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BOOK VIII.

THE

ASHTA DHYAYI

of

PANINI.

PARTS XXIX—XXXII.

S. C. VASU.

OPINIONS OF DISTINGUISHED PROFESSORS OF SANSKRIT.

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

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

Professor T. Jolly, Ph. D., Würzburg, (Germany), 23rd April, 1893.—* * * Nothing could have been more gratifying to me, no doubt, than to get hold of a trustworthy translation of Pāṇini's 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., 17 June, 1893.—* * * The work seems to me to be very well planned and executed, doing credit to the translator and publisher. It is also, in my opinion, very valuable undertaking, as it does to give the European student of the native grammar more help than he can find anywhere else. It ought to have a good sale in Europe (and correspondingly in America).

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

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

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

स्वस्तीश्वरे हितपुरे हितरे प्रयागे सत्संगमप्रणयसंमतिरे बुधानां ।
विद्याविनोदपरिवर्द्धितबुध्युत्सवान् वास्वन्वयाञ्छिरिशचन्द्रविदांवरिष्ठान् ॥ १ ॥
दृष्टान्तिमोदमुदिरोहमुदमशक्तीन् सच्छास्त्राशोधितसुखास्पदबोधभाजः ।
सम्यक्कलसंतु नतयोनितराम्मदीयाः यद्वाबभूककृत्तिकर्मरतांतरेभ्यः ॥ २ ॥
दृष्टाकृतं विमलबोधनबोधराशिं सद्वाकृतिप्रथितकीर्त्तिकरंप्रशंस्य ।
वच्छ्रीमदीयमतिमोदवहं वरेण्यं सत्युस्तकं प्रमुदितोहमहोराकृत्यं ॥ ३ ॥
चिन्मयदस्ति भवतैर्ग्लिशाबोधभाजा यद्वास्तुतो विरचितं समकृत् सुविम्बं ।
लोकेषुचिधरचनाभरणैकशीला श्रिचेषचिन्मनसः प्रतिबिम्बमात्रे ॥ ४ ॥
सत्सौर्गलशाप्रकटितं वसुवृत्तौ संज्ञादिपेशालमनो कुहकल्पसाक्षि ।
रूपानेवसुप्रहितविश्विवृत्तिवयं यद्वास्तुतासुविहितौग्लिशभाववृत्तिः ॥ ५ ॥
येनचयथा मुनिमताकृतशास्त्रसंघान् निर्मथ्यस्तौधरसधन्महतादरेण ।
संगुम्फितं संरलसंस्कृतसाध्यसारं धन्यं वराम्यहमलं भवतेहिताय ॥ ६ ॥
ग्रन्थस्ययत्प्रसरणाखिलकीर्त्तिकृत्ये याचेपराङ्गवतोप्यहमवविद्वन् ।
यत्पूर्वपश्चिममुखेषुसदाप्रचारं लाभसुखंयुगस्मिन् च तत्रापि धीमन् ॥ ७ ॥
वाणीविदाम्भारतवास्तुमुखे जयाद्या यत्पूर्वपश्चिमजबोधभृते च विद्या ।
ख्यातित्सदासकल बर्धभुजां समुद्देऽप्याशीर्धचो भवतु पांडित लालचन्द्र ॥ ८ ॥



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SLNDHU CHARAN BOSE,

PUBLISHER OF PANINI,

Bahadurgunj, Allahabad,

N.-W P., India.

The Tara Printing Works, Benares.

BOOK VIII.

THE

ASHTĀDHYĀYI OF PĀNINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,

BY

SRISA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,

Provincial Civil Service, N. W. P.



Printed by:

PUBLISHED BY SINDHU CHĀRAN BOSE,

at the Panini Office,

1898.

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IndL 3451. 2.19

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WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,
AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S
SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF ADMINISTRATION OF
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IN

THESE PROVINCES,

Dedicated

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT

THE TRANSLATOR.

ओ३म् ।

अथ अष्टमाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।

BOOK EIGHTH.

CHAPTER FIRST.

सर्वस्य द्वे ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वस्य, द्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वस्येति च द्वे इति चैतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । इत उत्तरं बह्वचामः प्राक् परस्येत्यतः सर्वस्य द्वे भवत इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

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

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

The *sūtra* ‘sarvasya dve’, should not be confounded as meaning ‘the word-form *sarva* is doubled’. For then rules like VI. 1. 99, and VI. 1. 100 will find no scope. The word *sarva* has several meanings: (1) the totality of *things* (द्रव्यः) as सर्वस्वं वशाति, (2) the totality of *modes* (प्रकारः) सर्वाङ्गीनोभिष्टुः = सर्वप्रकारमङ्गं भक्षयति; (3) the totality of *members* (अवयवः), as सर्वैः पदीदग्धः ॥ In the present *sūtra*, the word *sarva* has this last sense: namely *all* the *members* of a word are doubled, no portion is omitted. The force of the genitive case in *sarvasya*, is that of *sthâna*, i. e. in the *room* of the *whole* of the words like परि &c there is doubling. So one meaning of the *sūtra* is, that in the *room* of the one word, two are *substituted*. In making such *substitution*, we must have regard to the rule of nearness.

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

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

Obj. The word पदस्य should be employed in the sūtra, in order to prevent the application of the rule to Samāsa (compound), to taddhitas, and to vākyas (sentences). Thus सप्तपर्णोऽष्टापदम् ॥ Here there is the sense of vīpsā with regard to seven leaves, and does not mean a tree having seven leaves. There ought to have been doubling; but it would not take place, if we take the word padasya in the aphorism. Similarly द्विपरिकां वृणाति, here also the sense is that of vīpsā, and there ought to have been doubling, before the affixing of the taddhita affix. So also in ग्रामे ग्रामे पानीयम् the sentence ग्रामे पानीयम् is not doubled, if we employ padasya. So the word padasya, should be employed in the sūtra. Moreover, it would prevent our employing the word padasya again in VIII. 1. 16.

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

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

Or the word सर्वे may be considered to be formed by अच् affix of अर्क्ष आद्यच्, meaning सर्वे कार्ये यस्मिन्नस्ति तदिदं सर्वं, तस्य द्वे भवतः ॥ That is, all operations having been *first* performed, *then* the word is doubled; so that a word in its inchoate state is not doubled.

तस्य परमाग्नेडितम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, परम्, आग्नेडितम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तस्य द्विरुक्तस्य यत्परं शब्दरूपं तदाग्नेडितसंज्ञं भवति ॥

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

Thus in चौर चौर १, वृषल वृषल १ वृष्यो १ घातयिष्यामि स्वा, बन्धाधिष्यामि स्वा, the second word being *āmreḍita* is *pluta*. The word *आग्नेडित* occurs in Sūtras VI. 1. 99, VIII. 1. 57, VIII. 2. 95, VIII. 10. 3 &c.

The तस्य here denotes *avayava-shashṭhi*: and the word परः denotes the *avayava*. In fact, this sūtra indicates by implication, that a Genitive case is employed, when a member (*avayava*) is denoted. So that the sentences like पूर्वे कायस्य become valid.

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

अनुदात्तं च ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तं च तद्वदिति यदाग्नेडितसंज्ञम् ॥

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

Thus भुङ्क्ते भुङ्क्ते ; पशून् पशून् ॥

That is, all the vowels of the *āmreḍita* become *anudatta* or accentless. In the above examples, the root भूञ् becomes *ātmanepadi* by I. 3. 66: the Personal endings are *anudatta* by VI. 1. 186; the *vikaraṇa* पानम् gets the acute by III. 1. 3; the ई of this नै is elided by VI. 4. 111, and thus भूङ्क्ते becomes finally acute by *udatta-nivṛtti-svara* (VI. 1. 161). The *āmreḍita* भुङ्क्ते becomes wholly *anudatta*. The word पशून् is formed by the affix क्तु and is finally acute.

नित्यवीप्सयोः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्य, वीप्सयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नित्ये चार्ये वीप्सायां च यद्वर्त्तते तस्य द्वे भवतः ॥

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

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

भोजं भोजं ब्रजति 'each one, when he has eaten goes away.' See III. 4. 22. लुनीहि लुनीहिलेवायं लुनाति (See III. 4. 2). The affixes *ktvā* and *ṇamul* formed words and the Imperative mood express the idea of 'again and again', only when they are repeated. While the words formed with the affix *यङ्* (Intensive) express this idea by the inherent force of the affix, without repetition. Thus पुनः पुनः पचति = पापच्यते ॥ And when this intensive action is continually done, then this word also should be repeated; as पापच्यते पापच्यते ॥ In the above, examples have been given of *nitya*, as illustrated by finite verbs like पचति, Indeclinable *kṛit* words like भुक्त्वा, and like भोजं ॥ Now for *śiṣṭā* ॥ In what words the *śiṣṭā* is found? It is found in nouns (सुप् formed words). As finite verbs (तिङ्) express *nitya*, so inflected nouns (सुप्) express *vīpsā* or a distributive sense. What is meant by the word *vīpsā*? It is the wish of the agent to pervade (*vyāptum ichchā*) an object through and through with a certain quality or action. That is, when many objects are wished to be pervaded by the speaker, with a particular attribute or action simultaneously, it is *vīpsā*. Thus ग्रामो ग्रामो रमणीयः 'every village is beautiful'. So also जनपदो जनपदो रमणीयः पुरुषः पुरुषो निधनमुपैति ॥

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

परैर्वर्जने ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः, वर्जने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परीत्येतस्य वर्जनेर्ये द्वे भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परैर्वर्जनेऽसमासे वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

As परि परि चिगर्तेभ्यो बृष्टो देवः (I. 4. 88 and II. 3. 10) 'It rained round about (but with the exclusion of) Trigarta'. Similarly परि परि सौवीरिभ्यः, परि परि सर्वसिन्धुः ॥ Why do we say when meaning exclusion? Observe भोदनं परिशिञ्चति ॥

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

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

प्रसमुपोदः पादपूरणे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र, सम्, उप, उद्, पाद पूरणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र सम् उप उद् इत्येतेषां पादपूरणे द्वे भवतो द्विवचनेन चेत्यादः पूर्वतः ॥

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

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

उपर्यध्यधसः सामीप्ये ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपरि, अधि, अधसः, सामीप्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपरि अधि अधस इत्येतेषां द्वे भवतः सामीप्ये विवक्षिते ॥

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

The word sâmpīya means 'proximity' whether in time or space. As उपर्युपरि दुःखम्, or उपर्युपरि मामम्, अप्यधि मामम्, अधोधो नगरम् ॥ Why do we say 'meaning near'? Observe उपरि चन्द्रमाः ॥ Why the word is not repeated here : उपरि शिरसो घटं धारयति ॥ The relation expressed here is not that of nearness, but that of above and below.

उपर्युपरि पश्यन्तः सर्व एव हरिर्हति ।

अधोधो इक्ष्णे कस्य महिमा नोपजायते ॥

Here the doubling is in the sense of vīpsā.

वाक्यादेरामन्त्रितस्यासूयासंमतिकोपकुत्सनभर्त्सनेषु ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाक्य-
आदेः, आमन्त्रितस्य, असूया, सम्मति, कोप, कुत्सन, भर्त्सनेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकार्थः परस्परमुहो वाक्यम् । वाक्यादेरामन्त्रितस्य द्वे भवतः असूया संमति कोप कुत्सन भर्त्सनइत्ये-
तेषु यदि तद्वाक्यं भवति ॥

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

A collocation of words, expressing one idea, is called a sentence or vākya. Thus (1) envy :—माणवकां ३ माणवक अभिरूपकां ३ अभिरूपक रिक्ता ते आभिरूप्यम् ॥ (2) praise — माणवकां ३ माणवक अभिरूपकां ३ अभिरूपक शोभनः खल्वसि ॥ (3) anger :—माणवकां ३ माणवक अविनीतकां ३ अविनीतक इदानीं हास्यसि जालम् ॥ (4) blame :—शक्तिके ३ शक्तिके यदिके ३ यदिके रिक्ता ते शक्तिः ॥ (5) Threat—धैर्यं धैर्यं ३ वृषल वृषल ३ घातयिष्यामि त्वा, बन्धयिष्यामि त्वा ॥ The first word becomes pluta as well as gets svarita accent, by VIII. 2. 103, in the case of the first four; in the case of 'threat', the second word or the āmreḍita becomes pluta by VIII. 2. 95. Why do we say "at the beginning of a sentence"? The Vocative in the middle or the end of a sentence is not to be repeated, as शोभन खल्वसि माणवकः ॥ Why do we say of a Vocative? Observe उदारोदेवदत्तः ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning envy &c'. Observe देवदत्त गामभ्याञ्ज शुक्लाम् ॥

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

एकं बहुव्रीहिवत् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकम्, बहुव्रीहि, चत् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एक मित्येतच्छब्दरूपं द्विरुक्तं बहुव्रीहिवद्भवति ॥

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

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

आबाधेच ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, बाधे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आबाधनमाबाधः । पीडाप्रयोक्तुं धर्मः । तत्र वर्त्तमानस्य द्वे भवतः बहुव्रीहिवत्त्वात् कार्त्तं भवति ॥

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

Thus गतगतः 'gone, gone to my affliction', नष्टनष्टः, पतितपतितः, in the masculine, and गतगता, नष्टनष्टा, पतितपतिता in the Feminine (not गतागता for the reasons given in the preceding aphorism). The accent is governed by VI. 2. 1.

कर्मधारयवदुत्तरेषु ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मधारय, वत्, उत्तरेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इत उत्तरेषु द्विवचनेषु कर्मधारयवत्कार्यं भवतीत्येतद्विशिष्यम् । कर्मधारयत्वे प्रयोजनं सुष्कोप-
पुंवज्ञावान्तोक्तत्त्वानि ॥

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

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

प्रकारे गुणवचनस्य ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकारे, गुण-वचनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकारे भेदः सादृश्यं च । तद्विह सादृश्यं प्रकारो गृह्यते । प्रकारे वर्त्तमानस्य गुणवचनस्य हे भवतः ॥

वाक्चिक्म् ॥ आनुपूर्व्ये हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ स्वार्थे अगधार्थमाणेनेकस्मिन् हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ आपले हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ क्रियासमभिहारे हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ आभीक्ष्ण्ये हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ डाचि हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ पूर्वप्रथमयोरर्थातिशयविवक्षायां हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ उत्तरउत्तमयोः समसप्रधारणयोः स्त्री निगदे भावे हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ कर्मव्यति ॥ र्त्तनाम्नो हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् सामासवच्च बहुलम् ॥

वा० ॥ स्त्रीनपुंसकयोरुत्तरपदस्य चाम्भावो वक्तव्यः ॥

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

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

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

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

Vart.—An adjective is repeated when denoting that persons or things possessing that attribute are to be taken in their due order. Thus मूले मूले स्तूलाः, अभे अभे सूक्ष्माः, ज्येष्ठं ज्येष्ठं प्रवेशयः ॥

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

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

Vart.—When intensity or frequency of an action is denoted, the word is uttered twice: as, स भवान् क्षुनीहि क्षुनीहि इत्येवायं क्षुनाति ॥ See III. 4. 2.

Vart.—In re-iteration the word is doubled; as, मुक्ता मुक्ता व्रजति, भोजं भोजं व्रजति ॥ See III. 4. 22. This has also been illustrated under VIII. 1. 4.

Vart.—The word is repeated when the affix डाप् follows; as, पटपटा करोति, पटपटावते ॥ This doubling takes place when the word denotes an imitation of an inarticulate sound (V. 4. 57). Therefore, not here, द्वितीया करोति, तृतीया करोति, where the affix डाप् denotes 'to plough', (V. 4. 58). Because of this restriction, some read the vārtika as, डाप्ति बहुलम् ॥

Vart.—The words पूर्व and प्रथम are repeated when a comparative or superlative sense is to be denoted: as पूर्वं पूर्वं पुष्प्यन्ति, प्रथमं प्रथमं पश्यन्ते ॥ The comparative and superlative affixes are not debarred hereby, as, पूर्वतरं पुष्प्यन्ति, प्रथमतरं पश्यन्ते ॥

Vart.—The words ending in the affixes उत्तर and उत्तम (comparative and superlative), are doubled when they refer to feminine nouns and are employed in determining or pondering upon the relative condition of the superiority of one out of two or many; as उभाविमावाक्यौ, कतरा कतरा अनयोराक्यता "Both these are rich: let us ponder how much is their richness." सर्व इमे भाव्याः, कतमा कतमा एषामा-

अपता ॥ This is found in words other than those ending in तर and तम; as, उभावि-
भावाभ्यौ, किट्टशी किट्टशी अनयोरप्यता ॥ This is also found where the abstract noun
denoting condition (as आक्यता) is not in the feminine: as, उभाविभावाभ्यौ, कतर क-
तरोऽनयोर्विभवः "Both these are rich, let us see what is their respective greatness."

Vart:—In denoting reciprocity of action, the Pronominal is doubled;
and diversely it is treated like a compound (II. 2. 27) when it is not treated
like a compound, then the first word is always exhibited in the nominative
singular. See I. 3. 14, III. 3. 43, and V. 4. 127. Thus. अन्योन्यमिमे ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति
"these Brāhmanas feed one another." अन्योऽन्यमिमे ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति ॥ अन्योऽन्यस्य
ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति = इतरेतरान् भोजयन्ति ॥ The word अन्य and पर are never treated as
a compound, and इतर is *always* so treated. The following are from Siddhānta
Kaumudi:— अन्योऽन्यौ, अन्योऽन्यान् अन्योऽन्येन कृतं, अन्योऽन्यस्मै दत्तं, अन्योऽन्येषां पुष्करैरावृणोते
(Māgh) परस्परं ॥

Vart:—In the feminine and neuter, the augment आम् is added option-
ally to the second term under the above circumstances, as, अन्योऽन्यामिमे ब्राह्मण्यौ
भोजयतः, अन्योऽन्यं भोजयतः, इतरेतरां भोजयतः, इतरेतरं भोजयतः ॥ अन्योऽन्यामिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः,
इतरेतरमिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः, इतरेतरमिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः ॥

अकृच्छ्रे प्रियसुखयोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-कृच्छ्रे, प्रिय, सुखयोः,
अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रिय सुख इत्येतयोरन्यतरस्यां हे भवतः अकृच्छ्रे शोले ॥

13. The words 'priya' and 'sukha' are repeated op-
tionally, when they mean "easily, without any difficulty".

The word कृच्छ्र means 'difficulty and sorrow', अकृच्छ्र means 'without
difficulty or sorrow, i. e. pleasantly'. Thus प्रियप्रियेण ददाति, सुखसुखेन ददाति, or प्रियेण
ददाति, सुखेन ददाति = अतिप्रियमपि वत्स नायासेन ददाति ॥ That is, he gives with
pleasure, without feeling it as a trouble. Why do we say "when meaning
easily"? Observe प्रियः पुत्रः "beloved son". सुखी रयः ॥

यथास्वे यथायथम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा स्वे, यथा यथम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यो य आत्मा यद्यत्मासीत्य तत्तद्यथास्वं तस्मिन् यथायथमिति निपात्यते । यथायावत्स्य द्विवचनं
नपुंसकलिङ्गता च निपात्यते ॥

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

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

द्वन्द्वं रहस्यमर्यादावचनव्युत्क्रमणयज्ञपात्रप्रयोगाभिव्यक्तिषु ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥
द्वन्द्वम्, रहस्य, मर्यादा वचन, व्युत्क्रमण, यज्ञ पात्र प्रयोग, अभि व्यक्तिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रमिति द्विसाब्दस्य दिव्यचनं पूर्वपदस्याम्भावः अत्वं चोत्तरपदस्य निपात्यते रहस्य मर्वादावचनं व्युत्क्रमणं यज्ञपात्र प्रयोग अभिव्यक्ति एतेषु अर्थेषु ॥

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

The word इन्द्र is formed from द्वि by doubling it, changing the first इ into अम्, and the second इ into अ ॥ The word इन्द्र itself means रहस्य or secret; while it marks ‘limit’ मर्वादा &c only secondarily, by context of the sentence. Thus इन्द्रं मन्त्रवन्ते ‘they are consulting some secret’. Limit or मर्वादावचनः, as, आचतुरं क्षीने पशवो इन्द्रं नियुनावन्ते = माता पुत्रेण नियुनं गच्छति, पौत्रेण, तत्पुत्रेणापि ॥ (See Maitr. S. I. 7. 3 Śāṅkh. Br. III. 97). Separation of व्युत्क्रमणः—इन्द्रव्युत्क्रान्ताः = द्विवर्गसम्बन्धेन प्रयुगवस्थिताः ॥ Vyutkramana means bheda or separation, placing at a different place. Employment with regard to a sacrificial vessel (यज्ञपात्रप्रयोगः) as— इन्द्रं यज्ञपात्राणि प्रयुनक्ति शीरः (See I. 3. 64) ॥ अभिव्यक्तिः or manifestation : as— इन्द्रं नारदपर्वतो, इन्द्रं संकर्षणं वासुदेवो = द्वावप्यभिव्यक्तौ साहचर्येण ॥

The word इन्द्र is found employed in connection with other senses also; as, इन्द्रं युद्धं वर्धते, इन्द्रानि सहतेधीरः, चार्ये इन्द्रः &c.

पदस्य ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्येत्ययमधिकारः प्रागपदान्ताधिकारात् । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः पदस्येत्येव तद्वदितव्यम् ॥

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

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

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

पदान् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदान् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदानित्ययमधिकारः प्राक्कुत्सने च सुप्यगोचारादित्येतस्माद्यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः पदानित्येवं तद्वदितव्यम् ॥

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

Whatever we shall teach hereafter should be understood to apply to that which comes *after a pada*. Thus the sūtra VIII. 1. 19, teaches "of an *amantrita*". The phrase *पशन्*, must be supplied to complete the sense. That is, "of a *pada*, which is in the Vocative case, *and which comes after another pada*, all vowels become *anudatta*". Thus *पचसि देवदत्त* "Cookest thou, O Devadatta". Why do we say, "after a *pada*"? Observe *देवदत्त पचसि* ॥ Here Devadatta is not *anudatta* (VI. 1. 198).

अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादौ ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, सर्वम्, अ-पाद-आदौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तमिति च सर्वमिति च अपाशादिति च एतच्चयमधिकृतं वेदितव्यमापादपरिसमाप्ते, रित्त
वचनं बह्वक्ष्यामः अनुदात्तं सर्वमपाशादित्येवं संहरितव्यम् ॥

18. Upto VIII. 1. 74, inclusive is to be supplied the phrase "The whole is unaccented, if it does not stand at the beginning of the foot of a verse".

The three words *anudattam* "unaccented", *śarvam* "the whole", and *apādādau* "not in the beginning of a *Pāda* of a verse", should be understood to exert a governing influence over all the subsequent sūtras of this chapter, upto its end. Whatever we shall treat of hereafter, must be understood to be wholly unaccented, provided that, it does not stand as the first word of a verse or stanza. Thus VIII. 1. 19, says "of a Vocative". The whole of this sūtra should be read there to complete the sense, viz: "all the syllables of a Vocative are unaccented when a word precedes it, and it does not stand as the first word of a hemistich"; as *पचसि देवदत्त* ॥

Why do we say "when not at the beginning of a hemistich"? Observe *वृत्ते नियतं रजसं वृत्तो अनवधृष्यम्*, here *वृत्तो* though in the Vocative case, is not *anudatta*, as it stands at the beginning of a *Pāda*.

Similarly VIII. 1. 21, teaches "वः and नः are the substitutes of *युष्मद्* *अस्मद्* in the plural". The present sūtra must be read there to complete the sense, viz, when not at the beginning of a verse. Thus *यामोवः स्वं, अनपरो नः स्वं* ॥ But at the beginning of a hemistich, we must have the forms *युष्माकं* and *अस्माकं* instead of *वः* and *नः* ॥ As,

रुद्रो विश्वेश्वरो देवो युष्माकं कुलदेवता ।

स एव नाथो भगवानस्माकं शत्रुमर्दनः ॥

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

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

Ans. The word *sarvam* is used in the sūtra, in order to indicate that a word, which has not acute accent on the first syllable, should also become *anudatta*. For the word *पशन्* (VIII. 1. 17) is in the ablative case, and shows that the operation taught in any sūtra governed by it, will be performed on

the *first* syllable, according to the maxim **आदिः परस्य** ॥ Therefore, by rule VIII. 1. 28, the word **वैचति**, which is acutely accented on the *first* syllable, (because **वैच्** and **तिच्** are anudātta), will only lose its accent in **देवदत्तः वैचति**; but not so the verb **करोति** which is acutely accented in the middle (by the vikaraṇa accent) in **देवदत्तः करोति** ॥ But by force of the word **सर्वे**, **करोति** also loses its accent.

Q. This cannot be the reason, for the author indicates by his prohibition in Sūtra VIII. 1. 29, that a verb loses its accent, *where ever* that accent may be. For there is no verb when conjugated in **लृट्** which has acute on the *first* syllable.

Ans. The word 'sarvam' is used to prevent the operation of **अलोऽन्त्याधी**; for where the rule **आदिः परस्य** will not apply there the other will apply: so that, if "sarvam" was not used, the rule would apply to the finals, and not to cases where there were other than initials to be operated upon. Thus the rule VIII. 1. 28 would apply to **कुरुते**: which is finally acute by VI. 1. 186, in **देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तौ कुरुते**; but not to **देवदत्तः करोति** ॥

Q. No; this cannot be the reason of employing the word 'sarvam' in the sūtra, for the author indicates that the rule is not confined to the *finals*, by the prohibition he makes in favor of **लृट्** in VIII. 1. 51; for there is no verb, when conjugated in Lṛit, which has acute on the final. All Lṛit is acute in the middle by VI. 1. 186. So the **अलोऽन्त्यस्य** rule does not apply.

Ans. The word 'sarvam' is used for this reason. Had 'sarvam', not been used, then in those cases where there was no other rule to apply, like VIII. 1. 19, there *only* the word would become anudātta. But in cases where another rule also operated, there this anudātta rule would not apply, for then there would be two different sentences. For a thing which is already in existence can be made the subject of a rule ordering certain operations to be performed on it; but not so a thing which will come in existence in future time. Thus the words **वां** and **नौ** are ordained as substitutes of yushmad and asmad by one sentence VIII. 1. 20; while another sentence ordains their anudatta-hood. So here there is separation of sentences (vākya-bheda): which is not desirable; for a vākya bheda should be avoided, if possible. But by employing the word 'sarvam', this vākya-bheda is made tolerable.

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

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

आमन्त्रितस्य च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमन्त्रितस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितस्य पदस्य पदात्परस्यापादादौ वर्तमानस्य सर्वस्यानुदात्तो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ समान वाक्ये निघात युष्मद् स्मदादेशा वक्तव्याः ॥

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

Thus पचसि देवदत्त, पचसि यज्ञवल्कु ॥ The Vocative is acutely accented on the first by VI. 1. 198, the present makes it all unaccented.

Vart.—The rules relating to nighāta (by which all syllables of a word become unaccented, such as the present, and VIII. 1. 28 &c) and to the substitutes of yushmad and asmad apply then only, when the preceding word which would cause the nighāta or the substitution, is part of the same sentence with the latter word. Therefore not here:—अयं दण्डो, हरानेन ॥ "This is the staff. Carry by means of it." Here हर does not lose its accent by VIII. 1. 28, though preceded by the Noun danḍa, because these are parts of two different sentences. ओदनं पच, तव भविष्यति । ओदनं पच, मम भविष्यति ॥ "Cook the food, it will be for thee. Cook the food, it will be for me." That is the rice cooked by thee, will do both for thyself and myself. Here the ते and मे substitutions have not taken place (VIII. 1. 22) for yushmad and asmad, for the same reason.

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

In the last example, the construction is इह स्थिता माता ते देवदत्त, and not इह देवदत्त. Thus इह is in syntactical construction with स्थिता and not देवदत्त, yet it causes nighāta of Devadatta. Similarly in नद्यास्तिष्ठति कूलं, the word नद्याः is not in construction with तिष्ठति, but with कूलं, i.e. नद्याः कूलं तिष्ठति; yet it causes the nighāta of तिष्ठति ॥ Similarly शालीनां is not in construction with ते, but with भोजनं, i. e. शालीनां भोजनं ते वास्यानि ॥ Yet it causes ते substitution of yushmad. Though the preceding words are not *samartha* with regard to the words that follow them, they cause the changes, because the words are in the *same* sentence.

युष्मदस्मदोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयाख्ययोर्वाभावी ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद्, अस्मदोः, षष्ठी, चतुर्थी, द्वितीयाख्योः, चाम्, नावौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मद् इत्येतयोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयाख्ययोर्व्यासंख्यं चात्रोभयेतावादेशौ भवतस्तौ चा-
शुभासौ ॥

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

All the three sūtras पदस्य, पदान् and अनुवाचं सर्वमपादाशौ are applicable here. Thus मामो वां स्वम् । जनपदो नौ स्वम् । मामो वां दीयते । जनपदो नौ दीयते । मामो वां पश्यति । जनपदो नौ पश्यति ॥

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

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

बहुवचनस्य वस्त्रसौ ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुवचनस्य, वस्, नस्तौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बहुवचनान्तयोर्युष्मदस्मदोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयाख्ययोर्व्यासंख्यं वस् नस् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

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

Thus मामो वः स्वम्, जनपदो वः स्वम्; मामो वो दीयते, जनपदो वो दीयते; मामो वः पश्यति जनपदो वः पश्यति ॥

तेर. यात्रेकवचनस्य २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ते, मयौ, एक, वचनस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोर्द्विवचनान्तयोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयाख्ययोर्व्यासंख्यं ते मे इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

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

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

त्वामौ द्वितीयायाः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्वा, मौ, द्वितीयायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकवचनस्थेति वर्त्तते । द्वितीयाया यदेकवचनं तदन्तयोर्गुण्मदस्मदशौर्ययासंख्यत्वा ना इत्येतावा-
हस्यौ भवतः ॥

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

The word एकवचनस्थ is understood here. Thus ग्रामस्त्वा पश्यति, ग्रामो मा पश्यति ॥

न चवाहाहैवयुक्ते ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, च, वा, ह, अह, एव, युक्ते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ च वा ह अह एव एभिर्योगे युष्मदस्मदशौर्यमावाहयो न भवन्ति ॥

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

Thus ग्रामस्तव च स्वम्, ग्रामो मम च स्वम् ॥

युवयोश्च स्वम् । आवयोश्च स्वम् । युष्माकं च स्वम् । अस्माकं च स्वम् । ग्रामस्तुभ्यं च दीयते
ग्रामो मह्यं च दीयते । युवाभ्यां च दीयते । आवाभ्यां च दीयते । युष्मभ्यं च दीयते । अस्मभ्यं च दीयते ।
ग्रामस्त्वां च पश्यति । ग्रामो मां च पश्यति । युवां च पश्यति । आवां च पश्यति । युष्मां च पश्यति ।
अस्मां च पश्यति ॥ वा । ग्रामस्तव वा स्वम् । ग्रामो मम वा स्वम् । युवयोर्वा स्वम् । आवयोर्वा स्वम् । युष्माकं
वा स्वम् । अस्माकं वा स्वम् । ग्रामस्तुभ्यं वा दीयते । ग्रामो मह्यं वा दीयते । युवाभ्यां वा दीयते । आवाभ्यां
वा दीयते । युष्मभ्यं वा दीयते । अस्मभ्यं वा दीयते । ग्रामस्त्वां वा पश्यति । ग्रामो मां वा पश्यति । युवां वा
पश्यति । आवां वा पश्यति । युष्मान् वा पश्यति । अस्मान्वा पश्यति । ह । ग्रामस्तव ह स्वम् । ग्रामो मम ह
स्वम् । युवयोर्ह स्वम् । आवयोर्ह स्वम् । युष्माकं ह स्वम् । अस्माकं ह स्वम् । ग्रामस्तुभ्यं ह दीयते । ग्रामो मह्यं
ह दीयते । युवाभ्यां ह दीयते । आवाभ्यां ह दीयते । युष्मभ्यं ह दीयते । अस्मभ्यं ह दीयते । ग्रामस्त्वां ह
पश्यति । ग्रामो मां ह पश्यति । युवां ह पश्यति । आवां ह पश्यति । युष्मान् ह पश्यति । अस्मान् ह पश्यति ।
अह । ग्रामस्तवाह स्वम् । ग्रामो ममाह स्वम् । युवयोरह स्वम् । आवयोरह स्वम् । युष्माकमह स्वम् । अस्माक-
मह स्वम् । ग्रामस्तुभ्यमह दीयते । ग्रामो मह्यमह दीयते । युवाभ्यामह दीयते । आवाभ्यामह दीयते । युष्मभ्यमह
दीयते । अस्मभ्यमह दीयते । ग्रामस्त्वामह पश्यति । ग्रामो मामह पश्यति । युवामह पश्यति । आवामह
पश्यति । युष्मानह पश्यति । अस्मानह पश्यति । एव । ग्रामस्तवेव स्वम् । ग्रामो ममेव स्वम् । युवयोरैव स्वम् ।
आवयोरैव स्वम् । युष्माकमेव स्वम् । अस्माकमेव स्वम् । ग्रामस्तुभ्यमेव दीयते । ग्रामो मह्यमेव दीयते । युवा-
भ्यामेव दीयते । आवाभ्यामेव दीयते । युष्मभ्यमेव दीयते । अस्मभ्यमेव दीयते । ग्रामस्त्वामेव पश्यति । ग्रामो
मामेव पश्यति । युवामेव पश्यति । आवामेव पश्यति । युष्मानेव पश्यति । अस्मानेव पश्यति । युक्तमहं
साक्षाद्योगप्रतिपत्त्यर्थम् । युक्तयुक्ते प्रतिषेधो न भवति । ग्रामश्च ते स्वम् । नगरं च मे स्वम् ।

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

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

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

पश्यायैश्चानालोचने ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पश्य, अर्थः, च, अनालोचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पश्याया दर्शनार्थाः । दर्शनं ज्ञानम् । आलोचनं चक्षुर्विज्ञानम् । तेः पश्यायैरनालोचने दर्शनैर्गुणैः शुष्मरस्मसोर्वाभावाद्यो न भवन्ति ॥

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

The word पश्यायाः is equivalent to दर्शनार्थाः, and दर्शन means 'knowledge', i.e. verbs denoting 'to know', आलोचन means perception obtained through sight i.e. physical 'seeing' opposed to metaphorical "seeing" = "knowing". The substitutions of वृत्ति and नौ &c. for शुष्मद् and अस्मद् do not take place when these pronouns are employed in connection with verbs denoting 'seeing' (metaphorically) but not 'looking' (physically).

Thus मामस्तव स्वं समीक्ष्यागतः, मामो मम स्वं समीक्ष्यागतः; मामस्तुभ्य दीयमानं समीक्ष्यागतः, मामो मङ्ग दीयमानं समीक्ष्यागतः, मामस्त्वां समीक्ष्यागतः, मामो मां समीक्ष्यागतः ॥

Why do we say when not meaning 'to look'? Observe मामस्त्वा पश्यति, मामो मा पश्यति ॥

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

सपूर्वायाः प्रथमाया विभाषा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स पूर्वायाः, प्रथमायाः, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद्यमानपूर्वात्ययमान्तात्परादुत्तरयोर्गुष्मरस्मसोर्विभाषा बाभावाद्यो न भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शुष्मरस्मसो विभाषा अनन्वादेश इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ सर्व एव बाभावाद्योऽन्वादेश विभाषा वक्तव्यः ॥

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

Thus मामे कम्बलस्ते स्वम् or मामे कम्बलस्तवस्वम् ॥ मामे कम्बलो मे स्वम् ॥ मामे कम्बलो मम स्वम् ॥ मामे कम्बलस्ते दीयते ॥ मामे कम्बलस्तुभ्य दीयते ॥ मामे कम्बलो मे दीयते ॥ मामे कम्बलो मङ्ग दीयते ॥ मामे छात्रास्त्वा पश्यन्ति ॥ मामे छात्रास्त्वां पश्यन्ति ॥ मामे छात्रा मा पश्यन्ति ॥ मामे छात्रा मां पश्यन्ति ॥

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

Why do we say "after a Nominative"? Observe कम्बलो मामे ते स्वम्, कम्बलो मामे मे स्वम् ॥

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

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

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

तिङो गोत्रादीनि कुत्सनामीक्ष्ययोः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङः, गोत्रादीनि, कुत्सन, आमीक्ष्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङन्तात्पराणि गोत्रादीनि कुत्सने आमीक्ष्ये चार्थे वर्तमानानि अनुशक्तानि भवन्ति ॥

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

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

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

1 गोत्र, 2 ह्रस्व, 3 प्रवचन, 4 प्रवृत्तन, 5 प्रवृत्तन, 6 प्रवृत्तन, 7 प्रपञ्च, 8 प्राच, 9 न्याय, 10 प्रवृत्तन, 11 विचक्षण, 12 अवचक्षण, 13 स्वाध्याय, 14 भूयिष्ठ, 15 वा नाम (नाम वा) 16 प्रवृत्तन, 17 प्रवृत्तन,

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

Why do we say 'after a finite verb'? Observe कुस्तिंत गोत्रम् ॥

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

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

The words 'contempt and repetition' in the text qualify the whole sentence or sūtra, and not the word गोत्रादि nor the word अनुदात्त understood. For we find that wherever the word गोत्रादि is used in this Chapter, it always implies the sense of 'contempt or repetition'. Thus the word गोत्रादि is used in VIII. 1. 57 and there also the sense is of contempt and repetition.

तिङ्ङतिङ्ङः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङ्ङ, अतिङ्ङः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङ्ङन्तं पदमतिङ्ङन्तात्परात्परमनुदात्तं भवति ॥

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

Thus देवदत्तः पचति ॥ Why do we say "a finite verb"? Observe नीलपुष्प लम्, शुक्लं वस्त्रम् ॥

Why do we say 'when the preceding word is not a finite verb'? Observe भवति पचति 'the act of cooking exists' = पाक क्रिया भवति ॥ Here the word भवति is a finite verb, therefore the verb pachati does not lose its accent. So also सरनिरिञ्ज जयति, जैति, पुष्याति 'successful he conquers, rules, thrives'. अस्मैभ्यां ज्ञातु र्योस्तिच "for us conquer and fight". The word अतिङ्ङः is in one sense redundant, because in one simple sentence, two finite verbs cannot be employed; one sentence consists of one finite verb only. But the very fact of this sūtra indicates that the condition of समानवाक्य does not apply to this sūtra; so that the two words need not be portions of the *same* sentence, for the application of this nighāta: as we have already explained in VIII. 1. 19. Other examples are: अग्निमीदृशं पुरोहितं (Rv. I. 1. 1). स इदमेवेदं गृच्छाति (Rv. I. 1. 4), मैग्ने सपायनो ध्रुव (Rv. V. 1. 1), यजमानस्य पर्यून प्राति ॥

न लुट् ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लुट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वजातिप्रसक्ते प्रतिषेध आरभ्यते । लुटन्तं तिङ्ङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

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

This restricts the scope of the last sūtra which was rather too wide. Thus इवः कर्त्ता, इवः कर्त्तारो, मासेन कर्त्तारः ॥ The Sārvadhātuka affixes डा, ऐ, एस्, are anudātta after the affix तासि by VI. 1. 186, the whole affix तास् becomes udātta (III. 1. 3) and where the टि portion of तास् i. e. the syllable आस्, is elided before the affix डा, there also the आ of डा becomes udātta, because the udātta has been elided. See VI. 1. 161.

निपातैर्यद्यदिहन्तकुविन्नेष्वेष्टकश्चिद्यत्रयुक्तम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ निपातैः, यद्, यदि, हन्त, कु विद्, नेत्, चेत्, चण, कश्चित्, यत्र, युक्तम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नेति वर्त्तते । यत् यदि हन्त कुविद् नेत् चेत् चण कश्चित् यत्र इत्येतेनपातयुक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

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

Thus यत् करोति, यत् पचति, यदि करोति or यदि पचति, हन्त करोति, हन्त पचति, कुविद् करोति, कुविद् पचति, नेत् जिह्मायन्त्यो नरकं पैताम (Nir. I. 11), स चेद् भुङ्क्ते, स चेद् अधीते ॥ The particle चण् with the indicative ण् has the force of चेत् ॥ Thus अयं च मरिष्यति = अयं चेत् मरिष्यति ॥ Other examples are स्वम् च सोम नो वैशो जीवातुम् नै मरामहे 'if thou, Soma wiltst us to live, we shall not die' औ च मैच्छान् मित्रमेना दधाम " if he will come here, we will make friends with him." इन्द्रश्च सुलयाति नः, नतः पश्चादयं नद्यात् " If Indra makes us happy &c". This rule does not apply to the च which is a conjunction meaning 'and'. So also: कश्चिद् भुङ्क्ते, कश्चिद् अधीते, यत्र भुङ्क्ते, यत्राधीते ॥

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

Q. Now by the rule of Pratipadokta &c. that यत् should only be taken, which is a Particle; moreover it is read in connection with other Particles like यदि &c, so it must be a Particle. How then can the Present Participle यत् be taken at all? Ans.—This sūtra indicates that the प्रतिपदोक्त rule and the साहचर्य rule do not apply here. Thus the word यावत् formed with the affix वतुप् (V. 2. 39) is also included in the word यावत् of this sūtra. As तावदुषो राधो अस्मभ्यं, रास्व यावत् स्तोतृभ्यो अरसो गृणानाः = यावतोऽम्भान् प्रतीगृहणीयात् ॥

Why do we use the word युक्तं "in connection with". Observe यत्र कु च ते मनो दक्ष दधस उत्तरम् ॥

Other examples are: यं यज्ञं परिभूँसि (Rv. I. I. 4.) 'what offering thou protectest'. यत्र नः पूर्वै पितरः परेयुः 'whither our fathers of old departed'. अद्या मुनीय यदि यावुधानो अस्मि 'let me die on the spot, if I am a sorcerer', हन्तेयान् पृथिवीम् विर्ज-जामहे " come on, let us share up this earth ". ब्रह्मा चेद्भस्तम् अमहीत् 'if a Brahman has grasped her hand', नेत् स्वा सैपति सूरौ अर्षिणा 'that the sun may not burn thee with his beam' उक्थेभिः कुविद् आगमत् 'will he come hither for our praises' (Whitney's Grammar, Para 595).

नह प्रत्यारम्भे ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नह, प्रत्यारम्भे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नह इत्येतेन युक्ते प्रत्यारम्भे तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

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

When something urged by one, is rejected insultingly by another, then the reply made by the first tauntingly, with a negation, is pratyārambha. Thus A says to B: "Eat this please". B rejects the offer repeatedly, in anger or jest. Then A in anger or jest says 'No, you will eat'—as **नह भोक्ष्यसे** ॥ Here **भोक्ष्यसे** retains its accent, which is acute on the middle, for **से** becomes accentless as it follows **अनुपदेश** (VI. 1. 186), and **स्य** becomes udātta by the **प्रत्ययस्वर** (III. 1. 3).

Another example is **नहाध्यैष्यसे** 'No, you will study'. Why do we say, 'when asseverative'? Observe **नह वे तस्मिन्न लोके ईक्षिणमिच्छन्ति** "Verily in that world they do not wish for fee". Here it is pure negation. **तस्मिन्** is first acute by **फिट्** accent, **लोके** is final acute because it is formed by **अच्** of **पञ्चादि** (III. 1. 134), **ईक्षिण** is first acute, because it is a Pronoun ending in **अ** (**स्वाङ्गशिदामदन्तानाम्** Phit II. 6) and **इच्छन्ति** is anudātta by VIII. 1. 28.

सत्यं प्रश्ने ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्यम्, प्रश्ने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्यमित्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नातुदात्तं भवति प्रश्ने ॥

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

Thus **सत्यं भोक्ष्यसे** 'Truly will you eat?' **सत्यमध्यैष्यसे** ॥ Why do we say 'in questioning'? Observe **सत्यं वक्ष्यामि नातृत्वं** 'I shall tell the truth, not falsehood'. **सत्यमिहा इ तं वयमिन्द्रं स्वयाम्** ॥

अङ्गाप्रातिलोम्ये ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्ग, अप्रातिलोम्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्ग इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तमप्रातिलोम्ये गम्यमाने नातुदात्तं भवति ॥

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

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

हि च ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिइत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तमप्रातिलोम्ये नातुदात्तं भवति ॥

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

Thus स हि कुर्वे, सहि पैच, सहि पैड ॥ Why do we say 'in friendly assertion'? Observe स हि कृञ् वृषल । इदानीं ज्ञास्यासि ज्ञात्म ॥

छन्दस्यनेकमपि साकाङ्क्षम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, अनेकम्, अपि, साकाङ्क्षम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हि चेतिवर्त्तते छन्दसि विषये द्वियुक्तं तिङन्तं साकाङ्क्षमनेकमपि नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

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

That is sometimes one verb, sometimes more than one verb retain their accent. Thus of more than one verb, we have the following example:—अनृतं हि मत्तो वैवति। पाप्मा एनं वि पुनानति 'Because the drunkard tells falsehood, therefore sin will make him impure: i. e. he does incur sin'. Here both verbs वदति and विपुनानति retain their accent: and हि has the force of यत् 'because'. According to Kaiyyata the meaning of this sentence is यस्मान् मत्तोऽनृतं वदति, तस्मादनुतवदन दोषेण न युज्यते i. e. a drunkard does not incur the sin of telling a falsehood, because he is not in his senses. See Maitr. Sanhita I. 11. 6. As regards one verb in a correlated sentence retaining its accent and the other losing it, we have:—अग्निर्हि पूर्वधुर्वैजयन् तमिन्द्रोऽनुवृज्जवन् ॥ Here the first retains its accent and the second not. The force of हि is to denote here cause and its effect. So also:—अजा अग्नेरैजनिष्ट गर्मात् (or गर्भम्), सा वा अण्वद्यञ् जनितारमये (Taittiriya Samhitā IV. 2. 10, 4). The word अजनिष्ट is first acute, the augment अद् having the accent; while अण्वद्यञ् is all anudatta.

यावद्यथाभ्याम् ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावत्, यथाभ्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्यथा इत्येतान्यां युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

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

Thus यावद् भुङ्क्ते, यथाभुङ्क्ते; यावदधीते, यथाधीते, देवदत्तः पैचति यावत्, देवदत्तः पैचति यथा ॥ The meaning is that the verb retains its accent, even when यावत् and यथा follow after it. Another example is यथा चित् कण्वमावन्म् ॥ The word आवन्म् is the Imperative (लोट्) Second Person Dual of the root अच् ॥ यावत् स्तोतृभ्योऽस्तौगृ-
जानाः ॥ The verb अरच् is Imperfect (लङ्) Second Person singular of the root रच् 'to scratch'. The accent, is on अ (the augment).

पूजायां नानन्तरम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूजायाम्, न, अनन्तरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्यथा इत्येतान्यां युक्तमनन्तरं तिङन्तं पूजायां विषये नानुदात्तं न भवति किं तर्हि अनुदात्तमेव ॥

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

That is, the verb loses its accent, and becomes anudatta. Thus यावन् प्रचक्षति शोभनम्, यथा प्रचक्षति शोभनम्, यावन् करोति चारु ॥

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

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

उपसर्गव्यपेतं च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गं, व्यपेतम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्यथाभ्यां युक्तं उपसर्गव्यपेतं च पूजायां विषये नातुशानं न भवति किं तर्हि अनुशानमेव भवति ॥

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

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

The word 'immediately' is understood here also. Thus यावद् देवदत्तः प्रपचति, शोभनं, यथा विष्णु मित्रः प्रकरोति चारु ॥ The upasarga प्र has udatta accent. Prof. Bohtlingk's Edition reads the sūtra as व्यपेतं ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ तु पश्य पश्यत अह इत्येतैर्युक्तं तिष्ठन्तं नातुशानं भवति पूजायां विषये ॥

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

Thus माणवकस्तु मुहूर्त्तं शोभनम्; पश्य माणवको मुहूर्त्तं शोभनं, पश्यत माणवको मुहूर्त्तं शोभनम्, अह माणवको मुहूर्त्तं शोभनम् ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning praise'? Observe, पश्य वृणा धावति ॥

The repetition of the word पूजायाम् here, though its anuvritti could have been supplied from VIII. 1. 37, shows that the negation of that sūtra does not extend here: for the पूजायाम् of that sūtra is connected with two negatives, the न of that sūtra, and the न of VIII. 1. 29, but the पूजायाम् of this sūtra is connected with the general न of VIII. 1. 29 only.

Another example is आरह स्वधामनु पुनर्गन्धर्वमोदरे ॥

अहो च ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अहो, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहो इत्यनेन युक्तं तिष्ठन्तं नातुशानं भवति पूजायां विषये ॥

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

Thus अहो देवदत्तः पचति शोभनं, अहो विष्णुमित्रः करोति चारु ॥ The separation

of this अहो from तु &c, of the last sūtra, indicates that the next rule applies to अहो only. Had अहो been joined with तु &c, then Rule VIII. 1. 41, would have applied to तु &c, which is not desired. Hence the making of it a separate sūtra.

शेषे विभाषा ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहो इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं शेषे विभाषा नातुवात्तं भवति ॥

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

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

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

पुरा च परीप्सायाम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरा, च, परीप्सायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरा इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं परीप्सायामर्थे विभाषा नातुवात्तं भवति ॥

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

The word परीप्सा means स्वरा or 'quick'. Thus अधीत्य माणवक पुरा विद्योत्तते विशुन्, or पुरा स्तनयति स्तनयिषु ॥ The word पुरा here expresses the future occurrence which is imminent or very near at hand. It is against the rule of Dharmasāstras to study while it thunders or lightens.

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

नन्वित्यनुज्ञैषणायाम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ननु, इति, अनुज्ञा, एषणायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ननु इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नातुवात्तं भवति अनुज्ञैषणायां विषये ॥

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

The word एषणा means 'asking, praying'. The word अनुज्ञा means 'permission'. The compound अनुज्ञैषणा means 'asking-of permission'. Thus ननु करिष्यामि भोः, "may I do it, sir"; ननु गच्छामि भोः 'can I go sir'. The sense is 'give me permission to do or to go'.

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

किं क्रियाप्रश्नेनुपसर्गमप्रतिषिद्धम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्, क्रिया-प्रश्ने, अनु-पसर्गमे-अप्रतिषिद्धम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमित्येतत्क्रियाप्रश्ने यदा वर्तते तदानेन युक्तं तिङन्तमनुपसर्गमप्रतिषिद्धं नावृत्तं भवति ॥

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

Thus **किं देवदत्तः पचति, आहो त्विदं शुद्धं** ॥ **किं देवदत्तः वेत्ते, आहो त्विदधीते** ॥ Here some say, that the first verb (**पचति** or **वेत्ते**) being directly joined with **किं** retains its accent, whilst the second verb (**शुद्धं** or **अधीते**) not being joined with **किं**, loses its accent by the general rule VIII. 1. 28. Others say, though the word **किं** is heard in connection with one verb only, yet as both verbs are objects of doubt, therefore, **किं** is logically connected with both of them, and so both verbs retain their accents. Thus **शुद्धं** will retain its accent according to this view.

Why do we say when the question relates to a **क्रिया** or action? The rule will not apply, when the question relates to an object or **साधन** ॥ Thus **किं देवदत्तः भोदनं पचति आहोस्विच्छार्क** ॥

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

Why do we say 'not preceded by a Preposition'? Observe **किं देवदत्तः प्र पचति आहोस्विन् प्रकरोति** ॥

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

लोपे विभाषा ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपे, विभाषा ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ किमो लोपे क्रियाप्रश्ने तिङन्तमनुपसर्गमप्रतिषिद्धं विभाषा नावृत्तं भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ एहिमन्ये इत्यनेन युक्तं लृटन्तं तिङन्तं नानुशात् भवति प्रहासे ॥

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

The word प्रहास means great laughter, i.e. derision, mockery, raillery, jeering, gibing, sneering. Thus एहि मन्ये ओदन् ओदये, नहि ओदये, युक्तः सोऽतिथिभिः ॥ एहि मन्ये रयेन यास्यसि, नहि यास्यसि, यातस् तेन पितां ॥ The word एहि is the Imperative second Person of the root हण् preceded by the preposition आह् ॥

Why do we say "used derisively"? Observe एहि मन्यसे ओदन् ओदये इति ; छुष्टु च मन्यसे, साष्टु च मन्यसे ॥

By sūtra VIII. 1. 51, *in fra*, after the Imperative एहि which is a verb of 'motion' (गत्यर्थ), the following First Future (लृट्) would have retained its accent. The present sūtra makes a *niyama* or restriction, namely that in connection with the Imperative एहि मन्ये, the लृट् is accented only then when 'derision' is meant and not otherwise. Thus the लृट् loses its accent here:— एहि मन्यसे ओदन् ओदये ॥ The employment of the First Person in मन्ये in the sūtra is not intended to be taught: for by I. 4. 106, the verb मन् (मन्यते) takes the affix of the First Person instead of the second, when 'derision' is meant and not otherwise. When प्रहास is not intended, the proper personal affix of the Second Person is employed. The employment of the First Person ceases there also by this restrictive rule. Thus एहि मन्यसे ओदन् ओदये ॥

The above counter example is given according to Kāśīka, according to which एहि मन्ये इति उत्तमोपादानमतन्त्रम् ॥ But according to Mahābhāṣya, the counter-example is एहि मन्ये रयेन यास्यसि ॥ Here यास्यसि loses its accent. The meaning of the above is एवं रयेन यास्यसि इति अहं मन्ये, एहि ॥ According to Kaiyāta, this would be an example also under the rule, the First Person not being necessary:—एहि मन्यसे रयेन यास्यामि ॥

जात्वपूर्वम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातु, अपूर्वम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातु इत्येतद्विद्यमानपूर्वं तेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुशात् भवति ॥

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

Thus आतु भोज्येति, आतु मध्यर्धेति, आतु करिष्यामि । Here ऐ is anudatta by VI. 1. 186, as it is an sârvadhâtuka affix coming after an अनुपदेश; the word आतु is first acute, as it is a Nipâta. Why do we say 'when not preceded by any other word'? Observe :—कदं आतु करिष्यति ॥ The word कदं is end-acute as it is a किद् or noun.

किंवृत्तं च चितुत्तरम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्वृत्तम्, च, चितुत्तरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमोवृत्तं किंवृत्तं, किंवृत्तमहणेन तद्धितस्मन्तं प्रतीबाहुतरङ्गसमौ च मत्वसौ, तत्किंवृत्तं चितुत्तर-
नविद्यमानपूर्वं वत्तेन कुन्तं तिङन्तं नातुशक्तं भवति ॥

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

The word किम्वृत्तं is a Genitive Tatpurusha meaning किमोवृत्तं ॥ The word किम्वृत्तं means any form of किम् with its case-affixes, as well as the forms of किम् when it takes the affixes उत्तर and उत्तम ॥ Thus कश्चिद् शुद्धं, कश्चिद् भोज्येति, कश्चिद् मधीति, केनचित् करोति, कस्मै चिद् वैशति, कतरचित् करोति, कतमश्चिद् शुद्धं ॥

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ निपातप्रतिषेधोऽनुपसर्गः ॥ अपूर्वेति च ॥ आहो उताहो इत्येताभ्यामपूर्वाभ्यां कुन्तमनन्तरं तिङन्तं नातुशक्तं भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

शेषे विभाषा ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहो उताहो इत्येताभ्यां कुन्तं तिङन्तं नातुशक्तं शेषे विभाषा भवति ॥ कश्च शेषः बहुवचनन्तपत् ॥

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

Thus आहो देवदत्तः वैचति or पृच्छति ॥ उताहो देवदत्तः वैचति or पृच्छति ॥

गत्यर्थलोटा लृणचेत्कारकं सर्वान्यत् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्यर्थ-लोटा, लृट्, न, चेत्, कारकम्, सर्व-अन्यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गतिना समानार्था गत्यर्थाः; गत्यर्थानां धातूनां लोट् गत्यर्थलोट्; तेन गत्यर्थलोटा युक्तं लृटन्त तिङन्तं नातुदात्तं भवति, न चेत्कारकं सर्वान्यद्भवति ॥

यद्येव कारके कर्तरि कर्मणि वा लोट् तथैव यदि लृटपि भवतीत्यर्थः । कर्तृकर्मणी एवात्र तिङन्तवाच्य कारकमङ्गेन गृह्यते न करणादि कारकान्तरम् ॥

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

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

Thus आग्रच्छ देवदत्तग्रामं, ब्रूयस्त्वेनम् 'Come O Devadatta to the village, thou shalt see it'. Here the subjects of both verbs आग्रच्छ and ब्रूयसि are the same, and the objects of both verbs are also the same, namely ग्रामं and एनम् ॥ आ is a Preposition and is accented, गच्छ and देवदत्त both lose their accent by VIII. 1. 19 and 28, ग्रामं is first-acute being formed by the निच् affix म् ॥ So also आग्रच्छ देवदत्त ग्रामं, भोदनं भोक्ष्यसे "Come, O Devadatta to the village, you will eat rice". Here the subjects of both verbs are the same, only the objects are different, and so the rule still applies. आह देवदत्त शालीन्, यज्ञदत्त एतान् भोक्ष्यते ॥ Here the subjects are different, but the objects are the same, namely शालीन् ॥ Similarly यज्ञान्तां देवदत्तेन शालीन्, यज्ञदत्तेन भोक्ष्यन्ते "Let the rice be carried by Devadatta, and let them be eaten by Yajñadatta."

Why do we say 'verbs of motion'? Observe पृच्छ देवदत्त भोदनं, भोक्ष्यसे एनम् ॥

Why do we say 'After the Imperative'? Observe आग्रच्छ देवदत्त ग्रामं, ब्रूयस्त्वेनम् ॥ Here the Potential mood is used.

Why do we say the 'First Future'? Observe आग्रच्छ देवदत्त ग्रामं, पश्यसि एनम् ॥ Here the Present Tense is used.

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

आगच्छ देवदत्त मामं, पिता ते भोदन् मोक्षयेत् ॥ उद्यन्तां देवदत्तेन शालयः, सक्तवस्तेन प्राप्तुन्ते ॥ उद्यन्तां is the Imperative of वह् 'to carry'.

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

लोड् च ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोड्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोडन्तं तिङन्तं गत्यर्थलोदा युक्तं नावुदात्तं भवति, न चेत्कारकं सर्वान्यद्भवति ॥

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

Thus आगच्छ देवदत्त मामं पश्य ॥ आगच्छ विष्णुमित्र मामं श्राधि ॥ आगम्यतां देवदत्तेन मामो दृश्यतां यज्ञदत्तेन ॥

But not here पच देवदत्तोरनं, मुह्यन्तेनम् because the first Imperative is not one of गत्यर्थ verb. Nor here, आगच्छ देवदत्त मामं पश्येनम् because the first verb is not Imperative but Potential.

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

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

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

विभाषितं सोपसर्गमनुत्तमम् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषितम्, सोपसर्गम्, अनुत्तमम् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वे पूर्वमनुवर्त्तन्ते ॥ प्राप्तविभाषितं, लोडन्तं सोपसर्गद्वयमवर्जितं गत्यर्थलोदा युक्तं तिङन्तं विभाषितं नावुदात्तं भवति न चेत्कारकं सर्वान्यद्भवति ॥

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

The whole of the preceding sūtra is understood here. This is a Prāpta-vibhāṣā. Thus आगच्छ देवदत्त मामं प्रविष्टौ or प्रविष्टौ ॥ आगच्छ देवदत्त मामं प्रश्राधि ॥ When the verb is accented, the upasarga loses its accent by VIII. 1. 71.

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

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

हन्त च ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन्त, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वं सर्वमनुवर्त्तते गत्यर्थलोदं वञ्चयित्वा हन्त इत्यनेन युक्तं लोडन्तं सोपसर्गमुत्तमवर्जितं विभाषितं नानुवर्त्तं भवति ॥

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

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

Thus हन्त प्र विष्णु or प्रविशे, हन्त प्र शाधि or प्रशार्धि ॥ But no option is allowed here हन्त कुर्वे, as it is not preceded by a preposition. Here rule VIII. 1. 30, makes the accent compulsory after हन्त ॥ So also हन्त प्रमुने जावहे, हन्त प्रमुने जावहे, where the 1st Person is used, the verb retains its accent compulsorily by VIII. 1. 30.

The word प्रमुन जावहे is Imperative First Person, Dual of the root मुञ्च in Atmane pada (I. 3. 66). The Personal ending वहे is anudatta by VI. 1. 186, because the verb is anudatta-it. The vikaraṇa न therefore retains its accent.

आम एकान्तरमामन्त्रितमनन्तिके ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमः, एक-अन्तरम्, आमन्त्रितम्, अनन्तिके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आम उत्तरमेकपदान्तरमामन्त्रितान्तमनन्तिके नानुवर्त्तं भवति ॥

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

Thus आम पचसि देवदत्ता १ ; आम भो देवदत्ता १ ॥ The *nighāta* being hereby prohibited, the vocative gets accent on the first syllable by VI. 1. 198. In the second example, though भो itself is a Vocative, it is not considered to be non-existent by VIII. 1. 72, but becomes effective by virtue of VIII. 1. 73, as it is in apposition with the Vocative that follows.

Why do we say आम? Observe शाक पचसि देवदत्त ॥ Here it is anudatta by VIII. 1. 19.

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

Why do we say 'the Vocative'? See आम पचसि देवदत्त ॥

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

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

In the example आम् भो देवदत्त, the word आम् being a Nipāta is first acute ; the word भो is a shortened form of भवतु, (VIII.3.1. Vārt.) and it is accentless by VIII. 1. 19, being a Vocative case preceded by another word. देवदत्त would also have become accentless by the same rule, this sūtra prohibits it. The निघात being thus prohibited by this sūtra, two rules make themselves manifest now for application. The one is of एकश्रुतिप्राप्तसंयुजौ (I. 2. 33) causing एकश्रुति or monotony ; the other causing प्लुतोदात्तत्वं by दूरदृष्टे च (VIII. 2. 84). The opinions referred to above, relate to this doubt.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितमित्येतदस्वरितत्वाद्भानुवर्त्तते ॥ तिङिति वर्त्ततएव ॥ अत्परं द्विपरं तुपरं च तिङन्तं छन्दसि भानुवर्त्तते ॥

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

The anuvṛitti of आमन्त्रित should not be taken in this sūtra, but that of तिङ् ॥ Thus with यत्परं we have:---गवां गोचक्षुषसञ्चो बवाङ्गिरः ॥ The verb बवाङ्गिरः is the Imperfect (लङ्) 2nd person singular of वृश् of Tudādi class. With हि we have, इन्द्रो वा दुष्यन्ति हि (Rig Ved. I. 2. 4). The verb दुष्यन्ति is the Present (लृट्) Plural of वृश् of Adādi class. The samprasāraṇa takes place because it belongs to शृङ्गादि class. With तु we have, आख्यास्यामि तु ते ॥ By the previous sūtra VIII. 1. 30 a verb in connection with यत् would have retained its accent, so also in connection with हि by the sūtra VIII. 1. 34, and in connection with तु by VIII. 1. 39: the present sūtra is, therefore, a niyama rule. The verb retains its accent when these three Particles *only* follow and not any other. If any other Particle follows, the verb need not retain its accent. Thus आवि स्वा रोहयेहि ॥ Here रोहय is the 1st Person Dual of the Imperative of रुह् (रुह् + णच् + वत् = रोह +

आद् + वस् III. 4. 92 = रोहाव the स् being elided, as लोद् is like लङ् III. 4. 85 and 99). The verb एहि is the 2nd Person Singular of the Imperative of the root इष्, preceded by the Particle आद् ॥ Here in रोहाव एहि (=रोहाव आद्हि), the verb रोहाव is followed by the Particle आ, and does not retain its accent. But for this rule, it would have retained its accent. Because एहि is a गत्यर्थ लोट् (VIII. 1. 51), रोहाव is another लोट् in connection with it, and therefore, by VIII. 1. 52 it would have retained its accent. But now it loses its accent because it is a तिङ् following after a non तिङ् word स्वः ॥ The visarga of स्वः is elided before र् by VIII. 3. 14, then the preceding अ is lengthened and we have स्वा (VI. 3. 111). Another reading is स्वा रोहावेहि ॥ It is a Vedic anomaly, the visarga is changed to इ ॥

चनचिदिषगोत्रादितद्धिताभेदितेष्वगतेः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चन, चित्, इष, गोत्रादि, तद्धित, आभेदितेषु, अगतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चन चित् इष गोत्रादि तद्धित आभेदित इत्येतेषु परतः अगतेरुत्तरं तिङन्तं नानुशासं भवति ॥

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

Thus देवदत्तः पंचति चन; देवदत्तः पंचति चित्, देवदत्तः पंचति चन ॥ The list of Gotrādi words is given under sūtra VIII. 1. 27. Thus देवदत्त पंचति गोत्रम्, देवदत्तः पंचति ह्यवम्, देवदत्तः पंचति प्रवचनम् &c. The Gotrādi words, here also, denote censure and contempt.

