

BOOK VIII.

THE

ASITÁDHVÁYI OF PÁNINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,

BY

SRIŚA CIĀNDRA VASU, B. A.,

Provincial Civil Service, N. W. P.



MANAGER

PUBLISHED BY SINDHU CHĀRAN BOSE,

at the Panini Office,

1898

(All Rights Reserved)



TO

Hon'ble Sir John Edge, Rt. Q. C.,

LATE CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE NORTH WESTERN PROVINCES

THIS WORK

IS,

WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,

AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S

SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF ADMINISTRATION OF

JUSTICE AND OF EDUCATION

IN

THESE PROVINCES,

Dedicated

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT

THE TRANSLATOR.

ओ३म् ।

अथ अष्टमाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।

BOOK EIGHTH.

CHAPTER FIRST

सर्वस्य द्वे । १ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वस्य, द्वे ॥

वृत्तिः । सर्वस्येति च द्वे इति चैतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । इत उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्याम माक् पदस्येत्यत सर्वस्य द्वे भवत इत्येव तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

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

This is a *radhikāra sūtra* ‘Whatever will be taught hereafter upto पदस्य (VIII. 1. 16) exclusive there the phrase सर्वस्य द्वे should be supplied to complete the sense. Thus VIII. 1. 4 teaches “where 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 where 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 the rules like VI. 1. 99 and VI. 1. 100 will find no scope. The word *sarva* has several meanings: (1) the totality of *things* (द्रव्यः) as सर्वस्वं वृत्तिः, (2) the totality of *modes* (प्रकारः) सर्वान्निर्गोभिर्भुः = सर्वप्रकारमन्नं भक्षयति, (3) the totality of *members* (अवयव), as सर्वं पदोद्गमः । 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 *sthāna*, 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 द्विपदिकां ददाति, here also the sense is that of vīpsā, and there ought to have been doubling, before the affixing of the taddhita affix. So also in ग्रामे ग्रामे पानीयम् the sentence ग्रामे पानीयम् is not doubled, if we employ padasya. So the word padasya, should be employed in the sūtra. Moreover, it would prevent our employing the word padasya again in VIII. 1, 16.

Ans. We could not employ the word padasya in this sūtra, for then the rule would become very much restricted. Moreover in the above examples, there can be no doubling, for सप्तपर्णः means 'that whose every twig bears seven leaves पर्वणि पर्वणि सप्तपर्णानि अस्य', so that the sense of vīpsā is not here inherent in the word sapta or panna. 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 अपचति अपचति, for upasarga being considered as a separate pada, only पचति would be doubled, and अ would not. So also, we have two forms द्रोग्धा and द्रोढा. Here कृच् is added to the root द्रुह्, and ह् is optionally changed to घ by VIII. 2. 77, and in the other alternative there is ढ. As घ and ढ are both asiddha (VIII. 2. 1), the doubling would take place without making this घ or ढ substitution. So that having first doubled the word (something as द्रोहता द्रोहता) then optional घ 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 पूर्वत्रासिद्धीयम-द्विवचने (See VIII. 2. 3 last vārtika).

Or the word सर्व may be considered to be formed by अच् affix of अर्शः अयच्, meaning सर्व कार्यं यस्मिन्नस्ति सर्वं सव, तस्य द्वे भवतः That is all operations having been *first* performed, *then* the word is doubled; so that a word in its indicative state is not doubled

तस्य परमाग्रेडितम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, परम्, आग्रेडितम् ॥

वृत्तिः तस्य द्विरुक्तस्य यत्पर शब्दरूपं तदाग्रेडितसंज्ञं भवति ।

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

Thus in चैर चैर ३ वृषल वृषल ३ दस्यो ३ घातयिष्यामि स्वा, बन्धयिष्यामि स्वा, the second word being *āmredita* is *pluta*. The word आग्रेडित occurs in Sūtras VI 1. 99, VIII 1 57 VIII 2 95 VIII. 10 3 &c

The तस्य here denotes *avayava shashṭhi*: and the word पर 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 तद्वति यदाग्रेडितसंज्ञम् ॥

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

Thus भुङ्क्ते भुङ्क्ते ; पशून् पशून् ॥

That is all the vowels of the *āmredita* become *anudatta* or accentless. In the above examples, the root भृञ् becomes *ātmanepadi* by I 3 66 the Personal endings are *anudatta* by VI. 1 186; the vikarana शनच् gets the acute by III 1. 3; the अँ of this नै is elided by VI 4 111, and thus भूङ्क्ते becomes finally acute by *udatta nivṛtti-svara* (VI. 1 161). The *āmredita* bhunkte becomes wholly *anudatta*. The word पशु is formed by the affix क्तु 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' भुङ्क्ते भुङ्क्ते व्रजति or

भोजं भोजं व्रजति 'each one when he has eaten goes away' See III 4 22
 लुनीहि लुनीहित्येवायं लुनाति (Sec III 4 2) The affixes ktvā and namul 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 चङ् (Inten-
 sive) express this idea by the inherent force of the affix, without repetition.
 Thus पुन पुन 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 kr't words like भुक्त्वा and like भोज. Now for वीप्सा । In what
 words the वीप्सा is found? It is found in nouns (सुप् formed words). As finite
 verbs (तिङ्) express nitya so inflected nouns (सुप्) express vīpsā or a distri-
 butive sense. What is meant by the word vīpsā? It is the wish of the agent
 to pervade (vyāptum ichchhā) an object through and through with a certain
 quantity 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.
 This ग्रामो ग्रामो रमणीय 'every village is beautiful'. So also जनपदो जनपदो रमणीयः
 पुरुष पुरुषो निधनमुपेति ।

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 आक्यतरमाक्यतरमानय

परैर्वर्जने ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः, वर्जने ।

वृत्तिः ॥ परित्येतस्य वर्जनेर्थे हे 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 त्रिगर्तेभ्यो वृष्टो देव (I 4. 88 and II 3. 10) 'It rained round about
 (but with the exclusion of) Trigarta'. Similarly परि परि सौवीरेभ्यः, परि परि सर्वसंज्ञेभ्यः
 Why do we say when meaning exclusion? Observe ओदनं परिषिञ्चति ।

Vārt.—Optionally परि, meaning 'exclusion' is repeated when it occurs
 not in a compound, as परि परि त्रिगर्तेभ्यः or परि त्रिगर्तेभ्यः । In a compound, there
 is no repetition as, परित्रिगर्तं वृष्टो देवः, because the word परि has not the meaning
 of exclusion only here, in fact, the whole compound word denotes here the idea
 of exclusion, and not the word परि alone.

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र सम् उप उत इत्येतेषां पादपूरणे हे भवतो द्विवचनेन चेत्यादः पूर्यते ॥

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

As प्र प्रायमग्निभरतस्य शृण्वे (Rig VII 84), ससमिद्युवसे वृषन् (Rig X 191 1), उपोप मे परावृत्त (Rig I 126 7) किं नोदुह हर्षसे दातवाउ (Rig IV 21 9) Why do we say when 'a foot of a verse is completed there by? Observe प्रदेवं दद्या 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 भवत सामीप्ये विवक्षिते

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

The word sâmpīya means 'proximity' whether in time or space. As उपर्युपरि दु खम्, or उपर्युपरि ग्रामम्, अधोधि ग्रामम्, अधोधो नगरम् । Why do we say 'meaning near? Observe उपरि चन्द्रमा ॥ Why the word is not repeated here. उपरि शिरसो घट धारयति । The relation expressed here is not that of nearness, but that of above and below.

उपर्युपरि पश्यन्त सर्व एव वरिद्विति ।

अधोधो वर्शने कस्य माहमा नोपजायते ॥

Here the doubling is in the sense of vīpsā.

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

वृत्तिः एकार्थः पदसमूहो वाक्यम् । वाक्यादेरामन्त्रितस्य द्वे भवत असूया सम्मति कोप कुत्सन भर्त्सनेषु
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 : माणवर्का ३ माणवक औभिरूपका ३ अभिरूपक रिक्ता ते आभिरूप्यम् ॥ (2) praise माणवर्का ३ माणवक औभिरूपका ३ अभिरूपक शाभन खल्वसि (3) anger माणवर्का ३ माणवक औविनीतका ३ अविनीतक इदानी ज्ञात्यसि जालम् (4) blame — शैक्तिकं ३ शैक्तिके यष्टिके ३ यष्टिके रिक्ता ते शक्ति । (5) Threat धार चौरा ३ वृषल वृषला ३ घातयिष्यामि त्वा, बन्धयिष्यामि त्वा ॥ The first word becomes pluta as well as gets svarita accent, by VIII. 2 103, in the case of the first four; in the case of 'threat', the second word or the āmreḍita becomes pluta by VIII 2 95. Why do we say 'at the beginning of a sentence'? The Vocative in the middle or the end of a sentence is not to be repeated, as शोभन खल्वसि माणवकः । Why do we say of a Vocative? Observe उदारोदेवदत्तः ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning envy &c' Observe देवदत्त गामभ्याज शुक्लाम्

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

एकं बहुव्रीहिवत् । ६ ॥ पदानि । एकम्, बहुव्रीहि, वत् ।
वृत्ति । एक मिलितच्छब्दरूप द्विरुक्त बहुव्रीहिवत्त्वति ।

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 ऐकैकमक्षर पठति (not एकमक्षर), ऐकैकयाहुत्या जुहोति (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 ऐकैक 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 ऐकैक however is declined like a Pronoun, as ऐकैकस्मै. 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 anuvṛitti 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, सुसुजागर्ति ॥ 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 anudātta, The rule VI. 2. 1 however regulates the accent, in supersession of the other three (3) The third rule which does not apply to this Bahuvrīhi vat ऐकैक is the rule of samāsanta affixing. Thus ऋक् ऋक् पूः पूः (doubled by VIII. 1. 10) do not get the samāsanta affix अ by V. 4. 74.

आबाधेच ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, बाधे, च ॥

वृत्ति. ॥ आबाधनमाबाधः । पीडाप्रयोक्त धर्मः । तत्र वर्तमानस्य द्वे भवतः बहुव्रीहिवद्भास्य कार्यं भवति ॥

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

Thus गतं गतः 'gone, gone to my affliction', नष्टं नष्टः, पतितं पतितः, in the masculine, and गतगता, नष्टनष्टा, पतितपतिता in the Feminine, (not गतागता for the reasons given in the preceding aphorism). The accent is governed by VI. 2. 1.

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

वृत्तिः । इत उत्तरेषु द्विवचनेषु कर्मधारयवत्कार्यं भवतीत्येतद्वेदितव्यम् । कर्मधारयत्वे प्रयोजनं सुब्लोप-
पुवङ्गावान्तोदात्तत्वानि ।

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

The reason for making it a Karmadhâraya 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, चतुचतुः where the first member has lost the case affix पटुपटुी, चतुचतुी 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), पटुपटुः, पटुपटुी, the accent falls on the final, for the rule VI. 1. 223 was debarred by VIII. 1 3, but the present rule reinstates 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 uttaishu.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकारो भेदः सादृश्यं च । तदिह सादृश्यं प्रकारो गृह्यते । प्रकारे वर्तमानस्य गुणवचनस्य द्वे भवतः ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ आनुपूर्व्ये द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० स्वार्थे अवधार्यमाणेनेकस्मिन्ने भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० । चापले द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् । वा० ॥ क्रियासमभिहारे द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ।

वा० । आभीक्ष्ये द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् । वा० । डाचि द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ पूर्वप्रथमयोरर्थातिशयविवक्षायां द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ।

वा० । उत्तरद्वययोः समसप्रधारणयोः स्त्री निगदे भावे द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० । कर्मव्यतिहारे सर्वनाम्नो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् सामासवच्च बहुलम् ॥

वा० ॥ स्त्रीनपुंसकयोरुत्तरपदस्य चाभभावो 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 Karmadhâraya.

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', चतुचतुः "pretty soft", पण्डितपण्डितः, &c. The sense is that the attribute is not *fully* possessed by the person. The affix जातीयर् (V. 3. 69) also expressing प्रकार, is not debarred by this sūtra. Thus पटुजातीयः, चतुजातीयः ॥

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

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

Vart —A 1 adjective is repeated when denoting that persons or things possessing that attribute are to be taken in their due order. Thus मूले मूले स्थूला, अग्रे अग्रे सूक्ष्मा ज्येष्ठ ज्येष्ठ प्रवेशयः ॥

Vart.—A word denoting more than one is repeated without change of sense, when it denotes the limit or extent of the thing. Thus अस्मात् कार्षापणादिह भवद्भ्यां माषं माषं देहि 'give a māsha, a māsha out of this kārshāpana to you two': i. e. give only *two* masha one to each. A kārshāpana 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 माष 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, द्वौमाषौ देह, त्रीन् माषान् देहि. Here the word माष itself does not express limit, but the qualifying words एक, द्वौ, त्रीन् &c. Why do we say 'denoting more than one'? Observe अस्मात् कार्षापणादिह भवद्भ्यां माषमेकं देह ॥

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

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

Vart.—In iteration the word is doubled; as, भुक्ता भुक्ता 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 डच् follows; as, पटपटा करोति, पटपटायते ॥ 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 डच् denotes 'to plough', (V 4. 58). Because of this restriction, some read the vātika as, डचि 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 पच्यन्ते । The comparative and superlative affixes are not debarred hereby, as, पूर्वतरं पुष्यन्ति, प्रथमतरं पच्यन्ते ॥

Vart.—The words ending in the affixes डतर and डतम (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 उभाभिर्मायाक्यौ, कतरा कतरा अनयोरक्यता 'Both these are rich: let us ponder how much is their richness' सर्वे इमे आक्या, कतमा कतमा एषामा-

क्यना Th's is found in words other than those ending in तर and तम, as, उभावि-
मावाङ्मो किट्ठी किट्ठी अनयोराक्यता This is also found where the abstract noun
denoting condition (as आक्यता) is not in the feminine: as, उभाविमावाङ्मो, कतर क-
तरेऽनयोर्निभत्. "Both these are rich, let us see what is the 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 अन्यमन्यमिमे ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति
"these Brâhmanas 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 Siddhânta
Kaumudî — अन्योऽन्यौ, अन्याऽन्यान् अन्येऽन्येनकृतं अन्योऽन्यस्मैदत्त, अन्योऽन्येषां पुष्करैरामृशस्ते
(Mâgh) परस्परं ।

Vart.—In the feminine and neuter, the augment आम् is added option-
ally to the second term under the above circumstances, as, अन्योऽन्यमिमे ब्राह्मण्यौ
भोजयतः अन्योऽन्य भोजयत, इतरेतरां भोजयत, इतरेतर भोजयत अन्येऽन्यमिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः,
इतरेतरमिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयत, इतरेतरमिमे ब्राह्मणकुल भोजयत. ॥

अकृच्छ्रेप्रियसुखयोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-कृच्छ्रे, प्रिय, सुखयोः,

अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः । प्रिय सुख इत्येतयोरन्यतरस्यां द्वे भवतः अकृच्छ्रे चोत्थे ॥

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 सुखमुत्थेन ददाति or प्रियेण
ददाति, सुखेन ददाति = अतिप्रियमपि वस्त्व नायासेन ददाति । That is, he gives with
pleasure, without feeling it as a trouble. Why do we say 'when meaning
easily'? Observe प्रियः पुत्र "beloved son". सुखी रथः ॥

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

वृत्तिः । यो य आत्मा यद्यश्मीय तत्तद्यथास्व तास्मन् यथायथमिति निपात्यते यथाशब्दस्य द्विर्यचनं
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 ज्ञाता सर्वे पदार्था यथायथम् = यथास्वार्थम् "all ob-
jects have been known according to their respective nature" सर्वेषां तु यथायथम् =
यथास्मीयम् ।

छन्दं रहस्यमर्यादावचनव्युत्क्रमणयज्ञपात्रप्रयोगाभिव्यक्तिषु ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ।
छन्दम्, रहस्य, मर्यादा वचन, व्युत्क्रमण, यज्ञ पात्र प्रयोग, अभि व्यक्तिषु ॥

वृत्ति । द्वन्द्वमिति द्विशब्दस्य द्विवचन पूर्वपदस्याम्भाव अत्र चोत्तरपदस्य निपात्यते रहस्य मर्यादावचन व्युत्क्रमण यज्ञपात्र प्रयोग अभिव्यक्ति एतेषु अर्थेषु

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

The word द्वन्द्व is formed from द्वि by doubling it, changing the first द्वि into अम्, and the second द्वि into अ । The word द्वन्द्व itself means रहस्य or secret; while it marks 'limit' मर्यादा &c only secondarily, by context of the sentence. Thus द्वन्द्वं मन्त्रयन्ते 'they are consulting some secret' Limit or मर्यादावचन, as, अग्नितुरं होमे पशवो द्वन्द्वं मिथुनायन्ते माता पुत्रेण मिथुनं गच्छति, पौत्रेण तत्पुत्रेणापि ॥ (See Ma'tr. S I 7 3 Śāṅkh Br III 97) Separation of व्युत्क्रमण द्वन्द्वव्युत्क्रान्ता = द्विवर्गसम्बन्धन पृथगवस्थिताः Vyutkramana mea is bheda or separation, placing at a different place Employment with regard to a sacrificial vessel (यज्ञपात्रप्रयोग) as — द्वन्द्वं यज्ञपात्राणि प्रयुनक्ति गीर् (See I 3 64) अभिव्यक्ति or manifestation : as द्वन्द्वं नारदपर्वतो द्वन्द्वं सकर्षणं वासुदेवो = द्वावभ्यभिव्यक्तौ साहचर्येण ॥

The word द्वन्द्व is found employed in connection with other senses also; as, द्वन्द्वं युद्धं वर्तते द्वन्द्वानि सहस्रधीर, चार्थे द्वन्द्वः &c

पदस्य ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदस्य ॥

वृत्ति ॥ पदस्येत्ययमधिकार प्रागपदान्ताधिकारात् यद्वि त ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम' पदस्येत्येव तद्वद्वित्ययम् ॥

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

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

Why do we say 'of a Pada? Observe पचन्तौ, यजन्तौ where the त् thought 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 shashthī i. e. "in the room of the *whole* pada"; and sometimes as avayava shashthī i. e. "of a pada of the *portion* of a pada".

पदात् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदात् ॥

वृत्ति । पदादित्ययमधिकार प्रागपदान्ते च सुव्यगोत्रादित्येतस्माद्यद्वि त ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः पदादित्येव तद्वद्वित्ययम् ।

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 ānantita'. The phrase पदान् 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 anudātṭa. Thus पचसि देवदत्त "Cookest thou O Devadatta". Why do we say 'after a pada'? Observe देवदत्त पचसि । Here Devadatta is not anudātṭa (VI. 1. 198).

अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादौ ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि । अनुदात्तम्, सर्वम्, अ-पाद-आदौ ।
वृत्तिः अनुदात्तमिति च सर्वमिति च अपादादाविति च एतच्चयमधिकृतं वेदितव्यमापादपरिस्मात्ते रित
वनर यद्वक्ष्याम अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादावित्येव तद्वेदितव्यम् ।

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 anudātṭam 'unaccented', sarvam "the whole" and apādādau "not in the beginning of a Pāda of a verse", should be understood to exert a governing influence over all the subsequent sūtras of this chapter, upto its end. Whatever we shall teach 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 word of this sūtra should be read the c 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 पचास वृत्रहन् ॥

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

Similarly VIII. 1. 21, teaches "क्व and न् are the substitutes of युष्माक् अस्माक् in the plural". The present sūtra must be read there to complete the sense, viz, when not at the beginning of a verse. Thus ग्रामोक्त्वा स्वं जनपदो न स्वम् । But at the beginning of a hemistich, we must have the forms युष्माक and अस्माक instead of क्व and न् । As,

रुद्रो विश्वेश्वरो देवो युष्माकं कुलदेवता ।
स एव नाथो भगवानस्माकं शत्रुमर्दन ।

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

Q. Why do we employ the word सर्व 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 anudātṭa. For the word पदान् (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 अदेः परस्य । Therefore, by rule VIII 1 28 the word पचति, which is acutely accented on the *first* syllable, (because षप् and तिप् are anudāt a), will only lose its accent in देवदत्त पचति, but not so the verb करोति which is acutely accented in the middle (by the vikaraṇa accent) in देवदत्त करोति. But by force of the word सर्व करोति also loses its accent.

Q. This can not 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 अलोऽन्त्यादिधि ; for where the rule अदेः 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 देवदत्तयज्ञवल्क्यो कुरुते but not to देवदत्त करोति ।

Q. No, this can not be the reason of employing the word 'sarvam' in the sūtra, for the author indicates that the rule is not confined to the *final*, by the prohibition he makes in favor of लृट् in VIII 1 51, for there is no verb when conjugated in Lṛt, which has acute on the final. All Lṛt is acute in the middle by VI 1 186. So the अलोऽन्त्यादिधि 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 वयं and नैः are ordained as substitutes of yushmad and asmad by one sentence VIII. 1 20; while another sentence ordains their anudatta hood. So here there is separation of sentences (vākya-bheda) which is not desirable for a vākya bheda should be avoided, if possible. But by employing the word 'sarvam', this vākya-bheda is made tolerable.

Another reason for employing this word is that the substitutes वयं and नैः 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 वयं and नैः would have replaced only 'yushmad' and 'asmad' Obj. Will not the anuvṛtti of the word 'padasya', cause the *whole declined word* to be replaced by वयं and नैः, 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 पद is a technical term also, and applies to crude forms before certain case-affixes. Thus a nominal *stem* (not a *full* word) is also called Pada by I. 4. 17 before the nominal 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 सर्व not been used, then only "yushmad" and "asmad" will be replaced and not their case-affixes. Thus यामो वां दीयते जनपदो नौ दायते । Here वां and नौ would require after them the case affix भ्यां otherwise.

आमन्त्रितस्य च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमन्त्रितस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः आमन्त्रितस्य पदस्य पदात्परस्यापादादौ वर्तमानस्य सर्वस्यानुदात्ता भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् । समान वाक्ये निघात युष्मद् स्मदादेशा वक्तव्या ।

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 शुक्लरुत्त । 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: अद्य दण्डो, हरणेन । '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 danda because these are parts of two different sentences. ओदनं पच त्वं भविष्यति ओदनं पच मम भविष्यति, 'Cook the food it will be for thee, Cook the food it will be for me.' That is the rice cooked by thee, will do both for thyself and myself. Here the ते and मे substitutions have not taken place (VIII. 1. 22) for yushmad and asmad for the same reason.

Another example is, भवतीह विष्णुमित्रो, देवदत्तागच्छ । Vishnumitra is here. Come back Devadatta. Here Devadatta, though in the Vocative case does not lose its accent. Nor can you say that समर्थः पदविधिः will make this vartika 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 samātha, yet there is no nighāta. But the rule will apply here. इह देवदत्त माता ते कथयति । नद्यास्तिष्ठति (VIII. 1. 28) ब्रूलं शालीनां ते ओदनं दास्यामि ॥ In the last examples the Vocatives, the verbs and the substitutes of yushmad and asmad are not in syntactical construction with the words that immediately precede them, and yet the nighāta rule &c does apply: in spite 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 anghāta of Devadatta. Similarly नद्यास्तिष्ठति कूलं the word नद्या is not in construction with तिष्ठति but with कूल, i.e. नद्या कूलं तिष्ठति yet it causes the anghāta of तिष्ठति. Similarly शालीनां ओदनं ते दास्यामि Yet it causes the substitution of yushmad. Though the preceding words are not *samartha* with regard to the words that follow them, they cause the changes because the words are in the *same* sentence.

युष्मदस्मदोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्थयोर्वाजायौ । २० ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद्, अस्मदोः, षष्ठी, चतुर्थी, द्वितीयास्थयोः, वाम्, नावौ ॥

वृत्तिः । युष्मदस्मद् इत्येतयोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्थयोर्यथासंख्यं वान्नौ इत्येतावादेशौ भवतस्तौ चानुवाचौ ।

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

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

These two वाम् 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 युनाभ्यां कृतम्. The word स्थ in the sūtra indicates that the case affixes must be express and not understood, for the purposes of this substitution. Therefore, not here: वृत्तिः युष्मत्पुत्रः though here yushmat is preceded by a word in a sentence and is in the Genitive case yet the substitution (VIII. 1. 21) does not take place, because the case affix is elided.

बहुवचनस्य वस्वसौ ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुवचनस्य, वस्, नस् ॥

वृत्तिः । बहुवचनान्तयोर्युष्मदस्मदोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्थयोर्यथासंख्यं वस् नस् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

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

Thus मामो वस् स्वम्, जनपदो नस् स्वम्, मामो वस् दीयते, जनपदो नस् दीयते; मामो वस् पश्यति जनपदो नस् पश्यति ।

ते मे त्रेकवचनस्य २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ते, मयौ, एक, वचनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोः त्रेकवचनान्तयोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्थयोर्यथासंख्यं 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 anudatta).

Thus मामस्ते स्वम्, मामो मे स्वम्, 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 । एकवचनस्यात वर्तते । द्वितीयाया यदेकवचन तदन्तयोर्युष्मदस्मदार्थथासख्यत्वा मा इत्येतावा-
केशो भवत ॥

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

The word एकवचनस्य 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 एभिर्योगे युष्मदस्मदोर्वात्रावाक्यो 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 मामस्तव च स्वम्, मामो मम च स्वम् ॥

युवयोश्च स्वम् । आवयोश्च स्वम् । युष्माक च स्वम् । अस्माकं च स्वम् । 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 पश्यति युष्मांश्च पश्यति ।
अस्मांश्च पश्यति । वा । मामस्तव वा स्वम् मामो मम वा स्वम् युवयोर्वा स्वम् । आवयोर्वा स्वम् युष्माकं
वा स्वम् । अस्माकं वा स्वम् । 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 । अस्मान् वा पश्यति । ह । मामस्तव ह स्वम् मामो मम ह
स्वम् युवयोर्ह स्वम् आवयोर्ह स्वम् युष्माकं ह स्वम् अस्माकं ह स्वम् । 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 मामस्तवाह स्वम् । मामो ममाह स्वम् । युवयोरह स्वम् आवयोरह स्वम् युष्माकमह स्वम् । अस्माकं
मह स्वम् मामस्तुभ्यमह दीयते मामो मह्यमह दीयते युवाभ्यामह दीयते । आवाभ्यामह दीयते । युष्मभ्यमह
दीयते । अस्मभ्यमह दीयते मामस्त्वामह पश्यति मामो मामह पश्यति युवामह पश्यति आवामह
पश्यति युष्मानह पश्यति अस्मानह पश्यति एव मामस्तवेव स्वम् मामो ममेव स्वम् युवयोरेव स्वम् ।
आवयोरेव स्वम् युष्माकमेव स्वम् अस्माकमेव स्वम् । मामस्तुभ्यमेव दीयते मामो मह्यमेव दीयते युवा-
भ्यामेव दीयते आवाभ्यामेव दीयते । युष्मभ्यमेव दीयते । अस्मभ्यमेव दीयते मामस्त्वामेव पश्यति मामो
मामेव पश्यति युवामेव पश्यति आवामेव पश्यति युष्मानेव पश्यति । अस्मानेव पश्यति युक्तमहण
साक्षाद्योगप्रतिपत्त्यर्थम् युक्तयुक्ते प्रतिषेधो न भवति मामश्च ते स्वम् नगर च मे स्वम् ।

The word युक्त is employed in the sūtra to indicate direct conjunction. There is, therefore where the conjunction is not direct but intermediate the employment of the shorter forms । As मामश्च ते स्व, नगर च मे स्वम् ।

The particles च, वा, &c denote conjunction, separation 'without'

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

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

वृत्तिः पदार्था दर्शनार्था दर्शनं ज्ञानम् आलोचनं चक्षुर्विज्ञानम् तैः पदार्थैरनालोचने वर्तमानैर्युक्तं युष्मदस्मदोर्वात्रावाद्यो 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 पदार्था is equivalent to दर्शनार्था, 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 वां 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 ग्रामस्तव स्वं समीक्ष्यागतः, ग्रामो मम स्वं समीक्ष्यागतः; ग्रामस्तुभ्यं दीयमानं समीक्ष्यागतः, ग्रामो मह्यं दीयमानं समीक्ष्यागतः, ग्रामस्त्वां समीक्ष्यागतः, ग्रामो मा समीक्ष्यागतः ।

Why do we say when not meaning 'to look'? Observe ग्रामस्त्वा पश्यति, ग्रामो मा पश्यति

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ विद्यमानपूर्वप्रथमान्तत्पदादुत्तरयोर्युष्मदस्मदोर्विभाषा वान्नावाद्यो न भवन्ति ।

वार्तिकम् युष्मदस्मदोर्विभाषा अनन्वादेश इति वक्तव्यं

वा० सर्व एव वान्नावाद्योऽन्वादेश 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 ग्रामे कम्बलस्ते स्वम् ०। ग्रामे कम्बलस्तवस्वम् । ग्रामे कम्बलो मे स्वम् । ग्रामे कम्बलो मम स्वम् । ग्रामे कम्बलस्ते दीयते । ग्रामे कम्बलस्तुभ्यं दीयते । ग्रामे कम्बलो मे दीयते । ग्रामे कम्बलो मह्यं दीयते । ग्रामे छात्रास्त्वा पश्यन्ति । ग्रामे छात्रास्त्वां पश्यन्ति । ग्रामे छात्रा मा पश्यन्ति । ग्रामे 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 ग्रामे ते स्वम्, कम्बलो ग्रामे मे स्वम् ॥

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

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

Vārt:—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 the 1, when there is *anvādeśa* and not otherwise; thus अथो ग्रामे कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, or अथो ग्रामे कम्बलस्तव स्वम्, अथो ग्रामे कम्बलो मे स्वम्, or अथो ग्रामे कम्बलो मम स्वम्. In other words, according to this *vārtika*, rules 20, 21, 22 and 23 are all *optional* in *anvādeśa*, but *compulsory* where there 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.

तिङ्गो गोत्रादीनि कुत्सनाभीक्ष्णयोः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङ्गः, गोत्रादीनि, कुत्सन, आभीक्ष्णयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङ्गन्तात्पराणि गोत्रादीनि कुत्सने आभीक्ष्ण्ये चार्थे वर्त्तमानानि अनुज्ञातानि 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 गोत्र means ‘he proclaims his Gotra &c, so that he may get food &c’. पचति is from the root पचि व्यक्तिकरणे ‘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 ब्रुवम् पचति पचति ब्रुवम् ॥ The word ब्रुव is a noun derived from the root ब्रू by the affix कर्, the वच् substitution for ब्रू has not taken place, as an anomaly.

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

The word नाम optionally becomes *anudātta* in the alternative, it is first acute. Thus पचति नाम or पचति नाम ।

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

Why do we say 'Gotra and the rest'? Observe पचति पापम् Here पाप is an adverb.

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

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

तिङ्ङतिङः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङ्, अतिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः । तिङन्त पदमतिङन्तात्परात्परमनुदात्तं भवति

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

Thus देवदत्त पचति ॥ Why do we say "a finite verb"? Observe नीलमुत्पलम्, शुक्ल वस्त्रम् ।

Why do we say 'when the preceding word is not a finite verb'? Observe भवति पचति 'the act of cooking exists = पाक क्रिया भवति । Here the word भवति is a finite verb, therefore the verb pachati does not lose its accent. So also तरनिरिञ्ज जयति, क्षति, पुष्यति 'successful he conquers, rules, thrives' अस्मभ्यां जेवि र्योस्तिच 'for us conquer and fight'. The word अतिङ् is in one sense redundant, because in one simple sentence, two finite verbs cannot be employed; one sentence consists of one finite verb only. But the very fact of this sūtra indicates that the condition of समानवाक्य does not apply to this sūtra, so that the two words need not be portions of the same sentence, for the application of this nighāta as we have already explained in VIII. 1. 19. Other examples are अग्निमीडे पुरोहित (Rv. I. 1. 1) स इदमेवेपुं गच्छति (Rv. I. 1. 4), अग्ने सूपायनो ध्रुव (Rv. V. 1. 1) यजमानस्य पशून् पाहि ॥

न लुट् ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लुट् ॥

वृत्तिः । पूर्वोणातिप्रसक्ते प्रतिषेध आरभ्यते लुङन्तं तिङन्तं 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 इव कर्त्ता, इवः कर्त्तरै मत्सेन कर्त्तरै The Sāvadhātuka affixes ड, रै, रस्, are anudatta after the affix तासि by VI. 1. 186 the whole affix तासि becomes udatta (III. 1. 3) and where the द्वि portion of तासि i.e. the syllable आस्, is elided before the affix ड, there also the अ of डा becomes udatta, because the udatta has been elided. See VI. 1. 161.

निपातैर्यदिहन्तकुविज्ञेच्चण्कश्चित् यत्र युक्तम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ निपातैः, यद्, यदि, हन्त, कु वित्, नेत्, चेत्, चण्, कश्चित्, यत्र, युक्तम् ॥

वृत्ति निति वर्त्तते यत् यदि हन्त कुवित् नेत् चेत् चण् कश्चित् यत्र इत्येतानपौतयुक्तं तिङन्तं नातुदात्तं भवति ॥

30. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with the particles यत्, 'that', 'because', यदि, 'if', हन्त, 'also', 'O!', कुवित्, '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 कुवित् करोति, कुवित् पचति, नेत् जिह्मायन्त्यो नरकं पताम (Nir I 11), स चेद् भुङ्क्ते स चेद् अधीते । The particle चण् with the indicative ण् has the force of चेत् Thus अयं च मरिष्यति अयं च मरिष्यति । Other examples are त्वम् च सोम नो वैशो जीवातुम् न मरामहे 'if thou, Soṇa wilt us to live we shall not die औ च गच्छान् मित्रमेना दधाम " if he will come here, we will make friends with him ' इन्द्रश्च मृलयति न, नतः पश्चादप्य नशत् " If Indra makes us happy &c " This rule does not apply to the च which is a conjunction meaning 'and'. So also कश्चिद् भुङ्क्ते कश्चिद् अधीते, यत्र भुङ्क्ते, यत्राधीते ।

Why do we say "with particles ? Observe यत् कूजति शकटम् = गच्छत् कूजति शकटम् ॥ Here यत् is not a particle, but the Present Participle of the root गृण् 'to go'. It means गच्छत् 'the car creaks while going'. Rule VIII. 1. 28 applies here.

Q Now by the rule of 1ratipadokta &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 ? Answer 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 असम्भ्य, रास्व यावत् स्तोतृभ्यो अरवो गृणानाः = यावतोऽश्वात् प्रतीगृहणीयात् ।

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

Other examples are यं यज्ञं परिभूरसि (Rv. I. 1. 4) 'what offering thou protectest'. यत्र न पूर्वं पितरः परेयुः 'whither our fathers of old departed'. अद्या मुरीय यदि यातुधानो अस्मि 'let me die on the spot, if I am a sorcerer' हन्तेयान् पृथिवीम् विभ्रंजामहे " come on, let us share up this earth " ब्रह्मा चेन्द्रस्तम् अग्रहीत् 'if a Brahman has grasped her hand', नेत् त्वा तपति सूर्यो अर्चिणा 'that the sun may not burn thee with his beam इक्ष्वेभि कुविद् आगमत् 'will he come hither for our praises' (Whitney's Grammar, Para 595).

नह प्रत्यारम्भे ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नह, प्रत्यारम्भे ॥

वृत्ति । नह इत्येतेन युक्ते प्रत्यारम्भे तिङन्तं नातुदात्तं 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 *p atyārambha*. Thus A says to B "Eat this please". B rejects the offer repeatedly, in anger or jest. Then A in anger or jest says 'No, you will eat' as **नह भोक्ष्यसे**. Here **भोक्ष्यसे** retains its accent which is acute on the middle, for **से** becomes accentless as it follows **अदुपदेश** (VI 1 186), and **ह्य** becomes *udātta* by the *प्रत्ययस्वर* (III 1 3).

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

सत्यं प्रश्ने । ३२ ॥ पदानि । सत्यम्, प्रश्ने ॥

वृत्ति ॥ सत्यमित्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति प्रश्ने ।

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

Thus **सत्यं भोक्ष्यसे** 'Truly will you eat?' **सत्यमध्यैष्यसे** । Why do we say 'in questioning'? Observe **सत्यं वक्ष्यामि नानृतं** 'I shall tell the truth, not falsehood', **सत्यमिदं वा तं तु यमिन्द्र रतवाम**

अङ्गाप्रातिलोम्ये ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्ग, अप्रातिलोम्ये ॥

वृत्ति । अङ्ग इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तमप्रातिलोम्ये गम्यमाने नानुदात्तं भवति ।

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

Anything done to injure another is *pratiloma*, opposite of this is *apratiloma*, or friendliness. In fact, it is equal to *anuloma*. Thus **अङ्गं पच** 'yes you may cook' Here *anga* has the force of friendly permission. So also **अङ्गं पठ** । But when it has the force of *pratiloma*, we have **अङ्गं कूर्जो ३ वृष ४ ॥ इदानीं ज्ञास्यासि 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 ।

वृत्ति । हिइत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तमप्रातिलोम्ये नानुदात्तं भवति ।

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

Thus स हि कुर्वे सहि पंच सहि पंच । Why do we say 'in friendly assertion'? Observe स हि कृज दृषल । इदानीं ज्ञास्यासि जाल्म ।

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

वृत्ति । हि चतिवर्त्तत छन्दसि विषये हियुक्त तिङन्त 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 वदति पाप्मा एनं वि पुनाति. 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 Kaṣyapa the meaning of this sentence is अस्मिन् मत्तोऽनृतं वदति तस्मिन् नृतवत्तन दोषेण न युज्यते i.e. a drunkard does not incur the sin of telling a falsehood, because he is not in his senses. See Maitrī Saṁhitā I 11 6. As regards one verb in a correlated sentence retaining its accent and the other losing it, we have अग्निर्हि पूर्वमुर्वजयत् तमिन्द्रोऽनूवजयत् । 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 ह्यग्नेरजनिष्ट गर्भात् (or गर्भं), सा वा अपश्यज् जनितारमद्रे (Taittirīya Saṁhitā IV. 2 10, 4). The word अजनिष्ट is first acute, the augment अद् having the accent, while अपश्यत् is all anudātta.

यावद्यथाश्याम् ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावत्, यथाश्याम् ॥

वृत्ति ॥ यावद्यथा इत्येताभ्यां युक्त तिङन्त नानुदात्तं भवति ।

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

Thus यावद् भुङ्क्ते यथाभुङ्क्ते; यावदधीते यथाधीते, देवस्त पंचति यावत्, देवस्त पंचति यथा ॥ The meaning is that the verb retains its accent, even when यावत् and यथा follow after it. Another example is यथा चित् कण्वमावतम्. The word आवतम् is the Imperative (लोट्) Second Person Dual of the root अच् यावत् स्तोत्रंभ्योऽस्तेगुणानां ॥ The verb अरद् is Imperfect (लङ्) Second Person singular of the root रद् 'to scratch'. The accent, is on अ (the augment).

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

वृत्ति । यावद्यथा इत्येताभ्यां युक्त्यनन्तरं तिङन्त 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 's, the verb loses its accent and becomes anudatta. Thus यावत् प्रचति शोभनम्, यथा प्रचति शोभनम्, यावत् करोति चारु ॥

Why do we say when denoting 'praise? Observe यावद् भुङ्क्ते यथा भुङ्क्ते ।

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

उपसर्गव्यपेतं च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि । उपसर्ग, व्यपेतम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः । यावद्यथाभ्यां युक्त उपसर्गव्यपेतं च पूजाया विषये नानुदात्तं 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 प्रचति शोभनम्, यावत् प्रकरोति चारु यावत् प्रचति शोभनम् ।

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

तु पश्य पश्यतः पूजायाम् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तु, पश्य, पश्यतः, अहः, पूजायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः । तु पश्य पश्यतः अह इत्येतैर्युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति पूजायां विषये ॥

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

Thus माणवकस्तु भुङ्क्ते शोभनम्, पश्य माणवको भुङ्क्ते शोभनम्, पश्यत माणवको भुङ्क्ते शोभनम्, अह माणवको भुङ्क्ते शोभनम् । Why do we say 'when meaning praise'? Observe, पश्य मृगा भुङ्क्ते ।

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

Another example is आह स्तुधामनु पुनर्गर्भत्वमोक्षे ॥

अहो च ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अहो, च ॥

वृत्तिः । अहो इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति पूजायां विषये ॥

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

Thus अहो देवदत्तः पचति शोभनम्, अहो विष्णुमित्रं 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 नानुदात्तं 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 कदमहो करिष्यसि or कदमहो करिष्यसि ॥ This is a speech uttered in anger or envy and not in praise (असूया वचन) ॥ So also मम मेहमेव्यसि ।

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरा इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं परीप्सायामर्थे विभाषा नानुदात्तं 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 स्वर or 'quick'. Thus अधीष्ट्व माणवकं पुरा विद्योतते विशुत्, or पुरा स्तनयति स्तनयिषु । The word पुरा here expresses the future occurrence which is imminent or very near at hand. It is against the rule of Dharmaśāstras 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 ऊर्णया 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 नानुदात्तं भवति अनुज्ञैषणायां विषये ।

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

The word एषण means 'asking praying'. The word अनुज्ञा means 'permission'. The compound अनुज्ञैषणा means 'asking of permission'. Thus ननु करोमि भो, "may I do it, sir", ननु गच्छामि भो: '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 क्वं देवदत्त? ननु कगमि भा '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-पसर्गम्-अप्रतिषिद्धम् ॥

वृत्ति । किमित्येतत्क्रियाप्रश्ने यदा वर्तते तदनेन युक्तं तिङन्तमनुपसर्गमप्रतिषिद्धं नानुवाचं 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 देवदत्त पचति, आहो स्विद् भुङ्क्ते । किं देवदत्तः शेते, आहो स्विदधीते ॥ Here some say, that the first verb (पचति or शेते) being directly joined with किं retains its accent, whilst the second verb (भुङ्क्ते 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 भुङ्क्ते 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 ओदनं पचति आहोस्विच्छार्कः ।

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 आहोस्वित् 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 ॥

वृत्ति । किं लोपे क्रियाप्रश्ने तिङन्तमनुपसर्गमप्रतिषिद्धं विभाषा नानुवाचं 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 Pāṇini has taught it? When the sense is that of an interrogation, 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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ एहिमन्ये इत्यनेन युक्तं लृङ्गं 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 भुक्तः सोऽतिथिभिः ॥ एहि मन्ये रथेन यास्यसि, नहि यास्यसि, यातम् तेन पिता ॥ The word एहि is the Imperative second Person of the root इष् preceded by the preposition आङ् ॥

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

By sūtra VIII 1. 51, *in fin*, after the Imperative एहि which is a verb of 'motion' (गत्यर्थः), 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. 4 106, the verb मन् (मन्यते) takes the affix of the First Person instead of the second, when 'derision' is meant and not otherwise. When प्रहास is not intended, the proper personal affix of the Second Person is employed. The employment of the First Person ceases there also by this restrictive rule. Thus एहि मन्यसे ओदनं भोक्ष्ये ॥

The above counter example is given according to Kāśika, according to which एहि मन्ये इति उत्तमोपादानमतन्त्रम् । But according to Mahābhāṣya, the counter-example is एहि मन्ये रथेन यास्यसि । Here यास्यसि loses its accent. The meaning of the above is एवं रथेन यास्यसे इति अहं मन्ये एहि । According to Kaiyāta, this would be an example also under the rule, the First Person not being necessary:—एहि मन्यसे रथेन 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 जातु भीक्ष्यसे जातु अध्यय्यसे, जातु कारिष्यामि । Here से is anudatta by VI. 186, as it is an sârvadhâtuka affix coming after an अदुपदेश, the word जातु is first acute, as it is a Nipâta. Why do we say 'when not preceded by any other word'? Observe :—कदं जातु कारिष्यति ॥ The word कदं is end-acute as it is a किद् or noun.

