have optionally taken इद् (VII. 2. 44)

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

कृष्टभृष्टस्तुदुस्तुश्रुचो लिटि ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृ, ष्ट, भृ, ष्ट, स्तु, दु, स्तु, श्रु, च, लिटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृ सृ भृ वृ स्तु ह्रु सु भु इत्येतेषां लिटि प्रत्यये इडागमो न भवति ।
पार्त्तिकम् ॥ कर्मोसुट इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

13. The Personal endings of the Perfect do not get the augment इद्, after कृ, सृ, भृ, वृ, स्तु, ह्रु, सु, भु ॥

Thus कृ—चकृव, चकृम; सृ, ससृव, ससृम; भृ, बभृव, बभृम; वृष्, ववृव, ववृम; वृह्, ववृवहे, ववृमहे; स्तु, तुस्तुव, तुस्तुम; ह्रु, ह्रुह्व, ह्रुह्रम; सु, सुसुव, सुसुम; भु, भुभुव, भुभुम ॥ सिद्धे सत्यारम्भो नियमार्थः, काश्य एव लिट्यनिटस्ततो न्ये सेट इति ॥

These roots with the exception of वृ are Anit̥ by rule VII. 2. 10; their special mention here is for the sake of niyama, namely, these roots alone are Anit̥ in the Perfect, other roots are all Set̥ in the Perfect. Thus विभिवि, विभिविम, लुलुवि, लुलुविम ॥ All anudatta roots of the Dhātupāṭha are to be understood, by this rule, to get इद् ॥ The affix य of the Perfect gets इद् after वृष्, as the irregular form ववृथ in VII. 2. 64, indicates that in the Veda, य does not get इद् after वृष्, but in the secular literature it does. By VII. 2. 63, the य would have got इद् after स्तु, ह्रु, सु and भु; that इद् is also prohibited by the present sūtra. As तुष्टोय, शुष्टोय, लुष्टोय, शुष्टोय ॥

Vart:—इद् is added when कृ takes the सुट् augment: as संचस्करि, संचस्करिम ॥ The rule VII. 2. 63, applies here also, as संचस्करिय ॥

श्वीदितो निष्ठायाम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वि, ईदितः, निष्ठायाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वयतेरीदितश्च निष्ठायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

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

As शूनः, शूनवान्; ओलिञी (VI. 10),—लम्, लग्नवान्; ओविञी (VI. 9), उह्विमः, उह्विमवान् ॥ The त is changed to न because of the indicatory ओ (VIII. 2. 45). So also शीवी (IV. 42), शीतः, शीतवान् ॥ In the Dhātupāṭha, ङीह् (IV. 27), is classed among ओदिन् roots, and it indicates that the Nishṭhā is anit̥ after it: and ओ is for न-change (VIII. 2. 45) as, उड्डीनः, उड्डीनवान् ॥ The word निष्ठायाम् governs the following sūtras upto VII. 2. 35.

यस्य विभाषा ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्यै धातोर्विभाषा क्वचिदिदृक्तस्तस्य निष्ठायां परत इडागमो न भवति ॥

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

That is, a root which is optionally Set̥ before other affixes, is invariably anit̥ before Nishṭhā. Thus by VII. 2. 44, बल् consonant beginning affixes are optionally सेट् after the roots धू &c. The Nishṭhā after धू &c, will be invariably anit̥. Thus विधूतः, विधूतवान्; गृहः, गृहवान् ॥ By VII. 2. 56, the roots having an indicatory उ, optionally are followed by Set̥ क्ता ॥ The Nishṭhā after उदिन् roots will invariably be anit̥: as वृद्धः, वृद्धवान् ॥

By the vārtika तानि पदि इति श्रुत्याणां पसख्यानम् the roots तन्, पत् and इति take optional इद् in the Desiderative (VII. 2. 49). Though पत् is a root which thus *optionally* takes इद् in the Desiderative, yet its Nishthā is always सेद्, for Pāṇini himself has employed the word पतित् in Sūtra II. 1. 24, 38. According to Padamanjari this rule of यस्य विभाषा is anitya and not of universal application. Because had this rule been of universal application then the root कृत् which is *optionally* aniṭ by VII. 2. 57, would be *universally* aniṭ by the present sūtra : and there would be no necessity of reading it with a long ई in the Dhātupāṭha, as कृती छेदने (VI. 141) to make its nishthā aniṭ under VII. 2. 14.

आदितश्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदितः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदितश्च धातोर्निष्ठाया मिडागमो न भवति ॥

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

As मिमिषा — मिमः, मिमिवान् ; मिमिषा — मिमिष्णः, मिमिष्णवान् ; मिमिषा — मिमिषः, मिमिषवान् ॥ The च implies that other roots not enumerated are to be also included, as आश्वस्तः, वान्तः ॥

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

विभाषा भावादिकर्मणोः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, भाव, आदिकर्मणोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे आदिकर्मणि च आदितो धातोर्विभाषा निष्ठाया मिडागमो न भवति ॥

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

Thus मित्रमनेन or मेदितमनेन, प्रमित्रः, प्रमेदितः ॥ The Saunāgas optionally make the Nishthā सेद् after the root शक्, when the affix has a Passive significance even, as शक्तो घटः कर्तुम् or शक्तो घटः कर्तुम् ॥ Not so, when the affix has Impersonal force, as शक्तमनेन ॥ The root अस् 'to throw' (अस्यति), is followed by सेद् Nishthā, when the sense is Impersonal : as असितमनेन ; but not when the beginning of action is meant, as अस्तः काण्डः ॥

ध्रुवधस्वान्तध्वान्तलघ्मिष्ठविरिब्धफाण्टबाढानि मन्थमनस्तमः सक्ताविस्पष्टस्वरा-

नायासभृशेषु ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुब्ध, स्वान्त, ध्वान्त लग्न, म्लिष्ट, विरिब्ध, फाण्ड, चाढानि, मन्य, मनः, तमः, सक्त, अविस्पष्ट, स्वर, अनायास, भृशेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुब्ध स्वान्त ध्वान्त लग्न म्लिष्ट विरिब्ध फाण्ड बाढ इत्येते निपात्यन्ते यथासंख्यं मन्य मनस्तमः सक्ताविस्पष्ट स्वरानायासभृश इत्येतेष्वर्थेषु ॥

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

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

When the words have not the above sense, we have 1. क्षुभितं 'disturbed or agitated'. The phrase क्षुब्धो गिरिः or नदी is a metaphorical use of the word. 2. स्वनितः as स्वनितो घृङ्गः, स्वनितं मनसा ॥ 3. ध्वनितो घृङ्गः or ध्वनितं मनसा ॥ 4. लगितं, 5. म्लोच्छितं, (= अपभाषितं) 6. विरोभितं from रोभ् 'to sound', or विरिभितं from रिभि ॥ 7. फाणितं ॥ फाण्ड is a decoction, prepared without much trouble, by simply slightly heating the substance with some water, without powdering or pasting it. (यद्वृत्तमपिष्टं च कषायघृक्षकसंपर्कमात्राद् विभक्तस्त्रीषदुष्णां) a medicine for any disease may be administered in five forms :—रसः or essence, कल्कः paste or powder, घृतः decoction or extract, शीतः cold extract prepared by throwing pounded drugs into cold water, and keeping that all night to soak. This watery extract, to be drunk in the morning, is so called. फाण्ड is a similar hot preparation, but for immediate use, when the drugs are put in boiling water and the decoction after purification is ready for use as a drink. 8. बाहितं from बाह् 'to strive'.

धृषिशसी वैयात्ये ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ धृषि, शसी, वैयात्ये, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वियातस्य भावो वैयात्यम् प्रागल्भ्यमभिनीतता ॥ तच्च धृष् शस् इत्येतयोर्निष्ठाया निडागमो न भवति ॥

19. The Participial affix does not get इद् augment, after the roots धृष् and शस्, when meaning 'bold, impudent and arrogant'.

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

quotes Haradatta and Mādhava, धृष्ट forms participles in those senses, when option is allowed, as, धृष्टं or धृष्टितं, प्रधृष्टः or प्रधृष्टितः not meaning 'impudent'.

दृढः स्थूलबलयोः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ दृढः, स्थूल, बलयोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृढ इति निपात्यते स्थूले बलवति चार्थे ॥

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

It is derived from दृह् with क्त affix. In other senses, the forms are दृहितम् or दृहितम् ॥ There are two roots one दृह (I. 769) without nasal, and the other दृह् (I. 770) with the nasal. दृह can be derived from any one of these by eliding ह, and the nasal, and changing त् to द, and not adding the augment इद् ॥

The difference between स्थूल and बल is that a man may be stout or स्थूल without being strong (बलवान्) and *vice versa*. The word बल in the sūtra is equal to बलवान्; in fact, the word बल is formed by अच् affix. The irregularity in the formation of दृढ consists in the absence of इद् and the elision of ह (and of न्, if the root दृह be taken) : and the change of त् into द ॥ This irregular elision of ह is for the sake of preventing the application of the rule पूर्वभासिजम् (VIII. 2. 1). The form could have been obtained in the regular way by the elision of द, thus: दृह् + त् = दृह् + त् (VIII. 2. 31) = दृह् + ध = दृह् + द = द + द (VIII. 3. 13) = दृढ ॥ But then when द is elided, the rule पूर्वभासिजम् will apply, and the forms द्रविमा, द्रवीयान्, द्रवयति could not be obtained. For ऋ is changed to र by VI. 4. 161 only when it is *laghu* or light, but द-lopa being considered asiddha, the ऋ would be heavy as standing before a conjunct consonant. So also the form परिदृढ्यागतः could not be obtained: for the णि would not be changed to अच् before ल्यप् when the ऋ is not light or laghu (VI. 4. 56). So also, परिदृढस्यापत्यं = पारिदृढी (the daughter of Paridr̥ḥa) could not be formed. For ऋ being considered guru or heavy, the affix अच् would have come in the feminine (IV. 1. 78).

प्रभौ परिवृढः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रभौ, परिवृढः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिवृढ इति निपात्यते प्रभुभेदवति ॥

21. The irregularly formed परिवृढ means 'Lord'.

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

The ह is elided first as an anomaly. By so doing we can get the forms like परिवृहयति, परिवृहय्यगतः, पारिवृहीकन्या ॥ The form परिवृहय्य is formed by ल्यप् instead of क्त्वा ॥ Though the full noun is परिवृढ and णिच् is added to such a noun, yet for the purposes of क्त्वा it is considered as a compound verb, having परि as upasarga. In fact, णिच् is added to वृह, and the root becomes व्रदि, and then क्त्वा is added to this root, and then there is compounding of परि with this word ending in क्त्वा, and then by the regular process the क्त्वा is replaced by ल्यप् ॥ The general rule is that Derivative roots formed from nouns, like परिवृढ, उत्पन्नत्, सुपन्नत् &c which have an upasarga as one of their formative elements,

are treated as if they were compound verbs having those upasargas. The result of this is, that though the full noun is **सुमनस्**, yet in the derivative verb, **सु** will be treated as an upasarga, as in ordinary compound verbs. Thus the augment **अ** in the Imperfect is added after **सु** and not before it, as **स्वमनायत्**, **उवमनायत्** ॥ The rule is **उपसर्गसमानाकारं पूर्वपरं धातुसंज्ञाप्रयोजके प्रत्यये चिकीर्षिते पृथक् क्रियते** ॥ The Participial form of these words is therefore with **ल्यप्** and not **क्ता**, as **सुमनाप्य** and **उन्मनाप्य** ॥ The only exception to this rule is the noun **संज्ञाम्**, in which the upasarga **सम्** is not considered as a separate member in the Derivative verb. This being the general rule, in **परिव्रज्यति**, the portion **परि** is treated as an upasarga, and **व्रज्यति** as the verb, and its accent is governed by **तिङ् तिङ्** (VIII. 1. 28) i. e. it becomes altogether unaccented and **परि** retains its accent. So also **परिव्रज्य**, where **परि** is compounded with the Participial form **व्रजित्वा**, and then **स्वा** is changed to **ल्यप्** by VII. 1. 37.

कृच्छ्रगहनयोः कषः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृच्छ्र, गहनयोः, कषः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृच्छ्र गहन इत्येतयोर्ययोः कषेर्द्धातोर्निष्ठायाभिडागमो न भवति ॥

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

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

घुषिरविशब्दने ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ घुषिः, अविशब्दने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घुषेर्द्धातोर्विशब्दनेर्धे निष्ठायाभिडागमो न भवति ॥

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

As **घुटा रज्जुः**, **घुटो पाशे** but **अवघुषितं वाक्यमाह** ॥ **विशब्दन** = प्रतिज्ञानम् 'assertion, affirmation, agreement'. **घुषिर् अविशब्दने** is Bhvādi (1. 683), and **घुषिर् विशब्दने** is Churādi (X. 187), both of these are referred to in the sūtra. The prohibition of **विशब्दन** in the sūtra, indicates by jñāpaka that the **णिच्** added to the root in the Churādi class in the sense of **विशब्दन** is anitya. So the following construction becomes valid:—as **महीपालवचः श्रुत्वा क्षुपुषुः पुष्पमाजवाः** "expressed their opinions in words".

In short the **णिच्** is optionally added to the **घुषिर्** of the Churādi class.

Some say the Churādi **णिच्** is anitya generally and not only after **घुषिर्** (**अनित्यं व्यन्ताश्चुरावचः**) ॥ This is inferred from the mention of the root **चि** **चित्ति** स्मृत्याम् (X. 2) in this class. The indicatory **इ** in **चित्ति** shows that the augment

इद् will be added to the root, which will thus become चिन्त and this न will be retained throughout and never dropped. (VII. 1. 48). Now had the चिन्त been nitya, then the root ought to have been taught as चिन्त स्मृत्याम्, because no rule would have caused the elision of the न् of चिन्त when चिन्त was added. The enunciation of the root as चित्ति, therefore, indicates that the churādi चिन्त is anitya, and thus we get the forms like चिन्तितः, चिन्तयाम्, चिन्तयते, चिन्तयति, चिन्तेत् &c.

अर्हैः सन्निविष्टः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्हैः, सम, नि, विभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सं नि वि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्यावेर्निष्ठायाभिडागमो न भवति ॥

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

As सन्निविष्टः, 'plagued' न्यर्णः, व्यर्णः ॥ Why 'of अर्ह'? Observe सन्निविष्टः ॥ Why 'सं, नि or वि'? Observe अर्हैः ॥

अभेद्याविद्व्ये ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभेः, च, आविद्व्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिद्यादुत्तरस्यावेर्णविद्व्ये निष्ठायाभिडागमो न भवति ॥

25. The Participial affix does not take the इद्, after अर्ह preceded by अभि, when the meaning is that of 'near'.

As अभ्यर्णः सेना, अभ्यर्णः सरत् ॥ Why 'when meaning near'? See अभ्यर्णो वृत्तः स्त्रीतेन मेपिंग पीडितः ॥ विद्वर means 'remote,' that which is not remote is आविद्वर 'non-remote,' the state of being non-remote is आविद्वर्ये 'non-remote-ness.' The affix अक् is added irregularly, in spite of the prohibition contained in V. 1. 121.

जेरध्ययने वृत्तम् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जेः, अध्ययने, वृत्तम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यन्तस्य वृत्तेर्निष्ठायासध्ययनार्थे वृत्तमितीडाभावा जिलुक् च निपात्यते ॥

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

There is absence of इद् and luk-elision of the causative sign. As वृत्तो गुणो देवदत्तेन 'Devadatta has read or gone through Guṇa.' (गुणः पाठः पदक्रमसंहिता रूपोऽध्वनविशेषः) ॥ वृत्तं पारायणं देवदत्तेन ॥ When the sense is not that of 'read', we have वार्त्तितम् ॥ The root वृत् is intransitive, and becomes Transitive when employed in the Causative. The participle is formed from this Transitive causative verb, otherwise it could not have governed an object as shown above. "The affix क्त is added with a Passive force to वृत्, as we find the author himself using this form in निर्वृत्तम् in sūtras IV. 2. 68, and V. 1. 79; on the analogy of निर्वृत्त the word वृत्तः could also have been formed without this sūtra."

वा दान्तशान्तपूर्णदस्तस्पष्टछन्नज्ञप्ताः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, दान्त, शान्त, पूर्ण, दस्त, स्पष्ट, छन्न, ज्ञप्ताः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जेरित्यनुवर्त्तते। एम् एम् पूरी एम् स्पष्ट छद् जप् इत्येतेषां ण्यन्तानां धातूनां वा भविद्व्ये निपात्यते ॥

27. The following irregularly formed Participles, from the causative roots, may optionally take इद्, namely, दान्त, शान्त, पूर्ण, दस्त, स्पष्ट, छन्न, क्षत् ॥

These words are formed either from the causative base or from the primary roots दम् &c. The other forms are दमितः, दमितः, पूरितः, दासितः, स्थापितः, छादितः and क्षपितः ॥ The words दान्त &c. are formed by the luk-elision of जि (Causative), and not taking the इद् Augment. By VII. 2. 49 क्त् optional is सेद् and, therefore, by VII. 2. 15, its Participle would have been *always* अनिद्, hence, this sūtra makes an option.

रुष्यमत्वरसंघुषास्वनाम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुषि, अम, त्वर, संघुष, आस्वनाम् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ वेति वर्त्तते । रुषि अम त्वर संघुष आस्वन इत्येतेषां निष्ठायां वा इडागमो न भवति ॥

28. The Participial affix may optionally get इद् augment, after रुष्, अम, त्वर, संघुष्, and आस्वन् ॥

As रुद् or रुषितः ॥ By VII. 2. 48, the affixes after रुष् are *optionally* सेद्, and therefore by VII. 2. 15, the Nishṭhā after this verb would have been *always* aniṭ; hence this optional rule. अभ्यान्तः or अभ्यमितः; तूर्णः or स्वरितः ॥ The त्वर is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha as भित्वा (I. 812) i. e. with an indicatory long आ, and hence by VII. 2. 16. would have been aniṭ *always*, this rule makes it *optionally* aniṭ. So also, संघुष्टौ पादौ, or संघुषितौ पादौ, संघुष्टं or संघुषितं वाक्यमाह, संघुष्टौ or संघुषितौ वन्द्यौ ॥ घुष preceded by सम् will be *optionally* aniṭ, even when having any sense other than that of 'proclaimed', as this *subsequent* sūtra supersedes VII. 2. 23 so far. So also आस्वान्तः or आस्वनिता देवदत्तः, आस्वान्तम् or आस्वनिता मनः ॥ स्वन when preceded by आ, though denoting 'mind,' is *optionally* aniṭ, in spite of VII. 2. 18, that rule being superseded so far by this *subsequent* rule.

हृषेलोमसु ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हृषेः, लोमसु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोमसु वर्त्तमानस्य हृषेर्निष्ठायां वा इडागमो न भवति ॥

पार्त्तिकम् ॥ विस्मितप्रतिघातयोश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

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

we say "in connection with लोम?" Observe हृष्टो (bhuadi) देवदत्तः 'the deceived Deva Datta' and हृषिक्ते (Divādi) देवदत्तः 'the delighted Devadatta.

Vart.—The option is allowed also in the senses of 'astonished' and 'beaten back', as हृष्टो or हृषितो देवदत्तः 'the astonished D'. हृष्टाः or हृषिता दन्ताः 'the bent or destroyed teeth'.

अपचित् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपचितः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपचित इति वा निपात्यते । अपपूर्वस्य चायतेर्निष्ठायां निदृश्यं चिमावम् निपात्यते ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्तिनि नित्यमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

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

Vart.—Before क्तिन् affix, चाय् is always changed to चि, as अपचिन्तिः 'Loss, destruction, showing reverence'. The affix क्तिन् is added to चाय्, by considering it as belonging to the class of आप् &c. See III. 3. 94 *Vart.* Otherwise it would take the affix अ by III. 3. 103.

हु हरेदछन्दसि ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हु हरेः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरेतेर्लोतोर्निष्ठायां छन्दसि हु इत्ययमादेशो भवति ।

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

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

अपरिहृता ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरिहृताः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरिहृता इति निपात्यते छन्दसि विषये । हु इत्येतस्यदेशस्याभावो निपात्यते ।

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

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

सोमे हरितः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमे, हरितः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरित इति हरेतेर्निष्ठायां निडागमो गुणम् निपात्यते छन्दसि विषये, सोमश्चेति ।

33. हरित is irregularly formed from हु in the Veda, by guṇa substitution and इद् augment, when it refers to Soma.

As मा नः सोमो हरितो, विहरितस्त्वम् ॥

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

Thus लविता, लवितुम्, लवितव्यम्, पविता, पवितुम्, पवितव्यम् ॥ Why 'ārdhadhātuka'? Observe भास्ते, वस्ते ॥ The niyama rule of VII. 2. 76 ordaining इद् augment to sārvaadhātuka affixes of Rudādī verbs, would prevent इद् augment before sārvaadhātuka affixes when coming after other roots. The employment of ārdhadhātuka here can be dispensed with. Why before affixes beginning with a वल्- consonant? Observe लव्यम्, पव्यम्, लवनीयम्, पवनीयम् ॥ Though the anuvritti of इद् was understood here, its repetition is for the sake of preventing the prohibition of the foregoing sūtras like VII. 2. 8.

स्तुकमोरनात्मनेपदनिमित्ते ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तु, क्रमोः, अनात्मनेपदनिमित्ते ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ निवगार्थमिद्म् । स्तुकमोरार्द्धधातुकस्य वलादेरिडागमो भवति, न चेत्स्तुकमौ आत्मनेपदस्य निमित्तं भवतः ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्रमस्तु कर्त्तव्यत्वेनपदविषयात्सत्त्वात्मनेपदे कृति प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

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

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

When do roots give occasion to Atmanepada affixes? The roots occasion atmanepada affixes when employed in the Impersonal, Passive, and Intensive senses. Sūtras I. 3. 38-43, teach us when क्रम् takes Ātmanepada affixes. Thus प्रस्ताविता, प्रस्तावितुम्, प्रस्तावितव्यम्, प्रक्रमिता, प्रक्रमितुम्, प्रक्रमितव्यम् ॥ Why do we say 'when not the occasion of getting the Atmanepada affixes'? Observe, प्रस्तायीष्ट, प्रक्रमसीष्ट, प्रस्तोप्यते, प्रक्रमस्यते, प्रस्तुपिष्यते, प्रश्चिक्सिष्यते ॥ In all these examples स्तु and क्रम् have become the causes of taking the Atmanepada affixes. The Desiderative is also Atmanepadi because of I. 3. 62.

Why have we used the word निमित्त in the sūtra? Would it not have been simpler to say स्तुकमोरनात्मनेपदे? This form of sūtra would have indicated that whenever an ātmanepada affix followed, then there would be no इद् augment. Now the rule is that all words exhibited in the Locative case in this Grammar, have the force of परसप्तमी, i. e. when that word follows. Therefore आत्मनेपदे would mean when an ātmanepada affix followed. If then this "ātmanepada" be taken as qualifying स्तु and क्रम्, then it must follow immediately after those roots, as in प्रस्तायीष्ट and प्रक्रमसीष्ट; but we would not get the forms प्रस्तोप्यते and प्रक्रमस्यते, because स्य intervenes between the atmanepada and the

affix. On the other hand if "atmanepada" be taken to qualify the word "ârdhadhâtuka affix" understood, viz, if the sūtra ment स्तुक्रमिभ्यां परस्यार्धधातुकस्यात्मनेपदेऽनन्तरं then the forms प्रस्तोष्यते and प्रक्रंस्यते would be valid, but we should not get the forms प्रस्तोषीष्ट and प्रक्रंसीष्ट, because the augment सीयुद् is a portion of the âtmanepada affix, and there is no ârdhdhâtuka affix here. If the sūtra be taken to have both the above senses, then we could not get the form प्रचिक्रंसिष्यते in the Desiderative, because here the âtmanepada does not follow immediately after the sârvadhâtuka affix that follows कम् ॥ Therefore, the word निमित्त should be taken. For by so doing, there takes place prohibition with regard to सीयुद् &c, and also with regard to that after which comes the âtmanepada, as the स्व in प्राचक्रंसिष्यते, and also with regard to that which precedes the latter, as the सन् affix in the above. In प्रस्तविचीयते (प्रस्तवितेवाचरति), the root स्तु has not occasioned the âtmanepada affix, but the affix क्यह्, hence the prohibition of this sūtra does not apply.

Vart.—Prohibition of इद् augment should be stated with regard to कम् when an Kṛit-affix, with active force, follows not in the âtmanepada, though in the Active voice such कम् was subject of Atmanepada. When कम् takes no upasargas, we have according to one view two forms कन्ता and कमिता (I. 3. 43) because the âtmanepada here is optional. According to the other view there will be only one form, as कमिता ॥ But with प्र and उप we have प्रकन्ता and उपकन्ता ॥ Why do we say 'the Kṛit-affix should have an active force'? Observe प्रक्रमितव्यम्, उपक्रमितव्यम् ॥ Why do we say "when it was subject of Atmanepada"? Observe निष्कमिता ॥ Here there is इद् augment; for by I. 3. 42, कम् is subject of atmanepada, when the upasargas प्र and उप precede, but not otherwise.

With regard to स्तु, it will take no इद् in the Desiderative, and before a कित् affix, by virtue of VII. 2. 11 and 12. Therefore, we have the forms प्रस्तुष्यति, प्रस्तुतः, प्रस्तुतवान् ॥

ग्रहो ऽलिटि दीर्घः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रहः, अ लिटि, दीर्घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रह उत्तरस्य इटः अलिटि दीर्घो भवति ।

37. The augment इट added to valâdi ârdhadhâtuka affixes, becomes lengthened, except in the Personal endings of the Perfect, after the root ग्रह ॥

As ग्रहीता, ग्रहीतुश्च, ग्रहीतव्यश्च ॥ Why not in the Perfect? Observe अग्रहिष्य अग्रहिष्य ॥ The lengthening takes place of the इट taught in VII. 2. 35, and does not refer to the चिण्वद् इट of VI. 4. 62 : as माहिता, महिष्यते ॥

वृत्तो वा ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृत्तः वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृ इति वृङ् वृषोः सामान्येन ग्रहणं तस्मादुत्तरस्य ऋकाण्यन्तेभ्यश्चेदे वा दीर्घो भवति ।

38. The इट is optionally lengthened after वृङ्, वृष् and after roots ending in long ऋ, except in the Perfect.

As वरिता । वरीता । प्रावरिता । प्रावरीता ॥ ऋकारान्तेभ्यः । तरिता । तरीता । आस्तरिता । आस्तरिता ॥ वृत् इति किम् । करिष्यति हरिष्यति । अलिटीत्यव । ववरिय । तैरिय ॥ Why do we say 'after वृ and long ऋ ending roots'? Observe करिष्यति and हरिष्यति ॥ Why do we say except in the Perfect? Observe ववरिय and तैरिय ॥

न लिङि ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लिङि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृत् उत्तरस्य इदो लिङि दीर्घो न भवति ।

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

As विवरिषीष्ट, प्रावरिषीष्ट, आस्तरिषीष्ट, विस्तरिषीष्ट ॥

सिचि च परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ सिचि, च, परस्मैपदेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्मैपदेषु सिचि वृत् उत्तरस्य इदो दीर्घो न भवति ।

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

As प्रावारिषात्, प्रावारिषुः, अत्तारिषात्, from नृ ध्वनत्तरणयोः ॥ आस्तारिषात्, आस्तारिषुः, from स्तृम् आच्छादने; but प्रावरिष्ट, प्रावरीष्ट in the Atmanepada.

इद् सनि वा ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इद्, सनि, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृत्तः सनो वा इडागमो भवति ।

41. The Desiderative स् may optionally take इद् (which is optionally lengthened also) after the said वृ and ऋ ending roots.

As दुवृषति । विवरिषते । विवरीषते । प्रादुवृषति । प्राविवरिषति । प्राविवरीषति । ऋकारान्तेभ्यः । तितरीषति । तितरिषति । तितरीषति । आतिस्तीरति । This Parasmaipada form is not valid, according to Padamanjari. आतिस्तरिषति । आतिस्तीरति । सनि भवत्युहयेति इद्प्रतिषेधे प्राप्ते पक्षे इडागमो विधीयते । इदम् वृत्तो वेति पक्षे दीर्घः । चिकीरति जिहीरति इत्यत्रोपदेशाधिकारात्तात्पर्येण इडागमो न भवति ॥

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

लिङ्सिचोरात्मनेपदेषु ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, सिचोः, आत्मनेपदेषु ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ लिङि सिचि च आत्मनेपदे परे वा इडागमो भवति ।

42. The इद् is optionally added to the endings of the Atmanepada Benedictive and s-Aorist, after the वृ and ऋ ending roots.

As वृषीट् or वरिषीट्, प्रावृषीट् (I. 2. 12 no guṇa) प्रावरिषीट्, आस्तारिषीट्, आस्तीरिषीट् ॥ सिचिखल्विषि, अवृत्, अवरिट्, अवरीट्, प्रावृत्, प्रावरिट्, प्रावरीट्, आस्तीरिट्, आस्तरिट्, आस्तीरिट् ॥ आत्मनेपदे-
ष्विति किम्, ? प्रावारिष्टाम्, प्रावारिषुः ॥ लिङ्ः प्रत्युदाहरणं न वृक्षितमसंभवादिनां स्वलादित्वांसि ॥

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

ऋतश्च संयोगादेः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, च, संयोगादेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऋवन्ताच्चातोः संयोगादेस्तत्तयोर्लिङ्सिचोरात्मनेपदेषु वा इडागमो भवति ।

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

As ऋषीट् or च्वरिषीट् ; स्तृषीट्, or स्तरिषीट् ; अर्धृषाताम्, or अर्धरिषाताम् ; अस्तृषाताम्, or अस्तरिषाताम् ॥ ऋत इति किम् । व्योषीट्, प्रोषीट् ; अच्योष्ट, अष्टोष्ट ॥ संयोगादेरिति किम् । कृषीट्, हृषीट् ; अकृत, अहत ॥ आत्मनेपदेष्वित्येव । अभ्यार्षीत्, अस्पर्षीत् ॥ संस्कृषीट् समस्कृतेत्यत्रोपदेशाधिकारावभक्त-
स्याच्च सुद् इडागमो न भवति ॥

Why ending in short ऋ? Observe व्योषीट्, अच्योष्ट, ह्योषीट् and अष्टोष्ट ॥ Why 'beginning with a conjunct consonant'? Observe कृषीट्, हृषीट्, अकृत and अहत ॥ Why 'in the Atmanepada'? Observe अभ्यार्षीत्, अस्पर्षीत् ॥ In संस्कृषीट् and समस्कृत there is not इद्, first because स्कृ (the form assumed by कृ with सुद् aug-
ment) is not so enunciated in the Dhātupāṭha; the word upadeśa VII. 2. 10, is understood here; so that the rule applies to those roots only which in the Dhātupāṭha are ऋ ending and preceded by conjunct consonant; and secondly' सुद् augment is considered as not attached to the root (VI. I. 135), and there-
fore स्कृ is not considered a root beginning with a conjunct consonant.

स्वरतिसूतिसूयतिधूञ्जितो वा ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरति, सूति, सूयति, धूञ्ज, ऊदितः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरति सूति सूयति धूञ्ज इत्येतेभ्य ऊदिह्रस्वभ्योऽसत्स्व बलादेरार्द्धधातुकत्वं वा इडागमो भवति ।

44. A Valâdi-ârdhadhâtuka affix optionally takes इट्, after svri, after the two roots सू (sûti and sūyati), after धूञ्ज, and after a root which has an indicatory long ऊ ॥

As स्वरिता or स्वर्सा ॥ प्रसोता, प्रसदिता ॥ सूयति, सोता, सविता ॥ धूञ्ज, धोता, धविता ॥ ऊदिह्रस्वः खल्विषि । गाहू, विगावा, विगाहिता ; शूयू, शोता, शोपिता ॥ वेति वर्त्तमाने पुनर्वचिह्नं लिङ्सि-
चोर्निवृत्त्यर्थम् । सूतिसूयत्योर्विकरणनिर्देशः पू मेरजइत्यस्य निवृत्त्यर्थः । धूमिति सातृब्रन्धकस्य निर्देशो धू

विधूनाइत्यस्य निवृत्त्यर्थः । सविता धवितेत्येव नित्यमेतद्योर्भवति । स्वरतेरेतस्माद्विकल्पाद्वृज्जोः स्वाइत्येतद्व-
यति विप्रतिषधेन । स्वरिष्यति । किति तु प्रत्ययं शुभकः कितीति नित्यः प्रतिषेधो भवति पूर्वप्रतिषेधेन ॥
स्वृत्वा, सूत्वा, धृत्वा ॥

Though the anuvṛtti of वा was current, the second employment of वा is to stop the anuvṛtti of the Benedictive and the S-Aorist. The roots सू of Adādi (21) and Divādi (24) are to be taken, as the special forms सूति and सूयति indicate, and not the सू of the Tudādi (115) class. The धृ is exhibited with the anubandha झ्, in order to exclude धृ विधूने of Tudādi (105). In the case of these latter the इद् augment is invariable, as सविता and धवित ॥ The root सू takes invariably इद् in the Future, by virtue of the subsequent superseding rule VII. 2. 70, as स्वरिष्यति ॥ And before कित् affixes, the prior rule VII. 2. 11, invariably debars इद्, as स्वृत्वा, सूत्वा, धृत्वा ॥

रधादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ रध-आदिभ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रध हिसासंसिद्धारित्वेवमादिभ्यो ऽडाभ्य उत्तरस्य बलविपाज्जधातुकस्य वा इडागमो भवति ॥

45. A valādi-ārdhahdhātuka affix optionally takes इद् after रध् and the seven roots that follow it (Divādi. 84 to 91).

As रधिता or रद्धा ; नंष्टा, (VII. 1. 60 नुम्) नधिता ; जप्ता, (VI. 1. 59 भम्) तर्प्ता, तर्पिता ; ब्रप्ता, बर्प्ता, र्वपिता ; ब्रौग्धा, ब्रौगा, (VIII. 2. 33) ब्रौहिता ; भौग्धा, भौगा, भौहिता ; जौग्धा, जौहिता, जौग्धा, जौगा, जौहिता ॥

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

निरः कुषः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निरः, कुषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर इत्येवंपूर्वात् कुष उत्तरस्य बलविपाज्जधातुकस्य वा इडागमो भवति ।

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

As निष्कोष्टा or निष्कोषिता, निष्कोष्टुम् or निष्कोषितुम्, निष्कोष्टव्यम् or निष्कोषितव्यम् ॥ But only कोषिता, कोषितुं, कोषितव्यम् without निर् ॥ The exhibition of निर् instead of निस् indicates the existence of a separate and distinct preposition निर्, besides निस् ॥ It is the र् of this निर् which is changed to ल् by VIII. 2. 19, in निलयनम् ; for the र् of निस् being asiddha could not be changed to ल् ॥

इग्निष्ठायाम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इद्, निष्ठायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निरः कुषो निष्ठायामिडागमो भवति ।

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

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

तीषसहस्रलुभरुषरिषः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, इष, सह, लुभ, रुष, रिषः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तकारावावर्द्धधातुके इषु सह लुभ रुष रिष इत्येतेभ्यो वा इडागमो भवति ।

वृत्तिः ॥ इवान्तानाम धातूनाम् । ऋधु भस्त्र वन्धु अि स्तु शु ऊर्णु भर ज्ञपि सन् इत्येतेषां च सनि वा इडागमो भवति ।

Some add लन्, पन् and हरिद्वा also, as तितनिषति or तितंसति or तितांसति, (VI. 4. 17) विपतिषति or विप्सति (VII. 4. 54, VIII. 2. 29. VII. 4. 58) विहरिद्वापति or विहरिद्वासति ॥ Why do we say 'Desiderative'? Observe हेविता, भृष्टा ॥ The form भाई-विषति is thus evolved. The Desiderative root is मर्धिस, the ऋ being guṇated by VII. 3. 86 before सन् ॥ Now we reduplicate it, and the second syllable धिस् will be reduplicated by VI. 1. 2. and the रेफ is not duplicated by VI. 1. 3: so we get धिस् to reduplicate, and ष is changed to ह ॥ The form ईर्त्सति is thus evolved. By VII. 4. 55, the ऋ is changed to long ई, which is followed by र् by I. 1. 57. Thus we have ईर्धस् as root, and ष्स is reduplicated, and the reduplicate is elided (VII. 4. 58). The forms धिप्सति and धीप्सति are similarly formed.

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

50. The affixes ktvā, क and क्वतु, may optionally take इद् after क्लिश् ॥

As क्लिष्ठा or क्लिषित्वा, क्लिष्टः or क्लिषितः, क्लिष्टवान् or क्लिषितवान् ॥ क्लिष् (IX. 50) having an indicatory क would have optionally taken इद् before ktvā by VII. 2. 44, but then the Nishṭhā affixes by VII. 2. 15 would never have taken the augment. क्लिष् (Divādi 52) उपत्तापे, being anudātta would *always* have taken इद् before ktvā and Nishṭhā. Hence this rule ordains option with regard to ktvā.

पूङश्च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूङः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पूङ्क्त्वा क्लानिष्ठयोर्वा इडागमो भवति ।

51. The affixes ktvā, क and क्वतु optionally get इद् after पू ॥

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

वसतिक्षुधोरिद् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसति, क्षुधोः, इद् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वसतेः क्षुधेश्च क्लानिष्ठयोरिडागमो भवति ।

52. The affix ktvā, क्ता and क्तावतु always receive the augment इद् after वस् (वसति) and क्षुध् ॥

As उपित्वा, उपितः and उपितवान्, क्षुधित्वा, क्षुधितः, क्षुधितवान् ॥ The वस् of the Adādi class will get इद् as it is enumerated in the list of सेद् roots. The repetition of इद् shows that the rule is invariable, the 'optionally' of the preceding sūtra does not affect it.

अञ्चेः पूजायाम् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अञ्चेः, पूजायाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्चेः पूजायामर्थे क्लानिष्ठयोरिडागमो भवति ।

53. The affixes ktvā, क्ता and क्तावतु take the augment इद् after the root अञ्च्, when meaning 'to honor or do something to show honor'.

As अञ्चित्वा ज्ञातुं लुहोति, अञ्चित्वा अस्य युत्तः (III. 2. 188, VI. 4. 30, II. 3. 67) By VII. 2. 56 अञ्चु would optionally have caused इद् to come before ktvā, and hence by VII. 2. 15 never before the Nishṭhā. This sūtra ordains invariable addition of this augment. Why do we say when meaning 'to honor'? Observe उक्त्वमुत्तं कूपान्, 'the water is raised from the well'.

लुभो विमोहने ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुभः, विमोहने ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ लुभो विमोहनेर्धे वर्तमानात् क्लानिष्ठयोरिडागमो भवति ।

54. The affixes ktvā, क्ता and क्तावतु take इद् after the root लुम् (Tud. 22) when meaning 'entangled or confused'.

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

Ishti: This इद् augment is not desired of the root गम् standing in the same pada with an atmanepada affix. But it occurs every where else. As जिगमिषिता इव आचरति = जिगमिषिष्यति, here there is इद् augment, because Atmanepada affix is not in the same pada with गम्, but is bahiranga. Compare VII. 2. 36 *var.* It occurs before kṛit affixes, and even where is luk-elsion of Parasmaipada affix, and where therefore the affix generally would have left no trace behind by I. 1. 63. As संजिगमिषिता and अभिजिगमिषिता व्याकरणस्य ॥ So also जिगमिषस्वम्, here there is luk-clision of the Imperative affix हि ॥ The opinion of the author of Padaśeshakāra is that the employment of the term Parasmaipada in the sūtra is illustrative. He explains it by saying:—परस्मैपदेषु यो गमिरुपलक्षितस्तस्मात् सकारादेशार्धधातुकस्य इद् भवति ॥ According to him we have the forms संजिगमिषिता and अभिजिगमिषिता व्याकरणस्य ॥

न वृद्ध्यश्चतुर्थ्यः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, वृद्ध्यः, चतुर्थ्यः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृत्तादिभ्यश्चतुर्थ्य उत्तरस्य सकारादेशार्धधातुकस्य परस्मैपदेषु इडागमो न भवति ।

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

Thus वृत्—वत्स्यति, अवत्स्यन्, विवृत्सति । वृध् वत्स्यति । अवत्स्यन् । विवृत्सति । भृष् । वात्स्यति । भवात्स्यन् विभृत्सति । स्यन् । स्यन्सति । वात्स्यन्स्यन् ।

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

Obj:—The word चतुर्थ्यः may conveniently have been omitted from the sūtra. A reference to the Dhātupāṭha will show that the वृत्तादि roots form a subdivision of वृत्तादि roots, and stand at the end of Dyutādi class. So that the sūtra न वृद्ध्यः would have been enough, and there would have been no uncertainty or vagueness about it, for the word वृत्तादि would mean 'the roots वृत् &c. with which the Dyutādi class ends'. Thus we shall get the *five* roots 795 वृत् वर्तने 796 वृध् वृद्धौ, 797 भृष् वाक्कुत्सायाद्, 798 स्यन् प्रसवणे and कृष् सामर्थ्ये ॥ As regards the last root कृष्, we shall find from the next sūtra, that the present sūtra applies to this root also. Or we can change the order of the roots, putting कृष् first, and वृत् &c after it, so that वृत्तादि will mean *four* roots only. Whether वृत्तादि be taken to mean the *five* or the *four* roots, the word चतुर्थ्यः is redundant.