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

With a doubled verb, as; देवदत्तः पंचति पंचति ॥

Why do we say 'when not preceded by a Participle called Gati'? Observe देवदत्तः प्र पंचति चन ॥ The word गति in this sūtra as well as in सगतिराति तिङ् (VIII. 1. 68) should be taken in its restricted sense, namely upasargas treated as Gati, and not the extended definition of Gati as given in I. 4. 61. Therefore the verb retains its accent here: शुक्लीकरोति चन, यत् काष्ठं शुक्लीकरोति, यत् काष्ठं कृष्णीकरोति ॥

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

चादिषु च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ च, आदिषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चादिषु च परतः तिङन्तमगतेः परं नानुशासं भवति ॥

58. A finite verb, not preceded by a gati, retains its accent before the Particles च (चा, ह, अह and एव VIII.1. 24).

The चादि words are those mentioned in sūtra VIII. 1. 24. Thus देववत् पचति च खीरति च, देववत् पचति वा खीरति वा, देववत् पचति ह खीरति ह, देववत् पचति अह खीरत्यह, and देववत् पचत्येव खीरत्येव ॥

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

चवायोगे प्रथमा ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ च, वा, योगे, प्रथमा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अगतेरिति पूर्वसूत्रे चानुकुटमित्यत्र नानुवर्त्तते । च वा इत्येताभ्यां योगे प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिर्नानुशात्ता भवति ॥

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

The anuvṛitti of अगतेः which was drawn in the last sūtra, does not run into this. Thus गर्दभाच्च कालैवति, गीणां च द्रावयति ॥ गर्दभान् वा कालैवति, गीणां वा द्रावयति ॥

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

हेति क्षियायाम् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ह, इति, क्षियायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह इत्यनेन युक्ता प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिर्नानुशात्ता भवति क्षियायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

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

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

Thus स्वयं ह स्येन यौति १, उपाध्यायं पशति गमयति 'He himself goes on a car, while he causes his Preceptor to trudge behind on foot'. स्वयं ह ओदनं मुह्यन्ते १, उपाध्यायं सक्तुन् पाययति 'Himself eats the rice, and makes the preceptor eat the gruel'. Here in both examples, the nighāta of the first verbs is prohibited. The verbs become svarita-pluta by VIII. 2. 104.

अहेति विनियोगे च ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अह, इति, वि नि योगे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अह इत्यनेन युक्ता प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिर्नानुशात्ता भवति विनियोगे गम्यमाने चवाध्यात् क्षियायां च ॥

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

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

Thus एवं अह मानं गच्छ, एवं अह अरण्यं गच्छ ॥ So also when क्षिया is meant,

as स्वयमह रयेन याति १, उपाध्यायं पशति गमयति ॥ स्वयमहोरनं मुकुन्ते १, उपाध्यायं सक्तुम् पाययति ॥ The prohibition of *nighdta* and prolation are as in the last aphorism.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ चलोपे अहलोपे च प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिर्नानुदात्ता भवति एवेत्येतदेवधारणार्थं प्रयुज्यते ॥

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

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

Thus where च is elided:—देवदत्त एव मामं गच्छतु, देवदत्त एवारण्यं गच्छतु = मामं चारण्यं च गच्छतु ॥

So where अह is elided: as:—देवदत्त एव मामं गच्छतु, यत्तदत्त एव अरण्यं गच्छतु = मामं केवलं, अरण्यं केवलं ॥

Why do we say अवधारणं 'when limitation is meant'? See देवदत्तः केव मोक्ष्यते, देवदत्तः केव वाच्येयते ॥ The word एव here has the sense of 'never' 'an impossibility'. The first sentence means न कश्चिद् मोक्ष्यते ॥ क्व + एव = केव by परकृप (VI. i. 94 Vārt).

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

वृत्तिः ॥ चादयो नचवाहादेवपुनरिति सूत्रनिर्दिष्टा गृह्यन्ते; तेषां लोपे प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिर्नानुदात्ता भवति विभाषा ॥

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

Thus with च लोपः—हृक्का त्रीदयो भवन्ति or भवन्ति, श्वेता गा आज्याय जुहन्ति ॥ Here भवन्ति optionally may either lose or retain its accent. So also when वा is elided, as:—त्रीहिभि र्यजेत or यजेतुं, यवे र्यजेत ॥ So also with the remaining.

वैवावेति च छन्दसि ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वै वाव, इति, च, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वैवाव इत्येताभ्यां युक्ता प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिर्विभाषा नानुदात्ता भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

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

Thus अहर्ने देवानाम् आसीत् (or आसीत्), रात्रिस्तुराणाम् आसीत् ॥ बृहस्पति वै देवानां पुरोहित आसीत् (or आसीत्), ऋण्डामर्कावस्तुराणां (Taittiriya Sanhita VI. 4. 10, 1. but with out the particle वै). अयं वाव हस्त आसीत् (or आसीत्), नेतर आसीत् ॥

वे has the force of स्फुट and क्षमा, and वाव that of प्रसिद्धि and स्फुट ॥

एकान्याभ्यां समर्थाभ्याम् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक, अन्याभ्याम्, समर्थाभ्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एक अन्य इत्येताभ्यां समर्थाभ्यां युक्ता प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिर्विभाषा नानुशासना भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

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

Thus प्रज्जमेका जिन्वति (or जिन्वति), ऊर्जमेकारसति ॥ तयोरन्वः पिप्पलं स्वाह्विति (or भृत्ति), मनमन्नन्वो भविष्याकशीति (Rig Veda I. 164. 20, Mundaka Upanishad III. 1).

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

यद्वृत्ताभित्यम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यत्, वृत्तात्, नित्यम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमा छन्दसीति निवृत्तं, निपातप्रतिषेध इत्येव ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ वयाकाम्ये वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

The anuvṛitti of प्रथमा and छन्दसि ceases. The prohibition of nighāta, which commenced with न सद् (VIII. 1. 29) is present here also. In what ever sentence the word यद् occurs, that is called यद्वृत्तं ॥ The word वृत्तं denotes here the form of यद् in all its declensions with case affixes. According to Kāsikā, उत्तर and उत्तम are not included, according to Pāṇjali they should be included. See also the explanation of किवृत्तं in VIII. 1. 48.

Thus यो मुहूर्त्ते, वे भोजयति, येन मुहूर्त्ते, वस्ते वसति, वत् कामास्ते जुहुर्ते : (Rig Veda X. 121. 10) ब्रह्मण वाहुर्वीति (T. S. V. 5. 1. 1.) यद् वाहुः पवते ॥ For the form ब्रह्मण see VI. 3. 92. Though the sūtra is in the Ablative (यद्वृत्तात्) and therefore requires that the verb should *im-mediately* follow it, yet in ब्रह्मण वाहुर्वीति, the intervention of वाहुः does not prevent the operation of this rule, according to the opinion of Pāṇjali.

Vart.—Optionally when the sense is that of 'wheresoever' or 'when-soever'. The word वयाकाम्यं means वयेच्छं 'as one wishes', without regard of time or space. The *nighāta* is prohibited here also. As यद् यद् यद् यजते सद् देवयजन एव यजते ॥

पूजनात्पूजितमनुदात्तं काष्ठादिभ्यः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूजनात्, पूजितम्, अनु-
दात्तम्, काष्ठादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूजनेभ्यः काष्ठादिभ्य उत्तरपदं पूजितमनुदात्तं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ मलोपश्च ॥

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

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

Thus काष्ठाध्यापकः, काष्ठाभिरूपकः, शरणाध्यापकः, शरणाभिरूपकः ॥

अमातापुत्रः । अमातापुत्राध्यापकः । अमातापुत्राभिरूपकः । अयुताध्यापकः । अयुताभिरूपकः । अद्भुतः । अद्भुताध्यापकः । अद्भुतः । अद्भुताध्यापकः । वृषः । वृषाध्यापकः । घोरः । घोराध्यापकः । सुखः । सुखाध्यापकः । परमः । परमाध्यापकः । सु । स्वध्यापकः । अति । अत्यध्यापकः । द्यौः । द्यौरध्यापकः । द्यौः-भिरूपकः । स्वध्यापकः । अपुत्रः । अपुत्राध्यापकः । कल्याण । कल्याणाध्यापकः ॥

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

Though the word पूजनम् would have implied its correlative term पूजितम्, the specific mention of पूजितम् in the aphorism indicates, that the word denoting पूजितम् should follow *immediately* after the word denoting पूजनम् ॥ In fact, this peculiar construction of the sūtra, is a jñāpaka of the existence of the following rule :—इह प्रकरणे पञ्चमी निर्देशोऽपि नामन्तर्यमाश्रीयते " In this subdivision or context, though a word may be exhibited in the Ablative case, it does not follow that there should be consecutiveness between the Ablative and the word indicated by it". This has been illustrated in the previous rule of यद्बुक्तान् नित्यम्, in explaining forms like ब्रह्मण वायुर्वति &c.

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

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

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

1 काष्ठ, 2 दारुण, 3 अमातापुत्र, 4 वेश, 5 अनाज्ञात, 6 अनुज्ञात, 7 अपुत्र, 8 अयुत, 9 अस्तुत, 10 अनुक्त, 11 भृश, 12 घोर, 13 दुःख्य, 14 परम, 15 सु, 16 अति, 17 कल्याण

सगतिरपि तिङ् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, गतिः, अपि, तिङ् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सगतिरगतिरपि पूजनेभ्यः काष्ठादिभ्यः परं पूजितं तिङन्तमनुशासं भवति ॥

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

Whether a finite verb is compounded with a gati or stands single, both the compound and the simple verb lose their accent, when it is qualified by the adverbs काष्ठ &c. Thus यत् काष्ठं पुच्छति, यत् काष्ठं मृपच्छति ॥ By VIII. 1. 28, the finite verb would have lost its accent after the word काष्ठं, but this loss was prohibited by VIII. 1. 30 in connection with यत्; the present sūtra re-ordains the loss, by setting aside the prohibition of VIII. 1. 30.

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

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

कुत्सने च सुप्यगोत्रादौ ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुत्सने, च, सुपि, अगोत्रादौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पशविति निवृत्तम् ॥ सगतिरपि तिङिति वर्त्तते ॥ कुत्सने च सुबन्तो गोत्रादिवर्जिते परतः सगतिरपि तिङ् अगतिरप्यनुशासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्रियाकुत्सने इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुतिश्च चानुबन्धो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ विभाषितं चापि बहुवचनमनुशासं भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

Kārikā सुपि कुत्सने क्रियाया मलोप इदोऽ तिङीति चोक्तार्ये ।

पुतिश्च चानुबन्धो विभाषितं चापि बहुवचनम् ॥

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

The anuvṛitti of वशान् (VIII. 1. 17) ceases. But the anuvṛitti of the last sūtra is current. Thus पृच्छति पूति, प्रपच्छति पूति, पृच्छति मिथ्या, प्रपच्छति मिथ्या ॥

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

Why do we say सुवि 'a noun'? Observe पृच्छति क्लिप्तनाति ॥

Why do we say with the exception of गोचर &c. See पृच्छति गोचरम्, पृच्छति हवम्, पृच्छति प्रवचनम् ॥

Vart. It should be mentioned that the 'fault' mentioned in the sūtra, must be the fault relating to the mode of doing the action, denoted by the verb. The rule will not apply, if the कुस्तने refers to the agent and not to the action. Thus पृच्छति पूतिर्वेदस्तः, प्रपच्छति पूतिः ॥

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

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

Kārikā. The following noun denoting fault must refer to the action. The elision of च is intended only in the case of non-verbs, because it is so said by those of old. The word पूति has an indicatory च, but it is optionally so when the verb is plural. The elision of च mentioned above refers to the elision of च in दारुणम्-अध्यापकः = दारुणाध्यापकः ॥ The words उक्तार्थम् mean आचार्यपरंपराकथित-प्रयोजनमेतदित्यर्थः ॥

गतिर्गतौ ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ गतिः, गतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गतिर्गतौ परतोऽनुवाचो भवति ॥

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

Thus अभ्युज्जरति, समुर्वीनयति, अभिसंपर्शौ हरति ॥ Why do we say गतिः "a Gati becomes &c"? Observe देवदत्तः प्रपच्छति ॥ Here देवदत्तः is a Prātipadika and does not lose its accent. Why do we say 'when followed by a Gati'? Observe मां मन्येरिन् हरिभिर्वादि मयूरं येमभिः ॥ Here मा is a Gati to the verb याहि, the complete verb is मायाहि ॥ But as मा is not followed by a Gati, but by a Prātipadika मयूर, it retains its accent. Had the word गतौ not been used in the sūtra, this मा would have lost its accent, because the rule would have been too wide, without any restriction of what followed it.

तिङि चोदात्तवति ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङि, च, उदात्तवति ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ गतिरिति वर्त्तते ॥ तिङन्ते उदात्तवति परतो गतिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

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

The word गतिः is understood here. Thus यत् प्र पचति, यत् प्र करोति ॥

Why have we used the word तिङि in the sūtra? In order to restrict the scope of the word उदात्तवति; so that a Gati would not become accentless before every udatta word, but only before udatta verbs. Thus आ does not become anudatta before मन्त्रैः in आ मन्त्रै रित्त्वं हरिणि बहि ॥ If it be said that the word गति is a particular name which the Particles get before verb only, and therefore गति would always refer to its correlative term verb, and not to noun, like as the word father refers to its correlative term son and not nephew: and that, therefore, उदात्तवति must refer to the verb like बहि and not to a noun like मन्त्रैः; then also we say that the employment of the term तिङि is necessary, in order to indicate that the verb must be a finite verb, and not a verbal root. So that though a verbal root be udatta, yet if in its conjugated form (तिङन्त) it is not udatta, the गति will not lose its accent. Thus in यत् प्र करोति, the root कृ is anudatta, but the तिङन्त form करोति is udatta, hence the rule will apply here: which would not have been the case had उदात्तवति not been qualified by तिङि ॥ For the maxim is यत्क्रियायुक्ताः प्रादयस् तेषां तं प्रति गदुपसर्गसंज्ञे भवतः ॥ Therefore in a तिङन्त, the designation of गति is with regard to धातु or verbal root. Obj: If तिङि is used for this purpose, then the rule will not apply to an आम् ending forms, like प्र पचतितराम् and प्रपचतितराम्, for these are not तिङन्त; but as a matter of fact, we find that प्र loses its accent, in these forms also. How is this explained? Ans. Here there are two views: some compound the Gati प्र with the completed आत्मन्त form पचतितराम् ॥ According to them, this प्र would get the accent, on the rule that an Indeclinable first member retains its accent (VI. 2. 2); so that even if the word तिङ् was not used in the sūtra, the form पचतितराम् being the second member of a compound, became anudatta; and so प्र being followed by an anudatta never loses its accent. According to them, therefore, the Gati never loses its accent in प्रपचतितराम् &c. Others compound the word ending in तरप् (पचतितर) with the Gati, and having formed प्रपचतितर, then add the affix आम् ॥ According to this view, the आम् accent debars all other accents, on the maxim, 'the accent of the last prevails' (सतिष्ठत्), and so प्र is anudatta, not by this rule, but by अनुदात्तसर्वे परमेकवर्जं ॥ According to them the word is प्रपचतितराम् ॥ According to both of these views, this sūtra is not necessary for the purposes of प्रपचतितराम् &c. But there is a third view which makes this sūtra necessary even for this purpose. There is this maxim: गतिकारकोपदानाम् कृत्तिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेः "It should be

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

Why have we used the word उदात्तवति? See मैं पञ्चति, मैं करोति ॥ Here the verb loses its accent by VIII. 1. 28, hence the Gati retains its accent.

आमन्त्रितं पूर्वमविद्यमानवत् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमन्त्रितम्, पूर्वम्, अविद्यमानवत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितं पूर्वमविद्यमानवत्प्रवति, तस्मिन्तति अस्कार्त्वे तन्न भवति ॥

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

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

Why do we use the word 'as if' or *यत्* in the sūtra, instead of saying 'altogether'? In other words, why do we say "it is considered as if non-existent", instead of saying "it is considered altogether non-existent"? The vocative does produce its own particular effect. Thus in *आम् भो देवदत्त*! the vocative *भो* is considered as one word (*एकान्तर*) for the purposes of separating *आम्* from the vocative *देवदत्त* under VIII. 1. 55. This is the opinion of Patanjali; but the opinion of the author of *Kāśikā* is that *भो* would have been considered as *अविद्यमानवत्* but for VIII. 1. 73.

Why do we say 'a Vocative'? Observe *देवदत्तः पुत्रति* ॥ Why do we say *पूर्वे* 'with regard to the subsequent word'? The vocative itself will not be considered as non-existent, for the application of rules that would apply to vocative as such. Thus in *देवदत्त ईषासि*, the vocative *देवदत्त* gets its accent by VI. 1. 193 also. In fact, the word *पूर्वे* connotes its correlative *पर* 'subsequent'; and the vocative is considered as non-existent, for the purposes of the operations to be performed on such *subsequent* term, whether such operation be caused by the vocative itself, or by any other cause; but it is not to be considered non-existent for the purposes of operations to be performed upon itself. Therefore in *देवदत्त ईषासि*, Devadatta does get the accent of the vocative. In *इमं मे गङ्गे बध्ने सरस्वति शतुर्हि* the first vocative *गङ्गे* is considered as non-existent with regard to *बध्ने*, and, therefore, *बध्ने* is considered as following immediately after the pada *मे* and thus *बध्ने* becomes *anudatta*, not because of *गङ्गे*, but because of *मे*; similarly *सरस्वति* and *शतुर्हि* are *anudatta*, not because of the preceding Vocative, but because of *मे* ॥ In other words, the intervention of the vocatives does not stop the action of *मे* ॥

नामन्त्रिते समानाधिकरणे सामान्यवचनम् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आमन्त्रिते, समानाधिकरणे, सामान्य-वचनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यमानवत्त्वस्य प्रतिषेधः ॥ आमन्त्रितान्ते समानाधिकरणेपरतः पूर्वमामन्त्रितान्तं सामान्यवचनं नाविद्यमानवत्त्ववति ॥

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

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

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

Why do we say सामान्यवचनम् 'which is a generic word'? The rule will not apply when the Vocatives are synonyms. Thus ईक्ष्ये देवि सरस्वति ईडे काण्डे विईव्ये एतानि ते अक्ष्ये नामानि ॥ All these Vocatives are synonyms of Saraswati, and hence all retain their accent of the Vocative (VI. 1. 198). According to Padamanjari the reading given in Taittiriya Br. is:— ईडे रत्नेऽङ्गिते सरस्वति प्रिये प्रेयसि महि विशुते, एतानि ते अक्ष्ये नामानि ॥ सामान्यवचनम् means 'a generic term'. When the first is a generic term, and the second is a specific term, (विशेष वचन) qualifying the first, and both are in the singular number, there the present rule will apply.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वोपाविद्यमानवस्ये प्रतिषिद्धे विकल्प उच्यते ॥ विशेषवचने समानाधिकरणे आत्मन्वितान्ते परतः
पूर्वनामन्वितं बहुवचनान्तं विभाषितमविद्यमानवद्भवति ॥

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

This ordains option, where the last sūtra would have made the consideration of the first vocative as existent compulsory. Thus देवाः शरण्याः or देवा शरण्याः ॥ ब्राह्मणा देवाकरणाः or ब्राह्मणा देवाकरणाः ॥

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

Why do we say 'in the plural number'? Observe माणवक इदिल्ल ॥ No option is allowed here, and the preceding vocative is *always* considered as existent and so rule VIII. 1. 73 applies.

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



ओ३म् ।

अथ अष्टमाध्यास्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

BOOK EIGHTH.

CHAPTER SECOND.

पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वत्र, अ-सिद्धम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वत्रासिद्धमित्यधिकार आ अध्यायपरिसमाप्तेः । यद्विषयं कर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः पूर्वत्रासिद्धमित्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् । तत्र येन सपावसप्ताध्यायानुक्रान्ता एतस्यामयं पादोऽनोऽध्यायोऽसिद्धो भवति । इत उत्तरं चोत्तरोत्तरो योगः पूर्वत्रासिद्धो भवति । असिद्धवद्भवति । सिद्धकार्यं न करोति इति अर्थः ॥ तदेतदसिद्धवचनं आदेशलक्षणप्रतिषेधार्थं उत्सर्गलक्षणभावायै च ॥

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

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

Similarly अङ्गुष्ठी, अङ्गुष्ठात्, अङ्गुष्मिन् from अङ्गुस् ॥ Thus अङ्गुस्+ङे=अङ्गु+ङे (VII. 2. 102 अ being substituted for the final स्, which again merges in the

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

शुष्किका शुष्कजङ्घा च क्षामिमानौजडतया ।

मतेर्वस्ते मलां जङ्घं, शुडलिप्तामिदं नम् ॥

The forms शुष्किका, शुष्कजङ्घा, क्षामिमान्, औजडत्, and शुडलिप्ताम् illustrate this rule excellently.

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

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

(3) क्षामिमान् ॥ This word may be considered to have been formed by adding the affix मनुप् to the Patronymic word क्षामि: or to the noun क्षामिन् [क्षाम-स्यापत्यं = क्षामि:, or क्षामोऽस्यास्तीति = क्षामिन्] ॥ The word क्षाम is formed by adding the Nishṭhā त to the root क्षै, as क्षै + त = क्षा + त (VI. 1. 45) = क्षाम (the त being changed to म by VIII. 2. 53). Now this म is considered as non-effectual for the purposes of application of VIII. 2. 9, which requires the change of म of मत् to ष, when मत् is added to a word having a penultimate म, as in क्षामीवान् ॥ Therefore we have क्षामिमान् and not क्षामिवान् ॥

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

40), the rule by which **घ** was changed to **ङ** (VIII. 4. 41), and the rule by which the first **ङ** was elided (VIII. 3. 13 as **ङङ + ङ = ङ + ङ = ङङ** VI. 3. 111). The elision of **ङि** before **णि** being considered *sthānivat*, we reduplicate **हत्**; as **ऊहत् + चङ् + त् = ऊहत्** (VII. 4. 60) = **ऊहत्** (VII. 4. 62) = **ऊहत्** (VIII. 4. 54). There is no **ह** added by VII. 4. 79, because of the prohibition of *अनग्लोपे* of VII. 4. 93. With the augment, it becomes **औहत्** ॥ The form **औहत्** is from **हृदि** ending in the affix **क्तिन्** ॥

(5) **गुहलिप्तात्** ॥ This is formed by adding **मनुप्** to the word **गुहलिह्**, which is formed by **क्लिप्** (**गुहं लेटि**) Here also the **म** of **मनुप्** is not changed into **व** by VIII. 2. 10; because the change of **ह** to **वृ** (VIII. 1. 3), and again of **वृ** to **वृ** are considered *asiddha*.

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

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

But though the **विप्रतिषेध** rule does not apply in these chapters; yet an *apavāda* rule here even, does over-ride an *utsarga* rule, for otherwise, the enunciation of an *apavāda* rule would be useless. The *apavāda* rule is therefore, not considered *asiddha*. Thus the *utsarga* rule **होः** (VIII. 2. 31) is set aside by the *apavāda* rule **दक्षिणार्थः** (VIII. 2. 32), and thus we have **दोष्ठा, दोषुच** (**दुह् + नृच् = दोष् + नृच्**) ॥

नलोपः सुप्स्वरसंज्ञातुग्विधिषु कृति ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ न लोपः, सुप्-स्वर-संज्ञा-तुक्-विधिषु, कृति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नलोपः पूर्ववासिञो भवति सुप्विधौ स्वरविधौ संज्ञाविधौ तुग्विधौ च कृति । विधिसंज्ञोऽयं प्रत्येकमभिसंबध्यमानः स्वरसंज्ञातुकां विधेयत्वात् । कर्मपृष्ठीयुक्तैर्भावसाधनोऽभिसंबध्यते । सुप्ता तु संबन्धसामान्यवचनपष्ठयन्तेन कर्मसाधनः । तेन सुप्ः स्थाने यो विधिः सुपि च परभूते सर्वोक्तौ सुप्विधिरिति सर्ववासिञत्वं भवति ॥

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

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

(1) **सुविविधि**:—As **राजाभिः**, **तक्षभिः** ॥ Here the elision of **न्** of **राजन्** and **तक्षन्** being asiddha, the **मिन्** is not changed to **ऐस्** by VII. 1. 9. So also **राजभ्यान्**, **तक्षभ्यां**, **राजसु**, **तक्षसु** ॥ Here the finals of **राज** and **तक्ष** are not lengthened before **भ्यां** by **सुपिच** (VII. 3. 102) and nor changed to **ए** before **सु** by (VII. 3. 103): as in **नराभ्यां** and **नरेषु** of the stem ending in **अ** ॥

(2) **स्वरविधि**:—As **राजवती** and not **राजवती** ॥ For the elision of **न्** being asiddha, the rule VI. 1. 220, does not apply, for the word is considered not to end in **अवती** but **वती** ॥ Similarly in **पञ्चार्धन्** and **दशार्धन्**, the elision of **न्** being asiddha, the first member does not become ādy-udātta by VI. 2. 90. Similarly **पञ्चवीची**: the elision of **न्** being asiddha, the first member does not retain its original accent as required by VI. 2. 29.

The word **राजन्** is first acute, as it is formed by the affix **कनिन्** (Uṇ I. 156). **राजवती** is formed by adding **ङीप्** to the **मनुप्** ending word, by IV. 1. 6. **पञ्चार्धन्** is a compound under rule II. 1. 50 of **पञ्चन्-1-अर्ध**, and when **न्** is elided, the first member becomes a word ending in **अ** and would require the accent of VI. 2. 90.

(3) **संज्ञाविधि**:—As **पञ्च ब्राह्मण्यः**, **दश ब्राह्मण्यः** ॥ The elision of **न्** being asiddha, the words **पञ्च** and **दश** are still called shash though they no longer end in **न्** (**ष्णान्ता षद्** I. 1. 24). Being called **षष्**, they do not take **दाप्** in the feminine (IV. 1. 10).

According to the Vārtikakāra, there is no necessity of using the word **संज्ञा** in the sūtra (**संज्ञा महणानर्थक्यं च नमिनिस्तत्साधोपस्य**), because the elision of **न्** is caused by reason of its having such a designation (as **षद्**). Thus without its having the name of **षद्** there would be no elision of **जस्** and **क्षस्**, without such elision, there is no pada saṁjñā of these words, and unless these words get Pada designation, there can be no elision of **न्** by VIII. 2. 7. The shash designation, however, would not be retained by these words after taking

plural affixes, when feminine affixes are to be added to them, but for this sūtra. The पञ्चन् and द्वाञ् ending in न् would require ङीप् in the feminine, which is however prohibited, for when जल् and न् are elided, the words end in ज and require दाप् for their feminine, which is also prohibited, because, by the present sūtra the word still retains its designation of षद् ॥

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

(4) तुन्विधिः—Thus वृत्तहन्तां, वृत्तहन्तिः ॥ On account of the elision of न् being asiddha, the तुक् augment is not added, though required by VI. 1. 71. (इत्स्वस्य पिति कृति तुक्) ॥

Some hold that तुक् need not be read in the sūtra. They argue in this way:—There is this maxim समिपात लक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं 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". Now the elision of न् of वृत्तहन् took place because of the case affix तां, this elision cannot be the cause of adding तुक् ॥ Or the तुक् being a बहिरङ्ग operation would be asiddha with regard to the antaranga elision of न् ॥ This opinion is, however, not sound. The employment of तुक् in this sūtra indicates, that the two maxims above referred to, are not of universal application i. e. they are anitya.

Why do we say before a Krt-affix ? Observe वृत्तहन्ताय, वृत्तहन्ताया ॥ Here तुक् is added by VI. 1. 73.

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

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

न मु ने ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, मु, ने, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुभावो नामावे कर्त्तव्ये नासिद्धोभवति किं तर्हि सिद्ध एव ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ एकादेशस्वरोन्तरङ्गः सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ संयोगान्तस्य लोपो रो इत्ये सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ सिञ्जलोप एकादेशे सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ निष्ठादेशः षत्वस्वरप्रत्ययविधीष्विधिषु सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ प्लुतविकारस्तुम्बिधौ छे सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ वचुलं घुटि सिद्धं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ अभ्यासजइत्वचत्वे एत्वतुकोः सिद्धे वक्तव्ये ॥

वा० ॥ द्विर्वचने परसवर्णस्य सिद्धं वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ पञ्चाधिकारभेदस्वइत्वचत्वनस्वइत्वचत्वनस्वानुनासिकछत्वानि सिद्धानि वक्तव्यानि ॥

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

The existence of *हु* is not considered unaffected when there is to be added *ना* ॥ On the contrary, it is considered as *siddha* or existing. Thus *हु* being considered as *siddha*, *अहु* gets the designation of *चि* by I. 4. 7, and as such, its Instrumental Singular is by VII. 3. 120, *अहुना* ॥ Had the *हु* been considered as non-effected, then the stem would not have been called *ghi*, and there would have been no *ना* added. But when *ना* *had been* added, then the *हु* being asiddha, *अहु* is considered to be as *अइ* ending in *अ*, and this *अ* would require lengthening by *घुपि च* VII. 3. 102: but it is not done on the maxim *सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं 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". There being no long *आ* the *इ* of *अहु* remains short. Or this *sūtra* may be considered to be the condensation of two *sūtras* (1) *हु* is *siddha* when *ना* is to be added, (2) *हु* is *siddha* when any operations, otherwise to be caused when *ना* is added, are to take place. Or the sense of the *sūtra* is *ने परतो वत् प्राप्नोति तस्मिन् कर्त्तव्ये मुभावो नासिद्धः* "the *हु* is not non-effected in relation to any operation that would otherwise be occasioned when *ना* followed". From this, it would follow by implication that *हु* must be considered valid for the purposes of *नामाव* itself. So *हु* being always *siddha*, *ना* is added: and there is no lengthening.

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

ekādeśa substitutes, 5. the accent of the चतु formed words, 6. for the purposes of rule VI. 1. 158, by which all syllables of a word are anudātta except one, and 7. for the purposes of VIII. 1. 28, by which *all* syllables become anudātta.

Thus (1) let us take अच् first. वृत्ते is finally acute by Phiṭ I. 1. The locative of this is वृत्त+ङि (anudātta III. 1. 3)=वृत्ते (ए is udātta VIII. 2. 5). Now combine वृत्ते+इवम्=वृत्ते+इवम्=वृत्ते इवम् ॥ So also वृत्त इवम् ॥ The udātta ekādeśa वृत्ते must be considered as *siddha*, so that the अच् substitute of ए should also become udātta. (2) आच्: As कुमारी इवम् ॥ Here also आ is udātta for similar reasons. कुमारी+ङे=कुमारी+आ+ए (VII. 3. 112)=कुमार+आ+ए=कुमार+आ+ए (VI. 1. 174)=कुमार+ऐ (VI. 2. 90)=कुमारे (VIII. 2. 5). The ऐ is udātta and its आच् substitute will also be udātta. How do you give this example? This example is then valid, when by VI. 1. 174, first the affix आ is made udātta, then this आ (आच् VII. 3. 112) augment is added to ङे, and then (आ+ए) there is vṛiddhi ऐ; and then कुमार+ऐ=कुमारे ॥ But if the order be reversed and आ+ए be first combined into ऐ, and then this ऐ be made udātta by VI. 1. 174, then there would be no necessity of this vārtika for the purposes of आच् ॥ The word कुमारे is end-acute by Phiṭ accent (Phiṭ I. 1). Add to it डीप् in the feminine (IV. 1. 20), as कुमारे+ई=कुमार+ई (अ is elided by VI. 4. 148)=कुमार+ई (VI. 1. 161)=कुमारी ॥

(3) आच्. As वृत्तविविदम् or वृत्तविविदम्, for the same reasons as above [वृत्ते+जे (anudātta)=वृत्ते VIII. 2. 5, वृत्तो+इवम्].

(4) एकारेच accent. As गाङ्गे ऽनूये ॥ Here गाङ्गे+इ=गाङ्गे ॥ The word गाङ्ग is formed by अच् affix (गंगाया इवम्) and is end-acute. The ekādeśa ए is udātta by VIII. 2. 5. This udātta accent will remain valid: so that when for ए+अ there is pūrva-rūpa-ekādeśa by VI. 1. 109, this ekādeśa ए will be udātta by VIII. 2. 5, or it will be svarita by VIII. 2. 6. The word अचूरे is a प्राक् compound, आपोऽनुगतं=अचूरे ॥ Here by VI. 2. 2, the Indeclinable first term would have retained its accent: but the word is end-acute by VI. 2. 189.

(5) चतु - accent. As तुर्वती, तुर्वते ॥ Here in तुर्व+च+चतु, the affix च is udātta, and चतु is anudātta. The ekādeśa अ will be udātta by VIII. 2. 5. This ekādeśa - udātta should be considered valid for the purposes of the rule VI. 1. 173 by which the feminine affix and the weak case-ending are udātta. Thus तुर्व+ई=तुर्वती, तुर्व+ए=तुर्वते ॥ The prohibition अनुनः in VI. 1. 173 is a jñāpaka or indicator of the fact, that the ekādeśa accent should be considered *siddha*, in the accent of the चतु, because without this ekādeśa accent, there is no ङात्प्रि ending word with तुर्व which is antodātta.

(6) एकाननुशासः accent. As तुर्वन्ति, लिखन्ति ॥ Here in तुर्व+च+अन्ति (VI. 1. 186) the ekādeśa अ is udātta by VIII. 2. 5, and this ekādeśa accent is considered valid for the purposes of rule VI. 1. 158, by which all the remaining syllables become anudātta, as तुर्वन्ति, लिखन्ति ॥

(7) सर्वादिनात्तः accent. As ब्राह्मणास्तुवन्ति, ब्राह्मणा निवृत्तन्ति ॥ Here the ekādes'a-accent of तुवन्ति and निवृत्तन्ति being valid, rule VIII. 1. 28 applies, and all the syllables become anudātta.

The word antaranga is used in the vārtika to indicate that the Bahiranga ekādes'a accent will not be siddha. Thus पचतीति and प्रपचतीति, where the word ईति is first acute, as it is an Indeclinable. And सोमसुत् पचतीति ॥ The accent of पचति + इति = पचतीति is governed by VIII. 2. 5. This ekādes'a accent of long ई has reference to external sandhi, and therefore naturally it is a bahiranga. This bahiranga ekādes'a accent is not siddha for the purposes of the application of previous sūtras. Thus sūtra VIII. 1. 71. requires that the *gati* should be unaccented before an accented verb: but प्र does not lose its accent, as पचतीति is not considered as an accented verb. In the second example, the ई of ती is not considered as accented, therefore, it does not become anudātta by VIII. 1. 28.

Vārt.—The rule VIII. 2. 23 causing the elision of the final consonant in a word ending with a conjunct consonant, should be valid for the purposes of changing ह into व ॥ What is the necessity of this vārtika? Observe हरिवा मेविनं त्या ॥ The word हरिवः is formed by मनुप् affix हरयोऽस्य सन्ति = हरि + मन् ॥ Now by VIII. 2. 15 the म is changed to व, as हरि + वन् or हरिवन्; add सु (Voc.Sg.) as हरिवन् + सु, then add तुम् augment, as हरिवन् + तुम् ॥ Then there is elision of the final consonant = हरिवन् ॥ Now by VIII. 3. 1. the final न् is changed to र्, and we have हरिवर्, the र् would be changed to व by VI. 1. 114, if the elision of the conjunct consonants be considered as siddha: for then this र् is followed by न, a हश् letter. But if such elision be considered asiddha, then र् is considered not to be followed by हश् letters, but by the consonants which were elided.

Vārt.—When ekādes'a is to be done, the elision of सिच is to be considered siddha or valid. As अलावीन् and अपावीन् ॥ Here the सिच is elided by इट ईदि (VIII. 2. 28.) This elision is considered valid or siddha, and thus we have dirgha single substitution of ई for इ + ई as अलाइ + इ + सीन् = अलाइ + इ + ० + ईन् = अलावीन् ॥

Vārt.—The substitute of the Nishṭhā affixes should be considered as valid or siddha for the purposes of the rules relating to the (1) changing of स to ष, (2) accent, (3) affix, and (4) इट् augment. As (1) वृक्षः, वृक्षणान् ॥ The root is ओन्नश्चु (VI. 11) the indicative ओ shows that the nishṭhā स is changed to न (VIII. 2. 45). This nishṭhā substitute is considered as valid or siddha, and the final of the root is not changed to ष, as it otherwise would have been by VIII. 2. 36: for न would have been still considered as स or a हश् letter. The equation is as follows:—ओन्नश्च + त = वृक्षश्च + त (VI. 1. 16) = वृक्षश्च + न (VIII. 2. 45) = वृक्ष + न (VIII. 2. 29) = वृक्ष् + न (VIII. 2. 30) = वृक्षः (VIII. 4. 1) The च् is changed to ष् by VIII. 2. 30, by considering न as asiddha and therefore equal to स or a हश् letter. Thus it will be seen that this न is ओन्नश्च for the purposes of

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

As regards the other three cases, viz, accent, affix and इद् augment, the one word क्षीब्, will illustrate them all. The irregular formation of this word is variously explained. It is formed by "nipātana" under VIII. 2. 55. It is the Past Participle of the root क्षीब्, thus evolved क्षीब् + इद् + त = क्षीब् + इ + त = क्षीब् + झ (इत् being elided, this is the anomaly) = क्षीब् ॥ Here the elision of इत् is considered as valid and siddha, and therefore, क्षीब् is considered as a word of two syllables, for the purposes of accent, under rule निष्ठाच्च ऋजनात् (VI. 1. 205). Had the lopādeśa of इत् been considered asiddha, the word would have been considered as if of three syllables, and that rule of *accent* would not have applied.

Similarly क्षीबेन तरति = क्षीबिक formed by छत् (IV. 4. 7) which *affix* is added, because it is considered a word of *two* syllables, the elision of इत् being considered as valid for the purposes of IV. 4. 7.

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

Vart:—The prolation modification of a vowel (pluta) should be considered as valid and siddha, for the purposes of the rule relating to तुक् augment before the letter छ ॥ Thus by VIII. 2. 107, the Vocative words अग्ने and पदे assume the forms अग्नाइ, and पदाइ ॥ These इ and उ are pluta-vikāras. As अग्नाइ इच्छत् ॥ पदाइ उच्छत् ॥ Here the modification caused by VIII. 2. 107, is considered as valid and siddha; otherwise there would have been no compulsory तुक् augment as required by VI. 1. 73 but optional तुक् under VI. 1. 76.

Vart:—The ष् and palatal change should be considered siddha and valid before छद् (VIII. 3. 29). The root द्युतिर् क्षरणे (I. 41) is read as beginning with a द्, which is changed to ष because of the subsequent च by VIII. 4. 40. This is not considered asiddha. Had it been so, there would come छद् augment by VIII. 3. 29, in अद् द्योतति, रद् द्योतति ॥ The words अद् and रद् are अद् and रद् formed from the roots अदति and रदति by क्तिप् ॥

Why is the root द्युतिर् considered to begin with द् and not with ष as we find it written? Because had it been a root beginning with ष originally, we could not get the form मधुक् which would have been मधुद् ॥ The form मधुक् is thus evolved. Thus मधु द्योतति = मधुद्युत् by adding क्तिप् ॥ From मधुद्युत् we form a Derivative root in णिच् in the sense of मधुद्युत्तमाचष्टे = मधुद्युवति ॥ Add again क्तिप् to this Derivative root मधुञि, the णिच् will be elided, and we have मधुद्यु, then द् (which represents द्) is elided because it is at the beginning of a compound letter (VIII. 2. 29), and ष is elided, because it is at the

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

Vart.—The जश् and चश् substitution of letters in the reduplicate should be considered siddha and valid for the purposes of ए change (VI. 4. 120) and तुक् augment. Thus बभणतुः and बभणुः ॥ Here the जश् change of भ, to ब in the reduplicate should be considered as valid, otherwise this would be अनदिशादि root and the Perfect would be भेणतुः and भेणुः ॥ Similarly from छिद् we have चिच्छिद्यति, and from उच्छ, उच्छिच्छिद्यति ॥ In the latter, the second syllable छिच् of उच्छिच् (Desiderative) is reduplicated by VI. 1. 2. Here had the reduplicate substitute च् for छ् been considered asiddha, there would not have been तुक् augment by छे च् (VI. 1. 73)

Vart.—The change of letter homogeneous with the subsequent is valid and siddha for the purposes of doubling. As सङ्घ्यन्ता, सङ्घ्यन्ता, सङ्घ्योक्तम्, सङ्घ्योक्तम् ॥ In सङ्घ्यन्ता &c the ए is changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 23, and the anusvāra is then changed to a letter homogeneous with the subsequent by VIII. 4. 58. Had the एङ्गर्ण change been asiddha, there would have been no doubling by VIII. 4. 47.

Vart.—If there be the adhikāra of the word 'pada' in those sūtras which ordain the following changes, then those changes are considered siddha for doubling, namely, 1. लश् the change into ल (VIII. 2. 21), 2. हश् the change into ह (VIII. 2. 31), 3. घश् the change into घ (VIII. 2. 33), 4. नश् the change into न (VIII. 2. 56), 5. रश् the change into र (VIII. 2. 75), 6. षश् the change into ष (VIII. 3. 85), 7. जश् the change into ज (VIII. 4. 11), 8. anunāsika change (VIII. 4. 45), 9. छश् the change into छ (VIII. 4. 63).

As 1. गलो गलः; गलोगरः ॥ 2. श्लोधा श्लोधा ॥ 3. श्लोधाश्लोधा ॥ 4. तुनो तुनः or तुनो तुनः ॥ 5. अभिनोऽभिनः or अभिनद् अभिनद् This is लङ् second person singular of भिद्, the स् of सिप् is elided by VI. 1. 68, and the final न् changed optionally to ह् by VIII. 2. 74. The न् is the vikarana न्नम् ॥ 6. मातुः स्वसा मातुः स्वसा or मातुः स्वसा, मातुः स्वसा, 7. माषशापाणि माषशापाणि or माषशापानि माषशापानि ॥ 8. बाह् नयनम् बाह् नयनम् or बाह् नयनम् बाह् नयनम् ॥ 9. बाक् छद्यनं बाक् छद्यनं or बाक् छद्यनं बाक् छद्यनं ॥

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

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

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

उदात्तस्वरितयोर्यणः स्वरितोऽनुदात्तस्य ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदात्त-स्वरितयोः, यणः, स्वरितः, अनुदात्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तयणः स्वरितयणश्च परस्यानुदात्तस्य स्वरित आदेशो भवति ॥

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

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

Let us first take the vowel following an udāṭṭa yaṇ. Thus कुमारी, कुमारीः ॥ The word कुमारी is acutely accented on the final, because the long ई (ङीप्) replaces ई of कुमार (VI. 1. 161). The semi-vowel य् is substituted in the room of this acute ई; the anudāṭṭa ओ and अः become svarita after such a य् ॥

Now to take an example of a svarita-yaṇ. The words सङ्कल्प and खल्वि are finally acute by kṛit-accent (VI. 2. 139). The Locative singular of these words are सङ्कर्तृ + इ = खल्वि, and सङ्कल्पि by VI. 4. 83. This इ is a semi-vowel which comes in the room of the acute ऊ, therefore, it is udāṭṭa-yaṇ. After this udāṭṭa-yaṇ, the anudāṭṭa इ of the Locative becomes svarita by the first part of this sūtra. Now when खल्वि + भाषा and सङ्कल्पि + भाषा are combined by sandhi, this svarita इ is changed to य्; it is, therefore, a svarita-yaṇ. The unaccented आ will become svarita, after this svarita-yaṇ. As खल्व्याभा and सङ्कल्प्याभा ॥ The word भाषा is finally acute and consequently आ is not acute (Phit. I. 18).

Obj :—Here an objector may say : that the svarita accent on इ in खल्वि is by this very sūtra, this svarita is to be considered as asiddha for the purposes of यण् ādeśa of VI. 4. 83. How can then the य् substituted for this इ be considered as svarita-yaṇ ?

Ans :—This is considered as siddha by āśraya. (आश्रयात् सिद्धमयम्) ॥

Obj :—If this be so, then उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः (VIII. 4. 66) should also be considered as siddha : and we should have svarita in वृद्ध्याभा &c also. For the word वृद्धि is first-acute by Phit II. 3. Therefore णि is svarita by VIII. 4. 66. The य् is svarita yaṇ, the anudāṭṭa आ after this should become svarita according this view, but this is not so.

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

Vārt :—यणस्वरो यणदेशे सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥ “ The यण् accent should be considered as valid, for the purposes of यण् substitution ”.

Some say, that even in such cases as इध्याशा the above rule applies, and that the unaccented vowel becomes svarita, if it follows a svarita-yaṇ which is preceded by an acute vowel. They quote the following from Taittiriya Śākhā :—यास्ते विश्वाः समिधः सन्त्यग्ने, where the अ of अग्ने is pronounced as svarita. So also in the Brāhmaṇa portion as : इध्याशयति the आ is read as svarita. But according to Kātyāyana and Patanjali, the unaccented vowel does not become svarita by this sūtra, when it follows a svarita-yaṇ which is preceded by an acute vowel.

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

The second proposal is not to read svarita into the sūtra at all. The svarita in सकृल्ल्याशा would then be explained by udātta-yanah rule. सकृल्ल् + इ + आशा = सकृल्ल् + इ + आशा ॥ Here इ is udātta-yaṇ. This will cause आ to become svarita. The intervening svarita इ is considered as not existent for the purposes of accent स्वरविधौऽन्यङ्जनमविद्यमानवत् ॥ Nor is this इ to be considered as sthāni-vad to इ by I. 1. 57, for in applying the rule of accent, such a substitute is not considered as sthānivat by I. 1. 58.

Why do we say "of udātta and svarita"? Observe वेक्षी + आशाँ = वेद्याशा, so also चार्क्षरष्याशा ॥ Here the semi-vowel replaces an unaccented ई, and is अनुदात्त यण् ॥ These words are first acute owing to लिट् accent (IV. 1. 73).

Why do we say "an unaccented vowel becomes svarita"? Observe कुमार्यन्, कियोर्यन् ॥ The word अँन् is acutely accented on the first by लिट् accent. (VI. 1. 193).

एकादेश उदात्तेनोदात्तः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकादेशः, उदात्तेन, उदात्तः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तेन सहानुदात्तस्य च एकादेशः स उदात्तो भवति ॥

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

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

which combined with the preceding udātta vowel remains as a single substitute, becomes udātta. Thus for the udātta इ of अग्नि and for the case-ending औ which is anudātta, there is always substituted long ई single by VI. 1. 102. This single substitute will be udātta according to the present sūtra, as अग्नी ॥ Similarly वाँ, वृँ, ह्रँ : ॥

Why do we say "with *udātta* vowel"? Observe पचन्ति, यजन्ति ॥ Here पच् + चप् + अन्ति = पँच् + अ + अन्ति । Here चप् is anudātta by III. 1. 4, so also अन्ति by VI. 1. 186. The ekādeśa of these two non-accented अ will be anudātta. In forming this para-rūpa ekādeśa by VI. 1. 97, the svarita of the अ of चप् caused by VIII. 4. 66 is considered as invalid or asiddha.

Other examples are क्व वोऽथाः (Rig. V. 61. 2) and क्वावरं नरुतः ॥ The word वः is anudātta by VIII. 1. 21. read with VIII. 1. 18. The word अँदवः is acutely accented on the first, as it is formed by adding कुन् to अन् (Uṇ. I. 151). The न् of वन् is changed to र् (VIII. 2. 66), which is again changed to ञ (VI. 1. 113). Thus वो ऽद्व ॥ Here अ becomes pūrva-rūpa by VI. 1. 109, which is udātta. क्व is formed from क्वि by अन् affix (V. 3. 12 and VII. 2. 105) and is svarita (VI. 1. 185). The word अँवर is acutely accented on the first by the Phiṭ II. 6. The single long substitute is udātta.

स्वरितो वा ऽनुदात्ते पदादौ ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितः, वा, अनुदात्ते, पदादौ ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्ते पदादौ उदात्तेन सह य एकादेशः स स्वरितो वा भवत्युदात्तो वा ॥

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

Thus सु + उत्थितः = सूँत्थितः or हूँत्थितः ; वि + ईक्षते = वीँक्षते or वीक्षते; वसुकः + असि = वसुकोँसि or वसुकोऽसि ॥ Here the word सु is a Karmaṇyavachaniya by I. 4. 94, when it is compounded by प्रादिसमास with the Past Participle, the Avayayibhāva compound retains the accent of its first member (VI. 2. 2), and so it is acutely accented on the first, and the rest are anudātta. Thus the udātta ई of सु is compounded with the anudātta उँ of उत्थितः which stands at the beginning of a Pada, and so the ekādeśa is optionally svarita. In वीक्षते and वसुकोँसि also the verbs ईक्षते and असि lose all accent by VIII. 1. 28 and so ई and अ become anudātta, which when compounded with वि and वसुका become optionally svarita.

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

Why do we say "anudatta beginning"? Observe देवदत्तोऽय ॥ Here देव begins with udatta and not anudatta, and hence no option is allowed.

Why do we say "beginning of a word"? Observe वृक्षैः, वृक्षाः, वृक्षेः and वृक्षाः, where anudatta case-endings are not beginnings of words.

According to Bhattoji Dikshita this is a vyavasthita-vibhāṣhā; in this wise. There will *necessarily* be svarita (1) where a long ई is the single substitute of (इ + इ) or of two short इ, (2) where there is pūrva-rupa by the application of एरुपदान्तात् भवति (VI. 1. 109). There will be udatta where a long vowel comes in. Thus in वि + इवम् = विदेव् in वी३इ३ उद्योति३इदेवे, the long ई is substituted for two short इ's. This substitution of a long ई for two *short* इ's is technically called प्रश्लेष ॥ Where there is Pras'lesha, the long ई is *necessarily* svarita. Similarly when there is अभिनिहतसन्धिः i. e. the peculiar sandhi taught in VI. 1. 109. Thus तेऽवदन्, सोऽग्रमाणात् ॥ So also where there is क्षेप्रः सन्धिः i. e. the substitution of a semi-vowel in the room of an udatta or svarita vowel, as अन्ध्यानि ॥ The above rules about svarita are thus summarised in the Prātiśākhya: इकारयोश्च प्रश्लेषे क्षेप्राभिनिहतेषु च ॥ But where a long ई is substituted as a single substitute for इ + ई (one of the इ's being long), there it must *always* be acute. As अस्य इलीको द्विविद्यते (Rig. 1. 190. 4). The words द्विवि३ + ईद्यते are compounded into द्विविद्यते ॥ The word द्विवि३ Locative singular is finally acute by VI. 1. 171. ईद्यते is from the Divādi root इङ् गतौ, and has lost its accent by VIII. 1. 28.

नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लोपः, प्रातिपदिक, अन्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रातिपदिकस्य पदस्य योन्यो नकारस्तस्य लोपो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अङ्गो नलोपप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

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

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

Why do we say 'of a Prātipadika or Nominal stem'? Observe अहमहिम् ॥ Here अहन् is a verb, the 3rd Per. Sg.Imperfect (लङ्) of the root हन् ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

न हिसंबुद्धोः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ङि, सम्बुद्धोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डे परतः संबुद्धौ च नकारलोपो न भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ङाबुत्तरपदे प्रतिषेधस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ वा नपुंसकानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

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

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

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

Vdt :—Prohibition of the prohibition must be stated, when the Locative word is followed by another word in a compound. That is, when a compound is a Locative Tatpurusha, the न् is elided : as, चर्मणि तिला अस्य = चर्म तिलः ॥

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

Vdt :—Optionally so in the neuter nouns. As हे चर्मन्, हे चर्म ।

मातृपद्यायाश्च मतोर्वोऽयवादिभ्यः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ म, आत्, उपधायाः, च, मतोः, वः, अ यवादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारान्ताद् मकारोपधावर्णान्तादवर्णोपधाच्चोत्तरस्य मतोर्ध्व इत्ययमादेशो भवति यवादिभ्यस्तु परतो न भवति ॥

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

After a stem ending in न् or having न् as its penultimate letter, and after a stem ending in अ or आ, or having these letters as its penultimate, there is substituted च for the न् of मत् ॥ First after stems ending in न्, as क्रिवन् (क्रिवान्), क्षवन् (क्षवान्). Secondly न् penultimate : as क्षमीवान्, क्षाड्मीवान् ॥ Thirdly a stem ending in अ or आ, as वृक्षवान्, वृक्षवान्, खट्वावान्, मालावान् ॥ Fourthly अ or आ in the penultimate : as—पयस्वान्, यशस्वान्, भास्वान् ॥

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

The following is the list of यवादि words.

1. यव, 2. हस्मि, 3. उर्मि, 4. धुमि, 5. कृपि, 6. कुञ्चा, 7. वशा, 8. ब्राक्षा, 9. प्राक्षा ॥ These words either end in म and ञ or have these as their penultimate. 10. धञि, 11. ध्वञि, 12. सञि. These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 15. 13. हरिन्, 14. ककुन्, 15. गरुन् ॥ These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 10. 16. इष्टु, 17. मधु, 18. हुम, 19. मण्ड, 20. धुम ॥ These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 11.

This is an ākritigaṇa. Wherever in a word, the व् of मत् is not changed to व्, though the rules require it, that word should be classified under अवादि class. In the secondary word नार्मत् (= नृमत् इव), the व् change has not taken place, because the ञ is here a Bahiranga, the real vowel being ऋ ॥

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

ज्ञयः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञयन्तादुत्तरस्य मतोर्व इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

As अग्निचित्त्वान् धामः, उद्विषत्त्वान् धोषः, विद्युत्त्वान् वलाहकः, इन्द्रो मरुत्त्वान्, दृषद्वाङ् देशः ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये मतोर्व इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

As अशीवती, कपीवती, ऋषीवती, सुनीवती ॥ For long vowel, see VI. 3. 120.

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

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

12. The following Names are irregularly formed : āsandīvat, aṣṭhīvat, chakrīvat, kakshīvat, rumaṇvat, charmanvatī.

The change of व् to व् in these was obtained from the last sūtra. The irregularity consists in the substitutions of stems. आसन्दीवत्, is from the stem आसन which is here changed to आसन्दी ॥ As आसन्दीवान् धामः, आसन्दीवद् अहिस्थलम् ॥ As in the following śloka :

आसन्दीवति धान्यार् रविमणं हरितस्रजम् ।

अहं बबन्ध सारङ्गं देवेभ्यो जनमेजयः ॥

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

अस्थि which is changed to अङ्गी ॥ As अङ्गीवान् the name of a particular portion of body; the knee-joints. Otherwise अस्थिवान् ॥ 3. चक्रीवन् is from चक्र which is changed to चक्री, as चक्रीवान् राजा ॥ Otherwise we have चक्रवान् ॥ चक्रीवन्ति सशेहविर्द्धानि भवन्ति is a Vedic example. It means सारस्वते सशेज्जमानि सद्यो हविर्धानानि, न त्वेकत्रावस्थितानि, तानि तत्र तत्र कर्षयाम्य चक्रपुक्तानि भवन्ति ॥ 4. कर्सीवन् is from कर्श्या, there is vocalisation of य and the lengthening is by VI. 4. 2. कर्सीवान् is the name of a Rishi. Otherwise we have, कर्श्यावान् ॥ 5. रुमण्वन् is from लवण which is changed to रुमण् ॥ Otherwise we have लवणवान् ॥ Others say, that there is a distinct word रुमन्, and the न् is not elided, but changed to ण् ॥ Or that the affix मन् takes the augment जुद् ॥ 6. चर्मण्वती is from चर्मन्, there is non-elision of न् and its change to ण् ॥ Or मन् has taken जुद् augment. The Charmanvati is the name of a river. Otherwise we have चर्मवती ॥

उदन्वानुदधौ च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदन्वान्, उदधौ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदन्वानित्युदकशब्दस्य मतादुदन्भावो निपात्यते उदधावर्ये संज्ञायां विषये ॥

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

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

राजन्वान्सौराज्ये ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजन्वान्, सौराज्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन्वानिति निपात्यते, सौराज्ये गम्यमाने ॥

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

The kingdom whose king is good is called राजन्वान् देशः, राजन्वती पृथ्वी ॥ The affix मनुप् is used here in the sense of प्रशंसा or praise. Otherwise राजवान् ॥

छन्दसीरः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, इ, रः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये इवर्णान्ताङ्गान्ताद्योत्तरस्य महोर्वस्थं भवति ॥

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

To take some examples of a stem ending in इ, as धिक्वती वाङ्मयानुवाक्या भवति; हरिवो मे वनं त्वा; अधिपति वती जुहोति; चतुरग्निधानिव; भारेवानेतु मा विद्यात् (भारेवान् from रये with vocalisation). सारस्वतीवान्, भारतीवान्, इधीर्वाचदः ॥ As all rules have

optional force in the Chhandas, we have no change here सप्तर्षिमन्त्रम्, ऋषिमान्, ऋषीमान् सूयं ते आवापृथिवीमन्त्रं ॥ Of stems ending in र we have गीर्वाण्, धूर्वाण्, आशीर्वाण् ॥

अनो तुद् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, तुद् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसीति वर्तते ऽनन्तादुत्तरस्य मतोर्गुडागमो भवति छन्दासि विषये ॥

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

As अक्षप्वन्तः कर्णवन्तः सखायः; अस्थन्वन्तं यदनस्था बिभर्ति (Rig. I. 164. 4), अक्षप्वता लाङ्गलेन; क्षीर्षिष्वती, मूर्धन्वती ॥

The word अक्षप्वन्त is thus formed: अक्षि + मत्तुप् = अक्ष् + अन् + मत् (अनङ् is substituted for the final of akshi by VII. 1. 76) = अक्षमत् (the न् is elided by VIII. 2. 7). Now we add the augment तुद् ॥ If this augment is added to मत्तुप्, as मत्तुप् then it becomes a *portion* of मत्तुप्, and this न् would be changed to ञ् by VIII. 3. 9 read with I. 1. 54, and not the letter न्, because न् intervenes. If we add this augment to the end of the stem, then in अक्षप्वता &c. we cannot change it to ञ् because of the prohibition in VIII. 4. 37, and the augment being तुक्, the न् would be changed to रु by VIII. 3. 7 in सुपायिन्तरः &c (VIII. 2. 17). The first view, however, is the correct one and the difficulty in its acceptance is obviated by तुदोऽसिद्धत्वात् तस्य च वस्यं न भवति; ततः परस्य च भवति; as shown above.

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

नाद् घस्य ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नात्, घस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तादुत्तरस्य घसंज्ञकस्य गुडागमो भवति छन्दासि विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भूरिवाङ्गम् तुद्, वक्तव्यः ॥ वाः ॥ रयिन् ईकारान्तादेशो घे परतः ॥

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

The affixes तरप् and तमप् are called घ ॥ Thus सुपायिन् + तर = सुपायि + तर (VIII. 2. 7) = सुपायि + न्तर (VIII. 2. 17) = सुपायिन्तरः ॥ So also वस्युहन्तमः ॥

Vart.:—The augment तुद् is added to these affixes after भूरिवाङ्गम्; as भूरिवाङ्गतरः (III. 2. 74, the affix is वनिप्).

Vart.:—Long ई is the substitute of the final of रयिन् before तर and तम् ॥ The word रयिन् is formed by the affix इनि in the sense of मत्तुप् ॥ The final न् is first elided by VIII. 2. 7, and then for the short इ of रयि the long ई is substituted by the present vartika. If the long ई were substituted for the final न् of रयिन् as रयिई + तर, then this long ई being asiddha, it could not be compounded by ekādeśa with the preceding इ into ई, and the form would always remain रयिईतरः ॥ As रयीतरः, and रयीतमं रयीनाम् ॥ Or this ई may be considered to have come after एय in the sense of मत्तुप् ॥

कृपो रो लः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृपः, रः, लः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृपेर्लो रेफस्य लकारोऽपि भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कृपणकृपाणकृपीटकृपूरादयोऽपि कृपेरेव द्रष्टव्याः ॥

वा० ॥ बालमूलमसुरालमङ्गुलीनां वा रोऽन्मापद्यतइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ कपिलकाशीनां सहास्रान्वसोर्वा रो लमापद्यतइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

The र here merely indicates the sound, and includes both the single consonant र and the same consonant of the vowel ऋ ॥ So also with ल् ॥ So that for the single र there is substituted ल्; and for र when a portion of ऋ, the ल् is substituted, i. e. ऋ becomes ल् ॥ Thus कृप् = कृल्, as in the sūtra लुटि च कृल् (I. 3. 93). कल्पा, कल्पायै, कल्पायः ॥ कृल्पायः, कृल्पायान् ॥

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

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

Vart.—Optionally so of बाल &c. As, बालः or बारः, मूलम् or मूरम्, लघु रघु, असुरः or असुलः, अलम् or अरम्, अङ्गुलिः or अङ्गुरिः ॥

Vart.—Optionally so in the Vedas, or when names, of कपिलका &c, as कपिरकः or कपिलकः, तिल्पिलीकम् or तिल्पिरीकम्, लोमाणि or रोमाणि, पांशुरं or पांशुलं, कर्म or कल्म, शुक्रः or शुक्लः, कल्मषं, कर्मषं ॥

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

उपसर्गस्यायतौ ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गस्य, अयतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयतौ परत उपसर्गस्य यो रेकस्तस्य लकार अ. र. ॥ भवति ॥

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

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

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

with regard to the above forms. But then would arise a fresh difficulty, for the र of प्रति would also require to be changed into ल ॥ Some say, that प्रति is never followed by अयति; while others hold that the form प्रत्ययते (प्रति + अयते) is valid. According to the first view, the valid form is प्रत्ययते ॥ The स् of the Prepositions हुस् and निस् is changed to र्, but this र् is not changed to ल, because it is asiddha: thus we have the forms निरयणम्, दुरयणम् ॥ But there is a preposition निर् also the र् of which is changed to ल, as निलयणम् ॥ See VII. 2. 46. According to the Siddhānta Kaumudī, there is a Preposition दुर also, which gives दुरयते ॥

प्रो यङि ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रः, यङि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गृ इत्येतस्य धातो रेफस्य लकार आदेशो भवति यङि परतः ॥

20. ल is substituted for the र of गृ in the Intensive.

Thus निजेगिष्यते, निजेगिष्यते, निजेगिष्यन्ते ॥ The root गृ takes बह्, when the sense of contempt is conveyed, with regard to the action denoted by the root, (III. 1. 24). गर्हितं गिलति = जेगिष्यते ॥

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

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

अचि विभाषा ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजादौ प्रत्यये परतो यो रेफस्य विभाषा लकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

In निगार्यते or निगाल्यते, the elision of णि is considered sthānivad, and hence this option, though the actual affix begins with य ॥ Obj.—The sthānivad-bhāva rule is invalid here by VIII. 2. 1. Ans. The rule पूर्वाभासिद्धं does not hold good with regard to the rules of संयोगादिलोप, लस्य and णस्य on the maxim "तस्य शेषः संयोगादिलोपलस्यणस्येषु" ॥

Or the र will be first changed to ल, as being antaraṅga, and then the णि will be elided.

The forms गिरौ, गिरः are either from the Kryādi root grī, or /-change has not taken place on the maxim धातोः स्वरूपमहणे तत्प्रत्यये विज्ञानम् and as the

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

परेश्च घाङ्कयोः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः, च, घ-अङ्कयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परि इत्येतस्य यो रेफस्तस्य घञ्छे ऽङ्कश्छे च परतो विभाषा लकार आदेशो भवति ॥

वर्तकम् ॥ योगं चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

As परिघः or पलिघः, पर्यङ्कः or पल्यङ्कः ॥ The word घ here means the word-form घ, and not the technical घ of तरप् and तमप् ॥ See III. 3. 84 by which हन् is replaced by घ ॥

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

संयोगान्तस्य लोपः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संयोगान्तस्य, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगान्तस्य पदस्य लोपो भवति ॥

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

As गोमान्, यवमान्, कृतवान् and हतवान् ॥ In भेयान्, भूयान्, the ह though subsequent in order, does not prevent the operation of this rule, because it is asiddha (VIII. 2. 66). Thus भेयस् + स् = भेयन्स् + स् (VII. 1. 70), = भेयन्स् (VI. 1. 68) = भेयन् (VIII. 2. 66) = भेयन् (VIII. 2. 23) = भेयान् (VI. 4. 8). But though the ह्त्व does not debar lopa, it debars the जश् change. By VIII. 2. 39, the final स् required to be changed to a letter of जश् class; ह् prevents it. As यद्यः, पयः ॥

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

In ह्यञ् and मध्यञ् formed from हृदि + अञ् and मधु + अञ्, by changing ह् and उ to य् and व्, we have ह्यञ् + अञ् and मध्यञ् + अञ्, where य् and व् are final in a pada, and so they require to be elided. It is, however, not done, because यञ् substitution is a Bahiranga operation, as it depends upon two words and consequently, is considered asiddha for the purposes of this rule, which depends on one word only.

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

रात्सस्य ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्, सस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगान्तपरस्य यो रेफस्तस्मादुत्तरस्यान्यस्य सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

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

Thus अक्षाः and अस्ताः for अक्षार्स् and अस्तार्स् the Aorist of अक्ष् and अस् in the following passages: गोभिरक्षाः, प्रत्यङ्मस्ताः ॥ The ईद् is not added as a Vedic diversity. See VII. 3. 97.