किंवृत्तं च चिदुत्तरम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्वृत्तम्, च, चिदुत्तरम् ॥

वृत्ति । किमिवृत्तं किंवृत्तं किंवृत्तग्रहणेन तद्विभक्त्यन्तं प्रतीयाद्भुतरडतमौ च मत्तयौ तद्विभक्त्यन्तं चिदुत्तरं मविद्यमानपूर्वं यत्नेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नातुशक्तं भवति ॥

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

The word किम्वृत्त is a Genitive Tatpurusha meaning किमिवृत्तं ॥ The word किम्वृत्त means any form of किम् with its case affixes, as well as the forms of किम् when it takes the affixes डतर and डतम् ॥ Thus कश्चिद् भुङ्क्ते, कश्चिद् भोजयति, कश्चिद् अधीते, केनचिद् करोति, कस्मै चिद् वैयासि, कतरश्चित् करोति, कतमश्चिद् भुङ्क्ते ॥

Why do we say 'followed by चिद्'? Observe कौ भुङ्क्ते ॥

The word अपूर्वं 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 ॥

वृत्ति । निघातप्रतिषेधोनुवर्तते । अपूर्वमिति च ॥ आहो उताहो इत्येताभ्यामपूर्वाभ्यां युक्तमनन्तरं तिङन्तं नातुशक्तं भवति ॥

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

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

Thus आहो or उताहो भुङ्क्ते 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 देवदत्तः आहो or उताहो भुङ्क्ते ।

शेषे विभाषा ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, विभाषा ।

वृत्ति ॥ आहो उताहो इत्येताभ्यां युक्तं तिङन्तं नातुशक्तं शेषे विभाषा भवति ॥ कश्च शेषः यदन्यदनन्तरात् ॥

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 पंचति or पचति । उताहो देवदत्त पठति or पठति ।

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

वृत्तिः ॥ गतिना समानार्था गत्यर्थाः, गत्यर्थानां धातूनां लोट् गत्यर्थलोट्; तेन गत्यर्थलोटा युक्तं लृडन्त तिङन्तं नाबुदात्तं भवति, न चेत्कारक सर्वान्यद्भवति ।

यत्रैव कारके कर्त्तरि कर्मणि वा लोट् सत्रैव यदि लृडपि भवतीत्यर्थः । कर्तृकर्मणी एवात्र तिङन्तवाच्य कारकग्रहणेन गृह्यते न करणादि कारकान्तरम् ॥

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

Those verbs which have similar meaning with the word गति 'motion' are called गत्यर्थाः ॥ The Imperative of the गत्यर्थ verbal roots, is called गत्यर्थ लोट् । In connection with such an Imperative of verbs of 'motion', the First Future does not become anudātta 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, द्रक्ष्यस्येनम् 'Come O Devadatta to the village, thou shalt see it'. Here the subjects of both verbs आगच्छ and द्रक्ष्यसि are the same, and the objects of both verbs are also the same, namely ग्राम and एनम् । आ is a Preposition and is accented, गच्छ and देवदत्त both lose their accent by VIII 1 19 and 28, ग्राम is first acute being formed by the निच् affix मन् । 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 आह देवदत्त शालीन्, यज्ञदत्त एतान् भोक्ष्यते ॥ Here the subjects are different, but the objects are the same, namely शालीन् ॥ Similarly उह्यन्तां 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 पच देवदत्त भोदनं, भोक्ष्यसे एनम् ॥

Why do we say 'After the Imperative'? Observe आगच्छ देवदत्त ग्रामं, द्रक्ष्यस्येनम् । Here the Potential mood is used.

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

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

आगच्छ देवदत्त माम्, पिता ते ओदनं मोक्षयेत् । उद्यन्तां देवदत्तेन शालय सक्तवस्तेन प्रास्थन्ते । उद्यन्तां
is the Imperative of वह् 'to carry'

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

लोड् च ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोड्, च ॥

वृत्तिः । लोडन्तं तिङन्तं गत्यर्थलोदा युक्तं नानुदात्तं भवति, न चेत्कारकं सर्वान्यङ्गवति ॥

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

Thus आगच्छ देवदत्त माम् पश्य । आगच्छ विष्णुमित्र माम् शाधि । आगम्यता देवदत्तेन माम् दृश्यतां यज्ञवत्तेन ॥

But not here पश्य देवदत्तौदनं भुङ्क्ष्वेनम् because the first Imperative is not one of गत्यर्थ verb. Nor here, आगच्छेदेवदत्त माम् पश्येनम् because the first verb is not Imperative but Potential.

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

By the force of the anuvitti of सर्व the rule will apply to the following आगच्छ देवदत्त माम्, त्वं चाहं च पश्येयः ॥

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

विभाषितं सोपसर्गमनुत्तमम् । ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषितम्, सोपसर्गम्, अनुत्तमम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वं पूर्वमनुवर्त्तते ॥ प्राप्तविभाषेयं, लोडन्तं सोपसर्गमनुत्तमवर्जितं गत्यर्थलोदा युक्तं तिङन्तं विभाषितं नानुदात्तं भवति न चेत्कारकं सर्वान्यङ्गवति ॥

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 P.āpta-vibhāshā. Thus आगच्छ देवदत्त माम् प्रविश or प्रविशतु । आगच्छ देवदत्त माम् प्रशाधि or प्रशाधतु ॥ When the verb is accented, the upasarga loses its accent by VIII. I. 71

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

Why do we say अन् उत्तमं 'not a First Person? Observe आ गच्छानि देवदत्त, माम प्रविशानि ।

हन्त च ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन्त, च, ॥

वृत्ति ॥ पूर्व सर्वमनुवर्तते गत्यर्थलोपं वर्जयित्वा हन्त इत्यनेन युक्तं लोडन्तं सौपसर्गमुत्तमवर्जितं विभावितं नातुशक्तं 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 लोप &c, the whole of the preceding sūtra is understood here.

Thus हन्त मे विश ०१ प्रविश, हन्त मे शाधि or प्रशाधि ॥ But no option is allowed here हन्त कुर्व, as it is not preceded by a preposition. Here rule VIII. 1. 30, makes the accent compulsory after हन्त ॥ So also हन्त प्रभुर्न जावहे हन्त प्रभुर्न जावहे where the 1st Person is used, the verb retains its accent compulsorily by VIII 1. 30.

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ आम उत्तरमेकपदान्तरमामन्त्रितान्तमनन्तिके नातुशक्तं 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 देवदत्त ३, आम भो देवदत्ता ३ । The *nighāta* being hereby prohibited, the vocative gets accent on the first syllable by VI. 1. 198. In the second example, though भो itself is a Vocative, it is not considered to be non-existent by VIII. 1. 72, but becomes effective by virtue of VIII 1. 73, as it is in apposition with the Vocative that follows.

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

Why do we say एकान्तरम् 'separated only by one word'? Observe आम म पचसि देवदत्ता ३ ॥

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

Why do we say अनन्तिके 'not near'? See आम् पचसि देवदत्त ॥ Here some hold that अनन्तिक is equivalent to दूर 'far off'. Therefore, according to them, the prohibition applies to एकश्रुति as well as to निघात ॥ 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 as'ddha the pluta udātta of VIII 2 84, is not prohibited and so the last vowel is isolated.

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 plutodātta also should not be exhibited in the illustration; for the rule VIII. 2. 84, applies also to दूर Vocatives.

In the example आम् भो देवदत्त, the word आम् being a Nipāta is first acute; the word भो is a shortened form of भवत् (VIII.3 1. Vart) 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 एकश्रुतिपूरात्संबुद्धौ (I. 2 33) causing एकश्रुति or monotony; the other causing प्लुतोदात्तत्वं by पूराद्धूते च (VIII. 2. 84). The opinions referred to above, relate to this doubt.

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

वृत्ति' ॥ आमान्नितमित्येतस्वरितत्वान्नानुवर्त्तते ॥ तिङिति वर्त्ततएव । यत्परं हिपरं तुपरं च तिङन्तं छन्दसि नानुवर्त्तते भवति ।

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

The anuvṛitti of आमान्नितं should not be taken in this sūtra, but that of तिङ् । Thus with यत्पर we have:---गवां गोत्रमुदसजा यदाङ्गिरः ॥ The verb उदसृजः is the Imperfect (लङ्) 2nd person singular of सृज् of Tudādi class. With हि we have, इन्द्रो वा दुर्धनं हि (Rig Ved. I 2. 4) The verb उदसृजि is the Present (लङ्) Plural of वृश् 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 यत् would have retained its accent, so also in connection with हि by the sūtra VIII. 1. 34, and in connection with तु by VIII. 1. 39. the present sūtra is, therefore, a niyama rule. The verb retains its accent when these three Particles *only* follow and not any other. If any other Particle follows, the verb need not retain its accent. Thus जाये स्वा रोहवैहि । Here रोहव is the 1st Person Dual of the Imperative of रुह् (रुह् + णप् + वस् = रोह +

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

चनचिद्विचगोत्रादितद्धिताधेडितेष्वगतेः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चन, चित्, इव, गोत्र-
आदि, तद्धित, आधेडितेषु, अगतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चन चिद् इव गोत्रादि तद्धित आधेडित इत्येतेषु परतः अगतेरुत्तरं तिङन्तं नानुवाच 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, चिद्, इव, गोत्र &c, a Taddhita affix, or by its own doubled form.

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

With a Taddhita affix, देवदत्तः पचति कल्पम्, देवदत्तः पचति रूपम् ॥ The examples should be given with anudatta 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 पचातरेद्वय (V. 3 67).

With a doubled verb, as; देवदत्तः पचति पचति ॥

Why do we say 'when not preceded by a Participle called Gati'? Observe देवदत्तः पचति चन । The word गति in this sūtra as well as in सगतिरापि तिङ् (VIII. 1, 68) should be taken in its restricted sense, namely upasargas treated as Gati, and not the extended definition of Gati as given in I 4 6r. Therefore the verb retains its accent here: शुक्लीकरोति चन, यत् काष्ठं शुक्लीकरोति, यत् काष्ठं कृष्णीकरोति ॥

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

चादिषु च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि । च, आदिषु, च ।

वृत्तिः ॥ चादिषु च परतः तिङन्तमगतेः परं नानुवाचं भवति ॥

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

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

But when preceded by a gati, we have देवदत्तः प्र पचति च प्र खादति 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 चातुक्कृष्टमित्यत्र नानुवर्तते । च वा इत्येताभ्यां योगे प्रथमा तिङ्बिभक्तिर्नानुदात्ता भवति ॥

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

The anuvṛitti of अगते, which was drawn in the last sūtra, does not run into this. Thus गर्दभांश्च कर्लयति, वीणां च ब्राह्म्यति । गर्दभान् वा कर्लयति, वीणां वा ब्राह्म्यति ॥

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 तिङ्बिभक्तिर्नानुदात्ता भवति क्षियायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

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

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

Thus स्वयं ह स्येन रीति ३, उपाध्याय पदाति गमयति 'He himself goes on a car, while he causes his Preceptor to trudge behind on foot'. स्वयं ह ओदनं भुङ्क्ते ३, उपाध्यायं सक्नुन् 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 तिङ्बिभक्तिर्नानुदात्ता भवति विनियोगे गम्यमाने चशब्दात् 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 त्वं अहं मामं गच्छ, त्वं अहं शरण्यं गच्छ ॥ So also when क्षिया is meant,

as स्वयमह रथेन याति ३, उपाध्यायं पदाति गमयति स्वयमहौदन भुङ्क्ते ३, उपाध्याय सक्तुन् पाययति ॥ The prohibition of *ughāta* and prolation are as in the last aphorism.

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

वृत्तिः ॥ चलोपे अहलोपे च प्रथमा तिङ्बिभक्तिर्नानुदात्ता भवति एवेत्येतदेवधारणार्थं प्रयुज्यते ।

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

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

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

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

Why do we say अवधारणं 'when limitation is meant' ? See देवदत्तः केव भोक्षते, देवदत्तः केव प्राध्येष्यते । The word एव here has the sense of 'never' 'an impossibility'. The first sentence means न क्वचिद् भोक्षते क्व-एव=केव by पररूप (VI. 1. 94 Vārt).

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

वृत्तिः ॥ चाद्यो नचवाहद्वैयुक्तइति सूत्रनिर्दिष्टं गृह्यन्ते; तेषां लोपे प्रथमा तिङ्बिभक्तिर्नानुदात्ता भवति विभाषा ॥

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

Thus with च लोप.—शुक्ला ब्रीहयो भवन्ति or भवन्ति, श्वेता गा आज्याय तुहन्ति ॥ Here भवन्ति optionally may either lose or retain its accent. So also when वा is elided, as:—ब्रीहिभि र्यजेत or यजेतुं यवै र्यजेत । So also with the remaining.

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

वृत्तिः । वैवाव इत्येताभ्यां युक्ता प्रथमा तिङ्बिभक्तिर्विभाषा नानुदात्ता भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

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

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

वै has the force of स्फुट and क्षमा, and वाव that of प्रसिद्धि and स्फुट ।

एकान्याभ्यां समर्थाभ्याम् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक, अन्याभ्याम्, समर्थाभ्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एक अन्य इत्येताभ्यां समर्थाभ्यां युक्ता प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिर्विभाषा नानुशान्ता 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 प्रजामेका जिन्वति (or जिन्वति) ऊर्जमेकारक्षति । तयोरन्यः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वृत्ति (or वृत्ति), अनमन्नन्यो 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 ॥

यद्वृत्ताश्रित्यम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यत्, वृत्तात्, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमा छन्दसीति निवृत्त, निघातप्रतिषेध इत्येव ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ यथाकाम्ये 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 लृट् (VIII. 1. 29) is present here also. In what ever sentence the word यद् occurs, that is called यद्वृत्तं । The word वृत्तं denotes here the form of यद् in all its declensions with case affixes. According to Kāsikā, उत्तर and उत्तम are not included, according to Patanjali they should be included. See also the explanation of किवृत्तं in VIII. 1 48

Thus यो भुङ्क्ते यं भोजयति येन भुङ्क्ते यस्यै वशाति, यत् कामास्ते जुहुर्मः (Rig Veda X. 121. 10) यद्रघुर्वायुर्वीति (T. S. V. 5. 1. 1) यद् वायुः पवते । For the form यद्रघुर् see VI. 3. 92. Though the sūtra is in the Ablative (यद्वृत्तात्) and therefore requires that the verb should *im mediately* follow it, yet in यद्रघुर् वायु वीति, the intervention of वायु does not prevent the operation of this rule, according to the opinion of Pātan ali.

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ पूजनेभ्यः काष्ठादिभ्य उत्तरपदं पूजितमनुदात्तं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ मलोपश्च ॥

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

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

Thus काष्ठाध्यापकः, काष्ठाभिरूपकः, शरणाध्यापकः, शरणाभिरूपकः ।

अमातापुत्र । अमातापुत्राध्यापकः । अमातापुत्राभिरूपकः । अयुताध्यापकः । अयुताभिरूपकः । अद्भुत । अद्भुताध्यापकः । अनुक्त । अनुक्ताध्यापकः । भृश । भृशाध्यापकः । घोर । घोराध्यापकः । सुख । सुखाध्यापकः । परम । परमाध्यापकः । सु । स्वध्यापकः । अति । अत्यध्यापकः । द्यौ । द्यौरध्यापकः । द्यौरभिरूपकः । स्वध्यापकः । अपुत्र । अपुत्राध्यापकः । कल्याण । कल्याणाध्यापकः ।

Vārt:—The final *म्* should be elided in forming these words. The word शरणम् is an adverb, and therefore in the accusative case, like ग्रामं गतः ॥ In such a case, there can be no compounding, hence the elision of *म्* is taught. This is the opinion of Vārtika—kāra Kātyāyana. According to Kāśikā, there is compounding under मयूर व्यंसकादि rule, and so *म्* is elided by the general rule of samāsa. This becoming of अनुक्त 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 शरणमध्यापक &c. and there is no loss of accent also of the second word. By the Vārtika 'मलोपश्च', this further fact is also denoted, where the case-affix is not employed and so the *म्* is not heard, there the second member becomes anudâṭṭa. When there is no compounding, there is no elision of *म्* as शरणमधीते, शरणमध्यापकः ॥

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 निर्देशोऽपि नानन्तर्यमाश्रीयते "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 यद्वृत्तान् नित्यम्, in explaining forms like यद्वपुः वायुर्वति &c.

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

On this subject, the following extract from the Commentary on Siddhānta-Kaumudī, will give the view of later Grammarians:—The words काष्ठ &c, are all synonyms of 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.

Vārt.—The elision of *म्* should be mentioned दारुणम् + अध्यापकः, in making the compound of these two words the elision of the case affix, in this case *म्*, is natural. The *vārtika*, therefore, teaches nothing new, but only repeats this general rule in a particular form. This is the opinion of the authors of *Kāśikā*. But according to Kayyata, the commentator on the Great *Bhāṣya*, this aphorism is not a *saṁāsa* rule and the words दारुणम् &c. are adverbs not admitting of *saṁāsa*, 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 *Mayuravyansakādi* class. Haradatta also says, had this been intended to be a *saṁāsa* rule, the word समासे would have been used in the *sūtra* and this is valid. There is no *adhikāra* of *saṁāsa* here, that could have caused *saṁāsa* and in this view, the *vārtika* मलोपश्च also becomes effective. Had it been a *saṁāsa* rule, the *vārtika* would have been redundant.

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

सगतिरपि तिङ् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, गतिः, अपि, तिङ् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सगतिरपि पूजनेभ्यः काष्ठादिभ्यः पर पूजित तिङ्न्तमनुवाच भवति ॥

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

Whether a finite verb is compounded with a *gati* or stands single, both the compound and the simple verb lose their accent when it is qualified by the adverbs काष्ठ &c. Thus यत् काष्ठं प्रचक्षति यत् काष्ठं प्रपचक्षति ॥ By VIII 1 28, the finite verb would have lost its accent after the word काष्ठ, 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 शुक्ली करोति, यत् काष्ठं कृष्णी करोति ।

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ पदादिति निवृत्तम् ॥ सगतिरपि तिङ्गिति वर्त्तते ॥ कुत्सने च सुवन्ते गोत्रादिवर्जिते परतः सगतिरपि तिङ् अगतिरप्यनुवाचो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्रियाकुत्सने इति वक्तव्यम् । वार्त्तिकम् । पूतिश्च चानुबन्धो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ विभावितं चापि बह्वर्थमनुवाचं भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ।

Kārikā सुपि कुत्सने क्रियाया मलोप इष्टोऽ तिङ्गिति चोक्तार्थे ।

पूतिश्च चानुबन्धो विभावितं चापि बह्वर्थम् ॥

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

The anuvṛitti of पश्चात् (VIII 1. 17) ceases But the anuvṛitti of the last sūtra is current. Thus पृच्छति पूति, प्रपृच्छति पूति, पृच्छति मिथ्या, प्रपृच्छति मिथ्या ।

Why do we say कुत्सने '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 गोत्रम् &c. See पृच्छति गोत्रम्, 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 कुत्सन refers to the agent and not to the action. Thus पृच्छति पूतिर्देवदत्तः, प्रपृच्छति पूतिः ।

Vart: It should be stated that पूति has an indicatory च ॥ The effect of this is that the word पूति is finally acute, because of the indicatory च ॥ The word पूति is not a क्तिन् formed word, because it is not feminine, as we find it in sentences like पूतिरयम्, nor is it a word formed by क्तिच् affix, because this is not a संज्ञा word, therefore, it is a word without a derivation. Therefore by प्रातिपदिक स्वर (Phit 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 Unādi affix तिप् diversely (Un 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, ०ः पृच्छन्ति पूतिः, प्रपृच्छन्ति पूतिः ०ः प्रपृच्छन्ति पूतिः ॥

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

गतिर्गतौ ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ गतिः, गतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गतिर्गतौ परतोऽनुदात्तो भवति ।

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

Thus क्षेम्युद्धरति, सुहृत्सैनयति, अ भ्रुसंपर्यो हरति ॥ Why do we say गतिः "a Gati becomes &c"? Observe देवदत्तः प्रपृच्छति । Here देवदत्त is a Prātipadika and does not lose its accent Why do we say 'when followed by a Gati'? Observe अ मन्त्रैरिन्द्र हरिभि र्याहि मयूर रोमभिः ॥ Here आ is a Gati to the verb याहि, the complete verb is आयाहि ॥ 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.

तिङि चोदात्तवति ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङि, च, उदात्तवति ॥
 वृत्ति गतिरति वर्त्तते तिङन्ते उदात्तवति परनो गतिरनुदात्तो भवति ॥

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

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

Why have we used the word तिङि in the sūtra? In order to restrict the scope of the word उदात्तवति, so that a Gati would not become accentless before every udâtta word, but only before udâtta verbs. Thus अन् does not become anudâtta before मन्त्रे in अन् मन्त्रे रिन्द्र हरिभि र्वाहि ॥ 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 याहि and not to a noun like मन्त्रे, then also we say that the employment of the term तिङि is necessary, in order to indicate that the verb must be a finite verb, and not a verbal root. So that though a verbal root be udâtta, yet if in its conjugated form (तिङन्त) it is not udâtta the गति will not lose its accent. Thus in यत् प्र करोति, the root कृ is anudâtta, but the तिङन्त form करोति is udâtta, hence the rule will apply here: which would not have been the case had उदात्तवति not been qualified by तिङि ॥ For the maxim is यत्क्रियायुक्ताः प्रादयस् तेषां तं प्रति गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञे भवत ॥ Therefore in a तिङन्त the designation of गति is with regard to धातु or verbal root. Obj: If तिङि is used for this purpose, then the rule will not apply to an आम् ending forms, like प्र पचतितराम् and प्रपचतितमाम्, for these are not तिङन्त; but as a matter of fact, we find that प्र loses its accent, in these forms also. How is this explained? Ans Here there are two views some compound the Gati प्र with the completed आत्मन्त form पचतितराम् ॥ According to them, this प्र would get the accent, on the rule that an Indeclinable first member retains its accent (VI. 2. 2); so that even if the word तिङ् was not used in the sūtra, the form पचतितराम् being the second member of a compound, became anudâtta; and so प्र being followed by an anudâtta 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' (सन्तिशेष), and so प्र is anudâtta, not by this rule, but by अनुदात्तसर्वे पदमेकवर्जं ॥ 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 कृद्धि सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुद्धे: "It should be

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

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

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

वृत्ति । आमन्त्रितं पूर्वमविद्यमानवद्भवति, तस्मिन्सति यत्कार्यं 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 पद, would have caused under VIII. 1. 19. As देवदत्त ! ईशदत्त ! 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 पचाति ॥ (3) The substitution of the shorter forms of युष्मद् and अस्मद्, required by VIII. 1. 20-23 is prevented, as इवदत्त तव (not ते) माम् स्वम्, देवदत्त मम (not मे) माम् 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 अविद्यमानपूर्व and VIII. 1. 47 applies, as देवदत्त जातु पचाति ॥ (6) So also in the case of VIII. 1. 49, as आहो देवदत्त पचाति, उताहो देवदत्त पचाति, 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 देवदा* the vocative *भो* is considered as one word (*एकान्तर*) for the purposes of separating *आम्* from the vocative *देवदा* under VIII. 1. 55. This is the opinion of Patanjali, but the opinion of the author of Kāśikā is that *भो* would have been considered as *अविद्यमानवत्* but for VIII. 1. 73.

Why do we say 'a Vocative'? Observe *देवदाः पृच्छति* ॥ Why do we say पूर्व '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 *देवदा यज्ञदा*, the vocative *देवदा* gets its accent by VI. 1. 193 also. In fact, the word पूर्व 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 *देवदा पृच्छति*, Devadatta does get the accent of the vocative. In *इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति शतुद्रि* the first vocative *गङ्गे* is considered as non-existent with regard to *यमुने*, and, therefore, *यमुने* is considered as following immediately after the pada *मे* and thus *यमुने* becomes *anudatta*, not because of *गङ्गे*, but because of *मे*; similarly *सरस्वति* and *शतुद्रि* 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 गङ्गे यमुने, माणवकज्जदिल्लकाभ्यापक* ॥ The first vocative being considered as existing, second vocative loses its accent.

Why do we say 'the vocative subsequent'? Observe *देवदा पृच्छति* here the *verb* does not lose its accent. Why do we say 'standing in apposition or समानाधिकरणे? Observe *देवदा पण्डित यज्ञदा*, here the word *पण्डित* qualifies *यज्ञदा*, and is not in apposition with *देवदा*, 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 अङ्घ्र्ये देवि सरस्वति इडे काङ्घ्ये विहङ्घ्ये एतानि ते अङ्घ्र्ये 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 B1 is - इडे रत्नेऽदिते सरस्वति प्रिये प्रेयसि महि विश्रुते, एतानि ते अङ्घ्र्ये नामानि ॥ सामान्यवचनम् means 'a generic term. When the first is a generic term, and the second is a specific term, (विशेषवचन) qualifying the first, and both are in the singular number, there the present rule will apply.

विभाषितं विशेषवचने बहुवचनम् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि । विभाषितम्, विशेषवचने, बहुवचनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वोणाविद्यमानवत्त्वे प्रतिषिद्धे विकल्प उच्यते । विशेषवचने समानाधिकरणे आत्मन्वितान्ते परत पूर्वमात्मन्वितं 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 ईरण्याः or देवा इरण्याः । ब्राह्मणा वैद्याकरणाः or ब्राह्मणा वैद्याकरुणाः ॥

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 जटिलक No option is allowed here, and the preceding vocative is *always* considered as existent and so rule VIII. 1 73 applies

The sūtras 73 and 74 as enunciated by Pāṇini are: 73 नामन्विते समानाधिकरणे, 74. सामान्यवचनं 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 ॥

वृत्ति । पूर्वत्रासिद्धमित्यधिकार आ अध्यायपरिसमाप्ते यद्विज ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम' पूर्वत्रासिद्धमित्येवं तद्वे-
दितव्यम् । तत्र येयं सपादसप्तम्यानुक्रान्ता एतस्यामय पादोऽनो ऽध्यायो ऽसिद्धो भवति । इत उत्तर चोत्तरो-
त्तरो योग पूर्वत्रपूर्वत्रासिद्धो भवति असिद्धवद्भवति सिद्धकार्यं न कराति इति अर्थ तदेतदसिद्धवचनं
आदेशलक्षणप्रतिषेधार्थ उत्सर्गलक्षणभावार्थ 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 उत्तर, वा अत्र, वा आगत्य असा आदित्य । In all these, the elision of अ and इ 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 अमुष्मे, अमुष्मात्, अमुष्मिन् from अदृष्ट । Thus अदृष्ट+ङे = अदृ+ङे (VII, 2, 102 अ being substituted for the final स, which again merges in the

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

शुष्किका शुष्कजङ्घा च क्षामिमानोजडत्तया ।

मतेर्वस्वे भलां जग्त्स्व, सुडलिण्मान्निदर्शनम् ॥

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

(1) शुष्किका ॥ To the root शुष् we add the Nishthā 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 टाप् 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 for न, 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 मद्विकाकल्पा there being no pun-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 मतुप् to the Patronymic word क्षामि or to the noun क्षामिन् [क्षाम-स्यापत्यं = क्षामि or क्षामोऽस्यास्तीति = क्षामिन्] ॥ The word क्षाम is formed by adding the Nishthā 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 व, when मत् is added to a word having a penultimate म, as in क्षमीवान् ॥ Therefore we have क्षामिमान् and not क्षामिवान् ॥

(4) औजडत् । This is the Aorist third person singular of the Derivative root ओढि, from the Past-Participle of वह् ॥ Thus वह् + त = ऊढ (VI 1. 15). Add to it णिच् 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 ऋ (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 उढ + ढ = उ + ढ = ऊढ VI. 3 111) The elision of ढ before णि being considered sthānavat, we reduplicate हत; as ऊढतढ + चङ् + त् = ऊढतत् (VII. 4 60) = ऊढतत् (VII 4 62) = ऊजढत् (VIII 4 54). There is no ह added by VII 4 79, because of the prohibition of शनसलोपे of VII. 4 93. With the augment it becomes औजढत् ॥ The form औजितत् is from जढि ending in the affix क्तिन् ।

(5) गुडलिप्मान् । This is formed by adding मनुप् to the word गुडलिह्, which is formed by क्तिप् (गुड लेढि) Here also the म of मनुप् is not changed into व by VIII. 2 10, because the change of ह् to ढ् (VIII. 1 3), and again of ढ् to ङ् 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 कार्यकाल हि संज्ञा परिभाषम् 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 बह्वी स्थाने योगा, तस्मान्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य, तस्मादिति उत्तरस्य

But with regard to the paibhāṣā निमित्तिबेधे परं कार्यं, 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 विस्फोर्यम्, शवगोर्यम् formed by ण्यत् (III. 1. 124) the guna ordained by VII. 3 86 is not debarred by the हर्षि rule VIII.2. 77, because there is no conflict between guna-rule VII. 3 86 and the dīgha-rule VIII. 2 77, for the latter is simply non-existent with regard to the former

But though the विप्रतिबेध 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 होढः (VIII. 2. 31) is set aside by the apavāda rule हर्षेर्धातोर्ध्व (VIII 2. 32), and thus we have होग्धा, होग्धुम् (हुह् + तृच् = होघ् + तृच्) ।

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

वृत्तिः ॥ नलोपः पूर्वत्रासिद्धो भवति सुक्विधौ स्वरविधौ संज्ञाविधौ तुग्विधौ च कृति विधिशब्देन प्रत्येकमभिसम्बध्यमान स्वरसंज्ञातुकां विधेयत्वाच्चै कर्मषष्ठीयुक्तैर्भावसाधनोऽभिसम्बध्यते सुपा तु सबन्धसामान्यवचनषष्ठ्यन्तेन कर्मसाधनः । तेन सुपः स्थाने यो विधिः सुपि च परभूते सर्वोसौ सुक्विधिरिति सर्वत्रासिद्धत्वं 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 न् before a Krit affix.

The word विधि in the sūtra applies to all the four words preceding it: as सुबिधि, 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 सुबिधि 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) सुबिधि:—As राजभि, तक्षभि ॥ Here the elision of न् of राजन् and तक्षन् being asiddha, the भिस् is not changed to एस् by VII 1 9. So also राजभ्याम् तक्षभ्याम्, राजस्य तक्षस्य ॥ Here the finals of राज and तक्ष are not lengthened before भ्याम् by सुपिच (VII 3. 102) and not changed to ए before सु by (VII 3. 103) as in नराभ्याम् 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 न्वती । Similarly in पञ्चार्मम् and दशार्मम्, the elision of न् being asiddha, the first member does not become ādy-udātta by VI 2 90. Similarly पञ्चवीजी, 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 (Up I. 156). राजवती is formed by adding ङीप् to the मतुप् ending word, by IV. 1. 6. पञ्चार्मम् is a compound under rule II 1 50 of पञ्चन् । अर्म, 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 ब्राह्मण्य ॥ The elision of न् being asiddha, the words पञ्च and दश are still called shash though they no longer end in न् (ष्णान्ता षट् 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 ग्रहणानर्थक्यं च नन्निमित्तत्वाल्लोपस्य), because the elision of न् is caused by reason of its having such a designation (as षट्) Thus without its having the name of षट् there would be no elision of जस् and क्षस्, without such elision, there is no pada sañjña of these words, and unless these words got 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 दशन् ending in न् would require डीप् in the feminine, which is however prohibited, for when जस् and न् are elided the words end in ष and require टाप् for the 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 regards definitions (संज्ञा), the one is that a particular name is given to a thing once for all *prior* to any operations, and operations are performed afterwards upon it or with it, as occasions arise. This view is embodied in the maxim यथोद्देशं संज्ञापरिभाषम् 'Sanjñā and 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 enjoy certain operations". In the first view, the षट् sanjñā will be good throughout, both for the purposes of eliding जस् and शस् 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 जस् and शस्, 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) तुम्बिधि. Thus वृत्रहभ्यां वृत्रहभिः । On account of the elision of न् being asiddha, the तुक् augment is not added, though required by VI. 1. 71. (ह्रस्वस्य पिति कृति तुक्) ॥

Some hold that तुक् need not be read in the sūtra. They argue in this way—There is this maxim सन्निपात लक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य "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 वृत्रहन् 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 antaraṅga 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 Kit-affix? Observe वृत्रहच्छत्रम्, वृत्रहच्छाया ॥ 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 न् is considered asiddha only with regard to these four rules, and no other. It is not asiddha in राजीयते (राजन् + क्यच् + ते = राज + 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 । सुभावो नाभावे कर्त्तव्ये नासिद्धो भवति किं नहि सिद्ध एव ।

वार्त्तिकम् । एकादेशस्वरोन्तरङ्ग सिद्धो वक्तव्यः वा० । संयोगान्तरस्य लोपो रो रुत्वे सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० । सिज्जलोप एकादेशो सिद्धो वक्तव्यः

वा० । निष्ठादेश षत्वस्वरप्रत्ययविधीङ्गिधिषु सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० । प्लुतविकारस्तुग्विधौ छ सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० । इचुश्च धुटि सिद्धं वक्तव्यम् । वा० । अभ्यासजइत्वचत्वे एत्वतुकोः सिद्ध वक्तव्ये

वा० । द्विर्वचने परसवर्णत्व सिद्ध वक्तव्यम् ।

वा० । पदाधिकारश्चेत्त्ववधन्वनत्वस्त्वणत्वानुनासिकछत्वानि 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 मु is not considered unaffected when there is to be added ना । On the contrary, it is considered as siddha or existing. Thus मु being considered as siddha, अमु gets the designation of घि by I. 4 7, and as such, its Instrumental Singular is by VII 3 120, अमुना । Had the मु 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 मु being asiddha, अमु is considered to be as अम् ending in अ, and this अ would require lengthening by सुपि च VII 3. 102: but it is not done on the maxim सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विधायकस्य “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 उ of अमु remains short. Or this sūtra may be considered to be the condensation of two sūtras (1) मु is siddha when ना is to be added, (2) मु 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 यत् प्राप्नोति तस्मिन् कर्त्तव्ये सुभावो नासिद्धः “the मु 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 मु must be considered valid for the purposes of नाभाव itself. So मु being always siddha, ना is added. and there is no lengthening.

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

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

Thus (1) let us take अय् first वृक्षे is finally acute by Phit I 1. The locative of this is वृक्षे + डि (anudātta III 1 3) = वृक्षे (ए is udātta VIII. 2 5). Now combine वृक्षे + इवम् = वृक्षेय् + इवम् = वृक्षे इवम् । So also वृक्ष इवम् । The udātta ekādeśa ए must be considered as *siddha* so that the अय् substitute of ए should also become udātta (2) आयः As कुमारी इवम् ॥ Here also आ is udātta for similar reasons. कुमारी + डे = कुमारी + आ + ए (VII 3 112) = कुमार्य् + आ + ए = कुमार्य् + आ + ए (VI. 1 174) = कुमार्य् + ऐ (VI 2 90) = कुमारी (VIII. 2. 5). The ऐ is udātta and its आय् substitute will also be udātta. How do you give this example? This example is then valid when by VI 1. 174, first the affix आ is made udātta then this आ (आद् VII. 3 112) augment is added to डे, and then (आ + ए) there is viddhi ऐ; and then कुमार्य् + ऐ = कुमारी ॥ But if the order be reversed and आ + ए be first combined into ऐ and then this ऐ be made udātta by VI 1 174, then there would be no necessity of this vārtika for the purposes of आय् ॥ The word कुमारी is end acute by Phit accent (Phit I. 1). Add to it डीप् in the feminine (IV 1 20), as कुमारी + ड = कुमारी + डी (अ is elided by VI. 4 148) कुमारी + डी (VI 1. 161) कुमारी ॥

(3) आव् As वृक्षविषम् or वृक्षविषम्, for the same reasons as above [वृक्षे + औ (anudātta) = वृक्षौ VIII 2. 5, वृक्षौ + इवम्].

(4) एकादेश accent As गाङ्गेऽनूपे । Here गाङ्गे + इ = गाङ्गे । The word गाङ्ग is formed by अण् affix (गगाया इवम्) and is end acute. The ekādeśa ए is udātta by VIII. 2. 5. This udātta accent will remain valid so that when for ए + आ there is pūva rūpa-ekādeśa by VI 1 109, this ekādeśa ए will be udātta by VIII. 2 5, or it will be svanta by VIII. 2 6. The word अनूपे is a शक्ति compound, शक्ति + अनुगतं = अनूप ॥ 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) शतृ - accent. As तुर्वती, तुर्वते ॥ Here in तुर्व + श + शतृ the affix श is udātta, and शतृ is anudātta. The ekādeśa अ will be udātta by VIII. 2. 5. This ekādeśa - udātta should be considered valid for the purposes of the rule VI. 1. 173 by which the feminine affix and the weak case-ending are udātta. Thus 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 शतृ, because without this ekādeśa accent, there is no śatpi ending word with तुम् which is antodātta.

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

(7) सर्वानुशात्त accēt. 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 पचतीति where the word पचति 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 न 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

Vart. 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 उ ॥ What is the necessity of this vārtika? Observe हरिवो मेदिनं स्वा ॥ The word हरिव is formed by मनुष्य affix हरयोऽस्य सन्ति = हरि + मन् " Now by VIII 2. 15 the म is changed to व as हरि + वन् or हरिवत्, add सु (Voc.Sg) as हरिवत् + सु, then add तुम् 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 उ 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.

Vart. When ekādes'a is to be done, the elision of सिचि is to be considered siddha or valid. As अलावीत् and अपावीत् ॥ Here the सिचि 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 अलाव् + इ + सीत् = अलाव् + इ + 0 + ईत् = अलावीत् ।

Vart. 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) वृक्ण, वृक्णवान् ॥ The root is ओत्रञ्चु (VI. 11) the indicator 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:—ओत्रञ्चु + त = वृञ्चु + त (VI 1 16) = वृञ्चु + न (VIII. 2 45) = वृञ्चु + न (VIII. 2. 29) = वृञ्चु + न (VIII. 2 30) = वृक्ण. (VIII 4 1) The च् is changed to क् 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 ओत्रञ्चु 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 'nīpātana' under VIII. 2 55. It is the Past Participle of the root क्षीब्, thus evolved क्षीब् + इद् + त = क्षीब् + इ + त = क्षीब् + त (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 ह्यजनात् (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 क्षीबेत् तरति = क्षीबिक formed by छत् (IV. 4 7) which *affix* is added, because it is considered a word of *two* syllables, the elision of इत् being considered as valid for the purposes of IV. 4 7.

Similarly क्षीब् may be considered to have been formed by eliding the त्, as क्षीब् + त = क्षीब् + अ ॥ 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.

Vārt:—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 पदो 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.

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

Why is the root द्युतिर् considered to begin with द् and not with श् as we find it written? Because had it been a root beginning with श् originally, we could not get the form मधुक् which would have been मधुद् ॥ The form मधुक् is thus evolved. Thus मधु द्योतति = मधुद्युत् by adding क्विप् ॥ From मधुद्युत् we form a Derivative root in णिच् in the sense of मधुद्युत्तमाचष्टे = मधुद्व्ययति ॥ Add again क्विप् to this Derivative root मधुक्, the णिच् will be elided, and we have मधुद्व्य, then श् (which represents द्) is elided because it is at the beginning of a compound letter (VIII. 2. 29), and द् 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 मधुकृ ॥ Had the root been शकारादि then this श could not be elided and so we should elide only the final च् and श and the form would be मधुश् which would be changed to श् and then to ह् and we should get मधुह् which is not desired.

Vart:—The जश् and चर् 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 बभणतु and बभणु । Here the जश् change of भ, to ब in the reduplicate should be considered as valid, otherwise this would be अनदेशादि root and the Perfect would be भेणतु and भेणु ॥ Similarly from छिद् we have चिच्छित्सति, and from उच्छ, उचिच्छित्सति ॥ In the latter, the second syllable छिस् of उछिस् (Desiderative) is reduplicated by VI. 1. 2. Here had the reduplicate substitute च for छ been considered asiddha, there would not have been तुक् augment by छे च (VI. 1. 73)

Vart —The change of letter homogeneous with the subsequent is valid and siddha for the purposes of doubling As सद्यन्ता सव्यन्तरः, यल्लोकम्, तल्लोकम् ॥ In सद्यन्ता &c the य् 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 परसवर्ण change been asiddha, there would have been no doubling by VIII 4 47.

Vart:—If there be the adhikāra of the word 'pada' in those sūtras which ordain the following changes, then those changes are considered siddha for doubling, namely, 1 लृक् the change into ल (VIII. 2. 21), 2 हृक् the change into ह (VIII 2 31), 3 घृक् the change into घ (VIII.2.33), 4 नृक् the change into न (VIII. 2. 56), 5 रुक् the change to र (VIII. 2. 75), 6 षृक् the change to ष (VIII. 3 85), 7 णृक् the change to ण (VIII 4 11), 8. anusvāra change (VIII. 4 45), 9 छृक् the change to छ (VIII. 4 63).

As 1. गलो गल ; गलोगरः ॥ 2 द्रोग्धा द्रोग्धा । 3 द्रोढाद्रोढा ॥ 4 तुन्नो तुन्न or तुन्नो तुन्न ॥ 5. अभिनोऽभिनः or अभिनद् अभिनत् This is लङ् second person singular of भिद् the स् of सिप् is elided by VI. 1 68, and the final न् changed optionally to ह् by VIII. 2 74. The न् is the vikarana ञ् नम् ॥ 6 मातुः स्वसा मातुः स्वसा or मातुः स्वसा, मातुः स्वसा, 7. माषवापाणि माषवापाणि or माषवापानि माषवापानि । 8 वाङ् नयनम् वाङ् नयनम् or वाङ् नयनम् वाङ् नयनम् ॥ 9. वाक् च्छयनं वाक् च्छयनं or वाक् च्छयनं वाक् च्छयनं ॥

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

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

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

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

वृत्ति । उदात्तयण स्वरितयणश्च परस्यानुदात्तस्य स्वरित आदेशो भवति

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

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

Let us first take the vowel following an udatta यण. Thus कुमार्यै, कुमार्यै ॥ The word कुमार्यै is acutely accented on the final, because the long ई (ङीप्) replaces ई of कुमार (VI. 1. 161). The semi-vowel य् is substituted in the room of this acute ई, the anudatta ओ and अ. become svarita after such a य् ॥

Now to take an example of a svarita यण. The words सकृल्लिङ्ग and खल्लिङ्ग are finally acute by kṛit-accent (VI 2 139). The Locative singular of these words are खल्लिङ्ग + इ खल्लिङ्गि, and सकृल्लिङ्ग by VI. 4 83. This य् is a semi-vowel which comes in the room of the acute ऊ, therefore it is udatta यण. After this udatta यण the anudatta इ of the Locative becomes svarita by the first part of this sūtra. Now when खल्लिङ्गि + आशा and सकृल्लिङ्ग + आशा are combined by sandhi, this svarita इ is changed to य्; it is, therefore, a svarita यण. The unaccented आ will become svarita, after this svarita-यण. As खल्ल्याशा and सकृल्ल्याशा. The word आशा 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 खल्लिङ्गि is by this very sūtra this svarita is to be considered as asiddha for the purposes of यण ādeśa of VI 4 83. How can then the य् substituted for this इ be considered as svarita-यण?

Ans :—This is considered as siddha by Āśraya (‘आश्रयात् सिद्धत्वम्’) ॥

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

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

Vārt :—यणस्वरौ यणादेशो सिद्धो वक्तव्य । ‘The यण accent should be considered as valid, for the purposes of यण substitution’

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

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

The second proposal is not to read svarita into the sūtra at all. The svarita in सकृल्ल्याशा would then be explained by udātta yanah rule सकृल्ल् + इ + आशा = सकृल्ल् + इ + आशा । Here इ is udātta-yaṇ. This will cause आ to become svarita. The intervening svarita इ is considered as not existent for the purposes of accent स्वरविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवत् ॥ 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 बैरी + आशा = बैयाशा, so also शार्ङ्गस्याशा । Here the semi-vowel replaces an unaccented ई, and is अनुदात्त यण ॥ These words are first acute owing to नित् accent (IV. 1. 73).

