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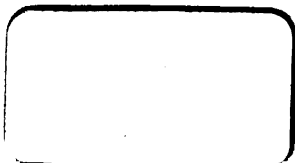
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BOOK VII.

The

ASHTADHYAYI

of

PANINI.

PARTS XXV—XXVIII.

S. C. VASU

Price Rs 3.

OPINIONS OF DISTINGUISHED PROFESSORS OF SANSKRIT.

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

Professor Gopalji S. Desai, Rajk. 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 Pānini's Ashtādhyāyī, the standard work of Sanskrit literature, and I shall gladly do my best to make this valuable work known to lovers and students of the immortal literature of ancient India in this country.

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

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 Kasika.

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

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

स्वस्तीश्वरे हितपुरे हितदे प्रयागे सस्संगमप्रणयसंमतिदे बुधानां ।
 विद्याविनोदपरिवर्द्धितशुश्रुषारान् बास्त्रन्वयाञ्छिरिषाचन्द्रविशंवरिटान् ॥ १ ॥
 वृष्टातिमोदमुदिरोहमुदमद्यन्कीन् सञ्छास्त्रसोपितसुखास्पदबोधभाजः ।
 सम्यक्कलसंतु नतयोनितराम्मरीवाः यद्वाबवूककविकर्मरतांतरेभ्यः ॥ २ ॥
 वृष्टाकृतं विमलबोधनबोधराशिं सद्भाकृतिप्रथितकीर्तिकरंप्रशस्त्यं ।
 वक्ष्येऽमरीयमतिमोदवहं वरेण्यं सत्पुस्तकं प्रमुदितोहमहोद्यकृत्यं ॥ ३ ॥
 चित्रयस्ति भवतेऽग्लिषावोधभाजा यद्दस्तुतो विरचितं समवृक् सुविम्बं ।
 लोकेषुचिचरचनाभरपैकशीला शिन्नेचचित्रमनसः प्रतिबिंबभाजे ॥ ४ ॥
 सस्तेऽग्लिषाप्रकटितंवरसूत्रवृत्तौ संज्ञादिपेशालमनो कुरुकल्पसाक्षिं ।
 स्थानेवसुप्रहितवित्तवित्तिवर्षे यद्वासुतासुविदिनोऽग्लिषाभाववृत्तिः ॥ ५ ॥
 येनस्वया मुनिमतावृतशास्त्रसंपान् निर्मथ्यसौधरसवन्महताकरेण ।
 संशुम्भितं सरलसंस्कृतसाध्यसारं धन्यं वदाम्यहमलं भवतेहितान् ॥ ६ ॥
 ग्रन्थस्यवत्प्रसरणाखिलकीर्तिकृत्ये याचेपराङ्गवतोऽप्यहमवविहन् ।
 यत्पूर्वपश्चिममुखेषुसदाप्रचारं लाभंसुखंशुरुचिरं च तवापि धीमन् ॥ ७ ॥
 वाणांविशाम्बरतवास्तुमुखे जयोद्या यत्पूर्वपश्चिमत्रबोधभृते च विद्या ।
 ख्यातातस्सरातकल बर्धभूजां समूहेऽप्याशीर्वचो भवतु पंडित लालचन्द्रं ॥ ८ ॥



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MANAGER.

BOOK VII.

THE

ASHTÁDHYÁYI OF PÁNINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

SRISA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,

Provincial Civil Service, N. W. P.



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अथ सप्तमाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER FIRST.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ यु इत्वेतयोरुत्सृष्टविभोपयोर्युनासिकवर्णोः प्रत्यययोर्महर्णं तयोः स्थाने यथासहस्य मन अक इत्वेतावादेशी भवतः ।

Kārikā युनोभेद् द्वित्वनिर्देशो द्वित्वे यन्तु प्रसज्यते । अयं चरेकवद्भावः कथं पुनरनेदयम् ॥

द्वित्वे नैगमिको लोप एकत्वे नुमनित्वता । आशिष्यत्वाद्भि लिङ्गस्य पुंस्त्वं वेहि समाश्रितम् ।

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Why do we say 'of an affix'? Observe फङ्कति, षौकते, क्षमति, छिनति and घूर्णते, where these consonants are in the beginning of a *root*. Why do we say 'in the beginning'? Observe ढरुद्रम् आनुद्रम्, where घ् is in the *middle* of the affix; and remains consequently unchanged.

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

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

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

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

श्लो ऽन्तः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ झः, अन्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययावयवस्य झस्य अन्त इत्ययमारेषो भवति ॥

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

The word प्रत्यय is understood here, but not so the word भारिः ॥ Thus द्वि becomes अन्ति and झ becomes अन्त (III. 4. 78). As कुर्वन्ति, घृन्वन्ति and चिन्वन्ति, so also दद्यान्ते, the लेट् of दीङ् ॥ Thus दी + लेट् = दी + घप् + आट् + झ (III. 4. 54) = दी + घप् + आ + झ (III. 4. 79) = दी + घप् + आ + झे (III. 4. 96) = दी + घप् + आ + अन्ते (VII. 1. 3) = दी + आ + अन्ते = दद्यान्ते (after guna): as अद्य द्वो विअगिष्यमाणाः पतिभिः सह दद्यान्ते ॥ So also in the Uṇadi affix झञ् (Uṇ III. 126): as कृ + झञ् = अर्न्तः, वेद्यन्तः ॥ This substitution does not take place when झ is not part of an affix: as उञ्जिता, उञ्जितम्, उञ्जितव्यम् ॥ Here also the accent falls on the substitute, according as it is चित् or otherwise. Thus the substitute अन्त of झ is first-acute by the rule III. 1. 3; but the substitute अर्न्त of झञ् is final acute because of the indicatory च (VI. 1. 763) ॥

अद्भ्यस्तात् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्, अद्भ्यस्तात्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्ताद्ग्रादुत्तरस्य झकारस्य अदित्ययमारेषो भवति ॥

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

As ईवति, इवत्, इषति, इषत्; जसति, जसत्; जायति, जायत् ॥ This अत् is replaced by श्रुत्, as अरुत्, अरुत्; ॥ Here also the accent will be on the first syllable of the substitute. Thus ईति, इत, ईते, ईत्, ईताम् in the subsequent sūtras. The accent of the reduplicates, however, is governed by VI. 1. 189, (अभ्यस्तानामारिः) ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु यो झकारस्तस्यानकारान्ताद्ग्रादुत्तरस्वाहित्ययमारेषो भवति ॥

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

Thus चिन्वते, चिन्वताम्, अचिन्वतः, घृनते, घृनताम्, अघृनतः ॥ Why in the Atmanepada? Observe चिन्वन्ति, घृनन्ति ॥ Why "when not preceded by an अ"? Observe च्यवन्ते, फ्लवन्ते, in which, though the roots are च्यु and फ्लु, they assume the form च्यव and फ्लव when the Vikarana षप् is added; the vikaraṇa is added first, because it is nitya; and then the substitution of अन्त or अत for झ, as the case may be. The word अनतः qualifies झ, the झ should be immediately preceded by a stem ending in a non-अ; if some other letter intervenes, the rule will not apply. Thus from दी—दद्यान्ते, here between दी and झ, intervenes the augment आट्, therefore झ is not preceded by a stem ending in non-अ, but by आट् ॥

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

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

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

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

द्विपा क्षपातुबन्धेन निर्दिष्टं यङ्गणेन च ।
यथैकाञ्च महणं येष पंचैतानि न यङ्गुक्ति ॥

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

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

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

As संविरते or संविरते; संविरताम् or संविरताम्; समविरत or समविरत ॥ The विट् is the Adādi root here, and does not apply to विन्ते, विन्ताते, विन्ते, which belongs to the Rudhādi class (विट् विचारणे) ॥

There is no augment in यङ्गुक्ति here also, as व्यत्तिवेविरते ॥

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

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

Thus देवा अदुद् ; गन्धर्वा अप्सरसो अदुद् ॥ Here अदुद् is the Imperfect (लृङ्) plural of दुद् ॥ Thus दुद् + झ = दुद् + रत् = अदुद्, the त् being elided by VII. 1. 41. Sometimes, the augment झ does not take place, as अदुद्दत् ॥ Owing to the word बहुल, 'diversely', the augment र् is added to other affixes also, than झ ॥ As अदुद्भम् in अदुद्भमस्व केतवः ॥ This is the aorist in अद् of the root दृच् by III. 1. 57, the guṇa ordained by VII. 4. 16, does not 'diversely' take place.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तावङ्गादुत्तरस्व भिस् ऐसित्यत्र भावेद्यो भवति ॥

Kārikā ॥ एत्वं भिस्ति परत्याच्येवत् ऐस्त्व भविष्यति । कृतेष्वेते भौतपूर्व्यास्तु नित्यस्तथा सति ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुलमैसादेशो भवति ॥

10. In the Veda the substitution takes place diversely.

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ इदम् अवस् इत्येतयोरेककारयोर्भिस् ऐस् भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

टाङ्सिङ्सामिनात्स्याः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ टा, ङ्सि, ङ्साम्, इन, आत्, स्याः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तावङ्गादुत्तरेषां टाङ्सिङ्साम् इन आत् स्व इत्येते आदिषा भवन्ति वयासंख्यम् ॥

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊरिति अतुर्थ्येकवचनस्य महणन् अकारान्तासङ्गादुत्तरस्य ऊ इत्येकस्य य इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तास्सर्वनाम्न उत्तरस्य ऊः स्मै इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊसि ङि इत्येतयोः अकारान्तास्सर्वनाम्न उत्तरयोः स्मात् स्मिन् इत्येतावादेशो भवतः ॥

15. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ, स्मात्

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

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

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

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

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

Thus पूर्वस्मात् or पूर्वात्, पूर्वस्मिन् or पूर्वे, परस्मात् or परात्, परस्मिन् or परे, भवस्मात्, or भवरात्, भवरस्मिन् or भवरे, वक्षिणस्मात् or वक्षिणात्, वक्षिणस्मिन् or वक्षिणे, उत्तरस्मात्, or उत्तरात्, उत्तरस्मिन्, or उत्तरे, अपरस्मात्, or अपरात्, अपरस्मिन्, or अपरे, अधरस्मात्, or अधरात्, अधरस्मिन्, or अधरे, स्वस्मात्, or स्वात्, स्वस्मिन् or स्वे, अन्तरस्मात् or अन्तरात्, अन्तरस्मिन् or अन्तरे ॥ नवभ्य इति किन्, त्यस्मात्, त्यस्मिन् ॥

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

जसः शी ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जसः, शी, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक.रान्तास्सर्वनाम्न उत्तरस्य जसः शीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

औङ आपः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ औङः, आपः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आबन्तास्त्रादुत्तरस्यौङः शीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

Kārikā—औकारोऽयं शीविधौ ङिद्गृहीतो ङिष्वास्माकं नास्ति कोऽयं प्रकारः ।

सामान्यार्थस्तस्य चासंज्ञनेस्मिन्ङिष्कार्ये ते इयां प्रसक्तं स शेषः ॥

ङित्त्वे विद्यादूर्णनिर्देशमात्रं वर्णे ब्रह्मसाक्ष विद्यासहादौ ।

वर्णमात्रं तेन ङित्त्वेऽप्येवोपो निर्देशोऽयं पूर्वसूत्रेण वा स्यात् ॥

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

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकावक्रादुत्तरस्य औहः शी इत्यथमादेशो भवति ॥

चार्त्तिकम् ॥ इयां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

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

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

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

Similarly रथिनी, मधुनी, जपुणी, जतुनी ॥ The augment ऋ is added by VII. 1. 73.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकावक्रादुत्तरयोर्जडशसोः शि इत्यथमादेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus कुण्डानि तिष्ठन्ति, कुण्डानि पञ्च, रथिनि, मधुनि, जपुणि, जतुनि ॥ The augment ऋ is by VII. 1. 72, The word शस् in the sūtra being read along with जस्

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

अष्टाभ्य औश् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टाभ्यः, औश्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टाभ्य इति कृताकारोऽष्टाभ्यो गृह्यते तस्मादुत्तरयोर्जशसोरौचित्यमादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

षड्भ्यो लुक् ॥ २२ ॥ षड्भ्यः, लुक्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षड्संज्ञकंभ्य उत्तरयोर्जशसोरुलुग्भवति ॥

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ सु अम् इत्येतयोर्नपुंसकादुत्तरयोर्लुग्भवति ॥

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

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

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

अतोऽम् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, अम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तात्प्रसंकादुत्तरयोः स्वमोरमित्यभादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

अद् इतरादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्, इतरादिभ्यः, पञ्चभ्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इतरादिभ्यः परयोः स्वमोरद् इत्यभादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ इतरशब्दादुत्तरयोः स्वमोच्छन्दसि विषये अद्डादेशो न भवति ॥

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदित्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य ङसो ऽशित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ ङे इत्यविभक्तिको निर्देशः ङे इत्येतस्य प्रथमयोश्च विभक्तयोः प्रथमाद्वितीययोर्युष्मदस्मद्भ्यामुत्तरयोः शित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

शसो न ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शसः, न, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मद्स्मरूपाद्युत्तरस्य शसो नकारदेशो भवति ॥

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

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

भ्यसो भ्यम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्यसः, भ्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मद्स्मरूपाद्युत्तरस्य भ्यसो भ्यमित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

पञ्चम्या अत् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्या, अत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्या भ्यसो युष्मदस्मद्भाष्युत्तरस्य अत्रित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

एकवचनस्य च ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकवचनस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्या एकवचनस्य युष्मदस्मद्भाष्युत्तरस्यादित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

As स्वद् and मद् ॥ For the substitution of स्व and म see VII. 2. 97; and स्व and म + अत् = स्वत् and मत् by VI. 1. 97.

साम आकम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सामः आकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साम इति षष्ठीबहुवचनमागतसुट्कं गृह्यते, तस्य युष्मदस्मद्भाष्युत्तरस्याकमित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

आत औ णलः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, औ, णलः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तावद्भाष्युत्तरस्य णल औकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

तुह्योस्तातङ्गाशिष्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तु, ह्योः, तातङ्, आशिषि, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तु हि इत्येतन्नोरशिषि विषये तातङ्गादेशो भवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥

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

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

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

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

The Kārikā given below raises these points.

Kārikā:—तातङ्ङि ङित्त्वं संक्रमकृत्याङ्गन्त्यविधिभेदश्च तथा न ।

हेरधिकारो हेरधिकारो लोपविधौ तु ज्ञापकमाह ॥

तातङ्ङो ङित्त्वसामर्थ्याभायमन्त्यविधिः स्मृतः ।

न सङ्घटनङ्गासीनां तेन ते ऽन्त्यविकारजाः ॥

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ विद ज्ञानइत्येतस्माद्भातोदत्तरस्य शतुर्वसुरादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ समासे ऽनञ्पूर्वे क्त्वा इत्येतस्य ल्यबिल्यमदेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

In the case of प्रधाय and प्रस्थाय this maxim applies:—अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन् बहिरङ्गो ल्यप् बाधते "a Bahiranga substitution of ल्यप् supersedes even antaranga rule". What are these antaranga rules superseded by the substitute ल्यप्? (1) द्वित्वं—the substitution of द्वि for धा (VII. 4. 42). Thus द्वित्वा but प्रधाय and not महित्वा ॥ (2) इत्वं—the substitution of इद् for सो (VII. 4. 46)—as इत्वा, but प्रदाव and not प्रदत्वा ॥ (3) आत्वं as required by VI. 4. 42: as आत्वा, प्रखाय and प्रखन्य ॥ (4) इत्वं—as स्थित्वा but प्रस्थाय ॥ (5) ईत्वं by VI. 4. 66, as पीत्वा but प्रपाय ॥ (6) दीर्घत्वं by VI. 4. 15, as घान्त्वा but प्रघान्य ॥ (7) छद् by VI. 4. 19, as पृष्ठा but आपृच्छय ॥ (8) ऊद्—as सूत्वा ॥ (9) इद् (VII. 2. 56)—देवित्वा but प्रदील्य ॥

क्त्वापि छन्दसि ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्त्वा, अपि, छन्दसि ॥

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

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

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

सुपां सुलुक्पूर्वसवर्णाच्छेयाडाड्यायाजालः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपाम्, सु, लुक्, पूर्वसवर्ण, आ, आत्, शे, या, डा, ड्या, याच्, आलः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छान्दसि विषये सुपां स्थाने सु लुक् पूर्वसवर्ण आ आत् श या डाड्या याच् आल इत्येते भादेषा भवन्ति ॥

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

वार्तिकम् ॥ इयाडियाजोकाराणामुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ आड्याजयाराणामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

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

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

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

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

(2) लुक्-elision:—As आत्र चर्मन्, लोहिते चर्मन् for चर्मणि; हविर्धाने बत् सुव्यन्ति, तत् सन्धिधेनोरन्वाह (बद् for वस्मिन् and तद् for तस्मिन्) ॥

(3) Lengthening:—धीती, मती, सुदुती for धीत्या, मत्या and सुदुत्या ॥

(4) आ—उभा यन्तारौ (for उभौ) ॥

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

(6) शे—न युष्मे (for यूवम्) वाजबन्धवः, Rig VIII. 68. 19. अस्मे (for वचं) इन्द्राद्-हस्पती; Rig IV. 49. 4, the यूव and वच substitution has not taken place as a Vedic usage.

(7) वा—उरुवा, धृष्णुवा for उरुणा and धृष्णुणा ॥

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

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

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

(11) आह्—वसेन्ता यजेत for वसन्ते ॥

Vart:—The following substitutes should also be enumerated, (a) इया, (b) डियाच् with elision of the final vowel and the consonant, if any, that follows it, and (c) long ई ॥ As (a) उर्विया परिधानम्, for उरुणा, so also हार्विया for हारुणा ॥ (b) सुक्षेत्रिया for सुक्षेत्रिणा, and सुगात्रिया for सुगात्रिणा ॥ (c) इति न ह्युष्कं सरसी शयानम् for सरसि ॥

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

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

अमो मश् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अमः, मश् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश् इति निच्देशो गृह्यते । तस्य छन्दसि विषये मच्चादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु यस्तकारस्तस्य छन्दसि विषये लोपो भवति ॥

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

As देवा अदुह् and गन्धर्वा अप्सरसो अदुह् for अदुहन् (see VII. 1. 8); दुहाम् (for दुग्धाम्) अभिभ्यां पवो अघ्न्येवम् ॥ Rig I. 164. 27. वक्षिणतः शब्दे for शेते ॥ Owing to the anuvṛitti of आवि from VII. 1. 38, this substitution sometimes does not take place; as: आत्मानमनृतंकुरुत ॥ Why in the Atmanepada? Observe वस्सं दुहान्त क्लृप्तं चतुर्विलम् ॥

ध्वमो ध्वात् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ध्वमः, ध्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये ध्वमो ध्वादिस्त्वयमादेशो भवति ॥

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

As अन्तरवाष्पानं वारध्वात् for वारध्वम् ॥ Ait Br. II. 6. 14.

यजध्वेनमिति च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यजध्वेनम्, इति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजध्वमित्येतस्य एनमित्येतस्मिन्परतो मकारलोपो निपात्यते वकारस्य च यकारश्छन्दसि विषये ॥

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

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

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

तस्य तात् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्यच्चस्य लोपमध्वमपुरुषबहुवचनस्य स्थाने तादित्यवमादेशो भवति ॥

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

As गात्रं गात्रमस्या दूनं कृणुतात् (for कृणुत), and ऊवध्वे गोहं पार्थिवं खनतात् (for खनत) Ait Br. II. 6. 15, 16. अस्मारस संसृजतात् (= संसृजत), सूर्यं चधुर्गमवतात् (= गमवत).

तप्तनप्तनथनाश्च ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तप्, तनप्, तन, थनाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्योति वृत्तंते । छन्सि विषये तस्य स्थाने तप् तनप् तन थन इत्येते आदेशा भवन्ति ॥

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

This भृजोत प्राषाणः (for भृजुत), सुनोत (= सुनुत), संवत्सा इधातन (for धत्), जुजु-
एन (for जुषत) the ślu vikaraṇa being added as a Vedic irregularity; वविष्ठन (for
वविष्ठत) ॥ The indicatory प् makes तप् and तनप् non-ङिन् affixes (I. 2. 4).

इदन्तो मसि ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदन्तः, मसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्सि विषये मसित्वयं शब्द इकारान्तो भवति । मसः सकाणन्तस्य इकाराणमो भवति स च तस्वा-
न्तो भवति ॥

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

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

क्लोयक् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्लः, यक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्त्वा इत्येतस्य यगागमो भवति छन्सि विषये ॥

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ इष्टीनमित्ययं शब्दो निपात्यते छन्सि विषये । यजेः इत्वाप्रत्ययान्तस्य ईनमादेशोऽन्यत्स्य निपात्यते ॥
वास्तिकम् ॥ पीत्वीनमित्यपीप्यते ॥

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

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

ज्ञात्वाद्यश्च ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञात्वी-आद्यः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्नात्वी इत्येवमाद्यः शब्दा निपात्यन्ते छन्सि विषये ॥

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

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

आञ्जसेरसुक् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, जसेः, असुक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भवर्णान्ताद्ग्रादुत्तरस्य जसेरसुगागमो भवति छन्सि विषये ॥

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्सीत्यतः प्रथिति निवृत्तम् । अश्व क्षीर वृष लवण इत्येतेषामङ्गानामात्मप्रीतिविषये क्यच्चि परतो ऽसुगागमो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अभ्यवृषयोर्मेयुनेच्छायापि वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ क्षीरलवणयोर्लासायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ सर्वप्रातिपदिकेभ्यो लालासायामसुग्वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ सुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

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

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

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

आमि सर्वेनाम्नः सुद् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमि, सर्वेनाम्नः, सुद् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भाविति वर्त्तते भवर्णान्त्सर्वनाम्न उत्तरस्यामः सुडागमो भवति ॥

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

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

त्रेस्त्रयः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रेः, त्रयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिद्व्येतस्य आमि परे चय इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वान्तात्प्रथन्तात्तावन्ताच्चोत्तरस्थानो बुडागमो भवति ॥

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

As वृक्षाणाम्, प्रक्षानाम्, भग्नीणाम्, चायूनाम्, कर्तृणाम् ॥ नद्यन्तीनाम्:—कुमारीणाम्, किशोरीणाम्, गौरीणाम्, शार्ङ्गरीणाम्, लक्ष्मीणाम्, ब्रह्मबन्धूनाम्, वीरबन्धूनाम् ॥ आबन्तात्:—सद्धानाम्, मालानाम्, बहुराजानाम्, कारीषगन्ध्यानाम् ॥

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ षट्संज्ञकेष्वचतुर्भ्यश्च षष्ठाच्चोत्तरस्थानो बुडागमो भवति ॥

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

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

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

श्रीग्रामण्योच्छन्दसि ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्री, ग्रामण्योः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्री ग्रामणी इत्येतयोच्छन्दसि विषये ग्रामो जुडागमो भवति ॥

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

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

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

गोः पादान्ते ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोः, पादान्ते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गो इत्येतस्माद्द्रुपादान्ते वर्त्तमानानुत्तरस्थामो जुडागमो भवति ॥

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ इदितो धातोर्नुमागमो भवति ॥

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

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

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

शे मुच्चादीनाम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शे, मुच्चादीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शे प्रत्यये परतो मुच्चादीनां नुमागमो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शेवृत्तफादीनामुपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥

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

Thus वृत्त—वृत्तति, लुम्पति, विन्वति, लिम्पति, सिञ्चति, कुन्ताते, खिन्वति, पिप्याति ॥ Why "before श"? Observe मोक्ता, मोक्तुन्, मोक्तव्यम् ॥ Why "of मुच् &c"? Observe तुवति, तुवति ॥

Vari:—The न्मुक् &c should be also enumerated. These are the following roots of Tudādi class: 24. त्प (त्प), 25. तुम्प नप्तौ, 26. तुप तुम्प, 27. तुफ तुम्फ, हिंसावाम्, 28. ह्फ (हप), 29. ह्फ उन्वलेषे, 30. ऋफ (रिफ), ऋम्फ (रिम्फ), हिंसावाम्, 31. शुफ, शुम्फ मन्धे, 32. उभ उन्भ पूरणे, 33. शुभ, शुम्भ शोभार्ये ॥ Of these, those which have a nasal, lose it by VI. 4. 24, and then get the नुम् augment by the present rule, which being specifically ordained, cannot be again dropped. Thus न्मुफति, तुम्फति, तुम्पाति, ह्म्फति &c. Those which have no nasal, are conjugated as न्फति, तुफति, ह्फति शुफति, उभति and शुभति ॥

मस्जिनशोर्झलि ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ मस्जि, नशोः, झलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मस्जि नशि इत्येतयोरङ्गयोर्झलासौ प्रत्यये नुमागमो भवति ॥

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

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

रधिजभोरचि ॥ ६१ ॥ रधि, जभोः, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रधि जभि इत्येतयोरजासौ प्रत्यये नुमागमो भवति ॥

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

Thus रन्धयति, रन्धकः, साधुरन्धी, रन्धो वर्तते ॥ अम्भयति, अम्भकः, साधुजम्भी, अम्भं-जम्भम्, अम्भो वर्तते ॥ Though the वृद्धि rule is subsequent, it is superseded by the augment. Why do we say 'before an affix beginning with a vowel'? Observe रद्धा, अभ्यम् ॥

नेत्यलिटि रधेः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इदि, अ लिटि, रधेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इडाशबलिटि प्रत्यये परे रधेर्नुमागमो न भवति ॥

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

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

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

रभेरशब्दिलोः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रभेः, अ शप्, लिलोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रभेरङ्गस्य शब्दलिङ्गवर्जिते ऽत्रासौ प्रत्यये परतो नुमागमो भवति ॥

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

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

लभेश्च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लभेः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लभेष्वाजासौ प्रत्यये शब्दलिङ्गवर्जिते नुमागमो भवति ॥

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

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

आङो यि ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङः, यि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ उन्तरस्य लभेर्भकारादिप्रत्ययविषये नुमागमो भवति ॥

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

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

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

उपात्प्रशंसायाम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात्, प्रशंसायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपादुन्तरस्य लभेः प्रशंसायां गम्यमानायां अकारादिप्रत्ययविषये नुमागमो भवति ॥

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

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

उपसर्गात्स्त्रलघञोः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप सर्गात्, स्त्र, लघञोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गादुन्तरस्य लभेः स्त्रलघञोः परतो नुमागमो भवति ॥

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

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

न सुदुर्भ्यां केवलाभ्याम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, सु, दुर्भ्याम्, केवलाभ्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सु दुरित्येताभ्यां केवलाभ्यामन्योपसर्गादहिताभ्यामुपसृष्टस्य लभेःखल्घञोः परतो नुमागमो न भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ उगितामङ्गानां धातुवर्जितानामञ्चतेषु सर्वनामस्थाने परतो नुमागमो भवति ॥

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

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

Why do we say 'having an indicatory उक् vowel or the stem अच्'?
Observe हपत्, हपवौ, हपवः ॥

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

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

युजेरसमासे ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ युजेः, अ समासे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ युजेरसमासे सर्वनामस्थाने परतो नुमागमो भवति ॥

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

Thus युङ् (VIII. 2. 23, 62) युञ्जौ, युञ्जः; but अश्वयुक्, अश्वयुजौ, अश्वयुज् in a compound. The root युञ्ज समाधौ (Divādi 68) is not to be taken here; therefore not here युञ्जमापन्ना ऋषवः ॥ But युजिर् योगे (Rudhādi 7) is to be taken.

नपुंसकस्य झलचः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपुंसकस्य, झल्, अचः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकस्य झलन्तस्याजन्तस्य च सर्वनामस्थाने परतो नुमागमो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुर्जि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ अन्त्यात्पूर्वं नुममेकश्छन्ति ॥

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

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

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

इको ऽचि विभक्तौ ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, अचि, विभक्तौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्य नपुंसकस्याङ्गस्वाङ्गौ विभक्तौ नुमागमो भवति ॥

Kārikā—इकोषि व्यञ्जने मा भूवस्तु लोपः स्वरः कथम् ।
 स्वरो वै श्रूयमाणो वि लुप्ते किं न भविष्यति ॥
 पायात्वं तिसृभावम् व्यवधानाभ्यामापि ।
 तुङ् वाच्य उत्तरार्थे तु इह किं विप्रपो इति ॥

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

Thus **अपुनी**, **अतुनी**, **तुम्बुरुणी**, **अपुणे**, **अतुने**, **तुम्बुरुणे** ॥ Why “with the exception of **अ**”? Observe **कुण्डे**, **पीठे** ॥ The phrase “before an affix beginning with a vowel” is employed here for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VII. 1. 75. Here we could have dispensed with it: for before affixes beginning with a consonant, **नुम्** would be elided by VIII. 2. 7. The only object that it serves here is that we can form **हे अपो!** or **हे अपु!** in the Vocative singular. For had we **अपुन् + स** in the vocative, the form would have been **हे अपुन्** like **हे राजन्**, for **न्** would not be elided here, see VIII. 2. 8.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

तृतीयादिषु भाषितपुंस्करं पुंवद्गालवस्य ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीयादिषु, भाषितपुंस्करम्, पुंस्वत्, गालवस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयादिषु विभक्तिष्वजादिषु भाषितपुंस्करं पुं सकलिङ्गमिगन्तं गालवस्याचार्यस्य मतेन पुंवद्भवति । यथा पुंसि ह्रस्वन्मौ न भवत्स्तद्वशापि न भवत् इत्यर्थः ।

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

As in the Masculine there is no shortening, nor the addition of नुम्, so here also. As मामणी is the equivalent, uniform masculine of the neuter form मामणि, we have either Ins. मामणिना or मामण्या ब्राह्मणकुलेन, the Ins. Sg. of मामणि n. Similarly Dat. मामणिने or मामण्ये ब्राह्मणकुलाय; Abl. मामणिनो or मामण्यो ब्राह्मणकुलान्, Gen. Sg. मामणिनो or मामण्यो ब्राह्मणकुलस्य, Gen. Du. मामणिनोब्राह्मणकुलयोः or मामण्योः; Gen. Pl. मामणीनां or मामण्यां ब्राह्मणकुलानां ॥ Loc. मामणिनि or मामण्यां ब्राह्मणकुले ॥ Similarly: Ins. शुचिना (same form in mas. and neu.), Dat. शुचये or शुचिने; Abl. and Gen. शुचेः or शुचिनिः Gen. Du. शुच्योः or शुचिनोः Loc. शुचौ or शुचिनि ॥

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

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

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

अस्थिदधिसक्थ्यक्षणासनङ्कुदात्तः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्थि, दधि, सक्थि, अक्षणाम्, अनङ्, उदात्तः ॥

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्थिदधिसक्थ्यक्षणासनङ् छन्दस्यपि दृश्यते । यत्र विहितस्ततोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते ॥

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

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

bhakti), in the Vedic literature it comes before affixes which are not case-endings, as अक्षण्वैता लङ्गलेन, अस्यन्वन्तं यदनस्या विभक्ति ॥ See VI. 1. 176.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विवचने परतच्छन्वति विषये ऽस्थायीनामीकापदेशो भवति, सचोदात्तः ॥

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तात्प्रादुत्तरस्य शतुर्नुम् भवति ॥

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

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

वा नपुंसकस्य ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, नपुंसकस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तात्प्रादुत्तरौ वः शतुर्नुम् अस्तवन्तस्य नपुंसकस्य वा नुमागमो भवति ॥

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्णान्तात्प्रादुत्तरस्य शतुर्वा नुमागमो भवति शीनद्योः परतः ॥

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

Thus तुवती कुले or तुवन्ती कुले, तुवन्ती ब्राह्मणी, तुवती ब्राह्मणी, याती कुले, यान्ती कुले याती ब्राह्मणी, यान्ती ब्राह्मणी, करिष्यती कुले, करिष्यन्ती कुले, करिष्यती ब्राह्मणी, करिष्यन्ती ब्राह्मणी ॥ अभान्तारङ्गस्वादेशे कुले व्यपवर्णान्तात्प्रादुत्तरस्य शतुरिति न युज्यते वक्तुम्, उभयत आश्रये नान्तादिवदित्यन्तादिवद्वावोपि नास्ति भूतपूर्वगत्याश्रयणो वा ऽतो प्रतीत्येवमादिष्वतिप्रसङ्ग इति, अथ सभाधि

किं चिराद्भुः, शतुरवथवे शतृशब्दो वर्त्तते, अवर्णान्ताद्भुदुत्तरो यः शब्दवयव इति ॥ अपरे पुनराद्भुः, आदित्येतेन शीनद्यावेव विशेष्यते, अवर्णान्ताद्भुदुत्तरे ये शीनद्या तयोः परतोः शब्दन्तस्य नुम्भवतीति, तत्र वेन नाव्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितं चिन्मममाप्यादिति तकारेणैव व्यवधानमाश्रियते ॥ आदित्येति किम्, कुर्वती, सुन्वती ॥ शीनद्योरिति किम्, तुवताम्, नुवताम् ॥

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

To solve these objections, some say, that the word शतृ in this sūtra means 'a portion of the affix शतृ, such as तृ' and the sūtra means 'after a stem ending in श्, to the portion तृ of the affix शतृ there is added नुम्.' Others say, the word आद् in the sūtra qualifies शी and नदी and not शतृ; and the sūtra means "नुम् is added to a stem ending in शतृ, when शी or नदी affixes follow after a stem ending in श्." Therefore in तुवती the affix ई is considered to come after the श् of तुव्, the intervening तृ not debarring it.

Why do we say "after श्"? Observe कुर्वती and सुन्वती, no optional नुम् is added here. Why do we say "शी and नदी following"? Observe नुवताम् and तुवताम्.

शप्श्यनोर्नित्यम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शप्, श्यनोः, नित्यम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शप् श्यन् इत्येतयोः शतुः शीनद्योः परतो निस्त्व शुभागमो भवति ॥

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

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

साधनडुहः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सौ, अनडुहः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सौ परतो ऽनडुहोऽस्य नुमागमो भवति ॥

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

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

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

हक्स्ववस्स्वतवसां छन्दसि ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हक्, स्ववस्, स्वतवसाम्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हक् स्ववन् स्वतवसहल्येतेषां सौ परतो नुमागमो भवति छन्दसिदिषये ॥

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

Thus हङ्, ताङ्, वाङ्, सङ्, स्ववान्, स्वतवान् ॥ The ङ् of हङ् (formed by III. 2. 60), is elided by VIII. 2. 23; and ह् substituted for ङ् by VIII. 2. 62. The lengthening in स्ववान् and स्वतवान् is through VI. 4. 14.

दिव् औत् ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, औत् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दिवित्येतस्य सौ परतो औदित्स्वमादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

पथिमथ्यृभुक्षामात् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि, मथि, ऋभुक्षाम, आत् ॥

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ पथ्यादीनामिकारस्य स्थाने आकारावेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus पन्याः, पन्यानौ, पन्यानः, पन्यानम्, पन्यानौ, मन्याः, मन्यानौ, मन्यानः, मन्यानम्, मन्यानौ, ऋमुक्ताः, ऋमुक्ताणौ, ऋमुक्ताणः, ऋमुक्ताणम्, ऋमुक्ताणौ । आदिति वर्त्तमाने पुनरङ्गचनं षपूर्वाद्यम्, ऋमुक्ताणमित्यत्र वा षपूर्वस्य निगमइति दीर्घविकल्पः ॥

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

थोन्यः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ थः, अन्थः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिमथोस्यकारस्य स्थाने न्य इत्ययमादेशो भवति सर्वनामस्थाने परतः ॥

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

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

अस्य डेलोपः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्य, टेः, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथ्यादीनां असंज्ञकानां डेलोपो भवति ॥

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

As पयः, पया, पये, मयः, मया, मये, ऋमुक्तः, ऋमुक्ता, ऋमुक्ते ॥ The anuvṛitti of sarvanāmasthāna, of course, is inappropriate here: though its anuvṛitti is current as will be seen in the next śūtra.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ पुंस इत्येतस्य सर्वनामस्थाने परतो ऽसुङ् इत्ययमावेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

गोतो णित् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ गोतो, णित् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गोशब्दात्परं सर्वनामस्थानं णित्भवति ॥

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

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

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

Some read the sūtra as भोतः णित्, so that the rule will apply to भो also: as, भोः, भवौ, भवः ॥ If the reading be taken गोतः, then we extend this rule to भो also, by taking गो as merely illustrative of all words ending in भो; and this is done by the letter न् in गोत्, for the तपर rule applies to *letters*, and not to *words*, so that गोतः means and includes गो and words ending in भो ॥

णलुत्तमो वा ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ णल्, उत्तमः, वा ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तमो णल्वा णित् भवति णित्कार्यं तत्र वा भवतीत्यर्थः ॥

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

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

सख्युरसम्बुद्धौ ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सख्युः, अ सम्बुद्धौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असंबुद्धौ यः सखिग्रहः तस्मात्परं सर्वनामस्थानं णिक्रवति ॥

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

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

अनङ् सौ ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनङ्, सौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सखिग्रहस्य सौ परतो ऽनङ्गिग्रहमादेशो भवति स खेत्सुग्रहः संबुद्धिर्न भवति ॥

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

As सखा, but हे सखे ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तानामङ्गानामुशनस पुरुदंशस् इत्येतेषां चासंबुद्धौ सौ परतो ऽनङ्गिदेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उशनसः सम्बुद्धावपिपक्षेऽनङ् इष्यते । न ङिसंबुद्धांरिति नलोपमत्तिबंधोपि पक्षइष्यते ॥

Kārikā:—संबोधने तुशनसस्त्रिरूपं सान्तं तथा नान्तमथाप्यदन्तम् ॥

माध्यं शिनिर्वादि गुणं विगन्ते नपुंसके व्याघ्रपदां वरिष्ठः ॥

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

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

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

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

The न् in ऋन् is for the sake of distinctness.

तृज्वत्क्रोष्टुः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृज्वत्, क्रोष्टुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋषदुशाब्दस्तुन्प्रत्ययान्तः संज्ञाशब्दः सर्वनामस्थाने ऽसंबुद्धौ परत तृज्वत्क्रवति ॥

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

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

स्त्रियां च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियां, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असर्वनामस्थानार्थमारम्भः । स्त्रियां च क्रोष्टुशब्दस्य तृच्चञ्चवति ॥

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

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

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

And because क्रोष्टु is treated as if it was क्रोष्ट, the feminine will be formed by the affix ङीष् by IV. 1. 5, and the form क्रोष्टी^१ will be end-acute by VI. 1. 174. So that whether क्रोष्टी be formed by ङीष् under Gaurādi class, or by ङीष् under IV. 1. 5, the accent remains the same: while under this second view, we have not to face any such difficulty as in the first.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयादिषु विभक्तिष्वजादिषु क्रोष्टुर्विभाषा तृच्चञ्चवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तृच्चञ्चवति पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन शुभ्रशुद्धौ भवतः ॥

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

As क्रोष्टी or क्रोष्टुना, क्रोष्टी or क्रोष्टवे, क्रोष्टुः or क्रोष्टोः, क्रोष्टीरे or क्रोष्टौ, क्रोष्टीः or क्रोष्टोः ॥ But क्रोष्टुन् in the Accusative Plural, and क्रोष्टुभ्यां before consonant-beginning affixes.

Vart:—*नुम्* and *नुद्* augments come in supersession of the *Trich-vad-bhāva* ordained by the preceding *sūtras*. Thus the Dative of the Neuter noun *प्रियकोट्टु* will be *प्रियकोट्टुने ऽरण्याय, हितकोट्टुने वृषलकुलाय*, and not *°क्रांष्ट्रे* ॥ Similarly with *नुद्*, as *क्रोदनाम्* ॥

घतुरनडुहोरामुदात्तः ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्, अनडुहोः, आम्, उदात्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ *चतुर् अनडुह् इत्येतयोः सर्वनामस्थाने परत् आमागमो भवति, स चोदात्तः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ अनडुहः स्त्रियां वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥*

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

Thus *चत्वारः, अनडुर्वीन्, अनडुर्वीहो, अनडुर्वीहः, अनडुर्वीहम्* ॥ The rule applies to compounds ending with *चत्वार* and *अनडुह्*, as *प्रियचत्वार, प्रियचत्वारो, प्रियचत्वारः, प्रियानडुवान्, प्रियानडुवाहो, प्रियानडुवाहः* ॥

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

अम्संबुद्धौ ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अम्, सम्बुद्धौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ *संबुद्धौ परत् अतुरनडुहोरमागमो भवति ॥*

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

This debars the previous rule, as *हे प्रियचत्वारः (a Bahuvrihi), हे मियनडुवन् ॥*

ऋत् इत्तातोः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्तः, इत्, धातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ *ऋकारान्तस्य धातोर्ऋस्य इकारदेशो भवति ॥*

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

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

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

उपधायाश्च ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपधायाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ *उपधायाश्च ऋकारस्य इकारदेशो भवति ॥*

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

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

उद्योष्ठ्यपूर्वस्य ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्, ओष्ठ्य, पूर्वस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ *ओष्ठ्यः पृथो यस्मात् ऋकारात्सायोष्ठ्यपूर्वस्तदन्तस्य धातोर्ऋस्य उकारदेशो भवति ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ इत्सोत्थाभ्यां युणवृद्धी भवतो विप्रतिषेधेन ॥*

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

As पूर्व and पुष्यन्ति from पृ, so also दुर्बन्ति ॥ The lengthening is by VIII. 2. 77. The rule applies when the dento-labial व precedes: as दुर्बन्ति क्वत्विजम् from वृ; so also प्रावुर्बन्ति कम्बलम् ॥ The labial consonant must be the consonant of the root. Therefore when क् 'to go' is preceded by स, the rule will not apply, for स is not part of the root: as समीर्णम् by VII. 1. 100.

Vārt:—The Guṇa and Vṛiddhi do take place in supersession of इर् and उर् substitution. Thus आस्तरणम् and आस्तरकः (from इस्त् with ल्युट् and ण्युट्), निपरणम्, निपारकः from पृ, निगरणम्, निगारकः from गृ ॥

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये क्कारान्तस्य धातोरङ्गस्य बहुल्युक्तापदेशो भवति ॥

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

That is, it takes place even when the preceding letter is not labial, and does not take place even when the letter is labial. Thus मित्रा वरुणो ततुरिः, कूरे ह्यध्वा जयुरिः, पमितमम् (no change), and पपुरिः, from वृ, गृ and पृ ॥ All these words ततुरि, जयुरि and पमि are formed by the affix क्त् (III. 1. 171).

ओ३म् ।

अथ सप्तमाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER SECOND.

