BOOK THIRD.
CHAPTER I.

प्रत्ययः १ || पदार्थः प्रत्ययः २

४२. अन अर्थ.

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 'prakriti' or base (such as गुप्त, तिग्न, निजित in III. 1. 5 are bases, the affix being गुप्त), the 'upapada' or dependent word (such as सन्त, वात्सः in III. 2. 24 are upapadas), the 'upādhi' or attribute, the special cause that occasions changes (such as पश्चिम in III. 2. 25 is an upādhi); in the sūtra, III. 2. 25, the word हर्षित is a prakriti, हर्षित तथा नाये are upapadas, द्वृत्त is an upādhi, the affix being द्वृत्, the substitute and the augment. Such as the affixes तथा, तथा, भाविता taught in III. 1. 98, as कर्तिष्वपश्, कारणिष्वपण्य, 'to be done'.

४३. अन अर्थ.

This is also an 'adhikāra' or regulating sūtra, and is understood in all subsequent aphorisms; or it might also be called a 'paribhāsha' or interpreting aphorism. That which is called an affix comes after, or is placed after, the 'dhātā' or root, or the 'pratipadika' or crude form; as कर्तिष्वपश् and शैलिष्वपश्.

The force of the word 'स्थाय' and 'क्ये' 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.

४५. अन अर्थ.

This sūtra may also be treated as a Paribhāsha 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 च सम has udātta on the first च, as in कुर्यश्वपण्य. This general rule of accent applies only where there is no special
rule laid down. Thus, rule VI. l. 165, declares that affixes having an indicatory य will have u đatta on the final; those having an indicatory र have accent on the middle (VI. i. 217); those that have an indicatory य are anudatta; those having an indicatory र, throw the acute accent on the syllable immediately preceding the affix (VI. i. 193); the affixes having an indicatory य and र throw the acute accent on the first syllable of the word to which they are added (VI. i. 187); the taddhita affix having an indicatory य takes acute accent on the final (VI. i. 165); and the affix having an indicatory य is svarita (VI. i. 185).

अनुदात्ते सुचिती || य || पदानि || अनुदात्ते, युधिती,

(प्रत्यय: ) ||

युचि: || युध: विषय स्थान अनुसार सहित न ||

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

This is an exception (apavâda) to the last aphorism. As वस्त्रो ‘two stones’; the case-affix भृ is anudatta; so also जुधः; so also पक्षः; The third person singular affix लिङ्चाः has an indicatory य, and is anudatta. But not पक्षः.

गुप्तिज्ञिकृत्वा: यम || य || पदानि || गुप्त-तिज्ञ-किरुद्धः, यम

( प्रत्यय: ) ||

युचि: || गुप्त गोपने, विज्ञ निरस्त्रे, विज्ञ निरस्त्रे, एवं भृ भाषुः यम प्रत्ययादि भृसमालिकाः

वारङ्कन || निरस्त्रसमानपथाधिकारिकाः शब्दसूचकोपयो यथायां यथा सहित न ||

5. After the verbs युधं, लिङ्चा and किरुद्धा comes the affix यम:

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 जुधुः ‘he censures or despises’; तिज्ञः ‘he endures patiently’; किरुद्धः ‘he heals’. But श्रवः ‘he protects’; लिङ्चः ‘he sharpens’; वेक्षः ‘he makes sign’.

When श्रवः is added, there is reduplication of the root, by VI. i. 9. Thus, युधं + श्रवः = जुधुः + श्रवः (VII. 4. 62) = जुधुः to which is added the third person singular termination निः = नुधः.

नाना-वर्धकाण्डाण्नाम संस्कृतार्थाय || 6 || पदानि || नाना-

वर्ध-दान-शास्त्राय, दैवतः, च, अस्मात्ताय, ( यम्, प्रत्ययं: ) ||

युचि: || नाना पुण्यायाम, दैवत वर्धाय, नाना अस्मात्ताय, एवं भृ भाषुः नाना काण्डाण्नाम संस्कृती ||

वारङ्कन || नाना अस्मात्तार्थाय हृष्टः ||
6. The affix यथा comes after the verbs यथा ‘to honor’, यथा ‘to bind’, यथा ‘to cut’ and यथा ‘to whet’, and long ह is the substitute of the r (VII. 4. 79) of the reduplicative (VI. 1. 4) syllable.

The यथा is to be added only then, when the sense of the desiderative verb is as below: मीमांससे ‘he investigates’, शास्त्रसे ‘he loathes’, शरीरसे ‘he straightens’, श्रेयसे ‘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 यथा becomes optional. Thus भानवति, भानवति, यथा वि and यथा वि are also valid forms.

7. The affix यथा 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, यथा ‘to do’; यथा ‘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 यथा is to be added. Thus प्रेमन्द्रायणं = प्रेमन्द्रायणं.

Why do we say काम्य यथा: ‘after (a root expressing) an object’? The affix will not come after an instrumental case. Thus समवेत्यं यथा; here there is no affix. यथा विवर्ती will be विवर्ती.

Why do we say शास्त्रायणं ‘when the subject of the verb to wish, is also the subject of the verb denoted by the object wished’? Observe रूपसाधनं शास्त्रायणं विवर्ती. Here Yajñadatta is agent of the verb शास्त्रिः; but he is not agent of the action शास्त्रिः; hence there is no affixing.

Why do we say शास्त्रायणं ‘when the sense is that of wishing’? Observe काम्य यथा: ‘he knows how to make’; here the sense being that of knowing, there is no affix.

The word यथा ‘optionally’ shows that a sentence may also be employed to express the same idea. Thus यथा वि विवर्ती or यथा वि विवर्ती.
The word भाव in this sūtra, shows that this सन्त is an ārdhadhātuka affix, while the सन्त taught in the two preceding sūtras, will not get this designation.

Vart : The affix सन्त is added, when the sense is that of ‘in imminent danger’; as मान्ते पतिक्षति कुवत् = परिपुस्ति कुवत् ‘the bank is in imminent danger of falling down’. So also शुष्क सुपलित.

Vart : There is no affixing of सन्त after a verb which has already taken सन्त in the sense of wishing. As विचारितविचारिति. But the सन्त of III. I. 5, 6 not denoting wishing, we have सुभावित, गार्भावित.

8. The affix कविष्ट 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’, पुत्रीति ‘he wishes for a son of his own’ (पुत्र + कविष्ट = पुत्री + कविष्ट) (II. 4. 71, VII. 4. 33).

Why do we use the word सा? The affix should not come after a whole sentence, but only after the particular word ending in the case-affix. Thus in गार्भाविति, the affix comes only after सुभाव and not गार्भावि. पुत्र.

Why do we say अभासन? Observe अभासन विचारिति ‘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 क in कविष्ट is for the sake of classing क्याच, क्यान and क्याँ in one common group by simply using the word क्यान as in sūtra न: क्यान I. 4. 15; while शुष्क distinguishes क्याच from क्यान &c., and is not for the sake of accent, the affix will be udātta by III. 1. 3.

Vart :—In affixing क्याच, prohibition must be stated of pronouns in म, and of Indeclinables. Thus in स्विचारिति, श्विचारिति, there is no affixing.

Vart :—In the Vedas, the affix is added even when the wish is with regard to another. As मा क्याच यूका भावयो ध्वनि. Here भयाय (pl. भयाय) is
formed by *kyaḥ*, ॐ being added by III. 2. 170, and आ is added by VII. 4. 37. See Rig Veda I. 120. 7; 27. 3 &c.

9. And the *affix* काम्यः 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, पुजःकाम्यः '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 anuvṛtti of *kyaḥ* only runs, and not that of *kāmyaḥ*. The आ of *kāmyaḥ* is *not* indicatory, but is a part of the real affix. Here, therefore, rule I. 3. 8 which would have made the letter आ indicatory, does not apply; because no particular purpose would be served by making indicatory. Or the affix *kāmyaḥ* may be considered to have an indicatory आ before it *i.e.* the affix being *chakāmyaḥ*.

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

Thus, पुजःवषःपति माण्यः = पुजःवषःपति 'he treats the pupil as a son'

*Part*: So also in a locative case. As प्राचीनस्वः कुर्वः 'he dwells in hut as if it were a palace'. प्राचीनस्वः मृत्यः 'in a cot he lies down as if he were on a royal bedstead; he treats a cot as a royal bedstead'.

कसः: काहः सलोपः सुः ॥ ॥ पदार्थ: कसः: काहः सलोपः: ॐ ( उपमानः, आचारः, सुः, धारीः, या ) ॥
11. The affix वच्छ 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 (lopā) of the final श of the noun; if it ends with a श.

Thus, रचेणेवाच्छ तत्र काण; रचेणाश्च, ‘the crow behaves like a hawk’; अवसाचाच, ‘she behaves like an Apsara’; पवयाचे or पवयाचे ‘it becomes milk’; (रचेन + श = रचेना + श = रचेनाश, VII. 4. 25).

In the words भोजन,—भोजनाश्च, and भोजस्,—भोजसाश्च the final श is invariably elided when forming the denominative verb: but not so in the case of पवयाच, where the elision is optional, as पवयाचे or पवयाचे.

The elision of श refers to the final श, and not when it is followed by any vowel. Thus हंस—हंसाचे, सारस—सारसाचे; here the श is not elided as it is not final. See I. 1. 52.

Vart:—After the words अबसाच, कीच, and होश, the affix किच is optionally added in the sense of behaving like some one or something. As अवसाच्च, अबसाच्च, कीच्च, कीचाच्च, होश्च, or होशाच्च. The alternative forms are derived by the affixing of kyan.

Vart:—According to the opinion of some Grammarians, the affix किच comes optionally in this sense after all crude nouns. As अर्धसि or अर्धचाचे, गर्भाचि or गर्भाचाचे.

भूषादिभ्यो भूषसवेशो भाषिष्यस्तेऽपरि हस । १२ । पदाचरि भृषा—आदित्यम्भ ।
भृष, अच्छे, शोष, शस, (क्षपू.) ॥

भृष । भृष हस्येवाश्च भस्माधिको भृषिको भृषिको भृषों भृषि भृषिन्य स्मार्य पवयो भृषि,
खसतास्य शोषार्य ॥ शोषार्य ॥

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

Thus, भृषीस्थिति भृषों नरसि—भृषीस्थिति ‘he becomes much (from a little)’; शीघ्रावेदि
‘he becomes swift (from being tardy)’. All these roots will be Atmanepadi (I.3.12).

The phrase अथचे ‘not ending in the adverbial affix विध’, refers to every one of the words belonging to the class विधान. It may be objected, what was the necessity of adding this condition, since the affix विध itself denotes that something has become what it was not before; and therefore a word which has
taken the affix भिग, will not again take भिग, in that very sense. The repetition of भिग here shows that the words भिग, &c., never take the affix भिग, 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 भिग.

भूसापि: ।

गृह, रीत्य, मन, बात, पाठिक, नववुह, द्वमनस्, भ निगम, गुप्त, द्वाणम, रूप, देव, रूप, गृह, बात, पाठिक, नववुह, शुभ, भाव, तौमय, वस्त्र, । (विनम, रन्न, रोह, जन, गु- भिग, भ रसस्)।

लोहिताकिर्षणवृज: कप् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोहित-आपि -

व्रज: ॥ लोहिताकिर्षणवृज: वर्णम-सम्बन्ध भर्तियो भव हो यो भर्तिः ॥

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

Thus जोहितायतिः or जोहितायतिः 'he becomes red'; परसास्मि or परसास्मि 'he makes a noise like patapata'; (जोहित + भ+जोहितशा + भ=जोहितायतिः, VII. 4. 25).

The word परसास्मि is formed by adding the affix दात to the word पर which is first reduplicated, and then takes the denominative affix क्षय. The affix दात is added to express inarticulate sounds.

There is no special class called लोहितद्वि. The Vārtika, therefore, proposes that the sūtra should read without the word दी, as जोहितायतिः: भव; 'the affix क्षय comes after लोहित, and words ending in दात'.

This rule applies to words other than जिगाहित which are always invariably अतिनेपदी owing to the भिग, affix भव, while भव is optionally both. (I. 3. 90). Thus जिगानित or जिगानित, निगानित or निगानित, कहानित or कहानित, बुधानित or बुधानित. The लोहितद्वि is an भावितायत, the following being some of the words of this class; जोहित, भीत, हरित, पीत, मह, देव and मन.

The indicatory क in भव is not for the sake of prohibiting गुप्त and व्रिद्धि (I. 1. 5). For गुप्त or व्रिद्धि takes place in a दत्व सर- vadhātuka or दृढदाधातुka affix. The affix भव is not added to a दत्व but to a nominal stem: hence there is no scope for the operation of गुप्त &c. The क is for the sake of grouping भव, बह, and भव in one class as भव; as in sūtra क: भव (I. 4. 15). There is, however, no word ending in भ among those enumerated above.
The affix वव (V. 4. 57) comes when the verb following is one of the three अस्तु, भू, or कृ; as परदर्शिकारति, -प्रहसनिति or -स्वास्तम्. The present sūtra teaches by implication that when कथा follows वव, the above restriction, that the verb should be कृ, भू or अस्तु, is not applicable. Here वव comes without the addition of कृ, भू or अस्तु.

The anuvṛtti of कथा: comes from the last sūtra; and hence the affix वव is added in the sense of अनुवर्तयाḥ i.e. something becoming that which it was not before.

कथा कथयो ॥ १४ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ कथाय, कथयो, ( कथय ॥)
वर्ति: कथायार्थयुक्तं समर्थम् कथायेऽवस्ते कथय, प्रबंधवी अवस्ति ॥
वाचिकः ॥ वाचवत्त्वं कथायार्थयुक्तं कथाय वाचिकः वाचवत्त्वं ॥

14. The affix कथय, in the sense of exerting in dishonesty, is employed after the word कथ ‘mischief’, when the latter has the fourth case-affix in construction.

Thus, कथय कर्त्ते कामिनः कथयते ‘he is assiduous for trouble, i.e. he is assiduous in the commission of dishonesty, or he plots’.

Vart:—The affix कथय comes in the sense of exerting in evil, after the words कथ, कथय, कथयति, कथयते, गाहन; as, गाहने, कथाये, कथाये, कथये, कथये, and गाहने.

When the sense is not of ‘evil’, the affix is not added, as भढ़: कर्थ कामिनः.

कर्मे रोगमयार्थपत्यां वर्तितं च: ॥ १४ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ कर्मे:;
रोगमयार्थपत्यां, वर्तित-च: ( कामिन ) ॥
वर्ति: रोगमयार्थपत्यार्थपत्यां कर्ममयार्थपत्यार्थपत्यां वर्तितं च: वर्तितं च: अवस्ति ॥
वाचिकः ॥ इत्यत: इति इत इत्यत ॥
वाचिकः ॥ तथ: परस्ते यं ॥

15. The affix कथय is employed after the words, रोगमयार्थ ‘ruminating’ and लघ ‘austerity’, when they are used as the objects of the action of repeating and performing respectively.

Thus, रोगमयार्थ वर्तितं प्रणवे गो: ‘the cow ruminates.’

Vart: This is restricted to the word signifying movements of the jaws. Therefore there is no affixing here; as, ऒरी रोगमयार्थ वर्तितं.

Vart: The Prasmaipada affixes are used after the word लघ; as लघस्ति=लघस्ति, ‘he performs austerity’.
16. The affix कवः is employed in the sense of ejecting, after the words बाज्य ‘vapour’ and अर्थ ‘heat’ as the object of the action.

Thus, बाज्याति ‘it emits vapour’; अर्थात् ‘it sends out heat’. So also कवः ‘it ejects froth’.

17. The affix कलः, in the sense of making, comes after these words, as the object of the action, viz.:—बाज्य ‘sound’, बैर ‘hostility’, कलः ‘strife’, अर्थ ‘cloud’, कवः ‘sin’ and मेव ‘cloud’.

Thus, कलः करति = कलःस्य ‘he makes a noise’. So also बैरः, कलः, अर्थः, नेपः.

Varṇ.:—It should be stated that the affix comes after बुधिः, दुर्गिः and मेवः, as, बुधिःस्य, दुर्गिःस्य, मेवःस्य.

Varṇ.:—So also should be included the words बैरः, कलः, अर्थः, नेपः.

The word करः in the sūtra is not the Grammatical Kāraṇa or the Instrumental case, but has here its primary meaning of ‘doing’.

18. The affix कवः in the sense of feeling, comes
after the words बुख्स ‘pleasure’ &c., when the pleasure &c. belong to the agent as feels thereof.

Thus सुखावते ‘he feels pleasure’; सुखावते ‘he feels pain’.

Why do we say ‘when the feeling belongs to the agent’? Observe सुखावते ‘the valet knows the happiness of his master Devadatta.’ Here the agent viz. a valet, is not the peripient of the ‘happiness,’ which belongs to his master; hence there is no affixing.

19. The affix क्षण, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action viz:—

Thus नमस्ते ‘adoration’, विरवस ‘honour’ and विरवस ‘wonder’.

19. The affix क्षण, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action, viz:—

Thus बुख्स नमस्ते ‘he worships the gods’; विरवस ‘guru’, ‘he honours or serves the elders’; विरवस ‘he astonishes (makes it wonderful).’ The त्य in विरवस indicates that it takes the affixes of the Atmanepada. (विरव + त्य = विरवत्य (VII. 4. 33) = विरवत्य).

20. The affix फिरह, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action, viz:—

Thus卖家मल ‘he lifts up the tail’, मल ‘pot’ and पीवर ‘rag’.

Thus बुख्स नमस्ते ‘he worships the gods’; बुख्स नमस्ते ‘he collects pots in a heap’; बुख्स नमस्ते ‘the beggar collects or wears rags’. Of the affix फिरह, the effective portion is त्य, the other letters are servile. The त्य indicates Atmanepada (I. 3. 12) and त्य serves the purposes of the application of the rule VI. 4. 51 which applies generally to all affixes containing त्य, such as फिरह, त्यस्व &c.

Vart:—After the word पुख्स the sense of the affix is that of lifting or throwing about.
Vart:—After भाषा the sense of the affix is that of accumulation in a heap.

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

गुर्दे निलय लक्षणांतवस्थासल्लकततहस्तेश्यो शिष्य || 29 ||
पदार्थ || मुख्य-मिश्र-गल्प-लवण-अत्य-यस्त्र-हल-कल-कल-तुल्येिश्यो शिष्य; ( करिके ) ||

मूः: || मुख्य निश्चि लक्षणांतवस्थानांतवस्थासल्लकततहस्तेश्यो करिके शिष्य निश्चि नाकी शिष्यो 

21. The affix शिष्य, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action 

Thus मुख्यविति 'he shaves'; निश्चि 'he mixes'; गल्पविति 'he softens or 

The affix after the word धेग has the sense of 'eating' or 'abstaining 

The words in the सौत्रा are हल and कन्न and not हलि and कन्न. This 

The word हलि means either hair, or matted hair, or sin.
22. The affix 他, in the sense of repetition of the act, comes after a root, having a single vowel and beginning with a consonant.

The phrase kriya-samabhikdita means repetition of the act or its intensity. As 他 ‘to cook’, तारच्छ ‘he cooks again and again’; शार्मिल ‘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 他 ‘to go’, (because the root न्द्र is preceded by the upasarga न); or याच ‘to be awake’, (because it contains two vowels); or 他 ‘to see’ (because it begins with a vowel).

Vart:—The intensive affix 他 comes after टुण्ड, टूण्ड, टूण्ड, भर्ग, भर्ग, and भर्ग, though some of these contain more than two vowels and others begin with a vowel.

As, शीवांच्छ, शीवांच्छ, शीवांच्छ, भर्गांच्छ, भर्गांच्छ, भर्गांच्छ, and भर्गांच्छ.

The affix is not added in these cases ज्ञा ज्ञा ज्ञा or ज्ञा ज्ञा ज्ञा, 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 रोद्ध्यतात रोद्ध्यतात. In making the Intensives, the root is reduplicated and it takes the terminations of the Atmanepada as the root is हि.

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

Thus यात ‘to move’, यात ‘he moves crookedly’. So also न्यायतात. After a verb of motion, the त्व never expresses intensity or repetition; so if the latter sense is to be expressed, a phrase must be employed; as न्यात न्यात ‘he wanders much’. This is inferred from the word न्याय used in the sutra i.e. यात always has the sense of crookedness and no other sense after a verb of motion.

24. The affix 他 when it is intended to convey the sense of contempt (गौ) in respect of the sense
of the root (नात्र) comes always after the following roots, viz.:—लुप ‘to cut off’, बाघ ‘to sit’, चर ‘to walk’, गर ‘to mutter silently any sacred formula’, गर ‘to gape or yawn’, गर ‘to burn’, गर ‘to bite’ and गर ‘to swallow’.

Thus ग्नहति ‘he cuts off badly’; ग्नतनि ‘he sits badly’; बाघाति ‘he walks badly’; गर नति ‘he recites badly’; so also गर तति, गर तमि, गर तर्वि, गर तामि, गर तिति. The affix तति 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 नृति तति ‘he cuts off much’.

Why do we say ‘when contempt in regard to the sense of the root is meant’? Observe गर तति ‘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 महति तति: ‘the Sudra recites the sacred mantras’. The word तति of the last aphorism is understood here also.

चतुर्पायेण तत्ततां तुल्यंदेवात्मजस्य सत्वादायेजैशु तस्य कुसुमादिकोऽवरोद्धति

शीर्षः \[\text{शीर्षः} \] पदावनि \[\text{पदावनि} \] \text{चतुर्पाय-पाय-ुप-विक्ष-तूल-श्लोक-सेवा-शीर्ष-}

वर्ष-वर्ष-वर्ष-सुपुर्णादिष्ठ: \[\text{वर्ष-वर्ष-सुपुर्णादिष्ठ:} \] \text{शीर्षः}

कुसुमः \[\text{kusumः} \] \text{सर्वस्यादिक्षम-शुक्लाक्षमिक्षु पर्वतो भविष्यः}

पारिताकः \[\text{pārītākः} \] \text{द्वयं द्वितीयानाक्षमपुरिष्ठः}

25. The affix शीर्षः is employed after these words, viz.:—सर्व ‘truth’ (which then takes the form of सर्व in as exhibited in the सुत्र), अव ‘a fetter’, चर ‘form’, लुप ‘a lute’, गुण ‘cotton’, श्लोक ‘celebration’, सेवा ‘an army’, शीर्ष ‘the hair of the body’, तति ‘the skin’, गर ‘mail’, गर ‘celebration’, गर ‘powder’ and the verb of the Churāḍi class.

Thus सर्वावति ‘he speaks truly’; शिरावति ‘he unfetters or liberates’; रोपति ‘he makes a brush’; रोपावति ‘he looks’; रोपावति ‘he makes a brush’; रोपावति ‘he praisers in verse’; रोपावति ‘he advances with the army’; रोपावति ‘he rubs over the hair’; रोपावति ‘he feels of the skin’; रोपावति ‘he puts on the mail armour’; गर ‘celebrates or colors’; गर ‘he pulverises’. The roots of the Churāḍi class belong to the tenth conjugation, for a list of which see the Dhātupātha. After the verbs of the Churāḍi class, the affix शीर्षः is employed without alteration of the sense; as चीरावति ‘he steals’. So also गरेवति.
Vart.:—The words अर्थे, वेद and सच्च take the augment भ्रष्ट before the
affix फिफु; as, सख्यांनुसार, भावांनुसार, देशांनुसार. The whole equation is thus shown
अर्थे + भ्रष्ट + फिफु + शह + भ्रष्ट = अर्थ + भ्रष्ट + वेद + भ्रष्ट = अर्थांनुसार भ्रष्ट (VII. 3. 85). The final syllable called रि is not elided in this case, i.e. of भ्रष्ट
the syllable भ्रष्ट is not elided before फिफु, as it would have been by VI.4. 155.
The reason is that if भ्रष्ट was to be elided, there would have been no necessity
of adding it. The affix फिफु has the sense of ‘unfettering’ after the word वेद, of
‘seeing’ after रि, of ‘singing in accompanied’ after शह, of ‘brushing’ after भ्रष्ट,
of ‘praising’ after नेतृक, of ‘leading’ after लोम, of ‘rubbing’ after लोम, of
‘taking’ after उद्ध, of ‘putting on’ after वेद and of ‘taking’ after शह.

हेतुसतः च || २४ || पदार्थिनिः || हेतुसतः, च, (घरोत्सः; खिच्छ) ||

यूमि: || हेतु: सच्चन्द्रम खरे: प्रवेण: नमः भवामपि: मेधक्षाननन्दलोकोऽहिन्दुमनुष्य
विविधवें पतलिण्येष पश्चास्यम सहि: ||

वार्तकामृ || तस्मातोपनन्यस्यग्रामसु मुनदरास्यस्यम् ||

वार्तकामृ || भावानामज्जल्लकस्थलस्थल हति यन्त्र, कुद्र, क्षड्ड, क्षोलकर, परस्यादिपित: प्रकृतिप्रच्छ
कारकमृ ||

वार्तकामृ || भावोपनन्यकार्तरसाभ्यास्य सूक्ष्मसम्बाद्धां ||

वार्तकामृ || भिरिकतार्थी याविषय ||

वार्तकामृ || विस्तृतिमार्गो रति: ||

26. The affix फिफु 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 किङ्क कारवति ‘he causes to prepare a mat’; भोलन्त पाववति ‘he makes the rice to be
cooked’. In other words, the affix फिफु forms the causative verbs.

Vart.:—The affix comes also in the sense of ‘he does that’ after the
words शुचि &c. Thus शुचि किङ्कति = शुचिवाति ‘he makes सुत्रा’. So also मुखवति.

Vart.:—After words ending in कृत affixes and describing legends,
comes the affix फिफु, when the sense is ‘he does that’. The कृत affix is elided,
the word reasumes its basic (मुद्रविक) form, and the base is as if the agent,
thus कर्मदर्शिपास्य = कर्ण वाति; बलिक्रियापास्य = बलिक्र वाति; राजमात्रापास्य =
राजानाम सहितवति.

Vart.:—Under the conditions mentioned in the last वार्तक, the upa-
sarga भा is elided, when duration of time is meant expressing limit. Thus
भाविकासंह पास्य = भाविन स्वारवति; here the भा of भाविन is elided.

Vart.:—Under the conditions mentioned in the second vartika the
affix फिफु has the sense of ‘making wonderful’, meaning ‘attaining that’. Thus
27. The affix यक्ष is employed after the roots कर्मु ‘to itch’; &c.

Thus, कर्मु or कर्मु ‘he itches or scratches’. This word takes terminations indicative. The words कर्मु &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.

28. The affix आय comes after पूष ‘to protect’, पूष ‘to heat’, विकिर्ष ‘to approach’, यष ‘to contract or praise’ and यष ‘to praise’.

Thus शीताय ‘he protects’; पूषाय ‘he heats’; so also, विकिर्षाय, पूषाय, यषाय, and यषाय.

The verb पूष being read along with यष ‘to praise,’ has here the sense of praise only; so that the affix does not come after the verb पूष when it means ‘to make a contract’; as यषाय, पूषाय, सहस्राय यषाय.

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

कर्मुग्रहि; ब्रह्म पिन्वय; कर्मु; यषाय

&c.; ब्रह्म: ब्रह्माय पर्यायाय। तथैव तत्र श्रीरूपद्रष्ट्र: भवति।
29. The affix धर्म comes after the sūtra root सति ‘to reproof’.

The indicative य shows that the verb will take the affixes of the Atmanepada; as असति ‘he pities or reproaches’; so also, सर्वमिथाने, सर्वसीमाने.

करेिमेइन्द्र II पदार्थी II करीणे, शिष्य

30. The affix शिष्य comes after the root श्रव ‘to desire’.

The य indicates vṛddhi (VII. 2. 115) and य shows Atmanepada; as, कामयाने ‘he desires’; so also कामयाने and कामयाने.

आयाद्य आदेधातुके वा II पदार्थी II आय-आद्य-, आदेधातुके, वा, (प्रत्यय:) II

31. The affixes भाव and those that follow it, (i.e. भाव, धर्म and शिष्य) are optionally added, when it is desired to express one’s self with an ārdhādhātuka affix.

Thus भा 3rd. sing. of the Future is an ārdhādhātuka affix. It is optional to retain the dya of gopāya before this affix. So we have गोपांत्य or गोप ‘he will protect’. So also भावत्व or भावपत्व; भावित or भावितवत.

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

32. All the words ending with the affixes ध 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 शिक्षाय ‘to wish to do’, कारि ‘to
cause to do'; चैनिक 'to do repeatedly' are separate roots and not the same as कु 'to do' and thus take तु &c.

खलसी लूतो: // 33 // पदार्थ // ख-ताही, लू-लुटो; (पाठी)।।

पृष्ठ: // कृत्यपूष्यवत्तानि शास्त्रार्थोत्तरं शास्त्रम् सुदृढः च वर्तो तात्त्वप्रायवर्तम द्वितार्थी प्रश्नति नहः।।

33. When न and श्रृं follow, then श्रृं and शाहि are respectively the affixes of a verbal root.

न श्रृं is the common expression for नू and श्रृं formed by rejecting their special anubandhas, and means therefore the 2nd Future and the Conditional tenses. श्रृं is the 1st Future also called the Periphrastic Future.

Thus काशिकत्व, काशिकम्, काशिकम्। Sometimes this augment is not employed; thus पलिति विगुष्ठ जारिणि द्वारवाचि। Thus in Rig Veda I. 1. 2, पलिति is an example of श्रृं with श्रृं।

कातुर्यान्तामनोद्वर्षम् सिद्धि // 34 // पदार्थ // कातू-महात्ममः

अस्, अन्त्रेऽ, सिद्धि, (प्रत्यापः, पाठीः)।।

पृष्ठ: // कातू राजा कुशलाः, सत: प्रवाहवालवर्ग भागुः आमु प्रश्नोऽथव न्यायति सिद्धि परसः मन्येऽपि।।

शारसिकम् // काशिकम् कहि वक्ष्यम्, पुनः द्वारवाचि।।

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

This forms the Periphrastic Perfect. The Perfect of कातू, will be कातामु, after which the terminations of the Perfect are all elided (II. 4. 81) and instead, the perfect tense of the auxiliary verb न or न्द्र or श्रृं is added. As कातास्य 'he coughed'; पोषणास्य 'he stole'. So also लोलोर्वाच।
This rule however does not apply to the Vedas; as कृप्या नोनाच Rig. Veda I. 79. 2.

*Varṇ:*—This rule also applies where the root is polysyllabic consisting of more than one vowel; as पुन्यार्थकार, इरिष्चारा.

The final न of आन is not indicatory.

[रुपाः आन गुरुतोजज्ञ] श्रय-आदि: च

36. The affix आन is used when लिन follows, after a root beginning with a letter of धृ pratyāhāra and having a heavy vowel, excepting the root सर्व च to go.

Thus दृध्व ‘to try’, द्वीरिध्व ‘he tried’; so also द्वारपक्ष ‘he guessed’, आयारपक्ष ‘he grieved’.

But सर्व च forms आन प ‘he failed or went’. This applies to monosyllabic roots which begin with any vowel prosodically long, except भ or भ. The verb दृध्व ‘to cover’ is, however, an exception; its perfect is धृध्व ‘he covered’.

Why do we say ‘beginning with धृ or any vowel except भ or भ’?

Observe भर, Perfect भर (VII. 4. 71). Why do we say ‘heavy vowel’?

Observe त्रृ, Perf. त्रीव (VI. 4. 78) रत्रु; रत्रु: Why do we say ‘vowel’?

Observe सूत्र, Perf. सूत्रु; पूर, Perf. पूत्रु.

[रुपाः आन] दृध्व-आन च, (लिन, आनु्)

37. After the verbs रच ‘to give’, ‘to go’ and ‘to protect’, रच ‘to go’, and आन ‘to sit’, there is the affix आन, when लिन follows.

Thus रच आन ‘he gave’; रचान्त ‘he ran away’; आनान्त ‘he sat’.

उन्निध्वानोऽर्थव्यथास्मया श्रय-आदि: आनास्मया, (आन, प्रत्ययः; लिनी) श्रय-आदि:

38. The affix आन is optionally employed after these, viz.—उच्छ ‘to burn’, विच ‘to know’, and आन ‘to wake’, when लिन follows.
Thus भूतस्त्रयाकार or श्रेणी, विशालकार or विशेष, वमराभेश्वर or वमाण. As there is an agreement in the present instance to regard the verb विश as ending in a short श, guna is not substituted, as it would otherwise have been by rule VII. 3. 86.

सम्भवायां शुद्धिस्वरूपम् || ३५ || पदार्थम् || श्रेणी-श्रु-शुक्ल, शुचिक, 
( अन्त्य, लिति, अन्धत्तरस्त्रास् ) ||

पुस्तिः || विशिष्ट भंडे, श्री लक्ष्मणाम, शुभम्, धार्श्निकम्, 
श्री शान्ताचा, एस्वयं लिति परतः भूतस्त्रयाकार, वमराभेश्वर, 
वमाणिक पाश्चालिकार्थः संवारि || ३६ ||

39. भूत is optionally affixed, when लिति follows, after these verbs भी 'to fear', श्री 'to be ashamed', शु ‘to nourish’, शु ‘to sacrifice’; and when भूत is affixed, the effect is as if there were शु elision and the roots belonged to IIवृक्ष class.

The effect of शु is to cause reduplication by rule VI. 1. 10. As वमराभेश्वर or वमाण, वमराभेश्वर or वमाण, वमराभेश्वर or वमाण.

रुपम् पुनर्विशिष्टस्त्रयाकार् लितिः || ३७ || पदार्थम्, || रुपम्, श्री, अन्यमयाश्वतः, लिति.||

पुस्तिः || अन्यमयाश्वत पुरुषस्त्रयाकारस्त्रयाकारस्त्रयाकारस्त्रयाकारस्त्रयाकारस्त्रयाकार || रुपम् पुनर्विशिष्टस्त्रयाकार || श्री, अन्यमयाश्वतः, लिति.||

40. After a verb which ends with भूत, the verb रुप ‘to do’ is annexed, when लिति follows.

After the above verbs formed by taking the augment भूत, the perfect tense of रुप is added to form their Perfect. This has already been illustrated in the above examples. The word रुप includes also the verbs शु and भूत. All these three may be used as auxiliaries. The verb भूत when used as an auxiliary, is not replaced by रुप (III. 4. 52) before the लिति, affixes which are अर्धाठाकुता affixes. Thus वर्षास्तरस्त्र, वर्षास्तरस्त्र, वर्षास्तरस्त्र.

विनिष्ठास्त्रयाकारस्त्रयाकारस्त्रयाकारस्त्रयाकार || ३८ || पदार्थम् || विनिष्ठास्त्रयाकार, 
( श्रेणी, अन्यत्तरस्त्रास् )||

पुस्तिः || विनिष्ठास्त्रयाकारस्त्रयाकारस्त्रयाकारस्त्रयाकार लितिः ||

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

This irregular form is obtained by adding the affix भूत to the root विश ‘to know,’ when followed by लोक or the Imperative tense; the tense-affixes of लोक are then elided by luke; moreover there is no substitution of guna.
as required by VII. 3. 86; and when we have thus obtained the form विषन्त, we annex to it the को in of the verb मन; thus we have विषन्तकर्त्तव्यत & विषन्त 'let them know'. The third person plural is not only intended to be spoken of by the employment of the form विषन्त in the aphorism; on the contrary, the word रूप shows that all the numbers and persons of the Imperative may be so employed; as विषन्तलूकः विषन्तकुकलाम &c.

अध्यायांभ्रमणयांप्रकायांविषयांसंसारानानम् पाववांक्रियांविद्वृत्तानां

क्रियाते स्मृतिः स्मृतिः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदार्थम् ॥ अध्यायांभ्रमणयांप्रकायांविषयां

संसारानानम् पाववांक्रियांविद्वृत्तानां ॥ ४२ ॥ पदार्थम् ॥

42. The forms अध्यायांभ्रमणयांप्रकायांविषयांसंसारानानम् पाववांक्रियांविद्वृत्तानां

are irregularly formed in the Chhandas.

The first two of these and the fourth are the Aorists (मुक्त) of the causatives of the roots धर, ‘to sit’, जन ‘to be born’, and रूप ‘to sport’: to which the affix अम् is added. The third is the Aorist of the root फिन ‘to collect’, to which आम् has been added after the reduplication and the change of च into च of the root. The auxiliary अम्: is added to all these four. The fifth is derived from the root फिन ‘to blow, to purify’, by adding the causative affix शिन, annexing the affix आम् before the terminations of the Potential (किन्तु) and then using after the form so obtained, the auxiliary किन्तु. The last is the Aorist of फिन ‘to know’, to which आम् is added and the auxiliary अम् is employed. These are the archaic forms; their modern forms are as follow:—

अध्यायांभ्रमणयांप्रकायांविषयांसंसारानानम् पाववांक्रियांविद्वृत्तानां ॥

43. When लूः follows, the affix फिन is added to the verbal root.

The लू of फिन is for the sake of articulation, the श is for the sake of accent (VI. i, 162) showing that an affix which has an indicatory लू has uddatta on its final. Then remains only फिन, which after all, is to be replaced by other affixes, as we shall show below. In fact फिन is the common name for all Aorist affixes.

पदार्थोऽनेन फिन ॥ ४३ ॥ पदार्थम् ॥ पदार्थोऽनेन फिन ॥
44. Of विज्ञ, विच्छ is the substitute.

The द of विच्छ is for the sake of pronunciation, the च is for accent, and the real suffix is स; as अभाविन ‘he did’. When विच्छ is added, the terminations of the Aorist assume the following forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parasmaipada.</th>
<th>Atmanepada.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sing.</td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pers.</td>
<td>सन्तर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers.</td>
<td>श्चन्तर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers.</td>
<td>तः</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The substitution of विच्छ is optional in the Aorist of the roots श्वू ‘to touch’, श्वृ ‘to rub’, श्वू ‘to plough’, श्वू ‘to become satisfied’, and श्वू ‘to light’. Thus the Aorist of श्वू has three forms; अभाविन, अभाविन or व्यवहार. Similarly श्वू has साधन, अभाविन or व्यवहार; क्रू, अभाविन, अभाविन or अभाविन; क्रू, अभाविन, अभाविन, or अभाविन; क्रू, अभाविन, अभाविन or अभाविन.

शल श्वूनादनिता कः || पदरनि || शल; || श्वू-विच्छार, अनिति; कः; (कः; लुकः) ||

पृष्ठ: || राजसूयोर चाय सुरुरि-विच्छारणाय परस्पर भोजनित; कः भाद्रों भवित ||

45. After a verb that ends in a श ः consonant, and has an न त vowel for its penultimate letter, and does not take है (VII. 2. 10), कः is the substitute of विज्ञ.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parasmaipada.</th>
<th>Atmanepada.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sing.</td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pers.</td>
<td>सन्तर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers.</td>
<td>श्चन्तर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers.</td>
<td>तः</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As, मूंग and कः in the last स्वात्र have their Aorist with कः as अभाविन and अभाविन; so श्वू ‘to milk’ forms अभाविन ‘he milked’, लित ‘to lick’ अलित.

Why do we say ‘when ending in श, च, ङ and ह’? Observe अभाविन, अभाविन; here लित is employed. Why do we say ‘having for its penultimate श, च, ङ or ह’? Observe अभाविन. Why do we say ‘not having an intermediate श’? Observe अभाविन and अभाविन. See VII. 2. 4 and VIII. 2. 28.

शिलस्त्र श्वूलिन्ये || पदरनि || शिलस्त्र; श्वूलिन्ये; (कले; ल्यः) ||

पृष्ठ: || श्वीलि-पोलीवादि-विच्छारणाय, परस्पर भोजन; कः भाद्रों भवित ||

46. कः is the substitute of विज्ञ after the verb विज्ञ, when it is employed in the sense of embracing.
This is a restrictive aphorism. As अतिशयक्षः, कर्मवाद, 'he embraced the girl'. But समारीतव्यवजनकामः 'the glue joined the wood'.

47. वा is not the substitute of न्व after the verb द्वृत्तम् ‘to see’.
This is an exception to the sūtra III. 1. 45. enjoining वा. The root हुस्यू will form its Aorists by III. 1. 57. and will take अहूँ and अहृत्यः as अस्वेद्यः or अत्यायोः, ‘he saw’.

48. After a root which ends in छ (III. 1. 20, 21, 44, &c.) and after the verb भिः ‘to serve’, द्वृत्तम् ‘to run’, and गृह ‘to drop’, वा is the substitute of न्व, when गृह follows signifying an agent.

The ग prevents गुणa and विर्द्धिः and च is to distinguish it from अहूँ. When वा is added, there is reduplication (VI. 1. 11). The usual terminations of the Imperfect are employed after the root, when च्छः is used; as अत्यायोः, ‘he caused to make’; अत्यायोः, ‘he served or went’; अत्यायोः, ‘he ran’; अत्यायोः, ‘it flowed’. This form is not used in Passive; as, अत्यायोः.

The root कछ ‘to love’ should also be included in this rule. कछ, when it takes the affix विक्षः (III. 1. 30) will of course be included in this sūtra, by virtue of its ending in छ; the Vartiṣṭaka makes the additional statement that even when the root कछ does not take the affix विक्षः, the present aphorism must apply to it. Thus we have अत्यायोः, ‘he loved’, when it takes विक्षः, the Aorist will be अत्यायोः (VII. 4. 93, 79, 94).

49. After the roots फू ‘to suck’, and फू ‘to grow’, वा is optionally the substitute of न्व, when फू follows signifying an agent.
Bk. III. Ch. I. § 50-52.]  

**Substitution of Chli.**

As, भासं, 'he sucked'. When it takes the alternative विषु, then rule II. 4. 78. comes into operation, and we have भासं, and भासासं, 'he sucked'. So also of ते, we have भातिरिवत्त, 'he grew'. It also takes the भासं (III. 1. 58) and then its form is भासं. or भासासं.

**[रुपेछ्यन्त्रि] ॥ ५० ॥ पदार्थि ॥ गुप्ति, बन्ध्यि, (क्ले, चिर, विनायिणि, कश्तिरि, लुकिषि)॥

**शुशि:॥ गुप्ति: परस्य व्यवस्थापिति विशये विनायिणि चक्रवर्ति भवति।

50. After the verb गुप्ति 'to protect', चिर is optionally the substitute of चिन्ति in the Chhandas.

This rule applies where the root गुप्ति does not take the affix भासं (II. 1. 28). As रुपेच्छि नी रातिरिवत्ति वाति महानूर्धवपति मित्राभिः Varuna protected these our houses. The other forms are भासासं, भासिक्षिपि or भासिक्षिपृवि. In the secular literature, the latter three forms are used, but not the first.

**[रुपेच्छ्यन्त्रि] ॥ ५१ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ च, अनयति::

**चन्यि-पूलयि-अद्यतिः: (क्ले, चिन्ति, चिन्द्रि )॥

**शुशि:॥ रुप विनायिणि वश द्राक्षि इह चरित्रो, भरे गति वाचस्य च एवं यज्ञा भासं तस्य: गुप्ति च च चन्द्रि चिन्द्रि विनायिणि न भवति।

51. After the causatives of the verbs रुप 'to decrease', रुप 'to sound', रुप 'to send', and भासं 'to go or to beg', चिर is not the substitute of चिन्ति in the Chhandas.

Thus we have रुपाः: in the Vedas; भासासं in the classical literature; so also जनता, जनताः and जनतीति; their classical forms being भासिक्षिपि, भासिक्षिपृ, and भासिक्षिपृवि. See Rig Veda I. 53. 3, I. 162. 15. and Pāṇini VII 2. 5.

**[रुपेच्छ्यन्त्रि] ॥ ५२ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ अस्तिति-वक्ति-व्यातिः: (क्ले, कश्तिरि, लुकः)॥

**शुशि:॥ अस्ति कृपाः वषम परिवाष्यि, मुमरयः ता, चण्ड भासं, चण्डकथि ता च, एवः परस्य व्यवस्थापिति भवति कार्यादिनि लुकिषिर भवतः॥

52. After the verbs अस्ति 'to throw', चण्ड 'to speak', and चण्ड 'to speak', अस्ति is the substitute of चिन्ति, when चण्ड follows signifying the agent.

चण्ड may be either the root, or the substitute of चण्ड (II. 4. 53) and so also चण्ड may be the root, or the substitute of चण्ड (II. 4. 54). The root चण्ड belonging to the व्यातिः or the Fourth conjugation, falls under the subdivision व्यातिः, and therefore it would have taken चण्ड in the Parasmaipada.
by rule III. 1. 55. The repetition is to indicate that it takes भक्र in the Atamanepada also; as पदार्थमः (VII. 4. 17), अथवा and अथवम्. In the Passive, we have परस्परिधी. 

सिद्धिद्वितीयायः || 53 || पदार्थम् || सिद्धिद्वितीयायः, च, (कसे; अः, कसे, सखे, लुके) ||

वृत्तम्: || निम्न उपरं; निम्न उपरं; हुम् स्त्रोतं एके व द्वारा वरस्तं, ज्ञेत्रहरंश्री नवति ||

53. After the verbs लिपि ‘to paint’, लिपि ‘to sprinkle’ and हु ‘to call’, भक्र is the substitute of चन्द्र when चन्द्र follows signifying the agent.

Thus भलितम्, ‘he painted or wrote’; भविष्यति, ‘he sprinkled’; and भक्र, ‘he called’ or ‘challenged’.

आतमनेपदेश्वरस्वरूपम् || 54 || पदार्थम् || आतमनेपदेश्वरस्वरूपम्, अन्तरस्वरूपम्; ( मले; अः; लिपि, विष, द्रुव: ) ||

वृत्तम्: || निम्नितितिह्रो भवलितम् उपरस्तं; हुम् नवति अन्तरस्वरूपम्. ||

54. After the verbs लिपि, लिपि and हु, भक्र is optionally the substitute of चन्द्र, when the affixes of the Atmanepada follow.

Thus भलितम् or भलितम् ‘he painted’; भविष्यति or भविष्यति ‘he sprinkled’; भक्र or भक्र ‘he challenged’.

पुष्पदिश्वरस्वरूपम्: परस्परिधी || 55 || पदार्थम् || पुष्पदिश्वरस्वरूपम्, ( मले; अः ) ||

वृत्तम्: || पुष्पदिश्वरस्वरूपम्: अभिध्वरस्तं भादुशं; परस्तं मले: परस्परिधी परस्त मलेश्वरी नवति ||

55. भक्र is the substitute of चन्द्र, after the verbs चन्द्र, ‘to nourish’, and the rest, चन्द्र, ‘to shine’, and the rest, and the verbs having an indicatory चन्द्र, when the affixes of the Parasmaipada follow.

The verbs classed as पुष्पाधि are a sub-division of the 4th conjugational verbs; and पुष्पाधि verbs belong to the 1st conjugation. As पुष्पाधि, भविष्यति, ‘he nourished’; पुष्पाधि, भविष्यति, ‘he shone’; चन्द्र, भविष्यति, ‘he went’. But not so in the Atmanepada; as स्वरंतिः, भविष्यति.
56. After the verbs ग 'to go', शब्द 'to order',
and च 'to go', अहक् is the substitute of विनम in the Parasmaipada as well as in the Atmanepada.

Thus अत्सत 'he went'; अविनिम 'he ordered'; अत्सत 'he went'. This सूत्र has been separately enunciated in order to make the rule applicable to Atmanepada; as अत्सत (I. 3. 29). The च in the text is for the sake of drawing the anuvritti of the phrase 'in the Parasmaipada' of the last सूत्र, into the present and its anuvriti will extend to future सूत्रs also.

57. अहक is optionally the substitute of फ्लच after that root which has an indicative च, when the Parasmaipada terminations are employed.

Thus from अविनिम 'to divide', we derive अविनिम or अविनिमी. But we have अविनिम in the Atmanepada. So from चिनीतिक 'अच्छ' 'to divide', we derive अच्छ or अच्छसी. So from चिनीतिक 'अच्छ' 'to divide', we derive अच्छ or अच्छसी.

58. And, optionally अहक is the substitute of विनम after the verbs ग 'to grow old', शत 'to stiffen' च च and शत 'to go', पुष्य and शत 'to steal', शतम 'to go' and रित 'to grow', when the terminations of the Parasmaipada are employed.

Thus अत्सत, or अत्सत 'he grew old'; अत्सत, or अत्सत 'he stiffened'; अत्सत, or अत्सत 'he went'; अत्सत, or अत्सत 'he went'; अस्तुत, or अस्तुत 'he stole'; अस्तुत, or अस्तुत 'he stole'; अस्तुत, or अस्तुत 'he went'; अविनिम, अविनिम, or अविनिम, 'he grew'. The roots गुण and गुण both give rise to the same three forms, viz. गुणम, गुणम and गुण. The use of one root would, therefore, have served the purpose. The employment of both indicates separateness of their meanings. Others say that the use of both roots indicates that in the case of गुण, the nasal is never elided. Thus the Aorist of गुण will be गुणनि and गुणनिम.

कृत्तिक 'गुण' ॥ पदाति ॥ क-श-श-शिष्य, ॥
कृत्तिक ( च; अहक) ॥
59. After the verbs "to do", "to die", "to tear", and "to rise", अध्य is the substitute of विन्ध when used in the Chhandas.

Thus अध्य, "he did"; अध्य, "he died"; अध्य, "he tore"; अध्य, "he rose".

See Rig Veda X. 85. 17, X. 44. 6. The classical Aorist of these verbs are अध्यापिन्य, अध्य, अध्य, and अध्य.

60. विन्ध is the substitute of विन्ध after the verb पद्, "to go", when the affix य follows.

The affix य here means the third person singular tense-affix of the Atmanepada; as अध्य, "he went"; but not so in the dual and plural; as अध्य, "they two went"; अध्य, "they went"; अध्य, "let and शिख, "and रो + रो, "and रो, "and रो (the affix य being elided by rule VI. 4. 104).

61. विन्ध is optionally the substitute of विन्ध, when अ, the third person singular of the Atmanepada follows, after the verbs शिख, "to shine", शिख, "to be produced", शिख, "to teach or know", शिख, "to be full", शिख, "to extend or protect" and शिख, "to smell".

Thus अध्य, or अध्य, "he shone"; अध्य, or अध्य, "he was produced"; अध्य, or अध्य, "he knew"; अध्य, or अध्य, "he was full"; अध्य, or अध्य, "he extended"; अध्य, or अध्य, "he grew".

अध्य: कर्मकार्यम् II 62 II विन्ध II अध्य: कर्मकार्यम् (अध्य, अध्य, अध्य, अध्य)

62. विन्ध is optionally the substitute of विन्ध when अ, 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, विन्ध is employed after roots ending in
vowels; as अभासक करते: रसायन 'the mat became made of itself. This is an optional rule (भागाविगम). Therefore we have also अभासक करते: रसायन; similarly भासिक or भासिक करते: रसायन '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 विप्र is obligatory in the reflective voice, and not optional; as अभासिक करते: रसायन 'the wood split of itself'. So also in verbs other than reflexives; as अभासिक करते: रसायन.

नुहाण II ६३ II पदार्थना II नुहण: च, (भ्येन; विप्र, अभासिकारण; करते-करते) II

प्रकृत: II नुहण प्रमुखे, भासिकारण व्यन्विकारणे भासिक भासिकारणे II

63. विप्र is optionally the substitute of विप्र after the verb नुहण 'to milk', when it is used reflexively, and when व follows.

Thus अभासिक or अभासिक चौं: रसायन 'the cow milked of itself'. In verbs other than reflexive, the विप्र is compulsory, e.g. अभासिक गोविकारणे 'the cow was milked by the cowherd'.

न दारण: II ६५ II पदार्थना II न, दारण: (भ्येन; विप्र; करते-करते) II

प्रकृत: II हृदय भासिकारणे, भासिकारण व्यन्व: करते-करते व विप्र, करते II

64. विप्र is not the substitute of विप्र, after the verb दारण 'to obstruct', when used in the reflexive sense in the third person singular of the अत्मस्मिना.

Thus अभासिकारण चौं: रसायन 'the cow was obstructed of itself'. In verbs other than reflexive, विप्र is employed, e.g. अभासिकारण गोविकारणे.

तपोतोतुताये: च II ६५ II पदार्थना II तप; अनुसारे: च, (न, हेन; विप्र; करते-करते) II

प्रकृत: II तप चतुरं, भासिकारण व्यन्विकारणे न भासिक करते-करते अभासिका: न II

65. विप्र is not the substitute of विप्र after the verb दारण '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 दारण; as अनुसारे तपस्ताये: 'the ascetic performed austerity'; अभासिक गोविकारण करते 'he repented from evil deeds'.

विप्र भासिकारण्ये: II ६५ II पदार्थना II विप्र, आभासिकारण्ये: ( हेन; विप्र, ते ) II
66. निधि is the substitute of निधि when य of the third person singular आतमनेपदा follows, denoting the action (आत्र) 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 आत्र नवता ‘it was lain by you i.e. you lay’; अत्रारि करीं वेद्वात्रे ‘the mat was made by Devadatta’. The repetition of निधि here is for the sake of distinctness.

67. The affix यक्र comes after a root, when a आत्रात्व (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 आत्र नवता ‘you sit’, द्रावकते नवता ‘you lie’. So in passive verbs; as कितले कर्म; and आत्र नवता. The क of यक्र is servile, and prevents guna and vriddhī. This affix is also used in reflective voice (कर्मकारणी); as कितले कर्म द्रावकते ‘the mat becomes made of itself’.

68. The affix यक्र comes after a root, when a आत्रात्व (III. 4. 113) follows, signifying the agent.

In active voice, यक्र is employed in the conjugational tenses. This affix, which is technically called बिलकुल comes after roots of the यक्र class and after compound roots formed by सम् &c. (III. 1. 32). The indicatory य makes it a आत्रात्व affix by III. 4. 113, the य indicates that the vowel has anusvātra accent (III. 1. 4). As मु+यक्र+लित+यक्र+य+तिन=नर+तिन=नर. (VII. 3. 84). So also यक्र.

69. The affix यक्र comes after a root of the Divādi class, when a सर्वाद्धात्वक affix denoting the agent follows.

This debars यक्र. The servile य of यक्र is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 197), showing that the उद्दत accent falls on the radical verb and not on the affix; and the indicatory य makes the affix सर्वाद्धात्वक; as विन+यक्र+यक्र.
375

37. The affix रेणु is optionally employed in the active voice after the following verbs; धार ‘to shine’, धार ‘to shine’, धार ‘to whirl’, धार ‘to walk’, धार ‘to be sad’, धार ‘to fear’, धार ‘to cut’, and धार ‘to desire’.

Thus धार or धार ‘he shines’; धार or धार ‘he shines’; धार or धार ‘he whirs’; धार or धार ‘he walks’; धार or धार ‘he is sad’. So also धार or धार; धार or धार; धार or धार.

38. यथोत्साहगत्वः ॥ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथः, अनुपवगांतः, ( यथः, यथः, सावधातुकः, कर्तिरि ) ॥

39. The affix रेणु is optionally employed after the verb धार ‘to strive’, when it is employed, without a preposition, and when a सर्वदाहातुक a affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus धार or धार ‘he strives’. But no option is allowed in धार, धार. The root धार belongs to the Divadi class.

40. संवसः ॥ ॥ पदानि ॥ सं-यथः, यथः (यथः, यथः) ॥

41. The affix रेणु is optionally employed after the root धार ‘to strive’, when it is preceded by the preposition धार, and when a सर्वदाहातुक a affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus धार or धार ‘he strives’.

42. स्वादिप्यः धारः ॥ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-अदिप्यः, धारः, (सावधातुकः, कर्तिरि) ॥

43. The affix रेणु comes after the roots of स्वादि class when a सर्वदाहातुक a affix denoting an agent follows.
This debars शृः. As, तृ + तृ + तिः = तृ + तृ + तिः = सुविः ‘he presses out’. These are roots of the Fifth class.

शृः: शृः पदार्थी। शृः: शृः, शृः, (शृः)।

पदार्थी: शृः तृतिया। शृः: शृः।

74. And शृः is the substitute of शृः, and there is the affix रृः after it, when a सार्वद्वातुका affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus शृः + रृः + तिः = शृः + रृः + तिः = सुविः ‘he hears’; शृः + तिः ‘they two hear’.

75. The affix रृः is optionally employed after the root तृः ‘to pervade’, when a सार्वद्वातुका affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus शृः तृः अन्त: ‘he pervades or obtains’.

सार्वद्वातुका श्रुः पदार्थी तृः-दिशा तृः नाथ:। (अन्त: श्रुः)।

पदार्थी: तृः नाथ तृः दिशा, अन्त: नाथ रृः तृः दिशा तृः नाथ:।

76. The affix रृः is optionally employed after the root तृः ‘to bore or hew’ when a सार्वद्वातुका affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus शृः तृः अन्त: ‘he hews the wood’. But शृः तृः अन्त: ‘he cuts with speech’.

77. The affix शृः is employed after the roots of the तृः class, in denoting the agent when a सार्वद्वातुका affix follows.

This debars शृः. The indicator शृः makes this affix a सार्वद्वातुका affix. As तृः + शृः + तिः = तृः + शृः + तिः = सुशृः (I. 2. 4) ‘he pangs or torments’.

78. The affix शृः comes after the roots of the रृः class, in denoting an agent when a सार्वद्वातुका affix follows.
377

This debars शू. The indicatory न of the affix शूम् shows that the affix न is to be placed after the last vowel of the root; see sūtra I. 1. 47. As र्म+र्म+ति = र्म+ति = र्म+ति = शूति 'he obstructs'. So also निनि, 'he splits'. The indicatory न is for the sake of sūtra VI. 4. 23.

79. The affix छ comes after the roots of the Tanādi class and after the verb छ 'to make' when a sārvadhatuka affix follows, signifying the agent. This debars छ. As छ+ति = शूति 'he expands'; छ+ति = शूति 'he makes'. Though the root छ is included in the list of the Tanādi verbs, for which see Dhātapātha, yet its separate enunciation in the present sūtra is for the sake of making a restrictive rule with regard to this verb; that is to say, the root छ is a Tanādi root only for the purposes of taking the affix छ; all the other operations of Tanādi verbs are not to be performed upon it. Thus the rule II. 4. 79. does not apply to छ. Thus भुत and भूत; the भू elision being compulsory and not optional.

80. The affix ः comes after the roots ः 'to please', and ः 'to hurt', when a sarvadhatuka affix denoting the agent follows; and in these verbs ः is the substitute of the final ः.

The root धन्त or धिन्त belongs to the Bhuādi class. Thus धन्त+ह+ति = धन्त+ह+ति = धिन्त+ह+ति (VI. 4. 48) = धिन्ति 'he pleases'. It might be asked, why there is no guna of the ः of धिन्त by rule VII. 3. 86 which requires the base to be gunated before a sarvadhatuka or an ārdhadvatuka affix. The answer is to be found in sūtra I. 1. 57; the substitute of ः which is a blank, is like the former occupant (sthūnivāt), and thus prevents guna.

81. The affix ः comes after the roots of the Kryādi class when a sarvadhatuka affix follows denoting the agent.
This debars श्राव. As की + रत्न + शिर = कीणार्थि 'he buys'. So also मोक्षार्थि 'he pleases'.

स्मारकतम्रकाण्यानुसारकाक्ष्य: शुचि: ॥ ८२ ॥ पदार्थि ॥
सम्भ-सम्भु-स्मारक-स्मारक-स्मारि: श्रेष्ठ: ॥, (रत्न) ॥

पुनः: ॥ सम्भु सम्भु स्मारक स्मारक स्मारि: स्मारकार्य: स्मारकर्मार्थि अवस्थि कृष्ण ॥

82 And there is the affix रत्न after स्मारक, स्मारक, स्मारक or स्मारक ‘to hinder’, ‘to be dull or insensible’, ‘to support’, and स्मारक ‘to go by leaps’, as well as the affix रत्न, when a sārvaṣaṭṭhuka affix follows, in denoting the agent.

As स्मारकार्थि or स्मारकार्थि, स्मारकार्थि or स्मारकार्थि, स्मारकार्थि or स्मारकार्थि, स्मारकार्थि or स्मारकार्थि. The first four of these roots are not found in the Dhātupātha and are to be found in the sūtras, and hence called Sāṭra roots.