Why do we say “an *unaccented* vowel becomes svarita”? Observe कुमार्धन्, किशोर्यन् ॥ The word औन् is acutely accented on the first by नित् accent. (VI. 1. 193).

एकादेश उदात्तेनोदात्तः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकादेशः, उदात्तेन, उदात्तः ॥

वृत्ति । उदात्तेन सहानुदात्तस्य य 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 udatta vowel remains as a single substitute, becomes udatta. Thus for the udatta इ of अग्नि and for the case-ending औ which is anudatta, there is always substituted long ई single by VI. 1. 102. This single substitute will be udatta according to the present sūtra, as अग्नी^३ । Similarly वा^३, वृक्षे^३, स्रक्षे^३ ॥

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

Other examples are कु बोऽश्वाः (Rig. V. 61. 2) and कुावरं मरुतः । The word वः is anudatta by VIII. 1. 21, read with VIII. 1. 18. The word अश्वाः is acutely accented on the first, as it is formed by adding कुन् to अश् (Up. I. 151). The स् of वस् is changed to र् (VIII. 2. 66), which is again changed to ष (VI. 1. 113). Thus बो ऽश्वाः । Here अ becomes pūrva rūpa by VI. 1. 109, which is udatta. कु is formed from कृष् by अत् affix (V. 3. 12 and VII. 2. 105) and is svarita (VI. 1. 185). The word अवरं is acutely accented on the first by the Phiṭ II. 6. The single long substitute is udatta.

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

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

This is सु + उत्थितः = सूत्थितः or सूत्थितः ; वि + ईक्षते = वीक्षते or वीक्षते ; वसुक् + असि = वसुकोऽसि or वसुकोऽसि । Here the word सु is a Karmapravachanīya by I. 4. 94, when it is compounded by प्रादिसमास with the Past Participle, the Avayavibhāva compound retains the accent of its first member (VI. 2. 2), and so it is acutely accented on the first, and the rest are anudatta. Thus the udatta ई of सु is compounded with the anudatta ए of उत्थितः which stands at the beginning of a Pada, and so the ekadeśa is optionally svarita. In वीक्षते and वसुकोऽसि also the verbs ईक्षते and असि lose all accent by VIII. 1. 28 and so ई and अ become anudatta, which when compounded with वि and वसुक् 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 udatta of the preceding sūtra would become optional when the second member is a word beginning with anudatta. Udatta being optional, in the other alternative, where there will not be udatta, the svarita will be substituted by reason of the nearness in position.

Why do we say "anudatta beginning"? Observe देवदत्तोऽत्र । Here अत्र begins with udatta and not anudatta, and hence no option is allowed.

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

According to Bhattoji Dikshita this is a vyavasthita-vibhāṣā, 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 एङ्परान्तात् अति (VI. 1. 109) There will be udatta where a long vowel comes in. Thus in वि + इवम् = विदेम् in वीदेः ज्योतिर्देवे, 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 तेऽवरन्, सोऽयमागात् So also where there is क्षेप्र सन्धिः i.e. the substitution of a semi-vowel in the room of an udatta or svarita vowel, as अभ्याभि । The above rules about svarita are thus summarised in the Prātisākhya's इकारयोश्च प्रश्लेषे क्षेप्राभिनिहतेषु च । But where a long ई is substituted as a single substitute for इ + ई (one of the इ's being long), there it must *always* be acute. As अस्य दलौको द्विवीयते (Rig 1. 190. 4). The words द्विवि + ईयते are compounded into द्विवीयते ॥ The word द्विवि Locative singular is finally acute by VI. 1. 171. ईयते 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 योऽन्यो नकारस्तस्य लोपो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अङ्गो नलोपप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The word दीर्घाहन् is a Bahuvrīhi (II. 2. 24), the Vocative affix is elided (VI. 1. 68) and the नृ changed to र् by VIII. 2. 68, and it is changed to उ (VI. 1. 114). In हे अहन् the नृ 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 नृ, and it is to be repeated as अहन् अहन्. The first one indicates the exact form showing that the नृ is not elided; and by the second word the ह is ordained for this final नृ ।

न डिस्वुद्धयोः । ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, डि, सम्बुद्धयोः ॥

वृत्ति ॥ द्वौ परतः संबुद्धौ च नकारलोपो न भवति ॥

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

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

This debar the elision of नृ, which otherwise would have taken place by the preceding sūtra. The examples of non-elision of नृ in the Locative singular are to be found in the Vedas. As परमे व्योमन् (Rig I. 164. 39), भार्गवे चर्मन्, लोहिते चर्मन् ॥ Here the sign of the Locative, namely, इ (डि) is elided by VII. 1. 39. In the Vocative Singular, the नृ 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 षद् 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 (jñâpaka), 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 (न) 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 अ by VI 4 134.

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

In हे राजवृन्धारक ! 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.

Vart. Optionally so in the neuter nouns. As हे चर्मन्, हे चर्म !

मातुपधायाश्च मतोर्धो ऽयवादिभ्यः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि । म, आत्, उपधायाः, च, मतो, धः, अ यवादिभ्यः ।

वृत्तिः । मकारान्ताद् मकारोपधावर्णान्तादवर्णोपधाच्चोत्तरस्य मतोर्व इत्ययमवशिषो भवति यवादिभ्यस्तु परतो न भवति ।

Q. For the म् of the affix मत् is substituted व, 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 म् or having म् as its penultimate letter, and after a stem ending in अ or आ, or having these letters as its penultimate, there is substituted व् for the म् of मत् । First after stems ending in म्, as किवत् (किवान्), शिवत् (शिवान्) Secondly म् penultimate as शमीवान्, शडिमीवान् । Thirdly a stem ending in अ or आ, as वृक्षवान्, लक्षवान्, खट्वावान्, मालावान् । Fourthly अ or आ in the penultimate as पयस्वान्, यशस्वान्, भास्वान् ।

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

The following is the list of यवादि words.

1 धन, 2 इत्ति 3. उर्मि 4 भूमि, 5 कृपि, 6 कुड्या 7. वशा 8 द्राक्षा 9. धाक्षा ॥
These words either end in म and अ or have these as their penultimate.
10 धजि, 11. ध्वजि 12 सज्जि These are exceptions to VIII 2. 15. 13 हेरिन्,
14 ककुत्, 15 गरुत् । These are exceptions to VIII 2 10. 16. इक्षु, 17 मधु, 18. द्रुम,
19 मण्ड, 20 धुम ॥ These are exceptions to VIII 2. 11

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

The word मान् in the sūtra is the Ablative of म, i. e. of म् + अ; it is a Sa-māhāra Dvandva of these two letters.

अथः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ अथः ॥

वृत्ति । अथन्तादुत्तरस्य मतोर्व इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

As अग्निचित्वान् ग्राम, उदिवत्त्वान् घोषः, विष्णुत्त्वान् बलाहक, इन्द्रो मरुत्वान्, दृषद्वान् देशः ।

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्ति । संज्ञायां विषये मतोर्व इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

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

As अहीवती, कपीवती, कक्षीवती, सुनीवती । For long vowel, see VI. 3 120.

आसन्दीवद् अष्टीवत् चक्रीवत् कक्षीवद् रुमण्वत् चर्मण्वती ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आसन्दीवत्, अष्टीवत्, चक्रीवत्, कक्षीवत्, रुमण्वत्, चर्मण्वती ।

वृत्ति । आसन्दीवद् अष्टीवत् चक्रीवत् कक्षीवद् रुमण्वत् चर्मण्वती इत्येतानि संज्ञायां निपात्यन्ते ॥

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

The change of म् 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 ग्राम, आसन्दीवद् अहिस्थलम् ॥ As in the following śloka .

आसन्दीवति धान्यावं रुक्मिणं हरितस्रजम् ।

अश्वं बबन्ध सारङ्गं देवेभ्यो जनमेजयः ॥

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

अस्थि which is changed to अष्ठी As अष्ठीवान् 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 सरोहविर्द्धानानि भवन्ति is a Vedic example. It means सारस्वते सरोहजङ्गमानि सरोहविर्द्धानानि न स्वेकत्रावस्थितानि, तानि तत्र तत्र कर्षणाय चक्रयुक्तानि भवन्ति ॥ 4. कक्षीवत् is from कक्ष्या there is vocalisation of य and the lengthening is by VI 4 2. कक्षीवान् is the name of a Rishi. Otherwise we have, कक्ष्यावान् ॥ 5 रुमण्क्त् is from लवण which is changed to रुमण् । Otherwise we have लवणवान् । Others say, that there is a distinct word रुमन्, and the न् is not elided, but changed to ण् ॥ Or that the affix मत् takes the augment नुद् ॥ 6. चर्मवती is from चर्मन्, there is non-elision of न् and its change to ण् ॥ Or मत् has taken नुद् augment. The Chaimanvati is the name of a river. Otherwise we have चर्मवती ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ उदन्वानित्युदकशब्दस्य मत्तादुद-मात्रो निपात्यते उदधावर्थे संज्ञायां विषये ॥

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

It is derived from उदक 'water' with the affix मत् ॥ 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 तदक &c. The affix क्ति 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 मत् is used here in the sense of प्रशसा or praise. Otherwise राजवान् ॥

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

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये इवर्णान्ताद्रेफान्ताच्चोत्तरस्य मतोर्वस्वं भवति ॥

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

To take some examples of a stem ending in इ, as त्रिवती याज्यनुवचया भवति; हरिवो मे वनं स्वा, अधिपति वती जुहोति; चतुरग्निवानिव; आरेतानेतु मा विशत् (आरेतान् from रयि with vocalisation) सारस्वतीवान्, भारतीवान्, वधीवांश्चरु ॥ As all rules have

optional force in the Chhandas, we have no change here सप्तर्षिमन्त्रम्, ऋषिमान्, ऋतीमान् सूर्यं ते यावापृथिवीमन्त्र ॥ Of stems ending in र we have भीर्वान्, धूवान्, आशीर्वान् ।

अनो तुद् । १६ । पदानि । अनः, तुद् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसीति वर्तते ऽनन्तादुत्तरस्य मतोर्नुडागमो भवति छन्दासि विषये ॥

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

As अक्षन्वन्त कर्णवन्त सखाय ; अस्थन्वन्त यदनस्था विभक्ति (R'g. I. 164 4), अक्षन्वता लाङ्गलेन ; शीर्षन्वती, मूर्द्धन्वती ।

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

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

नाद् घस्य ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नात्, घस्य ॥

वृत्तिः । नकारान्तादुत्तरस्य घसत्तकस्य नुडागमो भवति छन्दासि विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् । भूरिवाचस् तुद् वक्तव्य ॥ वा । रथिन ईकारान्तदेशो घ परत् ॥

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

The affixes तरप् and तमप् are called घ ॥ Thus सुपथिन् + तर = सुपथि + तर (VIII. 2. 7) = सुपथि । न्तर (VIII 2. 17) = सुपथित्तर । So also वृद्धन्तम् ।

Vart.—The augment तुद् is added to these affixes after भूरिवाचन्; as भूरिवाचन्तरः (III. 2 74, the affix is घनिप्).

Vart:—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 ekadeśa with the preceding इ into ई, and the form would always remain रथिईतर ॥ As रथीतर, and रथीतमं रथीनाम् ॥ Or this ई may be considered to have come after रथि in the sense of मतुप् ॥

कृपो रो लः ॥ १८ । पदानि ॥ कृप, रः, लः ॥

वृत्तिः कृपेर्द्धा रो रेफस्य लकारवेशो भवति

वार्त्तिकम् कृपणकृपाणकृपीडकर्पूरादयोपि कृपेरेव द्रष्टव्याः ॥

वा० ॥ बालमूललघुसुरालमङ्गुलीनां वा रो लमापद्यतइति 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 कृ ॥ So also with ल् ॥ So that for the single र there is substituted ल्; and for र when a portion of कृ the ल् is substituted, i. e. कृ becomes कृल् ॥ Thus कृप् = कृल्, as in the sūtra लुटि च कृल् (I. 3. 93). कल्पा, कल्पाय कल्पाः ॥ कृल्पा, कृल्पाय ॥

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

Vārt:—The words कृपण, कृपाण, कृपीड, कर्पूर &c, are also from कृप् ॥ Or by the Uṇādi diversity, the ल् change does not take place.

Vārt.—Optionally so of बाल &c. As, बालः or बार, मूलम् or मूरम्, लघु or रघु, असुरः or असुलः, बलम् or बरम्, अङ्गुलिः or अङ्गुरि ॥

Vārt: Optionally so in the Vedas, or when names, of कपिलका &c as कपिरकः or कपिलकः, तिल्पिलीकम् or तिल्पिरीकम्, लोमाणि or रोमाणि, पांशुरं or पांशुलं, कर्म or कल्म, शुक्रः or शुक्ल, कल्मषं कर्मष ।

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

उपसर्गस्यायतौ ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गस्य, अयतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयतौ परत उपसर्गस्य यो रेफस्तस्य लकार उ व ते भवति ॥

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

Thus पलायते, शायते । 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 पर + अयति, the letter अ and वा intervene respectively. The ekādeśa sandhi of these, will make र immediately followed by अयति, but the ekādeśa, being sthānivat will prevent it. This difficulty however, is overcome by the maxim येन नाव्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितेऽपि वचनप्रामाण्यात्, for otherwise the rule will be useless. For the same reasons, परि + अयते = परलयते, though here य् intervenes between र and अयते । In short, the intervention of one letter is considered as no intervention.

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

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

ग्रो यङि ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रः, यङि ॥

वृत्तिः । गृ इत्येतस्य धातो र्फस्य लकार आवेशो भवति यङि परतः ॥

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

Thus निजेगित्यते, निजेगित्येते, निजेगित्यन्ते ॥ The root गृ takes यङ्, when the sense of contempt is conveyed, with regard to the action denoted by the root, (III. 1. 24). गर्हितं गिरिति = जेगित्यते ॥

Some say that ग्र of the sūtra includes the two roots गृ (गिरति Tud. 117) and गृ (गृणाति K1y 28). Others hold that the Tudādi grī is only taken and not the K1yādi. The K1yādi grī never takes the Intensive form, no example of which is to be met in literature.

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

अचि विभाषा ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः । अजादौ परत्यये परतो यो र्फस्य विभाषा लकारावेशो भवति ॥

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

As निगिरति or निगिलति निगरणम् or निगलनम्, निगारक or निगालकः ।

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

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

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

The forms गिरौ, गिरः are either from the K1yādi root grī, or /-change has not taken place on the maxim धातोः स्वरूपमद्वये तत्प्रत्यये विज्ञानम् and as, the

affixes औ and अः 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 विषप् ।

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

वृत्तिः परि इत्येतस्य यो रेफस्तस्य घशब्दे ऽङ्कशब्दे च परतो विभाषा लकार आवेशो भवति ।
वर्त्तिकम् । योगं चेति वक्तव्यम् ।

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

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

Vart:—So also, it must be stated, before the word योगः । As, परियोगः or पलियोग ॥

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 ह् though subsequent in order, does not prevent the operation of this rule, because it is asiddha (VIII. 2. 66). Thus श्रेयस् + स् = श्रेयस् + स् (VII. 1 70), श्रेयन्स् (VI 1 68) = श्रेयन्स् (VIII 2 66) = श्रेयन् (VIII. 2. 23) = श्रेयान् (VI 4 8). But though the ह्त्व does not debar lopa, it debars the जश् change. By VIII. 2 39, the final स् is required to be changed to a letter of जश् class; ह् prevents it. As यशः, पयः ॥

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

In दध्यन्न and मध्यन्न formed from दधि + अन्न and मधु + अन्न, by changing ह् and उ to य् and व्, we have दध्य + अन्न and मध्य + अन्न, where य् and व् are final in a pada, and so they require to be elided. It is, however, not done, because यण 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 गोमन्तौ, गोमन्त ॥

रात्सस्य ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि । रात्, सस्य ॥

वृत्तिः सयोगान्तपदस्य 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 वास्ताः for अक्षार्स् and वास्तार्स् the Aorist of क्षर् 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 ऊर्क् from ऊर्क् + क्विप् (III. 2. 177), here क्व 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 अज् in लङ् 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 इ VIII. 4. 53 and finally to इ (चर्) ॥

धि च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ धि, च ॥

वृत्तिः । धकारादौ प्रत्यये परतः सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

Kāṇva धि सकारे सिञ्चो लोपश्चकाङ्क्षीति प्रयोजनम् ।
आशाध्वं तु कथं जशस्वं सकारस्य भविष्यति ॥
सर्वमेवं प्रसिद्धं स्याच्छ्रुतिश्चापि न विद्यते ।
लङ्भापि न मूर्धन्ये ग्रहणं सेटि दुष्यति ॥
घसिभसोर्न सिध्येत तस्मात्सिङ्ग्रहणं न तत् ।
छान्वसो वर्णलोपो वा यथेष्टकर्तारमभ्यरे ॥

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

As अलविध्वम्, अलविद्धम्, अपविध्वम्, अपविद्धम् for अलविस्ध्वम् and अपविस्ध्वम् ॥ Had this स् (of सिच्) not been elided; then स् would be first changed to ष, and then to a letter of जश् 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 ढ, as अलविद्धम् &c ॥

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

=पयो धावति । The elision of स् in सग्धि from घस् with क्तिन् and in बन्धाम् from भस् in the Imperative with ताम् is a Vedic diversity. But according to Patanjali चकाधि is the proper form, while in पयो धावति the antaanga रु debar the buhi-anga स् elision.

Obj—If so how do you form आशाध्वं, by the elision of स् of शास्; 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. आशाद्धम् 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 अच्योद्धम्, अलोद्धम्, will be evolved regularly by changing स् of सिच् to ष; and the ध after it will be changed to ढ, and then ष changed to ढ् by जश्त्व (VIII 4 53). Ans.—So far it will be all right, but in सेद् Aorist we shall never get the alternative forms अलविध्यम् &c, though we may get the form अलविद्धम् (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 सग्धि and बन्धा in the passages सग्धिश्च मे सपीतिश्च मे and बन्धां ते हरीधानाः । Therefore the present sūtra should not be confined to सिच् only. Ans—We shall explain सग्धि by saying, that it is a word derived from सघ, and so also बन्धा from the root बन्ध ।

[N.B. The word सग्धि is generally thus derived, भव-क्तिन्-घर्त्त-ति (II 4 39) = घस् + ति (VI. 4 100) = घ-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 हक्कर्त्तरिमध्वरे for निष्कर्त्तरिमध्वर; तुभ्येदमग्ने for तुभ्यमिदमग्ने; आम्बानां चरु for नाम्बानां चरु; अव्याधिनी रुगण or अव्याधिनी रुगणाः ॥

The above discussion is summarised in the following

Kāśikā.—धिसकारे सिचोलोपश्चकाद्धीति प्रयोजनम् 'This rule is confined to the elision of the स् of सिच् only, for the sake of preserving the स् in चकाद्धि'

आशाध्वं तु कथं? जश्त्व सकारस्य भाष्ययति "How then do you form आशाध्वं by the elision of स्? The स् is not elided but changed to a जश् letter".

सर्वमेवं प्रसिद्धं स्याच्च, छूति भाषि न विद्यते लुङ्भाषि न मूर्धन्ये महणं संदि द्रुष्यति । "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" घास भर्त्तान् सिध्येत, तस्मात् सिज् महणं न तत् । "The forms सग्धि and बन्धा could not be formed

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

छान्दसो वर्णलोपो वा यथेष्कत्तरिमध्वरे " 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 इष्कत्तरिमध्वरे instead of निष्कत्तरिमध्वरे ।

झलो झलि ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ झलो, झलि ॥

वृत्तिः । झल उत्तरस्य 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 अभिस्त for अभिस्त अभिस्था for अभिस्तथा ॥ So also अचिस्त, अचिस्तथा, अवात्ताम्, अवात्त । The last example may also be explained by VII 4. 49, the elision of the स of सिच् being considered as asiddha, the स् of the root is changed to त् ।

Why do we say 'of a *jhal* consonant'? Observe अमस्त and अमस्थाः ॥ Why do we say followed by a *jhal* consonant? Observe अभिस्ताताम्, अभिस्तत ॥

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

ह्रस्वादङ्गात् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वात्, अङ्गात् ॥

वृत्तिः । ह्रस्वान्ताङ्गादुत्तरस्य 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; अकृथाः ॥ Why do we say after a short vowel stem? Observe अच्योष्ट, अष्टोष्ट ॥ Why do we say 'after a stem'? Observe अकृथा, अलाविष्टाम्, अलाविष्टुः अपाविष्टाम् and अपाविष्टुः ॥ Why do we say "before an affix beginning with a *jhal*". Observe अकृषाताम्, अकृषत ॥

This lopa is also of the सिच्, therefore not here द्विष्टां, द्विष्टाम् ॥ Here to the word द्वि is added the affix सुच् (V. 4. 18), and then the comparative affixes तर and तम with आम् (V. 4. 11). This स् is not dropped.

इट् ईदि ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इट्, ईदि ॥

वृत्तिः । इट उत्तरस्य सकारस्य लोपो भवति ईदि परतः ॥

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

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

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

Why do we say 'after the augment इद्' ? Observe अकार्षीत्, अहाषीत् ।
Why when the augment ईद् follows ? Observe अलाविष्टाम् अलाविष् ।

स्कोः संयोगाद्योरन्ते च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्कोः, संयोग-आद्योः, अन्ते, च ॥

वृत्तिः पदस्यान्ते यः संयोग इति परतो वा संयोगस्तदाद्योः सकारककारयोर्लोपा भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ इति 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 Pada, or when followed by a jhal beginning affix, loses its स् or क् ॥ Thus from the root लङ् we have लग्न् and लग्नवान् before the jhal affix त् and त्वत्, the substitution of न् for त् is considered asiddha for this purpose (VIII 2. 1) So also साधुलक् at the end of a Pada. Similarly मग्न् मग्नवान्, साधुमक् from मङ्, So also with initial क् as तद् from तश्, so also तष्ट, तष्टवान्, काष्ठतद्.

Vart. — It should be rather stated that 'before a jhal affix included in the pratyahāra सङ्' ॥ The सङ् is a pratyāhāra formed with the स् of सन् (III.1.5) and the इ of महिङ् (III 4 78). It thus includes all the kjit 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

गिरौ भोधिर्द्विरां च दृषत्स्य काष्ठशक्स्थिरः । कुञ्ज्याधुर्येति मा स्मैषु सत्त्वादीनि भवार्थानि

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

In वास्यर्थम्, काक्यर्थम्, the स् and क् are not elided, because य् is a Bahir-anga substitute and asiddha, and the word वास्य काक्य are not considered as Pada, ending in a conjunct consonant

Why do we say "of स् and क्" ? Observe नर्नेत्ति, वर्धन्ति ।

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

Why do we say 'at the end of a word' ? Observe सञ्ज्ञिता, सक्षक ॥

चोः कुः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ चोः, कुः ॥

वृत्तिः । चवर्गस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति इति परतः पदान्ते च ॥

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

Thus पक्ता, पक्तुम्, पक्तव्यम् and ओदनपक् from पच् ॥ Similarly वक्ता, वक्तुम्, वक्तव्यम् and वाक्

In कुञ्चा the feminine in दाप् of कुञ्च् (कुङ्) by IV 1 4 list, the ञ् a palatal is followed by च् a jhal letter, and therefore, it should be changed to a guttural. It is not so, because Pānini himself uses this word, in this form, in sūtra III 2 59 Or because the rule is confined to सङ् affixes only. On the root is कुञ्च् without र् and with a penultimate न्, and not ञ् as we find in Dhātupātha कुञ्च् कोदित्याल्पी भावयो (Bhu 200) With the elision of न् we have निकुञ्चिति before the क्तिन् affix (VI 4 24) कुञ्चितः in Past Part. and अचोक्तुम् ॥ In निकुञ्चितम् we cannot have the optional कित् of the N shthā by I 2 21, because the elision of the penultimate न् by VI 4 24 preceded on the basis of the affix being कित्, thus कुञ्च् + क्त = कुञ्च् + त् । This elision of न् will not make the root उद्वपधा for the purposes of the application of rule I 2 21, on the maxim सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्त 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 उद्वपधा for the purposes of making the affix non कित् The affix क्तिन् takes the augment इद् under VII 2 9 (vāt) The word कुङ् is formed from this root by क्तिन् affix (III 2 59) the final च् is first elided by VIII 2 23, and then ञ् is changed to ङ् by VIII 2 62 The rule VI 4 24 thus finds no scope here

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

हो ढः । ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, ढः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हकारस्य ढकारादेशो भवति हलि परतः पदान्ते च ॥

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

Thus सोढा सोढुम् सोढव्यम् ॥ The इद् is not added by VII 2 48, जलाषाद्, तुराषाद् by ण्वि (III 2 63, VI 3 137 and VIII 3 56) वोढा, वोढुम्, वोढव्यं, प्रष्टवाद्, वित्यवाद् (III 2 64) from सङ् and वङ्, with the affixes वृ, तुम्, तित्य and ण्वि । For the न् of these affixes there is substituted घ by VIII 2 40, and this घ is changed to ढ by VIII 4 41, before which is dropped the first ह by VIII 3 13. For the ढ in प्रष्टवाद् either ङ् is substituted by VIII 2 39, or ङ् by VIII 4 56.

दादेर्धातोर्घः । ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द-आदेः, धातोः, घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दकारादेर्धातोर्हकारस्य घकारादेशो भवति हलि परतः पदान्ते ।

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

For the final ह् of a ह-beginning root, घ is substituted under similar circumstances. As दग्धा, दग्धुम् दग्धव्यम्, काष्ठधक्, शोग्धा, शोग्धुम्, शोग्धव्यम् गोष्ठुक्, from दृह् and दुह् । For the त् of the affixes तृ &c. घ is substituted by VIII. 2. 30, before which, the घ becomes ग by VIII. 4. 53. For the घ in काष्ठधक्'s substituted ग by VIII. 2. 39 or क् by VIII. 4. 56 and ह becomes ध by VIII. 2. 37.

Why do we say "of a root beginning with ह"? Observe लडा, लडुम्, लिढव्यम्, रुडेलिद् ॥

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

If it has the force of denoting a 'portion or member, how do you explain the forms शोग्धा शोग्धुम्, 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 ह in its original enunciation in Dhātupāṭha'. Thus in original enunciation the root is लिह् not beginning with ह । If a Derivative root be formed from it like वामलिह्य (वामलिहमिच्छति = वामलिहति), it is a root which begins with ह, the ह of this Derivative root, however, will not be changed to घ, for it is not a root of उपदेशः. Therefore, when we add विशप् to this root, we get वामलिद् by VIII. 2. 31, and not वामलिक् ।

वा दृहमुहष्णुहणिहाम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, दृह, मुह, णुह, णिहाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अह दृह णुह णिह इत्येतेषां धातूनां हकारस्य वा घकारदेशो भवति क्षलि परतः पशन्ते च ॥

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

Thus दृह, श्रोता ०। श्रोग्धा, मिषधुक्, मिषधुद् दृह, उन्मोग्धा, उन्मोढा, उन्मुक् उन्मुद्, दृह, उत्मोग्धा, उत्मोढा, उत्स्तुक्, उत्स्तुद्, लिह, शोग्धा शोढा, लिक्, लिद् ॥

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

These roots belong to Radhādi sub-class of Divādi gana 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 वाङ्महादीनाम्, this longer formation of the aphorism indicates that the rule applies to यङ्ङुक् also; as वेधुक् or वेधुद् ॥ See VII. 1. 6, for if the roots were taught not specifically but by गण, then the rule would not apply to याङ्ङुक्.

नहो धः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नहः, धः ।

वृत्तिः । नहो हकारस्य धकारादेशो भवति झलि परे पदान्ते च ॥

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

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

आहस्थः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि । आहः, थः ॥

वृत्तिः । आहो हकारस्य थकारादेशो भवति झलि परतः ।

वार्तिकम् । ह्रस्वो भेदछन्दसि हस्येति वक्तव्यम् ।

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

As ह्रस्वान्थ किमाथ ॥ The word आथ् becomes आस्थ by VIII. 4 55. Why has the last mentioned substitute ध not been ordained here, for this ध would also have given the form आस्थ by चर change, as the थ is also changed to त् and by so doing there would have been only one sūtra, instead of two i.e. 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 त् substitute, however, would have been the best.

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

Vart:— In the Chhandas, भ is substituted for the ह् of ह् and ग्रह ॥ Thus गर्वभेन सेभरति; मरुदस्य भृग्नाति सामिधेन्यो नभिरे, उदयामञ्च निग्रामञ्च ब्रह्म देवा वयवीवृधन् ॥

ब्रश्च, भ्रस्ज, सृज, मृज, यज, राज, भ्राज, छ, शाम्, षः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रश्च, भ्रस्ज, सृज, मृज, यज, राज, भ्राज, छ, शाम्, षः ॥

वृत्तिः । व्रश्च भ्रस्ज सृज यज राज धाज इत्येतेषां छकारान्तानां शकारान्तानां च षकार भावेशो भवति क्षलि परतः पदान्ते च ॥

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

Thus व्रश्चः—व्रष्टा, व्रष्टुम्, व्रष्टव्यम्, मूलवृद् ॥ भ्रष्टा । भ्रष्टुम् । भ्रष्टव्यम् । धानाभृद् । सृज् । सृष्टा । सृष्टुम् । सृष्टव्यम् । रज्जुसृद् । यज । यष्टा । यष्टुम् । यष्टव्यम् । उपयद् । राज । सम्राद् । स्वराद्, विराद्, विभ्राद् । The श ending words would have been changed to जश्-letters and the others to Gutturals; this sūtra debars that by ordaining ष । In मूलवृद् and धानाभृद् there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 16, the स् is elided by VIII. 2. 19, and ष becomes जश् letter ङ्, which becomes द् by VIII. 4. 56. The word शब्दमाद् is formed by विवप्, there is lengthening and no vocalisation.

The roots राज् and धाज् 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 राष्टिः, भ्राष्टिः with क्तिन् affix from these roots by III. 3. 94, vāt, and इद् augment is prevented by VII. 2. 9.

Of roots ending in छ we have मच्छ —मष्टा मष्टुम्, 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 श, and this श will be changed to ष by the present sūtra. Others hold, that the change of छ to श by VI. 4. 19 is confined before क्तिन् or डिन् affixes, and therefore the mention of छ is necessary in this sūtra; moreover the ष substitution here, and the श substitution in VI. 4. 19 refer to the conjunct letter च्छ (with the augment तुक्). For if it were not so, then छ alone being changed to श, the त् of तुक् would be changed to द्, and we should have पृद्ष्टः instead of पृष्टः ।

Of roots ending in श् we have लिशः—लेष्टा, लेष्टुम्, लेष्टव्यम्, लिद्; विशः—वेष्टा, वेष्टुम्, वेष्टव्यम्, विद् ।

एकाचो बशो भष् क्षणन्तस्य सध्वोः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक-अचः, बशः, भष्, क्षण-अन्तस्य, स्, ध्वोः ॥

वृत्तिः । धातोरेवयवो य एकाच् क्षणन्त तदवयवस्य बशः स्थाने भष् भावेशो भवति क्षलि सकारे ध्वसंक्षेपे परतः पदान्ते च ॥

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

Thus from बुध्—भोत्स्यन्ते, अभुध्वम् and अर्थभुत्, from सुह्—नि घोक्षयते न्यसुध्वम्, पर्णसुह् ॥ 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) धोक्ष्यते अदुग्धम् गोधुक् ।

So also from गृध् we have अजर्घा the 2nd Person Sing Imperfect (लङ्) Intensive (yan luk) There is guna of ऋ the स् (of सिप् 2nd Pers Sing) is elided (VI 1 68) and we have अजर्घर्, and for the letter ग of the monosyllabic root, घ is substituted by the present aphorism अजर्घर् । Then the final ध् is changed to द्, अजर्घर्द् (VIII 2 39) Then द् is changed to र् by VIII 2. 75 अजर्घर् । Then the first र् is elided अजर्घर् (VIII 3. 14). Then there is lengthening by VI 3 1 1, and we have अजर्घा ।

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

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

Why do we say 'for a बश् letter'? Observe कुध्—कोस्यति here क is not changed to घ Why do we say ending in jhash? Observe वास्यति । Why before स and ध्व ? Observe बोद्धा, बोद्धुम्, बोद्धव्यम् ।

Why have we taken ध्व and not merely ध? Observe वास्यति from वध् in the वङ् लुक् Imperative 2nd Pers singular, the ह् being changed to धि (VI. 4 101). The substitutes are four भ, घ ङ and ध, and their respective sthāni is also four, i. e. ब, ग, ङ and द; so that ङ is the substitute of ङ, but, as a matter of fact, ङ never so stands at the beginning of a monosyllable, and so there is no ङ substitution

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

वृत्तिः ॥ दध इति दधातिः कृतद्विवचनो निर्दिश्यते । तस्य ह्रस्वन्तस्य बशः स्थाने भष् आदेशो भवति तकार-यकारयोः परतन्त्रकारात् स्थोश्च 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 ध्वम् ॥

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

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

The word झलि is understood here, and so also झषन्तस्य; and there can be no affix, but begins with त or थ, that can come after दध् ॥ Why do we employ then the words 'before त and थ'? Had we not used these, the sūtra would have referred to त and थ only, as being in immediate proximity, and the च draws them in. According to Padamanjari the words तथोश्च could have been dispensed with: for before द् and थ, the ध 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 दध् are त or थ beginning affixes.

The word jhash is understood here also, therefore the rule applies to दध् then only, when it assumes the form of दध्, by the elision of अ; and hence not here दधाति ॥

झलां जशान्ते ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ झलां, जशः, अन्ते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झलां जश आदेशो भवन्ति पदस्यान्ते वर्त्तमानानाम् ॥

39. A corresponding ज्ञ, ञ, ण, ङ or द् is substituted for all consonants (with the exception of semivowels and nasals) at the end of a word.

As धाग् भञ्ज, श्लिङ्ग भञ्ज, अग्निचिद् भञ्ज, विदुश् भञ्ज ॥ The word श्लिङ्ग is formed by changing the ह् of लिङ्ग to ङ first, and then changing this ङ to ङ, a jaś-letter.

The word भन्त 'at the end' is used in the sūtra to indicate that the anuvṛtṭi 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 च्च consonant may be substituted for a झल् by VIII. 4. 56.

झपस्तथोर्द्धोऽधः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ झषः, त-थोः, धः, अधः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ झष उत्तरयोस्तकारयकारयो स्थाने धकार आदेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus from लभ् we have लब्धा, लब्धुम्, लब्धव्यम्, अलब्ध अलब्धा ॥

The भ् of लभ् is changed to ञ by VIII. 4. 53. From वुह् — वोग्धा, वोग्धुम्, वोग्धव्यम्, अवुग्ध, अवुग्धा ॥ The ह् is changed to घ by VIII. 2. 32, and then it is changed to ग by VIII. 4. 53.

From लिङ्.—लेडा, लेढुम्, लेढव्यम्, अलीढ, अलीढाः ॥ In लेङ्धु &c, the ह् is changed to ढ by VIII 2 31 and ध changed to ढ by VIII 4. 41, before which the preceding ढ is elided by VIII 3. 13

From बुध्.—बाद्धा, बीद्धुम्, बीद्धव्यम्, अबुद्ध, अबुद्धाः ॥ For the ध of बुध् there is substituted ढ by VIII. 4. 53

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारढकारयोः ककारदेशो भवति सकारे परतः ॥

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

Thus for ष of विष् we have विवेक्ष्यते, अवेक्ष्यत्, विविक्षति ॥ For ढ of लिङ् (लिङ् VIII. 2. 31) we have लेक्ष्यति अलेक्ष्यत्, लिलिक्षति ॥

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

Why do we say "before स"? Observe पितृष्टि, लेढि ।

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

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकार आदेशो भवति । पूर्वस्य चकारस्य ॥

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, विक्षीर्णम्, निगीर्णम्, अवगूर्णम् ॥

After द्ः—भिन्न, भिन्नवान्, छिन्न, 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 क also, but the consonant र । But even if र be taken a common sound-name including र् and क, yet the न् change does not take place in कृत &c, because between त्त and the र्-sound, there intervenes vowel sound इ, for क 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 Nishthā does not follow *immediately* after र, the augment इद् intervenes.

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

In the word कर्त्ता, the descendant of कृत the त्त of Nishthā is immediately preceded by र्, but no change has taken place, because the Viddhi, 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 ॥ संयोगादियौ धातुराकारान्तो यण्वान् तस्मादुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus from द्रा we have प्रद्राण, प्रद्राणवान् ग्लानः, ग्लानवान् from ग्ला । These roots द्रा and ग्ला end in आ, have a conjunct consonant in the beginning, one of which is a semi-vowel र and ल ॥

Why do we say "beginning with a double-consonant"? Observe यात, यातवान् ॥

Why do we say "ending in आ"? Observe द्युत, द्युतवान्; प्लुत, प्लुतवान् ॥

Why do we say "after a root"? Observe निर्यात, निर्यात । For the roots here द्या and द्या do not begin with a conjunct consonant and that which is a conjunct i. e. र्या and र्या is not a root, hence the rule does not apply.

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

लृवादिभ्यः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लृ-आदिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लृच् छेदने इत्येतत्प्रभृतिषु वरण इति यावत् गृहकरणेन समापिता ल्याव्यो गृह्यन्ते तेभ्य उत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् । लृकारलृवादिभ्यः क्तिन्निष्ठावज्ञवतीति वक्तव्यम् । या० । दुग्धोर्दीर्घश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ।

या० । पूजो विनाश इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ या० । सिनोतेभ्योसकर्मकर्तृकस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

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

These roots belong to Kiyādi class, and commence with लृच् छेदने (IX. 13) and end with वृ वरणे (IX. 32).

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

Vart:—After a root ending in क् or क् and after a root of Luādi class the त of the affix क्तिन् is changed to न्, like as in Nishṭhā. Thus कीर्ण, गीर्ण, वीर्ण, लूनिः, पूनिः ॥ These are from कृ (IX. 26), गृ (IX. 28), वृ (IX. 18), लृ and पूज् ।

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

Vart: The न change takes place after पूज् 'to destroy' (Bhu. 1015). As पूना यवाः = विनष्टाः ॥ But पूतं धान्यं from पूज् '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 सिनो घ्रासः स्वयमेव i. e. where a morsel by being mixed with curd, condiments &c, becomes rounded of itself, there this form is used. बध्यमानः पिण्डीक्रियमाणो घ्रासो, यदा दध्यादिव्यञ्जन यशेन तन्वानुकूल्यं प्रतिपद्यते तदाऽयम् अयं ॥ But

when not used in this sense, we have सिता पाशेन सूकरी । Moreover, the घास must be the object and not the subject of the verb. Therefore not here: सितो घासो वेवदत्तेन ।

ओदितश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओदितः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओकारेण धातो रुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus ओलस्जी—लग्नः, लग्नवान्, ओविजी उद्विग्न, उद्विग्नवान् ॥ ओप्यायी वृद्धीः आपीनः, आपीनवान् ।

The roots सूङ् प्राणिप्रसवे (Div 24) &c. are considered as ओदित् ॥ Thus, सून्, सूनवान्; वृङ् वूनः, वूनवान्; वीङ् वीनः, वीनवान्; डीङ्—डीन, डीनवान्; धीङ्—धीनः, धीनवान्, मीङ्—मीनः, मीनवान्, रीङ्—रीणः, रीणवान्, लीङ् लीन, लीनवान्, व्रीङ् व्रीणः, व्रीणवान् ॥

क्षियो दीर्घात् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षियः, दीर्घात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षियो धाता दीर्घादुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus क्षीणः क्लेशः, क्षीणो जाल्म ; क्षीणस्तपस्वी ॥ The vowel of क्षि is lengthened by VI 4 60 and 61.

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

The root क्ष includes the two roots क्षि क्षये and क्षि निवासगत्यौ ॥ As क्षितः कामो मया ॥ See also the commentary of Sāyana on अक्षितोऽक्षिः सनेविमं वाजामन्द्रं सहस्रिणं । (Rig I 5 9).

Obj :—The form क्षिय 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 प्रकृतिवदनुकरणं 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 क्षिय, 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 जे instead of जियः i. e. the sūtra ought to have been वि पराभ्यां जियः and not वि पराभ्यां जेः ?

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 ॥ इयात्तेरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य स्पर्शे नकारादेशो भवति ।

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

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

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

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

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

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्चतेरुत्तरपदस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति न चेदपादानं तत्र भवति ।

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

Thus समझौ शकुनेः पत्नी = सङ्गत्नी; तस्मात् पद्मयो न्यक्ता ।

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

The word व्यक्तम् is from the root अञ्च् व्यक्तिसंक्षण कान्तिगतिषु, and not from the root अञ्च; and hence the Nishṭhā is not changed.

दिवो ऽविजिगीषायाम् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, अ-विजिगीषायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिव उत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति अविजिगीषायामर्थे ॥

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

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

Thus आशूनाः = शौवरिकः, परिक्षून = क्षीण ॥ 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 ऽवाते ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ निर्वाणः, अ-वाते ॥

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

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

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

Why do we say when not meaning "the wind"? Observe निर्वातो वातः, निर्वात 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".

शुभः कः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुभः, कः ॥
वृत्तिः । शुभेर्द्धातोर्हत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य ककारादेशो भवति ॥

51. क is substituted for the Nishthâ त after the root शुब् ॥

As शुष्कः, शुष्कवान् ॥

पचो वः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पचः, वः ॥
वृत्तिः । पचेर्द्धातोर्हत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य वकारादेशो भवति ॥

52. व is substituted for the Nishthâ त after the root पच् ॥

As पक्वः, पक्ववान् ॥

क्षायो मः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षायः, मः ॥
वृत्तिः । क्षेधातोर्हत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य मकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus क्षामः, क्षामवान् ॥

प्रस्त्योन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्त्यः, अन्यत रस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वात् स्त्यायतेर्हत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्यान्यतरस्यां मकारादेशो भवति ॥

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

Thus प्रस्तीम or प्रस्तीतः, प्रस्तीमवान् or प्रस्तीतवान् ॥ In the second alternative when म does not come, we first vocalise the root स्त्या into स्ती, and then add त् ॥ Had Samprasâraṇa not taken place first, then the Nishthâ त would have been changed to न after स्त्या 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.

अनुपसर्गात्कुलक्षीवकशोलाघाः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुपसर्गात्, कुल-क्षीव-कश-
उलाघाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुल क्षीव कश उलाघ इत्येते निपात्यन्ते न अनुपसर्गादुत्तरा भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उत्कुलसकुलयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

55. The irregular Participles कुल, क्षीव, कश and उलाघ are formed then only, when no Preposition precedes them.

The word कुल is derived from the root क्लिप्ता विशरणे the त् is changed to ल । The change of व 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 कुलवान् ॥

The affix त् is elided after the roots क्षीव्, कश and उत्—लाघ्, and the augment इद् is prohibited ; this is the irregularity in क्षीवः, कशः and उलाघः ॥

Why do we say when not preceded by a Preposition? Observe प्रकुलाः सुमनसः, प्रक्षीबितः, प्रकुशितः, प्रोलाघितः ॥ In the case of लाघ्, prepositions other than उत् are prohibited.

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

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

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

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

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

Kārikā —वेत्तेस्तु विदितो निष्ठा विद्यतेर्विन्न इष्यते ।

विन्तेर्विन्नश्च विनाश्च भोगे विन्नश्च विन्दते ॥

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

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

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

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

The Nishthā of विद्—वेत्ति of Adādi class is वित्तः ; (2) of विद्—विद्यते of Divādi class is विन्न only ; (3) of विद् of Tudādi is विन्न ; (4) of विद् of Rudhādi are both वित्त and विन्न ॥ 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 नकारविशो न भवति ॥

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

Thus ध्यातः, ध्यातवान्, ख्यातः, ख्यातवान्, पूतः, पूतवान्, मूर्च्छितः, मूर्च्छितवान्, मत्तः, मत्तवान् ॥

This debar 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 विवेकाभार्यादुत्तरस्य क्तस्य नस्वाभावो निपात्यते भोगे प्रत्यये चाभिधेये ॥

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

This is derived from विवृत्त 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 (भुज्यते), so they are called भोग or 'enjoyments' *par excellence*.