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

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

The word 'Parasmaipada' is understood in this sūtra, so that the prohibition does not apply to Atmanepada affixes: as **वर्तिषीष्ट**, **वर्तित्यते**, **अवर्तित्यत्**, **विवर्तित्यते**, **स्यन्विषीष्ट** or **स्यन्त्यसीष्ट** ॥ Moreover, with regard to Atmanepada also, the **इद्** is added to these roots when they stand in the same 'pada' with the affixes. But when the Atmanepada affixes are added not to the *roots* 'vṛit &c', but to the *roots* which are derived from the *nominal* bases formed from 'vṛit &c', then the '*root*' is not in the same pada with the affix, and the prohibition of this sūtra will apply. As **विवृत्तिर्वायते** ॥ Moreover, the rule applies, as we have said, to the affixes standing in the same 'pada' with the 'roots'; therefore it will apply to Desiderative roots, as **विवृत्स्यति**, though **क्वप्** here intervenes between the ārdhadhātuka affix **सन्** and the Parasmaipada **तिप्**; so also, an ekādeśa though sthānivat and therefore an intervention, will not be considered so for the purposes of this rule, as **विवृत्स्यति**; so also in **विवृत्स्यति** ॥ The prohibition, moreover, applies to **कृन्** affixes, and where there is luk-elision of Parasmaipada affixes. As **विवृत्तिता**; and **विवृत्स्यत्** where the Imperative **हि** is luk-elided, and being so elided, the force of Parasmaipada does not here remain by **न लुमताङ्गस्य** (I. 1. 63); hence the above *Ishti*.

तासि च कल्पः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ तासि, च, कल्पः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृप उत्तरस्य तासिः सकारदेशार्द्धधातुकस्य परस्मैपदेषु इडागमो न भवति ।

60. The Parasmaipada ārdhadhātuka affixes beginning with **क्व**, and the affix **तास्** (the sign of the Periphrastic Future) do not get the augment **इद्**, after the root **कल्प** ॥

Thus **कल्प्ता**, **कल्पस्यति**, **अकल्पस्यन्**, **चिकल्पस्यति** ॥ But **कल्पितासे**, **कल्पिषीष्ट**, **कल्पित्यते**, **अकल्पित्यत्**, **चिकल्पित्यते** in the Atmanepada.

In the case of **क्वप्** also, the **इद्** is added to the ārdhadhātuka affixes in the Atmanepada, when the root stands in the same pada with the affixes and there is prohibition everywhere else. So also there is prohibition before **कृत्**-affixes, and the luk-elision of Parasmaipada. As **चिकल्पिता**, **चिकल्पत्** ॥

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

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

अचस्तास्वत्थल्यनिटो नित्यम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, तास्वत्, थल्, अनिटः, नित्यम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तासां ये नित्यानिटो धातवोऽजन्तास्तेभ्यस्तासाविव थलीङागमो न भवति ।

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

Those vowel-ending roots in Dhātupāṭha which are *invariably* aniṭ before the affix तास् (Peri. Future), are also aniṭ before the Perfect ending थल् ॥ As याता (Peri-Fut.), ययाय (Per), चेता, चिचैथ, नेता, निनेय; होता जुहोय ॥ Why 'ending in a vowel'? Observe भत्ता, बिभेथिथ ॥ Why 'like तास्'? Observe लूत्वा but लुल्लविथ, Why 'थल्'? Observe याता but यायिव, ययिम ॥ The word नित्यं qualifies अनिट्, if therefore तास् be *optionally* aniṭ, then the थल् will be *सेद् always*. As तास्-विधेता or विधित्ता; the थल् is विदुषविथ ॥

Here इद् is optional before तास् by VII. 2. 44. Similarly चक्रमिथ, for क्रम् is aniṭ in ātmanepada, and सेद् in Parasmaipada. In fact, wherever there is want of इद्, whether by complete prohibition or optional prohibition, all that is regulated by VII. 2. 13: this is the view adopted by the Kāśikā. But another view is that the prohibition of this sūtra applies to the इद् of VII. 2. 13 only, but does not debar the option of VII. 2. 44; so they have two forms विदुषोय and विदुषविथ ॥ This view is applied by them to VII. 2. 46, as सत्त्वर्थ or सत्त्वरिथ (VII. 2. 44).

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

उपदेशोऽस्त्वतः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपदेशो, अत्वतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपदेशो यो धातुरकारवान् तासौ नित्यानिट् तस्मात्तासाविव थलीङागमो न भवति ।

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

As Fut. पक्ता, Per. पपक्य, यष्टा, इवष्ट, राक्ता, राशक्य ॥ Why do we say 'in the Original Enunciation'? Observe Fut. कर्त्ता Per. चकार्षि in which the अ of 'karsh' is the result of guṇa substitution. Why do we say 'having an अ'? Observe Fut. भेत्ता Per. बिभेदि, here the root-vowel is इ ॥ Why do we say "short अ"? Observe Fut. राज्ञा Per. रराधि from राध् the root-vowel being long आ ॥ The word तास्वत् is understood here also. Therefore we have जिघृक्षति, जिघृक्षि ॥ Here the root ग्रह is aniṭ before सन् (VII. 2. 12) and not before तास् so it will not be aniṭ before य ॥ The words निखं अनिदः are also understood here. Therefore the rule does not apply to आनञ्जिय (VII. 4. 71, 72). For the root अञ्जु (VII. 21) takes *optionally* इद् before तास् (VII. 2. 44) as अञ्जिता and अङ्गता ॥

ऋतो भारद्वाजस्य ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, भारद्वाजस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्ताद्भातोर्भाद्रजित्याचार्यस्य मतेन तासाविव नित्यानिदस्यलि इडागमो न भवति ।

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

As सार्त्ता, सस्मर्त्य, ध्वर्त्ता, दध्वर्त्य ॥ The ऋ roots are covered by VII. 2. 61 ; the specification of these roots makes a restriction, so that *all* other roots, are not aniṭ, though the Peri-Fut in तास् be aniṭ. So that according to Bhâradvâja, we have forms like ययिय, वयिय, पयिय, शेकिय ॥ Thus this sūtra makes the preceding two sūtras optional, except so far as short ऋ-ending roots are concerned.

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

बभूयाततन्थजगृम्भववर्थोति निगमे ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बभूय, आततन्थ, जगृम्भ ववर्थ, इति, निगमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बभूय आततन्थ जगृम्भ ववर्थ इत्येतानि निपात्यन्ते निगमविषये ।

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

As एवं हि होता प्रथमो बभूय (=बभूविय); येनान्तरिक्षधुर्वाततन्थ (=आतिनिथ), जगृम्भा ते शक्तिमिन्द्र हस्तम् (=जगृहिम्), ववर्थ एवं हि ज्योतिषा (=ववरिय). See VII. 2. 13. This is also a *niyama* rule with regard to वृ for by VII. 2. 13 the root वृ was already aniṭ, and its Perfect would have been ववर्य by that rule. The special mention of this form shows that in secular literature this root is always सेद् before य of the Perfect.

विभाषा सृजिदशोः ॥ ६५ ॥ विभाषा, सृजि-दशोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सृजि इति इत्येतयोस्त्याल विभाषा इडागमो न भवति ।

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

As ससृज् or ससर्जिय, ददृश् or ददर्शिय ॥ See VI. 1. 58 for अम् augment.

इडत्यर्त्तिव्ययतीनाम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इट्, अस्ति-आर्त्ति-व्ययतीनाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अस्ति अर्त्ति व्ययति इत्येतेषां यलीडागमो भवति ।

66. The affix थल् gets always the augment इट् after अद्, ऋद् and व्यय् ॥

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

वस्वेकाजादृघसाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसु, एकाच्-आत्-घसाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कृतद्विवचनानामेकार्चा धातूनाम् आकारान्तानां घसेभ्य वसाविडागमो भवति ।

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

Thus आदिवान्, आशिवान्, पेयिवान्, शोक्रिवान् ॥ In the first two of these, the reduplicate stems आद् and आश् become of one syllable by the coalescence of अ अद् and अअश् ॥ In पेष् and शेष् the reduplicate is elided and the vowel अ changed to ए, and thus the reduplicate has become of one syllable. Of roots ending in आ we have, अयिवान्, तस्थिवान्, of वस्-अशिवान् ॥ This वस् would have taken the augment by the general rule of इट् increment, the present sūtra makes a niyama, so that the roots which are not monosyllabic in their reduplicate form are anit: as विभिवान्, पिच्छिवान्, बभूवान्, शिभिवान् ॥ The niyama is made with regard to the roots which would have taken इट् generally, as not being governed by the prohibition in VII. 2. 13. The roots ending in long आ may consist of more than one syllable in their reduplicate form, as याया + वस्, hence their separate enumeration: as a matter of fact, however, these reduplicates also become monosyllabic ultimately by losing their आ ॥ The root हरिष् is not governed by this rule, for its Perfect will be formed periphrastically by III. 1. 35 Vārt, because

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

विभाषा गमहनविद्विशाम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, गम-हन-विद्विशाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गम हन विद्विद्य इत्येतेषां धातूनां वसौ विभाषा इडागमो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ दृष्टेभ्यो वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

As गम्—जग्मिवान् or जगन्वान् (व् changed to न् by VIII. 2. 64); हन्—जहिवान् or जघन्वान्, (VII. 2. 54 and 55) विद्—विविदिवान् or विविद्वान्, विश्—विशिषिवान् or विश्विष्वान् ॥ The root विद् 'to acquire' belongs to the Tudādi class, as it is read here with the Tudādi विश् ॥ The root विद् 'to know' (II. 55. IV. 62), forms *invariably* विविद्वान् because it is ātmanepadi and cannot take इद् augment before वस् affix.

Vārt.—The root दृष् should also be enumerated. As दृष्टिवान् and दृष्ट्वान् ॥

सनि ससनिसांसम् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनिम्-ससनिसांसम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनोतिः सनोतेर्वा धातोः सनिससनिसांसमिति निपात्यते ।

69. The form ससनिसांसम् with सनि is irregularly formed.

This is derived from सनोति or सनति root. As अञ्जित्वाग्रे सनि ससनिसांसम् ॥ The augment इद् is added, there is no change of व् of सन् to ए, nor the elision of the reduplicate before वस् ॥ The other form is सनिसांसम् when not preceded by सनिम् ॥ This form ससनिसांसम् is Vedic, in secular literature we have सनिसांसम् ॥

ऋद्धनोः स्ये ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋद्ध-ह्नोः, स्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तानां धातूनां हन्तेष्व स्ये इडागमो भवति ।

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

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

अञ्जेः सिचि ॥ ७१ ॥ अञ्जेः, सिचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्जेः सिचि इडागमो भवति ।

71. The स्र् of the s-Aorist always takes the इद् after अञ्ज् (Rudh. 21).

As आञ्जोत्, आञ्जिष्टाम्, आञ्जिषुः ॥ But अहन्ता or अञ्जिता in tenses other than Aorist. The root having an indicatory long ऊ optionally takes इद् (VII. 2. 44.)

स्तुसुधूञ्भ्यः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तु, सु, धूञ्भ्यः, परस्मैपदेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तु सु धूञ् इत्येतेभ्यः सिचि परस्मैपदे परत इडागमो भवति ॥

72. The सिच् of the s-Aorist gets the इद् in the Parasmaipada after the roots स्तु, सु and धूञ् ॥

As अस्तावीत्, अस्तावीत्, अथावीत् ॥ But अस्तोष्ट, अस्तोष्ट, अथोष्ट or अथाविष्ट in Atmanepada. Exception to VII. 2. 10 and 44.

यमरमनमातां सक्च ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यम, रम, नम, आताम्, सक्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यम रम नम इत्येतेषामङ्गानामाकारान्तानां च सगागमो भवति परस्मैपदे सिचि इडागमश्च ॥

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

Thus अयंसीत्, अयंसिष्टाम्, अयंसिषुः ॥ व्यंसीत्, व्यंसिष्टाम्, व्यंसिषुः ॥ The root रम् is Parasmaipadi when preceded by चि or आ (I. 3. 83). अनंसीत्, अनंसिष्टाम्, अनंसिषुः ॥ आकारान्तानाम्, अयासीत्, अयासिष्टाम्, अयासिषुः । यमासीनां हलन्तलक्षणा वृद्धिः प्राप्ता सा नेदीति प्रतिषिध्यते । परस्मैपदेऽप्यित्येव । आयंस्त । अरंस्त । अनंस्त ॥

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

स्मिपूङ्गुर्ज्वशां सनि ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्मि, पूङ्, ऋ अञ्ज्, अश्च सनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्मिह पूङ् ऋ अञ्ज् अश्च इत्येतेषां धातूनां सनीडागमो भवति ॥

74. The Desiderative सन् gets the augment इद् after the roots स्मिङ्, पूङ्, ऋ, अञ्ज् and अश्च ॥

Thus सिस्वयिषते, पिपयिषते (VII.4.80) अरिरिषति, अजिजिषति (VI. 1. 2 and 3) and अशिषिषते ॥ The root पुष् is not governed by this rule, as पुष्यति ॥ The अष् (V. 18) of Suādi class is taken here, and not अष् (IX. 51) of Kryādi class, for the latter *always* has इद्, while the former having an indicatory long ऊ has *optionally* इद् ॥

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

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

Thus चिकरिषति, जिगरिषति, दिहरिषते, दिधरिषते, पिप्रच्छिषति (I. 2. 8; VI. 1. 16). But सिस्वयति not included in the five. The roots कृ and गृ would have optionally got इद् in the desiderative by VII. 2. 41, which would have been optionally lengthened by VII. 2. 38. But the इद् here being specifically ordained, does not get lengthened by VII. 2. 38.

रुदादिभ्यः सार्वधातुके ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुदादिभ्यः, सार्वधातुके ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रुदादिभ्य उन्तरस्य बलादेः सार्वधातुकस्य इडागमो भवति ॥

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

Thus रोक्षति, स्वपिषति, श्वसिति, प्राणिति, जक्षिति ॥ But आगर्ति which is beyond the five, and स्वप्ता before ārdhadhātuka affixes, and रुन्ति before a vowel beginning affix.

ईशः से ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईशः, से ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ईश उन्तरस्य से इत्येतस्य सार्वधातुकस्य इडागमो भवति ॥

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

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

ईडजनोर्द्ध्वे च ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईड्, जनोः, ध्वे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईड् जन इत्येताभ्यामुन्तरस्य ध्वे इत्येतस्य स इत्येतस्य च सार्वधातुकस्य इडागमो भवति ॥

78. The sārvaadhātuka affix से and ध्वे, (the endings of the Present and Imperative Atmanepadi) get the augment इद् after the roots ईड् (Ad. 9) and जन ॥

Thus ईडिध्वे, ईडिध्वय, ईडिध्वे, ईडिध्व, जनिध्वे, जनिध्वय, जनिध्वे, जनिध्व ॥ The root जनी (IV. 41) is taken here. The Vikaraṇa ह्यन् has been elided in this case, as a Vedic irregularity, and so also there is not elision of the penultimate,

In the secular literature the form is जायसे ॥ Here the य would 'prohibit इद्' always. The जन् of the third class (III. 24) is also to be included, thus we have व्यतिजतिषे, व्यतिजतिष्व, व्यतिजतिष्वे, व्यतिजतिष्वम् in karma vyatihâra. Otherwise this root is Parasmaipadi. च्च takes इद् after ईश् also, as ईशिष्वम् ॥

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

The form च्च being taken in the sūtra, the rule will not apply to the ध्वम् of लङ् (Imperfect): which will not take इद् ॥ But इद् will apply to the ध्वम् of the Imperative on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् ॥

लिङ्: सलोपोऽनन्त्यस्य ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्: स, लोपः, अनन्त्यस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सार्वधातुक इति वर्तते, सार्वधातुक यो लिङ् तस्य अनन्त्यस्य सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

79. In the sârvadhâtuka Liñ (i. e. Potential), the स् which is not final (i.e. the स् of the augments यास् and सीस्), is elided.

What is the स् which is not final? The स् of the augments यास्, सीस् and सीयुद् ॥ Thus कुर्यात्, कुर्याताम्, कुर्युः, कुर्यात्, कुर्याताम्, कुर्यात् ॥ Why 'not the final'? Observe कुर्युः, कुर्याः ॥ Why in the Sârvadhâtuka? Observe क्रियास्ताम्, क्रियासुः, कुर्यात्, कुर्याताम्, कुर्यात् in the Benedictive.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्ताद्भादुत्तरस्य या इत्येतस्य सार्वधातुकस्य इय् इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus पचेत्, पचेताम् and पच्युः ॥ The य् of इय् is elided before affixes beginning with a consonant by VI. 1. 66. In the case of पच्युः, the pararûpa of VI. 1. 96 is prevented. Why 'ending in a short अ'? Observe चिनुयात्, सुनुयात् ॥ Why 'short'? Observe यायात् ॥ Why sârvadhâtuka? Observe चिकीर्ष्यात् ॥

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

which ends in अ ॥ To this we reply, this is not a good reason: for then in the case of पचेत् and यजेत् also, the rule अतो दीर्घो यञि (VII. 3. 101) would apply, and the अ of पच would require to be lengthened. But that is not so. The fact is that the present sūtra debar rule VII. 3. 101. Therefore, as this इत् substitute debar the lengthening of VII. 3. 101, so it would debar the *lopa* of VI. 4. 48. Therefore, if the anuvṛitti of sārvaadhātuka be not read into this sūtra, the इत् substitute would apply to ārdhādhātuka also, and the *lopa*-elision VI. 4. 48 would not help, as that would be superseded by this special rule. Therefore the anuvṛitti of "sārvaadhātuka" should be read into this sūtra.

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

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

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

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

आतो ङितः ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, ङितः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारस्य द्विवचस्य अकारान्तरङ्गादुत्तरस्य सार्वधातुकस्य इत् इत्यमरेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus पचते, पचये, पचेताम्, पचयाम्, यजेते, यजये, यजेयाम्, दास्ये, दास्येते ॥ The य् of इत् drops by VI. 1. 66. Why do we say "the long आ"? Observe पचन्ति, यजन्ति, पचन्ते, यजन्ते ॥ Why do we say 'a ङित् affix'? Observe पचायहे, पचामहे (I. 2. 4). Why do we say 'ending in short अ'? Observe चिन्वाते, मुन्याते ॥ Why 'short'? Observe मिमाते, मिमाये ॥

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

आने मुक् ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आने, मुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आने परतोङ्गस्यातो मुगागमो भवति ॥

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

Thus पचमानः, यजमानः ॥

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

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

of upadeśa or first enunciation, ends in a short अ of one mātrā, is governed by that rule; though after the enunciation, the short अ may be lengthened in its mātrā. It is for this reason that the rule VI. 1.186 applies to पचावः and पचामः ; though the short अ is subsequently lengthened before व् and न् by VII. 3. 101.

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

ईदासः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईत्, आसः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आस उत्तरस्थानस्य ईकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

अष्टन आ विभक्तौ ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टनः, आ, विभक्तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टनो विभक्तौ परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus अष्टानिः, अष्टान्यः, अष्टानाम्, अष्टानु ॥ Why 'before a case-ending'? Observe अष्टस्वम्, अष्टतां ॥ The rule of this sūtra is an optional one, and we have in the alternative अष्टनिः, अष्टन्यः ॥ The आ in the sūtra indicates the *individual* letter आ, and not आ belonging to the general class आ ॥ For the generic आ would include the nasalised आ also, and as the letter replaced (अन्) is a nasal, the substitute would have been also nasal आँ, but it is not so. See VI. 1. 172 and VII. 1. 22. This rule applies also when the word stands at the end of a compound, as प्रियाष्टानः or प्रियाष्टौः (VII. 1. 22). The word विभक्ति governs the subsequent sūtra upto VII. 2. 114.

रायो हलि ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ रायः, हलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रे इत्येतस्य हलादौ विभक्तौ परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

As राभ्याम्, राभिः, ॥ But रायौ, रायः before affixes beginning with a vowel. Why 'a case ending'? Observe रेस्वम्, रेता ॥

युष्मदस्मदोरनादेशो ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद्, अस्मदोः, अनादेशो ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदित्येतयोरनादेशो विभक्तौ परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

The substitute case-endings are given in VII. 1. 27 &c. Thus युष्मानिः अस्मानिः, युष्मास्तु, अस्मास्तु ॥ Why do we say 'when it is not a substitute'? Observe युष्मत् and अस्मत् (VII. 1. 31). The anuvṛitti of हलि need not be read into this sūtra from the preceding, for if that were so, the mention of अनादेशो would become redundant, because as a matter of fact no *substitute* case-ending begins with a consonant. However, reading this sūtra with VII. 2. 89, we find that the scope of the present sūtra is before consonant beginning affixes.

द्वितीयायां च ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीयायाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयायां च परतो युष्मदस्मदोरकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

प्रथमायाश्च द्विवचने भाषायाम् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमायाः, च, द्विवचने, भाषायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमायाश्च द्विवचने परतो भाषायां विषये युष्मदस्मदोरकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

As युवाम्, आवाम् ॥ Why of the nominative? Observe युवयोः, आवयोः ॥ Why in the Dual? Observe त्वं, अहं, यूयं, वयं ॥ Why in the secular literature? Observe युवं वस्त्राणि पीवता वसाथे in the Veda, so also आवाम् ॥

योचि ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ यः, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्राहो विभक्तावनदेशो युष्मदस्मदोर्यकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

शेषे लोपः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषे विभक्तौ युष्मद्भस्मद्विभक्तौ भवति ॥

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

This elision finds scope in the Singular and Plural of the Ablative, Dative, Genitive, and the Nominative. Thus स्वम्, अहम्, यूयम्, वयम्, तुभ्यम्, मङ्गम्, युष्मभ्यम्, अस्मभ्यम्, स्वत्, मत्, युष्मत्, अस्मत्, तव, मम, युष्माकम्, अस्माकम् ॥ The following śloka gives the cases which are included in the word शेषः—

पञ्चम्याश्च चतुर्थ्याश्च षष्ठीप्रथमयोरपि ।

यान्यद्विवचनान्यत्र तेषु लोपो विधीयते ॥

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

When there is elision, why is not दाप् added in the Feminine; in स्वं ब्राह्मणी ; अहं ब्राह्मणी ? The दाप् is not added on the maxim सन्निपात लक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य 'a rule which is occasioned by a certain combination, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination.' Because the ending in **ञ** of युष्मद् and अस्मद् was occasioned by vibhakti combination, if this latter occasion दाप्, then it will destroy its own fruit.

Or the words युष्मद् and अस्मद् may be taken to have no gender, and equally applicable to both masculine and feminine.

In order to avoid all this difficulty about दाप् some would elide the अद् (or दि portion) of युष्मद् and अस्मद् under this sūtra. They argue that by the next sūtra VII. 2. 91, the portions 'yushm' and 'asm', namely the portions upto म् of युष्मद् and अस्मद् are replaced by substitutes. The portion that *remains* (शेष) is अद्, and it is this अद् which is to be elided.

Why is this 'lopa' taught again, when by VII. 2. 102, all स्वहादि pronouns have **ञ** substituted for their finals before case-endings ; and so would yushmad and asmad, lose their finals and become yushma and asma by that rule ? That rule does not apply to yushmad and asmad, because by an ishti that rule is restricted to tyadādi pronouns upto द्वि, thus excluding युष्मद्, अस्मद्, भवतु and किम् ॥

मपर्यन्तस्य ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ म पर्यन्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मपर्यन्तस्येव्ययमाधिकारो, यद्विह कर्म्ममनुक्रमिष्यामो मपर्यन्तस्येव्ययं तद्विहितव्यम् ॥

91. The substitutions taught hereafter upto VII.2. 98 take effect with regard to the portions of युष्मद् and अस्मद् upto म्, i. e. the substitutes replace युष्म and अस्म ॥

Thus VII. 2. 92 teaches that युव and आव are substituted for yushmad and asmad in the dual. The substitutes replace युष्म and अस्म. Thus युवाम्, आवाम् ॥ Why 'upto म'? Observe युवकाम्, आवकाम् ॥ The क (V. 3. 71), is not replaced. Similarly VII. 2. 97 teaches that त्व and म replace 'yushmad' and 'asmad' in the singular; by this sūtra 'yushm' and 'asm' are only replaced. Thus त्वया, मया, the अद् portion remains for which य is substituted by VII. 2. 89. Had the whole been replaced, then the अ of त्व and म would have been replaced by य (VII. 2. 89), and given us undesired forms like त्वया and मया ॥ Why is the word पर्यन्त employed in the sūtra and not the word अन्त, as मान्तस्य? In the first place the word अन्त is ambiguous, it may mean ending with म् but excluding म्, or ending with म् and including म् ॥ In the second place, the word पर्यन्त is used to indicate the limit, or portion taken out of the whole. The word मान्त would have meant, that form of yushmad and asmad which ends with म् ॥ Now these words have a form which ends in म्, as युष्मानाचटे or अस्मानाचटे = युष्मते or अस्मते formed by णिच् (the टि portion अद् is elided by VII. 4. 155, *ṽartika*). Now a noun formed from this derivative root युष्मि and अस्मि by क्तिप् affix will be युष्म and अस्म ॥ These are the two forms of yushmad and asmad which are complete words ending in म् ॥ The present sūtra does not apply to these words.

In declining these nouns युष्म and अस्म, we shall apply the rules VII. 2. 89 and 86, thus:—

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.		Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	त्वं	युवां	युयं	Acc.	युवां	युवां	युषाम्
Ins.	युष्या	युष्याभ्यां	युषाभिः	Dat.	तुभ्यं	युषाभ्यां	युषाभ्यं
Abl.	युषत्	युषाभ्यां	युषत्	Gen.	तव	युष्योः	युषाकं
Loc.	युष्यि	युष्योः	युषासु ॥ (Padamanjari).				

युषावौ द्विवचने ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ युव, आवौ, द्विवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विवचनद्वयैर्महणम् । द्विवचने ये युष्मदस्मदी द्व्यर्थाभिधानांविषये तयोर्नपर्यन्तस्य स्याने युव आव इत्येतावदेषो भवतः ॥

92. In the Dual, युव is substituted for युष्म and आव for अस्म ॥

Thus युवाम्, आवाम्, युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम्, युवयोः, आवयोः ॥ This substitution takes place even in compounds, where the sense of duality is prominent, if some other substitute like VII. 2. 94 &c. does not intervene. As अतिक्रान्तं युवाम् = अतियुवाम्, so also अस्यावाम्; अतियुवाम्, अस्यावान् (= अतिक्रान्तान् युवाम् &c.) अतियुवया and अस्यावया (= अतिक्रान्तेन युवाम्) Similarly अतियुवाभिः, (अतिक्रान्तेर्युवां) अस्यावाभिः, अतियुवभ्यम्, (अतिक्रान्तेभ्योयुवां) अस्यावभ्यम्, अतियुवत्, (अतिक्रान्ताद् युवां) अस्यावत्, अतियुवाकम्, (अतिक्रान्तानां युवां) अस्यावाकम्, अतियुवयि, (अतिक्रान्ते युवां) अस्यावयि, आतयुवासु, अतिक्रान्तेषु युवां अस्यावासु ॥ But where त्व &c are to be substituted, there those will be substituted, as अतित्वम् (= अतिक्रान्तो युवाम्), अत्यहम्, अतिहृयम्, अतिवयम्, अतितुभ्यम्, अतिमहम्, अतितव, अतिमम ॥ This substitution does not take place when 'yushmad' and 'asmad' denote one or many (more than two), though the compound may denote a duality: as अतिक्रान्तौ त्वाम् ~ अतित्वाम्, अतिगाम्, अतियुष्मान्, अत्यस्मान् ॥

If in a compound, the words yushmad and asmad are employed in a dual signification, though the compound as a whole may have a singular or plural number, for the number of a compound does not depend upon the number of the words composing it, yet even in such a compound the युव and आव substitution should be made for the dual-significant yushmad and asmad: unless such substitution is debarred by some other substitutes like त्व and अह (VII. 2. 94 &c). Thus अतिक्रान्तं युवां = अतियुवाम्, similarly अति-आवाम् ॥ The whole declension is given below :—

	Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.
Nom.	अतिस्वम्	अतियुवम्	अत्यहम्	अतिववम्
Acc.	अतियुवाम्	अतियुवाम्	अत्यावाम्	अत्यावाम्
Ins.	अतियुवया	अतियुवभिः,	अत्यावया	अत्यावभिः
Date.	अतितुभ्यं	अतियुवभ्यं	अतिमह्यम्	अत्यावभ्यं
Abl.	अतियुवत्	अतियुवत्	अत्यावत्	अत्यावत्
Gen.	अतितव	अतियुवाकम्	अतिमम	अत्यावाकम्
Loc.	अतियुवनि	अतियुवास्तु	अत्यावनि	अत्यावास्तु

But when the words yushmad and asmad denote singular or plural, nbt the compound denotes a dual, then the yuva and āva substitutions do not take place. As अतिक्रान्तौ स्वाम् = अतिस्वाम्, so also अतिक्रान्तौ युष्मान् = अतियुष्मान् so also अत्यस्मान् ॥ So on in other cases.

यूयवयौ जसि ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यूय, वयौ, जसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य जसि परतो वृव वय इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

93. In the Nom. Pl. यूय is substituted for युष्म, and वय for अस्म ॥

As वृवम्, वयम्, परमवृवम्, परमवयम्, अतिवृवम्, अतिवयम् ॥ The Tadanta-vidhi applies here. That rule applies in this angādhikāra on the maxim अङ्गाधिकारे तत्त्वं च तदुत्तरपरस्य च ॥ See also VII. 3. 10. In वृवम् and वयम्, the final इ is elided by VII. 2. 90, and we have वृव and वय + अ + अम् (VII. 1. 28) = वृवम् and वयम् (VI. 1. 97 and 107).

त्वाहौ सौ ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्व, अहौ, सौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य सौ परे त्व अह इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

94. In the Nominative Singular त्व is substituted for युष्म and अह for अस्म ॥

Thus त्वम् and अहम्, परमत्वम्, परमाहम्, अतिस्वम् and अत्यहम् ॥ See VII. 1. 28, VI. 1. 97 and 107.

तुभ्यमहौ ऊयि ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुभ्य, महौ, ऊयि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य तुभ्य मह इत्येतावादेशौ भवतो ऊयि परतः ॥

95. In the Dative Singular तुभ्य is substituted for युष्म and मह for अस्म ॥

As तुभ्यम्, महम्, परमतुभ्यम्, परममहम्, अतितुभ्यम्, अतिमहम् ॥

तवममौ ऊसि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तव, ममौ, ऊसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जुष्मस्मदीर्घपर्वन्तस्य तव मम इत्येतावदेषौ भवतो ऊसि परतः ॥

96. In the Genitive Singular तव is substituted for युष्म and मम for अस्म ॥

As तव, मम, परमतव, परममम, अतितव, अतिमम ॥ The इ is elided by VII. 2. 90, and तव and मम + अ + अ (VII. 1. 27) = तव and मम by VI. 1. 97.

त्वमावेकवचने ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्वमौ, एक वचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकवचनइत्यर्थनिर्देशः । एकवचने च जुष्मस्मदी एकार्याभिधानविषये तयोर्धर्मन्तस्य स्याने एव इत्येतावदेषौ भवतः ॥

97. In the remaining cases of the Singular, त्व is substituted for युष्म and म for अस्म ॥

As त्वाम्, माम्, स्वया, मया, स्वत्, मत्, स्वयि, मयि ॥ The compounds also take this substitution according to the sense: as अतिक्रान्तस्त्वाम् = अतित्वम्, अस्वहम्, अतिक्रान्तौ मम = अतिमाम्, अतित्वाम्, अतिक्रान्तान् त्वाम् = अतित्वान्, अतिमाम्, अतिक्रान्ताभ्यां त्वां = अतित्वाभ्याम्, अतिमाभ्याम्, अतिक्रान्तैस्त्वाम् = अतित्वामिः, अतिमामिः ॥

When in a compound, the words yushmad and asmad denote one, though the compound may denote two or many, thereeven the त्व and म substitutions must take place. And as regards different substitutes, like त्व and आह before ह्रु &c, those prior taught substitutes debar this latter by the rule of पूर्वविप्रतिषेधः ॥ Some examples have already beengivenabove, others are अतियुष्म, अतितुभ्यम्, अतितव ॥ So also with asmad. Similarly अतित्वां पदम्, अतित्वान्, अतित्वाभ्याम्, अतित्वामिः, अतित्वभ्यम्, अतित्वत्, अतित्वयोः, अतित्वाकम्, अतित्वावि, अतित्वयोः, अतित्वाह्रु ॥

प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्यय, उत्तरपदयोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकवचनइत्यनुवर्तते । प्रत्यये उत्तरपदे च परत एकत्वे वर्तमानयोर्युष्मस्मदीर्घपर्वन्तस्य त्व म इत्येतावदेषौ भवतः ॥

98. त्व is substituted for युष्म and म for अस्म, when they signify a single individual, even when an affix follows, or a word is in composition.

As त्वदीर्घः, मदीर्घः, with the affix छ (IV. 2. 114, I. 1. 74) त्वत्तरः (= अतिद्यत्तेन त्वं), मत्तरः, त्वद्यति (= त्वामिच्छति), मद्यति; त्वद्यते (= त्वमिवाचरते), मद्यते ॥ Similarly when a second member of the compound follows. As तव पुत्रः = त्वत्पुत्रः, मत्पुत्रः ॥ त्वं नायोऽस्य = त्वन्नायः, मन्नायः ॥ When more than one individual is signified, the substitution does not take place, as युष्मदीर्घे (= युष्माकमिदं), अस्मदीर्घे; युष्मत्पुत्रः (= युष्माकं पुत्रः), अस्मत्पुत्रः ॥

The sūtra VII. 2. 97 referred to the vibhaktis or case-endings, as that word from VII. 2. 84 governs these sūtras, the present sūtra refers to other affixes, and to compounds. It might be objected, that even before other affixes and compounds these words had in them vibhaktis, though those vibhaktis were elided when these affixes were added or when the words became part of a compound;

and that having in them suppressed vibhaktis, the substitutions would take place in spite of this sūtra. This objection is not valid, for there the vibhaktis have been elided. But is not elision a Bahiranga and the substitute an antaranga process; and should not, therefore, the substitute come first and then the vibhakti elided? The substitution specially taught in this sūtra is, therefore, a jñāpaka and proves the existence of the following maxim :—**अन्तरङ्गानपि विधिर्बहिरङ्गोऽनुबाधते** 'a bahiranga substitution of लुक् supersedes even antaranga rules'. Thus गोमान् मियोऽस्य = गोमन्मियः, here the antaranga नुम् augment is superseded by the bahiranga लुक् ॥ This sūtra further indicates, that all other substitutes of 'yushmad' and 'asmad' which take place in the singular, such as त्व, मम, तुभ्य, मया, स्व, अह, do not take effect, before general affixes or in compounds, but that स्व and म are the only substitutes there even. As तुभ्यं इति = स्वाद्धितं, मद्धितं ॥ त्व पुनः = स्वतृपुनः, मतृपुनः ॥

त्रिचतुरोस्त्रियां तिसृचतसृ ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रि, चतुरोः, स्त्रियाम्, तिसृ चतसृ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ त्रि चतुर् इत्येतयोः स्त्रियां वर्तमानयोस्तिस् चतसृ इत्येतावादेशौ भवतो विभक्तौ परतः ।
वार्तिकम् ॥ तिसृभावे सत्रायां कन्युपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ चतसराद्युपान निपातनं कर्तव्यम् ॥

99. तिसृ is substituted for त्रि. and चतसृ for चतुर् in the feminine, when a case-ending follows.

Thus तिस्रः, चतस्रः, तिसृभिः, चतसृभिः ॥ Why 'in the Feminine'? Observe चतः, चत्वारः, त्रीणि, चत्वारि ॥ The word स्त्रियाम् qualifies त्रि and चतुर् and not the word अङ्ग 'stem' which is of course understood here. Therefore, the substitution will take place even where the anga refers to a Masculine, or a Neuter; when त्रि and चतुर् refer to a Feminine; as प्रियास्तिस्रो ब्राह्मण्योऽस्य ब्राह्मणस्य = प्रियास्तिसा ब्राह्मणः (VII. 1. 94) प्रियतिस्रौ, प्रियतिस्रः ॥ The guṇa of VII. 3. 110 is debarred in anticipation by VII. 2. 100 ordaining र ॥ प्रियतिसृ ब्राह्मणकुलं, प्रियतिसृणी, प्रियतिसृणि ॥ Similarly प्रियचतसा, °चतस्रौ, °चतस्रः, प्रियचतसृ, °चतसृणी, °चतसृणि ॥ The samāsānta affix कप् (V. 4. 153) is however not added in the above, because तिसृ &c are bahirangasubstitutions. Conversely, the aṅga may be feminine, but if त्रि and चतुर् refer to Masculine or Neuter nouns, the substitution will not take place: as प्रियास्त्रयोऽस्याः or प्रियाणि त्रीणि वा अस्या ब्राह्मण्याः = प्रियत्रिः 'a Brahmanī to whom three are beloved.' dual. प्रियत्रीः, प्रियचतयः ॥ Similarly प्रियचत्वारः, प्रियचत्वारो, प्रियचत्वारः ॥

Vart.—The substitution of तिसृ for त्रि takes place before the affix कन्; as तिसृका नाम मानः ॥

Vart.—चतसृ has acute on the first, as चतस्रः पदम् ॥ Rule VI. 1. 167 does not apply. But चतसृर्णाम् according to VI. 1. 179: the ह्लादि debarb the निपातन accent.

अचि र ऋतः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, र, ऋतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिसृ चतसृ इत्येतयोर्धतः स्थाने रेकादेशो भवति अजादौ विभक्तौ परतः ।

100. र is substituted for the ऋ of तिसृ and चतसृ before case-affixes beginning with a vowel.

Thus तिस्रः, (in तिस्रस्तिष्ठन्ति, तिस्रः पञ्च) चतस्रस्तिष्ठन्ति, चतस्रः पञ्च ॥ प्रियचित्तं आनय, प्रियचित्तं आनय; प्रियचित्तः स्वम्, प्रियचित्तः स्वम् ॥ प्रियचित्तं निधेहि, प्रियचित्तं निधेहि ॥ This supersedes VI. 1. 102 (ordaining the single long substitution of the form of the first), VI. 1. 111 (substitution of तृ for कृ), and VII. 3. 110 (the substitution of guṇa). The last rule VII. 3. 110, though subsequent in order, is however superseded by this rule. Why 'before the affixes beginning with a vowel?' Observe तिसृभिः, चतसृभिः ॥ The कृत् of the sūtra refers to the कृ of तिसृ and चतसृ and not to a कृ ending stem in general: and had it not been used in the sūtra, the latter would have stood thus अप्चिरः "इ is substituted for the final of the words above-mentioned before an affix beginning with a vowel." So इ would have been substituted for the final of चि and चतुर् also.

जराया जरसन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ जरायाः, जरस्, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अत्र इत्येतस्य जरसित्यनादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यामत्रादौ विभक्तौ परतः ।

101. जरस् may be substituted for जरा, optionally before a case-affix beginning with a vowel.

As जराया or जरता, in जरता or जरतादन्ताः शीर्यन्ते ॥ जरायै or जरसे (जरसे or जरायै स्वा परिशुः) ॥ But only जराभ्याम्, जराभिः before an affix beginning with a consonant. The जरस् substitution takes place in the Neuter plural, when the augment जुम् is added: as अतिजरांसि ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥ In अतिजरत् ब्राह्मणकुले पञ्च the affix is not elided. The form is thus evolved: अतिजर+अम् ॥ Here three rules present themselves simultaneously; first, luk-elision of the affix अम् by VII. 1. 23, (2) then the अम् substitution by VII. 1. 24, (3) and thirdly, जरस् for जर by this rule. Of these लुक्-elision is superseded by अम् of VII. 1. 24 which is an exception to VII. 1. 23; and in its turn अम् is replaced by the जरस् of this sūtra. जरस् being substituted for जर, we have अतिजरस्, now luk cannot again appear and cause elision, as it has already lost the opportunity: and we are left with अम् alone, and have अतिजरत् ॥ In the Nom. Sg. and Ins. Pl we have अतिजरां and अतिजरैः according to the opinion of Gonardiya. The reason being समिपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विधातव्य 'that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination'. Because अम् was added to अतिजर because it ended in अ (VII. 1. 24), and similarly चिः was replaced by ऐस् (VII. 1. 9). Now अ has caused the production of अम् and ऐस्, therefore, these latter affixes, though beginning with a vowel will not cause जरस् to be substituted for जर by this rule, for then the produced will cause the destruction of the producer. Others hold that the above maxim is anitya, and we have Nom. Sg. अतिजरत्, and Ins. Pl. अतिजरैः ॥

The form अतिजरांसि is thus evolved अतिजर+इ ॥ Here if the जुम् augment be added first, it will be a portion of the aṅga, and will not be an intervention to anything which is to be added or operated upon the aṅga. But this

augment will be an intervention with regard to **अर** which is but a portion of the word **अतिअर** ॥ So that an operation applicable to **अर** will not take effect, because of this **नुस्** intervention. And though *tadantaviddhi* applies in these chapters (**पराङ्मोधिकारे तस्य च तदन्तस्य च**), yet the maxim is that the substitutes only replace those which are specifically exhibited in a rule (**निर्दिष्टानामस्य अविद्या भवन्ति**), therefore **अरस्** would not replace **अर** which forms only a portion of a full word **अतिअर** ॥ Even if the substitution does take place, the **नुस्** would be found after the **स्** of **अरस्** ॥ Therefore, the **अरस्** substitution should be made first, because this is a subsequent rule; and having done so, the **नुस्** should be added afterwards under VII. 1. 72.

The form **अतिअरस्** is thus evolved. We have **अतिअर + अम्** ॥ Here on the maxim **एकदेशविकृतस्य अन्वत्वात्**, we substitute **अरस्** for **अर** also, (for **अर** and **अरा** are considered as one). Then appears VII. 1. 23 ordaining the **लुक्** of **अम्** and VII. 1. 24, teaching **अम्** ॥ The latter rule is preferred for the reasons given above.