So also मातुः, पितुः for मातुर्स् and पितुर्स् ॥ Here by VI. 1. 111, the ऋ + अ of मातु + अस् is changed to ऋ, which is followed by र् by I. 1. 51.

Though the final स् would have been elided even after र् by VIII. 2. 23, the special mention of स् after र् shows, that this is a *niyama* rule. So that any other letter than स् following after र् will not be dropped. Thus कर्क् from कर्क् + क्विप् (III. 2. 177), here क् is not elided, though final in a pada, but is changed to a guttural by VIII. 2. 30, and to क् by VIII. 4. 56. Also अमाद् from अम् in लङ् the तिप् (त्) is elided by VI. 1. 18; there is *vṛddhi* by VII. 2. 114, the ऋ is changed to ए by VIII. 2. 36, which is changed to इ VIII. 4. 53 and finally to इ (चर्) ॥

धि च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ धि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धकारादौ प्रत्यये परतः सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

Kārikā:—धि सकारे सिचो लोपश्चकाङ्क्षीति प्रयोजनम् ।

आशाध्वं तु कथं ज्ञात्वा सकारस्य भविष्यति ॥

सर्वमेवं प्रसिद्धं स्याच्छ्रुतिश्चापि न विद्यते ।

लृङ्भापि न मूर्धन्ये ग्रहणं सेटि दुष्यति ॥

यसिभसोर्न सिध्येत तस्मात्सिङ्ग्रहणं न तत् ।

छान्दसो वर्णलोपो वा बोधेष्कर्त्तारमन्वरे ॥

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

As अलविध्वम्, अलविद्धम्, अपविध्वम्, अपविद्धम् for अलविस्वम् and अपविस्वम् ॥ Had this स् (of सिच्) not been elided; then स् would be first changed to ष, and then to a letter of जष् class (VIII. 4. 53), ध् would never be heard even optionally, though so required by VIII. 3. 79, but the forms would be always with ष, as अलविष्वम् &c. ॥

From an *ishṭi*, the elision of स् is confined to the स् of the Aorist सिच्, and not to any other स् ॥ Thus स् is not elided in चकाङ्क्षि in चकाङ्क्षि पलितं शिरः (हे शिरः पलितं सच् चकाङ्क्षि शोभस्वेत्यर्थः). It is the Imperative of चकास् the सिप् is changed to हि, and हि to धि (VI. 4. 101), and स् to इ by VIII. 4. 53. Similarly it does not apply to पयस् धावति, where स is changed to इ and then to उ (VI. 1. 114)

=पयो धावति ॥ The elision of स् in सग्धिः from घस् with क्तिन्, and in बह्वास् from भस् in the Imperative with तास्, is a Vedic diversity. But according to Patanjali चक्राधि is the proper form; while in पयो धावति the antaranga इ debars this bahi-
raṅga स् elision.

Obj.—If so, how do you form आघ्राध्वं, by the elision of स् of घास्; for स् would not be elided? Ans.—The स् is not here elided but changed to जश् letter, by VIII. 2. 39. Obj. If so, स् may always be changed to जश् letter, and there is no need of eliding it; in pronouncing, it will make no difference, whether you pronounce with one consonant or two, e.g. आघ्राध्वं or आघ्राध्वं ॥ Moreover by so doing, you will shorten the sūtra VIII. 3. 78, by omitting the word लुङ् from it. For the forms like अघ्नोऽङ्गु, अघ्नोऽङ्गु, will be evolved regularly by changing स् of सिष् to ष; and the ध after it will be changed to ङ, and then ष changed to ङ् by जश्त्व (VIII. 4. 53). Ans.—So far it will be all right, but in सेद् Aorist we shall never get the alternative forms अलविष्ण्व् &c, though we may get the form अलविङ्ग्व् (VIII. 3. 79). Therefore, the word सिष् should be taken.

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

[N. B.—The word सग्धिः is generally thus derived; अद् + क्तिन् = घस् + ति (II. 4. 39) = घस् + ति (VI. 4. 100) = ष + ति (VIII. 2. 26). Had the present rule been confined to सिष्, the स् could not have been elided by VIII. 2. 26. See VI. 4. 100, where these two forms are developed]. Or we may explain these forms as Vedic irregularity, by which letters are sometimes dropped, and so घस् and भस् have lost their स् ॥ That letters are sometimes dropped in the Chhandas, we see in passages like the following इष्कस्तरिमध्वरे for निष्कस्तरिमध्वरे; तुभ्येदमग्ने for तुभ्यमिदमग्ने; आम्बानां चरुः for नाम्बानां चरुः; अव्याधिनी रुगणः or अव्याधिनीः सुगणाः ॥

The above discussion is summarised in the following

Kārikā.—विसर्गरे सिचोलीपचक्राद्धीति प्रयोजनम्, "This rule is confined to the elision of the स् of सिष् only, for the sake of preserving the स् in चक्राद्धि" ॥

आघ्राध्वं तु कथं? जश्त्वं सकारस्त्व भाविष्यति ॥ "How then do you form आघ्राध्वं by the elision of स्? The स् is not elided but changed to a जश् letter".

सर्वमेवं प्रसिद्धं स्थाप्, छुति अपि न विधत्ते । लुङ्छापि न मूर्धन्ये ग्रहणं सेदि दुष्यति ॥ " If this be so, then let जश् come every where, for there is no difference in sound, moreover this will shorten VIII. 3. 78 by omitting the word लुङ् from it. The जश् cannot come every where, as the difficulty will be in सेद् Aorist". घसि भसोर्न सिञ्चेत, तस्मात् सिष् ग्रहणं न तत् । " The forms सग्धिः and बह्वास् could not be formed

from चस् and भस् if the elision of स् were confined to सिच्. Hence सिच् should not be read into this sūtra."

छान्दसो वर्णलोपो वा यथेष्टकृत्तारमध्वरे " The elision of स् in सग्धिः and बभूवां will be explained as a Vedic anomaly, for letters are often dropped in Vedic forms, as in इष्कृत्तारमध्वरे instead of निष्कृत्तारमध्वरे ॥"

झलो झलि ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ झलो, झलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झल उच्चरस्य सकारस्य झलि परतो लोपो भवति ॥

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

Thus अभिस् for अभिस्त्, अभिस्थाः for अभिस्त्याः ॥ So also अञ्चित्, अञ्चिस्थाः, अवात्ताम्, अवात् ॥ The last example may also be explained by VII. 4. 49; the elision of the स् of सिच् being considered as asiddha, the स् of the root is changed to त् ॥

Why do we say 'of a *jhal* consonant'? Observe अमस्त् and अमस्त्याः ॥ Why do we say followed by a *jhal* consonant? Observe अभिस्तात्ताम्, अभिस्तत् ॥

The स् of this sūtra refers also to the स् of सिच्; no other स् is elided. As सोममस्रत् स्तोता; द्यवत् स्यान् ॥ Here the स् of स्तोता and स्यान्, though preceded by a *jhal* letter स्, could never be elided as they do not form portion of *one* word.

ह्रस्वादङ्गात् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वात्, अङ्गात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वान्तावङ्गादुच्चरस्य सकारस्यलोपो भवति झलि परतः ॥

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

As अकृत्; अहयाः ॥ Why do we say after a short vowel stem? Observe अच्योष्ट, अष्टोष्ट ॥ Why do we say 'after a stem'? Observe अकृयाः, अलाविष्टाम्, अलाविष्टुः अपाविष्टाम् and अपाविष्टुः ॥ Why do we say "before an affix beginning with a *jhal*"? Observe अकृषाताम्, अकृषत् ॥

This lopa is also of the सिच्, therefore not here हिष्टां, हिष्टाम् ॥ Here to the word हि is added the affix झच् (V. 4. 18), and then the comparative affixes त्तर and त्वन् with आम् (V. 4. 11). This स् is not dropped.

इट ईदि ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इटः, ईदि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इट उच्चरस्य सकारस्य लोपो भवति ईदि परतः ॥

28. The स् is dropped after the augment इद्, if after this स् the augment ईद् follows.

Thus the Aorist-stem of हृ is अलाविस् (III. 1. 44; VII. 2. 35), the Personal ending त् gets the augment ईद् by VII. 3. 96; and by the present

sūtra, this स् between इ and ई is dropped, and we have अलावीन्; so also, अवावीन्, असेवीन्, अकोषीन्, अमोषीन् ॥

Why do we say 'after the augment इद्' ? Observe अकार्षीन्, अहर्षीन् ॥
Why when the augment ईद् follows ? Observe अलाविष्टात् अलाविष्टुः ॥

स्कोः संयोगाद्योरन्ते च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्कोः, संयोग-आद्योः, अन्ते, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पश्यन्ते यः संयोगः इति परतो वा संयोगस्तशयोः सकारककारयोर्लोपो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ इति सङ्गीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

A conjunct consonant, having स् or क as its first member, when coming at the end of a Pāda, or when followed by a jhal beginning affix, loses its स् or क् ॥ Thus from the root लृङ् we have लग्नः and लग्नवान् before the jhal affix त् and त्वन्; the substitution of न् for त् is considered asiddha for this purpose (VIII. 2. 1). So also साधुलक् at the end of a Pāda. Similarly मग्नः मग्नवान्, साधुमक् from मृङ् ॥ So also with initial क्, as तद् from तृप्; so also तटः, तटवान्, काष्ठतद् ॥

Vārt.—It should be rather stated that "before a jhal affix included in the pratyāhāra सङ्" ॥ The सङ् is a pratyāhāra formed with the स of सङ् (III.1.5) and the ङ् of नदिङ् (III. 4. 78). It thus includes all the kṛit affixes, and dhātu affixes i. e. affixes which come after a *verb* and not the Taddhita or the Feminine affixes. This Vārtika applies to all the preceding sūtras of this sub-division and is of use in the following places.

गिरौऽभोधिर्द्विरां च ह्यस्यः काष्ठशक्स्थिरः । कुञ्जाद्युयेति ना स्तौषु सत्वाशीनि भवन्ति ॥

So that in गिरः there should not be the optional ल् by VIII. 2. 21. In अभोधिः, the स् of अभस् is not elided before धि as required by VIII. 2. 25. In द्विरां the rule VIII. 2. 27 does not apply. In ह्यस्यः the rule VIII. 2. 26 does not apply. In काष्ठशक्स्थिरः the rule VIII. 2. 29 is non-applicable. In कुञ्जा the rule VIII. 2. 30 does not apply. In द्युयेः (धुरं वहति) there is not lengthening by VIII. 2. 77. Thus काष्ठशक्स्थात् ॥ Here क् would require to be elided as initial in a consonant, followed by a jhal consonant य ॥ काष्ठशक् is formed by adding क्तिप् to शक् ॥ But according to Patanjali, there can be formed no valid word from शक् with क्तिप्, *a fortiori*, no such word can be formed as काष्ठशक्स्थात् (काष्ठशक्ति तिष्ठति).

In वास्वर्यम्, काक्वर्यम्, the स् and क् are not elided, because व् is a Bahir-anga substitute and asiddha, and the word वास्व काक्व are not considered as Pāda, ending in a conjunct consonant.

Why do we say "of स् and क्" ? Observe नर्नसि, वर्नसि ॥

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

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

चोः कुः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ चोः, कुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्गस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति इति परतः पदान्ते च ॥

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

Thus वक्त, वक्तु, वक्तव्य and औदनपक् from पच् ॥ Similarly वक्त, वक्तव्य, वक्तव्य and वाक् ॥

In कुञ्च् the feminine in दाप् of कुञ्च् (कुङ्) by IV. 1. 4 list, the अ a palatal is followed by च् a jhal letter, and therefore, it should be changed to a guttural. It is not so, because Pāṇini himself uses this word, in this form, in sūtra III. 2. 59. Or because the rule is confined to सङ् affixes only. Or the root is कुञ्च् without इ and with a penultimate न्, and not अ as we find in Dhātu-pāṭha कुञ्च् कौटिल्याल्पी भाष्योः (Bhu. 200). With the elision of न् we have निकृषितः before the क्तिन् affix (VI. 4. 24) कृषितः in Past Part. and अचोक्तु ॥ In निकृषितम् we cannot have the optional क्तिन् of the Nishṭhā by I. 2. 21, because the elision of the penultimate न् by VI. 4. 24 preceded on the basis of the affix being क्तिन्, thus कुञ्च् + क्त = कुञ्च् + त ॥ This elision of न्, will not make the root उदुपधा for the purposes of the application of rule I. 2. 21, on the maxim समिपातलक्षणे विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विधातस्य ॥ In fact, one of the reasons on which this maxim is based, is this very fact, that the elision of न् does not make the root उदुपधा for the purposes of making the affix non-क्तिन् ॥ The affix क्तिन् takes the augment इद् under VII. 2. 9 (vārt). The word कुङ् is formed from this root by क्तिन् affix (III. 2. 59): the final च् is first elided by VIII. 2. 23, and then अ is changed to इ by VIII. 2. 62. The rule VI. 4. 24 thus finds no scope here.

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

हो ढः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, ढः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हकारस्य ढकारदेशो भवति इति परतः पदान्ते च ॥

31. ढ is substituted for ह before a jhal letter and at the end of a word.

Thus सोढ, सोढु, सोढव्य ॥ The इद् is not added by VII. 2. 48, जलापाद्, नुरापाद् by णि (III. 2. 63, VI. 3. 137 and VIII. 3. 56) षोढ, षोढु, षोढव्य, प्रषाद्, वित्याद् (III. 2. 64) from सङ् and वङ्, with the affixes नृ, तु, त्व, लिप् and णि ॥ For the नृ of these affixes there is substituted ष by VIII. 2. 40, and this ष is changed to ढ by VIII. 4. 41, before which is dropped the first ह by VIII. 3. 13. For the ढ in प्रषाद् either इ is substituted by VIII. 2. 39, or इ by VIII. 4. 56.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ हकारदेशोर्धातौ हकारस्य घकारदेशो भवति इति परतः पदान्ते ॥

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

For the final ह् of a ह्-beginning root, च is substituted under similar circumstances. As दग्धा, दग्धुच्, दग्धव्यच्, काष्ठधक्, शोग्धा, शोग्धुच्, शोग्धव्यच्, गोधुक्, from दृह् and दुह् ॥ For the त् of the affixes तृ &c. च is substituted by VIII. 2. 40, before which, the च becomes न् by VIII. 4. 53. For the च in काष्ठधक् is substituted न् by VIII. 2. 39, or क् by VIII. 4. 56, and दृ becomes ध् by VIII. 2. 37.

Why do we say "of a root beginning with ह्"? Observe लेढा, लेढुच्, लेढव्यच्, युडेलिद् ॥

The force of the genitive case in धातोः is not to make it in apposition with the word कृद्, but it has the force of denoting a part as related to the whole: so that it means "the word which begins with ह् and forms part of a root, for the ह् of such a part is substituted च." What does follow from it? The letter च is substituted in अघोच् also, which begins with अ ॥ For without the above explanation (धातोरावयवो यो राशिषाञ्चस्तदवयवस्य हकारस्य &c), the च would have come in examples like मास्म धोक्, without the augment अ, but not where there was the augment अ ॥ Moreover, that it is an अवयवयोगा यष्टी will appear necessary in sūtra VIII. 2. 37.

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

वा द्रुहमुहष्णुहष्णिहाम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, द्रुह, मुह, ष्युह, ष्णिहाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ न्ह द्रुह ष्युह ष्णिह इत्येतेषां धातूनां हकारस्य वा यकारादेशो भवति क्षलि परतः पशान्ते च ॥

33. The ह् of druh, muh, shpuh, and shṇih is optionally changed to च, before a jhal letter or at the end of a word.

Thus द्रुहः, श्रोधा Or श्रोग्धा, मिषधुक्, मिषधुद्, दृह, उन्मोग्धा, उन्मोहा, उन्मुक्, उन्मुद्, कुह, उत्मोग्धा, उत्मोहा, उत्सुक्, उत्सुद्, क्षिह, शोग्धा, शोहा, क्षिक्, क्षिद् ॥

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

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

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

नहो धः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नहः, धः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नहो हकारस्य धकारादेशो भवति झलि परे पदान्ते च ॥

34. The ह् of नह् is changed to ध before a jhal letter or at the end of a word.

As नञ्, नद्भुज, नञ्ज्यम्, उपानत्, परीजत् ॥ The त् of the affixes न् &c, is changed to ध by VIII. 2. 40; and for the preceding ध is substituted ह् by VIII. 4. 53. उपानत् is formed by VIII. 2. 39, read with VIII. 4. 56. परीजत् is formed by विज् as it belongs to सम्प्रसारि class, the lengthening is by VI. 3. 116, and ण-change by VIII. 4. 14. It would have shortened the processes of transformation, had only ह् been ordained in the sūtra, instead of ध; but the ordaining of ध is for the purposes of VIII. 2. 40, by which there should be ध for the participial त् &c, in नञ्ज्यम्, and that there should not be the change of this Nishṭhā त् into न् by VIII. 2. 42. Thus नध्+त=नध्+ध (VIII. 2. 40)=नद्धम् (VIII. 4. 53). But had the substitute been ह्, we should have नह्+त=नहन् by VIII. 2. 42.

आहस्थः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आहः, थः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहो हकारस्य थकारादेशो भवति झलि परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हमहो भेदछन्वति हस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

35. For the ह् of the root आह्, there is substituted थ before a jhal letter.

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

The word झलि is understood here. Hence there is no change before vowel affixes, as आह्, आह्वः, आहुः ॥

Vart.— In the Chhandas, न् is substituted for the ह् of ह् and मह् ॥ Thus गर्हणेन संभरति; मरुस्त्व गृह्णाति; सामिधेन्यो जग्धिरे, उद्दामाञ्च निमामञ्च ब्रह्म देवा भवीवृधन् ॥

ब्रह्मभस्त्रजसृजमृजयजराजभ्राजच्छशां थः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रह्म, भस्त्रज, सृज, मृज, यज, राज, भ्राज, छ, शाम्, थः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्रश्च भ्रश्ज सृज यज राज भाज इत्येतेषां छकारान्तानां शकारान्तानां च वकार आदेशो भवति झलि परतः पशन्ते च ॥

36. For the final consonants of vrasch, bhrasj, srij mrij, yaj, rāj, and bhrāj, and for the final छ and झ, there is substituted ञ before a *jhal* letter, or at the end of a word.

Thus व्रश्चः—व्रष्टा, व्रष्टुन्, व्रष्टव्यम् मूलवृद् ॥ भ्रष्टा । भ्रष्टुन् । भ्रष्टव्यम् । धानावृद् । सृज् । सृष्टा । सृष्टुन् । सृष्टव्यम् । रज्जुसृद् । यज । मार्या । मार्युम् । मार्यव्यम् । कंसपरिवृद् । यज । यष्टा । यष्टुन् । यष्टव्यम् । उपयद् । राज् । सम्राट् । स्वराट्, विराट्, विभाट् ॥ The छ ending words would have been changed to जश्-letters and the others to Gutturals; this sūtra debaras that by ordaining वृ ॥ In मूलवृद् and धानावृद् there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 16, the स् is elided by VIII. 2. 19, and व becomes जश्-letter ज्, which becomes र् by VIII. 4. 56. The word शब्दमाट् is formed by विश्व्, there is lengthening and no vocalisation.

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

Of roots ending in छ we have मृच्छः—मृष्टा, मृष्टुन्, मृष्टव्यम्, शब्दमाट् ॥ According to one view, the letter छ should not be mentioned in this sūtra: for by VI. 4. 19, छ is always changed to ञ, and this ञ will be changed to व by the present sūtra. Others hold, that the change of छ to ञ by VI. 4. 19 is confined before क्तिन् or ङिन् affixes, and therefore the mention of छ is necessary in this sūtra; moreover the ञ substitution here, and the व substitution in VI. 4. 19. refer to the conjunct letter च्छ (with the augment तुक्). For if it were not so, then छ alone being changed to ञ, the त् of तुक् would be changed to इ, and we should have पृट् instead of पृष्टः ॥

Of roots ending in ज् we have लिज्—लेष्टा, लेष्टुन्, लेष्टव्यम्, लिट्; विश्—वेष्टा, वेष्टुन्, वेष्टव्यम्, विट् ॥

एकाचो वशो भश् झषन्तस्य रुध्वोः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक-अचः, वशः, भश्, झष-अन्तस्य, स्, ध्वोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरेवयवो य एकाच् झषन्तः तद्वयवस्य वशः स्थाने भश् आदेशो भवति झलि सकारे ध्वषण्ये च परतः पशन्ते च ॥

37. For the letters व, ग, ङ or ण in the beginning of a monosyllable, and belonging to a root, and which ends in झ, भ, घ, ढ or ध, there is substituted म, घ, ढ or ध respectively, before स or ष्व, or at the end of a pada (word).

Thus from वृध्—भोत्स्यन्ते, अमुष्यन् and अर्यमुन्; from सुह्—नि घोक्ष्यते न्यमुन्, पर्णमुद् ॥ सुह् becomes सुह् by VIII. 2. 31, and thus it is a root ending in. jhash.

From दुह्—(which becomes दुष् by VIII. 2. 32, and thus is a jhash ending root) धोदयते अनुगच्छन्, गोघृक् ॥

So also from गृध् we have अजर्घाः the 2nd Person. Sing. Imperfect (लङ्) Intensive (yañ luk). There is guṇa of ऋ, the स् (of सिप् 2nd Pers. Sing.) is elided (VI. 1. 68), and we have अजर्घर्, and for the letter ग of the monosyllabic root, ञ is substituted by the present aphorism. अजर्घर् ॥ Then the final ष् is changed to ह्, अजर्घर्ह् (VIII. 2. 39). Then ह् is changed to र् by VIII. 2. 75, अजर्घर्ह् ॥ Then the first र् is elided अजर्घर्ह् (VIII. 3. 14). Then there is lengthening by VI. 3. 111, and we have अजर्घाः ॥

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

Why do we say “a monosyllable beginning with वश् and ending with हश्?” Observe दामलिह् from the Denominative root दामलिह् ॥ For had एकावः not been employed in the sūtra, the word धातोः (VIII. 2. 32) would have qualified वश्: and the sūtra would have meant “in a root which ended in a jhash, and which contained a वश् letter as its member; there is jhash substitution for such वश्”, and the ह् of दामलिह् would be changed then.

Why do we say “for a वश् letter”? Observe कुध्—क्रोस्वति here क is not changed to ष ॥ Why do we say ending in jhash? Observe शस्वति ॥ Why before स and ष्व ? Observe बोद्धा, बोद्धुम्, बोद्धव्यम् ॥

Why have we taken ष्व and not merely ष ? Observe शस्वति from इष् in the बह् लुक्, Imperative 2nd Per. singular, the षि being changed to धि (VI. 4. 101). The substitutes are four भ, ष, ढ and ध, and their respective sthānins are also four, i. e. ब, ग, ङ and द; so that ढ is the substitute of ढ; but, as a matter of fact, ढ never so stands at the beginning of a monosyllable, and so there is no ढ substitution.

दधस्तथोच्च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दधः, त, थोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दध इति दधातिः कृतद्विषयनो निर्दिश्यते । तस्य झलन्तस्य वसः स्थाने भश् आदेशो भवति तकार-
थकारयोः परतन्त्रकारान् स्थाने परतः ॥

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

The word दध is taken in the sūtra as the reduplicated form of धा दधाति and not the root दध धारणे of Bhuādi class, as दध् intervenes there. By the word च we draw in the words स and ष्व ॥ Thus धत्तः, धत्वा, धत्से, धत्स्व, धध्वम् ॥ By the express injunction of this sūtra, the elided भ is not

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

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

The word *jhash* is understood here also, therefore the rule applies to *क्षक्ष* then only, when it assumes the form of *क्षक्ष*, by the elision of *क्ष*; and hence not here *क्षक्षति* ॥

क्षलां जशोन्ते ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षलां, जशः, अन्ते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षलां अक्ष आदेशा भवन्ति पक्ष्यान्ते वर्त्तमानानाम् ॥

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

As *क्षक्ष* *क्षक्ष*, *क्षक्ष* *क्षक्ष*, *क्षक्ष* *क्षक्ष* ॥ The word *क्षक्षि* is formed by changing the *क्ष* of *क्षक्ष* to *क्ष* first, and then changing this *क्ष* to *क्ष*, a *jaś*-letter.

The word *अन्त* 'at the end' is used in the *sūtra* to indicate that the *anuvṛtti* of *क्षलि* ceases. Thus *क्षस्ता*, *क्षस्तुम्*, *क्षस्तव्यम्* ॥

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

क्षक्षस्तथोर्द्धो ऽधः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षक्षः, त-थोः, धः, अधः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षक्ष उत्तरयोस्तकारयकारयो स्थाने धकार आदेशो भवति ॥

40. *क्ष* is substituted for *क्ष* or *क्ष* coming after *क्षक्ष*, *क्षक्ष*, *क्षक्ष* or *क्षक्ष* (*jhash*), but not after the root *क्षक्ष* (*क्षक्ष*) ॥

Thus from *क्षक्ष* we have *क्षक्षक्ष*, *क्षक्षक्षक्ष*, *क्षक्षक्षक्षक्ष*, *क्षक्षक्षक्षक्षक्ष* ॥

The *क्ष* of *क्षक्ष* is changed to *क्ष* by VIII. 4. 53. From *क्षक्ष*:—*क्षक्षक्ष*, *क्षक्षक्षक्ष*, *क्षक्षक्षक्षक्ष*, *क्षक्षक्षक्षक्षक्ष* ॥ The *क्ष* is changed to *क्ष* by VIII. 2. 32, and then it is changed to *क्ष* by VIII. 4. 53.

From लिङ्:—लेढा, लेढुम्, लेढव्यम्, अलीढ, अलीढाः ॥ In लेङ् &c, the ङ is changed to ढ by VIII. 2. 31, and ष changed to ढ by VIII. 4. 41, before which the preceding ङ is elided by VIII. 3. 13.

From बुध्:—बोद्धा, बोद्धुम्, बोद्धव्यम्, अडुज, अडुजाः ॥ For the ध of बुध् there is substituted ङ by VIII. 4. 53.

Why do we say "but not after the root धा"? Observe धत्तः, धत्थः ॥

षढोः कः सि ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ षढोः, कः, सि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारवकारयोः ककारदेशो भवति सकारे परतः ॥

41. क is substituted for ष or ढ before स ॥

Thus for ष of विष् we have विवेक्ष्यते, अविक्ष्यत्, विविक्षति ॥ For ढ of लिङ् (लिङ् VIII. 2. 31) we have लेङ्क्षति, अलेङ्क्षत्, लिङ्क्षति ॥

For the स of the affix ल्य &c, is substituted ष by VIII. 3. 59.

Why do we say "before स"? Observe पिनष्टि, लेष्टि ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफवकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकार आदेशो भवति । पूर्वस्य चवकारस्य ॥

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

After र:—भास्तीर्णम्, विस्तीर्णम्, विशीर्णम्, निगीर्णम्, अवगुर्णम् ॥

After द्:—भिन्नः, भिन्नवान्, छिन्नः, छिन्नवान् from भिद् and छिद् ॥

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

Why do we say "of the Participial suffix"? Observe कर्त्ता, हर्त्ता ॥

Why do we say "for the त्त"? Observe चरितम्, हरितम् ॥ Here the त्त of the Nishṭhā does not follow *immediately* after र, the augment इद् intervenes.

Why do we say "of the preceding"? The succeeding द् will not be changed. As भिन्नवद्भ्याम्, भिन्नवद्भिः ॥

In the word कर्त्तिः the descendant of कृतः the त्त of Nishṭhā is immediately preceded by र्, but no change has taken place, because the Vṛiddhi, by which कृ is changed to कार्, is Bahiranga and consequently asiddha, and for the purposes of न change, the र् so obtained is invalid.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगादिर्बो धातुराकारान्तो बन्वान् तस्मादुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus from ह्रा we have प्रह्राणः, प्रह्राणवान् ॥ ग्लानः, ग्लानवान् from ग्ल ॥ These roots ह्रा and ग्ल end in आ, have a conjunct consonant in the beginning, one of which is a semi-vowel र and ल ॥

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

Why do we say "ending in आ"? Observe व्युतः, व्युतवान्; प्लुतः, प्लुतवान् ॥

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

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

त्वादिभ्यः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लृ-आदिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लृप् छेदने इत्येतत्प्रशस्ति वृ वरण इति यावत् वृत्करणेन समापिता त्वादयो गृह्यन्ते । तेभ्य उत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ लृकारस्त्वादिव्यः निम्ननिष्ठावर्णवर्तीति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ दुग्धोर्दीर्घाद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ पूमा विनाश इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ सिनेतेर्मासकर्मकर्तृकस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

These roots belong to Kryādi class, and commence from लृप् छेदने (IX. 13) and end with वृ वरणे (IX. 32).

Thus लूनः, लूनवान्, धूनः, धूनवान्, जीनः, जीनवान् from ज्या the vocalisation is by VI. 1. 16.

Vart:—After a root ending in लृ or लृ and after a root of Luādi class, the त of the affix क्तिन् is changed to न्, like as in Nishṭhā. Thus कीर्णिः, गीर्णिः, क्षीर्णिः, लूनिः, पूनिः ॥ These are from कृ (IX. 26), गृ (IX. 28), क्षृ (IX. 18), लृ and पूम् ॥

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

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

Vart:—The same change takes place after the root सि बन्धने of Svādi class (2) when used in a Reflexive sense of becoming a morsel fit for swallowing. As सितौ मासः स्वयमेव i.e. where a morsel by being mixed with curd, condiments &c, becomes rounded of itself, there this form is used. बन्धमानः पिण्डीक्रियमाणो मासो, यदा दध्वादिष्यञ्जन यद्येन तथानुकूल्यं प्रतिपद्यते तदाऽयम् प्रयोगः ॥ But

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

ओदितश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओदितः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओकारेण धातो रुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus ओलृञ्जी—लृञ्, लृञ्वाङ्, ओविञ्जी—उङ्गिञ्, उङ्गिञ्वाङ् ॥ ओप्यायी वृद्धोः—आ-पीनः, आ पीनवान् ॥

The roots सूङ् प्राणिप्रसवे (Div. 24) &c. are considered as ओदित् ॥ Thus, सूङ्, सूङ्वाङ्; वृङ्—वृङ्, वृङ्वाङ्; वीङ्—वीनः, वीनवान्; उीङ्—उीनः, उीनवान्; धीङ्—धीनः, धीनवान्; मीङ्—मीनः, मीनवान्; रीङ्—रीणः, रीणवान्, लीङ्—लीनः, लीनवान्, त्रीङ्—त्रीणः, त्रीणवान् ॥

क्षियो दीर्घात् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षियः, दीर्घात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षियो धातोर्दीर्घादुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus क्षीणाः क्लेशाः; क्षीणो जाल्मः; क्षीणस्तपस्वी ॥ The vowel of क्षि is lengthened by VI. 4. 60 and 61.

Why do we say 'when the vowel is lengthened'? Observe अक्षितमसि नामेक्षेष्टाः ॥ The word अक्षितं is formed with क्त in the sense of भाव and means 'imperishable'. The Nishṭhā being added in the sense of ण्यत्, there is no lengthening of the vowel by VI. 4. 60.

The root क्षि includes the two roots क्षि क्षये and क्षि निवासगलौः ॥ As क्षितः कानो मया ॥ See also the commentary of Śāyana on अक्षितोतिः सनेष्टिं वाज्रमिन्द्रः सष्टक्षिपं ॥ (Rig I. 5. 9).

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

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

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

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

इयो ऽस्पर्शो ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इयः, अ-स्पर्शो ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इया-तेरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्यास्पर्शे नकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus शीनं घृतम्, शीनो मेघः, शीना वसा; but शीतं वर्तते, शीतो वायुः, शीतशुक्लम् ॥ The इ of इया is vocalised to ई by VI. 1. 24.

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

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

अञ्चो ऽनपादाने ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अञ्चः, अन्-अपादाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्चतेरुत्तरपदस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति न चेत्पादानं तच्च भवति ॥

48. The Nishṭhâ त is changed to न, after अञ्च्, but not when it is in connection with an Ablative case.

Thus समकौ शकुनेः पादौ = सङ्गतौ; तस्मात् पशवो न्यक्ताः ॥

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

The word व्यक्तम् is from the root अञ्च् व्यक्तिसंज्ञा कान्तिगतिषु, and not from the root अञ्च्; and hence the Nishṭhâ is not changed.

द्विषो ऽविजिगीषायाम् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषः, अ-विजिगीषायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विष उच्यते निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति अविजिगीषायामर्थे ॥

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

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

Thus आष्टनः, = औशरिकः, परिष्टनः = शीणः ॥ Why do we say. "when it does not mean to play"? Observe इष्टं वर्तते ॥ Here the throwing of dice is with the desire of winning or gaining victory (vijigishā) over the opponent.

निर्वाणो ऽवाते ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ निर्वाणः, अ-वाते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वाण इति निस्पृहातेरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारो निपात्यते । न चेद्वाताधिकरणो वात्यर्थो भवति ॥

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

The word निर्वाण is formed from the root वा, with the preposition निर् and the Participial affix क्त्वा ॥ Thus निर्वाणोऽग्निः, = उपस्थान्तः, निर्वाणः प्रदीपः, निर्वाणो भिक्षुः = उपरतः ॥

Why do we say when not meaning "the wind"? Observe निर्वातो वातः, निर्वातं वातेन ॥

In the sentences निर्वाणः प्रदीपो वातेन, निर्वाणोऽग्निर्वातेन, the न change has taken place, because the location of the verb वा is in the प्रदीप and अग्नि, and not in the वात, which is merely an Instrument. Hence the above vṛtti uses the words "if the sense of the verb वा does not govern वात in the locative case".

शुष्कः कः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुष्कः, कः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शुष्केर्जातोरुत्तरस्व निष्ठातकारस्व ककारदेशो भवति ॥

51. क is substituted for the Nishṭhā त after the root शुष् ॥

As शुष्कः, शुष्कवान् ॥

पचो घः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पचः घः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पचेर्जातोरुत्तरस्व निष्ठातकारस्व घकारदेशो भवति ॥

52. घ is substituted for the Nishṭhā त after the root पच् ॥

As पक्वः, पक्ववान् ॥

क्षायो मः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षायः, मः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेधातोरुत्तरस्व निष्ठातकारस्व मकारदेशो भवति ॥

53. म is substituted for the Nishṭhā त after the root क्षे ॥

Thus क्षामः, क्षामवान् ॥

प्रस्त्योन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्त्यः, अन्यत रस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वात् स्थायतेरुत्तरस्व निष्ठातकारस्वान्यतरस्यां मकारदेशो भवति ॥

54. म is optionally substituted for the Nishṭhā त, after the root स्त्यै preceded by प्र ॥

Thus प्रस्तीनः or प्रस्तीतः, प्रस्तीनवान् or प्रस्तीतवान् ॥ In the second alternative when न does not come, we first vocalise the root स्था into स्ती, and then add त्वा ॥ Had Samprasāraṇa not taken place first, then the Nishṭhā त्वा would have been changed to न after स्था by VIII. 2. 43. But when samprasāraṇa is

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

अनुपसर्गात्कुलक्षीबकुशोल्लाघाः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुपसर्गात्, कुल-क्षीब-कुश-
उल्लाघाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुल क्षीब कुश उल्लाघ इत्येते निपात्यन्ते न अनुपसर्गादुसरा भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उत्कुलसंकुलयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

The word कुल is derived from the root क्लिप्ता विचारणे the त् is changed to ल ॥ The change of क् to ल (VII. 4. 88) and the want of इद् augment (VII. 2. 16) are regular. The same change takes place before क्तवत् also, as कुलवान् ॥

The affix लृ is elided after the roots क्षीब्, कुष् and उल्-लृप्, and the augment इद् is prohibited; this is the irregularity in क्षीबः, कुशः and उल्लाघः ॥

Why do we say when not preceded by a Preposition? Observe प्रकुलः सुगमसः, प्रक्षीबितः, प्रकुशितः, प्रोल्लाधितः ॥ In the case of लृप्, prepositions other than उल् are prohibited.

Or the augment इद् is added, and then इल् is elided from क्षीबितः &c. See VIII. 2. 3 *vart.*

Vart.—The forms उत्कुलः and संकुलः should be enumerated. Here त् is changed to ल, though the root has taken a Preposition.

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

नुदविदोन्दब्राघ्राहीभ्यो अन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नुद, विद, उन्द, ब्रा,
घ्रा, हीभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नुद विद उन्द ब्रा घ्रा ही इत्येतेभ्य उकारस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकार आदेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

Kārikā.—येनेस्म विदितो निष्ठा विद्यतेर्विभ्र इष्यते ।

वित्तेर्विभ्रश्च वित्तश्च भोगे विभ्रश्च विन्दते ॥

56. The Nishṭhā त् may optionally be changed to न, after नुद, विद, उन्द, ब्रा, घ्रा, ही ॥

Thus नुनः or नुत्तः, विन्नः or वित्तः, सनुनः or सनुत्तः, ब्राणः or ब्रात्तः, घ्राणः or घ्रात्तः, हीणः or हीत्तः ॥

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

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

The Nishṭhā of विद्-वेत्ति of Adādi class is विदितः; (2) of विद्-विद्यते of Divādi class is विन्नः only; (3) of विद् of Tudādi is विन्नः; (4) of विद् of Rudhādi are both वित्तः and विन्नः ॥ The Tudādi विद् has also the form वित्तः in the sense of भोग by VIII. 2. 58.

न ध्याख्यापृमूर्च्छिमदाम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ध्या, ख्या, पृ, मूर्च्छि, मदाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ध्या ख्या पृ मूर्च्छि मद् इत्येतेषां निष्ठातकारस्य नकारदेशो न भवति ॥

57. The Nishṭhā त is not changed to न after ध्या, ख्या, पृ, मूर्च्छि and मद् ॥

Thus ध्यातः, ध्यातवान्, ख्यातः, ख्यातवान्, पूर्वः, पूर्ववान्, मूर्च्छः, मूर्च्छवान्, मत्तः, मत्तवान् ॥

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

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

वित्तो भोगप्रत्यययोः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वित्तः, भोग, प्रत्यययोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वित्त इति विदेशाभार्यादुत्तरस्य कस्य मत्वाभावो निपात्यते भोगे प्रत्ययं चाभिधेये ॥

58. The irregularly formed Participle वित्त denotes 'possessions' and 'renowned'.

This is derived from विद्-तु लभे of Tudādi class, the त is not changed to न though so required by VIII. 2. 42.

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

In the sense of 'renowned', we have वित्तोऽयं मनुष्यः "this man is renowned or famous". Here वित्तः = प्रतीतः ॥ प्रताडिते = प्रत्ययः ॥

Why do we say when having the sense of 'possessions' and 'famous'? Observe विन्नः ॥

मित्तं शकलम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मित्तम्, शकलम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मित्तमिति निपात्यते शकलं चेत्तद्वति ॥

59. The word मित्त is irregularly formed in the sense of 'a fragment, a portion'.

Thus मित्तं तिष्ठति, मित्तं प्रपतति ॥ This is synonymous with शकलम् ॥ The root-meaning of भिद् is not very manifest in this word, it may be taken as a rudhi word. The regular form is विन्नं under VIII. 2. 42.

ऋणमाधमर्ण्ये ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋणम्, आधमर्ण्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऋणमिति ऋइत्येतस्मादातोऽत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारो निपात्यते आधमर्ण्यविषये ॥

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

It is derived from ऋ, the त is changed to न ॥ The word अधमर्ण्य is compounded from अधम ऋणे "he who in a debt transaction holds a lower position"—

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

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

The word ऋण we use in sentences like ऋणे वृत्तिः, ऋणं धारयति ॥

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ नसत्त निषत्त अनुत्त प्रतूर्त्त सूर्त्त गूर्त्त इत्येतानि छन्दसि विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

61. In the Chhandas we have the following irregular Participles:—nasatta, nishatta, anutta, pratūrta, sūrta, gūrta.

The words नसत्त and निषत्त are derived from the root सद् preceded by न and नि, and there is not the न change of VIII. 2. 42. Thus नसत्तमञ्जसा ॥ In secular literature we have नसन्नम् ॥ So also निषत्तः in the Vedas, but निषण्णः in secular literature. The word अनुत्तः is from उन् with the negative अन् ॥ The option of VIII. 2. 56 does not apply here. As अनुत्तमा ते मधवम् (= अनुन्नम्) ॥ प्रतूर्त्तम् is from त्वर् or तूर्त्त, as प्रतूर्त्तं वाजिनम् (= प्रतूर्णम्) ॥ When it is derived from त्वर् then ऊर् is added by VI. 4. 20; and when from तूर्त्त then VI. 4. 21 is applied. सूर्त्त is from सु, the ऋ is changed to उ irregularly, as सूर्त्तागावः=सृतागावः ॥ गूर्त्त is from गूर्, as गूर्त्ता अघृतस्य (= गूर्णे) ॥

क्विप्प्रत्ययस्य कुः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्विन्, प्रत्ययस्य, कुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पठस्यति वर्त्तते । क्विप्प्रत्ययस्य सर्वत्र परान्ते कुत्वमिष्यते । क्विप्प्रत्ययो यस्माद्धातोः स क्विप्प्रत्ययः, तस्य परस्यालोन्त्यस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

Thus the roots **सृ** and **हृ** take **क्विप्** to form **सृक्** and **हृक्** nouns by III. 2. 59, 60. The guttural change will take place even when these roots are declined as verbs: as, **मानो अस्माक् मानो अस्माक्**, where **अस्माक्** and **अस्माक्** are the Aorist of **सृ** and **हृ** ॥ The augment **अद्** is not elided, though the **मा** is added (VI. 4. 75) as a Vedic diversity. The **इद्** augment also does not take place as a Vedic irregularity. The augment **अम्** is added by VI. 1. 58, and the vowel is lengthened by Vṛiddhi by VII. 2. 3. Thus **अद् + सृ + सिप् + सिप् = असृ** (VI. 1. 58) = **अस्माक्** (VII. 2. 3 and VIII. 2. 62). Other wise it would have been **सृ** by VIII. 2. 36. So also in **हृग्भां**, **हृग्भिः**, the **हृ** is changed to a guttural, though the noun **हृ** is a **क्विप्** formed noun and not formed by **क्विप्**; and this is so, because the verb **हृ** does take **क्विप्** also.

Obj. If this be so, there ought to be guttural change in **रञ्जुसृग्भां** from the root **सृ** with **क्विप्**? Ans. The guttural change however is not desired here.

In gutturalisation, **ज** is changed to **ग**, and **क्ष** to **ख**, which both become **क** by **वावसाने** (VIII. 4. 56)

नशोर्वा ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नशोः, वा ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ परस्येति वर्त्तते ॥ नशोः परस्य वा कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

Here the root **नश्** has taken **क्विप्** in denoting 'condition or state'; by considering it as belonging to **संप्रसारि** class.

जीवस्य नाशः = जीवनक् or जीवनद् ॥ The gutturalisation optionally debars the **ष** change of VIII. 2. 36. When the **ष** change takes place, this **ष** is changed to **हृ** by VIII. 2. 39 and VIII. 4. 56.

मोनो धातोः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मः, नः, धातोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मकारान्तस्य धातोः परस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनुनासिकस्य किङ्गलोः द्वितीतिदीर्घत्वम् ॥

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

As **प्रद्यान्, प्रतान्, प्रवान् ॥** These are formed by adding **क्विप्** to the roots **द्या**, **ता** and **वा** ॥ The lengthening takes place by VI. 4. 15. The **न्** being considered as asiddha is not elided.

Why do we say "of **न**-ending roots"? Observe **मिन्, छिन् ॥**

Why do we say "of a root"? Observe **इदम्, किम् ॥**

The word पदस्य is understood here also. So we have प्रतानो, प्रतानः where म is not at the end of a word.

म्वोश्च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ म, वोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारवकारयोश्च परतः मकारान्तस्य धातोर्नकारादेशो भवति ॥

65. न is substituted for the म of a root before the affixes beginning with म and च ॥

As अगन्म, अगन्म the Imperfect of गम्, as in the sentence अगन्म तमसः पारम् ॥ The णप् is elided as a Vedic diversity. So also जगन्वान् with क्वञ्च, the augment इद् is not added by the option allowed, owing to VII. 1. 68. This sūtra applies to those cases where the म is not at the end of a word, as it was in the last sūtra.

ससञ्जुषो रुः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, सञ्जुषोः, रुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारान्तस्य पदस्य सञ्जुष् इत्येतस्य च रुर्भवति ॥

66. For the final स् and for the ष् of सञ्जुष् is substituted रु, at the end of a word.

Thus अग्निरस्, वायुरस् ॥ So also सञ्जुर्कृषिभिः, सञ्जुर्वेभिः ॥ सञ्जुष् is derived from जुष् with the affix कृष् and the preposition सह which is changed to स in Bahuvrihi. The lengthening takes place by VIII. 2. 76. and the word means संप्रीतिः ॥ The रु is र्, but it should be distinguished from it. This secondary र् (or रु) undergoes a distinct and separate Sandhi change from that of the primary र् ॥

अवयाः श्वेतवाः पुरोडाश्च ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवयाः, श्वेतवाः, पुरोडाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवयाः श्वेतवाः पुरोडाः इत्येते निपात्यन्ते ॥

67. The same substitution takes place for the final of the Nominatives of अवयाः, श्वेतवाः and पुरोडाः ॥

The word अवयाः is from अव + यञ्; श्वेतवाः from श्वेत + वह् and पुरोडाः from पुरस् + दाष् ॥ The affix ण्विन् is added to the two latter by III. 2. 71. The word अवयाञ् is also formed by ण्विन् (III. 2. 72). Thus the three words श्वेतवाह्, पुरोडाह् and अवयाञ् are formed. These words take the affix ङस् before the Pada-terminations (See Vārtika to III. 2. 71). After having taken ङस्, the above forms अवयाः &c., are made in Nominative singular irregularly.

Why is this nipātana, when रु would have come by the last sūtra and the lengthening would have taken place by VI. 4. 14, of the words अववस्, श्वेतवस् and पुरोडस्? They are so exhibited here, for making them long in the Vocative singular also. For they could not have been lengthened in the Vocative singular, because VI. 4. 14 does not apply to it. Thus हे अवयाः, हे श्वेतवाः, हे पुरोडाः ॥

The word च shows that other forms, not enumerated, may also be included here under. As हे उक्त्याः ॥

अहन् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहन्नित्येतत्त्व पदस्य कर्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अहो रविधौ रूपरात्रिरयन्तरेषूपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

68. ह is also substituted for the न् of अहन् at the end of a Pada.

Thus अहोभ्याम्, अहोभिः ॥ The sūtra exhibits the form अहन् without the elision of न्, in order to indicate that there is not elision of न् ॥ As दीर्घाहो, निराचः, हे दीर्घाहोऽचेति ॥ See Vārtika to VIII. 2. 7. The न् of अहन् is not changed to र् in the sūtra by VIII. 2. 69, because it is intended to show the word-form अहन् ॥ The Nominal stem is Pada in the above examples by I. 4. 17.

Vārti:—Before the words रूप, रात्रि and रयन्तर, the न् of अहन् is changed to र् ॥ As अहोरूपम्, अहोरात्रः, अहोरयन्तरं साम ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 2. 69. Others say, that this र् change takes place *universally* before all words beginning with र्; as अहो रम्यम्, अहो रत्नानि ॥

रोऽसुपि ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ रः, अ-सुपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहनित्येतत्त्व रेफादेशो भवत्यसुपि परतः ॥

69. When no case-ending follows (i. e. at the end of a Pada in the narrower sense), र् is substituted for the न् of अहन् ॥

Thus अहर्हवति, अहर्मुक्ते ॥ Why do we say 'when no case-ending follows'? Observe अहोभ्याम्, अहोभिः ॥ Here ह्-called र् replaced the final न् of अहन् ॥ The difference between this ह्-called र् and the ordinary र् is illustrated in the above set of examples. The ह्-called र् is changed to ङ by VI. 1. 113, the ordinary र् is not so changed.

Obj. In अहर्हवति and अहर्मुक्ते the case-ending is elided after अहन्, and so by Pratyaya - lakṣhaṇa, we may say that there is a case - ending here also ? Ans. This is not so, because of the following maxim अहो रविधौ लुपता लुप्ते प्रत्यय लक्षणं न भवति ॥ The rule of pratyakṣhaṇa does not apply to the substitution of र् for the final of अहन् when the affix has been elided by लृक् or लुप्. Therefore, this अहन् is not considered to be followed by लुप् or case-affix. But where an affix is elided by using the word लोप, there the rule of Pratyaya - lakṣhaṇa does apply to अहन् ॥ As हे दीर्घाहोऽच, हे दीर्घाहो निराच. (VIII. 2. 7). Here the affix is elided by using the word 'lopa' by VI. 1. 68.

अस्मरुधरवरित्युभयथा छन्दसि ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्मस्, ऊधस्, अवस्, इति उभयथा, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मस् ऊधस् अवस् इत्येतेषां छन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि भाषायां च विभाषा प्रचेतसो राजन्युपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ अहरादीनां पत्यादिभूपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

70. In the Chhandas, both रु and र are substituted for the final of amnas, ūdhas, and avas.

Thus अन्न एव or अन्नरेव, ऊध एव or ऊधरेव; अव एव or अवरेव ॥ When रु is substituted for the finals, this रु is replaced by र by VIII. 3. 17, which is elided by VIII. 3. 19. The word अन्नस् means 'a little', and अवस् 'protection'.

Vārt :—रु and र both replace the final of प्रचेतस् before राजन्, in the Vedic as well as in the secular language. As प्रचेता राजन् (VIII. 3. 14, VI. 3. 111) प्रचेतो राजन् ॥

Vārt :—The words अहर् &c before पति &c should be enumerated. That is, the finals of अहर् &c are replaced by रु or र before पति &c. As. अहर्पतिः or अहर्पति; or अहः पतिः; अहर्पुत्रः, अहर्पुत्रः, अहः पुत्रः, गीर्पतिः, गीः पति, गी × पतिः; धूर्पति, धूः पतिः; धू × पतिः ॥ Here र is substituted for the final र् of अहर् &c, which at first sight may appear superfluous. But it is so ordained, in order to prevent the visarga change of this र ॥

भुवश्च महान्याहतेः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, चः, महाव्याहतेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भुवस् इत्येतस्य महाव्याहते छन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति ॥

71. In the Chhandas, रु and र may replace the final of the word भुवस् when used as a mahā-vyāhṛiti.

Thus भुवस्त्वित्तरिक्षम् or भुव इत्यन्तरिक्षम् ॥ The mahā-vyāhṛitis are three, used generally before the famous Gāyatri mantra. They denote respectively the earth, the firmament and the heaven. भुवस् is an Indeclinable and a Vyāhṛiti denoting the firmament. The other two are भूः and स्वः ॥

Why do we say when it is a mahā-vyāhṛiti? Observe भुवो विधेयु भुवनेषु यज्ञियः ॥ Here भुवः is a verb, 2nd Pers. Singular, Imperfect (लङ्) of the root भू, without guṇa of the root, and the अद् augment is not added as a Vedic diversity.

वसुसंस्तुध्वस्वननुहा दः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसु, संस्तु, ध्वस्, अननुहाम्, दः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तशुषोरुत्थितः स इति वर्त्तते । वस्वन्तस्य परस्य सकारान्तस्य संस्तु ध्वस् अननुह इत्येतेषां च वकारोद्देशो भवति ॥

72. द् is substituted for the final स् of a word ending in the affix वस्, and for the final of संस्, ध्वस् and अननुह at the end of a Pada (in the wider sense I. 4. 14, 17).

The anuvṛitti of स् is understood here from VIII. 2. 66. It qualifies वस् only, and not the rest. That is, when the word formed by the affix वस् ends with स्, such स् is replaced by द् ॥ For a word formed by वस् does not

sometimes end in स्, and in those cases the rule will not apply. As संस् and ध्वस् always end in स्, there is no necessity of qualifying these by the स् of VIII. 2. 66. अनङ्गस् ends in ह् and so स् cannot qualify it.

Thus विद्द्भ्याम्, विद्द्भिः, पपिवद्भ्याम्, पपिवद्भिः with वस् affix. संस्—उल्लासद्भ्याम्, उल्लासद्भिः ॥ (VII. 1.70 and III. 2. 36). ध्वस्—पर्णध्वद्भ्याम्, पर्णध्वद्भिः ॥ अनङ्गस्—अनङ्गद्भ्याम्, अनङ्गद्भिः ॥

But when a वस् formed word does not end in स्, the rule does not apply. As विद्वान्, पपिवान् ॥ Here न् is not changed to ह् ॥

In the case of वस्, the ह् is ordained, before any other rule manifests itself; thus in विद्द्भ्याम् this ह् debars ह्; so why should it not debar the rule relating to the elision of the final in विद्वान् also? This rule sets aside ह्, but it does not, however, over-rule the elision-rule, because it is not directly connected with this change.

Why in अनङ्गान् the न् is not changed to ह्? By the very fact, that नुम् is ordained (विधान-सामर्थ्यात्), this न् will not be changed to ह्: otherwise नुम् rule would become superfluous; for it would be easier to say let ह् be changed to ह्, and we should get the form अनङ्गाह् by this rule without नुम् ॥

Obj:—If this be so, that the नुम् is not changed to ह्, because of giving it a scope, then in अनङ्गान् अन्, this नुम् should not be changed into ह् by VIII. 3. 9?

Ans:—No; the maxim is that that rule is set aside, with regard to which a particular rule would become useless, if not so over-ruled: but that rule is not set aside which is only an occasion for the application of another rule (बन्धिषि प्रति उपदेशोऽनर्थकः, सविधिर्वाध्यते, यस्य तु विधे निमित्तमेव नासौ वाध्यते) ॥ With regard to ह् change, the नुम् vidhi is useless (anarthaka), with regard to ह् change, it is merely an occasion.

The word पदस्य is understood here also, so the change does not take place in विद्वांसौ and विद्वांसः ॥

तिप्यनस्तेः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिपि, अन्-अस्तेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिपि परतः सकारान्तस्य पदस्य अनस्तेर्हकार आदेशो भवति ॥

73. ह् is substituted for the final स् of a root, with the exception of अस्, before the Personal ending ति (त्), when it stands at the end of a word.

The स् of a root can stand at the end of a word when the Personal-ending is dropped. Thus अचक्राद् भवान्, अन्वशाद् भवान्, from the roots अचक्रास् and शास् ॥ The Personal affix is elided by VI. 1. 68, and thereby स् comes to stand at the end of a Pada.

Why do we say 'before तिप्'? Observe अचक्रास् formed by चिप् affix added to the root.

Why do we say 'with the exception of अस्'? See आप एवेदं सलिलं सवर्गं आः ॥ Here आः is the Imperfect 3rd Person singular of अस् ॥ The ईद् is not added as a Vedic irregularity. See VII. 3. 93, 97.

सिपि धातो रुर्वा ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिपि, धातोः, रुः, वाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिपि परतः सकारान्तस्य परस्य धातो रुः इत्ययमादेशो भवति इकारो वा ॥

74. द् or रु may optionally be substituted for the स् of a root, before the Personal ending सि (स्), when such स् stands at the end of a Pada.

Thus अचकास् स्वम् or अचकात् स्वम्, अन्वशास् स्वम् or अन्वशात् स्वम् ॥ For the रु is first substituted visarjaniya, which is then changed to स् ॥

The word धातुः is employed in the sūtra for the sake of the subsequent sūtras : so also the word रु ॥

दृञ्च ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इकारान्तस्य धातोः परस्य सिपि परतो रुर्भवति इकारो वा ॥

75. द् or रु may optionally be substituted for the final द् of a root, before the Personal-affix सि, when such द् stands at the end of a Pada.

Thus अभिनत् स्वम् or अभिनस् स्वम्, अञ्छिनत् स्वम् or अञ्छिनस् स्वम् ॥

वौरुपधाया दीर्घ इकः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वौः, उपधायाः, दीर्घः, इकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफवकारान्तस्य धातोः परस्य उपधाया इको दीर्घो भवति ॥

76. A penultimate द् or उ is lengthened, when the final र् or ष् of a root can stand at the end of a Pada.

Thus गीः, धूः, पूः, असीः ॥ These are all examples of roots ending in र् ॥ Of roots ending in ष्, examples will be given in the next sūtra.

Why have we used the word 'penultimate'? Observe अबिभर् भवान्, here the इ of the reduplicative syllable is not to be lengthened.

Why do we say 'of इक् vowels'? So that the अ of भ in the above example अबिभर् may not be lengthened.

The word धातोः 'of a root' is understood here also. Therefore व् and उ are not lengthened in अग्निः, वायुः ॥

The word परस्य is understood here also, therefore, not here, गिरै, गिरः ॥

हलि च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलि च परतः रेफवकारान्तस्य धातोरुपधाया इको दीर्घो भवति ॥

77. Of a root ending in र् or ष्, the penultimate द् or उ is lengthened, before a consonantal beginning affix.

Thus आस्तीर्णम्, विस्तीर्णम्, विस्तीर्णम्, अवगूर्णम्, all ending in र् ॥ So also, क्षीब्धीत, क्षीब्ध्यति ending in ष् ॥

The Nishṭhā of विद्-वेत्ति of Adādi class is विदितः; (2) of विद्-विद्यते of Divādi class is विन्नः only; (3) of विद् of Tudādi is विन्नः; (4) of विद् of Rudhādi are both विस्तः and विन्नः ॥ The Tudādi विद् has also the form विस्तः in the sense of भोग by VIII. 2. 58.

न ध्याख्यापृमूर्च्छिमदाम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ध्या, ख्या, पृ, मूर्च्छि, मदाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ध्या ख्या पृ मूर्च्छि मद इत्येतेषां निष्ठातकारस्य नकारविधौ न भवति ॥

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

Thus ध्यातः, ध्यातवान्, ख्यातः, ख्यातवान्, पूर्त्तः, पूर्त्तवान्, मूर्त्तः, मूर्त्तवान्, मत्तः, मत्तवान् ॥

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

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

विस्तो भोगप्रत्यययोः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विस्तः, भोग, प्रत्यययोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विस्त इति विदेशभाष्यद्वित्तरस्य क्तस्य नत्वामावो निपात्यते भोगे प्रत्ययं चाभिधेये ॥

58. The irregularly formed Participle विस्त denotes 'possessions' and 'renowned'.

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

Thus विस्तमस्य बहु = धनमस्य बहु 'he has much riches'. Because riches are enjoyed (भुज्यते), so they are called भोग or 'enjoyments' *par excellence*.

In the sense of 'renowned', we have विस्तोऽयं मनुष्यः "this man is renowned or famous". Here विस्तः = प्रतीतिः ॥ 'प्रतीयते = प्रत्ययः ॥

Why do we say when having the sense of 'possessions' and 'famous'? Observe विन्नः ॥

मिस्तं शकलम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिस्तम्, शकलम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मिस्तमिति निपात्यते शकलं चेत्तद्वति ॥

59. The word मिस्त is irregularly formed in the sense of 'a' fragment, a portion'.

Thus मिस्तं तिष्ठति, मिस्तं प्रपतति ॥ This is synonymous with शकलम् ॥ The root-meaning of मिद् is not very manifest in this word, it may be taken as a *rudhi* word. The regular form is मिन्नं under VIII. 2. 42.

ऋणमाधमर्ण्ये ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋणम्, आधमर्ण्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऋणमिति ऋइत्येतस्मादातोऽन्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारो निपात्यते आधमर्ण्यविषये ॥

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

It is derived from ऋ, the त is changed to न ॥ The word अधमर्ण्य is compounded from अधम ऋणे "he who in a debt transaction holds a lower position"—

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

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

The word ऋण we use in sentences like ऋणे इति, ऋणं धारयति ॥

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ नसत्त निषत्त अनुत्त प्रतूर्त्त सूर्त्त गूर्त्त इत्येतानि छन्दसि विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

61. In the Chhandas we have the following irregular Participles:—nasatta, nishatta, anutta, pratūrta, sūrta, gūrta.

The words नसत्त and निषत्त are derived from the root सद् preceded by न and नि, and there is not the न change of VIII. 2. 42. Thus नसत्तमञ्जसा ॥ In secular literature we have नसन्नम् ॥ So also निषत्तः in the Vedas, but निषण्णः in secular literature. The word अनुत्तः is from उन् with the negative अन् ॥ The option of VIII. 2. 56 does not apply here. As अनुत्तमा ते मघवन् (= अनुन्नम्) ॥ प्रतूर्त्तम् is from त्वर् or तूर्त्त, as प्रतूर्त्तं वाजिनम् (= प्रतूर्णम्) ॥ When it is derived from त्वर् then ऊर् is added by VI. 4. 20; and when from तूर्त्त then VI. 4. 21 is applied. सूर्त्त is from सृ, the ऋ is changed to उ irregularly, as सूर्त्तागावः = सृतागावः ॥ गूर्त्त is from गूर्, as गूर्त्ता अघृतस्य (= गूर्णे) ॥

क्लिन्प्रत्ययस्य कुः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्लिन्, प्रत्ययस्य, कुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पठस्यति वर्त्तते । क्लिन्प्रत्ययस्य सर्वत्र पदान्ते कुत्वमिष्यते । क्लिन्प्रत्ययो यस्माद्धातोः स क्लिन्प्रत्ययः, तस्य परस्यालोन्त्यस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

Thus the roots **सृ** and **हृ** take **क्विप्** to form **सक्** and **हृक्** nouns by III. 2. 59, 60. The guttural change will take place even when these roots are declined as verbs: as, **मानो भस्माक् मानो भस्माक्**, where **भस्माक्** and **भस्माक्** are the Aorist of **सृ** and **हृ** ॥ The augment **अद्** is not elided, though the **मा** is added (VI. 4. 75) as a Vedic diversity. The **ईद्** augment also does not take place as a Vedic irregularity. The augment **अम्** is added by VI. 1. 58, and the vowel is lengthened by Vṛiddhi by VII. 2. 3. Thus **अद् + सृ + सिङ् + तिप् = अस्मद्** (VI. 1. 58) = **भस्माक्** (VII. 2. 3 and VIII. 2. 62). Other wise it would have been **ब** by VIII. 2. 36. So also in **हृन्मां**, **हृन्मिः**, the **हृ** is changed to a guttural, though the noun **हृ** is a **क्विप्** formed noun and not formed by **क्विप्**; and this is so, because the verb **हृ** does take **क्विप्** also.

Obj. If this be so, there ought to be guttural change in **हृन्मां** from the root **सृ** with **क्विप्**? Ans. The guttural change however is not desired here.

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

नशेर्वा ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नशेः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्येति वर्तते ॥ नशेः पदस्य वा कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

Here the root **नश्** has taken **क्विप्** in denoting 'condition or state'; by considering it as belonging to **संप्रदादि** class.

जीवस्य नाशः = जीवनक् or **जीवनद् ॥** The gutturalisation optionally debars the **ब** change of VIII. 2. 36. When the **ब** change takes place, this **ब** is changed to **द** by VIII. 2. 39 and VIII. 4. 56.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तस्य धातोः पदस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनुनासिकस्य क्लृप्तलोः क्लृप्तीति दीर्घत्वम् ॥

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

As **प्रश्नाद्**, **प्रतान्**, **प्रवाद् ॥** These are formed by adding **क्विप्** to the roots **शब्**, **तब्** and **वब् ॥** The lengthening takes place by VI. 4. 15. The **म्** being considered as *asiddha* is not elided.

Why do we say "of **न**-ending roots"? Observe **मिन्**, **डिन् ॥**

Why do we say "of a root"? Observe **इदम्**, **किम् ॥**

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

म्बोश्च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ म, घोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारवकारयोश्च परतः मकारान्तस्य धातोर्नकारादेशो भवति ॥

65. न is substituted for the म of a root before the affixes beginning with म and घ ॥

As अगन्म, अगन्व् the Imperfect of गम्, as in the sentence अगन्म तमसः पारम् ॥ The णप् is elided as a Vedic diversity. So also जगन्वान् with क्वसु, the augment इद् is not added by the option allowed, owing to VII. 1. 68. This sūtra applies to those cases where the म is not at the end of a word, as it was in the last sūtra.

ससञ्जुषो रुः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, सञ्जुषोः, रुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारान्तस्य पदस्य सञ्जुष् इत्यंतस्य च रुर्भवति ॥

66. For the final स् and for the ष् of सञ्जुष् is substituted रु, at the end of a word.

Thus अग्निरव, वायुरव ॥ So also सञ्जुर्हविभिः, सञ्जुर्वेभिः ॥ सञ्जुष् is derived from जुष् with the affix कृष् and the preposition सह which is changed to स in Bahuvrihi. The lengthening takes place by VIII. 2. 76. and the word means संप्रीतिः ॥ The रु is र्, but it should be distinguished from it. This secondary र् (or रु) undergoes a distinct and separate Sandhi change from that of the primary र् ॥

अवयाः श्वेतवाः पुरोडाश्च ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवयाः, श्वेतवाः, पुरोडाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवयाः श्वेतवाः पुरोडाः इत्येते निपात्यन्ते ॥

67. The same substitution takes place for the final of the Nominatives of अवयाः, श्वेतवाः and पुरोडाः ॥

The word अवयाः is from अव + यञ् ; श्वेतवाः from श्वेत + वह् and पुरोडाः from पुरस् + दाष् ॥ The affix ण्विन् is added to the two latter by III. 2. 71. The word अवयाञ् is also formed by ण्विन् (III. 2. 72). Thus the three words श्वेतवाह्, पुरोडाह् and अवयाञ् are formed. These words take the affix ङस् before the Pada-terminations (See Vārtika to III. 2. 71). After having taken ङस्, the above forms अवयाः &c., are made in Nominative singular irregularly.

