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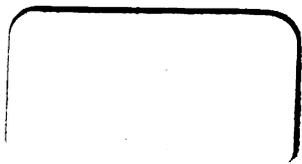
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BOOK VIII.

THE

ASHTĀDHYĀYI

of

PANINI.

PARTS XXIX—XXXII.

S. G. VASU.

OPINIONS OF DISTINGUISHED PROFESSORS OF SANSKRIT.

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

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

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

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

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

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

स्वस्तीश्वरे हितपुरे हितरे प्रयागे सस्संगमप्रणयसंमतिरे बुधानां ।
 विद्याविनाश्चरिवद्विस्तुष्युससन् वास्वन्वयाञ्छिरिषाचन्द्रविशंवरिष्टान् ॥ १ ॥
 वृष्ट्यातिमोदमुदिरोहमुदप्रकम्पनीन् सच्छास्त्राबोधितसुखास्पदबोधभाजः ।
 सम्यकलसंतु नतयोनितराम्मदीयाः यद्वाब्रूकक्रतिकर्मरतांतरेभ्यः ॥ २ ॥
 दृष्ट्याकृतं विमलबोधनबोधराशि सद्भ्याकृतिप्रथितकीर्तिकरंप्रशांत्य ।
 वच्छ्रीमदीयमतिमोदवहं वरेण्यं सत्युस्तकं प्रमुदितोहमहोराकृत्यं ॥ ३ ॥
 शिब्रंयदस्ति भवतेग्लिशाबोधभाजा यद्दस्तुतो विरचितं समकृत् सुविम्बं ।
 लोकेसुषिचरचनाभरणैकशीला शिबेचशिबमनसः प्रतिविबभात्रे ॥ ४ ॥
 सत्सोर्ग्लिशाप्रकटितंवरसूत्रवृत्तौ संज्ञादिपेशालमनो कुहकल्पसाक्षि ।
 स्थानेवसुप्रहितविश्विवृत्तिवये यद्वासुतासुविहिनाग्लिशाभाववृत्तिः ॥ ५ ॥
 येनचवया मुनिमताकृतशास्त्रसंघान् निर्मध्यस्तौधरसयन्महतादरेण ।
 संयुम्नितं संरलसंस्कृतसाध्यसारं धन्यं वसाम्यहमलं भवतेहिताय ॥ ६ ॥
 ग्रन्थस्यत्यस्रणाखिलकीर्तिकृत्ये याचेपराङ्गवतोप्यहमचविद्वन् ।
 यत्पूर्वपश्चिममुखेषुसदाप्रचारं लाभंसुखंयुदश्चिरं च तत्रापि धीमन् ॥ ७ ॥
 वाणीविदाम्बरतवास्तुमुखे जयाद्या यत्पूर्वपश्चिमजबोधभृते च विद्या ।
 ख्यातित्सदासकल बर्धभुजां सप्रहेऽप्याशीर्धचो भवतु पांडित लालचन्द्रं ॥ ८ ॥



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Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) F. MAX MULLER.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

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BOOK VIII.

THE

ASHTÁDHYÁYI OF PÁNINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,

BY

SRISA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,

Provincial Civil Service, N. W. P.



Devuxes:

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ओ३म् ।

अथ अष्टमाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।

BOOK EIGHTH.

CHAPTER FIRST.

सर्वस्य द्वे ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वस्य, द्वे ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

तस्य परमाधेदितम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, परम्, आधेदितम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तस्य द्विरुक्तस्य यत्परं शब्दरूपं तदाधेदितसंज्ञं भवति ॥

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

Thus in चौर चौर ३, वृषल वृषल ३ इत्यो ३ घातयिष्यामि स्वा, बन्धाधिष्यामि स्वा, the second word being *âmreḍita* is *pluta*. The word *आधेदित* occurs in Sûtras VI. 1. 99, VIII. 1. 57, VIII. 2. 95, VIII. 10. 3 &c.

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

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

अनुदात्तं च ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तं च तद्वदति यदाधेदितसंज्ञम् ॥

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

Thus भुङ्क्ते भुङ्क्ते ; पशुन् पशुन् ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

परैर्वर्जने ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः, वर्जने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परीत्येतस्य वर्जनेर्ये द्वे भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परैर्वर्जनेऽसमासे वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

उपर्युपरि पश्यन्तः सर्वे एव हरिर्इति ।

अधोधो हर्षने कस्य महिमा नोपजायते ॥

Here the doubling is in the sense of vīpsā.

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

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

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

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

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

एकं बहुव्रीहिवत् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकम्, बहुव्रीहि, वत् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एक मित्येत्च्छब्दरूपं द्विरुक्तं बहुव्रीहिवद्भवति ॥

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

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

आबाधेच ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, बाधे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आबाधनमाबाधः । पीडाप्रयोक्तु धर्मः । तत्र वर्त्तमानस्य द्वे भवतः बहुव्रीहिवत्त्वात्स्व कार्त्वे भवति ॥

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

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

कर्मधारयवदुत्तरेषु ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मधारय, वत्, उत्तरेषु ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इत उत्तरेषु द्विर्वचनेषु कर्मधारयवत्कार्यं भवतीत्येतेदृशितव्यम् । कर्मधारयत्वे प्रबोजनं सुष्पोप-
पुंवज्ञावान्तोऽसत्त्वानि ॥

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

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

प्रकारे गुणवचनस्य ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकारे, गुण-वचनस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकारे भेदः सादृश्यं च । तद्विह सादृश्यं प्रकारे गृह्यते । प्रकारे वर्त्तमानस्य गुणवचनस्य
हे भवतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भानुपूर्व्ये हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ स्वार्थे अगधार्थमाणेनेकस्मिन्हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ चापले हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ क्रियासमभिवारे हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ आभीक्ष्ण्ये हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ डापि हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ पूर्वप्रथमयोर्यातिहायविवक्षायां हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ उत्तरउत्तमयोः समसप्रधारणयोः स्त्री भिगदे भावे हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ कर्मव्यति ॥ १२ ॥ ३० ॥ ३० ॥ ३० ॥ ३० ॥ ३० ॥ ३० ॥ ३० ॥ ३० ॥ ३० ॥ ३० ॥
वा० ॥ स्त्रीनपुंसकयारुत्तरपरस्य चाग्भावो वक्तव्यः ॥

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

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

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

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

Vart.:—An adjective is repeated when denoting that persons or things possessing that attribute are to be taken in their due order. Thus मूले मूले स्थूलाः, भग्ने भग्ने सूक्ष्माः, उद्येष्ठं उद्येष्ठं प्रवेद्यावः ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

व्यता ॥ This is found in words other than those ending in तर and तन; as, उभावि-
भावाव्यौ, किरिणी किरिणी अनयोरव्यता ॥ This is also found where the abstract noun
denoting condition (as भाव्यता) is not in the feminine: as, उभाविभावाव्यौ, कतर क-
सरोऽनयोर्विभवः “Both these are rich, let us see what is their respective greatness.”

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

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

अकृच्छ्रेप्रियसुखयोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-कृच्छ्रे, प्रिय, सुखयोः,
अन्यतरस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रिय सुख इत्येतयोरन्यतरस्यां हे भवतः अकृच्छ्रे घोले ॥

13. The words ‘priya’ and ‘sukha’ are repeated op-
tionally, when they mean “easily, without any difficulty”.

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

यथास्वे यथायथम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा स्वे, यथा यथम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यो य आत्मा यद्यदात्मीय तत्तद्यथास्वं तस्मिन् यथायथमिति निपात्यते । यथायावत्स्य द्विर्वचनं
नपुंसकलिङ्गता च निपात्यते ॥

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रमिति द्विसाब्दस्य विर्वचनं पूर्वपदस्याम्भावः अल्पं चोत्तरपदस्य निपात्यते रक्ष्य मर्वाशावचनं व्युत्क्रमणं यज्ञपात्र प्रयोग अभिव्यक्ति एतेषु भयेषु ॥

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

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

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

पदस्य ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्येत्यवधिकारः प्रागपदान्ताधिकारात् । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः पदस्येत्येव तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

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

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

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

पदान् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदान् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदादित्यवधिकारः प्राक्कुत्सने च सुप्यगोचारादित्येतस्माद्यदित उर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः पदादित्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

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

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

अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादौ ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, सर्वम्, अ-पाद्-आदौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तमिति च सर्वमिति च अपाशाशविति च एतच्चयमधिकृतं वेदितव्यमापादपरिसमाप्ते, रित
ह्यनरं यद्दक्ष्यामः अनुदात्तं सर्वमपाशाशवित्येवं सद्देवित्ययम् ॥

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

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

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

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

रुद्रो विश्वेश्वरो देवो युष्माकं कुलदेवता ।

स एव नाथो भगवानस्माकं शत्रुमर्दनः ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

आमन्त्रितस्य च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमन्त्रितस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितस्य पदस्य पदात्परस्यापादादौ वर्तमानस्य सर्वस्यानुवाचो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ समान वाक्ये निघात युष्मद् स्मदादेशा वक्तव्याः ॥

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

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

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

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

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

युष्मद्स्मदोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्ययोर्वाभावौ ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद्, अस्मदोः, षष्ठी, चतुर्थी, द्वितीयास्ययोः, चाम्, नावौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मद् इत्येतयोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्ययोर्व्यासंख्यं चात्रोऽत्येतावादेशौ भवतस्तौ चाश्रयात् ॥

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

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

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

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

बहुवचनस्य वस्त्रसौ ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुवचनस्य, वस्त्र, नस्तौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बहुवचनान्तयोर्युष्मदस्मदोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्ययोर्व्यासंख्यं वस्त्रं नस्त्रं इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

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

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

तेरथात्रेकवचनस्य २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ते, मयौ, एक, वचनस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोः एकवचनान्तयोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्ययोर्व्यासंख्यं ते मे इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ एकवचनस्थिति वर्त्तते । द्वितीयाया यदेकवचनं तदन्तयोर्दुष्मदस्मदशौर्यथासंख्यत्वा ना इत्येतावा-
हसौ भवतः ॥

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

The word एकवचनस्थिति is understood here. Thus मामस्त्वा पश्यति, मामो मा पश्यति ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ च वा ह अह एव एभिर्व्येगे युष्मदस्मदशौर्यभावाद्यो न भवन्ति ॥

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

Thus मामस्तत्र च स्वप्, मामो मम च स्वप् ॥

युवयोश्च स्वप् । आवयोश्च स्वप् । युष्माकं च स्वप् । अस्माकं च स्वप् । मामस्तुभ्यं च दीयते मामो मह्यं च दीयते । युवाभ्यां च दीयते । आवाभ्यां च दीयते । युष्मभ्यं च दीयते । अस्मभ्यं च दीयते । मामस्त्वां च पश्यति । मामो मां च पश्यति । युवां च पश्यति । आवां च पश्यात । युष्मांश्च पश्यति । अस्मांश्च पश्यति ॥ वा । मामस्तत्र वा स्वप् । मामो मम वा स्वप् । युवयोर्वा स्वप् । आवयोर्वा स्वप् । युष्माकं वा स्वप् । अस्माकं वा स्वप् । मामस्तुभ्यं वा दीयते । मामो मह्यं वा दीयते । युवाभ्यां वा दीयते । आवाभ्यां वा दीयते । युष्मभ्यं वा दीयते । अस्मभ्यं वा दीयते । मामस्त्वां वा पश्यति । मामो मां वा पश्यति । युवां वा पश्यति । आवां वा पश्यति । युष्मान् वा पश्यति । अस्मान्वा पश्यति । ह । मामस्तत्र ह स्वप् । मामो मम ह स्वप् । युवयोर्ह स्वप् । आवयोर्ह स्वप् । युष्माकं ह स्वप् । अस्माकं ह स्वप् । मामस्तुभ्यं ह दीयते । मामो मह्यं ह दीयते । युवाभ्यां ह दीयते । आवाभ्यां ह दीयते । युष्मभ्यं ह दीयते । अस्मभ्यं ह दीयते । मामस्त्वां ह पश्यति । मामो मां ह पश्यति । युवां ह पश्यति । आवां ह पश्यति । युष्मान् ह पश्यति । अस्मान् ह पश्यति । अह । मामस्तत्राह स्वप् । मामो ममाह स्वप् । युवयोरह स्वप् । आवयोरह स्वप् । युष्माकमह स्वप् । अस्माकमह स्वप् । मामस्तुभ्यमह दीयते । मामोमह्यमह दीयते । युवाभ्यामह दीयते । आवाभ्यामह दीयते । युष्मभ्यमह दीयते । अस्मभ्यमह दीयते । मामस्त्वामह पश्यति । मामो मामह पश्यति । युवामह पश्यति । आवामह पश्यति । युष्मानह पश्यति । अस्मानह पश्यति । एव । मामस्तत्रैव स्वप् । मामो ममेव स्वप् । युवयोरैव स्वप् । आवयोरैव स्वप् । युष्माकमेव स्वप् । अस्माकमेव स्वप् । मामस्तुभ्यमेव दीयते । मामो मह्यमेव दीयते । युवाभ्यामेव दीयते । आवाभ्यामेव दीयते । युष्मभ्यमेव दीयते । अस्मभ्यमेव दीयते । मामस्त्वामेव पश्यति । मामो मामेव पश्यति । युवामेव पश्यति । आवामेव पश्यति । युष्मानेव पश्यति । अस्मानेव पश्यति । युक्तमहणं साक्षाद्योगप्रतिपत्त्यर्थम् । युक्तयुक्ते प्रतिषेधो न भवति । मामश्च ते स्वप् । नगरं च मे स्वप् ।

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

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

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

पश्यार्थैश्चानालोचने ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पश्य, अर्थैः, च, अनालोचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पश्यार्था दर्शनार्थाः । दर्शनं ज्ञानम् । आलोचनं चक्षुर्विज्ञानम् । तैः पश्यार्थैरनालोचने वर्त्तमानैर्युक्तं युष्मदस्मदोर्वाभावाद्यो न भवन्ति ॥

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

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

Thus मामस्तव स्वं समीक्ष्यागतः, मामो मम स्वं समीक्ष्यागतः; मामस्तुभ्यं दीयमानं समीक्ष्योगतः, मामो मह्यं दीयमानं समीक्ष्यागतः, मामस्त्वां समीक्ष्यागतः, मामो मां समीक्ष्यागतः ॥

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ विद्यमानपूर्वात्प्रथमान्तात्पश्चादुत्तरयोर्युष्मदस्मदोर्विभाषा वाभावाद्यो न भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ युष्मदस्मदो विभाषा अनन्वादेश इतिवत्त्वम् ॥

वा० ॥ सर्व एव वाभावाद्योऽन्वादेश विभाषा वक्तव्यः ॥

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

Thus मामे कम्बलस्ते स्वम् or मामे कम्बलस्तवस्वम् ॥ मामे कम्बलोमेस्वम् ॥ मामेकम्बलोममस्वम् ॥ मामेकम्बलस्तेदीयते ॥ मामे कम्बलस्तुभ्यं दीयते ॥ मामे कम्बलो मे दीयते ॥ मामे कम्बलो मह्यं दीयते ॥ मामे छात्रास्त्वा पश्यन्ति ॥ मामे छात्रास्त्वां पश्यन्ति ॥ मामे छात्रा मा पश्यन्ति ॥ मामे छात्रा मां पश्यन्ति ॥

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

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

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

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

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

तिडो गोत्रादीनि कुत्सनाभीक्ष्ण्ययोः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिडः, गोत्रादीनि, कुत्सन, आभीक्ष्ण्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिडन्त्यापराणि गोत्रादीनि कुत्सने आभीक्ष्ण्ये चार्थे वर्त्तमानानि अनुशान्तानि भवन्ति ॥

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

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

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

1 गोत्र, 2 ह्वय, 3 प्रवचन, 4 प्रहसन, 5 प्रकथन, 6 प्रत्ययन, 7 प्रपञ्च, 8 प्राच, 9 न्याय, 10 प्रचक्षण, 11 विचक्षण, 12 अवचक्षण, 13 स्वाध्याय, 14 भूयिष्ठ, 15 वा नाम (नाम वा) 16 प्रवचन, 17 प्रयजन,

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

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

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

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

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

तिङ्ङतिङ्ङः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङ्ङ, अतिङ्ङः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङ्ङन्तं पदमतिङ्ङन्तात्परात्परमनुदात्तं भवति ॥

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

Thus देवदत्तः पचति ॥ Why do we say "a finite verb"? Observe नीलघृतं लघु, शुक्लं वज्रम् ॥

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

न लुट् ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लुट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वजातिप्रसक्ते प्रतिषेध आरभ्यते । लुटन्तं तिङ्ङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

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

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

निपातैर्यद्यदिहन्तकुविन्नेश्चेष्टणकश्चित् यत्र युक्तम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ निपातैः, यद्, यदि, हन्त, कु विन्, नेत्, चेत्, चण, कश्चित्, यत्र, युक्तम् ॥

श्रुतः ॥ नेति वर्त्तते । यत् यदि हन्त कुविन् नेत् चेत् चण कश्चित् यत्र इत्येतेनपौतयुक्तं तिङन्तं नातुवाचं भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

नह प्रत्यारम्भे ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नह, प्रत्यारम्भे ॥

श्रुतिः ॥ नह इत्येतेन युक्ते प्रत्यारम्भे तिङन्तं नातुवाचं भवति ॥

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

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

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

सत्यं प्रश्ने ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्यम्, प्रश्ने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्यमित्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नातुदात्तं भवति प्रश्ने ॥

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

Thus सत्यं भोक्ष्यसे 'Truly will you eat? सत्यमध्येष्यसे ॥ Why do we say 'in questioning'? Observe सत्यं वक्ष्यामि नातृत्वं 'I shall tell the truth, not falsehood'. सत्यमिहा इत्वं वृत्तमिन्द्रं स्वयाम् ॥

अङ्गाप्रातिलोम्ये ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्ग, अप्रातिलोम्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्ग इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तमप्रातिलोम्ये गम्यमाने नातुदात्तं भवति ॥

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

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

हि च ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विइत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तमप्रातिलोम्ये नातुदात्तं भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

यावद्यथाऽयाम् ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावत्, यथाऽयाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्यथा इत्येताभ्यां युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्यथाभ्यां युक्तं उपसर्गव्यपेतं च पूजायां विषये नातुदात्तं न भवति किं तर्हि अनुदात्तमेव भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ तु पश्य पश्यत अह इत्येतैर्युक्तं तिङन्तं नातुदात्तं भवति पूजायां विषये ॥

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

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

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

Another example is आरुहं स्वधामनु पुनर्गन्धर्वोऽपि ॥

अहो च ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अहो, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहो इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नातुदात्तं भवति पूजायां विषये ॥

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

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

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

शेषे विभाषा ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहो इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं शेषे विभाषा नानुवाचं भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरा इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं परीप्सायामर्थे विभाषा नानुवाचं भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ ननु इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुवाचं भवति अनुज्ञैषणायां विषये ॥

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तिमित्येतत्क्रियाप्रश्ने वदा वर्त्तते तदानेन युक्तं तिङन्तमनुपसर्गमप्रतिषिद्धं नानुशास्य भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

लोपे विभाषा ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपे, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमो लोपे क्रियाप्रश्ने तिङन्तमनुपसर्गमप्रतिषिद्धं विभाषा नानुशास्य भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ एहिमन्ये इत्यनेन युक्तं लृटन्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति प्रहासे ॥

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

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

Why do we say "used derisively"? Observe एहि मन्यसे ओदनं भोक्ष्ये इति ; झुष्टु च मन्यसे, साष्टु च मन्यसे ॥

By sūtra VIII. 1. 51, *in fra*, after the Imperative एहि which is a verb of 'motion' (गत्यर्थ), the following First Future (लृट्) would have retained its accent. The present sūtra makes a niyama or restriction, namely that in connection with the Imperative एहि मन्ये, the लृट् is accented only then when 'derision' is meant and not otherwise. Thus the लृट् loses its accent here:— एहि मन्यसे ओदनं भोक्ष्ये ॥ The employment of the First Person in मन्ये in the sūtra is not intended to be taught: for by I. 4. 105, the verb मन् (मन्यते) takes the affix of the First Person instead of the second, when 'derision' is meant and not otherwise. When प्रहास is not intended, the proper personal affix of the Second Person is employed. The employment of the First Person ceases there also by this restrictive rule. Thus एहि मन्यसे ओदनं भोक्ष्ये ॥

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

जात्वपूर्वम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातु, अपूर्वम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातु इत्येतद्विद्यमानपूर्वं तेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

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

Thus आतु भोर्भवे, आतु अर्ध्वर्धे, आतु करिष्यामि । Here हे is anudatta by VI. 1. 186, as it is an sārvaadhātuka affix coming after an अनुपसङ्ग; the word आतु is first acute, as it is a Nipāta. Why do we say 'when not preceded by any other word'? Observe :—कटं आतु कुरिष्यति ॥ The word कटं is end-acute as it is a क्तिच् or noun.

किञ्चित् च चितुत्तरम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ किञ्चित्, च, चितुत्तरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किञ्चित् किञ्चित्, किञ्चित्महोपेन तद्धिभक्त्यन्तं प्रतीबाहुतरेणैव च मत्वसौ, तत्किञ्चित् चितुत्तर-
नविद्यमानपूर्वं बन्धेन जुक्तं तिङन्तं नानुशासं भवति ॥

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

The word किञ्चित् is a Genitive Tatpurusha meaning किञ्चित् ॥ The word किञ्चित् means any form of किञ् with its case-affixes, as well as the forms of क्तिच् when it takes the affixes उत्तर and उत्तम ॥ Thus कश्चिद् शुद्धं, कश्चिद् भोर्भवेति, कश्चिद् भधीते, केनचित् करोति, कस्मै चिद् ईशति, कतरश्चित् करोति, कतमश्चिद् शुद्धं ॥

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ निपातप्रतिषेधोनुपसङ्गे ॥ अपूर्वेभिति च ॥ आहो उताहो इत्येताभ्यामपूर्वाभ्यां जुक्तमनन्तरं तिङन्तं नानुशासं भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

शेषे विभाषा ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहो उताहो इत्येताभ्यां जुक्तं तिङन्तं नानुशासं शेषे विभाषा भवति ॥ कश्च शेषः बह्व्यस्यन्तपत् ॥

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

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

गत्यर्थलोटा लृणन्चेत्कारकं सर्वान्यत् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्यर्थ-लोटा, लृट्, न, चेत, कारकम्, सर्व-अन्यत् ॥

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

यत्रैव कारके कर्त्तरि कर्मणि वा लोट् तत्रैव यदि लृटपि भवतीत्यर्थः । कर्तृकर्मणी एवात्र तिङन्तवाच्य कारकमहणेन गृह्यते न करणानि कारकान्तरम् ॥

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

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

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

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

Why do we say 'After the Imperative'? Observe आगच्छ देवदत्तं ग्रामं, ब्रूयस्वनेन ॥ Here the Potential mood is used.

Why do we say the 'First Future'? Observe आगच्छ देवदत्तं ग्रामं, पृच्छसि एनम् ॥ Here the Present Tense is used.

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

भागच्छ देवदत्त मामं, पिता ते भोदनं मोक्षयेते ॥ उद्यन्तां देवदत्तेन शालयः, सक्तवस्तेन प्राप्स्यन्ते ॥ उद्यन्तां
is the Imperative of वृह 'to carry'.

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

लोट् च ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोट्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोटन्तं तिङन्तं गत्यर्थलोदा युक्तं नातुदात्तं भवति, न चेत्कारकं सर्वान्यद्भवति ॥

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

Thus भागच्छ देवदत्त मामं पश्य ॥ आत्तज विष्णुमिच मामं श्राधि ॥ आगम्यतां देवदत्तेन मामो दृश्यतां यज्ञदत्तेन ॥

But not here पच देवदत्तौदनं, मुहुरवेनम् because the first Imperative is not one of गत्यर्थं verb. Nor here, भागच्छेदेवदत्त मामं पश्येनम् because the first verb is not Imperative but Potential.

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

By the force of the anuvritti of सर्व the rule will apply to the following: भागच्छ देवदत्त मामं, स्वं चाहं च पश्यावः ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

हन्त च ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन्त, च, ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ आम उत्तरमेकपदान्तरमामन्त्रितान्तमनन्तिके नानुवर्त्तं भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितमित्येतदस्वरितत्वाद्भानुवर्त्तते ॥ तिङिति वर्त्ततएव ॥ बत्परं द्विपरं तुपरं च तिङन्तं छन्दसि भानुवर्त्ततं भवति ॥

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

The anuvṛitti of आमन्त्रितं should not be taken in this sūtra, but that of तिङ् ॥ Thus with बत्परं we have:--नवां गोचद्वसञ्चो बवाग्निः ॥ The verb बवत्सुञ्चः is the Imperfect (लृट्) 2nd person singular of वृञ् of Tudādi class. With हि we have, इन्द्रो वा दुर्वन्ति हि (Rig Ved. I. 2. 4). The verb वदन्ति is the Present (लृट्) Plural of वच् of Adādi class. The samprasāraṇa takes place because it belongs to गृह्यादि class. With तु we have, आख्यास्यामि तु ते ॥ By the previous sūtra VIII. 1. 30 a verb in connection with बत् would have retained its accent, so also in connection with हि by the sūtra VIII. 1. 34, and in connection with तु by VIII. 1. 39: the present sūtra is, therefore, a niyama rule. The verb retains its accent when these three Particles *only* follow and not any other. If any other Particle follows, the verb need not retain its accent. Thus आवि स्वा रोहवेहि ॥ Here रोहाव is the 1st Person Dual of the Imperative of रुह् (रुह् + चाप् + वस् = रोह +

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

चनच्चिद्विषगोत्रादितद्धिताम्नेडितेष्वगतेः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चन, चित्, इव, गोत्र-
आदि, तद्धित, आम्नेडितेषु, अगतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चन चित् इव गोत्रादि तद्धित आम्नेडित इत्येतेषु परतः अगतेरुत्तरं तिङन्तं नानुवाचं भवति ॥

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

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

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

With a doubled verb, as; देवदत्तः पंचति पंचति ॥

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

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

चादिषु च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ च, आदिषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चादिषु च परतः तिङन्तमगतः परं नानुवाचं भवति ॥

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

The चादि words are those mentioned in sūtra VIII. 1. 24. Thus देववच पचति च खौरति च, देववचः पचति वा खौरति वा, देववच पचति ह खौरति ह, देववचः पचति अह खौरत्यह, and देववचः पचत्येव खौरत्येव ॥

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

चवायोगे प्रथमा ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ च, वा, योगे, प्रथमा ॥

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

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ ह इत्यनेन युक्ता प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिर्नानुवर्त्तते भवति क्षियायां गम्यमानावाचम् ॥

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अह इत्यनेन युक्ता प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिर्नानुवर्त्तते भवति विनियोगे गम्यमाने चवाच्यत् क्षियायां च ॥

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

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

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

as स्वयमह रयेन याति ३, उपाध्यायं पदाति गमयति ॥ स्वयमहोरनं मुकुन्ते ३, उपाध्यायं सक्तुन् पाययति ॥ The prohibition of *nighdta* and prolation are as in the last aphorism.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ चलोपे अहलोपे च प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिर्नानुसारा भवति एवेत्येतदवधारणार्थं प्रयुज्यते ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ चाद्यो नचवाहाद्वैवयुक्तइति सूत्रनिर्दिष्टा गृह्यन्ते; तेषां लोपे प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिर्नानुसारा भवति विभाषा ॥

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

Thus with च लोपः—सुहृन् प्रीक्ष्यो भवन्ति or भवन्ति, श्वेता गा भाज्याय नुहन्ति ॥ Here भवन्ति optionally may either lose or retain its accent. So also when वा is elided, as:—प्रीक्षिभि र्भजेत or यजेत, यवे र्भजेत ॥ So also with the remaining.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ वैवाव इत्येवांशं युक्ता प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिर्विभाषा नानुसारा भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

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

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

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

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

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

Thus प्रजापिका ञिन्वति (or ञिन्वति), ऊर्जमेकारक्षति ॥ तयोरन्वः विप्लवं स्वार्षिति (or षुत्ति), मनमन्नन्वो अभिचाकशीति (Rig Veda I. 164. 20, Mundaka Upanishad III. 1).

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

यद्बृत्ताभित्यम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यत्, बृत्तात्, नित्यम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमा छन्दसीति निवृत्तं, निघातप्रतिषेध इत्येव ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ वयाकाम्ये वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

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

Thus यो मुहूर्त्ने, वे भोजयति, येन मुहूर्त्ने, बले वशाति, वत् कामास्ते जुहुर्नेः (Rig Veda X. 121. 10) ब्रह्मपद् वायुर्वीति (T. S. V. 5. 1. 1.) यद् वायुः पवते ॥ For the form ब्रह्मपद् see VI. 3. 92. Though the sūtra is in the Ablative (यद्बृत्तात्) and therefore requires that the verb should *immediately* follow it, yet in ब्रह्मपद् वायुर्वीति, the intervention of वायुः does not prevent the operation of this rule, according to the opinion of Patanjali.

Vart.—Optionally when the sense is that of 'wheresoever' or 'whensoever'. The word वयाकाम्ये means वयेच्छ 'as one wishes', without regard of time or space. The *nighāta* is prohibited here also. As वय वय चन वजते सद् देववजन एव वजते ॥

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

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

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

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

Thus काष्ठाध्यापकः, काष्ठाभिरूपकः, शारुणाध्यापकः, शारुणाभिरूपकः ॥

अमातापुत्र । अमातापुत्राध्यापकः । अमातापुत्राभिरूपकः । अयुताध्यापकः । अयुताभिरूपकः । अद्भुत । अद्भुताध्यापकः । अद्भुक्त । अद्भुक्ताध्यापकः । वृश । वृशाध्यापकः । घोर । घोराध्यापकः । सुखः । सुखाध्यापकः । परम । परमाध्यापकः । सु । स्वध्यापकः । अति । अत्यध्यापकः । द्यौः । द्यौरध्यापकः । द्यौरभिरूपकः । स्वध्यापकः । अपुत्र । अपुत्राध्यापकः । कल्याण । कल्याणाध्यापकः ॥

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

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

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

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

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

1 काष्ठ, 2 दारुण, 3 अनाज्ञात, 4 वेद्य, 5 अनाज्ञात, 6 अनुज्ञात, 7 अपुत्र, 8 अयुत, 9 अस्तुत, 10 अनुक्त, 11 अक्ष, 12 चोर, 13 ह्यक्ष्य, 14 परम, 15 सु, 16 भति, 17 कल्याण

सगतिरपि तिङ् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, गतिः, अपि, तिङ् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सगतिरपि तिङ् पृञ्नेभ्यः काष्ठादिभ्यः परं पूजितं तिङन्तमनुवाचं भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

कुत्सने च सुप्यगोत्रादौ ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुत्सने, च, सुपि, अगोत्रादौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पशविति निवृत्तम् ॥ सगतिरपि तिङ्गिति वर्त्तते ॥ कुत्सने च सुबन्ते गोत्रादिवर्जिते परतः सगतिरपि तिङ् अगतिरप्यनुवाचो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्रियाकुत्सने इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ पूतिश्च आनुबन्धो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ विभाषितं चापि बह्वर्थमनुवाचं भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

Kārikā सुपि कुत्सने क्रियाया मलोप इदोऽ तिङ्गीति चोक्तार्थे ॥

पूतिश्च आनुबन्धो विभाषितं चापि बह्वर्थम् ॥

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

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

Why do we say कुस्तेन 'denoting the fault of the action'? See पृच्छति शो-
भनम् ॥

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

Why do we say with the exception of गोचम् &c. See पृच्छति गोचम्, पृच्छति
ह्रस्वम्, पृच्छति प्रवचनम् ॥

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

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

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

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

गतिर्गतौ ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ गतिः, गतौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गतिर्गतौ परतोऽनुवाचो भवति ॥

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

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

तिङ् चोदात्तवति ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङ्, च, उदात्तवति ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ गतिरिति वर्त्तते ॥ तिङ्न्ते उदात्तवति परतो गतिरनुदात्तो भवति ॥

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

The word गतिः is understood here. Thus अत् प्र पचति, अत् प्रकरोति ॥

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितं पूर्वमविद्यमानवत्पचति, तस्मिन्वति अस्कार्थे तन्न भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यमानवत्त्वस्य प्रतिषेधः ॥ आमन्त्रितान्ते समानाधिकरणेपरतः पूर्वमामन्त्रितान्तं सामान्यवचनं नाविद्यमानवत्त्ववति ॥

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

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वोपाविद्यमानवचने प्रतिषिद्धे विकल्प उच्यते ॥ विशेषवचने समानाधिकरणे आम्बन्धितान्ते परतः पूर्वोपाविद्यमानं बहुवचनान्तं विभाषितमविद्यमानवद्भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

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



ओ३म् ।

अथ अष्टमाध्यास्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

BOOK EIGHTH.

CHAPTER SECOND.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वत्रासिद्धमित्यधिकार आ अध्यायपरिसमाप्तेः । अस्मिन् ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः पूर्वत्रासिद्धमित्येवं तद्वे-
दितव्यम् । तत्र येवं सपारसप्तमाध्यायानुक्रान्ता एतस्यामयं पादोऽनो ऽध्यायो ऽसिद्धो भवति । इत उन्तरं चोत्तरो-
त्तरो योगः पूर्वत्रपूर्वत्रासिद्धो भवति । असिद्धवद्भवति । सिद्धकार्यं न करोति इति अर्थः ॥ तदेतदसिद्धवचनं
आदेशलक्षणप्रतिषेधार्थं उल्लेखलक्षणभावार्थं च ॥

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

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

Similarly अद्युणै, अद्युण्णात्, अद्युण्मिन् from अद्यत् ॥ Thus अद्यत् + ङे = अद्य + ङे (VII. 2. 102 अ being substituted for the final ष्, which again merges in the

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

शुष्किका शुष्कजङ्घा च क्षामिमानौजडतया ।
मत्तैर्वस्त्रे मलां जम्ब्वं, शुडलिष्मामिदक्षेणम् ॥

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

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

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

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

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

40), the rule by which ध was changed to ढ (VIII. 4. 41), and the rule by which the first ढ was elided (VIII. 3. 13 as उह्+ढ=उ+ढ=ऊढ VI. 3. 111). The elision of ढि before णि being considered sthānivat, we reduplicate हत; as ऊहसढ+अह्+त्=ऊहढत् (VII. 4. 60)=ऊहढत् (VII. 4. 62)=ऊहढत् (VIII. 4. 54). There is no ह added by VII. 4. 79, because of the prohibition of अन्तर्लोपे of VII. 4. 93. With the augment, it becomes औजढत् ॥ The form औजिढत् is from उढि ending in the affix णिन् ॥

(5) शुडलिप्तात् ॥ This is formed by adding मत्तुप् to the word शुडलिह्, which is formed by क्तिप् (शुडं लोढि) Here also the म of मत्तुप् is not changed into ष by VIII. 2. 10; because the change of ह् to ष् (VIII. 1. 3), and again of ष् to ष are considered asiddha.

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

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

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

नलोपः सुप्स्वरसंज्ञातुग्धिषु कृति ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ न लोपः, सुप्-स्वर-संज्ञा-तुक्-धिषु, कृति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नलोपः पूर्ववासिञो भवति सुधिवधौ स्वरविधौ संज्ञाविधौ तुग्धिषु च कृति । विधिसम्बन्धं प्रत्येकमभिसंबन्धमानः स्वरसंज्ञातुक्तां विधेयत्वात् । कर्मपट्टीयुक्तैर्भावसाधनो ऽभिसंबन्धते । सुप्ता तु संबन्धसामान्यवचनपष्ठमन्तेन कर्मसाधनः । तेन सुपः स्थाने यो विधिः सुपि च परभूते सर्वोत्तौ सुधिवधिरिति सर्ववासिञत्वं भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Why do we say before a Kṛt-affix ? Observe वृत्तह्रन्तम, वृत्तह्रन्ताया ॥ Here तुक् is added by VI. 1. 73.

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

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

न मु ने ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, मु, ने, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुभावो नाभावे कर्त्तव्ये नासिद्धो भवति किं तर्हि सिद्ध एव ॥

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

वा० ॥ सिञ्जलोप एकारदेशे सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ निदादेशः षत्वस्वरप्रत्ययविधीक्षुषिषु सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ प्लुतविकारस्तु ग्विधौ छे सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ ह्यसुत्वं घुटि सिद्धं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ अभ्यासजइत्वचत्वे एत्वतुकोः सिद्धं वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ द्विर्वचने परसवर्णस्य सिद्धं वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ पञ्चाधिकारभेदस्वइत्वघत्वनस्वइत्वघत्वणस्वानुनासिकछत्वानि सिद्धानि वक्तव्यानि ॥

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

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

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

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

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

(3) आच्. As वृक्षविद्यच् or वृक्षविद्यच्, for the same reasons as above [वृक्षे + ज्ञे (anudatta) = वृक्षे VIII. 2. 5, वृक्षो + इवच्].

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Why is the root ह्युतिर् considered to begin with ष् and not with छ् as we find it written? Because had it been a root beginning with छ् originally, we could not get the form मधुक् which would have been मधुद् ॥ The form मधुक् is thus evolved. Thus मधु ह्योतति = मधुह्युत् by adding क्विप् ॥ From मधुह्युत् we form a Derivative root in णिच् in the sense of मधुह्युत्तमाचष्टे = मधुह्यवति ॥ Add again क्विप् to this Derivative root मधुञि, the णिच् will be elided, and we have मधुह्य, then ष् (which represents ष्) is elided because it is at the beginning of a compound letter (VIII. 2. 29), and छ् is elided, because it is at the

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

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

Vart.—The change of letter homogeneous with the subsequent is valid and siddha for the purposes of doubling. As सश्च्यन्ता, सश्च्यन्तः, अश्चोकम्, तश्चोकम् ॥ In सश्च्यन्ता &c the च् is changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 23, and the anusvāra is then changed to a letter homogeneous with the subsequent by VIII. 4. 58. Had the पश्चर्ण change been asidhha, there would have been no doubling by VIII. 4. 47.

Vart.—If there be the adhikāra of the word 'pada' in those sūtras which ordain the following changes, then those changes are considered siddha for doubling, namely, 1. लश्च the change into ल (VIII. 2. 21), 2. हश्च the change into ह (VIII. 2. 31), 3. घश्च the change in to घ (VIII. 2. 33), 4. नश्च the change into न (VIII. 2. 56), 5. रश्च the change to र (VIII. 2. 75), 6. वश्च the change to व (VIII. 3. 85), 7. जश्च the change to ज (VIII. 4. 11), 8. anunāsika change (VIII. 4. 45), 9. छश्च the change to छ (VIII. 4. 63).

As 1. गलो गलः ; गतोगरः ॥ 2. श्लोधा श्लोधा ॥ 3. श्लोडाश्लोडा ॥ 4. तुनो तुनः or तुनो तुनः ॥ 5. अभिनोऽभिनः or अभिनच् अभिनच् This is लह् second person singular of भिच्, the च् of सिच् is elided by VI. 1. 68, and the final न् changed optionally to ह् by VIII. 2. 74. The न् is the vikarana ञ्चम् ॥ 6. मातुः स्वसा मातुः स्वसा or मातुः स्वसा, मातुः स्वसा, 7. माषत्रापाणि माषत्रापाणि or माषत्रापानि माषत्रापानि ॥ 8. वाह् नयनम् वाह् नयनम् or वाग्नयनम् वाग्नयनम् ॥ 9. वाक् उच्छयनं वाक् उच्छयनं or वाक् उच्छयनं वाक् उच्छयनं ॥

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

All these can be explained by dividing the sūtra न च् न्ने into two. The first being न, and this negative will prohibit all asidhha-ness mentioned in the

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

उदात्तस्वरितयोर्यणः स्वरितो ऽनुदात्तस्य ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदात्त-स्वरितयोः,
यणः, स्वरितः, अनुदात्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तयणः स्वरितयणश्च परत्यानुदात्तस्य स्वरित आदेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

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

Ans:—This is considered as siddha by āśraya. (भाषयान् सिद्धयम्) ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

which combined with the preceding udâta vowel remains as a single substitute, becomes udâta. Thus for the udâta इ of अग्निं and for the case-ending औ which is anudâta, there is always substituted long ई single by VI. 1. 102. This single substitute will be udâta according to the present sūtra, as अग्नीं ॥ Similarly वाँ, वृक्षैः, वृक्षैः ॥

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

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

स्वरितो वा ऽनुदात्ते पदादौ ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितः, वा, अनुदात्ते, पदादौ ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्ते पदादौ उदात्तेन सह च एकादेशः स स्वरितो वा नवत्युदात्तो वा ॥

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

Thus अ + उत्थितः = सूँत्थितः or सूँत्थितः ; वि + ईक्षते = वीँक्षते or वीँक्षते; वसुकः + असि = वसुकोँसि or वसुकोँसि ॥ Here the word अ is a Karmapravachaniya by I. 4. 94, when it is compounded by प्रादिसमास with the Past Participle, the Avayayibhâva compound retains the accent of its first member (VI. 2. 2), and so it is acutely accented on the first, and the rest are anudâta. Thus the udâta ई of अ is compounded with the anudâta व् of उत्थितः which stands at the beginning of a Pada, and so the ekâdeśa is optionally svarita. In वीँक्षते and वसुकोँसि also the verbs ईक्षते and असि lose all accent by VIII. 1. 28 and so ई and अ become anudâta, which when compounded with वि and वसुक्ता become optionally svarita.

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

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रातिपदिकस्य पदस्य योन्यो नकारस्तस्य लोपो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्तो नलोपप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

न ङिसंबुद्धोः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ङि, सम्बुद्धोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हे परतः संबुद्धौ च नकारलोपो न भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

मादुपधायाश्च मतोर्बो ऽयवादिभ्यः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ म, आत्, उपधायाः, च, मतोः, वः, अ यवादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारान्ताद् मकारोपधाद्वर्णान्तादवर्णोपधाच्चोत्तरस्य मतोर्बो इत्ययमादेशो भवति यवादिभ्यस्तु परतो न भवति ॥

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

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

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

The following is the list of यवादि words.

1. यव, 2. हस्मि, 3. उर्मि, 4. धुमि, 5. कृपि, 6. कुष्पा, 7. वद्या, 8. प्राक्षा, 9. प्राक्षा ॥
These words either end in म and अ or have these as their penultimate.
10. धञि, 11. ध्वञि, 12. सञिञ्ज. These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 15. 13. हरित्,
14. ककुत्, 15 गरुत् ॥ These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 10. 16. इद्यु, 17. मद्यु, 18. हुम,
19. मण्ड, 20. धुम ॥ These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 11.

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

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

ज्ञयः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञयन्तादुत्तरस्य मतोर्व इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

As अग्निवित्त्वान् धामः, उदविवत्त्वान् घोषः, विशुष्वान् वलाहकः, इन्द्रो मरुत्त्वान्, एषद्वान् देवाः ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये मतोर्व इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

आसन्दीवति धान्यार्ं रुक्मिणं हरितस्रजम् ।

अह्यं बबन्ध सारङ्गं देवेभ्यो जनमेजयः ॥

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

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

उदन्वानुदधौ च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदन्वान्, उदधौ, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उदन्वानित्युक्कशब्दस्य मतादुदन्भावो निपात्यते उदधावर्ये संज्ञार्यां विषये ॥

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

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

राजन्वान्सौराज्ये ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजन्वान्, सौराज्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ राजन्वानिति निपात्यते, सौराज्ये गम्यमाने ॥

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

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

छन्दसीरः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, इ, रः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये इवर्णान्तात्रेफान्ताद्योत्तरस्य महोर्ध्वं भवति ॥

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

To take some examples of a stem ending in इ, as धिवती वाङ्मयानुवाक्या भवति; हरिचो मे इन् एवा; आधिपति वती जुहोति; अतुरग्निधानिव; आरेवानेतु मा विद्यात् (भारिवान् from रवि with vocalisation). सरस्वतीवान्, भारतीवान्, इधीर्वांशरुः ॥ As all rules have

optional force in the Chhandas, we have no change here सप्तर्षिमन्तम्, ऋषिमान्, ऋतीमान् मूर्धे ते व्यावापृथिवीमन्तं ॥ Of stems ending in र we have गीर्वाण्, धूर्वाण्, आशीर्वाण् ॥ अनो नुद् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, नुद् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसीति वर्तते ऽनन्तादुत्तरस्य मतोऽनुडागमो भवति छन्दासि विषये ॥

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

As अक्षण्वन्तः कर्णवन्तः सखायः; अस्यन्वन्तं यदनस्था विभक्ति (Rig. I. 164. 4), अक्षण्वता लाङ्गलेन; शीर्षण्वती, मूर्धन्वती ॥

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

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

नाद् घस्य ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नात्, घस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तादुत्तरस्य घसंज्ञकस्य नुडागमो भवति छन्दासि विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भूरिशावन् नुद्, वक्तव्यः ॥ वाः ॥ रथिन् ईकारान्तादेशो घे परतः ॥

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

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

Vårt:—The augment नुद् is added to these affixes after भूरिशावन्; as भूरिशावन्तरः (III. 2. 74, the affix is वनिप्).

Vårt:—Long ई is the substitute of the final of रथिन् before तर and तम ॥ The word रथिन् is formed by the affix इनि in the sense of मतुप् ॥ The final न् is first elided by VIII. 2. 7, and then for the short इ of रथि the long ई is substituted by the present vārtika. If the long ई were substituted for the final न् of रथिन् as रथिई + तर, then this long ई being asiddha, it could not be compounded by ekādeśa with the preceding इ into ई, and the form would always remain रथिईतरः ॥ As रथीतरः, and रथीतमं रथीनाम् ॥ Or this ई may be considered to have come after एय in the sense of मतुप् ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ कृपेर्ज्ञो रो रेफस्य लकारदेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कृपणकृपाणकृपीटकृपूरादयोपि कृपेरेव द्रष्टव्याः ॥

वा० ॥ बालमूलमधुसुरालमङ्गुलीनां वा रोऽन्मापद्यतइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ कपिलकाशीनां सज्ञाछन्दसोर्वा रो लमापद्यतइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

उपसर्गस्यायतौ ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप सर्गस्य, अयतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयतौ परत उपसर्गस्य यो रेऋस्तस्य लकार अ. र. रो भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

प्रो यङि ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रः, यङि ॥

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

20. ल् is substituted for the र् of गृ in the Intensive.

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

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

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

अचि विभाषा ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजातौ प्रत्यये परतो षो रेफस्य विभाषा लकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

Or the र् will be first changed to ल्, as being antarāṅga, and then the णि will be elided.

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ परि इत्येतस्य यो रेफस्तस्य घञ्छब्दे ऽङ्कशब्दे च परतो विभाषा लकार भादेशो भवति ॥

वर्तिकम् ॥ योगं चोति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

As परिषः or पलिषः, पर्यङ्कः or पल्यङ्कः ॥ The word च here means the word-form च, and not the technical च of तरप् and तमप् ॥ See III. 3. 84 by which ह्न् is replaced by च ॥

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

संयोगान्तस्य लोपः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संयोगान्तस्य, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगान्तस्य पदस्य लोपो भवति ॥

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

As गोमान्, यवमान्, कृतवान् and हतवान् ॥ In श्रेयान्, भूयान्, the इ though subsequent in order, does not prevent the operation of this rule, because it is asiddha (VIII. 2. 66). Thus श्रेयस् + स् = श्रेयन्स् + स् (VII. 1. 70), = श्रेयन्त् (VI. 1. 68) = श्रेयन्र् (VIII. 2. 66) = श्रेयन् (VIII. 2. 23) = श्रेयान् (VI. 4. 8). But though the इत्त्व does not debar lopa, it debars the ञश् change. By VIII. 2. 39, the final स् required to be changed to a letter of ञश् class; इ prevents it. As यद्यः, पयः ॥

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

In इष्यन् and मध्यन् formed from इधि + भञ् and मधु + भञ्, by changing इ and उ to ष् and ष्, we have इष्य् + भञ् and मध्य् + भञ्, where ष् and ष् are final in a pada, and so they require to be elided. It is, however, not done, because ष्ण् substitution is a Bahiranga operation, as it depends upon two words and consequently, is considered asiddha for the purposes of this rule, which depends on one word only.

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

रात्सस्य ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात् , सस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगान्तपरस्य यो रेफस्तस्मादुत्तरस्यान्यस्य सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

धि च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ धि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धकारादौ प्रत्यये परतः सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

Kārikā:—धि सकारे सिचो लोपश्चकाङ्गीति प्रयोजनम् ।

भाषार्थं तु कथं ज्ञात्वं सकारस्य भविष्यति ॥

सर्वमेवं प्रसिद्धं स्याच्छ्रुतिश्चापि न विद्यते ।

लृङ्भाषापि न मूर्धन्ये ग्रहणं सेटि दुष्यति ॥

यसिभसोर्न सिध्येत तस्मात्सिङ्ग्रहणं न तत् ।

छान्दसो वर्णलोपो वा बधेष्कर्त्तारमन्त्रे ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The above discussion is summarised in the following

Kārikā:—विसर्कारे सिचौलोपचक्राद्धीति प्रयोजनम्, “This rule is confined to the elision of the स् of सिच् only, for the sake of preserving the स् in चक्राद्धि” ॥

आशाध्वं तु कथं? जश्त्वं सकारस्व भाविष्यति ॥ “How then do you form आशाध्वं by the elision of स्? The स् is not elided but changed to a जश् letter”.

सर्वमेवं प्रसिद्धं स्याच्, छुति अपि न विद्यते । लुङ्भापि न मूर्धन्ये ग्रहणं सेटि दुष्यति ॥ “ If this be so, then let जश् come every where, for there is no difference in sound, moreover this will shorten VIII. 3. 78 by omitting the word लुङ् from it. The जश् cannot come every where, as the difficulty will be in सेद् Aorist”. यदि भर्त्तारं सिञ्चेत्, तस्मात् सिच् ग्रहणं न तत् । “ The forms सग्धिः and बह्यां could not be formed

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

छान्त्सो वर्णलोपो वा ययेष्कर्त्तरिभ्यरे " The elision of स् in सन्धिः and वृद्धां will be explained as a Vedic anomaly, for letters are often dropped in Vedic forms, as in इष्कर्त्तरिभ्यरे instead of निष्कर्त्तरिभ्यरे ॥"

झलो झलि ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ झलो, झलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झल उकारस्य सकारस्य झलि परतो लोपो भवति ॥

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

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

Why do we say 'of a *jhal* consonant'? Observe अमत्त and अमत्त्वाः ॥ Why do we say followed by a *jhal* consonant? Observe अभिस्त्वात्ताम्, अभिस्त्वात् ॥

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

ह्रस्वाद्ङ्गात् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वात्, अङ्गात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वान्तावङ्गादुच्चरस्य सकारस्यलोपो भवति झलि परतः ॥

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

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

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

इट ईदि ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इटः, ईदि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इट उकारस्य सकारस्य लोपो भवति ईदि परतः ॥

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

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

sūtra, this स् between ह् and ई is dropped, and we have अलावीत्; so also, अषावीत्, असेवीत्, अकोषीत्, अमोषीत् ॥

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

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

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

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

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

गिरौऽभोधिरिष्टरां च ह्यस्यः काष्ठसक्स्थिरः । कृञ्वाद्युयेति ना स्त्वेषु सत्स्वानीनि भवन्त्विति ॥

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

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

Why do we say "of स् and क्" ? Observe नर्नस्ति, वर्नस्ति ॥

Why do we say 'initial in a conjunct consonant' ? Observe पयः सक् ॥

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

चोः कुः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ चोः, कुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्गस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति झलि परतः पदान्ते च ॥

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

Thus वक्त, वक्तु, वक्तव्य and वीहनपक् from वच् ॥ Similarly वक्त, वक्तव्य, वक्तव्य and वाक् ॥

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

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

हो ढः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, ढः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इकारस्य इकारदेशो भवति इति परतः पदाने च ॥

31. ङ is substituted for ह् before a jhal letter and at the end of a word.

