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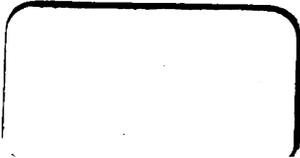
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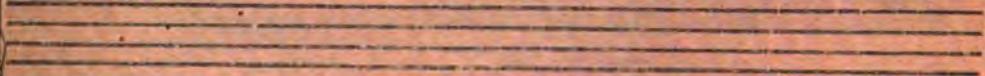
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BOOK III.



The

ASHTADHYAYI

of

PANINI.

PARTS IX—XII.



S. C. VASU.

Price Rs. 3.

OPINIONS OF DISTINGUISHED PROFESSORS OF SANSKRIT.

Opinion of Professor Max Müller, Oxford, 9th February, 1892.

* * * From what I have seen of it, it will be a very useful work. What should I have given for such a work forty years ago when I puzzled my head over Pāṇini's Sūtras and the Commentaries. * * * I hope you may succeed in finishing your work.

Opinion of Professor Gopalji S. Desai, Rajkot in Kathiawar, 20th February, 1892.

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

Opinion of Professor T. Jolly, Ph. D., Würzburg, (Germany), 23rd April, 1893.

* * * Nothing could have been more gratifying to me, no doubt, than to get hold of a trustworthy translation of Pāṇini's Ashtādhyāyī, the standard work of Sanskrit literature, and I shall gladly do my best to make this valuable work known to lovers and students of the immortal literature of ancient India in this country.

Opinion of Professor W. D. Whitney, New Haven, U. S. A., 17th June, 1893.

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

Opinion of Professor V. Fausbøl, Copenhagen, 15th June, 1893.

* * * It appears to me to be a splendid production of Indian industry and scholarship, and I value it particularly on account of the extracts from the Kaśika.

Opinion of Professor Dr. R. Pischel, Halle (Saale), 27th May, 1893.

* * * I have gone through it and find it an extremely valuable and useful book, all the more so, as there are very few Sanskrit scholars in Europe who understand Pāṇini. * * *

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

स्वस्तीधरे हितपुरे हितरे प्रयागे सत्संगमप्रणयसंमतिरे बुधानां ।

विद्याविनोदवरिवर्द्धितबुधुशारान् वास्वन्ववाञ्छिरिशचन्द्रविश्वरिप्यान् ॥ १ ॥

दृष्टातिमोदमुहिरोहमुदप्रशक्तौ सच्छलसोधितसुखास्पदबोधभाजः ।

सम्यक्कलसंतु नतयोनितराम्मदीयाः यद्वाबहुककविकर्तृतातरेभ्यः ॥ २ ॥

वृद्वाद्भूतं विमलबोधनबोधरारिं सद्भाकृतिप्रथितकीर्तिकरप्रशंस्यं ।

यच्छूरीमदीयमतिमोदवहं वरेण्यं सस्पुस्तकं प्रमुदितोहमहोशकृत्वं ॥ ३ ॥

चिन्मयदस्ति भवतेग्लिशबोधभाजा यद्वस्तुतो विरचितं समदृक् सुविम्बं ।

लोकसुचिन्मयानामरनैकशीला भिन्नेचचिन्मनसः प्रतिचिन्मनान् ॥ ४ ॥

सस्तेग्लिशप्रकटितंवरसुमर्द्वस्तौ संज्ञादिपेशलमनो कुहकल्पसाक्षिं ।

स्थानेवसुप्रहितचित्तविबृत्तिवयं यद्वासुनासुविहितोग्लिशभाववृत्तिः ॥ ५ ॥



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OPINIONS (continued.)

वेनस्वजा मुनिमतावतशास्त्रसंघान् निर्मलसौधरसवन्महादरिण ।
संगुम्कृतं सरजसंस्कृतसाध्यसारं धन्यं वदाम्बहमलं भवतोहिताय ॥ ६ ॥
मन्यस्ववरप्रसरणाखिलकीर्त्तिकुरवे याचेपरार्द्रगवतोप्यहमवविहन् ।
यत्पूर्वपश्चिममुखेषुसदाप्रचारं ज्ञानसुखंगुरुचरं च तवापि धीमन् । ७ ।
वाणीविदाम्बरतवास्तुमत्वे जयोया यत्पूर्वपश्चिमजबोधभृते च विद्या ।
ख्यातिस्सहासकल बर्चभुजां समूहेऽप्याशीर्वचो भवतु पंडित ज्ञानचन्द्रं ॥ ८ ॥

श्रीमद्विद्वच्छिरोमणि विज्ञानामहर्षिणा श्रेयोभिलाषी विद्याभास्कर । पण्डित (ज्ञानचंद्र) शर्मा
गुरुः श्रीमान्महाराजाधिराजराजराजेश्वर बोधपुराधीश्वरावरज श्रीमन्महाराजाकिशोरीसिंह सेनाधीश्व
राणां च)

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

The Indian Union, (Allahabad), 26th November, 1891.

* * * The original Text and Commentaries, carefully edited with English notes and explanations, bespeak of much diligence, care and ability ; and those of the English-reading public who have a taste for Sanskrit cannot be too thankful to Babu Sris Chandra for offering them so easy an access to the intricate regions reigned over by that Master Grammarian. * * * We recommend this book to all English-knowing lovers of the Sanskrit Language.

The Tribune, (Lahore), 9th December, 1891.

* * * The translator has spared no pains in preparing a translation which may place Pāṇini's celebrated work within the comprehension of people not deeply read in Sanskrit. The paper, printing and the general get-up of the book before us are admirable, and considering the size of the book (it is estimated to extend to 2000 pages) the price appears to be extremely moderate.

The Amrita Basar Patrika, (Calcutta), 18th December, 1891.

* * * Judging from the first part before us, we must say that Babu Sris Chandra has succeeded well in the difficult work of translation, which seems to us to be at once lucid, full and exact. It is no exaggeration to say that Babu Sris Chandra's translation, when completed, will claim a prominent place among similar works by European Sanskrit Scholars.

The Hope, (Calcutta), 20th December, 1891.

* * * The get-up of the publication is of a superior order, and the contents display considerable painstaking on the part of the translator.

The Arya Patrika, (Lahore), 22nd December, 1891.

* * * The talented Babu has rendered a great service to the cause of Sanskrit literature by producing the sort of translation he is engaged upon. * * * His effort is most laudable and deserves every encouragement.

Karnatak Patra, (Dharwar), 7th February, 1892.

* * * Mr. Vasu gives ample proof of his competency to undertake the work which is not an easy task even to learned Sanskritists.

The Punjab Times, (Rawalpindi), 17th February, 1892.

* * * Babu Sris Chandra is well-known for his scholarly attainments. He has done the translation in a lucid and clear English. We can strongly

OPINIONS (continued.)

recommend it to those who wish to study Sanskrit Grammar through the medium of English.

The Mandalay Herald, 31st December, 1891.

* * * Students and readers of classic language of India are much indebted to the learned Pandit for his translation of this scientific work on the grammar and philology of the Sanskrit language:

The Arya Darpan, (Shahjahanpur), February, 1892.

* * * Such a work has been a desideratum. It is well got up, and praiseworthy. We wish it every success.

The Allahabad Review, January, 1892.

* * * The translator has done his work conscientiously and faithfully. The translation of such a work into English, therefore, cannot but be a great boon to all students of the science of language and of Sanskrit literature in special. The translator deserves the help of the Government and the Chiefs of India.

The Maharatta (Poona), 4th July, 1893.

* * * If we may judge from the first part which lies before us, it will prove a very valuable help to the student of Pānini. * * So far as it goes it is creditably performed, and therefore deserves patronage from all students of Sanskrit and the Education Department.

The Arya Siddhanta (Allahabad), 15th November, 1891.

॥ पाणिनीय व्याकरण अष्टाध्यायी का अङ्गरेजी अनुवाद ॥

उक्त पुस्तक श्रीयुत वा० श्रीशचन्द्र वसु वकील हाईकोर्ट बना कर छाते हैं। वास्तवमें यह काम हमारे भारतवर्ष की उन्नति का इस लिये है कि संस्कृत के व्याकरण में थोड़ा भी जिन का प्रवेश है और अङ्गरेजी अच्छी जानने होंगे वे सहज में पाणिनीय व्याकरण का अच्छे प्रकार अभ्यास कर सकेंगे। ज्यों २ हमारे प्रचलित पुस्तकों का अनेक भाषाओं में अनुवाद होता जायगा उस के साथ २ हमारी उन्नति जानिये। वद्यपि मैं इस अङ्गरेजी भाष्य के गुण दीर्घों को ठीक २ नहीं जान सकता तथापि अन्य लोगों से सुन कर कुछ जाना है। पहिले इस भाष्य में मूल सूत्र, दूसरे उस के परच्छेद तृतीय संस्कृत में सूत्र की वृत्ति-अर्थ लिखा है। इस के आगे अङ्गरेजी में सूत्र का स्पष्ट अर्थ लिखा, तिस पीछे उदाहरणों की सिद्धि में जिस २ अक्षर पाए के जो २ सूत्र लगते हैं उन के पते सहित उदाहरण वा प्रत्युदाहरण लिखे हैं और उस सूत्रपर जो कोई वार्तिक वा परिभाषा है तो उसके भी अर्थ और उदाहरण स्पष्ट सुगमरीति से लिखे किये हैं।

BOOK III.

THE

ASHTĀDHYĀYĪ OF PĀṆINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

ŚRĪŚA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,

Munsiff, Ghazipur.



A l l x h a b a d :

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1894.

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TO THE
Hon'ble Sir John Edge, Kt., Q. C.,
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 HIGH EDUCATION
IN
THESE PROVINCES,
Dedicated
BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT
THE TRANSLATOR.

C.B. Suman

PREFACE.

SINCE the advent of the British rule and the peace and prosperity that have followed in its train, and especially since the foundation of the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society, India has witnessed a glorious revival of her ancient literature, in which is embodied some of the highest systems of philosophy and religion of the world. Our schools and colleges are annually turning out hundreds, nay thousands of scholars, who have entered upon the study of Sanskrit literature, and have thus learnt to appreciate the beauties of that classic language. Many Europeans too are taking pains to have some knowledge of the immortal literature embodied in this ancient language. Very few of them, however, have the opportunity of studying the language with that deep insight and fulness of comprehension with which it was and is mastered by the Pandits of the old school. To understand properly Sanskrit language, and especially that portion of it in which are locked up the highest aspirations of the ancient Aryan hearts, *vis.*, the Vedas, the Brahmanas, the Upanishads, &c., it is absolutely necessary to have a complete knowledge of the Grammar elaborated by Pānini.

Further, as a master-piece of close reasoning and artistic arrangement, it ought to be an object of study to every one who wants to cultivate his intellectual powers. In fact, what the Geometry of Euclid has done towards the logical development of the western intellect, the Ashtādhyāyī of Pānini has done for that of the Sanskrit scholars. No one who has studied this book can refrain from admiring it. It has evoked admiration even from the Sanskrit savants of the West. Professor Max Müller thus gives his opinion about the merits of this excellent Sanskrit Grammar :—"The Grammatical system elaborated by native Grammarians, is in itself most perfect, and those who have tested Pānini's work will readily admit, that there is no Grammar in any language, that could vie with the wonderful mechanism of his eight books of Grammatical rules."

Unfortunately, however, for our college and school students, and also for that vast majority of English-educated gentlemen, whose number is daily on the increase, and who depend for their knowledge of what is contained in Sanskrit books, on English translations of Sanskrit authors, no translation of this important work exists in English. To supply this want, we have undertaken to translate Pānini's aphorisms, as explained in the well-known commentary, called the Kāśikā. Though it is not a close translation of the whole of the Kāśikā, it may be regarded as a free rendering of the most important portions of that book. We have closely followed this commentary, explaining it where necessary, and in short, making the work a help to the student, desirous of studying the Kāśikā in the original.

The work when completed would, it is estimated, cover nearly two thousand pages. It would not therefore be possible to complete it and publish it as a completed work within a short time. We have on that account thought it expedient to publish the work in parts, that it might be of great advantage to our readers and a matter of great convenience to the publisher. The *Ashā-dhyāyī*, as indicated by its name, is divided into *ashta Adhyāyas*, i. e., eight Books. Each of these Books again is divided into four *pādas* or chapters. It has thus been found expedient to publish the work in 32 parts which are available to our subscribers only, and, when four parts are out, to have them bound in one volume available to the non-subscribing public as well as to our subscribers.

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Any encourager of Sanskrit learning subscribing for ten or more copies of this work will be thankfully registered as our Patron and his name will be made immortal with that of the book by giving it a prominent place in the front of the book when it is completed.

Our hearty thanks are due to the Honourable E. White, c. s., Director of Public Instruction, N.-W. P. and Oudh, for his kindly subscribing for 10 copies of our work, and to all those gentlemen who have hitherto subscribed for any number of copies or in any way encouraged us in our undertaking.

Panini Office, }
Allahabad. }

THE PUBLISHER.

ओ३म्
अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER I.

—:0:—

प्रत्ययः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्ययः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आ पञ्चमाध्यायपरिसमाप्ते चानित कर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः प्रत्ययसंज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः, प्रकृत्यु-
पपदोपाधिविकारागमान्वर्जित्वा ॥

1. An affix.

This is an aphorism intended solely to regulate the sense of others. From this place forward up to the end of the Fifth Book, whatsoever we shall treat of, will get the name of 'Pratyaya' or an affix, except the 'prakṛiti' or base (such as गुप्, सिञ्, कित् in III. 1. 5 are bases, the affix being सन्), the 'upapada' or dependent word (such as स्तम्ब, सकृत् in III. 2. 24 are upapadas), the 'upādhi' or attribute, the special cause that occasions changes (such as पशु in III. 2. 25 is an upādhi); in the sūtra, III. 2. 25, the word हरति is a prakṛiti, वृत्ति and नाप are upapadas, पशु is an upādhi, the affix being इन्, the substitute and the augment. Such as the affixes तच्चत्, तच्च, भनीचर् taught in III. 1. 96, as कर्त्तव्यम्, करणीचम् 'to be done'.

परश्च ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ परः, च, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परश्च स भवति धातोर्वा प्रातिपदिकाद्वा चः प्रत्ययसंज्ञः ॥

2. And subsequent.

This is also an 'adhikāra' or regulating sūtra, and is understood in all subsequent aphorisms; or it might also be called a 'paribhāshā' or interpreting aphorism. That which is called an affix comes after, or is placed after, the 'dhātū' or root, or the 'prātipadika' or crude form; as कर्त्तव्यम् and तैत्तिरीचम्.

The force of the word च 'and' in this sūtra is to indicate that the affixes here treated of, are to be placed *after* a root &c.; not so, however, the affixes not taught in this Adhyāya. These latter, such as Unādi affixes, may sometimes, be placed in the beginning or the middle of a word.

आद्युदात्तश्च ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-उदात्तः, च, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आद्युदात्तश्च स भवति चः प्रत्ययसंज्ञः ॥

3. That which is called an affix, has an acute accent on its first syllable.

This sūtra may also be treated as a Paribhāshā or an Adhikāra sūtra. The udātta accent falls on the affix, and if it consists of more than one vowel, then on the first of the vowels. Thus the affix तच्च has udātta on the first च, as in कर्त्तव्यम्. This general rule of accent applies only where there is no special

rule laid down. Thus, rule VI. I. 163, declares that affixes having an indicatory च will have udatta on the final ; those having an indicatory र have accent on the middle (VI. I. 217) ; those that have an indicatory ए are anudatta ; those having an indicatory ल, throw the acute accent on the syllable immediately preceding the affix (VI. I. 193) ; the affixes having an indicatory झ and न throw the acute accent on the first syllable of the word to which they are added (VI. I. 197) ; the taddhita affix having an indicatory क takes acute accent on the final (VI. I. 165) ; and the affix having an indicatory त्त is svarita (VI. I. 185).

अनुदात्तौ सुप्तिता ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तौ, सुप्-पितौ,
(प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुप्-पितश्च प्रत्यया अनुदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

4. The case-affixes (sup) and the affixes having an indicatory ए (pit) are anudatta.

This is an exception (apavāda) to the last aphorism. As वृत्तौ 'two stones' ; the case-affix औ is anudatta ; so also वृषट् ; so also पचति ; The third person singular affix तिप् has an indicatory ए, and is anudatta. But not पचतः.

गुप्तिज्किद्भ्यः सन् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुप्-तिज्-किद्भ्यः, सन्
(प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुप् गोपने, तिज निशाने, कित निवासे, एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः सन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ निन्वाप्तमाभ्याधिप्रतीकारेषु सन्निवृत्तेऽन्यत्र यथाप्राप्तं प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

5. After the verbs गुप्, तिज and कित्, comes the affix सन्.

This affix is to be added to the above verbs, when they mean to 'despise', 'to endure' and 'to heal' respectively, though they ordinarily mean 'to hide', 'to whet' and 'to dwell'. As जुगुप्सते 'he censures or despises'; तित्तिस्तते 'he endures patiently'; चिकित्सते 'he heals'. But गोपायति 'he protects'; तेजयति 'he sharpens'; संकेतयति 'he makes sign'.

When सन् is added, there is reduplication of the root, by VI. 1. 9. Thus, गुप् + सन् = जुगुप् + स (VII. 4. 62) = जुगुप्स् to which is added the third person singular termination अते = जुगुप्सते.

मान्बधदान्शान्भ्यो दीर्घश्चाभ्यासस्य ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मान्-
बध-दान्-शान्भ्यो, दीर्घः, च, अभ्यासस्य, (सन्, प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मान् पूजायाम्, बध बन्धने, शान् अवलम्बने, शान् अवतंजने, इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः
सन् प्रत्ययो भवति. अभ्यासस्य चकारस्य दीर्घश्चो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भवापि सन्नर्धविशेष इत्यते ॥

6. The affix सन् comes after the verbs मान 'to honor', बध 'to bind', हान 'to cut' and शान 'to whet', and long ई is the substitute of the इ (VII. 4. 79) of the reduplicative (VI. 1. 4) syllable.

The सन् is to be added only then, when the sense of the desiderative verb is as below : नीमांसते 'he investigates', बीभत्सते 'he loathes', हीर्हांसते 'he straightens', शीर्शांसते 'he sharpens'. The verbs given in this and the preceding sūtra, are Desiderative in form, but not in meaning. The word 'optionally' in the next sūtra, may be read into this also, whereby the addition of सन् becomes optional. Thus मानवति, बाधवति, हानवति and निशानवति are also valid forms.

धातोः कर्मणः समानकर्तृकादिच्छायां वा ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥

धातोः, कर्मणः, समान-कर्तृकाद्, इच्छायाम्, वा, (सन्, प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इषिकर्मको चो धातुरिषिणैवसमानकर्तृकस्तस्मादिच्छावाच्ये वा सन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आशङ्क्यामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इच्छासम्भन्तात्प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

7. The affix सन् is optionally attached, in the sense of wishing, after a root expressing the object wished, and having the same agent of the action as the wisher thereof.

As, कृ 'to do'; चिकीर्षति=कर्तुमिच्छति 'he wishes to do'. This is the Desiderative proper. It is optional to employ the desiderative affix, the same sense may be expressed by a phrase. The root must also be simple and not compounded with any upasarga, when the affix सन् is to be added. Thus प्रकर्तुमिच्छत् = प्राचिकीर्षत्.

Why do we say कर्मणः 'after (a root expressing) an object' ? The affix will not come after an Instrumental case. Thus गमनेनेच्छति ; here there is no affix. But गन्तुमिच्छति will be जिगमिषति.

Why do we say समानकर्तृकात् 'when the subject of the verb to wish, is also the subject of the verb denoted by the object wished' ? Observe ईषदत्त्वं भोजनमिच्छति यज्ञदत्तः. Here Yajñadatta is agent of the verb इच्छति ; but he is not agent of the action भोजनं ; hence there is no affixing.

Why do we say इच्छायाम् 'when the sense is that of wishing' ? Observe कर्तुं जानाति 'he knows how to make' ; here the sense being that of knowing, there is no affix.

The word वा 'optionally' shows that a sentence may also be employed to express the same idea. Thus कर्तुमिच्छति or चिकीर्षति.

The word धातोः being especially used in this sūtra, shows that this सन् is an ārdhadhātuka affix, while the सन् taught in the two preceding sūtras, will not get this designation.

Vart : The affix सन् is added, when the sense is that of 'in imminent danger'; as शङ्के पतिष्यति कूलम् = पिपतिषति कूलम् 'the bank is in imminent danger of falling down'. So also इवा मुमूर्षति.

Vart : There is no affixing of सन् after a verb which has already taken सन् in the sense of wishing. As चिकीर्षितुमिच्छति. But the सन् of III. I. 5, 6 not denoting wishing, we have जुगुप्सिषते, मीमांसिषते.

सुप् आत्मनः क्यच् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपः, आत्मनः, क्यच्,
(धातोः, कर्मणः, इच्छायां, च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इधिकर्मण एषितुरेवात्मसंबन्धिनः सुबन्तादिच्छायामर्थे वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ क्यचि मान्ताद्यवप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि परेच्छायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. The affix क्यच् is optionally employed, in the sense of wishing, after a word ending in a case-affix expressing the object wished as connected with the wisher's self.

This forms the Denominative verbs, *i. e.*, verbs derived from nominal bases. As, पुत्र 'son', पुत्रीयति 'he wishes for a son of his own' (पुत्र + क्यच् = पुत्री + च = पुत्रीय) (II. 4. 71, VII. 4. 33).

Why do we use the word सुप्? The affix should not come after a whole sentence, but only after the particular word ending in the case-affix. Thus in महान्तं पुत्रमिच्छति, the affix comes only after पुत्रम् and not महान्तं पुत्रं.

Why do we say *ātmanah*? Observe राज्ञः पुत्रमिच्छति 'he wishes a son for the king'. Here there is no affixing as the wishing is for another and not for one's own self.

The क् in क्यच् is for the sake of classing *kyach*, *kyañ* and *kyash* in one common group by simply using the word क्यच्, as in sūtra तः क्ये I. 4. 15; while च् distinguishes *kyach* from *kyañ* &c., and is not for the sake of accent, the affix will be udāta by III. 1. 3.

Vart :—In affixing *kyach*, prohibition must be stated of pronouns in न् and of Indeclinables. Thus in इदमिच्छति, उच्येति, there is no affixing.

Vart :—In the Vedas, the affix is added even when the wish is with regard to another. As मा इवा वृक्षा भषायथी विदन्. Here भषायु (pl. भषायथः) is

formed by *kyach*, अ being added by III. 2. 170, and आ is added by VII. 4. 37. See Rig Veda I. 120. 7; 27. 3 &c.

काम्यञ्च ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ काम्यच्, च, (सुपः, आत्मनः, धातोः, कर्मणः, इच्छायां, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुवन्तास्कर्भण आत्मनेच्छायां काम्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

9. And the affix काम्यच् is also employed, in the sense of wishing, after a word ending in a case-affix, expressing the object wished as connected with the wisher's self.

Thus, पुत्रकाम्यति 'he wishes for a son of his own'.

The making of this a separate sūtra instead of adding it with the last aphorism and making one sūtra of them both, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, where the anuvṛitti of *kyach* only runs, and not that of *kāmyach*. The क of *kāmyach* is not indicatory, but is a part of the real affix. Here, therefore, rule I. 3. 8 which would have made the letter क indicatory, does not apply; because no particular purpose would be served by making indicatory. Or the affix *kāmyach* may be considered to have an indicatory च before it *i.e.* the affix being *chakāmya*.

उपमानादाचारे ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमानाद्, आचारे, (धातोः, कर्मणः, सुपः, वा, क्यच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानास्कर्भणः सुवन्तादाचारेऽर्थे वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अधिकरणाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

10. The affix क्यच् is optionally employed, in the sense of treatment, after a word ending in a case-affix denoting the object of comparison.

Thus, पुत्रमिवाचरति छात्रं = पुत्रीवति छात्रम् 'he treats the pupil as a son'

Vart: So also in a locative case. As प्रासादीवति कुड्ये 'he dwells in hut as if it were a palace'. पर्यकीवति मञ्चके 'in a cot he lies down as if he were on a royal bedstead; he treats a cot as a royal bedstead'.

कर्तुः क्यङ् सलोपश्च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तुः, क्यङ्, स-
लोपः, च, (उपमानाद्, आचारे, सुपः, धातोः, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानास्कर्तुः सुवन्तादाचारेऽर्थे वा क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, सकारस्य च लोपो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आचारेऽप्रगल्भहोत्रहोत्रेभ्यः क्यङ्वा वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सर्वप्रातिपदिकेभ्य इत्येके ॥

11. The affix क्यङ् is optionally employed in the sense of behaving, after a word ending in a case-affix, denoting the object of comparison of the agent; and there is elision (lopa) of the final स of the noun, if it ends with a स.

Thus, इयेनेवाचरति काकः, इयेनायते, 'the crow behaves like a hawk'; अप्सरायते 'she behaves like an Apsarā'; पयस्यते or पयायते 'it becomes milk'; (इयेन + य = इयेना + य = इयेनाय, VII. 4. 25).

In the words भोजस् — भोजायते, and अप्सरस् — अप्सरायते the final स् is invariably elided when forming the denominative verb: but not so in the case of पयस् where the elision is optional, as पयायते or पयस्यते.

The elision of स् refers to the final स् and not when it is followed by any vowel. Thus हंस—हंसायते; सारस—सारसायते; here the स is not elided as it is not final. See. I. 1. 52.

Vart :— After the words अवगल्भ, क्लीब, and होद, the affix क्तिप् is optionally added in the sense of behaving like some one or some thing. As अवगल्भते or अवगल्भायते, क्लीबते or क्लीबायते, होदते or होदायते. The alternative forms are derived by the affixing of क्यङ्.

Vart :— According to the opinion of some Grammarians, the affix क्तिप् comes optionally in this sense after all crude nouns. As अश्वति or अश्वायते, गर्भति or गर्भायते.

भृशादिभ्यो भुव्यच्चेर्लोपश्च हलः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृश-आदिभ्यः,
भुचि, अच्चेः, लोपः, च, हलः, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृश इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्योऽप्यन्तेभ्यो भुचि भरत्यर्थे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, हलन्तानां च लोपः ॥

12. The affix क्यङ् in the sense of becoming what the thing previously was not, is employed after the crude forms भृग् and the rest, which do not end with the affix च्चि (V. 4. 50); and there is elision (lopa) of the final consonant of these words, if they end in a consonant.

Thus, भभृशो भृशो भवति=भृशायते 'he becomes much (from a little)'; शीघ्रायते 'he becomes swift (from being tardy)'. All these roots will be Atmanepadi (I. 3. 12).

The phrase अच्चेः 'not ending in the adverbial affix च्चि', refers to every one of the words belonging to the class भृशादि. It may be objected, what was the necessity of adding this condition, since the affix च्चि itself denotes that something has become what it was not before; and therefore a word which has

taken the affix क्चि, will not again take क्यङ्, in that very sense. The repetition of क्चि here shows that the words कृष् &c. never take the affix क्चि, in the sense of 'something becoming what it was not before'. Thus the present sūtra is an exception to sūtra V. 4. 50 which ordains क्चि.

भृशादिः ।

भृश, शीष्, मन्, चपल, पण्डित, उत्सुक, उन्मनस्, अभिमनस्, सुमनस्, दुर्मनस्, रहस्, रेहस्, शश्वत्, बहस्, वेहस्, नृपत्, शुधि, अधट, भोजस्, वर्चस्, (विमनस्, रभन्, रोहत्, हन्, शुचिस्, भरजस्) ।

लोहितादिङ्गाज्भ्यः क्यष् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोहित-आदि-
ङ्गाज्भ्यः, क्यष्, (भुवि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोहितादिभ्यो ङाजन्तेभ्यश्च भवत्ययं क्यष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

13. The affix क्यष् in the sense of becoming what the thing previously was not, is employed after the words लोहित, &c. and after those that end with the affix ङान् (V. 4. 57), when these words do not take the affix क्चि (V. 4. 50).

Thus लोहितायते or लोहितायति 'he becomes red'; पटपटायते or पटपटायति 'he makes a noise like patapata'; (लोहित + य=लोहिता + ङ=लोहिताय, VII. 4. 25).

The word पटपटायते is formed by adding the affix *ddch* to the word पट which is first reduplicated, and then takes the denominative affix *kyash*. The affix *ddch* is added to express inarticulate sounds.

There is no special class called *lohitādi*. The Vārtika, therefore, proposes that the sūtra should read without the word *ādi*, as लोहितादिभ्यः क्यष्; 'the affix *kyash* comes after *lohita*, and words ending in *ddch*'.

This rule applies to words other than भृशादि which are always invariably Atmanepadi owing to the क्चित् affix क्यङ्, while क्यष् is optionally both. (I. 3. 90). Thus वर्नायति or वर्नायते, निद्रायति or निद्रायते, करुणायति or करुणायते, कृपायति or कृपायते. The *lohitādi* is an आकृतिगण, the following being some of the words of this class; लोहित, नील, हरित, पीत, मद्र, फेन and मन्.

The indicatory क in क्यष् is not for the sake of prohibiting *guna* and *vridhi* (I. 1. 5). For *guna* or *vridhi* takes place in a *dhātu* followed by a *sarvadhātuka* or *ārdhadhātuka* affix. The affix क्यष् is not added to a *dhātu* but to a nominal stem: hence there is no scope for the operation of *guna* &c. The क is for the sake of grouping क्यन्, क्यङ्, and क्यष् in one class as क्य; as in sūtra नः क्ये (I. 4. 15). There is, however, no word ending in न among those enumerated above.

The affix डाच् (V. 4. 57) comes when the verb following is one of the three भस्, भू, or कृ ; as पटपटाकरोति, -भवति or -स्यात्. The present sūtra teaches by implication that when क्वप् follows डाच्, the above restriction, that the verb should be कृ, भू or भस्, is not applicable. Here डाच् comes without the addition of कृ, भू or भस्ति.

The anuvṛitti of अच्वेः comes from the last sūtra ; and hence the affix क्वप् is added in the sense of अभूततद्भाव इ. e. something becoming that which it was not before.

कष्टाय क्रमणे ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कष्टाय, क्रमणे, (क्वड्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कष्टशब्दाच्चतुर्था समयान् क्रमण्येऽनाजवे क्वड् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सन्नकष्टकलकृच्छ्रगहनेभ्यः कएवषिकीर्षायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

14. The affix क्वड्, in the sense of exerting in dishonesty, is employed after the word कष्ट 'mischief', when the latter has the fourth case-affix in construction.

Thus, कष्टाय क्रमणे क्रामति=कष्टायते 'he is assiduous for trouble, i. e. he is assiduous in the commission of dishonesty, or he plots'.

Vart:—The affix क्वड् comes in the sense of exerting in evil, after the words सन्न, कष्ट, कल, कृच्छ्र and गहन ; as, सनायते, कष्टायते, कलायते, कृच्छ्रायते, and गहनायते.

When the sense is not of 'evil', the affix is not added, as भजः कष्टं क्रामति.

कर्मेष्टो रोमन्थतपोभ्यां वर्त्तिचरोः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मेष्टः, रोमन्थत-पोभ्यां, वर्त्ति-चरोः, (क्वड्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोमन्थशब्दान्तपःशब्दाच्च कर्मेष्टो जयाक्रमं वर्त्तिचरोरर्थेभ्योः क्वड्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इनुचलन इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तपसः परस्मैपदं च ॥

15. The affix क्वड् is employed after the words, रोमन्थ 'ruminating' and तपस 'austerity', when they are used as the objects of the action of repeating and performing respectively.

Thus, रोमन्थं वर्त्तयति=रोमन्थायते गौः 'the cow ruminates.'

Vart: This is restricted to the word signifying movements of the jaws. Therefore there is no affixing here ; as, क्रीडो रोमन्थं वर्त्तयति.

Vart: The Prasmaipada affixes are used after the word तपस् ; as तपश्चरति=तपस्वति, 'he performs austerity'.

वाष्पोष्मस्यानुद्धमने ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाष्प-ऊष्मस्यां, उद्धमने,
(कर्मेणः, क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाष्पशब्दाद्भ्रमशब्दाच्च कर्मण उद्धमनेऽर्थे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ फेनाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

16. The affix क्यङ् is employed in the sense of ejecting, after the words वाष्प 'vapour' and ऊष्म 'heat' as the object of the action.

Thus, वाष्पायते 'it emits vapour'; उष्मायते 'it sends out heat'. So also फेनायते 'it ejects froth'.

शब्दवैरकलहासकण्वमेघेभ्यः करणे ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शब्द-वैर-
कलह-अस-कण्व-मेघेभ्यः, करणे, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शब्द वैर कलह अभ्र कण्व मेघ इत्येतेभ्यः करणे करोत्यर्थे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सुदिनदुर्दिननीहारेभ्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अडादृशीकाकोटापोटासोटाकटामहणं कर्मेभ्यम् ॥

17. The affix क्यङ्, in the sense of making, comes after these words, as the object of the action, viz :—शब्द 'sound', वैर 'hostility', कलह 'strife', अभ्र 'cloud', कण्व 'sin' and मेघ 'cloud'.

Thus, शब्दं करोति = शब्दायते 'he makes a noise'. So also वैरायते, कलहायते, अभ्रायते, कण्वायते, मेघायते ।

Vart:—It should be stated that the affix comes after सुदिन, दुर्दिन and नीहार ; as, सुदिनायते, दुर्दिनायते, नीहारायते ।

Vart:—So also should be included the words अडा, अडा, शीका, कोटा, पोटा सोटा and कष्टा ; as अडायते, अडायते, शीकायते, कोटायते, पोटायते, सोटायते and कष्टायते ।

The word करण in the sūtra is not the Grammatical *Karana* or the Instrumental case, but has here its primary meaning of 'doing'.

सुखादिभ्यः कर्तृवेदनायाम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुख-आदिभ्यः,
कर्तृ-वेदनायाम्, (कर्मेणः, क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुखइत्येवमादिभ्यः कर्मभ्यो वेदनायामर्थेऽनुभवे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति वेदवित्तुर्धे-
रकर्तुः सम्बन्धीनि सुखादीनि भवन्ति ॥

18. The affix क्यङ् in the sense of feeling, comes

after the words सुख 'pleasure' &c., when the pleasure &c. belong to the agent as feels thereof.

Thus सुखायते 'he feels pleasure' ; दुःखायते 'he feels pain'.

Why do we say 'when the feeling belongs to the agent' ? Observe सुखं वेदयति प्रसाधको देवदत्तस्य 'the valet knows the happiness of his master Devadatta.' Here the agent viz. a valet, is not the percipient of the 'happiness,' which belongs to his master ; hence there is no affixing.

सुखादिः ।

सुख, दुःख, दण्ड, गहन, कृच्छ्र, भस्, भलीक, प्रतीप, करुण, कृपण, सोढ ।

नमोवरिवश्चित्रकः क्यच् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नमस्-वरिवस्-
चित्रकः, क्यच्, (करणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नमस् वरिवस् चित्रक इत्येतेभ्यो वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति करणविशेषे पूजार्थे ॥

19. The affix क्यच्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action viz:— नमस् 'adoration', वरिवस् 'honor' and चित्र 'wonder'.

Thus नमस्यति देवान्, 'he worships the gods'; वरिवस्यति गुरुन्, 'he honors or serves the elders'; चित्रीयते 'he astonishes (makes it wonderful)'. The इ in चित्रक indicates that it takes the affixes of the Atmanepada. (चित्र + क्य = चित्री + क्य (VII. 4. 33) = चित्रीय).

पुच्छभाण्डचीवराब्धिकः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ पुच्छ-भाण्ड-चीवरात्,
ब्धिकः, (करणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुच्छ भाण्ड चीवर इत्येतेभ्यो ष्टिक प्रत्ययो भवति करणविशेषे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पुच्छादुदसने पर्यसन वा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाण्डात्समाचयने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चीवरादर्जने परिधाने वा ॥

20. The affix ष्टिक, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action, viz:—पुच्छ 'tail', भाण्ड 'pot' and चीवर 'rag'.

Thus उत्पुच्छयते 'he lifts up the tail', (the sense must be that of lifting or throwing about); सम्भाण्डयते 'he collects pots in a heap'; संचीवरायते भिक्षुः 'the beggar collects or wears rags'. Of the affix ष्टिक, the effective portion is इ, the other letters are servile. The इ indicates Atmanepada (I. 3. 12) and ष्ट serves the purposes of the application of the rule VI. 4. 51 which applies generally to all affixes containing ष्टि, such as ष्टिक, ष्टिच् &c.

Vart:—After the word पुच्छ the sense of the affix is that of lifting or throwing about.

Vart:—After भाण्ड the sense of the affix is that of accumulation in a heap.

Vart:—After चीवर the sense of the affix is that of acquiring or wearing.

मुण्डमिश्र-श्लक्ष्ण-लवण-व्रत-वस्त्र-हल-कल-कृत-तूस्तेभ्यो षिच् ॥ २१ ॥
पदानि ॥ मुण्ड-मिश्र-श्लक्ष्ण-लवण-व्रत-वस्त्र-हल-कल-कृत-तूस्तेभ्यः, षिच्,
(करणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुण्ड मिश्र श्लक्ष्ण लवण व्रत वस्त्र हल कल कृत तूस्त इत्येतेभ्यः करणे षिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

21. The affix षिच्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action viz: मुण्ड 'shaving', मिश्र 'mixture', श्लक्ष्ण 'soft', लवण 'salt', व्रत 'vow', वस्त्र 'dress', हल 'plough', कल 'strife', कृत 'done', and तूस्त 'matted hair'.

Thus मुण्डयति 'he shaves'; मिश्रयति 'he mixes'; श्लक्ष्णयति 'he softens or alleviates'; लवणयति 'he salts'; पयोव्रतयति 'he fasts on milk'; संवस्त्रयति 'he covers with clothes i. e. dresses'; हलयति 'he ploughs'; कलयति 'he makes war'; कृतयति 'he appreciates kindness'; वितूस्तयति 'he combs the hair, or disentangles matted hair or delivers from sin'.

The affix after the word व्रत has the sense of 'eating' or 'abstaining therefrom'; as पयो व्रतयति 'he drinks milk,' वृषजान् व्रतयति 'he abstains from the food prepared by a low caste'; after the word वस्त्र the affix denotes the sense of covering. After हल and कल the sense is that of taking; as हलिं गृह्णाति = हल-यति. The words in the sūtra are हल and कल and not हलि and कलि. This anomalous form shows that in forming the Aorist of these by adding the affix षच् (III. 1. 48) the reduplication takes place, but not in the same way as if the affix were सच्; i. e. the सन्वद्भाव does not take place here in the Aorist (VII. 4. 93). Thus the Aorists are अजहलत् and अचकलत्; and not अर्जहलत् and अर्चकलत्, which would have been the forms by the application of rules VII. 4. 79. & 94. if there was सन्वद्भाव.

The word तूस्त means either hair, or matted hair, or sin.

धातुरेकाचो हलादेः क्रियासमभिहारे यच् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥
धातोः, एक-अचः, हल-आदेः, क्रिया-समभिहारे, यच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकञ् चो धातुर्हलादिः क्रियासमभिहारे वर्त्तते तस्माद्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति, योनःपुञ्जं भूशार्थो वा क्रियासमभिहारः ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सूचित्त्विन्पूर्वत्वंशृणोतीनां महत्त्वं चङ् विधातनेकाजहलापर्यम् ॥

22. The affix चङ्, in the sense of repetition of the act, comes after a root, having a single vowel and beginning with a consonant.

The phrase *kriyā-samabhihāra* means repetition of the act or its intensity. As पक् 'to cook', पापच्यते 'he cooks again and again'; जाड्वच्यते 'he shines with great intensity'. The root must be a simple root, and not compounded with any *upasarga*. We cannot therefore make Intensives of verbs like प्राद् 'to go', (because the root भद् is preceded by the upasarga प्र); or जागृ 'to be awake', (because it contains two vowels); or ईक्ष् 'to see' (because it begins with a vowel).

Vart:—The intensive affix चङ् comes after सुचि, सूचि, मूचि, भटि, भर्त्ति, भग् and भर्त्ति, though some of these contain more than two vowels and others begin with a vowel.

As, सोसूच्यते, सोसूच्यते, मोमूच्यते, भटाट्यते, भटार्यते, भगार्च्यते, and प्रीष्टोन्मूच्यते.

The affix is not added in these cases भृशं शोभते or भृशं रोचते, as it is against usage to make Intensive forms of these verbs on the sense of intensity, though in the sense of repetition we have रोडुच्यते and शोशुभ्यते.

In making the Intensives, the root is reduplicated and it takes the terminations of the Atmanepada as the root is क्तिन्.

नित्यं कौटिल्ये गती ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, कौटिल्ये, गती,
(यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गतिवचनाद्गतोः कौटिल्ये गम्यमाने नित्यं चङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

23. The affix चङ् invariably comes, in the sense of crookedness, after a simple verb expressing motion.

Thus क्रम् 'to move', चक्रन्वते 'he moves crookedly'. So also चन्वन्वते. After a verb of motion, the चङ् never expresses intensity or repetition; so if the latter sense is to be expressed, a phrase must be employed; as भृशं क्रामति 'he wanders much'. This is inferred from the word नित्य used in the sūtra *i. e.* चङ् always has the sense of crookedness and no other sense after a verb of motion.

लुपसदचरजपजभदहदंशगृस्यो भावगर्हायाम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥
लुप-सद-चर-जप-जभ-दह-दंश-गृस्यः, भाव-गर्हायाम्, (यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुप सद चर जप जभ दह दंश गृ इत्येतेभ्यो भावगर्हायां धात्वर्थगर्हायां चङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

24. The affix चङ् when it is intended to convey the sense of contempt (गर्हा) in respect of the sense

of the root (भाब) comes always after the following roots, viz:—कृप् 'to cut off', सृप् 'to sit', वृप् 'to walk', जृप् 'to mutter silently any sacred formula', जम् 'to gape or yawn', बृप् 'to burn', हृप् 'to bite' and गृप् 'to swallow'.

Thus लोक्तृप्यते 'he cuts off badly'; सासद्यते 'he sits badly'; चंचूर्यते 'he walks badly'; जंजप्यते 'he recites badly'; so also जंजभ्यते, हन्द्द्यते, हन्द्श्यते, निजेगिष्यते. The affix यङ् does not come in the sense of repetition &c. after the above verbs, but only in the sense of censurable performance of the action denoted by the verbs. Separate words must be used to express the intensive or the frequentative meaning. As भृशं लुम्पति 'he cuts off much'.

Why do we say 'when contempt in regard to the sense of the root is meant'? Observe साधु जपति 'he recites well'. There is no affixing as no contempt is denoted. Why do we say 'in regard to the action denoted by the root'? When the contempt is not with regard to the sense of the root, but with regard to the action as accomplished, the affix is not employed. Thus मन्त्रं जपति वृषलः 'the Sûdra recites the sacred mantras'. The word नित्य of the last aphorism is understood here also.

सत्यापपाशरूपवीणातूलश्लोकसेनालीमत्वचवर्मेवर्षेवूर्षेचुरादिभ्यो
शिच् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्याप-पाश-रूप-वीणा-तूल-श्लोक-सेना-लीम-
त्वच-वर्मे-वर्षे-वूर्षे-चुर-आदिभ्यः, शिच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्यापिभ्यश्चूर्णपर्यन्तेभ्यश्चुरादिभ्यश्च शिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अर्थे वेदसत्यानामापुर्वकल्पः ॥

25. The affix शिच् is employed after these words, viz:—सत्य 'truth' (which then takes the form of सत्याप as exhibited in the sûtra), पाश 'a fetter', रूप 'form', वीणा 'a lute', तूल 'cotton', श्लोक 'celebration', सेना 'an army', लोम 'the hair of the body', त्वच 'the skin', वर्मे 'mail', वर्षे 'celebration', चूर्णे 'powder' and the verb of the Churâdi class.

Thus सत्यापयति 'he speaks truly'; विपाशयति 'he unfetters or liberates'; रूपयति 'he looks'; उपवीणयति 'he sings with the lute'; अनुतूलयति 'he makes a brush'; उपश्लोकायति 'he praises in verse'; अभिसेणयति 'he advances with the army'; अनुलोमयति 'he rubs over the hair'; त्वचयति 'he feels of the skin'; संवर्मेयति 'he puts on the mail armour'; वर्षयति 'he celebrates or colors'; अवचूर्णयति he pulverises. The roots of the Churâdi class belong to the tenth conjugation, for a list of which see the Dhâtupâtha. After the verbs of the Churâdi class, the affix शिच् is employed without alteration of the sense; as चोरयति 'he steals'. So also चिन्तयति.

Vart:—The words अर्थ, वेद and सत्य take the augment आप् before the affix णिच् ; as, सत्यापयति, अर्थापयति, वेदापयति. The whole equation is thus shown अर्थ + आपुक् + णिच् + शप् + तिप् = अर्थ + आप् + इ + भति = अर्थापि + भति = अर्थापयति (VII. 3. 85). The final syllable called टि is not elided in this case, i. e. of अर्थाप the syllable आप् is not elided before णिच्, as it would have been by VI. 4. 155. The reason is that if आप् was to be elided, there would have been no necessity of adding it. The affix णिच् has the sense of 'unfettering' after the word पाश, of 'seeing' after रूप, of 'singing in accompaniment' after वीणा, of 'brushing' after तूल, of 'praising' after श्लोक, of 'leading' after सेना, of 'rubbing' after ज्ञोम, of 'taking' after स्वच्, of 'putting on' after वर्म and of 'taking' after वर्ण.

हेतुमति च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतुमति, च, (धातोः, णिच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुः स्वतन्त्रस्य कर्तुः प्रयोजकः तदीयो व्यापारः प्रेषणाद्विलक्षणो हेतुमान् तस्मिन् अभिधेये धातोर्णिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तत्करोतीत्युपसंख्यानं सूत्रचत्यायर्थम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आख्यानात्कृतस्तदाचष्ट इति णिच् कृञ्क् प्रकृति प्रत्यापत्तिः प्रकृतिवच्च कारकम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाङ्जोपश्च कालात्यन्तसंयोगे मर्यादायाम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चित्रीकरणे प्रापि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नक्षत्रयोगे स्ति ॥

26. The affix णिच् is employed after a root, when the operation of a causer is to be expressed.

The *hetu* (I. 4. 55) means the mover of the independent agent; an operation relating to the *hetu*, such as *directing* &c. is called *hetumat*; as कठं कारयति 'he causes to prepare a mat'; ओदनं पाचयति 'he makes the rice to be cooked'. In other words, the affix णिच् forms the causative verbs.

Vart:—The affix comes also in the sense of 'he does that' after the words सूत्र &c. Thus सूत्रं करोति = सूत्रयति 'he makes sūtra.' So also मूत्रयति.

Vart:—After words ending in कृत् affixes and describing legends, comes the affix णिच्, when the sense is 'he does that'. The कृत् affix is elided, the word reassumes its basic (प्राकृतिक) form, and the base is as if the agent, thus कंसवधिमाचष्टे = कंसं पातयति; बलिवन्धमाचष्टे = बलिं बन्धयति; राजागमनमाचष्टे = राजानम् आगमयति.

Vart:—Under the conditions mentioned in the last वार्तिक, the upasarga आ is elided, when duration of time is meant expressing limit. Thus आरात्रिदिवसं आचष्टे = रात्रिं दिवासयति; here the आ of आरात्रि is elided.

Vart:—Under the conditions mentioned in the second vartika the affix णिच् has the sense of 'making wonderful', meaning 'attaining that'. Thus

उज्जयिन्याः प्रस्थितो माहिष्मत्यां सद्योद्गमनं सभावयते = सूर्यमुद्गयति 'going from Ujjain he finds the sun rise in Mahismati (wonderful speed)'.

Vart :—When an asterism is in composition and the sense is that of knowing, there comes the affix एण् after a word ending in कृत् affix, the कृत् affix is elided, the word reassumes its basic form and the base is as if the agent. Thus पुण्ययोगं जानाति = पुण्येण योजयति. So also मघाभिर्योजयति.

कण्ड्वादिभ्यो यक् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कण्डू-आदिभ्यः, (यक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कण्डूम् इत्येवमाशियो यक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix यक् is employed after the roots कण्डु 'to itch'; &c.

Thus, कण्डूयति or कण्डूयते 'he itches or scratches'. This word takes terminations indicatory. The words कण्डु &c. are both roots and nouns, and are placed therefore in a separate list by themselves and are not included in the general list of verbs. The affix applies to these words as roots and not as nouns.

कण्ड्वादिः ।

कण्डूम्, मन्तु, हृणीम्, बल्गु, भल्ल, मनस्, महीङ्, लेद्, लोद्, इरस्, इरज्, इरम्, हुवस्, मेधा, कुपुभ, मगध, तन्तस्, पम्पस्, सुख, दुःख, सपर, अर, भिषज्, भिष्यज्, इपुध, चरण, चुरण, भुरण, मुरण, गद्गद्, ऐला, कोला, खेला, लिद् and लोद् ।

गुपूधूपविच्छिपस्त्रिपनिभ्यः आयः ॥ २८ ॥ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुपू-धूप-विच्छि-पस्त्रि-पनिभ्यः, आयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुपू रक्षणे, धूप सन्तापे, विच्छ गतो, पण व्यवहारे स्तुतो च, पन च, इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्य आय प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix आय comes after गुपू 'to protect', धूप 'to heat', विच्छ 'to approach', पण 'to contract or praise' and पन 'to praise'.

Thus गोपायति 'he protects'; धूपायति 'he heats'; so also, विच्छायति, पणायति, and पनायति.

The verb पण् being read along with पन् 'to praise,' has here the sense of praise only ; so that the affix does not come after the verb पण् when it means 'to make a contract' ; as सतस्य पणते, सहस्रस्य पणते.

The verbs in आय do not take Atmanepada affixes, as there is no indicatory letter to show that.

ऋतेरीयङ् ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतेः, ईयङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋतिः सौत्रो धातुर्घृणायां वर्त्तते तत ईयङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix ईयङ् comes after the sūtra root ऋति 'to reproach'.

The indicatory ङ shows that the verb will take the affixes of the Atmanepada ; as ऋतीयते 'he pities or reproaches'; so also, ऋतीयाते, ऋतीयन्ते.

कमेच्छिङ् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ कमेः, शिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कमेर्धातोर्णिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix णिङ् comes after the root कम् 'to desire'.

The ण indicates *vriddhi* (VII. 2. 115) and ङ shows Atmanepada ; as, कामयते 'he desires'; so also कामयेते and कामयन्ते.

आयादय आर्द्धधातुके वा ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आय-आदयः, आर्द्ध-धातुके, वा, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आर्द्धधातुकविषये आर्द्धधातुकविवक्षायां आयादयः प्रत्यया वा भवन्ति ॥

31. The affixes आय and those that follow it, (i.e. आय, ईयङ् and णिङ्) are optionally added, when it is desired to express one's self with an *ārdhadhātuka* affix.

Thus ता 3rd. sing. of the Future is an *ārdhadhātuka* affix. It is optional to retain the *āya* of *gopāya* before this affix. So we have गोपायिता or गोमा 'he will protect'. So also अर्तिता or ऋतीयिता ; कर्मिता or कामयिता.

But for this sūtra, the affixes आय &c. would have come always even when *ārdhadhātuka* affixes were to be applied. This makes it optional. Therefore proper *ārdhadhātuka* affixes should be applied when we retain आय &c. and when we do not retain them. Thus the *ārdhadhātuka* ङिङ् (III. 3. 95) will be employed in forming the feminine noun from the simple root, but the *ārdhadhātuka* अ (III. 3. 102) will be employed in forming the feminine when आय &c. are retained. Thus वृत्तिः or गोपाया.

सनाद्यन्ता धातवः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्-आदि-अन्ताः, धातवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनाद्यन्ताः समुदाया धातुसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

32. All the words ending with the affixes सन् and others are called Dhātu.

This extends the sphere of Dhātu or roots already defined in sūtra I. 3. 1. These roots may be called derivative roots. They are separate independent roots, and have all the functions of a root, as taking tense-affixes &c. as shown in the above examples. Thus चिकीर्षा 'to wish to do', कारि 'to

cause to do'; चक्रिच 'to do repeatedly' are separate roots and not the same as कृ 'to do' and thus take शप् &c.

स्यतासी लृलुटोः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्य-तासी, लृ-लुटोः,
(धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लृरूपमुस्वृष्टानुबन्धं सामान्यमेकमेव तस्मिन् लुटि च परतो धातोर्बधासंख्य
स्वतासी प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

33. When लृ and लृट् follow, then स्व and तासि are respectively the affixes of a verbal root.

लृ is the common expression for लृङ् and लृट् formed by rejecting their special *anubandhas*, and means therefore the 2nd Future and the Conditional tenses. लृट् is the 1st Future also called the Periphrastic Future. Thus करिष्यति भकरिष्यत्, कर्ता. The इ of तासि is indicative and shows that the nasal of the root is not to be dropped before this; as मन् 'to think', मन्ता 'he will think'.

सिद्धहुलं लेटि ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिप्, बहुलम्, लेटि, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः सिप् प्रत्ययौ भवति बहुलं लेटि परतः ॥

34. सिप् is diversely the affix of a verbal root when लेट् follows.

The tense called लेट् or subjunctive is found in the Vedas only. When the subjunctive tense is employed, the affix सिप् is diversely added.

Thus जोषिषत्, तारिषत्, मन्दिषत्. Sometimes this augment is not employed; thus पलाति द्वियुत् उदधिं ज्यावयाति. Thus in Rig Veda I. 1. 2, वक्तति is an example of लेट् with सिप् ॥

कास्प्रत्ययादाममन्त्रे लिटि ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कास्-प्रत्ययाद्,
आम्, अमन्त्रे, लिटि, (प्रत्ययः, धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कास् शब्द कुत्सादां, ततः प्रत्ययान्तोऽयम् धातुभ्य आम् प्रत्ययौ भवति लिटि
परतोऽमन्त्रविषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कास्त्वनेकास् इति वक्तव्यम् चुलुन्यायर्थम् ॥

35. आम् is the affix of the verb कास् 'to cough', and of those roots that are formed by affixes (i. e. the derivative verbs), when लिट् follows, except in the Mantra.

This forms the Periphrastic Perfect. The Perfect of कास् will be कासाम्, after which the terminations of the Perfect are all elided (IL 4. 81) and instead, the perfect tense of the auxiliary verb भू or भस् or कृ is added. As कासाचक्रे 'he coughed'; चोरचामास 'he stole'. So also लौलुवाचक्रे.

This rule however does not apply to the Vedas; as कृष्णो नोनाव Rig. Veda I. 79. 2.

Vart:—This rule also applies where the root is polysyllabic consisting of more than one vowel; as चुलुम्पाञ्चकार, हरिद्राञ्चार ॥

The final म् of आम् is not indicatory.

इजादेश्च गुरुमतोऽनृच्छः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्-आदेः, च, गुरुमतः, अनृच्छः, (लिटि, आम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इजादिर्वो धातुर्गुणान् ऋच्छतिवर्जितस्तस्माच्च लिटि परतः आम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ ऊर्णोतिश्च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

36. The affix आम् is used when लिट् follows, after a root beginning with a letter of इच् pratyâhâra and having a heavy vowel, excepting the root ऋच्छ 'to go'.

Thus ईह 'to try', ईहाञ्चक्रे 'he tried'; so also ऊहाञ्चक्रे 'he guessed', एधाञ्चक्रे 'he grieved'.

But ऋच्छ forms भानच्छे 'he failed or went'. This applies to monosyllabic roots which begin with any vowel prosodially long, except अ or आ. The verb ऊर्ण 'to cover' is, however, an exception; its perfect is ऊर्णुनाव 'he covered'.

Why do we say 'beginning with इच् or any vowel except अ or आ'? Observe अर्ह, Perfect आनर्ह (VII. 4. 71). Why do we say 'heavy vowel'? Observe इच्छ, Perf. उवोच्छ (VI. 4. 78) ऊत्सुतुः, ऊत्सुः. Why do we say 'vowel'? Observe कुरु, Perf. चुकुरुः; पूर, Perf. सुपूर.

दयायाञ्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दय-अय-आसः, च, (लिटि, आम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इय दानगतिरक्षणेषु, अय गतो, आस उपवेशने, एतेभ्यश्च लिटि परतः आम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. After the verbs दय 'to give', 'to go' and 'to protect', अय 'to go', and आस 'to sit', there is the affix आम्, when लिट् follows.

Thus दयाञ्चक्रे 'he gave'; पलायाञ्चक्रे 'he ran away'; आसाञ्चक्रे 'he sat'.

उषविद्जागृभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उष-विद्-जागृभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (आम्, प्रत्ययः, लिटि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष दाहे, विद् ज्ञाने, जागृ निद्राक्षये, एतेभ्यो लिटि परतोऽन्यतरस्यानाम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

38. The affix आम् is optionally employed after these, viz :—उष् 'to burn', विद् 'to know', and जागृ 'to wake', when लिट् follows.

Thus भीषाञ्चकार or डवोष, विहाञ्चकार or विवेह, जागराञ्चकार or जजागार. As there is an agreement in the present instance to regard the verb विह् as ending in a short अ, *guna* is not substituted, as it would otherwise have been by rule VII. 3. 86.

भीहीभूहुवां श्लुवच्च ॥३९॥ पदानि ॥ भी-ही-भू-हुवां, श्लुवत्,
च, (आम्, लिटि, अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिभी भये, ही लज्जायाम्, डुभुम् धारणपोषणयोः, हु शानाशानयोः, एतेभ्यो लिटि परतः आम्प्रत्ययो भवरत्यन्यतरस्याम्, प्रलाविष चास्मिन्कार्यं भवति ॥ ३९ ॥

39. आम् is optionally affixed, when लिट् follows, after these verbs भी 'to fear', ही 'to be ashamed', भू 'to nourish', हु 'to sacrifice'; and when आम् is affixed, the effect is as if there were इलु elision and the roots belonged to Hvâdi class.

The effect of इलु is to cause reduplication by rule VI. 1. 10. As विभवाञ्चकार or विभाय, जिह्वाञ्चकार or जिहाय, विभराञ्चकार or बभार, जुहवाञ्चकार or जुहाव.

कृञ्चानुप्रयुज्यते लिटि ॥४०॥ पदानि, ॥ कृञ्, च, अनुप्रयुज्यते, लिटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आम्प्रत्ययस्य पश्चात्कृञ्चानुप्रयुज्यते लिटि परतः, कृञ्चिन्ति प्रस्वाहारेण कृञ्चस्तयो गृह्यन्त तत्सामर्थ्यादस्तेर्भूभावो न भवति ॥

40. After a verb which ends with आम्, the verb कृ 'to do' is annexed, when लिट् follows.

After the above verbs formed by taking the augment आम् the perfect tense of कृ is added to form their Perfect. This has already been illustrated in the above examples. The word कृ includes also the verbs भू and अस्. All these three may be used as auxiliaries. The verb अस् when used as an auxiliary, is not replaced by भू (III. 4. 52) before the लिट् affixes which are Ārdhadhâtuka affixes. Thus पाचवाञ्चकार, पाचवाम्बभूव, पाचयामास.

विदाङ्कुर्वन्तिवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥४१॥ पदानि ॥ विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु,
इति, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदाङ्कुर्वन्तिवत्यन्यतरस्याम् निपादयते ॥

41. The form विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु is optionally employed as an irregular form.

This irregular form is obtained by adding the affix आम् to the root विद् 'to know,' when followed by लोट् or the Imperative tense; the tense-affixes of लोट् are then elided by *lute*; moreover there is no substitution of *guna*

as required by VII. 3. 86 ; and when we have thus obtained the form विशन्, we annex to it the लोट् of the verb क् ; thus we have विशाङ्कुर्वन्तु or विशन्तु 'let them know'. The third person plural is not only intended to be spoken of by the employment of the form विशाङ्कुर्वन्तु in the aphorism ; on the contrary, the word इति shows that all the numbers and persons of the Imperative may be so employed ; as विशाङ्कुरोतु विशाङ्कुरताम् &c.

अभ्युत्साद्यांप्रजनयांचिकयांरमयामकः पावयांक्रियाद्विदाम-
क्रन्निति छन्दसि ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्युत्साद्याम्-प्रजनयाम्-चिकयाम्-
रमयामकः, पावयांक्रियाद्-विदामक्रन्, इति, छन्दसि, (अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्युत्साद्यामित्येवमाद्यः छन्दसि विषयेऽन्यतरस्यां निपात्यन्ते ॥

42. The forms अभ्युत्साद्यामकः प्रजनयामकः चिकयामकः रमया-
मकः पावयांक्रियाद् विशामक्रन् are irregularly formed in the Chhandas.

The first two of these and the fourth are the Aorists (लृट्) of the causatives of the roots सद् 'to sit', जन् 'to be born', and रन् 'to sport': to which the affix भाम् is added. The third is the Aorist of the root वि 'to collect', to which भाम् has been added after the reduplication and the change of च into क of the root. The auxiliary भक् is added to all these four. The fifth is derived from the root पू 'to blow, to purify', by adding the causative affix णिच्, annexing the affix भाम् before the terminations of the Potential (लिट्) and then using after the form so obtained, the auxiliary क्रियात्. The last is the Aorist of विद् 'to know', to which भाम् is added and the auxiliary भक्न् is employed. These are the archaic forms ; their modern forms are as follow :—
अभ्युत्सयीषत्, प्राजीजनत्, भवेषीत्, भरीरमत्, पाव्याद्, अवेदिषुः ।

ञिञ् लुङि ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ञिञ्, लुङि, (धातोः, प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः ञिञ् प्रत्ययो भवति लुङि परतः ॥

43. When लुङ् follows, the affix ञिञ् is added to the verbal root.

The इ of ञिञ् is for the sake of articulation, the च् is for the sake of accent (VI. I, 162.) showing that an affix which has an indicative च् has *udatta* on its final. Then remains only ञि, which after all, is to be replaced by other affixes, as we shall show below. In fact ञिञ् is the common name for all Aorist affixes.

ञ्जेः सिच् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ञ्जेः, सिच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ञ्जेः सिजादेशो भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ स्युशामुशकूपदपदृषां सिञ्चा वक्तव्यः ॥

44. Of च्चिन्, सिच् is the substitute.

The इ of सिच् is for the sake of pronunciation, the च्च is for accent, and the real affix is स्; as अक्राप्सीत् 'he did'. When सिच् is added, the terminations of the Aorist assume the following forms.

<i>Parasmaipada.</i>			<i>Atmanepada.</i>			
	<i>sing.</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>sing.</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>
1st pers.	सं	व्व	व्व	सि	व्वहि	व्वहि
2nd pers.	सीः	व्वत्, तं	व्वत्, त	स्याः, याः	सायां	व्वं
3rd pers.	सीत्	व्वतां, तां	व्वुः	व्वत्, त	सातां	व्वत्

The substitution of सिच् is optional in the Aorist of the roots स्पृग् 'to touch', मृग् 'to rub', कृष् 'to plough', वृप् 'to become satisfied', and वृष् 'to light'. Thus the Aorist of स्पृग् has three forms; अस्प्राप्सीत्, अस्वाप्सीत् or अस्पृभत्. Similarly वृष् has अन्नाप्सीत्, अनाप्सीत् or अवृक्षत्; कृष्, अक्राप्सीत् अक्राप्सीत् or अकृक्षत्; वृप्, अताप्सीत्, अनाप्सीत्, or अदृपत्; वृष्, अन्नाप्सीत्, अनाप्सीत् or अदृपत्।

श्ल इगुपधादनिटः कसः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्लः, इग्-उपधात्,
अनिटः, कसः, (चलेः, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्लन्तो यो धातुरिगुपधस्तस्मात् परस्व च्चिन्निटः, कस आदेशो भवति ॥

45. After a verb that ends in a श्ल consonant, and has an इक् vowel for its penultimate letter, and does not take इद् (VII. 2. 10), क्स is the substitute of च्चिन्.

The forms of the terminations of the Aorist with क्स are as follow:

<i>Parasmaipada.</i>			<i>Atmanepada.</i>			
	<i>sing.</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>sing.</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>
1st pers.	सं	सव्व	साम्	सि	सीव्वहि	सीव्वहि
2nd pers.	सः	सत्	सत्	स्याः, याः	सायाम्	सव्वम्, व्वम्
3rd pers.	सत्	सतां	सन्	सत्, त	सातां	सन्

As, मृग् and कृष् in the last sūtra have their Aorist with क्स as अमृक्कसत् and अकृक्कसत्; so दुह् 'to milk' forms अधुक्कसत् 'he milked', लिह् 'to lick' अलिक्कसत्.

Why do we say 'when ending in श, ष, स and ह'? Observe अभ्रैस्सीत्, अच्छैस्सीत्; here सिच् is employed. Why do we say 'having for its penultimate इ, व, ङ् or ञ्'? Observe अभाप्सीत्. Why do we say 'not having an intermediate इ'? Observe अक्रोषीत् and अमोषीत्. See VII. 2. 4 and VIII. 2. 28.

श्लिष आलिङ्गने ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्लिषः, आलिङ्गने, (चलेः, कसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्लिषेर्धातोराजिङ्गनक्रियावचनात् परस्व च्चिन्निटः कस आदेशो भवति ॥

46. क्स is the substitute of च्चिन् after the verb श्लिष, when it is employed in the sense of embracing.

This is a restrictive aphorism. As आश्लिषत् कन्याम् 'he embraced the girl'. But समाश्लिषज्जतुकाष्ठम् 'the glue joined the wood'.

न दृशः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दृशः, (प्लेः, षसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयोर्धातोः परस्य प्लेः क्सादेशो न भवति ॥

47. क् is not the substitute of च्लि after the verb दृष् 'to see'.

This is an exception to the sūtra III. 1. 45. enjoining क्त. The root दृग् will form its Aorists by III. 1. 57. and will take अङ् and सिच्; as अदर्शत्, or अद्वासीत्, 'he saw'.

खिन्निदुस्तुभ्यः कर्त्तरि चङ् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ खि-न्नि-दु-स्तुभ्यः, कर्त्तरि, चङ्, (प्लेः, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ष्यन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यः भिद्भुद्भवेतेभ्यश्च परस्य प्लेश्चङादेशो भवति कर्त्तृवाचिनि लुङि परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कनेरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

48. After a root which ends in णि (III. 1. 20, 21, 44, &c.) and after the verb शि 'to serve', दृ 'to run', and ष् 'to drop', चङ् is the substitute of च्लि, when लुङ् follows signifying an agent.

The ङ prevents *guna* and *vridhhi* and च is to distinguish it from अङ्. When चङ् is added there is reduplication (VI. 1. 11). The usual terminations of the Imperfect are employed after the root, when चङ् is used; as अचीकरत् 'he caused to make'; अशिभिवत् 'he served or went'; अदुदुवत् 'he ran'; असुसुवत् 'it flowed'. This form is not used in Passive; as, अकारयिषाताम्.

The root कम् 'to love' should also be included in this rule. कम्, when it takes the affix णिङ् (III. 1. 30) will of course be included in this sūtra, by virtue of its ending in णि; the *Vartika* makes the additional statement that even when the root कम् does not take the affix णिङ्, the present aphorism must apply to it. Thus we have अचकमत् 'he loved'; when it takes णिङ्, the Aorist will be अचीकमत् (VII. 4. 93, 79, 94.)

विभाषा धेट् श्व्योः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषां, धेट्-श्व्योः, (प्लेः, चङ्, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धेट् पाने, दुभोश्चि गतिदृष्ट्योः, एताभ्यामुत्तरस्य प्लेर्विभाषा चङादेशो भवति ॥

49. After the roots डे 'to suck', and रिच 'to grow', चङ् is optionally the substitute of च्लि, when लुङ् follows signifying an agent.

As, अश्वत्, 'he sucked'. When it takes the alternative सिच्, then rule II. 4. 78. comes into operation, and we have अश्वत् and अश्वसीत् 'he sucked'. So also of शिव, we have अशिशिवत् 'he grew'. It also takes the भञ्, (III. 1. 58) and then its form is अश्वत् or अश्वयीत्.

गुपेच्छन्दसि ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ गुपेः, छन्दसि, (च्लेः, चङ्, विभाषा, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुपेः परस्व च्लेच्छन्दसि विषये विभाषा चकारेशो भवति ॥

50. After the verb गुप् 'to protect', चङ् is optionally the substitute of च्लि in the Chhandas.

This rule applies where the root गुप् does not take the affix भाञ् (II. 1. 28). As इमान् नो मित्रावरुणौ यत्, गृहान् अङ्गुगुप्तम् 'Mitra Varuṇa protected these our houses'. The other forms are अङ्गोप्यत्, अङ्गोपिष्टम् or अङ्गोपाविष्टम्. In the secular literature, the latter three forms are used, but not the first.

ऊनयतिध्वनयत्येलयत्यर्दयतिभ्यः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ऊनयति-ध्वनयति-एलयति-अर्दयतिभ्यः, (च्लेः, चङि, छंदसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊन परिहाणो, ध्वन शब्दो, इल प्रेरणो, अर्दं गतौ वाचने च, एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो षन्तोभ्यः पूर्वेषु च्लेश्चङि प्राप्ते छन्दसि विषये न भवति ॥

51. After the causatives of the verbs ऊन 'to decrease', ध्वन 'to sound', इल 'to send', and अर्द 'to go or to beg', चङ् is not the substitute of च्लि in the Chhandas.

Thus we have ऊनयीः in the Vedas ; औनिनत् in the classical literature ; so also ध्वनयीत्, ऐलयीः and अर्दयीत् ; their classical forms being अर्दध्वनत्, ऐलिनत्, and आर्दित्. See Rig Veda I. 53, 3, I. 162. 15. and Pāṇini VII 2, 5.

अस्यतिवक्तिख्यातिभ्योऽङ् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यति-वक्ति-ख्यातिभ्यो, अङ्, (च्लेः, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस् क्षेपणो, वच् परिभाषणो, मूत्रादेशो वा, ख्या प्रकथने, वक्तिकारेशो वा, एभ्यः परस्व च्लेःकारेशो भवति कर्त्तृवाचिनि लुङि परतः ॥

52. After the verbs अस् 'to throw', वच् 'to speak', and ख्या 'to speak', अङ् is the substitute of च्लि, when लुङ् follows signifying the agent.

वच् may be either the root, or the substitute of लू (II. 4. 53) and so also ख्या may be the root, or the substitute of चक् (II. 4. 54). The root अस् belonging to the द्विवादि or the Fourth conjugation, falls under the subdivision पुषादि, and therefore it would have taken अङ् in the Parasmaipada

by rule III. 1. 55. The repetition is to indicate that it takes भृक् in the Atmanepada also; as पर्वोच्यत (VII. 4. 17), भवोचत् and भाव्यत्. In the Passive, we have पर्वोसिषाताम्.

लिपिसिचिह्वश्च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिपि-सिचि-ह्वः, च, (च्लेः, अङ्, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिप उपरोहं, सिच चरणे, ह्व स्पर्श्यां एतेभ्यश्च परस्व, च्लेरङादेशो भवति ॥

53. After the verbs लिप् 'to paint', सिच् 'to sprinkle' and ह्व 'to call', भृक् is the substitute of च्लि when लृक् follows signifying the agent.

Thus भलिपत्, 'he painted or wrote'; भसिचत्, 'he sprinkled'; and भाहत्, 'he called' or 'challenged'.

आत्मनेपदेष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु, अन्यतरस्याम्, (च्लेः, अङ्, लिपि, सिचि, ह्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिपिसिचिह्व आत्मनेपदेषु परतः च्लेरङादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

54. After the verbs लिप्, सिच् and ह्व, भृक् is optionally the substitute of च्लि, when the affixes of the Atmanepada follow.

Thus भलिपत् or भलिप्त 'he painted'; भसिचत् or भसिक्त 'he sprinkled'; भाहत् or भाहारत् 'he challenged'.

पुषादिद्युताद्यलृदितः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुषादि-द्युतादि-लृङ्-इतः, परस्मैपदेषु, (च्लेः, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुषादिभ्यो द्युतादिभ्यः लृङिभ्यश्च धातुभ्यः परस्व च्लेः परस्मैपदेषु परतो भङादेशो भवति ॥

55. भृक् is the substitute of च्लि, after the verbs पुष्, 'to nourish', and the rest, युत्, 'to shine', and the rest, and the verbs having an indicatory लृ, when the affixes of the Parasmaipada follow.

The verbs classed as पुषादि, are a sub-division of the 4th conjugational verbs; and द्युतादि verbs belong to the 1st conjugation. As पुष्, अपुषत् 'he nourished'; युत्, अयुत्त् 'he shone'; गच्छ्, अगमत् 'he went'. But not so in the Atmanepada; as इक्ष्योतिट्, भलोतिष्ट्.

सर्त्तिशावत्यर्त्तिस्यश्च ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्त्ति-शावति-अर्त्तिस्यः, च, (च्लेः, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्र गतो, शावु भनुशितो, स्र गतो, इत्येतेभ्यः परस्व च्लेरङादेशो भवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृ मृ हृ रुहि इरुवेतेभ्यः परस्व ष्लेः छन्वसि विषये ऽङ्कारेणो भवति ॥

59. After the verbs कृ 'to do', मृ 'to die', हृ 'to tear', and रुह 'to rise', अह् is the substitute of ष्लि when used in the Chhandas.

Thus अकरत् 'he did'; अमरत् 'he died'; अहरत् 'he tore'; आरुहत् 'he rose'. See Rig Veda X. 85. 17, X. 44. 6. The classical Aorist of these verbs are अकार्षीत्, अमृत, अहारीत्, and अरुक्षत्.

चिष् ते पदः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ चिष्, ते, पदः, (ह्ये :) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पद् गतो भस्माद्गतोः परस्व ष्लेऽधिष्णारेणो भवति तशब्दे परतः ॥

60. चिष् is the substitute of ष्लि after the verb पद् 'to go', when the affix त follows.

The affix त here means the third person singular tense-affix of the Atmanepada; as अपादि 'he went'; but not ष in the dual and plural; as अपसाताम्, 'they two went'; अपस्तत् 'they went'; अद् + पद् + चिष् + त = अ + पाद् + इ = अपादि (the affix त being elided by rule VI. 4. 104).

दीपजनबुधपूरितायिप्यायिभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥

दीप-जन-बुध-पूरि-तायि-प्यायिभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (ह्येः, चिष्, ते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीप जन बुध पूरि तायि प्यायि एतेभ्यः परस्व ष्लेऽस्तशब्दे परतोऽन्यतरस्यां चिष्णारेणो भवति ॥

61. चिष् is optionally the substitute of ष्लि, when त, the third person singular of the Atmanepada follows, after the verbs दीप 'to shine', जन् 'to be produced', बुध 'to teach or know', पूर 'to be full', ताव 'to extend or protect' and प्वाव 'to smell'.

Thus अदीपि or अदीपिट् 'he shone'; अजनि or अजनिट् 'he was produced'; अशोधि or अशुद्ध 'he knew'; अपूरि or अपूरिट् 'he was full'; अत्तावि or अत्ताविट् 'he extended'; अप्वावि or अप्वाविट् 'he grew'.

अचः कर्मकर्त्तरि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, कर्म-कर्त्तरि, (ह्येः, ते, चिष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्ताद्भातोः परस्व ष्लेः कर्मकर्त्तरि तशब्दे परतधिष्णारेणो भवति ॥

62. चिष् is optionally the substitute of ष्लि when त, the third person singular of the Atmanepada follows, after a root which ends with a vowel, and when the object itself is spoken of as the agent.

A reflexive verb is one in which the object is spoken of as the agent. In reflexive verbs therefore, चिष् is employed after roots ending in

vowels ; as भकारि कटः स्वयमेव 'the mat became made of itself. This is an optional rule (प्रासविभाषा). Therefore we have also भकृत कटः स्वयमेव ; similarly भलावि or भलविट केदारः स्वयमेव 'the embankment broke of itself.

But in verbs other than those that end in vowels, *i. e.* in those which end with a consonant, the चिण् is obligatory in the reflective voice, and not optional ; as अभेदि काटम् स्वयमेव 'the wood split of itself'. So also in verbs other than reflexives ; as भकारि कटो देवत्सेन.

दुहश्च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दुहः, च, (च्लेः, चिण्, अन्यतरस्याम्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुह प्रपूरणे, भस्मात्परस्व च्लेश्चिणारेशो भवति भन्वतरस्याम् ॥

63. चिण् is optionally the substitute of च्लि after the verb दुह 'to milk', when it is used reflexively, and when च follows.

Thus भरोहि or भदुग्ध गोः स्वयमेव 'the cow milked of itself'. In verbs other than reflexive, the चिण् is compulsory, *e. g.* भरोहि गौर्गोपालकेन 'the cow was milked by the cowherd'.

न रुधः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, रुधः, (च्लेः, चिण्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुधिर् भावरणे, भस्मात्परस्व च्लेः कर्मकर्त्तरि चिणारेशो न भवति ॥

64. चिण् is not the substitute of च्लि, after the verb रुध 'to obstruct', when used in the reflexive sense in the third person singular of the Atmanepada.

Thus भन्ववारुध गो स्वयमेव 'the cow was obstructed of itself'. In verbs other than reflexive, चिण् is employed, *e. g.* भन्ववारुधि गौर्गोपालकेन.

तपोऽनुतापे च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तपः, अनुतापे, च, (न, च्लेः, चिण्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तप संतापे, भस्मात्परस्व च्लेश्चिणारेशो न भवति कर्मकर्त्तरि अनुतापे च ॥

65. चिण् is not the substitute of च्लि after the verb तप् 'to suffer', when used reflexively, and when the sense is that of experiencing remorse.

This prohibition applies even to the passive and impersonal voices of the verb तप् ; as अतप्त तपस्तापसः 'the ascetic performed austerity' ; भन्वतप्त पापेन कर्मणा 'he repented from evil deeds'.

चिण् भावकर्मयोः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिण्, भाव-कर्मयोः, (च्लेः, चिण्, ते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः परस्य च्लेभ्यश्चादेशो भवति भावे कर्मणि तशब्द ईपरतः ॥

66. चिण् is the substitute of चिन् when न of the third person singular Atmanepada follows, denoting the action (भाव) or the object कर्म.

A verb is said to denote an action when it is used impersonally; and it is said to denote an object when used in the Passive sense. As अशुचि भवता 'it was lain by you i. e. you lay'; भकारि कटो देवदत्तेन 'the mat was made by Devadatta'. The repetition of चिण् here is for the sake of distinctness.

सार्वधातुके यक् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सार्वधातुके, यक्, (भाव-कर्मणोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावकर्मणाचिनि सार्वधातुके परतो धातोर्यक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix यक् comes after a root, when a सार्वधातुक (III. 4. 113) follows, denoting the action or the object.

In forming Impersonal and Passive verbs, this affix is employed in the conjugational tenses. Thus in Impersonal verbs आस्यते भवता 'you sit', शय्यते भवता 'you lie'. So in passive verbs; as क्रियते कटः and गम्यते ग्रामः. The क् of यक् is servile, and prevents guna and vriddhi. This affix is also used in reflective voice (कर्मकर्त्तरि); as क्रियते कटः स्वयमेव 'the mat becomes made of itself'.

कर्त्तरि शप् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तरि, शप्, (सार्वधातुके, धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मकर्त्तरि सार्वधातुके परतो धातोः शप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix शप् comes after a root, when a सार्वधातुक follows, signifying the agent.

In active voice, शप् is employed in the conjugational tenses. This affix, which is technically called a विकरण comes after roots of the भू class and after compound roots formed by सन् &c. (III. 1. 32). The indicatory च makes it a सार्वधातुक affix by III. 4. 113, the प् indicates that the vowel has *anudatta* accent (III. 1. 4). As भू+शप्+तिप्=भू+भ+ति=भो+भ+ति=भवति. (VII. 3. 84). So also पचति.

दिवादिभ्यः श्यन् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिव्-आदिभ्यः, श्यन्, (सार्वधातुके, कर्त्तरि,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिव् इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix श्यन् comes after a root of the Divadi class, when a सार्वधातुका affix denoting the agent follows.

This debars शप्. The servile न् of श्यन् is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 197), showing that the *udatta* accent falls on the radical verb and not on the affix; and the indicatory श् makes the affix सार्वधातुका; as दिव्+श्यन्+

तिप् = शीच् + च + ति (VII. 2. 77) = शीच्यति; so also शीच्यति. The *Divādi* verbs belong to the Fourth conjugation.

वा भ्राशभ्लाशभ्रमुक्रमुक्रमुत्रसिच्रुटिलषः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा,
भ्राश-भ्लाश-भ्रमु-क्रमु-क्रमु-त्रसि-च्रुटि-लषः, (सार्वधातुके, कर्त्तरि, श्यन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्राश भ्लाश भ्रमु क्रमु क्रमु त्रसि च्रुटि लष एतेभ्यो वा श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

70. The affix श्यन् is optionally employed in the active voice after the following verbs; भाष् 'to shine', भ्लाष् 'to shine', भ्रम् 'to whirl', क्रम् 'to walk', क्लम् 'to be sad', वस् 'to fear', च्रुट् 'to cut', and लष् 'to desire'.