Why is this nipātana, when रु would have come by the last sūtra and the lengthening would have taken place by VI. 4. 14, of the words अववस्, श्वेतवस् and पुरोडस्? They are so exhibited here, for making them long in the Vocative singular also. For they could not have been lengthened in the Vocative singular, because VI. 4. 14 does not apply to it. Thus हे अववाः, हे श्वेतवाः, हे पुरोडाः ॥

The word च shows that other forms, not enumerated, may also be included here under. As हे उक्त्याः ॥

अहन् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहनिष्येतस्य पश्य रुभवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अहो रविधौ रूपरात्रिरयन्तरेषूपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥

68. र is also substituted for the न् of अहन् at the end of a Pada.

Thus अहोऽद्याम्, अहोभिः ॥ The sūtra exhibits the form अहन् without the elision of न्, in order to indicate that there is not elision of न् ॥ As दीर्घाहो, निराद्यः, हे दीर्घाहोऽचेति ॥ See Vārtika to VIII. 2. 7. The न् of अहन् is not changed to र् in the sūtra by VIII. 2. 69, because it is intended to show the word-form अहन् ॥ The Nominal stem is Pada in the above examples by I. 4. 17.

Vārt.:—Before the words रूप, रात्रि and रयन्तर, the न् of अहन् is changed to र् ॥ As अहोरूपम्, अहोरात्रः, अहोरयन्तरं साम ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 2. 69. Others say, that this र् change takes place *universally* before all words beginning with र्; as अहो रम्यम्, अहो रत्नानि ॥

रोऽस्युपि ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ रः, अ-स्युपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहनिष्येतस्य रेफादेशो भवत्यस्युपि परतः ॥

69. When no case-ending follows (i. e. at the end of a Pada in the narrower sense), र् is substituted for the न् of अहन् ॥

Thus अहर्हवति, अहर्मुहक्ते ॥ Why do we say 'when no case-ending follows'? Observe अहोऽद्याम्, अहोभिः ॥ Here र्-called र् replaced the final न् of अहन् ॥ The difference between this र्-called र and the ordinary र is illustrated in the above set of examples. The र्-called र is changed to ङ by VI. 1. 113, the ordinary र is not so changed.

Obj. In अहर्हवति and अहर्मुहक्ते the case-ending is elided after अहन्, and so by Pratyaya - lakṣaṇa, we may say that there is a case - ending here also ? Ans. This is not so, because of the following maxim अहो रविधौ लुप्तता लुप्ते प्रत्यय लक्षणं न भवति ॥ The rule of pratyaya lakṣaṇa does not apply to the substitution of र for the final of अहन् when the affix has been elided by लुक् or लृप्. Therefore, this अहन् is not considered to be followed by लृप् or case-affix. But where an affix is elided by using the word लोप, there the rule of Pratyaya - lakṣaṇa does apply to अहन् ॥ As हे दीर्घाहोऽद्य, हे दीर्घाहो निराद्य. (VIII. 2. 7). Here the affix is elided by using the word 'lopa' by VI. 1. 68.

अन्नरुधरवरित्युभयथा छन्दसि ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्नस्, ऊधस्, अवस्, इति उभयथा, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्नस् रुधस् अवस् इत्येतेषां छन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि भाषायां च विभाषा प्रथितसोऽराजन्पसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ अहरादीनां पस्यादिभूपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

70. In the Chhandas, both रु and र are substituted for the final of amnas, ūdhas, and avas.

Thus अन्न एव or अन्नरेव, ऊध एव or ऊधरेव; अव एव or अवरेव ॥ When रु is substituted for the finals, this रु is replaced by र by VIII. 3. 17, which is elided by VIII. 3. 19. The word अन्नस् means 'a little', and अवस् 'protection'.

Vart :—रु and र both replace the final of प्रचेतस् before राजन्, in the Vedic as well as in the secular language. As प्रचेता राजन् (VIII. 3. 14, VI. 3. 111) प्रचेतो राजन् ॥

Vart :—The words अहर् &c before पति &c should be enumerated. That is, the finals of अहर् &c are replaced by रु or र before पति &c. As अहर्पतिः or अहर् पतिः or अहः पतिः; अहर्पुत्रः, अहः पुत्रः, अहः पुत्रः, गीर्पतिः, गीः पति, गी × पतिः; धूर्पति, धूः पतिः, धू × पतिः ॥ Here र is substituted for the final र् of अहर् &c, which at first sight may appear superfluous. But it is so ordained, in order to prevent the visarga change of this र ॥

भुवश्च महाव्याहृतेः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, चः, महाव्याहृतेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भुवस् इत्येतस्य महाव्याहृतेऽछन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति ॥

71. In the Chhandas, रु and र may replace the final of the word भुवस् when used as a mahā-vyāhṛiti.

Thus भुवस्त्वन्तरिक्षम् or भुव इत्यन्तरिक्षम् ॥ The mahā-vyāhṛitis are three, used generally before the famous Gâyatri mantra. They denote respectively the earth, the firmament and the heaven. भुवस् is an Indeclinable and a Vyāhṛiti denoting the firmament. The other two are भूः and स्वः ॥

Why do we say when it is a mahā-vyāhṛiti? Observe भुवो विधेयु भुवनेषु यज्ञियः ॥ Here भुवः is a verb, 2nd Pers. Singular, Imperfect (लृट्) of the root भू, without guṇa of the root, and the अद् augment is not added as a Vedic diversity.

वसुसंस्तुध्वस्वनदुहा दः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसु, संस्तु, ध्वंसु, अनदुहाम्, दः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तशुषोरित्यतः स इति वर्त्तते । वस्वन्तस्य पदस्य सकारान्तस्य संस्तु ध्वंसु अनदुह इत्येतेषां च दकारोद्देशो भवति ॥

72. द is substituted for the final स् of a word ending in the affix वस्, and for the final of संस्, ध्वंसु and अनदुह at the end of a Pada (in the wider sense I. 4. 14, 17).

The anuvṛitti of स् is understood here from VIII. 2. 66. It qualifies वस् only, and not the rest. That is, when the word formed by the affix वस् ends with स्, such स् is replaced by द ॥ For a word formed by वस् does not

sometimes end in स्, and in those cases the rule will not apply. As संस् and ध्वस् always end in स्, there is no necessity of qualifying these by the स् of VIII. 2. 66. अनङ्गस् ends in ह् and so स् cannot qualify it.

Thus विद्द्भ्याम्, विद्द्भिः, पविद्द्भ्याम्, पविद्द्भिः with वस् affix. संस्—उल्लासद्भ्याम्, उल्लासद्भिः ॥ (VII. 1.70 and III. 2. 36). ध्वस्—पर्णध्वद्भ्याम्, पर्णध्वद्भिः ॥ अनङ्गस्—अनङ्गद्भ्याम्, अनङ्गद्भिः ॥

But when a वस् formed word does not end in स्, the rule does not apply. As विद्वान्, पविवान् ॥ Here न् is not changed to ह् ॥

In the case of वस्, the ह् is ordained, before any other rule manifests itself; thus in विद्द्भ्याम् this ह् debarbs ह्; so why should it not debar the rule relating to the elision of the final in विद्वान् also? This rule sets aside ह्, but it does not, however, over-rule the elision-rule, because it is not directly connected with this change.

Why in अनङ्गान् the न् is not changed to ह्? By the very fact, that नुस् is ordained (विधान-सामर्थ्यात्), this न् will not be changed to ह्: otherwise नुस् rule would become superfluous; for it would be easier to say let ह् be changed to ह्, and we should get the form अनङ्गाद् by this rule without नुस् ॥

Obj:—If this be so, that the नुस् is not changed to ह्, because of giving it a scope, then in अनङ्गान् अङ्ग, this नुस् should not be changed into ह् by VIII. 3. 9?

Ans:—No; the maxim is that that rule is set aside, with regard to which a particular rule would become useless, if not so over-ruled: but that rule is not set aside which is only an occasion for the application of another rule (अविधि प्रति उपदेशाजन्यकः, सविधिर्वाच्यते, यस्य तु विधेर्निमित्तमेव नासौ वाच्यते) ॥ With regard to ह् change, the नुस् vidhi is useless (anarthaka), with regard to ह् change, it is merely an occasion.

The word पदस्य is understood here also, so the change does not take place in विद्वांसौ and विद्वांसः ॥

तिप्यनस्तेः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिपि, अनू-अस्तेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिपि परतः सकारान्तस्य पदस्य अनस्तेर्लकार अदेशो भवति ॥

73. ह् is substituted for the final स् of a root, with the exception of अस्, before the Personal ending ति (त्), when it stands at the end of a word.

The स् of a root can stand at the end of a word when the Personal-ending is dropped. Thus अचक्राद् भवान्, अन्वष्टाद् भवान्, from the roots चक्रास् and ष्टास् ॥ The Personal affix is elided by VI. 1. 68, and thereby स् comes to stand at the end of a Pada.

Why do we say 'before तिप्'? Observe चक्रास् formed by चिप् affix added to the root.

Why do we say 'with the exception of अस्'? See आप एवेदं सल्लिं सवर्ध
आः ॥ Here आः is the Imperfect 3rd Person singular of अस् ॥ The ईद् is not
added as a Vedic irregularity. See VII. 3. 93, 97.

सिपि धातो रुर्वा ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिपि, धातोः, रुः, वाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिपि परतः सकारान्तस्य पदस्य धातो रुः इत्ययमादेशो भवति द्कारो वा ॥

74. द् or रु may optionally be substituted for the
स् of a root, before the Personal ending सि (स्), when such स्
stands at the end of a Pada.

Thus अचकात् स्वम् or अचकात् स्वम्, अन्वशात् स्वम् or अन्वशात् स्वम् ॥ For the
रु is first substituted visarjaniya, which is then changed to स् ॥

The word धातुः is employed in the sūtra for the sake of the subsequent
sūtras: so also the word रु ॥

दृश्च ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्कारान्तस्य धातोः पदस्य सिपि परतो रुर्भवति द्कारो वा ॥

75. द् or रु may optionally be substituted for the
final द् of a root, before the Personal-affix सि, when such द्
stands at the end of a Pada.

Thus अभिनत् स्वम् or अभिनत् स्वम्, अच्छिनत् स्वम् or अच्छिनत् स्वम् ॥

घोरुपधाया दीर्घ इकः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वीः, उपधायाः, दीर्घः, इकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफवकारान्तस्य धातोः पदस्य उपधाया इको दीर्घो भवति ॥

76. A penultimate इ or उ is lengthened, when the
final र् or ष् of a root can stand at the end of a Pada.

Thus गीः, धूः, वृः, ओशीः ॥ These are all examples of roots ending in
इ ॥ Of roots ending in ष्, examples will be given in the next sūtra.

Why have we used the word 'penultimate'? Observe अविभर् भवान्, here
the इ of the reduplicative syllable is not to be lengthened.

Why do we say 'of इक् vowels'? So that the अ of न in the above exam-
ple अविभर् may not be lengthened.

The word धातोः 'of a root' is understood here also. Therefore इ and उ
are not lengthened in अग्निः, वायुः ॥

The word पदस्य is understood here also, therefore, not here, गिरौ, गिरः ॥

हलि च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलि च परतः रेफवकारान्तस्य धातोरुपधाया इको दीर्घो भवति ॥

77. Of a root ending in र् or ष्, the penultimate
इ or उ is lengthened, before a consonantal beginning affix.

Thus आस्तीर्णम्, विस्तीर्णम्, विस्तीर्णम्, अवगूर्णम्, all ending in र् ॥ So also,
क्षीयति, सीयति ending in ष् ॥

The phrase "of the *root*", is understood here also. Therefore not here, दिव्यति and चतुर्यति, which are derived from the *nouns* दिव and चतुर i. e. दिव-निच्छति = दिव्यति, and चतुर इच्छति = चतुर्यति ॥

The phrase इकः "of the vowels इ or उ" is understood here also. Therefore not here, स्मर्यते, भग्यम् ॥

This rule applies to cases which are not final in a pada : but to cases where र् or र् are in the middle of a pada or word.

उपधायां च ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपधायाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरुपधाभूतौ यौ रेफवकारौ ह्रस्वौ तयोरुपधाया इको दीर्घो भवति ॥

78. The short इ or उ of a root is lengthened, when the verb has र् or र् as its penultimate letter, and is followed by a consonant.

The anuvṛitti of हलि is current. The root must end in a consonant, and must have a र् or र् as preceding such consonant, for the application of this rule. Thus हूर्छा, हूर्छिता, मूर्छा, मूर्छिता. तूर्ध्व, तूर्ध्विता. धूर्ध्व, धूर्ध्विता ॥

The र् or र् must be followed by a consonant. Therefore not here : as, चिरि, जिरि are roots having a penultimate र्, which however is followed by a vowel. Therefore we have चिरिणोति, जिरिणोति ॥

Q.—Why there is not lengthening in रिर्यतुः, रिर्युः or विव्यतुः, विव्युः Perfect, forms derived from the roots रि गतौ and वी गतौ &c? Here the इ of the abhyāsa required lengthening, and it would not be shortened, as it is asiddha.

Ans.—The ञ् substitute of इ here by VI. 4. 82, is treated as sthānivat, to इ, and therefore, the र् or र् is considered as *not* to be followed by a *consonant*, and hence there is no lengthening. Another reason is, that the ञ् substitute is taught in angādhikāra (VI. 4. 82), and depends upon the affix, and is consequently Bahiranga, with regard to this rule of lengthening which is antaranga. Hence ञ् is considered as asiddha. Therefore र् and र् are not followed by a consonant (for र् is not considered as such for the above reasons).

Similarly in चतुर्थितु formed with तच् affix from the Denominative (चतुर्थ) root चतुर्थे ॥ Here इद् is added before तच् as चतुर्थे + इ + त् and then ञ् is elided, चतुर्थे + इ + त् ॥ Here the elision of ञ् is a Bahiranga process, and therefore, र् is not here really penultimate, and so there is no lengthening of the vowel.

In प्रतिदीप्ता (Instrumental singular) there is lengthening by VIII. 2. 77. To the root प्रति-दिप् is added कनिच् by Uṇ I. 156, and we have प्रतिदिवन् ॥ To this is added ञ् (Instrumental affix), as प्रतिदिवन् + ञ्, and ञ् is elided by VI. 4. 134, and we get प्रतिदीप्ता ॥ The lengthening takes place here, the elision of ञ् is not considered here as sthānivat, and so र् becomes penultimate. In fact,

here we apply the maxim that a lopa substitute of a vowel is not to be considered as sthānivat when a rule of lengthening is to be applied (See I. 1. 58).

Q.—Well, let it not be sthānivat, but the elision by VI. 4. 134, depends upon a case-affix, and is Bahiranga, and therefore asiddha for the purposes of this rule which is antaranga: and so therefore, there would be no lengthening?

Ans.—The maxim of अवसिद्ध बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्ग should not be applied here: because it is an *anitya* rule.

The word जितिः is formed by the Uṇādi affix क्तिन् added to the root ज् (जिर्), the र being changed to य (Uṇ V. 49). So also कितिः and गितिः are formed by the Uṇādi affix क्ति added to कृ and गृ (Uṇ IV. 143). The Genitive Dual of which is कित्वोः and गित्वोः ॥ There is no lengthening in जितिः, कित्वोः and गित्वोः, on the maxim that the Uṇādi formed words are primitive words and not Derivative; and so the rules of etymological changes do not apply to them (उणादयोऽप्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि) ॥

न भकुर्धुराम् ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भ, कुर, धुराम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफवकारान्तस्य भस्य कुर धुर इत्येतयोश्च दीर्घो न भवति ॥

79. The lengthening of vowel does not take place under VIII. 2. 77, when the Nominal stem ending in र् or व् is called Bha (i. e. when a य् follows), and also not in कुर and धुर ॥

Thus धुरः (धुरं बहति IV. 4. 77 or धुरि साधुः) ॥ Similarly कुवात्, धुर्यात् ॥ The latter is Benedictive of धुर छेदने ॥

Why have we qualified the word भ by saying that it must end in ् or व्? Observe प्रतिदीप्ता, प्रतिदीप्ते ॥ For here the stem which ends in र् is not Bha, and the stem which is Bha does not end in र् but in व् ॥

अवसो ऽसेर्दावु दो मः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अवसः, अ-सेः, दाव्, उ, दः, मः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवसो ऽसकारान्तस्य वर्णस्य सत्परस्य उवर्णविधौ भवति इकारस्य च मकारः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अवसो ऽनोक्त इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

Kārikā:—अवसोऽपि पुथङ् इत्वं के चिद्विच्छन्ति लत्ववत् ।

के चिदन्यसदेशस्य नेत्येके ऽसेर्हि दृश्यते ॥

80. When the pronoun अवस् does not end in स्, then there is substituted उ or ऊ for the vowel after व्, and म् for द् ॥

Thus अमुम्, अम्, अमुन्, अमुना, अमुन्नाम्, ॥ अद् is substituted for अवस् before a case-ending by VII. 2. 102, which in Feminine becomes अदा ॥ By the

present sūtra read with I. 1. 50, अद् is substituted for अद् and अद् for अद् ॥ The ङ which replaces one-mātrā vowel will be one-mātrā ङ i. e. short ङ, and the ङ which replaces a two-mātrā vowel will be a two-mātrā ङ i. e. long ङ ॥ See I. 1. 50.

Why do we say, "not ending in स"? Observe अद् इच्छति = अदस्यति ॥ Obj. How can this be a valid example, as the word अदस्य is understood here, and अदस् before the affix क्य is not a pada (I. 4. 15)? Ans. This indicates that the ङ change takes place, even when अदस् is not a pada. As अद्भुय ॥

Vart.—It should rather be stated that the rule applies to that अदस् which has no ओ, or स् or र् ॥ So that the prohibition may apply to अदोऽच्, अदः कुलम् ॥ The visarjaniya being considered as asiddha, this word is considered as ending in र् ॥

In order to apply the prohibition to ओ and र् also, some explain the sūtra thus:—अः सेर्यस्य सोऽयमासिः, यच्च सकारस्य अकारः क्रियते ॥ "The word असिः in the sūtra is a Bahuvrīhi, and means that in which अ is substituted for स" ॥ The sūtra is thus confined to the form अद् derived by changing the स् into अ by VII 2. 102: and not to any other अद् ॥

When अदस् takes the final-substitute अद् by VI. 3. 92, how is this rule to be applied? Thus by III. 2. 59, the root अङ्ग takes क्तिन् ॥ We compound it with अदस्, as अदाऽच्चाति ॥ अदस् + अङ्ग + क्तिन् = अद् + अद् + अङ्ग + क्तिन् (VI. 3. 92) = अदङ्गप् (VI. 4. 24). Now there are three views, (1) the ङ of अद्, and ङ्ग of अद्गि are both changed to ङ by the present sūtra; (2), the first ङ is not changed, but only ङ्ग; (3) none is changed. Thus we have (1) अद्भुयङ् (VII. 1. 70, VI. 1. 68, VIII. 2. 23 and 62), अद्भुयङ्चौ, अद्भुयङ्चः ॥ (2) Secondly, अद्भुयङ् अद्भुयङ्चौ, अद्भुयङ्चः ॥ (3) Lastly अदङ्गङ्, अदङ्गङ्चौ, अदङ्गङ्चः ॥ The above verse summarises this:

"Some ordain that ङ should come separately for both adas and adri, as there is double ङ (in अलीकल्प्यते); others would have ङ only for the last portion which stands in proximity to the final, (i. e. for ङ्ग); while a third class would have nowhere, because they explain असेः of the sūtra, by confining it to: VII. 2. 102." The first class interpret असेः by "that form of अदस् which has no स्"; and they do not apply the maxim अनन्त्यविकारेऽन्यसदृशस्य कार्यं भवति "when a modification is ordained with regard to some thing which is not final, the operation takes place on that only which is in proximity to the final." The second class apply this maxim and make ङ change only for ङ्ग which stands in proximity to the final; while the last class interpret the word असेः in a different way altogether (अः अस्य सकारस्य सोऽयमासिः) ॥

Why do we say ङात् ' for the vowel after द ' ? Observe अद्भुया, अद्भुयोः, the final ङ as not changed to ङ ॥

एत ईद्वहुवचने ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतः ईत्, बहुवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अइसो इकारादुत्तरस्य एकारस्य ईकारादेशो भवति इकारस्य च मकारः बहुवचने बहुनामर्यानां-
मुक्तौ ॥

81. For the ए coming after the इ of अइस्, there is substituted ई, and इ is changed to म्, when plurality is to be expressed.

Thus अमी for अदे (or अते) अमीभिः for अदेभिः, अमीभ्यः for अदेभ्यः, अमीषाम् for अदेषाम्, अमीषु for अदेषु ॥ इ is changed to म् in अते &c.

The word बहुवचने in the sūtra does not mean the technical बहुवचन ; for that would have made the sūtra have this sense "when the affixes of the Plural number follow". In that case, we could not get the form अमी where no plural affix follows. Hence we have translated it, by saying when plurality is to be denoted.

वाक्यस्य टेः प्लुत उदात्तः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाक्यस्य, टेः, प्लुतः, उदात्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाक्यस्य देरिति प्लुत इति च उदात्त इति च एतन्नयमप्यधिकृतं देरित्यभाषापरिसमाप्ते, देरित कर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामी वाक्यस्य टेः प्लुत उदात्त इत्येवं तदेरित्यम ॥

82. Upto the close of this chapter (Pāda), is always to be supplied : "the last vowel of a sentence is pluta and has the acute".

This is an adhikāra sūtra. All the three words i. e. "the last vowel (दि) of a sentence", "pluta" and "acute"—are to be supplied in the subsequent aphorisms to complete the sense, upto the end of this Pāda. Whatever we shall treat hereafter will refer to the final vowel (दि) in a sentence, and it will get the pluta lengthening and acute accent. Thus VIII. 2. 83, says "In answer to a salutation, but not when it is addressed to a Śūdra". We must supply the present aphorism to complete the meaning :—"In answer to a salutation, the last vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and gets the acute accent, but not when it is addressed to a Śūdra". As अभिवाद्ये देवदत्तोऽहं । ओं आयुष्मानेधि देवदत्ता ३ ॥

One adhikāra sets aside another adhikāra, this is the general maxim. Will therefore the adhikāra of the present aphorism set aside the adhikāra of the word पदस्य (VIII. 1. 16)? No, the adhikāra of पदस्य has not ceased, though latent. Otherwise in भवन्तौ &c. the न् would be required to be changed to ह् by VIII. 3. 7. But it does not become so, because पदस्य manifests itself there.

The employment of the word "vākya" would not debar the anuvritti of पद, for the final vowel of a sentence, will *a fortiori* be the final vowel of a word (pada), then what is the use of employing the word वाक्यस्य in this sūtra ?

The word वाक्य is employed in the sūtra, so that a word which is not the last word of a sentence, will not get the pluta and acute. Had the sūtra been वरस्व देः &c. then *all* the words of a sentence would become pluta and acute in the final.

The word हि is employed to indicate that the final *vowel* becomes pluta and acute, though the word may end in a consonant. As अग्निर्वि॑त् । Had हि not been used, the rule would have applied to words *ending* in vowels only, and not to words ending in consonants.

प्रत्यभिवादे ऽश्रुदे ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्यभिवादे, अ-श्रुदे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्यभिवादे नाम वदन्नाभिवाचयमानो युष्ठादिपं प्रयुङ्क्ते । तच्चाश्रुद्विषये वद्व्यक्तं वर्त्तते तस्य देः प्लुत वृत्तौ भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्षिप्रमपि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ असूत्रकेऽपि केचित् प्रतिषेधमिच्छन्ति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिवादादव्ययेन संकीर्तितं नाम गोत्रं वा तद् वचनं प्रत्यभिवाद वाक्यान्ते प्रयुज्यते तच्च प्लुत इष्यते ॥ वा० ॥ भोराजन्व विद्यां वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

83. In answer to a salutation, but not when it refers to a Śūdra, the last vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and gets the acute accent.

The word अभिवादन means "respectful salutation of a superior or elder by an inferior or junior for the sake of obtaining his blessing. It consists of three acts 1. rising from the seat, 2. touching of the feet, 3. the uttering of the formula of salutation". The word प्रत्यभिवादन means, the blessing given by the superior or elder in answer to such salutation. In giving utterance to such blessing, the last vowel of the final word gets udātta and acute, provided that, such blessing is not pronounced on a Śūdra.

Thus अभिवादे देवदत्तोऽहं is said by Devadatta to his Guru. The latter says भो आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्तो १ ॥ "O Devadatta! be thou long-lived".

Why do we say when not referring to a Śūdra? Observe अभिवादे तु वचनोऽहं is said by a Śūdra. In reply to this the Guru replies भो आयुष्मान् एधि शुचिजक !

Vārt :—Prohibition must be stated with regard to women also. As अभिवादे गार्ग्येहं is said by Gārgī. To this the Guru replies :—भो आयुष्मती भवगार्गि ! ॥

Vārt :—Some would have this prohibition where a detractor or an arrogant person is addressed. So long as one's arrogance or ridicule does not become manifest, there is prolation. But when one comes to know that he is my detractor, and is really ridiculing me by a show of respect ; then the reply is not a blessing, but is, in fact, a curse. Thus अभिवादे स्यात्त्वहं भोः, is uttered by the detractor ; and the Guru understanding the word Sthālin to be the Proper Name of the person, replies आयुष्मान् एधि स्यात्तिन् १ ॥ Then the

detractor says, Sthālin is not my Proper Name, but an adjective, like daṇḍin, viz. he who has a *स्थाल* or cooking pot. The Guru, believing this to be true, again replies, *आयुष्मान् एधि स्थालिन्* but without prolation, because the word is not a Proper Noun. The other then says "O Sir, it is not my epithet, it is my Proper Name". The Guru now comes to learn that he is being laughed at, and so gets angry and says : *असूयकस्त्वं जाल्म ! न त्वं प्रत्यभिवादनमर्हसि ; भिद्यस्त्वं दूषल स्थालिन् !* ॥ Here it is a curse, as well as a pun : i. e. "burst thou, O sinner ! like unto a cooking pot (sthālin = sthālī-vat).

Ishti :—This prolation takes place there only, where the Proper Noun Gotra &c. with which the salutation was made, is employed by the Guru at the end of the sentence ; and not where the position of the Proper Name &c. is different. Therefore not here, *देवदत्त क्षुद्राल्यसि ; देवदत्त आयुष्मान् एधि*, for here the word Devadatta is not used at the end of a sentence.

Vārt :—The prolation is optional, when भोः follows such Proper Name, or when the Person addressed is a Kshatriya or a Vaishya. As भो अभिवाद्यं देवदत्तोऽहं ॥ Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त भोः १ or (2) आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त भोः ॥ So also when a Kshatriya is addressed, as अभिवाद्ये इन्द्रवर्म्माहं भोः, Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एधि इन्द्रवर्म्मान् १ or (2) आयुष्मान् एधि इन्द्रवर्म्मान् ॥ Vaishya : अभिवाद्ये इन्द्रपालितोऽहं भोः ॥ Guru : आयुष्मानोधि इन्द्रपालित १ or आयुष्मानोधि इन्द्रपालित ! ॥

दूराद्भूते च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दूरात्, भूते, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दूराद्भूते यद्वाक्यं वर्त्तते तस्य देः प्लुतो भवति स चोदात्तः ॥

दृष्टिः ॥ वाक्यस्यान्ते यत्र सम्बोधनपदं भवति, तत्र अयं प्लुत इष्यते ॥

84. The final vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and acute, when used in calling a person from a distance.

The word दूरात् is in the Fifth case by II. 3. 35; the word भूतं means 'calling', 'addressing'. Thus आगच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्ता १ ॥ आगच्छ भो माणवक यज्ञदत्ता १ ॥ The word 'distance' is a relative term, and is not fixed at what distance there should be prolation. The prolation however takes place, when a voice is to be raised, in order that the sound may reach the person. That distance upto which the voice can be heard without raising its pitch and without any special effort, need not be considered as "distance" for the purposes of this sūtra.

The word भूत here includes, 'addressing in general', and not only 'calling'. Thus there is prolation here also सक्तून् पिब देवदत्ता १, पलायस्व देवदत्ता १ ॥ This pluta sentence becomes eka-śruti by I. 2. 33.

Why do we say "from a distance"? Observe आगच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्त !

Ishti :—This prolation takes place only then, when the noun in the vocative case stands at the end of the sentence. Therefore, there is no prolation here: देवदत्त आगच्छ ॥

दैहेप्रयोगे दैहयोः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दै, हे, प्रयोगे, दै, हयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेह्ययोगे वृत्तदूते यद्वाक्यं वर्त्तते तच्च हेह्योरेव प्लुतो भवति ॥

85. When the words हे and हे are employed, in addressing a person from a distance, there the हे and हे alone get the pluta and the accent.

As हे १ देवदत्त, देवदत्त हे १ ॥ हे १ देवदत्त, देवदत्त हे १ ॥

The repetition of the words हे and हे in the sūtra, is for the sake of indicating, that the prolation takes place even when हे and हे do not stand at the end of a sentence.

गुरोरनृतोनन्त्यस्याप्येकैकस्य प्राचाम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुरोः, अन्-ऋतः, अनन्त्यस्य, अपि, एक, एकस्य, प्राचाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारवर्जितस्य गुरोरनन्त्यस्यापि षष्ठावन्यस्यापि ऐकैकस्य सम्बोधने वर्त्तमानस्य प्लुतो भवति प्राचामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥

86. In the room of a prosodially long vowel, (with the exception of ऋ) though it may not stand at the end, there is substituted a pluta for one at a time, under the above circumstances (VIII. 2.83-84), in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians.

This sūtra indicates a special sthānin for the pluta vowel taught by VIII. 2. 83 to 84. With the exception of ऋ, for every heavy vowel, though it may not be the final vowel of the vocative word, and for the final vowel also, but only one at a time, there is pluta substitution, in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians. Thus हे १ देवदत्त or देवदत्त हे १ or देवदत्त हे १ ॥ Similarly with अ १ दत्त, दत्त अ १ or दत्त अ १ ॥

Why do we say गुरोः "of a prosodially long vowel"? So that the अ of व and दत्त in Devadatta and Yajñadatta may not be prolated, for this अ is short.

Why do we say अनृतः "with the exception of ऋ"? Observe कृष्णमि १ च, कृष्णमि १, but never कृष्णमि १ च ॥

The word एकैकस्य shows that the prolation should not be simultaneous, but of one at a time; not दे १ वदत्त १ ॥

The word प्राचाम् "in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians" is used for the sake of creating option. So in one alternative, there is no prolation at all.

As आयुष्मान् एषि देवदत्त ॥ Thus the present sūtra, makes VIII. 2. 83 and 84, optional sūtras. This also is an authority for the following dictum of Patanjali " सर्व एव प्लुतः साहसमनिच्छता विभाषा कर्त्तव्यः " (Mahabhāṣya VIII. 2. 92. Commentary). Thus all rules relating to Prolation become optional. In short, the word प्राचाम् should be read in all rules regarding prolation, and thus without doing violence (sāhasa) to grammatical authority, one may have optional pluta everywhere.

ओमभ्यादाने ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओम्, अभ्यादाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यादानं प्रारम्भः तच्च य ओमशब्दः तस्य प्लुतो भवति ॥

87. The vowel in ओम् is pluta in the beginning of a sacred text.

The word अभ्यादानं means the commencement of a sacred mantra or Vedic text. Thus ओम् अग्निमीळे पुण्ड्रितं यज्ञस्य देववृत्तिर्जं ॥ (Rig I. 1. 1).

Why do we say "in the beginning"? Observe ओमित्येतदक्षरमुदीयमुपासीत (Chhândogya Upanishad. I. 1. 1). Here ओम् is not used to indicate the commencement of a Text or Mantra, but is itself the subject of comment.

ये यज्ञकर्मणि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, यज्ञ, कर्मणि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ये इत्येतस्य यज्ञकर्माण प्लुतो भवति ॥

टिप्पणी ॥ ये यजामहे इत्यत्रैवायं प्लुत इष्यते ॥

88. The vowel of ये becomes pluta in a sacred text, when it is employed in a sacrificial work.

Thus ये यजामहे ॥ Why do we say when employed in sacrificial work? Observe ये यजामहे इति पञ्चाक्षरम् "Ye yajamahe consists of five syllables". Here it is simple recitation.

Ishti.—The word ये is pluta before यजामहे only. Therefore not so here: ये देवांसो विध्यैकाग्रस्य (Rig. I. 139. 11).

प्रणवष्टेः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रणवः, टेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञकर्मणि टेः प्रणव आदेशो भवति ॥

89. In a sacrificial work, ओम् is substituted for the final vowel, with the consonant, if any, that may follow it, of a sentence.

The word यज्ञकर्मणि is understood here also. The word प्रणव means ओम् ॥ It is the name given to this syllable. This ओम् is substituted for the final letter (दि) of that word which stands either at the end of a Pāda of a sacred hymns or at the end of a hemistich of such Rik. Thus for अपां रतांसि जिन्यति (Rig. VIII. 44. 16), we may have अपां रतांसि जिन्यतो ओम् ॥ So also for देवांसि जिगति सुन्नयुः (Rig. III. 27. 1), we may have देवांसि जिगति सुन्नयो ओम् ॥

The word दि is repeated in this aphorism in spite of its anuvṛitti from VIII. 2. 82, to indicate that ओम् replaces the *whole* last syllable, with its vowel and consonant. Had दि not been repeated, then by the rule of अलोऽन्यस्य the final *letter* only of the दि portion of a sentence would have been replaced. Thus in सुन्नयुः, the visarjaniya alone would have been replaced.

When not employed in connection with sacrificial works, there is no such substitution. Thus in simple reading of the Vedas, we should always recite अपां रतांसि जिन्यति ॥

याज्यान्तः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ याज्या, अन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ याज्या नाम ये याज्याकाण्डे पठ्यन्ते मन्त्रास्तिषामन्यो षष्टिः स हवते वृत्तकर्मणि ॥

90. The last vowel at the end of Mantras called Yājya, when employed in sacrificial works, is pluta and has the Acute.

Thus स्तोमैर्दिधेमाग्रये (Rig. VIII. 43. 11), जिह्वाग्रये चकृषे हव्यवाहाश्च (Rig. X. 8. 6).

Why do we say 'at the end'? There are some Yājya hymns, consisting of several sentences. The final vowel (दि) of every sentence would have become pluta, in such a hymn. To prevent it, the word "anta" is used, so that the final vowel of the hymn at the end of all, becomes pluta.

ब्रूहिप्रेष्यधौषड्धौषडावहानामादेः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रूहि, प्रेष्य, धौषद्, धौषद्, आवहानाम, आदेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रूहि प्रेष्य धौषद् धौषद् आवह इत्येतेषामादेः प्लुतो भवति वृत्तकर्मणि ॥

91. In a sacrificial work, the first syllable of ब्रूहि, प्रेष्य, धौषद्, धौषद् and आवह is pluta.

Thus अग्रयेऽनुब्रूहि (Maitr S. I. 4. 11), अग्रये गोमयानि (or 'वृ') प्रेष्य, अस्तु धौषद्; सोमस्याग्रे वीही धौषद्, अग्निर्धौषद् ॥

So also in पित्र्यायामनुस्वधा on the analogy of ब्रूहि, so also अस्तुस्वधा ॥ The word धौषद् is illustrative of the six forms वषद्, धौषद्, वाषद्, वौषद्, वासद्, वसाद् ॥

But there is no prolation in आवह देवान् वज्रमानाव ; आवह जात वेद ॥

अग्नीत्प्रेषणे परस्य च ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नीध्र, प्रेषणे, परस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्नीध्रः प्रेषणमग्नीत्येषणम् तच्चादेः प्लुतो भवति परस्य च ॥

92. In an order given to Āgnīdhra priest, the first syllable as well as the succeeding syllable is pluta.

In a Yajña, the principal priests (ṛtvij) are four Adhvaryu, Udgātā, Hotā, Brahmā. Every one of these has three subordinate priests (ṛtvij) under them : as shown below.

NAMES OF PRINCIPAL.

SUBORDINATE.

I.	½.	⅓.	¼.
Adhvaryu : (Yajur)	Pratiprasthātā	Nesthā (VI.4.11)	Unnetā.
Udgātā (Sāman)	Prastotā	Pratihartā	Subrahmanya.
Hotā (Rig) VI. 4. 11.	Maitrā varuṇa	Achchhāvāk	Potā (VI.4 11).
Brahmā (Atharvan)	Brāhmanāchchhāṇṣī	Āgnīdhra	Grāvastuta.

III. 2. 177.

The duty of Āgnidhra is to kindle the sacrificial fire. In a summons or call (प्रेषण) made by the Adhvaryu, who is the Director of ceremonies, to the Āgnidhra to perform the functions of Āgnidh, both syllable become pluta.

The word अग्नीह् प्रेषण is a compound = अग्नीधः प्रेषणम् "a call or summon relating to Āgnidhduty."

Thus आ ३ आ ३ वव, ओ ३ आ ३ वव ॥ The pluta takes place only in these examples; therefore, not here, as अग्नीह् अग्नीह् विहर; बर्हि स्तृणीहि ॥ Some, therefore, read the aunuṣṭi of the word विभाषा from the next sūtra, into this, and would have it an optional rule, of fixed jurisdiction (viyavasthita vibhāṣā). Others say "all pluta rules are optional" (सर्व एव प्लुतः साहसमानिच्छता विभाषा विज्ञेयः) ॥ In उद्धर ३ उद्धर, अभिहर ३ अभिहर, there is Vedic diversity.

The words 'relating to sacrificial work' (यज्ञकर्मणि) are understood here also. Therefore not in ओ आवव ॥

विभाषा पृष्टप्रतिवचने हेः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, पृष्ट-प्रतिवचनेः, हेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पृष्टप्रतिवचने विभाषा हेः प्लुतो भवति ॥

93. हि at the end of an answer to a question may optionally be pluta.

Thus Q. अकार्षीः कदं देववत् ? Ans. अकार्षे ही ३ or अकार्षे हि ॥ Q. अलावीः केशरं देववत् ? Ans. अलाविषं ही ३ or हि ॥

Why do we say "in answer to a question" ? Observe कदं करिष्यसि हि ॥

Why do we say हेः "of हि" ? Observe करोमि ननु ॥

निगृह्यानुयोगे च ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि गृह्य, अनु योगे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वमतात्प्रत्याख्यानं निग्रहः ॥ अनुयोगस्तस्य मतस्याविष्करणम् ॥ तत्र निगृह्यानुयोगे यद्वाक्यं वर्तते तस्य हेः प्लुतो भवति विभाषा ॥

94. The end syllable of that sentence is optionally pluta, when it asserts something which has been refuted, and is employed by the victor by way of censure.

The word निग्रहः means the refutation of another's opinion. निगृह्य is a gerund, and means 'having refuted'. अनुयोगः is the expression of the same proposition which has been refuted. When a person has demonstrated the untenableness of another's assertion, and then employs the said assertion by way of taunt, reproach or reprimand, then the final syllable of such a sentence becomes pluta. The sūtra literally means "Having refuted (it) when asserting (the same by way of censure)."

Thus an opponent asserts that "The word is not eternal." (अनित्यः शब्दः). Proving by arguments the untenableness of this position, and after refuting it, the victor says by way of reprimand:—अनित्यः शब्द इत्यार्थो ३ or अनित्यः शब्द इत्यार्थ ॥ 'This is then your assertion—that the word is not eternal'. Similarly अयं आ-
जमित्यर्थो ३ or अयं आजमित्यर्थ ॥ अद्यामावास्तेत्यर्थो ३ or अद्यामावास्तेत्यर्थ ॥

In some texts of Kāsikā, according to Padamanjari, only the last example is given.

आग्नेडितं भर्त्सने ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आग्नेडितम्, भर्त्सने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाक्यावेरामन्त्रितस्येति भर्त्सने द्विवचनद्वयं तस्याग्नेडितं प्रवृत्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भर्त्सने पर्व्यायेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

95. The end syllable of an *āmreḍita* Vocative is *pluta*, when threat is expressed.

A Vocative is reiterated when threat is meant (VIII. 1. 8). Its final syllable becomes *pluta*. Thus चौर चौरां चानिष्यामि त्वा ॥ So also वृषल वृषलां वन्धयिष्यामि त्वा, वत्स वत्सोऽं &c.

Though the *anuvṛitti* of the *sūtra* VIII. 2. 82, is current here, yet the final of the *sentence* is not *pluta*, but of the *āmreḍita*.

Vṛti:—It should be rather stated that any one of the repeated words may be *pluta* by alternation. Thus चौरां चौर or चौर चौरां ॥ The word *āmreḍita* is employed in the *sūtra* as illustrative of the doubling, for threat is expressed by *both* words, so *pluta* may be of *both* words in turn: and not of the second word only, though that is called technically *āmreḍita*.

अङ्गयुक्तं तिङाकाङ्क्षम् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्ग, युक्तम्, तिङाकाङ्क्षम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गव्ययनेन युक्तं तिङन्तमाकाङ्क्षं भर्त्सने प्रवृत्ते ॥

96. The final syllable of a finite verb, used as a threat becomes *pluta*, when the word *अङ्ग* is joined with it, and it demands another sentence to complete the conclusion.

Thus अङ्ग कूर्जोऽं इहानीं ज्ञात्वासि आत्म ॥ अङ्ग व्याहर्तोऽं, इहानीं ज्ञात्वासि आत्म ॥

Why do we say 'a verb'? Observe अङ्ग देववत् मिथ्या वदसि ॥

Why do we say "when this calls for a conclusion"? Observe अङ्ग पच ॥

Here it is a complete sentence and does not demand another to complete the sense.

The word *भर्त्सने* of the last *sūtra* is understood here also. Therefore not here, अङ्ग मधीष्व, ओदनं ते शस्यामि ॥ Here *अङ्ग* has the force of solicitation. (VIII. 1. 33).

विचार्यमाणानाम् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विचार्य-माणानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाणेन वस्तुपरीक्षणं विचारः । तस्य विषये विचार्यमाणानां वाक्यानां देः प्लुतो भवति ॥

97. The end-syllable of those sentences is *pluta*, which denote acts of reflection (or balancing between two alternatives).

To determine a thing by weighing all arguments *pro* and *con* is called *vichāra* or judgment. Thus होतव्यं वीक्षितस्य गृहा ३ इ न होतव्योऽं "should one perform sacrifice in the house of an initiated person". Similarly तिष्ठेयूपा ३ इ, अनुग्रहे

पूर्वा३॥ Here also it is being reflected upon whether दूरे तिष्ठेत् or दूरे अनुपहेत् ॥ i. e. should the stake remain upright or should it be put flat by the yajamāna. किं दूरे तिष्ठेत्, किं वा दूरे यजमानः शाययेत् ॥

पूर्वं तु भाषायाम् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वम्, तु, भाषायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाषायां विषये विचार्यमाणानां पूर्वमेव ह्यवते ॥

98. In the common speech, the end-vowel of the first alternative is only pluta.

This makes a niyama or restriction. The previous sūtra, is thus confined to Vedic literature, and not to the vernacular. तु here has the force of 'only'. Thus अहि ई३ रज्जुर्दु 'Is it a snake or a rope'? लोटो ई३ कपोतोऽु 'Is it a clod of earth or a pigeon?'

The priority, of course, depends upon employment. The order of words depends upon one's choice.

प्रतिश्रवणे च ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिश्रवणे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिश्रवणमभ्युपगमः प्रतिज्ञानम् ॥ श्रवणाभिमुख्यं च तत्राविशेषात्सर्वत्र ग्रहणम् ॥ प्रतिश्रवणं यद्वाक्यं वर्तते तस्य टेः प्लुतो भवति ॥

99. The end-syllable of the sentence which expresses assent or promise or listening to, is pluta.

The word प्रतिश्रवण means "agreement, assent or promise": It also means "listening to". All these senses are to be taken here, as there is nothing in the sūtra to restrict its scope. Thus it has three senses, 1. to promise something to a petitioner, 2. to acknowledge the truth of some proposition, 3. to listen to another's words. Thus नां मे देहि नोः, 1. इत्तं ते वसामि ३ ॥ 2. नित्यः शब्दो भवितुमर्हति ३ ॥ 3. देवदत्त नोः, किमाख्या ३ ॥

अनुदात्तं प्रश्नान्तामिपूजितयोः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, प्रश्न-अन्तः, अमि पूजितयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तः प्लुतो भवति प्रश्नान्ते अमिपूजिते च ॥

100. The end-vowel at the end of a question or of a praise is pluta, but unaccented.

That which is employed at the end of an interrogative sentence is called प्रश्नान्तः ॥ According to some, this rule does not ordain pluta, but only ordains the anudatta-ness of those syllables which become pluta by the previous rules VIII. 2. 84 &c. The meaning of the sūtra then is:—That pluta which comes at the end of an Interrogative sentence or a sentence denoting admiration, is anudatta.

Thus अगर्मा३ः पूर्वा३न् पार्मा३न् अमिभूता३॥ or अगर्मा३ः पूर्वा३न् पार्मा३न् पट्टा३॥ (i. e. अगमः पूर्वा३न् पार्मा३न् अमिभूते or पटो) ॥ The words अमिभूते, and पटो being finals in a

question, become anudatta as well as pluta. The other words अग्नः &c become svarita and pluta by VIII. 2. 105. See VIII. 2. 107.

As regards अभिपूजिते we have शोभनः स्वस्ति माणवका १ ॥ Here the final of माणवका becomes anudatta and pluta.

चिदिति चोपमार्थे प्रयुज्यमाने ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्, इति, च, उपमा-अर्थे, प्रयुज्यमाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तमिति वर्त्तते चिदित्येतस्मिन्निपाते उपमार्थे प्रयुज्यमाने वाक्यस्य देवदत्तः प्लुतो भवति ॥

101. The end-vowel at the end of a sentence becomes anudatta and pluta, when the particle चित् is employed, denoting comparison.

The word अनुदात्तं is understood here. This sūtra ordains pluta as well and not merely accent.

Thus अग्निचिद् भावाश्च 'may he shine as fire'. So also राजचिद् भावाश्च 'may he shine as a King'.

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of comparison'? Observe कथं चिद् भावः ॥ Here चिद् has the force of 'littleness or difficulty'.

Why do we say प्रयुज्यमाने 'when expressly employed'? Observe अग्नि माणवको भावात् 'Let the boy shine like fire'. Here चित् is understood, hence the rule does not apply.

उपरिस्विदासीदिति च ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपरि-स्वित्-आसीत्, इति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तमिति वर्त्तते ॥ उपरिस्विदासीत्येतस्य देवदत्तः प्लुतो भवति ॥

102. In उपरि स्विद् आसीद् the end vowel is anudatta and pluta.

The word anudatta is understood here also. The end-vowel would have been pluta here by VIII. 2. 97: the present sūtra really ordains accentlessness of this pluta.

Thus अधः स्विदासीत्, उपरि स्विदासीत् (Rig X. 129. 5). In the first portion आसीत् is pluta and udatta by VIII. 2. 97, in the second it is anudatta by the present sūtra.

स्वरितमाग्नेदितेसूयासंमतिकोपकुत्सनेषु ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितम्, आग्ने-दिते, असूया, सम्मतिः, कोप, कुत्सनेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरितः प्लुतो भवति आग्नेदिते परतः असूयायां सम्मतौ कोपे कुत्सने च गम्यमान ॥

वा० ॥ असूयादिषु वा वचनं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

103. Of the two Vocatives of the same form standing at the beginning of a sentence, the end-vowel of the first becomes pluta and svarita, when envy, praise, anger, or blame is expressed.

The vocative is doubled by VIII. 1. 8. This sūtra ordains pluta there. Thus Envy:—माणवका१ माणवक, अभिरूपका१ अभिरूपक, रिक्तं त अभिरूपकम् ॥ Praise:—

माणवकां॑ माणवक, अ॑भिरुपकां॑ अभिरुपक शोभनः स्वस्वसि ॥ Anger:—माणवकां॑ माणवक, अ॑भिनीतकां॑ अभिनीतक इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि आत्म ॥ Blame:—शान्तीकां॑ शान्तीक, बाढीकां॑ बाढीक रिक्ता ते शक्तिः ॥

Vart:—The word “optionally” should be read into this sūtra. Thus there is no pluta and svarita in one alternative As माणवक माणवक &c.

क्षियार्शीः प्रैषेषु तिङ्काकाङ्क्षम् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षिया, आशी, प्रैषेषु, तिङ्-
आकाङ्क्षम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वारिति इति वर्त्तते । क्षिया आचारभेदः । आशीः प्रार्थनाविशेषः । शब्देन व्यापारणं प्रैषः । एतेषु गन्धमानेषु तिङन्तामकाङ्क्षं वक्तव्यं स्वरितः प्लुतो भवति ॥

104. When an error against polite usage is censured, or when a benediction or a bidding is intended, the end syllable of a finite verb becomes pluta and svarita, if this requires another sentence to complete the sense.

The word ‘svarita’ is understood here. The word क्षिया means ‘the error in usage’ or ‘want of good breeding’. (VIII.1.60) आशीः means ‘benediction’. प्रैषः means ‘order’ or ‘commanding by words’.

Thus (1) स्वयं रयेन यतिं॑, उपाध्यायं पदातिं गमयति ॥ स्वयं भोजनं मुहूर्त्ते॑, उपाध्यायं सकृन् पाठयति ॥ In both these, the first sentence requires the second as its complement, and hence there is साकाङ्क्षा ॥

Benediction:—सुतां च लप्सीष्टा॑ धनं च तात ; छन्दोध्येपीष्टा॑ व्याकरणं च, भद्र ॥

Order:—कटं कुर्व॑ मानं च गच्छ ; ववान् लुनीहि॑, सकृन् पिब ॥

Why do we say “when it requires another sentence as its complement”? Observe कीर्षं ते आयुरस्तु ; अग्नीन् विहर ॥ There cannot be any counter-example of क्षिया, for there two sentences are absolutely necessary to express the sense of censure.

अनन्त्यस्यापि प्रश्नाख्यानयोः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनन्त्यस्य, अपि, प्रश्न, आख्या-
नयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनन्त्यस्यापि अनन्त्यस्यापि पदस्य डेः प्लुतो भवति प्रश्ने आख्याने च ॥

105. In a question or narration, the end-vowel of a word, though not final in a sentence, becomes svarita and pluta, as well as of the word which is final in a sentence.

The word ‘padasya’ is understood here: and so also the word ‘svarita’. The end-vowel of a word which is not the last word in a sentence, as well as of the last word, becomes svarita and pluta, when a question is asked, or a fact is narrated. In fact, *all* the words of a sentence become svarita and pluta hereby.

Thus in questioning we have:—आगमां॑: पूर्व॑श्च॑ मामां॑ आसि भूतां॑ इ॒ or पदा॑ इ॒ ॥ Thus all words have become svarita and pluta. The final word

would, in one alternative, become anudatta also, by VIII. 2. 100, as shown under that sūtra. The force of the word अणि in the sūtra, is to make the final word also svarita, and thus this sūtra makes VIII. 2. 100 an *optional* sūtra with regard to question.

In *ākhyāna* or narration, there is no other rule, which is debarred by this. Therefore there, *all* words become svarita and *pluta necessarily*, by the force of this sūtra. Thus अगनाश्च पूर्वाश्च यानाश्च भोः ॥

Another view of this sūtra is that the word अणि applies only to *ākhyāna*, so that in *ākhyāna* *all* words become svarita. But in *prāśna*, the final word will not become svarita, but anudatta *necessarily* by VIII. 2. 100. According to this view, this sūtra does not ordain *option*. This view is not adopted by Kāsikā, or Padamanjari or Siddhanta Kaumudi.

प्लुतावैच इदुतौ ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्लुतौ, ऐचः, इदुतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दूराचूतादिषु प्लुतो विहितः तत्र ऐचः प्लुतप्रसङ्गे तदवयवभूतादि इतौ प्लुतौ ॥

106. In forming the *pluta* of the diphthongs ऐ and औ, their last element इ and उ get the *pluta*.

The *pluta* ordained by VIII. 2. 84 &c. when applied to ऐ or औ, cause the prolation of the last element of these diphthongs namely of इ or उ ॥ The word प्लुतौ in the sūtra is Nominative dual of प्लुत, and the aphorism literally means “इ and उ are *pluta* of the diphthongs ऐ and औ” ॥

Thus ऐश्चिकावन, औश्चगव ॥

The letters ऐ and औ are compound letters or diphthongs consisting of अ+इ and अ+उ ॥ In making the *pluta* of these, the question arises, should both अ and इ (or उ) be prolated, or only the last element, or the first only. The present sūtra answers that doubt. If in the analysis of these letters, अ be taken as having one mātra (or *moras*), and इ and उ one mātrā, then the *pluta* इ and उ will have two mātrās, so that the whole *pluta* ऐ and औ will have *three* mātrās. In fact, the word प्लुत is used here as a Past Participle of प्लु, having the force of a verb; and इदुतौ प्लुतौ means इदुतौ ह्रस्वे i. e. वृद्धि गच्छतः, i. e. इ and उ are lengthened. And इ and उ are lengthened to that extent, so as to make ऐ and औ *three* mātrās. Thus when अ+इ and अ+उ each has one mātrā, then the *pluta* of इ and उ will have *two* mātrās as we have said before. But when अ+इ (ऐ) and अ+उ (औ) are considered to have अ *half* mātra, and इ and उ one mātrā and a half, then इ and उ are made *pluta*, so as to have two and a half ($2\frac{1}{2}$) mātrās each, thus the whole of ऐ and औ, has still *three* mātrās. In fact, the definition of *pluta* is, that it is a vowel which has *three* mātrās: so that we should so prolate the vowel as to make it have *three* mātrās.

But according to Patanjali, this *pluta* of ऐ and औ has *four* mātrās. Thus अ+इ and अ+उ each has *one* mātrā. The *pluta* of इ and उ will have

three mâtṛās. Thus अ+इ and अ+उ, or the *whole* has *four* mâtṛās. According to this view a vowel may have *four* mâtṛās also.

एचोऽप्रगृह्यस्यादूराद्भूते पूर्वस्यार्धस्यानुत्तरस्येदुतौ ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एचो, अ-प्रगृह्यस्य, अदूराद्भूते, पूर्वस्य अर्धस्य, आत्, उत्तरस्य ईत्, उतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एचोऽप्रगृह्यस्यादूराद्भूते प्लुतविषयस्यार्धस्याकार आदेशो भवति स च प्लुतः उत्तरस्थिकारोकारावादेशो भवतः ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ विषयपरिगणं कर्तव्यं ॥ वा० ॥ प्रमान्ताभिपुञ्जितविचार्यमाणप्रत्यनिवादवाङ्मन्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ आनन्विते छन्दसि प्लुतविकारोऽयं वक्तव्यः ॥

107. In the diphthongs, which are not Pragṛhya (I. 1. 11 &c) and which become pluta under the circumstances mentioned in VIII. 2. 83 &c., but not when that circumstance is a call from a distance (VIII. 2. 84); for the first half, there is substituted the prolated आ, and for the second portion इ or उ ॥

The diphthongs or एच् are ए, ऐ, ओ and औ ॥ Their elements are अ+इ, and अ+उ ॥ When these diphthongs are to be prolated, *at the end of a word*, the diphthong is resolved into its elements, the *first* portion अ is prolated, and इ or उ added, as the case may be. This इ and उ, in fact, are the substitutes of the second portion, which may be इ or उ, or ए or औ ॥

This rule is not of universal application, but applies to Rules VIII. 2. 100, VIII. 2. 97, VIII. 2. 83, and VIII. 2. 90 only, according to the

Vārt:—The scope of this sūtra should be determined by enumerating the rules to which it applies.

Vārt:—It should be stated that it applies to sūtras VIII. 2. 100, 97, 83 and 90.

Thus VIII. 2. 100: As अगमाः पूर्वाश्च आमाश्च अमिमृताश्च ॥ or पदाश्च ॥ नङ् करोषि माणवकाः अमिमृताश्च ॥ or पदाश्च ॥ So also VIII. 2. 97: होतव्यं शीतितस्य पूर्वाश्च ॥ So also VIII. 2. 83, as:—आयुष्माश्च एषि अमिमृताश्च ॥ or पदाश्च ॥ So also VIII. 2. 90:—as.

उक्षामाव वक्षामाव सोमपृष्ठाय वेधसे ।

स्तोत्रे विधेनामवाश्च ॥ (Tait. S. I. 3. 14. 7).

This pluta आ is udātta, anudātta or svarita, according to the particular rule which has been applied, i. e. at the end of a question it is anudātta or svarita, and every where else, udātta. The इ and उ are of course, always udātta: because the anuvṛitti of udātta is current here.

Why do we restrict this sūtra to the above-mentioned four rules? Observe विष्णुभूते विष्णुभूते वातविष्णुमि त्वा आनच्छ भो माणवक विष्णुभूते ॥

In fact, the present sūtra being confined to the above-mentioned four rules, the words अदूराद्भूते in the sūtra, are redundant: and should not have

been used. Moreover the word पदान्त should have been used in the sūtra, for it applies to diphthongs at the *end* of a pada. Therefore, not here, अङ्गं करोति गौरिति ॥ Here गौ before the sarvanāmasthāna affix सु is not a Pada (I. 4. 17).

Why do we say 'when it is not a Pragṛhya'? Observe घोमने खलु स्यःखद्वे ॥

Vārt :—This peculiar modification of pluta vowel takes place in the Vocative case in the Vedas. As अमा३इ पन्नीवा३ः सङ्गैवेन स्वप्ता सोमं पिब ॥ Here by no other rule, the Vocative would have become prolated

तयोर्ग्रावचि संहितायाम् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तयोः य, वी, अचि, संहितायाम् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ तयोर्द्वितोर्वकारवकारदेशौ भवतो ऽचि संहितायां विषये ॥

Kārikā :—किं तु वणा भवतीह न सिद्धं द्वाविदुतोर्वदयं विदधाति ।

तौ च मम स्वरसन्धिषु सिद्धौ शाकलसीर्षविधी तु निवर्त्यौ ॥

इकं तु वषा भवति प्लुतपूर्वस्तत्त्व वणं विदधात्यपवादम् ।

तेन तयोश्च न शाकलसीर्षौ वणस्वरबाधनमेव तु हेतुः ॥

108. For these vowels इ and उ are substituted य् and व् when a vowel follows them in a samhita (in an unbroken flow of speech).

The word संहितायाम् is an adhikāra and exerts its influence upto the end of the Book. Whatever we shall teach hereafter, upto the end of the Book, will apply to words which are in Sanhitā.

Thus अमा३वाचा, पदा३वाचा, अमा३विन्त्रम्, पदा३वृकम् ॥

Why do we say "when a vowel follows"? Observe अमा३इ, पदा३उ ॥

Why do we say संहितायाम् 'in an uninterrupted flow of speech'? Observe अमा३इ इन्त्रम्, पदा३उ वृकम् in Pada Pāṭha.

This sūtra is made, because इ and उ being Pluta-modifications are considered as asiddha (VIII. 2. 1) for the purposes of इको वणचि (VI. 1. 77). But supposing that some how or other, these इ and उ be considered siddha, still the present rule is necessary to prevent their lengthening before a homogeneous vowel (VI. 1. 101), or their retaining their form unchanged by VI. 1. 127. If it be said, that these rules VI. 1. 101, and VI. 1. 127, would not apply, because of the Vārtika इकः प्लुतपूर्वस्य सवर्णसीर्ष बाधनायै वणादेशो वक्तव्यः (Vārtika to VI. 1. 77); still the present sūtra ought to be made, in order to prevent वण् accent (VIII. 2. 4).

Kārikā :—Q. Could not this have been accomplished by the वणादेश of VI. 1. 77, that the Achārya has taught this separate य् and व् substitution?

Ans.—If you say that pluta is siddha in the vowel sandhi rules, because of the jñāpaka in sūtra VI. 1. 125, then still this rule is necessary in order to prevent the lengthening of VI. 1. 101, and the Śākala rule VI. 1. 127.

Q.—But those two rules VI. 1. 101, and VI. 1. 127, have already been debarred by the Vārtika which ordains that वृत्तदेश takes place of such a vowel following a pluta (See vārtika to VI. 1. 77), what is then the necessity of the present sūtra ?

Ans.—The necessity of the present sūtra is to prevent the वृत्त-accent of VIII. 2. 4.

According to one view, the vārtika under VI. 1. 77, refers to those vowels which are not pluta-elements, like the present इ and उ, but which are *independent* vowels following after a pluta vowel. As मोइ इ इन्द्र = मोइ यिन्द्र ॥ Here इ is a Nipāta.

In some texts of Kāsikā, according to Padamanjari, only the last example is given.

आग्नेदितं भर्त्सने ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आग्नेदितम्, भर्त्सने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाक्यादिरामन्वितस्येति भर्त्सने द्विर्वचनद्वयं तस्याग्नेदितं द्वयते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भर्त्सने पर्यायेनेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

95. The end syllable of an *āmreḍita* Vocative is *pluta*, when threat is expressed.

A Vocative is reiterated when threat is meant (VIII. 1. 8). Its final syllable becomes *pluta*. Thus चौरं चौरं॑ यातिष्यामि त्वा ॥ So also वृषल वृषलं॑ बन्धविष्यामि त्वा, इत्य इत्यो॑ &c.

Though the *anuvṛitti* of the *sūtra* VIII. 2. 82, is current here, yet the final of the *sentence* is not *pluta*, but of the *āmreḍita*.

Vṛti :—It should be rather stated that any one of the repeated words may be *pluta* by alternation. Thus चौरं चौरं॑ or चौरं चौरं॑ ॥ The word *āmreḍita* is employed in the *sūtra* as illustrative of the doubling, for threat is expressed by *both* words, so *pluta* may be of *both* words in turn: and not of the second word only, though that is called technically *āmreḍita*.

अङ्गयुक्तं तिङाकाङ्क्षम् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्ग, युक्तम्, तिङाकाङ्क्षम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गइत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तमाकाङ्क्षं भर्त्सने द्वयते ॥

96. The final syllable of a finite verb, used as a threat becomes *pluta*, when the word *अङ्ग* is joined with it, and it demands another sentence to complete the conclusion.

Thus अङ्ग कूर्जो॑ इदानीं हास्यसि आत्म ॥ अङ्ग व्याहर्तो॑ इदानीं हास्यसि आत्म ॥

Why do we say 'a verb'? Observe अङ्ग देववत् मिथ्या वदसि ॥

Why do we say "when this calls for a conclusion"? Observe अङ्ग पच ॥ Here it is a complete sentence and does not demand another to complete the sense.

The word *भर्त्सने* of the last *sūtra* is understood here also. Therefore not here, अङ्ग अधीष्य, ओदनं ते हास्यामि ॥ Here अङ्ग has the force of solicitation. (VIII. 1. 33).

विचार्यमाणानाम् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विचार्य-माणानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाणेन वस्तुपरीक्षणं विचारः । तस्य विषये विचार्यमाणानां वाक्यानां द्वेः प्लुतो भवति ॥

97. The end-syllable of those sentences is *pluta*, which denote acts of reflection (or balancing between two alternatives).

To determine a thing by weighing all arguments *pro* and *con* is called *vichāra* or judgment. Thus होतव्यं हीक्षितस्य गृहा ३ इ न होतव्यो॑ ३ ५ "should one perform sacrifice in the house of an initiated person". Similarly सिद्धेष्टूपा३ ४, अनुग्रहे

पूर्वा३३ ॥ Here also it is being reflected upon whether दूरे तिष्ठेत् or दूरे अनुप्रहेत् ॥ i. e. should the stake remain upright or should it be put flat by the yajamāna. किं दूरे तिष्ठेत्, किं वा दूरे यजमानः शाययेत् ॥

पूर्वं तु भाषायाम् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वम्, तु, भाषायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाषायां विषये विचार्यमाणानां पूर्वमेव भवते ॥

98. In the common speech, the end-vowel of the first alternative is only pluta.

This makes a niyama or restriction. The previous sūtra, is thus confined to Vedic literature, and not to the vernacular. तु here has the force of 'only'. Thus बहिर् दूरे रज्जुर्दु 'Is it a snake or a rope?' लोटो दूरे कपोतोऽु 'Is it a clod of earth or a pigeon?'

The priority, of course, depends upon employment. The order of words depends upon one's choice.