Thus सोढ, सोढु, सोढव्य ॥ The इद् is not added by VII. 2. 48, अलापाद्, दुरापाद् by ङि (III. 2. 63, VI. 3. 137 and VIII. 3. 56) षोढ, षोढु, षोढव्य, प्रषपाद्, वियपाद् (III. 2. 64) from सङ् and वङ्, with the affixes न्, तु, त्तिन् and ङि ॥ For the न् of these affixes there is substituted ङ by VIII. 2. 40, and this ङ is changed to ह् by VIII. 4. 41, before which is dropped the first ह् by VIII. 3. 13. For the ह् in प्रषपाद् either ङ is substituted by VIII. 2. 39, or ह् by VIII. 4. 56.

दादेर्धातोर्घः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्-आदेः, धातोः, घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इकारदेशोर्हकारस्य इकारदेशो भवति इति परतः पदाने ॥

32. Of a root beginning with ङ, the च् is substituted for ह्, before a jhal letter or when final in a Pada.

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

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

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

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

वा द्रुहमुह्णुह्णिहाम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, द्रुह, मुह, ण्युह, णिहाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ न्ह द्रुह ण्युह णिह इत्येतेषां धातूनां इकारस्य वा यकारदेशो भवति शलि परतः पदान्ते च ॥

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

Thus द्रुहः, शोढा Or शोग्धा, निजधुक्, निजधुद्, दृह, उन्मोग्धा, उन्मोगा, उन्मुक्, उन्मुद्, द्रुह, उन्मोग्धा, उन्मोगा, उन्मुक्, उन्मुद्, शिह, शोग्धा, शोढा, शिक्, शिद् ॥

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

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

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

नहो धः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नहः, धः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नहो हकारस्व धकारादेशो भवति झलि परे पदान्ते च ॥

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

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

आहस्थः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आहः, थः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहो हकारस्व थकारादेशो भवति झलि परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हमहो भेदछन्वति हस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

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

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

Vart.— In the Chhandas, न् is substituted for the ह् of ह् and मह् ॥ Thus नर्हमेन संभरति; नहस्व गृण्णाति; सामिधेन्वो अभिरे, उद्दामञ्च निमामञ्च ब्रह्म देवा भवीवृधन् ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रश्च भ्रस्ज सृज वृज यज राज भाज इत्येतेषां छकारान्तानां शकारान्तानां च शकार आदेशो भवति झलि परतः पदान्ते च ॥

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

Thus ब्रश्चः—ब्रटा, ब्रहुम्, ब्रष्टव्यम् मूलवृद् ॥ भटा । भहुम् । भष्टव्यम् । धानावृद् । सृञ् । सटा । सहुम् । सष्टव्यम् । रज्जुसृद् । वृज । मार्या । मार्युम् । मार्यव्यम् । कंसपरिवृद् । यज । यटा । यहुम् । यष्टव्यम् । उपयद् । राज् । सभाद् । स्वराद्, विराद्, विभाद् ॥ The छ ending words would have been changed to जश्-letters and the others to Gutturals; this sūtra debars that by ordaining वृ ॥ In मूलवृद् and धानावृद् there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 16, the सृ is elided by VIII. 2. 19, and च becomes जश्-letter ज्, which becomes र् by VIII. 4. 56. The word शब्दमाद् is formed by विशप्, there is lengthening and no vocalisation.

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

Of roots ending in छ we have मण्डः—मटा, महुम्, मष्टव्यम्, शब्दमाद् ॥ According to one view, the letter छ should not be mentioned in this sūtra: for by VI. 4. 19, छ is always changed to च, and this च will be changed to ष by the present sūtra. Others hold, that the change of छ to च by VI. 4. 19 is confined before क्तिन् or ङिन् affixes, and therefore the mention of छ is necessary in this sūtra; moreover the ष substitution here, and the सृ substitution in VI. 4. 19. refer to the conjunct letter ञ्छ (with the augment तुक्). For if it were not so, then छ alone being changed to च, the त् of तुक् would be changed to इ, and we should have पृट्टः instead of पृष्टः ॥

Of roots ending in झ we have लिङ्—लेटा, लेहुम्, लेष्टव्यम्, लिद्; विश्—वेटा, वेहुम्, वेष्टव्यम्, विद् ॥

एकाचो बशो मष् झषन्तस्य रुध्वोः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक-अचः, बराः, मष्, झष-अन्तस्य, स्र, ष्वोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोपस्ययो य एकाच् झषन्तः तदपस्यस्य बसः स्थाने मष् आदेशो भवति झलि सकारे ष्वस्ये च परतः पदान्ते च ॥

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

Thus from ब्रुष्—भोत्स्यन्ते, मभुष्यन् and मर्यसुन्; from सुह्—नि घोक्षते ग्यसुहुन्, पर्णसुद् ॥ सुह् becomes सुह् by VIII. 2. 31, and thus it is a root ending in. jhash.

From दुह्—(which becomes दुष् by VIII. 2. 32, and thus is a jhash ending root) धोश्चते अनुष्चन्, गोष्चुक् ॥

So also from गृष् we have अजर्षाः the 2nd Person. Sing. Imperfect (लृट्) Intensive (yañ luk). There is guṇa of ष, the च् (of सिप् 2nd Pers. Sing.) is elided (VI. 1. 68), and we have अजर्षर्षि, and for the letter ण of the monosyllabic root, ष is substituted by the present aphorism. अजर्षर्षि ॥ Then the final ष् is changed to ह्, अजर्षर्षि (VIII. 2. 39). Then ह् is changed to र् by VIII. 2. 75, अजर्षर्षि ॥ Then the first र् is elided अजर्षर्षि (VIII. 3. 14). Then there is lengthening by VI. 3. III, and we have अजर्षाः ॥

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

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

Why do we say “for a षच् letter”? Observe कुष्—क्रोस्वति here क is not changed to ष ॥ Why do we say ending in jhash? Observe शस्वति ॥ Why before स and ष्व? Observe बोद्धा, बोद्ध्यन्, बोद्धव्यन् ॥

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ दध इति दधातिः कृतद्विधचनो निर्दिश्यते । तस्य झलन्तस्य दधः स्थाने भष् आदेशो भवति तकार-
थकारयोः परतन्त्रकारान् स्थोत्र परतः ॥

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

The word दध is taken in the sūtra as the reduplicated form of धा दधाति and not the root दध धारणे of Bhuādi class, as दध् intervenes there. By the word च् we draw in the words स and ष्व ॥ Thus धत्तः, धत्था, धत्त, धत्स, धत्सम् ॥ By the express injunction of this sūtra, the elided अ is not

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

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

The word jhash is understood here also, therefore the rule applies to इष then only, when it assumes the form of इष्, by the elision of इ; and hence not here इधाति ॥

झलां जशोन्ते ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ झलां, जशः, अन्ते ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ झलां अद्य आदेशो भवन्ति पद्यन्ते वर्त्तमानानाम् ॥

39. A corresponding ज, ष, ग, ड or ढ is substituted for all consonants (with the exception of semivowels and nasals) at the end of a word.

As षात् अन्, श्लिङ् अन्, अग्निचिद् अन्, निदुष् अन् ॥ The word श्लिङ् is formed by changing the इ of लिङ् to ङ first, and then changing this ङ to ङ, a jaś-letter.

The word अन्त 'at the end' is used in the sūtra to indicate that the anuvṛtti of झलि ceases. Thus वस्ता, वस्तुम्, वस्तव्यम् ॥

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

झषस्तथोर्द्धो ऽधः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ झषः, त-योः, धः, अधः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ झष उच्चरयोस्तकारयकारयो स्थाने धकार आदेशो भवति ॥

40. ध is substituted for त or थ coming after झ, भ, घ, ढ or थ (jhash), but not after the root धा (ध) ॥

Thus from लम् we have लब्धा, लब्धुम्, लब्धव्यम्, अलब्ध, अलब्धाः ॥

The ष् of लम् is changed to ध by VIII. 4. 53. From दुहः—दोग्धा, दोग्धुम्, दोग्धव्यम्, अदुग्ध, अदुग्धाः ॥ The इ is changed to ध by VIII. 2. 32, and then it is changed to ग by VIII. 4. 53.

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

From बुध्—बोद्धा, बोद्बुन्, बोद्धव्यन्, अद्बुज्, अद्बुजाः ॥ For the ङ of बुध् there is substituted ढ by VIII. 4. 53.

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारदकारयोः ककारदेशो भवति सकारे परतः ॥

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

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ रफरकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकार आदेशो भवति । पूर्वस्य चरकारस्य ॥

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

After रः—आस्तीर्णम्, विस्तीर्णम्, विधीर्णम्, निगीर्णम्, अवगुर्णम् ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगविधौ धातुराकारान्तो षण्वात् तस्मादुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

ल्व्वादिभ्यः ॥ ४४ ॥ षण्वादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लृप् छेदने इत्येतत्प्रवृत्ति वृ वरण इति यावत् वृस्कारणेन समापिता ल्वाद्यो गृह्यन्ते । तेभ्य उत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ऋकारस्वादिभ्यः सिद्धिर्निष्ठातकारस्य वृत्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ दुग्धोर्दीर्घाद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ पूमा विनाद्यति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ सिनेतिर्मासकर्मकर्तृकत्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

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

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

Vart:—After a root ending in ऋ or ॠ and after a root of Luādi class, the त्त of the affix क्तिन् is changed to न्, like as in Nishṭhā. Thus कीर्णः, गीर्णः, शीर्णः, लूनिः, पूनिः ॥ These are from कृ (IX. 26), गृ (IX. 28), शृ (IX. 18), लृ and पूम् ॥

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

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

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

when not used in this sense, we have सित्ता पाद्येन सूकरी ॥ Moreover, the घास must be the object and not the subject of the verb. Therefore not here: सित्तो घासो देवदत्तेन ॥

ओदितश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओदितः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओकारेण धातो रुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

45. The त्त of Nishṭhâ is changed to न्, after a root, which has an indicatory ओ in the Dhâtupâṭha.

Thus ओलङ्गी—लङ्गः, लङ्गवान्, ओषिङी—उङ्गिन्ः, उङ्गिन्गवान् ॥ ओप्यायी वृद्धोः—आपीनः, आ पीनवान् ॥

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

क्षियो दीर्घात् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षियः, दीर्घात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षियो धातोर्दीर्घानुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

46. The त्त of Nishṭhâ is changed to न्, after क्षि, when the root-vowel is lengthened.

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

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

The root क्षि includes the two roots क्षि क्षये and क्षि निवासगलौः ॥ As क्षितः कामो मया ॥ See also the commentary of Sâyana on अक्षितोतिः सनेहिमं वाज्जिमिन्द्रः सशुक्षिभं ॥ (Rig I. 5. 9).

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

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ इया-तेरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्यास्पर्शे नकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्चतेरुत्तरपरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति न चेषपादानं तच्च भवति ॥

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

Thus समक्री शकुनेः पादौ = सङ्गतौ; तस्मात् पशवो न्यक्ताः ॥

Why do we say 'when not in construction with an Ablative case'?

Observe उदन्तशुद्धकं कृपात् = उद्धृतं 'drawn out'.

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विष उदारस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति अविजिगीषायामर्थे ॥

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

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

Thus आशूनः, = भौशरिकः, परिशूनः = क्षीणः ॥ Why do we say. "when it does not mean to play"? Observe द्यूतं वर्तते ॥ Here the throwing of dice is with the desire of winning or gaining victory (vijigishā) over the opponent.

निर्वाणो ऽघाते ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ निर्वाणः, अ-घाते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वाण इति निस्पृहातेरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारो निपात्यते । न चेद्घाताधिकरणो वाख्यर्थो भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

शुष्ः कः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुष्ः, कः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शुषेर्जातोरुत्तरस्व निष्ठातकारस्व ककारदेशो भवति ॥

51. क is substituted for the Nishṭhâ त् after the root शुष् ॥

As शुष्कः, शुष्कवान् ॥

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

52. घ is substituted for the Nishṭhâ त् after the root पच् ॥

As पक्वः, पक्ववान् ॥

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

53. म is substituted for the Nishṭhâ त् after the root क्षे ॥

Thus क्षानः, क्षामवान् ॥

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

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

Thus प्रस्तीमः or प्रस्तीतः, प्रस्तीमवान् or प्रस्तीतवान् ॥ In the second alternative when न does not come, we first vocalise the root स्था into स्ती, and then add त् ॥ Had Samprasâraṇa not taken place first, then the Nishṭhâ त् would have been changed to न after स्था by VIII. 2. 43. But when samprasâraṇa is

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

अनुपसर्गात्फुल्लक्षीबकशोल्लाघाः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुपसर्गात्, फुल्ल-क्षीब-कश-उल्लाघाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फुल्ल क्षीब कश उल्लाघ इत्येते निपास्वन्ते न अनुपसर्गादुत्तरा भवन्ति ॥
वाचिकम् ॥ उल्फुल्लसंफुल्लयोऽिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

The word फुल्ल is derived from the root म्रिकला विचरणे the ल is changed to ल् ॥ The change of म् to उ (VII. 4. 88) and the want of इद् augment (VII. 2. 16) are regular. The same change takes place before क्तवत् also, as फुल्लवान् ॥

The affix ल् is elided after the roots क्षीब्, कृष् and उल्-ल्लाप्, and the augment इद् is prohibited; this is the irregularity in क्षीबः, कृष्ः and उल्लाघः ॥

Why do we say when not preceded by a Preposition? Observe प्रफुल्लः सुगमसः, प्रक्षीबितः, प्रकृषितः, प्रोल्लाघितः ॥ In the case of ल्लाप्, prepositions other than उल् are prohibited.

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

Vart.—The forms उल्फुल्लः and संफुल्लः should be enumerated. Here ल् is changed to ल, though the root has taken a Preposition.

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

रुद्विदोन्द्राघ्राहीभ्यो अन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुद, विद्, उन्द, द्रा, घ्रा, हीभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुद विद् उन्द द्रा घ्रा ही इत्येतेभ्य उकारस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकार आदेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

Kārikā:—वेत्तेल्लु विदितो निष्ठा विद्यतेर्विन्न इष्यते ।

विन्तेर्विन्नश्च विन्तश्च भोगे विन्नश्च विन्त्ये ॥

56. The Nishṭhā ल् may optionally be changed to न, after रुद, विद्, उन्द, द्रा, घ्रा, ही ॥

Thus रुन्नः or रुत्तः, विन्नः or वित्तः, सधुन्नः or सधुत्तः, चाणः or चात्तः, प्राणः or प्रात्तः, हीणः or हीत्तः ॥

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

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

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

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

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

Thus ध्यातः, ध्यातवान्, ख्यातः, ख्यातवान्, पूर्यः, पूर्यवान्, मूर्च्छ्यः, मूर्च्छ्यवान्, मत्तः, मत्तवान् ॥

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

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

वित्तो भोगप्रत्यययोः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वित्तः, भोग, प्रत्यययोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वित्त इति विदेलभार्यादुत्तस्य क्तस्य नत्वाभावो निपात्यते भोगे प्रत्ययं चाभिधेये ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ऋणमाधमर्षे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋणम्, आधमर्षे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऋणमिति ऋणस्येत्स्नास्तातोस्तस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारो निपात्यते आधमर्षविषये ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

नसत्तनिषत्तानुत्तप्रतूर्त्सूर्त्तगूर्त्तानि छन्दसि ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नसत्त, निषत्त, अनुत्त, प्रतूर्त्, सूर्त्, गूर्त्तानि, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नसत्त निषत्त अनुत्त प्रतूर्त् सूर्त् गूर्त् इत्येतानि छन्दसि विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

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

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

क्विन्प्रत्ययस्य कुः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्विन्, प्रत्ययस्य, कुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्यति वर्त्तते । क्विन्प्रत्ययस्य सर्वत्र पदान्ते कुत्वमिष्यते । क्विन्प्रत्ययो बस्माज्जातोः स क्विन्प्रत्ययः, तस्य पदस्यालोन्त्यस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

Thus the roots कृ and हृ take क्तिन् to form कृक् and हृक् nouns by III. 2. 59, 60. The guttural change will take place even when these roots are declined as verbs: as, मानो भस्नाक् मानो भस्नाक्, where भस्नाक् and भस्नाक् are the Aorist of कृञ् and हृञ् ॥ The augment भद् is not elided, though the ना is added (VI. 4. 75) as a Vedic diversity. The ईद् augment also does not take place as a Vedic irregularity. The augment भम् is added by VI. 1. 58, and the vowel is lengthened by Vṛiddhi by VII. 2. 3. Thus भद् + कृञ् + सिञ् + तिप् = भस्नाक् (VI. 1. 58) = भस्नाक् (VII. 2. 3 and VIII. 2. 62). Other wise it would have been क् by VIII. 2. 36. So also in हम्भां, हग्निः, the ह् is changed to a guttural, though the noun हृञ् is a क्तिप् formed noun and not formed by क्तिन्; and this is so, because the verb हृञ् does take क्तिन् also.

Obj. If this be so, there ought to be guttural change in रञ्जुसृञ्भां from the root सृञ् with क्तिप्? Ans. The guttural change however is not desired here.

In gutturalisation, ज्ञ is changed to ग, and ञ् to ञ, which both become क by वाचसाने (VIII. 4. 56)

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

63. The final of नश् at the end of a word is optionally changed to a guttural.

The word परस्य is understood here also. As सा वै जीवनगाहृतिः (Maitr. S. I. 4. 13): or सा वै जीवनगाहृतिः ॥ According to Pro. Bohtlingk this latter form is not found in the Samhitā.

Here the root नश् has taken क्तिप् in denoting 'condition or state'; by considering it as belonging to संप्रसारि class.

जीवस्य नाशः = जीवनक् or जीवनद् ॥ The gutturalisation optionally debars the ञ change of VIII. 2. 36. When the ञ change takes place, this ञ is changed to ह् by VIII. 2. 39 and VIII. 4. 56.

मोनो धातोः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मः, नः, धातोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मकारान्तस्य धातोः परस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनुनासिकस्य किङ्गलोः क्वितीतिरीधस्य ॥

64. न is substituted, at the end of a word, for the final म of a root.

As प्रघ्नान्, प्रह्नान्, प्रघ्नान् ॥ These are formed by adding क्तिप् to the roots घ्नन्, ह्नन् and ष्न् ॥ The lengthening takes place by VI. 4. 15. The न् being considered as asiddha is not elided.

Why do we say "of न-ending roots"? Observe मित्, छित् ॥

Why do we say "of a root"? Observe ह्रस्व, क्तिप् ॥

The word पदस्य is understood here also. So we have प्रतानो, प्रतानः where म is not at the end of a word.

म्बोश्च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ म्, घोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारान्तस्य परतः मकारान्तस्य धातोर्नकारदेशो भवति ॥

65. न is substituted for the म of a root before the affixes beginning with म and च ॥

As अगन्म, अगन्म the Imperfect of गम्, as in the sentence अगन्म तमसः पारम् ॥ The षप् is elided as a Vedic diversity. So also अगन्वान् with अयसु, the augment इद् is not added by the option allowed, owing to VII. 1. 68. This sūtra applies to those cases where the म is not at the end of a word, as it was in the last sūtra.

ससञ्जुषो रुः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, सञ्जुषोः, रुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारान्तस्य पदस्य सञ्जुष् इत्यंतस्य च रुर्भवति ॥

66. For the final स् and for the ष् of सञ्जुष् is substituted रु, at the end of a word.

Thus अग्निरत्न, वायुरत्न ॥ So also सञ्जूर्कविभिः, सञ्जूर्वेभिः ॥ सञ्जुष् is derived from जुष् with the affix क्विप् and the preposition सह which is changed to स in Bahuvrihi. The lengthening takes place by VIII. 2. 76. and the word means संप्रीतिः ॥ The रु is र्, but it should be distinguished from it. This secondary र् (or रु) undergoes a distinct and separate Sandhi change from that of the primary र् ॥

अवयाः श्वेतवाः पुरोडाश्च ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवयाः, श्वेतवाः, पुरोडाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवयाः श्वेतवाः पुरोडाः इत्येते निपात्यन्ते ॥

67. The same substitution takes place for the final of the Nominatives of अवयाः, श्वेतवाः and पुरोडाः ॥

The word अवयाः is from अव + यञ् ; श्वेतवाः from श्वेत + वह् and पुरोडाः from पुरस् + दाष् ॥ The affix ण्विन् is added to the two latter by III. 2. 71. The word अवयाञ् is also formed by ण्विन् (III. 2. 72). Thus the three words श्वेतवाह्, पुरोडाह् and अवयाञ् are formed. These words take the affix इत् before the Pada-terminations (See Vārtika to III. 2. 71). After having taken इत्, the above forms अवयाः &c., are made in Nominative singular irregularly.

Why is this nipātana, when रु would have come by the last sūtra and the lengthening would have taken place by VI. 4. 14, of the words अवयस्, श्वेतवस् and पुरोडस्? They are so exhibited here, for making them long in the Vocative singular also. For they could not have been lengthened in the Vocative singular, because VI. 4. 14 does not apply to it. Thus हे अवयाः, हे श्वेतवाः, हे पुरोडाः ॥

The word च shows that other forms, not enumerated, may also be included here under. As हे उक्थयाः ॥

अहन् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहनित्येतस्य परस्य रुर्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अहो रविधौ रूपरात्रिरथन्तरेषूपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

68. ह is also substituted for the न् of अहन् at the end of a Pada.

Thus अहोभ्याम्, अहोभिः ॥ The sūtra exhibits the form अहन् without the elision of न्, in order to indicate that there is not elision of न् ॥ As दीर्घाहो, निराचः, हे दीर्घाहोऽचेति ॥ See Vārtika to VIII. 2. 7. The न् of अहन् is not changed to र् in the sūtra by VIII. 2. 69, because it is intended to show the word-form अहन् ॥ The Nominal stem is Pada in the above examples by I. 4. 17.

Vārti:—Before the words रूप, रात्रि and रथन्तर, the न् of अहन् is changed to र् ॥ As अहोरूपम्, अहोरात्रः, अहोरथन्तरं साम ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 2. 69. Others say, that this र् change takes place *universally* before all words beginning with रं; as अहो रन्ध्रम्, अहो रत्नानि ॥

रोऽसुपि ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ रः, अ-सुपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहनित्येतस्य रेफादेशो भवत्यसुपि परतः ॥

69. When no case-ending follows (i. e. at the end of a Pada in the narrower sense), र् is substituted for the न् of अहन् ॥

Thus अहर्हवति, अहर्हृक्ते ॥ Why do we say 'when no case-ending follows'? Observe अहोभ्याम्, अहोभिः ॥ Here ह-called र् replaced the final न् of अहन् ॥ The difference between this ह-called र् and the ordinary र् is illustrated in the above set of examples. The ह-called र् is changed to ह् by VI. 1. 113, the ordinary र् is not so changed.

Obj. In अहर्हवति and अहर्हृक्ते the case-ending is elided after अहन्, and so by Pratyaya - lakṣhaṇa, we may say that there is a case - ending here also ? Ans. This is not so, because of the following maxim अहो रविधौ लुपता लुप्ते प्रत्यय लक्षणं न भवति ॥ The rule of pratyaya lakṣhaṇa does not apply to the substitution of र् for the final of अहन् when the affix has been elided by लृक् or लुप्. Therefore, this अहन् is not considered to be followed by लुप् or case-affix. But where an affix is elided by using the word लोप, there the rule of Pratyaya - lakṣhaṇa does apply to अहन् ॥ As हे दीर्घाहोऽच, हे दीर्घाहो निराच. (VIII. 2. 7). Here the affix is elided by using the word 'lopa' by VI. 1. 68.

अन्नरुधरवरित्युभयथा छन्दसि ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्नस्, ऊधस्, अवस्, इति उभयथा, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्नस् रुधस् अवस् इत्येतेषां छन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि भाषायां च विभाषा प्रचेतसो राजन्युपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ अहरादीनां पत्यादिभूपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

70. In the Chhandas, both ह and र are substituted for the final of amnas, ūlhas, and avas.

Thus अन्न एव or अन्नरेव, ऊध एव or ऊधरेव; अन्न एव or अन्नरेव ॥ When ह is substituted for the finals, this ह is replaced by र by VIII. 3. 17, which is elided by VIII. 3. 19. The word अन्नस् means 'a little', and अन्नस् 'protection'.

Vārt :—ह and र both replace the final of प्रचेतस् before राजन्, in the Vedic as well as in the secular language. As प्रचेता राजन् (VIII. 3. 14, VI. 3. 111) प्रचेतौ राजन् ॥

Vārt :—The words अहर् &c before पति &c should be enumerated. That is, the finals of अहर् &c are replaced by ह or र before पति &c. As अहर्पतिः or अहरः पतिः or अहः पतिः; अहर्पुत्रः, अहर्पुत्रः, अहः पुत्रः, गीर्पतिः, गीः पतिः, गी × पतिः; धूर्पतिः, धूः पतिः; धू × पतिः ॥ Here र is substituted for the final र् of अहर् &c, which at first sight may appear superfluous. But it is so ordained, in order to prevent the visarga change of this र ॥

भुवश्च महान्याहृतेः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, चः, महाव्याहृतेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भुवस् इत्येतस्य महाव्याहृतेः छन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति ॥

71. In the Chhandas, ह and र may replace the final of the word भुवस् when used as a mahā-vyāhṛiti.

Thus भुवस्त्वित्तरिक्षम् or भुव इत्यन्तरिक्षम् ॥ The mahā-vyāhṛitis are three, used generally before the famous Gāyatri mantra. They denote respectively the earth, the firmament and the heaven. भुवस् is an Indeclinable and a Vyāhṛiti denoting the firmament. The other two are भूः and स्वः ॥

Why do we say when it is a mahā-vyāhṛiti? Observe भुवो विश्वेषु भुवनेषु यज्ञियः ॥ Here भुवः is a verb, 2nd Pers. Singular, Imperfect (लृट्) of the root भू, without guṇa of the root, and the अद् augment is not added as a Vedic diversity.

वसुसंसुध्वस्वननुहा दः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसु, संसु, ध्वसु, अननुहाम्, दः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तशुभोरुत्थितः स इति वर्त्तते । वस्वन्तस्य परस्य सकारान्तस्य संसु ध्वसु अननुह इत्येतेषां च वकारोदेशो भवति ॥

72. द् is substituted for the final स् of a word ending in the affix वस्, and for the final of संस्, ध्वस् and अननुह at the end of a Pada (in the wider sense I. 4. 14, 17).

The anuvṛitti of स् is understood here from VIII. 2. 66. It qualifies वस् only, and not the rest. That is, when the word formed by the affix वस् ends with स्, such स् is replaced by द् ॥ For a word formed by वस् does not

sometimes end in स्, and in those cases the rule will not apply. As क्स् and ध्वस् always end in स्, there is no necessity of qualifying these by the स् of VIII. 2. 66. अनङ्कुह ends in ह् and so स् cannot qualify it.

Thus विद्द्भ्याम्, विद्द्भिः, पपिवद्भ्याम्, पपिवद्भिः with वस् affix. क्स्—इत्सात्-भ्याम्, इत्सात्भिः ॥ (VII. 1.70 and III. 2. 36). ध्वस्—पर्णध्वद्भ्याम्, पर्णध्वद्भिः ॥ अनङ्कुह—अनङ्कुद्भ्याम्, अनङ्कुद्भिः ॥

But when a वस् formed word does not end in स्, the rule does not apply. As विद्धान्, पपिवान् ॥ Here न् is not changed to ह् ॥

In the case of वस्, the ह् is ordained, before any other rule manifests itself; thus in विद्द्भ्याम् this ह् debarbs रु; so why should it not debar the rule relating to the elision of the final in विद्धान् also? This rule sets aside रु, but it does not, however, over-rule the elision-rule, because it is not directly connected with this change.

Why in अनङ्कान् the न् is not changed to ह्? By the very fact, that नुम् is ordained (विधान-सामर्थ्यात्), this न् will not be changed to ह्: otherwise नुम् rule would become superfluous; for it would be easier to say let ह् be changed to ह्, and we should get the form अनङ्काह् by this rule without नुम् ॥

Obj:—If this be so, that the उम् is not changed to ह्, because of giving it a scope, then in अनङ्कान् अन्, this नुम् should not be changed into रु by VIII. 3. 9?

Ans:—No; the maxim is that that rule is set aside, with regard to which a particular rule would become useless, if not so over-ruled: but that rule is not set aside which is only an occasion for the application of another rule (बं विधिं प्रति उपदेशोऽनर्थकः, सविधिर्वाध्यते, यस्य तु विधे निमित्तमेव नासौ वाध्यते) ॥ With regard to ह् change, the नुम् vidhi is useless (anarthaka), with regard to रु change, it is merely an occasion.

The word पदस्य is understood here also, so the change does not take place in विद्दांसौ and विद्दांसः ॥

तिप्यनस्तेः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिपि, अन्-अस्तेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तिपि परतः सकारान्तस्य पदस्य अनस्तेर्हकार आदेशो भवति ॥

73. ह् is substituted for the final स् of a root, with the exception of अस्, before the Personal ending ति (त्), when it stands at the end of a word.

The स् of a root can stand at the end of a word when the Personal-ending is dropped. Thus अचक्राद् भवान्, अन्वशाद् भवान्, from the roots चक्रास् and शास् ॥ The Personal affix is elided by VI. 1. 68, and thereby स् comes to stand at the end of a Pada.

Why do we say 'before तिप्'? Observe चक्रास् formed by चिप् affix added to the root.

Why do we say 'with the exception of अस्'? See आप एवेदं सलिलं सवर्णं आः ॥ Here आः is the Imperfect 3rd Person singular of अस् ॥ The ईद् is not added as a Vedic irregularity. See VII. 3. 93, 97.

सिपि धातो रुर्वा ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिपि, धातोः, रुः, वाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिपि परतः सकारान्तस्य परस्य धातो रुः इत्ययमादेशो भवति इकारो वा ॥

74. दू or रु may optionally be substituted for the स् of a root, before the Personal ending सि (स्), when such स् stands at the end of a Pada.

Thus अचकास् स्वम् or अचकात् स्वम्, अन्वशास् स्वम् or अन्वशात् स्वम् ॥ For the इ is first substituted visarjaniya, which is then changed to स् ॥

The word धातुः is employed in the sūtra for the sake of the subsequent sūtras : so also the word रु ॥

दृञ्च ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इकारान्तस्य धातोः परस्य सिपि परतो रुर्भवति इकारो वा ॥

75. दू or रु may optionally be substituted for the final दू of a root, before the Personal-affix सि, when such दू stands at the end of a Pada.

Thus अभिनत् स्वम् or अभिनस् स्वम्, अञ्छिनत् स्वम् or अञ्छिनस् स्वम् ॥

वोरुपधाया दीर्घ इकः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वीः, उपधायाः, दीर्घः, इकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफवकारान्तस्य धातोः परस्य उपधाया इको दीर्घो भवति ॥

76. A penultimate इ or उ is lengthened, when the final र् or ष् of a root can stand at the end of a Pada.

Thus गीः, घूः, पूः, आशीः ॥ These are all examples of roots ending in र् ॥ Of roots ending in ष्, examples will be given in the next sūtra.

Why have we used the word 'penultimate'? Observe अविभर् भवान्, here the इ of the reduplicative syllable is not to be lengthened.

Why do we say 'of इक् vowels'? So that the अ of अ in the above example अविभर् may not be lengthened.

The word धातोः 'of a root' is understood here also. Therefore व् and ङ are not lengthened in अग्निः, वायुः ॥

The word परस्य is understood here also, therefore, not here, गिरै, गिरः ॥

हलि च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलि च परतः रेफवकारान्तस्य धातोरुपधाया इको दीर्घो भवति ॥

77. Of a root ending in र् or ष्, the penultimate इ or उ is lengthened, before a consonantal beginning affix.

Thus आस्तीर्णम्, विस्तीर्णम्, विशीर्णम्, अवगूर्णम्, all ending in र् ॥ So also, शिञ्जीत, शिञ्जति ending in ष् ॥

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

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

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

Thus ध्यातः, ध्यातवान्, ख्यातः, ख्यातवान्, पूर्त्तः, पूर्त्तवान्, मूर्त्तः, मूर्त्तवान्, मत्तः, मत्तवान् ॥

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

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

वित्तो भोगप्रत्यययोः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वित्तः, भोग, प्रत्यययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वित्त इति विदेशाभावाद्युत्तरस्य क्तस्य नत्वाभावो निपात्यते भोगे प्रत्ययं चाभिधेये ॥

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

This is derived from विदित् लभे of Tudādi class, the त् is not changed to न though so required by VIII. 2. 42.

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

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

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

मित्तं शकलम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मित्तम्, शकलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मित्तमिति निपात्यते शकलं चेतन्नपति ॥

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

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

ऋणमाधमर्ण्ये ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋणम्, आधमर्ण्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋणमिति ऋइत्येतस्मादातोऽन्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारो निपात्यते आधमर्ण्यविषये ॥

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

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

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

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

The word **ऋण** we use in sentences like **ऋणं इवाति, ऋणं धारयति ॥**

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

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

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

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

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

किन्प्रत्ययस्य कुः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ किन्, प्रत्ययस्य, कुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्यति वर्त्तते । किन्प्रत्ययस्य सर्वत्र पदान्ते कुत्वमिष्यते । किन्प्रत्ययो यस्माज्जातोः स किन्प्रत्ययः, तस्य परस्यालोन्त्यस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

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

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

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

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

Obj. If this be so, there ought to be guttural change in रञ्जुसृञ्-भां from the root सृञ् with क्तिप्? Ans. The guttural change however is not desired here.

In gutturalisation, ञ् is changed to न्, and ञ् to ञ्, which both become क्क by वाचस्पति (VIII. 4. 56)

नशोर्वा ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नशोः, ञा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्येति वर्त्तते ॥ नशोः पदस्य वा कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

63. The final of नञ् at the end of a word is optionally changed to a guttural.

The word पदस्य is understood here also. As सा वै जीवनशाहृतिः (Maitr. S. I. 4. 13): or सा वै जीवनगाहृतिः ॥ According to Pro. Bohtlingk this latter form is not found in the Samhitā.

Here the root नञ् has taken क्तिप् in denoting 'condition or state'; by considering it as belonging to संपदादि class.

जीवस्य नाद्यः = जीवनक् or जीवनद् ॥ The gutturalisation optionally debars the ञ् change of VIII. 2. 36. When the ञ् change takes place, this ञ् is changed to द् by VIII. 2. 39 and VIII. 4. 56.

मोनो धातोः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मः, नः, धातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारान्तस्य धातोः पदस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनुनासिकस्य क्लृप्तलोः क्लृप्तीति दीर्घत्वम् ॥

64. न is substituted, at the end of a word, for the final म of a root.

As प्रदाञ्, प्रतान्, प्रदाञ् ॥ These are formed by adding क्तिप् to the roots दाञ्, तान् and दान् ॥ The lengthening takes place by VI. 4. 15. The ञ् being considered as asiddha is not elided.

Why do we say "of न-ending roots"? Observe भिन्, छिन् ॥

Why do we say "of a root"? Observe इदम्, किय् ॥

The word पदस्य is understood here also. So we have प्रतामौ, प्रतामः where म is not at the end of a word.

म्बोश्च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ म्, घोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारान्तस्य परतः मकारान्तस्य धातोर्नकारदेशो भवति ॥

65. न is substituted for the म of a root before the affixes beginning with म and च ॥

As अगन्म, अगन्व् the Imperfect of गच्, as in the sentence अगन्म तमसः पारम् ॥ The षप् is elided as a Vedic diversity. So also जगन्वान् with वयसु, the augment इद् is not added by the option allowed, owing to VII. 1. 68. This sūtra applies to those cases where the म is not at the end of a word, as it was in the last sūtra.

ससञ्जुषो रुः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, सञ्जुषोः, रुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारान्तस्य पदस्य सञ्जुष् इत्यंतस्य च रुर्भवति ॥

66. For the final स् and for the ष् of सञ्जुष् is substituted रु, at the end of a word.

Thus अग्निरश्च, वायुरश्च ॥ So also सञ्जुष्कृषिभिः, सञ्जुष्कृषिभिः ॥ सञ्जुष् is derived from जुष् with the affix कृष् and the preposition सह which is changed to स in Bahuvrihi. The lengthening takes place by VIII. 2. 76. and the word means संप्रीतिः ॥ The रु is र्, but it should be distinguished from it. This secondary र् (or रु) undergoes a distinct and separate Sandhi change from that of the primary र् ॥

अवयाः श्वेतवाः पुरोडाश्च ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवयाः, श्वेतवाः, पुरोडाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवयाः श्वेतवाः पुरोडाः इत्येते निपात्यन्ते ॥

67. The same substitution takes place for the final of the Nominatives of अवयाः, श्वेतवाः and पुरोडाः ॥

The word अवयाः is from अव + यञ् ; श्वेतवाः from श्वेत + वह् and पुरोडाः from पुरस् + दाष् ॥ The affix ष्विन् is added to the two latter by III. 2. 71. The word अवयाश्च is also formed by ष्विन् (III. 2. 72). Thus the three words श्वेतवाश्च, पुरोडाश्च and अवयाश्च are formed. These words take the affix ङस् before the Pada-terminations (See Vārtika to III. 2. 71). After having taken ङस्, the above forms अवयाः &c., are made in Nominative singular irregularly.

Why is this nipātana, when रु would have come by the last sūtra and the lengthening would have taken place by VI. 4. 14, of the words अवयस्, श्वेतवस् and पुरोडस्? They are so exhibited here, for making them long in the Vocative singular also. For they could not have been lengthened in the Vocative singular, because VI. 4. 14 does not apply to it. Thus हे अवयाः, हे श्वेतवाः, हे पुरोडाः ॥

The word च shows that other forms, not enumerated, may also be included here under. As हे उक्त्याः ॥

अहन् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहन्नित्येतस्य परस्य रुर्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अहो रविधौ रूपरात्रिरयन्तरेषूपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥

68. र is also substituted for the न् of अहन् at the end of a Pada.

Thus अहोञ्चात्, अहोभिः ॥ The sūtra exhibits the form अहन् without the elision of न्, in order to indicate that there is not elision of न् ॥ As दीर्घाहो, निराचः, हे दीर्घाहोऽचेति ॥ See Vārtika to VIII. 2. 7. The न् of अहन् is not changed to र् in the sūtra by VIII. 2. 69, because it is intended to show the word-form अहन् ॥ The Nominal stem is Pada in the above examples by I. 4. 17.

Vārti:—Before the words रूप, रात्रि and रयन्तर, the न् of अहन् is changed to र् ॥ As अहोरूपम्, अहोरात्रः, अहोरयन्तरं साम ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 2. 69. Others say, that this र् change takes place *universally* before all words beginning with रं; as अहो रम्यम्, अहो रत्नानि ॥

रोऽस्युपि ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ रः, अ-स्युपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहनित्येतस्य रेफादेशो भवत्यस्युपि परतः ॥

69. When no case-ending follows (i. e. at the end of a Pada in the narrower sense), र् is substituted for the न् of अहन् ॥

Thus अहर्षवाति, अहर्षुङ्क्ते ॥ Why do we say 'when no case-ending follows'? Observe अहोञ्चात्, अहोभिः ॥ Here र्-called र् replaced the final न् of अहन् ॥ The difference between this र्-called र and the ordinary र is illustrated in the above set of examples. The र्-called र is changed to ङ by VI. 1. 113, the ordinary र is not so changed.

Obj. In अहर्षवाति and अहर्षुङ्क्ते the case-ending is elided after अहन्, and so by Pratyaya - lakṣhaṇa, we may say that there is a case - ending here also ? Ans. This is not so, because of the following maxim अहो रविधौ लुप्तता लुप्ते प्रत्यय लक्षणं न भवति ॥ The rule of pratyaya lakshana does not apply to the substitution of र for the final of अहन् when the affix has been elided by लुक् or लुप्. Therefore, this अहन् is not considered to be followed by लुप् or case-affix. But where an affix is elided by using the word लोप, there the rule of Pratyaya - lakṣhaṇa does apply to अहन् ॥ As हे दीर्घाहोऽच, हे दीर्घाहो निराच. (VIII. 2. 7). Here the affix is elided by using the word 'lopa' by VI. 1. 68.

अस्ररुधरवरित्युभयथा छन्दसि ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्रस्, ऊधस्, अवस्, इति उभयथा, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्रस् रुधस् अवस् इत्येतेषां छन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि भाषायां च विभाषा प्रचेतसो राजन्पुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ अहरादीनां पर्यावृष्टिपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

70. In the Chhandas, both रु and र are substituted for the final of amnas, ūlhas, and avas.

Thus अन्न एव or अन्नरेव, ऊध एव or ऊधरेव; अन्न एव or अन्नरेव ॥ When रु is substituted for the finals, this रु is replaced by र् by VIII. 3. 17, which is elided by VIII. 3. 19. The word अन्नस् means 'a little', and अन्नस् 'protection'.

Vart:—रु and र both replace the final of प्रचेतस् before राजन्, in the Vedic as well as in the secular language. As प्रचेता राजन् (VIII. 3. 14, VI. 3. 111) प्रचेतो राजन् ॥

Vart:—The words अहर् &c before पति &c should be enumerated. That is, the finals of अहर् &c are replaced by रु or र before पति &c. As अहर्पति: or अहर् पति: or अहः पति:; अहर्पुत्रः, अहर् पुत्रः, अहः पुत्रः, गीर्पतिः, गीः पति, गी × पति:; धूर्पति, धूः पति:; धू × पति: ॥ Here र् is substituted for the final र् of अहर् &c, which at first sight may appear superfluous. But it is so ordained, in order to prevent the visarga change of this र् ॥

भुवश्च महाव्याहृतेः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, चः, महाव्याहृतेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भुवस् इत्येतस्य महाव्याहृते छन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति ॥

71. In the Chhandas, रु and र may replace the final of the word भुवस् when used as a mahâ-vyâhṛiti.

Thus भुवस् इत्यन्तरिक्षम् or भुव इत्यन्तरिक्षम् ॥ The mahâ-vyâhṛitis are three, used generally before the famous Gâyatri mantra. They denote respectively the earth, the firmament and the heaven. भुवस् is an Indeclinable and a Vyâhṛiti denoting the firmament. The other two are भूः and स्वः ॥

Why do we say when it is a mahâ-vyâhṛiti? Observe भुवो विश्वेषु भुवनेषु यज्ञिषः ॥ Here भुवः is a verb, 2nd Pers. Singular, Imperfect (लृट्) of the root भू, without guṇa of the root, and the अट् augment is not added as a Vedic diversity.

वसुसंसुध्वस्वनडुहा दः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसु, संसु, ध्वंसु, अनडुहाम्, दः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वसुसंसुध्वस्वितः स इति वर्त्तते । वस्वन्तस्य परस्य सकारान्तस्य संसु ध्वंसु अनडुह इत्येतेषां च वकारोद्देशो भवति ॥

72. द् is substituted for the final स् of a word ending in the affix वस्, and for the final of संस्, ध्वंस्र and अनडुह at the end of a Pada (in the wider sense I. 4. 14, 17).

The anuvṛitti of स् is understood here from VIII. 2. 66. It qualifies वस् only, and not the rest. That is, when the word formed by the affix वस् ends with स्, such स् is replaced by द् ॥ For a word formed by वस् does not

sometimes end in स्, and in those cases the rule will not apply. As क्त्स् and ध्वस् always end in स्, there is no necessity of qualifying these by the स् of VIII. 2. 66. अनङ्कुह ends in ह् and so स् cannot qualify it.

Thus विह्वद्भ्याम्, विह्वद्भिः, पपिवद्भ्याम्, पपिवद्भिः with वस् affix. क्त्स्—उखालद्भ्याम्, उखालद्भिः ॥ (VII. 1.70 and III. 2. 36). ध्वंस्—पर्णध्वद्भ्याम्, पर्णध्वद्भिः ॥ अनङ्कुह—अनङ्कुद्भ्याम्, अनङ्कुद्भिः ॥

But when a वस् formed word does not end in स्, the rule does not apply. As विह्वान्, पपिवान् ॥ Here न् is not changed to ह् ॥

In the case of वस्, the ह् is ordained, before any other rule manifests itself; thus in विह्वद्भ्याम् this ह् debarbs व्; so why should it not debar the rule relating to the elision of the final in विह्वान् also? This rule sets aside व्, but it does not, however, over-rule the elision-rule, because it is not directly connected with this change.

Why in अनङ्कान् the न् is not changed to ह्? By the very fact, that वस् is ordained (विधान-साधनार्थात्), this न् will not be changed to ह्: otherwise वस् rule would become superfluous; for it would be easier to say let ह् be changed to व्, and we should get the form अनङ्काद् by this rule without वस् ॥

Obj:—If this be so, that the वस् is not changed to ह्, because of giving it a scope, then in अनङ्कान् अच्, this वस् should not be changed into ह् by VIII. 3. 9?

Ans:—No; the maxim is that that rule is set aside, with regard to which a particular rule would become useless, if not so over-ruled: but that rule is not set aside which is only an occasion for the application of another rule (बन्धिषि प्रति उपदेशाऽनर्थकः, सविधिर्वाध्यते, यस्य तु विधे निमित्तमेव नासौ वाध्यते) ॥ With regard to ह् change, the वस् vidhi is useless (anarthaka), with regard to व् change, it is merely an occasion.

The word परस्व is understood here also, so the change does not take place in विह्वंसी and विह्वंसि ॥

तिप्यनस्तेः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिपि, अन-अस्तेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तिपि परतः सकारान्तस्य परस्व अनस्तैर्कार आदेशो भवति ॥

73. ह् is substituted for the final स् of a root, with the exception of अस्, before the Personal ending ति (त्), when it stands at the end of a word.

The स् of a root can stand at the end of a word when the Personal-ending is dropped. Thus अचक्राद् भवान्, अन्वशाद् भवान्, from the roots चक्रास् and शास् ॥ The Personal affix is elided by VI. 1. 68, and thereby ह् comes to stand at the end of a Pada.

Why do we say 'before तिप्'? Observe चक्रास् formed by चिप् affix added to the root.

Why do we say 'with the exception of अस्'? See आप एवेदं सकलं सवर्गं आः ॥ Here आः is the Imperfect 3rd Person singular of अस् ॥ The ईद् is not added as a Vedic irregularity. See VII. 3. 93, 97.

सिपि धातो रुर्वा ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिपि, धातोः, रुः, वाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिपि परतः सकारान्तस्य परस्य धातो रुः इत्ययमादेशो भवति र्कारो वा ॥

74. द् or रु may optionally be substituted for the स् of a root, before the Personal ending सि (स्), when such स् stands at the end of a Pada.

Thus अचक्रात् स्वम् or अचक्रात् स्वम्, अन्वशात् स्वम् or अन्वशात् स्वम् ॥ For the रु is first substituted visarjaniya, which is then changed to स् ॥

The word धातुः is employed in the sūtra for the sake of the subsequent sūtras : so also the word रु ॥

दृश्च ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ र्कारान्तस्य धातोः परस्य सिपि परतो रुर्भवति र्कारो वा ॥

75. द् or रु may optionally be substituted for the final द् of a root, before the Personal-affix सि, when such द् stands at the end of a Pada.

Thus अभिनत् स्वम् or अभिनत् स्वम्, अच्छिनत् स्वम् or अच्छिनत् स्वम् ॥

धौरुपधाया दीर्घ इकः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ धौः, उपधायाः, दीर्घः, इकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफवकारान्तस्य धातोः पदस्य उपधाया इको दीर्घो भवति ॥

76. A penultimate द् or उ is lengthened, when the final र् or ष् of a root can stand at the end of a Pada.

Thus नीः, धूः, वृः, आशीः ॥ These are all examples of roots ending in र् ॥ Of roots ending in ष्, examples will be given in the next sūtra.

Why have we used the word 'penultimate'? Observe अदिभर् भवान्, here the द् of the reduplicative syllable is not to be lengthened.

Why do we say 'of इक् vowels'? So that the अ of न in the above example अदिभर् may not be lengthened.

The word धातोः 'of a root' is understood here also. Therefore इ and उ are not lengthened in अग्निः, वायुः ॥

The word पदस्य is understood here also, therefore, not here, गिरौ, गिरः ॥

हलि च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलि च परतः रेफवकारान्तस्य धातोरुपधाया इको दीर्घो भवति ॥

77. Of a root ending in र् or ष्, the penultimate द् or उ is lengthened, before a consonantal beginning affix.

Thus आस्तीर्णम्, विस्तीर्णम्, त्रिस्तीर्णम्, अवगूर्णम्, all ending in र् ॥ So also, क्षीयति, सीयति ending in ष् ॥

The phrase "of the *root*", is understood here also. Therefore not here, दिव्यति and चतुर्यति, which are derived from the *nouns* दिव and चतुर i. e. दिव-मिच्छति = दिव्यति, and चतुर इच्छति = चतुर्यति ॥

The phrase इकः "of the vowels इ or उ" is understood here also. Therefore not here, स्मर्यते, भग्यम् ॥

This rule applies to cases which are not final in a pada: but to cases where र् or र् are in the middle of a pada or word.

उपधायां च ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपधायाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरुपधाशूनौ वी रेफवकारौ हल्परौ तयोरुपधाया इको षीर्षो भवति ॥

78. The short इ or उ of a root is lengthened, when the verb has र् or र् as its penultimate letter, and is followed by a consonant.

The anuvṛitti of हलि is current. The root must end in a consonant, and must have a र् or र् as preceding such consonant, for the application of this rule. Thus हूर्छा, हूर्छिता, मूर्छा, मूर्छिता. तूर्षी, तूर्षिता. धूर्षी, धूर्षिता ॥

The र् or र् must be followed by a consonant. Therefore not here: as, चिरि, जिरि are roots having a penultimate र्, which however is followed by a vowel. Therefore we have चिरिणोति, जिरिणोति ॥

Q.—Why there is not lengthening in रिर्यतुः, रिर्युः or विव्यतुः, विव्युः Perfect, forms derived from the roots रि गतौ and वी गतौ &c? Here the इ of the abhyāsa required lengthening, and it would not be shortened, as it is asiddha.

Ans.—The षच् substitute of इ here by VI. 4. 82, is treated as sthānivat, to इ, and therefore, the र् or र् is considered as *not* to be followed by a *consonant*, and hence there is no lengthening. Another reason is, that the षच् substitute is taught in angādhikāra (VI. 4. 82), and depends upon the affix, and is consequently Bahiranga, with regard to this rule of lengthening which is antaranga. Hence षणदिष्ठाः is considered as asiddha. Therefore र् and र् are not followed by a consonant (for र् is not considered as such for the above reasons).

Similarly in चतुर्यितु formed with षच् affix from the Denominative (क्यच्) root चतुर्ये ॥ Here इद् is added before षच् as चतुर्ये + इ + षच् and then षच् is elided, चतुर्ये + इ + षच् ॥ Here the elision of षच् is a Bahiranga process, and therefore, र् is not here really penultimate, and so there is no lengthening of the vowel.

In प्रतिशीब्ना (Instrumental singular) there is lengthening by VIII. 2. 77. To the root प्रति-दिष् is added कनिच् by Uṇ I. 156, and we have प्रतिदिवन् ॥ To this is added षा (Instrumental affix), as प्रतिदिवन् + षा, and षच् is elided by VI. 4. 134, and we get प्रतिशीब्ना ॥ The lengthening takes place here, the elision of षच् is not considered here as sthānivat, and so र् becomes penultimate. In fact,

here we apply the maxim that a lopa substitute of a vowel is not to be considered as sthānivat when a rule of lengthening is to be applied (See I. 1. 58).

Q.—Well, let it not be sthānivat, but the elision by VI. 4. 134, depends upon a case-affix, and is Bahiranga, and therefore asiddha for the purposes of this rule which is antaranga: and so therefore, there would be no lengthening?