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

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

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

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

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

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

वद्व्रजहलन्तस्याचः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वद्, व्रज, हलन्तस्य, अचः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वद्व्रजोर्हलन्तानां चाङ्गानामचः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति सिचि परस्मैपदे परतः ॥

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

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

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

The form उद्वोद्यम् is thus evolved. To the root वद् we add णिच् in the second Person singular. Thus वद् + स्ताम् ॥ Now there appears the Vṛiddhi rule on the one side; and the rule requiring the change of इ to ङ (VIII. 2. 31) the rule requiring the elision of स् (VIII. 2. 26), the rule requiring the change of ण into घ (VIII. 2. 40), then the rule requiring the change of घ into ङ, and then the elision of one ङ (VIII. 3. 13) on the other. What rule is to be applied first—the Vṛiddhi or the other rules? The Vṛiddhi rule is to be applied first, because the other rules are considered as asiddha (VIII. 2. 1): and after that we apply the other rules: and afterwards on account of the elision of ङ, we change the Vṛiddhi आ into ओ (VI. 3. 112). The equation will be something like this:—वद् + स्ताम् = वाद् + स्ताम् (VII. 2. 3) = वाद् + स्ताम् (VIII. 2. 31) = वाद् + ताम् (VIII. 2. 26) = वाद् + धाम् (VIII. 2. 80) = वाद् + ङाम् (VIII. 4. 41) = वा + अम् (VIII. 3. 13) = वोढाम् (VI. 3. 112). This with the upasarga उन् and the augment अ becomes उद्वोढाम् ॥ Similar is the evolution of उद्वोढम् with स्ताम् ॥ Once the अ has been Vṛiddhied into आ, there is no Vṛiddhi of ओ ॥ Had we not first Vṛiddhied the वद् into वाद्, but applied the vṛiddhi rule last, then there would have been vṛiddhi of ओ, as वौढाम् which is wrong. In fact where there has not taken place vṛiddhi first, there ओ is vṛiddhied, as = सोढामिन्त्यापस्व = सोढामिन्ः ॥

नेटि ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इकारो सिचि इत्तन्त्याङ्गस्य वृद्धिर्न भवति ।

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

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

झयन्तक्षणश्चसजागृणिश्च्योदिताम् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह, म्, य्, अन्त, क्षण, श्वस्, जागृ, णि, श्वि, एदिताम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इकारान्तानां मकारान्तानां वकारान्तानां नानां क्षण श्वस जागृ णि श्वि इत्येतेषामोदितां च इकारो सिचि परस्मैपदे परतो वृद्धिर्न भवति ।

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

Thus मह, 'to catch' अमहीत्, श्वम, 'to sound' अश्वमीत्, व्यय, 'to expend' अव्ययीत्, दुवम्, 'to vomit' अवमीत्, क्षण 'to hurt' अक्षणीत्, श्वच् 'to breathe' अश्वसीत्, जागृ 'to be awake' अजागरीत्, णि, ऊन (churādi) 'to lose' ऊनयीत्, ईल् 'to send' ईलयीत्, श्वि, अश्वयीत् ॥ एदिताम्, रणे 'to cover' अरणीत्. कखे, अकखीत् ॥

झयन्तक्षणश्चसामोदितां च अतो हलादिर्लघोरिति विकल्पे प्राप्ते प्रतिषेधः ॥ जागृणिधीनां तु सिचि वृद्धिः प्राप्ता, सा च नेटीति न प्रतिषिध्यते, न वान्तरङ्गत्वाच्च पूर्वे शुभो भवति सिचि वृद्धेरनवका-
शत्वात् ॥ यदि पूर्वे शुभः स्यादिहनिश्चिमहणमनर्थकं स्यात् ॥ गुणयादिषोः कृतयोर्वकारान्तत्वादेव प्रतिषे-
धस्य सिद्धत्वात् ॥ तस्मादिदमेव निश्चिमहणं ज्ञापकं न सिध्यन्तरङ्गमस्तीति ॥ अथ जागृमहणं किमर्थम् ॥ आमो
विशिष्णल्लिङ्गस्य इति आगतेर्गुणो वृद्धेरपवाशो विधीयते ॥ स यथा अचो ङिजसीति वृद्धिं बाधते, तथा सिचि
वृद्धिमपि बाधिष्यते ॥ नैतदस्ति ॥ कृते शुभः ऽतोऽन्तस्वेति वा वृद्धिः प्राप्नोति सा प्रतिषिध्यते, ॥ अथ शुभवि-
धानसामर्थ्यादुत्तरकालभावित्यपि वृद्धिर्बाध्यते, ॥ यथा आगरयतीत्यत्रात् उपधाया इत्यपि वृद्धिर्न भवति,
तथा विशिष्णोः प्रतिषेधोऽर्थवान्भवति इति चाक्यमिह जागृमहणमकर्तुम् ॥ नस्तु कियते विस्पष्टार्थम् ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ऊर्णोतेर्विभाषा ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊर्णोतेः, विभाषा ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्णोतेरिडाशौ सिचि परस्मैपदपरे परतो दि६.५ । वृद्धिर्नभवति ।

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ हलादेश्लघोः लघोरकारस्य इडाद्यैः सिचि परस्मैपदेषु परतो विभाषा वृद्धिर्न भवति ।

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ वशासौ कृति प्रत्यये परत इडागमो न भवति ।

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

The वश् pratyāhāra is rather vague. The rule really applies to Kṛit-affixes beginning with व, र (ल) म and न, and no कृत् affix begins with any other letter of वश् class. Thus ईशिता, ईशितुम् non-vaś letters get the augment, but not ईश्वरः, (III. 2. 175) so also शीपिता, शीपितुम् but not शीघ्रम् (III. 2. 167 र) भसिता, भसितुम् but not भस्म, (III. 2. 75. मनिन्) यतिता, यतितुम् but not यद्मः (III. 3. 90 नह्)

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

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

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

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

वार्तिकम् ॥ तितुषेषु अमहाशीनाम् इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

Thus (1) क्तिष्—तन्तिः but तनिता, तनितुम्, क्तिन्—शीतिः but शीपिता, शीपितुम् ॥ (2) तुन् (Uṇ I. 70)—सक्तुः but साचिता, साचितुम् ॥ (3) छन् (III. 2. 182)—पञ्च but पचिता, पचितुम्, so also Uṇādi छन् (Uṇ IV. 158), as तन्त्रम् from तन् ॥ (4) तन् (Uṇ III. 86)—हस्तः but हसिता, हसितुम् ; so also लीतः, पीतः, धूर्तः from लृ, पू, धूर्ति forming सेद् लविता, पविता, धूर्विता ॥ The त् affix mentioned in the sūtra refers to this Uṇādi त् (Uṇ III. 86), and not to the त् (क्त) of Nishṭhā, for the Nishṭhā त् takes the augment, as हसितम् ॥ (5) क्यन् (Uṇ II. 2)—कृष्य but कोषिता, कोषितुम्, काष्ठम् but काशिता, काशितुम् ॥ (6) कृति (Uṇ III. 155), as कुक्षिः but कोषिता, कोषितुम् ॥ (7) कृष्ण (Uṇ III. 157)—इधुः but एषिता, एषितुम् ; (8) सरन् (Uṇ III. 70)—गभरम्,

but अघिता, अघितुम् ॥ (9) कञ् (Uṇ III. 43)—बल्कः but बलिता, बलितुम् ॥ (10) स्र (Uṇ III. 62)—बस्सः but बसिता, बसितुम् ॥

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

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

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

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

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

Kārikā:—अनिद्वयान्तो भवतीति ह्रस्वतामिमांस्तु सेटः प्रवदन्ति तद्विदः ।
भवन्तभूवन्तभृतां च वृङ्गवृञ्चो धिडीङ्विण्वेण्वय षीङ्भिश्चावपि ॥
गणस्थसूवन्तभृतां च रुस्तुवौ ध्रुवन्तयोर्णोतिमयो युणुञ्जवः ।
इति स्वरान्ता निपुणैः समुच्चितास्ततो हलन्तानपि समिबोधतः ॥

As a general rule all monosyllabic roots ending in a *vowel* except अ, long ऊ and long कू are anudāṭta, and do not take इद् augment: as दान्, नेह्, चङ्, स्तान्, कर्त्, हर्त् ॥ The following are the exceptions:—

- (1) All roots ending in short अ are Udāṭta and take इद्; as अवधिष्ट ॥
- (2) All roots ending in long ऊ are सेट्, as नृ—तरिता or तरीता ॥
- (3) All roots ending in short कू are अनिद् except वृङ् (IX. 38 the references are to the class and number in the Dhātupāṭha) and वृञ् (V. 8, X. 271): as निर्धरिता or निर्धरीतां, प्रवरिता or प्रवरीता ॥
- (4) All roots in short इ are अनिद्, except धि (I. 1059), 'to grow' and भिञ् 'to attend' (I. 945), as ध्ययिता, अयिता ॥
- (5) All roots in long ई are अनिद्, except षीङ् 'to rest' (II. 22), and डीङ् 'to fly' (I. 1017. IV. 27), as शयिता, उड्डयिता ॥
- (6) All roots in long ऊ are सेट्, as लयिता, पयिता from लृ and पू ॥
- (7) All monosyllabic roots in short उ are अनिद्, except, रुङ् 'to sound' (II. 24, I. 1008), स्तु 'to flow' (II. 29), ध्रु 'to sound' (II. 27), यु 'to mix' (II. 23) तु 'to praise' (II. 26), श्णु 'to sharpen', (II. 28); and ऋणुम् 'to cover' (II. 30, though consisting of more than one syllable, is treated like तु for the purposes of यङ्) ॥ Thus रयिता, प्रसरयिता, क्षयिता, ययिता, नयिता, श्णयिता and प्रोर्णयिता ॥

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

Kārikā:—इति स्वरान्ता निपुणैः समुच्चितास्ततो हलन्तानपि समिबोधतः ।
शक्तिस्तु कान्तेष्वनिडेक इष्यते घसिच्च सान्तेषु घसिः प्रसारणी ॥
एभिस्तु भान्तेष्वय मैथुने यभिस्तत्सन्तुतीयोर्लभिरदनेत्ते ॥

यमिर्मन्तेष्वनिडेक इष्यते रमिश्च यश्च इयनि पञ्चते मनिः ।
 नमिश्चतुर्यो इनिरेव पञ्चमो गमिश्च षष्ठः प्रतिषेधवाचिनाम् ॥
 सिद्धिर्दुर्हिर्भेतिरोहती वहिर्नहिस्तु षष्ठो रहतिस्तथा लिहिः ।
 इमे ऽनिटोऽष्टादिह सुक्तसंज्ञया गणेषु ह्यन्ताः प्राविभज्य कीर्त्तिताः ॥
 विशि कृशि वंसिमयो वृशि स्पृशि रशि रुशि क्रीशतिमष्टं विशिम् ।
 लिशं च चान्ताननिटः पुराणगाः पठन्ति पाठेषु इक्षेव नेतरान् ॥
 रुधिः सराभिर्युधिबन्धिसाधयः कृधिशुभी शुध्यतिबुध्यते व्यधिः ।
 इमे तु धान्ता इश येऽनिटो मतास्ततः परं सिद्धतिरेव नेतरे ॥
 शिधि पिधि शुध्यतिपुष्यती त्विधि विधि भ्लिधि तुष्यतिदुष्यती द्विधिम् ।
 इमान्द्रौवोपविशन्त्यनिडुधौ गणेषु धान्तान्कृषिकर्षती तथा ॥
 तपि तिपि व्यापिमयो वपि स्वपि लिपि ह्युपि हृष्यति कृष्यती मृषिम् ।
 स्वरेण नीचेन शपि ह्युपि क्षिपि प्रतीहि पान्तान्पठितांश्चयोइश ॥
 शधि ह्वि स्क्रन्तिभिरिच्छिरिक्षुसीन् शधि सधि स्त्रियतिपद्यती खिदिम् ।
 तुवि नुवि विद्यातिविन्त इत्यापि प्रतीहि धान्तान्इश पञ्च चानिटः ॥
 पथिं वधिं विधिरिधिरञ्जिपृच्छतीन् निधि सिधि मुषिमजिमञ्जिपृज्जतीन् ।
 स्थीञ्च यञ्च युञ्चिश्चिसञ्जिमञ्ज्जतीन् भुञ्चि स्वन्निहृञ्चिपृञ्चि विञ्चयनिदस्वरान् ॥

(1.) क-शक् 'to be able' (IV. 78, V. 15). धान्ता, शक्थति

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

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

(4.) भ्-Four roots, यभ् 'to cease' (I. 1033), यन्ता ; रभ् 'to play' (I. 906) रन्ता, नभ् 'to bow' (I. 867, 1030) नन्ता, गम्ह 'to go' (I. 1031) गन्ता ॥

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

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

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

(8.) ध्—Ten roots:—रुध् with अनु, 'to love'. रुध् 'to obstruct' (IV.65) रोज्ञा. राध् 'to accomplish' (IV. 71, V. 16) राज्ञा; युध् 'to fight' (IV. 64) योज्ञा; बन्ध् 'to bind' (I. 1022), बन्धा; साध् 'to accomplish' (V. 17) साज्ञा; क्रुध् 'to be angry' (IV. 80) क्रोज्ञा, क्षुध् 'to be hungry' (IV. 81) क्षोज्ञा; शुध् 'to be pure' (IV. 82) शोज्ञा, बुध् 'to be aware' (IV. 63) बोज्ञा; व्यध् 'to pierce' (IV. 72) व्यज्ञा; सिध् 'to be accomplished' (IV. 83) सेज्ञा ॥ The roots बुध् and सिध् are exhibited in the above Kārikā with श्चष् vikarana (बुद्धति, सिद्धति); therefore बुध् and सिध् take इद् in other ganas than the Fourth; as बोधिता and सेधिता ॥ There being want of prohibition with regard to निष्ठा, we have बुधितं and सिधितं ॥

(9.) ष्-roots. Ten. शिष् 'to distinguish' (VII, 14) शेषा; पिष् 'to pound' (VII. 15) पेषा, शुष् 'to become dry' (IV. 74) शोषा; पुष् 'to be nourished' (IV. 73), पोषा, श्विष् 'to shine' (I. 1050) श्वेषा, विष् 'to pervade, to sprinkle' (I. 729, III. 13, IX. 54) वेषा, विलिष् 'to embrace' (I. 734, IV. 77) विलेषा; तुष् 'to be satisfied' (IV. 75) तोषा, दुष् 'to be sinful' (IV. 76) दोषा. दोक्षति, द्विष् 'to hate' (II. 3) द्वेषा, दोक्षति, कृष् 'to draw' (I. 1059, VI. 6 both Bhuādi and Tudādi are taken, as the kārīkā uses the two forms), भाकृष्टा and भाकर्षा ॥

(10.) ष्—Thirteen roots : तृष् 'to burn' (I. 1034, IV. 51) तप्ता, तप्यति, तिष् 'to distil' (I. 385) तेषा, भाष् 'to obtain' (V 14, X. 295) भाप्ता; वृष् 'to sow' (I. 1052) वप्ता; स्वृष् 'to sleep' (II. 59) स्वप्ता; लिष् 'to anoint' (VI. 139) लेप्ता; लुष् (VI. 137) 'to break', लोप्ता ॥ The roots तृष् and वृष् optionally take इद्, as they belong to रधादि class (VII. 2. 45, Divādi 84-91). The special mention of these two roots in the kārīkā, is for the sake of indicating that these roots take अष् augment; as वप्ता or तप्ता, or सर्पिता; वृप्ता, or वर्प्ता or रर्पिता ॥ The तृष् and वृष् belonging to Tudādi class, are Udātta and सेद् ॥ सृष् (I. 1032) 'to creep' सप्ता, सर्प्ता; शृष् 'to curse' (I. 1049) शप्ता; क्षृष् 'to touch' (VI. 125) क्षोप्ता; क्षिष् 'to throw' (IV. 14) क्षोप्ता ॥

(11.) ह्—Fifteen roots. भृद् 'to eat' [II. 1] भक्ता; हृद् 'to void excrement' (I. 1026) हक्ता; स्क्रुद् 'to leap' (I. 1028) स्क्रुन्ता; भिद् 'to break' (VII. 2) भेक्ता, छिद् 'to cut' (VII. 3) छेक्ता; क्षुद् 'to pound' (VII. 6) क्षोक्ता, क्षोक्षति, घृद् 'to perish' (I. 908, VI. 134) घक्ता, सृद् 'to sink' (I. 907, VI. 133) सक्ता, श्विद् 'to sweat' (IV. 79) श्वेक्ता ॥ The root is exhibited as श्विद्धति in the above kārīkā, showing that the Fourth class root is to be taken, and not the Bhuādi (I. 780), which is udātta and takes इद् ॥ पृद् 'to go' (IV. 60), पक्ता; शिद् 'to be troubled' (IV. 61, VI. 142, VII. 12) शेक्ता, तुद् 'to strike' (VI. 1) तोक्ता; नृद् 'to impel' (VI. 2) नोक्ता; विद् (IV. 62) वेक्ता ॥ The root विद् is exhibited in the kārīkā, as विद्याति and विन्ति, therefore, the rule applies to विद्यादि and कषादि विद् ॥ The Adādi (वेत्ति) and Tudādi (विन्वति) विद् is सेद्, as वेदिता विद्यानाम्, वेदिताधनस्य ॥

(12.) ष्—six roots :—पृष् 'to cook' (I. 187) पक्ता, पश्यति; वृष् 'to speak' (II. 54) वक्ता, विष् 'to separate' (VII. 5) विवेक्ता; रिष् 'to make empty' (VII. 4) रेक्ता; सिष् 'to sprinkle' (VI. 140) सेक्ता; शुष् (VI. 136) 'to loose' शोक्ता ॥

(13.) छ्—One root मृच्छ् 'to ask' (VI. 120) मृष्टा, मृश्यति ॥

(14.) ङ्-Fifteen roots:—रङ् 'to colour' (I. 865. 1048) रङ्क्ता; निञ् 'to cleanse' (III. 11) निर्णेक्ता, नेङ्गति; भञ् 'to honor' (I. 1047) भक्ता; भङ् 'to break' (VII. 16) भङ्क्ता; भृञ् 'to fry' (I. 181) भृष्टा or भर्ष्टा; त्यञ् 'to quit' (I. 1035) त्यक्ता; वञ् 'to sacrifice' (I. 1051) वष्टा, युञ् 'to join' (IV. 68, VII. 7) योक्ता; रुञ् 'to break' (VI. 123) रोक्ता; सञ् 'to adhere' (I. 1036) सङ्क्ता, मञ् 'to be immersed' (VI. 122) मङ्क्ता; मुञ् 'to bend' (VI. 124) 'to enjoy' (VII. 17). भोक्ता, स्वञ् 'to embrace' (I. 1025) परि-स्वक्ता; सृञ् 'to emit' 'to create' (IV. 69, VI. 121) स्रष्टा; मञ् 'to cleanse' (I. 269, II. 57), मार्ष्टा, मर्षिता ॥ The root मृञ् is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with a long indicatory ऊ, e-s, मृञ् मृञ्ठी (II. 57). It, therefore, optionally would take इद् ॥ Nor does this root take ञम् augment. The inclusion of this root in the above list is, therefore, questionable. Others read विञ् instead of मृञ् ॥ The निजादि root विञ् is Anit (III. 12) i. e. विञ् 'to separate' the विञ् of Rudhādi takes इद् ॥

Why do we say "a monosyllabic root"? Observe ञवधीत् ॥ The root is taught as वध with a final ञ (II. 4. 42) in order to prevent वृद्धि. Why do we say "in upadeśa or Dhātupāṭha"?

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

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

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

Kārikā:—वाच्य ऊर्णोर्नुवज्ञावो यद्प्रसिद्धिः प्रयोजनम् । आत्मन् प्रतिषेधार्थमेकाचभेदुपपन्नात् ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

सनि ग्रहगुहोश्च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, ग्रह, गुहोः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रह गुह इत्येतयोर्गन्तानां च सनि प्रत्यये परत इडागमो न भवति ।

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

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

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

कृष्टभृष्टस्तुद्रुस्तुश्रुचो लिटि ॥१३॥ पदानि ॥ कृ, ष्ट, भृ, ष्ट, स्तु, द्रु, स्तु, श्रुचः, लिटि ॥

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

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

Thus कृ—चकृव, चकृम; सृ, समृव, समृम; भृ, बभृव, बभृम; वृम्, ववृव, ववृम; वृह्, ववृवहे, ववृमहे; स्तु, तुष्टुव, तुष्टुम; ह्रु, ह्रुष्टुव, ह्रुष्टुम; सु; सुश्रुव, सुश्रुम; श्रु; श्रुश्रुव, श्रुश्रुम ॥ सिद्धे सत्यारम्भो नियमार्थः, क्राय एव लिट्यनिटस्ततोन्वे सेट इति ॥

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

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

श्चीदितो निष्ठायाम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिव, ईदितः, निष्ठायाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रयतेरीदितश्च निष्ठायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

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

As शूनः, शूनवान्; भोलिञ्जी (VI. 10),—लम्, लग्नवान्; भोविञ्जी (VI. 9), उद्विमः, उद्विमवान् ॥ The त is changed to न because of the indicatory श्वो (VIII. 2. 45). So also शीवी (IV. 42), शीमः, शीमवान् ॥ In the Dhātupāṭha, ङीङ् (IV. 27), is classed among भोदिन् roots, and it indicates that the Nishṭhā is anit̄ after it: and श्वो is for न-change (VIII. 2. 45) as, उद्वीनः, उद्वीनवान् ॥ The word निष्ठायाम् governs the following sūtras upto VII. 2. 35.

यस्य विभाषा ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्यै धातोर्विभाषा क्वचिदिद्वक्तस्तस्य निष्ठायां परत इडागमो न भवति ॥

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

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

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

आदितश्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदितः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदितश्च धातोर्निष्ठायाभिज्ञागमो न भवति ॥

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

As त्रिविधा — भिन्नः, भिन्नवान् ; त्रिविधा — द्विवर्णः, द्विवर्णवान् ; त्रिविधा — स्वन्नः, स्वन्नवान् ॥ The च implies that other roots not enumerated are to be also included, as आश्वस्तः, वान्तः ॥

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे आदिकर्मणि च आदितो धातोर्विभाषा निष्ठायाभिज्ञागमो न भवति ॥

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

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

ध्रुग्ध्रुवन्तध्वान्तलभ्रमिष्टविरिग्ध्रफाण्टबाढानि मन्थमनस्तमः सक्ताविस्पष्टस्वरा-

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

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

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

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

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

धृषिशसी वैयात्ये ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ धृषि, शसी, वैयात्ये, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वियातस्य भावो वैयात्यम् प्रागल्भ्यमधिनीतता ॥ तत्र धृष् शस् इत्येतयोर्निष्ठायानिष्ठागमो न भवति ॥

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

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

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

दृढः स्थूलबलयोः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ दृढः, स्थूल, बलयोः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दृढ इति निपात्यते स्थूले बलवति चार्थे ॥

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

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

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

प्रभौ परिवृढः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रभौ, परिवृढः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ परिवृढ इति निपात्यते प्रभुभेदवति ॥

21. The irregularly formed परिवृढ means 'Lord'.

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

The ह् is elided first as an anomaly. By so doing we can get the forms like परिवृढयति, परिवृढव्यगतः; पारिवृढीकन्या ॥ The form परिवृढय is formed by ल्यप् instead of क्त्वा ॥ Though the full noun is परिवृढ and ञिच् is added to such a noun, yet for the purposes of क्त्वा it is considered as a compound verb, having परि as upasarga. In fact, ञिच् is added to वृढ, and the root becomes वृढि, and then क्त्वा is added to this root, and then there is compounding of परि with this word ending in क्त्वा, and then by the regular process the क्त्वा is replaced by ल्यप् ॥ The general rule is that Derivative roots formed from nouns, like परिवृढ, उन्मनस्, सुमनस् &c which have an upasarga as one of their formative elements,

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

कृच्छ्रगहनयोः कषः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृच्छ्र, गहनयोः, कषः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कृच्छ्र गहन इत्येतयोरर्थयोः कषेर्द्धातोर्निष्ठायाभिदागमो न भवति ॥

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

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

घुषिरविशब्दने ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ घुषिः, अविशब्दने ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ घुषेर्द्धातोर्विशब्दनेर्धे निष्ठायाभिदागमो न भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

इद् will be added to the root, which will thus become चिन्त् and this न will be retained throughout and never dropped. (VII. 1. 48). Now had the चिच् been nitya, then the root ought to have been taught as चिन्त् स्तृत्याम्, because no rule would have caused the elision of the न् of चिन्त् when चिच् was added. The enunciation of the root as चिति, therefore, indicates that the चुरादि चिच् is anitya, and thus we get the forms like चिन्तितः, चिन्त्यात्, चिन्त्यते, चिन्तति, चिन्तेत् &c.

अर्हेः सन्नधिभ्यः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्हेः, सम, नि, विभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सं नि वि इत्येतेभ्य उक्तस्यार्हेर्निष्ठायाभिडागमो न भवति ॥

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

As सनर्णः, 'plagued' न्यर्णः, व्यर्णः ॥ Why 'of अर्ह'? Observe सनेधितः ॥ Why 'सं, नि or वि'? Observe अर्हितः ॥

अभेभ्याविदूर्ये ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभेः, च, आविदूर्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिषब्दादुक्तस्यार्हेर्पाविदूर्ये निष्ठायाभिडागमो न भवति ॥

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

As अभ्यर्णा सेना, अभ्यर्णा सरत् ॥ Why 'when meaning near'? See अभ्यर्हितो वृषलः क्षीतेन meaning पीडितः ॥ विदूरं means 'remote,' that which is not remote is आविदूरं 'non-remote,' the state of being non-remote is आविदूर्ये 'non-remote-ness.' The affix क् is added irregularly, in spite of the prohibition contained in V. 1. 121.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ ष्वन्तस्य वृत्तेर्निष्ठायासध्ययनार्थे वृत्तमितीडभावा जिलुक् च निपात्यते ॥

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

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

घा दान्तशान्तपूर्णदस्तस्पष्टछन्नक्षसाः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ घा, दान्त, शान्त, पूर्ण, दस्त, स्पष्ट, छन्न, क्षसाः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जेरित्यनुवर्त्तते। एम् घाम् पूरी इम् स्पष्ट् छद् क्षप् इत्येतेषां ष्वन्तानां धातूनां या भानिदस्य निपात्यते ॥

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

These words are formed either from the causative base or from the primary roots दम् &c. The other forms are दन्तः, शन्तः, पूर्णः, दस्तः, स्पष्टः, छन्नः, क्लृप्तः; and क्लृप्तः ॥ The words दान्त &c. are formed by the luk-elision of जि (Causative), and not taking the इट् Augment. By VII. 2. 49 क्लृप् optionally is सेट् and, therefore, by VII. 2. 15, its Participle would have been *always* अनिट्, hence, this sūtra makes an option.

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

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

As रुष् or रुषितः ॥ By VII. 2. 48, the affixes after रुष् are *optionally* सेट्, and therefore by VII. 2. 15, the Nishṭhā after this verb would have been *always* अनिट्; hence this optional rule. अन्धान्तः or अन्धमितः; तूर्णः or त्वरितः ॥ The त्वर is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha as भित्त्वा (I. 812) i. e. with an indicatory long आ, and hence by VII. 2. 16, would have been अनिट् *always*, this rule makes it *optionally* अनिट्. So also, संघुष्टौ पासौ, or संघुषितौ पासौ, संघुष्टं or संघुषितं वाक्यमाह, संघुष्टौ or संघुषितौ वन्म्यौ ॥ घुष् preceded by सन् will be *optionally* अनिट्, even when having any sense other than that of 'proclaimed', as this *subsequent* sūtra supersedes VII. 2. 23 so far. So also आस्वान्तः or आस्वानितौ वेषवत्तः, आस्वान्तम् or आस्वानितं मनः ॥ स्वन् when preceded by आ, though denoting 'mind,' is *optionally* अनिट्, in spite of VII. 2. 18, that rule being superseded so far by this *subsequent* rule.

हृषेलोमसु ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हृषेः, लोमसु, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ लोमसु वर्त्तमानस्य हृषेर्निष्ठायां वा इडागमो न भवति ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विस्मितप्रतिघातयोश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

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

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

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

अपचितञ्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपचितः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपचित इति वा निपात्यते । अपपूर्वस्य चायतेर्निष्ठायां निदस्यं चिभावश्च निपात्यते ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्तिनि नित्यमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रतेर्ज्ञोतोर्निष्ठायां छन्दसि हु इत्ययमादेशो भवति ।

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

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

अपरिहृताञ्च ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरिहृताः, च ॥

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

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

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

सोमे हरितः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमे, हरितः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरित इति ह्रतेर्निष्ठायां निडागमो गुणश्च निपात्यते छन्दसि विषये, सोमश्च ह्रवति ।

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

As मा नः सोमो हरितोः विहरितस्त्वम् ॥

प्रसितस्कभितस्तमितोत्तमितचत्तविकस्तां विशस्त्वृशंस्त्वृशास्त्वृतरुत्वृतरुत्वृवरुत्वृघ-
रुत्वृवरुत्रीरुज्ज्वलिति क्षरिति क्षमिति वमित्यमितीति च ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रसित,
स्कभित, स्तमित, उत्तमित, चत्त, विकस्त, विशस्त्वृ, शंस्त्वृ, शास्त्वृ, तरुत्वृ, तरुत्वृ,
वरुत्वृ, वरुत्वृ, वरुत्रीः, उज्ज्वलिति, क्षरिति, क्षमिति, वमिति, अमिति, इति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रसित स्कभित स्तमित उत्तमित चत्त विकस्त विशस्त्वृ शंस्त्वृ शा स्त्वृ तरुत्वृ तरुत्वृ वरुत्वृ वरुत्रीः
उज्ज्वलिति क्षरिति क्षमिति वमित्यमिति इत्येतांनि छन्दसि निपात्यन्ते ।

34. In the Veda, the following irregular forms are found, some with, and some without the augment इट—1 grasita, 2 skabhita, 3 stabhita, 4 uttabhita, 5 chatta, 6 vikasta, 7 viśastri, 8 śanstri, 9 śāstri, 10 tarutri, 11 tarūtri, 12 varutri, 13 varūtri, 14 varūtrīḥ, 15 ujjvaliti, 16 kshariti, 17 kshamiti, 18 vamiti and 19 amiti.

Of the above nineteen words, 1, 2, 3, and 4 are from roots ग्रह्, 'to swallow' (I. 661) स्कम्भ् 'to stop' (I. 414) and स्तम्भ् (I. 413) all having an indicatory इ, and therefore by VII. 2. 56 read with VII. 2. 15, their Nishṭhā would not have taken इट ॥ Thus प्रसितं (ver. प्रस्त) वा एतत् सोमस्य ॥ विष्कभिते अजरे (=विष्कभ्यः); येन स्वस्तभितम् (=स्तब्धम्), सत्येनोत्तभिता भूमिः (=उत्तब्धः) ॥ The irregularity is only with the preposition इत्, with other prepositions, the form स्तमित is not employed. Similarly (5) चत्ता (=चतिता) वर्षेण विश्वत् from चते चाचने ॥ (6) उत्तानाया इवयं यद् विकस्तम् (=विकसितम्) The forms, 7 8, and 9 are from the roots श्चस्त् हिंसायाम् and शंस्त् स्तुतौ, and श्चस्त् अनुशिष्टौ with the affix तृच् and no augment; as एकस्वदुरन्धस्याविशस्ता (=विशसिता), उत शंस्ता सुविमः (=शंसिता), प्रशास्ता (=प्रशासितम्) ॥ The forms 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 are from the roots तृ and वृ (वृह् and वृह्), with the affix वृच्, and the augment उद् and ऊद् ॥ As तरुत्तारं or तरुत्तारं रयानाम् (=तरितारम् or तपीतारम्), वरुत्तारम् or वरुत्तारम् रयानाम् (=वरितारम् or वपीतारम्); वरुत्रीष्ठा वेवीर्विन्धेव्यावती ॥ वरुत्रीः is exhibited in this form of Nom. pl. of the feminine वरुत्री merely for the sake of showing one form in which it is found : another form is अहोरात्राणि वेवरुत्रयः ॥ Here the plural is formed irregularly, by taking the word as वरुत्रि ॥ The feminine form could have been easily obtained from वरुत्रि, by adding ङीष्, the special mention is explanatory. The rest 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19 are from इत्-उज्ज्वल, क्षर्, क्षम्, वन्, and अच्, formed with the vikaraṇa षप् and the affix of the 3rd Per Sing तिप्, इ being substituted for अ of षप्, or षप् is elided and the augment इट is added ॥ As अग्निरुज्ज्वलिति (=उज्ज्वलति), स्तोत्रं क्षमिति (=क्षमति), स्तोत्रं क्षरिति (=क्षरति), यः सोमं वमिति (=वमात्), अन्धमिति वरुणः (=अन्धमति) ॥ Sometimes we have अन्धमात्, as रावमन्धमतीति ॥

आर्द्धधातुकस्येडुलादेः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदादि ॥ आर्द्धधातुकस्य, इट्, वलादेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसीति निवृत्तम् । आर्द्धधातुकस्य वलादेरिडागमो भवति ।

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

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

स्तुकमोरनात्मनेपदनिमित्ते ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तु, क्रमोः, अनात्मनेपदनिमित्ते ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ नियमार्थमिदम् । स्तुकमोरार्द्धधातुकस्य वलादेरिडागमो भवति, न चेस्तुकमौ भात्मनेपदस्य निमित्तं भवतः ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्रमस्तु कर्त्तव्यात्मनेपदविषयात्सत्त्वात्मनेपदे कृति प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

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

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

When do roots give occasion to Atmanepada affixes? The roots occasion atmanepada affixes when employed in the Impersonal, Passive, and Intensive senses. Sūtras I. 3. 38-43, teach us when क्रम् takes Ātmanepada affixes. Thus प्रस्नावता, प्रस्नावितुम्, प्रस्नावितव्यम्, प्रक्रमिता, प्रक्रमितुम्, प्रक्रमितव्यम् ॥ Why do we say 'when not the occasion of getting the Atmanepada affixes'? Observe, प्रस्नोषीष्ट, प्रकंसीष्ट, प्रस्नोष्यते, प्रकंस्यते, प्रस्तुषिष्यते, प्रश्चिकसिष्यते ॥ In all these examples स्तु and क्रम् have become the causes of taking the Atmanepada affixes. The Desiderative is also Atmanepadi because of I. 3. 62.

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

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

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

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

ग्रहो ऽलिटि दीर्घः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रहः, अ लिति, दीर्घः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रह उत्तरस्य इटः अलिति दीर्घो भवति ।

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

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

वृत्तो वा ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृत्तः वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृ इति वृत्त्वृत्तोः सामान्येन महर्षे तस्मादुत्तरस्य ऋकाद्यन्तेभ्योऽथवा वा दीर्घो भवति ।

38. The इट् is optionally lengthened after वृत्, वृत्त and after roots ending in long ऋ, except in the Perfect.

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

न लिङि ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लिङि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृत् उत्तरस्य इदो लिङि दीर्घो न भवति ।

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

As विवरिषीष्ट, प्रावरिषीष्ट, आस्तरीषीष्ट, विस्तरिषीष्ट ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्मैपदेषु सिचि वृत् उत्तरस्य इदो दीर्घो न भवति ।

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

As प्रावारिष्यात्, प्रावारिषुः, अत्तारिष्यात्, from नृ ध्वनत्तरणयोः ॥ आस्तारिष्यात्, आस्तारिषुः, from स्तृम् आच्छादने; but प्रावरिष्ट, प्रावरीष्ट in the Atmanepada.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ वृत्तः सनो वा इडागमो भवति ।

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

As बुवृषति । विवरिषते । विवरीषते । प्राबुवृषति । प्राविवरिषति । प्राविवरीषति । ऋकारान्तेभ्यः । तितरीषति । तितरिषति । तितरीषति । आतिस्तीरति । This Parasmaipada form is not valid, according to Padamanjari. आतिस्तरिषति । आतिस्तीरति । सनि भवत्युहमेति इद्प्रतिषेधे प्राप्ते पक्षे इडागमो विधीयते । इदम् वृत्तो वेति पक्षेदीर्घः । चिकीरति जिहीरति इत्यत्रोपदेशाधिकारात्प्राप्त-भिक्रत्याच्च इडागमो न भवति ॥

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

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

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

As वृषीट् or वरिषीट्, प्रावृषीट् (I. 2. 12 no guṇa) प्रावरिषीट्, आस्तरिषीट्, आस्तीषीट् ॥ सिचिखल्वपि, भवत, भवरिट्, भवरीट्, प्रावृत्, प्रावरिट्, प्रावरीट्, आस्तीर्ट्, आस्तरिट्, आस्तीर्ट् ॥ आत्मनेपदे-
ष्विति किम्, ? प्रावारिष्टाम्, प्रावारिषुः ॥ लिङ्: प्रत्युदाहरणं न वृक्षितमसंभवादिनां स्वलादित्वांसति ॥

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

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

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

As ऋषीट् or चरिषीट् ; सृषीट्, or सरिषीट् ; अध्वृषाताम्, or अध्वरिषाताम् ; अस्थृषाताम्,
or अस्तरिषाताम् ॥ ऋत इति किम् । ऋषीट्, ऋषीट् ; अच्योट्, अघ्नोट् ॥ संयोगादेरिति किम् । कृषीट्, हृषीट् ;
अकृत, अहत ॥ आत्मनेपदेष्वित्येव । अध्वार्षीत्, अस्मार्षीत् ॥ संस्कृषीट् समस्कृतेत्यत्रोपदेशाधिकारात्परमन्त-
स्याच्च इद् इडागमो न भवति ॥

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

स्वरतिसूतिसूयतिधूञ्जितो घा ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरति, सूति, सूयति, धूञ्,
ऊदितः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरति सूति सूयति धूञ् इत्येतेभ्य ऊदित्-भ्रञ्चोरस्त्व बलादेरार्द्धघातुकत्व वा इडागमो भवति ।

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

As स्वरिता or स्वरिा ॥ प्रसोता, प्रसदिता ॥ सूयति, सोता, सविता ॥ धूञ्, धोता, धविता ॥
ऊदित्-भ्रः खल्वपि । गाहू, त्रिगावा, त्रिगाहिता ; शू, शोता, शोपिता ॥ वेति वर्त्तमाने पुनर्वाच्यं लिङ्सि-
चोर्निवृत्त्यर्थम् । सूतिसूयत्योर्विकरणनिर्देशः सू-मेरुणद्वयस्य निवृत्त्यर्थः । धूमिति साउपनिषत्कस्य निर्देशो धू

विधूननइत्यस्य निवृत्त्यर्थः । सधिता धवित्तैत्येव नित्यमेतयोर्भवति । स्वरतेरेतस्मादिकल्पाद्भ्रजोः स्थइत्येतद-
वति विप्रतिषेधेन । स्वरिष्यति । किति तु प्रत्ययं शुभकः कित्तीति नित्यः प्रतिषेधो भवति पूर्वप्रतिषेधेन ॥
स्वल्वा, सूल्वा, धूल्वा ॥

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

रधादिङ्ग्यञ्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ रध-आदिङ्ग्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रध हिसासंसिद्धारित्वेवमादिभ्यो ऽडाञ्च उत्तरस्य बलादिपार्श्वधातुकस्य वा इडागमो भवति ॥

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

As रधिता or रद्धा ; नंदा, (VII. 1. 60 नुम्) नधिता ; जमा, (VI. 1. 59 भम्) जर्मा, सधिता : द्रमा, रर्मा, रधिता ; क्रोधा, क्रोधा, (VIII. 2. 33) क्रोहिता ; मोग्धा, मोग्धा, मोहिता ; जोडा, जोहिता, जोग्धा, जोग्धा, जोडा, जोहिता ॥

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

निरः कुषः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निरः, कुषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर इत्येवंपूर्वात् कुष उत्तरस्य बलादिपार्श्वधातुकस्य वा इडागमो भवति ।

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

As निष्क्रोष्टा or निष्क्रोषिता, निष्क्रोष्टुम् or निष्क्रोषितुम्, निष्क्रोष्टव्यम् or निष्क्रोषितव्यम् ॥ But only क्रोषिता, क्रोषितुं, क्रोषितव्यम् without निर् ॥ The exhibition of निर् instead of निस् indicates the existence of a separate and distinct preposition निर्, besides निस् ॥ It is the र् of this निर् which is changed to ल् by VIII. 2. 19, in निलबनम् ; for the र् of निस् being asiddha could not be changed to ल् ॥

इग्निष्ठायाम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इद्, निष्ठायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निरः कुषो निष्ठायामिडागमो भवति ।

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

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

optional, or debarred by VII. 2. 15. In the subsequent sūtra, the addition becomes again optional.

तीषसहलुभरुषरिषः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, इष, सह, लुभ, रुष, रिषः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तकापरावार्द्धधातुके इषु सह लुभ रुष रिष् इत्येतेभ्यो वा इडागमो भवति ।

48. An ārdhadhātuka affix beginning with a त may optionally take the इष्, after the roots इष्, सह, लुभ, रुष् and रिष् ॥

As एष्टा or एषिता ॥ The इष् 'to wish' (VI. 59) is taken here, and not the इष् (IV. 19. IX. 53) of the Divādi and Kryādi class. Of the Divādi इष् 'to send, to go' we have invariably प्रेषिता, प्रेषितुं, प्रेषितव्यं; and the इष् 'to repeat' of the Kryādi is governed also by this rule and has the same forms. Therefore some read the anuvṛtti of उचित् into this sūtra. सह। सोढ। सहिता। लुभ। लोभिता। लोब्धा। रुष। रोष्ट। रोषिता। रिष्। रोष्ट। रोषिता ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with a त'? Observe एषिष्यति ॥

सनीवन्तर्द्धभ्रस्जदम्भुश्रिस्वृयुर्णु भरज्ञापिसनाम् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, इवन्त,
ऋध, भ्रस्ज, दम्भ, श्रि, स्वृ, यु, ऊर्णु, भर, ज्ञापि, सनाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इवान्तानाम धातूनाम् । ऋधु भ्रस्ज दम्भु श्रि स्वृ यु ऊर्णु भर ज्ञापि सन् इत्येतेषां च सनि वा इडागमो भवति ।

49. The desiderative स् may optionally take इद्, after a root ending in इष्, and after ऋधु, भ्रस्ज, दम्भु, श्रि, स्वृ, यु, ऊर्णु, भृ, ज्ञप्, and सन् ॥

Thus दिशेदिषति or दुष्पति, सिसेदिषति, सुस्युषति ॥ ऋध्, अर्धिधिषति, ईर्त्सति ॥ भ्रस्ज, विभ्रज्जिषति, (VI. 4. 47) विभ्रज्ञाति, (VIII. 2. 36 and 41) विभ्रज्जिषति, विभ्रज्ञाति ॥ दम्भु, दिष्-मिषति, धिप्सति, (VII. 4. 56) धीप्सति, श्रि, उच्छिष्यति, उच्छिष्यति ॥ स्वृ, सिस्वाषिषति, सुस्वृषति ॥ यु, यियविषति, (VII. 4. 80) युयुषति, ऊर्णु, ओर्णुनविषति, ओर्णुनविषति, ओर्णुनूषति, ॥ The root भृम् of the Bhuādi class is to be taken, as the form भर with षप् in the sūtra indicates. विभ्ररिषति, दुभूर्षति, ॥ ज्ञापि, जिज्ञापयिषति, ज्ञीप्सति ॥ सन्, सिसनिषति, सिषासति ॥ केचिद्वभ्रज्ञापिसनितनिषतिशरिद्राणामिति पठन्ति, ॥ तितनिषति, तितंसति, तितंसाति, पिपतिषति, पिप्सति, दिशरिद्रिषति, दिशरिद्रासति ॥ सनीति किन्, देविता, भ्रष्टा ॥

Some add सन्, पन् and शरिद्रा also, as तितनिषति or तितंसति or तितंसाति, (VI. 4. 17) पिपतिषति or पिप्सति (VII. 4. 54, VIII. 2. 29. VII. 4. 58) दिशरिद्रिषति or दिशरिद्रासति ॥ Why do we say 'Desiderative'? Observe देविता, भ्रष्टा ॥ The form अर्धि-धिषति is thus evolved. The Desiderative root is अर्धिस, the ऋ being guṇated by VII. 3. 86 before सन् ॥ Now we reduplicate it, and the second syllable धिष् will be reduplicated by VI. 1. 2. and the रेफ is not duplicated by VI. 1. 3: so we get धिष् to reduplicate, and ष is changed to इ ॥ The form ईर्त्सति is thus evolved. By VII. 4. 55, the ऋ is changed to long ई, which is followed by र् by I. 1. 57. Thus we have ईर्त्स as root, and प्स is reduplicated, and the reduplicate is elided (VII. 4. 58). The forms धिप्सति and धीप्सति are similarly formed.

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

50. The affixes *ktivâ*, क् and क्त्वतु, may optionally take इद् after क्लिश् ॥

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

पूङ्श्च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूङ्ः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पूङ्क्त्वा क्लानिष्ठयोर्वा इडागमो भवति ।

51. The affixes *ktivâ*, क् and क्त्वतु optionally get इद् after पू ॥

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

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

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

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

अञ्चेः पूजायाम् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अञ्चेः, पूजायाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्चेः पूजायामर्थे क्लानिष्ठयोर्वा इडागमो भवति ।

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

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

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

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

As लुभित्वा and लोभित्वा, विलुभिताः केषाः, विलुभितः सीमन्तः, विलुभितानि परानि ॥ विमोहनं = भाकुलीकरणं ॥ By VII. 2. 48 लुभ would have optionally caused इद् to come before ktvá, and then by VII. 2. 15 the Nishṭhá would never have been सेद् ॥ Hence this sūtra. Why do we say when meaning 'to entangle'? See लुब्धः वृषलः = धीनेन पीडितः, ॥ लुब्ध 'to be greedy' (Div. 128) is not governed by this rule, but by VII. 2. 48. As लुब्ध्वा or लोभित्वा and लुभित्वा (I. 2. 26) ॥

जूप्रश्नोः क्ति ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जू, प्रश्नोः, क्ति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जू प्रश्नि इत्येतयोः क्त्वाप्रत्यये इडागमो भवति ।

55. The affix ktvá takes the augment इद्, after जू and प्रश्च् ॥

As जरित्वा or जीर्त्वा, (VII. 2. 38) and प्रश्चित्वा ॥ जू was prohibited by VII. 2. 11. and प्रश्च् would have been optionally सेद्, as it has an indicatory long ऊ, by VII. 2. 44. Hence this rule. The special mention of ktvá, stops the anuvṛitti of kta and ktavatu.

उदितो वा ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदितः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदितो धातोः क्त्वाप्रत्यये परसो वा इडागमो भवति ।

56. The इद् is optionally the augment of ktvá, after a root which has an indicatory short उ ॥

As उगु—उमित्वा or उान्त्वा; उगु—उमित्वा or उान्त्वा; उगु—उमित्वा or उान्त्वा ॥

से ऽसिचि कृतचृतच्छृदत्तदृत्तः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ से, असिचि, कृत, चृत, छृद, तृद, नृत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सक्रातरावसिच्यार्द्धधातुके कृत चृत छृद तृद नृद इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो वा इडागमो भवति ।

57. An Ārdhadhātuka affix beginning with a स् (except सिच् the characteristic of the s-Aorist) may optionally take the augment इद्, after the verbs कृत्, (Tud 141, Rudh. 11) चृत, (Tud. 35) छृद् (Rudh. 8) तृद् (Tud. 9) and नृत् (Div. 9).