त्यदादीनामः ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यदादीनाम्, अः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदित्येवमादीनामकारणेशो भवति विभक्तौ परतः ।

102. For the final of **त्यद्** and the rest, there is substituted **अ**, when an affix, called *vibhakti*, follows.

Thus **त्यद्—त्यः, त्यो, त्ये ॥ तद्—तः, तौ, ते; वद्—वः, वौ, वे; एतद्—एतः, एतौ, एते; इदम्—इदम्, इमौ, इमे; अदम्—असौ, अद्, अनी; हि, हौ, इहाम् ॥** The *tyadādi* words extend upto **हि**, in the list of the pronouns, for the purposes of this **अ** substitution. Therefore, the substitution does not take place here in **भवत्** which forms **भवाम्** ॥ When the word **त्यद्** &c are employed as names, or as a secondary member in a compound, the substitution does not take place, as **त्यद्, त्यसौ, त्यदः, अतित्यद्, अतित्यसौ, अतित्यदः** See also I. 1. 27 commentary. But when they form the principal member of a compound, the substitution takes place, as **परमसः, परमतौ, परमते ॥** For case affix (*vibhakti*) see V. 3. 1. also. Those affixes are also called *vibhakti* and cause these substitutions.

किम् कः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्, कः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किम् इत्येतस्य क इत्यवगादेशो भवति विभक्तौ परतः ।

103. **क** is substituted for **किम्** before a *vibhakti* affix.

As **कः, कौ, के ॥** The substitution takes place even when the augment **अकम्** is added. Therefore, the substitute is here **क** and not **अ** which latter would have been sufficient for **किम्** ॥ For **म्** of **किम्** being replaced by **अ** (VII. 2. 102), the **इ** would be left, which would be replaced by **अ**, had the *sūtra* been **किमोऽद्** and the forms would have been the same (**क् + अ + अ = क** VI. 1. 97). See V. 3. 1, 13 &c.

कु तिहोः ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कु, तिहोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तकारादौ हकारादौ च विभक्तौ परतः किमित्येतस्य कु इत्यवगादेशो भवति ।

104. कु is substituted for किम् before a vibhakti affix beginning with a त or a ह ॥

Thus कुतः, कुत्र, कुह (V. 3. 13, 7). The इ in ति means beginning with a त ॥

काति ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ क, अति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतीत्येतत्त्वां विभक्तौ परतः किमित्येतत्त्वं क इत्ययमादेशो भवति ।

105. क is substituted for किम् before the vibhakti अत् (V, 3. 13).

As क गमिष्यसि, क मोक्ष्यते ॥ The substitute कु of the last rule, before the affix अ would have become क्, but that it would have caused guṇa, hence this separate substitute. Had the sūtra been किनोऽङ्गत् it would not have included the अकच् augmented किम् ॥

तदोः सः सावनन्त्ययोः ॥ १०६ पदानि ॥ तदोः, सः, सौ, अनन्त्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यक्षीनां तकारदकारयोरनन्त्ययोः सकारादेशो भवति सौ परतः ।

106. For the non-final त् and द् of त्द &c. there is substituted स् in the Nominative Singular.

As त्द + सु = त् + अ + सु (VII. 2. 102) = त् + अ + सु (VII. 2. 106) = त्सः (VI. 1. 97). Similarly सः from तद्, एषः from एतद् as एतद् + सु = एत + अ + सु (VII. 2. 102) = एत + अ + सु (VII. 2. 106) = एषः (VI. 1. 97). So असौ from अदस् by the following sūtra. Why do we say 'non-final'? Observe हे से, सा ॥ Had not this word been used, the case-affix would not be elided in the vocative, as then there would have been no short vowel, as required by VI. 1. 69.

अदस् औ सुलोपश्च ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदस्, औ, सुलोपश्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदस् सौ परतः सकारस्य औकारादेशो भवति सौ च लोपो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ औत्सप्रतिषेधः साकच्काश्च वक्तव्यः सादुत्वं च ॥

वा० ॥ उत्तरपदभूतानां त्यक्षीनामकृतसन्धीनामादेशा वक्तव्याः ॥

Kārikā अदस् सौर्भवेसौत्वं किं सुलोपो विधीयते ।

इत्याल्लुप्येत संबुद्धिर्न हलः प्रकृतं हि तत् ॥

आप एत्वं भवेत्तस्मिन् हलीत्यनुवर्तनात् ।

प्रत्ययस्थाश्च कादित्वं यीभावश्च प्रसज्यते ॥

107. For the स् of अदस् there is substituted औ, whereby the Nom. affix सु is elided.

As अदस् + सु = अद + औ + सु (VII. 2. 107) = अद + औ (VII. 2. 106) = असौ ॥

Vārti:—When the augment अकच् is added, the औ substitution is optional, and in that alternative ङ is added after स्, as अङ्गुक् or असङ्गौ ॥

Vārti:—When त्द &c. form second members of a compound, the above mentioned substitutions take place before the application of sandhi: as परमाहम्, परमायम्, परमानेन ॥

The form अङ्गुक् is thus evolved:—अदङ्गु + सु, now औ substitution of the present sūtra is prohibited; therefore, the अ substitution of VII. 2. 102 takes

place, and the इ is changed to सू by VII. 2. 106, and the अ of अकच् after सू is changed to उ ॥

The following observations may be made with regard to the forms परमाहम् &c. A substitute would be a bahiraṅga with regard to a case-affix that should be added to a compound. Therefore, being an antaraṅga rule, the ekadeśa should be made first, and this ekadeśa being considered as the beginning of the subsequent word, we should get erroneous forms like परमहम्. परमव instead of परमाहम् and परमायम् &c. Hence the necessity of the above vārtika.

Kārikā:—Let the sūtra be अवस औ without the words सुलोपश्च ॥ The word औ is understood here from the preceding aphorism. The word अवसः is in the ablative case, the word औ which is in the 7th case, should be changed here into the 6th case औः ॥ The sūtra would then mean अवस उत्तरस्य औःकारो भवति— औ is substituted for the सु after अवस् ॥ Then the final अच् of अवस् is changed to अ by VII. 2. 102, and इ is changed to सू by VII. 2. 106, and we have अवसौ ॥ So where is the necessity of using the words सुलोपश्च in the sūtra.

Obj: If औ be substituted for सु, then in the vocative this औ should be elided by VI. 1. 69, as it comes after a short vowel अ of VII. 2. 102. Ans. औ will not be elided by VI. 1. 69, for that rule refers to the elision of a consonantal affix only, the word हलः being understood in that sūtra, from the preceding sūtra VI. 1. 68.

Obj: If this be so, then in the Feminine Vocative we have असा + औ, and by the rule VII. 3. 106, the आ should be changed to ए before this औ ॥ Ans. No, this will not be so, for the इ substitution takes place only before a हल् beginning affix, for the word हलि is understood in the sūtra VII. 3. 106 from the sūtra VII. 3. 103.

Obj: If this be so, then in the feminine with अकच्, we have, असका + औ, and here rule VII. 3. 44 shows itself and requires the अ of स to be changed to इ (असिका) before the क of an affix. Ans. That rule VII. 3. 44 applies where the feminine affix आ is audible and remains unchanged, but here it is changed to औ (Vṛddhi अ + औ = औ) in असकौ ॥

Obj: But then in असा + औ, the औ would require to be changed to औः by VII. 1. 18. Ans. This objection is partial only, for औः in VII. 1. 18 is explained by some, to be the common name given by ancient grammarians to the औ of Dual; and not to this औ; moreover, in the masculine no objection can apply. Hence the words सुलोपश्च may well be omitted.

इदमो मः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदमः, मः ॥
वृत्तिः । इदमः सौ परतो मकारोन्तविशो भवति ।

108. म् is substituted for the final अ of इदम् in the Nominative Singular.

As इयम्, अयम् ॥ The substitution of य् for म् is to prevent the अ substitution of VII. 2. 102. The case-ending is elided by VI. 1. 68, and य् substituted by VII. 2. 110.

द्वय ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः । इदमो ङकारस्य स्थाने मकारादेशो भवति विभक्तौ परतः ।

109. And म् is substituted for the द् of इदम् before a case-affix.

As इमौ, इमे, इमम्, इमौ, इमात् ॥ Thus इदम् + अम् = इदम + अम् (VII. 2. 102) = इमम + अम् (VII. 2. 109) = इमम् (VI. 1. 97, 107).

यः सौ ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ यः, सौ, ॥

वृत्तिः । इदमो मकारस्य ङकारादेशो भवति सौ परतः ।

110. य् is substituted for the द् of इदम् in the Nom. Sg. in the feminine.

As इयम् ॥ This is confined to the Feminine, as the following sūtra relates to the masculine; and in the Neuter, the ह्र is ह्रुक elided by स्वर्गोर्नपुंसकान् and so leaves no trace behind.

इदोऽय् पुंसि ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदः, अय्, पुंसि ॥

वृत्तिः । इदम इदूपस्य पुंसि सौ परतो ऽय् इत्ययमादेशो भवति ।

111. अय् is substituted for the इद् of इदम् in the Nom. Sg. masculine.

As अयम् ॥ In the Feminine इयम् ॥ As अयं ब्राह्मणः, and अयं ब्राह्मणी ॥

अनाप्यकः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन, आपि, अकः, ॥

वृत्तिः । इदमो ङकारस्य इदूपस्य स्थाने अन इत्ययमादेशो भवति आपि विभक्तौ परतः ।

112. अन is substituted for the इद् of इदम् in the Instrumental singular and the cases that follow, provided that the augment akach is not added.

As अनेन, अनयोः ॥ Why do we say "not when क is added by V. 3. 71"? Observe इमकेन, इमकयोः ॥ The word आप् (आपि) in the sūtra is a pratyāhāra, formed with the आ of दा (Ins. Sg.), and प् of ह्रप् (Loc. Pl.).

हलि लोपः ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलि, लोपः, ॥

वृत्तिः । इदमौ विभक्तौ परत इदमो ङकारस्य इदूपस्य लोपो भवति ।

113. The इद् of इदम् is elided before a case-affix beginning with a consonant.

As आभ्याम्, एभिः, (VII. 1. 11) एभ्यः एषाम्, एषु ॥ For म् is substituted अ by VII. 2. 102, and for अ + अ = अ by VI. 1. 97. The rule I. 1. 52 by which a substitute replaces only the final letter, does not apply here, on the maxim नानर्थको भलोऽन्त्यविधिः ॥ For no purpose is served by eliding merely the final म्

of इद्. Hence इद् is elided. Or it may be said that the sūtra does not teach the elision of इद्, but of अद् which was substituted for इद् by the preceding sūtra.

मृजेर्वृद्धिः ॥११४॥ पदानि ॥ मृजेः, वृद्धिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभक्त्याविति निवृत्तम् मृजेरङ्गस्य इको वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

114. The Vṛiddhi (आर्) is substituted for the root vowel (ऋ) of the stem मृज् before an affix.

As मर्ह, मर्हम्, मर्ह्यम् ॥ The मृह here is a root, and the affixes before which this Vṛiddhi takes place are those which come after *roots*, and not which come after *Prātīpadikas*. Therefore, not before the affixes भ्वाँ &c, as कंसपरिवृद्ध्याम्, वृद्धिः ॥ The anuvṛitti of the word vibhakti has ceased. This sūtra debars guṇa of VII. 3. 84.

अचो ङ्गिति ॥११५॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, अ, ङिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गन्ताङ्गस्य अति ङिति च वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

115. Before the affixes having an indicatory अ or ङ, Vṛiddhi is substituted for the end-vowel of a stem.

Thus एकस्तण्डुलनिचाद्यः, (III. 3. 20) द्वौ दूर्धनिष्पावौ, कारः and हारः (with धम्); गोः, गावौ, गावः, सखावौ, सखावः where the case-endings are ङित् by VII. 1. 90, 92. जैर्धम्, यौधम् with the Uṇādi घृष् from जि and यु ॥ ज्यौन्नः with ङ्ग and means 'strength'. It is an obsolete Vedic word.

अत उपधायाः ॥११६॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, उपधायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गोपधाया अकारस्य स्थाने अति ङिति च प्रत्यये वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

116. In a stem ending in a consonant with an immediately preceding it, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for such अ, when an affix having an indicatory अ or ङ follows.

As पाकः, त्यागः, यागः with चम्, पाचि with the causative ङि, पाचकः with ङ्ग ॥ Why do we say 'अ'? Observe भेदवति, भेदकः with guṇa only from भिद् where इ is penultimate and not अ ॥ Why do we say 'penultimate'? Observe चकासवति, सक्षकः ॥

तद्धितेष्वचामादेः ॥११७॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धितेषु, अचाम्, आदेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धिते अति ङिति च प्रत्यये परतोङ्गस्याचामादेरचःस्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

117. The Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the stem, when a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory अ or ङ follows.

As गार्धः from गर्ग + धम्, so also वात्स्यः ॥ दाक्षिः (दक्ष + इम्), दाक्षिः, औपगवः (with अङ् from उपगु), कापठवः &c. This debars the Vṛiddhi of VII. 2. 115 and 116, as स्वाद् from स्वद्, and जागतः from जगत् ॥

किति च ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ किति, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किति च तद्धिते परतोऽङ्गत्वाच्चाभावेऽप्यङ्गोऽङ्गिर्भवति ॥

118. The Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the stem, when a Taddhita affix with an indicative क् follows.

As नाडावन् with कक्, so also चारायणः (IV. 1. 99), and भाषिकः and शाला-
किकः with डक् (IV. 4. 1).

ओ३म् ।

अथ सप्तमाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER THIRD.

देविकाशिशापादित्यवाद्दीर्घसत्रश्रेयसामात् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ देविका, शिशापा,
दित्यवाद्, दीर्घसत्र, श्रेयसाम्, आत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देविका शिशापा दित्यवाद् दीर्घसत्र श्रेयस् इत्येतेषामङ्गानामचामादेशः स्याने वृद्धिमसङ्गे आकारो
भवति मिति णिति किति तद्धिते परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वहीनरस्येहचनम् ॥

1. When a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory अ, ण् or क् follows, आ is substituted instead of Vṛiddhi for the first vowels of the following: devikā, śimsapā, dityavāt, dīrghasatra, and sreyas.

Thus शविकम् (=देविकायां भवम्) in शविकप्रवक्तव्यम्; शविकाकूलाः शालवः (=देविकाकूले भवाः), पूर्वशविकः from पूर्वशविका 'the name of a village of the Eastern people'. Here the vṛiddhi of the second member ordained by VII. 3. 14, becomes आ ॥ Similarly शांशपञ्चमसः (=शिशापायाधिकारः) ॥ The word belongs to the Palāsādī class (IV. 3. 141), and takes अण् or अङ्, the difference being in accent. So also शांशपास्यलाः (=शिशापास्यले भवाः), and पूर्वशांशप from पूर्वशिशाप 'the name of a village' See VII. 3. 14. Similarly शास्त्रीहम् from दित्यवाद्, (दित्योह इह) and शार्धसचम् (शार्धसचे भवं) and श्रायसम् (श्रेयसि भवं) ॥

Vart.—The Vṛiddhi of वहीनर under similar circumstances is with an ऐ as if व was वि, as वहीनरस्यापत्यं=वैहीनरिः ॥ Some say the original word itself is विहीनर (विहीनोनरः), and so its taddhita derivative is regular.

केकयमित्त्रयुप्रलयानां यादेरियः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ केकय, मित्त्रयु, प्रलयानाम्,
य-भादेः, इयः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ केकय मित्त्रयु प्रलय इत्येतेषां यकापदेशिब इत्यवभाषिणो भवति तद्धिते मिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

2. When a Taddhita affix with an indicatory अ्, ण् or क् follows, इय् is substituted for the य and यु of केकय, मित्रयु and प्रलय ॥

As केकयः (=केकयस्यापत्यं), with the affix अम् (IV. 1. 168): similarly मैत्रये-का formed with युम् (V. 1. 134) in the sentence मैत्रयिकया इत्यादि ॥ The word Gotra in that sūtra V. 1. 134 means a Rishi name, for in ordinary parlance the name of a Rishi is called Gotra. Similarly प्रलयम् (=प्रलयाशङ्क). As प्रलययुक्क ॥

न स्वाभ्यां पदान्ताभ्यां पूर्वौ तु ताभ्यामैच् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, स्वाभ्याम्, प-दान्ताभ्याम्, पूर्वौ, तु, ताभ्याम्, ऐच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारवकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य अचामादेरचः स्थाने वृद्धिर्न भवति; ताभ्यां तु यकारवकाराभ्यां पूर्वमैच्-गमौ भवतामिति णिति किति च तद्धिते परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अव्ययानां भवान् दिलोपः ॥

3. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ण् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel in a compound, when it follows a word ending in य् or व्, but ऐ and औ are respectively placed before the semi-vowels.

That is ऐ is placed before अ्, and औ before व् ॥ As वैवस्वतम् from वस्वतः; (व्यसने भव) वैवाकरणः from व्याकरणं (व्याकरणमधीते) सौवस्वः from स्वस्वः (स्वस्वस्यापत्यं) ॥ Why after य् or व् only? Observe वार्यः son of वर्यः ॥ Why do we say 'य् or व् final of a pada or word'? Observe याटीकः from याटिः, (याटिः प्रहरणमस्य) IV. 4. 59 याता from यति (यतेच्छायाः or यत इमे छायाः) ॥ The rule does not apply to शब्दाभ्याम् and माध्याभ्याम्, for no rule ordains the Vṛiddhi of ध्य or ध्व, and so no occasion for the prohibition of this rule arises. These are Patronyms formed by इय् (IV. 1. 95) from इध्यम् and मध्यम् (धधि प्रियोऽध्यायस्य &c). The present rule applies to that Vṛiddhi also which takes place in the second member of the compound by VII. 3. 10 &c. As पूर्ववैयालिनः from पूर्वव्यालिनः (पूर्वव्यालिनो भवः) ॥ But this prohibition does not apply where the य् or व् are not the parts of the second member, as व्याघातिकः (=वे अघाती भूतो, भूतो भावी वा) ॥

द्वारादीनां च ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वार, आदीनाम्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वार इत्येवमादीनां व्याभ्याम् उत्तरपदस्याचामादेरचः स्थाने वृद्धिर्न भवति पूर्वौ तु ताभ्यामैच्गमौ भवतः ॥

4. Before a Taddhita-affix with an indicatory अ्, ण् or क् the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel after य् or व्, but ऐ and औ are respectively placed before these semi-vowels in द्वार &c.

As द्वारे नियुक्तः = सौवारिकः, सौवारपालम् from द्वारपाल ॥ The Tadādi rule applies here. सौवरः from स्वर, (स्वरमधिकृत्य कृतो मन्त्रः) ॥ So also सौवरोऽध्यायः, सौवर्यः सप्तम्यः ॥ वैयल्कशः from व्यल्कश, (व्यल्कशो भवः) सौवस्तिकः from स्वास्ति, (स्वस्तीति आह) सौवः from स्वर (स्वर्भवः) ॥

Vart:—The last vowel, with the consonant, if any, which follows it, is elided in the Indeclinables: as सौवर्गमिकः (= स्वर्गमनमाह) ॥

Some read the word स्वाध्याय also in this list, but it is unnecessary, as it would be governed by the last rule, because it is a compound of सु + अध्याय (सौ-भनोऽध्याय), or it may be a compound of स्व + अध्याय, then also it is unnecessary, as स्व is separately mentioned, in this list, and therefore when स्व begins a word it would get this peculiar substitution then also. Similarly स्फैयकृतः from स्फ्यकृत; सौवादुष्टदुष्ट from स्वादुष्टदुष्ट, सौवनम् from भन् the prakṛiti-bhāva is by (VI. 4. 167) while सौवम् from भन् where there is no prakṛitibhāva (by ङम् IV. 3. 154): सौवा-वृष्टः (भावदृष्टां भवः). Similarly सौवम् from स्व (= स्वस्वेष्ट); सौवधामिकः from स्वधाम with the affix इम् (अध्यात्मदिस्वाद् इप्). This sūtra is made because the वृ and वृ here are not finals of a पद or word, as they were in the preceding sūtra. The following is a list of Dvārādi words.

1 द्वार, 2 स्वर, 3 स्वाध्याय, 4 व्यक्ता, 5 स्वस्ति, 6 स्वर (स्वर), 7 स्वकृत, 8 स्वादुष्टदुष्ट, 9 भवत्, 10 भन्, 11 स्व ॥

न्यग्रोधस्य च केवलस्य ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न्यग्रोधस्य, च, केवलस्य, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ न्यग्रोधस्यस्य केवलस्य यकारादुत्तरस्याच्चापारेचः रयाने वृद्धिर्न भवति तस्माच्च पूर्वमेकार आगमो भवति ॥

5. पे is placed before the य् of न्यग्रोध, instead of Vriddhi, when the word stands alone, and is not a member of a compound, and is followed by a Taddhita affix with the indicative झ्, ण् or क् ॥

As न्यग्रोधमसः (= न्यग्रोधस्य विकारः). Why do we say 'when it is alone'? Observe न्यग्रोधमूलं भवाः शालयः = न्यग्रोधमूलाः ॥ If न्यग्रोध is a derivative word (from न्यग्रोहयति = नीचैर्गतौ परोहैर्वधते), then it would have been governed by VII. 3. 3, this separate, sūtra is then for the sake of making a restrictive rule (niyama) with regard to this word. If it is a primary word, then this sūtra makes a Vidhi rule. The word केवल is a jñāpaka that the rule of Tadādi applies in this section. See VII. 3. 8, also.

न कर्मव्यतिहारे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, कर्मव्यतिहारे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मव्यतिहारं यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ॥

6. The prohibition and the augment, ordained by VII. 3. 3, do not apply to a word which expresses the reciprocity of an action.

As व्यावक्रोशी, व्यावेल्ली, व्याववर्त्ती, व्यावहाती ॥ See III. 3. 43 and V. 4. 14.

स्वागतादीनां च ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वागत, आदीनाम्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वागत इत्येवमादीनां यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ॥

7. The prohibition and augment taught in VII. 3. 3 does not apply also to स्वागत &c.

As स्वागतिकः, (=स्वागतमिति आह) स्वाध्वरिकः, (=स्वधरेण चरति) स्वाङ्गिः, व्याङ्गिः, व्याडिः (sons of Svanga, Vyanga and Vyāḍa). व्यावहारिकः and स्वापत्तयः (=स्वपत्तौ साधुः) ॥ The word व्यवहार does not mean reciprocity of action, for then it would have been governed by the last sūtra. स्वपत्त being a compound with स्व, would have been governed by VII. 3. 4 as it is included in the Dvārādi list, hence its specific mention here. The following is the list of svāgatādi words.

1 स्वागत, 2 स्वध्वर, 3 स्वङ्ग, 4 व्यङ्ग, 5 व्यड, 6 व्यवहार, 7 स्वपत्ति ॥

श्वादेरिञि ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्व, आदेः, इञि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वदेरङ्गस्य इञि परतो यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इकारदिमहणं कर्तव्यं पूर्वगणिकाद्यर्थम् ॥

8. A compound beginning with श्वन्, and followed by the Taddhita affix इञ्, is not governed by the prohibition, nor takes the augment, taught in VII. 3. 4.

Thus the descendant of इवमञ्च is इवामञ्चिः, so also इवाङ्गिः ॥ The word इवम् is included in the list of Dvārādi words VII. 3, 4, the present sūtra implies that the rule VII. 3. 4 applies not only to those words, but to compounds beginning with those words.

Vart:—This rule applies when any Taddhita affix beginning with इ follows; as श्वगणन चरति = श्वगणिकः, श्वाङ्गधिकः (IV. 4. 11).

The prohibition applies, when other Taddhita affixes follow such a word ending with इञ् (an affix beginning with इ): as from इवामञ्चि we have इवामञ्चम् (इवामञ्चरि) ॥

पदान्तस्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदान्तस्य, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वदेरङ्गस्य पदशब्दान्तस्यान्यतरस्यां यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ॥

9. The rule VII. 3. 4. is optionally applied to श्वन् followed by पद् ॥

As श्वापदस्येवं = श्वापदम् or श्वापदम् ॥

उत्तरपदस्य ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्तर पदस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदस्येत्ययमधिकारः, हनस्तांश्चिण्णलोरिति प्रागेतस्मात् । अस्ति ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रामिव्याम उत्तरपदस्येत्येवं तद्वदितव्यम् ॥

10. Upto VII. 3. 31 inclusive, the substitution of Vriddhi will take place, for the first vowel of the second member in a compound.

This is an adhikāra sūtra, and exerts governing influence upto VII. 3. 32 exclusive. The phrase "of the second member of the compound" should

be supplied in all those sūtras, to complete the sense. Thus in VII. 3. 11, the word उत्तरपदस्य should be supplied. As पूर्ववार्तिकं, अपरवार्तिकम्, पूर्वहेमनम्, अपरहेमनम् ॥

In those sūtras, where the word denoting the first member is not exhibited in the Ablative case, as in VII. 3. 18, 19, 20, 21, the present sūtra is absolutely necessary for causing the vṛiddhi of the second member. But in those sūtras, where the first member is exhibited in the ablative case, as in VII. 3. 11 (अवयवात्), there this sūtra is only explanatory (and not absolutely necessary), and serves also the purpose of placing such vṛiddhis under the category of 'uttarapada-vṛiddhi'. This peculiar vṛiddhi is liable to certain rules of accent, as in VI. 2. 105. Hence the importance of the present aphorism in those sūtras also, where the word is exhibited in the fifth case.

अवयवादृतोः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवयवात्, ऋतोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवयववाचिन उत्तरस्य ऋतुवाचिन उत्तरपदस्याचामादेश्यो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते मिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

11. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण् or क्, Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of a word denoting season, when it is preceded by a word denoting a part.

As पूर्ववार्तिकम्, पूर्वहेमनम्, अपरवार्तिकम्, अपरहेमनम् ॥ The composition with पूर्व and अपर &c takes place by II. 2. 1. and then by IV. 3. 18 there is ङक् after वर्ष, and अण् after हेमन्त with the elision of त् by IV. 3. 22. The Tadanta-viddhi, as a general rule, does not apply to compounds, so that a rule made applicable to a particular word, will not apply to a compound which ends with that word: but tadanta-viddhi applies to a word denoting season when it takes an affix causing Vṛiddhi, and is preceded by a word denoting a portion. We draw this rule from the present sūtra, for हेमन् being formed from हेमन्त by a vṛiddhi-causing affix (IV. 3. 22), the affix अण् will be applied to हेमन्त even when it is the second member of a compound, the first member of which denotes a part. (ऋतोर्वृद्धि मन्निधावयवात् I. 1. 72 Vārt. Mahābhāṣya).

Why do we say 'denoting a portion'? Observe पूषासु वर्षासु भवं पौर्ववार्तिकम् with ङक् (IV. 3. 11). The tadanta-vidhi applies only when the first member denotes a portion.

सुसर्वाद्वार्ज्जनपदस्य ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, सर्व, अर्द्धात्, जनपदस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु सर्व अर्द्ध इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य जनपदवाचिन उत्तरपदस्याचामादेश्यो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते मिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

12. After सु, सर्व and अर्ध, the first vowel of the name of a country gets the Vṛiddhi, when a Taddhita affix with an indicatory अ, ण् or क् follows.

As सुपाञ्चालकः, सर्वपाञ्चालकः and अर्धपाञ्चालकः, formed with वुम् (IV.2.125). This sūtra also gives rise to the following rule सुसर्वाधेविकु शब्देभ्यो जनपदस्य "The tadantavidhi applies to words denoting country, when the first member is सु, सर्व, अर्ध or a direction-denoting word". As shown in the above examples, and for direction denoting words see the following sūtra. (I. 1. 72 VArt. Mahābhāṣya).

दिशो ऽमद्राणाम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिशः, अ मद्राणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिग्वाचिन उत्तरस्य जनपदवाचिनो मद्रवर्जितस्याच्चाभावेचोवृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते भित्ति णिति किति च परतः ॥

13. After a word denoting direction, the first vowel of the name of a country, with the exception of मद्र, gets Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory अ, ए, or क् ॥

As पूर्वपाञ्चालकः, अपरपाञ्चालकः, क्षतिजपाञ्चालकः, उत्तरपाञ्चालकः (IV. 2. 125, 107, 108. VI. 2. 105 accent). The Tadanta-vidhi applies here, as shown in the preceding sūtra. Why do we say 'denoting direction'? Observe पूर्वः पञ्चालानां = पूर्वपञ्चालः, तत्र मद्रः, = पौर्वपञ्चालकः, आपरपञ्चालकः ॥ With मद्र we have पौर्वमद्रः, आपरमद्रः with अम् (IV. 2. 108). The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

प्राचां ग्रामनगराणाम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्, ग्राम, नगराणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचां देशे ग्रामनगराणां दिश उत्तरेषामच्चाभावेचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते भित्ति णितिकिति च परतः ॥

14. After a word denoting direction, the first vowel of the name of a village or city in the land of the eastern people, gets the Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ए or क् ॥

Thus पूर्वेषुकामग्रामः, अपरेषुकामग्रामः, पूर्वकार्णवृत्तिकः, अपरकार्णवृत्तिकः (IV. 2. 107). These are village names. पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रकः, अपरपाटलिपुत्रकः पूर्वकान्यकुब्जः, अपरकान्यकुब्जः ॥

The word प्राचां in this sūtra, as well as in VII. 3. 24, does not here mean 'the eastern grammarians', but 'the eastern countries', because of the context. पूर्वेषुकामग्रामः is thus formed. पूर्वा च असौ षुकामग्रामी = पूर्वेषुकामग्रामी ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 50. Then the affix अ is added to it, in the sense of ततो मद्रः by IV. 2. 107. In पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रकः the affix वुम् is added by IV. 2. 123. Though Pāṭaliputra is the name of one city, Purva-pāṭaliputra means the Eastern portion of the city Pāṭaliputra.

That place is called 'grāma', where people reside, and a 'nagara' is also a 'grāma' in this sense. Therefore, the rules which good men observe with regard to 'grāma', are observed by them in 'nagara' also. Thus the rule is जमङ्गले ग्रामकुङ्कुदः, therefore, the नागर cock is also not eaten. So also ग्रामे नाप्यवम् is applied to nagara also. In this grammar also, we see that 'grāma' includes

'nagara' also, as in IV. 2. 109, 117, VI. 2. 103. Therefore, where is the necessity of employing the word नगर separately in this aphorism? The two words are separately used, in order to indicate the separate nature and relation of the two kinds of words. The *full* word पूर्वेषुकामशमी is the name of a 'grāma', and not the portion इषुकामशमी ॥ But in पूर्वपादलिपुत्र, the word पादलिपुत्र itself is the name of the 'nagara'. In the present sūtra, there is the adhikāra of अङ्गस्य and of उत्तरपदस्य ॥ We apply these separately to these two classes of words: namely ग्रामवाचिनाम् अङ्गानाम् and नगरवाचिनाम् उत्तरपदानाम् ॥ This we could not have done without employing these words in the sūtra. Therefore, in the case of 'grāma' word, the vṛiddhi takes place in that *portion* of it which follows a direction denoting word (ग्रामवाचिनामङ्गानामवयवस्य दिक्शब्दादुत्तरस्य वृद्धिर्भवति). While a *nagara* word itself gets vṛiddhi when it is preceded by a direction denoting word (दिशः उत्तरेषां नगराणाम्) ॥ In पूर्वेषुकामशमः, the vṛiddhi of इषुकामशमी takes place first, and then the combination by sandhi. See on this point VII. 3. 22.

संख्यायाः संवत्सरसंख्यस्य च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्यायाः, संवत्सर, संख्य-
स्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्याया उत्तरपदस्य संवत्सरशब्दस्य संख्यायाच्चात्मादेशेनः स्याने वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते मिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

15. After a Numeral, the first vowel of संवत्सर and of a Numeral, gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita having an indicatory अ, ण, or क् ॥

Thus द्विसंवत्सरिकः = द्वौ संवत्सरावधीष्टो भूतो भूतो or भावी (V. 1. 80), त्रिसंवत्सरिकः, त्रिषाष्टिकः = द्वे षटी अधीष्टो भूतां भूतो भावी वा ॥ द्विसप्ततिकः ॥ The words द्वि, षटी &c when applied to वर्ष (VII. 3. 16) and Numerals give rise to the affixes taught under kālādhikāra (V. 1. 78-97). The special mention of संवत्सर here, (though this is a परिमाण word and would have been included in the sūtra VII. 3. 17) implies that the word परिमाण in that sūtra does not mean the measure of *time*, but a measure of any other thing than time. Therefore, with other time-words than samvatsara, the Vṛiddhi takes place in the regular way : as द्वैसमिकः, त्रैसमिकः ॥ Similarly in sūtra IV. 1. 22, the word परिमाण does not mean the measure of time or numerals, as त्रिवर्षा, द्विवर्षा माणविका ॥ In short, the word परिमाण in these sūtras (and elsewhere III. 2. 23, II. 3. 46 &c.) means "mass or bulk", and not a measure in general.

वर्षस्याभावविष्यति ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्षस्य, अ-भविष्यति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्याया उत्तरस्य वर्षशब्दस्याच्चात्मादेशेन वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते मिति णिति किति च परतः, स च स-
द्धितो भविष्यत्यर्थे न भवति ।

16. After a numeral, the first vowel of वर्ष gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण or क्, when the affix does not refer to a Future time.

As द्विवर्षे अभीष्टो भूतो भूतो वा = द्विवार्षिकः, त्रिवार्षिकः ॥ But when denoting future time, we have द्वैवर्षिकः, त्रैवर्षिकः "calculated to last two or three years" as in the sentence यस्य त्रैवर्षिकं धान्यं निहितं भृत्यवृत्तये अधिकं वापि विद्येत स सोमं पातुमर्हति ॥ (= चीणि वर्षाणि भावी). The word अभविष्यन् does not qualify the words अभीष्ट and भूत (V. 1. 80), the sense of futurity is there denoted by the sentence and not by the taddhita-affix: as द्वे वर्षे अभीष्टो भूतो वा कर्म करिष्यति = द्विवार्षिको मनुष्यः ॥

परिमाणान्तस्यासंज्ञाशाणयोः ॥१७॥ पदानि ॥ परिमाणान्तस्य, असंज्ञा, शाणयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणान्तस्याङ्गस्य संख्यायाः परं यदुत्तरपदं तस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते मिति णिति किति च परतः, संज्ञायां विषये शाणे चोत्तरपदे न भवति ॥

17. After a numeral, the first vowel of a word denoting mass in its widest sense (with the exception of शाण) gets the Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ए or क, when the word so formed does not mean a Name.

As द्वौ कुडवौ प्रयोजनमस्य = द्विकौडविकः (V. 1. 109) द्वाभ्यां सुवर्णाभ्यां क्रीतं = द्विसौवर्णिकम् (V. 1. 37), त्रिसौवर्णिकम् ॥ The taddhita affix is optionally elided, see vārtika to V. 1. 29. When the affix is elided there can be no Vṛiddhi, as द्विसुवर्णम् ॥ Similarly द्विनेष्टिकम्, त्रिनेष्टिकम् (V. 1. 30). Why 'when it is not a name'? Observe पाञ्चलोहितिकम्, पाञ्चकपालिकम् (= पाञ्चलोहित्यः or कपलानि परिमाणमस्य V. 1. 30) The whole word is a Name here. Why with the exception of शाण? Observe द्वशाणम्, त्रैशाणम् formed with अण् (V. 1. 35 and 36). Some read the sūtra as असंज्ञाशाणकुलिजानाम् so that कुलिज is also excepted, as द्वैकुलिजिकः (V. 1. 55 द्वैकुलिजे प्रयोजनमस्य) ॥

जे प्रोष्ठपदानाम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ जे, प्रोष्ठपदानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहति जातार्थो निर्दिश्यते । तच्च यस्तद्धितो विहितस्तस्मिन् मिति णिति किति च परतः प्रोष्ठपदानामुत्तरस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

18. In प्रोष्ठपद and its synonyms, the first vowel of the second member gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita affix meaning 'born in that time', and having an indicatory अ, ए or क ॥

The word ज means 'born', the affixes denoting 'born under that asterism' are meant here. प्रोष्ठपद is the name of an asterism, the time appertaining there to is also called प्रोष्ठपद (the affix अण् of IV. 3. 3, is elided by IV. 2. 4): प्रोष्ठपदास्तु जातः = प्रोष्ठपदो माणवकः (with अण् IV. 3. 16). Why do we say 'born in that time'? Observe यदा प्रोष्ठपदोमेचः (= प्रोष्ठपदास्तु भवः) धरणीमभिवर्षति ॥ The plural number प्रोष्ठपदानां indicates that the synonyms of प्रोष्ठपद such as भद्रपद are also to be included.

हृद्भगसिन्ध्वन्त पूर्वपदस्य च ॥१९॥ पदानि ॥ हृद्, भग, सिन्धु, अन्त, पूर्वपदस्य च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हृद् भग सिन्धु इत्येवमन्तेषु पूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते मिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

19. The Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowels of both (the first and second) members in a compound ending with हृद्, भग, and सिन्धु, before a Taddhita affix having an indicative अ्, ण् or क् ॥

As सुहृदस्येदं = सौहार्दम्, सौभाग्यम्, सौभाग्यम् सौभाग्येयः (= सुभगाया अपत्यं), सौभाग्येयः (IV. 1. 126). The words सुभगा and दुर्भगा occur in the Kalyāṇādi class (IV. 1. 126), and the affix डक् and इक् augment are added. सुभग also occurs in Udgātṛi class (V. 1. 129). That word, however, does not get the Vriddhi in the second member, As महन्ते सौभाग्य ॥ This is a Vedic anomaly. Similarly from सक्तुसिन्धवः (= सक्तुप्रधानाः सिन्धवः) we have सक्तुसैन्धवः (= सक्तुसिन्धुषु भवः) so also पानसिन्धवः ॥ The word सिन्धु occurs in Kachchhādi class, and सैन्धवः is formed by अण् ॥ The Tadanta-rule applies to words formed there-under.

The words सुहृद् and दुर्हृद् are anomalously formed by V. 4. 150. But the reading adopted by Kāśikā is सुहृदस्येदम्; so the word hṛidaya is changed to hṛid by VI. 3. 50 or VI. 3. 51. The word sindhu means 'a country', 'a river' or 'an ocean'.

अनुशतिकादीनां च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुशतिकादीनाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुशतिक इत्येवमादीनां चाङ्गानां पूर्वपदस्य चोत्तरपदस्याचानादेशः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति तद्विधे
भ्रिति णिति किति वा परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कल्याण्यादीनामिदञ्जितिनह् ॥

20. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicative अ्, ण् or क्, the Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowel of both members of the compounds अनुशतिक &c.

Thus (1) आनुशातिकम् (= अनुशतिकस्येदम्) V. 1. 21 and IV. 3. 120; (2) आनुहोदिकः (= अनुहोदेन चरति IV. 4. 8). (3) आनुसांवरणम् (= अनुसंवरणे दीयते V. 1. 96). (4) आनुसांवस्वरिकः (IV. 3. 60 formed by डङ् from अनुसम्बस्वरेण दीयते) (5) आंगारवैजवः (son of अङ्गारवेणु). (6) आसिहात्यम् (= असिहत्ये भवं). Some read this word as अस्यहत्य; this will also take अण् as belonging to विमुक्तादि class. As आस्यहात्यः (= अस्यहत्यस्योऽस्मिन्प्रध्यायेऽस्ति) Others read this as अस्येहतिः, as आस्येहतिकः (= अस्येहतिः प्रयोजनमस्य). The word अस्य in these is treated like a Prātipadika, its case-affix is not elided. (7) बाध्यौगः (= बाध्यौगस्य अपत्यं). It belongs to Bidādi class. (8) पुस्करसंशोऽपत्यं = पौस्करसादिः ॥ This belongs to Bāhvādi class. (9) आनुहारत from अनुहरत् ॥ The same as above. (10) कुरुकतः belongs to Gargādi class. Its partonymic is कौरुकात्यः (11) कौरुपा-
ञ्चालः (कुरुपञ्चालेषु भवः) ॥ The affix वुङ् is not added here, because अनपदस्युदाहो
जनपदस्यहणेन गृह्यते ॥

(12) औदुकशौद्रिः (son of उदुकशुद्रिः) ॥ (13, 14) ऐहलौकिकः, पारलौकिकः, from
इहलोकः and परलोकः by adding डङ् in the sense of तच्च भवः (लोकोत्तरपदस्य च) ॥ (15)
सार्वलौकिकः from सर्वलोकः by डङ् under V. 1. 44. (16) सार्वपौरुषम् from सर्वपुरुषः in the

sense of सत्येदम् ॥ (17) सार्वभौमः (= सर्वभूमिनिमित्तं संयोगो or उत्पातो वा V 1. 41) ॥ (18) प्रयोगः—प्रायोगिकः (तत्र भवः, प्रयोगाधिदेवाधिभूतस्यभ्याम्नादयः) (19) परस्त्री—पारस्त्र्येयः formed by ईनञ (IV. 1. 126).

(20) So also of राजपुरुष before the affix व्यञ्, as राजपौरुष्यम् ॥ Why do we say before व्यञ् only? Observe राजपुरुषस्यापस्यं=राजपुरुषायणिः; formed by क्तिञ् (IV. 1. 157).

(21) शतकुम्भे भवः=शतकौम्भः, (21 a) सौख्यशायनिकः from सुखशयन (21 b) पारशरिकः from परश्वर ॥ (22) सूत्रनाडि=सूत्रनडस्यापस्यं ॥

This is an Akṛitigaṇa class; therefore, we have forms like these, आभिगानिकः (अभिगममर्हति), आधिदैविकम् (अधिदेवेभवः), आधिभौतिकं; चातुर्वैद्यम् (चतस्र एव विद्या) ॥ The affix व्यञ् is added in svārtha.

1 अनुशक्तिक, 2 अनुहोड, 3 अनुसंवरण (अनुसंवरण), 4 अनुसंवस्तर, 5 अङ्गारवेणु, 6 असिहृत् (अस्यहृत्), 7 अस्यहेति, 8 वध्योग, 9 पुष्करसद्, 10 अनुहरन्, 11 कुरुकन्, 12 कुरुपञ्चाल, 13 उदकशुद्ध, 14 इहलोक, 15 परलोक, 16 सर्वलोक, 17 सर्वपुरुष, 18 सर्वभूमि, 19 प्रयोग, 20 परस्त्री, 21 राजपुरुषान् व्यञ्मि; 22 सूत्रनड ॥ आकृतिगण, 23 अभिगम, 24 अधिभूत, 25 अधिदेव 26 चातुर्वैद्या, 27 सुखशयन 28 शतकुम्भ 29 परश्वर ॥

देवताद्वन्द्वे च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवता-द्वन्द्वे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवताद्वन्द्वे च पूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदस्य आचामादेशः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते ङिति णिति किति वा परतः ॥

21. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory इ, ए or क्, the Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowels of both members a Dvanda compound of the names of Devas.