Ans.—The maxim of असिद्ध बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्ग should not be applied here: because it is an *anitya* rule.

The word जितिः is formed by the Uṇādi affix क्तिन् added to the root कृ (जिर्), the र् being changed to ष (Uṇ V. 49). So also कितिः and गितिः are formed by the Uṇādi affix क्ति added to कृ and गृ (Uṇ IV. 143). The Genitive Dual of which is कित्वोः and गित्वोः ॥ There is no lengthening in जितिः, कित्वोः and गित्वोः, on the maxim that the Uṇādi formed words are primitive words and not Derivative; and so the rules of etymological changes do not apply to them (उपास्योऽप्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि) ॥

न मकुर्भुराम् ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, म, कूर्, छुराम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रेफकारान्तस्य अस्य कूर् छुर इत्येतयोश्च दीर्घो न भवति ॥

79. The lengthening of vowel does not take place under VIII. 2. 77, when the Nominal stem ending in र् or ष् is called Bha (i. e. when a य् follows), and also not in कूर् and छूर् ॥

Thus घृर्षः (घृर्ष इति IV. 4. 77 or घृर्ष साधुः) ॥ Similarly कृयात्, कुर्यात् ॥ The latter is Benedictive of कूर् छूर्ने ॥

Why have we qualified the word ष by saying that it must end in ् or ष्? Observe प्रतिशीला, प्रतिदीने ॥ For here the stem which ends in र् is not Bha, and the stem which is Bha does not end in ष् but in र् ॥

अदसो ऽसेर्दादु दो मः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदसः, अ-सेः, दात्, उ, दः, मः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अदसो ऽसकारान्तस्य वर्णस्य दात्परस्य उवर्णविधो भवति दकारस्य च मकारः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अदसो ऽसोऽस इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

Kārikā:—अदसोऽसोऽस इत्येके षिदिच्छन्ति लत्ववत् ।
के षिदन्त्यसरेषास्य नेत्येके ऽसेर्हि दृश्यते ॥

80. When the pronoun अदस् does not end in स्, then there is substituted उ or ऊ for the vowel after द्, and म् for द् ॥

Thus अमुम्, अम्, अमून्, अमुना, अमून्नाम्, ॥ अद् is substituted for अदस् before a case-ending by VII. 2. 102, which in Feminine becomes अदा ॥ By the

present sūtra read with I. 1. 50, अद् is substituted for अद् and अद् for अद् ॥ The ङ which replaces one-mâtrâ vowel will be one-mâtrâ ङ i. e. short ङ, and the ङ which replaces a two-mâtrâ vowel will be a two-mâtrâ ङ i. e. long ङ ॥ See I. 1. 50.

Why do we say, "not ending in स"? Observe अद् इच्छति = अदस्याति ॥ Obj. How can this be a valid example, as the word अदस्य is understood here, and अदस् before the affix इच्छ is not a pada (I. 4. 15)? Ans. This indicates that the ङ change takes place, even when अदस् is not a pada. As अद्भुय ॥

Vart.—It should rather be stated that the rule applies to that अदस् which has no ओ, or स् or र् ॥ So that the prohibition may apply to अदोऽच्, अदः कुलम् ॥ The visarjaniya being considered as asiddha, this word is considered as ending in र् ॥

In order to apply the prohibition to ओ and र् also, some explain the sūtra thus:—अः सेर्यस्य सोऽयमासिः, यच्च सकारस्य अकारः क्रियते ॥ "The word असिः in the sūtra is a Bahuvrīhi, and means that in which अ is substituted for स" ॥ The sūtra is thus confined to the form अद् derived by changing the स into अ by VII 2. 102: and not to any other अद् ॥

When अदस् takes the final-substitute अद्भि by VI. 3. 92, how is this rule to be applied? Thus by III. 2. 59, the root अद्भृ takes क्तिन् ॥ We compound it with अदस्, as अदाऽच्चाति ॥ अदस् + अद्भृ + क्तिन् = अद् + अद्भि + अद्भृ + क्तिन् (VI. 3. 92) = अदद्भृच् (VI. 4. 24). Now there are three views, (1) the इ of अद्, and इ of अद्भि are both changed to ङ by the present sūtra; (2), the first इ is not changed, but only इ; (3) none is changed. Thus we have (1) अद्भुयङ् (VII. 1. 70, VI. 1. 68, VIII. 2. 23 and 62), अद्भुयङ्चौ, अद्भुयङ्चः ॥ (2) Secondly, अद्भुयङ् अद्भुयङ्चौ, अद्भुयङ्चः ॥ (3) Lastly अदद्भृङ्, अदद्भृङ्चौ, अदद्भृङ्चः ॥ The above verse summarises this:

"Some ordain that ङ should come separately for both adas and adri, as there is double ङ (in अलीकल्प्यते); others would have ङ only for the last portion which stands in proximity to the final, (i. e. for इ); while a third class would have nowhere, because they explain असेः of the sūtra, by confining it to: VII. 2. 102." The first class interpret असेः by "that form of अदस् which has no स्"; and they do not apply the maxim अनन्त्यविकारेऽन्यसदेहास्य कार्ये भवति "when a modification is ordained with regard to some thing which is not final, the operation takes place on that only which is in proximity to the final." The second class apply this maxim and make ङ change only for इ which stands in proximity to the final; while the last class interpret the word असेः in a different way altogether (अः अस्य सकारस्य सोऽयम् असिः) ॥

Why do we say ङात् ' for the vowel after द ' ? Observe अद्भुया, अद्भुयोः, the final ङ as not changed to ङ ॥

एत ईद्वहुवचने ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतः ईत्, बहुवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अक्षरस्य इकारादुत्तरस्य एकारस्य ईकारादेशो भवति इकारस्य च मकारः बहुवचने बहुनामर्याना-
मुक्तौ ॥

81. For the ए coming after the इ of अक्षर, there is substituted ई, and इ is changed to म, when plurality is to be expressed.

Thus अमी for अदे (or अते) अमीभिः for अदेभिः, अमीभ्यः for अदेभ्यः, अमीषाम् for अदेषाम्, अमीषु for अदेशु ॥ इ is changed to म in अते &c.

The word बहुवचने in the sūtra does not mean the technical बहुवचन ; for that would have made the sūtra have this sense "when the affixes of the Plural number follow". In that case, we could not get the form अमी where no plural affix follows. Hence we have translated it, by saying when plurality is to be denoted.

वाक्यस्य टेः प्लुत उदात्तः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाक्यस्य, टेः, प्लुतः, उदात्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाक्यस्य देरिति प्लुत इति च उदात्त इति च एतन्नयमप्यधिकृतं देरितव्यमापावपरिसमाप्ते, र्थेदित
कर्ममनुक्रमिष्यामी वाक्यस्य टेः प्लुत उदात्त इत्येवं लक्षितव्यम् ॥

82. Upto the close of this chapter (Pāda), is always to be supplied : "the last vowel of a sentence is pluta and has the acute".

This is an adhikāra sūtra. All the three words i. e. "the last vowel (दि) of a sentence", "pluta" and "acute"—are to be supplied in the subsequent aphorisms to complete the sense, upto the end of this Pāda. Whatever we shall treat hereafter will refer to the final vowel (दि) in a sentence, and it will get the pluta lengthening and acute accent. Thus VIII. 2. 83, says "In answer to a salutation, but not when it is addressed to a Sūdra". We must supply the present aphorism to complete the meaning :—"In answer to a salutation, the last vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and gets the acute accent, but not when it is addressed to a Sūdra". As अभिवाद्ये देवर्षोऽहं । भौ
आयुष्मानेधि देवर्षी ३ ॥

One adhikāra sets aside another adhikāra, this is the general maxim. Will therefore the adhikāra of the present aphorism set aside the adhikāra of the word पदस्य (VIII. 1. 16)? No, the adhikāra of पदस्य has not ceased, though latent. Otherwise in भवन्तौ &c. the इ would be required to be changed to ह by VIII. 3. 7. But it does not become so, because पदस्य manifests itself there.

The employment of the word "vākya" would not debar the anuvritti of पद, for the final vowel of a sentence, will *a fortiori* be the final vowel of a word (pada), then what is the use of employing the word वाक्यस्य in this sūtra ?

The word वाक्च is employed in the sūtra, so that a word which is not the last word of a sentence, will not get the pluta and acute. Had the sūtra been परस्व देः &c. then *all* the words of a sentence would become pluta and acute in the final.

The word हि is employed to indicate that the final *vowel* becomes pluta and acute, though the word may end in a consonant. As अग्निर्चिःत् ॥ Had हि not been used, the rule would have applied to words *ending* in vowels only, and not to words ending in consonants.

प्रत्यभिवादे ऽशुद्धे ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्यभिवादे, अ-शुद्धे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्यभिवादे नाम अक्षराभिवाद्यमानो युक्ताक्षिपं प्रयुङ्क्ते । तथाशुद्धविषये अक्षरक्यं वर्त्तते तस्य देः प्लुत उदात्तो भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ शिवायपि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ असूत्रकेऽपि केचित् प्रतिषेधमिच्छन्ति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिवादादक्षे वत् संकीर्तितं नाम गोत्रं वा तद् अथ प्रत्यभिवाद वाक्यान्ते प्रयुज्यते तत्रऽप्लुत इष्यते ॥ वा० ॥ भोराजन्व विशां वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

83. In answer to a salutation, but not when it refers to a Śūdra, the last vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and gets the acute accent.

The word अभिवादन means "respectful salutation of a superior or elder by an inferior or junior for the sake of obtaining his blessing. It consists of three acts 1. rising from the seat, 2. touching of the feet, 3. the uttering of the formula of salutation". The word प्रत्यभिवादन means, the blessing given by the superior or elder in answer to such salutation. In giving utterance to such blessing, the last vowel of the final word gets udatta and acute, provided that, such blessing is not pronounced on a Śūdra.

Thus अभिवाद्ये देवदत्तोऽहं is said by Devadatta to his Guru. The latter says भो आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्तो ३ ॥ "O Devadatta! be thou long-lived".

Why do we say when not referring to a Śūdra? Observe अभिवाद्ये तुषज-कोऽहं is said by a Śūdra. In reply to this the Guru replies भो आयुष्मान् एधि तुषजक !

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated with regard to women also. As अभिवाद्ये गार्ग्येहं is said by Gārgī. To this the Guru replies:—भो आयुष्मती भवगार्गी ! ॥

Vart:—Some would have this prohibition where a detractor or an arrogant person is addressed. So long as one's arrogance or ridicule does not become manifest, there is prolation. But when one comes to know that he is my detractor, and is really ridiculing me by a show of respect; then the reply is not a blessing, but is, in fact, a curse. Thus अभिवाद्ये स्यात्सहं भोः, is uttered by the detractor; and the Guru understanding the word Sthālin to be the Proper Name of the person, replies आयुष्मान् एधि स्यात्सिन् ३ ॥ Then the

detractor says, Sthâlin is not my Proper Name, but an adjective, like daṇḍin, viz. he who has a स्याल or cooking pot. The Guru, believing this to be true, again replies, आयुष्मान् एधि स्यालिन् but without prolation, because the word is not a Proper Noun. The other then says "O Sir, it is not my epithet, it is my Proper Name". The Guru now comes to learn that he is being laughed at, and so gets angry and says : असूयकस्त्वं जाल्म ! न त्वं प्रत्यभिवादनमर्हसि ; भिद्यस्त्वं वृषल स्यालिन् ! ॥ Here it is a curse, as well as a pun : i. e. "burst thou, O sinner ! like unto a cooking pot (sthâlin = sthâlī-vat).

Ishṭi :—This prolation takes place there only, where the Proper Noun Gotra &c. with which the salutation was made, is employed by the Guru at the end of the sentence ; and not where the position of the Proper Name &c is different. Therefore not here, देवदत्त कुशल्यसि ; देवदत्त आयुष्मान् एधि, for here the word Devadatta is not used at the end of a sentence.

Vārt :—The prolation is optional, when भोः follows such Proper Name, or when the Person addressed is a Kshatriya or a Vaishya. As भो अभिवाद्यं देवदत्तोऽहं ॥ Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त भोः ३ or (2) आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त भोः ॥ So also when a Kshatriya is addressed, as अभिवाद्ये इन्द्रवर्माहं भोः, Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एधि इन्द्रवर्मान् ३ or (2) आयुष्मान् एधि इन्द्रवर्मान् ॥ Vaishya : अभिवाद्ये इन्द्रपालितोऽहं भोः ॥ Guru : आयुष्मानोधि इन्द्रपालित ३ or आयुष्मानोधि इन्द्रपालित ! ॥

दूराद्भूते च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दूरात्, हूते, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दूराद्भूते यद्वाक्यं वर्त्तते तस्य टेः प्लुतो भवति स षोडशः ॥
दृष्टिः ॥ वाक्यस्यान्ते यत्र सम्बोधनपरं भवति, तत्र अयं प्लुत इष्यते ॥

84. The final vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and acute, when used in calling a person from a distance.

The word दूरात् is in the Fifth case by II. 3. 35; the word हूतं means 'calling', 'addressing'. Thus आगच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्ता ३ ॥ आगच्छ भो माणवक यज्ञदत्ता ३ ॥ The word 'distance' is a relative term, and is not fixed at what distance there should be prolation. The prolation however takes place, when a voice is to be raised, in order that the sound may reach the person. That distance upto which the voice can be heard without raising its pitch and without any special effort, need not be considered as "distance" for the purposes of this sūtra.

The word हूत here includes, 'addressing in general', and not only 'calling'. Thus there is prolation here also सक्तून् पिब देवदत्ता ३, पलायस्व देवदत्ता ३ ॥ This pluta sentence becomes eka-śruti by I. 2. 33.

Why do we say "from a distance"? Observe आगच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्त !

Ishṭi :—This prolation takes place only then, when the noun in the vocative case stands at the end of the sentence. Therefore, there is no prolation here: देवदत्त आगच्छ ॥

द्वैहेप्रयोगे द्वैहयोः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वै, हे, प्रयोगे, द्वै, हयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेहेभयोर्गे वृत्तदूते यद्वाक्यं वर्त्तते तत्र हेहयोरेव प्लुतो भवति ॥

85. When the words हे and हे are employed, in addressing a person from a distance, there the हे and हे alone get the pluta and the accent.

As हे ३ देवदत्त, देवदत्त हे ३ ॥ हे ३ देवदत्त, देवदत्त हे ३ ॥

The repetition of the words हे and हे in the sūtra, is for the sake of indicating, that the prolation takes place even when हे and हे do not stand at the end of a sentence.

गुरोरनुतोनन्यस्याप्येकैकस्य प्राचाम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुरोः, अनु-ऋतः, अनन्यस्य, अपि, एक, एकस्य, प्राचाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारवर्जितस्य गुरोरनन्यस्यापि षड्शतन्यस्यापि देरेकैकस्य सम्बोधने वर्त्तमानस्य प्लुतो भवति प्राचामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥

86. In the room of a prosodially long vowel, (with the exception of ऋ) though it may not stand at the end, there is substituted a pluta for one at a time, under the above circumstances (VIII. 2.83-84), in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians.

This sūtra indicates a special sthānin for the pluta vowel taught by VIII. 2. 83 to 84. With the exception of ऋ, for every heavy vowel, though it may not be the final vowel of the vocative word, and for the final vowel also, but only one at a time, there is pluta substitution, in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians. Thus हे ३ देवदत्त or देवदत्त हे ३ or देवदत्त हे ३ ॥ Similarly with वै ३ जदत्त, यद्दत्त हे ३ or यद्दत्त हे ३ ॥

Why do we say गुरोः "of a prosodially long vowel"? So that the अ of व and ज्ञ in Devadatta and Yajñadatta may not be prolated, for this अ is short.

Why do we say अनुतः "with the exception of ऋ"? Observe कृष्णमि ३ च, कृष्णमि ३, but never कृष्णमि ३ च ॥

The word एकैकस्य shows that the prolation should not be simultaneous, but of one at a time; not दे ३ वदत्त हे ३ ॥

The word प्राचाम् "in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians" is used for the sake of creating option. So in one alternative, there is no prolation *at all*.

As आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त ॥ Thus the present sūtra, makes VIII. 2. 83 and 84, optional sūtras. This also is an authority for the following dictum of Patanjali " सर्व एव प्लुतः साहसमनिच्छता विभाषा कर्त्तव्यः " (Mahabhāshya VIII. 2. 92. Commentary). Thus *all* rules relating to Prolation become optional. In short, the word प्राचाम् should be read in all rules regarding prolation, and thus without doing violence (sāhasa) to grammatical authority, one may have optional pluta everywhere.

ओमभ्यादाने ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओम्, अभ्यादाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यादानं प्रारम्भः तत्र य ओमशब्दः तस्य प्लुतो भवति ॥

87. The vowel in ओम् is pluta in the beginning of a sacred text.

The word अभ्यादानं means the commencement of a sacred mantra or Vedic text. Thus ओम् अग्निमीले पुरहितं यज्ञस्य देववृत्तिर्जं ॥ (Rig I. 1. 1).

Why do we say "in the beginning"? Observe ओमित्येतद्भस्वरपुत्रीयपुपासीत (Chhândogya Upanishad. I. 1. 1). Here ओम् is not used to indicate the commencement of a Text or Mantra, but is itself the subject of comment.

ये यज्ञकर्मणि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, यज्ञ, कर्मणि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ये इत्येतस्य यज्ञकर्मणि प्लुतो भवति ॥

इष्टिः ॥ ये यजामहे इत्यत्रैवायं प्लुत इष्यते ॥

88. The vowel of ये becomes pluta in a sacred text, when it is employed in a sacrificial work.

Thus ये यजामहे ॥ Why do we say when employed in sacrificial work? Observe ये यजामहे इति पञ्चाक्षरम् "Ye yajamahe consists of five syllables". Here it is simple recitation.

Ishṭi:—The word ये is pluta before यजामहे only. Therefore not so here: ये देवासो विध्यैकाग्रस्य (Rig. I. 139. 11).

प्रणवष्टेः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रणवः, देः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञकर्मणि देः प्रणव भादेशो भवति ॥

89. In a sacrificial work, ओम् is substituted for the final vowel, with the consonant, if any, that may follow it, of a sentence.

The word यज्ञकर्मणि is understood here also. The word प्रणव means ओम् ॥ It is the name given to this syllable. This ओम् is substituted for the final letter (दि) of that word which stands either at the end of a Pāda of a sacred hymns or at the end of a hemistich of such Rik. Thus for अपां रतांसि जिन्वति (Rig. VIII. 44. 16), we may have अपां रतांसि जिन्वतोऽम् ॥ So also for देवास् जिगाति सुन्नयुः (Rig. III. 27. 1), we may have देवास् जिगाति सुन्नयोऽम् ॥

The word दि is repeated in this aphorism in spite of its anuvṛitti from VIII. 2. 82, to indicate that ओम् replaces the *whole* last syllable, with its vowel and consonant. Had दि not been repeated, then by the rule of अलोऽन्यस्य the final *letter* only of the दि portion of a sentence would have been replaced. Thus in सुन्नयुः, the visarjaniya alone would have been replaced.

When not employed in connection with sacrificial works, there is no such substitution. Thus in simple reading of the Vedas, we should always recite अपां रतांसि जिन्वति ॥

याज्यान्तः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ याज्या, अन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ याज्या नाम वै वाज्याक्काण्डे पच्यन्ते मन्वास्तिषामन्त्यो षष्टिः स श्रवते बहकर्मणि ॥

90. The last vowel at the end of Mantras called Yājya, when employed in sacrificial works, is pluta and has the Acute.

Thus स्तोमैर्विधेमाग्रयेः (Rig. VIII. 43. 11), जिह्वामग्रे चकृषे हव्यवाहाश्च (Rig. X. 8. 6).

Why do we say 'at the end'? There are some Yājya hymns, consisting of several sentences. The final vowel (टि) of every sentence would have become pluta, in such a hymn. To prevent it, the word "anta" is used, so that the final vowel of the hymn at the end of all, becomes pluta.

ब्रूहिप्रेष्यधौषड्धौषडावहानामादेः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रूहि, प्रेष्य, धौषद्, धौषद्, आवहानाम, आदेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रूहि प्रेष्य धौषद् धौषद् आवह इत्येतेषामादेः प्लुतो भवति बहकर्मणि ॥

91. In a sacrificial work, the first syllable of ब्रूहि, प्रेष्य, धौषद्, धौषद् and आवह is pluta.

Thus अग्रयेऽनुब्रूहि (Maitr S. I. 4. 11), अग्रये गोमयानि (or 'न्) प्रेष्य, अस्तु धौषद्; सोमस्याग्रे वीहीर्षोऽपद, अग्निर्गोऽवह ॥

So also in पित्र्याद्यामनुस्वधा on the analogy of ब्रूहि, so also अस्तुस्वधा ॥ The word धौषद् is illustrative of the six forms षपद्, धौषद्, वाषद्, वौषद्, वाषद्, वाषद् ॥

But there is no prolation in आवह देवान् ब्रजमानाव ; आवह जात वेदः ॥

अग्नीत्प्रेषणे परस्य च ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नीध्, प्रेषणे, परस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्नीधः प्रेषणमग्नीत्येषणम् तच्चादेः प्लुतो भवति परस्य च ॥

92. In an order given to Āgnīdhra priest, the first syllable as well as the succeeding syllable is pluta.

In a Yajña, the principal priests (ṛtvij) are four Adhvaryu, Udgātā, Hotā, Brahmā. Every one of these has three subordinate priests (ṛtvij) under them : as shown below.

NAMES OF PRINCIPAL.

SUBORDINATE.

I.	½.	½.	¼.
Adhvaryu : (Yajur)	Pratiprasthātā	Nesthā (VI.4.11)	Unnetā.
Udgātā (Sāman)	Prastotā	Pratihartā	Subrahmanya.
Hotā (Rig) VI. 4. 11.	Maitrā varuṇa	Achchhāvāk	Ṗotā (VI.4 11).
Brahmā (Atharvan)	Brāhmanāchhañśī	Āgnīdhra	Grāvastuta.

III. 2. 177.

The duty of Āgnidhra is to kindle the sacrificial fire. In a summons or call (प्रेषण) made by the Adhvaryu, who is the Director of ceremonies, to the Āgnidhra to perform the functions of Āgnidh, both syllable become pluta.

The word अग्नीह् प्रेषण is a compound = अग्नीधः प्रेषणम् " a call or summon relating to Agnidhduty. "

Thus आ ३ आ ३ वव, ओ ३ आ ३ वव ॥ The pluta takes place only in these examples; therefore, not here, as अग्नीह्ग्नीन् विहर; बर्हि स्तृणीहि ॥ Some, therefore, read the aunuṣṭi of the word विभाषा from the next sūtra, into this, and would have it an optional rule, of fixed jurisdiction (viyavasthita vibhāshā). Others say " all pluta rules are optional " (सर्व एव प्लुतः साहसमानिच्छता विभाषा विज्ञेयः) ॥ In उद्धर ३ उद्धर, अभिहर ३ अभिहर, there is Vedic diversity.

The words 'relating to sacrificial work' (यज्ञकर्मणि) are understood here also. Therefore not in ओ आवव ॥

विभाषा पृष्टप्रतिवचने हेः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, पृष्ट-प्रतिवचनेः, हेः ॥
बुद्धिः ॥ पृष्टप्रतिवचने विभाषा हेः प्लुतो भवति ॥

93. हि at the end of an answer to a question may optionally be pluta.

Thus Q. अकार्षीः कदं देववत् ? Ans. अकार्षे ही ३ or अकार्षे हि ॥ Q. अलावीः केदारं देववत् ? Ans. अलाविषं ही ३ or हि ॥

Why do we say " in answer to a question " ? Observe कदं करिष्यति हि ॥

Why do we say हेः " of हि " ? Observe करोमि ननु ॥

निगृह्यानुयोगे च ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि गृह्य, अनु योगे, च ॥

बुद्धिः ॥ स्वमतात्प्रख्यावनं निग्रहः ॥ अनुयोगस्तस्य मतस्याविष्करणम् ॥ तच्च निगृह्यानुयोगे यद्वाक्यं वर्त्तते तस्य हेः प्लुतो भवति विभाषा ॥

94. The end syllable of that sentence is optionally pluta, when it asserts something which has been refuted, and is employed by the victor by way of censure.

The word निग्रहः means the refutation of another's opinion. निगृह्य is a gerund, and means ' having refuted '. अनुयोगः is the expression of the same proposition which has been refuted. When a person has demonstrated the untenableness of another's assertion, and then employs the said assertion by way of taunt, reproach or reprimand, then the final syllable of such a sentence becomes pluta. The sūtra literally means " Having refuted (it) when asserting (the same by way of censure). "

Thus an opponent asserts that " The word is not eternal. " (अनित्यः शब्दः). Proving by arguments the untenableness of this position, and after refuting it, the victor says by way of reprimand:—अनित्यः शब्द इत्यार्थो ३ or अनित्यः शब्द इत्यास्य ॥ ' This is then your assertion—that the word is not eternal. ' Similarly अद्य आ-
अमित्यार्थो ३ or अद्य आदमित्यास्य ॥ अद्यामावास्तेत्यार्थो ३ or अद्यामावास्तेत्यास्य ॥

In some texts of Kāsikā, according to Padamanjari, only the last example is given.

आग्नेडितं भर्त्सने ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आग्नेडितम्, भर्त्सने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाक्यावेरामन्त्रितस्येति भर्त्सने द्विवचनद्वयं तस्याग्नेडितं द्वयते ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भर्त्सने पर्वाद्येनेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

95. The end syllable of an *āmreḍita* Vocative is *pluta*, when threat is expressed.

A Vocative is reiterated when threat is meant (VIII. 1. 8). Its final syllable becomes *pluta*. Thus चौरं चौरां च पातिष्यामि त्वा ॥ So also वृषल वृषलां च बन्धविष्यामि त्वा, वत्स वत्सोः &c.

Though the *anuvṛitti* of the *sūtra* VIII. 2. 82, is current here, yet the final of the *sentence* is not *pluta*, but of the *āmreḍita*.

Vṛti:—It should be rather stated that any one of the repeated words may be *pluta* by alternation. Thus चौरां चौर or चौरं चौरां ॥ The word *āmreḍita* is employed in the *sūtra* as illustrative of the doubling, for threat is expressed by *both* words, so *pluta* may be of *both* words in turn: and not of the second word only, though that is called technically *āmreḍita*.

अङ्गयुक्तं तिङ्ङाकाङ्क्षम् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्ग, युक्तम्, तिङ्ङाकाङ्क्षम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गव्ययनेन युक्तं तिङ्ङन्तमाकाङ्क्षं भर्त्सने द्वयते ॥

96. The final syllable of a finite verb, used as a threat becomes *pluta*, when the word *अङ्ग* is joined with it, and it demands another sentence to complete the conclusion.

Thus अङ्ग कूर्जां इदानीं ज्ञात्वसि ज्ञास्व ॥ अङ्ग व्याहरीं इ, इदानीं ज्ञात्वसि ज्ञास्व ॥

Why do we say 'a verb'? Observe अङ्ग देवदत्त मिथ्या वदसि ॥

Why do we say "when this calls for a conclusion"? Observe अङ्ग पच ॥

Here it is a complete sentence and does not demand another to complete the sense.

The word *भर्त्सने* of the last *sūtra* is understood here also. Therefore not here, अङ्ग मधीष्व, ओदनं दे शत्यामि ॥ Here *अङ्ग* has the force of solicitation. (VIII. 1. 33).

विचार्यमाणानाम् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विचार्य-माणानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाणेन वस्तुपरीक्षणं विचारः । तस्य विषये विचार्यमाणानां वाक्यानां देः प्लुतो भवति ॥

97. The end-syllable of those sentences is *pluta*, which denote acts of reflection (or balancing between two alternatives).

To determine a thing by weighing all arguments *pro* and *con* is called *vichāra* or judgment. Thus होतव्यं वीक्षितस्य गृहा इ न होतव्यं इत्य "should one perform sacrifice in the house of an initiated person". Similarly तिष्ठेयुपा इ, अनुग्रहे

पूर्वाश्च ॥ Here also it is being reflected upon whether दूषे तिष्ठेत् or दूषे अनुप्रहेत् ॥ i. e. should the stake remain upright or should it be put flat by the yajamāna. किं दूषस्तिष्ठेत्, किं वा दूषं यजमानः शाययेत् ॥

पूर्वं तु भाषायाम् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वम्, तु, भाषायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाषायां विषये विचार्यमाणानां पूर्वमेव ह्यवते ॥

98. In the common speech, the end-vowel of the first alternative is only pluta.

This makes a niyama or restriction. The previous sūtra, is thus confined to Vedic literature, and not to the vernacular. तु here has the force of 'only'. Thus अहि ईँश्च रज्जुर्दु 'Is it a snake or a rope?' लोटो ईँश्च कपोतोदु 'Is it a clod of earth or a pigeon?'

The priority, of course, depends upon employment. The order of words depends upon one's choice.

प्रतिश्रवणे च ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिश्रवणे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिश्रवणमभ्युपगमः प्रतिज्ञानम् ॥ श्रवणाभिमुख्यं च तत्राविशेषात्सर्वत्र च महजम् ॥ प्रतिश्रवणमहाकर्म वर्त्तते तत्रैव देः प्लुतो भवति ॥

99. The end-syllable of the sentence which expresses assent or promise or listening to, is pluta.

The word प्रतिश्रवण means "agreement, assent or promise": It also means "listening to". All these senses are to be taken here, as there is nothing in the sūtra to restrict its scope. Thus it has three senses, 1. to promise something to a petitioner, 2. to acknowledge the truth of some proposition, 3. to listen to another's words. Thus गां मे देहि भोः, 1. इत्तं ते वसामि ३ ॥ 2. नित्यः शब्दो भवितुमर्हति ३ ॥ 3. देवदत्त भोः, किमाख्या ३ ॥

अनुदात्तं प्रश्नान्ताभिपूजितयोः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, प्रश्न-अन्त, अभिपूजितयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तः प्लुतो भवति प्रश्नान्ते अभिपूजिते च ॥

100. The end-vowel at the end of a question or of a praise is pluta, but unaccented.

That which is employed at the end of an interrogative sentence is called प्रश्नान्तः ॥ According to some, this rule does not ordain pluta, but only ordains the anudatta-ness of those syllables which become pluta by the previous rules VIII. 2. 84 &c. The meaning of the sūtra then is:—That pluta which comes at the end of an Interrogative sentence or a sentence denoting admiration, is anudatta.

Thus अगमोः पूर्वाश्च चानोःश्च अभिभूताश्च or अगमोः पूर्वाश्च चानोःश्च पटाश्च (i. e. अगमः पूर्वाश्च चानोःश्च अभिभूते or पटो) ॥ The words अभिभूते, and पटो being finals in a

question, become anudatta as well as pluta. The other words अग्नः &c become svarita and pluta by VIII. 2. 105. See VIII. 2. 107.

As regards अभिपूजिते we have शोभनः स्वस्ति माणवका ३ ॥ Here the final of माणवका becomes anudatta and pluta.

चिदिति चोपमार्थे प्रयुज्यमाने ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्, इति, च, उपमा-अर्थे, प्रयुज्यमाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तमिति वर्त्तते चिदित्येतस्मिन्निपाते उपमार्थे प्रयुज्यमाने वाक्यस्य देवदत्तः प्लुतो भवति ॥

101. The end-vowel at the end of a sentence becomes anudatta and pluta, when the particle चित् is employed, denoting comparison.

The word अनुदात्तं is understood here. This sūtra ordains pluta as well and not merely accent.

Thus अग्निचिद् भायाश्नु 'may he shine as fire'. So also राजचिद् भायाश्नु 'may he shine as a King'.

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of comparison'? Observe कथं चिद् भाहुः ॥ Here चिद् has the force of 'littleness or difficulty'.

Why do we say प्रयुज्यमाने 'when expressly employed'? Observe अग्नि माणवको भावात् 'Let the boy shine like fire'. Here चित् is understood, hence the rule does not apply.

उपरिस्विदासीदिति च ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपरि-स्विद्-आसीत्, इति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तमिति वर्त्तते ॥ उपरिस्विदासीत्येतस्य देवदत्तः प्लुतो भवति ॥

102. In उपरि स्विद् आसीद् the end vowel is anudatta and pluta.

The word anudatta is understood here also. The end-vowel would have been pluta here by VIII. 2. 97: the present sūtra really ordains accentlessness of this pluta.

Thus अधः स्विदासीश्नु, उपरि स्विदासीश्नु (Rig X. 129. 5). In the first portion आसीद् is pluta and udatta by VIII. 2. 97, in the second it is anudatta by the present sūtra.

स्वरितमाग्नेदितेसूयासंमतिकोपकुत्सनेषु ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितम्, आग्ने-दिते, असूया, सम्मतिः, कोप, कुत्सनेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरितः प्लुतो भवति आग्नेदिते परतः असूयायां सम्मतौ कोपे कुत्सने च गन्धेमान ॥

वा० ॥ अनुदात्तिसु वा वचनं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

103. Of the two Vocatives of the same form standing at the beginning of a sentence, the end-vowel of the first becomes pluta and svarita, when envy, praise, anger, or blame is expressed.

The vocative is doubled by VIII. 1. 8. This sūtra ordains pluta there. Thus Envy:—माणवकाश् माणवक, अभिरूपकाश् अभिरूपक, रिक्तं त अभिरूपकम् ॥ Praise:—

माणवकांश्च माणवक, अर्भिकपकांश्च अभिकपक शोभनः स्वस्वसि ॥ Anger:—माणवकांश्च माणवक, अर्भिकपकांश्च अभिकपक इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि आत्म ॥ Blame:—शान्तीकांश्च शान्तिक, यादृकीकांश्च यादृकीक रिक्ता ते शान्तिकः ॥

Vart:—The word “optionally” should be read into this sūtra. Thus there is no pluta and svarita in one alternative As माणवक माणवक &c.

क्षियार्थाः प्रैषेषु तिङ्ङाकाङ्क्षम् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षिया, आशी, प्रैषेषु, तिङ्ङ-
आकाङ्क्षम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वारित इति वर्त्तते । क्षिया आचारभेदः । आशीः प्रार्थनाविशेषः । शब्देन व्यापारणं प्रैषः । एतेषु गन्धमानेषु तिङ्ङन्तामकाङ्क्षं वक्तव्यं स्वरितः प्लुतो भवति ॥

104. When an error against polite usage is censured, or when a benediction or a bidding is intended, the end syllable of a finite verb becomes pluta and svarita, if this requires another sentence to complete the sense.

The word ‘svarita’ is understood here. The word क्षिया means ‘the error in usage’ or ‘want of good breeding’. (VIII.1.60) आशीः means ‘benediction’. प्रैषः means ‘order’ or ‘commanding by words’.

Thus (1) स्ववं रयेन वीर्तिंश्च, उपाध्यायं पदाति गमयति ॥ स्ववं भोवनं मुहूर्त्तेश्च, उपाध्यायं सकृन् पावयति ॥ In both these, the first sentence requires the second as its complement, and hence there is साकाङ्क्षा ॥

Benediction:—सुतांश्च लप्सीष्टांश्च धनं च तात ; छन्दोध्येपीष्टांश्च व्याकरणं च, भद्र ॥

Order:—कटं कुर्वंश्च मानं च गच्छ ; ववान् लुनीहिंश्च, सकृन् पावयति ॥

Why do we say “when it requires another sentence as its complement”? Observe वीर्तिं ते आशुस्तु ; अग्नीन् विहर ॥ There cannot be any counter-example of क्षिया, for there two sentences are absolutely necessary to express the sense of censure.

अनन्त्यस्यापि प्रश्नाख्यानयोः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनन्त्यस्य, अपि, प्रश्न, आख्या-
नयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनन्त्यस्यापि अनन्त्यस्यापि पदस्य टेः प्लुतो भवति प्रश्ने आख्याने च ॥

105. In a question or narration, the end-vowel of a word, though not final in a sentence, becomes svarita and pluta, as well as of the word which is final in a sentence.

The word ‘padasya’ is understood here: and so also the word ‘svarita’. The end-vowel of a word which is not the last word in a sentence, as well as of the last word, becomes svarita and pluta, when a question is asked, or a fact is narrated. In fact, *all* the words of a sentence become svarita and pluta hereby.

Thus in questioning we have:—आगमांश्च पूर्वान् चामान् आशि सुतांश्च or पदांश्च ॥ Thus all words have become svarita and pluta. The final word

would, in one alternative, become anudatta also, by VIII. 2. 100, as shown under that sūtra. The force of the word अण् in the sūtra, is to make the final word also svarita, and thus this sūtra makes VIII. 2. 100 an *optional* sūtra with regard to question.

In *ākhyāna* or narration, there is no other rule, which is debarred by this. Therefore there, *all* words become svarita and pluta *necessarily*, by the force of this sūtra. Thus अण्नांश्च पूर्वांश्च मानांश्च भोः ॥

Another view of this sūtra is that the word अण् applies only to *ākhyāna*, so that in *ākhyāna* *all* words become svarita. But in *praśna*, the final word will not become svarita, but anudatta *necessarily* by VIII. 2. 100. According to this view, this sūtra does not ordain *option*. This view is not adopted by Kāsikā, or Padamanjari or Siddhanta Kaumudi.

प्लुतावैच इदुतौ ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्लुतौ, ऐचः, इदुतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दूपाजूतादिषु प्लुतो विहितः तत्र ऐचः प्लुतप्रसङ्गे तदवयवभूतावि इतौ प्लुतौ ॥

106. In forming the pluta of the diphthongs ऐ and औ, their last element इ and उ get the pluta.

The pluta ordained by VIII. 2. 84 &c. when applied to ऐ or औ, cause the prolation of the last element of these diphthongs namely of इ or उ ॥ The word प्लुतौ in the sūtra is Nominative dual of प्लुत, and the aphorism literally means “इ and उ are pluta of the diphthongs ऐ and औ” ॥

Thus ऐश्चिकावन, औश्चगव ॥

The letters ऐ and औ are compound letters or diphthongs consisting of अ+इ and अ+उ ॥ In making the pluta of these, the question arises, should both अ and इ (or उ) be prolated, or only the last element, or the first only. The present sūtra answers that doubt. If in the analysis of these letters, अ be taken as having one mātra (or *moras*), and इ and उ one mātrā, then the pluta इ and उ will have two mātrās, so that the whole pluta ऐ and औ will have *three* mātrās. In fact, the word प्लुत is used here as a Past Participle of प्लु, having the force of a verb; and इदुतौ प्लुतौ means इदुतौ इवेते i. e. वृद्धि गच्छतः, i. e. इ and उ are lengthened. And इ and उ are lengthened to that extent, so as to make ऐ and औ *three* mātrās. Thus when अ+इ and अ+उ each has one mātrā, then the pluta of इ and उ will have *two* mātrās as we have said before. But when अ+इ (ऐ) and अ+उ (औ) are considered to have अ *half* mātra, and इ and उ one mātrā and a half, then इ and उ are made pluta, so as to have two and a half ($2\frac{1}{2}$) mātrās each, thus the whole of ऐ and औ, has still *three* mātrās. In fact, the definition of *pluta* is, that it is a vowel which has *three* mātrās: so that we should so prolate the vowel as to make it have *three* mātrās.

But according to Patanjali, this pluta of ऐ and औ has *four* mātrās. Thus अ+इ and अ+उ each has *one* mātrā. The pluta of इ and उ will have

three mātṛās. Thus अ+इ and अ+उ, or the whole has four mātṛās. According to this view a vowel may have four mātṛās also.

एचोऽप्रगृह्यस्यादूराद्भूते पूर्वस्यार्धस्यादुत्तरस्येदुतौ ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एचो, अ-प्रगृह्यस्य, अदूराद्भूते, पूर्वस्य अर्धस्य, आत्, उत्तरस्य ईत्, उतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एचोऽप्रगृह्यस्यादूराद्भूते प्लुतविषयस्यार्धस्याकार आदेशो भवति स च प्लुतः उत्तरस्थिकारोकारावादेशो भवतः ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ विषयपरिगणं कर्तव्यं ॥ वा० ॥ प्रमान्ताभिपुञ्जितविचार्यमाणप्रत्यभिवादवाङ्मन्तेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ आनन्विते छन्दसि प्लुतविकारोऽयं वक्तव्यः ॥

107. In the diphthongs, which are not Pragryha (I. 1. 11 &c) and which become pluta under the circumstances mentioned in VIII. 2. 83 &c., but not when that circumstance is a call from a distance (VIII. 2. 84); for the first half, there is substituted the prolated आ, and for the second portion इ or उ ॥

The diphthongs or एच् are ए, ऐ, औ and औ ॥ Their elements are अ+इ, and अ+उ ॥ When these diphthongs are to be prolated, at the end of a word, the diphthong is resolved into its elements, the first portion अ is prolated, and इ or उ added, as the case may be. This इ and उ, in fact, are the substitutes of the second portion, which may be इ or उ, or ए or औ ॥

This rule is not of universal application, but applies to Rules VIII. 2. 100, VIII. 2. 97, VIII. 2. 83, and VIII. 2. 90 only, according to the

Vārt:—The scope of this sūtra should be determined by enumerating the rules to which it applies.

Vārt:—It should be stated that it applies to sūtras VIII. 2. 100, 97, 83 and 90.

Thus VIII. 2. 100: As अगमाः पूर्वाश्च मानाश्च अमिमूलाश्च ॥ or पदाश्च ॥ नइं करोषि माणवकाश्च अमिमूलाश्च or पदाश्च ॥ So also VIII. 2. 97: होतव्यं हीनितस्य गृह्योश्च ॥ So also VIII. 2. 83, as:—आयुष्माश्च एषि अमिमूलाश्च or पदाश्च ॥ So also VIII. 2. 90:—as.

उक्षाम्नाश्च वक्षाम्नाश्च सोमपृष्ठाश्च वेधसे ।

स्तौमि विधेनामवाश्च ॥ (Tait. S. I. 3. 14. 7).

This pluta आ is udāṭṭa, anudāṭṭa or svarita, according to the particular rule which has been applied, i. e. at the end of a question it is anudāṭṭa or svarita, and every where else, udāṭṭa. The इ and उ are of course, always udāṭṭa: because the anuvṛitti of udāṭṭa is current here.

Why do we restrict this sūtra to the above-mentioned four rules? Observe विष्णुभूते विष्णुभूतेश्च घातविष्णुमि त्वा आनच्छ भो माणवक विष्णुभूते ॥

In fact, the present sūtra being confined to the above-mentioned four rules, the words अदूराद्भूते in the sūtra, are redundant: and should not have

been used. Moreover the word पदान्त should have been used in the sūtra, for it applies to diphthongs at the end of a pada. Therefore, not here, मङ्गं करोषि गौरिषि ॥ Here गौ before the sarvanāmasthāna affix झु is not a Pada (I. 4. 17).

Why do we say 'when it is not a Pragṛhya'? Observe घोमने खलु स्यःखद्दे ॥

Vārt:—This peculiar modification of pluta vowel takes place in the Vocative case in the Vedas. As अग्नाइ पत्नीवाइः सखुर्वेने स्वष्ट्रा सोमं पिब ॥ Here by no other rule, the Vocative would have become prolated

तयोर्ग्रावच्चि संहितायाम् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तयोः य, वी, अचि, संहितायाम् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ तयोःरिदुतोर्वकारवकारादेशो भवतो ऽचि संहितायां विषये ॥

Kārikā:—किं तु वजा भवतीह न सिद्धं द्वाविदुतोर्वदयं विदधाति ।
तौ च मम स्वरसन्धिषु सिद्धौ शाकलसीर्षविधी तु निबलौ ॥
इकं तु वजा भवति प्लुतपूर्वस्त्व वजं विदधात्यपवादम् ।
तेन तयोश्च न शाकलसीर्षौ वज्रस्वरबाधनमेव तु हेतुः ॥

108. For these vowels इ and उ are substituted इ and उ when a vowel follows them in a samhita (in an unbroken flow of speech).

The word संहितायाम् is an adhikāra and exerts its influence upto the end of the Book. Whatever we shall teach hereafter, upto the end of the Book, will apply to words which are in Sanhitā.

Thus अग्नाइवाचा, पदाइवाचा, अग्नाइविन्द्रम्, पदाइवृकम् ॥

Why do we say "when a vowel follows"? Observe अग्नाइइ, पदाइउ ॥

Why do we say संहितायाम् 'in an uninterrupted flow of speech'? Observe अग्नाइइ इन्द्रम्, पदाइउ उक्कम् in Pada Pāṭha.

This sūtra is made, because इ and उ being Pluta-modifications are considered as asiddha (VIII. 2. 1) for the purposes of इको वज्रिषि (VI. 1. 77). But supposing that some how or other, these इ and उ be considered siddha, still the present rule is necessary to prevent their lengthening before a homogeneous vowel (VI. 1. 101), or their retaining their form unchanged by VI. 1. 127. If it be said, that these rules VI. 1. 101, and VI. 1. 127, would not apply, because of the Vārtika इकः प्लुतपूर्वस्त्व सवर्णसीर्ष बाधनायै वजादेशो वक्तव्यः (Vārtika to VI. 1. 77); still the present sūtra ought to be made, in order to prevent वज्र accent (VIII. 2. 4).

Kārikā:—Q. Could not this have been accomplished by the वजादेशो of VI. 1. 77, that the Achārya has taught this separate इ and उ substitution?

Ans.—If you say that pluta is siddha in the vowel sandhi rules, because of the jñāpaka in sūtra VI. 1. 125, then still this rule is necessary in order to prevent the lengthening of VI. 1. 101, and the Śākala rule VI. 1. 127.

Q.—But those two rules VI. 1. 101, and VI. 1. 127, have already been debarred by the Vārtika which ordains that वृत्तदेश takes place of such a vowel following a pluta (See vārtika to VI. 1. 77), what is then the necessity of the present sūtra ?

Ans.—The necessity of the present sūtra is to prevent the वृत्त-accent of VIII. 2. 4.

According to one view, the vārtika under VI. 1. 77, refers to those vowels which are not pluta-elements, like the present इ and उ, but which are *independent* vowels following after a pluta vowel. As मोइ इ इन्द्र = मोइ इन्द्र ॥ Here इ is a Nipāta.

In some texts of Kāsikā, according to Padamanjari, only the last example is given.

आग्नेडितं भर्त्सने ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आग्नेडितम्, भर्त्सने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाक्यादिरामन्वितस्येति भर्त्सने द्विर्वचनद्वयं तस्याग्नेडितं द्वयते ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ भर्त्सने पर्यायेनेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

95. The end syllable of an *āmreḍita* Vocative is *pluta*, when threat is expressed.

A Vocative is reiterated when threat is meant (VIII. 1. 8). Its final syllable becomes *pluta*. Thus चौरं चौरं घातिष्यामि त्वा ॥ So also वृषल वृषलं वन्धविष्यामि त्वा, इत्य इत्यो ३ &c.

Though the *anuvṛitti* of the *sūtra* VIII. 2. 82, is current here, yet the final of the *sentence* is not *pluta*, but of the *āmreḍita*.

Vṛti :—It should be rather stated that any one of the repeated words may be *pluta* by alternation. Thus चौरं चौरं or चौरं चौरं ॥ The word *āmreḍita* is employed in the *sūtra* as illustrative of the doubling, for threat is expressed by *both* words, so *pluta* may be of *both* words in turn: and not of the second word only, though that is called technically *āmreḍita*.

अङ्गयुक्तं तिङ्गाकाङ्क्षम् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्ग, युक्तम्, तिङ्गाकाङ्क्षम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गव्ययेन युक्तं तिङन्तमाकाङ्क्षं भर्त्सने द्वयते ॥

96. The final syllable of a finite verb, used as a threat becomes *pluta*, when the word *अङ्ग* is joined with it, and it demands another sentence to complete the conclusion.

Thus अङ्ग कूर्जा ३ इरानी ज्ञास्वसि ज्ञास्व ॥ अङ्ग व्याहरी ३, इरानी ज्ञास्वसि ज्ञास्व ॥

Why do we say 'a verb'? Observe अङ्ग देववत् मिथ्या वदसि ॥

Why do we say "when this calls for a conclusion"? Observe अङ्ग पच ॥ Here it is a complete sentence and does not demand another to complete the sense.

The word *भर्त्सने* of the last *sūtra* is understood here also. Therefore not here, अङ्ग अधीष्य, ओदनं ते दास्यामि ॥ Here अङ्ग has the force of solicitation. (VIII. 1. 33).

विचार्यमाणानाम् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विचार्य-माणानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाणेन वस्तुपरीक्षणं विचारः । तस्य विषये विचार्यमाणानां वाक्यानां टेः प्लुतो भवति ॥

97. The end-syllable of those sentences is *pluta*, which denote acts of reflection (or balancing between two alternatives).

To determine a thing by weighing all arguments *pro* and *con* is called *vichāra* or judgment. Thus होतव्यं हीहितस्य गृहा ३ इ न होतव्यं ३ इ "should one perform sacrifice in the house of an initiated person". Similarly सिद्धेयूपा ३ इ, अनुग्रहे

पूर्वाश्च ॥ Here also it is being reflected upon whether शूषे तिष्ठेत् or शूषे अनुप्रहेत् ॥ i. e. should the stake remain upright or should it be put flat by the yajamāna. किं शूषस्तिष्ठेत्, किं वा शूषं यजमानः शाययेत् ॥

पूर्वं तु भाषायाम् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वम्, तु, भाषायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाषायां विषये विचार्यमाणानां पूर्वमेव द्वयते ॥

98. In the common speech, the end-vowel of the first alternative is only pluta.

This makes a niyama or restriction. The previous sūtra, is thus confined to Vedic literature, and not to the vernacular. तु here has the force of 'only'. Thus अहि र्नाँश्च रज्जुर्नाँश्च 'Is it a snake or a rope?' लोटो र्नाँश्च कपोतोऽपि 'Is it a clod of earth or a pigeon?'

The priority, of course, depends upon employment. The order of words depends upon one's choice.

प्रतिश्रवणे च ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिश्रवणे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिश्रवणमभ्युपगमः प्रतिज्ञानम् ॥ श्रवणामिदुक्तं च तत्राविशेषात्सर्वत्र च मह्यम् ॥ प्रतिश्रवणं यद्वाक्यं वर्तते तस्य देः प्लुतो भवति ॥

99. The end-syllable of the sentence which expresses assent or promise or listening to, is pluta.

The word प्रतिश्रवण means "agreement, assent or promise". It also means "listening to". All these senses are to be taken here, as there is nothing in the sūtra to restrict its scope. Thus it has three senses, 1. to promise something to a petitioner, 2. to acknowledge the truth of some proposition, 3. to listen to another's words. Thus नाँ मे देहि भोः, 1. इत्तं ते वसामि ३ ॥ 2. नित्यः शब्दो भवितुमर्हति ३ ॥ 3. देवदत्त भोः, किमात्स्यो ३ ॥

अनुदात्तं प्रश्नान्तामिपूजितयोः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, प्रश्न-अन्त, अमि पूजितयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तः प्लुतो भवति प्रश्नान्ते अमिपूजिते च ॥

100. The end-vowel at the end of a question or of a praise is pluta, but unaccented.

That which is employed at the end of an interrogative sentence is called प्रश्नान्तः ॥ According to some, this rule does not ordain pluta, but only ordains the anudatta-ness of those syllables which become pluta by the previous rules VIII. 2. 84 &c. The meaning of the sūtra then is:—That pluta which comes at the end of an Interrogative sentence or a sentence denoting admiration, is anudatta.

Thus अगर्माँश्च पूर्वोँश्च मामाँश्च अमिभूताँश्च or अगर्माँश्च पूर्वोँश्च मामाँश्च पदाँश्च (i. e. अगमः पूर्वोँश्च मामाँश्च अमिभूते or पदे) ॥ The words अमिभूते, and पदे being finals in a

question, become anudâta as well as pluta. The other words अग्नः &c become svarita and pluta by VIII. 2. 105. See VIII. 2. 107.