Thus भ्राशते or भ्राश्यते 'he shines'; भ्लाशते or भ्लाश्यते 'he shines'; भ्रमति or भ्राम्यति 'he whirls'; क्रामति or क्राम्यति 'he walks'; क्लामति or क्लाम्यति 'he is sad'. So also वस्वति or वसति; च्रुट्यति or च्रुटति; लष्यति or लषति.

यसोऽनुपसर्गात् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यसः, अनुपसर्गात्, (श्यन्,
वा, सार्वधातुके, कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यसोऽनुपसर्गाद्वा श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affix श्यन् is optionally employed after the verb वस् 'to strive', when it is employed, without a preposition, and when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus वास्यति or वसति 'he strives'. But no option is allowed in भायस्यति, प्रवस्यति. The root वस् belongs to the *Divādi* class.

संयसञ्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सं-यसः, च, (श्यन्, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वाच्च यसेर्वा श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

72. The affix श्यन् is optionally employed after the root वस् 'to strive', when it is preceded by the preposition सं, and when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus संयस्यति or संयसति 'he strives'.

स्वादिभ्यः श्नुः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-आदिभ्यः, श्नुः, (सार्वधातुके,
कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुम् अनिषवे इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः श्नुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix श्नु comes after the roots of Svādi class when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent follows.

This debars शप्. As, सु+इनु+तिप् = सु+नु+ति=सुनोति 'he presses out'. These are roots of the Fifth class.

श्रुवः शृ च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रुवः, शृ, च, (इनुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रुवः इनुप्रत्ययो भवति तस्मिन्नियोगेन श्रुवः शृ इत्ययमारेणो भवति ॥

74. And शृ is the substitute of श्रु, and there is the affix इनु after it, when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus श्रु+इनु+तिप् = शृ+नु+ति = शृणोति 'he hears'; शृणुतः 'they two hear'.

अक्षीज्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अक्षः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (इनुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अक्षू व्याघ्रो भोवादिः अस्मादन्यतरस्यां इनुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

75. The affix इनु is optionally employed after the root अक्ष 'to pervade', when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus अक्षोति or अक्षति 'he pervades or obtains'.

तनूकरणे तक्षः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तनू-करणे-तक्षः, (अन्यतरस्यां, इनुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनू स्वभा तनूकरणे, अस्मात्तनूकरणे वर्त्तमानान्यतरस्यां इनु प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

76. The affix इनु is optionally employed after the root तक्ष 'to bore or hew' when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus तक्षति or तक्षोति काष्ठं 'he hews the wood'. But संतक्षति वाग्भिः 'he cuts with speech'.

तुदादिभ्यः शः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुद-आदिभ्यः, शः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुद व्ययने, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

77. The affix श is employed after the roots of the Tudâdi class, in denoting the agent when a sârvadhâtuka affix follows.

This debars शप्. The indicatory श makes this affix a sârvadhâtuka affix. As तुद+श+ति = तुद+अ+ति = तुदति (I. 2. 4) 'he pains or torments'.

रुधादिभ्यः इन्म् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुध-आदिभ्यः, इन्म् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुधिर् आवरणे, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो इन्म् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

78. The affix इन्म् comes after the roots of the Rudhâdi-class, in denoting an agent when a sârvadhâtuka affix follows.

This debars शप्. The indicatory न् of the affix इनम् shows that the affix न is to be placed after the last vowel of the root; see Sûtra I. 1. 47. As रुध्+इनम्+ति=रुध्+न+ति=रु+न+ध्+ति=रुणद्धि 'he obstructs'. So also भिनत्ति 'he splits'. The indicatory श् is for the sake of sûtra VI. 4. 23.

तनादिकञ्जस्य उः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तन-आदि-कञ्जस्यः, उः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनु विस्तारे, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः कञ्जश्च उपत्ययो भवति ॥

79. The affix उ comes after the roots of the Tanâdi class and after the verb कृ 'to make' when a sârva-dhâtuka affix follows, signifying the agent.

This debars शप्. As तन्+उ+ति=तनोति 'he expands'; कृ+उ+ति=करोति 'he makes'. Though the root कृ is included in the list of the Tanâdi verbs, for which see Dhâtupâtha, yet its separate enunciation in the present sûtra is for the sake of making a restrictive rule with regard to this verb; that is to say, the root कृ is a Tanâdi root only for the purposes of taking the affix उ; all the other operations of Tanâdi verbs are not to be performed upon it. Thus the rule II. 4. 79. does not apply to कृ. Thus भकृत and भकृत्याः; the सिच् elision being compulsory and not optional.

धिन्विकृष्योर च ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ धिन्वि-कृष्योः, अ, च,

(उः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिवि धिवि जिवि प्रीणनाथोः कृषि हिंसाकरणयोः इत्येतयोर्जात्योरुपत्ययो भवत्यकारश्चात्तादेशः ॥

80. The affix उ comes after the roots धिन्वि 'to please', and कृषि 'to hurt', when a sârva-dhâtuka affix denoting the agent follows; and in these verbs अ is the substitute of the final इ.

The root धिन्व् or धिन्वि belongs to the Bhuâdi class. Thus धिन्व् + उ+ति = धिन्+अ+उ+ति = धिन्+उ+ति (VI. 4. 48) = धिनोति 'he pleases'. It might be asked, why there is no *guna* of the इ of धिन् by rule VII. 3. 86 which requires the base to be *gunated* before a sârva-dhâtuka or an ârdha-dhâtuka affix. The answer is to be found in sûtra I. 1. 57; the substitute of अ which is a blank, is like the former occupant (*sthânavat*), and thus prevents *guna*.

क्रयादिस्यः श्ना ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्री-आदिस्यः, श्ना ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीम् इत्यदिनिमये इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः श्नाप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix श्ना comes after the roots of the Kriyâdi class when a sârva-dhâtuka affix follows denoting the agent.

which have been previously ordained under special circumstances.

The word व्यत्यय means transgression of the fixed rule, or interchange, taking of two vikaraṇas at a time, and so on. Thus भेदति = भिद् + शप् + ति) instead of भिनत्ति from the root भिद् 'to split', belonging to the Rudhādi class; e. g. शुष्मस्य भाण्डानि भेदति (Rig. VIII. 40. 11.) 'He (Indra) break the eggs (children) of Shushma ; so also, जरसा मरुते पतिः (Rig. X. 86. 11) ; here there is मरुते = (म् + शप् + ते) instead of म्रियते ; the root मृ belonging to the Tudādi class. So also there are two vikaraṇas at one and the same time, in the following. इन्द्रो वस्ते न नेषतु 'May Indra lead by this abode' ; here there is नेषतु 3rd. per. sing. of the Imperative लोद् of the root नी 'to lead' ; there are two vikaraṇas सिप् and शप् instead of नयतु = (नी + शप् + तु) ; इन्द्रेण युजा तरुषेन वृषम् (Rig. VII. 48. 1). The word तरुषेन (हृ + उ + सिप् + शप् + भम्) is the 1st. per. sing. of the Optative (लिङ्) of the root हृ, the classical form being तरुषेन or तीर्यास्व 'may we cross'.

In the Vedic literature we have many apparent irregularities with regard to the rules of declension of nouns, conjugation of verbs, application of Parasmaipada or Atmanepada affixes ; rules of gender, person or tense, rules of interchange of consonants, or of vowels, rules of accent, rules relating to कृत् and लङ् affixes and rules relating to the affixes included in the pratyāhāra यङ् (III. 1. 22 to III. 1. 86).

लिङ्घाशिष्यङ् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्घि, आशिषि, अङ्,
(अन्दि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि विषये यो लिङ् तस्मिन्परतश्छन्दसि विषयेऽङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इन्द्रो वस्ते न नेषतु ॥

86. The affix अङ् is employed in the Chhandas when the affixes of the Benedictive (भाशीर्लिङ्) follow.

This debars शप्. The affixes of the Benedictive are ārdhadhātuka by III. 4. 116 ; but in the Vedas they are sārvaadhātuka as well ; see Rule III. 4. 117. The scope of the present rule is confined to the Benedictive of the verbs स्था, गा, गम्, वच्, वद्, शक् and रुह ; as उपस्येत्तम् ; सत्वमुपमेयम् ; गमेन जानतो गृहान्, मन्त्र बोधेमाप्तये ; विदेयमेना मनसि प्रवेष्टां ; ब्रतम् चरिष्यामि सच्छक्रेयम् ; स्वर्गं लोकमारुहेयम्.

The affix अङ् is employed in the Chhandas after the verb वृश् in the Benedictive. Had there been अङ्, it would have caused गुश्च by rule VII. 4. 16. ; to prevent this, अङ् is ordained ; as पितरं च वृक्षेयं मातरं च 'May I see the father and the mother'.

कर्मेवत्कर्मेणा तुल्यक्रियः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मेवत्, कर्मेणा,
तुल्य-क्रियः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि क्रिया कर्म, कर्मस्थया क्रियया तुष्ट्यक्रियः कर्त्ता कर्मवद्भवति ॥

87. The *ञ* denoting the agent, when the action affecting the agent is similar to the action which affects the object, is treated as if it were a *ञ* denoting the object.

This rule applies to reflexive verbs. "This direction implies the substitution for the operations incident to a tense-affix or *ञ*, denoting an agent, of all the operations, which fall to be performed when the tense-affix or *ञ* denotes the object. Hence there shall be the affixing of *क्* (III. 1. 67) the employment of Atmanepada terminations (I. 3. 13), the substitution of *चिष्* for *चिञ्* (III. 1. 66), and the treatment of the word as directed in sūtra VI. 4. 62." (Dr. Ballantyne). Thus *भियते काष्ठं स्वयमेव* 'the wood splits of itself'; *भनेदि काष्ठं स्वयमेव* 'the wood splits of itself'.

When an action is participated by or affects the agent in the same way as is done by the object, the agent is treated like an object.

When in an object, though it stands as an agent, the action is perceived to take place as in an object, then that agent becomes like an object; and all grammatical rules applicable to the object apply to such an agent.

The word *वत्* 'like' in the sūtra signifies that the rules which apply to an agent also come into operation; thus *भियते कुसूत्रेण*.

The word *कर्मणा* 'with the object' in the sūtra indicates that the *tulya-kriya* or similarity of action must be with the object, and not with the instrument or the location. Thus *साधस्तिरिच्छन्ति* 'the sword cuts well'; here 'sword' is not agent but instrument. So also *साधु स्थाली पचति* 'the pot cooks well'; here *स्थाली* is a location.

This '*karma-vad-bhāva*, the passive-like-construction takes place only in cases of some verbs.

तपस्तापः कर्मकस्यैव ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तपः, तपः, कर्मकस्य, एव,
(कर्मवत्, कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तप सन्तापे, भस्व कर्त्ता कर्मवद्भवति, स च तपः कर्मकस्यैव नान्य कर्मकस्य ॥

88. The agent of the verb *तप्* 'to heat,' becomes similar to the object, only when the object is the word *तपस्* itself.

Thus *तप्यते तपस्तापसः* 'the devotee performs austere devotion'; but not so in *इत्तपति सुवर्णं सुवर्णकारः* 'the goldsmith heats the gold'.

न दुहस्सुनमां यक्चिद्यौ ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दुह-स्सु-नमां,
यक्-चिद्यौ, (कर्मकर्त्तरि, कर्मवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बुह् स्तु नम् इत्येतेषां कर्मकर्त्तरि यक्चिणो कर्मवज्जावापदिष्टौ न भवतः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यक्चिणोः प्रतिषेधे षिअन्थिमन्थिभूमात्मनेपदाकर्मकाणामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

89. The affix यक् (III. 1. 67) and चिण् (III. 1. 62) are not employed in the reflexive voice of the verbs बुह् 'to milk', स्तु 'to fall in drops' and नम् 'to bow'.

The affixes यक् and चिण् are used in forming the reflexive verbs, when the action affecting the agent is similar to the action which affects the object. With regard to the root बुह्, the affix यक् is only prohibited by the present sūtra; the चिण् being optionally employed by rule III. 1. 63, as बुग्धे, अद्गुध or अशोहि गोः स्वयमेव 'the cow flows or flowed of itself' प्रस्तुते or प्रास्तोष्ट गोः स्वयमेव 'the cow flows or flowed of itself'; नमते or अनस्त इण्डः स्वयमेव 'the stick bends or bent of itself'.

This prohibition of the employment of the affixes यक् and चिण् is extended to the verbs that take the affix षि (such as causatives &c.), to the verbs अन्थ 'to loosen', मन्थ 'to compose' and ब्रू 'to speak', and to the Atmanepadi Intransitive verbs. As कारयते 'it is caused to be made of itself'; अचीकरत् 'it was caused to be made of itself'; अचीतीते 'it loosens of itself'; अअचिण्ट 'it loosened of itself'; मथीतीते; अमथिण्ट 'it composes or composed of itself'; ब्रूते and अबोचत् 'it speaks and spoke of itself'; आहते and आवधिष्ट माणवकः स्वयमेव.

कुचिरस्त्रोः प्राचांश्यम्परस्मैपदं च ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ कुचि-स्त्रोः,
प्राचान्, श्यन्, परस्मैपदं, च, (कर्मकर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुच निष्कर्षे, रञ्ज रागे, अनयोर्धात्वोः कर्मकर्त्तरि प्राचामाचार्वाणां मतेन रचन्, प्रत्ववो भवति परस्मैपदं च ॥

90. The affix रचन् comes after the roots कुच् 'to pull', and रञ्ज 'to colour', in the reflexive voice, according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, and these verbs take the affixes of the Parasmaipada.

This debars the affix यक् and the Atmanepada terminations. As कुच्यति पाद्ः स्वयमेव 'the foot draws up of itself'; रञ्जति वस्त्रं स्वयमेव 'the cloth colours of itself'.

The phrase 'in the opinion of the Eastern' shows that it is an optional rule; so that we have also the forms कुच्यते and रञ्जते.

धातोः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरित्पयमधिकारो देहितव्यः, आ दतीयाच्चावपरिसमाप्तेर्देहित ऊर्ध्वमनुक-
मिच्चामो धातोरित्त्वैव तद्देहितव्यम् ॥

91. As far as the end of the Third Book

reckoning from the present aphorism, the affixes treated of are to be understood as coming after some verbal root.

This is an Adhikāra Sūtra. All these verbal affixes are broadly divided into two parts कृत् and कृत्स्न affixes, which will be described later on.

तत्रोपपदं सप्तमीस्थम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, उपपदं, सप्तमी-
स्थम्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रोत्स्मिन्धात्वधिकारे षष्ठीये यस्तप्तमी निर्दिष्टं तदुपपदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

92. Here in this Third Book of Grammar referring to verbal roots, the word implied in a term exhibited in the locative case, is called 'upapada' or dependant word.

Thus in sūtra III. 2. कर्मण्यन् the word कर्मण्यि is exhibited in the 7th case ; therefore the word implied by the word कर्मण्यि, namely, the word having the accusative case, will be called उपपद. Thus कुम्भम् + कृ + भण् = कुम्भकारः 'a potter' ; here the word कुम्भम् is an upapada.

कृदतिङ् ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृद्, अ-तिङ्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मिन्धात्वधिकारे तिङ्दर्जितः प्रत्ययः कृत्संज्ञको भवति ॥

93. In this portion of the Sūtras in which there is a reference to verbal roots, any affix except तिङ् (tense-affixes), is called कृत्.

Thus the affixes तद्व्यम् &c. are कृत्. All affixes up to the end of this Book belong to this class. These are affixes by which substantives are formed from verbal roots ; and they have, therefore, most aptly been termed primary affixes. Words formed by these affixes will be Prātipadikas or crude forms or nominal bases (I. 2. 46). Thus कृ + तद्व्यं = कर्तव्यं. Why do we say 'except तिङ् affixes'? Observe चीयात् 'may he collect', स्तुयात् 'may he praise' which form verbs and not nouns.

वाऽसरूपोऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, असरूपः, अस्त्रियाम्,
(धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मिन्धात्वधिकारे ऽसमानरूपः प्रत्ययो ऽपवादो वा बाधको भवति स्वधिकार-
विहितप्रत्ययं दर्जयित्वा ॥

94. In this portion of the Sūtras, in which there is a reference to verbal roots, an affix which is calculated to debar a general one, not being of the same

form, optionally debars it; but not so in the case of feminine affixes (III. 3. 94 &c.)

Thus the affixes ष्वल् and हृच् (III. 1. 133) are general affixes applicable to all roots in forming nouns of agency; and the sūtra III. 1. 133 which ordains these affixes, is an *utsarga* or a general rule; while the sūtra III. 1. 135 ordaining the affix क् after verbs having a penultimate इक् vowel, and the roots ह्रा, ग्री and कृ is an *apavāda* or a special aphorism. In the latter case, therefore, optionally we may have the affixes ष्वल् and हृच् also. Thus क्षिप् is a root that has a penultimate इ belonging to the *pratyāhāra* इक्; and therefore, in forming the noun of agency from it, the affix क् will have to be applied by rule 135 of this chapter already mentioned; thus विक्षिप्+क् = विक्षिप्+भ = विक्षिपः; but this special rule however does not debar the operation of the general rule, and we have optionally विक्षिप्+ष्वल् = विक्षेपकः; and विक्षिप्+हृच् = विक्षेप्टा nom. sing. विक्षेप्टा.

Why do we say 'not being of the same form'? Because if two affixes have the same form, the present rule will not apply; and in the case of such affixes, the special affix will debar the general affix. Thus the affixes भण् and क् are, when stripped of their indicative letters, affixes having the same form *i. e.* भ; and therefore the sūtra III. 2. 1. ordaining भण् as a general rule, will be always debarred by sūtra III. 2. 3. ordaining क्, as the latter is a special sūtra applicable only to those roots which end in long आ, or which are simple roots not compounded with any preposition. Thus गी+दा+क् = गीदः 'giver of cows'. So also कम्बलदः 'blanket-giver'. In these cases we cannot have the affix भण्.

It follows from this sūtra as a necessary corollary, that the addition of indicative letters does not make two or more affixes dissimilar in form (*भसकृप*) when their essential effective element is the same. Thus the affixes क्, भण्, भच्, ण् &c. are similar.

Why do we say 'but not so in the case of feminine affixes'? Because in the case of feminine affixes, a special affix will debar a general affix, though they may be dissimilar in form. Thus sūtra III. 3. 94 ordaining क्त्विन् in forming feminine nouns from roots is a general or *utsarga* rule, while sūtra III. 3. 102 ordaining भ after roots that have already taken some affix is a special or *apavāda* rule, and though भ and क्त्वि are dissimilar in form, they being feminine affixes, the former will always debar the latter. Thus the compound desiderative roots चिकीर्षे and जिहीर्षे will form feminine nouns in आ and not by क्त्वि. Thus चिकीर्षा and जिहीर्षा and not चिकीर्षति &c.

कृत्याः प्राङ्बुलः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्याः, प्राक्, बुलः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ष्वुन्हृत्प्रवृत्ति वृत्त्यति प्रागतस्मात्ष्वुन्संशब्दनाद्यानित कृत्स्नमनुक्रमित्वाः कृत्स्नसंज्ञकास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

95. From this aphorism, as far as the aphorism ष्वुन्हृत्प्रौ (III. 1. 133), all the affixes treated, will get the name of *Kritya*.

This defines the class of affixes known as *kritya*, a subdivision of *krit* affixes. These are certain affixes like तव्य, अनीय &c, which may be treated as declinable verbal terminations. (III. 4. 70). The following 38 sūtras treat of these affixes. These verbal adjectives correspond in meaning to the Latin participles in *udus* conveying the idea that the action expressed by the verbs ought to be done or will be done. The word formed by them may be called Passive Potential Participles or Future Passive Participles. The illustrations will be given hereafter under each affix as taught. The word *kritya* occurs in sūtras II. 1. 33, II. 3. 71 &c.

तव्यत्तव्यानीयरः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तव्यत्-तव्य-अनीयरः,
(धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोस्तव्यत्तव्यानीयर इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वसेस्तव्यत् कर्त्तरि णिच् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ केलिमर् उपसंख्यानम् ॥

96. The affixes तव्यत्, तव्य and अनीयर come after verbal roots.

The phrase 'after verbal roots' is understood in this aphorism by anuvṛitti from sūtra 91. The final letters त् of तव्यत् and र् of अनीयर are for the sake of indicating accent, being merely diacritical letters. The letter त् indicating svarita accent (VI. 1. 185) and the letter र् indicating penultimate udātta accent (VI. 1. 217); these being exceptions to the general rule of accent given in sūtra 3 ante of this chapter.

Thus कृ + तव्यत् = कर्त्तव्यम्, and कृ + तव्य = कर्त्तव्यम् 'must be done'; कृ + अनीयर = करणीयम् 'must be done'. In these cases the sense being that of the action itself, there is neuter gender singular number.

Vart:—The affix तव्यत् when coming after the verb वृत् 'to dwell' in marking the agent, is treated as if it had an indicatory ए. The force of ए is to cause vṛiddhi. Thus वृत् + तव्यत् = वास्तव्यः 'a dweller'. Here the word is in the masculine gender, as the force of the affix is that of the agent, and not as it generally has that of an act or object (III. 4. 70).

Vart:—The affix केलिमर् should be enumerated in addition to those already enumerated in this aphorism. Thus पक्षेलिमा माषः 'kidney beans fit to be

cooked'; निरेल्लिमानि काष्ठानि 'the woods are apt to be split i. e. fragile'. This affix is to be employed when it is intended to express an object alone (i. e. in the passive and reflexive sense) and cannot be employed like those enumerated above, to denote also the action.

अथो यत् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अथः, यत्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भजन्तास्तातोर्भत्प्रत्ययवो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तकिरासि वतिवतिजनीनामुपसंख्यानम् हनो वा वध च ॥

97. The affix यत् comes after a root that ends in a vowel.

The letter त् of this affix is indicatory showing that the udatta accent falls on the first vowel (VI. 1. 213); thus गा + यत् = गेय, noun sing, गेयम् 'what is to be sung'; so also पेयम् 'what is to be drunk'; जेयम् 'what is to be conquered'. The आ of गा and वा is changed into ए by VI. 4. 65. Why do we say 'that ends in a vowel'? By sūtra 124 of this chapter, a root ending in a consonant takes ष्यत् affix instead of यत्; reading these two aphorisms together, the conclusion to be drawn is that the affix यत् comes after roots which *primarily* end in a vowel, though in the course of development they may end in a consonant by the application of other rules. Thus from हो 'to cut', we have the desiderative root हिस्व, which ends in a vowel अ. This अ is elided before ardhadhātuka affixes and thus the root becomes हिस्, which ends in a consonant; nevertheless we shall have the affix यत् and not ष्यत्. Thus हिस्वयम् 'what is wished to be cut'; धिस्वयम् 'what is wished to be placed'. Similarly लु before Ardhadhātuka affixes becomes लो, the ओ is changed into अ before य (VI. 1. 79) and the form then is लयत्. The root लयत् however takes यत् and not ष्यत्; as लयवो, पययम्, &c.

Vart:—The verbs तक् 'to fly', शक् 'to leap', चक् 'to ask', यत् 'to attempt' and जन् 'to be born', should be enumerated in addition; that is to say, these verbs, though ending in a consonant, take यत् and not ष्यत्; as तक्वयम्, शक्वयम्, चक्वयम्, जक्वयम्, and जन्वयम्.

Vart:—And of the verb हन् 'to kill' वध is the substitute when it optionally takes the affix यत्. Thus we have वधयम् or वधयम्. The latter form is evolved by sūtras VII. 3. 32 and 54. The affix यत् comes only after the वध substitute; after हन् the affix ष्यत् comes which changes the ह into व, and न into त and causes vriddhi.

पीरदुपधात् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पीः, अद्-उपधात्, (धातोः यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पवर्गान्तास्तातोर्कारोपधाद् यत् प्रत्ययवो भवति ॥

98. The affix यत् comes after a root, which ends in a labial letter preceded by a short अ.

This debars ष्वत्; thus शप् + वत् = शप्वं 'to be sworn'; जप् + वत् = जप्वं 'to be acquired'.

Why do we say 'which ends in a labial'? Because if a root ends in any other consonant, though preceded by a short अ, the root will take ष्वत्; thus पप् + ष्वत् = पाक्वत् 'what is to be cooked'; वाक्वत् 'speech'.

Why do we say 'when preceded by a short अ'? When preceded by any other vowel, it will take ष्वत्; thus कृप् + ष्वत् = कौक्वत् 'to be angry'; so also गोक्वत् 'to be concealed'.

The word अत् is used in the sūtra in the original. The force of त् here is, by I. I. 70, that short अ having one mātrā or prosodial length is to be taken and not long आ. Therefore, after the root आप् 'to obtain', we have ष्वत् and not अत्; thus आप्वत् 'to be reached' *i. e.* 'attainable'.

शकिसहोश्च ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शकि-सहोः, च, (धातोः, यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्शक्तौ, सह मर्षणे, भगवोर्धात्वीर्ब्रह्मत्वयो भवति ॥

99. The affix वत् comes after the roots शक् 'to be able', and सह 'to bear'.

Thus शक्यम् 'possible'; सह्यम् 'endurable'.

गद्मद्चरयमञ्जानुपसर्गे ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ गद्-मद्-चर-यमः, च, अनुपसर्गे, (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गद् मद् चर यमः, एतेभ्यश्चानुपसर्गेभ्यो वत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चरेराडि चागुरी ॥

100. The affix वत् comes after the roots गद् 'to speak', मद् 'to be mad', चर 'to go, to eat', and वम् 'to restrain', when these roots do not take any proposition.

Thus गद्यम् 'what is to be spoken, *i. e.* prose'; मद्यम् 'wine'; चर्चम् 'what is to be followed'; वम्बम् 'what is to be restrained'.

Why do we say 'when not preceded by a preposition'? When compounded with an upasarga, these roots will take ष्वत्; thus प्रगाद्यम्; प्रमद्यम् &c.

The root वम् would have taken the affix वत् by sūtra 98 also, as it ends in न and is preceded by अ; its separate enumeration in this sūtra is in order to show, that the compound verb वम् will not take the affix वत्. Therefore with regard to वम्, this is a *niyama* or restrictive rule and not a *vidhi* or original rule.

Vart :—The root चर when preceded by the preposition आच् takes the वत् affix when the sense is not that of a preceptor; thus आचर्वा देशः 'an approachable or communicable country'. But when the sense is that of a teacher the root takes ष्वत्; thus आचर्षः 'a preceptor'.

अवद्यपचयवर्षा गह्यपक्षितव्यानिरोधेषु ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥

अवद्य-पचय-वर्षाः, गह्य-पक्षितव्य-अनिरोधेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवद्य पचय वर्षा इत्येते घञ्वा निपात्यन्ते गर्ह्य पक्षितव्य अनिरोध इत्येतेष्वर्धेणु चयासंख्यम् ॥

101. The words अवद्य, पचय and वर्षा are irregularly formed, having the sense of 'condemnable', 'saleable' and 'unobstructable' respectively.

Thus, अवद्यं पचं 'censurable sin'. Another and regular form is अनुद्यम्. This is formed by adding the affix ङङ् to the root दृ by III. I. 106. So also पचयः कम्बलः 'saleable blanket'; पचयः गौः 'saleable cow'. The other and regular form is पाचयम्, formed by the addition of षत्. So also शतेन वर्षा 'unobstructed by hundred'; सहस्रेण वर्षा 'unobstructed by thousand'. The other and regular form is वृत्वा from the root वृ 'to choose'. वर्षा means a girl choosing her own husband and is non-obstructable by any body. The word वर्षा in the sūtra is in the feminine gender, and it is in this gender only that the word is so formed. In the masculine gender, the word is regularly formed; thus वर्षा कृत्विजः.

वह्यं करखम् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वह्यं, करखम्, (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वह्येर्धातोः करखे चरप्रत्ययो निपात्यते ॥

102. The word वह्यं is irregularly formed, when the meaning of the word is an instrument of carrying.

The word वह्य is derived from root वह 'to carry' and means 'a vehicle', i. e., that by which a thing is carried; as वह्यं शकटम्. When it does not mean a carriage, the root takes the affix षत्; thus वाह्यः 'an ox'.

अर्यः स्वामिवैश्ययोः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्यः, स्वामि-वैश्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋ गतो, अस्मात्प्रति प्राप्ते, स्वामिवैश्ययोर्भिधेयवोर्चरप्रत्ययो निपात्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ खतो ऽनाद्य इत्याद्युदात्तत्वे प्राप्ते, स्वामिन्वन्तोदात्तत्वं च वक्तव्यम् ॥

103. The word अर्य is irregularly formed when meaning 'lord' and a 'Vaiśya'.

The root ऋ 'to go', would have taken षत् by sūtra 124 of this chapter; but it takes यत् when the sense of the word formed by it is that of a 'lord' or a man of 'Vaiśya' caste. As अर्यः स्वामी, 'honored lord', अर्यो वैश्यः 'honored Vaiśya'.

Vart: Though by VI. I. 213, the affix यत् makes the udatta accent fall on the first syllable of the word, yet in the case of the word अर्य, when it means 'lord', the accent falls on the last syllable.

Why do we say 'when it means a lord or a Vaiśya'? Otherwise the root takes the affix षत्; as आर्यो ब्राह्मणः 'the respectable Brāhmana'.

उपसर्वा कात्या प्रजने ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्वा, कात्या,
प्रजने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्वेति निपात्यते कात्या चेत्यजने भवति ॥

104. The word उपसर्वा is irregularly formed when meaning what has reached the time favorable to conception, or ripe for fruition.

The word उपसर्वा is formed by adding चत् affix to the root च् 'to move', compounded with the preposition उप. The word कात्या means having reached the time. The word प्रजन means the first conception. Thus उपसर्वा गौः 'the cow fit for the bull'; उपसर्वा वडवा 'the mare fit for the horse'.

Why do we say 'when meaning what has reached the time favorable to conception'? Otherwise the affix ष्यत् will be used; as उपसर्वा शरदि मधुरा 'Madhura is approachable in Sarat season'.

अजर्यम् संगतम् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अजर्यम्, संगतम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजर्यमिति निपात्यते संगतं चेत्यवति ॥

105. The word अजर्यम् 'imperishable' is irregularly formed when qualifying the word संगतम् 'friendship' expressed or understood.

The word अजर्यम् is formed from the root जृ by the addition of चत्, and affixing the negative particle अ; as अ + जृ + चत् = अजर्यम्.

Thus अजर्यं नोऽस्तु संगतम् 'let our friendship be imperishable'. So also अजर्यमार्यसंगतम्.

Why do we say 'when qualifying the word संगतम्'? Observe अजरिता कम्बलः 'undecaying blanket'.

वदः सुपि क्वप् च ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वदः, सुपि, क्वप्, च,
(यत्, अनुपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वदधर्तोः सुबन्तउपपदे अनुपसर्गी क्वप् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यश्च ॥

106. After the root वच् 'to speak', governing a case-inflected word as its upapada, and not having a preposition annexed to it, there comes the affix क्वप् also.

The phrase 'not having a preposition' is to be read into this sūtra by *anuvritti* from sūtra 100 *ante*. The force of the word 'also' is to indicate that the affix चत् is also employed. The word सुपि means 'in construction with an upapada that ends in case-affix'.

Thus व्रत + वच् + क्वप् = व्रत + वच् + च = व्रतोद्यम्; व्रत + वच् + चत् = व्रतवचम् 'told by the Vedas or Brahman'. Similarly सत्योद्यम् or सत्यवचम् 'truth-mouthed'.

Why do we say 'when it has a case-inflected word as upapada'? Otherwise वच् + ष्यत् = वाद्यम् a 'musical instrument'.

Why do we say 'not having a preposition'? Observe प्रवाचम् 'a rumour' formed by the affix क्वप् and not by चत् or क्वयप्.

भुवो भावे ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, भावे, ((अनुपसर्गे, सुपि, क्वप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्धातोः सुबन्तउपपदे अनुपसर्गे भावे क्वप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

107. After the root भू 'to be', in construction with a case-inflected word as its upapada and when used without a preposition, the affix क्वप् is employed to denote condition (bhâva).

The words सुपि and अनुपसर्गे of previous sūtras are understood in this. The *anuvritti* of चत् does not cover this aphorism. As ब्रह्मभुवं गतः = ब्रह्मत्वं गतः 'gone to or arrived at Brahmahood; देवभुवं = देवत्वं गतः 'gone to divinity'.

The word *bhâva* of this sūtra governs the succeeding ones.

Why do we say 'in construction with a case-inflected word'? Otherwise it will take चत्; as भू + चत् = भो + चत् = भव्यम् (VI. I. 79).

Why do we say 'not taking a preposition'? Observe प्रवचम्.

हनस्त च ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, त, च, (सुपि, अनुपसर्गे, क्वप्, भावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्धातोः सुबन्त उपपदे अनुपसर्गे भावे क्वप् प्रत्ययो भवति तकारध्वान्तादेशः ॥

108. After the root हन् 'to kill', when in construction with a case-inflected word as its upapada, and when used without a preposition, comes the affix क्वप् in denoting condition, and the letter त is the substitute of its final.

The phrases सुपि अनुपसर्गे and भावे are understood in this sūtra.

As ब्रह्म + हन् + क्वप् = ब्रह्म + हत् + च = ब्रह्महत्य, (VI. I. 71) ब्रह्महत्या 'Brahman-murder'. So also अश्वहत्या 'killing a horse'.

When not in construction with a noun, the form is घातः 'a blow' (हन् + णिष् + चम्). This verb does not take the affix क्वप् in denoting condition, there being no example of such formation.

Why do we say 'when not taking a preposition'? Observe प्रघातो वसंते 'there is a combat'.

एतिस्तुशास्वद्वृजुषः क्वप् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एति-स्तु-शास्-
वृ-द्वृ-जुषः, क्वप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एति स्तु शास् वृ द्वृ जुषः इत्येतेभ्यः क्वप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शंसिदुहि गुहिभ्यो वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाद् पूर्वस्यैः संतावानुपसर्गवानम् ॥

109. After the verbs इ 'to go', स्तु 'to praise', शास् 'to govern', वृ 'to choose', हृ 'to respect' and क्षुप् 'to please', comes the affix क्वप्.

The anuvritti of सुप्, अनुवसर्गे and भावे does not extend to this aphorism. The present sūtra ordains generally the affix क्वप् after the above verbs. Thus इ + क्वप् = इ + त + व (VI. 1. 71) = इवः 'to be gone'. The letter त being added by Rule VI. 1. 71 which declares 'त is the augment of a short vowel when a कृत् affix, with an indicatory प follows'. So also स्तु + क्वप् = स्तुरवः 'to be praised'; शास् + क्वप् = शिस् + व (भा being changed into इ by VI. 4. 34) = शिस्वः 'to be instructed i. e. a pupil'. So also वृ + क्वप् = वृवः 'to be chosen'; भाट् + क्वप् = भाटुरवः 'to be honoured'; क्षुप् + क्वप् = क्षुस्वः 'to be served'.

Though the anuvritti of क्वप् was coming from the previous sūtra 100, its repetition in this aphorism is to indicate that other rules such as 125 of this chapter should not take effect in the above verbs. Thus Rule 125 requires क्वत् 'after the verb स्तु, but the present rule prohibits that. Thus we have अवश्य स्तुरवः 'must be praised'.

By वृ in the sūtra the root वृञ् is intended to be taken, and not the root वृह्. The equivalent derivative of the latter is वार्यः as वार्या ऋषिवजः.

Vart.—The roots शास् 'to praise' वृह् 'to milk' and गृह् 'to cover' optionally take the affix क्वप्. As शास्वन् or शंसवन् (VI. 4. 37); वृह्यन् or वीह्यन्, गृह्यन् or गोह्यन्.

Vart.—The verb अञ्ज् 'to anoint', preceded by the preposition भाट् takes the affix क्वप् when used as an appellative. As भा + अञ्ज् + क्वप् = भास्वन् meaning clarified butter. The nasal is elided by VI. 4. 24.

Obj.—How do you explain the form उपेवन् which is evidently formed from the root इ by adding वत्? According to the present sūtra, the affix क्वप् ought to have been added. Ans. The इ in उपेवन् is a different root from that taken here. The root in this sūtra is इष् of the Adādi class.

ऋदुपधाच्चाकृपिचृतेः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋद्-उपधात्, च,
अकृपि-चृतेः, (क्वप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारोपधाच्च धातोः क्वप् प्रत्ययो भवति कृपिचृती वर्जित्वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पाणो सृजेर्बृहत्कवः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ समवपूर्वाच्च ॥

110. After verbs having a penultimate short ऋ, the affix क्वप् is employed, with the exception of the verbs कृप् 'to be able', and चृत् 'to hurt'.

Thus वृत् + क्वप् = वृवन्; so also वृजन्. But कृप् and चृत् will form कृवन्, and चरवन्.

Why have we used the letter त् in ऋत्? It is to indicate that short ऋ

is meant and not long कृ (I. I. 70). Therefore the root कृत् will take षत् and form क्रीर्यम्.

Vart :—The root कृत् takes the affix षत् when compounded with the word पाणि. Thus पाणिसर्गा रज्जुः 'a rope'.

Vart :—The root कृत् when preceded by both सन् and भव takes षत् as सम्प्रसारणा.

ई च खनः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, च, खनः, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खनेर्धातोः क्यप् प्रत्ययौ भवतीकारध्वान्तादेशः ॥

111. The affix क्यप् is employed after the root खन 'to dig', and long ई is substituted for the final of the root.

Thus खन् + क्यप् = ख + ई + च = खेचम् 'to be dug'. The long ई is used in the sūtra for the sake of euphony. The same purpose would have been served by using short इ, thus 'इ च खनः'. But the long ई indicates that the rule VI. 4. 43 does not apply here. By that rule the भ of खन् would have been lengthened into भा before the affix क्यप्.

भृजोऽसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृजः, अ-संज्ञायाम्, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृजो धातोरसंज्ञायां विषये क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संपूर्वादिभाषा ॥

112. The affix क्यप् is employed after the verb भृज् 'to bear' when not used as a name.

Thus भृ + क्यप् = भृच Pl. भृचाः 'those who ought to be supported' i. e. 'servants'. Why do we say 'when not used as an appellative'? Observe भृ + षत् = भार्यः 'a Kshatriya'.

Vart :—The use of क्यप् is optional when this verb takes the preposition सं, Thus संभृत्वाः or संभार्याः.

सृजेर्विभाषा ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सृजेः, विभाषा, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सृजेर्धातोर्विभाषा क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

113. The affix क्यप् optionally comes after the root सृज् 'to cleanse'.

This is an example of *Prāpta-vibhāshā*. By rule 110 ante, the root सृज् having a penultimate कृ would have necessarily taken क्यप्; this sūtra declares an option. As परिसृज्यः or परिमार्यः 'to be cleansed'. The second form is thus evolved :—

परिसृज् + षत् (III. I. 124) = परिसृज् + च (VII. 3. 52) = परिमार्यं (VII. 2. 114)

राजसूयसूर्यसृषोद्यरुच्यकुप्यकृष्टपच्यअव्यययाः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥

राजसूय-सूर्य-सृषोद्य-रुच्य-कुप्य-कृष्ट-पच्य-अव्यययाः, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजसूय सूर्य सृषोद्य रुच्य कुप्य कृष्ट पच्य अव्यय इत्येते शब्दाः क्यपि निपात्यन्ते ॥

114. The words राजसूय सूर्य सृषोद्य रुच्य कुप्य कृष्ट पच्य and अव्यय are irregularly formed by the addition of the affix क्यप्.

Thus राज्ञा सोतव्यः or राज्ञा इह सूयते, राज् + सू + क्यप् = राजसूयः 'the Rajasūya or coronation sacrifice'.

Similarly स्र or सू + क्यप् = सूर्यः 'the sun', literally that which moves (सरति) in the sky; or that which impels (स्रवति) creation to action. सृष + वद् + क्यप् = सृषोद्यम् 'false speech'; this is an exception to rule 106, by which यत् would also have been applied. This rule prevents it. Thus रोचते ऽसौ, रुच् + क्यप् = रुच्यः 'an agreeable lover'. So also गुप् + क्यप् = कुप्यम् 'a base metal (other than gold and silver)'; the other form is गोप्यम्। कृष्ट + पच् = कृष्टपच्यः 'that which ripens of itself in cultivated ground'. न व्ययते = अव्ययः 'a snake (what does not move by legs)'.

भिद्योद्दुधौ नदे ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिद्य-उद्दुधौ, नदे, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिदेरुद्भोश्च क्यप् निपात्यन्ते नदे ऽभिधेये ॥

115. The words भिद्य and उद्दुध are irregularly formed by the affix क्यप्, when meaning a 'river'.

Thus भिद् + क्यप् = भिद्यः 'a river that breaks its banks by the rush of its water', the name of the Bhidya river.

उद्भ् + क्यप् = उद्दुध 'a river whose waters overflow the banks', name of the Uddhya river; the ह् is changed into ध्.

When not meaning or qualifying the river, the regular forms are used; thus भेत्ता and उद्भिदाता.

पुष्यसिद्धौ नक्षत्रे ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुष्य-सिद्धौ, नक्षत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुषे सिधेष्वाधिकरणे क्यप् निपात्यन्ते नक्षत्रे ऽभिधेये ॥

116. The words पुष्य and सिद्ध are irregularly formed by the affix क्यप्, when used as names of asterisms.

Thus पुष् + क्यप् = पुष्यः 'the Pushya asterism'. It is so called because objects are nourished under the influences of this asterism. सिद् + क्यप् = सिद्धः 'the asterism Siddhya' another name of Pushya, so-called because things are accomplished under the influence of this star.

When not the names of asterisms, the forms are पोषण 'nourishing', सेधनम् 'accomplishing'.

विपूयविनीयजित्वा मुञ्जकल्कहलिषु ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विपूय-
विनीय-जित्वाः, मुञ्ज-कल्क-हलिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विपूय विनीय जित्वा इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते यथासंख्यं मुञ्जकल्कहलि इत्येते
स्वयंपु बोधेषु ॥

117. The words विपूय, विनीय and जित्वा are irregularly formed when they mean, the 'muñja grass', the 'sediment' and the 'plough' respectively.

Thus वि+पू + क्वप् = विपूय: etymologically 'that which has to be purified to make rope'; वि+नी + क्वप् = विनीय 'a sediment or sin'; जि + क्वप् = जित्वा 'a plough that which is to be conquered by strength'.

The regular derivatives are विपात्यम्, विनेयम् and जेयम्.

प्रत्यपिस्यां ग्रहेऽह्नुदसि ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-अपिस्यां,
ग्रहेः, अह्नुदसि, (क्वप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रति अपि इत्येवं पूर्वार्त् ग्रहेः क्वप् प्रत्यञ्चो भवति अह्नुदसि विपने ॥

118. The verb ग्रह 'to seize', preceded by the prepositions प्रति and अपि, takes the affix क्वप् in the Vedic literature.

Thus नक्तस्य न प्रतिगृह्यम् ; तस्मान्नापिगृह्यम् ॥

In the classical Sanskrit the proper forms are प्रतिग्राह्यम् and अपिग्राह्यम्.

पदास्त्रैरिवाह्यापत्येषु च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद-अस्त्रैरि-
वाह्या-पत्येषु, च, (ग्रहेः, क्वप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदेऽस्त्रैरिणि वाह्यानां पत्येषु चायं ग्रहेर्भातोः क्वप् प्रत्यञ्चो भवति ॥

119. The root ग्रह takes the affix क्वप्, when it means a 'word', a 'dependent', 'outside', or a 'partisan'.

Thus प्रगृह्यम् 'the Pragrihya words that do not admit of sandhi, already defined in sūtra I. I. 11. So also अह्नुदसि.

The word अस्त्रैरि means dependent upon others, not free to provide for himself. Thus गृह्यकाः शुकः 'the captive parrots'.

The word वाह्य means 'situated outside'. Thus मानगृह्या सेना 'an army lying outside the village'. The word वाह्या being in the feminine gender indicates that the derivative word formed from ग्रह must also be feminine in gender to have this sense.

The word पत्य is derived from पक्ष 'a side, a party', and means a partisan, follower or friend. Thus वासुदेवगृह्याः 'siding with or being the partisans of Vāsudeva'. So also अर्जुनगृह्याः 'belonging to the party of Arjun'.

विभाषा कृद्योः ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कृ-वृयोः, (क्यप्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृमो वृषञ्च विभाषा क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. After the verbs कृम् 'to do', and वृष् 'to rain' the affix क्यप् is optionally employed.

The root कृ would have taken the affix क्यत् by 124, and the verb वृष् would necessarily have taken क्यप् by 110; the present sūtra therefore declares an optional rule. Thus: कृ + क्यप् = कृष्यम् 'to be done'; or कृ + क्यत् = कर्ष्यम्. So also वृष्यम् or वृष्यम् 'stimulating'.

युग्यं च पत्रे ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ युग्यन्, च, पत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युग्यमिति निपात्यते पत्रं चोद्भवति ॥

121. The word युग्यम् is irregularly formed meaning a vehicle.

The word पत्र means that by which a thing is carried. Thus युग्यो गौ 'the carrier bull or the yoked bull'. युग्यो हस्ती 'the harnessed elephant ready to carry'. युज् + क्यप् = युग्यम्. The ज् is changed into ग्. When not meaning a carrier or a carriage, it has the form योग्यं.

अमावस्यदन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अमावस्यद्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमाशब्दः सहायैवर्त्तते, तस्मिन्नुपपदे वसेर्द्धातोः कालेऽधिकरणे एवमशब्दो भवति तन्मन्वतरस्यां वृद्ध्याभापो निपात्यते ॥

122. Optionally the word अमावस्या is irregularly formed.

The word अमा means 'along' or 'together'. अमा in composition with the root वस् 'to dwell', takes the affix क्यत् in the sense of location of time. Optionally the *Vridhhi* is not substituted in such a case. The time or the day on which the sun and the moon dwell together in the same constellation is called अमावास्या or अमावस्या.

The final त् in अमावस्यात् is indicatory and is for the sake of showing where should the proper accent fall.

The two forms अमावस्या or अमावास्या are the same word, and a *fortiori* a rule made with regard to one will be made applicable to the other. And to this effect there is a *paribhāṣā* which declares एकदेशचिकृतस्त्वानन्वयत्वम्; 'that which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place'. Therefore sūtra IV. 3. 30, though it, in terms, says अमावास्यायाः क्यप् is made applicable to the form अमावस्या also,

इन्द्रसि निष्ठकर्मदेवहूयप्रणीयोक्तीयोक्त्विष्यमर्यस्तर्याध्वर्ये खन्य-
खान्यदेवयज्यापृच्छप्रतिषीव्यब्रह्मवाद्यभाव्यस्ताव्योपचार्यपृष्ठानि ॥ १२३ ॥
पदानि ॥ इन्द्रसि, निष्ठकर्म-देवहूय-प्रणीय-उक्तीय-उक्त्विष्य-मर्य-स्तर्या-ध्वर्य-
खन्य-खान्य-देवयज्या-आपृच्छ-प्रतिषीव्य-ब्रह्मवाद्य-भाव्य-स्ताव्य-उपचार्य-
पृष्ठानि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठकर्मपरिचयः शब्दाइन्द्रसि विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हिरण्य इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

123. In the Vedas the following words are found which are formed irregularly :—निष्ठकर्म, देवहूय, प्रणीय, उक्तीय, उक्त्विष्य, मर्य, स्तर्या, ध्वर्य, खन्य, खान्य, देवयज्या, आपृच्छ, प्रतिषीव्य, ब्रह्मवाद्य, भाव्य, स्ताव्य and उपचार्यपृष्ठ.

The formation of the above words are extremely irregular and they are all met with in the Vedic literature only. Thus the word निष्ठकर्म is derived from the root कृत् 'to cut', with the preposition निष्, and the affix ण्यत्, instead of क्यप् which is the regular affix, by 110; निः+कृत्+ण्यत् = निः+कृत्+य (the root कृत् transformed into कृ by transposition) = निष्ठकर्म. As निष्ठकर्म चिन्वीत् पशुकामः.

The above is apparently a guess-work etymology of grammarians.

So also देवहूय is formed by adding to the root हूयते 'to call' or हू 'to invoke, the affix क्यप् and the upapada देव; the vowel of the root is then lengthened and the augment स (VI. 1. 71), is not allowed, देव+हू or हू+क्यप् = देवहूयः. So also प्र+नी (to lead)+क्यप् = प्रणीयः; उत्+नी+क्यप् = उक्तीयः; उत्+शिष् (to leave)+क्यप् = उक्त्विष्यम्; मृ (to die)+यत् = मर्यः; ऋ (to cover)+यत् = स्तर्या; it is always feminine. धृ (to bend)+यत् = ध्वर्यः; खन् (to dig)+यत् = खन्यः; खन्+ण्यत् = खान्यः; देव (God)+यम् (to sacrifice)+यत् = देवयज्या; always used as feminine. भा+पृच्छ (to ask)+क्यप् = आपृच्छः; प्रति+सीव (to sew)+क्यप् = प्रतिषीव्यः; ब्रह्मवाद्य (to speak)+ण्यत् = ब्रह्मवाद्यः; भू (to be)+ण्यत् = भाव्यः; स्तु (to praise)+ण्यत् = स्ताव्यः; उप+चि (to collect)+ण्यत्+पृष्ठ = उपचार्यपृष्ठम्. This last word is formed then only when the word पृष्ठ follows: and when the sense is that of 'gold'. When it does not mean 'gold', the form is उपचार्यपृष्ठम् ।

ऋहलोऽण्यत् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋ-हलोः, ण्यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋहलोऽण्यत् इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

124. The affix ण्यत् comes after a verb that ends in ऋ (long or short), or in a consonant.

The phrase ऋहलोः is in the genitive case dual number, the force of genitive here being that of ablative. As कृ + ण्यत् = कार्यम् 'to be made'; हृ + ण्यत् =

हार्यं nom. sing. हार्यम् 'to be taken'; धृ+ण्यत् = धार्यं; 'to be held'; वृ+ण्यत् = वृक् + ण्यत् (VII. 3. 52) = वाक्यं (VII. 2. 116) 'to be spoken'; पृ+ण्यत् = पाक्यम्.

ओरावश्यके ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, आवश्यके (व्यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्ताद्धातोर्ण्यत्प्रत्ययो भवति आवश्यके षोडशे ॥

125. The affix ण्यत् comes after a root that ends in the letter ञ long or short when the sense is that of necessity.

This debars the affix ण्यत्. Thus लु+ण्यत् = लो+ञ = लाञ्छं (VII. 2. 115 and VI. 1. 79) 'must be cut'; so also पु+ण्यत् = पाण्यम् 'must be purified'.

When 'necessity' is not indicated we have the form लञ्च 'to be cut'. The sūtra as given in the original is rather ambiguous; it may be construed to mean, 1st when the word आवश्यक or a word having the sense of this term is in construction as upapada, the affix ण्यत् is employed: or 2ndly when, the sense of the affix is that of 'necessity', the ण्यत् is employed. There are objections to both these interpretations taken separately. For in the first case, though we could form the words अवश्यलाञ्चं &c., we could not form the word लाञ्च by itself. In the second case, though we could form the single word लाञ्च, we could not form the compound. The best solution is to take the second interpretation and form the compound by the universal rule of *Tatpuruṣa* contained in II. 1. 72, which would also regulate the accent.

आसुयुवपिरपिलपिन्नपिचमञ्च ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आसु-यु-वपि-
-रपि-लपि-न्नपि-चमः, च, (व्यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वकं लुनोते: वु वपि रपि लपि न्नपि चम् इत्येतेभ्यश्च ण्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

126. The affix ण्यत् comes after the verbs आसु 'to distil', वु 'to join', वृप् 'to sow', रप् 'to speak distinctly' लप् 'to prate', चम् 'to be ashamed', and चम् 'to drink'.

The verb आसु is a compound verb formed by the preposition आङ् and the root सु. This sūtra debars ण्यत् that would otherwise have come by sūtra 97 and 98.

Thus आसु + ण्यत् = आसाण्यम्, (VII. 2. 115 and VI. 1. 79); so also वाण्यम्, वाण्यम्, राण्यम्, लाण्यम्, नाण्यम् and आचाण्यम्.

The force of the word च 'and' in the sūtra is to indicate that the roots not included in the above enumeration should also be taken. Thus इम् + ण्यत् = इण्यम् ॥

आनाग्योऽनित्ये ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आनाग्यः, अनित्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आनाग्य इति निपात्यते अनित्येऽनित्येदे । नद्यते राङ् पूर्वाण्यहाकारेणो निपात्यते ॥

127. The word **आनाद्य** is irregularly formed when meaning 'impermanent'.

This word is thus formed :—**आङ् + नी + ण्यत् = आ + नै + य = आनाद्य**, (the **ऐ** being changed into **आ** by the analogy of VI. 1. 79).

As **आनाद्यो दक्षिणाग्निः**. This is a species of Dakṣiṇāgni fire. As this fire is *brought* from the Gārhapatya fire and is not permanently kept alive, therefore it is called **ānāyā**. This however, is not co-extensive with Dakṣiṇāgni. It is that fire which is brought from the Gārhapatya, and has the same *source* with the Dakṣiṇāgni and Ahavaniyāgni. A Dakṣiṇāgni fire may be taken from different sources, as from the family of a well-to-do Vaishya, or from a frying place, or from Gārhapatya fire. When it is taken from the last *i. e.* from Gārhapatya fire, it is **ānāyā** Dakṣiṇāgni. Ahavaniya is also taken from Gārhapatya.

It is not every thing, that is not lasting, which is called **ānāyā** ; for a fragile pot will not be called so. It applies only to the consecrated fire. When it has not this sense, the form is **आनेद्य** meaning 'what ought to be brought'.

प्रखाद्योऽसम्मतौ ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रखाद्यः, असम्मतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रणाद्य इति निपात्यस्ते ऽसंमतादभिधेये ॥

128. The word **प्रणाद्य** is irregularly formed when meaning 'disapproved'.

The word **असंमति** is a negative word meaning 'non-agreement'. It means also 'disrespect'.

Thus **प्रणाद्यधोरः** 'the thief is to be disliked'.

Why do we say when meaning 'disapproved'. Because otherwise the regular form is **प्र + नी** 'to lead' + **यत् = प्रण्येयः** 'tractable'.

The word in the sūtra is **असंमति** which we have translated as 'disapproved'. But the word **संमति** also means **अभिज्ञाप** or 'desire'; and **असंमति** would therefore, mean 'free from desire or worldly attachment'. Therefore the word **असंमति** means also 'free from attachment', as in the following sentence :—

इयेष्टाय पुत्राय पिता ब्रह्म प्रभूयात्, प्रणाद्याद्य भन्तेवासिने नान्यस्मै कस्मैचन 'let the father teach the Secret Doctrine to his eldest son, or to such pupil who is free from worldly attachment, and to no one else'.

पात्यसांनार्यनिकायधार्या मानहविर्निवाससामिधेनीषु ॥

१२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पात्य-सांनार्य-निकाय-धार्याः, मान-हविः-निवास-सामि-धेनीषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पात्याद्यः शब्दा निपात्यस्ते यथासंख्यं माने हविषि निवासे सामिधेन्वा त्रिभि-धेनावान् ॥

129. The words पाद्य, सालाद्य, निकाद्य and धाद्या are irregularly formed meaning 'a measure', 'an oblation to fire', 'a dwelling', and 'a sacrificial prayer', respectively.

These words are supposed to be formed thus:—मा (to measure)+प्यत् = पाद्यम्, the म being changed into प and another द्य being added by VII. 3. 33. The regular form is मेद्यम् 'to be measured' (मा + प्यत् = मे + द्य VI. 4. 65 = मेद्य). सम् + नी (to lead) + प्यत् = सालाद्यम् 'the oblation'. It being a crude form applies to a particular kind of oblation. The regular form is सञ्चेद्यम्। नि + च्चि (to collect) + प्यत् = नि + च्चै + द्य = नि + चाद्य + द्य = निकाद्यः 'a dwelling'. The regular form is निच्येद्यम्। धा (to put) + प्यत् = धाद्या (fem.). The sâmadheni is the name of certain *Rik* hymns used as supplemental verses in a Litany. The other form is धेद्यम्।

ऋतौ कुण्डपाद्यसंचार्यौ ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतौ, कुण्डपाद्य-संचार्यौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुण्डपाद्य संचाद्य इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते ऋतावभिधेये ॥

130. The words कुण्डपाद्यः and संचाद्यः are irregularly formed meaning a sacrifice.

These words are thus formed: कुण्ड + पा (to drink) + द्यत् = कुण्ड + पा + द्य + द्य (VII. 3. 33) = कुण्डपाद्यः 'the sacrifice in which Soma is drunk with a bowl'. The accent falls on the first syllable by VI. 1. 213. सम् + च्चि (to collect) + प्यत् = संचाद्यः 'the sacrifice in which Soma is collected'.

If not applied to sacrifices, the forms will be कुण्डपानम् and संचेद्यः.

अग्नी परिचार्योपचार्यसमूह्याः ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नी, परिचार्य-उपचार्य-समूह्याः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिचार्य उपचार्य समूह्य इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते अग्नावभिधेये ॥

131. The words परिचार्यः, उपचार्यः and समूह्यः are irregularly formed when they are names of fire.

These words are thus formed:—परि + च्चि + प्यत् = परि + च्चै + द्य = परि + चाद्य + द्य = परिचार्यः 'sacrificial fire arranged in a circle' (the च्चै being changed into आद्य by the analogy of VI. 1. 79. This peculiar sandhi before the semivowel द्य has been illustrated in the previous examples also). So also उपचार्यः 'a kind of sacred fire'. सम् + वह + प्यत् = सम् + रुह + द्य = समूह्यः 'a kind of fire'. समूह्यं चिन्वीत पशुकामः let him kindle the Samûhya fire desirous of a victim'.

Why do we say 'when they are names of fire'? Observe otherwise, परिच्येद्यम् 'to be heaped', उपच्येद्यम् 'to be increased', संचाद्यम् 'to be carried'.

चित्याग्निचित्ये च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्य-अग्निचित्ये, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चित्यशब्दोऽग्निचित्याशब्दश्च निपात्येते ॥

132. The words चित्य and अग्निचित्य are also irregularly formed.

The word चित्य: comes from the root चि 'to collect', and means fire *i. e.* that which is collected. As चित्योऽग्निः 'the funeral pile fire'. The word अग्निचित्या means, arranging the fire. The affix च has been added to denote condition, together with the augment तुक् (त्). These words have *uddatta* accent on the last vowel. The regular form is चेत्यन् 'to be gathered'.

एवुल्लृचौ ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ एवुल्ल-लृचौ, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वधातुभ्यो एवुल्लृचौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

133. The affixes एवुल् (अक) and लृच् (लृ) are placed after all verbal roots, expressing the agent.

The word 'root' is understood in the above aphorism. Thus कृ 'to do' + एवुल् = कार + वु (VII. 2. 115) = कार + अक (VII. 1. 1) = कारक nom. sing. कारकः 'doer.' कृ + लृच् = कर् + लृ (VII. 3. 84) = कर्त्तृ nom. sing. कर्ता. So also हारकः and हर्ता.

The लृ of लृच् is not indicatory, but distinguishes this affix from लृच्; the simple लृ includes both लृच् and लृन्, as in V. 3. 59, and VI. 4. 154.

नन्दिग्रहिपचादिभ्यो ल्युञ्जिन्यचः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नन्दि-ग्रहि-पचादिभ्यः, ल्यु, ञिनि, अच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निभ्योगणोभ्यस्त्रयः प्रत्यया तथासंख्यं भवन्ति, नन्द्यादिभ्यो ल्युः, ग्रहादिभ्यो ञिनिः, पचादिभ्यो अच् ॥

134. After the verbs classed as नन्द् 'to be happy', ग्रह 'to take' and पच् 'to cook' there are the affixes ल्यु (अन) ञिनि (इन्) and अच् (अ) respectively.

The word *Adi* meaning *etcetra*, is to be joined with every one of the above three words. These three affixes come respectively after the verbs of the above three classes. Thus after the verbs of नन्द् class, comes the affix ल्यु; after the verbs of ग्रह class, comes the affix ञिनि; after the verbs of पच् class, comes the affix अच्.

The नन्दादि verbs will not be found in one place in the Dhātupāṭha. The list of the words formed by these affixes have, however, been collected in the Gaṇapāṭha. Thus नन्द् + ल्यु = नन्द् + यु (I 3. 8) = नन्द् + अन (VI. 1. 1) = नन्दन nom. sing. नन्दनः 'son' (lit. what gladdens). So also from the following causa-

tive roots, nouns are formed, meaning names :—वासि—वासनः or वाशनः ; मवि—मवनः ; वृषि—वृषणः (or भूषणः) ; साधि—साधनः ; वर्धि—वर्धनः ; शीभि—शीभनः and रोचि—रोचनः.

The following derivatives are names :—सहि—सहनः ; तपि—तपनः ; इमि—इमनः

So also the following words :—जल्पनः, रमणः, र्पणः, संक्रन्दनः, संकर्षणः, संहर्षणः, जनार्दनः, यवनः, पवनः, मधुसूदनः, विभूषणः, लवणः (the ण in लवण is irregular), चित्तविनाशनः, कुलहमनः and शत्रुहमनः.

The महादि verbs are also nowhere enumerated in a group. The following are, however, those verbs :—ग्रह्—ग्रहन् nom. ग्राही ; उत्साह्—उत्साहन् nom. उत्साही ; उहस्—उहासिन् ; उद्ग्रास्—उद्ग्रासिन् ; स्था—स्थासिन् ; मन्त्र्—मन्त्रिन् ; संमर्ह्—संमर्हिन्. So also the verbs-रक्ष्, भ्रू, वस्, वप् and शा preceded by नि ; as, निरक्षिन्, निभ्रासिन्, निवासिन्, निवापिन्, निशासिन्. The verbs याचि, व्याह्, संव्याह्, व्रज्, वव् and वस take एिन् when preceded by the negative particle ; as, अयाचिन्, अव्याहारिन्, असंव्याहारिन्, अव्राजिन्, अववापिन् and अववसिन्. So also after verbs ending in a vowel when agents are non-conscious beings : as, अकारिन्, अहारिन्. So also, अविनासिन्, अविशासिन्, विशासिन्, विषसिन् (meaning a place) विशासिन् and विषासिन्, अभिभासिन्, अपराधिन्, उपरोधिन्, परिभविन् and परिभासिन् ।

The following are पचादि words :—पच, वच, वप, वव्, चल, सप, पत नवद्, भषद्, वस् गरद् धवद्, तरद्, चौरद्, माहद्, जर, मर, क्षर, क्षम, सपूद्, देवद्, मोरद्, सेव, मेघ, क्रोध, व्रण, वंश, वश, वम्भ, जारभर, श्वपच, मेघ, कीष, क्षप, मह, रज, दीषद्, चरद् ।

The ट् in नवद् &c., shows that the feminine of these is formed by long ई (IV. I. 15). The पचादि class is an आकृतिगणः ।

अञ्चिधिः सर्वधातुभ्यः पञ्चन्ते च पचादयः ।

अण् वाधनार्थमेवं स्यात् सिध्यन्ति श्वपचादयः ॥

In fact the affix अच् comes after all verbs, and is not exclusively confined to the verbs above enumerated. The affix अच्, therefore, debars अण् and may be taken to be the universal affix, and by its help the forms like श्वपच &c. may be explained.

इगुपधञ्जाप्रीकरः कः १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इग्-उपध-ञ्जा-प्री-किरः,

कः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगुपधेभ्यो जानातेः प्रीणातेः किरतेश्च कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135. After a verb ending in a consonant but preceded by इ, उ or ऋ (long or short), and after the verbs ज्ञा 'to know', प्री 'to please', and कृ 'to scatter', comes the affix क (भ).

Thus विलिप्+क = विलिपि nom. sing. विलिपिः. So also विलिखः 'inscription'; बुधः 'who knows'; कृशः 'lean'; ज्ञा+क=ज्ञः 'who knows' (VI. 4. 64); प्री+क=

प्रियः 'what pleases' ; कृ + क = कि + भ (VII. I. 100) = किर + भ (I. I. 51) = किरः
'who scatters' *i. e.* 'a hog'.

The words देव 'God', सेव 'service' and भेष 'ram', should be read in the पञ्चदि class of the last sūtra, being formed by the affix अच् and not by क.

आतश्चोपसर्गे १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, च, उपसर्गे, (कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्य उपसर्गे उपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

136. Also after a verb ending in long भा when there is a preposition along with it, the affix क is placed.

This is an *apavāda* of III. I. 40, and debars the affix ए. Thus प्रस्था + क = प्रस्थ + भ = प्रस्थः (VI. 4. 64). सुग्लै + क = सुग्ल + भ = सुग्लः 'very weary' (भा substituted for ऐ by VI. I. 45.) सुम्लै + क = सुम्ल + भ = सुम्लः 'very languid'.

The final भा is dropped before the affix क by rule VI. 4. 64. There is elision of long भा when an ārdhadhātuka affix follows beginning with a vowel and having an indicatory क or ङ.

पाघ्राप्ता धेट् दृशः शः ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पा-घ्रा-प्ता-धेट्-दृशः, शः, (उपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादिभ्यो धातुभ्य उपसर्गे उपपदे शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ जिघ्रसेः संज्ञायां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

137. The affix श (भ) is employed after the roots पा 'to drink', घ्रा 'to smell', ध्ना 'to blow', धेट् 'suck', and दृश 'to see' when there is a preposition along with these roots.

Thus उत् + पा + श = उत् + पिच् + भ (VII. 3. 78) = उत्पिच् nom. sing. उत्पिचः ; so also विपिचः ; उज्जिघ्रः and विजिघ्रः । उत् + ध्ना + श = उत् + धन् + भ = (VII. 3. 78) ; उद्धन् ; विधन् ; उत् + धे + श = उद्धयः ; विधयः ; so also उत् + दृश् + श = उदृश्यः, (VII. 3. 78). so also विपश्यः ;

Some commentators do not read the word 'upasarga' into this sūtra. According to them the forms like पश्यः &c., can be formed also.

The affix श, of which श् is indicatory, the real affix being भ, causes the root to undergo all those changes, which it undergoes in special tenses ; for it is a sārva dhātuka affix there ; see sūtra III. 4. 113 and VII. 3. 78.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated of the root घ्रा, when the word to be formed is a name. As वि + भा + घ्रा + क = विघ्राच् 'tiger' (an animal that goes about smelling). Here there is क and not the affix श.

अनुपसर्गास्त्रिपविन्दधारिपारिवेद्युदेजि चेतिसातिसाहिस्यश्च ॥
१३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुपसर्गात्, लिम्प-विन्द-धारि-पारि-वेदि-उदेजि-चेति-
साति-साहिस्यः, च (शः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपसर्गंभ्यो लिम्पादिभ्यः शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नौ लिम्पेरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गवादिषु विन्दे संज्ञायाम् ॥

138. The affix श is employed after the following verbs when used without a preposition : लिम्प, विन्द and the causatives धारि, पारि, वेदि, उदेजि, चेति, साति and साहि.

Thus लिम्पः 'smearing'; विन्दः 'acquiring'; धारयः 'holding'; पारयः 'ferrying'; वेदयः 'knowing'; उदेजयः 'shaking'; चेतयः 'perceiving'; सातयः, and साहयः.

Why do we say 'when used without a preposition'? Observe प्रलिषः; here the affix is क.

Vart :—The verb लिप् with the preposition नि takes the affix श. As निलिम्पा 'the name of certain deities', 'a cow'.

Vart :—The affix श is employed after विन्द when compounded with the words गो &c. and when the word to be formed is a proper noun. As गोविन्दः 'Krishna' (protector of cows); भरविन्दः 'a lotus' (having petals like spokes).

ददातिदधात्योर्विभाषा ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ददाति-दधात्योः,
विभाषा, (शः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दामो धामश्च विभाषा शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

139. The affix श is optionally employed, after the root द 'to give', and धा 'to hold', when used without a preposition.

This debar ए. Thus ददः 'giving'; or दामः 'inheritance'; दधः 'holding' or धामः 'having'.

When a preposition is used, the affix श is not employed; as प्रदः, प्रधः.

उज्जलितिकसन्तेभ्यो षः ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उज्जल्-इति-कसन्तेभ्यः,

षः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उज्जलीतावित्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः कसगतावित्येवमन्तेभ्यो विभाषा एप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तनीतेर्ण उपसंख्यानम् ॥

140. After the verbs beginning with उज्ज 'to shine' and ending with कस 'to go', when used without a preposition, the affix ष is optionally employed,

The word इति in इवञिति indicates beginning. These are about 56 verbs, all belonging to the *Bhuddi* class. See No. 804 to 860 in the Dhātupātha, Bombay Edition in the Appendix to Sidhānta Kaumudi.

This debars the affix अच्; as इवान्: or इवलः; चान्: or चलः.

The affix ण (अ) having an indicatory ण् causes the vṛiddhi of the penultimate अ. When the affix ण is not used, then अच् is used, and we have the other form. But compound verbs take अच्; as प्रइवलः 'luminous'.

Vart.—The verb तन् 'to stretch' must be included in this list, and it takes the affix ण; as भवतान्. The conditions 'option' and 'without preposition' do not apply in this case. The verb तन् necessarily takes this affix, though compounded with an upasarga.

श्याऽऽह्वयधातुसंस्तृतीत्यवसावहृलिहश्लिषश्वसश्च ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥

श्या-आद्-व्यध-आस्तु-संस्तु-अतीष्-अवसा-अवहृ-लिह-श्लिष-श्वसः, च, (ः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयैर् भाकारान्तेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यः व्यध आस्तु संस्तु अतीष् अवसा अवहृ लिह श्लिष श्वस इत्येतेभ्यश्च णप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix ण is employed after the following verbs also :—इयै 'to go', verbs ending in long आ, व्यध 'to pierce', आस्तु 'to pain', संस्तु 'to flow', अतीष् 'to pass on', अवसा 'to complete', अवहृ 'to take away', लिह 'to lick', श्लिष 'to embrace', and श्वस 'to breathe'.

The root इयै, before affixes, becomes इया, (VI. 1. 45) and is thus included in the phrase 'verbs ending in long आ. What is then the use of its separate enumeration? The separate enumeration is for the sake of excluding the application of every other rule which might have prohibited ण. Thus III. 1. 136 enjoins क् when a compound verb ends in आ. But that rule does not apply to the verb श्या.

Thus अवश्यायः 'frost', प्रतिश्यायः 'catarrh', श्वायः 'inheritance', धायः 'having', स्वाधः 'pain', आस्तानः 'wound', संस्तानः 'flow', अश्यायः 'transgression', अवसायः 'conclusion', अवहारः 'taken away', लोहः 'licking', श्लेषः 'embracing', श्वासः 'breath'. See VII. 3. 33.

दुन्योरनुपसर्गे ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दु-न्योः, अनुपसर्गे, (ः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुनोतेनेयतेभ्यानुपसर्गे णप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

142. The affix ण is employed after the verbs दु 'to burn', and नी 'to lead', when used without a preposition.

Thus हु+ण=हो+भ (VII. 2. 115) = हावः (VI. 1. 78) 'burning'. So also नी+ण=नी+भ=नायः 'leading'.

Why do we say 'when used without a preposition'? Observe प्रवः 'burning'; प्रणयः 'friendship'.

विभाषा ग्रहः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, ग्रहः, (खः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषा ग्रहेर्धातोर्णप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भवतंश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

143. The affix ण is optionally employed after the verb ग्रह् 'to seize'.

This debars the affix भक्. Thus ग्रह्+ण = ग्रह्+भ (VII. 2. 116) = ग्राहः 'seizing', 'a crocodile'; or ग्रह्+भक् = ग्रहः 'a planet'.

The option allowed by this aphorism is a *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* or definite option, that is to say, the affix ण is *always* used when the word to be formed means a water-animal, such as a crocodile, shark &c., and in that sense the word is ग्राह. But not so, when heavenly luminaries are meant; there the word is ग्रह.

Vart :—This rule should be extended to the root भू 'to be' also. Thus :—भावः 'condition' and भवः 'existence'.

गृहे कः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गृहे, कः, (ग्रहः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रहेर्धातोः कप्रत्ययो भवति गृहे कर्त्तरि ॥

144. The affix क is employed after the verb ग्रह when the agent so expressed denotes a house.

Thus ग्रह्+क (VI. 1. 16) = गृहम् 'a house'. The र is changed into क् by the rule of *samprasāraṇa*. The plural form गृहाः means 'wife', as she is especially the person that constitutes the house; while the plural of गृहं meaning 'house' will be गृहाणि.

शिल्पिनि ष्वुन् ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिल्पिनि, ष्वुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः ष्वुन्प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्त्तरि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नृत्तिस्त्रिनिरस्त्रिभ्यः परिगणनं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

145. The affix ष्वुन् (भक) comes after a verb; when the agent so expressed denotes an artist.

Vart :—This affix should be confined to the verbs नृत् 'to dance', खन् 'to dig' and रञ्ज 'to dye'.

Thus नृत्+ष्वुन् = नर्त्त+भक (VII. 1. 1) = नर्त्तकः 'dancer'. The letter व is indicatory (I. 3. 6) and by Rule IV. 1. 41, it denotes that words formed by prefixes having indicatory व् form their feminine gender by the affix ङीष्. Thus

the feminine of नर्तक is नर्तकी ; so also खनकः 'miner', fem. खनकी ; रजकः 'washer-man', fem. रजकी.

In the case of the root रञ्ज the nasal is elided. According to the opinion of the author of *Mahābhāṣya*, only two verbs are governed by this sūtra namely गृन् and खन्. According to him, the verb रञ्ज takes the affix कुन्. Thus रञ्ज + कुन् = रञ् + वु (VI. 4. 37) = रञ् + भक (VII. 1. 1) = रजकः, feminine रजिका.

गस्यकन् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गः, यकन् (शिल्पिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गायतेत्यकन्प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्त्तरि ॥

146. The affix यकन्, (यक) comes after the verb गे to 'sing', when the agent so expressed, denotes an artist.

As, गे + यकन् = गायकः (VI. 1. 45) 'a singer', fem. गायिका.

व्युट् च ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्युट्, च (गः, शिल्पिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गायते व्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्त्तरि ॥

147. The affix व्युट् is also employed after the verb गे 'to sing', when the agent so expressed denotes an artist.

By the word च 'also', the word ग्ग of the last sūtra is drawn into this. Thus गे + व्युट् = ग्ग + भन (VII. 1. 1) = गायनः fem. गायनी ; the च is added by VII. 3. 33.

The separation of these rules (*yoga-vibhāga*) relating to गे is for the purpose of the sūtras that follow. Had गस्यकन् and व्युट् च been made one aphorism, the *anuvritti* of both these affixes would have run into the subsequent sūtras. But it is intended that the *anuvritti* of व्युट् should only run, and hence this *yoga-vibhāga* or division of one sūtra into two.

हृश्च ब्रीहिकालयोः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हृः, च, ब्रीहि-कालयोः, (व्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्रहातेर्ब्रीहीतेश्च धातोर्व्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ब्रीही काले च कर्त्तरि ॥

148. After the verb हृ, also the affix व्युट् is employed when the agent so expressed denotes 'rice' and 'time'.

The verb हृ denotes two verbs हृक् 'to abandon' and हृङ् 'to go' both belonging to the Third Conjugation, forming ज्रहाति and जिहीते as 3rd per. sing. Thus हृ + व्युट् = हृङ्गनः 'a kind of rice' (that which *jahāti* 'leaves off' all water) हृङ्गनः 'a year' (that which *jihīte* 'goes through' all conditions.)

The accents are however different in the two. In one case the udatta is on the middle ; in the other, on the last.

प्रसृ (सृ)लवः समभिहारे वुन् ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र-सृ-(सृ)-लवः,
समभिहारे, वुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र सृ (सृ) लू इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः समभिहारे वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

149. After the verbs प्र 'to go', सृ 'to move', लू 'to flow' and लू 'to cut', the affix वुन् is employed, when repetition is meant.

As, प्र + वुन् = प्री + भक् (VII. 1. 1) = प्रवक् ; so also, सरक्., लवक्., and लवक्.:

The word *samabhihāra* in the sūtra indicates that the action done by the agent must be well performed. The affix *vun* being thus ordained for the action, when it is well performed, it follows, that it will not be employed where the action is repeatedly ill performed. The affix will be employed even when there is no repetition but the action is well performed even at the first attempt.

आशिषि च ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, च, (वुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि गम्यमानायां धातुमाणाद् वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

150. The affix वुन् is employed after all verbs, when benediction is intended.

As, जीव् + वुन् = जीवक् : 'may he live' ; नन्दक् : 'may he be happy'.

The word आशिषि means a sort of prayer ; and it relates to action. The force of this affix is that of 'an agent with the addition that the action is simply the object of a prayer of some one who wishes that that may be the action of that agent'.

जी३म्

अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER II.

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कर्मेयण् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मेणि, अण्, (घातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वत्र कर्मण्युपपदे धातोरण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शीलिकामिभक्त्याचरिभ्यो णः पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरस्य च वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ईक्षिप्तमिभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

1. The affix अण् comes after a verbal root when the object, (of whatever sort it may be), is in composition with it, (as an upapada).

The object or karma is of three sorts, namely *nivartya*, *vikārya* and *prāpya*.

The object which has a material cause, but such cause is however unexpressed in the sentence, is called *nivartya* object ; as कुम्भम् करोति 'he makes a pot' ; here वृत् 'mud' the material cause of कुम्भ is unexpressed, therefore, कुम्भ is *nivartya* object. Where the material cause itself is changed, by a modification, into something else, such an object is called *vikārya* object ; as काण्डलावः 'the branch-cutter'. While the object which cannot be approached by any action, and is not affected by it, but is always constant, is called the *prāpya* object ; as वेदाध्यायः 'the reading of Veda' ; the Veda is always the same.

They will be illustrated by the following examples :—Of the first kind, we have कुम्भकारः 'a potter' and नगरकारः 'a city-builder' ; of the second, we have काण्डलावः 'a branch-cutter' and शरलावः 'a reed-cutter'. Of the third, वेदाध्यायः 'the learning of Veda' and चर्चापठः 'the reading of Charchā'. But compound nouns cannot be formed of such sentences as ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village', आदित्यं पश्यति 'he sees the sun', 'हिमवतं शृणोति 'he hears the Himavat'. The reason is that it is against the usage of the language to form nouns out of these.

Vart:—The affix ण् comes after the verbs शील्, काम्, भक्त्य and भाचर and the noun in composition with it, retains its original accent. As मांसशील् 'addicted to flesh', fem. मांसशीला ; मांसकामः 'loving flesh', fem. मांसकामा ; मांसभक्षः 'carnivorous', fem. मांसभक्षा ; and कल्याणाचारः 'good-conducted', fem. कल्याणाचारा ।

Vart:—The affix ए comes after the roots ईक्ष 'to look' and क्षम् 'to forbear' under similar circumstances. As सुखप्रतीक्षाः, fem. सुखप्रतीक्षा 'expecting happiness'; बहुक्षमः fem. बहुक्षमा 'much forbearing'.

हावाभश्च ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ हा, वा, भः, च, (अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्म्, वेम्, माङ्, एतेभ्यश्च कर्मण्युपपदे ऽणप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

2. The affix अण् comes after the root ह्म् 'to call'; वेम् 'to weave', माङ् 'to measure', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars the affix क (III. 2. 3); as स्वर्गं + ह्म् + अण् = स्वर्गं + हा + भ = स्वर्गं + हाय + भ (VII. 3. 33) = स्वर्गं हायः (the च is added by rule VII. 3. 33, 'when a kṛit affix with an indicatory ए or म follows, the augment च is added after the verbs that end in long अ'). So also तन्नुवायः, धान्यमायः ।

आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, अनुपसर्गे, कः,
(कर्मेणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्योऽनुपसर्गेभ्यः कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

3. The affix क comes after a verbal root that ends in long आ when there is no upasarga preceding it and when the object is in composition with it.

This debars अण् ; as गां + दा + क = गां + द + भ = गोदः 'Giver of cows', (the long आ is elided by VI. 4. 64.) = So also, कम्बलदः 'who gives a blanket'; पाण्डिणञ्चम् 'what protects the rear'; अङ्गुलिचम् 'what protects the finger' (a thimble).

Why do we say 'when there is no upasarga'? Witness गोसंदायः 'who ceremoniously gives a cow', ददवसंदाय 'who ceremoniously gives a mare'. Here the compound verb संदा takes the affix अण्.

सुपि स्थः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपि, स्थः, (कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्त उपपदे तिष्ठतेः कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

4. The affix क comes after the root स्था when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, as an upapada.

In the three previous sūtras, the word in composition was always in the accusative case. This sūtra declares that with regard to the verb स्था, the upapada may have any case not necessarily the accusative. As समस्यः = समे तिष्ठति 'who dwells in accessible position'; and विषमस्यः 'having an inaccessible position'.