पुनः: ॥ इल इल इल इल इल: इल: इल: इल: इल: ॥

83. The affix गायक is the substitute of गाय after a root ending with a consonant, when इ is follows.

The affix इ is the 2nd person singular of गाय and the Imperative mood. Thus पुनः ‘do thou nourish’, पुनः ‘do thou take’, from roots पुनः and पुनः which end with consonants. But we have गायक ‘do thou buy’; here there is no substitution of गायक, because the root ends with a vowel. The repetition of गाय in the sūtra shows that गाय is a mere substitute and not an independent affix.


84. In the Chhandas, गायक is also the substitute of गाय after roots ending in consonants, when इ is follows.

Thus गुजर ‘I shall eat’, (Rig Veda VIII. 17. 5.) The affix गायक is also employed; as गुजर पुनः ‘I shall eat’.

वानस पुजस ॥ ८५ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ वानस: वानस: (इल: इल: इल:)


85. In the Chhandas there is diversely an interchange of the various vikaraṇas गाय and the rest.
which have been previously ordained under special circumstances.

The word स्वाइत्र विस्तार means transgression of the fixed rule, or inter-change, taking of two vikaraṇas at a time, and so on. Thus शेतिक = भिष + शप + विश instead of विनिविश from the root विश ‘to split’, belonging to the Rudhādi class; e.g. चुम्मशक्य भाष्य नेतिक (Rig. VIII. 40. 11), ‘He (Indra) break the eggs (children) of Shushma; so also, तसाश गरसे गरसे (Rig. X. 86. 11); here there is गरस्तु=यु + शप + शें instead of विनिविश; the root शें belonging to the Tuḍādi class. So also there are two vikaraṇas at one and the same time, in the following. इन्हों न देने न तेषु ‘May Indra lead by this abode’; here there is वेषु 3rd. per. sing. of the Imperative तो of the root तो ‘to lead’; there are two vikaraṇas तिर्त and शप instead of नेतातु=नो + शप + देश; देशेण दुष्क तववेश बुधनु (Rig. VII. 48. 1). The word तक्षाण (कल + विनिविश + शप + भाष) is the 1st. per. sing. of the Optative (लिखि) of the root शें, the classical form being तदेष तो शें अयु ‘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 Parasnaipada or Atmaneipada affixes; rules of gender, person or tense, rules of interchange of consonants, or of vowels, rules of accent, rules relating to कृित, and तवष्ट affixes and rules relating to the affixes included in the pratyāhāra यथा (III. 1. 22 to III. 1. 86).

This debarς यथा. The affixes of the Beneficitive are अर्थात्तुक by III. 4. 116; but in the Vedas they are सार्धात्तुक as well; see Rule III. 4. 117. The scope of the present rule is confined to the Beneficitive of the verbs शा, गा, गा, वृ, वृ, वृ, अष्ट, and शं; as न्युद्धाशनम्; शस्मनस्तरयं ग: सम्म मानी महान, शष्ठ सम्मन्नावृयै; निष्णुणे संवहित अयुष्कान्तै; शष्ठ समस्माहाकान्तै.

The affix अन्तिक is employed in the Chhandas when the affixes of the Beneficitive (भाषकंेकं) follow.

This debarς यथा. The affixes of the Beneficitive are अर्थात्तुक by III. 4. 116; but in the Vedas they are सार्धात्तुक as well; see Rule III. 4. 117. The scope of the present rule is confined to the Beneficitive of the verbs शा, गा, गा, वृ, वृ, वृ, अष्ट, and शं; as न्युद्धाशनम्; शस्मनस्तरयं ग: सम्म मानी महान, शष्ठ सम्मन्नावृयै; निष्णुणे संवहित अयुष्कान्तै; शष्ठ समस्माहाकान्तै.

The affix अन्तिक is employed in the Chhandas after the verb देन in the Beneficitive. Had there been अन्तिक, it would have caused गुर्ण by rule VII. 4. 16; to prevent this, अन्तिक is ordained; as निष्णुणे देशेन मातरे ‘May I see the father and the mother’.

कर्मदायकेष्ठा सत्यात्मक: || 29 || पदार्थ || कर्मदायकेष्ठा, सत्यात्मक: ||

||
87. The \( \text{सम} \) 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 \( \text{न} \) denoting the object.

This rule applies to reflexive verbs. "This direction implies the substitution for the operations incident to a tense-affix or \( \text{सम} \), denoting an agent, of all the operations, which fall to be performed when the tense-affix or \( \text{न} \) denotes the object. Hence there shall be the affixing of \( \text{ब्रह्म} \) (III. 1. 67) the employment of \( \text{तम्र } \) (III. 1. 66), and the treatment of the word as directed in \( \text{सम} \) VI. 4. 62." (Dr. Ballantyne). Thus निष्कास्ता काण्ड स्वायमेव 'the wood splits of itself'; आनेवि काण्ड स्वायमेव '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 वस्त्र "like" in the \( \text{सम} \) signifies that the rules which apply to an agent also come into operation; thus सन्देर्शे कुष्ठिनः.

The word कर्मखच 'with the object' in the \( \text{सम} \) indicates that the tulya-kriya or similarity of action must be with the object, and not with the instrument or the location. Thus सापविद्विकस्ति 'the sword cuts well'; here 'sword' is not agent but instrument. So also लाव लाविन रक्तित 'the pot cooks well'; here लाविन is a location.

This 'कर्मवद्धाण', the passive-like-construction takes place only in cases of some verbs.

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

Thus सन्देर्शे कर्मखचाः 'the devotee performs austere devotion'; but not so in रि रि रि 'the goldsmith heats the gold'.
89. The affix क्ष (III. 1. 67) and विष (III. 1. 62) are not employed in the reflexive voice of the verbs पूस to milk, पूस to fall in drops and नम to bow.

The affixes क्ष and विष 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 पूस, the affix क्ष is only prohibited by the present sūtra; the विष being optionally employed by rule III. 1. 63, as पूसे, अगुष or अलौष गोः: स्वपक्ष, 'the cow flows or flowed of itself' पूसिः or स्व.गोः: स्वपक्ष ‘the cow flows or flowed of itself’; गोः or अगुष गोः: स्वपक्ष ‘the stick bends or bent of itself’.

This prohibition of the employment of the affixes क्ष and विष is extended to the verbs that take the affix तिः (such as causatives &c.), to the verbs नम to loosen, पूस to compose and पूस to speak, and to the Atmanepadi.

Intransitive verbs. As कारण ‘it is caused to be made of itself’ अण्डकारण ‘it was caused to be made of itself’; अण्डगोः ‘it loosens of itself’; अण्डगोः ‘it composits or composed of itself’; पूसे and स्वपक्ष ‘it speaks and spoke of itself’; गोः and स्वपक्ष गोः: स्वपक्ष.

90. The affix रम्त comes after the roots क्ष to pull, and रक 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 क्ष and the Atmanepada terminations. As कुष्यति वाः: स्वपक्ष ‘the foot draws up of itself’; रक्षति वाः स्वपक्ष ‘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 कुष्यति and रक्षति.

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 हुम् and कृत् affixes, which will be described later on.

तत्तत्रोपर्यं वस्त्रोश्रवं || पद्यपर् तत्र, उपपर्, वस्यी-स्वम् ( घातोः ) ||

वृत्ति: || तत्तत्र:संस्कारायचिकारे वस्त्रो: वस्यी: स्वम् निर्विहं उपपरसति 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. कृत्तिनम् the word कृत्तिन् is exhibited in the 7th case; therefore the word implied by the word कृत्तिन्, namely, the word having the accusative case, will be called उपपर्. Thus कृत्तिन् + अ + अध्याचे = कृत्तिन् 'a potter'; here the word कृत्तिन् is an upapada.

कृत्तिन् || पद्यपर् || कृत्, अ-विक, ( घातोः ) ||

वृत्ति: || कृत्तिनम् सघृद्धिचिकारे विकष्टिश्च: नवयं: हुम्मलोको भवति ||

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

Thus the affixes सघृद्धि &c. are हुम्. 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 हुम् + सघृद्धि = सघृद्धिक. Why do we say ‘except निक् affixes’? Observe सघृद्धि ‘may he collect’, सघृद्धि ‘may he praise’ which form verbs and not nouns.

वाप्यिन् || पद्यपर् || वा, अस्युप, अस्यिन्यासः ( घातोः ) ||

वृत्ति: || अस्यिन्यासायचिकारे अस्यिन्यासायाचिकारे अस्यिन्यासायाचिकारे विकष्टिश्च: नवयं भवति ||

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 debar it; but not so in the case of feminine affixes (III. 3. 94 &c.)

Thus the affixes चुन्द् and वच् (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 क after verbs having a penultimate इ or ऐ vowel, and the roots न, ध्र and क an apaśāda or a special aphorism. In the latter case, therefore, optionally we may have the affixes चुन्द् and वच् also. Thus बिष्णु is a root that has a penultimate इ belonging to the pratyāhāra ौ; and therefore, in forming the noun of agency from it, the affix क will have to be applied by rule 135 of this chapter already mentioned; thus बिष्णु + क = बिष्णुक्; but this special rule however does not debar the operation of the general rule, and we have optionally बिष्णु + ौपुल् = बिष्णुपुल्, and बिष्णु + ह = बिष्णुह् nom. sing. बिष्णुहत।

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 क are, when stripped of their indicator 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 क, as the latter is a special sūtra applicable only to those roots which end in long अ, or which are simple roots not compounded with any preposition. Thus भण् + श + क = भण्ड: ‘giver of cows’. So also क्षमवहृत्: ‘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 (सांकेत) when their essential effective element is the same. Thus the affixes क, भण्, भण्, ए &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 विष्णु 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 apaśāda rule, and though भ and भ are dissimilar in form, they being feminine affixes, the former will always debar the latter. Thus the compound desiderative roots चित्रिते and चित्रिये will form feminine nouns in भ and not by भिष्णु. Thus चित्रिते and चित्रिये and not चित्रिते भिष्णु &c.
95. From this aphorism, as far as the aphorism खुदूको (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 सत्य, अभीष्ट &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 usus 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.

96. The affixes सत्य, सत्य and अभीष्ट come after verbal roots.

The phrase 'after verbal roots' is understood in this aphorism by anuvṛitti from sūtra 91. The final letters ष of सत्य and ष of अभीष्ट are for the sake of indicating accent, being merely diacritical letters. The letter ष indicating svarita accent (VI. 1. 183) and the letter र indicating penultimate udāta accent (VI. 1. 217); these being exceptions to the general rule of accent given in sūtra 3 ante of this chapter.

Thus कु + सत्य = कार्यात्मक, and कु + सत्य = कार्यात्मक 'must be done'; कु + अभीष्ट = कार्यात्मक 'must be done'. In these cases the sense being that of the action itself, there is neuter gender singular number.

Vart:-The affix सत्य when coming after the verb वसु 'to dwell' in marking the agent, is treated as if it had an indicator ष. The force of ष is to cause vṛiddhi. Thus वसु + सत्य = प्रसत्यध्वं '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 कालिकता should be enumerated in addition to those already enumerated in this aphorism. Thus पच्चिमा नाथा: 'kidney beans fit to be
cooked'; तिःतिस्राफळि कादानि '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.

अति यत् || देश || रास्मि || अथिः, यत्, (चासी) ||

The letter य of this affix is indicative showing that the udātta accent falls on the first vowel (VI. 1. 213); thus या + वम् = यों, noun sing., येनु 'what is to be sung'; so also वेण्य 'what is to be drunk'; वेण्य 'what is to be conquered'. The य of या and या is changed into य 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 यन्त्र affix instead of य; reading these two aphorisms together, the conclusion to be drawn is that the affix यन्त्र 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 हे 'to cut', we have the desiderative root हिल्ल, which ends in a vowel य. This य is elided before अर्धधान्तक affixes and thus the root becomes हिल्ल, which ends in a consonant; nevertheless we shall have the affix यन्त्र and not यन्त्र. Thus रिहल्ल 'what is wished to be cut'; रिहल्ल 'what is wished to be placed'. Similarly च before अर्धधान्तक affixes becomes को, the को is changed into यन्त्र before य (VI. 1. 79) and the form then is यन्त्र. The root लय however takes यन्त्र and not तन्त्र; as लघु, लघु; &c.

Vart.—The verbs चत 'to fly', रुच 'to leap', चत 'to ask', चत 'to attempt' and अन्न 'to be born', should be enumerated in addition; that is to say, these verbs, though ending in a consonant, take यन्त्र and not यन्त्र; as तस्वम, तस्वम, तस्वम, तस्वम, and जनमान.

Vart.—And of the verb हम 'to kill' हम is the substitute when it optionally takes the affix यन्त्र. Thus we have हमन्त्र, or पायत्र. The latter form is evolved by sūtras VII. 3. 32 and 54. The affix यन्त्र comes only after the यन्त्र substitute; after हम the affix यन्त्र comes which changes the ह into य, and य into य and causes vṛddhi.

98. The affix यन्त्र comes after a root, which ends in a labial letter preceded by a short य.
This debars यस्य; thus श्रायु + श्रायु = श्रायु 'to be sworn'; अन्त+श्रायु = अन्तश्रायु
'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 श्रायु; thus श्रायु + श्रायु = श्रायु 'what is to be cooked'; श्रायु 'speech'.

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

The word श्रायु is used in the sutra in the original. The force of अ here is, by I. i. 70, that short अ having one मृत्रा or prosodical length is to be taken and not long अ. Therefore, after the root अ to 'obtain', we have अ 'and not अ; thus अायु 'to be reached' i.e. 'attainable'.

श्रायु 'to be able', and अ 'to bear'.
Thus अायु 'possible'; अायु 'endurable'.

99. The affix अ comes after the roots अ 'to speak', अ 'to be mad', अ 'to go, to eat', and अ to restrain', when these roots do not take any preposition.

Thus अायु 'what is to be spoken, i.e. prose'; अायु 'wine'; अायु 'what is to be followed'; अायु 'what is to be restrained'.

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

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

Varī:—The root अ when preceded by the preposition अायु takes the अ, affix when the sense is not that of a preceptor; thus अायु श्रायु: 'an approachable or communicable country'. But when the sense is that of a teacher the root takes अायु; thus अायु: 'a preceptor'.
101. The words अवशच, वचन and वचन are irregularly formed, having the sense of ‘condemnable’, ‘saleable’ and ‘unobstructable’ respectively.

Thus, अवशच वचन ‘censurable sin’. Another and regular form is अवशचम्. This is formed by adding the affix शच to the root शच by III. 1. 106. So also वचन: कवचन: ‘saleable blanket’; वचन: गो: ‘saleable cow’. The other and regular form is वचनम्, formed by the addition of म्. So also गावेय वचन ‘unobstructed by hundred’; सहस्त्रादि वचन ‘unobstructed by thousand’. The other and regular form is मृक्ष from the root मृ ‘to choose’. वचन means a girl choosing her own husband and is non-obstructable by any body. The word वचन 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 वचन वृत्तिः.

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

The word वहर्षिक is derived from root वह ‘to carry’ and means ‘a vehicle’, i.e., that by which a thing is carried; as वह गायस. When it does not mean a carriage, the root takes the affix वहस्; thus वहास: ‘an ox’.

अवशचमस्व: स्वामन्वितः स्वामन्वितम् वाद्यायः वाद्यायः: । । । ।

103. The word अवशच is irregularly formed when meaning ‘lord’ and a ‘Vaiśya’.

The root अव ‘to go’, would have taken अवस् by sūtra 124 of this chapter; but it takes अव when the sense of the word formed by it is that of a ‘lord’ or a man of ‘Vaisya’ caste. As अवस्: वाद्याय, ‘honored lord’, वाद्याय: ‘honored Vaisya’.

Vart: Though by VI. 1. 213, the affix अव makes the udātta accent fall on the first syllable of the word, yet in the case of the word अवर्षिक when it means ‘lord’, the accent falls on the last syllable.

Why do we say ‘when it means a lord or a Vaisya’? Otherwise the root takes the affix अवस् as अवर्षिक: ‘the respectable Brāhmaṇa’.
104. The word उपसर्ग is irregularly formed when meaning what has reached the time favorable to conception, or ripe for fruition.

The word उपसर्ग is formed by adding वा affix to the root त्र ‘to move’, compounded with the preposition वर्त. The word कार्यम् means having reached the time. The word प्रभाव means the first conception. Thus उपसर्ग गी: ‘the cow fit for the bull’; उपसर्ग हवा ‘the mare fit for the horse’.

Why do we say ‘when meaning what has reached the time favorable to conception’? Otherwise the affix वा will be used; as उपसर्गा राधा Madhura ‘Madhura is approachable in Sarat season’.

105. The word अभावेन ‘imperishable’ is irregularly formed when qualifying the word संगतथा ‘friendship’ expressed or understood.

The word अभावेन is formed from the root ज्ञ by the addition of वा, and affixing the negative particle न; as अ + ज्ञ + वा = अभावेन.

Thus अभावेन भोजन करण संगतथा ‘let our friendship be imperishable’. So also अभावेनत्वं तयः.

Why do we say ‘when qualifying the word संगतथा’? Observe अभावेन भोजन: ‘undecaying blanket’.

106. After the root व ‘to speak’, governing a case-inflected word as its upapada, and not having a preposition annexed to it, there comes the affix वा also.

The phrase ‘not having a preposition’ is to be read into this sūtra by anuvṛtti from sūtra 100 ante. The force of the word ‘also’ is to indicate that the affix वा is also employed. The word पुरी means ‘in construction with an upapada that ends in case-affix’.

Thus तथ + व + वायु = तथ + व + वायु = तथः + वायु + वायु = महावायु ‘told by the Vedas or Brahman’. Similarly तथः or स्वतः ‘truth-mouthed’.

Why do we say ‘when it has a case-inflected word as upapada’? Otherwise यत् + तथात् = तथात् a ‘musical instrument’. 
Why do we say 'not having a preposition'? Observe वस्त्रायु ‘a rumour’ formed by the affix वस्त्र and not by वस्त्र or वस्त्र.

 Why do we say 'not having a preposition'? Observe वस्त्रायु ‘a rumour’ formed by the affix वस्त्र and not by वस्त्र or वस्त्र.

107. After the root न ‘to be’, in construction with a case-inflected word as its upapada and when used without a preposition, the affix बन्ध is employed to denote condition (भावा).

The words बुधि and अनुस्फरम of previous sutras are understood in this. The anuvruti of बन्ध does not cover this aphorism. As महामृगेण मत्स्यम् महास्तं गत: ‘gone to or arrived at Brahmahood’; श्रिवृद्धिः श्रिवृद्धि मत्स्यम् ‘gone to divinity’.

The word बन्ध of this sutra governs the succeeding ones.

Why do we say 'in construction with a case-inflected word'? Otherwise it will take वस्त्र; as नू+वस्त्र = नू+बन्ध = महास्तम् (VI. 1. 79).

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

इनस्त च नू ॥ १०८ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ इनि: स, च, (सुधि, अनुस्फरम्, कप्पः साध्ये ) ॥

The words बुधि अनुस्फरम and भावे are understood in this sutra.

As त्रि+नू+वस्त्र = त्रि+बन्ध = महास्तम्, (VI. 1. 71) महामृगेण ‘Brahman-murder’. So also भावम् ‘killing a horse’.

When not in construction with a noun, the form is बन्ध: ‘a blow’ (नू+लष्ट्र+भावम्). This verb does not take the affix बन्ध in denoting condition, there being no example of such formation.

Why do we say 'when not taking a preposition'? Observe भावाया वर्षे ‘there is a combat’. 

पूर्वशास्त्रवृद्धिः: कप्प ॥ १०९ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ सत्यसत्य-शास्त्र--

वृद्धि:। एति हनु शास्त्रु हू मुष: इवेश्य: वस्त्रभयो,सत्य: ॥

वार्ता:कप्प: वार्ता:कप्पः गुणिकोर्विकोर्विको विद्वेद्विविको ॥

वार्ता कप्पः। भाव हनु: शास्त्रणु: अनुवर्तिकम् ॥
109. After the verbs युक्ति ‘to go’, युक्ति ‘to praise’, युक्ति ‘to govern’, युक्ति ‘to choose’, युक्ति ‘to respect’ and युक्ति ‘to please’, comes the affix वार्ष.

The anuvṛtti of युक्ति, अनुवर्तमः and जाने does not extend to this aphorism. The present sūtra ordains generally the affix वार्ष after the above verbs. Thus यु + वार्ष = यु + त + व (VI. 1. 71) = युवर्ष: ‘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 कुष्ठ affix, with an indicatory त follows’. So also तु + वार्ष = स्तुर्वर्ष: ‘to be praised’; रासु + वार्ष = रासिः + त (श being changed into त by VI. 4. 34) = रासिः: ‘to be instructed i.e. a pupil’. So also त + वार्ष = दुवर्ष: ‘to be chosen’; भाव + वार्ष = भावर्ष: ‘to be honoured’; उत्त + वार्ष = उत्तर्वर्ष: ‘to be served’.

Though the anuvṛtti of वार्ष 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 वार्ष ‘after the verb तु’, but the present rule prohibits that. Thus we have अध्ययन वार्षः: ‘must be praised’.

By तु in the sūtra the root तुष् is intended to be taken, and not the root तष्ठ. The equivalent derivative of the latter is तायः as तायः द्वितिः.

Vart.—The roots तुष् ‘to praise’ पूष् ‘to milk’ and गृह ‘to cover’ optionally take the affix वार्ष. As गृहर्ष or गृहर्ष (VI. 4. 37); पूषर्ष or पूषर्ष, पूषर्ष or पूषर्ष.

Vart.—The verb अंष्ठ ‘to anoint’, preceded by the preposition भाव, takes the affix वार्ष, when used as an appellative. As भाव + अंष्ठ + वार्ष = भाववार्ष meaning clarified butter. The nasal is elided by VI. 4. 24.

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

110. After verbs having a penultimate short अ, the affix वार्ष is employed, with the exception of the verbs पूष्ठ ‘to be able’, and पूष्ठ ‘to hurt’.

Thus पूष्ठ + वार्ष = पूष्ठवर्ष; so also पूष्ठ. But पूष्ठ and पूष्ठ will form क्षण, and श्रवेण.

Why have we used the letter तु in श्रवेण? It is to indicate that short तु
is meant and not long व (I. 1. 70). Therefore the root ० will take ० त and form ०.

\textit{Vart:}—The root ० ० takes the affix ० when compounded with the word ०. Thus वासिखर्क्षाः राजः: ‘a rope’.

\textit{Vart:}—The root ० when preceded by both र and र ० takes ० as समविषयाः.

० च सन: ॥ १११ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ च, सन, ॥ (कयः) ॥

\textit{वृति:} ॥ कानेउँतः: कयः परस्यो वादस्यार्थमात्राः ॥

१११. The affix कयः is employed after the root सन ‘to dig’, and long ह is substituted for the final of the root.

Thus सन्+कयः = सन् + ह + ह = कोः ‘to be dug’. The long ह is used in the सूत्रa for the sake of euphony. The same purpose would have been served by using short ह, thus ‘ह च तनः’. But the long ह indicates that the rule VI. 4· 43 does not apply here. By that rule the न of सन् would have been lengthened into न before the affix कयः.

\textit{संस्कारष्यायं} ॥ ११२ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ चूजः: अ-संस्कारष्याम् (कयः) ॥

\textit{वृति:} ॥ गृहो वायूकरणार्थाः विषयो वायु पान्यो भवति ॥

\textit{वार्तिकः} ॥ संस्कारष्याभासः ॥

११२. The affix कयः is employed after the verb चूजः ‘to bear’ when not used as a name.

Thus चूजः+कयः = चूजः Pl. चूजः: ‘those who ought to be supported’, i. e. ‘servants’. Why do we say ‘when not used as an appellative’? Observe चूजः+चूजः = चूजः: ‘a Kshatriya’.

\textit{Vart:}—The use of \textit{kyap} is optional when this verb takes the preposition सन्. Thus कोः: or कोः.

\textit{संस्कारष्यायं} ॥ ११३ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ चूजः: विषयः (कयः) ॥

\textit{वृति:} ॥ गृहो वायूकरणार्थाः वायु पान्यो भवति ॥

११३. The affix कयः optionally comes after the root चूजः ‘to cleanse’.

This is an example of \textit{Prāpta-vibhāṣa}. By rule \textit{110 ante}, the root ० having a penultimate ० would have necessarily taken \textit{kyap}; this सूत्रa declares an option. As परिष्कर्ष: or परिष्कर्ष: ‘to be cleansed’. The second form is thus evolved:—

\textit{परिष्कर्ष+कयः} (III. 1. 124) = \textit{परिष्कर्ष+च} (VII. 3. 52) = \textit{परिष्कर्ष} (VII. 2. 114)
114. The words राजसूय वृषभेश्वर are irregularly formed by the addition of the affix वर्यः.

Thus राजसूय = राज वृषभेश्वर: 'the Rajasूय or coronation sacrifice.'

Similarly दुधः or दुधः + वर्यः = दुधः: 'the sun', literally that which moves (सरति) in the sky; or that which impels (सुभिति) creation to action. दुधः + वर्यः = दुधःसूय: 'false speech'; this is an exception to rule 106, by which वर्यः would also have been applied. This rule prevents it. Thus रोपेश्वर: राज + वर्यः = राजवर्यः: 'an agreeable lover'. So also गृहः + वर्यः = गृहवर्यः: 'a base metal (other than gold and silver)'; the other form is गृहिम्यः. फुटः + वर्यः = फुटवर्यः: 'that which ripens of itself in cultivated ground'. वर्यः = अयौः: 'a snake (what does not move by legs)'.

भिंदीठुः नदीवः || 115 || पदार्थ || भिंदी-ठुः, नदीवः, (वर्यः) ||

115. The words भिंदी and ठुः are irregularly formed by the affix वर्यः when meaning a 'river'.

Thus भिंदी + वर्यः = भिंदी: 'a river that breaks its banks by the rush of its water', the name of the Bhidya river.

ठुः + वर्यः = ठुःवर्यः: 'a river whose waters overflow the banks', name of the Uddhya river; the ठुः is changed into द्धः.

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

पुष्यासङ्गी नामवः || 116 || पदार्थ || पुष्य-सङ्गी, नामवः ||

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

Thus पुष्य + वर्यः = पुष्यः: 'the Pushya asterism'. It is so called because objects are nourished under the influences of this asterism. सङ्गी + वर्यः = सङ्गीवर्यः: '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 शीघ्रः 'nourishing', श्रापः 'accomplishing'.
117. The words विपृय, विनीत and विश्व are irregularly formed when they mean, the 'muñja grass', the 'sediment' and the 'plough' respectively.

Thus वि + पृ + श्र = विपृय: etymologically 'that which has to be purified to make rope'; वि + नी + वर्ष = विनीत 'a sediment or sin'; वि + वर्ष = विश्व 'a plough that which is to be conquered by strength'.

The regular derivatives are विप्रायन, विनीतम् and विश्वसन.

118. The verb बः to 'seize', preceded by the prepositions प्रव and अभि, takes the affix बः in the Vedic literature.

Thus बः अभि इस्वरे पृष्टः बः: बः गतस्मि अभि इस्वरे बः:.

In the classical Sanskrit the proper forms are मतवाद्यान and अपिमा:

पदार्थि-विभासपथेण च च । ९१९ ॥ पदः ॥ पदू-अविदीर- बाह्या-पतमेण च, (पः, क्यः) ॥

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

Thus बःइः 'the Pragrihya words that do not admit of sandhi, already defined in sūtra 1. 1. 11. So also बःइः.

The word अविदीर means dependent upon others, not free to provide for himself. Thus गः 'the captive parrots'.

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

The word बःइः is derived from बः 'a side, a party', and means a partisan, follower or friend. Thus बःइः 'siding with or being the partisans of Vāsudeva'. So also अविदीर: 'belonging to the party of Arjun'.
120. After the verbs हृद 'to do', and पूर्ति 'to rain' the affix कथा is optionally employed.

The root हृद would have taken the affix बिश्रवत् by 124, and the verb पूर्ति would necessarily have taken कथा by 110; the present sūtra therefore declares an optional rule. Thus: हृद + कथा = कृत्वा 'to be done'; or हृद + बिश्रवत् = कार्यकृत्. So also बुध्वत् or वर्षेत् 'stimulating'.

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

The word दयचन means that by which a thing is carried. Thus दयचन गो 'the carrier bull or the yoked bull'. दयचन श्लो 'the harnessed elephant ready to carry'. दयचन + कथा = दयवन. The ज is changed into च. When not meaning a carrier or a carriage, it has the form दयवन.

122. Optionally the word भवति is irregularly formed.

The word भवति means 'along' or 'together'. भवति in composition with the root बिश्रवत् 'to dwell', takes the affix बिश्रवत् in the sense of location of time. Optionally the Vriddhi 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 भवति or भवति.

The final न in भवति is indicative and is for the sake of showing where should the proper accent fall.

The two forms भवति or भवति 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 एकाधिकारिकस्थानानांतर्यामि; '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 भवति 'is made applicable to the form भवति also.'
123. In the Vedas the following words are found which are formed irregularly: —निरहक, देवहृत, प्रधावह, अर्थुत, शरीरहृत, शिखरहृत, मह्र, लघु, तस्य, लघुम, भावहृत, गणनिपाठ, मर्मपीय, महामत्व, महाभाव, महामहिष्य, महामिल, महामय, महामयित्व, महामहीर्ण, महामहीपति.

The formation of the above words are extremely irregular and they are all met with in the Vedic literature only. Thus the word निरहक is derived from the root कृत् ‘to cut’, with the preposition निः, and the affix यत्र, instead of चत, which is the regular affix, by यत्र, । नि: + कृत् + यत्र = नि: + चत + यत्र (the root कृत् transformed into चत् by transposition) = निरहक. As निरहक निरहक: विरहकः:.

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

So also देवहृत is formed by adding to the root देह ‘to call’ or हृ ‘to invoke, the affix कृत् and the upapada देह; the vowel of the root is then lengthened and the augment त (VI. 1. 71), is not allowed, देह + हृ or हृ + कृत् = देवहृत: So also व + न (to lead) + कृत् = मान्य: ; दत्त + नृ + कृत् = दन्तिय: ; दत्त + निपाठ (to leave) + कृत् = विद्युति: ; हृ (to die) + दत्त = दत्त: ; हृ (to cover) + दत्त = दत्त: ; it is always feminine. धृ (to bend) + दत्त = धृत: ; धृ + नृ + कृत् = धृत: ; देह (God) + वस (to sacrifice) + महा = देहवस: always used as feminine. आ + कृत् (to ask) + कृत् = आकृति: ; आ + सीव (to sew): + कृत् = मान्यिक भा: ; प्रभु + कृत् (to speak) + नृ = प्रभुवन: ; प्र (to be) + नृ = मान्य: ; सु (to praise) + नृ = सत्य: ; दत्त + निपाठ (to collect) + नृ + कृत् = निपाठकृत: This last word is formed then only when the word दत्त follows; and when the sense is that of ‘gold’. When it does not mean ‘gold’, the form is दप्त्यकृत:.

The affix यत्र comes after a verb that ends in हृ (loqu or short), or in a consonant.

The phrase भावहृत: is in the genitive case dual number, the force of genitive here being that of ablative. As कृत् + यत्र = कार्यवे यत्र: ‘to be made’; हृ + यत्र =
125. The prefix श्यत comes after a root that ends in the letter य or short when the sense is that of necessity.

This debars the prefix श्यत. Thus लू + श्यत = लू + य = लाभ (VII. 2. 115 and VI. 1. 79) ‘must be cut’; so also लू + श्यत = पाल्य ‘must be purified’.

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

126. The prefix श्यत comes after the verbs आधार ‘to distil’, लू ‘to join’, त्वृ ‘to sow’, श्यत ‘to speak distinctly’ राग ‘to praise’, श्यत ‘to be ashamed’, and श्यत ‘to drink’.

The verb श्यत is a compound verb formed by the preposition आधार, and the root श्य. This sūtra debars श्यत, that would otherwise have come by sūtra 97 and 98.

Thus आधार + श्यत = आधारलाभ (VII. 2. 115 and VI. 1. 79); so also आधार, श्यत, राग, श्यत and आधारत्व.

The force of the word श्य ‘and’ in the sūtra is to indicate that the roots not included in the above enumeration should also be taken. Thus श्यत + श्यत = श्यतत्व।
127. The word अनायय: is irregularly formed when meaning ‘impermanent’.

This word is thus formed: — अन् + नी + च्वअ = च्वा + नी + च्व = अनायय, (the अ being changed into अन by the analogy of VI. i. 79).

As अनायय हसिष्णग्री. This is a species of Dakshināgni fire. As this fire is brought from the Gārhapatya fire and is not permanently kept alive, therefore it is called अनायय. This however, is not co-extensive with Daksināgni. It is that fire which is brought from the Gārhapatya, and has the same source with the Dakshināgni and Ahavaniyāgni. A Dakshināgni 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 अनायय Dakshināgni. Ahavaniya is also taken from Gārhapatya.

It is not every thing, that is not lasting, which is called अनायय; 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 अनायय meaning ‘what ought to be brought’.

प्राचीनोपज्ञानीतै उद्देशी पदार्थिः प्राचीनः, अवस्तृति ||

वृत्ति: प्राचीन हिंदु निरपेक्षवें संस्कृतविभेदेः ||

128. The word प्राचीन: is irregularly formed when meaning ‘disapproved’.

The word अवस्तृति is a negative word meaning ‘non-agreement’. It means also ‘disrespect’.

Thus प्राचीनोपज्ञान: ‘the thief is to be disliked’.

Why do we say when meaning ‘disapproved’. Because otherwise the regular form is म + नी ‘to lead’ + वस्ती = प्राचीन: ‘tractable’.

The word in the śūtra is अवस्तृति which we have translated as ‘disapproved’. But the word अवस्तृति also means अवस्तृति or ‘desire’; and अवस्तृति would therefore, mean ‘free from desire or worldly attachment’. Therefore the word अवस्तृति means also ‘free from attachment’, as in the following sentence: —

वदेहाय गुणाय वित्ता प्राचीन: बन्धन: अवस्तृतिः पति: प्राचीन: अवस्तृतिः नान्यन्त: कर्मण: ‘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’.

पाप्प्यसंनान्यन्ति भार्यायाय नान्यन्ति विभाषाय नान्यन्ति ||

128 पदार्थ: पाप्प्यचतुर्याय नियत्तय भार्याय:; नान्यन्ति: नियत्तय बालिचित्रोऽथ ||

वृत्ति: पाप्प्यवाप्रयती नियत्तय बालिचित्रोऽथ नियत्तय बालिचित्रोऽथ नियत्तय बालिचित्रोऽथ ||
129. The words पाल्य, साराध्य, निचार्य and धार्य 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) + यत्व = धार्य, the य being changed into य and another य being added by VII. 3. 33. The regular form is नेवत्व 'to be measured' (मा + यत्व = मे + य VI. 4. 65 = नेवत्व). सम + नी (to lead) + यत्व = साराध्य 'the oblation'. It being a crude form applies to a particular kind of oblation. The regular form is सांसर्य । ध + य (to collect) + यत्व = ध + य + य = निचार्य 'a dwelling'. The regular form is निचार्य । ध (to put) + यत्व = पाल्य (fem.). The स्मादेनी is the name of certain रिक hymns used as supplemental verses in a Litany. The other form is धेव.

क्रतीः कुष्ठपायसंवेशयें || १३० || पदरां || क्रती, कुष्ठपायस-संचायें ||

भृति: || कुष्ठपायस संचायवस्तुपमोष्टितादिं निपासैंनेव स्तादविनेवे ||

130. The words कुष्ठपायस: and संचायवस्तु: are irregularly formed meaning a sacrifice.

These words are thus formed: कुष्ठ + पा (to drink) + यत्व = कुष्ठ + पा + य + य (VII. 3. 33) = कुष्ठपायस: 'the sacrifice in which Soma is drunk with a bowl'. The accent falls on the first syllable by VI. 1. 213. सम + य (to collect) + यत्व = संचायवस्तु: 'the sacrifice in which Soma is collected'.

If not applied to sacrifices, the forms will be कुष्ठपायस: and संचाव.

अर्नी परिचार्यसंचायसङ्कूर्य: || १३१ || पदरां || अर्नी, परिचार्य-उपार्धः-सङ्कूर्य: ||

भृति: || परिचार्य संचायवस्तु सांसुङ्कूर्य सामान्य निपासैंनेव स्तादविनेवे ||

131. The words परिचार्यवस्तु: उपार्धः: and सांसुङ्कूर्य: are irregularly formed when they are names of fire.

These words are thus formed:--परि + य + यत्व = परि + य + य = परि + य + य = परिचार्य: 'sacrificial fire arranged in a circle' (the य being changed into य by the analogy of VI. 1. 79. This peculiar sandhi before the semivowel य has been illustrated in the previous examples also). So also उपार्धः: a kind of sacred fire'. सम + य + यत्व = सम + य + य + य = सांसुङ्कूर्य: a kind of fire'. सांसुङ्कूर्य स्मादेनी यष्टियाः: let him kindle the सांसुङ्कूर्य fire desirous of a victim'.

Why do we say 'when they are names of fire'? Observe otherwise, परिचार्य 'to be heaped', उपार्धः 'to be increased', सांसुङ्कूर्य 'to be carried'.
132. The words विषय and अनिविषय are also irregularly formed.

The word विषय: comes from the root विष 'to collect', and means fire i.e. that which is collected. As विषयोत्सवं: ‘the funeral pile fire’. The word अनिविषय means, arranging the fire. The affix य has been added to denote condition, together with the augment तुद्ध (त). These words have अट्टता accent on the last vowel. The regular form is वेदन्त् 'to be gathered'.

133. The affixes षुज (अक्ष) and ष (अक्ष) are placed after all verbal roots, expressing the agent.

The word 'root' is understood in the above aphorism. Thus षु 'to do' + षुज = कार + षु (VII. 2. 115) = कार + अक्ष (VII. 1. 1) = कारक nom. sing. कारक: 'doer.' षु + ष = कर + ष (VII. 3. 84) = कर ष nominal sing. करष. So also हारक: and हारस.

The ष of हारष is not indicative, but distinguishes this affix from हार; the simple ह includes both हारष and हार, as in V. 3. 59, and VI. 4. 154.

134. After the verbs classed as नन्द 'to be happy', प्र 'to take' and रष 'to cook' there are the affixes षु (अक्ष) लिनि (लिनि) and अच (अ) respectively.

The word ḍdi meaning etcetera, 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 नन्द class, comes the affix षु; after the verbs of प्र class, comes the affix लिनि; after the verbs of रष class, comes the affix अच.

The नन्द verbs will not be found in one place in the Dhatūpātha. The list of the words formed by these affixes have, however, been collected in the Gaṇapātha. Thus नन्द + षु = नन्द + षु (I 3. 8) = नन्द + अ (VI. 1. 1) = नन्द nom. sing. नन्द: 'son' (lit. what gladdens). So also from the following causa-
tive roots, nouns are formed, meaning names: —चाह—चाहन or चाहन; सह—सहन; दृष्टि—दृष्टि: (or वृष्टि); चाप—चापन; श्रावि—श्रावन; श्रुति—श्रुत्रि: and रोषि—रोषन.

The following derivatives are names: —सह—सहन; श्रावि—श्रावन; श्रुति—श्रुत्रि.

So also the following words: —सत्वन, रस्तय; श्रावि, संस्कृत्य; संक्षरित्य; संग्रहित्य; संहरित्य; श्राविन्य; श्रुतिन्य; श्रुत्य; विन्य; पत्र; लघुत्य: (the य in लघुत्य is irregular). विप्रविन्य; कल्पन्य; and श्रुत्य.

The महाएँ verbs are also nowhere enumerated in a group. The following are, however, those verbs: —चह—चहिन: nom. चही; दरसह—दरसहिन: nom. दरसही; धरसह—धरसहिन; धरसहसह—धरसहसहिन; धारसह—धारसहिन; समन—समनिन; दरसह—दरसहिन. So also the verbs-रस, भु, शु; चह; रस and शु preceded by विन: लिनिन, लिनिनिन, लिनिनिनिन, लिनिनिनिन. The verbs चह्र, चहार, संहार, श्र, श्रह and श्रस take लिन: when preceded by the negative particle; as, अभीच, अभीचिन, अभीचिनिन, अभीचिनिनिन, अभीचिनिनिन. So also after verbs ending in a vowel when agents are non-conscious beings: as, अभिनिन, अभिनिन. So also, अभिनिनिन, अभिनिनिन, विशिष्टिन, विशिष्टिन (meaning a place) विशिष्टिनिन and विशिष्टिनिन, अभिनिनिनिन अपरिनि, अपरिनि, परिनि, परिनि, परिनि.

The following are पश्यि verbs: —पश, पश, वेश, चाल, सप, पत, नरह, नरह, नरह गरह, नरह, नरह, नरह, नरह, नरह, नरह, नरह, गरह, नरह, नरह, नरह, नरह, नरह.

The द in नहि &c., shows that the feminine of these is formed by long द (IV. I. 15). The पश्यि class is an आकृतिनिन: आकृतिनि: पश्यन्ति or पश्यन्ति: आकृति: आकृतिनि: स्थानिनि: र्या: स्थानिनि:

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

बुधपर्स्या मिरार: कः १३३ || पदार्थि || इन्द्र-उचच-श्रा-प्री-किर: ||

135. After a verb ending in a consonant but preceded by द, व or च (long or short), and after the verbs श्रा ‘to know’, बी ‘to please’, and च ‘to scatter’, comes the affix क (अ).

Thus लिङ्गः + क = लिङ्गः nom. sing, विलिङ्गः: So also विलिङ्ग: ‘inscription’; बुध: ‘who knows’; चुरा: ‘lean’; श्रा + क = श्रा: ‘who knows’ (VI. 4. 64); बी + क =
Bk. III. Ch. I. § 136, 137] THE AFFIX SA.

The words श्रेष्ठ 'God', सेव 'service' and न्येश 'ram', should be read in the प्रथम class of the last सूत्र, being formed by the अभ्य अभ्य and not by क।

Also after a verb ending in long भ when there is a preposition along with it, the अभ्य is placed.

This is an आपविदा of III. 1. 40, and debar the अभ्य. Thus भव + क = वित्त + म = ब्रह्म (VI. 4. 64). सुभव + क = सुभव + म = सुभव: 'very weary' (अभ्य substituted for भ by VI. 1. 45). सुब्रह्म + क = सुब्रह्म + म = सुब्रह्म: 'very languid'.

The final भ is dropped before the अभ्य by rule VI. 4. 64. There is elision of long भ when an अभ्रधत्तुका अभ्य follows beginning with a vowel and having an indicatory क or क।

137. The prefix श (भ) is employed after the roots श 'to drink', प्र 'to smell', भव 'to blow', प्रव 'suck', and श 'to see' when there is a preposition along with these roots.

Thus उद्ध + प्र + श = उद्ध + विध + भ (VII. 3. 78) = उद्ध्विध nom. sing. उद्ध्विध; so also विधिं; दधिं; and विधिं। उद्ध + भव + श = उद्ध + भव + भ = (VII. 3. 78); दधिं; विधिं; उद्ध + प्र + श = उद्ध्विध; विधिं; so also उद्ध + भव + श = उद्ध्विध (VII. 3. 78). so also विधिं।

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

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

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated of the root प्रु, when the word to be formed is a name. As विध्य+भव+पुरू+क = विध्यापुरू: 'tiger' (an animal that goes about smelling). Here there is क and not the prefix श।
The affix श is employed after the following verbs when used without a preposition: लिपि, विलिप, and the causatives धारी, पारी, वेदित, वेदित, गाँव, भाग, and साधि.

Thus लिपि: ‘smearing’; विलिप: ‘acquiring’; धारी: ‘holding’; पारी: ‘ferrying’; वेदित: ‘knowing’; वेदित: ‘perceiving’; गाँव:; साधि:; and भाग:

Why do we say ‘when used without a preposition’? Observe गाँव:;

here the affix is श.

Var. — The verb लिपि with the preposition श takes the affix श. As लिपि श श: ‘the name of certain deities’, ‘a cow’.

Var. — The affix श is employed after लिपि when compounded with the words शो &c. and when the word to be formed is a proper noun. As गोविन्द: ‘Krishna’ (protector of cows); भागिन्द: ‘a lotus’ (having petals like spokes).

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

This debars श. Thus श: ‘giving’; or श: ‘inheritance’; श: ‘holding’ or श: ‘having’.

When a preposition is used, the affix श is not employed; as श:; श:;

शविनित ोश्वरोऽपि श: ॥ १३९ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ शविनित-करण्योऽपि ॥

140. After the verbs beginning with श: ‘to shine’ and ending with ो ‘to go’, when used without a preposition, the affix श is optionally employed,
The word नात्ति in नात्तित्व indicates beginning. These are about 56 verbs, all belonging to the Bhuddita class. See No. 804 to 860 in the Dhātupātha, Bombay Edition in the Appendix to Sidhānta Kaumudi.

This debar the affix अष्ट; as वर्ग: or वर्ग:; खान: or खान:.

The affix य (अ) having an indicator य, causes the vṛiddhi of the penultimate भ. When the affix य is not used, then भष्ट्र is used, and we have the other form. But compound verbs take अष्ट; as मवस्य: 'luminous'.

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

141. The affix य is employed after the following verbs also:—स्त्रूत 'to go', verbs ending in long भ, व्य 'to pierce', भाज 'to wail', भाज 'to milk', भव्य 'to complete', भव 'to take away', जिह 'to lick', जिल 'to embrace', and र्वस 'to breathe'.

The root जच्च, before affixes, becomes र्वस्य, (VI. 1. 45) and is thus included in the phrase 'verbs ending in long भ. 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 य. Thus III. 1. 136 enjoins य when a compound verb ends in भ. But that rule does not apply to the verb जच्च.


142. The affix य is employed after the verbs दु 'to burn', and नी 'to lead', when used without a preposition.
Thus ठुँ + ध = ठोँ + ध (VII. 2. 115) = वाहः: (VI. 1. 78) 'burning'. So also नी + ध = नी + ध = नाहः: 'leading'.

Why do we say 'when used without a preposition'? Observe वाहः: 'burning'; पाहः: 'friendship'.

143. The affix य is optionally employed after the verb यह 'to seize'.

This debar the affix अण्ड. Thus ठूँ + ध = ठूँ + ध (VII. 2. 116) = वाहः: 'seizing', 'a crocodile'; or वाहः + अण्ड = वाहः: 'a planet'.

The option allowed by this aphorism is a nyavastha-vibhādhā or definite option, that is to say, the affix य 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 वाहः. But not so, when heavenly luminaries are meant; there the word is वाहः.

Vart.:—This rule should be extended to the root ठूँ 'to be' also. Thus:—वाहः: 'condition' and नाहः: 'existence'.

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

Thus यह + क (VI. 1. 16) = युक्तृम् 'a house'. The य is changed into य by the rule of samprasthana. The plural form युक्त्वता: means 'wife', as she is especially the person that constitutes the house; while the plural of युक्त्वता meaning 'housy' will be युक्त्वताः.

145. The affix धूँ (अक्ष) comes after a verb, when the agent so expressed denotes an artist.

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

Thus धूँ + धूँ = धूँ + अक्ष (VII. 1. 1) = धूँक्ष: 'dancer'. The letter य is indicatory (I. 3. 6) and by Rule IV. 1. 41, it denotes that words formed by prefixes having indicatory य form their feminine gender by the affix कृत. Thus
the feminine of मनुष्य is ममवी; so also मन: ‘miner’, fem. ममवी; मम: ‘washer-
man’, fem. मम.

In the case of the root रम the nasal is elided. According to the op-
inion of the author of Mahabhasya, only two verbs are governed by this सूत्रa
namely नृत्त and नृत्त: According to him, the verb रम takes the affix हृ.
The thus रम + हृ = रम + हृ (VI. 4. 37) = रम + हृ (VII. 1. 1) = रम; feminine
रम.

गर्भकता ॥ १४६ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ गल्क (शिलियलिनि) ॥

२३२: गर्भकतार्थस्थिति भवति शिलियलिनि कसौरिं ॥

146. The affix गल्क (गल्क) comes after the verb नृ to ‘sing’, when the agent so expressed, denotes an
artist.

As, नृ + गल्क = गल्क (VI. 1. 45) ‘a singer’, fem. गल्क.

सुच (२३२) ॥ पदार्थ ॥ गसुच (नृ: शिलियलिनि) ॥

२३२: गर्भकतासुचस्य भवति शिलियलिनि कसौरिं ॥

147. The affix गसुच is also employed after the
verb नृ ‘to sing’, when the agent so expressed denotes an
artist.

By the word नृ ‘also’, the word गा of the last सूत्रa is drawn into this.
The thus गल्क + गा = गा + नृ (VII. 1. 1) = गावल्क: fem. गावल्क; the च is added by VII.
3. 33.

The separation of these rules (yoga-vibhaga) relating to नृ is for the
purpose of the सूत्रas that follow. Had गल्क and गसुच च been made one aph-
orism, the anuvṛtti of both these affixes would have run into the subsequent सूत्रas. But it is intended that the anuvṛtti of गसुच should only run, and
hence this yoga-vibhaga or division of one सूत्रa into two.

(सुच) ॥

२३२: गर्भकसौरिविविश्वा नृत्त ॥ पदार्थ ॥ नृ, गर्भक-कसौरिविविश्वा;

148. After the verb नृ, also the affix गसुच is
employed when the agent so expressed denotes ‘rice’ and
‘time’.

The verb नृ denotes two verbs नृ ‘to abandon’ and नृ ‘to go’ both
belonging to the Third Conjugation, forming सहानि and नि-हानि as 3rd per. sing.
The thus गल्क + गसुच = गल्क: ‘a kind of rice’ (that which jahati ‘leaves off’ all water)
नृत्त: ‘a year’ (that which jihhate ‘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.

मुख (मु) समविहारे दुः ॥ १४९ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ मु-ख-(मु)-र्वः, समविहारे, दुः ॥

पुष्पः ॥ मु यु (यु ) लू नाबन्धेयः धारुः समविहारे दुः प्रस्वभो निर्विन्नः ॥

149. After the verbs मु ‘to go’, यु ‘to move’, यु ‘to flow’ and यु ‘to cut’, the affix दुः is employed, when repetition is meant.

As, मु + दुः = मु + अधक (VII. 1.1) = प्रकः; so also, सरकः, द्वरकः, and नवकः.

The word समविहारेत्र in the śūtra indicates that the action done by the agent must be well performed. The affix दुः 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.

आशिच् च ॥ १५० ॥ पदार्थ ॥ आशिच्, च, (दुः) ॥

पुष्पः ॥ आशिच् च, गन्धमानासो पारमाणासो दुः प्रस्वभो निर्विन्नः ॥

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

As, नीच + दुः = नीचकः ‘may he live’; नवकः ‘may he be happy’.

The word आशिच् 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’.
BOOK THIRD.
CHAPTER II.

—२०—

कर्मवाचकः ॥ ९ ॥ पदार्थः || कर्मवाचकः ॥ अखः ( चाते: ) ॥

वृत्तः || सर्वः कर्मवा रुपाः धातीरप्रयतवेयो भवचि ॥
वायुकत्रियम् ॥ शालिकालिकः यथा सर्वस्यमविविधाः स स्त्रयम् ॥
वायुक्तानुमा ॥ इत्यथात्मनामां भैरवः कर्मवा ॥

1. The affix अख 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 निवर्त्या, विक्रया and प्रक्प्या.

The object which has a material cause, but such cause is however unexpressed in the sentence, is called निवर्त्या object; as क्रमम् वर्त्या ते 'he makes a pot'; here शूल 'mud' the material cause of क्रमम् is unexpressed, therefore, क्रमम् is निवर्त्या object. Where the material cause itself is changed, by a modification, into something else, such an object is called विक्रया object; as क्रमक्रमेव '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 प्रक्प्या object; as वेश्यायः 'the reading of Veda'; the Veda is always the same.

They will be illustrated by the following examples:—Of the first kind, we have क्रमक्रमाः 'a potter' and नगरक्रमाः 'a city-builder'; of the second, we have क्रमक्रमाः 'a branch-cutter' and गृहक्रमाः 'a reed-cutter'. Of the third, वेश्यायः 'the learning of Veda' and राज्यायः 'the reading of Charcha'. But compound nouns cannot be formed of such sentences as यर्म हर्ष वर्त्या 'he goes to the village', आर्थेश्वर्यम् 'he sees the sun', तिरस्र्यं गृहस्वर्यम् '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 अख comes after the verbs शौच, कामो, महें and आयर and the noun in composition with it, retains its original accent. As महाशीलम्: 'addicted to flesh'; रम्यस्वीलम्; मांसस्वाम्यम्: 'loving flesh'; रम्यस्वाम्यम्; मांसस्वाम्यम्: 'carnivorous'; रम्यस्वाम्यम्; मांसस्वाम्यम्: 'good-conducted'; रम्यस्वाम्यम्.
THE AFFIX KA.  

Vart:- The affix अ क. comes after the roots हैं ‘to look’ and हूँ ‘to forbear’ under similar circumstances. As लूकावस्था; fem. लूकावस्था ‘expecting happiness’; वल्लभन: fem. वल्लभन ‘much forbearing’.

हायास्मण II ॥ ॥ पद्यति II हाय, बा, नत: (अर्थ) ॥

वृत्ति: II हाय, बा, नत: एते त्वथा करण्युपपत्ते अनुवर्त्ते भवति II

2. The affix अ क. comes after the root हैं ‘to call’, हूँ ‘to weave’, माह ‘to measure’, when the object is in composition with it.

This debars the affix क (III. 2. 3); as लूकाय + हूँ + अ या = लूकाय + हूँ + अ या (VII. 3. 33) = लूकाओयाय: (the अ is added by rule VII. 3. 33, when a krit affix with an indicatory अ or या follows, the augment अ is added after the verbs that end in long अ). So also तन्त्रशय: तन्त्रशयः.

आतोवास्मण कः II ॥ पद्यति II अतः अनुपवर्ते कः (कलस्य) ॥

वृत्ति: II आतोवाकर्ने संहातोस्मणुपपत्ते करण्युपपत्ते कस्यवर्ति II

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

This debars अ क.; as गाव + हूँ + अ या = गाव + हूँ + अ या: ‘Giver of cows’, (the long अ is elided by VI. 4. 64.) So also, कामवल्लभ: ‘who gives a blanket’; परिमाणसुः ‘what protects the rear’; अनुवास्मण ‘what protects the finger’ (a thimble).

Why do we say ‘when there is no upasarga’? Witness गोसंत: ‘who ceremoniously gives a cow’, वहेरवाहः ‘who ceremoniously gives a mare’. Here the compound verb संत तांत्र takes the affix क. ।

सुचि: स्वः II ॥ पद्यति II सुचि: स्वः (कः) II

वृत्ति: II सुचि: उपपत्ते सिद्धस्य कस्यवर्ति II

4. The affix क. comes after the root स्वः 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 स्वः, the upapada may have any case not necessarily the accusative. As तन्त्रशय: स्वः तन्त्रशय ‘who dwells in accessible position’; and विपनस्वः ‘having an inaccessible position’.
This sūtra should be divided into two sūtras (yoga-bibhāga). Thus:—
(1) चूर्ण:। The affix क comes after every root ending in long आ, when in composition with a case-inflected word; as हार्स्वि विषविनि = दिं + व + क = दियु (VI. 4. 61) ‘who drinks with two organs’ i.e. the proboscis and the mouth, an elephant’. So also वाच्य: ‘a plant’ (what drinks through the foot). क्षय्य: ‘a tortoise’ (that always protects its mouth) by drawing it in, at the approach of danger.
(2) चुण्डक:। The affix क comes after the root स्था 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 स्था 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 आलस्यामस्य म = आलस्य: ‘a swarm of rats’; so also शालमील्य: ‘a swarm of locusts’.

Both the words कषधिँ and चूर्ण: are understood in the sūtras that follow: विस : the word कषधिँ in sūtras that relate to transitive verbs, and the word चूर्ण: everywhere else.

5. The affix क comes after the verbs परिषुभानु, ‘to wash out’ and अपि ‘to drive away’, when in composition with the words सुष्म ‘navel’ and शोक ‘grief’, as objects, respectively.

As सुष्म परिषुभानु अपि: ‘he lay lazy’. So also शोकायपु: पुष्पी आत: ‘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 सुष्म परिषुभानु: is applied to a lazy person; while सुष्म परिस्थित: means who clears his navel. So शोकायपु: means giver of happiness, while शोकायपु: means ‘removal of sorrow’.

Vart.—The words सुष्मिनु: ‘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 सुष्मिनु: ‘a chariot’, नक्सु: ‘a bow’, भाकुषु ‘sesamums’, द्वृषू (की भोज्ये) ‘a lotus’.
The affix tak.

6. The affix त as after the root द्व 'to give' and त्त्त 'to know', when taking the preposition त and in composition with a word in the accusative case.

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

Why do we say 'when taking त'? With any other upasarga these verbs will take the general affix त; as वीतावही.

7. The affix त as after the root द्व 'to tell', when preceded by the preposition त्त, and when the object is in composition with it.

The verb द्व ends in long त and by III. 2. 3 when compounded with an upasarga, it would have taken the affix त. This debars त; as वीतावही (VI. 4. 64) 'a cowherd' (त संबहे).

8. The affix त as after the verbs त 'to sing' and त '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 anuvṛtti from sūtra 3, though this anuvṛtti had temporarily lain dormant in sūtra 6 and 7, as being unnecessary. This debars त; of this affix त and त are indicatory the त showing among others that the feminine is formed by the affix कृत् (IV. 1. 14)

As, त्त्तत्त गायति = त्त्तत्त + तत्त्त + तत्त्त = त्त्तत्त: (VI. 4. 64) 'who sings Sakra hymns'. तत्त्तत्त 'singer of Sāma', fem. तत्त्तत्त and तत्तत्तः.

Vart.—The affix त as after the verb त when it means to drink and only when it is in composition with the words तत्त्तत्त and कृत्त as its object.
This is an important modification of the general sūtra. Thus सुरुवः fem. सुरुप्पिः ‘wine-bibber’; श्रापिः fem. सुरुप्पिः ‘spirit-drinker’.

Why do we say ‘when in composition with sura and sidhu’? Observe भृगु भ्रामणि ‘the milk-drinking Brāhmaṇī’; formed by the affix भ्र and the feminine, therefore, not formed by the affix प but by भ्र.

Why do we say ‘when वृ means to drink’? When वृ means ‘to protect’ this affix is not used; as सुरुवः ‘who protects wine’.

When these words are compounded with an upasarga they do not take प but भ्र; as श्रापिः गायः, गायः.

Vart.—There is diversity in the Chhandas as to the employment of these affixes; as भ्रामणि भ्रामणि or सुरुवः भ्रामणि में; भ्रामणि संख्यिः ‘the gods do not carry that Brāhmaṇī to the regions of her husband who drinks wine’.

9. The affix भ्र comes after the verb हृद्य when it does not mean ‘to raise up’, when the object is in composition with it.

This debars भ्रां. The word ब्रह्मण means ‘to raise a load’. Thus भ्रां हृदिते = भ्रां वहृदिते: ‘who takes a share, or sharer’; so रिक्राः: ‘an heir’ (च + भ्र = हृ + भ्र = हृदिते) (VII. 3. 84).

Why do we say ‘when it does not mean to raise up’? For then the affix भ्रां will be employed; as भ्रांहृ: ‘a burden-bearer, a porter’.


Vart.—This affix comes after the verb हृद्य when the word हृद्य is in composition with it and the sense is that of ‘holding’; as हृदिते: ‘a thread-holder’. When it has not this meaning we have हृदिते: ‘a thread-taker’.
10. The affix अष्ठ comes after the verb हृद्ध when
the object is in composition with it and when the mean-
ing of the word to be formed is descriptive of age.

In this śūtra the verb हृद्ध has the sense of udyamana which was specifically excluded in the last. The word व्यवस्था 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 अभिनव: अभि ‘the dog that has reached the age when it can chew bones’ (lit. when it can raise it up); अभिनव: अभिनवकुमार: ‘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’.