As regards अभिपूजिते we have शोभनः स्वस्वसि माणवका ३ ॥ Here the final of माणवक becomes anudâta and pluta.

चिदिति चोपमार्थे प्रयुज्यमाने ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्, इति, च, उपमा-अर्थे, प्रयुज्यमाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तमिति वर्त्तते चिदित्येतस्मिन्निपाते उपमार्थे प्रयुज्यमाने वाक्यस्य देरनुदात्तः प्लुतो भवति ॥

101. The end-vowel at the end of a sentence becomes anudâta and pluta, when the particle चित् is employed, denoting comparison.

The word अनुदात्तं is understood here. This sūtra ordains pluta as well and not merely accent.

Thus अभिचिद् भाग्यश्न 'may he shine as fire'. So also राजचिद् भाग्यश्न 'may be shine as a King'.

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of comparison'? Observe कथं चिद् आहुः ॥ Here चिद् has the force of 'littleness or difficulty'.

Why do we say प्रयुज्यमाने 'when expressly employed'? Observe अग्नि माणवको भावात् 'Let the boy shine like fire'. Here चित् is understood, hence the rule does not apply.

उपरिस्विदासीदिति च ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपरि-स्वित्-आसीत्, इति, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तमिति वर्त्तते ॥ उपरिस्विदासीत्येतस्य देरनुदात्तः प्लुतो भवति ॥

102. In उपरि स्वित् आसीत् the end vowel is anudâta and pluta.

The word anudâta is understood here also. The end-vowel would have been pluta here by VIII. 2. 97: the present sūtra really ordains accentlessness of this pluta.

Thus अधः स्विदासीत्, उपरि स्विदासीत् (Rig X. 129. 5). In the first portion आसीत् is pluta and udâta by VIII. 2. 97, in the second it is anudâta by the present sūtra.

स्वरितमात्रेडितेसूयासंमतिकोपकुत्सनेषु ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितम्, मात्रे-डिते, असूया, सम्मति, कोप, कुत्सनेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरितः प्लुतो भवति अभिहिते परतः असूयायां सम्मतौ कोपे कुत्सने च गन्धमान ॥

वा० ॥ असूयादिषु वा वचनं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

103. Of the two Vocatives of the same form standing at the beginning of a sentence, the end-vowel of the first becomes pluta and svarita, when envy, praise, anger, or blame is expressed.

The vocative is doubled by VIII. 1. 8. This sūtra ordains pluta there. Thus Envy:—माणवका ३ माणवक, अभिरूपका ३ अभिरूपक, रिक्तं त अभिरूपकम् ॥ Praise:—

माणवकांश्च माणवक, अमिहकपांश्च अमिहक घोभनः खल्वसि ॥ Anger:—माणवकांश्च माणवक, अविनीतकांश्च अविनीतक इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि ज्ञास्य ॥ Blame:—ज्ञान्तीकांश्च ज्ञान्तीक, वाटीकांश्च वाटीक रिक्ता ते शक्तिः ॥

Vart:—The word “optionally” should be read into this sūtra. Thus there is no pluta and svarita in one alternative As माणवक माणवक &c.

क्षियाशीः प्रैषेषु तिष्ठाकाङ्क्षम् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षिया, आशी, प्रैषेषु, तिष्ठाकाङ्क्षम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वारिति इति वर्त्तते । क्षिया आचारभेदः । आशीः प्रार्थनाविशेषः । शब्देन व्यापारणं प्रैषः । एतेषु गन्धमानेषु तिष्ठन्नामकाङ्क्षं वक्तव्यं स्वरितः प्लुतो भवति ॥

104. When an error against polite usage is censured, or when a benediction or a bidding is intended, the end syllable of a finite verb becomes pluta and svarita, if this requires another sentence to complete the sense.

The word ‘svarita’ is understood here. The word क्षिया means ‘the error in usage’ or ‘want of good breeding’. (VIII.1.60) आशीः means ‘benediction’. प्रैषः means ‘order’ or ‘commanding by words’.

Thus (1) स्वयं रयेन वीतिंश्च, उपाध्यायं पशति गमयति ॥ स्वयं भोरनं मुहूर्त्तेश्च, उपाध्यायं सकृन् पावयति ॥ In both these, the first sentence requires the second as its complement, and hence there is साकाङ्क्षा ॥

Benediction:—सुतांश्च लप्सीष्ठांश्च धनं च तात ; छन्दोध्येषीष्ठांश्च व्याकरणं च, भद्र ॥

Order:—कटं कुर्वंश्च मानं च गच्छ ; ववान् लनीहिंश्च, सकृन् च पिब ॥

Why do we say “when it requires another sentence as its complement”? Observe वीतिं ते आयुरस्तु ; अग्नीन् विहर ॥ There cannot be any counter-example of क्षिया, for there two sentences are absolutely necessary to express the sense of censure.

अनन्त्यस्यापि प्रभाष्यानयोः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनन्त्यस्य, अपि, प्रभ, आख्या-नयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनन्त्यस्यापि अनन्त्यस्यापि परत्वं टेः प्लुतो भवति प्रभे आख्याने च ॥

105. In a question or narration, the end-vowel of a word, though not final in a sentence, becomes svarita and pluta, as well as of the word which is final in a sentence.

The word ‘padasya’ is understood here: and so also the word ‘svarita’. The end-vowel of a word which is not the last word in a sentence, as well as of the last word, becomes svarita and pluta, when a question is asked, or a fact is narrated. In fact, *all* the words of a sentence become svarita and pluta hereby.

Thus in questioning we have:—जानमांश्च पूर्वान्श्च मानान्श्च मामि भूतांश्च or पदांश्च ॥ Thus all words have become svarita and pluta. The final word

would, in one alternative, become anudatta also, by VIII. 2. 100, as shown under that sūtra. The force of the word अण्वि in the sūtra, is to make the final word also svarita, and thus this sūtra makes VIII. 2. 100 an *optional* sūtra with regard to question.

In *ākhyāna* or narration, there is no other rule, which is debarred by this. Therefore there, *all* words become svarita and pluta *necessarily*, by the force of this sūtra. Thus अगमांश्च पूर्वांश्च मातांश्च भोः ॥

Another view of this sūtra is that the word अण्वि applies only to *ākhyāna*, so that in *ākhyāna* *all* words become svarita. But in *praśna*, the final word will not become svarita, but anudatta *necessarily* by VIII. 2. 100. According to this view, this sūtra does not ordain *option*. This view is not adopted by Kāsikā, or Padamanjari or Siddhanta Kaumudi.

प्लुतावैच इदुतौ ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्लुतौ, ऐचः, इदुतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दूराप्लुतादिषु प्लुतो विहितः तत्र ऐचः प्लुतमसङ्गे तदवयवभूतावि इतौ प्लुतौ ॥

106. In forming the pluta of the diphthongs ऐ and औ, their last element इ and उ get the pluta.

The pluta ordained by VIII. 2. 84 &c. when applied to ऐ or औ, cause the prolation of the last element of these diphthongs namely of इ or उ ॥ The word प्लुतौ in the sūtra is Nominative dual of प्लुत, and the aphorism literally means "इ and उ are pluta of the diphthongs ऐ and औ" ॥

Thus ऐश्चिकावन, औश्चगव ॥

The letters ऐ and औ are compound letters or diphthongs consisting of अ+इ and अ+उ ॥ In making the pluta of these, the question arises, should both अ and इ (or उ) be prolated, or only the last element, or the first only. The present sūtra answers that doubt. If in the analysis of these letters, अ be taken as having one mātra (or *moras*), and इ and उ one mātrā, then the pluta इ and उ will have two mātrās, so that the whole pluta ऐ and औ will have *three* mātrās. In fact, the word प्लुत is used here as a Past Participle of प्लु, having the force of a verb; and इदुतौ प्लुतौ means इदुतौ ध्रुवेते i. e. वृत्ति गच्छतः, i. e. इ and उ are lengthened. And इ and उ are lengthened to that extent, so as to make ऐ and औ *three* mātrās. Thus when अ+इ and अ+उ each has one mātrā, then the pluta of इ and उ will have *two* mātrās as we have said before. But when अ+इ (ऐ) and अ+उ (औ) are considered to have अ *half* mātra, and इ and उ one mātrā and a half, then इ and उ are made pluta, so as to have two and a half ($2\frac{1}{2}$) mātrās each, thus the whole of ऐ and औ, has still *three* mātrās. In fact, the definition of *pluta* is, that it is a vowel which has *three* mātrās: so that we should so prolate the vowel as to make it have *three* mātrās.

But according to Patanjali, this pluta of ऐ and औ has *four* mātrās. Thus अ+इ and अ+उ each has *one* mātrā. The pluta of इ and उ will have

three mātrās. Thus अ+इ३ and अ+उ३, or the *whole* has *four* mātrās. According to this view a vowel may have *four* mātrās also.

एषोऽप्रगृह्यस्यादूराद्भूते पूर्वस्यार्धस्यानुत्तरस्येदुतौ ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एषो, अ-प्रगृह्यस्य, अदूराद्भूते, पूर्वस्य अर्धस्य, आत्, उत्तरस्य ईत्, उतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एषोऽप्रगृह्यस्यादूराद्भूते प्लुतविषयस्यार्धस्याकार आदेशो भवति स च प्लुतः उत्तरस्थकारोकारावादेशो भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ विषयपरिगणं कर्तव्यं ॥ वा० ॥ प्रमान्ताभिपूजितविचार्यमाणप्रत्यभिवादयाज्यान्तेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ आनन्विते छन्दसि प्लुतविकारोऽयं वक्तव्यः ॥

107. In the diphthongs, which are not Pragryha (I. 1. 11 &c) and which become pluta under the circumstances mentioned in VIII. 2. 83 &c., but not when that circumstance is a call from a distance (VIII. 2. 84); for the first half, there is substituted the prolated आ, and for the second portion इ or उ ॥

The diphthongs or एच् are ए, ऐ, औ and औ ॥ Their elements are अ+इ, and अ+उ ॥ When these diphthongs are to be prolated, *at the end of a word*, the diphthong is resolved into its elements, the *first* portion अ is prolated, and इ or उ added, as the case may be. This इ and उ, in fact, are the substitutes of the second portion, which may be इ or उ, or ए or औ ॥

This rule is not of universal application, but applies to Rules VIII. 2. 100, VIII. 2. 97, VIII. 2. 83, and VIII. 2. 90 only, according to the

Vart:—The scope of this sūtra should be determined by enumerating the rules to which it applies.

Vart:—It should be stated that it applies to sūtras VIII. 2. 100, 97, 83 and 90.

Thus VIII. 2. 100: As अगमाः पूर्वाश्च आमाश्च अमिभूताश्च ॥ or पदाश्च ॥ नङ् करोपि माणवकाः अमिभूताश्च ॥ or पदाश्च ॥ So also VIII. 2. 97: होतव्यं हीनितस्य गृह्णाश्च ॥ So also VIII. 2. 83, as:—आयुष्यान् एषि अमिभूताश्च ॥ or पदाश्च ॥ So also VIII. 2. 90:—as.

उक्षाम्नाय वक्षाम्नाय सोमपृष्ठाय वेधसे ।

स्तौमि विधेमात्रवाश्च ॥ (Tait. S. I. 3. 14. 7).

This pluta आ is udātta, anudātta or svarita, according to the particular rule which has been applied, i. e. at the end of a question it is anudātta or svarita, and every where else, udātta. The इ and उ are of course, always udātta : because the anuvṛitti of udātta is current here.

Why do we restrict this sūtra to the above-mentioned four rules? Observe विष्णुभूते विष्णुभूतेऽ वातविष्णामि त्वा आनच्छ भो माणवक विष्णुभूते ॥

In fact, the present sūtra being confined to the above-mentioned four rules, the words अदूराद्भूते in the sūtra, are redundant : and should not have

been used. Moreover the word पशन्त should have been used in the sūtra, for it applies to diphthongs at the end of a pada. Therefore, not here, भद्रं करोषि गौरिति ॥ Here गौ before the sarvanāmasthāna affix झु is not a Pada (I. 4. 17).

Why do we say 'when it is not a Pragṛhya'? Observe घोषने खलु स्यःखद्वे ॥

Vārt:—This peculiar modification of pluta vowel takes place in the Vocative case in the Vedas. As अग्राइह पत्नीवाइः सजूर्वेने स्वहा सोमं पिब ॥ Here by no other rule, the Vocative would have become prolated

तयोर्घ्रावचि संहितायाम् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तयोः य, वौ, अचि, संहितायाम् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ तयोर्दुतोर्धकारवकारादेशौ भवतो ऽचि संहितायां विषये ॥

Kārikā:—किं तु अणा भवतीह न सिद्धं द्वाविदुतोर्धदयं विदधाति ।
 सौ च मम स्वरसन्धिषु सिद्धौ शाकलसीर्धविधी तु निवर्त्यौ ॥
 इक तु अदा भवति प्लुतपूर्वस्त्व अणं विदधात्यपवादम् ।
 तेन तयोश्च न शाकलसीर्धौ अप्स्वरबाधनमेव तु हेतुः ॥

108. For these vowels इ and उ are substituted इ and उ when a vowel follows them in a samhitā (in an unbroken flow of speech).

The word संहितायाम् is an adhikāra and exerts its influence upto the end of the Book. Whatever we shall teach hereafter, upto the end of the Book, will apply to words which are in Sanhitā.

Thus अग्राइवाचा, पदाइवाचा, अग्राइचिन्त्रम्, पदाइवृक्कम् ॥

Why do we say "when a vowel follows"? Observe अग्राइह, पदाइउ ॥

Why do we say संहितायाम् 'in an uninterrupted flow of speech'? Observe अग्राइ इ इन्त्रम्, पदाइउ उक्कम् in Pada Pāṭha.

This sūtra is made, because इ and उ being Pluta-modifications are considered as asiddha (VIII. 2. 1) for the purposes of इको अणचि (VI. 1. 77). But supposing that some how or other, these इ and उ be considered siddha, still the present rule is necessary to prevent their lengthening before a homogeneous vowel (VI. 1. 101), or their retaining their form unchanged by VI. 1. 127. If it be said, that these rules VI. 1. 101, and VI. 1. 127, would not apply, because of the Vārtika इकः प्लुतपूर्वस्त्व सवर्णसीर्ध बाधनार्थे अणादेशो वक्तव्यः (Vārtika to VI. 1. 77); still the present sūtra ought to be made, in order to prevent अप् accent (VIII. 2. 4).

Kārikā:—Q. Could not this have been accomplished by the अणादेश of VI. 1. 77, that the Achārya has taught this separate इ and उ substitution?

Ans.—If you say that pluta is siddha in the vowel sandhi rules, because of the jñāpaka in sūtra VI. 1. 125, then still this rule is necessary in order to prevent the lengthening of VI. 1. 101, and the Śākala rule VI. 1. 127.

Q.—But those two rules VI. 1. 101, and VI. 1. 127, have already been debarred by the Vārtika which ordains that वृजदेश takes place of such a vowel following a pluta (See vārtika to VI. 1. 77), what is then the necessity of the present sūtra ?

Ans.—The necessity of the present sūtra is to prevent the वृज-accent of VIII. 2. 4.

According to one view, the vārtika under VI. 1. 77, refers to those vowels which are not pluta-elements, like the present इ and उ, but which are *independent* vowels following after a pluta vowel. As मोइ इ इन्द्र = मोइ यिन्द्र ॥ Here इ is a Nipāta.

अथ अष्टमाध्यास्य तृतीयः पादः ।

BOOK EIGHTH.

CHAPTER THIRD.

मनुष्यसो रु सम्बुद्धौ छन्दसि ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनु, वसोः, रु, सम्बुद्धौ, छन्दसि ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वन्तस्य वस्वन्तस्य च परस्य रुरित्ययमादेशो भवति सम्बुद्धौ परतः छन्दसि विषये ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वन उपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ भवद्भगवदपवत्तमोवावस्व ॥

1. For the final of the affixes मत् and वस्, there is substituted रु, in the Vocative singular, in the Chhandas.

The word संहितायां is understood here. A word ending in the affix मत् or वस्, changes its final त् or स् into रु, in the Chhandas, in the Vocative singular. Thus मत् :—इन्द्रं मरुत्व इह पाहि सोमम् (Rig. III. 51. 7) हरिवो भेदिनं स्वा ॥ Here मरुत्वः is Vocative Sg. of मरुत्वत् and हरिवः of हरिवत्, meaning "he who is possessed of Maruts or Hari horses". The म् of मत् is changed to व् by VIII. 2. 10; 15. The base मरुत् before this termination is Bha by I. 4. 19. The affix सु (nom. sg.) is elided by VI. 1. 68; the त् is elided by VIII. 2. 23, and the न् (of तुम् VII. 1. 70) is changed to र् by this sūtra. So also इन्द्रायाहि तूतुजानः उपब्रह्माणि हरिवः (Rig. I. 3. 6).

With वस् :—मीदृस्तोकाद्य तर्नवाव वृळ (Rig. II. 33. 14), इन्द्रसाहः ॥ See VI. 1. 12, for the formation of मीदृान्, साहान् with कृष्ण ॥

Why do we say 'of मत् and वस्'? Observe ब्रह्मन् स्तोष्यामः ॥ Why do we say in the Vocative Singular? Observe व एवं विद्वानग्निमाधत्ते ॥ Why do we say in the Chhandas? Observe हे गामन्, हे पपिवन् ॥

Vart :—The affix वन् should also be enumerated. The affixes कृनिप् and वनिप् are both meant here. Its final is also changed to रु in the Vocative Sg. As यस्त्वायन्तं वसुना प्रातरित्स्वः ॥ The word प्रातरित्स्वन् is formed by adding कृनिप् to the root इ (इष्) preceded by प्रातः ॥ See III. 2. 75. The तुक् is added by VI. 1. 71.

VArt :—The finals of भवत्, भगवत् and अघवत् are changed to रु, optionally in the secular as well as the sacred literature, and the syllable अन् of these words is changed to ओ ॥ This is a general rule, applying both in the Vedas and the Bhāshā. Thus भवत्—हे भोः or हे भवन् ॥ भगवत्—हे भगोः or हे भगवन् ॥ अघवत्—हे अघोः or हे अघवन् ॥ Or these words भोः भगोः and अघोः are so irregularly formed by the āchārya himself in VIII. 3. 17. These are found in other numbers than the Vocative Singular, as भो देवदत्तवत्स्रसौ, भो देवदत्तवत्स्रस्र विष्णुमित्राः ॥ It is found in connection with Feminine nouns also, as भो ब्राह्मणि ॥

The adhikāra of the word संहितायां does not exert any apparent influence in this sūtra. It however has influence in those subsequent sūtras, where the change in one word is occasioned by another word on account of sanhita or juxta-position, as in VIII. 3. 7.

See VIII. 2. 3 (Vārtika 2) by which the lopa is considered siddha in हरिवः, otherwise there would have been no ङ change in हरिवो मे &c.

अत्रानुनासिकः पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्र, अनुनासिकः, पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् । इत उच्यते अत्र स्यात् रुर्विधीयते ततः पूर्वस्य तु वर्णस्य वाऽनुनासिको भवतीत्ये-
तदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

2. In the following sūtras upto VIII. 3. 12, this is always to be supplied :—“But here a nasal vowel may optionally be substituted for the preceding vowel after which रु has been ordained”.

This is an adhikāra sūtra. For the letter which stands before that letter for which रु has been substituted, there is substituted a nasal vowel, in this division of Grammar, where रु is the subject of discussion.

Thus sūtra VIII. 3. 5 says “In the place of the final of सन्, there is रु when सुद् augment follows”. The vowel अ of सन् becomes nasal ; as संस्कर्त्ता, संस्कर्त्तुम्, संस्कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

Why have we used the word अत्र in the sūtra ? It means “here i. e. in this division where रु is the subject of discussion”. Obj. This object would have been gained, without using the word अत्र ; since it is an adhikāra sūtra and would apply to रु ॥ Ans. No. Here रु is taught in connection with nasal, therefore, the rule would not apply to any other context. For had अत्र not been used, we could not have known the extent of the jurisdiction (adhikāra) of this nasal ; and we might have applied the rule of nasality to those beyond the jurisdiction of रु, such as VIII. 3. 13. The employment of अत्र prevents this doubt and shows that रु and nasality are co-extensive.

आतोऽदि नित्यम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, अदि, नित्यम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अदि परतो येः पूर्वस्वाकारस्य स्यात् नित्यमनुनासिकारेणो भवति ॥

3. A nasal vowel is *always* substituted for अ before ह, when it is followed by a letter of अद् pratyâhâra (i. e. when it is followed by a vowel or ह, य, घ, or र).

Thus VIII. 3. 9 teaches ह substitution of ङ, the long आ preceding it, would have been optionally nasal by the last sūtra. The present sūtra makes it necessarily so. Thus नहीं असि (Rig. III. 46. 2) नहीं इन्द्रो व भोजता (Rig. VIII. 6. 1). देवीं भच्छादीष्यत् ॥

Some (i. e. the Taittiriyas) read it as anusvâra. This is a Vedic diversity.

Why do we say "for a long आ"? Observe वे वा वनस्पतीरनु ॥ Why do we say "when a vowel or ह, य, घ, or र follows"? Observe भवांश्चरति, भवांश्छाद्यति ॥

The word नित्य 'always' is employed for the sake of distinctness only. The very fact of making a separate sūtra, would give it a compulsory force, even without the word nitya.

अनुनासिकात्परो ऽनुस्वारः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुनासिकात्, परः, अनुस्वारः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकादन्यो यो वर्णः रोः पूर्वः अस्यानुनासिको न विहितस्ततः परो ऽनुस्वार भाग्यो भवति ॥

4. After what precedes ह, if we omit to substitute the nasal, then anusvâra shall be the augment.

The substitution of nasal is *optional* by VIII. 3. 2. When nasal is not substituted, we add an anusvâra to such vowel. The word अन्य should be read into the sūtra to complete the sense, i. e. अनुनासिकात् अन्यो यो वर्णः "a letter *other than* a nasal", i. e. a letter for which nasal has not been ordained, and which stands before ह ॥

Thus VIII. 3. 5, teaches ह substitution of the ङ् of सङ् an anusvâra would be added. As संस्कर्त्ता, संस्कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ Similarly VIII. 3. 6, teaches ह substitution of the ङ् of पुङ् ॥ An anusvâra will be added here also, as, पुंस्काना ॥ Similarly VIII. 3. 7, teaches ह substitution of final ङ् ॥ Here also an anusvâra will be added, as भवांश्चरति ॥

Some say "the word परः in the sūtra means अन्यः, and so we need not supply the word अन्यः from outside". They say अनुनासिकात् परः = अनुनासिकादन्यः ; i. e. the anusvâra takes place in that alternative when there is no nasal. That anusvâra is an *augment* and not a *substitute*. It is an augment to the vowel which precedes ह ॥

समः सुटि ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः, सुटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम इत्येतस्य कर्मवति सुटि परतः संहितायां विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संपुंकानां सो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ समो वा लोपमंके ॥

5. ह् is substituted for the म् of सम् (and thereby अँ or अं is substituted for अ) when the augment स् follows, in a samhitā.

The augment सुद् is added by VI. 1. 137 &c. Thus सँस्कृता or संस्कृता, सँस्कृत्वम् or संस्कृत्वम्, सँस्कृत्व्यम् or संस्कृत्व्यम् ॥ The word is thus evolved: सम् + स् + कृता = सद् + स् + कृता (VIII. 3. 5). Here rule VIII. 3. 15 appears and requires स् to be changed to visarjannya. This visarga may optionally be retained unchanged by VIII. 3. 36. This, however, is not done in the present instance: but the visarga is *always* and *necessarily* changed to स् by VIII. 3. 34. In fact, the option of VIII. 3. 36 is a determinate option (vyavasthita vibhāshā) and does not apply to the present case.

Or even this sūtra may be so read as to teach the स् substitution as well. Thus, the sūtra is सम्: स्सुदि with two स्, and the sūtra will mean, "ह् is substituted for the म् of सम् before सुद्, and this ह् is always changed to स्" ॥

Why do we say "for the म् of सम्"? Observe उपस्कृता ॥ Why do we say "before सुद्"? Observe संकृति ॥

Vārt:—For the finals of सम्, पुम् and कान् there is always substituted स् ॥ There would arise anomalies, if ह् be substituted. Thus संस्कृता, पुस्काया, कांस्कान् ॥ In fact, according to this vārtika, ह् is never substituted for सम् (VIII. 3. 5), पुम् (VIII. 3. 6) and कान् (VIII. 3. 12).

Vārt:—समी वा लोपमेके ॥ Some would have the elision of the स् after सम् ॥ This *Vārtika* is not given in the Kāśikā, but the Padamanjari gives it, and so also the Mahābhāshya.

According to Bhattoji Dikshita there will be 108 forms of this word संस्कृता ॥ Thus सँस्कृता and संस्कृता with the elision of स् ॥ Then with two स्, as सँस्कृता, संस्कृता ॥ Then we apply VIII. 4. 47 to this latter, and have three स्, as सँस्कृता or संस्कृता ॥ The anusvāra is considered to be a vowel (अच्) for this purpose. From the three nasal forms सँस्कृता, सँस्कृता and सँस्कृता, we get three more by doubling the क् by the vārtika चरः खरः ॥ The three forms having anusvāra, will also double their anusvāra in addition to क् doubling. Thus we have 12 forms in anusvāra: and six in nasal, altogether 18 forms. Then the त् will be doubled and trebled: and thus with one त्, two त् and three त्, we have $3 \times 18 = 54$ forms. This will be doubled ($2 \times 54 = 108$) when अच् is nasalised.

पुमः खय्यम्परे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुमः, खयि, अम्-परे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुनित्येतस्य हर्षनात् अम्परे खयि परतः ॥

6. ह् is substituted for the म् of पुम्. (whereby the

उ is changed to ऊँ or उँ) before a surd mute (ख्य्) which is followed by a vowel, semivowel or a nasal (अम् pratyāhāra).

Thus पुँस्काणा or पुँस्काणा; पुँस्युचः or पुँस्युचः; पुँस्फलं or पुँस्फलम्; पुँसली or पुँसली ॥ The visarga in पुँस्काणा required to be changed optionally to × jihvāmūliya by VIII. 3. 37, but it is not so done. It is changed *always* to स् here by VIII. 3. 34, also. The स् of पुँस् is dropped by VIII. 2. 23, and the preceding sound is च, which comes to light in forms like पुनाच् &c. For the sake of distinctness, Pāṇini has elected to exhibit the shorter form पुच् when in the beginning of a composition: because this shorter form पुच् is the real stem in composition. ख्य् pratyāhāra includes the ten hard consonants, and अच् pratyāhāra includes all vowels, semivowels and nasals. पुँस्काणा is formed by the affix ण = पुमांसं कामयते ॥

In that alternative when we read the preceding sūtra as सनःसुद्युदि, then the anuvṛitti of this स् will be current in the present sūtra also, and so there will be no scope for the operation of VIII. 3. 37. And though the anuvṛitti of ह is also current, yet it will not apply here, because of its non-appropriateness in that alternative.

Why do we say 'before a surd mute'? Observe पुँसासः, पुँगवः (V. 4. 92). Why do we say 'followed by a vowel or semivowel or nasal'? Observe पुँसीरः, पुँस्युः ॥ Why do we use the word चरे in the sūtra? Had we not used it, the sūtra might have been open to this construction also. The च् of पुच् is so changed before a ख्य् letter which has an अच् letter, (whether *preceding* it or *following* it). So that the rule would have applied to पुनाख्यः, पुनाच्यारः ॥

नदृच्छव्यप्रशान् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, छवि, अप्रशान् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नकापान्तस्य पदस्य प्रशान्वर्जितस्य रुर्भवत्यम्परे छवि परतः ॥

7. ह is substituted for the final र् of a word, with the exception of the र् of प्रशान्, before a छ्व् letter (छ, ठ, थ, च, ट, त), which is followed by an अच् letter (vowel, semivowel and nasal).

The word अम्परे is to be read into this sūtra. The word अप्रशान् in the sūtra is in the Nominative case, but it has the force of Genitive.

Thus भवाँञ्छाद्यति or भवाँञ्छाद्यति; भवाँञ्चिनोति or भवाँञ्चिनोति; भवाँटीकते or भवाँटीकते, (from the root टीकि 'to go'), भवाँस्तरति or भवाँस्तरति ॥

Why do we say 'before a छ्व् letter'? Observe भवान् करोति ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of the र् of प्रशान्'? Observe प्रशान् छाद्यति, प्रशान् चिनोति ॥ Why do we say 'when अच् follows छ्व्'? See भवान् स्वरुक् ॥ स्वरुक् is sword, he who is dexterous in it, is called स्वरुक्: (कच् V. 2. 64).

उभयथर्षु ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उभयथा, ऋधु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तस्य परस्य छविपरतः अम्पर उभयथा ऋधु भवति ॥

8. In both ways, in the Rig verses.

This ordains an option to the last sūtra, by which the रु substitution was compulsory. A word ending in न् followed by a letter of छव् class, which itself is followed by अन्, changes its final न् to र् optionally in the Rig Veda. Sometimes there is र् and sometimes न् ॥ Thus तस्मिन् स्वा इधाति or तस्मिन् स्वा इधाति ; पशूस्तीषके ॥

Why do we say "in the Rig verses". No option is allowed here तास्व स्वाद् सुखावितान् ॥

दीर्घाद्वि समानपादे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, अटि, समानपादे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घानुत्तरस्य पदान्तस्य नकारस्य रुभवत्यटि परतस्तौ चेन्नित्तानिभित्तिनौ समानपादे भवतः ॥

9 रु is optionally substituted for that final न् of a word which is preceded by a long vowel, and is followed by an अट् letter (vowels and semi-vowels with the exception of इ), when these (न् and अट्) come in contact with each other in the same stanza of the Rig Veda.

The नः of VIII. 3. 7 is understood here : and so also ऋधु ॥ The word समानपाद् means एकपाद्, i. e. when both words are in one and the same Pāda of the verse. Thus परिधी रति (Rig. IX. 107. 19) स देवाँ एहवसति (Rig. I. 1. 2) देवाँ अच्छादीष्यन् ; मर्हो इन्द्रो य भोजसा ॥

Why do we say 'preceded by a long vowel'? Observe अहन्नहिन् ॥ Why do we say "when followed by a vowel or अ, इ or र्"? Observe इभ्यान् क्षत्रियान् ॥ Why do we say 'when both words are in the same Pāda of a verse'? Observe यातुधानान् उपस्यूतः ॥

The word उभयथा of the preceding sūtra is understood here also : so that it is an optional rule : and न् remains unchanged also, as आदित्यान् इवामहे आदित्यान् याचिषामहे ॥ See VIII. 3. 3.

नृन्पे ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ नृन्, पे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नृनित्येतस्य नकारस्य रुभवति पश्चात् परतः ॥

10. रु is optionally substituted for the न् of नृन् before प् ॥

The अ in प is for the sake of pronunciation only. Thus नृः पाहि or नृः पाहि ; नृः प्रीणीहि or नृः प्रीणीहि ॥

Why do we say 'before प्'? Observe नृन् भोजवति ॥ Some read the anuvṛitti of उभयथा into this sūtra, so that it is an optional one. Thus we have नृन् पाहि also. The nominative case in नृन् has the force of Genitive.

स्वतवान्पायो ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वतवान्, पायो ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वतवानित्येतस्य नकारस्य रुर्भवति पायुश्च परतः ॥

11. The न् of स्वतवान् is changed to रु before पायु ॥

As स्वतविः प्रायुर्गन्ते (Rig. IV. 2. 6). The word is स्वतवस्, the नुम् is added by VII. 1. 83. The word is derived from तु वृद्धौ with the affix भसुन् (स्वन्तवो बस्यऽसौ स्वतवान्) ॥

कानाम्नेडिते ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कान्, आम्नेडिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कानित्येतस्य नकारस्य रुर्भवति आम्नेडिते परतः ॥

12. ह is substituted for the न् of कान् when it is followed by another कान् which is an âmreḍita.

The sūtra might have been कान् कानि ; but the use of the longer form आम्नेडिते shows, that where there is 'doubling', and the word gets the designation of âmreḍita, then the rule applies. Thus कौत्स्कान् भामन्वबते, कौत्स्कान् भोजयति ; or कांत्स्कान् &c. When the second कान् is not an âmreḍita, we have कान् कान् पश्यति? Here one is कि asking question, and the other is used in the sense of contempt. This word is read in the list of कत्कारि (VIII. 3. 48), and hence sūtra VIII. 3. 37, does not apply. Or the स् of सनः सुसुटि (VIII. 3. 5), is understood here, and that स् is enjoined here and not ह ॥ It should not be objected that in the preceding sūtras also स् should be enjoined and not ह ; because in those sūtras ह is appropriate but not so here.

Why do we say 'when an âmreḍita कान् follows'? Observe कान् कान् पश्यति where one is interrogatory and the other denotes contempt (II. 1. 64).

ढो ढे लोपः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ढः, ढे, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ढकारस्य ढकार लोपो भवति ॥

13. There is elision of ह् when ह् follows.

Though this sūtra is read in the division of Grammar which is governed by पदाधिकार, yet this elision takes place only then when the ह् is not at the end of a pada. Thus लीह from लिह्+त ॥ The ह् is changed to ढ by VIII. 2. 31, and the त् is first changed to ध by VIII. 2. 40, and then to ढ by VIII. 4. 41. Thus लिह्+ढ ॥ The first ह् is elided by this sūtra. Similarly मीहन्, उप-गृह्ण ॥ The change of ध into ढ by VIII. 4. 41, should be considered as valid and siddha for the purposes of this rule, otherwise this rule will find no scope.

Obj:—It will find scope before that ढ which is primary, as in श्लिह्+ढीकते, where ढ of ढीकते is primary.

Ans.—No. Here the first ढ will be changed to ह् by जश् rule (VIII. 2. 39) and so there will be no occasion to elide it. The form will be श्लिह् ढीकते ॥ Nor is this ढ लोपः rule an apavāda to जश् rule, because it has its scope in लीह &c. For the जश् rule depends upon one pada, and is antaranga, or being

prior to this the lopa is asiddha with regard to it. Therefore अद्वय will take place first. Moreover in लिङ्+ङ there is similarity of *sounds* (श्रुतिकृतं आनन्तर्यम्); though there may not be theoretical similarity (शास्त्रकृतं आनन्तर्यम्) when the change of ष into ङ by VIII. 4. 41, is considered asiddha. But this theoretical technical dissimilarity will be removed by the express text of the present sūtra. But in श्लिङ् ङीकृते there is neither similarity of sounds (śruti kṛtamānantaryam) between ङ and इ, nor similarity created by any technical rule; therefore ङ लोप has no scope here. It is Bahiranga as well as subsequent to अङ् rule (VIII. 2. 39), and therefore doubly asiddha; and consequently it does not debar the अङ् rule. So when इ is changed to ङ by अङ् rule (VIII. 2. 39) in श्लिङ्, then there remains no sort of ānantarya—neither of śruti nor of śāstra.

रो रि ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ रः, रि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफस्य रेफे परतो लोपो भवति ॥

14. इ is elided before a र् ॥

The sūtra is रः रि, and not रोः रि ॥ That is रोः रि is the form which रः रि and रोः रि will both assume. रः is the Genitive of इ, and रोः would be the Genitive of इ ॥ The sūtra is not confined to इ only, but to every इ in general including इ ॥ Thus नीरक्तम्, दूरक्तम्, where it is simple इ of निर and दूर; and अग्नी रयः, and इन्द्र रयः where it is इ (अग्निः रयः, इन्द्रः रयः). The lengthening is by VI. 3. III. The word पदस्य is understood here, and the Genitive here has the force of विशेषण i. e. a quality, or avayava-shashṭhi; i. e. when रेफ is a *portion* of the pada. Thus a रेफ which is not at the end of a pada is also elided. Had the Genitive been construed as sthāna-shashṭhi, then रेफ would qualify पद, and the rule would mean “इ should be elided before a र् when at the end of a word.” ॥ See VIII. 1. 16. But we have the elision of the *penultimate* इ in अजर्घर् the second person singular of the Imperfect of the Intensive, and we get the form अजर्घाः ॥ See VIII. 2. 37. So also अपात्याः from स्पर्ध् in Intensive, Imperfect. The reduplicate is lengthened by VII. 4. 83, the षाप् is elided, and सिप् is elided by VI. 1. 68, the final ष् is changed to इ by VIII. 2. 39, and this इ changed to र् by VIII. 2. 75.

स्वरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वर, अवसानयोः, विसर्जनीयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफान्तस्य परस्य स्वरि परतो ऽवसाने च विसर्जनीयादेशो भवति ॥

15. The Visarjanīya is substituted for इ, before a स्वर् consonant or when there is a Pause.

The word रः is understood. The visarga is the substitute of इ final in a Pada, before surd consonants and sibilants, or at a Pause,

Thus वृक्षच्छादयति (VIII. 3. 34, VIII. 4. 40), वृक्षदृष्टायति, वृक्षस्तरति, वृक्षस्तरति वृक्षच्छकारः, वृक्षदृष्टकारः, वृक्षदृष्टीकते, वृक्षदृष्टीकते, वृक्षधिनोति, वृक्षधिनोति ॥ Pause:—वृक्षः; वृक्षः ॥

Who do we say “before a स्वर् consonant or at a Pause”? Observe अग्निर्नयति, वायुर्नयति, मार्कुटः (नृ कुट्यां भवः), नार्पत्यः (नृपतेरपत्यं) ॥ In these two latter,

the Vṛiddhi being considered as Bahiranga, and the र् being the result of such Bahiranga Vṛiddhi, is asiddha, and is consequently not changed to visarga.

The word पदस्य is understood here, and the genitive should be construed here as sthāna-sashṭhi, so that for the final र् of a Pada there is visarga, and not for that र् which is not final.

रोः सुपि ॥ पदानि ॥ रोः, सुपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह इत्येतस्य रेफस्य सुपि परतो विसर्जनीयदिशो भवति ॥

16. Visarjaniya is substituted for the ह called र् (and not any other र्), before the Locative Plural case-affix सु ॥

Thus पदःसु, सपिःसु, यद्यःसु ॥ The word सुप् is here the Locative Plural affix. Though the र् would have been changed to visarga by the last sūtra also; the making of this a special sūtra is for the sake of niyama. That is, only ह becomes visarga, and not any other र् ॥ Thus गीर्षु, मूर्षु, when the र् is not ह ॥ In पदस्य &c, the स् becomes ह by VIII. 2. 66.

भोमगोअघोअपूर्वस्य योशि ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भो, भगो, अघो, अपूर्वस्य, यः, अशि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भो भगो अघो इत्येवंपूर्वस्य अवणैर्पूर्वस्य च रो रेफस्य वक्राद्यदिशो भवति अक्षि परतः ॥

17. य् is substituted for the ह called र्, when it is preceded by भो, भगो, अघो, अ or आ, before an अच् letter (vowels and soft consonants).

Thus भो अच्, भगो अच्, अघो अच्, भो इति, भगो इति, अघो इति ॥ क आस्ते, कच् आस्ते, आङ्गा इति, पुरुषा इति ॥ The य् is elided by VIII. 3. 19, 20, 22 &c. With अ, the forms will be भोयच्, भगोयच्, अघोयच् ॥

Why do we say 'when preceded by भो &c'? Observe अग्निरच्, वायुरच् ॥ Why do we say 'when followed by a letter of अच् pratyāhāra'? Observe वृक्षः, वृक्षः ॥ No, this is no valid counter-example, because no other word follows the visarga; while some word must follow it because the word sanhitā (VIII. 2. 108) is understood here.

Ans.—If this be so, then अच् is employed in this sūtra for the sake of subsequent sūtras. Its employment here is superfluous. For letters other than अच् are लर् ॥ Before a लर् letter, the र् will be changed to visarga by VIII. 3. 15; and the अच् of this rule will be considered as asiddha for the purposes of VIII. 3. 15, so there will necessarily be visarga. Thus अच् serves no purpose in this sūtra, but is for the sake of subsequent ones. Thus in VIII. 3. 22, the word हलि must be qualified by the word अच्, namely those consonants only which are in the class अच् ॥ Before any other consonant there will be no elision of अ ॥ Thus वृक्षं वृक्षति = वृक्षवृद् ॥ The denominative verb from this will be वृक्षवयति ॥ A secondary derivative from this root, with the affix

विष् will be वृक्ष् as in वृक्ष् करोति ॥ Here व् would require elision by VIII. 3. 22, before क्, but it is not so because अक्षि qualifies हलि ॥

Obj.—If so, why is the word हल् used in that sūtra VIII. 3. 22, it would have been better to say हक्षि सर्वेषाम् instead of हलि सर्वेषाम् ॥

Ans.—The word हल् is used in that sūtra for the sake of the subsequent sūtra VIII. 3. 23, which applies to *all* consonants. Had हक्षि been used in VIII. 3. 22, then in VIII. 3. 23, हलि ought to have been used.

Moreover अक्षि is used in this sūtra, so that rules VIII. 3. 18, 19 may not apply to वृक्ष् करोति ॥

This sūtra applies to ह् called र्, therefore not here प्रातरन्, पुनरन् ॥

व्योर्लघुप्रयत्नतरः शाकटायनस्य ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्योः, लघुप्रयत्नतरः, शाकटायनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वकारयकारयोर्भोगोअघोअवर्णपूर्वयोः पदान्तयोर्लघुप्रयत्नतर आदेशो भवति, अक्षि परतः, शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

18. व् and य् (in भगोय् &c and after अ or आ, at the end of a Pada) are pronounced with a lighter articulation before an अक्ष् letter, according to the opinion of Śākatāyana.

That the effort in pronouncing which is very light is called laghu-prayatna - tara. Effort or articulation is a quality of the person who utters and which is the cause of the utterance of a letter. व् and य् of lighter articulation are substituted for the final व् and य् in भोय्, भगोय्, अघोय्, or after an अ or आ ॥ The lighter व् will replace the heavy व्, and so the lighter य् the heavy य् ॥

Thus भोयन्, भगोयन्, अघोयन्, कयास्ते or क आस्ते, अस्मायुञ्जर or अस्मा उञ्जर, असावादिष्वः or असा आदिष्वः, ह्रावन् or ह्रा अन्, ह्रावानय or ह्रा आनय ॥

The lighter articulation results from the relaxation of the muscles and the organs employed in speech. The places of pronunciation are palate &c, the organs are the root, the middle and the tip of the tongue. When the contact of the tongue with the various places is very light, the articulation is laghu prayatna - tara. In fact, व् and य् are to be slurred over.

लोपः शाकल्यस्य ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, शाकल्यस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वकारयकारयोः पदान्तयोर्वर्णपूर्वयोर्लोपो भवति शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेनाक्षि परतः ॥

19. व् and य् preceded by अ or आ and at the end of a pada, are elided before an अक्ष् letter, according to the opinion of Śākalya.

As क आस्ते or कयास्ते, काक आस्ते or काकयास्ते, अस्मा उञ्जर or अस्मायुञ्जर, ह्रावन् or ह्रा अन्, असावादिष्वः or असा आदिष्वः ॥

The name of Śākalya is used to make it an optional rule. Therefore, where there is not the lighter articulation of व् and य् by the last sūtra, there

also in the other alternative the fuller sounds of व् and य् are heard. Thus there are three forms, *heavy* व् and य्, *light* व and य and *elision* of व् and य् ॥

When व् and य् are preceded by ओ, then there is elision by the next sūtra compulsorily.

ओतो गार्ग्यस्य ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ ओतः, गार्ग्यस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओकारादुत्तरस्य यकारस्य लोपो भवति गार्ग्यस्याच्चार्यस्य मतेन भाषी परतः ॥

20. य् preceded by ओ is elided, according to the opinion of Gārgya, before an अच् letter.

There can be no व् preceded by ओ, so only य् is taken in explaining the sutra. Thus ओ अच्, भगो अच्, भो इदच्, भगो इदच् ॥

The making of it a separate sutra, is for the sake of indicating that this is a necessary (*nitya*) rule and not a vibhāshā rule. The name of Gārgya is used simply *honoris causa* (pujārtha). The elision of laghu-prayatna य्, which VIII. 3. 19 would have otherwise caused, is hereby prohibited. So that laghu pratyatnatara य् does come also. As ओ अच् or ओयच्, भगो अच् or भगोयच्, भघो अच् and भघोयच् ॥

According to others every kind of य् (whether heavy or light) is to be elided: and भोयच् is not valid in their opinion.

उञ्जि च पदे ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उञ्जि, च पदे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्णपूर्वयोः ष्योः पादान्त्योल्लोपो भवति उञ्जि च पदे परतः ॥

21. व् and य् (preceded by अ or आ, at the end of a pada), and followed by उ, when it is a word, are elided necessarily.

The *particle* उ is a full pada or word. That Particle is meant here by the word उञ्, and not the उञ्, which is a root obtained by the samprasāraṇa of वेञ् ॥ Thus उ उ एकविंशतिः, उ उ एकामिः ॥

Why do we use the word पदे “उ when it is a pada”? So that the rule may not apply to उञ् the form assumed by वेञ् by samprasāraṇa as तन्त्रे उतं-त-न्त्रयुतञ् ॥ Obj. उञ् could never have meant the form assumed by वेञ्, for the samprasāraṇa of वेञ् is उ, the ञ् is merely indicative. Moreover the maxim of lakṣhaṇa-pratipadokta &c, will prevent the inclusion of this उञ् resulting from vocalisation, when there is a separate Particle उञ् ॥

Ans.—The word पदे is used here for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VIII. 3. 32. So that इद्दुद् may come before a *word* beginning with a vowel, and not before a vowel which is an affix. Thus there is no double व् in परमदण्डिना ॥ This is also a *nitya* rule, and not optional. Had it been optional, there would have been no necessity of this aphorism, because VIII. 3. 19, would have been enough.

हलि सर्वेषाम् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलि, सर्वेषाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलि परतो भोभगोअघोअपूर्वस्य यकारस्य पशन्तस्य लोपो भवति सर्वेषामाचार्याणां मतन ॥

22. (The *य्* preceded by भो, भगो, अघो, or by अ or आ, being final in a pada, is elided) before a consonant, according to the opinion of all Âchâryas.

Thus भो हसति, भगो हसति, अघो हसति; भो याति, भगो याति अघो, याति, वृक्षा हसन्ति ॥ Though the anuvṛitti of *ह्* and *य्* both is present here, yet we have taken *य्* only to the exclusion of *ह्* ॥ Because after भो, भगो and अघो there is *य्* only, and never *ह्*; and *ह्* can come only when preceded by अ or आ: the only example of which given by Grammarians is वृक्षश्च करोति (VIII. 3. 17). Here *ह्* is not elided, because the word अघि qualifies the word हलि of this sūtra.

Q.—But *ह्* should be elided in वृक्षश्च हसति, because *ह्* is an अच् letter.

Ans.—There is no such example to be found in any standard author. Moreover Patanjali in his commentary on the Pratyâhâra sūtra लप् says that no words can end in *ह्*, *य्*, *र*, *श्* or *ल्* ॥ So that the existence of the very word वृक्षश्च is doubtful.

The word sarveshâm indicates that VIII. 3. 18, even does not apply, and there is no light articulation, but lopa there too.

मोऽनुस्वारः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मः, अनुस्वारः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारस्य पशन्तस्यानुस्वार आदेशो भवति हलि परतः ॥

23. The Anusvâra is substituted for *म्*, at the end of a word, before a consonant.

Thus कुण्डं हसति, वनं हसति, कुण्डं याति, वनं याति ॥ The word हलि is understood in this sūtra. Therefore not here, स्वमच्च, किमच्च ॥ The *म्* must be at the end of pada; therefore not here; गम्यते, रम्यते ॥

नञ्चापदान्तस्य हलि ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, अपदान्तस्य, हलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारस्य मकारस्य चापदान्तस्यानुस्वारदेशो भवति हलि परतः ॥

24. The Anusvâra is substituted for the *न्* and *म्*, not final in a pada, before all consonants, with the exception of Nasals and semi-vowels.

Thus पचांसि, यशांसि, सर्षीषि, धर्षीषि with *न्* (VII. 1. 72); and आक्रंस्यते, आविक्रंस्यते, अधिजिगांसते with *म्* ॥

Why do we say 'not final in a Pada'? Observe राजन् मुहश्च ॥ Why do we say 'before a हल् consonant'? See रम्यते, गम्यते ॥

मो राजि समः कौ ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मः, राजि, समः, कौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समो मकारस्य मकार आदेशो भवति राज्तौ क्लिप्पस्थयान्ते परतः ॥

25. *म्* is substituted for the *म्* of सम, before the word राज् ending with the affix क्विप् ॥

Thus सन्नाद्, साम्नाञ्चम् ॥ The substitution of न् for न् is for the sake of preventing the anusvāra change (cf VII. 1. 40). Why do we say 'before राच्'? See संयत् (VI. 4. 40 Vart). Why do we say 'of सच्'? Observe किं राच् (V. 4. 70). Why do we say 'ending with स्विप्'? Observe संराञ्जिता, संराञ्जितुन्, संराञ्जितव्यम् ॥

The स्विप् is added by III. 2. 61, the ञ् is changed to ञ् by VIII. 2. 36, which is changed to ह् at the end of a word, in सन्नाद् ॥ साम्नाञ्चम् is formed by च्चम् affix, as it belongs to Brāhmanādi class.

हे मपरे वा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हे, मपरे, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकारे मकारपरे परतो मकारस्य वा मकार भादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ष्वलपरे ष्वला वा ॥

26. म् is optionally substituted for म्, before ह्, which itself is followed by a म् ॥

The म् may be changed to anusvāra or remain unchanged before a word beginning with ह् ॥ Thus किं or किम् झलयति, 'what does be cause to shake'? कथं झलयति or कथम् झलयति ॥

Vart:—Before ह्, ह्, and ह्, the preceding म् may be changed to न्, व् or ल् respectively. Thus किं ह्: or किर्ह्, 'what does it matter about yesterday'? किं ह्लयति or किर्ह् ह्लयति 'what does he cause to shake'? किं ह्लास्यति or किर्ह् ह्लास्यति 'what gladdens'.

नपरे नः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपरे, नः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारपरे हे परतःमकारस्य वा नकारादेशो भवति ॥

27. न् is optionally substituted for म्, when it is followed by ह् which has a न् after it.

न् becomes न् before a word beginning with ह्; as किम् ह्युते or किं ह्युते 'what withholds'. कथन् ह्युते or कथं ह्युते ॥

ङ्णोः कुक् टुक् शरि ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङ् णोः, कुक्, टुक्, शरि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङकारणकारयोः पदान्तयोः कुक् टुक् इत्येतावागमौ वा भवतः ॥

28. The augment क् is added to a final ङ्, and the augment ह् to a final ङ्, before a sibilant, optionally.

Thus प्राङ्क् शेते, or प्राङ् शेते; प्राङ्क् षष्ठः or प्राङ् षष्ठः, प्राङ्क् सावे or प्राङ् सावे ॥ षण्ड् शेते or षण्ड् शेते ॥

The augments are कुक् and टुक् with an indicatory क्, showing that they are to be added to the end of the prior word (I. 1. 46), and not to the *beginning* of the second word. In sanhita reading, it would have made no difference *practically*, whether these augments were added to the *end* of the first, or the *beginning* of the second. But they are added to the end of the *first*, in order to indicate that VIII. 4. 63, will take effect. Thus we have प्राङ् शेते also. This छ change of ष् would not have taken place had the augment क् been added to

श् of श्ते; because in श्छोष्टि (VIII. 4. 63) the श् letter must be at the end of a pada. So that if क् were added to श् of श्ते, as क्शोते, here too श् follows a श् letter, but this श् letter (क्) is not at the end of a pada, so श् will not be changed to छ (VIII. 4. 63). Thus श् is not changed to छ in the body of a word, like विष्णिन् though ष् is a श् letter. पुरा कूरस्य विसृषी विष्णिन् ॥ विष्णिन् = महन्, formed with the Preposition वि added to the root एष्, with the Uṇādi affix णिनि ॥

Moreover in प्राक् साये, the स is not changed to ष by VIII. 3. 59. Had the augment क् been added to साये, as क्साये, the स would have been changed to ष, as प्राक् साये, for then VIII. 3. 111, would not have applied, as स was no longer at the beginning of a pada.