This sūtra should be divided into two sūtras (yoga-bibhāga). Thus:—
 (1) सूप्ति ॥ The affix क comes after every root ending in long आ, when in composition with a case-inflected word ; as द्वाभ्यां पिबति = द्वि + पा + क = द्विपः (VI. 4. 64) 'who drinks with two organs' *i.e.* the proboscis and the mouth, an elephant'. So also पादपः 'a plant' (what drinks through the foot). कच्छपः 'a tortoise' (that always *protects* its *mouth* by drawing it in, at the approach of danger).
 (2) सूप्तिस्थ ॥ The affix क comes after the root स्या when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix. Why do we make this two-fold division, when we see the second rule is included in the first as the verb स्या also ends in a long आ? The reason is that the first rule applies where the agent is indicated, while the second rule applies where condition is to be denoted. As आखूनामुरयानम् = आखूयः 'a swarm of rats'; so also शूलमूल्यः 'a swarm of locusts'.

Both the words कर्मणि and सूप्ति are understood in the sūtras that follow: *vis* : the word कर्मणि in sūtras that relate to transitive verbs, and the word सूप्ति everywhere else.

तुन्दशोकयोः परिसृजापनुदोः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुन्द-शोकयोः,
 परिसृज-अपनुदोः, (कर्मणि, कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुन्दशोकयोः कर्मणोरुपपत्तयोः परिसृजापनुदोर्धात्वोः कर्मस्थयी भवति ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ भालस्यसुखाहरणयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ कप्रकरणे मूलविभुजादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

5. The affix क comes after the verbs परिसृज् 'to wash out' and अपनुद् 'to drive away', when in composition with the words तुन्द 'navel' and शोक 'grief', as objects, respectively.

As तुन्द परिसृज् आस्ते 'he lay lazy'. So also शोकापनुद्ः पुत्रो जातः 'a son, destroyer of sorrow is born'.

Vart.—This affix is to be applied only then, when the meaning of the word to be formed is 'lazy' and 'giver of happiness'.

Vart.—The epithet तुन्द परिसृजः is applied to a lazy person ; while तुन्द परिमार्जः means who clears his navel. So शोकापनुद्ः means giver of happiness, while शोकापनोद्ः means 'removal of sorrow'.

Vart.—The words मूलविभुजः 'a chariot' and the rest should be included in the subdivision of words formed by the affix क. The words belonging to this head can only be recognised by their form, there being no list of them to be found anywhere. Thus मूलविभुजः 'a chariot', नखमुचः 'a bow', काकगृह 'sesamums', कुमुदम् (कौ मोदते) 'a lotus'.

प्रेदाञ्चः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, दा-ञ्चः, (कर्मेच्छि, कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इदामेर्जातातेञ्च धातोः प्रेषोपसृष्टात् कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

6. The affix क comes after the root दा 'to give' and ज्ञा 'to know', when taking the preposition प्र and in composition with a word in the accusative case.

We applied by sūtra 3 the affix क after verbs that ended in long आ and had no *upasarga*. Now begins the case of verbs with *upasarga*. This debars the affix अण् ; as सर्वप्रदः (VI. 4. 64) 'giver of all ; liberal', पथिप्रदः (VI. 4. 64) 'acquainted with roads'. The long आ of दा and ज्ञा is elided by VI. 4. 64.

Why do we say 'when taking प्र'? With any other *upasarga* these verbs will take the general affix अण् ; as गोसंदाय.

समिख्यः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि समि, ख्यः, (कर्मेच्छि, कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वात् ख्या इत्येतस्माद्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. The affix क comes after the root ख्या 'to tell', when preceded by the preposition सम्, and when the object is in composition with it.

The verb ख्या ends in long आ and by III. 2. 3 when compounded with an *upasarga*, it would have taken the affix अण्. This debars अण् ; as गोसंख्या (VI. 4. 64) 'a cowherd' (गा संघटे).

गापोष्टक् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गा-पोः, टक्, (कर्मेच्छि, अनुपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गायतेः पिवतेश्च धातोः कर्मण्युपपदेऽनुपसर्गे टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सुराशीधोः पिवतेरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं छन्दसि इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. The affix टक् comes after the verbs गै 'to sing' and पा 'to drink' when used without a preposition, and when the object is in composition with it.

The phrase *anupasarga* is to be read again into this sūtra by *anuvritti* from sūtra 3, though this *anuvritti* had temporarily lain dormant in sūtra 6 and 7. as being unnecessary. This debars क् ; of this affix इ and क् are indicatory the इ showing among others that the feminine is formed by the affix स्त्रीप् (IV. I. 14)

As, शक्रं गायति = शक्र + गा + टक् = शक्रगः (VI. 4. 64) 'who sings Sakra hymns'. साम्गः 'singer of Sāma'. fem. शक्रगी and सामगी ।

... *Vart.*—The affix टक् comes after the verb पा when it means to drink and only when it is in composition with the words सुरा and शीधु as its object,

This is an important modification of the general sūtra. Thus सुरापः fem. सुरापी 'wine-bibber'; शीधुपः fem. शीधुपी 'spirit-drinker'.

Why do we say 'when in composition with surā and sidhu'? Observe क्षीरपा ब्राह्मणी 'the milk-drinking Brāhmani'; formed by the affix क् and the feminine, therefore, not formed by the affix ई but by भा.

Why do we say 'when पा means to drink'? When पा means 'to protect' this affix is not used; as सुरापा 'who protects wine'.

When these words are compounded with an *upasarga* they do not take टक् but भण् ; as शक्रसंगावः, सामसंगावः ।

Vart.—There is diversity in the Chhandas as to the employment of these affixes; as वा ब्राह्मणी सुरापी or सुरापा भवति मैना देवाः पतिज्जोकं नयन्ति 'the gods do not carry that Brāhmani to the regions of her husband who drinks wine'.

हरतेरनुद्यमनेऽच् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरतेः, अनुद्यमने, अच्,
(कर्मेणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतेर्धातोर्नुद्यमने वर्त्तमानात् कर्मण्युपपदेऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अच्प्रकरणे शक्तिजांगजांकुशाद्यतिमरचटघटीधनुषु ग्रहेरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सूत्रेण धार्यये ॥

9. The affix अच् comes after the verb हृम् when it does not mean 'to raise up', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars भण्. The word उद्यमन् means 'to raise a load'. Thus भृशं हरति = भृशहरः 'who takes a share, or sharer'; so रिक्त्यहरः 'an heir'. (हृ + अच् = हृ + अ = हरः) (VII. 3. 84).

Why do we say 'when it does not mean to raise up'? For then the affix भण् will be employed; as भारहारः 'a burden-bearer, a porter'.

Vart.—This affix comes after the verb ग्रह् when in composition with the words शक्ति 'spear', लाङ्गल 'plough', अंकुश 'goad', बटि 'staff', तोमर 'an iron club', घट 'jar', घटी 'a small jar', धनुष् 'a bow'; as शक्तिमहः 'a lancer', लाङ्गलमहः 'a plough-man', अंकुशमहः 'an elephant driver', बटिमहः 'a staff-bearer', तोमरमहः 'a club-bearer', घटमहः, घटीमहः 'a jar-bearer', धनुमहः 'a bow-bearer'.

Vart.—This affix comes after the verb ग्रह् when the word सूत्र is in composition with it and the sense is that of 'holding'; as सूत्रमहः 'a thread-holder'. When it has not this meaning we have सूत्रग्रहः 'a thread-taker'.

व्यसि च ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यसि, च, (हरतेः, कर्मेणि, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यसि गम्यमाने हरतेः कर्मण्युपपदे ऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

10. The affix भच् comes after the verb हम् when the object is in composition with it and when the meaning of the word to be formed is descriptive of age.

In this sūtra the verb हम् has the sense of *udyamana* which was specifically excluded in the last. The word वयस् means the condition of human body as dependent upon time. This rule applies to those words which indicate the attainment of appropriate age for the accomplishment of objects described by the *upapada*, or the reaching of that age in which the thing described by the *upapada* naturally takes place ; as अस्थिहरः 'the dog that has reached the age when it can chew bones' (lit. when it can raise it up) ; कवचहरः क्षत्रियकुमारः 'the Kshatriya boy old enough to wear (lit. 'to raise up or bear) the shield' ; so that the verb here has the sense of 'raising up'.

आङि ताच्छील्ये ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङि, ताच्छील्ये, (कर्मणि, ह-
रतेः, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वोद्धरतेः कर्मण्युपपदेऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

11. The affix भच् comes after the verb हम् (when the object is in composition with it), the root taking the preposition भाप्, and the sense of the word to be formed is inclination or accustomed occupation.

The word ताच्छील्यं means a natural inclination or habitual occupation ; as पुष्पाहरः (पुष्प-+आहरति = पुष्प + आहर) 'he who has a natural tendency towards fetching flowers or whose habitual occupation is to collect flowers' ; so also फलाहरः ।

Why do we say 'when denoting inclination' ? Otherwise the affix will be भण् ; as भारमाहरति = भाराहारः 'who brings load'.

अर्हेः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्हेः, (कर्मणि, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्हं पूजार्हा, अस्माद्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदेऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

12. The affix अच् comes after the verb अर्हं 'to respect', when the object is in composition with it.

This debarbs भण्. The words so formed are especially of feminine gender. As पूजार्हा 'deserving of respect' ; so also गन्धार्या, मानार्हा ।

स्तम्बकर्षयो रमिजपोः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्ब-कर्षयोः, रमि-
जपोः, (सुप्ति, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्बकर्षणं इत्येतयोः सुबन्तबोरुपपदबोर्वयासंख्यं रमिजपोर्धोरुपपत्त्वयो
भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हरितसूत्रकबोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

13. The affix अच् comes after the verb रन् 'to sport' and जप् 'to whisper' when the case-inflected words स्तम्भ 'a clump of grass' and कर्ण 'ear' are in composition with them respectively.

The verb रन् is intransitive and the verb जप् can take an object under very limited circumstances, only namely when the object denotes *Sabda*; therefore in the case of both these verbs, the object cannot be in composition as an accusative case; therefore, the *upapada* here must be a general case-inflected word. Hence we have read the anuvṛitti of the word सुप् from sūtra 4 into this, the anuvṛitti of the word कर्म being inapplicable here.

Vart.—The words to be formed must have the sense of 'elephant' and a 'tale-bearer'. Thus स्तम्भेरमते = स्तम्भेरमः 'an elephant (lit. who sports in cluster of grass)' कर्णे जपति = कर्णेजपः 'a slanderer (lit. who whispers in the ear)'.

The affix अच् is not employed when the words to be formed do not mean an 'elephant' and a 'traducer'. Thus स्तम्भे रस्ता 'who plays in clusters of grass'. कर्णे जपिता मशक. 'the mosquito that hums near the ear'.

शनि धातोः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शनि, धातोः, सं-
ज्ञायाम्, (अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्भुपपदे धातुमानास्संज्ञायां विषये ऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

14. The affix अच् is employed after the verbal roots when शन् 'well', is in composition, and the word to be formed denotes a name.

As शन् + कृ + अच् = शंकरः lit. 'who does good'. So also संनवः संवदः । All these are proper nouns.

Why have we repeated the word *dhātu* in this aphorism, when it was understood by anuvṛitti from sūtra III. 1. 91 ? To this the reply is, that the repetition of the word *dhātu* shows that there is prohibition of the affix ष, that comes after the verb कृ in certain senses (III. 2. 20), when the word शन् is in composition. The affix अच् will be employed after the verb कृ and not the affix ष, when शन् is an *upapada*, even when the sense to be indicated is that of cause, habit &c. (III. 2. 20). The result is that the feminine of शंकर will be शंकरा, and not शंकरी, which, had the affix been ष, would have been the proper feminine (See IV. 1. 14). शंकरा means 'a female-ascetic,' 'a vulture' and 'one having the habit of doing good'.

अधिकरणे शेतेः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरणे, शेतेः, (सुप्, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शोतेर्धातोरधिकरणे सुबन्त उपपदे ऽच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पार्श्वदिषूपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दिग्धसहपूर्वाच्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उत्तानादिषु कर्त्तृषु ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गिरौ उच्छ्रन्दसि ॥

15. The affix भच् comes after the verb शी 'to lie down' when in composition with a case-inflected word indicating location, i. e., in the locative case.

The word सूप (III. 2. 4) a noun ending in a case-affix is understood in this aphorism. As शे शेते = सहायः 'who lies in the sky'.

Vart.—The affix भच् comes after the verb शी when in composition with the words पार्श्व 'ribs', &c., though not necessarily denoting location; as पार्श्वान्यां शेते = पार्श्वशयः 'who reclines on his sides', उदरशयः 'who lies on his stomach', पृष्ठशयः 'who lies on his back'.

Vart.—And when the verb शी is preceded by the word दिग्धसह; as दिग्धेन सह शेते = दिग्धसहशयः ॥

Vart.—So also when the words उत्तान &c. are in composition with it denoting agent and in the nominative case. As उत्तानः शेते = उत्तानशयः । भवमूर्त्त्या शेते = भवमूर्त्तशयः ।

Vart.—In the Chhandas the affix उच् comes after the verb शी when in composition with the word गिरि in the locative. As गिरौ शेते = गिरिशः 'who lies on the mountain'.

The letter उ of उच् is indicatory denoting that there is elision of the final vowel with what follows it (I. 1. 64).

चरेष्टः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरेः, टः, (अधिकरणे, सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चरेर्धातोरधिकरणे सुबन्त उपपदे टप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix ट comes after the verb चर् 'to go' when a case-inflected word in composition with it, denotes location.

The word *adhikarana* of the last sūtra is understood in this. As कुरुषु चरति = कुरुचरः 'who goes among the Kurus'. मद्रचरः 'who goes among the Madras'.

Of the affix ट the real affix is अ, the letter ट being indicatory, showing that the feminine of these words is formed by the affix ङीप्. (Sec. IV. 1. 14), as कुरुचरी, मद्रचरी ।

भिक्षासेनादायेषु च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिक्षा-सेना-आदायेषु,
च, (चरेः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिक्षा सेना आदाय इत्येतेषूपपदे चर्त्तर्धातोऽप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. The affix ट is employed after the verb चर् 'to go', when the words in composition with it are भिक्षा 'alms', सेना 'army' and आदाय 'having taken'.

The *anuvritti* of the words 'in the locative case' does not extend to this aphorism, and hence the necessity of making a distinct and separate sūtra.

Thus भिक्षाचरः 'a beggar' (who goes for alms); सेनाचरः 'one who goes with an army'; आदायचरः 'one who goes after having taken'.

पुरोग्रतोऽग्रेषु सर्त्तः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरस्-अग्रतस्-अग्रेषु, सर्त्तः,
(टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरस् अग्रतस् अग्रे इत्येतेषूपपदे सर्त्तर्धातोऽप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix ट comes after the verb च 'to move' when the words in composition with it, are पुरः, अग्रतः and अग्रे, all meaning 'in front of or before'.

As पुरः सरति = पुरःसरः 'who goes in front, a harbinger'. So also अग्रतः सरः and अग्रसरः 'going in front, a leader'.

पूर्व कर्त्तरि ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्व, कर्त्तरि, (सर्त्तः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वशब्दे कर्त्तृवाचिन्युपपदे सर्त्तर्धातोऽप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. The affix ट comes after the verb च 'to go', when पूर्व is in composition with it, denoting the agent.

Thus पूर्वः सरति = पूर्वसरः 'going in front'.

Why do we say 'denoting the agent'? Otherwise the affix भण् will be employed. As पूर्वदेशं सरति = पूर्वसरः 'going to the east'.

कृजो हेतुताच्छील्यानुलोम्येषु ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृजः, हेतु-ता-
च्छील्य-आनुलोम्येषु, (कर्त्तृवाचि, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे करोत्तर्धातोऽप्रत्ययो भवति हेतो ताच्छील्ये आनुलोम्ये च गन्धमाने ।

20. The affix ट comes after the verb कृम् 'to make' when the object is in composition with it denoting cause, habit and going with the grain (concession).

The word हेतु of this sūtra means the final or conclusive cause, and is not the grammatical हेतु meaning agent. ताच्छील्य means habit, and literally, the

act of being accustomed to that. भानुलोम्य comes from भानुलोम meaning 'with the hair', that is to say, regular, in natural order, successive, and hence favourable, and agreeable complaisance, acquiescence &c. Of हेतु, we have शोककरी कन्या 'the daughter that causes sorrow'; यशस्करी विद्या 'honorable science'; कुलकर धन 'the family making wealth'. Of ताच्छील्य, we have आश्रकर: 'who performs obsequies'; अर्थकर: 'who amasses wealth'. Of भानुलोम्य, we have प्रेषकर: 'who promptly does what he is directed'; वचनकर: 'who regularly does what he is told'.

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Otherwise the affix will be भण्. As कुम्भकार: 'potter', नगरकार: 'city-maker'.

दिवाविभानिशप्रभाभास्कारान्तानन्तादिबहुनान्दीकिंलिपिलिबि-
बलिभक्तिकर्तृचित्रक्षेत्रसंख्याजङ्घाबाहुवह्यत्तद्गुणरुष्णु ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥
दिवा-बिभा-निशा-प्रभा-भास्-कार-अन्त-अनन्त-आदि-बहु-नान्दी-किं-लिपि-
लिबि-बलि-भक्ति-कर्तृ-चित्र-क्षेत्र-संख्या-जङ्घा-बाहु-अहः-यत्-तत्-धनुस्-अ-
रुष्णु, (कर्म्मणि, सुपि, करोतेः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवादिषूपपदेषु करोतेर्धातोःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ किं यत्तद्बहुषु कृञोऽञ्ज्विधानम् ॥

21. The affix ट comes after the verb कृ 'to make' when the following words are in composition with it:— दिवा 'by day', विभा 'light', निशा 'night', प्रभा 'splendour', भा: 'light', कार 'work', अन्त 'end', अनन्त 'endless', आदि 'beginning', बहु 'many', नान्दी 'benediction', किम् 'what', लिपि 'writing', लिबि 'writing', बलि 'oblation', भक्ति 'devotion', कर्तृ 'agent', चित्र 'painting', क्षेत्र 'field', words denoting numerals, जङ्घा 'thigh', बाहु 'hand', अहः 'day', यत् 'what', तत् 'that', धनुस् 'bow' and अरुष्णु 'wound'.

Both the words '*karma*' and '*sup*' are understood in this aphorism; that is to say, sometimes these upapadas stand as accusative case and sometimes they have other cases, as the construction may require. This affix ट comes when the sense is not that of cause &c., as it was in the last sūtra.

Thus दिवाकर: 'the sun.' The word दिवा is an indeclinable and means 'in the day time'. There the upapada, therefore, is in the locative case. The sun is so called, because it makes creatures active in the day time.

So विभाकर: 'the sun' (light-maker); निशाकर: 'the moon' (the night-maker); प्रभाकर: 'the sun'; भास्कर: 'the sun' (the letter स is not changed into *visarga*, as it has been so read in the sūtra); कारकर: 'agent'; अन्तकर: 'death' (end-maker); अनन्तकर: 'magnifying to any extent'; आदिकर: 'the creator'; बहुकर: 'the busy'; नान्दीकर: 'the speaker of benediction'; किंकर: 'a servant'; लिपिकर: 'a

scribe'; लिखिकरः 'a scribe'; बलिकरः 'offering sacrifice'; भक्तिकरः 'a devotee'; कर्तृकरः 'an agent'; चित्रकरः 'a painter'; शैलकरः 'a cultivator'; एककरः 'doing only one thing'; द्विकरः 'doing two things'; त्रिकरः 'doing three things'; जड्घाकरः 'a runner, an express'; बाहुकरः 'a hero', 'a manual labourer'; भस्करः 'the sun'; तत्करः 'doing that'; यत्करः 'doing that'; धनुष्करः 'bow-maker'; भइस्करः 'causing or inflicting wounds'.

Vart.—The affix भञ् comes after the verb कृ when किञ्, चञ्, तच् and बहु are in composition with it. The speciality of ष affix is that the feminine of words derived from it is formed by long ई; while the feminine of words derived by भञ् is formed by long भा. Thus किंकरा, यत्करा, तत्करा and बहुकरा; these words might be said to belong to the भञ्जादि class (See IV. I. 31).

कर्मणि भृती ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, भृती, (कर्मणि, करोतेः,

टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मशब्द उपपदे कर्मवाचिनि करोतेष्टप्रत्ययो भवति भृती गन्धमानाद्याम् ॥

22. The affix ष comes after the verb कृ 'to make', when the word कर्म is in composition with it, and the sense of the word to be formed is that of wages.

The word भृति means service for hire, wages. The word कर्म does not mean the grammatical object but the word-form कर्म; as कर्मकरः 'a hired labourer' (not a slave); otherwise the affix is भण्; as कर्मकारः 'an artisan'.

न शब्दश्लोककलहगाथावैरचाटुसूत्रमंत्रपदेषु ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥

न, शब्द-श्लोक-कलह-गाथा-वैर-चाटु-सूत्र-मंत्र-पदेषु, (करोतेः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शब्दादिषूपपदेषु करोतेष्टप्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

23. The affix ष does not come after the verb कृ 'to make', when the following words are in composition with it:—शब्द 'sound', श्लोक 'verse', कलह 'quarrel', गाथा 'praise', वैर 'enmity', चाटु 'flattery', सूत्र 'thread', मन्त्र 'hymns' and पद 'word'.

This prohibition relates even when the sense is that of cause, habit &c. The affix ष being prohibited, the general affix भण् takes its place. As शब्दकारः 'sounding, sonorous'; श्लोककारः 'a verse-maker'; कलहकारः 'one who foments quarrels'; गाथाकारः 'a writer of Gāthās or prakritee verses'; वैरकारः 'an enemy'; चाटुकारः 'a flatterer'; सूत्रकारः 'an author of sūtras'; मन्त्रकारः 'a composer of Mantras'; पदकारः 'an author of Padapāthā'.

स्तम्बशकृतीरिन् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्ब-शकृतोः, इन्, (क-
र्मेच्छि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्ब शकृत् इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपद्योरिन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ श्रीहिमवत्स्योरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

24. The affix इन् comes after the verb कृ when the objects in composition with it, are the words स्तम्ब 'a sheaf', and शकृत् 'ordure'.

Thus स्तम्ब + कृ + इन् = स्तम्बकरि nom. sing. स्तम्बकरिः ; so also शकृत् करिः.

Vart.—This rule is applicable when the sense of the words to be formed, is that of 'rice' and 'a calf' respectively. Therefore स्तम्बकरिः means 'rice', and शकृत्करिः, 'a calf'.

When the words have not the senses of 'rice' and 'a calf', the affix भन् is employed. As स्तम्बकारः 'sheaf-maker', शकृत्कारः 'ordure-maker'.

हरतेर्दृतिनाथयोः पशौ ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरतेः, दृति-नाथयोः,
पशौ, (कर्मेच्छि, इन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृति नाथ इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपद्योः हरतेर्धातोः पशौ कर्तरि इन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. When the agent indicated is an animal, the affix इन् comes after the verb दृ 'to take', the object in composition with it being the words दृति 'a leather-bag' and नाथ 'a master'.

Thus दृतिहरिः 'a dog' (a carrier of skin); नाथहरिः 'a beast' (that carries its master).

When the words formed do not denote an animal, the affix भण् is employed; as दृतिहारः 'a water-carrier' (a carrier of a leather-bag for holding water). नाथहारः 'a carrier of his master'.

फलेग्रहिरात्मम्भरिश्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ फलेग्रहिः-आत्मम्भरिः,
च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलेग्रहिः आत्मम्भरिः इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते ॥

26. And the words फलेग्रहि and आत्मम्भरि are irregularly formed.

The word फलेग्रहिः is formed by adding the affix इन् to the verb ग्रह and making the upapada end in the vowel इ. Thus फलानि गृह्णाति = फलेग्रहिः 'the fruit-bearing i. e. a tree'.

The word आत्मम्भरिः is formed by adding the augment मुम् (म) to the upapada आत्म, and the affix इन् to the verb भृम्. Thus आत्मानं विभर्ति = आत्मम्भरिः 'selfish' (one who feeds his own self).

The word 'and' indicates that there are other such irregularly-formed words. As कुक्षिम्भरिः 'gluttonous, selfish' (caring to feed his own belly). उदरम्भरिः 'gluttonous, selfish'.

खन्दसि वनसनरक्षिमथाम् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ खन्दसि, वन-सन-रक्षि-मथाम्, (कर्नसि, इन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वन सन संभक्तौ, रक्ष पालने, मथ विज्ञोडने, एतेभ्यः कर्नप्युपपदे खन्दसि विषये इन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. In the Vedic literature, the affix इन् comes after the verbs वन् 'to honor' सन् 'to worship' रक्ष् 'to protect' and मप् 'to agitate', when the object is in composition.

Thus ब्रह्मवनिं ववा क्षमवनिम् (Vaj. San. I. 17., V. 12., VI. 3) ; उत नो गोवनिं (Rig. Ved. VI. 53. 10) ये ते इवानौ पथिरक्तौ (Rig. Ved. X. 14. 11) इन्द्रा यातूनामभवत् पाराशरो हविर्नयीनाम् (Rig. Ved. VII. 104. 21).

एजेः खश् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ एजेः, खश्, (कर्नसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एज् कम्पने इत्यस्माद् ष्यन्तात्कर्नप्युपपदे खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ खश्प्रत्यये वातशुनीतिलशर्खेऽपमधेद् तुङ्गहातीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

28. The affix खश् comes after the verb एज् 'to tremble' when ending in णि (III. 26.) and when the object is in composition with it.

This affix comes after the causative of एज्. Of the affix खश् the letters ख् and श् are indicatory, the real affix is भ. The ख् indicates that the augment मुम् is added to the upapada ending in a vowel (VI. 3. 67). The श् indicates that this is a Sārvadhātuka affix (III. 4. 113), and therefore the vikaraṇas like शप् &c. (III. 1. 68.) will be employed here. Thus भङ्गनेजयति = भङ्गनेजयः (भङ्ग-+ एजि + शप् + खश् = भङ्गम् + एजे + भ + भ) 'who awes the limbs'; जननेजयः 'who awes mankind'.

Vart:—The affix खश् comes after the verbs भज् 'to go', धेद् 'to suck', तुद् 'to strike', ह् 'to leave' when in composition with the words वात 'wind', शुनी 'a bitch', तिल 'sesamum' and शर्खे 'flatulence'. As वातमजाः सुगाः 'swift antelopes' (going with the wind); शुनिन्धवः 'a bitch-sucker'; तिलं तुद् 'an oilman'; शर्खेऽह् 'a kind of bean' (that causes or cures flatulence). The long ई of शुनी is shortened by VI. 3. 66.

नासिकास्तनयोर्ध्माधेटोः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नासिका-स्तनयोः,
ध्मा-धेटोः, (कर्मणि, खग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नासिकास्तनयोः कर्मणोरुपपत्तयोर्ध्माधेटोर्धात्वोः खग्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ स्तने धेटः ॥ नासिकायां तु ऽमश्च धेटश्च ॥

29. The affix खग् comes after the verbs ध्मा 'to blow' and धे 'to suck' when नासिका 'nose' and स्तन 'breast' are in composition with them as object.

The rule of *yathāsankhyā* as given in L. 3. 10 does not however, apply here. For स्तन is compounded with धेट्; as (स्तन + धे + खग् = स्तन + दुम् + धे + शप् + खग् = स्तन + म् + धय् + भ + भ) = स्तनन्धयः 'an infant' (sucking the breast).

But नासिका is compounded with both ध्मा and धे; as नासिका + ध्मा + खग् = नासिक + म् + धम + भ (VI. 3. 66 and 67; VII. 3. 78) = नासिकधमः 'blowing and breathing through the nose'. So also नासिकधयः 'drinking through the nose'.

That the rule of *yathāsankhyā* does not apply here, is indicated by the irregular construction of the *Dvandva* compound नासिकास्तनयोः. By rule II. 2. 84. the word स्तन containing fewer syllables ought to have stood first; one irregularity lets in another.

The feminine of स्तनन्धयः is स्तनन्धयी, as the verb धे has an indicatory द्।

नाडीमुष्टयोश्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नाडी-मुष्टयोः, च, (कर्मणोः,
ध्मा-धेटोः, खग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाडी मुष्टि इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपत्तयोर्ध्माधेटोः खग् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. And when the words नाडी 'a tube' and मुष्टि 'fist' are objects in composition with the verbs ध्मा and धे, the affix खग् is employed.

Here also the irregularly-formed *Dvandva* compound नाडीमुष्टि shows the non-applicability of the rule of *yathāsankhyā*; for मुष्टि being a चि ought to have stood first (II. 2. 32).

Thus नादिन्धमः 'blowing through the tube'; मुष्टिन्धमः 'blowing through the fist'; नादिन्धयः 'sucking through the tube', an infant; मुष्टिन्धयः 'an infant'.

The word 'and' in the aphorism indicates that there are other words also so formed. Thus घटिन्धमः, पटिन्धयः, स्तारिन्धमः, स्तारिन्धयः, वातन्धमः, वातन्धयः, 'a mountain'.

This sūtra is not Pāṇini's, but is really a Vārtika, raised to the rank of a sūtra by the author of the Kāśikā. The Vārtikakāra divides the last sūtra in this way: (1) स्तने धेटः ॥ (2) ततो मुष्टौ ऽमश्च ॥ (3) नासिकायां ऽमश्च धेटश्च ॥ (4) नाडी मुष्टि चटोत्थारीष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

उदि कूले रुजिवहोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, कूले, रुजि-वहोः,
(खग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुजो भङ्गे, वह प्रापणे, एताभ्यामुत्पूर्वाभ्यां कूले कर्मण्युपपदे खग्प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

31. The affix खग् comes after the verbs रुज् 'to break into pieces' and वह 'to carry', when preceded by the upasarga उत्, and the word कूले 'bank' is in composition with them as the object.

Thus कूलमुद्भुजति = कूलमुद्भुजः 'breaking down banks' (such as a chariot, river, elephant, &c.); कूलमुद्ग्रहः 'tearing up or carrying away the bank'.

वहाश्रे लिहः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वह-अश्रे, लिहः ॥ (खग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वह अश इत्येतयोः कर्मण्योरुपपदयोः जिहोर्धातोः खग्प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

32. The affix खग् comes after the verb लिह 'to lick' when the object in composition with it, is the word वह 'the shoulder of an ox' or अश 'a cloud'.

As वहलिहो गोः 'the shoulder-licking cow'; अशलिहो वायुः 'the cloud-licking wind'.

परिमाणे पचः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमाणे, पचः, (कर्मणि, खग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणं प्रस्थापि, तस्मिन्कर्मण्युपपदे पचः खग्प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

33. The affix खग् comes after the verb पच् 'to cook' when the object in composition with it denotes a measure.

Thus प्रस्थं पचति = प्रस्थंपचा 'a pot having the capacity to cook a *prastha* of food'; so also श्रोणस्पचः, स्तारिस्पचः 'a kettle'.

मितनखे च ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मित-नखे, च, (पचः, खग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मित नख इत्येतयोः कर्मण्योरुपपदयोः पचः खग्प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

34. The affix खग् is employed after the verb पच्, when मित 'a measured partition' or नख 'a nail' is the word in composition with it as an object.

The aphorism has its scope when the words formed do not denote measures, which was the case in the last sūtra. Thus मितस्पचा ब्राह्मणी 'the Brāhmaṇi who cooks a little i. e. a. niggardly Brāhmaṇi'; नखस्पचा यवागूः 'the nail-scorching barley gruel'.

विध्वरुषोस्तुदः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विधु-अरुषो, तुदः, (कर्मणि,
खग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विधु अरुस् इत्येतयोः कर्मण्योरुपपदयोः तुदोर्धातोः खग्प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

35. The affix **खण्** comes after the verb **तुर्** 'to strike', when **विधु** 'the moon' or **भरुह्** 'a wound' is the word in composition with it as object.

As **विधुन्तुर्**: राहू: 'the Rahu that eclipses the moon ; भरुहन्तुर्: 'corrosive, wounding the vital parts'. For the addition of the augment **नुम्** after the word **भरुह्**, see VI. 3. 67.

असूर्यललाटयोर्दृशितपोः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ असूर्य-ललाटयोः, दृशि-तपोः, (कर्मेधि, खण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असूर्यललाट इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपत्तयोः दृशितपोर्धात्वोः खण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix **खण्** comes after the verb **दृश्** 'to see' and **त्प** 'to heat' when **असूर्य** and **ललाट** are the words in composition with them respectively as objects.

Thus **असूर्य + दृश् + खण् = असूर्यम्पश्यः** ; as **असूर्यम्पश्या राज्ञारा** 'the king's wives not even seeing the sun' (being shut up in the harem, and so having no opportunity of seeing the sun, that is, they are so well protected that even the sun cannot see them, much less any irreverent gaze).

So also **ललाटन्तपः** 'heating the fore-head' (such as the sun).

The word **असूर्य** is an incomplete or impossible compound, as the negative **अ** applies to the verb **दृश्** and not to the word **सूर्य**. This is in opposition to the rule of *samartha pada vidhi* (II. 1. 2).

उग्रम्पश्येदृग्मदपाणिन्धमाश्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उग्रम्पश्य-दृग्मद-पाणिन्धमाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उग्रम्पश्य इरम्मद पाणिन्धम इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते ॥

37. The words **उग्रम्पश्य**, **इरम्मद** and **पाणिन्धम** are irregularly formed.

Thus **उग्रं पश्यति = उग्रम्पश्यः** 'fierce-looking' ; **इरया मयति = इरम्मदः** 'delighting in drinking an epithet of Agni, a flash of lightning'. So **पाणिन्धमाः** पन्थानः 'chilly roads'.

प्रियवशी वदः खण् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रिय-वशी, वदः, खण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रिय वशा इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपत्तयोर्वेधातोः खण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ खण्प्रकरणे गमेः सुप्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ विहायसो विह च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ खण्च विहा वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हे च विहायसो विहायेशो वक्तव्यः ॥

38. The affix खच् comes after the verb वच् 'to speak' when मिच or वश is the word in composition with it as an object.

Thus मिचं वच्ति=मिचं वच्: 'who speaks kindly'; वशं वच्: 'who professes submission'.

Of the affix खच्, the letters ख् and च् are indicatory; ख् indicates the insertion of the augment मुन् (VI. 3. 37), and च् shows that there is shortening of the vowel in certain cases (VI. 4. 94).

In the case of मिच and वश with वच्, the affix खश् would have given the same result as the affix खच्. Making a separate affix in this sūtra is for the sake of the aphorisms that follow, where this affix will produce different effects than खश्.

Vart.—The affix खच् comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when a word ending in a case-affix is in composition with it. As मितंगमो हस्ती 'the slow-moving i. e. an elephant'; मितंगमा हस्तिनी 'the slow-moving i. e. a she-elephant':

Vart.—This affix comes under similar circumstances when the word in composition with गम् is विहायस्; and the letter is then replaced by the word विह. As विहायसा गच्छति=विहंगमः 'a bird (that which goes through the sky)'.

Vart.—In the *Vārtikas* above given, the affix खच् may optionally be considered as if it had an indicatory ड. The force of ड is to cause elision of the final vowel with what follows it. As विहंगः or विहंगमः 'a bird'. So also भुजंगमः or भुजंगः 'a serpent' (what goes crookedly).

Vart.—विहायस् is replaced by विह when the affix ड (III 2. 48) comes after the verb गम्; as विहंगः 'a bird'. Thus we have three forms: विहंग, विहङ्ग, विहङ्गम।

द्विषत्परयोस्तापेः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषत्-परयोः, तापे,

(खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विषत्परयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोस्तापेर्धातोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix खच् comes after the verb ताप् 'to heat', when द्विषत् or पर is the word in composition with it as an object.

The verb ताप् belongs both to *Bhū* and *Chur* classes. Both are meant in the sūtra. In the case of *Bhūdi*, the verb तापि is the causative ending in षि of ताप्; while in *Churādi*, all verbs take षि.

Thus द्विषन्तं तापयति=द्विषन्तपः (VI. 4. 94) 'one who destroys his enemies', so also परन्तपः 'one who subdues his enemies, a hero'.

This affix however, will not apply when the above upapadas are in the feminine gender. In this case the general affix भञ् will be employed; as द्विषतीं तापयति = द्विषतीतापः ।

वाचि यमो व्रते ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ वाचि, यमः, व्रते, (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाक्शब्दे कर्मण्युपपदे यमेर्धातोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति व्रते गम्यमाने ॥

40. The affix खच् comes after the verb वच् 'to curb' when the word वाक् 'speech' is in composition with it as object, and the sense indicated is that of a vow.

The word व्रत means a vow taken according to the rules of Dharma-sāstra. Thus वाचंयम आस्तं 'he has taken the vow of rigid silence'.

Why do we say 'vow'? Otherwise the form is वाग्यामः 'restraining speech' (VI. 3. 69).

पूः सर्वयोर्दारिसहोः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूः-सर्वयोः, दारि-सहोः, (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुर सर्व इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्यथासंख्यं दारिसहोर्धात्वोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भगो च दारैरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

41. The affix खच् comes after the verbs दारि 'to split' and सह 'to bear' when respectively in composition with the words पुर 'a city' and सर्व 'all', as objects.

As पुर दारयति = पुरन्दरः 'name of Indra (who splits asunder cities)' (VI. 3. 69 and VI. 4. 94); सर्वसहो राजा 'the king who is all-forbearing'.

Vart.—So also when the word भग is in composition with the verb दारि; as भगन्दरः 'a fistula in the anus'.

सर्वकूलाभ्रकरीषेषु कषः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्व-कूल-अभ्र-करीषेषु, कषः, (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्व कूल अभ्र करीष इत्येतेषु कर्मण्युपपदेषु कषेर्धातोः खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

42. The affix खच् comes after the verb कष 'to rub' when the words सर्व 'all', कूल 'bank', अभ्र 'cloud' and करीष 'a dry cow-dung', are in composition with it as object.

As सर्वकषः खलः 'a villain, a rogue'; कूलकषा नदी 'a river'; अभ्रकषो गिरिः 'a mountain'; करीषकषा वात्या 'a strong wind'.

मेघर्त्तिभयेषु कजः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मेघ-ऋति-भयेषु, कजः,
(खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मेघ ऋति भय इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपपरेषु कजः खच् प्रथमो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उपपत्तिधौ भवादिग्रहणं तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयति ॥

43. The affix खच् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' when the words मेघ 'cloud', ऋति 'misfortune' and भय 'fear' are in composition as objects.

As मेघंकरः 'producing clouds' ; ऋत्तिकरः 'giving pain' ; भयंकरः 'frightful'.

Vart.—The *tadanta vidhi* applies in the case of upapadas like भय. &c. This is an exception to the *vārtika* under I. 1. 72. by which, in the case of affixes, *tadanta-vidhi* was prohibited. Thus we have भयंकरः 'who causes security'.

क्षेमप्रियमद्रेऽखच् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षेम-प्रिय-मद्रे, अखच्, च,
(खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेम प्रिय मद्र इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपपरेषु करोतेरण्प्रत्ययो चकारात् खच्च ॥

44. And the affix भण् as well as खच् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' when the words क्षेम 'happiness', प्रिय 'pleasant' and मद्र 'joy' are in composition as objects.

The word 'and' denotes that the affix खच् is also to be included.

Thus क्षेमकारः or क्षेमंकरः 'propitious' ; प्रियकारः or प्रियंकरः 'showing kindness' ; मद्रकारः or मद्रंकरः 'causing delight'.

The repetition of the affix भण्, when its *anuvritti* could have been read into this sūtra by using the word वा 'optionally', indicates that these words never take the affix इ of sūtra 20 though cause, habit, &c., may be denoted ; so that the feminine of those words is formed by आ and not by ई ; as भण्पारम्भः क्षेमकराः 'small beginnings lead to or cause prosperity'.

आशिते भुवः करखभावयोः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिते, भुवः, करख-
भावयोः, (खच्, सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशितशब्दे सुबन्ते उपपदे भवतेर्धातोः करणे भावे चार्थे खच् प्रथमो भवति ॥

45. The affix खच् comes after the verb भू 'to be' when in composition with the case-inflected word आशित 'satisfied by eating' and the sense is that of instrument or condition.

The word 'सुपि' of sūtra 4 is understood here.

Thus भाशित्तभवः meaning 'food', literally that by which one is satiated. भाशित्ती भवती अनेन. Here the word denotes instrument. And भाशित्तभवः also means 'satiety', which denotes condition.

संज्ञायां भृत्तृञिधारिसहितपिदमः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां,
भृ-त्-तृ-ञि-धारि-सहि-तपि-दमः, (कर्मेणि, सुधि, खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृ दृ तृ ञि धारि सहि तपि दम इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः संज्ञायां विषये खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

46. The affix खच् comes after the following verbs when the words to be formed denote a name :—viz. भृ 'to bear', दृ 'to cross over', तृ 'to choose', ञि 'to conquer', धारि 'to hold', सहि 'to bear', तपि 'to heat' and दम 'to subdue'.

Both the words कर्मेणि and सुधि of sūtra 1 and 4 are understood here and should be applied as the occasion requires. Thus विश्वभरा 'earth' (that which supports all); रथंतर 'the Rathantara Sāma'; पतिवरा 'a girl' lit. (who is about to choose a husband); शत्रुञ्जयः 'an elephant' lit. (who conquers the enemy); द्रुगंधरः 'a mountain' or 'the pole of a carriage to which the yoke is fixed'; शत्रुसहः 'Satrunsa' (withstanding an enemy); शत्रुतपः 'Satrunstapa' (destroying an enemy); अरिदमः 'Arindama' (victorious).

Why do we say 'when denoting a name'? Observe कुटुम्बभारः 'he who supports his family'.

गमख ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गमः, च, (सुधि, संज्ञायां, खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गनेर्धातोः सुप्प्रपठे संज्ञायां विषये खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. And the affix खच् comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, and when the word to be formed denotes a name.

As सुतंगमः 'Sutangama'. Though the verb गम् could well have been included in the last aphorism, the separation serves the purpose of carrying the *anuvritti* of गम् into the subsequent sūtras.

अन्तात्यन्ताध्वदूरपारसर्वानश्लेषु डः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्त-
अत्यन्त-अध्वन्-दूर-पार-सर्व-अनश्लेषु, डः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त अत्यन्त अध्वन् दूर पार सर्व अनन्त इत्येतेषु कर्मसुप्प्रपठेषु गनेर्धप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ड प्रकरणे सर्वत्रपञ्चबोरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उरसी ज्ञोपथ ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुदुरोरधिकरणे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निरोदेशे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उपकरणेऽन्वेवपि दृश्यते ॥

48. The affix ड comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when in composition with the following words as its objects :—अन्त 'end', अत्यन्त 'excessive', अश्वन् 'road', दूर 'far', पार 'across', सर्व 'all' and अनन्त 'endless'.

The anuvritti of the word संज्ञायाम् does not extend to this. As अन्तगः 'having gone to the end, thoroughly conversant'; अरब्धन्तगः 'going too fast'; अश्वगः 'a way-farer'; दूरगः 'going to a distant place'; पारगः 'completely familiar'; सर्वगः 'going everywhere, the Supreme Being'; अनन्तगः 'going to infinity, moving for ever'.

Of the affix ड the letter ड् is indicatory, the real affix being अ. The ड indicates that the टि portion of the word to which this is added, must be elided (VI. 4. 143); as अन्त + गम् + ड = अन्त + ग् + अ (the टि portion अम् of गम् is elided). Now though the rule VI. 4. 143 says 'when that which has an indicatory ड, follows, there is elision of the टि of a अ'; yet in the present case, such elision takes place, although the word गम् here is not one of those called अ (I. 4. 18); because the presence of ड as an indicatory letter must not be unmeaning.

Vart.—The ड is also employed when the words in composition are सर्वत्र 'everywhere' and पक्ष 'creeping'; as सर्वत्रगः 'Supreme Spirit'; पक्षगः 'snake'.

Vart.—So also when the word in composition is उरस् 'breast', and there is elision of its final. As उरस् + गम् + ड = उरगः 'moving on breast, a snake'.

Vart.—So also with the words सु 'well' and दुर् 'bad', when the resulting words denote location. As सुगः 'that in which one goes easily, easy of access'. दुर्गः 'difficult of access, a fort'.

Vart.—So also with the preposition निर्, the word to be formed meaning country; as निर्गः 'a country'.

Vart.—Others say, that this ड is added when other words besides the above stand as upapadas. Thus स्त्र्यगारगः (स्त्री + अगार + गम् + ड) 'who goes to the women's compartment'; ग्रामगः 'going to the village'; गुरुदूषणगः 'who pollutes the bed of his guru'.

आशिषि हनः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, हनः, (डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि गम्यमानायां हन्तेर्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे ड प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वाराशह्नोऽणन्तस्य च टः संज्ञायाम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चारौ वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कर्मणि समि च ॥

49. The affix ड comes after the verb हन् 'to kill', when the object is in composition with it, and when benediction is intended.

The affix ड is understood in this sūtra. Thus तिमिं वध्यात् = तिमिहः 'may he kill the whale'; शत्रुहः 'may he kill the enemy'.

Why do we say 'when benediction is intended'? Otherwise we have शत्रुघातः 'who kills his enemy'.

Vart.—The affix भण् comes after the verb आहन् when the word राह 'wood' is in composition with it, and the final letter of the word so formed is changed into ट, when the word so formed denotes a name. As राटु आहन्ति = चार्वाघाटः (राटु + आहन् + भण्) 'the wood-pecker'.

Vart.—So also optionally when the word चाटु 'beautiful' is in composition under the circumstances detailed in the last *vArtika*: as चार्वाघाटः or चार्वाघातः।

Vart.—So also, when the verb हन् is preceded by the preposition सन्, and is in composition with a word in the objective case, the affix भण् is employed; and the final is replaced by ट; as वर्णान् संहन्ति = वर्णसंघाटः or वर्णसंघातः 'the alphabet'; पदानि संहन्ति = पदसंघाटः or पदसंघातः 'connecting the words that are separated, an annotator'.

अपे क्लेशतमसोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपे, क्लेश-तमसोः, (कर्मणि, हनः, डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपपूर्वाद्धन्तेः क्लेशतमसोः कर्मणोरुपपद्योर्डेप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50. The affix ड comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when it is compounded with the preposition अप्, and when the object in composition with it, is the word क्लेश 'pain' or तमस् 'darkness'.

As, क्लेशापहः पुत्रः 'the pain-allayer i. e. the son'; तमोपहः सूर्यः 'the darkness-destroyer i. e. the sun'.

This aphorism has its scope when the sense is not that of benediction.

कुमारशीर्षयोर्घनिः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमार-शीर्षयोः, घनिः, (हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमार शीर्ष इत्येतयोरुपपद्योः हन्तेर्घनिः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affix णिनि comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when the word in composition with it is कुमार 'a child', or शीर्ष 'head'.

Thus कुमार+हन्+णिनि = कुमार+घात+हन् (VII. 3. 54 and VII. 3. 32) = कुमारघातिन् nom. sing. कुमारघाती 'child-killer'. So also शीर्षघातिन् nom. sing. शीर्षघाती 'head-killer'.

The word शीर्ष is an irregular form of the word शिरस् ।

लक्षणे जायापत्योष्टक् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षणे, जाया-पत्योः, टक्, (हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्जायापत्योः कर्मणोरुपपद्योर्लक्षणवृत्तिकर्तरि टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

52. The affix टक् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when it is in composition with the word जाया 'wife' or पति 'husband' as object, and when the word so formed denotes the agent possessed of that attribute (or when the word so formed denotes a mark).

The word लक्षण of this sūtra gives rise to the doubt whether it means लक्षणे कर्तरि or लक्षणवृत्ति कर्तरि. In the former case the meaning will be 'when the agent is itself the mark'; as जायाघ्नः 'a mole' (a mark on the body indicative of the death of one's wife). In the latter case the meaning will be 'when the agent is possessed of the attribute denoted by the word'; as जायाघ्नः 'the murderer of his wife'; पतिघ्नी 'the murderer of her husband'.

Of the affix टक् the letters ह् and क् are indicatory. The ह् shows that the feminine is formed by ह्, and क् causing elision of the penultimate अ of हन्. Thus जाया+हन्+टक् = जाया+हन्+अ (VI. 4. 98) = जायाघ्नः (VII. 3. 54).

अमनुष्यकर्तृके च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-मनुष्य-कर्तृके, च, (टक्, हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमनुष्यकर्तृके वर्तमानादन्तेर्हान्तिः कर्मण्युपपद्ये टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

53. And the affix टक् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when the object is in composition with it, and when the word to be formed denotes an agent other than a human being.

As जायाघ्नस्तिलकालकः 'the mole' (literally that which indicates the death of one's wife); पतिघ्नी पाण्डुरेखा 'the line of the palm of the hand' (that which indicates the death of one's husband). These two forms were deducible also from the last aphorism. इक्ष्वक्घ्नं मधु 'honey' (literally that which has the property of destroying the phlegm). पित्तघ्नं घृतं 'clarified butter' (lit. that which destroys the bile).

Why do we say 'when the agent is not a human being'? Observe आद्युघातः शूद्रः 'a Sūdra' (literally one who kills the mice). Here the affix is अण्.

Why is the affix टक् not employed in the following? चोरघातो हस्ती 'an elephant' (i. e. who kills a thief.) Here the word is formed by the affix भण् on the analogy of sūtra III. 3. 113 which allows a diversity in case of *kritya* affixes, which diversity is extended in this case to a *krī* affix.

शक्तौ हस्तिकपा(वा)टयोः ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्तौ, हस्ति-कपा-
(वा)टयोः, (हनः, टक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तौ गन्धमानावां हस्तिकपा(वा)टयोः कर्मणोरुपपद्योर्हन्ते टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

54. The affix टक् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when the word in composition with it as its object is हस्ती 'elephant' or कपाट 'gate' and when the sense indicated is that of power.

This sūtra applies where the agent is a human being. As हस्तिनं हन्तुं शक्तः = हस्तिघ्नः मनुष्यः 'a man who is strong enough to kill an elephant'; so also कपाटघ्नः 'a burglar' (who is capable of breaking open the doors).

Why do we say 'where power is indicated'? Observe विशेषेण हस्तिनं हन्ति = हस्तिघातः 'who kills the elephant by poison'. Here the affix is भण्.

पाण्डिचताडयौ शिल्पिनि ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाण्डिच-ताडयौ,
शिल्पिनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाण्डिच ताडय इत्येवौ शब्दौ निपात्येते शिल्पिनि कर्तरि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ राजघ उपसंख्यानम् ॥

55. The words पाण्डिच and ताडय are irregularly formed when denoting an artificer.

These forms are thus evolved. The affix क् is employed after the verb हन् in composition with पाण्डि 'hand' and ताड 'a blow' as object; then the टि portion of हन् i. e. भन् is elided, and ह् is changed into च irregularly. Thus पाण्डि + हन् + क् = पाण्डि + ह् + क् = पाण्डिचः 'a drummer' (workman or handicraftsman); ताडयः 'a smith'.

Why 'when denoting an artificer'? Observe पाण्डिघातः 'boxing'; ताडघातः 'hammering'.

Vart.—The word राजघः should be enumerated in this connection; राजघः 'a regicide'.

आढयसुभगस्यूलपलितनगनाम्घप्रियेषु च्यर्येण्वथ्यौ रुजः करखे
स्युन् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आढय-सुभग-स्यूल-पलित-नगन-अम्घ-प्रियेषु, चिद्व-अ-
थ्येषु, अथ्यौ, रुजः, करखे, स्युन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आख्यादिषु कर्मसूपपदेषु षडर्थेष्वव्ययन्तेषु करोतेर्जातोः कारणे कारके ख्युन्प्रथमो भवति ॥

56. The affix ख्युन्, when the sense of the word to be formed is that of an instrumental agent, comes after the verb कृ 'to make', when the following words are in composition with it as objects:—आख्य 'rich', सुभग 'fortunate', स्थूल 'big', पलित 'grey', नग्न 'naked', अन्ध 'blind' and मित्र 'pleasant', provided that these words have the sense of the words formed by the affix च्चि, though not actually ending in the affix च्चि.

The affix च्चि (V. 4. 50.) is added to a noun when it is in composition with the verbs भू 'to become', कृ 'to make' and भस् 'to be'; its force being that a thing attains to a condition in which it previously was not. The च्चि being an optional affix, its sense is two-fold; namely, words ending in च्चि and words not ending in च्चि. Both may have the force of च्चि. [In the present sūtra, however, the words that actually end in च्चि have been excluded, while words which do not take the affix च्चि, but have the force of च्चि are included in the present sūtra.

Thus आख्य + कृ + ख्युन् = आख्य + कर् + भन् = आख्यकरणं 'that by the instrumentality of which the poor becomes rich, viz., wealth, prosperity, means of enriching'; सुभगकरणम् 'making happy'; स्थूलकरणम् 'by which one becomes big'; पलितकरणम् 'rendering grey'; नग्नकरणं 'making naked'; अन्धकरणम् 'making blind'; मित्रकरणम् 'showing kindness'.

Why do we say 'when the force is that of the affix च्चि'? Otherwise आख्यं तैलेन कुर्वन्ति i. e. आञ्जयन्ति 'they anoint with oil. Here though something is joined with what it previously was not joined, namely with oil, yet as the radical word is not prominent here, the sense is not that of च्चि and hence this counter-example.

Why do we say 'when not ending in the affix च्चि'? Observe आदधी कुर्वन्ति अनेन 'they make rich by this'. Here the affix ख्युन् is not employed.

It might be objected: 'well if ख्युन् is not used, then the affix ल्युट् must be used (III. 3. 117) as there is no difference between ख्युन् and ल्युट्; both having the efficient portion च्चु; what is then the use of prohibiting च्चि? We reply, 'because there is this prohibition, when the affix ख्युन् is not employed the affix ल्युट् will also be not employed. Thus by implication the affix ल्युट् is also prohibited. The prohibition of च्चि in this sūtra is for the sake of the aphorisms that follow'.

Pāṇjali observes this prohibition as superfluous, because there is no distinction between ल्युट् and ख्युन्. For the word formed by any one of these affixes have the same form and the same accent. Nor there is any distinction in the feminines of their derivatives. For the word formed by नम्, स्तम्, ईक्, भक् and ख्युन् take ई in the feminine as well as the words त्रुन् and तलन. Nor there is any distinction in their *samāsas*. For in both the cases it will be *nitya samāsa*. Nor is the prohibition made for the sake of the augment मुन्. For it being an indeclinable, मुन् cannot come after it. The prohibition therefore is of no use to this sūtra but it is inserted here for the sake of the following sūtras.

कर्तरि भुवः खिण्णुच्-खुकञौ ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, भुवः,
खिण्णुच्-खुकञौ, (आढ्यादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आढ्यादिषु सुबन्तेषूपपदेषु ष्वयर्थेष्वव्यन्तेषु भवतेर्ह्योः कर्तरि कारके खिण्णुच्-
खुकञ् इत्येता प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

57. The affixes खिण्णुच् and खुकञ्, when the word to be formed denotes an agent, come after the verb भू 'to become', when it is in composition with words भाव्य &c., provided that these have the sense of the words formed by the affix च्चि though not ending in च्चि.

Thus आरब्धम्भविष्णुः 'becoming rich (who was not rich before)'; आरब्ध-
म्भावुकः 'becoming rich'; सुभगम्भविष्णुः or -भावुकः 'becoming happy'; स्थूलम्भविष्णुः or
-भावुकः 'becoming big'; पलितम्भविष्णुः or -भावुकः 'becoming grey'; नग्नम्भविष्णुः or
-भावुकः 'becoming naked'; अन्धम्भविष्णुः or -भावुकः 'becoming blind'; प्रियम्भविष्णुः or
-भावुकः 'becoming an object of affection, amiable'.

Why do we say 'when denoting the agent'? Not so when it denotes the instrument. The affixes will apply when the sense of the upapada is that of च्चि, otherwise not; as आरब्धी भविता 'he will be rich'.

These affixes will not apply when the upapada ends in च्चि; आरब्धी भविता।

स्पृशोऽनुदके क्तिन् ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्पृशः, अनुदके, क्तिन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पृशोर्धातोरनुदके सुबन्तउपपदे क्तिन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

58. The affix क्तिन् comes after the verb स्पृश् 'to touch', when it is in composition with a case-inflected word other than उदक् 'water'.

By sūtra 4 of this chapter, the *anuvritti* of the word सुप्ति is to be read into this sūtra. It might be objected 'why do we not read the *anuvritti* of the word कर्त्त instead of सुप्ति, because the verb स्पृश् is a transitive verb, and after

such verbs, the anuvritti of कर्म ought to come by sūtra 4? To this we say there is no harm in reading the anuvritti of सुप्ति in this case ; because the word कर्तेरि of the last sūtra is also, in a way understood here, and indicates the collection of all sorts of agents whether objects, instruments &c., and this can only be when the first member of the compound is a word in general.

Thus घृतं स्पृशति = घृतस्पृश, nom. sing. घृतस्पृक् 'he who touches clarified butter'. स्पृश् + किन् + सु = स्पृश् + वि + ० (VI. 1. 68) = स्पृक् + ० (VI. 1. 67, and VIII. 2. 62). So also मन्त्रेण स्पृशति = मन्त्रस्पृक् 'who touches with hymns' ; जलेन स्पृशति = जलस्पृक् 'who touches with water'. But उदकेन स्पृशति = उदकस्पर्शः ; here we have the general affix अण्.

The न् of किन् is to distinguish this affix from affixes like क्विप् &c. For, had it been merely कि, then in sūtra VIII. 2. 62. we should have used कि प्रत्ययस्य क्, and it would have been ambiguous, for कि might be explained as meaning both कि and क्विप्, as क्व means क्वप्, क्वप् &c. To remove this ambiguity, न् is added to make a distinctive affix. The न् cannot be for the sake of accent. (VI. 1. 117), the verb being monosyllabic would of itself have taken that accent.

ऋत्विग्-दधृक्-स्रक्-दिक्-उष्णिक्-अञ्चु-युजि-कृञ्चान् च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥

ऋत्विक्-दधृक्-स्रक्-दिक्-उष्णिक्-अञ्चु-युजि-कृञ्चान्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋत्विगादयः पञ्चशब्दाः किन्प्रत्ययान्ता निपात्यन्ते अपरे चो धातवो निर्दिश्यन्ते ॥

59. The words ऋत्विक् 'a domestic priest', दधृक् 'impudent', स्रक् 'a garland', दिक् 'a direction' and उष्णिक् 'a quatrain' are irregularly formed by adding the affix किन् ; and so also after the verbs अञ्चु 'to worship', युजि 'to join' and कृञ्च 'to approach', the affix किन् is employed.

The first five words are irregular forms. Thus ऋत् + वञ् + किन् = ऋत्विक् 'he who performs sacrifice in the season (ऋतौ) or to the season (ऋतुम्). This word, however is a कृदि word in which it is fruitless to search for its etymological meaning. धृप् + किन् = दधृक्. Here there is reduplication and the final has acute accent. स्रन् + किन् = स्रक्. Here there is augment भन्. दृग् + किन् = दिक्. So also उत् + स्निह् + किन् = उष्णिक्. All these are in fact crude nouns, their current meaning having little traces of their root meaning.

The affix किन् comes after the three roots अञ्चु, अञ्चु, and कृञ्च. Being read along with the five above-mentioned irregularly-formed words, there is some irregularity in the application of किन् to these verbs. Thus the affix किन् comes after अञ्चु only when a word ending with any case-affix precedes it in composition. As प्र + अञ्चु + किन् = प्राञ्च् nom. sing. प्राच् (VI. 4. 24 ; VII. I. 70, VIII. 2. 23 and 62) 'east' ; so also प्रत्यह् 'west' ; उदक् 'north'.

The affix क्तिन् comes after जुञ्जिर् and कृञ्च् when these are uncombined. Thus जुञ्ज् + क्तिन् = जुञ्ज्. In nominative singular, जुञ्ज् + सु = जुञ्ज् + स् (VII. 1. 71) = जुञ्ज् + ० (VI. 1. 68) = जुञ्ज् (VIII. 2. 62) 'who joins'. When the root जुञ्ज् is in composition with an *upapada*, it takes the affix क्तिन् (see sutra 61). As अश्वकुक् 'yoked with horses'.

So also कृञ्च् + क्तिन् = कृञ्च्, nom. sing. कृञ्च्, 'a curlew'. The non-elision of the ञ् (VI. 4. 24) of कृञ्च् is an irregularity, as this word has been taught in connection with other irregular words.

त्यदादिषु दृशोऽनालोचने कञ् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यद्-आदिषु,
दृशः, अनालोचने, कञ्, च, (क्तिन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वशाहीषूपपदेषु दृशोर्धातोरनालोचनेऽयं वर्तमानात् कञ्प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात्
क्तिञ्च ॥

60. And the affix कञ् comes after the verb दृग् 'to see' when it is in combination with स्वद् &c. and does not signify perception.

The force of 'and' is that the क्तिन् also comes under similar circumstances. स्वद् &c. are pronouns, for a list of which see I. 1. 27. Thus स्वाद्श्च nom. sing. स्वाद्श्च, 'such-like' when it is formed by क्तिन् ; and स्वाद्श्चः 'such-like' when the affix is कञ्. So also तद् + दृग् + क्तिन् = ताद्श्च (VI. 3. 91) nom. sing. ताद्श्च (VI. 1. 68, VIII. 2. 36 and 62, VIII. 4. 56) ; and ताद्श्चः when कञ् is the affix. So वाद्श्च or वाद्श्चः 'what-like'.

What is the force of the letter ञ् of कञ् ? It is for the sake of accent ; the *udatta* is on the first syllable of those words which are formed by an affix having an indicative ञ् or न् (VI. 1. 117). But the indicative न् would have given the same accent, there being no difference between कञ् and कन् in this respect. The indicative ञ् then serves only the purpose of distinguishing the affix कञ् from कन् in sūtra IV. 1. 15 in which कञ् is taken and not कन्. Had we not formed this separate affix, then for कञ्करप् of that sūtra, we should have read कन् करप् so that the feminine of words formed by कन् would have also taken long ई, so that the feminine of चावकः (चाव + कन् V. 4. 29) would have been चावकी instead of चावका.

Why do we say 'when not signifying perception' ? See सं पश्यति = सहसं 'who sees that'. The words स्वाद्श्च, ताद्श्च &c. are crude nouns, in which the etymological sense of the root not being visible, the act of seeing can never be denoted by these words.

Vart.—This rule applies also when the words समान and अन्य are in composition with दृग्. 'As सदृक् or सदृशः 'like' (समान + दृग् + क्तिन् = स + दृग् VI. 3. 89) ; so also अन्वादृशः or अन्वादृक् 'of another kind'.

Vart.—The affix क्स comes also after the root इग्. As तावृक्षः, चावृक्षः, अन्यावृक्षः and कीवृक्षः। तर् + इग् + क्स = ता + इग् + क्स (VI. 3. 91.) = तावृक् + स (VIII. 2. 36) = तावृक् + स (VIII. 2. 41) = तावृक् + ष (VIII. 3. 59) = तावृक्षः ।

सत्सूद्विषद्रुहद्रुहयुजविदभिदच्छिदजिनीराजामुपसर्गेऽपि क्विप् ॥
 ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्-सू-द्विष-द्रुह-द्रुह-युज-विद-भिद-च्छिद-जि-नी-राजाम्,
 उपसर्गे, अपि, क्विप्, (सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः सुबन्ते उपपदे उपसर्गेऽप्यनुपसर्गेऽपि क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The affix क्विप् comes after the following verbs when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, though it may be an upasarga, viz:—सत् 'to sit', सू 'to bring forth', द्विष् 'to hate', रुह 'to bear malice', द्रुह 'to milk', युज् 'to join', 'to concentrate the mind', विद् 'to know', 'to become', 'to consider', भिद् 'to divide', छिद् 'to cut', जि 'to conquer', नी 'to lead' and राज् 'to shine'.

The phrase 'the word ending with a case-affix' is understood in this sūtra. The *anuvritti* of कर्त्तृ is not to be taken in this sūtra for the same reasons as in sūtra 58 *ante*. The upasargas are also words ending in a case-affix *i. e.* they are also *subanta* words. Their special mention in this section, indicates by implication (*jñāpaka*) that wherever in the previous sūtras, the word *subanta* (a case-inflected word) is used, it does not include an upasarga (III i. 106).

The root सू being read in conjunction with द्विष् shows that महादि class verb is meant here, and not तुहादि class. The verb युज् includes, both युजिद् 'to join' and युज् 'to concentrate one's mind'. The verb विद् includes the three verbs having the sense of 'to know', 'to become' and 'to consider', but does not include the verb विद् 'to gain', because that root has an indicatory लृ (विद्लृ) while all these verbs have indicatory भ.

Thus, सत्-शुचिपत् 'dwelling in purity'; भन्तरिक्षसत् 'dwelling in the skies', 'epithets of Brahma' (Kath. 5. 2); उपसत् 'serving'. सू-भण्डसू: 'oviparous'; शतसू: 'bringing forth hundred'; प्रसू: 'parent'. द्विष्-मित्रद्विद् 'treacherous'; प्रद्विद् 'hostile'. रुह-मित्रभुक् 'treacherous'; प्रभुक् 'hostile' (VIII. 2. 37). द्रुह-गोधुक् 'cow-milker'; प्रधुक् 'milker' (VIII. 2. 32. and 37). युज्-अभयुक् 'carriage'; प्रयुक् 'impulse'. विद्-वेदवित् 'knower of Veda'; प्रवित् 'knower'; ब्रह्मवित् 'knower of Brahma'. भिद्-काष्ठवित् 'wood-cutter'; प्रवित् 'cutter'. छिद्-रज्जुच्छिद् 'rope-cutter'; प्रच्छिद् 'a cutter'. जि-शत्रुजित् 'enemy-conqueror'; प्रजित् 'conqueror'. नी-सेनानी: 'leader of an army'; प्रणी: 'a leader'; प्रामणी: 'head-borough'; भ्रमणी: 'first'. (Why is there cerebral ण in these words? Because the word प्रामणी has a cerebral ण in

sûtra V. 2. 78 and that indicates that these words will have ण, as also by sûtra VIII. 4. 3). राग्—विराद् 'splendour'; सम्राद् 'emperor' (the letter न् is added by sûtra VIII. 3. 25).

This sûtra is a continuation and expansion of sûtras 75 and 76 *sup.*

भजो णिवः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भजः, णिवः, (उपसर्गे, अपि, सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भजेर्धातोः सुबन्त उपपदे उपसर्गेऽप्यनुपसर्गेऽपि णिवप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

62. The affix णिव comes after the verb भज् 'to share' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix whether it be an upasarga or not.

The words 'upasarga' and 'supi' are understood in this sûtra. As भजे = भजेर्भाज् nom. sing. भजेर्भाक् 'sharing a half'. So also when in composition with a preposition; as प्रभाक् 'division'.

छन्दसि सहः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, सहः, (उपसर्गे, सुपि, णिवः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये सहेर्धातोः सुबन्त उपपदे णिवप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

63. In the Chhandas, the affix णिव comes after the verb सह् 'to bear' when it is in composition with a word ending in a case-affix.

The words 'upasarga' and 'supi' are understood here. As सुर+सह्+णिव = सुरासाह् nom. sing. सुरासाद् 'name of Indra'. The dental स is changed into cerebral ष by VIII. 3. 56, and the ह् into ङ् by VIII. 2. 31. The final भ of सुर is lengthened by VI. 3. 137. See Rig. Veda. I. 175. 2, III. 48 5.

वहञ्च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वहः, च, (छन्दसि, णिवः, सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वहेर्धातोः छन्दसि विषये सुबन्त उपपदे णिवप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

64. The affix णिव comes after the verb वह् 'to carry', in the Chhandas, when a word ending with a case-affix is in composition with it.

As प्रष्टवाह् 1st sing. प्रष्टवाद् 'carrying a *prashtha* measure'; so, वित्त्ववाद् ।

The division of this sûtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sûtras, into which the anuvritti of वह् only is carried and not of सह्. See Ya'ur. Veda. XIV. 10, XVIII. 26.

कव्यपुरीषपुरीष्येषु ङ्युट् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कव्य-पुरीष-पुरीष्येषु, ङ्युट्, (छन्दसि, सुपि, वहः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कव्य पुरीष पुरीष्य इत्येतेषु उपपदेषु छन्दसि विषये वहेर्धातोः ङ्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

65. In the Chhandas the affix ङ्युट् comes after

the verb वह् when it is in composition with the words कव्य 'oblation of food to deceased ancestors', पुरीष 'fæces' and पुरीष्य 'water'.

As कव्यवाहनः पितृणाम् (Yajur. Ved. II. 29) 'fire that carries the oblation to the *pitris*'; पुरीषवाहनः 'carrier of water'; पुरीष्यवाहनः (Yaj. Ved. XI. 44). The feminine of these words is formed by adding long ई ।

इव्येऽनन्तःपादम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इव्ये, अनन्तः-पादम्,
(छन्दसि, वहः, ह्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इव्यवाह्ये उपपदे छन्दसि विषये वहर्धातोऽभ्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति, अनन्तःपादं चोद्दि-
र्षयते ॥

66. The affix इव्युट् comes in the Chhandas, after the verb वह् 'to carry' when it is in composition with the word इव्य 'an oblation to gods', provided that the word so formed does not occur in the middle of a pāda (fourth part of a stanza).

As अग्निश्च इव्यवाहनः 'fire, the carrier of oblation to the gods'. (Rig. Ved. I. 44. 2).

When this word occurs in the middle of a pāda, or at the beginning, the form is इव्यवाद्, which is derived by adding the affix विद् (sūtra 64). As इव्यवाड्, अनरजरः पिता नः 'the never-decaying *agni* or fire that carries oblation to the gods, is our father'. (Rig. Veda. III. 2. 2.)

जनसनसनक्रमगमो विट् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जन-सन-सन-
क्रम-गमः, विट्, (छन्दसि, उपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः सुबन्त उपपदे छन्दसि विषये विट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix विट् (the whole of which is elided) comes in the Chhandas after the verbs जन् 'to be born', सन् 'to bestow', खन् 'to dig', क्रन् 'to pace' and गन् 'to go', when a word ending in a case-affix is in composition, and the final nasals are changed into long आ.

The words छन्दसि, उपसर्गे and सुप्ति are understood in this sūtra. The verb जन् includes two verbs meaning 'to be born' and 'to happen'; so also सन् means both 'to give' and 'to worship'.

Of the affix विट् the letter इ is indicatory, and is qualifying, as in VI. 4. 41, by which rule the final nasal of जन्, सन् &c. is replaced by long आ when the affix विट् follows, and the whole affix is elided by VI. 1. 67.

As अप् + जन् + विट् = अज्जाः (Rig. Ved. VII. 34. 16) 'born in water' (VI. 4. 41); गीजाः 'born in the heaven *i. e.* God' (Rig. Veda IV. 40. 5). So also from सन्-गोषाः 'acquiring or bestowing cows' (VIII. 3. 108); गोषा इन्द्रो नृषा भसि 'O Indra bestower of cows! thou art lover of mankind' (Rig. Veda IX. 2. 10). From खन्-विसखाः 'digger of lotus stalk'; कपूखाः 'digger of well'. From कम्-वधिकाः 'who gets milk' (Rig. IV. 39. 1 and 40. 5). From गम्-भवेगा उन्नेदृणाम् 'the leader'.

अदोऽनन्ने ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदः, अनन्ने, (सुपि, विट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवेर्धातोर्नन् सुप्प्रत्यये विट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix विट् comes after the verb अद् 'to eat,' when in composition with a case-inflected word other than अन्न 'food'.

The *anuvritti* of the word 'Chhandasi' does not extend to this sūtra. Thus भाममन्ति = भामात् 'eating raw food'; शक्यात् 'granivorous'.

But with अन्न as an upapada, we have अन्नाद्: 'eating food', which is formed by the general affix अण् (III 2. 1.)

क्रव्ये च ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रव्ये, च, (अदः, विट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रव्यशब्द उपपदे अवेर्धातोर्विट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix विट् comes after the verb अद् 'to eat,' when the word क्रव्य is in composition with it.

As क्रव्यमन्ति = क्रव्यात् 'carnivorous'.

Why has it been made a separate sūtra, when this form could have been obtained by the last sūtra also? To this the vārtika replies: 'This has been made a separate sūtra in order to indicate that the rule of वासरूप (III. 1. 94) does not apply here. Therefore the affix अण् will not apply in the alternative. If the affix अण् does not apply, how then we get the form क्रव्याद्: which is evidently formed by the affix अण्? The affix अण् comes after the root when the word formed means the eater of meat which has been cut, dressed and cooked'; thus क्रव्याद्: means a man who eats meat cooked and prepared, *i. e.* a meat-eater as opposed to a vegetarian, while क्रव्यात् means an animal which eats raw flesh; the word क्रव्याद्: in fact may be regarded as an irregular form falling under वृषोदरादि class of sūtra VI. 3. 109.

दुहः कव्यश्च ॥ ७० ॥ दुहः, कप्-चः, च, (सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुहेर्धातोः सुप्प्रत्यये कप्प्रत्ययो भवति घकारश्चान्तादेशः ॥

70. The affix कप् comes after the verb दुह् 'to milk' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix and the letter च replaces its final.

As कामदुधा धेनुः 'a milch cow, giving abundance of milk' ; so also भर्षदुधा, चर्मदुधा ।

संज्ञे श्वेतवह्नीकथशस्पुरोडाशो विवन् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञे,
श्वेतवह्-उकथशस्-पुरोडाशः, विवन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वेतवह् उकथशस् पुरोडाश इत्येतेभ्यो विवन् प्रत्यय्यो भवति मन्त्रे विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ श्वेतवहादीनां उत्पद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

71. In the Mantra literature, the affix विवन् comes after the words श्वेतवह्, उकथशस् and पुरोडाश् ।

The above words contain both the verb and the upapada ; the fact of their being so given indicates that there is some irregularity in the application of the affix.

Thus the affix विवन् comes after the verb वह् preceded by the upapada श्वेत as denoting an agent, while the force of the whole word so formed denotes an object. As श्वेता एनं वहन्ति = श्वेतवाह्, nom. sing. श्वेतवाः 'a name of Indra' (whom white horses carry).

The affix विवन् is applied to the verb ज्ञस् 'to praise' when preceded by the word उकथ as object or instrument ; and then the nasal is irregularly dropped. As उकथानि उकथैर्वा ज्ञंसति = उकथशस्, nom. sing. उकथशाः (Rig. Ved. II. 39. 1.) 'a reciter of hymns, the name of the sacrificer'.

The विवन् is applied after the verb दाग् 'to give', preceded by पुरो, and द् is changed into ड, the force of the whole word denoting an object. As पुरो दाशन्ति एनं = पुरोडाग्, nom. sing. पुरोडाः (Rig. Ved. III. 28. 2) 'an offering'.

Vart:—The augment ड् is added to the words श्वेतवाह् &c., when the pada affixes follow. Thus before pada terminations श्वेतवाह् becomes श्वेतवह् । Therefore its Instrumental dual is श्वेतवोभ्याम्, pl. श्वेतवोभिः ।

The augment ड् is not applied before सर्वनामस्थान and भ terminations. As श्वेतवाहौ, श्वेतवाहः ।

अध्वे यजः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्वे, यजः, (विवन्, मन्त्रे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्वे उपपदे अजोर्धातोर्विवन्प्रत्यय्यो भवति मन्त्रे विषये ॥

72. In the Mantra literature, the affix विवन् comes after the verb यज् 'to sacrifice' when in composition with the word अध्व्.

As अध्वयाज्, nom. sing. अध्वयाः (Rig. Ved. I. 173. 12) 'name of a Vedic priest' ; as त्वं वदते वरुणस्यावया असि 'Thou art the priest of Varuṇa in the sacrifice'.

The division of this aphorism from the last in which it could have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras in which the *anuvritti* of यज्

only runs. This word is thus declined :—

sing.	dual	plural.
1st. अववाः,	अववाजौ,	अववाजः
2nd. अववाजं,	अववाजौ,	अववाजः
3rd. अववाजा,	अववोभ्यां,	अववोभिः

विजुपे छन्दसि ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विच्, उपे, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपउपपरे यजेरुहंसि विषये विच्प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

73. The affix विच् comes after the verb वज् when उप precedes, in the Chhandas.

As उपवह्निकूर्ध्वं वहन्ति 'they carry it up with the उपवज् formulas'. उपवज् is the name of eleven formulas at a sacrifice.

The word 'Chhandas' has been repeated here though the anuvritti of the word 'mantra' was present in it, in order to include the Brāhmaṇa literature also.

The च् is indicatory and is useful in including the affix विच् in the larger group called वि (which includes क्तिन्, क्तिप्, णिच्, विट्), as in the sūtra वेरपुक्कस्य (VI. 1. 67).

Why has this sūtra been made, since the affix विच् would have been valid even by aphorism 75? The sūtra has been separately made to show that it is a restrictive rule here. The form उपवज् is found in the Chhandas only, and not in the ordinary literature.

आतो मनिन्कनिव्वनिपञ्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, मनिन्-
कनिप्-वनिपः, च, (छन्दसि, सुपि, विच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यः सुव्युपपरे छन्दसि विषये मनिन् कनिप् वनिप् इरयेते प्रत्यया भवन्ति चकारादिजपि ॥

74. The affixes मनिन्(मन्), कनिप्(वन्), वनिप्(वन्) and विच् come in the Chhandas, after verbs which end in long आ, when a case-inflected word or an upasarga is in composition.

The force of 'and' is to include विच्. Thus सुहा + मनिन् = सुहामन्, 1st. sing. सुहामा (Rig. VI. 20. 7) 'one who gives liberally'; अश्व + स्था + मनिन् = अश्वस्थामान्, 1st. sing. अश्वस्थामा 'the name of Asvatthāman'; सुधा + कनिप् = सुधी + वन् (VI. 4. 66) = सुधीवन्, 1st. sing. सुधीवा 'having good understanding'; सुपा + वनिप् = सुपीवन्, 1st. sing. सुपीवा 'a good drinker'. भूरि + हा + वनिप् = भूरिहावन्, 1st. sing. भूरिहावा (Rig. II. 27. 17) 'liberal'; घृतपावन् 1st. sing. घृतपावा (Yaj. VI. 19) 'ghee-drinker'.

The affix विच् is also included in this aphorism. As कीलाल + पा + विच् = कीलालपाः (Rig. X. 91. 14) 'nectar-drinker'; शुभंवाः (Rig. IV. 3. 6. and Pāṇini VII.

3. 46) 'beautifully going'; रामस्त्रोपदाः 'an offering of Rāma.' (see sūtra III. 3. 106 and Yajur. Ved. XXX. 9).

अन्येभ्योपि दृश्यंते ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यंते,
(मनिन्, क्वनिप्, वनिप्, विच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योपि धातुभ्योऽनाकारान्तेभ्यो मनिन् वनिप् वनिप् इत्येते प्रत्यया दृश्यन्ते,
विच् ॥

75. These affixes viz. मनिन्, क्वनिप्, वनिप्, and विच् are seen after other verbs also besides those ending in long भा.

The word छन्दसि is not understood here. As सु + भ्र् 'to injure' + मनिन् = सुशर्मन्, 1st. 'sing. सुशर्मा 'who destroys well i. e. destroys sin or ignorance'. प्रातर् + इ 'to go' + क्वनिप् = प्रातर् + इत् + वन् (VI. 1. 71) = प्रातरित्वन्, 1st. sing. प्रातरित्वा 'who goes early'. वि + जन् + वनिप् = वि + जा + वन् (VI. 4. 41) = विजावन्, 1st. sing. विजावा 'who brings forth'. भग् + गावा 'who goes before'. रिच् + विच् = रेच् (VII. 3. 86) 1st. sing. रेच् 'who injures'; as in रेचसि पर्णो नवेः (Yajur. Ved. VI. 18).

The word 'also' in this aphorism has the force of removing all conditions under which these affixes were employed in the previous aphorisms, that is to say, these affixes come even when there is no upapada. As पीवा, धीवा.

The words 'are seen' in this sūtra show that all verbs do not admit of these affixes indiscriminately. It is only when we see a particular form that we can infer the existence of these affixes.

क्विप् च ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्विप्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वधातुभ्यः सोपपदेभ्यो निरुपपदेभ्यश्च छन्दसि भाषायां च क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

76. And the affix क्विप् is also seen after all verbs, whether having an upapada or not in the Vedic as well as in the modern Sanskrit.

As उखावाः संसते = उखासत् (VI. 4. 24) 'falling from the pot'; पर्णोभवत् 'falling from the leaves'; वाहाच् भ्रजति = वाहाभ्रज्, 1st. sing. वाहाभ्रज् 'falling from a car'. The हा is long by VI. 3. 137. See Rig. Ved. I. 3. 8.

स्यः क् च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्यः, क्, च, (सुपि, उपसर्गे, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्या इत्येतस्माद्भासोः सुव्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति क्विप् च ॥

77. The affixes क् and क्विप् come after the verb स्या when it is in composition with a word ending in a case-affix or an upasarga.