As अग्निमारुती in अग्निमारुतीमनड्वाहीमालभेत् ॥ अग्निमारुतं कर्म ॥ The rule applies to Dvandas relating to hymns (सूक्त) and sacrificial offerings (हवि). Therefore, not here, स्कान्दविद्याखौ देवतेऽस्य=स्कान्दविद्याखः (IV. 2. 24). So also ब्राह्मप्रजापत्यम् by ण्य from ब्राह्मप्रजापती ॥ See VI. 3. 26.

The short इ in the अग्नि in अग्निमारुत, अग्निवाहणम् is by VI. 3. 28. A compound relates to a sūkta, which worships a deva through hymns; and that by which a 'havis' is determined, is a compound relating to sacrificial offering.

नेन्द्रस्य परस्य ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इन्द्रस्य, परस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रशब्दस्य परस्य यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ॥

22. But the Vriddhi of the first vowel of Indra, when it stands as the second member of a Dvanda compound, does not take place before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory इ, ए or क् ॥

As सौमेन्द्रः, आग्नेन्द्रः ॥ Why "when it stands as the subsequent member"? Observe ऐन्द्राग्न मेकादशकपालं चरुं निवेपेत् ॥ There are two vowels in the word इन्द्र, and when a Taddhita affix is added, then one of these i. e. the ङ or the last vowel is elided by VI. 4. 148, and the other (i. e. the इ, coalesces with the last

vowel of the first term, as सोम + इन् + अण् = सोम + इन् + अ = सोमे + अ + अ ॥ Now, no vowel is left of इन् when it gets the form न्, so what is the necessity of the present prohibitory rule? This prohibition indicates the existence of the following maxim : बहिरङ्गमपि पूर्वोत्तरपदयोः पूर्वं कार्यं भवति, पश्चादेकादेशो न ॥ "The substitution of one vowel for the final of the first and the initial of the second member of a compound does, even when it is antaranga, not take place previously to an operation which concerns the first or the second member of the compound". It is on this maxim that the forms पुषुकामयाम (VII. 3. 14) &c are constructed, otherwise उ being the first vowel of the second member (इ of इषु having merged in पूर्व), would have been vṛiddhi.

दीर्घाश्च वरुणस्य ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, च वरुणस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घादुत्तरस्य वरुणस्य यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ॥

23. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण or क, in a Dvandva compound of god-names, the vṛiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel of वरुण; when a long vowel precedes it.

As ऐन्द्रावरुणम्, मेधावरुणम् from इन्द्रवरुणौ &c. (VI. 3. 26). But अग्निवारुणीम् in अग्निवारुणीमनङ्गाक्षी मालमेत् when a short vowel precedes it. This word is derived from the compound word अग्नीवरुणौ the इ of अग्नि being lengthened by VI. 3. 27. But in forming a Taddhita-derivative from this word, the long ई is shortened by VI. 3. 28, and therefore, it cannot be said that a long vowel precedes वरुण ॥

प्राचां नगरान्ते ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्, नगरान्ते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचां देशे नगरान्तेऽत्र पूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदस्याचामादेशो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते अति णिति किति च परतः ॥

24. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण or क, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowels of both members of the compound, which is the name of a city of the Eastern People, and which ends in the word नगर ॥

As सांख्यानगरः (= सुखानगरे भवः), पौण्ड्रनगरः ॥ Why do we say 'of the Eastern people'? Observe माह्वनगरः, from मध्वनगरः the city of the Northern people.

जङ्गलधेनुबलजान्तस्य विभाषितमुत्तरम् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जङ्गल, धेनु, बलज, अन्तस्य, विभाषितम्, उत्तरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जङ्गल धेनु बलज इत्येवमन्तस्याङ्गस्य पूर्वपदस्याचामादेशो वृद्धिर्भवति विभाषितमुत्तर उत्तरपदस्य विभाषितं तद्धितं अति णिति किति वा परतः ।

25. Before a Tahhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण, or क, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of-

the compound ending in जङ्गल, धेनु and बलज, and optionally for the first vowel of these second members also.

As कौरुजङ्गलम् or कौरुआङ्गलम्, वैश्वधेनवम् or वैश्वधेनवम्, सौवर्णबलजः or सौवर्णबालजः॥

अर्द्धात्परिमाणस्य पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्द्धात्, परिमाणस्य, पूर्वस्य, तु, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्द्धाद्यन्तात्परस्य परिमाणवाचिन उत्तरस्याच्चाभावेऽप्यः स्याने वृद्धिर्भवति पूर्वस्य तु वा भवति तद्वित्ते भिति णिति किति वा परतः ।

26. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण, or क्, the Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the second member, denoting a mass in its widest sense, when the word अर्ध precedes it, but optionally for the first vowel of अर्धे ॥

As अर्धद्रोणिकम् or आर्धद्रोणिकम्, अर्धकौडविकम् or आर्धकौडविकम् with डम् (V. I. 18). Why do we say when denoting a mass? Observe आर्धकौशिकम् only (=अर्ध-कौशः प्रयोजनमस्य) ॥

नातः परस्य ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अतः, परस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्द्धात्परस्य परिमाणकारस्य वृद्धिर्न भवति, पूर्वस्य तु वा भवति, तद्वित्ते भिति णिति किति वा परतः ॥

27. When the first vowel of the second member, preceded by अर्ध and denoting mass is short अ, the Vriddhi is not substituted for this अ, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण or क्; and optionally so for the first vowel of the first member (i. e. अर्ध) ॥

Thus अर्धप्रस्थिकः or आर्धप्रस्थिकः (V. I. 18) ॥ अर्धकंसिकः or आर्धकंसिकः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a short अ'? Observe आर्धकौडविकः ॥ Why 'short अ'? Observe अर्ध खार्यान् भवः = अर्धखारी ॥ Here Vriddhi is substituted for the आ of खारी, and though the form remains the same, the power of this word is changed. For अर्धखारी being formed by a Taddhita affix causing Vriddhi, in forming a Bahuvrīhi compound, this word will retain its feminine form and will not be changed into masculine under VI. 3. 39. as अर्धखारीभार्यः (=अर्धखारीभार्यायस्य)(वृद्धि-निमित्तस्य च तद्वित्तस्य &c.) Wherever Vriddhi is prohibited with regard to a Taddhita affix, that affix cannot be called वृद्धिनिमित्त, and a word formed with such an affix will become masculine in a Bahuvrīhi compound referring to a male person, वैयाकरणो भार्या अस्य = वैयाकरणभार्यः ॥ The word वैयाकरण is formed by prohibition of Vriddhi. See VII. 3. 3.

प्रवाहणस्य ढे ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रवाहणस्य, ढे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रवाहणस्य ढे परत उत्तरपदस्याच्चाभावेऽप्यः वृद्धिर्भवति पूर्वपदस्य वा भवति ॥

28. Before the affix ढ (पय), the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the second member of प्रवाहण, but optionally so for the first vowel of the first member (i. e. प्र) ॥

Thus प्रवाहणस्यापत्यं = प्रावाहणेयः or प्रवाहणेयः ॥ The affix ढक् IV. 1. 123, is added, similarly प्रवाहणेयी भार्याऽस्य = प्रावाहणेयीभार्यः (VI. 3. 39, masculation prohibited). Or we may translate the sūtra as "Before the affix ढ, the vowel of प्र in प्रवाहण optionally gets Vṛiddhi", and omit the rest. The masculation will still be prohibited by VI. 3. 41, (जाते) ॥

तत्प्रत्ययस्य च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्प्रत्ययस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रवाहणस्येति वर्तते, तदिति ढप्रत्ययस्य प्रत्ययमर्थः, ढक् प्रत्ययान्तस्य प्रवाहणशब्दस्य तद्धितेषु परत उत्तरपदस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥

29. Even so in a new derivative from this stem ending in ढ, formed with a Taddhita affix having an indicative अ, ण् or क्, there is vṛiddhi substitution for the first vowel of the second member, and optionally for the first vowel of the first member, in प्रवाहणेय and प्रावाहणेय ॥

As प्रावाहणेयस्यापत्यं = प्रावाहणेयिः or प्रवाहणेयिः, प्रा or प्र-वाहणेयकम् ॥

नञः शुचीश्वरक्षेत्रज्ञकुशलनिपुणानाम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नञः, शुचि, ईश्वर, क्षेत्रज्ञ, कुशल, निपुणानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ उत्तेषां शुचि ईश्वर क्षेत्रज्ञ कुशल निपुण इत्येतेषामचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति, पूर्वपदस्य वा भवति तद्धिते मिति णिति किति वा परतः ॥

30. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicative अ, ण् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is always substituted for the first vowel of शुचि, ईश्वर, क्षेत्रज्ञ, कुशल and निपुण when preceded by the Negative particle, but this substitution is optional for the vowel of the Negative particle.

As अशौचम् or आशौचम्, अनैश्वर्यम् or अनैश्वर्यम्, अक्षेत्रज्ञम् or अक्षेत्रज्ञम्, अकौशलम् or आकौशलम्, अनैपुणम् or अनैपुणम् ॥ Some say the optional vṛiddhi of the negative particle is an aprāpta-vibhāṣa, no other rule would have caused its vṛiddhi had this rule not existed. They argue that by V. 1. 121, all affixes denoting भाव are prohibited after a Tatpurusha compound with the negative particle; therefore, the words शुचि &c, should be first developed by the addition of भाव-affixes, and then they should be compounded with the negative particle, which may be optionally vṛiddhied by this rule, which would apply to it, though it is not an aṅga, because the rule teaches vṛiddhi. Others controvert this opinion, and hold that other affixes causing vṛiddhi than भाव-affixes, also come after negative-Tatpurusha compounds, such as affixes denoting des-

endant &c : and भाव-affixes are added to Bahuvrīhi negative compounds also, therefore, the force of the anuvṛitti of अङ्ग, which is understood up to the end of the Seventh Adhyāya (VI. 1. 1), and *a fortiori* in this sūtra also, should not be set aside as the above interpretation would do. Moreover the full Taddhita compounds अक्षेपज्ञ and अनीश्वर are read in the list of Brāhmaṇādi words (V. 1. 124), and as such they take the भाव affix व्यम् which would have *always* caused the vṛiddhi of अ, but for this sūtra which makes it optional. Therefore it is a prāpta-vibhāṣā.

यथातथयथापुरयोः पर्यायेण ॥३१॥ पदानि ॥ यथातथ, यथापुरयोः, पर्यायेण ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यथातथ यथापुर इत्येतयोर्नम उत्तरयोः पर्यायेणाचानादेशो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते त्रिति त्रिति
क्रिति वा परतः ॥

31. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण् or क्, the words अयथातथ and अयथापुर may have vṛiddhi of the first vowel of their first member, or that of the second member, in alternation.

That is, when the Negative particle gets the vṛiddhi, the words remain unchanged; and when these words are vṛiddhied, the negative particle remains unaltered. As आयाततथ्यम् or अयायाततथ्यम्, आयायापुर्यम् or अयायापुर्यम् ॥ The words अयथातथ and अयथापुर should be considered to belong, as negative compounds, to Brāhmaṇādi class (V. 1. 124): and take व्यम् ॥ In the sūtra the compounds यथातथ and यथापुर are exhibited and are Avyayibhāvas (II. 1. 7), and being neuters, the आ of तथा and पुरा are shortened. According to Patanjali this sūtra is superfluous. When the negative particle takes Vṛiddhi, the compound should be analysed as, न यथातथा = अयथातथा, अयथातथा भावः = आयाया-तथ्यम् ॥ When the second member gets the vṛiddhi, the compound should be analysed as, यथातथा भावः = आयाततथ्यम्, न आयाततथ्यम् = अयायाततथ्यम् ॥

हनस्तो ऽचिण्णलोः ॥३२॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, तः, अ, चिण् णलोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितेऽपि निवृत्तम् । तत्संबद्धं कितीत्यपि । ऽणितीति वर्त्तते । हनस्तकारादेशो भवति
ऽणिति प्रत्यये परतः चिण्णलो वर्जयित्वा ॥

32. त् is substituted for the न् of the root हन् before an affix with an indicatory अ् or ण्, which causes also the vṛiddhi of the penultimate अ, but the augment is not added before the Aorist-sign चिण्, nor before the Personal ending णञ् of the Perfect.

The anuvṛitti of 'Taddhita' ceases, and with it that of क्तिन् also which causes Vṛiddhi in Taddhita only. The णिन् and मिन् do govern still. Thus घातः (with घम्), घातयति (with णिच्), घातकः (with ण्डल्), साधुघातिन् with इम्; घातंघातम् with ण्डल् ॥ But जघानि and जघान with चिण् and णञ् ॥ This sūtra has

reference to roots, and refers to those affixes only which come after roots (धातु-मख्य), therefore not here वार्धनः from वृचहन् ॥

आतो युक्चिण्कृतोः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, युक्, चिण्, कृतोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य चिणि कृति ङिति युगागमो भवति ।

33. A root-stem ending in आ receives the augment युक् (य्), before the Aorist sign चिण्, and before a kṛit-affix with an indicatory झ् or ण्, which causes also the Vṛiddhi of the root-vowel.

As अशायि, अधायि with चिण्, शायः and शायकः, धायः, धायकः with ण् and ण्वुल् ॥ Why चिण् and kṛit only? Observe वसौ, वधौ in the Perfect, and चौडिः, बालाकिः with ह्रस्व a Taddhita affix (IV. 1. 96). So also ज्ञा देवता अस्य = ज्ञः ॥

नोदात्तोपदेशस्य मान्तस्यानाचमेः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उदात्तोपदेशस्य, मान्तस्य, अनाचमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तोपदेशस्य मान्तस्याङ्गस्याचमिबर्जितस्य चिणि कृति च ङिति यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ॥

वा० ॥ अनाचमिकमिवमीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

34. The Vṛiddhi is not substituted before the Aorist चिण् or a kṛit-affix with indicatory झ् or ण् for the vowel of that root which ends in म् and is acutely accented in its original enunciation (Dhâtupâṭha), but not so in खम् after आ ॥

The vṛiddhi of the penultimate अ takes place before लिङ् and मिङ् affixes (VII. 2. 116), that vṛiddhi does not take place in the case of udâta roots ending in म् ॥ Thus अशानि, अतानि, and अरानि in चिण् ॥ Compare VI. 4. 92, 93. Similarly with कृङ् affixes, as शमकः, तमकः, दमकः, शमः, तमः दमः ॥ Why do we say 'acutely accented'? Observe, शमकः, रामकः ॥ How do you explain उद्यम and उपरम? These are irregular forms exhibited by Pāṇini himself in the Dhâtupâṭha अङ्ङद्यमे (Bhu. 380), यम उपरमे (Bhu. 1033) Why do we use "in the original enunciation or upadeśa"? So that the rule may apply to शमी वमी, तमी, but not to शममः, रामकः ॥ Here to the root शम्, तम् and दम् is added the affix चिनुङ् (III. 2. 141). The words शमिन् &c. get the affix-accent, namely acute ङ्; and thus the root-vowel becomes anudâta. Though the root *now* becomes anudâta, yet because in its upadeśa it was udâta, the present sūtra will apply and prevent vṛiddhi. The roots यम्, रम् are anudâta in upadeśa, but in शमकः, रामकः they become udâta by लिङ् accent. This accent is a secondary accent and not the 'original' accent; and hence the present rule does not apply and there is vṛiddhi. Why do we say ending in म्? Observe चारकः पाठकः ॥ Why with the exception of आचम्? Observe आचामकः ॥

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the roots आ-चम्, कम् and वम्, as शमः, कामः and आचामः ॥ In the case of कम्, the affix चम् is added

in that alternative, when the root does not take the affix जिह् (III. 1. 31). It thus gets vṛiddhi.

The word भ्रामः is formed from the Churādi भ्रम्, which with the affix जिच् gets Vṛiddhi, because जिच् is not a kṛit-affix, and is not therefore governed by this rule. If you say "let there be vṛiddhi of जिच्, but this vṛiddhi will be shortened by VI. 4. 92 because it is a मित् root", we reply "this root is not मित्" ॥ The मित् roots are those enumerated in Bhuādi class, subdivision घटादिः (800). No doubt, there it is said that the roots ending in भ्रम् are मित् (in भ्रमन्ताश्च). But a root is regarded मित् only with regard to the Causative जिच् affix, and not with regard to that जिच् of the Churādi class where the sense of the causative is not involved in it. Therefore this root is not मित् (VI. 4. 93).

The phrases हृथविभ्रामा ह्रमिः and others like it are incorrect. Why do we say 'चिण् and kṛit only'? Observe राघाम, दशाम, चचाम ॥

जनिषध्योश्च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनि, वध्योः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनि वधि इत्येतयोश्चिणि कृति च झिति यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ।

35. The Vṛiddhi is not substituted for the vowels of जन् and वध् before the Aorist-sign चिण् and the kṛit-affixes with an indicative झ् and ण् ॥

As भजनि and भवधि with चिण्, and जनकः and वधकः (with ण्डल्), प्रजनः, वधः ॥ This rule refers to the separate and the distinct root वध and not to the substitute of हन् ॥ This we see in the line भक्तकथेन विद्येत वधकोऽपि न विद्यते ॥ The form from हन् will be घातकः ॥ Moreover the substitute वध ends with व i. e. it is of two syllables 'badha', and as such it also does not admit Vṛiddhi. (See II. 4. 42). The prohibition refers to चिण् and kṛit-affixes, therefore not here, as जजान गर्भे महिमानमिन्द्रम् ॥

अस्तिह्रीव्लीरीकन्यूक्ष्माय्यातां पुङ्णौ ॥ ३६ ॥ अस्ति, ह्री, व्ली, री, कन्यूषी, क्ष्मायी, आताम, पुङ्, णौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वे निवृत्तमङ्गस्थेति वर्तते । अस्ति ह्री व्ली री कन्यूषी क्ष्मायी इत्येतेषामङ्गानामाकारान्तानां च पुगागमो भवति णौ परतः ।

36. The augment पुक् (प्) is added to the roots ऋ, ह्री, व्ली, री, कनूय्, क्ष्माय्, and to a root ending in long आ, when the affix जि (the Causative) follows.

As अर्पयति, द्रेपयति, ज्ञेपयति, रेपयति, क्लोपयति, क्ष्मापयति ॥ The anuvṛitti of every word other than अङ्ग (VI. 4. 1.) ceases. The ण् of कनूय् and क्ष्माय् drops by VI. 1. 66. The guṇa takes place by VII. 3. 86. Of the roots ending in long आ, we have रापयति, धापयति ॥ The root ऋ (Bhu. 983) गतिप्रापणयोः, and ऋ (Juhotyādi 16) गतो are both meant here. Similarly री includes रीह् लवणे (Di-aādi 30), and री गतिरेषणयोः (Kryādi 30). The augment is added at the end of

the preceding stem of root, and not to the affix. Being added to the root it becomes part of the root-stem, and in forming the reduplicate Aorist of such stems, the vowel before ष् is shortened by VII. 4. 1. If ष् were not the part of the stem, that vowel would not be shortened. Thus from शपद्यान् ; we have Aorist अशीदपत् ॥

शाच्छासाह्वाव्यावेपां युक् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शा, छा, सा, हा, व्या, वे पाम्, युक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शा छा सा हा व्या वे पा इत्येतेषामङ्गानां युगागमो भवति णौ परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ लुगागमस्तु तस्य वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ धुस् प्रीम्नोर्गुवक्तव्यः ॥

37. The augment युक् (य्) is added to the verbal stems शा, छा, सा, हा, वे and पा before the affix णि (Causative).

As निशाययति, अवच्छाययति, अवसाययति, ह्वययति, संव्याययति, वाययति, and पाययति ॥ The word पा includes the root पा 'to drink'. (Bhu 972) वे 'to dry' (Bhu 968). but not पा 'to protect' (Ad. 47): because the latter looses the षप् vikaraṇa.

Vart:—The root पा 'to protect' takes the augment लुक् before णि, as पालयति ॥

Vart:—The roots धुस् and प्रीम् take the augment लुक् before णि, as धूयति, प्रीणयति ॥

All these augments are added to the roots, in order that VII. 4. 1. should cause the shortening of the vowel preceding these. Thus the Aorist of the above are: अशीदपत्, अपीपत्, अवधुत्, अपीप्रिणत् ॥

The roots शा, छा, सा, हा, व्या and पा are exhibited as ending in long आ their Dhātupāṭha forms are श, शो, छो, सै, सो, ह्ये, व्ये and पे ॥ This indicates that these roots would have taken युक् by the last sūtra, the word आत् 'ending in long आ' means the roots which actually end in long आ, as well as those which get long आ by VI. 1. 45. This also indicates, that in this subdivision or section, the maxim of lakṣhaṇa protipadokta &c does not apply. Therefore when the roots इ with ऋप्, and ऋ assume the form अधि-आ and आ before the affix णि by VI. 1. 48, the augment युक् is added to them, thus अभ्यापयति, आपयति ॥

वो विधूनने लुक् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वः, विधूनने, लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वा इत्येतस्य विधूनने षे वर्तमानस्य लुगागमो भवति णौ परतः ।

38. वा gets the augment लुक् (ञ्) before the affix णि when the Causative has the sense of 'shaking'.

As पक्षेणोपवाजयति ॥ But आ वापयति केशान् when the sense is not that of shaking. This form could have been obtained from the root वज् 'to move', (Bhu 271) with the affix णि in the ordinary way without any augment. The special augment लुक् to वा indicates that this root will not take लुक्, which it would have otherwise done by the last sūtra. The root वा belongs to Bhu. 969 (ओवे शोषणे) ॥

लीलानुगुलुकावन्यतस्यां स्नेहविपातने ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ली, लोः, लुक्, लुक्, अन्यतरस्याम्, स्नेह विपातने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ली लो इत्येतयोर्गुणयोरेव्यतरस्यां लुक् लुक् इत्येतावागमौ भवतो नौ परतः स्नेहविपातने ॥

39. The roots ली and ला get optionally लुक् and लुक् augment respectively, before the affix णि, when the causative means 'the melting of a fatty substance'.

As वि लीनयति, वि लालयति, वि लाययति, or वि लापयति घृतम् ॥ The augment लुक् is added to ली when the root ends in long ई, and that also optionally. When the augment is not added, the regular causative लाययति is formed. But when ली gets the form ला by VI. 1. 51, it does not take the augment लुक् ॥ The root ली includes both ली and लीङ् of Kryādi and Divādi The root ला includes ला 'to give' (adādi 49), and ला the form assumed by ली under VI. 1. 51. When लुक् is not added to ला, लुक् is added by VII. 3. 36. Why do we say when meaning 'to melt fat'? Observe only लोहं विलापयति, ज्वाभिरालापयते (I. 3. 70).

भियो हेतुभये लुक् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ भियः, हेतुभये, लुक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भी इत्येतस्य हेतुभयेऽयं पुगागमो भवति नौ परतः ॥

40. The augment लुक् is added to the root भी before the affix णि, when fear is caused immediately owing to the agent of the Causative.

As घृण्णो भीषयते, जटिलो भीषयते ॥ See I. 3. 68. Herealso भी with long ई being employed in the sūtra, indicates that लुक् is added then only, when the root has the form भी, but when it assumes the form भा by VI. 1. 56, the proper augment लुक् will come : as घृण्णो भाषयते ॥ Why do we say 'when the agent of the causative is himself the direct cause of fear'? Observe कुञ्चिकयेन भाषयति, for here कुञ्चिका causes fear and not the agent of the verb. The ई is vriddhi and भाष substituted.

स्फायो वाः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फायः, वः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्फाङ् इत्येतस्याङ्गस्य वकारादेशो भवति नौ परतः ॥

41. For the final of the stem स्फाय् is substituted व् in the causative.

As स्फाययति ॥

शदेरगतौ तः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शदेः, अ गतौ तः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शदे रङ्गस्यागतावर्ये वर्तमानस्य तकारादेशो भवति नौ परतः ॥

42. For the final of the शद् is substituted त्, in the Causative, when it does not mean 'to drive'.

As पुष्पाणं शातयति, फलानि शातयति, but गाः शादयति गोपालकः ॥

रुहः पोन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुहः, पः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रुहरङ्गस्यान्यतरस्यां पकारादेशो भवति णो परतः ॥

43. प् may optionally be substituted for the final of रुह् in the Causative.

As व्रीहीन् रोपयति or रोहयति ॥ According to Padamanjari this sūtra could be dispensed with. The form रोपयति could be obtained from the root रुप् of Divādi class : which though meaning रोह्न् may be taken to mean 'grow' also; भनेकार्यत्वाद् धातुनाम् ॥

प्रत्ययस्थात्कार्त्तपूर्वस्योत् इदाप्यसुपः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्ययस्यात्, कात्, पूर्वस्य, अतः, इत्, आपि, असुपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्यये तिष्ठतीति प्रत्ययस्यः तस्मात् प्रत्ययस्यात्कार्त्तकारान् पूर्वस्वाकारस्य इकारादेशो भवति आपि परतः, स चेदाप्यसुपः परो न भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मामकनरकयो रूपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यमप्रत्ययस्यात् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रत्ययनिषेधे त्यक्त्यपोषोपसंख्यानम् ॥

44. इ is substituted for the अ which stands before the क् belonging to an affix, when the Feminine-ending आ follows, provided that, it does not come after a case-affix (i.e. when such a word in अङ्क does not stand at the end of a Bahuvrīhi).

That which stands in an affix is called प्रत्ययस्य, i. e. क् must be the part of the affix. The अक् is changed into इक् in the feminine in आ ॥ As अटि-लिका, दुष्टिका, शुभिका, वसिका, कारिका, हारिका ॥ So also वृत्तिका from एतद् + अक् + आप् एतकद् + आप् ॥ The इ is then replaced by अ (VII. 2. 102). The क् must belong to the affix, therefore, not in वृत्तिका from वृक् वृत्तीति ॥ The स्य in प्रत्ययस्य is for the sake of distinctness, there is no affix which is only क् ॥ The rule applies to क्, therefore, not to नन्वना, रमणा ॥ The इ is substituted for the अ which precedes (पूर्वस्य) क्, and not the अ which follows क्, as पदुका, इदुका ॥ The must be preceded by short अ, therefore, not here लोका, लौका, nor in राका, धाका ॥ The substitution takes place when आ follows, therefore, not in कारकी ॥ The word आपि qualifies क् ॥ The क् should be followed by आ ॥ Obj. But in कारिका from कारक + आ, क् is not directly followed by आ, but by अ? Ans. When अ + आ = आ there is ekādeśa, the क् is followed by आ, there being no third letter intervening then. Obj. But an ekādeśa is sthānivat to what it replaces when a pūrva-vidhi is to be applied, therefore there still exists the intervention. Ans. The express text of this sūtra will remove the intervention. Obj. Then इ should be substituted in रयकाम्या and गङ्गकाम्या ॥ These words are formed by the affixes क्वयच् and काम्यच्, as रयानां समूहः, (IV. 2. 51) and गर्गमिच्छति आत्मनः (III. 1. 9) = रयकाम्य and गर्गकाम्य ॥ Here also before the क् of the affix, the अ should be replaced

by इ, when the feminine affix आ is added: for there is no intervention between क् and आ (the intermediate letters being non-existent, as you say). Ans. We say that intervention is no intervention, when it consists of only *one* letter, which even does not *actually* exist, but only through the fiction of sthānivat. Therefore, the feminine of the above words will not take इ, as क् is not *followed immediately* (in the sense above expressed) by आप्, as रयकम्बा and रणकम्बा, because in these *actually* many letters are *heard* as intervening between the क् and आप् ॥

Why do we say असुप्: 'provided that the feminine affix आप् does not come after a case-affix'? Observe बहवः परिब्राजका अस्यां नयुरावां = बहुपरिब्राजका नयुरा॥ Here आप् comes after the noun बहुपरिब्राजक which ends in a case-affix, and hence the अ of ज is not changed to इ ॥ The case-affix is elided by II. 4. 71, and it still exerts its influence by I. 1. 62. The word असुप्: is a प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधः (a simple prohibition of the particular matter specified without mentioning what is different from it): and not a पर्युदासः or exception. Had it been a Paryudāsa, (सुपोऽन्वः = असुप्:) then आप् coming after a full word not having a case-affix, would have caused the इ substitution in the last example. Nor should असुप्: be explained as that in which there exists no case-affix. Had it been so, then in बहूनि चर्मण्यस्यां = बहुचर्मिका no इ ought to be added.

Vdt:—नामक and नरक should be enumerated, for the क् of these is not part of the affix: as मानिका, नरिका ॥ Here नमक् is substituted for नम before the affix आप् (IV. 3. 3), to which is then added दाप् ॥ The word नमक् takes long ई in the feminine only when it is a Name or in the Vedas (IV. 1. 30): therefore though नामक ends in अण्, it does not take ङीप् (IV. 1. 15) but दाप् (IV. 1. 4), नरात् कावति = नरक formed with the affix क् (अ III. 2. 3).

Vdt:—The rule applies to the words ending in स्वक् (IV. 2. 98) and स्वप्, (IV. 2. 104) in spite of the prohibition in VII. 3. 46. As शक्तिपायिका, इक्षिका ॥

The word in the sūtra is कात् the fifth case of क् ending in अ ॥ If then this be the condition, that the affix must end in ka क and not in k क्, then the rule will not apply to एतिका ॥ Because here the augment is अकच् (अक्) with क्; the final अ in अकच् is for euphony only, and not a portion of the affix, as we find in भिन्धकि, छिन्धकि, हन्धकि ॥ The word कात् therefore, is construed to mean ending in the *consonant* क् ॥

न यासयोः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, या, सयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ या सा इत्येतयोस्कारादेशो न भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ यत्तद्वाः प्रतिषेधे त्यक्तं उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ पावकाशीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ आशिषि चोपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ उत्तरपक्षे चोपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ क्षिपकाशीनां चोपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ तारका ज्योतिष्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ वर्णका तान्नं उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ वर्तका शकुनौ प्राचाद्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ अष्टका पित्रैवत्ये ॥ वा० ॥ वा सूतकापुष्पकावृन्तारकाणाद्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

45. The इ is not substituted for the अ of य and स, with the augment क, when the feminine आ follows.

As यका. सका ॥ The या and सा simply stand for यद् and तद्, and the prohibition is not confined to the nominative case only, as the forms जा and सा may lead one to think. न यत् तसोः would have been a better sūtra. The prohibition applies in every case, as यकामधीते. तकां पचामहे ॥ Or यकांयकामधीमहे (i. e. कृषां गाथां च), and तकां तकाम्पचामहे (i. e. ओषधीं शाकिनीं वा)

Vārt:—The affix स्यकन् (V. 3. 34) should be enumerated also along with यत् and तद् ॥ As उपस्यका, अधिस्यका ॥

Vārt:—The feminine of पावका &c in the Veda does not take इ for अ ॥ As हिरण्यवर्णः शुचयः पावकाः, यासु अ लोमकाः, कसकाः &c. But पाविकाः, अलामिकाः in secular literature.

Vārt:—So also in the affix बुन् used in benediction: as जीवताद् जीवका, नन्दताद् नन्दका, भवताद् भवका ॥ See III. 1. 150.

Vārt:—So also when the second member is elided in a compound: as देवका, यज्ञका, the second member इत् is elided, the fuller forms being देवसत्तिका, यज्ञसत्तिका (अनजाज्ञं च विभाषा लोपो बन्धव्यः) See V. 3. 83 *Vārt*.

Vārt:—क्षिपका &c should be enumerated in this prohibition: as क्षिपका, ध्रुवका, ध्रुवका, चटका ॥

Vārt:—तारका is formed when it means 'stars', but सारिका 'a maid-servant' from सारयति ॥

Vārt:—वर्णका is formed when it means 'a mantle or mask', but वर्णिका 'an expounder': as वर्णिका भागुरी लोकायते 'Bhāguri is a commentary of Lokāyata'

Vārt:—वर्तका 'a bird' according to the Eastern grammarians, but वर्तिका according to the Northern authorities. Why do we say 'when meaning a bird'? Observe वर्तिका भागुरी लोकायतस्य ॥

Vārt:—अटका when meaning a पितृदेवस्व ceremony, but अटिका सारी ॥ The ceremony related to Pitṛidevatā is called Pitṛidaivatya, the affix is यत् ॥ The former is derived from the root अट् with the affix सकन् (अटनन्ति ब्राह्मणा भोवनमस्यां), the other is derived from the numeral अट् by the affix कन् (V. 1. 22).

Vārt:—Optionally सूतका, पुष्पका and वृन्दारका, the other forms are सूतिका, पुष्पिका, and वृन्दारिका ॥

उदीचामः तः स्थाने यकपूर्वायाः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदीचाम, आतः, स्थाने, यक, पूर्वायाः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदीचागाचार्याणां मतेन यकारपूर्वायाः ककारपूर्वायातः स्थाने बोऽकारस्तस्यातः स्थाने इकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यकपूर्वस्ये धात्वन्तप्रतिषेधः ॥

46. According to the opinion of Northern grammarians, इ is not substituted for that अ which is obtained by

shortening the long **आ** of the feminine (under rule VII. 4. 13 before the affix **क**), which is preceded by a **य** or a **क्** ॥

The mention of 'northern grammarians' makes this an optional rule. As इभ्यका or इभ्यिका, क्षभ्यिका or क्षभ्यिका, चटका or चटिका, मूषका, मूषिका ॥ Why do we say preceded by **य** or **क्**? Observe अभ्यक-आभ्यिका only (from अभ्या ॥ The word चकपूर्वाभिः is exhibited in the feminine, in order to indicate that the rule applies when the *feminine* affix **आ** is shortened to **अ** ॥ Therefore not here शुभ्यिका from शुभ्या (शुभे जाति). So also मद्भ्यिका from मद्भ्या, where **आ** is part of the root **वा** (see III. 2. 74).

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of the **य** and **क्** being finals of a root. When the **य** or **क्** preceding this **अ**, is the final of the root, the prohibition contained in the sūtra, does not apply: as सुनीयका, सुषायिका, सुषाकिका, and असोक्तिका ॥

Why do we say 'of long **आ**'? Observe सांक्राभ्ये भवा = सांक्राद्व्यका ॥ The word संक्राभ्य is formed from संक्राद्य by the affix **भ्य** (संक्राद्ये निर्वृत्ते) ॥ Then is added the affix **वृज्** (IV. 2. 121). Here there is no shortening of a long **आ**, and hence no option is allowed. But in इभ्यका or इभ्यिका the long **आ** has been shortened. Because this word is thus derived: इभमर्हति = इभ्या (इण्डादिभ्योः V. 1. 66). To this **क** is added, and the long **आ** is shortened.

Why is the word **स्यान्** used in the sūtra, when by the general rule षष्ठी स्यानि योगः this word would be understood here? The special mention is for the sake of pointing out that the **अ** which takes the place of **आ** is intended here: i. e. the **इ** replaces this short **अ**; but had the word **स्यानि** not been used in the sūtra the **इ** would have replaced the long **आ** ॥

भस्त्रैषाजाह्नास्वा नञ्पूर्वाणामपि ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भस्त्रा, एषा, अजा, ज्ञा, ह्ना, स्वा, नञ्, पूर्वाणाम्, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदीचामातः स्यान् इति वर्तते ॥ आतः स्याने योकारस्तस्य इत्वं न भवति उदीचामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥

47. According to the opinion of Northern grammarians, **इ** is not substituted for that **अ** which is obtained by shortening the **आ** (before **क** by VII. 4. 13), of भस्त्रा, एषा, अजा, ज्ञा, ह्ना (VII. 2. 102), and स्वा; even not then when the negative particle precedes them.

As भस्त्रका or भस्त्रिका, अभस्त्रका or अभस्त्रिका, एषका or एषिका, अजका or अजिका, ह्नाका or ह्नाका, भस्त्रका or भस्त्रिका, इके or इके, स्वका or स्विका, भस्त्रका or भस्त्रिका ॥ Of एषा and ह्ना there are no examples with the negative particle. For if the compounding with नञ् takes place after the addition of the भक्त्, or on the contrary, if first भक्त् be added and then the नञ् compounding takes place, in both alternatives, the case-affixes must be added in order to substitute **अ** for the final by VII. 2. 102: and it is only when this **अ** is substituted that the se-

minine दाप् can come. So that the case-affix is the principal ingredient, and दाप् comes after झृप्, and therefore by the prohibition of अझृप्: in VII. 3. 44, there can arise no occasion for the substitution of इ ॥ Therefore अनेषका and अइके are the invariable forms of these words with the negative particle. स्व meaning agnates and property, takes the negative particle. भक्षा is a word which has no corresponding masculine form, and as such, by the following rule VII. 3. 48 it would not have taken इ; its special mention here indicates that it should be the secondary member of the compound here: as अविद्यमाना भक्षा वक्ष्या = अभक्षा, the Diminutive of which is अभक्षका or अभक्षिका ॥ Here first the भक्षा is shortened as it is a secondary member (upasarjana), then when the Bahuvrihi is made, the feminine affix दाप् is added to this भाषितपुंस्क word, then this भा is shortened before क by VII. 4. 13. This short अ (VII. 4. 13) does not come in the room of the आ which is ordained to come after a word having no corresponding masculine.

The force of अवि shows that the rule applies, when words other than नश् also precede, and even when no words precede. As निर्भक्षिका or निर्भक्षका, बहुभक्षिका or बहुभक्षका ॥

Note:—The form इके is from the word इकि, dual number, the final इ is changed to अ (स्यवाच्य), then the feminine आ (दाप्) is added (इका), and then शी is substituted for औ ॥

अभाषितपुंस्काच्च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, भाषितपुंस्कात्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभाषितपुंस्काद्विहितस्यातः स्थाने योऽकारस्तस्योदीचामाचार्याणामनेन इकारादेशो न भवति ॥

48. According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, इ is not substituted for an अ obtained from the shortening of the Feminine आ (VII. 4. 13), when to the feminine in long आ there is no equivalent masculine, even when the Negative particle precedes.

As खट्वा or खट्विका, भखट्विका or भखट्वा, परमखट्वा or परमखट्विका ॥ When before the affix कप्, the stem is shortened in a Bahuvrihi, this rule will apply (VII. 4. 15). There also, the अ must be substituted for the आ of a feminine word which has no corresponding masculine. But this rule does not apply when the negative compound is the synthesis of अविद्यमाना खट्वा भत्वा = भखट्वा, भत्वा भखट्वा = भखट्विका ॥ Similarly अतिक्रान्ता खट्वा = भतिखट्वा, भत्वा भतिखट्वा = भतिखट्विका ॥

Note:—The word खट्वा is always feminine and has no corresponding masculine.

आदाचार्याणाम् ॥ ४९ ॥ आत्, आचार्याणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभाषितपुंस्कातः स्थाने योऽकारस्तस्याचार्याणामाकारादेशो भवति ॥

49. According to the opinion of other Teachers, आ is substituted for the अ which arose from the shortening of the feminine आ of a word which has no corresponding masculine form.

As खडाका, अखडाका or परमखडाका॥

Note:—The "Teachers" referred to here are either those other than the Northern Grammarians, or it may refer to the Teacher of Pānini, the plural being for the sake of respect. Thus there are three forms अखडाका, अखद्विका, and अखद्वीका ॥

उत्स्येकः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्स्य, इकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गस्व निमित्तं यङ्, कभाङ्गस्व निमित्तं, प्रत्यय, स्तस्व प्रत्ययवत्स्व इक इत्ययमवशिष्यो भवति ॥

50. For उ in the beginning of a Taddhita affix there is substituted इक ॥

As आक्षिकः, चालाक्षिकः (उक् IV. 4. 1), लावणिकः (उक् IV. 4. 52). In the affixes उक्, उम् &c, if the affix is the consonant इ, and अ is only for euphony, then here also the अ is for pronunciation only: but if on the contrary, the aggregate उ.(इ+अ) is the affix, then the same is the case here. This rule does not apply in Unādi affixes always, as कणेषु उः = कण्ठः (Uṇ I. 103), for there is diversity (बहुल) in the Unādi.

माथितिकः (= मथितं पण्यमस्व IV. 4. 51) is thus formed मथित + उक् = मथित् + इक (VI. 4. 148 the अ is dropped). Now arises the doubt, should इक be replaced by क as taught in the next aphorism VII. 3. 51, as it comes after a त् ॥ This substitution, however, does not take place, because it was इक् which caused the elision of अ, and now त् which became final by such elision cannot cause the destruction of इक् its producer (सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनमित्तं तद्विधातस्व). Or the elided अ (VI. 4. 148) may be considered as sthānivāt, and would thus prevent क substitution.

There are two views about this उ ॥ Some say that the consonant इ only is the sthāni, and the अ is only for the sake of pronunciation. The others hold that उ, the consonant and the vowel are sthāni in the aggregate. In the first view, the rule would apply to the consonant इ at the end of roots like पठ् in पठित्, पठितुः; in the other view the rule would apply to the affix अङ् in कर्मङ् ॥ Hence, the commentary uses the word, that उ must be the cause of अङ् ॥

इसुसुकान्तात्कः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इस्, उस्, उक्, त, अन्तान्त्, कः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इस् उस् इत्येवमन्तानामुगन्तानां तान्तानां चाङ्गानामुत्तरस्य उत्स्य क इत्ययमवशिष्यो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ शेष उपसंख्यानम् ॥

51. क is substituted for उ after a stem ending in इस्, उस्, उ or ऊ, ऋ and ॠ ॥

As सार्विकः, धानुक्, वायुक्, नैषादकर्तुक्, शम्बरजम्बुकः, मातृकम्, पैतृकम्, गौरविक-

त्कः, शाकृत्कः, वाकृत्कः ॥ The इत् and उत् are the affixes of that name, therefore not here, भाषिणिकः (= भाषिषा चरति), औषिका (= उषा चरति) ॥

Vṛti—So also after शैत्, as शैष्कः (शैभ्योचरति) ॥

The word सार्विकः is formed by इक् of सर्वस्व पण्ये, (IV. 4. 51) and स is changed to च by इण् चः (VIII. 3. 39). भातुष्कः is by उक् of प्रहरणे ॥ वातुष्कः is by उक् of वीष्याति ॥ नैषादकर्षुक्तः &c by उप् of भवादावर्धे ओर्देशे उप् ॥ मातृकः by उप् of सत आगतः, कृतंउप् ॥ औसाधत्कः by उक् (IV. 2. 19) शाकृत्कः by उप् of संसृष्टे (IV. 4. 12).