As कर्त्स्यति, अकर्त्स्यन्, चिकृत्सति कर्त्सिष्यति, अकर्त्सिष्यन् चिकर्त्सिषति । चृत, चर्त्स्यति अचर्त्स्यन्, चिचृत्सति, चांचिष्यति, अचर्त्सिष्यन्, चिचर्त्सिषति । छृद्, छर्त्स्यति । अछर्त्स्यन्, अचछर्त्स्यति । छर्त्सिष्यति, अछर्त्सिष्यन् । चिच्छर्त्सिषति । तृद्, तर्त्स्यति, अतर्त्स्यन्, तितृत्सति, तर्त्सिष्यति । अतर्त्सिष्यन् । तितर्त्सिषति । नृत्, नर्त्स्यति, अनर्त्स्यन्, नितृत्सति, नर्त्सिष्यति । अनर्त्सिष्यन् । नितर्त्सिषति ।

Why do we say 'beginning with a स्'? Observe कर्त्सिता ॥ Why असिचि? Observe अकर्त्सिन् ॥

गमेरिद् परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गमेः, इद्, परस्मैपदेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गमेर्ज्ञातोः सक्रातरेरार्द्धधातुकस्य परस्मैपदेष्विडागमो भवति ।

इटिः ॥ आत्मनेपदेन समानपरस्यस्य गमेरिडमिडागमोनेष्वेते ॥

58. An Ārdhadhatuka affix beginning with a स् gets the इद् augment, after गम् in the Parasmaipada.

As गमिष्यति, अगमिष्यन्, जिगमिषति ॥ Why of गम्? Observe चेष्यति ॥ The repetition of इद् shows that the rule is invariable. Why 'in the Parasmaipada'? Observe संगंसीट, संगंसीट, संगंस्यते, संजिगंसते, संजिगंसिष्यते, अजिगंगांसते, अजिगंगांसिष्यते ॥

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

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

न वृद्ध्यश्चतुर्थ्यः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, वृद्ध्यः, चतुर्थ्यः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वृत्तादिभ्यश्चतुर्थ्य उत्तरस्य सकारादेशार्द्धधातुकस्य परस्मैपदेषु इडागमो न भवति ।

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

Thus वृत्—वत्स्यति, भवत्स्यन्, विवृत्सति । वृध् वत्स्यति । भवत्स्यन् । विवृत्सति । भृध् । वात्स्यति । भवात्स्यन् शिशृःसति । स्यन् । स्यन्सति । वात्स्यन्स्यन् ।

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

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

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ कृप उत्तरस्य तासिः सकारदेशार्द्धधातुकस्य परस्मैपदेषु इडागमो न भवति ।

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

Thus कल्पता, कल्पस्यति, अकल्पस्यन्, अकल्पस्यति ॥ But कल्पितासि, कल्पिषीष्ट, कल्पिष्यते, अकल्पिष्यत, अकल्पिष्यते in the Atmanepada.

In the case of कल्प also, the इद् is added to the ārdhadhātuka affixes in the Atmanepada, when the root stands in the same pada with the affixes and there is prohibition everywhere else. So also there is prohibition before कृति- affixes, and the luk-elision of Parasmaipada. As अकल्पसिता, अकल्पस्यन् ॥

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ तासां थे निस्थानिदो धानवोऽजन्तास्तेभ्यस्तासाविव थलीडागमो न भवति ।

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

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

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

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

उपदेशोऽत्वतः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपदेशो, अत्वतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपदेशो यो धातुरकारवान् तासौ निस्थानिद् तस्मात्तासाविव थलीडागमो न भवति ।

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

As Fut. पक्ता, Per. पपक्य, यष्टा, इवष्ट, चक्ता, चाक्य ॥ Why do we say 'in the Original Enunciation'? Observe Fut. कर्त्ता Per. चकार्षि in which the अ of 'karsh' is the result of guṇa substitution. Why do we say 'having an अ'? Observe Fut. भेत्ता Per. बिभेदिथ, here the root-vowel is इ ॥ Why do we say "short अ"? Observe Fut. राज्ञा Per. रराधिथ from राज् the root-vowel being long आ ॥ The word तास्वत् is understood here also. Therefore we have जिघृक्षति, जिघृक्षिथ ॥ Here the root ग्रह् is aniṭ before सन् (VII. 2. 12) and not before तास् so it will not be aniṭ before थ ॥ The words निख्ये अनिटः are also understood here. Therefore the rule does not apply to भानञ्जिथ (VII. 4. 71, 72). For the root भञ्ज् (VII. 21) takes *optionally* इट् before तास् (VII. 2. 44) as भञ्जिता and भञ्जन्ता ॥

ऋतो भारद्वाजस्य ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, भारद्वाजस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्ताद्भारतोर्भारजस्याचार्यस्य मतेन तासाविव नित्यानिटस्यलि इडागमो न भवति ।

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ बभूय आततन्थ जगृम्भ ववर्थ इत्येतानि निपात्यन्ते निगमविषये ।

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

As एवं हि होता प्रथमो बभूय (= बभूविथ) ; येनान्तरिक्षधुर्वाततन्थ (= भवतिनिथ), जगृम्भा ते वक्षिणमिन्द्र इस्तम् (= जगृहिम्), ववर्थ एवं हि उयोतिषा (= ववरिथ). See VII. 2. 13. This is also a *niyama* rule with regard to वृ for by VII. 2. 13 the root वृ was already aniṭ, and its Perfect would have been ववर्य by that rule. The special mention of this form shows that in secular literature this root is always सेट् before थ of the Perfect.

विभाषा सृजिदशोः ॥ ६५ ॥ विभाषा, सृजि-दशोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सृजि इति इत्येतयोस्त्याल विभाषा इडागमो न भवति ।

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

As सन्नद्ध or ससर्जिय, वृद्ध or वृर्जिय ॥ See VI. 1. 58 for अन् augment.

इडस्त्यर्त्तिव्ययतीनाम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इट्, अस्ति-आर्त्ति-व्ययतीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्ति अर्त्ति व्ययति इत्येतेषां यलीडागमो भवति ।

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

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

वस्वेकाजादृघसाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसु, एकाच्-आत्-घसाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतद्विर्घनानामेकार्णा धातूनाम् आकारान्तानां घसेभ वसाविडागमो भवति ।

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

Thus आदिवान्, आशिवान्, पेथिवान्, शोक्रिवान् ॥ In the first two of these, the reduplicate stems आद् and आश् become of one syllable by the coalescence of अ अद् and अअश् ॥ In पेष् and शोक् the reduplicate is elided and the vowel अ changed to ए, and thus the reduplicate has become of one syllable. Of roots ending in आ we have, अथिवान्, तस्थिवान्, of वस्-अशिवान् ॥ This वस् would have taken the augment by the general rule of इट् increment, the present sūtra makes a niyama, so that the roots which are not monosyllabic in their reduplicate form are anit: as विभिद्वान्, पिच्छिद्वान्, बभूवान्, शिथिवान् ॥ The niyama is made with regard to the roots which would have taken इट् generally, as not being governed by the prohibition in VII.2.13. The roots ending in long आ may consist of more than one syllable in their reduplicate form, as वाया + वस्, hence their separate enumeration: as a matter of fact, however, these reduplicates also become monosyllabic ultimately by losing their आ ॥ The root हरिद्वा is not governed by this rule, for its Perfect will be formed periphrastically by III. 1. 35 VArt, because

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

विभाषा गमहनविद्विशाम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, गम-हन-विद्व-विशाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गम हन विद्व विशा इत्येतेषां धातूनां षसौ विभाषा इडागमो भवति ।
वार्तिकम् ॥ दृष्टेभ्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

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

Vārt.—The root दृश् should also be enumerated. As दृश्चिवान् and दृश्चिवान् ॥

सनि ससनिवांसम् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनिम्-ससनिवांसम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सनोतेः सनतेर्वा धातोः सनिससनिवांसमिति निपात्यते ।

69. The form ससनिवांसम् with सनि is irregularly formed.

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

ऋद्धनोः स्ये ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋद्धत-हनोः, स्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तानां धातूनां हन्तेषु स्ये इडागमो भवति ।

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

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

अञ्जेः सिचि ॥ ७१ ॥ अञ्जेः, सिचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्जेः सिचि इडागमो भवति ।

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

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

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

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

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

As अस्तावीत्, अस्तावीत्, अधावीत् ॥ But अस्तोष्ट, अस्तोष्ट, अधोष्ट or अधाविष्ट in Atmanepada. Exception to VII. 2. 10 and 44.

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

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

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

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

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

स्मिपूङ्करञ्ज्वशां सनि ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्मि, पूङ्, ऋ अञ्जू, अश् सनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्मिह पूङ् ऋ अञ्जू अश् इत्येतेषां धातूनां सनीडागमो भवति ॥

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

Thus सिस्मादिषते, पिपदिषते (VII.4.80) अरिदिषति, अञ्जिदिषति (VI. 1. 2 and 3) and अशिदिषते ॥ The root पुष् is not governed by this rule, as पुष्ति ॥ The अष् (V. 18) of Suâdi class is taken here, and not अष् (IX. 51) of Kryâdi class, for the latter *always* has इद्, while the former having an indicatory long ऋ has *optionally* इद् ॥

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

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

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

रुदादिभ्यः सार्वधातुके ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुदादिभ्यः, सार्वधातुके ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रुदादिभ्य उक्तस्य ऋतोः सार्वधातुकस्य इडागमो भवति ॥

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

Thus रोदिति, स्वपिति, श्वसिति, प्राणिति, अक्षिति ॥ But आगर्ति which is beyond the five, and स्वप्ता before ârdhadhâtuka affixes, and रुन्ति before a vowel beginning affix.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

लिङ्: सलोपो ऽनन्त्यस्य ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्: स, लोपः, अनन्त्यस्य ॥

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

79. In the sârvadhâtuka Liñ (i. e. Potential), the सृ which is not final (i.e. the सृ of the augments यासृ and सीय्), is elided.

What is the सृ which is not final? The सृ of the augments यासृद्, सुद् and सीयुद् ॥ Thus कुर्यात्, कुर्याताम्, कुरुः, कुरीत, कुरीयाताम्, कुरीरन् ॥ Why 'not the final'? Observe कुरुः, कुर्याः ॥ Why in the Sârvadhâtuka? Observe क्रियास्ताम्, क्रियासुः, कुरीष्ट, कुरीयास्ताम्, कुरीरन् in the Benedictive.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्ताद्भादुत्तरस्य या इत्येतस्य सार्वधातुकस्य इय् इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

आतो ङितः ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, ङितः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारस्य द्विद्वयवस्य अकारान्तरङ्गादुत्तरस्य सार्वधातुकस्य इत् इत्ययमविवक्षो भवति ॥

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

Thus पचेते, पचेये, पचेताम्, पचेयाम्, यजेते, यजेये, यजेताम्, यजेयाम्, वास्येये, वास्येते ॥ The इ of इद् drops by VI. 1. 66. Why do we say "the long आ"? Observe पचन्ति, यजन्ति, पचन्ते, यजन्ते ॥ Why do we say 'a ङिन् affix'? Observe पचावहे, पचामहे (I. 2. 4). Why do we say 'ending in short अ'? Observe चिन्वति, मुञ्चति ॥ Why 'short'? Observe मिमाते, मिमाये ॥

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

आने मुक् ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आने, मुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आने परतोङ्गस्थातो मुगागमो भवति ॥

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

Thus पचमानः, यजमानः ॥

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

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

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

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

ईदासः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईत्, आसः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आस उत्तरस्थानस्य ईकारदेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टनो विभक्तौ परत आकारदेशो भवति ॥

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

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

रायो हलि ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ रायः, हलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रे इत्येतस्य हलादौ विभक्तौ परत आकारदेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदित्येतयोरनादेशो विभक्तौ परत आकारदेशो भवति ॥

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

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

द्वितीयार्थां च ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीयायाम्, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयार्थां च परतो युष्मदस्मदोरकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

प्रथमायाश्च द्विवचने भाषायाम् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमायाः, च, द्विवचने, भाषायाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमायाश्च द्विवचने परतो भाषार्थां विषये युष्मदस्मदोरकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

योच्चि ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ यः, अच्चि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अज्जासौ विभक्तावनदेशो युष्मदस्मदोर्यकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

शेषे लोपः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषे विभक्तौ युष्मद्‌स्मरौर्लोपो भवति ॥

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

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

पञ्चम्याश्च चतुर्थ्याश्च षष्ठीप्रथमयोरपि ।

यान्यद्विवचनान्यत्र तेषु लोपो विधीयते ॥

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

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

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

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

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

मपर्यन्तस्य ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ म पर्यन्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मपर्यन्तस्येव्ययमधिकारो, यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामो मपर्यन्तस्येत्थेवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

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

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

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

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.		Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	स्व	युवां	युयं	Acc.	युवां	युवां	युवाम्
Ins.	युष्या	युष्याभ्यां	युषामिः	Dat.	तुभ्यं	युषाभ्यां	युषाभ्यं
Abl.	युषन्	युषाभ्यां	युषन्	Gen.	तत्र	युष्योः	युषाकं
Loc.	युष्यि	युष्योः	युषासु ॥ (Padamanjari).				

युवावौ द्विवचने ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ युव, आवौ, द्विवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विवचनद्वयर्थग्रहणम् । द्विवचने ये युष्मदस्मदी द्व्यर्थाभिधानांविषये तयोर्नपर्यन्तस्य स्याने युव आव इत्येतावदिद्यौ भवतः ॥

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

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

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

	Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.
Nom.	अतिस्वम्	अतियुवम्	अत्यहम्	अतिवचम्
Acc.	अतियुवान्	अतियुवान्	अस्यावान्	अस्यावान्
Ins.	अतियुवया	अतियुवभिः,	अस्यावया	अस्यावभिः
Date.	अतितुभ्यं	अतियुवभ्यं	अतिमह्यम्	अस्यावभ्यं
Abl.	अतियुवत्	अतियुवत्	अस्यावत्	अस्यावत्
Gen.	अतितव	अतियुवाकम्	अतिमम	अस्यावाकम्
Loc.	अतियुववि	अतियुवास्तु	अस्याववि	अस्यावास्तु

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

यूयवयौ जसि ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यूय, वयौ, जसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य जसि परतो यूव वव इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

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

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

स्वाहौ सौ ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्व, अहौ, सौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य सौ परे स्व अह इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

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

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

तुभ्यमहौ ऊयि ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुभ्य, महौ, ऊयि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य तुभ्य मह्य इत्येतावादेशौ भवतो ऊयि परतः ॥

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

As तुभ्यम्, मह्यम्, परमतुभ्यम्, परममह्यम्, अतितुभ्यम्, अतिमह्यम् ॥

तवममौ ङसि ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तव, ममौ, ङसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जुष्मस्मदोर्मपर्वन्तस्व तव मम इत्येतावादेशौ भवतो ङसि परतः ॥

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

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

त्वमावेकवचने ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्वमौ, एक वचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकवचनइत्यर्थनिर्देशः । एकवचने च जुष्मस्मदी एकार्याभिधानविषये तयोर्मपर्वन्तस्व स्याने स्व इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

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

As त्वाद्, माद्, स्व्या, मया, स्वत्, मत्, स्वयि, ममि ॥ The compounds also take this substitution according to the sense : as अतिक्रान्तस्त्वाद् = अतित्वम्, अस्वहम्, अतिक्रान्तौ मम = अतिमाम्, अतित्वाद्, अतिक्रान्तान् त्वाम् = अतित्वान्, अतिमान्, अतिक्रान्ताभ्यां त्वां = अतित्वाभ्याम्, अतिमाभ्याम्, अतिक्रान्तैस्त्वाम् = अतित्वाभिः, अतिमाभिः ॥

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

प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्च ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्यय, उत्तरपदयोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकवचनइत्यनुवर्तते । प्रत्यये उत्तरपदे च परत एकत्वे वर्तमानयोर्युष्मस्मदोर्मपर्वन्तस्व त्व म इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

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

As त्वरीचः, मरीचः, with the affix छ (IV. 2. 114, I. 1. 74) स्वत्तरः (= अतित्वेन त्वं), मत्तरः, स्वयति (= स्वामिच्छति), मयति ; स्वयते (= स्वमिवाचरते), मयते ॥ Similarly when a second member of the compound follows. As तव पुत्रः = स्वतुपुत्रः, मतुपुत्रः ॥ त्वं नायोऽस्य = स्वन्नायः, मन्नायः ॥ When more than one individual is signified, the substitution does not take place, as युष्मरीचं (= युष्माकनिर्घं), अस्मरीचं ; युष्मतुपुत्रः (= युष्माकं पुत्रः), अस्मतुपुत्रः ॥

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

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

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

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

Thus तिस्रः, चतस्रः, तिसृभिः, चतसृभिः ॥ Why 'in the Feminine'? Observe चतः, चत्वारः, त्रीणि, चत्वारि ॥ The word स्त्रियाम् qualifies त्रि and चतुर् and not the word अङ्ग 'stem' which is of course understood here. Therefore, the substitution will take place even where the anga refers to a Masculine, or a Neuter; when त्रि and चतुर् refer to a Feminine; as म्रियास्तिस्रो ब्राह्मण्योऽस्य ब्राह्मणस्य = म्रियास्तिसा ब्राह्मणः (VII. 1. 94) म्रियास्तिस्रो, म्रियास्तिस्रः ॥ The guṇa of VII. 3. 110 is debarred in anticipation by VII. 2. 100 ordaining र ॥ म्रियास्तिसृ ब्राह्मणकुलं, म्रियास्तिसृणी, म्रियास्तिसृणि ॥ Similarly म्रियचतस्रा. °चतस्रो, °चतस्रः, म्रियचतसृ, °चतसृणी, °चतसृणि ॥ The samāsānta affix कर् (V. 4. 153) is however not added in the above, because तिसृ &c are bahirangasubstitutions. Conversely, the anga may be feminine, but if त्रि and चतुर् refer to Masculine or Neuter nouns, the substitution will not take place: as म्रियास्त्रयोऽस्याः or म्रियाणि त्रीणि वा अस्या ब्राह्मण्याः = म्रियाभिः 'a Brahmanī to whom three are beloved.' dual. म्रियत्रीः, म्रियचतः ॥ Similarly म्रियचत्वारः, म्रियचत्वारो, म्रियचत्वारः ॥

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

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

अचि र ऋहतः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, र, ऋहतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिसृ चतसृ इत्येतयोर्ऋतः स्थाने रेफादेशो भवति अजादौ विभक्तौ परतः ।

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

त्यदादीनामः ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यदादीनाम्, अः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदित्येवमादीनामकारदेशो भवति विभक्तौ परतः ।

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

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

किम् कः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्, कः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किम् इत्येतस्य क इत्यवभादेशो भवति विभक्तौ परतः ।

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

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

कु तिहोः ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कु, तिहोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तकारादेशो हकारादेशो च विभक्तौ परतः किमित्येतस्य कु इत्यवभादेशो भवति ।

104. कृ is substituted for किम् before a vibhakti affix beginning with a त or a ह ॥

Thus कृतः, कृत्, कृह (V. 3. 13, 7). The इ in ति means beginning with a त ॥

काति ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ क, अति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतीत्येतस्यां विभक्तौ परतः किमित्येतस्य कृ इत्ययमादेशो भवति ।

105. क is substituted for किम् before the vibhakti अत् (V, 3. 13).

As कृ गमिष्यसि, कृ भोक्षते ॥ The substitute कृ of the last rule, before the affix अत् would have become कृ, but that it would have caused guṇa, hence this separate substitute. Had the sūtra been किनोऽङ्गत् it would not have included the अकच् augmented किम् ॥

तदोः सः सावनन्त्ययोः ॥ १०६ पदानि ॥ तदोः, सः, सौ, अनन्त्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यशीनां सकारकारयोरनन्त्ययोः सकारादेशो भवति सौ परतः ।

106. For the non-final त् and द् of त्यद् &c. there is substituted स् in the Nominative Singular.

As त्यद् + सु = त्य + अ + सु (VII. 2. 102) = त्य + अ + सु (VII. 2. 106) = त्यः (VI. 1. 97). Similarly सः from तद्, एषः from एतद् as एतद् + सु = एत + अ + सु (VII. 2. 102) = एत + अ + सु (VII. 2. 106) = एषः (VI. 1. 97). So असौ from अद्स् by the following sūtra. Why do we say 'non-final'? Observe हे से, सा ॥ Had not this word been used, the case-affix would not be elided in the vocative, as then there would have been no short vowel, as required by VI. 1. 69.

अद्स औ सुलोपश्च ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्सः, औ, सुलोपश्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अद्सः सौ परतः सकारस्य औकारादेशो भवति सौ च लोपो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ औत्वप्रतिषेधः साकच्क्राद्वा वक्तव्यः सादुत्वं च ॥

वा० ॥ संस्तरपद्भूतानां त्यशीनामकृतसन्धीनामादेशा वक्तव्याः ॥

Kārikā अद्सः सोर्भवेसौत्वं किं सुलोपो विधीयते ।

इत्याल्लुप्येत संवृद्धिर्न षलः प्रकृतं हि तत् ॥

भाप एत्वं भवेत्तस्मिन् झलीत्यनुवर्तनात् ।

प्रत्ययस्थास्य कादित्वं षीमावच्च प्रसज्यते ॥

107. For the स् of अद्स् there is substituted औ, whereby the Nom. affix सु is elided.

As अद्स् + सु = अद् + औ + सु (VII. 2. 107) = अस् + औ (VII. 2. 106) = असौ ॥

Vārt.—When the augment अकच् is added, the औ substitution is optional, and in that alternative ङ is added after स्, as अङ्गकः or असकौ ॥

Vārt.—When त्यद् &c. form second members of a compound, the above mentioned substitutions take place before the application of sandhi: as परमाहम्, परमायम्, परमानेन ॥

The form अङ्गकः is thus evolved :—अद्कस् + सु, now औ substitution of the present sūtra is prohibited; therefore, the अ substitution of VII. 2. 102 takes

place, and the इ is changed to सू by VII. 2. 106, and the अ of अकच् after सू is changed to उ ॥

The following observations may be made with regard to the forms परमाहम् &c. A substitute would be a bahiraṅga with regard to a case-affix that should be added to a compound. Therefore, being an antaraṅga rule, the ekadeśa should be made first, and this ekadeśa being considered as the beginning of the subsequent word, we should get erroneous forms like परमहम्. परमहं instead of परमाहम् and परमायम् &c. Hence the necessity of the above vārtika.

Kārikā:—Let the sūtra be अस्स औ without the words सुलोपश्च ॥ The word औ is understood here from the preceding aphorism. The word अस्सः is in the ablative case, the word औ which is in the 7th case, should be changed here into the 6th case औः ॥ The sūtra would then mean अस्स उत्तरस्य औरीकारो भवति— औ is substituted for the सु after अस्स् ॥ Then the final अस् of अस्स् is changed to अ by VII. 2. 102, and इ is changed to सू by VII. 2. 106, and we have असौ ॥ So where is the necessity of using the words सुलोपश्च in the sūtra.

Obj: If औ be substituted for सु, then in the vocative this औ should be elided by VI. 1. 69, as it comes after a short vowel अ of VII. 2. 102. Ans. औ will not be elided by VI. 1. 69, for that rule refers to the elision of a consonantal affix only, the word हलः being understood in that sūtra, from the preceding sūtra VI. 1. 68.

Obj: If this be so, then in the Feminine Vocative we have असा + औ, and by the rule VII. 3. 106, the आ should be changed to ए before this औ ॥ Ans. No, this will not be so, for the ए substitution takes place only before a हल् beginning affix, for the word हलि is understood in the sūtra VII. 3. 106 from the sūtra VII. 3. 103.

Obj: If this be so, then in the feminine with अकच्, we have, असका + औ, and here rule VII. 3. 4† shows itself and requires the अ of अ to be changed to इ (असिका) before the क of an affix. Ans. That rule VII. 3. 44 applies where the feminine affix आ is audible and remains unchanged, but here it is changed to औ (Vṛddhi अ + औ = औ) in असकौ ॥

Obj: But then in असा + औ, the औ would require to be changed to औ by VII. 1. 18. Ans. This objection is partial only, for औह् in VII. 1. 18 is explained by some, to be the common name given by ancient grammarians to the औ of Dual; and not to this औ; moreover, in the masculine no objection can apply. Hence the words सुलोपश्च may well be omitted.

इदमो मः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदमः, मः ॥
वृत्तिः । इदमः सौ परतो मयारोन्तादेशो भवति ।

108. म् is substituted for the final म् of इदम् in the Nominative Singular.

As इयम्, अयम् ॥ The substitution of य् for इ is to prevent the अ substitution of VII. 2. 102. The case-ending is elided by VI. 1. 68, and य् substituted by VII. 2. 110.

दञ्च ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः । इयमो ङकारस्य स्थाने मकारादेशो भवति विभक्तौ परतः ।

109. And म् is substituted for the इ of इयम् before a case-affix.

As इमौ, इमे, इमम्, इमौ, इमाम् ॥ Thus इयम् + अम् = इयम् + अम् (VII. 2. 102) = इमम् + अम् (VII. 2. 109) = इमम् (VI. 1. 97, 107).

यः सौ ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ यः, सौ, ॥

वृत्तिः । इयमो मकारस्य ङकारादेशो भवति सौ परतः ।

110. य् is substituted for the इ of इयम् in the Nom. Sg. in the feminine.

As इयम् ॥ This is confined to the Feminine, as the following sūtra relates to the masculine; and in the Neuter, the इ is इक elided by स्वमोर्नपुंसकान् and so leaves no trace behind.

इदोऽय् पुंसि ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदः, अय्, पुंसि ॥

वृत्तिः । इयमो इहूपस्य पुंसि सौ परतो ङ्य इत्ययमादेशो भवति ।

111. अय् is substituted for the इद् of इयम् in the Nom. Sg. masculine.

As अयम् ॥ In the Feminine इयम् ॥ As अयं ब्राह्मणः, and अयं ब्राह्मणी ॥

अनाप्यकः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन, आपि, अकः, ॥

वृत्तिः । इयमो ङकारस्य इहूपस्य स्थाने अन इत्ययमादेशो भवति आपि विभक्तौ परतः ।

112. अन is substituted for the इद् of इयम् in the Instrumental singular and the cases that follow, provided that the augment akach is not added.

As अनेन, अनयोः ॥ Why do we say "not when क् is added by V. 3. 71"?

Observe इमकेन, इमकयोः ॥ The word आप् (आपि) in the sūtra is a pratyāhāra, formed with the आ of दा (Ins. Sg.), and प् of इप् (Loc. Pl.).

हलि लोपः ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलि, लोपः, ॥

वृत्तिः । हलादौ विभक्तौ परत इयमो ङकारस्य इहूपस्य लोपो भवति ।

113. The इद् of इयम् is elided before a case-affix beginning with a consonant.

As आभ्याम्, एभिः, (VII. 1. 11) एभ्यः एषाम्, एषु ॥ For इ is substituted अ by VII. 2. 102, and for अ + अ = अ by VI. 1. 97. The rule I. 1. 52 by which a substitute replaces only the final letter, does not apply here, on the maxim मानर्थको भलोऽन्वयविधिः ॥ For no purpose is served by eliding merely the final इ

of इवम् ॥ Hence इह् is elided. Or it may be said that the sūtra does not teach the elision of इह्, but of अन् which was substituted for इह् by the preceding sūtra.

मृजेर्वृद्धिः ॥११४॥ पदानि ॥ मृजेः, वृद्धिः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विभक्त्याविति निवृत्तम् मृजेरङ्गस्य इको वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

114. The Vṛiddhi (आर्) is substituted for the root vowel (ऋ) of the stem मृज् before an affix.

As मर्हो, मर्हम्, मर्ह्यम् ॥ The मृह् here is a root, and the affixes before which this Vṛiddhi takes place are those which come after roots, and not which come after Prātipadikas. Therefore, not before the affixes भ्वाँ &c, as कंसपरिवृद्भाम्, वृद्धिः ॥ The anuvṛitti of the word vibhakti has ceased. This sūtra debars guṇa of VII. 3. 84.

अचो अणिति ॥११५॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, अ, णिति ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्ताङ्गस्य अिति णिति च वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

115. Before the affixes having an indicatory अ् or ण्, Vṛiddhi is substituted for the end-vowel of a stem.

Thus एकस्तण्डुलनिचावः, (III. 3. 20) द्वौ शूर्पनिष्पावो, कारः and हारः (with धम्); गोः, गावो, गावः, सखावो, सखावः where the case-endings are णित् by VII. 1. 90, 92. जैर्धम्, योषम् with the Uṇādi ष् from जि and यु ॥ ज्योन्नः with ङ् and means 'strength'. It is an obsolete Vedic word.

अत उपधायाः ॥११६॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, उपधायाः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गोपधाया अकारस्य स्थाने अिति णिति च प्रत्यये वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

116. In a stem ending in a consonant with an अ immediately preceding it, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for such अ, when an affix having an indicatory अ् or ण् follows.

As पाकः, त्यागः, बागः with चम्, पाचि with the causative णि, पाचकः with ङ् ॥ Why do we say 'अ'? Observe भेदवति, भेदकः with guṇa only from भिद् where इ is penultimate and not अ ॥ Why do we say 'penultimate'? Observe चकासवति, तक्षकः ॥

तद्धितेष्वचामादेः ॥११७॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धितेषु, अचाम्, आदेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धिते अिति णिति च प्रत्यये परतोङ्गस्याचामादेरचःस्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

117. The Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the stem, when a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory अ् or ण् follows.

As गार्ध्वः from गर्ग + धम्, so also वास्वः ॥ हासिः (हस + इम्), शासिः, श्योपगवः (with अण् from उपगु), कापठवः &c. This debars the Vṛiddhi of VII. 2. 115 and 116. as स्वाङ्गः from स्वह्, and जागतः from जगत् ॥

किति च ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ किति, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किति च तद्धिते परतोऽङ्गत्वाच्चाभावेऽपः स्याने वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

118. The Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the stem, when a Taddhita affix with an indicative क् follows.

As नाडावन् with कक्, so also चारायणः (IV. 1. 99), and भाषिकः and शाल-
किकः with डक् (IV. 4. 1).

ओ३म् ।

अथ सप्तमाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER THIRD.

देविकाशिशापादित्यवाद्दीर्घसत्रश्रेयसामात् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ देविका, शिशापा,
दित्यवाद्, दीर्घसत्र, श्रेयसाम्, आत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देविका शिशापा दित्यवाद् दीर्घसत्र श्रेयस् इत्येतेषामङ्गानामचामदेरचः स्थाने वृद्धिमस्रोः आकारो
भवति मिति णिति किति तद्धिते परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वहीनरस्येहचनम् ॥

1. When a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory अ, ण् or क् follows, आ is substituted instead of Vṛiddhi for the first vowels of the following: devikā, simsapā, dityavāṭ, dīrghasatra, and sreyas.

Thus शविकम् (= देविकायां भवम्) in शविकशुक्लम्; शविकाकूलः शालवः (= देविकाकूले भवाः), पूर्वशविकः from पूर्वशविका 'the name of a village of the Eastern people'. Here the vṛiddhi of the second member ordained by VII. 3. 14, becomes आ ॥ Similarly शांशपाचमसः (= शिशापायाविकारः) ॥ The word belongs to the Palāsādī class (IV. 3. 141), and takes अण् or अङ्, the difference being in accent. So also शांशपास्यलाः (= शिशापास्यले भवाः), and पूर्वशांशपा from पूर्वशांशपा 'the name of a village' See VII. 3. 14. Similarly शस्यौहम् from दित्यवाद्, (दित्यौह इह्) and शर्षसचम् (शर्षसचे भवं) and आचसम् (अचसि भवं) ॥

Vart.—The Vṛiddhi of वहीनर under similar circumstances is with an ऐ as if व was वि, as वहीनरस्यापर्यं = वैहीनरिः ॥ Some say the original word itself is विहीनर (विहीनोनरः), and so its taddhita derivative is regular.

केकयमित्त्रयुप्रलयानां यादेरियः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ केकय, मित्त्रयु, प्रलयानाम्,
य-भादेः, इयः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ केकय मित्त्रयु प्रलय इत्येतेषां यकारादेरिच इत्यनमादेशो भवति तद्धिते मिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

2. When a Taddhita affix with an indicatory अ्, ण् or क् follows, इय् is substituted for the य and यु of केकय, मित्रयु and प्रलय ॥

As केकयः (=केकयस्यापत्यं), with the affix अम् (IV. 1. 168): similarly मैत्रये-का formed with युम् (V. 1. 134) in the sentence मैत्रयिकया श्लाघते ॥ The word Gotra in that sūtra V. 1. 134 means a Rishi name, for in ordinary parlance the name of a Rishi is called Gotra. Similarly प्रलयम् (=प्रलयाशङ्कत). As प्रलययुक्क ॥

न ध्याभ्यां पदान्ताभ्यां पूर्वौ तु ताभ्यामैच् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ध्याभ्याम्, पदान्ताभ्याम्, पूर्वौ, तु, ताभ्याम्, ऐच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारवकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य अचामादेशः स्याने वृद्धिर्न भवति; ताभ्यां तु अकारवकाराभ्यां पूर्वमैच्-गमौ भवतामिति णिति किति च तद्धिते परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अव्ययानां भवाच्च दिलोपः ॥

3. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ण् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel in a compound, when it follows a word ending in य् or ष्, but ऐ and औ are respectively placed before the semi-vowels.

That is ऐ is placed before अ्, and औ before ष् ॥ As वैचसनम् from व्यसन; (व्यसने भव) वैचाकरणः from व्याकरणं (व्याकरणमधीते) सौवश्वः from स्वश्वः (स्वश्वस्यापत्यं) ॥ Why after य् or ष् only? Observe चार्थिः son of चर्यः ॥ Why do we say 'य् or ष् final of a pada or word'? Observe चाटीकः from चाटिः, (चाटिः प्रहरणमस्य) IV. 4. 59 चाता from चति (यतेच्छायाः or यत इमे छायाः) ॥ The rule does not apply to हाध्याधि and माध्याधि, for no rule ordains the Vṛiddhi of ध्य or ध्व, and so no occasion for the prohibition of this rule arises. These are Patronyms formed by इम् (IV. 1. 95) from इध्याध् and मध्याध् (धाधि प्रियोऽध्यायस्य &c). The present rule applies to that Vṛiddhi also which takes place in the second member of the compound by VII. 3. 10 &c. As पूर्ववैद्यालिनः from पूर्वव्यालिनः (पूर्वव्यालिनो भवः) ॥ But this prohibition does not apply where the य् or ष् are not the parts of the second member, as द्याहीतिकः (=हे अहीती भूतो, भूतो भावी वा) ॥

द्वारादीनां च ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वार, आदीनाम्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वार इत्यवशांसां ध्याभ्याम् उत्तरपदस्याचामादेशः स्याने वृद्धिर्न भवति पूर्वौ तु ताभ्यामैच्गमौ भवतः ॥

4. Before a Taddhita-affix with an indicatory अ्, ण् or क् the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel after य् or ष्, but ऐ and औ are respectively placed before these semi-vowels in द्वार &c.

As द्वारे नियुक्तः = सौवारिकः, सौवारपालम् from द्वारपाल ॥ The Tadādi rule applies here. सौवरः from स्वर, (स्वरमधिकृत्य कृतो मन्वः) ॥ So also सौवरोऽध्यायः, सौवर्षः सप्तम्यः ॥ वैयत्कशः from व्यत्कश, (व्यत्कशो भवः) सौवस्तिकः from स्वास्ति, (स्वस्तीति आह) सौवः from स्वर (स्वभवः) ॥

Vārt:—The last vowel, with the consonant, if any, which follows it, is elided in the Indeclinables: as सौवर्गमिकः (= स्वर्गमनमाह) ॥

Some read the word स्वाध्याय also in this list, but it is unnecessary, as it would be governed by the last rule, because it is a compound of सु + अध्याय (सौ-भनोऽध्याय), or it may be a compound of स्व + अध्याय, then also it is unnecessary, as स्व is separately mentioned, in this list, and therefore when स्व begins a word it would get this peculiar substitution then also. Similarly स्फैवकृतः from स्फ्यकृत; सौवादुबुदु from स्वादुबुदु, सौवनम् from भन् the prakṛiti-bhāva is by (VI. 4. 167) while सौवम् from भन् where there is no prakṛitibhāva (by इम् IV. 3. 154): सौवा-बुदुः (भावद्वयां भवः). Similarly सौवम् from स्व (= स्वस्वेर्); सौवषामिकः from स्वषाम with the affix इम् (अध्यात्मदिस्वाद् इप्). This sūtra is made because the व् and व् here are not finals of a पद or word, as they were in the preceding sūtra. The following is a list of Dvārādi words.

1 हार, 2 स्वर, 3 स्वाध्याय, 4 व्यक्त्वा, 5 स्वस्ति, 6 स्वर (स्वर), 7 स्फ्यकृत, 8 स्वादुबुदु, 9 भस्*, 10 भन्, 11 स्व ॥

न्यग्रोधस्य च केवलस्य ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न्यग्रोधस्य, च, केवलस्य, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ न्यग्रोधस्य केवलस्य यकारादुत्तरस्याच्चापारेचः रयाने वृद्धिर्न भवति तस्माच्च पूर्वमेकार भागनो भवति ॥

5. पे is placed before the व् of न्यग्रोध, instead of Vriddhi, when the word stands alone, and is not a member of a compound, and is followed by a Taddhita affix with the indicative इ, ए or ऊ ॥

As न्यग्रोधमसः (= न्यग्रोधस्य विकारः). Why do we say 'when it is alone'? Observe न्यग्रोधमूल भवाः शालयः = न्यग्रोधमूलाः ॥ If न्यग्रोध is a derivative word (from न्यग्रोहयति = नीचैर्गतौ परोहैर्वधते), then it would have been governed by VII. 3. 3, this separate, sūtra is then for the sake of making a restrictive rule (niyama) with regard to this word. If it is a primary word, then this sūtra makes a Vidhi rule. The word केवल is a jñāpaka that the rule of Tadādi applies in this section. See VII. 3. 8, also.

न कर्मव्यतिहारे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, कर्मव्यतिहारे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मव्यतिहारं यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ॥

6. The prohibition and the augment, ordained by VII. 3. 3, do not apply to a word which expresses the reciprocity of an action.

As व्यावक्रोषी, व्यावेली, व्यावर्त्सी, व्यावहासी ॥ See III. 3. 43 and V. 4. 14.

स्वागतादीनां च ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वागत, आदीनाम्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वागत इत्येवमादीनां यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ॥

7. The prohibition and augment taught in VII. 3. 3 does not apply also to स्वागत &c.

As स्वागतिकः, (=स्वागतमिति आह) स्वाध्वरिकः, (=स्वधरेण चरति) स्वाङ्गिः, व्याङ्गिः, व्याडिः (sons of Svanga, Vyanga and Vyāḍa). व्यावहारिकः and स्वापत्तवः (=स्वपत्तौ साधुः) ॥ The word व्यवहार does not mean reciprocity of action, for then it would have been governed by the last sūtra. स्वपत्त being a compound with स्व, would have been governed by VII. 3. 4 as it is included in the Dvārādi list, hence its specific mention here. The following is the list of svāgatādi words.

1 स्वागत, 2 स्वध्वर, 3 स्वङ्ग, 4 व्यङ्ग, 5 व्यड, 6 व्यवहार, 7 स्वपत्ति ॥

श्वदेरिञि ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्व, आदेः, इञि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वदेरङ्गस्य इञि परतो यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इकरादिप्रहणं कर्तव्यं पूर्वगणिकाद्यर्थम् ॥

8. A compound beginning with श्वन्, and followed by the Taddhita affix इञ्, is not governed by the prohibition, nor takes the augment, taught in VII. 3. 4.

Thus the descendant of इवमञ्च is इवामञ्चिः, so also इवाराष्ट्रिः ॥ The word इवम् is included in the list of Dvārādi words VII. 3, 4, the present sūtra implies that the rule VII. 3. 4 applies not only to those words, but to compounds beginning with those words.

Vart:—This rule applies when any Taddhita affix beginning with इ follows; as श्वगणन चरति = श्वगणिकः, श्वार्थीकः (IV. 4. 11).

The prohibition applies, when other Taddhita affixes follow such a word ending with इञ् (an affix beginning with इ): as from इवामञ्चि we have इवामञ्चम् (इवामञ्चरिदे) ॥

पदान्तस्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदान्तस्य, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वदेरङ्गस्य पदशब्दान्तस्यान्यतरस्यां यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ॥

9. The rule VII. 3. 4. is optionally applied to श्वन् followed by पद् ॥

As श्वापदस्येवं = श्वापदम् or श्वापदम् ॥

उत्तरपदस्य ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्तर पदस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदस्येत्ययमधिकारः, हनस्तांश्चिण्णलोरिति प्रागंतस्मात् । अस्ति ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रामिव्याम उत्तरपदस्येत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

10. Upto VII. 3. 31 inclusive, the substitution of Vriddhi will take place, for the first vowel of the second member in a compound.

This is an adhikāra sūtra, and exerts governing influence upto VII. 3. 32 exclusive. The phrase "of the second member of the compound" should

be supplied in all those sūtras, to complete the sense. Thus in VII. 3. 11, the word उत्तरपदस्य should be supplied. As पूर्ववार्धिकं, अपरवार्धिकम्, पूर्वहेमनम्, अपरहेमनम् ॥

In those sūtras, where the word denoting the first member is not exhibited in the Ablative case, as in VII. 3. 18, 19, 20, 21, the present sūtra is absolutely necessary for causing the vṛiddhi of the second member. But in those sūtras, where the first member is exhibited in the ablative case, as in VII. 3. 11 (अवयवात्), there this sūtra is only explanatory (and not absolutely necessary), and serves also the purpose of placing such vṛiddhis under the category of 'uttarapada-vṛiddhi'. This peculiar vṛiddhi is liable to certain rules of accent, as in VI. 2. 105. Hence the importance of the present aphorism in those sūtras also, where the word is exhibited in the fifth case.

अवयवाद्गतोः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवयवात्, ऋतोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवयववाचिन उत्तरस्य ऋतुवाचिन उत्तरपदस्याचामादेश्चो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते मिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

11. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण् or क्, Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of a word denoting season, when it is preceded by a word denoting a part.

As पूर्ववार्धिकम्, पूर्वहेमनम्, अपरवार्धिकम्, अपरहेमनम् ॥ The composition with पूर्व and अपर &c takes place by II. 2. 1. and then by IV. 3. 18 there is इक् after वर्ष, and अण् after हेमन्त with the elision of त् by IV. 3. 22. The Tadanta-viddhi, as a general rule, does not apply to compounds, so that a rule made applicable to a particular word, will not apply to a compound which ends with that word: but tadanta-viddhi applies to a word denoting season when it takes an affix causing Vṛiddhi, and is preceded by a word denoting a portion. We draw this rule from the present sūtra, for हेमन् being formed from हेमन्त by a vṛiddhi-causing affix (IV. 3. 22), the affix अण् will be applied to हेमन्त even when it is the second member of a compound, the first member of which denotes a part. (ऋतोर्वृद्धि मद्भिधावयववात् I. 1. 72 Vārt. Mahābhāṣya).

Why do we say 'denoting a portion'? Observe पूषास्तु वर्षास्तु भवं पौर्ववार्धिकम् with इक् (IV. 3. 11). The tadanta-viddhi applies only when the first member denotes a portion.

सुसर्वाद्धाज्जनपदस्य ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, सर्व, अद्धति, जनपदस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु सर्व अद्ध इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य जनपदवाचिन उत्तरपदस्याचामादेश्चो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते मिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

12. After सु, सर्व and अद्ध, the first vowel of the name of a country gets the Vṛiddhi, when a Taddhita affix with an indicatory अ, ण् or क् follows.

As सुपाञ्चालकः, सर्वपाञ्चालकः and अर्धपाञ्चालकः, formed with वुम् (IV.2.125). This sūtra also gives rise to the following rule सुसर्वाधेर्विक्रु शब्दोभ्यो जनपदस्य "The tadantavidhi applies to words denoting country, when the first member is सु, सर्व, अर्ध or a direction-denoting word". As shown in the above examples, and for direction denoting words see the following sūtra. (I. 1. 72 VArt. Mahābhāshya).

दिशो ऽमद्राणाम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिशः, अ मद्राणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिग्वाचिन उत्तरस्य जनपदवाचिनो मद्रवर्जितस्याच्चाभावेचोवृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते भिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

13. After a word denoting direction, the first vowel of the name of a country, with the exception of मद्र, gets Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory अ, ए, or क् ॥

As पूर्वपाञ्चालकः, अपरपाञ्चालकः, क्षतिजपाञ्चालकः, उत्तरपाञ्चालकः (IV. 2. 125, 107, 108. VI. 2. 105 accent). The Tadanta-vidhi applies here, as shown in the preceding sūtra. Why do we say 'denoting direction'? Observe पूर्वः पञ्चालानां = पूर्वपाञ्चालः, तत्र मद्रः, = पूर्वपाञ्चालकः, अपरपाञ्चालकः ॥ With मद्र we have पूर्वमद्रः, अपरमद्रः with अम् (IV. 2. 108). The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

प्राचां ग्रामनगराणाम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्, ग्राम, नगराणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचां देशे ग्रामनगराणां दिश उत्तरेषामच्चाभावेचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते भिति णितिकिति च परतः ॥

14. After a word denoting direction, the first vowel of the name of a village or city in the land of the eastern people, gets the Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ए or क् ॥

Thus पूर्वेषुकामग्रामः, अपरैषुकामग्रामः, पूर्वकार्णवृत्तिकः, अपरकार्णवृत्तिकः (IV. 2. 107). These are village names. पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रकः, अपरपाटलिपुत्रकः पूर्वकान्यकुब्जः, अपरकान्यकुब्जः ॥

The word प्राचां in this sūtra, as well as in VII. 3. 24, does not here mean 'the eastern grammarians', but 'the eastern countries', because of the context. पूर्वेषुकामग्रामः is thus formed. पूर्वा च असौ इषुकामग्रामी = पूर्वेषुकामग्रामी ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 50. Then the affix अ is added to it, in the sense of ततो मद्रः by IV. 2. 107. In पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रकः the affix वुम् is added by IV. 2. 123. Though Pāṭaliputra is the name of one city, Purva-pāṭaliputra means the Eastern portion of the city Pāṭaliputra.