Why has this aphorism been made, when by rule III. 1. 4, स्या would have taken क् and by rule III. 1. 75, it would have taken क्विप् also? This repetition is for the purpose of prohibiting the prohibition, that is to say, the

sūtra III. 2. 14 prohibited the sūtra III. 2. 4, and the present sūtra removes that prohibition. Thus शंस्यः and शंस्याः । But for this sūtra, this form could not have been evolved ; for, with the upapada शन्, the verb स्या would have taken the affix भच् by III. 2. 14.

सुप्यजातौ खिनिस्ताच्छीरये ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपि, अजातौ,
खिनिः, ताच्छीर्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजातिवाचिनि सुबन्त उपपदे ताच्छीर्ये गम्बमाने धातोर्धिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥
नार्त्तिकम् ॥ उत्प्रतिभवात्किं सतेरुपसंख्यानम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ साधुकारिणि च ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ब्रह्मणि वदः ॥

78. When habit is to be expressed, the affix णिनि comes after a verb, provided the word with a case-affix in composition with it, does not mean a genus.

Thus उष्यन् + भुञ् + णिनि = उष्यन्भोजिन्, 1st. sing. उष्यन्भोजी 'who eats his meal hot'. So also शीतभोजी &c.

Why do we say 'when it does not mean a genus'? Witness ब्राह्मणानामन्वयिता 'the inviter of Brāhmaṇas'. We cannot form ब्राह्मणानामन्वयी

Why do we say 'when habit is to be expressed'? Witness उष्यन् भुञ्क्ते कदाचित् 'he sometimes eats hot'.

Though the anuvṛitti of the word 'supi' was understood in this aphorism, its repetition here declares that upasargas are not included. This is contested by the author of the Siddhānta Kaumudī. According to him this affix comes even with upasargas. As अनुनाचित्, अनुजीविन्, उपजीविन्, &c.:

Vart.—The verb भाच् in composition with the prepositions उत् or प्रति should be enumerated as taking this affix. As उदासारिन्, fem. उदासारिणी, 1st. plural उदासारिण्यः. So also प्रत्यासारिणी, pl. प्रत्यासारिण्यः ।

Vart.—So also when the sense is 'having skill in such and such action'. As साधुकारी 'excellent worker' ; साधुदात्री 'giving liberally'.

Vart.—So also after the verb वद preceded by ब्रह्म. As ब्रह्मवादिन्, in ब्रह्मवादिनो वदन्ति 'the knowers of Brahma say'.

कर्त्तर्युपमाने ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तरि, उपमाने, (खिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्त्तृवाचिनि उपमान उपपदे धातोर्धिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

79. The affix णिनि comes after a verb when it is in composition with a word denoting an object of comparison, expressing the agent, the sense of the affix being 'doing something like that', that is to say, when the

upapada agent is the standard of comparison of the agent denoted by the word to which the sense of the affix refers.

Thus उष्ट्र इव क्रोशति = उष्ट्रक्रोशिन् 'who makes a noise like a camel'; ध्वंश-राशिन् 'who makes a noise like a crow'.

This sūtra applies where 'habit' is not indicated : or where 'genus' is denoted in opposition to the last aphorism.

Why do we say 'when expressing the agent'? Witness as अपूपानिव भक्षयति माषान् 'he eats *māṣa* like *apūpa*'. Here अपूप is object and not agent, and hence no composition takes place.

Why do we say 'denoting a standard of comparison'? Otherwise there will be no composition. As उष्ट्रः क्रोशति 'the camel makes noise'. For the accents of these words, see VI. 2. 80.

व्रते ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ व्रते, (धातोः, सुप्ति, षिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्रते गम्यमाने सुबन्त इपपदे धातोर्षिनिःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

80. The affix षिनि comes after a verb, in composition with a word ending in a case-affix.

The word व्रत means a 'vow' as regulated and ordained by the Scriptures. This condition 'when vow is expressed' applies to the completed word, that is to say, when the complete word made up of the root, the upapada, and the affix, denotes a vow. As स्थण्डिलशयिन् 'the vow of sleeping on bare ground (and nowhere else) or a person who has taken this vow'. भभ्राद्भोजिन् 'who has vowed not to eat during the performance of a Srāddha ceremony'.

Why do we say 'when vow is to be expressed'? Otherwise there is no composition. As स्थण्डिले शेते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sleeps on bare ground'.

This sūtra is also an exception to III. 2 78 applicable when habit is not meant, or when genus is to be expressed.

बहुलमाभीक्ष्ये ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, आभीक्ष्ये, (षिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आभीक्ष्ये गम्यमाने धातोर्बहुलं षिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix षिनि comes after a verb diversely when continued repetition of an action is to be expressed.

The word आभीक्ष्य means continued repetition, that is to say, zealous practice or assiduous performance of anything, but does not mean habit. As कषायपायिणी गान्धाराः 'the people of Gāndhāra are kashāya-drinkers'. कषाय + षा + षिनि = कषाय + षा + युक् + षिनि (VII. 3. 33). So also क्षीरपायिण उशीनाराः 'the people of Usināra are milk-drinkers'. सौवीर-पायिणो बाह्लीकाः 'the people of Bāhlika are sauvira-drinkers'.

By using the word 'diversely' in the sūtra, this affix is not applied in other places, as in the following :—कुम्भापलाद् 'a grain eater'.

मनः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनः, (सुपि, छिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्यतेः सुब्रंत उपपदे णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

82. The affix छिनि comes after the verb मन् 'to think' when there is a word with a case-affix in composition with it.

The word 'supi' is understood in this sūtra. As दर्शनीयमानी 'who thinks himself handsome'; शोभनमानी 'who thinks himself beautiful'.

The verb मन् belonging to the 4th conjugation is taken here and not that belonging to the 8th conjugation; because the anuvritti of the word 'diversely' is understood here. In the present aphorism, whether we take the Divādi or Tanādi मन् the resulting form would be the same, namely मानिन्. But not so in the next aphorism, where before the affix खग् there would be difference of form owing to the vikaraṇa. i. e., in the 4th conjugation इवन् would be added, but not so if the verb belonged to the 8th class.

आत्ममाने खञ्च ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्ममाने, खञ्च, (छिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्ममाने वर्त्तमानात्मन्वतेः सुप्युपपदे खग्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराण्णिनिश्च ॥

83. And the affix खग् comes after the verb मन् 'to think' when the word in composition with it is a word with a case-affix, and when it is employed to signify thought, whereof the object is self (the sense of the affix being 'thinking himself as such').

The word आत्ममान means thinking of one's own self. By the word 'and' it is meant that the affix छिनि may be employed in the same sense. This rule applies where the agent, indicated by the sense of the affix, thinks himself possessed of the qualities of 'handsomeness' &c., denoted by the upapada. As दर्शनीयमन्वः or दर्शनीयमानी 'who thinks himself handsome'; पण्डितमन्वः or पण्डितमानी 'who thinks himself learned'.

Why do we say 'when employed to signify thought whereof the object is self'? Witness दर्शनीयमानी देवदत्तश्च यज्ञदत्तः 'Yajñadatta is thought handsome by Devadatta.

Of the affix खग् the letter ख् causes मुम् augment by VI. 3. 66; and श् makes it a sārva dhātuka affix, which brings in the proper vikaraṇas. The affixes so far treated of are applicable in all tenses. The others that follow denote some particular time.

भूते ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूत इत्यधिकारो वर्त्तमाने जडिति यावत्, चरित कर्तृननुकनिष्पामः भूत इत्येवं तद्देशितञ्चम् ॥

84. All the affixes to be treated of hereafter should be understood to come in the sense of past time.

The phrase 'with the sense of past time' is an adhikāra or governing aphorism and exerts its influence up to aphorism 123 of this chapter; that is to say, these affixes give a signification of the past tense to the verb whose anuvṛitti is also understood throughout the subsequent sūtras; see III. 1. 91.

Thus it will be taught in the next aphorism: 'after the verb यज्, when the word in composition is in the instrumental case, the affix णिनि is employed'. Here to complete the sense we must read into the sūtra, the words 'with the sense of past time'. As अग्निष्टोमेनेष्टवान् = अग्निष्टोमयाजिन् 'who has sacrificed with an Agnishtoma or a five-day series of offerings'.

Why do we say 'with the sense of past time'? Otherwise these affixes will not be employed. As अग्निष्टोमेन यजति 'he sacrifices with Agnishtoma'.

करणे यजः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, यजः, (णिनिः, भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजतेर्धातोः करणउपपदे णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

85. The affix णिनि comes after the verb यज् 'to sacrifice' with the sense of past time, when the word in composition is in the instrumental case.

The anuvṛitti of णिनि and not of स्वच् is to be read into this sūtra. As अभिष्टोमयाजिन् 'who has sacrificed with Agnishtoma.' Here Agnishtoma is the instrument for the attainment of the desired fruit.

कर्मेणि हनः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मेणि, हनः, (णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मेणि उपपदे हन्तेर्धातोर्णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति भूते काले ॥

86. The affix णिनि comes after the verb हन् 'to kill', with the sense of past time, when the word in composition is in the accusative case.

As पिद्विषयातिन् 'who has killed his paternal uncle'; मातुलयातिन् 'who has killed his maternal uncle'; हन् + णिनि = चन् + णिनि (VII. 3. 54) = चत् + णिनि (VII. 3. 32) = चातिन् (VII. 2. 116).

This affix is employed only when censure is implied. Therefore it is not employed in चोरं हतवान् 'he has killed the thief'.

The anuvṛitti of the word कर्मेणि of this aphorism extends up to sūtra III. 2. 96.

ब्रह्मभूषणवृत्रेषु क्विप् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रह्म-भूषण-वृत्रेषु, क्विप्, (कर्मेणि, हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रह्मविषु कर्मसूपपदेषु हन्तेर्धातोः क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

87. The affix क्विप् comes after the verb हन् 'to

kill' with the sense of past time, when the following words in the accusative case are in composition: ब्रह्म 'a Brâhmana', भ्रूण 'a foetus' and वृत्र 'Vṛitra'.

As ब्रह्महन्, 1st. sing. ब्रह्महा 'who has killed a Brâhmana'; भ्रूणहा 'who has killed a foetus'; वृत्रहा 'who has killed Vṛitra, a name of Indra'.

Since by sūtra 76 *ante*, the affix क्विप् was ordained to come after all verbs, and therefore would have come after the verb हन् also, where is the necessity of the present aphorism? This aphorism makes a *niyama*. *i. e.* the verb हन् takes the affix क्विप् only when it is in composition with the words ब्रह्म &c. Four-fold restriction is here intended.

(1) When हन् has, as upapada, the words ब्रह्म &c., and not any other word; as पुरुषं हतवान् 'he has killed the man'.

(2) When the words ब्रह्म &c. are upapadas of any other verb than हन्, then this affix is not employed; so that the verb must be हन्; thus ब्रह्माधीतवान् 'he has read the Veda'.

(3) The क्विप् is the only affix to denote past time in the case of हन् preceded by ब्रह्म &c., and no other affix can be employed in this sense.

(4) This is employed only in the past tense and not in any other tense; as ब्रह्माणं हन्ति or हनिष्यति 'he kills or will kill the Brâhmana'. This sūtra anticipates the diversity taught in the next sūtra, and is an example of बहुलं use of the affix.

बहुलं क्विप् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, क्विप्, (हन्, क्विप्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ क्विप् उपपदांतरेपि इतरेषु बहुलं क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

88. In the Chhandas, the affix क्विप् diversely comes after the verb हन्, 'to kill' with the sense of past time, even when the word in composition with it is other than those mentioned in the last aphorism.

This aphorism ordains क्विप् in cases which are not governed by the restrictive rule contained in the last aphorism. As मातृहा सप्तमं नरकं प्रविशेत् 'may the matricide enter the seventh hell'; so also पितृहा 'patricide'.

Diversely we find also मातृघातः and पितृघातः।

सुकर्मपापमंत्रपुत्रेषु कृजः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-कर्म-पाप-मन्त्र-
पुत्रेषु, कृजः, (क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खादिषु कर्मसूपपदेषु करोतेर्द्धातोः क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

89. The affix क्विप् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' with the sense of past time, when the following words in the accusative case are in composition:— सु 'well', कर्म 'action', पाप 'sin', मंत्र 'hymn' and पुत्र 'virtue'.

The phrase 'in the accusative case' is understood in this aphorism, and applies to all the above-mentioned words, except सु, which being an attributive word, of course, cannot take any case-terminations. As सुकृत् (VI. 1. 71) 'who has done well'; कर्मकृत् 'who has done all works'; पापकृत् 'who has committed sins'; मन्त्रकृत् 'who has made a mantra'; पुण्यकृत् 'who has done virtuous actions'.

This sūtra also ordains a restrictive rule or niyama. Three-fold restriction is intended here : namely, restrictions with regard to time, upapada, and affix ; but not with regard to verbs. See III. 2. 87. There being no restriction with regard to the root, this affix is employed when words other than these are upapadas. As, शास्त्रकृत् 'who has made Scriptures ; भाष्यकृत् 'who has made a commentary'. The कृ is added to the root by VI. 1. 71.

सोमे सुजः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमे, सुजः, (कर्मणि, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोमे कर्मण्युपपदे सुनोतेर्धातोः क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

90. The affix क्विप् comes after the verb सु 'to press out juice', with the sense of past time, when the word सोम, in the accusative case, is in composition.

As, सोमसुत् 'who has pressed the soma juice, or soma-distiller'; 1st. dual सोमसुतौ ; 1st. plural सोमसुनः ।

This sūtra is also for the sake of making a niyama or restrictive rule. The four-fold restriction is here intended. *i.e.* as regards the verb, the tense, the upapada and the affix.

अग्नी चैः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नी, चैः, (कर्मणि, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्नी कर्मण्युपपदे सुनोतेर्धातोः क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix क्विप् comes after the verb चि 'to collect' with the sense of past time, when the word अग्नि, in the accusative case, is in composition.

As, अग्निचित् 'one who has kept the sacred fire'; 1st. dual अग्निचितौ ; 1st. plural अग्निचितः ।

Here also, as in the last aphorism, four-fold restriction is intended.

कर्मवयग्नाख्यायाम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, अग्नि-आख्या-याम्, (कर्मणि, चैः, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे चिनोतेः कर्मण्येव कारके क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति अग्नाख्यायाम् ॥

92. In expressing an object the affix क्विप् comes after the verb चि 'to collect' with the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case, provided the word so formed is the name of fire.

The words चैः and कर्मणि are understood in this sūtra. The Name is

expressed by taking the complete word consisting of the verbal root, the upapada and the affix. As इयेनचित् 'a fire which has been arranged in the shape of a hawk'; कङ्कुचित् 'fire arranged like a heron'.

The word भाख्वा indicates that these words are rudhi words, their sense depending upon usage rather than etymology. The arrangement of bricks for sacrificial purpose with regard to fire, gets these various names; that is, when the bricks are arranged like a falcon, it is called इयेनचित्, and so on.

कर्मेक्षीनि विक्रियः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मेक्षि, इनि, विक्रियः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे विपूर्वात् क्रीणात् धादोरिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

93. The affix इनि comes after the compound verb विकृ 'to sell', in the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case.

The repetition of the word कर्मेक्षि in the sūtra, though its anuvṛitti might have been drawn from the last aphorism, indicates that when the object carries with it a sense of censure on the agent, then only this affix is employed and not with every and any object. As सोमविक्रयिन् 'the seller of soma plant'; रसविक्रयिन् 'the seller of liquors'; employing disapproval of the action of those persons who carry on these mean professions. But not so in धानविक्रायः 'the seller of paddy'.

दृशेः क्वनिप् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृशेः, क्वनिप्, (क्वनिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृशोर्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे क्वनिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

94. The affix क्वनिप् comes after the verb दृश् 'to see' in the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case.

As मेरुदृशन्, 1st. sing. मेरुदृशा 'who has seen the Meru'. परलोकदृशन् 'who has seen the hereafter.'

Though the affix क्वनिप् was valid by sūtra III. 2. 75 its repetition here shows that no other affix comes in this sense after this verb.

राजनि युधिक्रजः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजनि, युधि-कृजः, (क्वनिप्, क्वनिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन् शब्दे कर्मण्युपपदे युध्यतेः करोतेश्च क्वनिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. The affix क्वनिप् comes after the verbs युध 'to fight' and कृ 'to make' with a past signification when the word राजन् 'king' is in composition, in the accusative case.

How can the verb युध, which is an intransitive verb, govern an object? It is a transitive verb, inasmuch as it is taken to be a causative verb, with the णिप् affix latent. As राजयुधन्, 1st. sing. राजयुध्या (VIII. 2. 7) 'who has caused the king to fight'; राजकृत्स्न, 1st. sing. राजकृत्वा (VI. 1. 71.) 'who has made a king'.

सह च ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सह, च, (युधि, रुजः, क्वनिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहस्यन्ते चोपपदे युधिक्रमोर्द्धातोः क्वनिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

96. The affix क्वनिप् comes after the verbs युध् and कृ, with a past signification, when the word सह 'with', is in composition.

The word सह, being a particle, and not denoting a substance, is incapable of taking any case. As सहयुध्वन् 'who has made to fight with'; सहकृत्वन् 'who has done any thing along with another'.

सप्तम्यां जनेर्ङः ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तम्यां, जनेः, ङः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्त उपपदे जनेर्ङः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

97. The affix ङ comes after the verb जन् 'to be produced', with a past signification, when the word, in composition with it, is in the locative case.

As उपसरे जातः = उपसरजः । जन् + ङ = ज् + भ (VI. 4. 143) = ज 'born of the first conception'; मन्दुरजः 'born in the stable'.

पञ्चम्यामजाती ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्याम्, अजाती, (जनेः, ङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्यन्त उपपदे जातिवर्जिते जनेर्ङः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix ङ comes after the verb जन्, with a past signification, when the word in composition with it, is in the ablative case, which does not denote a genus.

As बुद्धिजः 'born through understanding'; संस्कारजः 'born of habit'; दुःखजः 'born through pain'.

Why do we say 'when not denoting a genus'? Observe इस्तिनो जातः 'born of elephant'; भ्रभाज्जातः 'born of horse'.

उपसर्गे च संज्ञायाम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, च, संज्ञायाम्, (जनेः, ङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे चोपपदे जनेर्ङः प्रत्ययो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

99. The affix ङ comes after the verb जन् with a past signification, when an upasarga is in composition and when the sense is simply appellative.

The term here being simply appellative, and not descriptive, cannot be explained by giving the signification of its component elements. As प्रजः 'people', or 'a son'; as in the sentence अथेना मानवी प्रजः ।

अनौ कर्मणि ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनौ, कर्मणि, (जनेः, ङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वाज्जनेः कर्मण्युपपदे ङः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

100. The affix ङ comes after the verb जन् with

a past signification, when the root takes the preposition **अनु** and is compounded with a word in the accusative case.

As **पुननुजा** 'a girl born after the male child *i. e.* a girl having an elder brother'; **रुचननुजः** 'a boy born after the female child *i. e.* a boy having an elder sister'.

अन्येष्वपि दृश्यते ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येषु, अपि, दृश्यते,
(जनेः, डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येष्वप्युपपदेषु कारकेषु जनेर्दः प्रत्यबो दृश्यते ॥

101. The affix **ड** is seen to come after the verb **जन्** with a past signification, though it be in composition with other nouns, having cases other than those mentioned in the previous sūtras.

Thus the locative case has been dealt with in sūtra III. 2. 97; but the affix comes when the upapada has any other case than the seventh. As **न जायते** = **भजः** 'unborn'; **द्विजातः** = **द्विजः** 'twice-born'.

Thus, it is said in sūtra III. 2. 98 that the upapada may be in the ablative case, when genus is not denoted. We see, however, the affix employed when genus is denoted. As **ब्राह्मणजो धर्मः**; **सन्निवजं युद्धम्**।

It is declared in sūtra III. 2. 98 that when appellative is meant, the affix **ड** comes after the compound verb **जन्**. We find, however, the affix employed when the sense is not simply appellative; as **भमिजाः** or **परिजाः** 'born or produced all round *i. e.* hair'.

It is declared in sūtra III. 2. 100. 'When an object is in composition with the verb **अनुजन्** this affix is employed'. But it may also be employed when no object is in composition. As **अनुजः** 'born after *i. e.* younger brother'.

The force of the word **अपि** 'though' is to free this rule from all restrictions and conditions. So this affix comes after other verbs and other cases in composition with such verbs. As **परिनः खाता** = **परिखा** 'a moat' (literally that which has been dug all round); **भाखा** 'a pond'.

निष्ठा ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्कृतत् तिष्ठेत्कृतं स निष्ठासंज्ञकः प्रत्यबो भूते भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आदिकर्मणि निष्ठा वक्तव्या ॥

102. The affixes called **निष्ठा** come after a verbal root, employed with the sense of past time.

The affixes **कृ** and **कृतवत्** are **निष्ठा** (I. 1. 26). As **कृ + कृ** = **कृतम्** 'made'; **कृ + कृतवत्** = **कृतवत्**, 1st. sing. **कृतवान्** 'done'; so also **भुक् + कृ** and **भुक् + कृतवत्** = **भुक्तवान्** 'eaten'.

Vart.—The Nishthā affixes come when *Adi-karma* is meant. For a fuller description of what constitutes *Adi-karma* see sūtra III. 4. 71, and the illustrations under it. Thus **प्रकृतः कटं देवदत्तः**, **प्रकृतवान् कटं देवदत्तः**।

सुयजोर्ङ्वनिप् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-यजोः, ङ्वनिप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुनोतेर्ङ्वनिप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

103. The affix ङ्वनिप् comes after the verbs सु 'to press out or extract juice' and यज् 'to sacrifice', with a past signification.

As सु + ङ्वनिप् = सुत् + वन् (VI. 1. 71) = सुस्वन् 1st. sing. सुस्वा 'who has pressed out or extracted juice'; यज्वन्, 1st. sing. यज्वा 'who has sacrificed'. The त् is added by VI. 1. 71. See Rig. Ved. I. 3. 1.

जीर्यतेरत्न ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जीर्यतेः, अत्न, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीर्यतेरत्न प्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

104. The affix अत्न comes after the verb जृ 'to grow old' with the sense of past time.

As जृ + अत्न = जर + भत् (VII. 3. 84) = जरत्, 1st. sing. जरन्, 1st. dl. जरन्तो, 1st. pl. जरन्तः 'grown old' (VII. 1. 70).

By the rule of वासरूप (III. 1. 94), the Nishṭhā affixes also come after this verb. As जीर्यः and जीर्यवान्। जृ + ऋ = जिर् + त (VII. 1. 100 and I. 1. 51) = जिर् + न (VIII. 2. 42) = जीर्य (VIII. 2. 77 and VIII. 4. 1) 'grown old'.

छन्दसि लिट् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, लिट्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये धातोर्लिट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. In the Chhandas, the affix लिट् comes after a verb with a past signification.

As अहं सूर्यमभयतो इदृशं 'I saw the sun from both sides'; अहं आवापृथिवी भाततान 'I stretched the heaven and the earth'. Here the words इदृशं and भाततान have the force of nishṭhā. See Yaj. Ved. VIII. 9.

Why this separate sūtra, when by aphorism III. 4. 61, in the Chhandas the *luṅ*, *laṅ* and *liṭ* come in all tenses? That rule is made with regards to two or more verbs when in syntactical relation (धातुसंबन्ध) with each other (III. 4. 1). The present rule is general, and without any such limitations.

Liṭ is the affix of the Present Perfect and will be fully treated of in the conjugation of verbs.

लिटः कानच्वा ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटः, कानच्, वा; (छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि लिटः कानच्देशो भवति वा ॥

106. In the Chhandas the affix लिट् is optionally replaced by the affix कानच्।

As अग्निं पिबवानः 'he consecrated the fire'; सोमं सुपुषाणः 'he pressed the *soma* juice'. This being an optional affix, is sometimes not employed; as in the examples in the last aphorism.

Why has the word *lit* been repeated in this sūtra, when its anuvṛitti could have been drawn from the last sūtra? The substitute कानच् replaces not only the special लिट् of sūtra III. 2. 105, but the general लिट् which comes after the roots in forming the perfect tense; so that the affix कानच् forms verbal adjectives as well as the perfect tense.

This affix comes after those verbs only which take Atmanepada terminations. See I. 4. 100. तूतुजान् (Rig. Ved. I. 3. 6).

कसुञ्च ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्वसुः, च, (छन्दसि, लिटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि लिटः कसुरारेशो भवति ॥

107. In the Chhandas the affix क्वसु is optionally the substitute of लिट्.

As जज्ञिवस् 1st. sing. जज्ञिवान् 'eaten' (Yaj. VIII. 19); पपिवस् 1st. sing. पपिवान् 'drunk'.

Sometimes it does not come, as in the example under sūtra III. 2. 105; अहं सूर्यमुभवतो रवर्षो.

The division of this sūtra from the last, in which it could well have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvṛitti of क्वसु only runs.

भाषायां सद्वसञ्च ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भाषायान्, सद-वस-ञ्चः, (लिटः, क्वसुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सद वस ञ् इत्येतेभ्यः परस्व लिटो भाषायां विचरते वा कसुरारेशो भवति ॥

108. In the modern Sanskrit, the affix क्वसु optionally replaces लिट् after the verbs सद्, वस् and ञ् with a past signification.

This being a substitute only, the original affix लिट् also comes after these verbs. As, उपसेदिवान् कौत्सः पाणिनिम् 'Kautsa served Pāṇini'. In the alternative, the proper affixes of the past tense will be employed. As उपासवत् 'he served'; उपासीवत् and उपससावत्.

So also अनुपिवान्, कौत्सः पाणिनिम्. In the alternative we have अन्ववासीवत्, अन्ववसवत् and अनुवासत्.

So also उपगुञ्जिवान्, कौत्सः पाणिनिम्. In the alternative we have उपागुञ्जीवत् and उपगुञ्जिवत्.

The affix क्वसु is employed with the force of लृट् and लृट् also.

उपेयिवाननाश्वानमूचानञ्च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपेयिवान्-अनाश्वान्-अमूचानः, (च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपेयिवान् अनाश्वान् अमूचान् इत्येते शक्या निपात्यन्ते ॥

109. The forms उपेयिवान्, अनाश्वान्, अमूचान् are irregularly formed.

These forms are thus evolved:—To the verb इ 'to go' with the preposition उप, the affix क्वसु is added: as उप+इ+क्वसु. The root is reduplicated: as उप+ई+इ+क्वसु. The reduplicate is here long ई by VII. 4. 69. This long ई does not coalesce with the short इ by the rules of sandhi; for then the rule by which this ई was introduced would have no scope. Now we add the augment इट्, contrary and in opposition to the rule VII. 2. 67; and this is the irregularity. As उप+ई+इ+इट्+क्वसु. Then the root इ is replaced by च by sūtra VI. 4. 81. As उप+ई+इ+इट्+क्वसु = उपेचिवस् 1st. sing. उपेचिवान्. The augment इट् is however dropped in those cases (भ) where वस् is changed into उप्; because the insertion of इट् was itself an exceptional case of limited scope:—for while the general rules VII. 2. 75 &c. ordained it, the special rule of VII. 2. 67 prohibited it; and it was by prohibition of this prohibition that इट् was employed before वस्. Therefore in accusative plural we have उपेचुवः; instrumental sing उपेचुषा &c.

This irregular participle is not limited to the upasarga उप; we find such irregular forms with other upasargas and without them also; thus समीचिवान्, and ईचिवान् as well.

By the anuvṛitti of the word वा read in this aphorism, we have लुङ् &c. in the alternative. As in Aorist उपागात्, Imperfect उपेत्, Perfect उपेयात् ।

The word अनाधान् is thus formed:—To the verb भग् 'to enjoy' we add the negative particle अन; apply the affix क्वसु and do not insert the augment इट्; so, we have अन+भग्+क्वसु = अनाधस्, 1st. sing. अनाधान्. In the alternative we have Aorist नाशीत्, Imperfect नामात् and Perfect नाश.

The word अनूचानः is thus derived:—The affix कानच् is added in expressing the agent to the verb वच् preceded by अनु. In the alternative we have Aorist अन्वचोचत्, Imperfect अन्वचवीत्, Perfect अन्वचात्.

लुङ् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङ्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतेऽयं वर्तमानाद्धातोर्लुङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वसतेर्लुङ् रात्रिद्ये जागरणसन्ततौ वक्तव्यः ॥

110. The affix लुङ् comes after a verb in the sense of past time.

The लुङ् forms what is known as aorist. It is in fact the name of the aorist, as the whole of this affix is replaced by other personal terminations. See III. 1. 43 and subsequent sūtras.

'The aorist has reference to a past time indefinitely or generally, without reference to any particular time. An action done before today is expressed by the perfect or imperfect; whatever remains for the aorist is, therefore, to express a past action, done very *recently*, say, in the course of the current day or having reference to a present act. Aorist, therefore, merely implies the completion of an action at a past time *generally*, and also an action done at a

very recent time, as during the course of this day. The imperfect and perfect are used in narrating events of past occurrence, generally in remote past time; the aorist is used in dialogues and conversations which refer to recent past actions, but it is not used to denote past specified time or to narrate events'.—Apte's Composition. As अकार्षीत् 'he did'; अहर्षीत् 'he took'.

Vart.—The affix लुङ् comes after the verb वच् 'to dwell', when 'end of the present night' is indicated. Supposing a person rising from his bed at the proper time of rising (not in the middle of the night, but in the early morning) and finding another near him were to ask that one, 'where did you dwell i. e. pass the night?' That person so asked should answer in the लुङ् and not in लङ्. As अनुशावात्सम् 'I dwelt there'; and not अनुशावत्सम्.

Vart.—The above rule applies only in connection with waking after regular sleep. He who has not slept the whole night, but only for half an hour or so, should reply अनुशावत्सम्.

अनद्यतने लङ् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनद्यतने, लङ्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यमानाद्यतने भूतेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्गतोर्लङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परोक्षे च लोकविज्ञाते प्रयोक्तुर्लङ्निविषये लङ् वक्तव्यः ॥

111. The affix लङ् comes after a verbal root employed in the sense of past before the commencement of the current day.

The word अनद्यतन is a Bahuvrihi compound, meaning that which has not occurred during the course of the current day (*adyatana*). The whole of this affix is replaced by conjugational terminations, and the affix लङ् by itself denotes the Imperfect tense. As अकरोत् 'he did'; अहरत् 'he took'.

Why have we explained *anadyatana* as a Bahuvrihi compound? Because when there is a doubt as to the time, whether it was to-day or yesterday, there the Imperfect should not be used. As अद्य ह्यो वा अभुञ्जमहि 'we ate to-day or yesterday'. In such a case the affix is लुङ्.

Vart :—The affix लङ् is also employed in signifying what is not witnessed by the narrator, when it relates to a well-known public event which can form the object of perception by the narrator. Thus in speaking of a recent public occurrence we may say:—अरुणद् ववनः साकेतम् 'the Yavanas have besieged Sāketa'; अरुणद् ववनः माध्यमिकान् 'the Yavanas have besieged Mādhyamika'.

Why do we say 'not witnessed by the speaker'? Observe उदगात् आदित्यः 'the sun arose'. Why do we say 'a popular public event'? Observe चकार कट्. देवदत्तः 'Devadatta has made the mat'. Why do we say 'which is the object of perception by the speaker'? Observe जघान कंसं किञ् वासुदेवः 'Vāsudeva killed Kansa'.

अभिज्ञावचने लृट् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिज्ञा-वचने, लृट्, (भूते, अनद्यतने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिज्ञा स्मृतिस्तद्वचन उपपदे भूतानद्यतने लृट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. When a word implying 'recollection' is in connection with it, a verb takes the affix लृट् (2nd future) in the sense of the past before the commencement of the present day.

The word अभिज्ञा means 'recollection'. This rule sets aside the affix लृट्. As अभिजानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरेषु वरस्थानः 'rememberest thou, Devadatta, we were dwelling (lit. we will dwell) in Kashmir'.

The word वचन meaning 'signification' in the sūtra, denotes that the construction is the same when the synonyms of अभिज्ञा are used; as स्मरसि 'dost thou remember'; बुध्यसे 'dost thou know'; चेतयसे 'dost thou reflect'; and the like.

न यदि ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यदि, (अभिज्ञावचने, लृट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्छब्द सहितेऽभिज्ञावचन उपपदे लृट्प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

113. The affix लृट् (the 2nd future) is not applied in the sense of the past, when the upapada denoting recollection has in connection with it the particle यत्.

This prohibits लृट् which the verb वस् obtained from the last sūtra. As अभिजानासि देवदत्त यत् कश्मीरेष्ववसान 'thou rememberest Devadatta how we did dwell in Kashmir'. Here the mere fact of dwelling is recollected, there being no other idea implied; therefore the subsequent aphorism has no scope here. That aphorism has its scope, when with recollection, is added another dependent idea or action, without which the sentence is not complete.

विभाषा साकांक्षे ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, साकांक्षे, (लृट्, अभिज्ञावचने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिज्ञावचन उपपदे यच्छब्दसहिते केषले च विभाषा लृट्प्रत्ययो भवति साकांक्ष-
क्षेप्रयुक्ता ॥

114. The affix लृट् is optionally applied in the sense of the past, when a word implying 'recollection' is in connection with it, and whether such word has the particle यत् or is employed simply; provided that the two verbs, occurring in the same complex sentence, are so connected together, that each is necessary to the other, to complete the sense of the speaker.

The word साकांक्षा means the relation between the sign and the thing signified, wished for or wanted by the speaker, or in other words, when the first verb is related to another verb used in the same sentence, as a sign is to that which is indicated by the sign. As अभिजानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरान् गमिष्यामः, तत्र सक्तुन्

पास्यामः or अभिजानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरान् गच्छाम, तत्र सक्तून् पिबाम, 'do you remember Devadatta we went to Kashmir and there did drink Saktu'.

This option is allowed whether the particle यत् is or is not used. As अभिजानासि देवदत्त यत् कश्मीरान् गमिष्यामः (or यत् कश्मीरान् गच्छाम,) यत् तत्रौदनं भोक्ष्यामहे (or यत् तत्रौदनमभुञ्जमहि) 'Do you recollect, Devadatta how we went to Kashmir and how we ate rice there'.

In the above examples, the verb 'to go' is the sign, and the 'eating' or 'drinking', in the second sentence, is the thing really signified ; the first verb is necessary as an introduction to the thought of the speaker which dwells more upon the second verb. Here the second sentence or proposition is used as completion or complement of the first proposition.

परोक्षे लिट् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परोक्षे, लिट्, (भूते, अनद्यतने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्भातोर्लिट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अत्यन्तापन्हवे च लिट्प्रत्ययः ॥

115. The affix लिट् comes after a verb in the sense of the past before the commencement of the current day and unperceived by the narrator.

The word परोक्ष 'unperceived' qualifies the words भूत 'past' and अनद्यतन 'non-current day' understood in this aphorism.

'Well, are not the senses of verbs *all* unperceived, since they are mere words, and words cannot be perceived? Exactly so ; but in popular phraseology, the perception is imagined to attach to the agent with regard to certain verbs ; this rule relates to cases where such perception does not take place. As, चकार 'he did' ; जहार 'he took'.

'It is evident that the लिट् (perfect) should not be used in the first person, *i. e.* when the agent of the action is the speaker or writer himself ; for it is impossible that the action should not have been witnessed by him. But if by reason of some distracted, unconscious or absent state of mind, it is possible for the agent to speak of the action as one, of which he was not a conscious witness, the perfect may be used even in the first person. As सुप्तोऽहं किञ्च विजलाप 'indeed I prated while asleep'.

Vart :—The perfect should be employed (in denoting past time simply, whether of the current day or otherwise, and whether the action has been witnessed personally or not) if the sense is total denial of the action. As कलिङ्गेषु स्थितोऽसि ? नाहं कलिङ्गम् जगाम 'did you live in the Kalinga country ? I did not even go to the Kalinga country'; इक्षिणापथं प्रविष्टोऽसि ? नाहं इक्षिणापथं प्रविशे.

इशश्वतीर्लङ् च ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इ-शश्वतीः, लङ्, च, (भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे, लिट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षेऽर्थे लिटि प्राप्ते इशश्वतीरुपपदोर्लङ्प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराल्लिट् च ॥

116. And the affix लङ् comes after a verb when the particles ह and शब्त् are in connection with it, and when the verb denotes past action unperceived by the speaker, and before the commencement of the current day.

The force of च 'and' is that the affix लिट् (perfect) may also be employed in similar construction. As इति हाकरोत् (imperfect), or इति ह चकार (perfect) 'Alas ! he did it'. शब्त्करोत् or शब्त्चकार 'again and again he did it'.

प्रश्ने चासन्नकाले ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रश्ने, च, आसन्नकाले, (भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे, लङ्, लिट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आसन्नकाले पृच्छ्यमानो भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानात्तातोर्लङ् लिटौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

117. The affixes लङ् (imperfect) and लिट् (perfect) come after a verb (in expressing a past time not belonging to the current day and unperceived by the speaker) when the past time referred to is recent, and the sentence is interrogative.

This sūtra also qualifies the words भूत, अनद्यतन and परोक्ष understood in this sūtra. The word प्रश्न means 'what should be asked'; and आसन्नकाल 'time close at hand': As, some one may ask another, अगच्छद् देवदत्तः or जगाम देवदत्तः 'did Devadatta go or has Devadatta gone (just now)?' अयजद् देवदत्तः or इयाज देवदत्तः 'Did Devadatta sacrifice or has Devadatta sacrificed?'

Why do we say 'in asking question? Otherwise there would be Perfect tense only. As, जगाम देवदत्तः 'Devadatta has gone'.

Why do we say 'when the past time referred to is imminently recent? Observe भवन्तं पृच्छामि, जघान कंसं किल वासुदेवः 'I ask you, did Krishna indeed kill Kansa in days of yore'.

लट् रमे ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लट्, रमे, (भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्मशब्द उपपदे भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षे लट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

118. The affix लट् (present) comes after a verb, when the particle स्म is in connection with it, (and denotes a past time not belonging to the current day and unperceived by the speaker).

All the words within brackets are understood in this aphorism This debars लिट् or the perfect tense. Thus यजति स्म युधिष्ठिरः 'Yudhishthira sacrificed'; so also नत्नेन स्म पुरोधायते । उद्यया स्म पराधीयते ॥

अपरोक्षे च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरोक्षे, च, (भूते, अनद्यतने, रमे, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरोक्षे च भूतानद्यतनेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानाद्वातोः स्मरूपपदे जट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The affix जट् (present) comes after a verb when the particle स्म is in connection with it, and denotes a past action not belonging to the current day, and when the action is perceived by the agent.

As एवं स्म पिता ब्रवीति 'thus said the father' ; इति स्मोपाध्यायः कथयति 'thus said the preceptor'.

जनैः पृष्टप्रतिवचने ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ जनैः, पृष्ट-प्रतिवचने,
(भूते, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ननुशब्द उपपदे प्रश्नपूर्वके प्रतिवचने भूतेऽर्थे जट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. The affix जट् is employed after a verb in denoting past action, when the word ननु is in connection with it, and an answer is given to a question.

The anuvṛitti of the words '*anadyatana*' and '*paroksha*' does not extend to this sūtra. This declares a rule with regard to past time in general. This debars लृङ् (the Aorist tense). As भकार्पाः कटं देवदत्त ?— ननु करोमि भोः 'Devadatta, did you make the mat ? O, yes, I did make it'. भवोचस्तत्र किंचिद् देवदत्त, — ननु ब्रवीमि भोः 'Devadatta, did you speak there anything ? O, yes, I did speak'.

Why do we say 'in reply to an interrogation' ? Observe नन्वकार्पांन् माणवकः 'certainly, Mānavaka did it'.

नन्वोर्विभाषा ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-न्वोः, विभाषा, (भूते, पृष्ट-
प्रति-वचने, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नशाब्दे नुशाब्दे चोपपदे पृष्टप्रतिवचने विभाषा जट्प्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

121. The affix जट् comes optionally after a verb, in denoting past time, in reply to an interrogation, when the words न 'not' and नु 'what of that' are in connection with it.

As, भकार्पाः कटं देवदत्त—न करोमि भोः or नाकार्षम् ;—अहं नु करोमि or अहं न्वकार्षम् 'Devadatta, did you make the mat ?—No I did not ;— what of that, I did'.

पुरि लुङ् चास्मे ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरि, लुङ्, च, आस्मे, (भूते,
अनद्यतने, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुराशब्द उपपदे स्मशब्दवर्जिते भूतानद्यतनेऽर्थे विभाषा लृङ्प्रत्ययो भवति जट् च ॥

122. Optionally the affixes लृङ् and जट् come after a verb, in denoting past time not belonging to the current day, when the word पुरा is used in the sentence, provided that the word स्म is not used.

The anuvṛitti of the word *anadyatana* which had come to a stop with III. 2. 120 manifests itself again in this sūtra by a process of jumping over the two intermediate aphorisms. This sort of anuvṛitti is technically called *manduka-pluti* 'the leap of a frog' i. e. skipping of several sūtras and supplying a word from a previous sūtra.

This is an optional rule, so that when *lat* and *lun* are not used, the proper tenses, as the case may be, must be employed. As वसन्तीह पुरा छात्राः 'the pupils lived here formerly'. So also, Aorist, भवास्तुः पुरा छात्राः; Imperfect, भवसन्तिह पुरा छात्राः; Perfect, कपुरिह पुरा छात्राः।

Why do we say 'when the word स्म is not used'? Observe वज्रति स्म पुरा युधिष्ठिरः 'Yudhishtira did perform a sacrifice formerly'. Here rule 118 *ante* exerts its influence.

वर्तमाने लट् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्तमाने, लट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भारद्वाजोपरिसमाप्तश्च वर्तमानस्तस्मिन् वर्तमानेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्वातोर्जदप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

123. The affix लट् comes after a verb when denoting a present action.

The word वर्तमान means that which is begun and which has not yet come to an end. The action denoted by a verb in the present tense is yet continuing and has not stopped. As पचति 'he is cooking'; पठति 'he is reading'. So also whatever is constant, regular, uniform, is represented by the Present Indefinite. As तिष्ठन्ति पर्वताः 'the mountains stand'; ज्वन्ति नद्यः 'the rivers flow'.

लटः शब्दशानच्चावप्रथमासमानाधिकरणे ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लटः,

शब्द-शानच्ची, अप्रथमा-समानाधिकरणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लटः शब्दशानच्चाविशेषतावादेशो भवतः अप्रथमान्तेन चेतस्व सामानाधिकरण्यं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ माह्याक्रोशे ॥

124. The affixes शब्द and शानच् are substitutes of लट्, when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix.

As पचमानं देवदत्तं पश्य 'behold Devadatta who is cooking'; पचता कृतम् 'or पचमानेन कृतम् 'done by one who is cooking'. पच् + शानच् = पच् + शप् + शानच् (III. 4. 113, III. 1. 68) = पच् + भ + मुक् + भान (VII. 2. 82) = पचमान । So also पच् + शप् + शब्द = पच् + भ + भत् = पचत् ।

Why do we say 'when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix'? Observe देवदत्तः पचति 'Devadatta cooks'.

Since the term लट्, might have been supplied from the last aphorism, its double citation is for the sake of larger application of this rule; that is to say, this rule applies sometimes even when the word is in concord with a nominative case. As सन् ब्राह्मणः 'who is a Brāhmaṇa' = भस्ति ब्राह्मणः; so also

विद्यते ब्राह्मणः and विद्यमानो ब्राह्मणः ; जुहूत् and जुहोति ; and अधीयानः and अधीते ।

Vart.—These affixes are employed after a verb, when the particle माङ् is in composition, and censure or curse is implied. As मा पचन् and मा पचमानः 'may he not cook' ; मा जीवन् चः परावज्ञादुःखदग्धोऽपि जीवति 'cursed be he (lit. may he not live) who though smitten by the pain of the contempt of others, still lives'. Some commentators read the anuvṛitti of the word 'option' from sūtra 121 into this. That option, however, is a limited option (*vyavasthita-vibhāshā*) and not of universal application. Whenever a particular form is found as differing from the general form, there it should be understood that the option has been allowed, and not everywhere.

सम्बोधने च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्बोधने, च, (लटः, शतृशानच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्बोधने च विषये लटः शतृशानचौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

125. The affixes शतृ and शानच् are the substitutes of लट् even when agreeing with what ends with a first case-affix, provided that it is in the vocative case.

This aphorism declares when these participles may be employed even in the first case ; as हे पचन् or हे पचमान 'O thou who art cooking'.

लक्षणहेत्वोः क्रियायाः ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षण-हेत्वोः, क्रियायाः, (लटः, शतृ-शानचौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणे हेतौ चार्थे वर्तमानाद्गतौः परस्व लटः शतृशानचावारेणौ भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ लक्षणहेत्वोः क्रियायाः गुण उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तत्वाख्याने च ॥

126. The affixes शतृ and शानच् are the substitutes of लट् and come after a verb, in expressing an attendant circumstance or characteristic, and the cause of an action.

The word लक्षण means that by which a thing is recognised or known i. e. an attribute ; हेतु means producer or cause. Both these words are attributes of the word क्रिया. Of *lakshana*:—as, शयानाः भुञ्जते यवनाः 'the Yavanas take their meals lying down'. तिष्ठन्तोऽनुशासति गणकाः । Of *hetu* :—as हरिं पश्यन् मुच्यते 'by (reason of) seeing Hari, he gets absolution' ; अधीयानो वसति 'for the sake of study he dwells here'.

Why do we say 'when denoting a characteristic or a cause' ? Observe पचति 'he cooks' ; पठति 'he reads'.

Why do we say 'of the action' ? Not so when the participle is the characteristic or cause of a substance or a quality. As चः कम्पते सोऽश्वथः 'that which is shaking is the Aswattha' ; यदुच्छ्वसे तल्लघु 'whatever floats is light' ; यद्विधीयति तद्गुरु 'that which sinks down is heavy'.

Vart.—This participle also defines the agent of an action as, योऽधीचान् भास्ते स देवदत्तः 'he is Devadatta who sits studying'.

Vart.—This participle is also used to state a general truth: as शयाना वर्धते दूर्वा 'the Dûrvâ grass grows in a recumbent position'; भास्तीन् वर्धते विलं 'a lotus stalk grows in an upright position'. The compound लक्षणहेतवोः of the sûtra contradicts the rule by which a word of fewer syllables stands first (II. 2. 14). This shows that the rule II. 2. 14. is not universal.

तौ सत् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तौ, सत्, (शद-शानच्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तौ शदशानचौ सत्संज्ञौ भवतः ॥

127. These two शद and शानच् are called सत्.

These participial affixes get collectively this name; and as such they are not limited by the conditions enumerated above; so that they replace not only the affixes of the Present tense but sometimes of Future also (III. 3. 14.), as well as other tenses. Thus ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वन्, करिष्यन्, कुर्वाणः, करिष्यमाणः ।

The word सत् occurs in sûtra II. 2. 11. &c.

पूङ्ग्यजोः शानन् ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूङ्-यजोः, शानन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूङ्गो यजञ् धातोः शानन् पश्यचौ भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्विषः शतुर्वा वचनम् ॥

128. The affix शानन् comes after the verbs पू 'to purify' and यज् 'to sacrifice'.

As पवमानः 'purifier (fire or air)'; यजमानः 'sacrificer'.

It might be asked 'is the शानन् with others that follow, an affix *suo generis*, or is it merely a substitute of ल, as शद and शानच्? Why we ask this question is this. If they are affixes and not substitutes of ल, then they should govern genitive case by rule II. 3. 65. instead of nominative or the accusative. If, on the other hand, they are substitutes of ल, then by rule II. 3. 69. they should not govern the genitive case. But evidently they are not the substitutes of ल, as they are not so taught. How is it then that we have such forms as सोमं पवमानः 'drinking Soma'; and नडमापमानः? These forms can be explained on other grounds than supposing that शानन् &c. must be the substitutes of ल. The term हन् in sûtra II 3. 69. is not the affix हन् taught in this Chapter sûtra 135; but it is a *pratyâhâra* including several affixes. It is a *pratyâhâra* formed by taking the ह् of शद in sûtra 124; and न् of हन् in 135; and thus it means all the affixes from शद in 124 down to हन् in 135. Thus though शानन्, चानश् &c. are not substitutes of ल, still the rule II. 3. 69. applies to them, as they are included in the term हन्.

Vart.—The rule II. 3. 69. applies only optionally when the verb द्विष् takes the affix शद. As चोरस्व or चोरं द्विषन् 'hating the thief'.

ताच्छील्यवयोवचनशक्तिषु चानम् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ताच्छील्य-
वयः-वचन-शक्तिषु, चानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ताच्छील्यादिषु धातोश्चानम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

129. The affix चानम् comes after a verb in expressing 'habit', 'standard of age' and 'ability'.

The word ताच्छील्य means 'habit' or 'disposition'; वयः means the condition of body such as 'infancy', 'youth' &c; शक्ति means 'capacity to do a thing'. As भोगं मुञ्चानः 'habituated to enjoy'; कवचं विभाणः 'wearing an armour (of the age at which armour may be worn)'; शत्रुं निग्नानः 'able to destroy his foe'. So also, कर्ताह मुण्डयमानाः, भूषयमानाः, कवचं पर्यस्यमानाः, शिल्पकं वहमानाः and पचमानाः ।

इङ्-धार्योः शत्रुकञ्छि ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ इङ्-धार्योः, शत्रु,
अकञ्छि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इङो धारेश्च धात्वोः शत्रुप्रत्ययो भवति अकञ्छिणि कर्त्तरि ॥

130. The affix शत्रु comes after the verbs इङ् 'to go' and धारि 'to hold' in denoting that the agent does the action without trouble.

The word अकञ्छि means that which is accomplished by the agent with ease and facility. As अधीयन् पारायणम् 'the facile reading of the Purāna'; धारयन् नृप-निषवन् 'easily mastering the Upanishad'. The root धारि is causative of धृ and means here 'to master'.

Why do we say 'when facility is indicated'? Otherwise कृच्छ्रेणाधीते 'he reads with difficulty'; कृच्छ्रेण धारयति 'he remembers with difficulty'.

द्विषोऽभिन्ने ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषः, अभिन्ने, (शत्रु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिन्ने कर्त्तरि द्विषेर्धातोः शत्रुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

131. The affix शत्रु comes after the verb द्विष् when the agent indicated means an enemy.

The word अभिन्ने means 'enemy'. As द्विषन् 'enemy', द्विषन्तौ 'two enemies', द्विषन्तः 'enemies'.

Why do we say 'when denoting an enemy'? Observe द्वेष्टि भार्या पतिम् 'the wife hates her husband'.

सुप्तो यज्ञसंयोगे ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुप्तः, यज्ञ-संयोगे, (शत्रु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञसंयुक्तेऽभिषवे वर्तमानात्सुप्तोतेर्धातोः शत्रुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

132. The affix शत्रु comes after the verb सु 'to press out juice' when the sense is that of association with sacrifice.

The word **यज्ञसंयोग** is an instrumental compound, meaning association or connection (संयोग) with sacrifice. As **सु+नु+शब्** (III. 1. 76, III. 4. 113) = **सुनु+अत्** (I. 2. 4.) = **सुन्वत्** (VI. 1. 77), 1st. sing. **सुन्वन्**, 1st. pl. **सुन्वन्तः** 'the sacrificers'; as in **सर्वे सुन्वन्तः** 'all are interested in, or partake of, or share in the sacrifice'.

The word **संयोग** indicates that the principal sacrificer. *i. e.* the **यज्ञमान** is meant and not every person who is associated in the performance of a sacrifice in a subordinate capacity ; such as **वाजकाः** 'the sacrificing priests'.

When connection with sacrifice is not meant we have **सुनोति सुराम्** 'he distils liquor'.

अर्हः प्रशंसायाम् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्हः, प्रशंसायाम्, (शब्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्हतेर्द्धातोः प्रशंसायां शब्दप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

133. The affix **शब्** comes after the verb **अर्ह** in expressing praise.

As **अर्हसिह भवान्विद्याम्** 'thou art worthy of this knowledge here'; **अर्हसिह भवान्पूजाम्** 'thou art worthy of honor in this place'.

Why do we say 'when meaning to praise'? Witness **अर्हति चौरो वधम्** 'the thief deserves death'.

आ क्लेश्छीलतद्दुर्मेतत्साधुकारिषु ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, क्लेशः, तच्छील-तद्दुर्मे-तत्साधुकारिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आ एतस्मात् क्लेशंशब्दात्थानित ऊर्द्धमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तच्छीलान्कारिषु कर्तृषु ते वेदितव्याः ॥

134. From this sūtra as far as **क्लिप्** in sūtra 177 inclusive, the affixes that we shall treat of, are to be understood in the sense of agents having such a habit, or nature, or having skill in such and such action.

The force of **आ** in this sūtra is limit inclusive, and includes **क्लिप्** also. The term **तच्छील** means 'the natural inclination towards an action not prompted by a contemplation of its fruit or result'. The term **तद्दुर्मे** means 'who enters upon an action not from habit but thinking that it is his duty'. The term **तत्साधुकारि** means 'who does the action expressed by the verb in an excellent way'. Illustrations of these will be given under the subsequent aphorisms.

तुम् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुम्, (तच्छील-तद्दुर्मे-तत्साधुकारिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वधातुभ्यस्त्वन्प्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलान्कारिषु कर्तृषु ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हन्विधावृत्तिश्च आनुपसर्गस्य ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नयतेः पुक् च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्वपेहैवतायामकारण्योपधाया अनिदस्त्वच्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शर्द्ध नि युक्ते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्वसि दृश्य ॥

135. The affix **त्** comes after all verbs in the sense of 'agents having such a habit &c'.

The **त्** of **त्** is indicatory, and regulates the accent (VI. I. 197). As **कृ + हत् = कर्ह**, 1st sing. कर्ता. This affix denotes *habit* in the following; as, कर्ता कर्तान् 'who is accustomed to make mats. *Nature*:—as, मृण्डञ्जितारः श्राविष्टाचना भवन्ति वधूमताम् 'the family of Srāvishtāyana shave the heads of their widows'; अन्नमप-हर्तार आहरका भवन्ति आह्ने सिद्धे 'the Ahvarakas steal away food as soon as Srāddha is accomplished'; उन्नतारस्तौल्वलाचना भवन्ति पुने जाते 'the Taulvalāyanas become elated on the birth of a son'. *Skill*:—as, कर्ता कटम् 'skilful maker of mats'. गन्ताऽऽखेटम् 'skilful hunter'.

Vart:—The simple verbs, without upasargas, take the affix **हत्**, when the words so formed are names of sacrificial priests. As हु + हत् = होह, 1st. sing. होता 'the *Hotri* priest'; so also पोह 'the *Potri* priest'.

Why do we say 'when not taking the upasargas'? Observe उद्गाह 'the *Udgātri* priest'; प्रतिहर्ह 'the *Pratihartri* priest'. Here the affix is **हत्**. Though the form is the same, there is difference however in the accent; *i. e.* हत् places udatta accent on the first syllable (VI. I. 197), while हत् places it on the last (VI. I. 163).

Vart:—The augment **षुक्** is added when नी takes the affix **हत्**; as नी + षुक् + हत् = नेह, 1st. sing. नेहा 'the *Neshtri* priest'.

Vart:—When signifying diety, the verb त्विष् takes **हत्**; the letter **भ** is the substitute for the **इ** of the root; and the affix does not take the intermediate इद् augment; as, त्विष् + हत् = त्वह, 1st. sing. त्वहा 'Tvashtri'.

Vart:—The root ऋह takes **हत्**, when the word to be formed means an officer; as ऋह 'an attendant, a door-keeper'.

Vart:—In the Veda, the root ऋह takes **हत्**, as ऋह. The form is the same as the last, but there is difference of accent.

अलंकृन्निराकृज्प्रजनौत्पद्योत्पत्तोन्नदरुष्यपत्रपवृत्तुवृषुसहचरः
इष्णुच् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलंकृ-निराकृ-प्रजन-उत्पद्य-उत्पत्त-उन्नद-
रुषि-अपत्रप-वृत्तु-वृषु-सह-चरः, इष्णुच्, (तच्छीलादिषु, कर्तृषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अलंकृमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु इष्णुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अलंकृप्रोमण्डनार्थाद्युचः पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेनेष्णुच्प्रत्ययः ॥

136. The affix **इष्णुच्** comes after the following verbs in the sense of the 'agents having such a habit &c'; viz.—अलंकृ 'to adorn', निराकृ 'to expel', प्रजन् 'to be born', उत्पद्य 'to be ripe', उत्पत्त 'to fly', उन्नद 'to be mad', रुच् 'to shine', अपचन् 'to be ashamed', वृत् 'to be', वृष् 'to grow', सह 'to bear' and चर् 'to walk'.

As अर्जकरिष्णुः 'decorating', निराकरिष्णुः 'repudiating', प्रजनिष्णुः 'procreative', उत्पत्तिष्णुः 'apt to ripen', उत्पत्तिष्णुः 'flying', उन्नदिष्णुः 'mad', रोचिष्णुः 'bright', अपन्नदिष्णुः 'bashful', वर्तिष्णुः 'revolving', वर्धिष्णुः 'growing', सहिष्णुः 'patient', चरिष्णुः 'moveable'.

Vart.—The affix इष्णुच् debares by anticipation the affix वृच् of III. 2. 151, after the root अज्ज्, though it has the sense of decorating'.

खेच्छंदसि ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ खेः, छंदसि, (तच्छीलादिषु, इष्णुच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋन्ताद्वातोर्हृन्वसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु इष्णुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

137. The affix इष्णुच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', comes in the Chhandas after a verb that ends in the causative णि.

The Causatives take this affix in the Vedic literature. As इष्वं धारदिष्णवः 'who hold the stones' ; वीरुषः पारदिष्णवः ।

भुवश्च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, च, (छंदसि, तच्छीलादिषु, इष्णुच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्धातोर्हृन्वसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु इष्णुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

138. The affix इष्णुच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', comes in the Chhandas, after the verb भू 'to be' also.

Thus भविष्णुः 'becoming'.

The *yoga-vibhāga* or the division of this sūtra from the last, with which it could well have been read, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras.

The word 'also' indicates the existence of other verbs not included in the above two sūtras ; as, भ्राजिष्णुना जोहितचन्नेन ।

ग्लजिस्थश्च क्स्नुः ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्लजि-स्थः, च, क्स्नुः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्लजि स्था इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यश्कारार्त् भुवश्च तच्छीलादिषु क्स्नुःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इति श्रुत्वात्स्वपसंख्यानम् ॥

139. The affix क्स्नु comes after the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' viz.—ग्ल 'to be weary', जि 'to conquer' and स्था 'to stand', as well as after भू 'to be'.

As, ग्लान्नुः 'languid'; जिष्णुः 'victorious'; स्थान्नुः 'disposed to stand firm, immoveable' ; भूष्णुः 'being'.

The anuvṛitti of the word *Chhandasi* does not extend to this sūtra. The indicatory letter of this affix is really ग and not क, and therefore, there is

no substitution of long ई for the आ of ल्या, which would otherwise have taken place, had the affix been क्त्वि (VI. 4. 66).

In the sūtra I. 1. 5. (क्विति च) the letter ग is also included ; for ग coming before क, is changed by the rules of *sandhi* into क्क and is not therefore visible. This affix therefore does not cause *guna*.

So also in sūtra VII. 2. 11 (अयुक्तः किति), the augment इद् does not come after the verb स्नु, or a monosyllabic verb ending in the pratyāhāra उक्, when an affix having an indicatory क follows. Here also क includes ग ; and therefore in भूष्णु we have no intermediate augment इद्.

Vart.—In the Chhandas this affix comes after the verb वंश 'to bite' ; as वंशणवः पशवः 'the beasts that bite'.

त्रसिगृधिपृथित्तियेः क्नुः ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रसि-गृधि-पृथि-त्तियेः,

क्नुः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रसादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु क्नुःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

140. The affix क्नु comes after the verbs त्रस् 'to tremble', गृध् 'to be greedy', धृष् 'to be bold' and क्षिप् 'to throw' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

As, त्रसुः 'trembling'; गृध्नुः 'greedy'; धृष्णुः 'bold' ; and क्षिप्नुः 'throwing'.

शमित्यष्टाभ्यो चिनुञ् ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शम्-इति-अष्टाभ्यः,

चिनुञ्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शमादिभ्योऽष्टाभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु चिनुञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix चिनुञ् comes after the eight verbs beginning with शम् 'to be calm', in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The word इति in the aphorism indicates beginning. These eight verbs begin with शम् and end with न् in the list of verbs. Of the affix चिनुञ् the real affix is इन्, the other letters are servile ; the च् is for the sake of substituting guttural for the final palatals ; ञ् is for the sake of euphony, or for the sake of rule VI. 3. 45 ; and the letter ण् causes *vridhhi* (VII. 2. 116) : which in the case of roots ending in न् is prohibited by the rule VII. 3. 34, the only verb taking *vridhhi* being नम् ।

As शमिन् 1st. sing. शमी 'calm'; likewise लमी 'desiring'; इमी 'taming'; भ्रमी 'laborious'; भ्रमी 'whirling', 'moving round'; क्लमी 'fatiguing'; क्षमी 'forbearing'; प्रमादी 'mad' and उन्मादी 'mad'. Though by rule 136, the verb उन्मद् takes the affix इष्णुच्, it also takes the affix चिनुञ् by the rule of वासक्य (III. 1 94).

All these verbs belong to the *Divādi* class. After other verbs than these eight, we have other affixes ; as असिक्त्वा.

संपृचानुरुधाङ्यनाङ्यसपरिस्रसंसृजपरिदेविसंस्वरपरिक्षिपपरिरट
परिवदपरिदहपरिमुहदुषद्विषद्रुहदुहयुजाक्रीडविविषत्यजरजभजातिचरापचरा-
मुषाम्याहनश्च ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संपृच-अनुरुध-आङ्यन-आङ्यस-परिस्र-
संसृज-परिदेवि-संस्वर-परिक्षिप-परिरट-परिवद-परिदह-परिमुह-दुष-द्विष-द्रुह-
दुह-युज-आक्रीड - विविष - त्यज - रज - भज - अतिचर - अपचर - आमुष - अम्याहनः,
च, (तच्छीलादिषु, घिनुश्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्प्रचादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो घिनुष्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

142. The affix घिनुष् comes after the following verbs, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'. viz :— सम्पृच्, अनुरुध्, आयम्, भावस्, परिस्र, संसृज्, परिदेव, संस्वर, परिक्षिप्, परिरट्, परिवह, परिवह, परिमुह, दुष, द्विष, द्रुह, रुह, युज्, आक्रीड्, विविच्, त्यज्, रज्, भज्, अतिचर्, अपचर्, आमुष् and अम्याहन्.

The root संपृच् is to be taken as belonging to the Rudhādi class, and not as belonging to Adādi, because the vikaraṇa is elided in the latter. The root परिदेवि belongs to Bhvādi class, the simple verb being देव् 'to sport'. The verb क्षिप् 'to throw' is common both to Tudādi and Divādi, and both are taken here. युज् 'to concentrate' is Divādi, and युज् 'to join' is Rudhādi; both are meant here. The verb रज् 'to color' has lost its nasal in this sūtra, irregularly.

Thus संपृच् + घिनुष् = संपर्क + इन् (VII. 2. 52) = सम्पर्किन् 1st. sing. सम्पर्की 'mixture'; similarly, अनुरोधी 'compliant'; आयामी 'one who restrains'; आयामी 'one who exerts'; परिसारी 'that which flows round'; संसर्गी 'united'; परिदेवी 'lamenting'; संस्वारी 'greatly heating'; परिक्षेपी 'moving about'; परिराटी 'crying aloud'; परिवाही 'reviling'; परिवाही 'burning'; परिमोही 'beguiling'; दोषी 'guilty'; द्वेषी 'hating'; द्रोही 'quarrelling'; दोही 'milking'; योगी 'uniting or concentrating'; आक्रीडी 'playing'; विवेकी 'discriminating'; त्यागी 'renouncing'; रागी 'yearning after'; भागी 'sharing'; अतिचारी 'transgressing'; अपचारी 'offending'; आनीषी 'a thief'; अम्यापाती 'attacking'. (VII. 3. 52 and 54).

The indicatory च of the affix shows that the final palatal is changed into a corresponding guttural before this affix.

घो कषलसकत्यस्त्रभः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ घौ, कष-लस-कत्य-
स्त्रभः (घिनुष्, तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कष लस कत्य स्त्रभ एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो विशम्भरपपरे घिनुष्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

143. The affix घिनुष् comes after the verbs कष 'to injure', लष् 'to embrace and sport', कत्य 'to praise' and स्त्रभ 'to believe', when these are in composition with the preposition वि।

As विक्रापी 'injuring'; विलासी 'sportive, a sensualist'; विकल्पी 'vaunting'; and विसम्भी 'confiding'.

अपे च लषः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपे, च, लषः, (चिनुष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लष कान्तौ, अस्माद्गतोरपठपपरे चकाराद्दो च चिनुष्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

144. The affix चिनुष् comes after the verb लष 'to wish' when compounded with the preposition अप and चि.

As अपलापी 'thirsty'; विलापी. The term चि is to be read into this sūtra by the force of the word 'and'.

प्रे लपसद्द्रुमयवदवसः ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, लप-स-द्-द्रु-मय-वद-वसः, (चिनुष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र उपपरे लपादिभ्यो चिनुष्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

145. The affix चिनुष् comes after the verbs लप, स, द्रु, मय, वद् and वस when compounded with the preposition चि.

As प्रलापी 'prattling'; प्रसारी 'extending around'; प्रहारी 'running away, fugitive'; प्रमापी 'tormenting'; प्रवापी 'reporting'; प्रवासी 'a traveller'.

The root वस् here is the Bhvādi वस् meaning 'to dwell' and is not Adādi meaning 'to cover', because in the latter the vikaraṇa is elided.

निन्दहिंसक्लिशखादविनाशपरिक्षिपपरिरटपरिवादिध्याभाषासूयो वुञ् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निन्द-हिंस-क्लिश-खाद-विनाश-परिक्षिप-परिरट-परि-वादि-ध्याभाष-असूयः, वुञ्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निन्दादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु वुञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

146. The affix वुञ् is added to the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c':—
निन्द्, हिंस्, क्लिग्, खाद्, विनाश, परिक्षिप्, परिरट्, परिवादि, ध्याभाष् and असूय ।

In this sūtra the whole phrase ending with असूय has taken the termination of the first case; which, however, has the force of the ablative here.

As निन्द्+वुञ् = निन्दकः (VII. 1. 1) 'blaming'; so also हिंसकः 'injuring'; क्लेशकः 'tormenting or troublesome'; खादकः 'eating'; विनाशकः 'destroying'; परिक्षेपकः 'surrounding'; परिराटकः 'who cries aloud'; परिवादकः 'a plaintiff'; ध्याभाषकः 'detracting'; and असूयकः 'detracting'.

The same forms as the above would have been obtained by adding the affix ष्वल् taught in III. 1. 133, as by adding वुञ्; its separate enunciation indicates the existence of this paribhāsha :—

"The rule of III. 1. 94 by which an *apavāda*-affix which is not uniform with an *utsarga*-affix should supersede the latter only optionally, has no concern with *apavāda*-affixes added in the sense of 'having such a habit' i. e. with the affixes taught in III. 2. 134—177". Therefore the affixes वुञ् &c, are not added in the sense of 'having such a habit &c'.

देविक्रुशोचोपसर्गे ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवि-क्रुशोः, च, उपसर्गे,
(युञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवयतेः क्रुशोचोपसर्गे उपपदे युष्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

147. The affix युष् comes after the verbs देवि 'to lament' and क्रुश् 'to cry', when an upasarga is in composition with them.

As आश्लेषकः 'one who sports or laments'; आक्रोशकः 'vociferous, a reviler'; परिश्लेषकः 'one who laments'; परिक्रोशकः 'a reviler'.

Why do we say 'when in composition with an upasarga'? Observe देवचित्ता and क्रोशा formed by वृन् (III. 2. 135).

चलनशब्दार्थादकर्मकाद् युच् ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चलन-शब्दार्थात्,
अकर्मकाद्, युच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चलनार्थेभ्यः शब्दार्थेभ्यश्चाकर्मकेभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु युष्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

148. The affix युच् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'. after intransitive verbs denoting 'motion' or 'sound'.

As, चलन् + युच् = चलनः 'moving' (VII. 1. 1); चोपनः 'creeping'; शब्दनः 'sounding'; रवणः 'roaring'.

Why do we say 'intransitive'? Observe पठिता विद्याम्.

अनुदात्तेतश्च हलादेः ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तेतः, च, हला-
देः, (युच्, अकर्मकात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदानेभ्यो धातुः हलादिकर्मकस्ततश्च युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

149. The affix युच् comes in the same sense after such intransitive verbs as are Atmanepadi and begin with a consonant and are Anudâttet i. e. have a gravely accented vowel as indicatory.

As वर्त्तनः 'being'; वर्द्धनः 'growing'.

Why do we say 'Anudâttet'? Observe भविता.

Why do we say 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe एधिता, which though Atmanepadi, takes वृन्.

Why have we used the term आदि 'beginning' in the sūtra? Observe जुगुप्सनः 'censuring'; शीमांसनः 'an investigator. For without the word आदि, the rule would have stood thus:—अनुदानेतश्च हलः which by I. 1. 72. would mean 'the affix युच् comes after the verbs which end with a consonant'; so that even after एध् we shall have युच्; and there would be no युच् after जुगुप्स which ends with a vowel.

This rule will not apply if the root is transitive; as वसिता वसन् ।

शुचक्रुक्कस्यदद्रुस्यस्रगधिउवलशुचलषपतपदः ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥

शु-चक्रुक्कस्य-दद्रुस्य-स्र-गधि-उवल-शुच-लष-पत-पदः, (युच्, तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शु प्रभृतिभ्यो धातुभ्यो युच् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तव्ये ॥

150. The affix युच् comes after the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', viz :—शु, चक्रुक्कस्य, दद्रुस्य, स्र, गृध, वल, शुच, लष, पत and पद्.

The verb शु is not to be found in the Dhātupāṭha, and is taught in the aphorisms and is hence called a *sautra dhātu*. It means 'to go', 'to be quick'. As शु + युच् = जो + भन (VII. 1. 1 and VII. 3. 84) = जवनः (VI. 1. 78, II. 3. 46) 'a courser, a swift horse'. चक्रुक्कस्य + युच् = चक्रुक् + भन् (II. 4. 74) = चक्रुक्कनः 'moving about'; so also दद्रुस्यः 'wandering'; सरणः 'flowing'; गर्दनः 'greedy'; वलनः 'burning'; शोचनः 'grieving'; लषणः 'desiring'; पतनः 'falling'; पदनः 'moving'.

The enumeration of the word पद् in the above, indicates that this sūtra applies to the transitive verbs; otherwise the sūtra III. 2. 148 would have been sufficient, as पद् is a चलनार्थ verb. Others say that the inclusion of पद् in this aphorism indicates the existence of the *paribhāṣā* already given under sūtra III. 2. 146 *i. e.* the rule of III. 1. 94 has no concern with affixes added in the sense of 'having such a habit &c'. The affix इष्णुच् which by III. 2. 136 is added to भलंकृच्, supersedes therefore not merely the addition of हन् to भलंकृच् (III. 2. 135), but also the addition of ण्वल् to the same. If a *tāchchhīlīka apavāda* were to supersede only an *atāchchhīlīka utsarga*, it would have been superfluous for Pāṇini to teach in this sūtra the addition of युच् to पद्, because in that case the addition of उक्कच् to पद् by III. 2. 154 would not have debarred the addition of युच् to पद् by III. 2. 149. The repetition is for the sake of *jñāpāna*, therefore, and it indicates the existence of the above-mentioned maxim. The *jñāpāka* is not, however, of universal application; for sometimes both affixes are applied concurrently; as, गन्ता खेटं विकल्पनः ।

क्रुधमरुहार्थेभ्यश्च ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रुध-मरुह-अर्थेभ्यः, च, (युच्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रुध क्रोधे, मण्ड भूषायाम्, इत्येतदर्थेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यो युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

151. And after the verbs having the sense of क्रुध 'to be angry' and मण्ड 'to adorn', the affix युच् is employed.

As क्रोधनः 'wrathful'; रोषणः 'irascible'; मण्डनः 'adorning'; भूषणः 'ornament', But not so after the verb भलंकृच् to which sūtra III. 2. 136 applies.

न यः ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यः, (युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारान्ताद्गतोर्द्वयुच् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

152. The affix युच् is not employed after those verbs which end in the letter य.

This debar III. 2. 149. As कनूयिता 'making creaking sound'; क्षमायिता 'trembling'. In these cases the affix हन् is employed (III. 2. 135).

सूददीपदीक्षञ्च ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूद-दीप-दीक्षः, च, (युच्, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सूददीपदीक्ष इत्येतेभ्यश्च युच्प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

153. The affix युच् does not come after the verbs सूद् 'to strike', दीप् 'to shine' and दीक्ष 'to initiate'.

These three verbs are *anuddattat*, and by sūtra III. 2. 149, would have taken युच्. The present sūtra prohibits that. Therefore they take हन्. As, सूदित् 1st. sing सूदित् 'one who strikes'; दीपित् 'one who shines'; दीक्षित् 'one who initiates'.

Now, it might be objected—"We find that sūtra III. 2. 167 specifically enjoins the affix र after दीप्; this apavāda rule will therefore, supersede the general rule; where is then the necessity of the present rule? If you say that the affix युच् is also obtained by the rule of non-uniformity (III. 1. 94), we reply that the Paribhāshā given under sūtra 146 and 150 will prevent that." This objection is answered by saying that the above-mentioned Paribhāshā is not of universal application; there are exceptions to it, as कम्पा युवति: and कम्पना युवति: 'a young girl' which are both valid forms derived by adding र and युच् to the verb कम्. So also कम्पा and कम्पना शाखा 'a shaking branch'.

If we prohibit युच् after the root सूद्, how do we get the forms मधुसूदन and रिपुसूदन? This objection may be answered in three ways: (1) the present is an *anitya* rule, not of universal application, which can be inferred from finding this sūtra separated from the last (yogavibhāga), when it was easier to make them one, (2) the words मधुसूदन &c belong to the मन्त्रादि class (III. 1. 134) taking the affix ष्यु or (3) they are formed by III. 3. 113 by the affix ष्युद्.

लषपतपदस्याभूवृषहनकमगमशुभ्य उकञ् ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लष-

पत-पद-स्या-भू-वृष-हन-कम-गम-शुभ्यः, उकञ्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लषादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्त्तव्ये उकञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

154. The affix उकञ् comes after the following verbs, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c':—लष, पत्, पद्, स्या, भू, वृष, हन्, कम्, गम् and शु ।

As अपलापुकं वृषलसंगतं, प्रपातुका गर्भो भवन्ति, उपपातुकंसर्गं, उपस्यातुका एनं पशवी भवन्ति, प्रभातुकमकं भवति, प्रवर्षकाः पर्जन्याः, आघातुकं कापालिकस्य शूलम्, कामुकं एनं स्त्रियो भवन्ति, आगामुकं वाराणसीं रत्न आहुः, किंशारुकं तीक्ष्णमाहुः । The च is added after स्या in उपस्यातुक by VII. 3. 33. The हन् is changed into घात् by VII. 3. 32 and 54.

जलपभिक्षकुहलुष्टवृळः षाकन् ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जलप-भिक्ष-

कुह-लुष्ट-वृळः, षाकन्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जलपभिक्षयो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्त्तव्ये षाकन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

155. The affix षाकन् comes, in the sense of the 'agent having such a habit &c', after the following verbs:—जल्प, भिक्ष, कुह, लुष्ट and वृ ।

The च is indicatory showing that the feminine of the words so formed take the affix ङीप् *i. e.* long ई (IV. I. 41). As जल्पाकः 'talkative'; निम्ताकः 'a beggar'; कुट्टाकः 'who or what cuts'; लुण्टाकः 'a thief or robber'; बराकः 'low, miserable'. In the feminine जल्पाकी &c..

प्रजोरिनिः ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रजोः, इनिः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वाज्जावत्तेस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तव्ये इनिःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

156. The affix इनि comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit etc'. after the verb प्रज् 'to hasten forward'.

As प्रजविन्, 1st. sing. प्रजवी 'an express, courier', 1st. dual प्रजविनौ &c.

जिदृक्षिविश्रीयवभाव्यघाभ्यमपरिभूप्रसूभ्यश्च ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥

जि-दृ-क्षि-विश्री-यव-भाव्य-घा-भ्यम-परिभू-प्रसूभ्यः, च, (इनिः, तच्छी०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिप्रभृतिभ्यो धातुभ्य इनिःप्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तव्ये ॥

157. The affix इनि comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs जि 'to conquer', इ 'to respect', क्षि 'to waste, to dwell, to go', विशि 'to shelter', इ 'to go', वन् 'to vomit', भव्यय 'not to give pain', अभ्यम 'to injure', परिभू 'to humiliate' and प्रसू 'to beget'.

As जिजयिन् 1st. sing. जयी 'conquering'; इरी 'respecting'; क्षयी 'wasting'; विशयी 'wasting'; भव्ययी 'exceeding'; वनी 'vomiting'; भव्ययी 'free from pain'; अभ्ययी 'not injuring'; परिभयी 'humiliating' and प्रसयी 'procreating'.

स्पृहिशृहपतिदयिनिद्रातन्द्राश्रद्धाभ्य आलुच् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥

स्पृह-शृह-पति-दयि-निद्रा-तन्द्रा-श्रद्धाभ्यः, आलुच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पृहिशृहपतिदयिनिद्रातन्द्राश्रद्धा एतेभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तव्ये आलुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ आलुचि शीङो महण कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

158. The affix आलुच् comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the following words:— स्पृह 'to desire', शृह 'to seize', पत 'to go', इच 'to give, to go, to protect', निद्रा 'to sleep', तन्द्रा 'to be tired' and श्रद्धा 'to venerate'.

The word निद्रा is formed by adding the preposition नि to the verb द्रा 'to go crookedly'; so also तन्द्रा is formed by adding तद् to द्रा, and then irregularly changing the द् into न्. The term श्रद्धा is formed by adding श्रद् to the verb धाम् 'to hold'. The first three verbs belong to Churādi class and take णिच्.

As, स्पृह्यालुः 'disposed to be desirous of'; शृह्यालुः 'disposed to catch hold of or seize'; पतयालुः 'tending or prone to fall'; इचालुः 'compassionate'; निद्रालुः 'disposed to sleep'; तन्द्रालुः 'slothful'; श्रद्धालुः 'full of faith'. See VI. 4. 55 for adding भ्यच्.

Vart :—The affix आलुच् comes also after the root शीङ् 'to lie down'; as शयालुः 'disposed to lie down'.

दाधेट्सिशदसदो रुः ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दा-धेट्-सि-शद-सदः, रुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दा धेट् सि शद सद् इत्येतेभ्यो रुःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

159. The affix रु comes after the verbs दा 'to give', धेट् 'to suck', सि 'to bind', शद 'to fall' and सद् 'to sit'.

As, दाः 'a munificent man'; धारुर्वसो मातरम् 'a sucking child of the mother'. The genitive case is here prohibited by II. 3. 69, the रु being taken as equivalent to उ. As संरुः 'binding'; शरुः 'falling'; and सरुः 'resting'.

स्रघस्यदः क्स्मरच् ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्र-घसि-अदः, क्स्मरच्, (तच्छीलादि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्र घसि अद् इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु क्स्मरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

160. The affix क्स्मरच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', comes after the verbs स्र 'to flow', घसि 'to eat' and अद् 'to eat'.

As क्स्मरः 'going, a kind of deer'; घस्मरः 'gluttonous'; अद्स्मरः 'voracious'.

भङ्गभासनिदो घुरच् ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भङ्ग-भास-निदः, घुरच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भङ्ग भास निद् इत्येतेभ्यो घुरच्प्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

161. The affix घुरच् comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.', after the verbs भङ्ग् 'to break', भास् 'to shine', and निद् 'to be fat'.

As भङ्ग् + घुरच् = भङ्ग् + घुर (VII. 3. 52) = भङ्गुरः 'brittle'; the palatal being changed into guttural, because of the indicatory घ. So also नेदुरः पशुः 'a fat beast'; भासुरं ज्योतिः 'splendid light'.

After the verb भङ्ग् this affix gives a reflexive signification—that which naturally breaks of itself.

विदिभिदिच्छिदेः कुरच् ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदि-भिदि-च्छिदेः, कुरच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदिभिदिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु कुरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ व्यधेः सम्प्रसारणं कुरच्च वक्तव्यः ॥

162. The affix कुरच् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs विद् 'to know', भिद् 'to divide' and छिद् 'to pierce'.

As विदुरः पण्डितः 'a knowing Pandit'; भिदुरं काष्ठम् 'a splitting or fragile wood'; छिदुरा रज्जुः 'a cutting or breaking rope'. The affix is employed in a reflexive sense after the verbs भिद् and छिद्.