अश्च्य ताष्ठीले। ११। पदार्थिः अश्च्य, ताष्ठीले: (कणेश्ट्रि, दस्ते; अष्ठ)।।
पुत्र:। भार: पुड़ातास: कर्मण्युपपसः पुष्पयथो भवति।।

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

The word ताष्ठीलूम means a natural inclination or habitual occupation;
as युग्मार: (युग्म + भाष्यति = युग्म + भाष) ‘he who has a natural tendency towards
fetching flowers or whose habitual occupation is to collect flowers’; so also फलादः।।

Why do we say ‘when denoting inclination’? Otherwise the affix will
be अष्ठ; as भाष्यावैति = भाष्यार: ‘who brings load’.

अश्च्य:। १२। पदार्थिः। अश्च्यः। (कणेश्ट्रि, अष्ठ)।।
पुत्र:। भार: पुड़ातास: भाष्यावैति: कर्मण्युपपसः पुष्पयथो भवति।।

12. The affix अष्ठ comes after the verb अष्ठ ‘to
respect’, when the object is in composition with it.

This debars अष्ठ. The words so formed are especially of feminine gen-
der. As अष्ठार: ‘deserving of respect’; so also अष्ठार: मालाहृः।।

tस्वार्थवधेयो रजिष्यति:। १३। पदार्थिः। सत्मः-कर्त्थेयः। रजिष-
यः। (सुष्यि, अष्ठ)।।
पुत्र:। सत्मः-कर्त्थेयः युग्मार: युग्मारोपरः युग्मारसंवयः रजिष्यति।।

However, the context of the previous and subsequent sentences is not provided, and it is not clear whether the text continues without a break.
13. The affix अच्छ बोलता comes after the verb रुष ‘to sport’ and जर ‘to whisper’ when the case-inflected words लक्ष ‘a clump of grass’ and कर ‘ear’ are in composition with them respectively.

The verb रुष is intransitive and the verb जर 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 anuvṛtti of the word सुत्र from śūtra 4 into this, the anuvṛtti of the word कर्म being inapplicable here.

Vart. — The words to be formed must have the sense of ‘elephant’ and a ‘tale-bearer’. Thus सम्बन्धवल्दो = सम्बन्धवल्दा: ‘an elephant (lit. who sports in cluster of grass)’ कर्म नाति = कर्म नाधर: ‘a slanderer (lit. who whispers in the ear)’.

The affix अच्छ is not employed when the words to be formed do not mean an ‘elephant’ and a ‘traducers’. Thus स्लामे रल्ला ‘who plays in clusters of grass’. कर्म नातिता गर्ग: ‘the mosquito that hums near the ear’.

श्रवणार्थ: संवायावत् ॥ १४ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ शनि, चारोऽभ: सं-शायार् (अच्छ) ॥

पुष्पि: || बच्छुपरदे पातुमालसंदभासे निम्रेः पुष्पश्चतिः ॥

14. The affix अच्छ is employed after the verbal roots when रुष ‘well’, is in composition, and the word to be formed denotes a name.

As रुष + छु + अच्छ = शकर: lit. ‘who does good’. So also शवर: संवर: || All these are proper nouns.

Why have we repeated the word ध्वद्वित in this aphorism, when it was understood by anuvṛtti from śūtra III. 1. 91? To this the reply is, that the repetition of the word ध्वद्वित shows that there is prohibition of the affix त्र, that comes after the verb त्र in certain sense (III. 2. 20), when the word त्र is in composition. The affix अच्छ will be employed after the verb त्र and not the affix त्र, when त्र 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 शकर will be शकर्ण, and not शकर, which, had the affix been त्र, would have been the proper feminine (See IV. 1. 14). शकर्ण means ‘a female-ascetic,’ ‘a vulture’ and ‘one having the habit of doing good’.

अविकर्षे शेलि: ॥ १५ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ अविकर्षे, शेलि: (छप्य,अच्छ)॥
15. The affix अन् occurs 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 गूँ (III. 2. 4) a noun ending in a case-affix is understood in this aphorism. As शी गूँ=लघु: ‘who lies in the sky’.

Vart.—The affix अन् comes after the verb शी when in composition with the words पराशर ‘ribs’, &c., though not necessarily denoting location; as पराशरे शी=पराशरः ‘who reclines on his sides’, दराशः ‘who lies on his stomach’, दरारः ‘who lies on his back’.

Vart.—And when the verb शी is preceded by the word तिष्ठति; as गूँ शी =तिष्ठतःः

Vart.—So also when the words बिना एव. &c. are in composition with it denoting agent and in the nominative case. As बिना शी=बिनानियः; बिनानियः शी=बिनानियः

Vart.—In the Chhandas the affix बृष्टि comes after the verb शी when in composition with the word तिष्ठति in the locative. As गूँ शी=तिष्ठतः ‘who lies on the mountain’.

The letter द of बृष्टि is indicative denoting that there is elision of the final vowel with what follows it (I. 1. 64).

16. The affix न comes after the verb चर ‘to go’ when a case-inflected word in composition with it, denotes location.

The word adhikarana of the last sutra is understood in this. As द्रुतं चर कुर्या: ‘who goes among the Kuru’; द्रुतं ‘who goes among the Madras’.

Of the affix न the real affix is न, the letter न being indicative, showing that the feminine of these words is formed by the affix न्त्. (See IV. 1. 14), न्त् न नामनि, नामज्ञि।
17. The affix \( \text{त} \) is employed after the verb चुर चुर ‘to go’, when the words in composition with it are निशा ‘alms’, बेना ‘army’ and भाष ‘having taken’.

The anuvṛtti 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 विनाशः: ‘a beggar’ (who goes for alms); विनायकः: ‘one who goes with an army’; भावाधः: ‘one who goes after having taken’.

18. The affix \( \text{त} \) comes after the verb चुर चुर ‘to move’ when the words in composition with it, are पुरुषः and अग्निः, all meaning ‘in front of or before’.

As पुरुषः परिदर्शः ‘who goes in front, a harbinger’. So also अग्नि: अग्निः and अग्निः ‘going in front, a leader’.

19. The affix \( \text{त} \) comes after the verb चुर चुर ‘to go’, when पर्यः is in composition with it, denoting the agent.

Thus पर्यः परिदर्शः ‘going in front’.

Why do we say ‘denoting the agent’? Otherwise the affix अग्निः will be employed. As पर्यः परिदर्शः ‘going to the east’.

20. The affix \( \text{त} \) comes after the verb कुम ‘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. चार्थेश्वर means habit, and literally, the
act of being accustomed to that. आत्मौन्नयम comes from आत्मौन 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 शोककारी कथा 'the daughter that causes sorrow'; वहधसक्ती विध 'honorable science'; कुलकर्त 'the family making wealth'. Of ताज्यिक, we have अत्यंत 'who performs obsequies'; अवेकर 'who amasses wealth'. Of आत्मौन्नयम, we have वृक्षक 'who promptly does what he is directed'; वनवनक 'who regularly does what he is told'.

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

21. The affix तः comes after the verb to make when the following words are in composition with it:—विश 'by day', विश 'light', विश 'night', कर 'splendour', ना 'light', कार 'work', अन्त 'end', अन्त 'endless', अव 'beginning', बहु 'many', नाय 'benediction', निर 'what', लिप 'writing', लिप 'writing', बने 'oblation', लिप 'devotion', कार 'agent', लिप 'painting', से 'field', words denoting numerals, शहर 'thigh', बाप 'hand', आ 'day', वाप 'what', सत 'that', नव 'bow' and भव 'wound'.

Both the words 'कार्म' and 'सुप' 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 तः comes when the sense is not that of cause &c., as it was in the last सूत्र.

Thus विशाक्षर 'the sun.' The word विश is an indeclinable and means 'in the day time'. There the उपपद, therefore, is in the locative case. The sun is so called, because it makes creatures active in the day time.

So विशाक्षर: 'the sun' (light-maker); विशाक्षर: 'the moon' (the night-maker); वर्गकार: 'the sun'; गामकार: 'the sun' (the letter स is not changed into visarga, as it has been so read in the सूत्र); कारकार: 'agent'; अवारकार: 'death' (end-maker); अत्यंत: 'magnifying to any extent'; भवारिक 'the creator'; कुलकर 'the busy'; राजौकार: 'the speaker of benediction'; लिपकर: 'a servant'; लिपकिर: 'a
scribe'; लिपिकर: 'a scribe'; विश्वकर: 'offering sacrifice'; लिपिकर: 'a devotee'; करक्स्कर: 'an agent'; दिक्स्कर: 'a painter'; अन्तरकर: 'a cultivator'; एककर: 'doing only one thing'; दिक्स्कर: 'doing two things'; दिक्स्कर: 'doing three things'; महाकर: 'a runner, an express'; बाहुकर: 'a hero', 'a manual labourer'; भास्कर: 'the sun'; तस्कर: 'doing that'; वस्कर: 'doing that'; भुस्कर: 'bow-maker'; वस्कर: 'causing or inflicting wounds'.

Vart.—The affix अन्तः comes after the verb हृ when किम्, बस्, तथे and शु रू are in composition with it. The speciality of अन्तः affix is that the feminine of words derived from it is formed by long अ; while the feminine of words derived by अन्तः is formed by long भ. Thus किंकर, सकर, तस्कर and बाहुकर; these words might be said to belong to the भावित class (See IV. 1. 31).

कर्मि० सूती || २२ || पदास्ति || कर्मि०, सूती, (कर्मि०, करोति,)

२२. The affix अन्तः comes after the verb हृ 'to make', when the word कर्मि० is in composition with it, and the sense of the word to be formed is that of wages.

The word सूति means service for hire, wages. The word कर्मि० does not mean the grammatical object but the word-form कर्मि०; as कर्मकर: 'a hired labourer' (not a slave); otherwise the affix is अन्तः; as कर्मकर: 'an artisan'.

न श्रव्यङ्कल्पवार्थतादृश्यत्वमस्मात् २३ || पदास्ति ||

न, श्वर्-श्लोक-कल्प-गाया-वर्ग-पादु-सूत्र-संग्रहः (करोति, दिक्स्कर) ||

२३. The affix अन्तः does not come after the verb हृ 'to make', when the following words are in composition with it:—श्रव्य 'sound', श्लोक 'verse', कल्प 'quarrel', गाया 'praise', वैर 'enmity', शान्तु 'flattery', सूत्र 'thread', मन्त्र 'hymns' and एव 'word'.

This prohibition relates even when the sense is that of cause, habit &c. The affix अन्तः being prohibited, the general affix अन्तः takes its place. As श्रव्यकर: 'sounding, sonorous'; श्लोककर: 'a verse-maker'; कल्पकर: 'one who foments quarrels'; गायाकर: 'a writer of Gāthās or prakritee verses'; वैरकर: 'an enemy'; शान्तुकर: 'a flatterer'; सूत्रकर: 'an author of sūtras'; मन्त्रकर: 'a composer of Mantras'; एवकर: 'an author of Pañcatāth'.

Bk. III. Ch. II. § 22, 23] THE AFFIX TA.
24. The affix अ़्य comes after the verb हु when the objects in composition with it, are the words सत्य ‘a sheaf’, and शोभ ‘ordure’.

Thus सत्य + अ़्य + हु = सत्यअ़्य हु नाम. sing. सत्यअ़्य; so also शोभअ़्य.

Var. — This rule is applicable when the sense of the words to be formed, is that of ‘rice’ and ‘a calf’ respectively. Therefore सत्यअ़्य: means ‘rice’, and शोभअ़्य: ‘a calf’.

When the words have not the senses of ‘rice’ and ‘a calf’, the affix अ़्य is employed. As सत्यअ़्य: ‘sheaf-maker’, शोभअ़्य: ‘ordure-maker’.

25. When the agent indicated is an animal, the affix अ़्य comes after the verb हु ‘to take’, the object in composition with it being the words हु ‘a leather-bag’ and नाम ‘a master’.

Thus हुअ़्य ‘a dog’ (a carrier of skin); नामअ़्य: ‘a beast’ (that carries its master).

When the words formed do not denote an animal, the affix अ़्य is employed; as हुअ़्य ‘a water-carrier’ (a carrier of a leather-bag for holding water); नामअ़्य: ‘a carrier of his master’.

26. And the words कलेघड़ि and अपलब्धि are irregularly formed.

The word कलेघड़ि: is formed by adding the affix अ़्य to the verb हु and making the upapada end in the vowel हु. Thus कलेघड़ि गृहाराम = कलेघड़ि: ‘the fruit-bearing i.e. a tree’.
The word वास्तवार्थिकः is formed by adding the augment वृक्ष (v) to the upapada वास्त, and the affix दृष्टि to the verb गुरु. Thus वास्तवार्थिकः तिः = वास्तवार्थिरः = 'selfish' (one who feeds his own self).

The word 'and' indicates that there are other such irregularly-formed words. As कुलस्मिनः: 'gluttonous, selfish' (eating to feed his own belly). दृष्टिरः: 'gluttonous, selfish'.

कुलस्मिनः वास्तवार्थिकः ॥ २७ ॥ पदराचिनः इन्द्रिय, वन-ब्रह्म-रति-सवानः, कालेषिकः, (तुल्यः) ॥

पूर्वितः ॥ यह सन संभोगे, एस पालने, यह विशोधने, एवं च: कर्मणुपयो छल्लवि विपयेहु द्रुतः पवयो भविष्यः ॥

27. In the Vedic literature, the affix दृष्टि comes after the verbs वृक्ष 'to honor' वृक्ष 'to worship' दृष्टि 'to protect' and दृष्टि 'to agitate', when the object is in composition.

Thus वास्तवार्थिकः वास्तवार्थिकः (Vaj. San. I. 17., V. 12., VI. 3); उस ने गोस्विनि (Rig. Ved. VI. 53. 10) है ते ब्रह्म सवानः (Rig. Ved. X. 14. 11) इहुः वास्तवार्थिकः, पावयो हिन्दुविन्यासः (Rig. Ved. VII. 104. 21).

पूर्वितः: तुल्यः ॥ २७ ॥ पदराचिनः इन्द्रिय, (कालेषिकः) ॥

पूर्वितः: दृष्टि कामभवेद द्रुतवालानुं वंनस्यार्थकृत्युपयो थथस्यवयो भविष्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वार्तिकम् वार्तिकम् सर्वार्थिकः सर्वार्थिकः सर्वार्थिकः सर्वार्थिकः ॥

28. The affix दृष्टि comes after the verb दृष्टि 'to tremble' when ending in दृष्टि (III. 26.) and when the object is in composition with it.

This affix comes after the causative of दृष्टि. Of the affix दृष्टि the letters दृष्टि and दृष्टि are indicative, the real affix is दृष्टि. The दृष्टि indicates that the augment गुर्ण is added to the upapada ending in a vowel (VI. 3. 67). The दृष्टि indicates that this is a Sārvadātukā affix (III. 4. 113), and therefore the vikaraṇas like गुर्वण &c. (III. 1. 68.) will be employed here. Thus अभ्युदेववस्थित्व = अभ्युदेववस्थित्व = अभ्युदेववस्थित्व = अभ्युदेववस्थित्व = अभ्युदेववस्थित्व 'who awes the limbs'; अभ्युदेववस्थित्व 'who awes mankind'.

Part.—The suffix दृष्टि comes after the verbs दृष्टि 'to go', शुष्क 'to strike', हा 'to leave' when in composition with the words वात 'wind', शुष्क 'a bitch', शन्तिः 'sesamum' and द्रुत 'flatulence'. As वातवस्थित्व: वाता: 'swift antelopes' (going with the wind); गुर्वणवस्थित्व: 'a bitch-sucker'; गुर्वणवस्थित्व: 'an oilman'; द्रुतवस्थित्व: 'a kind of bean' (that causes or cures flatulence). The long दृष्टि of दृष्टि is shortened by VI. 3. 66.
29. The affix लघु comes after the verbs भा ‘to blow’ and वे ‘to suck’ when नासिक ‘nose’ and शतन ‘breast’ are in composition with them as object.

The rule of yathâsankhyâ as given in L. 3. 10 does not however, apply here. For शतन is compounded with वें; as (शतन+वें=शतन+त्व+वें+शतन+शतन+त्व+वें+शतन=शतन+त्व+शतन+त्व+शतन) शतनस्वयम: ‘an infant’ (sucking the breast).

But नासिक is compounded with both भा and वे; as नासिक+भा+लघु = नासिक+भा+लघु (VI. 3. 66 and 67; VII. 3. 78)=नासिकम: ‘blowing and breathing through the nose’. So also नासिकम: ‘drinking through the nose’.

That the rule of yathâsankhyâ does not apply here, is indicated by the irregular construction of the Dvandva compound नासिकाशनयो. By rule II. 2. 84. the word नासिक containing fewer syllables ought to have stood first; one irregularity lets in another.

The feminine of शतनम् is शतन्यं: as the verb वे has an indicatory दृ.

30. And when the words नाशी ‘a tube’ and मुख ‘fist’ are objects in composition with the verbs भा and वे, the affix लघु is employed.

Here also the irregularly-formed Dvandva compound नाशीमुख shows the non-applicability of the rule of yathâsankhyâ; for मुख being a दृ ought to have stood first (II. 2. 32).

Thus नाशीम: ‘blowing through the tube’; मुखम: ‘blowing through the fist’; नाशीम: ‘sucking through the tube’, an infant; मुखम: ‘an infant’.

The word ‘and’ in the aphorism indicates that there are other words also so formed. Thus भारिजम: भारिजम: भारिजम: भारिजम: भारिजम: ‘a mountain’.

This sūtra is not Panini’s, but is really a Vârtika, raised to the rank of a sūtra by the author of the Kâśika. The Vârtikakâra divides the last sūtra in this way: (1) शतने वेंद || (2) तसी मुख || (3) नासिकाशनयो || (4) नाशी मुखरुदस्त्रोधिति बलस्वयम् ||
The affix कास comes after the verbs कस ‘to break into pieces’ and वह ‘to carry’, when preceded by the upasarga द्वि, and the word कुन ‘bank’ is in composition with them as the object.

Thus कूलसुहाम् = कूलसुहास्: ‘breaking down banks’ (such as a chariot, river, elephant, &c.); कूलसुहास्: ‘tearing up or carrying away the bank’.

Thus कस ‘to lick’ when the object in composition with it, is the word वह ‘the shoulder of an ox’ or अस ‘a cloud’.

As वहिः गो: ‘the shoulder-licking cow’; अस्तिः गारु: ‘the cloud-licking wind’.

The affix कास comes after the verb पद ‘to cook’ when the object in composition with it denotes a measure.

Thus पदस्ति = पदस्ती = ‘a pot having the capacity to cook a prastha of food’; so also पदाश्चाप्ति: पदाश्चाप्ति: ‘a kettle’.

The affix कास is employed after the verb पद, when निस ‘a measured partition’ or निस ‘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 sutra. Thus निसम्पर्व ब्राह्मणी ‘the Brāhmani who cooks a little i.e. a niggardly Brāhmani’; नवभवं ब्राह्मण ‘the nail-scorching barley gruel’.

The affix कास is employed after the verb पद, when निस ‘a measured partition’ or निस ‘a nail’ is the word in composition with it as an object.

Thus निसम्पर्व ब्राह्मणी ‘the Brāhmani who cooks a little i.e. a niggardly Brāhmani’; नवभवं ब्राह्मण ‘the nail-scorching barley gruel’.
35. The affix काश comes after the verb दृष्टि, 'to strike', when दिशा 'the moon' or अष्ट्र 'a wound' is the word in composition with it as object.

As विशुद्धि: रात्रि: 'the Rāhu that eclipses the moon; अहस्तिः: 'corrosive, wounding the vital parts'. For the addition of the augment तुष्टि after the word अष्ट्र, see VI. 3. 67.

अनुवेदनात्मकः सुधितपितोः: II ॥ ॥ पदार्थ II अभिप्रयाप्तयात्राः:।
सुधि-सचिय: (सचिय-सचि) II

पुष्यि: II अभिप्रयाप्त शचियति:। कर्मयोग्रध्ययति:। िश्रृंविक्षयति:। श्रात्वस्योऽभिस्वः।

36. The affix काश comes after the verb दृष्टि 'to see' and दृष्टि 'to heat' when अभिप्रयाप्त and शचियति are the words in composition with them respectively as objects.

Thus अभिप्रयाप्त+दृष्टि+शचि = अभिप्रयाप्तयात्राः: as अभिप्रयाप्तयात्रा रात्रिः 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 शचियति: 'heating the fore-head' (such as the sun).

The word अभिप्रयाप्त is an incomplete or impossible compound, as the negative अ applies to the verb दृष्टि and not to the word दृष्टि. This is in opposition to the rule of samartha pada vidhi (II. 1. 2).

उपमानयकारस्थवरायक्ष्यशिष्ययः: II ॥ ॥ पदार्थ II उपमानयकार

उपमानयकारस्थवरायक्ष्यशिष्ययः: II ॥ ॥ पदार्थ II उपमानयकार

37. The words व्रम्मस, इरम्मस and पाणिन्यम are irregularly formed.

Thus दृष्टि = उपमानयकारस्थवरायक्ष्यशिष्ययः: 'fierce-looking'; इरम्मस = उपमानयकारस्थवरायक्ष्यशिष्ययः: 'delighting in drinking an epithet of Agni, a flash of lightning'. So पाणिन्यम: प्रयान: 'chilly roads'.

प्रयानस्य बदृशः: स्थित II ॥ ॥ पदार्थ II प्रयान-स्थित, बदृशः: स्थित II

पुष्यि: II धिम धिम इवित्वाति:। कर्मोपप्रयाप्तवैयोगिकत्वाति:। श्रात्वस्योऽभिस्वः।

धिमिके II लस्यन्तरस्य गमे:। श्रात्वस्योऽभिस्वः।

धिमिके II श्रात्वस्योऽभिस्वः।

धिमिके II हेतुः श्रात्वस्योऽभिस्वः।

धिमिके II हेतुः श्रात्वस्योऽभिस्वः।
38. The affix कथ्य comes after the verb वर्धन, 'to speak' when विन्ध or विङ्क्ष is the word in composition with it as an object.

Thus विन्ध बधृति = विन्ध्रूदि, 'who speaks kindly'; बधृति, 'who professes submission'.

Of the affix कथ्य, the letters ख and च are indicatory; ख indicates the insertion of the augment मू (VI. 3. 37), and च shows that there is shortening of the vowel in certain cases (VI. 4. 94).

In the case of विन्ध and विङ्क्ष with वर्धन, the affix कथ्य would have given the same result as the affix कथ्य. Making a separate affix in this सूत्र is for the sake of the aphorisms that follow, where this affix will produce different effects than कथ्य.

Vart.—The affix कथ्य comes after the verb वर्धन 'to go' when a word ending in a case-affix is in composition with it. As निन्धनेन हस्ति 'the slow-moving i.e. an elephant'; निन्धनेन हस्ति 'the slow-moving i.e. a she-elephant':

Vart.—This affix comes under similar circumstances when the word in composition with वर्धन is विन्धनेन; and the letter is then replaced by the word विन्धन. As विन्धनेन गृहस्य = विन्धनेन 'a bird (that which goes through the sky)'.

Vart.—In the वांटिकास above given, the affix कथ्य may optionally be considered as if it had an indicatory ख. The force of ख is to cause elision of the final vowel with what follows it. As विकतः or विकतः: 'a bird'. So also विलिंगम: or विलिंगम: 'a serpent' (what goes crookedly).

Vart.—विन्धनेन is replaced by विन्ध when the affix ख (III 2. 48) comes after the verb वर्धन; as विन्धन: 'a bird'. Thus we have three forms: विन्धन, विन्धन, विन्धन.

क्रिष्टप्रयोगस्तावः || ॐ || पदालिन || क्रिष्टप्रयोगस्तावः || तात्रे, (खष्ट्) ~

युक्तिः: || क्रिष्टप्रयोगस्तावः: कर्मणीणवप्रयोगस्तावः: क्रिष्टप्रयोगस्तावः ||

39. The affix कथ्य comes after the verb वर्धन, 'to heat', when विन्धन or विङ्क्ष is the word in composition with it as an object.

The verb कथ्य belongs both to Bhā and Chur classes. Both are meant in the सूत्रa. In the case of Bhūtā, the verb वार्डविन्धन is the causative ending in विन्ध of वर्धन; while in Chūrdā, all verbs take विन्ध.

Thus विन्धनेन वार्धनवति = विन्धनेन: (VI. 4. 94) 'one who destroys his enemies', so also वार्धनेन: 'one who subdues his enemies, a hero'.

BK III. CH. II. § 38, 39. THE AFFIX KHACH. 423
This affix however, will not apply when the above upapadas are in the feminine gender. In this case the general affix अष्ट will be employed; as विष्णु शाप तिति — विष्णु शाप तिति.

बाचिः यथी प्रति इह ॥ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ बाचिः, यथी, प्रति, (खच) ॥

पुस्ति: ॥ यथा — रावणे कर्तुष्टयो रावणे कर्तुष्टयो। कर्तुष्टयो मनो नरति प्रति सम्भवने ॥

40. The affix खच comes after the verb वच ‘to curb’ when the word वच ‘speech’ is in composition with it as object, and the sense indicated is that of a vow.

The word वच means a vow taken according to the rules of Dharmaśāstra. Thus वच तिति बाचिः ‘he has taken the vow of rigid silence’.

Why do we say ‘vow’? Otherwise the form is शापः ‘restraining speech’ (VI. 3. 69).

पुरे बिन्योद्धारितः ॥ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ पुरे-बिन्योद्धारितः, दारि-खचः,

(खच) ॥

पुस्ति: ॥ पुरे वच इत्येऽतः कर्तुष्टयो रावणे कर्तुष्टयो रावणे। कर्तुष्टयो अविनः।

वाक्यालक ॥ गमः च शापः वच अश्च. ॥

41. The affix खच comes after the verbs खच ‘to split’ and खच ‘to bear’ when respectively in composition with the words पुर ‘a city’ and खच ‘all’, as objects.

As पुरे शापः — पुरा: ‘name of Indra (who splits asunder cities)’ (VI. 3. 69 and VI. 4. 94); रावणे रावणे ‘the king who is all-forbearing’.

Vart.—So also when the word बाचिः is in composition with the verb शापः as शापः ‘a fistula in the anus’.

बाचिः लालाह्सः कर्तुष्टयो खचः ॥ ॥ पदार्थः ॥ बाचिः-खच-अश-कर्तुष्टयो。

(खच) ॥

पुस्ति: ॥ शापः खच अश कर्तुष्टयो खच अश कर्तुष्टयो। कर्तुष्टयो अविनः।

42. The affix खच comes after the verb खच ‘to rub’ when the words खच ‘all’, खच ‘bank’, खच ‘cloud’ and खच ‘a dry cow-dung’, are in composition with it as object.

As खचः खचः ‘a villain, a rogue’; खच खचः खचः ‘a river’; खच खचः खचः ‘a mountain’; कर्तुष्टयो खचः ‘a strong wind’.
43. The affix कण comes after the verb क ‘to make' when the words गै ‘cloud', सल्ल ‘misfortune' and गृह ‘fear' are in composition as objects.

As नेपाल: 'producing clouds' ; अतिन्सक: 'giving pain' ; नायिन्स: 'frightful'.

Vart.—The tadanta vidhi applies in the case of upapadas like गृह. &c. This is an exception to the वृद्धिका under I. 1. 72. by which, in the case of affixes, tadanta-vidhi was prohibited. Thus we have अजन्तय: 'who causes security'.

44. And the affix कण as well as कण comes after the verb क ‘to make' when the words गै ‘happiness', विष ‘pleasant' and गृह ‘joy' are in composition as objects.

The word 'and' denotes that the affix कण is also to be included.

Thus गैकार: गैकार: ‘propitious'; धिन्सक: धिन्सक: 'showing kindness'; नायिन्स: नायिन्स: ‘causing delight'.

The repetition of the affix कण, when its anuvrīti could have been read into this sūtra by using the word क ‘optionally', indicates that these words never take the affix क of sūtra 20 though cause, habit, &c., may be denoted; so that the feminine of those words is formed by क and not by क; as सस्याय: सस्याय: 'small beginnings lead to or cause prosperity'.

45. The affix कण comes after the verb क ‘to be' when in composition with the case-inflected word आय ‘satisfied by eating' and the sense is that of instrument or condition.

The word शुचि of sūtra 4 is understood here.
Thus अतिरिक्त: meaning 'food', literally that by which one is satiated. अतिरिक्त: here the word denotes instrument. अतिरिक्त: also means 'satiety', which denotes condition.

Thus क्रिाणात्मक: meaning 'food', literally that by which one is satiated. क्रिाणात्मक: here the word denotes instrument. क्रिाणात्मक: also means 'satiety', which denotes condition.

46. The affix खच्छ comes after the following verbs when the words to be formed denote a name:—viz. खच्छ 'to bear', खच्छ 'to cross over', खच्छ 'to choose', खच्छ 'to conquer', खच्छ 'to hold', खच्छ 'to bear', खच्छ 'to heat' and खच्छ 'to subdue'.

Both the words क्रिाणात्मक and सुनिव of सूत्र 1 and 4 are understood here and should be applied as the occasion requires. Thus खच्छ 'earth' (that which supports all); खच्छ 'the Rathantara Sāma'; खच्छ 'a girl' lit. (who is about to choose a husband); खच्छ 'an elephant' lit. (who conquers the enemy); खच्छ 'a mountain' or 'the pole of a carriage to which the yoke is fixed'; खच्छ 'Satravahana' (withstanding an enemy); खच्छ 'Satrunata' (destroying an enemy); खच्छ 'Arindama' (victorious).

Why do we say 'when denoting a name'? Observe खच्छ 'he who supports his family'.

47. And the affix खच्छ comes after the verb खच्छ 'to go' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, and when the word to be formed denotes a name.

As सुनिव of खच्छ 'Sutangama'. Though the verb खच्छ could well have been included in the last aphorism, the separation serves the purpose of carrying the अनुवृत्ति of खच्छ into the subsequent sūtras.
48. The affix द् comes after the verb गृ 'to go' when in composition with the following words as its objects: अन् 'end', अख्यत 'excessive', अभन्न 'road', दू 'far', पार 'across', सर्व 'all' and अनन्त 'endless'.

The anuvratti of the word संहासन does not extend to this. As अनन्त: 'having gone to the end, thoroughly conversant'; अर्थात 'going too fast'; अस्थाय 'a way-farer'; दूर: 'going to a distant place'; परम: 'completely familiar'; सर्व: 'going everywhere, the Supreme Being'; अनन्त: 'going to infinity, moving for ever'.

Of the affix द् the letter द्र is indicatory, the real affix being द्र. The द्र indicates that the द्र portion of the word to which this is added, must be elided (VI. 4. 143); as अनन्त+भवन+द्र = अनन्त+भवन (the द्र portion भवन of भवन is elided). Now though the rule VI. 4. 143 says 'when that which has an indicatory द्र, follows, there is elision of the द्र of a द्र'; yet in the present case, such elision takes place, although the word भवन here is not one of those called द्र (I. 4. 18); because the presence of द्र as an indicatory letter must not be unmeaning.

Vart.—The द्र is also employed when the words in composition are क्षेत्र 'everywhere' and व्र 'creeping'; as क्षेत्रभग: 'Supreme Spirit'; ब्रह्म 'snake.'

Vart.—So also when the word in composition is द्र 'breast', and there is elision of its final. As द्रवच+द्र+द्र = द्रवच: 'moving on breast, a snake'.

Vart.—So also with the words सु 'well' and दु 'bad', when the resulting words denote location. As सु: 'that in which one goes easily, easy of access'. दु: 'difficult of access, a fort'.

Vart.—So also with the preposition नाच, the word to be formed meaning country; as श्री: 'a country'.

Vart.—Others say, that this द्र is added when other words besides the above stand as upapadas. Thus श्रवणार्धता: (श्री+भवन+भवन+द्र) 'who goes to the women's compartment'; पारम्य: 'going to the village'; पुरास्माश: 'who pollutes the bed of his guru'.

आयरिचि हृन: || द्रेत || पदवचि: || आयरिचि हृ: || (हृ: || वृति: || आयरिचि समब्योगाः हलोचितोः कः भवन्येष्व भविष्य: ||
वारिचि: || प्रत्यावर्तनोऽयावर्तिक द्र: संसाराः || वारिचि: || राष्ट्रो द्र: ||
वारिचि: || चारिथ चनि द्र: ||
49. The affix ध comes after the verb हत ‘to kill’, when the object is in composition with it, and when benediction is intended.

The affix ध is understood in this śūtra. Thus शालकोष्ठ  = लिभिख ‘may he kill the whale’; शालुक ‘may he kill the enemy’.

Why do we say ‘when benediction is intended’? Otherwise we have शालकोष्ठ ‘who kills his enemy’.

Vart.—The affix ध comes after the verb शालुक when the word हत ‘wood’ is in composition with it, and the final letter of the word so formed is changed into ह, when the word so formed denotes a name. As शालुक हालसिन = शालकोष्ठ हालसिन (शालु + हाल + सिन) ‘the wood-pecker’.

Vart.—So also optionally when the word शालु ‘beautiful’ is in composition under the circumstances detailed in the last vārtika: as शालकोष्ठ: or शालकोष्ठः.

Vart.—So also, when the verb हत is preceded by the preposition हत, and is in composition with a word in the objective case, the affix ध is employed; and the final is replaced by ह: as शालकोष्ठ हालसिन = शालकोष्ठ हालसिन: or शालकोष्ठ हालसिन: ‘the alphabet’; शालकोष्ठ हालसिन = शालकोष्ठ हालसिन: or शालकोष्ठ हालसिन: ‘connecting the words that are separated, an annotator’.

अर्थे हतकोष्ठः: [50] पदार्थः [अर्थे, हत-तपस्वी: (कर्मनिः, हजः: हतः)]

पुष्किरः [अर्थे हतकोष्ठः कर्मदोषवशोऽर्थोऽऽवायूः नवः]

50. The affix ध comes after the verb हत ‘to kill’ when it is compounded with the preposition हत, and when the object in composition with it, is the word हत ‘pain’ or हत ‘darkness’.

As, हतकोष्ठ युज: ‘the pain-allayer i. e. the son’; हतोपत्यः सुहृ: ‘the darkness Destroyer i. e. the sun’.

This aphorism has its scope when the sense is not that of benediction.

कुमार-षीवेशर्यकृष्ठिचिन्ति: [51] पदार्थः कुमार-षीवेशर्यः, खितिचिन्ति:

(हतः:)

पुष्किरः [कुमार शीवेशर्य हर्व्यर्योपत्यस्मः शालकोष्ठ: सत्योऽऽवायूः महर्षिः]

51. The affix धिनि comes after the verb हत ‘to kill’ when the word in composition with it is कुमार ‘a child’, or शीव ‘head’.
The affix \( तक् \) comes after the verb \( हन् \) ‘to kill’ when it is in composition with the word माया ‘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 or लक्षणविग्रहित कर्तिरि. In the former case the meaning will be ‘when the agent is itself the mark’ as जायापुर: ‘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 जायापुर: ‘the murderer of his wife’; वितक्षरि ‘the murderer of her husband’.

Of the affix तक् the letters \( त् \) and \( क् \) are indicatory. The \( त् \) shows that the feminine is formed by \( ह \), and \( क् \) causing elision of the penultimate \( भ \) of \( हन् \). Thus माया + हन् तक्क = माया + हन् त (VI. 4. 98) = जायापुर: (VII. 3. 54).

53. And the affix तक् 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 जायापुर: ‘the mole’ (literally that which indicates the death of one’s wife); पतिपुरं (पति विजयिता ‘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. रुद्ध अवृत्तमुच्यते ‘honey’ (literally that which has the property of destroying the phlegm). विनािधिस्तुम्न ‘clarified butter’ (lit. that which destroys the bile).

Why do we say ‘when the agent is not a human being’? Observe आयुर्माय: ःृत्र ‘a Sūdra’ (literally one who kills the mice). Here the affix is आयुर्माय.
Why is the affix वम not employed in the following? दौरानी हल्दी; ‘un
elephant’ (i.e. who kills a thief.) Here the word is formed by the affix वम on
the analogy of sūtra III. 3.113 which allows a diversity in case of kriyā
affixes, which diversity is extended in this case to a krit affix.

शक्ति हल्दिकाप(व)टयो: || पदार्थ || शक्ति, हल्दिकाप(व)टयो; ( हल्दी, टक्क) ||

54. The affix व व comes after the verb यत्र ‘to
kill’ when the word in composition with it as its object
is हल्दी ‘elephant’ or कार ‘gate’ and when the sense indicated
is that of power.

This sūtra applies where the agent is a human being. As हल्दिकर्ता हल्दी लाल:|| हल्दिकर्ता: अर्थव: ‘a man who is strong enough to kill an elephant’; so
also कर्मचार: ‘a burglar’ (who is capable of breaking open the doors).

Why do we say ‘where power is indicated’? Observe विषेष हल्दिकर्ता हल्दी =
हल्दिकर्ता: ‘who kills the elephant by poison’. Here the affix is नारँ.

पारिष्ठवसारी विशिष्यिनि || पदार्थ || पारिष्ठव-सारसारी,
विशिष्यिनि ||

55. The words पारिष्ठव and शास्त्र are irregularly
formed when denoting an artificer.

These forms are thus evolved. The affix क is employed after the
verb हल्दी in composition with शास्त्र ‘hand’ and शास्त्र ‘a blow’ as object; then the
portion of हल्दी. i.e. न is elided, and क is changed into क improperly. Thus
पारिष्ठव + हल्दि + क = पारिष्ठव + हल्दि + क = पारिष्ठव: ‘a drummer’ (workman or handicraftsman);
शास्त्र: ‘a smith’.

Why ‘when denoting an artificer’? Observe पारिष्ठव: ‘boxing’; शास्त्र:;
‘hammering’.

Part.—The word शास्त्र should be enumerated in this connection; शास्त्र:
‘a regicide’.

आदिपुरुससंवर्कानिकायमप्रियेऽपयो क्षर: कर्तवे
क्षरन || पदार्थ || आदिपुरुस-संवर्क-प्रिय-संवर्क-अर्थ-प्रियेऽपयो, प्रिय-अ
संवर्क, क्षरन; कर्तवे, क्षरन ||
56. The affix क्षय, when the sense of the word to be formed is that of an instrumental agent, comes after the verb भूत ‘to make’, when the following words are in composition with it as objects:—भाव ‘rich’, सुभा ‘fortunate’, स्वयं ‘big’, पतित ‘grey’, नस ‘naked’, अष्ठ ‘blind’ and वित ‘pleasant’, provided that these words have the sense of the words formed by the affix भिष, though not actually ending in the affix भिष.

The affix भिष (V. 4. 50.) is added to a noun when it is in composition with the verbs भूत ‘to become’, भूत ‘to make’ and भत ‘to be’; its force being that a thing attains to a condition in which it previously was not. The भिष being an optional affix, its sense is two-fold; namely, words ending in भिष and words not ending in भिष. Both may have the force of भिष. [In the present sūtra, however, the words that actually end in भि have been excluded, while words which do not take the affix भि, but have the force of भि are included in the present sūtra.

Thus भाव ‘+ क्षय = भाव + कर + भर = भाव करत ‘that by the instrumentality of which the poor becomes rich, viz., wealth, prosperity, means of enriching’; सुभा करत ‘making happy’; स्वयं ‘by which one becomes big’; पतित करत ‘rendering grey’; नस करत ‘making naked’; अष्ठ करत ‘making blind’; वित करत ‘showing kindness’.

Why do we say ‘when the force is that of the affix भिष’? Otherwise भाव ‘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 भि and hence this counter-example.

Why do we say ‘when not ending in the affix भिष’? Observe भाव ‘they make rich by this’. Here the affix क्षय is not employed.

It might be objected: ‘well if क्षय is not used, then the affix स्बूत must be used (III. 3. 117) as there is no difference between क्षय and स्बूत; both having the efficient portion भू; what is then the use of prohibiting भिष? We reply, ‘because there is this prohibition, when the affix क्षय is not employed the affix स्बूत will also be not employed. Thus by implication the affix स्बूत is also prohibited. The prohibition of भिष in this sūtra is for the sake of the aphorisms that follow’.
Patanjali observes this prohibition as superfluous, because there is no distinction between श्वुत्र and श्वुन. 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 नम, लम, इक, भक and श्वुन take इ in the feminine as well as the words श्वुत्र and श्वल. Nor there is any distinction in their सामसास. For in both the cases it will be nitiya samsa. Nor the prohibition made for the sake of the augment भुृ. For it being an indeclinable, भुृ 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.

कार्यरि भुृ: लिन्द्युष्कुलक इ। ॥ ॥ पदार्थि ॥ कार्यरि, भुृ:, लिन्द्युष्कुलक, ( आद्यार्थिकु )॥

बृद्धि: ॥ आद्यार्थिकु तुल्योपात्तुहुँधु इल्यंश्चत्वमविशेषं भस्तहाँगो: कार्यरि कार्यो लिन्द्युष्कुलक

स्थलातः भस्तहातः: ॥ ॥

57. The affixes लिन्द्युष्कुल and श्वुन, when the word to be formed denotes an agent, come after the verb नू, 'to become', when it is in composition with words भाष्य &c., provided that these have the sense of the words formed by the affix एत लिन्द्युष्कुल though not ending in एत.

Thus आद्यार्थिकु: 'becoming rich (who was not rich before)'; भाष्य-भाष्य: 'becoming rich'; सुभाष्य-भाष्य: or -भाष्य: 'becoming happy'; भाष्य-भाष्य: or -भाष्य: 'becoming big'; पालियार्थिकु: or -भाष्य: 'becoming grey'; भाष्य-भाष्य: or -भाष्य: 'becoming grey'; भाष्य-भाष्य: or -भाष्य: '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 एत, otherwise not; as आद्यार्थिकु: 'he will be rich'.

These affixes will not apply when the upapada ends in एत; भाष्य: भाष्य:।

58. The affix एत comes after the verb लिन्द्युष्कु 'to touch', when it is in composition with a case-inflected word other than भृकु 'water'.

By सूत्र 4 of this chapter, the आनुवृत्ती of the word तृचि is to be read into this sūtra. It might be objected 'why do we not read the आनुवृत्ती of the word कर्म instead of तृचि, because the verb लिन्द्युष्कु is a transitive verb, and after
such verbs, the anuvrtti of कर्मे ought to come by सूत्र ४? To this we say there is no harm in reading the anuvrtti of भृष्टि in this case; because the word कर्मे of the last सूत्र 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 पुत्र स्वराटि = पुत्रस्त्र, nom. sing. पुत्रस्त्रक 'he who touches clarified butter'. स्वर + किन + तु = स्वर + कु + त्र (VI. I. 68) = स्वर + त्र (VI. I. 67, and VIII. 2. 62). So also गन्धरति = गन्धरव 'who touches with hymns'; गन्धरति = गन्धरवक 'who touches with water'. But उदात्त स्वराटि = उदात्तस्त्र; here we have the general affix आधु.

The न of किन is to distinguish this affix from affixes like किन्त्र &c. For, had it been merely कि, then in सूत्र VIII. 2. 62. we should have used कि प्रक्षवलय कि; and it would have been ambiguous, for कि might be explained as meaning both कि and किन्त्र, as कि means कि, कि, &c. To remove this ambiguity, न is added to make a distinctive affix. The न cannot be for the sake of accent. (VI. I. 117), the verb being monosyllabic would of itself have taken that accent.

50. The words स्त्रिक 'a domestic priest', स्वर 'impudent', सर 'a garland', किन्त्र 'a direction' and भजन 'a quatrain' are irregularly formed by adding the affix किनि; and so also after the verbs भजन 'to worship', बृज 'to join' and कर्म 'to approach', the affix किनि is employed.

The first five words are irregular forms. Thus श्रवण + वज + किनि = श्रवणक 'he who performs sacrifice in the season (श्रवणो) or to the season (श्रवणु). This word, however is a किनि word in which it is fruitless to search for its etymological meaning. श्रवण + किनि = श्रवणक. Here there is reduplication and the final has acute accent. श्रवण + किनि = श्रवणक. Here there is augment अभि. श्रवण + किनि = विष. So also श्रवण + किनि = उदात्तक. All these are in fact crude nouns, their current meaning having little traces of their root meaning.

The affix किनि comes after the three roots द्रवण, भजन and कर्म. Being read along with the five above-mentioned irregularly-formed words, there is some irregularity in the application of किनि to these verbs. Thus the affix किनि comes after भजन only when a word ending with any case- suffix precedes it in composition. As श्र + भज + किनि = भजनकnom. sing. भजन (VI. 4. 24; VII. I. 70, VIII. 2. 23 and 62) 'cast'; so also भजन 'west'; उदात्त 'north'.

Bk. III. Ch. II. § 59] THE AFFIX KVIN.

433
The affix किन् comes after वृजिक् and कुपिष् when these are uncombined. Thus पुष्च + किन् = पुष्च. In nominative singular, पुष्च + सु = पुष्च, + सु (VII. 1. 71) = पुष्च, + सु (VIII. 2. 62) 'who joins'. When the root पुष्च is in composition with an upapada, it takes the affix किन् (see sutra 61). As अध्यात्म, 'yoked with horses'.

So also कुपिष् + किन् = कुपिष्, nom. sing. कुप, 'a curlew'. The non-elision of the अ (VI. 4. 24) of कुपिष् is an irregularity, as this word has been taught in connection with other irregular words.

त्पदार्थव दृश्योपालोच्चव कस्त || ६० || पदार्थव || त्पदपार्थव,

दृश्य, अनालोच्चव, कस्त, (किन्) ||

त्पदार्थव || त्पदपार्थवोपालोच्चवों वर्णालयान्य कस्तृस्थवोऽविषित पक्षारान्

किन् ||

60. And the affix कस्त comes after the verb दृश्य, 'to see' when it is in combination with र्य, &c. and does not signify perception.

The force of 'and' is that the किन् also comes under similar circumstances. र्य, &c. are pronouns, for a list of which see I. 1. 27. Thus र्याः, nom. sing. र्याः, 'such-like' when it is formed by किन्; and र्याः, 'such-like' when the affix is कस्त्. So also सः + र्य + किन् = र्याः (VI. 3. 91) nom. sing. र्याः (VI. 1. 68, VIII. 2. 36 and 62, VIII. 4. 56); and र्याः: when कस्त् is the affix. So र्याः or र्याः: 'what-like'.

What is the force of the letter क of कस्त? It is for the sake of accent; the uddatta is on the first syllable of those words which are formed by an affix having an indicatory क or क (VI. 1. 117). But the indicatory क would have given the same accent, there being no difference between कस्त and कस्त in this respect. The indicatory क then serves only the purpose of distinguishing the affix कस्त from कस्त in sūtra IV. 1. 15 in which कस्त is taken and not कस्त। Had we not formed this separate affix, then for कस्तकर्म of that sūtra, we should have read कस्त कस्त so that the feminine of words formed by कस्त would have also taken long हृ, so that the feminine of यावक्त (भाव + कस्त V. 4. 29) would have been यावक्ती instead of यावक्त.

Why do we say 'when not signifying perception'? See सं दृष्टिक हस्ते: 'who sees that'. The words र्याः, र्याः &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 र्याः and दृष्टी are in composition with दृष्टी. ‘As दृष्टी or दृष्टी: ‘like’ (र्याः + दृष्टी + किन् = र्य + दृष्टी VI. 3, 89); so also र्याः or र्याः: 'of another kind'.
The affix 

61. The affix किर्त comes after the following verbs when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, though it may be an upasarga, viz.:—स्थि ‘to sit’, स्थि ‘to bring forth’, विष ‘to hate’, हुष ‘to bear malice’, हुष ‘to milk’, भुज ‘to join’, ‘to concentrate the mind’, विष ‘to know’, ‘to become’, ‘to consider’, विष ‘to divide’, देश ‘to cut’, वि ‘to conquer’, शेष ‘to lead’ and श्रेष्ठ ‘to shine’.

The phrase ‘the word ending with a case-affix’ is understood in this sūtra. The anusvṛtti of श्रेष्ठ 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 (जिठपाक) that wherever in the previous sūtras, the word subanta (a case-inflected word) is used, it does not include an upasarga (III 1. 106).

The root द्रु ‘being read in conjunction with विष shows that द्रु class verb is meant here, and not क्षुद्र class. The verb द्रु includes, both द्रु ‘to join’ and श्रु ‘to concentrate one’s mind’. The verb विष includes the three verbs having the sense of ‘to know’, ‘to become’ and ‘to consider’, but does not include the verb विष ‘to gain’, because that root has an indicatory द्रु (विष) while all these verbs have indicatory श्रु.


गृह—गृहिण ‘wood-cutter’; गृहिण ‘cutter’. द्रुष्य—उद्वृत्त ‘rope-cutter’; द्रुष्य ‘a cutter’. द्रुष्य—रुष्य ‘enemy-conqueror’; मुद्र ‘conqueror’. श्रेष्ठ—श्रेष्ठ ‘leader of an army’; श्रेष्ठ ‘a leader’; श्रेष्ठ ‘head-tribe’; श्रेष्ठ ‘first’ (Why is there cerebral द्रु in these words? Because the word मुद्रा has a cerebral द्रु in

sūtra V. 2. 78 and that indicates that these words will have य, as also by sūtra VIII. 4. 3). राजा—विद्या, 'splendour'; समर 'emperor' (the letter र is added by sūtra VIII. 3. 25).

This sūtra is a continuation and expansion of sūtras 75 and 76 sup.

62. The affix निग comes after the verb भू 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 sūtra. As भूतानि = भूतानि nom. sing. भूतानि 'sharing a half'. So also when in composition with a preposition; as मिति 'division'.

63. In the Chhandas, the affix निग comes after the verb सह 'to bear' when it is in composition with a word ending in a case-affix.

The words 'upasarga' and 'supi' are understood here. As दूर + सह + निग = दूरानि nom. sing. दूरानि 'name of Indra'. The dental न is changed into cerebral न by VIII. 3. 56, and the न into न by VIII. 2. 31. The final न of दूर is lengthened by VI. 3. 137. See Rig Veda. I. 175. 2, III. 48 5.

64. The affix निग comes after the verb जग 'to carry', in the Chhandas, when a word ending with a case-affix is in composition with it.

As मिति, 1st sing. मिति 'carrying a prashika measure'; so, निगि. The division of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvṛtti of जग only is carried and not of मिति. See Yajur Veda. XIV. 10, XVIII. 26.

65. In the Chhandas the affix दूर comes after
the verb शत्: when it is in composition with the words कान्नि: ‘oblation of food to deceased ancestors’, पूर्व ‘faces’ and पूर्व ‘water’.

As बन्ध्यापुष्टि: (Yajur. Ved. II. 29) ‘fire that carries the oblation to the pitris’; पूर्वपालि: ‘carrier of water’; पूर्वपालि: (Yaj. Ved. XI. 44).
The feminine of these words is formed by adding long है।

बुधैः: पारस् इ। पदार्थ || है, अनन्तः: ग्रामः (बन्धिः, वहः, वहूः) ||

66. The affix वहूः comes in the Chhandas, after the verb है: ‘to carry’ when it is in composition with the word है: ‘an oblation to gods’, provided that the word so formed does not occur in the middle of a pada (fourth part of a stanza).

As बन्धिः है: ‘fire, the carrier of oblation to the gods’. (Rig. Ved. l. 44. 2).

When this word occurs in the middle of a pada, or at the beginning, the form is है: which is derived by adding the affix रूढः (सूत्र 64). As है: रधिः: रस: ‘the never-decaying agni or fire that carries oblation to the gods, is our father’. (Rig. Veda. III. 2. 2.)

बुधैः: पारस् इ। पदार्थ || अन-वन-वन-रूढः-रसः (बन्धिः, वपस्य: ||

67. The affix वपस्य: (the whole of which is elided) comes in the Chhandas after the verbs गन्: ‘to be born’, वन् ‘to bestow’, वन् ‘to dig’, गन् ‘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 भा.

The words वपस्यः, वपस्य: and गन्ने are understood in this sūtra. The verb गन्ने includes two verbs meaning ‘to be born’ and ‘to happen’; so also गन्ने means both ‘to give’ and ‘to worship’.

Of the affix वपस्य: the letter है: is indicative, and is qualifying, as in VI. 4. 41, by which rule the final nasal of गन्ने, गन्ने &c. is replaced by long भा when the affix वपस्य: follows, and the whole affix is elided by VI. 1. 67.
THE AFFIX KAP.  [BK. III. CH. II. § 68, 70.

As भृत + भृत + विद् = भृतम् (Rig. Ved. VII. 34. 16) ‘born in water’ (VI. 4. 41); भृतम्: ‘born in the heaven i.e. God’ (Rig. Veda IV. 40. 5). So also from कप—गोपा: ‘acquiring or bestowing cows’ (VIII. 3. 108); गोपा हरे गोपे भगव ‘O Indra bestower of cows I thou art lover of mankind’ (Rig. Veda IX. 2. 10). From कप—विश्का: ‘digger of lotus stalk’; कपशा: ‘digger of well’. From कप—पञ्चम: ‘who gets milk’ (Rig. IV. 39. 1 and 40. 5). From भृत—भृत्यम् वसंद्वाणु ‘the leader’.

अद्दोपते ॥ दृष्ट ॥ पद्मरिण ॥ अद्द:, अनके, (सुरि, विट) ॥ 

पुनः:॥ भृतमपौरणम् सूनुपसे विद्वस्तयो भविषी ॥

68. The affix विद् comes after the verb भृत ‘to eat,’ when in composition with a case-inflected word other than भृत ‘food’.

The anuvṛtta of the word ‘Chhandasi’ does not extend to this sūtra.

Thus भृतमङ्गि = भृतमङ्गि ‘eating raw food’; कपश्वाः ‘granivorous’.

But with भृत as an upapada, we have भृतमङ्गि: ‘eating food’, which is formed by the general affix भृतमङ्गि (III 2. 1.)

कपोषे ॥ दृष्ट ॥ पद्मरिण ॥ कपोषे, ज, (अद्द:, विट) ॥ 

पुनः:॥ कपश्वाः उपपदे भृतमपौरणम् विद्वस्तयो भविषी ॥

69. The affix विद् comes after the verb भृत ‘to eat,’ when the word कपश्व is in composition with it.

As कपश्वमङ्गि = कपश्वाः ‘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 राजवास (III. 1. 94) does not apply here. Therefore the affix भृतमङ्गि will not apply in the alternative. If the affix भृतमङ्गि does not apply, how then we get the form कपश्वाः which is evidently formed by the affix भृतमङ्गि? The affix भृतमङ्गि comes after the root when the word formed means the eater of meat which has been cut, dressed and cooked; thus कपश्वाः: means a man who eats meat cooked and prepared, i.e. a meat-eater as opposed to a vegetarian, while कपश्वाः means an animal which eats raw flesh; the word कपश्वाः: in fact may be regarded as an irregular form falling under राजवास class of sūtra VI. 3. 109.

दृष्ट: कपश्वा ॥ ॐ ॥ दृष्ट:; कप-चः; (सुरि) ॥ 

पुनः:॥ दृष्ट:; सूनुपसे कपश्वयो भविषी यथार्थाद्वाशुः॥

70. The affix कप comes after the verb दृष्ट ‘to milk’ when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix and the letter च replaces its final.
As कान्ति 'a milch cow, giving abundance of milk'; so also अते, वर्णम्.

संग्रह वेदाविषयक पुरोहितोक्तिः विन्दुः ॥ 39 ॥ पदरिणी ॥ अते, वेदाविषयक पुरोहितोक्तिः चविन्दुः ॥

तुला: वेदाविषयक पुरोहितोक्तिः हस्तेन्द्रियो विन्दुः मार्गो अवश्य नवम् विषयं ॥

वास्कनिम् वेदाविषयक वास्कनिम् विन्दुः ॥

71. In the Maitra literature, the affix विन्दुः comes after the words वेदाविषयक पुरोहितोक्तिः.

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 विन्दुः comes after the verb वहः preceded by the upapada वेदाविषयक पुरोहितोक्तिः as denoting an agent, while the force of the whole word so formed denotes an object. As चेति एवं वहि रिनिः = चेतिवाह नमि. sing. चेतिवाहः 'a name of Indra' (whom white horses carry).

The affix विन्दुः is applied to the verb श्रुति 'to praise' when preceded by the word बद्धुः as object or instrument; and then the nasal is irregularly dropped. As बद्धुः चेतिवाह श्रुतिः = बद्धुः नमि. sing. बद्धुः (Rig. Ved. II. 39. 1.) 'a reciter of hymns, the name of the sacrificer'.

The विन्दुः is applied after the verb श्रुति 'to give', preceded by पूरी, and is changed into विन्दुः, the force of the whole word denoting an object. As पूरी धार्मिक श्रुति = पूरीवाहः, nom. sing. पूरीवाहः (Rig. Ved. III. 28. 2) 'an offering'.

Part:—The augment वृद्धि is added to the words चेतिवाह चिराग द्वितीयम्, when the pada affixes follow. Thus before pada terminations चेतिवाह व चेतिवाह बद्धुः व चेतिवाह बद्धुः.

Therefore its Instrumental dual is चेतिवाहायम् pl. चेतिवाहायम्.

The augment वृद्धि is not applied before सन्ततिः and श्च terminations.

अथ धार्मिक = 39 ॥ पदरिणी ॥ अथ, धार्मिक = (विन्दुः भृगुः) ॥

तुला: अथ धार्मिक चेतिवाहायम् भृगुः मन्य विषयं ॥

72. In the Maitra literature, the affix विन्दुः comes after the verb वृद्धि 'to sacrifice' when in composition with the word ब्रह्म.

As ब्रह्म, nom. sing. ब्रह्म: (Rig. Ved. I. 173. 12) 'name of a Vedic priest'; as श्रवणीयस्य अवश्यकम् अवश्यकम् 'Thou art the priest of Varuna 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 anuvratti of वार्ता
only runs. This word is thus declined:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>masculine</th>
<th>feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>अवया,</td>
<td>अवयानी,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>अवया,</td>
<td>अवयानी,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>अवया,</td>
<td>अवयानी,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

विन्योः  ज्ञातिः  ||  शः  ||  पदार्थि  ||  विष्र,  उपे,  ज्ञातिः  ||

वृःः  ||  उपयुक्तः  राज्यः  सूति  विष्रः  विष्रावर्त्यः  महति  ||

73. The affix विष्र comes after the verb व ष when त्र precedes, in the Chhandas.

As वयकालिकः वल्लि they carry it up with the उपयुक्त फórmulas'. उपयुक्त is the name of eleven formulas at a sacrifice.

The word 'Chhandas' has been repeated here though the anuvrìtti of the word 'mantra' was present in it, in order to include the Brāhmaṇa literature also.

The ष is indicative and is useful in including the affix विष्र in the larger group called वि (which includes विन्य, विन्य, विश, विश्व), as in the sūtra वेरुप्रत्यय (VI. 1. 67).

Why has this sūtra been made, since the affix विष्र 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 उपयुक्त is found in the Chhandas only, and not in the ordinary literature.

आते। मन्त्रेन्द्रविन्योपदेशश्च।  शः  ||  पदार्थि  ||  आते।  मन्त्रेन्द्र

कलिम्-कलिम्,  च।  (ज्ञातिः,  सूनि,  विष्र)  ||

वृःः  ||  अभक्यान्तः  गरुरः।  वृःः।  विष्रः  विष्रः  गरुरः  गरुरः  विष्रः।

74. The affixes मन्त्रेन्द्र(नं),  कलिम्(नं),  कलिम्(नं) and विष्र come in the Chhandas, after verbs which end in long भ, when a case-inflected word or an upasarga is in composition.

The force of 'and' is to include विष्र. Thus सुर + मन्त्रेन्द्र = सुरामन्त्रे, 1st sing. सुरामन्त्रे (Rig. VI. 20. 7) 'one who gives liberally'; भात + स्वा + मन्त्रेन्द्र = भातस्वामन्त्रे, 1st sing. भातस्वामन्त्रे 'the name of Asvatthāman'; सुरा + कलिम् = सुरी + कलिम् (VI. 4. 66) = सुरीकलिम्, 1st sing. सुरीकलिम् 'having good understanding'; सुरा + कलिम् = सुरीकलिम्, 1st sing. सुरीकलिम् 'a good drinker'. भूरि + श + मन्त्रेन्द्र = भूरिस्वामन्त्रे, 1st sing. भूरिस्वामन्त्रे (Rig. II. 27. 17) 'liberal'; सुरामन्त्रे 1st sing. सुरामन्त्रे (Yaj. VI. 19) 'ghee-drinker'.