In the sense of 'renowned', we have वित्तोऽयं मनुष्यः "this man is renowned or famous" Here वित्तः = प्रतीतिः । प्रतीयते = प्रत्ययः ।

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

भित्तं शकलम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भित्तम्, शकलम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भित्तमिति निपात्यते शकलं चेत्तद्वति ॥

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

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

ऋणमाधमर्ण्ये ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋणम्, आधमर्ण्ये ॥
वृत्तिः । ऋणमिति ऋद्व्येतस्वाद्धातोऽुत्तरस्य 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 अधमर्णम् or 'indebtedness:'

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

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

Why do we say when meaning 'debt'? Observe ऋत वक्ष्यामि, नानृतम् ॥

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

वृत्ति ॥ नसत्त निषत्त अनुत्त प्रतूर्त्त सूर्त्त गूर्त्त इत्येतानि छन्दसि विषये निपात्यन्ते ।

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

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 निषत्त in the Vedas, but निषण्ण in secular literature. The word अनुत्त is from उन् with the negative अन् । The option of VIII 2. 56 does not apply here. As अनुत्तमा ते मधवन् (= अनुन्नम्) । प्रतूर्त्तम् is from स्वर or तूर्त्त as प्रतूर्त्त गाजिनम् (= प्रतूर्णम्) . When it is derived from स्वर then ऊद् is added by VI 4. 20; and when from तूर्त्त then VI 4. 21 is applied. सूर्त्त is from सु, the ऋ is changed to उ irregularly, as सूर्त्तगाव सृत्तगाव सूर्त्त is from गूर्, as गूर्त्त अभृतस्य (= गूर्ण) ॥

क्विप्प्रत्ययस्य कुः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्विप्, प्रत्ययस्य, कुः ॥

वृत्ति ॥ पदस्यति वर्त्तते । क्विप्प्रत्ययस्य सर्वत्र पदान्ते कुत्वमिष्यते क्विप्प्रत्ययो यस्माद्धातो स क्विप्प्रत्यया, तस्य पदस्यालोऽत्यस्य कवर्गादिभ्यो भवति ।

62. A stem formed with the affix क्विप् 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 क्विप्प्रत्यय is a Bahuvrīhi meaning 'that stem which has kvi 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 क्विप् कु, the word प्रत्यय is used in the sūtra to show the Bahuvrīhi compound so that the व् of क्विप् may not be changed to a guttural. Moreover this Bahuvrīhi also indicates that the roots which take the क्विप् affix, change their final to a guttural before other affixes than क्विप् ।

Thus the roots सृज् and वृश् take क्तिन् to form स्रक् and वृक् nouns by III. 2 59, 60. The guttural change will take place even when these roots are declined as verbs as, म'ने' अस्र'क् म'ने' अद्र'क्, where अस्र'क् and अद्र'क् are the Aorist of सृज् and वृश्. The augment अद् is not elided, though the मा is added (VI. 4. 75) as a Vedic diversity. The ईद् augment also does not take place as a Vedic irregularity. The augment अम् is added by VI. 1 58 and the vowel is lengthened by Viddhi by VII. 2 3. Thus अद् + सृज् + सिच् + तिप् = अस्रज् (VI. 1 58) = अस्रक् (VII. 2 3 and VIII. 2 62). Other wise it would have been ष by VIII. 2. 36. So also in हृग्भ्यां, हृग्भिः, the हृ is changed to a guttural, though the noun हृश् is a क्तिप् formed noun and not formed by क्तिन्, and this is so, because the verb हृश् does take क्तिन् also.

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

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

नशेर्वा ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नशेः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्येति वर्तते । नशेः पदस्य वा कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

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

The word पदस्य 's understood here also. As सा वै जीवनडाहुतिः (Maitr. S. I 4. 13): or सा वै जीवनगाहुतिः । According to Pio. Bohllingk 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 संप्रदादि class

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

मोनो धातोः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मः, नः, धातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारान्तस्य धातोः पदस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् । अनुनासिकस्य क्लृप्तलोऽङ्गीतीतिरीर्धत्वम् ॥

64. न is substituted, at the end of a word, for the final म of a root.

As प्रशान्, प्रतान्, प्रवाच् ॥ These are formed by adding क्तिप् to the roots शम्, तम् and वम् ॥ The lengthening takes place by VI. 4. 15. The न् being considered as asiddha is not elided.

Why do we say "of म-ending roots"? Observe भित्, छित् ॥

Why do we say "of a root"? Observe ह्वम्, किम् ॥

The word पदस्य is understood here also. So we have प्रतामौ, प्रतामः where म is not at the end of a word

म्बोश्च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि । म, वोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारवकारयोश्च परतः सकारान्तस्य धातोर्नकारदेशो भवति ॥

65. न is substituted for the म of a root before the affixes beginning with म and च ॥

As अगन्म, अगन्व the Imperfect of गम्, as in the sentence अगन्म तमसः पारम ॥ The ण् is elided as a Vedic diversity. So also जगन्वान् with क्वष्टु, 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 परस्य सञ्जुष् इत्येतस्य च रुर्भवति ॥

66. For the final स् and for the ष् of सञ्जुष् is substituted रु, at the end of a word.

Thus अग्निरन्न, वायुरन्न । So also सञ्जुर्देविभिः, सञ्जुर्देवेभिः ॥ सञ्जुष् is derived from जुष् with the affix क्तिप् and the preposition सह which is changed to स in Bahuvrīhi. The lengthening takes place by VIII 2 76 and the word means समीतिः ॥ The रु is र्, but it should be distinguished from it. The 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 पुरोडा इत्येते निपात्यन्ते ।

67. The same substitution takes place for the final of the Nominatives of अवयाः, श्वेतवाः and पुरोडाः ॥

The word अवयाः is from अय + यञ्; श्वेतवाः from श्वेत + वह् and पुरोडाः from पुरस् + दाश् ॥ 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, पुरोडाश् and अवयाञ् are formed. These words take the affix डस् before the Padaterminations (See Vārtika to III. 2. 71). After having taken डस्, 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 उक्त्यशाः

अहन् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहन् ॥

वृत्तिः । अहन्निव्येतस्य परस्य हर्षवत्ति

वार्तिकम् ॥ अहो रविधौ रूपरात्रिरयन्तरपक्षसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

68. रू 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, निराधः, हे दीर्घाहोऽत्रेति । See Vārtika to VIII. 2. 7. The न् of अहन् is not changed to रू in the sūtra by VIII. 2. 69, because it is intended to show the word form अहन् । The Nominal stem is Pada in the above examples by I. 4. 17.

Vārt. — Before the words रूप रात्रि and यन्तर, the न् of अहन् is changed to रू । As अहोरूपम्, अहोरात्र, अहोरयन्तर साम । This is an exception to VIII. 2. 69. Others say, that this रू change takes place *universally* before all words beginning with रू; as अहो रम्यम्, अहो रत्नानि ।

रोऽसुपि ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ रः, अ-सुपि ॥

वृत्तिः । अहनिव्येतस्य रेफावेशो भवत्यसुपि परत ॥

69. When no case-ending follows (i. e. at the end of a Pada in the narrower sense), रू is substituted for the न् of अहन् ॥

Thus अहर्द्वाति अहर्धुङ्क्ते । Why do we say 'when no case ending follows'? Observe अहोभ्याम्, अहोभिः । Here रू called रू replaced the final न् of अहन् ॥ The difference between this रू called रू and the ordinary रू is illustrated in the above set of examples. The रू called रू is changed to उ by VI. 1. 113, the ordinary रू is not so changed.

Obj. In अहर्द्वाति and अहर्धुङ्क्ते the case-ending is elided after अहन्, and so by Pratyaya-lakshana, 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 प्रत्ययलक्षणं न भवति ॥ The rule of pratyaya lakshana does not apply to the substitution of रू for the final न् of अहन् when the affix has been elided by लुक् or लुप्. Therefore, this अहन् is not considered to be followed by सुप् or case-affix. But where an affix is elided by using the word लोप, there the rule of Pratyaya-lakshana does apply to अहन् । As हे दीर्घाहोऽत्र हे दीर्घाहो निराधः (VIII. 2. 7). Here the affix is elided by using the word 'lopa' by VI. 1. 68.

अन्नरूधरवरित्युभयथा छन्दसि ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्नस्, ऊधस्, अवस्, इति उभयथा, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्नस् ऊधस् अवस् इत्येतेषां छन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि भाषायां च विभाषा प्रचेतसो राज्ञुपराख्यान कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

वा० अहरादीना पर्यादिष्टुपसख्यान कर्त्तव्यम्

70. In the Chhandas, both रु and र are substituted for the final of anas, ādhas, and avas.

Thus अन्न एव or अन्नेव ऊध एव or ऊधरेव, अव एव or अवरेव. When रु is substituted for the finals, this रु is replaced by स् by VIII 3 17 which is elided by VIII 3 19. The word अन्नस् means a little, and अवस् 'protection'.

Var. 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 ॥

Var.—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 अहः पति or अहः पति, अहर्पुत्रः, अहः पुत्र, अहः पुत्रः गीर्पतिः, गी पति, गी × पति; धूर्पति, धू पति; धू × पति ॥ 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 v'sarga change of this र.

भुवश्च महाव्याहृतेः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, चः, महाव्याहृतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भुवस् इत्येतस्य महाव्याहृतेऽछन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति ॥

71. In the Chhandas, रु and र may replace the final of the word भुवस् when used as a ma ā-vyāhṛiti.

Thus भुवस्त्वन्तरिक्षम् or भुव इत्यन्तरिक्षम्. The mahā vyāhṛitis are three, used generally before the famous Gāyatrī mantra. They denote respectively the earth, the firmament and the heaven. भुवस् is a masculine and a Vyāhṛiti denoting the firmament. The other two are भू and स्व.

Why do we say when it is a ma ā-vyāhṛiti? Observe भुवो विश्वेषु भुवनेषु यज्ञिय ॥ Here भुवः is a verb 2nd Pers. Singular, Imperfect (लङ्) of the root भू, without guṇa of the root, and the अङ् augment is not added as a Vedic diversity.

वसुस्त्रसुध्वंस्वनडुहां वः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसु, स्त्रसु, ध्वंसु, अनडुहाम्, वः ॥

वृत्तिः । ससञ्चोऽरुद्व्यतः स इति वर्त्तते वस्यन्तस्य पवस्य सकारान्तस्य स्त्रसु ध्वसु अनडुह इत्येतेषां च वकारविशेषो भवति ॥

72. व is substituted for the final स् of a word ending in the affix वस्, and for the final of स्त्रस्, ध्वस् and अनडुह at the end of a Pada (in the wider sense I. 4. 14, 17).

The anuvṛtti of व् 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 व. For a word formed by वस् does not

sometimes end in स् and in those cases the rule will not apply. As स्तस् and ध्वस् *always* end in स् there is no necessity of qualifying these by the स् of VIII. 2. 66 अनडुह् ends in ह and so स् cannot qualify it.

Thus विद्वद्भ्याम्, विद्वद्भिः, पपिवद्भ्याम्, पपिवद्भिः with वस् affix संस्—उखास्तद्भ्याम्, उखास्तद्भिः (VII. 1. 70 and III. 2. 36) ध्वस्—पर्णध्वद्भ्याम्, पर्णध्वद्भिः। अनडुह्—अनडुह्भ्याम्, अनडुह्भिः ।

But when a वस् formed word does not end in स्, the rule does not apply. As विद्वान्, पपिवान् । Here न् is not changed to द् ।

In the case of वस्, the द् is ordained, before any other rule manifests itself, thus in विद्वद्भ्याम् this द् debar's रु, so why should it not debar the rule relating to the elision of the final in विद्वान् 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 अनड्वान् the न् is not changed to द्? By the very fact, that तुम् is ordained (विधान-सामर्थ्यात्), this न् will not be changed to द्: otherwise तुम् rule would become superfluous, for it would be easier to say let रु be changed to द्, and we should get the form अनड्वद् by this rule without तुम् ॥

Obj. If this be so, that the तुम् is not changed to द्, because of giving it a scope then in अनड्वान् अत्र, this तुम् 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 (यदि विधि प्रति उपदेशोऽनर्थकः सविधिर्नाध्यते यस्य तु विधिर्निमित्तमेव नासौ बाध्यते) ॥ With regard to द् change the तुम् विधि is *useless* (anaithaka), with regard to रु change, it is merely an occasion.

The word पक्षस्य is understood here also, so the change does not take place in विद्वांसो and विद्वांस ।

तिप्यनस्तेः । ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिपि, अन्-अस्तेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिपि परतः सकारान्तस्य पक्षस्य अनस्तेर्लकार आदेशो भवति ।

73. द् 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 अचकद् भवान्, अन्वदद् भवान् from the roots चकस् and आस् । 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 चकास् formed by चिप् affix added to the root.

Why do we say 'with the exception of अस्'? See आप एवेदं रालिल सधर्मं आः । Here आ 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, धातो, रुः, वाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिपि परतः सकारान्तस्य पदस्य धातो रुः इत्ययमादेशो भवति रुकारो 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 अचक्रास् स्वम् or अचक्रात् स्वम्, अन्वशास् स्वम् or अन्वशात् स्वम् ॥ For the रु is first substituted visarjanīya, 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 ।

दश्च ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दः, च ॥

वृत्तिः । रुकारान्तस्य धातोः पदस्य सिपि परतो रुर्भवति रुकारो 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, अचिञ्जत् स्वम् or अचिञ्जस् स्वम् ॥

वोरुपधाया दीर्घ इकः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वीः, उपधायाः, दीर्घः, इकः ॥

वृत्तिः । रेफवकारान्तस्य धातोः पदस्य उपधाया इको दीर्घो भवति ॥

76. A penultimate इ or उ is lengthened, when the final र् or व् of a root can stand at the end of a Pada.

Thus गीः, घूः, घूः, आशीः ॥ These are all examples of roots ending in र् । Of roots ending in व्, examples will be given in the next sūtra.

Why have we used the word 'penultimate'? Observe अभिभर् भवान् here the इ of the reduplicative syllable is not to be lengthened.

Why do we say 'of इक् vowels'? So that the अ of भ in the above example अभिभर् may not be lengthened.

The word धातो '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, गिरी, गिर ॥

हलि च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलि च परतः रेफवकारान्तस्य धातोरुपधाया इको दीर्घो भवति ॥

77. Of a root ending in र् or व्, the penultimate इ or उ is lengthened, before a consonantal beginning affix.

Thus आस्तीर्णम्, विस्तीर्णम्, विक्षीर्णम्, अवगूर्णम्, all ending in र् ॥ So also, दीव्यति, सीव्यति ending in व् ॥

The phrase "of the root", is understood here also. Therefore not here दिव्यति and चतुर्थति which are derived from the nouns दिव् and चतुर् i.e. दिव-मिच्छति = दिव्यति, and चतुर इच्छति चतुर्थति

The phrase इका ' of the vowels इ or उ ' is understood here also. Therefore not here, स्मर्यते, भव्यम् ।

This rule applies to cases which are not final in a pada : but to cases where र् or व् are in the middle of a pada or word.

उपधायां च । ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपधायाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरुपधाभूतो यौ रेफवकारौ हल्परो तयोरुपधाया इकां दीर्घो भवति ॥

78. The short इ or उ of a root is lengthened, when the verb has र् or व् as its penultimate letter, and is followed by a consonant.

The anuvṛtti of हलि is current. The root must end in a consonant, and must have a र् or व् as preceding such consonant, for the application of this rule. Thus वृच्छा वृच्छिता वृच्छा, वृच्छिता वृच्छा, वृच्छिता धूर्च्छा, धूर्च्छिता

The र् or व् 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 रिर्यतु रिर्यु or विव्यतु, विव्यु Perfect, forms derived from the roots रि गतो and वी गतो &c? Here the इ of the abhyāsa required lengthening, and it would not be shortened, as it is asiddha.

Ans The यण् substitute of इ here by VI. 4. 82, is treated as sthānivat, to इ, and therefore, the र् or व् is considered as *not* to be followed by a consonant, and hence there is no lengthening. Another reason is, that the यण् substitute is taught in angādhikāra (VI. 4. 82), and depends upon the affix, and is consequently Bahuvrīga, with regard to this rule of lengthening which is antavṛga. Hence यणदेशः is considered as asiddha. Therefore र् and व् are not followed by a consonant (for य् is not considered as such for the above reasons).

Similarly in चतुर्थितु formed with तच् affix from the Denominative (क्यच्) root चतुर्थ । Here इत् is added before तच् as चतुर्थ इ+तु and then अ is elided, चतुर्थ इ+तु ॥ Here the elision of अ is a Bahuvrīga process, and therefore, र् is not here really penultimate, and so there is no lengthening of the vowel.

In प्रतिशब्दा (Instrumental sing. a.) there is lengthening by VIII. 2. 77. To the root प्रति-दिक् is added कनिन् by Un I. 156, and we have प्रतिदिक्निन्. To this is added वा (Instrumental affix), as प्रतिदिक्निन् । वा, and अ is elided by VI. 4. 134 and we get प्रतिशब्दा. The lengthening takes place here, the elision of अ is not considered here as sthānivat, and so व् 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 el'sion 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 असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्ग should not be applied here: because it is an *anvya* rule.

The word जित्रिः is formed by the Unādi affix क्तिन् added to the root जृ (जिर्), the र् being changed to व (Un V. 49). So also किरिः and गिरिः are formed by the Unādi affix क्ति added to कृ and गृ (Un IV 143) The Genitive Dual of which is किर्योः and गिर्योः ॥ There is no lengthening in जित्रिः किर्योः and गिर्योः, on the maxim that the Unādi formed words are primitive words and not Derivative; and so the rules of etymological changes do not apply to them (उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि) ॥

न भकुर्छुराम् ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भ, कुर, छुराम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रेफवकारान्तस्य भस्य कुर 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 व् is called Bha (i. e. when a य् follows), and also not in कुर and छुर ॥

Thus धुर्य (धुरं वहति IV. 4 77 or धुरि साधुः) ॥ Similarly कुर्यात् छुर्यात् ॥ The latter is Benedictive of छुर छेदने ॥

Why have we qualified the word भ by saying that it must end in र् or व्? Observe प्रतिदीप्ता, प्रतिदीप्ते । For here the stem which ends in व् is not Bha, and the stem which is Bha does not end in व् but in न् ॥

अदसो ऽसेर्दावु दो मः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदसः, अ-सेः, दात्, उ, दः, मः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अदसो ऽसकारान्तस्य वर्णस्य सात्परस्य उवर्णविशो भवति वकारस्य च मकारः ।
वार्तिकम् ॥ अदसो ऽनोस इति वक्तव्यम् ।

Kārikā:—अदसोऽपि पृथङ् 'ह' के चिदिच्छन्ति लत्ववत् ।
के चिदन्त्यसं वाह 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, अमू, अमून्, अमुना, अमूभ्याम्, ॥ अह 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, अस् is substituted for अद् and अस् for अद्वा ॥ The उ which replaces one-mātrā vowel will be one-mātrā उ e. short उ, and the ऊ which replaces a two-mātrā vowel will be a two mātrā ऊ i e long ऊ। 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 क्य is not a pada (I. 4. 15)? Ans. This indicates that the उ change takes place, even when अदस् is not a pada. As अमुमुय ॥

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 अदोऽन्, अदकुलम् ॥ The visajaniya 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: अ स्यस्य सोऽयमासि, यत्र सकारस्य अकार 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 अङ्च् takes क्तिन् We compound it with अदस्, as अदाऽञ्चति । अदस् अङ्च् + क्तिन् = अद् + अद्भि + अङ्च् + क्तिन् (VI. 3. 92) = अदद्भिच् (VI. 4. 24). Now there are three views, (1) the द् of अद्, and द् of अद्भि are both changed to मु by the present sūtra, (2), the first द् is not changed, but only द् (3) none is changed. Thus we have (1) अमुमुयद् (VII. 1. 70, VI. 1. 68 VIII. 2. 23 and 62) अमुमुयञ्चौ अमुमुयञ्चः ॥ (2) Secondly, अदमुयद् अदमुयञ्चौ, अदमुयञ्च (3) Lastly अदद्भिच्, अदद्भिञ्चौ, अदद्भिञ्च ॥ The above verse summarises this:

"Some ordain that मु should come separately for both adas and adri, as there is double ल (in चलीकृत्यते); others would have मु only for the last portion which stands in proximity to the final, (i. e. for द्); while a third class would have nowhere because they explain अस्ते of the sūtra, by confining it to VII. 2. 102. The first class interpret अस्ते by "that form of अदस् which has no स्"; and they do not apply the maxim अनन्त्यविकारिऽन्यस्यदेशस्य कार्यं भवति "when a modification is ordained with regard to some thing which is not final, the operation takes place on that only which is in proximity to the final." The second class apply this maxim and make मु change only for द् which stands in proximity to the final, while the last class interpret the word अस्ते in a different way altogether (अ अस्य सकारस्य सोऽयमासि) ॥

Why do we say दात् for the vowel after द् ? Observe अमुया, अमुयोः, the final य as not changed to उ ॥

एत ईद्वहुवचने ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि । एतः ईत्, बहुवचने ॥

वृत्तिः अवसो वकारादुत्तरस्य एकारस्य ईकारादेशो भवति वकारस्य च मकारः बहुवचने बहुनामर्थानामुक्तौ ॥

81. For the ए coming after the व of अवस, there is substituted ई, and व is changed to म, when plurality is to be expressed.

Thus अमी for अवे (or अते) अमीभिः for अवेभिः, अमीभ्यः for अवेभ्यः अमीषाम् for अवेषाम् अमीषु for अवेषु । व is changed to त 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 एतन्नयमप्यधिकृत देरितिव्यमापावपरिसमाप्ते, र्देरित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामो वाक्यस्य टेः प्लुत उदात्त इत्येव तद्देरितव्यम् ।

82. Upto the close of this chapter (Pāda), is always to be supplied : “the last vowel of a sentence is pluta and has the acute”.

This is an adhikāra sūtra. All the three words i.e. ‘the last vowel (दि) of a sentence’, “pluta” and ‘acute’—are to be supplied in the subsequent aphorisms to complete the sense, upto the end of this Pāda. Whatever we shall treat hereafter will refer to the final vowel (दि) in a sentence, and it will get the pluta lengthening and acute accent. Thus VIII 2 83, says “In answer to a salutation, but not when it is addressed to a Śūdra”. We must supply the present aphorism to complete the meaning :—“In answer to a salutation, the last vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and gets the acute accent, but not when it is addressed to a Śūdra”. As अभिवाक्ये देवदत्तोऽहं । भो आयुष्मानेधि देवदत्तौ ३ ।

One adhikāra sets aside another adhikāra, this is the general maxim. Will therefore the adhikāra of the present aphorism set aside the adhikāra of the word पदस्य (VIII 1 16)? No, the adhikāra of पदस्य has not ceased, though latent. Otherwise in भवन्तौ &c the न् would be required to be changed to ह by VIII 3 7. But it does not become so, because पदस्य manifests itself there.

The employment of the word “vākya” would not debate the anuvṛtti of पद, for the final vowel of a sentence, will *a fortiori* be the final vowel of a word (pada), then what is the use of employing the word वाक्यस्य in this sūtra?

The word वाक्य is employed in the sūtra, so that a word which is not the last word of a sentence, will not get the pluta and acute. Had the sūtra been यस्य 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 अग्निर्चि३त् ॥ Had हि not been used, the rule would have applied to words *ending* in vowels only, and not to words ending in consonants.

प्रत्यभिवादे ऽशूद्रे ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्यभिवादे, अ-शूद्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्यभिवादे नाम यस्माभिवाद्यमानो गुरुराशिषं प्रयुङ्क्ते । तत्राशूद्रविषये यद्वाक्यं वर्त्तते तस्य देः प्लुत उवाचो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् । स्त्रियामपि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० । असूयकेऽपि केचित् प्रतिषेधमिच्छन्ति ॥

इष्टिः ॥ अभिवाद्वाक्ये यत् संकीर्तितं नाम गोत्रं वा तद् यत्र प्रत्यभिवाद वाक्यान्ते प्रयुज्यते तत्र प्लुत इष्यते ॥ वा० । भेराजन्यं 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 udāta 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 गार्ग्यहं 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 स्थाल्यहं भोः, is uttered by the detractor; and the Guru understanding the word Sthālin to be the Proper Name of the person, replies आयुष्मान् एधि स्थालिन् ३ ॥ Then the

detractor says, Sthālin is not my Proper Name, but an adjective like dandin, viz. he who has a स्थाल or cooking pot. The Guru believing this to be true, again replies, आयुष्मान् एधि स्थालिन् but without prolation, because the word is not a Proper Noun. The other then says "O Sir, it is not my epithet, it is my Proper Name". The Guru now comes to learn that he is being laughed at, and so gets angry and says : असूयकस्त्वं जाल्म न त्वं प्रत्यभिवादनमर्हसि, भिद्यस्व वृषल स्थालिन् ॥ Here it is a curse as well as a pun : i. e. 'burst thou, O sinner ! like unto a cooking pot (sthālin = sthālī vat)

Ishti :—This prolation takes place there only, where the Proper Noun Gotra &c. with which the salutation was made, is employed by the Guru at the end of the sentence and not where the position of the Proper Name &c is different. Therefore not here, देवदत्त कुशल्यसि, देवदत्त आयुष्मान् एधि, for here the word Devadatta is not used at the end of a sentence.

Vart :—The prolation is optional, when भोः follows such Proper Name, or when the Person addressed is a Kshatriya or a Vaishya. As भो अभिवाक्यं देवदत्तोऽहं । Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त भोः ३ or (2) आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त भोः ॥ So also when a Kshatriya is addressed, as अभिवाक्ये इन्द्रवर्म्मन् भोः Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एधि इन्द्रवर्म्मन् ३ or (2) आयुष्मान् एधि इन्द्रवर्म्मन् । Vaishya : अभिवाक्ये इन्द्रपालितोऽहं भोः ॥ Guru : आयुष्मानोधि इन्द्रपालित ३ or आयुष्मानोधि इन्द्रपालित ॥

दूराद्धूते च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दूरात्, हूते, च ।
वृत्तिः । दूराद्धूते यद्वाक्यं वर्त्तते तस्य देः प्लुतो भवति स चोदात्तः ।
इति ॥ वाक्यस्यान्ते यत्र सम्बोधनपदं भवति, तत्र अयं प्लुत इत्येते ॥

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 हूत 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 ।

Ishti :—This prolation takes place only there, when the noun in the vocative case stands at the end of the sentence. Therefore, there is no prolation here देवदत्त आगच्छ ।

हैह्ययोगे हैहयोः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ है, हे, प्रयोगे, है, हयोः ॥

वृत्तिः हेहंप्रयोगे दूराद्धूते यद् वयं वर्त्तते तत्र हेहयारेव 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 देववत्त देववत्त हे ३ हे ३ देववत्त देववत्त 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

गुरोरनृतोनन्त्यस्याप्येकैकस्य प्राचाम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुरोः, अन्-ऋतः, अनन्त्यस्य, अपि, एक, एकस्य, प्राचाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ऋकारवर्जितस्य गुरोरनन्त्यस्यापि षष्ठ्यस्यापि ऐरेकैकस्य 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 दे३ देववत्त or देवव३त्त or देवव३त्त३. Similarly with य३ यज्ञवत्त, यज्ञव३त्त or यज्ञव३त्त३ ॥

Why do we say गुरो "of a prosodially long vowel? So that the अ of व and ऋ in Devadatta and Yajñidatta may not be prolated, for this अ is short.

Why do we say अनृत 'with the exception of ऋ'? Observe कृष्णमि३त्र, कृष्णमि३त्र, but never कृ३ष्णमि३त्र ॥

The word एकैकस्य shows that the prolation should not be simultaneous, but of one at a time, not दे३देवव३त्त३ ।

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 देववत्त ॥ Thus the present sūtra, makes VIII. 2 83 and 84, optional sūtras. It is also an authority for the following dictum of Paṇini: "सर्वे एव प्लुता साहसमनिच्छन्ता विभाषा कर्त्तव्या" (Mahabhashya 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.

ओम्भ्यादाने ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ओम्, अभ्यादाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यादानं प्रारम्भः तत्र य ओम्शब्दः तस्य प्लुता 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 अभिमीले पुगहितं यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजं । (R g I. 1. 1)

Why do we say "in the beginning"? Observe ओमिन्येतदक्षरमुदीयमुपासीत (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

इतिः । ये यजामहे इत्यत्रैवायप्लुत 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

Ishiti.—The word ये is pluta before यजामहे only. Therefore not so here : ये देवांसो विव्येकादशस्य (Rig I. 139. 1)

प्रणवः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि । प्रणवः, देः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञकर्मणि देः प्रणव आदेशो भवति ॥

89. In a sacrificial work, ओम् is substituted for the final vowel, with the consonant, if any, that may follow it, of a sentence.

The word यज्ञकर्मणि is understood here also. The word प्रणव means ओम् ॥ It is the name given to this syllable. This ओम् is substituted for the final letter (दि) of that word which stands either at the end of a Pāda of a sacred hymns or at the end of a hemistich of such Rik. Thus for अपां रतांसि जिन्यति (R g VIII. 44. 16), we may have अपां रतांसि जिन्यतोऽम् । So also for देवाञ्ज जिगाति सुस्रुः (Rig III. 27. 1), we may have देवाञ्ज जिगाति सुस्रुयोऽम् ।

The word दि is repeated in this aphorism in spite of its anuvritti 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 अलोऽन्त्यस्य the final *letter* only of the दि portion of a sentence would have been replaced. Thus in सुस्रुः, the visa jā'ya 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 अपा रतांसि जिन्यति

याज्यान्त ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ याज्या, अन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ याज्या नाम ये याज्याकाण्डे पठ्यन्ते मन्वास्तेषामन्यो यदिः स स्रवते यज्ञकर्मणि ॥

90. The last vowel at the end of Mantras called Yājya, when employed in sacrificial works, is pluta and has the Acute.

Thus स्तोमैर्विधेनाग्नयेऽ (Rig VIII. 43 11), जिह्वाग्ने चकृषे हव्यवाहाऽग्ने (Rig. X 8. 6).

Why do we say 'at the end'? There are some Yājya hymns, consisting of several sentences. The final vowel (दि) of every sentence would have become pluta, in such a hymn. To prevent it, the word "anta" is used, so that the final vowel of the hymn at the end of all, becomes pluta.

ब्रूहि प्रेष्य श्रीषद् औषद् आवहानामादेः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रूहि, प्रेष्य, श्रीषद्, औषद्, आवहानाम, आदेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रूहि प्रेष्य श्रीषद् औषद् आवह इत्येतेषामादेः प्लुतो भवति यज्ञकर्मणि ॥

91. In a sacrificial work, the first syllable of ब्रूहि, प्रेष्य, श्रीषद्, औषद् and आवह is pluta.

Thus अग्नयेऽनुब्रूहि (Maiti S. I 4 11), अग्नये गोमयानि (or 'न्) प्रेष्य, वास्तु श्रीषद्, सोमस्याग्ने वीहीऽ श्रीषद् अग्निर्माँषवह ॥

So also in पित्र्यायामनुस्वधा on the analogy of ब्रूहि, so also वास्तुस्वधा ॥ The word श्रीषद् is illustrative of the six forms षद्, वीषद्, वाषद्, वीक्षद्, वाक्षद्, वक्षाद् ॥

But there is no prolation in आवह इवान् यजमानाय, आवह जात वेवः ॥

अग्नीत्प्रेषणे परस्य च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नीध्र प्रेषणे, परस्य, च ।

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्नीध्र प्रेषणमग्नीत्प्रेषणम् तच्चादे 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, Brahman. Every one of these has three subordinate priests (ṛtvij) under them, as shown below.

NAMES OF PRINCIPAL

SUBORDINATE.

I.	½.	⅓.	¼.
Adhvaryu: (Yajur)	Prat'piasthātā	Nesthā (VI 4.11)	Unnctā.
Udgātā (Sāman)	Prastotā	Pratihartā	Subrahmanya.
Hotā (Rig) VI 4 11.	Maitiā vaiṇa	Achchhāvāk	Potā (VI 4 11).
Brahman (Atharvan)	Brahmanāchhanāśī	Āgnīdhra	Grāvastuta.

III. 2, 177.

The duty of Āgnīdhra is to kindle the sacrific'al fire. In a sūtra is a call (प्रेषण) made by the Adhvaryu, who is the Director of ceremonies, to the Āgnīdhra to perform the functions of Āgnīdh, both syllable become pluta.

The word अग्नीन् प्रेषण is a compound—अग्नीन् प्रेषणम् 'a call or summon relating to Agnīdh duty'.

Thus आ ३ आ ३ वय, ओ ३ ओ ३ वय ॥ The pluta takes place only in these examples, therefore not here, as अग्नीन् अग्नीन् विहर, बर्हि स्तृणीहि. Some, therefore, read the auyritti 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 प्लुत साहरामनिच्छता 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 आ आवय ।

विभाषा पृष्टप्रतिवचने हेः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, पृष्ट-प्रतिवचनेः, हेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पृष्टप्रतिवचने विभाषा हेः प्लुतो भवति ।

93. हि at the end of an answer to a question may optionally be pluta.

Thus Q अकार्षीं क्वं देवदत्त ? A is अकार्षीं हि ३ or अकार्षीं हि । Q. अलायी-
केशर देवदत्त ? Ans अलायिषीं ३ or हि ॥

Why do we say 'in answer to a question' ? Observe क्वं कश्चिदिति हि ॥

Why do we say हे 'of हि' ? Observe करोमि ननु ।

निगृह्यानुयोगे च । २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि गृह्य, अनु यांगे, च ॥

वृत्तिः । स्वमतात्प्रत्यावर्तनं निग्रहः । अनुयोगस्तस्य मतस्याविष्करणम् । तत्र निगृह्यानुयोगे यद्वाक्यं वर्तते तस्य हेः प्लुतो भवति विभाषा ।

94. The end syllable of that sentence is optionally pluta, when it asserts something which has been refuted, and is employed by the victor by way of censure.

The word निग्रहः means the refutation of another's opinion. निगृह्य is a gerund, and means 'having refuted'. अनुयोग 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' (अनित्यं वाक्यं). Proving by arguments the untenableness of this position, and after refuting it, the victor says by way of reprimand:—अनित्यं वाक्यं इत्यार्थो ३ or अनित्यं वाक्यं इत्यास्य । 'This is then your assertion—that the word is not eternal'. Similarly अद्य आ-
ज्जमित्यर्थो ३ or अद्य आज्जमित्यास्य ॥ अद्यामायास्येत्यर्थो ३ or अद्यामायास्येत्यास्य ।

In some texts of KAsikā, according to Padamanjari, only the last example is given

आग्नेडितं भर्त्सने ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आग्नेडितम्, भर्त्सने ॥

वृत्तिः । वाक्यादेशामन्वितस्येति भर्त्सने द्विर्वचनमुक्तं तस्याग्नेडितं स्रवते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भर्त्सने पर्यायेणेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

95. The end syllable of an āmredita Vocative is pluta, when threat is expressed.

A Vocative is reiterated when threat is meant (VIII. 1. 8). Its final syllable becomes pluta. Thus चौर चौराँ घातिष्यामि त्वा ॥ So also वृषल वृषलाँ बन्धयिष्यामि त्वा, वस्य वस्योँ &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 āmredita.

Vart :—It should be rather stated that any one of the repeated words may be pluta by alternation. Thus चौराँ चौर or चौर चौराँ ॥ The word āmredita 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 āmredita

अङ्गयुक्तं तिङाकाङ्क्षम् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि । अङ्ग, युक्तम्, तिङाकाङ्क्षम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गइत्यनेन युक्ते तिङन्तमाकाङ्क्षे भर्त्सने स्रवते ॥

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 कूर्जोँ इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि जातम् ॥ अङ्ग व्याहरोँ इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि जातम् ॥

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 अधीष्व, ओर्वं ते दास्यामि ॥ Here अङ्ग has the force of solicitation. (VIII. 1. 33).

विचार्यमाणानाम् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विचार्य-माणानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाणेन वस्तुपरीक्षण 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 होतव्ये दीक्षितस्य गृहाँ इ न होतव्याँम् "should one perform sacrifice in the house of an initiated person" Similarly तिष्ठेयूपाँम् अनुग्रहे

यूषोऽङ् । Here also it is being reflected upon whether यूषे तिष्ठेत् or यूषे अनुप्रहेत् ॥ i. e. should the stake remain upright or should it be put flat by the yajamāna. किं यूपस्तिष्ठेत्, किं वा यूप 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 बाहि रूँ रज्जुर्नु 'Is it a snake or a rope'? लोष्टो रूँ कपोतोनु '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 ॥ प्रतिश्रवणसंयुपगम प्रतिज्ञानम् ॥ श्रवणाभिमुख्यं च तत्राविशेषात्सर्वस्य ग्रहणम् ॥ प्रतिश्रवण यद्वाक्य वर्त्तते तस्य देः प्लुतो भवति ॥

99. The end-syllable of the sentence which expresses assent or promise or listening to, is pluta.

The word प्रतिश्रवण means 'agreement, assent or promise'. It also means "listening to". All these senses are to be taken here, as there is nothing in the sūtra to restrict its scope. Thus it has three senses, 1 to promise something to a petitioner, 2 to acknowledge the truth of some proposition, 3. to listen to another's words. Thus गां मे वेदि भो, 1 हन्त ते वराभिः ॥ 2. नित्यं दायो भवितुमर्हति ॥ 3. देवदत्त भो, क्रिमाथो ॥

अनुदात्तं प्रश्नान्ताभिपूजितयोः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, प्रश्न-अन्त, अभि पूजितयोः ।

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 अगमोऽङ् पूर्वोऽङ् मामोऽङ् अभिभूताऽङ् or अगमोऽङ् पूर्वोऽङ् मामोऽङ् पदाऽङ् (i. e. अगमः पूर्वान् मामान् अभिभूते or पदो) ॥ The words अभिभूते, and पदो being finals in a

question, become anudatta as well as pluta. The other words अगम &c become svaita and pluta by VIII. 2. 105. See VIII. 2. 107.

As regards अभिपूजिते we have शोभनः खल्वसि माणवकाः ३ । Here the final of माणवका becomes anudatta and pluta.

चिदिति चोपमार्थे प्रयुज्यमाने ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्, इति, च, उपमा-अर्थे, प्रयुज्यमाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तमिति वर्त्तते चिदित्येतस्मिन्निवाते उपमार्थे प्रयुज्यमाने वाक्यस्य देरनुवात्तः 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 अनुवात्त is understood here. This sūtra ordains pluta as well and not merely accented.

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 आहु ॥ Here चिद् has the force of 'littleness or difficulty'.

Why do we say प्रयुज्यमाने 'when expressly employed'? Observe अग्नि माणवको भायात् 'Let the boy shine like fire'. Here चित् is understood, hence the rule does not apply.

उपरिस्विदासीदिति च ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपरि-स्वित्-आसीत्, इति, च ॥

वृत्तिः अनुदात्तमिति वर्त्तते उपरिस्विदासीत्येतस्य देरनुवात्तः 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 स्विदासीद्, उपरि स्विदासीद् (R'g 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.

स्वरितमाधेडितेसूयासंमतिकोपकुत्सनेषु ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितम्, आधेडिते, असूया, सम्मति, कोप, कुत्सनेषु ॥

वृत्तिः । स्वरितः प्लुतो भवति आधेडिते परतः असूयायां सम्मतौ कोपे कुत्सने च गम्यमानः ॥

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 svaita, when envy, praise, anger, or blame is expressed.

The vocative is doubled by VIII. 1. 8. This sūtra ordains pluta there. Thus Envy:—माणवकोऽ माणवक, अभिरूपकोऽ अभिरूपक, रिक्त त अभिरूप्यम् ॥ Praise:—

माणवकां माणवक, अभिरूपकां अभिरूपक शोभनः खल्वसि ॥ Anger :—माणवकां माणवक, अभिनीतकां अभिनीतक इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि ज्ञात्म् । Blame :—शान्तीकां शान्तीक, याष्टीकां याष्टीक रिक्ता ते शक्तिः ॥

Vart: The word "optionally" should be read into this sūtra. Thus there is no pluta and svarita in one alternative. As माणवक माणवक &c

क्षियार्शीः प्रैषेषु तिङ्ङाकाङ्क्षम् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षिया, आशी, प्रैषेषु, तिङ्ङ-
आकाङ्क्षम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वारिति इति वर्त्तते । क्षिया आचारभेदः । आशीः प्रार्थनाविशेषः शब्देन व्यापारणं प्रैषः । एतेषु गम्यमानेषु तिङ्ङन्तामकाङ्क्षं यत्तस्य 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 रथेन यीतिः उपाध्यायं पशति गमयति । स्वयं गोवनं भुङ्क्ते उपाध्यायं सकृन् पाययति । In both these, the first sentence requires the second as its complement, and hence there is सान्नाङ्क्षा ।

Benediction :—सुतांश्च लप्सीष्टां धनं च तात, छन्धोध्येषीष्टां व्याकरणं च, भद्र ।

Order :—कष्टं कुरुं भाम च गच्छ ; यवान् लुनीहि संकतं पिब ।

Why do we say "when it requires another sentence as its complement"? Observe वीर्यं 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 देः 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 —आगतां पूर्यान् मामांश्च भूमिं भूतान् or पदाश्च । Thus all words have become svarita and pluta. The final word

would, in one alternative, become anudatta also, by VIII. 2. 100, as shown under that sūtra. The force of the word अवि in the sūtra, is to make the final word also svarita and thus this sūtra makes VIII. 2. 100 an *optional* sūtra with regard to question.

In *Ākhyāna* 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 अगतांश्च पूर्वांश्च ग्रामांश्च भेदः ॥

Another view of this sūtra is that the word अवि applies only to *Ākhyāna*, so that in *Ākhyāna* *all* words become svarita. But in *prāśna*, the final word will not become svarita, but anudatta *necessarily* by VIII. 2. 100. According to this view, this sūtra does not ordain *option*. This view is not adopted by Kāśikā, or Padamanjari or Siddhanta Kaumudi.

प्लुतावैच इदुतौ ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्लुतौ, ऐचः, इदुतौ ॥

वृत्तिः पूरद्धूतदिउ प्लुतो विहितः तत्र ऐचः प्लुतप्रसङ्गे तदवयवभूताविदुतौ 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 ऐकृतिकायन औश्पगव ।

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 हवेते 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 (2½) 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+इ३ and अ+उ३ or the whole has four mātṛās. According to this view a vowel may have four mātṛās also.