चजोः कु घिण्यतोः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चजोः, कु, घित्, ण्यतोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चकारभकारयोः कवर्गादेशो भवति घिति ण्यति च प्रत्यये परतः ॥

52. For the final च् or ज् of a root, there is substituted a corresponding guttural, before an affix having an indicative घ्, and before ण्यत् ॥

As पाक, म्यागः, रागः with घञ्, and चाक्यम्, वाक्यम् and रेक्यम् with ण्यत् ॥ Compare VII. 3. 59.

न्यङ्कादीनां च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न्यङ्कु, आदीनाम्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ न्यङ्कु इत्येवमादीनां कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

53. The guttural is substituted in न्यङ्कु and the rest.

Thus न्यङ्कुः from नि + अङ् + उ; So also नद्युः ॥

(1) By the sūtra नावङ्चेः (Uṇ I. 17), the affix उ is added to the root अङ्च् preceded by नि ॥ (2) नद्युः is formed by adding उ to the root नद्ज (Uṇ I. 7) (3) न्युः, is formed by the affix उ added to the root भस्ज, the स् is elided, and इ is vocalised (Uṇ I. 28). (4 and 5) दूरेपाकः, फलेपाकः formed by the अङ्च् affix of पञ्चादि class, (= दूरं पच्यते हवमेव, फले पच्यते हवमेव) ॥ The vṛddhi is by nipātana. The seventh case-affix is not elided in these compound words by VI. 3. 14. (6) क्षणेपाकः ॥ This word is read by some. Others read these as दूरेपाका, फलेपाका with दार् ॥ A third reading is दूरेपाकुः, फलेपाकुः, by the affix उ added irregularly. (7 and 8) तक्र and वक्रं ॥ These are formed from the roots तञ्च् and वञ्च् with the affix रक् (Uṇ II. 13). (9) व्यतिषङ्गः formed from व्यतिषजति with पञ्चादि अच् ॥ (10) अनुषङ्गः ॥ (11) अवसर्गः ॥ (12) उपसर्गः ॥ (13) मेघः ॥ (14) श्वपाकः ॥ (15) मांसपाकः ॥ (16) कपोतपाकः ॥ (17) उलूकपाकः ॥ (18) पिण्डपाकः formed by the affix अण् with an accusative word in construction as upapada. (19) जर्चः when it denotes a name meaning 'price'. This is formed from the root जर्च् with the affix घञ् ॥ When it is not a name, the form is जर्हः ॥ (20 and 21) अवसाद्यः and निहाद्यः, when they are names meaning "Summer or Hot season". These are formed from the root दृह् preceded by अव and नि ॥ But when they are not names, the forms are अवसाहः, निहाहः ॥ (22) न्यमोधः formed from the root दृह् preceded by न्यङ् and by adding the पञ्चादि अच् ॥ The ह् is changed to ध ॥ (23) वीरुन् ॥ Formed from वृह् with वि and the affix व्दिप्, and ह् changed to ध ॥ न्यमोहवति and विरोहवति ॥

1 न्यङ्कु, 2 नहु, 3 न्यु, 4 दूरेपाक, 5 फलेपाक, 6 क्षणेपाक, 7 दूरेपाका, 8 फलेपाका, 9 दूरेपाकु, 10 फलेपाकु, 11 तक्र, 12 वक्र, 13 व्यतिषङ्ग, 14 अनुषङ्ग, 15 अवसर्ग, 16 उपसर्ग, 17 श्वपाक, 18 मांसपाक, 19 कपोतपाक, 20 कपोतपाक, 21 उलूकपाक, 22 संज्ञायां मेघनिहाद्यवसाद्ययोः मेघ 23 न्यमोध, 24 वीरुन् ॥

हो हन्तेर्णञिञेषु ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, हन्तेः, डिणत्, नेषु, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्कारस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति मिति णित् प्रत्यय परतो नैकस्ति ॥

54. A guttural is substituted for the ह in हन् before an affix having an indicatory झ्. or ण् and before न् ॥

As घातयति with णिञ्, घतिकः with ण्वल्, साधुयति with इञ्, घातघातन् with ण्वल्, घातः with घञ्, प्रमत्ति, प्रमृण, and अमृण् before न् ॥ Why do we specify ह? Otherwise the substitute would replace the final letter. Why of हन्? Observe प्रहारः, प्रहारकः ॥ ण् and झ् qualify the affixes, and न् means the न् of हन् which becomes joined with ह् when the intermediate अ is dropped. This न् comes in immediate contact with ह्, because it is *heard* in pronouncing, and in writing. If the elided अ be considered as sthānivat, then ह् can never be followed by न्, for there will exist the intervention of this latent अ, but by virtue of the special text of this sūtra, such an elided अ should not be considered as an intervention. And if झ्, ण् and न् be all considered as qualifying the ह् of हन्, still on the maxim येन नाव्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितेऽपि वचनप्रागाप्यान् therefore ण् or झ् are considered to come after ह् though a portion of the root intervenes. But not so here, हननामिच्छति हननीयति, add ण्वल् to this Denominative root, and we have हननायकः ॥

अभ्यासाच्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यासात्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासादुत्तरस्य हन्तिर्कारस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

55. A Guttural is substituted for the ह in हन् after a reduplication also.

As जिघांसति, अह्वयति, अहं जघान ॥ The rule applies when such an affix follows which causes the reduplication of the stem (ahga) हन्, therefore not here हननीयितुमिच्छति = जिहनीयति ॥

हेरचङि ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेः, अ, चङि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिनन्तेर्कारस्याभ्यासादुत्तरस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति अचङि ॥

56. A guttural is substituted for the ह् of हि (हिनोति) after a reduplication, but not in the Reduplicated Aorist.

As जिघीषति, प्र जेघीयते, प्रजिघाय; but प्राजीहयद् इतन् in the simple Aorist. Obj. The word अचङि could be dispensed with from the sūtra, in as much as अह् can never come after the simple root हि, but after the causative of हि, and the causative stem of हि is a different verb than, हि. Ans. The fact of this word अचङि being employed in the sūtra indicates the existence of the following maxim : प्रकृतिं प्रहणे ऽधिकस्यापि महणम् "A radical denotes whenever it is employed in Grammar, not only that radical itself, but it denotes also whatever stem may result from the addition to it of the causative affix णि" ॥ Therefore we have प्रजिघाया विषति ॥

The word **आजीवन्** is the Aorist of the causative of **हि**, with **चह**, the elision of **नि**, the shortening of the penultimate the reduplication, guttural change by **कुहोद्बु**, and lengthening by **दीर्घोऽलघोः** ॥

सन्निदोर्जेः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्, लिदोः, जेः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनि लिटि च प्रत्यये अरुहस्य बोध्यासस्तस्मादुत्तरस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

57. A guttural is substituted for the **ज्** in **जि** after a reduplication before the Desiderative affix **सन्**, and in the Perfect.

As **जिगीषति, जिगाय ॥** Why in the Desiderative and Perfect only? Observe **जेजीवते ॥** Though the root **ज्या** also assumes the form **जि** by vocalisation (VI. 1. 16, 17) yet that **जि** is not to be taken here. That will form **जिज्वतुः, जिज्युः ॥**

विभाषा चेः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, चेः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिनोतेरुहस्य सन्निदोर्बोधासादुत्तरस्य विभाषा कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

58. A guttural is optionally substituted for the **च्** of **चि** after a reduplication in the Desiderative and Perfect.

As **चिचिषति** or **चिकीषति, चिचाय** or **चिकाय ॥** But **चेचिबते** in other cases.

न क्रादेः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, कु, आदेः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवर्गादेशातोभजोः कवर्गादेशो न भवति ॥

59. A guttural is not substituted for the final **च्** **ज्** of a root which begins with a guttural, before an affix having an indicative **घ** and before **ण्यत् ॥**

As **कूजः, खजः** and **गजः** with **घम्**; **कुज्यः, खज्यः** and **गज्यः** with **ण्यत् ॥** This is an exception to VII. 3. 52.

अजिब्रज्योश्च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अजि, ब्रज्योः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजि ब्रजि इत्येतयोश्च कवर्गादेशो न भवति ॥

60. A guttural is not substituted for the final **च्** or **ज्** of **अज्** and **ब्रज्** before an affix having an indicative **घ** and before **ण्यत् ॥**

This is an exception to VII. 3. 52. Thus **समाजः, उवाजः, परिवाजः** and **परिवाज्यम् ॥** There is no example of **अज्** with the affix **ण्यत्**, because by II. 4. 56, **वी** replaces **अज्** before all *ārdhadhātuka* affixes except **घम्** and **अप् ॥** The **च** of the sūtra implies that the rule applies to other roots also not mentioned, as **वाजः, वाज्यम्** from **वज् ॥**

भुजन्त्युवजौ पाण्युपतापयोः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुज, न्युवजौ, पाणि, उपतापयोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भुज न्युवज इत्येतौ वाङ्गौ निपात्येते वधासंख्यम् पाणादुपतापे च ॥

61. भुज 'an arm', and न्युब्ज 'a kind of bodily disease', are irregularly formed, without any change of their ज before घञ् ॥

The word भुजः = भुज्यतेऽनेन, with घञ् (III. 3. 121). The irregularity consists in the absence of Guṇa, as well as of gutturalisation. न्युब्जिताः घातेऽस्मिन् = न्युब्जः from the root उब्ज् अर्जन् (Tudādi 20). The irregularity consists in the non-changing of ज् ॥ When not meaning 'an arm' and 'a disease', we have भोगः, सद्युग्गः ॥

प्रयाजानुयाजौ यज्ञाङ्गे ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयाज, अनुयाजौ, यज्ञ, अङ्गे, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कुल्यप्रतिषेधोऽनुवर्तते ॥ प्रयाज अनुयाज इत्येतौ निपात्यते यज्ञाङ्गेऽभिधेये ॥ प्रपूर्वस्य वज्रस्यै
कुल्याभावो निपात्यते ॥

62. प्रयाज and अनुयाज are irregularly formed with घञ्, when meaning a portion of a sacrificial offering.

These words are derived from वज् with घञ् without the guttural substitution; as पञ्च प्रयाजाः, त्रयोऽनुयाजौ, स्वमग्ने प्रयाजानां पश्चात् स्वं पुरुस्तात् ॥ But प्रयागः and अनुयागः when not referring to portions of a sacrifice. The प्रयाज and अनुयाज are illustrative only. The guttural change does not take place with other prepositions &c. also, as उपयाजः, उपोऽनुयाजः, संयाजः, ऋतुयाजः, as in the sentences एकादशोपयाजाः, उपोऽनु याजमन्तरं वज्रति, अष्टौ पत्नी संयाजा भवन्ति, ऋतुयाजे अरन्ति ॥

वज्रेर्गतौ ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वज्रेः, गतौ, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वज्रेः गतस्य गतौ वर्तमानस्य कवर्गादेशो न भवति ॥

63. A guttural is not substituted for the palatal of वज् in the sense of 'going'.

As वज्च वज्रन्ति वणिजः, but वाङ्च्यं कौटं = कुटिलं ॥ Why is गतौ used, when we know from the Dhātupāṭha (Bhuadi 204) that वज् means 'to go'? The specification shows that the roots possess many meanings other than those assigned to them in the Dhātupāṭha.

ओक उचः के ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओकः, उचः, के, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उचैर्जातोः के प्रत्यय ओक इति निपात्यते ॥

64. ओक is irregularly formed from the root उच् with the affix क (अ) ॥

The change of च् into क्, and the Guṇa are the irregularities. As ओकः 'a bird, a tree'. The affix क is added under III. 1. 135. The क is added with the force of च् the Kāraka relation being that of Location &c. The च् affix would have given the form regularly, but then the word would have been acutely accented on the first syllable, but it is desired that the acute should be on the last. The words दिवोक्तः, जलोक्तः &c are also irregular,

formed with the Upadi affix **अद्यु** the **हृ** being substituted for **च** as an Upadi diversity (bahulam).

अद्युभावस्यके ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्यः, भावस्यके, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावस्यकेऽर्थे यो व्यप्रत्ययस्तस्मिन् परभूते चञोः कृत्यं न भवति ॥

65. A guttural is not substituted for the palatal, before the affix **अद्य**, when it means 'to do as absolute necessity'.

As **अवश्य** पाच्यम्, **अवश्य** वाच्यम्, **अवश्यरोच्यम्**, but **पाक्यं**, **वाक्यं** and **रेक्यं** when the sense is not that of necessity.

यजयाचरुचप्रवचर्चश्च ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज, याच, रुच, प्रवच, ऋचः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज याच रुच प्रवच ऋच इत्येतेषां ण्ये परतः कवर्गादेशो न भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ण्यति प्रतिषेधे त्यन्तरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

66. A guttural is not substituted for the final palatals of **यज्**, **याच**, **रुच**, **प्र-वच्**, and **ऋच्** before the affix **ण्यत्** ॥

As **याज्यम्**, **वाच्यम्**, **रोच्यम्**, **प्रवाच्यम्**, and **अर्च्यम्** ॥ Though **ऋच्** has a penultimate **हृ** and therefore by III. 1. 110 would have taken **कवर्**, it takes **ण्यत्** by force of this sūtra. **प्रवच्** shows that the present sūtra applies to it, though it means 'a word or speech', and the prohibition of VII. 3. 67 does not apply. **प्रवाच्य** is the name of a particular book. Others say that the prohibition applies to **वच्** only when it is preceded by **प्र**, and does not mean word or speech (VII. 3. 67) and not when it is preceded by any other preposition. As **अविवाक्य-महति** पठन्ति ॥ This even in a very restricted sense, namely on the tenth day of the Daśarātra ceremony. In other places we have **अविवाच्यं** ॥

Vart :—**त्यञ्** should be enumerated in this connection i. e. before **ण्यत्**, the **ञ** remains unaltered, as **त्याज्यम्** ॥

वचोऽशब्दसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वच्, अ, शब्द, संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यद्विति वर्तते वचोऽशब्दसंज्ञायां ण्यति परतः कवर्गो न भवति ॥

67. The guttural is not substituted for the final of **वच्** before **ण्यत्**, when it does not mean 'a word or speech'.

As **वाच्यमाह**, **अवाच्यमाह**, but **अवपुषितं वाच्यमाह** ॥

प्रयोज्यनियोज्यौ शक्यार्थे ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयोज्य, नियोज्यौ, शक्य, अर्थे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वत्वं निपूर्वत्वं च युजेः प्रयोज्य नियोज्य इत्येतौ शब्दौ शक्यार्थे निपात्यन्ते ॥

68. **प्रयोज्य** and **नियोज्य** preserve their palatal in the sense of 'capable to do this'.

As **प्रयोज्यः** = **प्रयोक्तुंशक्यः**; **नियोज्यः** = **नियोक्तुंशक्यः**, but **प्रयोग्य** and **नियोग्य** in other senses.

भोज्यं भक्ष्ये ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भोज्यम्, भक्ष्ये, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भोज्यं निपात्यते भक्ष्येभिधेने ॥ युजेर्भाति कृत्वाभावो निपात्यते शक्यार्थे ॥

69. भोज्य preserves its palatal in the sense of 'eatable'.

The word is derived from भुज् with ण्यत् in the sense of 'able'. As भोज्य भोजनः 'eatable rice', भाज्या बजागुः 'eatable barley-gruel'. भक्ष्य here means anything which is fit for being eaten. When not having this sense, we have भोग्यः कम्बलः ॥

घोर्लोपो लेटि वा ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ घोः, लोपः, लेटि, वा, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घुसंस्कानां लेटि परतो वा लोपो भवति ॥

70. The final of वा and घा (घु roots) may optionally be elided in the Subjunctive (लेट्) ॥

As वषट्कारा वायुपे Rig I. 35. 8. सानो वषट् गन्धर्वा Rig X. 85. 41. But also वदग्निरग्ने वषात् ॥ The form वषात्, however, may also be deduced even when the final of वा is elided, for then by the आट् augment (III. 4. 9†) we get this form. The word वा is therefore employed in the sūtra only for the sake of distinctness, for the sūtra without वा would have also given the above forms, as we have shown. Or the वा is used to remove the doubt which one may entertain to this effect "वषात् is the form which may be deduced by the general rule, since लोप is taught, this form will be excluded altogether and will never appear".

The form वषात् is thus evolved. We add टिप् to the root वा; then the इ of टि is elided (III. 4. 97). वायुपे = वज्रमानाव रत्नानिवद्यात् ॥ Others say, the वषात् is the form of the root with the वाट् affix. वषात् is from the root वाश् ॥

Some say that वा is jñāpaka and indicates the existence of the following maxim:—अनिश्चयान्नचासनम् "the rule about augments is *anitya*". So that the augment आट् being *anitya*, we could not have got the form वषात् ॥ Hence the employment of the word वा ॥

ओतः इयनि ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओतः, इयनि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य इयनि परतो लोपो भवति ॥

71. A stem ending in ओ loses its final before the Present characteristic इयन् of the Divādi class.

As निश्चयति from ओ, अवच्छयति from छो, अवयति from वो, and अवस्यति from सो ॥ The त् in ओत् is for the sake of euphony or ease of pronunciation.

According to Padamanjari, the sūtra should have been ओतः चिति, and thereby there would be the saving of half a mātrā, and also there would be no necessity of repeating the word चिति in VII. 3. 75.

कसस्याधि ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कसस्य, अधि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कसस्याङ्गादौ प्रत्यये लोपो भवति ॥

72. The अ of the Aorist characteristic क्स is elided before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As अघुक्षाताम्, अघुक्षायाम्, अघुक्षि from the root दुह् ॥ Had the अ not been elided before आताम् and आयाम्, then ह्य must have been substituted for it according to VII. 2. 81. Why do we say before an affix beginning with a vowel? Observe अघुक्षत्, अघुक्षताम् ॥ Why do we say क्स and not only स? So that the elision should not take place here, as उत्सो, उत्साः, वत्सो, वत्साः, कृणसो, कृणसः ॥

लुक्वा दुह् दिह लिह गुहामात्मनेपदे दन्त्ये ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुक्, वा, दुह, दिह, लिह, गुहाम्, आत्मनेपदे, दन्त्ये, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुह दिह लिह गुह इत्येतेषामात्मनेपदे वन्त्यादौ परतः क्सत्य वा लुगभवति ॥

73. The whole of the affix क्स is elided optionally before the personal endings of the Atmanepada beginning with a dental, after दुह्, दिह् लिह् and गुह् ॥

As अदुग्ध or अघुक्षत, अदुग्धाः or अघुक्षयाः, अदुग्धम् or अघुक्षन्वम्, अदुह्वहि or अघुक्षावहि, अदिग्ध or अधिक्षत, अलीह or अलिक्षत, न्यगुह or न्यघुक्षत ॥

Why दुह् &c. only? Observe व्यत्यस्तत ॥ Why in the Atmanepada? Observe अघुक्षत only. Why before an affix beginning with a dental? Observe अघुक्षानहि only. Though the anuvṛtti of लोप was understood in this sūtra; the employment of the term लुक् indicates that the whole of the affix is to be elided. For लोप would have elided only the final अ of स ॥ But even with the elision of अ alone we would have got all the above forms, except those in. वहि ॥ For अ being elided, we have ह् between ह् (a consonant of ह्रस्व class) and a dental (which is also a letter of ह्रस्व class). This ह् situate between two ह्रस्व will be elided by VIII. 2. 26. Nor can it be objected that the elided अ is sthānivat, for by पूर्ववासिजं VIII. 2. 1, such an elision cannot be sthānivat. Though ह् is a dento-labial, yet it is included in the word dental. Had it not been meant to be so included, लौ (letters of लृट् class) would have been taken in the sūtra. See III. 1. 45, for this Aorist-affix.

शमामृष्टानां दीर्घः इयनि ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शमाम्, अष्टानाम्, दीर्घः, इयनि, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ शमादीनामृष्टानां दीर्घो भवति इयनि परतः ॥

74. Before the Present character इयन्, a long is substituted for the root-vowel in शम् and the seven roots that follow it.

As शाम्यति, ताम्यति, शाम्यति, शाम्यति, शाम्यति, शाम्यति, शाम्यति, शाम्यति ॥ Why of these eight only? Observe अस्वति ॥ Why before इयन्? Observe अयति; the अयन् being optional after this root by III. 1. 70.

ष्टिबुल्लभ्याचमां शिति ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ष्टिबु, ल्लभु, आचमाम्, शिति, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ षीर्ष इति वर्तते ॥ ष्टिबु ल्लभ आचम इत्येतेषां षीर्षो भवति शिति परतः ॥

75. Before any other Present character (शित्), the root vowel of ष्टिह्, ल्लभ्, and आ-चम् is lengthened.

As *हीवाति*, *कलामति*, and *आ आमति* ॥ *कलम्* lengthens its vowel before *अच्* by the last rule, the present rule produces this change before the affix *वाच्* also, which it gets by III. 1. 70. *अच्* lengthens its vowel only when it is preceded by *आ*; therefore not here: *आमात*, *विचमति* or *उचमति* ॥ The sūtra is exhibited as *हिबुङ्गश्च* *अमां* *शिति* in the original text of Pāṇini; the present form, owes its existence to the insertion of *आ* from the vārtika *दीर्घत्वमाङि अमः* ॥

क्रमः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रमः, परस्मैपदेषु, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घ इति वर्तते ॥ क्रमः परस्मैपदपरे शिति परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

76. The long is substituted in *क्रम*, before a *शित्* affix, in the Parasmaipada.

As *क्रामति*, *क्रामतः*, *क्रामन्ति* ॥ Why in the Parasmaipada? Observe *आक्रमते* *आहित्यः* ॥ How do you explain the lengthening in *उरक्राम* and *संक्राम* (Imperative 2nd Per. Sg.)? For when *हि* is elided by *लुक्*, (VI. 4. 105) then by I. 1. 63, the affix being dropped by a *लु-*elision, it would produce no effect and so there ought to have been no lengthening? This is no valid objection. The prohibition of I. 1. 63, applies to the *अङ्ग* stem after which the affix is elided. Here *क्रम* is not a stem or *ahga* with regard to *हि*, but it is a *stem* with regard to *वाच्*, as *क्रव + वाच् + हि* ॥ Therefore, though *हि* is elided, the lengthening will take place by I. 1. 62, (*प्रत्यय लक्षणम्*) ॥

हिबुङ्गमियमां छः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इषु, गमि, यमाम्, छः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शितीति वर्तते ॥ इषु गमि यम इत्येतेषां शिति प्रत्यये परतच्छकारादेशो भवति ॥

77. *छ* is substituted for the final of *इष्*, *गम्* and *यम्* before a Present-character (*शित्*) ॥

As *इच्छति*, *गच्छति*, *यच्छति* ॥ The *इष्* with the indicatory *च्* is taken here, (Tud. 59), and not *इष्* of Divādi (19) class or of Kryādi class (53). There we have *इष्यति* and *इष्णाति* respectively. Those who do not read the sūtra as *इष्* &c, but as *इषगमि* &c, read the anuvṛtti of the word *अच्* from VII. 3. 72 into this sūtra; so that the *शित्* is qualified by the word *अच्*, i. e. a *शित्* affix which is merely a vowel, and has no consonant in it; (and not a *शित्* affix which begins with a vowel). Therefore though *आनच्* is a *शित्* affix beginning with a vowel, yet as it contains a consonant, the *छ* substitution does not take place, as *इषाणः* (III. 1. 83) The reading of the text according to Patanjali and Kātyāyana is *इषगमियमां छ*, and hence the necessity of the above explanation. The reading *इषु*, though convenient, is not ārsha.

पाघ्राध्मास्थाज्ञादाणदृश्यर्तिसर्तिशदसदां पिबजिघ्रधमतिष्ठमनयच्छपश्यछंधौशी-
यसीदाः ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पा, घ्रा, ध्मा, स्था, ज्ञा, दाण, दृशि, अर्त्ति, सर्त्ति, शद, सदा, पिब, जिघ्र, धम, तिष्ठ, मन, यच्छ, पश्य, अश्छ, धौ, शीय, सीदाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पा प्रा ध्मा रूपा मा वाण् दृष्टि भर्ति सति चर सर इत्येतेषां पिब जिह्र धन तिष्ठ मन बण्ड पदम्
कण्ड धौ शीय सीर इत्येते भादेया भवन्ति चिति परतः ॥

78. Before a Present-character (शित्), the following substitutions take place :—पिब् for पा, जिह्र् for घ्रा, धम् for ध्मा, तिष्ठ् for रूपा, मन् for मा, यङ् for वा (वाण्), पदय् for दृष्ट्, कण्डय् for कण्ड, धौ for च्, शीय् for शद् and सीद् for सद् ॥

As पिबति, जिह्रति, धमति, तिष्ठति, मनति, बण्डति, पदयति, कण्डयति, धावति, शीयते and सीरति ॥ पिब् + चप् + तिप् required Guṇa of the इ of पि by VII. 3. 86, it however does not take place on the maxim अङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्दृष्टावधिः "when an operation which is taught in the angādhikāra, has taken place, and another operation of the angādhikāra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place". Or the substitute पिब is one which ends with ब्, and is acutely accented on the first. It must be acutely accented on the first; otherwise by VI. 1. 162, the acute will be on the last पिर् ॥ Then when there is ekadeśa with चप्, the acute will be on the middle in पिबेति, which is not desired. धौ is substituted for द् when the sense is 'to run, move quickly'; in any other sense, we have मसरति, मनुसरति ॥

झाजनोर्जा ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जा, जनोः, जा, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जा जन इत्येतयोर्जादेशो भवति चिति परतः ॥

79. Before a शित् affix, जा is substituted for वा and जन् ॥

As जानाति and जायते ॥ The जन् here belongs to Divādi class, meaning 'to be produced', and not जन् of the Juhotyādi class. Why जा (long) and not ज, for this ज would assume the form जा by VII. 3. 101? This long जा of जा indicates the existence of the maxim given above in VII. 3. 78; and had ज been the substitute, VII. 3. 101, could not have lengthened it.

प्रादीनां ह्रस्वः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ पू, आदीनाम्, ह्रस्वः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पू इत्येवमादीनां ह्रस्वो भवति चिति परतः ॥

80. A short is substituted for पू &c, before a शित् affix.

The Pvādi roots form a subdivision of the Kryādi class, beginning with पूम् पवने (2) and ending with छी गतौ (32). The स्वादि roots (VIII. 2. 44) are a portion of प्रादि (nos 13 to 32). Others hold that upto the end of the Kryādi class are Pvādi. Thus पुनाति, छुनाति, स्तृणाति ॥ Those who hold that Pvādi roots are upto the end of the Class, explain the non-shortening of जानाति (for जा would also then become Pvādi), by saying that the express

text of VII. 3. 79, substituting long आ prevents the shortening. They say had आ been also shortened, then merely अ substitute would have been enough and not आ; and this अ would have been lengthened in the case of अन् by VII. 3. 101, to form आचते ॥

मीनातेर्निगमे ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मीनातेः, निगमे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मीनातेरङ्गत्वं शिति प्रत्यये परतां इत्सो भवति निगमविषयं ॥

81. In the Veda मी is shortened before a शित् affix.

As प्रतिनन्ति प्रतानि Rig. X. 10. 5. The न becomes ण (प्रतिनन्ति according to Kāśika) by VIII. 4. 15. Why in the Veda? Observe प्र मीणाति ॥

मिदेर्गुणः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिदेः, गुणः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मिदेरङ्गत्वंको गुणो भवति शिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

82. For इ in मिद्, there is substituted a guṇa before a शित् affix.

As मेधाति, मेधातः, मेधानि ॥ Why मिद् only? Observe स्विद्यन्ति, क्लिद्यन्ति ॥ The root मिदिश belongs both to the Bhvādi and the Divādi classes. The Bhvādi मिद् will get guṇa before ण्य by virtue of VII. 3. 86, but the Divādi मिद् would not have got guṇa before ण्य, as this affix is ङित् (I. 2. 4): hence the necessity of this sūtra. Before non ण्य affixes there is no guṇa, as मिद्यते, मेनिद्यते ॥

जुसि च ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जुसि, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जुसि च प्रत्यये परत इगन्तस्याङ्गत्वं युजो भवति ॥

83. Before the personal-ending जुस् (उस्) of the Imperfect, guṇa is substituted for the final इ, ई, उ, ऊ, ऋ, and ॠ, लृ of the stem.

As अजुह्वुः, अविभयुः, अविभरुः, अजागरुः ॥ This Personal ending is ङित् according to I. 2. 4, and would not have caused guṇa (I. 1. 5), but for this sūtra. The ending जुस् (III. 4. 108) comes in the लृह् also. There, however, it does not cause guṇa. As चिन्त्युः, सुतुयुः ॥ Here there are two ङित् affixes, the augment वासुद्, and the sārvaadhātuka जुस्; and the वासुद् prevents guṇa. The इक् is read into the sūtra from I. 1. 3.

सार्वधातुकाखेधातुकयोः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सार्वधातुक, आखेधातुकयोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सार्वधातुके आखेधातुके च प्रत्यये परत इगन्तस्याङ्गत्वं युजो भवति ॥

84. The Guṇa is substituted for the final इक् vowel of a stem before the affixes called sārvaadhātuka and ārdhādhātuka (III. 4. 113 &c).

As सरति, नवति, भवति ; कर्तु, वेत्, स्तोतु, ॥ Why sārva dhātuka and ārdha-dhātuka affixes only ? Observe अग्निस्त्वम् अग्निकाम्याति ॥ For had the sūtra been सङि then the rule would have applied to affixes like सन् काम्यश्च &c which go to form Denominative verbs. सङ् includes all affixes beginning with सन् and ending with महिङ् ॥ If the sūtra had been प्रत्यङ्, then the rule would have applied to the affixes like स्त्वम् &c. To exclude these cases, the two words sārva dhātuka and ārdha dhātuka are used. For exceptions See I. 1. 4, 5, 6.

जाग्रोऽविचिण्णलङित्सु ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जाग्रः, अ, विच्, चिण्, लङ्, कित्सु ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जागृ इत्येतस्याङ्गस्त्व गुणो भवति अविचिण्णलङित्सु परतः ॥

85. The Guṇa is substituted for the ऋ of the stem जागृ, except before the affix वि, before the Aorist-character चिण्, before the Personal ending, लङ् of the Perfect, and before an affix with an indicatory इङ् ॥

As आगम्यति, with णिच्, आगरकः (with ण्वुल्) साधुजागरी, आगरं आगरम् (with ण्वुल्) आगते वतते (with घञ्), आगरितः (with क्), आगरितवान् (with क्वत्) ॥ This is an exception to the Vṛiddhi rule of VII. 2. 115, and to the prohibition in I. 1. 5. When this guṇa is substituted, there does not take effect that rule, which causes Vṛiddhi of the penultimate short अ of आगर; (अत उपधायाः VII. 2. 116). Had that been the case, then the guṇa substitution would become simply useless, and the prohibition with regard to णिच् and लङ् superfluous. Why do we say not before वि, णिच् and लङ् and कित् ? Observe आगविः (with the affix विन् Uṇādi) अजागारि with णिच् which causes Vṛiddhi, and अजागर with लङ्, and आगृतः and आगयः with a कित् (I. 2. 4) affix. Some hold that the इ in वि is for the sake of pronunciation only, and the prohibition applies to all affixes beginning with a व, such as क्वत्, as अजागृवान्, here there is no guṇa. In अजागरः with जुस् the guṇa takes place by virtue of VII. 3. 83 : for though it is a कित् affix also, the prohibition कित्सु of this sūtra does not affect it. Similarly महं अजागर with लङ् the optional guṇa VII. 1. 91 is also not prohibited by the लङ् of this sūtra. In fact the phrase अविचिण् लङ् कित्सु is a Paryudāsa prohibition : for had it been a prasayya-pratishedha, then the guṇa before जुस् and the 1st Pers. लङ् would also have been prohibited. In short this sūtra positively ordains guṇa of जागृ before every affix, other than वि, चिण्, लङ् and कित्, and if by any other rule these latter would cause guṇa, that guṇa is not *prohibited*. That is the result of Paryudāsa negation.

But if the sūtra be construed as a Prasayyapratishedha, then we shall apply the maxim अनन्तरस्व विधिर्वा भवति प्रतिषेधो वा ॥ The prohibition is therefore stated with regard to जाग्र in connection with the affixes वि, चिण्, लङ् and कित् ॥ But the Guṇa ordained by VII. 3. 84, 83 is not prohibited.

पुगन्तलघूपधस्य च ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुक् अन्त, लघु उपधस्य, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुगन्तस्याङ्गस्य लघूपधस्य च सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोर्गुणो भवति ॥

Kārikā:—सद्योगे गुरुसंज्ञायां गुणो भवति सिध्यति ।
विध्यपेक्षं लघोभासो कथं कुण्डिर्न दुष्यति ॥
धातोर्हिदुष्य कथं रज्ज्, स्याद्विध्योर्निपातनात् ।
अनलोपशिरीषस्य विध्यपेक्षे न सिध्यतः ॥
अभ्यस्तस्य वसंशब्धि लङ्ग्यं तत्कृतं भवेत् ।
अनुसर्गो बलकृतं कित्थं शापकं स्यान्नयोरुणे ॥

86. Guṇa is substituted before a sārvaadhātuka and an ārdhadhātuka affix, for the इक् vowels of the Causative stems which take the augment प् (VII. 3. 36), and for the short penultimate vowel of a root which ends in a single consonant.

As झेपयति, द्वेपयति, क्लोपयति, भवनेष्व, छेदनेष्व, भेत्ता, छेत्ता ॥ Of course the vowel should be laghu or light, before the addition of the affix; the heaviness caused by the addition of the affix, will not prevent guṇa. Thus भिद् + ह, though इ + ह = हृ causes the इ to become heavy, that will not prevent guṇa: for विध्यपेक्षं लघु महणम् ॥ Obj: If this be so, why the forms कुण्डिहृ, इण्डिहृ are not incorrect, for in them also the vowel is laghu (the roots are कुंद् and हुद्), and the augment ह् is added afterwards by a Vidhi rule? Ans. The augment ह् is added to the root, and becomes upadeśivat. (See VII. 1. 58). Obj. If so, how do you cause Vṛddhi in रज्ज्, as in राज्ञः with यञ्; as रज्ज् + यञ् = रज् + यञ् (the य् being dropped by VI. 4. 27), for it is *after* the elision of य्, that the अ of रज becomes penultimate and can admit of Vṛddhi by VII. 2. 116? Ans. The exceptional forms स्यह्: from स्यन्द् + यञ्, and अर्थः from अन्थ + यञ्, taught in VI. 4. 28, 29 teach by implication that roots of this form take Vṛddhi as a *general* rule. Obj. If the विध्यपेक्ष maxim is not of universal application: though by VI. 4. 134, the अ of अन् &c. is elided in bha stems, like राजन् thus राज्ञा; yet the अ should not be elided if you be consistent, in अनह् augment added by VII. 1. 75 to इधि, अस्थि &c. In fact, you could not get the forms इध्वा सकृष्ठा &c. Moreover though there can be the lengthening of the penultimate in सामिन्—सामानि (before शि affix Nom. Pl), yet not in the case of कुण्डानि from कुण्ड for here ह् is added by another rule VII. 1. 72. If you say, the maxim is not of universal application, then there can be no guṇa of इ in भिद् to form भेत्तु ॥ Ans. The guṇa takes place in forms like भेत्तु &c, because the prohibition of the following rule VII. 3. 87, with regard to the affixes beginning with a *vowel*, proves by implication that before affixes beginning with a consonant, as ह्, the guṇa also takes place. Obj. The prohibition in the case of vowel beginning affixes is for the sake of लङ्, to form अनेनेङ् ॥ This is derived from मिजिर् (Juhotyadi 11), in the Imperfect, as अ + निङ् + लङ्, + तिप् then reduplication (VI. 1. 10), then guṇa of the redupli-

cate, (VII. 4. 75), then लप् which had become न् in the Imperfect, is elided by VI. 1. 68. Thus अनिङ् + ऋ + त् = अ + निनिङ् + त् (VI. 1. 10) = अ नेनिङ् + त् (VII. 4. 75) = अ नेनङ् (VI. 1. 98) = अननङ्. The elided त् produces its effect, the guṇa by VII. 3. 86. This is why अच् is taken in sūtra VII. 3. 87, namely अजात affixes do not cause guṇa, the हलादि affixes like त् cause guṇa. You cannot therefore say that अच् in VII. 3. 87 is a jñāpaka. Ans. The sūtra असिर्गृधृषित्तिपेः कृः (III. 2. 140) teaches the addition of नु to वृत् &c, as गच्छुः; if this नु had not tended to cause the guṇa of the penultimate vowels of these roots, what was the necessity of making this affix a कृत्? Similarly I. 2. 10 teaches that सन् (Desiderative) is कृत् after roots ending in consonants. These rules show that words like नन् &c get guṇa, and the final consonant of the root plus the initial consonant of the affix, does not make the root vowel heavy. Obj: The कृत् of सन् is for the sake of the elision of the nasal, in धित्सति, धाप्सति (VI. 4. 24). Ans. Let it be so: still the कृत् of वृत् is enough for us.

The "upadhā short" must be the vowels of the इक् pratyāhāra. Therefore in भिनत्ति, the penultimate is short अ (of ऋन्) and it does not take guṇa. In fact, the word penultimate qualifies the word इक् understood. Others explain it by saying that पुगन्त is to be analysed by पुकिभन्त "in the vicinity of प्" ॥ The word भन्त means समीप, and means the इक् vowel in the proximity of पुक् ॥ The word लघूपधा should be analysed as लघी उपधा and is a Karmadhāraya compound, and means "a short or light penultimate". The word पुगन्तलघूपध is a Samāhara Dvandva.

नाभ्यस्तस्याचि पिति सार्वधातुके ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अभ्यस्तस्य, अचि, पिति, सार्वधातु के ॥

इति ॥ अभ्यस्तसंज्ञकस्याङ्गस्य लघूपधत्वाज्ज्ञौ पिति सार्वधातुके गुणो न भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं छन्दसीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

87. The guṇa is not substituted for the penultimate light इक् vowel in the reduplicated form of a root, before a Sārvadhātuka affix beginning with a vowel and having an indicatory प् ॥

As नेनिजानि, अनेनिजम्; परि वेविषाणि, पर्ववेविषम् ॥ Why of a reduplicated root? Observe वेसानि ॥ Why beginning with a vowel? Observe नेनेज् ॥ The word पित् is read here for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VII. 3. 92. For here in cases other than पित्, guṇa will be prevented by कृत् because of सार्वधातुकमपित् ॥ Why a sārvaadhātuka affix? Observe नेनेज् in the Perfect, the affixes of which are ārdhadhātuka (III. 4. 115). Why do we say a penultimate light vowel? Observe जुहुवानि, अजुहवम् ॥

Vart:—There is diversity in the Vedas. As जुजोषत् the लृट् of जुस् ॥

The forms पप्पसात्, चाकसाति, वावसीती: are irregular. स्पश् + लृट् = स्पश् + भाद् + ति = स्पश् + वाप्स्सु + भाते = पप्पसाति ॥

The above forms are thus evolved. 1. ने निञ्जानि is लोट (Imperative 1st Per Sing). the ण is changed to नि, the augment आट is added which is णत् (आहु-समस्य पञ्च III. 4. 92), श्लु is substituted for णत्, then there is reduplication, then guṇa by VII. 4. 75. 2. अनानञ्जम् is लङ्, the ण is changed to अन् ॥ 3. वञ्जानि is 1st Pers. Sing. Imperative of वञ्ज् ॥ 4. वनान्त is 3rd Person singular of the Present. 5. जनञ्ज is the Perfect with जल which is ārdhādhtuka III. 4. 115. 6. जुञ्जोपत् is the लट् of जुञ्जी प्रातस्वयनयोः (Tudādi 8), in the Parasmaipada, the इ of तिप् is eli- ded (III. 4. 97), then is added the augment अट् (III. 4. 94) then णत् is irregularly replaced by श्लु, then reduplication.

In the words पस्वञ्जानि &c. the reduplicate has been shortened, as a Vedic form, in the Intensive वट् लुक् ॥ चाकशीत is from कामृशीतौ there is (वट् लुक्, लट्, तिप्, and इट् augment by वङ्ग वा (VII. 3. 94). वावशीतीः is from वामृशीता, in the Intensive (वट् लुक्), लट्, घात, डीप् and घात i. e. it is the Accusative plural of the Feminine Present Participle from the Intensive root of वाष् ॥ The reading in the Kāśikā is वावञ्जानि ॥ In these two काष् and वाष् the roots have been shortened. Or the above forms may be derived regularly, without shortening, from the roots कष् and वष् ॥

भूसुबोस्तिङि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भू, सुबोः, तिङि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भू सू इत्येतयोस्तिङि सार्वधातुके शुभो न भवति ॥

88. भू and सू get no guṇa before an immediately following Personal ending which is Sārvadhātuka.