The affix विष्र is also included in this aphorism. As कीकाल + पा + विष्र =

कीकालः। (Rig. X. 91. 14) 'nectar-drinker'; सुरामन्त्रे। (Rig. IV. 3. 6 and Pāṇini VII,

अयोध्योति दूरान्ते || अभ || पदार्थि || अन्वेषः; अपि, दूरवर्ते,
(मनिन्द्रा, कावियम्, विविष्ण) ||

पुनः: || अन्वेषोधि दाहुभविः: नाकारात्स्विचोऽनिन्द्रा वामिन्द्रा कावियम्: वामिन्द्रा इत्यहे देवथा दूरस्वते,
विविष्ण ||

75. These affixes viz. मनिन्द्रा, कावियम्, वामिन्द्रा, and विविष्ण, are seen after other verbs also besides those ending in long भा.

The word झःति is not understood here. As झु + भु ‘to injure’ + मनिन्द्रा = सुधुभान, 1st. ‘sing. सुधुभान ‘who destroys well i.e. destroys sin or ignorance’.

भाषा + ‘to go’ + कावियम् = भल्रेत् + वस्त्र (VI. 1. 71) = भल्रेत्यस्वः, 1st. sing. भल्रेत्यस्वः ‘who goes early’. विविष्ण + झु = विविष्ण + झु (VI. 4. 41) = विविष्ण, 1st. sing. विविष्ण ‘who brings forth’. अन्तः भाषा ‘who goes before’. विविष्ण + झु = विविष्ण (VII. 3. 86) 1st. sing. रेत् ‘who injures’; as in रेतिस्वा यस्य: यथा: (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 झिल्लि, झिल्लि.

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.

क्षिप्यच || अभ || पदार्थि || क्षिप्यच ||

पुनः: || सर्वेश्वाद्यम्: षोपपपश्च इत्यद्यम् ध्राचिडः भाषांसः च विविष्णस्वयो नसति ||

76. And the affix क्षिप्य is also seen after all verbs, whether having an upapada or not in the Vedic as well as in the modern Sanskrit.

As द्राश्चयचः स्मृतिः = द्राश्चयचः (VI. 4. 24) ‘falling from the pot’; पङ्खिः, ‘falling from the leaves’; यात्राः भाबस्ति = द्राश्चयचः, 1st. sing. यात्राः ‘falling from a car’.
The झु is long by VI. 3. 137. See Rig. Ved. I. 3. 8.

स्थः: क || अभ || पदार्थि || स्थः: क, च, (झुपिह, उपस्थंह, क्षिप्य) ||

पुनः: || स्थः इत्यद्यम्यात्मः: स्थुपपपश्च कल्याणीि नसति क्षिप्यच ||

77. The affixes क and क्षिप्य come after the verb स्था 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, स्था would have taken क and by rule III. 1. 75, it would have taken क्षिप्य 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 श्रव्य: and श्रव्यः। But for this sūtra, this form could not have been evolved; for, with the upapada श्रृ, the verb श्रृ would have taken the affix भन्य by III. 2. 14.

अ० ॥ पदंनिः ॥ सुपिः, अर्जाती, प्रिसिः, लालिशीयै ॥

पुनः। अभ्जातिकान्तिनिशुर्ण दपिसं अर्जातीये सम्बन्धे धातुप्रदिक्तिनिरपययो भक्ति।

गार्जिकम्। धस्तिन्द्रसारिके साधकसक्षारम्।

प्रानतिकतम्। धार्मिकम् च।

गार्जिकम्। प्रदाति वसः।

78. When habit is to be expressed, the affix चेपिनि comes after a verb, provided the word with a case-affix in composition with it, does not mean a genus.

Thus बुध्य+भुजः+प्रिसिः = बुध्याभिनिः, 1st sing. बुध्याभिः 'who eats his meal hot'. So also श्रीमाहै ॥

Why do we say 'when it does not mean a genus'? Witness साधारणानामकः 'the inviter of Brāhmaṇa's'. We cannot form साधारणानामकः.

Why do we say 'when habit is to be expressed'? Witness बुध्य मुखदेवकानि कस्तानिः, 'he sometimes eats hot'.

Though the anuvṛtti 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 Kaumudi. According to him this affix comes even with upasargas. As अभ्जातिक, अभ्जातिनि, अभ्जातिन्न, अभ्जातिनिः, &c.:

Vart.—The verb भच्च in composition with the prepositions तत्व or विधि should be enumerated as taking this affix. As उसारारिः, fem. उसारारिः, 1st plural उसारारिः. So also उसारारिः, pl. उसारारि:।

Vart.—So also when the sense is 'having skill in such and such action'. As साधकारी 'excellent worker'; साधकायी 'giving liberally'.

Vart.—So also after the verb वह preceded by भयः. As भच्चारिन, in भच्चारिनि बच्च ति 'the knowers of Brahma say'.

कर्तारिणि ॥ अ० ॥ पदंनिः ॥ कर्तारि, उपनाने, (प्रिसिः) ॥

पुनः। कर्तारि अभ्जातिवर्गम वसने धातुप्रदिक्तिनिरपययो भक्ति।

79. The affix चेपिनि 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 उष्ण हुन कौमुःकी० ‘who makes a noise like a camel’; बालकान्धिन ‘who makes a noise like a crow’.

This sutra 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 अपूर्वपिलश भक्षत कामाव, ‘he eats mātha like apūpa’. Here अपूर्व 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 उष्ण: कौमुः ‘the camel makes noise’. For the accents of these words, see VI. 2. 80.

80. The affix विनि comes after a verb, in composition with a word ending in a case-affix.

The word विनि 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 स्त्रियालमाषिन ‘the vow of sleeping on bare ground (and nowhere else) or a person who has taken this vow’. अपूर्वपिलशि० ‘who has vowed not to eat during the performance of a śrāddha ceremony.

Why do we say ‘when vow is to be expressed’? Otherwise there is no composition. As स्त्रियालमाषिन ‘Devadatta sleeps on bare ground’.

This sutra is also an exception to III. 2 78 applicable when habit is not meant, or when genus is to be expressed.

81. The affix विनि comes after a verb diversely when continued repetition of an action is to be expressed.

The word विनि means continued repetition, that is to say, zealous practice or assiduous performance of anything, but does not mean habit. As कवयिसाधिति गान्धाराः ‘the people of Gāndhāra are kṣaṭyā-drinkers’. कवयिसाधिति गान्धाराः ‘the people of Gāndhāra are kṣaṭyā-drinkers’. कवयिसाधिति गान्धाराः ‘the people of Gāndhāra are kṣaṭyā-drinkers’.

By using the word ‘diversely’ in the sūtra, this affix is not applied in other places, as in the following:—कृष्णपलास ‘a grain eater’.
82. The affix लिङ्ग comes after the verb लिङ्ग 'to think' when there is a word with a case-affix in composition with it.

The word 'सुपि' is understood in this śūtra. As शौचिन्यमानी 'who thinks himself handsome'; शोभामानी 'who thinks himself beautiful'.

The verb लिङ्ग belonging to the 4th conjugation is taken here and not that belonging to the 8th conjugation; because the anuvṛtti of the word 'diversely' is understood here. In the present aphorism, whether we take the Divādī or Taṇādī लिङ्ग, the resulting form would be the same, namely लिङ्ग. But not so in the next aphorism, where before the affix लिङ्ग there would be difference of form owing to the vikaraṇa. i.e., in the 4th conjugation लिङ्ग would be added, but not so if the verb belonged to the 8th class.

83. And the affix लिङ्ग comes after the verb लिङ्ग '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 लिङ्ग 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 शौचिन्यमानं; or शौचिन्यमानी 'who thinks himself handsome'; शोभामानं; or शोभामानी 'who thinks himself learned'.

Why do we say 'when employed to signify thought whereof the object is self'? Witness शौचिन्यमानी गङ्गात्सव बतात: 'Yajñadatta is thought handsome by Devadatta.

Of the affix लिङ्ग the letter ल causes लिङ्ग augment by VI. 3. 66; and ल makes it a सार्वदाहतुका 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.
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 adhikara 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 anuvritti is also understood throughout the subsequent sutras; see III. 1. 91.

Thus it will be taught in the next aphorism: 'after the verb वष, when the word in composition is in the instrumental case, the affix चिन्नि is employed'. Here to complete the sense we must read into the sutra, the words 'with the sense of past time'. As अनृत्वच्यायतान्तर् = अनृत्वच्यायतान्तर् 'who has sacrificed with an Agnishṭoma 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 अनृत्वच्यायतान्तर् 'he sacrifices with Agnishṭoma'.

85. The affix चिन्नि comes after the verb वष, 'to sacrifice' with the sense of past time, when the word in composition is in the instrumental case.

The anuvritti of चिन्नि and not of वष is to be read into this sutra. As अनृत्वच्यायतान्तर् 'who has sacrificed with Agnishṭoma.' Here Agnishṭoma is the instrument for the attainment of the desired fruit.

86. The affix चिन्नि comes after the verb वष, 'to kill', with the sense of past time, when the word in composition is in the accusative case.

As चिन्नि 'who has killed his paternal uncle'; चिन्नि 'who has killed his maternal uncle'; चिन्नि + चिन्नि = चिन्नि + चिन्नि = चिन्नि + चिन्नि (VII. 3. 54) = चिन्नि + चिन्नि (VII. 3. 52) = चिन्नि (VII. 2. 116).

This affix is employed only when censure is implied. Therefore it is not employed in चिन्नि 'he has killed the thief'.

The anuvritti of the word चिन्नि of this aphorism extends up to sutra III. 2. 96.

87. The affix चिन्नि comes after the verb वष, 'to
kill' with the sense of past time, when the following words in the accusative case are in composition: त्रिश 'a Brāhmaṇa', पुष्प 'a facet' and पुष्प 'Vṛitra'.

As त्राहि, st. sing. त्राहि 'who has killed a Brāhmaṇa'; द्रूप 'who has killed a facet'; द्रूप 'who has killed Vṛitra, a name of Indra'.

Since by sūtra 76 ante, the affix विद्ध was ordained to come after all verbs, and therefore would have come after the verb हृद also, where is the necessity of the present aphorism? This aphorism makes a niyama. i.e. the verb हृद takes the affix विद्ध only when it is in composition with the words त्राहि &c. Four-fold restriction is here intended.

(1) When हृद has, as upapada, the words त्राहि &c., and not any other word; as पुष्प हृद साच 'he has killed the man'.

(2) When the words त्राहि &c. are upapadas of any other verb than हृद, then this affix is not employed; so that the verb must be हृद; thus त्राहि-परायण 'he has read the Veda'.

(3) The विद्ध is the only affix to denote past time in the case of हृद preceded by त्राहि &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 त्राहि हृद or हृदुपलं त्राहि 'he kills or will kill the Brāhmaṇa'. This sūtra anticipates the diversity taught in the next sūtra, and is an example of वहुल use of the affix.

88. In the Chhandas, the affix विद्ध diversely comes after the verb हृद, '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 विद्ध in cases which are not governed by the restrictive rule contained in the last aphorism. As त्राहि सवनं नरकं प्रवेशम् 'may the matricide enter the seventh hell'; so also विद्ध 'patricide'.

Diversely we find also नादयाः and नादयाः:

89. The affix विद्ध comes after the verb हृद 'to make' with the sense of past time, when the following words in the accusative case are in composition:— हृद 'well', क्षे 'action', रत्न 'sin', रत्न 'hymn' and पुष्प 'virtue'.
The phrase ‘in the accusative case’ is understood in this aphorism, and applies to all the above-mentioned words, except लृ, which being an attributive word, of course, cannot take any case-terminations. As लृहुण्ड (VI. 1. 71) ‘who has done well’; कर्महुण्ड ‘who has done all works’; ग्यास्कुण्ड ‘who has committed sins’; त्रस्तुकुण्ड ‘who has made a mantra’; शुभकुण्ड ‘who has done virtuous actions’.

This śūtra 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, शाख्युण्ड ‘who has made Scriptures’; आख्युण्ड ‘who has made a commentary’. The लृ is added to the root by VI. 1. 71.

90. The affix ितु comes after the verb शु ‘to press out juice’, with the sense of past time, when the word लृ, in the accusative case, is in composition.

As, शोम्युण्ड ‘who has pressed the soma juice, or soma-distiller’; 1st. dual शोम्युण्ड; 1st. plural शोम्युण्ड.

This śūtra 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.

91. The affix ितु comes after the verb ि ‘to collect’ with the sense of past time, when the word भिन्न, in the accusative case, is in composition.

As, भिन्निग्न ‘one who has kept the sacred fire’; 1st. dual भिन्निग्न; 1st. plural भिन्निग्न.

Here also, as in the last aphorism, four-fold restriction is intended.

92. In expressing an object the affix ितु comes after the verb ि ‘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 ि and ितु are understood in this śūtra. The Name is
expressed by taking the complete word consisting of the verbal root, the upapada and the affix. As स्याहोग 'a fire which has been arranged in the shape of a hawk'; कर्मकवि 'fire arranged like a heron'.

The word भावता indicates that these words are ruṣṭhi 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 रूपेशतत, and so on.

93. The affix द्विनि comes after the compound verb रेंकु 'to sell', in the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case.

The repetition of the word कर्मकिन्न in the sūtra, though its anuvṛtti 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 सामविषाकिन्न, 'the seller of soma plant'; राजविषाकिन्न, 'the seller of liquors'; employing disapproval of the action of those persons who carry on these mean professions. But not so in भावविषाकिन्न, 'the seller of paddy'.

94. The affix कर्मिनि comes after the verb देखि 'to see' in the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case.

As महेषप्रसाद, 1st sing. महेष्वर 'who has seen the Meru'. राजोकुररत्र 'who has seen the hereafter'.

Though the affix कर्मिनि was valid by sūtra III. 2. 75 its repetition here shows that no other affix comes in this sense after this verb.

95. The affix कर्मिनि comes after the verbs ढुं 'to fight' and ठं 'to make' with a past signification when the word राज 'king' is in composition, in the accusative case.

How can the verb ढुं, 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 खग affix latent. As राजविषाकि, 1st sing. राजविषाकि (VIII. 2. 7) 'who has caused the king to fight'; राजविषाकि, 1st sing. राजविषाकि (VI. 1. 71) 'who has made a king'.
The affix *da* comes after the verbs *yād* and *pr* with a past signification, when the word *sadhi* ‘with’, is in composition.

The word *sadhi*, being a particle, and not denoting a substance, is incapable of taking any case. As *sahabhāsainā* 'who has made to fight with'; *sahārāvahā* 'who has done any thing along with another'.

The affix *da* comes after the verb *jñāṇa* ‘to be produced’, with a past signification, when the word in composition with it, is in the locative case.

As उपसऽर्गः जन्मः = उपसऽर्गः जन्म = उपसऽर्गः अविनावः सज्जनः = वन्धुमः सज्जनः ‘born of the first conception’; सन्धुमः ‘born in the stable’.

The affix *da* comes after the verb *yād* with a past signification, when the word in composition with it, is in the ablative case, which does not denote a genus.

As *ṣaṭsahābhā* ‘born through understanding’; संस्कार: ‘born of habit’; *prakṛta*: ‘born through pain’.

Why do we say ‘when not denoting a genus’? Observe हस्ती जातः ‘born of elephant’; साधारण: ‘born of horse’.

The affix *da* comes after the verb *jñāṇa*, 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 प्रभु: ‘people’, or ‘a son’; as in the sentence अयमेव मानवः प्रभुः.

The affix *da* comes after the verb *jñāṇa* with...
a past signification, when the root takes the preposition अनु and is compounded with a word in the accusative case.

As पुनःसुत्रा ‘a girl born after the male child i.e. a girl having an elder brother’; स्नेहसुत्रा: ‘a boy born after the female child i.e. a boy having an elder sister’.

101. The affix व is seen to come after the verb जन, with a past signification, though it be in composition with other nouns, having cases other than those mentioned in the previous sutras.

Thus the locative case has been dealt with in sutra III. 2. 97; but the affix comes when the upapada has any other case than the seventh. As व जाने = अजत्व: ‘unborn’; दिवसास = दिवस: ‘twice-born’.

Thus, it is said in sutra 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 प्राणाधों भई; सचिवार जुबमन।

It is declared in sutra III. 2. 98 that when appellative is meant, the affix व comes after the compound verb जन. We find, however, the affix employed when the sense is not simply appellative; as अनुभन्ता: or दिक्षरा: ‘born or produced all round i.e. hair’.

It is declared in sutra III. 2. 100, ‘When an object is in composition with the verb अनुपरिपल्ल इस affix is employed’. But it may also be employed when no object is in composition. As अनुपरिपल्ल ‘born after i.e. younger brother’.

The force of the word अनु ‘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 प्राप्त = प्राप्त ‘a moat’ (literally that which has been dug all round); अत्या ‘a pond’.

102. The affixes called विष्णु come after a verbal root, employed with the sense of past time.

The affixes अन्त and अनु are विष्णु (I. 1. 25). As कृ + अन्त = कृत, ‘made’; कृ + अनु = कृतन्त, 1st sing. कृत्वा, ‘done’; so also मुख्य and मुख्यत्व, ‘eaten’.

Vart.—The Nishta affixes come when अदी+कर्म is meant. For a fuller description of what constitutes अदी+कर्म see sutra III. 4. 71, and the illustrations under it. Thus मन्त्र: कर्म देवरत, मन्त्रसंग्रह, कर्म देवरतः।
The affix \textit{Kanach}. 451

103. The affix \textit{Kanach} comes after the verbs \textit{suk} ‘to press out or extract juice’ and \textit{vah} ‘to sacrifice’, with a past signification.

As \textit{suk} + \textit{Kanach} = \textit{sukap} (VI. 1. 71) = \textit{sukash}, 1st. sing. \textit{suk}, ‘who has pressed out or extracted juice’; \textit{vah}, 1st. sing. \textit{vah}, ‘who has sacrificed’. The \textit{s} is added by VI. 1. 71. See Rig. Ved. I. 3. 1.

104. The affix \textit{Aban} comes after the verb \textit{n} ‘to grow old’ with the sense of past time.

As \textit{n} + \textit{Aban} = \textit{nab} + \textit{Aban} (VII. 3. 84) = \textit{nab}, 1st. sing. \textit{nab}, 1st. pl. \textit{nab}, ‘grown old’ (VII. 1. 70).

By the rule of \textit{Vasakap} (III. 1. 94), the \textit{Nishtha} affixes also come after this verb. As \textit{vah}: and \textit{vasakap}. \textit{n} + \textit{vah} = \textit{nas} + \textit{vah} (VII. 1. 100 and I. 1. 51) = \textit{nas} + \textit{vah} (VIII. 2. 42) = \textit{nasvah} (VIII. 2. 77 and VIII. 4. 1) ‘grown old’.

105. In the Chhandas, the affix \textit{Liit} comes after a verb with a past signification.

As \textit{abha} \textit{pramukt} \textit{vah} ‘I saw the sun from both sides’; \textit{abha} \textit{vah} ‘I stretched the heaven and the earth’. Here the words \textit{vah} and \textit{vah} have the force of \textit{Nishtha}. See Yaj. Ved. VIII. 9.

Why this separate sutra, when by aphorism III. 4. 61, in the Chhandas the \textit{Jan}, \textit{lan} and \textit{Liit} come in all tenses? That rule is made with regards to two or more verbs when in syntactical relation (\textit{Vishayabhik}) with each other (III. 4. 1). The present rule is general, and without any such limitations.

\textit{Liit} is the affix of the Present Perfect and will be fully treated of in the conjugation of verbs.

106. In the Chhandas the affix \textit{Liit} is optionally replaced by the affix \textit{Kanach}.

As \textit{abh} \textit{sih} \textit{pramukt}: ‘he consecrated the fire’; \textit{vah} \textit{sukap}: ‘he pressed the \textit{soma} juice’. This being an optional affix, is sometimes not employed; as in the examples in the last aphorism.
Why has the word *hit* been repeated in this sūtra, when its anuvṛtti could have been drawn from the last sūtra? The substitute कान्तः replaces not only the special फिर of sūtra III. 2. 105, but the general फिर which comes after the roots in forming the perfect tense; so that the affix कान्तः forms verbal adjectives as well as the perfect tense.

This affix comes after those verbs only which take Atmanepada terminations. See I. 4. 100. तस्मान (Rig. Ved. I. 3. 6).

कषु || १०७ || पदार्थ || कषुः, च, (कन्दिके, लिट: ||

पुत्र: || कषुः सिद्ध: कषुःगुष्येष्य अवस्था ||

107. In the Chhandas the affix कषु is optionally the substitute of लिट.

As अल्पप्रकोष्ठ 1st. sing. अल्पप्रकोष्ठ 'eaten' (Yaj. VIII. 19); अनिश्च। 1st. sing. अश्चिस्थ 'drunk'.

Sometimes it does not come, as in the example under sūtra III. 2. 105; अह सूक्तिमयमः इत्यः.

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 anuvṛtti of कषु only runs.

भाषायां सद्यस्मात् || १०८ || पदार्थ || भाषायां, सदृ-वन-सुभ; (लिट: कषुः) ||

पुत्र: || सह सह भूध्येयम: परस्पर लिरो भाषाया विचे वा कषुःगुष्येष्य अवस्था ||

108. In the modern Sanskrit, the affix कषु optionally replaces लिर, after the verbs सह, सह and भू with a past signification.

This being a substitute only, the original affix लिर also comes after these verbs. As, अनविष्णुवान् कौशिकः पाणिनिः 'Kautsa served Pāṇini'. In the alternative, the proper affixes of the past tense will be employed. As अनविष्णु 'he served'; अनविष्णु and अवस्था:

So also भ्रमिष्णु, कौशिकः पाणिनिः. In the alternative we have भ्रमिष्णुः, अनविष्णुः अवस्था भ्रमिष्णुः

So also भ्रमिष्णुः, कौशिकः पाणिनिः. In the alternative we have भ्रमिष्णुः अवस्था भ्रमिष्णुः।

The affix कषु is employed with the force of सह and सह also.

उपेदशानाना: सङ्गवनानाना: || ११० || पदार्थ || उपेदशान।

पुत्र: || उपेदशान। अनान्याः अनुदीत: || (च) ||

109. The forms उपेदशान। अनान्याः अनुदीत are irregularly formed.
These forms are thus evolved:—To the verb हृ 'to go' with the preposition वर्त, the affix कससु is added: as वर्त+हृ+कससु. The root is reduplicated: as वर्त+हृ+हृ+कससु. The reduplicate is here long हृ by VII. 4. 69. This long हृ does not coalesce with the short हृ by the rules of sandhi; for then the rule by which this हृ was introduced would have no scope. Now we add the augment हस् contrary and in opposition to the rule VII. 2. 67, and this is the irregularity. As वर्त+हृ+हृ+हस्+कससु. Then the root हृ is replaced by य by sūtra VI. 4. 81. As वर्त+हृ+हृ+हस्+कससु = यमेविवच यस् sing. यमेविवच. The augment हस् is however dropped in those cases (अ) where वर्त, is changed into यस्: because the insertion of हस् 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 हस् was employed before यस्. Therefore in accusative plural we have यमेविवच: instrumental sing यमेविवच &c.

This irregular participle is not limited to the upasarga वर्त; we find such irregular forms with other upasargas and without them also; thus यमेविवच, and यमेविवच as well.

By the anusvṛtti of the word वर्त read in this aphorism, we have यस् &c. in the alternative. As in Aorist यमेविवच, Imperfect यमेविवच, Perfect यमेविव�ि।

The word यमेविवच is thus formed:—To the verb वर्त 'to enjoy' we add the negative particle अन्त; apply the affix कससु and donot insert the augment हस्; so, we have अन्त+वर्त+कससु = अन्तवर्तस्, 1st. sing. अन्तवर्तस्. In the alternative we have Aorist अन्तवर्तस्, Imperfect अन्तवर्तस् and Perfect अन्तवर्तस्.

The word अन्तवर्तस् is thus derived:—The affix कससु is added in expressing the agent to the verb वर्त precede by अन्त. In the alternative we have Aorist अवर्तस्, Imperfect अवर्तस्, Perfect अवर्तस्.

The यस् comes after a verb in the sense of past time.

The यस् 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 भक्तार्थ ‘he did’; भक्तार्थ ‘he took’.

Vart.—The affix लक्ष्म comes after the verb शृज्ज ‘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 लक्ष्म and not in तक्ष्म. As अनुभावताः ‘I dwelt there’; and not अनुभावत्वम.

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 अनुभावत्वम.

अन्युवतने तक्ष ॥ १११ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ अन्युवतने, तक्ष (भृति) ॥

२००: अन्युवतने मूलादेशे शृज्ञानार्थम् तत्सवितो भवति ॥

वाक्ष्यम् ॥ पत्रोले ऋषिकवर्ताने प्रयोजनेऽपि शृज्ञानार्थम् तक्ष वाक्ष्यम् ॥

111. The affix तक्ष comes after a verbal root employed in the sense of past before the commencement of the current day.

The word अन्युवत्न is a Bahuvihi 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 तक्ष by itself denotes the Imperfect tense. As अन्युवत्त ‘he did’; अन्युवत् ‘he took’.

Why have we explained anadyatana as a Bahuvihi 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 अन्युवत्न ‘we ate to-day or yesterday’. In such a case the affix is तक्ष.

Vart.—The affix तक्ष 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:—अन्युवत्न वाक्ष्यम् श्वाक्ष्यम् ‘the Yavanans have besieged Sāketa’; अन्युवत्न वाक्ष्यम् ‘the Yavanans have besieged Madhyamika’.

Why do we say ‘not witnessed by the speaker’? Observe अधिकार अवविक्ष: ‘the sun arose’. Why do we say ‘a popular public event’? Observe वाक्ष्य तक्ष. वेष्टक ‘Devadatta has made the mat’. Why do we say ‘which is the object of perception by the speaker’? Observe अधिकार कर्ता फिजल वाक्ष्यम्: ‘Vāsudeva killed Kansa’.

अधिकारवत: लक्ष्म ॥ ११२ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ अधिकारवत: तक्ष (भृति, अन्युवतने) ॥
112. When a word implying ‘recollection’ is in connection with it, a verb takes the affix लू (2nd future) in the sense of the past before the commencement of the present day.

The word अनियत means ‘recollection’. This rule sets aside the affix लू. As अनियतञ्च रङ्गरोद्धन कहीरेषु वर्णवान ‘rememberest thou, Devadatta, we were dwelling (lit. we will dwell) in Kashmir’.

The word वषम meaning ‘signification’ in the sūtra, denotes that the construction is the same when the synonyms of अनियत are used; as चरणि ‘dost thou remember’; वषम ‘dost thou know’; चेतनस ‘dost thou reflect’; and the like.

113. The affix लू (the 2nd future) is not applied in the sense of the past, when the upapada douning recollection has in connection with it the particle वष.

This prohibits लू, which the verb वष obtained from the last sūtra. As अनियतञ्च रङ्गरोद्धन कहीरेषु वर्णवान ‘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.

114. The affix लू 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 वष 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 साकारञ्च 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 अनियतञ्च रङ्गरोद्धन कहीरेषु पञ्चवान्त; तत साकारञ्च
This option is allowed whether the particle वस् is or is not used. As अभिज्ञानान्ति वेषक वस्त्र कर्मीराव मन्त्राम तत्त्व तन्त्रूपिन शिष्याम, ‘do you remember Devadatta we went to Kashmir and there did drink Saktu’.

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.

115. The affix लिः comes after a verb in the sense of the past before the commencement of the current day and unperceived by the narrator.

The word परोज ‘unperceived’ qualifies the words भूत ‘past’ and अन्याय ‘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, यक्ष ‘he did’; महार ‘he took’.

‘It is evident that the लिः (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 सुमोण ‘किल विषमाप ‘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 कलिङ्कु ‘खियोगी ? नाइं कलिङ्कु ‘धमाम ‘did you live in the Kalinga country? I did not even go to the Kalinga country’; शिब्णायण यविशिः ? नाइं शिब्णायण यविश्वाय.

हुड़बहुइरोड़िया क् ॥ १९५ ॥ पदार्थ || हुड़बहुइरोड़िया || महन || परोज || किल || महन || परोज || किल ||
116. And the affix नः comes after a verb when the particles हे and रुपम् 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 हे ‘and’ is that the affix नित्र(perfect) may also be employed in similar construction. As हि हाकरोम् (imperfect), or हि ह ऊकर (perfect) ‘Alas I he did it’. शापाकरोम् or शापणकार ‘again and again he did it’.

प्रसे चावखाले || ११७ || पदानि || प्रसे, च, आसवकाले, (भृते, अन्यावते, परोक्षे, लड़, लिद्) ||

पुुः: आसवकाले दह्यकरामो गुणवत्तानपरोक्षे मन्यनुजाला सब्जाला सब्जाला सब्जाला सब्जाला सब्जाला सब्जाला ||

117. The affixes नः (imperfect) and नित्र (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 śūtra also qualifies the words नः, अन्यावते and परोक्ष understood in this śūtra. The word नः means ‘what should be asked’; and आसवकाल ‘time close at hand’. As, some one may ask another, अयुष्य, देवहस: or भागाम देवरस: ‘did Devadatta go or has Devadatta gone (just now)?’ अयुष्य, देवहस: or भागाम देवरस: ‘Did Devadatta sacrifice or has Devadatta sacrificed?’. Why do we say ‘in asking question’? Otherwise there would be perfect tense only. As, भागाम देवहस: ‘Devadatta has gone’.

Why do we say ‘when the past time referred to is imminently recent’?

Observe भागसं दह्यकरामः, गुणवत्ताम कस्य किंतु वाल्मिकः: ‘I ask you, did Krishna indeed kill Kansa in days of yore’.

लट् र्मे || ११८ || पदानि || लट् र्मे, (भृते, अन्यावते, परोक्षे) ||

पुुः: लट् र्मे दह्यकरामो गुणवत्तानपरोक्षे नः गुणवत्तानपरोक्षे नः कस्य किंतु वाल्मिकः ||

118. The affix नः (present) comes after a verb, when the particle भृत 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 नित्र, or the perfect tense. Thus भृतिः भृतिः दह्यकरामः ‘Yudhishtihira sacrificed’; so also नः दह्यकरामः गुणवत्ताम || भृतिः भृतिः परोक्षः ||

अपरोक्षे च || ११९ || पदानि || अपरोक्षे, च, (भृते, अन्यावते, र्मे, लट्) ||
119. The affix \textit{तद्} (present) comes after a verb when the particle \textit{त} 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 \textit{तत्} \textit{तिथि} \textit{प्रशीति} 'thus said the father'; \textit{तत्} \textit{स्वीपथाम्} \textit{कर्मचति} 'thus said the preceptor'.

नन्दा पुष्यप्रतिवचने ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ नन्दा, पुष्य-प्रतिवचने,
(मूर्ति, लटू) ॥

120. The affix \textit{तद्} is employed after a verb in denoting past action, when the word \textit{नन्दा} is in connection with it, and an answer is given to a question.

The anuvṛtta of the words '\textit{anadyatana}' and '\textit{paroksha}' does not extend to this sūtra. This declares a rule with regard to past time in general. This debars \textit{तद्}, (the Aorist tense). As \textit{तद्} \textit{राग्दसा} ?— \textit{नन्दा} \textit{करोमि} \textit{महा} 'Devadatta, did you make the mat? O, yes, I did make it'. \textit{तद्} \textit{राग्दसा} \textit{करोमि} \textit{महा} 'Devadatta, did you speak there anything? O, yes, I did speak'.

Why do we say 'in reply to an interrogation'? Observe \textit{तद्} \textit{राग्दसा} \textit{करोमि} \textit{महा} 'certainly, \textit{Manavaka} did it'.

नन्दोनिविभाषा ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-व्यसो, विभाषा, (मूर्ति, पुष्य-
प्रति-वचने, लटू) ॥

121. The affix \textit{तद्} comes optionally after a verb, in denoting past time, in reply to an interrogation, when the words \textit{न} 'not' and \textit{न} 'what of that' are in connection with it.

As, \textit{तद्} \textit{राग्दसा}—\textit{व} \textit{करोमि} \textit{महा} or \textit{राक्षसें}, —\textit{व} \textit{करोमि} or \textit{महा} \textit{राक्षसें} 'Devadatta, did you make the mat?—No I did not ;—what of that, I did'.

पुरि लुक्क सारसे ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरि, लुक्क, च, अर्थे, (मूर्ति,
अन्यत्वे, विभाषा, लटू) ॥

122. Optionally the affixes \textit{लुक्क} and \textit{लटू} come after a verb, in denoting past time not belonging to the current day, when the word \textit{पुरि} is used in the sentence, provided that the word \textit{त} is not used,
The anuvṛtti of the word anadyatana which had come to a stop with III. 2. 120 manifests itself again in this śūtra by a process of jumping over the two intermediate aphorisms. This sort of anuvṛtti is technically called man-
duka-pluti 'the leap of a frog' i.e. skipping of several śūtras and supplying a word from a previous śūtra.

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 व्यवहीर पुरा ज्ञान: 'the pupils lived here formerly'. So also, Aorist, भवस्तु: पुरा ज्ञान: ; Imperfect, भवस्तवह गुरु ज्ञान: ; Perfect, भवस्तवह गुरु ज्ञान: ;

Why do we say 'when the word स्त्र is not used'? Observe वजित स्त्र पुरा बुधिहिर: 'Yudhishthira did perform a sacrifice formerly'. Here rule 118 ante exerts its influence.

वर्तेषाने सत्र ॥ १२३ ॥ पद्यः ॥ वर्तेषाने, सदृ ॥

बुधिहिर: भाषेद्विनेशेवलस्माय वर्तेतानाधुतिं वर्तेतानाधुतिं वर्तेतानाधुतिं वर्तेतानाधुतिं वर्तेतानाधुतिं वर्तेतानाधुतिं वर्तेतानाधुतिं

123. The affix सक comes after a verb when denoting a present action.

The word वर्तेषान 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 पचि 'he is cooking'; पशि 'he is reading'. So also whatever is constant, regular, uniform, is represented by the Present Indefinite. As तिल्लित्त परेति: 'the mountains stand'; स्वस्त्त मन: 'the rivers flow'.

सत्र: प्राद्यानायमनात्स्माकसानाधिकारिः ॥ १२४ ॥ पद्यः ॥ सदृ:,

मद-स्त्राली, जयपत्न-स्त्रानाधिकारिः ॥

युधिस्तिर: तत्र यथापविक्षेपितकोरसी मच्छ: भवस्त्रनवें स्त्रान सानाधिकारणे नवति ॥

124. The affixes शद्र and श्रान्त्र are substitutes of सक when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix.

As श्रमाने हैवहि श्रम 'behold Devadatta who is cooking'; पच्चक कुत्र 'or पच्चकेन कुत्र 'done by one who is cooking'. प्रच+श्रान्त्र, = प्रच+हार श्रान्त्र (III. 4. 113, III. 1. 68)= प्रच+अ + हु + श्रान्त्र (VII. 2. 82)= प्रचात \\
So also प्रच+हार + श्रान्त्र= प्रच+अ + श्रान्त्र= प्रचात।

Why do we say 'when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix'? Observe हे द्वैत: प्रचति 'Devadatta cooks'.

Since the term श्रान्त्र 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 श्रान्त्र श्राभाव: 'who is a Brāhmaṇa' = भविष्य श्राभाव: ; so also
Vart.—These affixes are employed after a verb, when the particle न is in composition, and censure or curse is implied. As न रक्षति and न रक्षना: 'may he not cook'; न जीवनं व रक्षति: खत्वा '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 anuvṛtti of the word 'option' from sūtra 121 into this. That option, however, is a limited option (पयावत्वितु-विभादन) 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.

125. The affixes गम् and शान्तिः are the substitutes of लक्षणम् 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 रक्षति or हे रक्षना: 'O thou who art cooking'.

126. The affixes गम् and शान्तिः are the substitutes of लक्षणम् and come after a verb, in expressing an attendant circumstance or characteristic, and the cause of an action.

The word लक्षणम् means that by which a thing is recognised or known i.e. an attribute; गम् means producer or cause. Both these words are attributes of the word किरणा. Of लक्षणम्: अस, शान्तिः: श्रवणे श्रवणे: 'the Yavanas take their meals lying down'. किरणे:किरणे: ग्रहण:। Of गम्: अस हे शान्तिः मुख्ये: 'by (reason of) seeing Hari, he gets absolution'; शान्तिः: शान्तिः: 'for the sake of study he dwells here'.

Why do we say 'when denoting a characteristic or a cause'? Observe शान्तिः: 'he cooks'; गम्बः: '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 श्वसने श्रवणे: 'that which is shaking is the Aswattha'; वच्चति शुचि: 'whatever floats is light'; गम्बः: 'that which sinks down is heavy'.

 sati and sanachi. [Bk. III. Ch. II. § 125, 126.]

(क्या) न (स्वत:)

(सति, दस्य शान्तिः)

(क्या) न (स्वतः)

(सति, दस्य शान्तिः)

(क्या) न (स्वतः)

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(सति, दस्य शान्ति}
Vart.—This participle also defines the agent of an action as, बोधीपावन भाले दे वेदस: ‘he is Devadatta who sits studying’.

Vart.—This participle is also used to state a general truth: as दुर्गा दुर्गा ‘the Dūrva grass grows in a recumbent position’; भारतीयं भारतीयं ‘a lotus stalk grows in an upright position’. The compound श्रवणवर्णनोऽतीत: of the sūtra 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.

127. These two शो and शान्ति are called शतः.

These participle 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 शान्तिइव जुष्येन, कारिणिः, दुर्गाश्च, कारिणिः।

The word शतः occurs in sūtra II. 2. 11. &c.

128. The affix गात्र comes after the verbs गु, ‘to purify’ and शत, ‘to sacrifice’.

As गात्रान‘purifier (fire or air)’; गात्रान‘sacrificer.

It might be asked ‘is the गात्र with others that follow, an affix suro generis, or is it merely a substitute of गा, as गात्र and गात्रान? Why we ask this question is this. If they are affixes and not substitutes of गा, 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 गा, then by rule II. 3. 69. they should not govern the genitive case. But evidently they are not the substitutes of गा, as they are not so taught. How is it then that we have such forms as गात्र्यं प्रदाते: ‘drinking Soma’; and गात्र्यं प्रदाते: ? These forms can be explained on other grounds than supposing that गात्र गा and गात्रान must be the substitutes of गा. The term गात्र in sūtra II. 3. 69. is not the affix गात्र taught in this Chapter sūtra 135; but it is a pratyadhāra including several affixes. It is a pratyadhāra formed by taking the त of गात्र in sūtra 124; and त of गात्र in 135; and thus it means all the affixes from गात्र in 134 down to गात्र, in 135. Thus though गात्र, गात्रान &c. are not substitutes of गा, still the rule II. 3. 69. applies to them, as they are included in the term गात्र.

Vart.—The rule II. 3. 69. applies only optionally when the verb दिच्छ, takes the affix गात्र. As चिद्रि or चोरि दिच्छ, ‘hating the thief’. 
129. The affix यष्टि comes after a verb in expressing 'habit', 'standard of age' and 'ability'.

The word सत्रि means 'habit' or 'disposition'; यष्टि means the condition of body such as 'infancy', 'youth' &c; यष्टिनि means 'capacity to do a thing'. As भोगण पुजनि: 'habituated to enjoy'; कपण विषया: 'wearing an armour (of the age at which armour may be worn)'; श्रद्धा निरात: 'able to destroy his foe'. So also, कतासि मुखवानि; मुखनि; कपण परिवर्धनि; विनय, वसनि: and दत्तानि:.

130. The affix यष्टि comes after the verbs रह 'to go' and धारि 'to hold' in denoting that the agent does the action without trouble.

The word यष्टिनि means that which is accomplished by the agent with ease and facility. As भोगण पुजनि 'the facile reading of the Purāṇa'; धारिणि 'easily mastering the Upanishad'. The root धारि is causative of ध and means here 'to master'.

Why do we say 'when facility is indicated'? Otherwise श्रद्धा निराति: 'he reads with difficulty'; श्रद्धा निराति: 'he remembers with difficulty'.

131. The affix यष्टि comes after the verb धिष्ठि when the agent indicated means an enemy.

The word धिष्ठि means 'enemy'. As धिष्ठि 'enemy', धिष्ठि 'two enemies', धिष्ठि: 'enemies'.

Why do we say 'when denoting an enemy'? Observe हेदि मातृि पल्यि, 'the wife hates her husband'.

132. The affix यष्टि comes after the verb झ 'to press out juice' when the sense is that of association with sacrifice.
The word व्यावस्थितम् is an instrumental compound, meaning association or connection (व्यावस्थिस्) with sacrifice. As चु+तु+ष (III. 1. 76, III. 4. 113) = सु + अभि (I. 2. 4.) = सुवस्थितम् (VI. 1. 77), 1st. sing. सुवस्थितम्, 1st. pl. सुवस्थितम्: ‘the sacrificers’; as in सब सुवस्थितम्: ‘all are interested in, or partake of, or share in the sacrifice’.

The word संपन्नम् indicates that the principal sacrificer, i.e., the व्रतमण is meant and not every person who is associated in the performance of a sacrifice in a subordinate capacity; such as वायव्य: ‘the sacrificing priests’.

When connection with sacrifice is not meant we have सुवस्थितम् नभान् ‘he distills liquor’.

अहि: व्रतसायाम् II १३३ II पदानि II अहि: प्रसंसायाम् (श्रव) II
पुरूष: II अहि: तु: प्रसंसायाम् श्रावस्यायाम् नभानि II

133. The affix श्रव comes after the verb अहि in expressing praise.

As अहि: यहि: यहि: ‘thou art worthy of this knowledge here’; अहि: यहि: यहि: ‘thou art worthy of honor in this place’.

Why do we say ‘when meaning to praise’? Witness अहि: यहि: यहि: ‘the thief deserves death’.

एष्ठक्षेत्रसदसत्वाययारिः II १३४ II पदानि II एष्ठक्षेत्रसदसत्वाययारिः II नबिः तस्मात् तस्मात् नसतवाययारिः II
पुरूष: II एष्ठक्षेत्रसदसत्वाययारिः कलिन्नादयागन्नात्वाययारिः कलिन्नादयागन्नात्वाययारिः से बदिस्वयः II

134. From this sūtra as far as तत्र 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 एष्ठक्षेत्र in this sūtra is limit inclusive, and includes विषय also. The term तस्मात means ‘the natural inclination towards an action not prompted by a contemplation of its fruit or result’. The term सदसम means ‘who enters upon an action not from habit but thinking that it is his duty’. The term नसतवाययारिः means ‘who does the action expressed by the verb in an excellent way’. Illustrations of these will be given under the subsequent aphorisms.

तत्र II १३४ II पदानि II तत्र (तस्मात-तस्मात-तत्सदससतवाययारिः) II
पुरूष: II तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात नसतवाययारिः II
पुरूष: II तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात नसतवाययारिः II
पुरूष: II तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात नसतवाययारिः II
पुरूष: II तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात नसतवाययारिः II
पुरूष: II तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात-तस्मात नसतवाययारिः II
135. The affix उन्न comes after all verbs in the sense of 'agents having such a habit &c'.

The उ of उन्न is indicatory, and regulates the accent (VI. 1. 197). As उन्न प्रद्ध = प्रद्ध, 1st sing. प्रद्ध. This affix denotes habit in the following; as, प्रद्ध अवस्था, 'who is accustomed to make mats. Nature:-as, सूक्ष्णविवाह: विवाहक्षण गृहाग्रिस्थ सूक्ष्णविवाह: ‘the family of Srāvītāyana shave the heads of their widows'; गृहाग्रिस्थ आग्राहक्र: गृहाग्रिस्थ आग्राहक्र: ‘the Ahvrakas steal away food as soon as Srāddha is accomplished'; गृहाग्रिस्थ आग्राहक्र: गृहाग्रिस्थ आग्राहक्र: ‘the Taulvalāyanas become elated at the birth of a son'. Skill:-as, गृहाग्रिस्थ क्रियाध ’skillful maker of mats'.

Vart:-The simple verbs, without upasargas, take the affix उन्न, when the words so formed are names of sacrificial priests. As उन्न प्रद्ध = प्रद्ध, 1st sing. प्रद्ध: ‘the Hotri priest'; so also प्रद्ध ‘the Potri priest'.

Why do we say 'when not taking the upasargas'? Observe उन्न उद्गात ‘the Udgātr priest'; प्रद्ध ‘the Pratyākṣa priest'. Here the affix is उन्न. Though the form is the same, there is difference however in the accent; i.e. उन्न places udāttā accent on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197), while उन्न places it on the last (VI. 1. 163).

Vart:-The augment दुः, is added when न not takes the affix उन्न; as न दुः = दुः, 1st sing. दुः ‘the Neshtrī priest'.

Vart:-When signifying deity, the verb दुः ब्रह्म takes उन्न; the letter उ is the substitute for the उ of the root; and the affix does not take the intermediate उ augment; as, दुः + उन्न = रंगुण, 1st sing. रंगुण ‘Tvashti’.

Vart:-The root दुः takes उन्न, when the word to be formed means an officer; as दुः ‘an attendant, a door-keeper'.

Vart:-In the Veda, the root दुः takes उन्न, as दुः. The form is the same as the last, but there is difference of accent.

136. The affix इन्न comes after the following verbs, in the sense of the 'agents having such a habit &c'; viz. — इन्न अवस्था, निरदेश ‘to expel', अवस्था ‘to be born', अवस्था ‘to be ripe', अवस्था ‘to fly', अवस्था ‘to be mad', उन्न ‘to shine', अवस्था ‘to be ashamed', उन्न ‘to be', उन्न ‘to grow', उन्न ‘to bear' and उन्न ‘to walk.'

Vart.—The affix इत्स्युष sits debarcs by anticipation the affix युष्य of III. 2. 151, after the root अन्यूष, though it has the sense of decorating.

137. The affix इत्स्युष in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c.’ comes in the Chhandas after a verb that ends in the causative िष्य.

The Causatives take this affix in the Vedic literature. As इत्स्यव भारविषय: ‘who hold the stones’; िवेिष्य: गहविषय: ।

भुष्य ॥ १३८ ॥ पदरा ॥ गुष्य: च, (ईंृिष्य, तथृिष्य, ीिच्छ्र)

138. The affix इत्स्युष in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c.’ comes in the Chhandas, after the verb पु ‘to be’ also.

Thus आिच्छ्र: ‘becoming’.

The yoga-vibhda 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, भासिपाना दोहित्यक्तनेन ।

र्स्याजीविष्य वुष्य: ॥ १३७ ॥ पदरा ॥ र्स्या-जि-ख: च, कर्त्स: । (तथृिष्य).

139. The affix त्स्युष comes after the following verbs in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c.’ viz.—न्त्स ‘to be weary’, ति ‘to conquer’ and ख ‘to stand’, as well as after पु ‘to be’.

As, र्स्या: ‘languid’; निच्छ्र: ‘victorious’; खास्य: ‘disposed to stand firm, immovable’; भुष्य: ‘being’.

The anuvṛtti of the word Chhandasi does not extend to this sūtra. The indicatory letter of this affix is really ः and not क, and therefore, there is
no substitution of long \( \ddot{\text{n}} \) for the accent of \( \dddot{\text{n}} \), which would otherwise have taken place, had the affix been \( \ddot{i} \) (VI. 4. 66).

In the \( \text{\ sutra I. I. 5.} \) (अखिति स) the letter \( s \) is also included; for \( s \) coming before \( k \), is changed by the rules of \( \text{sandhi} \) into \( k \) and is not therefore visible. This affix therefore does not cause \( \text{guna} \).

So also in \( \text{sutra VII. 2. 11} \) (अखिति किति), the augment \( \ddot{\text{n}} \) does not come after the verb \( \ddot{\text{n}} \) or a monosyllabic verb ending in the \( \text{pratyāhāra} \) \( \ddot{\text{n}} \), when an affix having an indicatory \( k \) follows. Here also \( k \) includes \( s \); and therefore in \( \text{कुँभ्य} \) we have no intermediate augment \( \ddot{\text{n}} \).

\( \text{Vart.} \) — In the \( \text{Chandas} \) this affix comes after the verb \( \ddot{\text{सू} \text{त}} \) ‘to bite’; as \( \ddot{\text{गोळ्य} \ddot{\text{महाम}} \text{ ‘the beasts that bite’}.} \)

\( \ddot{\text{k}} \) (लखीरलाशित) \( \| \)
\( \ddot{\text{मुँ}} \) \( \| \) \( \text{वाक्यिकों भावव्यवस्थलक्षणिकृत} \) \( \ddot{\text{k}} \) \( \text{कायको} \) भवित \( \| \)

140. The affix \( k \) comes after the verbs \( k \) ‘to tremble’, \( gū \) ‘to be greedy’, \( gū \) ‘to be bold’ and \( k \) ‘to throw’ in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’.

As, \( gū \) ‘trembling’, \( gū \) ‘greedy’, \( gū \) ‘bold’; and \( k \) ‘throwing’.

\( \text{वस्त्रयोग्यो चिनिन्द} \) \( \| \) \( \ddot{\text{मुँ}} \) \( \| \) \( \text{पदपपल} \) \( \| \) \( \text{शम्ह-हरि-अहरस्य} \)
\( \ddot{\text{विन्दु}} \) (लखीरलाशित) \( \| \)
\( \ddot{\text{मुँ}} \) \( \| \) \( \text{प्रमाधिको प्रायुक्त-क्षत्रियलाशित किंवत} \) \( \text{कायको} \) भवित \( \| \)

141. The affix \( \ddot{\text{विन्दु}} \) comes after the eight verbs beginning with \( \ddot{\text{सू} \text{त}} \) ‘to be calm’, in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’.

The word \( \ddot{\text{हर}} \) in the aphorism indicates beginning. These eight verbs begin with \( \ddot{\text{s}} \) and end with \( \ddot{\text{n}} \) in the list of verbs. Of the affix \( \ddot{\text{विन्दु}} \) the real affix is \( \ddot{\text{न}} \), the other letters are servile; the \( s \) is for the sake of substituting guttural for the final palatal; \( n \) is for the sake of euphony, or for the sake of rule VI. 3. 45; and the letter \( s \) causes \( \text{vrddhi} \) (VII. 2. 116): which in the case of roots ending in \( \ddot{\text{स}} \) is prohibited by the rule VII. 3. 34, the only verb taking \( \text{vrddhi} \) being \( \ddot{\text{न}} \).

As \( \dddot{\text{हरिः}} \) 1st. sing. \( \dddot{\text{हरि ‘calm’; likewise}} \) \( \dddot{\text{स्वर्य ‘desiring’; श्रव ‘taming’;}} \) \( \dddot{\text{भन्न ‘laborious’; भन्न ‘whirling’, ‘moving round’; भन्न ‘fatiguing’; भन्न ‘forbearing’;}} \) \( \dddot{\text{मध्य ‘mad’ and सम्भव ‘mad’}} \). Though by rule 136, the verb \( \dddot{\text{सू} \text{त}} \) takes the affix \( \dddot{\text{विन्दु}} \), it also takes the affix \( \dddot{\text{विन्दु}} \) by the rule of \( \dddot{\text{शार्य} \dddot{\text{क}}} \) (III. 1 94).

All these verbs belong to the \( \text{Dīpādī} \) class. After other verbs than these eight, we have other affixes; as \( \dddot{\text{स्त्रिः}} \).
142. The affix विनुष comes after the following verbs, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The root संध्र is to be taken as belonging to the Rudhâdi class, and not as belonging to Addâdi, because the vikaraṇa is elided in the latter. The root परिवि belongs to Bhvâdi class, the simple verb being लूष 'to sport'. The verb लूष 'to throw' is common both to Rudhâdi and Divâdi, and both are taken here. बुध 'to concentrate' is Divâdi, and चुळ 'to join' is Rudhâdi; both are meant here. The verb रंष 'to color' has lost its nasal in this sūtra, irregularly.

Thus संध्र + विनुष = संध्रच + हूळ (VII. 2, 52) = समर्नब्रत, 1st sing. समार्थ 'mixture'; similarly, समुद्रभ 'compliant'; भावरी 'one who restrains'; भावरी 'one who exerts'; परिवि 'that which flows round'; संध्र 'united'; परिवि 'lamenting'; संध्र 'greatly heating'; परिवि 'moving about'; परिवि 'crying aloud'; परिवि 'reviling'; परिवि 'burning'; परिवि 'beguiling'; श्री 'guilty'; हूळ 'hating'; श्री 'quarrelling'; श्री 'milking'; श्री 'uniting or concentrating'; भावरी 'playing'; श्री 'discriminating'; श्री 'renouncing'; श्री 'yearning after'; श्री 'sharing'; श्री 'transgressing'; श्री 'offending'; श्री 'a thief'; भावरी 'attacking'. (VII. 3, 52 and 54).

The indicatory अ of the affix shows that the final palatal is changed into a corresponding guttural before this affix.

143. The affix विनुष comes after the verbs कर 'to injure', चुळ 'to embrace and sport', कर 'to praise' and चुळ 'to believe', when these are in composition with the preposition ति.
As विकारी 'injuring'; विलासी 'sportive, a sensualist'; विलस्य 'vaunting'; and विलस्य 'confiding'.

अवे छ लब: || १४४ || पदार्थ || अवे, छ, लब; (चिन्द्र) ||

पृष्ठ: || लब वास्तो, भविष्यान्तपदपत्र विकारः एव विनुद्विग्य बहिः ||

144. The affix निवृत्त comes after the verb लब 'to wish' when compounded with the preposition एव and वि.

As विलासी 'thirsty'; विलस्यी. The term वि is to be read into this śūtra by the force of the word 'and'.

मे लप्यं शृंगवद्वरः || १४४ || पदार्थ || मे, लप-छ-न-स-ब-न-वः; (चिन्द्र) ||

पृष्ठ: || मैः उपर्ये त्वानिही विनुद्विग्यन बहिः ||

145. The affix निवृत्त comes after the verbs छ, न, नव and नव when compounded with the preposition वि.

As विलासी 'prattling'; विलस्यी 'extending around'; विलस्ती 'running away, fugitive'; विलस्ती 'tormenting'; विलस्ती 'reporting'; विलस्ती 'a traveller'.

The root वि here is the Bhādi वि meaning 'to dwell' and is not Adādi meaning 'to cover', because in the latter the vikaraṇa is elided.

निवृत्त श्रीक्षाद्विनागपरिषिप्परिषिपपरिषिपपरिषिपपरिषिपपरिषिपपरिषिपपरिषिप्वादिः-व्याख्यान्त्र-व्याख्यान्त्र-भवे || १४५ || पदार्थ || निवृत्त-श्रीक्षाद्विनागपरिषिप्परिषिपपरिषिपपरिषिपपरिषिपपरिषिपपरिषिपपरिषिपपरिषिप्वादिः-व्याख्यान्त्र-व्याख्यान्त्र-भवे; (तथाकालिः) ||

पृष्ठ: || विनागपरिषिप्परिषिपपरिषिपपरिषिप्परिषिपपरिषिपपरिषिपपरिषिपपरिषिपपरिषिपपरिषिपपरिषिप्वादिः-व्याख्यान्त्र-व्याख्यान्त्र-भवे ||

146. The affix व्यूः is added to the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c':—

विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त वि

In this śūtra the whole phrase ending with व्यूः has taken the termination of the first case; which, however, has the force of the ablative here.

As विनिवृत्त-व्यूः = निवृत्त (VII. 1. 1) 'blaming'; so also निवृत्त 'injuring'; विनिवृत्त 'tormenting or troublesome'; विनिवृत्त 'eating'; विनिवृत्त 'destroying'; विनिवृत्त 'surrounding'; विनिवृत्त 'who cries aloud'; विनिवृत्त 'a plaintiff'; विनिवृत्त 'detracting'; and विनिवृत्त 'detracting'.

The same forms as the above would have been obtained by adding the affix व्यूः taught in III. i. 133, as by adding व्यूः; its separate enunciation indicates the existence of this paribhāsha:

"The rule of III. 1. 94 by which an apavṛddha-affix which is not uniform with an utsarga-affix should supersede the latter only optionally, has no concern with apavṛddha-affixes added in the sense of 'having such a habit' i.e. with the affixes taught in III. 2. 134—177'. Therefore the affixes व्यूः &c, are not added in the sense of 'having such a habit &c'."
The affix YUCH

147. The affix युध्य comes after the verbs शंक्य 'to lament' and कुम 'to cry', when an upasarga is in composition with them.

As आयुक्त: 'one who sports or laments'; आयुक्तावर्त्य: 'vociferous, a reviler'; आयुक्तेक: 'one who laments'; आयुक्तायुक्त: 'a reviler'.

Why do we say 'when in composition with an upasarga'? Observe श्लेष्विता and श्लेष्विता formed by अर्न (III. 2. 135).

148. The affix युध्य comes, in the sense of the agent having such a habit &c., after intransitive verbs denoting 'motion' or 'sound'.

As, जल+युध्य = जलन: 'moving' (VII. 1. 1); चीयन: 'creeping'; श्रावन: 'sounding'; रागण: 'roaring'.

Why do we say 'intransitive'? Observe श्लेष्विता विध्याम.

149. The affix युध्य comes in the same sense after such intransitive verbs as are Atmanepadi and begin with a consonant and are Anudattet i. e. have a gravely accented vowel as indicator.

As जलन: 'being'; चीयन: 'growing'.

Why do we say 'Anudattet'? Observe श्लेष्विता.

Why do we say 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe श्लेष्विता, which though Atmanepadi, takes युध्य.

Why have we used the term भाव 'beginning' in the sūtra? Observe युध्यवस्य: 'censuring'; आयुक्त: 'an investigator. For without the word भाव, the rule would have stood thus:—अनुदात्तत्व हल: which by I. 1. 72. would mean 'the affix युध्य comes after the verbs which end with a consonant'; so that even after युध्य we shall have युध्य; and there would be no युध्य after युध्य which ends with a vowel.

This rule will not apply if the root is transitive; as श्लेष्विता व्यय्याम.
THE AFFIX YUCH. [BK. III. CH. II. § 150-152.

150. The affix यuch comes after the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', viz. —नु, चक्रवत्त्व, क्षत्रवत्त्व, छ, गृह, खर, सुि, लम, रज, गल and पथ.

The verb यuch is not to be found in the Dhātupātha, and is taught in the aphorisms and is hence called a sautra dhātu. It means 'to go', 'to be quick'. As यuch + वृक्ष = वृक्ष + ध, (VII. 1. 1 and VII. 3. 84) = वृक्ष: (VI. I. 78, II. 3. 46) 'a courser, a swift horse'. चक्रवत्त्व + लुि = चक्रवत्त्व + लुि (II. 4. 74) = यuch: 'moving about'; so also चक्रवत्त्व: 'wandering'; लुि: 'flowing'; चक्रवत्त्व: 'greedy'; लुि: 'burning'; चक्रवत्त्व: 'spleen'; लुि: 'desiring'; लुि: 'falling'; लुि: 'moving'.

The enumeration of the word यuch in the above, indicates that this sūtra applies to the transitive verbs; otherwise the sūtra III. 2. 148 would have been sufficient, as यuch is a जनयते verb. Others say that the inclusion of यuch 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 यuch which by III. 2. 136 is added to चक्रवत्त्व, supersedes therefore not merely the addition of चक्रवत्त्व to चक्रवत्त्व (III. 2. 135), but also the addition of चक्रवत्त्व to the same. If a चक्रवत्त्व चक्रवत्त्व were to supersede only an चक्रवत्त्व चक्रवत्त्व, it would have been superfluous for Pāṇini to teach in this sūtra the addition of चक्रवत्त्व to चक्रवत्त्व, because in that case the addition of चक्रवत्त्व to चक्रवत्त्व by III. 2. 154 would not have debarred the addition of चक्रवत्त्व to चक्रवत्त्व by III. 2. 149. The repetition is for the sake of jñāpāna, therefore, and it indicates the existence of the above-mentioned maxim. The jñāpāna is not, however, of universal application; for sometimes both affixes are applied concurrently; as: गल लम विकथयित।

151. And after the verbs having the sense of यuch 'to be angry' and यuch 'to adorn', the affix यuch is employed.

As चक्रवत्त्व: 'wrathful'; चक्रवत्त्व: 'irascible'; चक्रवत्त्व: 'adorning'; चक्रवत्त्व: 'ornament', but not so after the verb चक्रवत्त्व to which sūtra III. 2. 136 applies.