That place is called 'grāma', where people reside, and a 'nagara' is also a 'grāma' in this sense. Therefore, the rules which good men observe with regard to 'grāma', are observed by them in 'nagara' also. Thus the rule is जमङ्के ग्रामकुक्कुटः, therefore, the नागर cock is also not eaten. So also ग्रामे नाप्ययम् is applied to nagara also. In this grammar also, we see that 'grāma' includes

'nagara' also, as in IV. 2. 109, 117, VI. 2. 103. Therefore, where is the necessity of employing the word नगर separately in this aphorism? The two words are separately used, in order to indicate the separate nature and relation of the two kinds of words. The *full* word पूर्वेषुकामशामी is the name of a 'grāma', and not the portion इषुकामशामी ॥ But in पूर्वेषुपादलिपुत्र, the word पादलिपुत्र itself is the name of the 'nagara'. In the present sūtra, there is the adhikāra of अङ्गस्य and of उत्तरपदस्य ॥ We apply these separately to these two classes of words: namely ग्रामवाचिनाम् अङ्गानाम् and नगरवाचिनाम् उत्तरपदानाम् ॥ This we could not have done without employing these words in the sūtra. Therefore, in the case of 'grāma' word, the vṛiddhi takes place in that *portion* of it which follows a direction denoting word (ग्रामवाचिनामङ्गानामवयवस्य दिक्शब्दादुत्तरस्य वृद्धिर्भवति). While a *nagara* word itself gets vṛiddhi when it is preceded by a direction denoting word (दिशः उत्तरेषां नगराणाम्) ॥ In पूर्वेषुकामशामः, the vṛiddhi of इषुकामशामी takes place first, and then the combination by sandhi. See on this point VII. 3. 22.

संख्यायाः संवत्सरसंख्यस्य च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्यायाः, संवत्सर, संख्य-
स्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्याया उत्तरपदस्य संवत्सरशब्दस्य संख्यायाच्चात्पामादेशेभ्यः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते णिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

15. After a Numeral, the first vowel of संवत्सर and of a Numeral, gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita having an indicatory अ, ण, or क् ॥

Thus द्विसांवत्सरिकः = द्वौ संवत्सरावधीष्टो भूतो भूतो or भावी (V. 1. 80), त्रिसांवत्सरिकः, त्रिषाष्टिकः = द्वे षटी अधीष्टो भूतो भूतो भावी वा ॥ द्विसाप्तिकः ॥ The words द्वि, षटी &c when applied to वर्ष (VII. 3. 16) and Numerals give rise to the affixes taught under kālādhikāra (V. 1. 78-97). The special mention of संवत्सर here, (though this is a परिमाण word and would have been included in the sūtra VII. 3. 17) implies that the word परिमाण in that sūtra does not mean the measure of *time*, but a measure of any other thing than time. Therefore, with other time-words than samvatsara, the Vṛiddhi takes place in the regular way: as त्रैसमिकः, त्रैसमिकः ॥ Similarly in sūtra IV. 1. 22, the word परिमाण does not mean the measure of time or numerals, as त्रिवर्षा, द्विवर्षा माणविका ॥ In short, the word परिमाण in these sūtras (and elsewhere III. 2. 23, II. 3. 46 &c.) means "mass or bulk", and not a measure in general.

वर्षस्याभविष्यति ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्षस्य, अ-भविष्यति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्याया उत्तरस्य वर्षशब्दस्याच्चात्पामादेशेभ्यो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते णिति णिति किति च परतः, स चेत-
द्वितो भविष्यत्यर्थे न भवति ।

16. After a numeral, the first vowel of वर्ष gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण, or क्, when the affix does not refer to a Future time.

As द्विवर्षे अभीष्टो वृत्तो भूतो वा = द्विवार्षिकः, त्रिवार्षिकः ॥ But when denoting future time, we have द्वैवर्षिकः, त्रैवर्षिकः "calculated to last two or three years" as in the sentence यस्य त्रैवर्षिकं धान्यं निहितं भृत्यवृत्तये अधिकं वापि विद्येत स सोमं पातुमर्हति ॥ (= त्रीणि वर्षाणि भावी). The word अभविष्यत् does not qualify the words अघाह and वृत् (V. 1. 80), the sense of futurity is there denoted by the sentence and not by the taddhita-affix: as द्वे वर्षे अभीष्टो वृत्तो वा कर्म करिष्यति = द्विवार्षिको मनुष्यः ॥

परिमाणान्तस्यासंज्ञाशाणयोः ॥१७॥ पदानि ॥ परिमाणान्तस्य, असंज्ञा, शाणयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणान्तस्याङ्गस्य संख्यायाः परं यदुत्तरपदं तस्याचामादेशो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते मिति णिति किति च परतः, संज्ञायां विषये शाणे चोत्तरपदे न भवति ॥

17. After a numeral, the first vowel of a word denoting mass in its widest sense (with the exception of शाण) gets the Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण् or क्, when the word so formed does not mean a Name.

As द्वौ कुडवौ प्रयोजनमस्य = द्विकौडविकः (V. 1. 109) द्वाभ्यां सुवर्णाभ्यां क्रीतं = द्विसौवर्णिकम् (V. 1. 37), त्रिसौवर्णिकम् ॥ The taddhita affix is optionally elided, see vārtika to V. 1. 29. When the affix is elided there can be no Vṛiddhi, as द्विसुवर्णम् ॥ Similarly द्विनैष्किकम्, त्रिनैष्किकम् (V. 1. 30). Why 'when it is not a name'? Observe पाञ्चलोहितिकम्, पाञ्चकपालिकम् (= पाञ्चलोहित्यः or कपालानि परिमाणमस्य V. 1. 30) The whole word is a Name here. Why with the exception of शाण? Observe द्वशाणम्, त्रैशाणम् formed with अण् (V. 1. 35 and 36). Some read the sūtra as अंसंज्ञाशाणकुलिजानाम् so that कुलिज is also excepted, as द्वैकुलिजिकः (V. 1. 55 द्वैकुलिजे प्रयोजनमस्य) ॥

जे प्रोष्ठपदानाम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ जे, प्रोष्ठपदानाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जहति जातार्थो निर्दिश्यते । तत्र यस्तद्धितो विहितस्तस्मिन् मिति णिति किति च परतः प्रोष्ठपदानाद्युत्तरस्याचामादेशो वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

18. In प्रोष्ठपद and its synonyms, the first vowel of the second member gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita affix meaning 'born in that time', and having an indicatory अ, ण् or क् ॥

The word ज means 'born', the affixes denoting 'born under that asterism' are meant here. प्रोष्ठपद is the name of an asterism, the time appertaining there to is also called प्रोष्ठपद (the affix अण् of IV. 3. 3, is elided by IV. 2. 4). प्रोष्ठपदास्तु जातः = प्रोष्ठपदो माणवकः (with अण् IV. 3. 16). Why do we say 'born in that time'? Observe यदा प्रौष्ठपदो मेघः (= प्रोष्ठपदास्तु भवः) धरणीमभिवर्षति ॥ The plural number प्रोष्ठपदानां indicates that the synonyms of प्रोष्ठपद such as भद्रपाद are also to be included.

हृद्भगसिन्ध्वन्त पूर्वपदस्य च ॥१९॥ पदानि ॥ हृद्, भग, सिन्धु, अन्त, पूर्वपदस्य च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हृद् भग सिन्धु इत्येवमन्तेषु पूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदस्याचामादेशो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते मिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

19. The Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowels of both (the first and second) members in a compound ending with हृद्, भग, and सिन्धु, before a Taddhita affix having an indicative अ्, ण् or क् ॥

As सुहृदस्येदं = सौहार्दम्, सौभाग्यम्, सौभाग्यम् सौभाग्येयः (= सुभगाया अपत्यं), सौभाग्येयः (IV. 1. 126). The words सुभगा and दुर्भगा occur in the Kalyānādi class (IV. 1. 126), and the affix डक् and हृक् augment are added. सुभग also occurs in Ūdgātṛi class (V. 1. 129). That word, however, does not get the Vriddhi in the second member, As महते सौभाग्य ॥ This is a Vedic anomaly. Similarly from सक्तुसिन्धवः (= सक्तुप्रधानाः सिन्धवः) we have सक्तुसैन्धवः (= सक्तुसिन्धुषु भवः) so also पानसिन्धवः ॥ The word सिन्धु occurs in Kachchhādi class, and सैन्धवः is formed by अण् ॥ The Tadanta-rule applies to words formed there-under.

The words सुहृद् and दुर्हृद् are anomalously formed by V. 4. 150. But the reading adopted by Kāśikā is सुहृदस्येदम्; so the word hṛidaya is changed to hṛid by VI. 3. 50 or VI. 3. 51. The word sindhu means 'a country', 'a river' or 'an ocean'.

अनुशतिकादीनां च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुशतिकादीनाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुशतिक इत्येवमादीनां चाङ्गानां पूर्वपदस्य चोत्तरपदस्याचामादेशः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति तद्विधे
भ्रान्ति भ्रान्ति किति वा परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कल्याण्यादीनामिदञ्जितिनह् ॥

20. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicative अ्, ण् or क्, the Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowel of both members of the compounds अनुशतिक &c.

Thus (1) आनुशातिकम् (= अनुशतिकस्येदम्) V. 1. 21 and IV. 3. 120; (2) आनुहोदिकः (= अनुहोदेन चरति IV. 4. 8). (3) आनुसांवरणम् (= अनुसंवरणे शीयते V. 1. 96). (4) आनुसांवस्वरिकः (IV. 3. 60 formed by डङ् from अनुसम्बस्वरेण शीयते) (5) आंगारवैणवः (son of अङ्गारवेणु). (6) आसिहास्यम् (= असिहस्ये भवं). Some read this word as अस्यहस्य; this will also take अण् as belonging to विभुक्तादि class. As आस्यहास्यः (= अस्यहस्यस्योऽस्मिन्नध्यायेऽस्ति) Others read this as अस्येहतिः, as आस्येहतिकः (= अस्येहतिः प्रयोजनमस्य). The word अस्य in these is treated like a Prātipadika, its case-affix is not elided. (7) वाध्योगः (= वाध्योगस्य अपत्यं). It belongs to Bidādi class. (8) पुस्करसंज्ञोऽपत्यं = पौस्करसादिः ॥ This belongs to Bāhvādi class. (9) आनुहारत from अनुहरत् ॥ The same as above. (10) कुरुकतः belongs to Gargādi class. Its partonymic is कौरुकास्यः (11) कौरुपाञ्चालः (कुरुपञ्चालेषु भवः) ॥ The affix वुङ् is not added here, because अनपदस्युदासो अनपदस्येन गृह्यते ॥

(12) औदुकशौद्रिः (son of उदुकशुद्रिः) ॥ (13, 14) ऐहलौकिकः, पारलौकिकः, from इहलोकः and परलोकः by adding डङ् in the sense of तत्र भवः (लोकोत्तरपदस्य च) ॥ (15) सार्वलौकिकः from सर्वलोकः by डङ् under V. 1, 44. (16) सार्वपौरुषम् from सर्वपुरुषः in the

sense of सत्येदम् ॥ (17) सार्वभौमः (= सर्वभूमिनिमित्तं संयोगो or उत्पातो वा V. 1. 41) ॥ (18) प्रयोगः—प्रायोगिकः (तत्र भवः, प्रयोगाधिदेवाधिभूतस्यध्यात्वादयः) (19) परस्त्री—पारस्त्रैण्यः formed by इनेव (IV. 1. 126).

(20) So also of राजपुरुष before the affix व्यञ्, as राजपौरुष्यम् ॥ Why do we say before व्यञ् only? Observe राजपुरुषस्यापस्यं=राजपुरुषायणिः; formed by फिञ् (IV. 1. 157).

(21) शतकुम्भे भवः=शतकौम्भः, (21 a) सौख्यशायनिकः from सुखशयन (21 b) पारशरिकः from परशर ॥ (22) सूत्रनाडि=सूत्रनडस्यापस्यं ॥

This is an Akṛitigaṇa class; therefore, we have forms like these, भाभिगामिकः (अभिगममर्हति), आधिदैविकम् (अधिदेवेभवः), आधिभौतिकं; चातुर्विद्याम् (चतस्र एव विद्या) ॥ The affix व्यञ् is added in svārtha.

1 अनुशक्ति, 2 अनुहोड, 3 अनुसंवरण (अनुसंवरण), 4 अनुसंवरस्तर, 5 अङ्गारवेणु, 6 असिहस्य (अस्यहस्य), 7 अस्यहेति, 8 वध्योग, 9 पुष्करसद, 10 अनुहरन्, 11 कुरुकन्, 12 कुरुपञ्चाल, 13 उदकशुद्ध, 14 इहलोक, 15 परलोक, 16 सर्वलोक, 17 सर्वपुरुष, 18 सर्वभूमि, 19 प्रयोग, 20 परस्त्री, 21 राजपुरुषान् व्यञ्मि; 22 सूत्रनड ॥ आकृतिगण, 23 अभिगम, 24 अधिभूत, 25 अधिदेव 26 चातुर्विद्या, 27 सुखशयन 28 शतकुम्भ 29 परशर ॥

देवताद्वन्द्वे च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवता-द्वन्द्वे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवताद्वन्द्वे च पूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदस्य आचामादेशः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति तद्विधेः श्रिते णिति किति वा परतः ॥

21. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory इ, ए or क्, the Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowels of both members a Dvanda compound of the names of Devas.

As अग्निमारुती in अग्निमारुतीमनड्वासीमालभेत् ॥ अग्निमारुतं कर्म ॥ The rule applies to Dvandas relating to hymns (सूक्त) and sacrificial offerings (हवि). Therefore, not here, स्कान्दविद्याखौ देवतेऽस्य = स्कान्दविद्याखः (IV. 2. 24). So also ब्राह्ममजापस्वम् by ण्य from ब्राह्ममजापती ॥ See VI. 3. 26.

The short इ in the अग्नि in अग्निमारुत, अग्निवाहणम् is by VI. 3. 28. A compound relates to a sūkta, which worships a deva through hymns; and that by which a 'havis' is determined, is a compound relating to sacrificial offering.

नेन्द्रस्य परस्य ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इन्द्रस्य, परस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रशब्दस्य परस्य यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ॥

22. But the Vriddhi of the first vowel of Indra, when it stands as the second member of a Dvanda compound, does not take place before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory इ, ए or क् ॥

As सौमेन्द्रः, आग्नेन्द्रः ॥ Why "when it stands as the subsequent member"? Observe ऐन्द्रान्न भेकादशकपालं चरुं निवेपेत् ॥ There are two vowels in the word इन्द्र, and when a Taddhita affix is added, then one of these i. e. the इ or the last vowel is elided by VI. 4. 148, and the other (i. e. the इ, coalesces with the last

vowel of the first term, as सोम + इन् + अण् = सोम + इन् + अ = सोमे + अ + अ ॥ Now, no vowel is left of इन् when it gets the form न्, so what is the necessity of the present prohibitory rule? This prohibition indicates the existence of the following maxim : बहिरङ्गमपि पूर्वोत्तरपदयोः पूर्वं कार्यं भवति, पश्चादेकादेशः or in other words पूर्वोत्तरनिमित्तकार्यात् पूर्वमन्तरङ्गोऽधिकारिणा न ॥ "The substitution of one vowel for the final of the first and the initial of the second member of a compound does, even when it is antaranga, not take place previously to an operation which concerns the first or the second member of the compound". It is on this maxim that the forms पुवषुकामयाम (VII. 3. 14) &c are constructed, otherwise व being the first vowel of the second member (व् of इषु having merged in पूर्व), would have been vṛiddhied.

दीर्घाश्च वरुणस्य ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, च वरुणस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घादुत्तरस्य वरुणस्य यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ॥

23. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण् or क्, in a Dvandva compound of god-names, the vṛiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel of वरुण; when a long vowel precedes it.

As ऐन्द्रावरुणम्, मेधावरुणम् from इन्द्रवरुणौ &c. (VI. 3. 26). But अग्निवारुणीम् in अग्निवारुणीमनङ्गाही मालमेत् when a short vowel precedes it. This word is derived from the compound word अग्नीवरुणौ the इ of अग्नि being lengthened by VI. 3. 27. But in forming a Taddhita-derivative from this word, the long ई is shortened by VI. 3. 28, and therefore, it cannot be said that a long vowel precedes वरुण ॥

प्राचां नगरान्ते ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्, नगरान्ते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचां देशे नगरान्तेऽङ्गे पूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदस्याचामादेशो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते अिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

24. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowels of both members of the compound, which is the name of a city of the Eastern People, and which ends in the word नगर ॥

As साङ्गनागरः (= सुङ्गनगरे भवः), पौण्ड्रनागरः ॥ Why do we say 'of the Eastern people'? Observe माङ्गनगरः, from मङ्गनगरः the city of the Northern people.

जङ्गलधेनुबलजान्तस्य विभाषितमुत्तरम् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जङ्गल, धेनु, बलज, अन्तस्य, विभाषितम्, उत्तरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जङ्गल धेनु बलज इत्येवमन्तस्याङ्गस्य पूर्वपदस्याचामादेशो वृद्धिर्भवति विभाषितमुत्तर उत्तरपदस्य विभाषितं तद्धितं अिति णिति किति वा परतः ।

25. Before a Tahhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण्, or क्, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of-

the compound ending in जङ्गल, धेनु and बलज, and optionally for the first vowel of these second members also.

As कौरुजङ्गलम् or कौरुजाङ्गलम्, वैश्वधेनवम् or वैश्वधेनवम्, सौवर्णबलजः or सौवर्णबालजः॥
अर्द्धात्परिमाणस्य पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्द्धात्, परिमाणस्य, पूर्वस्य,
तु, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्द्धाद्यन्तपरस्य परिमाणवाचिन उत्तरस्याच्चापारेचः स्याने वृद्धिर्भवति पूर्वस्य तु वा भवति तद्धिते भिति णिति किति वा परतः ।

26. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण, or क्, the Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the second member, denoting a mass in its widest sense, when the word अर्ध precedes it, but optionally for the first vowel of अर्धे ॥

As अर्धद्रोणिकम् or आर्धद्रोणिकम्, अर्धकौडविकम् or आर्धकौडविकम् with इम् (V. I. 18). Why do we say when denoting a mass? Observe आर्धकौडविकम् only (=अर्ध-कौडः प्रयोजनमस्व) ॥

नातः परस्य ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अतः, परस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्द्धात्परस्य परिमाणाकारस्य वृद्धिर्न भवति, पूर्वस्य तु वा भवति, तद्धिते भिति णिति किति वा परतः ॥

27. When the first vowel of the second member, preceded by अर्ध and denoting mass is short अ, the Vriddhi is not substituted for this अ, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण or क्; and optionally so for the first vowel of the first member (i. e. अर्ध) ॥

Thus अर्धप्रस्थिकः or आर्धप्रस्थिकः (V. I. 18) ॥ अर्धकंसिकः or आर्धकंसिकः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a short अ'? Observe आर्धकौडविकः ॥ Why 'short अ'? Observe अर्ध खार्यान् भवः = अर्धखारी ॥ Here Vriddhi is substituted for the आ of खारी, and though the form remains the same, the power of this word is changed. For अर्धखारी being formed by a Taddhita affix causing Vriddhi, in forming a Bahuvrīhi compound, this word will retain its feminine form and will not be changed into masculine under VI. 3. 39. as अर्धखारीभार्यः (= अर्धखारीभार्यायस्य) (वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य च तद्धितस्य &c.) Wherever Vriddhi is prohibited with regard to a Taddhita affix, that affix cannot be called वृद्धिनिमित्त, and a word formed with such an affix will become masculine in a Bahuvrīhi compound referring to a male person, वैयाकरणो भार्या अस्य = वैयाकरणभार्यः ॥ The word वैयाकरण is formed by prohibition of Vriddhi. See VII. 3. 3.

प्रवाहणस्य ङे ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रवाहणस्य, ङे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रवाहणस्य ङे परत उत्तरपरस्याच्चापारेचो वृद्धिर्भवति पूर्वपरस्य वा भवति ॥

28. Before the affix ढ (पय), the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the second member of प्रवाहण, but optionally so for the first vowel of the first member (i. e. प्र) ॥

Thus प्रवाहणस्यापत्यं = प्रावाहणयः or प्रवाहणयः ॥ The affix ढक् IV. 1. 123, is added, similarly प्रवाहणेया भार्याऽस्य = प्रवाहणेयीभार्यः (VI. 3. 39, masculation prohibited). Or we may translate the sūtra as "Before the affix ढ, the vowel of प्र in प्रवाहण optionally gets Vṛiddhi", and omit the rest. The masculation will still be prohibited by VI. 3. 41, (जाते) ॥

तत्प्रत्ययस्य च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्प्रत्ययस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रवाहणस्येति वर्तते, सति ढप्रत्ययस्य प्रत्ययवर्षः, ढक् प्रत्ययान्तस्य प्रवाहणशब्दस्य सङ्घितेषु परत उत्तरपदस्याचामादेशो वृद्धिर्भवति पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥

29. Even so in a new derivative from this stem ending in ढ, formed with a Taddhita affix having an indicative ञ्, ण् or क्, there is vṛiddhi substitution for the first vowel of the second member, and optionally for the first vowel of the first member, in प्रवाहणेय and प्रावाहणेय ॥

As प्रवाहणेयस्यापत्यं = प्रावाहणेयिः or प्रवाहणेयिः, प्रा or प्र-वाहणेयकम् ॥

नञः शुचीश्वरक्षेत्रज्ञकुशलनिपुणानाम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नञः, शुचि, ईश्वर, क्षेत्रज्ञ, कुशल, निपुणानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ उत्तरेषां शुचि ईश्वर क्षेत्रज्ञ कुशल निपुण इत्येतेषामचामादेशो वृद्धिर्भवति, पूर्वपदस्य वा भवति सङ्घिते ङिति ङिति किति वा परतः ॥

30. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicative ञ्, ण् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is always substituted for the first vowel of शुचि, ईश्वर, क्षेत्रज्ञ, कुशल and निपुण when preceded by the Negative particle, but this substitution is optional for the vowel of the Negative particle.

As अशौचम् or आशौचम्, अनैश्वर्यम् or अनैश्वर्यम्, अक्षेत्रज्ञम् or आक्षेत्रज्ञम्, अकोशलम् or आकोशलम्, अनैपुणम् or अनैपुणम् ॥ Some say the optional vṛiddhi of the negative particle is an aprāpta-vibhāsha, no other rule would have caused its vṛiddhi had this rule not existed. They argue that by V. 1. 121, all affixes denoting भाव are prohibited after a Tatpurusha compound with the negative particle; therefore, the words शुचि &c, should be first developed by the addition of भाव-affixes, and then they should be compounded with the negative particle, which may be optionally vṛiddhied by this rule, which would apply to it, though it is not an aṅga, because the rule teaches vṛiddhi. Others controvert this opinion, and hold that other affixes causing vṛiddhi than भाव-affixes, also come after negative-Tatpurusha compounds, such as affixes denoting des-

endant &c : and भाव-affixes are added to Bahuvrīhi negative compounds also, therefore, the force of the anuvṛitti of अङ्, which is understood up to the end of the Seventh Adhyāya (VI. 1. 1), and *a fortiori* in this sūtra also, should not be set aside as the above interpretation would do. Moreover the full Taddhita compounds अक्षेपङ्ग and अनीश्वर are read in the list of Brāhmaṇādi words (V. 1. 124), and as such they take the भाव affix च्चम् which would have *always* caused the vṛiddhi of अ, but for this sūtra which makes it optional. Therefore it is a prāpta-vibhāshā.

यथातथयथापुरयोः पर्यायेण ॥३१॥ पदानि ॥ यथातथ, यथापुरयोः, पर्यायेण ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अयातथ अयापुर इत्येतयोर्नम उत्तरयोः पर्यायेणाचानादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते त्रिति णिति
क्रिति वा परतः ॥

31. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण् or क्, the words अयथातथ and अयथापुर may have vṛiddhi of the first vowel of their first member, or that of the second member, in alternation.

That is, when the Negative particle gets the vṛiddhi, the words remain unchanged; and when these words are vṛiddhied, the negative particle remains unaltered. As आयातथ्यम् or अयातथ्यम्, आयातपुर्यम् or अयातपुर्यम् ॥ The words अयथातथ and अयथापुर should be considered to belong, as negative compounds, to Brāhmaṇādi class (V. 1. 124): and take च्चम् ॥ In the sūtra the compounds अयातथ and अयापुर are exhibited and are Avyayibhāvas (II. 1. 7), and being neuters, the आ of तथा and पुरा are shortened. According to Patanjali this sūtra is superfluous. When the negative particle takes Vṛiddhi, the compound should be analysed as, न अयातथा = अयथातथा भावः = आयातथ्यम् ॥ When the second member gets the vṛiddhi, the compound should be analysed as, अयातथा भावः = आयातथ्यम्, न आयातथ्यम् = अयातथ्यम् ॥

हनस्तो ऽचिण्णलोः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन्ः, तः, अ, चिण् णलोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितेभ्यति निवृत्तम् । तस्संबद्धं कित्तीत्यपि । ऽण्णतीति वर्त्तते । हनस्तकारदेशो भवति
ऽण्णति प्रत्यये परतः चिण्णलो वर्जयित्वा ॥

32. त् is substituted for the न् of the root हन् before an affix with an indicatory अ or ण्, which causes also the vṛiddhi of the penultimate अ, but the augment is not added before the Aorist-sign चिण्, nor before the Personal ending णञ् of the Perfect.

The anuvṛitti of 'Taddhita' ceases, and with it that of कित् also which causes Vṛiddhi in Taddhita only. The णित् and मित् do govern still. Thus घातः (with घम्), घातयति (with णिच्), घातकः (with ण्वल्), साधुघातित् with हम्; घातंघातम् with णञ् ॥ But जघामि and जघान with चिण् and णञ् ॥ This sūtra has

reference to roots, and refers to those affixes only which come after roots (धातु-मख्य), therefore not here वार्धनः from वृषहन् ॥

आतो युक्चिण्कृतोः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, युक्, चिण्, कृतोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य चिणि कृति ङिति युगागमो भवति ।

33. A root-stem ending in आ receives the augment युक् (य्), before the Aorist sign चिण्, and before a kṛit-affix with an indicatory झ् or ण्, which causes also the Vṛiddhi of the root-vowel.

As अशायि, अधायि with चिण्, शयः and शयकः, धायः, धायकः with ण् and ण्वुन् ॥ Why चिण् and kṛit only? Observe वृषी, वृषी in the Perfect, and चौडिः, बालाकिः with इङ् a Taddhita affix (IV. 1. 96). So also ज्ञा देवता अस्य = ज्ञः ॥

नोदात्तोपदेशस्य मान्तस्यानाचमेः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उदात्तोपदेशस्य, मान्तस्य, अनाचमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तोपदेशस्य मान्तस्याङ्गस्याचमिबर्जितस्य चिणि कृति च ङिति वदुक्तं तत्र भवति ॥

वा० ॥ अनाचमिक्रमिवमीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

34. The Vṛiddhi is not substituted before the Aorist चिण् or a kṛit-affix with indicatory झ् or ण् for the vowel of that root which ends in म and is acutely accented in its original enunciation (Dhâtupâṭha), but not so in चम् after आ ॥

The vṛiddhi of the penultimate अ takes place before णित् and मित् affixes (VII. 2. 116), that vṛiddhi does not take place in the case of udâta roots ending in च् ॥ Thus अद्यादि, अत्तानि, and अद्यादि in चिण् ॥ Compare VI. 4. 92, 93. Similarly with कृत् affixes, as शामकः, तमकः, रमकः, शमः, तमः रमः ॥ Why do we say 'acutely accented'? Observe, शामकः, रामकः ॥ How do you explain उद्यम and उपरम? These are irregular forms exhibited by PĀnini himself in the Dhâtupâṭha अडडद्यमे (Bhu. 380), यम उपरमे (Bhu. 1033) Why do we use "in the original enunciation or upadeśa"? So that the rule may apply to हामी हमी, तमी, but not to शामनः, रामकः ॥ Here to the root शम्, तम् and रम् is added the affix चिण् (III. 2. 141). The words शामिन् &c. get the affix-accent, namely acute ऽ; and thus the root-vowel becomes anudâta. Though the root now becomes anudâta, yet because in its upadeśa it was udâta, the present sūtra will apply and prevent vṛiddhi. The roots चम्, रम् are anudâta in upadeśa, but in शामकः, रामकः they become udâta by णित् accent. This accent is a secondary accent and not the 'original' accent; and hence the present rule does not apply and there is vṛiddhi. Why do we say ending in च्? Observe चारकः पाठकः ॥ Why with the exception of आचम्? Observe आचामकः ॥

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the roots आ-चम्, कम् and वम्, as शामः, कामः and आचामः ॥ In the case of कश्, the affix चम् is added

in that alternative, when the root does not take the affix जिह् (III. 1. 31). It thus gets वृद्धि.

The word भ्रामः is formed from the Churādi भ्रम्, which with the affix जिच् gets वृद्धि, because जिच् is not a कृति-affix, and is not therefore governed by this rule. If you say "let there be वृद्धि of जिच्, but this वृद्धि will be shortened by VI. 4. 92 because it is a मित् root", we reply "this root is not मित्" ॥ The मित् roots are those enumerated in Bhuādi class, subdivision घटादिः (800). No doubt, there it is said that the roots ending in भ्रम् are मित् (in भ्रमन्ताश्च). But a root is regarded मित् only with regard to the Causative जिच् affix, and not with regard to that जिच् of the Churādi class where the sense of the causative is not involved in it. Therefore this root is not मित् (VI. 4. 93).

The phrases सूर्यविभ्रामा भूमिः and others like it are incorrect. Why do we say 'चिच् and कृति only'? Observe वाचाम, वचाम, अचाम ॥

जनिषध्योश्च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनि, वध्योः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनि वधि इत्येतदोभिवि कृति च सृजिति यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ।

35. The वृद्धि is not substituted for the vowels of जन् and वध् before the Aorist-sign चिच् and the कृति-affixes with an indicatory ञ् and ण् ॥

As भ्रजनि and भ्रवधि with चिच्, and जनकः and वधकः (with ण्), भ्रजनः, वधः ॥ This rule refers to the separate and the distinct root वध and not to the substitute of हन् ॥ This we see in the line भक्षकश्च विद्येत वधकोऽपि न विद्यते ॥ The form from हन् will be घातकः ॥ Moreover the substitute वध ends with अ i. e. it is of two syllables 'badha', and as such it also does not admit वृद्धि. (See II. 4. 42). The prohibition refers to चिच् and कृति-affixes, therefore not here, as जजान् गर्भे महिमानमिन्द्रम् ॥

अस्तिह्रीव्लीरीकन्यूरीक्ष्माय्यातां पुङ्णौ ॥ ३६ ॥ अस्ति, ह्री, व्ली, री, कन्यूरी, क्ष्मायी, आताम, पुङ्, णौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वे निवृत्तमङ्गस्येति वर्तते । अस्ति ह्री व्ली री कन्यूरी क्ष्मायी इत्येतेषामङ्गानामाकारान्तानां च पुगागमो भवति णौ परतः ।

36. The augment पुक् (प्) is added to the roots ऋ, ह्री, व्ली, री, कन्यू, क्ष्माय्, and to a root ending in long आ, when the affix जि (the Causative) follows.

As अर्पयति, द्वेषयति, ज्ञेययति, रेपयति, क्रोपयति, क्ष्मापयति ॥ The anuvṛitti of every word other than अङ्ग (VI. 4. 1.) ceases. The ष् of कन्यू and क्ष्माष् drops by VI. 1. 66. The गुण takes place by VII. 3. 86. Of the roots ending in long आ, we have वापयति, धापयति ॥ The root ऋ (Bhu. 983) गतिप्रापणयोः, and ऋ (Juhotyādi 16) गतो are both meant here. Similarly री includes रीह् लवणे (Di-ādi 30), and री गतिरेषणयोः (Kryādi 30). The augment is added at the end of

the preceding stem of root, and not to the affix. Being added to the root it becomes part of the root-stem, and in forming the reduplicate Aorist of such stems, the vowel before ष् is shortened by VII. 4. 1. If ष् were not the part of the stem, that vowel would not be shortened. Thus from शपयान् ; we have Aorist अशीरपत् ॥

शाच्छासाह्वाव्यावेर्पां युक् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शा, छा, सा, हा, व्या, वे पाप्, युक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शा छा सा ह्वा व्या वे पा इत्येतेषामङ्गानां युगागमो भवति णौ परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ लुगागमस्तु तस्य वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ धुम् प्रीम्नोर्बुवक्तव्यः ॥

37. The augment युक्(श्) is added to the verbal stems शा, छा, सा, हा, वे and पा before the affix णि (Causative).

As निशाययति, भवच्छाययति, भवसाययति, ह्वाययति, संव्याययति, वाययति, and पाययति ॥ The word पा includes the root पा 'to drink'. (Bhu 972) वे 'to dry' (Bhu 968). but not पा 'to protect' (Ad. 47): because the latter loses the षष् विकाराणा.

Vart:—The root पा 'to protect' takes the augment लुक् before णि, as पालयति ॥

Vart:—The roots धुम् and प्रीम् take the augment लुक् before णि, as धूनयति, प्रीणयति ॥

All these augments are added to the roots, in order that VII. 4. 1. should cause the shortening of the vowel preceding these. Thus the Aorist of the above are: अशीरपत्, अपीरपत्, अरूधुनत्, अपीप्रिणत् ॥

The roots शा, छा, सा, हा, व्या and पा are exhibited as ending in long आ their Dhâtupâtha forms are षा, शो, छो, सै, सो, ह्ये, व्ये and पै ॥ This indicates that these roots would have taken पुक् by the last sūtra, the word आत् 'ending in long आ' means the roots which actually end in long आ, as well as those which get long आ by VI. 1. 45. This also indicates, that in this subdivision or section, the maxim of lakṣhaṇa protipadokta &c does not apply. Therefore when the roots इ with ञि, and ङि assume the form अधि-आ and आ before the affix णि by VI. 1. 48, the augment पुक् is added to them, thus अभ्यापयति, आपयति ॥

वो विधूनने लुक् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वः, विधूनने, लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वा इत्येतस्य विधूननेर्धे वर्तमानस्य लुगागमो भवति णौ परतः ।

38. वा gets the augment लुक् (ञ्) before the affix णि when the Causative has the sense of 'shaking'.

As पक्षेणोपवाञ्जयति ॥ But आ वापयति केशान् when the sense is not that of shaking. This form could have been obtained from the root वञ् 'to move', (Bhu 271) with the affix णि in the ordinary way without any augment. The special augment लुक् to वा indicates that this root will not take लुक्, which it would have otherwise done by the last sūtra. The root वा belongs to Bhu. 969 (ओवे शोषणे) ॥

लीलांर्गुलुकावन्यतस्यां स्नेहविपातने ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ली, लोः, लुक्, लुक्, अन्यतरस्याम्, स्नेह विपातने ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ली लो इत्येतयोरङ्गयोरन्वतरस्यां उक्त्वा लुक् इत्येतावागमौ भवतो षौ परतः स्नेहविपातनये ॥

39. The roots ली and ला get optionally लुक् and लुक् augment respectively, before the affix णि, when the causative means 'the melting of a fatty substance'.

As वि लीनयति, वि लालयति, वि लाययति, or वि लापयति घृतम् ॥ The augment लुक् is added to ली when the root ends in long ई, and that also optionally. When the augment is not added, the regular causative लाययति is formed. But when ली gets the form ला by VI. 1. 51, it does not take the augment लुक् ॥ The root ली includes both ली and लीङ् of Kryādi and Divādi The root ला includes ला 'to give' (adādi 49), and ला the form assumed by ली under VI. 1. 51. When लुक् is not added to ला, पुक् is added by VII. 3. 36. Why do we say when meaning 'to melt fat'? Observe only लाहं विलापयति, ज्वाभिरालापयते (I. 3. 70).

भियो हेतुभये लुक् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ भियः, हेतुभये, लुक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भी इत्येतस्य हेतुभयेऽयं पुगागमो भवति षौ परतः ॥

40. The augment लुक् is added to the root भी before the affix णि, when fear is caused immediately owing to the agent of the Causative.

As घृण्णो भीषयते, अटिलो भीषयते ॥ See I. 3.68. Herealso भी with long ई being employed in the sūtra, indicates that लुक् is added then only, when the root has the form भी, but when it assumes the form भा by VI. 1. 56, the proper augment लुक् will come : as घृण्णो भाषयते ॥ Why do we say 'when the agent of the causative is himself the direct cause of fear'? Observe कुञ्चिकयेन भाषयति, for here कुञ्चिका causes fear and not the agent of the verb. The ई is vṛddhied and भाष substituted.

स्फायो वाः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फायः, वः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्फाह् इत्येतस्याङ्गस्य वकारादेशो भवति षौ परतः ॥

41. For the final of the stem स्फाय् is substituted व् in the causative.

As स्फाययति ॥

शदेरगतौ तः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शदेः, अ गतौ तः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शदे रङ्गस्यागतावर्ये वर्तमानस्य तकारादेशो भवति षौ परतः ॥

42. For the final of the शद् is substituted त्, in the Causative, when it does not mean 'to drive'.

As पुष्पाणं शातयति, फलानि शातयति, but गाः शादयति गोपालकः ॥

रुहः पौन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुहः, पः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रुहरङ्गस्यान्वतरस्यां पकारादेशो भवति णी परतः ॥

43. *प्* may optionally be substituted for the final of *रुह्* in the Causative.

As व्रीहीन् रोपयति or राहयति ॥ According to Padamanjari this sūtra could be dispensed with. The form रोपयति could be obtained from the root *रुप्* of Divādi class : which though meaning रोह्ण may be taken to mean 'grow' also; भनेकार्यत्वाद् धातुनाम् ॥

प्रत्ययस्थात्कार्पूर्वस्योत् इदाप्यसुपः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्ययस्यात्, कात्,
पूर्वस्य, अंतः, इत्, आपि, असुपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्यये तिष्ठतीति प्रत्ययस्यः तस्मान् प्रत्ययस्थात्कारान् पूर्वस्वाकारस्य इकारादेशो भवति आपि परतः, स चेदाप्यसुपः परो न भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ मामकनरकरूपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यमप्रत्ययस्यात् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रत्ययनिषेधे त्यक्त्यपोषोपसंख्यानम् ॥

44. *इ* is substituted for the *अ* which stands before the *क्* belonging to an affix, when the Feminine-ending *आ* follows, provided that, it does not come after a case-affix (i.e. when such a word in *अक्* does not stand at the end of a Bahuvrihi).

That which stands in an affix is called प्रत्ययस्य, i. e. *क्* must be the part of the affix. The *अक्* is changed into *इक्* in the feminine in *आ* ॥ As अटि-लिका, कुण्डिका, शुभिका, वसिका, कारिका, हारिका ॥ So also वृत्तिका from एतद् + अक् + आप् एतकद् + भवप् ॥ The *इ* is then replaced by *अ* (VII. 2. 102). The *क्* must belong to the affix, therefore, not in वृत्तिका from वृक् वृत्तीति ॥ The *स्य* in प्रत्ययस्य is for the sake of distinctness, there is no affix which is only *क्* ॥ The rule applies to *क्*, therefore, not to नन्वना, रमणा ॥ The *इ* is substituted for the *अ* which precedes (पूर्वस्य) *क्*, and not the *अ* which follows *क्*, as पदुका, इदुका ॥ The *क्* must be preceded by short *अ*, therefore, not here वीका, नौका, nor in राका, धाका ॥ The substitution takes place when *अ* follows, therefore, not in कारकी ॥ The word आपि qualifies *क्* ॥ The *क्* should be followed by *आ* ॥ Obj. But in कारिका from कारक + आ, *क्* is not directly followed by *आ*, but by *अ*? Ans. When *अ* + *आ* = *आ* there is ekādeśa, the *क्* is followed by *आ*, there being no third letter intervening then. Obj. But an ekādeśa is sthānivat to what it replaces when a pūrva-vidhi is to be applied, therefore there still exists the intervention. Ans. The express text of this sūtra will remove the intervention. Obj. Then *इ* should be substituted in रयकम्बा and गंगकाम्बा ॥ These words are formed by the affixes कन्वाच् and काम्वाच्, as रथानां समूहः, (IV. 2. 51) and गर्गमिच्छति भात्मनः (III. 1. 9) = रयकम्बा and गर्गकाम्बा ॥ Here also before the *क्* of the affix, the *अ* should be replaced

by इ, when the feminine affix आ is added: for there is no intervention between क् and आ (the intermediate letters being non-existent, as you say). Ans. We say that intervention is no intervention, when it consists of only *one* letter, which even does not *actually* exist, but only through the fiction of sthānivat. Therefore, the feminine of the above words will not take इ, as क् is not *followed immediately* (in the sense above expressed) by आप्, as रयकम्बा and जगकम्बा, because in these *actually* many letters are *heard* as intervening between the क् and आप् ॥

Why do we say असुप्: 'provided that the feminine affix आप् does not come after a case-affix'? Observe बहुवः परिव्राजका अस्वां नयुरावां = बहुपरिव्राजका नयुरा॥ Here आप् comes after the noun बहुपरिव्राजक which ends in a case-affix, and hence the अ of ज्ञ is not changed to इ ॥ The case-affix is elided by II. 4. 71, and it still exerts its influence by I. 1. 62. The word असुप्: is a प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधः (a simple prohibition of the particular matter specified without mentioning what is different from it): and not a पर्युदासः or exception. Had it been a Paryudāsa, (सुपोऽन्वः = असुप्:) then आप् coming after a full word not having a case-affix, would have caused the इ substitution in the last example. Nor should असुप्: be explained as that in which there exists no case-affix. Had it been so, then in बहुनि चर्माण्यस्वां = बहुचर्मिका no इ ought to be added.

Vārt:—नामक and नरक should be enumerated, for the क् of these is not part of the affix: as मानिका, नरिका ॥ Here नमक् is substituted for नम before the affix आप् (IV. 3. 3), to which is then added दाप् ॥ The word नमक् takes long ई in the feminine only when it is a Name or in the Vedas (IV. 1. 30): therefore though नामक ends in अण्, it does not take डीप् (IV. 1. 15) but दाप् (IV. 1. 4), नरान् कावति = नरक formed with the affix क् (अ III. 2. 3).

Vārt:—The rule applies to the words ending in स्वक् (IV. 2. 98) and स्वप्, (IV. 2. 104) in spite of the prohibition in VII. 3. 46. As शक्तिपाथिका, इक्षिका ॥

The word in the sūtra is क्वात् the fifth case of क् ending in अ ॥ If then this be the condition, that the affix must end in ka क् and not in k क्, then the rule will not apply to एतिका ॥ Because here the augment is अकच् (अक्) with क्; the final अ in अकच् is for euphony only, and not a portion of the affix, as we find in भिन्धिक, छिन्धिक, हन्धिक ॥ The word क्वात् therefore, is construed to mean ending in the *consonant* क् ॥

न यासयोः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, या, सयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ या सा इत्येतयोः क्कारादेशो न भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यन्तरीः प्रतिषेधे त्यक्तन उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ पाठकाशीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ आशिषि चोपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ उत्तरपदलोपे चोपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ क्षिपकाशीनां चोपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ तारका ज्योतिष्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ वर्णका तान्न उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ वर्तका शकुनी प्राचाद्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ अट्टका पितृवत्ये ॥ वा० ॥ वा सूतकापुत्रकावृत्तारकाणाद्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

45. The इ is not substituted for the अ of य and स, with the augment क, when the feminine आ follows.

As यका. सका ॥ The या and सा simply stand for यद् and तद्, and the prohibition is not confined to the nominative case only, as the forms या and सा may lead one to think. न यत् तयोः would have been a better sūtra. The prohibition applies in every case, as यकामधीते. तकां पचामहे ॥ Or यकांयकामधीमहे (i. e. यद्वां गार्थां च), and तकां तकास्पचामहे (i. e. धावर्धां शाकिर्ना वा)

Vārt:—The affix स्यञ् (V. 3. 34) should be enumerated also along with यत् and तद् ॥ As उपस्यका, अधिस्यका ॥

Vārt:—The feminine of पावक &c in the Veda does not take इ for अ ॥ As हिरण्यवर्णः शुचयः पावकाः, वासु अ लोमकाः, कृत्तकाः &c. But पारिकाः, अलामिकाः in secular literature.

Vārt:—So also in the affix बुन् used in benediction: as जीवताद् जीवका, मन्दताद् मन्दका, भवताद् भवका ॥ See III. 1. 150.

Vārt:—So also when the second member is elided in a compound: as देवका, यज्ञका, the second member इत् is elided, the fuller forms being देवसत्तिका, यज्ञसत्तिका (अनजाज्ञं च विभाषा लोपो बन्धव्यः) See V. 3. 83 *Vārt*.