प्रतिश्रवणे च ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिश्रवणे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिश्रवणमभ्युपगमः प्रतिज्ञानम् ॥ श्रवणमिदुष्यं च तत्राविशेषात्सर्वत्र महजम् ॥ प्रतिश्रवणं यद्वाक्यं वर्तते तस्य देः प्लुतो भवति ॥

99. The end-syllable of the sentence which expresses assent or promise or listening to, is pluta.

The word प्रतिश्रवण means "agreement, assent or promise". It also means "listening to". All these senses are to be taken here, as there is nothing in the sūtra to restrict its scope. Thus it has three senses, 1. to promise something to a petitioner, 2. to acknowledge the truth of some proposition, 3. to listen to another's words. Thus गां मे देहि भोः, 1. इमां ते वसामि ३ ॥ 2. नित्यः शब्दो भवितुमर्हति ३ ॥ 3. देववत्त भोः, किमात्स्यो ३ ॥

अनुदात्तं प्रश्नान्तामिपूजितयोः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, प्रश्न-अन्तः, अमि पूजितयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तः प्लुतो भवति प्रश्नान्ते अमिपूजिते च ॥

100. The end-vowel at the end of a question or of a praise is pluta, but unaccented.

That which is employed at the end of an interrogative sentence is called प्रश्नान्तः ॥ According to some, this rule does not ordain pluta, but only ordains the anudatta-ness of those syllables which become pluta by the previous rules VIII. 2. 84 &c. The meaning of the sūtra then is:—That pluta which comes at the end of an Interrogative sentence or a sentence denoting admiration, is anudatta.

Thus अगर्मा३ः पूर्वा३म् यामा३म् अमिभूता३३ or अगर्मा३ः पूर्वा३म् यामा३म् पदा३३ (i. e. अगमः पूर्वा३म् यामा३म् अमिभूते or पदे) ॥ The words अमिभूते, and पदे being finals in a

question, become anudātta as well as pluta. The other words अग्नः &c become svarita and pluta by VIII. 2. 105. See VIII. 2. 107.

As regards अभिपुञ्जिते we have शोभनः स्वस्वसि माणवका १ ॥ Here the final of माणवक becomes anudātta and pluta.

चिदिति चोपमार्थे प्रयुज्यमाने ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्, इति, च, उपमा-अर्थे, प्रयुज्यमाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तमिति वर्त्तते चिदित्येतस्मिन्निपाते उपमार्थे प्रयुज्यमाने वाक्यस्य देरनुदात्तः प्लुतो भवति ॥

101. The end-vowel at the end of a sentence becomes anudātta and pluta, when the particle चित् is employed, denoting comparison.

The word अनुदात्तं is understood here. This sūtra ordains pluta as well and not merely accent.

Thus अग्निश्चिद् भायाश्न 'may he shine as fire'. So also राजश्चिद् भायाश्न 'may he shine as a King'.

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of comparison'? Observe कथं चिद् आहुः ॥ Here चिद् has the force of 'littleness or difficulty'.

Why do we say प्रयुज्यमाने 'when expressly employed'? Observe अग्नि माणवको भायात् 'Let the boy shine like fire'. Here चित् is understood, hence the rule does not apply.

उपरिस्विदासीदिति च ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपरि-स्वित्-आसीत्, इति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तमिति वर्त्तते ॥ उपरिस्विदासीत्येतस्य देरनुदात्तः प्लुतो भवति ॥

102. In उपरि स्विद् आसीद् the end vowel is anudātta and pluta.

The word anudātta is understood here also. The end-vowel would have been pluta here by VIII. 2. 97: the present sūtra really ordains accentlessness of this pluta.

Thus अधः स्विदासीत्, उपरि स्विदासीत् (Rig X. 129. 5). In the first portion आसीत् is pluta and udātta by VIII. 2. 97, in the second it is anudātta by the present sūtra.

स्वरितमात्रेडितेसूयासंमतिकोपकुत्सनेषु ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितम्, मात्रे-डिते, असूया, सम्मति, कोप, कुत्सनेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरितः प्लुतो भवति अभिहिते परतः असूयायां सम्मतौ कोपे कुत्सने च गम्यमान ॥

वा० ॥ असूयादिषु वा वचनं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

103. Of the two Vocatives of the same form standing at the beginning of a sentence, the end-vowel of the first becomes pluta and svarita, when envy, praise, anger, or blame is expressed.

The vocative is doubled by VIII. 1. 8. This sūtra ordains pluta there. Thus Envy:—माणवका१ माणवक, अभिरूपका१ अभिरूपक, रिक्तं त अभिरूपकम् ॥ Praise:—

माणवकां माणवक, अमिरूपकां अमिरूपक शोभनः खल्वसि ॥ Anger :—माणवकां माणवक, अविनीतकां अविनीतक इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि ज्ञास्य ॥ Blame :—शान्तीकां शान्तीक, वादीकां वादीक रिक्ता ते शक्तिः ॥

Vart :—The word “optionally” should be read into this sūtra. Thus there is no pluta and svarita in one alternative As माणवक माणवक &c.

क्षियाशीः प्रैषेषु तिङ्काकाङ्क्षम् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षिया, आशी, प्रैषेषु, तिङ्-
आकाङ्क्षम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वारित इति वर्त्तते । क्षिया आचारभेदः । आशीः प्रार्थनाविशेषः । शब्देन व्यापारणं प्रैषः । एतेषु गन्धमानेषु तिङ्न्तामकाङ्क्षं वस्तस्य स्वरितः प्लुतो भवति ॥

104. When an error against polite usage is censured, or when a benediction or a bidding is intended, the end syllable of a finite verb becomes pluta and svarita, if this requires another sentence to complete the sense.

The word ‘svarita’ is understood here. The word क्षिया means ‘the error in usage’ or ‘want of good breeding’. (VIII.1.60) आशीः means ‘benediction’. प्रैषः means ‘order’ or ‘commanding by words’.

Thus (1) स्वयं रयेन याति, उपाध्यायं पशति गमयति ॥ स्वयं बोधनं मुह्यते, उपाध्यायं सकृन् पावयति ॥ In both these, the first sentence requires the second as its complement, and hence there is साकाङ्क्षा ॥

Benediction :—सुतां लप्सीष्टा धनं च तात ; छन्दोध्येषीष्टा व्याकरणं च, भद्र ॥

Order :—कटं कुर्वन् मानं च गच्छ ; ववान् लुनीहि, सकृन् पिब ॥

Why do we say “when it requires another sentence as its complement”? Observe कीर्त्तये ते आयुस्तु ; अग्नीन् विहर ॥ There cannot be any counter-example of क्षिया, for there two sentences are absolutely necessary to express the sense of censure.

अनन्त्यस्यापि प्रभाष्यानयोः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनन्त्यस्य, अपि, प्रभ, आख्या-
नयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनन्त्यस्यापि अनन्त्यस्यापि पदस्य टेः प्लुतो भवति प्रभे आख्याने च ॥

105. In a question or narration, the end-vowel of a word, though not final in a sentence, becomes svarita and pluta, as well as of the word which is final in a sentence.

The word ‘padasya’ is understood here : and so also the word ‘svarita’. The end-vowel of a word which is not the last word in a sentence, as well as of the last word, becomes svarita and pluta, when a question is asked, or a fact is narrated. In fact, *all* the words of a sentence become svarita and pluta hereby.

Thus in questioning we have :—आगमांश्च पूर्वान् मानान् आग्निं धृतांश्च
पदांश्च ॥ Thus all words have become svarita and pluta. The final word

would, in one alternative, become anudatta also, by VIII. 2. 100, as shown under that sūtra. The force of the word अवि in the sūtra, is to make the final word also svarita, and thus this sūtra makes VIII. 2. 100 an *optional* sūtra with regard to question.

In *ākhyāna* or narration, there is no other rule, which is debarred by this. Therefore there, *all* words become svarita and pluta *necessarily*, by the force of this sūtra. Thus अगमाश्च पूर्वाश्च माताश्च भोः ॥

Another view of this sūtra is that the word अवि applies only to *ākhyāna*, so that in *ākhyāna* *all* words become svarita. But in *prāṇa*, the final word will not become svarita, but anudatta *necessarily* by VIII. 2. 100. According to this view, this sūtra does not ordain *option*. This view is not adopted by Kāsikā, or Padamanjari or Siddhanta Kaumudi.

प्लुतावैच इदुतौ ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्लुतौ, ऐचः, इदुतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दूरादूतादिषु प्लुतो विहितः तच्च ऐचः प्लुतमसङ्गे तदवयवभूतावि इतौ प्लुतौ ॥

106. In forming the pluta of the diphthongs ऐ and औ, their last element इ and उ get the pluta.

The pluta ordained by VIII. 2. 84 &c. when applied to ऐ or औ, cause the prolation of the last element of these diphthongs namely of इ or उ ॥ The word प्लुतौ in the sūtra is Nominative dual of प्लुत, and the aphorism literally means "इ and उ are pluta of the diphthongs ऐ and औ" ॥

Thus ऐश्चिकावन, औश्चगव ॥

The letters ऐ and औ are compound letters or diphthongs consisting of अ+इ and अ+उ ॥ In making the pluta of these, the question arises, should both अ and इ (or उ) be prolated, or only the last element, or the first only. The present sūtra answers that doubt. If in the analysis of these letters, अ be taken as having one mātra (or *moras*), and इ and उ one mātrā, then the pluta इ and उ will have two mātrās, so that the whole pluta ऐ and औ will have *three* mātrās. In fact, the word प्लुत is used here as a Past Participle of प्लु, having the force of a verb; and इदुतौ प्लुतौ means इदुतौ द्वयेते i. e. वृद्धिं गच्छतः, i. e. इ and उ are lengthened. And इ and उ are lengthened to that extent, so as to make ऐ and औ *three* mātrās. Thus when अ+इ and अ+उ each has one mātrā, then the pluta of इ and उ will have *two* mātrās as we have said before. But when अ+इ (ऐ) and अ+उ (औ) are considered to have अ *half* mātra, and इ and उ one mātrā and a half, then इ and उ are made pluta, so as to have two and a half ($2\frac{1}{2}$) mātrās each, thus the whole of ऐ and औ, has still *three* mātrās. In fact, the definition of *pluta* is, that it is a vowel which has *three* mātrās: so that we should so prolate the vowel as to make it have *three* mātrās.

But according to Patanjali, this pluta of ऐ and औ has *four* mātrās. Thus अ+इ and अ+उ each has *one* mātrā. The pluta of इ and उ will have

three mâtṛās. Thus अ + इ३ and अ + उ३, or the *whole* has *four* mâtṛās. According to this view a vowel may have *four* mâtṛās also.

एचोऽप्रगृह्यस्यादूराद्धूते पूर्वस्यार्धस्यानुत्तरस्येदुतौ ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एचो, अ-प्रगृह्यस्य, अदूराद्धूते, पूर्वस्य अर्धस्य, आत्, उत्तरस्य ईत्, उतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एचोऽप्रगृह्यस्यादूराद्धूते प्लुतविषयस्यार्धस्याकार आदेशो भवति स च प्लुतः उत्तरस्विकारोकारावादेशो भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ विषयपरिगणं कर्तव्यं ॥ वा० ॥ प्रमान्ताभिपूजितविचार्यमाणप्रत्यभिवादवाक्यान्तेऽपि वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ आनन्विते छन्दसि प्लुतविकारोऽयं वक्तव्यः ॥

107. In the diphthongs, which are not Pragṛhya (I. 1. 11 &c) and which become pluta under the circumstances mentioned in VIII. 2. 83 &c., but not when that circumstance is a call from a distance (VIII. 2. 84); for the first half, there is substituted the prolated आ, and for the second portion इ or उ ॥

The diphthongs or एच् are ए, ऐ, औ and औ ॥ Their elements are अ + इ, and अ + उ ॥ When these diphthongs are to be prolated, *at the end of a word*, the diphthong is resolved into its elements, the *first* portion अ is prolated, and इ or उ added, as the case may be. This इ and उ, in fact, are the substitutes of the second portion, which may be इ or उ, or ए or औ ॥

This rule is not of universal application, but applies to Rules VIII. 2. 100, VIII. 2. 97, VIII. 2. 83, and VIII. 2. 90 only, according to the

Vart:—The scope of this sūtra should be determined by enumerating the rules to which it applies.

Vart:—It should be stated that it applies to sūtras VIII. 2. 100, 97, 83 and 90.

Thus VIII. 2. 100: As अगमाः पूर्वाङ्गं यमाङ्गं अमिश्रताङ्गं ॥ or पदाङ्गं ॥ नङ् करोषि माणवकाः अमिश्रताङ्गं or पदाङ्गं ॥ So also VIII. 2. 97: होतव्यं वीक्षितस्य पूर्वाङ्गं ॥ So also VIII. 2. 83, as:—आयुष्मान् एषि अमिश्रताङ्गं or पदाङ्गं ॥ So also VIII. 2. 90:—as.

उक्षाम्नाय वक्षाम्नाय सोमपृष्ठाय वेधसे ।

स्तौमि विधेमाग्रवाङ्गं ॥ (Tait. S. I. 3. 14. 7).

This pluta आ is udātta, anudātta or svarita, according to the particular rule which has been applied, i. e. at the end of a question it is anudātta or svarita, and every where else, udātta. The इ and उ are of course, always udātta: because the anuvṛitti of udātta is current here.

Why do we restrict this sūtra to the above-mentioned four rules? Observe विष्णुभूते विष्णुभूतेऽ पातविष्यामि त्वा आनच्छ भो माणवक विष्णुभूते ॥

In fact, the present sūtra being confined to the above-mentioned four rules, the words अदूराद्धूते in the sūtra, are redundant: and should not have

been used. Moreover the word पञ्च should have been used in the sūtra, for it applies to diphthongs at the end of a pada. Therefore, not here, अङ्गं करोषि गौरिति ॥ Here गौ before the sarvanāmasthāna affix झु is not a Pada (I. 4. 17).

Why do we say 'when it is not a Pragṛhya'? Observe घोषने खलु स्यःखद्वे ॥

Vārt:—This peculiar modification of pluta vowel takes place in the Vocative case in the Vedas. As अमाश्वाः पत्नीवाः सख्येवेन स्वप्ना सोमं पिब ॥ Here by no other rule, the Vocative would have become prolated

तयोर्ध्वावचि संहितायाम् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तयोः य, वौ, अचि, संहितायाम् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ तयोर्द्वितोर्ध्वाकारवकारादेशौ भवतो ऽचि संहितायां विषये ॥

Kārikā:—किं तु वणा भवतीह न सिद्धं द्वाविदुतोर्ध्वद्वयं विवधाति ।

तौ च मम स्वरसन्धिषु सिद्धौ शाकलसीर्ध्वविधी तु निवर्त्यौ ॥

इकं तु वणा भवति प्लुतपूर्वस्त्व वणं विवधायपवादम् ।

तेन तयोश्च न शाकलसीर्ध्वो वणस्वरवाधनेव तु हेतुः ॥

108. For these vowels इ and उ are substituted इ and उ when a vowel follows them in a samhita (in an unbroken flow of speech).

The word संहितायाम् is an adhikāra and exerts its influence upto the end of the Book. Whatever we shall teach hereafter, upto the end of the Book, will apply to words which are in Sanhitā.

Thus अमाश्वाणा, पदाश्वाणा, अमाश्चिन्त्रम्, पदाश्चुक्कम् ॥

Why do we say "when a vowel follows"? Observe अमाश्वा, पदाश्वा ॥

Why do we say संहितायाम् 'in an uninterrupted flow of speech'? Observe अमाश्वा इ इन्द्रम्, पदाश्वा उक्कम् in Pada Pāṭha.

This sūtra is made, because इ and उ being Pluta-modifications are considered as asiddha (VIII. 2. 1) for the purposes of इको वणचि (VI. 1. 77). But supposing that some how or other, these इ and उ be considered siddha, still the present rule is necessary to prevent their lengthening before a homogeneous vowel (VI. 1. 101), or their retaining their form unchanged by VI. 1. 127. If it be said, that these rules VI. 1. 101, and VI. 1. 127, would not apply, because of the Vārtika इकः प्लुतपूर्वस्त्व सवर्णसीर्ध्वं वाधनार्थं वणादेशो वक्तव्यः (Vārtika to VI. 1. 77); still the present sūtra ought to be made, in order to prevent वण् accent (VIII. 2. 4).

Kārikā:—Q. Could not this have been accomplished by the वणादेशो of VI. 1. 77, that the Achārya has taught this separate इ and उ substitution?

Ans.—If you say that pluta is siddha in the vowel sandhi rules, because of the jñāpaka in sūtra VI. 1. 125, then still this rule is necessary in order to prevent the lengthening of VI. 1. 101, and the Śākala rule VI. 1. 127.

Q.—But those two rules VI. 1. 101, and VI. 1. 127, have already been debarred by the Vārtika which ordains that वृजदेश takes place of such a vowel following a pluta (See vārtika to VI. 1. 77), what is then the necessity of the present sūtra ?

Ans.—The necessity of the present sūtra is to prevent the वृज-accent of VIII. 2. 4.

According to one view, the vārtika under VI. 1. 77, refers to those vowels which are not pluta-elements, like the present इ and उ, but which are *independent* vowels following after a pluta vowel. As मोइ इ इन्द्र = मोइ यिन्द्र ॥

Here इ is a Nipāta.

अथ अष्टमाध्यास्य तृतीयः पादः ।

BOOK EIGHTH.

CHAPTER THIRD.

मनुष्यो रु सम्बुद्धौ छन्दसि ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनु, वसोः, रु, सम्बुद्धौ, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मत्स्वन्तस्य वस्वन्तस्य च परस्य रुत्स्वित्यमादेशो भवति सम्बुद्धौ परतः छन्दसि विषये ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वन उपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ भवद्भगवदपवत्तमोवावत्स्व ॥

1. For the final of the affixes मत् and वस्, there is substituted रु, in the Vocative singular, in the Chhandas.

The word संहितायां is understood here. A word ending in the affix मत् or वस्, changes its final त् or स् into रु, in the Chhandas, in the Vocative singular. Thus मत् :—इन्द्रं मरुत्व इह पाहि सोमम् (Rig. III. 51. 7) हरिवो भविनं स्वा ॥ Here मरुत्वः is Vocative Sg. of मरुत्वन् and हरिवः of हरिवन्, meaning "he who is possessed of Maruts or Hari horses". The म् of मत् is changed to व् by VIII. 2. 10 ; 15. The base मरुन् before this termination is Bha by I. 4. 19. The affix सु (nom. sg.) is elided by VI. 1. 68 ; the त् is elided by VIII. 2. 23, and the न् (of तुन् VII. 1. 70) is changed to इ by this sūtra. So also इन्द्रायाहि तृपुञ्जानः उपब्रह्माणि हरिवः (Rig. I. 3. 6).

With वस् :—मीढृस्तोकाय तर्नयाव वृळ (Rig. II. 33. 14), इन्द्रसाहः ॥ See VI. 1. 12, for the formation of मीढृान्, साहान् with कृष्ण ॥

Why do we say 'of मत् and वस्'? Observe ब्रह्मन् स्तोष्यामः ॥ Why do we say in the Vocative Singular? Observe य एवं विद्वानग्निमाधत्ते ॥ Why do we say in the Chhandas? Observe हे गामन्, हे पयिवन् ॥

VArt :—The affix वन् should also be enumerated. The affixes कृनिष् and वनिष् are both meant here. Its final is also changed to रु in the Vocative Sg. As यस्त्वायन्तं वसुना प्रातरित्वः ॥ The word प्रातरित्वन् is formed by adding कृनिष् to the root इ (इष्) preceded by प्रातः ॥ See III. 2. 75. The तुक् is added by VI. 1. 71.

Vārt :—The finals of भवत्, भगवत् and अघवत् are changed to रु, optionally in the secular as well as the sacred literature, and the syllable अन् of these words is changed to ओ ॥ This is a general rule, applying both in the Vedas and the Bhāṣā. Thus भवत्—हे भोः or हे भवन् ॥ भगवत्—हे भगोः or हे भगवन् ॥ अघवत्—हे अघोः or हे अघवन् ॥ Or these words भोः भगोः and अघोः are so irregularly formed by the āchārya himself in VIII. 3. 17. These are found in other numbers than the Vocative Singular, as भो देवदत्तवत्सलौ, भो देवदत्तवत्सल विसृजिष्याः ॥ It is found in connection with Feminine nouns also, as भो ब्राह्मणि ॥

The adhikāra of the word संहितायां does not exert any apparent influence in this sūtra. It however has influence in those subsequent sūtras, where the change in one word is occasioned by another word on account of sanhita or juxta-position, as in VIII. 3. 7.

See VIII. 2. 3 (Vārtika 2) by which the lopa is considered siddha in हरिवः, otherwise there would have been no उ change in हरिवो मे &c.

अत्रानुनासिकः पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्र, अनुनासिकः, पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् । इत उक्तं तस्य स्थाने रुर्वधीयते ततः पूर्वस्य तु वर्णस्य वाऽनुनासिको भवतीत्येवमधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

2. In the following sūtras upto VIII. 3. 12, this is always to be supplied :—“But here a nasal vowel may optionally be substituted for the preceding vowel after which रु has been ordained”.

. This is an adhikāra sūtra. For the letter which stands before that letter for which रु has been substituted, there is substituted a nasal vowel, in this division of Grammar, where रु is the subject of discussion.

Thus sūtra VIII. 3. 5 says “In the place of the final of सन्, there is रु when सुद् augment follows”. The vowel अ of सन् becomes nasal ; as संस्कृता, संस्कृत्य, संस्कृत्यम् ॥

Why have we used the word अत्र in the sūtra ? It means “here i. e. in this division where रु is the subject of discussion”. Obj. This object would have been gained, without using the word अत्र ; since it is an adhikāra sūtra and would apply to रु ॥ Ans. No. Here रु is taught in connection with nasal, therefore, the rule would not apply to any other context. For had अत्र not been used, we could not have known the extent of the jurisdiction (adhikāra) of this nasal ; and we might have applied the rule of nasality to those beyond the jurisdiction of रु, such as VIII. 3. 13. The employment of अत्र prevents this doubt and shows that रु and nasality are co-extensive.

आतोऽपि नित्यम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, अटि, नित्यम् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अटि परतो यः पूर्वस्वाकारस्य स्थाने नित्यमनुनासिकारदेशो भवति ॥

3. A nasal vowel is *always* substituted for अ before रु, when it is followed by a letter of अद् pratyāhāra (i. e. when it is followed by a vowel or ह, य, व, or र).

Thus VIII. 3. 9 teaches रु substitution of ङ, the long आ preceding it, would have been optionally nasal by the last sūtra. The present sūtra makes it necessarily so. Thus नहीं असि (Rig. III. 46. 2) नहीं इन्द्रो व ओजसा (Rig. VIII. 6. 1). देवीं भच्छादीष्यत् ॥

Some (i. e. the Taittiriya) read it as anusvāra. This is a Vedic diversity.

Why do we say “for a long आ”? Observe ये वा वनस्पतीरनु ॥ Why do we say “when a vowel or ह, य, व, or र follows”? Observe भवांश्चरति, भवांश्छादयति ॥

The word नित्य ‘always’ is employed for the sake of distinctness only. The very fact of making a separate sūtra, would give it a compulsory force, even without the word nitya.

अनुनासिकात्परो ऽनुस्वारः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुनासिकात्, परः, अनुस्वारः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकादन्यो यो वर्णः रोः पूर्वः यस्यानुनासिको न विहितस्ततः परो ऽनुस्वार भागमो भवति ॥

4. After what precedes रु, if we omit to substitute the nasal, then anusvāra shall be the augment.

The substitution of nasal is *optional* by VIII. 3. 2. When nasal is not substituted, we add an anusvāra to such vowel. The word अन्य should be read into the sūtra to complete the sense, i. e. अनुनासिकात् अन्यो यो वर्णः “a letter *other than* a nasal”, i. e. a letter for which nasal has not been ordained, and which stands before रु ॥

Thus VIII. 3. 5, teaches रु substitution of the ऋ of सृक् an anusvāra would be added. As संस्कर्त्ता, संस्कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ Similarly VIII. 3. 6, teaches रु substitution of the ॠ of पुक् ॥ An anusvāra will be added here also, as, पुंस्कामा ॥ Similarly VIII. 3. 7, teaches रु substitution of final ॠ ॥ Here also an anusvāra will be added, as भवांश्चरति ॥

Some say “the word परः in the sūtra means अन्यः, and so we need not supply the word अन्यः from outside”. They say अनुनासिकात् परः = अनुनासिकादन्यः ; i. e. the anusvāra takes place in that alternative when there is no nasal. That anusvāra is an *augment* and not a *substitute*. It is an augment to the vowel which precedes रु ॥

समः सुटि ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः, सुटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम इत्येतस्य रुमवति सुटि परतः संहितायां विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संपुंकानां सो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ समो वा लोपमंके ॥

5. रु is substituted for the म् of सम् (and thereby औ or अ is substituted for अ) when the augment स् follows, in a samhitā.

The augment सुद् is added by VI. 1. 137 &c. Thus सैस्कर्त्ता or संस्कर्त्ता, सैस्कर्तुम् or संस्कर्तुम्, सैस्कर्त्तव्यम् or संस्कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ The word is thus evolved: सम् + स् + कर्त्ता = सद् + स् + कर्त्ता (VIII. 3. 5). Here rule VIII. 3. 15 appears and requires स् to be changed to visarjannya. This visarga may optionally be retained unchanged by VIII. 3. 36. This, however, is not done in the present instance: but the visarga is *always* and *necessarily* changed to स् by VIII. 3. 34. In fact, the option of VIII. 3. 36 is a determinate option (vyavasthita vibhāṣā) and does not apply to the present case.

Or even this sūtra may be so read as to teach the स् substitution as well. Thus, the sūtra is सम्: स्सुद् with two स्, and the sūtra will mean, “रु is substituted for the म् of सम् before सुद्, and this रु is always changed to स्” ॥

Why do we say “for the म् of सम्”? Observe उपस्कर्त्ता ॥ Why do we say “before सुद्”? Observe संकृति ॥

Vārt :—For the finals of सम्, पुम् and कान् there is always substituted त् ॥ There would arise anomalies, if रु be substituted. Thus संस्कर्त्ता, पुंस्काया, कांस्कान् ॥ In fact, according to this vārtika, रु is never substituted for सम् (VIII. 3. 5), पुम् (VIII. 3. 6) and कान् (VIII. 3. 12).

Vārt :—सगो वा लोपमेके ॥ Some would have the elision of the स् after सम् ॥ This *Vārtika* is not given in the Kāśikā, but the Padamanjari gives it, and so also the Mahābhāṣya.

According to Bhattoji Dikshita there will be 108 forms of this word संस्कर्त्ता ॥ Thus सैस्कर्त्ता and संस्कर्त्ता with the elision of स् ॥ Then with two स्, as सैस्कर्त्ता, संस्कर्त्ता ॥ Then we apply VIII. 4. 47 to this latter, and have three स्, as सैस्स्कर्त्ता or संस्स्कर्त्ता ॥ The anusvāra is considered to be a vowel (अच्) for this purpose. From the three nasal forms सैस्कर्त्ता, सैस्कर्त्ता and सैस्स्कर्त्ता, we get three more by doubling the क् by the vārtika चरः खयः ॥ The three forms having anusvāra, will also double their anusvāra in addition to क् doubling. Thus we have 12 forms in anusvāra: and six in nasal, altogether 18 forms. Then the त् will be doubled and trebled: and thus with one त्, two त् and three त्, we have $3 \times 18 = 54$ forms. This will be doubled ($2 \times 54 = 108$) when अच् is nasalised.

पुमः खय्यम्परे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुमः, खयि, अम्-परे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुनिख्येतस्य रुर्भवति अम्परे खयि परतः ॥

6. रु is substituted for the म् of पुम्. (whereby the

उ is changed to ऊ or उं) before a surd mute (ख्य्) which is followed by a vowel, semivowel or a nasal (अम् pratyāhāra).

Thus पुंस्काया or पुंस्काया; पुंस्वुचः or पुंस्वुचः; पुंस्फलं or पुंस्फलम्; पुंस्वली or पुंस्वली ॥ The visarga in पुंस्काया required to be changed optionally to × jihvāmūliya by VIII. 3. 37, but it is not so done. It is changed *always* to स् here by VIII. 3. 34, also. The स् of पुंस् is dropped by VIII. 2. 23, and the preceding sound is च, which comes to light in forms like पुमान् &c. For the sake of distinctness, Pāṇini has elected to exhibit the shorter form पुस् when in the beginning of a composition: because this shorter form पुस् is the real stem in composition. ख्य् pratyāhāra includes the ten hard consonants, and अम् pratyāhāra includes all vowels, semivowels and nasals. पुंस्काया is formed by the affix ण = पुमांसं कामयते ॥

In that alternative when we read the preceding sūtra as सप्तःसुष्टुदि, then the anuvṛitti of this स् will be current in the present sūtra also, and so there will be no scope for the operation of VIII. 3. 37. And though the anuvṛitti of ॠ is also current, yet it will not apply here, because of its non-appropriateness in that alternative.

Why do we say 'before a surd mute'? Observe पुंसात्, पुंगवः (V. 4. 92). Why do we say 'followed by a vowel or semivowel or nasal'? Observe पुंसीरः, पुंस्वुः ॥ Why do we use the word परे in the sūtra? Had we not used it, the sūtra might have been open to this construction also. The च् of पुस् is so changed before a ख्य् letter which has an अम् letter, (whether *preceding* it or *following* it). So that the rule would have applied to पुमाख्यः, पुमाचारः ॥

नदृष्टव्यप्रशान् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, छवि, अप्रशान् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तस्य पदस्य प्रशान्वर्जितस्य रुर्भवत्यम्परे छवि परतः ॥

7. ॠ is substituted for the final न् of a word, with the exception of the न् of प्रशान्, before a छ्व् letter (छ, ठ, थ, च, ट, त), which is followed by an अम् letter (vowel, semivowel and nasal).

The word अम्परे is to be read into this sūtra. The word अप्रशान् in the sūtra is in the Nominative case, but it has the force of Genitive.

Thus भवोच्छादयति or भवोच्छादयति; भवोच्चिनोति or भवोच्चिनोति; भवोच्छीकते or भवोच्छीकते, (from the root छीकि 'to go'), भवोच्छरति or भवोच्छरति ॥

Why do we say 'before a छ्व् letter'? Observe भवान् करोति ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of the न् of प्रशान्'? Observe प्रशान् छादयति, प्रशान् चिनोति ॥ Why do we say 'when अम् follows छ्व्'? See भवान् स्वरुक् ॥ स्वरुक् is sword, he who is dexterous in it, is called स्वरुक्: (कन् V. 2. 64).

उभयथर्धु ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उभयथा, ऋधु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तस्य परस्य छविपरतः अम्पर उभयथा ऋधु भवति ॥

8. In both ways, in the Rig verses.

This ordains an option to the last sūtra, by which the रु substitution was compulsory. A word ending in न् followed by a letter of छव् class, which itself is followed by ञच्, changes its final न् to र् optionally in the Rig Veda. Sometimes there is र् and sometimes न् ॥ Thus तस्मिन् स्वा इधाति or तस्मिन् स्वा इधाति ; पशून्तीषके ॥

Why do we say "in the Rig verses". No option is allowed here तस्मिन् स्वा इधाति ॥

दीर्घाद्वि समानपादे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, अटि, समानपादे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घान्तस्य परान्तस्य नकारस्य रुभवत्यटि परतस्तौ चेन्नित्तानित्तित्तौ समानपादे भवतः ॥

9 रु is optionally substituted for that final न् of a word which is preceded by a long vowel, and is followed by an अट् letter (vowels and semi-vowels with the exception of छ), when these (न् and अट्) come in contact with each other in the same stanza of the Rig Veda.

The नः of VIII. 3. 7 is understood here : and so also ऋधु ॥ The word समानपाद means एकपाद, i. e. when both words are in one and the same Pāda of the verse. Thus परिधी रति (Rig. IX. 107. 19) स देवा एहवसति (Rig. I. 1. 2) देवा अच्छादीष्यन् ; महो इन्द्रो य ओजसा ॥

Why do we say 'preceded by a long vowel'? Observe अहमहि ॥ Why do we say "when followed by a vowel or य, व or र"? Observe इध्यान् क्षत्रियान् ॥ Why do we say 'when both words are in the same Pāda of a verse'? Observe यातुधानान् उपसृष्टः ॥

The word उभयथा of the preceding sūtra is understood here also : so that it is an optional rule : and न् remains unchanged also, as आदित्यान् इषामहे आदित्यान् याचिषामहे ॥ See VIII. 3. 3.

नृन्पे ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ नृन्, पे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नृनित्येतस्य नकारस्य रुभवति पञ्चमे परतः ॥

10. रु is optionally substituted for the न् of नृन् before प् ॥

The ञ् in प is for the sake of pronunciation only. Thus नृः पाहि or नृः पाहि ; नृः प्रीणीहि or नृः प्रीणीहि ॥

Why do we say 'before प्'? Observe नृन् ओजवति ॥ Some read the anuvṛitti of उभयथा into this sūtra, so that it is an optional one. Thus we have नृन् पाहि also. The nominative case in नृन् has the force of Genitive.

स्वतवान्पायो ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वतवान्, पायो ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वतवानित्येतस्य नकारस्य रुर्भवति पायुशब्द परतः ॥

11. The न् of स्वतवान् is changed to रु before पायु ॥

As स्वतङ्गिः प्रायुरङ्गे (Rig. IV. 2. 6). The word is स्वतवस्, the नुन् is added by VII. 1. 83. The word is derived from तु वृद्धौ with the affix भसुन् (स्वन्तवो बस्यऽसौ स्वतवान्) ॥

कानाम्नेडिते ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कान्, आम्नेडिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कानित्येतस्य नकारस्य रुर्भवति आम्नेडिते परतः ॥

12. रु is substituted for the न् of कान् when it is followed by another कान् which is an âmreḍita.

The sūtra might have been कान् कानि; but the use of the longer form आम्नेडिते shows, that where there is 'doubling', and the word gets the designation of âmreḍita, then the rule applies. Thus कौत्स्कान् भामन्वबते, कौत्स्कान् भोजयति; or कात्स्कान् &c. When the second कान् is not an âmreḍita, we have कान् कान् पश्यति? Here one is किं asking question, and the other is used in the sense of contempt. This word is read in the list of कत्कारि (VIII. 3. 48), and hence sūtra VIII. 3. 37, does not apply. Or the स् of सनः सृष्टि (VIII. 3. 5), is understood here, and that स् is enjoined here and not रु ॥ It should not be objected that in the preceding sūtras also स् should be enjoined and not रु; because in those sūtras रु is appropriate but not so here.

Why do we say 'when an âmreḍita कान् follows'? Observe कान् कान् पश्यति where one is interrogatory and the other denotes contempt (II. 1. 64).

दो ढे लोपः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ढः, ढे, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ढकारस्य ढकार लोपो भवति ॥

13. There is elision of ढ when ढ follows.

Though this sūtra is read in the division of Grammar which is governed by पदाधिकार, yet this elision takes place only then when the ढ is not at the end of a pada. Thus लीढ from लिङ्+त ॥ The ढ is changed to ढ by VIII. 2. 31, and the त is first changed to ध by VIII. 2. 40, and then to ढ by VIII. 4. 41. Thus लिङ्+ढ ॥ The first ढ is elided by this sūtra. Similarly मीढन्, उप-गूढन् ॥ The change of ध into ढ by VIII. 4. 41, should be considered as valid and siddha for the purposes of this rule, otherwise this rule will find no scope.

Obj:—It will find scope before that ढ which is primary, as in श्लिङ्+ढीकते, where ढ of ढीकते is primary.

Ans.—No. Here the first ढ will be changed to ढ by अच् rule (VIII. 2. 39) and so there will be no occasion to elide it. The form will be श्लिङ् ढीकते. Nor is this ढ लोपः rule an apavāda to अच् rule, because it has its scope in लीढ &c. For the अच् rule depends upon one pada, and is antaranga, or being

prior to this the lopa is asiddha with regard to it. Therefore अदस्य will take place first. Moreover in लिङ्+ङ there is similarity of *sounds* (श्रुतिकृतं आनन्तर्यम्); though there may not be theoretical similarity (शास्त्रकृतं आनन्तर्यम्) when the change of ङ into ङ by VIII. 4. 41, is considered asiddha. But this theoretical technical dissimilarity will be removed by the express text of the present sūtra. But in अलिङ् ङीकृते there is neither similarity of sounds (śruti kṛtamānantaryam) between ङ and ङ, nor similarity created by any technical rule; therefore ङ लोप has no scope here. It is Bahiranga as well as subsequent to अङ् rule (VIII. 2. 39), and therefore *doubly* asiddha; and consequently it does not debar the अङ् rule. So when ङ is changed to ङ by अङ् rule (VIII. 2. 39) in अलिङ्, then there remains no sort of Anantarya—neither of śruti nor of śāstra.

रो रि ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ रः, रि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफस्य रेफे परतो लोपो भवति ॥

14. र् is elided before a र् ॥

The sūtra is रः रि, and not रो रि ॥ That is रो रि is the form which रः रि and रो रि will both assume. रः is the Genitive of र्, and रो रि would be the Genitive of र् ॥ The sūtra is not confined to र् only, but to every र् in general including र् ॥ Thus नीरक्तम्, दूरक्तम्, where it is simple र् of निर and दूर; and अग्नी रयः, and इन्द्र रयः where it is र् (अग्निः रयः, इन्द्रः रयः). The lengthening is by VI. 3. 111. The word पदस्य is understood here, and the Genitive here has the force of विशेषण i. e. a quality, or avayava-shashṭhi; i. e. when रेफ is a *portion* of the pada. Thus a रेफ which is not at the end of a pada is also elided. Had the Genitive been construed as sthāna-shashṭhi, then रेफ would qualify पद, and the rule would mean “र् should be elided before a र् when at the *end* of a word.” ॥ See VIII. 1. 16. But we have the elision of the *penultimate* र् in अजर्घर् the second person singular of the Imperfect of the Intensive, and we get the form अजर्घाः ॥ See VIII. 2. 37. So also अपात्पाः from स्पर्ध् in Intensive, Imperfect. The reduplicate is lengthened by VII. 4. 83, the ञ् is elided, and सिप् is elided by VI. 1. 68, the final ङ् is changed to ङ by VIII. 2. 39, and this ङ changed to र् by VIII. 2. 75.

खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खर, अवसानयोः, विसर्जनीयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफान्तस्य पदस्य खरि परतो ऽवसाने च विसर्जनीयादेशो भवति ॥

15. The Visarjanīya is substituted for र्, before a खर् consonant or when there is a Pause.

Tha word रः is understood. The visarga is the substitute of र् final in a Pada, before surd consonants and sibilants, or at a Pause,

Thus वृक्षच्छादयति (VIII. 3. 34, VIII. 4. 40), वृक्षच्छादयति, वृक्षस्तरति, वृक्षस्तरति वृक्षच्छकारः, वृक्षच्छकारः, वृक्षच्छीकते, वृक्षच्छीकते, वृक्षश्चिनोति, वृक्षश्चिनोति ॥ Pause:—वृक्षः; वृक्षः ॥

Who do we say “before a खर् consonant or at a Pause”? Observe अग्निर्नयति, वायुर्नयति, मार्कुटः (नृ कुट्यां भवः), नार्पत्यः (नृपतेरपत्यं) ॥ In these two latter,

the Vṛiddhi being considered as Bahiranga, and the र् being the result of such Bahiranga Vṛiddhi, is asiddha, and is consequently not changed to visarga.

The word पदस्य is understood here, and the genitive should be construed here as sthāna-sashṭhi, so that for the final र् of a Pada there is visarga, and not for that र् which is not final.

रोः सुपि ॥ पदानि ॥ रोः, सुपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह इत्येतस्य रेफस्य सुपि परतो विसर्जनीयदेशो भवति ॥

16. Visarjaniya is substituted for the ह called र (and not any other र), before the Locative Plural case-affix सु ॥

Thus पदसु, सर्पिःसु, यशसु ॥ The word सु is here the Locative Plural affix. Though the र् would have been changed to visarga by the last sūtra also; the making of this a special sūtra is for the sake of niyama. That is, only ह becomes visarga, and not any other र् ॥ Thus गीर्षु, मूर्षु, when the र् is not ह ॥ In पदस् &c, the स् becomes ह by VIII. 2. 66.

भोमगोअघोअपूर्वस्य योशि ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भो, भगो, अघो, अपूर्वस्य, यः, अशि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भो भगो अघो इत्येवंपूर्वस्य अवणेष्वर्थस्य च रो रेफस्य वकारोदेशो भवति अशि परतः ॥

17. य् is substituted for the ह called र, when it is preceded by भो, भगो, अघो, अ or आ, before an अच् letter (vowels and soft consonants).

Thus भो अच्, भगो अच्, अघो अच्, भो ददाति, भगो ददाति, अघो ददाति ॥ क आस्ते, कच् आस्ते, आङ्गना ददाति, पुरुषा ददाति ॥ The य् is elided by VIII. 3. 19, 20, 22 &c. With व, the forms will be भोयच्, भगोयच्, अघोयच् ॥

Why do we say 'when preceded by भो &c'? Observe अग्निरच्, वायुरच् ॥ Why do we say 'when followed by a letter of अच् pratyāhāra'? Observe वृक्षः, वृक्षः ॥ No, this is no valid counter-example, because no other word follows the visarga; while some word must follow it because the word sanhitā (VIII. 2. 108) is understood here.

Ans.—If this be so, then अच् is employed in this sūtra for the sake of subsequent sūtras. Its employment here is superfluous. For letters other than अच् are लर् ॥ Before a लर् letter, the र् will be changed to visarga by VIII. 3. 15; and the अच् of this rule will be considered as asiddha for the purposes of VIII. 3. 15, so there will necessarily be visarga. Thus अच् serves no purpose in this sūtra, but is for the sake of subsequent ones. Thus in VIII. 3. 22, the word हलि must be qualified by the word अच्, namely those consonants only which are in the class अच् ॥ Before any other consonant there will be no elision of व ॥ Thus वृक्षं वृक्षति = वृक्षवृद्धि ॥ The denominative verb from this will be वृक्षवयति ॥ A secondary derivative from this root, with the affix

विष् will be वृक्ष् as in वृक्ष् करोति ॥ Here व् would require elision by VIII. 3. 22, before क्, but it is not so because अशि qualifies हलि ॥

Obj.—If so, why is the word हल् used in that sūtra VIII. 3. 22, it would have been better to say हशि सर्वेषाम् instead of हलि सर्वेषाम् ॥

Ans.—The word हल् is used in that sūtra for the sake of the subsequent sūtra VIII. 3. 23, which applies to *all* consonants. Had हशि been used in VIII. 3. 22, then in VIII. 3. 23, हलि ought to have been used.

Moreover अशि is used in this sūtra, so that rules VIII. 3. 18, 19 may not apply to वृक्ष् करोति ॥

This sūtra applies to ह् called र्, therefore not here प्रातरन्, पुनरन् ॥

व्योर्लघुप्रयत्नतरः शाकटायनस्य ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्योः, लघुप्रयत्नतरः, शाकटायनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वकारयकारयोर्भोभगोअघोअवर्णपूर्वयोः पदान्त्योर्लघुप्रयत्नतर आदेशो भवति, अशि परतः, शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

18. व् and य् (in भगोय् &c and after अ or आ, at the end of a Pada) are pronounced with a lighter articulation before an अश् letter, according to the opinion of Śākaṭāyana.

That the effort in pronouncing which is very light is called laghu-prayatna - tara. Effort or articulation is a quality of the person who utters and which is the cause of the utterance of a letter. व् and य् of lighter articulation are substituted for the final व् and य् in भोय्, भगोय्, अघोय्, or after an अ or आ ॥ The lighter व् will replace the heavy व्, and so the lighter य् the heavy य् ॥

Thus भोयन्, भगोयन्, अघोयन्, कयास्ते or क आस्ते, अस्मायुज्जर or अस्मा उज्जर, असावादित्वः or असा आदित्वः, द्वावन् or द्वा अन्, द्वावानय or द्वा आनय ॥

The lighter articulation results from the relaxation of the muscles and the organs employed in speech. The places of pronunciation are palate &c, the organs are the root, the middle and the tip of the tongue. When the contact of the tongue with the various places is very light, the articulation is laghu prayatna - tara. In fact, व् and य् are to be slurred over.

लोपः शाकल्यस्य ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, शाकल्यस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वकारयकारयोः पदान्त्योर्लघुप्रयत्नपूर्वयोर्लोपो भवति शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेनाशि परतः ॥

19. व् and य् preceded by अ or आ and at the end of a pada, are elided before an अश् letter, according to the opinion of Śākalya.

As क आस्ते or कयास्ते, काक आस्ते or काकयास्ते, अस्मा उज्जर or अस्मायुज्जर, द्वावन् or द्वा अन्, असावादित्वः or असा आदित्वः ॥

The name of Śākalya is used to make it an optional rule. Therefore, where there is not the lighter articulation of व् and य् by the last sūtra, there

also in the other alternative the fuller sounds of व् and य् are heard. Thus there are three forms, *heavy* व् and य्, *light* व and य and *elision* of व् and य् ॥

When व् and य् are preceded by ओ, then there is elision by the next sūtra compulsorily.

ओतो गार्ग्यस्य ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ ओतः, गार्ग्यस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओकारादुत्तरस्य यकारस्य लोपो भवति गार्ग्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन आसी परतः ॥

20. य् preceded by ओ is elided, according to the opinion of Gārgya, before an अक्ष letter.

There can be no व् preceded by ओ, so only य् is taken in explaining the sūtra. Thus ओ अक्ष, भगो अक्ष, भो इक्ष, भगो इक्ष ॥

The making of it a separate sūtra, is for the sake of indicating that this is a necessary (*nitya*) rule and not a vibhāshā rule. The name of Gārgya is used simply *honoris causa* (pujārtha). The elision of laghu-prayatna य्, which VIII. 3. 19 would have otherwise caused, is hereby prohibited. So that laghu pratyatnatara य् does come also. As ओ अक्ष or भोयक्ष, भगो अक्ष or भगोयक्ष, भयो अक्ष and भयोयक्ष ॥

According to others every kind of य् (whether heavy or light) is to be elided: and भोयक्ष is not valid in their opinion.

उञ्जि च पदे ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उञ्जि, च पदे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्णपूर्वयोः ष्योः पादान्तयोर्लोपो भवति उञ्जि च पदे परतः ॥

21. व् and य् (preceded by अ or आ, at the end of a pada), and followed by उ, when it is a word, are elided necessarily.

The *particle* उ is a full pada or word. That Particle is meant here by the word उञ्, and not the उञ्, which is a root obtained by the samprasāraṇa of देञ् ॥ Thus उ उ एकविंशतिः, स उ एकाग्रिः ॥

Why do we use the word पदे “उ when it is a pada”? So that the rule may not apply to उञ् the form assumed by देञ् by samprasāraṇa as तन्ने उतं = तन्नुतम् ॥ Obj. उञ् could never have meant the form assumed by देञ्, for the samprasāraṇa of देञ् is उ, the ञ् is merely indicative. Moreover the maxim of lakṣhaṇa-pratipadokta &c, will prevent the inclusion of this उञ् resulting from vocalisation, when there is a separate Particle उञ् ॥

Ans.—The word पदे is used here for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VIII. 3. 32. So that उञ् may come before a *word* beginning with a vowel, and not before a vowel which is an affix. Thus there is no double व् in परमदण्डिना ॥ This is also a *nitya* rule, and not optional. Had it been optional, there would have been no necessity of this aphorism, because VIII. 3. 19, would have been enough.

हलि सर्वेषाम् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलि, सर्वेषाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलि परतो भोभगोअघोअपूर्वस्य यकारस्य पशन्तस्य लोपो भवति सर्वेषामाचार्याणां मतन ॥

22. (The य preceded by भो, भगो, अघो, or by अ or आ, being final in a pada, is elided) before a consonant, according to the opinion of all Âchâryas.

Thus भो हसति, भगो हसति, अघो हसति; भो याति, भगो याति अघो, याति, वृक्षा हसन्ति ॥ Though the anuvṛitti of ह् and य् both is present here, yet we have taken य् only to the exclusion of ह् ॥ Because after भो, भगो and अघो there is य् only, and never ह्; and ह् can come only when preceded by अ or आ: the only example of which given by Grammarians is वृक्षश्च करोति (VIII. 3. 17). Here ह् is not elided, because the word अघि qualifies the word हलि of this sūtra.

Q.—But य् should be elided in वृक्षश्च हसति, because ह् is an अच् letter.

Ans.—There is no such example to be found in any standard author. Moreover Patanjali in his commentary on the Pratyâhâra sūtra लप् says that no words can end in ह्, य्, र्, ल् or ल् ॥ So that the existence of the very word वृक्षश्च is doubtful.

The word sarveshâm indicates that VIII. 3. 18, even does not apply, and there is no light articulation, but lopa there too.

मो अनुस्वारः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मः, अनुस्वारः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारस्य पशन्तस्यानुस्वार आदेशो भवति हलि परतः ॥

23. The Anusvâra is substituted for म्, at the end of a word, before a consonant.

Thus कुण्डं हसति, वनं हसति, कुण्डं याति, वनं याति ॥ The word हलि is understood in this sūtra. Therefore not here, स्वमन्त्र, किमन्त्र ॥ The म् must be at the end of pada; therefore not here; गम्यते, रम्यते ॥

नञ्चापदान्तस्य झलि ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, च, अपदान्तस्य, झलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाकारस्य मकारस्य चापदान्तस्यानुस्वारो भवति झलि परतः ॥

24. The Anusvâra is substituted for the न् and म्, not final in a pada, before all consonants, with the exception of Nasals and semi-vowels.

Thus पचांसि, यचांसि, सर्पांसि, धर्मांसि with न् (VII. 1. 72); and आक्रंस्यते, आवि-
क्रंस्यते, अघिञ्चिगांसते with म् ॥

Why do we say 'not final in a Pada'? Observe राजन् मुहश्च ॥ Why do we say 'before a झल् consonant'? See रम्यते, गम्यते ॥

मो राजि समः कौ ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मः, राजि, समः, कौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समो मकारस्य मकार आदेशो भवति राजतौ क्षिप्पस्थयान्ते परतः ॥

25. म् is substituted for the म् of सम, before the word राज् ending with the affix क्विप् ॥

Thus **संज्ञाद्**, **साम्नाञ्चम्** ॥ The substitution of **ञ** for **न** is for the sake of preventing the anusvāra change (cf VII. 1. 40). Why do we say 'before **राच्**'? See **संयत्** (VI. 4. 40 Vart). Why do we say 'of **सम्**'? Observe **किं राच्** (V. 4. 70). Why do we say 'ending with **स्विप्**'? Observe **संराजिता**, **संराजितुम्**, **संराजितव्यम्** ॥

The **स्विप्** is added by III. 2. 61, the **ञ** is changed to **श्** by VIII. 2. 36, which is changed to **ह्** at the end of a word, in **संज्ञाद्** ॥ **साम्नाञ्चम्** is formed by **चञ्** affix, as it belongs to Brāhmanādi class.

हे मपरे वा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हे, मपरे, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकारे मकारपरे परतो मकारस्य वा मकार भादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यवल्परे यवल् वा ॥

26. **म्** is optionally substituted for **ञ**, before **ह**, which itself is followed by a **म** ॥

The **म्** may be changed to anusvāra or remain unchanged before a word beginning with **ह्य** ॥ Thus **किं** or **किम्** **ह्यल्यति**, 'what does he cause to shake'? **कथं** **ह्यल्यति** or **कथम्** **ह्यल्यति** ॥

Vart:—Before **ह्य**, **ह्**, and **ह्र**, the preceding **म्** may be changed to **ञ**, **व** or **ल** respectively. Thus **किं ह्यः** or **किञ्चैह्यः**, 'what does it matter about yesterday'? **किं ह्यल्यति** or **किञ्चैह्यल्यति** 'what does he cause to shake'? **किं ह्यल्यति** or **किञ्चैह्यल्यति** 'what gladdens'.

नपरे नः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपरे, नः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारपरे हे परतः मकारस्य वा नकारादेशो भवति ॥

27. **न्** is optionally substituted for **ञ**, when it is followed by **ह** which has a **न्** after it.

ञ becomes **न्** before a word beginning with **ह्र**; as **किञ्** **ह्रुते** or **किं ह्रुते** 'what withholds'. **कथन्** **ह्रुते** or **कथं ह्रुते** ॥

ऊणोः कुक् टुक् शरि ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊ णोः, कुक्, टुक्, शरि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङकारणकारयोः पशान्तयोः कुक् टुक् इत्येतावागमौ वा भवतः ॥

28. The augment **क्** is added to a final **ऊ**, and the augment **ह्** to a final **ण**, before a sibilant, optionally.

Thus **प्राहक्** **चेते**, or **प्राह्** **चेते**; **प्राहक्** **वष्टः** or **प्राह्** **वष्टः**, **प्राहक्** **सावे** or **प्राह्** **सावे** ॥ **वण्ड्** **चेते** or **वण्** **चेते** ॥

The augments are **कुक्** and **टुक्** with an indicatory **क्**, showing that they are to be added to the end of the prior word (I. 1. 46), and not to the *beginning* of the second word. In *sanhita* reading, it would have made no difference *practically*, whether these augments were added to the *end* of the first, or the *beginning* of the second. But they are added to the end of the *first*, in order to indicate that VIII. 4. 63, will take effect. Thus we have **प्राह्** **चेते** also. This **ह** change of **ञ** would not have taken place had the augment **क्** been added to

ए of ऐते; because in एच्छेदि (VIII. 4. 63) the एङ् letter must be at the end of a pada. So that if क् were added to ए of ऐते, as कृते, here too ए follows a एङ् letter, but this एङ् letter (क्) is not at the end of a pada, so ए will not be changed to छ (VIII. 4. 63). Thus ए is not changed to छ in the body of a word, like विरष्णिन् though ष् is a एङ् letter. पुरा कूरस्य विसृषी विरष्णिन् ॥ विरष्णिन् = महन्, formed with the Preposition वि added to the root एष्, with the Uṇādi affix णिनि ॥

Moreover in प्राक् साये, the स is not changed to ष by VIII. 3. 59. Had the augment क् been added to साये, as कसाये, the स would have been changed to ष, as प्राक् साये, for then VIII. 3. 111, would not have applied, as स was no longer at the beginning of a pada.

Moreover in वण्ड साये, the स is not changed to ष because of the prohibition of VIII. 4. 42. Had इ been the augment of साये, as इसाये, then there would have been the change of स to ष by VIII. 4. 41.

इः सि धुद् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इः, सि धुद् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इकारान्तात्पदानुत्तरस्य सकारादेः पदस्य वा धुडागमो भवति ॥

29. After a word ending in इ, there may optionally be added the augment ध् to a word beginning with स् ॥

Thus अलिद् स्साये or अलिद् साये, मधुलिद् स्साये or मधुलिद् साये ॥

The word इः is to be construed as Ablative singular, and not Genitive singular of इ, because of the maxim इभ्यनिर्देशे पञ्चमी निर्देशो बलीयान् ॥

Q.—Why it is धुद् and not धुक्, in other words, why is this augment added to the beginning of the second word and not to the end of the first?

Ans.—This is done in order to prevent the ष् change by VIII. 4. 41. But being at the beginning of the second word, VIII. 4. 42 would prevent this change. अलिद् + साये = अलिद्दसाये, (VIII. 4. 41) but the correct form is अलिद् स्साये ॥ For the इ of अलिद् is इ substituted by VIII. 2. 31, which becomes इ by VIII. 2. 39, for the ष of the augment, स is substituted by VIII. 4. 55, and for इ there is इ by the same rule.

नइच्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तात्पदानुत्तरस्य सकारस्य वा धुडागमो भवति ॥

30. After a word ending in न्, धुद् is optionally the augment to a word beginning with स् ॥

Thus भवान् स्साये, महान् स्साये or भवान् साये, महान् साये ॥ The ष् of the augment becomes न् by VIII. 4. 55. This न् is asiddha (VIII. 2. 1), and therefore न् is not changed to इ by VIII. 3. 7. This is the reason why the augment is exhibited as धुद् and not नुद् ॥ In sūtra VIII. 3. 29 नुद् would have done as well but not so here. This view of the Kāśikā, however, is not approved by Padamanjari. The न् can never be changed to इ here, because न् is followed

by स् which is not an अम् letter. The word अम्परे is understood in VIII. 3. 7. In fact, तुद् would have been a better augment.

शि तुक् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शि, तुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारस्य पशन्तस्य शकारे परतो वा तुगागमो भवति ॥

31. The augment त् may optionally be added to a word ending in न्, when a word beginning with श follows.

Thus भवाम् छन्दे ॥ The augment is added to the end of the preceding word, and not to the beginning of the second word, in order to change श into छ ॥ In fact, the augment छुद् added to the second would have been as good as तुक्, namely both are त्; but then छ change would not have taken place.

Obj.—If this be so, then why न् is not changed to ण्, since it is no longer final in a pada, when तुक् is added to it, in कुर्वम् छन्दे ॥

Ans.—This is to be thus explained. The sūtra स्तोः द्युना द्युः (VIII. 4. 40) should be divided into two parts, in order to prevent ण change. Thus the first part will be स्तोः द्युना, which will mean that स and तु followed by श and द्यु will not cause the change of न to ण ॥ The next sūtra will be द्युः, which will mean that the preceding स and तु are changed to श and द्यु respectively.

ऊमो ह्रस्वादचि ऊमुणित्यम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊमः, ह्रस्वात्, अचि, ऊमुद्, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वात्परो यो ऊम् तदन्तात्परादुत्तरस्याचो ऊमुडागमो भवति नित्यम् ॥ ऊणनेभ्यो ययासंख्यं ऊणना भवति ॥

32. After a word ending in क्, ण् or न् which is preceded by a light vowel, the same consonant क्, ण् or न् is added invariably at the beginning of the next word, which commences with a vowel.

The word ऊमः is in the Ablative singular here; and ह्रस्वात् qualifies ऊमः; and ऊम् itself qualifies the word पदस्य understood, and thus there is tadanta-viddhi. Though the word पदस्य (VIII. 1. 16) is in the Genitive singular, yet it should be converted here into Ablative singular, because of its connection with ऊमः ॥ अचि is in the Locative singular, but should be construed as Genitive singular here: it is exhibited in the 7th case for the sake of brevity, and of the subsequent sūtras. ऊम् is a pratyāhāra meaning क्, ण् and न्; and so also ऊमुद् is a pratyāhāra containing the three augments ऊद्, छुद् and तुद् ॥

In other words क् is augment after क्, ण् after ण् and न् after न्; or that these letters are doubled practically. Thus ऊद् is the augment after a word ending in क्, as मयङ्कस्ति ॥ छुद् is the augment after a word ending in ण्, as

वर्णनास्ते ॥ नुद् is the augment after a word ending in न्, as कुर्वन्नास्ते, कुर्वन्मोचत्, कृषन्नास्ते, कृषन्मोचत् ॥

Why do we say 'ending in ङ, ण or न' ? See ल्पनास्ते ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a light vowel'? Observe, प्राडास्ते, भवानास्ते ॥ Why do we say "followed by a vowel"? Observe प्रत्यङ्करोति ॥

The Mahabhāṣya thus comments on this aphorism :—

Vārt:—ङमुद्दि पदादिमङ्गणम् "The ङमुद् augment is added to a vowel which stands at the beginning of a word". So that in ण्डिङ् + आ (Ins. Sing.), नुद् is not added to आ, because it is not the beginning of a Pada. Then should this vārtika be held to be necessary? No, because the word पदात् is understood here: so नुद् will not come in ण्डिङ्ना ॥ But then it will come in परमण्डिङ् + आ ॥ Because it is a compound of two nouns, and though the case-affixes have been elided, yet ण्डिङ् is here a Pada by reason of pratyaya lakṣaṇa; and hence there should be नुद् here added to आ ॥ Ans. This is no valid objection. ण्डिङ् is not here a Pada, on the maxim उत्तरपक्षे चापरादिविधौलुप्तता लुप्ते प्रत्ययलक्षणं न भवति "When an affix has been elided by लुक् or लुप्, the pratyaya-lakṣaṇa rule will not apply, when the object of it is to give the designation of Pada to the second member of a compound, with the exception of the rule applying to the beginning of a Pada". Thus in परमण्डिङ् the word ण्डिङ् is not treated as a पद, because the rule to be applied is to the *end* here. But the second member of a compound is treated like a pada, when a rule is to be applied to the beginning of a Pada. Thus in ण्डिसेचौ, the second member सेच् is considered as a Pada for the purposes of the rule सात् पदाद्योः (VIII. 3. 111), and the स is not changed to ष ॥ This view proceeds upon the supposition that the word पदात् governs this sūtra. But the anuvṛtti of पदात् ceased with VIII. 1. 27, as we stated before. How are we then to get out of this difficulty? Are we to make the above vārtika necessary? No: because the anuvṛtti of पदे from VIII. 3. 21 runs into this sūtra. So that the sūtra means अजादौ पदे ङमुद् भवति ॥ "The augment ङमुद् is added to a vowel with which a Pada commences". Not therefore to the case-affix आ in ण्डिङ्ना ॥

मय उञो वो वा ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयः, उञः, वः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मय उत्तरस्य उञो वा वकारादेशो भवति अचि परतः ॥

33. व् is optionally the substitute of the Particle उ, when it is preceded by a मय् consonant (all consonants with the exception of semivowels, sibilants, ह् and ज्), and is followed by a vowel.

Thus षष्ठु अस्तु वेदिः or षाम्बस्तु वेदिः, तद् उ अस्य रेतः or तद्वस्य रेतः, किम् उ आवापनम् or किम्वावपनम् ॥ The उ is a Pragṛhiya by I. 1. 14, and therefore would have remained unchanged, this ordains व् optionally. This व् being considered asiddha, the ष is not changed to anusvāra in किम्वावपनम्, षाम्बस्तु &c, by VIII. 3. 23.

When this **ञ** is followed by इति, and preceded by a मन्व् consonant, then by I. 1. 17, it is optionally प्रगृह्य, and it may be replaced by ऊँ ॥ When it is not a pragrihya, then it is changed to व् by यणदेश (VI. 1. 77), or to व् by the present sūtra. In the case of यणदेश व्, there is anusvāra by VIII. 3. 23, as किम्विति ॥ When it is a Pragrihya, then it is changed to व् by the present sūtra as किम्विति or किञ्च इति ॥ So also with ऊँ substitute, where the वूँ will be nasal : as किम्विति, or ऊँ will remain unchanged, as किञ्च ऊँ इति ॥ Thus we have five forms with इति ॥

विसर्जनीयस्य सः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विसर्जनीयस्य, सः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विसर्जनीयस्य सकार आदेशो भवति खरि परतः ॥

34. स् is the substitute of a visarga, when a hard consonant (खर्) follows.

The word खरि is understood here. Thus वृक्षच्छादयति, वृक्षच्छादयति, वृक्षच्छकारः, वृक्षच्छकारः, वृक्षस्थकारः, वृक्षस्थकारः, वृक्षभिनोति, वृक्षभिनोति, वृक्षटीकते, वृक्षटीकते, वृक्षस्तरति, वृक्षस्तरति ॥

By VIII. 3. 15, the र् was changed to visarga before a hard consonant, or at the end of a Pause. In the present sūtra, no special cause being mentioned, the स् change would take place, not only before a hard consonant, but at the Pause also, i. e. in वृक्षः, वृक्षः also. This however, is not the case, because the word संहितायाश्च governs this sūtra ; so the स् change will be in Sanhitā only, and not in Pause, moreover we read the anuvṛitti of खरि here and so prevent the स् change in Pause.

शर्परे विसर्जनीयः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शर्परे, विसर्जनीयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शर्परे खरि परतो विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीयादेशो भवति ॥

35. The visarga is the substitute of visarga, when it is followed by a hard consonant (खर्) which itself is followed by a sibilant (शर्) ॥

The word शर्परे is a Bahuvrīhi, meaning that which is followed by शर् ॥ In other words, when a sibilant follows a hard consonant, the preceding visarga remains unchanged. Thus शशाः शूरम्, पुरुषः शूरम्, अग्निः प्लाताम्, वासः शौमम्, पुरुषः स्वरुः, घनाघनः शौमणश्चर्षणीनाम् ॥

Though the sūtra could have been shortened by saying शर्परे न ; yet the longer form is used, in order to indicate that the jihvāmuliya and upadh-mānya changes also do not take place, in cases like अग्निः प्लाताम्, वासः शौमम् ॥

वा शरि ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, शरि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीयादेशो वा भवति शरि परे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ खर्परे शरि वा लोपो वक्तव्यः ॥

36. The visarga is optionally the substitute of visarga, when a sibilant follows.

As वृक्षः रोते or वृक्षश्चरोते, हृक्षः रोते or हृक्षश्चरोते, वृक्षः षण्डे or वृक्षश्चण्डे, वृक्षः साये or वृक्षस्तसाये ॥ Cf. VIII. 4. 40, 41, for च् and च् ॥

Vart:—When the sibilant is followed by a hard consonant, there is optionally the elision of the preceding visarga. As वृक्षा स्यात्तारः or वृक्षाः स्यात्तारः or वृक्षास्त्यात्तारः ॥

कुप्पोः, क, पौ च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुप्पोः, क, पौ च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवर्गपवर्गयोः परतो विसर्जनीयस्य ययासंख्यः क, प इत्येतावदेषौ भवतः ॥

37. × क and × प are optionally substituted for the visarga, when followed by a hard guttural or a hard labial.