Moreover in षट् साये, the स is not changed to ष because of the prohibition of VIII. 4. 42. Had इ been the augment of साये, as इसाये, then there would have been the change of स to ष by VIII. 4. 41.

डः सि धुद् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ डः, सि धुद् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डकारान्तात्पदानुत्तरस्य सकारादेः पदस्य वा धुडागमो भवति ॥

29. After a word ending in ड्, there may optionally be added the augment ध् to a word beginning with स् ॥

Thus श्लिद् साये or श्लिद् साये, मधुलिद् साये or मधुलिद् साये ॥

The word डः is to be construed as Ablative singular, and not Genitive singular of ड्, because of the maxim डभयनिर्देशे पञ्चमी निर्देशो बलीयान् ॥

Q.—Why it is धुद् and not धुक, in other words, why is this augment added to the beginning of the second word and not to the end of the first?

Ans.—This is done in order to prevent the ष्टु change by VIII. 4. 41. But being at the beginning of the second word, VIII. 4. 42 would prevent this change. श्लिद्त् + साये = श्लिद्दसाये, (VIII. 4. 41) but the correct form is श्लिद् साये ॥ For the इ of श्लिद् is ड substituted by VIII. 2. 31, which becomes ड् by VIII. 2. 39, for the ष of the augment, स is substituted by VIII. 4. 55, and for ड् there is इ by the same rule.

नश्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तात्पदानुत्तरस्य सकारस्य वा धुडागमो भवति ॥

30. After a word ending in न्, धुद् is optionally the augment to a word beginning with स् ॥

Thus भवान् साये, महान् साये or भवान् साये, महान् साये ॥ The ष् of the augment becomes न् by VIII. 4. 55. This न् is asiddha (VIII. 2. 1), and therefore न् is not changed to ह by VIII. 3. 7. This is the reason why the augment is exhibited as धुद् and not नुद् ॥ In sūtra VIII. 3. 29 नुद् would have done as well but not so here. This view of the Kāśikā, however, is not approved by Padamanjari. The न् can never be changed to ह here, because न् is followed

by *स्* which is not an *अम्* letter. The word *अम्* is understood in VIII. 3. 7. In fact, *तुद्* would have been a better augment.

शि तुक् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शि, तुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारस्य पशन्तस्य शकारे परतो वा तुगागमो भवति ॥

31. The augment *त्* may optionally be added to a word ending in *न्*, when a word beginning with *श* follows.

Thus *भवाम् छन्दे* ॥ The augment is added to the end of the preceding word, and not to the beginning of the second word, in order to change *श* into *छ* ॥ In fact, the augment *षुद्* added to the second would have been as good as *तुक्*, namely both are *त्*; but then *छ* change would not have taken place.

Obj.—If this be so, then why *न्* is not changed to *ष्*, since it is no longer final in a pada, when *तुक्* is added to it, in *कुर्वम् छन्दे* ॥

Ans.—This is to be thus explained. The sūtra स्तोः इचुना इचुः (VIII. 4. 40) should be divided into two parts, in order to prevent *ष* change. Thus the first part will be स्तोः इचुना, which will mean that *स* and *तु* followed by *च* and *चु* will not cause the change of *न* to *ष* ॥ The next sūtra will be इचुः, which will mean that the preceding *स* and *तु* are changed to *च* and *चु* respectively.

ऊमो ह्रस्वादचि ऊमुणित्यम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊमः, ह्रस्वात्, अचि, ऊमुद्, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इत्यात्पठे यो ऊम् तदन्तात्पठदुत्तरस्याचो ऊमुगागमो भवति नित्यम् ॥ ऊमनेभ्यो यथासंख्यं ऊपना भवति ॥

32. After a word ending in *ङ्*, *ण्* or *न्* which is preceded by a light vowel, the same consonant *ङ्*, *ण्* or *न्* is added invariably at the beginning of the next word, which commences with a vowel.

The word *ऊमः* is in the Ablative singular here; and *ह्रस्वात्* qualifies *ऊमः*; and *ऊम्* itself qualifies the word *पदस्य* understood, and thus there is *tadanta-viddhi*. Though the word *पदस्य* (VIII. 1. 16) is in the Genitive singular, yet it should be converted here into Ablative singular, because of its connection with *ऊमः* ॥ *अचि* is in the Locative singular, but should be construed as Genitive singular here: it is exhibited in the 7th case for the sake of brevity, and of the subsequent sūtras. *ऊम्* is a *pratyāhāra* meaning *ङ्*, *ण्* and *न्*; and so also *ऊमुद्* is a *pratyāhāra* containing the three augments *ऊद्*, *मुद्* and *तुद्* ॥

In other words *ङ्* is augment after *ङ्*, *ण्* after *ण्* and *न्* after *न्*; or that these letters are doubled practically. Thus *ऊद्* is the augment after a word ending in *ङ्*, as *प्रत्यङ्कस्ति* ॥ *मुद्* is the augment after a word ending in *ण्*, as

वर्णनास्ते ॥ नुद् is the augment after a word ending in न्, as कुर्वन्नास्ते, कुर्वन्मवोचत्, कृषन्नास्ते, कृषन्मवोचत् ॥

Why do we say 'ending in ङ, ञ or न' ? See ल्पनास्ते ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a light vowel'? Observe प्राडास्ते, मवानास्ते ॥ Why do we say "followed by a vowel"? Observe प्रस्यङ्करोति ॥

The Mahabhāshya thus comments on this aphorism :—

Vārt:—ङुदिति पदादिप्रसङ्गम् "The ङुद् augment is added to a vowel which stands at the beginning of a word". So that in ङुदित् + आ (Ins. Sing.), नुद् is not added to आ, because it is not the beginning of a Pada. Then should this vārtika be held to be necessary? No, because the word पदान् is understood here: so नुद् will not come in ङुदिना ॥ But then it will come in परमङ्गुदित् + आ ॥ Because it is a compound of two nouns, and though the case-affixes have been elided, yet ङुदित् is here a Pada by reason of pratyaya lakṣhaṇa; and hence there should be नुद् here added to आ ॥ Ans. This is no valid objection. ङुदित् is not here a Pada, on the maxim उत्तरपदत्वे चापदादिविधौलुमता लुप्ते प्रत्ययलक्षणं न भवति "When an affix has been elided by लुक् or लुप्, the pratyaya-lakṣhaṇa rule will not apply, when the object of it is to give the designation of Pada to the second member of a compound, with the exception of the rule applying to the beginning of a Pada". Thus in परमङ्गुदित् the word ङुदित् is not treated as a पद, because the rule to be applied is to the end here. But the second member of a compound is treated like a pada, when a rule is to be applied to the beginning of a Pada. Thus in ङुदित् + आ, the second member आ is considered as a Pada for the purposes of the rule सान् पदाद्योः (VIII. 3. 111), and the स is not changed to ष ॥ This view proceeds upon the supposition that the word पदान् governs this sūtra. But the anuvṛitti of पदान् ceased with VIII. 1. 27, as we stated before. How are we then to get out of this difficulty? Are we to make the above vārtika necessary? No: because the anuvṛitti of पदे from VIII. 3. 21 runs into this sūtra. So that the sūtra means अजादौ पदे ङुद् भवति ॥ "The augment ङुद् is added to a vowel with which a Pada commences". Not therefore to the case-affix आ in ङुदिना ॥

मय उञो वो वा ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयः, उञः, वः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मय उत्तरस्य उञो वा वकारादेशो भवति अचि परतः ॥

33. व् is optionally the substitute of the Particle उ, when it is preceded by a मय् consonant (all consonants with the exception of semivowels, sibilants, ह् and ञ्), and is followed by a vowel.

Thus ङुद् अस्तु वेदिः or ङुदस्तु वेदिः, तद् उ अस्य रेतः or तद् अस्य रेतः, किम् उ भावपनम् or किम्भावपनम् ॥ The उ is a Pragrahya by I. 1. 14, and therefore would have remained unchanged, this ordains व् optionally. This व् being considered asiddha, the ष is not changed to anusvāra in किम्भावपनम्, ङुदस्तु &c, by VIII. 3. 23.

When this **ञ** is followed by इति, and preceded by a म् consonant, then by I. 1. 17, it is optionally प्रगृह्य, and it may be replaced by ऊँ ॥ When it is not a pragrihya, then it is changed to व् by यणदेश (VI. 1. 77), or to व् by the present sūtra. In the case of यणदेश व्, there is anusvāra by VIII. 3. 23, as किञ्चित् ॥ When it is a Pragrihya, then it is changed to व् by the present sūtra as किञ्चित् or किञ्च इति ॥ So also with ऊँ substitute, where the वूँ will be nasal : as किञ्चित्, or ऊँ will remain unchanged, as किञ्च ऊँ इति ॥ Thus we have five forms with इति ॥

विसर्जनीयस्य सः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विसर्जनीयस्य, सः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विसर्जनीयस्य स कार आदेशो भवति खरि परतः ॥

34. ख्र् is the substitute of a visarga, when a hard consonant (खर्) follows.

The word खरि is understood here. Thus वृक्षच्छादयति, वृक्षच्छादयति, वृक्षच्छकारः, वृक्षच्छकारः, वृक्षस्थकारः, वृक्षस्थकारः, वृक्षभिनोति, वृक्षभिनोति, वृक्षटीकते, वृक्षटीकते, वृक्षस्तरति, वृक्षस्तरति ॥

By VIII. 3. 15, the र् was changed to visarga before a hard consonant, or at the end of a Pause. In the present sūtra, no special cause being mentioned, the ख्र् change would take place, not only before a hard consonant, but at the Pause also, i. e. in वृक्षः, वृक्षः also. This however, is not the case, because the word संहितायाच् governs this sūtra ; so the ख्र् change will be in Sanhitā only, and not in Pause, moreover we read the anuvṛitti of खरि here and so prevent the ख्र् change in Pause.

शर्परे विसर्जनीयः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शर्परे, विसर्जनीयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शर्परे खरि परतो विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीयादेशो भवति ॥

35. The visarga is the substitute of visarga, when it is followed by a hard consonant (खर्) which itself is followed by a sibilant (शर्) ॥

The word शर्परे is a Bahuvrihi, meaning that which is followed by शर् ॥ In other words, when a sibilant follows a hard consonant, the preceding visarga remains unchanged. Thus शशाः श्शरम्, पुरुषः श्शरम्, भङ्गिः प्शातम्, वासः शौमम्, पुरुषः स्सरुः, घनाघनः शौमणश्शर्षणीनाम् ॥

Though the sūtra could have been shortened by saying शर्परे न ; yet the longer form is used, in order to indicate that the jihvāmuliya and upadh-mānya changes also do not take place, in cases like भङ्गिः प्शातम्, वासः शौमम् ॥

वा शरि ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, शरि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीयादेशो वा भवति शरि परे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शर्परे शरि वा लोपो वक्तव्यः ॥

36. The visarga is optionally the substitute of visarga, when a sibilant follows.

As वृक्षः रोते or वृक्षएरोते, वृक्षः रोते or वृक्षइरोते, वृक्षः षण्डे or वृक्षषण्डे, वृक्षः साये or वृक्षसाये ॥ Cf. VIII. 4. 40, 41, for ए and ष ॥

VArt:—When the sibilant is followed by a hard consonant, there is optionally the elision of the preceding visarga. As वृक्षा स्यात्तारः or वृक्षाः स्यात्तारः or वृक्षास्यात्तारः ॥

कुप्पोः कपौ च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुप्पोः, कपौ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवर्गपवर्गयोः परतो विसर्जनीयस्य ययासंख्यकप इत्यतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

37. × क and × प are optionally substituted for the visarga, when followed by a hard guttural or a hard labial.

Thus वृक्ष × करोति or वृक्षः करोति, वृक्ष × खनति or वृक्षः खनति, वृक्ष × पचति or वृक्षः पचति, वृक्ष × फलति or वृक्षः फलति ॥ The क and प in × क and × प are for the sake of pronunciation only. The substitutes are the Jihvamūliya and the Upadhmaniya : two lost sibilants belonging to the class of क and प respectively.

When the rule VIII. 3. 34. does not apply, then this sūtra will apply ; and will debar that. But VIII. 3. 35. will not be debarred. As वासः सौमम्, अग्निः स्यात् ॥ There is no vipratishedha between VIII. 3. 35. and 37, because of the asiddhahood of one with regard to the other. (VIII. 2. 1). In fact, every rule in these three chapters stands by itself, and ignores the *existence* of the subsequent rule. Hence VIII. 3. 35 would not have been debarred by VIII. 3. 37.

To get this, some divide this sūtra into two :—(1) कुप्पोः “The visarga is the substitute of visarga before a guttural or labial which is followed by a sibilant.” (2) × क × पौ च The jihvamūliya and upadhmaniya are substitutes of a visarga before a guttural and a labial in every other case.”

सोपदादौ ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, अ-पदादौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकार आदेशो भवति विसर्जनीयस्य कुप्पोरपराधोः परतः पाशकल्पककाम्येषु ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सोपदादाविष्यनव्ययस्योति वक्तव्यम् ॥ रोरेव काम्ये नान्यस्येति नियमार्थं वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उपध्मानीयस्य कवर्ग परतः सकार आदेशो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

38 स is the substitute of a visarga before an affix beginning with a hard guttural or labial.

The word अपदादौ means “when the guttural and labial are not at the beginning of a *word*,” in other words, when they stand at the beginning of an affix. This is possible only before the affixes पाश, कल्प, क, and काम्य ॥ Thus पयत्पाशम् (V. 3. 47); पयस्कल्पम्, यशस्कल्पम्, (V. 3. 67), पयस्कं, यशस्कम्, (V. 3. 70); पयस्काम्यति, यशस्काम्यति (III. 1. 9).

Why do we say ‘when not at the beginning of a word’? Observe पय× काम्यते, पय× पिबति ॥

VArt:—Prohibition must be stated, when the visarga belongs to an Indeclinable : as, प्रातः कल्पम्, पुनः कल्पम् ॥

Vart:—The visarga which comes from ह् is only changed to स before काम्य, and not any other visarga. As पयस्काम्यात्, and ययस्काम्यति ; but not here, गीःकाम्यति धूःकाम्यति ॥

Vart:—स is the substitute of the Upadhmaniya when followed by a guttural. The root उञ् (आजवे Tud 20) has Upadhmaniya as its penultimate : though it is written in the Dhātupāṭha as उञ् the ञ् only represents the ए of >ए, and is not to be pronounced. This >ए is changed to स, when the final ञ् is changed to a guttural, as उ स ग, and then this स is changed to ह्, as in अभ्युद्गाः, सस्रः ॥

These words, however, may be derived from the root गञ् with the Prepositions अग्नि, उत्, and सम् उत्, by adding the affix उ ॥

इणः षः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, षः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपराधाविति वर्त्तते । इण उत्तरस्य विसर्जनीयस्य षकारादेशो भवति कुप्योरपराधोः परतः पाशकल्पककाम्येषु ॥

39. ष् is the substitute of that visarga, which is preceded by इ or उ and is followed by an affix beginning with a hard guttural or a labial.

The word अपराधो is understood here also. The affixes meant are the same पाश, कल्प, क, and काम्य ॥ Thus सर्पिष्पाशम्, यज्ञुष्पाशम्, सर्पिष्कल्पम्, यज्ञुष्कल्पम्, सर्पिष्कम्, यज्ञुष्कम् ; सर्पिष्काम्यति, यज्ञुष्काम्यति ॥

Why do we say 'by an affix'? Observe अग्निः करोति, वायुः करोति, अग्निः पचति, वायुः पचति ॥

The affix should begin with a guttural or a labial. Therefore not here, सर्पिस्ते, यज्ञुस्ते ॥

In the succeeding sūtras, the anuvṛitti of स from VIII. 3. 39 and of इणः षः from this, are both current. The visarga will be changed to ष if preceded by इ or उ, otherwise it will be स ॥

According to some, this sūtra ordains ष् in the room of the स् taught in the preceding sūtra, and not of visarga : and so also in the following sūtras.

नमस्पुरसोर्गत्योः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ नमस्-पुरसोः, गत्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नमस्पुरम् इत्येतयोर्गतिसंज्ञकयो विसर्जनीयस्य सकारादेशो भवति कुप्योः परतः ॥

40. For the visarga of नमस् and पुरस्, there is substituted स before a hard guttural or a labial, when these words are Gati (I. 4. 67 and 74).

Thus नमस्कर्त्ता, नमस्कर्तुम्, नमस्कर्त्तव्यम् ; पुरस्कर्त्ता पुरस्कर्तुम्, पुरस्कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

Why do we say "when they are Gati"? Observe पूःकरोति, पुरो करोति, पुरः करोति ॥ Here पुरः is a noun, Accusative Plural of पूः ॥

नमस् is Gati by I. 4. 74, and पुरस् is Gati by I. 4. 67. The anuvṛitti of अपराधो ceases.

इतुपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इद्-उद्-उपधस्य, च, अ-प्रत्ययस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इकारोपधस्य उकारोपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य विसर्जनीयस्य षकार आदेशो भवति कुप्पोः परतः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ पुम्बुहसोःप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

41. ष is substituted, before a hard guttural or a labial, for the visarga which is preceded by इ or उ, and is not part of an affix.

This applies to the visarga of निर्, दुर, बहिर्, अविस्, अतुर् and प्रादुस् ॥
Thus निष्कृतम्, निष्पीतम्, दुष्कृतम्, दुष्पीतम्, बहिस्, बहिष्कृतम्, बहिष्पीतम्, अविस्, आविष्कृतम्,
आविष्पीतम्, अतुष्कृतम्, अतुष्कपालम्, अतुष्कन्वलम्, अतुष्कलम्, प्रादुष्कृतम्, प्रादुष्पीतम् ॥

Why do we say 'when not belonging to an affix'? Observe अग्निः
करोति, वायुः करोति ॥ How do you explain मातुः करोति, पितुः करोति? For here in
पितुः &c, the स् of the affix is elided by VIII. 2. 24, and the र् of पितुर्+स् is
changed to visarga; this is not the visarga of an affix, and ought to be chang-
ed to ष ॥

Ans.—The inclusion of the word भ्रातृष्पुत्रः in Kaskâdi class (VIII. 3. 48) indicates by implication, that ष change does not take place of this visarga in पितुः, मातुः &c: the only exception being भ्रातुः ॥ The reason of this may be that the visarga here does not follow a simple उ, but an ekâdeśa उ (VI. I. III).

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of पुष् and सुहुस्; as पुंस्क्रामा, सुहुस्क्रामा ॥

Vârt:—वृद्धिभूतानां षत्वं वक्तव्यम् । The visarga is changed to ष even when इ or उ are vṛiddhi; as नैष्कुल्यम्, शौष्कुल्यम् ॥

Vârt:—प्लुतानां तादौ ष ॥ The visarga is changed to ष even when इ or उ are pluta, and then before dentals as well as gutturals and labials. Thus निष्कुलम्, दुष्कुलम् (VIII. 2. 86 for pluta). दुष्पुरुषः, वहीश्चरः ॥

These last two vârtikas may be dispensed with, because Vṛiddhi and Pluta are Bahiranga change, and so the visarga will be changed to ष in these cases also by the sūtra itself; except so far as त् is concerned.

तिरसोन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिरसः, अन्यरस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तिरसो विसर्जनीयस्यान्यतरस्यां सकारादेशो भवति कुप्पोः परतः ॥

42. The visarga of the Gati तिरस् is optionally changed to स before a hard guttural or a labial.

Thus तिरस्कर्ता, तिरस्कर्तुम्, तिरस्कर्तव्यम्, or तिरः कर्ता, तिरः कर्तुम्, तिरः कर्तव्यम् ॥
The word गतेः is understood here also. Therefore no option is allowed here, तिरः कृत्वा काण्डं गतः, where तिरस् does not mean 'disappearance'. (I. 4. 72).

द्विस्त्रिभ्यतुरिति कृत्वोर्ये ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विः-त्रिः-चतुर्, इति, कृत्वोर्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ष इति संबद्धते । द्विस् त्रिस् चतुर् इत्येतेषां कृत्वोर्ये वर्त्तमानानां विसर्जनीयस्य षकार आदेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां कुप्पोः परतः ॥

43. **श्** is optionally the substitute of the visargas of **द्विस्**, **त्रिस्** and **चतुर्** when they are used as Numeral adverbs, (before a hard guttural and labial).

The affix **सुच्** (**स्**) is added to the three words *dvi*, *tri* and *chatur* in the sense of *kṛtvasuch* by V. 4. 18.

As **द्विः** करोति or **द्विष्करोति**, **त्रिः** करोति or **त्रिष्करोति**, **चतुः** करोति or **चतुष्करोति**, **द्विः** पचति or **द्विष्पचति**, **त्रिः** पचति or **त्रिष्पचति**, **चतुः** पचति or **चतुष्पचति** ॥

Why do we say 'when used in the sense of *kṛtvasuch* or Numeral adverbs'? Observe **चतुष्कपालम्**, **चतुष्कण्टकम्**, where **श्** is compulsory by VIII. 3. 41. **चतुर्षु** कपालेषु संस्कृतः (IV. 2. 16 and IV. 1. 88). This sūtra is an example of *ubhayatra-vibhāshā*. With regard to **चतुर्** the visarga is a non-affix visarga, and hence VIII. 3. 41, would have made **श्** compulsory, this makes it optional. With regard to **द्विस्** and **त्रिस्** the visarga is that of an affix (**सुच्** or **स्** V. 4. 18), and hence VIII. 3. 41, would not have applied. Thus with regard to **चतुर्** it is a *Prāpta-vibhāshā*, and with regard to **द्विस्** and **त्रिस्** it is an *Aprāpta-vibhāshā*.

Why have we used the words 'dvis, tris and chatur'? Objector's answer: so that the rule may not apply to **पञ्चकृत्वः** करोति, the visarga of *kṛtvasuch* (V. 4. 17) is not changed to **श्** ॥

The anuvṛitti of **श्** and **श्** is understood here from VIII. 3. 41: so that the visarga must be preceded by **श्** and **श्** for the application of this rule. In **पञ्चकृत्वः** the visarga is preceded by- **ञ**, and so there is no applicability of this rule.

In fact, by reading the anuvṛitti of **इदुदुपधा** into this sūtra, and qualifying the visarga by the further epithet of 'belonging to a *word* that has the sense of *kṛtvasuch*'; we may dispense with the words **द्वित्रिचतुरिति** from the sūtra. The simple sūtra **कृत्वोर्ये** would have been enough. For there are no other Numerals that have a penultimate **श्** or **श्**, except these three. The chief objection to this view is, that in **चतुर्** the visarga is not the *affix सुच्*, but a portion of the word (See V. 4. 18): so the rule would not apply to *chatur*, if this word were not expressly mentioned.

The various objections and their solutions are given in the following verses.

कृत्वसुञ्जर्ये षत्वं ब्रवीति कस्माच्चतुष्कपाले मा
 षत्वं विभाषया भूम्ननु सिद्धं तत्र पूर्वेण ॥
 सिद्धे द्वयं विधत्ते चतुरः षत्वं यदापि कृत्वोर्ये ॥
 श्लुप्ते कृत्वोर्धीये रेफस्य विसर्जनीयो हि ॥
 एवं सति त्विदानीं द्वित्रिचतुरित्थनेन किं कार्यम् ॥
 अन्यो हि नेदुदुपधः कृत्वोर्धः कश्चिदप्यास्ति ॥
 भक्तिवभाषेण महणे विसर्जनीयस्तदा विशेष्येत ॥

चतुरो म सिध्यति तथा रेफस्य विसर्जनीयो हि ॥
 तस्मिंस्तु क्रियमाणे युक्तं चतुरो विशेषणं भवति ॥
 प्रकृतं परं तदन्तं तस्यापि विशेषणं न्याय्यम् ॥

Kārikā :—कृत्वसुञ्चये षत्वं ङवीति कस्मात्? Why does the author teach षत्वं when these words have the sense of Numeral-adverbs? In other words, why the word कृत्वोऽये is used at all in the sūtra? There is no necessity of using it at all, because द्विस्, त्रिस् are clearly adverbs as they are formed by the affix सुच् (V. 4. 18) and चतुर् being read in their company will also denote the *adverb* chatur, in which सुच् has been elided (V. 4. 18). So that all these three words are सुच्-formed, and all सुच्-formed words have the sense of Kṛtvasuch. One answer to this is that the rule of साहचर्ये does not always hold good, as in शीधीवेदीदाच् (I. 1.6), the words शीधी and वेदी are verbs, while इद् is an augment. Though therefore द्विस् and त्रिस् are kṛtvortha words, yet चतुर् need not be so: and may be a simple Numeral. *Ans.* चतुष्कपाले मा षत्वं विभाषया भूत् ॥ The word कृत्वोऽये is employed to indicate that there should be no optional षत्वं in चतुष्कपालं ॥ The षत्वं here is compulsory by VIII. 3. 41. *Q.* ननु सिद्धं तत्र पूर्वेण ॥ Well this would be valid by the previous sūtra (VIII. 3. 41). That is, let in चतुष्कपाल also there be optional षत्वं, as चतुःकपाल and चतुष्कपाल ॥ Now rule VIII. 3. 41 will apply to चतुःकपाल and will change this visarga to ष, so that with regard to चतुष्कपाल, we shall have *always* ष ॥ *Ans.* सिद्धे ह्ययं विधत्ते चतुरः षत्वं यदापि कृत्वोऽये, लुप्ते कृत्वोऽर्थीये रेफस्य विसर्जनीयो हि । If VIII. 3. 41 be considered as applying here (siddha), then when the affix सुच् is elided after चतुर्, and the र is changed to visarga, then the adverb चतुः also ends with a non-affix visarga, and will come under the compulsory षत्वं rule of VIII. 3. 41; for though we may have optionally two forms as चतुः करोति and चतुष्करोति, by the present sūtra, yet in the former the visarga would be changed to ष by VIII. 3. 41. Hence the necessity of employing the word कृत्वोऽये ॥ *Q.* But we say that the र in the adverb चतुर् is that of सुच्, thus चतुर् + स् = चतुर् + र (VIII. 2. 66) = चतु + र (the first र is elided by VIII. 3. 14) = चतुर्; and that this र when changed to visarga, will be an affix-visarga and so VIII. 3. 41 will not apply to the *adverb* चतुर् ॥ *Ans.* No. For ङ would require to be lengthened by VI. 3. 111. and the form would be चतुर् ॥

एवं सति त्रिविधानी द्विस्त्रिचतुरित्थनेन किं कार्यम् ॥ If this be so, then what is the purpose served by using the words द्विस् त्रिचतुरिति in the aphorism? The simple sūtra कृत्वोऽये would have been enough. Because (अन्वोहि नेदुदुपधः कृत्वोऽर्थः कश्चिदप्यस्ति) there are no other numeral adverbs than these three which have a penultimate इ or उ ॥

अक्रियमाणे ग्रहणे विसर्जनीयस्त्रया विशेष्येत । If we do not use the words द्विस्, त्रिस्, चतुरिति in the sūtra, then the word कṛtvortha would qualify the word visarga, and the sūtra would mean "the visarga of an affix which has the sense of kṛtvasuch is changed optionally to ष" ॥ The result of this will be

that (अतुरा न सिध्यति तथारफस्य विसर्जनयोहि) it will not apply to अतुः where the visarga is that of र् and not of the affix लुच् ॥

Therefore by using dvis &c, the word कृत्वोर्ये would qualify अतुर् (तस्मिन् तु क्रियमाणे युक्तं अतुरो विशेषणं भवति) ॥

Ans.—प्रकृतं परं तदन्तं तस्यापि, विशेषणं नाव्यम् ॥ Though we may not use dvis &c, the word कृत्वोर्था will not qualify visarga, but will qualify the word पर् whose context runs here ; and the rule of तदन्त will apply ; so that the sūtra कृत्वोर्ये will mean, परस्य कृत्वोर्ये वर्त्तमानस्य यो विसर्जनीयः, तस्य सकारः षकारो ष ॥ “The visarga of that word which is employed in the sense of a Numeral adverb, is optionally changed to स् or ष before a guttural or a labial, provided that such visarga is preceded by इ or उ”.

The above is the opinion of Patanjali, who considers the words dvis &c, as redundant. The Kāśikā however controverts this opinion. According to him, if these words were not used in the sūtra, then the mere sūtra कृत्वोर्ये would be insufficient for the visarga of अतुः though used as an adverb, the षस् will be compulsory by VIII.3.41; for the present sūtra will be considered as asiddha or non-existent for the purposes of VIII. 3. 41, (See VIII. 2. 1). But this however may be answered by saying that the rule of पूर्वभासिद्धम् applies in these chapters, with this modification, one subject-matter is considered as asiddha with regard to another subject-matter gone before ; but one aphorism is not considered asiddha with regard to a previous aphorism, when belonging to the same subject matter. (प्रकरणे प्रकरणमसिद्धं न योगे योगः) ॥ Therefore the present sūtra VIII. 3. 43, would not be considered asiddha with regard to VIII. 3. 41. Or the present sūtra may be considered as an apavāda to VIII. 3. 41 : and an apavāda is never asiddha with regard to an utsarga.

इसुसोः सामर्थ्ये ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इस्-उसोः, सामर्थ्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इस् उस् इत्येतयोर्विसर्जनीयस्यान्यतरस्यां षकारादेशो भवति सामर्थ्ये कुप्रीः परतः ॥

44. For the visarga of words ending in इस् and उस्, before a hard guttural or labial, there is optionally substituted ष, when the two words stand in correlation with one another.

The ष is understood here. Thus सर्षिष्करोति or सर्षिः करोति, यज्ञुः करोति or यज्ञुष्करोति ॥

Why do we say ‘when the two words are correlated’? Observe तिष्ठतु सर्षिः, पिब स्वप्नवकम्, where सर्षिः is not in construction with पिब, but with तिष्ठतु ॥

The word सामर्थ्ये here means व्यपेक्षा or mutual relation of two words ; and not “having the same meaning”, or it may mean both. In fact सामर्थ्ये is equivalent to भाकाह्वा i. e. the syntactical want of another word to complete the sense. It does not here mean ‘compound’. For it being a पदविधिः the word समर्थः is

understood here (समर्थः पदविधिः II. 1. 1). The employment of the word सामर्थ्ये here indicates that it is a different sâmarthya from that of II. 1. 1. It does not denote एकार्थिभावः or ऐकार्थ्य which is the sâmarthya of compounds where two or more words denote one object. The sâmarthya here means vyapekshâ, which is thus defined नामामृतयोः, परार्थयो यौ शब्दौ वर्त्तेते, तयो यौ योगः "the syntactical union of two words expressing two different ideas".

नित्यं समासे ऽनुत्तरपदस्थस्य ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, समासे, अनुत्तर पदस्थस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इत्सुसोरिति वर्त्तेते । समासविषये इत्सुसोर्विसर्जनीयस्यानुत्तरपदस्थस्य नित्यं षत्वं भवति कुट्टोः परतः ॥

45. The visarga of an इस् or उस्-ending word, which is not preceded by any other word, is invariably changed to ष् in a compound, when followed by a hard guttural or labial.

The words इस् and उस् are understood here. Thus सर्पिष्कुण्डिका, धनुष्कपालम्, सर्पिष्पानम्, धनुष्कलम् ॥

Why do we say when it is not preceded by another word? Observe परमसर्पिः कुण्डिका, परमधनुः कपालम् ॥ The option even of the last sūtra does not apply to these examples.

Q.—The word सर्पिस् is derived from the root सर्प् by adding the Uṇādi affix इत्सि (Uṇ II. 109), and धनुस् by the Uṇādi affix उत्सि (Uṇ II. 117), therefore on the maxim प्रत्ययग्रहणे &c, the word इत्सुसोः would denote the mere forms सर्पिस् and धनुस् and not forms like परमसर्पिस् &c. then what is the necessity of employing the word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य in the sūtra?

The very employment of the word anuttara-pada-sthasya in this sūtra, is an indicator (jñāpaka), that the restriction of the following maxim does not apply with regard to the affixes इस् and उस् : प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात् स विहित स्तदविस्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम् "an affix denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added and ends with the affix itself". This maxim not applying, we have परमसर्पिष्करोति or परमसर्पिः करोति by the previous sūtra VIII. 3. 44.

Q.—Why is not there option in the case of compounds also by the previous sūtra?

Ans :—Because the word सामर्थ्ये there means व्यपेक्षा, and therefore does not apply to compounds.

अतः कृकमिकंसकुम्भपात्रकुशाकर्णीष्वनव्ययस्य ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, कृकमि-कंस-कुम्भ-पात्र-कुशा-कर्णीषु, अन्-अव्ययस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारादनुत्तरस्य अनव्ययविसर्जनीयस्य समासेऽनुत्तरपदस्थस्य नित्यं सकारोश्चो भवति कृ कणि कंस कुम्भ पात्र कुशा कर्णी इत्येतेषु परतः ॥

46. For the visarga of a word ending in अस, with the exception of an Indeclinable, स् is substituted in a compound, when a form of कृ and कम्, or the words कंस कुम्भ, पात्र, कुशा and कर्णी follow, and the first word is not preceded by another word.

Thus कृः—अयस्कारः, पयस्कारः (III. 2. 1) कम्—अयस्कामः, पयस्कामः, कंसः—अयस्कंसः, पयस्कंसः, कुम्भः—अयस्कृम्भः, पयस्कृम्भः ॥ So also अयस्कृम्भी पयस्कृम्भी, on the maxim प्रातिपदिकप्रक्षेपे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि महणं भवति ॥ पानः—अयस्पाचम्, पयस्पाचम्, अयस्पाची, पयस्पाची ॥ कुशाः—अयस्कृशा, पयस्कृशा ॥ कर्णीः—अयस्कणी, पयस्कणी ॥ The form शुनस्कर्णः belongs to Kaskādi class (VIII. 3. 48).

Why do we say अतः “a visarga preceded by short अ, or the visarga of the word ending in अः”? See गीःकारः, धूःकारः ॥ Why do we say ‘preceded by short अ’? Observe भाःकरणम् ॥ The form भास्कारः belongs to Kaskādi class (VIII. 3. 48). See also III. 2. 2.

Why do we say “with the exception of an Indeclinable”? Observe ष्वःकारः, पुनःकारः ॥

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here; अद्यः करोति पयः करोति, यद्यः कामयते ॥

The word अनुत्तरपदस्यस्य is also to be read in this. Therefore not here, परमपयः कारः, परमपयः कामः ॥

Q. The word कंस need not have been taken, because it is a form of the root कम्, since it is derived from कम् by adding the Uṇādi affix स (III. 62 Uṇ)?

Ans.—The employment of कंस indicates the existence of the following maxim:—उणादयोऽभ्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि “Words which end with उञ् &c. are crude-forms that do not undergo or cause such operations as would depend on their etymological formation.”

अधः शिरसी पदे ॥४७॥ पदानि ॥ अधः-शिरसी, पदे ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अधस् शिरस् इत्येतयोर्विसर्जनीयस्य समासेऽनुत्तरपदस्यस्य सकार आदेशो भवति पदशब्दे परतः ॥

47. For the visarga of अधस् or शिरस् when not preceded by another word, and followed by the word पद in composition with it, there is substituted स् ॥

Thus अधस्त्वद्, शिरस्त्वद् ॥ अधस्त्वरी, शिरस्त्वरी ॥

The word समासे is understood in this, therefore not here अधः पदम् ॥

The word अनुत्तरपदस्यस्य is also understood here. Therefore not in the following परमशिरः पदम् ॥

The word अधस्त्वद् is a compound formed under Mayūravayansa-kādi class.

कस्कादिषु च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कस्कादिषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कस्क् इत्येवमादिषु च विसर्जनीयस्य सकारः षकारो वा यथायोगमादेशो भवति कुप्पोः परतः ॥

48. स or ष is substituted for the visarga, before a hard guttural and labial in the words कस्क् and the rest.

This is an Apavāda to Sūtra VIII. 3. 37. ष् is substituted after इ or उ, and स् everywhere else. Thus कस्क्; 2. कौतस्कुतः (with अण् of कुत भागतः); 3. भ्रातृषुचः (VI. 3. 23) 4. शुनस्कर्षः (VI. 3. 21) 5. सद्यस्कालः; 6. सद्यस्की (from क्री 'to buy' with the affix क्विप्, because it belongs to Sampadādi class.) 7. साद्यस्कः (from सद्यस्की in the sense of तत्रभवः क्रतुः). 8. कांस्कान् (the इ is by VIII. 3. 12). 9. सर्षिष्कुण्डिका, 10. चतुष्कपालम्, 11. धनुष्कपालम् 12. बर्हिष्पूलम्, 13. यजुष्पानम् ॥ "The words 9 to 13 are exceptions to VIII. 3. 45, so that there might be ष, even when सर्षिस् &c are preceded by another word. Thus परमसर्षिष्कुण्डिका ॥ The counter-example then to VIII. 3. 45 will be परमसर्षिः फलम् ॥" This is the opinion of the Pārāyaṇikās. But in the Mahābhāshya, the counter-example under VIII. 3. 45 is परमसर्षिःकुण्डिका ॥ Another reason why these words are listed here, is that ष change will take place, even where there is no correlation or vyapekshā. As तिष्ठन् सर्षिष्कुण्डिकां ज्ञानम् ॥ So also when there is correlation, as इहं सर्षिष्कुण्डिकायाः ॥ Here सर्षिस् is an incomplete word. The ष change, will take place even where there is no compounding. Where there is no compounding, and there is complete want of correlation, even there the ष will invariably come. And where there is correlation, but no compounding there the ष would have been optional by VIII. 3. 44, but it becomes invariable here, on account of these words being so listed. Thus we have these cases : (1) Without correlation, as तिष्ठन् सर्षिष्कुण्डिकामानम् ॥ (2) Where there is correlation, as इहं सर्षिष्कुण्डिकायाः ॥ (3) Where there is composition, as सर्षिष्कुण्डिका ॥ (4) Where there is no composition and no correlation even, as, in example (1). (5) Where there is correlation but no compounding as in example (2). In all these cases there is ष *invariably* in case of these words. 14. अयस्काण्डः, 15. मेरुस्त्रिण्डः ॥ अविहितलक्षण उपचारः कस्कादिषु इटप्यः ।

Every change of visarga to स or ष, must be referred to Kaskādi class, if not governed by any other rule. Thus this is an Akṛtigāṇa. Upachāra is the name of स् and ष which replace the visarga.

The Pārāyaṇa is of two sorts, Dhātu-Par, and Nāma-Par. Those who devote themselves in committing to memory and reciting these are Pārāyanikas.

छन्दसि वा प्राप्तेडितयोः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, वा, अ-प्र-आप्तेडितयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये विसर्जनीयस्य वा सकारादेशो भवति कुप्पोः परतः प्रचक्ष्णं प्राप्तेडितं दर्शयित्वा ॥

49. स may optionally be substituted for the

visarga before a hard guttural and labial, in the Chhandas ; but neither before प्र, nor before a doubled word.

Thus अयः पाचम् or अयस्पाचम् ॥ This is an example of non-compounds. In compounds, the स change is compulsory by VIII. 3. 46: because the option of the present sutra is asiddha there, and it finds its scope in cases other than compounds. If the maxim प्रकरणे प्रकरणमसिद्धं न योगे योगः be applied, then the two sutras VIII. 3. 46 and VIII. 3. 49 belong to the same प्रकरणं and one is not asiddha with regard to the other. Then we could give examples of compounds also under this sutra: but then such compounds will also be governed by VIII. 3. 46, and so the स would be compulsory.

विश्वसस्पाचम् or विश्वसः पाचम्, here the word विश्वसः is an Indeclinable and hence the rule VIII. 3. 46, does not apply to it. उरु णः कारः or उरु ण स्कारः ॥ Here नस् is substituted for अस्, and then the न is changed to ण by VIII. 4. 27. The word कारः is a घञ् formed word.

Why do we say "not before प्र and a doubled word"? Observe अग्निः प्र विद्वान् (Av. V. 26. 1), पुरुषः पुरुषः परि ॥

In सूर्यरश्मिर्हरिकेशः पुरस्तात् (Rig. X. 139. 1), स नः पाचकः (Rig. I. 12. 10), the स change has not taken place, as all rules are optional in the Vedas.

कः-कारत्-करति-कृधि-कृतेषु, अन्-अदितेः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ कः-कारत्-करति-कृधि-कृतेषु, अन्-अदितेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कः कारत् कारति कृधि कृत इत्येतेषु परतः अनदितेर्विसर्जनीयस्य सकारदेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

50. The visarga is changed to स् in the Chhandas, before कः, कारत्, करति, कृधि and कृतः but not so the visarga of अदितिः ॥

Thus विश्वसत्कः ॥ कः is the Aorist of कृ, the षि has been elided by II. 4. 80: the क् of कृ is guṇated before the affix सिप्, thus we have कर्त्, the त् is elided by VI. 1. 68; and the augment अद् is not added by VI. 4. 75. Similarly विश्वसत्कारत् ॥ Here also कारत् is the Aorist of कृ, with अद् by III. 1. 59. पयस्करति, here करति is the लृट् of कृ; षप् is added instead of ड, as a Vedic anomaly. उरणस्कृधि, here कृधि is the Imperative of कृ, the सि is changed to हि, the vikaraṇa is elided, and हि changed to धि by VI. 4. 102. See VIII. 4. 27, for the change of न to ण ॥ सवस्कृतम्, here कृतम् is Past Participle of कृ ॥

Why do we say 'but not of अदितिः'? Observe यथा नो अदितिः कारत् (Rig. I. 43. 2).

पञ्चम्याः पराचध्यर्थे ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्याः, परी, अध्यर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि स्थेव । पञ्चमीविसर्जनीयस्य सकारदेशो भवति परी परतः अध्यर्थे ॥

51. The visarga of the Ablative case is changed to स् before परि meaning 'over'.

The word Chhandas is understood here also. Thus दिवस्परि प्रथमं जज्ञे (Rig X. 45. 1) अग्निर्हिमवत्तस्परि ॥ दिवस्परि, महस्परि ॥

Why do we say 'of the Ablative'? Observe अक्षिरिव भोगैः पर्येति बाहुम् ॥ Why do we say "before परि"? See एभ्योवा एतल्लोकेभ्यः प्रजापतिः समैरयत् ॥ Why do we say 'when परि means 'over'? See दिवः पृथिव्याः प्रयोज उद्भूतम् (Rig. VI. 47. 27). Here परि has the sense of "on all sides".

पातौ च बहुलम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पातौ, च बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पातौ च धातौ परतः पञ्चमीविसर्जनीयस्य बहुलं सकार आदेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

52. स may diversely be substituted for the visarga of the Ablative before the verb पातु in the Chhandas.

Thus दिवस्पातु, राजस्पातु ॥ Sometimes, the change does not take place, as परिषद्ः पात ॥

षष्ठ्याःपतिपुत्रपृष्ठपारपदपयस्पोषेषु ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठ्याः-पति-पुत्र-पृष्ठ-पार-पद पयस्-पोषेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षष्ठीविसर्जनीयस्यसकारादेशो भवति पति पुत्र पृष्ठ पार पद पयस् पोष इत्येतेषु परतः छन्दसि विषये ॥

53. For the visarga of the Genitive, there is substituted स in the Vedas, before पति, पुत्र, पृष्ठ, पार, पद, पयस्, and पोष ॥

Thus वाचस्पतिं विश्वकर्माणमूतये, (Rig. x. 81. 7), दिवस्पुत्राय सूर्याय, दिवस्पृष्ठे धावमानं सुपर्णेम्, अगन्म, तमसस्पातम्, इडस्पदे समिध्यसे, सूर्ये चक्षु दिवस्पयः, रावस्पोषं यजमानेषु धत्तम् ॥

Why do we say 'after a genitive case'? See मनुः पुत्रेभ्यो शयं व्यमजत् ॥

इडाया वा ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इडायाः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इडायाः षष्ठीविसर्जनीयस्य वा सकार आदेशो भवति पत्यादिषु परतःछन्दसि विषये ॥

54. स is optionally substituted for the visarga of इडायाः, before पति &c, (VIII. 3. 53.) in the Chhandas.

Thus इडायाः पतिः or इडायास्पतिः इडायास्पुत्रः । इडायाः पुत्रः । इडायास्पृष्ठम् । इडायाः पृष्ठम् । इडाया स्पातम्, इडायाः पारम् । इडायास्पदम् । इडायाः पदम् । इडायास्पयः । इडायाः पयः । इडायाः पोषम् । इडायास्पोषम् ॥

अपदान्तस्य मूर्धन्यः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-पदान्तस्य, मूर्धन्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपदान्तस्येति मूर्धन्य इति चैतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । आपादपरिसमाप्तेः ॥

55. Upto the end of the Pāda, is throughout to be supplied the following: "A cerebral letter is substituted always in the room of ———, when this letter does not stand at the end of a word".

Here ceases the Padādhikāra which commenced with VIII. 1. 16. The two words अपदान्तस्य 'not final in a pada', and मूर्धन्यः 'cerebral' exert a governing influence on all sūtras upto the end of this chapter. Thus VIII. 3. 59, teaches "of an affix and a substitute". The whole of the present sūtra should be read there to complete the sense: i. e. "a cerebral sound is substituted always in the room of the स of an affix and of the स which is a substitute, when it does not stand at the end of a word'. Thus सिषेव, सुष्वाप, आम्रपु, वायुपु ॥

Why do we say 'not final'? Sec अग्रिस्तत्र, वायुस्तत्र ॥ Though the anuvṛitti of ष was understood here, yet the employment of the word 'cerebral' is for the sake of ष; as अकृद्भव, चकृद्धे (VIII. 3. 78).

सहेः साढः सः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहेः, साढः, सः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सहेर्द्रातोः साढरूपस्य यः सकारस्तस्य मूर्धन्य आवेशो भवति ॥

56. ष् is substituted for the स् in साह, when this occurs in the form of साड् (साद्) ॥

Thus जलाषाद्, नुराषाद्, पृतनाषाद् ॥ साद् is derived from सह by the affix ण्व (III. 2. 63), there is vṛiddhi of the penultimate, the ह is changed to ष (VIII. 2. 31), and the upapada is lengthened (VI. 3. 137).

साढः सः would have been enough, for there is no other form साद् except this derived from सह; why then the word सहेः is used in the sūtra? There is another form साद् not derived from सह ॥ Thus सह डेन वर्षते = सडः, सडस्य अपत्यं = साडिः ॥ He in whose name there is the letter ष is called सड; as वृड ॥

Why do we say 'in the form of साड्'? The rule will not apply when the form is साह, as जलासाहम्, नुरासाहम् ॥ Why do we say सः "for the स"? So that the आ of साद् may not be changed to cerebral: the ष् is already cerebral.

इण्कोः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इण् कोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इण्कोरित्येतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । इत उच्चरं यद्दश्यामः इणः कवर्गाद्येत्येवं तद्देदितव्यम् ।

57. From this, upto the end of the chapter, should be supplied in every sūtra, the following:—"when a vowel (with the exception of अ or आ), or a र or a guttural precedes".

The word इण is a pratyāhāra formed with the second ण् of लण् ॥ It includes all vowels and semivowels except अ and आ ॥ Of the semi-vowels र् is only efficient: so that only is taken in the translation. इण् means the letters of the क class. Thus इण्कोः is supplied in VIII. 3. 59, to complete the sense. Thus सिषेव, सुष्वाप, आम्रपु, वायुपु, कर्षुषु, हर्षुषु, गीर्षु, धूर्षु, वासु, स्वसु ॥

Why do we say "when preceded by इण् or कु"? Observe शस्यति, असौ ॥ Here the affix स of स्यति, and the substitute स in असौ (VII. 2. 106) are not changed to ष ॥

नुम्बिसर्जनीयशार्थवायेपि ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नुम्, विसर्जनीय-शार्थवाये, अपि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नुम्ब्यवायेपि विसर्जनीयव्यवायेपि शार्थवायेपि इण्कोरुत्तरस्तस्य सकारस्य मूर्जन्यादेशो भवति ॥

58. The substitution of ष् for स् takes place then also, when the augment न् (नुम्), the visarjaniya or a sibilant occurs between the said इण् and कु letters or the स् ॥

The word व्यवाय 'separation, intervention' applies to every one of the words नुम्, &c. Thus (1) when नुम् intervenes, as सर्पादि, यज्ञदि, हर्षादि (VII. 1. 72, VI. 4. 10). (2) When a visarjaniya intervenes, as सर्पिःपु, यज्ञःपु, हविःपु (VIII. 3. 36) (3) When a Sibilant intervenes, as सर्पिषु, यज्ञेषु हविषु ॥

The षत्व takes place, when नुम् &c intervene *singly* and not when they intervene collectively. Therefore not here, निस्ते, निस्त्वे from the root निस् 'to kiss.' Here there is the intervention of *two*, namely, नुम् and स् (III. 4. 91).

The word इण्कोः is in the Ablative case, and it required that the स् should follow *immediately* after it. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra for the intervention of certain letters.

आदेशप्रत्यययोः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदेश, प्रत्यययोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आदेशो यः सकारः प्रत्ययस्य च यः सकार इण्कोरुत्तरस्तस्य मूर्जन्यो भवति ॥

59. ष् is substituted for that स् which is a substitute (of the ष् of a root in Dhātupāṭha by VI. 1. 64), or which is (the portion of) an affix, under the above mentioned conditions (VIII. 3. 57, 58), of being preceded by an इण् vowel or a guttural.

The word cerebral is understood here from VIII. 3. 55, as well as स ॥ The sūtra ādeśa-pratyayoḥ is in the Genitive case. The force of the Genitive however is different in the word ādeśa, from what it is in pratyaya. In the first it is samānādhikaraṇa-shashṭhi, in the latter avayava-yogaśashṭhi. That is that स् which is an ādeśa, and that स् which belongs to an affix. If we took it as avayavayogā shashṭhi in both places, then the sūtra would mean "of that स् which is a portion of a substitute, or of an affix," and there would arise the following anomaly. In doubling a word by VIII. 1. 1, one view is that two are *substituted* in the room of one (See VIII. 1. 1). Thus बिसंबिसं, दुसलंदुसलं ॥ Here the स् in these words, is a *portion* of a substitute, and would be changed to ष्, if we translate the sūtra as above.

If we take the other view, and translate the sūtra as "of that स् which is a substitute or an affix", we land on the following anomaly. We must have forms like करिष्यति and हरिष्यति, and not the correct forms करिष्यति, हरिष्यति ;

for here स् is not an affix, but a *portion* of an affix. In fact, with regard to affixes, the sūtra would be confined to those affixes only which consist of a single स्, such as सिप् in the Vedic subjunctive ल्रेद् ॥ That this is the proper interpretation of the sūtra is indicated by the sūtra VIII. 3. 60, (the next aphorism). The substitute घस् is taken in this sūtra. If therefore, the force of Genitive in आदेशस्य was=आदेशस्य यः सकारः and not=आदेशः यः सकारः, then there would have been no necessity of including the substitute घस् in the sūtra, for then the present sūtra would have covered the case of घस् also. Similarly, if the force of the Genitive in प्रत्ययस्य was=प्रत्ययः यः सकारः, and not=प्रत्ययस्यः यः सकारः; then there would have been no necessity of excluding the affix सात् (V. 4. 52) from the operation of the present rule by VIII. 3. 111, because it is not an affix consisting of a single letter स् ॥

Having surmised this, we shall now give illustrations. First of that स् which is a substitute. It can only be the स् which replaces the ए of a root in Dhātupāṭha. Thus सिषेव, सुष्वाप ॥ Of an affix, we have अग्निषु, वायुषु, कर्तृषु, हर्तृषु; वक्षत् in इन्द्रो मा वक्षत्; and वक्षत् in स देवान् वक्षत् ॥

Q.—In the case of वक्षत् and वक्षत्, the स् is not the *portion* of an affix, but the *whole* affix itself: the present sūtra should therefore not apply to this स् ॥

Ans.—Here we apply the maxim व्यपदेशिवद् एकस्मिन् ॥

These words (वक्षत् and वक्षत्) are from the roots वच् and वञ्, in ल्रेद् with सिप्, the इ is elided by III. 4. 97, the augment अद् (III. 4. 94), the affix सिप् by III. 1. 34; the च् of वच् is changed to a guttural, and the ञ् of वञ् to ए and then to a guttural.