Vārt:—क्षिपक &c should be enumerated in this prohibition: as क्षिपका, ध्रुवका, ध्रुवका, चटका ॥

Vārt:—तारका is formed when it means 'stars', but सारिका 'a maid-servant' from सारयति ॥

Vārt:—वर्णका is formed when it means 'a mantle or mask', but वर्णिका 'an expounder': as वर्णिका भागुरी लोकायते 'Bhāguri is a commentary of Lokāyata'

Vārt:—वर्तिका 'a bird' according to the Eastern grammarians, but वर्तिका according to the Northern authorities. Why do we say 'when meaning a bird'? Observe वर्तिका भागुरी लोकायतस्य ॥

Vārt:—अटका when meaning a पितृदिवस्व ceremony, but अटिका सारी ॥ The ceremony related to Pitṛidevata is called Pitṛidaivatya, the affix is यत् ॥ The former is derived from the root अट् with the affix तकन् (अटन्ति ब्राह्मणा भोवनमस्यां), the other is derived from the numeral अट् by the affix कन् (V. 1. 22).

Vārt:—Optionally सूतका, पुष्पका and वृन्दारका, the other forms are सूतिका, पुष्पिका, and वृन्दारिका ॥

उदीचाम.तः स्थाने यकपूर्वायाः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदीचाम, आतः, स्थाने, यक, पूर्वायाः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदीचामाचार्याणां मतेन यकारपूर्वायाः ककारपूर्वायातः स्थाने बोऽकारस्तस्यातः स्थाने इकार-देशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यकपूर्वत्वे धात्वन्तप्रतिषेधः ॥

46. According to the opinion of Northern grammarians, इ is not substituted for that अ which is obtained by

shortening the long आ of the feminine (under rule VII. 4. 13 before the affix क), which is preceded by a इ or a क् ॥

The mention of 'northern grammarians' makes this an optional rule. As इभ्यका or इभ्यिका, क्षिपयिका or क्षिपयिका, चटकका or चटकिका, मूषिकका, मूषिकिका ॥ Why do we say preceded by इ or क्? Observe अश्वक-आश्विका only (from अश्वे ॥ The word अश्वपूर्वाभाः is exhibited in the feminine, in order to indicate that the rule applies when the *feminine* affix आ is shortened to अ ॥ Therefore not here शुभयिका from शुभया (शुभे वाति). So also मद्रयिका from मद्रया, where आ is part of the root वा (see III. 2. 74).

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of the इ and क् being finals of a root. When the इ or क् preceding this अ, is the final of the root, the prohibition contained in the sūtra, does not apply: as सुनीयका, सुषायिका, सुषाकिका, and अशोकिका ॥

Why do we say 'of long आ'? Observe सांक्राभ्ये भवा = सांक्रादियका ॥ The word सांक्राभ्य is formed from सांक्राद्य by the affix ष्य (सांक्राद्ये निवृत्तं) ॥ Then is added the affix वुञ् (IV. 2. 121). Here there is no shortening of a long आ, and hence no option is allowed. But in इभ्यका or इभ्यिका the long आ has been shortened. Because this word is thus derived: इभमर्हति = इभ्या (इण्डादिभ्योः V. 1. 66). To this क is added, and the long आ is shortened.

Why is the word स्यान् used in the sūtra, when by the general rule षष्ठी स्यान्ने शोभः this word would be understood here? The special mention is for the sake of pointing out that the अ which takes the place of आ is intended here: i. e. the इ replaces this short अ; but had the word स्यान्ने not been used in the sūtra the इ would have replaced the long आ ॥

भस्त्रैषाजाज्ञाद्वास्वा नञ्पूर्वाणामपि ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भस्त्रा, एषा, अजा, ज्ञा, ज्ञा, स्वा, नञ्, पूर्वाणाम्, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदीचामातः स्यान् इति वर्तते ॥ आतः स्यान्ने योकारस्तस्य इत्वं न भवति उदीचामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥

47. According to the opinion of Northern grammarians, इ is not substituted for that अ which is obtained by shortening the आ (before क by VII. 4. 13), of भस्त्रा, एषा, अजा, ज्ञा, ज्ञा (VII. 2. 102), and स्वा; even not then when the negative particle precedes them.

As भस्त्रका or भस्त्रिका, अभस्त्रका or अभस्त्रिका, एषका or एषिका, अजका or अजिका, ज्ञका or ज्ञिका, भस्त्रका or भस्त्रिका, इके or इके, स्वका or स्विका, भस्त्रका or भस्त्रिका ॥ Of एषा and ज्ञि there are no examples with the negative particle. For if the compounding with नञ् takes place after the addition of the अकच्, or on the contrary, if first अकच् be added and then the नञ् compounding takes place, in both alternatives, the case-affixes must be added in order to substitute अ for the final by VII. 2. 102: and it is only when this अ is substituted that the sc-

minine दाप् can come. So that the case-affix is the principal ingredient, and दाप् comes after ह्रस्व, and therefore by the prohibition of अह्रस्वः in VII. 3. 44, there can arise no occasion for the substitution of इ ॥ Therefore अनेषका and अइके are the invariable forms of these words with the negative particle. स्व meaning agnates and property, takes the negative particle. भक्षा is a word which has no corresponding masculine form, and as such, by the following rule VII. 3. 48 it would not have taken इ; its special mention here indicates that it should be the secondary member of the compound here: as अविद्यमाना भक्षा वक्ष्या = अभक्षा, the Diminutive of which is अभक्षका or अभक्षिका ॥ Here first the भक्षा is shortened as it is a secondary member (upasarjana), then when the Bahuvrihi is made, the feminine affix दाप् is added to this भाषितपुंस्क word, then this भा is shortened before क् by VII. 4. 13. This short अ (VII. 4. 13) does not come in the room of the आ which is ordained to come after a word having no corresponding masculine.

The force of अवि shows that the rule applies, when words other than नञ् also precede, and even when no words precede. As निर्भक्षिका or निर्भक्षका, बहुभक्षिका or बहुभक्षका ॥

Note:—The form इके is from the word इकि, dual number, the final इ is changed to अ (स्यवाच्य), then the feminine आ (दाप्) is added (इका), and then णी is substituted for औ ॥

अभाषितपुंस्काच्च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, भाषितपुंस्कात्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभाषितपुंस्कादिहितस्यातः स्थाने योऽकारस्तस्योदीचामाचार्याणामतेन इकारादेशो न भवति ॥

48. According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, इ is not substituted for an अ obtained from the shortening of the Feminine आ (VII. 4. 13), when to the feminine in long आ there is no equivalent masculine, even when the Negative particle precedes.

As खट्वा or खट्विका, भखट्विका or भखट्वा, परमखट्वा or परमखट्विका ॥ When before the affix क्प्, the stem is shortened in a Bahuvrihi, this rule will apply (VII. 4. 15). There also, the अ must be substituted for the आ of a feminine word which has no corresponding masculine. But this rule does not apply when the negative compound is the synthesis of अविद्यमाना खट्वा भक्त्वा = भखट्वा, अल्पा भखट्वा = भखट्विका ॥ Similarly अतिक्रान्ता खट्वा = अतिखट्वा, अल्पा अतिखट्वा = अतिखट्विका ॥

Note:—The word खट्वा is always feminine and has no corresponding masculine.

आदाचार्याणाम् ॥ ४९ ॥ आत्, आचार्याणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभाषितपुंस्कात्तः स्थाने योऽकारस्तस्याचार्याणामाकारादेशो भवति ॥

49. According to the opinion of other Teachers, अ is substituted for the अ which arose from the shortening of the feminine अ of a word which has no corresponding masculine form.

As खडाका, अखडाका or परमखडाका ॥

Note:—The "Teachers" referred to here are either those other than the Northern Grammarians, or it may refer to the Teacher of Pānini, the plural being for the sake of respect. Thus there are three forms अखडका, अखडिका, and अखडाका ॥

उस्येकः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ उस्य, इकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गस्व निमित्तं षष्ठः, कभाङ्गस्व निमित्तं, प्रत्यय, स्तस्व प्रत्ययवत्स्य इक इत्ययमविधो भवति ॥

50. For उ in the beginning of a Taddhita affix there is substituted इक ॥

As आक्षिकः, चालाकिकः (उक् IV. 4. 1), लावणिकः (उक् IV. 4. 52). In the affixes उक्, उक् & c, if the affix is the consonant इ, and अ is only for euphony, then here also the अ is for pronunciation only: but if on the contrary, the aggregate उ (इ + अ) is the affix, then the same is the case here. This rule does not apply in Unādi affixes always, as कणेषु उः = कण्डः (Uṇ I. 103), for there is diversity (बहुल) in the Unādi.

माथितिकः (= मथितं पठ्यमस्व IV. 4. 51) is thus formed मथित + उक् = मथित् + इक (VI. 4. 148 the अ is dropped). Now arises the doubt, should इक be replaced by क as taught in the next aphorism VII. 3. 51, as it comes after a त् ॥ This substitution, however, does not take place, because it was इक which caused the elision of अ, and now त् which became final by such elision cannot cause the destruction of इक its producer (सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनमित्तं तद्विधातस्व). Or the elided अ (VI. 4. 148) may be considered as sthānivat, and would thus prevent क substitution.

There are two views about this उ ॥ Some say that the consonant इ only is the sthāni, and the अ is only for the sake of pronunciation. The others hold that उ, the consonant and the vowel are sthāni in the aggregate. In the first view, the rule would apply to the consonant इ at the end of roots like पठ् in पठित्, पठितुः; in the other view the rule would apply to the affix अउक् in कर्मठः ॥ Hence, the commentary uses the word, that उ must be the cause of अङ्ग ॥

इसुसुकान्तात्कः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इस्, उस्, उक्, त, अन्तान्त्, कः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इस् उस् इत्येवमन्तानामुगन्तानां तान्तानां चाङ्गानामुत्तरस्य उस्य क इत्ययमविधो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ शेष उपसंख्यानम् ॥

51. क is substituted for उ after a stem ending in इस्, उस्, उ or ऊ, ऋ and त् ॥

As सार्विकः, धानुक्, वायुक्, नैषादकर्तुक्, साम्बरजम्बुकः, मातुक्, पैतुक्, गौरिधि-

त्कः, शाकृत्कः, वाकृत्कः ॥ The इत् and उत् are the affixes of that name, therefore not here, भाषिणिकः (= भाषिषा चरति), औषिका (= उषा चरति) ॥

Vṛti—So also after शोत्, as शौकः (शोभ्योचरति) ॥

The word सार्विकः is formed by इक् of तदस्व पण्ये, (IV. 4. 51) and स is changed to च by इणः चः (VIII. 3. 39). भातुष्कः is by इक् of प्रहरणे ॥ वातुष्कः is by इक् of वीष्याति ॥ निषादकर्तुः &c by इप् of भवादावर्धे ओर्देशे इप् ॥ मातृकः by इप् of तत् भागतः, कृतटम ॥ औसाधत्कः by इक् (IV. 2. 19) शाकृत्कः by इप् of संसृष्ट (IV. 4. 12).

चजोः कु घिष्ण्यतोः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चजोः, कु, घित्, ण्यतोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चकारभकारयोः कवर्गादेशो भवति घिति ण्यति च प्रत्यये परतः ॥

52. For the final च् or ज् of a root, there is substituted a corresponding guttural, before an affix having an indicative घ्, and before ण्यत् ॥

As पाक, म्यागः, रागः with घञ्, and चाक्यम्, वाक्यम् and रेक्यम् with ण्यत् ॥ Compare VII. 3. 59.

म्यङ्कादीनां च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ म्यङ्कु, आदीनाम्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ म्यङ्कु इत्येवमादीनां कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

53. The guttural is substituted in म्यङ्कु and the rest.

Thus म्यङ्कुः from नि + अङ्च् + कः; So also मद्द्युः ॥

(1) By the sūtra नावङ्चेः (Uṇ I. 17), the affix ङ् is added to the root अङ्च् preceded by नि ॥ (2) मद्द्युः is formed by adding ङ् to the root मद्ज् (Uṇ I. 7) (3) म्द्युः is formed by the affix ङ् added to the root अङ्च्, the स् is elided, and इ is vocalised (Uṇ I. 28). (4 and 5) दूरेपाकः, फलेपाकः formed by the अङ्च् affix of पचादि class, (= दूरं पच्यते स्वयमेव, फले पच्यते स्वयमेव) ॥ The वृद्धि is by nipātana. The seventh case-affix is not elided in these compound words by VI. 3. 14. (6) क्षणेपाकः ॥ This word is read by some. Others read these as दूरेपाका, फलेपाका with टात् ॥ A third reading is दूरेपाकुः फलेपाकुः, by the affix ङ् added irregularly. (7 and 8) तक्र and वक्रं ॥ These are formed from the roots तङ्च् and वङ्च् with the affix रक् (Uṇ II. 13). (9) व्यतिषङ्गः formed from व्यतिषङ्गति with पचादि अच् ॥ (10) अनुषङ्गः ॥ (11) अवसर्गः ॥ (12) उपसर्गः ॥ (13) मेघः ॥ (14) श्वपाकः ॥ (15) मांसपाकः ॥ (16) कपोतपाकः ॥ (17) उलूकपाकः ॥ (18) पिण्डपाकः formed by the affix अण् with an accusative word in construction as upapada. (19) ऋचः when it denotes a name meaning 'price'. This is formed from the root अर्ह् with the affix चञ् ॥ When it is not a name, the form is अर्हः ॥ (20 and 21) अवसाहः and निहाहः, when they are names meaning "Summer or Hot season". These are formed from the root अह् preceded by अव and नि ॥ But when they are not names, the forms are अवसाहः, निहाहः ॥ (22) म्यधोघः formed from the root अह् preceded by म्यक् and by adding the पचादि अच् ॥ The ह् is changed to घ् ॥ (23) वीरुन् ॥ Formed from अह् with वि and the affix विवप्, and ह् changed to घ् ॥ म्यधोहवति and विरोहवति ॥

1 म्यङ्कु, 2 मद्, 3 म्द्युः, 4 दूरेपाक, 5 फलेपाक, 6 क्षणेपाक, 7 दूरेपाका, 8 फलेपाका, 9 दूरेपाकु, 10 फलेपाकु, 11 तक्र, 12 वक्र, 13 व्यतिषङ्ग, 14 अनुषङ्ग, 15 अवसर्ग, 16 उपसर्ग, 17 श्वपाक, 18 मांसपाक, 19 कपोतपाक, 20 कपोतपाक, 21 उलूकपाक, 22 संज्ञायां मेघनिहाहावसाहायां मेघ 23 म्यधोघ, 24 वीरुन् ॥

हो हन्तेर्णञिञेषु ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, हन्तेः, डिणत्, नेषु, ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्कारस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति इति णित् प्रत्यय परतो नकारे च ॥

54. A guttural is substituted for the ह् in हन् before an affix having an indicatory झ्. or ञ् and before न् ॥

As धातयस् with णिञ्, धतिकः with ण्वुल्, साधुध तिन् with इभ्, धातुधातव् with ण्वुल्, धातः with घञ्, इणित्, इण्वुन्, and अण्वन् before न् ॥ Why do we specify ह्? Otherwise the substitute would replace the final letter. Why of हन्? Observe प्रहारः, प्रहारकः ॥ ञ् and झ् qualify the affixes, and न् means the न् of हन् which becomes joined with ह् when the intermediate अ is dropped. This न् comes in immediate contact with ह्, because it is heard in pronouncing, and in writing. If the elided अ be considered as sthānivat, then ह् can never be followed by न्, for there will exist the intervention of this latent अ, but by virtue of the special text of this sūtra, such an elided अ should not be considered as an intervention. And if झ्, ञ् and न् be all considered as qualifying the ह् of हन्, still on the maxim धे न नाव्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितेऽपि वचनप्रागाग्यान् therefore ञ् or झ् are considered to come after ह् though a portion of the root intervenes. But not so here, हननामिच्छति हननीयति, add ण्वुल् to this Denominative root, and we have हननायकः ॥

अभ्यासाच्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यासात्, च, ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासादुत्तरस्य हन्तिर्कारस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

55. A Guttural is substituted for the ह् in हन् after a reduplication also.

As जिघांसति, अह्वयति, अह् जिघान ॥ The rule applies when such an affix follows which causes the reduplication of the stem (ahga) हन्, therefore not here हननीयितुमिच्छति = जिहननीयति ॥

हेरचङि ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेः, अ, चङि, ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ हिनान्तेर्कारस्याभ्यासादुत्तरस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति अचङि ॥

56. A guttural is substituted for the ह् of हि (हिनोति) after a reduplication, but not in the Reduplicated Aorist.

As जिघीषति, प्र जेघीयते, प्रजिघाय; but प्राञ्जीहयद् इतन् in the simple Aorist. Obj. The word अचङि could be dispensed with from the sūtra, in as much as चङ् can never come after the simple root हि, but after the causative of हि, and the causative stem of हि is a different verb than, हि. Ans. The fact of this word अचङि being employed in the sūtra indicates the existence of the following maxim: प्रकृतिं प्रहणे ऽधिकस्त्वापि महणम् "A radical denotes whenever it is employed in Grammar, not only that radical itself, but it denotes also whatever stem may result from the addition to it of the causative affix ञि" ॥ Therefore we have प्रजिघाया विषति ॥

The word **धाञीहवन्** is the Aorist of the causative of **हि**, with **चह**, the elision of **णि**, the shortening of the penultimate the reduplication, guttural change by **कृहोहचु**, and lengthening by **दीर्घोऽद्योः** ॥

सन्दिदोर्जेः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्, लिदोः, जेः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनि लिटि च प्रत्यये अर्द्धस्य बोध्यास्तत्सादुत्तरस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

57. A guttural is substituted for the **ज्** in **जि** after a reduplication before the Desiderative affix **सन्**, and in the Perfect.

As **जिगीषति, जिगाय ॥** Why in the Desiderative and Perfect only? Observe **जेजीवते ॥** Though the root **ज्या** also assumes the form **जि** by vocalisation (VI. 1. 16, 17) yet that **जि** is not to be taken here. That will form **जिञ्चतुः, जिञ्चुः ॥**

विभाषा च्चैः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, च्चैः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिनोतेर्द्धस्य सन्दिदोर्ध्यासादुत्तरस्य विभाषा कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

58. A guttural is optionally substituted for the **च्** of **चि** after a reduplication in the Desiderative and Perfect.

As **चिचिषति** or **चिकीषति, चिचाय** or **चिकाय ॥** But **चेचिबते** in other cases.

न क्कदेः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, कु, आदेः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवर्गादेशोऽतोऽञोः कवर्गादेशो न भवति ॥

59. A guttural is not substituted for the final **च्** **ज्** of a root which begins with a guttural, before an affix having an indicatory **घ** and before **ण्यत् ॥**

As **कूञः, खर्जः** and **गर्जः** with **घम्**; **कुञ्यः, खर्ज्यः** and **गर्ज्यः** with **ण्यत् ॥** This is an exception to VII. 3. 52.

अजिञ्ज्योश्च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अजि, ञ्ज्योः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजि ञ्जि इत्येतयोश्च कवर्गादेशो न भवति ॥

60. A guttural is not substituted for the final **च्** or **ज्** of **अज्** and **ञ्ज्** before an affix having an indicatory **घ** and before **ण्यत् ॥**

This is an exception to VII. 3. 52. Thus **समाञः, उहाञः, परित्राञः** and **परित्राञ्चम् ॥** There is no example of **अज्** with the affix **ण्यत्**, because by II. 4. 56, **वी** replaces **अज्** before all *ārdhadhātuka* affixes except **घम्** and **अप् ॥** The **च** of the *sūtra* implies that the rule applies to other roots also not mentioned, as **वाञः, वाञ्चम्** from **वञ् ॥**

भुञ्ज्युञ्जौ पाण्युपतापयोः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुज, न्युञ्जौ, पाणि, उपतापयोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भुज न्युञ्ज इत्येतौ षडौ निपात्येते षयासंख्यम् पाणादुपतापे च ॥

61. भुज 'an arm', and न्युब्ज 'a kind of bodily disease', are irregularly formed, without any change of their ज before घञ् ॥

The word भुजः = भुज्यतेऽनेन, with घञ् (III. 3. 121). The irregularity consists in the absence of Guṇa, as well as of gutturalisation. न्युब्जिताः घृतेऽस्मिन् = न्युब्जः from the root उब्ज् अर्जव (Tudādi 20). The irregularity consists in the non-changing of ज् ॥ When not meaning 'an arm' and 'a disease', we have भोगः, सद्युग्गः ॥

प्रयाजानुयाजौ यज्ञाङ्गे ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयाज, अनुयाजौ, यज्ञ, अङ्गे, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कुत्वप्रतिषेधोऽनुवर्तते ॥ प्रयाज अनुयाज इत्येतौ निपात्येते यज्ञाङ्गप्रतिषेधे ॥ प्रपूर्वस्य वज्रस्यि कुत्वाभावो निपात्यते ॥

62. प्रयाज and अनुयाज are irregularly formed with घञ्, when meaning a portion of a sacrificial offering.

These words are derived from वज् with घञ् without the guttural substitution; as पञ्च प्रयाजाः, त्रयोनुयाजाः, स्वमग्ने प्रयाजाना पश्चात् स्वं पुरुस्तात् ॥ But प्रयागः and अनुयागः when not referring to portions of a sacrifice. The प्रयाज and अनुयाज are illustrative only. The guttural change does not take place with other prepositions &c. also, as उपयाजः, उपांशुयाजः, संयाजः, ऋतुयाजः, as in the sentences एकादशोपयाजाः, उपांशु याजमन्तरं वज्रति, भटो पत्नी संयाजा भवान्त, ऋतुयाजे अरन्ति ॥

वञ्चेर्गतौ ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वञ्चेः, गतौ, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वञ्चेरङ्गस्य गतौ वर्तमानस्य कवर्गादेशो न भवति ॥

63. A guttural is not substituted for the palatal of वञ्च् in the sense of 'going'.

As वञ्च्यं वञ्चन्ति वणिजः, but वाङ्क्यं काङ् = कुटिलं ॥ Why is गतौ used, when we know from the Dhatupāṭha (Bhuadi 204) that वञ्च् means 'to go'? The specification shows that the roots possess many meanings other than those assigned to them in the Dhātupāṭha.

ओक उच्चः के ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओकः, उच्चः, के, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उच्चेर्जातोः के प्रत्यय ओक इति निपात्यते ॥

64. ओक is irregularly formed from the root उच्च with the affix क (अ) ॥

The change of च् into क्, and the Guṇa are the irregularities. As योर्कः 'a bird, a tree'. The affix क is added under III. 1. 135. The क is added with the force of च् the Kāraka relation being that of Location &c. The च्छ affix would have given the form regularly, but then the word would have been acutely accented on the first syllable, but it is desired that the acute should be on the last. The words दिक्कसः, जलौकसः &c are also irregular,

formed with the Uṇādi affix **अद्यत्** the **हृ** being substituted for **च** as an Uṇādi diversity (bahulam).

अद्यभावस्यके ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्यः, भावस्यके, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावस्यकेऽर्थे यो ऽप्यप्रत्ययस्तस्मिन् परभूते चञोः कृत्वं न भवति ॥

65. A guttural is not substituted for the palatal, before the affix **अद्य**, when it means 'to do as absolute necessity'.

As **अद्यस्य पाच्यम्, अद्यस्य वाच्यम्, अद्यस्यरोच्यम्**, but **पाकम्, वाकम्** and **रेकम्** when the sense is not that of necessity.

यजयाचरुचप्रवचर्चम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज, याच, रुच, प्रवच, ऋचः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज याच रुच प्रवच ऋच इत्येतेषां ऽप्ये परतः कवर्गादेशो न भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ऽप्यति प्रतिषेधे त्यङ्परसंख्यानम् ॥

66. A guttural is not substituted for the final palatals of **यज्, याच, रुच, प्र-वच्, and ऋच्** before the affix **अद्यत्** ॥

As **याज्यम्, वाच्यम्, रोच्यम्, प्रवाच्यम्, and अर्च्यम्** ॥ Though **हृच्** has a penultimate **हृ** and therefore by III. 1. 110 would have taken **कवर्**, it takes **अद्यत्** by force of this sūtra. **प्रवच्** shows that the present sūtra applies to it, though it means 'a word or speech', and the prohibition of VII. 3. 67 does not apply. **प्रवाच्य** is the name of a particular book. Others say that the prohibition applies to **हृच्** only when it is preceded by **प्र**, and does not mean word or speech (VII. 3. 67) and not when it is preceded by any other preposition. As **अविवाक्य-महतिं पठन्ति ॥** This even in a very restricted sense, namely on the tenth day of the Daśarātra ceremony. In other places we have **अविवच्यम् ॥**

Vārt :—**त्याञ्** should be enumerated in this connection i. e. before **अद्यत्**, the **हृ** remains unaltered, as **त्याज्यम् ॥**

वचोऽशब्दसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वचः, अ, शब्द, संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऽप्यहति वर्तते वचोऽशब्दसंज्ञायां ऽप्यति परतः कवर्गो न भवति ॥

67. The guttural is not substituted for the final of **वच्** before **अद्यत्**, when it does not mean 'a word or speech'.

As **वाच्यमाह, अवाच्यमाह**, but **अवपुषितं वाच्यमाह ॥**

प्रयोज्यानियोज्यौ शक्यार्थे ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयोज्य, नियोज्यौ, शक्य, अर्थे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वत्व निपूर्वत्व च युजेः प्रयोज्य नियोज्य इत्येतौ शक्यौ शक्यार्थे निपात्यन्ते ॥

68. **प्रयोज्य** and **नियोज्य** preserve their palatal in the sense of 'capable to do this'.

As **प्रयोज्यः = प्रयोक्तुंशक्यः ; नियोज्यः = नियोक्तुंशक्यः**, but **प्रयोग्य** and **नियोग्य** in other senses.

भोज्यं भक्ष्ये ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भोज्यम्, भक्ष्ये, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भोज्यं निपात्यते भक्ष्येभिधेने ॥ वृजेऽप्यहति कृत्वाभावो निपात्यते शक्यार्थे ॥

69. भोज्य preserves its palatal in the sense of 'eatable'.

The word is derived from भुञ् with ञ्च्त् in the sense of 'able'. As भोज्य भोजनः 'eatable rice', भाज्या बजागुः 'eatable barley-gruel'. भञ्च्त् here means anything which is fit for being eaten. When not having this sense, we have भोज्यः कञ्चलः ॥

घोर्लोपो लेटि वा ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ घोः, छोपः, लेटि, वा, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ घुसंशकानां लेटि परतो वा लोपो भवति ॥

70. The final of वा and घा (घु roots) may optionally be elided in the Subjunctive (लेट्) ॥

As एषद्गता दायुषे Rig I. 35. 8. सानो एषद् गन्धर्वाश्च Rig X. 85. 41. But also अग्निरग्ने एषात् ॥ The form एषात्, however, may also be deduced even when the final of वा is elided, for then by the आद् augment (III. 4. 9†) we get this form. The word वा is therefore employed in the sūtra only for the sake of distinctness, for the sūtra without वा would have also given the above forms, as we have shown. Or the वा is used to remove the doubt which one may entertain to this effect "एषात् is the form which may be deduced by the general rule, since लोप is taught, this form will be excluded altogether and will never appear".

The form एषत् is thus evolved. We add तिप् to the root घा; then the इ of ति is elided (III. 4. 97). दायुषे = वज्रमानाश्च रत्नानिदद्यात् ॥ Others say, the एषत् is the form of the root with the षत् affix. एषत् is from the root वाश् ॥

Some say that वा is jñāpaka and indicates the existence of the following maxim:—अनिश्चयान्नघासन्त् "the rule about augments is *anitya*". So that the augment आद् being *anitya*, we could not have got the form एषात् ॥ Hence the employment of the word वा ॥

ओतः इयनि ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओतः, इयनि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ओकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य इयनि परतो लोपो भवति ॥

71. A stem ending in ओ loses its final before the Present characteristic इयन् of the Divādi class.

As निश्चयति from चो, अयच्छयति from छो, अययति from यो, and अयस्यति from सो ॥ The इ in ओत् is for the sake of euphony or ease of pronunciation.

According to Padamanjari, the sūtra should have been ओतः चिति, and thereby there would be the saving of half a mātrā, and also there would be no necessity of repeating the word चिति in VII. 3. 75.

कसस्याधि ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कसस्य, अधि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कसस्याजारी प्रत्यये लोपो भवति ॥

72. The अ of the Aorist characteristic क्स is elided before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As अघुक्षाताम्, अघुक्षायाम्, अघुक्ति from the root बुह् ॥ Had the अ not been elided before आताम् and आयाम्, then इव must have been substituted for it according to VII. 2. 81. Why do we say before an affix beginning with a vowel? Observe अघुक्षत्, अघुक्षताम् ॥ Why do we say क्त and not only क्? So that the elision should not take place here, as उस्ती, उस्ताः, वस्ती, वस्ताः, कृणसौ, कृणसः ॥

लुग्वा बुह्दिहलिहगुहामात्मनेपदे दन्त्ये ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुक्, वा, बुह्, दिह्, लिह्, गुहाम्, आत्मनेपदे, दन्त्ये, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बुह् दिह् लिह् गुह् इत्येतेषामात्मनेपदे वन्त्यादी परतः क्तस्य वा लुग्भवति ॥

73. The whole of the affix क्त is elided optionally before the personal endings of the Atmanepada beginning with a dental, after बुह्, दिह् लिह् and गुह् ॥

As अदुग्ध or अघुक्षत्, अदुग्धाः or अघुक्षयाः, अदुग्धम् or अघुक्षन्वम्, अदुग्ध्वि or अघुक्षावहि, अदिग्ध or अघिक्षत्, अलीव् or अलिक्षत्, न्यगुह् or न्यघुक्षत् ॥

Why बुह् &c. only? Observe व्यत्यरुक्षत् ॥ Why in the Atmanepada? Observe अघुक्षत् only. Why before an affix beginning with a dental? Observe अघुक्षामहि only. Though the anuvṛitti of लोप was understood in this sūtra; the employment of the term लुक् indicates that the whole of the affix is to be elided. For लोप would have elided only the final अ of क् ॥ But even with the elision of अ alone we would have got all the above forms, except those in. वहि ॥ For अ being elided, we have व् between ह् (a consonant of ह्रस्व class) and a dental (which is also a letter of ह्रस्व class). This व् situate between two ह्रस्व will be elided by VIII. 2. 26. Nor can it be objected that the elided अ is sthānivat, for by पूर्ववासिद्धं VIII. 2. 1, such an elision cannot be sthānivat. Though व् is a dento-labial, yet it is included in the word dental. Had it not been meant to be so included, सौ (letters of स class) would have been taken in the sūtra. See III. 1. 45, for this Aorist-affix.

शमामष्टानां दीर्घः इयनि ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शमाम्, अष्टानाम्, दीर्घः, इयनि, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ शमादीनामष्टानां दीर्घो भवति इयनि परतः ॥

74. Before the Present character इयन्, a long is substituted for the root-vowel in शम् and the seven roots that follow it.

As शान्यति, तान्यति, शान्यति, शान्यति, शान्यति, शान्यति, शान्यति, शान्यति ॥ Why of these eight only? Observe अस्वति ॥ Why before इयन्? Observe क्षमति; the अस्व being optional after this root by III. 1. 70.

ष्टिबुक्लुम्याचमां शिति ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ष्टिबु, क्लुमु, आचमाम्, शिति, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ षीर्ष इति वर्तते ॥ ष्टिबु क्लुम् आचम इत्येतेषां षीर्षो भवात् शिति परतः ॥

75. Before any other Present character (शित्), the root vowel of ष्टिबु, क्लुम्, and आ-चम् is lengthened.

As हीवति, क्लामति, and आ आनति ॥ क्लन् lengthens its vowel before ऋन् by the last rule, the present rule produces this change before the affix ऋप् also, which it gets by III. 1. 70. ऋन् lengthens its vowel only when it is preceded by आ; therefore not here: आमात्, विचमति or उचमति ॥ The sūtra is exhibited as ऋवृक्कृष्णनां शिति in the original text of Pāṇini; the present form, owes its existence to the insertion of आ from the vārtika दीर्घत्वमाह् ऋमः ॥

क्रमः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रमः, परस्मैपदेषु, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घ इति वर्तते ॥ क्रमः परस्मैपदेषु शिति परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

76. The long is substituted in क्रम्, before a शित् affix, in the Parasmaipada.

As क्रामति, क्रामतः, क्रामन्ति ॥ Why in the Parasmaipada? Observe आक्रमते आहित्यः ॥ How do you explain the lengthening in उरक्राम and संक्राम (Imperative 2nd Per. Sg.)? For when हि is elided by लृक्, (VI. 4. 105) then by I. 1. 63, the affix being dropped by a लृ- elision, it would produce no effect and so there ought to have been no lengthening? This is no valid objection. The prohibition of I. 1. 63, applies to the अङ्ग stem after which the affix is elided. Here क्रम् is not a stem or aḥga with regard to हि, but it is a stem with regard to ऋप्, as क्रम् + ऋप् + हि ॥ Therefore, though हि is elided, the lengthening will take place by I. 1. 62, (प्रत्यय लक्षणम्) ॥

द्विगमियमां छः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इषु, गमि, यमाम्, छः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शितीति वर्तते ॥ इषु गमि यम इत्येतेषां शिति प्रत्यये परतच्छकारदेशो भवति ॥

77. छ is substituted for the final of इष्, गम् and यम् before a Present-character (शित्) ॥

As इच्छति, गच्छति, यच्छति ॥ The इष् with the indicatory च is taken here, (Tud. 59), and not इष् of Divādi (19) class or of Kryādi class (53). There we have इष्यति and इष्णाति respectively. Those who do not read the sūtra as इषु &c, but as इषगमि &c, read the anuvṛitti of the word अचि from VII. 3. 72 into this sūtra; so that the शित् is qualified by the word अच्, i. e. a शित् affix which is merely a vowel, and has no consonant in it; (and not a शित् affix which begins with a vowel). Therefore though शानच् is a शित् affix beginning with a vowel, yet as it contains a consonant, the छ substitution does not take place, as इषाणः (III. 1. 83) The reading of the text according to Patanjali and Kātyāyana is इषगमियमां छ, and hence the necessity of the above explanation. The reading इषु, though convenient, is not ārsha.

पाघ्राध्रमास्थाज्ञादाणहृद्यर्तिसर्तिशदसदां पिबजिघ्रधमतिष्ठमनयच्छपश्यच्छधौशी-
यसीदाः ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पा, घ्रा, ध्मा, स्था, ज्ञा, दाण, हृदि, अर्त्ति, सर्त्ति, शद, सदा, पिब, जिघ्र, धम, तिष्ठ, मन, यच्छ, पश्य, ऋच्छ, धौ, शीय, सीदाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पा प्रा ध्मा स्या प्रा वाप् दृष्टि भर्ति सति चर सर इत्येतेषां पिब जिब धन तिष्ठ मन बण्ड पदम्
कण्ड धौ शीय वीर इत्येते भादेद्या भवन्ति चिति परतः ॥

78. Before a Present-character (शित्), the following substitutions take place :—पिद् for पा, जिद् for प्रा, धम् for ध्मा, तिद् for स्या, मन् for ज्ञा, यद् for वा (वाण्), पद् for दृष्ट, कण्ड for क्ण्ड, धौ for च्, शीय् for शद् and सीद् for सद् ॥

As पिबति, जिबति, धमति, तिष्ठति, मनति, बण्डति, पदवति, कण्डति, धावति, वीचते and वीरति ॥ पिद् + वाप् + तिप् required Guṇa of the इ of पि by VII. 3. 86, it however does not take place on the maxim अङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्दृष्टावधिः "when an operation which is taught in the angādihikāra, has taken place, and another operation of the angādihikāra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place". Or the substitute पिब is one which ends with ब्, and is acutely accented on the first. It must be acutely accented on the first; otherwise by VI. 1. 162, the acute will be on the last पिर् ॥ Then when there is ekadeśa with वाप्, the acute will be on the middle in पिबति, which is not desired. धौ is substituted for च् when the sense is 'to run, move quickly'; in any other sense, we have प्रसरति, अनुसरति ॥

झाजनोर्जा ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञा, जनोः, जा, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञा जन इत्येतयोर्जादेशो भवति चिति परतः ॥

79. Before a शित् affix, जा is substituted for ज्ञा and जन् ॥

As जानाति and जायते ॥ The जन् here belongs to Divādi class, meaning 'to be produced', and not जन् of the Juhotyādi class. Why जा (long) and not ज, for this ज would assume the form जा by VII. 3. 101? This long जा of जा indicates the existence of the maxim given above in VII. 3. 78; and had ज been the substitute, VII. 3. 101, could not have lengthened it.

व्वादीनां ह्रस्वः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ पू, आदीनाम्, ह्रस्वः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पू इत्येवमादीनां ह्रस्वो भवति चिति परतः ॥

80. A short is substituted for पू &c, before a शित् affix.

The Pvādi roots form a subdivision of the Kryādi class, beginning with पूम् पवने (2) and ending with छी गती (32). The व्वादि roots (VIII. 2. 44) are a portion of व्वादि (nos 13 to 32). Others hold that upto the end of the Kryādi class are Pvādi. Thus पुनाति, छुनाति, स्तृणाति ॥ Those who hold that Pvādi roots are upto the end of the Class, explain the non-shortening of जानाति (for ज्ञा would also then become Pvādi), by saying that the express

text of VII. 3. 79, substituting long आ prevents the shortening. They say had हा been also shortened, then merely अ substitute would have been enough and not आ; and this अ would have been lengthened in the case of अन् by VII. 3. 101, to form आचते ॥

मीनातेर्निगमे ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मीनातेः, निगमे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मीनातेरङ्गस्व शिति प्रत्यये परतां इत्वो भवति निगमविषयं ॥

81. In the Veda मी is shortened before a शित् affix.

As प्रतिनन्ति प्रतानि Rig. X. 10. 5. The न becomes ण (प्रतिनन्ति according to Kaśika) by VIII. 4. 15. Why in the Veda? Observe प्र मीणाति ॥

मिदेर्गुणः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिदेः, गुणः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मिदेरङ्गस्वको गुणो भवति शिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

82. For इ in मिद्, there is substituted a गुण before a शित् affix.

As मेघाति, मेघतः, मेघन्ति ॥ Why मिद् only? Observe त्विघन्ति, क्लिघन्ति ॥ The root मिघिषा belongs both to the Bhvādi and the Divādi classes. The Bhvādi मिद् will get गुण before घञ् by virtue of VII. 3. 86, but the Divādi मिद् would not have got गुण before इवन्, as this affix is ङित् (I. 2. 4): hence the necessity of this sūtra. Before non ङित् affixes there is no गुण, as मिघते, मेनिघते ॥

जुसि च ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जुसि, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जुसि च प्रत्यये परत इगन्तस्याङ्गस्व गुणो भवति ॥

83. Before the personal-ending जुस् (उस्) of the Imperfect, गुण is substituted for the final इ, ई, उ, ऊ, ऋ, and ॠ, लृ of the stem.

As अजुह्वुः, अविभयुः, अविभरुः, अजागरुः ॥ This Personal ending is ङित् according to I. 2. 4, and would not have caused गुण (I. 1. 5), but for this sūtra. The ending जुस् (III. 4. 108) comes in the लृह् also. There, however, it does not cause गुण. As चिन्वुः, सुतुपुः ॥ Here there are two ङित् affixes, the augment वासुद्, and the sārva dhātuka जुस्; and the वासुद् prevents गुण. The इक् is read into the sūtra from I. 1. 3.

सार्वधातुकास्त्रधातुकयोः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सार्वधातुक, आस्त्रधातुकयोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सार्वधातुके आस्त्रधातुके च प्रत्यये परत इगन्तस्याङ्गस्व गुणो भवति ॥

84. The Guṇa is substituted for the final इक् vowel of a stem before the affixes called sārva dhātuka and ārdha dhātuka (III. 4. 113 &c).

As तरति, भवति, भवति; कर्तुं, वेत्, स्तोतुं, ॥ Why sârvadhâtuka and ârdhadhâtuka affixes only? Observe अग्निस्त्वम् अग्निकाम्याति ॥ For had the sûtra been सङ्घि then the rule would have applied to affixes like सन् काम्याच्च &c which go to form Denominative verbs. सङ्घि includes all affixes beginning with सन् and ending with महिङ् ॥ If the sûtra had been प्रत्यय, then the rule would have applied to the affixes like स्त्वम् &c. To exclude these cases, the two words sârvadhâtuka and ârdhadhâtuka are used. For exceptions See I. 1. 4, 5, 6.

जाग्रोऽविचिण्णलङ्ङित्सु ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जाग्रः, अ, विच्, चिण्, णल्, ङित्सु ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जागृ इत्येतस्याङ्गत्वं वृणो भवति भाविचिण्णलङ्ङित्सु परतः ॥

85. The Guṇa is substituted for the ऋ of the stem जागृ, except before the affix वि, before the Aorist-character चिण्, before the Personal ending, णल् of the Perfect, and before an affix with an indicatory ङ्ङ ॥

As जागृत्यति, with णिच्, आगरकः (with ण्वुल्) साधुजागरी, आगरं जागरन् (with ण्वुल्) जागरो वतते (with घञ्), आगरितः (with क्), आगरितवान् (with क्तवत्) ॥ This is an exception to the Vṛiddhi rule of VII. 2. 115, and to the prohibition in I. 1. 5. When this guṇa is substituted, there does not take effect that rule, which causes Vṛiddhi of the penultimate short अ of आगर; (अत उपधायाः VII. 2. 116). Had that been the case, then the guṇa substitution would become simply useless, and the prohibition with regard to णिच् and णल् superfluous. Why do we say not before वि, णिच् and णल् and ङित्? Observe जागविः (with the affix विन् Uṇādi) अजागारि with णिच् which causes Vṛiddhi, and अजागर with णल्, and जागृतः and जागयः with a ङित् (I. 2. 4) affix. Some hold that the इ in वि is for the sake of pronunciation only, and the prohibition applies to all affixes beginning with a व, such as कस्य, as अजागृवान्, here there is no guṇa. In अजागरः with ङित् the guṇa takes place by virtue of VII. 3. 83: for though it is a ङित् affix also, the prohibition ङित्सु of this sûtra does not affect it. Similarly अहं अजागर with णल् the optional guṇa VII. 1. 91 is also not prohibited by the णल् of this sûtra. In fact the phrase भाविचिण् णल् ङित्सु is a Paryudāsa prohibition: for had it been a prasayya-pratishedha, then the guṇa before ङित् and the 1st Pers. णल् would also have been prohibited. In short this sûtra positively ordains guṇa of जागृ before every affix, other than वि, चिण्, णल् and ङित्, and if by any other rule these latter would cause guṇa, that guṇa is not *prohibited*. That is the result of Paryudāsa negation.

But if the sûtra be construed as a Prasayyapratishedha, then we shall apply the maxim अनन्तरस्य विधिर्न भवति प्रतिषेधो वा ॥ The prohibition is therefore stated with regard to जाग्र in connection with the affixes वि, चिण्, णल् and ङित् ॥ But the Guṇa ordained by VII. 3. 84, 83 is not prohibited.

पुगन्तलघूपधस्य च ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुक् अन्त, लघु उपधस्य, च, ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ पुगन्तस्याङ्गस्य लघूपधस्य च सार्वधातुकार्जधातुकयोर्गुणो भवति ॥

Kārikā:—सद्योगे शुरुसंज्ञायां गुणो भेषुर्म सिध्यति ।
 विध्यपेक्षं लघोभासो कथं कुण्डिनं दुष्यति ॥
 धातोर्हिदुष्यं कथं रज्जे, स्वदिश्रथोर्निपातनात् ।
 अन्तोपशिरीर्ष्वे विध्यपेक्षे न सिध्यतः ॥
 अन्धस्तस्व वराहादि लङ्ग्यं तत्कृतं भवेत् ।
 अन्तसो बलकृतं किञ्च ज्ञापकं स्यात्तयोर्गुणे ॥

86. Guṇa is substituted before a sārva dhātuka and an ārdhadhātuka affix, for the इक् vowels of the Causative stems which take the augment प् (VII. 3. 36), and for the short penultimate vowel of a root which ends in a single consonant.