Thus वृक्ष × करोति or वृक्षः करोति, वृक्ष × खनति or वृक्षः खनति, वृक्ष × पचति or वृक्षः पचति, वृक्ष × फलति or वृक्षः फलति ॥ The क and प in × क and × प are for the sake of pronunciation only. The substitutes are the Jihvamūliya and the Upadhmāniya : two lost sibilants belonging to the class of क and प respectively.

When the rule VIII. 3. 34. does not apply, then this sūtra will apply ; and will debar that. But VIII. 3. 35. will not be debarred. As वासः सौमम्, अङ्गिः स्नातम् ॥ There is no vipratishedha between VIII. 3. 35. and 37, because of the asiddhahood of one with regard to the other. (VIII. 2. 1). In fact, every rule in these three chapters stands by itself, and ignores the *existence* of the subsequent rule. Hence VIII. 3. 35 would not have been debarred by VIII. 3. 37.

To get this, some divide this sūtra into two :—(1) कुप्पोः “The visarga is the substitute of visarga before a guttural or labial which is followed by a sibilant.” (2) × क, पौ च The jhivāmūliya and upadhmāniya are substitutes of a visarga before a guttural and a labial in every other case.”

सोपदादौ ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, अ-पदादौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकार आदेशो भवति विसर्जनीयस्य कुप्पोरपराधोः परतः पाशकल्पककाम्येषु ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सोपशाशविष्यनव्ययस्योति वक्तव्यम् ॥ रोरेव काम्ये नान्यस्येति नियमार्थं वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उपध्मानीयस्य कवर्ग परतः सकार आदेशो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

38 स is the substitute of a visarga before an affix beginning with a hard guttural or labial.

The word अपशाशौ means “when the guttural and labial are not at the beginning of a *word*,” in other words, when they stand at the beginning of an affix. This is possible only before the affixes पाश, कल्प, क, and काम्य ॥ Thus पयस्पाशम् (V. 3. 47); पयस्कल्पम्, यशस्कल्पम्, (V. 3. 67), पयस्कं, यशस्कम्, (V. 3. 70); पयस्काम्यति, यशस्काम्यति (III. 1. 9).

Why do we say ‘when not at the beginning of a word’? Observe पय×काम्यते, पय×पिबति ॥

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated, when the visarga belongs to an Indeclinable : as, प्रातः कल्पम्, पुनः कल्पम् ॥

Vart:—The visarga which comes from ह is only changed to स before काम्य, and not any other visarga. As पयस्काम्यात्, and ययस्काम्यति ; but not here, गीःकाम्यति धूःकाम्यति ॥

Vart:—स is the substitute of the Upadhmāniya when followed by a guttural. The root उञ् (आजवे Tud 20) has Upadhmāniya as its penultimate : though it is written in the Dhātupāṭha as उञ् the ञ् only represents the ए of >ए, and is not to be pronounced. This >ए is changed to स, when the final ञ् is changed to a guttural, as उ स ग, and then this स is changed to ह, as in अभ्युद्गः, समुद्गः ॥

These words, however, may be derived from the root गञ् with the Prepositions अभि, उत्, and सम् उत्, by adding the affix उ ॥

इणः षः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, षः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपशशविषि वर्तते । इण उत्तरस्य विसर्जनीयस्य षकारादेशो भवति कुप्योरपशयोः परतः पाशकल्पककाम्येषु ॥

39. ष् is the substitute of that visarga, which is preceded by इ or उ and is followed by an affix beginning with a hard guttural or a labial.

The word अपशशौ is understood here also. The affixes meant are the same पाश, कल्प, क, and काम्य ॥ Thus सर्पिष्पाशम्, यज्ञुष्पाशम्, सर्पिष्कल्पम्, यज्ञुष्कल्पम्, सर्पिष्कम्, यज्ञुष्कम् ; सर्पिष्काम्यति, यज्ञुष्काम्यति ॥

Why do we say 'by an affix'? Observe अभिः करोति, वायुः करोति, अभिः पचति, वायुः पचति ॥

The affix should begin with a guttural or a labial. Therefore not here, सर्पिस्ते, यज्ञुस्ते ॥

In the succeeding sūtras, the anuvṛitti of स from VIII. 3. 39 and of इणः षः from this, are both current. The visarga will be changed to ष if preceded by इ or उ, otherwise it will be स ॥

According to some, this sūtra ordains ष् in the room of the स् taught in the preceding sūtra, and not of visarga : and so also in the following sūtras.

नमस्पुरसोर्गत्योः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ नमस्-पुरसोः, गत्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नमस्पुरस् इत्येतयोर्गतिः संज्ञकयो विसर्जनीयस्य सकारादेशो भवति कुप्योः परतः ॥

40. For the visarga of नमस् and पुरस्, there is substituted स before a hard guttural or a labial, when these words are Gati (I. 4. 67 and 74).

Thus नमस्कर्त्ता, नमस्कर्तुम्, नमस्कर्त्तव्यम् ; पुरस्कर्त्ता पुरस्कर्तुम्, पुरस्कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

Why do we say "when they are Gati"? Observe पूःकरोति, पुरौ करोति, पुरः करोति ॥ Here पुरः is a noun, Accusative Plural of पूः ॥

नमस् is Gati by I. 4. 74, and पुरस् is Gati by I. 4. 67. The anuvṛitti of अपशशौ ceases.

इतुपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इद्-उद्-उपधस्य, च, अ-प्रत्ययस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इकारोपधस्य उकारोपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य विसर्जनीयस्य षकार आदेशो भवति कुप्पोः परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पुम्बुहोःप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

41. ष is substituted, before a hard guttural or a labial, for the visarga which is preceded by इ or उ, and is not part of an affix.

This applies to the visarga of निर्, दुर, बहिर्, अविस्, अतुर् and प्रादुस् ॥ Thus निष्कृतम्, निष्पीतम्, दुष्कृतम्, दुष्पीतम्, बहिस्, बहिष्कृतम्, बहिष्पीतम्, आविस्, आविष्कृतम्, आविष्पीतम्, अतुष्कृतम्, अतुष्कपालम्, अतुष्कन्तलम्, अतुष्कलम्, प्रादुष्कृतम्, प्रादुष्पीतम् ॥

Why do we say 'when not belonging to an affix'? Observe अग्निः करोति, वायुः करोति ॥ How do you explain मातुः करोति, पितुः करोति? For here in पितुः &c, the स् of the affix is elided by VIII. 2. 24, and the र् of पितुर्+स् is changed to visarga; this is not the visarga of an affix, and ought to be changed to ष ॥

Ans.—The inclusion of the word भ्रातृष्पुत्रः in Kaskâdi class (VIII. 3. 48) indicates by implication, that ष change does not take place of this visarga in पितुः, मातुः &c: the only exception being भ्रातुः ॥ The reason of this may be that the visarga here does not follow a simple उ, but an ekâdeśa उ (VI. 1. 111).

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of पुम् and मुहुस्; as पुंस्क्रामा, मुहुंस्क्रामा ॥

Vârt:—वृद्धिभूतानां षत्वं वक्तव्यम् । The visarga is changed to ष even when इ or उ are vṛddhi; as नैष्कुल्यम्, शैष्कुल्यम् ॥

Vârt:—प्लुतानां तावौ ष ॥ The visarga is changed to ष even when इ or उ are pluta, and then before dentals as well as gutturals and labials. Thus निष्कुलम्, दुष्कुलम् (VIII. 2. 86 for pluta). दुष्पुरुषः, वहीष्टरः ॥

These last two vârtikas may be dispensed with, because Vṛiddhi and Pluta are Bahiranga change, and so the visarga will be changed to ष in these cases also by the sūtra itself; except so far as त्त is concerned.

तिरसोन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिरस्, अन्यरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिरसो विसर्जनीयस्यान्यतरस्यां सकारादेशो भवति कुप्पोः परतः ॥

42. The visarga of the Gati तिरस् is optionally changed to स before a hard guttural or a labial.

Thus तिरस्कर्ता, तिरस्कर्तुम्, तिरस्कर्तव्यम्, or तिरः कर्ता, तिरः कर्तुम्, तिरः कर्तव्यम् ॥ The word गतेः is understood here also. Therefore no option is allowed here, तिरः कृत्वा कण्ठं गतः, where तिरस् does not mean 'disappearance'. (I. 4. 72).

द्विस्त्रिभ्यतुरिति कृत्वर्थे ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विः-त्रिः-चतुर्, इति, कृत्वर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ष इति संबध्यते । द्विस् त्रिस् चतुर् इत्येतेषां कृत्वर्थे वर्तमानानां विसर्जनीयस्य षकार आदेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां कुप्पोः परतः ॥

43. **इ** is optionally the substitute of the visargas of **द्विस्**, **त्रिस्** and **चतुर्** when they are used as Numeral adverbs, (before a hard guttural and labial).

The affix **सुच्** (**स्**) is added to the three words **dvi**, **tri** and **chatur** in the sense of *kṛtvasuch* by V. 4. 18.

As **द्विः करोति** or **द्विष्करोति**, **त्रिः करोति** or **त्रिष्करोति**, **चतुः करोति** or **चतुष्करोति**, **द्विः पचति** or **द्विष्पचति**, **त्रिः पचति** or **त्रिष्पचति**, **चतुः पचति** or **चतुष्पचति** ॥

Why do we say 'when used in the sense of *kṛtvasuch* or Numeral adverbs'? Observe **चतुष्कपालम्**, **चतुष्कण्डकम्**, where **इ** is compulsory by VIII. 3. 41. **चतुर्षु कपालेषु संस्कृतः** (IV. 2. 16 and IV. 1. 88). This sūtra is an example of *ubhayatra-vibhāṣā*. With regard to **चतुर्** the visarga is a non-affix visarga, and hence VIII. 3. 41, would have made **इ** compulsory, this makes it optional. With regard to **द्विस्** and **त्रिस्** the visarga is that of an affix (**सुच्** or **स्** V. 4. 18), and hence VIII. 3. 41, would not have applied. Thus with regard to **चतुर्** it is a *Prāpta-vibhāṣā*, and with regard to **द्विस्** and **त्रिस्** it is an *Aprāpta-vibhāṣā*.

Why have we used the words '*dvis*, *tris* and *chatur*'? Objector's answer: so that the rule may not apply to **पञ्चकृत्वः करोति**, the visarga of *kṛtvasuch* (V. 4. 17) is not changed to **इ** ॥

The anuvṛitti of **इ** and **उ** is understood here from VIII. 3. 41: so that the visarga must be preceded by **इ** and **उ** for the application of this rule. In **पञ्चकृत्वः** the visarga is preceded by **ञ**, and so there is no applicability of this rule.

In fact, by reading the anuvṛitti of **इदुदुपधा** into this sūtra, and qualifying the visarga by the further epithet of 'belonging to a *word* that has the sense of *kṛtvasuch*'; we may dispense with the words **द्वित्रिचतुरिति** from the sūtra. The simple sūtra **कृत्वोर्ये** would have been enough. For there are no other Numerals that have a penultimate **इ** or **उ**, except these three. The chief objection to this view is, that in **चतुर्** the visarga is not the *affix सुच्*, but a portion of the word (See V. 4. 18): so the rule would not apply to **chatur**, if this word were not expressly mentioned.

The various objections and their solutions are given in the following verses.

कृत्वसुञ्जर्ये षत्वं ब्रवीति कस्माच्चतुष्कपाले मा
षत्वं विभाषया भूम्ननु सिद्धं तच्च पूर्वेषु ॥
सिद्धे द्वयं विधत्ते चतुर्ः षत्वं यदापि कृत्वोर्ये ॥
सुप्ते कृत्वोर्धीये रेफस्य विसर्जनीयो हि ॥
एवं सति त्विदानीं द्वित्रिचतुरित्यनेन किं कार्यम् ॥
अन्यो हि नेदुदुपधः कृत्वोर्धः कश्चिदप्यास्ति ॥
अक्रियमाणे महणे विसर्जनीयस्तदा विशेष्येत ॥

चतुरो न सिध्यति तथा रेफस्य विसर्जनीयो हि ॥

सस्मिंस्तु क्रियमाणे युक्तं चतुरो विशेषणं भवति ॥

प्रकृतं परं तदन्तं तस्यापि विशेषणं न्याय्यम् ॥

Kārikā :—कृत्यसुञ्जये षत्वं ऋषीति कस्मात्? Why does the author teach षत्वं when these words have the sense of Numeral-adverbs? In other words, why the word कृत्योऽयं is used at all in the sūtra? There is no necessity of using it at all, because द्विस्, त्रिस् are clearly adverbs as they are formed by the affix सुच् (V. 4. 18) and चतुर् being read in their company will also denote the *adverb* chatur, in which सुच् has been elided (V. 4. 18). So that all these three words are सुच्-formed, and all सुच्-formed words have the sense of Kṛtvasuch. One answer to this is that the rule of साहचर्यं does not always hold good, as in शीधीवेदीदाम् (I. 1.6), the words शीधी and वेदी are verbs, while इद् is an augment. Though therefore द्विस् and त्रिस् are kṛtvortha words, yet चतुर् need not be so: and may be a simple Numeral. *Ans.* चतुष्कपाले मा षत्वं विभाषया भूत् ॥ The word कृत्योऽयं is employed to indicate that there should be no optional षत्वं in चतुष्कपालं ॥ The षत्वं here is compulsory by VIII. 3. 41. *Q.* ननु सिद्धं तत्र पूर्वज्ञ ॥ Well this would be valid by the previous sūtra (VIII. 3. 41). That is, let in चतुष्कपाल also there be optional षत्वं, as चतुःकपाल and चतुष्कपाल ॥ Now rule VIII. 3. 41 will apply to चतुःकपाल and will change this visarga to ष, so that with regard to चतुष्कपाल, we shall have *always* ष ॥ *Ans.* सिद्धे इयं विधत्ते चतुर्ः षत्वं यदापि कृत्योऽयं, लुप्ते कृत्योऽयं रेफस्य विसर्जनीयो हि । If VIII. 3. 41 be considered as applying here (siddha), then when the affix सुच् is elided after चतुर्, and the र is changed to visarga, then the adverb चतुः also ends with a non-affix visarga, and will come under the compulsory षत्वं rule of VIII. 3. 41; for though we may have optionally two forms as चतुः करोति and चतुष्करोति, by the present sūtra, yet in the former the visarga would be changed to ष by VIII. 3. 41. Hence the necessity of employing the word कृत्योऽयं ॥ *Q.* But we say that the र in the adverb चतुर् is that of सुच्, thus चतुर् + स् = चतुर् + र (VIII. 2. 66) = चतु + र (the first र is elided by VIII. 3. 14) = चतुर्; and that this र when changed to visarga, will be an affix-visarga and so VIII. 3. 41 will not apply to the *adverb* चतुर् ॥ *Ans.* No. For र would require to be lengthened by VI. 3. 111. and the form would be चतूर् ॥

एवं सति त्रिवर्णां द्विस्त्रिचतुरित्यनेन किं कार्यम् ॥ If this be so, then what is the purpose served by using the words द्विस् त्रिचतुरिति in the aphorism? The simple sūtra कृत्योऽयं would have been enough. Because (अन्वोहि नेदुदुपधः कृत्योऽयं कदिचत्प्यस्ति) there are no other numeral adverbs than these three which have a penultimate इ or उ ॥

अक्रियमाणे ग्रहणे विसर्जनीयस्तरा विशेष्येत । If we do not use the words dvis, tris, chaturiti in the sūtra, then the word kṛtvortha would qualify the word visarga, and the sūtra would mean “the visarga of an affix which has the sense of kṛtvasuch is changed optionally to ष” ॥ The result of this will be

that (चतुरा न सिध्यति तथारफस्य विसर्जनयोहि) it will not apply to चतुः where the visarga is that of र् and not of the affix छ् ॥

Therefore by using dvis &c, the word कृत्वोर्ये would qualify चतुर् (तस्मिन् तु क्रियमाणे युक्तं चतुरो विशेषणं भवति) ॥

Ans.—प्रकृतं परं तदन्तं तस्यापि, विशेषणं नाप्यम् ॥ Though we may not use dvis &c, the word kṛtvortha will not qualify visarga, but will qualify the word पर whose context runs here ; and the rule of तदन्त will apply ; so that the sūtra कृत्वोर्ये will mean, परस्य कृत्वोर्ये वर्त्तमानस्य यो विसर्जनीयः, तस्य सकारः षकारो ष ॥ “The visarga of that word which is employed in the sense of a Numeral adverb, is optionally changed to स् or ष before a guttural or a labial, provided that such visarga is preceded by इ or उ”.

The above is the opinion of Patanjali, who considers the words dvis &c, as redundant. The Kāśikā however controverts this opinion. According to him, if these words were not used in the sūtra, then the mere sūtra कृत्वोर्ये would be insufficient for the visarga of चतुः though used as an adverb, the षस् will be compulsory by VIII.3.41; for the present sūtra will be considered as asiddha or non-existent for the purposes of VIII. 3. 41, (See VIII. 2. 1). But this however may be answered by saying that the rule of पूर्वभासिद्वय applies in these chapters, with this modification, one subject-matter is considered as asiddha with regard to another subject-matter gone before ; but one aphorism is not considered asiddha with regard to a previous aphorism, when belonging to the same subject matter. (प्रकरणे प्रकरणमसिद्धं न योगे योगः) ॥ Therefore the present sūtra VIII. 3. 43, would not be considered asiddha with regard to VIII. 3. 41. Or the present sūtra may be considered as an apavāda to VIII. 3. 41 : and an apavāda is never asiddha with regard to an utsarga.

इसुसोः सामर्थ्ये ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इस्-उसोः, सामर्थ्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इस् उस् इत्येतयोर्विसर्जनीयस्यान्यतरस्यां षकारादेशो भवति सामर्थ्ये कुप्लोः परतः ॥

44. For the visarga of words ending in इस् and उस्, before a hard guttural or labial, there is optionally substituted ष, when the two words stand in correlation with one another.

The ष is understood here. Thus सर्षिष्करोति or सर्षिः करोति, यशुः करोति or यशुष्करोति ॥

Why do we say ‘when the two words are correlated’? Observe तिष्ठतु सर्षिः, पिब त्वमुदकम्, where सर्षिः is not in construction with पिब, but with तिष्ठतु ॥

The word सामर्थ्ये here means व्यपेक्षा or mutual relation of two words ; and not “having the same meaning”, or it may mean both. In fact सामर्थ्ये is equivalent to आकाङ्क्षा i. e. the syntactical want of another word to complete the sense. It does not here mean ‘compound’. For it being a पदविधिः the word समर्थः is

understood here (समर्थः पदविधिः II. 1. 1). The employment of the word सामर्थ्ये here indicates that it is a different sāmāthya from that of II. 1. 1. It does not denote एकार्थिभावः or ऐकार्थ्य which is the sāmāthya of compounds where two or more words denote one object. The sāmāthya here means vyapekshā, which is thus defined नानामृतयोः, परार्थयो यौ शब्दौ वर्त्तते, तयो यौ योगः “the syntactical union of two words expressing two different ideas”.

नित्यं समासे ऽनुत्तरपदस्थस्य ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, समासे, अनुत्तर पदस्थस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इत्सुसोऽसि वर्त्तते । समासविषये इत्सुसोर्विसर्जनीयस्यानुत्तरपदस्थस्य नित्यं पत्वं भवति कुत्रोः परतः ॥

45. The visarga of an इस् or उस्-ending word, which is not preceded by any other word, is invariably changed to ष् in a compound, when followed by a hard guttural or labial.

The words इस् and उस् are understood here. Thus सर्पिष्कुण्डिका, धनुष्कपालम्, सर्पिष्पानम्, धनुष्कलम् ॥

Why do we say when it is not preceded by another word? Observe परमसर्पिः कुण्डिका, परमधनुः कपालम् ॥ The option even of the last sūtra does not apply to these examples.

Q.—The word सर्पिस् is derived from the root सर्प् by adding the Uṇādi affix इत्सि (Uṇ II. 109), and यत्सुस् by the Uṇādi affix उत्सि (Uṇ II. 117), therefore on the maxim प्रत्ययग्रहणे &c, the word इत्सुसोः would denote the mere forms सर्पिस् and यत्सुस् and not forms like परमसर्पिस् &c. then what is the necessity of employing the word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य in the sūtra?

The very employment of the word anuttara-pada-sthasya in this sūtra, is an indicator (jñāpaka), that the restriction of the following maxim does not apply with regard to the affixes इस् and उस् : प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात् स विहित स्तदविस्तदन्तस्य 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”. This maxim not applying, we have परमसर्पिष्करोति or परमसर्पिः करोति by the previous sūtra VIII. 3. 44.

Q.—Why is not there option in the case of compounds also by the previous sūtra?

Ans :—Because the word सामर्थ्ये there means व्यपेक्षा, and therefore does not apply to compounds.

अतः कृकमिकंसकुम्भपात्रकुशाकर्णीष्वनव्ययस्य ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, कृकमि-कंस-कुम्भ-पात्र-कुशा-कर्णीषु, अन्-अव्ययस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारादनुत्तरस्य अनव्ययविसर्जनीयस्य समासेऽनुत्तरपदस्थस्य नित्यं सकारोश्चो भवति कृ कणि कंस कुम्भ पात्र कुशा कर्णी इत्येतेषु परतः ॥

46. For the visarga of a word ending in अस, with the exception of an Indeclinable, स् is substituted in a compound, when a form of कृ and कम्, or the words कंस कुम्भ, पात्र, कुशा and कर्णी follow, and the first word is not preceded by another word.

Thus कृः—अयस्कारः, पयस्कारः (III. 2. 1) कम्—अयस्कामः, पयस्कामः, कंसः—अयस्कंसः, पयस्कंसः, कुम्भः—अयस्कृम्भः, पयस्कृम्भः ॥ So also अयस्कृम्भी पयस्कृम्भी, on the maxim प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणं भवति ॥ पात्रः—अयस्पात्रम्, पयस्पात्रम्, अयस्पात्री, पयस्पात्री ॥ कुशाः—अयस्कृशा, पयस्कृशा ॥ कर्णीः—अयस्कणी, पयस्कणी ॥ The form शुनस्कर्णः belongs to Kaskādi class (VIII. 3. 48).

Why do we say अतः “a visarga preceded by short अ, or the visarga of the word ending in अः”? See गीःकारः, धूःकारः ॥ Why do we say ‘preceded by short अ’? Observe भाःकरणम् ॥ The form भास्कारः belongs to Kaskādi class (VIII. 3. 48). See also III. 2. 2.

Why do we say “with the exception of an Indeclinable”? Observe द्यःकारः, पुनःकारः ॥

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here; अद्यः करोति पयः करोति, यद्यः कामयते ॥

The word अनुत्तरपदस्यस्य is also to be read in this. Therefore not here, परमपयः कारः, परमपयः कामः ॥

Q. The word कंस need not have been taken, because it is a form of the root कम्, since it is derived from कम् by adding the Uṇādi affix स (III. 62 Uṇ)?

Ans.—The employment of कंस indicates the existence of the following maxim:—उणादयोऽभ्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि “Words which end with उन् &c. are crude-forms that do not undergo or cause such operations as would depend on their etymological formation.”

अधः शिरसी पदे ॥४७॥ पदानि ॥ अधः-शिरसी, पदे ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अधस् शिरस् इत्येतयोर्विसर्जनीयस्य समासेऽनुत्तरपदस्यस्य सकार आदेशो भवति पदशब्दे परतः ॥

47. For the visarga of अधस् or शिरस् when not preceded by another word, and followed by the word पद in composition with it, there is substituted स् ॥

Thus अधस्त्वद्, शिरस्त्वद् ॥ अधस्त्वरी, शिरस्त्वरी ॥

The word समासे is understood in this, therefore not here अधः पदम् ॥

The word अनुत्तरपदस्यस्य is also understood here. Therefore not in the following परमशिरः पदम् ॥

The word अधस्त्वद् is a compound formed under Mayūravayansa-kādi class.

कस्कादिषु च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कस्कादिषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कस्क् इत्येवमादिषु च विसर्जनीयस्य सकारः पकारो वा यथायोगमादेशो भवति कुप्योः परतः ॥

48. स or ष is substituted for the visarga, before a hard guttural and labial in the words कस्क् and the rest.

This is an Apavāda to Sūtra VIII. 3. 37. ष is substituted after इ or उ, and स everywhere else. Thus कस्क्, 2. कौतस्कुतः (with अण् of कुत आगतः). 3. भ्रातृषुचः (VI. 3. 23) 4. शुनस्कर्णः (VI. 3. 21) 5. सद्यस्कालः; 6. सद्यस्की (from क्री 'to buy' with the affix क्तिप्, because it belongs to Sampadādi class.) 7. साद्यस्कः (from सद्यस्की in the sense of सत्रभवः क्रतुः). 8. कांस्कान् (the इ is by VIII. 3. 12). 9. सर्पिष्कुण्डिका, 10. चतुष्कपालम्, 11. धनुष्कपालम् 12. बर्हिष्पूलम्, 13. यशुष्पाचम् ॥ "The words 9 to 13 are exceptions to VIII. 3. 45, so that there might be ष, even when सर्पिस् &c are preceded by another word. Thus परमसर्पिष् कुण्डिका ॥ The counter-example then to VIII. 3. 45 will be परमसर्पिः फलम् ॥" This is the opinion of the Pārāyaṇikās. But in the Mahābhāṣya, the counter-example under VIII. 3. 45 is परमसर्पिः कुण्डिका ॥ Another reason why these words are listed here, is that ष change will take place, even where there is no correlation or vyapekshā. As तिष्ठन् सर्पिष्कुण्डिकां ज्ञानम् ॥ So also when there is correlation, as इहं सर्पिष्कुण्डिकायाः ॥ Here सर्पिस् is an incomplete word. The ष change, will take place even where there is no compounding. Where there is no compounding, and there is complete want of correlation, even there the ष will invariably come. And where there is correlation, but no compounding there the ष would have been optional by VIII. 3. 44, but it becomes invariable here, on account of these words being so listed. Thus we have these cases : (1) Without correlation, as तिष्ठन् सर्पिष्कुण्डिकामानम् ॥ (2) Where there is correlation, as इहं सर्पिष्कुण्डिकायाः ॥ (3) Where there is composition, as सर्पिष्कुण्डिका ॥ (4) Where there is no composition and no correlation even, as, in example (1). (5) Where there is correlation but no compounding as in example (2). In all these cases there is ष *invariably* in case of these words. 14. अयस्काण्डः, 15. मेरुस्त्रिण्डः ॥ अविहितलक्षण उपचारः कस्कादिषु इदमर्थः ।

Every change of visarga to स or ष, must be referred to Kaskādi class, if not governed by any other rule. Thus this is an Akṛtigaṇa. Upachāra is the name of स and ष which replace the visarga.

The Pārāyaṇa is of two sorts, Dhātu-Par, and Nāma-Par. Those who devote themselves in committing to memory and reciting these are Pārāyaṇikas.

छन्दसि वा आग्नेडितयोः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, वा, अ-प्र-आग्नेडितयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये विसर्जनीयस्य वा सकारादेशो भवति कुप्योः परतः प्रचक्ष्य आग्नेडितं वर्जयित्वा ॥

49. स may optionally be substituted for the

visarga before a hard guttural and labial, in the Chhandas ; but neither before प्र, nor before a doubled word.

Thus अयः पाचम् or अयस्पाचम् ॥ This is an example of non-compounds. In compounds, the स change is compulsory by VIII. 3. 46 : because the option of the present sutra is asiddha there, and it finds its scope in cases other than compounds. If the maxim प्रकरणे प्रकरणमसिद्धं न योगे योगः be applied, then the two sutras VIII. 3. 46 and VIII. 3. 49 belong to the same प्रकरणं and one is not asiddha with regard to the other. Then we could give examples of compounds also under this sutra : but then such compounds will also be governed by VIII. 3. 46, and so the स would be compulsory.

विश्वत्सपाचम् or विश्वत्सः पाचम्, here the word विश्वत्सः is an Indeclinable and hence the rule VIII. 3. 46, does not apply to it. उरु णः कारः or उरु ण स्कारः ॥ Here नस् is substituted for अस्, and then the न is changed to ण by VIII. 4. 27. The word कारः is a घञ् formed word.

Why do we say "not before प्र and a doubled word"? Observe अग्निः प्र विश्वान् (Av. V. 26. 1), पुरुषः पुरुषः परि ॥

In सूर्यरश्मिर्हरिकेशः पुरस्तात् (Rig. X. 139. 1), स नः पावकः (Rig. I. 12. 10), the स change has not taken place, as all rules are optional in the Vedas.

कः करत् करति कृध कृतेष्वनदिते ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ कः-करत्-करति-कृध-कृतेषु, अन्-अदिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कः करत् करति कृध कृत इत्येतेषु परतः अनदितेर्धिसर्जनीयस्य सकारदिशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

50. The visarga is changed to स् in the Chhandas, before कः, करत्, करति, कृध and कृतः but not so the visarga of अदितिः ॥

Thus विश्वत्सकः ॥ कः is the Aorist of कृ, the णि has been elided by II. 4. 80 : the क् of कृ is gunated before the affix तिप्, thus we have करत्, the त् is elided by VI. 1. 68 ; and the augment अद् is not added by VI. 4. 75. Similarly विश्वत्सकरत् ॥ Here also करत् is the Aorist of कृ, with अद् by III. 1. 59. पयस्करति, here करति is the लट् of कृ ; णप् is added instead of ड, as a Vedic anomaly. उरणस्कृध, here कृध is the Imperative of कृ, the सि is changed to हि, the vikaraṇa is elided, and हि changed to धि by VI. 4. 102. See VIII. 4. 27, for the change of न to ण ॥ सवस्कृतम्, here कृतम् is Past Participle of कृ ॥

Why do we say 'but not of अदितिः'? Observe यथा नो अदितिः करत् (Rig. I. 43. 2).

पञ्चम्याः परावध्यर्थे ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्याः, परी, अध्यर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसित्वेव । पञ्चमीविसर्जनीयस्य सकारदिशो भवति परी परतः अध्यर्थे ॥

51. The visarga of the Ablative case is changed to स् before परि meaning 'over'.

The word Chhandas is understood here also. Thus दिवस्परि ग्रथं जज्ञे (Rig X. 45. 1) अग्निर्हिमवत्तस्परि ॥ दिवस्परि, महस्परि ॥

Why do we say 'of the Ablative'? Observe अक्षिरिव भोगैः पर्येति बाहुम् ॥ Why do we say "before परि"? See एभ्योवा एतल्लोकेभ्यः प्रजापतिः समैरयन् ॥ Why do we say 'when परि means 'over'? See दिवः पृथिव्याः प्रयोज उद्भूतम् (Rig. VI. 47. 27). Here परि has the sense of "on all sides".

पातौ च बहुलम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पातौ, च बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पातौ च धातौ परतः पञ्चमीविसर्जनीयस्य बहुलं सकार आदेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

52. स् may diversely be substituted for the visarga of the Ablative before the verb पातु in the Chhandas.

Thus दिवस्पातु, राजस्पातु ॥ Sometimes, the change does not take place, as परिषद्ः पात ॥

षष्ठ्याःपतिपुत्रपृष्ठपारपदपयस्पोषेषु ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठ्याः-पति-पुत्र-पृष्ठ-पार-पद पयस्-पोषेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षष्ठीविसर्जनीयस्यसकारादेशो भवति पति पुत्र पृष्ठ पार पद पयस् पोष इत्येतेषु परतः छन्दसि विषये ॥

53. For the visarga of the Genitive, there is substituted स् in the Vedas, before पति, पुत्र, पृष्ठ, पार, पद, पयस्, and पोष ॥

Thus वाचस्पतिं विद्वकर्माणमृतये, (Rig. x. 81. 7), दिवस्पृत्राय सूर्याय, दिवस्पृष्ठे धावमानं सुपर्णम्, अगन्म, तमसस्सारम्, इडस्पदे समिध्यसे, सूर्यं चक्षु दिवस्पयः, रायस्पोषं यजमानेषु धत्तम् ॥

Why do we say 'after a genitive case'? See मनुः पुत्रेभ्यो रायं ध्यमजन्त ॥

इडाया वा ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इडायाः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इडायाः षष्ठीविसर्जनीयस्य वा सकार आदेशो भवति पत्यादिषु परतःछन्दसि विषये ॥

54. स् is optionally substituted for the visarga of इडायाः, before पति &c, (VIII. 3. 53.) in the Chhandas.

Thus इडायाः पतिः or इडायास्पतिः इडायास्पुत्रः । इडायाः पुत्रः । इडायास्पृष्ठम् । इडायाः पृष्ठम् । इडाया स्पारम्, इडायाः पारम् । इडायास्पदम् । इडायाः पदम् । इडायास्पयः । इडायाः पयः । इडायाः पोषम् । इडायास्पोषम् ॥

अपदान्तस्य मूर्धन्यः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-पदान्तस्य, मूर्धन्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपदान्तस्येति मूर्धन्य इति चैतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । आपादपरिसमाप्तेः ॥

55. Upto the end of the Pāda, is throughout to be supplied the following: "A cerebral letter is substituted always in the room of ———, when this letter does not stand at the end of a word".

Here ceases the Padādhikāra which commenced with VIII. 1. 16. The two words अपशान्तस्य 'not final in a pada', and मूर्धन्यः 'cerebral' exert a governing influence on all sūtras upto the end of this chapter. Thus VIII. 3. 59, teaches "of an affix and a substitute". The whole of the present sūtra should be read there to complete the sense: i.e. "a cerebral sound is substituted always in the room of the स् of an affix and of the स् which is a substitute, when it does not stand at the end of a word'. Thus सिषेव, सुष्वाप, आग्रिषु, वायुषु ॥

Why do we say 'not final'? See अग्रिस्तत्र, वायुस्तत्र ॥ Though the anuvṛtti of ५ was understood here, yet the employment of the word 'cerebral' is for the sake of ङ; as अकृद्भ्य, चकृद्भ्य (VIII. 3. 78).

सहेः साढः सः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहेः, साढः, सः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहेर्द्रातोः साङ् रूपस्य यः सकारस्तस्य मूर्धन्य आवेशो भवति ॥

56. ङ् is substituted for the स् in साह, when this occurs in the form of साङ् (साह) ॥

Thus जलापाद्, तुरापाद्, पृतनापाद् ॥ साङ् is derived from सह by the affix ण्वि (III. 2. 63), there is vṛddhi of the penultimate, the ह is changed to ङ (VIII. 2. 31), and the upapada is lengthened (VI. 3. 137).

साङ् सः would have been enough, for there is no other form साङ् except this derived from सह; why then the word सहेः is used in the sūtra? There is another form साङ् not derived from सह ॥ Thus सह डेन वर्त्तते = सङ्, सङस्य अपत्यं = साङिः ॥ He in whose name there is the letter ङ is called सङ्; as सङ् ॥

Why do we say 'in the form of साङ्'? The rule will not apply when the form is साह, as जलासाहम्, तुरासाहम् ॥ Why do we say सः "for the स्"? So that the स् of साङ् may not be changed to cerebral: the ङ is already cerebral.

इण्कोः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इण् कोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इण्कोरित्येतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । इत उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामः इणः कवर्गाद्येत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ।

57. From this, upto the end of the chapter, should be supplied in every sūtra, the following:—"when a vowel (with the exception of अ or आ), or a र or a guttural precedes".

The word इण is a pratyāhāra formed with the second ण् of लण् ॥ It includes all vowels and semivowels except अ and आ ॥ Of the semi-vowels र् is only efficient: so that only is taken in the translation. कृ means the letters of the क class. Thus इण्कोः is supplied in VIII. 3. 59, to complete the sense. Thus सिषेव, सुष्वाप, अग्रिषु, वायुषु, कर्तृषु, हर्तृषु, गीर्तृषु, धूर्तृषु, बाह्यु, स्वह्यु ॥

Why do we say "when preceded by इण् or कृ"? Observe शस्यति, असौ ॥ Here the affix स् of स्यति, and the substitute स in असौ (VII. 2. 106) are not changed to ण ॥

नुम्बिसर्जनीयशब्दवायेपि ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नुम्, विसर्जनीय-शब्दवाये, अपि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नुम्ब्यवायेपि विसर्जनीयव्यवायेपि शब्दवायेपि इण्कोरुत्तरस्तस्य सकारस्य मूर्जन्यादेशो भवति ॥

58. The substitution of ष् for स् takes place then also, when the augment न् (नुम्), the visarjaniya or a sibilant occurs between the said इण् and कु letters or the स् ॥

The word व्यवाय 'separation, intervention' applies to every one of the words नुम्, &c. Thus (1) when नुम् intervenes, as सर्पाणि, यज्ञाणि, हवीणि (VII. 1. 72, VI. 4. 10). (2) When a visarjaniya intervenes, as सर्पिः, यज्ञः, हविः (VIII. 3. 36) (3) When a Sibilant intervenes, as सर्पिषु, यज्ञेषु हविषु ॥

The षत्व takes place, when नुम् &c intervene *singly* and not when they intervene collectively. Therefore not here, निस्ते, निस्त्वे from the root निस् 'to kiss.' Here there is the intervention of *two*, namely, नुम् and स् (III. 4. 91).

The word इण्कोः is in the Ablative case, and it required that the स् should follow *immediately* after it. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra for the intervention of certain letters.

आदेशप्रत्यययोः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदेश, प्रत्यययोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आदेशो यः सकारः प्रत्ययस्य च यः सकार इण्कोरुत्तरस्तस्य मूर्जन्यो भवति ॥

59. ष् is substituted for that स् which is a substitute (of the ष् of a root in Dhātupāṭha by VI. 1. 64), or which is (the portion of) an affix, under the above mentioned conditions (VIII. 3. 57, 58), of being preceded by an इण् vowel or a guttural.

The word cerebral is understood here from VIII. 3. 55, as well as स् ॥ The sūtra ādeśa-pratyayoḥ is in the Genitive case. The force of the Genitive however is different in the word ādeśa, from what it is in pratyaya. In the first it is samānādhikaraṇa-shashṭhi, in the latter avayava-yogaśhashṭhi. That is that स् which is an ādeśa, and that स् which belongs to an affix. If we took it as avayavayogā shashṭhi in both places, then the sūtra would mean "of that स् which is a portion of a substitute, or of an affix," and there would arise the following anomaly. In doubling a word by VIII. 1. 1, one view is that two are *substituted* in the room of one (See VIII. 1. 1). Thus विसंविस्, वृत्तं वृत्तं ॥ Here the स् in these words, is a *portion* of a substitute, and would be changed to ष्, if we translate the sūtra as above.

If we take the other view, and translate the sūtra as "of that स् which is a substitute or an affix", we land on the following anomaly. We must have forms like करिष्यति and हरिष्यति, and not the correct forms करिष्यति, हरिष्यति ;

for here **स्** is not an affix, but a *portion* of an affix. In fact, with regard to affixes, the sūtra would be confined to those affixes only which consist of a single **स्**, such as **सिप्** in the Vedic subjunctive **लेद्** ॥ That this is the proper interpretation of the sūtra is indicated by the sūtra VIII. 3. 60, (the next aphorism). The substitute **घस्** is taken in this sūtra. If therefore, the force of Genitive in **आदेशस्य** was=**आदेशस्य यः सकारः** and not=**आदेशः यः सकारः**, then there would have been no necessity of including the substitute **घस्** in the sūtra, for then the present sūtra would have covered the case of **घस्** also. Similarly, if the force of the Genitive in **प्रत्ययस्य** was=**प्रत्ययस्य यः सकारः**, and not=**प्रत्ययस्य यः सकारः**; then there would have been no necessity of excluding the affix **सात्** (V. 4. 52) from the operation of the present rule by VIII. 3. 111, because it is not an affix consisting of a single letter **स्** ॥

Having surmised this, we shall now give illustrations. First of that **स्** which is a substitute. It can only be the **स्** which replaces the **ए** of a root in Dhātupāṭha. Thus **सिपेव**, **सुष्वाप** ॥ Of an affix, we have **अग्निषु**, **वायुषु**, **कर्तृषु**, **हर्तृषु**; **वक्षत्** in **इन्द्रो मा वक्षत्**; and **यक्षत्** in **स देवान् यक्षत्** ॥

Q.—In the case of **वक्षत्** and **यक्षत्**, the **स्** is not the *portion* of an affix, but the *whole* affix itself: the present sūtra should therefore not apply to this **स्** ॥

Ans.—Here we apply the maxim **व्यपदेशिवद् एकस्मिन्** ॥

These words (**वक्षत्** and **यक्षत्**) are from the roots **वच्** and **यच्**, in **लेद्** with **सिप्**, the **इ** is elided by III. 4. 97, the augment **अद्** (III. 4. 94), the affix **सिप्** by III. 1. 34; the **च्** of **वच्** is changed to a guttural, and the **च्** of **यच्** to **क्** and then to a guttural.

The Uṇādi word **अक्षरं** (**अक्**+**सर** Uṇ III. 70) complies with this rule, but not so the word **कृसरं** and **धूसरं** (Uṇ III. 73) formed with the same affix **सर** ॥

शासि-वसि-घसीनां च ॥६०॥ पदानि ॥ शासि-वासि- घसीनाम्, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शासि वसि वासि इत्येतेषां च इण्कोरुत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्धन्यो भवति ॥

60. **ष्** is substituted for the **स्** of **शास**, **वस्** and **घस्** when it is preceded by an **इण्** vowel or a guttural.

Thus **अन्वशिषत्**, **अन्वशिषताम्**, **अन्वशिषन्**, the Aorist of **शास्**; the **ष्** is replaced by **अद्** (III. 1. 56), and the **आ** changed to **इ** by VI. 4. 34. So also **शिष्टः**, **शिष्टवान्** ॥ From **वस्** we have **वसितः**, **वसितवान्**, **वसित्वा** ॥ The Samprasāraṇa takes place by VI. 1. 15 as it belongs to yajādi class. From **घस्** we have **अक्षतुः**, **अक्षुः** in the Perfect. **घस्** is the substitute of **अद्** (II. 4. 40), the penultimate **अ** is elided by VI. 4. 98. So also **अक्षन्** in **अक्षन्नीमीमदन्त पितरः** (Rig. I. 82. 2). This is the Aorist form of **अद्**, the **घस्** is substituted for **अद्** (II. 4. 37): the Aorist sign is elided by II. 4. 80.

This sūtra is made to cover cases not governed by the last sūtra, namely, where the स् is not an Ādeśa. Though the स् in वस् is the स् of a substitute, yet it is not governed by the preceding aphorism, because the word आदेशस्य there means 'the स् which is a substitute'. Here स् is not a substitute, but a portion of a substitute. The non-substitute वस् is not to be taken here : as it seldom occurs.

The word इष्कोः is understood here also. Therefore the rule would not apply to शास्ति, वसति and जघास ॥

स्तौतिण्योरेव षण्यभ्यासात् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तौति-ण्योः, एव, षाणि, अभ्यासात् ॥

वृत्ति ॥ स्तौतेर्ण्यन्तानां च षण्भूते सति परतः अभ्यासादिण उत्तरस्त्व आदेशसकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

61. स् is substituted for स after इ or उ in the reduplication of a Desiderative, if the स of सन् is changed to स् ; but only in स्तु and in Causative of roots which in Dhātupāṭha begin with a स् ॥

This rule is confined to the Desideratives of स्तु and of स् beginning roots in the Causative, provided that the Desiderative sign स is changed to स् ॥ The rule applies to the स् of the substitute, and not to the affix स् as there can be no such स् after a reduplicate syllable. Therefore स् means that स which replaces the स् of the roots.

Thus from स्तु we have तुद्वसति ॥ Here the स of सन् is changed to स् by the last sūtra, and therefore so also after the reduplicate उ, the स of स्तु is changed to स् ॥

Of the Causatives of roots beginning with स् in Dhātupāṭha, we have सिषेवयिषति, सिषिञ्जयिषति, सुष्वापयिषति ॥ In this last, the स् is changed to उ by VII. 4. 67.

Though this स् change would have taken place by the previous sūtra (VIII. 3. 59), yet the separate enunciation of this rule indicates that this is a niyama aphorism—the स् change takes place only in these cases of स्तु and Causatives of Desideratives under the conditions mentioned in this sūtra, and *no where else*. Thus सिषिषति from the root सिष जरणे (Tud. 140). This is a root, which is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with a स्, therefore the form ought to have been सिषिषति by VIII. 3. 59, but it is not so, because of the niyama of the present sūtra. So also सुसूषते from सूष् माणिमसवे (Div. 24): and सुसूषति from सू षेरणे (Tud 115).

If this is a niyama rule by the very fact of its separate enunciation, what is then the necessity of using the word एव in the aphorism? Ans. इदो-ऽवधारणार्थम्; so that, the sūtra may mean "if स्तु and Causatives *only*, when वस् follows" ? and not "if स्तु and Causatives when वस् *only* follows". In the

latter view, we could not get the form तुदाव ; and the rule would have applied to सिंसिक्कति also.

Why do we say "in the Desiderative व्" ? So that the *niyama* may not be any where else. Had वणि not been used in the *sûtra*, the restriction would have been with regard to every affix, and the *sûtra* would have meant "if there is occasion of बल् change after a reduplicate, it should take place only in the case of स्तु and the Causatives". Therefore व् change would not have taken place in सिवेव, as it is not a Causative.

Q.—कौ विनतेऽनुतोषः? Why have we used the word वण् with व्, and not the word सन्? That is, what compulsion was there to exhibit the Desiderative affix सन्, in this changed form? The word विनत is the name given in the *Prâtisākhya*s to व् and ञ change.

Ans.—So that the restrictive rule may not apply to the अविनत form of सन् ॥ As वृषुप्सति ॥ The सन् is here कित् by I. 2. 8, and there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 15. For had सणि been used in the *sûtra*, then the restriction would have been with regard to *all* Desideratives in *general*, whether the सन् was changed to व् or not. Therefore as there is restriction of VIII. 3. 59, in the case of सिंसिक्कति where स is not changed to व् ; so there would have been restriction in वृषुप्सते, the स् could not have been changed to व् by VIII. 3. 59. Similarly in सिष्ठासति ॥

Q.—What is the necessity of exhibiting वण् with the anubandha व्? So that the rule should not apply to व् in general, but to the Desiderative affix व् only. As वृषुपिष इन्नम् ॥ This वृषुपिषे is the Perfect of स्वर, the affix यास् is added as Chhandas irregularity instead of यल् ; for यास् there is छे, the affix is कित् by I. 2. 5, and so there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 15, and reduplication, and the augment इद् is added by VII. 2. 13, the व् is changed to वण्, as वृषुपिवर् इन्नम्, the व् is elided by VIII. 3. 19. Here after the reduplicate वृ, the स् is changed to व्, in वृ by the *general* rule VIII. 3. 59, as the restriction of this *sûtra* does not apply in this case. But had व् in general been taken, then वृषुपिष has an affix व्, and therefore *sûtra* VIII. 3. 59, would have been restricted, and there would have been no change of वृ to वृ after the reduplicate, as it is not a causative. Hence वण् has been employed with an anubandha.

Why do we say 'after a reduplicate'?

Ans.—So that this restriction may apply to that व् which would have been caused by the व् or व् of an *abhyāsa*, and not to that which would have been caused by an *upasarga*. As अविविक्कति, though without the Preposition, the form is सिंसिक्कते ॥

Q.—No, this cannot be the reason, because the व् caused by the *upasarga* is considered as *asiddha*, and hence there would be no restriction.

Ans.—Then we say, the abhyāsa is taken to be qualified by सङ्, namely that abhyāsa which is *caused* by सङ्, would give occasion to this rule and not any other abhyāsa. Therefore if a reduplication has been caused by बङ्, and then बङ् is added to it, then the restriction of the present sūtra will not apply, and बल change will take place though the root may not be a Causative &c. Thus the बङ् of स्वप् is सोषुप्त् (VI. 1. 19), the Desiderative of this root is सोषुषिते, with इङ् augment, the elision of ञ (VI. 4. 48) of ञ, the elision of ञ् by VI. 4. 49.

Q.—No this also cannot be the reason: because the बल change is antaranga, while the restriction niyama is Bahiranga. Therefore, the word abhyāsa is employed superfluously in the sūtra.

Ans.—The word abhyāsa is taken in the sūtra, so that the restriction may be with regard to that ञ which might have been caused by the इ or उ of the abhyāsa; and not to that ञ which might be occasioned by the इ or उ of a *dhātu* or verbal root. Thus प्रतिषिषति, अधीषिषति ॥ Here the root इ in the sense of बोधन, is turned to Desiderative with सङ्; and by VI. 1. 2, the स is reduplicated, then by VII. 4. 79, the ञ is changed to इ ॥ Thus इषिस; here by the force of the इ of the abhyāsa सि, the स is changed to ञ as इषिष; (VIII. 3. 59) then as the restriction of this sūtra does not apply, the root इ causes the बल of the abhyāsa, as इषिष ॥ Had the word अभ्यसात् not been used in the sūtra, the स of abhyāsa could not have been changed to ञ, for then the sūtra would have meant “ञ is substituted for स, only in the case of स्तु and Causatives in the Desiderative ञ्”; and as इषिष is not a Causative-Desiderative, the restriction would have applied.

सः स्विदिस्वदिसहीनां च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, स्विदि-स्वदि-सहीनाम्, च ॥
वृत्ति ॥ स्विदि स्विदि सहि इत्येतेषां ण्यन्तानां सनि ञभूते परतो ऽभ्यासादुत्तस्य सकारस्य सकारोऽक्षो भवति ॥

62. स is substituted for the स् after the reduplicate of the ञङ् Desiderative of the Causatives of स्विङ्, स्वङ्, and सङ् ॥

The स substitute of स् debars the cerebral change. In other words, the स of these roots remains unchanged. As सिस्वेइषिषति, सिस्वाइषिषति and सिसाइषिषति ॥

प्राक्सितादङ्ग्यवाये ऽपि ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्,सितात्, अङ्, ग्यवाये,अपि ॥
वृत्ति ॥ सेवसितेति वक्ष्यति प्राक्सतसंज्ञनाद्यादित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तवाङ्ग्यवायेऽपिःपूर्वन्वो भवति-
त्येवं तद्वदितव्यमपिवाङ्ग्यवायेऽपि ॥

63. (The substitution of ञ् for स, to be taught hereafter, will take place) for all roots upto सिङ् exclusive in

VIII. 3. 70, even when the augment **अद्** intervenes (between the **स** and the efficient letter).

The root **सित्** occurs in sūtra VIII. 3. 70. Thus VIII. 3. 65 teaches **च** change : as **अभिसृजोति**, **परिसृजोति**, **विसृजोति**, **निसृजोति** ॥ So also when **अद्** intervenes ; as **अभ्यसृजोत्**, **पर्यसृजोत्**, **व्यसृजोत्**, **न्यसृजोत्** ॥ The force of **अपि** is that the change takes place even when the augment **अद्** does not come, i. e. in cases other than the augment.

स्थादिष्वभ्यासेन चाभ्यासस्य ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थादिषु, अभ्यासेन, च, अभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राक् सित्तादिति वर्णते ॥ उपसर्गास्तुनोतीत्यत्र स्यासेनबसेधेति स्यादवस्तेषु स्यादिषु प्राक् सितसंज्ञकानाद् अभ्यासेन व्यवाये मूर्धन्यो भवत्यभ्याससकारस्य च भवतीत्येवं देहितव्यम् ॥

64. In **स्था** &c upto **सित्** exclusive (VIII. 3. 65 to VIII. 3. 70), this **च** substitution takes place then also, when the reduplicate intervenes, and the **स** of the reduplicate is also changed to **च** ॥

The words **प्राक् सित्ताद्** are understood here also. The **स्थादि** roots are, **स्था**, **सेनय** &c in VIII. 3. 65 and ending with **सेच्** in VIII. 3. 70. The sūtra consists of two sentences : (1) The **एत्** takes place in **स्था** &c. even when a reduplicate intervenes ; (2) The **स** of the reduplicates of **स्था** &c. is changed to **च** ॥ The first is a *vidhi* rule, and the second is a *niyama* rule.

Thus **परितष्टौ** where the **अभ्यास** **त** intervenes. This applies even to roots other than those which have been taught with a **च** in the Dhātupāṭha. As **अभिषिषेजयिषति**, **परिषिषेजयिषति** (सेनया अभियातुमिच्छन्ति). This applies moreover to reduplicates which end in **अ**, as **अभितष्टौ** ; here the **स्** would not have been changed to **च** (by VIII. 3. 59) as it is not preceded by **इ** or **उ** ॥ Another *raison d'être* of this sūtra is that it prohibits **एच्** (VIII. 3. 61). As **अभिषिषिषति**, **परिषिषिषति** ॥

The word **अभ्यासस्य** is for the sake of *niyama*, as we have said above. **स** of **स्था** &c. and of no other roots is changed to **च** ॥ As **अभिसृजयति** from **सृज्** प्रेरणे with **सच्**, the augment is debarred by VII. 2. 12 : the root **स्** is unchanged by the *niyama* prohibition of VIII. 3. 61 ; the reduplicate **स्** remains unchanged by the restriction of the present sūtra.

उपसर्गास्तुनोति सुवति स्यति स्तौति स्तोमति स्यासेनय सेध सिय सञ्ज स्वञ्जाम् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, सुनोति-सुवति-स्यति-स्तौति-स्तोमति-स्या-सेनय-सेध-सिय-सञ्ज-स्वञ्जाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्याभिन्नादुत्तरत्वं सुनोति सुवति स्यति स्तौति स्तोमति स्या सेनय सेध सिय सञ्ज स्वञ्ज इत्येतेषां सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

65. **च्** is substituted for **स**, after an **इ** and **उ** of an *upasarga* in the following verbs : **स्** (सुनोति), **स्** (सुवति), **सो**

(स्यति VII. 3. 71), स्तु (स्तौति VII. 3. 89), स्तुम (स्तोमते), स्था, सेनय (Denominative), सिध् (सेधति), सिच्, सञ्ज् and स्वञ्ज् ॥

Thus अभिषुजोति, परिषुजोति, अभ्यषुजोत्, पर्यषुजोत् ॥ सुवति, अभिसुवति, परिसुवति, अभ्यसुवत्, पर्यसुवत् ॥ स्यति, अभिस्यति, परिस्यति, अभ्यस्यत्, पर्यस्यत् ॥ स्तौति, अभिष्टौति, परिष्टौति, अभ्यष्टौत् ॥ स्तोमति, अभिष्टोमते, परिष्टोमते, अभ्यष्टोमत, पर्यष्टोमत ॥ स्था, अभिष्टास्यति, परिष्टास्यति, अभ्यष्टान्, पर्यष्टान्, अभिस्तौ, परितौ ॥ सेनय, अभिषेजयति, परिषेजयति, अभ्यषेजयत्, पर्यषेजयत् ॥ अभिषिषेजयति, परिषिषेजयति ॥ सेध, अभिषेधति, परिषेधति, अभ्यषेधत्, पर्यषेधत् ॥ सिच्, अभिषिञ्चति, परिषिञ्चति, अभ्यषिञ्चत्, पर्यषिञ्चत्, अभिषिषिञ्क्षति, परिषिषिञ्क्षति ॥ सञ्ज्, अभिषञ्जति, परिषञ्जति, अभ्यषञ्जत्, पर्यषञ्जत्, अभिषिषञ्क्षति, परिषिषञ्क्षति ॥ स्वञ्ज्, अभिष्वजते, परिष्वजते, अभ्यष्वजत, पर्यष्वजत, अभिषिष्वक्षते, परिषिष्वक्षते ॥ सेध इति शब्दिकरणनिर्देशः सिध्यति निवृत्त्यर्थः ॥ उपसर्गादिति, किम्? इधि सिञ्चति, मधु सिञ्चति, निगताः ॥ सेचका अस्माद्देशानिः सेचको देश इति ॥ नायं सिचैरुपसर्गः ॥ अभिसावकीयसीत्यत्रापि न सुनोति प्रति क्रियायोगः किं तर्हि सावकीयं प्रति ॥ अभिषावयसीत्यत्र तु सुनोतिमेव प्रति क्रियायोगो न सावयतिमिति बल्बं भवति ॥

The root सिध् is exhibited in the sūtra as सेध with ण् वकारणा, thus debarring सिध्-सिध्यति ॥

Why do we say "after an upasarga"? Observe इधि सिञ्चति, मधु सिञ्चति (VIII. 3. 111). So निःसेचको देशः=निर्गता सेचका अस्माद् देशान् ॥ Here निः is not an Upasarga to सिच्, but to the noun सेचक ॥ Similarly in अभिसावकीयति, the upasarga अभि is not added to the root सु (सुनोति), but to the *third* derivative of सु (सुनोति). Namely, from सु we derive सावक with ण्वुल्, and from सावक we form the Denominative root सावकीय with क्यच्; and to this Denominative root अभि is added. The upasarga, however may be added to the root first, and then ण्वुल् and क्यच् added. In that case, the rule will apply. As अभिषावकीयति ॥ So also with the Causative, as अभिषावयति, for here the upasarga is added to the root सु and not to the causative form सावय ॥

The roots पुस् अभिष्वे belongs to Svādi class, पु प्रेरणे to Tudadi class, बोऽन्तर्कर्मणि to Divādi class, ष्ठस् स्तुतौ to Adādi class and ष्ठम स्तंभे, to Bhuādi Class. These have been shown in the sūtra in their declined form in order to indicate that the rule does not apply to their यङ् लुक्, as अभिसोषयति ॥ See VII. 1. 6 for this rule of क्तिप् exhibited roots. On the other hand, the roots सिच् &c. being not so exhibited, change their स in यङ् लुक् also, as अभिषिषिञ्क्षति ॥

The upasarga need not end with इ and उ for the purposes of this rule. Thus निष्पुजोति, दुष्पुजोति, where the upasarga is निस् and दुस् ॥

सदिरप्रतेः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सदिः, अप्रतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सदेः सकारस्य उपसर्गस्याभिनिताप्रतेरुत्तरस्य मूर्धन्य आदेशो भवति ॥

66. The स of सद् is changed to ष after an Upasarga having an इ or उ, but not after प्रति ॥

The word सदिः is in the first case, but has the force of genitive. Thus निषीदति विषीदति, व्यषीदत्, व्यषीदत् ॥ निषसाद, विषसाद ॥ The second स remains unchanged in the Perfect by VIII. 3. 118.

Why do we say 'but not after प्रति'? Observe प्रतिसिद्धिः ॥ Prof. Bohtlingk points out that the sūtra is सवेत्पतेः as given by Sayānāchārya in his commentary on Rīg Veda VI. 13. 1. Pāṇini, however, often uses the first case with the force of the Genitive, as in VIII. 3. 80.

स्तन्मेः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तन्मेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तन्मेः सकारस्य उपसर्गस्याभिनितादुत्तरस्य मूर्जन्य आवेशो भवति ॥

67. The स् of स्तन्म is changed into ष after an up-asarga, having an इ or उ ॥

Thus अभिद्विभाति । परिद्विभाति । अवद्विभाति । पर्वद्विभाति । अभितद्विभाति । परितद्विभाति । The word अवपतेः of the last sūtra is not to be read here. Hence we have forms like :—प्रतिद्विभाति । प्रत्यद्विभाति । प्रत्यतितद्विभाति ॥

अवाञ्छालम्बनाविवूर्ययोः ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवात्, च, आलम्बन-आविदूर्ययोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अवद्विभातिदुपसर्गादुत्तरस्य स्तन्मेः सकारस्य मूर्जन्यावेशो भवति । आलम्बनेयं आविवूर्यं च ॥

68. The स् of स्तन्म is changed into ष after the preposition अव in the sense of 'support' and 'contiguity'.

The word आलम्बनं means "support, refuge, that upon which any thing depends or leans". आविवूर्यं means "the state of not being विदूर or far off, i. e. to be contiguous".

Thus अवद्विभास्ते "He remains leaning upon a staff" &c, अवद्विभाति तिद्विभाति ॥ So also in the sense of to be near, as अवद्विभाति सेना 'the army near at hand'. अवद्विभाति शरत् ॥ See V. 2. 13.

Why do we say "when having the sense of support or contiguity"? Thus अवस्तब्धो वृषलः क्षीतेन 'the Sūdra is afflicted with cold'.

The present sūtra is commenced in order to make the ष change even while the preceding letter is not इ or उ ॥

वेद्य स्वनो भोजने ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, च, स्वनः, भोजने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेदुपसर्गादवाञ्छादुत्तरस्य भोजनार्थे स्वनतेः सकारस्य मूर्जन्यावेशो भवति ॥

69. The ष is substituted for the स् of स्वन्, after वि and अव, when the sense is "to smack while eating".

Thus विष्यजति, चष्यजत्, विष्यज्वाज, अवष्यजति, अवाष्यजत्, अवष्यज्वाज ॥ That is, he makes sound while eating, he eats with a smack.

Why do we say 'when making a smacking sound in eating'? Observe विस्वननि वृद्धः "the drum sounds".

परिनिविध्यः सेवसितसयसिबुसहसुदस्तुस्वज्जाम् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ परि-नि-वि-ध्यः, सेव-सित-सय-सिबु-सह-सुद-स्तु-स्वज्जाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परि नि वि इत्येतेभ्य उपसर्गेभ्य उत्तरेषां सेव सित सय सिबु सह सुद स्तु स्वज्ज इत्येतेभ्यः सकारस्य मूर्जन्य आवेशो भवति ॥

70. ष is substituted for the स् of सेव्, सित, सय, सिव्, सह, the augment सुद्, स्तु, and स्वञ्, after the prepositions परि, नि, and वि ॥

The root सेव belongs to Bhuādi class. The word सित is the Past Participle of सिञ् बन्धने, and सय is the noun derived from the same root with the affix अच् ; सिव् is a Divādi root.

Thus परिषेवते । निषेवते । विषेवते । पर्येवते । व्येवते । न्येवते । परिषेवेषिते । विषेवेषिते । निषेवेषिते । सित । परिषितो । विषितो, निषितः । सय । परिषयो, निषयो, विषयः । सिव् । परिषीष्यति । निषीष्यति । विषीष्यति । पर्यषीष्यत् । न्यषीष्यत् । व्यषीष्यत् । पर्यसीष्यत् । न्यसीष्यत् । व्यसीष्यत् । सह परिषहते । निषहते । विषहते । पर्यषहत् । न्यषहत् । व्यषहत् । पर्यसहत् । न्यसहत् । व्यसहत् । सुद् । परिष्करोति । पर्यष्करोत् । स्तु । परिष्टोति । निष्टोति । विष्टोति । पर्यष्टोत् । न्यष्टोत् । व्यष्टोत् । पर्यस्तीत् । न्यस्तीत् । व्यस्तीत् । स्वञ् । संसञ्जस्वञ्जामिति नलोपः । परिष्वजते । निष्वजते । विष्वजते । पर्यष्वजत् । न्यष्वजत् । पूर्वैव सिञ्जे स्तुस्वञ्जिमहणमुत्तरार्थम् । अङ्गव्याये विभाषा यथा स्वात् ॥

The nasal is elided in स्वञ् by VI. 4. 25. The स of स्तु and स्वञ् would have been changed to ष by VIII. 3. 65 also. Their inclusion here is for the sake of subsequent sūtra, by which the ष change is *optional* when the augment अङ् intervenes.

सिवादीनां चाङ्गव्यायेपि ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिवादीनाम्, चा-अङ्-व्याये, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनन्तरसूत्रे सिञ्जसहसुद्स्तुस्वञ्जामिति सिवादिषः । सिवादीनामङ्गव्यायेपि परिनिविभ्य उत्तरस्व सकारस्य वा वृद्धन्वादेशो भवति ॥

71. The ष-change may take place optionally in the सिव् and the rest (of the last sūtra), even when the augment अ intervenes between the prepositions परि, नि or वि and the verb.

The सिवादि are the four roots सिव् सह, स्तु and स्वञ्, as well as the augment सुद् ॥ This is an example of ubhayatra-vibhāshā. In the case of स्तु and स्वञ् it is prāpta-vibhāshā, in the case of others it is aprāpta. The examples have already been given under the preceding sūtra, and so need not be repeated here.

अनुविपर्ययिनिभ्यः स्यन्दतेरप्राणिषु ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु-वि-परि-आभि निभ्यः, स्यन्दतेः, अप्राणिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनु वि परि आभि नि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्व स्यन्दतेरप्राणिषु सकारस्य वा वृद्धन्वादेशो भवति ॥

72. ष् is optionally the substitute of the स् of स्यन्द्, after the prepositions अनु, वि, परि, आभि and नि, when the subject is not a living being.