The Uṇādi word अक्षरं (अच् + सर Uṇ III. 70) complies with this rule, but not so the word कृसरं and धूसरं (Uṇ III. 73) formed with the same affix सर ॥

शासिवसिघसीनांच ॥६०॥ पदानि ॥ शासि-घसि- घसीनाम्, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शासि वसि घसि इत्येतेषां च इण्कोरुत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यो भवति ॥

60. ष् is substituted for the स् of शास, घस् and घस् when it is preceded by an इण् vowel or a guttural.

Thus अन्वशिषत्, अन्वशिषताम्, अन्वशिषन्, the Aorist of शास्; the षि is replaced by अद् (III. 1. 56), and the आ changed to इ by VI. 4. 34. So also शिष्टः, शिष्टवान् ॥ From वस् we have वषितः, वषितवान्, वषित्वा ॥ The Samprasāraṇa takes place by VI. 1. 15 as it belongs to yajādi class. From घस् we have अक्षतुः, अक्षुः in the Perfect. घस् is the substitute of अद् (II. 4. 40), the penultimate अ is elided by VI. 4. 98. So also अक्षन् in अक्षन्मीमन्त पितरः (Rig. I. 82. 2). This is the Aorist form of अद्, the घस् is substituted for अद् (II. 4. 37): the Aorist sign is elided by II. 4. 80.

This sūtra is made to cover cases not governed by the last sūtra, namely, where the स् is not an *ādesā*. Though the स् in घस् is the स् of a substitute, yet it is not governed by the preceding aphorism, because the word शादेशस्य there means 'the स् which is a substitute'. Here स् is not a substitute, but a portion of a substitute. The non-substitute चस् is not to be taken here : as it seldom occurs.

The word इण्कोः is understood here also. Therefore the rule would not apply to चास्ति, वसति and जघास ॥

स्तौतिण्योरेव षण्यभ्यासात् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तौति-ण्योः, एव, षाणि, अभ्यासात् ॥

वृत्ति ॥ स्तौतेर्ण्यन्तानां च षण्भूते सति परतः अभ्यासादिण उत्तरस्व अदिहसकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

61. स् is substituted for स after ह् or उ in the reduplication of a Desiderative, if the स of सन् is changed to स् ; but only in स्तु and in Causative of roots which in Dhātupāṭha begin with a स् ॥

This rule is confined to the Desideratives of स्तु and of स् beginning roots in the Causative, provided that the Desiderative sign स् is changed to स् ॥ The rule applies to the स् of the substitute, and not to the affix स् as there can be no such स् after a reduplicate syllable. Therefore स् means that स which replaces the स् of the roots.

Thus from स्तु we have तुदूषति ॥ Here the स of सन् is changed to स् by the last sūtra, and therefore so also after the reduplicate उ, the स of स्तु is changed to स् ॥

Of the Causatives of roots beginning with स् in Dhātupāṭha, we have सिषेवयिषति, सिषिञ्जयिषति, सुष्वापयिषति ॥ In this last, the स् is changed to उ by VII. 4. 67.

Though this स् change would have taken place by the previous sūtra (VIII. 3. 59), yet the separate enunciation of this rule indicates that this is a *niyama* aphorism—the स् change takes place only in these cases of स्तु and Causatives of Desideratives under the conditions mentioned in this sūtra, and *no where else*. Thus सिषिषति from the root षिच ऋणे (Tud. 140). This is a root, which is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with a स्, therefore the form ought to have been सिषिषति by VIII. 3. 59, but it is not so, because of the *niyama* of the present sūtra. So also सुसूषते from सूष् प्राणिमसवे (Div. 24): and सुसूषति from सू ऋणे (Tud 115).

If this is a *niyama* rule by the very fact of its separate enunciation, what is then the necessity of using the word एव in the aphorism? Ans. इदतो-ऽन्यधारणार्थम् ; so that, the sūtra may mean "if स्तु and Causatives *only*, when च् follows" ? and not "if स्तु and Causatives when च् only follows". In the

latter view, we could not get the form तुष्टाव ; and the rule would have applied to सिद्धिक्वति also.

Why do we say "in the Desiderative व्" ? So that the *niyama* may not be any where else. Had वणि not been used in the *sūtra*, the restriction would have been with regard to every affix, and the *sūtra* would have meant "if there is occasion of बल्ब change after a reduplicate, it should take place only in the case of लु and the Causatives". Therefore व् change would not have taken place in सिद्धेव, as it is not a Causative.

Q.—कौ विनतेऽनुबन्धः? Why have we used the word वल्ब with व्, and not the word सन्? That is, what compulsion was there to exhibit the Desiderative affix सन्, in this changed form? The word विनत is the name given in the Prātiśākhya to व् and ञ change.

Ans.—So that the restrictive rule may not apply to the अविनत form of सन् ॥ As ह्युप्सति ॥ The सन् is here कित् by I. 2. 8, and there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 15. For had सनि been used in the *sūtra*, then the restriction would have been with regard to *all* Desideratives in *general*, whether the सन् was changed to व् or not. Therefore as there is restriction of VIII. 3. 59, in the case of सिद्धिक्वति where स is not changed to व् ; so there would have been restriction in ह्युप्सते, the स् could not have been changed to व् by VIII. 3. 59. Similarly in तिष्ठासति ॥

Q.—What is the necessity of exhibiting वल्ब with the anubandha व्? So that the rule should not apply to व् in general, but to the Desiderative affix व् only. As ह्युपिष इन्वन् ॥ This ह्युपिषे is the Perfect of स्वर, the affix यास् is added as Chhandas irregularity instead of यल्; for यास् there is छे, the affix is कित् by I. 2. 5, and so there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 15, and reduplication, and the augment इद् is added by VII. 2. 13, the व् is changed to अव्, as ह्युपिषव् इन्वन्, the व् is elided by VIII. 3. 19. Here after the reduplicate ह्यु, the स् is changed to व्, in ह्यु by the *general* rule VIII. 3. 59, as the restriction of this *sūtra* does not apply in this case. But had व् in general been taken, then ह्युपिष has an affix व्, and therefore *sūtra* VIII. 3. 59, would have been restricted, and there would have been no change of ह्यु to ह्यु after the reduplicate, as it is not a causative. Hence वल्ब has been employed with an anubandha.

Why do we say 'after a reduplicate'?

Ans.—So that this restriction may apply to that व् which would have been caused by the इ or ऋ of an *abhyāsa*, and not to that which would have been caused by an *upasarga*. As अग्निपिषिक्वति, though without the Preposition, the form is सिद्धिक्वते ॥

Q.—No, this cannot be the reason, because the व् caused by the *upasarga* is considered as *asiddha*, and hence there would be no restriction.

Ans.—Then we say, the abhyāsa is taken to be qualified by सन्, namely that abhyāsa which is caused by सन्, would give occasion to this rule and not any other abhyāsa. Therefore if a reduplication has been caused by बह्, and then बल् is added to it, then the restriction of the present sūtra will not apply, and बल change will take place though the root may not be a Causative &c. Thus the बह् of स्वप् is सोषुप्त् (VI. 1. 19), the Desiderative of this root is सोषुषित्ते, with इट् augment, the elision of ञ (VI. 4. 48) of ब, the elision of ब् by VI. 4. 49.

Q.—No this also cannot be the reason: because the बल change is antaranga, while the restriction niyama is Bahiranga. Therefore, the word abhyāsa is employed superfluously in the sūtra.

Ans.—The word abhyāsa is taken in the sūtra, so that the restriction may be with regard to that ब् which might have been caused by the इ or उ of the abhyāsa; and not to that ब् which might be occasioned by the इ or उ of a dhātu or verbal root. Thus प्रतिषिषति, अधीषिषति ॥ Here the root इ in the sense of बोधन, is turned to Desiderative with सन्; and by VI. 1. 2, the स is reduplicated, then by VII. 4. 79, the ञ is changed to इ ॥ Thus इषिस; here by the force of the इ of the abhyāsa सि, the स is changed to ष as इषिष; (VIII. 3. 59) then as the restriction of this sūtra does not apply, the root इ causes the बल of the abhyāsa, as इषिष ॥ Had the word अभ्यसात् not been used in the sūtra, the स of abhyāsa could not have been changed to ष, for then the sūtra would have meant “ष is substituted for स, only in the case of स्तु and Causatives in the Desiderative बल्”; and as इषिष is not a Causative-Desiderative, the restriction would have applied.

सः स्वदिस्वदिसहीनां च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, स्वदि-स्वदि-सहीनाम्, च ॥
वृत्ति ॥ न्विदि स्वदि सहि इत्येतेषां ष्यन्तानां सनि बभूते परतो ऽभ्यासादुक्तस्य सकारस्य सकारदेशो भवति ॥

62. स is substituted for the स् after the reduplicate of the षण् Desiderative of the Causatives of स्वद्, स्वद्, and सह् ॥

The स substitute of स् debars the cerebral change. In other words, the स of these roots remains unchanged. As सिस्वेषिषति, सिस्वाषिषति and सिसाहृषिषति ॥

प्राक्सितादङ्घ्यवाये ऽपि ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्,सितात्, अद्, घ्यवाये, अपि ॥
वृत्ति ॥ सेवसितेति वक्ष्यति प्राक्सतसंघञ्जनाद्यादित् ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तत्प्राङ्घ्यवायेपि ऽर्ध्वान्यो भवति-
त्येवं तद्वदितव्यमपिघञ्जानङ्घ्यवायेपि ॥

63. (The substitution of ष् for स्, to be taught hereafter, will take place) for all roots upto सिद् exclusive in

VIII. 3. 70, even when the augment **अद्** intervenes (between the **स** and the efficient letter).

The root **सित्** occurs in sūtra VIII. 3. 70. Thus VIII. 3. 65 teaches **ष** change : as **अभिसृजोति, परिषृजोति, विषृजोति, निषृजोति** ॥ So also when **अद्** intervenes ; as **अभ्यषृजोत्, पर्यषृजोत्, व्यषृजोत्, न्यषृजोत्** ॥ The force of **अपि** is that the change takes place even when the augment **अद्** does not come, i. e. in cases other than the augment.

स्थादिष्वभ्यासेन चाभ्यासस्य ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थादिषु, अभ्यासेन, च, अभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राक् सित्तादिति वर्णते ॥ उपसर्गास्तुनोतीत्यत्र स्यासेनबसेधेति स्यादवस्तेषु स्यादिषु प्राक् सितसंज्ञानाद् अभ्यासेन ध्यवाये मूर्धन्यो भवत्यभ्याससकारस्य च भवतीत्येवं देहितव्यम् ॥

64. In **स्था &c upto सित्** exclusive (VIII. 3. 65 to VIII. 3. 70), this **ष** substitution takes place then also, when the reduplicate intervenes, and the **स** of the reduplicate is also changed to **ष** ॥

The words **प्राक् सित्ताद्** are understood here also. The **स्थादि** roots are, **स्था, सेनय &c** in VIII. 3. 65 and ending with **सेच्** in VIII. 3. 70. The sūtra consists of two sentences : (1) The **एत्व** takes place in **स्था &c.** even when a reduplicate intervenes ; (2) The **स** of the reduplicates of **स्था &c.** is changed to **ष** ॥ The first is a *vidhi* rule, and the second is a *niyama* rule.

Thus **परित्तौ** where the **अभ्यास** **त्** intervenes. This applies even to roots other than those which have been taught with a **ष** in the Dhātupāṭha. As **अभिषिषेजिषति, परिषिषेजिषति** (सेनया अभियातुमिच्छन्ति). This applies moreover to reduplicates which end in **अ**, as **अभित्तौ** ; here the **स्** would not have been changed to **ष** (by VIII. 3. 59) as it is not preceded by **इ** or **उ** ॥ Another *raison d'être* of this sūtra is that it prohibits **षञ्** (VIII. 3. 61). As **अभिषिषिषति, परिषिषिषति** ॥

The word **अभ्यासस्य** is for the sake of *niyama*, as we have said above. **स** of **स्था &c.** and of no other roots is changed to **ष** ॥ As **अभिसृजोति** from **सृ** **द्रेणे** with **सञ्**, the augment is debarred by VII. 2. 12 : the root **सृ** is unchanged by the *niyama* prohibition of VIII. 3. 61 ; the reduplicate **स्** remains unchanged by the restriction of the present sūtra.

उपसर्गास्तुनोति सुवति स्यति स्तौति स्तोभति स्यासेनयसेधसिचसञ्जस्वञ्जाम् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, सुनोति-सुवति-स्यति-स्तौति-स्तोभति-स्या-सेनय-सेध-सिच-सञ्ज-स्वञ्जाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्याभिन्नाहुत्तरत्वं सुनोति सुवति स्यति स्तौति स्तोभति स्या सेनय सेध सिच सञ्ज स्वञ्ज इत्येतेषां सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

65. **ष्** is substituted for **स**, after an **इ** and **उ** of an *upasarga* in the following verbs : **स्** (सुनोति), **स्** (सुवति), **सो**

(स्यति VII. 3. 71), स्तु (स्तौति VII. 3. 89), स्तुम (स्तोमते), स्या, सेनय (Denominative), सिध् (सेधति), सिच्, सञ्ज् and स्वञ्ज् ॥

Thus अभिषुजोति, परिषुजोति, अभ्यषुजोत्, पर्यषुजोत् ॥ सुवति, अभिषुवति, परिषुवति, अभ्यषुवत्, पर्यषुवत् ॥ स्वति, अभिष्वति, परिष्वति, अभ्यष्वत्, पर्यष्वत् ॥ स्तौति, अभिष्टौति, परिष्टौति, अभ्यष्टौत् ॥ स्तोभति, अभिष्टोभते, परिष्टोभते, अभ्यष्टोभत, पर्यष्टोभत ॥ स्या, अभिष्टास्यात्, परिष्टास्यात्, अभ्यष्टान्, पर्यष्टान्, अभितष्टौ, परितष्टौ ॥ सेनय, अभिषेजयति, परिषेजयति, अभ्यषेजयत्, पर्यषेजयत् ॥ अभिषिषेजयिषति, परिषिषेजयिषति ॥ सेध, अभिषेधति, परिषेधति, अभ्यषेधत्, पर्यषेधत् ॥ सिच्, अभिषिञ्चति, परिषिञ्चति, अभ्यषिञ्चत्, पर्यषिञ्चत्, अभिषिषिञ्क्षति, परिषिषिञ्क्षति ॥ सञ्ज्, अभिषञ्जति, परिषञ्जति, अभ्यषञ्जत्, पर्यषञ्जत्, अभिषिषञ्क्षति, परिषिषिञ्क्षति ॥ स्वञ्ज्, अभिष्वजते, परिष्वजते, अभ्यष्वजत, पर्यष्वजत, अभिषिष्वङ्क्षते, परिषिष्वङ्क्षते ॥ सेध इति शाब्दिककरणनिर्देशः सिष्यतिनिवृत्त्यर्थः ॥ उपसर्गादिति, किम्? इधि सिञ्चति, मधु सिञ्चति, निगताः ॥ सेचका अस्माद्देशानिः सेचको देश इति ॥ नायं सिचैरुपसर्गः ॥ अभिसावकीयतीत्यत्रापि न सुनोति प्रति क्रियायोगः किं तर्हि सावकीयं प्रति ॥ अभिसावयतीत्यत्र तु सुनोतिनेव प्रति क्रियायोगो न सावयतिमिति षत्वं भवति ॥

The root सिध् is exhibited in the sūtra as सेध with षप् विकारणा, thus debarring सिध्-सिष्यति ॥

Why do we say "after an upasarga"? Observe इधि सिञ्चति, मधु सिञ्चति (VIII. 3. III). So निःसेचको देशः=निर्गता सेचका अस्माद् देशान् ॥ Here निः is not an Upasarga to सिच्, but to the noun सेचक ॥ Similarly in अभिसावकीयति, the upasarga अभि is not added to the root सु (सुनोति), but to the *third* derivative of सु (सुनोति). Namely, from सु we derive सावक with ष्वल्, and from सावक we form the Denominative root सावकीय with क्यच्; and to this Denominative root अभि is added. The upasarga, however may be added to the root first, and then ष्वल् and क्यच् added. In that case, the rule will apply. As अभिसावकीयति ॥ So also with the Causative, as अभिसावयति, for here the upasarga is added to the root सु and not to the causative form सावय ॥

The roots पुष्ट् अभिष्वे belongs to Svādi class, बु भ्रेणे to Tudadi class, षोऽन्तकर्मणि to Divādi class, ष्टुम् स्तुतौ to Adādi class and ष्टुम स्तंभे, to Bhuādi Class. These have been shown in the sūtra in their declined form in order to indicate that the rule does not apply to their यङ् लुक्, as अभिसोषयति ॥ See VII. 1. 6 for this rule of क्तिप् exhibited roots. On the other hand, the roots सिच् &c. being not so exhibited, change their स in यङ् लुक् also, as अभिषिषिषीति ॥

The upasarga need not end with इ and उ for the purposes of this rule. Thus निष्युजोति, दुष्युजोति, where the upasarga is निस् and दुस् ॥

सदिरप्रतेः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सदिः, अप्रतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सदेः सकारस्य उपसर्गात्प्रतिभिसावप्रतेरुत्तरस्य सूत्रन्य आदेशो भवति ॥

66. The स of सद् is changed to ष after an Upasarga having an इ or उ, but not after प्रति ॥

The word सदिः is in the first case, but has the force of genitive. Thus विषीदति विषीदति, व्यषीदत्, व्यषीदत् ॥ निषसाव, विषसाव ॥ The second स remains unchanged in the Perfect by VIII. 3. 118.

Why do we say 'but not after प्रति'? Observe प्रतिप्रति ॥ Prof. Bohtlingk points out that the sūtra is सवेरपतेः as given by Sayānāchārya in his commentary on Rig Veda VI. 13. 1. Pāṇini, however, often uses the first case with the force of the Genitive, as in VIII. 3. 80.

स्तन्मेः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तन्मेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तन्मेः सकारस्य उपसर्गत्याग्निच्चादुत्तरस्य मूर्धन्य भावेशो भवति ॥

67. The स of स्तन्म is changed into ष after an up-asarga, having an इ or उ ॥

Thus अभिष्टभाति । परिष्टभाति । अष्टभात् । पर्वष्टभात् । अभिष्टम् । परिष्टम् । The word अष्टेः of the last sūtra is not to be read here. Hence we have forms like :—प्रतिष्टभाति । प्रत्यष्टभात्, प्रत्यष्टितम् ॥

अवाञ्छालम्बनाविदूर्ययोः ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवात्, च, आलम्बन-आविदूर्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवशाब्बादुपसर्गादुत्तरस्य स्तन्मेः सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति । आलम्बनेयं आविदूर्ध्वं च ॥

68. The स of स्तन्म is changed into ष after the preposition अव in the sense of 'support' and 'contiguity'.

The word आलम्बनं means "support, refuge, that upon which any thing depends or leans". आविदूर्ध्वं means "the state of not being विदूर or far off, i. e. to be contiguous'.

Thus अवष्टभास्ते "He remains leaning upon a staff" &c, अवष्टभ तिष्ठति ॥ So also in the sense of to be near, as अवष्टभा सेना 'the army near at hand'. अवष्टभा घात् ॥ See V. 2. 13.

Why do we say "when having the sense of support or contiguity"? Thus अवस्तब्धो वृषलः क्षीतेन 'the Sūdra is afflicted with cold'.

The present sūtra is commenced in order to make the ष change even while the preceding letter is not इ or उ ॥

वेद्य स्वनो भोजने ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, च, स्वनः, भोजने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेरुपसर्गाद्वाचोत्तरस्य भोजनार्थे स्वनतेः सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

69. The ष is substituted for the स of स्वन्, after वि and अव, when the sense is "to smack while eating".

Thus विष्यति, च्च्यत्, विष्यन्, अवष्यति, अवाष्यत्, अवष्यन् ॥ That is, he makes sound while eating, he eats with a smack.

Why do we say 'when making a smacking sound in eating'? Observe विस्वनि वृद्धः "the drum sounds".

परिनिविभ्यः सेवसितसयसिबुसहसुद्स्तुस्वञ्जाम् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ परि-नि-वि-भ्यः, सेव-सित-सय-सिबु-सह-सुद्-स्तु-स्वञ्जाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परि नि वि इच्छेतेभ्य उपसर्गेभ्य उत्तरेषां सेव सित सय सिबु सह सुद् स्तु स्वञ्ज इच्छेतेभ्यः सकारस्य मूर्धन्य भावेशो भवति ॥

70. ष is substituted for the स् of सेष्, सित, सय, सिष्, सह, the augment सुद्, स्तु, and स्वञ्ज, after the prepositions परि, नि, and वि ॥

The root सेष् belongs to Bhuádi class. The word सित is the Past Participle of सिष् बन्धने, and सय is the noun derived from the same root with the affix अष् ; सिष् is a Divádi root.

Thus परिवेषते । निषेवते । विषेवते । पर्येषेवते । व्येषेवते । न्येषेवते । परिषेवेषिषते । विषिषेविषते । निषिषेविषते । सित । परिषितो । विषितो, निषितः । सय । परिषयो, निषयो, विषयः । सिष् । परिषीष्यति । निषीष्यति । विषीष्यति । पर्येषीष्यत् । न्येषीष्यत् । व्येषीष्यत् । पर्येसीष्यत् । न्येसीष्यत् । व्येसीष्यत् । सह परिषहते । निषहते । विषहते । पर्येषहत् । न्येषहत् । व्येषहत् । पर्येसहत् । न्येसहत् । व्येसहत् । सुद् । परिष्करोति । पर्येष्करोत् । स्तु । परिष्टीति । निष्टीति । विष्टीति । पर्येष्टीत् । न्येष्टीत् । व्येष्टीत् । पर्येस्तीत् । न्येस्तीत् । व्येस्तीत् । स्वञ्ज । इंशसञ्जस्वञ्जामिति नलोपः । परिष्वजते । निष्वजते । विष्वजते । पर्येष्वजत । पर्येस्वजत । पूर्वेणैव सिञ्जे स्तुस्वञ्जिमहणमुत्तरपर्यम् । अङ्प्यवाये विभाषा यथा स्वात् ॥

The nasal is elided in स्वञ् by VI. 4. 25. The स् of स्तु and स्वञ् would have been changed to ष by VIII. 3. 65 also. Their inclusion here is for the sake of subsequent sūtra, by which the ष change is *optional* when the augment अङ् intervenes.

सिवादीनां षाङ्प्यवायेपि ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिवादीनाम्, षा-अङ्-प्यवाये, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनन्तरसूत्रे सिष्सहसुद्स्तुस्वञ्जामिति सिवादिषः । सिवादीनामङ्प्यवायेपि परिनिविभ्य उत्तरस्व सकारस्व वा वृद्धेन्वो भवति ॥

71. The ष-change may take place optionally in the सिष् and the rest (of the last sūtra), even when the augment अ intervenes between the prepositions परि, नि or वि and the verb.

The सिवादि are the four roots सिष् सह, स्तु and स्वञ्ज, as well as the augment सुद् ॥ This is an example of ubhayatra-vibhāshā. In the case of स्तु and स्वञ्ज it is prāpta-vibhāshā, in the case of others it is aprāpta. The examples have already been given under the preceding sūtra, and so need not be repeated here.

अनुविपर्यमिनिभ्यः स्यन्दतेरप्राणिषु ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु-वि-परि-आभि निभ्यः, स्यन्दतेः, अप्राणिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनु वि परि आभि नि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्व स्यन्दतेरप्राणिषु सकारस्व वा वृद्धेन्वादेशो भवति ॥

72. ष् is optionally the substitute of the स् of स्यन्द्, after the prepositions अनु, वि, परि, आभि and नि, when the subject is not a living being.

The root स्यन्द् प्रसवणे is anudāta. Thus अनुष्यन्दते । विष्यन्दते । परिष्यन्दते । आभेष्यन्दत तल्लम् । निष्यन्दते । अनुत्स्यन्दते । विस्यन्दते । परित्स्यन्दते ।

Why do we say 'when the subject is not a living being'? Observe अनुस्यन्ते मस्य उक्ते ॥ The option of this sūtra will apply, when the subject is a compound of living and non-living beings. Thus अनुस्यन्ते or अनुस्यन्ते मस्योक्ते ॥ The subject here is a Dvandva compound, and it is not in the singular number because of II. 4. 6. The word अप्रापिषु is a Paryudāsa and not a Prasajya-pīatishedha. If it be the latter sort of prohibition, then the force will be on the word *living*, and in a compound like मस्योक्ते, consisting of *living* and *non-living* beings, the prohibition will apply because it has a *living* being in it, and so there will be no अन्व ॥ In the other view, the force is on the word *non-living*, and because the compound contains a non-living being, therefore the option will be applied, and the presence of the living being along with it will be ignored.

The anuvṛtti of परि, नि and वि is understood here from VIII. 3. 70. So these words could well have been omitted from the sūtra, which might have then been अन्वभिधांश्च स्यन्तेऽप्रापिषु, and by the force of च we would draw in the anuvṛtti of परि &c.

वेः स्कन्देरनिष्ठायाम् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, स्कन्देः, अनिष्ठायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेःसर्गादुत्तरस्य स्कन्देः सकारस्य दुर्जन्यो वा भवति अनिष्ठायाम् ॥

73. ष् is optionally substituted for the स् of स्कन्द्, after the preposition वि, but not in the participles in त and तवत् ॥

The root is स्कन्दिर् गति शोषणयोः ॥ Thus विष्कन्ता or विस्कन्ता, विष्कन्तुम् or विस्कन्तुम्, विष्कन्तव्यम् or विस्कन्तव्यम् ॥

Why do we say 'but not in the Nishṭhā'? Observe विस्कन्तः

परेऽथ ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिषदाच्चोत्तरस्य स्कन्देः सकारस्य वा दुर्जन्यो भवति ॥

74. ष् is optionally substituted for the स् of स्कन्द् after the preposition परि every where.

Thus परिष्कन्ता or परिस्कन्ता, परिष्कन्तुम् or परिस्कन्तुम्, परिष्कन्तव्यम् or परिस्कन्तव्यम् ॥

The word परि could well have been included in the last sūtra as विपरिधां स्कन्देर् &c. The very fact that it has not been so included, indicates that the prohibition of अनिष्ठायाम् does not apply to it. Thus परिष्कणः or परिस्कणः ॥

परिस्कन्दः प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिस्कन्दः, प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिस्कन्द इति दुर्जन्याभावो निपात्यते प्राच्यभरतेषु प्रयोगविषयेषु ॥

75. The word परिस्कन्द् is used without the cerebral change in the country of Eastern Bharata.

This is an anomaly. The **ष** required by the last sūtra is prohibited. The other form is परिष्कन्द्ः ॥ The word परिष्कन्द् is formed by the affix षच् or it is a Nishṭhā, the ण being elided. The word भरत्त qualifies the word प्राच्य ॥

Prof. Bohtlingk translates it "परिष्कन्द् is seen in the usage of the Eastern People and the Bharata". He bases his construction on the sūtras II. 4. 66, and IV. 2. 113, where प्राच्यभरत्तेषु means "the Eastern People and Bharata".

स्फुरतिस्फुलत्योर्निनिविभ्यः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फुरति, स्फुलत्योः, निस्, नि, विभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्फुरतिस्फुलत्योः सकारस्य निस् नि वि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य वा मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

76. **ष्** is optionally substituted for the **स्** of स्फुर् and स्फुल् after the prepositions निस्, नि, and वि ॥

Thus निष्फुरति or निस्फुरति, निस्फुरति or निष्फुरति, विष्फुरति, विष्फुरति ॥ स्फुलति, निष्फुलति, निस्फुलति, निष्फुलति, विष्फुलति, विष्फुलति ॥

वेः स्कन्नातेर्नित्यम् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, स्कन्नातेः, नित्यं ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेरुत्स्य स्कन्नातेः सकारस्य नित्यं मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

77. **ष्** is always substituted for the **स्** of स्कम्, after the preposition वि ॥

Thus विष्कम्भाति, विष्कम्भिता, विष्कम्भितुम्, विष्कम्भितव्यम् ॥

इणः षीध्वंलुङ्लिट्ठां धोङ्गात् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, षीध्वं, लुङ्लिट्ठां, धः, धङ्गात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूर्द्धन्य इति वर्त्तते । इणन्ताङ्गात्परेषां षीध्वंलुङ्लिट्ठां यो धकारस्तस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

78. The cerebral sound is substituted in the room of the **घ** of षीध्वम्, and of the Personal-endings of the Aorist and the Perfect, after a stem ending in इण् (a vowel other than अ).

The word 'cerebral' is understood here from VIII. 3. 55. Thus अयोषीध्वम्, शोषीध्वम् ॥ Aorist :—अय्योद्धुम्, अशोद्धुम् (VIII. 2. 25). Perfect : अकृष्टे ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of इण्कोः was current here from VIII. 3. 57, yet the repetition of the word इण् here indicates that the anuvṛitti of कु or the guttural ceases. As पक्षीध्वम्, यक्षीध्वम् ॥

Why do we say "the ध of षीध्वं, लुङ् and लिट्"? Observe स्तुष्ये, अस्तुष्यम्, where the ध is of लृट् and लृङ् ॥

Why do we say अङ्गात् 'after a stem'? Observe परिवेविषीध्वम्, from विष्त्-व्याप्तौ of the Juhotyādi class. There is Guṇa of the reduplicate by VII. 4. 75, the स् of सीयुद् is elided by VII. 2. 79, and षीध्वम् here is made up of the ष् of the root विष्, and ईध्वम् the affix; therefore षीध्वं here is not after the *anḡa* परिवे वि, for the *anḡa* here is परिवे विष्, and ईध्वम् is the affix. This result could have been

obtained, without using the word **अङ्गान्** in the sūtra, by the maxim **अर्थवद् ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य** "a combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning, denotes that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote a combination void of meaning".

विभाषेतः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, इटः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इणः परस्मादिट् उत्तरेषां षीध्वंलुङ्गलिटां वा धकारस्तस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति विभाषा ॥

79. The cerebral sound is optionally substituted for the **घ्** of **षीध्वम्** and of the Aorist and the Perfect after the augment **इद्**, when the stem ends in **इण् ॥**

Thus **लु + इद् + षीध्वम् = लविषीध्वम्** or **लविषीद्वम्** so also **पविषीध्वम्** or **पविषीद्वम्** from **पू ॥** Aorist:—**अलविध्वम्** or **अलविद्वम् ॥** Perfect:—**लुलुविध्वे** or **लुलुविद्वे ॥**

The word **इण्** is understood here and it qualifies the word **इद्**, so that the stem should end in an **इण्** vowel which should be followed by the **इद्** augment and this letter should be followed by **षीध्वम्** and the **घ्** beginning affixes of the Aorist and the Perfect. If the stem does not end in an **इण्** vowel, the rule will not apply; as **आसिषीध्वम्** from the root **आस उपवेक्षणे ॥**

Then in the word **उपदिशीयिध्वे**, will the cerebral change not take place by the option of this sūtra or otherwise? This is from the root **शीद् क्षये** in the Perfect with the augment **इद्** (VII. 2. 13.), and **युद्** (by VI. 4. 63). Some say that as the augment **युद्** intervenes between the stem ending in **ई** (**इण्** vowel), and the augment **इद्**, therefore this rule will not apply and there will not be the optional **ह ॥** Others hold that the anuvṛitti of **अङ्गान्** has ceased, and the anuvṛitti of **इण्** is only current, in this sūtra, and there is no intervention and so there will be the optional change into **ह ॥**

समासेङ्गुलेः सङ्गः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ समासे, अङ्गुलेः, सङ्गः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सङ्गसकारस्याङ्गुलेरुत्तरस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति समासे ॥

80. **ङ्** is substituted for the **स्** of **सङ्ग** after the word **अङ्गुलि** in a compound.

Thus **अङ्गुलिपङ्ग** । **अङ्गुलिपङ्गो यवागूः । अङ्गुलिपङ्गो नाः सादवति ॥** Why do we say in a compound? Observe **अङ्गुले सङ्गं पद्व ॥**

The word **सङ्गः** is exhibited in the sūtra in the nominative case. The force is here that of Genitive i. e. **सङ्गस्य ॥**

भीरोः स्थानम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भीरोः, स्थानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थानसकारस्य भीरोरुत्तरस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

81. **च्** is substituted for the **स्** of **स्थानं** when preceded by **भीरु** in a compound.

Thus **भीरुस्थानम् ॥** The word compound is understood here also; otherwise **भीरो स्थानं पद्व ॥**

अग्नेः स्तुत्स्तोमसोमाः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नेः, स्तुत्, स्तोम, सोमाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्नेरुत्तरस्य स्तुत् स्तोम सोम इत्येतेषां सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति समासे ॥

इष्टिः ॥ अग्नेर्वीर्यात् सोमस्येव्यते ॥

82. ए is substituted for the स् of स्तुत्, स्तोम and सोम when preceded by अग्नि in a compound.

Thus अग्निदुत्, अग्निदोमः, अग्नीषोमः ॥

Ishti:—The इ of अग्नि is lengthened before सोम and it is after such lengthened ई, that the स of सोम is changed to ए, otherwise not. As अग्निसोमौ मापत्रकौ ॥ So also अग्निसोमौ तिष्ठतः (where 'agni' means fire, and 'soma' a kind of herb) "the fire and the soma plant are here."

When there is no compounding we have अग्ने सोमः ॥

The word अग्निदुत् is formed by द्विष, the sacrifice in which Agni is praised (स्तुयते) is so called. अग्निदोमः is also the name of a sacrifice: the 'first division (संस्था) of the Soma-yāga. अग्नीषोमः is a देवता-द्वन्द्वः so where there is no Devatā-Dvandva, the ए change will not take place. Thus where Agni and Soma are names of two boys, or where they refer to physical fire and herb. According to Āśvalāyana there is lengthening and ए change in the last case also, as अग्नीषोमौ प्रजेष्यामि ॥

ज्योतिरायुषः स्तोमः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्योतिः, आयुषः, स्तोमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्योतिस् आयुस् इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्तोमसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति समासे ॥

83. The स् of स्तोमः is changed to ए after ज्योतिस् and आयुस् in a compound.

As ज्योतिदोमः, आयुदोमः, but ज्योतिः स्तोमंर्षयति where there is no compounding.

मातृपितृभ्यां स्वसा ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातृ, पितृभ्याम्, स्वसा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मातृ पितृ इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्वसृसकारस्य समासे मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

84. The स् of स्वसृ is changed to ए after मातृ and पितृ in a compound.

As मातृष्वसा, पितृष्वसा ॥ See VI. 3. 24.

मातृःपितृभ्यामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातृः, पितृभ्याम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मातृर् पितृर् इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्वसृसृष्वस्यान्यतरस्यां मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति समासे ॥

85. The स् of स्वसृ is optionally changed to ए, after मातृर् and पितृर् in a compound.

Thus मातृःस्वसा. or मातृःष्वसा ; पितृःस्वसा or पितृःष्वसा ॥ The word मातृर् and पितृर् end in र्, which is changed to visarga (See VIII. 2. 24). In fact, the word पितृर् is so exhibited in the sūtra itself, with a र्, the word मातृः therefore, by the rule of साहचर्य is also to be understood as a र् ending word.

Q.—Well, if this be so, when this र् is changed to a visarga, and the visarga changed to स् by VIII. 3. 36, then there would be no ए change?

Ans.—The ब change would take place both after the visarga-ending or स-ending words, on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् “That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means, in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place”. Therefore, these words are taken to end in र्. For if they were taken to end in स्, then the rule would not apply when they ended in a visarga. If they be supposed to end in a visarga, then the form पितृभ्याम् with a र् before भ्याम् in the sūtra is hard to explain.

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here मातुः स्वसा when the words are used separately in a sentence.

अभिनिसस्तनः शब्दसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-निसः, स्तनः, शब्द-संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभि निस् इत्येतस्मादुत्तरस्य स्तनतिसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां शब्दसंज्ञायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

86. The स् of स्तन् is optionally changed to ब् after the double preposition अभि निस्, when the word so formed is the name of a particular letter (i. e. visarga).

As अभिनिष्टानो वर्णः, अभिनिष्टानो विसर्जनीयः or अभिनिस्तानो वर्णः or विसर्जनीयः ॥ The compound preposition अभि-निस् causes this change, and not any one of them separately. Thus Āpastamba :—द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा नामपूर्वभाष्यातोत्तरं दीर्घभिनिष्टान्तं, घोषवशाद्यन्तरस्तस्यन् “a name (nāma) should be such that it should consist of two-syllables or four-syllables, that its first portion should be a noun (nama-pūrva), and its second portion a verb (ākhyāta), that it should end in a long vowel (dirgha) or a visarga (abhinishṭāna), that the first letter of such a noun should be a ghosha or sonant letter (ghosha-vad-ādi), and a semi-vowel (antastha) should be in the body of it.” Thus the names ब्रविषोरा, वरिवोरा fulfill these conditions and are good names.

Why do we say “when it is the name of a particular letter.”? Observe अभिनिस्तनति वृद्धः ॥ The anuvṛitti of समासे ceases from this place.

उपसर्गप्रादुर्भ्यामस्तिर्यच्परः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्ग, प्रादुर्भ्याम्, अस्तिः, यच्चपरः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्याभिनिष्ठाप्रादुर्भ्यामस्तिर्यच्परस्य यकारपरस्याच्परस्य चास्तिसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यो भवति ॥

87. The स् of the verb अस् is changed to ब्, when it is followed by a vowel or य् and is preceded by प्रादुः, or an upasarga having इ or उ in it.

The word यच्च परः means ‘followed by य् or यच्’ ॥ The word प्रादुः is an Indeclinable, meaning ‘evidently’.

Thus अभिषन्ति, निषन्ति, विषन्ति, प्रादुःपन्ति ; अभिष्यात्, निष्यात्, विष्यात्, प्रादुः-प्यात् ॥

Why do we say "when preceded by an *Upasarga* having an इ or उ?" Observe *संभस्यात्, मधुल्यात्* ॥ Why do we say 'of the verb अस्'? Observe *अनुसृतम्, विसृतम्* ॥

Q.—How is there any occasion for the application of the rule here? The context here relates to स्, and the word "upasarga" qualifies that स्, but here the upasarga is not applied to स् but to the *whole verb* सू, therefore this is no counter-example. In fact, what is the necessity of using the word अस् at all in the sūtra: for even without it, the word 'upasarga' would qualify that verb which consists of स् only, and such a verb is अस्, with its अ elided and no other verb? Nor is the employment of अस् necessary for प्रादुः, for it comes only in connection with the verbs कृ, भू and अस् ॥

Ans.—All that you urge, is true, yet the following counter-example should be given, as अनुसू, the son of Anusū will be आनुसेयः with इक् as it belongs to Subhrādi class. Thus अनुसू + इक् = आनुसू + एय = आनुस् + एय ॥ Here the इ is elided by VI. 4. 147. Now when इ is elided, the स् is the only verb-element that remains, अनु is upasarga, and एय is affix; so that had अस् not been taken in the sūtra, the rule would apply to this स् also.

Why do we say "when it is followed by a vowel or इ"? Observe *निस्तः, विस्तः, प्रादुस्तः* ॥

सुविनिर्दुर्भ्यः सुपिसूतिसमाः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, वि, निर्, दुर्भ्यः, सुपि, सूति, समाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु वि निर् दुर् इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य सुपि सूति सम इत्येतेषां सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

Kārikā:—सुपेः षत्वं स्वपेर्मा भूर्दिसुष्वापेति केन न ।

हलादिशेषान्न सुपिरिदं पूर्वं प्रसारणम् ॥

स्थादीनां नियमो नात्र प्राक्सितादुत्तरः सुपि ।

अनर्थके विषुषुपः सुपिभूतो द्विरुच्यते ॥

88. The सू of स्वप्, सूति, and सम is changed to इ after सु, वि, निर् and दुर् ॥

The word सुपि is exhibited in the sūtra as the form of स्वप् with vocalisation. Thus सुपुप्तः, निः पुप्तः दुः पुप्तः ॥ The word सूति is the क्तिन् ending form of सू; the rule applies to this form only, as सुषूतिः, विषूतिः, निःषूति and दुःषूतिः ॥ The word सम also means the *noun* सम and not the verb सम स्तम वैकल्ये ॥ Thus सुषमम्, विषमम्, निःषमम्, दुःषमम् ॥

Kārikā—Why is षत्वं taught with regard to the सुप् form of स्वप्? *Ans.* सुपेः षत्वं स्वपेर्मा भूत्, so that the षत्वं change should not take place in स्वप् form, as विस्वमः and विस्वमक् (III. 2. 172) ॥ *Q.* विषुष्वापेति केन न? For what reason the षत्वं change has not taken place in the reduplicate विषुष्वाप, for here also in the reduplicate, is the form सुप्, as विसुप्स्वप्, and then by applying हलादिशेष rule, the प् is elided, and एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् applies? *Ans.* हलादि शेषान् न सुपिः, we

reduplicate the form स्वप्, as विस्वप्स्वप् and then elide प्, as विस्वप्स्वप्, and then vocalise, as विस्वप्स्वप् so that there being no form सुप्, there is no बस्व ॥ इदं पूर्वं प्रसारणं, in fact, the vocalisation takes place first, and then elision according to an ishti. See VI 1. 17. Otherwise, in स्वप् स्वप्, as प् is elided, ब् would also have been elided. Why is the स of विस्वप्स्वप् not changed to ब् by VIII. 3. 64? स्यादीनां नियमो नापि प्राक् सितादुत्तरः सुप्, the rule VIII. 3. 64 does not apply, because that rule is confined only to verbs up to सित in VIII. 3. 70, while सुप् is after that verb. Moreover the प् of सुप् being elided, the mere सु is अनर्थक, and the maxim is अनर्थकं पक्षे नानर्थकस्य ॥ Q. If this maxim is applied, how do you form विष्णुपुः? Ans. अनर्थके विष्णुपुः सुप्भूतांद्भिर्बुध्यते, here the form सुप् is doubled, and not सुप् ॥ The root is first joined with the affix वि + स्वप्, then there is vocalisation विस्वप्, then there is ब् change, as विस्वप्, then reduplication, as विस्वप्स्वप् ॥ Now बस्व being considered asiddha, the doubling should take place first? No, for we have already shown that for the purposes of doubling, the बस्व change is not asiddha (VIII. 2. 3 Vārt.)

निनदीभ्यां स्नातेः कौशले ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि, नदीभ्याम्, स्नातेः, कौशले ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नि नदी इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्नातिसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति कौशले गम्यमाने ॥

89. The ष् is substituted for स् of स्ना after नि and नदी when the word so formed denotes "dexterous."

Thus निष्णातः कटककरणे । निष्णातो रज्जुवर्त्तने । नद्यां स्नातीति नदीष्णः ॥ This last word is formed by the affix क added to स्ना preceded by the upapada नदी under sūtra III. 2. 4.

Why do we say when meaning dexterous? Observe निष्णातः, नदीष्णातः (नद्यां स्नातः)

सूत्रं प्रतिष्णातम् ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ सूत्रम्, प्रतिष्णातम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिष्णातमिति निपात्यते । सूत्रं चैरुवति । प्रतिष्णातं सूत्रम् ॥

90. The word प्रतिष्णातः is irregularly formed when meaning a sūtra.

Thus प्रतिष्णातः सूत्रम् i. e. शुद्धम् 'pure'. When it has not this meaning we have प्रतिष्णातः = 'bathed'

कपिष्ठलो गोत्रे ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कपिष्ठलः, गोत्रे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कपिष्ठल इति निपात्यते गोत्रविषये ॥

91. The word कपिष्ठल is irregularly formed denoting the founder of a gotra of that name.

Thus the son of Kapishṭhala will be कपिष्ठलिः ॥ The word gotra" here does not mean the grammatical "gotra," but the popular term 'gotra' denoting 'clans,' as described in the list of pravaras. Why do we say "when denoting the founder of a gotra"? Observe कपिष्ठलम् The land of the monkeys.

प्रष्ठो ऽग्रगामिनि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रष्ठः, अग्रगामिनि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रष्ठ इति निपात्यते अग्रगामिन्यभिधेये ॥

92. The word प्रष्ठ is irregularly formed when denoting 'a chief' or 'one who goes in front'.

Thus प्रष्ठोऽङ्ग meaning a 'best horse'. Why do we say when meaning 'going in front'? Observe प्रस्ये हिमवतः पुण्ये "On the sacred peak of the Himalaya". प्रस्यो ब्रीहीणाम् 'a measure of barley'.

वृक्षासनयोर्विष्टरः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृक्ष, आसनयोः, विष्टरः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विष्टरं इति निपात्यते वृक्षे आसने च वाच्ये । विपूर्वस्य स्तृणातेः षत्वं निपात्यते ॥

93. The word विष्टर is irregularly formed in the sense of "tree" and "seat."

This word is formed by adding the affix अष् to the root स्तृ preceded by the preposition वि ॥ Thus विष्टरो वृक्षः ॥ विष्टरमासनम् ॥

Why do we say when meaning a 'tree' or a 'seat'? Observe भौलपिवाक्यस्य विस्तारः ॥ See sūtra III. 3. 33. by which अष् is added here instead of धष् ॥

छन्दोनाम्नि च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दोनाम्नि, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विष्टर इति निपात्यते । विपूर्वास्सु इत्येतस्माद्भातोः छन्दोनाम्नि चेत्येवं विहित इति विष्टर इत्यपि प्रकृते विष्टार इत्यत्र विज्ञायते ॥

94. Also when it is the name of a metre, the irregular form विष्टार is used.

By Sūtra III. 3. 34 the word विष्टार is formed denoting a sort of metre called विष्टारपङ्क्तिः ॥

Why do we say when denoting 'the name of a chhandas'? Observe पदस्य विस्तारः ॥

In fact this sūtra makes unnecessary the sutra III. 3. 34. To avoid this difficulty, some say that the sūtra III. 3. 34 is, not confined to the preposition वि, so that we can form प्रस्तारपङ्क्तिः संसारपङ्क्तिः ॥

गवियुधिभ्यां स्थिरः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गवि, युधिभ्याम्, स्थिरः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गवियुधिभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्थिरसकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

95. The स् of स्थिरः is changed to ष after the words गवि and युधि ॥

Thus गविष्ठिर, युधिष्ठिर ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 44. and the 7th case affix is not elided by VI. 3. 9. though the word गो does not end in a consonant, yet it retains its Locative ending by virtue of this sūtra.

विकुशमिपरिभ्यः स्थलम् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वि, कु, शमि, परिभ्यः, स्थलम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वि कु शमिं परि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य स्थलसकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

96. ष is substituted for स् in स्थल after वि, कु, शमि, and परि ॥

Thus विष्ठलम्, कुष्ठलम्, शमिष्ठलम् and परिष्ठलम् ॥ The word वि, कु and परि are compounded under II. 2. 18.; the word शमी forms a genitive by VI. 3. 63. In the aphorism the word शमि is shown with a short इ, indicating thereby that when the इ is not shortened, the cerebral change does not take place ; as शमी-स्थलम्

अम्बाम्बगोभूमिसव्यापद्वित्रिकुशोकुशङ्कुङ्कुगुमञ्जिपुञ्जिपरमेबर्हिर्हिव्यग्निभ्यः स्थः ॥ ९७ ॥ . पदानि ॥ अम्ब, आम्ब, गो, भूमि, सव्या, अप, द्वि, त्रि, कु, शोकु, शङ्कु, अङ्गु, मञ्जि, पुञ्जि, परमे, बर्हिस्, दिवि, अग्निभ्यः, स्थः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अम्ब आम्ब गो भूमि अप द्वि वि कु शोकु शङ्कु अङ्गु मञ्जि पुञ्जि परमे बर्हिस् दिवि अग्नि इत्ये-
तेभ्य उत्तरस्य स्थशब्दसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ स्थस्थिन्त्युपामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

97. The स् of स्थ is changed to ष after अम्ब, आम्ब, गो, भूमि, सव्य, अप, द्वि, त्रि, कु, शोकु शङ्कु, अङ्गु, मञ्जि. पुञ्जि, परमे, बर्हिस्, दिवि and अग्नि ॥

Thus अम्बष्ठः, आम्बष्ठः, गोष्ठः, भूमिष्ठः, सव्येष्ठः, अपष्ठः, द्विष्ठः, त्रिष्ठः, कुष्ठः, शोकुष्ठः, शङ्कुष्ठः, अङ्गुष्ठः, मञ्जिष्ठः, पुञ्जिष्ठः, परमेष्ठः, बर्हिष्ठः, दिविष्ठः, अग्निष्ठः ॥

The word स्थ is shown in the sūtra in the first case, and means the word-form स्थ, and it is not the genitive case of स्था, for then the rule would apply to गोस्थानम्, भूमिस्थानम् &c.

Vart.—The same change takes place in स्था, स्थिन्, and स्त् ॥ As सव्येष्ठाः । परमेष्ठी । सव्येष्ठा सारथिः ॥

सुषामादिषु च ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुषामादि षु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुषामादिषु षष्ठीषु सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

98, The स् is changed to ष in the words सुषामन् and the rest.

Thus सुषामा ब्राह्मणः = शोभनम् साम यस्य असौ ॥

1 सुषामा, 2 निःषामा, 3 दुःषामा, 4 सुषेधः, 5 निषेधः (निःषेधः), 6 दुःषेधः, 7 सुषंधिः, 8 निःषंधिः (निषंधिः), 9 दुःषंधिः, 10 सुष्टु (सुष्टु), 11 दुष्टु (दुष्टु), 12 गौरिषक्यः संज्ञायाम्, 13 प्रतिष्णिका, 14 अलाषाहम्, 15 नौषेचनम् (नौषेचनम्), 16 दुन्दुभिषेचनम् (दुन्दुभिषेचनम् ; °षेचनम्) 17 एति संज्ञायामगाम्, 18 हरिषेजः, 19 नक्षत्राद्या, रोहिणीषेजः ॥ आकृतिगण ॥

Some of the above words would have been governed by the prohibition in VIII. 3. 111, others would never have taken ष, hence their inclusion in this list. The word सु is here a karmapravachaniya (I. 4. 94) and निर् and दुर् also are not upasargas, because they are so only in connection with the verbs गम and क्री ; so VIII. 3. 65 does not apply to सेध preceded by निर् and दुर् ॥ The words निःषेधः and दुःषेधः = निर्गतः सेधः or दुर्गतः सेधः ॥ The word सेध here is a चञ् formed word, from पिष्टु हिंसा संराद्धोः ; if it be derived from

विध गत्याम्, then also, the word is included here in order to prevent the application of VIII. 3. 113. The words सुषन्धिः, दुःषन्धिः &c are derived from धा with the prepositions सु and सम्, and the affix कि (III. 3. 92); and the स् of सम् is changed to ष् ॥ The words सुष्णु, दुष्णु are Uṇādi formed words (Un. I. 25). The word गौरिवक्ष्यः is a Bahuvrihi, the स् of वक्ष्यि is changed to ष् and the Samāsānta वच् is added (V. 4. 113). The long ई of the first member is shortened by VI. 3. 63. The word प्रतिष्णिका is formed by adding the Preposition प्रति to the root णा, and the affix अङ् (III. 3. 106), and we have प्रतिष्णा with टाप्; then क is added by V. 3. 73, and णा shortened (VII. 4. 13), and इ added by VII. 3. 44. The word नैषिचनं is formed by adding ल्युट् to सिच् ॥ दुन्दुभिषेवर्णं is also a ल्युट् formed word from सेवति or सीष्यति ॥

एति संज्ञायामगात् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एति. संज्ञायाम्, अगात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकारपरस्य सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति इण्कोरुत्तरस्यागकारात्परस्य संज्ञायां विषये ॥

99 The स् followed by ए and preceded by इण् or कु is changed to ष्, when the word is a name, and when the स् is not preceded by ग् ॥

Thus हरवः सेना अस्य = हरिवेणः, परितः सेना अस्य = परिवेणः, so also वारिवेणः, जानुवेणी ॥ Why do we say 'followed by ए'? Observe हरिसक्यम् ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe पृथ्वी सेना यस्य स = पृथुसेनो राजा (VI. 3. 34). Why do we say 'when the स् is not preceded by ग्'? Observe विष्वक् सेनः ॥ The phrase इण्कोः is understood here also, so the rule does not apply to सर्वसेनः ॥

नक्षत्राद्या ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रात्, या ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रवाचिनः चाद्यादुत्तरस्य सकारस्य वा एति संज्ञायामगकाराद् मूर्धन्यो भवति ॥

100 When the preceding word is the name of a Lunar mansion, the ष् substitution for स् under the above mentioned circumstances is optional.