152. The affix यuch is not employed after those verbs which end in the letter य.

This debar III. 2. 149. As चक्रवत्त्व: 'making creaking sound'; चक्रवत्त्व: 'trembling'. In these cases the affix यuch is employed (III. 2. 135).
Br. III. Ch. II. § 153-155] THE AFFIX SHAKAN.

153. The affix बुषा does not come after the verbs बुष ‘to strike’, धुष ‘to shine’ and शुष ‘to initiate’.

These three verbs are anuddaśit, and by sūtra III. 2. 149, would have taken बुष. The present sūtra prohibits that. Therefore they take धुष. As, धुषित 1st. sing धुषत ‘one who strikes’; धुषित ‘one who shines’; धुषित ‘one who initiates’.

Now, it might be objected—“We find that sūtra III. 2. 167 specifically enjoins the affix र after धुष; this aprava rule will therefore, supersede the general rule; where is then the necessity of the present rule? If you say that the affix बुষ in is also obtained by the rule of non-uniformity (III. 1. 94), we reply that the Paribhāṣā given under sūtra 146 and 150 will prevent that.”

This objection is answered by saying that the above-mentioned Paribhāṣā is not of universal application; there are exceptions to it, as धुष सुषित; and धुष धुषित: ‘a young girl’ which are both valid forms derived by adding र and बुष to the verb कन. So also धुषा and धुषाना धुषारा ‘a shaking branch’.

If we prohibit बुष after the root बुष, how do we get the forms मथुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुषुṣ
The व is indicatory showing that the feminine of the words so formed take the affix की or long ह (IV. 1. 41). As अनुपात: ‘tallative’; निशात: ‘a beggar’; छुटा: ‘who or what cuts’; लुष्यान: ‘a thief or robber’; दुःष्क: ‘low, miserable’. In the feminine ज्ञानी &c.

प्रशोरिनि: ॥ १५५ ॥ पदचिनि ॥ प्रसेत: ॥ इन्नि: (तल्प्लीलालिदनु) ॥ पूर्णि: ॥ पदचिनि: स्वातःकल्पनीलिपीलिपि कर्त्ति हृदि:मध्यमो भस्मि ॥

156. The affix इन comes in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit etc., after the verb यम to hasten forward’.

As महिवि, 1st. sing. महेण ‘an express, courier’, 1st. dual महिवि &c.

जितुःकरित्रिकारयामाध्यमवर्षेर्यमप्रभुत्वव्यय ॥ १५६ ॥ पदचिनि ॥ साँ-साँ-वित्रेष-कान्य-अयम-अयम-परिज्ञ-प्रसूचि: ॥ (इन्नि: तल्प्लीलालिदनु) ॥ पूर्णि: ॥ नवसंहतिदो नामन इन्नि:मध्यमो भस्मि स्वातःकल्पनीलिपीलिपि कर्त्ति ॥

157. The affix इन comes, in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’, after the verbs नि ‘to conquer’, धि ‘to respect’, दि ‘to waste, to dwell, to go’, निपि ‘to shelter’, दि ‘to go’, यम ‘to vomit’, अपयम ‘not to give pain’, अपयम ‘to injure’, परिषु ‘to humiliate’ and यम ‘to beget’

As न भावि, 1st. sing. नी ‘crueling’, similarly, शरी ‘respecting’; सत्त्व ‘wasting’; निविष्य ‘wasting’; अपयम ‘exceeding’; जन्तु ‘vomiting’; अपयम ‘free from pain’; अपणी ‘not injuring’; परिष्य ‘humiliating’ and मध्यम ‘procreating’.

स्वयंहितसत्यतिलित्रिकारमदर्शनादशरत्म्य आक्षो ॥ १५७ ॥ पदचिनि ॥ स्वयं-हित-पल-दृष्टि-निद्रा-तन्त्रा-साद्यम्: आक्षो (तल्प्लीलालिदनु) ॥ पूर्णि: ॥ स्वयंहितसत्यतिलित्रिकारमदर्शनादशरत्म्यकार्यमदर्शनादशरत्म्यमध्यमो भस्मि ॥ नवसंहतिपूर्णि: आक्षो शरीहरी गधारी कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

158. The affix आक्षो comes in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’, after the following words: यम ‘to desire’, यम ‘to seize’, यम ‘to go’, यम ‘to give, to go, to protect’, विष ‘to sleep’, स्मर्य ‘to be tired’ and मध्यम ‘to venerate’.

The word विष is formed by adding the preposition नि to the verb यम to crookedly; so also विष is formed by adding तस to यम, and then irregularly changing the यम into स्म. The term मध्यम is formed by adding अयम to the verb दुश्चारम ‘to hold’. The first three verbs belong to Churādi class and take निद्रा.

As, स्त्रावण्य: ‘disposed to be desirous of’; विद्यावण्य: ‘disposed to catch hold of or seize’; स्वाध्याय: ‘tending or prone to fall’; विद्याय: ‘compassionate’; निद्याय: ‘disposed to sleep’; स्मरण: ‘slothful’; विद्याय: ‘full of faith’. See VI. 4. 55 for adding अयम.
Vart:—The affix आलुः comes also after the root रूः च ‘to lie down’; as आलुः ‘disposed to lie down’.

दशनेवक्तियुतवं श: ॥ १५८॥ पदार्थिः ॥ दूर-चंद्र-स्य-शद-कदः, सृ॥

पूर्वः: ॥ श चंद्र ति शर यम इववेलो युः-पश्यवो नयनति ॥

159. The affix र comes after the verbs श ‘to give’, चंद्र ‘to suck’, शद ‘to bind’, शद ‘to fall’ and नयन ‘to sit’.

As, शद: ‘a munificent man’; चंद्रवेलो मातार् ‘a sucking child of the mother’. The genitive case is here prohibited by II. 3. 69, the र being taken as equivalent to श. As यन्ति: ‘binding’; नयन्ति: ‘falling’; and नयन्ति: ‘resting’.

खपसदः: करचः ॥ १६०॥ पदार्थिः ॥ करचः-अतः; करचः (तप्तीयो)

पूर्वः: ॥ र पति भा हस्यवेलो भासुः: तप्तीलानिः कदः करचः करचःवेलो नयनति ॥

160. The affix करचः in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’, comes after the verbs श ‘to flow’, यन्ति ‘to eat’ and नयन ‘to eat’.

As चरः ‘going, a kind of deer’; भरकः ‘gluttonous’; भस्वः ‘voracious’.

भुज्यामाक्षेतिः पुरुः ॥ १६१॥ पदार्थिः ॥ भस्वः-वास-विद्यः; पुरुः,
(तप्तीलानिः) ॥

पूर्वः: ॥ भस्व भस्व नदिः हस्यवेलो पुरुःवेलो नयनं तप्तीलानिः कदः ॥

161. The affix पुरुः comes in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’, after the verbs श ‘to break’, यन्ति ‘to shine’ and यन्ति ‘to be fat’.

As भस्वः पुरुः-भस्वः भस्वः भस्वः (VII. 3. 52)=भस्वः ‘brittle’; the palatal being changed into guttural, because of the indicatory श. So also मेंद्रः: भस्वः: ‘a fat beast’; भस्वः भस्वः: ‘splendid light’.

After the verb भस्वः this affix gives a reflexive signification—that which naturally breaks of itself.

विदिन्धिन्धिन्धिः: कुरुः ॥ १६२॥ पदार्थिः ॥ विदिन्धिन्धिन्धिः: कुरुः,
(तप्तीलानिः) ॥

पूर्वः: ॥ विदिन्धिन्धिः भास्यवेलोतप्तीलानिः कदः कुरुःवेलो नयनं ॥

वाचरेकः ॥ विदिन्धिः समस्याः कुरुः पश्यं वस्यं ॥

162. The affix कुरुः comes in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’, after the verbs निर्द ‘to know’, यन्ति ‘to divide’ and यन्ति ‘to pierce’.

As निर्दः: प्रश्नः ‘a knowing Pandit’; यन्ति च कार्यः ‘a splitting or fragile wood’; यन्ति रसः ‘a cutting or breaking rope’. The affix is employed in a reflexive sense after the verbs निर्द and यन्ति.
\textit{Vart}:

The affix \textit{कर}, comes after the verb \textit{श्वच} 'to kill', and there is vocalisation of the semivowel; as गित्सुः: ।

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{कर्षण: कर्षणसिंहम् कर्} \textit{पद्दति} । \textit{कर्षण: (कांडिलादिपु)}
  \item \textit{कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् कर्षणसिंहम् к

163. The affix \textit{कर} comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs \textit{ि to go}, \textit{ि to destroy}, \textit{ि to conquer}, and \textit{ि to flow}.

The \textit{ि} is indicatory in order to introduce the augment \textit{िक} between the verb and the affix (VI. I. 71). Thus \textit{ि+करूि = इ+ि+िर = इरर, fem. इररि 'a traveller'; नकरि, fem. नकरि 'transitory'; दिररि, fem. दिररि 'victorious'; विररि: fem. विररि 'going, a river'.

Though the affix begins with a letter of वन \textit{pratyakṣa}, and ought to have taken the intermediate \textit{िा} (VII. 2. 35) yet it is prohibited by VII. 2. 8.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{गर्वरकं} \textit{िा पद्दति} \textit{िा गर्वर, इ}।
  \item \textit{गर्वर इति निन्दकवर, नवरना निन्दकवर्} \textit{िाप्तविनम्}।

164. And the word \textit{गर्वर} is irregularly formed.

The word \textit{गर्वर} is formed by eliding the \textit{ि} of \textit{िं} and adding the affix \textit{िा}.

As \textit{गर्वर:}, fem. \textit{गर्वरि 'locomotive, transient'}.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{िा व्रिक्रम:} \textit{िा पद्दति} \textit{िा व्रिक्रम:} \textit{िा, (िादिरिपु)}
  \item विक्रमः विक्रमः नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवनो नवन0
The affix \( r \) comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' after the verbs नम 'to bow', कल्य 'to shake', लिं 'to smile', असार 'not to cease', कल्य 'to desire', बिल्ल 'to injure', and शी 'to shine'.

Thus, अन 'soft wood'; कल्य शाल 'shaking branch'; कल्य दुर्ग 'smiling face'; असार शङ्ख 'the sacrifice perpetually'; कल्य धुन 'a beautiful maiden'; बिल्ल रस 'the injuring Rakshas'; शीर्ष काल 'brilliant wood'.

The word असार is an adverb, and is derived from the root अस तृ 'to set free', with the negative particle अ, and the affix \( r \); as अ + अस + तृ = असार.

The affix \( u \) comes after roots that have taken the affix यु, and after the verbs असार 'to wish' and निसू 'to beg' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The term यु in the aphorism means Desideratives in the affix यु, and not the verb, यु because the verb यु is never seen with this affix.

As, निसूर 'desirous of doing'; निसूर 'desirous of taking'; असा 'desirous'; विल्ल 'a beggar'.

The verb असार with the upasarga अ is the verb अस 'to desire' and not the verb शी 'to praise'.

The words विल्ल and रस are irregularly formed by the addition of the affix यु, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

To the verb विल्ल we add the augment यु and then the affix यु; as, विल्ल + दुर्ग + यु = विल्ल (I. 1. 47) = विल्ल 'intelligent'; so of यु 'to wish', the यु is replaced by यु, and we have रस = रस 'desirous'.

The affix \( व \) comes in the Chhandas, after the roots that have taken the Denominative affix यु in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The term यु includes the three affixes यु, यु and यु (see sūtras III. 1. 8, 11, 13, &c). As निसूर; दुर्ग; शी (Rig. Ved. I. 3. 4).
In the modern Sanskrit नू, will be employed. As निरोहितम. By सूत्रa VII. 4. 33, the long न replaces the final न, when वाक्य follows; as पुष्प + वाक्य = पुष्प + न-पुष्प. Why then in the case of विनिन्दु: there is not the substitution of long न for the न of विनि? Because the rule VII. 4. 33 is set aside by VII. 4. 35 which declares that in the Chhandas the long न is not substituted for the न.

171. In the Chhandas, the affixes कि and किः in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c’ come after the verbs that end in long ना, or short or long रा, and after the verbs गा ‘to go’, वा ‘to kill’, and अन ‘to be produced’, and these affixes operate like जित causing reduplication of the root.

The न after ना is either for the sake of euphony, or for the sake of precision. Had it been न, then by the rule of तर (I. 1. 70) short न would only be included and not long न. But the present rule is applicable to long न as well.

Thus ना + कि = पिताः ‘drinking’; as पिता: सीम ‘drinking the soma-juice’; पिताः ‘giving cows’ (Rig. Ved. VI. 23. 4). निवासकालीन सतयि: (Rig. Ved. IV. 39. 2, VI. 68. 7). नूर निवासकालिन (Rig. Ved. X. 108. 1). निद् + किः = निकिः ‘being in constant motion, wind’; निशिक्षण (Rig. Ved. II. 23. 11); नू + किः = निषुरन ‘killing, a weapon offensive’; निषुरन (Rig. Ved. IX. 61. 2); नम + किः = निग्न: as निग्नेवतम (T. S. VII. 5. 20. 1).

The letter न in these affixes is indicative. It might be said ‘it is superfluous to make these affixes कि, because these being treated like नितम will be किः by rule I. 2. 5’. True, they would be किः by the rule I. 2. 5, but then the rule VII. 4. 11. (when लित follows, गुना is the substitute of the verb अर्थाद and of those that end in the long न) would also have applied to these affixes, and would have caused गुना. It is to prevent this गुना of the letter न that we have annexed an indicatory न to these affixes.

Vart.—The affixes कि and किः are of universal application in the Chhandas, and not confined to the verbs enumerated in the सूत्रa, as we see them in जसि &c.; as श्लोक (Yaj. Ved. XII. 105); ब्राह्मण (Rig. Ved. II. 5. 3).

Vart.—The affixes कि and किः come after the roots गास, सुन, र ज, जाः,
भाषा, and नमित in the secular literature also; as, इतिहास, बाक्स, बांस, वांस, नमित, नमित।

Vart.—The affixes फिं and फिं, come after the Intensive (विश्वस्य) roots of वह, बह, भान, and भान। As, शाहचन्द्र, शाहचमे, भाषित, भाषित; (VII. 4. 83).

स्विताद्वितुष्टियश्च। नरसिंह।

172. The affix नरसिंह comes, in the sense of ‘the agents having such a habit &c’, after the verbs ताह ‘to sleep’ and पुष ‘to be thirsty’.

As पुष्कर + नरसिंह = पुष्कर श्वस्य, ‘sleeping, drowsy’; पुष्कर 1st. sing. पुष्कर ‘cruel, thirsty’.

Vart.—So also after the verb पुष ‘to insult, be bold’; as, पुष्कर ।

173. The affix नर comes in the sense of ‘the agents having such a habit &c’ after the verbs म ‘to injure’ and नर ‘to praise’, ‘to salute’.

As मुरार : ‘noxious, a mischievous animal’; मुरार : ‘praising, a bard’.

Vart.—The affix नर, should also be stated; as शाहुक; ।

174. The affixes दु and दुकान come in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit’ after the verb श ‘to fear’.

As, शाहु : ‘timorous, a bear, a tiger, a jackal’.

Vart.—The affix दुकान, should also be stated; as शाहु: ।

शेषाभिपिंगकों वर्च। । ।

175. The affix त् comes, in the sense of ‘the agents having such a habit &c’ after the verbs त्य ‘to stand’ त्य ‘to rule’ त्य ‘to shine’, त्य ‘to go’ and त्य ‘to go’.


यथा: यथा। । ।
176. The affix कर्तव् in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c.’ comes after the verb ज्ञ when it ends with the affix यत्.

With the affix यत्, the intensives of verbs are formed; as वाणार्य: ‘a vagrant, an ascetic’. See सूत्र न. १. ५८.

177. The affix कर्तव् comes, in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c.’ after the verbs ज्ञ ‘to shine’, पुष्व ‘to injure’, पुष्व ‘to shine’, क्रेष्ट ‘to be strong’, पुष्व ‘to fill’, पुष्व ‘to move rapidly’ and सु ‘to praise’, when it is preceded by the word यत् ‘a stone’.

Thus, विकाशम् १स्त. sing. विकाश ‘splendid’; नास्त् १स्त. sing. नास्त् ‘light’; पुष्व ‘who injures’; विनव ‘lightening’; क्रेष्ट ‘strength’; पुष्व ‘what fills’; सु ‘swift’. In the case of सु, a long vowel is the substitute of ज्ञ; ज्ञ (VI. २. ७६) ‘a stone-worshipper’. Though by the universal rule III. २. ७६, the affix कर्तव् would have come after these verbs also, the repetition of the affix shows that ज्ञत्वचनक्षण does not apply in दोभिकलिक affixes.

178. The affix कर्तव् is seen after other verbs also, besides those mentioned above, in the sense of ‘the agent having such a habit &c.’.

As ज्ञ, ज्ञत्, ज्ञत् ‘joining’; कर्तव् ‘piercing’; कर्तव् ‘dividing’.

By using the words ‘is seen’ in the aphorism, it is implied that other rules also apply concurrently with कर्तव्. Thus in some cases we find lengthening of the vowel; in some, there is reduplication of the root; in some instances there is samprada″ of the semivowel; and in other cases there is not.
Bk. III. Ch. II. § 179, 180. THE AFFIX DU.

Vart.—When फ़्रूः follows, the long vowel is the substitute of घृः ‘to speak’, मन्धृः ‘to ask’, भावस्त्रृः ‘to praise long’, क्रमृः ‘to move through a mat’, क्रयृः ‘to move rapidly’, and श्री ‘to serve’, and there is no substitution of a vowel for the semivowel (VI. i. 16).

As, वास्त्रृः ‘the voice’; मन्दृः + फ़्रूः = मन्दृः + फ़्रूः (VI. i. 10) = मन्दृः + फ़्रूः (VIII. 2. 36) = मन्दृः (VIII. 4. 56) ‘who asks’; भावस्त्रृः ‘who praises long’; क्रमृः ‘a worm’; क्रयृः ‘swift’; श्री ‘the goddess Lakshmi’.

The word गुः which was mentioned in the last सूत्रa is redundant here.

Vart.—There is reduplication of the verbs गुः ‘to shine’, मन्दृः ‘to go’ and गुः ‘to invoke’, when फ़्रूः follows. As, विदुः ‘shining’; मन्दृः ‘going, the world’.

Vart.—There is lengthening also of the vowel of गुः as गुः ‘a crescent-shaped wooden ladle used for pouring the sacrificial ghee into the fire’.

Vart.—The root र ‘to tear’ is shortened also; as रसृः ‘tearing’.

Vart.—The verb श्री ‘to think’ has sampstrasrana; as श्री ‘thinking’.

ेश्वः संजालात्माः। 199। पद्याची। । सुब्रोऽद्दा-अन्तरयोऽऽ।। (कितृः) ।

शशितः॥ भवसङ्गीताः। संजालात्माः। । गम्याः।। श्रीसंगीताः।। भरसाः॥ ।

179. The affix फ़्रूः comes after the verb गुः ‘to be’ when the word so formed denotes a name or a surety.

As, फ़्रूः ‘a person called Vibhū’; गुः ‘a surety’ i.e. he who stands intermediate between the debtor and the creditor.

विश्रामसच्च। संजालात्माः। । १८०। पद्याची।। ली-प्र-संधिमयः। हुः।

अस्त्रायात्माः। (शहः)॥

शशितः॥ विश्रामसच्च। पुरालात्माः। गृहसच्च। भवसः।। गुः संजालात्माः।।

180. The affix हुः comes after the verb गुः when it is preceded by the upasargas वि, म and श्र, provided that the word to be formed does not mean an appellative.

As फ़्रूः ‘all pervading’; मन्दृः ‘lord’; संदृः ‘Creator’.

Why do we say ‘when it is not a proper name? Observe फ़्रूः ‘a person called Vibhū’.

Vart.—The words विश्रामसच्च, also are formed by this affix. As विश्रामसच्च ‘the sea’; गुः ‘causing happiness’.

Why have we applied हुः and not फ़्रूः 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 गुः augment. Thus the 1st. dual of विश्रामसच्छ is विश्रामसच्छ, 1st. pl. is विश्रामसच्छ. Here there is no substitution of हुः which the rule VI. 4. 77 required, if हुः had retained its dhātu characteristic; so also the rule of accent in VI. 1. 175
The affix śhrṇ. comes, in denoting the object, after the verb या 'to feed'.

The indicatory य denotes that the feminine is formed by ह्रद्य (ह्र) affix. As भागी 'a nurse whom the children suck (dhayanti)'; and अमलकी fruit which holds (dadhdī) all medicinal properties.

182. The affix श्रय, with the sense of instrument, comes after the verbs श्रय 'to cut', श्रय 'to hurt', श्रय 'to join', श्रय 'to join', श्रय 'to praise', श्रय 'to inflict pain'; श्रय 'to bind', श्रय 'to sprinkle', श्रय 'to urinate', श्रय 'to fall', श्रय 'to bite' and श्रय 'to bind'.

As श्रय, 1st. sing. neuter श्रय 'a sickle' (lit. that with which one cuts);
श्रय 1st. sing. श्रय 'eye'; श्रय (VII. 2. 9) 'a weapon'; श्रय 'the tie that fastens the yoke'; श्रय 'the tie of yoke'; श्रय 'a penegyric'; श्रय 'a goad', श्रय 'a ligament';
श्रय 'a sprinkling vessel'; श्रय 'the penis'; श्रय 'a vehicle'; श्रय 'a large tooth'.

The word श्रय belongs to the Ajkā class and hence forms its feminine in श्रय (अनु) and not in श्रय (IV. 1. 4).

The root श्रय is read in the aphorism without its nasal i.e. as श्रय. This indicates by implication that श्रय loses its nasal before some affixes such as श्रय; thus we have श्रय 'tooth'.

And lastly श्रय + श्रय = श्रय fem. श्रय (VIII. 2. 34 and 40), 'a thong'.

183. The affix ध्र and ध्र is employed after the verb ध्र with the sense of instrument when denoting a member of the body of a plough or of a hog.

The verb ध्र includes both ध्र and ध्र as ध्र 'a plough-share'; ध्र 'the snout of a hog'.

Place: The affix śhrṇ. does not apply to Instrumental sing. नित्वित्वि and (2.) We have no य which rule VI. 1. 71 required. जिन्न जः वत्ति - जिन्न जः।

ध्र: जन्य ध्र्म। ध्र्म । पद्धन ध्र्म। के नन्तिः ध्र्म।

नुः: पद्धन नुः नुः नुः नुः नुः। जिन्न ध्र्म। ध्र्म।

181. The affix ध्र comes, in denoting the object, after the verb या 'to feed'.

The indicatory य denotes that the feminine is formed by ह्रद्य (ह्र) affix. As भागी 'a nurse whom the children suck (dhayanti)'; and अमलकी fruit which holds (dadhdī) all medicinal properties.

ध्रय: ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्रय ध्र�
184. The affix ṛṇ comes after the verbs ṛṇ ‘to go’, ṣū ‘to cut’, ṣū ‘to shake’, ṣū ‘to bring forth’, ṣū ‘to dig’, ṣū ‘to bear’, and ṛṇ ‘to go’ with the sense of instrument.

Thus, भारी ‘a rudder’; नाडू ‘a sickle’; प्रतिष्ठा ‘a fan’; कार्तव ‘cause of production’; कालिन ‘a spade’; सहस्र ‘patience’; वर्तिष्ठ ‘an instituted observance or a narrative’.

185. The affix ṛṇ comes after the verb पुष्य ‘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 पुष्य includes two verbs पुष्य and पुष्य both meaning ‘to purify’, but belonging to two different conjugations; as पुष्य 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.

186. The affix ṛṇ comes after the verb पुष्य ‘to purify’ in the sense of ‘the agent or the instrument’ when it is respectively employed in connection with a शास्त्र or a diet.

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, शास्त्रविभृत्ति: ‘this sage is sacred’ (through whose instrumentality one is sanctified); माति: पुष्य स मा पुष्यतु ‘the God Agni is sacred’ (one that purifies), ‘let him purify me’. So also, क: ‘that; सु: हन: पवित्र ते मा पुष्यतु.

187. The verbal roots, marked with an indicative म, take the affix क, in denoting the present time.
The *Nishtā* affix का, 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 indicatory च in the *Dhātupātha*; as चिन्तिता ‘to be affectionately inclined’; चित्ता: (चित्ता: + का = चित्ता: + च = चित्ता: + च) (VIII. 2. 42) ‘being affectionately inclined’. So चित्तिता—विशय: ‘sounding inarticulately’; चित्ता—वृब्ध: ‘bold’. The anuvṛtti of वृवता ‘in the sense of the present’, is read into this sūtra from III. 2. 123.

वृवता च, (सः: १२३) ||

188. And after roots denoting inclination, understanding, or respect, the affix का is employed with the force of the present.

The word च means ‘wish’ or ‘desire’; चित्ता means ‘knowledge’; and चृता means ‘worship’, ‘honor’ or ‘respect’. As गृहस्थि ऋषि:—हृदय:—चित्ता:—चृता:—हृदय:— चित्ता:—चृता:—हृदय: &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: चित्तिता: ‘practised’; चित्तिता: ‘protected’; चित्तिता: ‘forbearing’; चित्तिता: ‘censured’; चित्तिता: ‘pleased’; चित्तिता: ‘angry’; चित्तिता: ‘angry’; चित्तिता: ‘uttered’; चित्तिता: ‘happy’; चित्तिता: ‘satisfied’; चित्तिता: ‘favourite’; चित्तिता: ‘restrained’; चित्तिता: ‘ready’; चित्तिता: ‘evil, misery’ (with a future signification); and चित्तिता: ‘immortal’. So also:—हृदय: ‘sleeping’; हृदय: ‘lying down’; हृदय: ‘eaten’; चित्तिता: ‘smeared’; चित्तिता: ‘satisfied’; all these have a present signification.
BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER III.

1. The affixes 'Uṇḍi' 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 anuvṛtti 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 Uṇḍi 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 indicative 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 ब्रह्म is the first of these. The first sūtra of Uṇḍi affixes is the following—

क्षणपालितत्वभित्वाभास्यन्तु यथा

The affix ब्रह्म comes after the verbs कृ 'to make', न 'to blow', द्र 'to drink', द्र 'to overcome', द्र 'to scatter', द्र 'to be pleasant to the taste', सांस्कृत 'to accomplish', and अ 'to pervade'.

Thus कृ + ब्रह्म = कृंचार: 'an artisan'. So also, नाश: 'the wind'; नाश: 'the organ of excretion'; आध्य: a drug (which overcomes disease); नाधव: 'the bile'; सांस्कृत: 'sweet'; सांस्कृत: 'who accomplishes the object of another, hence virtuous'; and अ: quickly.'

These Uṇḍi 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 बहुस्त 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 यत्स is ordained after यत्, it comes also after श्रेयस as श्रेयस. 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 (श्रेयस). They are valid and good if found in sacred Scriptures or secular literature. The authors of Nirukta and grammarians of the school of Sākataśāṇa, consider all nouns and substantives (नाम) as derivative words from simple roots (श्रेयस). Therefore where the derivation of a word is not apparent, one should infer the existence of proper base (सूचित) or affix (सूचित) to form such a word.

The following slokas will be of some use to the student for ascertaining the Unādi affixes:

1. बाहुल्यम् मुक्तेश्वरस्तुतुस्तुतम्: मातिसतुस्खवं वाचाय्यम्।
   कार्यविधिश्चतुल्यम्: सैगमसदिकिवर्म्य त्रि भुतान्।
   नाम च भावाशः निर्धनं ध्वाकारस्य श्राकर्प्य च शोकस्य।
   वचन परव्याविशेषस्तुम्य प्रवेषस्य: मुक्तेश्वरस्य तद्धृत्य।
   2. संस्कृतार्थार्थमात्रायनेनादानस्तुतस्य।

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 तुत्त् + मतिः = तुत्त्स्तस्त ′a way, road′ (that which has been established as a rule); भर्स् + मतिः = भर्स्तस्त 'skin' (that which is lived in); so also भर्स्तस्त 'ashes' (that which has been reduced to ashes).

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  

As गानी  गानी 'intending to go to the village'; भागानी 'that which has to come' So also प्रस्थाये 'departing'; मर्यादाये 'an opponent, (who is going to obstruct). मर्यादाये 'going to be awakened'. So also मर्यादाये 'an adversary'; मर्यादाये 'an enemy'; मर्यादाये; भागानी; गानी; &c.

Part:—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 तत्, and not of the second future तत्त. As भो गानी गानी 'he intends to go to the village tomorrow'.

4. The affix 'Lat' comes after a root, with the force of futurity, when it has in construction with it the particles 'yatvat' and 'purâ'.

The present tense has the force of the future when the adverbs तत् and तत्त are used. The phrase 'futurity &c' is to be read into this śūtra from the last. Thus भावसे तत्त is नित्यतात्त 'he will surely fall in the range of your sight'.

तत्तका तत्तका: चुकुन्तुत्तका तत्तका चुकुन्तुत्तका. 'I shall send Satrukhna to exterminate this wretch'.

These words तत्त and तत्त must be used as adverbs (nipātas), and not as relative pronouns. Therefore not here, तत्त नित्यतात्त तत्त नित्यतात्त 'as long as he will give, so long he will eat'; पुरात नित्यतात्त 'he goes along the city'. Here तत्त is a relative pronoun; and तत्त is the Instrumental singular of तत्त 'city'.

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 कता कता 'when will he eat', or कता कता or कता; so also कता कता or कता or कता 'when will he eat'.

6. 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 कता कता 'when will he eat', or कता कता or कता; so also कता कता or कता or कता 'when will he eat'.
6. When the word ‘kim’ or its derivatives are in construction with the verb, the affix ‘Lat’ 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 पुत्र it is meant that the rule applies even when दिन takes the affixes उत्तर and उत्तर. The word ज्ञातसा means the desire of gaining or acquiring, a wish to have something or an intention of begging.

As के भवति भोजवति or भोजवति: ‘whom will you feed’? It implies a request on the part of the questioner to feed him also. So also कालरे विश्रावस्थि, कर्मति, ज्ञात, or ज्ञाति निःकर्मम् ज्ञातति &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 क: पारसिपुरुष गम्यस्वति ‘who will go to Pātaliputra’.

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 ज्ञातसानसिद्धि: is equal to ज्ञातसानासिद्धि, बिधिदिन, an Ablative-Tatpurusha 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 दिन in construction, the present relates to sentences in general. As यो वन्य इति, तव यथा ज्ञाति ‘he who gives food, goes to heaven’; यो वन्य इति or ज्ञात, तव वन्य गम्यस्वति or ज्ञात.

Here the speaker encourages the giver to the act of charity by holding out the hope, that from rice which is the object desired (ज्ञातसानासिद्धि) the success (बिधिदिन), 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’.

लोकस्तत्साही च || क || पदार्थ || लोक-प्रेम-लक्ष्योऽस्मात्, च, (भविष्य-लिखित, प्रागाधि, लक्ष्य) ||
8. The affix *'Lat'* 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 *'Lat'* means 'having the sense of the affix लोध्र 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 (नक्षत्र) is to the thing signified (क्रिया)'. Thus अनुव्रतापञ्च्यातिरिति (आगतिवर्यति or आगत्य) अर्थ तत्त्व हन्तंतोधिवर्य 'if the professor comes (i.e. will come) then read you prosody'. Here the coming of the professor is the लक्षणa of the direction as to reading.

9. The *'Lat'* (present) or the *'Lih'* (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 anuvṛtti of *lat* also into this aphorism. The word कर्मीःगौरवित्तिक is a secondary derivative from कर्मीःगौरवित्तिक, meaning 'that which exists in time above a muhūrta'. This is an irregular compound; and the vṛddhi takes place irregularly of the त of म and not of क as the general rule required. The whole word thus formed qualifies the word 'future'. Thus कर्मीःगौरवित्तिक is नुद्दहिनियुक्ता उपायार्थाधिबोधिता अपाया (आगतिवर्यति or आगत्य), अर्थ १९ हन्तंतोधिवर्य 'If the teacher comes after an hour (of 48 minutes), you had better read the Prosody'.

10. The affixes *tumun* and *nvul* are placed after a verbal root, with 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 भोजनम् प्रजाति ‘he goes to eat’; भोजको प्रजाति ‘he goes to eat’. Here the upapada or the verb in construction is प्रजाति; it denotes an action performed for the sake of the future action (ब्रजवामि), namely, eating.

Why do we say ‘denoting an action’? The upapada must be an action and not a substantive; as निन्दिते उत्ति अश्व कतं: ‘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 व्यवस्थि गतिविधि व्यः: ‘running, thy stick will fall’.

Now, it might be asked why चुङ् जृत्य is taught a second time, when it was already taught generally by rule III. 1. 133; and that being a common rule, would have applied to this subject also? If you reply that the future affix चुङ् 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. 1. 94 will step in and will conduct the application of चुङ् in spite of भश्.

Vart.—The repetition of the affix चुङ् (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 भश् &c. in denoting the above sense; that is to say, the rule of भश्वक (III. 1. 94) does not apply here and we cannot optionally employ any other affix, with this gerundial sense. Thus we cannot say करतो प्रजाति ‘he goes to do’; but we must say करितम् instead.

These affixes form the gerund of the infinitive of purpose.

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 चुङ् &c. (III. 1. 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 गान्ये प्रजाति ‘he goes to cook’; नृत्ये प्रजाति ‘he goes for the sake of success’; दुःक्षे प्रजाति.

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 भश्वक rule
does not apply in regard to infinitive; and hence शुद्ध would have prevented the application of other affixes. So the making of the present sūtra.

Why the word शुद्ध 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 भाववाचक affixes, द्वार &c, can be employed with the force of gerund, and not every noun. The भाववाचक nouns correspond to the nouns of action or verbal nouns.

अन्तः कर्मानि च || १२ || पदार्थ || अन्तः कर्मानि, (भववाचक, काले, किष्यायन्ति, क्षिप्यार्थ्यान्ति) ||

पुस्त: || भारतेयाद्वयो भवित्ति भववाचकान्ति कर्मन्वयपि किष्यायन्ति च क्षिप्यार्थ्यान्ति।

12. The affix 'न' 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 भवि comes after a root when the word in composition is in the accusative case. That is a general injunction; and the rule of शुद्ध not applying, the affix भवि 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 शुद्ध of III. 3. 10; and by the rule of शुद्ध given in I. 4. 2, it will debar the affixes like क &c. Therefore this भवि 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 भवि of III. 2. 1 could not have come after simple verbs ending in long भा, such as भा 'to give' &c. But the present भवि with a gerundial force will come even after such verbs. As गातयि भवित 'he goes to give cows', and not गोषि. So also कर्मवाचकि भवित 'he goes to give blanket'; अरवन्ति भवित || भा + भवि = भवि: (VII. 3. 35).

So also कार्यवाचकि भवित 'he goes to cut wood'. In this case भवि would have been applied even by III. 2. 1.

छेढः च || १३ || पदार्थ || छेढः, च, (भववाचक, किष्यायन्ति, क्षिप्यार्थ्यान्ति, धातौ, सत्ता) ||

पुस्त: || शेषे गुणन्ति भववाचकान्ति भविति किष्यायन्ति चोपसि क्षिप्यार्थ्यान्ति धातौ तथा ।
13. The affix 'Lṛṭ' 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 करिच्यालि हति नकलि 'he goes that I will do'; हरिच्यालि हति नकलि 'he goes that I will take'. So also, करिच्यालि 'he will do'; हरिच्यालि 'he will take'. Thus the Second Future is used both in dependent sentences as well as to denote simple Future.

14. The affixes called 'Sat' i.e. 'sattri' and 'sānach' are optionally the substitutes of 'Lṛṭ'.

The लूट has been defined in III. 2. 127. This option is a regulated option; that is to say, the affixes लूट and शान्ति replace लूट under the conditions in which they replace लूट; thus by III. 2. 124, these affixes will replace लूट when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix. In these cases लूट will invariably replace लूट. In other cases it will optionally replace लूट. In these cases they will form what is known as future participles. As करिच्यालि वेदानि परव 'behold Devadatta about to do'; करिच्यालि वेदानि परव 'behold Devadatta being about to be done'. ये करिच्यालि or ये करिच्यालि. Besides simple futurity, it denotes intention or purpose, as शर्विच्यालि वाच्यालि यस्मि 'he dwells intending to earn his livelihood'; करिच्यालि: शारार शारासि 'intending to furnish his bows with arrows'.

When, however, it agrees with the nominative case, it is optionally employed. As करिच्यालि, करिच्यालि; करिच्यालि or करिच्यालि वेदानि: 'Devadatta will do'.

The form करिच्यालि is thus evolved. As कृ + कृ + ध + कृ (III. 1. 33) = कृ + ध + व + श + कृ = करिच्यालि nom. sing. करिच्यालि. In other words the participial affixes अति (अति) and मानि, technically known as अति and शान्ति, also come after a verb that has taken the personal ending श्व of the Future.

अन्यातने लूट || ३५ || पदालि || अन्यातने, लूट (अविच्यालि) ||
बृति: || भविच्यालि:ऽत्यऽत्र सर्वावासायसनुपालयः अविच्यालि
वाच्यालि: || वाच्यालि: अत्यऽत्र अविच्यालि: वाच्यालि

15. The affix 'Luṭ' comes after a verbal root in the sense of what will happen, but not in the course of the current day.

This debars 'Lṛṭ'. As वि: कर्तव 'he will do tomorrow'; इती भवत 'he will eat tomorrow'.
The word ‘anadyatana’ is a Bahurvari compound. Therefore in cases where there is not pure futurity beyond today, but a mixture of the two, त्यूँ will be employed and not तूँ. As मह भो महात्मानि ‘it will be today or tomorrow’. And where there is doubt, the second Future should be employed.

Vart.—The First Future (यूँ) is employed with the force of the Second Future (तूँ) when sorrow is expressed. As हम्न तूँ कहता गमता, वैह्र पाहो नित्यप्रति। ‘Oh when will she go, who places her feet in such a way (who is such a slow walker)’ तूँ तूँ कहता भेजा, व आसननिवुधा: ‘when will he learn, who is so inattentive’!

पदुरुणविन्द्रस्यायो घन्यं || १५ || पदार्थ || पदु-रूज-वियय-स्रुव्यं;

प्रत्यत्व || प्रत्यक्षो भाषुयो वयुपुक्तयो नवति ||

16. The affix ‘ghañ’ comes after the roots ‘pad’ (to pace), ‘ruj’ (to pain), ‘vis’ (to enter), and ‘spriś’ (to touch).

The anuvṛtti of ‘future’ does not extend to this sūtra. The affixes hereinafter taught come in all the tenses.

As रि + धन्म = धान: ‘foot’; वस्त्र + धम्म = धाम्: ‘disease’; so, वेश: ‘entrance’.

Vart.—The verb चोत् takes चम्म when the sense is that of ‘distress’; न तात: ‘disease’ or ‘warmth’. The word धन्म meaning ‘touch’ is formed by adding the affix धम्म, under rule III. 1. 134; as धातात: देवस्यः। There is difference in accent between these two words.

ष रिये || १६ || पदार्थ || ष, रिये, (धम्म) ||

प्रत्यत्व || सिंहारातोतिः: रिये कर्ति पव्य प्रवत्यो नवति ||

वाचिककरु || विविधानविविधाननीगः बहुव्यः ||

17. The affix ‘ghañi’ comes after the verb ‘sī’ (to move) when the agent is permanently fixed.

The word षिर 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, षिर + पात्म = णात: ‘an essence’; as चन्द्रसार: ‘the essence of sandal’, धारसार: ‘the essence of catechu’.

Why do we say ‘permanently fixed’? Observe षिर ‘moves’, सार: ‘that which flows’.

Vart.—The word so formed also applies to disease, fish and strength. As भविसार: ‘dysentery’; भवार: ‘a fish’; सार: ‘strength’.

भाये || १७ || पदार्थ || भाये, (धम्म) ||

प्रत्यत्व || भाये भाये भायोपर्ययः पव्यो नवति ||

18. The affix ‘ghan’ comes after a root when mere action is denoted.
Thus, प्रण + प्रण = पाचक: ‘cooking’ (VII. 2. 116 and VII. 3. 52); श्राब्ध: ‘abandoning’; राम्: ‘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 द्रष्ट &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 मृति:, पति, पाको, पाका:। These affixes form, in short, verbal nouns, or abstract nouns being names of action.

अवक्षेत्रिः च कारकेण मवशयादिः। ॥ १५ ॥ पदार्थानि: अ-अवक्षेत्रिः, च, कारकेण, मवशयादिः (पर्य)॥

वुद्धिः।। कारकेण मवशयानि विषयं भाषायाम् मवशयो गच्छति॥

19. And the affix ‘ghan’ 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 प्रथास: (i. e. प्रथापिति तथा) ‘a dart, lit. that which men throw’; प्रधेश: (i. e. प्रधेशिति तथा) ‘a sack, lit. that which men stitch together’; भाषर: (i. e. भाषरिति भाषरिति तथा) ‘food, lit. that from which men take out the juice to nourish themselves’.

As गुप्तजार:; कश्चिं ज्ञात:।।

Why do we say ‘not related as an agent’? Observe अवेष: ‘a sheep, lit. that which looks helplessly’. Here the word अवेष is related to the verb वचनित as agent, and the affix is consequently not प्रण.

Why do we say ‘when denoting an appellative’? Observe सर्जत: कर: ‘the mat must be made’.

The force of अ in the sutra is to indicate that प्रण may be applied irregularly in cases where appellative is not meant: as को भवः सयो इति: ‘what gift was given by you’; श्री भवः सयो अवेष: ‘what gain was gained by you’.

The word कारक is used in the sutra for this purpose. The word अवक्षेत्रिः is a compound word formed by the negative अव- and the root कष्ट. 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 व्यूहित, 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 प्रत्यय विनिः is a simple prohibition of the particular matter specified, without mentioning what is different from it. Giving the former interpretation to the word अवक्षेत्रिः, 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 Panini:—That नम् is compounded even with the force of प्रसि धिपिये'. (VI. I. 45). अधि, non-sit.

Both the phrases, 'when denoting mere condition (अवा)' and 'a करका 'which is not an agent' are understood in the succeeding aphorisms. See II 2, 6 about नम् Compound.

20. The affix 'ग्हाँ' comes after all roots when the word so formed is the name of a measure.

Thus, नि+स्या+पञ्च=दश्रोिग (VII. 2. 115)=नि वाच (VI. 1. 78) 'a heap'; as एकान्तुपञ्चिजिषयं; हो गुरुिन्योिनेषु. कृ 'to scatter'+षष्य=कार; हो कारि; वषष: कारि.

By using the word 'all' in the sutra, it is indicated that the affix अवा (III. 3. 57) is also superseded when this sense is to be indicated. Otherwise the affix अवा would only be prohibited by the Paribhāsha:—"Apavada that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavada-operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules". Thus अवा being taught in III. 3. 56 would be superseded, but not so अवा taught in the subsequent aphorism III. 3. 57.

Why do we say 'when they are the names of measures'? Observe निष्कासन: 'ascertaining'.

The word अवा: has been used in the aphorism in order to indicate that the words so formed are not Primitive words (कृष्ण). The numerals are also there included, and not only measures like Prastha, Pala &c.

We have said above, that the force of the word सव्यं: in this sutra is to indicate that the affix पञ्च must be used after all verbs (not excluding even such verbs as require अवा or अवा by sutras 56 and 57), when we want to express measure. This must be taken however, with certain limitations. The word सव्यं: 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 पञ्च; we must use the affix सिद्ध (III. 3. 94). In other words, the feminine affixes are not superseded by पञ्च when it supersedes अवा and अवा. Thus in forming a feminine noun denoting measure, we have र्दावलिऽ�ष्यिलोििति:। प्रशूशि: &c.

Vart:—The affix पञ्च comes after the causative verbs सरि and मारि, and there is लुक elision of the causative affix सिद्ध; when the word so formed is related to the verb as agent. Thus शार्विक्ष्य अवा=शार: 'a wife' (lit 'who divides brothers' a wife breaking up the brotherly love); मारविणिः = मारि: 'a paramour',
21. The affix 'gañ' comes after the root 'in' (to study).

This debars भू (III. 3. 56). As भू + ह + प्रम = भू + ह + म = भूमाव 'a lesson or lecture'; वृक्षाव = उपवासावी 'a teacher'.

Vart.—When the word to be formed is related to the verb डू as an ablative, the word is feminine also and optionally takes the affix डू. As वेश्यावीवे 'दवा = वृक्षाव or वृक्षावी 'a female teacher'.

Vart.—The affix प्रम comes after the root फ्र, when the word so formed means 'wind', 'color', or 'cessation'. As दार: 'wind', 'green colour' &c. गौरवात-भूतार: नाम्मव धिरिरें कुरां.

उपसागर र्व: || ॥ ॥ पदार्थः || उपसागर, र्वः; (चस्म) ||

Vṛti: || उपसागर उपसत दलेक्षोर्नेन वर्णयो उपसाविने

22. The affix 'gañ' comes after the verb 'रु' (to roar), when it has an upasarga in composition with it.

This debars भू (III. 3. 57). As संस्कृत: 'clamour', उपसाव &c. Why do we say 'compounded with an upasarga'? Observe र्व: 'sound',

Vṛti: || संस्कृत र्वे। दू प्रमुद्वादिवे दाराविने प्रमुर्वाविने

23. The affix 'gañ' comes after the roots 'यु' (to join), 'द्रु' (to run) and 'दु' (to burn), when in composition with the preposition 'सम'.

As संस्कृत:; संस्कृत:; संस्कृत:; But प्रयास: where the preposition is not सम.

Vṛti: || संस्कृत र्वे। दू प्रमुद्वादिवे दाराविने प्रमुर्वाविने

24. The affix 'gañ' comes after the roots 'स्री' (to go to) 'उ' (to lead) and 'भु' (to be), when not in composition with an upasarga.

This debars the affix भू (III. 3. 56). As भूर्व: 'shelter', भूर्व: 'a means', भूर्व: 'a condition'.

But with upasargas, we have प्रभु: 'respect', प्रभु: 'love'; प्रभु: 'source'.

How do we explain the form प्रभू in प्रभूविन्त 'the splendour of the king'? Here the word प्रभू is not made from the compound root प्रभू-प्रभू, but by compounding प्र with प्रभू by the rules of samāsa, meaning 'excellent condition'.

The affix ghan. [Bk. III. Ch. III. § 21-24. }
How do you explain the form नव in ननो राजः? Here the root नव has taken the affix अष्ण diversely by III. 3. 113.

25. The affix 'ghaṇ' comes after the roots 'kṣu' (to sneeze), and 'śru' (to move and hear) when the preposition 'vi' is in composition.

This debars the affix अष्ण (III. 3. 57); as, विश्वास: 'cough'; विश्वास: 'flowing forth', 'celebrated'. But when without preposition, we have शवः and शवः.

26. The affix 'ghaṇ' comes after the verb 'ni' (to lead) when the prepositions 'ava' and 'ut' are in composition.

As अवनाय: 'throwing down'; वनाय: 'elevation'.

How do you explain उज्जवः in उज्जवः साधनार्य? Here the affix is 'ach' by III. 3. 113.

27. The affix 'ghaṇ' comes after the roots 'dru', 'stu' and 'śru', when the word in composition is 'pra'.

As ज्ञानः; मस्तकः; पस्तः. But not so in द्रवः; स्तुः and श्रुः.

28. The affix 'ghaṇ' comes after the roots 'pū' (to purify) and 'lu' (to cut) when 'nir' and 'abhi' are respectively in composition.

The word नर refers to both पुरा and पुरा. The rule I. 3. 10. must be applied here, and thus निर comes before पुरा and अभि before पुरा. As निर्वाक: 'winnowing'; अभिनव: 'moving'. But पुरा and पुरा, without these prepositions.

29. The affix 'ghaṇ' comes after the root 'gṛḍ' 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 उपगाः समुदयः 'the roaring of the sea'; निगाः वेश्वरः 'the swallow-
The affix ghan.  

But when without these prepositions, we have घान्ते: घान्ते घान्ते।

30. The affix ‘ghan’ comes after the verb ‘kri’, when the prepositions ‘ut’ and ‘ni’ are in composition and when the sense of the verb relates to grain.

The verb घान्ते here means ‘to scatter’, and not ‘to injure’, because no words formed by this affix are found in Sanskrit in that sense.

As घान्ते धान्यस्य ‘the winnowing of corn’; घान्ते धान्यस्य ‘the winnowing of corn’. But when not referring to grain, we have मैदानीकार: ‘a heap of alms’, घुष्णिकार: ‘the essence or heap of flowers’.

31. The affix ‘ghan’ comes after the root ‘stu’ when it is preceded by the upasarga ‘sam’ and the word refers to sacrificial subjects.

As संस्तरम्मोमान्त घान्ते ‘the Sansāra of the Chhandogas’; संस्तरम्मोमान्त ‘the place which the Brāhmaṇas repeating hymns and prayers, occupy at a sacrifice’.

But when not referring to sacrifice we have संस्तरम्मोमान्त: ‘the praising together of the two pupils’.

32. The affix ‘ghan’ comes after the root ‘stṛ’ (to cover), when preceded by the preposition ‘pra’; provided that the word so formed does not refer to sacrifice.

As, घ्रणास्ततास्तता ‘a bed of conch’; घ्रणास्ततास्तता: ‘strewwing of gems’.

33. The affix ‘ghan’ comes after the root ‘stṛ’ (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 प्रवम means 'extent, circuit, range'. As वरस्व, बिलार: 'the extension of the garment'.

Why do we say 'when meaning extent'? Observe, द्वारित्सित: 'a collection of grass'. Why do we say 'not referring to words'? Observe बिलार, वरस्व, बिन्दु 'proximity of words'.

34. The affix 'ghañi' comes after 'stri' with the upasarga 'vi', when the word so formed is the name of a metre.

The word छन्द here means prosodical metre such as Gayatri &c; and not the Vedas; otherwise the word नाम would not have been used. Thus वि+स्र+भष्य=वि+ख+वस (VIII. 3. 94)=वहः: 'the name of a metre called Vishtāra-Pankti'.

The whole word बिन्दुःस्वर्णिक is the name of a metre, and is not a word ending with the affix गहः; only a member of this word, i.e. the first part ends with गहः. The seventh case-affix in the word छन्दोत्तरिति 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.

35. The affix 'ghañi' comes after the verb 'grah' (to seize), when the proposition 'ut' is in composition.

This debars the affix अष्ट. As दश्याह: 'lifting up'.

Vart.—In the Vedas this affix is applied even when the word गहः is preceded by वि; and the ह is changed into स; the sense of the two words being 'to lift up' and 'throw down' respectively of the sacrificial ladle; as, दश्यान च निप्रायां = धक्षक्ष अर्थपूचन.

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 मुट्टि means 'boxing', 'fist'; as, महो महःस्त सराह: 'O! the clenching of the fist of the athlete'; महो मुट्टिस्वर लम्बाय: 'O! the seizing of the boxer', meaning grasping firmly.

Why do we say 'referring to fist'? Observe सही मास्बस्व 'a collection of grain'.
37. The affix 'ghan' 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. to in interpreting this sūtra. The verbs चरि + श्री and चित + हृ, take चन्द्र when respectively meaning 'gambling' and 'fitness'. As परिश्राब्द शाश्वत हैल 'he kills (or takes) many pieces by moving a chessman.' Here परिश्राब्द = चन्द्रालिपि means 'the moving of chess-pieces from every side, and so winning the game'. So also चित + हृ + चन्द्र = चित + हृ + अन्य = चाह = व्यवहार: 'justice', 'propriety', 'logic'.

But when not having these senses, we have परिलिप: 'marriage', and चन्द्र 'decay'; as चन्द्रस्तुः श्री: 'the sin has been destroyed'. The word अश्व means व्यवहारालयारि चन्द्रालिपिकरणुः.

38. The affix 'ghan' comes after the root 'i' (to go) in composition with the word 'pari' when the sense is that of following in regular succession.

As याच्छ: 'turn, succession'; यह याच्छ: 'thy turn'; मम याच्छ: 'my turn'.

Why do we say 'when meaning turn'? Observe चालास्व पवेस्त: 'the lapse of time'. The word अनुसरण: अनुसूचकस्ववालिक: 'not breaking the series or order'.

39. The affix 'ghan' comes after the root 'श्री' (to lie down) when the prepositions 'vi' and 'upta' are in composition with it, and when the sense of the word so formed is that of 'regular succession'.

As, सँ विद्या: 'thy turn of sleeping' (i.e. the rest enjoyed in rotation by the sentinels on watch); मप विद्या: 'my turn of rest'; सं राजोपास्थः = सं राजस्यानु विद्या:मवः 'thy turn of sleeping the king'.

Why do we say 'regular succession'? Observe उपास्थः: 'lying by the side of or ambush'; विद्या: 'doubt',
The affix 'ghan' 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 पुष्पकावः: ‘gathering flowers by hand’; जनाचायः: ‘gathering fruits by hand’.

Why do we say 'taking by hand'? Observe वृक्षारोपणो फलानो वर्धये प्रवचन करति ‘he gathers with the stick the fruits hanging on the top of the tree’.

Why do we say 'when not meaning to steal'? Observe पुष्पकावः ‘the gathering of flowers by theft’.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the word रुप्यश्च: ‘gathering’; as पुष्पावश्च: ‘gathering of flowers by hand’.

The affix 'ghan' 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 (विस्वास्वतः) is called विस्त्वास्वत: or 'dwelling'. That which is gathered together (विकवास्तने) is called विकवास्वत: or 'funeral pile'. शरीर means the body of all living beings; and शरीरपायन means making a heap.

Thus निचाचार: ‘a dwelling’; as in कार्यावनिवास: ‘Kāśi-dwelling’; जनाचाय: ‘let him arrange the akāya fire i.e. the funeral fire’; शरीर: ‘body’, as अपित्वम्: शरीर: ‘a perishable body; महत्ति गोपास्वतः: ‘a heap of cow-dung’.

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Observe शरीर: ‘gathering’. Why is not this rule applied in महत्ति गोपास्वतः: ‘a large heap of wood'? Here multiplicity is expressed and not collection or aggregation.

The affix 'ghan' 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 परयुद्ध a negation the other is taken. Thus निन्युक्त-निषय: ‘the assembly of beggars’; श्रावणिकाय: ‘the assembly of Brāhmaṇas’; दैवाकरणिकाय: ‘the assembly of Grammarians’.

But संघनिषय: ‘a herd of hogs’; because it is a mere collection. So also कुलकृतमुख्यम्: ‘the collection of what is done and not done’; प्रतापमुख्यम्: ‘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 गहन is not employed.

कनेत्रतिष्ठारे खण्ड दिशिलाम् || ४३ || पदार्थ || कनेत्र-अलिखारे, खण्ड दिशिलाम् ||

रूपिक: || कनेत्रतिष्ठारे गम्भरापि भारोणाकुपयस्वाभि भवति तीर्थिकृ तहतिष्ठे ||

43. The affix ‘नाच’ comes after a root in denoting reciprocity of action, and the word so formed is in the feminine gender.

The word कनेत्र means ‘action’ and is not the technical ‘Karma’ meaning the accusative case. निषिद्ध means reciprocity or interchange of action. The word so evolved is feminine in form and denotes mere ‘action’ (चन्द्र) also. The अनुबंधन in अनुष्ठ is qualitative and is added to distinguish this affix from other affixes: thus in sūtra V. 4. 14 this particular affix is meant.

Thus वि + अभ + गुड़ + गाम + ग्नम + ग्रोष = व्याप्तकोरी (V. 4. 14, and VII. 3. 6) ‘mutual abuse’. So also व्या्रासवी, व्या्रासवी. The affix अनुष्ठ forms only an imaginary stem; for this stem must take the affix अभ, by V. 4 14, which even does not form the complete word until the affix ग्रोष of the feminine is added.

Why do we say ‘in the feminine’? Observe अतिदानको बर्षे ।

The making of this a separate sūtra by itself and not reading it in the subdivision of feminine affixes beginning with कन्ध (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 कन्ध &c, then the affixes that would have debarred कन्ध &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 कन्ध &c, do not debar this. Thus व्याप्तोरी, व्याप्तरी। Here पुर त being a वञ्ज class root would have taken ग्रोष (III. 3. 107) in the femi-
nine, as कृष्ण; and छा would have taken श्र by III. 3. 104, as चारा. The roots देश and देश, by III. 3. 102 & 103, take श्र by debarring क्रिया। This debarring affix श्र, however, is not debared by this rule; as श्रावस्त्र, श्रावण are the proper feminine forms, and not श्रावणकी &c. The form श्रावणकी is, however, an apparent exception. All these exceptions, counter-exceptions &c. are examples of वृत्ति taught in III. 3. 113.

अभिविधा भाव श्रुतम् || पद्दति || अभिविधा भावे, श्रृवल ||

वृत्ति: || अभिविधा गम्यमाने भावानाः श्रुतम्यथवास्थये नभवति ||

44. The affix ‘िन्न’ comes after a root in denoting condition, when co-extensiveness is meant.

The word अभिविधा means co-extensiveness, that is to say, the complete comprehension or relation between the action and the quality. Thus श्रावणम् ‘a general or tumultuous uproar’; सत्य + कुट + हू + भव (V. 4. 15. and VI 4. 164) = सांकुकिण्यम् ‘a general confusion’; so सांकुकिण्यम् ‘a general flow or stream’, why do we say ‘when meaning co-extensiveness?’ Observe संकीर्ण, संग्राह, संगीर्ण: ।

Why do we use the word वृत्ति again in this सूत्र, when its anuvṛtti was already flowing from सूत्र III. 3. 18? The object is that the वाक्यम् rule (III. 1. 94) should not apply here and hence श्रृण never comes in this sense. पाताल्य्य says that the repetition is for the sake of indicating that in neuter gender, when co-extensiveness is expressed, the affixes ज्ञ ज्ञान ज्ञ सत्य &c. are prohibited; so that the affixes ज्ञ ज्ञान ज्ञ सत्य should not come in the neuter with the force of ज्ञान।

The separateness of this सूत्र is for the same purpose as the last aphorism. The affix श्रुतम् is not, however, prohibited; as संबुद्धम्. See rule कृष्णमुद्ये श्रुतम् (III. 3. 113). The affix श्रुतम् (the operative part being श्रु) forms but an imaginary stem, which does not become real and complete till it takes the affix श्रुता by V. 4. 15, as shown above.

आक्रोशमत्वान्यद्रेष्टे: || पद्दति || आक्रोश: अवभवी: ब्रह्म, (तदस्य) ||

वृत्ति: || भव वि ह्यस्तयोहपश्यन्तु ह्यस्तान्तेयोहपश्यन्तु भवति आक्रोश: गम्यमाने ॥

45. The affix ‘घाप’ comes after the verb ‘घाप’ (to seize), in composition with ‘वष’, and ‘उ’; when malediction is meant.

Though श्रुतम् is immediately, near, we take the anuvṛtti of श्रृण (III. 3. 16), because we see that its anuvṛtti is possible.

The word आक्रोश means ‘cursing’. As अवभवी ह्या न गुप्तपुलवात् ‘cursed be thou, O thief.’ So also ‘ब्रह्मोन्मत् गुप्ताः’

Why ‘when meaning cursing’? Observe भवभव: परस्त्र, परदेशितवा ।
46. The affix 'ghan' comes after the root 'grah', when the word 'pra' is in composition, and the sense denoted is the desire of acquisition.

As भाष्यमहेंद्र चारित धिनु: विष्णुवानी 'the beggar walks for the sake of alms, carrying a vessel in hand'; भुजगस्महेंद्र सारस्य धिनु: शिलापायि 'carrying a sacrificial ladle, the Brāhmaṇa walks about for his fee'. The word शिलाम means the wish to have something'.

Why do we say 'when meaning desire of gain'? Observe परेष यज्ञ शुद्ध पदर्थ शुद्ध परेष, यज्ञ, (वर्गः, यज्ञः)

47. The affix 'ghan' comes after the root 'grah', in composition with 'pari' when it relates to sacrificial subjects.

As उत्तरदरभाग: 'the northern fencing of the sacrificial altar'; भार-परिसर: 'the southern fencing of the sacrificial altar'.