Vart :—The affix कृष् comes after the verb व्यध 'to kill'; and there is vocalisation of the semivowel; as विधुरः ।

इच्छन्ञ्जिसर्तिभ्यः कृष् ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छ-नञ्-जि-सर्तिभ्यः, कृष्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इष् नञ् जि सर्ति इत्येतेभ्यो धातु-व्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु कृष्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

163. The affix कृष् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs इ 'to go', नञ् 'to destroy', जि 'to conquer', and छ 'to flow'.

The ष is indicatory in order to introduce the augment तुक् between the verb and the affix (VI. 1. 71). Thus इ+कृष् = इ+त्+वर = इत्वरः, fem. इत्वरी 'a traveller'; नञ्वरः, fem. नञ्वरी 'transitory'; जिस्वरः, fem. जिस्वरी 'victorious'; छस्वरः fem. छस्वरी 'going, a river'.

Though the affix begins with a letter of वञ् *pratyāhāra*, and ought to have taken the intermediate इद् (VII. 2. 35) yet it is prohibited by VII. 2. 8.

गत्वरञ्च ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्वरः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गरवर इति निपात्यते, गनेरनुनासिकजोपः कृष्प्रत्ययश्च ॥

164. And the word गत्वर is irregularly formed.

The word गत्वर is formed by eliding the न् of गम् and adding the affix कृष्. As गत्वरः, fem. गत्वरी 'locomotive, transient'.

जागुरुकः ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जागुः, ऊकः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जागुरेककःप्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

165. The affix ऊक comes after the verb जागृ 'to be awake' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit'.

As जागुरुकः 'wakeful'.

यजजपदशां यङ् ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज-जप-दशान्, यङ् (तच्छीलादिषु, ऊकः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजादीनां यङ्प्रत्यागामूकःप्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

166. The affix ऊक comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs यज्, जप् and षग् when they end in the affix यङ्.

The intensives of these verbs take ऊक. As यावजूकः 'a performer of frequent sacrifices'; जंजपूकः 'a mutterer of prayers repeatedly; इन्डूकः 'a snake (what bites frequently)'.

नमिक्वपिस्वयजसकमहिंसदीपो रः ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नमि-क्वपि-स्वि-अजस-कम-हिंस-दीपः, रः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नम्बादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु रःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

167. The affix र comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' after the verbs नम 'to bow', कम् 'to shake', स्मि 'to smile', भजस् 'not to cease', कम् 'to desire', हिन्स 'to injure', and शीष 'to shine'.

Thus, नमं काष्ठं 'soft wood'; कम्पा शाखा 'shaking branch'; स्मेरं मुखं 'smiling face'; भजन्तं जुहोति 'he sacrifices perpetually'; कम्पा युवती 'a beautiful maiden'; हिंसं रक्षः 'the injuring Rākshas'; शीषं काष्ठं 'brilliant wood'.

The word भजन्तं is an adverb, and is derived from the root जस् 'to set free', with the negative particle भ, and the affix र; as भ + जस् + र = भजन्तं ।

सनाशंसभिन्न उः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन-आशंस-भिन्नः, उः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्य आशंसेभिर्भिक्षेभ्य तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु उःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

168. The affix उ comes after roots that have taken the affix सन्, and after the verbs आशंस 'to wish' and भिक्ष 'to beg' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The term सन् in the aphorism means Desideratives in the affix सन्, and not the verb, सन् because the verb सन् is never seen with this affix.

As, विकीर्षुः 'desirous of doing'; जिहीषुः 'desirous of taking'; आशंसुः 'desirous'; भिक्षुः 'a beggar'.

The verb आशंसु with the upasarga आ is the verb शसि 'to desire' and not the verb शंसि 'to praise'.

विन्दुरिच्छुः ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विन्दुः, इच्छुः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विन्दुर्भागम इषेच्छस्वमुकारश्च प्रथमो निपात्यते तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥ .

169. The words विन्दु and इच्छु are irregularly formed by the addition of the affix उ, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

To the verb विदि we add the augment नुम् and then the affix उ ; as, विद् + नुम् + उ = विन्दुः (I. I. 47) = वेदनशीलः 'intelligent'; so of इष् 'to wish', the ष is replaced by छ, and we have इच्छुः = इषणशीलः 'desirous'.

क्याच्छन्दसि ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यात्, छन्दसि, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्यप्रत्ययान्ताद्वातोश्छन्दसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु उकारप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

170. The affix उ comes in the Chhandas, after the roots that have taken the Denominative affix क्य in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The term क्य includes the three affixes क्यच्, क्यङ् and क्यप् (see sūtras III. I. 8, 11, 13, &c). As विन्दुः, संस्वेदुः, सुप्तुः (Rig. Ved. I 3. 4).

In the modern Sanskrit क्त्वं will be employed. As निनीचिता. By sūtra VII. 4. 33, the long ई replaces the final अ, when क्त्वं follows; as पुन + क्त्वं = पुनी + व = पुनीव. Why then in the case of मिच्युः there is not the substitution of long ई for the अ of मिच? Because the rule VII. 4. 33 is set aside by VII. 4. 35 which declares that in the Chhandas the long ई is not substituted for the अ।

आदूगमहनजनः किकिनी लिट् च ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आद्-ञ्च-
गम-हन-जनः, कि-किनी, लिट्, च, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्य ऋवर्णान्तेभ्यश्च गम हन जन इत्येतेभ्यश्छन्दसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु किकिनी प्रत्ययौ भवतः, लिट् च तौ भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ किकिनावृत्सर्गश्छन्दसि सदादिभ्यो षर्शानात् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाषायां धाम्कृष्णजनिगमिनमिभ्यः किकिनी वक्तव्यौ ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सद्दिवह्विलिपतिभ्यो यङन्तेभ्यः किकिनी वक्तव्यौ ॥

171. In the Chhandas, the affixes कि and किन् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' come after the verbs that end in long आ, or short or long ऋ, and after the verbs गम् 'to go', हन् 'to kill', and जन् 'to be produced', and these affixes operate like लिट् causing reduplication of the root.

The इ after आ is either for the sake of euphony, or for the sake of precision. Had it been इ, then by the rule of तपर (I. 1. 70) short ऋ would only be included and not long ऋ. But the present rule is applicable to long ऋ as well.

Thus पा + कि = पयिः 'drinking'; as पयिः सोमं 'drinking the soma-juice'; इदिर्गाः 'giving cows' (Rig. Ved. VI. 23. 4). मित्रावरुणौ ततुरिः (Rig. Ved. IV. 39. 2, VI. 68. 7). इरे भ्रमाजगुरिः (Rig. Ved. X. 108. 1). गम् + किन् = जग्मिः 'being in constant motion, wind'; जग्मियुवा (Rig. Ved. II. 23. 11); हन् + किन् = जह्विः 'killing, a weapon offensive'; जह्विबुधम् (Rig. Ved. IX. 61. 2); जन् + किन् = जज्ञिः as जज्ञिबीजम् (T. S. VII. 5. 20. i).

The letter क्त्वं in these affixes is indicative. It might be said 'it is superfluous to make these affixes क्त्वं, because these being treated like लिट् will be क्त्वं by rule I. 2. 5'. True, they would be क्त्वं by the rule I. 2. 5, but then the rule VII. 4. 11. (when लिट् follows, गुणा is the substitute of the verb क्त्वं and of those that end in the long ऋ) would also have applied to these affixes, and would have caused गुणा. It is to prevent this गुणा of the letter क्त्वं that we have annexed an indicative क्त्वं to these affixes.

Vart:—The affixes कि and किन् are of universal application in the Chhandas, and not confined to the verbs enumerated in the sūtra, as we see them in सद् &c.; as सेदिः (Yaj. Ved. XII. 105); नेमिः (Rig. Ved. II. 5. 3).

Vart:—The affixes कि and किन् come after the roots धाम्, कृष्, छ, जनि,

गमि, and गमि in the secular literature also; as, वधिः, चक्रिः, सतिः, जतिः, जन्मिः, नेत्रिः ।

Vart:—The affixes क्रि and क्रिन् come after the Intensive (वृहन्त) roots of सह्, वह्, चञ्, and यत्. As, सासहिः, वावहिः, चाचलिः, याचतिः (VII. 4. 83).

स्वपितृषीर्नजिङ् ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपि-तृषीः, नजिङ्,
(तच्ङीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वपेच्छेषे च तच्छ्रीलादिषु कर्तृषु नजिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ धृषेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

172. The affix नजिङ् comes, in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c', after the verbs स्वप् 'to sleep' and तृष 'to be thirsty'.

As स्वप् + नजिङ् = स्वमञ् 1st. sing. स्वमक् 'sleeping, drowsy'; तृष्यञ् 1st. sing. तृष्यक् 'covetous, thirsty'.

Vart:—So also after the verb धृष् 'to insult, be bold'; as, धृष्यञ् 1st. sing. धृष्यक् 'bold, impudent'.

शृवन्द्योरारुः ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शृ-वन्द्योः, आरुः, (तच्ङी०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शृ हिंसायाम् वन्दि भविवादनस्तुत्योः एताभ्यां तच्छ्रीलादिषु कर्तृष्वारुःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

173. The affix आरु comes in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c' after the verbs शृ 'to injure' and वन्द 'to praise', 'to salute'.

As शरारुः 'noxious, a mischievous animal'; वन्दारुः 'praising, a bard'.

भियः क्रुकुकनी ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भियः, क्रु-कुकनी, (तच्ङी०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिभी भये भस्माद्भातोस्तच्छ्रीलादिषु कर्तृषु क्रुकुकनी प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्रु कजपि वक्तव्यः ॥

174. The affixes क्रु and क्रुकन come in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit' after the verb भी 'to fear'.

As, भीरुः 'fearful, timid'; भीलुकः 'timorous, a bear, a tiger, a jackal'.

Vart:—The affix क्रुकन् should also be stated; as भीरुकः ।

इधेशभासपिसकसो वरच् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्या-ईश-भास-
पिस-कसः, वरच्, (तच्ङीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्या ईश भास पिस कस एतेभ्यस्तच्छ्रीलादिषु कर्तृषु वरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

175. The affix वरच् comes, in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c' after the verbs स्या 'to stand' ईश 'to rule', भास् 'to shine', पिस 'to go' and कस 'to go'.

As स्यावरः 'immoveable'; ईश्वरः 'ruler, God'; वैस्वरः 'going, destructive'; विकस्वरः 'opening, expanding'.

यञ्च यङ् ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यः, च, यङ्, (तच्ङीलादिषु, वरच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ या प्रापणे भस्माद्यङ्गन्तात्तच्छ्रीलादिषु कर्तृषु वरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

176. The affix वरच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' comes after the verb या when it ends with the affix यद्.

With the affix यद्, the intensives of verbs are formed; as यायावरः 'a vagrant, an ascetic'. See sūtra I. 1. 58.

भाजभासधुर्विद्युतोर्जिपृजुग्रावस्तुवः क्विप् ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥
भाज-भास-धुर्वि-द्युत्-उर्जि-पृ-जु-ग्रावस्तुवः, क्विप्, (तच्छ्रीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाजादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छ्रीलादिषु कर्तृषु क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

177. The affix क्विप् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' after the verbs भाज् 'to shine' भास 'to shine', धुर्व 'to injure', द्युत् 'to shine', ऊर्ज 'to be strong', पृ 'to fill', जु 'to move rapidly' and स्तु 'to praise', when it is preceded by the word ग्रावन् 'a stone'.

Thus, विभाज् 1st. sing. विभाद् 'splendid'; भास् 1st. sing. भाः 'light'; धुर्व्, + क्विप् = धुर् (VI. 4. 21), 1st. sing. धुः 'who injures'; विद्युत् 'lightening'; ऊर्ज् 1st. sing. ऊर्क 'strength'; पृ 1st. sing. पृः 'what fills'; जुः 'swift'. In the case of जु, a long vowel is the substitute of जृ; ग्रावस्तुन् (VI. 1. 71) 'a stone-worshipper'. Though by the universal rule III. 2. 76, the affix क्विप् would have come after these verbs also, the repetition of the affix shows that वाऽसकृपविधि does not apply in *tāchchhīlīka* affixes.

अन्येभ्योपि दृश्यते ॥ १७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यते,
(तच्छ्रीलादिषु, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योपि धातुभ्यस्तच्छ्रीलादिषु क्विप्प्रत्ययो दृश्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्विप्क्विप्प्रच्छपावतस्तु कट्प्रजुभीष्ठां दीर्घाऽसम्प्रसारणं च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्युत्तिसमिजुहोतीनां द्वे च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ जुहोतेर्दीर्घश्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इभव इस्वस्व इस्वश्च द्वे च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ध्यायतेः संप्रसारणं च ॥

178. The affix क्विप् is seen after other verbs also, besides those mentioned above, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

As जुज्, 1st. sing. जुक् 'joining'; छिन् 'piercing'; भिन् 'dividing'.

By using the words 'is seen' in the aphorism, it is implied that other rules also apply concurrently with क्विप्. Thus in some cases we find lengthening of the vowel; in some, there is reduplication of the root; in some instances there is *samprasāraṇa* of the semivowel; and in other cases there is not.

Vart:—When क्तिप् follows, the long vowel is the substitute of वच् 'to speak', प्रच्छ् 'to ask', आयतस्तु 'to praise long', कटम् 'to move through a mat', जु 'to move rapidly', and श्री 'to serve', and there is no substitution of a vowel for the semivowel (VI. I. 16).

As, वाक् 'the voice'; प्रच्छ् + क्तिप् = प्रश् + क्तिप् (VI. I. 10) = प्रष् + क्तिप् (VIII. 2. 36) = प्राद् (VIII. 4. 56) 'who asks'; आयतस्तु: 'who praises long'; कटम्: 'a worm'; जू: 'swift'; श्री: 'the goddess Lakshmi'.

The word जु which was mentioned in the last sūtra is redundant here.

Vart:—There is reduplication of the verbs श्युत् 'to shine', गम् 'to go' and हु 'to invoke', when क्तिप् follows. As, विश्युत् 'shining'; जगत् 'going, the world'.

Vart:—There is lengthening also of the vowel of जुहु: as जुहुः 'a crescent-shaped wooden ladle used for pouring the sacrificial ghee into the fire.'

Vart:—The root हृ 'to tear' is shortened also; as हृत् 'tearing'.

Vart:—The verb ध्या 'to think' has samprasāraṇa; as धी: 'thinking'.

भुवः संज्ञान्तरयोः ॥१७९॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, संज्ञा-अन्तरयोः, (क्तिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्धातोः संज्ञायामन्तरे च गम्यमाने क्तिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

179. The affix क्तिप् comes after the verb भू 'to be' when the word so formed denotes a name or a surety.

As, विभू: 'a person called Vibhū'; प्रतिभू: 'a surety i. e. he who stands intermediate between the debtor and the creditor'.

विप्रसंभ्यो इवसंज्ञायाम् ॥ १८० ॥ पदानि ॥ वि-प्र-संभ्यो, हु, असंज्ञायाम्, (भुवः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि प्र सन् इत्येवं पूर्वोक्तवतेर्धातोः दुप्रत्ययो भवति न चेत् संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दुप्रकरणे मितद्वाक्त्विभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

180. The affix दु comes after the verb भू when it is preceded by the upasargas वि, प्र and सन् provided that the word to be formed does not mean an appellative.

As विभू: 'all pervading'; प्रभू: 'lord'; सभू: 'Creator'.

Why do we say 'when it is not a proper name? Observe विभू: 'a person called Vibhū'.

Vart:—The words मितद् &c, also are formed by this affix. As मितद्, 'the sea'; सभू: 'causing happiness'.

Why have we applied दु and not क्तिप् to this root, as the forms would have been the same in either case? We have done so for two purposes: (1) To prevent the rules relating to dhātus from applying to this. (2) To prevent the insertion of लुक् augment. Thus the 1st. dual of मितद् is मितद्, 1st. pl. is मितद्भ्यः। Here there is no substitution of उक्त् which the rule VI. 4. 77 required, if दु had retained its dhātu characteristic; so also the rule of accent in VI. I. 175

does not apply to Instrumental sing. मितद्रवा &c, (2.) We have no वृ which rule VI. I. 71 required. मितं द्रवति=मितद्रुः ।

धः कर्मेणि ष्ट्रन् ॥ १८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धः, कर्मेणि, ष्ट्रन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धयतेर्धधातोश्च कर्मेणि कारके ष्ट्रन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

181. The affix ष्ट्रन् comes, in denoting the object, after the verb धा 'to feed'.

The indicatory च denotes that the feminine is formed by ङीष् (ई) affix. As धात्री 'a nurse whom the children suck (*dhayanti*)'; and 'Amalaki fruit which holds (*dadhāti*) all medicinal properties'.

दात्रीशसयुयुजस्तुतुदसिसिचमिहपतदशनहः करणे ॥ १८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाप्-नी-शस्-यु-युज-स्तु-तुद्-सि-सिच्-मिह्-पत्-दश्-नहः, करणे, (ष्ट्रन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाप् नी शस् यु युज स्तु तुद् सि सिच् मिह पत दश् नह एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः करणे कारके ष्ट्रन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

182. The affix ष्ट्रन्, with the sense of instrument, comes after the verbs दाप 'to cut', नी 'to lead', शस् 'to hurt', यु 'to join', युज् 'to join', स्तु 'to praise', तुद् 'to inflict pain', सि 'to bind', सिच् 'to sprinkle', मिह 'to urine', पत् 'to fall', दश् 'to bite' and नह 'to bind'.

As दाप, 1st. sing. neuter दापन् 'a sickle' (lit. that with which one cuts); नेत्र 1st. sing. नेत्रम् 'eye'; शस्त्रं (VII. 2. 9) 'a weapon'; योजं 'the tie that fastens the yoke'; योक्तम् 'the tie of yoke'; स्तोत्रं 'a penegyric'; तोत्रं 'a goad', संत्रं 'a ligament'; सेक्तं 'a sprinkling vessel'; मेदुद् 'the penis'; पत्रम् 'a vehicle'; इच्छा 'a large tooth'.

The word इच्छा belongs to the *Ajādi* class and hence forms its feminine in दाप्(भा) and not in ई (IV. 1. 4).

The root दश् is read in the aphorism without its nasal *i. e.* as दष्. This indicates by implication that दष् loses its nasal before some affixes such as ल्युट्; thus we have दशानम् 'tooth'

And lastly नह् + ष्ट्रन् = नष्ट्रं fem. नष्ट्री (VIII. 2. 34 and 40), 'a thong'.

हलसूकरयोः पुवः ॥ १८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल-सूकरयोः, पुवः, (ष्ट्रन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूम् पूङ् पवने, अस्नाद्धातोः करणे कारके ष्ट्रन्प्रत्ययो भवति तच्छेत् करणं हलसूकरयोरवयवो भवति ॥

183. The affix ष्ट्रन् is employed after the verb वृ with the sense of instrument when denoting a member of the body of a plough or of a hog.

The verb वृ includes both पूङ् and पूम्; as पोषम् 'a plough-share'; पोषने 'the snout of a hog'.

अतिंलूधूसूखनसहचर इत्रः ॥ १८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतिं-लू-धू-सू-
खन-सह-चरः, इत्रः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतिं लू धू सू खन सह चर एतेषु धातुभ्यः करणे कारके इत्रप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

184. The affix इत्र comes after the verbs कृ 'to go', लू 'to cut', धू 'to shake', सू 'to bring forth', खन् 'to dig', सह 'to bear', and चर 'to go' with the sense of instrument.

Thus, अरित्रं 'a rudder'; जडित्रं 'a sickle'; धडित्रं 'a fan'; सवित्रं 'cause of production'; खनित्रं 'a spade'; सहित्रं 'patience'; चरित्रं 'an instituted observance or a narrative'.

पुवः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुवः, संज्ञायाम्, (इत्रः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पवतेर्धातोः करणे कारके इत्रप्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेतुस्रंज्ञा गन्वते ॥

185. The affix इत्र comes after the verb पू 'to purify' with the sense of the agent so expressed being the instrument; when the sense of the complete word is simply appellative, and not descriptive.

The verb पू includes two verbs पूङ् and पूञ् both meaning 'to purify', but belonging to two different conjugations; as पवित्रं an instrument for cleansing or purifying, such as a sieve or a strainer; and in this sense it means 'two blades of *Kusa* grass used at sacrifices in purifying and sprinkling ghee'. It also means 'the sacred thread, the clarified butter, &c.'

कर्तरि ऋषिदेवतयोः ॥ १८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, ऋषि-देवतयोः,
(इत्रः, पुवः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुवः करणे कर्तरि ऋषि इत्रप्रत्ययो भवति, ऋषिदेवतयोर्व्यासंख्यं संबन्धः ॥

186. The affix इत्र comes after the verb पू 'to purify' in the sense of 'the agent or the instrument' when it is respectively employed in connection with a sage or a diety.

That is to say, when applied to a *Rishi* the force is that of an instrument, and when applied to a *Devata* the force is that of an agent. As, पवित्रोऽयश्च ऋषिः 'this sage is sacred' (through whose instrumentality one is sanctified); अग्निः पवित्रं स मा पुनातु 'the God Agni is sacred' (one that purifies), 'let him purify me'. So also, वायुः सोमः सूर्य इन्द्रः पवित्रं ते मा पुनन्तु ।

श्रीतः क्तः ॥ १८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शि-इतः, क्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रीतो धातोर्बर्तमानेऽर्थे क्तप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

187. The verbal roots, marked with an indicative शि, take the affix क्त, in denoting the present time.

The *Nishthā* affix क्त, as a general rule, is a past participial affix and denotes past time ; and is so ordained by rule III 2. 102. The present sūtra thus makes an exception in case of those verbs which are marked with an indicative अि in the *Dhātupāṭha*; as अिमिहा 'to be affectionately inclined'; मिहः (मिह् + क्त = मिह् + त = मिन् + न (VIII. 2. 42) 'being affectionately inclined'. So अिद्विहा—द्विणः 'sounding inarticulately'; अिधृषा—धृष्टः 'bold'. The anuvṛitti of वर्तमाने 'in the sense of the present', is read into this sūtra from III. 2. 123.

मतिबुद्धिपूजार्थेभ्यश्च ॥ १८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मति-बुद्धि-पूजा-अर्थेभ्यः,

च, (क्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतिरिच्छा, बुद्धिज्ञानम्, पूजा सत्कारः, एतदर्थेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यो वर्तमानार्थे क्तप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

188. And after roots denoting inclination, understanding, or respect, the affix क्त is employed with the force of the present.

The word मति means 'wish' or 'desire'; बुद्धि means 'knowledge'; and पूजा means 'worship', 'honor' or 'respect'. As राज्ञां मतः,—इष्टः,—बुद्धः,—ज्ञातः,—पूजितः, &c. 'the king wishes, desires, thinks, knows, honors, respects &c'.

The force of the word च is to include other kinds of verbs not included in the above sūtra. Thus the following participles have their senses confined not to the past time only: शीञ्जितः 'practised'; रक्षितः 'protected'; क्षान्तः 'forbearing'; आक्रुष्टः 'censured'; जृष्टः 'pleased'; रुष्टः 'angry'; रुषितः 'angry'; अभिम्बाहृतः 'uttered'; हृष्टः 'happy'; तुष्टः 'satisfied'; क्लान्तः 'favourite'; संयतः 'restrained'; उद्यतः 'ready'; कष्टं 'evil, misery' (with a future signification); and अमृत 'immortal'. So also :—सुप्तः 'sleeping'; शवितः 'lying down'; आशितः 'eaten'; लिप्तः 'smeared'; तुष्टः 'satisfied'; all these have a present signification.

ओ३म्

अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER III.

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उणादयो बहुलं ॥१॥ पदानि ॥ उण-आदयः, बहुलम्, (वर्तमाने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उणादयः प्रत्यया वर्तमानेऽर्थे संज्ञायां विषये बहुलं भवन्ति ॥

1. The affixes 'Uṇ' and the rest, with the force of the present, and with a sense simply appellative, are attached diversely.

The phrase 'with the force of the present' (implying neither past nor future time) and 'with a sense simply appellative' (and not descriptive) must be read into this sūtra by anuvṛitti from sūtras III. 2. 123 & 185. By using the word 'diversely' it is indicated that these affixes are, of course, applied after roots about which they are ordained, but they come also after roots about which they are not ordained. Sometimes we must infer their application by seeing actual words. Some affixes, though there be no express injunction regarding them, are to be inferred to belong to this class. The maxim in regard to the *Unḍi* affixes is that when, in appellatives, we find the forms of verbal roots and affixes coming after them, then we may know, from the result as presented in the word, what are the indicatory letters which the affix must be possessed of in order to produce the result.

These affixes are not given in Pāṇini's work, but they have been separately collected. The affix उण् is the first of these. The first sūtra of *Unḍi* affixes is the following—

कृवापाजिमिस्वदिसाध्यशूभ्य उण् ॥

The affix उण् comes after the verbs कृ 'to make', वा 'to blow', पा 'to drink', जि 'to overcome', मि 'to scatter', स्वद् 'to be pleasant to the taste', साध् 'to accomplish', and भग् 'to pervade'.

Thus कृ+उण्=कारुः 'an artisan'. So also, वायुः 'the wind'; पायुः 'the organ of excretion'; जायुः 'a drug (which overcomes disease)'; मायुः 'the bile'; स्वादुः 'sweet'; सायुः 'who accomplishes the object of another, hence virtuous'; and भायुः 'quickly'.

These *Unḍi* affixes come after a limited number of roots, and not after every root, as the affixes taught in this grammar whose application is general; hence the word बहुलं has been employed. Moreover there has been no exhaustive enumeration of the several roots after which these affixes come:

only some of them have been collected in works treating of *Unādi* affixes. Thus though the affixes *उलच्* is ordained after *हृच्*, it comes also after *शक्* as *शकुला*. In fact there is a long discussion and it was a moot point at the time of Pāṇini whether these words said to be formed by *Unādi* affixes were really derivative, or primitive ones. Moreover *all* the operations of these affixes have not been shown, that is, their effects are not without remainder (*सशेष*). They are valid and good if found in sacred Scriptures or secular literature. The authors of *Niruktas* and grammarians of the school of Sākaṭyāṇa, consider all nouns and substantives (नाम) as derivative words from simple roots (धातुञ्). Therefore where the derivation of a word is not apparent, one should infer the existence of proper base (प्रकृति) or affix (प्रत्यय) to form such a word.

The following slokas will be of some use to the student for ascertaining the *Unādi* affixes :

बाहुलकं प्रकृतेस्तनुदृष्टेः प्राक्समुच्चयनादपि तेषाम् ।
कार्यसंशेषविधेश्च तदुक्तं नैगमकृद्भिर्भवं हि सुसाधु ॥ १ ॥
नाम च धातुजमाह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य च लोकम् ।
वज्र पदार्थविशेषसमुत्थं प्रत्ययतः प्रकृतेश्च तदुद्गमम् ॥ २ ॥
संज्ञासु धातुरूपाणि प्रत्ययाश्च ततः परे ।
कार्वाहियादनुबन्धमेतच्छास्त्रमुणादिषु ॥ ३ ॥

भूतेऽपि दृश्यन्ते ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते, अपि, दृश्यन्ते, (उच्चादयः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भूतेकाले उच्चादयः प्रत्यया दृश्यन्ते ॥

2. The 'Unādi' affixes are seen also attached with the force of the past time.

By the last sūtra, it was taught that the *Unādi* affixes come with the force of the present time. The present aphorism teaches that they come with the force of the past also, not as a general rule, but in special cases. The force of the words 'are seen' being that no general rule can be laid down about it, but on *finding* that certain words have a past significance, we conclude that the affix in that particular case has the force of the past time.

Thus वृत् + मनिन् = वर्त्मन् 'a way, road' (that which has been established as a rule); चर् + मनिन् = चर्मन् 'skin' (that which is lived in); so also भस्मन् 'ashes' (that which has been reduced to ashes).

भविष्यति गम्यादयः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भविष्यति, गमि-आदयः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काले गम्यादयः शब्दाः साधवो भवन्ति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अनद्यतन उपसंख्यानम् ॥

3. The words 'gami', &c. are valid forms, having the sense of the future time.

The force of the future time is in the affix, and is so ordained, and not in the original word which takes the affix. Thus we see that the *Unādi*

affixes, in a way, do come with the force of not only present, but past and future also, though in the latter two cases its scope is very limited. As गन्तुम् 'intending to go to the village'; आगामी 'that which has to come' So also प्रस्थायी 'departing'; प्रतिरोधी 'an opponent, (who is going to obstruct). प्रतियोधी 'going to be awakened'. So also प्रतियोधी 'an adversary'; प्रतियोगी 'an enemy'; प्रतियाची; भावाची; भावी, &c.

Vart:—The Future, for the purposes of this rule, must be *anadyatana* future i. e. the affix should come in the sense of what will happen but not in the course of the current day. In other words, the force must be of the first future लृट्, and not of the second future लृट्. As चो गन्तुम् 'he intends to go to the village tomorrow'.

यावत्पुरानिपातयोर्लट् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावत्-पुरा-निपातयोः,
लट्, (भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावत्पुराशाब्दयोर्निपातयोरुपपत्त्योर्भविष्यति काले धातोर्लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

4. The affix 'Lat' comes after a root, with the force of futurity, when it has in construction with it the particles 'yâvat' and 'purâ'.

The present tense has the force of the future when the *adverbs* यावत् and तावत् are used. The phrase 'futurity &c' is to be read into this sūtra from the last. Thus आलोक्ये ते निपतति पुरा 'he will surely fall in the range of your sight'. यावत्स्य दुरात्मनः समुन्मूलनाय शत्रुघ्नं प्रेषयामि. 'I shall send Satrugna to exterminate this wretch'.

These words पुरा and यावत् must be used as adverbs (nipâtas), and not as relative pronouns. Therefore not here, यावत् इत्यति तावत् भोक्षते 'as long as he will give, so long he will eat'; पुरा अगच्छति 'he goes along the city'. Here यावत् is a relative pronoun; and पुरा is the Instrumental singular of पृ 'city'.

विभाषा कदाकर्हिः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कदा-कर्हिः,
(भविष्यति, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कदाकर्हि इत्येतयोरुपपत्त्योर्विभाषा भविष्यति काले धातोर्लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

5. The affix 'Lat' is optionally employed after a root with the force of the futurity, when it has in construction with it, the adverbs 'kadâ' and 'karhi'.

As कदा भुङ्क्ते 'when will he eat', or कदा भोक्षते or भोक्ता ; so also कर्हि भुङ्क्ते or भोक्षते or भोक्ता 'when will he eat'.

किंवृत्ते लिप्सायाम् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्-वृत्ते, लिप्सायाम्,
(भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तरूपपदे लिप्सायां भविष्यति काले धातोर्विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

6. When the word 'kim' or its derivatives are in construction with the verb, the affix 'Laṭ' is employed optionally after a root, in denoting future time, provided that the sentence expresses a desire of gaining on the part of the speaker.

The word 'optionally' is understood in this sūtra. By using the word वृत्त along with किं it is meant that the rule applies even when क्रिप् takes the affixes क्तर and क्तम. The word लिप्सा means the desire of gaining or acquiring, a wish to have something or an intention of begging'.

As कं भवन्तो भोजयन्ति or भोजयितारः 'whom will you feed' ? It implies a request on the part of the questioner to feed him also. So also कतरो भिक्षां दास्यति, दासति, दाता, or कतनो भिक्षां दास्यति &c, 'Which of the two or which of these all, will he give alms ? Will he give something to me' ?

When no desire of gain is implied, the future tense must be employed as कः पाटलिपुत्रं गमिष्यति 'who will go to Pāṭaliputra'.

लिप्स्यमानसिद्धौ च ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिप्स्यमान-सिद्धौ, च,
(भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिप्स्यमानसिद्धौ गन्धमापादां भविष्यति काले धातोर्विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. And when the success, that would accrue to another by fulfilling the desire of the speaker, is indicated in a sentence, the present tense may optionally be employed with the force of the futurity.

The word 'optionally' is also understood here. The word लिप्स्यमानसिद्धिः is equal to लिप्स्यमानात् सिद्धि, an Ablative-Tatpuruṣa Compound, signifying *siddhi* or success, that would be acquired by another by complying with the request of the speaker. The difference between this and the last sūtra is, that whereas the last related to interrogative sentences having किम् in construction, the present relates to sentences in general. As यो भक्तं दासति, स स्वर्गं गच्छति 'he who gives food, goes to heaven'; यो भक्तं दासति or दाता, स स्वर्गं गमिष्यति or गन्ता-

Here the speaker encourages the giver to the act of charity by holding out the hope, that from rice which is the object desired (लिप्स्यमान) the success (सिद्धि), in the shape of *svarga*, will accrue to the giver.

In other words, 'the present is sometimes used for the future in conditional sentences, i. e. it is employed in connection with a sentence declaring the compensation or reward which follows from the granting of the wish'.

लोडर्थलक्षणे च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोड्-अर्थ-लक्षणे, च, (भविष्य-
तिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट् इत्यर्थः प्रैवादिर्लक्ष्यते येन स लोट् इत्यलक्षणी धात्वर्थः, स च वर्तमानाद्भातोर्भविष्यति काले विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. The affix 'Laṭ' is optionally employed with the force of the futurity, after that root, which in a conditional sentence, is the condition precedent for the action indicated by another verb having the sense of the imperative mood.

The word लोट् इत्यर्थः means 'having the sense of the affix लोट् or imperative mood'. The force of *lot* is 'to command, direct, invite &c' as given in III. 3. 162 and 163. The sūtra, translated literally, will mean 'the present tense may optionally be employed when the action denoted by the verb is related to another action denoted by another verb in the imperative, as a sign (लक्षण) is to the thing signified (लक्ष्य)'. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेदागच्छति (भागमिष्यति or भागन्ता) भय एवं छन्दोऽधीष्व 'if the professor comes (i. e. will come) then read you prosody'. Here the coming of the professor is the *lakshana* of the direction as to reading.

लिङ् चोर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, च, ऊर्ध्व-मौहूर्तिके, (भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्, लोट् इत्यलक्षणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्तिकं भविष्यतिकाले, लोट् इत्यलक्षणार्थे वर्तमानाद्भातोर्विभाषा लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारात् ॥

9. The 'Laṭ' (present) or the 'Liṅ' (potential) is used under similar conditions in denoting futurity, when the future time is future by a 'muhūrta' (48 minutes).

All the conditions of the last sūtra apply here also, namely 'when the action denoted by the verb is related to another action denoted by another verb in the imperative, as a sign is to the thing indicated'. By force of the word च we read the anuvṛitti of *lat* also into this aphorism. The word ऊर्ध्व-मौहूर्तिक is a secondary derivative from ऊर्ध्वमुहूर्त्, meaning 'that which exists in time above a muhūrta'. This is an irregular compound; and the vṛiddhi takes place irregularly of the उ of मु and not of ऊ as the general rule required. The whole word thus formed qualifies the word 'future'. Thus ऊर्ध्वं मुहूर्त्तुपरि मुहूर्त्तस्य उपाध्यायश्चेदागच्छेत् (भागच्छति, भागमिष्यति or भागन्ता), भय एवं छन्दोऽधीष्व 'If the teacher comes after an hour (of 48 minutes), you had better read the Prosody'.

तुमुन्वुलौ क्रियायां क्रियार्थायाम् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ तुमुन्, वु-लौ, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम्, (भविष्यति काले) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियार्थायां क्रियायामुपपदे धातोर्भविष्यति काले तुमुन्वुलौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्रियार्थायां क्रियायामुपपदे वासरूपेण दृग्प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

10. The affixes 'tumun' and 'nvul' are placed after a verbal root, with the force of the futuro, when the

word in construction therewith is another verb, denoting an action performed for the sake of the (future) action.

As भोज्कुम् व्रजति 'he goes to eat'; भोजको व्रजति 'he goes to eat'. Here the upapada or the verb in construction is व्रजति; it denotes an action performed for the sake of the future action (क्रियार्या), namely, eating.

Why do we say 'denoting an action'? The upapada must be an action and not a substantive; as भिक्षिस्थे इति अस्य जटा: 'matted hair is for the purpose that he should beg.' Here the affixes are not employed.

Why do we say 'performed for the sake of another action'? Observe धावत्तरते पतिष्यति इच्छ: 'running, thy stick will fall'.

Now, it might be asked why ष्वल् is taught a second time, when it was already taught generally by rule III. I. 133; and that being a common rule, would have applied to this subject also? If you reply that the future affix लृट् would have prevented its application, in conditional sentences like the above, we say that the rule of 'non-uniform affixes applying simultaneously' given in III. I. 94 will step in and will conduce the application of ष्वल् in spite of लृट्.

Vart.—The repetition of the affix ष्वल् (ordained to come after a verbal root, when the word in construction therewith is another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action,) is for the sake of prohibiting the application of the affixes like क्च् &c. in denoting the above sense; that is to say, the rule of वाचक्य (III. I. 94) does not apply here and we cannot optionally employ any other affix, with this gerundial sense. Thus we cannot say कर्त्ता व्रजति 'he goes to do'; but we must say कर्त्तुम् instead.

These affixes form the gerund of the infinitive of purpose.

भाववचनाश्च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ भाव-वचनाः, च, (अविष्यति, काले, क्रियायां, क्रियार्यायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावइति प्रकृत्य ये चमाद्यो विहितस्ते च भाववचना अविष्यतिकाले क्रियावामुपपदे क्रियार्यायां भवन्ति ॥

11. And the affixes that are ordained to come after a root with the force of denoting the mere action of the verb, such as षम् &c. (III. I. 13.) have also the force of the future, when the word in construction therewith, is another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action.

As पाकाव व्रजति 'he goes to cook'; भूतये व्रजति 'he goes for the sake of success'; पुटये व्रजति ।

Now it might be asked, why make this rule at all, when those affixes have already been ordained? It has already been said that the वाचक्य rule

does not apply in regard to infinitive; and hence वृत्तुन् would have prevented the application of other affixes. So the making of the present sūtra.

Why the word वचन has been employed in the sūtra? The meaning is that the words should be expressive or वाचक. How do the affixes become वाचक? When affixes which are ordained after certain bases, are employed after those bases only, then they are said to be वाचक, not when they are employed after other bases, or are even after those bases, but not in the mode as directed. So that, in short, those nouns only which have been especially formed by the भाववाच्य affixes, चञ् &c, can be employed with the force of gerund, and not every noun. The भाववाच्य nouns correspond to the nouns of action or verbal nouns.

अञ् कर्मणि च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अञ्, कर्मणि, (भविष्यति, काले, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायान्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरणप्रत्ययो भवति भविष्यतिकाले कर्मण्युपपदे क्रियायां च क्रियार्थायान् ॥

12. The affix 'an' comes after a root with the force of the future, when the word in construction with it is in the accusative case, and when the action is performed for the sake of another action.

The word 'future' is understood here. The force of च is merely that of a connective particle. By rule III. 2. 1. the affix भण् comes after a root when the word in composition is in the accusative case. That is a general injunction; and the rule of वासक्य not applying, the affix ण्वुञ्ज would have debarred it as already said; hence this repetition. This rule being an apavāda rule (an exception or a special rule with regard to those verbs which have the accusative case in composition) will thus, within its own jurisdiction, prevent the application of एवुञ् of III. 3. 10; and by the rule of परस्व given in I. 4. 2, it will debar the affixes like क् &c. Therefore this भण् comes after even those verbs also which were especially exempted from its operation by rules like III. 2. 3. Thus by rule III. 2. 3 the भण् of III. 2. 1 could not have come after simple verbs ending in long भा, such as दा 'to give' &c. But the present भण् with a gerundial force will come even after such verbs. As गोदायो व्रजति 'he goes to give cows', and not गोदः। So also कञ्चलदायो व्रजति 'he goes to give blanket'; भ्रवदायो व्रजति। दा+भण्=दाचः (VII. 3. 33).

So also काण्डजायो व्रजति 'he goes to cut wood'. In this case भण् would have been applied even by III. 2. 1.

लृट् शेषे च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लृट्, शेषे, च, (भविष्यति, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायां, धातोः, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषे गुह्ये भविष्यतिकाले चकारात् क्रियायां चोपपदे क्रियार्थायां धातोर्लृट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

13. The affix 'Lrit' is employed after a verb, in the remaining cases, where futurity pure and simple is indicated; and also where there is in construction with it another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action.

This is what is well-known as the Second Future. As करिष्यामि इति व्रजति 'he goes that I will do'; हरिष्यामि इति व्रजति 'he goes that I will take'. So also, करिष्यति 'he will do'; हरिष्यति 'he will take'. Thus the Second Future is used both in dependent sentences as well as to denote simple Future.

लृटः सद्वा ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लृटः, सद्, वा ॥'

वृत्तिः ॥ लृटः स्थाने सत्संज्ञौ चत्शानचौ वा भवतः ॥

14. The affixes called 'Sat' i. e. 'satri' and 'śānach' are optionally the substitutes of 'Lrit'.

The सत् has been defined in III. 2. 127. This option is a regulated option; that is to say, the affixes चत् and चानच् replace लृट् under the conditions in which they replace लृट्; thus by III. 2. 124, these affixes will replace लृट् when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix. In these cases सत् will invariably replace लृट्. In other cases it will optionally replace लृट्. In these cases they will form what is known as future participles. As करिष्यन्तं देवदत्तं पश्य 'behold Devadatta about to do; करिष्यमाणं देवदत्तं पश्य 'behold Devadatta being about to be done'. हे करिष्यन् or हे करिष्यमाण. Besides simple futurity, it denotes intention or purpose, as अर्जुनिष्यमाणो वसति 'he dwells intending to earn his livelihood'; करिष्यमाणः सशरं शरासनं 'intending to furnish his bows with arrows'.

When, however, it agrees with the nominative case, it is optionally employed. As करिष्यन्, करिष्यमाणः, करिष्यति or करिष्यते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta will do'.

The form करिष्यन् is thus evolved. As कृ + लृट् = कृ + स्व + लृट् (III. 1. 33) = कृ + इट् + स्व + शट् = करिष्यन् nom. sing. करिष्यन् । In other words the participial affixes भत् (भन्त) and मान, technically known as शट् and शानच्, also come after a verb that has taken the personal ending स्व of the Future.

अनद्यतने लृट् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनद्यतने, लृट्, (भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यदनद्यतनेऽयं वर्तमानाद्वातोर्लृट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वासिकम् ॥ परिदेवने भवतानी भविष्यत्यर्थे वक्तव्या ॥

15. The affix 'Lut' comes after a verbal root in the sense of what will happen, but not in the course of the current day.

This debars 'Lrit'. As भः कर्ता 'he will do tomorrow'. इवो भोक्ता 'he will eat tomorrow'.

The word 'anadyatana' is a Bahuvrihi compound. Therefore in cases where there is not pure futurity beyond today, but a mixture of the two, लृट् will be employed and not लृट्. As अद्य भवो वा भविष्यति 'it will be today or tomorrow'. And where there is doubt, the second Future should be employed.

Vart.—The First Future (लृट्) is employed with the force of the Second Future (लृट्) when sorrow is expressed. As इवं तु कदा गन्ता, वैदं पादौ निरुधाति ! 'Oh when will she go, who places her feet in such a way (who is such a slow walker)' अवं तु कदाऽभ्येता, य एवमनभियुक्तः 'when will he learn, who is so inattentive'!

पदरुजविशस्पृशो घञ् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद-रुज-विश-स्पृशः,

घञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'pad' (to pace), 'ruj' (to pain), 'viś' (to enter), and 'spris' (to touch).

The anuvṛitti of 'future' does not extend to this sūtra. The affixes hereinafter taught come in all the tenses.

As पद् + घञ् = पाद्: 'foot'; रुज् + घञ् = रोगः 'disease'; so, वेश् + घञ् = वेष्टः 'entrance'.

Vart.—The verb स्पृश् takes घञ् when the sense is that of 'distress'; as स्वर्गः 'disease' or 'warmth'. The word स्पृशो meaning 'touch' is formed by adding the affix अच्, under rule III. I. 134; as स्वर्गो देवदत्तः। There is difference in accent between these two words.

सु स्थिरे ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, स्थिरे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्तैर्द्रातोः स्थिरे कर्त्तरि घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ व्याधिमत्स्यबलेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

17. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'sri' (to move) when the agent is permanently fixed.

The word स्थिर means an object remaining steady throughout any period of time. That which thus remaining permanent *moves* through any interval of time, will apply to the agent of the verb. Thus, सु + घञ् = सारः 'an essence'; as चन्दनसारः 'the essence of sandal', खदिरसारः 'the essence of catechu'.

Why do we say 'permanently fixed'? Observe सत्ता 'moves', सारकः 'that which flows'.

Vart.—The word so formed also applies to disease, fish and strength. As अतिसारः 'dysentery'; विसारः 'a fish'; सारः 'strength'.

भावे ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे बाब्धे धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix 'ghañ' comes after a root when mere action is denoted.

Thus, पक् + चम् = पाकः 'cooking' (VII. 2. 116 and VII. 3. 52); त्यागः 'abandoning'; रागः 'colouring' (VI. 4. 27). An action expresses a general state; so that all roots denote 'action' when their meaning is to be expressed. And as the meaning of the root can be expressed by the root itself, therefore, the affixes चम् &c. come after all verbal roots, when the sense of the root is denoted as having attained to the completed state. It is not necessary that the words so formed should be always of the masculine gender, singular number. They may take any other gender or number. As पक्तिः, पचनम्, पाकौ, पाकाः । These affixes form, in short, verbal nouns, or abstract nouns being names of action.

अकर्तरि च कारके संज्ञायाम् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-कर्तरि, च, कारके, संज्ञायाम्, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृवर्जिते कारके संज्ञायां विषये धातोर्घम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. And the affix 'ghañ' comes after a root, when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as agent.

Thus प्रासः (*i. e.* प्रास्यन्ति तम्) 'a dart, lit. that which men throw'; प्रसेवः (*i. e.* प्रसीद्यन्ति तम्) 'a sack, lit. that which men stitch together'; आहारः (*i. e.* आहरन्ति भस्माद्भक्षम्) 'food, lit. that from which men take out the juice to nourish themselves'. As मधुराहारः, तक्षशिजाहारः ।

Why do we say 'not related as an agent'? Observe नेषः 'a sheep, lit. that which looks helplessly'. Here the word नेष is related to the verb निषति as agent, and the affix is consequently not चम्.

Why do we say 'when denoting an appellative'? Observe कर्तव्यः कटः 'the mat must be made'.

The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that चम् may be applied irregularly in cases where appellative is not meant: as को भवता दायो दत्तः 'what gift was given by you'; को भवता लाभो लब्धः 'what gain was gained by you'.

The word कारक is used in the sūtra for this purpose. The word अकर्तरि is a compound word formed by the negative नञ्. The word means a non-agent. Now the word 'non-agent' has two-fold significance; either it means any other kāraka which is not an agent-kāraka; or it may mean any thing in general which is not an agent. That is to say, the former negative, called पर्युक्त, points out, by implication, the objects which are different from the thing prohibited; and in fact, makes the rule applicable to those objects; while the second sort of negative called प्रसज्य प्रतिषेध is a simple prohibition of the particular matter specified, without mentioning what is different from it. Giving the former interpretation to the word अकर्तरि, the word कारक becomes redundant, because 'non-agent' would mean any kāraka other than an agent.

But the very fact, that कारक is used, indicates the existence of the following rule which is nowhere expressly taught by Pāṇini:—That नम् is compounded even with the force of प्रसज्य प्रतिषेध'. (VI. I. 45). अशित्, non-sit'.

Both the phrases, 'when denoting mere condition (भाव)' and 'a kāraka 'which is not an agent' are understood in the succeeding aphorisms. See II 2. 6 about नम् Compound.

परिमाणाख्यायां सर्वेभ्यः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमाणा-आख्या-
याम्, सर्वेभ्यः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणाख्यायां सर्वेभ्यो धातुभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दारजारो कर्त्तरि णिन्नुक् च ॥

20. The affix 'ghañ' comes after all roots when the word so formed is the name of a measure.

Thus, नि + चि + घञ् = निचै + अ (VII. 2. 115) = निचाय (VI. 1. 78) 'a heap'; as एकस्तण्डुलनिचायः; द्वौ शूर्पनिष्पदौ। कृ 'to scatter' + घञ् = कारः। द्वौ कारौ; त्रयः काराः।

By using the word 'all' in the sūtra, it is indicated that the affix अच् (III. 3. 57) is also superseded when this sense is to be indicated. Otherwise the affix अच् would only be prohibited by the *Paribhāṣa*:—"Apavādas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the *apavāda*-operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules". Thus अच् being taught in III. 3. 56 would be superseded, but not so अच् taught in the subsequent aphorism III. 3. 57.

Why do we say 'when they are the names of measures'? Observe निश्चयः 'ascertaining'.

The word आख्याः has been used in the aphorism in order to indicate that the words so formed are not Primitive words (कृदि). The numerals are also there included, and not only measures like *Prastha, Pala* &c.

We have said above, that the force of the word सर्वेभ्यः in this sūtra is to indicate that the affix घञ् must be used after all verbs (not excluding even such verbs as require अच् or अच् by sūtras 56 and 57), when we want to express measure. This must be taken however, with certain limitations. The word सर्वेभ्यः is not after all so wide as at first sight it may appear. If we wish to form a word indicating measure, in the feminine gender, we cannot use घञ्; we must use the affix णिन् (III. 3. 94). In other words, the feminine affixes are not superseded by घञ् when it supersedes अच् and अच्. Thus in forming a feminine noun denoting measure, we have एकातिनोच्छ्रित्तिः, द्वे प्रसूती &c.

Vart:—The affix घञ् comes after the causative verbs दारि and जारि, and there is *luk* elision of the causative affix णिच्; when the word so formed is related to the verb as agent. Thus दारयन्ति भ्रातृन् = दाराः 'a wife' (lit 'who divides brothers' a wife breaking up the brotherly love); जारयन्ति = जाराः 'a paramour'.

इङ्घ ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इङ्घः, घ, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इङो धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अपादाने स्त्रियामुपसंख्यानम् तदन्ताच्च वा ङीप् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ घृ वायुवर्णनिवृत्तेषु ॥

21. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'in' (to study).

This debars भच् (III. 3. 56). As भधि + इ + घञ् = भधि + ऐ + भ = भध्वाव 'a lesson or lecture'; उपाध्यावः (उपेत्यासादधीते) 'a teacher'.

Vart.—When the word to be formed is related to the verb इङ् as an ablative, the word is feminine also and optionally takes the affix ङीप्. As उपेत्याधीयते ऽस्त्वा = उपाध्याया or उपाध्यायी 'a female teacher'.

Vart.—The affix घञ् comes after the root गृ, when the word so formed means 'wind', 'color', or 'cessation'. As ह्यारः 'wind', 'green colour' &c. गौरिवाकृत-नीशारः प्रायेण शिशिरे कृशः ।

उपसर्गे रुवः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, रुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्ग उपपठे रौतेर्धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'rû' (to roar), when it has an upasarga in composition with it.

This debars भप् (III. 3. 57). As संरावः 'clamour', उपरावः &c.

Why do we say 'compounded with an upasarga'? Observe रुवः 'sound',

समि युद्द्रुवः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समि, यु-द्रु-दुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समि उपपठे यु द्रु इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

23. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'yu' (to join), 'dru' (to run) and 'du' (to burn), when in composition with the preposition 'sam'.

As संयावः, संद्रावः, संरावः। But प्रयवः where the preposition is not *sam*.

श्रिखीभुवोऽनुपसर्गे ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रि-खी-भुवः, अनुपसर्गे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रि णी भू इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्योऽनुपसर्गेभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

24. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'sri' (to go to) 'ñi' (to lead) and 'bhû' (to be), when not in composition with an upasarga.

This debars the affix भच् (III. 3. 56). As श्रावः 'shelter', नावः 'a means', भावः 'a condition'.

But with *upasargas*, we have प्रभवः 'respect', प्रणवः 'love'; प्रभवः 'source'.

How do we explain the form प्रभाव in प्रभावो रत्नः 'the splendour of the king'? Here the word प्रभाव is not made from the compound root प्रभू + घञ्, but by compounding प्र with भाव by the rules of *samāsa*, meaning 'excellent condition'.

How do you explain the form नव in नवो राहः? Here the root नृ has taken the affix भ्क् diversely by III. 3. 113.

वी क्षुश्रुवः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वी, क्षु-श्रुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वायुपपदे क्षु श्रु इत्येताभ्यां धातुभ्यां घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'kshu' (to sneeze), and 'śru' (to move and hear) when the preposition 'vi' is in composition.

This debars the affix भ्क् (III. 3. 57); as, विज्ञावः 'cough'; विश्रावः 'flowing forth', 'celebrated'. But when without preposition, we have जवः and भ्रवः ।

अवोदोर्नियः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव-उदोः, नियः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव उत् इत्येतदोरुपपरचोर्नियतोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'ni' (to lead) when the prepositions 'ava' and 'ut' are in composition.

As भवनावः 'throwing down'; उजावः 'elevation'.

How do you explain उजावः in उजावः परार्थानाम्? Here the affix is 'ach' by III. 3. 113.

प्रे द्रुस्तुश्रुवः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, द्रु-स्तु-श्रुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेशब्द उपपदे द्रु स्तु श्रु इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'dru', 'stu' and 'śru', when the word in composition is 'pra'.

As प्रद्रावः, प्रस्तावः, प्रसावः । But not so in द्रवः, स्तवः and जवः ।

निरभ्योः पूरवोः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ निर-अभ्योः, पू-रवोः (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निरभिपूर्वयोः पूरवोर्भारवोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'pū' (to purify) and 'lu' (to cut) when 'nir' and 'abhi' are respectively in composition.

The word पू refers to both पूङ् and पूम्. The rule I. 3. 10. must be applied here, and thus निर comes before पू, and अभि before लू । As निष्पावः 'winnowing'; भगिलावः 'moving'. But पवः and जवः, without these prepositions.

उन्व्योर्घः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्-न्व्योः, घः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उन्व्योरुपपरयोः गृ इत्येतेभ्योर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grī' when the upasargas 'ut' and 'ni' are in composition.

The verb गृ here refers to both the verbs गृ 'to make sound', and गृ 'to swallow'. As उद्गारः समुद्ररवः 'the roaring of the sea'; निगारो देवदत्तरवः 'the swallow-

ing of Devadatta'. But when without these prepositions, we have गरः ।

कृ धान्ये ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृ, धान्ये, (घञ्, उन्त्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृ इत्येतस्माद्वातोऽरुन्न्वीरुपपर्यवोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति धान्यविषयबोध्यास्वयं भवति ॥

30. The affix 'ghañi' comes after the verb 'kṛi', when the prepositions 'ut' and 'ni' are in composition and when the sense of the verb relates to grain.

The verb कृ here means 'to scatter', and not 'to injure', because no words formed by this affix are found in Sanskrit in that sense.

As उत्कारो धान्यस्य 'the winnowing of corn'; निकारो धान्यस्य 'the winnowing of corn'. But when not referring to grain, we have भैक्षोत्कारः 'a heap of alms', पुष्पनिकारः 'the essence or heap of flowers'.

यज्ञे सनि स्तुवः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्ञे, सनि, स्तुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञविषये प्रयोगे सपूर्वास्तौतेर्वघञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'stu' when it is preceded by the upasarga 'sam' and the word refers to sacrificial subjects.

As संस्तावग्रह्मन्योगानाम् 'the Sanstāva of the Cihhandogas; संस्ताव(= समंय स्तुवन्ति यस्मिन् देशे छंदोगाः स देशः) means 'the place which the Brāhmaṇas repeating hymns and prayers, occupy at a sacrifice'.

But when not referring to sacrifice we have संस्तवग्रह्याण्योः 'the praising together of the two pupils'.

मे स्त्रोऽयज्ञे ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मे, स्त्रः, अयज्ञे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रम् भाष्येऽने भस्माद्वातोः प्रशब्दपर्यव घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, नचेद्यज्ञविषयः प्रयोगो भवति ॥

32. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'stri' (to cover), when preceded by the preposition 'pra'; provided that the word so formed does not refer to sacrifice'.

As, शंखप्रस्तारः 'a bed of conch'; मणिप्रस्तारः 'strewing of gems'.

प्रयने वावशब्दे ॥३३॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयने, वी, अशब्दे, (स्त्रः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रम् भाष्येऽने भस्माद्वातोर्विशब्दपर्यव घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति प्रयने गन्वमाने तच्चेत्प्रयनं शब्दविषयं न भवति ॥

33. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'stri' (to cover), when the preposition 'vi' is in composition with it, when the sense is that of extension, and when such spreading does not refer to words.

The word प्रयत्नं means 'extent, circuit, range'. As वस्त्र-विस्तारः 'the extension of the garment'.

Why do we say 'when meaning extent'? Observe, द्रव्यविस्तरः 'a collection of grass'. Why do we say 'not referring to words'? Observe विस्तरो वचसाम् 'prolixity of words'.

इंदो नास्ति च ॥ ३४ ॥ इंदः, नास्ति, च, (वी, स्त्रः, घ०)

वृत्तिः ॥ विपूर्वात्स्त्रणात्तेरुन्नीनास्ति चम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix 'ghañ' comes after 'stri' with the upasarga 'vi', when the word so formed is the name of a metre.

The word छन् here means prosodial metre such as Gayatri &c; and not the Vedas; otherwise the word नाम would not have been used. Thus वि+स्त्र+चम्=वि+स्त्र+चम्(VIII. 3. 94)=विहारः 'the name of a metre called Vishtāra-Pankti'.

The whole word विहारपंक्ति is the name of a metre, and is not a word *en ding* with the affix ghañ; only a member of this word, *i. e.* the first part ends with ghañ. The seventh case-affix in the word छन्नीनास्ति has the force of location *i. e.* when the word so formed occurs *in* a portion of a name of a metre; it is not the *full* name, but it is *in* the name *i. e.* forms a portion of the name.

उदि ग्रहः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, ग्रहः, (घ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद्युपपदे ग्रहेर्डातोर्चम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्सि निपूर्वात्पीठ्यते लुगुद्यमननिपातनयोः ॥

35. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'grah' (to seize), when the preposition 'ut' is in composition.

This debars the affix अप्. As उद्गाहः 'lifting up'.

Vart:—In the Vedas this affix is applied even when the word ग्रह is preceded by नि; and the ह is changed into ऋ; the sense of the two words being 'to lift up' and 'throw down' respectively of the sacrificial ladle; as, उद्गामं च निग्रामं च तद्गारेवा भवीषुधम् ।

समि मुष्टौ ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ समि, मुष्टौ, (ग्रहः, घ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्बुपपदे ग्रहेर्डातोर्चम्प्रत्ययो भवति मुष्टिविषयभेदात्पर्यो भवति ॥

36. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grah' when in composition with the preposition 'sam' when the sense of the root refers to fist.

The word मुष्टि means 'boxing', 'fist'; as, अहो मल्लस्य संगाहः 'O! the clenching of the fist of the athlete'; अहो मुष्टिकस्य संगाहः 'O! the seizing of the boxer', meaning grasping firmly.

Why do we say 'referring to fist'? Observe संग्रहो धान्यस्य 'a collection of grain'.

परिन्योनींघोर्घृताधेषयोः ॥३७॥ पदानि ॥ परि-न्योः, नी-इघोः,
घृत-अधेषयोः, (घ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दे निशब्दे चोपपदे वयासंख्यं निव इणश्च धातोर्घम्प्रत्ययो भवति, अघो-
पचारः, घृताधेषयोः ॥

37. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'ni' (to lead), and 'i' (to go), when the prepositions 'pari' and 'ni' are respectively in composition with them, and when the words so formed respectively mean 'a game' and 'propriety or arrangement or law'.

Here again we take help of I. 3. 10 in interpreting this sūtra. The verbs परि + नी and नि + इ, take घञ् when respectively meaning 'gambling' and 'fitness'. As परिष्ठाद्येन शारान् हन्ति 'he kills (or takes) many pieces by moving a chessman.' Here परिष्ठाद्य = समन्तात्तद्य means 'the moving of chess-pieces from every side, and so winning the game'. So also नि + इ + घञ् = नि + हे + भ = नि + भाद्य = न्याद्यः 'justice', 'propriety', 'logic'.

But when not having these senses, we have परिणयः 'marriage', and न्यव्य 'decay'; as न्यव्यङ्गतः पापः 'the sin has been destroyed'. The word अघेष means परार्थानामनपचरो वयाप्राप्तकरणम् ।

परावनुपात्यय इच्छः ॥३८॥ पदानि ॥ परौ, अनुपात्यये, इच्छः, (घ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्द उपपदे इच्छो धातोर्घम्प्रत्ययो भवति अनुपात्यये गन्धमाने ॥

38. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'i' (to go) in composition with the word 'pari' when the sense is that of following in regular succession.

As पर्यायः 'turn, succession'; तव पर्यायः 'thy turn'; मम पर्यायः 'my turn'.

Why do we say 'when meaning turn'? Observe कालस्य पर्यवः 'the lapse of time'. The word अनुपात्ययः = क्रमप्राप्तत्वानतिपातः 'not breaking the series or order'.

स्युपयोः श्लेतेः पर्याये ॥३९॥ पदानि ॥ सि-उपयोः, श्लेतेः, पर्याये, (घ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सि उप इत्थेतथोरुपपदयोः श्लेतेर्धातोर्घम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'śi' (to lie down) when the prepositions 'vi' and 'upa' are in composition with it, and when the sense of the word so formed is that of 'regular succession'.

As, तव विश्रायः 'thy turn of sleeping' (i. e. the rest enjoyed in rotation by the sentinels on watch); मम विश्रायः 'my turn of rest'; तव राजोपश्रायः = तव राजानम् परावित्तुम्पर्यायः 'thy turn of sleeping the king'.

Why do we say 'regular succession'? Observe उपश्रायः 'lying by the side of or ambush'; विश्रायः 'doubt'.

हस्तादाने चेरस्तेये ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्तादाने, चेः, अस्तेये, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्तादाने गम्यमाने चिनोतेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति, नचेत् स्तेयं चौर्यं भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उच्यतेत्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

40. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'chi' (to collect), when the sense expressed is that of taking by hand, provided it does not refer to stealing.

By saying 'taking by hand' the close proximity of the person taking to the thing accepted or taken is indicated. As पुष्पग्रन्थः 'gathering flowers by hand'; फलग्रन्थः 'gathering fruits by hand'.

Why do we say 'taking by hand'? Observe वृक्षाग्रस्थानां फलानां वट्टपाग्रचक्रं करोति 'he gathers with the stick the fruits hanging on the top of the tree'.

Why do we say 'when not meaning to steal'? Observe पुष्पग्रन्थश्चौर्येण 'the gathering of flowers by theft'.

Var.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the word उच्यते: 'gathering'; as पुष्पग्रन्थः 'gathering of flowers by hand'.

निवासचितिशरीरोपसमाधानेष्वदेश्च कः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि-
वास-चिति-शरीर-उपसमाधानेषु, आदेश्च, च, कः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निवास चिति शरीर उपसमाधान, एतेष्वर्थेषु चिनोतेर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति धातोरदेश्च ककार भावेशो भवति ॥

41. The affix 'ghañ', comes after the root 'chi' (to gather), and 'k' is the substitute of the initial 'ch' in these senses viz.—'a dwelling', 'a fire on the funeral pile', 'the body' and 'collection'.

That in which people dwell (निवसति) is called निवासः or 'dwelling'. That which is gathered together (चीयते) is called चिति or 'funeral pile'. शरीर means the body of all living beings; and उपसमाधान means making a heap. Thus निवासः 'a dwelling'; as in काशीनिवासः 'Kāsi-dwelling'; आकाशमग्निं चिन्वीत 'let him arrange the ākāya fire i. e. the funeral fire'; कायः 'body', as अनिरयः कायः 'a perishable body'; महान् गोमयनिवासः 'a heap of cow-dung'.

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Observe चक्रः 'gathering'. Why is not this rule applied in महान् काष्ठनिचयः 'a large heap of wood'? Here multiplicity is expressed and not collection or aggregation.

संघे चानौत्तराधर्ग्ये ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघे, च, अनौत्तराधर्ग्ये,
(चेः, आदेश्च, कः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संघे वाच्ये चिनोतेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति भावेश्च कः ॥

42. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'chi' (to gather) and 'k' is the substitute of the initial 'ch' in

the sense of 'a multitude or assembly' (of living beings possessing some common characteristics), but not merely a confused crowd of men.

The word संघ means a collection or assembly of living beings. It is of two sorts :—either by collection of persons possessing common qualifications, or a mere confused crowd of men. The collection denoting a confused crowd is here excepted and by *paryuddsa* negation the other is taken. Thus भिक्षुक-निकायः 'the assembly of beggars'; ब्राह्मणनिकायः 'the assembly of Brāhmanas'; वैयाकरणनिकायः 'the assembly of Grammarians'.

But सूकरनिघ्नः 'a herd of hogs'; because it is a mere collection. So also कृताकृतसमुच्चयः 'the collection of what is done and not done'; प्रमाणसमुच्चयः 'the collection of proofs'. Here there is no संघ in either of the two senses, it not being a collection of living animals, the affix *ghañ* is not employed.

कर्मव्यतिहारे चच् स्त्रियाम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्म-व्यतिहारे,
चच्, स्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मव्यतिहारे गन्धमाने धातोर्णचप्रत्ययो भवति स्त्रीलिङ्गे वाच्ये ॥

43. The affix 'nach' comes after a root in denoting reciprocity of action, and the word so formed is in the feminine gender.

The word कर्म means 'action' and is not the technical 'Karma' meaning the accusative case. व्यतिहार means reciprocity or interchange of action. The word so evolved is feminine in form and denotes mere 'action' (भाव) also. The anubandha च in एच् is qualitative and is added to distinguish this affix from other affixes: thus in sūtra V. 4. 14 this particular affix is meant.

Thus चि + भव + कृश् + एच् + भञ् + ङीष् = व्यावक्रोशी (V. 4. 14, and VII. 3. 6) 'mutual abuse'. So also व्यावहासी, व्यावज्जेसी. The affix एच् forms only an imaginary stem; for this stem must take the affix भञ् by V. 4. 14, which even does not form the complete word until the affix ङीष् of the feminine is added.

Why do we say 'in the feminine'? Observe व्यतिपाक्री वर्तते ।

The making of this a separate sūtra by itself and not reading it in the subdivision of feminine affixes beginning with क्तिन् (III. 3. 94) is for the sake of removing the obstructing aphorisms that would otherwise have prevented the application of this rule.

For, had it been taught in connection with क्तिन् &c, then the affixes that would have debarred क्तिन् &c, would *a fortiori* have debarred this also. But by keeping it separate from that class, it is indicated that those obstructive affixes which debar क्तिन् &c, do not debar this. Thus व्यावचोरी, व्यावचर्ची । Here चृर् being a षन्त class root would have taken चृच् (III. 3. 107) in the femi-

nine, as चोरणा; and चर्च् would have taken भर्च् by III. 3. 104, as चर्चा. The roots ईष् and ईह्, by III. 3. 102 & 103, take भ by debarring क्तिन्। This debarring affix भ, however, is not debarred by this rule; as व्यर्त्.क्षा, व्यर्त्.हा are the proper feminine forms, and not व्यर्त्.क्षी &c. The form व्यात्तुक्षी is, however, an apparent exception. All these exceptions, counter-exceptions &c. are examples of बहुलं taught in III. 3. 113.

अभिविधौ भाव इनुक् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिविधौ, भावे, इनुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिविधौ गम्यमाने धातोर्भावे इनुष्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44. The affix 'inun' comes after a root in denoting condition, when co-extensiveness is meant.

The word अभिविधि means co-extensiveness, that is to say, the complete comprehension or relation between the action and the quality. Thus संरात्रिणम् 'a general or tumultuous uproar'; सं + कूट् + इन् + भण् (V. 4. 15. and VI 4. 164) = संकूट्रिणम् 'a general confusion'; so संस्रादिणम् 'a general flow or stream'.

Why do we say 'when meaning co-extensiveness'? Observe संकोटः, संरात्रः, संस्रावः ।

Why do we use the word भाव again in this sūtra, when its anuvṛitti was already flowing from sūtra III. 3. 18? The object is that the वाःसरूप rule (III. 1. 94) should not apply here and hence चर्च् never comes in this sense, Pātanjali says that the repetition is for the sake of indicating that in neuter gender, when co-extensiveness is expressed, the affixes क्त् &c. are prohibited; so that the affixes क्त् &c. should not come in the neuter with the force of भाव ।

The separateness of this sūtra is for the same purpose as the last aphorism. The affix इनुद् is not, however, prohibited; as संकुट्रिणम्. See rule क्त्प्रत्ययो बहुलं (III. 3. 113). The affix इनुष् (the operative part being इन्) forms but an imaginary stem, which does not become real and complete till it takes the affix भण् by V. 4. 15, as shown above.

आक्रोशोऽवन्योर्ग्रहः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रोशे, अवन्योः, ग्रहः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव नि इत्येतयोः पपदयोर्म हेर्धातोर्धर्मप्रत्ययो भवति आक्रोशे गम्यमाने ॥

45. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'grah' (to seize), in composition with 'ava', and 'ui'; when malediction is meant.

Though इनुष् is immediately, near, we take the anuvṛitti of चर्च् (III. 3. 16), because we see that its anuvṛitti is possible.

The word आक्रोश means 'cursing'. As अवमाहो हन्त ते वृषजन्मवात् 'cursed be thou, O! sinner'. So also निमाहस्ते भूयात् ।

Why 'when meaning cursing'? Observe अवग्रहः पवस्व; निग्रहश्चोरस्व ।

प्रे लिप्सायाम् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, लिप्सायाम्, (ग्रहः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रशाब्दरूपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति लिप्तायाम् गन्धमानायाम् ॥

46. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grah', when the word 'pra' is in composition, and the sense denoted is the desire of acquisition.

As पात्रप्रमाहेण चरति भिक्षुः पिण्डार्था 'the beggar walks for the sake of alms, carrying a vessel in hand'; सुवप्रमाहेण चरति द्विजो इक्षिणार्था 'carrying a sacrificial ladle, the Brāhmaṇa walks about for his fee'. The word लिप्ता means the wish to have something'.

Why do we say 'when meaning desire of gain'? Observe प्रमहो देवदत्तश्च ।

परौ यञ्चे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ परौ, यञ्चे, (ग्रहः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दरूपपदे ग्रहेर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grah', in composition with 'pari' when it relates to sacrificial subjects.

As उत्तरपरिमाहः 'the northern fencing of the sacrificial altar'; अधरपरिमाहः 'the southern fencing of the sacrificial altar'.

Why do we say 'when relating to sacrifices'? Observe परिमहः देवदत्तश्च 'the fencing of Devadatta'.

नौ वृ धान्ये ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ, वृ, धान्ये, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निशब्दरूपपदे वृ इत्येतस्माद्धान्यविशेषेऽभिधेये घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'vri' preceded by 'ni'; when the sense is that of grain.

The वृ here means both वृह् and वृञ्. This debars the affix भृष्. As नीवारा: 'rice growing wild or without cultivation'.

Why do we say 'meaning grain'? Observe निवरा कन्या 'a virgin girl'.

उदि अयतियौतिपूद्रवः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, अयति-यौति-पू-द्रवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उच्छब्दरूपपदे अयतियादिभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

49. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verbs 'śri', 'yu', 'pū' and 'dru', when the preposition 'ut' is in composition.

This debars the affix अच् (III. 3. 56). Thus उच्छ्रायः 'rising of a planet'; उद्यावः 'mixing'; उलावः 'purifying ghee'; and उद्रवः 'flight'.

How do you explain the form समुच्छ्रयः in पतनान्ताः समुच्छ्रयाः? The word विभाषा 'optionally' in the next sūtra, exerts a retrospective effect on this sūtra, and the form is an optional one. This is a most unusual thing and is

called सिंहावज्जोकनन्यायः 'the maxim of the lion's backward glance'. It is used when one casts a retrospective glance at what he has left behind, while at the same time he is proceeding, just as the lion, while going onward in search of prey, now and then bends his neck backwards to see if any thing be within its reach.

विभाषा ऽऽङि रूप्लुघोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, आङि, रूप्लुघोः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाङि उपपदे रोतेः ह्रस्वत्विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verbs 'ru' (to roar) and 'plu' (to float), when the preposition 'ân' is in composition.

As आरावः or आरवः 'noise'; भासावः or भासवः 'bathing'.

अवे ग्रहो वर्षप्रतिबन्धे ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवे, ग्रहः, वर्ष-प्रतिबन्धे, (विभाषा, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भव उपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्वर्षप्रत्ययो भवति विभाषा वर्षप्रतिबन्धेऽभिधेये ॥

51. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the root 'grah', when the word 'ava' is in composition, the sense being withholding of rain.

The word 'optionally' is understood here. The word वर्षप्रतिबन्ध means the absence of rain, from some cause or another, when the season has arrived ; as भवग्रहः or भवग्रहो देवस्व 'the draught of rain'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'obstruction of rain'? Observe भवग्रहः परस्व ।

प्रे वणिजाम् ॥ ५२ ॥ प्रे, वणिजाम्, (विभाषा, ग्रहः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र शब्द उपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति प्रव्ययान्तवाच्यत्वे वणिजां सम्बन्धी भवति ॥

52. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verb 'grah' in composition with 'pra', when the word so formed relates to commerce.

Both the words *grah* and *vibhāshā* are understood here. By 'relation to commerce' is meant here the string of the balance; and not commerce in general. That string by which a balance is held is called तुलामग्रहः or तुलामग्रहः, as तुलामग्रहेण चरति or तुलामग्रहेण चरति; and this may be said of any person whether he be a trader or not.

Why do we say 'when belonging to commerce'? Observe प्रग्रहो देवदत्तस्व 'the whip of Devadatta'.

रश्मी च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रश्मी, च, (ग्रहः, विभाषा, प्रे, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र शब्द उपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति रश्मिश्चेत्प्रत्ययान्तेनाभिधीयते ॥

53. The affix 'ghañ' comes optionally after the verb 'grah' in composition with 'pra', when the word so formed means 'a rein'.

The word रश्मि means here the bridle by means of which horses &c. joined to the carriage, are held under control ; as प्रग्रहः or प्रमाहः 'a rein'.

वृषोतेराच्छादने ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृषोतेः, आच्छादने, (विभाषा, प्रे, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रशाब्दरूपपदे वृषोतेर्धातोर्विभाषा घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति प्रत्ययान्तं न चेराच्छादनविशेष उच्यते ॥

54. The affix 'ghañ' comes optionally after the verb 'vri' (to choose), when 'pra' is in composition, and the word so formed means 'a sort of covering'.

As प्रावारः or प्रवरः 'a cloak, a veil'.

Why do we say 'when it means a covering' ? Observe प्रवरगौ ।

परौ भुवो ऽवज्ञाने ॥ ५५ ॥ परी, भुवः, अवज्ञाने, (विभाषा, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दरूपपदे विभाषा घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति अवज्ञाने गम्यमाने ॥

55. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verb 'bhū', the word 'pari' being in construction, and the sense of the word so formed being 'disregard'.

The word अवज्ञान means 'contempt', 'neglect', 'disregard' &c. As परिभवः or परिभवः 'insult, humiliation'.

Why do we say 'when meaning disregard' ? The word परिभवः may be then construed to mean सर्वतोभवनं=परिभवः 'surrounding'.

एरच् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, अच्, (अकर्तरि, संज्ञायाम्, भावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इवर्णान्ताह्लातोर्भावे अकर्तरि च कारके संज्ञायाम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भञ्जिधौ भवादिनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ जत्रसर्वो ह्यन्वसि वक्तव्यो ॥

56. The affix 'ach' comes after a root ending in 'i' or 'ī' (when mere action is denoted, or when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as an agent).

The words within brackets are to be supplied from sūtras 18 and 19 : and these words are to be supplied in every subsequent sūtra as far as sūtra 113 of this chapter. This debars घञ्. The च् in अच् is qualitative, in sūtras like VI. 2. 144.

Thus, चच् 'collecting' ; भच् 'going' ; जच् 'victory' ; सच् 'wasting'.

Vart.—In this connection the words भय &c. should also be enumerated. As भी+भय्=भयम् 'fear'; वर्षम् 'rain'. These being neuter words, otherwise would have taken the affix क्त &c. but for this Vārtika.

Vart.—The words जत्र and सत्र are formed by this affix, and occur in the Vedas. As ऊर्वोरस्तु मे जत्रः, पंचादिनसत्रः। These roots जु and सु would have otherwise taken the affix भप्. The form would have been the same, but there would be difference of accent. See Rig. I. 112. 21, and Yaj. XI. 2.

ऋदोरप् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्-ओः, अप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तेभ्य उवर्णान्तेभ्यश्च भप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

57. After a root ending in long 'rī', short 'u', or long 'ū', there is the affix 'ap'.

This debars चञ्. The प् is indicatory for the sake of accent (III. 1. 3); as, वृ+भप्=करः 'scattering'; गृ+गरः 'beverage, poison'; शृ+शरः 'arrow'; वृ+वर्षः 'barley'; लृ+लत्रः 'reaping'; पू+पत्रः 'winnowing corn'.

The र् in ऋत् is merely for the sake of euphony: it is not र् changed into ऋ; for then by the rule 'that which follows र् is also called तपर' short ऋ only would have been taken and not long कृ (I. 1. 70).

ग्रहवृद्धनिश्चिगमश्च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रह-वृ-दृ-निश्चि-गमः, च,
(अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रहादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो ऽप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वशिष्टोऽपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ घञर्थे कविधानं स्यात्नापाडवधिहिनियुद्धर्थम् ॥

58. The affix 'ap' comes after the verbs 'grah', 'vri', 'dri', 'nischi' and 'gam'.

This debars चञ्; and in the case of निश्चि the affix भच् is debarred. As ग्रहः 'a planet'; वरः 'a boon'; हरः 'tearing, a cave'; निश्चयः 'certainty'; गमः 'march'.

The verb निश्चि would have taken भच्, but takes अप् which causes difference of accent.

Vart.—The roots वच् and रच् should also be included in this; as वच्: 'obedient'; रच्: 'battle'.

Vart.—When the sense is that of चञ्, the affix क् is directed to be employed, after the following verbs:—स्था, स्ना, पा, वृध्, हन् and युष्। As प्रस्थः 'a table-land' (on which they move); प्रस्नः 'a vessel for bathing' (in which they bathe); प्रपाः 'a place where water is distributed to travellers' (that out of which they drink); आविधः (VI. 1. 16) 'an awl, a drill' (that by which they pierce); निष्पः 'an obstacle' (in which they are obstructed); आवुधः 'battle' (where they fight).

उपसर्गेऽद् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्ग, अद्, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्ग उपपदेऽवर्धात्तोरप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

59. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'ad' (to eat) when an upasarga is in composition.

As विषसः (II. 4. 38) 'half-chewed morsel'; मचसः 'voracious'.

Why do we say 'when compounded with an upasarga'? Observe चासः 'grass'; अद् + चस् = चस् + भ (II. 4. 38).

नै ल च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ नै, ल, च, (अद्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निराब्द उपपदे भवेर्धातोर्णःप्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद् च ॥

60. And the affix 'na' as well as 'ap', comes after the verb 'ad' (to eat), when the upasarga 'ni' is in composition.

As नि + अद् + ण = नि + आद् + भ = न्यादः (VII. 2. 116) 'feeding'; नि + अद् + अच् = नि + चस् + भ (II. 4. 38) = निचसः 'eating, food'.

व्यधजपोरनुपसर्गे ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यध-जपोः, अनुपसर्गे, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यध जप इत्येतयोरनुपसर्गयोरुपप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The affix 'ap' comes after the verbs 'vyadh' and 'jap', when no upasarga is in composition with them.

This debars वच्. As व्यधः 'wound'; जपः 'muttering'.

Why do we say 'when upasarga-less'? Observe भाव्यावा, उपजाया ।

स्वनहसोर्वा ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वन-हसोः, वा, (अप्, अनुपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वनहसोरनुपसर्गयोर्वा भूप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

62. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verbs 'svan' and 'has' when no upasarga is in composition with them.

Thus स्वनः or स्वानः 'sound'; हसः or हासः 'laughter'. But with upasargas, we have only one form; मस्वानः 'a loud noise'; महासः 'a loud laughter'.

यमः समुपनिविषु च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यमः, सम्-उप-नि-विषु, च, (अनुपसर्गे, वा, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम् उप नि वि इत्येतेषूपपदेषु अनुपसर्गेऽपि यमेर्वा भूप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

63. And the affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verb 'yam', when the upasargas 'sam', 'upa', 'ni' and 'vi' are in composition; or even when it is upasarga-less.

This debars चच्. As संयामः or संयमः 'restraint'; उपयामः or उपयमः 'marriage'; नियामः or नियमः 'restrictive rule'; वियामः or विवमः 'check, distress'; यामः or यमः ।

नै गदनदपठस्वनः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नै, गद-नद-पठ-स्वनः, (अप्, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निराद् उपपदे गद् नद् पठ स्वन इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो वा अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

64. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verbs 'gad' (to speak), 'nad' (to sound), 'paṭh' (to read), 'svan' (to sound), when the upasarga 'ni' is in composition with them.