एचोऽप्रगृह्यस्यादूराद्धूते पूर्वस्यार्द्धस्यादुत्तरस्येदुती॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एचो, अ-प्रगृह्यस्य, अदूराद्धूते, पूर्वस्य अर्धस्य, आत्, उत्तरस्य ईत्, उती ॥

वृत्तिः । एचोऽप्रगृह्यस्यादूराद्धूते प्लुतविषयस्यार्द्धस्याकार आदेशो भवति स च प्लुत उत्तरस्यकारोकारादेशो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् । विषयपरिगणं कर्तव्यं । वा० । प्रश्नान्ताभिपूजितविचार्यमाणप्रत्यभिवादयाज्यान्तेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० । आमन्त्रिते छन्दसि प्लुतविकारोऽयं वक्तव्यः ।

107. In the diphthongs, which are not Pragṛhya (I. 1. 11 &c) and which become pluta under the circumstances mentioned in VIII. 2. 83 &c., but not when that circumstance is a call from a distance (VIII. 2. 84); for the first half, there is substituted the prolated आ, and for the second portion इ or उ ॥

The diphthongs or एच् are ए ऐ, ओ and औ । Their elements are अ+इ, and अ+उ । When these diphthongs are to be prolated, *at the end of a word*, the diphthong is resolved into its elements, the *first* portion अ is prolated, and इ or उ added, as the case may be. This इ and उ, in fact, are the substitutes of the second portion, which may be इ or उ, or ए or ओ ॥

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 अगमा३ः पूर्वा३न् मामा३न् अग्निभूता३ई । or पदा३ई ॥ भद्रं करोषि माणवका३ अग्निभूता३ई or पदा३ई ॥ So also VIII. 2. 97. होतव्यं वीक्षितस्य शूरा३ई ॥ So also VIII. 2. 83, as :—आयुष्मान् एधि अग्निभूता३ई or पदा३ई । So also VIII. 2. 90.—as.

उक्षान्नाय वक्षान्नाय सोमपृष्ठाय वेधसे ।

स्तोमैर्विधेमाग्रया३ई ॥ (Text 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 विष्णुभूते३ घातयिष्यामि स्वा आनच्छ भो माणवक विष्णुभूते ॥

In fact, the present sūtra being confined to the above mentioned four rules, the words अदूराद्धूते in the sūtra, are redundant : and should not have

been used. Moreover the word पदान्त should have been used in the sūtra, for it applies to c'phthongs at the *end* of a pada. Therefore, not here, भद्रं करोषि गौरिति । Here गौ before the sarvanāmasthāna affix सु is not a Pada (I 4. 17)

Why do we say 'when it is not a Pragīhya'? Observe शोभने खलु स्थःखद्वे ३ ।

Vart:—This peculiar modification of pluta vowel takes place in the Vocative case in the Vedas. As अग्ना३इ पत्नीवा३ः सजुर्वेवेन त्वष्टा सोम पिब । Here by no other rule, the Vocative would have become prolated

तयोर्द्यावचि संहितायाम् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तयोः य, वौ, अचि, संहितायाम् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ तयोरिदुतोर्यकारवकारादेशौ भवतो ऽचि संहितायां विषये ॥

Kārikā किं तु यणा भवतीह न सिद्धं ग्राविदुतोर्यदयं विदधाति ।
तौ च मम स्वरसन्धिषु सिद्धौ शाकलदीर्घविधी तु निवर्त्यौ ॥
इकं तु यदा भवति प्लुतपूर्वस्तस्य यण विवधात्पवादम् ।
तेन तयोश्च न शाकलदीर्घो यणस्वरबाधनमेव तु हेतुः ॥

108. For these vowels इ and उ are substituted य् and व् when a vowel follows them in a samhita (in an unbroken flow of speech).

The word संहितायाम् is an adhikāra and exerts its influence upto the end of the Book. Whatever we shall teach hereafter, upto the end of the Book, will apply to words which are in Sanhitā

Thus अग्ना३याशा पदा३वाशा अग्ना३यिन्द्रम्, पदा३वृक्कम् ।

Why do we say "when a vowel follows"? Observe अग्ना३इ, पदा३उ ॥

Why do we say संहितायाम् 'in a continuous interrupted flow of speech'? Observe अग्ना३ इ इन्द्रम्, पदा३उ 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 यणचि (VI. 1. 77). But supposing that somehow or other, these इ and उ be considered siddha, still the present rule is necessary to prevent their lengthening before a homogeneous vowel (VI. 1. 101), or their retaining their form unchanged by VI. 1. 127. If it be said, that these rules VI. 1. 101, and VI. 1. 127, would not apply because of the Vārtika इकः प्लुतपूर्वस्य सवर्णदीर्घ बाधनार्थं यणादेशो वक्तव्यः (Vārtika to VI. 1. 77); still the present sūtra ought to be made, in order to prevent यण accent (VIII. 2. 4)

Kārikā:—Q. Could not this have been accomplished by the यणादेश of VI. 1. 77, that the Acharya has taught this separate य् and व् substitution?

Ans.—If you say that pluta is siddha in the vowel sandhi rules, because of the jñāpaka n 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 यणदिक् 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 यण-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 भोइ इ इन्द्र = भोइ यिन्द्र ।

Here इ is a Nipāta.

ओ३म् ।

अथ अष्टमाध्यास्य तृतीयः पादः ।

BOOK EIGHTH.

CHAPTER THIRD.

मतुवसो रु सम्बुद्धौ छन्दसि ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतु, वसोः, रु, सम्बुद्धौ, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्ति मत्वन्तस्य वस्वन्तस्य च पदस्य रुत्वयमादेशो भवति सम्बुद्धौ परतः छन्दसि विषये ।
वार्तिकम् वन उपसख्यान कर्तव्यम् । वा० भवद्भगवत्पवतामोच्चावस्य ।

1. For the final of the affixes मत् and वस्, there is substituted रु, in the Vocative singular, in the Chhandas.

The word सहितार्या 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 मेदिनं, त्वा ॥ Here मरुत्वः is Vocative Sg. of मरुत्वन् and हरिवः of हरिवन्, meaning 'he who is possessed of Maruts or Hari horses'. The म of मत् is changed to व by VIII 2 10; 15. The base मरुन् before this termination is Bha by I 4 19. The affix सु (nom sg) is elided by VI 1. 68 the त् is elided by VIII 2 23, and the न् (of तुम् VII 1 70) is changed to रु by this sūtra. So also इन्द्राय हि तूतुजानः उपब्रह्माणि हरिव (Rig. I. 3 6)

With वस् —मीद्वस्तोकाग्र तर्नयाय मृळ (Rig. II. 33. 14), इन्द्रसाह । See VI. 1. 12, for the formation of मीद्वान्, साह्वान् with कृषु

Why do we say 'of मत् and वस्'? Observe ब्रह्मन् स्तोष्यामः । Why do we say in the Vocative Singular? Observe य एव विद्वानग्निमाधत्ते । Why do we say in the Chhandas? Observe हे गोमन्, 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 यस्त्वायन्त वसुन प्रातरित्वा । The word प्रातरित्वन् is formed by adding कृनिप् to the root व (वृष्) preceded by प्रातः । See III. 2 75. The तुक् is added by VI 1. 71

Vart. The finals of भवन् भगवन् and अघवन् are changed to रु optionally in the secular as well as the sacred literature, and the syllable अच् of these words is changed to ओ ॥ This is a general rule applying both in the Vedas and the Bhâshâ. Thus भवन् हे भो or हे भवन् । भगवन् हे भगो or हे भगवन् अघवन्—हे अघो or हे अघवन् । Or these words भो भगो and अघो are so irregularly formed by the âchârya himself in VIII 3 17. These are found in other numbers than the Vocative Singular, as भो देवदत्तयज्ञवर्त्तौ भो देवदत्तयज्ञवत्त विष्णुमित्राः । It is found in connection with Feminine nouns also, as भो ब्राह्मणि ॥

The adhikâra 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 (Vâtika 2) by which the lopa is considered siddha in हरिव, otherwise there would have been no उ change in हरिवो मे &c.

अत्रानुनासिकः पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्र, अनुनासिकः, पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥ वृत्तिः । अधिकारोऽयम् इत उत्तरं यस्य स्थाने रुविधीयत ततः पूर्वस्य तु वर्णस्य वाऽनुनासिको भवतीत्येतदधिकृतं 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 adhikâra 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 सम् there is रु when सुद् augment follows". The vowel अ of सम् becomes nasal ; as संस्कृत्ता, संस्कृत्तुम्, संस्कृत्तव्यम् ।

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 adhikâra 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 (adhikâra) 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.

आतोवि नित्यम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, अटि, नित्यम् ॥ वृत्तिः । अदि परतो रोः पूर्वस्याकारस्य स्थाने नित्यमनुनासिकादेशो भवति

3. A nasal vowel is *always* substituted for आ before ह, when it is followed by a letter of अच् pratyâhâna (i. e. when it is followed by a vowel or ह, य, व, or र).

Thus VIII 3 9 teaches ह substitution of न्, the long आ preceding it, would have been optionally nasal by the last sūtra. The present sūtra makes it necessarily so. Thus महो असि (Rig III 46. 2) महो इन्द्रो य ओजसा (Rig VIII. 6 1) देवो अच्छादीव्यत् ॥

Some (i. e. the Taittiriya) read it as anusvāra. This is a Vedic diversity.

Why do we say "for a long आ"? Observe ये वा वनस्पतीरनु । Why do we say "when a vowel or ह, य, व or र follows"? Observe भवांश्चरति, भवांश्छादयति ।

The word नित्य 'always' is employed for the sake of distinctness only. The very fact of making a separate sūtra, would give it a compulsory force, even without the word nitya.

अनुनासिकात्परो ऽनुस्वारः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुनासिकात्, परः, अनुस्वारः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकादन्यो यो वर्णः रोः पूर्वं यस्यानुनासिको न विहितस्ततः परो ऽनुस्वार आगमो भवति ॥

4. After what precedes ह, if we omit to substitute the nasal, then anusvāra shall be the augment.

The substitution of nasal is *optional* by VIII 3 2. When nasal is not substituted, we add an anusvāra to such vowel. The word अन्य should be read into the sūtra to complete the sense, i. e. अनुनासिकात् अन्यो यो वर्णः "a letter *other than* a nasal", i. e. a letter for which nasal has not been ordained, and which stands before ह ।

Thus VIII 3 5, teaches ह substitution of the न् of सम्, an anusvāra would be added. As संस्कर्त्ता संस्कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ Similarly VIII 3. 6, teaches ह substitution of the न् of पुम् । An anusvāra will be added here also, as, पुंस्काना ॥ Similarly VIII 3 7 teaches ह substitution of final न् । Here also an anusvāra will be added, as भवांश्चरति ।

Some say "the word पर in the sūtra means अन्य, and so we need not supply the word अन्य from outside". They say अनुनासिकात् परः — अनुनासिकादन्यः ; i. e. the anusvāra takes place in that alternative when there is no nasal. That anusvāra is an *augment* and not a *substitute*. It is an augment to the vowel which precedes ह ।

समः सुटि ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः, सुटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम इत्येतस्य कर्भवति सुटि परतः संहितायां विषये ॥

यार्त्तिकम् ॥ संपुक्रानां सा वक्तव्याः । वा० ॥ रामो वा लोपमेव ।

5. रु is substituted for the म् of सम् (and thereby अँ or अं is substituted for अ) when the augment स्र follows, in a samhitâ.

The augment सुद् is added by VI. 1 137 &c. Thus संस्कृत्ता or संस्कृता, संस्कृत्तम् or संस्कृतम्, संस्कृत्तव्यम् or संस्कृत्वम् । The word is thus evolved सम् + स्र + कर्ता — स्र + स + कर्ता (VIII. 3. 5). Here rule VIII 3 15 appears and requires र् to be changed to visajannya. 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 स्र by VIII 3 34. In fact, the option of VIII. 3 36 is a determinate option (vyavasthita vibhâshâ) and does not apply to the present case.

Or even this sūtra may be so read as to teach the स्र substitution as well. Thus, the sūtra is सम्ः स्रुद्धि with two स्र and the sūtra will mean, “रु is substituted for the म् of सम् before सुद्, and this रु is always changed to स्र” ॥

Why do we say “for the म् of सम्”? Observe उपस्कृता ॥ Why do we say “before सुद्”? Observe सकृत् ।

Vārt . For the finals of सम्, पुम् and कान् there is always substituted त् ॥ There would arise anomalies, if रु be substituted. Thus सस्कृता पुस्कामा, कांस्कान् ॥ In fact, according to this vārtika, रु is never substituted for सम् (VIII. 3 5), पुम् (VIII. 3 6) and कान् (VIII 3 12).

Vārt : समो वा लोपमके । Some would have the elision of the स्र after सम् । This *Vārtika* is not given in the Kāśikā, but the Paṭamunjan gives it, and so also the Mahābhāṣya.

According to Bhattoji Dikshita there will be 108 forms of this word संस्कृता । Thus संस्कृता and संस्कृता with the elision of स्र । Then with two स्र, as संस्कृता, संस्कृता ॥ Then we apply VIII. 4. 47 to this latter and have three स्र, as संस्कृता or संस्कृता ॥ The anusvāra is considered to be a vowel (वाच्य) for this purpose. From the three nasal forms संस्कृता संस्कृता and संस्कृता, we get three more by doubling the क् by the vārtika शर खयः । The three forms having anusvāra, will also double their anusvāra in addition to क् doubling. Thus we have 12 forms in anusvāra and six in nasal, altogether 18 forms. Then the त् will be doubled and trebled and thus with one त्, two त् and three त्, we have $3 \times 18 = 54$ forms. This will be doubled ($2 \times 54 = 108$) when वाच्य is nasalised.

पुमः खय्यम्परे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि । पुमः, खयि, अम्-परे ॥
वृत्तिः । पुमिख्येतस्य रुर्भवति अम्परे खयि परतः ।

6. रु 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 pratyâhâra).

Thus पुँस्कामा or पुस्कामा, पुँस्पुत्रं or पुस्पुत्रं, पुँस्फलं or पुस्फलम्, पुँश्चली or पुश्चली । The visarga in पुस्कामा required to be changed optionally to = jihvâ mûliya 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 पुस् is dropped by VIII 2 23 and the preceding sound is म which comes to light in forms like पुमान् &c. For the sake of distinctness, Pāṇini has elected to exhibit the shorter form पुम् when in the beginning of a composition because this shorter form पुम् is the real stem in composition. ख्य् pratyâhâra includes the ten hard consonants, and अम् pratyâhâra includes all vowels, semivowels and nasals. पुस्कामा is formed by the affix ण पुमांस कामयते

In that alternative when we read the preceding sūtra as सप्त सुसुदि, then the anuvṛtti 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 anuvṛtti of ॠ is also current, yet it will not apply here, because of its non appropriateness in that alternative.

Why do we say 'before a surd mute'? Observe पुंशस पुमव' (V 4 92). Why do we say 'followed by a vowel or semivowel or a nasal'? Observe पुंक्षीर, पुंशुर । Why do we use the word परे in the sūtra? Had we not used it, the sūtra might have been open to this construction also. The म् of पुम् is so changed before a ख्य् letter which has an अम् letter, (whether *preceding* it or *following* it). So that the rule would have applied to पुमाख्य पुमाचार ।

नश्छव्यप्रशान् ॥ ७ पदानि । न', छवि, अप्रशान् ॥

वृत्तिः नकारान्तस्य परस्य प्रशान्वर्जितस्य रुभवत्यम्परे छवि परत ।

7. ॠ is substituted for the final न् of a word, with the exception of the न् of प्रशान्, before a छव् letter (छ, ठ, थ, च, ट, त), which is followed by an अम् letter (vowel, semivowel and nasal).

The word अम्परे is to be read into this sūtra. The word अप्रशान् in the sūtra is in the Nominative case, but it has the force of Genitive.

Thus भवोच्छादयति or भवोच्छादयति भवोश्चिनोति or भवोश्चिनोति, भवोष्टीकते or भवोष्टीकते, (from the root वीक्षि 'to go'), भवोस्तरति or भवोस्तरति ।

Why do we say 'before a छव् letter'? Observe भवान् करोति. Why do we say 'with the exception of the न् of प्रशान्'? Observe प्रशाम छावति प्रशान् चिनोति. Why do we say 'when अम् follows छव्'? See भवान् स्तरकः । स्तरकः is a word, he who is dexterous in it is called स्तरकः (कन् V 2 64).

उभयथर्क्षु ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि । उभयथा, ऋक्षु ।

वृत्तिः । नकारान्तस्य पदस्य छविपरतः अम्पर उभयथा ऋक्षु भवति ।

8. In both ways, in the Rig verses.

This ordains an option to the last sūtra, by which the ६ substitution was compulsory. A word ending in ६ followed by a letter of छव् class, which itself is followed by अम् changes its final ६ to ६ optionally in the Rig Veda. Sometimes there is ६ and sometimes ६ ॥ Thus तस्मिन् स्वा वधाति or तस्मिन् स्वा वधाति, पशून्स्तौश्चक्रे ।

Why do we say "in the Rig verses"? No option is allowed here तस्मिन् स्वा वधाति सुखावितान् ॥

दीर्घादपि समानपादे । ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घान्, अटि, समानपादे ॥

वृत्तिः । दीर्घादुत्तरस्य पदान्तस्य नकारस्य रुभवत्यदि परतस्तौ चेन्निमित्तनिमित्तिनौ समानपादे भवतः ।

9 ६ is optionally substituted for that final ६ 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 लृ), when these (६ 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 ऋक्षु. The word समानपाद means एकपाद, i. e. when both words are in one and the same Pāda of the verse. Thus परिधीँ रति (Rig IX 107. 19) रा वेवाँ एहवक्षति (Rig I 1. 2) वेवाँ वाच्छादीव्यत्, महौ इन्द्रो य भोजसा ।

Why do we say 'preceded by a long vowel'? Observe वाहन्नहिम् ॥ Why do we say "when followed by a vowel ० य व ० र"? Observe रुभ्यान् क्षत्रियान् । Why do we say 'when both words are in the same Pāda of a verse'? Observe यातुधानान् उपस्पृश ।

The word उभयथा of the preceding sūtra is understood here also : so that it is an optional rule and ६ remains unchanged also, as वावितान् इवामहं वावितान् वाचिषामहे ॥ See VIII. 3 3

नृन्पे । १० ॥ पदानि ॥ नृन्, पे ।

वृत्तिः । नृन्त्यतस्य नकारस्य रुभवति पशब्दे परतः ॥

10. ६ is optionally substituted for the ६ of नृन् before प् ॥

The अ in प is for the sake of pronunciation only. Thus नृः पाहि or नृः पाहि, नृः प्रीणीहि ० नृः प्रीणीहि ।

Why do we say 'before प्'? Observe नृन् भोजयति । Some read the anuvṛtti 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

स्वतवान्पायौ ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वतवान्, पायौ ॥

वृत्तिः स्वतवानित्येतस्य नकारस्य रुर्भवति पायुशब्द परतः ।

11. The न् of स्वतवान् is changed to रु before पायु ॥

As स्व. व पायुग्ने (R g 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 भञ्जन् (स्वन्तवो यस्यऽसौ स्वतवान्) ।

कानाम्नेडिते ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि । कान्, आम्नेडिते ॥

वृत्तिः । कानित्येतस्य नकारस्य रुर्भवति आम्नेडिते परतः ।

12. रु is substituted for the न् of कान् when it is followed by another कान् which is an āmreḍita.

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 āmreḍita, then the rule applies. Thus कौस्कान् आमन्वयते, कौस्कान् भोजयति ; or कौस्कान् &c When the second कान् is not an āmreḍita, we have कान् कान् पश्यति ? Here one is किं asking question, and the other is used in the sense of contempt. This word is read in the list of कस्कादि (VIII 3 48), and hence sūtra VIII. 3. 37, does not apply. Or the स् of सम. स्मुदि (VIII 3. 5), is understood here, and that स् is enjoined here and not रु ॥ It should not be objected that in the preceding sūtras also स् should be enjoined and not रु, because in those sūtras रु is appropriate but not so here.

Why do we say 'when an āmreḍita 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 ढ when ढ follows.

Though this sūtra is read in the division of Grammar which is governed by पश्चाधिकार, yet this elision takes place only when the ढ is not at the end of a pada. Thus लीढ from लिङ् । त ॥ The ङ is changed to ढ by VIII. 2. 31, and the त is first changed to ध by VIII 2 40, and then to ढ by VIII. 4. 41. Thus लिङ् । ढ ॥ The first ढ is elided by this sūtra. Similarly मीढम्, उपगूढम्. 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 श्वलिङ् + ढोक्ते where ढ of ढोक्ते is primary.

Ans—No. Here the first ढ will be changed to ङ by जश् rule (VIII. 2. 39) and so there will be no occasion to elide it. The form will be श्वलिङ् ढोक्ते ॥ Nor is this ढ लोपः rule an apavāda to जश् rule, because it has its scope in लीढ &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 जश्च will take place first. Moreover in लिङ्+ङ there is similarity of *sounds* (श्रुतिकृत आनन्तर्यम्) though there may not be theoretical similarity (शास्त्रकृत आनन्तर्यम्) when the change of ध into ढ 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 ङौक्ते there is neither similarity of sounds (śruti kṛtamānantarīyam) between ङ् and ढ्, nor similarity created by any technical rule. therefore ढ लोप has no scope here. It is Bahiranga as well as subsequent to जश् rule (VIII. 2. 39), and therefore *doubly* asiddha, and consequently it does not defeat the जश् rule. So when ढ् is changed to ङ् by जश् rule (VIII. 2. 39) in श्लिङ्, then there remains no sort of ānantarīya neither of śruti nor of śāstra.

रो रि ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ र, रि ॥

वृत्ति ॥ रेफस्य रेफे परतो लोपो भवति ।

14. र् is elided before a र् ॥

The sūtra is रः रि, and not रोः रि ॥ That is रो रि is the form which र रि and रो रि will both assume. रः is the Genitive of र्, and रोः would be the Genitive of रु ॥ The sūtra is not confined to रु only, but to every र् in general including रु । Thus नीरक्तम्, वृस्कम् where it is simple र् of निर् and वृर्, and अग्नी रथः, and इन्द्र रथः where it is रु (अग्नि रथः, इन्द्र रथः). The lengthening is by VI. 3. 111. The word पदस्य is understood here, and the Genitive here has the force of विशेषण i. e. a quality, or avayava shasṭhī; 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 stāna-shasṭhī, then रेफ would qualify पद, and the rule would mean "र् should be elided before a र् when at the *end* of a word". See VIII. 1. 16. But we have the elision of the *penultimate* र् in अजर्घर् the second person singular of the Imperfect of the Intensive, and we get the form अजर्घा । See VIII. 2. 37. So also अपास्पा from स्पर्ध in Intensive, Imperfect. The reduplicate is lengthened by VII. 4. 83 the ञप् is elided, and सिप् is elided by VI. 1. 68, the final ध् is changed to ढ् by VIII. 2. 39, and this ढ् changed to र् by VIII. 2. 75.

खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खर, अवसानयोः, विसर्जनीयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफान्तस्य पदस्य खरि परतो वसाने च विसर्जनीयादेशो भवति ॥

15. The Visarjanīya is substituted for र्, before a खर् consonant or when there is a Pause.

The word रः is understood. The visarga is the substitute of र् final in a Pada, before surd consonants and sibilants, or at a Pause,

Thus वृक्षच्छव्यति (VIII. 3. 34, VIII. 4. 40), हृक्षच्छव्यति, वृक्षस्तरति, हृक्षस्तरति, वृक्षष्टकारः, हृक्षष्टकारः, वृक्षष्टीकते, हृक्षष्टीकते, वृक्षश्चिनोति, हृक्षश्चिनोति. Pause.—वृक्षः, हृक्षः ।

Who do we say "before a खर् consonant or at a Pause"? Observe अग्निर्नयति, वायुर्नयति, नार्कुदः (वृ कुड्यां भव), नार्पस्यः (वृ पत्तेरपस्य) । 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 sasanthi 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 । रु इत्येतस्य रेफस्य सुपि परतो विसर्जनीयविशो भवति ।

16. Visarjaniya is substituted for the रु called र (and not any other र), before the Locative Plural case-affix सु ॥

Thus पयसु, सर्पिषु, यशसु ॥ 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 रु becomes visarga, and not any other र् ॥ Thus गीर्षु, भूर्षु, when the र् is not रु ॥ In पयस् &c, the स् becomes रु by VIII. 2. 66.

भोभगोअघोअपूर्वस्य योशि ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भो, भगो, अघो, अपूर्वस्य, यः, अशि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भो भगो अघो इत्येवंपूर्वस्य अघोपूवस्य च रो रेफस्य यकारोदशो भवति अशि परतः ॥

17. य् is substituted for the रु called र, when it is preceded by भो, भगो, अघो, अ or आ, before an अश् letter (vowels and soft consonants).

Thus भो अश्, भगो अश्, अघो अश्, भो ददाति, भगो ददाति, अघो ददाति ॥ क आस्ते, कश् आस्ते, ब्राह्मणा ददाति, पुरुषा ददाति । The य् is elided by VIII. 3. 19, 20, 22 &c. With य, the forms will be भोयश्, भगोयश्, अघोयश् ॥

Why do we say 'when preceded by भो &c'? Observe अग्निरश्, वायुरश् ॥ Why do we say 'when followed by a letter of अश् pratyāhāra'? Observe 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 अश् is employed in this sūtra for the sake of subsequent sūtras. Its employment here is superfluous. For letters other than अश् are खर् ॥ Before a खर् letter, the र् will be changed to visarga by VIII. 3. 15; and the यस्व of this rule will be considered as asiddha for the purposes of VIII. 3. 15, so there will necessarily be visarga. Thus अश् 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 अश्, namely those consonants only which are in the class अश् ॥ Before any other consonant there will be no elision of य ॥ Thus वृक्षं वृक्षति = वृक्षवृद्ध ॥ The denominative verb from this will be वृक्षयति । A secondary derivative from this root, with the affix

विच् will be वृक्षच् as in वृक्षच् करोति । Here वृ would require elision by VIII 3. 22, before कृ, 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 वृक्षच् करोति ॥

This sūtra applies to रु called र्, therefore not here प्रातरञ्च, पुनरञ्च ॥

व्योर्लघुप्रयत्नतरः शाकटायनस्य ॥ १८ । पदानि ॥ व्योः, लघुप्रयत्नतरः, शाकटायनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः । वकारयकारयोर्भोगोअघोअवर्णपूर्वयोः पदान्तयोर्लघुप्रयत्नतर आदेशो भवति, अक्षि परतः, शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

18. वृ and यृ (in भगोयृ &c and after अ or आ, at the end of a Pada) are pronounced with a lighter articulation before an अक्ष letter, according to the opinion of Śākaṭāyana.

That the effort in pronouncing which is very light is called laghu-prayatna - tara. Effort or articulation is a quality of the person who utters and which is the cause of the utterance of a letter. वृ and यृ of lighter articulation are substituted for the final वृ and यृ in भोयृ, भगोयृ, अघोयृ, or after an अ or आ ॥ The lighter वृ will replace the heavy वृ, and so the lighter यृ the heavy यृ ॥

Thus भोयञ्च, भगोयञ्च, अघोयञ्च कयास्ते or क आस्ते, अस्माद्युद्धर or अस्मा उद्धर, असावादिष्य or असा आविष्य, द्वावञ्च or द्वा अञ्च, द्वावानय or द्वा वानय ॥

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, वृ and यृ are to be slurred over.

लोपः शाकट्यस्य ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, शाकट्यस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वकारयकारयोः पदान्तयोर्वर्णपूर्वयोर्लोपो भवति शाकट्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेनाक्षि परतः ।

19. वृ and यृ preceded by अ or आ and at the end of a pada, are elided before an अक्ष letter, according to the opinion of Śākalya.

As क आस्ते or कयास्ते, काक आस्ते or काकयास्ते, अस्मा उद्धर or अस्माद्युद्धर, द्वावञ्च or द्वा अञ्च, असावादिष्य or असा आविष्य ॥

The name of Śākalya is used to make it an optional rule. Therefore, where there is not the lighter articulation of वृ and यृ 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* व् and य् 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 ॥

वृत्ति । ओकारादुत्तरस्य यकारस्य लोपो भवति गार्ग्यस्याच्चार्यस्य मतेन भाषी परत ॥

20. य् preceded by ओ is elided, according to the opinion of Gārgya before an अश् letter.

There can be no व् preceded by ओ so only य् is taken in explaining the sūtra. Thus ओ अन्न, भगो अन्न, भो इवम्, भगो इवम् ॥

The making of it a separate sūtra, is for the sake of indicating that this is a necessary (*nitya*) rule and not a vibhāshā rule. The name of Gārgya is used simply *honoris causa* (pujārtha) The elision of laghu prayatna य्, which VIII 3 19 would have otherwise caused is hereby prohibited. So that laghu prayatnatara य् does come also. As भो अन्न or भोयन्न, भगो अन्न or भगोयन्न, भघो अन्न and भघोयन्न ।

According to others every kind of य् (whether heavy or light) is to be elided: and भोयन्न is not valid in their opinion.

उजि च पदे ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उजि, च पदे ॥

वृत्ति । अवर्णपूर्वयोः व्योः पादान्तयोर्लोपो भवति उजि च पदे परत ॥

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 उज्, and not the उज्, which is a root obtained by the samprasāraṇa of वेज् । Thus स उ एकविंशति, स उ एकामि ॥

Why do we use the word पदे “उ when it is a pada” ? So that the rule may not apply to उज् the form assumed by वेज् by samprasāraṇa as तन्त्रे उतं = तन्त्रयुतम् ॥ Obj उज् could never have meant the form assumed by वेज्, for the samprasāraṇa of वेज् is उ the ज्’s merely indicatory. Moreover the maxim of lakṣhana-pratipadokta &c, will prevent the inclusion of this उज् resulting from vocalisation when there is a separate Particle उज् ।

Ans.—The word पदे is used here for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VIII. 3. 32. So that ड्डुह् may come before a *word* beginning with a vowel, and not before a vowel which is a *prefix*. Thus there is no double व् in परमवर्द्धना । 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 पदान्तस्य लोपो भवति सर्वेषामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥

22. (The य preceded by भो, भगो, अघो, or by अ or आ, being final in a pada, is elided) before a consonant, according to the opinion of all Âchâryas.

Thus भो हसति, भगो हसति, अघो हसति; भो याति, भगो याति अघो याति, वृक्ष हसति । Though the anuvṛtti of वृ and य both is present here, yet we have taken य only to the exclusion of वृ. Because after भो, भगो and अघो there is य only, and never वृ; and वृ can come only when preceded by अ or आ the only example of which given by Grammarians is वृक्षश्च करोति (VIII 3 17) Here वृ is not elided, because the word अक्षि qualifies the word हलि of this sūtra.

Q. But य should be elided in वृक्षश्च हसति because ह is an अक्ष letter.

Ans. There is no such example to be found in any standard author. Moreover Patanjali in his commentary on the Pratyâhâra sūtra लण् says that no words can end in ह, य, र, वृ or लृ. So that the existence of the very word वृक्षश्च is doubtful.

The word saiveshâm 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 पदान्तस्यानुस्वार आदेशो भवति हलि परतः

23. The Anusvâra is substituted for म्, at the end of a word, before a consonant.

Thus कुण्डं हसति, वनं हसति, कुण्डं याति, वनं याति । The word हलि is understood in this sūtra. Therefore not here, स्वमन्त्र, किमन्त्र. The म् must be at the end of pada; therefore not here; गम्यते, रम्यते.

नश्चापदान्तस्य झलि ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, च, अपदान्तस्य, झलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाकारस्य मकारस्य चापदान्तस्यानुस्वारोदेशो भवति झलि परतः ।

24. The Anusvâra is substituted for the न् and म्, not final in a pada, before all consonants, with the exception of Nasals and semi-vowels.

Thus पयांसि, यशांसि, सर्पांसि, धनूषि with न् (VII 1. 72); and आक्रंस्यते, आदि-क्रस्यते, अधिजिगांसते with म् ।

Why do we say 'not final in a Pada'? Observe राजन् मुहुक्ष्व ॥ Why do we say 'before a झल्ल consonant'? See रम्यते, गम्यते.

मो राजि समः कौ ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मः, राजि, समः, कौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समो मकारस्य मकार आदेशो भवति राजौ द्विगुणस्ययान्ते परतः ।

25. म् is substituted for the म् of सम, before the word राज् ending with the affix क्विप् ॥

Thus सम्राट् साम्राज्यम् । The substitution of म for म् is for the sake of preventing the anusvāra change (cf VII 1. 40) Why do we say 'before राज्'? See सद्यत् (VI. 4 40 Vā 1) Why do we say 'of सम्'? Observe किं राट् (V 4 70) Why do we say ending with क्विप्? Observe संराजिता, संराजितुम्, संराजितव्यम्

The क्विप् is added by III 2 61, the ज्'s changed to ष् by VIII. 2 36, which is changed to ह् at the end of a word in सम्राट् साम्राज्यम् is formed by व्यम् affix as it belongs to Brāhmaṇādi class.

हे मपरे वा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हे, मपरे, वा ॥

वृत्ति । हकारे मकारपरं परतो मकारस्य वा मकार आवेशो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् । यवलपरे यवला 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 हल्यति, 'what does he cause to shake'? कथं हल्यति or कथमहल्यति ।

Vart —Before ह्, ह्, and ह्, the preceding म् may be changed to य, ष, or ल respectively. Thus किं ह् or किं ह् what does it matter about yesterday? किं हल्यति or किं हल्यति 'what does he cause to shake'? किं ह्लाद्यति or किं ह्लाद्यति 'what gladdens'.

नपरे नः । २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपरे, नः, ॥

वृत्ति ॥ नकारपरं हे परत मकारस्य वा नकारावेशो भवति ।

27. न् is optionally substituted for म्, when it is followed by ह् which has a न् after it.

म् becomes न् before a word beginning with ह्; as किम् हनुते or किं हनुते 'what withholds' कथमहनुते or कथं हनुते ।

ऊणोः कुक्कुट् शरि ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊणोः, कुक्, टुक्, शरि ॥

वृत्ति ॥ उकारणकार्यो पदान्तयो कुक्कुट् इत्येतावागमौ वा भवतः ।

28. The augment क् is added to a final ऊ, and the augment ट् to a final ण्, before a sibilant, optionally.

Thus प्राङ्क् शेते, or प्राङ् शेते, प्राङ्क् षष्ठः or प्राङ् षष्ठः, प्राङ्क् साये or प्राङ् साये ॥ षण् शेते or षण् 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 *saṁhita* 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 प्राङ्क् शेते also. This change of श would not have taken place had the augment क् been added to

श् of शेते, because in शञ्छोदि (VIII 4 63) the क्षय letter must be at the end of a pada. So that if क् were added to श of शेते, as क्शेते here too श follows a क्षय letter, but this क्षय letter (क्) is not at the *end* of a pada, so श will not be changed to छ (VIII. 4 63). Thus श is not changed to छ in the body of a word, like विरप्शिन् though प् is a क्षय letter पुरा कूरस्य विसृषो विरप्शिन् । विरप्शिन् = महन्, formed with the Preposition वि added to the root रप्, with the Uṇādi affix शिनि ।

Moreover in प्राङ् 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 प्राङ् क्षाये, for then VIII. 3 111, would not have applied, as स was no longer at the beginning of a pada

Moreover in षण्ड् साये, the स is not changed to ष because of the prohibition of VIII. 4 42. Had ण् been the augment of साये, as ण्साये, then there would have been the change of स to ष by VIII 4. 41.

डः सि धुक् ॥ २६ । पदानि ॥ डः, सि धुक् ॥

वृत्तिः । डकारान्तात्पञ्चदशोत्तरस्य सकारादे 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 श्वलिद् रसाये or श्वलिद् साये मधुलिद् रसाये or मधुलिद् साये

The word डः is to be construed as Ablative singular, and not Genitive singular of ड्, because of the maxim उभयनिर्वेशे पञ्चमी निर्वेशो बलीयान् ॥

Q. Why it is धुक् and not धुक्, in other words, why is this augment added to the beginning of the second word and not to the end of the first?

Ans.—This is done in order to prevent the ण्ड change by VIII 4 41. But being at the beginning of the second word, VIII 4. 42 would prevent this change श्वलिद् + साये = श्वलिद् रसाये, (VIII 4 41) but the correct form is श्वलिद् रसाये ॥ For the ह of श्वलिद् is ड substituted by VIII 2. 31, which becomes ड् by VIII. 2. 39, for the ध of the augment, त is substituted by VIII 4 55, and for ड् there is ह by the same rule.

नश्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तात्पञ्चदशोत्तरस्य सकारस्य वा धुडागमो भवति ॥

30. After a word ending in न्, धुक् is optionally the augment to a word beginning with स् ॥

Thus भवान् रसाये, महान् रसाये or भवान् साये, महान् साये ॥ The ध् 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 धुक् and not तुक् ॥ In sūtra VIII. 3. 29 तुक् would have done as well but not so here. This view of the Kāśikā, however, is not approved by Padamanjarī The न् can never be changed to ह here, because न् is followed

by स् which is not an अम् letter. The word अम्परे is understood in VIII. 3. 7. In fact तुद् would have been a better augment.

शि तुक् । ३१ । पदानि ॥ शि, तुक् ॥

वृत्तिः नकारस्य पदान्तस्य 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 भवाञ् छते । 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 धुद् added to the second would have been as good as तुक् namely Loth are त्, but then छ change would not have taken place.

Obj. If this be so, then why न् is not changed to ण्, since it is no longer final in a pada when तुक् is added to it, in कुर्वञ् छते ॥

Ans. This is to be thus explained. The sūtra स्तोः इक्षुना इक्षुः (VIII. 4. 40) should be divided into two parts, in order to prevent ण change. Thus the first part will be स्तोः इक्षुना, which will mean that स and तु followed by श and क्षु will not cause the change of न to ण ॥ The next sūtra will be इक्षुः, which will mean that the preceding स and तु are changed to श and क्षु respectively.

ङमो ह्रस्वादचि ङमुणित्यम् । ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङमः, ह्रस्वात्, अचि, ङमुद्, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ह्रस्वात्परो यो ङम् तदन्तात्परादुत्तरस्याचो ङमुङागमो भवति नित्यम् ॥ ङणनेभ्यो यथासंख्यं ङणना भवति ॥

32. After a word ending in ङ्, ण् or न् which is preceded by a ligat 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 ङमः is in the Ablative singular here; and ह्रस्वात् qualifies ङमः, and ङम् itself qualifies the word पदस्य understood, and thus there is tada ita-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 ङमः ॥ 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. ङम् is a pratyāhāra meaning ङ्, ण् and न्, and so also ङमुद् is a pratyāhāra containing the three augments ङुद्, णुद् and नुद् ।

In other words ङ् is augment after ङ्, ण् after ण् and न् after न्; or that these letters are doubled practically. Thus ङुद् is the augment after a word ending in ङ्, as मत्सङ्कास्ति ॥ णुद् is the augment after a word ending in ण्, as

सृणास्ते ॥ इद् is the augment after a word ending in न्, as कुर्यन्नास्ते, कुर्यन्नवोचत्, कृ-
षन्नास्ते, कृषन्नवोचत्

Why do we say 'ending in ङ, ण or न' ? See स्वमास्ते । Why do we say 'preceded by a light vowel' ? Observe प्राङ्मास्ते, भवानास्ते । Why do we say 'followed by a vowel' ? Observe प्रत्यङ्करोति ॥

The Mahabhāshya thus comments on this aphorism .—

Vārt: इद्गुणि पदादिग्रहणम् "The इद्गुण augment is added to a vowel which stands at the beginning of a word". So that in इण्डिन् + आ (Ins. Sing.), इद् is not added to आ because it is not the beginning of a Pada. Then should this vārtika be held to be necessary? No, because the word पदात् is understood here, so इद् will not come in इण्डिना ॥ But then it will come in परमइण्डिन् + आ ॥ Because it is a compound of two nouns, and though the case affixes have been elided, yet इण्डिन् is here a Pada by reason of pratyaya lakṣhaṇa, and hence there should be इद् here added to आ । Ans. This is no valid objection इण्डिन् is not here a Pada, on the maxim उत्तरपदत्वे चापवादिविधौ लुगता लुप्तं 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 परमइण्डिन् the word इण्डिन् 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 इधिसेचौ, the second member सेच् is considered as a Pada for the purposes of the rule सात् पदाद्योः (VIII 3 111), and the स is not changed to ष । This view proceeds upon the supposition that the word पदात् governs this sūtra. But the anuvṛtti of पदात् ceased with VIII 1. 27, as we stated before. How are we then to get out of this difficulty? Are we to make the above vārtika necessary? No: because the anuvṛtti of पदे from VIII 3. 21 runs into this sūtra. So that the sūtra means अजादौ पदे इद्गुण भवति ॥ "The augment इद्गुण is added to a vowel with which a Pada commences". Not therefore to the case affix आ in इण्डिना ॥

मय उओ वो वा ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयः, उअः, वः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मय उत्तरस्य उओ 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, ह and अ), and is followed by a vowel.

Thus शसु अस्तु वेदिः or शम्बस्तु वेदिः, तद् उ अस्य रेत or तदस्य रेत, किम् उ आवपनम् or किम्वावपनम् । The उ is a Pragrahya by I 1 14, and therefore would have remained unchanged, this ordains व् optionally. This व being considered asiddha, the म् is not changed to anusvāra in किम्वावपनम्, शम्बस्तु &c, by VIII 3 23.

As वृक्ष रोते or वृक्षश्चरोते, हृक्षः रोते or हृक्षश्चरोते, वृक्ष. षण्डे or वृक्षषण्डे, वृक्षः साये or वृक्षसाये ॥ Cf. VIII. 4 40, 41, for श् and ष् ॥

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 वृक्षास्स्यात्तारः ॥

कुप्पोऽकःपौ च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुप्पोऽकःपौ च ॥

वृत्तिः । कवर्णपवर्णयोः परतो विसर्जनीयस्य यथासख्यः कः प इत्यन्तावदेशौ भवतः ॥

37. \times क and \times प are optionally substituted for the visarga, when followed by a hard guttural or a hard labial.

Thus वृक्ष \times करोति or वृक्ष करोति, वृक्ष \times खनति or वृक्ष खनति वृक्ष \times पचति or वृक्ष पचति, वृक्ष \times फलति or वृक्ष फलति । The क and प in \times क and \times प are for the sake of pronunciation only. The substitutes are the Jihvamûliya and the Upadhmanîya : 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 वास क्षौमम्, अङ्गि प्लातम् । 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) \times क \times पौ च The jihvamûliya and upadhmanîya are substitutes of a visarga before a guttural and a labial in every other case."

सोपदादौ ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, अ-पदादौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकार आदेशो भवति विसर्जनीयस्य कुप्पोरपरादयोः परतः पाशकल्पककाम्येषु ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सोपदादौ विसर्जनव्ययस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥ रेरेष काम्ये नान्यस्येति नियमार्थं वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उपध्मानीयस्य कवर्ण 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 पयस्पाशम् (V. 3. 47); पयस्कल्पम्, यशस्कल्पम्, (V. 3 67), पयस्कं, यशस्कम्, (V 3 70); पयस्काम्यति, यशस्काम्यति (III 1 9)

Why do we say 'when not at the beginning of a word'? Observe पयः काम्यते, पयः पिबति ॥

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated, when the visarga belongs to an Indeclinable . as, प्रातः कल्पम्, पुनः कल्पम् ॥

Vart: The visarga which comes from रु is only changed to स before काम्य, and not any other visarga. As पयस्काम्यात्, and यशस्काम्यति ; but not here, गी काम्यति धूकाम्यति ।

Vart :—स is the substitute of the Upadhmaniya when followed by a guttural. The root उञ्ज् (आजवे Tud 20) has Upadhmaniya as its penultimate : though it is written in the Dhātupāṭha as उञ्ज् the ञ् only represents the ण् of उञ्, and is not to be pronounced. This उञ् is changed to स, when the final ञ् is changed to a guttural, as उ स ग, and then this स is changed to द्, as in अभ्युदगः, समुद्र ।

These words, however, may be derived from the root गम् with the Prepositions अभि, उत्, and सम् उत् by adding the affix ड ।

इण. षः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, षः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपराधाविति वर्त्तते इण उत्तरस्य विसर्जनीयस्य षकारादेशो भवति कुप्योरपराधो परतः पाशकल्पककाम्येषु ॥

39. ष 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 अपराधौ 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 अभि करोति, वायु करोति, अभि पचति, वायु पचति ॥

The affix should begin with a guttural or a labial Therefore not here, सर्पिस्ते, यज्ञुस्ते ॥

In the succeeding sūtras, the anuvṛtti of स from VIII 3 39 and of इण ष 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 ष in the room of the स taught in the preceding sūtra, and not of visarga : and so also in the following sūtras.