Thus रोहिणिवेणः or रोहिणसेनः, भरणिवेणः or भरणिसेनः ॥ But not here सप्तभिषक् सेनः were the preceded letter is ग् ॥ These two sūtras 99 and 100 are really Gaṇa-sūtras, being read in the सुषामादि Gaṇa. The author of Kāśikā has raised them to the rank of full sūtras.

All cerebral ष changes, when not referable to any specific rule, should be classified under this Sushāmādi gaṇa.

ह्रस्वात्तादौ तद्धिते ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वात्, तादौ, तद्धिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वाद्दुत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति तादौ तद्धिते परतः ॥

वार्तिकः ॥ तिङन्तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

101. ष् is substituted for a final स् preceded by a short इ or उ before a Taddhita affix beginning with त ॥

The following are the affixes before which this change takes place, namely, तर, तम, तय, स्व, तल्, तस्, त्यप् ॥ As तर—सर्पिष्टरम् यजुष्टरम् । तम । सर्पिष्टमम । यजुष्टमम । तय । चतुष्टये ब्राह्मणानां निकेताः । स्व । सर्पिष्टम् । यजुष्टम् । तल् । सर्पिष्टा । यजुष्टा । तस् । सर्पिष्टो, यजुष्टः । त्यप् । भाविष्यो बर्द्धते । ह्रस्वादिनि किम् । गीस्तार । धूस्तार । तादाविति किम् । सर्पिस्ताद्भवति । प्रत्ययसकारस्य स्यात्पदाद्योरिति सन्त्यपि प्रतिषेधे प्रकृतिसकारस्य स्यात् । तज्जितइति किम् । सर्पिस्तारति ॥

Why do we say before affixes beginning with त ॥ Observe सर्पिस्ताद्भवति ॥

Q.—But this त would never have been changed to ष because of the prohibition in VIII. 3. III, how can you then give this counter-example?

Ans.—Though the त of the affix सारत् is prohibited by VIII. 3. III, yet the counter-example is valid, because the स् of the base सर्पिस् is also not changed. Why do we say 'of a Taddhita'? Observe सर्पिस्तारति ॥

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated of finite verbs before Taddhita affixes. As भिन्त्युस्तराम् । छिन्त्युस्तराम् ॥ These are the Potential third person plural of भिन् and छिन् with the augment याञुद्; the Taddhita affix तरप् is added by V. 3. 56, and भाग् is added by V. 4. 11.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated with regard to पुंस् as पुंस्त्यम् पुंस्ता ॥

निसस्तपतावनासेवने ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ निसः, तपतौ, अनासेवने ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निसः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति तपतौ परतौनासेवनेनर्थे ॥

102. ष is substituted for the स् of निस् before the verb तप् when the meaning is not that of 'repeatedly making red hot'.

The word आसेवन means doing a thing repeatedly and here it means making it red-hot repeatedly. Thus निष्टपतिः सुवर्णम् = सकृत् अभिष स्पर्शयति i. e. he puts the gold into fire only once.

Why do we say when not meaning repeatedly. Observe निस्तपति सुवर्णम् सुवर्णकारः = पुनः पुनरभि स्पर्शयति ॥

In the sentences निष्टं रक्षः, निष्टता अरातयः the change has taken place either as a Vedic irregularity or because the sense of repeatedness is not implied here.

युष्मत्तत्तधुःष्वन्तःपादम् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मत्, तत्, ततधुः षु, अन्तः पादम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मत् तत् ततधुस् इत्येतेषु तकारादिषु परतः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति स षेष्कारोन्तः पादं भवति ॥

103. The स् standing in the inner half of a stanza is changed to ष before the त of त्वम् &c. and तद् and ततधुस् ॥

The word शुष्मद् here means the substitutes स्वम्, स्वाम्, ते, तव. As अग्निद्, नामासीत् ॥ स्वा, अग्निद्गो वर्ज्यामसि ॥ ते, अग्निदे विश्वमानय ॥ तव, अप्सवमे सधिदव, (Rig VIII. 43. 9) ॥ तत्, अग्निदद्विश्वमापृणाति, (Rig X. 2. 4) ततस्तुस्, आवापृथिवी निदतस्तुः पु ॥ अन्तः-पादमिति किम्, नित्यमात्मनो विदाभूतमिस्तत्पुनराह जातदेशे विचर्षणिः ॥

Why do we say in the inner half of a stanza? Observe यन्मभात्मनो मिन्नाभृग्नि स्तत्पुनराह जातदेशे विचर्षणिः ॥ Here the word अग्निः is at the *end* of the first stanza while तत् is at the *beginning* of the second stanza, therefore the स् of अग्निस् is not in the middle of a stanza.

यजुष्येकेषाम् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यजुषि, एकेषाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषि विषये शुष्मत्तत्तस्तुः पु परत एकेषामाचार्याणां मतेन सकारस्य मूर्जन्यादेशो भवति ॥

107. In the opinion of some, the above change takes place in Yajurveda also.

Thus अग्निभिद्गम् or अग्निभिस्त्वम् । अग्निदमम् or अग्निस्तेमम् । अग्निदन् or अग्निस्तत् । अग्निभिदतस्तुः or अग्निभिस्ततस्तुः ॥

स्तुतस्तोमयोश्छन्दसि ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तुतस्तोमयोः, छन्दसि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ एकेषामिति वर्त्तते । स्तुत स्ताम इत्येतयोः सकारस्य छन्दसि विषये मूर्जन्यादेशो भवति एकेषामाचार्याणां मतेन छन्दसिविषये ।

105. The स् of स्तुत and स्तोम, in the Chhandas, is changed to ष् in the opinion of some.

Thus ऋभिष्टुतस्य or ऋभिस्तुतस्य, गोष्टोमं षोडशिनम् or गोस्तोमं षोडशिनम् ॥ This change would have taken place by the general rule contained in the next sūtra VIII. 3. 106, the special mention of स्तुत and स्तोम here is a mere amplification. The word छन्दसि of this sūtra governs the subsequent sūtra also.

पूर्वपदात् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वपदात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदस्थामिनितादुत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्जन्यादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये एकेषामाचार्याणां मतेन ।

106. In the Chhandas, according to some, स् is changed to ष्, when it stands in the beginning of a second word, preceded by a word ending in इ &c.

The words छन्दसि and एकेषां are both understood here. Thus द्विषन्धिः or द्विसन्धिः, त्रिषन्धिः or त्रिसन्धिः; मधुष्ठानम् or मधुस्थानम्, द्विसाहस्रं चिन्वीत or द्विसाहस्रं चिन्वीत ॥

The word पूर्वपद here means the first member of a compound word as well as the prior word other than that in a compound. Thus ऋःसपृञ्जत्वाय or ऋःसपृञ्जत्वाय ॥

सुञ्जः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुञ्जः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सुञ्जिति निपात इह गृह्यते तस्य पूर्वपदस्थामिनितादुत्तरस्य मूर्जन्यादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ।

107. The स of the Particle सु is changed to ष in the Chhandas, when preceded by another word having in it the change-effecting letter इ &c.

Thus षमी सु णः सखीनाम् (Rig. IV. 31. 3) ऊर्ध्वं ऊ सु णः (Rig. I. 36. 13). The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 134, and न changed to ण by VIII. 4. 27.

सनोतेरनः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनोतेः, अनः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सनोतेरनकारान्तस्य सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ।

108. The स of the verb सन्, when it loses its न्, is changed to ष, under the same circumstances.

Thus गोषाः (Rig. IX. 2. 10), formed by the affix विट (III. 2. 67), the न् is elided by VI. 4. 41. So also नृषाः ॥

Why do we say 'when it loses its न्'? Observe गोसनि वाचसुसीरवन् (Atharv. III. 20. 10). Here the affix is इन् (III. 2. 27). See however गोषणि in Rig. VI. 53. 10.

Though this ष change would have taken place by VIII. 3. 106 also, the separate enumeration is for the sake of niyama or restriction. Some however read the word गोसनिः in the list of सवनानि words (VIII. 3. 110), and they hold that the proper counter-example is सिसानयिषति ॥ So also सिसनीः formed by adding क्विप् to the Derivative root सिसनिस, thus सिसनिस + क्विप् = सिसनिस (the ष is elided by VI. 4. 48) + ०. add सु, सिसनिस + सृ = सिसनिस + ० [सृ is elided by VI. 1. 68. Now the final सृ (of the Desiderative affix सन्) is liable to be changed either to ष or to र (इ). The ष being asiddha, the इ change takes place.] = सिसनिर = सिसनीः (the lengthening is by VIII. 2. 76). Here the Desiderative affix सन् is not changed to ष, hence this word is not governed by VIII. 3. 61. This being the object of this sūtra, there will be ष change in सिषाययिषति in the Causative.

सहेः पृतनर्त्ताभ्यां च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहेः पृतना-ऋताभ्यां, च ।

वृत्तिः ॥ पृतना ऋत इत्येताभ्यां ऋणरस्य सहसकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ।

109. The स of सह is changed to ष, after पृतना and ऋत ॥

Thus पृतनापाहम्, ऋतापाहम् ॥ Some divide this sūtra into two; as (1) सहेः; (2) पृतनार्त्ताभ्यां च ॥ So that the rule may apply to ऋतीषहः also. The word ऋति is lengthened by VI. 3. 116, in sañhitā: and the ष change takes place in sañhitā only. Otherwise the form is ऋतिसहम् ॥ The word च 'and' in the sūtra includes words other than those not mentioned in it. The word ऋतीषहं would be valid by this also.

न रपरस्यपिसृजिस्पृशिस्सृहिसवनादीनाम् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, र-पर, सृपि, सृजि, स्पृशि, स्पृहि-सवनादीनाम् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफपरस्य सकारस्य सृपि सृजि स्पृशि स्पृहि सवनादीनां च मूर्द्धन्यो न भवति ।

110. The ष् substitution does not take place if र follows the स्, as well as in सृप, सृज, स्पृश स्पृह, and in सवन and the rest.

Thus विसंसिकायाः काण्डं जुहोति ॥ The word विसंसिक is formed by the affix ण्वुल् (III. 3. 109), विसञ्चः कथयति ॥ This word is from the root सृम्भु विश्वासे, the इद् is not added by VII. 2. 15 and the nasal is elided by VI. 4. 24. before the niṣṭhā स ॥ सृपः—पुरा क्रूरस्य विसृपः ॥ The word विसृपः is formed by the affix कसुम् (III. 4. 17), सृजः—वाचो विसर्जनात् ॥ स्पृशः—दिविस्पृशम् ॥ स्पृहिः—निस्पृहं कथयति ॥

The following is a list of सवनादि words :—

1 सवने सवने, 2 सूते सूते, 3 सोमे सोमे, 4 सवनमुखे सवनमुखे, 5 किसः किसः (किस्यतीति किसः), 6 अनुसवनमनुसवनम्, 7 गोसनि गोसनिम्, 8 अभसनिमभसनिम् ॥ In some books this is the list 9 सवने सवने, 10 सवनमुखे सवनमुखे, 11 अनुसवनमनुसवनम् (अनुसवने २), 12 सज्ञायां वृहस्प-तिसवः, 13 चाकुनिसवनम्, 14 सोमे, सोमे, 15 छते छते (सूते २), 16 संवस्तरे सवस्तरे, 17 विसं विसम्, 18 किसं किसम् (किसं किसम्), 19 वृसलं वृसलम् 20 गोसनिम्, 21 अभसनिम् ॥

सात्पदाद्योः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ सात्, पदाद्योः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सादिति चेतस्य यङि परतो मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

111. The ष् substitution does not take place in the affix सात् and for that स which stands at the beginning of a word.

Thus सात् here is the affix ordained by V. 4. 52, and it would have been changed to ष by VIII. 3. 59. The present sūtra prevents that. The Padādi स refers to those verbs which in the Dhātupāṭha are taught with a ष, and for which a स is substituted. This also is an exception to VIII. 3. 59. Thus अग्निसात् । इधिसात् । मघुसात् ॥ So also with Padādi स as इधि सिञ्चति, मघु सिञ्चति ॥

सिचो यङि ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिचः, यङि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सिचः सकारस्य यङि परतो मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

112. The ष् substitution does not take place in the स् of सिच् of the Intensive.

Thus सेसिच्यते and अभिसेसिच्यते ॥

Q.—The स of the reduplicate should be changed into ष by VIII. 3. 65, in अभिसेसिच्यते, and the स of the root should be changed into ष by VIII. 3. 64. Because सिच् is one of the roots taught in VIII. 3. 65, and therefore, as this

latter rule prevents the operation of VIII. 3. 111 i. e. पसादि स so far as it goes, so it would prevent also the operation of this rule and the form ought to be अभिषेधिच्यते?

Ans.—The ए ordained by VIII. 3. 65 prevents only the operation of पसादि स of VIII. 3. 111, and not the स of this rule. Therefore the present prohibition is of universal application.

Why do we say in the Intensive. Observe अभिषिषिषति ॥

सेधतेर्गतौ ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सेधतः, गतौ ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गतौ वर्तमानस्य सेधतः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

113. The स् of the verb सेध is not changed to ए when the meaning is that of moving.

Thus अभिसेधयति गाः, परिसेधयति गाः ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 3. 65.

Why do we say 'when meaning to drive'? Observe शिष्यमकार्यान्प्रति-
षेधयति ॥ Here the sense is that of preventing or prohibiting.

प्रतिस्तब्धनिस्तब्धौ च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिस्तब्ध-निस्तब्धौ, च ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिस्तब्ध निस्तब्ध इत्येतौ मूर्द्धन्यप्रतिषधाय निपात्येते ।

114. The words प्रतिस्तब्ध and निस्तब्ध are anomalous.

In these words the स is not changed to ए, though so required by VIII. 3. 67.

सोढः ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोढः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सहित्यं सोढूहृतो गृह्यते तस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

115. The स् of सोढ form of the root सह is not changed to ए ॥

As परिसोढः, परिसोढुम्, परिसोढव्यम् ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 3. 70.

Why do we say 'when सह assumes the form of सोढ' ॥ Observe परि-
पहते, विपहते ॥

स्तम्भुसिधुसहां चङि ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्भु-सिधु-सहाम्, चङि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्भु सिधु सह इत्येतेषां चङि परतः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

पार्श्विकः ॥ स्तम्भु सिधुसहां चाङ उपसर्गादिति वक्तव्यम् ।

116. The ए change does not take place in the reduplicated Aorist of the roots स्तम्भ्, सिव् and सह् ॥

The root स्तम्भ required ए change by VIII. 3. 67, and the roots सिव and सह by VIII. 3. 70. Thus पर्यतस्तम्भत्, अभ्यतस्तम्भत् ॥ सिवः—पर्यसीषिवत्, न्यसीषिवत् ॥ सहः—पर्यसीपहत्, व्यसीपहत् ॥

Vart:—This prohibition refers to the ष change that is caused by an Upasarga and not to the reduplicate change, as we have illustrated in the above example.

सुनोतेः स्यसनोः ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुनोतेः, स्य-सनोः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सुनोतेः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति । स्यसनि ष परतः ।

117. स्र् of सु (सुनोति) is not changed to ष् in the Future, Conditional and Desiderative.

Thus:—अभिसोष्यति, परिसोष्यति, अभ्यसोष्यत्, पर्यसोष्यत् ॥

What example will you give under Desiderative? सुसूषति ॥ This is not a valid example, for by VIII. 3. 61, the reduplicate will not be changed here. Then we shall give the example अभिसुसूषते ॥ This is not also a proper example, for it is governed by the restrictive rule of VIII. 3. 64. Then this is the example अभिसुसू; निसुसू derived from the desiderative root अभिसुसूषति by the affix ष्वप् ॥ Here the desiderative affix सन् is not changed to ष (VIII. 3. 61) and therefore the second स्र् would have been changed to ष as it comes after a reduplicate.

Why do we say before स्य and सन् ॥ Observe सुषाद् ॥

सदिष्वञ्जोः परस्य लिटि ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सदि-ष्वञ्जोः, परस्य,लिटि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सदि ष्वञ्ज इत्येतयोर्द्वात्वोर्लिटि परतः सकारस्य परस्य मूर्द्धन्यो न भवति ।

118. The स्र् of सद् and ष्वञ्ज after the reduplicate in the Perfect is not changed to ष् ॥

In the Perfect, when these words are reduplicated, there are two स्र्'s, as ससाद् and सस्वञ्ज ॥ After a preposition, the first स्र् will be changed to ष, but not so the second. Thus अभिससाद्, परिससाद्, निषसाद्, विषसाद्, परिषस्वजेः, परिषस्वजाते, परिषस्वजिरे, अभिषस्वजे ॥ The nasal of स्वञ्ज is elided though here, the लिट् affix is not क्तिन्, because it ends in a compound vowel (VI. 4. 24), (I. 2. 5 and 6).

The word स्वञ्ज does not occur in the sūtra, but has been inserted in it by the author of Kāśikā from the following Vārtika:—सदो लिटि प्रतिषेधे स्वञ्जे रूपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥

निव्यभिभ्योऽङ्गव्यवाये वा छन्दसि ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि-वि-अभिभ्यः, अङ्गव्यवाये, वा, छन्दसि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ नि वि अभि इत्येतेभ्य उपसर्गेभ्य उत्तरस्य सकारस्याङ्गव्यवाये छन्दसि विषये मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति वा ।

119. The ष् is optionally substituted in the Chhandas after the prepositions नि, वि and अभि, when the augment अद् intervenes.

Thus न्यपीवत् or न्यसीवत् पिता नः; व्यपीवत्; or व्यसीवत् पिता नः; अभ्यपीवत् or अभ्यसीवत् ॥

The anuvṛitti of सद् and स्वञ्ज is not to be read into this sūtra. It is, in fact, a general rule and applies to verbs other than these two. As व्यस्तौत्, न्यटौत्, अभ्यटौत् or अभ्यस्तौत् ॥

ओ३म् ।

अथ अष्टमाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

BOOK EIGHTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे ॥ १ ॥ पठानि ॥ रषाभ्याम्, नः, णः, समानपदे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रेफकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारादेशो भवति, समानपदस्यौ चेन्निमित्तनिमित्तिनौ भवतः ।
वार्तिकम् ॥ ऋवर्णाच्चाति वक्तव्यम् ॥

1. After **र** and **ष**, the **ण** is the substitute of **न**, when they occur as component letters of the same word.

These letters must be parts of the same pada or word, one being the 'occasion' for the application of the rule as regards the other. As **आस्तीर्णम्**, **विस्तीर्णम्**, **अवर्णम्** ॥ So also after **ष**; as, **कृष्णाति**, **पुष्णाति**, **दुष्णाति** ॥

The letter **ण** is included in this aphorism for the sake of subsequent sūtras: for **न** will be changed into **ण** when preceded by **ष** by rule 41 of this Chapter, as well.

Why do we say "when occurring in the same word?" Observe **अग्निर्नयति**, **वायुर्नयति** ॥

Vārt :—So also after the letter **ऋ** ॥ As **तिसृणाम्**, **अतसृणाम्**, **मातृणाम्**, **पितृणाम्** ॥

This vārtika may well be dispensed with: because the **र** in the sūtra is the common *sound* **र** which we perceive both in **र** and **ऋ**; and so the **र** will denote both the vowel **ऋ** and the consonant **र**. See contra. VIII. 2. 42. Obj. But if even this be so, the letter **ऋ** has three parts, its first part is a vowel, in the middle is the **र** sound of a quarter mātrā, and a vowel sound at the end. This vowel-sound will *intervene* between the **र**-sound and the subsequent **व**, and will prevent the application of the sūtra, hence the vārtika is valid?

Ans. This vowel-sound will be no intervention, because it will be included in the exception **अद्** of the next sūtra. Obj. The vowel-sound at the end of **ऋ** is not a *full* vowel of one mātrā, but is of half-mātrā, being only a fragment of **ऋ**, and hence is not included in the pratyāhāra **अद्**, it has no separate

स्यान् or प्रबन्ध or homogeneity with any vowel. Hence this vowel-sound will prevent the application of this rule. Ans. The ज change, however, does take place in spite of such intervention of a fragment of a letter, as we know from the jñāpaka of VIII. 4. 39. In the kshubhnādi list there we find नूनमन् as an *exception*, implying that न is *generally* changed to ज after such a fragmentary interposition. Or we may take नूनमन् as a jñāpaka; that after the *letter* ङ also the ज change takes place.

अद्कुप्राङ्नुम्व्यवायेपि ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्-कु-पु-आङ्-नुम्-व्यवाये, अपि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अद् कु पु आद् नुम् इत्येतैर्व्यवायेपि रेफकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य नकारस्य जकार आदेशो भवति ।

2. The substitute ज् takes the place of न्, even when a vowel, or य्, ष्, ह् or a guttural, or a labial, or the preposition आ, or the augment नुम् intervenes, causing separation.

The pratyāhāra अद् stands for vowels and the letters ह व र. Thus करणम्, हरणम्, किरिणा, गिरिणा, कुरुणा, युरुणा &c.

The कु means all the gutturals, e. g. अर्केण, मूर्खेण, गर्गेण, अर्धेण ॥

The पु means all the labials, e. g. हर्षेण, रेफेण, गर्भेण, चर्मणा, वर्मणा ॥

The आद् means the particle आः e. g. पर्याणद्धम् from नद् (VIII. 2. 34) निराणद्धम् (cf VIII. 4. 14). The particle आ is a vowel and so included in अद् pratyāhāra. Its specification in the sūtra shows that the restriction of the rule to the letters occurring in the *same word*, does not apply in the case of आद्, in which case the rule applies to letters separated by another word.

So also when the anusvāra separates the letters e. g. वृहणम्, वृहणीवम् ॥

It is from the root वृहिवृद्धौ, the नुम् is added, because the root is इदित (VII. 1. 58) and न् changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24. Q. Well the intervention is here by Anusvāra and not नुम्, why is then नुम् taken in the sūtra ?

The word नुम् in the sūtra refers to anusvāra, and must be taken co-extensive with it. Otherwise the rule would not apply to words like वृहणम् from वृह स्तृह हिंसायै ॥ Here the anusvāra is not the substitute of the augment नुम् but an original anusvāra. Even where there is an augment नुम्, but where it is not changed into 'anusvāra, the rule does not apply. As प्रेन्वनम्, प्रेन्वनीवम् from इविः प्रीणनार्यः ॥

The rule will apply even when these letters are combined in any possible way, or occur singly. As अर्केण, here a guttural and a vowel i. e. 2 letters come between र and न ॥ See VIII. 3. 58 in the case of व ॥

पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामगः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वपदात्, संज्ञायाम्, अगः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदस्याभिनिष्ठादुत्तरस्य गकारवर्जिताद् नकारस्य जकार आदेशो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ।

3. So also, न् is replaced by ज्, when the letter occasioning the substitution, occurs in the first member of a compound, and the whole compound is a Name, provided that the first member does not end with the letter ग ॥

As *दुणसः*, *वाद्धीणसः* (a kind of antelope), *खरणसः*, *दूर्णखा* ॥ See V. 4. 118 and IV. 1. 58.

Why do we say "when a Name"? Observe, *चर्मनासिकः* ॥

Why do we say when 'not ending in the letter न'? Observe; *कृगयनम्* ॥

Some say, that this sūtra is a नियम or a restrictive rule, and not a विधि or original enunciation, so that the substitution takes place, only when the word is a *Name*, and not otherwise. A compound is one word or समानपद, though composed of two or more words or पद ॥ Therefore by VIII. 4. 11 the न will always be changed into ञ when preceded by र or ष. But the present sūtra restricts its scope, to those cases only, when the compound denotes a *Name*, as not in *चर्मनासिका* ॥ The word पूर्वपद is a relative term and connotes an उत्तरपद ॥ The present sūtra therefore applies to those cases where the र or ष is in the पूर्वपद, and न occurs in the उत्तरपद ॥ It therefore, does not apply to ताद्धित words, nor when both the letters occur in the पूर्वपद ॥ In the case of a Taddhita, there is a पूर्वपद, but there is no properly speaking उत्तरपद ॥ Thus खरपस्यापत्यं = खारपायणः (IV.1.99). Here the affix अयन is equivalent to अपत्यं, and खरप is the Pûrvapada. But the affix अयन not being a Pada, we cannot call it an *uttara pada*. Hence न will be changed into ञ though खारपायण is not an Appellative but a generic term. So also मातृभोगाय हितः = मातृभोगीणः with ख affix. Similarly in करणाग्रियः, the words र and न both occur in the Pûrvapada and are not affected by this rule, but by the general rule VIII. 4. 1. So also the proviso relating to न, only prohibits the change of न into ञ, but does not prohibit the restrictive character of this sūtra.

According to others, this sūtra is an original enunciation or a Vidhi rule, and not a Niyama rule. They say that the word समानपद in VIII. 4. 1 is equivalent to निख्यं पदं i. e. a word integral and indivisible into component words. In other words, समानपद means, a 'simple-word'. The present sūtra therefore enunciates a new rule for a "compound-word". For in a compound or समास, there being a division of पूर्वपद and an उत्तरपद, we cannot say that a compound is a समानपद or indivisible word. Hence this sūtra is a विधि ॥

The sūtra should be thus divided:—पूर्वपदात् संज्ञायाम् one sūtra, and अगः another. So that every rule relating to ञ change would be debarred with regard to न intervention.

वनं पुरगामिश्रकासिध्रकाशारिकाकोटराग्नेभ्यः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वनम्, पुरगा, मिश्रका-सिध्रका-शारिका-कोटराग्नेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामिति वसते । पुरगा मिश्रका सिध्रका शारिका कोटराग्ने इत्येतेभ्यः पूर्वपदेभ्य उत्तरस्य वनकारस्य ञकारादेशो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ।

4. The न of वन, is changed into ञ, when preceded by the words puragâ, miśrakâ, sidhrakâ, śarikâ, koṭarâ, and

agre, as first members of the compound, and the whole compound is a name.

The words पूर्वपदान् and संज्ञायाम् of the last sūtra, are to be read into this aphorism. Thus पुरगावणम्, मिश्रकावणम्, सिद्धकावणं, कोटरावणम्, अग्नेवणम् (II. 2. 31) चारिकावणम् ॥

The lengthening of the finals in the above is by VI. 3. 117. Though the word अग्नेवणं is not a Name, yet the rule VI. 3. 9, applies to it and the case-affix is not elided, because it is so read in Rājadantādi list (II. 2. 31).

The substitution of ण for न would have taken place by the preceding rule. The separate enunciation of the rule with regard to the word वन, shows that this is a restrictive or निवृत्त rule. The न of वन is changed into ण, when preceded by these words only and no other. Thus कुबेरवनं, वृक्षधारवनम्, असिपत्रवनम् ॥

प्रनिरन्तःशरेक्षुप्लक्षाम्नकार्प्यखदिरपीयूषाभ्योसंज्ञायामपि ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥
प्र-निर-अन्तर्-शर-इक्षु-प्लक्ष-आम्र-कार्प्य-खदिर-पीयूषाभ्यः संज्ञायां, अपि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्र निर अन्तर् शर इक्षु प्लक्ष आम्र कार्प्य खदिर पीयूषा इत्येतेभ्य उच्यते च वननकारस्व संज्ञायाम्
संज्ञायामपि णकारादेशो भवति ।

5. The न of वन is replaced by ण, even when the compound is not a Name, when it is preceded by the words pra, nir, antar, śara, ikshu, plaksha, āmra, kārshya, khadira, and pīyūkshā.

Thus प्रवणे वटम् ; निर्वणे प्रतिधीवते, अन्तर्वणे, शरवणम्, इक्षुवणम्, प्लक्षवणम्, आम्रवणम्, कार्प्यवणम्, खदिरवणम् and पीयूषावणम् ॥

The words प्रवणं and निर्वणं are प्रादिः compounds. अन्तर्वणं is an Avyayībhāva in the sense of a case-affix. The rest are Genitive compounds.

विभाषौषधिवनस्पतिभ्यः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा ओषधि-वनस्पतिभ्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ओषधिवाचि वत्पूर्वपदं वनस्पतिवाचि तत्स्थानिमित्तादुच्यते च वननकारस्व णकार आदेशो भवति
विभाषा ।

वार्तिकः ॥ वृक्षरश्मिभ्य इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ हरिकादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

Kārika फली वनस्पतिर्ज्ञेयो वृक्षाः पुष्पफलोपगाः ।

ओषधः फलपाकान्ता लता गुल्माद्य वीरुषः ॥

6. The न of वन is optionally replaced by ण, when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound and which denotes a perennial herb or a forest tree.

When the pūrvapada is a word denoting ओषधि or a perennial herb, or denoting a वनस्पति or a tree, and it has a change-producing letter, then the न of वन is replaced by ण ॥ This is an optional rule. Thus :—पूर्वावनम् or पूर्वावणम् ;

सूर्वावणम् or सूर्वावनम् ॥ Here सूर्वा and सूर्वा are names of ओषधि ॥ Similarly शिरीष-
वनं or शिरीषवनम् ; बहरीवनं or बहरीवनं ॥

Vart:—This rule applies when the first word is a dissyllabic or trisyllabic word. Therefore the change does not occur in देवदारवनम् ; भद्रशरवनम् ॥

Vart:—Prohibition should be stated with regard to the words शारका &c. As इरिकावनम्, तिमिरकावनम् ॥

Though there is a distinction, botanically speaking, between a वृक्ष and a वनस्पति also ; yet in this sūtra, the word वनस्पति includes वृक्ष also.

Kārika:—Technically speaking वनस्पति is a tree that bears fruit apparently without a flower, as a fig tree udumbara. वृक्ष is a tree that bears both flower and fruit, ओषधि is an annual herb, that dies after the ripening of the fruit, and creepers and tubercles are called वीरुधः ॥

अहोऽदन्तात् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहः, अदन्तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदन्तं यत्पूर्वपदं तत्स्थानिनिन्नादुत्तरस्याहो नकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति ।

7. The ण is the substitute of न of अहन्, when it is preceded by a word ending in अ, having in it a letter capable of producing the change.

Thus पूर्वाहणः “fore-noon” ; अपराहणः “after-noon”.

Why do we say “ending in अ” ? Observe, निरहः, दुरहः ॥

The word अह् is substituted for अहन् by V. 4. 88. The word अह् being used in the sūtra as ending in अ, the rule does not apply to other words. Thus शीर्षाह्नी शरत् ॥ The word अह् in the sūtra is in the nominative case, and should not be construed as the genitive of अहन्, because all sthānins are exhibited in Nominatives as, वनं (VIII. 4. 4), वाहनं (VIII.4.8), दानं &c. The compounding takes place by II. 2. 1, then is added the samāsānta affix टच् (V. 4. 91), and अह् substitution by V. 4. 88. The word शीर्षाह्नी is a Bahuvrīhi compound and not a Tatpurusha, and hence the affix टच् does not apply to it. The feminine ह्नीप् is added by IV. 1. 28, there is elision of अ of अहन् by VI. 4. 134.

वाहनमाहितात् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहनम्, आहितात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहितवाचि यत्पूर्वपदं तत्स्थानिनिन्नादुत्तरस्य वाहननकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति ।

8. The न of वाहन is changed into ण, when the letter, producing the change, occurs in the first member of a compound, denoting the thing carried.

Thus इक्षुवाहनम् ‘a sugar-cart’. शरवाहनम् “a reed-cart”. हर्मवाहनम् ‘a hay-cart’.

The thing which being placed on a cart is carried, is called आहित ॥

Why do we say “denoting the thing carried”. Observe शक्तिवाहनम् “a vehicle belonging to Dākshi”.

The word वाहन is formed by adding ल्युट् to वह्, and lengthening of the penultimate is valid by the nipātana of this sūtra.

पानं देशे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पानम्, देशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाननकारस्य पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य देशाभिधाने णकार आदेशो भवति ।

9. The न of पान is changed into ण, when it occurs as the second member of a compound, the first member of which contains a letter causing change; and the whole compound denotes a country or a people.

The word पान is formed by the affix ल्युट् III. 3. 113. Thus क्षीरपाणा उशीनराः = क्षीरपाणं येषां 'the milk-drinking Uśīnaras'. सुरापाणाः प्राच्याः 'the wine-drinking Prāchyas'. सौवीरपाणा बाह्लीकाः "the sauvīra-drinking Bāhlikas". कषायपाणा गान्धाराः &c.

Why do we say "when denoting a country"? Observe दक्षिणं the drink of the Dākshis.

The words उशीनर and the rest are applied to persons also through the medium of being country-names.

वा भावकरणयोः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, भाव-करणयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवे करणे च यः पानशब्दस्तरीयस्य नकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति वा पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ वाप्रकरणे गिरिनद्यासीनाहुपसंस्थानम् ।

10. Optionally when the compound denotes a condition or an instrument, the न of पान is changed into ण, when it is a second member, the cause of change occurring in the first member in a compound.

Thus क्षीरपाणम् or क्षीरपानम् "drinking of milk" कषायपानम् or कषायपाणम् 'drinking of kashāya'. सुरापाणम् or सुरापानम् &c are examples of भाव or condition.

Similarly क्षीरपाणः of क्षीरपानः कंसः 'a vessel for drinking milk' This is an example of करण or instrument.

Vart: — Optionally so in the case of गिरिनदी &c. Thus गिरिनदी or गिरिणदी; अक्रनदी or अक्रणदी, अक्रनितम्बा or अक्रणितम्बा ॥

प्रातिपदिकान्तनुस्विभक्तिषु च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रातिपदिकान्त-नुम्-विभक्तिषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेत्ति वृत्तेत् । प्रातिपदिकान्ते नुम्विभक्तौ च यो नकारस्तस्य पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य वा णकार आदेशो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ युवादीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

11. Optionally ण is substituted for न when it stands at the end of a Nominal-stem (Prātipadika) or is the augment नुम् or is न of a case-affix, (when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound).

Thus, to take the case a प्रतिपरिक्रान्त first. माषवापिनौ or माषवापिनौ from माषवापिन् 'māsha-sowing' formed by णिने under III. 2. 81.

To take the example of a नुम् augment माषवापाणि or माषवापा नि, व्रीहिवापाणि or व्रीहिवापाणि nom. pl. neut. The. augment नुम् is here added by VII. 1. 72 from माषान् वपयन्ति = माषवाप with कर्मणि अण्, the plural णि is added by VII. 1. 20, and then नुम् ॥

To take the विभक्ति or case-termination, माषवापेण or माषवापेन, व्रीहिवापेण or व्रीहिवापेन ॥

The word प्रतिपरिक्रान्त means 'final in a Prâtipadika'. But here it means 'final in a prâtipadika which is a second member, of compound, the first member containing the cause of change'. Therefore the change does not take place in गर्गणां भगिनी = गर्गभगिनी "the sister of Garga". But गर्गभगिणी if the word is derived from गर्गभगः 'the share of Garga', with the adjectival affix इन्, feminine इनी, meaning, "enjoying the share of Garga." In this case, like the word मातृ-भोगीणः 'fit to be possessed by a mother': the change will invariably take place.

The word माषवापिणी or णी is to be understood to have a final न्, the affix being added afterwards in accordance with the following maxim :—(II. 2. 19). "It should be stated that Gatis, Kârakas, and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with krit-affixes, before a case termination or a feminine affix has been added to the latter" गतिकारकोपपदानां कृत्विः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेः ॥

Therefore the composition takes place first with the word ending in the krit affix, as माषवापिन् (माष + वापिन्), and thus the second term वापिन् is a Prâtipadika which ends in न्, and so the rule is applied to it, when the feminine affix is added.

Similarly नुम् is not considered as the end portion of the *second* member of the compound, but as the end-portion of the *full* compound word.

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated of the words युवा &c. As आर्ययूना (VI. 4. 133 vocalisation), क्षत्रिययूना ॥ प्रपञ्चानि is a gati-samas, र्शिर्घाङ्गी शरत् ॥

एकाञ्चत्तरपदे णः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकाच्, उत्तरपदे, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकाञ्चत्तरपदं यस्य स एकाञ्चत्तरपदः । तस्मिन्नेकाञ्चत्तरपदसमासे प्रतिपरिक्रान्तनुम्बिभक्तिषु पूर्वपदस्याभिनिष्ठादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति ।

12. In a compound, the second member of which is a monosyllable, there is ण in the room of न् of the second member, provided that the न् is at the end of a prâtipadika, or is the augment नुम्, or occurs in a vibhakti; and when the first member contains a cause of change.

Thus वृषहणौ and वृषहणः 'the Vṛitra-killer'. क्षीरपाणि "Drinkers of milk': सुरापाणि 'drinkers of wine': being examples of नुम् VII. 3. 88, क्षीरपेण and सुरपेण are examples of case-terminations.

Why the letter ञ is repeated in this sūtra, while its anuvṛitti was understood from the context? It is repeated in order to show that this is not an optional rule, but an obligatory rule. In fact, it shows that the anuvṛitti of वा 'optional' ceases, and does not extend further.

कुमति च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवर्गवाति चोत्तरपरे प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम्बिभक्तिषु पूर्वपदस्याभिनिष्ठादुत्तरस्व नकारस्य ञकारदेशो भवति ।

13. In a compound, the second member of which contains a guttural, there is ञ in the room of न, that follows anything which standing in the prior member is qualified to cause the change, provided the न be at the end of a prâtipadika, or be the augment नुम्, or occur in a vibhakti.

If the second part of a compound contains a letter of the class क्, the change is obligatory, even though the second part be not monosyllabic. As वल्लयुगिणौ, वल्लयुगिणः, स्वर्गकामिणौ, वृषगामिणौ ॥ नुम् :—वल्लयुगाणि, खरयुगाणि ॥ विभक्तिः—वल्लयुगेण, खरयुगेण ॥

The word वल्लयुगिणौ is a compound of वल्ल with युगिन् (the affix इनि is added first to युग and then the word so formed is compounded with vastra). Thus the न् becomes प्रातिपदिकान्त i.e. it becomes the final of a Nominal-stem, which stands as a second member in a compound.

उपसर्गादसमासेऽपि ञोपदेशस्य ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, अ-समासे, अपि, ञोपदेशस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ञ उपदेशे बस्यासौ ञोपदेशः । ञोपदेशस्य धातोर्यो नकारः तस्य उपसर्गस्याभिनिष्ठादुत्तरस्व ञकारदेशो भवति असमासेऽपि समासेऽपि ।

14. Of a root which has ञ in its original enunciation, when it comes after a cause of such change standing in an upasarga, even though the word be not a samâsa, the न is changed into ञ ॥

The word ञोपदेश means a root which is enunciated in the Dhâtupâṭha with an initial ञ ॥ Thus प्रणमति 'he bows'. परिणमति, प्रजापकः 'a leader' परिणपकः &c.

Why do we say "after an Upasarga"? Observe प्रजापकः—प्रणता नापका अस्माद् देशान् 'a country without a leader'. Here the word प्र is not an upasarga, but a mere nipâta. See I. 4. 57, 58 and 59. In fact, प्र is upasarga here with regard to गत्त understood, and not with regard to नी ॥

Why do we say "even when it is not a compound?" Because by context, the anuvṛitti of the word पूर्वपद, which is current throughout this sub-

division, would have been understood in this sūtra also, and the rule would have applied to samāsas only, for there only we have pūrvapada. By using the word असमासे it is shown that the adhikāra of pūrvapada ceases, and the rule applies to non-compounds also where there is no पूर्वपद ॥

Why do we say "having ञ in Upadeśa"? Observe प्रनर्दति, प्रनर्दितुम्, प्रनर्दकः ॥ For the root नर्द is recited in Dhātupāṭha with न ॥ There are eight such roots नर्द, नाद्, नाय्, नाध्, नन्द्, नक्क, नृ, नृद् ॥ See VI. 1. 65.

हिनुमीना ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिनु-मीना, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिनु मीना इत्येतवोरुपसर्गस्थामिभिसादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य ञकारोद्देशो भवति ।

15. The न of हिनु and मीना is changed into ञ, when coming after an upasarga containing in it a cause of change.

Thus प्रहिणोति, प्रहिणुतः, प्रमीणाति, प्रमीणीतः ॥ The root हि belongs to Svādi class of verbs and takes the vikaraṇa नु technically हनु; and the root मी belongs to Kryādi class which takes the vikaraṇa ञा ॥ In the sūtra the verbs are shown with the vikaraṇas affixed. Under certain circumstances the forms of the vikaraṇa is changed from नु to नी and ना to नी, but the rule still applies, because the substitute of an अच् or vowel is like the principal. See I. 1. 57.

आनि लोट् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आनि, लोट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गादिति वर्तते । आनीयेतस्य लोट्कारोद्देशोपसर्गस्थामिभिसादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य ञकारोद्देशो भवति ।

16. The न of आनि, the affix of the Imperative, 1st Person, is changed into ञ when it follows a letter competent to cause such a change standing in an Upasarga.

The word आनि is the termination of the Imperative. Thus प्रवपाणि, प-विपाणि, प्रवाणि, परिवाणि ॥

Why do we say 'the Imperative'? Observe प्रवपाणि मांसानि ॥ Here आनि is the neuter plural termination, and the word means प्रकृष्टा वपा जेषु, तानि ॥

According to Padamanjari, the employment of the word लोट् in the sūtra is redundant. For without it also आनि would have meant the Imperative affix, and not the Neuter termination, on the maxim of अयर्धद् ग्रहणे &c. Moreover in the noun प्रवपाणि, प्र is not an upasarga at all, on the maxim अत् क्रियायुक्ताः प्राद्व-स्तं प्रति गति-उपसर्ग-संज्ञे भवतः ॥

नेर्गन्तवत्पतपद्घुमास्यतिहन्तियातिवातिद्वातिप्सातिषपतिवहतिशाम्यतिचिनोति
वेग्धिषु च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नेः, गद्-नक्-पत-पद्-घु-मा-स्यति-हन्ति-याति-वाति-द्वाति-
प्साति-षपति-वहति-शाम्यति-चिनोति-वेग्धिषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निरित्येतस्योपसर्गस्थामिभिसादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य ञकारोद्देशो भवति गद् नद् पत पद् घु मा स्यति हन्ति वाति वाति ङाति प्साति षपति वहति शाम्यति चिनोति वेग्धि इत्येतेषु परतः ।

17. The ञ् is the substitute of न् of the prefix नि, following a cause for such change standing in an upasarga, when these verbs follow, gad 'to speak', nad 'to be happy', pat 'to fall', pad 'to go', the ghu verbs, mâ 'to measure', sho 'to destroy', han 'to kill', yâ 'to go', vâ 'to blow', drâ 'to flee', psâ 'to eat', vap 'to weave', vah 'to bear', śam 'to be tranquil', chi 'to collect', and dih 'to anoint'.

Thus

गद्ः, प्रणिगद्सति, परिणिगद्सति	भद्ः, प्रभिनद्सति, परिभिनद्सति
पद्ः, प्रणिपद्सति, परिणिपद्सति,	पद्ः, प्रभियद्सते, परिभियद्सते
शुः, प्रणिव्शसति, परिणिव्शसति, प्रणिव्शसति, परिणिव्शसति	
माद्ः, प्रणिमितीते, परिणिमितीते	मेद्ः, प्रणिमन्ते, परिणिमन्ते

Ishii:—By the word मा in the sūtra, both verbs माद् and मेद् are to be taken and not the roots मी or नि or मा माने, for they also take the form मा by VI. 1. 50.

स्वति	प्रणिष्यति, परिणिष्यति	हन्ति	प्रणिहन्ति, परिणिहन्ति
याति	प्रणियाति, परिणियाति	याति	प्रणियाति, परिणियाति
ज्ञाति	प्रणिज्ञाति, परिणिज्ञाति	प्साति	प्रणिप्साति, परिणिप्साति

The last five roots belong to Adâdi class.

वपति	प्रणिवपति, परिणिवपति	वहति	प्रणिवहति, परिणिवहति
शाम्भति	प्रणिसाम्भति, परिणिसाम्भति (VII. 3. 74)		
चिनोति	प्रणिचिनोति, परिणिचिनोति	देग्धि	प्रणिदेग्धि, परिणिदेग्धि

Ishii:—The above change takes place even when the augment भद् inter-venes.. As प्रण्यगवन्, परिण्यगवन् ॥

The roots स्वति &c, are exhibited in their declined form in the sūtra, in order to indicate that the rule does not apply to बद् लृक् form of these roots (VII. 1. 6).

शेषे विभाषाकस्त्रादावधान्तउपदेशे ॥ १८ ॥ पठानि ॥ शेषे, विभाषा, अकस्त्रादौ, अषान्ते, उपदेशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नेरिति वर्तते उपसर्गादिति च । अकारस्यकारादिरषकारान्तश्च उपदेशे यो धातुः शेषस्तस्मिन्पठ उपसर्गस्याभिहितानुत्तरस्य नेर्नकारस्य विभाषा ञकार आदेशो भवति ।

18. In the remaining verbs, optionally the न् of नि is replaced by ञ्, when it is preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change; provided that, in the original enunciation, the verb has not an initial क् or ख्, nor ends with च ॥

The words नेः and उपसर्गात् are understood in the sūtra. The word शेषे means verbs other than those mentioned last. Thus प्रणिवचति or प्रणिवचान्त, प्रणि-भिनन्ति or प्रणिभिनन्ति ॥

Why do we say अकस्माद् "not beginning with क or ख"? Observe प्रति करोति, प्रतिखादति ॥ Here there is no change.

Why do we say अयान्तः "not ending in अ"? Observe प्रतिपिनष्टि ॥

Why do we say उपदेशे "in original enunciation"? So that the prohibition may apply to forms like प्रतिचकार, प्रतिचखाद्, प्रतिपेक्षति (VIII. 2. 41). Here चकार &c, do not begin with क or ख nor does पिष् end with अ but with क् (VIII. 2. 41) but in the Dhātupāṭha the verb कृ and खद् begin with क and ख and पिष् ends with अ, and hence the rule will not apply. So also in प्रतिवेष्टा and प्रतिवेष्टयि from the root पिष् ॥ Here though the verb now ends with अ by VIII. 2. 36, yet in the original enunciation or Dhātupāṭha, it ends with अ ॥

अनितेः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनितेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनितेर्नकारस्थोपसर्गस्याभिनिस्तदुत्तरस्य ञकारादेशो भवति ।

19. The न of the verb अन् 'to breathe', is changed into ञ, when preceded by an upasarga competent to produce the change.

Thus प्र + अनिति = प्राणिति 'he breathes'. प्राणिति ॥ For इद् augment, see VII. 2. 76.

अन्तः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्याभिनिस्तदुत्तरस्यानितिनकारस्य पश्यन्ते वर्तमानस्य ञकारादेशो भवति ।

20. The न of अन् is changed into ञ, when it is preceded by an upasarga competent to produce the change, provided it occurs at the end of a pada.

As हे प्राण् ! हे प्राण् ! ॥ This rule is an exception to VIII. 4. 37 sub, by which final न् in a pada is not changed into ञ ॥ The word अन्तः in the sūtra is to be understood to be equivalent to पदान्तः, and the rule applies when the word is in the vocative case.

According to some अन्तः is taken to be a part of the last sūtra, and has the meaning of 'proximity'. That is the न् is changed to ञ, if the र is not separated from the न् by more than one letter. Therefore there is no change in परि + अनिति = परिअनिति ॥ In this view, another अन्तः should be taken for the sake of final न्, in हे प्राण् ॥

According to others the form परिअनिति is valid, and they do not connect अन्तः with the last sūtra.

The word प्राण् is a क्विप् formed word, and the न् final is not elided in the Vocative Singular because of the prohibition of VIII. 2. 8; in every other place, when the न् is padānta, it would be dropped; and therefore the illustration is given with Vocative singular, which alone satisfies the requirements of this sūtra.

उभौ साभ्यासस्य ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उभौ, साभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साभ्यासस्यानितेरुपसर्गस्याभिनितादुत्तरस्योभयोर्नकारयोर्नकार आदेशो भवति ।

21. Both the न s are changed into ञ in the reduplicated forms of the verb अन्, when preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change.

Thus in the Desiderative प्राणिष्यति and Aorist of the Causative प्राणिष्यत्, and so also पराणिष्यति and पराणिष्यत् ॥

If the maxim पूर्वचासिजीबनद्विष्यन्ने be not applied here; then we have the following dilemma in, प्राणि + ह्य + णि ॥ Here the affix ह्य requires reduplication, and the present sūtra requires ञ change of न ॥ The जत्व being asiddha, the reduplication being made first, we have प्राणि + ह्य + णि, and then the reduplicate ञ intervenes between the cause ह्य and the root-ह् of णि, and so this न would not be changed to ञ ॥ If however the above maxim be applied, we first apply the जत्व rule, as प्राणि + ह्य + णि, and then reduplicate णि; and we get the form प्राणिष्यति even without this sūtra.

If we could get this form by the application of the above maxim, where is the necessity of the present sūtra? The sūtra is necessary in order to indicate that the above maxim is *anitya* or not of universal application. And because it is *anitya*, that the form झोञ्जत् is evolved by reduplicating ह्य (See VIII. 2. 1).

हन्तेरत्पूर्वस्य ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन्तेः, अत्, पूर्वस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारपूर्वस्य हन्तिनकारस्य उपसर्गस्याभिनितादुत्तरस्य नकार आदेशो भवति ।

22. The न, when preceded by अ, in the root हन्, is changed to ञ, when the verb is preceded by a preposition competent to cause the change,

Thus मह्यन्ते, परिह्यन्ते, मह्यन्त परिह्यन्त ॥

Why do we say अत्पूर्वस्य 'when preceded by अ'? When अ is elided, the change does not take place. As मह्यन्ति, परिह्यन्ति (VI. 4. 98, and VIII. 3. 54),

Why do we say अत् "preceded by *short* अ"? Observe मर्षयति and मर्षयति, the Aorist of ह्य by the affix णि (III. 1. 60) मर्षय + णि = मर्षय + णि (VIII. 3. 54) = मर्षय + णि (VIII. 2. 116) = मर्षयति 'he killed'. Here न being preceded by the long आ is not changed.

धमोर्वा ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ धमोः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धकारनकारयोः परसो हन्तिनकारस्योपसर्गस्याभिनितादुत्तरस्य वा नकारादेशो भवति ।

23. Optionally when ह्य or झ follow, the न of हान् is changed to ञ, when preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change.

Thus मह्यन्ः, परिह्यन्ः, or मह्यन्ः and परिह्यन्ः, मह्यन्ः or मह्यन्ः परिह्यन्ः or परिह्यन्ः ॥

This sūtra enjoins an option in certain cases, where it would have been obligatory by the last rule,

अन्तरदेशे ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्, अदेशे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तःशब्दादुत्तरस्य इन्तिनकारत्वात्पूर्वस्य णकारदेशो भवति ।

24. The न preceded by short अ of the root हन् is changed into ण, when the root follows the upasarga अन्तर्, and the word does not mean a country.