Why do we say 'when relating to sacrifices'? Observe परिपर: रेवसद्वं 'the fencing of Devadatta'.

48. The affix 'ghan' comes after the verb 'vri' preceded by 'nī', when the sense is that of grain.

The शुद्ध तेर्थ ग्राम तेर्थ. This debar the affix शुद्ध. As निकासार: 'rice growing wild or without cultivation'.

Why do we say 'meaning grain'? Observe निर्माय शुद्धा 'a virgin girl'.

49. The affix 'ghan' comes after the verbs 'śri', 'yuv', 'pu' and 'dru', when the preposition 'ut' is in composition.

This debar the affix शुद्ध (III. 3. 56). Thus शुद्ध: 'rising of a planet'; शुद्ध: 'mixing'; शुद्ध: 'purifying ghee'; and शुद्ध: 'flight'.

How do you explain the form शुद्ध: in प्रत्ययम: शुद्ध: ? The word शुद्ध: 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 विणारणोक्तवबांत्: '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.

50. The affix 'ghan' is optionally employed after the verbs 'ru' (to roar) and 'plu' (to float), when the proposition 'ân' is in composition.

As भार: or भार: 'noise'; भार: or भार: 'bathing'.

अवे येर्रे वर्णप्रतिपत्ति: ॥ ॥ पदाति ॥ विभाषा, अधि, रु-

वृत्ति: अधि उपपण्ये रौरे: द्रास्तेष विभाषा पमुस्थववो मरविति ॥

51. The affix 'ghan' 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 वर्णप्रतिपत्ति means the absence of rain, from some cause or another, when the season has arrived; as भार: or भार: हेवस्व: 'the draught of rain'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'obstruction of rain'? Observe भार: बहस्व ।

52. The affix 'ghan' is optionally employed after the verb 'grah' in composition with 'pra', when the word so formed relates to commerce.

Both the words ग्रह and विभद्धां 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 वुलाज्ञां: or वुलाज्ञां: as वुलाज्ञां: कर्ति or वुलाज्ञां: कर्ति; and this may be said of any person whether he be a trader or not.

Why do we say 'when belonging to commerce'? Observe विभद्धां बहस्व: 'the whip of Devadatta'.
53. The affix 'ghaṇ' comes optionally after the verb 'grah' in composition with 'pra', when the word so formed means 'a rein'.

The word रिङ means here the bridle by means of which horses &c. joined to the carriage, are held under control; as म्रक or म्राण: 'a rein'.

54. The affix 'ghaṇ' comes optionally after the verb 'vṛi' (to choose), when 'pra' is in composition, and the word so formed means 'a sort of covering'.

As ग्राव: or म्राण: 'a cloak, a veil'.

Why do we say 'when it means a covering'? Observe धावाः.

55. The affix 'ghaṇ' is optionally employed after the verb 'bḥu', the word 'pari' being in construction, and the sense of the word so formed being 'disregard'.

The word धावाः means 'contempt', 'neglect', 'disregard' &c. As धावाः or म्रिङ: 'insult, humiliation'.

Why do we say 'when meaning disregard'? The word म्रिङ: may be then construed to mean सिंहावाः=सिंहावाः: 'surrounding'.

56. The affix 'ach' comes after a root ending in 'i' or 'i' (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 ध्रम. The च in श्रम is qualitative, in sūtras like VI. 2. 144.

Thus, च्रम: 'collecting'; ध्रम: 'going'; ध्रम: 'victory'; ध्रम: 'wasting'.

Vart.—In this connection the words भय &c. should also be enumerated. As भा + अत्र = भयम् 'fear'; वस्यम् 'rain'. These being neuter words, otherwise would have taken the affix क्ष &c. but for this Vārtika.

Vart.—The words ज्ञ and सत are formed by this affix, and occur in the Vedas. As कोशिर्तु में ज्ञ; कोशिर्तु सत. These roots ज्ञ and सत would have otherwise taken the affix अर्थ. The form would have been the same, but there would be difference of accent. See Rig. I. 112. 21, and Yaj. XI. 2.

57. After a root ending in long 'र', short 'र', or long 'रू', there is the affix 'अर्थ'.

This debars ज्ञ. The रू is indicative for the sake of accent (III. r. 3); as, ज्ञ + अर्थ = ज्ञर्थ: 'scattering'; रू + अर्थ = रूर्थ: 'beverage, poison'; ज्ञ + रू = ज्ञरू: 'arrow'; ज्ञ + अरू = ज्ञरू: 'barley'; रू + अरू = रूरू: 'reaping'; रू + अरू = रूरू: 'winnowing corn'.

The रू in मूर्त is merely for the sake of euphony: it is not रू changed into रू; for then by the rule 'that which follows रू' is also called रूरु' short रू only would have been taken and not long रू (I. 1. 70).

58. The affix 'अर्थ' comes after the verbs 'ग्रहः', 'प्रितः', 'द्रितः', 'निश्चितः' and 'गमः'.

This debars ज्ञ; and in the case of निश्चित the affix अर्थ is debarrèd. As ज्ञ: 'a planet'; रू: 'a boon'; रू: 'tearing, a cave'; निश्चित: 'certainty'; गम: 'march'.

The verb निश्चित would have taken अर्थ, but takes अर्थ, which causes difference of accent.

Vart.—The roots ज्ञ and सत should also be included in this; as ज्ञ: 'obedient'; सत: 'battle'.

Vart.—When the sense is that of ज्ञ, the affix क्ष is directed to be employed, after the following verbs: —स्थ, स्थ, स्थ, स्थ, स्थ and स्थ. As प्रथ: 'a table-land' (on which they move); प्रथ: 'a vessel for bathing' (in which they bathe); प्रथ: 'a place where water is distributed to travellers' (that out of which they drink); भाष्य: (VI. 1. 10) 'an awl, a drill' (that by which they pierce); भाष्य: 'an obstacle' (in which they are obstructed); भाष्य: 'battle' (where they fight).
59. The affix ‘ap’ comes after the verb ‘ad’ (to eat) when an upasarga is in composition.

As विपसः (II. 4. 38) ‘half-chewed morsel’; मरसः ‘voracious’.

Why do we say ‘when compounded with an upasarga’? Observe शः ग्रास; शास+प्रास=प्रास+ष (II. 4. 38).

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+भाष्याय+ष=नि+भाष्याय+ष=भाष्याय (VII. 2. 116) ‘feeding’; नि+भाष्याय+ष=नि+भाष्याय+ष (II. 4. 38)=नियपसः ‘eating, food’.

61. The affix ‘ap’ comes after the verbs ‘vyadh’ and ‘jap’, when no upasarga is in composition with them.

This debars वस्त्रः. As ज्ञं: ‘wound’; श्रन्तः ‘muttering’.

Why do we say ‘when upasarga-less’? Observe श्राज्ञ, श्राज्ञाः.

62. The affix ‘ap’ comes optionally after the verbs ‘svan’ and ‘has’ when no upasarga is in composition with them.

Thus ज्ञं: or ज्ञाः: ‘sound’; स्त्रे: or स्त्राः: ‘laughter’. But with upasargases, we have only one form; श्रायण: ‘a loud noise’; प्रहासः ‘a loud laughter’.

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 ध्वनः. As द्वाराण: or द्वाराः: ‘restraint’; स्वराण: or स्वराः: ‘marriage’; निलाण: or निलाः: ‘restrictive rule’; निलाण: or निलाः: ‘check, distress’; ध्वन: or ध्वाः.

(अयो, याः)
64. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verbs 'gad' (to speak), 'nad' (to sound), 'path' (to read), 'svan' (to sound), when the upasarga 'ni' is in composition with them.

This debars चम्प. Thus निमय: or निमाय: 'recitation'; निमन: or निमातः: 'noise'; निरस: or निरस्य: 'reading'; निरस्स: or निरस्यन: 'a noise'.

कृषिवीणयां च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ क्रवः, शीखायाम्, च, (सैं, वर, अनुपाल, अपु) ॥

65. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verb 'kvan' (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 चम्प. Thus निमयः or निमायः: 'a musical tone'. क्रवः or शीखः: 'sound'. When it refers to 'flute', it must have some upasarga not necessarily नि, as क्रवायमुवः शीखः.

But not so here, अनिमायः वर्तेण, where the upasarga being नि 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 अपु. To sum up, अपु takes अपु 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.

निल्यं धनि: परिमाणे ॥ ६६ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ निल्यं, धनि: परिमाणे, (अपु) ॥

66. The affix 'ap' comes invariably after the verb 'pan' (to barter), when the sense is that of measure.

The word निल्यः 'invariably' is used in the aphorism in order to stop the anuvṛtti of the word optionally. Thus मुखः: 'a handful of radishes'; जातिः: '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 शाण: 'trade'.

सदीपस्यानि ॥ ६७ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ सदि, अनुपरम, (अपु) ॥

67. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'mad', when not in composition with an upasarga.
This debars चम्मि. As विद्यालय: ‘pride of knowledge’; व्यायम: ‘pride of wealth’; कृत्रिम: ‘pride of family’. When compounded with upasargas, we have ज्ञान: ‘mad’; व्यायम: ‘error or carelessness’.

68. The words ‘pramada’ and ‘sammada’ are irregularly formed, meaning ‘joy’.

As कम्माना गमन: ‘the joy of girls’; कौंकन्याना संयमस: ‘the rejoicing of cuckoos’.

Why do we say when meaning delight? Observe वणस: ‘carelessness’;

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 sutra to indicate that these words are क्नेस in this sense; for the sense of the root is not visible in these words.

69. The affix ‘ap’ comes after the verb ‘aj’ (to go), when the propositions ‘sam’ and ‘ut’ are in composition, and the word so formed refers to beasts.

This debars चम्मि. The root चम्मि ‘means to go, to throw’. When preceded by सम्, it means ‘a collection’; and preceded by ज्ञान it means ‘driving’.

As चम्मि: प्रमुख ‘a herd of cattle’; चम्मि: प्रमुख ‘driving forth of cattle’.

Why do we say when applying to cattle? Observe समाना चाराना,

वणस: ‘经济学家’

70. The word ‘glaха’ is irregularly formed, when the sense of the root refers to gambling.

This word is derived from the root ग्ला. The verb ग्ला takes the affix ग्ला and thus forms ग्ला; and then irregularly ग्ला is changed into ग्ला; as अस्त्रव ग्ला: ‘cast of the dice’.

Why do we say when referring to gambling? Observe ग्ला: प्रमुख.

Others say, this word is derived regularly from the root ग्ला: ‘to gamble’, by adding the affix ग्ला, and thus debarring ग्ला. They suppose, therefore, the existence of the root ग्ला, to explain the form ग्ला. The counter-example which they would give, is ग्ला: ‘receiving’, formed by adding the affix ग्ला.
71. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'sri' (to flow), in the sense of impregnating (the covering of cows &c).

This debars धन्य. The word मस्न means 'the first covering of a cow by a bull'. As धन्यादयस्त: 'impregnation of cows'; धन्यादयस्त: 'impregnation of cattle'.

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 semi-vowel is changed into the corresponding vowel.

This debars धन्य. As नि+हुई+भावु=नि+हुई+भाव (VI. 1. 108)=नि+हो+भाव (VII. 3. 84)=नि (VI. 1. 78) 'invocation'; अविहत: 'invocation'; अविहत: 'invitation'; अविहत: 'calling'. But महाव: 'a summons'.

73. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' when the word in composition is the upasarga 'ān', and the semi-vowel of the root is changed into its corresponding vowel, when the word so formed means battle.

As महाव: 'battle' (where they challenge each other). But otherwise महाव: 'calling'.

74. The word 'āhava' is irregularly formed when meaning a trough.

The word महाव: is irregularly formed from ह by the prefix भा, then सम्प्रसारण, and the vṛddhi of the vowel. Thus भा+ह+भाव+भाव+भाव = महाव: 'a trough near a well for watering cattle'. Otherwise महाव: 'calling'. Even in the word महाव: the sense of calling is understood. It is that place near a well, containing water, where cattle are called or invited to drink water.
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 हृ: 'calling'; हृ हृ सुवर्तं गृहनिर्द्रवः.

Why do we say 'when no upasarga is in composition with it'? Observe भवणः. Though the anuvṛtti of the word भव was understood in this aphorism from सूत्रा 18, its repetition here shows that the anuvṛtti of सूत्रा 19, which was running, must not be taken; so that this word applies to agent-कारaka also.

76. The affix 'ap' comes after the root 'han' when upasarga-less, in the sense of mere action, and 'vadha' is the substitute of 'haut' before this affix.

Thus हृ has udātta accent on its final. The affix अप which is anudāta generally (III. 1. 4) thus becomes udātta.

As वधोरवायाम् 'the killing of thieves'; वधोरवायाम् 'the killing of robbers'. When action is not denoted, the affix अप applies; as धार: 'a blow. So also when an upasarga is in composition with it; as धार:.

The word च in the aphorism does not connect हृ with the substitute धार, there being no co-ordination, it refers to the affixes under discussion. Thus we have the affix अप also; as धार: 'killing'.

77. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han', when the word so formed means solidity, and 'ghan' is the substitute.

The word मृति means 'hardness', 'solidity'. Thus अपं: 'a mass of cloud'; अपतिः: 'solid curd'. How do we say चन: शव? Here the quality is taken for the thing qualified.
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 = अन्तर्गन् = हन् + अप् = अन्तर्गन्: 'name of a country of Bakhika'; (a porch or court, an open space before the house between the entrance door and the house). Some write the word with a ग as अन्तर्गन्; that is also valid.

Why do we say 'when meaning a country'? Observe अन्तर्गन् 'striking in the middle'.

अन्तर्गन्: प्रशास: प्राप्तव: || पराढों || अग्नि || अग्नि-एक्येः, प्रशास: प्राप्तव: || पराढों ||

पृविति: || अन्तर्गन् हन्व: प्रपाध मपाध इस्तकी हेमी निपापते अग्निकरंको गरही इ।

79. The words 'praghana' and 'praghana' are irregularly formed meaning 'a portion of a dwelling house'.

Thus रघुमाता or रघुमाता: 'a porch before the door of a house, a portico'.

This is formed from हन्व with न, irregularly.

Why do we say 'when meaning a portion of a house'? Observe प्रमाद: रघुनोत्यावान् रघुन: अग्निश्च

पृविति: || अन्तर्गन् हन्व इस्तकी हेमी निपापते अग्निश्च चेष्टा महति ||

80. The word 'udghana' is irregularly formed in the sense of 'bench'.

This is formed from हन्व+उं हं इस्तकी हेमी निपापते अग्निश्च चेष्टा महति ||

81. The word 'apaghana' is irregularly formed meaning 'a member of the body'.

This is formed irregularly from अप् + हन्. Thus अप्यम: 'a limb or member of the body'. The word अप्यम मात means a portion of the body, such as hand or foot, and not the whole body. Otherwise we have अप्यम:।

कारोब्योपिलातु || पदाचो || कारो, अप्य-विद्यु: (हन्: अप्य चतु: ||

पृविति: || अवघुद सु हेमी परेवशेष हेमी भवितती: कारोचो कारोपिलातु शब्दि, पनान्वित ||

82. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han'.
when the words 'ayās', '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 अभोग: 'a forge-hammer' (whereby the iron is destroyed); निमित्त: 'a mallet'; द्वस्य: 'an axe'. Some write दुःखः, the न being changed into श as either by rule VIII. 4, 3, or by including this word in the class of आपीता (IV. 2. 80).

83. The suffix '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 अभ from the last aphorism and in that case च replaces हृ. Thus स्तुम्प: or स्तुम्प: 'a small hoe for weeding clumps of grass'. In the feminine gender, the forms are स्तुम्प: as well as स्तुम्पः. When क is added, we have स्तुम्पः. Thus हृः+ क+हृः+भ (VII. 4, 58) =प्र (VII. 3, 54). When अभ is added, हृः is totally replaced by प्र. When instrument is not meant, we have स्तुम्पः.

84. The suffix '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 अथ: or अनि: (VIII. 2, 22) 'an iron beam used for locking or shutting the gate, an iron club'.

85. The word 'upaghna' is irregularly formed meaning 'an inclined place for leaning or support'.

It is formed by adding अभु (III. 3, 76) to the verb हृ preceded by the upasarga भ, then eliding the penultimate भ of ह; this is the irregularity. Then by sandhi rules हृ is changed into पुं. This form would have been given by the suffix अभ also, without any irregularity.

The word आभु refers to proximity, contiguity. Thus वर्त्तालोपथ: 'the declivity of the mountain'; so also वानालोपथ: 'bordering the village'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'support'? Observe वर्त्तालोपथः.
The words ‘saṅgha’ and ‘udgha’ are irregularly formed in the sense of ‘a collection’, and ‘a praise’ respectively.

These words are thus formed: saṅ + -gha + -gha = saṅ-gha; ud + -gha = ud-gha. Thus saṅ: ‘a herd of cattle’; so also ud: ‘an excellent man’. The word ‘respectively’ is inserted from I. 3. 10. When not used in these senses, we have saṅ: ‘union’.

The word ‘nīgha’ is irregularly formed in the sense of ‘as high as broad’.

The word nīgha means ‘measured all round’ i.e. ‘as high as broad’.

As nīgha means ‘trees as high as broad’. 'nīgha means ‘square or cubic or circular halls’. Otherwise, when not meaning ‘as high as broad’, we have nīgha: ‘a blow’.

The word nīgha = nīgha-nīgha, nīgha-nīgha, nīgha-nīgha. It may be derived from m or from s. In the first case it will mean ‘measured’ and in the other, ‘erected, built’. Professor Bothlingk refers to Apatampa Dharma. I. 20. 30 for the meaning of this word.

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 previous aphorisms. Then by IV. 4. 20, (of the affix k, m is always the augment) we must add m, for we can not use the affix alone; but we must always use m. Thus duṣṭa ‘to cook’— paktam ‘what is ripe’; duṣṣṭa— uṣṭham ‘sown’ (VI. 1. 15); duṣṭa— uṣṭham ‘artificial’.

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 previous aphorisms. Then by IV. 4. 20, (of the affix k, m is always the augment) we must add m, for we can not use the affix alone; but we must always use m. Thus duṣṭa ‘to cook’— paktam ‘what is ripe’; duṣṣṭa— uṣṭham ‘sown’ (VI. 1. 15); duṣṭa— uṣṭham ‘artificial’.

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89. After that verb which has an indicatory ‘tu’, the affix ‘athuch’ comes with the force of denoting mere action &c.


यज्ञायाचतविश्लेषप्रशस्तिः नं ||पदार्थ ||यज्ञ-याच-यत-विश्लेष-प्रशस्ति: नं (भावे, अक्तेति, कार्ते) ||

पुनिः: भावावेशो धातु-धातू नं, प्रशस्ति नम्पिः ||

90. After the verbs ‘yaj’ (to worship), ‘yāch’ (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 सूत्रs 18 and 19 are understood here also. The श्र of नं is for the sake of prohibiting guṇa or vriddhi(I. 1:5); as नं: ‘sacrifice’; वाक्य: ‘solicitation’; नं: ‘effort’; विश्लेष: (VI. 4. 19) ‘lustre’; प्रशस्ति: ‘a question’; रक्षण: protection.

The root प्रशस्ति, by VI. 1: 16, ought to have changed its श्र into श्र before the क्षेत्र affix नं. Its not doing so must be taken to be an irregularity countenanced by पञ्चिनि, as we know from the fact that पञ्चिनि himself uses the form प्रशस्ति: in III. 2. 117.

सपोषे नं ||२ || पदार्थ ||स्वयं: नं (भावे, अक्तेति, कार्ते) ||

पुनिः: स्वपनोथोनं धातु-धातू नम्पिः ||

91. The affix ‘nan’ comes, under similar circumstances after the verb ‘swap’ (to sleep).

The final नं is indicatory and regulates the accent (VI. 1. 197); as नं: ‘a dream’.

उपस्येन चि: किः ||२ || पदार्थ ||उपस्येन, चि:, किः: (भावे, अ-क्तेति, कार्ते) ||

पुनिः: उपस्येन उपस्येन पुण्यितं धातु-धातू: किः: प्रशस्ति नम्पिः ||

92. The affix ‘ki’ comes under similar conditions, after a ‘ghu’ verb (I. 1. 20), when an upasarga is in composition with it.

The श्र is indicatory, by force of which the final श्र is elided (VI. 4. 64). Thus प + श्र + किः प्रशस्ति: ‘a present’; प्रशस्ति: ‘the periphery of a wheel’; प्रशस्ति: ‘fraud’; प्रशस्ति: ‘vanishing’.

सूत्रविविधानेन स ||२ || पदार्थ ||सूत्रविविधानेन, अक्तेति, च, (धि:, भावे, अक्तेति, कार्ते) ||
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 अलोकः ('the ocean (in which water is held)'); शापिः ('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 ख in the aphorism draws in the affix क्र from the last sūtra.

94. To express an action &c. by a word in the feminine gender, the affix 'ktin' is added to the root.

The conditions of rules III. 3. 18. and 19 are understood here also. This supersedes चम्प, अद्धू and अर्ध affixes. Thus जूति: ('action'); चिति: ('a gathering'); मलि: ('understanding').

Vart.—The affix ktin should be declared to come after the verbs अति 'to get' &c. There is no list of these words given anywhere, but by seeing the form, we can infer the affix. Thus अधि: ('getting'); शाखि: ('accomplishment'); पधि: ('shining'); धिलि: ('a slip'); धासि: ('destruction'); धापि: ('gain').

Vatt.—So also after the verbs खु 'to hear', चु 'to worship' and स्तु 'to praise', when instrument is meant; as खुति: ('hear' (that by which we hear)); so दुहि: ('a sacrifice'); दुपि: ('a praise).

Vatt.—The affix अम comes after the verbs अम 'to be exhausted', अम 'to fade, 'बस 'to grow old' and हाँ 'to leave'; asद्वासि: ('exhaustion'); द्वापि: ('fading'); द्वासि: ('old age'); हांि: ('loss').

Vart.—The affix क्रियान्त coming after verbs ending in long ख in the verbs खरि &c. is like a Nishṭā. Thus क्रियान्त: ('scattering'); This form is thus evolved: खरि + क्रियान्ति = क्रियान्ति (VII. 1. 105) = क्रियान्ति (I. 1. 51) = क्रियान्ति = क्रियान्ति (VIII. 2. 77). At this stage, ख is changed into ख by the affix being treated as a Nishṭā (VIII. 2. 42), and this ख is changed into खरि by the ordinary rules of sandhi; so
also श्रीपि: 'praise'; श्रीपि: 'old age'; श्रीपि: 'drying'; श्रृङ्खः: (VIII. 2. 44) 'cutting'; कूळि: 'joining'; कूळि: 'agitation'; पृङ्खि: 'destruction'.

Varit.—The affix क्तिन्द्र comes after the verbs सङ्क्ति & c; as सङ्क्ति 'prosperity'; किष्ठि 'a calamity'; क्विष्टि 'access'. The affix क्तिन्द्र is also employed after these verbs:—as सङ्क्तिन, क्तिनि: The verbs सङ्क्ति & c. are 21 verbs of क्रियावि. class.

श्यामापाशकी भावी || क्तिन्द्र || पदानि || खण्ड-गा-पा-पश्च: || भावे, (विनयां, श्रीन) ||

पुष्टि: || श्रीविर्मो धातुत्क्रिया: श्रीविर्मो नाने विनु: पश्चोऽर्थोऽभवि: ||

95. After the roots 'sthâ' (to stand), 'gâ' (to sing) 'pâ' (to drink) and 'pach' (to cook), the affix क्तिन्द्र is employed, when a word in the feminine gender denoting a 'mere action' is to be expressed.

This debars the affix अङ्कु (III. 3. 106) which generally supersedes क्तिन्द्र in cases of compound verbs ending in long भा. Thus प्रसुष्पि: 'a journey' (VII 4. 40); क्तिन्द्र 'a singing aloud'; क्ति + क्तिन्द्र = क्ति + वि (VI. 1. 45) = क्ति + लि (VI. 4. 60); सूङ्खलि: 'a concert'; प्रसुष्पि: 'a cistern'; सूङ्खलि: 'drinking together'; क्तिन्द्र: 'cooking'.

The repetition of the word भाव in this aphorism, in spite of its anuvṛt-ti being understood from sūtra 18 is to exclude every other significance.

How do we get forms like भवसश्च and लक्ष्य? Pāṇini himself, in his sūstras, has used forms like श्वसश्च & c. See I. 1. 34. This is enough justification for us to derive forms like भवसश्च, लक्ष्य & c. by applying the affix अङ्कु under rule 106, in spite of the present sūtra, which requires us to apply क्तिन्द्र only.

समं श्वसश्च निसन्तिद्विद्वृत्ताः तदात्: || क्तिन्द्र || सन्त्रे, श्वस-सश्च-सच-निसन्तिद्विद्वृत्ताः तदात्; || (भावे, भ्रियाम, श्रीन) ||

पुष्टि: || भावे निसन्तिद्विद्विद्वृत्ताः प्राकृतः अङ्कुपर्ययेऽर्थोऽभवि: ||

96. In Mantra literature, क्तिन्द्र acutely accentuated comes after the following roots, forming words in the feminine gender, denoting a mere action:—'vrîsh' (to rain), 'ish' (to wish), 'pach' (to cook), 'man' (to think), 'vid' (to know), 'bhû' (to be), 'vi' (to go, to consume) and 'râ' (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 तुषि: 'raining'; तृषि: 'wishing'; पश्चि: 'cooking'; मलिक: 'thinking'; श्रीमि: 'knowing'; देउ: 'being'; श्रीसिति: 'consuming'; भावि: 'giving'.

The affix क्तिन्द्र 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 रूप we have also an irregular noun श्रीसा (III 3. 101), and
another by the general rule 94 having acute accent on the first syllable, altogether 3 forms. See Rig 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.

वृक्षिति - वृक्षि - वृक्षिति - वृक्षिति-शृणुसे - च, (उदाहरण: )

"97. And these words viz. ‘ūti’ (preserving sport), ‘yūti’ (joining), ‘jūti’ (velocity), ‘sāti’, (destruction), ‘heti’ (a weapon) and ‘kīrti’ (fame) are anomalous forms, acutely accented.

The anuvṛtti of the word मन् does not exist in this; but the word मन् of the last syllable is understood here. The word मन् is thus formed:—अष्टि ‘to protect’ + नि = अष्टि + नि: (VI. 4. 20) = मन्: this form is regular and could be evolved from sūtra 94 also; but not so the accent. The irregularity in पुक्ति: and नृत्ति: consists in the lengthening of र into र; in नृत्ति: the ध of the root धर्म, which becomes धर्म by VI. 1. 45, is not changed into ध, as rule VII. 4. 40 required, and this is the irregularity. This form may also be derived from the root सम् with perfect propriety, except as to the accent which would be regulated by the present sūtra: thus सम् + नि = सम् + नि: (VI. 4. 42) = मन्: The form मन् may be derived either from तृत् or हितृति.

रि भक्षयो नो वव गुहा कोऽस्मादनवरमुः पुरुषोत्तमोऽस्ममभविष्यति: (Rig. I. 7. 4) ‘O Indra, mayst thou mighty, defend us in battles and in fights of a thousand duels, with thy mighty protections’.

(उदाहरण: )

98. The affix ‘kyap’ comes after the roots ‘vraja’ (to go) and ‘yaja’ (to worship) acutely accented in forming a word in the feminine denoting action.

This supersedes किर्ति: Thus प्रेष्या ‘wandering about’; प्रेष्या (VI. 1. 15) ‘worshipping’. The ग of किर्ति: is indicative, and though it serves no purpose in this sūtra, it is, however, necessary in the next, for it is by force of किर्ति: having ग, that we add a ग by VI 1. 71, in the words formed in the next aphorism.
The affix 'sa'.

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', 'śīn', 'bhṛiṇ' and 'iṇ'.

Thus भूथा 'an assembly'; निथा 'a small bed or couch'; निष्या 'slippery ground'; मद्या 'thinking'; निया 'knowledge'; सुखा (VI. 1. 71) 'extraction of soma juice, parturition'; शाल्या 'bed'; शृङ्ख्रा 'wages, service'; इत्या 'a litter, palanquin'.

Here a question arises as regards या. By rule III. 1. 112, या would have taken क्ष, and we could have got the form যুইথা by that rule also. But the भूথा formed under that rule would not have denoted an appellative which the present rule does. It would be said that rule III. 1. 112 when it used the words भूथा, was rather too wide, for क्ष does come in denoting भूथा in feminine nouns by the present rule; so that the word भूथा साथें 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 भूथा meaning 'wife'. This word is formed by the affix या to the exclusion of क्ष.


dक्षः य च ॥ १०० ॥ पदार्थः दक्षः, य, (दक्षिणः, क्षः) ॥

१००. And after the root 'kṛ' comes the affix 'सा' in forming a feminine, as well as the affix 'क्याप'.

By the force of the word य we draw the affix क्ष into this sūtra, and by the process called सौधसाम्य we can split up this aphorism into two:—

1. क्ष: 'after the root य there is the affix क्षः'
2. य and the affix य as well as क्षः. Thus क्ष, वृक्ष (VI. 1. 71) and क्षितिः. When the affix य is added, the root assumes the form क्षिः by III. 1. 67.


dक्षः ॥ १०२ ॥ पदार्थः दक्षः, (य) ॥

१०१. The form 'ichchhā' (desire) is irregular.

The word is thus formed: क्ष + य = दक्षः + य = दक्षः. The क्ष ordained by III 1. 67 is not added, this is the irregularity.
Part.—The following words are also irregularly formed:—परिच्यां ‘perambulation’; परिच्यां ‘attendance, service’; पृथ्वी ‘hunting’; भवत्व ‘the habit of roaming about as a religious mendicant’.

Part.—From the root जागु we have either जागर ‘waking’. The first is formed by the affix अ, the latter by श which brings in वच्छ (III. 1. 67).

अ प्रत्ययाः || २०२ || पदार्थ || अ, प्रत्ययाः || (सिद्धांत) ||

पृष्ठ: || प्रवर्तको: भवत्व: सिद्धांताः पश्चात: महणि ||

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 utu (III. 1. 32), after these verbs the affix अ is used in forming the feminine noun.

Thus कृ + शू = विकृतयो ‘to wish to do’; this is a Derivative root; after this root विकृतयो, we add अ. Thus विकृतयो + ‘अ (VI. 4. 48) = विकृतयो। Then we add ‘ष्ट’ by IV. 1. 4, and get विकृतयो ‘the desire to do’; so also विकृतयो ‘the desire to take’; पुराणाय ‘the desire to be like a son’; पुरुषार्थ ‘desire of a son’; मौलुष ‘much cutting’; कण्ठा ‘itch’. The sutra is also found as अ: पश्चातः।

गुरुः हल: || २०३ || पदार्थ || गुरु: || शृः || (सिद्धांत, अ) ||

पृष्ठ: || हिंदी यो भाषुपुंशाः तत्त: सिद्धांताः पश्चात: महणि ||

103. The affix ‘a’ comes after that verb which has a prosodically heavy vowel and ends in a consonant, when the word to be formed is feminine.

This debars कृत: Thus कृष्ट ‘an adulteress’; हुष्ट ‘a tigress’; हेत ‘effort’; रत्न ‘supplying an ellipsis’.

Why do we say ‘which has a prosodically heavy vowel’? Observe अक्ष ‘devotion’. Why do we say ‘which ends in a consonant’? Observe शृष्ट ‘polity’.

विधिदिविदिक्षर्ष्य || २०४ || पदार्थ || विन्द || निर्दं-आदिम्य: ||

अक्ष: (सिद्धांत) ||

पृष्ठ: || विधिदिविदिक्षर्ष्य सिद्धांताः सिद्धांताः महणि ||

104. The affix ‘añ’ comes after those verbs that have an indicative ‘श’, and after ‘bhīd’ &c, when the word to be formed is feminine.

Thus वृष्ट ‘has an indicative श, the real root being शु’। From it we have जात ‘old age’ (VII. 4. 16); वृष्ट ‘bashfulness’.

So also from verbs of Bhīdī class we have निश ‘breaking’; in the alternative we have निर्द:। So also फ़र्त ‘cutting’; फ़र्त ‘cutting’; फ़र्त ‘a knife, an
iron instrument'; भास्तिः: 'distress'; धारा: 'a stream'; चुंकि: The list of Bhiddi verbs
will not be found given in one place in the Dhatupātha. They have been col-
lected from different Ganas, and are the following:—

नि, दिः, निः, निः, किः, गुहा (मियोक्षणी), भास्तिः, नेशा, मोशा, भारा, धारा, चुंकि, निः, निः, निः, निः, निः, (कन्या:संप्रभुताः च) इव

चित्तिरुपाधिः चक्किरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः च, (सित्रयास, अक्ष) इव

चुंकि: चित्तिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुಚिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुচिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुচिरुपाधिः कुचिरुपाधिः कुchalum. [Bk. III. Ch. III. § 105-107.]

105. The affix 'an' as well as the affix 'yuch' comes after the following verbs, forming feminine
words:—'chint' (to think), 'pāj' (to worship) 'kath' (to narrate), 'kumb' (to cover) and 'charch' (to learn).

The force of च, as is to include the affix चुण into this सूत्र (see III. 3. 107). All these verbs belong to the Churdi or 10th class, and would have exclusively taken चुण by III. 3. 107.

Thus चिन्ता 'thought'; चुणा 'worship'; कपा 'narration'; कुणा 'a covering',
' a thick petticoat'; कुणा 'recitation'.

When the affix is चुण, the forms are चिन्तना &c. (VII. 1. 1).

106. The affix 'an' comes after those verbs which end in long 'a' when an upasarga is in composition,
and when the word to be formed is feminine.

This superseded चिन्ता. Thus चिन्ता, चिन्ता, चिन्ता, चिन्ता, &c.

Vârt.—For the purposes of this rule the particles भुत and अस्तर should
be treated like upasargas. Thus भूत 'faith' अस्तर (I. 4. 59).

107. After verbs ending in 'ni', and after 'as' (to sit) and 'srant' (to loose), there is the affix 'yuch' when the word to be formed is feminine.

This excludes the affix च (III. 1. 102). Thus चुण + चिन्ता = कपा; कपा + चुण =
कपा (the च is elided by VI. 4. 51) 'the causing to do'; कपा 'the causing to
take'; आसन 'the sitting'; भावना 'the loosening'. How do we get the form आस्था? It is the feminine of आस्था formed by adding भ् to the root भस्त्र by III. i. 124. Is not that rule made non-applicable by rule III. i. 94, which declares that वायुतम रुल does not apply to Feminine affixes? Yes, that is, however, not total exclusion. The phrase अच्छिन्नां in III i. 94 is to be interpreted thus:—'Non-uniform affixes prohibit each other, when they belong to the class of affixes especially ordained for the feminine nouns; such as the affix विनु (III. 3. 9), श्रवण (III. 3. 98), अ (III. 3. 102): That is to say, an utsarga-feminine affix will be always superseded by an apravāda-feminine affix; but a feminine affix in general will not supersede another affix which is not enjoined in the feminine gender especially. In other words, feminine affixes unter se supersede each other totally, but not so with regard to general भ्रुभण affixes'. Now by the present sūtra the root मीत takes भ्रु; this totally excludes other feminine affixes like अ (III. i. 102); but it does not exclude the non-feminine affix भ्रु.

The root मीत taken here belongs to the Kṛyādi class, meaning 'to loosen' and is not the भ्रु of Churādi class, for the latter would be included, as a matter of course, by belonging to the Churādi class which class of verbs take the affix गुण.

Vart.—The verbs वह 'to move', वह 'to praise', and विल 'to feel', should also be enumerated, as taking गुण: Thus विल 'shaking', विल 'praising', विल 'knowledge, feeling, pain'. The verb वह here belongs to the Tudādi class, and means 'to move' and not वह of the Churādi class, for that is already included by being गुण.

Vart.—The affix गुण comes after ए when it does not mean 'to desire'. Thus अभिप्रय 'solicitation'; अभिप्रय 'the searching after'.

Vart.—So also optionally when गुण takes the upasarga परि; as, परिप्रय or परिप्रय 'investigation by reasoning'.

रोगायनां वरुःविलं ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रोग-आस्थायाम्
वहुः, वहुः (विनुभाष) ॥
पुरुष: रोगायनां गुणभाषायाय प्रस्तुतिः गुणविली भवति ॥
पालिकाः भारायविनयो गुणविलक्षण: ॥
पालिका: इच्छितो भारायविनयसि इति गुणविल ॥
पालिकाः प्राणविनयः ॥
पालिकाः प्राणविनय: ॥
पालिकाः प्राणविनय: ॥
पालिकाः प्राणविनय: ॥
पालिकाः प्राणविनय: ॥

108. The affix 'विल' comes diversely after verbs when the word to be formed is a feminine noun, begin the name of 'diseases'.
This debars चिंतन and all the rest. By using the word भाष्य 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 पञ्चारीकः (VII. 1. 1) 'vomiting'; पञ्चारीकः 'diarrhoea'; विचिंतिकः 'itch, scab'. Sometimes this affix does not apply; as सिंहरिणः 'head-ache'.

Vart.—The affix न्वुल is employed also in simply pointing out the meaning of the roots; thus, भाष्यिकः 'to enjoy', शालिकः to 'lie down' &c.

Vart.—The affixes ह्रृद and रितिरु (that is ह्रृद and रित्रु) are also employed in merely pointing out the roots; as ह्रिदि, ह्रिदि, प्रह्रिदि, प्रह्रिदि: &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 भ्रम and भ्रम exhibited as भ्रमित्वं and भ्रमित्वं. These latter forms indicating nothing more than the simple roots. So also, see VIII. 4. 17; VI. 4. 49.

Vart.—The affix भ्रम is employed in merely pointing out letters; as भ्रमातः means 'the letter भ'; so also भ्रमातः: 'the letter 'व'; भ्रमातः: 'the letter 'च'.

Vart.—The affix ह्रुद is employed in pointing out the letter भ; as रह्रुद

Vart.—The affix ह्रृद comes after the word समुद्र in merely pointing it out, and there is elision of the final ह; as समुद्रित्वं.

Vart.—The affix ह्रृद comes after the verbs भ्रम &c; as भ्रमि, भ्रमि; भ्रमि.

Vart.—The affix ह्रृद comes after the verbs ह्रृद &c; as, ह्रृदित्वं, ह्रिदि, &c.

संप्रयोगः II १०८ II पदार्थः II संप्रयोगः (विदुः, विद्यायः) II

वृद्धिः II संप्रयोगः विदुः विदुः विद्यायः विद्यायः वृद्धिः II

109. The affix 'न्वुल' comes after the verbal roots, when the word to be formed is an appellative.

As व्यालकपुष्पविविकः 'a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which udālaka flowers are broken or crushed'. व्यालकपुष्पविविकः 'a sort of game'; भाष्यिकः भाष्यिकः भाष्यिकः भाष्यिकः भाष्यिकः भाष्यिकः भाष्यिकः

विभाषायायान्तप्रयोगशालिविविकः II १०९ II पदार्थः II विभाषाय, एकाख्यात-परिवर्तवायोः, ह्रृदः, ह्रृदः, (प्रह्रिदि, प्रह्रिदि) II

वृद्धिः II परिवर्तितावगतः गण्यावगतः गण्यावगतः गण्यावगतः गण्यावगतः II

110. And the affix 'दिन' comes optionally after a root, when a question and answer is expressed, (as well as 'न्वुल' and other affixes ordained by other rules).

The word परिवर्तित means 'question' and भाष्यित means 'answer'; in the sūtra, in making the compound of these words, the logical sequence is not observed. The compound अभाष्यितपरिवर्तित 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 अभाष्य is put first.
The force of अ is to draw the anuvṛtta of the word व्यत्र् 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.—करे कारीगरपेश्: 'What work did you do?' A.—सवेदरे कारीगरकरम् 'I did all work'. Optionally we may have instead of कार the following also. Q.—करे कारिको, कुलाए, कुली, किलाए, भाकारेये: A.—सवेदरे कारिकारे or सुश्वारे or कुली or किलाये or भाकारेये. Similarly, Q.—को गाजी (भागारे, गाजाकी &c.) क्रजाग: A.—ससेविगति &c. क्रजाग. So also को सामान् or वाणिज्यकार: को भानिज्य, or वाणिज्यकार &c.

Why do we say 'in question and answer'? Observe कृति: and इति:।

पयोंयझॉन्यज्ञुत्पलितुः सवुच् || 111|| पदानि || पयोंयः भृः-वृः-उत्पलितुः, बुधुः (सिद्धायां) ||

बृति: || एवं इत्यज्ञु भृतोष्पुरुषस्य नामति: ||

111. The affix 'नुच' comes optionally after a root in the sense of succession, merit, debt or production.

The word पवेत्व मeans turn or order of succession; भाव means worthy of respect; वर्षम means debt owed to another; and वसायस means birth or production. This rule supersedes शिर्तु and other affixes. Thus: (1) स्वातः शाबल्का 'your turn of sleeping'; (3) वताया प्रात्तिका 'your turn of eating first'. (2) भावि वातायानिकारायाम् 'you deserve to have a meal of sugar and molasses'. (3) रूपालिका नेघाति 'thou owest me a meal of sugar and molasses'; भोजनमालिका 'a meal of rice'; पवालिका 'a drink of milk'. (4) वृष्णालिका नेघाति:।

The word 'optionally' is understood in this सुत्र also; as विद्वानियंतयस्ये:।

The forms given by व्यत्र् and व्यत्र are the same, the difference is only, in the accent. (VI. 1. 193, and VI. 1. 163).

112. The affix 'अनि' comes after a verb when the particle 'मन' is in composition with it, and the sense implied is that of cursing.

The anuvṛtta of the word 'optionally' does not extend to this asphorism. The word अनि means to curse. This supersedes the affixes शिर्तु, शिर्तु &c. Thus अनि यद्यादि पुपल भृतां 'may failure be to thee, O sinner!' ससेविगति रात्रिस्वाराय, 'may he be disappointed'.

Why do we say 'when meaning to curse'? Observe अनि विरुलस्य करस्य 'the non-making of his mat'.

Why do we say 'when वृष्ण is in composition'? Observe वृत्ति: वृष्णम् भृतां 'may death be to thee, O! sinner!'।

कृत्यभृः बधुलम् || 113 || पदानि || कृत्य, भृः; बधुलम् ||
113. The affixes called ‘kritya’ (III. 1.95) and the affix ‘lyut’, are diversely applicable and have other senses than those taught before.

The anuvritti 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 further. By saying ‘diversely’ we mean that they occur in other places than those where ordained by the rules. Thus the kriya affixes are ordained to come when ‘act’ or ‘object’ is to be expressed, but they come also when the kṛdra is other than the objective. Thus lāmāṃvoc pūrṇam ‘powder for bathing’; śāntiḥ śāṣyate: ‘a Īrāma’ 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 ‘Īrāma’ is the recipient expressible by the fourth case; so that in both cases the affix is applied without any express rule.

Similarly, pūstak 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 raṇaṃvoc: śāṣyaḥ: ‘halls for the eating of kings’; raṇaṃvoc: Śāmaḥ: ‘dresses to be worn by the ‘king’.

By using the word ‘diversely’, even the kri affixes are applied in places other than those expressly ordained. Thus vāhāvāvō, ṛṣyaḥ = pāṣaṇaḥ, : vāmaḥ, vṛdhoc = gāmeṇeṇaṃ, , For accent see VI. 2.150.

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, ṛṣyaḥ ‘laugh’; manṣyaḥ ‘speech’; śāmaḥ ‘sleeping’. So also gāṁ, vṛṣyaḥ &c.

115. The affix ‘lyut’ is added to the root, when the name of an action is expressed, in the neuter gender. Thus ēvaṃvoc āvājyaḥ ‘the laughter of the student’; śīmaḥ ‘beauty’; manṣyaḥ ‘speech’; śāmaḥ ‘sleep’; śāmaḥ ‘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 anuvritti of lyut only runs, and not that of kta.
116. The affix ‘lyut’ 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 sutra is thus translated by Bohling:—"The affix ल्युत comes in connection with an object, when through the contact with that, the agent of the action feels a lively pleasure". Though the affix ल्युत would have presented itself by the last aphorism, under the circumstances mentioned in this sutra, the framing of this sutra, is really for the purpose of teaching, that the compound so formed is a निश्चित or invariable compound i.e. a compound which cannot be analysed into its component members:—for every वर्ण compound is a निश्चित compound. (II. 2. 19) Thus पञ्चः ‘the pleasure of drinking milk’; भोजननिश्चितः ‘the pleasure of eating rice’.

Why do we say ‘when the word in construction is in the accusative case’? Observe शृणुलिखितः वस्त्रान्यं शुचः ‘rising from a bed of down is pleasant’. Here there is no compounding as the upapada लिखितः is in the ablative case.

Why do we say ‘from the contact’? Observe भगवंद्यावतेश्वरायं गुह्यं ‘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 वृहीः घा: कन्यां गुह्यं ‘to the teacher it is pleasure, when he is made to bathe’. Here the word गुह्य is not the agent, but the object of the verb सापवचितः.

Why do we say ‘corporally’? Observe पुस्वल्य पारितं शुचिः ‘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 बाह्यकल्याणेन हुः शुचयन्ति ‘it is painful to rub thorns’. In all the above counter-examples there is no compounding; see II. 2. 19 and the connected sutras.

कर्मचित्तकार्योऽहं ९९ || पदानि || कर्म-अधिकारवाचः, च

(ल्युतः) ||

117. The affix ‘lyut’ comes after a root, when
the relation of the word to be formed to the verb is that of an instrument or location.

Thus तान्त्रिक: ‘an axe’ (lit. an instrument for cutting wood); पलाशालन: ‘palasa-cutter’; गोश्रेषा ‘a milk-pail’ (a vessel into which milk is milked); so also बहुतान्त्रिक. In other words, this affix expresses also the idea of the instrumental case (a tool), and of the locative case (a repository).

मुखा संज्ञायां म: प्रायेश || पदर्शि || पुचिः, संज्ञायां, च:; प्रायेश, (सार्थाचिनकरवान्त:.)

पुचिः मुखाः; करणापिकरणवान्त: निवोधापार्थीय: प्रायेश अभिसति सार्थाचिनकरवान् संज्ञा मयः संज्ञा मयः

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 फार्म ‘generally’ is to show that this rule is not a universal rule. Thus वर्णवध: ‘the lip’. दृशि ‘to cover’ + च (VI. 4. 96) = दृशि lit. ‘that by which the teeth are covered’; so also दृशि ‘a breast plate’; चर:। These denote instruments.

So also in denoting ‘location’. Thus भा + दृ + च = भास्त्र: ‘a mine’, so named because men work (akurvanti) in it, भास्त्र: ‘a house’ that in which men settle down.

Why do we say ‘in the masculine gender’? Observe विद्यवान ‘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 श्रीवेश ‘the beating stick’.

The indicator च is merely qualifying; for the application of sutra VI. 4. 96. by which after the causative दृशि, when च is added, the long भा is shortened.


119. And the words ‘gochara’, ‘samchara’, ‘vaha’ ‘vraja’, ‘vyaja’, ‘apanapana’ 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 apavada or exception to rule III. 3. 121, by which after roots ending in consonants, the affix च is added. Thus गीतचर: ‘pasturage’, (lit. that in which the cows graze); संज्ञान: ‘a passage’, (lit. through which they move); चर: ‘a vehicle’ (lit. by which men are carried); वह: ‘a cowpen’ (by which they go); वह: ‘a fan’ (by which they move the air); the anomaly
The affix ghan.

in this consists in not replacing the भन्त्र of भन्त्र (पि + अनु) by the substitute श्री as required by सूत्र II. 4. 56; भावण 'a market' (lit. that in which men come and traffic); विशेष: 'the Veda', 'a market' (that into which they enter).

The force of the word श्री in the aphorism is to include other words also, which have not been already mentioned. Thus श्री; विशेष: 'a touch-stone'; (lit. that on which they rub).

अबे तुस्‌त्रोपेष्‌ ॥ १२० ॥ पदार्थोऽवे, तृत्योऽवे; प्रधान, (कर्काप्रि- कार्योऽऽ्र; संग्रामायण) ॥

बृहत्: ॥ अवे द्वारे तारवृच्छणातः श्रीत्रोऽवे: कर्कणिककर्योऽऽ्र; संग्रामायण सम्मवस्त्रोऽऽ्र; भवति ॥

120. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'त्रि' (to cross) and 'स्रि' (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 श्री. The श्री is indicatory and causes the vrittah of श्री (VII. 2. 115) and is also for the sake of regulating the accent (VI. 1. 195, 197). The indicatory श्री is useful in the subsequent aphorism where it changes the palatals into gutturals. Thus भवतः: 'the descent (or incarnation of a deity); भवस्तः: 'a screen round a tent'.

How do we apply भवस्तः also in phrases like भवस्तः: 'the descent of rivers', for here the word अवतर्ण is not an appellative? This use is also allowed, because अवतर्ण of the word भवः is understood here also; so that these words अवतर्ण &c. may be employed in senses other than appellative.

इत्यद् ॥ १२१ ॥ पदार्थोऽहीः, श्री, (हुँि, संग्रामायण, कर्काप्रि- कार्योऽऽ्र; पश्चादी) ॥

बृहत्: [हृिणायातः: कर्कणिककर्योऽऽ्र; संग्रामायण भवति ॥

121. And after a verb ending in a consonant, comes the affix 'ghan', (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 सूत्र from सूत्र III. 3. 118. This excludes श्री. Thus लेख: 'a writing' (that in which something is inscribed); वेष: 'the Veda' (that by which all is known); वेष: 'dress' (that which is entered into); बृहत्: 'obstruction'; भव: 'a way' (that on which they seek); भावण: 'a plant' (that by which disease or the like is cleared away); भाव: 'Râma' (i.e. in which the devout delight).

अध्यायंध्वंस्त्रंहस्त्तराधर्मार्थार्थाः ॥ १२२ ॥ पदार्थोऽहीः स्त्राय- न्याय-व्याप-अध्याय-र्‌हस्त-आधार-आधाराः; श्री ॥

These words are formed by adding the affix चम् 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 + चम् = अध्याय्: ‘a chapter or book’ (lit. that in which they read); नी—न्याय: ‘logic, justice’, (lit. that by which men are led); बन्धु—व्याय: ‘mixture’ (lit. that in which they blend); भास्कर—तंत्र: ‘destruction’ (lit. by which they are destroyed); आ-ध-आधार: ‘support’ (lit. in which anything is held); भावन—आधार: = भावनिः आधार.।

The force of च is to include others not enumerated above; as, आधार:।

उद्धृताः ॥ १२२ ॥ पदरचिन्त ॥ उद्धृत: ॥ अनुद्धृत: ॥

123. The word ‘udānika’ is anomalous, when the sense of the root refers to subjects other than ‘water’.

The word is thus formed: वृत् + यान + चम् = उद्धृत: ‘a vessel’.

Would not the affix चम् 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 वृत्तिः ‘a leathern vessel for oil’.

Why do we say ‘when not referring to ‘water’? Notice वृःसंपन्न: ‘a bucket for drawing water’ (वृः + भाष्य + वृहत्).

Why do not we give the counter-example by adding the affix च to the root चम्? Because the form evolved by applying च, would be the same in every respect as that evolved by चम्; even the accent would be the same. For by sūtra VI. 2. 144, the udātta accent, in the case of चम्, will fall on the final.

124. The word ‘ānāya’ is irregularly formed when meaning ‘a net’.

The word is thus formed in the sense of instrument. आ + नी + चम् = आनाय: ‘a net’ (by which they are caught); as आनाय: ‘a net for fish’; दक्षिणाय: ‘a net for wild deer &c’.

खम् ॥ पदरचिन्त ॥ खम्: ॥ च, न्याय. (कारकाधिकार, यथा)॥

चम् ॥ आनायाः: काराधिकाराः: मरम्य भवति, दक्षिणात् चम् ॥
125. The affix 'gha' as well as 'ghaḥ', 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 ब्रम्ह has been read into the sūtra by force of the word च. Thus भास्म: or भास्न: 'a spade, a hoe'.

Vart.—The affix य also comes in this sense after the verb लाग्. Thus भास्नः+व=भास्: 'a spade'. The indicator य showing that the final portion called ती should be elided.

Vart.—The affix य also comes in the same sense; as भास्न: 'a spade'.

Vart.—So also the affix इल्: as भास्निकं: 'a spade'.

Vart.—So too the affix इल्वक as भास्निकः: 'a spade'.

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 'sū' are combined with it as upapadas.

The anuvrttī of the phrase 'when related as instrument or location' ceases with this aphorism. The word हृद्ध means heavy, and हृद्ध has the force of conveying that sense. The word ब्रह्मस्म means 'light, easy'; and the words इल्व and य convey that sense. Thus इल्वकरो नवथा नव: 'a mat is made easily by you'; so also हृद्ध: 'made with difficulty'; हृद्ध: 'made with ease'. Similarly इल्वकाः: 'eating pleasantly'; इल्वक्ष्म: and इल्वकाः.

Why do we say 'after हृद्ध &c.? See हृद्धकाः कारे: कर: 'the mat which is made with difficulty'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'hard or light'? Observe हृद्धकाः 'a small work'.

Of the affix य, the letter य and य are indicatory ; य causing the insertion of a nasal (technically called नुम augment, VI. 3. 67); and य regulates the accent (VI. 1. 156). The augment नुम will be added in the subsequent sūtra, the य thus having no work in this sūtra.
127. The affix 'khal' comes after the verbs 'bhû' 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 द्वारका जै बनं 'being enriched easily'; दुरालम् जान् 'to be enriched with difficulty'; लाभज्ञानी द्वारकाई '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 affixa व्र (V. 4. 50). Compare III. 2. 56 and III. 2. 57. &c. Therefore we do not have it here: लाभज्ञानी द्वारकाई or द्वारकाई रुपाणी।

अती युन् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदार्थ। अती, युन्, (द्वारकाई, रुपाणी, क्रस्त्राप्यु) ॥

128. The affix 'yuch' comes after roots ending in long 'a', (when 'ishad', 'dur' and 'su' are combined as upapadas, in the sense of easily or with difficulty).

The word द्वारकाई &c. are to be read into this sūtra, not so the words क्रस्त्राप्यु &c. This supersedes the affixa लाभज्ञानी. Thus द्वारकाई शीमी नाथवा 'the soma juice can be lightly drunk by you'; दुरालम् 'difficult to be drunk'; सुस्मानम् 'catch as you please'. त्वारकाई द्वारकाई 'the cow can be given with ease by you'; सुस्मानम्; सुस्मानम्; &c.

लाभज्ञानी गत्येत्य: ॥ १२८ ॥ पदार्थ। नृसिंह, गति-अथेत्य:।

(द्वारकाई, आवृत्ताप्यु, युन्) ॥

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 debars the affixa लाभज्ञानी. Thus '००००१०००१०००।' See T.S. 7. 5. 20. 1.

अथवैक्षेत्रिष्ठ उपये ॥ १२९ ॥ पदार्थ। अथेत्य:। अथि, लाभज्ञानी, गत्येत्यः।

(गत्येत्यः, युन्) ॥

130. The affix 'yuch' is seen to come in the Vedas, after other verbs also, than those meaning 'to go',
Thus सुधीव नाम कुर्योक्तः सत्याय गातः; so also सुधीव नाम कुर्योक्तः सत्याय गातः। (Rig. Veda. X. 112. 8).

\textit{Var.}—In the modern Sanskrit, the affix 'yukti' comes after the verbs वाच, धूम, दृश्य, and बुध; as द्रुहावसम: 'Duhsásana'; दृश्येन्द्र: 'Duryodhana'; दृश्येत्र: and दृश्येत्र:।

बर्त्तातुतसारीस्ये बर्त्तातुतमधुरम् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदार्थं ॥ बर्त्तातुत-
बाणीये, बर्त्तातुम-वर्तु, वा, (पुंसे, नविष्कारि)॥

कृति: बर्त्तातुतसारीस्ये भूते नविष्कारि च बर्त्तातुतसारीस्ये बर्त्तातुतमधुरम् वा भविष्यिः॥

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 मातिव and लातिक are the words with the same signification, the latter being derived from the first by adding the affix चक्र. 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 साविन्य, that the affix चक्र also comes with a self-descriptive (svārtha) force, and the words चक्रन्ति and &c. are thus formed.

The affixes which begin with सूत्र III. 2. 123 (वर्त्तातुतमधुर्म) and end with III. 3. 1 (वर्त्तातुतसारीस्ये) 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 कर्त्ता देवदत्ताः (वर्त्तातुतसारीस्ये) 'when didst thou come Devadatta?', it may be replied, either अववेदक्ता 'I come now', or अववेदक्ता मां विद्वि 'know me even to have come'; or अववेदक्ता 'I have now come'; or अववेदक्तात: 'I have come now'. So also to the question कर्त्ता देवदत्ताः (वर्त्तातुतसारीस्ये) 'when will you Devadatta?', it may be replied, either एव गविष्लवि 'I go now' or गविष्ठात: मां विद्वि अ गविष्ठाति अ गविष्ठाति &c.

The phrase 'in like manner' (वर्त्ता) 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 (वर्त्ता), and words in compositions (वर्त्ता), and restrictive significations (वर्त्ता), certain affixes have been enjoined;—the same affixes under those conditions and those circumstances, only will denote also immediate future and recent past. Thus श्राक्षु by rule III. 2. 128 comes after the prakritis व and ब्रम्म in forming present participles; this affix, to denote past and future, must come only after व and ब्रम्म, and so on. Thus वर्त्तातुत: व्रतातुत; भवान्निर्युपः (III. 2. 136) &c.

Why do we say 'not remote from the present, (साविन्यम)? This rule will not apply when distant future or distant past is intended to be expressed.
As यह भाष्य तथा नाति "he went day before yesterday to Pātaliputra"; जस् गमिति "he will go in a year".

One may say that "the word गमिति 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. Bohllingk translates this sūtra thus:—Whatever is near to the present time, may be expressed as a present tense.

आयानां भूतवस्। १३२। पदावि। आयांवासाः भूतवस्।

Bṛihat: भविष्यति काले आयासायो गत्वानागयो गाता भूतवस् पश्चात् भविष्यति भविष्यति पर्याप्ततः।

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 भविष्यति means the wish or expectation of getting an object not yet obtained, and consequently this can refer only to future time. The force of भविष्यति is to draw the word भविष्यति 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 (कृ), the Present, or Simple Future is used in both the clauses to denote a future time. Thus ब्रस्तिवेदेशात् or भविष्, or भविष्यति or भविष्यति वा ऐसे ब्रस्ति वेदेशात्, or भविष्यति or भविष्यति वा 'if the teacher were to come, we should read grammar'.

This construction is possible only when the past tense is expressed by कृ (Aorist); and not by कृ or कृ. For कृ, denotes past time in general, while कृ and कृ denote particular forms of past time; (see III. 2. 110, 111 and 115). The phrase भूतवस् making an analogy with time in general, will not therefore, refer to कृ or कृ, which refer to past time in special.

Why say 'when hope is expressed'? Observe भविष्यति 'he will come'.

शिष्यानां लूट १३३। पदावि। शिष्य-बन्धने, लूटेः (आयानां)।
Prohibition of Second Future.

133. When the word 'kshipra' (quickly) or its synonym is in construction with the verb, the future affix, 'Lri' 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 व्याधिन्यानुथितमात्रति (or व्याधिन्यानुभवसः—Apt.) सिंहऽब्रजस्वयंवर्त्तने "if the teacher were to come soon, we shall soon learn grammar".

By force of the word वर्तन in the aphorism, we take the synonyms of वर्त also, such as दृश्यं, आभू, त्वरितम्, &c.

An objector might say, "the use of the word दृश्य 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 विमानवर्ते 'not so when a word expressing quickness is employed'; for such a rule debarring 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, दृश्य and दृश्या. By specifying दृश्य we mean that दृश्य should not be employed even where it would otherwise have come, such as in the following:—प: शिष्यालि वर्त्तने 'to-morrow we shall learn soon'.

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 व्याधिन्यानुभवसः, भाषणे दुस्तौर धीरति '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 भाषणे शिष्यालि धीरति 'I hope, you will learn soon'. So also, भाषणे दुस्तौर धीरति, &c.