नमस्पुरसोर्गत्योः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि । नमस्-पुरसो, गत्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नमस्पुरस् इत्येतयोर्गतिसञ्ज्ञकयो विसर्जनीयस्य सकारादेशो भवति कुप्यो. 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 पू करोति, पुरो करोति, पुरः करोति ॥ Here पुरः is a noun, Accusative Plural of पू ॥

नमस् is Gati by I 4 74, and पुरस् is Gati by I 4. 67. The anuvṛtti of अपराधौ ceases.

इतुपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य । ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इद्-उद्-उपधस्य, च, अ-प्रत्ययस्य ॥
वृत्ति । इकारोपधस्य उकारोपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य विसर्जनीयस्य षकार आदेशो भवति कुप्पो परत ॥
वार्तिकम् । पुम्बुहोःप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ।

41. ष is substituted, before a hard guttural or a labial, for the visarga which is preceded by इ or उ, and is not part of an affix.

This applies to the visarga of निर्, दुर्, बहिर, अविस् चतुर् and प्रादुस् ॥
Thus निष्कृतम्, निष्पीतम्, दुष्कृतम्, दुष्पीतम्, बहिस्, बहिष्कृतम् बहिष्पीतम्, अविस्, आविष्कृतम्, आविष्पीतम् चतुष्कृतम्, चतुष्कपालम् चतुष्कन्दलम्, चतुष्कलम् प्रादुष्कृतम् प्रादुष्पीतम् ॥

Why do we say 'when not belonging to an affix ? Observe अग्निः करोति, वायु करोति ॥ How do you explain मातुः करोति, पितुः करोति ? For here in पितुः &c, the स् of the affix is elided by VIII 2 24, and the र् of पितुर्+स् is changed to visarga ; this is not the visarga of an affix, and ought to be changed to ष ॥

Ans—The inclusion of the word भ्रातृष्पुत्र in Kaskādi 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 ekādeśa उ (VI. 1 111)

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of पुम् and बुहुस् ; as पुस्कामा, बुहुस्कामा ।

Vart :—वृद्धिभूतानां षत्वं वक्तव्यम् । The visarga is changed to ष even when इ or उ are viddhi, as नैष्कुल्यम् सौष्कुल्यम् ॥

Vart :—प्लुतानां तावौ च ॥ The visarga is changed to ष even when इ or उ are pluta, and then before dentals as well as gutturals and labials. Thus निष्कुलम्, दुष्कुलम् (VIII. 2. 86 for pluta) दुष्पुरुषः, वहीष्टरः ॥

These last two vārtikas may be dispensed with, because Vpiddhi 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 त is concerned.

तिरसोन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिरसः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिरसो विसर्जनीयस्यान्यतरस्यां सकारादेशो भवति कुप्पो परतः ॥

42. The visarga of the Gati तिरस् is optionally changed to स् before a hard guttural or a labial.

Thus तिरस्कर्त्ता, तिरस्कर्त्तुम्, तिरस्कर्त्तव्यम्, or तिरः कर्त्ता, तिरः कर्त्तुम्, तिरः कर्त्तव्यम् ॥
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)

द्विस्त्रिश्चतुरिति कृत्वोर्थे ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विः-त्रिः-चतुर्, इति, कृत्वोर्थे ।

वृत्ति ॥ ष इति संबध्यते । द्विस् त्रिस् चतुर् इत्येतेषां कृत्वोर्थे वर्त्तमानानां विसर्जनीयस्य षकार आदेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां कुप्पो परतः ।

43. ष 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 कराति or द्विष्करोति, त्रिः करोति or त्रिष्करोति, चतुः करोति or चतुष्करोति, द्विः पचति or द्विष्पचति त्रिः पचति or त्रिष्पचति, चतुः पचति or चतुष्पचति

Why do we say 'when used in the sense of kṛtvasuch or Numeral adverbs'? Observe चतुष्कपालम्, चतुष्कण्डकम्, where ष is compulsory by VIII. 3. 41 चतुर्षु कपालेषु संस्कृतः (IV 2 16 and IV 1. 88). This sūtra is an example of ubhayatra-vibhāṣhā With regard to चतुर् the visarga is a non-affix visarga, and hence VIII 3. 41, would have made ष 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-vibhāṣhā, and with regard to द्विस् and त्रिस् it is an Aprāpta-vibhāṣhā.

Why have we used the words 'dvi, tri 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 ष ।

The anuvṛitti of उ and इ is understood here from VIII. 3 41: so that the visarga must be preceded by इ and उ for the application of this rule. In पञ्चकृत्व 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 कृत्वर्थे would have been enough. For there are no other Numerals that have a penultimate इ or उ, except these three. The chief objection to this view is, that in चतुर् the visarga is not the affix सुच्, but a portion of the word (See V. 4 18): so the rule would not apply to chatur, if this word were not expressly mentioned

The various objections and their solutions are given in the following verses

कृत्वसुजर्थे षत्वं ब्रवीति कस्माच्चतुष्कपाले मा
षत्वं विभाषया भूतुनु सिद्धं तत्र पूर्वेण ॥
सिद्धे ह्ययं विधत्ते चतुरः षत्वं यद्यपि कृत्वर्थे ॥
लुप्ते कृत्वर्थीये रेफस्य विसर्जनीयो हि ।
एवं सति त्रिविधानी द्वित्रिचतुरित्यनेन किं कार्यम् ।
अन्यो हि नेतुवपधः कृत्वर्थः कभिवप्यास्ति ।
आक्रियमाणे महणे विसर्जनीयस्तदा विशेष्यत ।

चतुरो न सिध्यति तथा रेफस्य विसर्जनीयो हि ।

तस्मिंस्तु क्रियमाणे युक्त चतुरो विशेषण भवति ॥

प्रकृतं पदं तदन्तं तस्यापि विशेषणं न्याय्यम् ।

Kārikā : कृत्वसुजर्थे षत्वं ब्रवीति कस्मात् ? Why does the author teach षत्वं when these words have the sense of Numeral adverbs? In other words, why the word कृत्वोऽर्थे 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 साहचर्य does not always hold good as in दीधीवेदीदाम् (I 16), the words दीधी 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 कृत्वोऽर्थे 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 पूरणं ॥ Well this would be valid by the previous sūtra (VIII 3. 41) That [is, let in चतुष्कपाल also there be optional षत्वं, as चतु कपाल and चतुष्कपाल ॥ Now rule VIII. 3. 41 will apply to चतु.कपाल and will change this visarga to ष, so that with regard to चतुष्कपाल, we shall have *always* ष ॥ *Ans* ।सिद्धं ह्ययं विधत्ते चतुरः षत्वं यदापि कृत्वोऽर्थे 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 चतु करोत and चतुष्कराति, 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 कृत्वोऽर्थे ॥ 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 च would require to be lengthened by VI. 3. 111. and the form would be चतूर ॥

एवं सति विद्वानी द्वित्रिचतुरित्यनेन किं कार्यम् । If this be so, then what is the purpose served by using the words द्विस् त्रिश्चतुरिति in the aphorism? The simple sūtra कृत्वोऽर्थे would have been enough Because (अन्योहि नेदुपधः कृत्वोऽर्थः कश्चिदप्यस्ति) there are no other numeral adverbs than these three which have a penultimate इ or उ ॥

आक्रियमाणे ग्रहणे विसर्जनीयत्वं विशेष्येत । If we do not use the words द्विस्, त्रिस्, चतुरिति in the sūtra, then the word कृत्वोऽर्थे would qualify the word visarga, and the sūtra would mean "the visarga of an affix which has the sense of kṛtvasuch is changed optionally to ष" ॥ The result of this will be

that (चतुरा न सिध्यति तथारफस्य विसर्जनयोहि) it will not apply to चतुः where the visa ga is that of र् and not of the affix लुच् ॥

Therefore by using dvis &c, the word कृत्वोर्थे would qualify चतुर् (तस्मिन् तु क्रियमाणे युक्त चतुरो विशेषणं भवति) ।

Ans—प्रकृतं पदं तदन्त तस्यापि, विशेषण नाप्यम् ॥ Though we may not use dvis &c, the word कृत्वोर्था will not qualify visarga, but will qualify the word पद whose context runs here ; and the rule of तदन्त will apply ; so that the sūtra कृत्वोऽर्थे will mean पदस्य कृत्वोर्थे वर्त्तमानस्य यो विसर्जनीय तस्य सकारः षकारो व ॥ “The visaiga 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 visaiga 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 कृत्वोऽर्थे would be insufficient for the visaiga of चतुः though used as an adverb, the षस्व 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 4). But this however may be answered by saying that the rule of पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् applies in these chapters, with this modification, one subject-matter is considered as asiddha with regard to another subject matter gone before ; but one aphorism is not considered asiddha with regard to a previous aphorism, when belonging to the same subject matter. (प्रकरणे प्रकरणमसिद्धं न योगे योगः) । Therefore the present sūtra VIII. 3 43, would not be considered asiddha with regard to VIII 3 41. Or the present sūtra may be considered as an apavāda to VIII. 3 41 ; and an apavāda is never asiddha with regard to an utsarga.

इसुसोः सामर्थ्ये ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इस्-उसोः, सामर्थ्ये ॥

वृत्तिः । इस् उस् इत्येतयोर्विसर्जनीयस्यान्यतरस्यां षकारादेशो भवति सामर्थ्ये कुप्लोः परतः ॥

44. For the visaiga 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 सर्पिष्करोति or सर्पिः करोति, यजुः करोति or यजुष्करोति ।

Why do we say ‘when the two words are correlated’? Observe तिष्ठतु सर्पिः, पिब स्वयुक्कम्, where सर्पिः is not in construction with पिब, but with तिष्ठतु ॥

The word सामर्थ्ये here means व्यपेक्षा or mutual relation of two words ; and not “having the same meaning”, or it may mean both. In fact सामर्थ्ये is equivalent to आकाङ्क्षा i.e. the syntactical want of another word to complete the sense. It does not here mean ‘compound’, For it being a परविधिः the word समर्थः is

understood here (समर्थः पदविधिः II. 1. 1) The employment of the word सामर्थ्य here indicates that it is a different sāmāthyā from that of II. 1. 1. It does not denote एकार्थीभावः or ऐकार्थ्य which is the sāmāthyā of compounds where two or more words denote one object. The sāmāthyā here means vyapekṣhā, which is thus defined नानाभूतयोः पदार्थयो र्यौ शब्दौ वर्त्तन्ते, तयो र्यो योगः "the syntactical union of two words expressing two different ideas."

नित्यं समासेऽनुत्तरपदस्थस्य । ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, समासे, अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य ॥

वृत्तिः इत्थसोरिति वर्त्तते । समासविषये इत्थसोर्विसर्जनीयस्यानुत्तरपदस्थस्य नित्यं षत्वं भवति कुष्ठोपरतः ॥

45. The visarga of an इस् or उस्-ending word, which is not preceded by any other word, is invariably changed to ष in a compound, when followed by a hard guttural or labial.

The words इस् and उस् are understood here. Thus सर्पिष्कुण्डिका, धनुष्कपालम्, सर्पिष्पानम् धनुष्फलम् ।

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 Unādi affix इति (Un II 109), and यजुस् by the Unādi affix उत्ति (Un II 117), therefore on the maxim प्रत्ययग्रहणे &c, the word इत्थसो' would denote the mere forms सर्पिश् and यजुस् 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 विहितः स्तदावस्तदन्तस्य 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 परमसर्पिःकरोति 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 सामर्थ्य here 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 राकारोदशां भवति कृकमिकंसकुम्भपात्रकुशाकर्णी इत्येतेषुपरतः

46. For the visarga of a word ending in अस, with the exception of an Indeclinable, स is substituted in a compound, when a form of कृ and कम्, or the words कस कुम्भ, पात्र, कुशा and कर्णी follow, and the first word is not preceded by another word.

Thus कृ अयस्कारः पयस्कारः (III. 2. 1) कम्—अयस्कामः, पयस्कामः, कसः—अयस्कसः पयस्कसः, कुम्भः अयस्कुम्भः पयस्कुम्भः. So also अयस्कृम्भी पयस्कृम्भी, on the maxim प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणं भवति ॥ पात्रं अयस्पात्रम्, पयस्पात्रम्, अयस्पात्री, पयस्पात्री । कुशाः अयस्कृशाः, पयस्कृशाः । 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 अ ? See गीकार द्विकार ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by short अ ? Observe भा करणम् ॥ The form भास्कर belongs to Kaskādi class (VIII 3. 48) See also III 2. 2

Why do we say 'with the exception of an Indeclinable'? Observe स्वकारः, पुनःकारः ।

The word समासे is understood here also Therefore not here; यश्च करोति पयश्च करोति, यश्च कामयते ॥

The word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य is also to be read in this Therefore not here, परमपद कारः, परमपद कामः

Q The word कस need not have been taken, because it is a form of the root कम्, since it is derived from कम् by adding the Unādi affix स (III. 62 Un)?

Ans The employment of कस indicates the existence of the following maxim:—उणादयोऽङ्गुत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि 'Words which end with उण् &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 समासेऽनुत्तरपदस्थस्य 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 अधस्पदम्, शिरस्पदम् । अधस्पदी, शिरस्पदी

The word समासे is understood in this, therefore not here अधः पदम् ॥

The word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य is also understood here Therefore not in the following परमशिरः पदम् ॥

The word अधस्पदम् is a compound formed under Mayāravyaṅsa-kādi class.

कस्कादिषु च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कस्कादिषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः । कस्क इत्येवमादिषु च विसर्जनीयस्य सकारः षकारो वा यथायोगमादेशो भवति कुप्योः परतः ॥

48. स or ष is substituted for the visarga, before a hard guttural and labial in the words कस्क and the rest.

This is a 1 Apavāda to Sūtra VIII 3 37 ष is substituted after ह or ङ, and स् everywhere else. Thus कस्क 2 कौतस्कुतः (with अण् of कुत आगतः). 3 आतुष्पुत्रः (VI 3. 23) 4 शुनस्कर्ण (VI 3 21) 5 सद्यस्कालः, 6 सद्यस्की (from क्री 'to buy' with the affix क्विप्, because it belongs to Sampadādi class) 7 साद्यस्क (from सद्यस्की in the sense of तत्रभवः क्रतु) 8. कांस्कान् (the ह is by VIII 3 12). 9 सर्पिष्कुण्डिका, 10 चतुष्कपालम् 11 धनुष्कपालम् 12 बर्हिष्पूलम् 13 यजुष्पात्रम् ॥ "The words 9 to 13 are exceptions to VIII 3 45, so that there might be ष even when सर्पिस् &c are preceded by another word. Thus परमसर्पिष्कुण्डिका । The counter-example thereto to VIII 3 45 will be परमसर्पिष् फलम् ॥" This is the opinion of the Pārāyanikās. But in the Manābhāshya, the counter-example under VIII 3 45 is परमसर्पिष् कुण्डिका ॥ Another reason why these words are listed here is that ष change will take place even where there is no correlation or vyapekshā. As तिष्ठतु सर्पिष्कुण्डिका आनय । So also when there is correlation, as इदं सर्पिष्कुण्डिकाया ॥ Here सर्पिस् is an incomplete word. The ष change, will take place even where there is no compounding. Where there is no compounding, and there is complete want of correlation even there the ष will invariably come. And where there is correlation, but no compounding there the ष would have been optional by VIII. 3. 44, but it becomes invariable here, on account of these words being so listed. Thus we have these cases : (1) Without correlation, as तिष्ठतु सर्पिष्कुण्डिकामानय । (2) Where there is correlation, as इदं सर्पिष्कुण्डिकायाः ॥ (3) Where there is composition, as सर्पिष्कुण्डिका ॥ (4) Where there is no composition and no correlation even, as, in example (1). (5) Where there is correlation but no compounding as in example (2). In all these cases there is ष *invariably* in case of these words 14 अयस्कण्डः, 15 मेघस्फिण्डः । अवहितलक्षण उपचार कस्कादिषु द्रष्टव्य ।

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 Akṣigāṇa. Upachāra is the name of स and ष which replace the visarga.

The Pārāyaṇa is of two sorts, Dhātu Par; and Nāma Par. Those who devote themselves in committing to memory and reciting these are Pārāyan-rikas.

छन्दसि वाऽप्राप्तेऽदितयोः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, वा, अ-प्र-आप्तेऽदितयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये विसर्जनीयस्य वा सकारादेशो भवति कुप्योः परतः प्रसङ्गं प्राप्तेऽदित्यवर्जयिष्या ॥

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 पात्रम् or अयस्पात्रम् । This is an example of non compounding. In compounds, the स change is compulsory by VIII 3 46 because the option of the present sūtra is asiddha there and it finds its scope in cases other than compounds. If the maxim प्रकरणे प्रकरणमसिद्धं न योगे योग be applied, then the two sūtras 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 sūtra : but then such compounds will also be governed by VIII. 3 46, and so the स would be compulsory.

विश्वत्स्पात्रम् ० विश्वतः पात्रम् here the word विश्वतः is an Indeclinable and hence the rule VIII 3 46 does not apply to it उरु ण कारः or उरु ण स्कारः ॥ Here नः is substituted for अस्त्वं 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 विह्वान् (Av V. 26. 1), पुरुषः पुरुषः परि ।

In सूर्यरश्मिर्हरिकेशः पुरस्तात् (Rig X. 139 1), स नः पावकः (Rig I 12. 10), the स change has not taken place, as all rules are optional in the Vedas

कः करत् करति कृध कृतेष्वनदितेः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ कः-करत्-करति-कृध-कृतेषु, अनू-अदितेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कः करत् करति कृध कृत इत्येतेषु परतः अनदितेर्विसर्जनीयस्य सकारादेशो भवति छन्वसि विषये ।

50. The visarga is changed to स् in the Chhandas, before कः, करत्, करति, कृध and कृतः but not so the visarga of अदितिः ॥

Thus विश्वत्स्क. कः is the Aorist of कृ, the लृ has been elided by II 4 80. the क् of कृ is gunated before the affix तिप्, thus we have करत्, the त् is elided by VI 1 68; and the augment अद् is not added by VI 4 75. Similarly विश्वत्स्करत् । Here also करत् is the Aorist of कृ with अङ् by III 1. 59. पयस्करति, here करति is the लृ of कृ; सप् is added instead of ड, as a Vedic anomaly. उरणस्कृध, here कृध is the Imperative of कृ, the सि is changed to हि, the vikarṇa is elided, and हि changed to धि by VI. 4 102. See VIII 4. 27, for the change of न to ण । सवस्कृतम्, here कृतम् is Past Participle of कृ ।

Why do we say but not of अदितिः ? Observe यथा नो अदितिः करत् (Rig I 43 2)

पञ्चम्याः परावध्यर्थे । ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्याः, परी, अध्यर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः । छन्वसिष्येव पञ्चमीविसर्जनीयस्य सकारादेशो 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) अग्निर्हिमयत्तस्परि ॥ दिवस्परि, महस्परि ॥

Why do we say 'of the Ablative'? Observe अहिरिव भोगे पर्येति ब्राह्म । Why do we say "before परि"? See एभ्योवा एतल्लोकेभ्य प्रजापतिं समरयत् । 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'.

पातो च बहुलम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पातो, च बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पातो च पातो परतः पञ्चमीविसर्जनीयस्य बहुल 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 परिषदः पात ॥

पृष्ठ्याःपतिपुत्रपृष्ठपारपदपयस्पोषेषु ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पृष्ठ्याः-पति-पुत्र-पृष्ठ-पार-पद पयस्-पोषेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पृष्ठीविसर्जनीयस्यसकारादेशो भवति पति पुत्र पृष्ठ पार पद पयस् पोष इत्येतेषु परत छन्दसि विषये ।

53. For the visarga of the Genitive, there is substituted स् in the Vedas, before पति, पुत्र, पृष्ठ, पार, पद, पयस्, and पोष ॥

Thus वाचस्पाति विश्वकर्माणमृतयः, (Rig x 81 7), दिवस्पुत्राय सूर्याय, दिवस्पृष्ठे धावमानं सुपर्णम्, अगन्म, तमसस्पारम्, इदस्पृष्टे समिध्यसे, सूर्यं चक्षु दिवस्पयः, रायस्पोष यजमानेषु धत्तम् ॥

Why do we say 'after a genitive case'? See मनु पुत्रेभ्यो राय व्यभजत् ॥

इडाया वा ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इडाया, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इडायाः षष्ठीविसर्जनीयस्य वा सकार आदेशो भवति पत्यादिषु परतदछन्दसि विषये ॥

54. स is optionally substituted for the visarga of इडायाः, before पति &c, (VIII. 3. 53.) in the Chhandas.

Thus इडाया पति ०। इडायास्पति इडायास्पुत्रः । इडायाः पुत्रः । इडायास्पृष्ठम् । इडायाः पृष्ठम् । इडाया स्वारम् इडायाः पारम् । इडायास्पदम् । इडायाः पदम् । इडायास्पयः । इडाया पय । इडाया पोषम् । इडायास्पोषम् ।

अपदान्तस्य मूर्द्धन्यः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-पदान्तस्य, मूर्द्धन्यः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ अपदान्तस्येति मूर्द्धन्य इति चित्तवृद्धिः वेदितव्यम् । आपाद्वैरिरामाप्तेः ।

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 अपहान्तस्य 'not final in a pada', and मूर्धन्य '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 सिधेव, सुष्वाप, आग्र्यु वायुपु ॥

Why do we say 'not final'? See अग्रिस्तत्र, वायुस्तत्र । Though the anuvṛtti of ष was understood here, yet the employment of the word 'cerebral' is for the sake of ङ; as अकृद्वम चकृद्वे (VIII 3 78)

सहेः साढः सः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहेः, साढः, सः ॥

वृत्तिः । सहेर्जातो साङ् रूपस्य य सकारस्तस्य मूर्धन्य आवेशो भवति ।

56. ष is substituted for the स in साह, when this occurs in the form of साङ् (साह) ॥

Thus जलाषाद्, तुराषाद्, पृतनाषाद् । साङ् is derived from सह by the affix ण्व (III 2 63) there is vidhi of the penultimate, the ह is changed to ङ (VIII 2 31), and the upapada is lengthened (VI. 3. 137)

साह स would have been enough, for there is no other form साङ् except this derived from सह, why then the word सहेः is used in the sūtra? There is another form साङ् not derived from सह । Thus सह डेन वर्त्तत = सङ्, सङस्य अपत्य = साङ् ॥ He in whose name there is the letter ङ is called सङ्; as वृङ् ॥

Why do we say 'in the form of साङ्'? The rule will not apply when the form is साह as जलासाहम्, तुरासाहम् ॥ Why do we say स for the स"? So that the सा of साङ् may not be changed to cerebral: the ङ is already cerebral

इणकोः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इण् कोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इण्कोऽस्येतदभिकृत वेदितव्यम् । इत उत्तर यद्वक्ष्यामः इणः कवर्गाद्येभ्यं तद्वेदितव्यम् ।

57. From this, upto the end of the chapter, should be supplied in every sūtra, the following:—"when a vowel (with the exception of अ or आ), or a र or a guttural precedes".

The word इण is a pratyāhāra formed with the second ण् of लण् ॥ It includes all vowels and semivowels except अ and आ ॥ Of the semi-vowels र is only efficient so that only is taken in the translation. कु means the letters of the क class. Thus इण्को is supplied in VIII 3 59, to complete the sense. Thus सिधेव, सुष्वाप, आग्र्यु वायुपु, कर्तृपु, हर्तृपु, गीर्तु, धूर्तु, वाक्षु त्यक्षु ॥

Why do we say 'when preceded by इण् or कु'? Observe शस्यसि, असौ । Here the affix स of स्यति and the substitute स in असौ (VII. 2 106) are not changed to ष ॥

नुम्बिसर्जनीयशर्व्यवायेपि ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नुम्, विसर्जनीय-शर्व्यवाये, अपि ॥
वृत्तिः । नुम्ब्यवायेपि विसर्जनीयव्यवायेपि शर्व्यवायेपि इण्कोरुत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो 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 वचनाय 'separation, intervention' applies to every one of the words नुम्, &c. Thus (1) when नुम् intervenes, as सर्पिंषि, यज्ञिषि, हवींषि (VII 1. 72, VI 4. 10). (2) When a visarjaniya intervenes as सर्पिषु यज्ञेषु, हविषु (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, निस्से, निस्सेव from the root निस् 'to kiss.' Here there is the intervention of *two*, namely, नुम् and स् (III 4. 91).

The word इण्को 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 य सकार प्रत्ययस्य च यः सकार इण्कोरुत्तरस्तस्य मूर्द्धन्यो भवति ।

59. ष् is substituted for that स् which is a substitute (of the ष् of a root in Dhātupāṭha by VI. 1. 64), or which is (the portion of) an affix, under the above mentioned conditions (VIII. 3. 57, 58), of being preceded by an इण् vowel or a guttural.

The word cerebral is understood here from VIII 3. 55, as well as स् ॥ The sūtra ādeśa pratyayoh 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 samānādhikarāṇa shashthī, in the latter avayava-yogāshashthī. That is that स् which is an ādeśa, and that स् which belongs to an affix. If we took it as avayavayogā shashthī 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 (Sec VIII. 1. 1). Thus बिसंबिसं, मुसलंमुसलं ॥ 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 कारस्यति and हरिस्यति, and not the correct forms करिष्यति, हरिष्यति ;

for the *e* 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 लैप् । 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 आवेशस्य was=आवेशस्य यः सकारः and not=आवेश 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 summed this we shall now give illustrations. First of that स् which is a substitute. It can only be the स् which replaces the ष् of a root in Dhātupāṭha. Thus लस्येव, सुष्वाप. Of an affix, we have अग्निषु वायुषु कर्तृषु, वर्तृषु; वक्षत् । इन्द्रो मा वक्षत्; and यक्षत् । स देवान् यक्षत् ॥

Q.—In the case of वक्षत् and यक्षत् the स् is not the *portion* of an affix, but the *whole* affix itself. the present sūtra should therefore not apply to this स् ॥

Ans.—Here we apply the maxim व्यपदेशिवद् एकस्मिन् ।

These words (वक्षत् and यक्षत्) are from the roots वच् and यञ्, in लैप् with तिप्, the इ is elided by III. 4. 97 the augment अद् (III. 1. 92) the affix सिप् by III. 1. 34; the च् of वच् is changed to a guttural, and the ज् of यञ् to ष् and then to a guttural.

The Unādi word अक्षर (अच् + सर Un. III. 70) complies with this rule, but not so the word कृसर and धूसर (Un. III. 73) formed with the same affix सर ।

शासिवसिघसीनांच । ६०॥ पदानि ॥ शासि-वासि- घसीनाम्, च ॥

वृत्ति । शासि नसि घसि इत्येतेषां च इण्कोरुत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यो भवति ॥

60. ष् is substituted for the स् of शास्, वस् and घस् when it is preceded by an इण् vowel or a guttural.

Thus अन्वशिषत्, अन्वशिषताम्, अन्वशिषन्, the Aorist of शास्; the चि is replaced by अङ् (III. 1. 56), and the आ changed to इ by VI. 4. 34. So also शिष्टा, 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 जक्षत्, जक्षुः 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 अक्षन्गीमवन्त 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 ādeṣa. Though the स् in घस् is the स् of a substitute yet it is not governed by the preceding aphorism, because the word आदेशस्य there means 'the स् which is a substitute' Here स् is not a substitute, but a portion of a substitute. The non substitute घस् is not to be taken here : as it seldom occurs.

The word इष्कोः is understood here also. Therefore the rule would not apply to शास्ति, वसति and जवास ।

स्तौतिष्योरेव षण्यभ्यासात् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि । स्तौति-ष्योः, एव, षणि, अभ्यासात् ।

वृत्ति । स्तौतिष्यन्तानां च षण्भूते सति परत अभ्यासादिण उत्तरस्य आदेशसकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ।

61. ष् is substituted for स् after इ 01 उ in the reduplication of a Desiderative, if the स् of स्क् is changed to ष् ; but only in स्तु and in Causative of roots which in Dhātupāṭha begin with a ष् ॥

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 ष् । 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 स् which replaces the ष् of the roots.

Thus from स्तु we have तुष्टुषति । Here the स् of स्क् is changed to ष् by the last sūtra, and therefore so also after the reduplicate उ, the स् of स्तु is changed to ष् ।

Of the Causatives of roots beginning with ष् in Dhātupāṭha, we have सिषेवयिषति, सिषञ्जयिषति, सुष्वापायषति ॥ In this last, the ष् is changed to उ by VII. 4 67

Though this ष 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 ष 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 सिषिक्षति from the root सिच क्षरणे (Tud 140) This is a root, which is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with a ष, therefore the form ought to have been सिषिक्षति 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 प्रेरणे (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 इष्टोः स्वधारणार्थम् ; so that, the sūtra may mean "if स्तु and Causatives *only* when षण् follows" ? and not "if स्तु and Causatives when षण् *only* follows" In the

latter view, we could not get the form तुष्टान् and the rule would have applied to सिरिक्षति also.

Why do we say "in the Desiderative ष्" ? So that the *nyama* may not be any where else. Had षणि 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 षण् change after a reduplicate, it should take place only in the case of स्तु and the Causatives'. Therefore ष change would not have taken place in सिषेच as it is not a Causative.

Q.—को विनतेऽनुरोधः? Why have we used the word षण् with ष्, 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 Prāti-sākhya to ष and ण change.

Ans. So that the restrictive rule may not apply to the अविनत form of सन्. As सुपुप्सति । The सन् is licet कित् by I. 2. 8, and there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 15. For had सन् been used in the sūtra, then the restriction would have been with regard to *all* Desideratives in *general*, whether the सन् was changed to ष or not. Therefore there is restriction of VIII. 3. 59, in the case of सिरिक्षति where स is not changed to ष so there would have been restriction in सुपुप्सते the स could not have been changed to ष by VIII. 3. 59. Similarly in सिष्टारति ।

Q.—What is the necessity of exhibiting षण् with the anubandha न्? So that the rule should not apply to ष in general but to the Desiderative affix ष only. As सुपुपिष इन्द्रम् । This सुपुपिषे is the Perfect of स्वप्, the affix थास् is added as Chhandas regularly instead of थल्, for थास् the e is ऐ, 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 ए is changed to अय, as सुपुपिषय इन्द्रम् the य is elided by VIII. 3. 19. Here after the reduplicate सु the स is changed to पु by the *general* rule VIII. 3. 59 as the restriction of this sūtra does not apply in this case. But had ष in general been taken, then सुपुपिष has an ष, and therefore sūtra VIII. 3. 59 would have been restricted, and there would have been no change of सु to पु after the reduplicate, as it is not a live. Hence षण् has been employed with an anubandha.

Why do we say 'after a reduplicate'?

Ans.—So that this restriction may apply to that ष which would have been caused by the ष or ष of a *ra* abhyāsa, and not to that which would have been caused by a *ra* upasarga. As अभिषिषिषति, though without the Preposition, the form is सिरिक्षति ॥

Q.—No, this cannot be the reason because the ष 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 यङ्, and then षण् is added to it, then the restriction of the present sūtra will not apply, and वस्व change will take place though the root may not be a Causative &c. Thus the यङ् of स्वप् is सोषुष्य (VI. 1. 19) the Desiderative of this root is सोषुषिषते, with इट् augment, the elision of अ (VI 4 48) of य, the elision of य् by VI 4 49.

Q—No this also cannot be the reason because the वस्व change is an itaranga, while the restriction niyama is Bahiranga. Therefore, the word abhyāsa is employed superfluous y in the sūtra.

Ans. The word abhyāsa is taken in the sūtra so that the restriction may be with regard to that व which might have been caused by the इ or उ of the abhyāsa; and not to that व which might be occasioned by the इ or उ of a dhātu or verbal root. Thus प्रितिषिषति, 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 अ is changed to इ. Thus इषिष, here by the force of the इ of the abhyāsa रि 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 वस्व of the abhyāsa, as इषिष. Had the word अभ्यासान् 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 षण्”, and as इषिष is not a Causal ve-Desiderative, the restriction would have applied.

सः स्विदिस्वदिसहीनां च । ६२ ॥ पदानि । सः, स्विदि-स्वदि-सहीनाम्, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्विदि स्वदि सहि इत्येतेषां प्यस्तानां सति षभूते परतो ऽभ्यासादुत्तस्य सकारस्य सकारदेशो भवति ॥

62. स is substituted for the स् after the reduplication of the षण् Desiderative of the Causatives of स्विट्, स्वट्, and सह् ॥

The स substitute of स् debars the cerebral change. In other words, the स of these roots remains unchanged. As सिस्वयिषति, सिस्वायिषति and सिसाहयिषति ॥

प्राक्सितादङ्व्यवाये ऽपि । ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्,सितात्, अङ्, व्यवाये,अपि ॥
वृत्तिः । सेवसितेति वक्ष्यति प्राक्सातसंशब्दनाद्यादित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रामिष्यामस्तन्नाङ्व्यवायेपि मूर्धन्यो भवति-
त्येवं तद्वेदितव्यमपिशब्दानङ्व्यवायेपि

63. (The substitution of ष for स्, to be taught hereafter, will take place) for all roots upto सित् exclusive in

VIII. 3. 70, even when the augment अद् intervenes (between the स and the efficient letter.)

The root सिन् occurs in VIII 3 70. Thus VIII. 3 65 teaches ष change as अभ्युणोत् परिपुणोत् विपुणोत् निपुणोत् । So also when अद् intervenes, as अभ्युणोत्, परिपुणोत्, विपुणोत्, निपुणोत् ॥ 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 सिताविति वर्जते उपसर्गात्सुनोतीत्यत्र स्थासेनयसेभेति स्थादयस्तेषु स्थादिषु प्राक् सितसं शब्दनाद् अभ्यासेन व्यवाये मूर्धन्यो भवत्यभ्याससकारस्य च भवतीत्येव वेदितव्यम् ।

64. In स्था &c upto सिन् 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 सितात् are understood here also. The स्थादि roots are, स्था, सेनय &c in VIII 3 65 and ending with सेव in VIII 3 70. The sūtra consists of two sentences (1) The षत्व 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 स intervenes. This applies even to roots other than those which have been taught with a ष in the Dhātu pāṭha. As अभिषिषेणयिषति, परिषिषेणयिषति (सेनया अभियातुमिच्छन्ति). This applies moreover to reduplicates which end in अ as अभित्तौ, here the स 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 षण् (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 अभिसुसृषति from सृ प्रेरणे with सन् the augment is debased by VII 2 12 the root सृ is unchanged by the *niyama* prohibition of VIII 3 61; the reduplicate सृ remains unchanged by the restriction of the present sūtra.

उपसर्गात्सुनोतिसुवतिस्यतिस्तोतिस्तोभतिस्थासेनयसेधसिचसञ्जस्वञ्जाम् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, सुनोति-सुवति-स्यति-स्तोति-स्तोभति-स्था-सेनय-सेध-सिच-सञ्ज-स्वञ्जाम् ॥

वृत्तिः उपसर्गस्थानिमित्तावुत्तरस्य सुनोति सुवति स्थति स्तोति स्तोभति स्था सेनय सेध सिच सञ्ज स्वञ्ज इत्येतेषां सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ।

65. ष is substituted for स, after an इ and उ of an upasarga in the following verbs : सृ (सुनोति), सू (सुवति), सो

(स्यति VII. 3. 71), स्तु (स्तौति VII. 3. 89), स्तुभ (स्तोभते), स्था, सेनय (Denominative), सिध् (सेधति), सिच्, सञ्ज् and खञ्ज् ।

Thus अभिपुणोति, परिपुणोति अभ्यपुणोत् पर्यपुणोत् सुवर्त्त, अभिपुवर्त्त, परिपुवर्त्त अभ्यपुवर्त्त, पर्यपुवर्त्त । स्यति अभिष्यति, परिष्यति, अभ्यष्यत्, पर्यष्यत् । रतौति अभिष्टौति परिष्टौति, अभ्यष्टौत् ॥ स्तोभति अभिष्टोभते, परिष्टोभते अभ्यष्टोभत् पर्यष्टोभत् स्था, अभिष्टास्यात् परिष्टास्यात् अभ्यष्टात्, पर्यष्टात्, अभिस्तष्टौ परित्तष्टौ ॥ सेनय अभिषेणयति, परिषेणयति, अभ्यषेणयत्, पर्यषेणयत् ॥ अभिषिषेणयति, परिषिषेणयति सेध अभिषेधति परिषेधति, अभ्यषेधत् पर्यषेधत् सिच अभिषिञ्चति, परिषिञ्चति अभ्यषिञ्चत्, पर्यषिञ्चत् अभिषिषिञ्क्षति, परिषिषिञ्क्षति सञ्ज अभिषजति परिषजति, अभ्यषजत्, पर्यषजत् अभिषिष्वङ्क्षति, परिषिष्वङ्क्षति । खञ्ज अभिष्वजते परिष्वजते अभ्यष्वजत्, पर्यष्वजत्, अभिषिष्वङ्क्षते परिषिष्वङ्क्षते सेध इति शब्दिकरणनिर्देशः सिध्यति निवृत्त्यर्थं उपसर्गादिति, किम्? इधि सिञ्चति मधु सिञ्चति, निगता सेचका अस्माद्वेशान्ति सेचको देश इति नाय सिचैरुपसर्गः । अभिसावकीयतीत्यत्रापि न सुनोति प्रति क्रियायोग किं तर्हि सावकीय प्रति । अभिसावयतीत्यत्र तु सुनोतिमेव प्रति क्रियायोगो न सावयतिमिति षष्ठं भवति ।

The root सिध् is exhibited in the sūtra as सेध with णप् vikarana thus debarring सिध् सिध्यति ।

Why do we say "after an upasarga"? Observe इधि सिञ्चति मधु सिञ्चति (VIII 3 111). So नि सेचको देश निर्गता सेचका अस्माद् देशान् Here नि is not an Upasarga to सिच्, but to the noun सेचक Similarly ॥ अभिसावकीयति the upasarga अभि is not added to the root सु (सुनोति) but to the *third* derivative of सु (सुनोति). Namely from सु we derive सावक with ण्वुल्, and from सावक we form the Denominative root सावकीय with क्यच्, and to this Denominative root अभि is added. The upasarga, however may be added to the root first and then ण्वुल् and क्यच् added. In that case, the rule will apply. As 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 पुञ् अभिषवे belong to Svādi class, पु प्रेरणे to Tudadi class, षोऽन्तकर्मणि to Divādi class, ष्टुम् स्तुतौ to Adādi class and ष्टुभ स्तुभे 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 अभिसावयति । See VII 1 6 for this rule of णित् exhibited roots. On the other hand, the roots सिच् &c. being not so exhibited, change their स in यङ् लुक् also, as अभिषेविचीति ॥

The upasarga need not *end* with इ and उ for the purposes of this rule. Thus निष्पुणोति दुष्पुणोति where the upasarga is निस् and दुस् ॥

सदिरप्रतेः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सदिः, अप्रतेः ।

वृत्तिः । सदिः सकारस्य उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तावप्रतेरुत्तरस्य मूर्द्धन्य आवेशो भवति ॥

66. The स of सद् is changed to ष after an Upasarga having an इ or उ, but not after प्रति ॥

The word सदि is in the first case, but has the force of genitive. Thus विषीवति विषीवति, व्यषीवत्, व्यषीवत् ॥ निषसाद्, विषसाद् ॥ 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 सर्वप्रति as given by Sayana Acharya in his commentary on R'g Veda VI 13 1 Pāṇini, however, often uses the first case with the force of the Genitive as in VIII 3 80

स्तन्भेः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तन्भेः ।

वृत्तिः स्तन्भ सकारस्य उपसर्गस्थानामित्तादुत्तरस्य मूर्द्धन्य आदेशो भवति ।

67. The स् of स्तन्भ is changed into ष after an upasarga, having an ह् or उ ।

Thus अभिष्टम्भति । परिष्टम्भति । अभ्यष्टम्भान् पर्यष्टम्भान् । अभितष्टम्भ परितष्टम्भ । The word अभिष्टम्भे of the last sūtra is not to be read here. Hence we have forms like —प्रतिष्टम्भति प्रत्यष्टम्भान् प्रत्यतितष्टम्भ ।

अवाङ्मालम्बनाविदूर्ययोः ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवात्, च, आलम्बन-आविदूर्ययोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अवशब्दादुपसर्गादुत्तरस्य स्तन्भे सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्योऽंशो भवति आलम्बनेर्धे आनिवूर्ये च

68. The स् of स्तन्भ is changed into ष after the preposition अव in the sense of 'support' and 'contiguity'.

The word आलम्बन means 'support, rest' i.e. that upon which any thing depends or leans. आविदूर्य means 'the state of not being निकट or far off, i.e. to be contiguous'.

Thus अवष्टम्भास्ते 'He remains leaning upon a staff' &c, अवष्टम्भ्य तिष्ठति । So also in the sense of to be near as अवष्टम्भा सना the army near at hand. अवष्टम्भा सरत् । See V 2 13

Why do we say 'when having the sense of support or contiguity'? Thus अवस्तब्धो वृषलः इति 'the Sūtra is afflicted with cold'.

The present sūtra is commenced in order to make the ष change even while the preceding letter is not ह् or उ ॥

चेश्च स्वनो भोजने । ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ चेः, च, स्वनः, भोजने ॥

वृत्तिः । चेषसर्गाद्वाच्चात्तरस्य भोजनार्थे स्वनते सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्योऽंशो भवति ॥

69. The ष is substituted for the स् of स्वन, after चि and अव, when the sense is "to smack while eating".

Thus चिष्णन्ति च्यष्णन्, चिष्वाण, च्यष्वाणति, चनाष्वाणन्, च्यष्वाण ॥ That is, he makes sound while eating he eats with a smack

Why do we say 'when making a smacking sound in eating'? Observe चिष्णन्ति वृद्धः "the drum sounds"

परिनिविभ्यः सेवसितसयसिबुसहसुदस्तुस्वञ्जाम् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि । परि-नि-वि-भ्यः, सेव-सित-सय-सिबु-सह-सुद-स्तु-स्वञ्जाम् ॥

वृत्तिः । परि नि वि इत्येतेभ्य उपसर्गभ्य उत्तरिणां सेव सित सय सिबु सह सुद स्तु स्वञ्ज इत्येतेभ्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्य आदेशो भवति ।

70. ष is substituted for the स् of सेव्, सित्, सय्, सिव्, सह्, the augment सुद्, स्तु, and स्वञ्, after the prepositions परि, नि, and वि ॥

The root सेव् belongs to Bhuādi class. The word 'सित्' is the Past Participle of बिष् बन्धने, and सय् is the noun derived from the same root with the affix अच्, सिव् is a Divādi root.

Thus परिषेवते । निषेवते । विषेवते पर्यषेवते व्यषेवते न्यषेवते परिषिषेविषते । विषिषेविषते निषिषेविषते । सित् परिषितो विषितो, निषित् । सय् परिषयो, निषयो विषयः सिव् । परिषीव्यति निषीव्यति । विषीव्यति । पर्यषीव्यत् न्यषीव्यत् व्यषीव्यत् पर्यसीव्यत् न्यसीव्यत् । व्यसीव्यत् सह परिषहत निषहत विषहत पर्यषहत । न्यषहत व्यषहत पर्यसहत न्यसहत व्यसहत । सुद् परिष्करोति पर्यस्करोत् स्तु परिष्टौति निष्टौति विष्टौति पर्यष्टौत् न्यष्टौत् । व्यष्टौत् । पर्यस्तौत् न्यस्तौत् व्यस्तौत् स्वञ् वञ्जसञ्जस्वञ्जामिति नलोप परिष्वजते निष्वजते विष्वजते । पर्यष्वजते । पर्यस्वजते पूर्वैर्णैव सिद्धे स्तुस्वञ्जग्रहणमुत्तरार्थम् अङ्गव्याय विभाषा यथा स्यात् ।

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 अच् intervenes

सिवादीनां वाङ्मयवायेपि ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिवादीनाम्, वा-अङ्-व्यवाये, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः । अनन्तरसूत्रे सिव्सहसुदस्तुस्वञ्जामिति सिवावय । सिवादीनामङ्गव्यवायेपि परिनिविभ्य उत्तरस्य सकारस्य वा मूर्धन्यो भवति ।

71. The ष-change may take place optionally in the सिव् and the rest (of the last sūtra), even when the augment अ intervenes between the prepositions परि, नि or वि and the verb.