The root स्यन्द् प्रसवणे is anudātta. Thus अनुष्यन्दते । विष्यन्दते । परिष्यन्दते । आभिष्यन्दते । निष्यन्दते । अनुत्स्यन्दते । वित्स्यन्दते । परित्स्यन्दते ।

Why do we say 'when the subject is not a living being'? Observe अनुस्यन्ते मस्य उक्ते ॥ The option of this sūtra will apply, when the subject is a compound of living and non-living beings. Thus अनुस्यन्ते or अनुस्यन्ते मस्योक्ते ॥ The subject here is a Dvandva compound, and it is not in the singular number because of II. 4. 6. The word अप्राणिषु is a Paryudāsa and not a Prasajya-patishedha. If it be the latter sort of prohibition, then the force will be on the word *living*, and in a compound like मस्योक्ते, consisting of *living* and *non-living* beings, the prohibition will apply because it has a *living* being in it, and so there will be no एव ॥ In the other view, the force is on the word *non-living*, and because the compound contains a non-living being, therefore the option will be applied, and the presence of the living being along with it will be ignored.

The anuvṛtti of परि, नि and वि is understood here from VIII. 3. 70. So these words could well have been omitted from the sūtra, which might have then been अन्वभिधांश्च स्यन्तेऽप्राणिषु, and by the force of च we would draw in the anuvṛtti of परि &c.

वेः स्कन्धेरनिष्ठायाम् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, स्कन्धेः, अनिष्ठायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेरुपसर्गादुत्तरस्य स्कन्धेः सकारस्य दुर्जन्यो वा भवति अनिष्ठायाम् ॥

73. ए is optionally substituted for the स् of स्कन्ध्, after the preposition वि, but not in the participles in त and तद्यत् ॥

The root is स्कन्धिर् गति शोषणयोः ॥ Thus विष्कन्ता or विस्कन्ता, विष्कन्तुम् or विस्कन्तुम्, विष्कन्तव्यम् or विस्कन्तव्यम् ॥

Why do we say 'but not in the Nishṭhā'? Observe विस्कन्तः

परेऽथ ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिषदाद्योत्तरस्य स्कन्धेः सकारस्य वा दुर्जन्यो भवति ॥

74. ए is optionally substituted for the स् of स्कन्ध् after the preposition परि every where.

Thus परिष्कन्ता or परिस्कन्ता, परिष्कन्तुम् or परिस्कन्तुम्, परिष्कन्तव्यम् or परिस्कन्तव्यम् ॥

The word परि could well have been included in the last sūtra as विपरिधां स्कन्धेर् &c. The very fact that it has not been so included, indicates that the prohibition of अनिष्ठायाम् does not apply to it. Thus परिष्कणः or परिस्कणः ॥

परिस्कन्धः प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिस्कन्धः, प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिस्कन्ध इति दुर्जन्याभावो निपात्यते प्राच्यभरतेषु प्रयोगविषयेषु ॥

75. The word परिस्कन्ध् is used without the cerebral change in the country of Eastern Bharata.

This is an anomaly. The **ष** required by the last sūtra is prohibited. The other form is **परिस्कन्दः** ॥ The word **परिस्कन्द** is formed by the affix **अच्** or it is a Nishṭhā, the **त्** being elided. The word **भरत** qualifies the word **प्राच्य** ॥

Prof. Bohtlingk translates it “**परिस्कन्द** is seen in the usage of the Eastern People and the Bharata”. He bases his construction on the sūtras II. 4. 66, and IV. 2. 113, where **प्राच्यभरतेषु** means “the Eastern People and Bharata”.

स्फुरतिस्फुलत्योर्निनिविभ्यः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फुरति, स्फुलत्योः, निस्, नि, विभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्फुरतिस्फुलत्योः सकारस्य निस् नि वि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य वा मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

76. **ष्** is optionally substituted for the **स्** of **स्फुर** and **स्फुल्** after the prepositions **निस्, नि, and वि** ॥

Thus **निष्फुरति** or **निस्फुरति**, **निस्फुरति** or **निष्फुरति**, **विस्फुरति**, **विष्फुरति** ॥ **स्फुलति**, **निष्फुलति**, **निस्फुलति**, **निष्फुलति**, **विस्फुलति**, **विष्फुलति** ॥

वेः स्कन्नातेनित्यम् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, स्कन्नातेः, नित्यं ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेरुतस्य स्कन्नातेः सकारस्य नित्यं मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

77. **ष्** is always substituted for the **स्** of **स्कम्**, after the preposition **वि** ॥

Thus **विष्कम्भाति**, **विष्कम्भिता**, **विष्कम्भितुम्**, **विष्कम्भितव्यम्** ॥

इणः षीध्वंलुङ्लिट् धोङ्गात् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, षीध्वं, लुङ्लिट्, धः, धङ्गात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूर्द्धन्य इति वर्त्तते । इणन्ताङ्गात्परेषां षीध्वंलुङ्लिट् यो धकारस्तस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

78. The cerebral sound is substituted in the room of the **घ** of **षीध्वम्**, and of the Personal-endings of the Aorist and the Perfect, after a stem ending in **इण्** (a vowel other than **अ**).

The word ‘cerebral’ is understood here from VIII. 3. 55. Thus **अयोषीध्वम्, होषीध्वम्** ॥ Aorist :—**अय्योद्धुम्, अह्योद्धुम्** (VIII. 2. 25). Perfect : **चकृद्धे** ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of **इण्कोः** was current here from VIII. 3. 57, yet the repetition of the word **इण्** here indicates that the anuvṛitti of **कु** or the guttural ceases. As **पक्षीध्वम्, यक्षीध्वम्** ॥

Why do we say “the **ध** of **षीध्वं, लुङ्** and **लिट्**”? Observe **स्तुध्वे, अस्तुध्वम्**, where the **ध** is of **लट्** and **लङ्** ॥

Why do we say **अङ्गात्** ‘after a stem’? Observe **परिवेविषीध्वम्**, from **विष्ट-** व्याप्तौ of the Juhotyādi class. There is Guṇa of the reduplicate by VII. 4. 75, the **स्** of **सीयुद्** is elided by VII. 2. 79, and **षीध्वम्** here is made up of the **ष्** of the root **विष्**, and **ईध्वम्** the affix; therefore **षीध्वं** here is not after the *angā* परिवे वि, for the *angā* here is परिवे विष्, and **ईध्वम्** is the affix. This result could have been

obtained, without using the word **अङ्गान्** in the sūtra, by the maxim **अर्थवद् ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य** "a combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning, denotes that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote a combination void of meaning".

विभाषेतः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, इटः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इणः परस्मादिट उत्तरेषां धीध्वलुङ्लिट्वां वा धकारस्तस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति विभाषा ॥

79. The cerebral sound is optionally substituted for the ध् of धीध्वम् and of the Aorist and the Perfect after the augment इट्, when the stem ends in इण् ॥

Thus लु + इट् + धीध्वम् = लविधीध्वम् or लविधीद्वम् so also पविधीध्वम् or पविधीद्वम् from पू ॥ Aorist :—अलविध्वम् or अलविद्वम् ॥ Perfect :—लुलुविध्वे or लुलुविद्वे ॥

The word इण् is understood here and it qualifies the word इट्, so that the stem should end in an इण् vowel which should be followed by the इट् augment and this letter should be followed by धीध्वम् and the ध beginning affixes of the Aorist and the Perfect. If the stem does not end in an इण् vowel, the rule will not apply ; as आसिधीध्वम् from the root आस उपवेशने ॥

Then in the word उपदिशीयिष्वे, will the cerebral change not take place by the option of this sūtra or otherwise? This is from the root शीङ् शये in the Perfect with the augment इट् (VII. 2. 13.), and युट् (by VI. 4. 63). Some say that as the augment युट् intervenes between the stem ending in ई (इण् vowel), and the augment इट्, therefore this rule will not apply and there will not be the optional च ॥ Others hold that the anuvṛitti of अङ्गान् has ceased, and the anuvṛitti of इण् is only current, in this sūtra, and there is no intervention and so there will be the optional change into च ॥

समासेङ्गुलेः सङ्गः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ समासे, अङ्गुलेः, सङ्गः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सङ्गसकारस्याङ्गुलेरुत्तरस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति समासे ॥

80. च् is substituted for the स् of सङ्ग after the word अङ्गुलि in a compound.

Thus अङ्गुलिषङ्ग । अङ्गुलिषङ्गो यवागूः । अङ्गुलिषङ्गो गाः सादयति ॥ Why do we say in a compound? Observe अङ्गुले सङ्गं पठ्य ॥

The word सङ्गः is exhibited in the sūtra in the nominative case. The force is here that of Genitive i. e. सङ्गत्य ॥

भीरोः स्थानम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भीरोः, स्थानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थानसकारस्य भीरोरुत्तरस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

81. च् is substituted for the स् of स्थानं when preceded by भीरु in a compound.

Thus भीरुस्थानम् ॥ The word compound is understood here also ; otherwise भीरो स्थानं पठ्य ॥

अग्नेः स्तुतस्तोमसोमाः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नेः, स्तुत, स्तोम, सोमाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्नेरुत्तरस्य स्तुत् स्तोम सोम इत्येतेषां सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति समासे ॥

इष्टिः ॥ अग्नेर्वर्धाम् सोमस्येव्यते ॥

82. ए is substituted for the स् of स्तुत, स्तोम and सोम when preceded by अग्नि in a compound.

Thus अग्निहुत्, अग्निहोमः, अग्नीषोमः ॥

Ishti.—The इ of अग्नि is lengthened before सोम and it is after such lengthened ई, that the स of सोम is changed to ए, otherwise not. As अग्निसोमौ माग्नकौ ॥ So also अग्निसोमौ तिष्ठतः (where 'agni' means fire, and 'soma' a kind of herb) "the fire and the soma plant are here."

When there is no compounding we have अग्ने सोमः ॥

The word अग्निहुत् is formed by द्विष, the *sacrifice* in which Agni is praised (स्तूयते) is so called. अग्निहोमः is also the name of a sacrifice: the 'first division (संस्था) of the Soma-yāga. अग्नीषोमः is a देवता-द्वन्द्वः so where there is no Devatā-Dvandva, the ए change will not take place. Thus where Agni and Soma are names of two boys, or where they refer to physical fire and herb. According to Āśvalāyana there is lengthening and ए change in the last case also, as अग्नीषोमौ प्रणेज्यानि ॥

ज्योतिरायुषः स्तोमः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्योतिः, आयुषः, स्तोमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्योतिस् आयुस् इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्तोमसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति समासे ॥

83. The स् of स्तोमः is changed to ए after ज्योतिस् and आयुस् in a compound.

As ज्योतिहोमः, आयुहोमः, but ज्योतिः स्तोमं वर्धयति where there is no compounding.

मातृपितृभ्यां स्वसा ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातृ, पितृभ्याम्, स्वसा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मातृ पितृ इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्वसृसकारस्य समासे मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

84. The स् of स्वस् is changed to ए after मातृ and पितृ in a compound.

As मातृष्वसा, पितृष्वसा ॥ See VI. 3. 24.

मातृपितृभ्यामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातृः, पितृभ्याम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मातृर् पितृर् इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्वसृसृप्तस्यान्यतरस्यां मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति समासे ॥

85. The स् of स्वस् is optionally changed to ए, after मातृ and पितृ in a compound.

Thus मातृःस्वसा, or मातृःष्वसा ; पितृःस्वसा or पितृःष्वसा ॥ The word मातृ and पितृ end in इ, which is changed to visarga (See VIII. 2. 24). In fact, the word पितृ is so exhibited in the sūtra itself, with a इ, the word मातृः therefore, by the rule of साहचर्य is also to be understood as a इ ending word.

Q.—Well, if this be so, when this इ is changed to a visarga, and the visarga changed to स् by VIII. 3. 36, then there would be no ए change?

Ans.—The ए change would take place both after the visarga-ending or स-ending words, on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् “That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means, in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place”. Therefore, these words are taken to end in इ॥ For if they were taken to end in ए, then the rule would not apply when they ended in a visarga. If they be supposed to end in a visarga, then the form पितृभ्याम् with a इ before भ्याम् in the sūtra is hard to explain.

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here मातुः स्वसा when the words are used separately in a sentence.

अभिनिस्तनः शब्दसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-निसः, स्तनः, शब्द-संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभि निस् इत्येतस्मादुत्तरस्य स्तनतिसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां शब्दसंज्ञायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

86. The स् of स्तन् is optionally changed to ए after the double preposition अभि निस्, when the word so formed is the name of a particular letter (i. e. visarga).

As अभिनिष्ठानो वर्णः, अभिनिष्ठानो विसर्जनीयः or अभिनिस्तानो वर्णः or विसर्जनीयः ॥ The compound preposition अभि-निस् causes this change, and not any one of them separately. Thus, Āpastamba :—द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा नामपूर्वभाष्यातोत्तरं दीर्घभिनिष्ठान्तं, घोषवशाद्यन्तरस्तस्य च “a name (nāma) should be such that it should consist of two-syllables or four-syllables, that its first portion should be a noun (nama-pūrva), and its second portion a verb (ākhyāta), that it should end in a long vowel (dirgha) or a visarga (abhinishṭāna), that the first letter of such a noun should be a ghosha or sonant letter (ghosha-vad-ādi), and a semi-vowel (antastha) should be in the body of it.” Thus the names ह्रविणोरा, वरिवोरा fulfill these conditions and are good names.

Why do we say “when it is the name of a particular letter.”? Observe अभिनिस्तनति वृद्धः ॥ The anuvṛitti of समासे ceases from this place.

उपसर्गप्रादुर्भ्यामस्तिर्यच्परः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्ग, प्रादुर्भ्याम्, अस्तिः, यच्चपरः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्याभिनिष्ठाप्रादुर्भ्यामोत्तरस्य यकारपरस्याच्परस्य चास्तिसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यो भवति ॥

87. The स् of the verb अस् is changed to ए, when it is followed by a vowel or य् and is preceded by प्रादुः, or an upasarga having इ or उ in it.

The word यच्च परः means ‘followed by य् or यच्’ ॥ The word प्रादुः is an Indeclinable, meaning ‘evidently’.

Thus अभिषन्ति, निषन्ति, विषन्ति, प्रादुःपन्ति; अभिष्यान्, निष्यान्, विष्यान्, प्रादुःप्यान् ॥

Why do we say "when preceded by an *Upasarga* having an इ or उ?" Observe हांभस्यात्, मधुस्यात् ॥ Why do we say 'of the verb अस्'? Observe अनु-सृतम्, विसृतम् ॥

Q.—How is there any occasion for the application of the rule here? The context here relates to स, and the word "upasarga" qualifies that स, but here the upasarga is not applied to स but to the *whole verb* सृ, therefore this is no counter-example. In fact, what is the necessity of using the word अस् at all in the sūtra: for even without it, the word 'upasarga' would qualify that verb which consists of स only, and such a verb is अस्, with its अ elided and no other verb? Nor is the employment of अस् necessary for प्रादुः, for it comes only in connection with the verbs कृ, भू and अस् ॥

Ans.—All that you urge, is true, yet the following counter-example should be given, as अनुसृ, the son of Anusū will be आनुसेयः with इक् as it belongs to Subhrādi class. Thus अनुसृ + इक् = आनुसृ + एय = आनुस् + एय ॥ Here the ऊ is elided by VI. 4. 147. Now when ऊ is elided, the सृ is the only verb-element that remains, अनु is upasarga, and एय is affix; so that had अस् not been taken in the sūtra, the rule would apply to this सृ also.

Why do we say "when it is followed by a vowel or य्"? Observe निस्तः, विस्तः, प्रादुस्तः ॥

सुविनिर्दुर्भ्यः सुपिसृतिसमाः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, वि, निर्, दुर्भ्यः, सुपि, सृति, समाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु वि निर् दुर् इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य सुपि सृति सम इत्येतेषां सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

Kārikā:—सुपेः षत्वं स्वपेर्मा भूतिः सुपि सृति केन न ।

हलादिशेषान्न सुपिरिदं पूर्वं प्रसारणम् ॥

स्थादीनां नियमो नात्र प्राक्सिन्तादुत्तरः सुपि ।

अनर्थके विषुषुपः सुपिभूतो हिरुच्यते ॥

88. The सृ of स्वप्, सृति, and सम is changed to ष after सु, वि, निर् and दुर् ॥

The word सुपि is exhibited in the sūtra as the form of स्वप् with vocalisation. Thus सुपुप्तः, निः पुप्तः दुः पुप्तः ॥ The word सृति is the क्तिन् ending form of सृ; the rule applies to this form only, as सुषूतिः, विषूतिः, निःषूतिः and दुःषूतिः ॥ The word सम also means the *noun* सम and not the verb सम स्तम वैकल्ये ॥ Thus सुषमम्, विषमम्, निःषमम्, दुःषमम् ॥

Kārikā—Why is षत्वं taught with regard to the सुप् form of स्वप्? *Ans.* सुपेः षत्वं स्वपेर्मा भूत्, so that the षत्वं change should not take place in स्वप् form, as विस्वमः and विस्वमक् (III. 2. 172) ॥ *Q.* विषुष्यापेति केन न? For what reason the षत्वं change has not taken place in the reduplicate विषुष्याप, for here also in the reduplicate, is the form सुप्, as विषुप्स्वप्, and then by applying हलादिशेष rule, the ष् is elided, and एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् applies? *Ans.* हलादि शेषान् न सुपिः, we

reduplicate the form स्वप्, as विस्वप्स्वप् and then elide व्, as विस्वस्वप्, and then vocalise, as विस्वस्वप् so that there being no form सुप्, there is no वत्स्व ॥ इदं पूर्वं प्रसारणं, in fact, the vocalisation takes place first, and then elision according to an ishti. See VI 1. 17. Otherwise, in स्वप् स्वप्, as व् is elided, व् would also have been elided. Why is the स of विस्वप्नाप् not changed to व् by VIII. 3. 64? स्यादीनां नियमो नात्र प्राक् सितादुत्तरः सुप्, the rule VIII. 3. 64 does not apply, because that rule is confined only to verbs up to सित in VIII. 3. 70, while सुप् is *after* that verb. Moreover the व् of सुप् being elided, the mere सु is अनर्थक, and the maxim is अनर्थवद् ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य ॥ Q. If this maxim is applied, how do you form विष्णुपुः? Ans. अनर्थके विष्णुपुः सुप्भूताद्विरुध्यते, here the form सुप् is doubled, and not सुप् ॥ The root is first joined with the affix वि + स्वप्, then there is vocalisation विस्वप्, then there is व् change, as विस्वप्, then reduplication, as विस्वप्स्वप् ॥ Now वत्स्व being considered asiddha, the doubling should take place first? No, for we have already shown that for the purposes of doubling, the वत्स्व change is not asiddha (VIII. 2. 3 Vārt.)

निनदीभ्यां ज्ञातेः कौशले ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि, नदीभ्याम्, ज्ञातेः, कौशले ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नि नदी इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य ज्ञातिसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति कौशले गम्यमाने ॥

89. The व् is substituted for स् of स्ना after नि and नदी when the word so formed denotes "dexterous."

Thus निष्णातः कटककरणे । निष्णातो रज्जुवर्त्तने । नद्यां स्नातीति नदीष्णः ॥ This last word is formed by the affix क added to स्ना preceded by the upapada नदी under sūtra III. 2. 4.

Why do we say when meaning dexterous? Observe निस्नातः, नदीस्नातः (नद्यां स्नातः)

सूत्रं प्रतिष्णातम् ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ सूत्रम्, प्रतिष्णातम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिष्णातमिति निपात्यते । सूत्रं चैकवर्त्तते । प्रतिष्णातं सूत्रम् ॥

90. The word प्रतिष्णातः is irregularly formed when meaning a sūtra.

Thus प्रतिष्णातः सूत्रम् i. e. शुद्धम् 'pure'. When it has not this meaning we have प्रतिस्नातं = 'bathed'

कपिष्ठलो गोत्रे ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कपिष्ठलः, गोत्रे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कपिष्ठल इति निपात्यते गोत्रविषये ॥

91. The word कपिष्ठल is irregularly formed denoting the founder of a gotra of that name.

Thus the son of Kapishṭhala will be कपिष्ठलिः ॥ The word gotra " here does not mean the grammatical "gotra," but the popular term 'gotra' denoting 'clans,' as described in the list of pravaras. Why do we say "when denoting the founder of a gotra"? Observe कपिस्थलम् The land of the monkeys.

प्रष्ठोऽग्रगामिनि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रष्ठः, अग्रगामिनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रष्ठ इति निपात्यते अग्रगामिन्यभिधेये ॥

92. The word प्रष्ठ is irregularly formed when denoting 'a chief' or 'one who goes in front'.

Thus प्रष्ठोऽङ्ग meaning a 'best horse'. Why do we say when meaning 'going in front'? Observe प्रस्थे हिमवतः पुण्ये "On the sacred peak of the Himalaya". प्रस्थो ब्रीहीणाम् 'a measure of barley'.

वृक्षासनयोर्विष्टरः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृक्ष, आसनयोः, विष्टरः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विष्टर इति निपात्यते वृक्षे आसने च वाच्ये । विपूर्वस्य स्तृणातेः षत्वं निपात्यते ॥

93. The word विष्टर is irregularly formed in the sense of "tree" and "seat."

This word is formed by adding the affix अष् to the root स्तृ preceded by the preposition वि ॥ Thus विष्टरो वृक्षः ॥ विष्टरमासनम् ॥

Why do we say when meaning a 'tree' or a 'seat'? Observe औलपिवाक्यस्य विस्तारः ॥ See sūtra III. 3. 33. by which अष् is added here instead of धष् ॥

छन्दोनाम्नि च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दोनाम्नि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विष्टर इति निपात्यते । विपूर्वास्त्सु इत्येतस्माद्धातोः छन्दोनाम्नि चेत्येवं विहित इति विष्टर इत्यपि प्रकृते विष्टार इत्यत्र विज्ञायते ॥

94. Also when it is the name of a metre, the irregular form विष्टार is used.

By Sūtra III. 3. 34 the word विष्टार is formed denoting a sort of metre called विष्टारपङ्क्तिः ॥

Why do we say when denoting 'the name of a chhandas'? Observe पदस्य विस्तारः ॥

In fact this sūtra makes unnecessary the sutra III. 3. 34. To avoid this difficulty, some say that the sūtra III. 3. 34 is not confined to the preposition वि, so that we can form प्रस्तारपङ्क्तिः संसारपङ्क्तिः ॥

गवियुधिभ्यां स्थिरः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गवि, युधिभ्याम्, स्थिरः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गवियुधिभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्थिरसकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

95. The स् of स्थिरः is changed to ष after the words गवि and युधि ॥

Thus गविष्ठिर, युधिष्ठिर ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 44. and the 7th case affix is not elided by VI. 3. 9. though the word गौ does not end in a consonant, yet it retains its Locative ending by virtue of this sūtra.

विकुशमिपरिभ्यः स्थलम् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वि, कु, शमि, परिभ्यः, स्थलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि कु शमिं परि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य स्थलसकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

96. ष is substituted for स् in स्थल after वि, कु, शमि, and परि ॥

Thus विष्ठलम्, कुष्ठलम्, शमिष्ठलम् and परिष्ठलम् ॥ The word वि, कु and परि are compounded under II. 2. 18.; the word शमी forms a genitive by VI. 3. 63. In the aphorism the word शमि is shown with a short इ, indicating thereby that when the इ is not shortened, the cerebral change does not take place ; as शमी-स्थलम्

अम्बाम्बगोभूमिसव्यापद्वित्रिकुशोकुशङ्कुङ्गुमञ्जिपुञ्जिपरमेबर्हिर्दिव्यग्निभ्यः स्थाः ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अम्ब, आम्ब, गो, भूमि, सव्या, अप, द्वि, त्रि, कु, शोकु, शङ्कु, अङ्गु, मञ्जि, पुञ्जि, परमे, बर्हिस्, दिवि, अग्निभ्यः, स्थाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अम्ब आम्ब गो भूमि अप द्वि त्रि कु शोकु शङ्कु अङ्गु मञ्जि पुञ्जि परमे बर्हिस् दिवि अग्नि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य स्थानसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ स्थस्थित्युपनिमित्तं वक्तव्यम् ॥

97. The स् of स्थ is changed to ष after अम्ब, आम्ब, गो, भूमि, सव्य, अप, द्वि, त्रि, कु, शोकु शङ्कु, अङ्गु, मञ्जि, पुञ्जि, परमे, बर्हिस्, दिवि and अग्नि ॥

Thus अम्बष्ठः, आम्बष्ठः, गोष्ठः, भूमिष्ठः, सव्येष्ठः, अपष्ठः, द्विष्ठः, त्रिष्ठः, कुष्ठः, शोकुष्ठः, शङ्कुष्ठः, अङ्गुष्ठः, मञ्जिष्ठः, पुञ्जिष्ठः, परमेष्ठः, बर्हिष्ठः, दिविष्ठः, अग्निष्ठः ॥

The word स्थ is shown in the sūtra in the first case, and means the word-form स्थ, and it is not the genitive case of स्था, for then the rule would apply to गोस्थानम्, भूमिस्थानम् &c.

Vart.:—The same change takes place in स्था, स्थिन्, and स्त् ॥ As सव्येष्ठाः । परमेष्ठी । सव्येष्ठा सारथिः ॥

सुषामादिषु च ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुषामादिषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुषामादिषु ण्येषु सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

98, The स् is changed to ष in the words सुषामन् and the rest.

Thus सुषामा ब्राह्मणः = शोभनम् साम यस्य असौ ॥

1 सुषामा, 2 निःषामा, 3 दुःषामा, 4 सुषेधः, 5 निषेधः (निःषेधः), 6 दुःषेधः, 7 सुषंधिः, 8 निःषंधिः (निषंधिः), 9 दुःषंधिः, 10 सुष्टु (सुष्टु), 11 दुष्टु (दुष्टु), 12 गौरिषक्यः संज्ञायाम्, 13 प्रतिष्णिका, 14 जलाषाहम्, 15 नौषेचनम् (नौषेचनम्), 16 दुन्दुभिषेचनम् (दुन्दुभिषेचनम्; °षेचनम्) 17 एति संज्ञायामगात्, 18 हरिषेणः, 19 नक्षत्राद्या, रोहिणीषेणः ॥ आकृतिगण ॥

Some of the above words would have been governed by the prohibition in VIII. 3. III, others would never have taken ष, hence their inclusion in this list. The word सु is here a karmapravachaniya (I. 4. 94) and निर् and दुर् also are not upasargas, because they are so only in connection with the verbs गम and क्री ; so VIII. 3. 65 does not apply to सेध preceded by निर् and दुर् ॥ The words निःषेधः and दुःषेधः = निर्गतः सेधः or दुर्गतः सेधः ॥ The word सेध here is a चञ् formed word, from पिष्टृ हिंसा संराद्धोः ; if it be derived from

विध गत्याम्, then also, the word is included here in order to prevent the application of VIII. 3. 113. The words सुबन्धिः, दुःबन्धिः &c are derived from भा with the prepositions सु and दुः, and the affix कि (III. 3. 92); and the स of सन् is changed to ष्. The words सुष्ठु, दुष्ठु are Uṇādi formed words (Un. I. 25). The word गौरिषक्यः is a Bahuvrihi, the स of सक्रिय is changed to ष् and the Samāsānta षच् is added (V. 4. 113). The long ई of the first member is shortened by VI. 3. 63. The word प्रतिष्ठा is formed by adding the Preposition प्रति to the root स्था, and the affix अङ् (III. 3. 106), and we have प्रतिष्ठा with टाप्; then क is added by V. 3. 73, and स्था shortened (VII. 4. 13), and इ added by VII. 3. 44. The word नैषिचनं is formed by adding ल्युट् to सिच्. इन्दुभिषेवणं is also a ल्युट् formed word from सेवति or सीव्यति ॥

एति संज्ञायामगात् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एति. संज्ञायाम्, अगात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकारपरस्य सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति इण्कोरुत्तरस्यागकारात्परस्य संज्ञायां विषये ॥

99 The स् followed by ए and preceded by इण् or कु is changed to ष्, when the word is a name, and when the स is not preceded by ग् ॥

Thus हरयः सेना अस्य = हरिषेणः, परितः सेना अस्य = परिषेणः, so also वारिषेणः, जातुषेणी ॥ Why do we say 'followed by ए'? Observe हरिसक्यम् ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe पृथ्वी सेना यस्य स = पृथुसेनो राजा (VI. 3. 34). Why do we say 'when the स is not preceded by ग्'? Observe विष्वक् सेनः ॥ The phrase इण्कोः is understood here also, so the rule does not apply to सर्वसेनः ॥

नक्षत्राद्या ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रात्, या ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रवाचिनः शब्दादुत्तरस्य सकारस्य वा एति संज्ञायामगकाराद् मूर्धन्यो भवति ॥

100 When the preceding word is the name of a Lunar mansion, the ष् substitution for स् under the above mentioned circumstances is optional.

Thus रोहिणिषेणः or रोहिणिसेनः, भरणिषेणः or भरणिसेनः ॥ But not here सप्तभिषक् सेनः were the preceded letter is ग् ॥ These two sūtras 99 and 100 are really Gaṇa-sūtras, being read in the मुषामादि Gaṇa. The author of Kāśikā has raised them to the rank of full sūtras.

All cerebral ष changes, when not referable to any specific rule, should be classified under this Sushāmādi gaṇa.

ह्रस्वाच्चादौ तद्धिते ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वात्, तादौ, तद्धिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वादुत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति तादौ तद्धिते परतः ॥

वार्तिकः ॥ तिङन्तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

101. ष् is substituted for a final स् preceded by a short इ or उ before a Taddhita affix beginning with त ॥

The following are the affixes before which this change takes place, namely, *तर, तम, तय, त्व, तल्, तस्, तप्* ॥ As *तर-सर्पिष्टरम् यजुष्टरम् । तम । सर्पिष्टमम । यजुष्टमम । तय । चतुष्टये ब्राह्मणानां निकेताः । त्व । सर्पिष्टम् । यजुष्टम् । तल् । सर्पिष्टा । यजुष्टा । तस् । सर्पिष्टो, यजुष्टः । त्प । भाविष्यो बर्जते । ह्रस्वादिनि किम् । गीस्तार । धूस्तार । तादायिनि किम् । सर्पिस्ताद्वति । प्रत्ययसकारस्य स्यात्पराधोरिति सन्त्यपि प्रतिषेधे प्रकृतिसकारस्य स्यात् । तज्जितइति किम् । सर्पिस्तारति ॥*

Why do we say before affixes beginning with *त* ॥ Observe *सर्पिस्ताद्वति* ॥

Q.—But this *त* would never have been changed to *ष* because of the prohibition in VIII. 3. 111, how can you then give this counter-example?

Ans.—Though the *त* of the affix *सान्* is prohibited by VIII. 3. 111, yet the counter-example is valid, because the *स्* of the base *सर्पिस्* is also not changed. Why do we say 'of a Taddhita'? Observe *सर्पिस्तारति* ॥

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated of finite verbs before Taddhita affixes. As *भिन्युस्तराम् । छिन्युस्तराम्* ॥ These are the Potential third person plural of *भिन्* and *छिन्* with the augment *याञुद्*; the Taddhita affix *तरप्* is added by V. 3. 56, and *आप्* is added by V. 4. 11.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated with regard to *पुंस्* as *पुंस्त्यम् पुंस्ता* ॥

निसस्तपतावनासेवने ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ निसः, तपतौ, अनासेवने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निसः सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति तपतौ परतोनसेवनेये ॥

102. *ष* is substituted for the *स्* of *निस* before the verb *तप्* when the meaning is not that of 'repeatedly making red hot'.

The word *असेवन* means doing a thing repeatedly and here it means making it red-hot repeatedly. Thus *निष्टपतिः सुवर्णम् = सकृन् अभिम् स्पर्शयति* i. e. he puts the gold into fire only once.

Why do we say when not meaning repeatedly. Observe *निस्तपति सुवर्णम् सुवर्णकारः = पुनः पुनरभि स्पर्शयति* ॥

In the sentences *निष्टं रक्षः, निष्टा अरातयः* the change has taken place either as a Vedic irregularity or because the sense of repeatedness is not implied here.

युष्मत्तत्तद्भुःष्वन्तःपादम् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मत्, तत्, तद्भुः, पु, अन्तः पादम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मत् तत् तद्भुस् इत्येतेषु सकारादिषु परतः सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति स चेष्वकारेणः पादं भवति ॥

103. The *स्* standing in the inner half of a stanza is changed to *ष* before the *त* of *त्वम्* &c. and *तद्* and *तद्भुस्* ॥

The word युष्मद् here means the substitutes स्वम्, स्वाम्, ते, तव. As अग्निर्द्वं, नामासीत् ॥ स्वा, अग्निर्द्वौ वर्जयामसि ॥ ते, अग्निं विभ्रमानय ॥ तव, अप्सवमे सधिदव, (Rig VIII. 43. 9) ॥ तत्, अग्निद्विभ्रमापृणाति, (Rig X. 2. 4) तत्तुस्, आवापृथिवी निहतस्तुः पु ॥ अन्तः-पादमिति किम्, नित्यमात्मनो विदाभूतमिस्तत्पुनराह आतदेशो विचर्षणिः ॥

Why do we say in the inner half of a stanza? Observe यन्ममात्मनो मिन्नाभूतमिस्तत्पुनराह आतदेशो विचर्षणिः ॥ Here the word अग्निः is at the *end* of the first stanza while तत् is at the *beginning* of the second stanza, therefore the स् of अग्निस् is not in the middle of a stanza.

यजुष्येकेषाम् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यजुषि, एकेषाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषि विषये युष्मत्तत्तत्तुः पु परत एकेषामाचार्याणां मतेन सकारस्य मूर्जन्यादेशो भवति ॥

107. In the opinion of some, the above change takes place in Yajurveda also.

Thus अग्निर्भिद्वम् or अग्निर्भिस्त्वम् । अग्निर्द्वम् or अग्निस्तेमम् । अग्निद्वम् or अग्निस्त्वम् । अग्निर्भिद्वत्तुः or अग्निर्भिस्त्वत्तुः ॥

स्तुतस्तोमयोश्छन्दासि ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तुतस्तोमयोः, छन्दासि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ एकेषामिति वर्त्तते । स्तुत स्तां इत्येतयोः सकारस्य छन्दासि विषये मूर्जन्यादेशो भवति एकेषामाचार्याणां मतेन छन्दासिविषये ।

105. The स् of स्तुत and स्तोम, in the Chhandas, is changed to ष् in the opinion of some.

Thus ऋभिस्त्वत्तुः or ऋभिस्त्वत्तुः, गोष्टोमं षोडशिनम् or गोस्तोमं षोडशिनम् ॥ This change would have taken place by the general rule contained in the next sūtra VIII. 3. 106, the special mention of स्तुत and स्तोम here is a mere amplification. The word छन्दासि of this sūtra governs the subsequent sūtra also.

पूर्वपदात् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वपदात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदस्याभिनितादुत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्जन्यादेशो भवति छन्दासि विषये एकेषामाचार्याणां मतेन ।

106. In the Chhandas, according to some, स् is changed to ष्, when it stands in the beginning of a second word, preceded by a word ending in इ &c.

The words छन्दासि and एकेषां are both understood here. Thus द्विषन्धिः or द्विषन्धिः, त्रिषन्धिः or त्रिषन्धिः, मधुष्ठानम् or मधुस्थानम्, द्विसाहसं चिन्वीत or द्विसाहसं चिन्वीत ॥

The word पूर्वपद here means the first member of a compound word as well as the prior word other than that in a compound. Thus त्रिःषष्ट्यस्य or त्रिःषष्ट्यस्य ॥

सुअः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुअः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सुमिति निपात इह गृह्यते तस्य पूर्वपदस्याभिनितादुत्तरस्य मूर्जन्यादेशो भवति छन्दासि विषये ।

107. The स of the Particle सु is changed to ष in the Chhandas, when preceded by another word having in it the change-effecting letter इ &c.

Thus षमी बु णः सखीनाम् (Rig. IV. 31. 3) ऊर्द्धं ऊ बु णः (Rig. I. 36. 13). The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 134, and न changed to ण by VIII. 4. 27.

सनोतेरनः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनोतेः, अनः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सनोतेरनकारान्तस्य सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ।

108. The स of the verb सन्, when it loses its न्, is changed to ष, under the same circumstances.

Thus गोषाः (Rig. IX. 2. 10), formed by the affix विट् (III. 2. 67), the न् is elided by VI. 4. 41. So also नृषाः ॥

Why do we say 'when it loses its न्'? Observe गोसनि वाचसुदीरवन् (Atharv. III. 20. 10). Here the affix is इन् (III. 2. 27). See however गोषनि in Rig. VI. 53. 10.

Though this ष change would have taken place by VIII. 3. 106 also, the separate enumeration is for the sake of niyama or restriction. Some however read the word गोसनिः in the list of सवनानि words (VIII. 3. 110), and they hold that the proper counter-example is सिसानयिषति ॥ So also सिसनीः formed by adding क्तिप् to the Derivative root सिसनिस, thus सिसनिस + क्तिप् = सिसनिस (the न् is elided by VI. 4. 48) + ०. add सु, सिसनिस + सु = सिसनिस + ० [सु is elided by VI. 1. 68. Now the final स (of the Desiderative affix सन्) is liable to be changed either to ष or to र (इ). The ष being asiddha, the इ change takes place.] = सिसनिर = सिसनीः (the lengthening is by VIII. 2. 76). Here the Desiderative affix सन् is not changed to ष, hence this word is not governed by VIII. 3. 61. This being the object of this sūtra, there will be ष change in सिषानयिषति in the Causative.

सहेः पृतनर्त्ताभ्यां च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहेः पृतना-श्रुताभ्याम्, च ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतना ऋत इत्येताभ्यांछन्तरस्य सहितकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ।

109. The स of सह is changed to ष, after पृतना and श्रुत ॥

Thus पृतनापाहम्, ऋतापाहम् ॥ Some divide this sūtra into two; as (1) सहेः; (2) पृतनार्त्ताभ्यां च ॥ So that the rule may apply to ऋतीषहः also. The word ऋति is lengthened by VI. 3. 116, in saṁhitā; and the ष change takes place in saṁhitā only. Otherwise the form is ऋतिसहम् ॥ The word च 'and' in the sūtra includes words other than those not mentioned in it. The word ऋतीषहं would be valid by this also.

न रपरसृपिसृजिसृशिसृहिसवनादीनाम् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, र-पर, सृपि, सृजि, सृशि, सृहि-सवनादीनाम् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफपरस्य सकारस्य सृपि सृजि सृशि सृहि सवनादीनां च मूर्द्धन्यो न भवति ।

110. The ष् substitution does not take place if र follows the स, as well as in सृप, सृज, सृश सृह, and in सवन and the rest.

Thus विसंसिकायाः कण्ठं जुहोति ॥ The word विसंसिक is formed by the affix ण्वल् (III. 3. 109), विसन्धः कथयति ॥ This word is from the root सृम्भु विश्वासे, the ह् is not added by VII. 2. 15 and the nasal is elided by VI. 4. 24. before the nisthā स ॥ सृपः—पुरा कूरस्य विसृपः ॥ The word विसृपः is formed by the affix कसृप् (III. 4. 17), सृजः—वाचो विसर्जनात् ॥ सृशः—दिविसृशम् ॥ सृहिः—निसृहं कथयति ॥

The following is a list of सवनादि words :—

1 सवने सवने, 2 सूते सूते, 3 सोमे सोमे, 4 सवनमुखे सवनमुखे, 5 किसः किसः (किस्यतीति किसः), 6 अनुसवनमनुसवनम्, 7 गोसनि गोसनिम्, 8 अभ्यसनिमभ्यसनिम् ॥ In some books this is the list 9 सवने सवने, 10 सवनमुखे सवनमुखे, 11 अनुसवनमनुसवनम् (अनुसवने २), 12 सज्ञायां बृहस्प-तिसवः, 13 चाकुनिसवनम्, 14 सोमे, सोमे, 15 सुते सुते (सूते २), 16 संवत्सरे सवत्सरे, 17 विसं विसम्, 18 किसं किसम् (किसं किसम्), 19 वृसलं वृसलम् 20 गोसनिम्, 21 अभ्यसनिम् ॥

सात्पदाद्योः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ सात्, पदाद्योः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सादिति चेतस्य यङि परतो मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

111. The ष् substitution does not take place in the affix सात् and for that स which stands at the beginning of a word.

Thus सात् here is the affix ordained by V. 4. 52, and it would have been changed to ष by VIII. 3. 59. The present sūtra prevents that. The Padādi स refers to those verbs which in the Dhātupāṭha are taught with a ष, and for which a स is substituted. This also is an exception to VIII. 3. 59. Thus अभिसात् । दधिसात् । मधुसात् ॥ So also with Padādi स as दधि सिञ्चति, मधु सिञ्चति ॥

सिचो यङि ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिचः, यङि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सिचः सकारस्य यङि परतो मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

112. The ष् substitution does not take place in the स of सिच् of the Intensive.

Thus सेसिच्यते and अभिसेसिच्यते ॥

Q.—The स of the reduplicate should be changed into ष by VIII. 3. 65, in अभिसेसिच्यते, and the स of the root should be changed into ष by VIII. 3. 64. Because सिच् is one of the roots taught in VIII. 3. 65, and therefore, as this

latter rule prevents the operation of VIII. 3. 111 i. e. पसादि स so far as it goes, so it would prevent also the operation of this rule and the form ought to be अभिषेधियते?

Ans.—The ष ordained by VIII. 3. 65 prevents only the operation of पसादि स of VIII. 3. 111, and not the स of this rule. Therefore the present prohibition is of universal application.

Why do we say in the Intensive. Observe अभिषिषति ॥

सेधतेर्गतौ ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सेधतः, गतौ ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गतौ वर्तमानस्य सेधतः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

113. The स् of the verb सेध is not changed to ष when the meaning is that of moving.

Thus अभिसेधयति गाः, परिसेधयति गाः ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 3. 65.

Why do we say 'when meaning to drive'? Observe क्षिप्यमकार्यान्वति-
सेधयति ॥ Here the sense is that of preventing or prohibiting.

प्रतिस्तब्धनिस्तब्धौ च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिस्तब्ध-निस्तब्धौ, च ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिस्तब्ध निस्तब्ध इत्येतौ मूर्द्धन्यप्रतिषधाय निपात्येते ।

114. The words प्रतिस्तब्ध and निस्तब्ध are anomalous.

In these words the स is not changed to ष, though so required by VIII. 3. 67.

सोढः ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोढः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सहरिष्य सोढृभूतो गृह्यते तस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

115. The स् of सोढ form of the root सह is not changed to ष ॥

As परिसोढः, परिसोढुम्, परिसोढव्यम् ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 3. 70.

Why do we say 'when सह assumes the form of सोढ' ॥ Observe परि-
पहते, विपहते ॥

स्तम्भुसिबुसहां चङि ॥ ११६ ॥ वदानि ॥ स्तम्भु-सिबु-सहाम्, चङि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्भु सिबु सह इत्येतेषां चङि परतः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

पार्श्विकः ॥ स्तम्भु सिबुसहां चाङ उपसर्गादिति वक्तव्यम् ।

116. The ष change does not take place in the reduplicated Aorist of the roots स्तम्भ्, सिब् and सह ॥

The root स्तम्भ required ष change by VIII. 3. 67, and the roots सिब and सह by VIII. 3. 70. Thus पर्यतस्तम्भन्, अभ्यतस्तम्भन् ॥ सिबः—पर्यसीषिबन्, न्यसीषिबन् ॥ सहः—पर्यसीषहन्, व्यसीषहन् ॥

Vart :—This prohibition refers to the ष change that is caused by an Upasarga and not to the reduplicate change, as we have illustrated in the above example.

सुनोतेः स्यसनोः ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुनोतेः, स्य-सनोः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सुनोतेः सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो न भवति । स्यसनि ष परतः ।

117. स of सु (सुनोति) is not changed to ष in the Future, Conditional and Desiderative.

Thus :—अभिसोष्यति, परिसोष्यति, अभ्यसोष्यत्, पर्यसोष्यत् ॥

What example will you give under Desiderative? सुसूषति ॥ This is not a valid example, for by VIII. 3. 61, the reduplicate will not be changed here. Then we shall give the example अभिसुसूषते ॥ This is not also a proper example, for it is governed by the restrictive rule of VIII. 3. 64. Then this is the example अभिसुसूः, निडुसू derived from the desiderative root अभिसुसूषति by the affix क्तिप् ॥ Here the desiderative affix सन् is not changed to ष (VIII. 3. 61) and therefore the second स would have been changed to ष as it comes after a reduplicate.

Why do we say before स्य and सन् ॥ Observe सुषाव ॥

सदिष्वञ्जोः परस्य लिटि ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सदि-ष्वञ्जोः, परस्य, लिटि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सदि ष्वञ्ज इत्येतयोर्द्वौर्लिटि परतः सकारस्य परस्य मूर्धन्यो न भवति ।

118. The स of सद् and ष्वञ्ज after the reduplicate in the Perfect is not changed to ष ॥

In the Perfect, when these words are reduplicated, there are two स's, as ससाव् and सस्वञ्ज ॥ After a preposition, the first स will be changed to ष, but not so the second. Thus अभिषसाव्, परिषसाव्, निषसाव्, विषसाव्, परिषस्वञ्जे, परिषस्वजाते, परिषस्वजिरे, अभिषस्वञ्जे ॥ The nasal of स्वञ्ज is elided though here, the लिट् affix is not क्तिप्, because it ends in a compound vowel (VI. 4. 24), (I. 2. 5 and 6).

The word स्वञ्ज does not occur in the sūtra, but has been inserted in it by the author of Kāśikā from the following Vārtika :—सदो लिटि प्रतिषेधे स्वञ्जे रूपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥

निव्यभिभ्योऽव्यवाये वा छन्दसि ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि-वि-अभिभ्यः, अद्-व्यवाये, वा, छन्दसि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ नि वि अभि इत्येतेभ्य उपसर्गेभ्य उत्तरस्य सकारस्याव्यवाये छन्दसि विषये मूर्धन्यादेशो न भवति वा ।

119. The ष is optionally substituted in the Chhandas after the prepositions नि, वि and अभि, when the augment अद् intervenes.

Thus न्यपीदत् or न्यसीदत् पिता नः; व्यपीदत्; or व्यसीदत् पिता नः, अभ्यपीदत् or अभ्यसीदत् ॥

The anuvṛtṭi of सद् and स्वञ्ज is not to be read into this sūtra. It is, in fact, a general rule and applies to verbs other than these two. As व्यस्तौत्, न्यष्टौत्, अभ्यष्टौत् or अभ्यस्तौत् ॥

ओ३म् ।

अथ अष्टमाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

BOOK EIGHTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे ॥ १ ॥ पठानि ॥ रषाभ्याम्, नः, णः, समानपदे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रेफकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारादेशो भवति, समानपदस्यौ चेन्निमित्तनिमित्तिनौ भवतः ।
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ऋवर्णाच्चासि वक्तव्यम् ॥

1. After **र** and **ष**, the **ण** is the substitute of **न**, when they occur as component letters of the same word.

These letters must be parts of the same pada or word, one being the 'occasion' for the application of the rule as regards the other. As **आस्तीर्णम्**, **विस्तीर्णम्**, **अवगूर्णम्** ॥ So also after **ष**; as, **कुष्णासि**, **पुष्णासि**, **दुष्णासि** ॥

The letter **ण** is included in this aphorism for the sake of subsequent sūtras: for **न** will be changed into **ण** when preceded by **ष** by rule 41 of this Chapter, as well.

Why do we say "when occurring in the same word?" Observe **अग्नि-र्नयति**, **वायुर्नयति** ॥

Vart :—So also after the letter **ऋ** ॥ As **तिसृणाम्**, **चतसृणाम्**, **मातृणाम्**, **पितृणाम्** ॥

This vārtika may well be dispensed with: because the **र** in the sūtra is the common *sound* **र** which we perceive both in **र** and **ऋ**; and so the **र** will denote both the vowel **ऋ** and the consonant **र**. See contra. VIII. 2. 42. Obj. But if even this be so, the letter **ऋ** has three parts, its first part is a vowel, in the middle is the **र** sound of a quarter mātrā, and a vowel sound at the end. This vowel-sound will *intervene* between the **र**-sound and the subsequent **व**, and will prevent the application of the sūtra, hence the vārtika is valid?

Ans. This vowel-sound will be no intervention, because it will be included in the exception **अद्** of the next sūtra. Obj. The vowel-sound at the end of **ऋ** is not a *full* vowel of one mātrā, but is of half-mātrā, being only a fragment of **ऋ**, and hence is not included in the pratyāhāra **अद्**, it has no separate

स्थान or प्रवृत्त or homogeneity with any vowel. Hence this vowel-sound will prevent the application of this rule. Ans. The ज change, however, does take place in spite of such intervention of a fragment of a letter, as we know from the jñāpaka of VIII. 4. 39. In the kshubhnādi list there we find नूनमन् as an *exception*, implying that न is *generally* changed to ज after such a fragmentary interposition. Or we may take नूनमन् as a jñāpaka; that after the *letter* न् also the ज change takes place.

अह् कुप्ताङ्नुम्व्यवायेपि ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अह्-कु-पु-आङ्-नुम्व्यवाये, अपि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अह् कु पु आङ् नुम् इत्येतैर्व्यवायेपि रेफकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य नकारस्य जकार आदेशो भवति ।

2. The substitute ज् takes the place of न्, even when a vowel, or य्, व्, ह् or a guttural, or a labial, or the preposition आ, or the augment नुम् intervenes, causing separation.

The pratyāhāra अह् stands for vowels and the letters ह् व् य् र्. Thus करणम्, हरणम्, किरिणा, गिरिणा, कुरुणा, गुरुणा &c.

The कु means all the gutturals, e. g. अर्कणे, मूर्खणे, गर्णे, अर्धणे ॥

The पु means all the labials, e. g. हर्षणे, रेफणे, गर्णे, चर्मणा, वर्मणा ॥

The आङ् means the particle आः e. g. पर्याणद्धम् from नह् (VIII. 2. 34) निराणद्धम् (cf VIII. 4. 14). The particle आ is a vowel and so included in अह् pratyāhāra. Its specification in the sūtra shows that the restriction of the rule to the letters occurring in the *same word*, does not apply in the case of आङ्, in which case the rule applies to letters separated by another word.

So also when the anusvāra separates the letters e. g. वृहणम्, वृहणीयम् ॥

It is from the root वृहिवृद्धौ, the नुम् is added, because the root is वृद्धित (VII. 1. 58) and न् changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24. Q. Well the intervention is here by Anusvāra and not नुम्, why is then नुम् taken in the sūtra ?

The word नुम् in the sūtra refers to anusvāra, and must be taken co-extensive with it. Otherwise the rule would not apply to words like वृहणम् from वृह् वृह् हिंसायै ॥ Here the anusvāra is not the substitute of the augment नुम् but an original anusvāra. Even where there is an augment नुम्, but where it is not changed into 'anusvāra, the rule does not apply. As प्रेन्वनम्, प्रेन्वनीयम् from वृविः प्रीणनार्यः ॥

The rule will apply even when these letters are combined in any possible way, or occur singly. As अर्कणे, here a guttural and a vowel i. e. 2 letters come between र and न ॥ See VIII. 3. 58 in the case of व ॥

पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामगः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वपदात्, संज्ञायाम्, अगः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदस्याभिनितादुत्तरस्य गकारवर्जिताद् नकारस्य जकार आदेशो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ।

3. So also, न् is replaced by ज्, when the letter occasioning the substitution, occurs in the first member of a compound, and the whole compound is a Name, provided that the first member does not end with the letter ग ॥

As हुणसः, बाद्धीणसः (a kind of antelope), खरणसः, हूर्पणखा ॥ See V. 4. 118 and IV. 1. 58.

Why do we say "when a Name"? Observe, चर्मेनासिकः ॥

Why do we say when 'not ending in the letter न'? Observe; ऋगयनम् ॥

Some say, that this sūtra is a नियम or a restrictive rule, and not a विधि or original enunciation, so that the substitution takes place, only when the word is a *Name*, and not otherwise. A compound is one word or समानपद, though composed of two or more words or पद ॥ Therefore by VIII. 4. 11 the न will always be changed into ज when preceded by र or ण. But the present sūtra restricts its scope, to those cases only, when the compound denotes a *Name*, as not in चर्मेनासिका ॥ The word पूर्वपद is a relative term and connotes an उत्तरपद ॥ The present sūtra therefore applies to those cases where the र or ण is in the पूर्वपद, and न occurs in the उत्तरपद ॥ It therefore, does not apply to ताद्धित words, nor when both the letters occur in the पूर्वपद ॥ In the case of a Taddhita, there is a पूर्वपद, but there is no properly speaking उत्तरपद ॥ Thus खरपस्यापत्यं = खारपायजः (IV.1.99). Here the affix अयन is equivalent to अपत्यं, and खरप is the Pûrvapada. But the affix अयन not being a Pada, we cannot call it an *uttara pada*. Hence न will be changed into ज though खारपायज is not an Appellative but a generic term. So also मातृभोगाय हितः = मातृभोगीजः with ख affix. Similarly in करणमियः, the words र and न both occur in the Pûrvapada and are not affected by this rule, but by the general rule VIII. 4. 1. So also the proviso relating to न, only prohibits the change of न into ज, but does not prohibit the restrictive character of this sūtra.

According to others, this sūtra is an original enunciation or a Vidhi rule, and not a Niyama rule. They say that the word समानपद in VIII. 4. 1 is equivalent to निख्यं पदं i. e. a word integral and indivisible into component words. In other words, समानपद means, a 'simple-word'. The present sūtra therefore enunciates a new rule for a "compound-word". For in a compound or समास, there being a division of पूर्वपद and an उत्तरपद, we cannot say that a compound is a समानपद or indivisible word. Hence this sūtra is a विधि ॥

The sūtra should be thus divided :—पूर्वपदात् संज्ञायाम् one sūtra, and अगः another. So that every rule relating to ज change would be debarred with regard to न intervention.

वनं पुरगामिश्रकासिध्रकाशारिकाकोटराग्नेभ्यः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वनम्, पुरगा, मिश्रका-सिध्रका-शारिका-कोटराग्नेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामिति वर्त्तते । पुरगा मिश्रका सिध्रका शारिका कोटरा अग्ने इत्येतेभ्यः पूर्वपदेभ्य उत्तरस्य वनमकारस्य जकारादेशो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ।

4. The न of वन, is changed into ज, when preceded by the words puragâ, miśrakâ, sidhrakâ, śarikâ, koṭarâ, and

agre, as first members of the compound, and the whole compound is a name.

The words पूर्वपदम् and संज्ञायाम् of the last sūtra, are to be read into this aphorism. Thus पुरगावणम्, मिश्रकावणम्, सिद्धकावणम्, कोटरावणम्, अग्नेवणम् (II. 2. 31) शारिकावणम् ॥

The lengthening of the finals in the above is by VI. 3. 117. Though the word अग्नेवणम् is not a Name, yet the rule VI. 3. 9, applies to it and the case-affix is not elided, because it is so read in Rājadantādi list (II. 2. 31).

The substitution of ण for न would have taken place by the preceding rule. The separate enunciation of the rule with regard to the word वन, shows that this is a restrictive or निबन्ध rule. The न of वन is changed into ण, when preceded by these words only and no other. Thus कुबेरवनम्, वृक्षधारवनम्, असिपद्मवनम् ॥

प्रनिरन्तःशरेक्षुप्लक्षाम्रकार्प्यखदिरपीयूषाभ्योसंज्ञायामपि ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥
प्र-निर-अन्तर्-शर-इक्षु-प्लक्ष-आम्र-कार्प्य-खदिर-पीयूषाभ्यः संज्ञायां, अपि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्र निर अन्तर् शर इक्षु प्लक्ष आम्र कार्प्य खदिर पीयूषा इत्येतेभ्य उच्चारस्य वननकारस्य संज्ञायाम्
संज्ञायामपि णकारादेशो भवति ।

5. The न of वन is replaced by ण, even when the compound is not a Name, when it is preceded by the words pra, nir, antar, śara, ikshu, plaksha, āmra, kārshya, khadira, and pīyūkshā.

Thus प्रवणे वटम् ; निर्वणे प्रतिधीवते, अन्तर्वणे, शरवणम्, इक्षुवणम्, प्लक्षवणम्, आम्रवणम्, कार्प्यवणम्, खदिरवणम् and पीयूषावणम् ॥

The words प्रवणम् and निर्वणम् are प्रादिः compounds. अन्तर्वणम् is an Avyayībhāva in the sense of a case-affix. The rest are Genitive compounds.

विमाषौषधिवनस्पतिभ्यः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विमाषा ओषधि-वनस्पतिभ्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ओषधिवानि अत्यूर्वपदं वनस्पतिवानि तत्स्थानिमित्तादुच्चारस्य वननकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति
विमाषा ।

वास्तिकः ॥ वृक्षरश्मिभ्यो इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ हरिकादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

Kārika फली वनस्पतिर्ज्ञेयो वृक्षाः पुष्पफलोपगाः ।

ओषधः फलपाकान्ता लता गुल्माद्य वीरुधः ॥

6. The न of वन is optionally replaced by ण, when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound and which denotes a perennial herb or a forest tree.

When the pūrvapada is a word denoting ओषधि or a perennial herb, or denoting a वनस्पति or a tree, and it has a change-producing letter, then the न of वन is replaced by ण ॥ This is an optional rule. Thus :—वूर्वावनम् or वूर्वावणम् ;

सूर्यावणम् or सूर्यावनम् ॥ Here सूर्या and सूर्या are names of ओषधि ॥ Similarly शिरीष-वनम् or शिरीषवनम्; बहरीवनम् or बहरीवनम् ॥

Vart:—This rule applies when the first word is a dissyllabic or trisyllabic word. Therefore the change does not occur in देवदारवनम्; भद्रवारवनम् ॥

Vart:—Prohibition should be stated with regard to the words शारका &c. As इरिकावनम्, तिमिरिकावनम् ॥

Though there is a distinction, botanically speaking, between a वृक्ष and a वनस्पति also; yet in this sūtra, the word वनस्पति includes वृक्ष also.

Kārika:—Technically speaking वनस्पति is a tree that bears fruit apparently without a flower, as a fig tree udumbara. वृक्ष is a tree that bears both flower and fruit, ओषधि is an annual herb, that dies after the ripening of the fruit, and creepers and tubercles are called वीरुधः ॥

अहोऽदन्तात् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहः, अदन्तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहन्तं यत्पूर्वपदं तत्स्यान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्याहो नकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति ।

7. The ण is the substitute of न of अहन्, when it is preceded by a word ending in अ, having in it a letter capable of producing the change.

Thus पूर्वाहणः “fore-noon”; अपराहणः “after-noon”.

Why do we say “ending in अ”? Observe, निरहः, दुरहः ॥

The word अह is substituted for अहन् by V. 4. 88. The word अह being used in the sūtra as ending in अ, the rule does not apply to other words. Thus शीर्षाहो शारत् ॥ The word अहः in the sūtra is in the nominative case, and should not be construed as the genitive of अहन्, because all sthānins are exhibited in Nominatives as, वनं (VIII. 4. 4), वाहनं (VIII. 4. 8), दानं &c. The compounding takes place by II. 2. 1, then is added the samāsānta affix टच् (V. 4. 91), and अह substitution by V. 4. 88. The word शीर्षाहो is a Bahuvrihi compound and not a Tatpurusha, and hence the affix टच् does not apply to it. The feminine ह्रीप् is added by IV. 1. 28, there is elision of अ of अहन् by VI. 4. 134.

वाहनमाहितात् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहनम्, आहितात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहितवाचि यत्पूर्वपदं तत्स्यान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य वाहननकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति ।

8. The न of वाहन is changed into ण, when the letter, producing the change, occurs in the first member of a compound, denoting the thing carried.

Thus इक्षुवाहनम् ‘a sugar-cart’. शारवाहनम् “a reed-cart”. हर्मवाहनम् ‘a hay-cart’.

The thing which being placed on a cart is carried, is called आहित ॥

Why do we say “denoting the thing carried”. Observe वासिवाहनम् “a vehicle belonging to Dākshi”.

The word बाह्न is formed by adding ल्युट् to बह्, and lengthening of the penultimate is valid by the nipātana of this sūtra.

पानं देशे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पानम्, देशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाननकारस्य पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य देशाभिधाने णकार आदेशो भवति ।

9. The न of पान is changed into ण, when it occurs as the second member of a compound, the first member of which contains a letter causing change; and the whole compound denotes a country or a people.

The word पान is formed by the affix ल्युट् III. 3. 113. Thus क्षीरपाणा उशीनराः = क्षीरपाणं येषां 'the milk-drinking Uśīnaras'. सुरापाणाः प्राच्याः 'the wine-drinking Prāchyas'. सौवीरपाणा बाह्लीकाः "the sauvīra-drinking Bāhlikas". कषायपाणा गान्धाराः &c.

Why do we say "when denoting a country"? Observe दक्षिपानं the drink of the Dākshis.

The words उशीनर and the rest are applied to persons also through the medium of being country-names.

वा भावकरणयोः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, भाव-करणयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे करणे च यः पानशब्दस्तृतीयस्य नकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति वा पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य ।
वार्तिकम् ॥ वाप्रकरणे गिरिनद्यासीनाहुपसंख्यानम् ।

10. Optionally when the compound denotes a condition or an instrument, the न of पान is changed into ण, when it is a second member, the cause of change occurring in the first member in a compound.

Thus क्षीरपाणम् or क्षीरपानम् "drinking of milk" कषायपाणम् or कषायपानम् 'drinking of kashāya'. सुरापाणम् or सुरापानम् &c are examples of भाव or condition.

Similarly क्षीरपाणः of क्षीरपानः कंसः 'a vessel for drinking milk' This is an example of करण or instrument.

Vart : — Optionally so in the case of गिरिनदी &c. Thus गिरिनदी or गिरिणदी; चक्रनदी or चक्रणदी, चक्रनितम्बा or चक्रणितम्बा ॥

प्रातिपदिकान्तनुस्विभक्तिषु च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रातिपदिकान्त-नुम्-विभक्तिषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेति वर्त्तते । प्रातिपदिकान्ते नुम्विभक्तौ च यो नकारस्तस्य पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य वा णकार आदेशो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ युवादीनां प्रातिपेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

11. Optionally ण is substituted for न when it stands at the end of a Nominal-stem (Prātipadika) or is the augment नुम् or is न of a case-affix, (when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound).

Thus, to take the case a प्रतिपदिकान्त first. माषवापिणौ or माषवापिनौ from माषवापिन् 'māsha-sowing' formed by णिने under III. 2. 81.

To take the example of a नुम् augment माषवापाणि or माषवापा नि, ब्रीहिवापाणि or ब्रीहिवापानि nom. pl. neut. The. augment नुम् is here added by VII. 1. 72 from माषान् वपयन्ति = माषवाप with कर्मणि अण्, the plural शि is added by VII. 1. 20, and then नुम् ॥

To take the विभक्ति or case-termination, माषवापेण or माषवापेन, ब्रीहिवापेण or ब्रीहिवापेन ॥

The word प्रतिपदिकान्त means 'final in a Prātipadika'. But here it means 'final in a prātipadika which is a second member, of compound, the first member containing the cause of change'. Therefore the change does not take place in गर्गाणां भगिनी = गर्गभगिनी "the sister of Garga". But गर्गभगिणी if the word is derived from गर्गभगः 'the share of Garga', with the adjectival affix इन्, feminine इनी, meaning, "enjoying the share of Garga." In this case, like the word मातृ-भोगीणः 'fit to be possessed by a mother': the change will invariably take place.

The word माषवापिणी or णी is to be understood to have a final न्, the affix being added afterwards in accordance with the following maxim :—(II. 2. 19). "It should be stated that Gatis, Kārakas, and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with krit-affixes, before a case termination or a feminine affix has been added to the latter" गतिकारकोपपदानां कृत्तिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेः ॥

Therefore the composition takes place first with the word ending in the krit affix, as माषवापिन् (माष + वापिन्), and thus the second term वापिन् is a Prātipadika which ends in न्, and so the rule is applied to it, when the feminine affix is added.

Similarly नुम् is not considered as the end portion of the *second* member of the compound, but as the end-portion of the *full* compound word.

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated of the words युवा &c. As आर्ययूना (VI. 4. 133 vocalisation), क्षत्रिययूना ॥ प्रपञ्चानि is a gati-samas, दीर्घाद्धी शरत् ॥

एकाञ्चत्तरपदे णः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकाच्, उत्तरपदे, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकाञ्चत्तरपदं यस्य स एकाञ्चत्तरपदः । तस्मिन्नेकाञ्चत्तरपदसमासे प्रतिपदिकान्तनुम्बिभक्तिषु पूर्वपदस्याभिनिस्तानुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति ।

12. In a compound, the second member of which is a monosyllable, there is ण in the room of न of the second member, provided that the न is at the end of a prātipadika, or is the augment नुम्, or occurs in a vibhakti; and when the first member contains a cause of change.

Thus वृषहणौ and वृषहणः 'the Vṛitra-killer'. क्षीरपाणि "Drinkers of milk": सुरपाणि 'drinkers of wine': being examples of नुम् VII. 3. 88, क्षीरपेण and सुरपेण are examples of case-terminations.