As झेपयति, द्वेषयति, क्लोपयति, भवनेषु, छेदनेषु, भेत्ता, छेत्ता ॥ Of course the vowel should be laghu or light, before the addition of the affix; the heaviness caused by the addition of the affix, will not prevent guṇa. Thus भिद् + हृ, though इ + हृ = हृ causes the इ to become heavy, that will not prevent guṇa: for विध्यपेक्षं लघु महणम् ॥ Obj: If this be so, why the forms कुण्डितृ, इण्डितृ are not incorrect, for in them also the vowel is laghu (the roots are कुँद् and इद्), and the augment ऋ is added afterwards by a Vidhi rule? Ans. The augment ऋ is added to the root, and becomes upadeśivat. (See VII. 1. 58). Obj. If so, how do you cause Vṛiddhi in रज्ज्, as in रजः with षञ्; as रज्ज् + षञ् = रज् + षञ् (the ष् being dropped by VI. 4. 27), for it is after the elision of ष्, that the ञ् of रज् becomes penultimate and can admit of Vṛiddhi by VII. 2. 116? Ans. The exceptional forms स्वर्: from स्वन् + षञ्, and अर्थः from अन्थ + षञ्, taught in VI. 4. 28, 29 teach by implication that roots of this form take Vṛiddhi as a general rule. Obj. If the विध्यपेक्ष maxim is not of universal application: though by VI. 4. 134, the अ of अन् &c. is elided in bha stems, like रज्जन् thus रज्जा; yet the अ should not be elided if you be consistent, in अन्हृ augment added by VII. 1. 75 to इधि, अस्थि &c. In fact, you could not get the forms इधां सकृष्ठा &c. Moreover though there can be the lengthening of the penultimate in क्षामिन्—क्षामानि (before शि affix Nom. Pl), yet not in the case of कुण्डानि from कुँद् for here ऋ is added by another rule VII. 1. 72. If you say, the maxim is not of universal application, then there can be no guṇa of इ in भिद् to form भेषु ॥ Ans. The guṇa takes place in forms like भेषु &c, because the prohibition of the following rule VII. 3. 87, with regard to the affixes beginning with a vowel, proves by implication that before affixes beginning with a consonant, as हृ, the guṇa also takes place. Obj. The prohibitor in the case of vowel beginning affixes is for the sake of लङ्, to form अनेनेङ् ॥ This is derived from निजिर् (Juhotyadi 11), in the Imperfect, as ष + निञ् + षप् + लु, + तिप् then reduplication (VI. 1. 10), then guṇa of the redupli-

cate, (VII. 4. 75), then णप् which had become ण् in the Imperfect, is elided by VI. 1. 68. Thus अनिङ्+ञ्ङु+त्=अ+निनिङ्+त् (VI. 1. 10)=अनेनिङ्+त् (VII. 4. 75)=अनेनङ् (VI. 1. 98)=अनेनङ्. The elided ण् produces its effect, the guṇa by VII. 3. 86. This is why अच् is taken in sūtra VII. 3. 87, namely अजात affixes do not cause guṇa, the हलादि affixes like ण् cause guṇa. You cannot therefore say that अच् in VII. 3. 87 is a jñāpaka. Ans. The sūtra ऋसिर्गृधृषिसिपेः ऋः (III. 2. 140) teaches the addition of ऋ to ऋस् &c, as गृधृः; if this ऋ had not tended to cause the guṇa of the penultimate vowels of these roots, what was the necessity of making this affix a ऋक्? Similarly I. 2. 10 teaches that सन् (Desiderative) is ऋक् after roots ending in consonants. These rules show that words like मन् &c get guṇa, and the final consonant of the root plus the initial consonant of the affix, does not make the root vowel heavy. Obj: The ऋक् of सन् is for the sake of the elision of the nasal, in धिःसति, धाप्सति (VI. 4. 24). Ans. Let it be so: still the ऋक् of ऋन् is enough for us.

The "upadhā short" must be the vowels of the इक् pratyāhāra. Therefore in भिनत्ति, the penultimate is short अ (of ऋन्) and it does not take guṇa. In fact, the word penultimate qualifies the word इक् understood. Others explain it by saying that पुगन्त is to be analysed by पुक्किभन्त "in the vicinity of ए" ॥ The word भन्त means समीप, and means the इक् vowel in the proximity of पुक् ॥ The word लघूपधा should be analysed as लघ्वी उपधा and is a Karmadhāraya compound, and means "a short or light penultimate". The word पुगन्तलघूपध is a Samāhara Dvandva.

नाभ्यस्तस्याचि पिति सार्वधातुके ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अभ्यस्तस्य, अचि, पिति, सार्वधातु के ॥

वृत्ति ॥ अभ्यस्तसंज्ञकस्वाङ्गस्य लघूपधस्वाजासौ पिति सार्वधातुके एजो न भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं छन्दसीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

87. The guṇa is not substituted for the penultimate light इक् vowel in the reduplicated form of a root, before a Sārvadhātuka affix beginning with a vowel and having an indicatory ए ॥

As नेनिजानि, अनेनिजम्; परि वेविषाणि, पर्ववेविषम् ॥ Why of a reduplicated root? Observe वेसानि ॥ Why beginning with a vowel? Observe नेनेत्ति ॥ The word पित् is read here for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VII. 3. 92. For here in cases other than पित्, guṇa will be prevented by ऋक् because of सार्वधातुकमपित् ॥ Why a sārvidhātuka affix? Observe नेनेज् in the Perfect, the affixes of which are ārdhadhātuka (III. 4. 115). Why do we say a penultimate light vowel? Observe शुहुवानि, अशुहुवम् ॥

Vart:— There is diversity in the Vedas. As शुजोषत् the लृट् of शुस् ॥

The forms पृपृषात्, चाकसीति, वावसीतीः are irregular. स्पृश् + लृट् = स्पृश् + भाद् + ति = स्पृश् + वाप्सु + भाते = पृपृषाति ॥

The above forms are thus evolved. 1. वे निञ्जानि is लोट (Imperative 1st Per Sing). the ण is changed to नि, the augment अट is added which is णत् (भाट्ट-सप्तमस्य णत् III. 4. 92), श्लु is substituted for णत्, then there is reduplication, then guṇa by VII. 4. 75. 2. अनानञ्जन् is लृट्, the णत् is changed to अत् ॥ 3. वदानी is 1st Pers. Sing. Imperative of वद् ॥ 4. वनात्क is 3rd Person singular of the Present. 5. णनञ्ज is the Perfect with णत् which is ārdhādhtuka III. 4. 115. 6. जुञ्जापत् is the लृट् of जुञ्जी णात्सवनयोः (Tudādi 8), in the Parasmaipada, the इ of तिप् is elided (III. 4. 97), then is added the augment अट् (III. 4. 94) then णत् is irregularly replaced by श्लु, then reduplication.

In the words पस्पशात् &c. the reduplicate has been shortened, as a Vedic form, in the Intensive बह् लुक् ॥ आकशीत् is from काम्शीत् there is (बह् लुक्, लट्, तिप्, and इट् augment by अङ् वा (VII. 3. 94). वावशीत्: is from वाग्शीत्, in the Intensive (बह् लुक्), लट्, शत, डीप् and शत i. e. it is the Accusative plural of the Feminine Present Participle from the Intensive root of वाग् ॥ The reading in the Kāsikā is वावशात् ॥ In these two काग् and वाग् the roots have been shortened. Or the above forms may be derived regularly, without shortening, from the roots कग् and वग् ॥

भूसुवोस्तिङ् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भू, सुवोः, तिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भू इत्येतयोस्तिङ् सार्वधातुके शुणो न भवति ॥

88. भू and सू get no guṇa before an immediately following Personal ending which is Sārvadhātuka.

As भून्, भूः, भुवन्, सुवे, सुवावहे, सुवानहे ॥ The सू refers to the Adādi root (21) in which the Present character is dropped, and does not refer to Div-ādi (24) or Tudādi (115) roots, because there the Present character श्वन् and ञ् intervene between the Personal endings (तिङ्) and the root: and moreover the affixes श्वन् and ञ् are ङित् (I. 2. 4) and would not cause guṇa. Why do we say before तिङ्? Observe भवति where the guṇa takes place before णत् ॥ Why before a sārvadhātuka affix? Observe व्यति भविषीष्ट, where the Benedictive is not a Sārvadhātuka (III. 4. 116), and the augment is of course considered as a portion of the personal ending. Why the guṇa is not prohibited in बोभवीति when the Intensive बह् is dropped, and the Personal ending is added directly to the root. Because the form बोभूत् in VII. 4. 65 indicates by implication that guṇa takes place in बह्लुक् except in बोभूत् ॥

But of सू we have सोषुवीति where guṇa has been prohibited in the Intensive, because there is no jñāpaka with regard to it.

The forms सुवे &c are the 1st Per. Imperative of सू ॥

उतो वृद्धिर्लुकि हलि ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उतः, वृद्धिः, लुकि, हलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सार्वधातुके पितीति वर्तते ॥ उकारान्तस्वाङ्गस्व वृद्धिर्भवति लुकि सति हलासौ पिति सार्वधातुके ॥

89. A root ending in short उ, which has no Present

characteristic (i. e. the vikaraṇa is dropped by luk elision), gets vṛiddhi, before a पित् Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant, but not if the stem is reduplicated.

Thus श्रौति, श्रौषि, श्रौमि; नौति, नौषि, नौमि, स्तौति, स्तौषि, स्तौमि ॥ Why ending in इ? Observe एति, एषि, एमि ॥ Why do we say whose vikaraṇa is elided by ह्रक? Observe सुनाति, सुनोषि, सुनोमि ॥ Why beginning with a ह्र? Observe अवापि, रवापि, the First Person of the Imperative is पित् by III. 4. 92. Why before a पित् affix? Observe युतः, रतः ॥ The augment चासुद् being डित् (III. 4. 103), prevents पित् action in आवि स्तुयान् राजानम् ॥ The phrase नाभ्यस्तस्व should be read into the sūtra from VII. 3. 87: therefore Vṛiddhi does not take place here शोभोति शोनाति ॥ Here there is luk-elision of ब्रह् ॥

ऊर्णोतिर्विभाषा ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊर्णोतेः, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्णोतेर्विभाषा वृद्धिर्भवति इत्यसौ पिति सार्वधातुके ॥

90. Before a पित् Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant, the final उ of ऊर्णु gets optionally vṛiddhi.

As श्रौतेति or श्रौतेषि, श्रौतेमि or श्रौतेषि, श्रौतेमि or श्रौतेषि; but श्रौतेवानि before an affix beginning with a vowel.

गुणोऽपृक्ते ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुणः, अपृक्ते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्णोतेऽपृक्तोऽपृक्ते इति पिति सार्वधातुके गुणो भवति ॥

91. Before a पित् Sârvadhâtuka affix which is a single consonant, Guna is substituted for the final of ऊर्णु ॥

As श्रौतेत्, श्रौतेः ॥ Though the anuvṛitti of इत्यसौ was understood in this sūtra from the last aphorism, the employment of the term अपृक्त् implies the existence of the following maxim:—अस्मिन् विधि स्वरावावाह मध्ये “when a term which denotes a letter is exhibited in a rule, in the form of a Locative case, and qualifies something else which likewise stands in the Locative case, that which is qualified by it must be regarded as beginning with the letter which is denoted by the term in question, and not as ending with it”.

तृणह इम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृणहः, इम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृणह इत्येतस्याङ्गस्य इमागमो भवति इति पिति सार्वधातुके ॥

92. Before a पित् Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant, इ is added after अ of the verbal stem तृणह् ॥

As तृणेति, तृणेषि, तृणेमि, अतृणेद् ॥ In the last example though the affix vanishes altogether, yet it produces its effect. Why beginning with a consonant? Observe तृणहानि ॥ Why a पित् affix? Observe तृणहः with इम् ॥ The stem तृणह is formed from the root तृह (Rudhâdi) with the vikaraṇa अन्, and is so exhibited in the sūtra in order to indicate that the augment इम् is added after the vikaraṇa अन् has been added, and that the root तृह of Tuhâdi class is not to be taken.

The above forms are thus derived :—

हृह् + क्तन् + तिप् = हृणह् + इत् + ति = हृणहृह् + ति = हृणह् + ति (VI. 1. 87) = हृणह् + ति (VIII. 2. 31) = हृणह् + ति (VIII. 2. 40) = हृणह् + ति (VIII. 4. 41) = हृणह् with the elision of one ह् (VIII. 3. 13). The form हृणहृह् is similarly formed by VIII. 2. 41, the ह् being changed to क् before ति of तिप् ॥ अहृणह् is the लृङ् 2nd and 3rd Per. Sing.

हृव ईद् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हृवः, ईद् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हृ इत्येतस्मादुत्तरस्य ह्लादिः पित्तः सार्वधातुकस्य ईडागमो भवति ॥

93. Before a पित् Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant, the augment ईद् is placed after ह्रू ॥

As ह्रवीति, ह्रवीधि, ह्रवीनि, अह्रवीत् ॥ But ह्रवाणि before such an affix beginning with a vowel, and ह्रतः before an affix which is not पित् ॥

यङो वा ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यङः, वा, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङ् उत्तरस्य ह्लादिः पित्तः सार्वधातुकस्य ईडागमो भवति वा ॥

94. The पित् Sârvadhâtuka affixes, beginning with a consonant, optionally get the augment ईद् in the Intensive.

As लालपीति in शाकुनिकौ लालपीति, so also दुन्दुभिर्वाचसीति, विधावज्जो वृषभो वेरवीति महादेवोमर्त्तो भाविषेद्य ॥ (Rig. IV. 58. 3). Also not, as वर्वात् चक्रत् and वर्वामि ॥ These are all examples of the Intensive with the elision of बह् ॥ When the stem retains बह्, there can be no पित् Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant after it, because then वाप् will intervene between the affix and the stem. Hence no examples of the same can be given.

तुरुस्तुशम्यमः सार्वधातुके ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तु, रु, स्तु, शमि, अमः, सार्वधातुके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तु इति सौभोवं धातुः, रु शब्दे तुम् स्तुतो शम उदशमे अम गत्यादिषु इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य सार्वधातुकस्य ह्लादिर्वा ईडागमो भवति ।

95. A sârvadhâtuka affix, beginning with a consonant, optionally gets ईद् augment, after the roots तु, रु, स्तु, शम and अम् ॥

The root तु (Adâdi 25) means 'to increase', रु (Adâdi 24) 'to make a sound', स्तु (Adâdi 34) 'to praise', वाप् 'to be satisfied', and अम् 'to go'. According to Kâśikâ तु is a Sautra dhātu. Thus उच्योति or उच्यवीति, उपयोति or उपयोवीति, उपस्तौति or उपस्तवीति, शाम्यथ्वत् or शामीथ्वत्, अभ्यनति or अभ्यनवीति ॥ वाप् and अम् can then be followed by a consonant beginning sârvadhâtuka affix, when they lose their Present character (vikaraṇa) as a Vedic anomaly (bahulam chhandasi).

The Apîśalâs read the sūtra as तुरुस्तुशम्यमः सार्वधातुकावृत्त्यसि ॥ This will then become a विधि rule for the Vedic forms. The word सार्वधातुका is here exhibited in the feminine.

The repetition of 'sârvadhâtuka', though its anuvṛitti was present is for the sake of stopping the anuvṛitti of वित्, and this rule applies to आप्त affixes also, as सुवीत, यमाध्वम् ॥

अस्तिसिचोऽपुक्ते ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्ति, सिचः, अ, पुक्ते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तेरङ्गात् सिचन्ताच्च परस्वापुक्तस्य सार्वधातुकस्य ईडागमो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ आदिभुवारीदि प्रतिषेधः ॥

96. A single consonantal sârvadhâtuka affix gets the augment ईद्, after अस् (अस्ति) and after the Aorist character णच् ॥

As आसात्, आसीत्; अकार्षीत्, असावीत् ॥ Why do we say a single-consonant affix? Observe आस्त, अकापम् ॥

Vdt.—Prohibition of the sthânvad-bhâva must be stated when आह् is substituted for ह् (III. 4. 84), and भू for भम् (II. 4. 52), before the augment ईद् ॥ Therefore not here आत्थ and अभूत् ॥ The word आत्थ is thus formed. आह् + सिच् = आह् + यत् (III. 4. 84) = आत् + य (VIII. 2. 35) = आत् + थ (VIII. 4. 55) = आत्थ ॥

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तिसिचोरपुक्तस्य सार्वधातुकस्य ईडागमो भवति बहुलं छन्दसि विषये ॥

97. In the Veda, a single consonantal Sârvadhâtuka affix gets diversely the augment ईद्, after अस् and सिच् ॥

As आप एवेर् साल्ल सवनाः ॥ Here आः is used instead of आसीत्; but also अहंरवासीन्न राशिः (See Maitr. S. I. 5. 12). So also with s-Aorist, as गोभिरसाः (Rig IX. 107. 9), प्रत्यञ्चमस्ताः (Rig X. 28. 4). And अगैषीर्मा पुषक, the अद् is not elided though ना is added (VI. 4. 75). असाः and अस्ताः are examples of सिच् without ईद्. Compare VIII. 2. 73.

The word आः is the लृक् of अस्, there is added सिच्, then षच् is elided, then स् is changed to ह्, and it is turned to visarjaniya. The words असाः and अस्ताः are derived from the roots अर् (सञ्चलने) and स्तर् (उच्यतौ), in the Aorist, the सिच् is elided (VI. 1. 68), the षच् is elided by VIII. 2. 24, and the ह् of the roots is changed to visarga. The augment ईद् is not added as a Vedic irregularity.

रुद् अ पञ्चभ्यः ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुद्ः, अ, पञ्चभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुदसिचः परस्य सार्वधातुकस्य इलादेरपुक्तस्य ईडागमो भवति ॥

98. After रुद् and the four roots that follow it, comes the augment ईद् to a sârvadhâtuka affix consisting of a single consonant.

As अरोषीत्, अरोषीः, अस्वपीत् and अस्वपीः, अम्बसीत्, अम्बसीः, प्राणीत्, प्राणीः, अजशीत्, अजशीः ॥ Why of these five only? Observe अजागद् भवान् ॥ Why an अप्रिक्ता affix? Observe ऐरिसि ॥ The word रुद्ः is singular, though it ought to have been plural.

अङ्गार्ग्यगालवयोः ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्, गार्ग्य, गालवयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इतिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः परस्य अपृक्तस्य सार्वधातुकस्याडागमो भवति गार्ग्यगालवयोर्मतेन ॥

99. According to the opinion of Gārgya, and Gālāva, the augment अद् comes before a Sārvadhātuka affix consisting of a single consonant, after the above five roots रुद् &c.

As अरावत्, अरवः, अस्वपत्, अस्वपः, अश्वसत् अश्वसः, प्राणत् प्राणः, अजसत्, अजसः ॥ The names of Gārgya and Gālāva are mentioned for honoris causa.

The mention of these names is not for the sake of "option" (विकल्पार्थम्). Because the very injunction about अद्, would make the ईद् of the preceding sūtra optional. The mention of more than one Achārya in the sūtra is also for this very reason.

अद्: सर्वेषाम् ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्ः, सर्वेषाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अद् भक्षणे अस्मादुत्तरस्यापृक्तस्य सार्वधातुकस्याडागमो भवति सर्वेषामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥

100. After अद् 'to eat', comes the augment अद् before a Sārvadhātuka affix consisting of a single consonant, according to the opinion of all grammarians.

As आरवत् and आरवः ॥ Before a non-aprikta we have अत्ति, अत्ति ॥ The word सर्वेषाम् makes it a necessary rule and not optional, like the last.

अतो दीर्घो यञि ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, दीर्घः, यञि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति यमादौ सार्वधातुके परतः ॥

101. The long आ is substituted for the final अ of a Tense-stem, before a Sārvadhātuka affix beginning with ह् or ऋ (lit. a consonant of यञ् प्रत्यङ्गहारा).

As पचामि, पचावः, पचामः, पचामि, पच्यावः, पच्यामः ॥ Why 'for the अ only'? Observe चिनुवः, चिनुमः ॥ Why before a यञ् consonant (semivowels, nasals and ह् and ऋ) only? Observe पचतः, पचयः ॥ Why a 'Sārvadhātuka'? Observe अङ्गना, केचवः ॥ Some read the anuvṛitti of तिङ् into this sūtra, from VII. 3. 88 so that the lengthening takes place only before Personal-endings. According to them before कृषु there is no lengthening, as भववान् ॥

The word भववान् is thus formed. To ह् is added कृषु, then comes चप्, treating kvasu as a sārvadhātuka under III. 4. 117; the reduplication of the root ending in चप् is prevented, because the word dhātu is used in VI. 1. 8 which ordains reduplication of a root only, and not of a root plus a vikaraṇa like the form भव (भू-चप्) ॥ Those who do not read the anuvṛitti of तिङ् in this sūtra, but only of the word सार्वधातुके, they explain the form भववान् as a Vedic anomaly.

सुपि च ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतो दीर्घो यमीत्यनुवर्तते । सुपि च यमादौ परतो ऽकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

102. Before a case-ending beginning with **य** or **अ** (lit. a consonant of यञ् Pratyâhâra), the final **अ** of a Nominal-stem is also lengthened.

The whole of the phrase **अतो षीर्षो वाञ्छ** is understood here. Thus **वृक्षात्**, **प्लक्षात्**, **वृक्षाभ्याम्**, **प्लक्षाभ्याम्** ॥ But **अग्निभ्याम्** where the stem ends in **इ**, and **वृक्षात्** **प्लक्षात्** where the affix does not begin with a यञ् consonant.

बहुवचने झल्येत् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुवचने, झलि, एत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुवचने झल्येत् इति परतो ऽकारान्तस्वाङ्गस्य एकारादेशो भवति ॥

103. Before a case-ending beginning with **ञ्** or **स्** (lit. a झञ् consonant), in the Plural, **ए** is substituted for the final **अ** of a Nominal-stem.

As **वृक्षाभ्याः**, **प्लक्षाभ्याः**, **वृक्षेषु**, **प्लक्षेषु** ॥ Why in the Plural? Observe **वृक्षाभ्याम्** **प्लक्षाभ्याम्** ॥ Why before a case-affix beginning with a झञ् consonant? Observe **वृक्षाणां** (the lengthening here is by VI. 4. 3). Why a case-affix? Observe **वज्रध्वम्**, **पचध्वम्** ॥

ओसि च ॥ २०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओसि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओसि परतोकारान्तस्वाङ्गस्य एकारादेशो भवति ॥

104. Before the case-ending **ओस्**, **ए** is substituted for the final **अ** of a Nominal-stem.

As **वृक्षयोः** (Gen. dual) **स्व**, **प्लक्षयोः** **स्व**, **वृक्षयोः** (Loc. dual) as **वृक्षयोर्निधेहि**, **प्लक्षयोर्निधेहि** ॥

आङि चापः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङि, च, आपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङिति पूर्वार्थनिर्देशेन तृतीयैकवचनं गृह्यत । तस्मिन्नाङि परतश्चकारादेशि च भावन्तस्वाङ्गस्यैकारादेशो भवति ।

105. Before the case-endings **ओस्** and before **आ** of the Instrumental, **ए** is substituted for the final **आ** of the Feminine-affix.

आङ् is the name given to the affix **इ**, the Ins. Sg. by the ancient grammarians. As **सदृशा**, **मालया**, **सदृशोः**, **मालयोः**, **बहुराजया**, **कारीषगन्धवा**, **बहुराजयोः**, **कारीषगन्धवोः** ॥ Why the **आ** of the Feminine affix only? Observe **कीलालया** **ब्राह्मणेन** **कीलालयोः** **ब्राह्मणकुलोः** ॥ Where ever **ङी** or **आप्** is employed in Grammar, they mean the long forms **ङी** and **आ**, and not when they are shortened, therefore, not here, **अतिसदृशेन** **ब्राह्मणकुलेन** ॥

The word **कीलालया** is derived from **कीलालं** **पिबति** with the affix **विच्** (III. 2. 74). In the Ins. Sing. the final **आ** is elided by VI. 4. 140. Had therefore, **आ** only been used in the sūtra, instead of **आप्**, there would have been **ए** substitution in the case of **कीलालया** also; for the **आप्** rule VI. 4. 140 would find its scope in **कीलालपः** **पश्च** &c, and would be debarred here by the present sūtra.

The maxim ऊपाद् महनेऽशीर्षमहणम् is necessary, because otherwise on the maxim of sthānivadbhāva, the short substitutes of ङी and आप् would also be included. In fact, in the sūtra prohibiting sthānivad bhāva, we find this vārtika ऊपाद् महनेऽशीर्षः "A short (not long) substitute of ङी and आप् is not sthānivat".

संबुद्धौ च ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्बुद्धौ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आप इति वर्त्तते । संबुद्धौ च परत आबन्तत्वाद्गुणस्य एव भवति ॥

106. ए is substituted for the final आ of a Feminine stem, in the Vocative Singular.

As हे खड्गे, हे बहुपात्रे, हे कारीषगन्धे ॥

अम्बार्थनद्योर्ह्रस्वः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अम्बार्थ, नद्योः, ह्रस्वः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबुद्धाविति वर्त्तते । अम्बार्थानामङ्गानां नद्यन्तानां ह्रस्वो भवति, संबुद्धौ परतः ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ डलकवतीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ छन्दसि वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सलो ह्रस्वो वा छिःसंबुद्धोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दस्येव ह्रस्व स्थानियते ॥ मानुषां मातश्च पुत्रार्थमर्हते ॥

107. A short vowel is substituted in the Voc. Sg. for the आ of the feminine, in the sense of 'mother, mother-dear', as well as for the long vowel of the Femines called Nadi (I. 4. 3 &c).

As हे अम्ब ! हे अक ! हे अल ! हे कुमारी ! हे चार्ङ्गिणी ! हे ब्रह्मबन्धु ! हे श्रीरवन्धु !

Vārti:—Prohibition must be stated when the endearing terms denoting mother have an uncombined ड, ल or क, as हे अम्बाड ! हे अम्बाल ! हे अम्बिक ! But हे अक and हे अल where the ल and क are conjunct.

Vārti:—Optionally so in the Veda: as हे अम्बाड ! or हे अम्बाड ! हे अम्बाल ! or हे अम्बाले, हे अम्बिक ! हे अम्बिके ॥

Vārti:—A feminine stem formed with the affix तल् optionally becomes short before the Loc. Sg. and Voc. Sg. As देवत मातः or देवतायां भक्ति, हे देवत ! or हे देवते ॥ This shortening takes place in the Veda only.

Vārti:—In a Bahuvrīhi compound ending with मातृ, there is substituted मातृ for मातृ in the Voc. Sg. when the word means a son worthy of such a mother. As हे गामामाते ! = मातृां व्यवर्द्धयामर्हति इलाचनीयत्वाद् वः पुत्रः ॥ This debars the कप् affix of V. 4. 153. The च् of मातृच् makes the final acute.

ह्रस्वस्य गुणः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वस्य, गुणः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबुद्धाविति वर्त्तते । ह्रस्वान्तस्थाद्गुणस्य गुणो भवति संबुद्धौ परतः ।

108. For short इ and उ final in a nominal-stem, a guṇa is substituted in the Vocative Singular.

As हे अग्ने, हे वायो, हे पदौ ॥ But there is no guṇa in हे कुमारी, हे ब्रह्मबन्धु, because इ and ऊ were shortened specifically, and to substitute guṇa for them

would make their shortening a useless operation. Moreover, had *guṇa* been intended in the case of these *nadi* words, the *sūtra* would have been *अन्वयानां ह्रस्वः*, २ नदीह्रस्वयोर्युणः ॥

जसि च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ जसि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जसि परतो ह्रस्वान्तस्याङ्गस्य युणो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ असादिषु छन्दसि वाच्येन प्राक् णौ चङ्युपधाया ह्रस्व इत्यतस्मात् ॥

109. Before the affix *अस्* of the Nom. Pl., *Guṇa* is substituted for the final short vowel of a nominal stem.

As *अग्नेयः*, *वाक्चवः*, *पटवः*, *धेनवः*, *बुद्धवः* ॥

Vārt:—All these rules upto the end of this chapter are of optional application in the Veda. As *अम्बे* or *अम्ब*, *पूर्णा र्षी* or *पूर्णा र्षी*, *अथा सतकत्वः* or *सतकत्वः*, *पथे वृत्यः* or *पथावे वृत्यः*, *किकिरीष्या* or *किकिरीषिना* ॥

The forms *र्षी* and *र्षी* could have been regularly obtained by the optional use of *ङीष्* (*कृदिकारान्तिनः*) ॥ *सतकत्वः* is formed by adding *अस्* to *सतकत्* without *guṇa* of *ङ*, and *ङ* being changed to *च्* ॥ The rule of lengthening the prior vowel (VI. 1. 102) which would have otherwise come, in the absence of *guṇa* does not take place, as a Vedic option (VI. 1. 106). *किकिरीष्या* is the Instrumental singular, the *ना* of VII. 3. 120 does not come. The word *किकिरीषि* is formed by *Uṇādi nipātan* (*कृविभृष्वि &c Uṇ IV. 56*).

ऋतो ङिसर्वनामस्थानयोः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, ङि, सर्वनामस्थानयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युण इति वर्तते ऋकापन्तस्याङ्गस्य ङौ परतः सर्वनामस्थाने च युणो भवति ॥

110. *Guṇa* is substituted for the final *ऋ* of a stem, in the Locative singular and in the Strong cases.

As *मातरि*, *पितरि*, *भ्रातरि*, *कर्तरि*; *आतरो*, *पितरो*, *भ्रातरो*, *कर्तारो*, *कर्तारः* ॥ For the long in *कर्तारो* and *कर्तारः* see VI. 4. 11. The *त्* in *ऋत्* is for the sake of facility of utterance.

Because before *ङि* and strong cases, it is impossible for a stem to end in a long vowel *ऋ* nor a *dhātu* noun can so come, since in that case, long *ऋ* would be changed to *इर्* by VII. 1. 100, and in forms like *कर्तृणि* there is *नुच्* ॥

घेङिति ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ घेः, ङिति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पन्तस्याङ्गस्य ङिति प्रत्यये परतो युणो भवति ॥

111. For the *इ* and *उ* of the stems called *घि* (I.4.3.) *Guṇa* is substituted in Dative, Ablative and Genitive Singular.

As *अग्नेये*, *वाक्चवे*, *अग्नेः*, *वाक्चोः*, (VI. 1. 110). Why of *घि* stems? Observe *सख्ये*, *पत्ये* ॥ Why in the Singulars of the Dat. Abl. and Loc. only? Observe *अग्निः-भ्याम्* ॥ The word case ending (*घुषि*) is understood here also, as the counter-examples are *पट्टी*, *कुरुतः* ॥

The word *पट्टी* is formed by adding *ङीष्* to *पट्ट* (IV. 1. 44). *ङीष्* is not a case-affix, though it is *ङित्* and is added to *पट्ट* which is *घि* ॥ *कुरुतः* is no proper example: for though *तस्* which is added to *कुरु*, is *ङित्*, it is only so by *atideśa* (*सार्वधातुकमपित्*), and moreover *कुरु* is not *घि* ॥

आङ्गनाद्याः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आद्, नद्याः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नद्यन्तावङ्गादुत्तरस्य क्तितः प्रत्ययस्य आङ्गनागमो भवति ॥

112. The augment आद् is added to the case-endings of the Dat. Abl. and Gen. Sg. after the stem called Nadî (I. 4. 3. &c.).

As कुमार्थैः, क्रिचोर्थाः, ब्रह्मबन्धे, धीरबन्धे, कुमार्थाः, क्रिचोर्थाः, ब्रह्मबन्ध्याः, धीरबन्ध्याः ॥

याडापः ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ याद्, आपः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावन्तावङ्गादुत्तरस्य क्तितः प्रत्ययस्य याडागमो भवति ॥

113. The augment याद् is added to the Dat. Abl. and Gen. Sg. after a Feminine stem ending in आ ॥

As खद्वादि, बहुराजादि, कारीपगन्ध्यादि, खद्वादाः, बहुराजादाः, कारीपगन्ध्यादाः ॥ But in the compound अतिलखद्, (from खद्वापतिक्रान्तः), this rule does not apply, on the maxim क्वाद् षष्ठेऽर्धः as the आ has been shortened here. Even when the word अतिलखद् assumes the form अतिलखद्वा in the Dative by VII. 3. 102, the affix does not take the augment वाद्, because this long आ is a lākṣhaṇika आ only, while the आ of the sūtra is a pratipadokta (लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदस्यैव) ॥

सर्वनाम्नः स्याद्स्वञ्च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वनाम्नः, स्याद्, ह्रस्वः च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनाम्न भावन्तावङ्गादुत्तरस्य क्तितः प्रत्ययस्य स्याडागमो ह्रस्वञ्च भवति ॥

114. After a Pronominal stem ending in long आ of the Feminine, the Dat. Abl. and Gen. Sg. receive the augment स्याद् and the आ of the stem is shortened.

As सर्वस्यै, विश्वस्यै, यस्यै, तस्यै, कस्यै, भवस्यै, भवत्याः, सर्वस्याः, विश्वस्याः, वस्याः, तस्याः, कस्याः, भवस्यै भवस्याः ॥

But अङ्गुल्यै where the stem does not end in long आ of the Feminine.

विभाषा द्वितीयातृतीयाभ्याम् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, द्वितीया, तृतीयाभ्याम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीया तृतीया इत्येताव्यादुत्तरस्य क्तितः प्रत्ययस्य विभाषा स्याडागमो भवति ॥

115. After द्वितीया and तृतीया the Dat. Abl. and Gen. Sg. may optionally get the augment स्याद् before which the आ is shortened.

As द्वितीयस्यै or द्वितीयायै; तृतीयस्यै or तृतीयायै, द्वितीयस्याः or द्वितीयायाः, तृतीयस्याः or तृतीयायाः ॥

केरास्रञ्जाङ्गीभ्यः ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊः, आम, नदी, आप्, नीभ्यः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नद्यन्तावङ्गादुत्तरस्य क्तितः प्रत्ययस्य केरास्रञ्जाङ्गीभ्यो भवति ॥

116. For the ending इ of the Loc. Sg. there is substituted आम, after a stem called Nadî (I. 4. 3. &c), after the Feminines in आ, and after नी ॥

As कुमार्थ्याम्, किशोर्याम्, गौर्याम्, ब्रह्मबन्ध्याम्, धीरबन्ध्याम्, खट्वाद्याम्, बहुराज्याम्, कारी-
षगन्ध्याद्याम्, नी-प्रामण्याम्, सेनान्याम् ॥

The word ग्रामणी is formed by कृष् affix added under III. 2. 61, the ऋ is changed to ऌ by सप्त ग्रामाभ्याम्; and the ऌष् substitute in the Locative is by VI. 4. 82.

इदुङ्ग्याम् ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, उङ्ग्याम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इकारोकाराभ्यां नदीसंज्ञकाभ्यामुत्तरस्य डेराकारेशो भवति ॥

117. After the Feminine nadi words ending in इ and उ short, ग्राम् is substituted for the इ of the Loc. Sg.

As कृत्याम्, धेन्याम् ॥ See I. 4. 6.

The word नदी is understood here also. Obj. If this be so, it is not a really separate sūtra, because it is included in the last, and these forms could be obtained by the last sūtra : so that we ought to make only one sūtra of 117 and 118, as इदुङ्ग्यामौत् ॥ Ans. We could not have done so, for then in the case of कृति and धेनु, the औ would have come and not ग्रा, in this way. The ग्राम् would have found scope in nadi words like कुमार्थ्याम्, the औ would have undisputed scope in पत्न्यौ and सख्यौ; but in the case of कृति when getting the designation नदी the औ would have come, being subsequently taught, and the form would have been कृत्यौ instead of कृत्याम् ॥

औत् ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ औत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इदुङ्ग्यामुत्तरस्य डेरीकारेशो भवति ॥

118. After a stem ending in इ or उ short, and which is not a Nadi or a Ghi, औ is substituted for the इ of the Loc. Sg.

As सख्यौ, पत्न्यौ ॥

In the case of नदी words ग्राम् is taught by the previous sūtras; in the case of षि words औ preceded by ष substitution of षि letters will be taught in the next sūtra, so by the rule of exclusion, the present sūtra applies to words other than nadi and ghi.

अख्येः ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्, ख, धेः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ औविति वर्तते षिसंज्ञकाद्युत्तरस्य डेरीकारेशो भवति तस्य च डेराकारेशो भवति ॥

119. After a Ghi (I. 4. 7) stem ending in short इ or उ, औ is substituted for the इ of the Loc. Sg. and अ is substituted for the final of such Ghi stem.

As अनी, वावौ, कृतौ, धेनौ, पदौ ॥ The short अ is substituted, in order to prevent the दाप् affix in the Feminine. Those who read 118 and 119 combined as औत्ख धेः translate it thus: "After every other stem ending in इ and उ (i. e. which is not a Nadi), औ is substituted for the Locative Singular इ, whereby for the final of Ghi stems, अ is substituted". They do so on the analogy of the sūtra कर्तुः क्यङ् सलोपम् (III. 1. 11).

आङो नाऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ आङः, ना, अस्त्रियाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ घेरुत्तरस्याङो नाभावो भवति अस्त्रियाम् ॥

120. ना is substituted for the ending आ of the Instrumental singular, after the Ghi stems, when they are not Feminine.

As अग्निना, वायुना, पटुना ॥ Why do we not say आङो ना वृत्ति 'ना is substituted for आ in the Masculine'? Ans. In order to form the neuter Instrumentals also, as वपुणा, जतुना ॥ Obj. These can be formed by the augment वुप् under rule VII. 1. 73, and not by the ना of this sūtra. Ans. But अद्युना will not be so formed as अद्युना ब्राह्मणकुले ॥ Because वु substituted for वस् of अवस् VIII. 2. 80 is considered as asiddha or non-existent (VIII.2.1) for the purposes of the application of VII. 1. 73, and as अद्यु cannot take वुप्, it will take ना by this rule. Why do we say "not in the Feminine?" Observe कृत्या, धेन्वा ॥

अथ सप्तमाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

णौ चङ्युपधाया ह्रस्वः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ णौ, चङि, उपधायाः, ह्रस्वः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भङ्गस्येति वर्तते चङ्णेर णौ चङ्णं तस्योपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ उपधाह्रस्वत्वे णौणिच्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

1. A short is substituted for the vowel, standing in a penultimate position, in the Causative stem, when the affix चङ् (sign of the Reduplicate Aorist of the Causatives) follows.

As अचीकरत्, अजीहरत्, अलीलवत्, अपीपठत् ॥ Here the rules of reduplication and shortening of the penultimate both present themselves simultaneously. The rule about shortening, being subsequent in order, is applied first, and then the reduplication takes place. Thus कारि + अत् = कार् + अत् (णि being elided VI. 4. 51) = कर् + अत् (shortening VII. 4. 1) = चकर् + अत् (VI. 1. 11) = चिकर् + अत् (VII. 4. 93, 79) = चीकरत् (VII. 4. 94). The necessity of maintaining this order will appear from the following considerations. The Causative stem of अद् is आदि; the Aorist of which is आदि + चङ् + त् = आद् + अत् (VI. 4. 51). Now if reduplication took place first we shall have आदिद् + अत् (I. 1. 59 the elided इ will be present for the purposes of reduplication) and as the penultimate is short already, the form will be आदिदत्, which with the augment अ will be अ + आदिदत् = आदिदत् ॥ This is a correct form, so far as it goes; but when the augment is elided in connection with the negative मा, the form will be मा भवान् आदिदत्, the correct form however is मा भवान् आदिदत् with a short अ, which can be formed if we shorten first and then reduplicate, as आद् + अत् = अद् + अत् = अदिद् + अत् = अदिदत्, which with the augment अ, will be आदिदत् ॥ In fact, though the reduplication of the second syllable (VI. 1. 2) is a *nitya* rule, because it applies even where a penultimate is shortened and where not, yet the rule about shortening takes effect first, because the author has himself indicated this, by making the root

भोज have an indicatory ऋ in the Dhātupāṭha (See VII. 4. 2 about ऋदित् verbs). For had the reduplication taken place first in the case of भोज् (Bhu. 482), as भोजिण्, there would be no long vowel to be shortened, and there would be no necessity of the prohibition (VII. 4. 2).

Obj: Why do we say 'in the Causative'? The चङ् Aorist is formed of Causatives only (See III. I. 48), the only exceptions being the simple roots भि, हु, सु, धेद् and चि, none of which have any vowel in the penultimate and कच् and सुप् have already short upadhā. The sūtra चङ्नुपधाया इस्वः would have been enough. Ans. Had the sūtra been, as proposed, then it would have meant, 'that which is penultimate when चङ् follows, should be shortened'. Therefore in the Aorist of the Causative of लृ, we have लृ+णि+चङ्-लृ=लृ+इ+अत् here the penultimate *with regard* to चङ् is ऋ, which would be shortened, debarring Vṛiddhi and आच् substitute, and there would have come the इवच् substitute instead. But that is not the case. We have अलीलवत्, and not अल्लुवत् ॥ Similarly, in the Aorist of the Causative of इ, we shall have इ+इ+अत्, and इा being shortened we have इ+इ+अत्, so that we cannot add the augment पुक् (VII. 3. 36), and form इदीवत् ॥ And the forms like अपीपचत् (पच्+इ-अत्) would not at all admit of shortening.

Why do we say when चङ् follows? Observe कारयति, हारयति where there is no shortening in the Present Tense. Why do we say of the penultimate? Observe अचकाङ्क्षत् from काङ्क्ष्, and अववाञ्छत् from वाञ्छ्, where the penultimate being a consonant, there can be no shortening. Had the word penultimate been not used, the vowels of these would be shortened. And the word 'upadhā' is also absolutely necessary for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VII. 4. 4, and it prevents shortening in the above case, which would have otherwise taken place, on the maxim येन नाप्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितेऽपि वचनं प्रामाण्यत् which qualifies I. 1. 67.

Vart:—The rule of shortening of the penultimate applies to the चङ् Aorist of the Causative of the Causative i. e. to the double Causative even. Thus अवीवत् (=वादितवन्तं प्रयोजितवान्) वीणां परिवाक्केन ॥ Otherwise वादि+इ+अत्=वाद्+इ+अत्=वाद्+०+अत् ॥ Here the elided इ being sthanivat, will prevent shortening, or because the stem has lost a simple-vowel (अग्लोपिन्), it will not be shortened. The present vārtika makes it so however:

नागोपिशास्वृदिताम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अक्, लोपि, शासु, ऋदिताम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अग्लोपिनामङ्गानां शासेर्द्धितां च जो चङ्नुपधाया इस्वो न भवति ॥

2. The shortening of the penultimate of the stem, before the causative affix, in the reduplicated-Aorist, does not take place, when it is a (Denominative) stem, which has lost

a simple (end vowel of the Nominal-stem), before the Causative sign and also not, when it is the verb शास्, or a root which has an indicatory ऋ ॥

The word अग्लोपिन् means literally a stem, in which a simple vowel (अक् pratyâhâra) or a portion containing an अक् vowel has been dropped. As the final vowels of Denominative stems are so elided before the Causative sign णि, the sūtra has been translated accordingly. Thus अममालत् = मालामाख्यत्; अममातरत् = मातरमाख्यत्, अममराजत् = राजामतिक्रान्तवान्, अममलुलामत् = लोमान्बहुमुदवान् ॥ Where a simple अक् vowel alone is elided, as in the case of माला, there the elided अ being sthânivat, would prevent the shortening, the अ of मा not being then considered penultimate. So that अग्लोपिन् could be spared from the sūtra, since the sthânivad-bhâva would prevent shortening. But where an अक् vowel plus a consonant is dropped, as in राजत् and लोमत्, there the sthânivad-bhâva does not apply (I. 1. 57), hence the necessity of employing the term अग्लोपिन् in the sūtra. Similarly अघासात् with घान्; and अबबाधत् from बाध्, अबवाचत् from वाच्, and अद्दुक्कत् from दुक् ॥ See III. 1. 21 and 25.

भ्राजभासभाषदीपजीवमीलपीडामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्राज, भास, भाष, दीप, जीव, मील, पीडाम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्राज भास भाष दीप जीव मील पीड इत्येतेषामङ्गानां णौ षड्युपधाया इत्सो भवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ काण्यार्षीतां वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

3. The shortening of the penultimate of the Causative stem, in the reduplicated Aorist, is optional in the following:—bhrâj, bhâs, bhâsh, dîp, jîv, mîl and pîd.

As अबिभ्रजत् or अबभ्राजत्, अबीमसत् or अबभासत्, अबीभवत् or अबबाधत्, अबी-द्विपत् or अबिदीपत्, अबजीजिवत् or अबजिजीवत्, अबमीमिलत् or अबमिमिलत्, अबपीपिडत् or अबपिपीडत् ॥ The Dhâtupâtha reads भ्राञ् (Bhu. 194) and भाञ् (Bh. 655). The indicatory ऋ is unnecessary and not countenanced by Pāṇini, as shown in this sūtra. Had they been ऋदित्, they would have been governed by the last aphorism.

Vat:—The words काणि, वाणि, राणि, हेडि, लोपि should be enumerated: as अक्काणत् or अक्कीकणत्, अक्काणत् or अक्कीकणत्, अक्काणत् or अक्कीकणत्, अक्काणत् or अक्कीकणत्, अक्काणत् or अक्कीकणत् ॥

लोपः पिबतेरीच्चाभ्यासस्य ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, पिबतेः, ईत्, च, अभ्यासस्य ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ पिबतेरङ्गत्वं णौ षड्युपधाया लोपो भवति अभ्यासस्येकारदेशो भवति ॥

4. The penultimate vowel, in the Causative stem of पा 'to drink' is elided in the Aorist, and for the vowel of the Reduplicate there is substituted long ई ॥

As पा + णि + भन् = पाह् + इ + भन् (VII. 3. 37) = पाह् + भन् (VI. 4. 51) = पृह् + भन् (VII. 4. 8) = पृह् + भन् (I. 1. 59) = पीव्यत् (VII. 4. 4). Thus अपीव्यत्, अपीव्यताम्, अपीव्यन् ॥ When the penultimate अ is elided, there remains पृ which cannot be reduplicated as having no vowel, but the elided अ is considered as sthānivat and thus पा is reduplicated. Sūtra VII. 4. 80 establishes by implication the principle that the substitutes caused by णि are sthānivat. Thus भू + णि = भावि; in reduplicating, this भा will not be reduplicated, but भू, as बुभावि, भा = भू by sthānivad-bhāva.