Thus अन्तर्हण्यते and अन्तर्हणनं ॥

Why do we say "when not meaning a country अदेशे?" Observe अन्तर्हणनी]
देशः ॥

The phrase अतुपूर्वस्य "preceded by short अ" of sūtra 22 ante, is to be read into this sūtra also. Observe, अन्तर्हणति ॥

Why do we say "short अ?" See, अन्तरपानि ॥ The word antar is an upasarga for the purposes of ण change, by the vārtika under I. 4. 65; therefore, it would have caused the ण change by VIII. 4. 22. The present sūtra is made, to show that the change takes place only then, when it does not mean a country.

अयनं च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अयनम्, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तरदेशे इति वर्ज्यते । अयननकारस्य चान्तः शब्दादुत्तरस्य णकारदेशो भवति ।

25. The न of अयन is changed to ण, when preceded by the word अन्तर्, and the word does not denote a country.

Thus अन्तरवर्णं शोभनम् ॥ Why do we say "not denoting a country"? Observe अन्तरवर्णे देशः ॥ This ण change would have taken place by VIII. 4. 29, this special sūtra is for अदेशे purposes. The word अयन is formed by ल्युट् added to अच् or इच् ॥

छन्दस्युदवग्रहात् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, छुत्-अवग्रहात् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तावग्रहात्पूर्वपदादुत्तरस्य णकारदेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ।

26. In the Chhandas, न of a second term is changed into ण, when the prior term ends with a short ऋ even when there is an *avagraha* or hiatus between the two terms.

In the Vēda, न् becomes ण्, after a ऋ, after which in Pada-pāṭha, the word appertaining to it is divided. Thus in Pada-pāṭha the words नृमजाः &c, are separated, and are read as नृ, मजाः ॥ The word अवग्रह्यते = विच्छिद्य पच्यते, as in Pada-pāṭha. ऋदवग्रहात् means 'after a short ऋ which is an avagraha'. The ऋ here, of course, means 'a word ending in ऋ', because ऋ alone cannot be a pūrvapada. The णत्व took place during saṅhitā, and in Pada reading this ण would not have remained, hence this sūtra.

Why have we used the word avagraha in the sūtra? Because we have already said that the word saṅhitā governs all sūtras of this chapter. So the न् is changed to ण in the Saṅhitā state in these; and the ण is retained, when

in the state of avagraha. The word avagraha in the sūtra indicates the scope of the rule. The न is changed to ज after that ङ only, which is capable of avagraha, namely that ङ which stands at the end of a word (pada), and not that which is in the body of a word. Thus in नृमणाः, पितृयाजम्, the ङ is capable of avagraha, as it is at the end of a word नृ or पितृ; but when it is not at the end of a word, it can never become avagraha, and will not produce the ज change.

The word पूर्वपदान् is understood here. The word अवग्रह means a hiatus or separation. Thus पितृ याजम्, नृ मणाः ॥ Here ङ is अवग्रह ॥ The change of न into ज is effected ordinarily then, when the terms, one containing the cause, and the other न, are in संहिता or conjunction. For the rules of Sandhi and the rules like these can apply only to words in saṅhitā. The present rule is an exception to it, and here, even when the words are not in संहिता, but there is an actual hiatus between the two, the change still takes place. The word संहिता of VIII. 2. 108, exerts regulating influence upto the end of the Book.

नञ् धातुस्थोरुभ्यः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, च, धातुस्य, उरु, भुभ्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नस् इत्येतस्य नकारस्य जकारदेशो भवति धातुस्थानिन्नादुत्तरस्थोरुभ्यात्पुत्रशब्दाच्च ञ्त्वन्विति विषये ।

27. In the Chhandas, the न of (the Pronoun) नस् is changed into ज, when it comes after a root having a र or ष or after the words उरु and भु (भु) ॥

Thus अग्ने रक्षाणः (Rig VII. 15. 13) 'O Agni! protect us'. शिक्षा यो अस्मिन् (Rig. VII. 32. 26) 'Teach us this'. उरुः—उरुणस्क्रुधि (Rig. VIII. 75. 11) भु—अभीषुणः सखीनाम् (Rig IV. 31. 3). ऊर्ध्वं ऊषुणः कृतये (Rig. I. 36. 13).

The word नस् is here the pronoun नस्, which is the substitute, in certain cases, of अस्मद् (VIII. 1. 21) and does not mean here the नस् substitute of नासिका ॥ In the next sūtra, however, both नस् are taken. धातुस्य means 'that which exists in a dhātu', namely र and ष when occurring in a root. The word उरु means the word-form उरु; and भु means भुम्, and is exhibited with ष-change. It does not mean the affix भु of the Locative Plural. Therefore, not here इन्द्रो धता गृहेषु नः ॥ The word रक्षा is the 2rd Person singular, Imperative, the lengthening is by VI. 3. 135. The root शिक्ष् has the sense of क्षान् in the Veda. कृषी is 2nd Person sg. Imperative of कृ (VI. 4. 102), the visarga of नः is changed to स् by VIII. 3. 50. In अभीषु there is lengthening by VI. 3. 134: so also in ऊषुणः &c.

उपसर्गाद्बहुलम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, बहुलम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्थानिन्नादुत्तरस्य नसो नकारस्य जकारदेशो भवति ।

28. The न of नस् is changed diversely into ज, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

Thus प्रणः ब्रह्मः; प्रणसः प्रणो राज्ञा ॥ The change does not sometime take, place, as, प्र नो वृञ्चतम् ॥

By force of the word बहुलम् the rule applies to secular literature also as distinguished from the Chhandas or sacred Vedic text. Thus प्रणसं वृत्तं ॥ The word छन्दासि does not govern this sūtra.

In प्रणसं वृत्तम्, the word नसु is the substitute for नासिका and means 'nose'. See V. 4. 119.

This is not the sūtra as given by Pāṇini. His sūtra is उपसर्गानोत्तरः "after an Upasarga, the न् of नस् when not preceded by or followed by an ओ, is changed into ण्". There being several objections to this rule, the above rule is substituted as an amendment, in the Mahābhāṣya. For ओत्तरः may have two meanings:—(1) ओत्कारत् परः, that which comes after ओ; (2) ओत्कारः परोऽस्मात् that which is followed by ओ ॥ In both cases, the rule is objectionable. In the first case, the ण change would be required in प्रणो वृञ्चतं; in the second case, there should be no ण change in प्रणोवनिर्देवता ॥ In fact, we find in the Vedas प्रणः as well as प्रनः; so also प्रणो as well as प्रनो ॥ Hence the necessity of this amendment.

कृत्यचः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृति, अच ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यो यो नकारो ऽच उत्तरस्योपसर्गस्थान्निन्तादुत्तरस्य णकारदेशो भवति ।
वार्तिकः ॥ कृत्यस्य णस्ये निर्विण्णस्योपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ।

29. The न् of a Kṛit affix, preceded by a vowel, is changed into ण, when it follows an upasarga having the cause of change.

The following are the specific Kṛit affixes in which this change takes place :—अन (यु), नान (नानच् &c VII. 2. 82), अनीय, (III. 1. 96) अनि, (III. 3. 111) इनि (निनि III. 2. 78 &c) and the substitutes of निष्ठा (VIII. 2. 42) ॥

Thus

अनः प्रयाणम्, परिमाणम्, प्रमाणम्, परियाणम् ॥ नानः प्रयायमाणम्, परियायमाणम् ॥

अनीय प्रयाणीयम्, परियाणीयम् ॥ अनि अमयाणि, अपरियाणि ॥

इनि प्रयायिन्, प्रयायिणौ, परियायिन्, परियायिणौ

निष्ठादेशः प्रहीणः, परिहीणः, प्रहीणवान् परिहीणवान् ॥ Long ई by VI. 4. 66.

Why do we say अचः 'preceded by a vowel?' Observe प्रभुम्, परिभुम्; the Nishṭhā of भुञ् ॥ It is thus formed: भुञ् + क्त = भुञ् + त = भुञ् + न (VII. 2. 45, the root भुञ् is read as भुञो कौटिल्ये in the dhatûpâṭha, having an indicative ओ, thus giving scope to the rule). भुञ् + न = भुम् + न (VIII. 2. 30) = भुम् ॥

Vārt:—The word निर्विण्णः should be enumerated in this place. As निर्विण्णोऽस्मि खलसंगेन ॥ निर्विण्णोऽहमत्रवासेन ॥

षोडशोऽपि ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ णेः, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यन्ताद्यो विहितः कृत्यस्य तस्यस्य नकारयोपसर्गस्थान्निन्तादुत्तरस्य विभाषा णकारदेशो भवति

30. The **न्** of a Kṛit - affix ordained after a causative verb (**प्यन्त**), is optionally changed to **ञ्**, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

Thus प्रयापणम् or प्रयापनम् , परिचापणम् or परिचापनम् , प्रवाप्नमाणम् or प्रवाप्नमानम् , प्रयापणीयम् or प्रयापनीयम्, अग्रयापणिः or अग्रयापनिः, प्रयापिणो or प्रयापिणौ ॥

Why have we used the word विहितं 'ordained' in explaining the sūtra ? Because the change takes place, even where the कृत् affix does not follow directly after the affix णि; where a third affix such as षच् intervenes. As प्रवाप्नमाणम् ॥ The णेः being in the ablative, under the ordinary rule of interpretation (I. 1. 72), the kṛit - affix should come immediately after णि.

हलश्चेत्पधात् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, च, इच्-उपधात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलादिभ्यो धातुरिच्छुपधस्तस्मात्परो षः कृत्पत्यस्य तस्यस्य नकारस्याच उकारस्योपसर्गस्याग्निनिष्ठादुत्तरस्य विभाषा णकारदेशो भवति ।

31. A kṛit - affix, coming after a verb, which begins with a consonant and has a penultimate इच् vowel, changes optionally its **न्**, which is preceded by a vowel, into **ञ्**, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

The phrase कृत्यचः is understood here. Thus प्रकोपणम् or प्रकोपनम् , परिकोपणम् or परिकोपनम् ॥

Why do we say हलः 'beginning with a consonant' ? Observe प्रेहणम् and प्रोहणम् where the change is obligatory, under VIII. 4. 29. These are from ईह चेष्टायाम् and ऊह वितर्के ॥

Why do we say इच्छुपधात् 'having a penultimate इच् vowel' ? Observe प्रवपणम् and परिवपणम् ; no option.

By the rule कृत्यचः the change was obligatory, this rule makes it optional.

The **न्** of the kṛit - affix must come after a vowel, otherwise there will be no change. See परिशुभः

The word हलः in the sūtra should be interpreted as हलादेः, and not as ordinarily "after what ends in हल्" ॥ For an इच्छुपधा verb implies that it ends with a consonant, and so the employment of the word हलः in the text would have been useless had it meant हलन्तात् ॥

इजादेः सनुमः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इजादेः, सनुमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इजादेः सनुमो हलन्ताच्चातोर्विहितो षः कृत्यस्यस्य नकारस्योपसर्गस्याग्निनिष्ठादुत्तरस्य णकारे भवति ।

32. A kṛit - affix ordained after a verb beginning with an इच् vowel, having the augment शुभ in it, and ending

with a consonant, changes its **न** into **ण**, when preceded by an upasarga having in it the cause of change.

The word **हलः** of the last sūtra is understood here. But contrary to the construction put upon it in the last sūtra, here it means **हलन्तात्**, by the natural rule of construction as given in I. 1. 72. We must interpret it so here, because it is impossible for an **इजादि** root to commence with a **हलः**; while to have done so in the last aphorism would have been redundant.

Thus **प्रेहृखणम्**, **परेहृखणम्** from **इखि गत्यर्थः**; the **नुम्** is added because it is **इदित्** ॥ **प्रेङ्गणम्**, **परेङ्गणम्**, **प्रेम्मणम्** **परोम्मणम्** ॥ In **उम्भ पूरणे** the nasal is part of the root. The rule will not apply to **प्रेम्बनम्**, because **नुम्** here means the anusvāra generally (VIII. 4. 2) though the change would have been valid by the general rule, (VIII. 4. 29) this sūtra makes a **नियम** or restriction. That is, only in the case of **इजादि सनुम्** verbs the change takes place, not in other **सनुम्** verbs. Thus **प्रमङ्गनम्**, **परिमङ्गनम्** from the root **मङि सर्पणे** ॥

This rule does not affect rule VIII. 4. 30, relating to **प्यन्त** verbs, for those verbs cannot be said to end with a consonant. Moreover, we have used the word **विहितः** in explaining the sūtra, in order to indicate this fact, that the **krit-affix** must be *ordained* after a consonant-ending verb. In the case of causative verbs, the **krit-affix** is *ordained* after a vowel-ending (**णि**) verb, and the vowel is elided *after* the adding of the affix. So that *before* the adding of the affix, the verb did not end in a consonant.

वा निस्निक्षनिन्दाम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, निस्-निक्ष-निन्दाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गादिति व र्त्तते । निस् निक्ष निन्द इत्येतेषां नकारस्योपसर्गस्थामिनिच्चादुत्तरस्य वा ञकारादेशो भवति ।

33. The **न** of **निस् निक्ष** and **निन्द** is changed to **ण** optionally, when preceded by an upasarga having in it a cause of change.

Thus **प्रणिसनम्** or **प्रनिसनम्**, **प्रणिक्षणम्** or **प्रनिक्षणम्**, **प्रणिन्दनम्** or **प्रनिम्बनम्** ॥

These verbs are written with **ण** in the Dhātupāṭha, and therefore by rule VIII. 4. 14 ante, the change of **न** into **ण** would have been obligatory. The present sūtra makes it optional. The root **णिसि** means 'to kiss', **णिक्षि** **रोषणे**, and **णिरि** **कुत्सायाम्** ॥

न भाम्भूपकमिगमिप्यायिवेषाम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भा-भू-पू-कमि-गमि-प्यायि-वेषाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भा क्षीरी भू सत्तायाम् पू पवने कमि काम्नी गमि गतो प्यायि वृजौ वेप कम्पने इत्येतेषादुपसर्गस्थामिनिच्चादुत्तरस्य कृत्स्थस्य नकारस्य ञकारादेशो न भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्यन्तानां भाक्षीनादुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ।

34. The **न** of a **krit-affix** is not changed to **ण**, though preceded by an upasarga having in it a cause of change,

when the affix is added to the following verbs: भा 'to shine', भू 'to be', पू 'to purify', कमि 'to be brilliant', गामि 'to go', व्याधि 'to increase', वेष् 'to shake'.

This rule is an exception to VIII. 4. 29. Thus :—

भा प्रभानम्, परिभानम् भू प्रभवनम्, परिभवनम् पू प्रपवनम्, परिपवनम् ॥

Ishti :—The verb पूम् is to be taken and not the verb पूह् ॥ In the case of the latter the change is obligatory, as, प्रपवणं सौमस्य ॥

कमि प्रकमनम् परिकमनम् ॥ गमि प्रगमनम् परिगमनम् ॥

व्याधि प्रव्याधनम्, परिव्याधनम् ॥ वेष् प्रवेपनम्, परिवेपनम् ॥

Vārt :—The above roots, even when in the Causative, do not change the न of their kṛit-affix. As प्रभापनम्, परिभापनम् ॥

षात्पदान्तात् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ षात्, पदान्तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारान्तरान्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य षकारविधौ न भवति ।

35. After a ष् final in a Pada, the न् is not changed to ए ॥

Thus निष्पानम्, दुष्पानम् ; the visarga is changed to ह् here by VIII. 3. 41. The rule VIII. 4. 29 is debarred. सर्पिष्पानम् (is a genitive compound contra II. 2. 14). So also बहुष्पानम् (II. 1. 32). The ष is in these two by VIII. 3. 45, and VIII. 4. 10 is debarred.

Why do we say "षात् after a ष्?" Observe निर्णयः ॥

Why do we say पशान्तात् 'final in a Pada'? Observe कुष्पाति, पुष्पाति ॥ The word पशान्त is equivalent to पदे भन्त or Locative Tatpuruṣa ; and does not mean final of a Pada. Therefore the rule does not apply here. सुसर्पिष्केण (ins. sg.) सुयजुष्केण ॥ Here the क is added by V. 4. 154. घोभनं सर्पिरस्य = सुसर्पिष्क (a Bahuvrīhi). The ष is by VIII. 3. 39. Before the affix क, the word सुसर्पिष् is a Pada (I. 4. 17), and thus ष् (ष्) is final of a Pada: but it is not final of a preceding member followed by another Pada. The rule, in fact, applies to compounds, the ष् being final in the first term.

नशोः षान्तस्य ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नशोः, षान्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नशोः षकारान्तस्य षकारविधौ न भवति ।

36. ष् is not the substitute of the verb नश 'to destroy', when ending in ष् ॥

When the ष् is changed to ह् in नश्, the न of नश् is not changed. Thus प्रनष्टः, परिनष्टः ॥ The नुष् ordained by VII. 1. 60, is elided by VI. 4. 24, and ष् changed ह् by VIII. 2. 36.

Why do we say षान्तस्य? Observe प्रणश्यति, परिणश्यति ॥ The word भन्त is taken in order that the prohibition may apply to words like प्रणश्यति, which did end with ष् though the ष has been changed by other rules, and is no longer visible. For here the ष् of नश् is changed to ह् by VIII. 2. 36, and then this ह् is changed to ष् by VIII. 2. 41 ; and the नुष् is added by VII. 1. 60.

पदान्तस्य ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदान्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदान्तो यो नकारस्तस्य णकारादेशो न भवति ।

37. Of a न final in a Pada, ण is not the substitute.

Thus वृक्षान्, वृक्षान्, अरीन्, गिरीन् ॥

पदव्यवायेपि ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदव्यवाये, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदेन व्यवायेपि सति निमित्तनिमित्तिनोर्नकारस्य णकारादेशो न भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पदव्यवाये ऽतद्धितइति वक्तव्यम् ।

38. The न् is not changed to ण् when a Pada intervenes between the cause of the change and the word containing the न् ॥

The word पदव्यवाय is a compound meaning पदेन व्यवाय 'separated by a Pada'. Thus माषकुम्भवापेन, चतुरङ्गयोगेन, प्राशनद्धम्, पर्यवनद्धम्, प्रगाम्नयामः, परिगाम्नयामः ॥ Here the Padas कुम्भ, अङ्ग, अष &c, intervening, the change does not take place.

Vārt.—It should be stated when there is separation by a Pada, except in a Taddhita. Prohibition does not apply to words like आर्त्तगोमयेण, क्षुब्धगोमयेण ॥ Here गो takes the affix मयद् by IV. 3. 145, and the word गो is a Pada by I. 4. 17, and it intervenes between मय and the first word. The author of Mahābhāṣya however does not approve of this Vārtika. According to him the word पदव्यवाय means पदे व्यवाय ॥

क्षुब्धादिषु च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुब्धादिषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुब्धा इत्येवमादिषु शब्देषु नकारस्य णकारादेशो न भवति ।

39. The ण् is not the substitute of न् in the words kshubhna &c.

The 'not' of sūtra 34 is to be read into this. Thus क्षुब्धाति, so also in क्षुब्धीतः, क्षुब्धन्ति, the substitutes of अच् being like the principal I. 1. 57.

So नृनमनः where the change was called for by VIII. 4. 3, and VIII. 4. 26.

नन्दिन्, नन्दन and नगर when second members in a compound, denoting a name, as, हरिनन्दी, हरिनन्दनः, गिरिनगरः ॥

The word नृन् when taking the Intensive affix यद्, as, नरीनृत्यते ॥

नृप्, नृमोति also belongs to this class. नर्त्तन, गहन, मन्दन, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि and अनूप when used as second terms in a compound. As, परिनर्त्तनम्, परिगहनम्, which required change by VIII. 4. 3. So परिनन्दनम् contrary to VIII. 4. 14. क्षरनिवेशः, क्षरनिवास, क्षरग्निः, इर्भानूपः ॥ All these are Names.

After the word आचार्य there is no change, as, आचार्यभोगीनः, आचार्यानी ॥

हरिका, तिमिर, समीर, कुबेर and हरि and कर्मर followed by वन do not cause change in the न of वन when the compound is a Name. This is an आकृतिगणः ॥

1 क्षुब्धा (क्षुब्धाति), 2 नृनमनः, 3 नन्दिन्, 4 मन्दन, 5 नगर, एताभ्युत्तरपदानि संज्ञार्थां प्र योजयन्ति, 6 हरिनन्दी, 7 हरिनन्दनः, 8 गिरिनगरम्; 9 नृत्तिर्यङि प्रयोजयति, नरीनृत्यते; 10 नर्त्तन, 11 गहन,

12 नन्दन, 13 निवेश, 14 निवास, 15 अग्नि, 16 अनूप, एतान्युत्तरपदानि प्र योजयन्ति, 17 परिनर्तनम्, 18 परिगहनम्, 19 परिनन्दनम्, 20 शरनिवेशः, 21 शरनिवासः, 22 शराग्निः, 23 शर्मानूपः, 24 आचार्यादपत्वं च आचार्यभोगीनः (आचार्यानी). क्षुब्धा, 25 कृष्टु, नूनमन, 26 नरनगर, नन्दन- बहू नृती, 27 गिरिनी, 28 गृहनमन, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि, अनूप, आचार्यभोगीन, 29 चतुर्हायन, 30 हरिकादीनि वनोत्तरपदानि संज्ञायाम् । हरिका, तिमिर, समीर, कुबेर, हरि कर्मार. अकृतिगण.

स्तोः इचुना इचुः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तोः, इचुना, इचुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शकारवर्गाभ्यां सन्निपाते शकारवर्गादेशौ भवतः ।

40. The letters स and the dentals when coming in contact with श and the palatals, are changed to ष and palatals respectively.

The rule of वयासंख्य does not apply here with regard to first part स्तो इचुना ॥ The स in contact with श is changed to ष but it is also so changed when in contact with letters of च class. Similarly letters of त class coming in contact with श or a letter of च class, are changed to च class. The rule of वयासंख्य, however, applies to the substitutes, namely स is changed to ष, and तु to षु ॥

1st. स in contact with शः as, वृक्षस् + शेते = वृक्षश्चेते, so also प्लक्षश्चेते ॥

2nd. स in contact with षुः—as, वृक्षस् + षिनोति = वृक्षषिनोति, प्लक्षषिनोति, वृक्षच्छादयति, प्लक्षच्छादयति ॥

3rd. तु with शः—अग्निचित् + शेते = अग्निषिच्छेते, so सोमसुच्छेते ॥

4th. तु with षुः—अग्निचित् + षिनोति = अग्निषिच्छिनोति, so also सोमसुच्छिनोति, अग्निषिच्छादयति, अग्निषिच्छजयति, अग्निषिच्छकारम्, सोमसुच्छादयति, सोमसुच्छजयति, सोमसुच्छकारम्, अग्निषिच्छकारः, सोमसुच्छकारः ॥ Similarly मरुश्च gives मरुञ्जति, the स is changed to ष by शलाञ्जश्च शाधि VIII. 4 53, and then this ष is changed to a palatal i. e. to ष here; and ष obtained by जश्च rule is not considered asiddha here. See VIII. 2. 3. So also from भ्रश्च we have भ्रुञ्जति ॥

5th. चकार followed by शकारः as, वज्ज + न (III. 3. 90) = वज्ज + न् = वज्जः, वाच् + न = वाच्च्मा ॥ In fact the instrumental case इचुना shows that the mere contact of स and तु with श and षु is enough to induce the change, whether स्तु is followed by इचु, or इचु be followed by स्तु ॥ Other examples of mere contact are:—

5th.(a) स followed by षु is changed into शः as, भ्रश्च + ति = भ्रश्च + ष + ति (III. 1. 77; VI. 1. 16) = भ्रश्च + ति = भ्रश्च + ति = (VIII. 4 53) = भ्रुञ्जति ॥ Similarly मरुश्च forms मरुञ्जति, व्रश्च forms वृश्चति ॥

The aphorism शात् (VIII. 4 44) which prohibits the change of तु into षु when following the letter श, indicates by implication that the rule of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration (I. 3. 10) does not hold good here.

Had the sūtra been स्तो षोः इचुः i. e. instead of instrumental, had there been the locative case, then the rule would not have applied to cases covered by the fifth clause.

इचुना इचुः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इचुना, इचुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शकारवर्गाभ्यां सन्निपाते शकारवर्गादेशौ भवतः ।

41. The letters स्तृ and dentals in contact with ष and cerebrals, are changed into ष and cerebrals respectively.

The word स्तोः is to be read into the sūtra. Here also there is absence of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration.

(1) स्तृ with ष as, वृक्षस् + षण्डे = वृक्षषण्डे; प्लक्षषण्डे ॥

(2) स्तृ with ढ, as, वृक्षस् + टीकते = वृक्षटीकते, वृक्षकारः, प्लक्षटीकते and प्लक्षकारः ॥

(3) तु with ष as पेष् + ता = पेटा, पेटुम्, पेटव्यम्, कृषीट, कृषीष्ठाः (Atmane, Aorist 2nd per dual).

(4) तु with ढ, as, अग्निचित् + टीकते = अग्निचिदटीकते, सोमसुदटीकते, अग्निचिट्ठकारः, अग्निचिड्डीनः, अग्निचिद्वीकते, अग्निचिष्णकार, सोमसुद्वीकते, सोमसुद्वीनः, सोमसुद्वीकते, सोमसुष्णकारः ॥

The root अन्ट अतिक्रमणहिसयोः, and अन्ड अभियोगे, are read in the Dhātu-pāṭha with त् and ढ penultimate, in order that when the affix क्तिष् is added to them, the final ट and ड being elided by संयोगान्त rule, the derivatives will be अन्त् and अन्ड ending in त् and ढ ॥ Another reason is that the sūtra VI. 1. 3, should apply to their reduplicate. In these roots the त् and ढ are changed, अन्टति and अन्डति ॥

न पदान्ताद्दोरनाम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, पदान्तात्, दोः, अनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदान्ताद्द्वर्गादुत्तरस्य स्तोः दुल्यं न भवति नामित्येतद्द्वर्जयित्वा ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनाम्नवतिनगरीणामिति वक्तव्यम् ।

42. After ढ final in a Pada, the change of a dental (स्तृ) to a cerebral (ष्टृ), does not take place, except in the case of the affix नाम् ॥

Thus श्लिद् + साये = श्लिद्साये, मधुलिद्साये, श्लिद्तरति, मधुलिद्तरति ॥

Why do we say पदान्तात् 'final in a Pada'? Observe ईद् + ते = ईद् + डे = ईद्दे ॥

Why do we say दोः 'after ढ'? Observe सर्षिष् + तमम् = सर्षिटमम् ॥

Why do we say अनाम् 'except in the case of the affix nām'? Observe षट् + नाम् = षण्णाम् ॥ This exception is very inadequate. Hence the following

Vart.—It should be stated rather that नवति and नगरी as well as नाम् are not prevented from undergoing the cerebral change. As, षण्णाम् 'of six', षण्णवतिः ninety-six, and षण्णगरी 'six cities'.

तोः षि ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तोः, षि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तवर्गस्य षकारे यदुक्तं मन् न भवति ।

43. In the room of तु there is not a cerebral substitute, when ष follows.

The word न is to be read into the aphorism. As, अग्निचित् + षण्डे = अग्निचित्षण्डे ॥ भवान्षण्डे, महान्षण्डे ॥

शात् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शकारादुत्तरस्य तद्वर्गस्य यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ।

44. In the room of तु there is not a palatal substitute, when श precedes.

The words न and तोः are understood here. This is an exception to VIII. 4. 40. Thus, प्रच्छ + न (III. 3. 90) = प्रश् + न (VI. 4. 19) = प्रश्नः, विन्नः &c.

यरोनुनासिकेनुनासिको वा ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ यरः, अनुनासिके, अनुनासिकः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यरः पदान्तस्थानुनासिके परतो वानुनासिकादेशो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ यरोनुनासिके प्रत्यये भाषार्या नित्यवचनं कर्त्तव्यम् ।

45. In the room of a यर letter (every consonant except ह final) in a Pada, when a Nasal follows, there is optionally a Nasal substitute.

The word पदान्त is understood here. Thus वाक् + नयति = वामयति or वाह-
नयति, अग्निचिदनयति or अग्निचिन्नयति, विदुन्नयति or विदुन्नयति, श्लिन्नयति or श्लिन्नयति ॥

Why do we say 'final in a Pada'? Observe, वेद् + नि = वेदि ॥ Here there is no option. So also ह्युभाति ॥

Vart :—When it is a pratyaya or affix that follows, the nasalisation is obligatory in the secular language. Thus वाक् + माचम् = वाहमाचम्, किवन्माचम् ॥ It is, however, only before the affixes मच and माच that the change is obligatory, and not before every affix beginning with a nasal.

अचो रहाभ्यां द्वे ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, रहाभ्यां, द्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच उत्तरो यो रेफहकारौ ताभ्यामुत्तरस्य यो द्वे भवतः ।

46. There is reduplication of यर्, i. e. all the consonants except ह, after the letters र् and ह following a vowel.

The word यर् of last sūtra is understood here. According to others, the वा is also understood, and this is an optional rule. Thus अर्कः, नर्कः, ब्रह्मा, अपहन्नुते ॥

Why do we say अचः 'following a vowel'? Observe ह्युते, झलवति ॥

अनचि च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्, अचि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच उत्तरस्य यो द्वे भवतोऽनचि परतः ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ यणो मयो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ।

वा० ॥ शरः खयो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् । वा० ॥ अवसाने च यो द्वे भवतः इति वक्तव्यम् ।

47. When a vowel does not follow, there is reduplication of यर् (all the consonants except ह), after a vowel.

The words अचः and अरः are understood here.

Thus वृधि + अच = वृध् + अच (VI. I. 77) = वृध् + अच वृध् + अच (VIII. 4-53) = वृध् + अच, so also मख् ॥

Why do we say अच: "after a vowel?" Observe खितम्, स्नातम् ॥

Vart:—यणो मयो हे भवतः ॥ This Vārtika may be interpreted in two ways. First taking यणः as ablative and मयः as genitive. "The letters of the pratyāhāra मय् are reduplicated after यण् letters." उल्का, बाल्मीकः ॥ Secondly taking यणः as genitive, and मयः as ablative. "The letters यण् are reduplicated after मय् letters". As वृध् + अच, मध् + अच ॥

Vart:—घरः खयो हे भवतः ॥ This is also similarly explained in two ways. 1st "There is reduplication of खय् letters, after a sibilant for घर् letters" as ख्याल, ख्यात. Secondly. 'There is reduplication of a sibilant (घर् letters), after खय् letters, ss, वस्सरः, अप्सराः ॥

Vart:—अवसाने च यो हे भवतः ॥ There is reduplication of यर् when a Pause ensues. As वाहू, स्वकृ, पट्ट, तल्लू &c.

These reduplications are curiosities, rather than practicalities.

नादिन्याक्रोशे पुत्रस्य ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आदिनी, आक्रोशे, पुत्रस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिनी परत आक्रोशे गम्यमाने पुत्रस्यत्यय न हे भवतः ।

वात्तिकम् ॥ तल्पे चिति वक्तव्यम् । वा० ॥ वा हतजग्धपररति वक्तव्यम् ।

वा० ॥ चया द्वितीयाः शरि पौष्करसादिः ।

48. There is not reduplication of the letters of 'putra', when the word ādini follows, the sense being that of reviling or cursing.

This debars the reduplication required by the last sūtra. Thus पुत्रादिनी स्वमसि पापे "O sinful one! thou art eater of thy own son". Here the word पुत्रादिनी is used simply as an abusive epithet. But when a fact is described, and the word is not used as an abuse or आक्रोश, the reduplication takes place. Thus पुत्रादिनी व्याघ्री 'a kind of tigress, that eats up her young ones'.
- शिशुमारी व्याघ्री ॥

Vart:—So also when पुत्र is followed by पुत्रादिनी ॥ As पुत्र पुत्रादिनी स्वमसि पापे ॥ So also पुत्रपौत्रादिनी ॥

Vart:—Optionally so when the words हत and जग्ध follow. As पुत्रहती or पुत्रहती, पुत्रजग्धी or पुत्रजग्धी ॥

Vart:—According to the option of Āchārya Paushkarasādi, the letters of च् प्रत्यāhāra are replaced by the second letters of their class, when followed by a sibilant (a letter of चर् प्रत्यāhāra).

As वस्सः becomes वथ्सः अक्षरम् becomes अक्षरम् and अप्सरा becomes अफ्सरा ॥

शरोचि ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शरः, अचि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शरोचि परतो न द्वे भवतः ।

49. There are not two in the room of a sibilant (शर्), when a vowel follows.

The word न is to be read into the sūtra. This debars the application of rule 46 ante. Thus कर्षति, वर्षति, भाकर्षः, अक्षवर्षः ॥

Why do we say अचि 'when a vowel follows? Observe इक्षवर्षते ॥

त्रिप्रभृतिषु शाकटायनस्य ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रिप्रभृतिषु, शाकटायनस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ त्रिप्रभृतिषु वर्जेषु संयुक्तेषु शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन न भवति ।

50. According to the opinion of Śākaṭāyana, the doubling does not take place when the conjunct consonants are three or more in number.

As इन्द्रः, अन्द्रः, उष्ट्रः, राष्ट्रम्, भाष्ट्रम् ॥

सर्वत्र शाकल्यस्य ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वत्र, शाकल्यस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शाकल्याचार्यस्य मतेन सर्वत्र द्विवचनं न भवति ।

51. According to the opinion of Śākalya, there is reduplication no where.

As अर्कः, मर्कः, ब्रह्मा, अपहृष्टे ॥

दीर्घादाचार्याणाम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, आचार्याणाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घान्तरस्याचार्याणां मतेन न भवति ।

52. According to the opinion of all Teachers, there is no doubling after a long vowel.

As शचम्, पाचम्, सूचम्, सूचम् ॥

झलां जश्झशि ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ झलाम्, जश्, झशि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ झलां स्थाने अघादेशो भवति झशि परतः ।

53. In the room of झञ् letters, there is substitution of जञ् letters, when झञ् letters follow.

A mute letter is changed to a sonant non-aspirate mute, when a sonant mute follows it.

This is the well-known rule of softening the hard letters. Thus लञ् + ता = लढा, so also लञ्जम्, लढञ्जम् ; रोञ्हा, रोञ्जम्, रोढञ्जम् ; बोञ्जा, बोञ्जम्, बोढञ्जम् ॥

Why do we say झशि, 'when a jhaś follows'? Observe रत्तः, रत्यः, रज्यः ॥

अभ्यासे चर्च ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यासे, चर्, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासे वर्तमानानां झलां अघादेशो भवति चकाराञ्जम् ।

54. The चर् is also the substitute of झञ् letters occurring in a reduplicate syllable, as well as जञ् ॥

In a reduplicate syllable, a sonant non-aspirate (जञ्) as well as a surd non aspirate (चर्) is the substitute of a Mute letter. By applying the rule of

'nearest in place (I. I. 50), we find that sonant non-aspirate (अच्) is the substitute of all sonants; and is the substitute of all surds. In other words all aspirate letters become non-aspirate. The word अच् has been drawn into the sūtra by the word च 'also'.

Thus चिखनिषति ॥ Here सच् (Desiderative), is added to the root खच्, the ख is changed to छ by VII. 4. 62, and this aspirate छ is now changed to non-aspirate by the present sūtra. चिच्छिषति, टिङ्कारिषति, तिष्ठासति, पिफकारिषति, बुभूषति, जिषस्सति, हुषीकिषते ॥

If there is चर् (non-aspirate surd) in the original, it will remain of course unchanged. As, चिच्चीषति, टिटीकिषते, तितनिषति ॥

The original अच् also remains unchanged. Thus जिञ्जनिषति, बुबुधे, वषी, विञ्जे ॥ Or to be more accurate a चर् is replaced by a चर् and a अच् by a अच् letter.

खरि च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खरि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खरि च परतो झलं चरादेशो भवति ।

55. In the room of झच्, there is the substitute चर्, when खर् follows.

A sonant non-aspirate mute is the substitute of a mute, when a surd mute or a sibilant follows. The words झलं and चरः are supplied from the last sūtra. Thus भेद् + ता = भेसा, भेस्तुम्, भेत्तव्यम्; युयुध् + सते = युयुस्तते; भारिप्तने, भालिप्तते from रम् and लम्, the इच् is added by VII. 4. 54, in the room of झ of रम् and लम्, and we have रिस्च् and लिस्च् then the first स is elided by VIII. 2. 29.

घाघसाने ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ घा, अघसाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झलं चरिति वर्त्तते । अघसाने वर्त्तमानानां झलं च चरादेशो भवति ।

56. The चर् is optionally the substitute of a झच् that occurs in a Pause.

The words झलं चर् is understood in the sūtra. A sonant or a surd non-aspirate may stand as final in a Pause: but not an aspirate consonant. By VIII. 2. 39, a non-aspirate sonant can only stand in a final position. This ordains that a non-aspirate surd may also stand as the final, when there is Pause. Thus वाक् or वाग्, स्वक् or स्वग्, भलिद् or भलिङ्, विद्ग् or विद्ग् ॥

अणोप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अणः, अप्रगृह्यस्य, अनुनासिकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणः अप्रगृह्यस्यनुनासिके वर्त्तमाने अनुनासिकदेशो भवति ।

57. The anunāsika is optionally the substitute of an अण् vowel which occurs in a Pause, and is not a Prāgrihya.

अ, इ and उ, short and long, may, when final in a Pause, be pronounced as nasals, provided that they are not Prāgrihya (I. I. 11 &c.) The अण् here

is a Pratyāhāra with the first ञ् ॥ Thus वधिँ or वधि, मडुँ or मडु, कुनारीँ or कुनारी ॥

Why do we say 'of an अण् vowel?' Observe, कर्तुँ, हर्तुँ ॥

Why do we say 'which is not a prāṅhiya'? Observe अग्नी, वाहू which are prāṅhiya by I. I. II.

अनुस्वारस्य ययि परसवर्णः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुस्वारस्य, ययि, परसवर्णः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुस्वारस्य ययि परतः परसवर्णं आदेशो भवति ।

58. In the room of anusvāra, when यच् follows, a letter homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus द्यङ्किता, द्यङ्कितुम्, द्यङ्कितव्यम्, उञ्छिता, कुण्डिता, मन्दिता, कम्पिता &c. These are from roots द्यङ्क् द्यङ्क्याच्, उञ्छि उञ्छे, कुण्डि कुण्डे, दुनदि सद्युञ्चौ, कपि चलने ॥ Here नुम् is added because they are द्यङित्, and this न् becomes anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24, and this anusvāra is changed to ङ् when followed by a guttural क् &c, to म् when followed by a palatal च् &c, and so on to ञ्, न् and न् ॥

Why do we say when द्यच् follows? Observe आक्रन्त्वते, आधिक्रन्त्वते ॥

In कुर्वन्ति, वृषन्ति, the न् is not changed into ञ्, though required by VIII. 4. 2. Because the ञस्व is asiddha, and therefore by the prior rule VIII. 3. 24, the न् is first changed into anusvāra (VIII. 2. 1). That anusvāra is again changed into न् by the present rule, न् being homogeneous with त् ॥ This change again being असिद्ध as if it had never taken place (VIII. 2. 1), the ञ् is never substituted for न् ॥

वा पदान्तस्य ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, पदान्तस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पदान्तस्वानुस्वारस्य ययि परतो वा परसवर्णदेशो भवति ।

59. In the room of anusvāra final in a Pada, the substitution of a letter homogeneous with the latter is optional.

Thus तं कयं चिन्नपसं उच्यमानं नभःस्यं पुरुषोऽवधीत् or तद्दुयिञ्चपसं उच्यमानं नभःस्यं पुरुषोऽवधीत् ॥

तोळि ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ तोः, लि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तवर्गस्य लकारे परतः परसवर्णदेशो भवति ।

60. In the room of तु (a dental) when the letter ल follows, one homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus अग्निषित् + क्षुनाति = अग्निषिल्लुनाति, सोमसुल्लुनाति; भवान् + क्षुनाति = भवान्लुनाति, महर्षिल्लुनाति ॥ Here त् has been changed to pure ल, while the dento-nasal ष् is changed to a nasal लँ ॥

उदः स्वास्तम्भोः पूर्वस्य ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदः, स्वास्तम्भोः, पूर्वस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद उदारयोः स्वास्तम्भ इत्येतयोः पूर्वसवर्णदेशो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ उदः पूर्वसवर्णस्ये स्कन्देशेऽनुपसंख्यानम् ।

वा० ॥ रोगे चेति वक्तव्यम् ।

61. After उद्, in the room of the स of sthâ and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior (i. e. a dental is substituted for this स) ॥

As उद् + स्याता = उद् + ययाता = उद् + याता (VIII. 4. 65) = उन् + याता (VIII. 4. 55) = उन्याता, उन्यातुम्, उन्यातव्यम् ॥ So also with स्तम्भ्, as, उक्तमिता, उक्तमितुम् &c. (See I. 1. 67 and 54).

Why do we say of स्या and स्तम्भ? Compare उन्जात ॥

Vart:—In the Vedas, the above substitution takes place in the case of स्कन्ध preceded by उद् ॥ As, अग्ने दूरसुक्त्वः ॥

Vart:—So also when it means a disease. As उक्त्वको नाम रोगः ॥ Or this form may have been derived from the root कन्, and not स्कन् ॥

झयो होन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ झयः, हः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ झय उत्तरस्य हकारस्य पूर्वसवर्णदेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

62. In the room of the letter ह्, after (a sonant Mute) there is optionally a letter homogeneous with the prior.

The pratyâhâra झय् includes all Mutes. But practically sonant Mutes are only taken here.

As वाक् + हसति = वाग्घसति or वाग् हसति, श्लिड् हसति or हसति, अग्निषिद् भसति or हसति, शिष्टुब् भसति or हसति, सोमसुद् भसति or सोमसुद् हसति ॥

Why do we say झयः 'after a sonant Mute?' Observe वाक् हसति, भवान् हसति ॥

शश्छोटि ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शः, छः, अटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झय इति वर्त्तते । अन्यतरस्यामिति च । झय उत्तरस्य शकारस्यादि परतदृक्कारदेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

वात्तिकम् ॥ छत्वममीति वक्तव्यम् ।

63. In the room of श preceded by a surd Mute; there is optionally the letter छ् when a vowel or य, ष or र follows such श ॥

Though झय् means all Mutes, the rule, however, applies to surd mutes. The words झय् and अन्यतरस्यां are to be read into the sūtra. Thus वाक् + शेते = वाक्छते or शेते ॥ अग्निषिच्छते or अग्निषिद् शेते, श्लिड् शेते or छेते, शिष्टुच्छेते or शेते ॥

Vart:—It should rather be stated when a letter of अन् प्रatyâhâra follows. The sūtra only gives अद् letters, the vârtika adds the letters ल, and the nasals. Thus तन् श्लोकैः = तच्छ्लोकैः, तच्छमभुणः ॥

हलो यमां यमि लोपः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, यमाम्, यमि, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरेषां यमां यमि परतो लोपो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

64. After a consonant, the following semi-vowel or a nasal is elided optionally, when the same letters follow it.

The word *अन्यतरस्याम्* should be read into the sūtra. Thus *वाय्या* or *वाय्या*, the middle *य* being elided. In *वाय्या* there are two *य*s, one of the affix *यय्* (III. 3. 99); and the second of *वायह* (VII. 4. 22), and the third arises by doubling (VIII. 4. 47). *आदित्य* (formed by doubling *य* by the Vārtika under 47 *ante*), or *आदित्य* 'son of Aditi' In *आदित्य* there are two *य*s, one of *ण्य* (IV. 1. 85), and the second arises by doubling.

Similarly *आदित्य देवता अस्य स्याली पाकस्य=आदित्यः* ॥ Then by VIII. 4. 47, there is a third *य*, as *आदित्य्य* ॥ Here also we may elide the one middle *य* or both the middle *य*'s. Thus *आदित्यः* or *आदित्य्यः* ॥

Why do we say *हलः* 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe *अन्नम्* when *न्* is preceded by a *vowel*.

Why do we say *यमाम्* "of *यम्* letters"? Observe *अग्निः, अर्धम्* (V. 4. 25) where *य* is not a *यम्* ॥

Why do we say *यनि* "when *यम्* follows"? Observe *शाङ्गम्* here *ङ्* is not followed by a *यम्* ॥

झरो झरि सवर्णे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ झरः, झरि, सवर्णे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हल उक्तरस्य झरो झरि सवर्णे परतो लोपो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

65. A Mute or Sibilant (*झर्*) preceded by a consonant and followed by a homogeneous mute or sibilant, is optionally elided.

The word *हलः* is understood. Thus *प्रतृप्तम्, अवतृप्तम्* have three *त*, namely, one *त* substituted for *भा* by VII. 4. 47, the second *त* resulting from the change of *हृ* to *त* by *चर्त्वं* change, the third *त* is that of the affix. A fourth arises by doubling (VIII. 4. 47) of these four, one or two middle ones may be dropped. *मरुतृप्त* here are four *त*s. A fifth may be added by doubling, and by this rule, one, two or three of them may be elided. *मरुत् + षा + क्त = मरुत् + इत् + त* (VII. 4. 47) the word *मरुत्* being treated as an *Upasarga* (I. 4. 59, *vārt*) = *मरुत्त* ॥

Why do we say *झरः* 'of a *jhar*'? Compare *शाङ्गम्*, here *ङ्* which is not a *झर्* is not elided, though it is followed by a *झर्* letter. Why do we say *झरि* 'followed by a *jhar*'? See *मिश्रपञ्चम्* ॥ This is a *Bahuvrīhi* compound = *मिषाः पञ्चास्व* ॥ The word *मिश्र* stands first in the compound under II. 2. 35. (*vārt*). The full word is *मिषापञ्चम्*, the *ञ* is elided by VI. 4. 134, and we have *मिश्रपञ्चम्*; and then this *ञ्* becomes a palatal *ञ* ॥ Here *ञ्* is preceded by a *हल्* letter, and itself is a *झर्*, and is followed by a homogeneous

letter अ्, but as अ् is not ह्रस्व, the अ् is not elided. The elided अ् is not considered sthānivat, and so अ् is considered to be *immediately* followed by अ् ॥

Why do we say सवर्णे 'when a homogeneous jhar follows'? Observe सप्तु. तर्जम् &c, where ए and न् are not homogeneous.

By using the word सवर्णे, the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) is avoided. Had the rule been ह्रस्वो ह्रस्वि the rule of mutual correspondence according to order of enumeration would have applied, and the forms सिण्डि विण्डि could not have been evolved by the elision of इ before इ ॥ For the evolution of these forms see the commentary under I. 1. 58. These are the Imperative 2nd Person Singular of सिष् and पिष् ॥ The अ् of अम् is elided by VI. 4. III: the हि is changed to धि by VI. 4. 101, the ए is changed to इ by VIII. 4. 53, the न् of अम् is changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24; this anusvāra is again changed to ञ् by VIII. 4. 58; the अ् is changed to इ, and by the present rule, the preceding इ is elided before this इ ॥

उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदत्तात्, अनुदात्तस्य, स्वरितः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तादनुदात्तस्यानुदात्तस्य स्वरितादेशो भवति ।

66. The Svarita is the substitute of an Anudatta vowel which follows an Udatta vowel.

Thus अग्निम् + ईलि = अग्निमीलि ॥ Here ई which was अनुदात्त by rule VIII. 1. 28, becomes svarita by the present rule, as it comes after the udatta इ of agni.

So also गौर्ग्यः, वैस्त्र्यः ॥ Here यम् is added by IV. 1. 105, and being मित्र् the words are first acute. The final is anudatta, which becomes svarita. So also वैचक्षति and वैठक्षति, the क्षप् and क्षिप् are anudatta, the root is accented, the अ् of क्षप् becomes svarita.

The rule VI. 1. 158, does not change this svarita into an Anudatta, because for the purposes of that rule, the present rule is अस्ति, or as if it had not taken place (VIII. 2. 1). Therefore both the udatta and the svarita accent are heard.

नोदात्तस्वरितोद्वयमगार्ग्यकाश्यपगालवानाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उदात्त-स्वरित-उद्वयम्, अ-गार्ग्य-काश्यप-गालवानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तोद्वयस्य स्वरितोद्वयस्य चानुदात्तस्य स्वरितो न भवति अगार्ग्यकाश्यपगालवानामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥ उदात्तोद्वयः = उदात्तपरः ।

67 All prohibit the above substitution of svarita, except the Âchâryâs Gârgya, Kâśyapa and Gâlava; when an udatta or a svarita follows the anudatta.

This debar the preceding rule. That anudatta which is *followed* by an Udatta is उदात्तोद्वयः or उदात्तपरः ॥ The word उद्वय means पर in the terminology of ancient Grammarians. That anudatta which is *followed* by a svarita is called स्वरितोद्वयः ॥ These are Bahuvr̥hi compounds. Thus उदात्तोद्वयः—गौर्ग्य-

स्तौत्रं, वास्तु स्तौत्रं ॥ The word स्तौत्र is first acute by त्रिन् accent, before this udatta, the व of these words does not become svarita. So with स्वरितोरवः—गार्ग्यः कुं वास्तुः कुं ॥ The word कु is svarita being formed by the त्रिन् affix अत् (V. 3. 12); before this svarita the preceding व does not become svarita.

Why do we say "except in the opinion of Gārgya, Kāśyapa and Gālava"? Observe गार्ग्यः कुं, गार्ग्यस्तौत्रं ॥ According to their opinion, the svarita change does take place.

The employment of the longer word उदय instead of the shorter word पर is for the sake of auspiciousness, for the Book has approached the end. The very utterance of the word उदय is auspicious. All sacred works commence with an auspicious word, have an auspicious word in the middle, and end with an auspicious word. Thus Pāṇini commences his sūtra with the auspicious word वृद्धिः 'increase' (in Sūtra I. 1. 1): has the word शिव 'the well-wisher' in the middle (IV. 4. 143), and उदय at the end.

The mention of the names of those several Āchāryas is for the sake of showing respect (pujārtham).

अ अ इति ॥ इत् ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, अ, इति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकोऽपि विवृतोऽपरः संवृतस्तत्र विवृतस्य संवृतः क्रियते । अकारो विवृतः संवृतो भवति ।

68. The अ which was, considered to be open (विवृत) in all the preceding operations of this Grammar, is now made contracted (संवृत) ॥

The first अ is here विवृत or open; the second is संवृत or contracted. The open अ is now changed to contracted अ ॥ "In actual use the organ in the enunciation of the short अ is *contracted*; but it is considered to be *open* only, as in the case of the other vowels, when the vowel अ is in the state of taking part in some operation of Grammar. The reason for this is, that if the short अ were held to differ from the long आ in this respect, the *homogeneous-ness* mentioned in I. 1. 9, would not be found to exist between them, and the operation of the rules depending upon that homogeneousness would be debarred. In order to restore the short अ to its natural rights, thus infringed throughout the Aṣṭādhyāyī, Pāṇini with oracular brevity in his closing aphorism gives the injunction अ अ; which is interpreted to signify—Let short अ be held to have its organ of utterance contracted, now that we have reached the end of the work in which it was necessary to regard it as being otherwise". (Dr. Ballantyne).

Thus वृत्तः, इत् ॥ In this Grammar, the अ is regarded open or vivṛita, when operations are performed with it: but in actual pronunciation it is contracted. The long आ and the pluta आ इ are not meant to be included here in the open short अ; therefore those two are not contracted by this rule. Only

the *short* अ consisting of *one* mātra, with *its* various modifications is to be taken here. In other words the *six* shorts अ are only taken here, namely अ, अ. अं, अँ, अँ, अँ, अँ ॥ For these six short open अs, there are substituted six contracted corresponding अ's See I. 1. 9.

॥ शुभं भवतु ॥

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