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 अत्र (Imperfect Past) and जय (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 स्त्रिया prohibits these two affixes. The word क्षमाक्षमा means ‘performing an action with continuity’; and बाध्यक्षमा means ‘not remoteness of time, immediateness, without the intervention of anything of the same genus’. Thus शब्दात अधिकरण (not अधिकरण) ‘he gave food throughout his life’; or शास्त्रानि हजार ‘he will give much food’. शब्दात अधिकरण ‘throughout his life he taught’, or बाध्यक्षमा धारण ‘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 शब्दात अधिकरण ‘he consecrated the fire, or performed the soma-sacrifice or gave a cow’. Here the Aorist is for the Imperfect. शब्दात अधिकरण ‘he will consecrate the fire, or perform the soma-sacrifice, or give a cow’. Here the Second Future is employed instead of the First Future.

The double negative अन्तः ‘not non-today’ implies the proper corresponding tenses which indicate adyatana.

अत्रित्वम् स्त्रितः स्त्रितः स्त्रितः ।
प्रदातिः प्रदातिः प्रदातिः ।
प्रविनचान्यायः प्रविनचान्यायः प्रविनचान्यायः ।

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 (vara) side of another place.

The phrase भावमयात्मक is valid in this द्वारा also. The two conditions of the last aphorism, namely, ‘continuity of action’ and ‘immediateness’, however, do not apply here. Thus शब्दात अधिकरण अधिकरण बाध्यक्षमा अधिकरण बाध्यक्षमा अधिकरण ‘on this side of the road from the city of Kosambi to the city of Pataliputra, there we will eat rice, and there we will drink saktu’.

Why do we say ‘in denoting future time’? Observe शब्दात अधिकरण अधिकरण बाध्यक्षमा अधिकरण ‘on this side of the road that leads from the city of Kosambi to the city of Pataliputra, we read together &c.

Why do we say ‘when signifying limit’? Observe शब्दात अधिकरण अधिकरण बाध्यक्षमा अधिकरण...
Prohibition of the First Future.

Why do we say ‘when the word avara is in construction’? Observe वर्षः-वर्षांस्य भावान्तिवाचः सत्तं वर्षां वर्षांस्य भावान्तिवाचः &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.

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 times, 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 यहं वर्षेऽवर्षानां सन सत्तं वर्षानं सन वर्षानं सनं वर्षानं ‘in the month of Chaitra, the year after next, we shall read together’; तथायताः वर्षानां ‘we shall eat rice then &c’.

This construction is, of course, only valid in denoting future time, otherwise not. Therefore not here: वर्षाएवस्य वर्षायेऽवर्षानां सन्तति वर्षायेऽवर्षानां सनं वर्षायेऽवर्षानं ‘in the month of Chaitra, the year before last, we read together’; तत्ततात्तत्तत्तती ‘we ate together &c’.

Why do we say ‘limit’? Observe वर्षायेऽवर्षानां सन्तति वर्षायेऽवर्षानां सनं वर्षायेऽवर्षानं ‘in this side i.e. before side’. With the par side limit, this rule will not apply. With the word par, 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, यहं सन सत्तं सत्तं सनं ‘in the month of Chaitra, the year of Chaitra’. Here तत्, or First Future has been employed and not the Second Future.
LRA IN THE FUTURE.  [Bk. III. CH. III. § 138, 139.

परस्मािि विभाषा || १३८ || पदानि || परस्मािि, विभाषा, (भविषयिि, संयोढायणि, कालविभागि, अन्नहोरानािािा) ||

भूति || कलमविलहिनिमां वस्ति भविष्यिि काले परस्मािि प्रवत्तिमां विभाषांपद्यावस्तु

श्रवणविलिमा मध्यि, न च येद्योरशतांििि संस्करणम: ||

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 sutra 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 वर 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 वर side of a starting limit. Thus वोह दंसिद्ध सदासििि तथ यस्मि परस्परावयावतस्तु धर्मस्तु भविष्यििमां or भविष्यििमां ‘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 वर instead of भविष्यििमां.

सिद्ध तिनिते लुढ़् ख्रियातिपति || १३८ || पदानि || सिद्ध-

तिनिते, लुढ़् ख्रिया-अतििरति, (भविष्यििम) ||

भूति || हेतुदेवगुणोपनिषदिशवयावरित्वा तिियेन तिमि, तत् तिद्ध तिनिते अविष्यििि काले लुढ़् परम्परी मन्ति, क्रियातिपतििि संस्करणम: ||

139. Where there is a reason for affixing ‘Lra’ the affix ‘Lra’ 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 लुढ़ are such as cause and effect &c. mentioned in sutra III. 3. 156 and 157 &c. The क्रिया 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 लुढ़देवगुणोपनिषदिशवयावरित्वा ‘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, श्रवणविलिमां भविष्यिििम ’if he were to go by the right side, the carriage would not be upset’; वहि अन्नहोरानािािा भविष्यििििि ‘and the

श्रवणविलिमां भविष्यििििि ‘and the
The affix \( \text{Li'inx} \)...

140. And (where there is a reason for affixing \( \text{Li'inx} \), the affix \( \text{Li'inx} \) 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 \( \text{Li'inx} \) in the Future tense; this sūtra ordains it in the Past, the Conditional tense having both these significations. The reasons for affixing \( \text{Li'inx} \) are given in sūtras III. 3. 152 and those that follow it. In sūtras 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:—

This phrase indicates an action completed in the future.

'1 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'.
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 ‘Līṅ’, the ‘Līṅ 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 as optionally, aś as far as and sūtras: (the sūtra III. 3 152). The words aś + aś + aś form by the rules of conjunction. The particle aś 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 aphorism, 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. Bohlingk translates this aphorism thus: “optionally so, in connection with aś and aś, the conditional tense may be employed”.

142. The affix ‘Lā་’ is employed after a root, when it has in composition with it the words ‘api’ or jāṭu’, the sense implied by the sentence being that of censure.

The word गङ्गा means ‘censure, ‘blame’. The affix लात् 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 यिनि तन्न महान् वृषभ वाक्यवित्र ‘even your honor sacrifices (or sacrificed or will sacrifice) to a Sāṅk’; तत् तन्न महान् वृषभ वाक्यवित्र गहोः गहोः अद्वयोऽपि वाक्यवित्र ‘possibly your honor sacrifices for a Sāṅk’; 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 लिन, of course, we cannot employ लिन to denote the non-completion of the action
So also भे or जाते नाथोऽविन्दति ‘Fiel you abandon (or abandoned or will abandon) your wife’

विषेषा कष्ठि सिंहः च || १०५ || पदार्थि || विभाषा, कष्ठि, लिङ्कः, (गाहीयाः, लगः, वोटाप्ष) ||

२२५: || कष्ठिकम् उपस्थे गा०हीवा, गणयानावा भाषोरेक्षण्यस्याय भाषि, पकाराध्यां, ||

143. The affix ‘Liṅ’ as well as ‘Laṅ’ 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 ल्र from the previous sutra 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 कर्तार नाम सदाम दशस्य ज्ञानेव तौ बाजायति or बाजायते or बाजायान्ति ‘Indeed, how your honor can (or will) sacrifice for a Sūdra’.

So also कर्तार नाम सदाम दशस्य ज्ञानेव तौ बाजायति, बाजायति or बाजायान्ति.

Here there is an occasion for the application of the Potential mood (ल्रहः); therefore when we intend to express non-completion of action in the past time, we can optionally employ the Conditional also (ल्रहः). As कर्तार नाम सदाम दशस्य ज्ञानेव तौ बाजायति or बाजायते, ‘Indeed, why did your honor (attempt to) sacrifice for that Sūdra (in vain?)

Under similar circumstances, in denoting future time, the Conditional (ल्रहः) must invariably be employed (III. 3. 139); as, कर्ता दधं भविष्यति ‘why will you (attempt to) give up your duty’.

किंतुंते सिंहाळे || १४४ || पदार्थि || किंचे, लिङ्कले, लिङ्कले, (ग-होपाने, वोटाप्ष) ||

२२५: || किंचकमंजये गा०हीवा गणयानावा भाषोरेक्षण्यस्याय भाषि, पकाराध्यां: ||

144. The affixes ‘Liṅ’ and ‘Laṅ’ 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 ल्रहः in this sutra, is for the sake of excluding ल्रहः, whose anuvṛtti would also have run into this sutra, had we taken the anuvṛtti of ल्रहः, from the last sutra, instead of repeating it. Thus क: कसरे शा श्रीरे निविदे, निविदे शा ‘who will censure Hari?’
In the Past tense, when the non-completion of action is implied, we may optionally employ the Conditional (कृत); and in the Future tense, under similar circumstances, we must employ the Conditional necessarily; as को नाम वृक्षो च तव नामनवासविवर्ध्यो 'who is the Sūdra for whom your honor did sacrifice (in vain)'. This sūtra may be rendered thus also:—“In connection with an Interrogative Pronoun, when censure is implied, may be employed the Potential or the First Future’.

अनवकृप्तमथवेषोर्किरौर्संपत्ति ॥ १४५ ॥ पदरामि ॥ अनवकृप्ति-अ-वर्षयोऽ, अभिप्रेते, अपि, (किरौर्संपत्तिः, वृषिर्भो, बोतायोः) ॥

बुद्धि ॥ किरौर्संपत्ति च वृषिर्भो ज्ञानकृप्तमथवेषोर्विवर्ध्यो रोकित्वं मस्यो 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 anuvṛtti of the word ‘censure’ ceases. The word अनवकृप्ति means ‘impossibility, not to be believed’. The word अभिप्रेत: 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 अनवकृप्तमथवेषो:, the word अनवकृप्ति ought to have stood as second member of the compound as it contains larger number of syllables than the word अभिप्रेत: (II. 2. 14). The non-compliance with rule II. 2. 14. indicates that the rule of व्यासविवर्ध्य: (I. 3. 10) does not apply here, which would otherwise have applied—the sense of the sūtra 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 sūtra.

Thus नान्वकृप्तवामि, न अभिप्रेत: न अपि, सत्गत्व नाम पुष्पः वासवेः, or बणविवर्ध्य: ‘I do not believe, or think it possible or trust that your honor sacrifices (or sacrificed or will sacrifice) for a Sūdra’. न अभिप्रेत: लक्षण पुष्पवेश्वर वासवेः, or बणविवर्ध्य: ‘I cannot tolerate that your honor does (did or will) sacrifice for a Sūdra’.

When past time together with the non-completion of the action is to be expressed, we may optionally employ the Conditional (कृत), but necessarily so, when Future time is to be expressed. Thus नान्वकृप्तवामि सत्गतात्त्व नाम पुष्पवेश्वर बणविवर्ध्य: ‘I do not believe that your honor did or will sacrifice for a Sūdra’.

किरौर्संपत्ति यूद्ध ॥ १४५ ॥ पदरामि ॥ किरौर्संपत्तिः, यूद्धः, (अनवकृप्तमथवेषोः, बोतायोः) ॥

बुद्धि ॥ किरौर्संपत्तिः यूद्धः अनवकृप्तमथवेषोऽब्धिः नास्याभिधानमिः ॥
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 फ्रिक्कलिञ्ज is to be taken as an upapada and not the word फ्रिक्क and फ्रिक्कलिञ्ज separately. This word expresses anger. The words having the sense of asti are अवि, अवि and दिच्च. This rule supersedes the Potential (विलिङ्क, विलिङ्क). Thus फ्रिक्कलिञ्ज अवि or अवि अवि or दिच्च नाम तत्त्व, पुष्पेन वाक्यविप्रतिष्ठित, न गर्भवामि, न अथवे ‘Is it possible that your honor will (or did or does) sacrifice for a Sūdra? I cannot believe or tolerate it’.

As there is no occasion for द्रिङ्ग here, we cannot have the Conditional (मूर्ख) required by rule III. 3. 141.

Another example is न भावे न मर्यादा सा फ्रिक्कलिञ्ज मे सूक्ष्मानु भोववे ‘I do not believe or can tolerate that thou shouldst eat the food of Sūdra’; अवि अवि दिच्च नाम दिच्च न गर्भवामि ‘Is it possible that thou shouldst go to a female Sūdra’.

147. The affix ‘Lin’ comes after a root, the words ‘jātu’ 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 तत्त्व जातु जातु जातु जातु, न भावे न भावे न भावे न भावे न भावे न भावे न भावे.

Vart.—The words बहि and बहि should be enumerated along with the words जातु and जातु in this rule. As बहि or बहि शास्त्री हांि नित्येशाचार्ययामि न गर्भवामि ‘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 (मूर्ख) is necessarily employed in denoting future time, and optionally so in denoting past time. As जातु, बहि, बहि or बहि शास्त्री हांि नित्येशाचार्ययामि नाशाचार्ययामि, न गर्भवामि वा ‘neither do I believe, nor do I tolerate that one like you did attempt to blaspheme Hari’. बहि सुद्धिभावस्वस्तम्योऽर्थावस्यास्यामि तत्त्व दानि रम्यवस्य युक्तरात्रिके समस्तस्मिन ‘if you had felt (which you clearly have not) the fragrant smell of her breath, would you have had any liking for this lotus’.
148. The affix 'Līn' 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 वन्य वच न ानवेन सुतोऽः म वहैः, न न नर्तवामि 'I do not think, nor can I tolerate that thou wilt do so'.

The Conditional (नृह) will also be employed under its own proper conditions as shown in the last aphorism.

149. The affix 'Līn' 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 वन्य or वच तत्व महान् नृपां यानवेन, सबौ तु पुत्रः स्तू अलाभाः, गही अल्पावलम्बेण '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 वन्य or वच तत्व हरि निकृष्ठ: or अनविनिचयः, गही अल्पावलम्बेण 'we censure that you should (have attempted to) blaspheme Hari', &c.

150. The affix 'Līn' 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 विक्रियाम् means 'wonder, astonishment, strangeness &c'. This debars all the other tense-affixes. Thus वन्य or वच तत्व महान् नृपां यानवेन भाववेतस् '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 आध्यात्मिति वर्बम् or वन तः नूद्वावासी: or अश्वाहं, वेयः: 'it is a wonder that you should (have attempted to) perform a sacrifice for a Sūdra'; आध्यात्मिति वर्बम् or वन १० ३० अश्वाहं, वेयः: 'it is a wonder that you should (hereafter attempt to) make a Sūdra perform a sacrifice.

वेयः लूद्वारी || १५१ || पदार्थि || दोष्ट, अवर्दी, (चित्रकरण) ||

वृत्ति: || वैसे दुर्ग विश्वारकाय गर्भानां पालिका तस्मयं भष्यति विश्वारकाय गर्भानां ||

151. In all other cases, when wonder is implied by other words than 'yachcha' and 'yatya', the affix 'Liit' 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 वर्बम् or वन are not employed, as well as where the word बधि is not used, the First Future is used in preference to the Potential.

Thus आध्यात्मिति, विष्णुव: अध्यात्मिति नाम परमार्थिति, बधिरि नाम व्याकरणादायूँ अध्यात्मिति '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 बधि is employed. Thus आध्यात्मिति सोभीति 'a wonder, if he study'. आध्यात्मिति स वृत्तिति '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 sutras III. 3. 139, 140 and 141.

152. The affix 'Liit' 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 बधि and बधि is that of बधि 'assuredly, certainly, surely, really'. Thus वत्स कूदप्ति 'certainly he does'; अधि तृप्ति 'assuredly he does'; वत्स आलीति 'certainly he studies (will study &c); अधि आलीति 'surely he studies &c'.

Why do we say 'when they mean certainly'? Observe वत् देखः पदितावलि 'will the stick fall?' अधि द्वारा वाससीति 'he shuts the door'. Here वत् is employed in asking questions, and अधि with पर means 'to shut'. The option allowed by rule III. 3. 141. ceases. Hereafter the Conditional (बधि) must invariably be used even in Indicating Past action, when action is not completed, and there is reason for the employment of बधि (Potential). In indicating Future time, of course, बधि
must necessarily be employed as before. Henceforward, therefore, no option is allowed, but लूक must be employed where सूत्रs III. 3. 139 and 140 require it.

153. The affix ‘Līn’ comes after a root, in expressing or making known of a wish, except when the word ‘kachchit’ is in composition with it.

The phrase कामव्रतेन means the expression of one’s wish. This debars all other tense-affixes. As कामी मे नुभीत नवान = अन्विताओ मे नुभीत नवान ‘it is my wish that you will eat’.

Why do we say ‘except the word कण्ठिण’? Observe कण्ठिणीति से माता कण्ठिणीति से पिता। मातापिता सत्यं कण्ठिणीति कण्ठिणीति पावेती॥ ‘I hope thy mother is living, I hope thy father is living, I ask thee, O marāvid! (Parrot), I hope that Pārvati is living’

154. The affix ‘Līn’ 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 लूक 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 अलम. The word अलम means ‘adequate’; so that the above-mentioned संभावन must be completed, full and true i.e. realised. The phrase संभावनोऽि qualifies अलम, and means ‘if the non-employment or omission of अलम is valid or unobjectionable. When is that unobjectionable, when the sense of अलम 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 भवि परं घरसा भिःष्ठैः ‘I expect he will break even the hill with his head’; भवि द्रोणि परं भजन भुजाः ‘I expect you will eat away even a drona of cooked food’.

Why do we use the word अलम ‘competent to do’? Observe, संभावनवाजी
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 अर्था््, 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 विद्यानये 'when the actual result does not take place'? Observe, अर्था्् देवदत्तो इतिनं हिंदूति '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 (अर्था््) must be invariably used in preference to every other tense. Professor Bohllingk 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’.

155. The affix ‘लिन’ is optionally employed after a verb when it has another verb which expresses ‘expectation’, in construction with it, but not so when the word ‘यत’ 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 संताव अर्था््, or अर्थात्, is called संताव अर्था््. This sūtra enjoins an option where by the last aphorism, there would have been necessarily the Potential Tense. Thus संतावादात् भुज्योति or भोज्योति भवति ‘I expect you will eat’; भवकर्त्याति भुज्योति or भोज्योति भवति ‘I hope you will eat’; भवस्य भुज्योति or भोजयोति भवति ‘I believe you will eat’. But no option is allowed, and the Potential must necessarily be used, when the word यत् is employed. As संतावादाति वर् भुज्योति भवति ‘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.”

156. The affix ‘लिन’ is optionally employed after both those verbs which express the condition and its consequence.
The word हेतु means 'cause or 'condition' and हेतुसन्तः 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 prótasis (हेतु) and apòdosis (हेतुसन्तः), the former containing the condition or ground of argument, and the latter the conclusion based upon it. Thus:—तत्तत्तेन चत्यायाम शास्त्रम् प्रयोजनेत् 'if he go by the right side, the cart will not be upset'; श्रवणकर्मणि भा Draco शास्त्रम् पर्यावृत्त्वैं 'if he calls Kalamaka, the cart will not be upset'. Here 'going by the right side' is the prótasis (हेतु), and 'not-upsetting' the apòdosis (हेतुसन्तः).

This is an optional use of the Potential; we may use the Second Future in the alternative; thus श्रवणकर्मणि वंदे वास्तवति न शास्त्रे पदर्भविषयति 'if he goes by the south, the cart will not be upset'.

The word विवाहः 'optionally' used in the sūtra immediately preceding is also understood here.

Though the anuvṛtti of विवाहः 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: हृदयोऽभिबलसे 'he kills, therefore he flies'; प्रभविन्न प्रभविन्न 'it rains, therefore he runs'.

It, of course, follows that when the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional (काच) should be employed, under these very circumstances. See examples under sūtra III. 3. 139.

157. The affixes 'Lin' and 'Lot' 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 हेतु, काच, धार्मिक्ये &c, are used, the Potential or Imperative is used; thus इत्यावलि काचोये or धार्मिक्ये भुजलिस्त भवन्ति or शुभकाचो भवाम् 'I wish, desire or pray that your honor may eat'.

Part. 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: इत्यावलि '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'.
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 इश्वरि, वहि or वांछति भोजनं 'he desires to eat'; कामवे भोजनं 'he wishes to eat'; निराकारिणि विलिति भावतु इश्वरि '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 cannot say रहस्यं भोजनं इश्वरि वांछति बस्ति: 'Yajñadatta wishes Devadatta to eat'; for here the agents of भोजनं and इश्वरि are not the same. We must say, भोजनं instead of इश्वरि.

Why do not we use it here:—इश्वरि करोति 'wishing, he does'? Because the Infinitive is never found in such constructions. In other words, the Infinitive in भोजनं is employed when both the verbs have the same agent.

The affix 'Lin' 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 बुधवी इस्ति इश्वरि 'he wishes that he may eat'; अद्वस्ता इस्ति इश्वरि '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.
161. The affix ‘Lin’ comes after a verb, when the agent either commands, invites, permits, politely expresses a wish, asks questions, or prays.

The word विधि: means ‘commanding or directing a subordinate’; निम्नलिखित means ‘giving invitation’; अच्छांस means ‘expressing permission to do as one likes’; अवज्ञः means ‘to politely express a wish’; सम्प्र: means ‘a question’; and प्रवेशः means ‘a prayer’.

This excludes all other tense-affixes. Thus:—

(1) नहः कुर्ष्टि ‘let him make the mat’; धाति भवानु भाग्यंसेः ‘you come to the village’;

(2 and 3) इह भावानु भूखीः ‘you will or may dine here’; इह भावानु भक्ति ‘here you will or may sit’;

(4) अभिच्छेदानि मात्रसं मायावर्णं मायुपवेः ‘we wish that you should condescend to initiate this boy’;

(5) किं भो व्यक्तिराया बुद्धि दैवताय? ‘Sir, what shall I learn, the Grammar or the Logic?’

(6) भवति मे प्रवेशान्ति व्यक्तिराया अभिच्छेद ‘this is my prayer that I should learn Grammar’.

लोकः ७ || १६२ || पदार्थ लोपः (विधि-निम्नलिखित-अवज्ञः-अवज्ञः-निम्नलिखित-प्रवेशः) ||

शुभः || लोपः सवयो भवति भावो भावकिलायसं ||

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 stras in which the anuvritti of लोपः only runs and not those of others. Thus:—

(1) नहः कुर्ष्टि ‘let him make the mat’; धाति भवानु भाग्यंसेः

(2 and 3) भवानु मात्रांश्च भालानुं ‘there you are invited to, or you may sit’.

(4) चुम्मावर्णः अभावावर्ण ‘you will teach, I hope, the son’.

(5) किं भो वेदात्मभौ वर्णस्याती ‘Sir what shall I learn, the Veda or the Logic?’

(6) भवति मे प्रवेशान्ति व्यक्तिराया बुद्धि दैवताय ‘this is my prayer that I may learn the Grammar, or that I may learn the Prosody’.

प्रेबास्तिर्मेवंस्मार्कालेखः कृत्यां १६३ || पदार्थ लोपः (प्रेब-अवज्ञः-निम्नलिखित-प्रवेशः) ||

शुभः || लोपः सवयो भावो भावकिलायसं ||
163. The affixes called 'Kritya', and the affix 'Lotś' come also after verbs, in the sense of direction, granting permission, and proper (particular) time.

The word वैष्णव means 'direction'; असिस्त्व means 'permission to do as one likes'; प्रवालस्त्व means 'arrival of appropriate occasion or time for the doing of an action'. The force of त्त is to introduce the word जोत into this aphorism. Thus जोषता करः करूषात्, करेन्द्र, कृत्स्त्व: 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 Kritya affix (III. i. 95 &c) may properly be called; we may have the Imperative also. Thus करे अरुः 'you must (may or it is the appropriate time to) make the mat'.

It might be asked 'Why the kriya affixes are enjoined to come with the force of direction, permission &c. They have been ordained most generally to come in denoting action in the Abstract (अर्थ) and object (कार्य) 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 जोषत 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 kriya affixes; we would reply, that kriya affixes will not be excluded, for the rule of non-uniform affixes (III. i. 94) will apply'.

To this objection we answer 'the special mention of the word kriya in this sūtra, indicates the existence of the following maxim:—

'The rule of non-uniform affixes (III. i. 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 वैष्णव and वैष्णव? Some say वैष्णव means a precept enjoining something for the first time; while वैष्णव means mere 'direction'.

164. The affix 'Lin' (as well as the 'Kritya' and 'Lotś') 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 affix tumun. [Bk. III. Ch. III. § 165-167.

The words त्रिवं &c. of the last सूत्र must be read into this. The force of व is to introduce the words सुवर्ण लोकतंत्र from the last सूत्र, into this. Thus कथि त्रिवं, शुद्धाविषय न चतुर्विद्ध न चतुर्विद्ध चतुर्विद्ध चतुर्विद्ध चतुर्विद्ध चतुर्विद्ध (Potential) or करते (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.

समे लोकतंत्र || १६५ || पदार्थी || समे, लोकतंत्र || (प्रेमालितद्वरेञ्जयालेखु, 
काव्यभूतिति)

पूर्ववो: || समे राजयपाहिद्वैतसिद्धं गमनमध्ये भूतिति || धार्मिकांसमाजमध्ये भूतिति ||

165. The affix 'loki' 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 Muhurta.

This supersedes the Potential (लक्षण) and Potential Passive Participles (कृत्वा). Thus कथि त्रिवं, शुद्धाविषय नामे करते करते शाय, मायाम गयति त्व, नामावक्षतावयन्ति त्व 'you (may, must, or it is proper time to) make the mat, or go to the village, or teach मानवका just now'.

अविनं || १६६ || पदार्थी || अविनं, त्रिवं, (समे, लोकतंत्र) ||

पूर्ववो: || समे राजयपाहिद्वैतसिद्धं गमनमध्ये भाषीति || पदार्थी ||

166. And when 'wish' is meant (the Imperative may be used when the word 'sma' is in composition with the verb).

The word 'त्रिवं' is understood here. The word अविनं has already been explained in सूत्र III. 3. 161. This rule supersedes the Potential. Thus त्रिवं राजनं, भवायत्वकर्ममयो या भवेकं राजनादिएष्यो भवति 'O! King! I wish that you teach the boy or make Agnihotra sacrifice'.

अनात्तं || १६७ || पदार्थी || आना-उक्तम-वेलान ||

पूर्ववो: || अनात्तं || आना-विन्दुपश्यं भाषीति || भवति ||

167. The affix 'tumun' comes after a root, when the words 'कला', 'समया', and 'वेलास' (all meaning time) are in composition.

Thus काली त्रिवं tumun 'time to eat'; समयं समयं tumun 'it is time to bathe and take food'; वेलास tumun 'time to eat'. In short, Infinitive in tumun may be used with words meaning 'time'; as अविनं वालमन्त्र वालमन्त्र tumun 'this is, indeed, the time to show myself'.

Why do not we use the Infinitive here? काली वेलास tumun '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 निनः (by which the word निनेण 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.

लिङ्ग यदि || १५५ || पदार्थि || लिङ्ग यदि, (कालस्ववेलासु) ||
बुद्धिः || वचन्ये उपर्यये कालस्ववेलासु प्राप्तेऽपरिकर्षणे स्वस्यस्य नभवति ||
168. The affix लिङ्ग comes after a root, when the word 'यदि' is in composition, and the words 'काला,' &c. occur in construction.

This ordains the Potential and supersedes the Infinitive in 'तमुन'. Thus काला, गमनो, वेला वा यत्र भवानु भुविरेत 'it is time that your honor should take your meals'.

अहैं कृत्यवश || १६७ || पदार्थि || अहैं, कृत्यवश: भ, (लिङ्ग) ||
बुद्धिः || अहैं कृत्यादि गत्यादि वा धातृः: कृत्यवश: गत्यादिनः नभवति ||
169. The affixes 'कृत्यादि', and the affix 'तिर्भू' are added to a root, when fitness as regards the agent is implied, (as well as the affix 'लिङ्ग').

The force of कृत्यादि is to introduce the Potential (लिङ्ग) into this, from the last. Thus भवानु कृत्यादि गत्यादि गत्यादि गत्यादि (कृत्यादि); or भवानु कृत्यादि गत्यादि गत्यादि (तिर्भू); or भवानु कृत्यादि गत्यादि गत्यादि (लिङ्ग) 'your honor is fit to marry the girl'.

Why specifically enjoin 'कृत्यादि' and 'तिर्भू' in the sense of fitness? They being enjoined universally, would a fortiori, be applied when fitness is to be denoted? Because the लिङ्ग being specially enjoined to denote fitness, and being an अपवद्धा, would have debarred kṛtya 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.

अवधिकालस्ववेलासु || १७० || पदार्थि || अवधिकाल-अधिक- स्ववेलासु ||
बुद्धिः || अवधिकालअधिकालस्ववेलासु ||
170. The affix 'निनः' 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 अष्टविक्ष कारी 'must be done'. The compounding here takes place by II. 1. 72. So also गाला शाबी; &c. शाबं शाबी; निधं शाबं &c.

कर्त्यांकः II 171 II पदार्थी II कृत्यम्, (अवश्यकप्रकरणं) II तृती: II कहर्यं काराणं श्रवणं भाववं काराणं कहर्यं श्रवणं भाववं गणनं गणनं II

171. The affixes called 'क्रिया' also come after a root when the sense to be indicated is that of 'necessity or obligation'.

Thus नेत्र शाबु जनरं करियं करियं, करियं, करियं: or कुल: 'you ought to make the mat'; जनरं गाला जनरं, जनरं, जनरं, 'you ought to pay a hundred'.

Q.—Where is the necessity of this aphorism? The क्रिया 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 गणन of the last सूत्र, which comes especially with the force of 'necessity' and 'obligation'.

Q.—Not so, for गणन comes in denoting the 'agent' (करियं), while क्रिया denotes the 'action' (अग्र) and the 'object' (करियं); so their scope being different, how can one supersede the other?

A.—Well, to remove this objection, some say, that क्रिया words like गणन, गणन &c. (III. 4. 68) which especially refer to the agent, are the proper examples to be given under this aphorism; and not examples of क्रिया-formed words in general.

शक्ति लिन्द च II 172 II पदार्थी II शक्ति, लिन्द, जन्म, (कृत्यम्) II तृती: II शक्तिपुरुषस्थोधी भाष्यम् लिन्दस्यस्वयं मन्त्रित्वम चकारात् कर्त्यांकः II

172. And the affix 'लिन्द' as well as the 'क्रिया' 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 नेत्र शाबु जनरी लोकम्; नारीबरी; नारी (क्रिया), or नेत्र शाबु जनरं गानं 'you can carry the load'.

Though क्रिया-affixes would have come in this sense, even without any special rule, for they are general affixes, their special mention in this शृंग is to guard against their being superseded by लिन्द, for rule III. 1. 94 is not universally valid.
173. The affixes ‘Līn’ and ‘Lot’ come after a verb by which ‘benediction’ is intended.

The word भावितम् means the wish to obtain an object which one desires, a blessing, an expression of one’s good wishes. The लित here referred to is what is known as the श्रवितिः or the Benefactive tense. Its conjugation is different from the conjugation of the ordinary लित, which we have called the Potential or Optative; as ते नव जीवनार भवानु or ते नव जीवन भवानु, ‘may you live long’!

Why do we say ‘when denoting benediction’. Observe ते: नव जीवन रेखच: ‘Devadatta lives long’.

किच्चक्षी & संक्ष्रङ्गाः ॥ १८३ ॥ पदार्थ || किच्चक्षी, च, संक्ष्रङ्गाः (आधिचित) ||

कृता: || आधिचितः विवेचने चतृति: किच्चक्षी श्रविताः भवानु: समुपावेन श्रविताः गमनसे: ॥

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 may be the action of that agent, the sense being simply appellative.’ Thus मानिष: = समुपावात् ‘a weaver’ (lit. may he weave); सावस: or सावस: = समुपावात् (VI. 4-45) ‘wealth or gift’; मृती: = मृताय अस्वासु ‘success’; मभिः: = भवात्सु ‘respect’. These are examples of words formed by the affix किच्. Of words formed by क् in this sense, we have देवनासु: = देवन देवानासु: ‘Devadatta (lit. may the Gods give)’. Though the affix क् has already once been generally ordained, its repetition here is to prevent its being superseded by किच्. The च of किच् is qualifying only, distinguishing it from चिच्चत् &c. and is useful in sūtra VI. 4. 39.

साधि लुद्ध || १८५ ॥ पदार्थ || साधि, लुद्ध ||

लुद्ध: || गोज्यस्य चावनोज्यस्य संच्चयने भवानु: ||

175. The affix ‘Lun’ comes after a verb when the word ‘man’ is used in connection with it.

This sets aside all other tense-affixes. As मा कार्यांत ‘let him not do’ मा हाप्यान ‘let him not take’.

How have we then the Imperative and the Future tenses in the following sentence instead of the Aorist? मा मनुसु तत्त्व पर्व मा मनुस्वरः. This sentence is against good usage. Or, we may explain it by saying that there is another मा which has not the indicatory क्; and with that मा, other tenses may be used. The augment आ is elided after the prohibitive particle मा, by VI. 4. 74.
176. When the word 'māṇ' is followed by 'sma', the affix 'Laṁ' as well as 'Luṁ' may be employed after a verbal root.

By च we introduce लूक् into the aphorism. Thus मास्त करोऽ र or कार्यार्थ 'let him not make'; मास्त हरस्त or हार्यार्थ 'let him not take'.
BOOK THIRD.
CHAPTER IV.

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 Bohlingk:—“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 अभिनिद्यतानि have a past significance, i.e. they denote a person who has already performed the ceremony of Agnighotra. 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 अभिनिद्यतानि means ‘to him a son will be born who will perform the said Agnishotra 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 अभिनिद्यतानि is a Genitive Compound meaning ‘relation of root’. The word भास्य ‘root’ is figuratively used for भास्य ‘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 तस्मात् वसन्ते ‘living there, he saw’; अग्निटोमयते सरस पीति अनुभवते ‘he will be born, a performer of the Agnishtoma sacrifice’; कृत: कार: भी अनुभवते ‘he will be to-morrow maker of the mat’; अग्निष्ठोत्सवार्थेः।

Here, though the time of the action of living denoted by वसन्ते 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 वसन्ते, 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 अग्निष्ठोत्सवार्थेः is formed by an affix (III. 2. 85) denoting past time, while the word अनुभवते 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 अनुभवते does not affect the special time of the qualifier Agnishtomaydjī.

Q.—Why has the word वसन्ते been repeated in this śūtra, 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 (प्रवृत्त), 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 गोभनासिही ‘he was possessed of a cow’; गोभनासिही अनुभवते ‘he will be possessed of a cow’. Here the Taddhita affix वसन्ते is added to the noun गो ‘cow’, with a present signification (V. 2. 94), the word गोभनासिही meaning ‘who has cows’ or ‘in which there are cows.’ This word गोभनासिही, however, is related and validly so, to the words भास्मर्य: and अनुभवते—one in the Past tense and the other in the Future.

क्रियाकर्मिनिर्देश: लोऽस्ते लोके हिस्ते वा चतवर्योऽस्मिन: ॥ ॥ पद्धतिः ॥ क्रिया-कर्मिनिर्देश: लोऽस्ते: लोके: हिस्ते: वा: च: च-ध्वनिन्योऽस्मिन: (पार्श्वकारणे) ॥

० ० ० ॥ समस्त्याविशिष्टिकारणे सन्निग्रहणां द्वाराः कर्मिनिर्देश भास्मर्य: कार्ये: कर्मिनिर्देश: वत्त: च लोके: हि: एव: इव-सन्निग्रहणां भवन:। समस्त्याविशिष्टतः कर्मिनिर्देश: ॥

2. When the (frequency or) repetition of an action is indicated, the affix ‘Lot’ is added to the root, and the verb is repeated. And the affixes ‘hi’ and ‘sva’, or the affixes ‘tā’ and ‘dhvam’ are the substitutes of ‘Lot’.

Professor Bohllingk 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 भास्मर्य: वसन्ते of the last śūtra is understood here also. The frequency or repetition of an action is also भास्मर्य: I 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 Parasmaiapada (ष त् and ष); and 2nd. person singular and plural Atmanepada (ष and ष). In other words, "the Imperative second person (Parasmaiapada and Atmanepada) is repeated, though the subject of the main verb be different and the verb be in any tense." Thus सुनीति सुनीति-श्वेति दुनि दुनि 'he cuts repeatedly', as if some one was always calling out to him 'cut thou, cut thou'. सुनीति सुनीति श्वेति दुनि दुनि: दुनि 'they cut often and often'. So also सुनीति सुनीति श्वेति दुनि दुनि, दुनि: दुनि: or दुनि दुनि 'thou or you two or you all cut repeatedly' as if some one was calling out to you 'cut you, cut you'.

So also दुनि दुनि श्वेति दुनि दुनि , दुनि दुनि, दुनि दुनि, दुनि दुनि: &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 अर्धव्यापायित्ववॉत्तवावपित्व: अर्धव्यापायित्व: अर्धव्यापायित्व अर्धव्यापायित्व: अर्धव्यापायित्व: &c. 'he or they study hard' as if some one was calling out to them 'study thou, study thou'.

So also अर्धव्यापायित्ववॉत्तवावपित्व: अर्धव्यापायित्व: &c. Similarly in every tense, mood and person; as, अर्धव्यापायित्ववॉत्तवावपित्व: अर्धव्यापायित्व: अर्धव्यापायित्व: अर्धव्यापायित्व: &c.

The Intensive verbs in वह 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.

3. The affix 'Lot' 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 Parasmaiapada are employed, namely, हि, ष, or ष and ष. Thus ब्राह्मणन तमम लोक आलोकित ब्राह्मणनत्तत्त्वादर्शति or आलोकित; or आलोकित.

Similar examples can be formed as in the last aphorism; only the Imperative is not doubled as in the last case.

Similarly सुनीति सुनीति, व्याकरणपीति, विज्ञानपीति, विज्ञानपीति, or इमादीवादि or इमादीवादि 'he or they two or they all learn, learning Prosody, learning Grammar, learning Nirukta'.

This being an optional rule, we have these forms also; व्याकरणपीति,
LUN LAN AND LIT.  [BK. III, CH. IV. § 4-6.

4. In the first case (comprised under sutra 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 sutra III. 4. 2. We cannot say ज्ञाति लुप्तिःियिः ज्ञानिः; we must use a verb from the root लुि ‘to cut’. Such as लुप्ति, &c. So also अभिप्रयोगः takes अभिने only after it and not a synonymous verb like लुप्ति &c.

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 जोकरण साधनेियिः, संप्रदायिःसा: शास्त्रेष्यसाधनयिः ‘he takes his meals, eating rice, drinking saktu, and tasting fried corn’. Here the verb जोकरणयिः 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.

6. In the Vedas, the Aorist, Imperfect and Perfect are optionally employed in all tenses, in relation to verbs.

The words ध्वस्तम् and ध्वस्तप्रयोगः are understood here also. By saying ‘optionally’, other tense-affixes may be similarly employed.

Thus देवे देवशरीरस्य (Rig. I. 1. 5) ‘O God Agni! come hither with the gods’. Here the Aorist ध्वस्तप्रयोगः has the force of the Imperative. ऐं नूक्षच्च प्रथेत...
Bk. III. Ch. IV. § 7-9] THE AFFIXES SE &C.

7. The affix 'Let' is optionally employed in the Vedas, wherever the Potential can be used.

Thus in the sense of 'command' &c., लेत् may be employed instead of लिखितः. This is called the Vedic Subjunctive and is peculiar to the Vedas only. Thus जीवितस्त (Rig. II. 35. 1) 'may he make us beautiful'. आरतिः (Rig. I. 25. 12) 'may he increase'. यस्तैत (Rig. VII. 25. 1) 'may the thunder-bolt fall'. भवति (Rig. V. 37. 5) 'may he become'. So also भविष्यति, भवेत, भवति, भविष्यति, भवति भवति 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 उपस्यानान means 'reciprocal agreement, contracting to do'. Thus बहि मे महातिर्भुजयं वन्देमि गणवति श्रृवति (Rig. II. 36. 1) 'if you do this for me, I will give this to you'. Agreements like these are called उपस्यानान; while guessing or inferring the result from a cause is called भारत 'apprehension or fear'.

Thus भवेत न भवेत न (Nir. I. 11. Bohling) = भविष्यति, भविष्यति. All the above examples have the sense of Potential, but the Subjunctive (Let) must be employed necessarily in these senses and not optionally, which anuvṛtti was understood in the last सूत्र.

9. In the Vedas the following affixes come
after roots with the force of the affix ‘tumun’, viz:—
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) इ = इ, इव, इति I.
(2) असे = असे, अलंकर्षित, असे, असे, असे II.
(3) भावे = भावे, भावे, भावे, भावे, भावे and भावे III.
(4) तवे II.
(5) सेव = सातको and सहसुत.

The difference in the affixes is made by four indicatory letters, viz.
व, श, श and च। The forces of व, श and च have already been explained; the indicatory च makes the word take the uddatta accent on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). Thus च is acute (III. 1. 3); चेत has acute on the first syllable of the word (VI. 1. 197); चेत has accent of the affix (III. 1. 3); अकेत throws the accent on the first syllable of the word; the indicatory च makes the numbers 11 and 12 Sarvadhatuka, and the root takes the proper Vikarana of its class before these affixes; while before च, 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 सुमुख ‘the sense of the affix सुमुख’. The word सुमुख is here equivalent to भाव or ‘action’; for the pratayyas 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 सुमुख 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) ई—वच्च राव। (2) चेत—सहसुतलो प्राप्तानु (Rig. V. 66. 3).
(3 and 4) चेत and चेत—स्वस्त पुष्पा प्राप्तवं धात्व (Rig. III. 36. 10). So also चेत राव उपवास (Rig. X. 57. 4). With चेत च the word will be सीवती। (5) क्ल—क्ले मयाव।
(6) क्ल—प्राक्कलित भित्र (Rig. V. 59. 3). It has not the चेत accent (VI. 1. 197) which would have given us चेतेद (7 and 8) असे, असे—क्लेदुपावर्थ (Rig. VI. 60. 13).
(9) क्ल—हरावस्तु भावे (Rig. VI. 60. 13). (10) क्ल—निःस्वायं (Rig. IV. 27. 5); the accent however is on व। सह गङ्गाव (Rig. VI. 60. 13). (11) तवे—विनिमयावर्थ शावी। (14) क्ल—क्ले गङ्गावे हरावो निःस्वायं शावी (Rig. X. 184. 3). (15) तवे तवेद (Rig. I. 46. 7); क्लेते (Rig. I. 85. 9); हरावे II.

प्राये रोहिष्यों अव्यक्तायी \ १० || पदार्थि || प्राये, रोहिष्यों,
अव्यक्तायी, (उपयोग, शंदुल्लि) II.

१० The words ‘prayai’, ‘rohishyai’ and ‘avyathishyai’ are irregular Vedic Infinitives.
Thus (1) नेव्रे हेवाहे महे: (Rig. I. 142. 6); म+व+बे = मवदोभ (2) भापमनी
रघुवी (3) ह+व+बे = रघुवाय (3) म+व+बे = भापमनी=भापमनी या

11. The words ‘driśe’ and ‘vikhye’ are anomalous Vedic Infinitives.
Thus हुऱे विखें च (Rig. I. 50. 1)=हुऱे (विखे स्व विखे=विखे स्व)

शकि कघुलकघुली (12) पदार्थ || शकि, कघुल-कघुली, (सम्ब.,
कघुली)

12. The affixes ‘namul’ and ‘kamul’ are added to roots in the Chhandas to form Infinitives, when they
are governed by the verb ‘sak’ (to be able).

Of the affix कघुल the real affix is कघु; the letter क causes व्र्द्धि (VII.
2, 115); and क prevents गुणa and व्र्द्धि substitution (I. I. 5).
Thus भुऱि वेपि भिकान नागाकाः ‘the Gods were not able to divide Agni’.

विभृ+कघुल=विभृ=विभृकघुल। So also भाराकाः नागाकाः, instead of भाराकाः

ईश्वरे लोकसुन्दरी (12) पदार्थ || ईश्वरे, लोकसुन्दरी,
(सम्ब., कघुली)

13. The affixes ‘tosun’ and ‘kasun’ are added to roots in the Chhandas, to form Infinitives, when the
word ‘वार’ is in composition.
Thus ईश्वरे मिलिकसि=मिलिकसि। ‘ईश्वरे मिलिकसि=मिलिकसि। ‘ईश्वरे रिखः =
विलिकसि।

कघुल-कघुलकम्य-कम्य: (कघुली)

14. The affixes ‘tavai’, ‘ken’, ‘kenya’ and ‘tvau’ are added to roots in the Chhandas, in the sense of the
‘Kritya-affixes’.

The force of kritya affixes is to denote ‘action’ (भाव) and ‘object’ (क्षेत्र). Thus भन्येव=नामात्मका; परिश्रमिति=परिश्रमिति; नामगाह=नामगाहित; निरूपण: (Rig. I.
The affix kasun.

The affix kasun 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.

15. The word ‘avachakshe’ is an anomalous passive participle in the Vedas.

Thus (Rig IV. 58. 5) = nāyavatātāvamḥ. abh + pad + eva = abhyāsā. The sūtra II. 4. 54 is not applied here.

16. The affix ‘tosun’ comes in the Vedas after the following verbs, when mere name of the action is indicated, viz.:—‘sthā’ (to stand), ‘in’ (to go), ‘krīṇ’ (to make), ‘vad’ (to speak), ‘char’ (to walk), ‘hu’ (to sacrifice), ‘tam’ (to grow tired) and ‘jant’ (to produce).

These are also Infinitives. The phrase dūravā is not to be read into this sūtra. The word dūravā qualifies the sense of the root (jaśi sadvā yāh).

Thus, śā—āh rasāsāvaḥ śīrāsāsā sāmāsā. dūravā. yāh—paśur sṛṣṭivā yāh. kṛm—-pārā vidā cāmācāmā cāmācāmā. pārā—pārā prākṛtyā prākṛtyā prākṛtyā prākṛtyā.

(Gopātha Brahmanā II. 2. 10). kṛm—āh rṣṭivāt vaidūyāt vaidūyāt vaidūyāt vaidūyāt (Taitt. Br. L. 4. 4. 2). kṛm—āh vaidūyāt (Taitt. S. II. 5. 1. 5).
18. According to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix 'ktvā' comes after a verb, when there are in combination with it, the words 'alam' and 'khalu', expressing the sense of prohibition.

The anuvṛtti of the words 'in the Vedas &c' does not extend further. Thus अलम् कृत्या 'do not make'; अलम् पीत्या 'do not drink'; अलम् वाहे दशिया 'do not weep, O girl!'

Why do we say 'when there are अलम् and अलम्'? Witness अलमकायिः 'do not make'. Why do we say 'when expressing prohibition'? Observe अलमकुरः: 'decoration'.

The phrase 'in the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians' shows that it is an optional rule. Therefore we have अलमकरूणः 'do not weep'. Or if rule III. 1. 94 be applied, then the use of the word अलम् is for the sake of merely showing respect (पूजार्था); the rule could have stood without it.

19. According to the opinion of the Northern Grammarians, the affix 'ktvā' is added to the root 'mēn' (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 अल्यिन्यां बाप्प्यत् 'having offered an exchange, he asks' अल्य + म + कृष्या = अल्य म + कृष्या = अल्य म + कृष्या (VI. 1. 45 and 71) = अल्य म + निष्क्य (VII. 4. 40). This is an optional rule, as the phrase 'according to the northern' indicates. So we have in the alternative, अल्यिन्यां बाप्प्यत् 'having asked he exchanges'; and this is the more general use of kteḍ; 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 नेष्क्य has been exhibited in the sūtra as नेष्क्य, with the vowel आ instead of इ. This indicates the existence of the following Paribhāṣā:—

"A root, which, when destitute of anubandhas, ends in either ए, ओ or हे, must not be considered to have ceased to end in either ए, ओ, or हे, when an anubandha has been attached to it." By this Paribhāṣa हैप्य must be regarded as ending in हे, and as therefore आ may be substituted for the vowel हे (VI. 1. 45), even while ए remains, हैप्य does assume the form है and is consequently, by the prohibition एष्ट्र in sūtra I. 1. 20, forbidden to be termed पु.
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 प्रार्ययोगः. Thus अवर वर्तमान पर्यतः शिखरः ‘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 पर्यतः is qualified by the word वर्तमान which is the point from which the situation is taken; and which in this case, is on the other side of the mountain. Similarly अवर वर्तमान तु पर्यतः नरी स्तिथा ‘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 reference 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.

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 मूह्या व्रजित ‘having eaten he goes’; पीता व्रजित ‘having drunk, he goes’.

The rule is not confined to the case of two verbs: thus, स्नाया, पीता, मूह्या, व्रजित ‘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 मूह्या व्रजित ‘having finished the Brāhmaṇa 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 व्रजित च जन्मित च ‘he goes and chatters’.
Vart.—The phrase भ्रमण यहाँरहा करनिश, संगीति इति 'he sleeps, with his mouth open, and laughs with his mouth closed', is valid, though the affix क्रोण is not added to the verb denoting prior action.

अभीष्ट्ये शब्दुः २२ || पदार्थ || अभीष्ट्ये, शब्दुः ॥
(समानकल्पतयोः, शुरूवेकाले) ॥

पुस्ति: || भारतीयमनविशिष्टेऽन्नाथानवायउपेन्द्रपरबो अनवित ||

22. The affixes 'namul' and 'ktvā' 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 śūtra to complete the sense. The force of च is to introduce the affix क्रोण into this śūtra. The affixes ktvā and namul express 're-iteration' then only when the verb is doubled, and not singly. See rule VIII. 1. 4. Thus भोज भोजं प्रगमति 'having eaten repeatedly, he goes'; similarly भृत्य भृत्यं प्रगमिति 'having drunk repeatedly he goes'.

न यद्यनादात्कले || २३ || पदार्थ || न, यदि, अनाकाले,
(क्षव, शमुल) ॥

पुस्ति: || वच्च्वाचवर्धपवाय धाती: कर्तारायुतो यस्यो न अपेक्षात्काले शब्दे ॥

23. The affixes 'ktvā' 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 अपेक्षा 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, ktvā and namul are not used, when the word yad is in composition. This śūtra prohibits the affix ktvā also, though the affix namul is in immediate context. Thus वर्ष गुप्तसे सतान: प्रभुत्व, वक्स्मानोसे सतान: गृहेऽ, having eaten, he cooks; having read, he sleeps'.

But when there is inter-dependence or अपेक्षा, we have वर्ष गुप्तसे प्रभुत्व, अभीष्ट्ये-प्रभुत्वे, (समानकल्पतयोः, शुरूवेकाले, शमुल) ॥

पुस्ति: || भव्य मध्य घुप्य हर पवेशोर्षुर्पसंयुतमनवायकले: पशुवेकाले धातोः कर्तारायुतो यस्यो विनयः ॥
24. The affixes 'ktvā' 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 'pūrva'.

This is an Aprāpta-vibhāṣā. The word 're-iteration' is not understood here. Thus अथे, मथे, दूरे वा तीसरे मृत्युमें प्रतिदिन '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 अथे मृत्युमें तस: प्रतिदिन 'he eats first and then goes'.

Q.—The affixes of Lat (Present tense) &c. would have been applied by the rule of कृतत्व (III. 1. 94); why then use the word 'optionally'?

Ans.—The very use of the word 'optionally' in this śūtra indicates the existence of this Paribhāṣā:—"The rule III. 1. 94 has no concern with the affixes ktd 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 कृतत्व and यथृः.

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 यथृः been enjoined by this śūtra, and not कृतत्व also, then we could have formed the यथृः यथृः, for such is the force of the word एक in that śūtra.

कर्मशयान्योऽकुः कर्मं यथृः पदार्थं कर्मनिः आकृतिः, कृत, कत्रुः.

25. The affix 'kamunī' is added to the verb 'kṛi' (to make), when a word in the accusative case is in the construction with it, if the sense intended implies 'abuse'. Of the affix यथृः the efficient portion is अनु; the indicatory य introsuces the augment मृत्त्व (VI. 3. 67). Thus चौर कार्यान्यानि '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.

स्वादुषि कयुः ॥ २६ ॥ पदार्थं ॥ स्वादुषि, कयुः, (कुः) ॥

26. (When the actions, signified by the verbs 'kṛi' and another, have the same agent), the affix 'namul' is added to the verb 'kṛi' (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 anuvṛtti
from III. 4. 21. Thus स्वादुः or लघुवर्त्ता मुख्यः 'he eats, having made his food
sweet or seasoned'.

In the sūtra, the word स्वादुः is used ending with a ः. It is an anom-
alous form, and indicates that a ः 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 स्वादुः ending in ः is formed by long ः, does not apply here. Thus
स्वादीलोक कुश्त वसायतु मुख्यः = स्वादुः दुः कुश्तः मुख्यः. Here though वसायतु is feminine,
the attribute is still स्वादुः and not स्वादीलोकः.

It might be said 'why not use the previous affix लघुः? That will solve
all difficulties; and will give us the augment दुः'. To this, however, there is a fatal objection. The augment दुः 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 विठ्ठ and all chhi-ending words are Indeclinables (I. 4. 61). Therefore, the affix लघुः will not remove the difficulty in the following case; अर्यैंतर स्वादीलोक कुश्त गुढ़ = स्वादुः गुढ़ = 'he eats, having first
sweetened what was not sweet before'.

By applying rule III. 1. 94, we have the affix विठ्ठ in the alternative.
Thus स्वादुः कुश्त गुढ़ =. All these affixes form abstract nouns (नाम) as they have
the sense of the affix लघुः (III. 4. 16). In connection with लघुः, the Instrumental case can not, however, be used, i.e. we cannot use the Passive con-
struction; e.g. स्वादुः शास्त्रार्थ वसायतु गुढ़ = विठ्ठरीय गुढ़ = will be wrong.

अन्तःज्ञेयःसिद्धविठ्ठार्थ्यतार्थतिरन्द्रः || अन्तः ||

कन्यस्-हस्तःसुः, सिद्ध-अप्रयोगः, चेत् (चन्द्र; लघुः) ||

बृत्तिः || अन्तःसिद्धविठ्ठार्थ्यतार्थतिरन्द्रः सिद्धार्थविधाययोजितः ||

27. When the words 'anyathā' (otherwise),
'evam' (so), 'katham' (how) and 'ittham' (thus) are com-
pounded with the verb, then 'namul' comes after 'kri' (to
make), if it be such that its omission would be unobjec-
tionable.

When is the non-employment of क्रिया valid? When the same sentence
will remain correct by omitting क्रिया, i.e. when without employing it, the same
idea will be expressed. Thus अन्तःसिद्धार्थमार्थ, शास्त्रार्थमार्थ, कविकारः or शास्त्रार्थमार्थ मुख्यः 'he
eats otherwise, he eats so, how does he eat, or he eats thus'. In fact, the sentence
अन्तःसिद्धार्थमार्थ मुख्यः is equivalent to अन्तःसिद्धार्थमार्थ मुख्यः

Why do we say 'if the non-employment would be valid'? Witness
568


The affix 'namul' is added to the root 'kri' (to make), the words 'yathā' and 'tathā' being compounded with it, when an angry reply is made: (if the omission of 'kriṅ' is unobjectionable).

When one questions or replies in indignation, displeasure or anger, then is this construction valid. Thus वायुक्तः नोक्त्रे, किं तत्तामेण 'I will eat in that way; what is that to you?' Similarly वायुक्तः नोक्त्रे, किं तत्तान्तः.

Why do we say 'when an angry reply is made'? Observe वायुक्तः नोक्त्रे तथा यथाकालस्वतः 'in what way I will eat, that thou wilt see'.

Why do we say 'when the omission of क्रुः would be valid'? Witness वायुक्तः गोरे नोक्त्रे किं तत्तान्तः 'what is that to you, in what way turning my head I will eat?'

29. When the object is compounded with it, the verb 'dṛṣṭ' (to see), or 'vid' (to know), takes the affix 'namul', to denote the total number of such objects.

Thus द्रष्टेण वर्षादति 'he wos every girl that he sees i.e., all the girls seen'.

Why do we say 'when denoting the total number of such objects'? Observe द्रष्टेण रूपाणि वर्षादति 'having seen the Brāhmaṇa he feeds him'.

30. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'vid' (to get) and 'jīv' (to live), when the word 'yāvat' is combined with them.

As द्रष्टेण रूपाणि 'he eats all that he gets'. ब्राह्मणवर्षाणि 'he studies as long as he lives, i.e. throughout his life'.
31. The affix ‘namul’ comes after the verb ‘pūr’ (to fill), when the words ‘charman’ and ‘udar’ are compounded with it as object.

Thus उदारपूर्ण ‘he eats so as to fill his belly’ ; चर्मपूर्ण ‘he spreads so as to cover the skin’.

32. The affix ‘namul’ comes after the verb ‘pūr’ (to fill), when the word so formed expresses a measure of rain-fall; and optionally the long ‘u’ of this ‘pūr’ is elided.

Thus गृह्यपूर्ण ‘or गृह्यवर्षित युद्दी हेव: ‘it rained filling up small puddles (lit. the impression made by the foot of the cow on the soil)’. चांतारपूर्ण or चातावर्षित युद्दी हेव: ‘it rained filling up all furrows’.

Why have we used the word अन्ध ‘of this pūr’ in the śūtra? The long ो of पूर is to be elided, and not the long ो, if there be any, of the upapada. Thus घृत्वकारितपूर्ण or घृत्विसिद्धिनव युद्दी हेव: Here the long ो of पूर is not shortened.

चेले कुनारपूर्ण: 32 पदार्थाती चेले, क्नीचे; (कर्मचिन्त, असुल, वर्ष-प्रमाणे)

33. The affix ‘namul’ comes after the causative of the root ‘knūry’ (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 कोपि is the causative root formed from the simple root कृष्ण ‘to wet’. Thus चेला कोपि युद्दी हेव: or वल्सकोपि or वसन्तकोपि &c. ‘it rained so as to wet the clothes’.

निस्त्रयमुद्दाय: कप: 34 पदार्थात 

कस्मिन-हस्तालय: कप: (कर्मचिन्त, असुल)
34. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'kash' (to rub), when the words 'nimula' and 'samula' are compounded with it in the accusative case.

Thus निमुलकार्फ़ण कर्फ़ण ‘he scrubs down to the roots’; समुलकार्फ़ण कर्फ़ण ‘he scrubs up to the roots’. In fact, the gerund of the root and the root itself denote the same thing; the whole sentence निमुलकार्फ़ण कर्फ़ण being equal to निमुल गर्फ़ण. From this sutra up to सुत्र III. 4. 46, the subsequent verb governing the previous word, must be derived from the same root from which the gerund is derived; see सुत्र III. 4. 46.

गुणकृत्रेषु सिद्धः || ३५ || पदार्थः || गुष्क-पूर्व-कलेवृ, पिपुः, (कनेने, कनुले) ||

35. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pish' (to grind), when the words 'sushka' (dry), 'churna' (powder), and 'ruksha' (dry), in the accusative case are compounded with it.

Thus पुष्किरे बिनाद = पुष्कि बिनाद ‘he grinds it dry’; पूर्विविनी बिनाद ‘he grinds to powder’; कलेवृ बिनाद ‘he grinds it dry’. Here also an appropriate verb from the same root विपुः must be used to govern the gerund.

समुलकार्फ़ण श्लोकः || ३६ || पदार्थः || समुल-अक्ष-श्लोकः, (कनेने, कनुले) ||

36. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'han' (to kill), 'kri' (to make) and 'grah' (to seize), when the words 'samula', 'akrita' and 'jiva' in the accusative case are respectively compounded with them.

Thus समुलपांस हिन्स (VIII. 3. 32 and 54) ‘he destroys so as to tear up by the roots i.e. he totally exterminates’; अक्षान्ति कर्फ़ण ‘he does a thing which was not done before’; जीवानां पुष्किरे ‘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.

कर्के ह्यः || ३७ || पदार्थः || कर्के, ह्यः, (कनुले) ||

37. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb
'han', when a word in the Instrumental case is in composition with it.

Thus पाठितां वेदिः हस्ति (VII. 3. 32 and 54) = पाठिता वेदिः हस्ति 'he strikes the Vedi with the hand'; पाठितां हस्तिः त्वदि 'he strikes the ground with the foot'.

Reading this sūtra along with III. 4. 48, we find that हस्ति 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 पाठितां.

According to Pātanjali, this affix comes after हस्ति under this aphorism, even when हस्ति 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 अहिष्ठालिः हस्तिः 'he kills with the sword'; अहिष्ठालिः हस्तिः '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.