As भूतु, भूः, भुवन्, सुवे, सुवावहे, सुवानहे ॥ The सू refers to the Adādi root (21) in which the Present character is dropped, and does not refer to Div-ādi (24) or Tudādi (115) roots, because there the Present character अच् and ञ intervene between the Personal endings (तिङ्) and the root: and moreover the affixes अच् and ञ are ङित् (I. 2. 4) and would not cause guṇa. Why do we say before तिङ्? Observe भवति where the guṇa takes place before णत् ॥ Why before a sārva dhātuka affix? Observe व्यति भविषीष्ट, where the Benedictive is not a Sārvadhātuka (III. 4. 116), and the augment is of course considered as a portion of the personal ending. Why the guṇa is not prohibited in बोभवीति when the Intensive वट् is dropped, and the Personal ending is added directly to the root. Because the form बोभूतु in VII. 4. 65 indicates by implication that guṇa takes place in वट् लुक् except in बोभूतु ॥

But of सू we have सोषुवीति where guṇa has been prohibited in the Intensive, because there is no jñāpaka with regard to it.

The forms सुवे &c are the 1st Per. Imperative of सू ॥

उतो वृद्धिर्लुकि हलि ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उतः, वृद्धिः, लुकि, हलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सार्वधातुके पितीति वर्तते ॥ उकारान्तत्वाद्गुणस्य वृद्धिर्भवति लुकि सति हलादौ पिति सार्वधातुके ॥

89. A root ending in short उ, which has no Present

characteristic (i. e. the vikaraṇa is dropped by luk elision), gets vṛiddhi, before a पित् Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant, but not if the stem is reduplicated.

Thus श्रोति, श्रोषि, श्रोमि; नोति, नोषि, नोमि, स्तोति, स्तोषि, स्तोमि ॥ Why ending in इ? Observe एति, एषि, एमि ॥ Why do we say whose vikaraṇa is elided by ह्रस्व? Observe सुनोति, सुनोषि, सुनोमि ॥ Why beginning with a ह्रस्व? Observe अवाणि, रवाणि, the First Person of the Imperative is पित् by III. 4. 92, Why before a पित् affix? Observe युतः, कतः ॥ The augment चासुद् being डित् (III. 4. 103), prevents पित् action in आवि स्तुयान् राजानम् ॥ The phrase नाभ्यस्तस्व should be read into the sūtra from VII. 3. 87: therefore Vṛiddhi does not take place here श्रोति श्रोति ॥ Here there is luk-elision of ह्रस्व ॥

ऊर्णोतिर्विभाषा ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊर्णोतेः, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्णोतिर्विभाषा वृद्धिर्भवति ह्रस्वौ पिति सार्वधातुके ॥

90. Before a पित् Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant, the final उ of ऊर्णु gets optionally vṛiddhi.

As श्रोतेति or श्रोतेति, श्रोतेषि or श्रोतेषि, श्रोतेमि or श्रोतेमि; but श्रोतेवानि before an affix beginning with a vowel.

गुणोऽपृक्ते ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुणः, अपृक्ते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्णोतेऽपृक्ते ह्रस्वौ पिति सार्वधातुके गुणो भवति ॥

91. Before a पित् Sârvadhâtuka affix which is a single consonant, Guna is substituted for the final of ऊर्णु ॥

As श्रोतेत्, श्रोतेः ॥ Though the anuvṛitti of ह्रस्व was understood in this sūtra from the last aphorism, the employment of the term अपृक्त् implies the existence of the following maxim:—अस्मिन् विधि स्तथावाच्यं मन्त्रे “when a term which denotes a letter is exhibited in a rule, in the form of a Locative case, and qualifies something else which likewise stands in the Locative case, that which is qualified by it must be regarded as beginning with the letter which is denoted by the term in question, and not as ending with it”.

तृणह इम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृणहः, इम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृणह इत्येतस्याङ्गस्य इमागमो भवति हलि पिति सार्वधातुके ॥

92. Before a पित् Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant, इ is added after अ of the verbal stem तृणह ॥

As तृणेति, तृणेषि, तृणेमि, अतृणेद ॥ In the last example though the affix vanishes altogether, yet it produces its effect. Why beginning with a consonant? Observe तृणहानि ॥ Why a पित् affix? Observe तृणहः with तृण ॥ The stem तृणह is formed from the root तृह (Rudhâdi) with the vikaraṇa अन्, and is so exhibited in the sūtra in order to indicate that the augment इम् is added after the vikaraṇa अन् has been added, and that the root तृह of Tudâdi class is not to be taken.

The above forms are thus derived :—

हृह् + क्तम् + तिप् = हृणह् + इप् + ति = हृणह् + ति = हृणेह् + ति (VI. 1. 87) = हृणेह् + ति (VIII. 2. 31) = हृणेह् + ति (VIII. 2. 40) = हृणेह् + ति (VIII. 4. 41) = हृणेहि with the elision of one ह् (VIII. 3. 13). The form हृणेहि is similarly formed by VIII. 2. 41, the ह् being changed to क् before ति of तिप् ॥ अहृणेह् is the लङ् 2nd and 3rd Per. Sing.

ब्रुव ईद् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रुवः, ईद् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रु इत्येतस्मादुत्तरस्य हलादेः पितः सार्वधातुकस्य ईडागमो भवति ॥

93. Before a पित् Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant, the augment ईद् is placed after ब्रु ॥

As ब्रवीति, ब्रवीषि, ब्रवीमि, ब्रवीमू ॥ But ब्रवाणि before such an affix beginning with a vowel, and ब्रूतः before an affix which is not पित् ॥

यङो वा ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यङः, वा, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङ उत्तरस्य हलादेः पितः सार्वधातुकस्य ईडागमो भवति वा ॥

94. The पित् Sârvadhâtuka affixes, beginning with a consonant, optionally get the augment ईद् in the Intensive.

As लालपीति in शाकुनिर्को लालपीति, so also दुन्दुभिर्वाचसीति, विधावजो वृषभो घोरवीति महादेवोमर्त्यो भाविषेष्ट ॥ (Rig. IV. 58. 3). Also not, as वर्धति चक्रम् and वर्धमि ॥ These are all examples of the Intensive with the elision of ब्रह् ॥ When the stem retains ब्रह्, there can be no पित् Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant after it, because then वाप् will intervene between the affix and the stem. Hence no examples of the same can be given.

तुहस्तुशम्यमः सार्वधातुके ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तु, रु, स्तु, शमि, अमः, सार्वधातुके ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तु इति सौमोव धातुः, रु शब्दे तुम् स्तुतो शम उदशमे अम गत्यादिषु इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य सार्वधातुकस्य हलादेर्वा ईडागमो भवति ।

95. A sârvadhâtuka affix, beginning with a consonant, optionally gets ईद् augment, after the roots तु, रु, स्तु, शम and अम् ॥

The root तु (Adâdi 25) means 'to increase', रु (Adâdi 24) 'to make a sound', स्तु (Adâdi 34) 'to praise', वाप् 'to be satisfied', and अम् 'to go'. According to Kâśikâ तु is a Sautra dhātu. Thus उत्तौति or उत्तवीति, उपरौति or उपरवीति, उपस्तौति or उपस्तवीति, शाम्यध्वम् or शामीध्वम्, अभ्यनति or अभ्यनीति ॥ वाप् and अम् can then be followed by a consonant beginning sârvadhâtuka affix, when they lose their Present character (vikaraṇa) as a Vedic anomaly (bahulam chhandasi).

The Apisālās read the sūtra as तुहस्तुशम्यमः सार्वधातुकावृत्त्यसि ॥ This will then become a विधि rule for the Vedic forms. The word सार्वधातुका is here exhibited in the feminine.

The repetition of 'sârvadhâtuka', though its anuvṛitti was present is for the sake of stopping the anuvṛitti of सिन्, and this rule applies to आप् affixes also, as सुवीत, रामाध्वम् ॥

अस्तिसिचोऽपृक्ते ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्ति, सिचः, अ, पृक्ते ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तेरङ्गात् सिचन्ताच्च परस्वापृक्तत्वं सार्वधातुकत्वं ईडागमो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ आहिमुवोरीदि प्रतिषेधः ॥

96. A single consonantal sârvadhâtuka affix gets the augment ईद्, after अस् (अस्ति) and after the Aorist character त्सच् ॥

As आसात्, आसीः; अकाशीत्, अकासीत् ॥ Why do we say a single-consonant affix? Observe आस्त, अकाषम् ॥

Vdt.—Prohibition of the sthânavad-bhâva must be stated when आह् is substituted for ह् (III. 4. 84), and भू for भस् (II. 4. 52), before the augment ईद् ॥ Therefore not here आत्थ and अभूत् ॥ The word आत्थ is thus formed. आह्+सिप्=आह्+यत् (III. 4. 84)=आय्+य (VIII. 2. 35)=आत्+य (VIII. 4. 55)=आत्थ ॥

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तिसिचोऽपृक्तत्वं सार्वधातुकत्वं ईडागमो भवति बहुलं छन्दसि विषये ॥

97. In the Veda, a single consonantal Sârvadhâtuka affix gets diversely the augment ईद्, after अस् and सिच् ॥

As आप एवेर् सलल सवनाः ॥ Here आः is used instead of आसीत्; but also अहंवासीन् राशिः (See Maitr. S. I. 5. 12). So also with s-Aorist, as गोभिरसाः (Rig IX. 107. 9), प्रत्यञ्चमत्साः (Rig X. 28. 4). And अग्रेषीर्मा पुषक, the अद् is not elided though मा is added (VI. 4. 75). अशाः and अस्ताः are examples of सिच् without ईद्. Compare VIII. 2. 73.

The word आः is the लङ् of अस्, there is added सिप्, then षप् is elided, then स् is changed to ह्, and it is turned to visarjaniya. The words असाः and अस्ताः are derived from the roots अह् (सबलने) and त्स् (उपगतौ), in the Aorist, the सिप् is elided (VI. 1. 68), the षप् is elided by VIII. 2. 24, and the ह् of the roots is changed to visarga. The augment ईद् is not added as a Vedic irregularity.

रुद्धं पञ्चभ्यः ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुद्धः, च, पञ्चभ्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रुद्धिभ्यः परस्व सार्वधातुकत्वं इलादेशपृक्तत्वं ईडागमो भवति ॥

98. After रुद्ध and the four roots that follow it, comes the augment ईद् to a sârvadhâtuka affix consisting of a single consonant.

As अरोषीत्, अरोषीः, अस्वपीत् and अस्वपीः, अभसीत्, अभसीः, प्राणीत्, प्राणीः, अजसीत्, अजसीः ॥ Why of these five only? Observe अजागद् भवान् ॥ Why an अप्रिक्ता affix? Observe ऐरिषि ॥ The word रुद्धः is singular, though it ought to have been plural.

अङ्गगार्ग्यगालवयोः ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्, गार्ग्य, गालवयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुदादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः परस्य अपृक्तस्य सार्वधातुकस्याङागमो भवति गार्ग्यगालवयोर्मतेन ॥

99. According to the opinion of Gārgya, and Gālāva, the augment अद् comes before a Sārvadhātuka affix consisting of a single consonant, after the above five roots रुद् &c.

As अरावत्, अरवः, अस्वपत्, अस्वपः, अश्वसत्, अश्वसः, प्राणत्, प्राणः, अजसत्, अजसः ॥ The names of Gārgya and Gālāva are mentioned for honoris causa.

The mention of these names is not for the sake of "option" (विकल्पार्थम्). Because the very injunction about अद्, would make the ईद् of the preceding sūtra optional. The mention of more than one Achārya in the sūtra is also for this very reason.

अद्: सर्वेषाम् ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्: , सर्वेषाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अद् भक्षणे अस्मादुत्तरस्यापृक्तस्य सार्वधातुकस्याङागमो भवति सर्वेषामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥

100. After अद् 'to eat', comes the augment अद् before a Sārvadhātuka affix consisting of a single consonant, according to the opinion of all grammarians.

As आरवत् and आरवः ॥ Before a non-aprikta we have अस्ति, अस्ति ॥ The word सर्वेषाम् makes it a necessary rule and not optional, like the last.

अतो दीर्घो यञि ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, दीर्घः, यञि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तस्याङस्य दीर्घो भवति यमादेशे सार्वधातुके परतः ॥

101. The long आ is substituted for the final अ of a Tense-stem, before a Sārvadhātuka affix beginning with ह् or य् (lit. a consonant of यञ् pratyāhāra).

As पचामि, पचावः, पचामः, पश्यामि, पश्यावः, पश्यामः ॥ Why 'for the अ only'? Observe चिनुवः, चिनुमः ॥ Why before a यञ् consonant (semivowels, nasals and ह् and य्) only? Observe पचतः, पचयः ॥ Why a 'Sārvadhātuka'? Observe अङ्गना, केरावः ॥ Some read the anuvṛitti of तिङ् into this sūtra, from VII. 3. 88 so that the lengthening takes place only before Personal-endings. According to them before कृषु there is no lengthening, as भववान् ॥

The word भववान् is thus formed. To ह् is added कृषु, then comes वाप्, treating kvasu as a sārvadhātuka under III. 4. 117; the reduplication of the root ending in वाप् is prevented, because the word dhātu is used in VI. 1. 8 which ordains reduplication of a root only, and not of a root plus a vikaraṇa like the form भव (भू-1-वाप्) ॥ Those who do not read the anuvṛitti of तिङ् in this sūtra, but only of the word सार्वधातुके, they explain the form भववान् as a Vedic anomaly.

सुपि च ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतो दीर्घो यमीत्यनुवर्तते । सुपि च यमादेशे परतो ऽकारान्तस्याङस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

102. Before a case-ending beginning with य or अ (lit. a consonant of यञ् Pratyâhâra), the final अ of a Nominal-stem is also lengthened.

The whole of the phrase अतो रीर्यो वाम् is understood here. Thus वृक्षाव, प्लक्षाव, वृक्षाभ्याम्, प्लक्षाभ्याम् ॥ But अग्निभ्याम् where the stem ends in इ, and वृक्षास्व where the affix does not begin with a यञ् consonant.

बहुवचने झल्येत् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुवचने, झलि, एत् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बहुवचने झल्येत् इति परतो ऽकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य एकारादेशो भवति ॥

103. Before a case-ending beginning with अ or स् (lit. a झञ् consonant), in the Plural, ए is substituted for the final अ of a Nominal-stem.

As वृक्षाभ्याः, प्लक्षाभ्याः, वृक्षेषु, प्लक्षेषु ॥ Why in the Plural? Observe वृक्षाभ्याम् प्लक्षाभ्याम् ॥ Why before a case-affix beginning with a झञ् consonant? Observe वृक्षाणाम् (the lengthening here is by VI. 4. 3). Why a case-affix? Observe वज्रध्वम्, पञ्चध्वम् ॥

ओसि च ॥ २०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओसि, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ओसि परतोकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य एकारादेशो भवति ॥

104. Before the case-ending ओस्, ए is substituted for the final अ of a Nominal-stem.

As वृक्षयोः (Gen. dual) स्वं, प्लक्षयोः स्वं, वृक्षयोः (Loc. dual) as वृक्षयोर्निधेहि, प्लक्षयोर्निधेहि ॥

आङि चापः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङि, च, आपः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आङिति पूर्वाचार्यनिर्देशेन तृतीयैकवचनं गृह्यत । तस्मिन्नाङि परतश्चकारोसि च आवन्तस्याङ्ग-
स्वैकारादेशो भवति ।

105. Before the case-endings ओस् and before आ of the Instrumental, ए is substituted for the final आ of the Feminine-affix.

आङ् is the name given to the affix ङ, the Ins. Sg. by the ancient grammarians. As लट्वा, मालवा, लट्वाः, मालवाः, बहुराज्या, कारीषगन्धवा, बहुराज्याः, कारीषगन्धवाः ॥ Why the आ of the Feminine affix only? Observe कीलालया ब्राह्मणेन कीलालयोः ब्राह्मणकुलयोः ॥ Where ever इी or आप् is employed in Grammar, they mean the long forms ई and आ, and not when they are shortened, therefore, not here, अतिस्त्रुतेन ब्राह्मणकुलेन ॥

The word कीलालया is derived from कीलाल पिबति with the affix बिप् (III. 2. 74). In the Ins. Sing. the final आ is elided by VI. 4. 140. Had therefore, आ only been used in the sūtra, instead of आप्, there would have been ए substitution in the case of कीलालया also; for the ऌप् rule VI. 4. 140 would find its scope in कीलालपः पृथक् &c, and would be debarred here by the present sūtra.

The maxim *कृषाद् महनेऽशीर्षमहणम्* is necessary, because otherwise on the maxim of *sthānivadbhāva*, the short substitutes of *ङी* and *आप्* would also be included. In fact, in the *sūtra* prohibiting *sthānivad bhāva*, we find this *vārtika* *कृषाद् महनेऽशीर्षः* "A short (not long) substitute of *ङी* and *आप्* is not *sthānivat*".

संयुज्यौ च ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्बुज्यौ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आप इति वृत्तते । संयुज्यौ च परत आबन्तत्वाद्गुणस्य एव भवति ॥

106. *y* is substituted for the final *आ* of a Feminine stem, in the Vocative Singular.

As *हे खड्गे, हे बहुपात्रे, हे कारीषगन्धे* ॥

अम्बार्थनद्योर्ह्रस्वः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अम्बार्थ, नद्योः, ह्रस्वः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संयुज्यादिति वृत्तते । अम्बार्थानामङ्गानां वयन्तानां ह्रस्वो भवति, संयुज्यौ परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ डलकवतीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ बा० ॥ छन्दसि वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ततो ह्रस्वो वा ङिसंयुज्योरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दस्येव ह्रस्व एवमिष्यते ॥ मातृणां मातश्च पुत्रार्थमर्हते ॥

107. A short vowel is substituted in the Voc. Sg. for the *आ* of the feminine, in the sense of 'mother, mother-dear', as well as for the long vowel of the Feminines called *Nadī* (I. 4. 3 &c).

As *हे अम्ब ! हे अक ! हे अल ! हे कुमारी ! हे चार्ङ्गिनि ! हे ब्रह्मबन्धु ! हे श्रीवन्धु !*

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated when the endearing terms denoting mother have an uncombined *ड*, *ल* or *क*, as *हे अम्बाड ! हे अम्बाल ! हे अम्बिक !* But *हे अक* and *हे अल* where the *ल* and *क* are conjunct.

Vart.—Optionally so in the Veda: as *हे अम्बाड !* or *हे अम्बाड ! हे अम्बाल !* or *हे अम्बाले, हे अम्बिक ! हे अम्बिके* ॥

Vart.—A feminine stem formed with the affix *तल्* optionally becomes short before the Loc. Sg. and Voc. Sg. As *हेवत मातः* or *हेवतायां भक्ति, हे हेवत !* or *हे हेवते* ॥ This shortening takes place in the Veda only.

Vart.—In a *Bahuvrīhi* compound ending with *मातृ*, there is substituted *मात* for *मातृ* in the Voc. Sg. when the word means a son worthy of such a mother. As *हे गार्गमाते !* = *गार्गा व्यवर्धयमर्हति इलाघनीयत्वाद् यः पुत्रः* ॥ This debars the *कप्* affix of V. 4. 153. The *च्* of *मातश्च* makes the final acute.

ह्रस्वस्य गुणः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वस्य, गुणः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संयुज्यादिति वृत्तते । ह्रस्वान्तस्याङ्गस्य गुणो भवति संयुज्यौ परतः ।

108. For short *इ* and *उ* final in a nominal-stem, a *guṇa* is substituted in the Vocative Singular.

As *हे अग्ने, हे वायो, हे पटौ* ॥ But there is no *guṇa* in *हे कुमारी, हे ब्रह्मबन्धु*, because *इ* and *ऊ* were shortened specifically, and to substitute *guṇa* for them

would make their shortening a useless operation. Moreover, had guṇa been intended in the case of these nadī words, the sūtra would have been अन्धार्पानां ह्रस्वः, २ नदीह्रस्वयोर्युणः ॥

जसि च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ जसि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जसि परतो ह्रस्वान्तस्याङ्गस्य युणो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ असादिषु छन्तसि वावचनं प्राक् णौ चङ्युपधाया ह्रस्व इत्येतस्मात् ॥

109. Before the affix अस् of the Nom. Pl., Guṇa is substituted for the final short vowel of a nominal stem.

As अग्नयः, वावचः, पटवः, धेनवः, बुद्धयः ॥

Vart.—All these rules upto the end of this chapter are of optional application in the Veda. As अग्नये or अग्न्य, पूर्णा र्वी or पूर्णा र्वी, अथा सतक्रत्वः or सतक्रतवः, पथे वृत्यः or पथावे वृत्यः, किकिरीष्या or किकिरीषिना ॥

The forms र्वी and र्वी could have been regularly obtained by the optional use of ङीष् (कृदिकारसक्तिनः) ॥ सतक्रत्वः is formed by adding अस् to सतक्रतु without guṇa of ड, and ड being changed to ङ ॥ The rule of lengthening the prior vowel (VI. 1. 102) which would have otherwise come, in the absence of guṇa does not take place, as a Vedic option (VI. 1. 106). किकिरीष्या is the Instrumental singular, the ना of VII. 3. 120 does not come. The word किकिरीषि is formed by Uṇādi nipātan (कृविधृभि &c Uṇ IV. 56).

श्रुतो ङिसर्वनामस्थानयोः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रुतः, ङि, सर्वनामस्थानयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युण इति वर्तते ऋकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य ङौ परतः सर्वनामस्थाने च युणो भवति ॥

110. Guṇa is substituted for the final ऋ of a stem, in the Locative singular and in the Strong cases.

As मातरि, पितरि, भ्रातरि, कर्तरि; अतरो, पितरो, भ्रातरो, कर्तारो, कर्तारः ॥ For the long in कर्तारो and कर्तारः see VI. 4. 11. The त् in ऋत् is for the sake of facility of utterance.

Because before ङि and strong cases, it is impossible for a stem to end in a long vowel ऋ nor a dhātu noun can so come, since in that case, long ऋ would be changed to इ by VII. 1. 100, and in forms like कर्तृणि there is णुत् ॥

घेङिति ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ घेः, ङिति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋन्तस्याङ्गस्य ङिति प्रत्यये परतो युणो भवति ॥

111. For the इ and उ of the stems called घि (I.4.3.) Guṇa is substituted in Dative, Ablative and Genitive Singular.

As अग्नये, वावचे, अग्नेः, वावोः, (VI. 1. 110). Why of घि stems? Observe सख्ये, पत्ये ॥ Why in the Singulars of the Dat. Abl. and Loc. only? Observe अग्निः-भ्रातृ ॥ The word case ending (घुषि) is understood here also, as the counter-examples are पट्टी, कुरुतः ॥

The word पट्टी is formed by adding ङीष् to पट् (IV. 1. 44). ङीष् is not a case-affix, though it is ङित् and is added to पट् which is घि ॥ कुरुतः is no proper example: for though तत् which is added to कुरु, is ङित्, it is only so by atideśa (सार्वधातुकमपित्), and moreover कुरु is not घि ॥

आण् नद्याः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आद्, नद्याः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नद्यन्तावङ्गादुत्तरस्य क्तितः प्रत्ययस्य आडागमो भवति ॥

112. The augment आद् is added to the case-endings of the Dat. Abl. and Gen. Sg. after the stem called Nadî (I. 4. 3. &c.).

As कुमार्थैः, किद्योर्थैः, ब्रह्मबन्धैः, धीरबन्धैः, कुमार्थाः, किद्योर्थाः, ब्रह्मबन्ध्याः, धीरबन्ध्याः ॥

याडापः ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ याद्, आपः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावन्तावङ्गादुत्तरस्य क्तितः प्रत्ययस्य आडागमो भवति ॥

113. The augment याद् is added to the Dat. Abl. and Gen. Sg. after a Feminine stem ending in आ ॥

As खट्वायै, बहुराजायै, कारीषगन्ध्यायै, खट्वायाः, बहुराजायाः, कारीषगन्ध्यायाः ॥ But in the compound अतिखट्वा, (from खट्वाप्तिक्रान्तः), this rule does not apply, on the maxim कृषाद् पक्षेऽर्धः as the आ has been shortened here. Even when the word अतिखट्वा assumes the form अतिखट्वा in the Dative by VII. 3. 102, the affix does not take the augment याद्, because this long आ is a lākṣaṇika आ only, while the आ of the sūtra is a pratipadokta (लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदस्यैव) ॥

सर्वनाम्नः स्याद् स्वस्व ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वनाम्नः, स्याद्, ह्रस्वः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनाम्न भावन्तावङ्गादुत्तरस्य क्तितः प्रत्ययस्य स्याडागमो ह्रस्वश्च भवति ॥

114. After a Pronominal stem ending in long आ of the Feminine, the Dat. Abl. and Gen. Sg. receive the augment स्याद् and the आ of the stem is shortened.

As सर्वस्यै, विश्वस्यै, यस्यै, तस्यै, कस्यै, भवस्यै, भवत्याः, सर्वस्याः, विश्वस्याः, यस्यस्याः, तस्याः, कस्याः, भवस्यै भवस्याः ॥

But अणुस्यै where the stem does not end in long आ of the Feminine.

विभाषा द्वितीयातृतीयाभ्याम् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, द्वितीया, तृतीयाभ्याम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीया तृतीया इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य क्तितः प्रत्ययस्य विभाषा स्याडागमो भवति ॥

115. After द्वितीया and तृतीया the Dat. Abl. and Gen. Sg. may optionally get the augment स्याद् before which the आ is shortened.

As द्वितीयस्यै or द्वितीयायै; तृतीयस्यै or तृतीयायै, द्वितीयस्याः or द्वितीयायाः, तृतीयस्याः or तृतीयायाः ॥

केरास्रघास्त्रीभ्यः ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊः, आम्, नदी, आप्, नीभ्यः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नद्यन्तावङ्गादुत्तरस्य क्तितः प्रत्ययस्य केरास्रघास्त्रीभ्यो भवति ॥

116. For the ending इ of the Loc. Sg. there is substituted आम्, after a stem called Nadî (I. 4. 3. &c), after the Feminines in आ, and after नी ॥

As कुमार्याम्, किशोर्याम्, गौर्याम्, ब्रह्मबन्ध्याम्, धीरबन्ध्याम्, खट्वायाम्, बहुराज्यायाम्, कारी-
षगन्ध्यायाम्, नी-मामग्याम्, सेनान्याम् ॥

The word सामणी is formed by क्तिप् affix added under III. 2. 61, the न् is changed to ण by सप्त सामाभ्याम्; and the ण् substitute in the Locative is by VI. 4. 82.

इदुङ्ग्याम् ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, उङ्ग्याम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इकारोकारभ्यां नदीसंज्ञकाभ्यामुत्तरस्य डेरोकारदेशो भवति ॥

117. After the Feminine nadi words ending in इ and उ short, आम् is substituted for the इ of the Loc. Sg.

As कृत्याम्, धेन्याम् ॥ See I. 4. 6.

The word नदी is understood here also. Obj. If this be so, it is not a really separate sūtra, because it is included in the last, and these forms could be obtained by the last sūtra : so that we ought to make only one sūtra of 117 and 118, as इदुङ्ग्यामौत् ॥ Ans. We could not have done so, for then in the case of कृति and धेनु, the औ would have come and not आ, in this way. The आम् would have found scope in nadi words like कुमार्याम्, the औ would have undisputed scope in पत्न्यौ and सख्यौ; but in the case of कृति when getting the designation नदी the औ would have come, being subsequently taught, and the form would have been कृत्यौ instead of कृत्याम् ॥

औत् ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ औत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इदुङ्ग्यामुत्तरस्य डेरोकारदेशो भवति ॥

118. After a stem ending in इ or उ short, and which is not a Nadi or a Ghi, औ is substituted for the इ of the Loc. Sg.

As सख्यौ, पत्न्यौ ॥

In the case of नदी words आम् is taught by the previous sūtras; in the case of णि words औ preceded by अ substitution of णि letters will be taught in the next sūtra, so by the rule of exclusion, the present sūtra applies to words other than nadi and ghi.

अख्येः ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्, ख, धेः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ औषिति वक्षते णिसंज्ञकादुत्तरस्य डेरोकारदेशो भवति तस्य अ धेकारदेशो भवति ॥

119. After a Ghi (I. 4. 7) stem ending in short इ or उ, औ is substituted for the इ of the Loc. Sg. and अ is substituted for the final of such Ghi stem.

As अन्तौ, वायौ, कृतौ, धेनौ, पदौ ॥ The short अ is substituted, in order to prevent the दाप् affix in the Feminine. Those who read 118 and 119 combined as औषध धेः translate it thus: "After every other stem ending in इ and उ (i. e. which is not a Nadi), औ is substituted for the Locative Singular इ, whereby for the final of Ghi stems, अ is substituted". They do so on the analogy of the sūtra कर्तुः क्यङ् सलोपम् (III 1. 11).

आङो नाऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ आङः, ना, अ स्त्रियाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ घेरुत्तरस्याङो नाभावो भवति अस्त्रियाम् ॥

120. ना is substituted for the ending आ of the Instrumental singular, after the Ghi stems, when they are not Feminine.

As अग्निना, वायुना, पटुना ॥ Why do we not say आङो ना पुंस्ति 'ना is substituted for आ in the Masculine'? Ans. In order to form the neuter Instrumentals also, as वपुणा, जटुना ॥ Obj. These can be formed by the augment नुम् under rule VII. 1. 73, and not by the ना of this sūtra. Ans. But वपुना will not be so formed as वपुना ब्राह्मणकुले ॥ Because हु substituted for वृत् of अवृत् VIII. 2. 80 is considered as asiddha or non-existent (VIII.2.1) for the purposes of the application of VII. 1. 73, and as वपु cannot take नुम्, it will take ना by this rule. Why do we say "not in the Feminine?" Observe कृत्या, धेन्या ॥

अथ सप्तमाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

णौ चङ्युपधाया ह्रस्वः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ णौ, चङि, उपधायाः, ह्रस्वः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भङ्गस्येति वर्तते चङ्णेरौ चङ्णं तस्योपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ उपधाह्रस्वत्वे णौणिच्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

1. A short is substituted for the vowel, standing in a penultimate position, in the Causative stem, when the affix चङ् (sign of the Reduplicate Aorist of the Causatives) follows.

As अचीकरत्, अजीहरत्, अलीलवत्, अपीपठत् ॥ Here the rules of reduplication and shortening of the penultimate both present themselves simultaneously. The rule about shortening, being subsequent in order, is applied first, and then the reduplication takes place. Thus कारि + अत् = कार् + अत् (णि being elided VI. 4. 51) = कर् + अत् (shortening VII. 4. 1) = चकर् + अत् (VI. 1. 11) = चिकर् + अत् (VII. 4. 93, 79) = चीकरत् (VII. 4. 94). The necessity of maintaining this order will appear from the following considerations. The Causative stem of अद् is आदि ; the Aorist of which is आदि + चङ् + त् = आद् + अत् (VI. 4. 51). Now if reduplication took place first we shall have आदिद् + अत् (I. 1. 59 the elided इ will be present for the purposes of reduplication) and as the penultimate is short already, the form will be आदिट्, which with the augment अ will be अ + आदिट् = आदिट् ॥ This is a correct form, so far as it goes; but when the augment is elided in connection with the negative मा, the form will be मा भवान् आदिट्, the correct form however is मा भवान् आदिट् with a short अ, which can be formed if we shorten first and then reduplicate, as आद् + अत् = अद् + अत् = अदिद् + अत् = अदिट्, which with the augment अ, will be आदिट् ॥ In fact, though the reduplication of the second syllable (VI. 1. 2) is a *nitya* rule, because it applies even where a penultimate is shortened and where not, yet the rule about shortening takes effect first, because the author has himself indicated this, by making the root

भोज have an indicatory ऋ in the Dhātupāṭha (See VII. 4. 2 about ऋदिन् verbs). For had the reduplication taken place first in the case of भोज् (Bhu. 482), as भोजिन्, there would be no long vowel to be shortened, and there would be no necessity of the prohibition (VII. 4. 2).

Obj: Why do we say 'in the Causative'? The चङ् Aorist is formed of Causatives only (See III. 1. 48), the only exceptions being the simple roots भि, हु, घृ, धेद् and धि, none of which have any vowel in the penultimate and कच् and युच् have already short upadhā. The sūtra चङ्नुपधाया ह्रस्वः would have been enough. Ans. Had the sūtra been, as proposed, then it would have meant, 'that which is penultimate when चङ् follows, should be shortened'. Therefore in the Aorist of the Causative of लृ, we have लृ+णि+चङ्-लृ=लृ+इ+अत् here the penultimate *with regard* to चङ् is लृ, which would be shortened, debarring Vṛiddhi and आच् substitute, and there would have come the इवच् substitute instead. But that is not the case. We have अलीलवत्, and not अलुलुवत् ॥ Similarly, in the Aorist of the Causative of हा, we shall have हा+इ+अत्, and आ being shortened we have इ+इ+अत्, so that we cannot add the augment पुक् (VII. 3. 36), and form अहीरपत् ॥ And the forms like अपीपचत् (पच्+इ+अत्) would not at all admit of shortening.

Why do we say when चङ् follows? Observe कारयति, हारयति where there is no shortening in the Present Tense. Why do we say of the penultimate? Observe अचकाहत् from काह्, and अववाञ्छत् from वाञ्छ, where the penultimate being a consonant, there can be no shortening. Had the word penultimate been not used, the vowels of these would be shortened. And the word 'upadhā' is also absolutely necessary for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VII. 4. 4, and it prevents shortening in the above case, which would have otherwise taken place, on the maxim येन नाप्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितेऽपि वचनं प्रामाण्यात् which qualifies I. 1. 67.

Vart:—The rule of shortening of the penultimate applies to the चङ् Aorist of the Causative of the Causative i. e. to the double Causative even. Thus अवीवदत् (=वादितवन्तं प्रयोजितवान्) वीणां परिवारकेन ॥ Otherwise वादि+इ+अत्=वाद्+इ+अत्=वाद्+०+अत् ॥ Here the elided इ being sthanivat, will prevent shortening, or because the stem has lost a simple-vowel (अग्लोपिन्), it will not be shortened. The present vārtika makes it so however:

नागोपिशास्त्रवृदिताम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अक्, लोपि, शासु, ऋदिताम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्लोपिनामङ्गानां शास्त्रैर्द्धितां च णौ चङ्नुपधाया ह्रस्वो न भवति ॥

2. The shortening of the penultimate of the stem, before the causative affix, in the reduplicated-Aorist, does not take place, when it is a (Denominative) stem, which has lost

a simple (end vowel of the Nominal-stem), before the Causative sign and also not, when it is the verb शास्, or a root which has an indicatory ऋ ॥

The word अग्लोपिन् means literally a stem, in which a simple vowel (अक् pratyāhāra) or a portion containing an अक् vowel has been dropped. As the final vowels of Denominative stems are so elided before the Causative sign णि, the sūtra has been translated accordingly. Thus अममालत् = मालामाख्यत्; अममातरत् = मातरमाख्यत्, अममराजत् = राजामतिक्रान्तवान्, अममलुलामत् = लोमान्वगुहवान् ॥ Where a simple अक् vowel alone is elided, as in the case of माला, there the elided अ being sthānivat, would prevent the shortening, the अ of मा not being then considered penultimate. So that अग्लोपिन् could be spared from the sūtra, since the sthānivad-bhāva would prevent shortening. But where an अक् vowel plus a consonant is dropped, as in राजन् and लोमन्, there the sthānivad-bhāva does not apply (I. 1. 57), hence the necessity of employing the term अग्लोपिन् in the sūtra. Similarly अघाशासत् with शान्; and अबबाधत् from बाध्, अबवाचत् from वाच्, and अद्भुदोक्तत् from दौक् ॥ See III. 1. 21 and 25.

भ्राजभासभाषदीपजीवमीलपीडामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्राज, भास, भाष, दीप, जीव, मील, पीडाम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्राज भास भाष दीप जीव मील पीड इत्येतेषामङ्गानां णौ षङ्गुपधाया इत्सो भवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ काण्व्यासीतां वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

3. The shortening of the penultimate of the Causative stem, in the reduplicated Aorist, is optional in the following:—bhrāj, bhās, bhāsh, dīp, jīv, mīl and pīḍ.

As अबिभ्रजत् or अबभ्राजत्, अभीमसत् or अबभासत्, अभीमचत् or अबभाषत्, अदीपित् or अदीपीत्, अजीजिवत् or अजिजीवत्, अमीमिलत् or अमिमिलत्, अपीपिडत् or अपिपीडत् ॥ The Dhātupāṭha reads भ्राञ् (Bhu. 194) and भाञ् (Bh. 655). The indicatory ऋ is unnecessary and not countenanced by Pāṇini, as shown in this sūtra. Had they been ऋदिन्, they would have been governed by the last aphorism.

Vat:—The words काणि, शणि, राणि, हेडि, लोपि should be enumerated: as अचकाणत् or अचीकणत्, अरराणत् or अरीरणत्, अघाभाणत् or अशिभ्रणत्, अबभाणत् or अभीमणत्, अजीजिडत्, अजिजिडत्, अल्लोपत् or अल्लुपत् ॥

लोपः पिबतेरीच्छाभ्यासस्य ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, पिबतेः, ईत्, च, अभ्यासस्य ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ पिबतेरङ्गस्य णौ षङ्गुपधाया लोपो भवति अभ्यासस्यकारदेशो भवति ॥

4. The penultimate vowel, in the Causative stem of पा 'to drink' is elided in the Aorist, and for the vowel of the Reduplicate there is substituted long ई ॥

As पा + णि + अत् = पाप् + इ + अत् (VII. 3. 37) = पाप् + अत् (VI. 4. 51) = पृप् + अत् (VII. 4. 8) = पृप् + अत् (I. 1. 59) = पीप्यत् (VII. 4. 4). Thus अपीप्यत्, अपीप्यताम्, अपीप्यन् ॥ When the penultimate अ is elided, there remains पृ which cannot be reduplicated as having no vowel, but the elided अ is considered as sthānivat and thus पा is reduplicated. Sūtra VII. 4. 80 establishes by implication the principle that the substitutes caused by णि are sthānivat. Thus भू + णि = भावि; in reduplicating, this भा will not be reduplicated, but भू, as बुभावि, भा = भू by sthānivad-bhāva.

तिष्ठतेरित् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिष्ठतेः, इत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिष्ठतेरित् जौ चङ्युपधाया इकारदेशो भवति ॥

5. Short इ is substituted for the penultimate vowel of the Causative stem of स्था in the Aorist.

Thus अतिष्ठिपत्, अतिष्ठिपताम्, and अतिष्ठिपन् ॥ The form is thus evolved. स्था + णिप् + अत् = स्थाप् + इ + अत् (VII. 3. 36) = स्थाप् + अत् (VI. 4. 51) = स्थिप् + अत् (VII. 4. 5) = तिष्ठिपत् ॥

जिघ्रतेर्वा ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जिघ्रतेः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिघ्रतेरित् जौ चङ्युपधाया इकारदेशो वा भवति ॥

6. Short इ is optionally substituted for the penultimate vowel of the Causative stem of घ्रा in the Aorist.

As अजिघ्रिपत् or अजिघ्रपत्, अजिघ्रिपताम् or अजिघ्रपताम्, अजिघ्रिपन् or अजिघ्रपन् ॥ Thus घ्रा + णि + अत् = घ्राप् + इ + अत् (VII. 3. 36) = घ्रिप् + इ + अत् (VII. 4. 6) = घ्रिप् + अत् (VI. 4. 51) = जिघ्रिपत् ॥ When इ is not substituted, घ्रा is shortened by VII. 4. 1.

उर्ध्वत् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उः, ऋत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जौ चङ्युपधाया ऋवर्णस्य स्थाने वा ऋकारदेशो भवति ॥

7. Short ऋ is optionally substituted for the penultimate ऋ and ॠ of a Causative stem, in the reduplicated Aorist.

This debars the इत् (VII. 3. 101), अर् (VII. 3. 86), and आर् (VII. 2. 114) substitutes. Thus अचिकीर्तत् (VII. 1. 101) or अचिकीर्तत् from कृत् (Chur 111): अवर्तत् (VII. 3. 86), or अवीवृत्तत्; अममार्जत् (VII. 2. 114) or अमीषृजत् ॥ Though the इर्, अर् and आर् substitutes are antarāṅga operations, they are prohibited by the express text of this sūtra. The short ऋ is substituted even for a long कृ: the कृ of ऋत् shows that, as in अचीकृतत् (VIII. 2. 77). In fact, this ऋ substitute does not take place after the operations of इर्, आर् and अर् substitutions have taken effect, but it is a form which suspends the operation of all those rules.

नित्यं छन्दसि ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये जौ चङ्युपधाया ऋवर्णस्य स्थाने ऋकारदेशो भवति नित्यम् ॥

8. Short ऋ is invariably substituted in the Veda, for the penultimate ऋ or ॠ of a Causative stem, in the Reduplicated Aorist.

As अवीवृधत्, अवीवृधताम् and अवीवृधन् ॥

दयतेर्दिगि लिटि ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दयतेः, दिगि, लिटि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दयतेरङ्गस्य लिटि परतो दिगीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

9. दिगि is substituted for दे (दयते), in the Perfect.

As अय दिग्ये, अय दिग्याते, अय दिग्यिह ॥ The root देह् 'to protect' (Bhu. 1011) is to be taken, and not दय 'to give' (Bhu. 510), for that root forms its Perfect by आम् (Periphrastic Perfect) as taught in III. 1. 37. The substitute दिगि debarb reduplication.