This debars चम्. Thus निगद्: or निगाद्: 'recitation'; निनद्: or निनाद्: 'noise'; निपठ: or निपाठ: 'reading'; निस्वन: or निस्वान: 'a noise'.

क्वञो वीखायां च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्वञः, वीखायाम्, च, (नै, वा, अनुपसर्गे, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्वञ्तेर्धातोर्निपूर्वादनूपसर्गाच्च वीखायां वा अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

65. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verb 'kvaṇ' (to jingle), when 'ni' is in composition with it, as well as when it is without any upasarga, or when 'flute' is meant.

This debars the affix चम्. Thus निकृण्: or निक्काण्: 'a musical tone'. क्वण्: or क्काण्: 'sound'. When it refers to 'flute', it must have some upasarga not necessarily नि; as क्वञ्वाणप्रकणा वीणा.

But not so here, भक्तिक्राणो वर्तते, where the upasarga being भक्ति and the word not referring to 'a flute', no option is allowed. When flute is not meant the upasarga must be नि or no upasarga at all, for the optional application of the affix अप्. To sum up, क्वण् takes अप् optionally under three conditions:—1st when preceded by नि, or 2ndly when having no upasarga, or 3rdly when it refers to 'flute', and then it must have some upasarga.

नित्यं पणः परिमाणे ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, पणः, परिमाणे, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पण्य व्यवहारे स्तुतौ च, भस्माद्भातोर्नित्यमप्प्रत्ययो भवति परिमाणे गम्बमाने ॥

66. The affix 'ap' comes invariably after the verb 'paṇ' (to barter), when the sense is that of measure.

The word नित्यं 'invariably' is used in the aphorism in order to stop the anuvritti of the word optionally. Thus मूलकपणः 'a handful of radishes'; शाकपणः 'a handful of vegetable'. These words secondarily have come to mean 'a measure equal to a handful', irrespective of any thing.

When not meaning measure, we have पाणः 'trade'.

मदोऽनुपसर्गे ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मदः, अनुपसर्गे, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मदेर्धातोर्नुपसर्गात्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'mad', when not in composition with an upasarga.

This debars चम्. As विद्यामदः 'pride of knowledge'; धनमदः 'pride of wealth'; कुलमदः 'pride of family'. When compounded with upasargas, we have उन्मादः 'mad'; प्रमादः 'error or carelessness'.

प्रमदसम्मदी हर्षे ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रमद-सम्मदी, हर्षे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमद सम्मद इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते हर्षेऽभिधेये ॥

68. The words 'pramada' and 'sammada' are irregularly formed, meaning 'joy'.

As कन्यानां प्रमदः 'the joy of girls'; कौकिलानां सम्मदः 'the rejoicing of cuckoos'.

Why do we say 'when meaning delight'? Observe प्रमादः 'carelessness'; संमादः 'frenzy'.

Instead of saying 'the verb *mad* preceded by *pra* and *sam* takes the affix *ap*' which also would have given the above forms, the full forms have been used in the sūtra to indicate that these words are कृते in this sense; for the sense of the root is not visible in these words.

समुदोरजः पशुषु ॥६९॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-उदोः, अजः, पशुषु, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुदोरपशुषु उदोः अजोः पशुषु धात्वर्थेऽपस्त्वद्यो भवति ॥

69. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'aj' (to go), when the prepositions 'sam' and 'ut' are in composition, and the word so formed refers to beasts.

This debars चम्. The root अज 'means to go, to throw'. When preceded by सम्, it means 'a collection'; and preceded by उद् it means 'driving'. As समजः पशूनां 'a herd of cattle'; उदजः पशूनां 'driving forth of cattle'.

Why do we say 'when applying to cattle'? Observe समाजो ब्राह्मणानां, उदजः क्षत्रियाणां ।

अज्ञेषु ग्लहः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अज्ञेषु, ग्लहः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्लह इति निपात्यते अज्ञविषयवञ्छेडात्वर्यो भवति ॥

70. The word 'glaha' is irregularly formed, when the sense of the root refers to gambling.

This word is derived from the root ग्लह. The verb ग्लह् takes the affix अप् and thus forms ग्लह्; and then irregularly र is changed into ल; as अज्ञस्व ग्लहः 'cast of the dice'.

Why do we say 'when referring to gambling'? Observe ग्लहः पादस्व ।

Others say, this word is derived regularly from the root ग्लह् 'to gamble', by adding the affix अप्, and thus debarring चम्. They suppose, therefore, the existence of the root ग्लह् to explain the form ग्लहः । The counter-example which they would give, is ग्लहः 'receiving', formed by adding the affix चम् ।

प्रजने सर्तः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रजने, सर्तः, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्तर्धातोः प्रजने विषवे अप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'sri' (to flow), in the sense of impregnating (the covering of cows &c).

This debars चम्. The word प्रजनं means 'the first covering of a cow by a bull'. As गवामुपसरः 'impregnation of cows'; पशूनामुपसरः 'impregnation of cattle'.

ह्वः संप्रसारणं च न्यभ्युपविषु ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्वः, संप्रसारणम्, च, नि-अभि-उप-विषु, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नि अभि उप वि इत्येतेषु उपपठेषु ह्वयतेर्द्धातोः संप्रसारणम् अप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

72. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' (to call), when the preposition 'ni' 'abhi' 'upa' and 'vi' are in composition with it, and its semivowel is changed into the corresponding vowel.

This debars चम्. As नि + ह्वे + अप् = नि + हु + अ (VI. I. 108) = नि + हो + अ (VII. 3. 84) = निह्व (VI. I. 78) 'invocation'; अभिह्वः 'invocation'; उपह्वः 'invitation'; विह्वः 'calling'. But प्रह्वः 'a summons'.

आङ्ङि युद्धे ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्ङि, युद्धे, (ह्वः, संप्रसारणं, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्ङ् उपपठे ह्वयतेर्द्धातोः संप्रसारणम् प्रत्ययो भवति युद्धेऽभिधेवे ॥

73. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' when the word in composition is the upasarga 'âñ', and the semi-vowel of the root is changed into its corresponding vowel, when the word so formed means battle.

As आह्वः 'battle' (where they *challenge* each other). But otherwise आह्वः 'calling'.

निपानमाहावः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निपानम्, आहावः, (आङ्ङि, ह्वः, संप्रसारणम्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्ङ्पूर्वस्य ह्वयतेर्द्धातोः संप्रसारणम् प्रत्ययो वृद्धिश्च निपात्यते निपानं चैव निधेवं भवति ॥

74. The word 'âhâva' is irregularly formed when meaning a trough.

The word आहावः is irregularly formed from ह्व् by the prefix आ, then samprasâraṇa, and the vṛiddhi of the vowel. Thus आ + ह्वे + अप् = आहु + अ = आहो + अ = आहावः 'a trough near a well for watering cattle'. Otherwise आहावः 'calling'. Even in the word आहावः the sense of calling is understood. It is that place near a well, containing water, where cattle are called or invited to drink water.

भावेऽनुपसर्गस्य ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे, अनुपसर्गस्य, (ह्वः, संप्रसारणम्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपसर्गस्य ह्वयतेः संप्रसारणमपस्यद्यो भवति भावेऽभिधेये ॥

75. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' and there is the change of the semi-vowel to its corresponding vowel, when the root is upasarga-less, and mere action is denoted.

As ह्वः 'calling' ; ह्वे ह्वे सुह्वं गुरमिन्द्रम् ।

Why do we say 'when no upasarga is in composition with it ? Observe आह्वयः । Though the anuvṛitti of the word आह्व was understood in this aphorism from sūtra 18, its repetition here shows that the anuvṛitti of sūtra 19, which was running, must not be taken ; so that this word applies to agent-kāraka also.

हनश्च वधः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, च, वधः, (भावे, अनुपसर्गस्य, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्जातिरनुपसर्गं भावे अप् प्राच्यो भवति, तत्संनिधौ च वधादेशः, सचान्तोदात्तः ।

76. The affix 'ap' comes after the root 'han' when upasarga-less, in the sense of mere action, and 'vadha' is the substitute of 'han' before this affix.

Thus वध has udāta accent on its final. The affix अप् which is anudāta generally (III. 1. 4) thus becomes udāta.

As वधश्चौराणाम् 'the killing of thieves'; वधोदस्त्रनाम् 'the killing of robbers'.

When action is not denoted, the affix चम् applies; as घातः 'a blow.

So also when an upasarga is in composition with it; as प्रघातः, घातः ।

The word च in the aphorism does not connect हन् with the substitute वध, there being no co-ordination, it refers to the affixes under discussion. Thus we have the affix चम् also ; as घातः 'killing'.

सूर्ती घनः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूर्ती, घनः, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सूर्तिवभिधेयायां हन्तेरपप्रथम्यो भवति, वधादेशः ॥

77. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han', when the word so formed means solidity, and 'ghan' is the substitute.

The word सूर्ति means 'hardness', 'solidity'. Thus भद्रघनः 'a mass of cloud'; दधिघनः 'solid curd'. How do we say घनं दधि ? Here the quality is taken for the thing qualified.

अन्तर्घनो देशे ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, घनः, देशे, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तःपूर्वाद्धन्तेरपप्रथम्यो भवति घनादेशश्च भवति देशेऽभिधेये ॥

78. The verb 'han' preceded by the word 'antar' takes the affix 'ap', and 'ghan' is the substitute of the word 'han', when the word so formed means 'a country'.

As अन्तर् + हन् + अप् = अन्तर्घन = चन् + भ = अन्तर्घनः 'name of a country of Bahika'; (a porch or court, an open space before the house between the entrance door and the house). Some write the word with a ण as अन्तर्घणः, that is also valid.

Why do we say 'when meaning a country'? Observe अन्तर्घातो 'striking in the middle'.

अगारैकदेशे प्रघणः प्रघाणञ्च ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अगार-एकदेशे,
प्रघणः, प्रघाणः, घ, (हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वस्य हन्तेः प्रघण प्रघाण इत्येवौ शब्दौ निपात्येते अगारैकदेशे वाच्ये ॥

79. The words 'praghana' and 'praghāna' are irregularly formed meaning 'a portion of a dwelling house'.

Thus प्रघणः or प्रघाणः 'a porch before the door of a house, a portico'. This is formed from हन् with प्र, irregularly.

Why do we say 'when meaning a portion of a house'? Observe प्रघातः ।

उद्घनोत्याधानम् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्घनः, अत्याधानम्,
(हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्पूर्वस्य हन्तेरुद्घन इति निपात्यतेऽद्याधानं चोद् भवति ॥

80. The word 'udghana' is irregularly formed in the sense of 'bench'.

This is formed from उद् + हन् irregularly. Thus उद्घनः 'a carpenter's bench' (the wood on which placing other planks &c. the carpenter carves &c).

When not having this sense, we have उद्घातः 'uneven'.

अपघनोऽङ्गम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपघनः, अङ्गम्, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपपूर्वस्य हन्तेरपघन इति निपात्यते, अङ्गं चोत्तद्भवति ॥

81. The word 'apaghana' is irregularly formed meaning 'a member of the body'.

This is formed irregularly from अप + हन्. Thus अपघनः 'a limb or member of the body'. The word अङ्गम् means a portion of the body, such as hand or foot, and not the whole body. Otherwise we have अपघातः ।

करणेऽयोविद्रुषु ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, अयः-वि-द्रुषु, (हनः,
अप्, घनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयस् वि द्रु इत्येतेषूपपरेषु हन्तेर्धातोः करणे कारकोऽपमस्यचो भवति, घनारेऽप्यथ ॥

82. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han'

when the words 'ayas', 'vi' or 'dru' are in composition with it, when the word so formed is related to the verb as an instrument, and 'ghan' is the substitute of 'han'.

As अयोधनः 'a forge-hammer' (whereby the iron is destroyed); विघनः 'a mallet'; द्रुघनः 'an axe'. Some write द्रुघणः, the न being changed into ण either by rule VIII. 4. 3. or by including this word in the class of आरोहणादि (IV. 2. 80).

स्तम्बे क च ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्बे, क, च, (करणे, हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्बशब्द उपपदे करणे कारके हन्तेः कः प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराप ॥

83. The affix 'ka' also comes after the verb 'han', when 'stamba' (a clump) is the word in composition, and the relation of the word so formed to the verb is that of an instrument.

The word च in the sūtra draws in अप् from the last aphorism and in that case घन् replaces हन्. Thus स्तम्बघ्नः or स्तम्बघनः 'a small hoe for weeding clumps of grass'. In the feminine gender, the forms are स्तम्बघ्ना as well as स्तम्बघना । When क is added, we have स्तम्बघ्नः । Thus हन् + क = हन् + भ (VI. 4. ७8) = घ्न (VII. 3. 54). When अप् is added, हन् is totally replaced by घन् । When instrument is not meant, we have स्तम्बघातः ।

परौ घः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परौ, घः, (करणे, हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्द उपपदे हन्तेर्द्वातोरपप्रत्ययो भवति करणेकारके घशब्दभावेः ॥

84. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han', when the upasarga 'pari' is in composition, and the relation between the word so formed, and the verb, is that of an instrument, and 'gha' replaces 'han'.

Thus परिघः or पलिघः (VIII. 2. 22) 'an iron beam used for locking or shutting the gate, an iron club'.

उपघ्न आश्रये ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपघ्न, आश्रये, (अप्, हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वस्य हन्तेरपप्रत्यय उपधालोपश्च निपात्यते ॥

85. The word 'upaghna' is irregularly formed meaning 'an inclined place for leaning or support'.

It is formed by adding अप् (III. 3. 76) to the verb हन् preceded by the upasarga उप, then eliding the penultimate भ of ह; this is the irregularity. Then by sandhi rules हन् is changed into घन्: । This form would have been given by the affix क also, without any irregularity.

The word आश्रय refers to proximity, contiguity. Thus पर्वतोपघ्नः 'the declivity of the mountain'; so also ग्रामोपघ्नः 'bordering the village'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'support'? Observe पर्वतोपघातः ।

संघोद्धौ गणप्रशंसयोः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघ-उद्धौ, गण-प्र-
शंसयोः, (अप्, घट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सङ्घोद्धपप्रयोर्हन्ते ह्रात्तोरप्प्रत्ययटिलोपो घट् च निपात्यते, यथासंख्यं गणोऽभिधेये
प्रशंसायां गन्धमानायाम् ॥

86. The words 'saṅgha' and 'udgha' are irre-
regularly formed in the sense of 'a collection', and 'a
praise' respectively.

These words are thus formed; सन् + हन् + अप् = सं + ह् + भ् = सं + घ् + भ् = संघः ।
Thus संघः पशूनाम् 'a herd of cattle'; so also उद्धे मनुष्यः 'an excellent man'.
The word 'respectively' is inserted from I. 3. 10. When not used in these
senses, we have संघातः 'union'.

निघो निमित्तम् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ निघः, निमित्तम्, (ह्रस्वः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निघ इति निपूर्वाद्दन्तेरप्प्रत्ययटिलोपो घट् च निपात्यते निमित्तं चैहभिधेयं भवति ॥

87. The word 'nigha' is irregularly formed in
the sense of 'as high as broad'.

The word निमित्त means 'measured all round' i. e. 'as high as broad'.
As निघा वृक्षाः 'trees as high as broad'. निघा शालयः 'square or cubic or circular
halls'. Otherwise, when not meaning 'as high as broad', we have निघातः 'a blow'.
The word निमित्त = समन्तान्मितं, समारोहपरिणाहम् । It may be derived from ना or from
नि । In the first case it will mean 'measured' and in the other, 'erected, built'.
Professor Bothlingk refers to *Apastamba Dharma*. I. 20. 30 for the meaning
of this word.

द्वितः क्त्रिः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दु-इतः, क्त्रिः, (भावे, अकर्तरि,
कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दु इत्यस्य तस्माद् द्वितो धातोः क्त्रिः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

88. The affix 'ktri' comes after the verb which
has an indicatory 'du', when denoting mere action &c.

The phrases 'when the sense is that of mere action', and 'when the sense
is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name
is deduced, but not as agent', are of course understood in this, as in all the pre-
vious aphorisms. Then by IV. 4. 20, (of the affix क्त्रि, म् is always the aug-
ment) we must add न्, for we can not use the affix क्त्रि alone; but we must al-
ways use त्रिन्. Thus दुपच्य 'to cook'—पक्त्रिमम् 'what is ripe'; दुवप्—उपत्रिमम् 'sown'
(VI. I. 15); दुकृम्—कृत्रिमम् 'artificial'.

द्वितोऽयुच् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दु-इतः, अयुच्, (भावे, अकर्तरि,
कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दु इत्यस्य तस्मान् द्वितो धातोरयुच् प्रत्ययो भवति भावाद् ॥

89. After that verb which has an indicatory 'tu', the affix 'athuch' comes with the force of denoting mere action &c.

As द्रुवेत्—वेपथुः 'a trembling'; दृभोधि—धवथुः 'swelling'; दृक्षु—क्षवथुः 'sneezing'; दृष्टु—वथुः 'burning'.

यजयाचयतविष्णुप्रच्छरक्षो नङ् ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ यज-याच-यत-
विष्णु-प्रच्छ-रक्षः, नङ्, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो नङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

90. After the verbs 'yaj' (to worship), 'yâch' (to ask for), 'yat' (to strive), 'vichchh' (to shine), 'prachchh' (to ask) and 'raksh' (to preserve), comes the affix 'nan' with the force of denoting mere action &c.

The conditions of sūtras 18 and 19 are understood here also. The इ of नङ् is for the sake of prohibiting guṇa or vṛiddhi (I. 1. 5); as यज्ञः 'sacrifice'; वाच्यः 'solicitation'; वनः 'effort'; विस्रः (VI. 4. 19) 'lustre'; प्रश्नः 'a question'; रक्षणः protection.

The root प्रच्छ, by VI. 1. 16, ought to have changed its र into ऋ before the ङिन् affix नङ्. Its not doing so must be taken to be an irregularity countenanced by Pāṇini, as we know from the fact that Pāṇini himself uses the form प्रश्नः in III. 2. 117.

स्वपो नन् ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपः, नन्, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्वपेर्धातोर्नन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix 'nan' comes, under similar circumstances after the verb 'svap' (to sleep).

The final न् is indicatory and regulates the accent (VI. 1. 197); as स्वप्नः 'a dream'.

उपसर्गे घोः किः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, घोः, किः, (भावे, अ-
कर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे उपपदे घुसंज्ञकेभ्यो धातुभ्यः किः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

92. The affix 'ki' comes under similar conditions, after a 'ghu' verb (I. 1. 20), when an upasarga is in composition with it.

The क् is indicatory, by force of which the final आ is elided (VI. 4. 64). Thus प्र+हा+कि=प्रहिः 'a present'; प्रधिः 'the periphery of a wheel'; उपाधिः 'fraud'; अन्तर्हिः 'vanishing'.

कर्मेवयधिकरणे च ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मेधि, अधिकरणे, च, (घोः,
भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपत्तेः घुसंज्ञकोऽथो धातुभ्यः किःप्रथमो भवति, अधिकरणे कारके ॥

93. The affix 'ki' comes after a 'ghu' verb, when a word in the accusative case is in composition with it, and when the relation of the word so formed to its verb, is that of 'location'.

As जलधिः 'the ocean (in which water is held)'; शरधिः 'a quiver (that in which arrows are put)'.

The word 'location' in the aphorism indicates that the words so formed should have no other significance. The word च in the aphorism draws in the affix कि from the last sūtra.

स्त्रियां किन् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाम्, किन्, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रीलिङ्गो भावाद् धातोः किन् प्रथमो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्तिन्नावादिभ्यश्च वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ श्रुयजित्तुभ्यः करणे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ग्लाम्नाड्याहाभ्यो निः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ऋकारल्वादिभ्यः क्तिन्निष्ठावद्भवति इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सम्पदादिभ्यः क्विप् ॥

94. To express an action &c. by a word in the feminine gender, the affix 'kṭin' is added to the root.

The conditions of rules III. 3. 18. and 19 are understood here also. This supersedes चम्, भच् and भप् affixes. Thus कृत्तिः 'action'; चित्तिः 'a gathering'; नत्तिः 'understanding'.

Vart.—The affix *kṭin* should be declared to come after the verbs आप् 'to get' &c. There is no list of these words given anywhere, but by seeing the form, we can infer the affix. Thus आप्तिः 'getting'; राद्धिः 'accomplishment'; शीत्तिः 'shining'; लक्ष्तिः 'a slip'; ध्वस्तिः 'destruction'; लक्षिः 'gain'.

Vart.—So also after the verbs श्रु 'to hear', यज् 'to worship' and स्तु 'to praise', when instrument is meant; as श्रुत्तिः 'ear' (that by which we hear); so इष्टिः 'a sacrifice'; स्तुत्तिः 'a praise'.

Vart.—The affix नि comes after the verbs ग्ले 'to be exhausted', ग्ले 'to fade', उवा 'to grow old' and हा 'to leave'; as ग्लानिः 'exhaustion'; ग्लानिः 'fading', वयानिः 'old age'; हानिः 'loss'.

Vart.—The affix किन् coming after verbs ending in long ऋ and the verbs क्लृ &c. is like a Nishṭhā. Thus कीर्णः 'scattering'; This form is thus evolved: क्लृ + किन् = कि + ति (VII. 1. 100) = क्लृ + ति (I. 1. 51) = कीर् + ति (VIII. 2. 77). At this stage, त् is changed into न् by the affix being treated as a Nishṭhā (VIII. 2. 42), and this न् is changed into ण् by the ordinary rules of sandhi; so

also गीर्षिः 'praise'; ज्रीर्षिः 'old age'; शीर्षिः 'drying'; कृन् (VIII. 2. 44) 'cutting'; वृन् 'joining'; धृन् 'agitation'; पून् 'destruction'.

Vart.—The affix कृप् comes after the verbs संपत् &c; as संपत् 'prosperity'; विपत् 'a calamity'; प्रतिपत् 'access'. The affix क्तिन् is also employed after these verbs:—as संपत्तिः, विपत्तिः. The verbs कृ &c. are 21 verbs of kryādi class.

स्थागापापघो भावे ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्था-गा-पा-पघः, भावे,
(स्त्रियां, क्तिन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्त्रीलिङ्गे भावे क्तिन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. After the roots 'sthā' (to stand), 'gā' (to sing) 'pā' (to drink) and 'pach' (to cook), the affix 'kṭin' is employed, when a word in the feminine gender denoting a 'mere action' is to be expressed.

This debars the affix भङ् (III. 3. 106) which generally supersedes क्तिन् in cases of compound verbs ending in long भा. Thus प्रस्थितिः 'a journey' (VII 4. 40); उद्गीति 'a singing aloud'; गौ + क्ति = गा + ति (VI. 1. 45) = गी + ति (VI. 4. 66); संगीतिः 'a concert'; प्रपीतिः 'a cistern'; संपीतिः 'drinking together'; पक्तिः 'cooking'.

The repetition of the word भाव in this aphorism, in spite of its anuvṛiti being understood from sūtra 18 is to exclude every other significance.

How do we get forms like भवस्या and संस्या ? Pāṇini himself, in his sūtras, has used forms like व्यवस्या &c. See I. 1. 34. This is enough justification for us to derive forms like भवस्या, संस्या &c. by applying the affix भङ् under rule 106, in spite of the present sūtra, which requires us to apply क्तिन् only.

मन्त्रे वृषेषपचमनविद्भूवीरा उदात्तः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्रे,
वृष-वृष-पच-मन-विद्-भू-वी-रा, उदात्तः, (भावे, स्त्रियाम्, क्तिन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रे विषवे वृषादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः क्तिन्प्रत्ययो भवति उदात्तः ॥

96. In Mantra literature, 'kṭin' acutely accented comes after the following roots, forming words in the feminine gender, denoting a mere action :—'vṛish' (to rain), 'ish' (to wish), 'pach' (to cook), 'man' (to think), 'vid' (to know), 'bhū' (to be), 'vi' (to go, to consume) and 'rā' (to give).

The construction of this sūtra is anomalous. Instead of the bases being put in the ablative case, they are put in the nominative case. Thus वृष्टिः 'raining'; इष्टिः 'wishing'; पक्तिः 'cooking'; मत्तिः 'thinking'; वित्तिः 'knowing'; भूतिः 'being'; वीतिः 'consuming'; रतिः 'giving'.

The affix क्तिन् has been generally ordained by sūtra 94 after all verbs. The present sūtra is made for the sake of regulating the accent in the case of these nouns. From वृष् we have also an irregular noun वृष्ट्या (III 3. 101), and

another by the general rule 94 having acute accent on the first syllable, altogether 3 forms. See Rîg Veda I. 116. 12; II. 5. 6; I. 62. 3, 57. 2; IV. 24. 7; III. 39. 1; I. 6. 5, 60. 1; X. 95. 17 for these words.

ऊतियूतिजूतिसातिहेतिकीर्त्तयश्च ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊति-
यूति-जूति-साति-हेति-कीर्त्तयः, च, (उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उल्हाद्वः शब्दा निपात्यन्ते ॥

97. And these words viz. 'ûti' (preserving sport), 'yûti' (joining), 'jûti' (velocity), 'sâti', (destruction), 'heti' (a weapon) and 'kîrti' (fame) are anomalous forms, acutely accented.

The anuvṛitti of the word वृत्ते does not exist in this; but the word उदात्त of the last syllable is understood here. The word ऊति is thus formed:—अन् 'to protect' + क्तिन् = ऊ + तिः (VI. 4. 20) = ऊतिः। this form is regular and could be evolved from sūtra 94 also; but not so the accent. The irregularity in वृत्तिः and जूतिः consists in the lengthening of उ into ऊ; in सातिः the भा of the root सै which becomes सा by VI. 1. 45, is not changed into इ, as rule VII. 4. 40 required, and this is the irregularity. This form may also be derived from the root सन् with perfect propriety, except as to the accent which would be regulated by the present sūtra: thus सन् + क्तिन् = सा + क्तिन् (VI. 4. 42) = सातिः. The form हेति may be derived either from हन् or हिनोति।

इन्द्र वाजेषु नोऽव सुहस्रप्रधानेषु च। वृषतुषामिहूतिभिः ॥ (Rîg. I. 7. 4) 'O Indra, mayst thou mighty, defend us in battles and in fights of a thousand duels, with thy mighty protections'.

व्रजयजोर्भावे क्यप् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्रज-यजोः, भावे, क्यप्,
(उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्रजयजोर्भायोः क्तिङिगे भावे क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति, उदात्तः ॥

98. The affix 'kyap' comes after the roots 'vraj' (to go) and 'yaj' (to worship) acutely accented in forming a word in the feminine denoting action.

This supersedes क्तिन्. Thus व्रज्या 'wandering about'; इज्या (VI. 1. 15) 'worshipping'. The ष् of क्यप् is indicatory, and though it serves no purpose in this sūtra, it is, however, necessary in the next, for it is by force of क्यप् having ष्, that we add a त् by VI. 1. 71, in the words formed in the next aphorism.

संज्ञायां समजनविषदनिपतमनविद्वुञ्जशीङ्भृजिङ् ॥९९॥ पदानि ॥
संज्ञायां, समज-विषद-निपत-मन-विद-वुञ्-शीङ्-भृज्-इङ्, (सिन्ध्यां, क्यप्,
उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समञ्जादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्त्रियां क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति उदात्तः संज्ञायां विषये ॥

99. The affix 'kyap' comes after the following verbs in forming a word in the feminine denoting an appellative' and is acutely accented viz:—'sam-aj' 'ni-shad', 'ni-pat', 'man', 'vid', 'suñ', 'śiñ', 'bhṛiñ' and 'iñ'.

Thus समञ्ज्या 'an assembly'; निषया 'a small bed or couch'; निषरया 'slippery ground'; मन्था 'thinking'; विद्या 'knowledge'; सुत्या (VI. I. 71) 'extraction of soma juice, parturition'; शय्या 'bed'; भृत्या 'wages, service'; इत्या 'a litter, palanquin'.

Here a question arises as regards भृ. By rule III. I. 112, भृ would have taken क्यप्, and we could have got the form भृत्या by that rule also. But the भृत्या formed under that rule would not have denoted an appellative which the present rule does. It would be said that rule III. I. 112 when it used the words भसंज्ञायां, was rather too wide, for क्यप् does come in denoting संज्ञा in feminine nouns by the present rule; so that the word भसंज्ञायां there, must be qualified by the phrase, 'except in the feminine'. The test whether rule 112, is too widely worded or not, has been made to hinge on the forming of the term भार्या meaning 'wife'. This word is formed by the affix एयत् to the exclusion of क्यप्

संज्ञायां पुंसि कृत्स्ना न ते भार्या प्रसिध्यति ।

स्त्रियां भावाधिकारोऽस्ति नेन भार्या प्रसिध्यति ॥

The word भावाधिकारः is explained by the author of Kāsikā as भावव्यापारो, वाच्यत्वेन विवक्षितः, नत् शास्त्रीयोऽधिकारः ।

कृजः श च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृजः, श, च, (स्त्रियां, क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतेर्धातोः स्त्रियां शः प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात् क्यप् च ॥

100. And after the root 'kṛi' comes the affix 'śa' in forming a feminine, as well as the affix 'kyap'.

By the force of the word च we draw the affix क्यप् into this sūtra, and by the process called योगविभाग we can split up this aphorism into two:—

(1) कृजः 'after the root कृ there is the affix क्तिन्'

(2) श च 'and the affix श as well as क्यप्'. Thus क्रिया, कृत्या (VI. I. 71) and कृतिः । When the affix श is added, the root assumes the form क्तिच् by III. I. 67.

इच्छा ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा, (श) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इषेर्धातोः शः प्रत्ययो दागभावश्च निपात्यते ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ परिचर्यापरिसर्वाङ्गयाटाट्यानामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ जागतेरकारो वा ॥

101. The form 'ichchhâ' (desire) is irregular.

The word is thus formed : इप् + श = इच्छ् + भ = इच्छा. The क्त्वा ordained by III I. 67 is not added, this is the irregularity.

Vart.—The following words are also irregularly formed :—परिसर्वा 'perambulation'; परिचर्या 'attendance, service'; वृगवा 'hunting'; भ्रमरप 'the habit of roaming about as a religious mendicant'.

Vart.—From the root जागृ we have either जागरा or जागर्वा 'waking'. The first is formed by the affix भ, the latter by श which brings in चक् (III. 1. 67).

अ प्रत्ययात् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, प्रत्ययात्, (चित्रयान्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्त्रियामकारः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

102. After the verbs that end in an affix, there is the affix 'a', the word being feminine.

The verbs that end in an affix are derivative roots, such as Desideratives, Causatives, Intensives and Denominatives. Though taking affixes, they are called धातु (III. 1. 32), after these verbs the affix भ is used in forming the feminine noun.

Thus कृ + सन् = चिकीर्ष् 'to wish to do'; this is a Derivative root; after this root चिकीर्ष्, we add भ. Thus चिकीर्ष् + भ (VI. 4. 48) = चिकीर्ष. Then we add टाप् by IV. 1. 4, and get चिकीर्षा 'the desire to do'; so also जिहीर्षा 'the desire to take'; पुत्रीया 'the desire to be like a son'; पुत्रकाम्या 'desire of a son'; क्षोन्न्या 'much cutting'; कण्डूया 'itch'. The sūtra is also found as भः प्रत्ययात् ।

गुरोश्च हलः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुरोः, च, हलः, (चित्रयां, अ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलन्तो यो धातुर्गुणान् ततः स्त्रियामकारः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

103. The affix 'a' comes after that verb which has a prosodially heavy vowel and ends in a consonant, when the word to be formed is feminine.

This debarbs क्तिन् । Thus कुण्डा 'an adulteress'; हुण्डा 'a tigress'; ईहा 'effort'; चहा 'supplying an ellipsis'.

Why do we say 'which has a prosodially heavy vowel'? Observe भक्ति 'devotion'. Why do we say 'which ends in a consonant'? Observe नीति 'polity'.

चिद्भिदादिभ्योऽङ् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्, भिद्-आदिभ्यः, अङ्, (चित्रयान्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिद्भ्यो भिदादिभ्यश्च स्त्रियामङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

104. The affix 'añ' comes after those verbs that have an indicative 'sh', and after 'bhid' &c, when the word to be formed is feminine.

Thus जृप् has an indicative च्, the real root being जृः । From it we have जरा 'old age' (VII. 4. 16); जपुष्—जपा 'bashfulness'.

So also from verbs of *Bhiddi* class we have भिदा 'breaking'; in the alternative we have भिक्तः । So also क्षिदा 'cutting'; क्षिप्तिः 'cutting'; भारा 'a knife, an

iron instrument'; भार्ति: 'distress'; धारा 'a stream'; धृति: । The list of *Bhiddi* verbs will not be found given in one place in the *Dhatupātha*. They have been collected from different *Ganas*, and are the following :—

भिक्षा, छिन्ना, विद्या, क्षिपा, गुहा (गिर्योषधयोः), अद्वा, मेधा, गोधा, भारा, हारा, कारा, क्षिया, भारा, धारा, लेखा, रेखा, चूडा, पीडा, वपा, वसा, वृजा, सृजा, कृपा, (ऋपेःसंप्रसारणं च) ॥

चिन्तिपूजिकथिकुम्बिचर्चश्च ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिन्ति-पूजि-कथि-कुम्बि-चर्चः, च, (स्त्रियां, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिन्ति पूजि कथि कुम्बि चर्च एभ्यो धातुभ्यो युचि प्राप्ते स्त्रियामङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. The affix 'an' as well as the affix 'yuch' comes after the following verbs, forming feminine words:—'chint' (to think), 'pūj' (to worship) 'kath' (to narrate), 'kumb' (to cover) and 'charch' (to learn).

The force of च is to include the affix युच् into this sūtra (see III. 3. 107). All these verbs belong to the *Churādi* or 10th class, and would have exclusively taken युच् by III. 3. 107.

Thus चिन्ता 'thought'; पूजा 'worship'; कथा 'narration'; कुम्भा 'a covering', 'a thick petticoat'; चर्चा 'recitation'.

When the affix is युच्, the forms are चिन्तना &c. (VII. 1. 1).

आतञ्चोपसर्गं ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, च, उपसर्गं, (स्त्रियां, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तोभ्य उपसर्गं उपपदे स्त्रियामङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अहन्तरोऽपसर्गवृत्तिः ॥

106. The affix 'an' comes after those verbs which end in long 'ā' when an upasarga is in composition, and when the word to be formed is feminine.

This supersedes क्तिन्. Thus प्रहा, प्रधा, उपहा, उपधा, &c.

Vart.—For the purposes of this rule the particles अत् and अन्तर् should be treated like upasargas. Thus अद्वा 'faith' अन्तर्द्वा (I. 4. 59).

वयासन्नन्यो युच् ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रि-आस-अन्न्यः, युच्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ष्यन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्य आसअन्न्य इत्यन्ताभ्यां च स्त्रियां युच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ षट्ठिवन्निविदिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इषेरनिष्कार्यत्वे युज्वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परेर्वा ॥

107. After verbs ending in 'ni', and after 'ās' (to sit) and 'śranth' (to loose), there is the affix 'yuch' when the word to be formed is feminine.

This excludes the affix अ (III. 1. 102). Thus कृ + णिच् = कारि; कारि + युच् = कारणा (the इ is elided by VI. 4. 51) 'the causing to do'; हारणा 'the causing to

This debars क्तिन् and all the rest. By using the word भाष्या in the sūtra it is meant that the word so formed by this affix should be the appellation of the disease. The word 'diversely' shows the usual licence in the application of all the rules of grammar. Thus प्रच्छर्दिका (VII. 1. 1) 'vomiting'; प्रवाहिका 'diarrhoea'; विचर्षिका 'itch, scab'. Sometimes this affix does not apply; as शिरोर्षिः 'head-ache'.

Vart.—The affix *nvul* is employed also in simply pointing out the meaning of the roots; thus, आशिका 'to enjoy', शायिका to 'lie down' &c.

Vart.—The affixes इक् and त्रित् (that is शप् and लिप्) are also employed in merely pointing out the roots; as भिदिः, छिदिः, पचतिः, पठतिः &c. The constant use of these affixes is to be found in these very sūtras. In the aphorisms the roots are exhibited in various ways; thus in sūtra 49 of this chapter we have the root भि and च् exhibited as भयतिः and चैतिः। These latter forms indicating nothing more than the simple roots. So also, see VIII. 4. 17; VI. 4. 49.

Vart.—The affix कार् is employed in merely pointing out letters; as ककारः means 'the letter क'; so also भकारः 'the letter भ'; इकारः 'the letter इ'।

Vart.—The affix इक् is employed in pointing out the letter इ; as रेक्।

Vart.—The affix छ् comes after the word मत्वर्यं in merely pointing it out, and there is elision of the final भ; as मत्वर्यायः।

Vart.—The affix इम् comes after the verbs भज् &c; as भाजिः, भातिः, भादिः।

Vart.—The affix इक् comes after the verbs कृष् &c; as, कृषिः, किरिः, &c.

संज्ञायाम् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (सुबुल्, स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायाम् विषये धातोर्णुंलप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

109. The affix 'nvul' comes after the verbal roots, when the word to be formed is an appellative.

As उद्दालकपुष्पभञ्जिका 'a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which uddālaḥ flowers are broken or crushed'. वरणपुष्प-प्रवाहिका 'a sort of game'; आम्बुषखादिका; आशेषखादिका; शालभञ्जिका; तालभञ्जिका।

विभाषाख्यानपरिप्रश्नयोरिञ् च ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, आ-
ख्यान-परिप्रश्नयोः, इञ्, च, (सुबुल्, स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिप्रश्ने आख्याने च गम्यमाने धातोरिञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

110. And the affix 'in' comes optionally after a root, when a question and answer is expressed, (as well as 'nvul' and other affixes ordained by other rules).

The word परिप्रश्न means 'question' and आख्यान means 'answer'; in the sūtra, in making the compound of these words, the logical sequence is not observed. The compound आख्यानपरिप्रश्न may, however, be justified on the ground that in a Compound a word consisting of smaller number of syllables should stand first (II. 2. 34.) and hence *ākhyāna* is put first.

The force of च is to draw the anuvṛitti of the word ष्वञ् from the last into this. By the word 'optionally', it is meant that those affixes which would otherwise present themselves from the subsequent rules, should also be applied; thus: Q.—कां स्वं कारिमकार्षीः 'What work did you do'? A.—सर्वीं कारिमकार्षेम् 'I did all work'. Optionally we may have instead of कारि the following also. Q.—कां कारिकां, कुर्यां, कृतिं, क्रियां, भकार्षीः A.—सर्वीं कारिकां or कुर्यां or कृतिं or क्रियां भकार्षेम् । Similarly, Q.—कां गणिं (गणनां, गणिकां &c.) भजीगणः A.—सर्वींगणिं &c. भजीगणम्. So also कां याजिम् or याजिकाम्; कां याचिम् or याचिकां &c.

Why do we say 'in question and answer? Observe कृतिः and इतिः ।

पर्यायाहर्होत्पत्तिषु ऋचुच् ॥१११॥ पदानि ॥ पर्याय-अह-ऋण-उत्-
पत्तिषु, ऋचुच्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतेष्वयेषु धातोष्वुचप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

111. The affix 'ṇvuch' comes optionally after a root in the sense of succession, merit, debt or production.

The word पर्याय means turn or order of succession; अहं means worthy of respect; ऋणं means debt owed to another; and उत्पत्ति means birth or production. This rule supersedes क्तिन् and other affixes. Thus: (1) भवतः शयिका 'your turn of sleeping'; भवतोऽग्रमासिका 'your turn of eating first'. (2) अर्हति भवानिभुभक्तिकाम् 'you deserve to have a meal of sugar and molasses'. (3) इक्षुभक्तिकां मे धारयसि 'thou owest me a meal of sugar and molasses'; भोजनभोजिकां 'a meal of rice'; पयःपायिकां 'a drink of milk'. (4) इक्षुभक्तिका मे उत्पत्ति ।

The word 'optionally' is understood in this sūtra also; as चिकीषोऽल्पयते ।

The forms given by ष्वञ् and ष्वच् are the same, the difference is only in the accent. (VI. I. 193, and VI. I. 163).

आक्रोशे नश्यनिः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रोशे, नञि, अनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशो गम्यमाने नश्युपपदे धातोरनिःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. The affix 'ani' comes after a verb when the particle 'nañ' is in composition with it, and the sense implied is that of cursing.

The anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally' does not extend to this aphorism. The word आक्रोश means to curse. This supersedes the affixes क्तिन् &c. Thus अकरणस्ते वृषज्ज भूयात् 'may failure be to thee, O sinner!' तत्त्वाकरणिरैवास्तु 'may he be disappointed'.

Why do we say 'when meaning to curse'? Observe अकृतिस्तस्य कटस्य 'the non-making of his mat'.

Why do we say 'when नश्च is in composition'? Observe वृत्तिस्ते वृषज्ज भूयात् 'may death be to thee, O sinner' ।

कृत्यस्युटो बहुलम् ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य, स्युटः, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यसंज्ञकाः प्रत्यया ल्युट् च बहुलमर्थेषु भवन्ति ॥

113. The affixes called 'kritya' (III. 1. 95) and the affix 'lyuṭ', are diversely applicable and have other senses than those taught before.

The anuvṛitti of the phrases 'when denoting action' and 'when the relation of the word formed to its parent verb is not that of an agent', which began with sūtras III. 3. 18 and 19, does not extend to this sūtra or further. By saying 'diversely' we mean that they occur in other places than those where ordained by the rules. Thus the *kṛitya* affixes are ordained to come when 'act' or 'object' is to be expressed, but they come also when the *kāraṇa* is other than the objective. Thus स्नानीयं चूर्णम् 'powder for bathing'; दानीयो ब्राह्मणः 'a Brāhmaṇa' to whom a donation is to be made'. In the first of these examples the 'powder' is the 'instrument' expressible by the 3rd. case, and in the second the 'Brāhmaṇa' is the recipient expressible by the fourth case; so that in both cases the affix is applied without any express rule.

Similarly, ल्युट् is ordained to come in denoting instrument, location, and a verbal noun (III. 3. 115 and 117). But it is applied in other senses also. Thus राजभोजनाः शालयः 'halls for the eating of kings'; राजाच्छादनानि वासांसि 'dresses to be worn by the 'king'.

By using the word 'diversely', even the *kṛit* affixes are applied in places other than those expressly ordained. Thus पादाभ्याम् द्वियते = पादहारकः । गले चोप्यते = गलेचोपकः । For accent see VI. 2. 150.

नपुंसके भावे क्तः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपुंसके, भावे, क्तः, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकलिङ्गे भावे धातोः क्तः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

114. The affix 'kta' is added to the root, when action is expressed, the word being in the neuter gender.

These are neuter abstract nouns: thus, हसितम् 'laugh'; जल्पितं 'speech'; शायितं 'sleeping'. So also गतं, सहितं &c.

ल्युट् च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल्युट्, च, (नपुंसके, भावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकलिङ्गे भावे धातोर्ल्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

115. The affix 'lyuṭ' is added to the root, when the name of an action is expressed, in the neuter gender.

Thus हसनं छात्रस्य 'the laughter of the student'; शोभनं 'beauty'; जल्पनं 'speech'; शयनं 'sleep'; भासनम् 'seat'.

The separation of this sūtra from the last, in which it might well have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms, in which the anuvṛitti of *lyuṭ* only runs, and not that of क्त ।

कर्मेषु च येन संस्पर्शात् कर्तुः शरीरसुखम् ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥

कर्मणि, च, येन, संस्पर्शात्, कर्तुः, शरीर-सुखम् (नपुंसके, भावे, ल्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येन कर्मणा संस्पर्शमानस्य कर्तुःशरीरसुखमुत्पद्यते तस्मिन्कर्मण्युपपदेधातोर्नपुंसकलिंगे भावे ल्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

116. The affix 'lyuṭ' is added to a root, when the name of an action is expressed in the neuter gender; provided that the verb has in construction with it, such a word in the accusative case, as indicates the thing, from the contact with which, there arises a pleasant sensation corporally to the agent.

This sūtra is thus translated by Bohtlingk:—"The affix ल्युट् comes in connection with an object, when through the contact with that, the agent of the action feels a lively pleasure". Though the affix *lyuṭ* would have presented itself by the last aphorism, under the circumstances mentioned in this sūtra, the framing of this sūtra, is really for the purpose of teaching, that the compound so formed is a निश्चय or invariable compound *i. e.* a compound which cannot be analysed into its component members:—for every उपपद compound is a निश्चय compound. (II. 2. 19) Thus पयः पानं सुखं 'the pleasure of drinking milk'; भोजनं भोजनं सुखं 'the pleasure of eating rice'.

Why do we say 'when the word in construction is in the accusative case'? Observe तूलिकाया उस्थानं सुखं 'rising from a bed of down is pleasant'. Here there is no compounding as the upapada तूलिका is in the ablative case.

Why do we say 'from the contact'? Observe अग्निकुंडरयोपासनं सुखं 'it is pleasure to sit near by a fire-hearth'. Here there being no contact between 'fire' and 'body', there is no compounding.

Why do we say 'to the agent'? Observe गुरोः स्नापनं सुखं 'to the teacher it is pleasure, when he is made to bathe'. Here the word गुरुः is not the agent, but the object of the verb स्नापयति ।

Why do we say 'corporally'? Observe पुत्रस्य परिष्पृञ्जनं सुखम् 'embracing of the son is a pleasure'. Here the pleasure is a mere mental satisfaction and not a physical one.

Why do we say 'a pleasant sensation'? Observe कंटकानां मर्दनं दुःखम् 'it is painful to rub thorns'. In all the above counter-examples there is no compounding; see II. 2. 19 and the connected sūtras.

करणाधिकरणयोश्च ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ करण-अधिकरणयोः, च, (ल्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करणेऽधिकरणे च कारके धातोर्ल्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

117. The affix 'lyuṭ' comes after a root, when

the relation of the word to be formed to the verb is that of an instrument or location.

Thus **इधमप्रधनः** 'an axe' (lit. an instrument for cutting wood); **पलाशाशातनः** 'palāsa-cutter'; **गोदोहनी** 'a milk-pail' (a vessel into which milk is milked); so also **सक्तुधानी**. In other words, this affix expresses also the idea of the instrumental case (a tool), and of the locative case (a repository).

पुंसि संज्ञायां चः प्रायेण ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंसि, संज्ञायाम्, चः, प्रायेण, (करणाधिकरणयोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुंलिङ्गयोः करणाधिकरणयोरभिधेययोर्धातोर्धः प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेत संज्ञा गन्वते ॥

118. The affix 'gha' generally comes in the sense of an instrument or location after a root, when the word to be formed is a name and is in the masculine gender.

The force of the word **प्रायेण** 'generally' is to show that this rule is not a universal rule. Thus **दन्तच्छत्रः** 'the lip'. **छात्रि** 'to cover' + **च** (VI. 4. 96) = **छत्र** lit. 'that by which the teeth are covered'; so also **दरच्छत्र** 'a breast plate'; **चः**. These denote instruments.

So also in denoting 'location'. Thus **भा + कु + च = भाकरः** 'a mine', so named because men work (*akurvanti*) in it, **भान्नयः** 'a house' that in which men settle down.

Why do we say 'in the masculine gender'? Observe **प्रसाधनम्** 'a comb'; (lit. that by which men decorate). Here the affix is *lyut*.

Why do we say 'when the complete word so formed is merely an appellative? Observe **प्रहरणी रुण्डः** 'the beating stick'.

The indicatory **च्** is merely qualifying; for the application of sūtra VI. 4. 96. by which after the causative **छात्रि**, when **च** is added, the long **भा** is shortened.

गोचरसंचरवहव्रजव्यजापखनिगमाश्च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोचर-संचर-वह-व्रज-व्यज-आपख-निगमाः, च (चः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोचरादयः शब्दाः चमत्प्रयान्ता निपात्यन्ते पूर्वस्मिन्नेवाये ॥

119. And the words 'gochara', 'samchara', 'vaha' 'vraja', 'vyaja', 'āpana' and 'nigama' are anomalous:

These words are irregularly formed by the affix **च** with the same force as in the last aphorism. This is an *apavāda* or exception to rule III. 3. 121, by which after roots ending in consonants, the affix **चम्** is added. Thus **गोचरः** 'pasturage', (lit. that in which the cows graze); **संचरः** 'a passage', (lit. through which they move); **वहः** 'a vehicle' (lit. by which men are carried); **व्रजः** 'a cow-pen' (by which they go); **व्यजः** 'a fan' (by which they move the air); the anomaly

in this consists in not replacing the भञ् of वञ् (वि+भञ्) by the substitute वी as required by sūtra II. 4. 56; भाषण 'a market' (lit. that in which men come and traffic); निगम: 'the Veda', 'a market' (that into which they enter).

The force of the word च in the aphorism is to include other words also, which have not been already mentioned. Thus कषः, निकषः 'a touch-stone' (lit. that on which they rub).

अवे तृस्त्रोर्घञ् ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अवे, तृ-स्त्रोः, घञ्, (करणाधि-
करणयोः संज्ञायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्र उपपरं तरतेस्त्रयातेष धातोः करणाधिकरणयोः संज्ञायां चम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'tri' (to cross) and 'stri' (to spread), when the upasarga 'ava' is in composition with them, and when the word so formed is an appellative related to the verb either as an instrument or as a location.

This supersedes च । The ञ् is indicatory and causes the vṛddhi of ऋ (VII. 2. 115) and is also for the sake of regulating the accent (VI. 1. 195, 197). The indicatory च् is useful in the subsequent aphorism where it changes the palatals into gutturals. Thus भवतारः 'the descent (or incarnation of a diety); भवस्तारः 'a screen round a tent'.

How do we apply भवतार also in phrases like भवतारो नद्याः 'the descent of rivers', for here the word *avatāra* is not an appellative? This use is also allowed, because the anuvṛitti of the word प्राच is understood here also; so that these words *avatāra* &c. may be employed in senses other than appellative.

हलञ्च ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, च, (पुंसि, संज्ञायां, करणाधि-
करणयोः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलन्ताद्धारतोः करणाधिकरणयोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

121. And after a verb ending in a consonant, comes the affix 'ghañ', (when the word to be formed is masculine, and related to the verb as an instrument or a location, and thereby the palatal is changed into a guttural).

The whole of the phrase within brackets is to be read into this sūtra from sūtra III. 3. 118. This excludes च. Thus लेखः 'a writing' (that in which something is inscribed); वेदः 'the Veda' (that by which all is known); वेषः 'dress' (that which is entered into); बन्धः 'obstruction'; मार्गः 'a way' (that on which they seek); भयामार्गः 'a plant' (that by which disease or the like is cleared away); रामः 'Rāma' (i. e. in which the devout delight).

अध्यायन्यायोद्यावसंहाराधारावायाञ्च ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्याय-
न्याय-उद्याव-संहार-आधार-आवायाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्यायादयः शब्दा घञन्ता निपात्यन्ते ॥

122. And the words 'adhyāya', 'nyāya', 'udyāva', 'samhāra', 'ādhāra' and āvāya' are anomalous.

These words are formed by adding the affix घञ् to the exclusion of च which would have come by rule III. 3. 118. All these words are derived from roots which end in vowels. Thus अधि+इ+घञ्=अध्यायः 'a chapter or book' (lit. that in which they read); नी-न्यायः 'logic, justice', (lit. that by which men are lead); उत्-यु-उत्थायः 'mixture' (lit. that in which they blend); सन्-ह-संहारः 'destruction' (lit. by which they are destroyed); आ-धु-आधारः 'support' (lit. in which anything is held); आ-वि-आवायः = आववन्ति अस्मिन् ।

The force of च is to include others not enumerated above; as, भवहारः ।

उदङ्कोऽनुदके ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदङ्कः, अनुदके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदङ्क इति निपात्यते अनुदक विषयस्यै धात्वर्थो भवति ॥

123. The word 'udaṅka' is anomalous, when the sense of the root refers to subjects other than 'water'.

The word is thus formed: उत्+अं+घञ्=उदङ्कः 'a vessel'.

Would not the affix घञ् have come by sūtra III. 3. 121, why then this aphorism? This is made a separate aphorism in order to prohibit the application of the affix, where the word to be formed means 'water',

Thus तैलोरुदकः 'a leathern vessel for oil'.

Why do we say 'when not referring to 'water'? Observe उदकोऽंघनः 'a bucket for drawing water' (उत्+अंघ+घञ्).

Why do not we give the counter-example by adding the affix च to the root उदंघ्? Because the form evolved by applying च, would be the same in every respect as that evolved by घञ्; even the accent would be the same. For by sūtra VI. 2. 144, the udātta accent, in the case of घञ्, will fall on the final.

जालमानायः ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जालम्, आनायः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आनाय इति निपात्यते जालं चेत्यवति ॥

124. The word 'ānāya' is irregularly formed when meaning 'a net'.

The word is thus formed in the sense of instrument. आ+नी+घञ्=आनायः 'a net' (by which they are caught); as आनायो मत्स्यानां 'a net for fish'; आनायो वृगाणाम् 'a net for wild deer &c'.

सजो घ च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सजः, घ, च, (करणाधिकरणे, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सजतेर्जातोः करणाधिकरणयोर्घः प्रत्ययौ भवति, चकाराद् घञ् च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ डी वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ डरो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इको वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इकचको वक्तव्यः ॥

125. The affix 'gha' as well as 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'khan' (to dig), (when the word to be formed is an appellative related to the verb as instrument or location).

The affix चम् has been read into the sūtra by force of the word च । Thus भाखान् or भाखनः 'a spade, a hoe'.

Vart.—The affix ड also comes in this sense after the verb खन् । Thus भाखन् + ड = भाखडः 'a spade'. The indicatory इ showing that the final portion called टि should be elided.

Vart.—The affix डर also comes in the same sense; as भाखडरः 'a spade'.

Vart.—So also the affix इक्; as भाखनिकः 'a spade'.

Vart.—So too the affix इकचक as भाखनिकचकः 'a spade'.

ईषद्दुःसुषु कच्छाकच्छार्थेषु खल् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषत्-दुस्-सुषु, कच्छ-अकच्छ-अर्थेषु, खल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषत् दुस् सु इत्येतेषूपपदेषु कच्छाकच्छार्थेषु धातोः खल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

126. In the sense of 'hard and difficult' or 'light and easy', the affix 'khal' is added to a verb, when 'ishad', and 'dur' and 'su' are combined with it as upapadas.

The anuvṛitti of the phrase 'when related as instrument or location' ceases with this aphorism. The word कच्छ means heavy, and दुस् has the force of conveying that sense. The word अकच्छ means 'light, easy'; and the words ईषत् and सु convey that sense. Thus ईषत्करो भवता कटः 'a mat is made easily by you'; so also दुष्करः 'made with difficulty'; सुकरः 'made with ease'. Similarly ईषद्भोजः 'eating pleasantly'; दुर्भोजः and सुभोजः ।

Why do we say 'after ईषत् &c. ? See कच्छेण कार्यः कटः 'the mat which is made with difficulty'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'hard or light' ? Observe ईषत्कार्ये 'a small work'.

Of the affix खल्, the letter ख and ल् are indicatory ; ख causing the insertion of a nasal (technically called मुन् augment, VI. 3. 67) ; and ल् regulates the accent (VI. 1. 196). The augment मुन् will be added in the subsequent sūtra, the ख thus having no work in this sūtra.

कर्तृकर्मसोऽश्च सूकृजोः ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कट्-कर्मसोः, च, सू-कृजोः, (ईषद्-दुः-सुषु, खल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेः करोतेश्च धातोर्वयासंख्य कर्त्तरि कर्मणि ञोपपदे ञकारादीपरादिषु च खल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कर्तृकर्मणोरुप्यर्थयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

127. The affix 'khal' comes after the verbs 'bhū' and 'kri', when the upapadas in composition with them are 'agent' and 'object' respectively, preceded by the words 'ishad' &c. in combination with them, meaning 'hard or light'.

Thus ईषदादय भवं 'being enriched easily'; दुरादय भवन् 'to be enriched with difficulty'; स्वादयकरो देवदत्तो भवता 'Devadatta can be made rich by you easily'.

Vart.—It should be stated that the agent and object in composition should be, as if they ended in the affix च्वि (V. 4. 50). Compare III. 2. 56 and III. 2. 57. &c. Therefore we do not have it here : स्वादयेन भूयते or भादयेन सुभूयते ॥

आतो युच् ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, युच्, (ईषद्दुःसुषु, कृच्छ्रा-
कृच्छ्रायेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रायेषु ईषदादिपुपपरेषु आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यो युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

128. The affix 'yuch' comes after roots ending in long 'ā', (when 'ishad', 'dur' and 'su' are combined as upapadas, in the sense of easily or with difficulty).

The word ईषद् &c. are to be read into this sūtra, not so the words कर्तृ-
कर्मण &c. This supersedes the affix खल्. Thus इषत्पानः सोमो भवता 'the soma juice can be lightly drunk by you'; दुष्पानः 'difficult to be drunk'; सुपानः 'easy to be drunk'. इषत्पानो गौर्भवता 'the cow can be given with ease by you'; दुर्दानः, सुदानः &c.

ऊन्दसि गत्यर्थेभ्यः ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊन्दसि, गति-अर्थेभ्यः,
(ईषद्दुःसुषु, कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रायेषु, युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषदादिषु कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रायेषुपपरेषु गत्यर्थेभ्यो धातुभ्यश्चन्द्रन्वसि विपचे युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

129. The affix 'yuch' comes in the Chhandas, after roots having the sense of 'to go', when the word 'ishad' &c. meaning 'lightly' or 'with difficulty' are in composition with such verbs.

This debar the affix खल्. Thus सुपसदनोऽग्निः । सुपसदनमस्तरिज्ञम् । See T.S. 7. 5. 20. 1.

अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यते,
(गत्यर्थेभ्यः, युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योऽपि धातुभ्यो गत्यर्थेभ्यश्चन्द्रन्वसि विपचे युच् प्रत्ययो दृश्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाषायां शासिद्भिर्दृशिद्भिर्मपिभ्यो युच् वक्तव्यः ॥

130. The affix 'yuch' is seen to come in the Vedas, after other verbs also, than those meaning 'to go'.

Thus सुवेद नाम कृणोर् ब्रह्मणे गां ; so also सुवेद नाम कृणोर् ब्रह्मणे गां ॥ (Rig. Veda. X. 112. 8).

Vart.—In the modern Sanskrit, the affix 'yuch' comes after the verbs शास्, युष्, वृष्, धृष्, and मृष्; as दुःशासनः 'Duhsāsana'; दुर्योधनः 'Duryodhana'; दुर्दानः, दुर्दर्शनः and दुर्दर्शनः ।

वर्तमानसामीप्ये वर्तमानवद्वा ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्तमान-
सामीप्ये, वर्तमान-वत्, वा, (भूते, भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्तमानसमीपे भूते भविष्यति च वर्तमानाद्गतोर्वर्तमानवत्प्रत्यया वा भवन्ति ॥

131. The affixes which are employed when the sense is that of present time, may, optionally in like manner, be employed when the sense is that of past or future time not remote from the present.

The words समीप and सामीप्य are the words with the same signification, the latter being derived from the first by adding the affix वद्. This affix is added with a self-descriptive force, without making any modification in the meaning. We learn thus incidentally from Pāṇini's using the word सामीप्य, that the affix वद् also comes with a self-descriptive (svārtha) force, and the words चातुर्वर्धः &c. are thus formed.

The affixes which begin with sūtra III. 2. 123 (वर्तमाने लट्) and end with III. 3. 1 (उणाद्व बहुलं,) are affixes which come in denoting the present time. These affixes come also with the force of the past or future time, when the sense is that the action has just taken place, or will immediately take place. Thus, to the question कदा देवदत्ताऽगतोति 'when didst thou come Devadatta', it may be replied, either अद्यमागच्छामि 'I come now', or आगच्छन्तमेव मां विद्धि 'know me even to have come'; or अद्यमागमम् 'I have now come'; or एषोऽस्मागतः 'I have come now'. So also to the question कदा देवदत्ता गमिष्यति 'when will you go Devadatta', it may be replied, either एष गच्छामि 'I go now' or गच्छन्तमेव मां विद्धि or एष गमिष्यामि or गन्तास्मि &c.

The phrase 'in like manner' (वत्) has been employed to indicate complete resemblance; that is to say, with whatever qualifications, the affixes have been enjoined to denote present time, namely, with whatever bases (प्रकृति), and words in compositions (उपपद्), and restrictive significations (उपाधि), certain affixes have been enjoined;—the same affixes under those conditions and those circumstances, only will denote also immediate future and recent past. Thus शान् by rule III. 2. 128 comes after the prakṛitis पू and वञ् in forming present participles; this affix, to denote past and future, must come only after पू and वञ्, and so on. Thus पवमानः, यजमानः, भलंकरिष्युः (III. 2. 130) &c.

Why do we say 'not remote from the present, (सामीप्य)'? This rule will not apply when distant future or distant past is intended to be expressed.

As पठद् भगच्छत् पाटलिपुत्रम् 'he went day before yesterday to Pataliputra'; वषेण गमिष्यति 'he will go in a year'.

One may say that "the word गच्छामि can denote by itself nothing but the present tense, and it is because it occurs in a sentence in connection with other qualifying words, that it is made to denote any other time; and it is a well-known fact that a tense which a sentence as a whole may indicate, has no bearing on the question as to what tense a verb must take, when we are preparing it for taking a grammatical tense; and hence the present sūtra is superfluous". To such we reply that the present sūtra and those that follow are not meant for those who know the proper idioms of Sanskrit language; but for those only who do not know this.

Dr. Bohtlingk translates this sūtra thus:—'Whatever is near to the present time, may be expressed as a present tense.

आशंसायां भूतवच्च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशंसायाम्, भूतवत्,
च, (भविष्यति, वर्तमानवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काले आशंसायां गन्धमानायां धातोर्वा भूतवत् प्रत्यया भवन्ति चकाराद्
वर्तमानवत् ॥

132. The affixes which are employed, when the sense is that of the past time or of the present time, may, optionally, in like manner, be employed, after a root in denoting future time, when hope is expressed.

The word 'optionally' is understood here also. The phrase 'not remote from the present' is not valid in this aphorism. The word आशंसा means the wish or expectation of getting an object not yet obtained, and consequently this can refer only to future time. The force of च is to draw the word वर्तमानवत् from the last sūtra in this aphorism. This sūtra has been thus put by Mr. Apte:—"When hope is expressed in a conditional form, the Aorist (लृट्), the Present, or Simple Future is used in both the clauses to denote a future time. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेदगमत् or आगतः, or आगच्छति or आगमिष्यति वा एते उपाध्यायमध्यगीष्यन्ति, or अधीतवन्तः or अधीमहे or अध्येष्यामहे 'if the teacher were to come, we should read grammar'.

This construction is possible only when the past tense is expressed by लृट् (Aorist); and not by लङ् or लिट्. For लृट् denotes past time in general, while लङ् and लिट् denote particular forms of past time; (see III. 2. 110, 111 and 115). The phrase भूतवत् making an analogy with time in general, will not therefore, refer to लिट् or लङ् which refer to past time in special.

Why say 'when hope is expressed'? Observe आगमिष्यति 'he will come'.

क्षिप्रवचने लृट् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षिप्र-वचने, लृट्, (आशंसायां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षिप्रवचन उपपदे आशंसायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्लुट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

133. When the word 'kshipra' (quickly) or its synonym is in construction with the verb, the future affix, 'Lrit' is employed after the root, when 'hope' is expressed in a conditional form.

This supersedes the last rule by which Aorist could also have been employed. By the present rule the Second Future can only be employed. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेत्क्षिप्रमागमिष्यति (or उपाध्यायश्चेत्समस्तः—*Apte.*) क्षिप्रं व्याकरणमभ्येक्ष्यामहे 'if the teacher were to come soon, we shall soon learn grammar'.

By force of the word वचन in the aphorism, we take the synonyms of क्षिप्र also, such as शीघ्रं, भाग्य, स्वरितम्, &c.

An objector might say, "the use of the word लृट् in the sūtra is redundant; for Future tense is the natural tense to be used, whenever hope is indicated. Sūtra III. 3. 132 was merely an exception to this rule; so that the present sūtra re-enacting the general rule, ought to have been worded thus;— न क्षिप्रवचने 'not so when a word expressing quickness is employed'; for such a rule debaring the past tenses given by III. 3. 132, would have, of necessity, given scope to the Future tense which is the natural tense to express hope". To them we say, that there are two future tenses, कृद् and लृट् । By specifying लृट् we mean that लृट् should not be employed even where it would otherwise have come, such as in the following:—चः क्षिप्रमभ्येक्ष्यामहे 'to-morrow we shall learn soon'.

आशंसावचने लिङ् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशंसा-वचने, लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशंसा येनोच्यते तदाशंसावचनं तस्मिन्नुपपदे धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. The affix of the Potential is employed in denoting Futurity, after a root, when the upapada in composition with it, is a word expressing 'hope'.

This is also an *apavāda* of rule III. 3. 132, and teaches the employment of the Potential with a future force. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेत्सगच्छेद्, आशंसे बुक्तोऽधीयीष्य 'if the teacher will come, I hope, you will study with diligence'. This being a subsequent rule, will apply even when the words expressive of 'quickness' are in composition. Thus आशंसे क्षिप्रमधीयीष्य 'I hope, you will learn soon'. So also, भवकल्पये बुक्तोऽधीयीष्य, &c.

नानद्यतनवत् क्रियाप्रबन्धसामीप्ययोः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न,

अनद्यतन-वत्, क्रिया-प्रबन्ध-सामीप्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनद्यतनवत् प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति क्रियाप्रबन्धे सामीप्ये च गम्यमाने ॥

135. When constant continuance of action or a near Past or Future is meant, the Past and Future are not denoted as taught in III. 2. 111 and III. 3. 15, through

the Imperfect and the Second Future, but through the Aorist and the First Future.

The affixes लङ् (Imperfect Past) and लृट् (First Future), have been ordained to come, when past time not belonging to the current day, and future time not belonging to the current day, are respectively indicated. The present sūtra prohibits these two affixes. The word क्रियावन्धः means 'performing an action with continuity'; and सानीन्ध्व means 'not remoteness of time, immediateness, without the intervention of anything of the same genus'. Thus वावडजीवं भृशमन्नमदात् (not अददात्) 'he gave food throughout his life'; or भृशमन्नं दास्यति 'he will give much food'. वावडजीवं पुनोऽध्यापिषत् 'throughout his life he taught', or वावडजीवमध्यापिष्यति 'throughout his life he will teach'. In both these cases the Aorist and the Second Future are used instead of the Imperfect and the First Future.

So also when recent past or immediate future is meant, the Aorist and the Second Future are employed, instead of the Imperfect and the First Future. Thus वेद्यं पौर्णमास्यतिक्रान्ता, एतस्यामुपाध्यायोग्नीनाधित or सोमेनायह or गामदित 'during the full-moon that has just past, the teacher consecrated the fire, or performed the soma-sacrifice or gave a cow'. Here the Aorist is for the Imperfect. वेद्यममावास्याऽगामिनी, एतस्यामुपाध्यायोग्नीनाधास्यते or सोमेन वक्ष्यते, or स गां दास्यते 'on the next new-moon day, the teacher will perform the fire-sacrifice or the soma-sacrifice, or he will give a cow'. Here the Second Future is employed instead of the First Future.

The double negative न अनद्यतन 'not non-today' implies the proper corresponding tenses which indicate adyatana.

भविष्यति मर्यादावचनेऽवरस्मिन् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भविष्यति, मर्यादावचने, अवरस्मिन्, (नानद्यतनवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काले मर्यादावचनेऽवरस्मिन् प्रविभागेऽनद्यतनवत् प्रश्नविविधिर्न भवति ॥

136. The Futurity is not expressed, as taught in III. 3. 15, through the Second Future, but through the First Future, when a statement is made of a limit on this (avara) side of another place.

The phrase नानद्यतनवत् is valid in this sūtra also. The two conditions of the last aphorism, namely, 'continuity of action' and 'immediateness', however, do not apply here. Thus बोऽन्नमध्यागतम्भापाटलिपुत्रात्तत्र अक्षरं कौशाम्बास्तनोहनं भोक्ष्यामहे, तत्र सक्तून्पास्यामः 'on this side of the road from the city of Kosāmbi to the city of Pātaliputra, there we will eat rice, and there we will drink saktu'.

Why do we say 'in denoting future time'? Observe बोऽन्नमध्यागतम्भापाटलिपुत्रात् तत्र अक्षरं कौशाम्बास्तन वृक्ता भव्येमहि 'on this side of the road that leads from the city of Kosāmbi to the city of Pātaliputra, we read together &c.

Why do we say 'when signifying limit'? Observe बोऽन्नमध्यागितरधिक

गन्तव्यस्तस्य यत्परं कौशाम्बास्तनोदनं भोक्तास्महे, सक्तुन् पातासः । Here the First Future is employed.

Why do we say 'when the word अवर is in construction'? Observe योऽयमन्वयान्तस्य आपादलिपुत्रात् तस्य यत्परं कौशाम्बास्तनोदनं भोक्तास्महे &c.

The examples of limit given in this aphorism, refer to local limit; in the subsequent sūtras examples will be given as to the limit of time and some difference will be observed therein.

कालविभागे चानहोरात्राद्याम् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-विभागे, च, न-अहः-रात्राद्याम्, (भविष्यति, मर्यादावचने, अवरस्मिन्, च, अनद्यतनवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालमर्यादाविभागे सखवरसिन्विभागे भविष्यति कालेऽनद्यतनवत् प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति, न चैवहोरात्रसम्बन्धी विभागस्तेषां च विभागे प्रतिषेधः ॥

137. The Second Future is employed instead of the First Future, in denoting Future time not belonging to the current day, when the word 'avara' is used together with a word expressing division of time, but not when it is a word giving the sense of 'day' or 'night'.

The whole of the last sūtra should be read into this. The difference between this and the last sūtra is, that sūtra III. 3, 136 referred both to the limit of *space* and *time*, while sūtra III. 3, 137 refers to the limit of *time* only; moreover with regard to time, there is exception with regard to the portions of day and night. The *yoga-vibhāga*, the separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of subsequent aphorisms. Thus योऽयं चंद्रस्य भागानी तत्र यत्परमाप्त्यास्तत्र युक्ता भवेत्यामहे 'in the month of Chaitra, the year after next, we shall read together'; तत्रोदनं भोक्तव्यामहे 'we shall eat rice then &c'.

This construction is, of course, only valid in denoting future time, otherwise not. Therefore not here: योऽयं चंद्रस्योत्तीतस्तस्य यत्परमाप्त्यास्तत्र युक्ता भवेमहि 'in the month of Chaitra, the year before last, we read together'; तत्रोदनमभुञ्जमहि 'we ate together &c'.

Why do we say 'limit'? Observe योऽयं निरवधिकः काल भागानी तस्य यत्परमाप्त्यास्तत्र युक्ता भवेतास्महे—तत्रोदनं भोक्तास्महे ।

The limit must be 'on this side i. e. अवर side'. With the पर side limit, this rule will not apply. With the word पर, this construction is optional. See the next sūtra.

Why do we say 'when not divisions of day and night'? There are three sorts of counter-examples in this case; as, योऽयं मास भागानी तस्य योऽवरः पंचदशरात्रः or योऽयं त्रिंशद्दिवस भागानी तस्य योऽवरोर्द्धमासः or योऽयं त्रिंशद्दिवस भागानी तस्य योऽवरः पंचदशरात्रस्तत्र युक्ता भवेतामहे तत्र सक्तुन् पातासः । Here Lut, or First Future has been employed and not the Second Future.

परस्मिन् विभाषा ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परस्मिन्, विभाषा, (भविष्यति, मर्यादावचने, कालविभागे, अनहोरात्राख्यानम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालमर्यादाविभागे सति भविष्यति काले परस्मिन् प्रविभागे विभाषाऽन्यतनवत् प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति, न चेदहोरात्रसम्बन्धी प्रविभागः ॥

138. Optionally so, when a declaration is made with regard to that side of a limit of time.

The whole of the last aphorism must be read into this: The sūtra will then stand thus: "The Second and the First Futures are optionally both employed in denoting future time, not belonging to the current day, instead of the First Future alone, when the word पर is used signifying a limit of time on that side of a fixed period, provided that this word does not give the sense of day or night".

This rule allows an option when the time refers to the पर side of a starting limit. Thus चोऽयं संवत्सर आगामी तस्य यत् परमाप्तहायव्यास्तत्र युक्ता भव्येत्यामहे or भव्येतास्महे 'we will read together in the month of Chaitra, the year after next'.

All the counter-examples given under the last aphorism, are also valid here by substituting the word पर instead of भवर.

लिङ् निमित्ते लृङ् क्रियातिपत्तौ ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्-निमित्ते, लृङ्, क्रिया-अतिपत्तौ, (भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुहेतुमत्तोर्लिङ्कृत्येवमादिक् लिङो निमित्तं, तत्र लिङ्-निमित्ते भविष्यति काले लृङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, क्रियातिपत्तौ सखाम् ॥

139. Where there is a reason for affixing 'Liiṅ' the affix 'Lrin' is employed in the Future tense when the non-completion of the action is to be understood.

The words 'in denoting future time' are here. The reasons for affix लिङ् are such as cause and effect &c. mentioned in sūtra III. 3. 156 and 157 &c. The लृङ् is called the conditional tense. "It comes in the conditional sentences in which the non-performance of the action is implied; or where the falsity of the antecedent is implied as a matter of fact. It usually corresponds to the English Pluperfect Conditional, and must, in Sanskrit, be used in both the antecedent and the consequent clauses".—*Apte's Guide*.

Thus सुवृष्टिर्भवेदभविष्यत् तदा सुभिक्षमभविष्यत् 'if there had been good rain, then there would have been plenty of food; or if there were to be good rain then there would be plenty of food'. It is implied that there was not good rain, nor consequent plenty: or that the occurrence of good rain is dubious, and the desirable consequence equally so.

So also here, दक्षिणेन चेरायास्वन्न शकटं पर्याभविष्यत् 'if he were to go by the right side, the carriage would not be upset'; यदि कमलकम् आह्लास्वन् न शकटं

पक्षाभविष्यत् 'if he were to call Kamalaka (which he will not), the carriage would not be upset'; आभोक्ष्यत भवान् पृतेन यदि मत्समीपम् आगमिष्यत् 'you would eat food with clarified butter, if you (were to) come to me (but you will not come).

All these sentences refer to future time. The non-upsetting is a future contingency and is an effect the cause of which is the 'calling of Kamalaka. The speaker—having apprehended the cause and effect, and having also learned from other sources that such an effect will not take place, that is to say, that Kamalaka will not be called, and the carriage will be upset—has employed this conditional tense to express his idea. The whole sentence यदि कमलकम् &c. really gives this sense:—That both actions, 'the calling' and 'the non-upsetting', which are subjects of a future time, and which are related as cause and effect, will not be completed; that neither Kamalaka will be called, nor the impending fate averted from the carriage. The sūtra may also be thus rendered according to Professor Bohtlingk:—In a conditional sentence, which would require a Potential according to III. 3. 156, is used, if the sense is that of Future time, the Conditional Tense, when the action is not complete.

भूते च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते, च, (लिङ्निमित्ते, लृङ्, क्रियाति पत्तौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूते च काले लिङ्निमित्तो क्रियातिपत्तौ सत्त्वाम् लृङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

140. And (where there is a reason for affixing 'Liṅ', the affix 'Lriṅ' is to be employed, when the non-completion of the action is to be understood) if the sense is that of past time.

The whole of the last aphorism is understood in this. The last sūtra enjoined लृङ् in the Future tense; this sūtra ordains it in the Past, the Conditional tense having both these significations. The reasons for affixing लिङ् are given in sūtras III. 3. 152 and those that follow it. In sūtra III. 3. 141 and those that follow, as far as III. 3. 152, optional rules for the employment of the Conditional tense will be given. Thus:—दृष्टो मया भवत्सुभोऽन्तर्था चक्रकम्बमाणः भरश्च द्विजो ब्राह्मणार्थी, यदि स तेन दृष्टोऽभविष्यत्, तदाऽभोक्ष्यत, न तु भुङ्क्तवान्, अन्वेन पया स गतः। 'I saw your son, wandering about in search of food, I saw also a twice-born in search of a Brāhmaṇa (whom he would feast); if he (your son) had been seen by him (the twice-born), then he would have been fed; but as a matter of fact, he has not been fed, he went by a different road'.

The conditional sentence यदि स तेन दृष्टोऽभविष्यत् तदाऽभोक्ष्यत is employed under circumstances set out above. It refers to a past time, there is the relation of cause and effect existing, one being in search of food, and another in search of a guest to feed; and the action is not completed; both taking different roads, did not come across each other.

वोताप्योः ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आ-उताप्योः, (भूते, लिङ्नि-
मित्ते, क्रियातिपत्तौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उताप्योः समर्थबोर्लङ्गिति बहुवचि प्रागेतस्मात् सप्तावधेर्बेदित कर्त्तव्यप्रक्रमिष्यामः,
तत्र भूते लिङ्निमित्ते क्रियातिपत्तौ लृङ् वा भवतीत्येतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

141. From this point as far as sūtra III. 3. 152 (the whole of the following sentence is to be taken as exerting a governing influence on the sūtras that follow: where there is a reason for affixing 'Liñ', the 'Lpiñ may be) optionally (employed in denoting past time, when the non-completion of the action is to be understood).

All the words within brackets must be supplied from the previous sūtras to complete the sense. This sūtra consists of three words वा 'optionally', आ 'as far as' and उताप्योः (the sūtra III. 3 152). The words वा+आ+उ form वा by the rules of conjunction. The particle अर in this aphorism has the force of limit exclusive and not that of limit inclusive. The *optional* use of the conditional tense will be illustrated in the following aphorisms, where, in addition to the special tenses to be employed by those rules, we may employ the conditional also under those very circumstances, in the alternative, provided that the non-completion of the action is understood. Prof. Bohtlingk translates this aphorism thus: "optionally so, in connection with उत and अपि, the conditional tense may be employed".

गर्हायां लङ्पिजात्वीः॥१४२॥ पदानि ॥ गर्हायां, लट्, अपिजात्वीः॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गर्हायां गम्यमानायाम् अपिजात्वीरुपपद्योर्धातोर्लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

142. The affix 'Lat' is employed after a root, when it has in composition with it the words 'api' or 'jātu', the sense implied by the sentence being that of 'censure'.

The word गर्हा means 'censure, 'blame'. The affix लङ् has been enjoined to come with a present signification, and would not have come to denote time in general, which, however, it does here, for here the Present tense is employed in preference to the tense required by the time of the action, which is totally excluded. Hence the present sūtra.

Thus अपि तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयति 'even your honor sacrifices (or sacrificed or will sacrifice) to a Sūdra'; जातु तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयति गर्हामहे, अहो भन्वाप्यमेतत् 'possibly your honor sacrifices for a Sūdra'; the sense implied being that such conduct on the part of those men are blameworthy.

In the present case, there being no occasion for the application of लिङ्, of course, we cannot employ लृङ् to denote the non-completion of the action

So also भवि or जातु जायां स्वजति 'Fie! you abandon (or abandoned or will abandon) your wife!'

विभाषा कथमि लिङ् च ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कथमि, लिङ्, च, (गर्हायां, लट्, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कथंशब्द उपपदे गर्हायां गन्धमानायां धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराल्लङ् च ॥

143. The affix 'Liṅ' as well as 'Laṭ' is optionally employed after a root, when the word 'katham' is in construction with it, and censure is implied.

The word 'censure' is understood, and by च we draw लङ् from the previous sūtra into this. By using the word 'optionally' in the aphorism, it is indicated that this rule does not exclude the application of the alternative tenses which would otherwise have been required by the time of the action. It is not total exclusion like the last. Thus कथं नाम तन्न भवान् वृषलं याजयेत् or याजयति or याजयिष्यति 'Indeed, how your honor can (or will) sacrifice for a Sūdra'.

So also कथं नाम तन्न भवान् वृषलं याजयित्वा, भयाजयत् or याजयांचकार ।

Here there is an occasion for the application of the Potential mood (लिङ्); therefore when we intend to express non-completion of action in the past time, we can *optionally* employ the Conditional also (लृङ्). As कथं नाम तन्न भवान् वृषलम् भयाजयिष्यन् or याजयेत् 'Indeed, why did your honor (attempt to) sacrifice for that Sūdra (in vain)'.

Under similar circumstances, in denoting future time, the Conditional (लृङ्) must *invariably* be employed (III. 3. 139); as, कथं धर्मम् भरवमिष्यः 'why will you (attempt to) give up your duty'.

किंवृत्ते लिङ्लृटौ ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्-वृत्ते, लिङ्-लृटौ, (गर्हायाम्, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तउपपदे गर्हायां गन्धमानायां धातोर्लिङ्लृटौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

144. The affixes 'Liṅ' and 'Lrit' come after a verb, when the interrogative words like 'kim' &c, are in composition with it, and censure is implied.