हस्ति || 39 || पदार्थ || हस्ति, पिपरोऽ || करते, बनवूऽ ||

हस्ति || हस्तिनातिस्व वर्त्य व पिपरोऽ हस्तिनातिस्व पववं भवति ||

38. The affix 'नमुल' comes after the verb 'pish' (to grind), when a word in the Instrumental case denoting 'liquid' is in composition.

Thus इत्युपि निन्दां = इत्युपि निन्दां (VI. 3. 58) 'he grinds with water'; इत्युपि निन्दां = इत्युपि निन्दां 'he grinds with oil'. Here also III. 4. 46 applies, and an appropriate verb from the same root is employed to govern the gerund.

हस्ति || 39 || पदार्थ || हस्ति, वाति-प्राप्ति || (करते, बनवूऽ)

हस्ति || हस्तिनातिस्व वर्त्य व पिपरोऽ हस्तिनातिस्व पववं भवति ||

39. The affix 'नमुल' comes after the verbs 'varti' (causative of vrit) and 'grah', when a word denoting 'hand', in the Instrumental case, is in composition.

Thus हस्तिनाति, करति or पाठितां त्वदि = हस्तिनाति 'he revolutes by the hand'. So also, नमुल हस्ताति गुहुः भवति 'he takes him by the hand'; so पाठिताः, करताः भवूः &c.

Here also rule III. 4. 46 applies and appropriate verbs from the same roots must be employed to govern the gerund.

करते गुहुः || 40 || पदार्थ || करते, गुहुः || करते, बनवूऽ ||

हस्ति || हस्तिनातिस्व वर्त्य व पिपरोऽ हस्तिनातिस्व पववं 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 श्व means 'self', 'kinsmen' and 'property'. Thus ययो० मुषाति he feeds himself; भालो०, शीयो०, वियो०, नायो०, धनयो०, रैयो० &c. See I. i. 68. Rule 46 applies here also.

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 अछक्ष बनाति 'he binds to the wheel'; रुदन्त बनाति 'he binds in a snare'; मुदितव बनाति 'he binds in the fist'. चोरक कलंब बनाति = 'thieves' bandari.

42. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'bandh' (to bind) when the word so formed denotes an appellative.

Thus कौकस्य बनाति 'he binds in the manner called krauncha-bandhan or 'heron-knot'. मुदितव बनाति or बन 'he binds or is bound in a peacock-knot'. अयुनिकल बन 'bound in a knot called attālikā-bandhan'.

All the above, krauncha-bandhan &c. are names of various sorts of 'bonds or knots'. The rule III. 4. 46. also applies here.

43. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'naš' (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 जीयनाश 'dies away'; गुरुपरथि 'the man carries', i.e. the man becoming a servant, carries another on him = पुर्ण: पेनि: मुषाति बनाति.

Why do we say 'when denoting an agent'? Observe, जीवन नष: 'destroyed by life'; पुरुषेषि: 'carried by a man'. 
The affix namul.

44. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'sush' (to dry), and 'pūr' (to fill), when the word 'ūrdhva', denoting an agent, is in composition with them.

Thus aṭṭhaśaśān śūrāti pūra: = aṭṭha śūrāti 'the tree is dried up while it is still standing'. Compare vaśaṇāmātāṇiḥ vartāyataṁ: 'or wither like the up-heaved grass drying up' (Bhatti. III. 14); aṭṭhaśaśān pūrāte 'is filled full to the brim'. Rule III. 4. 46 applies here also.

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 ष 'also'. That with which any thing is compared is called वस्त्र or 'object of comparison or similitude'. As पुस्तनिहितम् निहितम् मलन् 'water was kept as ghee would be kept'. पुस्तनिहितम् निहित: 'was kept as gold'. The force is that of र: : thus पुस्तनिहितम् निहितः = पुस्तनिहित: निहितः। So also when the object of comparison is as agent: thus, अमननालः नाते 'be perished like a goat'. So also पुस्तनिहितम् निहितम् निहितम्, &c.

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 (सानुप्रयोगः प्रकरणः) 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.
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 samāsa is optional in this case (II. 2. 21). Thus मूलकौ-प्रव दम मुक्तः or मूलकौ-प्रववम मुक्तः 'he eats after having relished the food with radish'. Similarly आहकौय प्रववम or आहकौयवय प्रववम 'relished with ginger'.

The words मूलक &c in the above examples are the 'objects' of the verb उपस्थत, and 'instruments' of the verb वुम्यः.

By the rule of वा (III. 1. 94) the affix वा (or its substitute व्य) may be optionally used, wherever we may use the affix गुम्यः. Thus मूलकौ-प्रववम मुक्तः.

हिंसायोरां च समानकर्मकाश्च ॥ वर्णसिंहि किंतु अनायां, च, समान-कर्मकाश्चान्ति, (इकुम्यः, विद्वायां) ॥

वृंगिः: हिंसा प्रवववत्ता। जस्यास्ये जस्यानुप्रवववत्ता। समानकर्मकाश्चान्ति वस्त्रानव गुम्यः प्रववम् भवतिः।

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 इकुम्यः गा: कालबिः 'he collects together cows, beating them with a club'. The compounding is optional (II. 2. 21). Thus we have also इकुम्यः प्रववम। Similarly with other verbs having the sense of हिंस; thus, हिंसायो or हिंसायो सावस।

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, गुम्यः will not be employed. Thus चित्र इकुम्यः गा: कालबिः 'having beaten the thief with the club, the cowherd collects together the cows'.

वास्तवं चित्रं कर्मकाश्च: ॥ २५ ॥ पदाचिं कत्स्यां, च, उप- प्रवववाच्छ: (विद्वायां, इकुम्यः) ॥

बृंगिः: उपप्रववव: निविद्वाच्छ:। समानव दग्धार्थात् सत्त्ववान्व रणं सकारात्वनीस्यान्व रणं गुम्यः प्रववम् भवतिः।

49. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'पल' (to press), 'रुध' (to obstruct), and 'क्पिष्ठ' (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 परावर्तित होते ‘he sleeps pressing on his sides’. The com-
ounding is optional (II. 2. 21); so we have in the alternative, पारापरियोजनः
or पारापरियोजन।

So also प्राप्ततित (or मने उपरोक्षः or मने उपरोक्षः) गा। श्लोकसति ‘he stations
the cows so that they are all in the fold’. श्लोकसति (or मात्युक्तिर्योजनः or पारीयोजन-
णं) ध्यानं संगुल्लितः। It is Bhavādi कुले here, and not Ṭudādi.

वर्ततो ॥ ५० ॥ पदार्थ ॥ मनयो ॥ (सत्यां, तत्त्वायाम, 
मनुर्) ॥

तृतीयोऽधिकारिणी दमोन्याङगिकोपपालकोपालितौगुणाय शर्मा सतसति।

50. (The affix ‘namul’ comes after a root, when
a word in the Locative or Instrumental case is in com-
position with it), and when immediate contiguity is inten-
ded i.e. ‘to fall together by the ears’.

The word समासित: means ‘immediate contiguity’. Thus कराकृष्ण (or 
कराकृष्ण पाहिः or कराकृष्ण पुस्त्राः सुधने ‘having closely caught each other by the hair,
they fight.’ Similarly हलाकृष्ण or हलाकृष्ण पाहिः or हलाकृष्ण; so also वशिष्ठाहुम ‘taking
a stick’; लोगसां ए.से. See II. 2. 21.

प्राप्त च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ प्राप्ते, च, (तत्त्वायाम, कसरायः;
मनुर्) ॥

पृथिवीः प्राप्ताः दमोन्याङगिकोपपालकोपालितौगुणाय शर्मा सतसति।

51. The affix ‘namul’ comes after a root, when
a noun in the Instrumental or Locative case is in com-
position with it, and when measure of length is intended.

The word प्राप्तयत्वौ means ‘length or extension’. Thus हलाकृष्ण (or 
हलाकृष्ण पाहिः or हलाकृष्ण पुस्त्राः) लोगसां हस्तित ‘he cuts pieces of the length
of two fingers’. See II. 2. 21.

अपादुर्वर्तितपरीयायासः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदार्थ ॥ अपादुर्वर्तित, परीयायाम, 
(मनुर्) ॥

पृथिवीः परीयायायां सम्मानायां अभिप्रायोऽवपने परीयोपपालितौगुणाय शर्मा सतसति।

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 परिबास means 'haste, hurry'. Thus श्वेतेश्वरर्ग (or श्वेतेश्वर जयाधि) ध्वे मन्त्र '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 द्राक्षादवम्बर्ग पव: निगडल '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. अन्नप्रज्ञा दुःखशरीरन्त्र '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, भास्करर्गद्वर ध्वे 'having risen from the seat, he goes'. Here 'haste' not being intended, the affix तत्त्व (न्यून) is employed. See II. 2. 21.

53. The affix 'नमुल' comes after a verb, when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, and when 'haste' is intended.

Thus बहिनान्त्र (or बहिन ग्रहन) सप्तवें '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 लोर्स्त्राहण or लोर्स्त्राहण.

54. The affix 'नमुल' 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 भूमिकसा क्षणिन्न 'he narrates, throwing his eye-brows (glances) about in all directions'. भृगुनिक्षणान्त्र ध्वे 'he prattles, having closed the eyes'.

The श्वेतेश्वर 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 अनुग्रह means 'non-vital organ', or a limb which even being cut off, does not necessarily destroy life. Therefore, we cannot use the affix
The affix nameul.

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 nameul means 'completely hurt or affected'. Thus धरि: प्रवर्तितं वर्णवर्तितं नामूलतः 'they fight so as to afflict their whole bosom'. So also धरि: प्रवर्तितं नामूलतः.

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.

56. The affix nameul 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 nameul (or nameul) means the full and complete pervasion of the substances with the actions (denoted by the verbs निला, &c). The word अस्त्र means 'assiduous performance of any action, or absorption into it'. In other words, 'frequency' of an action is । अस्त्र. The word nameul therefore refers to the noun (in the accusative case) and अस्त्र to the verb (such as vis &c).

These two words have the same significance here as the words निला and अस्त्र 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 अस्त्र 'all' is meant; and of the verb, if अस्त्र 'frequency or assiduous performance' is meant. Thus मेधासु, मेधासुतः, (or मेधासुमेधासुतः) '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 वस्, we may have three examples as in the last, and so also with the roots पर and इक्ष्ण। Thus गृहानुपालसाय (or गृहानुपालसाय or गृहानुपालसाय) or गृहानुपालसाय (or गृहानुपालसाय or गृहानुपालसाय); गृहानुपालसाय (or गृहानुपालसाय or गृहानुपालसाय). ।

Why do we say ‘when the sense is that of all or frequency? Observe, गृहानुपालसाय नुस्ताते ‘having entered the house, he eats’.

Q.—By sūtra III. 4. 22, namul would have been valid, when द्वितीयश्न was meant; and द्वितीयश्न and इक्ष्ण mean the same thing i.e., ‘frequency’. Why then ordain namul again, by the present sūtra, in the sense of इक्ष्ण? If you say, “we repeat it, in order to prevent the coming of the affix श्ना”, that is not so. For श्ना would come by स्वाभाविक 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 Bohlingk translates this sūtra thus:—“निवास, वस्, पर, and इक्ष्ण in composition with an accusative, form the absolute gerund in अ्य (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.”

अस्यतिविवेच्यो: क्रियात्तरे कालेचु || 59 || पदार्थ || अस्यति-त्वो:।
क्रिया-अंतरे, कालेचु, (द्वितीयांपाय, भरुल्ल) ||

२०२।। क्रियात्तरे क्रियान्तरे, क्रियाभवयांपाय, क्रियाक्षरे अन्तरे बिन्दां बिन्दानाशु-न्यर्थात्यतिरिप्पदं क्रियाक्षरे कालानाशुपाययु प्रवृत्त नाशवर्ति ||

57. The affix ‘नमुल’ 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 द्वितीयश्न or इक्ष्णकालेचु गा: पाववत्ती ‘he gives drink to the cows, after an interval of two days, i.e., every third day’. So also द्वितीयश्न or इक्ष्ण श्ना गा: पाववत्ती ‘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 अश्वस्त और नुस्ताते’? Because the affix गृहानुपालसाय will not be applied after other roots, though the sense be that of interval of time. Thus गृहानुपालसाय मुखे ‘having fasted for two days, he eats’.
Why do we say ‘when denoting an intermission of action’? Observe भए साध्याऽगते तत्र; here there is no intermission in the action of ‘going’.

Why do we say ‘denoting time’? Observe ब्रह्ममध्ये मध्ये तत्र: वाच्यति ‘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 स्त्रये and not यथा।

नाग्न्यादिदिखिष्याहि: || तृतीया || पदानि || नाभि, आदिदिखिष्याहि:;
(द्वितीया, वृषुल) ||
बुधः || नामास्त्रे द्वितीया अस्त्रे भन्ति || व्रुः || नामास्त्रे द्वितीया अस्त्रे भन्ति

58. The affix ‘नामुल’ comes after the roots ‘अदिस’ and ‘ग्रह’, when the word ‘नामुल’ (name) in the Accusative, is in composition.

Thus नामास्त्रे अस्त्रे ‘he mentions it, telling his name’. नामास्त्रे अस्त्रे ‘he calls me by taking my name’ (i.e. by my name).

अस्त्रे, अय्या-नामित-अस्त्रे, रुष्या; कात्या-कात्युलाी
बुधः || अस्त्रे अय्या-नामित-अस्त्रे रुष्या; कात्या-कात्युलाी

59. The affixes ‘क्त्वा’ and ‘नामुल’ come after the root ‘क्रि’ (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 अय्या-नामित-अस्त्रे 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 स्त्रा may be replaced by स्त्रयः. Thus we have three forms नीचे-कृत्या, नीचे-कृत्या, or नीचे-कात्या. Thus if one had communicated an agreeable news like the birth of a son in a low voice, the other may retort “किं तर्थं पुत्रं ममेते कृत्या, मीमेते: कृत्या or मीमेते-कात्या मयेते”; and so, if one had communicated an unpleasant news as शास्त्रे अय्या मयेते ममेते in a loud voice, the other may reply “किं तर्थं पुत्रलोचने कृत्या, मीमेते: कृत्या, or मीमेते-कात्या मयेते” (See II. 2. 22 for compounding).

Why do we say ‘communicating in an undesired manner’? Observe रुष्ये-कृत्या मयेते ममेते मीमेते: मयेते: || Here only स्त्रा is added. Why have we repeated स्त्रा in this sthra, when in this chapter, by the rule of सामास्त्र (III. 1. 94), रुष्या would have presented itself in the alternative? The repetition is for the sake of samasa or composition, by the application of II. 2. 22. The repetition
580  Ktva and Namul.  [Bk. III. Ch. IV. § 60-61.

of वाप्वि is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvṛtti of kṛvā and namul runs concurrently.

तिब्बस्तयवमः II 60 II पदार्थः II तिब्बस्तयव, अपवार्थः (क्रा: क्र्त्वा-
नामुस्त्री) II

मुलः II तिब्बस्तयव उपवे क्रा: तत्रायणुलो प्रस्यवो भवतो। पवे गर्वतो। II

60. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' come after the root 'kṛi', when the word 'tiryak' is in composition in the sense of 'carrying to the end'.

The word वाप्वि means 'completing or finishing'. Thus तिब्बस्तयव क्रा,
तिब्बस्तयव क्षाला or तिब्बस्तयवकार गति: = समाप्ति गति: 'having completed, he went away'.

Why do we say 'when meaning completion'? Observe तिब्बस्तयव बुधा कार्यः
गति: 'having placed the wood obliquely, he went away'. Here वाप्वि is not employed. See II. 2, 22 for compounding. The word तिब्बस्तयव is the locative of the word-form तिब्बस्तयव, and not of the word तिब्बस्तयव। Other examples are: बुधोः (V. 3. 5), अवति नामुस्त्री (I. 1. 12).

स्थानः सत्यवेद्यकथयः कथयः II 61 II पदार्थः स्थानः सत्य-प्रत्येकः,
कर्मः (क्र्त्वा-नामुस्त्री) II

मुलः II सत्यवेद्यकथयः सवास्यवाच्यिणि उपवे करोमेत्येव भागः: तत्रायणुलो प्रस्यवो भवति: II

61. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' are added to the roots 'kṛi' (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 स्थानः has already been defined in sūtra III. 4. 54. The svāngā word in the present case must be such as should end in the affix सू— a taddhīta affix technically called सू and सम्बत्तु (V. 3. 78 &c). Though here there are two roots 's' and 's', and there are two affixes to be applied i.e. सत्य and नामुस्त्री; yet the rule of 'respective allocation' (I. 3. 10) does not apply here. Both the affixes are applied to each of the roots. Thus गुल्ल्ला: क्र्त्वा गति: or गुल्ल्ला: क्र्त्वा गति: or गुल्ल्ला: क्र्त्वा गति:; Similarly गुल्ल्ला: क्र्त्वा गति: or गुल्ल्ला: क्र्त्वा गति: or गुल्ल्ला: क्र्त्वा गति:।

Why do we say 'a word denoting a limb of one's own body'? Observe स्थानः: क्र्त्वा गति:।

Why do we say 'ending in the affix सू'? Observe मुल्ल्ला: क्र्त्वा गति:।

Why do we use the word 'the affix'? If सू is not an affix, but a verb, the rule will not apply. Thus गुल्ल्ला: क्र्त्वा गति: मुल्ला: 'throws in the mouth'. With this मुल्ला: so formed, we cannot apply the rule. Thus मुल्ला: क्र्त्वा गति:।
62. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'ṇamul' are added to the roots 'kri' and 'bhû', when a word ending in the affix 'nā' (V. 2. 27) or in an affix having the force of 'dhā' (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 न (V. 2. 27); affixes having the force of वा are वा, ध्व, ध्वि and ह्व (V. 3. 42 to 46) which are added to numerals in the sense of 'part' or 'fold' &c. The force of च्वि has already been explained.

Thus नाना नाना कुस्त गत: = नाना कुस्त गत: Similarly नाना कुस्त गत: नाना कुस्त गत:। So also विना कुस्त, विना कुस्त गत:। So also नाना or विना नुः—नुस्ति or नास्ति। With words formed by वा and cognate affixes, we have:—हिवा or हीवा कुस्त—कुस्त—कुस्त—युस्त—युस्त—युस्त गत:। But not so in हिवा, हिवा, हिवा।

Why do we use the word 'affix (पारि)' in the sūtra? Without it, the sūtra would have run thus: नानाः कुस्तेः, and then any word, having the sense of ना, which has the force of 'except', 'various' or the sense of वा which means 'part or fold', when in composition with कु or कु, would have taken the affix युस्ति and स्ति। But that is not so. Thus the words हिलकु 'except', and प्रवक्तु 'separately' have the sense of ना and वा respectively; as हिलकुस्ति, or प्रवक्तु।

Why do we say 'when the upapada has the force of the affix chvi'? Observe नाना कुस्त गत:।

The word वा in नानाः qualifies only the term वा, 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 वा। The composition optionally takes place by II. 2. 22.

63. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'ṇamul' are added to the root 'bhû', when the word 'tushum' (silently) is in composition.

Thus तुष्टिः, तुष्टिः, मुक्ति, मुक्ति, 'having become silent'. The repetition of मृ in this sūtra, shows that the anuvṛtti of मृ does not run into it and altogether ceases.
THE AFFIX TUMUN.

64. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' come after the root 'bhū', when the word 'anyak', in the sense of being favourably disposed, is in composition.

The word अन्यक means 'agreeable, friendly or favourably disposed, or doing according to the wish of another'. Thus अन्यकृष्ण—अन्यकृष्णो or अन्यकृष्ण नासानास 'he is favourably disposed'.

Why do we say 'when meaning friendly'? Observe अन्यकृष्ण नियति 'he remains behind'.

65. The affix 'tumuṇ' is added to every verb, when another verb having the sense of 'sak' (to be able), 'dhrish' (to make bold), 'jñā' (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 तुमुण formed by this rule, differs from that given in śūtra III. 3. 10. In that śūtra 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 राजसिंह मीतूप 'I am able to eat'. Similarly भावति—वसा—पति—वसानि—करनि—साहि—भवति—वसा—गति—or विषये भवति 'he knows', he is wearied, he strives, he begins, he gets, he proceeds, he bears, he condescends or he is, to eat'.

This śūtra presents a knotty point. Bhattoji Dikshita says वर्तते/तजस्विश्रवि वस्या भवन्तर्यादियां i. e. the śūtra gives roots from श्रवि to श्रवि and roots having the same sense as श्रवि 'to be'. But this is hardly consistent with the almost overwhelming evidence of usage. According to Dikshita's interpretation, पार्थ 'to be able' cannot be used with the Infinitive, but न पार्थानि नियति—

विलुप्तू (S. 4). प्रार्थमात्रांप्रभाप्तर्याम् (M. 3.) are instances from a standard author; similarly विषये 'to know' cannot be used with the Infinitive; but न ष्ठ कृष्ण हुय न षा (R. VI. 30) is as good an instance. We must, therefore, suppose
that the sutra indicates the existence of an interpretation connecting अलम 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 sutra, connecting अलम with all the above roots.—Apte's Composition.

पर्याविवचननेष्वववस्यु || 66 || पदार्थ || पर्याविव-वचनेव, अलम-अर्थे, (तुम्म) ||

पुस्त्र: || पर्याविवचननेष्वववस्यु पासोल-सिनु तस्वीर अलम-अर्थः.

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 पर्याविव means 'capability, ability, fulness'. Thus भक्तित्वस्य जनादेव मोक्षमुक्तम् क्ष: समयः (Hitopadesa) 'who is able to avoid that which is stamped on his forehead'. लोकां तदो हस्तश्रुति हि नामः (Kumāra II. 56) 'his penance is able to burn the worlds'. अलम ने निभियो वर्णने परिवर्तिते (Vikramorvasī 2) 'I have power to know everything'. अलमम् विशेषा कुस्तिय: पुष्पी 'skillful in eating'.

Another interpretation of the sutra is 'the affix tumun is added to a verb, when it has in composition with it, the word पर्याविव or अलम or a synonym of अलम having the sense of पर्याविव. Thus पर्याविवो भोजणम्, अलम भोजणम्, भोजणम् गद्यात्माः.

Why do we say 'having the sense of capability'? Observe अलमम् !

Why do we say 'having the meaning of अलम' ? Observe पर्याविवो भोजणम् !

The word अलम in the preceding sutra has not the sense of अलम in that aphorism. With the sense of अलम, the present sutra will apply: as द्वारवेशि मि, तुम्मुं इति.

कलेकरि हृत् || 69 || पदार्थ || कलेकरि, हृत् ||

पुस्त्र: || कलेकरि हृतबाहः प्रयोक्तः कलेकरि बताति भविष्यति.

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 बुजुर्गः (III. 2. 5 and 6) to which a special sense has been assigned, but affixes like ठुड़ु and ठुड़ एवं (III. 1. 133). Thus कारकः means a 'doer'; कर्म: 'an agent'; नन्दि: 'one who causes happiness'; वाहि: 'who seizes'; प्रस: 'who cooks'.

68. The words 'bhaavya', 'geya', 'pravachaniya',
upasthānyā, janya, āplāvya and āpatya may optionally be used to denote the agent.

These words are formed by kriya 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 वष may mean 'existed', 'existence', or 'one who exists'; गृह means 'a singer', 'a song', or 'singing'; महानीय 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'; तान्व = नासिन्दी or अन्वन्य means 'one who gives birth i.e. a father', 'birth' or 'what is born'; वाच्य = भान्त भाव भावमान means 'who immerses', one 'immersing', or 'what ought to be immersed'; भान्तव = भान्तवाती or भान्तवान means 'what falls upon', 'falling upon', or 'what ought to fall upon'. Thus माधवमानक नासां 'the boy is the singer of the Sāma'; or गृहसारि माधवकीय सांसारि 'the boy ought to sing the Sāma'; माधवीय गुरु: सांसारिक 'the guru is the expounder of the lesson'; माधवीय मुरुणा सांसारिक 'the lesson ought to be explained by the teacher'; माधवानीयो: सांसारिक गुरुः: 'the pupil is the servant of the teacher'; उपस्थानीय गृहि: 'the teacher ought to be served by the pupil'.

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 ल is the common element of them all; and these affixes, when stripped of all indicator letters, leave behind only the letter ल which is thus common name for them all. The ल in the sūtra, is the nominative plural of ल. By the word ल in the sūtra, we draw in the word कर्म 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' (कर्म) 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 सम्बन्धेऽथ 'the village is gone to' by Devadatta'; here थ of सम्बन्धेऽथ denotes the object.
and is in passive construction. नव्यस्तिप्रामण्डल 'Devadatta goes to the village'; here the affix ति of नव्यस्ति denotes the agent, and the sentence is in active construction. The verb सूर्य 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 मात्र or action after transitive verbs, that is, transitive verbs cannot be used impersonally. Let us now give examples of Intransitive verbs; भास्करे वेस्यले ‘it is seated by Devadatta'; the verb भास्करे here denotes merely मात्र or 'action'. In other words, we may call this an impersonal construction. भास्करे वेस्वले: ‘Devadatta sits'; here the verb भास्करे denotes the agent or is in the active voice.

Professor Bohlingk 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 मात्र means action considered in the abstract.

70. The affixes called ‘क्रिया’ and the affix ‘क्ता’ and those that have the sense of ‘क्रिया’, have only these last two senses, namely, an action and an object. (भाव and karma).

The word मात्र: 'of those two' refers to भाव 'an Impersonal act', and जन, 'object'. The word एव 'only' is used in the sūtra to exclude the word 'agent' from it. Thus कत्वि: जनो निर्देश ‘the mat must be made by you'; मेहन्तुष्क: भोजनो निर्देश ‘the rice must be eaten by you’. Here the affix निर्देश has the force of denoting the object; we may, therefore, call it the Potential Passive Participle affix. So also भाविकतम्य निर्देश ‘thou must eat’; भाविकतम्य निर्देश ‘thou must lie down’. Here the sense of the affix निर्देश 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; श्रवण: कदाहो निर्देश ‘the mat is made by you'; नुक्त कोहरी निर्देश ‘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 क्त may be used in denoting the mere act; श्रवणार्थ निर्देश ‘you sat'; श्रवणार्थ निर्देश ‘you lay down’.

Similarly the affixes having the sense of श्रवण (III. 3. 126) denote both
the object and the Impersonal act. In the following examples the affixes denote the object; घर्षकः कार्यत् भवति ‘this mat is made, by little at a time, by you’; शुचर: ‘what is made with ease’; दुष्कर: ‘what is made with difficulty’. In the following examples the affixes denote the act; घर्षणगतः भवति and दुष्कर्णगतः भवति.

After transitive verbs, the क्रिया, the क्ता and the क्लर्था affixes only denote the object, but never denote the भाष or ‘an Impersonal action’.

आदिक्षेत्रियः कः क्तेपि च पदार्थिः पदार्थिः।
कर्तेरि, च (भाषे, कस्मिनः)॥

अवानिः।
शालिग्रामः च। कतिपि विनिः। कतिपि भवति। कर्ताराम् तथायाम् भाष्यकायोः।

71. The affix ‘क्ता’ also denotes the agent, when it expresses a beginning of an action.

The word आदिक्षेत्रियः 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 ‘कः’ in the सूत्रा is to indicate that even when the beginning of an action is intended to be expressed, the ‘कः’ may be used to denote the act and the object as well. Thus मुखस्त: कर्तेश्वरः: here the agent is denoted. मुखस्त: कर्तेश्वरः: here the object is denoted. मुखस्त: कर्तेश्वरः: here mere action is denoted. Similarly मुखस्त भोजान् रहस्यतः: (agent); मुखस्त भोजान् रहस्यतः: (object); मुखस्त रहस्यतः (act).

गत्याभूतकालके चित्तायाम्युज्ज्वलैः सौराष्ट्रियस्यहृदयस्थितिः।

72. The affix ‘क्ता’ 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 ‘शिः’ (to embrace), ‘सि’ (to lie down), ‘स्थात्’ (to stand), ‘आस’ (to sit), ‘वास’ (to dwell), ‘जन’ (to produce), ‘रुह’ (to mount) and ‘ज्री’ (to grow old).

The phrase ‘the act and the object’ has been added into the सूत्रा by virtue of the word ‘कः’. Thus गमो वैश्वतः वाम् ‘Devdatta is gone to the village’ (agent); वैश्वतः ग्रामः: वाम ‘the village was gone to by Devadatta (object); वाम वैश्वतः ‘Devdatta 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 गमो भवानि ‘you were wearied’ (agent), ग्रामः वाम (object); भवानि
The affixes kta &c.

73. The words 'ḍāśa' and 'goghna' are irregularly formed, and the affix in these denotes the idea of the Dative or Recipient.

The word ḍāśa comes from the root ṣṭā to give by adding the affix ṹaṇu under rule III. 1. 134. This being a kṣānta 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 ḍāśa means 'to whom something is given i.e. a servant'. Similarly goghna does not mean 'the killer of cow' but 'he on whose 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 ḍāśa = ṣṭānita kṣānti; goghna = kṣānti va vā ṣṭānita.

74. The words 'bhīma' &c. are irregularly formed and denote ablation.

These words are formed by Undā affixes. Thus श्री + हक = श्रोभ (Un. I. 145, 148); श्री + पुष्य + हक = होभ (Un. I. 148) &c. By the next sūtra, Undā words do not denote ordinarily the recipient and the ablation.

The present sūtra makes them do so in the case of Bhīmāṇi words. The following is a list of Bhimāṇi words:—षीम, षीम, षामवक (Un. III. 82), षर, षर,
The affix *kta*.

(U. I. 7), भूमिः (U. IV. 45), रमः (U. IV. 217), संस्कारः, संक्षयः, पयानः, सुहः, भुगः, or दुः (U. II. 61), दुः (U. II. 62) खलितः.

राज्यान्तरे प्राप्तायोः III. 45 पदार्थः || ताप्तः, अवधः, व्याधः:

२५. विधायः राज्यान्तरे प्राप्तायोः व्याधान्तरे प्राप्तायोः कारंजं खलितः.

75. The words formed by ‘Unādi’ affixes denote other ideas than these two, i.e., receipient 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 शास्त्रः has been used in the *sūtra* in order to include the word *sampratdāna* also. For, had the *sūtra* been शास्त्रोऽपितपः, only the *Aphādāna kāraka* would have been excluded, as being the nearest; but not so the *Sampratdāna kāraka*. Thus कूणिकोऽक्षीयः (U. IV. 120) ‘agriculture i.e. what is ploughed’ (object); शास्त्र दितिः (U. I. 69) ‘a thread i.e. what is drawn out’; जुष्णिकित्स वर्णः (U. IV. 145) ‘a way i.e. what is established’; अभिनिः = वर्णः (U. IV. 145) ‘skin’ (in which they live).

२६. भूतान्तरे च भूतान्तरे प्रत्यवसायान्तरे: || तत्त्वम सा सत्यम् ||

२७. अविकारः, च, भौतिक-गति-प्रत्यवसायान्तरे: (कः, सावे, खर्मी, खर्मी)ी

२८. भूतान्तरे भौतिक-गति-प्रत्यवसायान्तरे भौतिक-गति-प्रत्यवसायान्तरे: कार्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः वाच्यः कार्यः

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 भूत or ‘persisting in a place’ are Intransitive verbs. The word *pratyavasādāna* means ‘eating’ also; the force of शास्त्रः in the *sūtra* is that the affix *kta* expresses other relations also. Thus after verbs denoting ‘fixedness’ or *āharaṇyādhīra* 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 भौमको वेदवस: ‘Devadatta sat;’ भावित वेदवस: ‘sitting by him (act);’ भावमहामन्त्रिन्म् ‘this was their seat’ (location); वेदवस नामः ‘Devadatta went to the village’ (active); वेदवस यथास्रयः (passive); वेदवस यथास्रयः (abstract); भावित वेदवस: ‘this is their place of going’ (location); भावित भूतान्तरे यथास्रयः (passive); भावित भूतान्तरे यथास्रयः (active); भावित भूतान्तरे यथास्रयः (abstract); भावित भूतान्तरे यथास्रयः (location); भावित भूतान्तरे यथास्रयः: ‘this is a place’ (IV. 2. 85). भावित प्रत्यवसायान्तरे or प्रत्यवसायान्तरे.
77. In the place of `la' will be substituted the affix which we shall announce hereafter.

This śūtra consists of one word लक्ष्य meaning `of'. It is an adhikāra śūtra. The word लक्ष्य is the genitive singular of लक्ष, the ल in लक्ष being for the sake of pronunciation. The लक्ष means the ten affixes: लक्ष present, लक्षत perfect, लक्षस् first future, लक्षस्य second future, लक्ष्य imperative लक्ष्य Vedic subjunctive, लक्षी imperfect, लक्षित potential and benefactive, लक्ष्य aorist, लक्ष्य conditional. Six of these tenses have indicatory ल, and four have indicatory लक्ष.

Professor Bohlingk translates this śūtra thus:—In the following sūtras, the word लक्ष्य 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 लक्ष्य'.

सिस्मक्षितितैव धार्मिकंस्तिप्रथमालाक्षशास्त्रायांलृद्धयानिविद्विधाः

क्रिया पादार्थोऽरुपक: लक्षित प्रकृति: लक्षित सम्बन्धविशेषवक्षण: ।

78. The following are the substitutes of `la':—

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 śūtra II. 4. 85, III. 1. 33, &c. Others will be mentioned hereafter. It is only in the present tense or लक्ष्य that the affixes as above given, may be applied to the root, in some cases, without any alteration.

The ल in लक्ष्य, लक्ष्यत and लक्ष्य is for the sake of accent (III. 1. 4); the ल in लक्ष्य for distinguishing it in the śūtra (III. 4. 106); and the ल in लक्ष्य for forming the Pratyahāra 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.**—लक्ष्य

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parasmapiada.</th>
<th>Atmanepada.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st. pers. लक्ष्य लक्ष्य</td>
<td>लक्ष्य लक्ष्य</td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd. लक्ष्य लक्ष्य</td>
<td>लक्ष्य लक्ष्य</td>
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<tr>
<td>3rd. लक्ष्य लक्ष्य</td>
<td>लक्ष्य लक्ष्य</td>
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</table>
Imperfect or First Preterite.—सँभ़।

Parasmaipada.         | Atmanepada.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st.</td>
<td>अभ्यस्य</td>
<td>न</td>
<td>ह</td>
<td>अभ्यस्य</td>
<td>न</td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd.</td>
<td>दु लश्य</td>
<td>न</td>
<td>पश्य</td>
<td>भायमिः</td>
<td>भन।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd.</td>
<td>दु लाश्य</td>
<td>भनु</td>
<td>लाश्य</td>
<td>भायाल्य</td>
<td>भन।</td>
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Potential or Optative.—विमिषितः।

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st.</td>
<td>भायाल्य</td>
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<td>हेन</td>
<td>हेन</td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd.</td>
<td>भायाल्य</td>
<td>भाय</td>
<td>हेन</td>
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<td>हेन</td>
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<tr>
<td>3rd.</td>
<td>भायाल्य</td>
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<td>हेन</td>
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Imperative.—सँभ़।

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<tbody>
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<td>1st.</td>
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<td>भायस्य</td>
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<td>2nd.</td>
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<td>लश्य</td>
<td>दृ</td>
<td>लश्य</td>
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<tr>
<td>3rd.</td>
<td>दृ</td>
<td>लाश्य</td>
<td>दृ</td>
<td>लाश्य</td>
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Perfect or Second Preterite.—सँझ।

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st.</td>
<td>भ म</td>
<td>ग</td>
<td>गह</td>
<td>गह</td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd.</td>
<td>भ मल</td>
<td>भ मह</td>
<td>भ मह</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd.</td>
<td>भ मल</td>
<td>भ मह</td>
<td>भ मह</td>
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First Future or Definite Future.—लङ्घ।

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<tbody>
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<td>1st.</td>
<td>लालसिः</td>
<td>लालसिः</td>
<td>लालसिः</td>
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<td>2nd.</td>
<td>लालसिः</td>
<td>लालसिः</td>
<td>लालसिः</td>
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<td>3rd.</td>
<td>लालसिः</td>
<td>लालसिः</td>
<td>लालसिः</td>
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Second Future or Indefinite Future.—लङ्घ।

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<td>1st.</td>
<td>लालनिः</td>
<td>लालनिः</td>
<td>लालनिः</td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd.</td>
<td>लालनिः</td>
<td>लालनिः</td>
<td>लालनिः</td>
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<td>3rd.</td>
<td>लालनिः</td>
<td>लालनिः</td>
<td>लालनिः</td>
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Aorist or Third Preterite.—लङ्घ।

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<tbody>
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<td>1st.</td>
<td>लङ्घ</td>
<td>लङ्घ</td>
<td>लङ्घ</td>
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<td>2nd.</td>
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<td>लङ्घ</td>
<td>लङ्घ</td>
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<td>लङ्घ</td>
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Preceptive or Benedective.—भासितः।

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<tbody>
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<td>1st.</td>
<td>भासिः</td>
<td>भास्य</td>
<td>भासिः</td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd.</td>
<td>भासिः</td>
<td>भास्य</td>
<td>भासिः</td>
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<tr>
<td>3rd.</td>
<td>भासिः</td>
<td>भास्य</td>
<td>भासिः</td>
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Conditional.—लङ्घ।

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<tbody>
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<td>1st.</td>
<td>लङ्घ</td>
<td>लङ्घ</td>
<td>लङ्घ</td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd.</td>
<td>लङ्घ</td>
<td>लङ्घ</td>
<td>लङ्घ</td>
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<tr>
<td>3rd.</td>
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<td>लङ्घ</td>
<td>लङ्घ</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
79. The substitute ‘e’ replaces the last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, of the ‘Atmanepada’ substitutes of that ‘ia’ which has an indicatory ‘t’.

The त or the tense-affixes that have an indicatory त are six:—स्तरं, दिस्तरं, वृत्तरं, लोकरं, देशरं, जिस्तरं. In these tenses the final portion called ति of the Atmanepada affixes is changed into दि. Thus त becomes दि, भावात् becomes भावदि, ति becomes ति &c, as shown in the foregoing table.

The affixes शः, वः, and कः are also Atmanepada affixes. Why are not their finals changed into दि as in पच्चन्, वच्चन्? Because the word भावसन्नवः in the sutra refers by context to the Atmanepada affixes included in the Pratyāhāra ति.

80. The word ‘se’ is the substitute of ‘thās’ in those tenses that have an indicatory ‘t’.

In the six tenses already mentioned in the last sutra, the Atmanepada यास is replaced by दि, as we have already shown in the preceding table. Thus पसेन्दे, पेन्यं, पन्यं, पद्यं.

81. The words ‘es’ and ‘irech’ are the substitutes of ‘ta’ and ‘jha’ respectively in the Perfect tense.

The त of यास indicates that it replaces the whole of the affix ति (I. 1. 55). The त of ‘irech’ is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 165). Thus देनेष्वे, रेनेष्वे, सेनेष्वे. See the foregoing table of tenses for the Atmanepada.

82. In the room of the Parasmaipada affixes, the following are substituted in the Perfect tense:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual.</th>
<th>plural.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nai</td>
<td>thal</td>
<td>us</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(स)</td>
<td>(त)</td>
<td>(०)</td>
<td>(व)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aṣṭu</td>
<td>aṣṭu</td>
<td>aṣṭu</td>
<td>aṣṭu</td>
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<tr>
<td>(अष्टु)</td>
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<td>(अष्टु)</td>
<td>(अष्टु)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The indicatory 

The indicatory 

Thus 

Thus:—

Thus भाष ‘he says’; भाष ‘they two say’; भाष ‘they say’; भाष ‘thou sayst’; भाष ‘you two say’; the rest like 

The word भाष ‘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 भाष in the sūtra indicates the original expression which is to be replaced; and shows that this change occurs in the Parasmaipada affixes only.

85. The personal endings of the Imperative are as those of the Imperfect.

This is an भाषa sutra; as in the भाष there are the affixes भाष, भाष, भाष, भाष, भाष, भाष, भाष, भाष. Thus भाष, भाष, भाष, भाष, भाष, भाष, भाष.
8. In the Imperative, 'I' is substituted for 'i'.

Thus 'I' becomes तु, अति becomes तत्र, as have already been given in the above table.

Vdr.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of affixes द्वि and द्विम of जीवन. In the case of these two affixes, the द्वि is not changed into द्विम, either because they have been so taught in the sūtras, or because the द्वि of sūtra III. 4. 83 is understood here also and makes this rule an optional rule of limited scope as in the last sūtra (व्यतिरिक्त विन्यास). Thus तत्र, तत्रम्.

In fact, this sūtra is confined to द्वि and द्विम only, and does not apply to द्वि to which the next sūtra applies.

87. In the Imperative, 'hi' is substituted for 'si', and this has not the indicatory 'p' of 'sip', i.e., it is nuncally accented.

The substitute being like the original expression (I. 1. 56), द्वि substituted for द्वि, would have been a द्वि affix, but for this sūtra, which clearly states in its latter portion that this द्वि is not to be regarded as having an indicatory 'p'.

Thus द्ौ, द्ौम्, द्ौति, द्वौति; and as this affix is द्वि, rule I. 2. 4 makes it द्वि, also, and thereby no guna takes place.

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 जीवन has two forms as द्ौ or द्ौम्; द्ौ or द्ौति, द्वि being substituted for द्वि in the Vedas, by rule (VI. 4. 103) as in the following verse:

अहि नर सुपर्याद्वित्यम् च सुपर्याद्वित्यम् च।
द्ौ द्ौति द्ौद्वितियम् नमस्तिरित्वित्वम्॥

—Rig i. 189. 1; Yajur Veda, 40. 16.
Substitution in the Imperative. [Bk. III. Ch. IV. § 89-93.

89. In the Imperative, ‘ni’ is substituted for the affix ‘mi’.

This supersedes the rule relating to the change of इ into ए, and the rule of lopa; see the table; thus प्रभानि, प्रभानि।

आनेति: || ए || पदार्थि || आसि, प्रभा; (लोपति:)

पूर्विक: || लोप-स्य स्वधार्ष भान्वत्रथायोषी मशानि ||

90. In the Imperative ‘ām’ is substituted for what would have substituted otherwise ‘e’ by III. 4. 79.

This relates to the Atmanepada affix ए। In the Atmanepada, ए इ is substituted for ए in the Imperative; see the table; पचानि, पचानि, पचानि।

ब्यायानं वानी || पा || व-वायो, व-वानी, (लोपति; प्रभा:)

पूर्विक: || सचारवारस्याि-वामार्थ स्यों स्याि-वामार्थम व अं् हस्याि-वामार्थि भभि: \n
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 ए substitution of the last sūtra. Thus, for ए we have ए, and for ए we have ए; see the table; thus पचानि, पचानि।

आनेति: || पदार्थि || आसि, उक्तस्य, विपन, ए (लोपति:)

पूर्विक: || लोप-स्य स्याि-वामार्थायोषी मशानि स चोलस्युप्तः विपनविक ||

92. In the Imperative ‘āt’ is the augment of the affixes of the first person and the termination is as if it had an indicatory ‘प’.

This is clear. Thus in the Parasmaiapada, we have भावि, भावि, भावि।

Thus करसािणि, करपाथि, करसािणि, करसािणि, करसािणि।

पूर्विक: || पदार्थि || एति, ए; (लोपति; उक्तस्य)

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 करसािणि, करसािणि, करसािणि।

But the ‘० resulting from sandhi,‘is not to be changed into ए। Thus पचािणि + एन्दूष् = पचािण्यं, पचािणि + एन्दूष् = पचािण्यं। Here, no doubt, the ए belongs to the Imperative by VI. 1. 85, being the substitute of ए of ए and ए। But this is not to be changed into ए on the maxim that this ए is the result of a भविष्यक rule, for
the rule of sandhi (VI. 1. 87), is a विपरीतको rule, while the present सूत्र is an अन्तरको rule; because of the following Paribhāṣā, भिक्षु कहिं विपरीतकोन्मन्तरको 'that which is Bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect, when an Antaranga rule is to be applied.

94. The augments 'at' and 'āt' are added to the personal endings of the Vedic Subjunctive.

The augments भूत and भाव are not to be added at once, but by turns. Thus सत्तु + तित्तु + भाव + भूत = वारिष्ठ; वारिष्ठ, वारिष्ठ; similarly पत्तु + भाव + भूत = वारिष्ठ; वारिष्ठ। See III. 1. 34 for the addition of विवृत in the above.

95. In the Subjunctive, 'a' is the substitute of 'ā' in the first and second person dual of the Atmanepada. Thus नन्दे, महाभे, करृपाये, करिते। Why is not the augment भाव changed into है? Because otherwise the rule enjoining भाव would be superfluous.

96. In the Subjunctive, 'a' is optionally the substitute of 'e', in other places than those mentioned in the last सूत्र.

Thus गृहे, हृदि, &c, in the following examples:—वारिष्ठ, भाव, भाव, पाण्डुरणी, गम्य तथा यथा यथा, स्त्रियादिभा व: स्त्रियादिभा। And in the alternative we have simply ए, as घडच, च ति नमो नमो नमो नमो नमो नमो नमो

Why do we say 'in other places than those governed by the last सूत्र'? Observe नन्दे, महाभे, करिते।

97. In the Parasmaipada affixes the 'i' is optionally elided in the Subjunctive.

The व of the last सूत्र is understood here also. Thus ओविष्ठ (Rig. II. 35. 1); शारिष्ठ (Rig. I. 25. 12); वायिष्ठ। In the alternative, it is not elided as पविष्ठ विवृत (Rig. VII. 25. 1). उद्दहिष्ठ वायिष्ठ। The व of दृष्टि, वायि and वायि of the Atmanepada are not elided.

श उत्तमसा इति इ पदानि इ श; उत्तमसा, (लेकि; वा, लोप.)

पुष्पिणि। इ एकर्णराज्य उत्तमसा निहित शकारात्म अथो भवति।

98. The ‘s’ of the first person is optionally elided in the Subjunctive.

As करणो or करणां; करणां or करणां। The first person is used in the सूत्र to indicate that the श is not elided in any other person.

शिशुं रिः इति ॥ १००। पो इ नित्यं, रिः इति; (सयं, ऊत्तमसा, श; लोप;)।

पुष्पिणि। इ विनित्य सन्तानस्व स वजमहत्व निहित शकारात्म कोणौ मन्त्रि।

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 ‘न’.

The tense-affixes having indicatory न are four, namely, लह, लिङ, लुह, and लुह। In their case, the elision of श is not optional as was the case in the last सूत्र, but compulsory. See the table already given. In other words, in the Imperfect, Potential, Aorist and Conditional, the श is elided in the 1st person. Thus अपशचा, अपशचा। The word नित्य ‘always’ is used in order to stop the anuvṛtti of the word ‘optionally’.

इति इति ॥ १००। पदानि इ इति; श, (रिः, रिः, लोप, लय।)

पुष्पिणि। इ विनित्य सन्तानस्व सन्तानस्व निहित लोपौ मन्त्रि।

100. And there is elision of the ‘s’ of that Paramaiapada affix which is the substitute of a ‘la’ having an indicatory ‘न’.

Thus, for त्व we have त्व, for त्व we have त्व, &c, as in the above table. The श of Atmanepada is, however, not elided, because the anuvṛtti of Paramaipada is understood here from सूत्र III. 4. 97. Thus अपशचा, अपशचा, but अपशचा, अपशचा।

तस्यतत्त्वाश् सारस्ततात्; ॥ १०१। पदानि इ तस्-तस्-चन्द्रिपान्य, तां-त-त-अस्; (रिः)।

पुष्पिणि। इ विनित्य सन्तानस्व निहित शकारात्म यथार्थावत् मन्त्रि॥

101. The affixes ‘ताम’, ‘तम’, ‘ता’ and ‘ताम’ are the substitutes of the four affixes ‘tas’, ‘thas’, ‘tha’ and ‘mip’ respectively, of any ‘la’ which has an indicatory ‘न’.

This we have shown in the above table. Thus अपशचा, अपशचा, अपशचा, अपशचा, अपशचा, अपशचा, अपशचा।

लिखितस्वापूजः ॥ १०२। पदानि इ लिखः; सीयुष।

पुष्पिणि। इ लिखितस्वापस्व शोद्धविगृहो मन्त्रि।
102. The personal endings of the Potential and the Benedictive take the augment 'śiyut'.

The श of श्रव्य is indicatory and shows that this augment is to be placed before the affixes (I. 1. 46). The श is for the sake of pronunciation; this rule applies to the Atmanepada affixes. In the Potential, the श of this augment is elided by VII. 2. 79, and the श also, before a personal-ending beginning with a consonant, is dropped according to VI. 1. 66. In this way, we have पषेत, पषेवालाम, and by III. 4. 105, पषेवालम. In the Benedictive, the augment retains its full form, only so far as it is not governed by VI. 1. 66. Thus पवीत्र, पवीवालाम पवित्रम.

103. When the Parasmaipada affixes of the Potential follow, then 'yāsūt' acutely accented, is their augment, and the termination is regarded as having an indicatory 'न'.

This debarbs श्चरुत; the श of श्चरु, is indicatory; the real augment is श्चर्य. All augments being anudatta, the present sutra therefore especially uses the word udatta to show that this augment is an exception to the general rule. Though श्चर्य has an indicatory श, and therefore by the rule I. 1. 56, its substitutes would also be regarded as having an indicatory श, the repetition of the word श्चर्य in this sūtra shows the existence of the paribhāṣā "that the श belonging to श does not influence its substitutes;" in other words, the substitutes of श्चर्य, शिंक, श्वर्य and श्कर्य, are not to be regarded as having an indicatory श (वाक्य-रावणविनिःशास्त्रवादान्त न संभवी). In the Potential, the श of श्चरु, is elided by VII. 2. 79. So we get the forms श्चरुवत, श्वरुवालम्, and by applying III. 4. 108 and VI. 1. 96, श्वरुवत. For the Benedictive श्चरु, the following sūtra applies.

104. The augment 'yāsūt' comes after that 'liū' also which denotes benediction, and it is acutely accented, and the substitutes of this 'liū' are as if they had an indicatory 'क'.

The श्चर्य of this sūtra refers to the personal affixes of the Benedictive mood and not to the augment श्चरु; for that would have been unnecessary,
being already द्रिः by the last rule. द्रिः and द्रिः are equal in prohibiting गुण and वृद्धि, but द्रिः is distinguished from द्रिः inasmuch as द्रिः causes the गुण of ज्ञान (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 उपाध्य, उपाध्य, उपाध्य, उपाध्य and ज्ञानस्मृति, ज्ञानस्मृति and ज्ञानस्मृति. In the Potential, उपाध्य (no samprāśāraṇa); in the Benedicite, उपाध्य (vocalisation). So also ज्ञानस्मृति in the Potential.

105. The affix ‘ran’ is the substitute of ‘jha’ in the ‘Lin’ (Potential and Benedicive).

The र in other places, is replaced generally by द्र (VII. 1. 3), but in लिं, it is replaced by ‘र’. Thus महेर, महेर, महेर.

106. Short ‘a’ is the substitute of ‘i’ of the Atmanepada first person singular in the Potential and Benedicive.

Thus घेव, घेव, घेव, घेव.

Q.—In the śūtra, the word द्र is used, and the final र belongs to the दिपिक, therefore by rule I. 3. 4, this र is not indicatory; why is it made so?

A.—This र is not any portion or member of the substitute द्र; it is added to र merely for the sake of euphony.

The द्र refers to the Atmanepada affix of the first person singular; and not to the augment र on the strength of the maxim अद्वैतवपधारया मागर्त्वक। 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.

107. The augment ‘sūṭ’ is added to the affixes ‘ta’ and ‘tha’ when part of the affixes of the Potential and Benedicive.

The letters र and र are the objects to which the augment द्र is to be added; provided that the र and र are the initial of the affixes employed in द्र.

The augment र is applied to द्र as such; in other words, द्र is
there the अगानी; but in the case of धर, तिरक्ष is not the अगानी, but त and व अगानी. The scope of धर and धर being thus different, one does not debar the other.

In the सूत्र, the word धि is used; the ध of धि is merely for the sake of pronunciation. Thus कृति, कृत्यालम् कृत्यालं कृत्याल्य, कृत्याल्य। In the Potential, the ध is elided by VII. 2. 79.

108. In the Potential and Benedictive, ‘jus’ is the substitute of ‘jhi’, the ending of the first person plural Parasmaipada.

This debar in (VII. 1. 3); thus धनरु; वधनरु.

स्वतंत्रतिर्दिष्टस्य १०७० स्वतंत्र-अवस्थान्-स्विरि; ध, (स्वतंत्र)

वृत्त: धि: वर्णक्षेमकल्पतं वस्सेवोर्गत्य शुभावृक्षी मथति।

109. (In those tenses which are marked with an indicative ‘न’) ‘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 ध other than that of तिर्दिष्ट, namely, the धि and धर.

तिर्दिष्ट is employed in forming the first Aorist. The reduplicated verbs, as well as the verb तिर्दिष्ट, form their third person plural in धर, in the tenses other than तिर्दिष्ट, and those that take तिर्दिष्ट. The word तिर्दिष्ट of sūtra III. 4. 99, is understood here also; and therefore this rule is restricted to the Imperfect (तिर्दिष्ट) of the reduplicated verb. Thus of तिर्दिष्ट, we have अविनयः, अविनयः. Similarly, after the Imperfect of the reduplicated verbs, we have अविनयः, अविनयः, अविनयः. In the case of धि, we have अविनयः.

110. (When ‘sich’ is elided), ‘jus’ is the substitute of ‘jhi’, after an Aorist stem which ends in long ‘अ’.

The तिर्दिष्ट is elided by rule (II. 4. 77). Thus धि: अधि: अधि:। In other words, in those cases, where तिर्दिष्ट is elided by rules II. 4. 77, 78 and 79, only धर is the substitute of धि where the verbs end in long अ। In other words, this sūtra restricts the scope of the last sūtra, by which after every तिर्दिष्ट, धर was to replace धि.

The Present sūtra says that after verbs in which तिर्दिष्ट has been elided,
600

SARVADIHATUKA AFFIXES. [BK. III. CH. IV. § 111-113.

Thus, by rule II. 4. 77, विष्णु is elided after the verb नृ, but as नृ does not end in long अ, its 3rd person plural Aorist will not be in नृ। Thus, नृहुः।

Here, by the last rule, and on the maxim that ‘though विष्णु is elided, yet its force remains (I. 1. 62),’ नृहु would have replaced विष्णु; but the present सूत्र prohibits that. But where the विष्णु is not elided, there, of course, नृ does come. Thus नृहुः; नृहुः।

लकः शाक्तायणसस् ॥ १११ ॥ पदाति ॥ लकः, शाक्तायणसस्, (अः, नृहुः, आः) ॥

वृत्ति: भाकारान्यकेवलस नः निम्नवर्गोऽर्थिः शाक्तायणसस्यावलोकनम्।

111. In the opinion of Sāktaśāyaṇa only, ‘jus’ is the substitute of ‘jhi’, in the Imperfect of the roots which end in a long ‘अ’.

Thus अः, अः। In the alternative, we have अः and अः।

Why is अः repeated here, when the context would have supplied this word; for the सूत्र applies to विष्णु s, of which नृ, being dealt with in the last, would leave लकः only to be dealt with by this aphorism, for no other विष्णु tense (like लकः or नृहुः) can end in अः? The repetition shows that the rule applies to those affixes which come after लकः as लकः, and not to those which come after another tense which is treated like लकः। Thus नृहुः is treated like लकः, but for the purposes of this rule, नृहुः would not be so treated. Thus the विष्णु of नृहुः will not be changed into नृ by III. 4. 109. Thus विष्णु, जामु, विद्वन्। The word नृ has been used in the सूत्र, for the sake of the subsequent सूत्र.

द्विष्णु ॥ ११२ ॥ पदाति ॥ द्विष्णुः, च, (लकः, शाक्तायणसस्, अःकुः)॥

वृत्ति: द्विष्णु प्रवय नः निम्नवर्गोऽर्थिः शाक्तायणसस्यावलोकनम्।

112. In the opinion of Sāktaśāyaṇa only, ‘jus’ is the substitute of ‘jhi’, in the Imperfect after the verb ‘dvish’ (to hate).

Thus अः। But according to others, अः।

तिष्थित्वार्थवाचार्य ॥ ११३ ॥ पदः ॥ तिष्ठ-विष्ठ-वाचार्य ॥

वृत्ति: तिष्ठ-विष्ठ गद्यवर्णाः सावधानवाचार्यम्।

113. All personal endings (III. 4. 78) and all affixes with an indicator ‘अ’, are called सावधानवाचार्य.

Of course, this applies to the affixes which have been already treated before, namely, the affixes which relate to verbal roots and not to सक्षिप्त affixes & c. Thus, शब्दविच, रोदसिंच, पद्यम, पद्यम। लकः, शविष्णुः are exceptions.
The remainder, i.e. the affixes other than 'tiṅ', and those with an indicator's subjoined to a verbal root, are called 'ārdhadhātuka'.

Thus the affixes े, ुम, संवयम् &c. are आर्धधातुक affixes as in the following words—जिसत, जेवितु, जेवित्वम्. Here the augment े is added, because of these affixes being called आर्धधातुकa by VII. 2. 35.

The word भावः: whose anuvṛtti began with sūtra III. 1. 91, is understood here also. So that the affixes in relation to the verbal roots get the name of sāvadhatu and ārdhadhatu; the affixes applied to nouns do not get these names. Thus the case-affix भाव when added to the noun भाव, is not called an ārdhadhatu affix, and therefore we have सङ्गभाव, भावित &c. Had these affixes been ārdhadhatu, they would have caused the guna of the base (VII. 3. 84). Similarly the affixes इश्व and इम in the words इश्वतत्व and इमतत्व are not ārdhadhatu affixes. Had they been so, there would have been the insertion of the augment इम (VII. 2. 35).

Similarly in sūtra III. 1. 5, the affix भाव is used without changing the sense, after the roots भाव, श्यत and भिन्ति. But as this affix is added without the enunciation of the word भावः: as it is in sūtra III. 1. 7, this भाव is not called ārdhadhatu, and does not take the augment इम, as भावभावः.

The personal endings of the Perfect are also called 'ārdhadhatu'.

This debar's them from being called sāvadhatu and, being ārdhadhatu, some of them take the augment इम; as अविषय, अविषयक. Moreover by their being ārdhadhatu they do not admit of the Vikaraṇas गुप्त &c.

So from भाव (स्व. VI. 1. 45) we have भावः; here the भाव is elided by VI. 4. 64, the affix being treated as ārdhadhatu; similarly भावः from भावः.

When the sense is that of Benediction, the substitutes of 'tiṅ' are called 'ārdhadhātuka', i.e. the personal endings of the Benedective are 'ārdhadhātuka'.

This debar's these affixes from being called sāvadhatu. Being ārdhadhatu they take the augment इम, and before these affixes the root does
not take the Vikaraṇas गृ &c. Thus from the root लू 'to cut', we have in the भाषीलिंक, लविस्र; and from the root चू 'to purify', चिवील. But in the भिन्निलिंक (Potential), we have the proper Vikaraṇas &c. as लूनीवाल, पुनीवाल.

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 मिं and हिं are treated as if they were ārdhadhātuka. Thus चान्न श्च सुरुतः. Here the affixes of the ली are treated as ārdhadhātuka and consequently there is the elision of the हिं by rule VI. 4. 51; the proper form of this word would be क्षर्भुन्न. Sometimes ārdhadhātuka affixes are treated like sārvadhātuka affixes; as विज्ञुपिते; here the affixes of the ली are treated as sārvadhātuka and so there is the Vikaraṇa गृ and the श is changed into शृ. Thus, विगर्फु + गृ + हृ = विगर्फु + गृ + हृ (III. 1. 74) = विगर्फु मु + हृ (VI. 4. 87) = विगर्फुभिः. Similarly, हुष्टिल। The लिं is sometimes treated in the Vedas both as sārvadhātuka and ārdhadhātuka at one and the same time; as चुर्सवेश्वर्य चुर्म वुष्टव्यम्। Here, by treating the affix as sārvadhātuka, there is elision of श in the लिं (VII. 2. 79) and by treating it again as ārdhadhātuka, the श of श्या is changed into शृ। So also in लसि the affix is treated as sārvadhātuka and there is no substitution of शृ for श्य as required by II. 4. 52.