ऋतश्च संयोगादेर्गुणः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, च, संयोग-आदेः, गुणः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य संयोगादेर्गुणो भवति लिटि परतः ॥
वासिकम् ॥ संयोगादेर्गुणविधाने संयोगोपधमहणं कृमर्यं कर्तव्यम् ॥

10. A root ending in short ऋ, and preceded by a conjunct consonant, gets Guṇa in the Perfect.

As सस्वरतुः, सस्वरः from स्वर, इध्वरतुः, इध्वरः from ध्व, सस्मरतुः, सस्मरः from स्मृ ॥ Why do we say ending in ऋ? Observe चिञ्चितवतुः, चिञ्चियुः ॥ Why do we say beginning with a conjunct consonant? Observe चक्रतुः, चक्रुः ॥ This sūtra ordains Guṇa where there was prohibition by I. 2. 5 read with I. 1. 5. But this does not debar the Vṛiddhi caused by णल् (VII. 1. 115). In fact, that prior rule supersedes this posterior rule, as सस्वार, इध्वार, सस्मार ॥ The word लिटि is to be supplied in the sūtra, the rule does not apply to Nishṭhā &c., as सृतः, सृतवान् ॥

Vārti:—For the sake of कृम्, the guṇa should be stated even where the double-consonant is in the penultimate position and not in the beginning. As सञ्चस्कारतुः, सञ्चस्करः ॥ See VI. 1. 135. On the maxim पूर्वे धातुः साधनेन युज्यते पश्चादुपसर्गेण 'a root is first developed fully and then the preposition is added to it'; we first develop कृ in the Perfect by reduplication, which gives us चक्र + अतुस्, then we add the preposition as सञ्चक्र + अतुः, then we add सुद् though the reduplicate intervenes, by VI. 1. 136 and 137, as सञ्चस्कृ + अतुः, now the root assumes a form in which the penultimate begins with a double consonant, and applying the vārtika we make guṇa, and get सञ्चस्कारतुः ॥

It is by this consideration that in संस्कृषीष्ट, उपस्कृषीष्ट, the सुद् augment being Bahiranga and consequently considered as non-existent (asiddha), there is no इद् augment added by VII. 2. 43.

ऋच्छत्युताम् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋच्छति, ऋ, ऋताम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऋच्छतेरङ्गस्य ऋत्त्येतस्य ऋकारान्तानां च लिटि परतो गुणो भवति ॥

11. There is guṇa in the Perfect of कृच्छ्, आर and roots ending in long ऋ.

As आनर्च्छ, आनर्च्छतुः, आनर्च्छुः from कृच्छ्, आर, आरतुः, आरुः from कृ, and निचक्रतुः, निचक्रुः, निजगरतुः, निजगरुः from कृ and गृ ॥ कृच्छ् not having a light vowel in the penultimate, would not have received guṇa by VII. 3. 86, this sūtra ordains it; roots in long कृ never received guṇa, but इर् substitution; this ordains guṇa. The Vṛddhi of VII. 2. 115 supersedes this rule, within its own jurisdiction, a prior superseding the posterior: as निचक्रार, निजगार ॥

शृक्प्रां ह्रस्वो वा ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शृ, कृ, प्राप्, ह्रस्वः, वा, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शृ कृ पृ इत्येतेषामङ्गानां लिटि परतो वा ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

12. In शृ, 'to injure' (IX. 18) कृ 'to tear' (IX. 23) and पृ 'to protect' (IX. 19) the vowel may optionally be shortened in the Perfect.

As वि शम्भतुः by shortening or वि शम्भतुः, by guṇa, which prevents ए and abhyāsalopa (VI. 4. 126) वि शम्भुः or विशम्भतुः, विशम्भतुः or विशम्भतुः, विशम्भुः or विशम्भुः; निषम्रतुः or निषम्रतुः, निषम्रुः or निषम्रुः ॥ Why is the word 'short' made optional in the sūtra, and not the word 'guṇa'; for in the absence of guṇa, the long कृ would have become ए before म्रतुः by यणादेशः, and we would have got the forms विशम्भतुः, विशम्भुः by the regular rules of 'sandhi'? The word 'short' is used in the sūtra, in order to debar the इर् and उर् alternatives. Had the sūtra been "शृ कृ प्रां वा" the alternative examples would have been with इर् (VII. 1. 101) as विशिरतुः, विशिरतुः and उर् (VIII. 2. 77) as विपुरतुः ॥ Some say this sūtra is unnecessary. The above forms like वि शम्भतुः, विशम्भुः, &c. can be regularly obtained from the roots म्रा 'to cook', म्रा 'to abuse', and म्रा 'to fill' and as the roots have many other senses, besides those assigned to them in the Dhātupāṭha, the roots म्रा, म्रा and म्रा will give the meanings of शृ, कृ, and पृ ॥ If that were so, the form विशम्भवान् with the affix क्तु could not be formed, for we should have either विशम्भवान् from शृ root or विशम्भवान् from म्रा root but never विशम्भवान् ॥ So the rule about shortening is necessary.

केऽणः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ के, अणः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ के प्रत्यये परतो ऽणो ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

13. Before the affix क, the preceding आ, ई and ऊ are shortened.

As लका, (VII. 3. 47) कुमारिका, किशोरिका, ब्रह्मचर्युका ॥ Why आ, ई and ऊ only? Observe गोक, गोक ॥ The words राका, धाका are irregular being formed by Uṇādi diversity with the affix क added to रा and धा (Uṇ III. 40) By the following sūtra, the rule does not apply to the affix कप्; it therefore implies that कन् is governed by this rule, though it has the anubandha न् ॥ Kātyāyana would confine this rule to the Taddhita क, and not the कृत् क of the

Uṇādi, as राका, धाका; but Uṇādi words are not derivatives (उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि), and hence no necessity of reading Taddhita into the sūtra.

न कपि ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, कपि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कपि प्रत्यये परतो ऽणो ह्रस्वो न भवति ॥

14. But before the samāsanta affix कप् coming after Bahuvrīhi compounds, the अण् vowels are not shortened.

As बहुकुमारीकः, बहुवृषलीकः, बहुवधूकः, बहुलक्ष्मीकः ॥ The shortening ordained by I. 2. 48 even does not operate when कप् follows.

For had there been upasarjana shortening (I. 2. 48), the present sūtra would be useless. Therefore, the very existence of this sūtra debars every sort of shortening. Obj. The present sūtra would not be useless, for it will find scope where there is no shortening of the upasarjana by I. 2. 48: namely before non-feminine affixes, as बहुवधूकः; but there should be shortening in feminine affixes. Ans. The shortening of I. 2. 48 will not take place before कप् affix. Because the affix कप् will first be added to the second member in the sense of the compound, and then the word so ending in कप् will be compounded with the first member. So there is no *prātipadika* left which ends in a feminine affix, and therefore I. 2. 48, does not apply, because the *prātipadika* now left is one ending in the affix कप् and not in a feminine affix.

आपोन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आपः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आबन्तस्याङ्गस्य कपि ह्रस्वो न भवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥

15. Optionally the feminine stem in आ is not shortened before कप् ॥

As बहुलक्षाकः or बहुलक्षकः, बहुमालकः or बहुमालाकः ॥

ऋदृशो ऽङि गुणः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋ, दृशः, अङिः, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋवर्णान्तामां दृशेभ्य अङि परतो गुणो भवति ॥

16. Guṇa is substituted for the vowel of the root, before the affix अङ्, in the roots ending in ऋ or ॠ, as well as in दृश् ॥

As सकलाह्वयुषकोऽकरत्, अहं तेभ्योऽकरं नमः, असरत्, आरत्, अवरत्, अवर्षत्, अवर्षताम्, अवर्षन् ॥ The affix अङ् means the Aorist-character अङ् of which the above examples are given. It also is the kṛit-affix (III. 3. 104) of which we have ऋ—अरा ॥

The word अकरत् is अङ् Aorist formed from कृ by III. 1. 59. The word असरत् is from हृ (III. 1. 56). अवरत् by VI. 1. 57.

अस्यतेऽस्थक् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यतेः, युक्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्वतेरङ्गस्य युगागमो भवत्यङि परतः ॥

17. The stem अस् (अस्यते) gets the augment युक् before this Aorist अङ् ॥

As आस्यत्, आस्यताम्, आस्यन् ॥ See III. 1. 52.

अस्यतेरः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यतेः, अः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्यतेरङ्गस्याकारादेशो भवत्यङि परतः ॥

18. The अ is substituted for the final of अस् in the अङ् Aorist.

As अम्वत्, अम्वताम्, अम्वन् ॥ For the अ of the stem and the अ of the affix, there is the single substitute of the last by VI. 2. 97. See III. 1. 58.

पतः पुम् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पतः, पुम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतेरङ्गस्य पुमागमो भवत्यङि परतः ॥

19. The augment ए is added after the vowel of the root पत् in the अङ्-Aorist.

As अपतत्, अपतताम्, अपतन् ॥ The पत् takes the अङ् Aorist as it has an indicative ऋ in the Dhātupāṭha (III. 1. 55).

वचउम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ वचः, उम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वचेरङ्गस्य अङि परत उमागमो भवति ॥

20. The augment उ is added after the अ of वच् in the अङ्-Aorist.

As अवोचत्, अवोचताम्, अवोचन् ॥ See III. 1. 52.

शीङः सार्वधातुके गुणः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शीङः, सार्वधातुके, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शीङोऽङ्गस्य सार्वधातुके परतो युजो भवति ॥

21. For the vowel of शी, there is substituted guṇa, when a Sārvadhātuka affix follows.

As शेते, शयाते, शेरते, but शिद्ये before the ārdhadhātuka affix (III. 4. 115). Though these sārvadhātuka affixes were ङित् (I. 2. 4) and would not have caused guṇa (I. 4. 5), they do so by virtue of the present sūtra. The word शीङ् is read in the sūtra with the anubardha ङ्, in order to indicate that the rule does not apply to यङ् लुक् as शेचीतः, शेद्यते ॥

अयङ् यि कङिति ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अयङ्, यि, कङिति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादौ कङिति प्रत्यये परतः शीङोऽङ्गस्यायङित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

22. Before an affix beginning with य् and having an indicative क् or ङ्, there is substituted अय् for the ई of शी ॥

As शय्यते with यक्, शाशय्यते with यङ्, प्रशय्य and उपशय्य with ल्यप् which being the substitute of क्स्या is कित् ॥ But शिद्ये where the affix is ए, and शेद्यन् where the affix is यत् (neither कित् or ङित्) ॥

उपसर्गाङ्गस्य ऊहतेः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप सर्गात्, ह्रस्वः, ऊहतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गादुत्तरस्य ऊहतेरङ्गस्य इत्सो भवति वकारादौ कृत्ति ॥

23. The short is substituted for the ऊ of ऊह् when a Preposition precedes it, and an affix beginning with य् with an indicatory क् or ऊ follows.

As सयुह्यते, प्रत्युह्यते, सयुह्य, अभ्युह्यते, अभ्युह्य ॥ But ऊह्यते without Preposition. Why do we say of ऊह्? Observe समीह्यते ॥ Why do we say 'before व्'? Observe समूहितम् ॥ Why do we say having indicatory क् or ऊ? Observe अभ्युह्यः with वत् ॥ Of course the shortening takes place of ऊ (or अण् vowel, the word अण् being understood here from VII. 4. 13), and not when it assumes the form ओ, as आ ऊह्यते = ओह्यते, समोह्यते ॥

एतेर्लिङि ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतेः, लिङि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतेरङ्गत्वोपसर्गादुत्तरस्य लिङि वकारादौ कृत्ति परतो इत्सो भवति ॥

24. The short is substituted for the vowel of the stem इ (एति) before the augment यास् in the Benedictive, when a Preposition precedes it.

As उदियात्, समियात्, अन्वियात् ॥ This is an exception to the following sūtra by which a long would have been substituted. But ईयात् without a Preposition. The अण् (VII. 4. 13) is understood here also. Therefore ए form of इ will not be shortened, as आ-इयात् = एयात्, समेयात् ॥

अकृत्सार्वधातुकयोर्दीर्घः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकृत्, सार्वधातुकयोः, दीर्घः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकृत्कारे असार्वधातुक्यकार च कृत्ति परतोऽन्तस्याङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

25. A long is substituted for the final vowel of the stem, before an affix beginning with a य् having an indicatory क् or ऊ, when it is not either a Kṛit or a Sārvadhātuka affix.

Thus वृषायते, वृष्यायते, and दुःसायन्त with the Denominative affix क्वह् according to III. 1. 12 and 18. चीयते and स्तूयते with the Passive वक्, चेचीयते and तोष्टूयते with the Intensive बह्, and चीयात् and स्तूयात् in the Benedictive (See III. 4. 116). But प्रकृत्य and प्रहृत्य where the affix ल्यप् is kṛit, and had the vowel been lengthened by this subsequent rule, the antecedent तुक् augment would have been debarred (VI. 1. 71). And चिनुयात् and सुनुयात् where the Personal endings of the Potential are sārva dhātuka. The phrase कृत्ति is understood in this sūtra, so there is no lengthening before non-kit and non-hit affixes, as, उदया, धृष्टुवा, formed by वा under VII. 1. 39.

च्यो च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ च्यो, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिप्रत्यये परतोऽन्तस्याङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

26. A long is substituted for the final vowel of the stem, before the Adverbial affix च्चि (V. 4. 50).

As शुची करोति, शुची स्यात्, शुची भवति, पट्ट करोति, पट्ट स्यात्, पट्ट भवति ॥ The च draws in the anuvṛitti of the phrase 'non-krit, and non-sârvadhâtuka' from the last sūtra, which though not of any direct use in this aphorism, is necessary for the sake of subsequent ones. See VII. 4. 32 for words ending in अ ॥

रीङ्श्रुतः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ रीङ्, श्रुतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्राविति वर्तते ॥ अकृतसार्वधातुकयोपिति च ॥ ऋकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य अकृत्यकारेऽसार्वधातुके यकारे यौ च परतो रीङित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

27. री is substituted for the final short ऋ of a stem, before an affix beginning with य, when it is not a Kṛit nor a Sârvadhâtuka affix, and before the adverbial affix चिञ् ॥

The anuvṛitti of किङिति is, however, not understood in this sūtra; that of च्यौ and अकृतसार्वधातुकयोः is present. Thus माचीयति and पिचीयति with क्यच् (III. 1. 8), माचीयते, पिचीयते with क्यङ् (III. 1. 11). चेन्नीयते with यङ्, माचीभूतः with चिञ् ॥ The किङ् and ङिङ् not being understood here, we have पितुरागतं = पिङ्गव (IV. 3. 79), which is thus formed पितु-1-यत् = पिची + च = पिच-1-च (ई being elided by VI. 4. 148). Why do we say short ऋ? Observe चेकीर्षते, from कृ विक्षेपे, with यङ्, ऋतङ् भातोः and हलिच lengthening. निजेगित्यते from कृ and शु ॥

रिङ् शयग्लिङ्क्षु ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रिङ्, श, यङ्, लिङ् क्षु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य य यक् इत्येतयोर्लिङि च यकारादौ असार्वधातुके परतो रीङित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

28. For the final short ऋ of a root, there is substituted रि, before the Present-character अ (श), before the Passive-character य, and before the augment यास् in the Benedictive.

The word लिङि in the aphorism is qualified by the phrase यकारादौ असार्वधातुके ॥ A Liñ affix which begins with a य and is not a Sârvadhâtuka, is necessarily the augment यास् of the Benedictive. Thus य-भा द्वियते and भा द्वियते (the व् comes by VI. 4. 77). यक्-क्रियते, द्वियते ॥ लिङ्-क्रियात् and द्वियात् ॥ This short रि debars the long री of the last. The word non-Sârvadhâtuka being understood, the rule does not apply to the Potential, as विभ्रयात् ॥ The यि (VII. 4. 22) is understood here also, therefore when the Benedictive affix does not begin with य, the rule does not apply, as कृपीट, हृपीट ॥

गुणोत्तिसंयोगाद्योः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुणः, अस्ति, संयोगाद्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋतो यकि लिङि इति वर्तते ॥ राह्यभासमवामाशुवर्तते ॥ गुणा भवत्यसौ संयोगादीनामुकारान्तानां यकि परतो, लिङि च यकारादौ असार्वधातुके ॥

29. Guna is substituted for the final ऋ in the root ऋ (अस्ति), and in those roots ending in ऋ, in which

the vowel is preceded by a conjunct consonant, when the Passive character यक् or the Benedictive augment यास् follows.

The words कृतः, यकि and लिङि are understood here. Not so the word वा as its anuvṛitti is impossible. Thus अर्यते, अर्यान्, सर्यते and स्मर्यान् ॥ This is an exception to I. 1. 5. In सं स्क्रियते and संस्क्रियान् (VI. 1. 135), there is no Guṇa, either because in स्क्र the augment स् is considered as Bahiranga and therefore asiddha, or because it is considered as no part of (or non-attached to) कृ, and therefore स् कृ is not a root beginning with a conjunct consonant. See however VII. 4. 10, where in forming संस्करतुः, स्क्र is considered as a root beginning with a conjunct consonant. See also Mahābhāṣya on VI. 1. 135. The वि (VII. 4. 22) is understood here also; the Benedictive affix must begin with व, therefore not here स्वृषीष्ट, ध्वृषीष्ट ॥ The word non-sarvadhātuka is also understood here, the rule does not apply to the Potential, as इष्टवान्, there is ślu substitution of śap, reduplication, then there is इ substitution in the reduplicate by VII. 4. 77, then इयङ् by VI. 4. 78.

यङि च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ यङि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङि च परतो अर्सेः संयोगादेव कृतो गुणो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ न न्नाः संयोगादेव इति द्विवचनप्रतिषेधो वकारपरस्य नेष्यते ॥

वा० ॥ हन्तेहिंसायां यङि प्रीभावो वक्तव्यः ॥

30. Guṇa is substituted for the final ऋ of the root ऋ (अर्ति) and in those roots, ending in short ऋ, in which the vowel is preceded by a conjunct consonant, when the Intensive character यङ् follows.

As अर्यते, सास्वर्यते, राध्वर्यते, सास्वर्यते ॥ The root कृ takes वङ् according to a Vārtika under Sūtra III. 1. 22, with Guṇa we have कृ-1-व=अर्य ॥ By VI. 1. 2, the second member is reduplicated, in spite of the prohibition in VI. 1. 3, for according to Patanjali र् followed by व is not governed by that prohibition. So we have अर्यर्य, and according to VII. 4. 60, the वृ is dropped, and we have अर्य, and by VII. 4. 83, we get अरार्य ॥ This is an exception to I. 1. 5.

Vārt:—In the Intensive of हन् 'to kill', हन्ती is substituted for हन् as ज्ञेयते ॥ The substitute is with a long ई, had it been with a short इ, that might also have been lengthened by VII. 4. 25. Not doing so, however, indicates the existence of the maxim संज्ञापूर्वकविधेरनित्यत्वम् "A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it is denoted by a technical term". It is through this that स्वांशुवः is formed from स्वंशु; because the Guṇa taught by VI. 4. 146, does not take place here before the Taddhita affix अण्, in as much as that rule VI. 4. 146, is taught by employing the technical term गुणः in ओर्युणः instead of ओरोत्, hence that rule is anitya, and we have उवङ् ॥

द्यतिस्यतिमास्थामिति किति ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्यति, स्यति, मा, स्थाम, इत्, ति, किति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्यति स्यति मा स्या इत्येतेषामङ्गानामिकारादेशो भवति तकारादौ किति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

40. Short इ is substituted for the final of द्यो, सो, मा and स्या, before an affix beginning with त् and having an indicatory क् ॥

As निर्दिष्टः and निर्दिष्टवान्; अवसितः and अवसितवान्, मितः and मितवान्; स्थितः and स्थितवान्, all with क् and क्तवतु ॥ Why before त्? Observe अवसाय ॥ Why before a कित् affix? Observe अवसाता with तृच् ॥

शाछोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शा, छोः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शा छा इत्येतयोरन्यतरस्यामिकारादेशो भवति तकारादौ किति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इत्येतेरित्त्वं व्रते नित्यमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

Kārikā:—देववातो गलो माह इतियोगे च सहिधिः ।

मिथस्ते न विभाष्यन्ते गवाक्षः संशितव्रतः ॥

41. Short इ is optionally substituted for the final of शा (शो) and छा (छो), before an affix beginning with त् and having an indicatory क् ॥

As निशितं or निशातम्, निशितवान् or निशातवान्; अवच्छितं, अवच्छितवान् or अवच्छातं, अवच्छातवान् ॥ The शा *always* takes the इ when it means a vow: as संशितो ब्राह्मणः = संशितव्रतः ॥ The rule of this sūtra thus becomes a vyavasthita vibhāshā. Other examples of such vyavasthita vibhāshā are to be found in VIII. 2. 56, where वात् and वाण past participles are formed with त् or ण, but वात् is *only* employed in names as देववातः &c, and never वाण, while in denoting action both forms are valid: similarly by VIII. 2. 21, गल and गर are both formed, but गल *alone* is used when 'neck' is meant, and गर *alone* when 'poison' is indicated; optionally both when an action is meant. Similarly by III. 1. 143, माह and मह are formed, but माहः is *only* used when 'a crocodile' is meant, and महः *alone* is employed when a 'planet' is indicated. Similarly the addition of the Present Participle affix च्छत् and च्छानच् under III. 2. 126, is debarred when इति is added, as इन्ति इति पलायते, वर्षतीति धावति ॥ In all the above examples, the option though taught generically, should be limited to specific cases; as also in the examples गवाक्षः 'a window', and गोऽक्षम् 'cow's eye' (VI. 1. 123) and संशितव्रतः ॥ In short, we should limit a general vibhāshā to a vyavasthita-vibhāshā, on the maxim व्यवस्थितविभाषा विज्ञानात् सिद्धम् ॥

दधातेर्हिः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दधातेः, हिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दधातेरङ्गस्य हीत्ययमादेशो भवति तकारादौ किति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

42. हि is substituted for धा (दधाति) before an affix beginning with त् and having an indicatory क् ॥

As हितः, हितवन्, हित्वा ॥

जहातेश्च क्ति ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जहातेः, च, क्ति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेरङ्गस्य हीत्ययमादेशो भवति क्ताप्रत्यये परतः ॥

43. हि is substituted for हा (जहाति) before क्त्वा ॥

As हित्वा राज्यं वनम् गतः, हित्वा गच्छति ॥ The rule does not apply to हा जिहीते ॥ There we have हात्वा गतः ॥

विभाषा छन्दसि ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेरङ्गस्य विभाषा हीत्ययमादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये क्ताप्रत्यये परतः ॥

44. हि is optionally substituted for हा before क्त्वा in the Chhandas.

As हित्वा क्षीरे यातव्यं, or हात्वा also. The long ई of VI. 4. 62 does not take place also as a Vedic irregularity.

सुधितवसुधितनेमधितधिष्वधिषीय क्त् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुधित, वसुधित, नेमधित, धिष्व, धिषीय, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुधित वसुधित नेमधित धिष्व धिषीय इत्येतानि छन्दसि विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

45. These five Vedic forms are irregularly formed, सुधित, वसुधित, नेमधित, धिष्व and धिषीय ॥

Of these five, सुधित, वसुधित and नेमधित are formed from the root धा with the affix क्त्, preceded by सु, वसु and नेम ॥ As गर्भे माता सुधितम् (= सुहितम्), वसुधितम् गन्तुं श्रुतिम् (= वसुहितम्), नेमधिता बाधन्ते (= नेमहितम्) ॥ धिष्व is Imperative 2nd Per. Sg. of धा, there is no reduplication, as धिष्व सोमम् = धस्व ॥ धिषीय is Benedictive Atmanepada 1st Per. Sg. of धा, the regular form being धासीय ॥

दो दद् घोः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दः, दत्, घोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दा इत्येतस्य घुसंज्ञकस्य इत्ययमादेशो भवति तकापसौ किति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

46. For दा, when it is a Ghu (I. 1. 20), there is substituted दद् before a क्ति affix beginning with त् ॥

As दत्तः, दत्तवान्, दत्तिः ॥ Why of दा? Observe धीतः, धीतवान् from धेदः; and the long ई is by VI. 4. 66. Why when it is a Ghu? Observe दातं बहिः from दाप् 'to cut', and अवदातं पुख् from देष् 'to cleanse'. The substitute is दद् ending in य, according to an *Ishiti*.

Kārikā:—तान्ते दोषो दीर्घत्वं स्वाद्, दान्ते दोषो निष्ठा नत्वम् ।

यान्ते दोषो धत्व प्राप्तिम्, यान्तेऽदाप् स्तस्यात् यान्त्वम् ॥

If the substitute be दद् ending in त्, then it would require the lengthening taught in VI. 3. 124. (N. B. The sūtra दत्ति should be interpreted as 'the vowel of the Preposition is lengthened before a substitute of दा which ends in त्', in order to make this objection applicable. That sūtra however is capable of another interpretation). If the substitute be दद् ending in द् then the Nishthā त् would be changed to न् by VIII. 2. 42: as in निद् + त् = निन्नः ॥ If the substitute be दद् ending in द्, then by VIII. 2. 40; the Nishthā त् would be changed to द् ॥ Hence the substitute is दद् ॥ If

Why do we say when meaning 'to kill'? Observe अहपन्वते where it means to do.

ई ब्राह्मोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, ब्रा, भ्रोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रा भ्रा इत्येतयोर्यङि परत ईकारदेशो भवति ॥

31. Long ई is substituted for the vowel of the roots ब्रा and भ्रा in the Intensive.

As अघ्रीयते, हेष्मीयते ॥ The long ई is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, short इ would have, by VII. 4. 25, given the same forms also.

अस्य च्चौ ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्य, च्चौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ई इति वर्तते अवर्णान्तस्याङ्गस्य च्चौ परत ईकारदेशो भवति ॥

32. Long ई is substituted for the final अ or आ of a Nominal stem, before the Adverbial affix च्चि (V. 4. 50).

As इङ्गी करोति, इङ्गी भवति, इङ्गी स्यात् ॥ खट्वा करोति, खट्वा भवति and खट्वा स्यात् ॥

क्यचि च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यचि, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्येति वर्तते क्यचि परतोवर्णान्तस्याङ्गस्य ईकारदेशो भवति ॥

33. Long ई is substituted for the final अ or आ of a Nominal stem, before the Denominative affix क्यच् ॥

As पुञ्जीयति, धनीयति, खट्वायति, मालीयति ॥ This is an exception to VII. 4. 25. The separating of this aphorism from the preceding, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorism.

अशनायोदन्यधनाया बुभुक्षापिपासागर्हेषु ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अशनाय, उदन्य धनायाः, बुभुक्षा, पिपासा, गर्हेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अशनाय उदन्य धनाय इत्येतानि निपात्यन्ते बुभुक्षा पिपासा गर्हे इत्येतेष्वयेषु ॥

34. The Denominative roots अशनाय, उदन्य and धनाय are irregularly formed, when they respectively mean 'to be hungry', 'to be thirsty', 'to be greedy'.

Thus अशनायति from अशन-1-क्यच्, आ instead of ई; the other form being अशनयति who is not hungry at the time, but wishes to get food for some future occasion, and therefore when not meaning 'to be hungry'; उदन्यति 'he is thirsty', उदन् being substituted for उदक्; in any other sense we have उदकयति, who wants water for purposes of bathing &c. धनायति 'he is greedy'; in any other sense, धनीयति who is poor, and therefore wishes to get riches.

नच्छन्दस्यपुत्रस्य ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, छन्दसि, अ, पुत्रस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये पुत्रवर्जितस्यावर्णान्तस्याङ्गस्य क्यचि यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अपुत्रादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

35. In the Veda, the above rules causing lengthening, or the substitution of long ई for the final vowel of the stem, do not apply, except in the case of पुत्र ॥

Thus निषद्युः, संस्वेद्युः, देवाभ्य जिगाति सुन्द्युः ॥ But पुषीयन्तः, इवामन् (Rig VII. 96. 4).

Vart:—It should be rather stated पुष and the rest: as अनौयन्तोऽन्वयः ॥ See III. 2. 170, for the affix च ॥

दुरस्युर्द्रविणस्युर्वृषण्यति रिषण्यति ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दुरस्युः, द्रविणस्युः, वृषण्यति, रिषण्यति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुरस्युः द्रविणस्युः वृषण्यति रिषण्यति एतानि छन्दसि निपात्यन्ते ॥

36. In the Veda दुरस्युः, द्रविणस्युः, वृषण्यति and रिषण्यति are irregularly formed.

As अवियोना दुरस्युः, (= दुर्हीयति with the affix क्यच् added to दुह्), द्रविणस्युर्विषण्यत्वा (द्रविणीयति, here द्रविणस् is substituted for द्रविण similarly). वृषण्यति=वृषीयति (वृषण् substituted for वृष) ॥ रिषण्यति=रिष्टीयति (रिषण् substituted for रिष्ट) ॥

अभ्वाघस्यात् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्व, अघस्य, आत्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्व अघ इत्येतयोः क्यचि परतः छन्दसि विषये आकारदेशो भवति ॥

37. In the Veda, long आ is substituted for the final of अभ्व and अघ, before the Denominative क्यच् ॥

As अभ्वायन्तो मघवन् (Rig VII. 32. 23), ना स्वा वृक्षा भवायवो विवन् ॥ This also indicates that other words do not lengthen their vowel in the Veda before क्यच्, as taught in VII. 4. 35. See Vārtika to III. 1. 8. The word भवायु occurs in Rig I. 120. 7, 27 ; 3.

देवसुस्रयोर्यजुषि काठके ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ देव सुस्रयोः, यजुषि, काठके, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देव सुस्र इत्येतयोः क्यचि परतः आकारदेशो भवति यजुषि काठके ॥

38. Long आ is substituted for the final of देव and सुस्र before the Denominative क्यच् in Yajush Kāthaka.

As देवायन्तो यजमानाः सुस्रायन्तो इवामहे ॥ Why in the Yajus? Observe देवाजिगाय सुस्रयुः ॥ Why do we say in the Kāthaka? Observe सुस्रयुरिवमासात् ॥

कव्यध्वरपृतनस्यार्चि लोपः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कवि, अध्वर, पृतनस्यः, ऋचि, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवि अध्वर पृतना इत्येतेषामङ्गानां क्यचि परतो लोपो भवति ऋचि विषये ॥

39. In the Rig Veda, the final of कवि, अध्वर and पृतना is dropped before the Denominative क्यच् ॥

As कव्यन्तः सुमनसः (not in the Rig Veda), अध्वर्यन्तः (not in this case in the Rig Veda). पृतन्यन्तस्तिष्ठन्ति (not in this connection in the Rig. Veda). The examples given above are of Kāśikā: according to Pro. Bohtlingk none of them are from the Rig Veda. The following are given by Bhattoji Dikshita in his Siddhanta Kaumudi: स पूर्वया निविश कव्यतयोः (Rig I. 96. 2). अध्वर्युं वा मघुपाणिम् (Rig X. 41. 3), इमयन्तं पृतन्युम् ॥

however, the sūtra VI. 3. 124, is interpreted as "the vowel of a preposition is lengthened before a substitute of *हा* which *begins* with *हृ*", then the substitute may be *हृ* also without any harm. Even if the substitute be *हृ* or *हृ*, the apprehended *हृ* and *धृ* substitutions will not take place, on the maxim *सन्निपातलक्षणां विधि रनिमित्तं तद्विधातस्य* ॥

The following are exceptions to VII. 4. 47, अवत्तं, वित्तं, प्रत्तं, सुवत्तं, अनुवत्तं and निवत्तं ॥ Or the words अव &c, here are not Upasargas. See I. 4. 57.

Kārikā:—अवत्तं वित्तं च प्रत्तं आधिकर्मणि ।

सुवत्तमनुवत्तं च निवत्तमिति चेप्यते ॥

The word आधिकर्मणि qualifies pradatta only. The word च shows that regular forms अवत्तं, वित्तं, प्रत्तं, &c also are valid.

अच उपसर्गात् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, उपसर्गात्, तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्तादुपसर्गादुपरस्य हा इत्येतस्य पुसंज्ञकस्य त इत्यवगादेशो भवति तकारादौ किति ॥
आर्त्तिकम् ॥ अतेरित्साश्चस्त इत्येतद्भ्रमति विप्रतिषेधेन ॥

47. *हृ* is substituted for the ghu *हा* before a *क्विप्* affix beginning with *त*, when a Preposition ending in a vowel precedes it.

The examples under the present sūtra are प्रत्तं, अवत्तं, नीत्तं, वरीत्तं ॥ For the lengthening see VI. 3. 124. Why do we say 'ending in a vowel'? Observe निर्वत्तम् दुर्वत्तम् ॥ Why 'after an Upasarga only'? Observe हृदि हत्तम्, मधु हत्तम् ॥ Why 'the *हा* called Ghu'? Observe अवशात्तं दुह्यं from देप् ॥

Obj. The word उपसर्गात् in the sūtra is in the Ablative case, and by I. 1. 67, the substitute *हृ* should replace only the *first* letter of *हा*, how does it replace the *whole*?

Ans—The word अचः is to be repeated in the sūtra, one अचः being in the Ablative case and qualifying उपसर्गात्, and the other अचः being in the Genitive case, showing the sthānin to be *आ*, as "after an Upasarga ending in a vowel, *हृ* is substituted for the vowel of *हा*". Or the word अस्य may be read into this sūtra from VII. 4. 32. Or उपसर्गात्तः consists of three *हृ*'s, the substitute being च, and being a substitute of more than one letter, it replaces the *whole* of *हा* (I. 1. 55). In the following sūtra अपोमि, the अचः in the Ablative case is understood, and therefore *हृ* replaces only *हृ* ॥

Vart:—After a Preposition ending in a vowel, *हृ* is substituted for *हा* (हो), when *हृ* would have been substituted otherwise for its final by VII. 4. 40. As अवत्तम्, प्रत्तम् शुद्धोति and नीत्तं, वीत्तं ॥

अपो मि ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपः, मिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप् इत्येतस्याङ्गस्य मकारादौ प्रत्यये परतस्त इत्यवगादेशो भवति ॥

48. *हृ* is substituted for the final of the stem अप् before a case-ending beginning with *म्* ॥

As अद्भ्याम्, अङ्गिः, अङ्गयः ॥ Why beginning with a अ? Observe अद्भु ॥

In the Veda, त् is substituted before अ, for the final of स्वप्स्, from सु + अद् + अद्भुन्; meaning सोमनमवेयिषां; स्वतवस् from the root तु meaning स्वं तवो येषां; मास and उषस्, as स्वर्वाङ्गिः, स्वतवङ्गिः, माङ्गिरिष्टा इन्द्रो वृषहा, सधुषङ्गिरजाययाः ॥ The word मास becomes मास् by VI. 1. 63.

सः स्याद्धधातुके ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, सि, आर्द्धधातुके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य सकाराद्वा आर्द्धधातुके परतस्तकारादेशो भवति ॥

49. त् is substituted for the final स् of a root before an Ârdhadhâtuka affix beginning with स् ॥

As वस्यति, अवस्यन्, विवस्यति, जिघस्यति ॥ Why do we say 'when ending in त्'? Observe वस्यति ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with स'? Observe घासः, वासः ॥ Why an ârdhadhâtuka? Observe भास्ते, वस्ते, from भास् 'to sit' and वस् 'to cover'; both Adâdi roots.

तासस्त्वोर्लोपः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ तास्अस्त्वोः, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तासस्तेभ्य सकारस्य सकारादेशे प्रत्यये लोपो भवति ॥

50. The final स् of तास् (the character of the second Future) and that of अस् 'to be', is elided before an affix beginning with स् ॥

As कर्त्तासि, कर्त्तासे, स्वप्सि, व्यप्ति से ॥ See VI. 4. III. In से the अ and स् both of अस् have been elided, the अ by VI. 4. III, and स् by the present sūtra, so that the mere suffix से remains, which however here is a finite verb: hence the स्, is not changed to ष ॥ See VIII. 3. III.

रि च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफादेशे च प्रत्यये परतः तासस्त्वोः सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

51. The स् of तास् and अस् is dropped before an affix beginning with a र् ॥

As कर्त्तारौ, कर्त्तारः, अध्येतारौ, अध्येतारः ॥ The स् of अस् 'to be' is elided in the Perfect, because it is there that a र् beginning affix can follow it. Thus व्यप्तिरे (See VI. 4. III). According to the reading of Padamanjari, there can be no example of अस् ॥ अस्तेरुदाहरणं न प्रदर्शितं, रेफादेशसम्भवात् ॥

ह एति ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, एति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तासस्त्वोः सकारस्य हकारादेशो भवति एति परतः ॥

52. For the स् of तास् and अस् there is substituted ह before the personal-ending ए ॥

As कर्त्ताहे, and व्यप्ति हे from अस् ॥ See VI. 4. III. The ह substitution does not take place before the Personal ending एष् (III. 4. 8), as एधामासे ॥ The reason of this is that the ए referred to in this sūtra, is that ए which can come after तास्; and that very ए should also come after अस् ॥ The ए that can

come after **तात्** is the 1st Person singular **ए**; and not this **ए** of the Perfect 3rd Person singular. Others say, this even *sārvadhātuka*, and therefore not here **सुप्तोऽहं त्वां प्रेक्षामासे** ॥

दीवर्णयोर्दीधीवेव्योः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यि, इवर्णयोः, दीधी, वेव्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादिवर्णयोश्च परतो दीधीवेव्योर्लोपो भवति ॥

53. The final of **दीधी** and **वेवी** falls before an affix beginning with **य्**, **इ** or **ई** ॥

Thus **आसीध्य** and **आवेव्य गतः**, **आसीष्यते**, and **आवेव्यते** before **इ** ॥ **आसीधित्**, **आवेवित्**; **आसीधीत** and **आवेवीत** ॥ Why before **य्**, **इ** or **ई**? Observe **आसीष्यन्** and **आवेव्यन्** ॥ The long **ई** in **यी** is a *sūtra* वैचित्र्य, for **द्विवर्णयोः** would have been enough.

सनि मीमाधुरभलमशकपतपदामच इस् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, मी, मा, धु, रभ, लभ, शक, पत, पदा म्, अचः, इस् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनि प्रत्यये सकारादौ परतो मी मा धु रभ लभ शक पत पद इत्येतेषामङ्गानामचः स्थाने इतित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सनि राधो हिसायामच इत्स्वन्त्यः ॥

54, **इस्** is substituted for the root-vowel of **मी**, **मा**, **दा** and **घा** (**धु**), **रम्**, **लम्**, **शक्**, **पत्** and **पद्** when the Desiderative **सन्** beginning with **स्** (i. e. not taking the augment **इ**) follows.

The **मी** includes **मीनाति** (*Kryādi* 4), and **मिनाति** (*मि* of *Svādi* 4) for **मि** assumes the form **मी** by VI. 4. 16 Thus **मिस्सति**, **प्रमिस्सति** ॥ The **मा** denotes all the roots which assume the form **मा**, on the maxim **गामाश महणेचविशेषः** "The terms **गा**, **मा** or **दा** when they are employed in Grammar denote both the original roots **गा**, **मा** and **दा** and also the roots which are changed to **गा**, **मा** and **दा**" ॥ They are **मा** and **माङ्** **मानि**, and **मेङ्** **प्रणिशाने** ॥ Thus **मिस्सते**, **अप मिस्सते** ॥ **धु**—**दिस्सति**, **धिस्सति**; **रम्**—**आरिप्सते**, **लम्**—**आलिप्सते**, **शक्**—**शिक्षति**, **पत्**—**पिप्सति**, **पद्**—**प्रपिप्सते** ॥ In the roots that end in a vowel, the **स्** of **इस्** is changed to **त्** by VII. 4. 49, and in the roots that end in a consonant, this **स्** is dropped, according to VIII. 2. 29. The reduplication falls by VII. 4. 58.

Why do we say 'when the Desiderative follows'? Observe **दास्यति** ॥ The word **सि** is understood here from VII. 4. 49, so the rule will not apply when the Desiderative takes the augment **इद्**, as **प्र पातिषति** ॥ Here **पद्** optionally takes **इद्** under the *vārtika* **सनिपतिपरिग्राणाद्युपसंख्यानम्** ॥

Vārt :—The **इस्** comes after the root-vowel of **राध्** in the Desiderative, when the sense is that of to injure. As **प्रति रिस्सति** ॥ Why do we say when the sense is that of 'to injure'? Observe **आरि रास्सति** ॥

आप्क्षप्यधामीत् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आप्, क्षप्, ऋधाम्, ईत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आप् क्षपि ऋध इत्येतेषामङ्गानामच ईकारादेशो भवति सनि सकारादौ परतः ॥

55. For the vowel of the roots आप्, ज्ञपि and कृध् there is substituted long ई before the सन् of the Desiderative, when it begins with स् ॥

Thus आप्—ईप्सति, ज्ञपि—ज्ञीप्सति, कृध्—ईत्सति (I. 1. 51.). The reduplication is dropped by VII. 4. 58. In the Causative stem ज्ञपि there are two vowels, the इ (णि) is dropped by pūrva-vipratishedha (the prior debarring the subsequent) according to VI. 4. 51, and ई substituted for अ according to the present sūtra. The word सन् is to be read into the sūtra, otherwise प्राप्स्यति ॥ The सन् must begin with स् i.e. should not take the ईद् augment, as in ज्ञिप्सति, अर्हिप्सति ॥ The roots ज्ञपि and कृध् are optionally सेद् in the Desiderative by VII. 2. 49.

दम्भ इच्छ ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दम्भः, इत्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दम्भेरच इकारादेशो भवति चकारादीषु सनि सकारादौ परतः ॥

56. For the vowel of the root दम्भ् there is substituted इ as well as ई before the सन् of the Desiderative, when it begins with स् ॥

As धीप्सति or धिप्सति ॥ But तद्दिग्भषीत् before the सेद्सन् ॥ The reduplication falls off by VII. 4. 58.

मुचोऽकर्मकस्य गुणो वा ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुचः, अकर्मकस्य, गुणः वाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुचोऽकर्मकस्य गुणो वा भवति सनि सकारादौ परतः ॥

57. When मुच् has an Intransitive signification, Guṇa is optionally substituted for its vowel before the अनिच् सन् of the Desiderative.

By I. 2. 10, after a root ending in a consonant, the सन् is like किन् and does not cause Guṇa. The present sūtra ordains it optionally. As मोक्षते or मुमुक्षते वस्तः स्वयमेव ॥ In the Transitive there is one form only, as मुमुक्षति वस्तं देवदत्तः ॥ मुच् becomes Intransitive when it has a Reflexive significance, or when it expresses a mere action. The reduplication is elided by VII. 4. 58.