तिष्ठतेरित् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिष्ठतेः, इत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिष्ठतेरङ्गस्य णौ चङ्युपधाया इकारारेणो भवति ॥

5. Short इ is substituted for the penultimate vowel of the Causative stem of स्थ्वा in the Aorist.

Thus अतिष्ठिपत्, अतिष्ठिपताम्, and अतिष्ठिपन् ॥ The form is thus evolved. स्थ्वा + णि + भन् = स्थाप् + इ + भन् (VII. 3. 36) = स्थाप् + भन् (VI. 4. 51) = स्थिप् + भन् (VII. 4. 5) = तिष्ठिपत् ॥

जिघ्रतेर्वा ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जिघ्रतेः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिघ्रतेरङ्गस्य णौ चङ्युपधाया इकारारेणो वा भवति ॥

6. Short इ is optionally substituted for the penultimate vowel of the Causative stem of घ्रा in the Aorist.

As अजिघ्रिपत् or अजिघ्रपत्, अजिघ्रिपताम् or अजिघ्रपताम्, अजिघ्रिपन् or अजिघ्रपन् ॥ Thus घ्रा + णि + भन् = घ्राप् + इ + भन् (VII. 3. 36) = घ्रिप् + इ + भन् (VII. 4. 6) = घ्रिप् + भन् (VI. 4. 51) = जिघ्रिपत् ॥ When इ is not substituted, घ्रा is shortened by VII.4.1.

उर्ध्वत् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उः, ऋत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णौ चङ्युपधाया ऋवर्णस्य स्थाने वा ऋकारारेणो भवति ॥

7. Short ऋ is optionally substituted for the penultimate ऋ and ॠ of a Causative stem, in the reduplicated Aorist.

This debars the इत् (VII. 3. 101), अर् (VII. 3. 86), and आर् (VII. 2. 114) substitutes. Thus अचिकीर्तत् (VII. 1. 101) or अचिकीर्तत् from कृत् (Chur III): अववर्तत् (VII. 3. 86), or अवीवृत्तत्; अममार्जत् (VII. 2. 114) or अमीवृजत् ॥ Though the इर्, अर् and आर् substitutes are antarāṅga operations, they are prohibited by the express text of this sūtra. The short ऋ is substituted even for a long ऋ: the त् of ऋत् shows that, as in अचीकृतत् (VIII. 2. 77). In fact, this ऋ substitute does not take place after the operations of इर्, आर् and अर् substitutions have taken effect, but it is a form which suspends the operation of all those rules.

नित्यं छन्दसि ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये णौ चङ्युपधाया ऋवर्णस्य स्थाने ऋकारारेणो भवति नित्यम् ॥

8. Short ऋ is invariably substituted in the Veda, for the penultimate ऋ or ऌ of a Causative stem, in the Reduplicated Aorist.

As अवीवृषत्, अवीवृषताम् and अवीवृषन् ॥

दयतेर्दिगि लिटि ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दयतेः, दिगि, लिटि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दयतेरङ्गस्य लिटि परतो दिगीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

9. दिगि is substituted for दे (दयते), in the Perfect.

As अय दिग्ये, अय दिग्याते, अय दिग्यिद् ॥ The root देह् 'to protect' (Bhu. 1011) is to be taken, and not दय 'to give' (Bhu. 510), for that root forms its Perfect by आम् (Periphrastic Perfect) as taught in III. 1. 37. The substitute दिगि debarbs reduplication.

ऋतञ्च संयोगादेर्गुणः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, च, संयोग-आदेः, गुणः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य संयोगादेर्गुणो भवति लिटि परतः ॥
वासिकम् ॥ संयोगादेर्गुणविधाने संयोगोपधप्रहणं कर्मण्ये कर्तव्यम् ॥

10. A root ending in short ऋ, and preceded by a conjunct consonant, gets Guṇa in the Perfect.

As सस्वरतुः, सस्वरः from स्वर, इध्वरतुः, इध्वरः from ध्व, सस्मरतुः, सस्मरः from स्मृ ॥ Why do we say ending in ऋ? Observe चिक्षितवतुः, चिक्षियुः ॥ Why do we say beginning with a conjunct consonant? Observe चक्रतुः, चक्रुः ॥ This sūtra ordains Guṇa where there was prohibition by I. 2. 5 read with I. 1. 5. But this does not debar the Vṛiddhi caused by ङल् (VII. 1. 115). In fact, that prior rule supersedes this posterior rule, as सस्वार, इध्वार, सस्मार ॥ The word लिटि is to be supplied in the sūtra, the rule does not apply to Nishṭhā &c., as सृतः, सृतवान् ॥

Vārti:—For the sake of कृम्, the guṇa should be stated even where the double-consonant is in the penultimate position and not in the beginning. As संचस्कारतुः, संचस्करः ॥ See VI. 1. 135. On the maxim पूर्वे धातुः साधनेन युज्यते पश्चादुपसर्गेण 'a root is first developed fully and then the preposition is added to it'; we first develop कृ in the Perfect by reduplication, which gives us चक्रु + अतुस्, then we add the preposition as संचक्रु + अतुः, then we add सुद् though the reduplicate intervenes, by VI. 1. 136 and 137, as संचस्करु-अतुः, now the root assumes a form in which the penultimate begins with a double consonant, and applying the vārtika we make guṇa, and get संचस्कारतुः ॥

It is by this consideration that in संस्कृषीष्ट, उपस्कृषीष्ट, the सुद् augment being Bahiranga and consequently considered as non-existent (asiddha), there is no इद् augment added by VII. 2. 43.

ऋच्छत्यताम् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋच्छति, ऋ, ऋताम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऋच्छतेरङ्गस्य ऋत्त्येतस्य ऋकारान्तानां च लिटि परतो गुणो भवति ॥

11. There is guṇa in the Perfect of कृच्छ्, अर and roots ending in long ऋ.

As आनर्च्छ, आनर्च्छतुः, आनर्च्छुः from कृच्छ्, अर, अरतुः, अरुः from कृ, and निचकारतुः, निचकरुः, निजगरतुः, निजगरुः from कृ and गृ ॥ कृच्छ् not having a light vowel in the penultimate, would not have received guṇa by VII. 3. 86, this sūtra ordains it; roots in long कृ never received guṇa, but इर् substitution; this ordains guṇa. The Vṛiddhi of VII. 2. 115 supersedes this rule, within its own jurisdiction, a prior superseding the posterior: as निचकार, निजगर ॥

शुक्लं ह्रस्वो वा ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शृ, वृ, प्राम्, ह्रस्वः, वा, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शृ वृ वृ इत्येतेषामङ्गानां लिटि परतो वा ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

12. In शृ, 'to injure' (IX. 18) वृ 'to tear' (IX. 23) and वृ to protect' (IX. 19) the vowel may optionally be shortened in the Perfect.

As वि शम्भुः by shortening or वि शम्भुतुः, by guṇa, which prevents ए and abhyāsalopa (VI. 4. 126) वि शम्भुः or विशम्भुः, विशम्भुतुः or विशम्भुतुः, विशम्भुः or विशम्भुः; निपम्भुः or निपम्भुतुः, निपम्भुः or निपम्भुः ॥ Why is the word 'short' made optional in the sūtra, and not the word 'guṇa'; for in the absence of guṇa, the long कृ would have become ए before शम्भुः by यणदेशः, and we would have got the forms विशम्भुतुः, विशम्भुः by the regular rules of 'sandhi'? The word 'short' is used in the sūtra, in order to debar the इर् and उर् alternatives. Had the sūtra been "शृ वृ प्रां वा" the alternative examples would have been with इर् (VII. 1. 101) as विशिरतुः, विशिरुः and उर् (VIII. 2. 77) as विपुरतुः ॥ Some say this sūtra is unnecessary. The above forms like वि शम्भुः, विशम्भुः, &c. can be regularly obtained from the roots श्म 'to cook', श्म 'to abuse', and प्रा 'to fill' and as the roots have many other senses, besides those assigned to them in the Dhātupāṭha, the roots श्म, श्म and प्रा will give the meanings of शृ, वृ, and वृ ॥ If that were so, the form विशम्भुवान् with the affix क्तु could not be formed, for we should have either विशम्भुवान् from शृ root or विशम्भुवान् from श्म root but never विशम्भुवान् ॥ So the rule about shortening is necessary.

केऽणः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ के, अणः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ के प्रत्यये परतो ऽणो ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

13. Before the affix क, the preceding आ, ई and ऊ are shortened.

As लका, (VII. 3. 47) कुमारिका, किशोरिका, ब्रह्मचर्याका ॥ Why आ, ई and ऊ only? Observe गोक, नोक ॥ The words लका, धाका are irregular being formed by Uṇādi diversity. with the affix क added to ल and धा (Uṇ III. 40) By the following sūtra, the rule does not apply to the affix कप्; it therefore implies that कप् is governed by this rule, though it has the anubandha क् ॥ Kātyāyana would confine this rule to the Taddhita क, and not the कृत् क of the

Uṅādi, as राक्ता, धाक्ता; but Uṅādi words are not derivatives (उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि), and hence no necessity of reading Taddhita into the sūtra.

न कपि ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, कपि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कपि प्रत्यये परतो ऽणो ह्रस्वो न भवति ॥

14. But before the samāsanta affix कप् coming after Bahuvrīhi compounds, the अण् vowels are not shortened.

As बहुकुमारीकः, बहुवृषलीकः, बहुवधुकः, बहुलक्ष्मीकः ॥ The shortening ordained by I. 2. 48 even does not operate when कप् follows.

For had there been upasarjana shortening (I. 2. 48), the present sūtra would be useless. Therefore, the very existence of this sūtra debars every sort of shortening. Obj. The present sūtra would not be useless, for it will find scope where there is no shortening of the upasarjana by I. 2. 48: namely before non-feminine affixes, as बहुवधुगकः; but there should be shortening in feminine affixes. Ans. The shortening of I. 2. 48 will not take place before कप् affix. Because the affix कप् will first be added to the second member in the sense of the compound, and then the word so ending in कप् will be compounded with the first member. So there is no *prātipadika* left which ends in a feminine affix, and therefore I. 2. 48, does not apply, because the *prātipadika* now left is one ending in the affix कप् and not in a feminine affix.

आपोन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आपः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आबन्तस्याङ्गस्य कपि ह्रस्वो न भवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥

15. Optionally the feminine stem in आ is not shortened before कप् ॥

As बहुखट्वाकः or बहुखट्कः, बहुमालकः or बहुमालाकः ॥

ऋदृशो ऽङि गुणः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋ, दृशः, अङिः, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋवर्णान्तानां दृशेभ्य अङि परतो गुणो भवति ॥

16. Guṇa is substituted for the vowel of the root, before the affix अङ्, in the roots ending in ऋ or ॠ, as well as in दृश् ॥

As सकलाङ्गुष्ठकोऽकरत्, अहं तेभ्योऽकरं नमः, असरत्, आरत्, अवरत्, अवरत्, अवरत्, अवरत् ॥ The affix अङ् means the Aorist-character अङ् of which the above examples are given. It also is the kṛit-affix (III. 3. 104) of which we have ऋ—अरा ॥

The word अकरत् is अङ् Aorist formed from कृ by III. 1. 59. The word असरत् is from सृ (III. 1. 56). अवरत् by VI. 1. 57.

अस्यतेऽस्थक् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यतेः, युक्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्वतेऽङ्गस्य युगागमो भवत्यङि परतः ॥

17. The stem अस् (अस्यते) gets the augment युक् before this Aorist अङ् ॥

As आस्यत्, आस्यताम्, आस्यन् ॥ See III. 1. 52.

भ्ययतेरः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्ययतेः, भः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्ययतेरङ्गस्याकारादेशो भवत्यङि परतः ॥

18. The अ is substituted for the final of अस् in the अङ् Aorist.

As अश्वत्, अश्वताम्, अश्वन् ॥ For the अ of the stem and the अ of the affix, there is the single substitute of the last by VI. 2. 97. See III. 1. 58.

पतः पुम् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पतः, पुम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतेरङ्गस्य पुमागमो भवत्यङि परतः ॥

19. The augment ए is added after the vowel of the root पत् in the अङ्-Aorist.

As अपतत्, अपतताम्, अपतन् ॥ The पत् takes the अङ् Aorist as it has an indicative ऋ in the Dhātupāṭha (III. 1. 55).

वचउम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ वचः, उम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वचेरङ्गस्य अङि परत उमागमो भवति ॥

20. The augment उ is added after the अ of वच् in the अङ्-Aorist.

As अवोचत्, अवोचताम्, अवोचन् ॥ See III. 1. 52.

शीङ्ः सार्वधातुके गुणः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शीङ्ः, सार्वधातुके, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शीङोऽङ्गस्य सार्वधातुके परतो गुणो भवति ॥

21. For the vowel of शी, there is substituted guṇa, when a Sārvadhātuka affix follows.

As शेते, शयाते, शेरते, but शिद्ये before the ārdhadhātuka affix (III. 4. 115). Though these sārvadhātuka affixes were ङित् (I. 2. 4) and would not have caused guṇa (I. 4. 5), they do so by virtue of the present sūtra. The word शीङ् is read in the sūtra with the anubardha इ, in order to indicate that the rule does not apply to यङ् लुक् as शेचीत्, शेदयात् ॥

अयङ् यि क्ङिति ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अयङ्, यि, क्ङिति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादौ क्ङिति प्रत्यये परतः शीङोऽङ्गस्यायङ्प्रत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

22. Before an affix beginning with य् and having an indicative क् or ङ्, there is substituted अय् for the ई of शी ॥

As शय्यते with यक्, शाशय्यते with यङ्, प्रशय्य and उपशय्य with ल्यप् which being the substitute of क्स्वा is कित् ॥ But शिद्ये where the affix is ए, and शेयन् where the affix is यत् (neither कित् or ङित्) ॥

उपसर्गाङ्गस्य ऊहतेः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप सर्गात्, ह्रस्वः, ऊहतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गादुत्तरस्य ऊहतेरङ्गस्य इत्सो भवति वकारासौ कृत्ति ॥

23. The short is substituted for the ऊ of ऊह when a Preposition precedes it, and an affix beginning with वृ with an indicatory क् or ऊ follows.

As सवृहते, प्रत्युहते, सवृह, अभ्युहते, अभ्युह ॥ But ऊहते without Preposition. Why do we say of ऊह? Observe समीहते ॥ Why do we say 'before व'? Observe समूहितम् ॥ Why do we say having indicatory क् or ऊ? Observe अभ्युहः with वत् ॥ Of course the shortening takes place of ऊ (or अण् vowel, the word अण् being understood here from VII. 4. 13), and not when it assumes the form ओ, as आ ऊहते = ओहते, समोहते ॥

एतेर्लिङि ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतेः, लिङि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतेरङ्गस्वोपसर्गादुत्तरस्य लिङि वकारासौ कृत्ति परतो इत्सो भवति ॥

24. The short is substituted for the vowel of the stem इ (एति) before the augment यास् in the Benedictive, when a Preposition precedes it.

As उदियात्, समियात्, अन्वियात् ॥ This is an exception to the following sūtra by which a long would have been substituted. But ईयात् without a Preposition. The अण् (VII. 4. 13) is understood here also. Therefore ए form of इ will not be shortened, as आ-1-इयात् = एयात्, समेयात् ॥

अकृत्सार्धधातुकयोर्दीर्घः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकृत्, सार्धधातुकयोः, दीर्घः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकृत्कारे असार्धधातुकयकार च कृत्ति परतोऽन्तस्याङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

25. A long is substituted for the final vowel of the stem, before an affix beginning with a वृ having an indicatory क् or ऊ, when it is not either a Kṛit or a Sārvadhātuka affix.

Thus वृषायते, वृषायते, and दुःसायते with the Denominative affix स्वह according to III. 1. 12 and 18. चीयते and स्तूयते with the Passive वक्, चेचीयते and तोष्टूयते with the Intensive बह्, and चीयात् and स्तूयात् in the Benedictive (See III. 4. 116). But प्रकृत्व and प्रहृत्व where the affix स्वप् is kṛit, and had the vowel been lengthened by this subsequent rule, the antecedent तुक् augment would have been debarred (VI. 1. 71). And चिनुयात् and सुनुयात् where the Personal endings of the Potential are sārva dhātuka. The phrase कृत्ति is understood in this sūtra, so there is no lengthening before non-kit and non-hit affixes, as, उदया, धृष्णुवा, formed by वा under VII. 1. 39.

स्यो च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्यो, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिप्रत्यये परतोऽन्तस्याङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

26. A long is substituted for the final vowel of the stem, before the Adverbial affix च्चि (V. 4. 50).

As शुची करोति, शुची स्यात्, शुची भवति, पद् करोति, पद् स्यात्, पद् भवति ॥ The च draws in the anuvṛitti of the phrase 'non-krit, and non-sârvadhâtuka' from the last sūtra, which though not of any direct use in this aphorism, is necessary for the sake of subsequent ones. See VII. 4. 32 for words ending in अ ॥

रीङ्ङतः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ रीङ्, ङ्ङतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वाविति वर्त्तते ॥ अङ्ङत्सार्वधातुकयोपिति च ॥ ङ्कारान्तस्याङ्ङस्य अङ्ङ्यकारेऽसार्वधातुके यकारे षौ च परतो रीङ्ङित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

27. री is substituted for the final short ङ्ङ of a stem, before an affix beginning with य, when it is not a Kṛit nor a Sârvadhâtuka affix, and before the adverbial affix ङ्ङि ॥

The anuvṛitti of ङ्ङिति is, however, not understood in this sūtra; that of षौ and अङ्ङत्सार्वधातुकयोः is present. Thus माचीवति and पिचीवति with ङ्ङ्यच (III. 1. 8), माचीवते, पिचीवते with ङ्ङ्यङ् (III. 1. 11). चेत्रीवते with ङ्ङ्यङ्, माचीभूतः with ङ्ङ्यि ॥ The कित् and ङित् not being understood here, we have पितुरागतं = पिङ्ङ्यङ् (IV. 3. 79), which is thus formed पितु-ि-यत् = पिची + च = पिच-ि-च (ई being elided by VI. 4. 148). Why do we say short ङ्ङ? Observe चेकीर्षते, from कृ विशेपे, with ङ्ङ्यङ्, ङ्ङ्यङ् धातोः and हलिच lengthening. निजेगित्यते from कृ and ङ्ङ ॥

रीङ् शयग्लिङ्ङधु ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रीङ्, श, यङ्, लिङ् धु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङ्कारान्तस्याङ्ङस्य च यङ् इत्येतयोर्लिङ्ङि च यकारो असार्वधातुके परतो रीङ्ङित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

28. For the final short ङ्ङ of a root, there is substituted रि, before the Present-character अ (श), before the Passive-character य, and before the augment यास् in the Benedictive.

The word लिङ्ङि in the aphorism is qualified by the phrase यकारो असार्वधातुके ॥ A Liñ affix which begins with a य and is not a Sârvadhâtuka, is necessarily the augment यास् of the Benedictive. Thus य-भा द्विवते and भा भिवते (the च comes by VI. 4. 77). यङ्-कियते, द्वियते ॥ लिङ्-कियात् and द्वियात् ॥ This short रि debars the long री of the last. The word non-Sârvadhâtuka being understood, the rule does not apply to the Potential, as विभ्रयात् ॥ The वि (VII. 4. 22) is understood here also, therefore when the Benedictive affix does not begin with य, the rule does not apply, as कृपीट, हृपीट ॥

गुणोत्तिसंयोगाद्योः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुणः, अर्त्ति, संयोगाद्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङ्ङतो यकि लिङ्ङि इति वर्त्तते ॥ षाह्यत्सांसभवात्सांशुवर्त्तते ॥ गुणा भवत्यसैः संयोगादीनाञ्कारान्तानां यकि परतो, लिङ्ङि च यकाराद्यसार्वधातुके ॥

29. Guṇa is substituted for the final ङ्ङ in the root ङ्ङ (अर्त्ति), and in those roots ending in ङ्ङ, in which

the vowel is preceded by a conjunct consonant, when the Passive character यक् or the Benedictive augment यास् follows.

The words कृतः, यकि and लिङि are understood here. Not so the word ष as its anuvṛitti is impossible. Thus भयते, भयान्, मर्यते and मर्यान् ॥ This is an exception to I. 1. 5. In सं क्रियते and संक्रियान् (VI. 1. 135), there is no Guṇa, either because in क् the augment ष् is considered as Bahiranga and therefore asiddha, or because it is considered as no part of (or non-attached to) क्, and therefore ष् क् is not a root beginning with a conjunct consonant. See however VII. 4. 10, where in forming संष्वस्करतुः, क् is considered as a root beginning with a conjunct consonant. See also Mahābhāṣya on VI. 1. 135. The वि (VII. 4. 22) is understood here also; the Benedictive affix must begin with व, therefore not here स्वृषीष्ट, ध्वृषीष्ट ॥ The word non-sarvadhātuka is also understood here, the rule does not apply to the Potential, as इष्टवान्, there is ślu substitution of śap, reduplication, then there is इ substitution in the reduplicate by VII. 4. 77, then इवह् by VI. 4. 78.

यङि च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ यङि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङि च परतो अर्सेः संयोगादेश्च कृतो गुणो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ न न्नाः संयोगादेश्च इति द्विवचनप्रतिषेधो वकारपरस्य मेष्यते ॥

वा० ॥ इन्तेहिंसायां यङि प्रीभावो वक्तव्यः ॥

30. Guṇa is substituted for the final ऋ of the root ऋ (अर्ति) and in those roots, ending in short ऋ, in which the vowel is preceded by a conjunct consonant, when the Intensive character यङ् follows.

As भयते, सास्वयते, दाध्वयते, सास्यते ॥ The root क् takes वह् according to a Vārtika under Sūtra III. 1. 22, with Guṇa we have क्-व-व-भव ॥ By VI. 1. 2, the second member is reduplicated, in spite of the prohibition in VI. 1. 3, for according to Patanjali र् followed by व is not governed by that prohibition. So we have भयव्ये, and according to VII. 4. 60, the व् is dropped, and we have भयवे, and by VII. 4. 83, we get भयार्वे ॥ This is an exception to I. 1. 5.

Vārti:—In the Intensive of हन् 'to kill', हनी is substituted for हन् as जेहीयते ॥ The substitute is with a long ई, had it been with a short इ, that might also have been lengthened by VII. 4. 25. Not doing so, however, indicates the existence of the maxim संज्ञापूर्वकविधेरनित्यत्वम् "A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it is denoted by a technical term". It is through this that स्वांशुवः is formed from स्वंशु; because the Guṇa taught by VI. 4. 146, does not take place here before the Taddhita affix अण्, in as much as that rule VI. 4. 146, is taught by employing the technical term गुणः in भोर्युजः instead of भोर्युज्, hence that rule is anitya, and we have उवह् ॥

द्यतिस्यतिमास्थामिति किति ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्यति, स्यति, मा, स्थाम, इत्, ति, किति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्यति स्यति मा स्या इत्येतेषामङ्गानामिकारादेशो भवति तकारादौ किति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

40. Short इ is substituted for the final of द्यो, सो, मा and स्या, before an affix beginning with त् and having an indicatory क् ॥

As निर्दितः and निर्दितवान् ; अवसितः and अवसितवान्, मितः and मितवान् ; स्थितः and स्थितवान्, all with क् and क्तवत् ॥ Why before इ? Observe अववाय ॥ Why before a कित् affix? Observe अववाता with तृच् ॥

शाछोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शा, छोः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शा छा इत्येतयोरन्यतरस्यामिकारादेशो भवति तकारादौ किति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इत्येतेरिदं व्रते नित्यमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

Kārikā:—देववातो गलो माह इतियोगे च सङ्घिः ।

मिथस्ते न विभाष्यन्ते गवाक्षः संशितव्रतः ॥

41. Short इ is optionally substituted for the final of शा (शो) and छा (छो), before an affix beginning with त् and having an indicatory क् ॥

As निशितं or निशातम्, निशितवान् or निशातवान् ; अवच्छितं, अवच्छितवान् or अवच्छातं, अवच्छातवान् ॥ The शा *always* takes the इ when it means a vow : as संशितो ब्राह्मणः = संशितव्रतः ॥ The rule of this sūtra thus becomes a vyavasthita vibhāshā. Other examples of such vyavasthita vibhāshā are to be found in VIII. 2. 56, where वात् and वाण past participles are formed with त् or ण, but वात् is *only* employed in names as देववातः &c, and never वाण, while in denoting action both forms are valid : similarly by VIII. 2. 21, गल and गर are both formed, but गल *alone* is used when 'neck' is meant, and गर *alone* when 'poison' is indicated ; optionally both when an action is meant. Similarly by III. 1. 143, माह and मह are formed, but माहः is *only* used when 'a crocodile' is meant, and महः *alone* is employed when a 'planet' is indicated. Similarly the addition of the Present Participle affix च्च् and च्चानच् under III. 2. 126, is debarred when इति is added, as हन्ति इति पलायते, वर्षतीति धावति ॥ In all the above examples, the option though taught generically, should be limited to specific cases ; as also in the examples गवाक्षः 'a window', and गोऽक्षम् 'cow's eye' (VI. 1. 123) and संशितव्रतः ॥ In short, we should limit a general vibhāshā to a vyavasthita-vibhāshā, on the maxim व्यवस्थितविभाषा विज्ञानात् सिद्धम् ॥

दधातेर्हिः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दधातेः, हिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दधातेरङ्गस्य हीत्ययमादेशो भवति तकारादौ किति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

42. हि is substituted for धा (दधाति) before an affix beginning with त् and having an indicatory क् ॥

As हितः, हितवत्, हित्वा ॥

जहातेश्च क्ति ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जहातेः, च, क्ति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेरङ्गस्य हीत्ययमादेशो भवति क्त्वाप्रत्यये परतः ॥

43. हि is substituted for हा (जहाति) before क्त्वा ॥

As हित्वा राङ्गं वनम गतः, हित्वा गच्छति ॥ The rule does not apply to हा जिहीते ॥ There we have हात्वा गतः ॥

विभाषा छन्दसि ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेरङ्गस्य विभाषा हीत्ययमादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये क्त्वाप्रत्यये परतः ॥

44. हि is optionally substituted for हा before क्त्वा in the Chhandas.

As हित्वा शरीरे यातव्यं, or हात्वा also. The long ई of VI. 4. 62 does not take place also as a Vedic irregularity.

सुधितवसुधितनेमधितधिष्वधिषीय च् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुधित, वसुधित, नेमधित, धिष्व, धिषीय, च् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुधित वसुधित नेमधित धिष्व धिषीय इत्येतानि छन्दसि विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

45. These five Vedic forms are irregularly formed, सुधित, वसुधित, नेमधित, धिष्व and धिषीय ॥

Of these five, सुधित, वसुधित and नेमधित are formed from the root धा with the affix क्त्, preceded by सु, वसु and नेम ॥ As गर्भे माता सुधितम् (= सुहितम्), वसुधित-मग्नौ शुक्रेति (= वसुहितं), नेमधिता बाधन्ते (= नेमहित्) ॥ धिष्व is Imperative 2nd Per. Sg. of धा, there is no reduplication, as धिष्व सोमम् = धस्व ॥ धिषीय is Benedictive Atmanepada 1st Per. Sg. of धा, the regular form being धासीय ॥

दो दद् घोः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्, दत्, घोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हा इत्येतस्य दुसंज्ञकस्य इत्ययमादेशो भवति लकारसौ किति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

46. For दा, when it is a Ghu (I. 1. 20), there is substituted दद् before a क्ति affix beginning with त् ॥

As दत्तः, दत्तवान्, दत्तिः ॥ Why of दा? Observe धीतः, धीतवान् from धेद; and the long ई is by VI. 4. 66. Why when it is a Ghu? Observe हातं बर्हिः from हार् 'to cut', and अबहातं दुस् from हेष् 'to cleanse'. The substitute is दद् ending in य, according to an *Ishti*.

Kārikā:—तान्ते दोषो दीर्घत्वं स्वाद्, दान्ते दोषो निष्ठा मत्वम् ।

यान्ते दोषो धत्व प्राप्तिस्, यान्तेऽ हात् स्तस्मान् यान्ताम् ॥

If the substitute be दद् ending in त्, then it would require the lengthening taught in VI. 3. 124. (N. B. The sūtra इत्ति should be interpreted as 'the vowel of the Preposition is lengthened before a substitute of हा which ends in त्', in order to make this objection applicable. That sūtra however is capable of another interpretation). If the substitute be दद् ending in द् then the Nishthā त् would be changed to न् by VIII. 2. 42: as in निद् + त् = निन्नः ॥ If the substitute be दद् ending in द्, then by VIII. 2. 40; the Nishthā त् would be changed to द् ॥ Hence the substitute is दद् ॥ If

Why do we say when meaning 'to kill'? Observe अह्वयन्ते where it means to do.

ई ब्राह्मोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, ब्रा, भ्मोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रा भ्मा इत्येतयोर्यङि परत ईकारादेशो भवति ॥

31. Long ई is substituted for the vowel of the roots ब्रा and भ्मा in the Intensive.

As अत्रीयते, देष्मीयते ॥ The long ई is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, short इ would have, by VII. 4. 25, given the same forms also.

अस्य च्चौ ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्य, च्चौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ई इति वर्तते अवर्णान्तस्याङ्गस्य च्चौ परत ईकारादेशो भवति ॥

32. Long ई is substituted for the final अ or आ of a Nominal stem, before the Adverbial affix च्चि (V. 4. 50).

As इङ्गी करोति, इङ्गी भवति, इङ्गी स्वात् ॥ खट्वी करोति, खट्वी भवति and खट्वी स्वात् ॥ क्यचि च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यचि, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्येति वर्तते क्यचि परतोवर्णान्तस्याङ्गस्य ईकारादेशो भवति ॥

33. Long ई is substituted for the final अ or आ of a Nominal stem, before the Denominative affix क्यच् ॥

As पुत्रीयति, धनीयति, खट्वीयति, मालीयति ॥ This is an exception to VII. 4. 25. The separating of this aphorism from the preceding, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorism.

अशनायोदन्यधनाया बुभुक्षापिपासागर्हेषु ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अशनाय, उदन्य धनायाः, बुभुक्षा, पिपासा, गर्हेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अशनाय उदन्य धनाय इत्येतानि निपात्यन्ते बुभुक्षा पिपासा गर्हे इत्येतेष्वयेषु ॥

34. The Denominative roots अशनाय, उदन्य and धनाय are irregularly formed, when they respectively mean 'to be hungry', 'to be thirsty', 'to be greedy'.

Thus अशनायति from अशन-1-क्यच्, आ instead of ई; the other form being अशनायति who is not hungry at the time, but wishes to get food for some future occasion, and therefore when not meaning 'to be hungry'; उदन्यति 'he is thirsty', उदन् being substituted for उदक्; in any other sense we have उदकीयति, who wants water for purposes of bathing &c. धनायति 'he is greedy'; in any other sense, धनीयति who is poor, and therefore wishes to get riches.

नच्छन्दस्यपुत्रस्य ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, छन्दसि, अ, पुत्रस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये पुत्रवञ्जितस्यावर्णान्तस्याङ्गस्य क्यचि यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अपुत्रादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

35. In the Veda, the above rules causing lengthening, or the substitution of long ई for the final vowel of the stem, do not apply, except in the case of पुत्र ॥

Thus निषयुः, संस्वेयुः, देवाभ् जिगाति सुन्दुयुः ॥ But पुषीयन्तः, सुवाभन् (Rig VII. 96. 4).

Vart:—It should be rather stated पुष and the rest: as अनौयन्तोऽन्ववः ॥ See III. 2. 170, for the affix च ॥

दुरस्युर्द्रविणस्युर्वृषण्यति रिषण्यति ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दुरस्युः, द्रविणस्युः, वृषण्यति, रिषण्यति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुरस्युः द्रविणस्युः वृषण्यति रिषण्यति एतानि छन्दसि निपात्यन्ते ॥

36. In the Veda दुरस्युः, द्रविणस्युः, वृषण्यति and रिषण्यति are irregularly formed.

As भविषोना दुरस्युः, (= दुर्हीयति with the affix क्यच् added to दुष्ट), द्रविणस्युर्विषण्यत्वा (द्रविणीयति, here द्रविणस् is substituted for द्रविण similarly). वृषण्यति=वृषीयति (वृषण् substituted for वृष) ॥ रिषण्यति=रिष्टीयति (रिषण् substituted for रिष्ट) ॥

अभ्वाघस्यात् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्व, अघस्य, आत्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्व अघ इत्येतयोः क्यचि परतः छन्दसि विषये आकारदेशो भवति ॥

37. In the Veda, long आ is substituted for the final of अभ्व and अघ, before the Denominative क्यच् ॥

As अभ्वायन्तो मघवन् (Rig VII. 32. 23), ना स्वा वृक्का भघायवो विदन् ॥ This also indicates that other words do not lengthen their vowel in the Veda before क्यच्, as taught in VII. 4. 35. See Vārtika to III. 1. 8. The word भघायु occurs in Rig I. 120. 7, 27; 3.

देवसुस्रयोर्यजुषि काठके ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ देव सुस्रयोः, यजुषि, काठके, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ देव सुस्र इत्येतयोः क्यचि परत आकारदेशो भवति यजुषि काठके ॥

38. Long आ is substituted for the final of देव and सुस्र before the Denominative क्यच् in Yajush Kāthaka.

As देवायन्तो यजमानाः सुस्रायन्तो इवामहे ॥ Why in the Yajus? Observe देवाञ्जिगाथ सुस्रयुः ॥ Why do we say in the Kāthaka? Observe सुस्रयुरिवासात् ॥

कव्यध्वरपृतनस्यार्चि लोपः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कवि, अध्वर, पृतनस्यः, ऋचि, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवि अध्वर पृतना इत्येतेषामङ्गानां क्यचि परतो लोपो भवति ऋचि विषये ॥

39. In the Rig Veda, the final of कवि, अध्वर and पृतना is dropped before the Denominative क्यच् ॥

As कव्यन्तः सुमनसः (not in the Rig Veda), अध्वर्यन्तः (not in this case in the Rig Veda). पृतन्यन्तस्तिष्ठन्ति (not in this connection in the Rig. Veda). The examples given above are of Kāśikā: according to Pro. Bohtlingk none of them are from the Rig Veda. The following are given by Bhattoji Dikshita in his Siddhanta Kaumudī: स पूर्व्या निविश कव्यतयोः (Rig I. 96. 2). अध्वर्युं वा मघुपाणिम् (Rig X. 41. 3), इमवन्तं पृतन्युम् ॥

however, the sūtra VI. 3. 124, is interpreted as “the vowel of a preposition is lengthened before a substitute of *हा* which *begins* with *हृ*”, then the substitute may be *हृन्* also without any harm. Even if the substitute be *हृ* or *हृप्*, the apprehended *न्* and *ध्* substitutions will not take place, on the maxim *सन्निपातलक्षणां विधि रनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य ॥*

The following are exceptions to VII. 4. 47, *भवत्तं, विदत्तं, प्रदत्तं, सुदत्तं, भगुदत्तं* and *निदत्तं ॥* Or the words *भव* &c, here are not Upasargas. See I. 4. 57.

Kārikā:—*भवत्तं विदत्तं च प्रदत्तं आधिकर्मणि ।*

सुदत्तमनुदत्तं च निदत्तमिति चेष्यते ॥

The word *आधिकर्मणि* qualifies *pradatta* only. The word *च* shows that regular forms *भवत्तं, विदत्तं, प्रदत्तं, &c* also are valid.

अच्च उपसर्गात्तः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्चः, उपसर्गात्, तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्जन्तादुपसर्गादुपरस्य हा इत्येतस्य पुसंज्ञकस्य त इत्यवनादेशो भवति तकारादौ किति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अतेरिन्द्राश्चस्त इत्येतद्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन ॥

47. *हृ* is substituted for the ghu *हा* before a *क्विप्* affix beginning with *त*, when a Preposition ending in a vowel precedes it.

The examples under the present sūtra are *प्रत्तं, भवत्तं, नीत्तं, परीत्तं ॥* For the lengthening see VI. 3. 124. Why do we say ‘ending in a vowel’? Observe *निर्वत्तम् दुर्वत्तम् ॥* Why ‘after an Upasarga only’? Observe *हृधि हत्तम्, मधु हत्तम् ॥* Why ‘the *हा* called Ghu’? Observe *भवत्तं* from *हेप् ॥*

Obj. The word *उपसर्गात्* in the sūtra is in the Ablative case, and by I. 1. 67, the substitute *हृ* should replace only the *first* letter of *हा*, how does it replace the *whole*?

Ans—The word *अच्चः* is to be repeated in the sūtra, one *अच्चः* being in the Ablative case and qualifying *उपसर्गात्*, and the other *अच्चः* being in the Genitive case, showing the sthānin to be *आ*, as “after an Upasarga ending in a vowel, *हृ* is substituted for the vowel of *हा*”. Or the word *अस्य* may be read into this sūtra from VII. 4. 32. Or *उपसर्गात्तः* consists of three *हृ*’s, the substitute being *च*, and being a substitute of more than one letter, it replaces the *whole* of *हा* (I. 1. 55). In the following sūtra *अपोमि*, the *अच्चः* in the Ablative case is understood, and therefore *हृ* replaces only *प् ॥*

Vārt:—After a Preposition ending in a vowel, *हृ* is substituted for *हा* (*हो*), when *हृ* would have been substituted otherwise for its final by VII. 4. 40. As *भवत्तम्, प्रत्तम् शुद्धोति* and *नीत्तं, वीत्तं ॥*

अपो मि ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपः, मिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप् इत्येतस्याङ्गस्य मकारादौ प्रत्यये परतस्त इत्यवनादेशो भवति ॥

48. *हृ* is substituted for the final of the stem *अप्* before a case-ending beginning with *म् ॥*

As अद्भ्याम्, अद्भिः, अद्भ्यः ॥ Why beginning with a ऋ? Observe अद्भु ॥

In the Veda, त् is substituted before भ, for the final of स्वप्स्, from सु + अद् + अद्भुन्; meaning सोमनमवेदिषां; स्वतवस् from the root तु meaning स्वं तवो वेषां; मास and उषस्, as स्ववद्भिः, स्वतवद्भिः, माद्भिः इन्द्रो वृषहा, सधुषद्भिः जाययाः ॥ The word मास becomes मास् by VI. 1. 63.

सः स्याद्धातुके ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, सि, आर्द्धधातुके ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य सकाराद्वा आर्द्धधातुके परतस्तकारादेशो भवति ॥

49. त् is substituted for the final स् of a root before an Ārdhadhâtuka affix beginning with स् ॥

As वस्यति, भवस्यन्, विवसति, जिघसति ॥ Why do we say 'when ending in स्'? Observe वस्यति ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with स्'? Observe घासः, वासः ॥ Why an Ārdhadhâtuka? Observe भास्ते, वस्ते, from भास् 'to sit' and वस् 'to cover'; both Adâdi roots.

तासस्त्वोर्लोपः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ तास्र्अस्त्वोः, लोपः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तास्र्अस्त्वोः सकारस्य सकारादेशो प्रत्यये लोपो भवति ॥

50. The final स् of तास् (the character of the second Future) and that of अस् 'to be', is elided before an affix beginning with स् ॥

As कर्त्तासि, कर्त्तासे, स्वमसि, व्यति से ॥ See VI. 4. III. In से the अ and स् both of अस् have been elided, the अ by VI. 4. III, and स् by the present sūtra, so that the mere suffix से remains, which however here is a finite verb: hence the स्, is not changed to ष ॥ See VIII. 3. III.

रि च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रि, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रेफादेशो च प्रत्यये परतः तासस्त्वोः सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

51. The स् of तास् and अस् is dropped before an affix beginning with a र् ॥

As कर्त्तारौ, कर्त्तारः, अध्येतारौ, अध्येतारः ॥ The स् of अस् 'to be' is elided in the Perfect, because it is there that a र् beginning affix can follow it. Thus व्यतिरे (See VI. 4. III). According to the reading of Padamanjari, there can be no example of अस् ॥ अस्तेऽशाहरणं न प्रवर्धितं, रेफादेशोऽसम्भवात् ॥

ह एति ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, एति ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तासस्त्वोः सकारस्य हकारादेशो भवति एति परतः ॥

52. For the स् of तास् and अस् there is substituted ह before the personal-ending ए ॥

As कर्त्ताहे, and एति हे from अस् ॥ See VI. 4. III. The ह substitution does not take place before the Personal ending एच् (III. 4. 8), as एधामासे ॥ The reason of this is that the ए referred to in this sūtra, is that ए which can come after तास्; and that very ए should also come after अस् ॥ The ए that can

come after हात् is the 1st Person singular ए; and not this ए of the Perfect 3rd Person singular. Others say, this even sāravadhātuka, and therefore not here सुप्तोऽहं त्वां प्रेक्षामासि ॥

दीवर्णयोर्दीधीवेभ्योः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यि, इवर्णयोः, दीधी, वेभ्योः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बकारादाविवर्णासौ च परतो दीधीवेभ्योर्लोपो भवति ॥

53. The final of दीधी and वेवी falls before an affix beginning with य्, इ or ई ॥

Thus आदीष्य and आवेष्य गतः, आदीष्यते, and आवेष्यते before इ ॥ आदीषित्, आवेषित्; आदीषीत and आवेषीत ॥ Why before इ, इ or ई? Observe आदीष्यन् and आवेष्यन् ॥ The long ई in यी is a sūtra वैचित्र्य, for द्विवर्णयोः would have been enough.

सनि मीमाशुरभलमशकपतपदामच इस् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, मी, मा, पु, रभ, लभ, शक, पत, पदा म्, अचः, इस् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनि प्रत्यये सकारासौ परतो मी मा पु रभ लभ शक पत पद् इत्येतेषामङ्गानामचः स्थाने इतित्यद्य-मादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सनि राधो हिसायामच इस्त्वक्तव्यः ॥

54, इस् is substituted for the root-vowel of मी, मा, दा and घा (पु), रम्, लम्, शक्, पत् and पद् when the Desiderative सन् beginning with स् (i. e. not taking the augment इ) follows.

The मी includes मीनाति (Kryādi 4), and मिनोति (नि of Svādi 4) for नि assumes the form मी by VI. 4. 16 Thus मिस्सति, प्रमिस्सति ॥ The मा denotes all the roots which assume the form मा, on the maxim गामादा महणेचविशेषः "The terms गा, मा or दा when they are employed in Grammar denote both the original roots गा, मा and दा and also the roots which are changed to गा, मा and दा" ॥ They are मा and माङ् मानि, and मेङ् प्रणिशानि ॥ Thus मिस्सते, अप मिस्सते ॥ पु—इस्सति, धि-स्सति; रभ्—आरिप्सते, लभ्—आलिप्सते, शक्—शिक्षति, पत्—पिस्सति, पद्—प्रपिस्सते ॥ In the roots that end in a vowel, the स् of इस् is changed to त् by VII. 4. 49, and in the roots that end in a consonant, this स् is dropped, according to VIII. 2. 29. The reduplication falls by VII. 4. 58.

Why do we say 'when the Desiderative follows'? Observe दास्यति ॥ The word सि is understood here from VII. 4. 49, so the rule will not apply when the Desiderative takes the augment इद्, as प्र पातिषति ॥ Here पद् optionally takes इद् under the vārtika सनिपतिरिद्राणाशुपसंख्यानम् ॥

Vārti:—The इस् comes after the root-vowel of दाष् in the Desiderative, when the sense is that of to injure. As प्रति रिस्सति ॥ Why do we say when the sense is that of 'to injure'? Observe आरि रास्सति ॥

आप्ङ्ङप्युधामित् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आप्, ङ्ङप्, ऋधाम्, ईत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आप् ङ्ङपि ऋध इत्येतेषामङ्गानामच ईकारादेशो भवति सनि सकारासौ परतः ॥

55. For the vowel of the roots आप्, ज्ञपि and कृष्ट there is substituted long ई before the सन् of the Desiderative, when it begins with स् ॥

Thus आप्—ईप्सति, ज्ञपि—ज्ञीप्सति, कृष्ट्—ईस्सति (I. 1. 51.). The reduplication is dropped by VII. 4. 58. In the Causative stem ज्ञपि there are two vowels, the इ (णि) is dropped by pūrva-vipratishedha (the prior debarring the subsequent) according to VI. 4. 51, and ई substituted for अ according to the present sūtra. The word सन् is to be read into the sūtra, otherwise प्रापस्यति ॥ The सन् must begin with स् i.e. should not take the ईङ् augment, as in जिज्ञपयिषति, ज्ञीप्सिषति ॥ The roots ज्ञपि and कृष्ट् are optionally सेद् in the Desiderative by VII. 2. 49.

दम्भ इच्छ ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दम्भः, इत्, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दम्भेरच इकारादेशो भवति चकारादीषु सनि सकारादौ परतः ॥

56. For the vowel of the root दम्भ् there is substituted इ as well as ई before the सन् of the Desiderative, when it begins with स् ॥

As धीप्सति or धिप्सति ॥ But इङ्गाम्भषीत् before the सेद्सन् ॥ The reduplication falls off by VII. 4. 58.

मुचोऽकर्मकस्य गुणो वा ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुचः, अकर्मकस्य, गुणः वाः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मुचोऽकर्मकस्य गुणो वा भवति सनि सकारादौ परतः ॥

57. When मुच् has an Intransitive signification, Guṇa is optionally substituted for its vowel before the अनिच् सन् of the Desiderative.

By I. 2. 10, after a root ending in a consonant, the सन् is like कित् and does not cause Guṇa. The present sūtra ordains it optionally. As मोक्षते or मुमुक्षते वस्तुः स्वयमेव ॥ In the Transitive there is one form only, as मुमुक्षति वस्तुं देवदत्तः ॥ हृच् becomes Intransitive when it has a Reflexive significance, or when it expresses a mere action. The reduplication is elided by VII. 4. 58.