Here also the Potential and the First Future are employed in preference to the time required by the action.

The word 'censure' is understood here; not so, however, the word 'optionally'. This excludes all other tense-affixes. The repetition of the word लिङ् in this sūtra, is for the sake of excluding लङ्, whose anuvṛitti would also have run into this sūtra, had we taken the anuvṛitti of लिङ् from the last sūtra, instead of repeating it. Thus कः कस्तरो वा हरिं निन्देत्, निन्दिष्यति वा 'who will censure Hari ?'

In the Past tense, when the non-completion of action is implied, we may optionally employ the Conditional (लृङ्); and in the Future tense, under similar circumstances, we must employ the Conditional necessarily; as क्वी नाम वृषलो वं तत्र भवानवाजयिष्यत् 'who is the Sûdra for whom your honor did sacrifice (in vain)'. This sûtra may be rendered thus also:—"In connection with an Interrogative Pronoun, when censure is implied, may be employed the Potential or the First Future".

अनवङ्गुप्त्यमर्षयोरकिंवृत्तेऽपि ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनवङ्गुप्ति-अ-
मर्षयोः, अकिंवृत्ते, अपि, (किंवृत्ते, लिङ्लृटी, चोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तेऽकिंवृत्ते चोपपत्तेऽनवङ्गुप्त्यमर्षयोर्धातोर्लिङ्लृटी मत्वचो भवतः ॥

145. When it is to be expressed that some body holds that something is not likely to take place, or is not to be tolerated, the Potential and the First Future are employed, even without the Interrogative Pronoun.

The anuvṛitti of the word 'censure' ceases. The word अनवङ्गुप्तिः means 'impossibility, not to be believed'. The word अमर्षः means 'not endurable or not to be tolerated'. This excludes all other tenses, the Potential and the 2nd. Future coming in preference to all other tenses required by the time of the action. In the Dvandva Compound अनवङ्गुप्त्यमर्षयोः, the word अनवङ्गुप्तिः ought to have stood as second member of the compound as it contains larger number of syllables than the word अमर्ष (II. 2. 14). The non-compliance with rule II. 2. 14. indicates that the rule of चयासंख्यं, (I. 3. 10) does not apply here, which would otherwise have applied—the sense of the sûtra then being 'that the Potential should be employed when the act is not likely to occur, and the 2nd. Future to be used when the act is not to be tolerated'. This is not, however, the interpretation which we should put upon the sûtra.

Thus नावकल्पयामि, न संभावयामि, न अश्नुषे, तत्र भवान् नाम वृषलं वाजयेत् or वाजयिष्यति 'I do not believe, or think it possible or trust that your honor sacrifices (or sacrificed or will sacrifice) for a Sûdra'. न मर्षयामि तत्र भवान् वृषलं वाजयेत् or वाजयिष्यति 'I can not tolerate that your honor does (did or will) sacrifice for a Sûdra'.

When past time together with the non-completion of the action is to be expressed, we may *optionally* employ the Conditional (लृङ्), but *necessarily* so, when Future time is to be expressed. Thus नावकल्पयामि तत्र भवान् नाम वृषलम् भवानयिष्यत् 'I do not believe that your honor did or will sacrifice for a Sûdra'.

किंकिलास्त्यर्थेषु लृट् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ किंकिल-अस्त्यर्थेषु, लृट्,
(अनवङ्गुप्त्यमर्षयोः, चोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंकिलास्त्यर्थेषूपपत्तेषु अनवङ्गुप्त्यमर्षयोर्धातोर्लृट् मत्वचो भवति ॥

146. The affix 'Lrit' (the First Future) is used after a root, when the words 'kimkila' or those having the sense of 'asti' (he is) are in construction with it, (when the action is not likely to occur, or is not to be tolerated).

The words within brackets must be supplied from the last aphorism. The whole word किंकिल is to be taken as an upapada and not the word कि and किल separately. This word expresses anger. The words having the sense of *asti* are अस्ति, भवति and विद्यते । This rule supersedes the Potential (लिट्). Thus किंकिल or अस्ति or भवति or विद्यते नाम तन्न भवान् वृषलं याजयिष्यति, न मर्षयामि, न अद्भधे 'Is it possible that your honor will (or did or does) sacrifice for a Sûdra? I cannot believe or tolerate it'.

As there is no occasion for लिङ् here, we cannot have the Conditional (लृङ्) required by rule III. 3. 141.

Another example is न अद्भधे न मर्षये वा किंकिल स्वं शूद्राणाम् भोजयसे 'I do not believe or can tolerate that thou shouldst eat the food of Sûdra'; अस्ति भवति विद्यते वा शूद्रां गमिष्यसि 'Is it possible that thou shouldst go to a female Sûdra'.

जातुयदोर्लिङ् ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातु-यदोः, लिङ्, (अनघकृ-
प्त्यमर्षयोः, वीताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातु यदिरवेतयोरुपपद्योरनघकृप्त्यमर्षदोर्गन्वमानयोर्धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ जातुयदोर्लिङ्बिधाने यदायचोरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

147. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, the words 'j&tu' and 'yat' being in construction with it, when the sense is that the action is not believed to be likely, or is not to be tolerated.

This excludes the First Future or 'Lrit'. जातु तन्न भवान् वृषलम् याजयेत्, or वलाम तन्न भवान् वृषलम् याजयेत्, न अद्भधे, न मर्षयामि ।

Vari.—The words यदा and यदि should be enumerated along with the words जातु and यत् in this rule. As यदा or यदि वा स्वादृशो हरिं निन्देत् or अनिन्दित्यन् नावकल्पयामि, न मर्षयामि वा 'neither do I think, nor do I tolerate that one like you should blaspheme Hari'.

Here also when the non-completion of the action is implied, the Conditional (लृङ्) is necessarily employed in denoting future time, and optionally so in denoting past time. As जातु, यत्, यदा or यदि स्वादृशो हरिं निन्देत् or अनिन्दित्यन् नावकल्पयामि, न मर्षयामि वा 'neither do I believe, nor do I tolerate that one like you did attempt to blaspheme Hari'. यदि सुरनिमवाप्त्यस्तन्मुखोच्छ्वासगन्धम् तन्न रसि रभविष्यत् पुण्डरीके किमस्मिन् 'if you had felt (which you clearly have not) the fragrant smell of her breath, would you have had any liking for this lotus'?

यच्चयत्रयोः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यच्च-यत्रयोः, (अनवकृपत्यमर्षयोः, लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्र इत्येतयोरुपपरबोधान्तोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

148. The affix 'Liñ' comes after a root, the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' being in construction, when the sense is that the action is not believed to be likely, or not to be tolerated.

This supersedes the First Future. The separation of this aphorism from the previous one, is for the sake of the rules that follow. The rule I. 3. 10 does not also apply here. Thus यच्च यत्र वा स्वनेर्षं कुर्वाः न श्रद्धे, न मर्षयामि 'I do not think, nor can I tolerate that thou wilt do so'.

The Conditional (ज़ङ्) will also be employed under its own proper conditions as shown in the last aphorism.

गर्हायां च ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्हायाम्, च, (यच्चयत्रयोः, लिङ्, बोलाप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्र इत्येतयोरुपपरबोधान्तोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति गर्हायाम् गन्वमानायाम् ॥

149. The affix 'Liñ' comes after a root in all tenses when the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' are in composition with it, provided that censure is implied.

The governing force of the words *anavaklipti* and *amarsha* ceases. This debars all other tense-affixes. Thus यच्च or यत्र तत्र भवान् वृषलं वाजवेत् ऋद्धो वृद्धः सन् ब्राह्मणः, गर्हामहे, भद्रो भन्वाच्यमेतत् 'we blame you who being an opulent, old Brāhmaṇa (who ought to know better) officiate as a sacrificial priest for a Sūdra, O ! It is improper' !

When the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional tense must be employed under the rules given in III. 3. 139-140-141. As यच्च or यत्र एवं हरिं निन्देः or अनिन्दित्वः, गर्हामहे 'we censure that you should (have attempted to) blaspheme Hari', &c.

चित्रीकरणे च ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्रीकरणे, च, (यच्चयत्रयोः, लिङ्, बोलाप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्रयोर्ुपपरबोधित्रीकरणे गन्वमाने धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

150. The affix 'Liñ' comes in all tenses after a root, when used with the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' and the sense implied is that of 'wonder'.

The word चित्रीकरणं means 'wonder, astonishment, strangeness &c'. This debars all the other tense-affixes. Thus यच्च or यत्र तत्र भवान् वृषलं वाजवेत् भा-
अर्चमेतत् 'this is a wonder that you should sacrifice for a Sūdra'.

When the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional is employed under the rules III. 3. 139, 140 and 141. Thus आश्चर्यमेतत् यच्च or यत्र एवं शृङ्गं याजयेः or अयाजयिष्यः 'it is a wonder that you should (have attempted to) perform a sacrifice for a Sûdra'; आश्चर्यमेतत् यच्च or यत्र एवं शृङ्गं अयाजयिष्यः 'it is a wonder that you should (hereafter attempt to) make a Sûdra perform a sacrifice.

शेषे लृङ्यदौ ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, लृट्, अयदौ, (चित्रीकरणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषेऽप्यपदे चित्रीकरणे गम्यमाने धातोर्लृङ्प्रत्ययो भवति वदिशब्दश्च प्रयुज्यते ॥

151. In all other cases, when wonder is implied by other words than 'yachcha' and 'yatra', the affix 'Lrit' is employed after a root, except when the word 'yadi' is used.

In all other cases, that is to say, in cases where the words यच्च or यत्र are not employed, as well as where the word चदि is not used, the First Future is used in preference to the Potential.

Thus आश्चर्ये, चित्रं, अद्भूतम् अन्धो नाम पर्वतमारोह्यति, बधिरो नाम व्याकरणम् अध्वेष्यते 'it is wonderful, strange and astonishing that the blind man should ascend a mountain, or a deaf person should read grammar'.

Not so, when the word चदि is employed. Thus आश्चर्ये चदि सोऽधीवीत 'a wonder, if he study'. आश्चर्ये चदि स भुञ्जीत 'a wonder, if he eat'.

As there is, in this case, no occasion to employ the Potential, we cannot employ the Conditional as directed in sûtras III. 3. 139, 140 and 141.

उताप्योः समर्थयोर्लिङ् ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत-अप्योः, समर्थयोः, लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत अपि इत्येतयोः समर्थयोर्धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

152. The affix 'Lii' comes after a verb in all tenses, when the words 'uta' and 'api', both having the same meaning, are in composition.

This excludes all the other tense-affixes. The meaning which is common both to उत and अपि is that of वाहम् 'assuredly, certainly, surely, really'. Thus उत कुर्यात् 'certainly he does'; अपि कुर्यात् 'assuredly he does'; उताधीवीत 'certainly he studies (will study &c)'; अद्यधीवीत 'surely he studies &c'.

Why do we say 'when they mean certainly'? Observe उत वृन्दः पतित्वति 'will the stick fall'? अपि द्वारं धावति 'he shuts the door'. Here उत is employed in asking questions, and अपि with धा means 'to shut'. The option allowed by rule III. 3. 141. ceases. Hereafter the Conditional (लृङ्) must invariably be used even in indicating Past action, when action is not completed, and there is reason for the employment of लिङ् (Potential). In indicating Future time, of course, लृङ्

must necessarily be employed as before. Henceforward, therefore, no option is allowed, but लृङ् *must* be employed where sūtras III. 3. 139 and 140 require it.

कामप्रवेदनेऽकश्चित् ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ काम-प्रवेदने, अकश्चित्,
(लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काम इच्छामिनाथ इत्ययान्तरम्, तस्य प्रवेदनं प्रकाशनम्, तस्मिन् गम्बमानेऽकश्चित्-
रूपपदे धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

153. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, in expressing or making known of a wish, except when the word 'kachchit' is in composition with it.

The phrase कामप्रवेदन means the expression of one's wish. This debars all other tense-affixes. As कामो मे भुञ्जीत भवान् = अभिलाषो मे भुञ्जीत भवान् 'it is my wish that you will eat'.

Why do we say 'except the word कश्चित्'? Observe कश्चिज्जीवति ते माता कश्चिज्जीवति ते पिता । माराविद् स्वां पृच्छामि कश्चिज्जीवति पार्वती ॥ 'I hope thy mother is living, I hope thy father is living, I ask thee, O māravid! (Parrot), I hope that Pārvati is living'.

संभावनेऽलमिति चेत् सिद्धाप्रयोगे ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संभावने,
अलम्, इति, चेत्, सिद्ध-अप्रयोगे, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संभावनं, क्रियासु योग्यता-यवसानशक्तिअज्ञानम्, तद्विदानीमलमयेन विद्येयते, तद्येत्
संभावनं पर्याप्तमवितयं भवति, सिद्धाप्रयोग इत्यलमो विशेषणं, सिद्धश्चेज्जमोऽप्रयोगः, क्वासौ सिद्धः,
यत्र गन्धते आयां न चासौ प्रयुज्यते, तर्हिः दृष्टो सम्भावनोपाधिकेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानाद्धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

154. The affix 'Lin' is employed after a root, when the expectation (of a person or thing being able or competent to do or suffer the action denoted by the verb) is implied (or expressed by any other word used along with them) than 'alam'.

The word लिङ् is understood here. The word संभावन means supposition and expectation in the power or ability of another to perform any action. This word is here qualified by the sense of the word अलम्. The word अलम् means 'adequate'; so that the above-mentioned संभावनं must be completed, full and true i. e. realised. The phrase सिद्धाप्रयोगे qualifies अलम्, and means 'if the non-employment or omission of अलम् is valid or unobjectionable. When is that unobjectionable, when the sense of अलम् is implied by the sentence, but this word itself is not used? The Potential Mood is employed when the expectation is of the kind above described. This rule debars all other tense-affixes. Thus अपि पर्वतं शिरसा भिन्यात् 'I expect he will break even the hill with his head'; अपि द्रोण-पाकं भुञ्जीत 'I expect you will eat away even a *drona* of cooked food'.

Why do we use the word अलम् 'competent to do'? Observe, विद्वेशस्यादी

देवदत्त प्रायेण गमिष्यति ग्रामम् 'I expect Devadatta who is living in a foreign country, will some day go back to his country'. Here though 'expectation' is expressed the idea conveyed by भलं, namely, the power to do something or adequacy to do is not present; and hence the Future is employed instead of the Potential.

Why do we use the phrase सिद्धाप्रयोगे 'when the actual result does not take place'? Observe, भलं देवदत्तो हस्तिनं हनिष्यति 'Devadatta is in a position to kill the elephant, and he will carry it out also'.

Under similar circumstances, in past and future times, when non-completion of action is indicated, the Conditional tense (लृट्) must be invariably used in preference to every other tense. Professor Bohtlingk translates the sūtra thus: "The Potential is employed when it is expressed that some one is believed to be capable of doing something, pre-supposing that the actual performance of the action does not take place'.

विभाषा धातौ सम्भावनवचनेऽयदि ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा,
धातौ, सम्भावन-वचने, अयदि, (संभावने, उलमिति, चेत्, सिद्धाप्रयोगे, लिङ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सम्भावनवचने धातावुपपत्ते यच्छब्दवर्जिते धातोर्विभाषा लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

155. The affix 'Lin' is optionally employed after a verb when it has another verb which expresses 'expectation', in construction with it, but not so when the word 'yat' is used.

The whole of the last sūtra qualifies this sūtra; the 'expectation' indicated here being of the kind mentioned in the last sūtra and governed by the conditions laid down in that aphorism. The word by which an 'expectation' is expressed such as संभावय अपि, or अपिनाम, is called सम्भावन-वचन. This sūtra enjoins an option where by the last aphorism, there would have been necessarily the Potential Tense. Thus सम्भावयामि भुञ्जीत or भोक्ष्यते भवान् 'I expect you will eat'; अवकल्पयामि भुञ्जीत or भोक्ष्यते भवान् 'I hope you will eat'; अक्षे भुञ्जीत or भोक्ष्यते भवान् 'I believe you will eat'. But no option is allowed, and the Potential must necessarily be used, when the word यत् is employed. As सम्भावयामि यत् भुञ्जीत भवान् 'I expect you will eat'.

The sūtra may also be rendered thus. "The Potential is not necessarily employed where there is in connection with it a verb in the sense of 'to hold as possible', but not when यत् is employed."

हेतुहेतुमतोर्लिङ् ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतु-हेतुमतोः, लिङ् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुभूते हेतुमति चार्थे वर्त्तमानाद् धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

156. The affix 'Lin' is optionally employed after both those verbs which express the condition and its consequence.

The word हेतु means 'cause or 'condition' and हेतुमत् means consequence or effect'. This supersedes all other tense-affixes; in other words, 'in conditional sentences in which one statement is made to depend upon another as its reason or ground, the Potential is used in both the antecedent and the consequent, otherwise called the *protasis* (हेतु) and *apodosis* (हेतुमत्), the former containing the condition or ground of argument, and the latter the conclusion based upon it'. Thus:—वृत्तिणो न चेद्यावान् शकटम् पर्याभवेत् 'if he go by the right side, the cart will not be upset'; यदि कमलकम् आह्वयेत् शकटम् पर्याभवेत् 'if he calls Kamalaka, the cart will not be upset'. Here 'going by the right side' is the *protasis* (हेतु), and 'not-upsetting' the *apodosis* (हेतुमत्).

This is an optional use of the Potential; we may use the Second Future in the alternative; thus वृत्तिणो चेद् यास्वति न शकटं पर्याभविष्यति 'if he goes by the south, the cart will not be upset'.

The word विभाषा 'optionally' used in the sūtra immediately preceding is also understood here.

Though the anuvṛitti of लिङ् could have been taken from the last aphorisms, its repetition here is for the sake of pointing out the particular time, namely, the Future, in which the Potential should be employed. Therefore it is not employed in the following sentences: हन्तीति पलायते 'he kills, therefore he flies'; वर्षति इति धावति 'it rains, therefore he runs'.

It, of course, follows that when the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional (लृट्) should be employed, under these very circumstances. See examples under sūtra III. 3. 139.

इच्छार्थेषु लिङ्लोटौ ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा-अर्थेषु, लिङ्लोटौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु धातुपूपदेषु धातुलिङ्लोटौ प्रसव्यौ भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कामप्रवेदनइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

157. The affixes 'Liṅ' and 'Loṭ' are employed after a root, when another verb having the sense of 'wishing, is in construction with it.

This supersedes all other tense-affixes. When words expressing 'wish', such as इष्, कम्, प्रार्थे &c, are used, the Potential or Imperative is used; thus इच्छामि कामये or प्रार्थये भुञ्जीत भवान् or भुञ्जता भवान् 'I wish, desire or pray that your honor may eat'.

Vart.—It is only when a desire is expressed that Potential or Imperative should be employed and not merely when the verb 'to wish' or its synonyms are in composition. Therefore the Potential or Imperative are not used here: इच्छन् करोति 'wishing, he does'.

The sūtra may be rendered thus: 'In connection with a verb in the sense of 'wishing' the Potential or the Imperative may be employed'.

समानकर्तृकेषु तुमुन् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-कर्तृकेषु, तुमुन्, (इच्छार्थेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु धातुषु समानकर्तृकेषुपपदेषु धातोस्तुमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

158. The affix 'tumun' comes after a verb, when another verb meaning 'to wish' is in construction, provided that the agent of both the verbs is the same.

Thus इच्छति, वष्टि or वांछति भोक्तुम् 'he desires to eat'; कामयते भोक्तुम् 'he wishes to eat'; पिनाकपाणिं पतिम् भातुम् इच्छति 'desires to obtain for her husband the Pināka-handed God Siva'.

But why do we say 'when the agent of the Infinitive and the verb are the same'? We can not say देवदत्तं भोक्तुम् इच्छति यज्ञदत्तः 'Yajñadatta wishes Devadatta to eat'; for here the agents of भुञ् and इप् are not the same. We must say, भुञ्जानम् instead of भोक्तुम् ।

Why do not we use it here:—इच्छन् करोति 'wishing, he does'? Because the Infinitive is never found in such constructions. In other words, the Infinitive in तुम् is employed when both the verbs have the same agent.

लिङ् च ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, च, (इच्छार्थेषु, समानकर्तृकेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु समानकर्तृकेषु धातुषुपपदेषु धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

159. The affix 'Liñ' is used after a verb when verbs meaning 'to wish' are in construction with it, and the agent of both the verbs is the same.

Under similar conditions, with words implying 'wish', the Potential is used in the sense of the Infinitive; Thus भुञ्जीष इति इच्छति 'he wishes that he may eat'; अधीषीषेति इच्छति 'he wishes that he will read'.

When the non-completion of the action is implied, the Conditional must be employed under rule III. 3. 139.

इच्छार्थेष्वो विभाषा वर्तमाने ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा-अर्थेष्वः, विभाषा, वर्तमाने, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेष्वो धातुष्वो वर्तमाने काले विभाषा लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

160. After roots meaning 'to wish', the Potential (Liñ) is optionally used in denoting the present time.

This ordains लिङ् where there would have been otherwise लट्. Thus इच्छति or इच्छेत् 'he wishes'; वष्टि or उग्रयात्; कामयते or कामयैत् ।

विधिनिमन्त्रणानन्त्रणाधीष्टसंप्रश्नप्रार्थनेषु लिङ् ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विधि-निमन्त्रण-आमन्त्रण-अधीष्ट-संप्रश्न-प्रार्थनेषु, लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विधायार्थेषु धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

161. The affix 'Liñ' comes after a verb, when the agent either commands, invites, permits, politely expresses a wish, asks questions, or prays.

The word विधिः means 'commanding or directing a subordinate'; निमन्त्रणं means 'giving invitation'; आमन्त्रणं means 'expressing permission to do as one likes'; अधीष्टः means 'to politely express a wish'; सम्प्रश्नः means 'a question'; and प्रार्थना means 'a prayer'.

This excludes all other tense-affixes. Thus :—

(1) कटं कुरुवात् 'let him make the mat'; ग्रामम् भवान् आगच्छेत् 'you come to the village';

(2 and 3) इह भवान् भुञ्जीत 'you will or may dine here'; इह भवान् आसीत 'here you will or may sit';

(4) अधीच्छामो भवन्तं माणवकं भवानुपनयेत 'we wish that you should condescend to initiate this boy';

(5) किं भो व्याकरणमधीयीष उत तर्कम्? 'Sir, what shall I learn, the Grammar or the Logic?'

(6) भवति मे प्रार्थना व्याकरणं अधीयीष 'this is my prayer that I should learn Grammar'.

लोट् च ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोट्, च, (विधि-निमन्त्रण-आमन्त्रण-अधीष्ट-सम्प्रश्न-प्रार्थनेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट्प्रत्ययो भवति धातोर्विध्यादिष्वयेषु ॥

162. The affix 'Lot' also is employed after a root in the sense of commanding, &c.

The Imperative Mood is employed also under the circumstances mentioned in the last aphorism. The division of this aphorism from the last, is for the sake of subsequent sūtras in which the anuvṛitti of लोट् only runs and not those of others. Thus :—

(1) कटं तावद् भवान् करोतु 'make the mat'; ग्रामं भवान् आगच्छतु ।

(2 and 3) अमुञ्च भवान् आस्ताम् 'there you are invited to, or you may, sit'.

(4) पुत्रम्भवान् अध्यापयतु 'you will teach, I hope, the son'.

(5) किं भो वेदमध्ययै उत तर्कम् 'Sir what shall I learn, the Veda or the Logic?'

(6) भवति मे प्रार्थना व्याकरणमध्ययै छन्दोऽध्ययै 'this is my prayer that I may learn the Grammar, or that I may learn the Prosody'.

प्रीषातिसर्गप्राप्तकालेषु कृत्याश्च ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रेष-अतिसर्ग-प्राप्तकालेषु, कृत्याः, च, (लोट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेषणं प्रेषः, कामचाराभ्यनुज्ञानमतिसर्गः, निमित्तभूतस्य कालस्यावसरः प्राप्त-कालः, एतेष्वयेषु धातोः कृत्वसंज्ञकाः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

163. The affixes called 'Kṛitya', and the affix 'Loṭ' come also after verbs, in the sense of direction, granting permission, and proper (particular) time.

The word प्रेष means 'direction'; अतिसर्गः means 'permission to do as one likes'; प्राप्तकालः means 'arrival of appropriate occasion or time for the doing of an action'. The force of च is to introduce the word लोट् into this aphorism. Thus भवता कटः करणीयः, कर्तव्यः, कृत्यः or कार्यः 'you must, (may, or it is proper time for you to) make the mat'.

So instead of the Passive Potential Participles, for such the Kṛitya affix (III. 1. 95 &c) may properly be called; we may have the Imperative also. Thus करोतु कट 'you must (may or it is the appropriate time to) make the mat'.

It might be asked 'Why the *kṛitya* affixes are enjoined to come with the force of direction, permission &c'. They have been ordained most generically to come in denoting action in the Abstract (भाव) and object (कर्त्त) and *a fortiori* they will come in denoting the senses of direction, permission &c; for the latter are but a species of action. If you say that लोट् being ordained in these special senses, will (on the principle, that an apavāda or special rule excludes an utsarga or general rule within the jurisdiction of such special rule) exclude *kṛitya* affixes; we would reply, that *kṛitya* affixes will not be excluded, for the rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94) will apply'.

To this objection we answer 'the special mention of the word *kṛitya* in this sūtra, indicates the existence of the following maxim :—

'The rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94) does not necessarily apply in all cases after sūtra III. 3. 94 treating of primary affixes by which feminine nouns are formed'.

Q.—What is the difference between the words विधि and प्रेष? Some say विधि means a precept enjoining something for the first time; while प्रेष means mere 'direction'.

लिङ् चोर्ध्वनौहूर्तिके ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, च, ऊर्ध्व-नौहूर्-
तिके, (प्रेषातिसर्ग-प्राप्तकालेषु, कृत्याः, लोट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेषादिषु गम्यमानेषु ऊर्ध्वनौहूर्तिकेऽर्धे वर्तमानाद्वातोर्लिङ् मत्स्ययो भवति चकाराद्यया प्राप्तञ्च ॥

164. The affix 'Lin' (as well as the 'Kṛitya' and 'Loṭ') is used (under similar circumstances in the sense of direction, permission &c.) when the time is future by a Muhūrta (48 minutes or an Indian hour); (or the Potential may be used as well, when it signifies 'at this very moment'),

The words प्रैष &c. of the last sūtra must be read into this. The force of च is to introduce the words कृत्या and लोट् from the last sūtra, into this. Thus ऊर्ध्वं मुहूर्तादिपरि मुहूर्तस्य भवता खलु कठः कर्तव्यः, करणीयः, कार्यः, or भवान् खलु कटं कुर्वत (Potential) or करोतु (Imperative). 'You may make the mat after an Indian hour'; or 'you must &c', or 'it is proper time for you to make a mat just now'. Compare III. 3. 9.

स्मे लोट् ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्मे, लोट्, (प्रैषातिसर्गप्राप्तकालेषु, ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्दरूपपदे प्रैषादिषु गम्यमाने पूर्वमौहूर्तिकेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानाद्घातोर्लोत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

165. The affix 'Loṭ' comes after a verb, when the word 'sma' is in composition; (when the sense is that of 'direction' permission) &c. and referring to time future by a Muhūrta).

This supersedes the Potential (लिट्) and Potential Passive Participles (कृत्वा). Thus ऊर्ध्वं मुहूर्तादि भवान् कटं करोतु स्म, ग्रामं गच्छतु स्म, माणवकमध्यापयतु स्म 'you (may, must, or it is proper time to) make the mat, or go to the village, or teach Mānavaka just now'.

अधीष्टे च ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधीष्टे, च, (स्मे, लोट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्दरूपपदेऽधीष्टे गम्यमाने घातोर्लोत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

166. And when 'wish' is meant (the Imperative may be used when the word 'sma' is in composition with the verb).

The word स्म is understood here. The word अधीष्ट has already been explained in sūtra III. 3. 161. This rule supersedes the Potential. Thus भङ्गः स्म राजन् माणवकमध्यापय or भङ्गः स्म राजन्नग्निहोत्रं जुहुषि 'O! King! I wish that you teach the boy or make Agnihotra sacrifice'.

कालसमयवेलासु तुमुन् ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-समय-वेलासु, तुमुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालादिपुपपदेषु धातोस्तुमुन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

167. The affix 'tumun' comes after a root, when the words 'kāla', 'samaya', and 'velā' (all meaning time) are in composition.

Thus कालो भोक्तुम् 'time to eat'; समयः खलु स्नानभोजने सेवितुम् 'it is time to bathe and take food'; वेला भोक्तुम् 'time to eat'. In short, Infinitive in तुमुन् may be used with words meaning 'time'; as भवसरोऽद्यमात्मानं प्रकाशयितुम् 'this is, indeed, the time to show myself'.

Why do not we use the Infinitive here? कालः पचति भूतानि 'time de-

vours all creatures'. The sense of 'direction &c'. is understood in the sūtra; so when 'direction &c' is not meant, the Infinitive will not be used.

Why do not we use the Infinitive here, कालो भोजनस्य 'proper time to eat'? Because, by the rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94), we can use also the affix ल्युट् (by which the word भोजन is formed). As we have already said in sūtra III. 3. 163 that after sūtras III 1. 113 and forward, namely, in other sūtras than those treating of feminine affixes, the rule of III. 1. 94 may be employed as an *Anitya* or a non-universal rule.

लिङ् यदि ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, यदि, (कालसमयवेलासु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वच्छब्दे उपपदे कालादिषु धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

168. The affix 'Liṅ' comes after a root, when the word 'yad' is in composition, and the words 'kāla', &c. occur in construction.

This ordains the Potential and supersedes the Infinitive in 'tunmū'. Thus कालः, समयो, वेला वा यद् भवान् भुञ्जीत 'it is time that your honor should take your meals'.

अर्हे कृत्यत्त्वच्च ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्हे, कृत्य-त्त्वः, च, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्हे कर्त्तरिवाच्ये गन्वमाने वा धातोः कृत्यत्त्वः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

169. The affixes 'kritya', and the affix 'trich' are added to a root, when fitness as regards the agent is implied, (as well as the affix 'liṅ').

The force of च is to introduce the Potential (लिङ्) into this, from the last. Thus भवता खलु कन्या वीढ्या वाद्या or वहनीया, (kritya); or भवान् खलु कन्यया वीढ (trich); or भवान् खलु कन्यां वहेत् (liṅ) 'your honor is fit to marry the girl'.

Why specifically enjoin 'kritya' and 'trich' in the sense of fitness? They being enjoined universally, would *a fortiori*, be applied when *fitness* is to be denoted? Because the लिङ् being *pecially* enjoined to denote fitness, and being an *Apavāda*, would have debarred *kritya* and *trich*, which being universal affixes, would give way. Nor can we, to prevent this contingency, take shelter under rule III. 1. 94 of 'non-uniform affixes', for we have seen that that rule is not universally valid.

आवश्यकामर्थयोर्निनिः ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ आवश्यक-आध-
मर्थयोः, निनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवश्यभावविशिष्टे आधमर्थविशिष्टे च कर्त्तरिवाच्ये धातोर्निनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

170. The affix 'nini' is added to the root in denoting agent, showing that there is some 'necessity'

or indebtedness or obligation on the part of the agent in connection with the action denoted by the verb.

Thus भवश्यं कारी 'must be done'. The compounding here takes place by II. 1. 72. So also शतं दायी 'ought to be given a hundred'; सहस्रं दायी; निष्कं दायी &c.

कृत्याञ्च ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्याः, च, (आवश्यकाधमर्त्ययोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यसंज्ञकाश्च प्रत्यया आवश्यकाधमर्त्ययोरुपाधिभूतयोर्धातोर्भवन्ति ॥

171. The affixes called 'kritya' also come after a root when the sense to be indicated is that of 'necessity or obligation'.

Thus भवता खलु भवश्यं कटः कर्त्तव्यः, करणीयः, कार्यः or कृत्वः 'you ought to make the mat'; भवता शतं दातव्यं, देयं, &c, 'you ought to pay a hundred'.

Q.—Where is the necessity of this aphorism? The *kritya* affixes, being enjoined universally without any limitation would, of course, come under these special circumstances also.

A.—They would be excluded by the special affix णिनि of the last sūtra, which comes especially with the force of 'necessity' and 'obligation'.

Q.—Not so, for णिनि comes in denoting the 'agent' (कर्त्ता), while *kritya* denotes the 'action' (भाव) and the 'object' (कर्म); so their scope being different, how can one supersede the other?

A.—Well, to remove this objection, some say, that *kritya* words like भव्य, गेय &c. (III. 4. 68) which especially refer to the *agent*, are the proper examples to be given under this aphorism; and not examples of *kritya*-formed words in general.

शक्ति लिङ् च ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्ति, लिङ्, च, (कृत्याः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तोर्यथोपाधिके धात्वर्थे लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात् कृत्याश्च ॥

172. And the affix 'Lin' as well as the 'kritya' affixes come after a verb, when the sense is that of 'capability'.

The word 'capability' qualifies the root so that the sense of capability must be inherent in the root; Thus भवता खलु भारो वोढव्यः, वहनीयः, वाह्यः (*kritya*), or भवान् खलु भारं वहेत् 'you can carry the load'.

Though *kritya*-affixes would have come in this sense, even without any special rule, for they are general affixes, their special mention in this sūtra is to guard against their being superseded by लिङ्, for rule III. 1. 94 is not universally valid.

आशिषि लिङ्लोटौ ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, लिङ्-लोटौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशीर्षिशिष्टेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्भातोर्लिङ्लोटौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

173. The affixes 'Liñ' and 'Loṭ' come after a verb by which 'benediction' is intended.

The word आशीस् means the wish to obtain an object which one desires, a blessing, an expression of one's good wishes. The लिङ् here referred to is what is known as the आशीर्लिङ् or the Benedictive tense. Its conjugation is different from the conjugation of the ordinary लिङ्, which we have called the Potential or Optative; as चिरं जीव्याद् भवान् or चिरं जीवतु भवान् 'may you live long'!

Why do we say 'when denoting benediction'. Observe चिरं जीवति देवदत्तः 'Devadatta lives long'.

क्लिच्-क्तौ च संज्ञायाम् ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्लिच्-क्तौ, च, संज्ञायाम्, (आशिषि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि विषये धातोः क्लिच्-क्तौ प्रत्ययो भवतः समुदायेन चेत्संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

174. The affixes 'ktich' and 'kta' are employed after a root, when benediction is intended, provided that the whole word so formed, is an appellative.

The affixes therefore, 'give the sense of the agent, with the addition that the action is simply the object of a prayer of some one who wishes that that may be the action of that agent, the sense being simply appellative.' Thus तन्तिः = तनुतात् 'a weaver' (lit. may he weave); सातिः or सतिः = सनुतात् (VI. 4-45) 'wealth or gift'; भूतिः = भवतात् 'success'; मन्तिः = मनुतात् 'respect'. These are examples of words formed by the affix क्लिच् । Of words formed by क्त in this sense, we have देवदत्तः = देवा एनं देवातुः 'Devadatta (lit. may the Gods give him). Though the affix क्त has already once been generally ordained, its repetition here is to prevent its being superseded by क्लिच् । The च् of क्लिच् is qualifying only, distinguishing it from क्लिन् &c. and is useful in sūtra VI. 4. 39.

माङ्ङि लुङ् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ माङ्ङि, लुङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ माङ्ङ्युपपदं धातोर्लुङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

175. The affix 'Luñ' comes after a verb when the word 'māñ' is used in connection with it.

This sets aside all other tense-affixes. As मा कार्षीत् 'let him not do' मा हर्षीत् 'let him not take'.

How have we then the Imperative and the Future tenses in the following sentence instead of the Aorist? मा भवतु तस्य पापं मा भविष्यति । This sentence is against good usage. Or, we may explain it by saying that there is another मा which has not the indicative ङ; and with that मा, other tenses may be used. The augment ङ is clided after the prohibitive particle मा, by VI. 4. 74.

स्मोत्तरे लङ् च ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्म, उत्तरे, लङ्, च, (माङि,
लुङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्दीत्तरे माङ्युपपदे धातोर्लङ् प्रत्ययो भवति चकारालुङ् च ॥

176. When the word 'māñ' is followed by 'sma', the affix 'Lañ' as well as 'Luñ' may be employed after a verbal root.

By च we introduce लुङ् into the aphorism. Thus मास्म करोत्, or कार्षात्, 'let him not make'; मास्म हरत्, or हार्षात्, 'let him not take'.

ओ३न्
अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER IV.

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धातुसम्बन्धे प्रत्ययाः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातु-सम्बन्धे, प्रत्ययाः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ धात्वर्थानां सम्बन्धो धातुसम्बन्धः, विशेषणविशेष्यभावः, तस्मिन्सति अवयाकालोक्ता
अपि प्रत्ययाः साधवो भवन्ति ॥

1. When there is a syntactical relation between the senses of the verbs, the affixes are valid, even in denoting time other than that for which they have been specifically enjoined.

The above sūtra is thus translated by Professor Bohtlingk:—"Words formed with affixes stand, (in reference to the time) in closer relation to the verb (with which they are allied)". Thus III. 2. 85 has taught that words like अग्निष्टोमवाजिन् have a past significance, *i. e.* they denote a person who *has* already *performed* the ceremony of Agnishtoma. According to the present sūtra, in spite of this past significance, inherent in the word, one may use this word with a future tense, whereby it is reduced to a future-denoting word. Thus अग्निष्टोमवाजिस्व पुत्रो जनित्ता means 'to him a son will be born who will perform the said Agnishtoma sacrifice'.

The above is not a literal translation but rather an adaptation. The literal translation will be something like this. "Affixes are employed in denoting relation (संबन्ध) between the senses of verbs". The word धातुसम्बन्ध is a Genitive Compound meaning 'relation of root'. The word धातु 'root' is figuratively used for धात्वर्थ 'sense of root'; so that the above compound means 'relation of the senses of roots'. In other words, the relation between the roots should be that of qualifier and the qualified. When there exists such a relation between the senses of two verbs, namely, that of qualifier and the thing qualified, then the affixes may be employed in denoting other times than that specifically ordained for them. In other words, to quote from the Guide to Pāṇini: "It is to be observed, that when primitive words are joined with verbs so as to qualify them, the time of the verbs being mainly the time that controls the sentence, any time denoted by the primitive affixes, by which the former words have been formed will be subordinate to and regulated by, but need not correspond to, the time of the verbs, so far as the form of those words is concerned."

Thus तत्र वसन् दृग् 'living there, he saw'; अग्निष्टोमयाज्यस्य पुत्रो जनिता 'to him a son will be born, a performer of the Agnishṭoma sacrifice'; कृतः कटः श्री भविता 'he will be to-morrow maker of the mat'; भाविकृत्यमासीत् ।

Here, though the time of the action of living denoted by वसन् is present, (III. 2. 124), this action is present only in relation to the action of seeing, and though because the latter action is past, the former action also is past with reference to the speaker or writer, this circumstance does not affect the form of वसन्, which therefore may remain as it is. In other words, 'affixes are related directly to the root, and not to the whole sentence'.

Similarly the word अग्निष्टोमयाजी is formed by an affix (III. 2. 85) denoting past time, while the word जनिता is in the Future tense. Now, this linking together of a word in the Past tense with a word in the future is a valid usage. Here the time of the qualified verb भविता does not affect the special time of the qualifier *Agnishṭomayājī*.

Q.—Why has the word प्रत्यय been repeated in this sūtra, when it was understood in this from III. 1.1 ? Ans.—The repetition is for the sake of indicating that affixes which are not ordained to come after roots (धातु), but which are enjoined to come after nouns &c. such as Taddhita affixes, are even valid in other tenses than those in which they have been specifically enjoined when related to a verb. Thus गोमानासीत् 'he was possessed of a cow'; गोमान् भविता 'he will be possessed of a cow'. Here the Taddhita affix मत्तुप् is added to the noun गो 'cow', with a present signification (V. 2. 94), the word गोमत् meaning 'who has cows' or 'in which there are cows.' This word गोमत्, however, is related and validly so, to the words आसीत् and भविता—one in the Past tense and the other in the Future.

क्रियासमभिहारे लोट् लोटो हिस्वौ वा च त-ध्वनोः ॥२॥ पदानि ॥
क्रिया-समभिहारे, लोट्, लोटो, हि-स्वौ, वा, च, त-ध्वनोः, (धातुसम्बन्धे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समभिहारविशिष्टक्रियावचनाद्वातोर्लोद्मत्ययो भवति सर्वेषु कालेषु, सर्वज्ञकाराणामपवादः तस्य च लोटो हि एव इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः, त-ध्वम्भाविनस्तु वा भवतः ॥

2. When the (frequency or) repetition of an action is indicated, the affix 'Loṭ' is added to the root, and the verb is repeated. And the affixes 'hi' and 'sva', or the affixes 'tâ' and 'dhvam' are the substitutes of 'Loṭ'.

Professor Bohtlingk translates this as follows: "When the repetition of an action is expressed, the Imperative is used, and though the second person singular is used, it may also stand for the second person plural."

The phrase धातुसंबन्ध of the last sūtra is understood here also. The frequency or repetition of an action is called समभिहारः । This word qualifies the sense of the original. In other words, "when the sense of frequency &c. is under-

stood in connection with the action, this sense not being included in that of the verb, as it may be in the case of a verb from frequentative roots.'

This Imperative mood is employed in all Tenses and Persons in connection with all moods. But this peculiar use of the Imperative is confined to the 2nd. person singular and plural Parasmaipada (हि and त्); and 2nd. person singular and plural Atmanepada (स्व and भवम्). In other words, "the Imperative second person (Parasmaipada and Atmanepada) is repeated, though the subject of the main verb be different and the verb be in any tense." Thus लुनीहि लुनीही-स्येवायं लुनाति 'he cuts repeatedly', as if some one was always calling out to him 'cut thou, cut thou'. लुनीहि लुनीहीस्येव इमौ लुनीतः or इमे लुनन्ति 'they cut often and often'. So also लुनीहि लुनीहीस्येव त्वं लुनासि, युवाम् लुनीथः or यूयं लुनीथ 'thou or you two or you all cut repeatedly' as if some one was calling out to you 'cut you, cut you'.

So also लुनीत लुनीतेस्येव यूयं लुनीथ, अहं लुनामि, अवमन्नापीत् &c. 'you cut, I cut, he has cut repeatedly', as if some one was calling out to us 'cut ye, cut ye'. Similarly with Atmanepada roots; as अधीष्वाधीष्वेत्येवायमधीते, इमौ अधीचते, इमे अधीचते &c. 'he or they study hard' as if some one was calling out to them 'study thou, study thou'.

So also अधीभ्रमधीभ्रमित्येव यूयमधीष्वे &c. Similarly in every tense, mood and person; as, अधीष्वाधीष्वेत्त्वेवाहमधीषे, आवामधीषहे, ववमधीषहे ।

The Intensive verbs in लृच् also have this meaning of frequency, but there the verb is not repeated, as the sense of frequency there is inherent in the verb; in this case we must repeat the verb to express frequency. See VIII. 1. 4.

This use of the Imperative is not found in Literature (Bohtlingk), but in Marathi.

समुच्चयेऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समुच्चये, अन्यतरस्याम्, (लोट्, लोटो, हिचवौ, वा, तच्चमोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुच्चयमान क्रियावचनात्तोरन्यतरस्यां लोट् प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य लोटो हिस्वा-वादेशो भवतः ॥

3. The affix 'Loṭ' is similarly added to the root optionally, when several themes follow one after another.

In this case also the terminations of the second person singular and plural Atmanepada and Parasmaipada are employed, namely, हि, स्व, or त् and भवम् । Thus म्नाच्छ्रमत् मठमत् खड्गमत् स्याच्चपिधानमटेत्येवायमटति or इमावटतः, or इमेऽटन्ति ।

Similar examples can be formed as in the last aphorism; only the Imperative is not doubled as in the last case.

Similarly छन्दोऽधीष्व, व्याकरणधीष्व, निरुक्तमधीष्वेत्येवायमधीते, or इमावधीचते or इमेऽधीचते 'he or they two or they all learn, learning Prosody, learning Grammar, learning Nirukta'.

This being an optional rule, we have these forms also; व्याकरणधीषे,

छन्दोऽधीते, निरुक्तमधीते, इत्येवायमधीते, इमावधीयान्ते, इमेऽधीयते । छन्दोधीषे, व्याकरणमधीषे, निरुक्तमधीषे, इत्येव स्वमधीषे, युवामधीयाथे, यूयमधीष्वे । छन्दोधीषे व्याकरणमधीषे, निरुक्तमधीष इत्येवाहमधीषे, भावामधीषते, वयमधीमहे ।

यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगः पूर्वस्मिन् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा-विधि, अनु-
प्रयोगः, पूर्वस्मिन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वस्मिन् जोडविधाने यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगो भवति ॥

4. In the first case (comprised under sūtra III. 4. 2), the same verb must be used in the subsequent clause, as the verb which was put in the Imperative mood.

The examples have already been given under sūtra III. 4. 2. We cannot say जूनीहि जूनीहीरयेवायं छिनत्ति; we must use a verb from the root जू 'to cut'. Such as जूनाति, &c. So also अधीष्वधीष्व takes अधोते only after it and not a synonymous verb like पठति &c.

समुच्चये सामान्यवचनस्य ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ समुच्चये, सामान्य-व-
चनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीये जोड विधाने समुच्चये सामान्यवचनस्य धातोरनुप्रयोगः कर्तव्यः ॥

5. In the second case (III. 4. 3) where many actions are spoken of together, the verb that is made to follow, should be such as has the sense common to all those verbs.

Thus ओदनं भुङ्क्त्व, सक्तूपिब, धानाः खाहेत्येवायमभ्यवहरति 'he takes his meals, eating rice, drinking saktu, and tasting fried corn'. Here the verb अभ्यवहरति has a sense common to all the verbs in the Imperative mood. The object of taking the second verb, having the senses common to all the antecedent verbs, is to prevent the repetition of *all* the previous ones. In the secular vernacular, the brevity, however, is often not approved.

इन्द्रसि लुङ्लङ्लिटः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्द्रसि, लुङ्-लङ्-लिटः,
(धातुसम्बन्धे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रसि विषये धातुसम्बन्धे सर्वेषु कालेषु लुङ्-लङ्-लिटः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

6. In the Vedas, the Aorist, Imperfect and Perfect are optionally employed in all tenses, in relation to verbs.

The words धातुसम्बन्ध and अन्यतरस्याम् are understood here also. By saying 'optionally', other tense-affixes may be similarly employed.

Thus देवो देवेभिरागमत् (Rig. I. 1. 5.) 'O God Agni ! come hither with the gods'. Here the Aorist आगमत् has the force of the Imperative. ये भूतस्य प्रचेतस

इहं तेभ्योऽकरं वमः 'I make salutation &c. &c'. (Rig. X. 85. 17). Here अकरं is Aorist (लृट्) and has the sense of the Present.

So also अग्निमद्य होतारमवृणीतायं यजमानः। Here लृट् is used instead of लृट् ।

So also भया ममार=भय त्रियते। Here लिट् is used instead of लृट् ।

लिट् कुर्ये लोट् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिट् कुर्ये, लोट्, (छन्दसि, अन्यतर-
स्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिट् कुर्ये यत्र लिट्, विधीयते, विध्वादिहेतु, हेतुमतोर्लिट् कुर्ये वमादिस्तत्र छन्दसि विषये
ऽन्यतरस्यां लोट्, प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. The affix 'Let' is optionally employed in the Vedas, wherever the Potential can be used.

Thus in the sense of 'command' &c., लृट् may be employed instead of लिट्. This is called the Vedic Subjunctive and is peculiar to the Vedas only. Thus जोषिषत् (Rig. II. 35. 1) 'may he make us beautiful'. सारिषत् (Rig. I. 25. 12) 'may he increase'. पतति विद्युत् (Rig. VII. 25. 1) 'may the thunder-bolt fall'. भवति (Rig. V. 37. 5) 'may he become'. So also मन्दिषत्, नेता, नेषत्, सक्षिषत्, उदधिं च्यावयाति

उपसंवादाशङ्कयोश्च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसंवाद-आशङ्कयोः, च,
(छन्दसि, लोट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसंवादे आशङ्कयां च गन्धमानायां छन्दसि विषये लोट्, प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. Where a contingent promise (a reciprocal agreement), or apprehension is implied, the affix 'Let' is employed after a root, in the Chhandas Literature.

The word उपसंवाद means 'reciprocal agreement, contracting to do'. Thus यदि मे भवानिहं कुर्याद् अहमपि भवत इहं दास्यामि 'If you do this for me, I will give this to you'. Agreements like these are called उपसंवाद; while guessing or inferring the result from a cause is called आशङ्का 'apprehension or fear'.

Thus अहमेव पशुनामीशौ ॥ नदमा एव वो ग्रहा गृह्यान्ते ॥ नद्वेवश्वान्वेव वः पान्नाण्यु-
च्यन्ते ॥ नेज्जिह्वायन्तो (or नेज्जिह्वायन्थो) नरकं पताम ॥ (Nir. I. II. Bohtlingk)=जिह्वाचरणेन
नरकपात आशङ्कयते ॥ All the above examples have the sense of Potential, but the Subjunctive (Let) must be employed necessarily in these senses and not optionally, which anuvṛitti was understood in the last sūtra.

तुमर्थे सेसेनसेअसेन्कसेकसेनष्यैअष्यैन्कष्यैकष्यैन्शष्यैशष्यैन्तवे-
तवेङ्-तवेनः ॥९॥ पदानि ॥ तुमर्थे, से-सेन्-असे-असेन्-कसे-कसेन्-अष्यै-अष्यैन्-
कष्यै-कष्यैन्-शष्यै-शष्यैन्-तवे-तवेङ्-तवेनः, (छन्दसि) ॥

तुमुनोऽर्थस्तुमर्थः, तत्र छन्दसि विषये धातोः स्यादयः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

9. In the Vedas the following affixes come

after roots with the force of the affix 'tumun', viz:— 'se', 'sen', 'ase', 'asen', 'kse', 'kasen', 'adhyai', 'adhyain', 'kadhyai', 'kadhyain', 'śadhyai', 'śadhyain', 'tavai', 'taven' and 'taven'.

In the Vedic literature the Infinitive is formed by the above 15 affixes. These, when stripped of their indicatory letters, will be found to consist of the following five affixes:—(1) से=से, सेन् and क्से ॥ (2) असे=असे, असेन् and क्सेन् ॥ (3) अध्ये=अध्ये, अध्येन्, क्पध्ये, क्पध्येन्, श्पध्ये and श्पध्येन् ॥ (4) तवै ॥ (5) तवे=तवे, तवेन् and तवेन् ।

The difference in the affixes is made by four indicatory letters, viz. न्, क्, श् and इ. The forces of क्, श् and इ have already been explained; the indicatory न् makes the word take the *udatta* accent on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). Thus से is acute (III. 1. 3); सेन् has acute on the first syllable of the word (VI. 1. 197); असे has accent of the affix (III. 1. 3); असेन् throws the accent on the first syllable of the word; the indicatory श् makes the numbers 11 and 12 Sārvadhātuka, and the root takes the proper Vikaraṇa of its class before these affixes; while before तवै, the acute falls both on the first syllable and the last syllable simultaneously (VI. 1. 200, VI. 2. 51).

Before going to give examples of these affixes, let us explain what is meant by तुमर्थ 'the sense of the affix तुम्' । The word तुमर्थ is here equivalent to भाव or 'action'; for the *pratyayas* or affixes, to which no meaning has been assigned in grammar, convey the meaning of the bases to which they are added. Thus no special meaning having been attached to तुम्, it will convey the meaning of the root to which it is added, i. e. it will denote the 'action' of the verb, or Infinitive mood. (1) से—वर्षे राधः । (2) सेन्—तवामेषे रथानाम् (Rig. V. 66. 3). (3 and 4) असे and असेन्—भस्मे शूलं शूरसे। जीवसे धा (Rig. III. 36. 10). So also कृत्से वृक्षात् जीवसे (Rig. X. 57. 4). With असेन् the word will be जीवसे । (5) क्से—श्रेषे भगात् । (6) क्सेन्—गर्भामिव भ्रियसे (Rig. V. 59. 3). It has not the नित् accent (VI. 1. 197) which would have given us भ्रियसे । (7 and 8) अध्ये, अध्येन्—कर्मण्युपचारध्वे । (9) क्पध्ये—इन्द्राग्नी भाहुवध्वे (Rig. VI. 60. 13). (10) क्पध्येन्—भ्रियध्वे । (11 and 12) श्पध्ये, श्पध्येन्—विद्यध्वे (Rig. IV. 27. 5); the accent however is on पि । सह माहुवध्वे (Rig. VI. 60. 13). (13) तवै—धीमनिन्द्राय पातवै । (14) तवेइ—सं ते गर्भे हवामहे इशमे मासि वृत्तवे (Rig. X. 184. 3). (15) तवेन्=गंतवे (Rig. I. 46. 7); कर्तवे (Rig. I. 85. 9); हर्तवे ॥

प्रये रोहिष्यै अव्ययिष्यै ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रये, रोहिष्यै, अव्ययिष्यै, (तुमर्थे, छंदसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रये रोहिष्यै अव्ययिष्यै इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते छन्दसि विपद्ये ॥

10. The words 'prayai', 'rohishyai' and 'avyathishyai' are irregular Vedic Infinitives.

Thus (1) प्रवे देवेभ्यो महीः (Rig. I. 142. 6); प्र+वा+कै=प्रवे=मयातुम् । (2) अपानो-
वधीनां रोहिष्यै । रुह्+इष्यै=रोहिष्यै=रोहणाय । (3) भ+व्यप्+इष्यै=भव्यधिष्यै=भव्ययनाय ।

दृशे विख्ये च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृशे, विख्ये, च, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृशे विख्ये इत्येतौ छन्दसि विषये निपात्येते ॥

11. The words 'driśe' and 'vikhye' are anomalous Vedic Infinitives.

Thus दृशे विखाव सूर्यम् (Rig. I. 50. 1) = दृष्टुम् । विख्ये एवा इरामि=विख्यातुम् ।

शकि खमुल्कमुलौ ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शकि, खमुल्-कमुलौ, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तौ धातुपपदे छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे णमुञ्कमुञ् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

12. The affixes 'ṅamul' and 'kamul' are added to roots in the Chhandas to form Infinitives, when they are governed by the verb 'śak' (to be able).

Of the affix णमुञ् the real affix is अम्; the letter ण् causes vṛiddhi (VI. 2. 115); and क् regulates the accent (VI. 1. 193). So also of कमुञ्, the letter क् prevents guṇa and vṛiddhi substitution (I. 1. 5).

Thus अग्निं वै देवा विभाजं नाराक्षुवन् 'the Gods were not able to divide Agni'. विभञ्+णमुञ्=विभाजं=विभक्तुम् । So also अपलपं नाराक्षुवन्, instead of अपल्लोतुम् ।

ईश्वरे तोसुन्कसुनौ ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईश्वरे, तोसुन्-कसुनौ, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईश्वराव्य रूपपदे छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे धातोस्तोसुन्कसुन्प्रत्ययो भवतः ।

13. The affixes 'tosun' and 'kasun' are added to roots in the Chhandas, to form Infinitives, when the word 'īśvara' is in composition.

Thus ईश्वरोऽभिवरितो = अभिवरितुम् । ईश्वरे विलिखः = विलिखितुम् । ईश्वरो विद्वः = वितर्कितुम् ।

कृत्यार्थे तवैकेन्केन्यस्वनः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य-अर्थे, तवै-केन्-केन्य-स्वनः, (छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यानामर्थे भावकर्मणो, तस्मिन् कृत्यार्थे छन्दसि विषये तवै केन् केन्य स्वन् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

14. The affixes 'tavai', 'ken', 'kenya' and 'tvan' are added to roots in the Chhandas, in the sense of the 'Kṛitya-affixes'.

The force of *kṛitya* affixes is to denote 'action' (भाव) and 'object' (कर्मन्). Thus अन्वेतवै=अन्वेतव्यम्; परिधातवै=परिधातव्यम्; नावगाहै=नावगाहितव्यम्; विदृक्षेणवः (Rig. I.

146. 5) = विद्वित्तव्यम्; शुभ्रुष्यः = शुभ्रुषितव्यम्; कर्त्तव्यम्; (Rig. I. 10. 2) = कर्त्तव्यम् ।

The affix त्वे was mentioned in sūtra III. 4. 9 also; there it has the force of the Infinitive, and here that of the Passive Participle. For its accent, see VI. 1. 200; 2. 51.

अवचक्षे च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवचक्षे, च, (कृत्यार्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवपूर्वाच्चक्षिठ एग्रप्रत्ययो निपात्यते ॥ .

15. The word 'avachakshe' is an anomalous passive participle in the Vedas.

Thusऋषिपुष्पा नावचक्षे (Rig. IV. 58. 5) = नावचक्ष्यातव्यम्। अव + चक्ष् + एग्र = अवचक्षे। The sūtra II. 4. 54 is not applied here.

भावलक्षणे स्थेष्कञ्ज्वदिचरिहुतमिजनिभ्यस्तोसुन् ॥१६॥ पदानि ॥

भाव-लक्षणे, स्था-इष्-कञ्-वदि-चरि-हु-तमि-जनिभ्यः, तोसुन्, (कृत्यार्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावो लक्ष्यते येन तस्मिन्नर्थे वर्तमानेभ्य स्थादिभ्यो धातुभ्यश्छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे तोसुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix 'tosun' comes in the Vedas after the following verbs, when mere name of the action is indicated, viz.—'sthâ' (to stand), 'in' (to go), 'kriñ' (to make), 'vad' (to speak), 'char' (to walk), 'hu' (to sacrifice), 'tam' (to grow tired) and 'jan' (to produce).

These are also Infinitives. The phrase कृत्यार्थं is not to be read into this sūtra. The word भावलक्षण qualifies the sense of the root (भावो लक्ष्यते येन). Thus, स्था—भा संस्थातोर्वेषां सीदन्ति = भासनादेः सीदन्ति । इष्—पुरा सूर्यस्योत्तेतोराधेवः । कृम्—पुरा वत्सानामपाकर्तोः । चर्—पुरा प्रवर्तितोरग्नौ प्रहोतव्यम् । चर्—पुरा प्रवर्तितोराग्नीधीये होतव्याः । (Gopatha Brahmana II. 2. 10) । हु—भा होतोरप्रमत्तस्तिष्ठति । तम्—भा तमितोरासौत (Taitt. Br. I. 4. 4. 2) । जन्—भा विजनितोः सम्भवाम (Taitt. S. II. 5. 1. 5).

सृपिदोः कसुन् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सृपि-दोः, कसुन्, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सृपिदोर्दास्योर्भावलक्षणार्थे वर्तमानवीरुह्यन्सि विषये तुमर्थे कसुन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. In the Vedas, the affix 'kasun' comes after the verbs 'srip' (to creep) and 'trid' (to injure), in the sense of Infinitives indicating name of action.

Thus विसृपः । पुरा क्रूरस्य विसृपः (Yaj. I. 28.); आदरः (Rig. VIII. 1. 12); पुरा जग्मुश्च आदरः (Rig. VIII. 1. 12). These words are Indeclinable by I. 1. 40.

अलंस्रवोः प्रतिषेधयोः प्राचां क्त्वा ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलं-स्रवोः, प्रतिषेधयोः, प्राचां, क्त्वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्नं खलु इत्येतयोः प्रतिषेधवाचिनोरुपपद्योर्धातोः क्त्वा प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. According to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix 'ktvá' comes after a verb, when there are in combination with it, the words 'alam' and 'khalu', expressing the sense of prohibition.

The anuvṛitti of the words 'in the Vedas &c' does not extend further. Thus अन्नं कृत्वा 'do not make'; खलु पीत्वा 'do not drink'; अलं बाले रुदित्वा 'do not weep, O girl!

Why do we say 'when there are अन्नं and खलु'? Witness माकार्षीः 'do not make'. Why do we say 'when expressing prohibition'? Observe अलङ्कारः 'decoration'.

The phrase 'in the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians' shows that it is an optional rule. Therefore we have अन्नंरुदनेन 'do not weep'. Or if rule III. 1. 94 be applied, then the use of the word प्राचा is for the sake of merely showing respect (pūjārtha); the rule could have stood without it.

उदीचां माहो व्यतीहारे ॥१९॥ पदानि ॥ उदीचां, माहः, व्यतीहारे, (क्त्वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ माहो धातोर्व्यतीहारे वर्तमानाप्दीचामाचार्याणां मतेन क्त्वाप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. According to the opinion of the Northern Grammarians, the affix 'ktvá' is added to the root 'men' (to exchange), when the sense is that of interchange, (though the action denoted by the former word is not prior to the action denoted by the latter word).

Thus अपमित्य याचते 'having offered an exchange, he asks' अप + ने + कृत्वा = अप + मा + ह्यप् = अप + मि + तुक् + च (VI. 1. 45 and 71) = अप + मित्य (VII. 4. 40). This is an optional rule, as the phrase 'according to the northern' indicates. So we have in the alternative, याचित्नाऽपयमते 'having asked he exchanges'; and this is the more general use of *ktvá*; namely, it comes after that verb which is concerned about a time *anterior* to that of the other; see rule 21. The present sūtra is an exception to III. 4. 21.

The root मेह् has been exhibited in the sūtra as माह्, with the vowel आ instead of ए. This indicates the existence of the following Paribhāshā:—

"A root, which, when destitute of anubandhas, ends in either ए, ओ or ऐ, must not be considered to have ceased to end in either ए, ओ, or ऐ, when an anubandha has been attached to it." By this Paribhāshā हैप् must be regarded as ending in ऐ, and as therefore आ may be substituted for the vowel ऐ (VI. 1. 45), even while प् remains, हैप् does assume the form हाप् and is consequently; by the prohibition अहाप् in sūtra I. 1. 20, forbidden to be termed घृ ।

परावरयोगे च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ पर-अवर-योगे, च, (क्त्वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परेण पूर्वस्य योगे गम्यमाने अवरणे च परस्य धातोः क्त्वा प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

20. The affix 'ktvā' is added to a root, to denote what is situate on that (para) side or on this (avara) side of something.

The situation on the पर 'the other' side and अवर 'this' side, is called परावरयोगः । Thus अग्राज्य नदीन् पर्वतः स्थितः 'the mountain is situate without having reached the river i. e. on this side of the river, the river being on the other side. Here the word पर्वत is qualified by the word नदी which is the point from which the situation is taken; and which in this case, is on the other side of the mountain. Similarly अतिक्रम्य तु पर्वतं नदी स्थिता 'the river is situate on the other side of the mountain'. Here the relation between the 'mountain' and the 'river' is of अवर and पर ।

In other words:—"The gerund of a root may be used to imply the situation of a thing with referencce to the situation of another spoken of as the agent of the action denoted by that root and of the action denoted by another verb or primitive word used along with the gerund; though the action referred to in the gerund is not prior to the other action"—G. P.

समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-कर्तृकयोः, पूर्व-काले, (क्त्वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानःकर्त्ता यद्योर्द्धात्पर्ययोस्तत्र पूर्वकालेधादयोर्ये वर्तमानाद्धातोः क्त्वाप्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भास्यं व्याख्येय इति सम्भोज्य हसतिःस्युपसंख्यानमपूर्वकालत्वात् ॥

21. When two actions have the same agent, the affix 'ktvā' comes after that verb which takes place in a time anterior to that of the other (i. e. the Absolute in 'tva' refers to that action which precedes in time).

Thus भुक्त्वा व्रजति 'having eaten he goes'; पीत्वा व्रजति 'having drunk, he goes'.

The rule is not confined to the case of *two* verbs: thus, स्नात्वा, पीत्वा, भुक्त्वा, वस्वा व्रजति 'having bathed, drunk, eaten and given, he goes'.

Why do we say 'having the same agent'? When the agents are different, the gerund cannot be used, but the Locative Absolute construction will have to be used to express the same sense. Thus भुङ्क्वति ब्राह्मणे गच्छति देवदत्तः the 'Brahmaṇa having been fed, Devadatta goes'.

Why do we say 'which denotes *prior* action'? For, if the actions are co-eval, the gerundial construction will not be employed. Thus व्रजति च जल्पति च 'he goes and chatters'.

Vart.—The phrase आस्त्रं व्यादाद्य स्वपिति, संमील्य हसति 'he sleeps, with his mouth open, and laughs with his mouth closed', is valid, though the affix क्त्वा is not added to the verb denoting prior action.

आभीक्ष्ये समुल् च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आभीक्ष्ये, समुल्, च,
(समानकर्तृकयोः, पूर्वकाले) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आभीक्ष्यविशिष्टेऽयं वर्तमानाद्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affixes 'namul' and 'ktvá' come after a root; when re-iteration is to be expressed.

The phrases 'when the agent of both the verbs is the same' and 'after the verb whose action occurs first in time' are to be read into this sūtra to complete the sense. The force of च is to introduce the affix क्त्वा into this sūtra. The affixes *ktvá* and *namul* express 're-iteration' then only when the verb is doubled, and not singly. See rule VIII. 1. 4. Thus भोजं भोजं ब्रजति 'having eaten repeatedly, he goes'; similarly भुक्त्वा भुक्त्वा ब्रजति, पादं पादं ब्रजति 'having drunk repeatedly he goes'.

न यद्यनाकाङ्क्षे ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यदि, अनाकाङ्क्षे,
(क्त्वा, समुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्छब्दउपपदे धातोः क्त्वाणमुलौ प्रत्ययौ न भवतोऽनाकाङ्क्षे वाक्ये ॥

23. The affixes 'ktvá' and 'namul' are not added to a root, when the word 'yad' is used, in a simple sentence, which does not depend upon another to complete the sense.

The word आकाङ्क्षा means 'inter-dependence' or the inability of a word, phrase or sentence, to indicate the intended sense in the absence of another word, phrase, or sentence. In other words, when there are two actions one prior and another subsequent, and they complete the sense of the sentence, without standing in need of any other verb; in such a case, *ktvá* and *namul* are not used, when the word *yad* is in composition. This sūtra prohibits the affix *ktvá* also, though the affix *namul* is in immediate context. Thus खद्वं भुङ्क्ते ततः पचति, खद्वयमधीते ततः शीते, having eaten, he cooks; having read, he sleeps'.

But when there is inter-dependence or आकाङ्क्षा, we have खद्वं भुक्त्वा ब्रजति, अधीत एव ततः परम् । Professor Bohtlingk translates it thus : "In connection with खद् the above-mentioned Absolutives will not be applied, unless the two verbs required one more as complement."

विभाषाग्रेप्रथमपूर्वेषु ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, अग्रे-प्रथम-
पूर्वेषु, (समानकर्तृकयोः, पूर्वकाले, समुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्रे प्रथम पूर्व इत्येतेषूपपदेषु समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले धातोः क्त्वाणमुलौ प्रत्ययौ विभाषा भवतः ॥

24. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' come optionally after that verb which denotes the prior action, when both verbs have the same agent, provided that the following words are in composition :—'agre', 'prathama' and 'pûrva'.

This is an *Aprâpta-vibhâshâ*. The word 're-iteration' is not understood here. Thus भवे, मयमं, पूर्वे वा भोजं भुक्त्वा व्रजति 'having first eaten he goes'.

By using the word 'optionally' it is indicated, that the regular Tenses, such as the Present &c, may be employed also. Thus भवे भुक्त्वे ततः व्रजति 'he eats first and then goes'.

Q—The affixes of *Lat* (Present tense) &c. would have been applied by the rule of वासकरूप (III. 1. 94); why then use the word 'optionally'?

Ans.—The very use of the word 'optionally' in this sūtra indicates the existence of this *Paribhâshâ* :—"The rule III. 1. 94 has no concern with the affixes *ktvâ* and *namul*, when both these affixes are enjoined at one and the same time by a single rule."

Therefore, we cannot apply III. 1. 94 and use the affixes *Lat* &c, when 're-iteration' is meant. That is the exclusive province of क्त्वा and एमुन् ।

Why is not here the Upapada compounding by rule II. 2. 20? For an answer to this, see the commentary on II. 2. 20. Had only एमुन् been enjoined by this sūtra, and not क्त्वा also, then we could have formed the उपपद समास, for such is the force of the word एव in that sūtra.

कर्मेवयाक्रोशे कृजः खमुञ् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मेति, आक्रोशे, कृजः,

खमुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे कृजो धातोः खमुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति आक्रोशे गन्धमाने ॥

25. The affix 'khamuñ' is added to the verb 'kri' (to make), when a word in the accusative case is in construction with it, if the sense intended implies 'abuse'.

Of the affix खमुञ्, the efficient portion is भम्; the indicatory ख introduces the augment मुम् (VI. 3. 67). Thus चोरं कारमाक्रोशति 'he reviles him as thief, i. e. he calls out in abuse 'thou art a thief, thou art a robber, &c.' The person is not really made a thief, but making him a thief is to express one's indignation.

स्वादुनि खमुल् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वादुनि, खमुल्, (कृजः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वादुर्ण्युपपदेषु कृजो एमुन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. (When the actions, signified by the verbs 'kri' and another, have the same agent), the affix 'namul' is added to the verb 'kri' (which is concerned

about a time anterior to that of the other), provided that a word signifying 'sweet' is in composition.

The words within brackets are to be read into the sūtra by anuvṛitti from III. 4. 21. Thus स्वादुङ्कारं or जवणंकारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats, having made his food sweet or seasoned'.

In the sūtra, the word स्वादुम् is used ending with a न्. It is an anomalous form, and indicates that a न् must be added to the upapadas in these cases the object served by this form being that rule IV. 1. 44, by which feminine of words like स्वादु ending in ङ is formed by long ई, does not apply here. Thus स्वाद्वीम् कृत्वा यवागमू भुङ्क्ते = स्वादुङ्कारं यवागमू भुङ्क्ते । Here though यवागू is feminine, the attribute is still स्वादु and not स्वाद्वी ।

It might be said 'why not use the previous affix खमुम्? That will solve all difficulties; and will give us the augment मुम् । To this, however, there is a fatal objection. The augment मुम् will, no doubt, come in the last example, but it will *not* come when the word to be formed is an Indeclinable (VI. 3. 67), such as, when the sense is of the affix च्चि and all *chvi*-ending words are Indeclinables (I. 4. 61). Therefore, the affix खमुम् will not remove the difficulty in the following case; भस्वाद्वीं स्वाद्वीं कृत्वा भुङ्क्ते = स्वादुङ्कारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats, having first sweetened what was not sweet before'.

By applying rule III. 1. 94, we have the affix ङ्वा in the alternative. Thus स्वादु कृत्वा भुङ्क्ते । All these affixes form abstract nouns (भाङ्ग) as they have the sense of the affix तुमुन् (III. 4. 16). In connection with एमुञ्, the Instrumental case can not, however, be used, *i. e.* we cannot use the Passive construction; *e. g.* स्वादुङ्कारं यवागमूङ्वात्ते वेवदरीन् will be wrong.

अन्यथैवकथमित्यंसुसिद्धाप्रयोगश्चेत् ॥२७॥ पदानि ॥ अन्यथा-एवं-
कथम्-इत्यंसु, सिद्ध-अप्रयोगः, चेत्, (कृञः, खमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्यथादिषूपपदेषु कुमो एमुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति सिद्धाप्रयोगश्चेत्करोतेभ्रंशति ॥

27. When the words 'anyathā' (otherwise), 'evam' (so), 'katham' (how) and 'ittham' (thus) are compounded with the verb, then 'namul' comes after 'kri' (to make), if it be such that its omission would be unobjectionable.

When is the non-employment of कृम् valid? When the same sentence will remain correct by omitting कृ, *i. e.* when without employing it, the same idea will be expressed. Thus अन्यथाकारं, एवकारं, कथंकारं or इत्थंकारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats otherwise, he eats so, how does he eat, or he eats thus'. In fact, the sentence अन्यथाकारं भुङ्क्ते is equivalent to अन्यथा भुङ्क्ते ।

Why do we say 'if the non-employment would be valid'? Witness

अन्यथा कृत्वा शिरो भुङ्क्ते 'he eats, having turned his head aside'. Here कृम् could not be spared.

यथातथयोरसूयाप्रतिवचने ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा-तथयोः, अ-
सूया-प्रतिवचने, (कृञः, यमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथा तथा शब्दयोरुपपत्तयोः कृञो णमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति, असूया प्रतिवचने गन्धमाने ॥

28. The affix 'namul' is added to the root 'kri' (to make), the words 'yathâ' and 'tathâ' being compounded with it, when an angry reply is made : (if the omission of 'kriñ' is unobjectionable).

When one questions or replies in indignation, displeasure or anger, then is this construction valid. Thus तथाकारं भोक्ष्ये, किं तवानेन 'I will eat in that way ; what is that to you ?' Similarly यथाकारं भोक्ष्ये, किं तवानेन ।

Why do we say 'when an angry reply is made' ? Observe यथाकृत्वाऽहं भोक्ष्ये तथा इदं ब्रूयति 'in what way I will eat, that thou wilt see'.

Why do we say 'when the omission of कृम् would be valid' ? Witness यथाकृत्वाऽहं शिरो भोक्ष्ये किं तवानेन 'what is that to you, in what way turning my head I will eat' ?

कर्मणि दृशिविदोः साकल्ये ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, दृशि-विदोः,
साकल्ये, (यमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे साकल्यविशिष्टेऽर्थे दृशिविदोर्द्वाण्वीर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. When the object is compounded with it, the verb 'driś' (to see), or 'vid' (to know), takes the affix 'namul', to denote the total number of such objects.

Thus कन्वाद्गं वरयति 'he woos every girl that he sees i. e. all the girls seen'. ब्राह्मणवेदं भोजयति 'he feeds as many Brāhmaṇas as he knows, i. e. all'.

Why do we say 'when denoting the total number of such objects' ? Observe ब्राह्मणं दृष्ट्वा भोजयति 'having seen the Brāhmaṇa he feeds him'.

यावति विन्दजीवोः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ यावति, विन्द-जीवोः,
(यमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावच्छब्द उपपदे विन्दतेर्जावतेश्च णमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'vid' (to get) and 'jīv', (to live), when the word 'yâvat' is combined with them.

As यावद्वेदं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats all that he gets'. यावज्जीवमधीते 'he studies as long as he lives, i. e. throughout his life'.

चर्मोदरयोः पूरेः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चर्म-उदरयोः, पूरेः, (कर्मणि, यामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चर्मोदरयोः कर्मणीरुपपदयोः पूरयतेर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pûr' (to fill), when the words 'charman' and 'udar' are compounded with it as object.

Thus उदरपूरं भुंक्ते 'he eats so as to fill his belly' ? चर्मपूरं स्छणाति 'he spreads so as to cover the skin'.

वर्षप्रमाणा क्लोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्ष-प्रमाणे, क्ल-लोपः, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, (कर्मणि, यामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूरयतेर्जातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति क्लोपश्चास्य पूरयतेरन्यतरस्यां भवति समुदायेन चेद्वर्षस्य प्रमाणमियत्ता गम्यते ॥

32. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pûr' (to fill), when the word so formed expresses a measure of rain-fall; and optionally the long 'û' of this 'pûr' is elided.

Thus गोष्पदपूरं or गोष्पदं वृष्टो देवः 'it rained filling up small puddles (lit. the impression made by the foot of the cow on the soil)'. सीतारूरं or सीतामं वृष्टो देवः 'it rained filling up all furrows'.

Why have we used the word अस्व 'of this pûr' in the sūtra ? The long ऊ of पूर is to be elided, and not the long ऊ, if there be any, of the upapada. Thus मूषिकाबिज्जपूरं or मूषिकाबिज्जमं वृष्टो देवः । Here the long ऊ of मू is not shortened.

चेले क्नोपेः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चेले, क्नोपेः, (कर्मणि, यामुल्, वर्ष-प्रमाणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्नूयो शब्दे उन्दने च, अस्मात्पञ्चतादातोश्चेलापेषु कर्मसु उपपदेषु णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति वर्षप्रमाणे गम्यमाने ॥

33. The affix 'namul' comes after the causative of the root 'knûy' (to wet), when there is compounded with it a noun denoting 'clothing', in the accusative case, as an upapada, if the whole word so formed expresses a measure of the rain-fall.

The verb क्नोपि is the causative root formed from the simple root क्नू 'to wet'. Thus चेलक्नोपं वृष्टो देवः or वस्त्रक्नोपं or वस्त्रक्नोपं &c. 'it rained so as to wet the clothes'.

निमूलसमूलयोः कषः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निमूल-समूलयोः, कषः, (कर्मणि, यामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निमूलसमूलशब्दयोः कर्मवाचिनोरुपपदयोः कर्षेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'kash' (to rub), when the words 'nimûla' and 'samûla' are compounded with it in the accusative case.

Thus निमूलकार्षं कर्षति 'he scrapes down to the roots'; समूलकार्षं कर्षति 'he scrapes up to the roots'. In fact, the gerund of the root and the root itself denote the same thing; the whole sentence निमूलकार्षं कर्षति being equal to निमूलं कर्षति. From this sūtra up to sūtra III. 4. 46, the subsequent verb governing the previous word, must be derived from the same root from which the gerund is derived; see sūtra III. 4. 46.

शुष्कचूर्णरूक्षेषु पिषः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुष्क-चूर्ण-रूक्षेषु, पिषः, (कर्मणि, समुल) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुष्कादिषु कर्मवाचिषूपपदेषु पिषेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

35. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pish' (to grind), when the words 'śushka' (dry), 'chūrṇa' (powder), and 'rūksha' (dry), in the accusative case are compounded with it.

Thus शुष्कपेषं पिनष्टि = शुष्कं पिनष्टि 'he grinds it dry'; चूर्णपेषं पिनष्टि 'he grinds to powder'; रूक्षपेषं पिनष्टि 'he grinds it dry'. Here also an appropriate verb from the same root पिष् must be used to govern the gerund.

समूलाकृतजीवेषु हन्कृज्ग्रहः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ समूल-अकृत-जीवेषु, हन्-कृज्-ग्रहः, (कर्मणि, समुल) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समूल भक्त जीव इत्येतेषु शब्देषु कर्मसूपपदेषु वयासंख्यं हन् कृज् मह इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'han' (to kill), 'kri' (to make) and 'grah' (to seize), when the words 'samûla', 'akṛita' and 'jīva' in the accusative case are respectively compounded with them.

Thus समूलघातं हन्ति (VIII. 3. 32 and 54) 'he destroys so as to tear up by the roots i. e. he totally extirpates'; भक्तकारं करोति 'he does a thing which was not done before'; स जीवमाहं गृह्णाति 'captures him so as to preserve his life, i. e. captures him alive'. Here also appropriate verbs from the same roots are used to govern the gerund.

करखे हनः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ करखे, हनः, (समुल) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करण उपपदे हन्तेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb

'han', when a word in the Instrumental case is in composition with it.

Thus पाणिघातं वेदिं हन्ति (VII. 3. 32 and 54) = पाणिना वेदिं हन्ति 'he strikes the *Vedi* with the hand'; पादघातं भूमिं हन्ति 'he strikes the ground with the foot'. Reading this sūtra along with III. 4. 48, we find that हन् here does not mean 'to kill', and the further difference between this aphorism and that is, that in the case of this sūtra a cognate verb from the same root must be used, as the gerund; not so in sūtra III. 4. 48; or this sūtra may be for the sake of forming Invariable compounds with the upapadas, such as पादघातं ।

According to Pātanjali, this affix comes after हन् under this aphorism, even when हन् means 'to injure'; thus counteracting rule III. 4. 48, by anticipation, and in opposition to the general principle of interpretation enunciated in rule I. 4. 2. Thus भस्त्रिघातं हन्ति 'he kills with the sword'; शरघातं हन्ति 'he kills with arrows'.

Rule III. 4. 46 applies here also, and an appropriate verb from the same root is employed to govern the gerund.

स्नेहने पिषः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्नेहने, पिषः, (करसे, यमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्नेहनवाचिनि करणे उपपदे पिषेर्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

38. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pish' (to grind), when a word in the Instrumental case denoting 'liquid' is in composition.

Thus उद्वेषं पिनष्टि = उदकेन पिनष्टि (VI. 3. 58.) 'he grinds with water'; तैलवेचं पिनष्टि 'he grinds with oil'. Here also III. 4. 46 applies, and an appropriate verb from the same root is employed to govern the gerund.

हस्तते वर्तिग्रहोः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्ते, वर्ति-ग्रहोः, (करसे, यमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्तवाचिनि करणे उपपदे वर्तयतेर्गृह्णातेश्च यमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'varti' (causative of vṛit) and 'grah', when a word denoting 'hand', in the Instrumental case, is in composition.

Thus हस्तवर्ते, करवर्ते or पाणिवर्ते वर्तयति = हस्तेन वर्तयति 'he revolves by the hand'. So also, तम् हस्तग्राहम् गृह्णाति 'he takes him by the hand': so पाणिग्राहम्, करग्राहम् &c.

Here also rule III. 4. 46 applies and appropriate verbs from the same roots must be employed to govern the gerund.