अत्र लोपोभ्यासस्य ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्र, लोपः, अभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वदेतत्प्रक्रान्तं सनि मीमेत्यादि मुचोऽकर्मकस्य गुणेवेति यावत् अत्राभ्यासलोपो भवति ॥

58. The reduplicate is dropped under the circumstances mentioned in the foregoing sūtras VII. 4. 54 to VII. 4. 57.

The examples are given under the above-mentioned sūtras. The word 'of the reduplicate' अभ्यासस्य is to be supplied in all the subsequent sūtras upto the end of the chapter. Thus Sūtra VII. 4. 59, says 'a short is to be substituted', we must supply the words 'for the reduplicate' to com-

plete the sense: as *दुहोकिषते, तुचोकिषते* ॥ The word *अच्* in the sūtra indicates that the reduplication is not to be elided, when an affix is treated *like सन्* but is not actually *सन्* ॥ Thus *अङ्*-Aorist is treated like *सन्* by VII. 4. 93; but the reduplication will not be dropped there: as *अनीमपन्, अरीमपन्* ॥ Some say the word *अच्* here indicates that the *whole* of the reduplicate is dropped, and not only its final letter. Others elide the whole of the reduplicate on the maxim *नानर्थकोऽप्यन्यविधिः* ॥ “The rule I. 1. 52, by which a substitute should take the place of only the final letter of that which is exhibited in the Genitive case, is not valid, where what is exhibited in the Genitive is meaningless”.

ह्रस्वः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वो भवत्यभ्यासस्य ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अभ्यासस्यानपि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अरि चलि पति वरीनां वा ह्रस्वमभ्याक् अभ्यासस्य इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

59. A short is substituted for the long vowel of the reduplicate.

As *दुहोकिषते, तुचोकिषते, दुहोके, तुचोके, अदुहोक्त, अतुचोक्त* ॥

Vārt.—The shortening takes place before affixes other than *अच्* (III. 1. 134). Before *अच्*, the roots *अङ्, अल्, पन्* and *वद्* are reduplicated, and the augment *अङ्* added to the reduplicate. See VI. 1. 12 *Vārt.* This augment when added to the reduplicate, is not to be shortened by this rule: and because this is not to be shortened, also indicates that the consonants of the reduplicate other than the first are also not dropped: as *अराचरः, अलाचलः, पतापतः, वरावरः* ॥

ह्लादिः शेषः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ हल् आदिः, शेषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्य ह्लादिः शिष्यते अनादिरुच्यते ॥

60. Of the consonants of the reduplicate, only the first is retained, the remainders are dropped.

As *अग्लौ, मग्लौ, पपाच, पपाठ, आद, आदतु, आदु* ॥ This rule ordains the retention of the initial consonant, if any, and elision of the non-initials in the reduplicate. If the root begins with a vowel as *अद्*, there being no initial consonant, in *अद् अद्*, the *द्* will be elided of course. The word *ह्लादिः* should not be construed as a Genitive Tatpurusha ‘first among the consonants’, for then in *अच्+लिङ्=अच् अच्*, the *च्* only would be elided, and *क्* retained.

The word *शेषः* or *शिष्यते* here means *अवस्थाप्यते* ‘is retained’. The word *ह्लादिः* is not a compound. For had it been a compound, then if it is a Karma-dhāraya, the word *आदि* should stand first; if it be a Genitive compound then the first among compound consonants would be retained and we could not get the form *आनक्त* from *अन्*. The word *abhyāsa* is to be taken in the sense of *jāti* or kind, i.e. in the *jāti* which is collectively called *abhyāsa*, the consonant that stands first in respect to *abhyāsa*, is retained, and not the consonant standing

in any other portion of it. So that all consonants, where ever they may be situate in the body of an abhyāsa, whether in the beginning or middle or end, are dropped, except one with which the abhyāsa begins. Thus if the abhyāsa begins with a simple consonant, it is retained; if it begins with a conjunct consonant, the first is only retained; and if the consonant or consonants are not in the beginning they are all dropped.

Others say, the word शेषः here means "retention along with the cessation of others". Therefore, though literally the word शेषः or retention appears to be the principal word in this sūtra, yet as a matter of fact, it is secondary, because the injunction is not with regard to retention, but with regard to cessation. The rule is not "Retain the first consonant"; but "Drop every consonant but the first, if there be a first consonant". Or the sūtras 59 and 60, may be combined and read thus: ह्रस्वोऽह्रस्वः "The abhyāsa becomes short and also without consonant". आदिशेषः "The first consonant is retained". Or the sūtras may be divided thus:—

- (1) 'A short vowel is substituted in the abhyāsa'.
- (2) 'The consonants of abhyāsa are all elided'.
- (3) The first is retained.

The sūtras 59 and 60 must be joined by sandhi "ह्रस्वोऽह्रस्वः", and then we shall be able to read an elided अ between ह्रस्व and ह्रस्व, as if it was a compound of ह्रस्व and अह्रस्व ॥

शार्पूर्वाः खयः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शार्पूर्वाः, खयः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्य शार्पूर्वाः खयः शिष्यन्ते ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ शार्पूर्वाः खय इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

61. Of a reduplicate, the hard consonants (aspirate and unaspirate) when preceded by a sibilant, are only retained, the other consonants are elided.

As चुद्योतिषति, from śchyutir ksharaṇe, तिष्ठति, तिष्ठन्ति ॥ Why do we say 'when preceded by a sibilant'? Observe पञ्च ॥ Why do we say hard consonants? Observe सञ्जो ॥

Vart:—It should be said rather, a hard consonant preceded by a hard consonant or a sibilant is only retained: and the खर consonants are elided: as in उचिष्ठति, here उच्छ becomes उच्छ by the augment त् (तुच्छ); in the reduplicate the च् should be elided, and छ retained out of च्छ; and not च् retained and छ elided; for the च् represents त्, and if this were retained, it would be त् and not च् that would be heard: for by VIII. 2. 1, the change of त् to च् is asiddha for the purposes of this rule.

कुहोश्चुः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुहोः, चुः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्य कवर्गहकारयोः अवर्गादौ भवति ॥

62. For the Guttural and ह् of a reduplicate there is substituted a Palatal.

As चकार, चखान, जगाम, जषान, जहार, जिहीर्षति, जहो ॥

न कवतेर्यङि ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, कवतेः, यङि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवतेरभ्यासस्य यङि परतद्वचुर्न भवति ॥

63. The Palatal is not substituted for the Guttural of the reduplicate of कु (कवते) in the Intensive.

As कोकृत्यते उद्गः, कोकृत्यते खरः ॥ The कु here is कुह (Bhu. 999), and not कृ 'to make sound' (Ad. 33, कौत्ति), nor कुह (Tud. 108, कुवति) ॥ Of those two, we have कोकृत्यते ॥ Why do we say in the Intensive? Observe चुकुने ॥

कुपेच्छन्दसि ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुपेः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुपेच्छन्दसि विषये यङि परतोभ्यासस्य पुर्न भवति ॥

64. The Palatal is not substituted for the Guttural of the reduplicate of कृष् in the Veda, when in the Intensive.

As करीकृष्यते यस्तकुपः ; otherwise चरीकृष्यते कृषीवलः ॥

दार्धर्षिर्दक्षिर्दक्षिर्बोभूतुतेतिकेलर्ष्यापनीफणत्संसनिष्यदत्करिकत्कनिक्रदत्त-
रिभ्रद्विध्वतो दविद्युतत्तरित्रतः सरीसृपतंवरीवृजन्मर्मृज्यागनीगन्तीति च ॥ ६५ ॥
पदानि ॥ दार्धर्षि, दक्षि, दक्षिर्, बोभूतु, तेतिके, अलर्षि, आपनीफणत्, संसनिष्य-
दत्, करिकत्, कनिक्रदत्, भरिभ्रत्, दविध्वतः, दविद्युतत्, तरित्रतः, सरीसृपतम्,
वरीवृजत्, मर्मृज्य, आगनी गन्ति, इति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दार्धर्षिर्दक्षिर्दक्षिर्बोभूतु तेतिके अलर्षि आपनीफणत् संसनिष्यदत् करिकत् कनिक्रदत्
भरिभ्रत् दविध्वतः दविद्युतत् तरित्रतः सरीसृपतं वरीवृजत् मर्मृज्य आगनीगन्ति इत्येतानि अष्टादश छन्दसि
विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

65. In the Veda are found the following eighteen irregularly reduplicated forms:—1 dādharti, 2 dardharti, 3 dardharshi, 4 bobhātu, 5 tetikte, 6 alarshi, 7 ā panīpha-
nat, 8 sam sanishyadat. 9 karikrat, 10 kanikradat, 11 bhari-
bhrat, 12 davidhvataḥ, 13 davidyutat, 14 taritrataḥ, 15 sari-
srpatam, 16 varivṛjat, 17 marmṛjya and 18 ā ganṁgānti.

The word छन्दसि is drawn in to this sūtra, by force of च ॥ The form दार्धर्षि, is either from the Causative of the root धृह् अवस्थाने or from धृष्, in the भु or बह् लुक्, there is lengthening of the abhyāsa and elision of णि ॥ (2) So also दक्षिर् is the form in णि, with दक् augment of the abhyāsa. (3) दक्षिर् if it be a form of बह् लुक्, there is no irregularity. (4) बोभूतु is from भू in the Intensive (बह् लुक्), Imperative, irregularly without guṇa. Q. There is no necessity of including this, because there would be no guṇa regularly even under VII. 3.

88? Ans. The inclusion of बोद्धु is a jñāpaka, indicating that in every other case, the guṇa is not prohibited in the Intensive (बहु लुक्), as बोधेति, बोधयीति (लृट् with ईद VII. 3. 94) (5) सेविते is from तिङ् in the Intensive yaṇ luk, ātmanepada is irregular. Q. The लृट् is डिङ् and therefore by pratyaya lakṣhaṇa rule (I. 1. 62) read with I. 3. 12, the बहु लुक् will be ātmanepadi, where is the necessity of reading this nipātan? Ans. The ātmanepada nipātan is a jñāpaka, that in the Intensive yaṇ luk the ātmanepada affixes are not employed. (6) जलति is from the root कृ (इयति), in Present, 2nd Person, the र् of abhyāsa is not elided, though required by VII. 4. 60, and this र् is changed to ल irregularly. This form is found in the 3rd Person also, as जलति वसः ॥ (7) ज्ञा पवीकणत् is from कण् with आ augment, and णत् affix is added to बहु लुक्, and in the reduplicate नी is added. (8) संसन्निध्यत् is from स्वन् with the Preposition सन्, in the Intensive yaṇ luk, with णत् affix, नि being added in the abhyāsa, the root स is changed to य ॥ The Preposition सं is not absolutely necessary, with other Prepositions also we have this form, as आ सन्निध्यत् ॥ (9) करिकत् is from कृ (करोति), in the Intensive yaṇ luk, with णत्, in the abhyāsa there is no palatal change (VII. 4. 62), and रि is added to the reduplicate. (10) कनिकत् from कन् in the Aorist with अल्, reduplication, there is no chutva (VII. 4. 62) of the reduplicate, and the augment नि is added. In the secular literature, the form is अकम्पीत् ॥ (11) मरिभत् from मृ (मिभति) in yaṇ luk with णत्, without इ of VII. 4. 76, without jaṣṭva, and रि is added to the reduplicate. (12) दधिष्वत् from धृ (ध्वस्ते) in the yaṇ luk, śatṛ, plural number Nominative. The वि is added to the reduplicate, the ऋ is elided, दधिष्वत् एवमयः सूर्यस्व ॥ (13) दधिद्युतत् is from द्युत्, yaṇ luk with śatṛ, there is no vocalisation of the reduplicate, with अ change and वि augment. (14) दरिषत् from दृ (दरति) with ślu, śatṛ, genitive singular: and रि added to abhyāsa. (15) घरीचपत् from चृप् with ślu, śatṛ, Accusative with री added to abhyāsa. (16) घरीचपत् from चृप् with ślu, śatṛ and री augment. (17) मर्षत् from मृश् with लिट् (Perfect) णल्, ष added to abhyāsa, and ष added to the root, and there is no vṛiddhi, because there is no short penultimate now. In fact VII. 2. 114 is to be qualified by the words लघूपध् from VII. 3. 86. (18) आ गनीगन्ति is from गम् with the Preposition आ, in the Perfect, with ślu, there is no chutva (VII. 4. 62), and augment नी is added. दक्षजन्ती वेदा गनीगन्ति कर्मज ॥

The word इति in the aphorism indicates that other forms, similar to these, are also to be included.

उरत् ॥ ६६ ॥ यदानि ॥ उः, अत् ॥

दुतिः ॥ दधर्णास्तस्याभ्यासत्वाकारवेद्यो भवति ॥

66. अर् (I. 1. 51) is substituted for the ऋ or ऌ of the reduplicate.

As वदते, वदधे, वाचधे, नर्तति, नर्तयति नदीनति ॥ The र् is elided by VII. 4. 60. In the Intensives VII. 4. 90 &c, are applied, by which after the substitution of अर्

by the present sūtra, we apply those sūtras and add **रीक रुक्. रिक् &c.** for the maxim is **अभ्यासविकारिषु अपवादो नास्त्वर्गान् विधीन् बाधते** "so far as the changes of a reduplicative syllable are concerned special (apavāda) rules do not supersede the general (utsarga) rules".

द्युतिस्वाप्योः, संप्रसारणम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्युतिः स्वाप्योः, संप्रसारणम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्युति स्वापि देवतैयारभ्यासस्य संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

67. There is vocalisation of the half-vowel of the reduplicate of **द्युत्** and **स्वापि** (Causative of **स्वप्**) ॥

As **वि विद्युतन्, वि विद्योतिषते, वि विद्युतिषते, (I. 2. 26) वि विद्युयते ॥ स्वापि—सुष्यापयिषति ॥** The Causative of **स्वप्** is taken here, and the vocalisation takes place then only, when it is immediately followed by an affix which causes reduplication. Therefore not here, **स्वापि + ण्वुल् = स्वापक्**; **स्वापक् + क्यप् = स्वापकीय, स्वापकीय + सन् = सिन्वापकीयिषति ॥**

The simple root **स्वप्** will get vocalised in its reduplicate by VI. 1. 15, 17 in the Perfect. The Desiderative of **स्वप्** is **क्तिन्** by I. 2. 8, and therefore the reduplicate of **स्वप्** will be vocalised before **सन्** by VI. 1. 15. The reduplicate of **स्वप्** will be vocalised in the Intensive also by VI. 1. 19.

Quere:—Does the reduplicate of the Desiderative of the Denominative verb **क्षोतकीवति** get vocalised or not.

व्यथो लिटि ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यथः, लिटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यथेलिटि परतोभ्यासस्य संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

68. There is vocalisation of the half-vowel of the reduplicate of **व्यथ्** in the Perfect.

As **विष्यथे, विष्यथाते, विष्यथिरे ॥** This ordains the vocalisation of **थ**, which otherwise would have been elided as being a non-initial consonant (VII. 4. 60). The vocalisation of **थ्** is prevented by VI. 1. 37. Why do we say in the Perfect? Observe **वाच्यथ्यते ॥**

दीर्घ इणः किति ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घः, इणः, किति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इणोक्तस्य बोध्यासस्तस्य दीर्घो भवति किति लिटि परतः ॥

69. A long vowel is substituted in the reduplicate of the root **इ** (पति), before a Personal ending of the Perfect, which has an indicative **क्** ॥

As **ईयतुः, ईतुः ॥** These are thus formed **इ + अतुक् = इ + अतुः** (**इ** substituted for **इ** by VI. 4. 81). Then there is reduplication, the **क्** becomes sthānivat to **इ** by I. 1. 59, and we have **इ इ + अतुः** and then by the present rule **ईयतुः ॥** Why do we say before a **क्ति** affix? Observe **इवाय, इयविय ॥**

अत आदेः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, आदेः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्यादेरकारस्य दीर्घो भवति लिटि परतः ॥

70. A long vowel is substituted in the Perfect for the initial अ of a reduplicate.

This debarb the single substitute of the form of the subsequent ordained by VI. 1. 97. Thus आट, आटतुः, आटुः ॥ Why do we say 'the initial'? Observe पपाच and पपाठ ॥ Thus अद् + अतुः = अद् अद् + अतुः = अ अद् + अतुः = आ अद् + अतुः ॥

तस्मान्नुद् द्विहलः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मात्, उद्, द्वि-हलः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मात्तोभ्यासादीर्घीकृतादुत्तरस्य द्विहलोद्गस्य गुणगमो भवति ॥

71. After such a lengthened आ of the reduplicate, there is added the augment उद् (नृ) to the short अ of the root which ends in a double consonant.

As from अऊच् = आ अऊच् = आम् अऊच्, which with the affixes of the Perfect gives us, आनऊच्, आनऊतुः, आनऊतुः ॥ From अऊच् = आनऊच्, आनऊतुः, आनऊतुः ॥ Why do we say 'containing two consonants'? Observe आट, आटतुः, आटुः ॥

With regard to उद् augment, ऋ is considered like र्, as आनृषतुः, आनृषुः ॥ This proceeds on a vārtika to be found under the Pratyāhāra sūtra ऐ ओच् ॥ The vārtika is नृवृषि-लृषि-विनामासु ऋकारे प्रतिविधातव्यं ॥ The examples of लृषि are कृत्तः, कृत्तवान्; (See VIII. 2. 18) and of विनामा are कर्तृजाय and मर्तृजाय ॥

अञ्जोतेञ्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अञ्जोतेः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्जोतेर्लृषि आरम्भः ॥ अञ्जोतेर्लृषि दीर्घीकृतादुत्तरस्य गुणगमो भवति ॥

72. After the lengthened आ of the reduplicate of अञ् (अञ्जोते), comes the augment उद् (नृ) before the short अ of the root in the Perfect.

This applies to a case where the root does not contain a double consonant. Thus व्यानञ्जे, व्यानञ्जते, व्यानञ्जिरे ॥ The rule applies to अञ् (Svādi 18) and not to अञ् (Kryādi 51); there we have आच, आचतुः, आचुः ॥

अवतेरः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवतेः, अः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवतेरभ्यासस्वाकारदेशो भवति लिटि परतः ॥

73. अ is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate of अ in the Perfect.

As अञ्च, अञ्चतुः, अञ्चुः, अञ्चुः ॥ Why do we say 'in the Perfect'? Observe अञ्चति and अञ्चते ॥

The word अवतेः is shown in the sūtra in the Active Voice, therefore the rule will not apply to Passive and Reflexive forms; as अञ्चुञ्चुः कञ्चुः देव-इतेन ॥ This opinion of Kāśikā, however, is not endorsed by later Grammarians

ससृवेति निगमे ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ससृव, इति, निगमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ससृव इति निपात्यते कृतेर्लिटि परस्मैपदं गुणगमो ऽभ्यासस्य चास्य निपात्यते ॥

74. In the Veda ससृज् is irregularly formed in the Perfect.

It is derived from सृ ॥ Thus ससृज् स्थविर विपश्चितान् otherwise सृजुषे ॥ Rīg. IV. 18 10.

This word ससृज् might well have been included in sūtra VII. 4. 65.

निजां त्रयाणां गुणः स्त्री ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ निजाम्, त्रयाणाम्, गुणः, स्त्री ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निजादीनां त्रयाणामभ्यासस्य गुणो भवति स्त्री सति ॥

75. Guṇa is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate, in the Reduplicated Present form (दलु) of निज्, विज् and विष् ॥

Thus निजेक्ति, वेजेक्ति, वेजेष्टि ॥ The word त्रयाणां could have been spared in this sūtra, as these three roots stand at the end of a subdivision, and निजां would have denoted these three without the word trayāṇām. The word is however used here for the sake of the subsequent sūtra. Why do we say in the reduplicated Present form? Observe निजेज् in the Perfect.

भृजामिद् ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृजाम्, इद् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भृजादीनां त्रयाणामभ्यासस्येकारदेशो भवति स्त्री सति ॥

76. In the Reduplicated Present-form of the three roots भृ, मा (भाङ्) and हा (ओहाङ्), इ is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate.

As विभक्ति, विनीते, (VI. 4. 113) जिहीते ॥ The word 'three' is understood here, therefore not in ओहाङ्—जहाति ॥ The rule applies in the Reduplicated Present system (दलु) only: therefore not in बभार ॥

अस्तिपिपत्योश्च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्ति-पिपत्योः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अस्ति पिपति इत्येतयोराभ्यासस्येकारदेशो भवति स्त्री ॥

77. इ is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate of ऋ and ृ in the Reduplicated Present-form.

As इवर्ति (VI. 4. 78) धूमन्, विपर्ति सोमन् ॥
बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विपरे ऽभ्यासस्य स्त्री बहुलनिकापदेशो भवति ॥

78. इ is diversely substituted in the Veda, for the vowel of the reduplicate, in the Reduplicated Present-form.

As पूजो विषष्टि (from वृज्), जग्निना विषक्ति (from वृज्), वस्तं न मामा सिषक्ति (from वृज्), and जिघर्ति सोमन् ॥ But also वसति, जज्जनन्, वधनन् as in वसतीत्येवं ह्वात्; जज्जनमिन्द्रं माता यदीरं वधनन् धनिदा ॥ All these three roots belong to Juhotyādi class.

सन्यतः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, अतः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सनि परतोकारान्ताभ्यासस्येकारदेशो भवति ॥

79. इ is substituted for the final short अ of the reduplicate in the Desiderative.

As पिपसति, विवसति, (VIII. 2. 36, 41) तिष्ठसति, पिपासति ॥ Why do we say in the Desiderative? Observe पपाच ॥ Why do we say "for the अ"? Observe छुप्सति ॥ Why do we say 'short अ'? Observe पापचिषते the Desiderative of the Intensive पापच्यते ॥

ओः पुयण्ज्यपरे ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, पु-यण्-जि-अपरे ॥
बुद्धिः ॥ संनीति वर्त्तते इति च ॥ उवर्णान्ताभ्यासस्य पवर्गे बणि अकारे चावर्णपरे परत इकारपरेषो भवति सानि प्रत्यये परतः ॥

80. इ is substituted for the final उ or ऊ of a reduplicate, before a labial, a semi-vowel and before ज्ञ, when अ or आ follows these consonants, in the Desiderative.

The word पु-बन्-जि is the Locative singular of the samāhāra dvandva compound of those three words—पू, बन् and ज्ञ ॥ The samāsānta affix इच् (V. 4. 106) does not come, as these affixes are anitya. The word अ-धरे means that after which is the letter अ ॥

Thus: 1. Labial:—पिपचिषते, पिपाचिषति, विपाचिषति; 2. Semi-vowel:—विवचिषति, विवाचिषति, रिवाचिषति, लिवाचिषति; 3. ज्ञ—जिजाचिषति from the root ज्ञ ॥

The word पिपचिषते is from पू which gets इद् augment in सन् (VII. 2. 74), then there is guṇa, and अन् substitutions, but these latter being sthānivat for reduplication (I. 1. 59), पू is doubled: and for ऊ there is substituted इ by the present sūtra. पिपाचिषति is the Desiderative of the Causative of पू ॥ विपाचिषति is the Desiderative of the Causative of भू ॥ विवचिषति is the Desiderative of पु 'to mix', which is सेद् by VII. 2. 49. विवाचिषति is the Desiderative of the Causative of this root. The words रिवाचिषति and लिवाचिषति are the Desiderative of the Causatives of रैति and लुनाति ॥

This sūtra indicates the existence of the following maxim:—अहिर्यचन निमित्ते-ऽपि जो स्यामिबद् भवति, "though not the cause of reduplication, the substitute which takes place when जि follows, becomes like the original". Thus in विपाचिषति we have पाचि + सन् from भू + जि + सन्, here the आच् substitute caused by जि is sthānivat to ऊ, otherwise there would be no उ in the reduplicate to be operated upon by the present sūtra. See VI. 1. 31 also. Why do we say "for the उ or ऊ"? Observe पापच्यते, the Desiderative of which will be पापचिषति ॥ Why do we say "followed by a labial, semi-vowel or ज्ञ"? Observe अब दुपाचिषति, according to Padamanjari it is अब तुता चिषति from the sautra root तु ॥ जुहाचिषति ॥ Why do we say 'when these consonants are followed by an अ'? Observe छुप्सति ॥

अवतिभृणोतिद्रवतिप्रवतिप्लवतिच्यवतीनां वा ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवति-भृणो-ति-द्रवति-प्रवति-प्लवति-च्यवतीनाम् ॥

बुद्धिः ॥ अवति भृणोति द्रवति प्रवति प्लवति च्यवति इत्येतेषामभ्यासस्य ओरवर्णपरे बणि वा इकारपरेषो भवति सानि परतः ॥

81. इ is optionally substituted for the final उ of the reduplicate of झ, श्रु, द्रु, प्रु, प्लु and च्यु when the semi-vowel is followed by अ or आ in the Desiderative.

Thus सिञ्जावधिषति or झुञ्जावधिषति ; शिञ्जावधिषति or शुञ्जावधिषति ; विञ्जावधिषति or वुञ्जावधिषति ; पिञ्जावधिषति or पुञ्जावधिषति ; पिञ्जावधिषति or पुञ्जावधिषति ; चिञ्जावधिषति or चुञ्जावधिषति ॥ All these are Desideratives of the Causatives of the above roots. Here though a letter like स्, श्र, द्र &c, intervenes between the semi-vowel and the preceding उ of the reduplicate, yet the substitution takes place owing to the express text of this sūtra. In the preceding aphorism, the semi-vowel followed *immediately* after the उ of the reduplicate. The option of the present sūtra is, therefore, an aprāpta-vibhāṣā. The word अपरे is understood here also : therefore not in झञ्जवति, शुञ्जवति ॥

गुणो यङ्लुकोः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुणः, यङ् - लुकोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वङि यङ्लुकि च इगन्तस्याभ्यासस्य गुणो भवति ॥

82. Guṇa is substituted for the इ and उ (with their long) of a reduplicate, when the Intensive character यङ् follows and also when it is elided.

Thus चेच्यते, लोलयते with बह्, and जोहवीति with यङ् लुक् ॥ The इङ् is added in the latter by VII. 3. 94. So also चोक्रुषीति from क्रुष् (VII. 3. 94 and 87).

दीर्घोक्तिः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घः, अकितः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकितोभ्यासस्य दीर्घो भवति वङि यङ्लुकि च परतः ॥

83. A long vowel is substituted for the अ of the reduplicate in the Intensive (with expressed or elided यङ्), when the reduplicate receives no augment having an indicative क् ॥

The reduplicate receives augments like नीक्, द्रक् by the following sūtras. Thus पापच्यते, and पापचीति, बायज्जते and बावजीति ॥ Why do we say "when it gets no augment"? Observe यंयम्यते, बंयमीति, रंरम्यते, रंरमीति ॥

Obj:—When the न् augment is added, the reduplicate will end in a consonant, and as it does not end in a vowel, there will be no occasion for lengthening; hence the employment of the term अकितः is useless.

Ans.—The employment of this term by the Achārya indicates the existence of the following maxim: अभ्यासविकारेण्पादा नोत्तिर्गान् विधात् वाधन्ते "so far as changes of a reduplicative syllable are concerned, rules which teach those changes do not supersede one another". What is the necessity of this

(the second lengthening takes place by VII. 4. 83). Why do we say ending in a nasal ? Observe पापच्यते ॥

जपजमदददशमञ्जपशां च ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जप-जम-दद-दश-मञ्ज-पशाम्, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जप जम दद दश मञ्ज पश इत्येतेषामभ्यासस्य गुणागमो भवति यद्व्यङ्ग्यलुकोः परतः ॥

86. The augment नुक् comes after the reduplicates of जप, जम, दद, दश, मञ्ज, and पश in the Intensive (with or without यङ्) ॥

Thus जञ्च्यते and जञ्जीति ; जञ्च्यते and जञ्जीति, दञ्च्यते and दञ्जीति ; दञ्च्यते and दञ्जीति ॥ The root is दञ्, but it is exhibited in the sūtra as दश, showing that even in दद लुक्, the root loses its nasal. Similarly बञ्च्यते and बञ्जीति, and पञ्च्यते and पञ्जीति ॥ This last is a sautra root.

चरफलोञ्च ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चर-फलोः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चर फल इत्येतयोर्भ्यासस्य गुणागमो भवति यद्व्यङ्ग्यलुकोः परतः ॥

87. The augment नुक् comes after the reduplicate of चर् and फल् in the Intensive (with or without यङ्) ॥

Thus चञ्च्यते and चञ्चीति (the lengthening of च् is by VIII. 2. 77) चञ्च्यते and चञ्चीति ॥ See the following sūtra.

उत्परस्यातः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्, परस्य, अतः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चरफलोर्भ्यासात्परस्यात् उकारादेशो भवति यद्व्यङ्ग्यलुकोः परतः ॥

88. For the subsequent अ (i. e. for the अ of the root and not of the reduplicate), there is substituted उ in the Intensive (with or without यङ्) of चर् and फल् ॥

The examples have been given above, as चञ्च्यते, चञ्चीति and चञ्च्यते चञ्चीति ॥ Why do we say 'the अ which stands subsequent to the reduplicate'? The substitute does not replace the अ of the reduplicate. Why do we say 'of अ'? The substitute should not replace the final letter, which it otherwise would have done by I. 1. 52. The त् in उत् debarb guṇa (VII. 3. 86) in चञ्च्यते and चञ्चीति, for though उ is lengthened by VIII. 2. 77, in चञ्च्यते, yet that lengthening is considered as non-existent or asiddha (VIII. 2. 1) for the purposes of Guṇa (VII. 3. 86). *Quere.* If the त् in उत् debarb guṇa, why should it not debar lengthening also of VIII. 2. 77 ?

ति च ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तकारादौ प्रत्यये परतश्चल्लोकारस्य उकारादेशो भवति ॥

89. उ is substituted for the vowel of चर् and फल् before an affix beginning with त ॥

Thus चृतिः (= चरण or ब्रह्मणः), प्रकुञ्चिः and प्रकुञ्चाः ॥ The anuvṛtti of चर् लुकोर्भ्यासस्य does not apply here, though present. See VIII. 2. 55.

रीगुपधस्य च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ रीक्, ऋत्-उपधस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋदुपधस्याङ्गस्य योऽभ्यासस्तस्य रीगागमो भवति यङ्लुकोः परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ रीगुत्वत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

90. The reduplicate of a root, which has a ऋ in the penultimate position, gets the augment री in the Intensive (with or without यङ्) ॥

As वरीवृत्यते and वरीवृतीति, वरीवृज्यते and वरीवृजीति, नरीनृत्यते and नरीनृतीति ॥

Vārt:—It should be rather stated 'a root which contains a ऋ': when यङ् follows, whether this ऋ be of upadeśa, or obtained by samprasāraṇa, so that the augment may come in वरीवृद्ध्यते and वरीवृषीति where the ऋ is of vocalisation, and not penultimate also.

रुभिकौ च लुकि ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुक्-रिकौ, च, लुकि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङ्लुकि ऋदुपधस्याङ्गस्य योऽभ्यासस्तस्य रुभिकावागमो भवतश्चकाराङ्गीकृच ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ मर्द्व्यते मर्द्व्यमानास इत्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

91. The augments रीक्, रुक् and रिक् come after the reduplicate of a root which has a ऋ in the penultimate, only when the यङ् of the Intensive is elided.

Thus नर्नर्ति, नरिनर्ति, and नरीनर्ति; वर्वर्ति, वरिवर्ति, वरीवर्ति ॥ The उ in रुक् is for the sake of pronunciation, the augment is र् ॥

Vārt:—मर्द्व्यते and मर्द्व्यमानासः should also be enumerated. These have taken रुक् augment, though the यङ् is not elided here.

ऋतश्च ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य योऽभ्यासस्तस्य रुभिकावागमो भवतो रीक्चयङ्लुकि ॥

Kārikā:—किरति चर्करीतान्तं पचतीत्यत्र यो नयेत् ॥

प्राप्तिस्तमहं मन्वे प्राग्भस्तेन संपदः ॥

92. The reduplicate of a root, which ends in short ऋ, gets, in the Intensive without यङ्, the above augments री, र्, and रि ॥

Thus चर्कति, चरिकति, and चरिर्कति, अर्हति, अरिहति and अरीहति ॥ Why do we say 'which ends in a short ऋ'? The rule does not apply to roots ending in long ऋ as, चाकति, चाकीर्ति, चाकिरति from कृ ॥ The word ऋतः qualifies the word अङ्ग and not the word अभ्यास, for an abhyāsa is always short, so the त् in ऋत् would become meaningless if the word qualified reduplicate. Therefore कृ ending in long ऋ does not get री, र् and रि augments in the reduplicate.

Kārikā:—He who can conjugate, in the Present tense, the yaṅ-luk Intensive of कृ and of other roots ending in long ऋ, is considered by me to be a person who has attained to the right knowledge of the employment of the

augments इ, री, रि &c: and he has obtained the right use of words.

The word किरति in the Kārikā is illustrative of all roots like कृ (किरति) ending in long ऋ ॥ चर्करीत is the name given to the चर्क लुक् form of the Intensive, by ancient grammarians. चर्करीतान्त means, therefore, a form ending in yañ-luk. पचति is illustrative of लट् or Present tense.

सन्वल्लघुनि चर्कपरेऽनग्लोपे ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्वत्, लघुनि, चर्क - परे, अन् अग्लोपे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लघुनि धात्वक्षरे परतो योभ्यासस्तस्य चर्कपरे णो परतः सनीव कार्त्तं भवति अनग्लोपे ॥

93. In the reduplicated Aorist of the Causative, the reduplicate adapts itself to that of the Desiderative, when the vowel of the root is light, and the root has not lost its end-vowel before the Causative affix.

The words of this sūtra require a little detailed explanation. The word सन्वत् means "like unto सन् or Desiderative"; i. e. as the Desiderative is treated, so should the चर्क Aorist of the Causative. The words लघुनि and चर्कपरे are both in the Locative case, but not in apposition with each other, but refer to different objects. लघुनि means 'when a light vowel follows', namely that reduplicate which is followed by the light root-vowel. The operations to be performed on such a reduplicate, in the चर्क Aorist, after the णि are the same, as on the reduplicate of the Desiderative. अन्-अक्-लोपे "provided that a simple vowel of the Pratyāhāra अक् has not been elided". We read the word 'causative' into this sūtra, because there can be no other root which will form चर्क Aorist. Causatives form such Aorist (III. 1. 48), as well as the simple roots चि, द्रु and झु ॥ The words चर्कपरे qualifies the word अन् understood: that *stem* which is followed by चर्क; therefore, it refers to the Causative *stem*, and not to the simple roots चि, द्रु and स्रु. The *light* vowel, therefore refers, to the light vowel of the *Causative stem* before चर्क ॥

The word अनग्लोपे is in apposition with चर्कपरे ॥ Thus कच+णिच् (III. 1. 30). = अकाम् + इ + अत् (III. 1. 48) = अकाम् + अत् (VI. 4. 51) = अकम् + अत् (VII. 4. 1) = अचकम् + अत् (VI. 1. 11) = आचकम् + अत् (VII. 4. 79 read with VII. 4. 93) = अचीकम् (VII. 4. 94).

Thus VII. 4. 79 teaches the substitution of इ for अ in the reduplicate of the Desiderative. The same substitution will take place in the reduplicate of the Aorist: as अचीकम्, अपीपचत् ॥ Thus by VII. 4. 80, इ is substituted for इ of the reduplicate in the Desiderative, the same will be the case in the reduplicate of the Aorist, as अपीपचत् and अलीलवत्, and अजीजवत् ॥ Thus by VII. 4. 81, इ is optionally substituted for इ in the Desiderative reduplicate of झु &c, the same will hold good in the Aorist-reduplicate, as असिलवत् or अझलवत्, अचिभवत्

or अशुभ्रवत्, अरिह्रवत् or अदुह्रवत्, अपिमवत् or अपुमवत्, अपिह्रवत् or अपुह्रवत्, अचिच्यवत् or अचुच्यवत् ॥ Why do we say 'having a light vowel'? Observe अततक्षत्, अररक्षत्, अजजागरत् ॥

Some say, that in अजजागरत्, the syllable ञ is *light*, and therefore, the san-vat rule would apply: for a light vowel no where *immediately* follows a reduplicate; therefore, though a long syllable जा intervenes, yet the rule will apply, because of the express text. This reasoning is wrong. The maxim हेन नाव्यवधानं हेनव्यवहितेऽपि वक्ष्यमप्राप्त्यात् cannot be extended to cases like this. It applies only when the intervention consists of one letter and not of more than one. Obj. If so, how do you form अचिक्षणत् for here two letters क् and ण् (क्ष) intervene between the reduplicate and the light vowel. Ans. The author indicates by implication in VII. 4. 95 that these roots like क्षण् do take इ in the reduplicate; for had it not been so, what was the necessity of making an exception in favor of roots like स्मृ, स्वर, स्तु, स्पृ in VII. 4. 95. So that a conjunct consonant is not considered an intervention for the purposes of this rule. Therefore, स्मृ &c would have taken इ in the reduplicate by VII. 4. 79, read with the present sūtra, and so the Achārya enjoins अ instead in VII. 4. 95 with regard to these.

Why do we say 'when चङ् follows'? Observe अङ् पपच ॥ Why do we use the word पर "followed by"? The rule would not apply when चङ् alone follows without णि, as अचकमत् where कङ् has taken चङ् under the vārtika कनेद-पसंख्यानम् ॥

Why do we say 'when an अक vowel has not been dropped'? Observe अचकयत् from the Churādi root कय which ends in अ, and this अ is elided by VI. 4. 48. Obj. This lopa being considered sthānivat, will prevent the application of the present rule, as there will be an intervention. Ans. We shall give another example, अरहृषत् from हृषदाह्यातवात् ॥ Here णिच् is added to हृषद् under the Vārtika सत्करोतितसचष्ट, and the णि portion is elided by हृषदाह्यात्, here a vowel and a consonant have been elided, and so the lopa is not sthānivat.

In the double causative Aorist अवीववत् the present rule applies, though one णि has been elided. अवीववत् - वावितवन्तं प्रयोञ्जितवात् ॥ In fact, the elision of one णि when followed by another णि is not considered as an ak-lopa; the latter refers to the elision of any other vowel than णि ॥ Therefore we have अवीववत् वीणां परिवापकेन् ॥ In fact, this exception rests on the following vārtika सम्बद्धभाव-दीर्घत्वे णे णिच्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

The lopa of the reduplicate which takes place before सङ् of the roots वी, ना &c (VII. 4. 54) does not, however, take place in चङ् Aorist. The analogy does not extend so far. In fact, the present sūtra teaches a क्पातिरेष,

namely the *form* which a reduplicate has in Desiderative, will be the *form* in the Aorist. But as *मी*, *मा* &c have *no* reduplicate form in the Desiderative, the analogy stops. Therefore, we shall have *अमीमपत्* ॥ Moreover the word *सम्बद्* here means the operations that depend *solely* on *सन्* ॥ Now the total elision of the reduplicate by VII. 4. 54 does not depend upon *सन्* *alone*, but upon the augment *इस्* also of VII. 4. 54. But as there can be no *इस्* in the Aorist, so there will be no elision also. In fact, an *atidesā* should be confined to general cases and not to particulars.

दीर्घो लघोः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घः, लघोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घो भवति लघोरभ्यासस्य लघुनि णौ चरूपरे ऽनग्लोपे ॥

94. In the reduplicative syllable, a prosodially short vowel is lengthened in the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative, when the vowel of the root is light, and the root has not lost its end-vowel before the Causative णि ॥

Thus *अचीकरत्*, the *इ* (VII. 4. 79) is lengthened. Similarly *अलीलवत्*, *अपीपवत्* ॥ Why do we say which is prosodially light? Observe *अवि-अजत्* ॥ Why do we say when the vowel of the root is light? Observe *अततसत्*, *अररसत्* ॥ Why do we say in the reduplicated Aorist? Observe *अहं पपच* ॥ The word *पर* is understood here also, so the rule will not apply to simple roots as *अचकमत्* ॥ The words 'anaglope' are to be read here, therefore not so in *अचकयत्* ॥

अत्स्मृदृत्वरप्रथमद्वस्तृस्पशाम् ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत, स्मृ-दृ-त्वर-प्रथ-मद्व, स्तृ-स्पशाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्मृ दृ त्वरं प्रथ मद्व स्तृ स्पश इत्येतेषामभ्यासस्यादित्यवमादेशो भवति चरूपरे णौ परतः ॥

95. Short *अ* is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate in the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative, of the roots *smri*, *drī*, *tvar*, *prath*, *mrād*, *strī* and *spāś*,

Thus *असस्मरत्*, *अददरत्*, *अतत्वरत्*, *अपप्रथत्*, *अमम्रदत्*, *अतस्तरत्*, *अपस्पशत्* ॥ This debars the *इ* which would have come under VII. 4. 93. The '*short अ*' indicates that it is not to be lengthened by VII. 4. 94, as *अददरत्* ॥

विभाषा वेष्टिचेष्टयोः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वेष्टि, चेष्टयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वेष्टि चेष्टि इत्येतयोरभ्यासस्य विभाषा अदित्यवमादेशो भवति चरूपरे णौ परतः ॥

96. Short *अ* is optionally substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate in *वेष्ट* and *चेष्ट* in the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative.

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Thus अवचेष्ट् or अविचेष्ट्, अचचेष्ट् and अविचेष्ट् ॥ In one alternative there is shortening of the reduplicate (VII. 4 59), and after such shortening, there is अ substituted in the other alternative.

ईच गणः ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, च, गणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गणेश्यासस्य ईकारवेद्यो भवति चह्वरि जौ परतः ॥

97. In the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative, ई is substituted optionally for the vowel of the reduplicate in गण् ॥

As अजीगणत् or अजगणत् ॥ गण is a root which ends in अ, and this अ being elided by VI. 4. 48 before the Causative णि, the rule VII. 4 93, does not apply to it, because there is an ak-lopa here, so in the other alternative, it has its natural अ ॥

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