अत्र लोपोऽभ्यासस्य ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्र, लोपः, अभ्यासस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बह्वेतत्प्रक्रान्तं सनि मीमेत्यादि मुचोऽकर्मकस्य गुणेऽति यावत् अत्राभ्यासलोपो भवति ॥

58. The reduplicate is dropped under the circumstances mentioned in the foregoing sūtras VII. 4. 54 to VII. 4. 57.

The examples are given under the above-mentioned sūtras. The word 'of the reduplicate' अभ्यासस्य is to be supplied in all the subsequent sūtras upto the end of the chapter. Thus Sūtra VII. 4. 59, says 'a short is to be substituted', we must supply the words 'for the reduplicate' to com-

plete the sense : as **दुहोकिपते, तुचोकिपते** ॥ The word **अच्** in the sūtra indicates that the reduplication is not to be elided, when an affix is treated *like सन्* but is not actually सन् ॥ Thus **अच्**-Aorist is treated like सन् by VII. 4. 93 ; but the reduplication will not be dropped there : as **अनीमपत्, अशीरपत्** ॥ Some say the word **अच्** here indicates that the *whole* of the reduplicate is dropped, and not only its final letter. Others elide the whole of the reduplicate on the maxim **नानर्थकोऽप्येवमिति** ॥ “The rule I. 1. 52, by which a substitute should take the place of only the final letter of that which is exhibited in the Genitive case, is not valid, where what is exhibited in the Genitive is meaningless”.

ह्रस्वः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वो भवत्यभ्यासस्य ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अभ्यासस्थानि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अरि चलि पति वरीनां वा ह्रस्वमभ्याक् चाभ्यासस्य इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

59. A short is substituted for the long vowel of the reduplicate.

As **दुहोकिपते, तुचोकिपते, दुहोके, तुचोके, अदुहोकत्, अतुचोकत्** ॥

Vārt.—The shortening takes place before affixes other than **अच्** (III. 1. 134). Before **अच्**, the roots **अच्, अल्, पत्** and **वद्** are reduplicated, and the augment **अक्** added to the reduplicate. See VI. 1. 12 **Vārt.** This augment when added to the reduplicate, is not to be shortened by this rule : and because this is not to be shortened, also indicates that the consonants of the reduplicate other than the first are also not dropped : as **अराअरः, अलाअलः, पतापतः, वरावरः** ॥

हलादिः शेषः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ हल् आदिः, शेषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्य हलादिः शिष्यते अनादिरुच्यते ॥

60. Of the consonants of the reduplicate, only the first is retained, the remainders are dropped.

As **अग्लौ, मग्लौ, पपाच, पपाठ, आद, आदतुः, आदुः** ॥ This rule ordains the retention of the initial consonant, if any, and elision of the non-initials in the reduplicate. If the root begins with a vowel as **अद्**, there being no initial consonant, in **अद् अद्**, the **द्** will be elided of course. The word **हलादिः** should not be construed as a Genitive Tatpurusha ‘first among the consonants’, for then in **अच्+लिद्=अक् अल्**, the **च्** only would be elided, and **क्** retained.

The word **शेषः** or **शिष्यते** here means **अवस्थाप्यते** ‘is retained’. The word **हलादिः** is not a compound. For had it been a compound, then if it is a Karma-dhāraya, the word **आदि** should stand first ; if it be a Genitive compound then the first among compound consonants would be retained and we could not get the form **आनक्ष** from **अक्ष**. The word **abhyāsa** is to be taken in the sense of **jāti** or kind, i.e. in the **jāti** which is collectively called **abhyāsa**, the consonant that stands first in respect to **abhyāsa**, is retained, and not the consonant standing

in any other portion of it. So that all consonants, where ever they may be situate in the body of an abhyāsa, whether in the beginning or middle or end, are dropped, except one with which the abhyāsa begins. Thus if the abhyāsa begins with a simple consonant, it is retained; if it begins with a conjunct consonant, the first is only retained; and if the consonant or consonants are not in the beginning they are all dropped.

Others say, the word शेषः here means "retention along with the cessation of others". Therefore, though literally the word शेषः or retention appears to be the principal word in this sūtra, yet as a matter of fact, it is secondary, because the injunction is not with regard to retention, but with regard to cessation. The rule is not "Retain the first consonant"; but "Drop every consonant but the first, if there be a first consonant". Or the sūtras 59 and 60, may be combined and read thus: ह्रस्वोऽह्रस्वः "The abhyāsa becomes short and also without consonant". आदिशेषः "The first consonant is retained". Or the sūtras may be divided thus:—

- (1) 'A short vowel is substituted in the abhyāsa'.
- (2) 'The consonants of abhyāsa are all elided'.
- (3) The first is retained.

The sūtras 59 and 60 must be joined by sandhi "ह्रस्वोऽह्रस्वः", and then we shall be able to read an elided अ between ह्रस्व and अह्रस्व, as if it was a compound of ह्रस्व and अह्रस्व ॥

शार्पूर्वाः खयः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शार्पूर्वाः, खयः ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्य शार्पूर्वाः खयः शिष्यन्ते ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ शार्पूर्वाः खय इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

61. Of a reduplicate, the hard consonants (aspirate and unaspirate) when preceded by a sibilant, are only retained, the other consonants are elided.

As चुद्योतिवति, from śchyutir ksharaṇe, तिहासति, पिस्पन्धिषते ॥ Why do we say 'when preceded by a sibilant'? Observe पपाच ॥ Why do we say hard consonants? Observe सन्नौ ॥

Vart:—It should be said rather, a hard consonant preceded by a hard consonant or a sibilant is only retained: and the खर consonants are elided: as in उचिच्छिषति, here उच्छ becomes उच्छ by the augment त् (तुक्); in the reduplicate the च् should be elided, and छ retained out of च्छ; and not च् retained and छ elided; for the च् represents त्, and if this were retained, it would be त् and not च् that would be heard: for by VIII. 2. 1, the change of त् to च् is asidha for the purposes of this rule.

कुहोश्चुः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुहोः, चुः ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्य कवर्गहकारयोः भवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

62. For the Guttural and ह् of a reduplicate there is substituted a Palatal.

As चकार, चखान, जगाम, जपान, जहार, जिहीर्षति, जहो ॥

न कवतेर्यङि ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, कवतेः, यङि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवतेरभ्यासस्य यङि परतद्वुर्न भवति ॥

63. The Palatal is not substituted for the Guttural of the reduplicate of कु (कवते) in the Intensive.

As कोकृत्यते उद्गः, कोकृत्यते खरः ॥ The कु here is कुह (Bhu. 999), and not कृ 'to make sound' (Ad. 33, कौत्ति), nor कुह (Tud. 108, कुवति) ॥ Of those two, we have कोकृत्यते ॥ Why do we say in the Intensive? Observe चुकुने ॥

कृषेच्छन्दसि ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृषेः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृषेच्छन्दसि विषये यङि परतोभ्यासस्य पुर्न भवति ॥

64. The Palatal is not substituted for the Guttural of the reduplicate of कृष् in the Veda, when in the Intensive.

As करीकृष्यते यत्तकुपः ; otherwise चरीकृष्यते कृषीवलः ॥

दार्धत्तिर्दूर्धत्तिर्दूर्धर्षिर्बोभूतुतेतिकेलर्ष्यापनीफणत्संसनिष्यदत्करिक्रत्कनिक्रदत्तरिन्नद्विध्वतो दधिद्युतत्तरिन्नतः सरीसृपतंचरीवृजन्मर्मृज्यागनीगन्तीति च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दार्धत्ति, दूर्धत्ति, दूर्धर्षि, बोभूतु, तेतिके, अलर्षि, आपनीफणत्, संसनिष्यदत्, करिक्रत्, कनिक्रदत्, भरिन्नत्, दधिध्वतः, दधिद्युतत्, तरिन्नतः, सरीसृपतम्, चरीवृजत्, मर्मृज्य, आगनी गन्ति, इति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दार्धत्तिर्दूर्धत्तिर्दूर्धर्षिर्बोभूतु तेतिके अलर्षि आपनीफणत् संसनिष्यदत् करिक्रत् कनिक्रदत् भरिन्नत् दधिध्वतः दधिद्युतत् तरिन्नतः सरीसृपतं चरीवृजत् मर्मृज्य आगनीगन्ति इत्येतानि अट्पद्य छन्दसि विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

65. In the Veda are found the following eighteen irregularly reduplicated forms:—1 dâdharti, 2 dardharti, 3 dardharshi, 4 bobhâtu, 5 tetikte, 6 alarshi, 7 â panîpha-
nat, 8 sam sanishyadat. 9 karikrat, 10 kanikradat, 11 bhari-
bhrat, 12 davidhvatah, 13 davidyutat, 14 taritratah, 15 sari-
srpatam, 16 varivrjat, 17 marmrjya and 18 â ganfganti.

The word छन्दसि is drawn in to this sūtra, by force of च ॥ The form दार्धत्ति, is either from the Causative of the root धृह् अवस्थाने or from धृम्, in the ऋ or बृह् लुक्, there is lengthening of the abhyāsa and elision of णि ॥ (2) So also दूर्धर्षि is the form in ष्लु, with हृक् augment of the abhyāsa. (3) दूर्धर्षि if it be a form of बृह् लुक्, there is no irregularity. (4) बोभूतु is from भू in the Intensive (बृह् लुक्), Imperative, irregularly without guṇa. Q. There is no necessity of including this, because there would be no guṇa regularly even under VII. 3.

88? Ans. The inclusion of **बोधु** is a jñāpaka, indicating that in every other case, the guṇa is not prohibited in the Intensive (**बह् लुक्**), as **बोधेति**, **बोधयति** (**लृट्** with **ई** VII. 3. 94) (5) **तेति** is from **तिञ्** in the Intensive **yaṅ luk**, **ātmanepada** is irregular. Q. The **बह्** is **डिन्** and therefore by **pratyaya lakṣhaṇa** rule (I. 1. 62) read with I. 3. 12, the **बह् लुक्** will be **ātmanepadi**, where is the necessity of reading this **nipātan**? Ans. The **ātmanepada nipātan** is a **jñāpaka**, that in the Intensive **yaṅ luk** the **ātmanepada** affixes are not employed. (6) **अलर्षि** is from the root **लृ** (**इयर्षि**), in Present, 2nd Person, the **र्** of **abhyāsa** is not elided, though required by VII. 4. 60, and this **र्** is changed to **ल** irregularly. This form is found in the 3rd Person also, as **अलर्षि वसः** ॥ (7) **आ पवीकणत्** is from **कण्** with **आ** augment, and **णत्** affix is added to **बह् लुक्**, and in the reduplicate **नी** is added. (8) **संसनिष्यवत्** is from **स्वन्** with the Preposition **सन्**, in the Intensive **yaṅ luk**, with **णत्** affix, **नि** being added in the **abhyāsa**, the root **स्व** is changed to **व** ॥ The Preposition **सन्** is not absolutely necessary, with other Prepositions also we have this form, as **आ संनिष्यवत्** ॥ (9) **करिकत्** is from **कृ** (**करोति**), in the Intensive **yaṅ luk**, with **णत्**, in the **abhyāsa** there is no palatal change (VII. 4. 62), and **रि** is added to the reduplicate. (10) **कनिकवत्** from **कन्** in the Aorist with **अह्**, reduplication, there is no **chutva** (VII. 4. 62) of the reduplicate, and the augment **नि** is added. In the secular literature, the form is **अकन्वीत्** ॥ (11) **भरि-अत्** from **भृ** (**भिरति**) in **yaṅ luk** with **णत्**, without **र्** of VII. 4. 76, without **jaṣṭva**, and **रि** is added to the reduplicate. (12) **दविष्यतः** from **दृ** (**ध्वरते**) in the **yaṅ luk**, **ṣaṭṣ**, plural number Nominative. The **रि** is added to the reduplicate, the **दृ** is elided, **दविष्यतः रक्षयः सूर्यस्व** ॥ (13) **दविद्युतम्** is from **द्युत्**, **yaṅ luk** with **ṣaṭṣ**, there is no vocalisation of the reduplicate, with **अ** change and **दि** augment. (14) **दरिषतः** from **दृ** (**दरति**) with **ṣlu**, **ṣaṭṣ**, genitive singular: and **रि** added to **abhyāsa**. (15) **दरीसृपत्** from **सृप्** with **ṣlu**, **ṣaṭṣ**, Accusative with **री** added to **abhyāsa**. (16) **दरीवृजत्** from **वृज्** with **ṣlu**, **ṣaṭṣ** and **री** augment. (17) **दर्वज** from **वृज्** with **लिट्** (Perfect) **जल्**, **वृ** added to **abhyāsa**, and **वृ** added to the root, and there is no **vṛiddhi**, because there is no short penultimate now. In fact VII. 2. 114 is to be qualified by the words **लघूपध** from VII. 3. 86. (18) **आ गनी-गन्ति** is from **गन्** with the Preposition **आ**, in the Perfect, with **ṣlu**, there is no **chutva** (VII. 4. 62), and augment **नी** is added. **द्वन्द्वगती वेदा गनीगन्ति कर्मज** ॥

The word **द्वि** in the aphorism indicates that other forms, similar to these, are also to be included.

द्वरत् ॥ ६६ ॥ वदानि ॥ डः, अत् ॥
द्विः ॥ द्वन्द्वान्तिस्वाभ्यासस्वाकारवेद्यो भवति ॥

66. **अत्** (I. 1. 51) is substituted for the **दृ** or **दृ** of the reduplicate.

As **वृते**, **वृधे**, **वावृधे**, **वर्षति**, **परिवर्षति** **परीवर्षति** ॥ The **र्** is elided by VII. 4. 60. In the Intensives VII. 4. 90 &c, are applied, by which after the substitution of **अत्**

by the present sūtra, we apply those sūtras and add शक रू. रिक् &c: for the maxim is अन्धासन्धिकारेषु अपवादे नास्त्वान् विधीन् बाधते "so far as the changes of a reduplicative syllable are concerned special (apavāda) rules do not supersede the general (utsarga) rules".

द्युतिस्वाप्योः, संप्रसारणम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्युतिः स्वाप्योः, सम्प्रसारणम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्युति स्वापि देवतैयारन्धासस्य संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

67. There is vocalisation of the half-vowel of the reduplicate of द्युत् and स्वापि (Causative of स्वप्) ॥

As वि द्युत्तन्, वि द्योतिषते, वि द्युतिषते, (I. 2. 26) वि द्युयते ॥ स्वापि—सुप्त्वा-पयिषति ॥ The Causative of स्वप् is taken here, and the vocalisation takes place then only, when it is immediately followed by an affix which causes reduplication. Therefore not here, स्वापि+ण्डुल्=स्वापका; स्वापक+क्यप्=स्वापकीय, स्वापकीय+सन्=सिन्नापकीयिषति ॥

The simple root स्वप् will get vocalised in its reduplicate by VI. 1. 15, 17 in the Perfect. The Desiderative of स्वप् is क्तिन् by I. 2. 8, and therefore the reduplicate of स्वप् will be vocalised before सन् by VI. 1. 15. The reduplicate of स्वप् will be vocalised in the Intensive also by VI. 1. 19.

Quere:—Does the reduplicate of the Desiderative of the Denominative verb क्कोत्कीवति get vocalised or not.

व्यथो लिटि ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यथः, लिटि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ व्यथेलिटि परतोन्धासस्य संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

68. There is vocalisation of the half-vowel of the reduplicate of व्यथ् in the Perfect.

As विव्यथे, विव्यथाते, विव्यथिरे ॥ This ordains the vocalisation of थ, which otherwise would have been elided as being a non-initial consonant (VII. 4. 60). The vocalisation of थ् is prevented by VI. 1. 37. Why do we say in the Perfect? Observe व्राथ्थथते ॥

दीर्घ इणः किति ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घः, इणः, किति ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इणोङ्गत्वं बोन्धासस्तस्य दीर्घो भवति किति लिटि परतः ॥

69. A long vowel is substituted in the reduplicate of the root इ (पति), before a Personal ending of the Perfect, which has an indicative क् ॥

As इवत्, ईवः ॥ These are thus formed इ+अतुक्=इ+अतुः (इ substituted for इ by VI. 4. 81). Then there is reduplication, the इ becomes sthānivat to इ by I. 1. 59, and we have इ इ+अतुः and then by the present rule इवत् ॥ Why do we say before a किति affix? Observe इवाव, इवविय ॥

अत आदेः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, आदेः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अन्धासस्यादेकारस्य दीर्घो भवति लिटि परतः ॥

70. A long vowel is substituted in the Perfect for the initial अ of a reduplicate.

This debar the single substitute of the form of the subsequent ordained by VI. 1. 97. Thus आट, आटतुः, आटुः ॥ Why do we say 'the initial'? Observe पपाच and पपाठ ॥ Thus अद् + अतुः = अद् अद् + अतुः = अ अद् + अतुः = आ अद् + अतुः ॥

तस्मान्नुद् द्विहलः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मात्, नुद्, द्वि-हलः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मात्तोभ्यासादीर्घीभूतादुत्तरस्य द्विहलोद्गस्य युगागमो भवति ॥

71. After such a lengthened आ of the reduplicate, there is added the augment नुद् (न्) to the short अ of the root which ends in a double consonant.

As from अञ्च्—आ अञ्च् = आञ् अञ्च्, which with the affixes of the Perfect gives us, आनञ्च्, आनञ्चतुः, आनञ्चुः ॥ From अञ्च्—आनञ्च्, आनञ्चतुः, आनञ्चुः ॥ Why do we say 'containing two consonants'? Observe आट, आटतुः, आटुः ॥

With regard to नुद् augment, ऋ is considered like र्, as आनृषतुः, आनृषुः ॥ This proceeds on a vārtika to be found under the Pratyāhāra sūtra ऐ औच् ॥ The vārtika is नुद्विधि—लारेण—विनाभापु ऋकारे प्रतिविधातव्यं ॥ The examples of लारेण are इत्तः, इत्तवान् ; (See VIII. 2. 18) and of विनाभापु are कर्तृजाप् and भर्तृजाप् ॥

अञ्चोतेञ्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अञ्चोतेः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अद्विहलर्थ आरम्भः ॥ अञ्चोतेषु दीर्घीभूतादुत्तरस्य युगागमो भवति ॥

72. After the lengthened आ of the reduplicate of अच् (अञ्चोति), comes the augment नुद् (न्) before the short अ of the root in the Perfect.

This applies to a case where the root does not contain a double consonant. Thus व्यानञ्चे, व्यानञ्चते, व्यानञ्चिरे ॥ The rule applies to अच् (Svādi 18) and not to अञ्च् (Kryādi 51); there we have आच, आचतुः, आचुः ॥

अचतेरः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचतेः, अः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचतेरभ्यासस्वाकारदेशो भवति लिटि परतः ॥

73. अ is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate of भू in the Perfect.

As अभूव, अभूवतुः, अभूवुः, अभूवे ॥ Why do we say 'in the Perfect'? Observe अभूवति and बोभूवते ॥

The word अभूवते is shown in the sūtra in the Active Voice, therefore the rule will not apply to Passive and Reflexive forms; as अनुभूवुर्भू कम्बलो देव-हतेन ॥ This opinion of Kāśikā, however, is not endorsed by later Gram-
marians

ससूवेति निगमे ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ससूव, इति, निगमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ससूव इति निपात्यते हृत्तेर्लिटि परस्मैपरं युगागमो ऽभ्यासस्य चासं निपात्यते ॥

74. In the Veda ससृज् is irregularly formed in the Perfect.

It is derived from सृ ॥ Thus ससृज् स्थविर विपश्चिताम् otherwise सृषुवे ॥ Rig. IV. 18 10.

This word ससृज् might well have been included in sūtra VII. 4 65.

निजां त्रयाणां गुणः स्त्री ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ निजाम्, त्रयाणाम्, गुणः, स्त्री ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निजादीनां त्रयाणामभ्यासस्य गुणो भवति स्त्री सति ॥

75. Guṇa is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate, in the Reduplicated Present form (दल्लु) of निज्, विज् and विष् ॥

Thus वेनेक्ति, वेवेक्ति, वेवेष्टि ॥ The word त्रयाणां could have been spared in this sūtra, as these three roots stand at the end of a subdivision, and निजां would have denoted these three without the word trayāṅām. The word is however used here for the sake of the subsequent sūtra. Why do we say in the reduplicated Present form? Observe निनेज् in the Perfect.

भृजामिद् ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृजाम्, इद् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भृजादीनां त्रयाणामभ्यासस्वेकारादेशो भवति स्त्री सति ॥

76. In the Reduplicated Present-form of the three roots भृ, मा (भाङ्) and हा (ओहाङ्), इ is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate.

As विभक्ति, विनीते, (VI. 4. 113) जिहीते ॥ The word 'three' is understood here, therefore not in ओहाङ्—जहाति ॥ The rule applies in the Reduplicated Present system (दल्लु) only: therefore not in बभार ॥

अस्तिपिपर्योञ्च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्ति-पिपर्योः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अस्ति पिपरि इत्येतयोराभ्यासस्वेकारादेशो भवति स्त्री ॥

77. इ is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate of ऋ and ृ in the Reduplicated Present-form.

As इवर्ति (VI. 4. 78) धूमन्, विपर्ति सोमन् ॥

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये ऽभ्यासस्य स्त्री बहुलमिकापदेशो भवति ॥

78. इ is diversely substituted in the Veda, for the vowel of the reduplicate, in the Reduplicated Present-form.

As पूर्णो विवर्ति (from वृ), जनिना विवर्ति (from वृ), वस्तं न माना सिवर्ति (from सृ), and जिवर्ति सोमन् ॥ But also ववति, जजमन्, वधमन् as in ववतीत्येवं ह्वात्; जजमन्मिन् माता वहीरं वधमन् धनिदा ॥ All these three roots belong to Juhotyādi class.

सन्यतः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, अतः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सनि परतोकारान्ताभ्यासस्वेकारादेशो भवति ॥

79. इ is substituted for the final short अ of the reduplicate in the Desiderative.

As पिपसति, विवसति, (VIII. 2. 36, 41) तिष्ठसति, पिपासति ॥ Why do we say in the Desiderative? Observe पपाच ॥ Why do we say "for the अ"? Observe छुत्सति ॥ Why do we say 'short अ'? Observe पापचिषते the Desiderative of the Intensive पापच्यते ॥

ओः पुयण्ज्यपरे ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, पु-यण्-जि-अपरे ॥
बृत्तिः ॥ सनीति वर्त्तते इति च ॥ उवर्णान्ताभ्यासस्य पवर्गे बाणि उकारे चावर्णपरे परत् इकारपरेषो भवति सानि प्रत्यये परत् ॥

80. इ is substituted for the final उ or ऊ of a reduplicate, before a labial, a semi-vowel and before ज्ञ, when अ or आ follows these consonants, in the Desiderative.

The word पु-बण्-जि is the Locative singular of the samāhāra dvandva compound of those three words—पू, बण् and ज्ञ ॥ The samāsānta affix इच् (V. 4. 106) does not come, as these affixes are anitya. The word अ-धरे means that after which is the letter अ ॥

Thus: 1. Labial:—पिपचिषते, पिपाचिषति, विपाचिषति; 2. Semi-vowel:—विवचिषति, विवाचिषति, रिवाचिषति, लिवाचिषति; 3. ज्ञ—जिजाचिषति from the root जु ॥

The word पिपचिषते is from पू which gets इद् augment in सन् (VII. 2. 74), then there is गुण, and अन् substitutions, but these latter being sthanivat for reduplication (I. 1. 59), पू is doubled: and for ऊ there is substituted इ by the present sūtra. पिपाचिषति is the Desiderative of the Causative of पू ॥ विपाचिषति is the Desiderative of the Causative of भू ॥ विवचिषति is the Desiderative of पु 'to mix', which is सेद् by VII. 2. 49. विवाचिषति is the Desiderative of the Causative of this root. The words रिवाचिषति and लिवाचिषति are the Desiderative of the Causatives of रौति and लुनाति ॥

This sūtra indicates the existence of the following maxim:—अद्विर्वचन निमित्ते-ऽपि जो स्यान्निबद् भवति, "though not the cause of reduplication, the substitute which takes place when जि follows, becomes like the original". Thus in विपाचिषति we have पाचि + सन् from भू + जि + सन्, here the पाच् substitute caused by जि is sthanivat to ऊ, otherwise there would be no उ in the reduplicate to be operated upon by the present sūtra. See VI. 1. 31 also. Why do we say "for the उ or ऊ"? Observe पापच्यते, the Desiderative of which will be पापचिषति ॥ Why do we say "followed by a labial, semi-vowel or ज्ञ"? Observe अच गुणाचिषति, according to Padamanjari it is अच तुता चिषति from the sautra root तु ॥ जुहाचिषति ॥ Why do we say 'when these consonants are followed by an अ'? Observe जुत्सति ॥

अचतिभृणोतिप्रचतिप्रचतिप्लुचतिच्यवतीनां चा ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचति-भृणो-ति-प्रचति-प्रचति-प्लुचति-च्यवतीनाम् ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ अचति भृणोति प्रचति प्रचति प्लुचति च्यवति इत्येतेषामभ्यासस्य ओरवर्णपरे बाणि वा इकारपरेषो भवति सानि परत् ॥

81. इ is optionally substituted for the final उ of the reduplicate of झ, झु, झु, झु, झु and झु when the semi-vowel is followed by अ or आ in the Desiderative.

Thus सिञ्जावधिपति or झुञ्जावधिपति ; शिञ्जावधिपति or झुञ्जावधिपति ; विञ्जावधिपति or झुञ्जावधिपति ; पिञ्जावधिपति or पुञ्जावधिपति ; पिञ्जावधिपति or पुञ्जावधिपति ; पिञ्ज्यावधिपति or पुञ्ज्यावधिपति ॥ All these are Desideratives of the Causatives of the above roots. Here though a letter like झ, झु, झु &c, intervenes between the semi-vowel and the preceding उ of the reduplicate, yet the substitution takes place owing to the express text of this sūtra. In the preceding aphorism, the semi-vowel followed *immediately* after the उ of the reduplicate. The option of the present sūtra is, therefore, an aprāpta-vibhāshā. The word अपरे is understood here also : therefore not in झुञ्जवधि, झुञ्जवधि ॥

गुणो यङ्लुकोः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुणः, यङ् - लुकोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृत्तिं यङ्लुकि च इगन्तस्याभ्यासस्य गुणो भवति ॥

82. Guṇa is substituted for the इ and उ (with their long) of a reduplicate, when the Intensive character यङ् follows and also when it is elided.

Thus चेचीयते, लोलूयते with बह्, and जोहवीति with यङ् लुक् ॥ The इङ् is added in the latter by VII. 3. 94. So also चोक्कुशीति from कुष् (VII. 3. 94 and 87).

दीर्घोक्तिः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घः, अकितः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकितोभ्यासस्य दीर्घो भवति वृत्तिं यङ्लुकि च परतः ॥

83. A long vowel is substituted for the अ of the reduplicate in the Intensive (with expressed or elided यङ्), when the reduplicate receives no augment having an indicative क् ॥

The reduplicate receives augments like नीक्, डक् by the following sūtras. Thus पापच्यते, and पापचीति, वायञ्चते and वाचजीति ॥ Why do we say "when it gets no augment"? Observe यंयम्यते, बंयमीति, रंरम्यते, रंरमीति ॥

Obj:—When the न् augment is added, the reduplicate will end in a consonant, and as it does not end in a vowel, there will be no occasion for lengthening; hence the employment of the term अकितः is useless.

Ans.—The employment of this term by the Achārya indicates the existence of the following maxim: अभ्यासविकारेष्वपादा नोत्तर्गान् विधात् वाधन्ते "so far as changes of a reduplicative syllable are concerned, rules which teach those changes do not supersede one another". What is the necessity of this

indication (jñāpaka)? Observe जोहोव्यते, here the rule of lengthening of this sūtra, does not supersede, though it is subsequent, the rule of shortening in VII. 4. 59; so the diphthong औ is shortened to उ, and it is then guṇated by VII. 4. 82. Secondly observe अचीकरत्, here इ is substituted in the reduplicate by VII. 4. 79 plus 93, and then this is lengthened by VII. 4. 94, the latter not superseding the former. Thirdly observe मीमांसते &c, where in मान् + सन् (III. 1. 6), the reduplicate is lengthened, but that does not prevent the इ of VII. 4. 79. Fourthly observe अजीगणन्, where the ई substitute (VII. 4. 97) does not supersede the sūtra VII. 4. 60, by which the ञ् of गण् is elided.

नीग्वञ्चुञ्चसुध्वंसुभ्रंसुकसपतपदस्कन्दाम् ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नीक्, वञ्चु-ञ्चसु ध्वंसु-भ्रंसु-कस-पत-पद-स्कन्दाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वञ्चु ङसु ध्वंसु भ्रंसु कस पत पद स्कन् इत्येतेषामभ्यासस्य नीगागमो भवति यङि यङ्मुकि च ॥

84. The augment नीक् is added to the reduplicate of the Intensive (with the expressed or elided यङ्) in the following :—वञ्च्, ङस्, ध्वंस्, भ्रंश्, कस्, पत्, पद् and स्कन्द् ॥

Thus वनीवच्यते and वनीवञ्चीति; सनीस्यते and सनीसंसीति; इनीध्वस्यते and इनीध्वंसंसीति; बनीभ्रस्यते and बनीभ्रंसंसीति, (बनीभ्रस्यते and बनीभ्रंसंसीति), चनीकस्यते and चनीकसंसीति; पनीपस्यते and पनीपसंसीति, पनीपद्यते and पनीपदीति; चनीस्कद्यते and चनीस्कन्सीति ॥ The nasal is elided in one alternative by VI. 4. 24.

नुगतोनुनासिकान्तस्य ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नुक्, अतः, अनुनासिक-अन्तस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकान्तस्याङ्गस्य योभ्यासस्तस्याकारान्तस्य नुगागमो भवति यङ्गङ्मुकाः परतः ॥
वासिकम् ॥ पदान्तवचोति वक्तव्यम् ॥

85. The augment नुक् (क्) is added after the short अ of a reduplicate in the Intensive (with or without यङ्), when the root ends in a Nasal.

As तन्तन्यते and तन्तनीति; अङ्गम्यते and अङ्गमीति, बंधम्यते and बंधमीति; रंरम्यते and रंरमीति ॥ The augment न् here should be considered as anusvāra, because an âdeśa is indicated by the nature of the sthānin which is replaced; and therefore in बंधम्यते, it remains anusvāra. Had it been न्, it could not have been changed to anusvāra in बंधम्यते, रंरम्यते (See VIII. 3. 24). In तन्तन्यते &c, the anusvāra is changed to न्, ङ् &c, by VIII. 4. 58; the other forms तंतनीति, अंगम्यते, अंगमीति are derived by the following :—

Vārt.—This anusvāra should be treated as if it was at the end of a Pada or word. That being so, VIII. 4. 59 applies, and we have the anusvāra unchanged, as in तंतन्यते &c.

Why do we say “after a short अ”? Observe त्तित्तम्यते ॥ The त् in अत् indicates that the augment will not be added to a reduplicate which once was long आ but became short by VII. 4. 59 as from आन ‘to be angry’, is आनाम्यते.

(the second lengthening takes place by VII. 4. 83). Why do we say ending in a nasal? Observe पापञ्चते ॥

जपजभदहदशभञ्जपशां च ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जप-जभ-दह-दश-भञ्ज-पशाभ, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जप जभ दह दश भञ्ज पशा इत्येतेषामभ्यासस्य गुणागमो भवति यद्ब्रह्मलुकोः परतः ॥

86. The augment जुक् comes after the reduplicates of जप, जभ, दह, दश, भञ्ज, and पशा in the Intensive (with or without यङ्) ॥

Thus जञ्चते and जञ्जीति; जञ्चते and जञ्जीति, इञ्चते and इञ्जीति; इञ्चते and इञ्जीति ॥ The root is इञ्, but it is exhibited in the sūtra as इञ, showing that even in ब्रह् लुक्, the root loses its nasal. Similarly बभञ्चते and बभञ्जीति, and पपञ्चते and पपञ्जीति ॥ This last is a sautra root.

चरफलोञ्च ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चर-फलोः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चर फल इत्येतयोर्भ्यासस्य गुणागमो भवति यद्ब्रह्मलुकोः परतः ॥

87. The augment जुक् comes after the reduplicate of चर् and फल् in the Intensive (with or without यङ्) ॥

Thus चञ्चते and चञ्चीति (the lengthening of ङ is by VIII. 2. 77) पञ्चत्वते and पञ्चलीति ॥ See the following sūtra.

उरपरस्यातः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्, परस्य, अतः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चरफलोर्भ्यासात्परस्यात् उकारादेशो भवति यद्ब्रह्मलुकोः परतः ॥

88. For the subsequent अ (i. e. for the अ of the root and not of the reduplicate), there is substituted उ in the Intensive (with or without यङ्) of चर् and फल् ॥

The examples have been given above, as चञ्चते, चञ्चीति and पञ्चत्वते पञ्चलीति ॥ Why do we say 'the अ which stands subsequent to the reduplicate'? The substitute does not replace the अ of the reduplicate. Why do we say 'of अ'? The substitute should not replace the final letter, which it otherwise would have done by I. 1. 52. The त् in उत् debars guṇa (VII. 3. 86) in चञ्चीति and पञ्चलीति, for though उ is lengthened by VIII. 2. 77, in चञ्चीति, yet that lengthening is considered as non-existent or asiddha (VIII. 2. 1) for the purposes of Guṇa (VII. 3. 86). *Quere.* If the त् in उत् debars guṇa, why should it not debar lengthening also of VIII. 2. 77?

ति च ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तकारादौ प्रत्यये परतश्चरफलोकारस्य उकारादेशो भवति ॥

89. उ is substituted for the vowel of चर् and फल् before an affix beginning with त ॥

Thus चृतिः (= चरणं or ब्रह्मणः), प्रकुञ्चिः and प्रकुञ्जाः ॥ The anuvṛtti of ब्रह्मलुकोर्भ्यासस्य does not apply here, though present. See VIII. 2. 55.

रीगुपधस्य च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ रीक्, ऋत्-उपधस्य, च ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ ऋदुपधस्याङ्गस्य योऽभ्यासस्तस्य रीगागमो भवति यद्भ्रुकोः परतः ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ रीगुत्वत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

90. The reduplicate of a root, which has a ऋ in the penultimate position, gets the augment री in the Intensive (with or without यङ्) ॥

As वरीवृत्यते and वरीवृतीति, वरीवृज्यते and वरीवृधीति, नरीनृत्यते and नरीनृतीति ॥

Vart:—It should be rather stated 'a root which contains a ऋ': when यङ् follows, whether this ऋ be of upadeśa, or obtained by samprasāraṇa, so that the augment may come in वरीवृद्ध्यते and वरीवृधीति where the ऋ is of vocalisation, and not penultimate also.

रुभिकौ च लुकि ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुक्-रिकौ, च, लुकि ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ यद्भ्रुकि ऋदुपधस्याङ्गस्य योऽभ्यासस्तस्य रुभिकावागमो भवतश्चकाराङ्गीक्च ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ मर्धुञ्जते मर्धुञ्जमानास इत्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

91. The augments रीक्, रुक् and रिक् come after the reduplicate of a root which has a ऋ in the penultimate, only when the यङ् of the Intensive is elided.

Thus नर्भति, नरिनर्ति, and नरीनर्ति; वर्धति, परिवर्ति, वरीवर्ति ॥ The उ in रुक् is for the sake of pronunciation, the augment is र् ॥

Vart:—मर्धुञ्जते and मर्धुञ्जमानासः should also be enumerated. These have taken रुक् augment, though the यङ् is not elided here.

ऋतश्च ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, च ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य योऽभ्यासस्तस्य रुभिकावागमो भवतो रीक्चयद्भ्रुकि ॥
Kārikā:—किरति चर्करीतान्तं पञ्चमीत्यत्र यो नयेत् ।
 प्राप्तिसं तमहं मन्वे मात्तुपस्तेन संपदः ॥

92. The reduplicate of a root, which ends in short ऋ, gets, in the Intensive without यङ्, the above augments री, र्, and रि ॥

Thus चर्कति, चरिकति, and चरीकति, अर्हति, जरिहति and जरीहति ॥ Why do we say 'which ends in a short ऋ'? The rule does not apply to roots ending in long ऋ as, चाकति, चाकीर्तिः, चाकिरति from कृ ॥ The word ऋतः qualifies the word अङ्ग and not the word अभ्यास, for an abhyāsa is always short, so the त् in ऋत् would become meaningless if the word qualified reduplicate. Therefore कृ ending in long ऋ does not get री, र् and रि augments in the reduplicate.

Kārikā:—He who can conjugate, in the Present tense, the yaṅ-luk Intensive of कृ and of other roots ending in long ऋ, is considered by me to be a person who has attained to the right knowledge of the employment of the

augments इ, री, रि &c: and he has obtained the right use of words.

The word किरति in the Kārikā is illustrative of all roots like कृ (किरति) ending in long ऋ ॥ चर्करीत is the name given to the चर्क लुक् form of the Intensive, by ancient grammarians. चर्करीतान्त means, therefore, a form ending in yañ-luk. पचति is illustrative of लृट् or Present tense.

सन्वल्लघुनि चर्कपरेऽनग्लोपे ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्वत्, लघुनि, चर्क - परे, अन् अग्लोपे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लघुनि धात्वक्षरे परतो योभ्यासस्तस्य चर्कपरे णो परतः सनीव कार्थे भवति अनग्लोपे ॥

93. In the reduplicated Aorist of the Causative, the reduplicate adapts itself to that of the Desiderative, when the vowel of the root is light, and the root has not lost its end-vowel before the Causative affix.

The words of this sūtra require a little detailed explanation. The word सन्वत् means "like unto सन् or Desiderative"; i. e. as the Desiderative is treated, so should the चर्क Aorist of the Causative. The words लघुनि and चर्कपरे are both in the Locative case, but not in apposition with each other, but refer to different objects. लघुनि means 'when a light vowel follows', namely that reduplicate which is followed by the light root-vowel. The operations to be performed on such a reduplicate, in the चर्क Aorist, after the णि are the same, as on the reduplicate of the Desiderative. अन्-अक्-लोपे "provided that a simple vowel of the Pratyāhāra अक् has not been elided". We read the word 'causative' into this sūtra, because there can be no other root which will form चर्क Aorist. Causatives form such Aorist (III. 1. 48), as well as the simple roots षि, हु and झु ॥ The words चर्कपरे qualifies the word अन् understood: that stem which is followed by चर्क; therefore, it refers to the Causative stem, and not to the simple roots षि, द्रु and स्रु. The light vowel, therefore refers, to the light vowel of the Causative stem before चर्क ॥

The word अनग्लोपे is in apposition with चर्कपरे ॥ Thus कच+णिच् (III. 1. 30). = अकच्+इ+अत् (III. 1. 48) = अकच्+अत् (VI. 4. 51) = अकच्+अत् (VII. 4. 1) = अचकच्+अत् (VI. 1. 11) = आचकच्+अत् (VII. 4. 79 read with VII. 4. 93) = अचीकचत् (VII. 4. 94).

Thus VII. 4. 79 teaches the substitution of इ for अ in the reduplicate of the Desiderative. The same substitution will take place in the reduplicate of the Aorist: as अचीकरत्, अपीपचत् ॥ Thus by VII. 4. 80, इ is substituted for अ of the reduplicate in the Desiderative, the same will be the case in the reduplicate of the Aorist, as अपीपचत् and अलीलचत्, and अजीजचत् ॥ Thus by VII. 4. 81, इ is optionally substituted for अ in the Desiderative reduplicate of झु &c, the same will hold good in the Aorist-reduplicate, as असिजचत् or अझुजचत्, अधिभवत्

or अशुभ्रवत्, अदिह्रवत् or अदुह्रवत्, अपिमवत् or अपुमवत्, अपिह्रवत् or अपुह्रवत्, अचिच्यवत् or अचुच्यवत् ॥ Why do we say 'having a light vowel'? Observe अततज्ञत्, अररज्ञत्, अजजागरत् ॥

Some say, that in अजजागरत्, the syllable ञ is *light*, and therefore, the san-vat rule would apply: for a light vowel no where *immediately* follows a reduplicate; therefore, though a long syllable जा intervenes, yet the rule will apply, because of the express text. This reasoning is wrong. The maxim तेन नाप्यवधानं तेनप्यवहितेऽपि वक्ष्यमप्रामाण्यात् cannot be extended to cases like this. It applies only when the intervention consists of one letter and not of more than one. Obj. If so, how do you form अचिक्षणत् for here two letters क् and ख् (क्ष) intervene between the reduplicate and the light vowel. Ans. The author indicates by implication in VII. 4. 95 that these roots like क्ष् do take इ in the reduplicate; for had it not been so, what was the necessity of making an exception in favor of roots like स्मृ. स्वर, स्तु, स्पृ in VII. 4. 95. So that a conjunct consonant is not considered an intervention for the purposes of this rule. Therefore, स्मृ &c would have taken इ in the reduplicate by VII. 4. 79, read with the present sūtra, and so the Achārya enjoins अ instead in VII.4.95 with regard to these.

Why do we say 'when च्छ follows'? Observe अहं पपच ॥ Why do we use the word पर "followed by"? The rule would not apply when च्छ alone follows without णि, as अचकमत् where क्क has taken च्छ under the vārtika कनेह-पसंख्यानम् ॥

Why do we say 'when an अक vowel has not been dropped'? Observe अचकयत् from the Churādi root कय which ends in अ, and this अ is elided by VI. 4. 48. Obj. This lopa being considered sthānivat, will prevent the application of the present rule, as there will be an intervention. Ans. We shall give another example, अहृहृत् from हृष्यमाच्छातवात् ॥ Here णिच् is added to हृष्य under the Vārtika सत्करोतितवाच्छे, and the हि portion is elided by हृहृहृत्, here a vowel and a consonant have been elided, and so the lopa is not sthānivat.

In the double causative Aorist अवीवहत् the present rule applies, though one णि has been elided. अवीवहत् - वादितवन्तं प्रयोजितवात् ॥ In fact, the elision of one णि when followed by another णि is not considered as an ak-lopa; the latter refers to the elision of any other vowel than णि ॥ Therefore we have अवीवहत् षीणां परिवापकेम् ॥ In fact, this exception rests on the following vārtika सम्ब्रुभावा-दीर्घत्वे णे णिच्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

The lopa of the reduplicate which takes place before छ् of the roots णी, ना &c (VII. 4. 54) does not, however, take place in च्छ Aorist. The analogy does not extend so far. In fact, the present sūtra teaches a क्पातिरेष,

namely the *form* which a reduplicate has in Desiderative, will be the *form* in the Aorist. But as मी, मा &c have *no* reduplicate form in the Desiderative, the analogy stops. Therefore, we shall have अमीमपत् ॥ Moreover the word सम्बद् here means the operations that depend *solely* on सन् ॥ Now the total elision of the reduplicate by VII. 4. 54 does not depend upon सन् *alone*, but upon the augment इस् also of VII. 4. 54. But as there can be no इस् in the Aorist, so there will be no elision also. In fact, an atidesà should be confined to general cases and not to particulars.

दीर्घो लघोः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घः, लघोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घो भवति लघोरभ्यासस्य लघुनि षौ चरूपरे ऽनग्लोपे ॥

94. In the reduplicative syllable, a prosodially short vowel is lengthened in the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative, when the vowel of the root is light, and the root has not lost its end-vowel before the Causative णि ॥

Thus अचीकरत्, the इ (VII. 4. 79) is lengthened. Similarly अजीहरत्, अलीलवत्, अपीपवत् ॥ Why do we say which is prosodially light? Observe अवि-अजत् ॥ Why do we say when the vowel of the root is light? Observe अततसत्, अररसत् ॥ Why do we say in the reduplicated Aorist? Observe अहं पपच ॥ The word पर is understood here also, so the rule will not apply to simple roots as अचकमत् ॥ The words 'anaglope' are to be read here, therefore not so in अचकयत् ॥

अत्स्मृदृत्वरप्रथमद्वस्तुस्पशाम् ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत, स्मृ-दृ-त्वर-प्रथ-मद्व, स्तु-स्पशाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्मृ दृ त्वर-प्रथ मद्व स्तु स्पश इत्येतेषामभ्यासत्वादित्यनग्लोपे भवति चरूपरे षौ परतः ॥

95. Short अ is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate in the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative, of the roots smri, dṛi, tvar, prath, mrad, strī and spaś,

Thus असस्मरत्, अददरत्, अतत्वरत्, अपप्रयत्, अनमदत्, अतस्तरत्, अपस्पशत् ॥ This debars the इ which would have come under VII. 4. 93. The 'short अ indicates that it is not to be lengthened by VII. 4. 94, as अददरत् ॥

विभाषा वेष्टिचेष्टयोः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वेष्टि, चेष्टयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वेष्टि वेष्टि इत्येतयोरभ्यासस्य विभाषा अदित्यनग्लोपे भवति चरूपरे षौ परतः ॥

96. Short अ is optionally substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate in वेष्ट् and चेष्ट् in the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative.

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Thus अववेदत् or अविवेदत्, अचचेदत् and अचिचेदत् ॥ In one alternative there is shortening of the reduplicate (VII. 4 59), and after such shortening, there is अ substituted in the other alternative.

ईच गणः ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, च, गणः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गणेश्चास्य ईकारवेद्यो भवति चहृषी ञौ परतः ॥

97. In the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative, ई is substituted optionally for the vowel of the reduplicate in गण ॥

As अजीगणत् or अजगणत् ॥ गण is a root which ends in अ, and this अ being elided by VI. 4. 48 before the Causative णि, the rule VII. 4. 93, does not apply to it, because there is an ak-lopa here, so in the other alternative, it has its natural अ ॥

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