Why the letter ण is repeated in this sūtra, while its anuvṛitti was understood from the context? It is repeated in order to show that this is not an optional rule, but an obligatory rule. In fact, it shows that the anuvṛitti of वा 'optional' ceases, and does not extend further.

कुमति च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवर्गवाति चोत्तरपरे प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम्बिभक्तिषु पूर्वपदस्याभिनिष्ठादुत्तरस्व नकारस्य णकारदेशो भवति ।

13. In a compound, the second member of which contains a guttural, there is ण in the room of न, that follows anything which standing in the prior member is qualified to cause the change, provided the न be at the end of a prātipadika, or be the augment नुम्, or occur in a vibhakti.

If the second part of a compound contains a letter of the class क्, the change is obligatory, even though the second part be not monosyllabic. As वक्षयुगिणौ, वक्षयुगिणः, स्वर्गकामिणौ, वृषगामिणौ ॥ नुम् :—वक्षयुगाणि, खरयुगाणि ॥ विभक्तिः—वक्षयुगेण, खरयुगेण ॥

The word वक्षयुगिणौ is a compound of वक्ष with युगिन् (the affix इनि is added first to युग and then the word so formed is compounded with vastra). Thus the न् becomes प्रातिपदिकान्त i.e. it becomes the final of a Nominal-stem, which stands as a second member in a compound.

उपसर्गादसमासेऽपि णोपदेशस्य ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, अ-समासे, अपि, णोपदेशस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण उपदेशे यस्यासौ णोपदेशः । णोपदेशस्य धातोर्यो नकारः तस्य उपसर्गस्याभिनिष्ठादुत्तरस्व णकारदेशो भवति असमासेऽपि समासेऽपि ।

14. Of a root which has ण in its original enunciation, when it comes after a cause of such change standing in an upasarga, even though the word be not a samāsa, the न is changed into ण ॥

The word णोपदेश means a root which is enunciated in the Dhātupāṭha with an initial ण ॥ Thus प्रणमति 'he bows'. परिणमति, प्रणायकः 'a leader' परिणायकः &c.

Why do we say "after an Upasarga"? Observe प्रणायकः—प्रणता नायका अस्माद् देशात् 'a country without a leader'. Here the word प्र is not an upasarga, but a mere nipāta. See I. 4. 57, 58 and 59. In fact, प्र is upasarga here with regard to गत understood, and not with regard to नी ॥

Why do we say "even when it is not a compound?" Because by context, the anuvṛitti of the word पूर्वपद, which is current throughout this sub-

division, would have been understood in this sūtra also, and the rule would have applied to samāśas only, for there only we have pūrvapada. By using the word असमासे it is shown that the adhikāra of pūrvapada ceases, and the rule applies to non-compounds also where there is no पूर्वपद ॥

Why do we say "having ण in Upadeśa"? Observe प्रनर्दति, प्रनर्दितुश्च, प्रनर्दकः ॥ For the root नर्द is recited in Dhātupāṭha with न ॥ There are eight such roots नर्द, नाद्, नाप्, नाध्, नन्द, नक्क, नृ, नृत् ॥ See VI. 1. 65.

हिनुमीना ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिनु-मीना, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिनु मीना इत्येतयोपसर्गस्थामिभिसादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारोद्देशो भवति ।

15. The न of हिनु and मीना is changed into ण, when coming after an upasarga containing in it a cause of change.

Thus प्रहिणोति, प्रहिणुतः, प्रमीणाति, प्रमीणीतः ॥ The root हि belongs to Svādi class of verbs and takes the vikaraṇa नु technically हनु; and the root मी belongs to Kryādi class which takes the vikaraṇa मा ॥ In the sūtra the verbs are shown with the vikaraṇas affixed. Under certain circumstances the forms of the vikaraṇa is changed from नु to मी and मा to मी, but the rule still applies, because the substitute of an अच् or vowel is like the principal. See I. 1. 57.

आनि लोट् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आनि, लोट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गादिति वर्तते । आनीयेतस्व लोडादेशस्योपसर्गस्थामिभिसादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारोद्देशो भवति ।

16. The न of आनि, the affix of the Imperative, 1st Person, is changed into ण when it follows a letter competent to cause such a change standing in an Upasarga.

The word आनि is the termination of the Imperative. Thus प्रवपानि, प-विपानि, प्रवापि, परिवापि ॥

Why do we say 'the Imperative'? Observe प्रवपानि मांसानि ॥ Here आनि is the neuter plural termination, and the word means प्रकुटा वपा जेषु, तानि ॥

According to Padamanjari, the employment of the word लोट् in the sūtra is redundant. For without it also आनि would have meant the Imperative affix, and not the Neuter termination, on the maxim of अयदेद् ग्रहणे &c. Moreover in the noun प्रवपानि, प्र is not an upasarga at all, on the maxim अत् क्रियायुक्ताः प्राद्व-स्तं प्रति गति-उपसर्ग-संज्ञे भवतः ॥

नेर्गन्तव्यपतपदधुमास्यतिहन्तियातिवातिद्रातिप्सातिवपतिवहतिशाम्यतिचिनोति
देग्धिषु च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नेः, गन्-नव-पत-पद-धु-मा-स्यति-हन्ति-याति-वाति-द्राति-
प्साति-वपति-वहति-शाम्यति-चिनोति-देग्धिषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निरित्येतस्योपसर्गस्थामिभिसादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारोद्देशो भवति गन् नव पत पद धु मा स्यति हन्ति याति वाति द्राति प्साति वपति वहति शाम्यति चिनोति देग्धि इत्येतेषु परतः ।

17. The ण् is the substitute of न् of the prefix नि, following a cause for such change standing in an upasarga, when these verbs follow, gad 'to speak', nad 'to be happy', pat 'to fall', pad 'to go', the ghu verbs, mâ 'to measure', sho 'to destroy', han 'to kill', yâ 'to go', vâ 'to blow', drâ 'to flee', psâ 'to eat', vap 'to weave', vah 'to bear', śam 'to be tranquil', chi 'to collect', and dih 'to anoint'.

Thus

गद्ः, प्रणिगदति, परिणिगदति	भद्ः, प्रणिभदति, परिणिभदति
पत्ः, प्रणिपतति, परिणिपतति,	पद्ः, प्रणिपद्यते, परिणिपद्यते
शुः, प्रणिशुशति, परिणिशुशति, प्रणिशुधाति, परिणिशुधाति	
माद्ः, प्रणिमिमीते, परिणिमिमीते	मेद्ः, प्रणिममते, परिणिममते

Ishti:—By the word मा in the sūtra, both verbs माद् and मेद् are to be taken and not the roots मी or मि or मा माने, for they also take the form मा by VI. 1. 50.

स्थिति	प्रणिस्थिति, परिणिस्थिति	हन्ति	प्रणिहन्ति, परिणिहन्ति
वाति	प्रणिवाति, परिणिवाति	धाति	प्रणिधाति, परिणिधाति
ज्ञाति	प्रणिज्ञाति, परिणिज्ञाति	प्साति	प्रणिप्साति, परिणिप्साति

The last five roots belong to Adādi class.

वपति	प्रणिवपति, परिणिवपति	वहति	प्रणिवहति, परिणिवहति
शाम्यति	प्रणिशाम्यति, परिणिशाम्यति (VII. 3. 74)		
चिनोति	प्रणिचिनोति, परिणिचिनोति	देग्धि	प्रणिदेग्धि, परिणिदेग्धि

Ishti:—The above change takes place even when the augment भद् intervenes.. As प्रण्यगदन्, परिण्यगदन् ॥

The roots स्थिति &c, are exhibited in their declined form in the sūtra, in order to indicate that the rule does not apply to बह् लृक् form of these roots (VII. 1. 6).

शेषे विभाषाकस्त्रादावशान्त उपदेशे ॥ १८ ॥ पठानि ॥ शेषे, विभाषा, अकस्त्रादौ, अशान्ते, उपदेशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नेरिति वर्तते उपसर्गादिति च । अकारखकारादिरूपकारान्तश्च उपदेशे यो धातुः शेषस्तस्मिन्परत उपसर्गस्याभिनिन्नाडुत्तरस्य नेर्नकारस्य विभाषा णकार आदेशो भवति ।

18. In the remaining verbs, optionally the न् of नि is replaced by ण्, when it is preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change; provided that, in the original enunciation, the verb has not an initial क् or ख्, nor ends with च ॥

The words नेः and उपसर्गात् are understood in the sūtra. The word शेषे means verbs other than those mentioned last. Thus प्रणिपचति or प्रणिपचात, प्रणिभिनत्ति or प्रणिभिनत्ति ॥

Why do we say अकस्माद् “not beginning with क or ख”? Observe ग्रन्थि करोति, ग्रन्थिखादति ॥ Here there is no change.

Why do we say अयान्तः “not ending in य”? Observe ग्रन्थिपिनष्टि ॥

Why do we say उपदेशे “in original enunciation”? So that the prohibition may apply to forms like ग्रन्थिचकार, ग्रन्थिचखाद्, ग्रन्थिपेक्षति (VIII. 2. 41). Here चकार &c, do not begin with क or ख nor does पिप् end with य् but with क् (VIII. 2. 41) but in the Dhātupāṭha the verb कृ and खद् begin with क and ख and पिप् ends with य्, and hence the rule will not apply. So also in ग्रन्थिवेष्टि and ग्रन्थिवेष्टि from the root पिप् ॥ Here though the verb now ends with य् by VIII. 2. 36, yet in the original enunciation or Dhātupāṭha, it ends with य् ॥

अनितेः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनितेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनितेर्नकारस्योपसर्गस्याभिनिस्तुत्तरस्य ञकारादेशो भवति ।

19. The न of the verb अन् ‘to breathe’, is changed into ञ, when preceded by an upasarga competent to produce the change.

Thus प्र + अनिति = प्राणिति ‘he breathes’. प्राणिति ॥ For इद् augment, see VII. 2. 76.

अन्तः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्याभिनिस्तुत्तरस्यनितिनकारस्य पदान्ते वर्तमानस्य ञकारादेशो भवति ।

20. The न of अन् is changed into ञ, when it is preceded by an upasarga competent to produce the change, provided it occurs at the end of a pada.

As हे प्राण् ! हे प्राण् ! ॥ This rule is an exception to VIII. 4. 37 sub, by which final न् in a pada is not changed into ञ ॥ The word अन्तः in the sūtra is to be understood to be equivalent to पदान्तः, and the rule applies when the word is in the vocative case.

According to some अन्तः is taken to be a part of the last sūtra, and has the meaning of ‘proximity’. That is the न् is changed to ञ, if the र is not separated from the न् by more than one letter. Therefore there is no change in परि + अनिति = पर्यानिति ॥ In this view, another अन्तः should be taken for the sake of final न्, in हे प्राण् ॥

According to others the form पर्यानिति is valid, and they do not connect अन्तः with the last sūtra.

The word प्राण् is a द्विवचन formed word, and the न् final is not elided in the Vocative Singular because of the prohibition of VIII. 2. 8 ; in every other place, when the न् is padānta, it would be dropped ; and therefore the illustration is given with Vocative singular, which alone satisfies the requirements of this sūtra.

उभौ साभ्यासस्य ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उभौ, साभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साभ्यासस्यानितेरुपसर्गस्याभिनितादुत्तरस्योभयोरनकारयोर्नकार आदेशो भवति ।

21. Both the *n* s are changed into *ṇ* in the reduplicated forms of the verb *अनृ*, when preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change.

Thus in the Desiderative प्राणिषिषति and Aorist of the Causative प्राणिषत्, and so also पराणिषिषति and पराणिषत् ॥

If the maxim पूर्वचासिद्धीबन्निर्वचने be not applied here; then we have the following dilemma in, प्राणि + सृ + णि ॥ Here the affix सृ requires reduplication, and the present sūtra requires *ṇ* change of *n* ॥ The जल्म being asiddha, the reduplication being made first, we have प्राणि + स + णि, and then the reduplicate *ṇ* intervenes between the cause *प्र* and the root-च् of णि, and so this *n* would not be changed to *ṇ* ॥ If however the above maxim be applied, we first apply the जल्म rule, as प्राणि + सृ + णि, and then reduplicate णि; and we get the form प्राणिषिषति even without this sūtra.

If we could get this form by the application of the above maxim, where is the necessity of the present sūtra? The sūtra is necessary in order to indicate that the above maxim is *anitya* or not of universal application. And because it is *anitya*, that the form झोङ्ङत् is evolved by reduplicating इङ् (See VIII. 2. 1).

हन्तेरत्पूर्वस्य ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन्तेः, अत्, पूर्वस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारपूर्वस्य हन्तिनकारस्य उपसर्गस्याभिनितादुत्तरस्य नकार आदेशो भवति ।

22. The *n*, when preceded by *अ*, in the root *हन्*, is changed to *ṇ*, when the verb is preceded by a preposition competent to cause the change,

Thus ग्रहण्यते, परिहण्यते, ग्रहणन्य परिहणन्य ॥

Why do we say अत्पूर्वस्य 'when preceded by अ'? When अ is elided, the change does not take place. As ग्रहन्ति, परिहन्ति (VI. 4. 98, and VIII. 3. 54),

Why do we say अत् "preceded by short अ"? Observe सर्वचानि and प्रचानि, the Aorist of हन् by the affix चिप् (III. 1. 60) ग्रहन् + चिप् = ग्रहन् + चिप् (VIII. 3. 54) = प्रचान् + चिप् (VIII. 2. 116) = प्रचानि 'he killed'. Here *n* being preceded by the long आ is not changed.

धमोर्वा ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ धमोः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वकारनकारयोः परतो हन्तिनकारस्योपसर्गस्याभिनितादुत्तरस्य वा नकारादेशो भवति ।

23. Optionally when *वृ* or *प्र* follow, the *ṇ* of *han* is changed to *ṇ*, when preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change.

Thus ग्रहण्यः, परिहण्यः, or ग्रहन्ः and परिहन्ः, ग्रहण् or ग्रहन्ः परिहण् or परिहन्ः ॥

This sūtra enjoins an option in certain cases, where it would have been obligatory by the last rule,

अन्तरदेशो ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर, अदेशो ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तःशब्दादुत्तरस्य हन्तिनकारत्वात्पूर्वस्य जकारदेशो भवति ।

24. The न preceded by short अ of the root हन् is changed into ज, when the root follows the upasarga अन्तर, and the word does not mean a country.

Thus अन्तर्हण्यते and अन्तर्हणनं ॥

Why do we say "when not meaning a country अदेशो?" Observe अन्तर्हणनी]

देशः ॥

The phrase अतुपूर्वस्य "preceded by short अ" of sūtra 22 ante, is to be read into this sūtra also. Observe, अन्तर्हणति ॥

Why do we say "short अ?" See, अन्तरपानि ॥ The word antar is an upasarga for the purposes of ज change, by the vārtika under I. 4. 65; therefore, it would have caused the ज change by VIII. 4. 22. The present sūtra is made, to show that the change takes place only then, when it does not mean a country.

अयनं च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अयनम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तरदेशइति वर्ज्यते । अयननकारस्य चान्तः शब्दादुत्तरस्य जकारदेशो भवति ।

25. The न of अयन is changed to ज, when preceded by the word अन्तर, and the word does not denote a country.

Thus अन्तरायनं शोभनम् ॥ Why do we say "not denoting a country"? Observe अन्तरयनो देशः ॥ This ज change would have taken place by VIII. 4. 29, this special sūtra is for अदेशो purposes. The word अयन is formed by ल्युट् added to अय् or इय् ॥

छन्दस्युदवग्रहात् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, छुत्-अवग्रहात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छकारान्तावग्रहात्पूर्वपदादुत्तरस्य जकारदेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ।

26. In the Chhandas, न of a second term is changed into ज, when the prior term ends with a short छ even when there is an avagraha or hiatus between the two terms.

In the Veda, न् becomes ज्, after a छ, after which in Padapāṭha, the word appertaining to it is divided. Thus in Pada-pāṭha the words नृमजाः &c, are separated, and are read as नृ, मजाः ॥ The word अवग्रहात् = विच्छिद्य पठ्यते, as in Pada-pāṭha. छन्दवग्रहात् means 'after a short छ which is an avagraha'. The छ here, of course, means 'a word ending in छ', because छ alone cannot be a pūrvapada. The जल्ब took place during saṃhitā, and in Pada reading this ज् would not have remained, hence this sūtra.

Why have we used the word avagraha in the sūtra? Because we have already said that the word saṃhitā governs all sūtras of this chapter. So the न् is changed to ज् in the Saṃhitā state in these; and the ज् is retained, when

in the state of avagraha. The word avagraha in the sūtra indicates the scope of the rule. The न is changed to ज after that ङ only, which is capable of avagraha, namely that ङ which stands at the end of a word (pada), and not that which is in the body of a word. Thus in नृमणाः, पितृयाजम्, the ङ is capable of avagraha, as it is at the end of a word नृ or पितृ; but when it is not at the end of a word, it can never become avagraha, and will not produce the ज change.

The word पूर्वपदान् is understood here. The word अवग्रह means a hiatus or separation. Thus पितृ याजम्, नृ मणाः ॥ Here ङ is अवग्रह ॥ The change of न into ज is effected ordinarily then, when the terms, one containing the cause, and the other न, are in संहिता or conjunction. For the rules of Sandhi and the rules like these can apply only to words in sahitā. The present rule is an exception to it, and here, even when the words are not in संहिता, but there is an actual hiatus between the two, the change still takes place. The word संहिता of VIII. 2. 108, exerts regulating influence upto the end of the Book.

नञ् धातुस्थोरुपुञ्जः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, च, धातुस्थ, उरु, पुञ्जः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नस् इत्येतस्य नकारस्य जकारपदेशो भवति धातुस्थानिनितादुत्तरस्थोरुपुञ्जान्पुञ्जश्चात्र ञञ्चनसि विपद्ये ।

27. In the Chhandas, the न of (the Pronoun) नस् is changed into ज, when it comes after a root having a र or व or after the words उरु and पु (पु) ॥

Thus अग्ने रक्षाणः (Rig VII. 15. 13) 'O Agni! protect us'. शिक्षा वो अस्मिन् (Rig. VII. 32. 26) 'Teach us this'. उरुः—उरुणस्काधि (Rig. VIII. 75. 11) पु—अग्नीपुणः सखीनाम् (Rig IV. 31. 3). ऊर्ध्व ऊपुणः ऊतये (Rig. I. 36. 13).

The word नस् is here the pronoun नस्, which is the substitute, in certain cases, of अस्मद् (VIII. 1. 21) and does not mean here the नस् substitute of नासिका ॥ In the next sūtra, however, both नस् are taken. धातुस्थ means 'that which exists in a dhātu', namely र and व when occurring in a root. The word उरु means the word-form उरु; and पु means पुञ्ज, and is exhibited with व-change. It does not mean the affix पु of the Locative Plural. Therefore, not here इन्द्रो धत्ता गृहेषु नः ॥ The word रक्षा is the 2nd Person singular, Imperative, the lengthening is by VI. 3. 135. The root शिक्ष has the sense of शान in the Veda. कृषी is 2nd Person sg. Imperative of कृ (VI. 4. 102), the visarga of नः is changed to स् by VIII. 3. 50. In अग्नीपु there is lengthening by VI. 3. 134: so also in ऊपुणः &c.

उपसर्गाद्बहुलम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्याग्निनितादुत्तरस्य नसो नकारस्य जकारपदेशो भवति ।

28. The न of नस् is changed diversely into ज, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

Thus प्रजः ब्रह्मः; प्रजसः प्रजो राजा ॥ The change does not sometime take, place, as, प्र नो वृञ्चतम् ॥

By force of the word बहुलम् the rule applies to secular literature also as distinguished from the Chhandas or sacred Vedic text. Thus प्रजसं वृत्तं ॥ The word छन्दासि does not govern this sūtra.

In प्रजसं वृत्तम्, the word नस् is the substitute for नासिका and means 'nose'. See V. 4. 119.

This is not the sūtra as given by Pāṇini. His sūtra is उपसर्गादनोत्तरः "after an Upasarga, the न् of नस् when not preceded by or followed by an ओ, is changed into ज्". There being several objections to this rule, the above rule is substituted as an amendment, in the Mahābhāṣya. For ओत्तरः may have two meanings:—(1) ओत्कारान् परः, that which comes after ओ; (2) ओत्कारः परोऽस्मात् that which is followed by ओ ॥ In both cases, the rule is objectionable. In the first case, the ज् change would be required in प्रजो वृञ्चतं; in the second case, there should be no ज् change in प्रजोवनिर्देवता ॥ In fact, we find in the Vedas प्रजः as well as प्रनः; so also प्रजो as well as प्रनो ॥ Hence the necessity of this amendment.

कृत्यचः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृति, अच ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यो यो नकारो ऽथ उत्तरस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य जकारदेशो भवति ।

वार्तिकः ॥ कृत्यस्य जत्वे निर्विण्णस्योपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ।

29. 'The न् of a Kṛit affix, preceded by a vowel, is changed into ज्, when it follows an upasarga having the cause of change.

The following are the specific Kṛit affixes in which this change takes place :—अन (यु), मान (घानच् &c VII. 2. 82), अनीय, (III. 1. 96) अनि, (III. 3. 111) इनि (जनि III. 2. 78 &c) and the substitutes of निष्ठा (VIII. 2. 42) ॥

Thus

अनः प्रयाजम्, परिमाणम्, प्रमाणम्, परियाजम् ॥ मानः प्रयायमाणम्, परिवायमाणम् ॥

अनीय प्रयाणीयम्, परियाणीयम् ॥ अनि अमयाणि, अपरियाणि ॥

इनि प्रयायिन्, प्रयायिणौ, परियायिन्, परियायिणौ

निष्ठादेशः प्रहीणः, परिहीणः, प्रहीणवान् परिहीणवान् ॥ Long ई by VI. 4. 66.

Why do we say अचः 'preceded by a vowel'? Observe प्रभुमः, परिभुमः the Nishṭhā of भुज् ॥ It is thus formed: भुज् + क्त = भुज् + त = भुज् + न (VII. 2. 45, the root भुज् is read as भुजो कौटिल्ये in the dhatûpāṭha, having an indicative ओ, thus giving scope to the rule). भुज् + न = भुज् + न (VIII. 2. 30) = भुम ॥

Vārt:—The word निर्विण्णः should be enumerated in this place. As निर्विण्णोऽस्मि खलसंगेन ॥ निर्विण्णोऽहमन्वयासेन ॥

जेर्धमाशा ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ जेः, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्यन्ताद्यो विहितः कृत्यस्य तस्य नकारोपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य विभाषा जकारदेशो भवति

30. The **न्** of a Kṛit - affix ordained after a causative verb (**व्यन्त**), is optionally changed to **ञ्**, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

Thus **प्रधापणम्** or **प्रधापनम्**, **परिधापणम्** or **परिधापनम्**, **प्रधाप्यमाणम्** or **प्रधाप्यमानम्**, **प्रधापणीयम्** or **प्रधापनीयम्**, **अप्रधापणिः** or **अप्रधापनिः**, **प्रधापिषी** or **प्रधापिषी** ॥

Why have we used the word **विहितं** 'ordained' in explaining the sūtra ? Because the change takes place, even where the **कृन्** affix does not follow directly after the affix **णि**; where a third affix such as **ञ्** intervenes. As **प्रधाप्यमाणम्** ॥ The **जे**: being in the ablative, under the ordinary rule of interpretation (I. 1. 72), the kṛit - affix should come immediately after **णि**.

हलश्चेत्पधात् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, च, इच्-उपधात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलविधौ धातुरिष्टपक्षस्तत्परो नः कृत्त्यस्य नकारस्याच उत्तरस्योपसर्गस्याभिनि-
त्तादुत्तरस्य विभाषा नकारादेशो भवति ।

31. A kṛit - affix, coming after a verb, which begins with a consonant and has a penultimate **इच्** vowel, changes optionally its **न्**, which is preceded by a vowel, into **ञ्**, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

The phrase **कृत्त्यः** is understood here. Thus **प्रकोपणम्** or **प्रकोपनम्**, **परिको-
पणम्** or **परिकोपनम्** ॥

Why do we say **हलः** 'beginning with a consonant' ? Observe **ग्रेहणम्** and **ग्रेहणम्** where the change is obligatory, under VIII. 4. 29. These are from **ई** **चेष्टायाम्** and **कह** **वितर्के** ॥

Why do we say **इष्टपधात्** 'having a penultimate **इच्** vowel' ? Observe **प्रवपणम्** and **परिवपणम्**; no option.

By the rule **कृत्त्यः** the change was obligatory, this rule makes it optional.

The **न्** of the kṛit - affix must come after a vowel, otherwise there will be no change. See **परिभुम्**:

The word **हलः** in the sūtra should be interpreted as **हलदेः**, and not as ordinarily "after what ends in **हल्**" ॥ For an **इष्टपधा** verb implies that it ends with a consonant, and so the employment of the word **हलः** in the text would have been useless had it meant **हलन्तात्** ॥

इजादेः सनुमः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इजादेः, सनुमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इजादेः सनुमो हलन्ताज्जातोर्विहितो नः कृत्त्यस्य नकारस्याच उत्तरस्योपसर्गस्याभिनि-
त्तादुत्तरस्य विभाषा नकारादेशो भवति ।

32. A kṛit - affix ordained after a verb beginning with an **इच्** vowel, having the augment **नुम्** in it, and ending

with a consonant, changes its *न* into *ण*, when preceded by an upasarga having in it the cause of change.

The word *हलः* of the last sūtra is understood here. But contrary to the construction put upon it in the last sūtra, here it means *हलन्तात्*, by the natural rule of construction as given in I. 1. 72. We must interpret it so here, because it is impossible for an *इजादि* root to commence with a *हल्*; while to have done so in the last aphorism would have been redundant.

Thus *प्रेह्यणम्*, *परेह्यणम्* from *इह्वि* गत्यर्थः; the *नुम्* is added because it is *इदित्* ॥ *प्रेङ्गणम्*, *परेङ्गणम्*, *प्रेङ्गणम्* *परोङ्गणम्* ॥ In *उङ्म पूरणे* the nasal is part of the root. The rule will not apply to *प्रेङ्गणम्*, because *नुम्* here means the anusvāra generally (VIII. 4. 2) though the change would have been valid by the general rule, (VIII. 4. 29) this sūtra makes a *नियम* or restriction. That is, only in the case of *इजादि सनुम्* verbs the change takes place, not in other *सनुम्* verbs. Thus *प्रमङ्गणम्*, *परिमङ्गणम्* from the root *मणि* सर्पणे ॥

This rule does not affect rule VIII. 4. 30, relating to *प्यन्त* verbs, for those verbs cannot be said to end with a consonant. Moreover, we have used the word *विहितः* in explaining the sūtra, in order to indicate this fact, that the *krit*-affix must be *ordained* after a consonant-ending verb. In the case of causative verbs, the *krit*-affix is *ordained* after a vowel-ending (*णि*) verb, and the vowel is elided *after* the adding of the affix. So that *before* the adding of the affix, the verb did not end in a consonant.

वा निसनिक्षनिन्दाम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, निस-निक्ष-निन्दाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गादिति वसते । निस निस निन्द इत्येतेषां नकारस्योपसर्गस्याभिनिष्ठादुत्तरस्य वा णकारादेशो भवति ।

33. The *न* of *निस* *निक्ष* and *निन्द* is changed to *ण* optionally, when preceded by an upasarga having in it a cause of change.

Thus *प्रणिसनम्* or *प्रनिसनम्*, *प्रणिसणम्* or *प्रनिसणम्*, *प्रणिन्दनम्* or *प्रनिम्बनम्* ॥

These verbs are written with *ण* in the Dhātupāṭha, and therefore by rule VIII. 4. 14 ante, the change of *न* into *ण* would have been obligatory. The present sūtra makes it optional. The root *निसि* means 'to kiss', *निक्षि* रोषणे, and *निरि* कुत्सायाम् ॥

न भाभूपूकमिगमिप्यायिवेषाम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भा-भू-पू-कमि-गमि-प्यायि-वेषाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ना क्षीरो भू सत्तायाम् पू पवने कमि कात्मौ गमि गतौ प्यायि वृजौ वेप कम्पने इत्येतेषां नकारस्य णकारादेशो न भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्यन्तानां भाक्षीनामुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ।

34. The *न* of a *krit*-affix is not changed to *ण*, though preceded by an upasarga having in it a cause of change,

when the affix is added to the following verbs: भा 'to shine', भू 'to be', पू 'to purify', कमि 'to be brilliant', गामि 'to go', व्याधि 'to increase', वेष्ट 'to shake'.

This rule is an exception to VIII. 4. 29. Thus :—

भा प्रभानम्, परिभानम् भू प्रभवनम्, परिभवनम् पू प्रपवनम्, परिपवनम् ॥

Ishti:—The verb पूम् is to be taken and not the verb पूङ् ॥ In the case of the latter the change is obligatory, as, प्रपवणं सोमस्य ॥

कमि प्रकमनम् परिकमनम् ॥ गमि प्रगमनम् परिगमनम् ॥

व्याधि प्रव्याधनम्, परिव्याधनम् ॥ वेष्ट प्रवेष्टनम्, परिवेष्टनम् ॥

Vart:—The above roots, even when in the Causative, do not change the न of their kṛit-affix. As प्रभापनम्, परिभापनम् ॥

षात्पदान्तात् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ षात्, पदान्तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारान्तान्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य षकारविधौ न भवति ।

35. After a ष् final in a Pada, the न् is not changed to ण् ॥

Thus निष्पानम्, दुष्पानम् ; the visarga is changed to ह् here by VIII. 3. 41. The rule VIII. 4. 29 is debarred. सर्पिष्पानम् (is a genitive compound contra II. 2. 14). So also बह्वृष्पानम् (II. 1. 32). The ष is in these two by VIII. 3. 45, and VIII. 4. 10 is debarred.

Why do we say "षात् after a ष्?" Observe निर्णयः ॥

Why do we say पदान्तात् 'final in a Pada'? Observe कुष्णाति, पुष्णाति ॥ The word पदान्त is equivalent to पदे अन्त or Locative Tatpuruṣa ; and does not mean final of a Pada. Therefore the rule does not apply here. सुसर्पिष्केण (ins. sg.) सुयजुष्केण ॥ Here the क is added by V. 4. 154. घोभनं सर्पिरस्य = सुसर्पिष्क (a Bahuvrīhi). The ष is by VIII. 3. 39. Before the affix क, the word सुसर्पिस् is a Pada (I. 4. 17), and thus ष् (ष्) is final of a Pada: but it is not final of a preceding member followed by another Pada. The rule, in fact, applies to compounds, the ष being final in the first term.

नशोः षान्तस्य ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नशोः, षान्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नशोः षकारान्तस्य षकारविधौ न भवति ।

36. ण् is not the substitute of the verb नश 'to destroy', when ending in ष् ॥

When the ष् is changed to ण् in नष्, the न of नष् is not changed. Thus प्रनष्टः, परिनष्टः ॥ The नुष् ordained by VII. 1. 60, is elided by VI. 4. 24, and ण् changed ष् by VIII. 2. 36.

Why do we say षान्तस्य? Observe प्रणश्यति, परिणश्यति ॥ The word अन्त is taken in order that the prohibition may apply to words like प्रनष्टश्च्यति, which did end with ष् though the ष has been changed by other rules, and is no longer visible. For here the ष् of नष् is changed to ण् by VIII. 2. 36, and then this ण् is changed to ह् by VIII. 2. 41 ; and the नुष् is added by VII. 1. 60.

पदान्तस्य ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदान्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदान्तो यो नकारस्तस्य णकारादेशो न भवति ।

37. Of a न final in a Pada, ण is not the substitute.

Thus वृक्षान्, वृक्षान्, अरीन्, गिरीन् ॥

पदव्यवायेपि ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदव्यवाये, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदेन व्यवायेपि सति निमित्तनिमित्तिनोर्नकारस्य णकारादेशो न भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पदव्यवायेऽतद्विहित इति वक्तव्यम् ।

38. The न् is not changed to ण् when a Pada intervenes between the cause of the change and the word containing the न् ॥

The word पदव्यवाय is a compound meaning पदेन व्यवाय 'separated by a Pada'. Thus माषकुम्भवापेन, चतुरङ्गयोगेन, प्राशनद्वयेन, पर्यवनद्वयेन, प्रगान्नयामः, परिगान्नयामः ॥ Here the Padas कुम्भ, अङ्ग, अवन &c, intervening, the change does not take place.

Vārt.—It should be stated when there is separation by a Pada, except in a Taddhita. Prohibition does not apply to words like आर्द्रगोमयेण, शुष्कगोमयेण ॥ Here गो takes the affix मयद् by IV. 3. 145, and the word गो is a Pada by I. 4. 17, and it intervenes between मय and the first word. The author of Mahābhāṣya however does not approve of this Vārtika. According to him the word पदव्यवाय means पदे व्यवाय ॥

क्षुब्धनादिषु च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुब्धनादिषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुब्धना इत्येवमादिषु शब्देषु नकारस्य णकारादेशो न भवति ।

39. The ण is not the substitute of न् in the words kshubhna &c.

The 'not' of sūtra 34 is to be read into this. Thus क्षुब्धनाति, so also in क्षुब्धीतः, क्षुब्धन्ति, the substitutes of अच् being like the principal I. 1. 57.

So नृनमनः where the change was called for by VIII. 4. 3, and VIII. 4. 26.

नन्दिन्, नन्दन and नगर when second members in a compound, denoting a name, as, हरिनन्दी, हरिनन्दनः, गिरिनगरः ॥

The word नृन् when taking the Intensive affix यङ्, as, नरीनृत्यते ॥

नृष्टु, नृमोति also belongs to this class. नर्त्तन, गहन, मन्दन, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि and अक्षुप् when used as second terms in a compound. As, परिनर्त्तनम्, परिगहनम्, which required change by VIII. 4. 3. So परिनन्दनम् contrary to VIII. 4. 14. क्षारनिवेशः, क्षारनिवास, क्षारग्निः, क्षारक्षुप् ॥ All these are Names.

After the word आचार्य there is no change, as, आचार्यभोगीनः, आचार्यानी ॥

हरिका, तिमिर, समीर, कुबेर and हरि and कर्मर followed by वन do not cause change in the न of वन when the compound is a Name. This is an आकृतिगणः ॥

1 क्षुब्धना (क्षुब्धनाति), 2 नृनमनः; 3 नन्दिन्, 4 नन्दन, 5 नगर, एताभ्यामुत्तरपदानि संज्ञायां प्र योजयन्ति, 6 हरिनन्दी, 7 हरिनन्दनः, 8 गिरिनगरम्; 9 नृतिर्यङि प्रयोजयति, नरीनृत्यते; 10 नर्त्तन, 11 गहन,

12 नन्दन, 13 निवेश, 14 निवास, 15 अग्नि, 16 अनुप, एतान्युत्तरपदानि प्र योजयन्ति, 17 परितर्तनम्, 18 परिगहनम्, 19 परिनन्दनम्, 20 शरनिवेशः, 21 शरनिवासः, 22 शराग्निः, 23 शर्मानुपः, 24 आचार्यादपत्यं च आचार्यभोगीनः (आचार्यानी). क्षुब्धा, 25 कृष्ण, नूनमन, 26 नरनगर, नन्दन-वद् नृती, 27 गिरिनी, 28 गृहनमन, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि, अनुप, आचार्यभोगीन, 29 चतुर्हायन, 30 हरिकादीनि वनोत्तरपदानि संज्ञायाम् । हरिका, तिमिर, समीर, कुबेर, हरि कर्मार. अकृतिगण.

स्तोः इचुना इचुः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तोः, इचुना, इचुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शकारवर्गाभ्यां सन्निपाते शकारवर्गादेशौ भवतः ।

40. The letters स and the dentals when coming in contact with श and the palatals, are changed to ष and palatals respectively.

The rule of वयासंख्य does not apply here with regard to first part स्तो इचुना ॥ The स in contact with श is changed to ष but it is also so changed when in contact with letters of च class. Similarly letters of त class coming in contact with श or a letter of च class, are changed to च class. The rule of वयासंख्य, however, applies to the substitutes, namely स is changed to ष, and तु to षु ॥

1st. स in contact with शः as, वृक्षस् + शेते = वृक्षश्चेते, so also प्लक्षश्चेते ॥

2nd. स in contact with षुः—as, वृक्षस् + चिनोति = वृक्षचिनोति, प्लक्षचिनोति, वृक्षच्छादयति, प्लक्षच्छादयति ॥

3rd. तु with शः—अग्निचित् + शेते = अग्निचिच्छेते, so सोममुच्छेते ॥

4th. तु with षुः—अग्निचित् + चिनोति = अग्निचिच्छिनोति, so also सोममुच्छिनोति, अग्निचिच्छादयति, अग्निचिच्छजयति, अग्निचिच्छ शकारम्, सोममुच्छादयति, सोममुच्छजयति, सोममुच्छशकारम्, अग्निचिच्छशकारः, सोममुच्छशकारः ॥ Similarly मरुश्च gives मरुजति, the स is changed to ष by ह्रस्वजश्च ह्रस्व VIII. 4. 53, and then this ष is changed to a palatal i. e. to ष here; and ष obtained by जश्च rule is not considered asiddha here. See VIII. 2. 3. So also from भ्रश्च we have भ्रजति ॥

5th. चकार followed by शकारः as, वज्र + न (III. 3. 90) = वज्रश्च + न = वाचश्चा ॥ In fact the instrumental case इचुना shows that the mere contact of स and तु with श and षु is enough to induce the change, whether स्तु is followed by इचु, or इचु be followed by स्तु ॥ Other examples of mere contact are :—

5th.(a) स followed by षु is changed into षः as, भ्रश्च + ति = भ्रश्च + ष + ति (III. 1. 77, VI. 1. 16) = भ्रश्च + ति = भ्रश्च + ति = (VIII. 4. 53) = भ्रजति ॥ Similarly मरुश्च forms मरुजति, व्रश्च forms वृजति ॥

The aphorism शात् (VIII. 4. 44) which prohibits the change of तु into षु when following the letter श, indicates by implication that the rule of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration (I. 3. 10) does not hold good here.

Had the sūtra been स्तो योः इचुः i. e. instead of instrumental, had there been the locative case, then the rule would not have applied to cases covered by the fifth clause.

इचुना इचुः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इचुना, इचुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारवर्गयोः शकारवर्गाभ्यां सन्निपाते शकारवर्गादेशौ भवतः ।

41. The letters स् and dentals in contact with च् and cerebrals, are changed into च् and cerebrals respectively.

The word स्तोः is to be read into the sūtra. Here also there is absence of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration.

(1) स with च् as, वृक्षस् + चण्डे = वृक्षचण्डे; प्लक्षचण्डे ॥

(2) स with ङ, as, वृक्षस् + दीकते = वृक्षदीकते, वृक्षङ्कारः, प्लक्षदीकते and प्लक्षङ्कारः ॥

(3) तु with च् as पेष् + ता = पेष्ट, पेष्टम्, पेष्टव्यम्, कृषीष्ट, कृषीष्टाः (Atmane, Aorist 2nd per dual).

(4) तु with ङ, as, अग्निचित् + दीकते = अग्निचिदीकते, सोमसुदीकते, अग्निचिङ्कारः, अग्निचिङ् दीनः, अग्निचिङ्दीकते, अग्निचिङ्ङकारः, सोमसुङ्ङकारः, सोमसुङ्ङ दीनः, सोमसुङ्ङदीकते, सोमसुङ्ङङ्कारः ॥

The root अतृड अतिक्रमणहिसयोः, and अड्ड अभियोगे, are read in the Dhātupāṭha with तृ and ङ penultimate, in order that when the affix चिच् is added to them, the final ट and ङ being elided by संयोगान्त rule, the derivatives will be अतृ and अड्ड ending in तृ and ङ ॥ Another reason is that the sūtra VI. 1. 3, should apply to their reduplicate. In these roots the तृ and ङ are changed, अट्टति and अङ्गति ॥

न पदान्ताद्देशनाम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, पदान्तात्, दोः, अनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदान्ताद्देशवर्गादुत्तरस्य स्तोः दुल्यं न भवति नामित्येतद्देशयित्वा ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनाम्नवत्तिनगरीणामिति वक्तव्यम् ।

42. After ङ final in a Pada, the change of a dental (स्तु) to a cerebral (ष्टु), does not take place, except in the case of the affix नाम् ॥

Thus श्लिद् + साये = श्लिद्साये, मधुलिद्साये, श्लिद्तरति, मधुलिद्तरति ॥

Why do we say पदान्तात् 'final in a Pada'? Observe ईद् + ते = ईद् + ते = ईद्दे ॥

Why do we say दोः 'after ङ'? Observe सर्पिष् + तमम् = सर्पिष्टमम् ॥

Why do we say अनाम् 'except in the case of the affix nām'? Observe षद् + नाम् = षण्णाम् ॥ This exception is very inadequate. Hence the following

Vārti:—It should be stated rather that भवति and नगरी as well as नाम् are not prevented from undergoing the cerebral change. As, षण्णाम् 'of six', षण्णवतिः ninety-six, and षण्णगरी 'six cities'.

तोः चि ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तोः, चि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तवर्गस्य चकारे यदुक्तं मन्त्र भवति ।

43. In the room of तु there is not a cerebral substitute, when च follows.

The word न is to be read into the aphorism. As, अग्निचित् + चण्डे = अग्निचित्चण्डे ॥ भवान्चण्डे, महान्चण्डे ॥

शात् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शकारादुत्तरस्य तद्वर्गस्य यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ।

44. In the room of तु there is not a palatal substitute, when श precedes.

The words न and तोः are understood here. This is an exception to VIII. 4. 40. Thus, प्रच्छ + न (III. 3. 90) = प्रश् + न (VI. 4. 19) = प्रश्नः, विमः &c.

यरोनुनासिकेनुनासिको वा ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ यरः, अनुनासिके, अनुनासिकः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यरः पदान्तस्यानुनासिके परतो वानुनासिकादेशो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ यरोनुनासिके प्रत्यये भाषार्या नित्यवचनं कर्तव्यम् ।

45. In the room of a यर letter (every consonant except ह final) in a Pada, when a Nasal follows, there is optionally a Nasal substitute.

The word पदान्त is understood here. Thus वाक् + नयति = वामयति or वाह-नयति, अग्निचिदनयति or अग्निचिन्नयति, विदुन्नयति or विदुन्नयति, भलिन्नयति or भलिन्नयति ॥

Why do we say 'final in a Pada'? Observe, वेद् + मि = वेदि ॥ Here there is no option. So also क्षुभाति ॥

Vart :—When it is a pratyaya or affix that follows, the nasalisation is obligatory in the secular language. Thus वाक् + माचम् = वाहमाचम्, कियन्माचम् ॥ It is, however, only before the affixes मव and माच that the change is obligatory, and not before every affix beginning with a nasal.

अचो रहाभ्यां द्वे ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, रहाभ्यां, द्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच उत्तरो यो रेफहकारौ ताभ्यामुत्तरस्य यो द्वे भवतः ।

46. There is reduplication of यर्, i. e. all the consonants except ह, after the letters र् and ह following a vowel.

The word यर् of last sūtra is understood here. According to others, the वा is also understood, and this is an optional rule. Thus अर्कः, नर्कः, ब्रह्मा, अपहन्नुते ॥

Why do we say अचः 'following a vowel'? Observe ह्युते, झलवति ॥

अनचि च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्, अचि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच उत्तरस्य यो द्वे भवतोऽनचि परतः ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ यणो मयो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ।

वा० ॥ शरः खयो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ।

वा० ॥ अवसाने च यो द्वे भवतः इति वक्तव्यम् ।

47. When a vowel does not follow, there is reduplication of यर् (all the consonants except ह), after a vowel.

The words अचः and अरः are understood here.

Thus वृधि + अच = वृध् + अच (VI. I. 77) = वृध् + अच वृध् + अच (VIII. 4. 53) = वृध् + अच, so also मय् + अच ॥

Why do we say अच: "after a vowel?" Observe स्मितम्, स्मातम् ॥

Vart:—यणो मयो हे भवतः ॥ This Vārtika may be interpreted in two ways. First taking यणः as ablative and मयः as genitive. "The letters of the pratyāhāra मय् are reduplicated after यण् letters." उल्का, बाल्मीकः ॥ Secondly taking यणः as genitive, and मयः as ablative. "The letters यण् are reduplicated after मय् letters". As दृष्ट्यन्, मध्यन् ॥

Vart:—घारः खयो हे भवतः ॥ This is also similarly explained in two ways. 1st "There is reduplication of खय् letters, after a sibilant for घार् letters" as स्थाल, स्थ्यात्. Secondly. 'There is reduplication of a sibilant (घार् letters), after खय् letters, ss, वस्सरः, अप्सराः ॥

Vart:—अवसाने च यो हे भवतः ॥ There is reduplication of यर् when a Pause ensues. As बाहू, स्वक्क, षट्, तत् &c.

These reduplications are curiosities, rather than practicalities.

नादिन्याक्रोशो पुत्रस्य ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आदिनी, आक्रोशो, पुत्रस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिनी परत आक्रोशो गम्यमाने पुत्रशब्दस्य न हे भवतः ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ तत्परे चेति वक्तव्यम् । वा० ॥ वा हतजग्धपरहति वक्तव्यम् ।

वा० ॥ चया द्वितीयाः शरि पौष्करसादिः ।

48. There is not reduplication of the letters of 'putra', when the word ādini follows, the sense being that of reviling or cursing.

This debars the reduplication required by the last sūtra. Thus पुत्रादिनी स्वमसि पापे "O sinful one! thou art eater of thy own son". Here the word पुत्रादिनी is used simply as an abusive epithet. But when a fact is described, and the word is not used as an abuse or आक्रोश, the reduplication takes place. Thus पुत्रादिनी व्याघ्री 'a kind of tigress, that eats up her young ones'.
— शिशुभारी व्याघ्री ॥

Vart:—So also when पुत्र is followed by पुत्रादिनी ॥ As पुत्र पुत्रादिनी स्वमसि पापे ॥ So also पुत्रपौत्रादिनी ॥

Vart:—Optionally so when the words हत and जग्ध follow. As पुत्रहती or पुत्रहती, पुत्रजग्धी or पुत्रजग्धी ॥

Vart:—According to the option of Āchārya Paushkarasādi, the letters of चय् pratyāhāra are replaced by the second letters of their class, when followed by a sibilant (a letter of घार् pratyāhāra).

As वस्सः becomes वथ्सः अक्षरम् becomes अक्षरम् and अप्सरा becomes अफ्सरा ॥

शरोचि ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शरः, अचि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शरोचि परतो न द्वे भवतः ।

49. There are not two in the room of a sibilant (शर्), when a vowel follows.

The word न is to be read into the sūtra. This debars the application of rule 46 *ante*. Thus कर्षति, वर्षति, भाकर्षः, अक्षवर्षः ॥

Why do we say अचि 'when a vowel follows'? Observe इक्षवर्षते ॥

त्रिप्रभृतिषु शाकटायनस्य ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रिप्रभृतिषु, शाकटायनस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ त्रिप्रभृतिषु वर्णेषु संयुक्तेषु शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन न भवति ।

50. According to the opinion of Śākaṭāyana, the doubling does not take place when the conjunct consonants are three or more in number.

As इन्द्रः, चन्द्रः, उष्ट्रः, राष्ट्रम्, भाष्ट्रम् ॥

सर्वत्र शाकल्यस्य ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वत्र, शाकल्यस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन सर्वत्र द्विवचनं न भवति ।

51. According to the opinion of Śākalya, there is reduplication no where.

As अर्कः, मर्कः, ब्रह्मा, अपहृते ॥

दीर्घादाचार्याणाम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, आचार्याणाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घादुत्तरस्याचार्याणां मतेन न भवति ।

52. According to the opinion of all Teachers, there is no doubling after a long vowel.

As शायम्, पायम्, सूयम्, सूचम् ॥

झलां जझशशि ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ झलाम्, जश्, शशि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ झलां स्थाने जघारेणो भवति शशि परतः ।

53. In the room of झल् letters, there is substitution of जच् letters, when शच् letters follow.

A mute letter is changed to a sonant non-aspirate mute, when a sonant mute follows it.

This is the well-known rule of softening the hard letters. Thus लम् + ता = लढा, so also लङ्घम्, लङ्घयम् ; रोग्धा, रोङ्घम्, रोङ्घयम् ; बोझा, बोङ्घम्, बोङ्घयम् ॥

Why do we say शशि, 'when a jhas follows'? Observe इत्तः, इत्थः, इत्थः ॥

अभ्यासे चर्च ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यासे, चर्, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासे वर्तमानानां झलां चघारेणो भवति चकाराज्जम् ।

54. The चर् is also the substitute of झल् letters occurring in a reduplicate syllable, as well as जच् ॥

In a reduplicate syllable, a sonant non-aspirate (जच्) as well as a surd non aspirate (चर्) is the substitute of a Mute letter. By applying the rule of

'nearest in place (I. I. 50), we find that sonant non-aspirate (अश्) is the substitute of all sonants; and is the substitute of all surds. In other words all aspirate letters become non-aspirate. The word अश् has been drawn into the sūtra by the word च 'also'.

Thus चिखनिषति ॥ Here सश् (Desiderative), is added to the root ख, the ख is changed to छ by VII. 4. 62, and this aspirate छ is now changed to non-aspirate by the present sūtra. चिखिषति, दिङ्कारिषति, तिष्ठासति, पिङ्कारिषति, कुम्भूषति, जिघत्सति, हुवौकिषते ॥

If there is चर् (non-aspirate surd) in the original, it will remain of course unchanged. As, चिषीषति, विटीकिषते, सितनिषति ॥

The original अश् also remains unchanged. Thus जिञ्जनिषति, कुबुधे, वसौ, विह्वे ॥ Or to be more accurate a चर् is replaced by a चर् and a अश् by a अश् letter.

खरि च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खरि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खरि च परतो झलं चरादेशो भवति ।

55. In the room of झल्, there is the substitute चर्, when खर् follows.

A sonant non-aspirate mute is the substitute of a mute, when a surd mute or a sibilant follows. The words झलं and चरः are supplied from the last sūtra. Thus भेद् + ता = भेत्ता, भेत्तुम्, भेत्तव्यम् ; युयुध् + सते = युयुत्सते ; भारिप्सते, भालिप्सते from रम् and लम्, the इस् is added by VII. 4. 54, in the room of झ of रम् and लम्, and we have रिस् and लिस् then the first स is elided by VIII. 2. 29.

घाघसाने ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ घा, अघसाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झलं चरिति वर्त्तते । अघसाने वर्त्तमानानां झलं वा चरादेशो भवति ।

56. The चर् is optionally the substitute of a झल् that occurs in a Pause.

The words झलं चर् is understood in the sūtra. A sonant or a surd non-aspirate may stand as final in a Pause: but not an aspirate consonant. By VIII. 2. 39, a non-aspirate sonant can only stand in a final position. This ordains that a non-aspirate surd may also stand as the final, when there is Pause. Thus वाक् or वाग्, स्वक् or स्वग्, भलिद् or भलिङ्, विहुप् or विहुङ् ॥

अणोप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अणः, अप्रगृह्यस्य, अनुनासिकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणः अप्रगृह्यस्यस्योपसाने वर्त्तमाने वा अनुनासिकदेशो भवति ।

57. The anunāsika is optionally the substitute of an अण् vowel which occurs in a Pause, and is not a Pragrihya.

अ, इ and उ, short and long, may, when final in a Pause, be pronounced as nasals, provided that they are not Pragrihya (I. I. 11 &c.) The अण् here

is a Pratyāhāra with the first ञ ॥ Thus वधि or वधि, मधु or मधु, कुमारी or कुमारी ॥

Why do we say 'of an अण्व vowel?' Observe, कर्तु, हर्तु ॥

Why do we say 'which is not a pragrahya'? Observe अग्नी, वाहू which are pragrahya by I. 1. 11.

अनुस्वारस्य ययि परसवर्णः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुस्वारस्य, ययि, परसवर्णः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुस्वारस्य ययि परतः परसवर्णं वदितो भवति ।

58. In the room of anusvāra, when यय follows, a letter homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus वृद्धिता, वृद्धितुम्, वृद्धितव्यम्, वृद्धिता, वृद्धिता, वृद्धिता, वृद्धिता &c. These are from roots वृद्धि वृद्धाया, वृद्धि वृद्धे, वृद्धि वृद्धे, वृद्धि वृद्धे, वृद्धि वृद्धे, वृद्धि वृद्धे ॥ Here तुम् is added because they are वृद्धि, and this न् becomes anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24, and this anusvāra is changed to ह् when followed by a guttural क् &c, to म् when followed by a palatal च &c, and so on to ण्, न् and म् ॥

Why do we say when यय follows? Observe आक्रन्ते, आधिक्रन्ते ॥

In कुर्वन्ति, वृषन्ति, the न् is not changed into ञ, though required by VIII. 4. 2. Because the ञस्व is asiddha, and therefore by the prior rule VIII. 3. 24, the न् is first changed into anusvāra (VIII. 2. 1). That anusvāra is again changed into न् by the present rule, न् being homogeneous with त् ॥ This change again being असिद्ध as if it had never taken place (VIII. 2. 1), the ञ is never substituted for न् ॥

वा पदान्तस्य ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, पदान्तस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पदान्तस्वानुस्वारस्य ययि परतो वा परसवर्णं वदितो भवति ।

59. In the room of anusvāra final in a Pada, the substitution of a letter homogeneous with the latter is optional.

Thus तं कयं विचपसं उचमानं नभःस्थं पुरुषोऽवधीत् or तद्वयिऽविचपसं उचमानं नभःस्थं पुरुषोऽवधीत् ॥

तोर्लि ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ तोः, लि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तवर्गस्य लकारे परतः परसवर्णं वदितो भवति ।

60. In the room of तु (a dental) when the letter ल follows, one homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus अग्निचित् + क्षुनाति = अग्निचित्क्षुनाति, सोमक्षुल्लुनाति; भवान् + क्षुनाति = भवान्क्षुनाति, नर्होक्षुनाति ॥ Here त् has been changed to pure ल, while the dento-nasal न् is changed to a nasal लँ ॥

उद्ः स्वास्तम्भोः पूर्वस्य ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्ः, स्वास्तम्भोः, पूर्वस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद् उत्तरयोः स्वास्तम्भ इत्येतयोः पूर्वसवर्णं वदितो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ उद्ः पूर्वसवर्णस्ये स्कन्धेऽन्त्यस्युपसंख्यानम् ।

वा० ॥ रोगे चेति वक्तव्यम् ।

61. After उद्, in the room of the स of sthâ and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior (i. e. a dental is substituted for this स) ॥

As उद् + स्याता = उद् + य्याता = उद् + याता (VIII. 4. 65) = उन् + याता (VIII. 4. 55) = उन्याता, उन्यातुम्, उन्यातव्यम् ॥ So also with स्तम्भ्, as, उस्तम्भिता, उस्तम्भितुम् &c. (See I. 1. 67 and 54).

Why do we say of स्या and स्तम्भ? Compare उन्जात ॥

Vart:—In the Vedas, the above substitution takes place in the case of स्कन्ध preceded by उद् ॥ As, अग्ने दूरुस्कन्धः ॥

Vart:—So also when it means a disease. As उल्कन्धको नाम रोगः ॥ Or this form may have been derived from the root कन्ध, and not स्कन्ध ॥

झयो होन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ झयः, हः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झय उत्तरस्य हकारस्य पूर्वसवर्णारेणो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

62. In the room of the letter ह्, after (a sonant Mute) there is optionally a letter homogeneous with the prior.

The pratyāhāra झय् includes *all* Mutes. But practically sonant Mutes are only taken here.

As वाक् + हसति = वाग्घसति or वाग् हसति, श्लिङ्ग हसति or हसति, अग्निषिद् भसति or हसति, शिष्टुर्भसति or हसति, सोमसुद् भसति or सोमसुद् हसति ॥

Why do we say झयः 'after a sonant Mute?' Observe माह् हसति, भवान् हसति ॥

शश्छोटि ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शः, छः, अटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झय इति वर्जते । अन्यतरस्यामिति च । झय उत्तरस्य शकारस्यादि परतद्व्यङ्कारारेणो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्वममीति वक्तव्यम् ।

63. In the room of श preceded by a surd Mute, there is optionally the letter छ when a vowel or य, व or र follows such श ॥

Though झय् means all Mutes, the rule, however, applies to surd mutes. The words झय् and अन्यतरस्याम् are to be read into the sūtra. Thus वाक् + शेते = वाक्छते or शेते ॥ अग्निषिच्छते or अग्निषिद् शेते, श्लिङ्ग शेते or छेते, शिष्टुच्छेते or शेते ॥

Vart:—It should rather be stated when a letter of झय् pratyāhāra follows. The sūtra only gives अद् letters, the vārtika adds the letters ल, and the nasals. Thus तन् लोकेन = तन् छलोकेन, तच्छमभुणा ॥

हलो यमां यमि लोपः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, यमाम्, यमि, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरेषां यमां यमि परतो लोपो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

64. After a consonant, the following semi-vowel or a nasal is elided optionally, when the same letters follow it.

The word अन्यतरस्याम् should be read into the sūtra. Thus शय्या or शय्या, the middle य् being elided. In शय्या there are two यs, one of the affix ययप् (III. 3. 99); and the second of अयङ् (VII. 4. 22), and the third arises by doubling (VIII. 4. 47). आदित्य (formed by doubling य् by the Vārtika under 47 ante), or आदित्य 'son of Aditi' In आदित्य there are two यs, one of ण्य (IV. 1. 85), and the second arises by doubling.

Similarly आदित्य देवता अस्य स्थाली पाकस्य = आदित्यः ॥ Then by VIII. 4. 47, there is a third य, as आदित्यः ॥ Here also we may elide the one middle य or both the middle य's. Thus आदित्यः or आदित्यः ॥

Why do we say हलः 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe अन्नम् when न् is preceded by a vowel.

Why do we say यमाम् "of यम् letters"? Observe अग्निः, अर्घ्यम् (V. 4. 25) where य is not a यम् ॥

Why do we say यमि "when यम् follows"? Observe शार्ङ्गम् here ङ् is not followed by a यम् ॥

झरो झरि स्वर्णे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ झरः, झरि, स्वर्णे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरस्य झरो झरि स्वर्णे परतो लोपो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

65. A Mute or Sibilant (झर) preceded by a consonant and followed by a homogeneous mute or sibilant, is optionally elided.

The word हलः is understood. Thus प्रतृप्तम्, अवतृप्तम् have three त, namely, one त substituted for आ by VII. 4. 47, the second त resulting from the change of ह् to त by चत्वे change, the third त is that of the affix. A fourth arises by doubling (VIII. 4. 47) of these four, one or two middle ones may be dropped. मरुतृप्त here are four तs. A fifth may be added by doubling, and by this rule, one, two or three of them may be elided. मरुत् + वा + क्त = मरुत् + वृत् + त (VII. 4. 47) the word मरुत् being treated as an Upasarga (I. 4. 59, vārt) = मरुत्तत् ॥

Why do we say झरः 'of a jhar'? Compare शार्ङ्गम्, here ङ् which is not a झर is not elided, though it is followed by a झर letter. Why do we say झरि 'followed by a jhar'? See मिथपञ्चः ॥ This is a Bahuvrīhi compound = मिथः पञ्चास्व ॥ The word मिथ stands first in the compound under II. 2. 35. (vārt). The full word is मिथपञ्चन्, the ञ् is elided by VI. 4. 134, and we have मिथपञ्चन्; and then this न् becomes a palatal ञ् ॥ Here ञ् is preceded by a हल् letter, and itself is a झर, and is followed by a homogeneous

letter अ्, but as अ् is not ह्रस्व, the अ् is not elided. The elided अ is not considered sthānivat, and so अ् is considered to be *immediately* followed by अ् ॥

Why do we say सवर्णे 'when a homogeneous jhar follows'? Observe सवर्तु. तर्तम् &c, where ए and न् are not homogeneous.

By using the word सवर्णे, the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) is avoided. Had the rule been ह्रस्वो ह्रस्वः the rule of mutual correspondence according to order of enumeration would have applied, and the forms सिण्डि विण्डि could not have been evolved by the elision of इ before इ ॥ For the evolution of these forms see the commentary under I. 1. 58. These are the Imperative 2nd Person Singular of सिष् and पिष् ॥ The अ of अम् is elided by VI. 4. 111: the हि is changed to धि by VI. 4. 101, the ए is changed to इ by VIII. 4. 53, the न् of अम् is changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24; this anusvāra is again changed to ञ् by VIII. 4. 58; the अ is changed to इ, and by the present rule, the preceding इ is elided before this इ ॥

उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदात्तात्, अनुदात्तस्य, स्वरितः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तादनुदात्तस्यानुदात्तस्य स्वरितादेशो भवति ।

66. The Svarita is the substitute of an Anudatta vowel which follows an Udatta vowel.

Thus अग्निम् + ईले = अग्निमीले ॥ Here ई which was अनुदात्त by rule VIII. 1. 28, becomes svarita by the present rule, as it comes after the udatta इ of agni.

So also गौर्धः, वीस्त्यः ॥ Here यम् is added by IV. 1. 105, and being मित्र् the words are first acute. The final is anudatta, which becomes svarita. So also ईर्षति and पृँर्षति, the णप् and तिप् are anudatta, the root is accented, the अ of णप् becomes svarita.

The rule VI. 1. 158, does not change this svarita into an Anudatta, because for the purposes of that rule, the present rule is असिद्ध, or as if it had not taken place (VIII. 2. 1). Therefore both the udatta and the svarita accent are heard.

नोदात्तस्वरितोदयमगार्ग्यकाश्यपगालवानाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उदात्त-स्वरित-उदयम्, अ-गार्ग्य-काश्यप-गालवानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तोदयस्य स्वरितोदयस्य चानुदात्तस्य स्वरितो न भवति अगार्ग्यकाश्यपगालवानामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥ उदात्तोदयः = उदात्तपरः ।

67 All prohibit the above substitution of svarita, except the Âchâryâs Gârgya, Kâśyapa and Gâlava; when an udatta or a svarita follows the anudatta.

This debars the preceding rule. That anudatta which is *followed* by an Udatta is उदात्तोदयः or उदात्तपरः ॥ The word उदय means पर in the terminology of ancient Grammarians. That anudatta which is *followed* by a svarita is called स्वरितोदयः ॥ These are Bahuvrīhi compounds. Thus उदात्तोदयः—गौर्ध-

स्तोत्रं, वास्तु स्तोत्रं ॥ The word स्तोत्र is first acute by लिट् accent, before this udatta, the व of these words does not become svarita. So with स्वरितोद्भवः—गार्ग्यः कुं वास्तुः कुं ॥ The word कु is svarita being formed by the लिट् affix भत् (V. 3. 12); before this svarita the preceding व does not become svarita.

Why do we say, "except in the opinion of Gārgya, Kāśyapa and Gālava"? Observe गार्ग्यः कुं, गार्ग्यस्तोत्रं ॥ According to their opinion, the svarita change does take place.

The employment of the longer word उदय instead of the shorter word पर is for the sake of auspiciousness, for the Book has approached the end. The very utterance of the word उदय is auspicious. All sacred works commence with an auspicious word, have an auspicious word in the middle, and end with an auspicious word. Thus Pāṇini commences his sūtra with the auspicious word वृद्धिः 'increase' (in Sūtra I. 1. 1): has the word शिव 'the well-wisher' in the middle (IV. 4. 143), and उदय at the end.

The mention of the names of those several Āchāryas is for the sake of showing respect (pujārtham).

अ अ इति ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, अ, इति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकोऽयं विवृतोऽपरः संवृतस्तत्र विवृतस्य संवृतः क्रियते । अकारो विवृतः संवृतो भवति ।

68. The अ which was, considered to be open (विवृत) in all the preceding operations of this Grammar, is now made contracted (संवृत) ॥

The first अ is here विवृत or open; the second is संवृत or contracted. The open अ is now changed to contracted अ ॥ "In actual use the organ in the enunciation of the short अ is *contracted*; but it is considered to be *open* only, as in the case of the other vowels, when the vowel अ is in the state of taking part in some operation of Grammar. The reason for this is, that if the short अ were held to differ from the long आ in this respect, the *homogeneousness* mentioned in I. 1. 9, would not be found to exist between them, and the operation of the rules depending upon that homogeneousness would be debarred. In order to restore the short अ to its natural rights, thus infringed throughout the Aṣṭādhyāyī, Pāṇini with oracular brevity in his closing aphorism gives the injunction अ अ; which is interpreted to signify—Let short अ be held to have its organ of utterance contracted, now that we have reached the end of the work in which it was necessary to regard it as being otherwise". (Dr. Ballantyne).

Thus वृत्तः, वृत्तः ॥ In this Grammar, the अ is regarded open or vivṛita, when operations are performed with it: but in actual pronunciation it is contracted. The long आ and the pluta आः are not meant to be included here in the open short अ; therefore those two are not contracted by this rule. Only

the *short* अ consisting of *one* mātra, with *its* various modifications is to be taken here. In other words the *six* shorts अ are only taken here, namely अ, अ. अं, अँ, अः, अं ॥ For these six short open अs, there are substituted six contracted corresponding अ's See I. 1. 9.

॥ शुभं भवतु ॥

10. 10. 98.



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