The सिवादि are the four roots सिव् सह, स्तु and स्वञ्, as well as the augment सुद् । This is an example of ubhayatra-vibhāshā In the case of स्तु and स्वञ् it is prāpta-vibhāshā, in the case of others it is aprāpta The examples have already been given under the preceding sūtra, and so need not be repeated here

अनुविपर्यभिनिभ्यः स्यन्दतेरप्राणिषु ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु-वि परि-आभि निभ्यः, स्यन्दतेः, अप्राणिषु ॥

वृत्तिः । अनु वि परि आभि नि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य स्यन्दतेरप्राणिषु सकारस्य वा मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

72. ष् is optionally the substitute of the स् of स्यन्द्, after the prepositions अनु, वि, परि, अभि and नि, when the subject is not a living being.

The root स्यन्द् प्रभवणे is anudātta Thus अनुस्यन्दते । विस्यन्दते । परिस्यन्दते । अभिस्यन्दते तैलम्, निष्यन्दते । अनुस्यन्दते विस्यन्दते परिस्यन्दते ।

Why do we say 'when the subject is not a living being'? Observe अनुस्यन्वेते मस्य उक्ते ॥ The option of this sūtra will apply when the subject is a compound of living and non living beings. Thus अनुस्यन्वेते or अनुस्यन्वेते मस्योक्ते. The subject here is a Dvandva compound, and it is not in the singular number because of II 4 6. The word अप्राणिषु is a Paryudāsa and not a Prasajya pratishedha. 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 षष्ठ्य. In the other view, the force is on the word *non-living*, and because the compound contains a non living being, the force 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 अनुस्यन्वेते मस्योक्ते अप्राणिषु, and by the force of च we would draw in the anuvṛtti of परि &c.

वेः स्कन्देरनिष्ठायाम् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, स्कन्देः, अनिष्ठायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः । वेःसङ्गोत्तरस्य स्कन्देः सकारस्य मुद्धर्त्यो वा भवति अनिष्ठायाम् ॥

73. *प्* is optionally substituted for the *स्* of स्कन्द्, after the preposition चि, 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

परेश्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परेशब्दोत्तरस्य स्कन्देः सकारस्य वा मुद्धर्त्यो भवति ।

74. *प्* 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 विपरिष्यां 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 ॥ परिस्कन्द् इति मुद्धर्त्याभावो निपात्यते प्राच्यभरतेषु प्रयोगविषयेषु ॥

75. The word परिस्कन्द् is used without the cerebral change in the country of Eastern Bharata.

विध गत्याम्, then also, the word is included here in order to prevent the application of VIII 3. 113. The words सुबन्धिः, दुःबन्धि &c are derived from धा with the prepositions सु and सम्, and the affix कि (III 3 92), and the स of सम् is changed to ष. The words सुब्धु, दुब्धु are Uṇādi formed words (Un. I 25). The word नौरिषक्य is a Bahuvrīhi, the स of सक्थि is changed to ष and the Samāsānta षच् 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 णप्, then क is added by V 3. 73, and आ shortened (VII. 4. 13) and इ added by VII. 3. 44. The word नैषेचन is formed by adding ल्युट् to सिच् ॥ दुन्दुभिषेचनं 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 स followed by ए and preceded by इण् or कु is changed to ष, when the word is a name, and when the स is not preceded by गु ॥

Thus हरयः सेना अस्य = हरिषेणः, परितः सेना अस्य = परिषेणः, so also वारिषेणः, जातुषेणीः. Why do we say 'followed by ए'? Observe हरिसक्थम् ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe पृथ्वी सेना यस्य स = पृथुसेनो राजा (VI 3 34). Why do we say 'when the स is not preceded by गु'? Observe विष्वक् सेन ॥ The phrase इण्कोः is understood here also, so the rule does not apply to सर्वसेनः ।

नक्षत्राद्या ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रात्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रवाचिनः शब्दादुत्तरस्य सकारस्य वा एति संज्ञायामगात्काराद् मूर्धन्यो भवति ॥

100 When the preceding word is the name of a Lunar mansion, the ष substitution for स under the above mentioned circumstances is optional.

Thus रोहिणिषेणः or रोहिणिसेनः, भरणिषेणः or भरणिसेनः ॥ But not here शतभिषक् सेनः were the preceded letter is गु. 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 ॥ ह्रस्वादुत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति तादौ तद्धिते परतः ॥

वार्तिक ॥ तिङन्तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

101. ष is substituted for a final स 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 त्र तम, तय ह्य तल, तस्, ल्यप् । As त्र सर्पिष्टम यजुष्टम तम । तर्पिष्टम यजुष्टम तय चतुष्टये ब्राह्मणानां निकेता त्व सर्पिष्टम् । यजुष्टम् तल् सर्पिष्टा यजुष्टा तस । सर्पिष्टो, यजुष्टः । ल्यप् । आर्ग्यो बर्द्धत हस्त्यारति किम् गीस्तरा भूस्तरा तादावति किम् । सर्पिस्ताज्जवाति प्रस्थयसकारस्य स्यात्पदाद्यौति सन्त्यपि प्रतिषेधे प्रकृतिसकारस्य स्यात् तद्धितइति किम् सर्पिस्तरति ।

Why do we say before affixes beginning with त । Observe सर्पिस्ताज्जवाति ।

Q—But this स would never have been changed to ष because of the prohibition in VIII 3 111 how can you then give this counter example?

Ans—Though the स of the affix सात् is prohibited by VIII 3 111, yet the counter-example is valid because the स of the base सर्पिस् is also not changed Why do we say 'of a Taddhita'? Observe सर्पिस्ततरति

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated of finite verbs before Taddhita affixes As भिन्वस्तराम् छिन्वस्तराम् These are the Potential third person plural of भिन् and छिन् with the augment यासुद्, the Taddhita affix तर्प् is added by V 3. 56 and ताम् is added by V 4 11

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated with regard to पुस् as पुस्त्यम् पुस्ता ॥

निसस्तपतावनासेवने । १०२ । पदानि ॥ निसः, तपती, अनासेवने ॥
वृत्तिः । निस सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति तपती परतानां सेवनेन ॥

102. ष is substituted for the स of निस before the verb तप् when the meaning is not that of 'repeatedly making red hot'.

The word आसेवन means doing a thing repeatedly and hence it means making it red-hot repeatedly Thus निष्टपति सुवर्णम् सकृत् अग्निम् स्पर्शयति i. e. he puts the gold into fire only once

Why do we say when not meaning repeatedly. Observe निस्तपति सुवर्णम् सुवर्णकार — पुन पुनरग्निं स्पर्शयति ।

In the sciences निष्टमं रक्ष, निष्टमा अरातयः the change has taken place either as a Vedic irregularity or because the sense of repeatedness is not implied here

युष्मत्तत्तक्षुःष्वन्तःपादम् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मत्, तत्, तत्तक्षुः षु, अन्तः पादम् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मत् तत् तत्तक्षुः इत्येतेषु तकाराविषु परत सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति स चेश्वकारोन्तः पादं भवति ॥

103. The स standing in the inner half of a stanza is changed to ष before the त of त्वम् &c and तद् and तत्तक्षुस् ॥

The word युष्मद् here means the substitutes स्वम्, स्वाम् ते तव. As अग्निष्टं, नामासीत् । स्वा, अग्निष्टा वर्द्धयामसि । ते अग्निष्ट विश्वमानय तव, अपस्वमे राधिष्टव, (Rig VIII. 43 9) तत्, अग्निष्टद्विष्वमापृणाति, (Rig X. 2 4) ततक्षुम्, आवापृयिवी निष्टतक्षु पु । अन्त-पार्षमिति किम् नित्यमात्मनो विदाभूरग्निस्तत्पुनराह जातवेदा विचर्षणि ॥

Why do we say in the inner half of a stanza? Observe यन्मशात्मनो मिन्वाभूरग्निस्तत्पुनराह जातवेदा 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 सू of अग्निस् is not in the middle of a stanza

यजुष्येकेषाम् । १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यजुषि, एकेषाम् ॥

वृत्तिः यजुषि विषये युष्मत्तत्तक्षु पु परत एकषामाचार्याणां मतेन सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

107. In the opinion of some, the above change takes place in Yajurveda also.

Thus अर्चिर्भिष्टम् or अर्चिर्भिस्त्वम् । अग्निष्टमम् or अग्निस्तेमम् । अग्निष्टत् or अग्निस्तत् । अर्चिर्भिष्टतक्षु or अर्चिर्भिस्ततक्षु ।

स्तुतस्तोमयोश्छन्दसि ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तुतस्तोमयोः, छन्दसि ।

वृत्तिः एकेषामिति वर्त्तते स्तुत स्ताम इत्यनयो सकारस्य छन्दसि विषये मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति एकेषामाचार्याणां मतेन छन्दसि विषये

105. The सू of स्तुत and स्तोम, in the Chhandas, is changed to ष् in the opinion of some.

Thus त्रिभिष्टुतस्य or त्रिभिस्तुतस्य गोष्टोम षोडशिनम् or गोस्तोम 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 ॥ पूर्वपदस्थानिमित्तादुत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये एकेषामाचार्याणां मतेन ।

106. In the Chhandas, according to some, सू 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 द्विषन्धि or द्विसन्धि, त्रिषन्धि, or त्रिरान्धि, मधुष्ठानम् or मधुस्थानम्, द्विसाहस चिन्वीत or द्विसाहस 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 त्रिषन्धिपृथक्त्वाय or त्रिषन्धिपृथक्त्वाय ।

सुजः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुजः ।

वृत्तिः । सुमिति निपात इह गृह्यते तस्य पूर्वपदस्थानिमित्तादुत्तरस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो 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 ह &c.

Thus शमी पु नः सखीनाम् (Rig IV. 31 3) ऊर्ध्व ऊ पु नः (Rig I. 36 13). The lengthening takes place by VI 3 134, and न changed to ण by VIII 4. 27.

सनोतेरनः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि । सनोते, अनः ।

वृत्ति । सनोतेरनकारान्तस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ।

108. The स of the verb सन्, when it loses its न्, is changed to ष, under the same circumstances.

Thus गोषा (Rig IX. 2 10), formed by the affix विट (III. 2 67), the न् is elided by VI 4 41. So also नृषा ।

Why do we say 'when it loses its न् ? Observe गोसनि धात्वमुदीरयन् (Athav 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 n'yama or restriction. Some however read the word गोसनि in the 1st of सवनानि words (VIII. 3. 110), and they hold that the proper counter-example is सिसानयिषति ॥ So also सिसनीः formed by adding क्तिप् to the Derivative root सिसनिस, thus सिसनिस + क्तिप् = सिसनिस (the ष is elided by VI 4 48) + ० add सु, सिसनिस + सु = सिसनिसु + ० (सु is elided by VI 1. 68. Now the final स (of the Desiderative affix सन्) is liable to be changed either to ष or to र (रु) The ष being asidha, the रु change takes place] = सिसनिरु = सिसनी. (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 सिषाणयिषति in the Causative.

सहेः पृतनर्त्ताभ्यां च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहेः पृतना-ऋताभ्याम्, च ।

वृत्तिः ॥ पृतना ऋत इत्येताभ्यां ऋत्तरस्य सहितकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ।

109. The स of सह is changed to ष, after पृतना and ऋत ॥

Thus पृतनाषाहम्, ऋताषाहम् । Some divide this sūtra into two ; as (1) सहेः ; (2) पृतनार्त्ताभ्यां च ॥ So that the rule may apply to ऋतीषह also. The word ऋति is lengthened by VI 3. 116, in sahitā and the ष change takes place in sahitā only. Otherwise the form is ऋतसहम् ॥ The word 'and' in the sūtra includes words other than those not mentioned in it. The word ऋतीषह would be valid by this also.

न रपरसृपिस्त्रुजिस्त्रुशिस्त्रुहिसवनादीनाम् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, र-पर, सृपि, स्त्रुजि, स्त्रुशि, स्त्रुहि-सवनादीनाम् ।

वृत्तिः । रेफपरस्य सकारस्य सृपि स्त्रुजि स्त्रुशि स्त्रुहि सवनादीनां च मूर्द्धन्यो न भवति ।

110. The ष् substitution does not take place if र follows the स्त्र, as well as in रप, स्त्रज, स्त्रश स्त्रह, and in सवन and the rest.

Thus विससिकायाः काण्डं जुहोति ॥ The word विससिक is formed by the affix ण्युल् (III. 3 109) विसस्यः 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 निष्ठा त । सृपः—पुरा क्रूरस्य विसृपः । The word विसृपः is formed by the affix कसुन् (III 4. 17), स्त्रजः—वाचो विसर्जनात् । स्त्रश दिविस्त्रुशम् ॥ स्त्रहिः—निस्त्रुह कथयति ॥

The following is a list of सवनादि words :—

1 सवने सवने, 2 सूते सूते, 3 सोमे सोमे, 4 सवनमुखे सवनमुखे, 5 किस किस (किस्यतीति किस), 6 अनुसवनमनुसवनम्, 7 गोसनि गोसनिम्, 8 अश्वसनिमश्वसनिम् । In some books this is the list 9 सवने सवने 10 सवनमुखे सवनमुखे, 11 अनुसवनमनुसवनम् (अनुसवने २), 12 संज्ञायां बृहस्पतिरायः, 13 शकुनिसवनम्, 14 सोमे, सोमे, 15 सूते सूते (सूते २), 16 सवस्सरे सवस्सरे, 17 बिस बिसम्, 18 किस किसम् (किस किसम्), 19 सुसले सुसलम् 20 गोसनिम्, 21 अश्वसनिम् ॥

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 आगिसात् । इधिसात् । मधुसात् ॥ So also with Padādi स as इधि सिञ्चति, मधु सिञ्चति ॥

सिचो यङि ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिचः, यङि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सिच 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. पश्चादि सः so far as it goes, so 't would prevent also the operation of this rule and the form ought to be अभिषेचिष्यते?

Ans.—The ष ordained by VIII. 3. 65 prevents only the operation of पश्चादि स of VI I 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 अभिषेचिष्यति ॥

सेधतेर्गतौ ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सेधतेः, गतौ ।

वृत्तिः । गतौ वर्त्तमानस्य सेधतेः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति

113. The स्र of the verb सेध is not changed to ष when the meaning is that of moving.

Thus अभिसेधयति गाः, परिसेधयति गाः । This is an exception to VIII. 3. 65

Why do we say 'when meaning to drive'? Observe शिष्यमकार्यामिति-बोधयति ॥ Here the sense is that of preventing or prohibiting

प्रतिस्तब्धनिस्तब्धौ च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिस्तब्ध निस्तब्धौ, च ।

वृत्तिः । प्रतिस्तब्ध निस्तब्ध इत्येतौ मूर्द्धन्यप्रतिषेधाय निपात्यन्ते ।

114. The words प्रतिस्तब्ध and निस्तब्ध are anomalous.

In these words the स्र is not changed to ष, though so required by VIII. 3. 67.

सोढः ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोढः ।

वृत्तिः । राहित्यं सं द्रष्टुं गृह्यते तस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

115. The स्र of सोढ form of the root सह is not changed to ष ।

As परिसोढः, परिसोढम्, परिसोढव्यम् ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 3. 70.

Why do we say 'when सह assumes the form of सोढ' ? Observe परिषहते, विषहते ।

स्तम्भुसिधुसहां चङि ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्भु-सिधु-सहाम् चङि ।

वृत्तिः । स्तम्भु सिधु सह इत्येतेषां चङि परतः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति

वार्त्तिक ॥ स्तम्भु सिधुसहां चङ उपसर्गादिति वक्तव्यम्

116. The ष change does not take place in the reduplicated Aorist of the roots स्तम्भ्, सिव् and सह ॥

The root स्तम्भ required ष change by VIII. 3. 67 and the roots सिव and सह by VIII. 3. 70. Thus पर्यस्तम्भत्, अभ्यस्तम्भत् । सिवः—पर्यसीषवत्, न्यसीषवत् ॥ सहः—पर्यसीषवत्, व्यसीषवत् ॥

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 । सुनोते सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति । स्यसनि च परत ।

117. स् of सु (सुनोति) is not changed to ष् in the Future, Conditional and Desiderative.

Thus.—अभिसोष्यति, परिसोष्यति, अभ्यसोष्यन्, पर्यसोष्यन् ॥

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 क्त्विप् । Here the desiderative affix सन् is not changed to ष (VIII 3 61) and therefore the second स would have been changed to ष as it comes after a reduplicate.

Why do we say before स्य and सन् ॥ Observe सुषाव ॥

सदिष्वञ्जोः परस्य लिटि ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सदि-ष्वञ्जोः, परस्य, लिटि ।

वृत्तिः । सदि ष्वञ्जि इत्येतयोर्द्धात्वोर्लिटि परत सकारस्य परस्य मूर्द्धन्यो न भवति ।

118. The स् 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 स's, as ससाद् and सस्वज् । After a preposition, the first स will be changed to ष, but not so the second. Thus अभिषसाद्, परिषसाद् निषसाद् विषसाद्, परिषस्वजे, परिषस्वजति, परिषस्वजिरे, अभिषस्वजे । The nasal of स्वज् 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 स्वज् does not occur in the sūtra but has been inserted in it by the author of Kāśikā from the following Vārtika सरो लिटि प्रतिषेधे स्वञ्जे रूपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ।

निव्यभिभ्योऽव्यवाये वा छन्दसि ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि-वि-अभिभ्यः, अद्-व्यवाये, वा, छन्दसि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ नि वि अभि इत्येतेभ्य उपसर्गेभ्य उत्तरस्य सकारस्याव्यवाये छन्दसि विषये 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.

This न्यसीवत् or न्यसीवन् पिता न , व्यसीवत् or व्यसीवन् पिता न , अभ्यसीवत् or अभ्यसीवत् ॥

The anuvitti of सव् and स्वज् is not to be read into this sūtra. It is, in fact, a general rule and applies to verbs other than these two. As व्यस्तीत्, न्यष्टीत्, अभ्यष्टीत् or अभ्यस्तीत्

ओ३म् ।

अथ अष्टमाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

BOOK EIGHTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे । १ ॥ पङ्क्ति ॥ रषाभ्याम्, नः, णः, समानपदे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रेफवकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारादेशो भवति, समानपदस्थौ चेन्निमित्तनिमित्तिनौ भवतः ।
वार्त्तिकम् । ऋवर्णाच्चाति वक्तव्यम् ।

1. After र and ष, the ण् is the substitute of न्, 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, अवगुर्णम्. So also after ष as कुष्णाति पुष्णाति, मुष्णाति ।

The letter ण् is included in this aphorism for the sake of subsequent sūtras for न् will be changed into ण् when preceded by ष by rule 41 of this Chapter, as well.

Why do we say "when occurring in the same word?" Observe अग्नि-
र्नयति वायुर्नयति ॥

Vārt. —So also after the letter ऋ ॥ As तिसृणाम्, चत्सृणाम्, गातृणाम्, वितृणाम्

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 न्, and will prevent the application of the sūtra, hence the vārtika is valid?

Ans. This vowel-sound will be no intervention, because it will be included in the exception अद् of the next sūtra. Obj. The vowel sound at the end of ऋ is not a *full* vowel of one mātrā, but is of half mātrā being only a fragment of ऋ, and hence is not included in the pratyāhāra अद् it has no separate

स्थान or मयत्त or homogeneity with any vowel. Hence this vowel sequence will pre-empt the application of this rule. As the ण change, however, does take place in spite of such intervention of a fragment of a letter—as we know from the jñāpaka of VIII 2 39. In the kshubhāc 1st there we find नूनमन as in *an / noon*, implying that न's *generally* changed to ण first, and then by interpolation. Or we may take नूनमन as a jñāpaka, that after the *letter* न also the ण change takes place.

अङ्कुप्राङ्नुम्व्यवायेपि ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्-कु-पु-आङ्-नुम्-व्यवाये, अपि ॥
वृत्तिः । अङ् कु पु आङ् नुम् इत्यतैर्व्यवायेपि रेफकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति

2. The substitute ण takes the place of न, even when a vowel or य्, च्, ह् or a guttural, or a labial, or the preposition आ, or the augment नुम् intervenes, causing separation.

The pratyāhāra अङ् stands for vowels and the letters ह् य व र. Thus वरणम्, हरणम्, किरिणा गिरिणा कुरुणा, गुरुणा &c

The कु means all the gutturals, e.g. अर्केण, मूर्खेण, गर्भेण, अर्धेण ।

The पु means all the labials, e.g. हर्षेण, रेफेण, गर्भेण, चर्मणा, वर्मणा ।

The आङ् means the particle आ e.g. पर्याणक्षम् from नह् (VIII 2 34) निराणक्षम् (cf VIII 4 14). The particle आ is a vowel and so included in अङ् pratyāhāra. Its specification in the sūtra shows that the restriction of the rule to the letters occurring in the *same word*, does not apply in the case of आङ् in which case the rule applies to letters separated by another word.

So also when the anusvāra separates the letters e.g. वृहणम्, वृहणीयम् ॥

It is from the root वृहिवृद्धौ, the नुम् is added, because the root 's हृषित (VII 1 56) 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 to extendive with 't. Otherwise the rule would not apply to words like वृहणं from वृह वृह हिसार्थे ॥ 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 प्रेम्बनम्, प्रेम्बनीयम् from हवि. प्रीणनार्थे ।

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 ब ॥

पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामगः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वपदात्, संज्ञायाम्, अगः ॥

वृत्तिः । पूर्वपदस्थानिमित्तादुत्तरस्य गकारवर्जिताद् नकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ।

3. So also, न् is replaced by ण, when the letter occasioning the substitution, occurs in the first member of compound, and the whole compound is a Name, provided that the first member does not end with the letter ग ॥

As वृणसः, वार्द्धाणसः (a kind of antelope), खरणसः, शूर्पणखा । See V 4 118 and IV 1 58.

Why do we say "when a Name"? Observe, चर्मनासिका

Why do we say when 'not ending in the letter न'? Observe, अगमनम् ॥

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 a ways be changed into ण when preceded by र or ख. 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 ख is in the पूर्वपद and न occurs in the उत्तरपद. It therefore, does not apply to तद्धित 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 Pūrvapada. But the affix अयन not being a Pada, we cannot call it an uttara pada. Hence न will be changed into ण though खारपायण is not an Appellative but a generic term. So also मातृभोगाय हित मातृभोगीण with ह्य affix. Similarly in करणप्रिय, the words र and न both occur in the Pūrvapada and are not affected by this rule but by the general rule VIII 4 1. So also the prov'so relating to न, only prohibits the change of न into ण, but does not prohibit the restrictive character of this sūtra.

According to others, this sūtra is an original enunciation of a Vidhi rule, and not a Niyama rule. They say that the word समानपद in VIII 4 1 is equivalent to नित्यं 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 अग्न another. So that every rule relating to ण change would be debarred with regard to न intervention.

वनं पुरगामिश्रकासिधकाशारिकाकोटराग्रेभ्यः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वनम्, पुरगा, मिश्रका-सिधका-शारिका-कोटराग्रेभ्यः ॥

वृत्ति । पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामिति वर्त्तते पुरगा मिश्रका सिधका शारिका कोटरा अग्रे इत्येतेभ्य पूर्वपदेभ्य उत्तरस्य वननकारस्य णकारदेशो भवति संज्ञार्था विषये ।

4. The न of वन, is changed into ण, when preceded by the words puṇagâ, miśhrakâ, sidhrakâ, śarīkâ, koṭarâ, and

agree, as first members of the compound, and the whole compound is a name.

The words पूर्वपदान् and सज्ञायाम् of the last sūtra are to be read into this aphorism. Thus पुरावणम् मिश्रकावणम् सिध्रकावणम्, कौन्त्यावणम्, अश्वेवणम् (II 2 31) इति कावणम्.

The lengthening of the final 'a' in the above is by VI 3 117. Though the word अश्वेवणम् 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 Rājacintācīṣṭi (II 2 31).

The substitution of ण for न् 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 नियम rule. The न् of वन is changed into ण when preceded by these words only and no other. Thus कुन्नेरवनं शतधारवनम् असिपत्रवनम्।

प्रनिरन्तःशरेक्षुप्लक्षाश्रकार्ण्यखदिरपीयूक्षाभ्योसंज्ञायामपि ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥
प्र-निर-अन्तर्-शर-क्षु-प्लक्ष-आश्र-कार्ण्य-खदिर-पीयूक्षाभ्यः संज्ञायां, अपि ॥
वृत्तिः । प्र निर अन्तर् शर क्षु प्लक्ष आश्र कार्ण्य खदिर पीयूक्षा इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य वननकारस्य सज्ञायाम्
सज्ञायामपि णकारादेशो भवति

5. The न् of वन is replaced by ण, even when the compound is not a Name, when it is preceded by the words pra, nīr, antar, śara, ikṣu, plakṣa, āśra, kārṇya, khadira, and pīyūkṣa.

The प्रवणे गृष्टम् निर्णये प्रतिधीयते, अन्तर्वणे शरवणम् इक्षुवणम्, प्लक्षवणम्, आश्रवणम्, कार्ण्यवणम्, खदिरवणम् and पीयूक्षवणम् ।

The words प्रवण and निर्णय are प्रादि compounds. अन्तर्वण is an Avyayībhāva in the sense of a case-affix. The rest are Genitive compounds.

विभाषौषधिवनस्पतिभ्यः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा औषधि-वनस्पतिभ्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ औषधियाश्च यत्पूर्वपदं वनस्पतिर्वात्र तत्स्थानिमित्तावृत्तरस्य वननकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति
विभाषा ।

यास्तिक ॥ व्यक्षरभ्यक्षरेभ्य इति वक्तव्यम् । वा० हरिकादिभ्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ।

Kārika फली वनस्पतिर्ज्ञेया वृक्षा पुष्पफलापगाः ।

औषध फलपादान्ता लता गुल्माश्च वीरुधाः ॥

6. The न् 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 पूर्वपदा is a word denoting औषधि or a perennial herb, or denoting a वनस्पति or a tree and it has a change-producing letter then the न् of वन is replaced by ण । This is an optional rule. Thus . पूर्वाननम् or पूर्वानणम्,

मूर्वाणम् or मूर्वाणम् । Here मूर्वा and मूर्वा are names of ओषधि । Similarly शिरीष वनम् or शिरीष-वनम्, बह्वीनम् or बह्वीनम् ।

Port. This rule applies when the first word is a dissyllabic or trisyllabic word. Therefore the change does not occur in दध्वावनम्, भद्रवावनम्.

Port. Prohibition should be stated with regard to the words हारका &c. As हरिकावनम् 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.

Kāṇḍa. Technically speaking वनस्पति is a tree that bears fruit apparently without a flower, as a fig tree (dumbara), 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 ।

अहोऽध्वन्तात् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहः, अध्वन्तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहन्त यत्पूर्वपदं तत्स्थानिमित्तादुत्तरस्याहो 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 पूर्वार्हण "fore-noon" ; अपराहण "after-noon"

Why do we say ending in अ ? Observe निरहं वरहं ।

The word अहं is substituted for अहन् by V. 4. 88. The word अहं being used in the sūtra as ending in अ, the rule does not apply to other words. Thus दीर्घाहो शरत् । The word अहः in the sūtra is in the nominative case, and should not be construed as the genitive of अहन् because all sthāni is exhibited in Nominatives as, वन (VIII. 4. 4), वाहन (VIII. 4. 8) यान &c. The compounding takes place by II. 2. 1 then is added the samāsānta affix इच् (V. 4. 91), and अहं substitution by V. 4. 88. The word दीर्घाहो is a Bahuvrīhi compound and not a Tatpuruṣa and hence the affix इच् does not apply to it. The feminine ह्रीष् 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 तत्स्थानिमित्तादुत्तरस्य 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' धर्मवाहनम् '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 दाक्षिवाहनम् a vehicle belonging to Dakṣiṇ

The word पाह्न is formed by adding ल्युट् to वह्, a consonant of the penultimate is varied by the pīṭana of this sūtra.

पानं देशे । ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पानम्, देशे ॥

वृत्ति ॥ पाननकारस्य पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य देशान्निधाने णकार भावशो 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 उशीनरा = क्षीरपाण येषां the milk drinking Uśīnaras सुरापाणा माच्या 'the wine drinking Mācīyas' सौवीरपाणा बाह्लीकाः 'the savīra drinking Bahlikas'. कषायपाणा गान्धारा &c

Why do we say 'when denoting a country ?' Observe वक्षिपानं the drink of the Dakṣh's

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 ।

वृत्ति । भाव करणे च य पानशब्दस्तवीयस्य नकारस्य णकार भावशो भवति वा पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य वाचिकम् । वाप्रकरणे गिरिनद्यादीनामुपसख्यानम् ।

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 casāya' सुरापाणम् or सुरापानम् &c are examples of भाव or condition.

Similarly क्षीरपाणः or क्षीरपानः कसः, 'a vessel for drinking milk' This is an example of करण or instrument.

Part : — Optionally so in the case of गिरिनदी &c Thus गिरिनदी or गिरिणदी, चक्रनदी or चक्रणदी चक्रनेतम्बा or चक्रणिताम्बा ।

प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम्विभक्तिषु च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रातिपदिकान्त-नुम्-विभक्तिषु, च ।

वृत्ति । वेति वर्त्तते प्रातिपदिकान्ते नुम्विभक्ती च यो नकारस्तस्य पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य वा णकार भावशो भवति

वाचिकम् 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 प्रतिपदिकान्त first माषवापिणी or माषवापिनौ from माषवापिन् 'māsha sowing' formed by णिन् under III 2 81.

To take the example of a नुम् augment माषवापाणि or माषवापानि ब्रीहिवापाणि or ब्रीहिवापानि nom. pl. neut. The augment नुम् is here added by VII. 1 72 from माषान् वपयन्ति माषवाप with कर्मणि ञ्, the plural शि is added by VII. 1. 20, and then नुम् ।

To take the विभक्ति or case termination, माषवापेण or माषवापेन, ब्रीहिवापेण or ब्रीहिवापेन ।

The word प्रतिपदिकान्त means 'final in a Prātipadika'. But here it means 'final in a prātipadika which is a second member, of compound the first member containing the cause of change'. Therefore the change does not take place in गर्गाणां भगिनी — गर्गभगिनी "the sister of Garga". But गर्गभगिणी if the word is derived from गर्गभग the share of Garga', with the adjectival affix इन्, feminine इनी meaning, "enjoying the share of Garga". In this case like the word मातृभोगीण '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, Kāraṇas, and Upapadaśurs compound ed with bases that end with kṛit-affixes, before a case termination or a feminine affix has been added to the latter" गतिकारकोपपदानां कृजि सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुध्यते ॥

Therefore the composition takes place first with the word ending in the kṛit affix, as माषवापिन् (माष + वापिन्), and thus the second term वापिन् is a Prātipadika which ends in न्, and so the rule is applied to it, when the feminine affix is added.

Similarly नुम् is not considered as the end portion of the *second* member of the compound, but as the end portion of the *full* compound word.

Vart — Prohibition must be stated of the word's युत् &c. As अर्थयूना (VI. 4 133 vocalisation), क्षत्रिययूना । प्रपञ्चानि is a gati samas, दीर्घाद्धी शरत् ॥

एकाजुत्तरपदे णः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकाच्, उत्तरपदे, णः ॥

वृत्तिः । एकाजुत्तरपदं यस्य स एकाजुत्तरपदं तस्मिन्नैकाजुत्तरपदसमासे प्रतिपदिकान्तनुम्बिभक्तिषु पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य 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 prātipadika, or is the augment नुम्, or occurs in a vibhakti; and when the first member contains a cause of change.

Thus वृत्रहणौ and वृत्रहण '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 ण is repeated in this sūtra when its anuvṛtti was understood from the context? It is repeated in order to show that this is not an optional, but a obligatory rule. In fact it shows that the anuvṛtti of वा 'optional' ceases and does not extend further.

कुमति च । १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमति, च ॥

वृत्तिः । क्वर्गगति चोत्तरपदे प्रातिपदिकान्तबुद्धिभक्तिषु पूर्वपदस्थान्नमित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारादेशो भवति

13. In a compound, the second member of which contains a guttural, there is ण in the room of न, that follows anything which standing in the prior member is qualified to cause the change, provided the न be at the end of a pātīpadika, or be the augment कुम्, 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 वस्त्रयुगिणो, वस्त्रयुगिण स्वर्गकामिणी, वृषगामिणी । कुम्.—वस्त्रयुगाणि, खरयुगाणि ॥ विभक्ति - वस्त्रयुगेण, खरयुगेण ॥

The word वस्त्रयुगिणौ is a compound of वस्त्र with युगिन् (the affix -इनि 's added first to युग and then the word so formed is compounded with vastra). Thus the न् becomes प्रातिपदिकान्त i.e. it becomes the final of a Nominal-stem, which stands as a second member in a compound.

उपसर्गादसमासेऽपि णोपदेशस्य १४ । पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, अ-समासे, अपि, णोपदेशस्य ।

वृत्तिः । ण उपदेशो यस्यासौ णोपदेशः णोपदेशस्य धातोर्थो नकारः तस्य उपसर्गस्यान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य णकारादेशो भवति असमासेऽपि समासेऽपि

14. Of a root which has ण in its original enumeration, when it comes after a cause of such change standing in an upasarga, even though the word be not a samāsa, the न is changed into ण ।

The word णोपदेश means a root which is enumerated in the Dhātupāṭha with an initial ण. Thus प्रणमति 'he bows' परिणमति प्रणायक 'a leader' परिणायक &c

Why do we say 'after an Upasarga'? Observe प्रणायकः = प्रमत्ता नायका अस्माद् देशान् 'a country without a leader'. Here the word प्र is not an upasarga, but a mere n pāta. See I. 7. 57, 58 and 59. In fact, प्र is upasarga here with regard to गत understood, and not with regard to नी ।

Why do we say "even when it is not a compound?" Because by context, the anuvṛtti of the word पूर्वपद, which is current throughout this sub-

division, would have been understood in this sūtra also, and the rule would have applied to samāśas only, for there only we have pūrvapada. By using the word असमासे it is shown that the adhikāra of pūrvapada ceases, and the rule applies to non compounds also where there is no पूर्वपद ॥

Why do we say "having ण in Upadeśa"? Observe प्रनर्दते, प्रनर्दितुम्, प्रनर्दक ॥ For the root नर्द is recited in Dhātupāṭha with न ॥ There are eight such roots नर्द, नाड्, नाथ्, नाध्, नन्द, नक्क्, नृ, नृत् ॥ See VI. 1. 65.

हिनुमीना ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि । हिनु-मीना, ॥

वृत्तिः । हिनु मीना इत्येतयोपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारादेशो भवति ।

15. The न of हिनु and मीना is changed into ण, when coming after an upasarga containing in it a cause of change.

Thus प्रहिणोति, प्रहिणुत, प्रमीणाति, प्रमीणीत ॥ The root हि belongs to Svādī class of verbs and takes the vikāraṇa नु technically णु; and the root मी belongs to Kryādi class which takes the vikaraṇa आ । In the sūtra the verbs are shown with the vikaraṇas affixed. Under certain circumstances the forms of the vikarana is changed from नु to नो 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 । आनीत्येतस्य लोडादेशस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारादेशो भवति ।

16. The न of आनि, the affix of the Imperative, 1st Person, is changed into ण when it follows a letter competent to cause such a change standing in an Upasarga.

The word आनि is the termination of the Imperative. Thus प्रवपाणि, पस्विपाणि, प्रयाणि, परियाणि ।

Why do we say 'the Imperative'? Observe प्रवपाणि मांसानि. Here आनि is the neuter plural termination, and the word means प्रकृष्टा वपा वेधु, 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 अर्थवद् ग्रहणे &c. Moreover in the *noun* प्रवपाणि, प्र is not an upasarga at all, on the maxim यत् क्रियायुक्ता प्रादयस्ते प्रति गति-उपसर्ग-संज्ञे भवतः ॥

नेर्गद-नद-पत-पद-घु-मा-स्यति-हन्ति-याति-वाति-द्राति-प्साति-वपति-वहति-शाम्यति-चिनोति-वेग्धिषु च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि । नेः, गद-नद-पत-पद-घु-मा-स्यति-हन्ति-याति-वाति-द्राति-प्साति-वपति-वहति-शाम्यति-चिनोति-वेग्धिषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः । निरित्येतस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारादेशो भवति । गद नद पत पद घु मा स्यति हन्ति याति वाति द्राति प्साति वपति वहति शाम्यति चिनोति वेग्धि इत्येतेषु परतः ।

17. The ण् is the substitute of न् of the prefix नि, following a cause for such change standing in an upasarga, when these verbs follow, gad 'to speak', nad 'to be happy', pat 'to fall', pad 'to go', the ghu verbs, mât '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', sam 'to be tranquil', chi 'to collect', and dih 'to anoint'.

Thus

गव्, प्रणिगवति, परिणिगवति	नट्, प्रणिनवति, परिणिनवति
पतृ, प्रणिपतति, परिणिपतति,	पक्, प्रणिपचति, परिणिपचति
घृ, प्रणिघृति, परिणिघृति, प्रणिदधाति, परिणिदधाति	
माङ्, प्रणिमिमीते, परिणिमिमीते	मेङ्, प्रणिमयते, परिणिमयते

Ishti:—By the word मा in the sūtra, both verbs माङ् and मेङ् are to be taken and not the roots मी or मि or मा माने, for they also take the form मा by VI. 1 50

स्यति, प्रणिस्यति, परिणिस्यति	हन्ति, प्रणिहन्ति, परिणिहन्ति
याति, प्रणियाति, परिणियाति	धाति, प्रणिधाति, परिणिधाति
व्राति, प्रणिव्राति, परिणिव्राति	प्ताति, प्रणिप्ताति, परिणिप्ताति

The last five roots belong to Adâdi class

वपति, प्रणिवपति, परिणिवपति	वहति, प्रणिवहति, परिणिवहति
शाग्यति, प्रणिशाग्यति, परिणिशाग्यति (VII. 3. 74)	
चिनाति, प्रणिचिनाति, परिणिचिनाति	दग्धि, प्रणिदग्धि, परिणिदग्धि

Ishti.—The above change takes place even when the augment ईद् intervenes. As घृयमदत्, परिणयमदत् ॥

The roots स्यति &c, are exhibited in their declined form in the sūtra in order to indicate that the rule does not apply to यङ् लुक् form of these roots (VII. 1 6)

शेषे विभाषाकखादावपान्तउपदेशे ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, विभाषा, अकखादौ, अपान्ते, उपदेशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नेरिति वर्तते उपसर्गादिति च अककारखकारादिरणकारान्तश्च उपदेशे यौ धातुः शेषस्तस्मिन्परत उपसर्गस्थानिमित्तादुत्तरस्य नेरकारस्य विभाषा णकार आक्षेप भवति ।

18. In the remaining verbs, optionally the न् of नि is replaced by ण्, when it is preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change; provided that, in the original enunciation, the verb has not an initial क् or ख, nor ends with प ॥

The words न् and उपसर्गात् are understood in the sūtra. The word शेषे means verbs other than those mentioned last. Thus प्रणिपचति or प्रणिपचात्, प्रणिमिमीते or प्रणिमिमिमीते ॥

Why do we say अकार्यादौ "not beginning with क or ख"? Observe प्रणि करोति, प्रणिखादति ॥ Here there is no change.

Why do we say अवान्तः "not ending in व"? Observe प्रणिपिनष्टि ।

Why do we say उपदेशे "in original enunciation"? So that the prohibition may apply to forms like प्रणिचकार प्रणिचखाव प्रणिपेक्षयति (VIII 2. 41). Here चकार &c, do not begin with क or ख nor does पिष्ट end with व् but with क् (VIII. 2. 41) but in the Dhātupāṭha the verb कृ and खद् begin with क and ख and पिष्ट ends with व्, and hence the rule will not apply. So also in प्रणिवेष्ट and प्रणिवेष्टयति from the root विष्ट ॥ Here though the verb now ends with व् by VIII. 2. 36, yet in the original enunciation of Dhātupāṭha, it ends with ष ॥

अनितेः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि । अनितेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनितेर्नकारस्योपसर्गस्थानिमित्तादुत्तरस्य णकारदेशो भवति ।

19. The न of the verb अन् 'to breathe', is changed into ण, when preceded by an upasarga competent to produce the change.

Thus प्र + अनिति = प्राणिति 'he breathes' पराणिति ॥ For इद् augment, see VII. 2. 76.

अन्तः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्थानिमित्तादुत्तरस्यानितिनकारस्य पठन्ते वर्तमानस्य णकारदेशो भवति ।

20. The न of अन् is changed into ण, 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 पराण् ! ॥ This rule is an exception to VIII 4 37 sub by which final न् in a pada is not changed into ण ॥ The word अन्त 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 ण, if the र is not separated from the न् by more than one letter. Therefore there is no change in परि + अनिति = पर्याणिति । In this view, another अन्त should be taken for the sake of final न्, in हे प्राण् ॥

According to others the form पर्याणिति is valid, and they do not connect अन्तः with the last sūtra.

The word प्राण् is a द्विवचन formed word and the न् final is not elided in the Vocative Singular because of the prohibition of VIII. 2. 8; in every other place, when the न् is padanta, it would be dropped, and therefore the illustration is given with Vocative singular, which alone satisfies the requirements of this sūtra.

उभौ साध्यास्य ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उभौ, साध्यास्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साध्यास्यनितेरुपसर्गस्थानिमित्तादुत्तरस्योभयोरनकारयोर्णकार आदेशो भवति ।

21. Both the न s are changed into ण in the reduplicated forms of the verb अन्, when preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change.

Thus in the Desiderative प्राणिणिषति and Aorist of the Causative प्राणिणत्, and so also पराणिणिषति and पराणिणत् ॥

If the maxim पूर्वजासिद्धीयमद्विचने be not applied here; then we have the following dilemma in, प्राणि + स + ति । Here the affix सन् requires reduplication, and the present sūtra requires ण change of न ॥ The ण्य being siddha, the reduplication being made first, we have प्राणिनि + स + ति, and then the reduplicate ण intervenes between the cause न् and the root-न् of ति, and so this न would not be changed to ण । If however the above maxim be applied, we first apply the ण्य rule, as प्राणि + स + ति, and then reduplicate ति; and we get the form प्राणिणिषति 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 प्रौञ्जङ्ग is evolved by reduplicating, हन् (See VIII. 2. 1)

हन्तेरुत्पूर्वस्य ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन्ते, अत्, पूर्वस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारपूर्वस्य हन्तिनकारस्य उपसर्गस्थानिमित्तादुत्तरस्य णकार आदेशो भवति ।

22. The न, when preceded by अ, in the root हन्, is changed to ण, when the verb is preceded by a preposition competent to cause the change.

Thus ग्रहण्यते परिहण्यते, ग्रहणनम् परिहणनम् ॥

Why do we say अत्पूर्वस्य 'when' preceded by अ? When अ is elided, the change does not take place. As ग्रहन्ति, परिहन्ति (VI. 4. 98, and VIII. 3. 54)

Why do we say अत् preceded by *short* अ? Observe पूर्वघातं and प्रधानि, the Aorist of हन् by the affix शिण् (III. 1. 60) ग्रहन् । शिण् + ग्रहन् = शिण् (VIII. 3. 54) ग्रहन् + शिण् (VIII. 2. 116) = प्रधानि 'he killed' Here न being preceded by the long अ is not changed

घमोर्घा ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ घमो, घा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारमकारयोः परतो हन्तिनकारस्योपसर्गस्थानिमित्तादुत्तरस्य वा णकारादेशो भवति ।

23. Optionally when घ or म follow, the न of हान is changed to ण, when preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change.