स्वे पुषः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वे, पुषः, (करसे, यमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्ववाचिनि करणे उपपदे पुषेर्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'push' (to feed), when a word in the Instrumental case, having the sense of 'sva' is in composition.

The word स्व means 'self', 'kinsmen' and 'property'. Thus स्वपोषं पुष्पाति 'he feeds himself'; आत्मपोषं, गोपोषं, पित्रपोषं, मातृपोषं, धनपोषं, रैपोषं &c. See I. i. 68. Rule 46 applies here also.

अधिकरणो बंधः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरणो, बंधः, (समुल) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणवाचिन्युपपदे बध्नातेर्द्धातोर्णमुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

41. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'bandh' (to bind), when a word expressing location is in construction with it.

Of course, rule III. 4. 46 applies here also, and the gerund must be governed by a verb from the same root *bandh*. Thus चक्रबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds to the wheel'; कट्टबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds in a snare'; मुट्टिबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds in the fist'. चोरकबन्धं बध्नाति = चोरको बध्नाति ।

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (बंधः, समुल) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायाम् विषये बध्नातेर्द्धातोर्णमुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

42. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'bandh' (to bind) when the word so formed denotes an appellative.

Thus कौचबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds in the manner called *krauncha-bandhan* or 'heron-knot'. मयूरिकाबन्धं बध्नाति or बद्धः 'he binds or is bound in a 'peacock-knot'. अट्टलिकाबन्धं बद्धः 'bound in a knot called *attalika-bandhan*'.

All the above, *krauncha-bandhan* &c. are names of various sorts of 'bonds or knots'. The rule III. 4. 46. also applies here.

कर्त्रोर्जीवपुरुषयोर्नशिवहोः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्रोः, जीव-पुरुषयोः, नशि-वहोः, (समुल) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीवपुरुषयोः कर्तृवाचिनोरुपपदयोः तथासंख्यन्नशिवहोर्द्धातोर्णमुञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'naś' (to perish) and 'vah' (to carry), when the words 'jīva' (life) and 'purusha' (person) expressing the agent of these verbs, are respectively in construction with them.

Thus जीवनार्थं नश्यति=जीवो नश्यति 'perishes, so that his life perishes *i. e.* dies away'; पुरुषवाहं वहति 'the man carries, *i. e.* the man becoming a servant, carries another on him = पुरुषः प्रेष्यो भूत्वा वहति ।

Why do we say 'when denoting an agent'? Observe, जीवेन नष्टः 'destroyed by life'; पुरुषेणोहः 'carried by a man'.

ऊर्ध्वे शुषिपूरोः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊर्ध्वे, शुषि-पूरोः, (कर्त्रीः, ऋमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्ध्वशब्दे कर्तृवाचिन्व्युपपदे शुषिपूरोर्द्धात्वोर्णमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'śush' (to dry), and 'pûr' (to fill), when the word 'ūrdhva', denoting an agent, is in composition with them.

Thus ऊर्ध्वशोषं शुष्यति वृत्तः = ऊर्ध्वे शुष्यति 'the tree is dried up while it is still standing'. Compare यद्गोर्ध्वोपहत्यवद्विशुष्कः 'or wither like the up-heaved grass drying up' (Bhatti. III, 14); ऊर्ध्वपूरं पूर्यते 'is filled full to the brim'. Rule III. 4. 46 applies here also.

उपमाने कर्मणि च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमाने, कर्मणि, च, (कर्त्रीः, ऋमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमाने कर्मव्युपपदे चकारात् कर्तरि धातोर्णमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

45. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when an object or an agent, denoting similitude, is in composition with it.

The word 'agent' is read into the sūtra, by virtue of the word च 'also'. That with which any thing is compared is called उपमान or 'object of comparison or similitude'. As घृतनिधायम् निहितम् जलम् 'water was kept as ghee would be kept'. सुवर्णनिधायम् निहितः 'was kept as gold'. The force is that of इव; thus घृतनिधायम् निहितः = घृतमिव निहितः। So also when the object of comparison is as agent: thus, भजनाशो नटः 'he perished like a goat'. So also चूडकनाशम् इन्तनाशम्, &c.

कषादिषु यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कष-आदिषु, यथा-विधि, अनुप्रयोगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निमूलसमूलयोरिद्वैतशारभ्य कषादयः, एतेषु यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगो भवति ॥

46. The same verb should be employed after the gerunds formed from the verbs 'kash' &c; as the verb from which the gerund is derived.

From sūtra III. 4. 34 up to sūtra III. 4. 45, a verb from the same root must be employed in the subsequent part, as *anuprayoga*, from which the gerund in *namul* was formed. This rule has been illustrated in the examples under the previous aphorisms.

The present is a restrictive or *niyama* rule. This chapter deals with affixes employed in denoting syntactical relation between two verbs (धातुसम्बन्धे प्रत्ययाः)। See III. 4. 1 : so a gerund in *namul*, would, of course, be followed by some verb as *anuprayoga*; the present sūtra declares that the *other* verb must be from the same root as the gerund.

उपदंशस्तृतीयायाम् ॥४७॥ पदानि ॥ उपदंशः, तृतीयायां, (खमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इश इशने, अस्माद्धातोरुपपूर्वात्तृतीयायाम् उपपदे एमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix 'namul' comes after the root 'dans' (to bite) preceded by the preposition 'upa'; when a word ending with the third case-affix is in composition with it.

The *Upapada sanda* is optional in this case (II. 2. 21). Thus मूलकोपर्वं शम् भुङ्क्ते or मूलकोनोपर्वं शम् भुङ्क्ते 'he eats after having relished the food with radish'. Similarly आर्द्रकोपर्वं शम् or आर्द्रकोणोपर्वं शम् 'relished with ginger'.

The words मूलक &c in the above examples are the 'objects' of the verb उपर्वं, and 'instruments' of the verb भुञ् ।

By the rule of वासकरूप (III. 1. 94) the affix क्त्वा (or its substitute क्त्वप्) may be optionally used, wherever we may use the affix एमुल् । Thus मूलकोनोपर्वं शम् भुङ्क्ते ।

हिंसार्यानां च समानकर्मेकायाम् ॥४८॥ पदानि ॥ हिंसा-अर्द्यानां, च, समान-कर्मेकायां, (खमुल्, तृतीयायां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिंसा प्राप्नुपघातः, तर्द्यानां धातूनामनुप्रयोगधातूनां समानकर्मेकायां तृतीयायाम् उपपदे एमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix 'namul' comes after roots having the sense of 'hins' (to strike), when the object of this gerund is the same as the object of the main verb, and when the noun with which it is compounded ends with the third case-affix.

Thus इण्डोपघातम् गाः कालवति 'he collects together cows, beating them with a club'. The compounding is optional (II. 2. 21.) Thus we have also इण्डेनोपघातम् । Similarly with other verbs having the sense of हिंस; thus, इण्डताडम् or इण्डेन ताडम् ।

Why do we say 'when the object of the gerund is the same as the object of the main verb'? When the objects are different, एमुल् will not be employed. Thus चोरम् इण्डेनोपहरत्, गोपालको गाः कालवति 'having beaten the thief with the club, the cowherd collects together the cows'.

सप्तम्यां चोपपीडरुधकर्षः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तम्यां, च, उपपीड-रुध-कर्षः, (तृतीयायां, खमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वोऽयः पीडरुधकर्षोऽयः सप्तम्यन्त उपपदे चकारात्तृतीयायाम् उपपदे एमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

49. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'piḍ' (to press), 'rudh' (to obstruct), and 'kpish' (to draw),

when they are preceded by the preposition 'upa', and when they are compounded with nouns ending with the 7th case-affix or the 3rd case-affix.

The phrase '3rd case-affix' must be read into the sūtra by virtue of the word च । Thus पार्श्वोपपीडं शोते 'he sleeps pressing on his sides'. The compounding is optional (II. 2. 21); so we have in the alternative, पार्श्वोरुपपीडम् or पार्श्वोभ्यामुपपीडम् ।

So also ब्रजोपरोधम् (or ब्रजे उपरोधम् or ब्रजेनोपरोधम्) गाः स्थापयति 'he stations the cows so that they are all in the fold'. पाण्युपकर्षं (or पाण्युपकर्षम् or पाणिनीपकर्षम्) धानाः संगृह्णाति । It is Bhvādi कृष् here, and not Tudādi.

समासत्तौ ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ समासत्तौ, (सप्तम्यां, तृतीयायां, चमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समासत्तौ गन्धमानायां तृतीयासप्तम्योरुपपदयोर्दातोर्णमुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50. (The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a word in the Locative or Instrumental case is in composition with it), and when immediate contiguity is intended i. e. 'to fall together by the ears'.

The word समासत्तिः means 'immediate contiguity'. Thus केशमाहम् (or केशेषु माहम् or केशैर्माहम्) युध्वन्ते 'having closely caught each other by the hair, they fight.' Similarly हस्तमाहम् or हस्तेषु माहम् or हस्तैर्माहम्; so also यष्टिमाहम् 'taking a stick'; लोच्छ्रमाहं &c. See II. 2. 21.

प्रमाद्ये च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रमाद्ये, च, (तृतीयायां, सप्तम्यां; चमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाद्ये गन्धमाने तृतीयासप्तम्योरुपपदयोर्दातोर्णमुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a noun in the Instrumental or Locative case is in composition with it, and when measure of length is intended.

The word प्रमाद्यम् means 'length or extension'. Thus इपङ्गुलौत्कर्षं (इपङ्गुले उत्कर्षम् or इपङ्गुलेनोत्कर्षम्) खण्डिकां छिनत्ति 'he cuts pieces of the length of two fingers'. See II. 2. 21.

अपादाने परीप्सायाम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपादाने, परीप्सायां, (चमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परीप्सायां गन्धमानायां अपादाने उपपदे धातोर्णमुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

52. The affix 'namul' is added to the root, when a noun in the Ablative case is in composition, and when 'hasto' is intended,

The word **परीप्सा** means 'haste, hurry'. Thus **शय्योत्थाय** (or **शय्याया उरथाय**) धावति 'having risen from bed, he runs away'. That is to say, he runs with such a haste that he does not perform even the necessary ablutions &c, but as soon as he rises from the bed, he runs off. Similarly **रन्ध्रापकर्षम् पत्रः पिबति** 'he drinks milk from a hole in the vessel', he being in such a haste, that he does not care to drink from the proper aperture. **आस्ट्रापकर्षमपूपान् भक्षयति** 'he eats cakes hot from the frying pan', not waiting till they are placed on a dish.

Why do we say 'when meaning hurry'? Observe, **भासनादुत्थाय गच्छति** 'having risen from the seat, he goes'. Here 'haste' not being intended, the affix **त्वा** (स्वप्) is employed. See II. 2. 21.

द्वितीयायां च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीयायां, च, (परीप्सायां, चामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्त उपपदे परीप्सायां गन्धमानायां धातोर्णमुन् प्रस्वद्यो भवति ॥

53. The affix 'namul' comes after a verb, when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, and when 'haste' is intended.

Thus **बट्टिमाहम्** (or **बट्टिं ग्राहम्**) युध्वन्ते 'they fight, having hastily taken up sticks'. That is, they are in such a haste to fight, that they do not tarry to take up the proper weapons, offensive and defensive, but engage in fight with anything that is at hand, such as sticks, stones &c. Similarly **जोष्ट्रमाहम्** or **जोष्ट्रं ग्राहम्** ।

स्वाङ्गेऽभ्रुवे ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गे, अभ्रुवे, (द्वितीयायां, चामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्रुवे स्वाङ्गवाचिनि द्वितीयान्त उपपदे धातोर्णमुन् प्रस्वद्यो भवति ॥

54. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, signifying the limbs of one's own body, when the limb is such that its loss will not destroy life.

Thus **ध्रुविक्षेपं कथयति** 'he narrates, throwing his eye-brows (glances) about in all directions'. **अक्षिःनिकाणम् जल्पति** 'he prattles, having closed the eyes'.

The **स्वाङ्ग** word is "a word denoting a thing which not being liquid or gaseous, and being capable of being perceived by the senses, and not being one produced by a change from the natural state, exists in a living being, or though found elsewhere actually or at any particular time, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually, (not figuratively) the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being."

The word **अभ्रुव** means 'non-vital organ', or a limb which even being cut off, does not necessarily destroy life. Therefore, we cannot use the affix

एमुञ्ज् in the following, as *head* is not an अङ्गुल limb:—उरिस्त्वन्व शिरः कथयति 'he narrates, having thrown the head on one side'. Compare VI. 2. 177.

परिक्लिश्यमाने च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिक्लिश्यमाने, च, (स्वाङ्गे, द्वितीयायां, खमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिक्लिश्यमाने स्वाङ्गवाचिनि द्वितीयान्त उपपदे धातोर्णमुञ्ज् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

55. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a word in the Accusative case denoting a limb of one's own body, which is completely afflicted by the action, is in composition.

The word परिक्लिश्यमान means 'completely hurt or affected'. Thus उरः प्रतिपेषं or उरःपेषं युध्यन्ते = कृत्स्नमुरः वीडयन्तः 'they fight so as to afflict their whole bosom'. So also शिरःपेषं or शिरःप्रतिपेषं ।

The difference between this and the last sūtra consists in this, that this sūtra applies even to vital organs, such as 'breast', 'head' &c; while the last aphorism applies 'non-vital organs' only.

विशिपतिपदिस्कन्दां व्याप्यमानासेव्यमानयोः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥
विशि-पति-पदि-स्कन्दां, व्याप्यमान-आसेव्यमानयोः; (द्वितीयायां, खमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्त उपपदे विशिपति-यो धातु-यो एमुञ्ज् प्रत्ययो भवति व्याप्यमाने आसेव्यमाने चार्थे गम्यमाने ॥

56. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'vis' (to enter), 'pat' (to fall), 'pad' (to go) and 'skand' (to leap), when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, and when the sense denoted is that of complete pervasion and total absorption.

The word व्याप्ति (or व्याप्यमान) means the full and complete pervasion of the substances with the actions (denoted by the verbs विशि, &c). The word आसेवा means 'assiduous performance of any action, or absorption into it'. In other words, 'frequency' of an action is आसेवा । The word व्याप्ति therefore refers to the noun (in the accusative case) and आसेवा to the verb (such as *vis* &c). These two words have the same significance here as the words निरव्य and वीप्सा in sūtra VIII. 1. 4. and by the application of that rule, both the noun and the verb require to be repeated. That rule, however, will not apply here, when there is compounding by II. 2. 21. But when there is no compounding, (for rule II. 2. 21. makes composition only optional) then there is repetition of the noun if व्याप्ति 'all' is meant; and of the verb, if आसेवा 'frequency or assiduous performance' is meant. Thus गेहानुप्रवेशमास्ते, (or गेहं गेहमनुप्रवेशमास्ते or गेहमनुप्रवेशमनुप्रवेशमास्ते) 'having entered the house, he sits down', meaning either, 'having en-

tered every house in succession, he sits down', or 'having repeatedly entered the house, he sits down'.

Similarly with the root पत्, we may have three examples as in the last, and so also with the roots पद् and स्कन्द् । Thus गेहानुप्रपातमास्ते (or गेहंगेहमनुप्रपातमास्ते or गेहमनुप्रपातमनुप्रपातमास्ते); गेहानुप्रपादमास्ते (or गेहंगेहमनुप्रपादं or गेहमनुप्रपादमनुप्रपादम्); गेहावस्कन्दमास्ते (or गेहंगेहमवस्कन्दं or गेहमवस्कन्दमवस्कन्दम्) ।

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of *all* or *frequency*? Observe, गेहमनुप्रविश्व भुङ्क्ते 'having entered the house, he eats'.

Q.—By sūtra III. 4. 22, *namul* would have been valid, when *ābhikshna* was meant; and *ābhikshna* and *āsevā* mean the same thing *i. e.* 'frequency'. Why then ordain *namul* again, by the present sūtra, in the sense of *āsevā*? If you say, "we repeat it, in order to prevent the coming of the affix क्त्वा", that is not so. For क्त्वा would come by वाऽस्वरूप rule; (see III. 1. 94 and III. 4. 47).

A.—The repetition is for the sake of *Upapada-samāsa* with a word in the accusative case. Under rule 22, there was no *upapada*, while in the present case there is an *upapada*.

Professor Bohtlingk translates this sūtra thus:—"विश्व्, पत्, पद्, and स्कन्द् in composition with an accusative, form the absolutive gerund in भम् (*namul*), when one wishes to express that every object of that name is completely affected by the action, or that the action is constantly repeated in that object."

अस्यतिवृषोः क्रियांतरे कालेषु ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यति-वृषोः,

क्रिया-अंतरे, कालेषु, (द्वितीयार्या, ऋमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियामन्तरवति क्रियान्तरः, क्रियाव्यवधायकः, क्रियान्तरे धात्वर्थे वर्त्तमानाभा-
स्यतिद्विषिभ्यां द्वितीयान्तरे कालवाचिपूपरेषु णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

57. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'as' (to throw) and 'trish' (to thirst), when it is intended to express an intermission of the action denoted by the root, provided that a word in the accusative case denoting time, is in composition.

The word क्रियान्तर means 'the interval between two actions'. Thus दूषहास्यासं or दूषहमस्यासम् गाः पाययति 'he gives drink to the cows, after an interval of two days, *i. e.* every third day'. So also दूषहतर्षे or दूषहं तर्षे गाः पाययति 'having kept the cows thirsty for two days, he makes them drink'. That is to say, 'having given them a drink today, he gives them another drink after an interval of two days'; &c.

Why do we say 'after the verbs भस् and तृप्'? Because the affix णमुल् will not be applied after other roots, though the sense be that of interval of time. Thus दूषहमुपोष्व भुङ्क्ते 'having fasted for two days, he eats'.

Why do we say 'when denoting an intermission of action'? Observe **अहरत्वंस्त्रेषु गतः**; here there is no intermission in the action of 'going'.

Why do we say 'denoting time'? Observe **बीजनमत्स्यस्य गाः पावयति** 'allowing an interval of four miles to pass, he gives drink to the cows *i. e.* he waters the cows at every four miles'. Here the interval is that of 'space' and not of 'time', and hence the affix is **व्यप्** and not **णमुल्**।

नाम्न्यादिशिग्रहीः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नाम्नि, आदिशि-ग्रहीः, (द्वितीयायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नामघञ्जे द्वितीयान्त उपपदे आदिशोर्मेहेश्च धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

58. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'ā-diś' and 'grah', when the word 'nāman' (name) in the Accusative, is in composition.

Thus **नामार्देशमाचष्टे** 'he mentions it, telling his name'. **नाममाहं नामाह्वयति** 'he calls me by taking my name (*i. e.* by my name)'.

अव्ययेऽयथाभिप्रेताख्याने कृञः क्त्वाणमुली ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्यये, अयथा-अभिप्रेत-आख्याने, कृञः, क्त्वा-णमुली ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यय उपपदेऽयथाभिप्रेताख्याने गन्धमाने करोतेः क्त्वाणमुली भवतः ॥

59. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' come after the root 'kri' (to make), when an Indeclinable word is in composition with it, and the meaning is the communication of anything in a disagreeable or undesired way.

The word **अयथाभिप्रेताख्यान** means literally 'to denote the expression of that which is not really intended' *i. e.* a manner not suited to the proper communication of that news, such as communicating a bad news in a loud voice and good news in a low voice. The compounding being optional, the affix **क्त्वा** may be replaced by **व्यप्**. Thus we have three forms **नीचैःक्त्वा**, **नीचैःक्त्वा**, or **नीचैःकार**. Thus if one had communicated an agreeable news like the birth of a son in a low voice, the other may retort "किं तर्हि वृषल नीचैःक्त्वा, नीचैःक्त्वा or नीचैःकारमाचष्टे"; and so, if one had communicated an unpleasant news as **ब्राह्मण कण्वासे गर्भिणी** in a loud voice, the other may reply "किं तर्हि वृषलोच्चैःक्त्वा, उच्चैःक्त्वा, or उच्चैःकारमाचष्टे"। (See II. 2. 22 for compounding).

Why do we say 'communicating in an undesired manner'? Observe **उच्चैःक्त्वाऽऽचक्षे वृषस्ते जातः**। Here only **क्त्वा** is added. Why have we repeated **क्त्वा** in this sūtra, when in this chapter, by the rule of **क्त्वाऽऽचक्षे** (III, 1. 94), **ktvā** would have presented itself in the alternative? The repetition is for the sake of *samāsa* or composition, by the application of II, 2. 22. The repetition

of एणुल् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvṛitti of *ktvā* and *namul* runs concurrently.

तिर्यक्यपवर्गे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ तिर्यचि, अपवर्गे, (कृञः, क्त्वा-
खमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिर्यक्कृञ् उपपदे कृञः क्त्वाएणुलौ प्रत्ययो भवतोऽपवर्गे गम्यमाने ॥

60. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' come after the root 'kri', when the word 'tiryak' is in composition in the sense of 'carrying to the end'.

The word अपवर्ग means 'completing or finishing'. Thus तिर्यक् कृञ्, तिर्यक् कृञ्वा or तिर्यक्कारं गतः = समाप्य गतः 'having completed, he went away'.

Why do we say 'when meaning completion'? Observe तिर्यक् कृञ्वा काष्ठं गतः 'having placed the wood *obliquely*, he went away'. Here एणुल् is not employed. See II. 2. 22 for compounding. The word तिर्यचि is the locative of the *word-form* तिर्यच्, and not of the *word* तिर्यच् । Other examples are: एतदोग् (V. 3. 5); भवसो मात् (I. 1. 12).

स्वाङ्गे तस्प्रत्यये कृभ्योः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गे, तस्-प्रत्यये,
कृ-भ्योः, (क्त्वा-खमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्प्रत्यये स्वाङ्गवाचिनि उपपदे करोतेर्भवत्तेषु धातोः क्त्वाएणुलौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

61. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' are added to the roots 'kri' (to make) and 'bhū' (to become), in composition with a word denoting a member of one's own body; when the affix 'tas' is joined thereto.

The word स्वाङ्ग has already been defined in sūtra III. 4. 54. The *svāṅga* word in the present case must be such as should end in the affix तस्— a *taddhita* affix technically called तस्ति and तस्तिन् (V. 3. 78 &c). Though here there are two roots कृ and भू, and there are two affixes to be applied *i. e.* क्त्वा and एणुल्; yet the rule of 'respective allocation' (I. 3. 10) does not apply here. Both the affixes are applied to each of the roots. Thus मुखतः कृञ् गतः or मुखतः कृञ्वा गतः or मुखतः कारं गतः । Similarly घृष्टतः भूञ् तिष्ठति or घृष्टतः भूञ्वा तिष्ठति or घृष्टतः भावं तिष्ठति ।

Why do we say 'a word denoting a limb of one's own body'? Observe सर्वतः कृञ्वा गतः ।

Why do we say 'ending in the affix तस्'? Observe मुखीकृञ् गतः, मुखी-भूञ् गतः ।

Why do we use the word 'the affix'? If तस् is not an affix, but a verb, the rule will not apply. Thus मुखे तस्वति = मुखतः 'throws in the mouth'. With this मुखतः so formed, we cannot apply the rule. Thus मुखतः कृञ्वा गतः ।

नाधार्यप्रत्यये ऋयर्थे ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ना-धा-अर्थ-प्रत्यये,
चवी-अर्थे, (कृत्वोः, क्त्वा-खमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाधार्यप्रत्यये शब्दे ऋयर्थे उपपदे कृत्वोर्भात्वोः क्षणमुलौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

62. The affixes 'ktvá' and 'namul' are added to the roots 'kri' and 'bhû', when a word ending in the affix 'nâ' (V. 2. 27) or in an affix having the force of 'dhâ' (V. 3. 42), or having the sense of the affix 'chvi' (to make or to become something what it had not been before, V. 4. 50), is in composition.

Two words, नाना 'various' and विना 'without' are formed by the affix ना (V. 2. 27); affixes having the force of धा are धा, ध्यम्, धन् and दधा (V. 3. 42 to 46) which are added to numerals in the sense of 'part' or 'fold' &c. The force of *chvi* has already been explained.

Thus बनाना नाना कृत्वा गतः = नाना कृत्य गतः Similarly नाना कृत्वा or नानाकारं गतः । So also विना कृत्य, विना कृत्वा or विना कारं गतः । So also नाना or विना भूय—भूया or भावं गतः । With words formed by धा and cognate affixes, we have:—द्विधा or द्विधं कृत्य—कृत्वा—कारं—भूय—भूया or भावं गतः । But not so in हिक् कृत्वा, पृथक् कृत्वा ।

Why do we use the word 'affix (प्रत्यय)' in the sūtra? Without it, the sūtra would have run thus: नाधार्ये ऋयर्थे, and then any word, having the sense of ना, which has the force of 'except', 'various' or the sense of धा which means 'part or fold', when in composition with कृ or भू, would have taken the affix णमुल् and क्षण. But that is not so. Thus the words हिक् 'except' and पृथक् 'separately' have the sense of ना and धा respectively; as हिक् कृत्वा, or पृथक् कृत्वा ।

Why do we say 'when the upapada has the force of the affix *chvi*'? Observe नाना कृत्वा काष्ठानि गतः ।

The word अर्थे in नाधार्ये qualifies only the term धा, and not ना, for there are no other affix having the sense of ना, which is a single affix taught in V. 2. 27; while, as shown above, there are other affixes having the force of धा । The composition optionally takes place by II. 2. 22.

तूष्णीमि भुवः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तूष्णीमि, भुवः, (क्त्वा-खमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तूष्णींशब्द उपपदे नवतेर्भात्वोः क्षणमुलौ भवतः ॥

63. The affixes 'ktvá' and 'namul' are added to the root 'bhû', when the word 'tūshnim' (silently) is in composition.

Thus तूष्णींभूय, तूष्णीं भूया, or तूष्णींभावं 'having become silent'. The repetition of भू in this sūtra, shows that the anuvṛitti of कृ does not run into it and altogether ceases.

अन्वयानुलोम्ये ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्वयि, आनुलोम्ये, (भुवः,
करवा-समुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्वक्शब्दपपठे भवतेर्धातोरानुलोम्ये त्वाणमुजौ भवतः ॥

64. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' come after the root 'bhû', when the word 'anvak', in the sense of being favourably disposed, is in composition.

The word आनुलोम्य means 'agreeable, friendly or favourably disposed, or doing according to the wish of another'. Thus अन्वग्भूव—अन्वग्भूषवा or अन्वग्भाषमास्ते 'he is favourably disposed'.

Why do we say 'when meaning friendly'? Observe अन्वग्भूषवा तिष्ठति 'he remains behind'.

शकधृषञ्जागलाघटरभलभक्रमसहार्हारत्यर्थेषु तुमुन् ॥६५॥ पदानि ॥
शक-धृष-ञ्जा-गला-घट-रभ-लभ-क्रम-सह-अर्हा, अस्ति-अर्थेषु, तुमुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शकादिपपठेषु अस्त्यर्थेषु वा धातुनामात् तुमुन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

65. The affix 'tumun' is added to every verb, when another verb having the sense of 'śak' (to be able), 'dhrish' (to make bold), 'jñâ' (to know), 'glai' (to be wearied), 'ghat' (to strive), 'rabh' (to begin), 'labh' (to get), 'kram' (to set about), 'sah' (to bear), 'arh' (to be pleased or to condescend), and 'as' (to be), is in construction.

The use of the Infinitive in तुमुन् formed by this rule, differs from that given in sūtra III. 3. 10. In that sūtra the Infinitive had the force of 'purpose' and here there is no such force. Moreover in this case there is an *upapada* in construction, though that *upapada* is a verb; in rule III. 3. 10, there was no such *upapada*.

Thus शक्नोमि भोक्तुम् 'I am able to eat'. Similarly जानाति—ग्लायति—घटते—आरभते—लभते—क्रमते—सहते—अर्हति—अस्ति—भवति—or विद्यते भोक्तुम् 'he knows', he is wearied, he strives, he begins, he gets, he proceeds, he bears, he condescends or he is, to eat'.

This sūtra presents a knotty point. Bhattoji Dikshita says अर्थमहण-मस्तिनैव सम्प्रथ्यते अनन्तरत्वात् *i. e.* the sūtra gives roots from शक् to अर्ह and roots having the same sense as अस् 'to be'. But this is hardly consistent with the almost overwhelming evidence of usage. According to Dikshita's interpretation, पारय 'to be able' cannot be used with the Infinitive, but न पारयामि निरेद्वितुम् (S. 4), पारविष्यत्यनभवत्यभपरादधुम् (M. 3.) are instances from a standard author; similarly विद् 'to know' cannot be used with the Infinitive; but न च वेद सम्भग् ब्रह्मन् न सा (R. VI. 30) is as good an instance. We must, therefore, suppose

that the sūtra indicates the existence of an interpretation connecting अर्थ with all the preceding roots; otherwise we shall have to condemn as wrong, all such constructions as those given above. Taking this view I have interpreted the sūtra, connecting अर्थ with all the above roots.—*Apte's Composition.*

पर्याप्तिवचनेष्वलमर्थेषु ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्याप्ति-वचनेषु, अलम-
अर्थेषु, (तुमुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्याप्तिवचनेष्वलमर्थेषूपपदेषु धातोस्तुमुन् प्रस्यञो भवति ॥

66. The affix 'tumun' comes after a verb having in composition with it, 'alam' and its synonyms, when these words express 'to be capable of something'.

The word पर्याप्ति means 'capability, ability, fulness'. Thus लिखितमपि जलाटे प्रोज्झितुम् कः समर्थः (Hitopadesa) 'who is able to avoid that which is stamped on his forehead'. लोकान् भस्मं दग्धुम् हि तत्तपः (Kumāra II. 56) 'his penance is able to burn the worlds'. अस्ति मे विभवः सर्वे परिहातुं (Vikramorvasi 2) 'I have power to know every thing'. भोक्तुम् प्रवीणः कुशलः पदुर्वा 'skilful in eating'.

Another interpretation of the sūtra is "the affix *tumun* is added to a verb, when it has in composition with it, the word पर्याप्ति or अलम् or a *synonym* of *alam* having the sense of *paryāpti*. Thus पर्याप्तो भोक्तुम्, अलं भोक्तुम्, भोक्तुम् पारयति ।

Why do we say 'having the sense of capability'? Observe अलमकृत्वा ।

Why do we say 'having the meaning of अलम्'? Observe पर्याप्तुम् भुङ्क्ते । The word शक् in the preceding sūtra has not the sense of अलम् in that aphorism. With the sense of अलम्, the present sūtra will apply: as शक्यमेवं कर्तुम् ।

कर्तरि कृत् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, कृत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्संज्ञकाः प्रथयाः कर्तरि कारके भवन्ति ॥

67. The affixes called 'krit' are used in the sense of an agent.

The words formed by *krit* affixes have the sense of agency; when no other special sense has been assigned to them by any rule, then this rule will apply, and fix the force of the affix. This rule will not, therefore, apply to *krit* affixes like ख्युन् (III. 2. 5 and 6) to which a special sense has been assigned, but affixes like ष्युञ्ज् and ष्च् &c. (III. I. 133). Thus कारकः means a 'doer'; कर्त्ता 'an agent'; नन्नः 'one who causes happiness'; गृही 'who seizes'; पचः 'who cooks'.

भव्यगेयप्रवचनीयोपस्थानीयजन्याप्लाव्यापात्या वा ॥ ६८ ॥ पठ ॥

भव्य-गेय-प्रवचनीय-उपस्थानीय-जन्य-आप्लाव्य-आपात्याः, वा, (कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भव्यादयः षष्ठाः कर्तरि वा निपात्यन्ते ॥

68. The words 'bhavya', 'geya', 'pravachaniya',

'upasthāniya', 'janya', 'āplāvya' and 'āpātya' may optionally be used to denote the agent.

These words are formed by *kṛitya* affixes and therefore by rule III. 4. 70, they would generally denote an action in the abstract, and the object, but not the agent. The present sūtra, however, makes them denote optionally the agent also. In the alternative they denote the action-name and the object also. Thus भूय may mean 'existed', 'existence', or 'one who exists'; गेय means 'a singer', 'a song', or 'singing'; प्रवचनीय means 'one who explains', 'what ought to be explained', or 'an explanation'; उपस्थानीय means 'who waits upon', 'what ought to be waited upon or served', or 'waiting upon or attendance'; जन्म = जावतेऽसौ or जन्मनेन means 'one who gives birth i. e. a father', 'birth' or 'what is born'; भास्नाय = भास्वतेऽसौ or भास्नायनेन means 'who immerses', one 'immersing', or 'what ought to be immersed'; आपात्य = आपतयसौ or आपात्यनेन means 'what falls upon', 'falling upon', or 'what ought to fall upon'. Thus गेयो माणवकः सासां 'the boy is the singer of the Sāma'; or गेयानि माणवकेन सामानि 'the boy ought to sing the Sāma'; प्रवचनीयो गुरुः स्वाध्यायस्व 'the guru is the expounder of the lesson'; प्रवचनीयो गुरुणा स्वाध्यायः 'the lesson ought to be explained by the teacher'; उपस्थानीयोऽन्तेवासी गुरोः 'the pupil is the servant of the teacher'; उपस्थानीयः शिष्येण गुरुः 'the teacher ought to be served by the pupil'.

लः कर्मणि च भावे चाकर्मकेभ्यः ॥६९॥ पदानि ॥ लः, कर्मणि, च, भावे, च, अकर्मकेभ्यः, (कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लकाराः कर्मणिकारके भवन्ति, चकारात् कर्तरि च, अकर्मकेभ्यो धातुभ्यो भावे भवन्ति, पुनश्चकारात् कर्तरि च ॥

69. The tense-affixes called 'la' are used in denoting the object and the agent; and after intransitive verbs, they denote the action as well as the agent.

The term ल् means the ten affixes known as लद्, लिद्, &c; ल् is the common element of them all; and these affixes, when stripped of all indicatory letters, leave behind only the letter ल् which is thus common name for them all. The लः in the sūtra, is the nominative plural of ल्। By the word च in the sūtra, we draw in the word कर्ता or 'agent' from the last sūtra into this. The force of these tense-affixes, when placed after transitive verbs is to denote the object and the agent; and when placed after intransitive verbs, is to denote either 'action' (भाव) or it may denote the 'agent'.

The verb itself denotes the action; to be or to do, generally; or to be or to do, in a particular manner. In the active voice the affix marks the agent; in the passive voice of a transitive verb, it marks the object; but in the passive form of an intransitive verb, the action itself. Thus गन्वते ग्रामो देवदत्तेन 'the village is gone to by Devadatta'; here ते of गन्वते denotes the object

and is in passive construction. गच्छति ग्रामं देवदत्तः 'Devadatta goes to the village'; here the affix ति of गच्छति denotes the agent, and the sentence is in active construction. The verb गच् being a transitive verb, can take both the active and passive constructions or, to use the Sanskrit technical phraseology, the tense-affixes, after transitive verbs, denote the agent and the object. They can never denote भाव or action after transitive verbs, that is, transitive verbs cannot be used impersonally. Let us now give examples of Intransitive verbs; आस्यते देवदत्तेन 'it is seated by Devadatta'; the verb आस्यते here denotes merely भाव or 'action'. In other words, we may call this an impersonal construction. आस्ते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sits'; here the verb आस्ते denotes the agent or is in the active voice.

Professor Bohtlingk translates the sūtra thus:—"A finite verb expresses the agent as well as the object; but the Intransitive verbs denote, in addition to that, the Impersonal idea of the action". The word भाव means action considered in the abstract.

तयोरेव कृत्यकखलर्याः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ तयोः, एव, कृत्य-क-
खलर्याः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तयोरेव भावकर्मणोः कृत्यसंज्ञकाः कखलर्याश्च प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

70. The affixes called 'kritya' and the affix 'kta' and those that have the sense of 'khal', have only these last two senses, namely, an action and an object. (bhāva and karma).

The word तयोः 'of those two' refers to भाव 'an Impersonal act', and कर्म, 'object'. The word एव 'only' is used in the sūtra to exclude the word 'agent' from it. Thus कर्तव्यः कटो भवता 'the mat must be made by you'; भोक्तव्यः ओदनो भवता 'the rice must be eaten by you'. Here the affix तव्य has the force of denoting the object; we may, therefore, call it the Potential Passive Participle affix. So also आशितव्यं भवता 'thou must eat'; शयितव्यं भवता 'thou must lie down'. Here the sense of the affix तव्य being that of the action itself, which being Impersonal, is in the singular number, as it is one only, and neither male nor female, there is, from the nature of the case, a singular affix, and the neuter gender is employed.

Similarly the affix क्त denotes both the object and the action; कृतः कटो भवता 'the mat is made by you'; भुक्त ओदनो भवता 'the rice is eaten by you'. Here क्त is used with the force of denoting the object and may be called the past passive participle.

Similarly स may be used in denoting the mere act; आसितं भवता 'you sat'; शयितं भवता 'you lay down'.

Similarly the affixes having the sense of खल (III. 3. 126) denote both

the object and the Impersonal act. In the following examples the affixes denote the object; ईषकरः कटी भवता 'this mat is made, by little at a time, by you'; सुकरः 'what is made with ease'; दुष्करः 'what is made with difficulty'. In the following examples the affixes denote the act; ईषदाढ्यभवं भवता and स्वाढ्यभवं भवता ।

After transitive verbs, the *kritya*, the *kta* and the *khalārtha* affixes only denote the object, but never denote the भाव or 'an Impersonal action'.

आदिकर्मणि क्तः कर्तरि च ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-कर्मणि, क्तः, कर्तरि, च, (भावे, कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिकर्मणि यः क्तो विहितः स कर्तरि भवति; चकारात् यथाप्राप्तं भावकर्मणोः ॥

71. The affix 'kta' also denotes the agent, when it expresses a beginning of an action.

The word आदिकर्मणि means 'the beginning of an action' or when the action signified by the roots, is intended to be expressed merely as having been simply begun. The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that even when the beginning of an action is intended to be expressed, the क्त may be used to denote the act and the object as well. Thus प्रकृतः कटं देवदत्तः here the agent is denoted. प्रकृतः कटी देवदत्तेन; here the object is denoted. प्रकृतम् देवदत्तेन; here mere action is denoted. Similarly प्रभुक्तं भोदनं देवदत्तः (agent); प्रभुक्तं भोदनो देवदत्तेन (object); प्रभुक्तं देवदत्तेन (act).

गत्यर्थाकर्मकश्लिषशीङ्स्थासवसजनरुहजीर्यतिभ्यश्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्यर्थ-अकर्मक-श्लिष-शीङ्-स्था-आस-वस-जन-रुह-जीर्यतिभ्यः, च, (क्तः, कर्तरि, भावे, कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थेभ्यो धातुभ्योऽकर्मकेभ्यः श्लिषादिभ्यश्च यः क्तः स कर्तरि भवति, चकाराद्यथाप्राप्तं च भावकर्मणोः ॥

72. The affix 'kta' is employed in denoting the agent as well as the act and the object, after verbs implying motion, after intransitive roots, and after the verbs 'ślish' (to embrace), 'śi' (to lie down), 'sthā' (to stand), 'ās' (to sit), 'vas' (to dwell), 'jan' (to produce), 'ruh' (to mount) and 'jri' (to grow old).

The phrase 'the act and the object' has been added into the sūtra by virtue of the word च. Thus गतो देवदत्तो ग्रामम् 'Devadatta is gone to the village' (agent); देवदत्तेन ग्रामः गतः 'the village was gone to by Devadatta (object); गतं देवदत्तेन 'Devadatta went' (act). The past participle forms from Intransitive verbs, denote the agent and the act only ; or in other words, they are used impersonally and in the Active voice, but never in the Passive voice or denoting the object. Thus ग्लानो भवान् 'you were wearied' (agent), ग्लानं भवता (object); आसितो

भवान् 'you sat' (agent), भासितं भवता (object); उपमिष्टो गुरुम् भवान् 'you embraced the teacher' (agent), उपमिष्टो गुरुः भवता 'the guru was embraced by you' (object), उपमिष्टम् भवता 'you embraced' (act); उपशयितो गुरुम् भवान् 'you lay near the guru' (agent), उपशयितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपशयितं भवता (act); उपस्थितो गुरुम् भवान् (agent), उपस्थितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपस्थितं भवता (act); उपासितो गुरुम् भवान् (agent), उपासितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपासितं भवता (act); अनुषितो गुरुम् भवान् (agent), अनुषितो गुरुः भवता (object), अनुषितं भवता (act); अनुजातो माणवको माणविकाम् (agent), अनुजाता माणवकेन माणविका (object), अनुजातं माणवकेन (act); आरूढो वृक्षं भवान् (agent), आरूढो वृक्षो भवता (object), आरूढं भवता (act); अनुजीर्णो वृषलो देवदत्तः (agent), अनुजीर्णो वृषलो देवदत्तेन (object), अनुजीर्णो देवदत्तेन (act). The verbs शिल्प् &c, become transitive with certain prepositions or *upasargas*, hence they have been mentioned here. Otherwise there was no necessity of mentioning them separately; as they, being intransitive verbs, when without prepositions, would be included in the word *akarmaka* of the sūtra.

दाशगोप्त्री संप्रदाने ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाश-गोप्त्री, संप्रदाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाशगोप्त्री शब्दो संप्रदाने कारके निपारयेते ॥

73. The words 'dāśa' and 'goghna' are irregularly formed, and the affix in these denotes the idea of the Dative or Recipient.

The word दाश comes from the root दाश् 'to give' by adding the affix भञ् under rule III. 1. 134. This being a कृदन्त word would have otherwise denoted the agent by rule III. 4. 67 of this chapter. The present sūtra makes it denote the recipient or have the force of the dative case. Thus दाश means 'to whom something is given i. e. a servant'. Similarly goghna does not mean 'the killer of cow' but 'he on whose coming the cow is killed in order to give him, that is to say, a guest'. It is this irregularly-formed word goghna which is made applicable to the priests, guests, sons-in-law &c, and not the regularly-formed word goghna which means 'a killer of cow' or a 'Chandāl'. Thus दाशः = दाशन्ति तस्मै; गोप्त्रः = तस्मै दातुं गां प्रन्ति ॥

भीमादयोऽपादाने ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भीम-आदयः, अपादाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भीमादयः शब्दा अपादाने निपारयन्ते ॥

74. The words 'bhīma' &c. are irregularly formed and denote ablation.

These words are formed by *Unddi* affixes. Thus भी + मक् = भीम (Un. I. 145, 148); भी + षुक् + मक् = भीष्म (Un. I. 148) &c. By the next sūtra, *Unddi* words do not denote ordinarily the recipient and the ablation.

The present sūtra makes them do so in the case of भीमादि words. The following is a list of Bhimādi words :—गीमः, भीष्मः, भयानकः (Un. III. 82), वरुः, चरुः,

(Un. I. 7), भूमिः (Un. IV. 45), रजः (Un. IV. 217), संस्कारः, संकल्पनः, प्रपतनः, समुद्रः, सुचः, or सुवः (Un. II. 61), सुक् (Un. II. 62) खलतिः ।

ताभ्यामन्यत्रोक्तादयः ॥१५॥ पदानि ॥ ताभ्यां, अन्यत्र, उखादयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उखादयः शब्दास्ताभ्यामपादानसंप्रदानाभ्यामन्यत्र कारके भवन्ति ॥

75. The words formed by 'Unādi' affixes denote other ideas than these two, i. e., recipient and ablation.

The *Unādi* affixes being a subdivision of *krit* affixes, would have, by rule III. 4. 67, denoted the agent. By the present sūtra they are made to denote the object, the instrument and the location also. The word ताभ्यां has been used in the sūtra in order to include the word *sampradāna* also. For, had the sūtra been अन्यत्रोक्तादयः, only the *Apādāna kāraka* would have been excluded, as being the nearest; but not so the *Sampradāna kāraka*. Thus कृषितोऽसौ = कृषिः (Un. IV. 120) 'agriculture i. e. what is ploughed' (object); तन्वत इति = तन्तुः (Un. I. 69) 'a thread i. e. what is drawn out'; वृत्तमिति वर्त्म (Un. IV. 145) 'a way i. e. what is established'; चरितं = चर्म (Un. IV. 145) 'skin' (in which they live).

क्तोऽधिकरणे च ध्रौव्यगतिप्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥

क्तः, अधिकरणे, च, ध्रौव्य-गति-प्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः, (क्तः, भावे, कर्मणि, कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ध्रौव्यगतिप्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यो यः क्तो विहितः सोऽधिकरणे भवति चकाराद्यप्राप्तं च ध्रौव्यार्थेभ्यः कर्तृभावाधिकरणेषु गत्यर्थेभ्यः कर्तृकर्मभावाधिकरणेषु, प्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः कर्मभावाधिकरणेषु ।

76. The affix 'kta' which is ordained after roots denoting fixedness (to cling to a place), motion and taking, gives the sense of location as well.

The verbs denoting ध्रौव्य or 'persisting in a place' are Intransitive verbs. The word *pratyavasāna* means 'eating' also; the force of च in the sūtra is that the affix *kta* expresses other relations also. Thus after verbs denoting 'fixedness' or *dhrauvyārtha* it denotes the agent, the act and the location; after verbs denoting 'motion' it gives the sense of agent, object, act and location; after verbs denoting 'taking or eating', it has the sense of object, act and location. Thus आसितो देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sat'; आसितं तेन 'sitting by him (act); इदमेषामासितम् 'this was their seat' (location); यातो देवदत्तो ग्रामम् 'Devadatta went to the village' (active); यातो देवदत्तेन ग्रामः (passive); यातं देवदत्तेन (abstract); इदमेषां यातम् 'this is their place of going' (location); भुक्त ओदनो देवदत्तेन (passive); भुक्त ओदनं देवदत्तः (active); देवदत्तेन भुक्तम् (abstract); इदमेषां भुक्तम् (location); कथं भुक्तं ब्राह्मणाः । पीता गावः । The भा in भुक्ता and पीता has the force of मत्तुप् (IV. 2. 85). भुक्तमेषामस्ति or पीतमेषामस्ति ।

लस्य ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ लस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लस्येदवचमधिकारः, बहिव कर्षमनुकर्मिण्यामो लस्येत्त्वेनं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

77. In the place of 'la' will be substituted the affix which we shall announce hereafter.

This sūtra consists of one word लृत्व meaning 'of लृ'. It is an *adhikāra* sūtra. The word लृत्व is the genitive singular of लृ, the अ in लृ being for the sake of pronunciation. The लृ means the ten affixes: लृद् present, लिद् perfect, लृद् first future, लृद् second future, लृद् imperative लृद् Vedic subjunctive, लृद् imperfect, लिद् potential and benedictive, लृद् aorist, लृद् conditional. Six of these tenses have indicatory इ, and four have indicatory क् ।

Professor Bohtlingk translates this sūtra thus:—In the following sūtras, the word लृत्व should be supplied to complete the sense, i. e. the phrase 'in the place of all those endings which are known as the Personal endings of various tenses and moods, and are known in their totality as लृ' ।

तिप्तस्फिसिप्थस्थमिथ्वसस्तातान्भवासाथान्ध्वमिड्वहिनहिङ्
॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिप्-तस्-फि-सिप्-थस्-थ-मिप्-वस्-मस्-त-आतान्-भ-
यास्-आथान्-ध्वन्-इट्-वहि-नहिङ्, (लस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लृत्व तिवापव भादेशा भवन्ति ॥

78. The following are the substitutes of 'la':—
'tip', 'tas', 'jhi'; 'sip', 'thas', 'tha'; 'mip', 'vas', 'mas'; 'ta',
'ātām' 'jha'; 'thās', 'āthām', 'dhvam'; 'iṭ', 'vahi', mahiṅ.

These are the well-known Conjugational-affixes, called also Personal endings, and are ordained generally after all the ten tenses. But as a matter of fact, they undergo various additions and alterations in the different tenses. Some of these changes have already been mentioned before; see sūtra II 4. 85, III. I. 33, &c. Others will be mentioned hereafter. It is only in the present tense or लृद् that the affixes as above given, may be applied to the root, in some cases, without any alteration.

The व in तिप्, सिप् and मिप् is for the sake of accent (III.1. 4); the इ in इट् for distinguishing it in the sūtra इटोऽत् (III. 4. 106); and the ङ in नहिङ् for forming the *Pratydhāra* तिङ् which is the general name of the above 18 conjugational or personal affixes. Stripped off their indicatory letters, the following table shows the conjugational affixes as added under various tenses :—

PRESENT TENSE.—लृद् ।

	Parasmaipada.			Atmanepada.		
	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st. pers.	मि	वस्	मस्	ए	वहे	महे
2nd. "	सि	थस्	थ	से	भाथे	मथे
3rd. "	ति	तस्	भन्ति	ते	भाते	भन्ते

IMPERFECT OR FIRST PRETERITE.—लृट् ।

Parasmaipada.			Atmanepada.			
	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st. pers.	भम्	व	म	इ	वहि	महि
2nd. "	स्	तम्	त	थास्	आयाम्	ध्वम्
3rd. "	त्	ताम्	भन्	थ	आताम्	भन्त

POTENTIAL OR OPTATIVE.—विधिलिङ् ।

1st. pers.	वाम्	वाव	वाम	ईव	ईवहि	ईमहि
2nd. "	वास्	वातम्	वात	ईयास्	ईवायाम्	ईध्वम्
3rd. "	वात्	वाताम्	वुस्	ईत	ईवाताम्	ईरन्

IMPERATIVE.—लोट् ।

1st. pers.	भानि	भाव	भाम	हे	भावहे	भामहे
2nd. "	हि	तम्	त	व	आयाम्	ध्वम्
3rd. "	तु	ताम्	भन्तु	ताम्	आताम्	भन्ताम्

PERFECT OR SECOND PRETERITE.—लिट् ।

1st. pers.	भ	व	म	ए	वहे	महे
2nd. "	थ	भथुस्	भ	से	आथे	ध्वे
3rd. "	भ	भथुस्	उस्	ए	आथे	इरे

FIRST FUTURE OR DEFINITE FUTURE.—लृट् ।

1st. pers.	सासि	सास्वस्	सासस्	साहे	सास्वहे	सासहे
2nd. "	सासि	सास्यस्	सास्य	सासे	सासाथे	साध्वे
3rd. "	सा	सारौ	सारस्	सा	सारौ	सारस्

SECOND FUTURE OR INDEFINITE FUTURE.—लृट् ।

1st. pers.	स्वामि	स्वावस्	स्वामस्	स्वै	स्वावहे	स्वामहे
2nd. "	स्वसि	स्वथस्	स्वथ	स्वसे	स्वथे	स्वध्वे
3rd. "	स्वसि	स्वतस्	स्वन्ति	स्वते	स्वते	स्वन्ते

AORIST OR THIRD PRETERITE.—लृट् ।

1st. pers.	सम्	स्व	स्त	सि	स्वहि	साहि
2nd. "	सीस्	स्तम्	स्त	स्थास्	सायाम्	ध्वम्
3rd. "	सीस्	स्ताम्	सुस्	स्त	साताम्	सथ

PRECATIVE OR BENEDICTIVE.—आशीर्लिङ् ।

1st. pers.	वासम्	वास्व	वास्त	सीव	सीवहि	सीमहि
2nd. "	वास्	वास्तम्	वास्त	सीष्यस्	सीवास्याम्	सीध्वम्
3rd. "	वात्	वास्ताम्	वासुस्	सीष्य	सीवास्ताम्	सीरन्

CONDITIONAL.—लृट् ।

1st. pers.	स्वम्	स्वाव	स्वाम	स्वै	स्वावहि	स्वामहि
2nd. "	स्वस्	स्वतम्	स्वत	स्वथास्	स्वथाम्	स्वध्वम्
3rd. "	स्वत्	स्वताम्	स्वन्	स्वथ	स्वथाम्	स्वन्त

दित् आत्मनेपदानां टेरे ॥७९॥ पदानि ॥ दित्, आत्मनेपदानान्, टेः, ए, (लस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दितो जकारस्य स्थाने आत्मात्मनेपदानि तेषां टेरेकारादेशो भवति ॥

79. The substitute 'e' replaces the last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, of the 'Atmanepada' substitutes of that 'la' which has an indicative 'ṭ'.

The ज् or the tense-affixes that have an indicative द् are six:—जद्, लिद्, जुद्, लृद्, लोद्, लोद्. In these tenses the final portion called दित् of the Atmanepada affixes is changed into ए. Thus त् becomes ते, आतान् becomes आते, झ becomes ह्ने &c, as shown in the foregoing table.

The affixes ज्ञानच्, and कानच् are also Atmanepada affixes. Why are not their finals changed into ए as in पचमानः, बजमानः? Because the word आत्मनेपदानां in the sūtra refers by context to the Atmanepada affixes included in the Pratyāhāra लिङ् ।

यासस्वे ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ यासः, से, (लस्य, दितः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दितो जकारस्य वस्थास्तस्य सेराच्च आदेशो भवति ॥

80. The word 'se' is the substitute of 'thās' in those tenses that have an indicative 'ṭ'.

In the six tenses already mentioned in the last sūtra, the Atmanepada यास् is replaced by से, as we have already shown in the preceding table. Thus पचसे, वेचिसे, पक्तासे, पद्वसे ।

लिटस्तभ्योरेशिरेच् ॥ ८१ ॥ प० ॥ लिटः, त-भ्योः, एच्, इरेच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशोस्तभ्योर्च्योर्थासंख्यनेच्इरेच् इत्येतावादेशो भवतः ॥

81. The words 'es' and 'irech' are the substitutes of 'ta' and 'jha' respectively in the Perfect tense.

The ज् of एच् indicates that it replaces the whole of the affix त् (I. 1. 55). The च् of इरेच् is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 165). Thus वेचे, वेचते वेचिरे । See the foregoing table of tenses for the Atmanepada.

परस्मैपदानां खलतुसुस्थलयुसखल्वनाः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परस्मैपदानां, खल्-अतुस्-सस्-थल्-अयुस्-अ-खल्-व-नाः, (लिटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशानां परस्मैपदसंज्ञकानां यथासंख्यं तिवादीनां एतादृशो नवादेशो भवन्ति ॥

82. In the room of the Parasmaipada affixes, the following are substituted in the Perfect tense :

Sing.	nal (अ)	thal (य)	nal (अ)
Dual	atus (अतुः)	athus (अयुः)	va (व)
Plural.	us (उः)	a (अ)	ma (म)

The indicatory **ञ्** in **णञ्** and **थञ्** is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 193). The indicatory **ष्** is for the sake of causing वृद्धि (VII. 2. 25). Thus **पपाच**, **पेचतुः**, **पेषुः**, **पेषिथ** or **पपक्थ**, **पेचथुः**, **पेच**, **पपाच** or **पपच**, **पेषिच** **पेषिम** ।

विदो लटो वा ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदः, लटः, वा, (परस्मैपदानां, क्तलतुसुस्थलयुसखल्वमाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद ज्ञाने, अस्माद्भानोः परेषां जडादेशानां परस्मैपदानां एजादयो नव विकल्पे-
नादेशा भवन्ति ॥

83. The above nine affixes of the Perfect tense are optionally added in the Present tense also after the verb 'vid'.

Thus:—

Singular.	वेद् or वेत्ति.	वेत्थ or वेत्सि	वेद् or वेमि
Dual.	विदतुः or वित्तः	विदथुः or वित्थः	विद्व or विद्वः
Plural.	विदुः or विदन्ति	विद or वित्थ	विम or विमः

ब्रुवः पञ्चानामादित आहो ब्रुवः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रुवः, पञ्चानाम्, आदितः, आहः, ब्रुवः, (परस्मैपदानां, क्तलतुसुस्थल०, लटः, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रुवः परस्व जटः परस्मैपदानां पञ्चानामादिभूतानां पञ्चैव एजादय आदेशा भवन्ति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च ब्रुव आहशब्द आदेशो भवति ॥

84. Instead of the first five tense-affixes, in the Present tense coming after the verb 'brū' (to speak), there may optionally be the affixes of the Perfect; 'āha' being, at the same time, the substitute in the room of 'brū'.

Thus **आह** 'he says'; **आहतुः** 'they two say'; **आहुः** 'they say'; **आत्थ** 'thou sayst'; **आहथुः** 'you two say'; the rest like **ब्रू** as shown below:—

Singular.	आह or ब्रवीति	आत्थ or ब्रवीषि	ब्रवीमि
Dual.	आहतुः or ब्रूतः	आहथुः or ब्रूथः	ब्रूवः
Plural.	आहुः or ब्रुवन्ति	ब्रूथ	ब्रूमः

The word **आदितः** 'first' is used in the sūtra to indicate that the substitution should not take place in the case of the last four affixes. The repetition of the word **ब्रूवः** in the sūtra indicates the original expression which is to be replaced; and shows that this change occurs in the Parasmaipada affixes only.

लोटो लङ्वात् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोटः, लङ्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोटो लङ्वात्कार्यं भवति ॥

85. The personal endings of the Imperative are as those of the Imperfect.

This is an **अतिदेश** sūtra; as in the **लङ्** there are the affixes **ताम्, तम्, त, व** and **म**, so also in the **लोट**. Thus **पचताम्, पचतम्, पचत, पचाच, पचाम** ।

Q —If लोट् is like लङ्, why have we not the augment अट्, आट्, or the substitution of जुत् for झि (see III. 4. 111) in the case of लोट् also ?

A.—The वा of sūtra III. 4. 83 is understood in this sūtra also, so that the analogy between लोट् and लङ् is a limited analogy and does not make all the rules which are applicable to लङ्, equally applicable to लोट् also.

एकः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, उः, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोटादेशानामिकारस्य उकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्विचोदस्वप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

86. In the Imperative, 'u' is substituted for 'i'.

Thus ति becomes तु, भन्ति becomes भन्तु, as have already been given in the above table.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of affixes हि and नि of लोट् । In the case of these two affixes, the इ is not changed into उ, either because they have been so taught in the sūtras, or because the वा of sūtra III. 4. 83 is understood here also and makes this rule an optional rule of limited scope as in the last sūtra (इयवस्थित विभाषा). Thus पचतु, पचन्तु ।

In fact, this sūtra is confined to ति and झि only, and does not apply to सि to which the next sūtra applies.

सेर्ह्यपिच्च ॥ ८७ ॥ सेः, हि, अपित्, च, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोटादेशस्य सेर्हि इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

87. In the Imperative, 'hi' is substituted for 'si', and this has not the indicatory 'p' of 'sip', i. e., it is acutely accented.

The substitute being like the original expression (I. 1. 56), हि substituted for सिप्, would have been a पित् affix, but for this sūtra, which clearly states in its latter portion that this हि is not to be regarded as having an indicatory प् ।

Thus जुनीहि, पुनीहि, राधुहि, कण्णुहि ; and as this affix is अपित्, rule I. 2. 4 makes it द्वित् also, and thereby no guṇa takes place.

वा छन्दसि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, छन्दसि, (सेर्ह्यपित्, लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदेशश्छन्दसि विषये द्विशब्दो वाऽपि भवति ॥

88. In the Vedas, the substitute 'hi' is optionally treated as not having an indicatory 'p'.

The result is that in the Chhandas the second person singular of लोट्, has two forms as मीणहि or मीणीहि; बुधुधि or बुयोधि, धि being substituted for हि in the Vedas, by rule (VI. 4. 103) as in the following verse:

अम् नर्य सुपर्यरायेऽभ्स्मान्विधानिरेव बुयूनीनिविहान् ।

बु बोध्वस्मङ्गुदुराणमेनोभूर्धिष्ठान्ते नमऽत्तन्निवधेम ॥

— Rig 1. 189. 1 : Yajur Veda. 40. 16.

नेर्निः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नेः, निः, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोकार्देशस्य नेर्निर्देशो भवति ॥

89. In the Imperative, 'ni' is substituted for the affix 'mi'.

This supersedes the rule relating to the change of इ into ञ, and the rule of *lopa*; see the table; thus पचानि, पठानि ।

आमेतः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आम्, एतः, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट्-सम्बन्धिन एकारस्य आमित्यन्तर्भावो भवति ॥

90. In the Imperative 'âm' is substituted for what would have substituted otherwise 'e' by III. 4. 79.

This relates to the Atmanepada affix ए. In the Atmanepada, आम् is substituted for ए in the Imperative; see the table; पचताम्, पचेताम्, पचन्ताम् ।

सवास्यां वामी ॥ ८९ ॥ प० ॥ स-वास्यां, व-अमी, (लोटः, एतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारवकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य लोट्-सम्बन्धिन एकारस्य यथासंख्यं व अम् इत्येतावर्षो भवतः ॥

91. For such an 'e' coming after 's', is substituted 'v', and for that coming after 'v', is substituted 'am', in the Imperative.

This supersedes the आम् substitution of the last sūtra. Thus, for से we have सव, and for शे we have शवम्; see the table; thus पचस्व, पचध्वम् ।

आहुत्तमस्य पिञ्च ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ आट्, उत्तमस्य, पित्, च, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट्-सम्बन्धिन उत्तमपुरुषत्वादागमो भवति स चोत्तमपुरुषः पिञ्चति ॥

92. In the Imperative 'âṭ' is the augment of the affixes of the first person and the termination is as if it had an indicatory 'p'.

This is clear. Thus in the Parasmaipada, we have आनि, आव, आम । Thus करवाणि, करवाव, करवाम; करवे, करवावहे, करवामहे ।

एत ये ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतः, ये, (लोटः, उत्तमस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट्-सम्बन्धिन एकारस्य ऐकारदेशो भवति ॥

93. The 'ai' is substituted for 'e' forming part of the affixes of the first person of the Imperative.

This relates to the Atmanepada affix. Thus करवे, करवावहे, करवामहे ।

But the ए resulting from sandhi, is not to be changed into ऐ । Thus पचाव + इवम् = पचावेवम्, पचाम + इवम् = पचामेवम् । Here, no doubt, the ए belongs to the Imperative by VI. 1. 85, being the substitute of अ of न and व. But this is not to be changed into ऐ on the maxim that this ए is the result of a ऋद्विङ्ग rule, for

the rule of sandhi (VI. I. 87), is a बहिरङ्ग rule, while the present sūtra is an अन्तरङ्ग rule; because of the following Paribhāṣā, असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे 'that which is Bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect, when an Antaranga rule is to be applied.

लेटो ऽडाटो ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लेटः, अट्-आटो ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जेटोऽडाटावागमो भवतः पर्यायेण ॥

94. The augments 'aṭ' and 'āṭ' are added to the personal endings of the Vedic Subjunctive.

The augments अट् and आट् are not to be added at once, but by turns. Thus जुष् + सिप् + अट् + त् = जोषिषत्; तारिषत्, मन्विषत्; similarly पत् + आट् + ति = पताति; च्वाववाति । See III. I. 34 for the addition of सिप् in the above.

आत ऐ ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, ऐ, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जेट् सम्बन्धिन आकारस्य ऐकारादेशो भवति ॥

95. In the Subjunctive, 'ai' is the substitute of 'āi' in the first and second person dual of the Atmanepada.

Thus मन्मवेते, मन्मवेये, करवेते, करवेये । Why is not the augment आट् changed into ऐ? Because otherwise the rule enjoining आट् would be superfluous.

वैतोऽन्यत्र ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, ऐतः, अन्यत्र, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जेट् सम्बन्धिन एकारस्य वा ऐकारादेशो भवति अन्वनेत्वनन्तरो विधिरपीक्यते । आत ऐ इत्येतद्विषयं वर्जयित्वा एत ऐ भवति ॥

96. In the Subjunctive, 'ai' is optionally the substitute of 'e', in other places than those mentioned in the last sūtra.

Thus चवे, ईशे, &c, in the following examples:—सद्याहानि शवे, अहनेव पशुनामीशे, मद्या एव वो महा गुह्यान्ते, महैवस्वान्तेव वः पात्राण्युच्यन्ते । And in the alternative we have simply ए, as यत्र क च ते मनो वृक्षम् इधसउत्तरम् ।

Why do we say 'in other places than those governed by the last sūtra'? Observe मन्मवेते, मन्मवेये ।

इतश्च लोपः परस्मीपदेषु ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, च, लोपः, परस्मी-पदेषु, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जेट् सम्बन्धिन इकारस्य परस्मीपदेषु लोपो भवति वानुवृत्तेः पक्षे श्रवणमपि भवति ॥

97. In the Parasmaipada affixes the 'i' is optionally elided in the Subjunctive.

The वा of the last sūtra is understood here also. Thus जोषिषत् (Rig. II. 35. 1). तारिषत् (Rig. I. 25. 12). मन्विषत् । In the alternative, it is not elided as पताति विद्युत् (Rig. VII. 25. 1). उरधि च्वाववाति । The इ of इट्, बहि and महि of the Atmanepada are not elided.

स उत्तमस्य ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, उत्तमस्य, (लेटः, वा, लोपः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जेट्-सम्बन्धिन उत्तमपुरुषस्य सकारस्य वा लोपो भवति ॥

98. The 's' of the first person is optionally elided in the Subjunctive.

As करवाच or करवाच, करवाम or करवामः । The first person is used in the sūtra to indicate that the स् is not elided in any other person.

नित्यं ङितः ॥ ९९ ॥ पठ ॥ नित्यं, ङितः, (लस्य, उत्तमस्य, सः, लोपः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङितो जकारस्य च उत्तमस्तस्य नित्यं सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

99. There is always elision of the 's' of the first person of the affixes that come in the room of that 'la' which has an indicatory 'ñ'.

The tense-affixes having indicatory ह् are four, namely, लङ्, लिङ्, लृङ् and जृङ् । In their case, the elision of स् is not optional as was the case in the last sūtra, but compulsory. See the table already given. In other words, in the Imperfect, Potential, Aorist and Conditional, the स् is elided in the 1st person. Thus अपचाव, अपचाम । The word नित्यं 'always' is used in order to stop the anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally'.

इतश्च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, च, (ङितः, नित्यं, लोपः, लस्य)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङित्कारसम्बन्धिन इकारस्य नित्यं लोपो भवति ॥

100. And there is elision of the 'i' of that Parasmaipada affix which is the substitute of a 'la' having an indicatory 'ñ'.

Thus, for सि we have च्, for सि we have च्, &c, as in the above table. The इ of Atmanepada is, however, not elided, because the anuvṛitti of Parasmaipada is understood here from sūtra III. 4. 97. Thus अपचत्, अपासीत्, but अपचावहि and अपचामहि ।

तस्यस्यनिपां ताप्तंतामः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्-यस्-च-निपान्, तां-तं-त-आम्, (ङितः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङित्कारसम्बन्धिनां चतुर्णां ययासंख्यं तामाद्य आवेशा भवन्ति ॥

101. The affixes 'tām', 'tam', 'ta' and 'ām' are the substitutes of the four affixes 'tas', 'thas', 'tha' and 'mip' respectively, of any 'la' which has an indicatory 'ñ'.

This we have shown in the above table. Thus अपचताम्, अपचतम्, अपचत्, अपचम्, अपाक्ताम्, अपाक्तम्, अपाक्त, अपाक्तम् ।

लिङ्गस्वीयुट् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्गः, स्वीयुट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ्गवैशानां स्वीयुटागमो भवति ॥

102. The personal endings of the Potential and the Benedictive take the augment 'siyuṭ'.

The इ् of सीयुट् is indicatory and shows that this augment is to be placed before the affixes (I. 1. 46). The ङ् is for the sake of pronunciation; this rule applies to the Atmanepada affixes. In the Potential, the इ् of this augment is elided by VII. 2. 79, and the ङ् also, before a personal-ending beginning with a consonant, is dropped according to VI. 1. 66. In this way, we have पचेत्, पचेत्ताम्, and by III. 4. 105, पचेरन् । In the Benedictive, the augment retains its full form, only so far as it is not governed by VI. 1. 66. Thus पक्षीट्, पक्षीयास्ताम् पक्षीरन् ।

यासुट् परस्मैपदेषुदात्तो ङिञ्च ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यासुट्, परस्मै-पदेषु, उदात्तः, ङित्, च, (लिटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्मैपदेषुपदेषु लिङो यासुडागमो भवति सीयुटोऽपवादः सचोरात्तो भवति, ङिञ्च ॥

103. When the Parasmaipada affixes of the Potential follow, then 'yâsut' acutely accented, is their augment, and the termination is regarded as having an indicatory 'ñ'.

This debars सीयुट्; the इङ् of यासुट् is indicatory; the real augment is यास्. All augments being anudatta, the present sūtra therefore especially uses the word udatta to show that this augment is an exception to the general rule. Though लिङ् has an indicatory इङ्, and therefore by the rule I. 1. 56, its substitutes would also be regarded as having an indicatory इङ्, the repetition of the word ङित् in this sūtra shows the existence of the paribhāṣā "that the इङ् belonging to ङि does not influence its substitutes;" in other words, the substitutes of लङ्, लिङ्, लृङ् and लृङ् are not to be regarded as having an indicatory इङ् (लकाराश्रयङित्यमादेशानां न भवति). In the Potential, the इ् of यासुट् is elided by VII. 2. 79. So we get the forms कुर्यात्, कुर्याताम्, and by applying III. 4. 108 and VI. 1. 96, कुर्युस् । For the Benedictive लिङ्, the following sūtra applies.

किदाशिषि ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कित्, आशिषि, (लिटः, यासुट्, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि ङो लिङ् सख् यासुडागमो भवति सचोरात्तः किदाश्रयति ॥

104. The augment 'yâsut' comes after that 'liñ' also which denotes benediction, and it is acutely accented, and the substitutes of this 'liñ' are as if they had an indicatory 'k'.

The कित् of this sūtra refers to the personal affixes of the Benedictive mood and not to the augment यासुट्, for that would have been unnecessary,

being already क्त् by the last rule. क्त् and क्त् are equal in prohibiting guṇa and vṛiddhi, but क्त् is distinguished from क्त् inasmuch as क्त् causes the guṇa of जागृ (VII. 3. 85), and also there is distinction between them with regard to the change of semi-vowel to vowel (VI. 1. 15 and 16). Thus इच्वात्, इच्वास्ताम्, इच्वासुः, and जागर्वात्, जागर्वास्ताम् and जागर्वासुः। In the Potential, वच्वात् (no samprasāraṇa); in the Benedictive, उच्चात् (vocalisation). So also जागृवात् in the Potential.

अस्य रन् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्य, रन्, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्य लिङादेशस्य रन्निश्चयमादेशो भवति ॥

105. The affix 'ran' is the substitute of 'jha' in the 'Liṅ' (Potential and Benedictive).

The ह् in other places, is replaced generally by अन्त (VII. 1. 3), but in लिङ्, it is replaced by रन्। Thus पचेरन्, बजेरन्, कृषीरन्।

इटोऽत् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इटः, अत्, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशस्य इटोऽदिरश्चयमादेशो भवति ॥

106. Short 'a' is the substitute of 'i' of the Atmanepada first person singular in the Potential and Benedictive.

Thus पचेत्, बजेत्, कृषीत्, हृषीत्।

Q.—In the sūtra, the word अत् is used, and the final त् belongs to the लिङ्, therefore by rule I. 3. 4, this त् is not indicatory; why is it made so?

A.—This त् is not any portion or member of the substitute अत्; it is added to अ merely for the sake of euphony,

The इट् refers to the आत्मनेपद affix of the first person singular; and not to the augment इट् on the strength of the maxim अर्थवत्प्रत्यये नानर्थकस्य। A combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote the same combination of letters void of a meaning,

सुट् तिथोः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुट्, ति-थोः, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ् संबन्धिनोस्तकारयकारयोः सुरागमौ भवति ॥

107. The augment 'suṭ' is added to the affixes 'ta' and 'tha' when part of the affixes of the Potential and Benedictive.

The letters त् and थ् are the objects to which the augment सुट् is to be added; provided that the त् and थ् are the initial of the affixes employed in लिङ्।

The augment स्त्रीसुट् is applied to लिङ् as such; in other words, लिङ् is

there the आगमी; but in the case of लृट्, लिङ् is not the आगमी, but लृ and य are the आगमी। The scope of लृट् and लृट्, being thus different, one does not debar the other.

In the sūtra, the word लृट् is used; the इ of लृट् is merely for the sake of pronunciation. Thus कृषीट्, कृषीवास्ताम् कृषीरन्, कृषीडाः, कृषीवास्याम्। In the Potential, the लृट् is elided by VII. 2. 79.

भोजुस् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भोः, जुस्, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ्गदेशस्य भोजुस् आदेशो भवति ॥

108. In the Potential and Benedictive, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', the ending of the first person plural Parasmaipada.

This debars भन्त (VII. 1. 3); thus पचन्तुः, यजन्तुः।

सिजस्यस्तविदिस्यञ्च ॥१०९॥ सिच्-अस्यस्त-विदिस्यः, च, (भोजुस्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिच् परस्व अन्तर संज्ञकैश्चो वेत्तेभ्योत्तरस्य जुसादेशो भवति ॥

109. (In those tenses which are marked with an indicatory 'ñ') 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', when it comes after an Aorist in 'sich', or the Imperfect of a reduplicated verb, or the root 'vid' (to know).

This applies to tenses having इ other than that of लिङ्, namely, the लृट् and लृट्।

सिच् is employed in forming the first Aorist. The reduplicated verbs, as well as the verb विद्, form their third person plural in जुस्, in the tenses other than लिङ्, and those that take सिच्। The word लृट् of sūtra III. 4. 99, is understood here also; and therefore this rule is restricted to the Imperfect (लृट्) of the reduplicated verb. Thus of सिच्, we have अकार्षुः, अहर्षुः। Similarly, after the Imperfect of the reduplicated verbs, we have अविभुवुः, अजिहवुः, अजागरुः। In the case of विद्, we have अविदुः।

आतः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, (भोजुस्, सिच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिच् आकारान्ताच्च परस्व भोजुसादेशो भवति ॥

110. (When 'sich' is elided), 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', after an Aorist stem which ends in long 'ā'.

The सिच् is elided by rule (II. 4. 77). Thus अहुः, अधुः, अह्युः। In other words, in those cases, where सिच् is elided by rules II. 4. 77, 78 and 79, only जुस् is the substitute of लृट् where the verbs end in long आ। In other words, this sūtra restricts the scope of the last sūtra, by which after every सिच्, जुस् was to replace लृट्।

The Present sūtra says that after verbs in which सिच् has been elided,

जुस् does not replace झि in the case of any other verb than that which ends in long भा; it is thus a *niyama* rule.

Thus, by rule II. 4. 77, सिच् is elided after the verb भू, but as भू does not end in long भा, its 3rd person plural Aorist will not be in जुस्। Thus, अभुवन्। Here, by the last rule, and on the maxim that 'though सिच् is elided, yet its force remains (I. 1. 62)', जुस् would have replaced झि; but the present sūtra prohibits that. But where the सिच् is not elided, there, of course, जुस् does come. Thus अकार्षुः, अहार्षुः।

लङ्: शाकटायनस्य ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ लङ्:, शाकटायनस्य, (भेः, जुस्, आतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाकारान्तादुत्तरस्य लङ्कारेशस्य झेर्जुसादेशो भवति शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

111. In the opinion of Sākaṭāyana only, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', in the Imperfect of the roots which end in a long 'ā'.

Thus भवुः, भवुः। In the alternative, we have भवान् and भवान्।

Why is लङ् repeated here, when the context would have supplied this word; for the sūtra applies to झित् tenses, of which लुङ् being dealt with in the last, would leave लङ् only to be dealt with by this aphorism, for no other झित् tense (like लिङ् or लृङ्) can end in भा? The repetition shows that the rule applies to those affixes which come after लङ्, as लङ्, and not to those which come after another tense which is treated like लङ्। Thus लोट् is treated like लङ्, but for the purposes of this rule, लोट् would not be so treated. Thus the झि of लोट् will not be changed into जुस् by III. 4. 109. Thus विश्वत्, जामत्, विदन्त्। The word एव has been used in the sūtra, for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

द्विषश्च ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषः, च, (लङ्:, शाकटायनस्य, भेर्जुस्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विषः परस्त्र लङ्कारेशस्य झेर्जुसादेशो भवति शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

112. In the opinion of Sākaṭāyana only, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', in the Imperfect after the verb 'dviṣ' (to hate).

Thus अद्विषुः। But according to others, अद्विषन्।

तिङ्शित्सार्वधातुकम् ॥ ११३ ॥ प० ॥ तिङ्-शित्, सार्वधातुकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङ्: शितश्च प्रत्ययाः सार्वधातुकसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

113. All personal endings (III. 4. 78) and all affixes with an indicatory 's', are called 'sārvadhātuka'.

Of course, this applies to the affixes which have been already treated before, namely, the affixes which relate to verbal roots and not to तद्धित affixes &c. Thus, स्वर्षति, रोदिति, पचमानः, पचमानः। लिट् and भाशीर्जिङ् are exceptions.

आर्द्धधातुकं शेषः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आर्द्धधातुकम्, शेषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङ् शितश्च वर्जयित्वाऽन्यः प्रत्ययः शेषो धातुसंज्ञान्तेन विहित आर्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

114. The remainder, i. e. the affixes other than 'tiñ', and those with an indicative 's' subjoined to a verbal root, are called 'ārdhadhātuka'.

Thus the affixes ह्, तुम्, त्वयम् &c. are आर्द्धधातुक affixes as in the following words—ज्विता, ज्वितुम्, ज्वित्वयम् । Here the augment इद् is added, because of these affixes being called *ārdhadhātuka* by VII. 2. 35.

The word धातोः whose anuvṛitti began with sūtra III. 1. 91, is understood here also. So that the affixes in relation to the verbal roots get the name of *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka*; the affixes applied to nouns do not get these names. Thus the case-affix भ्याम् when added to the noun जू, is not called an *ārdhadhātuka* affix, and therefore we have लूयाम्, जूमिः &c. Had these affixes been *ārdhadhātuka*, they would have caused the *guna* of the base (VII. 3. 84). Similarly the affixes स्त्वं and ता in the words वृक्षत्वं and वृक्षता are not *ārdhadhātuka* affixes. Had they been so, there would have been the insertion of the augment इद्, (VII. 2. 35).

Similarly in sūtra III. 1. 5, the affix सन् is used without changing the sense, after the roots गुप्, तिञ् and क्तिञ् । But as this affix is added without the enunciation of the word धातोः as it is in sūtra III. 1. 7, this सन् is not called *ārdhadhātuka*, and does not take the augment इद्, as जुगुप्सते ।

लिट् च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिट्, च, (आर्द्धधातुकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिडादेशस्तिङ्गाऽर्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

115. The personal endings of the Perfect are also called 'ārdhadhātuka'.

This debars them from being called *sārvadhātuka* and, being *ārdhadhātuka*, some of them take the augment इद्; as वेत्थि, शेक्यि । Moreover by their being *ārdhadhātuka* they do not admit of the Vikaraṇas शप् &c.

So from ग्ले (ग्ल, VI. 1. 45) we have जग्ले; here the भा is elided by VI. 4 64, the affix being treated as *ārdhadhātuka*; similarly मग्ले from म्ले ।

लिङ्गाशिचि ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, आशिचि, (आर्द्धधातुकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिचि विषये यो लिङ् स आर्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

116. When the sense is that of Benediction, the substitutes of 'liñ' are called 'ārdhadhātuka', i. e. the personal endings of the Benedictive are 'ārdhadhātuka'.

This debars these affixes from being called *sārvadhātuka*. Being *ārdhadhātuka* they take the augment इद्, and before these affixes the root does

not take the Vikaraṇas शप् &c. Thus from the root कृ 'to cut', we have in the भाशीर्लिङ्, लविशीष्ट; and from the root पृ 'to purify', पविशीष्ट. But in the विधिलिङ् (Potential), we have the proper Vikaraṇas &c. as कृनीयात्, पृनीयात् ।

छन्दस्युभयथा ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, उभयथा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति सार्वधातुकमार्द्धधातुकं च ॥

117. In the Vedas this distinction of 'sārvadhātuka' and 'ārdhadhātuka' is not always maintained, and the affixes are promiscuously employed.

In the Vedas, there is no hard and fast rule about *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka* affixes. Sometimes the लिङ् and शित् are treated as if they were *ārdhadhātuka*. Thus वर्धन्तु स्वा सुहृतवः । Here the affixes of the लोट् are treated as *ārdhadhātuka* and consequently there is the elision of the णिच् by rule VI. 4. 51; the proper form of this word would be वर्धन्तु । Sometimes *ārdhadhātuka* affixes are treated like *sārvadhātuka* affixes; as विष्णुवरे; here the affixes of the लिट् are treated as *sārvadhātuka* and so there is the Vikaraṇa म् and the व is changed into व । Thus, वि + भ्रु + म् + इरे = वि + श्रु + नु + इरे (III. 1. 74) = वि + श्रु + न्व् + इरे (VI. 4. 87) = विष्णुवरे । Similarly, सुन्वरे । The लिङ् is sometimes treated in the Vedas both as *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka* at one and the same time; as उपस्थेयाम् शरणं बृहन्तम् । Here, by treating the affix as *sārvadhātuka*, there is elision of स in the लिङ् (VII. 2. 79) and by treating it again as *ārdhadhātuka*, the भा of स्था is changed into ए । So also in स्वस्ति the affix is treated as *sārvadhātuka* and there is no substitution of भू for भस् as required by II. 4. 52.

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