Thus ग्रहण्यः, परिहण्यः, or ग्रहन्ः and परिहन्ः, ग्रहणम् or ग्रहन्म्, परिहणम् or परिहन्म् ॥

This sūtra enjoins an option in certain cases, where it would have been obligatory by the last rule.

अन्तरदेशो ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्, अदेशो ॥

वृत्तिः अन्तर् शब्दादुत्तरस्य हन्तिनकारस्यापूर्वस्य णकारादेशो भवति ।

24. The न preceded by short अ of the root हन् is changed into ण, when the root follows the upasaṅga अन्तर्, and the word does not mean a country.

Thus अन्तर्हन्ते and अन्तर्हणन ।

Why do we say "when not meaning a country अदेशः" ? Observe अन्तर्हन्ती देशः ॥

The phrase अन्तर्हन्ते "preceded by short अ" of sūtra 22 ante is to be read into this sūtra also Observe, अन्तर्हन्ति ॥

Why do we say "short अ?" See, अन्तरधानि ॥ The word antar is an upasaṅga for the purposes of ण change, by the vātika 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 । अन्तरदेश इति वर्तते । अयननकारस्य चान्तर् शब्दादुत्तरस्य णकारादेशो 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 अन्तरयण शोभनम् Why do we say "not denoting a country"? Observe अन्तरयनो देशः ॥ This ण change would have taken place by VIII. 4 29 this special sūtra is for अदेश purposes. The word अयन is formed by ह्युद् added to अय् or हण् ।

छन्दस्यवग्रहात् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, अवग्रहात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तावग्रहात्पूर्वपदादुत्तरस्य णकारादेशो 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 Veda, न becomes ण, after a ऋ, after which in Padapāṭha, the word appertaining to it is divided. Thus in Pada-pāṭha the words नृमणा. &c, are separated, and are read as नृ मणा ॥ The word अयनम् = अयन्ति पश्यते, as in Pada-pāṭha ऋवग्रहात् 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 णस्य took place during saṁhitā, 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 saṁhitā governs all sūtras of this chapter. So the न is changed to ण in the Saṁhitā 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 ण after that ऋ only, which is capable of avagraha, namely that ऋ which stands at the *end* of a word (pada), and not that which is in the body of a word. Thus in नृमणाः, पितृयाणम्, the ऋ 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 ण change.

The word पूर्वपदान् is understood here. The word अवग्रह means a hiatus or separation. Thus पितृ याणम् नृ मणाः ॥ Here ऋ is अवग्रह. The change of न into ण is effected ordinarily then, when the terms one containing the cause, and the other न, are in संहिता or conjunction. For the rules of Sandhi and the rules like these can apply only to words in sahitā. The present rule is an exception to it, and here, even when the words are not in संहिता, but there is an actual hiatus between the two, the change still takes place. The word संहिता of VIII. 2. 108, exerts regulating influence upto the end of the Book.

नश्च धातुस्थोरुषुभ्यः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, च, धातुस्थ, उरु, पुभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नस् इत्येतस्य नकारस्य णकारवेशो भवति धातुस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्थोरुषाब्धान्पुषाब्धाच्च षष्ठ्यसि विषये ।

27. In the Ohhandas, the न of (the Pronoun) नस् is changed into ण, when it comes after a root having a र or ष or after the words उरु and पु (सु) ।

Thus अग्ने रक्षाण (R'g VII. 15-13) 'O Agni! protect us', शिक्षा णो अस्मिन् (R'g. VII. 32. 26) 'Teach us this'. उरु.—उरुणस्काधि (R'g. VIII. 75. 11) पु—अभीषुणः सखीनाम् (R'g IV. 31. 3). ऊर्ध्व ऊषुण ऊतये (R'g. I. 36-13)

The word नस् is here the pronoun नस्, which is the substitute, in certain cases, of अस्मद् (VIII. 1. 21) and does not mean here the नस् substitute of नासिका । In the next sūtra however, both नस् are taken धातुस्थ means that which exists in a dhātu, namely र and ष when occurring in a root. The word उरु means the word-form उरु, and पु means पुष्, and is exhibited with ष-change. It does not mean the affix सु of the Locative Plural. Therefore, not here इन्द्रो धत्ता गृहेषु नः ॥ The word रक्षा is the 2nd Person singular, Imperative, the lengthening is by VI. 3. 135. The root शिक्ष has the sense of शान in the Veda. कृधी is 2nd Person sg. Imperative of कृ (VI. 4. 102), the visarga of न is changed to स् by VIII. 3. 50. In अभीषु there is lengthening by VI. 3. 134. so also in ऊषुण &c.

उपसर्गाद्बहुलम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्थ नसो नकारस्य णकारवेशो भवति ।

28. The न of नस् is changed diversely into ण, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

Thus प्रण' शूद्र', प्रणस प्रणो राजा । The change does not sometime take, place, as, प्र नो मुञ्चतम् ।

By force of the word बहुलम् the rule applies to secular literature also as distinguished from the Chhāṇdas or sacred Vedic text Thus प्रणसं मुख ॥ The word छन्दसि does not govern this sūtra

In प्रणसं मुखम्, the word नस् is the substitute for नासिका and means 'nose'. See V. 4. 119.

This is not the sūtra as given by Pāṇini His sūtra is उपसर्गादनोत्परः "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 ओत्पर may have two meanings: (1) ओकारान् परः that which comes after ओ, (2) ओकारः 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 प्रनो मुञ्चतम्; 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 ॥ कृत्स्थो यो नकारो ऽच उत्तरस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य णकारदेशो भवति ।

वार्तिकः ॥ कृत्स्थस्य णस्य निर्विण्णस्योपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ।

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), मान (ज्ञानच् &c VII 2. 82), अनीय, (III. 1. 96) अनि, (III. 3. 111) इनि (णिनि III 2. 78 &c) and the substitutes of निष्ठा (VIII. 2. 42)

Thus

अनः प्रयाणम्, परिमाणम्, प्रमाणम्, परियाणम् ॥ मानः प्रयायमाणम्, परियायमाणम् ॥

अनीय प्रयाणीयम्, परियाणीयम् । अनि अप्रयाणि अपरियाणि ॥

इनि प्रयायिन्, प्रयायिणौ, परियायिन् परियायिणौ

निष्ठादेशः प्रहीण, परिहीण, 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 dhatûpāṭha, having an indicatory ओ, thus giving scope to the rule). भुञ् + न = भुम् न (VIII. 2. 30) = भुम् ।

Vart.—The word निर्विण्ण should be enumerated in this place. As निर्विण्णोस्मि खलसंगेन निर्विण्णोऽहमत्रवासेन ॥

णोर्विभाषा ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ णेः, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः । ण्यन्ताद्यो विहितः कृत्प्रत्ययः तत्स्थस्य नकारस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य विभाषा णकारदेशो भवति

30. The **न्** of a Kṛit - affix ordained after a causative verb (**पयन्त**), is optionally changed to **ण्**, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

Thus प्रयापणम् or प्रयापनम्, परिप्रापणम् or परिप्रापनम्, प्रयाप्यमाणम् or प्रयाप्यमानम्, प्रयापणीयम् or प्रयापनीय, अप्रयापाण or अप्रयापानि, प्रयापिणौ or प्रयापिनौ ॥

Why have we used the word '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 यक् intervenes. As प्रयाप्यमाणम् ॥ The णे being in the ablative, under the ordinary rule of interpretation (I. 1. 72), the kṛit - affix should come immediately after णि.

हलश्चेजुपधात् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, च, इच्-उपधात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलादिभ्यो धातुरिजुपधस्तस्मात्परो यः कृत्यस्य तस्यस्य नकारस्याच उत्तरस्योपरार्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य विभाषा नकारविशो 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 **ण्**, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

The phrase कृत्यच is understood here. Thus प्रकीपणम् or प्रकीपनम्, परिकीपणम् or परिकीपनम् ॥

Why do we say हल, 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe प्रेक्षणम् and प्रीक्षणम् where the change is obligatory, under VIII. 4. 29. These are from ईह च्छेदायाम् and ऊह निवर्तके

Why do we say इजुपधात् 'having a penultimate इच् vowel'? Observe प्रवपणम् and परिवपणम् ; no option

By the rule कृत्यच, the change was obligatory, this rule makes it optional

The न of the kṛit - affix must come after a vowel, otherwise there will be no change. See परिभुम्

The word हल in the sūtra should be interpreted as हलादि, and not as ordinarily "after what ends in हल" ॥ For an इजुपधा verb implies that it ends with a consonant, and so the employment of the word हल in the text would have been useless had it meant हलन्तात् ।

इजादेः सनुमः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इजादे, सनुमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इजादेः सनुमा हलन्ताद्धातोर्विहितो यः कृत्यस्य नकारस्योपरार्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारो भवति ।

32. A kṛit - affix ordained after a verb beginning with an इच् vowel, having the augment **नुम** in it, and ending

with a consonant, changes its न् into ण, when preceded by an upasarga having in it the cause of change.

The word हल. of the last sūtra is understood here. But contrary to the construction put upon it in the last sūtra, here it means हलन्तात्, by the natural rule of construction as given in I. 1. 72. We must interpret it so here, because it is impossible for an इजादि root to commence with a हल्, while to have done so in the last aphorism would have been redundant.

Thus प्रेङ्खणम्, परेङ्खणम् from इखि गत्यर्थः, the तुम् is added because it is इदित् ॥ प्रेङ्गणम्, परेङ्गणम्, प्रोम्भणम् परोम्भणम् ॥ In उम्भ पूरणे the nasal is part of the root. The rule will not apply to प्रेम्भनम्, because तुम् 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 सन्तुम् verbs the change takes place, not in other सन्तुम् verbs. Thus प्रमङ्गनम्, परिमङ्गनम् from the root मणि सर्वणे ॥

This rule does not affect rule VIII. 4. 30, relating to ण्यन्त verbs, for those verbs cannot be said to end with a consonant. Moreover, we have used the word विहित in explaining the sūtra, in order to indicate this fact, that the kṛit-affix must be *ordained* after a consonant-ending verb. In the case of causative verbs, the kṛit-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 ॥ उपसर्गादितवर्त्तते । निस् निक्ष निन्द इत्येतेषां नकारस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य वा णकारादेशो भवति ।

33. The न् 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, प्रणिन्वनम् or प्रनिन्दनम् ।

These verbs are written with ण in the Dhātupāṭha, and therefore by rule VIII. 4. 14 ante, the change of न् into ण would have been obligatory. The present sūtra makes it optional. The root णिसि means 'to kiss', णिक्षि रोषणे, and णिदि कुत्सायाम् ॥

न भाभूपूकमिगमिप्यायिवेपाम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भा-भू-पू-कमि-गमि-प्यायि-वेपाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भा बीभौ भू सत्तायाम् पू पवने कमि कान्तौ गमि गतौ प्यायि वृद्धौ वेप कम्पने इत्येतेषामुपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य कृत्स्थस्य नकारस्य णकारादेशो न भवति ।

वाचकम् ॥ ण्यन्तानां भादीनामुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ।

34. The न् of a kṛit-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', कामि 'to be brilliant', गामि 'to go', व्याधि 'to increase', क्षेप 'to shake'.

This rule is an exception to VIII. 4. 29 Thus :—

भा प्रभातम्, परिभातम् भू प्रभवतम्, परिभवतम् पू प्रपवनम्, परिपवनम् ॥

Ishii:—The verb पूञ् is to be taken and not the verb पूङ् । In the case of the latter the change is obligatory, as, प्रपवणं सोमस्य ॥

कामि प्रकमनम्, परिकमनम् ॥ गामि प्रगमनम्, परिगमनम् ॥

व्याधि प्रव्यायनम्, परिव्यायनम् ॥ क्षेप प्रवेपनम्, परिवेपनम् ॥

V&rt —The above roots, even when in the Causative, do not change the न of their क्त-affix. As प्रभापनम्, परिभापनम् ॥

पात्पदान्तात् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पात्, पदान्तात् ॥

वृत्ति ॥ षकारान्तपदान्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारविशो न भवति ।

35. After a ष final in a Pada, the न् is not changed to ण् ॥

Thus निष्पानम्, दुष्पानम् ; the visarga is changed to ष here by VIII. 3. 41. The rule VIII. 4. 29 is debarred. सर्पिष्पानम् (is a genitive compound contra II. 2. 14). So also यजुष्पानम् (II. 1. 32) The ष is in these two by VIII. 3. 45, and VIII. 4. 10 is debarred.

Why do we say "पात् after a ष? Observe निर्णयः ॥

Why do we say पदान्तात् 'final in a Pada'? Observe कुष्णाति, पुष्णाति ॥ The word पदान्त is equivalent to पद्वन्त or Locative Tatpuruṣa ; and does not mean final of a Pada. Therefore the rule does not apply here. सुसर्पिष्केण (ins १६) सुयजुष्केण ॥ Here the क् is added by V. 4. 154 द्योभनं सर्पिरस्य = सुसर्पिष्क (a Bahuv 'h'). The ष is by VIII. 3. 39. Before the affix क्, the word सुसर्पिस् is a Pada (I. 4. 17), and thus स्र् (ष्) is final of a Pada, but it is not final of a preceding member followed by another Pada. The rule, in fact, applies to compounds, the ष being final in the first term.

नशेः पान्तस्य ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नशेः, पान्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नशेः षकारान्तस्य णकारविशो न भवति ।

36. ण् is not the substitute of the verb नश 'to destroy', when ending in ष् ॥

When the ण् is changed to ष् in नश्, the न of नश् is not changed. Thus प्रनष्टः, परिनष्टः ॥ The नुष्प ordained by VII. 1. 60, is elided by VI. 4. 24, and न् changed ष् by VIII. 2. 36.

Why do we say पान्तस्य? Observe प्रणश्यति, परिणश्यति ॥ The word पान्त is taken in order that the prohibition may apply to words like प्रनष्टश्यति, which did end with ण् though the ष has been changed by other rules, and is no longer visible. For here the ण् of नश् is changed to ष् by VIII. 2. 36, and then this ष् is changed to ण् by VIII. 2. 41 ; and the नुष्प is added by VII. 1. 60.

पदान्तस्य ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदान्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदान्तो यो नकारस्तस्य णकारदेशो न भवति ।

37. Of a न final in a Pada, ण is not the substitute.

Thus वृक्षान्, स्रक्षान्, अरीन्, गिरीन् ॥

पदव्यवायेपि ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदव्यवाये, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदेन व्यवायेपि सति निमित्तनिमित्तिनोर्नकारस्य णकारदेशो न भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ 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, प्रावनक्षम्, पर्यवनक्षम्, प्रगान्नयाम्, परिगान्नयाम् ॥ Here the Padas कुम्भ, अङ्ग, अव &c, intervening, the change does not take place.

Vart.—It should be stated when there is separation by a Pada, except in a Taddhita Prohibition does not apply to words like अर्द्धगोमयेण, शुष्कगोमयेण ॥ Here गो takes the affix मयद् by IV. 3 145, and the word गो is a Pada by I. 4. 17, and it intervenes between मय and the first word. The author of Mahābhāṣya however does not approve of this Vārtika According to him the word पदव्यवाय means पदे व्यवाय ॥

क्षुब्धनादिषु च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुब्धनादिषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः । क्षुब्धना इत्येवमादिषु शब्देषु नकारस्य णकारदेशो न भवति ।

39. The ण is not the substitute of न् in the words kshubhna &c.

The 'not' of sūtra 34 is to be read into this. Thus क्षुब्धनाति, so also in क्षुब्धनीतः, 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 नन्वन and नगर when second members in a compound, denoting a name, as, हरिनन्दी, हरिनन्वन, गिरिनगरः ॥

The word नृन् when taking the Intensive affix यङ्, as, नरीनृत्यते ॥

नृन्, नृमोति also belongs to this class. नर्तन, गहन, नन्दन, निवेश, निवास, शमि and अनूप when used as second terms in a compound As, परिनर्तनम्, परिगहनम्, which required change by VIII. 4 3. So परिनन्दनम् contrary to VIII. 4. 14. शरनिवेशः, शरनिवास, शरामि, शर्मानूप. ॥ 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 न् of वन when the compound is a Name. This is an आकृतिगण ॥

1 क्षुब्धना (क्षुब्धनाति), 2 नृनमनः; 3 नन्दिन्, 4 नन्वन, 5 नगर एतान्युत्तरपदानि संज्ञार्था म योजयन्ति, 6 हरिनन्दी, 7 हरिनन्वनः, 8 गिरिनगरम् 9 नृतिर्यङि प्रयोजयति, नरीनृत्यते; 10 नर्तन, 11 गहन,

12 नन्दन, 13 निवेश, 14 निवास, 15 अग्नि, 16 अनूप, एतान्युत्तरपदानि प्र योजयन्ति, 17 परितर्जनम् 18 परिगहनम्, 19 परिनिन्दनम्, 20 शरनिवेश, 21 शरनिवासः, 22 शरमि, 23 शर्मनूप, 24 शाचार्यादणस्य च शाचार्यभोगीन (शाचार्यासी) क्षुब्धः 25 तुष्टु, नृनमन, 26 नरनगर, नन्दन- यङ् नृसी 27 गिरिनदी, 28 गृहनमन, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि, अनूप शाचार्यभोगीन, 29 अतुर्हीयन, 30 हरिकादीनि वनोत्तरपदानि संज्ञायाम् । हरिका, तिमिर, समीर, कुबेर, हरि कर्मार. भक्तिसंगण.

स्तोः इच्छुना इच्छुः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तोः, इच्छुना, इच्छुः ॥

वृत्तिः । शकारवर्गभ्यां सन्निपाते शकारवर्गवर्गसौ भवतः ।

40. The letters स and the dentals when coming in contact with श and the palatals, are changed to श and palatals respectively.

The rule of यथासंख्य does not apply here with regard to first part स्तो इच्छुना । The स in contact with श is changed to श but it is also so changed when in contact with letters of च class. Similarly letters of स class coming in contact with श or a letter of च class, are changed to च class. The rule of यथासंख्य, however applies to the substitutes, namely स is changed to श, and तु to छु ॥

1st. स in contact with श. as, वृक्षस् + शेते = वृक्षश्शेते, so also प्लक्षश्शेते ॥

2nd. स in contact with छु. — as, वृक्षस् + चिनाति = वृक्षश्चिनाति, प्लक्षश्चिनाति, वृक्षश्छा-
व्याति प्लक्षश्छाव्याति ॥

3rd. तु with शः — अग्निचित् शेते = अग्निचिच्छेते, so सोमसुच्छेते ॥

4th. तु with छु — अग्निचित् + चिनाति = अग्निचिच्छिनाति, so also सोमसुच्छिनाति, अग्निचिच्छाव्याति, अग्निचिच्छजयति, अग्निचिच्छ शकारम्, सोमसुच्छाव्याति, सोमसुच्छजयति सोमसुच्छ-
कारम्, अग्निचिच्छकारः, सोमसुच्छकारः ॥ Similarly मस्ज् gives मज्जति the स is changed to द् by हलाजश् ह्राजि VIII. 4 53 and then this द् is changed to a palatal i. e. to ञ here, and ञ obtained by जश् rule is not considered asiddha here. See VIII. 2. 3 So also from भस्ज् we have भज्जति ॥

5th चकार followed by सकार as, यज् + न (III. 3 90) = यज् + न् = यज्जः, याच् + न = याच्जः ॥ In fact the instrumental case इच्छुना shows that the mere contact of स and तु with श and छु is enough to induce the change, whether स्तु is followed by इच्छु, or इच्छु be followed by स्तु । Other examples of mere contact are —

5th (a) स followed by छु is changed into श. as, भस्ज् + ति = भस्ज् + श + ति (III. 1 77, VI. 1. 16) = भस्ज् + ति = भस्ज् + ति = (VIII. 4 53) = भज्जति ॥ Similarly मस्ज् forms मज्जति, व्रज्ज forms वृज्जति ।

The aphorism शात् (VIII 4 44) which prohibits the change of तु into छु 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 श्री इच्छु, 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.

पुना पुः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुना, पुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारवर्गभ्यां सन्निपाते सकारवर्गवर्गसौ भवतः ।

41. The letters स् and dentals in contact with ष and cerebrals, are changed into च and cerebrals respectively.

The word स्तोः is to be read into the sūtra. Here also there is absence of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration

(1) स with ष as, वृक्षस् + षण्डे = वृक्षषण्डे, प्लक्षषण्डे ॥

(2) स with ड, as वृक्षस् + टीकते = वृक्षटीकते, वृक्षष्टकारः, प्लक्षटीकते and प्लक्षष्टकारः ॥

(3) तु with ष as पेष्ट् + ता = पेष्टा पेष्टम्, पेष्टव्यम् कृषीष्ट, कृषीष्टाः (Atmane, Aorist 2nd per dual).

(4) तु with ड, as, अग्निचित् + टीकते = अग्निचिद्वीकते, सोमसुद्वीकते, अग्निचिद्वकारः, अग्निनिड् डीन, अग्निचिद्वीकते, अग्निचिण्णकार, सोमसुद्वकारः, सोमसुड्वीनः, सोमसुद्वीकते, सोमसुण्णकारः ॥

The root अतृड् अतिक्रमणार्हस्योः, and अदृड् अभियोगे, are read in the Dhātu-pāṭha with तृ and दृ penultimate, in order that when the affix क्विप् is added to them, the final ढ and ड being elided by संयोगान्त rule, the derivatives will be अतृ and अदृ ending in तृ and दृ ॥ Another reason is that the sūtra VI 1. 3, should apply to their reduplicate. In these roots the तृ and दृ are changed, as अतृडति and अदृडति ॥

न पदान्तादोरनाम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, पदान्तात्, दोः, अनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः । पदान्ताद्वर्गादुत्तरस्य स्तोः दुस्त्वं न भवति नामित्येतद्वर्जयित्वा ।

वार्तिकम् । अनाम्नवृत्तिनगरीणामिति वक्तव्यम् ।

42. After ड् final in a Pada, the change of a dental (स्तु) to a cerebral (ष्टु) does not take place, except in the case of the affix नाम् ॥

Thus अलिङ् + साये = अलिङ्साये, मधुलिङ्साये, अलिङ्तरति, मधुलिङ्तरति ॥

Why do we say पदान्तात् 'final in a Pada'? Observe ईङ् + ते = ईङ् + टे = ईङ्टे ॥

Why do we say दोः 'after ड्'? Observe सर्पिष् + तमस् = सर्पिष्टमस् ॥

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 तत्र 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 ॥

वृत्ति ॥ शकारावुत्तरस्य तवर्गस्य यवुक्तं तन्न भवति ।

44. In the room of तु there is not a palatal substitute, when श precedes.

The words न and तो are understood here. This is an exception to VIII. 4 40. Thus, प्रच्छ + न (III 3, 90) = प्रश् + न (VI. 4, 19) = प्रश्नः, विश्व &c.

यरोनुनासिकेनुनासिको वा । ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ यरः, अनुनासिके, अनुनासिकः, वा ॥

वृत्ति ॥ यरः पदान्तस्यानुनासिके परतो वा अनुनासिकावेशो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ यरोनुनासिके प्रत्यये भाषायां नित्यवचनं कर्तव्यम् ।

45. In the room of a यर letter (every consonant except ह final) in a Pada, when a Nasal follows, there is optionally a Nasal substitute.

The word पदान्त is understood here. Tau = वाक् + नयति = वाग्नयति or वाङ्-नयति अग्निचिद्वनयति or अग्निचिद्वनयति, विदुव्वनयति or विदुव्वनयति, अलिण्वनयति or अलिङ्गयति ॥

Why do we say 'final in a Pada'? Observe, वेक् मि = वेष्टि ॥ Here there is no option. So also क्षुभ्नाति ॥

Part :—When it is a pratyaya or affix that follows, the nasalisation is obligatory in the secular language. Thus वाक् + माचम् = वाङ्माचम् कियन्माचम् ॥ It is, however, only before the affixes मय and मय् that the change is obligatory, and not before every affix beginning with a nasal.

अचो रहाभ्यां द्वे ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, रहाभ्यां, द्वे ॥

वृत्ति । अच उत्तरी यो रेफहकारौ साभ्यावुत्तरस्य यरो 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, मर्कः, अहम्मा, अपह्मुते ।

Why do we say अच 'following a vowel'? Observe हनुते, अलयति ॥

अनञ्चि च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्, अञ्चि, च ॥

वृत्ति ॥ अच उत्तरस्य यरो द्वे भवतोऽनञ्चि परतः ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ यणो मयो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ।

वा० ॥ शरः खयो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ।

वा० ॥ अवसाने च यरो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ।

47. When a vowel does not follow, there is reduplication of यर् (all the consonants except ह), after a vowel.

The words अच and यर् are understood here.

Thus वधि + अन्न = वध् + अन्न (VI. 1. 77) = वध् + अन्न वध् + अन्न (VIII. 4. 53) = वध् + अन्न, so also मध् + अन्न ॥

Why do we say अन्नः 'after a vowel?' Observe स्नातम्, स्नातम् ॥

Vart — यणो मयो द्वे भवतः ॥ This Vārtika may be interpreted in two ways. First taking यणः as ablative and मयः as genitive. "The letters of the pratyāhāra मयः are reduplicated after यण् letters" उल्का, वाल्मीकि ॥ Secondly taking यणः as genitive, and मयः as ablative. "The letters यण् are reduplicated after मयः letters". As वध्यन्, मध्यन् ॥

Vart :— शरः ख्यो द्वे भवतः ॥ This is also similarly explained in two ways. 1st "There is reduplication of ख्यः letters, after a sibilant for शर् letters". as स्थाल, स्थाल. Secondly. "There is reduplication of a sibilant (शर् letters), after ख्यः letters, ss, वत्सरः, अप्सराः ॥

Vart :— अवसाने च यो द्वे भवतः ॥ There is reduplication of यर् when a Pause ensues. As वाक्, स्वक्, षट्, तत् &c.

These reduplications are curiosities, rather than practicalities.

नादिन्याक्रोशे पुत्रस्य ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आदिनी, आक्रोशे, पुत्रस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिनी परत आक्रोशे गम्यमाने पुत्रशब्दस्य न द्वे भवतः ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ तत्परे चेति वक्तव्यम् । वा० ॥ वा इतज्जन्धपरदति वक्तव्यम् ।

वा० ॥ अथा द्वितीया. शरि पौष्करसादेः ।

48. There is not reduplication of the letters of 'putra', when the word ādinī follows, the sense being that of reviling or cursing.

This debars the reduplication required by the last sūtra. Thus पुत्रादिनी त्वमसि 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'. = विशुमारी व्याघ्री ॥

Vart :— So also when पुत्र is followed by पुत्रादिनी ॥ As पुत्र पुत्रादिनी त्वमसि पापे ॥ So also पुत्रपौत्रादिनी ॥

Vart :— Optionally so when the words इत and जन्ध follow. As पुत्रइती or पुत्रइती, पुत्रजन्धी or पुत्रजन्धी ॥

Vart :— According to the option of Āchārya Paushkarasādi, the letters of च्यः pratyāhāra are replaced by the second letters of their class, when followed by a sibilant (a letter of शर् pratyāhāra).

As वत्स. becomes वय्सः अक्षरम् becomes अक्षरम् and अप्सरा becomes अप्सरा ॥

शरोचि ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शर्, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः । शरोचि परतो न हे भवति ।

49. There are not two in the room of a sibilant (शर्), when a vowel follows

The word न 's to be read into the sūtra. This debars the application of rule 46 *ante*. Thus कर्षति, वर्षति, आकर्ष, आक्षर्ष ॥

Why do we say अचि 'when a vowel follows? Observe वद्वर्षते ।

त्रिप्रभृतिषु शाकटायनस्य ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रिप्रभृतिषु, शाकटायनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रिप्रभृतिषु वर्णेषु संयुक्तेषु शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन न भवति ।

50. According to the opinion of Śākaṭāyana, the doubling does not take place when the conjunct consonants are three or more in number.

As इन्द्रः, अन्द्रः, उष्ट्रः, राष्ट्रम्, भाष्ट्रम् ।

सर्वत्र शाकटायनस्य ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वत्र, शाकटायनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शाकट्याचार्यस्य मतेन सर्वत्र द्विवचनं न भवति ।

51. According to the opinion of Śākalya, there is reduplication no where.

As अर्कः, मर्कः, ब्रह्मा, अपहृते ।

दीर्घादाचार्याणाम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, आचार्याणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घावुत्तरस्याचार्याणां मतेन न भवति ।

52. According to the opinion of all Teachers, there is no doubling after a long vowel.

As वाचम्, पाचम्, सूचम्, मूचम् ।

झलां जश्झति ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ झलाम्, जश्, झति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झलां स्थाने जशादेशो भवति झति परतः ।

53. In the room of झल् letters, there is substitution of जश् letters, when झल् letters follow.

A mute letter is changed to a sonant non-aspirate mute, when a sonant mute follows t.

This is the well-known rule of softening the hard letters. Thus लभ्+ता=लब्धा, so also लब्धुम्, लब्धव्यम् ; दोग्धा, दोग्धुम्, दोग्धव्यम् ; बोज्जा, बोज्जुम्, बोज्जव्यम् ॥

Why do we say झति, 'when a jhas follows? Observe दत्तः, दृष्टः, दध्मः ॥

अभ्यासे चर्च ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यासे, चर्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासे वर्तमानानां झलां अशादेशो भवति अकाराजश्च ।

54. The चर् is also the substitute of झल् letters occurring in a reduplicate syllable, as well as जश् ॥

In a reduplicate syllable, a sonant non-aspirate (जश्) as well as a surd non aspirate (चर्) is the substitute of a Mute letter. By applying the rule of

64. After a consonant, the following semi-vowel or a nasal is elided optionally, when the same letters follow it.

The word अन्यतरस्याम् should be read into the sūtra. Thus शय्या or शय्या, the middle य् being elided. In शय्या there are two यs, one of the affix क्यप् (III. 3. 99); and the second of अयङ् (VII 4 22), and the third arises by doubling (VIII 4 47) आदित्य (formed by doubling य् by the Vārtika under 47 ante), or आदित्य 'son of Aditi' In आदित्य there are two यs, one of यत् (IV. 1. 85), and the second arises by doubling.

Similarly आदित्य देवता अस्य स्थाली पाकस्य = आदित्य ॥ Then by VIII. 4 47, there is a third य, as आदित्य ॥ Here also we may elide the one middle य or both the middle य's Thus आदित्यः or आदित्य ॥

Why do we say हलः 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe अन्नम् when न् is preceded by a vowel.

Why do we say यमाम् "of यम् letters"? Observe अग्निः, अर्घ्यम् (V 4 25) where य is not a यम् ।

Why do we say येनि "when यम् follows"? Observe शार्ङ्गम् here ह् is not followed by a यम् ॥

झरो झरि सवर्णे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ झरः, झरि, सवर्णे ॥
वृत्ति ॥ हल उत्तरस्य झरो झरि सवर्णे परतो लोपो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

65. A Mute or Sibilant (झर) preceded by a consonant and followed by a homogeneous mute or sibilant, is optionally elided.

The word हल. is understood. Thus मरुत्तम्, अवत्तम् have three त, namely, one त substituted for आ by VII. 4 47, the second त resulting from the change of ह् to त by चर्त्य 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. मरुत्तम् here are four तs. A fifth may be added by doubling, and by this rule, one, two or three of them may be elided मरुत् + श + क्त = मरुत् + दृत् + त (VII. 4. 47) the word मरुत् being treated as an Upasarga (I 4 59, vārt) = मरुत्तत् ॥

Why do we say झर 'of a jhai'? Compare शार्ङ्गम् here ह् which is not a झर is not elided, though it is followed by a झर letter. Why do we say झरि 'followed by a jhai'? See प्रियपञ्च ॥ This is a Bahuvrīhi compound = प्रियाः पञ्चास्य. The word प्रिय stands first in the compound under II. 2 35 (vārt). The full word is प्रियापञ्चन्, the अ is elided by VI. 4. 134, and we have प्रियपञ्चन्; and then this न् becomes a palatal ञ्. Here ञ् is preceded by a हल् letter, and itself is a झर, and is followed by a homogeneous

61. After उद्, in the room of the स of sthā 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 + स्थाता = उद + स्थाता = उद् + थाता (VIII 4 65) = उद् + थाता (VIII 4 55) = उद् + थाता उद् + थातुम्, उद् + थातव्यम् ॥ So also with स्तम्भ, as, उद + स्तम्भिता, उद + स्तम्भितुम् &c. (See I. 1. 67 and 54).

Why do we say of स्था and स्तम्भ? Compare उत्प्लाव ॥

Vart.—In the Vedīs, the above substitution takes place in the case of स्कन्ध preceded by उद् । As, अग्ने दूरमुत्कन्धः ॥

Vart.—So also when it means a disease. As वृक्कन्धो नाम रोगः ॥ Or this form may have been derived from the root कन्ध, and not स्कन्ध ॥

अथो ह्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्यः, हः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्य उत्तरस्य हकारस्य पूर्वसवर्णविशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

62. In the room of the letter ह, after (a sonant Mute) there is optionally a letter homogeneous with the prior.

The pratyāhāra ह्य includes all Mutes. But practically sonant Mutes are only taken here.

As वाक् हसति = वाग्घसति or वाग् हसति, अलिङ्ग वसति or वसति, अमिथिक् पसति or पसति अिष्टुष भसति or वसति, सोममुक् धसति or सोममुक् वसति ॥

Why do we say ह्य after a sonant Mute? Observe ग्राह् वसति, भवान् वसति ॥

शश्छोदि ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शः, छः, अदि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्य इति वर्ज्यते । अन्यतरस्यामिति च ह्य उत्तरस्य शकारस्यादि परतश्छकारादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

वार्तिकम् । छत्वगमीति वक्तव्यम् ।

63. In the room of श preceded by a surd Mute, there is optionally the letter छ when a vowel or य, घ or र follows such श ॥

Though ह्य means all Mutes, the rule, however, applies to surd mutes. The words ह्य and अन्यतरस्याम् are to be read into the sūtra. Thus वाक् + शेते = वाक्छेते or शेते अमिथिक्छेते or अमिथिक् शेते अलिङ्ग शेते or छेते अिष्टुषछेते or शेते ॥

Vart.—It should rather be stated when a letter of ञम् pratyāhāra follows. The sūtra only gives षट् letters, the vārtika adds the letters छ, and the initials. Thus तम् + लोकेन = तम् + छलोकेन, तच्छमभुणा ॥

हलो यमां यमि लोपः । ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, यमाम्, यमि, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरस्य यमां यमि परसो लोपो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

is a Pratyāhāra with the first ण् । Thus वृद्धिं ० वृद्धि, मधुं ० मधु कुमारीं or कुमारी ।

Why do we say 'of an अण् vowel ?' Observe, कर्तुं, वृत्तं ॥

Why do we say 'which is not a prāṇīya ?' Observe अग्नी, वयु which are prāṇīya by I 1. 11.

अनुस्वारस्य ययि परसवर्णः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुस्वारस्य, ययि, परसवर्णः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अनुस्वारस्य ययि परतः परसवर्णो भवति ।

58. In the room of anusvāra, when यय् follows, a letter homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus शङ्किता, शङ्कितुम्, शङ्कितव्यम्, उज्जिता, कुण्डिता, मन्दिता, कम्पिता &c These are from roots शङ्क शङ्कायाम्, उज्जि उज्जे, कुण्डि कुण्डे, दुनदि समृद्धौ, कपि चलने । Here तुम् is added because they are उरित्, 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 च &c, and so on to ण्, न् and म्

Why do we say when यय् follows ? Observe आक्रस्यते, आचिक्रस्यते ।

In कुर्वन्ति, वृषन्ति, the न् is not changed into ण्, though required by VIII 4. 2. Because the णत्व 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 ण् is never substituted for न् ॥

वा पदान्तस्य ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, पदान्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदान्तस्यानुस्वारस्य ययि परतो वा परसवर्णो भवति ।

59. In the room of anusvāra final in a Pada, the substitution of a letter homogeneous with the latter is optional.

Thus तं कथं चित्रपक्ष उड्यमानं नभःस्थं पुरुषोऽवधीत् or तङ्कथञ्चित्रपक्षउड्यमानन्नभःस्थपुरुषोऽवधीत् ॥

तोर्लि ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ तो., लि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तवर्गस्य लकारे परतः परसवर्णो भवति ।

60. In the room of तु (a dental) when the letter ल follows, one homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus अग्निचित् + लुनाति = अग्निचिल्लुनाति, सोमसुल्लुनाति ; भवान् + लुनाति = भवौल्लुनाति, महौल्लुनाति ॥ Here त् has been changed to pure ल, while the dento-nasal न् is changed to a nasal लं ॥

उदः स्थास्तम्भोः पूर्वस्य ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदः, स्था स्तम्भोः, पूर्वस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद उदरयोः स्था स्तम्भ इत्येतयोः पूर्वसवर्णो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् । उद पूर्वसवर्णस्ये स्तम्भेऽल्लुनात्युपसंख्यानम् । वा० ॥ रोमे चेति वक्तव्यम् ।

'nearest in place (I. 1. 50), we find that sonant non-aspirate (अश्) is the substitute of all sonants, and is the substitute of all surds. In other words all aspirate letters become non-aspirate. The word अश् has been drawn into the sūtra by the word अ 'also'.

Thus चिच्छनिषति । Here सन् (Derivative) is added to the root च्छन्, the च्छ is changed to छ by VII. 4. 62, and this aspirate छ is now changed to non-aspirate by the present sūtra चिच्छनिषति, दिङ्कारनिषति, तिष्ठानिषति, पिङ्कारनिषति, ब्रूयनिषति, जिघृक्षनिषति, डुङ्गीनिषति ॥

If there is चर् (non-aspirate surd) in the original, it will remain of course unchanged. As, चिच्चीषति, दिङ्गीनिषति, तित्तिनिषति ॥

The original अश् also remains unchanged. Thus जिजनिषति, बुबुधे, ददौ, दिङ्ग्ये । Or to be more accurate a चर् is replaced by a चर् and a अश् by a अश् letter.

खरि च । ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खरि, च ॥

वृत्तिः । खरि च परतो हलां चरदेशो भवति ।

55. In the room of हल्, 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 हलां and चर् are supplied from the last sūtra. Thus मेक्-त्ता = मेक्ता, मेक्त्तुस्, मेक्त्तव्यस्, बुबुध्-सते = बुबुध्सते, भारिष्यते, भारिष्यते from रभ् and लभ्, the हस् is added by VII. 4. 54, in the room of ह् of रभ् and लभ्, and we have रिभस् and लिभस् then the first स is elided by VIII. 2. 29.

वाचसाने ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अचसाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलां चरिति वर्तते । वाचसाने वर्तमानानां हलां वा चरदेशो भवति ।

56. The चर् is optionally the substitute of a हल् that occurs in a Pause.

The words भलां 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, श्लिक् or श्लिग्, त्रिष्टुक् or त्रिष्टुग् ॥

अणोप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अणः, अप्रगृह्यस्य, अनुनासिकः ॥

वृत्तिः । अणः अप्रगृह्यसर्जस्यवसाने वर्तमाने अनुनासिकदेशो भवति ।

57. The annāsika is optionally the substitute of an अण् vowel which occurs in a Pause, and is not a Pragpihya.

अ, इ and उ, short and long, may, when final in a Pause, be pronounced as nasals, provided that they are not Pragpihya (I. 1. 11 &c.) The अण् here

letter अ्, but as अ् is not ह्रस्व, the च् is not elided. The elided अ is not considered sthānivat, and so च् is considered to be *immediately* followed by अ्.

Why do we say सवर्णे 'when a homogeneous jha follows'? Observe तर्ह्यु, तर्ह्यम् &c, where ण् and न् are not homogeneous.

By using the word सवर्णे, the rule of mutual correspondence (I 3 10) is avoided. Had the rule been ह्रस्वो ह्रस्वः the rule of mutual correspondence according to order of enumeration would have applied and the forms सिद्धि पिद्धि could not have been evolved by the elision of इ before द्. For the evolution of these forms see the commentary under I 1. 58. These are the Imperative 2nd Person Singular of सिद् and पिद् ॥ The अ of अम् is elided by VI 4 111; the हि is changed to धि by VI 4 101; the ष् 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 ण् by VIII. 4 58; the ध is changed to द्, and by the present rule, the preceding इ is elided before this द्.

उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदात्तात्, अनुदात्तस्य, स्वरितः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तादुत्तरस्यानुदात्तस्य स्वरितादेशो भवति ।

66. The Svarita is the substitute of an Anudatta vowel which follows an Udatta vowel.

Thus अग्निम् + ईले = अग्निमीले । Here ई which was अनुदात्त by rule VIII. 1. 28, becomes svarita by the present rule, as it comes after the udatta इ of agni.

So also गौर्ग्य, वैस्व्य ॥ Here यम् is added by IV. 1. 105, and being ङिम् the words are first acute. The final is anudatta, which becomes svarita. So also पचति and पठति, the चप् and तिप् are anudatta, the root is accented, the अ of चप् becomes svarita.

The rule VI. 1. 158, does not change this svarita into an Anudatta, because for the purposes of that rule, the present rule is असिद्ध, or as if it had not taken place (VIII. 2. 1). Therefore both the udatta and the svarita accent are heard.

नोदात्तस्वरितोदयमगार्ग्यकाश्यपगालवानाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उदात्त-स्वरित-उदयम्, अ-गार्ग्य-काश्यप-गालवानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तोदयस्य स्वरितोदयस्य चानुदात्तस्य स्वरितो न भवति अगार्ग्यकाश्यपगालवानामाचार्याणां मतेन । उदात्तोदयः = उदात्तपरः ।

67 All prohibit the above substitution of svarita, except the Âchâryâs Gârgya, Kâśyapa and Gâlava; when an udatta or a svarita follows the anudatta.

This debar the preceding rule. That anudatta which is *followed* by an Udatta is उदात्तोदयः or उदात्तपरः ॥ The word उदय means पर in the terminology of ancient Grammarians. That anudatta which is *followed* by a svarita is called स्वरितोदयः । These are Bahuvrîhi compounds. Thus उदात्तोदयः-गौर्ग्य-

स्तैत्रे वास्ये स्तैत्रे ॥ The word स्तैत्रे is first accented by *lit* accent before this udatta, the *y* of these words does not become svarita. So with स्वरितोष्य — गौर्ये. कुर्वीष्ये कुर्वीष्ये ॥ The word कुर्वीष्ये is svarita being formed by the *lit* affix वरत् (V. 3. 12); before this svarita the preceding *y* does not become svarita.

Why do we say "except in the opinion of Gāṛya, Kāṇva and Gāṇva"? Observe गौर्ये कुर्वीष्ये ॥ According to their opinion, the svarita change does take place.

The employment of the longer word उद्गच्छ 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 उद्गच्छ 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 वृद्धि 'increase' (in Sūtra I. 1. 1), has the word शिव 'the well-wisher' in the middle (IV. 4. 143), and उद्गच्छ at the end.

The mention of the names of those several Āchāryas is for the sake of showing respect (pujāṭham).

अ अ इति ॥ इत् ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, अ, इति ॥

वृद्धि ॥ एकोऽत्र विवृतोऽपरः सवृतस्तत्र विवृतस्य सवृतः 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 अ in this respect, the *homogeneity* mentioned in I. 1. 9, would not be found to exist between them, and the operation of the rules depending upon that homogeneity would be debarr'd. 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 वृद्धि, 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 अ and the pluta अः 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* mâtia, with *its* various modifications is to be taken here In other words the *six* shorts अ are only taken here, namely अ, अ, अ, अ, अ, अ ॥ For these six short open अs, there are substituted six contracted corresponding अ's See I 1. 9

॥ शुभं भवतु ॥

10 10 98.

